ANDRÁS RÓNA-TAS

MATERIALS FOR DECIPHERING KHITAN

THE GAO SHI INSCRIPTION IN KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT AND BEYOND

WITH

THE CHINESE INSCRIPTION OF HAN DECHANG

BY

PENG DARUHAN

VOLUME ONE

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VOLUME ONE

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PART I

THE TEXT OF THE GAOSHI INSCRIPTION

1. PREFACE

In his university lectures Professor Ligeti called many times the attention of his pupils to the importance of Khitan. On one day in 1954 he mentioned that there are three scripts and languages yet undeciphered in Asia: Tangut, Jurchen and Khitan. I majored then in Tibetan and my first thought was to begin with Tangut. Later this has changed and I have turned to Khitan. In 1996 I gave my inaugural speech at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on *Landtaking and formation of ethnical groups in Eurasia in the Middle Ages: Khitans, Avars and Hungarians* (Róna-Tas 1996/1999) comparing state forming processes on the two ends of the steppe. In 2017 we met with Professor Wu Yingzhe (Oyunchi) in Budapest and a very fruitful co-operation begun. Two of my young colleagues, Ákos Bertalan Apatóczky and Béla Kempf visited Höhhot and collected otherwise hard-to-reach materials on Khitan and published in China. Based on this material a small library collection was deposited to the Library of the University of Szeged (see Apatóczky—Kempf 2017). With the date 2017, but in fact in 2018 appeared the basic work on Khitan, the three volumes book of Chinggeltei, Wu and Jiruhe (CWJ) which we reviewed with Á. B. Apatóczky (Apatóczky—Róna-Tas 2019). From 2019 on we published a series of papers with Wu Yingzhe (see bibliography). A PhD candidate came to Szeged from Höhhot with whom we published a work which became a preliminary to one chapter of this work (Róna-Tas—Bai Yuanming (2023), see also Bai 2022). Another pupil of Professor Wu also published one of her paper here in Budapest (Peng 2023) after thorough consultations.

I have also to mention here, that I got invaluable help from Professor Wu and his colleagues.

After working years with the Khitan Small Script, I decided to edit a longer Khitan text. Without a broader context an isolated item is difficult to judge. At the moment there are several models of editing an original Khitan text. All may be useful; I follow the way broken by Wu and Janhunen in their 2010 work.

For my undertaking I chose the Gaoshi inscription. First, I worked with the text to extract those sentences in which numerals occurred. This I needed for a paper on the Khitan Numerals (see Róna-Tas 2016). But after a while I realized that the use and function of the numerals will be clearer when I translate the whole text. Therefore, I decided to edit the entire text.

I insist that for all Khitan items five data shall be given or at least known: 1. the transcription or Latinization of the glyph or glyphs, 2. its code according to the revised List of Höhhot, 3. The English translation, sometimes with addition the grammatical form, e.g. “genitive”, “past tense”, 4. if possible the frequency of occurrance in the Corpus, 5. The Chinese gloss if given by CWJ, or the remark “no gloss”. 6. The place where these data occur. These data are needed in the present phase of research.

The Chinese glosses are very different in kind as they follow the Khitan text in CWJ. Most of them give the meaning of the Khitan word, in many cases irrespective of the word class of the Khitan word. In this case I will give the *pinyin* transcription and the Chinese character(s). If the Khitan word is of Chinese origin I use the abbreviation ChinE, followed by *pinyin,* and present writing of the character, if needed the simplified and the classical form and add the Yuan Chinese or Early Mandarin (YCh) and the Late Middle Chinese (LMCh) form according to Pulleyblank 1991. There is also a third category. In many cases Chinese is transcribing Khitan. These cases are marked by ChinT. Some of these Chinese transcriptions are early, contemporaneous, and quoted from the Liaoshi or other sources. In other cases, it is the modern Chinese transcription of the authors of CWJ,

b-ai$_2$ (311-197) ‘paternal uncle, father’s elder brother’, ChinE *bo* 伯, YCh *paj,* LMCh, *pḥa:jk* CWJ 1014 (Gu2-24).

sh-a-rí (028-189-069), 133x, ‘court attendant, courtier*, langjun*’, also **sh-iá-ri** (028-274-069), 1x, **sh-ha-rí** (028-051-069), 9x, plural **sh-a-rí-d** (028-189-069-254), Chin *lang jun* 郎君 C470, ChinT *shali* 沙里, **L**2, **L**6**, L**12, **L**14.

när (159) ‘day’, 125x, Chin *ri* 日 C403, **L**2, **L**13, ChinT Liaoshi *nieyier* 捏咿兒 ‘day’.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Although this work is the result of the research of a single person, it would never have reached publication without the multifaceted assistance and support of many colleagues and institutions. Of great importance was the collaboration with and help got from collegues in Höhhot, People’s Republic of China, under the leadership of Professor Wu Yingzhe (Oyunchi). Their assistance ranged from extended consultations in complex cases to participation in meticulous proofreading. I extend my sincere thanks.

I owe special thanks to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, in particular to its Presidency and its Class I (Linguistics and Literary Scholarship), for securing the funds needed to bring the book to its final form. I am grateful to Professor Imre

Hamar, who kindly included the book in the series Budapest Monographs in East Asian Studies. I am indebted to Attila Katona-Kiss for compiling the bibliography, to Ákos Bertalan Apatóczky for checking and correcting certain Chinese passages, and to Marianne Bakró-Nagy for long discussions of factual and theoretical questions concerning grammar, and the history of the name Khitan. My thanks are also due to my granddaughter, Dorottya Beöthy-Molnár, for designing the book covers and maps.

Last but not least, I am extremely obliged to Edina Terjék, the technical editor of these volumes. Without her expertise and editorial craftsmanship, these Materials would never have been published.

2. INTRODUCTION

2.1 GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GAOSHI INSCRIPTION

Among the 39 major inscriptions written in the Khitan Small Script that have been published to date, the Gaoshi inscription stands out as one of the most significant. Initially, my intent was to analyze only the numerals within the text. However, it became evident that the inscription provides a comprehensive overview of a lineage within a Khitan clan, illustrating family and clan structures from a Khitan perspective, and detailing the career of a Khitan official. Although the final lines are missing, the text serves as a valuable resource for grammatical and textual analysis.

Discovered in 1995 in the Balin Left Banner at the Han Kuangsi family tombs, the inscription is currently housed in the Liaoshangling Museum of the Left Banner of Balin. Liu Fengzhu first published the rubbing and photographs with explanations in 2002, titling it "Han Gaoshi muzhi," or "The Epitaph of Gao Shi, the Han." Later, he identified a Chinese epitaph of Dechang a close relative of the Gaoshi inscription's owner and revisited both the Khitan and Chinese inscriptions in a 2005 paper co-authored with Qinggele. This 25-page publication delves deeper into the historical context, although it primarily uses the inscription as a historical rather than a linguistic source. For further reading, see Liu Fengzhu, Tang Cai-lan, and Qinggele's 2009 work on Liao Dynasty inscriptions unearthed in the Shangjing area.

The Gaoshi inscription was published in 2017 in the CWJ. The photos of the Khitan inscription are found on pages 721-725, with a photo of the entire inscription on page 721. Pages 722 and 723 display the upper and lower parts of the first 15 lines, respectively, while pages 724 and 725 feature the upper and lower parts of lines 13-26. These photos are high-quality reproductions of the rubbing, see at the end of Chapter 5. The Chinese inscription of Dechang, included in the present work as edited by Peng Daruhan (Chapter 20), appears on page 726 but is of lower quality.

The normalized transcript of the Gaoshi inscription in KSS is available on pages 1238-1247 of CWJ under entry number 20, with the Chinese title: «耶律 (韩)高十令公墓志» 志文 "Yelu (Han) Gao Shi Ling Gong Muzhi" Zhi Wen, followed by the Chinese text of the Dechang inscription as an appendix on pages 1248-1249. The CWJ authors provide Chinese glosses for the transcription, sometimes following

Liu's interpretations and at other times offering new insights. In my edition, I reference these glosses per CWJ, marking any absence with "no gloss".

The inscription comprises 26 lines, and the photos confirm its completeness, though the 26th line ends abruptly, leaving the text unfinished. While Liu's 2002 publication and the 2005 paper with Qinggele provide detailed remarks and a line-by-line summary of the content, CWJ offers only a brief introduction to the Khitan text. However, CWJ's publication has advantages, including better photos, helpful normalization into Khitan Small Script, and glosses that incorporate new findings since Liu and Qinggele's work.

Kane (2009, p. 9) briefly mentions this inscription, assigning it the current number 6 and erroneously noting that it consists of 51 lines, with the lower half missing. This mistake likely arose from the initial publication, where the upper and lower parts appeared in separate photos. Wu and Janhunen (2010, p. 27) list the inscription as No. 15, describing it as incomplete, undated, and consisting of 26 lines. Shimunek (2017, p. xxxvi) references the inscription using the Wade system as "Kao," citing Liu et al. 2009:37, although he does not provide details.

Pamela Crossley, whom I will cite later, notes that "Gaojianu and his brother Gaoshi were grandsons of Guosan. All we know of Gaojianu is that he ended his career as *xuanhuishi* in the Southern ministry. All we know of Gaoshi is that he ended his career as *jiedushi* of the Liaoxing Army" (Crossley 2013, p.79). She adds a footnote with relevant references in the Liaoshi and mentions preliminary studies of Gaoshi's tomb by Fengzhu and Qing in 2005.

Lance Pursey (2019) also mentions our inscription on pages 338, 341, 343, and 346, dating it to 1076. CWJ's introduction on page 1238 suggests that the Gaoshi inscription must be later than the second year of Dakang, i.e., 1076, implying it was written in 1078 or 1079. Other inscriptions from around this period include Ren 1076, Han 1078, and Hui 1080. The Han 1078 inscription is particularly relevant to our study and is published in CWJ under the title "Han Shi Furen Muzhi Bei Ming Zhiwen" on page 1337, consisting of 35 lines.

As Liu noted in his initial paper, the inscription ends abruptly, leaving the date of the owner's death unknown. The final part, typically found on similar epitaphs, may have been inscribed on the cover stone's reverse. Liu and Qinggele's 2005 paper (p. 12 = p. 130) mentions rumors of the cover being unearthed, though officials are still searching for it.

The deceased's title is given in the first line of the Gaoshi inscription as **"ju-ung sh-iú l-ing h-ai g-ui g-ung ong"**, meaning Chief of the Secretarial Council (*ju-ung sh-iú l-ing*) and country duke **(h-ai g-ui g-ung)** of Hai. CWJ glosses the first title as *zhong shu ling* 中书令, or Chief of the Secretarial Council. In the final line, line 26, we read that Gaoshi was appointed to the office of "shï ju-ung" **(shï ju-ung-un i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-y)**, glossed by CWJ as *shi zhong* 侍中, which appears to be the same role mentioned in the first line, Inner Chamberlain or head of the Secretarial Council. If further research confirms this, it would suggest that Gaoshi's career ended in 1076, as Pursey supposed, and the missing lines likely contain only customary closing information.

2.2 AN OVERVIEW ON EARLIER STUDIES ON THE KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT. THE AIMS OF THIS EDITION

The aim of this edition is to contribute new material for the decipherment of the Khitan small script and the Khitan language. Over the past two decades, there has been significant publication on the Liao Empire, but most works have relied on Chinese sources and focused primarily on history, culture, and society. This focus is partly due to the slow progress in deciphering the script and language.

The history of Khitan script decipherment was summarized by Liu Fengzhu in 1999 and later by Daniel Kane in 2009. In a postscript to his 2009 work, Kane mentions a few emerging works. While some gaps remain, I do not intend to repeat their overviews. Instead, I will list literature published after 2009 that is important for my work.

In 2010, a publication edited by Wu Yingzhe and Juha Janhunen presented two Khitan inscriptions written in the Khitan small script (KSS). This work provides an overview of two recently discovered inscriptions, translates some parts, and offers important philological remarks. It also includes an index of the glyphs. Juha Janhunen's subsequent publication in 2012 offers an overview of the challenges associated with the Khitan scripts.

In 2013, a special volume of the Journal of Song-Yuan Studies included papers relevant to our topic. Daniel Kane wrote about The Great Central Khitan State, Pamela Crossley discussed Power, Identity, and the Han lineage of Jihou, (see also Crossley 2023) and François Louis explored Iconic Ancestors. Two papers addressed Buddhism in the Liao Empire, followed by Michal Biran's examination of the Liao Dynasty's relations with the Muslim world and Anya King's exploration of early Islamic sources on the Khitan Liao. Valerie Hansen wrote on International Gifting and the Khitan World. François Louis also reviewed Pierre Marsone's book on the formation of the Khitan dynasty.

The volume includes new approaches to studying the Liao, with contributions from Don J. Watt and others. Daniel Kane's introduction provides an update on deciphering the Khitan language and script. Andrew Shimunek, who earned his PhD in 2007, has contributed papers on the Lang inscription and Khitan language topics, including numerals and verbs (Shimunek 2011, 2014, 2017, 2018).

Lance Pursey's 2019 PhD dissertation focused on the Khitan necropolitan elite, followed by papers on the moving court and the Chinese epitaph for Han Chun (Pursey 2019, 2019a, 2019b). The literature on the Khitan language also includes works by Takeuchi (Takeuchi 2011, 2015, 2018), Aisin Gioro (Aisin Gioro 2008), and Masami Ōtake (Ōtake 2017).

In 2017, a three-volume book titled “Further Research on Khitan Small Script” was published, marking a breakthrough in Khitan text research (CWJ). My current work relies heavily on this and occasionally offers corrections.

The aim of this book is linguistic. I will attempt to reconstruct the Khitan language based on earlier studies, recent publications, and new materials. In some cases, I have only been able to collect and present the material, leaving conclusions for future research. I acknowledge that this book contains uncertain statements, which are marked with question marks where possible.

Khitan is closely related to the Mongolic language family and shares common roots with Mongolic proper. I hope this work will contribute to reconstructing the common Khitan--Mongolic protolanguage and provide new material for studying the Altaic languages. Lastly, I will highlight the challenges and limits of linguistic reconstruction due to the unique nature of the Khitan scripts.

2.3 GAOSHI, HIS ANCESTRY, AND HIS BROTHERS

The owner of the inscription is identified in Chinese sources as Gaoshi (高十). In line 13, his name appears in the Khitan Small Script (KSS) as **G-au sh-ib** (; 334-161 028-127). The first part of his Chinese name, *gao* (高), corresponds to Middle Chinese (YCh) *kaw* and Late Middle Chinese (LMCh) *kaw*. The glyph (334) is used to transcribe the Chinese non-aspirated guttural stop, while the glyph (161) represents the Khitan transcription of the Chinese /*ao*/, as seen in the transcription of the Chinese name of the Ao-yan Turks (**L**21) and discussed in Chapter 10: Phonology. The glyph (028) is the standard KSS transcription of the Chinese /*ʂ*/, and KSS (028) is transcribed by the Chinese as /*ʂ*/, for example, in Khitan **sh-a-rí** (; 028-189-069) meaning ‚court attendant, courtier, *langjun’*, transcribed in Chinese as *shali* (沙里), as noted in **L**2. The final -*b* in the reading of the glyph (127) reflects the Middle Chinese pronunciation of the final /-*p*/ in *shi* (十), the character for the Chinese number ‚ten’, referenced in LMCh as *ʂhip*. See also **sh-ie-b g-ung-un** (; 028-327-311 334-345-273) meaning ‚ten palaces, genitive’, Chinese *shi gong zhi* (十宮之) C367, in the phrase: **„sh-ie-b g-ung-un lu sui-y-de t-em$_2$-y-l-ñ”** meaning „having been appointed to the lu-sui (?) of the Ten Palaces” (Jue45). „Lu” may refer to „lu” (路) as defined by Hucker, No. 3839, LIAO: „Route, the territorial base of jurisdiction of a tribal army (*pu-tso chün*)”.

Gaoshi was a member of the renowned Han (韩) clan, originally of Chinese descent but gradually integrated into the Khitan elite. Their clan name was transcribed as **qa-an** (; 053-011) in **L**6. According to tradition, documented in Chinese sources and summarized by Crossley (2013), the ancestor of the Han clan was Han Yi. His son, Han Zhigu (韓知古), was born shortly after 885 and was captured in the early tenth century by Yelü Yuwen (耶律欲穩), the brother of the future empress. This connection significantly influenced the Han clan's future. Shortly after Abaoji declared himself emperor in 907, Han Zhigu served as an official at a Yelü imperial lineage temple. By 910, he was already a secretary to Empress Yingtian (應天, Chunqin 淳欽).

Han Zhigu had eleven sons, the third being Han Kuangsi (韓匡嗣; 918–983). His son was Dening (德凝), also known as Deyong (德顒) on a tomb inscription, with the given name Yelü Longyou (隆右). Dening died around 1015. Dening's son was Guosan (郭三), and according to Chinese sources, Guosan's grandson was Gaoshi (Crossley, p. 79). However, our inscription indicates that Guosan was Gaoshi's father. The Gaoshi inscription mentions the following individuals from his ancestry and family: the Khitan and Chinese names of the eight sons of **Tie-ên y-au-ji$_3$ Sin wang** (Qin wang) (Han Kuangsi 韓匡嗣; 917–982), who was the son of **Bu Jel L-ing g-ung** (Han Zhigu 韓知古; born around 885, died around 936).

	Khitan name	title	Chinese name(s)			
1.	**Y-ie-ên S-ó-su**	*s-iang g-ung*	**Deyuan** 德源 d.978,			
2.	**Cu-ung**	*si tu*	**Deqing** 德慶			
3.	**Pu-ie-ên**,	*si tu*	**Dezhang** 德彰			
4.	**H-ing-ñ Yau Ge**, *adopted heir* ***Ar-l-o***	*dai chengxiang dai wang*	**(Han) Derang** 韓德讓 940-1011	**Dechang** 德昌 from 1001	taboo name **Yelü Longyun** 耶律 隆運 from 1010	posthum **Wen-zhong** no sons
4a	**Ar-l-o**	*sh-a-ri*				
5.	**Pu-ul-ñ**	*zhao tao*	**Dewei** 德威 (942-996)			
6.	**Qa-a Hu-a**	*hu bu*	**Dechong** 得崇 **Dechong** 得沖			
7.	**S-am-ñ D-i-ng G-e**, *adopted heir* **S-un-ñ T-il-uh**	*xiang gong*	**Dening**德凝 **Deyong** 德顒, (died around 1015)			

7a	**S-un-ñ T-il-uh**	*ja-ri-qó*				
8.	**Pu G-e**	*si-tu*	**Dechang**			

TABLE I. THE KHITAN AND CHINESE NAMES OF THE SONS OF **TIE-ÊN Y-AU-JI$_3$ SIN WANG (QIN WANG) (*HAN KUANGSI* 韓 匡嗣917-982)**.

The first son of **Pu-Ge, Go S-a-am** had also eight sons, form which only five are mentioned.

The Khitan names of the members of the family of **Pu G-e**, the 8th son of Sin wang, Minister over the Masses (*sï-tu*), of his son **Go S-a-am** and of the eight sons of **Go S-a-am**:

generation	Khitan name	title	wife	title	descendant from group	descendant from person	descendants alive/ not alive
3.8.	**Pu Ge**	*si-tu*	Iu-uh-ñ	aú-ui			
Son of **Pu Ge**							
4.1	Go S-a-am	*l-iu-ñ, ja-rí-qó*	1.Xe-l-ñ	pu-shi-ñ	Maternal Uncles Junior Fathers-in-law		
			2. G-ui Ge	p-üe-z-iú	Maternal Uncle's	Har-hu *s-iang g-ung*	alive
Sons of **Go S-a-am**							
5.1	Pu-ung H-ia N-u	*s-iang g-ung*	Ar-l	pu-shi-ñ	Maternal Uncles Junior Fathers-in-law	T-en-un *g-ung ci-iú*	
5.1.1	T-ang-úr	*tai-shï*					
5.2	Ci-am-qó has a *heir*	*s-iang g-ung*	178.2 ol-qú	aú-ui	Maternal Uncles	Ñ-ar-qó-ń	not alive
5.2a	*heir*: Ong Hia N-u					son of T-ang-úr *tai-shï*	alive
5.3	T-ad-ar	*s-iang g-ung*	Ñ-mú-qó-ñ	aú-ui	Maternal Uncles, Ilbiči Tent		

5.3.1	S-299	*tai-shï*					alive
5.4	Eu-úr-bun	*sh-a-rí*					not alive
5.5 5.6 5.7	**?** **?** **?**						
5.8	**Gao shib**						

TABLE II. THE BROTHERS OF GAOSHI AND THEIR WIVES

In the De Chang inscription, (see chapter 20. in this book) the following persons are mentioned

Han Zhigu grandfather of Han Dechang line, 4, 27 (Qinwang)
Han Kuang-si father of Dechang mentioned in connection with the burial place without explicit name
Dechang 德昌 owner of the epitaph, Line 4, 18, as *Yanhui* 顏回 allusion to, buried 985
Derang 德讓, whose younger brother was Dechang, Line 6
Mu Chen Guofu 母陳國夫 'mother from Chen' mother of Dechang, Line 15
Han De-yuan 韩德源 brother of Dechang Line 16
Han De-wei 韩德威 brother of Dechang Line 16
Han De-chong 韩德冲 brother of Dechang Line 16
Though only five brothers are mentioned by name the text praises the brothers as: 九鳳騰芳 八龍 'nine-head phoenixes, eight dragons' of the Chinese mythology, Line 17

See also the remarks by Peng to line 3 of the Dechang inscription.

Important for the family network of the Han clan may be, among others, also an inscription of a female member of the Han clan written in KSS in 1078 and published in CWJ 1337-1349 further a memorial written in Chinese of Han Chun 韓椅 (d. 1036) another offspring of Han Zhigu. This inscription was published by Lance Pursey 2019a.

The history of Gao shi begins with his birth on the 2nd of June of 1015. He entered his official carrier in 1039 when he was 24 years old. The last year mentioned in line 25 is 1076 when he was 61 years old, as we see the text describes 37 years of his service. On the carrier of Gao shi see **18.2.**

The person of Gau-shi occurs in other inscriptions, see **18.3.**

2.4 A SHORT OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In this section, I will summarize the key events in the history of the Liao Empire, focusing on the period covered by our inscription.[1] The beginning of the Liao dynasty is somewhat unclear in secondary sources, with some citing 907, others 916 or 926. In reality, 907 marks the year when the future emperor Abaoji consolidated his power over the Khitan tribal confederation, establishing himself as an absolute ruler. In 916, he proclaimed himself emperor and adopted a Chinese-style reign title. By 926, shortly before his death, he had conquered the Sixteen Counties and Bohai.

Abaoji, known by his Chinese name Taizu, was succeeded by Shizong (世宗; 947–954), Muzong (穆宗; 951–969), Jingzong (景宗; 969–982), Shenzong (聖宗; 982–1031), Xingzong (興宗; 1031–1054), Daozong (道宗; 1055–1100), and Tianzuo (天祚; 1101–1125). A significant event was the Treaty of Chanyuan (澶淵) in 1005, signed between the Northern Song and Liao dynasties, which secured a long period of relative peace (see Wright 1998, Pursey 2019, 2019b).

Gaoshi was born in 1015, ten years after the treaty. His career began under Emperor Xingzong (1031–1055) in 1039. He participated in the burial ceremonies of the emperor and served under the next emperor, Daozong (1055–1101), until his death around 1079.

In 1039, the empress dowager was allowed to return to the capital, where she underwent a rebirth ceremony, as Shengzong’s mother had done, reestablishing her position among the Khitan elite. In 1038, the emperor honored his brother Zhongyuan with the title “Imperial Younger Brother.” Zhongyuan became the northern commissioner of military affairs and viceroy of the Southern Capital from 1045 until the end of the reign. The emperor introduced a new legal system to protect Khitan interests. A general census was ordered in 1039, with army and dependent registration completed in 1046 and revised in 1051. Due to a shortage of horses for the army, the sacrifice of horses and oxen in funerary ceremonies was prohibited in 1043, and a horse register was established in 1048.

In 1038, a Khitan princess who had married the Tangut emperor in 1031 died. The Khitan court sent an envoy to investigate her death. Meanwhile, relations between the Song and Tangut deteriorated. The Song suffered a defeat in 1042, and the Khitan pressured them for territorial concessions in the disputed Guan-nan area. Ultimately, the Song increased their annual subsidy, and the 1005 treaty was reconfirmed in 1042.

In 1044, a war broke out between Liao and the Tangut. After prolonged struggles, the Tangut defeated the Khitans, who suffered significant losses. In 1048, the

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[1] My overview is based on Twicthett –Tietze 1964 and WF.

Tangut emperor died, and the throne passed to an infant prince. Although a new Liao offensive was initially unsuccessful, they eventually gained the upper hand. Peaceful relations between the Khitans and Tanguts were restored in 1053. Xingzong fell ill and died in 1055, and Daozong, his eldest son, succeeded him. There was silent discussion about the succession, as Zhongyuan, Xingzong's younger brother, was alive, and the empress dowager preferred his succession over her grandson's. Daozong managed the issue by granting unique privileges to his uncle and a new title to his grandmother. In 1056, Zhongyuan was appointed commander-in-chief, and the grand empress dowager died in 1058.

During Daozong's early reign, the Sinification of the government intensified, raising opposition among some Khitan elites. The leader of the conspirators, Zhongyuan's son Nie-lu-gu, attempted a revolt in 1063, ambushing the emperor during a hunting trip. The revolt failed, Nie-lu-gu was killed, and Zhongyuan committed suicide. Several conspirators fled, but most were detained and executed. In 1067, Daozong underwent the traditional "rebirth" ceremony to demonstrate goodwill to the Khitan elite.

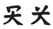
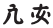
In 1074, a bureau was established to compile a national history for the Liao, producing veritable records (*shi-lu*) for the first seven reigns by 1085. In 1076, Daozong demanded to see the Court Diary (Qijuzhu 起居注), but the Court Diarists refused and were punished (see Pursey, 2019, Table C44). At court, Yelü Yixin gained significant power. Around 1075, the heir apparent began participating in court affairs, which Yixin saw as a threat to his dominance. His first target was the prince's mother, Empress Xuanyi, falsely accused of a liaison with a musician. The musician and his family were executed, and the empress was ordered to commit suicide. It was only in 1101 that her grandson, the next emperor Tianzuo, erected a stele with her eulogy as a gesture of rehabilitation.

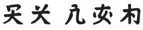
At the turn of the eleventh century, Chinese sources reported major troubles with the Zubu tribes, also mentioned in our inscription. These tribes were identical with or closely related to the Tatars. Some lived in Liao territory and served at the royal ordo, but most considered themselves independent, leading to frequent warfare when the Khitans attempted to extend their dominance. In 1069, a renewed rebellion was suppressed by Yelü Renxian, whose epitaph is dated 1072 (Yu). The next uprising in 1093 under Zubu leader Mogusi occurred after the period described in our inscription.

2.5 TECHNICAL NOTES

The transcription of the glyphs of the Khitan Small Script is called Romanization or Latinization. This term is used, because this type of transcription is in fact based on the Khitan transcription of the contemporary Chinese phonetic values of names, titles occurring in the KSS and written in the Latin alphabet. On this transcription see the chapter **10**. on Phonology. For the transcription of the Gaoshi inscription I used the Höhhot List of the KSS glyphs whith the corrections which have been made by me and others since its last publication in 2017, see CORRECTIONS to the reading of the glyphs **8.7** and Table **19.1** for the readings arranged by the list numbers, and Table **19.2**. for the readings in alphabetic order. For the frequently occurring works I use abbreviations which see **2.6** ABBREVIATIONS. The sigla of the inscriptions see Table **19.3.** As it will be seen in Chapter **17**. I consider Khitan as one of the branches of the Proto Mongolic languages. Therefore it is of essential importance to add for a Khitan word its Mongolic parallel. In cases where I try to give such a parallel, as a rule, I include only the Literary Mongolian data from the Dictionary of Lessing (1960), and cite Dagur data from Martin (1961) and Muromskij- Kałużyński (Kałużyński 1969–1970). In case of necessity I quote also other Dagur and Mongol data, see **2.6** ABBREVIATIONS. For those interested in a broader Mongolic background I advise to consult Nugteren 2011.

The inscription will be reproduced line by line. The Khitan text, originally written in the Khitan Small Script in a vertical form, has been transformed into a horizontal one. The glyphs, written together in a "box" (see **8**. GRAPHEMATICS), are separated by a hyphen, earlier by a dot:

In the original:  qita-i
 g-úr
en

In my transposition: 
In transcription: *qita-i g-úr-en*

The text in KSS is followed by a transcription or Romanization in bold. Morphological units written in one "box" are connected by a hyphen: **qita-i g-ur-en.** For the first four lines, I have added a separate line for grammatical analysis. Since the structures are similar in the following lines, I did not continue this format. However, in the Lexicon, I provide the grammatical form in which the word appears. The text is followed by an English translation, where I give the original of technical terms in brackets: "concurrently (*g-ie-ém*) Chief".

The translation is followed by the Remarks and the Lexica. All words are written in boldface, followed by the KSS glyphs, the code of the Höhhot List in brackets, the English translation, and the Chinese gloss.

The English translation primarily focuses on the specific meaning of the word in its given context, rather than including other possible interpretations. Chinese glosses are provided in *pinyin* transcription along with the corresponding Chinese characters, which are quoted from CWJ. Most of these Chinese characters are sourced from pages 1239-1247, where they appear alongside the KSS glyph. However, in some cases, Chinese translations of words from this or other inscriptions can only be found in the glossary of CWJ, specifically on pages 354-488. In such instances, I refer to the page of the Glossary as “C”. Sometimes the Chinese gloss is only a transcription of the Khitan word or term. In such cases I have labeled it as ChinT. In most cases it reflects the modern, Beijing pronunciation of the Chinese characters and not the Liao Chinese pronunciation.

I made an effort to gather orthographical variants of the given word, (see **9.** ORTHOGRAPHY). In cases where it is relevant, I also indicate the number of occurrences in the Corpus of CWJ by citing data from the fifth column of the Index, using a shortened form like “5x” (meaning five times). In many cases, I was able to collect different grammatical forms, derivations, declensions, conjugations, and similar variations. I provide these forms only when I have cross-checked them using the Index or other resources in the Corpus.

Nevertheless it may have occurred in a few cases that I could not distinguish homograph items. There are instances where the base or stem of a word is not present in the Corpus or I couldn’t identify it. In such cases, I indicate the reconstructed base by appending an asterisk after the word, such as **ci-iau-qu**-* **朩 芐 余** (162-362-246). Erroneous forms or typographical errors are marked with a double asterisk as in **na-ha-án-oi**** **力 亚 出 炏** (139-051-290-347) (Han8-26, Xiang16-15) which is a miswriting instead of **na-ha-án-er** **力 亚 出 仌** (139-051-290-341). This type of miswriting is frequent in the inscriptions.

Regarding Chinese titles, I refer to Hucker (1985). When citing his text, I have not converted his Chinese transcription from the Wade-Giles system to *pinyin*.

2.6 ABBREVIATIONS

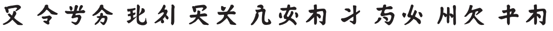
CWJ......................	Chinggeltei – Wu Yingzhe – Jiruhe (2017)
C...........................	CWJ, 357-488
Chin......................	Chinese
ChinE	Chinese etymology of the Khitan word
ChinS....................	Simplified Chinese
ChinT	Chinese transcription by CWJ
Chuv.....................	Chuvash
Corpus..................	the texts included in CWJ
Dag.......................	Dagur
DagM	Dagur Martin 1961
DagM-K...............	Dagur Muromski in Kałużyński, St. 1969–1970:
DagE	Dagur Enkhbat 1984:
DagP.....................	Dagur Poppe 1930
DCh......................	De Chang inscription as published in this book chapter 20

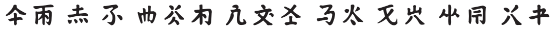
EL	Extended Lexicon
EMCh	Early Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank 1991
EOM	Early Old Mandarin
Hyy	Hua yi yiyu, ed Rachewiltz – Schönbaum 1977
HyyL	Hua yi yiyu, ed Lewicki 1959
HyyM	Hua yi yiyu, ed Mostaert, see Hua yi yiyu, ed Rachewiltz – Schönbaum 1977
K	Kane 2009
K 2013	Kane 2013
Kane 2009	Kane 2009
KLS	Khitan Large or Linear Script
KSS	Khitan Small Script or Assembled Script
L	Lessing, 1960
LCh	Liao Chinese
LMCh	Late Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank 1991
LMo	Literary Mongolian according to Lessing
MCh	Middle Chinese
M-K	Muromskij – Kałużyński in Kałużyński, St. 1969–1970
MMo	Middle Mongolian
N	Nugteren, 2011
Nugteren	Nugteren, 2011
n. i.	not as initial
PMKh	Proto Mongolo-Khitan
PPMong	Pre-Proto-Mongol
SH	SHM
SHM	Secret History of the Mongols
WF	Wittfogel, K. – Fêng Chia-shêng, 1949
WJ	Wu Yingzhe – Juha Janhunen, 2010
WOT	Róna-Tas, A. – Berta, Á., 2011
YCh	Yuan Chinese according to Pulleyblank, 1991

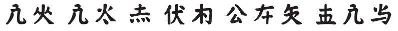
3. THE TEXT OF THE GAOSHI INSCRIPTION.
Text, Transcription, Translation, Remarks, Lexica

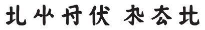
Gao line 1[1]

Text

/1/
GREAT t-iau-dû xu-ur qita-i g-úr-en ia deu-un SMALL-qó ai-en
Great Central+LOC Liao Khitan+GEN country+GEN elder brother younger brother +GEN young+ADJ ancestor+GEN


s-in ong-on go-er-en g-ie-ém ju-ung sh-iú l-ing h-ai
Sin ong+GEN tent+GEN simultaneously Chief Secretarial Council (and) Hai


g-ui g-ung ong ñ-en n-ar-de RECORD-g-én
country prince wang pieceful tomb+LOC RECORD-PERF-PART


or-l-b-ñ ci-ge$_2$*-li*$_2$
preface with'

Translation

1/ [This is what is] recorded on the burial tomb of (the offspring) of the Great Liao Central Khitan State's Brethren's Junior Ancestor's Sin wang's (Patriarchal) House, and concurrently (*g-ie-ém*) Chief of the Secretarial Council (*ju-ung sh-iú l-ing*), country duke (*g-ui g-ung ong*) of Hai (which) is beginning here and follows.

Remarks on line 1
The identity of the owner of the epitaph is given by two elements. The first is his origin, his place in the clan system, the second is his title, his last office. His place in the clan systsem is identified as he pertained to the Patriarchal House of Sin

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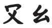
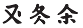
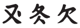
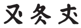
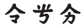
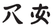
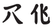
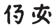
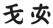
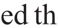
[1] See also the syntactic analysis of the inscription in Chapter 14. Remarks on syntax

wang, who was a member of the Brethren's Junior Ancestors, itself a constituent of the Great Liao Central Khitan State, as to his function he served as the Chief of the Secretarial Council, holding the rank of a country duke. His personal name is here not provided.

Lexica to line 1

GREAT (373) 263x Chin *zhang* 长. An extended form is **GREAT-iá-***  (373-274), but their connection is yet not clear. The glyph (373) has to be read as **mas-qU.** This reading is secured by the syllabic transcripiton. CWJ preserved the logoglyph GREAT. Khitan has three syllabic forms 1.  **m-as-qu** (133-174-246) which occurs in the Corpus 22 times and 3 times in genitive case (**m-as-qu-on** 133-174-246-154), 2.  **m-as-qó** (133-174-169) which occurs 16 times and in genitive case **m-as-qó-on** (133-174-169) once[2] 'elder, *masculine*' and 3. **m-as-qú**  (133-174-118) 'elder, *feminine*' (occurs once). On pp. 395, 397 CWJ gives the Chinese equivalent *zhang* 长. Kane (2013, p. 35 and passim) read *masaqú*. Its meaning is 'elder' in relation to other relatives, 'great'. Here it is reflecting Chinese *da* 大, frequently used before names of dynasties. The suffix is **-qU**, forming adjectives. Since we do not know which of the two masculine forms has to be read here, I retained the logoglyphic transcription GREAT, see also **m-ô$_2$-qú** in <*or eme-t b-hu-án jur m-ô$_2$-qú ra-l-ó-o-ón*> (Hu28-44) and 20 more cases.

t-iau-dû  (247-362-249) 'central', Chin *zhongyang* 中央. The Khitans declared their Empire to be the "Central". Though the idea "Central" was used as geographic description since long by the Chinese, the word as a political term was first used by the Khitans, see the details in Róna-Tas (2019, 116-117 and 2021). In **t-iau-du** the final *-du* is a locative suffix, the same as in Mong *dumda-du* 'middle, central'. The form **t-iau** lost its final *–r,* before *-d-*, and was earlier ***t-iau-úr**[3]. Orthographical variants are **dau-úr**  (119-097), 4x, also  **dau-ur$_2$** (119-236), 2x (in extended forms) **ta-úr**  (229-097), 1x (in extended form), **tau-úr**  (029-097), 1x all with the meaning 'central, middle'.

xu-ur  (036-177) 'Liao', Chin *liao* 遼. The inscription begins with the name of the Empire: the Great Central Liao Khitan country. Kane (K 2013, 162-164) ananlyzed the dynastic titles of the Liao. According to him the Khitans changed four times their dynastic title in Chinese:

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[2] See also **m-as-qó-ñ** twice and **m-as-qó-ñ -en** once

[3] The form **t-iau** (247-352) occurs in Zhen 34-15 (not 36-15 as in index) and in Pu25-5.

907–938	Great Khitan State *Da Qidan*
938–983	Great Liao State *Da Liao*
983–1066	Great Khitan State *Da Qidan*
1066–	Great Liao State *Da Liao.*

Accordingly the Gao shi inscription follows the system used after 1066.

(036) <xu>

The reading of the first glyph (036) is secured by the Khitan transcription of Chinese title *hu bu* 戶部 'Ministry of Revenue', which is in KSS **xu-û b-û** (036-372 311-372) (see also Kane, 2009, 39), and by the Khitan transcription of the Chinese title: *long hu wei jiang jun* 龍虎衛將軍, 'general of the dragon-tiger guard' which is transcribed by KSS as **l-iúng xu ui (sh-ang) s-iang g-ün** (261-181 036 028-199 244-314 334-329), (Zhong20, see also Kane 2009, 164). The Khitan word for tiger is a Chinese loanword **xu** (036) 'tiger' ← ChinE *hu* 虎.

(177) <ur>

The second glyph (177) is transcribed as <ur> by CWJ p. 241 and Index p. 1912, and is not distinguished from (236) transcribed also as <ur>. The glyph (236) is now renamed as <ur_2>. It was transcribed by Kane (2009, 56) as <ra?>, and discussed by CWJ on page 241, where they suggest *-ur~ul,* but the second is due only to the Chinese transcription. This is in conformity with and goes perhaps back to the suggestion of Aisin Gioro, Ulhicun--Jin, Shi (2007, 12)[4] though they do not give the glyphs, only refer to the Dao inscription. For the glyph (177) Aisin Gioro has <ldʒi>, and following her Kane (2013, 42) read <ulǰi>, and this was accepted also by Shimunek 2017, 432 who read <ulǰi>. There are several problems with this reading. Kane (2013, 42-44) presents the earlier reasoning for accepting the reading <ulǰi>, which I will not repeat here. Kane comes to the result, that it is the same word as Mongolic *öljei* in *öljeitü* and in the name Üljeitü referring to a personal communication of Igor de Rachewiltz. But Mong *ulus*, suggested by Aisin Gioro and *öljei* suggested by Kane had never an initial *h-*. If they would have had, then we would find an initial *p-* in Khitan. The suggested foms *hu-ulja*, *hu-ölje* etc. are impossible structures. The most possible reading of (177) is *ur,* and I join CWJ with the technical addition that , has to be reindexed as <ur_2>.

The word <xu-ur> occurs 23 times in the Corpus. Another form (036-236) <xu-ur_2> occurs once (Pu15-7), where it is a name:

<ci-ur-er b-qó xu-ur eu-ur par nem> 'the age of the second son Xu-ur was 18'

---

[4] "Manchuria from the Fall of the Yuan to the Rise of the Manchu State (1368–1636)" (PDF), *Ritsumeikan Bungaku,* pp. 12–34.

The reading is based among others on the transcription of the ethnic name *Jurchen* by the KSS. On the Khitan name of the Jurchen <ju-ur-e$_2$> (147-177-109), etc. see Appendix **18.7.**

The word written as **xu-ur** (036-177) which occurs 23 times in the corpus may have been a KSS rendering of a Khitan word /xur/ or /xûr/.

More enigmatic is the *meaning* of the word **xu-ur** in the title of the Liao Empire. Liu Fengzhu (2006) wrote, that when the state was called *Da Qidan* it was in KSS <GREAT qid-ún hu-ra>[5] when it was called Da Liao, the KSS text runs as <GREAT hu-ra qid-un>. Kane (2013, 163) discussing the Khitan word <xu-ur>, excluded **hulus* 'state', **hala* 'black', **hus* 'strong, strength' and suggested a reading as we have seen above <(h)ulja>.

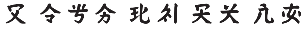
A similar word written with another orthography <hu-or> (151-076) was equated by Shimunek (2017, 341-342) with Mong *qoroqan* 'small river etc.' without connecting this word with either <xu-ur> or the river name Liao[6]. He reconstructed the word <hu-or> as CSM (Common Serbi-Mongolian) **gɔrɔ* and this "phonology resembles, and is possibly related to, CSM **gɔl* river"—he wrote. The word **hu-or** (151-076) is occurring four times[7]: Xuan29-14, Tu21-17, Tai7-6, Wu44-24, and Xiang46-3[8] and as **xu-ur** (036-177)

In Tai 7 we read: **GREAT xu-ur dur dalu-ñ d-iau-dû g-úr hu$_2$-ú**

'The unification (*hu$_2$-ú*) of the Central (*d-iau-dû*) State (*g-úr*) of the Great River and the Four Lakes (*dur dalu-ñ*).

CWJ on p. 1290 has no gloss for **xu-ur**, and gives for the rest: *si hai sheng yu guo tong* 四海 声 誉 国统.

In my paper (Róna-Tas 2019, p. 116-117) I discussed the word in detail. I rejected the reading **hulja* and the like, and suggested that *xu-ur* was the Khitan name of the Liao river, and hence also of the Liao dynasty. That means that in this inscription we have:


GREAT t-iau-dû xu-ur qita-i g-úr
The GREAT Central Liao Khitan's State

---

[5] He read <h> for <x> and <-*ra*> for the second syllable,

[6] Shimunek quotes Xuan5-6, which may be a misprint, on Xuan 5-6 there is <hong>

[7] <*GOLD° hu-or* >'Gold or Yellow River' (Xuan29-14) <*te hu-or p-ul-uh-ji l-ge-er*> (Tu21-17), <*ming h-ui-ri-i dz$_2$-ol-ia-ra hu-or/ z-ï iú m-in*> (Wu44-24), <*HEAVEN har hu-or p-od-te$_2$-i*> (Xiang46-3)

[8] The expression in Xiang46-3 was transcribed by WJ, p.219 as <HEAVEN yo hu-ho> and translated as 'the heavenly [black] bird', but the correct reading is <HEAVEN har hu-or> 'the heavenly black river'.

The same structure occurs in five other inscriptions: Jue (1071), Chao (1082), Nan (1092), Zhi (1094) and Wu (1102).

As to the origin of the word **xu-ur** I suggested in my paper 2019 that this Khitan word may be connected with an old Mongolian word for ‘river’. The Mongol data are the following:

Literary Mongol *goruqa, goriqa* ‘small river, rivulet, stream, creek’ (Lessing 1960, 362), Dagur *xo͡arăg* ‘reka’, ‘rečka, ručei’ (Poppe, 1930, 98), *xuaraga* ‘id’ (Ivanovskij, apud Poppe, 1930, 98), *huarahe, huarehe* ‘river’ (Martin 1961, 165); *xʷarəɣ* = Mong *goroqi*, Chin *xiao xi* 小溪 ‘small stream, brook’ (Engkebatu 1984, 135), *xuarag* ‘river’ (*Menggu yuzu yuyan cidian* 蒙古语族语言词典, p. 298[9]), Khalkha *gorxi, gorxin* ‘patak [rivulet]’ (Kara 1998, 110); Kalmuk *goŕχɐn*, *gorǩn̥* (Ölöt, *selten*) ‘Bach’ (Ramstedt 1935, 151); Buryat *gorxo(n)* ‘rečka’, ‘ručeek’ (Čeremisov 1973: 158), Arxorčin, Barin *gorog* ‘ručei, rečka’ (Todaeva 1981, 135). The Mongolic word has a diminutive suffix, its base is **qoru*~**goru.*

qita-i 买关 ‘Khitan’, Chin *qi dan* 契丹. The glyph 买 (365) is a logoglyph used to denote the ethnonym. In its absolute case, it typically ends with -n, although this -n is dropped before certain suffixes. Notably, we never encounter a final -ñ, though the script has a specific glyph for it: 伏 (222), which is also used in final positions. The glyph 买 (365) is not used in the Khitan transcription of any Chinese word, nor is it known to function as a syllabic component of other words. Kane initially read it as <qid> (K78), but later revised his reading to <qita> (Kane 2013, throughout). In this significant paper, he provided an overview of previous studies on the name and title of the Liao dynasty, which I will not reiterate here. CWJ read the logoglyph as <qit> and discussed it on pages 330-334. The index (CWJ 2282) lists it as <qid> . The segment -d- in CWJ is unmotivated and based on the Chinese transcription. The logograph has the plural form 买仐 <**qita-s**> with the final -n omitted. It also appears in the form 买叉 (365-144), which CWJ read as <qid-ir$_2$>. There is a discussion on the reading of the glyph 叉 (see Kane 2009, 51-52, CWJ 218-221), but other Chinese transcriptions suggest it should be read as <un$_2$>. This is evident in the case of the Khitan word for ‚filial piety,’ which is written in the following orthographic variants:

1.- **ci-i-ishi-d-b-un$_2$** 术关忝仝舟叉 (162-339-033-254-311-144), 10 times
2.- **ci-i-ishi-d-bun** 术关忝仝中 (162-339-033-254-288), 15 times
3.- **ci-i-ishi-d-b-ñ** 术关忝仝舟伏(162-339-033-254-311-222), 48 times
4.- **ci-i-ishi-du-b-ñ** 术关忝充舟伏 (162-339-033-089-311-222), once (Yu22-23).

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[9] Quoted following the Index of José Andrés de la Fuente 2013

It can be seen, that the final syllable is written in three different ways, all reflecting the same Khitan final **-bun**. Now in the Liaoshi we find the Chinese transcription of this Khitan term as *chishideben* 赤是得本, YCh *tʂʰi ʂr̩ təj pun,* LMCh *tʂʰiajkʂhi təək̆ pun*. This means that (288), (311-144) and (311-222) have to reflect the same Khitan final by the orthographic variants: **bun** (288), **b-un$_2$** (311-144) and **b-ñ** (311-222). The vowel may have been unstressed, reduced.

The same is the case with the Khitan word for ‘sequence, order, preface’:

1. **or-l-b-un$_2$** (076-261-311-144), 2x, ‘sequence (of the lunar year), order, preface, initial’, 34x, Chin *xu* 序. C1239
2. **or-l-bun** (076-261-288), 14x. ‘first day of the lunar month’, Chin *shuo* 朔 C384
3. **or-l-b-ñ** (076-261-311-222) ‘first day of the lunar month’, Chin *shuo* 朔 C384

Kane (Kane 2009, 43) read (076) <ho>. The common semantics may have been ‘the first part, the beginning etc.’ The word has a past participial suffix **-bVn** from a verb **or-l-** The word occurs also in Khitan names which have a Chinese transcription by CWJ:

Or-l-b-un$_2$ (076-261-311-144) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *e li ben* 讹里本 C384,

Or-l-b-ñ (076-261-311-222) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *wu lu ben* 乌鲁本 C384.

The names may have denoted the child born on the first day of the lunar month.

Kane read the gyph (144) as <ún>, and cited further examples (Kane 2009, 52) hardening his suggestion for the reading. I accept the transcription of Kane and cite (144) as <un$_2$>, because there are two other heteroglyphs: <un> (273) and <un$_3$> (121).

The accusative-instrumental case is **qita- un$_2$-er** (365-144-341), the genitive case is **qita-i** (365-339) 24 times and **qita-un$_2$-i** (365-144-339) 15 times.[10]

The name of the Khitans has been transcribed by different scripts in different languages and scripts and denoted different units in different times. See the details in Appendix **18.6**.

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[10] Shimunek (2017, 199-200) has also dealt with the name. If we exclude his idea of finding a word internal -r- in the Old Khitan ethnonym, he reconstructed the form similarily to Kane 2013.

g-úr-en 九安杓 ‘country, state, genitive’, Chin *guo* 国. The word in form *gür* and *güre* has the meaning ‘a crowd of peolple, cavalry, brigade’ in Literary Mongol, see further: Ordos *gürü* ‘roayume’ (Mostaert 1968, 279), Buriat *güre(n)* ‘gosudarstvo’ (Čeremisov 1973, 116), Khalkha *güren* ‘id.’ (Luvsandendev 1957, 130), Kalmück *kür*[11]. It is occurring in the Qara Qitan title *gürqan*, Chin *go er han* 葛兒罕. The word was present in Jurchen *gur-un* and Manchu *gurun*[12] (see also Kane 2009, 89). It has nothing to do with Chinese *guo* 國 which had a final -*k* in Old and Middle Chinese: *kuək*. Chinese *guo* 國 ‘state’ is transcribed in KSS as **g-ui** **九火** (334-262), see **g-ui g-ung** below in this line.

Now we can place the entire name into a chronological order of the existing variants (I have retained the suffix of the genitive case at the end of the names):

Emperor Xingzong (1031-1055)

1053 又令兮分买关玌初九安杓 <GREAT t-iau-dû qita-i xu-ur g-úr-en> (373 247-362-249 365-339 036-177 334-097-140) ‘the Great Central Khitan Liao State’s’ (Guang1),

Emperor Daozong (1055-1101)

1071 又令兮分买关玌初九安杓 <GREAT t-iau-dû qita-i xu-ur g-úr-en> (373 247-362-249 365-339 036-177 334-097-140) ‘the Great Central Khitan Liao State’s’ (Jue1),

1080 又仝兮分玌初买关九安杓 <GREAT d-iau-dû xu-ur qita-i g-úr-en> (373 254- 362-249 365-339 036- 177 334-097-140) ‘The Great Central Liao Khitan State’s’ (Huigai1, Hui1),

1082 又令兮分玌初买关九安杓 <GREAT t-iau-dû xu-ur qita-i g-úr-en> (373 247-362-249 036-177 334-097-140) ‘The Great Central Liao Khitan State’s’ (Chao1)

1091 又 令兮分 买关 九安杓 <GREAT t-iau-dû qita-i g-úr-en> (373 247-362-249 036-177 334-097-140) “The Great Central Khitan state’s” (Hu1),

1092 又令兮分玌初买关九安杓 <GREAT t-iau-dû xu-ur qita-i g-úr-en> (373 247-362-249 036-177 334-097-140) ‘The Great Central Liao Khitan State’s’ (Nan1),

1094 又 令兮分 玌初 买关 九安杓 <GREAT t-iau-dû xu-ur qita-i g-úr-en> (373 247-362-249 036-177 334-097-140) (Zhi1) ‘The Great Central Liao Khitan state’s’,

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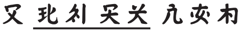
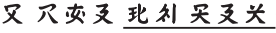
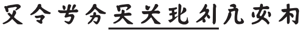
[11] Ramstedt 1935, 246 has *kür* ‘Volksmenge’ (<lärm) the second is *kür* ‘onom. ‘starker Lärm’, but this etymology is not acceptable.

[12] Dagur *gurun* ‘country, nation’ (M153), ‘Staat’ (N-K 135) is a Manchu loanword.

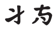
1099  <GREAT xu-ur qita-i g-úr-en> (373 036-177 335-097-140) 'GREAT Liao Khitan State's' (Nu1),

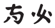
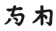
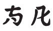
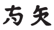
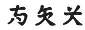
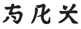
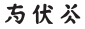
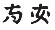
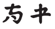
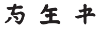
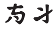
1101  <GREAT dau-úr-ún xu-ur qita-un$_2$-i> (373 119-097-144 036-177- 365-339) '(The record of the) Great Central's Liao Khitan' (Dao gai1)

Emperor Tianzuo

1102  <GREAT t-iau-dû qita-i xu-ur g-úr-en> (373 247-362-249 365-339 036-177 334-097-140) 'the Great Central Khitan Liao State' (Wu1 1102).

We see that in 1102 the order of the elements has been changed back to that used earlier in 1053 and 1071. The emperor Tianzuo's reign begun in 1101.

ia deu  <ia deu> (335-101) 'brethren, elder and younger brothers'. Like the Mongols and Turks, Khitan had different terms for elder and younger brothers. The Mongolic languages have *aqa-degü* in the same meaning. The earlier form and origin of **ia** is yet unknown. Mongolic *aqa* has forms like *aga* in some MMong sources (Muqqadimat al Adab, Leiden Vocabulary, see Nugteren 2011, 266). Both forms occur in Ordos (*aχa*, in Otok *aga.* Mostaert, pp. 6, 8), as in Dagur, where we have *agă* and *ag* (Poppe 1930, p.67, Ivanovskij), but also *aka* (M-K107), see further data Nugteren 2011, 266. The word *aka* is common in the Turkic languages, where the form *aga* occurs regulary in those languages, where the -*k*- changed to -*g*-.The forms with -*g*- are present also in Sara Yögur (see Malov, 1957, 11 *kïz aga* 'testj', Tenišev 1976 171-173, *aqa* 'staršij brat, staršaja sestra', also *aga*, in Modern Uygur (Nadžip 1968, 39) *aga* 'staršij brat' etc. This widely represented word may have had in Khitan a form **aga*. In this case perhaps **aga* > **ā* >*ia.*

deu-un  (101-273) the genitive case of **deu** 'younger brother', 69x, Chin *di* 弟, see Mong *degü,* Dag *deu* 'younger brother'(M136), *dou, du, deu* 'jüngerer Bruder' (M-K124). The Mongolic word *degü* is used in some Modern Mongolic languages only in the compound *aka-degü* (see Nugteren 316). Genitive also **deu-en**  (101-140), 4x, dative-locative **deu-dú**  (101.179) 'to the younger brother', Chin *diyu* 弟于, **deu-de**  (101-205), ablative-prolative **deu-de-i**  (101-205-339) **deu-dú-i**  (101-179-339), plural **deu-ñ-er**  (101-222-341) 'brothers', Chin *zhudi* 诸弟. An interesting derivation is: **deu-úr**  (101-097) 'together with, and', Chin *tong* 同. A few compositions: **deu ai**  (101-122), 'uncle, father's younger brother', Chin *shufu* 叔父, **deu abu ai**  (101-196-122) 'the younger brother of the grandfather', Chin *shuzufu* 叔祖父, **deu ia**  (101 335) 'younger and elder brother, brothers', Chin *dixiong* 弟兄.

SMALL-qó 州欠 (188-169) ‘younger, adjective’, Chin *ji* 季. The glyph 州 (188) is a logoglyph. It appears also with the other adjectivizing suffix **-qu** 余 (246) as **SMALL-qu** 州余 (188-246), 12x. Accusative-instrumental **SMALL-qó-er** 州欠仌 (188-169-341), dative-locative **SMALL-qó-do** 州欠朱 (188-169-217), 7x, **SMALL-qu-dú** 州余凡 (188-246-179), 3x, **SMALL-qu-do** 州余朱 (188-246-217), 1x. Important is a verbal derivative **SMALL-l-ha-** 州屮亜 (188-261-051) which is present in the Corpus with the past tense suffix: **SMALL-l-ha-ar** 州屮亜夲 (188-261-051-123) (Xuan19-1) and the past continuous suffix: **SMALL-l-ha-ai** 州屮亜丯 (188-261-051-122-) (Yu3-24, 15-21, 21-4, 55-11, Nan6-11, Xiang6-21). It is used when a greater (tribal) unit is devided into smaller units. The suffixed forms may point to a back vocalic base. CWJ p. 247 suggests to read <ba> for the glyph (188), but on other places they retain the notion SMALL, see Dag *bage* ‘little young’ (M117), to Mong *baga*.

ai2 丯 (122) ‘father, ancestor’, Chin *fu* 父. The Khitan word **ai2** is used in the meaning of ‘father’, ‘male ancestor’, its plural is **ai-d** 丯公 (122-254) **L**8, the genitive case of the plural: **ai-d-en** (122-254-140). The group of the ancestors had two subgroups, those of the elder and those of the younger or junior. The second is called the SMALL ancestors (**SMALL-qó ai**). A homoglyph is **ai1** 丯 (122) ‘year’ with the plural **ai-s** (122-244), **L**13.

S-in ong 仐雨 杰 (244-018 071) ‘the title and name occur also in two other inscriptions ‘local prince (king, duke) of Qin 秦 (YCh *ts^{h}in*)’, a title which Han Kuangsi (simplified Chinese: 韩匡嗣; traditional Chinese: 韓匡嗣) the grandfather of the owner of the inscription got from Emperor Jingzong (969-982), see Appendix **18.2.**

ong (071) 杰 is the regular transcription of Chinese *wang* 王. It is very frequent in Khitan titles and names, as also later with the Mongols, see SHM *Ong qan*. The glyph (071) occurs 151 times, gentive case: **ong-on** (071-154), 108x, **ong-en** (071-140), 1x, **ong-ñ** (071-222) 1x. Dative-locative: **ong-dú** (071-179), 1x, **ong-de** (071-205), 1x, **ong-do** (071-217) 2x, ablative-prolative: **ong-do-i** (071-217-339), 2x.

go-er 凷仌 (319-341) ‘Patriarchal House, Tent, a social unit of the Khitans’, 128x. The first syllable has to be read <go>, for which see the transcription of the Chinese title *guan cha shi* 觀察使 = **go-n ca shï** 凷公 甬 兆 (Zhong8, Gu2, Guang10 etc.). The second glyph is very frequent, and its reading is everywhere <-er>. The word **go-er** denotes a greater social group, usually translated as the Patriarchal Tent, Chin *fu zhang* 父帳. The idea that the word should be connected with Tibetan *gur* ‘tent’ (Shimunek 2017, 341n) is hardly acceptable, but his reconstruction **gwər* has to be considered. Anyhow, KSS has a separate glyph for <g>- 九 (334). One of the possibilities is, that Mong *ger* and Khitan **go-er** can be connected through an old form *_g^{w}er_. The disapperance of the final **-r** before the dative-locative suffix is important, and has parallels. The genitive case is **go-er-en** (319-341-140), 59x, accusative-instrumental **go-er-er** (319-314-314), the dative-locative **go-t** (319-247), 33x and the prolative ablative **go-t-i** (319-247-339), 1x. On **go-ci** see line 11.

g-ie-em (334-327-270) 'simultaneously, concurrently', ChinE *jian* 兼 'to hold two or more jobs/posts concurrently'. The title of the deceased person begins with a word which denotes, that the owner had simultaneously two titles. This term is of Chinese origin (see Chin *jian,* YCh *kjɛm*) 'to hold office concurrently' (Pulleyblank 1991, 146) and occurs in eleven inscriptions 25 times[13]. The owner of the inscrption had two titles, he was the head of the Secretarial Council (see below) and at the same time he was the Duke of the Prefecture Hai (see below).

ju-ung (147-345) 'central', ChinE *zhong* 中. The Khitan word is of Chinese origin, and used only in Chinese expressions, occurs 38x.

sh-iú (028-289) 'write', ChinE *shu* 书. The Khitan word is of Chinese origin and used only in Chinese expressions, occurs 89 times.

ju-ung sh-iú **(**147-345 028-289) 'Secretarial Council', ChinE *zhong shu* 中书 (=書)**.** Hucker 1606 'Secreteriat-Chancellery' The Chinese title occurs 15 times, see below.

l-ing (261-303) 'concurrent (offices), Chin *ling* 令 see below.

ju-ung sh-iú l-ing (147-345 028-289 261-303) 'chief of the Secretariat-Chancellery, Inner Chamberlain, Chin *zhong shu ling* 中书 (=書) 令. The term is the Khitan transcription of the Chinese title. The Secreteriat-Chancellery or Council was formed by the Emperor Xingzong in 1044, see WF 447, 485, abolishing the Political Council.

On *ling* see Hucker (1985) No. 3735 where he writes:

> "Lit., to lead, control, control the affairs, of Concurrent or Concurrent Controller: throughout history, especially from Han through Sung, the

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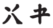
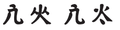
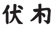
[13] Ling (2-5, 6-23), Zhong (20-27, 33-43), Xu (1-20, 3-13, 3-19, 6-19, 7-20, 16-30), Yu (22-37, 22-59), Hong (4-8), Nan (1-17, 1-13), Tai (2-36), Song (2-36), Han (2-3, 2-9, 5-14), Pu (4-22, 4-26), Cha (2-4, 4-15, 8-16)

> designation of an official who, in addition to performing the duties of his principal regular post, was assigned to serve concurrently in charge of another agency or in another post, often signifying that his regular titular post was of lesser status and rank than the post he was newly assigned to; e.g., *ling i-chou mu*[14] (Concurrent Governor of I-chou), *ling chung-shu chien* (Concurrent Secretariat Supervisor), *ling hui-î'ung kuan shih* (Concurrent Controller of the Interpreters Institute), *ling shu-mi yŭan shih* (Concurrent Controller of the Bureau of Military Affairs)."

H-ai  'a geographic name', CWJ ChinT[15] *kai* 开 =*kai* 開 'name of a prefecture'. The prefecture had 1.000 households and its modern geographical equivalent can be found near Feng 凨 City, in the southeastern corner of Liaoning. After 1003 the Kai Prefecture comprised Feng-huang City, Liaoning and Wiju, Korea, see WF68, 542, 558.

g-ui g-ung  'a title, prince of the country, duke', ChinE *guo gong* 国公. A Khitan transcription of the Chinese title. Hucker remarked (1985, 298):

> "SUI-YUAN: Duke of State, normally the 3rd highest of 9 titles of nobility {chŭeh), following Prince (wang) and Commandery Prince {chŭn-wang), but 3rd of 3 in Liao, 2nd of 7 in Chin, and 3rd of 10 in Yuan; rank normally lb, but 2a in Yuan; discontinued by Sui c. 604, when the nobility was restructured with only the 3 titles Prince, Duke (kung), and Marquis (hou); restored in T'ang. Normally conferred on the heirs (usually eldest sons) of Commandery Princes, but in Sung conferred only on selected descendants of the first 2 Sung Emperors. Seldom found without territorial prefixes indicating real or nominal ducal domains; e.g. ' liang-kuo kung (Duke of Liang, i.e., of the "state" of Liang; not Liang Duke of State). Also see *k'ai-kuo kung, k'ai-kuo chŭn-kung, k›ai-kuo hsien-kung, chŭn-kung, hsien-kung*."

ñi-en  'peaceful, burial', ChinE *ning* 宁 YCh *niŋ*, LMCh *niajŋ*. This wordform occurs only once in the Corpus. It may be a short form of a longer word. Perhaps for ***ñi-eng-en**, which would be then a transcription of the Chinese *ning* 宁 + the suffix of the genitive case

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[14] I retain in the text quoted from Hucker his transcription.

[15] CWJ gives in most cases a transcription by the present pronunciation which may or may not coincide with the contemporary Chinese transcription.

n-ar-de (251-084-205) ‘tomb’ + locative. The basic word **n-ar** is a Khitan word, the base **n-ar** (251-084) occurs 19 times in the Corpus. Its locative 36 times. The genitive case is **n-ar-en** (251-084-140) and occurs 9 times. Its origin is unknown.

ñi-en n-ar is a honorific name of the tomb or mausoleum. It may be a genitive construction, perhaps ‘the house of the burial’, ‘the house of the eternal peace’.

RECORD-ge-en ‘the record’, Chin *zhi* 志. The logoglyph RECORD (052) occurs isolated three times, the alloglyph RECORD$_2$ (052.1) only with <g, ge$_2$> It has been translated into Chinese as *zhi* 志 “record, annals”. The basic word is a verb, it has deverbal suffixes **RECORD-e** , **RECORD-g** , **RECORD-ge$_2$** . The suffixes *-g* and *ge$_2$* have perfective function. **RECORD-g-én** is a deverbal nominal, in this case a participial form.

or-l-b-ñ (076-261-311-222) ‘sequence, order, preface, initial’, Chin *xu* 序. This word has two further orthographical variants as we have seen above: **or-l-b-un$_2$** (076-261-311-144) and **or-l-bun** (076-261-288). Kane (K43) read (076) <ho>. According to CWJ **or-l-bun** (076-261-C388) ‘first day of the lunar month’, Chin *shuo* 朔 C384. The common semantics may have been ‘the first part, the beginning etc.’. The word has a past participial suffix **-bVn** from a verb **or-l-** see **12.5.**

ci-ge$_2$-li$_2$ (162-112-080) ‘and, side by side’, Chin *bing* 并, also **ci-ge-li$_2$** (162-349-080).

The expression **or-l-b-ñ ci-ge$_2$-li$_2$** which occurs also in Hu1 is closing the introduction or preface, and opens the following text containing the informations on the composition of the inscription.

Gao line 2

Text

/2/

qa-ha-an h-dú-un$_2$ go-er SMALL-qó ai-en p-ul-uh-ñ tai shï-en b-qo-i b-qo

emperor horizontal tent smallADJ ancestorGEN Pu-lu-uh-ñ tai shïGEN sonGEN son

dor p-ai-sï-en sh-a-rí 284-d$_3$ när-i ui RECORD-g-l-g y-ar-u-ud g-u-uh COMPOSE-a-ar official tally bureauGEN langjun daily matters record-FACT+PASTPART Y-ar-ud G-u-uh composePERF

Translation

2/ The grandson of P-ul-uh-ñ, the Great Preceptor (*tai shï*), member of the Imperial Horizontal Junior Tent Ancestors, the court attendant (*sh-a-rí*) of the Bureau of the Seals and Tallies (*dor p-ai sï*), Y-ar-u-ud G-u-uh (according to) what was written in the (Imperial) Daily Agenda was it composing.

Remarks to line 2

The identity of the composer of the epitaph is given by two components. 1. he was the grandson of the Great Preceptor P-ul-uh-ñ, who was a member of the Imperial Horizontal Junior Tent Ancestors, and 2. he, Y-ar-u-ud G-u-uh was a court attendant of the Bureau of the Seals and Tallies. Important is also that he gives his source the imperial Daily Agenda.

Lexica to line 2

qa-ha-an (053-051-011) ‘the title kagan, emperor’ used also as ‘imperial’, ChinT *kehan* 可汗. I am not going to deal here with the historical background of the title kagan which has a vast literature, only remark that in Khitan there exists also a short form **qa.** This form occurs also in the Secret History of the Mongols in the paragraphs 57, 126, 141 (three times)[16], 143. The title **qa** is frequent in our Corpus. In the inscription of the Emperor Xingzong (1055, Xing10) it is the title of the Emperor, and the text has **mu-u-ji qa** ‘the holy emperor’. The title **qa-ha-an** occurs 81 times in the Corpus. It is present in the earliest known inscription Guang (1053, 9-7) and it occurs also in the last known one (Xian 1175, 25-31). The plural is **qa-ha-ad** (053-051-099) and can be found 7 times. The plural is in genitive in two cases **qa-ha-ad-en** (053-051-099-140), four times in the accusative-instrumental case **qa-ha-ad-er** (053-051-099-341). The singular form is once in the genitive case **qa-ha-on** (Yu63-52) in the expression **go-er qa-ha-on** 曲仌 巫圡不. Kane (K132) and following him Wu and Janhunen (WJ p.137) are of the opinion that the form **qa-ha-an** in the expression **qa-ha-an h-dú-un** is a genitive construction. This would mean that we have the title **qa-ha-an** the genitive of which would be written in the same form as the nominative case **qa-ha-an**. An argument in favour of this interpretation would be that the final syllable is written with the glyph (011) 买, which in other cases in fact is used for the genitive case as in **go-n ca-an** 曲公 吊买 (319-251 375-011), **hor-a-an**. 丙为买 (047-189-011), **pu-m-a-an** 仐叉为买 (241 133-189-011) etc., see also Kane (2009 132). We have two opitions. In one case the title **qa-ha-an** has two different cases, the nominal and the genitive case, both written in the same way, or second, the nominal form is functioning also as an adjective, that is as 'Emperor' and as 'Imperial'. A third possibility that all 81 cases would be in genitive can be excluded. Since the title is transcribed by the Chinese, and it is written in several Old Turkic scripts, Tibetan etc. and everywhere do we have the form **kagan* I see no other solution than to suppose, that it has here an adjectival function. This is normal with the Mongolic languages. In Khalkha we have *xaan tör* 'the imperial rule', *xaan širee* 'imperial throne', *uls tör* 'state, polity', also *uls güren* 'state' etc. and, nobody would treat *Altan tobči* 'golden button, golden summary' or *Altan gerel* 'golden light, golden illumination' (both well known titles) as genitive constructions. The singular has further the locative once (Zhen4-4) **qa-ha-de** (053-051-205). The form **qa-ha-iú** (053-051-289) occurs eleven times. Summing up: in this text the word is used as qualifier, as "Imperial".

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[16] In the paragraph 141 of the Secret History the text records that Jamuqa was raised as *gür qa*, and de Rachewiltz (2004, 315) remarks that in all cases where we find *qa* instead of *qan* “*qa* is the direct object of a verb; it seems therefore, that in certain conditions, i.e. in suffixless oblique cases (of the type *usu uguqu* ‘to drink water’ MMo. and PMo. *qan* could also drop the final *-n*.” (further bibliography follows), see also Ligeti 1961, 14–15.

h-dú-un 义尼叉 (340-179-144) 'horizontal', Chin *heng* 横. The Horizontal Tents **h-dú-un go-er** (319-341) (Chin *heng zhang* 横 帳) form a part of the Khitan social organization. It was a subgroup of the imperial tribe, the descendants of Taizu (Abaoki). Their tents faced the east, therefore were they called "horizontal". A detailed treatment can be read in WF, see p.718 Index. The word was equated by Wu--Janhunen (WJ 137) with Mongolic **köndelen*~ **köndülen* 'horizontal'. This word is present in Dag as *hundulen* '(flying) across, athwart, crosswise' (M166), *χundul, χuŋdul* 'Regenwolken (!)' (M-K 144)[17], *xundul* 'horizontal' (Enkebatu 127 apud Nugteren), the other Mongolic forms see Nugteren (N 427). The equation has phonetic difficulties[18].

SMALL-qó 州欠 (188-169) 'small, junior'. The group of the junior ancestors was a subgroup of the Horizontal Tents.

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[17] Not to Manchu *hondule* 'thunder'as is suggested there. I could not find the Manchu word, if it existed then the Ma word is of Mongolic origin, see the Dag examples.

[18] See perhaps *ködege(n)* 'open steppe', Khalkha *xödöö* to *ködel-* 'move' ???

ai 扌 (122) ‘father, ancestor’ see line 1 above.

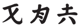
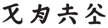
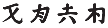
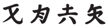
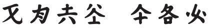
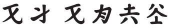
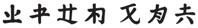
P-ul-uh-ñ 业平夂伏 (295-366-172-222)- ‘a name’, ChinT *pu ni* 普你. The name may be connected with the verb **p-ul-u- 业平叐** (295-366-131) ‘to surpass’, Chin *yue* 越, and the noun formed from it: **p-ul-uh 业平夂** (295-366-172) ‘surplus, name of the intercalary month’. The motivation may have been either ‘the one who was born in the intercalary month’ or ‘the one surpassing’ used in the sense ‘excellent, what is excelling’. The name may be connected with the last meaning. A person with the same name appears in the insciption Han (1078), line 2-18 who functions there as the composer of the inscription, that is the grandfather of the composer of our text was also a scribe, a composer.

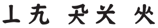
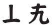
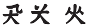
tai shï 丞 兆 (374-180) ‘title, Grand Preceptor’, ChinE *tai shi* 太师. The title is a transcription of the Chinese, see Hucker No 6213, p. 481. The genitive case is **tai shï-en 丞 兆冇** (374-180-140), the locative case **tai-shï-de 丞 兆矢** (374-180-205) which means that it was already adapted by the Khitan language, it became a loanword.

dor 丂 (218) ‘1. ritual, ceremony, official, 2. seal’, Chin 1. *li* 礼, 2. *yin* 印, C420. The glyph is a logoglyph. In the texts it has the meaning ‘official(ly) ’ and denotes also the (offical) seal. See Mong *törü* ‘law, order, government, state’, Dag *dor*, *doro* ‘Brauch, Sitte’ (M-K123), ? *tori* ‘the second visit of the prospective bridegroom to his fiancee’s family’ (M226) (← Turk *törü*). The word is very frequent, it occurs 131 times in the Corpus. The accusative-instrumental case is **dor-er** (218-341) and occurs 17 times.

b-qo-i b-qo 舟为关 舟为 (311-168-339 311-168) ‘child of child, grandchild, grandson or grand daughter’, Chin *sunzi* 孙子, *sunnü* 孙女. The basic word **b-qo** see next line.

p-ai-sï 业扌廿 (295-122-083) ‘order, tally’, ChinE *paisi* 牌司. The Khitan word is of Chinese origin. It occurs also in the genitive case: **p-ai-sï-en 业扌廿冇** (295-122-083-140) and in the dative-locative case: **p-ai-sï-de 业扌廿矢** (295-122-083-205). The Chinese word is also denoting the Bureau of the Tallies. The Khitans had tallies of several colours (e.g. silver, gold) and form (e.g. of fish)[19], see WF Index 741. Two fish shaped tallies with inscriptions are published on p. 858 of CWJ and have the siglas YuyiS and YuerS resp. The normalized transcriptions are on pp. 1604-1605 with Chinese glosses.

sh-a-rí  ‘a title, court attendant’, Chin *langjun* 郎君. This is a Khitan title, transcribed by the Chinese as ChT *shali* 沙里 in the Liaoshi. It occurs 133 times in the Corpus. It is fomed from **sh-ha-** ‘to supress’. cf. Mong *daruga* ‘chief, superior, commander etc.’ < *daru-* ‘to press’, Turk *basgaq* ‘Gouverneur’ (Wilkens) < *bas-* ‘to press’. Its plural is **sh-a-rí-d**  (028-189-069-254), its genitive case **sh-a-rí-en** (028-189-069-140) , the dative-locative is **sha-a-rí-de**  (128-189-069-205). See also **sh-a-rí-d s-eng-un**  (028-189-069-254 244-175-273) ‘the *xiangwen* of the court attendants’ and **sh-ia sh-a-rí-d**  (028-335 028-189-069-205) and **dor p-ai sï-en sh-a-rí**  ‘court attendant of the Bureau of the Seals and Tallies’, Chin. *yin pai si langjun* 印牌司郎君. Hucker 3571 *langjun* 郎君 LIAO: “Court Attendant, designation of lowly officials in most services (*chü*) subordinate to the Northern Court Ceremonial Institute (*hsüan-hui pei-yüan*): provided companionsship for the Emperor and Heir Apparent; other functions not clear, rank not clear.”

284-du$_3$ när-i ui (284-089 159-339 262)**.** The glyph (284) is treated by Kane (K69), who supposes that **284-du$_3$**  may refer to the emperor in the expression “Daily Agenda (DAY-i ui ) of the Emperor”. CWJ has no suggestion. The expression (284-089) occurs 32 times, further we find **284-du$_3$-úr-u** (284-089-097-131), and **284-du$_3$-de** (284-089-205) both once. According to Kane (K60) (089) is an alloglyph of <da> (171) and <da> (215=171)[20]. CWJ 189 reads <d$_3$>[21]. The glyph occurs frequently in word initial position where it alternates with <d> (254). The *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* (according to Kane (K69)) or *Diaries of Activity and Repose* (according WF 712) is in Chinese *qijuzhu* 起居注 (*qiju* ‘daily life’, *zhu* ‘note, record’). The Daily Records *rili* 日曆 are mentioned many times in the Liaoshi, see WF499.

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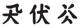
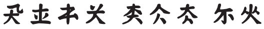
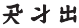
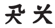
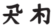
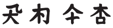
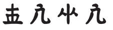
[19] WF mention the announcment of war by a fish tally (WF120n), in 983 high officers got banners, drums and silver tallies (WF259). The Bureau of Tallies was in fact the office of the taxes. These tallies were originally oblong wooden rods on which the amount of the payed tax was carved, and then cut in two, one half remained at the taxpayer, the other at the tax collector. Later the tallies were also used as passes, certificates issued by the Emperor or its office. On Central Asiatic tallies see Róna-Tas 1956.

[20] 171 and 215 are the same glyphs and 215 has to be deleted from the list.

[21] A glyph was former <d$_2$> but later deleted.

när (159) ‘day, sun’, Chin *ri* 日 The glyph is a logoglyph. The Khitan word occurs in the transcription of Liaoshi as *nie-yi-er* 捏咿兒, (see K53), see Mong *nara(n)* ‘sun’, Dag *nare* (M194), *nar* ‘Sonne’ (M-K123). In the Mongolic languges *nara(n)* has only the meaning ‘sun’, while *‘day’* is *edür/üdür*. The Old Turkic word *kün* had both meanings ‘sun’ and ‘day’, the derivations *güneš* and *kuyaš* are used only for ‘sun’ (see Clauson 1972, 725)[22]. This is also the case in Chuvash, where the name for *‘day’* is *kun* (<**kün*) and the name of the ‘sun’ is *χĕvel* (<**quyal* <**quñal* <**quñaš* see *güneš*)[23]. The Khitan word seems to be palatalized. The palatalized form is attested beside the Chinese transcription, also by the plural form, which is **när-ñ-er** (159-222-341) (Jue29-52). Shimunek (2017, 431, 358) supposed even a palatalized initial and reconstructed *ñayr*. This cannot be excluded, but we have no evidence for this. The logoglyph was used as part of a name in Gu19-12  När-ha-ar-i Xo-ō-oi aú-ui[24], ‘lady När-ha-ar-i Xo-ô-oi’- which shows that the Khitan system treated the word as back vocalic. The same is the situation in the expression  **när-ia-án** ‘spend the day’ (Song 15-16). Therefore we have to distinguish the vowel /e/ from the somewhat fronted vowel /ä/ which is an allophon of /a/. The word occurs in genitive case as **när-i**  (159-339) in our text and in further 20 other cases. We find **när-en** , with the **-en** suffix of the genitive case three times (Zhong 25-51, Zhuo 23-6 and Yong 27-21). In all these three cases the structure is : **när-en s-uni** ‘day and night, through the whole day’ that means that here the **-en** is not the marker of the genitive case. The genitive suffix **-i** is following in some cases a vocalic final, see **b-qo-i, qita-i,** but the examples known are not enough to make any conclusion yet. It is not clear why CWJ retained the logograph DAY, but on pp. CWJ 230-231 they accept the earlier reading of Chinggeltei <nær> that is <när>.

RECORD-g-l-g  (052-334-261-334). The one who is recording, the person who is in charge of the records. The word RECORD a logoglyph, is a verb which has deverbal suffixes: **RECORD-g-, RECORD-e-** and **RECORD-ge**. The noun <RECORD-g> has here a further suffix **-l-g** which is similar to Mong *-lig*, but has here another function[25]. **RECORD-g-l-g** is here a part of the title. The expression **när-i ui RECORD-g-l-g** can be translated as ‘(the official who had) to record the daily affairs, Recorder of the Daily Affairs (of the Emperor)’. **284-d$_3$** has to qualify the Daily Records, Imperial.

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[22] The derivations *güneš* and *quyaš* are dialectal developments. The basic word is **küń*. Its further connection are not treated here.

[23] Hungarian *nap* of unknown origin has both meanings ‘day’ and ‘sun’.

[24] **aú-u i** (210.262) ‘milady, term of respect of noble women’, Chin *niangzi* 娘子

[25] To Mong *-lig* see Turkic *-lik* ‘to be in abundance of something etc.’. On Turkic *-lik* and *-lig* see Erdal 1991, 121, 139.

ui 火 (262) ‘matter, act, affairs’, Chin *shi* 事. The word occurs 276 times. It may be a variant of the form **ui-il 火用** (262-302) ‘matter’, Chin *shi* 事 which occurs 20 times, and may be connected with Mong *üile* ‘work, act, action, Dag *uile* ‘work’ (M334!), *weil* ‘Verbrechen’[26] (see *kilinč*), *weilede*- ‘dreschen’, *u̯ilde*-[‘machen, tun’], *χilde u̯ilde*- ‘dreschen’ (M-K141, 143). The semantics of the Khitan word is very wide, it functions in most cases for the concept of ‘affairs’. The genitive case is **ui-en 火冇** (262-140), The accusative-locative case is **ui-er 火公** (262-341), the dative-locative case is **ui-de 火矢** (262-205), the prolative-ablative case is **ui-de-i 火矢关** (262-205-339). ‘matter, affairs’, Chin *shi (cong)* 事 (从) (see C452). There does exist a dotted form 氺 which occurs 55 times. Because of the multiple homographies[27] it is, at present, difficult to identify the difference of the meaning of the two glyphs.

Y-ar-u-ud 丏夲叐火 (020-084-131-344) ‘the clan name of the Khitan leaders’, ChinT *yelü* 耶律 YCh *jɛ*, LMCh *jia*, YCh *ly*, LMCh *lywk*. The Khitan name seems to be a plural, as the well known Mongol tribal name *Jarud*. The relation of the initials is not quite clear, it may be due to dialectal difference. Its genitive case is **Y-ar-u-ud-i 丏夲叐火关** (020-084-131-344-339)[28] The Chinese transcription points to a pronunciation /yärü/ without the plural. The Yarud clan played a central role in the history of the Khitans. The details can be collected from WF.

G-u-uh 九叐久 (334-131-172) ‘a name Gu-u-uh’, ChT *gu* 固. According to WF the Emperor Daozong (1055-1101) asked the general functionary of the Hanlin Academy, Ye-lü Guh about the [funeral] ritual (WF279). This had to be in 1055. Later Yelü Gu was ordered by Xizong of Jin (1135-1149) to compile the History of Liao, but the assignment was not completed. His student Xiao Yung-chi finished it (WF279, note206, see also p. 610) and wrote a work of 75 chapters. This Yelü Gu is the compiler of our inscription. The name is occurring in the following inscriptions: (see also Pursey, Diss, Table C42)

Gao 2-19 (this inscription), (after 1076)
Nan (1092) 2-17, 35-16, 36-6
Zhi (1094) 2-11, 23-3,
Dao (1101) 2-29,
Xuan (1101) 2-32,

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[26] See Mong *kilinče* ‘sin’ ← Old Turkic *qïlïnč* ‘bad or good deeds, acts’ < *qïl*- ‘make’ (see also Clauson 1972, 623).

[27] See **ui2 火** <ui> (262) ‘pig; cyclical branch’, Chin *zhu* 猪, *hai* 亥, it occurs also in transcriptions of Chinese.

[28] Shimunek (2017 198) notes that the clan name is occurring also in Persian as *Yār*.

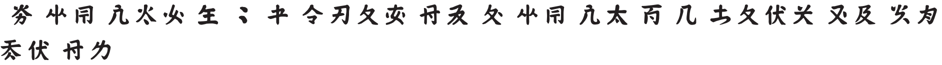
Tai (1110) 3-2,
Song (1110) 2-58,
Cha (1113) 3-14, 21-11. Not in Pursey's Table C42
Gu (1115) 2-26, 21-24

As it can be seen he was the compiler of 9 known inscriptions between 1076?-1115.

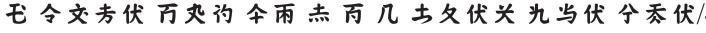
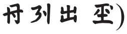
COMPOSE-a-ar (308-189-123) 'was composing', Chin *zhuan* 撰. The glyph (308) pertains to a special group of glyphs. See **8.** GRAPHEMICS. CWJ has identified the glyph (316.2) as an alloglyph or variant of 308 . CWJ on p. 306-307 suggest also a pronunciation *ʤɔ*. I accept that the two glyph are alloglyphs, but do not find convincing the argumentation for their reading. Here, however we see an important aspect of the otherwise very enigmatic Khitan Small Script. The glyphs 308 and 316.2 seem to be, or were originally, pictographs, a sheet of paper with something written on them. I do not think that the Khitan Small Script is of pictogrammatic origin, but some of the glyphs may have had such a history. The word **COMPOSE** is a nominal base, as can be seen from the suffixes joining immediately the base. More details on COMPOSE see **12.5.** VERBS, see also **sh-iá-ai$_2$ COMPOSE-un** (028-274-197 308-144) 'well composed', Chin *shan zhi* 善制 C366, and EL.

Gao line 3

Text

/3/ 

e l-ing g-ung-un abu DITTO ai t-ir-uh-úr b-u jel l-ing g-ung$_2$ eme ku eu-uh-ñ-i m-o s$_2$-a pu-shi-ñ b-qo
this Ling princeGEN grand grand father (the well) known Bu Jel Ling prince wife Eu-uh-ñGEN Mo Sa milady son

/4/ ()
emu° t-ie-ên-ñ y-au-ji$_3$ s-in ong eme ku eu-uh-ñ-i nas-én-ñ pu-shi-ñ (b-hu-án nem)
'first, HeavenGEN y-au-ji S-in ong wife Eu-uh-ñ-i Nas-én-eñ milady' (8 children)

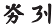
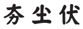
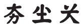
Translation

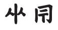
3/ The great grandfather of this *Ling* prince (*g-ung*), the *Ling* prince known (*t-ir-uh-úr*) as Bu Jel (=Han Zhigu), and the wife (of the *ling* prince), milady (*pu-shi-ñ*) Eu-uh-ñ-i Mo Sa's eldest son, the Heaven Sent (*t-ie-ên-ñ y-au-ji*$_3$) Sin wang [=Han Kuangsi] (and his) wife Eu-uh-ñ-i Nas-en-eñ milady [(had) eight children].

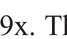
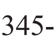
Remarks to line 3

Here the great grandfather of Gao-shi with his title and former name, and his wife is mentioned. The identification of this lady is given by her sub-clan name and personal name. Their eldest son was the grandfather of Gaoshi. The wife of the eldest son came from the same sub-clan as the mother-in-law of her husband. They had eight children.

Lexica to line 3

e (348), **e$_2$** (109) 'this, that', Chin *zhe* 这, *gai* 该. The respective frequencies of the two forms are: (109) 21 times, (348) 31 times. The demonstrative pronoun for near objects has the plural <et> written with a simple glyph <et> (247) 'these, they', Chin *tamen* 他们, *zhe xie* 这些. See Mong *ene* 'this', plural *ede* <*e-, Dag *ene, ede* (M 144, 139), *ene, ede* (M-K 128, 130) . It has an emphatic form **e-hu**  (348.151) 'this (emphatic), this very', Chin *gai* 该. The plural has the following suffixed forms: **e$_2$-te$_2$-ñ**  (109-356-222) once and **e$_2$-te$_2$-i**  (109-356-339) twice.

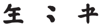
l-ing  (261-303) 'an ancient official title', Chin *ling* 令. The Khitan word was used to transcribe different Chinese characters, sometimes also geographic names. It occurs 44 times. Its genitive case is **l-ing-en** (261-303-140), 8x, dative-locative case **l-ing-de** (261-303-205), 2x. As title it may be here an abbreviation of the title *zhongshu ling* 中書令, on which see Hucker No1616 p. 193, Secreteriat Director, which was given to Han Zhigu after the death of Abaoji in 926. In those times the Secretariate, *zhongshu sheng* was the most influential policy-formulating agency in the government. I would exclude here a reference to the territory or basin of the Ling 靈 river on which see Pursey 2017, passim.

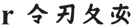
g-ung  (334-345) 'prince, duke', ChinE *gong* 公. 114x, also **g-ung$_2$**  (334-106) 19x. The word is of Chinese origin. Genitive case **g-ung-un** (334-345-273) 52x, **g-ung$_2$-un** (344-106-273), 2x, **g-ung-en** (334-345-140), 3x, **g-ung$_2$-en**

(334-106-140) 1x, accusative-instrumental **g-ung-er** (334-345-341), dative-locative **g-ung-do** (342-345-217), 1x, ablative-prolative **g-ung-dú-i** (334-345-179-339), 1x.

abu (196) ‘ancestor, (great) grandfather’, 61x, Chin *zufu* 祖父. See Mong *abu, aba* ‘father, grandfather, esp. applied to an old father (endearing)’. Dag? Han Zhigu was the great-grandfather of the owner of the inscription.

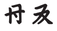
ai see line 1

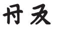
abu abu ai  (196-378 122) ‘great grandfather’. The second **abu** is written with the DITTO glyph (378).

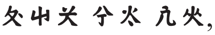
T-ir-uh-úr  (247-137-172-097) ‘? a name’, Chin *zhigu* 知古. YCh *tʂi,* LMCh *tri* YCh *ku*, LMCh *kuəˇ* **L**3, **L**12. The name occurs four times, twice in this inscription and twice in Di2-16, 2-49:

<u-ur ai t-ir-uh-úr l-ing g-ung HEAVEN hong-di-in g-úr 066-l-ge$_2$-y> (Di2-16)

<t-ir-uh-úr l-ing g-ung eu-g-ñ-i m-o s-a pu-shi-ñ jur-en b-qo> (Di2-49). Maybe that **-uh** is a suffix and **-úr** is the plural sign. In this case the base of the word which was used as a name would be *Tir(u). The Chinese name of the person was (Han) **Zhigu** 韓 知古, (**Tri-gu*) born around 885, died around 936, see **2.** Introduction, **2.3** The ancestry of Gaoshi.

B-u1  (311-131) ‘a name’, ChinT *bao* 保.

b-u2  (311-131) ChinE *bao* 保 is a name of a prefecture (WF 69, 177 and n, 490, 555n 558), YCh *pɔw*, LMCh *puaw*, and has also the meaning ‘fortified city’.

Jel (173) ‘a name’, Chin *ye* 业. This name or part of a name is occurring in Gao3-9, and in Tu6-40 <s-ar-ha-án tai ong-on b-qo jel tai ui> whom a lady was given in marriage. In Zhong6 a third son’s name is written as **Jel-bun-i Pu-ung g-ui** , which seems to be a genitive construction. It is glossed by CWJ950 as *ye-li-bu feng guo* 野里补 奉国. The glyph (173) occurs 23 times in different combinations. It occurs in the expression <*GREAT lu$_3$-úr rí-qo áng-jel deu-úr a-ar*> (Zhong45). The person who is named in our inscription as **T-ir-uh-úr Bu Jel** is known as *Han Zhigu* by the Chinese sources, see INTRODUCTION, **2.3**. THE ANCESTRY OF GAOSHI. The Chinese gloss 业 = 業 given by CWJ has several meanings ‘horizontal board of a bell stand, initiate, work, trade etc.’ but is neither the meaning, nor the transcription of **jel** (173). The Chinese *ye* 业 = 業 YCh *jɛ*, LMCh *ŋiap* tries to give the Khitan word the modern Chinese pronuncuation. CWJ 237 gives the reasons for the reading though they are uncertain. The glyph

288 was earlier read as <bun> later as <bir> but neither of them fit. If *yelibu* is a transcription of **Bu Jel** or **Jel bu** then **Jel** has a **y-** and not a *j-* initial, this may be due to the misleading use of the letter <j> in the Chinese transcriptions. Since the glyph could be located until now only in names, I retain, for the time being, the transcription <jel> for the glyph (173), but it may be also <yel>. The glyph 夂 (173) is written in **b-jel-z-iú**** 丹夂伞火 (311-173-258-289) C466, occurs once in Xu52-32, ChinE *bie xu* 别胥 C459 instead of 夹 (082) see **b-üe-z-iú** 丹夹伞火 (311-082-258-289) 2x, (Xu54-4, Zhi12-24) in EL.

eme ku 丙 几 (021-178) ‘wife’, Chin *qi* 妻. The Romanisation by CWJ is <em> but it should be changed to <eme> because of the following forms: Genitive case **eme-n** 丙公 (021-251) which occurs 45 times while **eme-en** 丙朩 (021-140) only twice. The plural is **eme-t** 丙令 (021-247) which occurs 99 times, and **eme-d** 丙仝 (021-254) which occurs 3 times. These data show, that the word final was a vowel. The word-by-word translation of **em-e ku** is ‘wife, lit. woman person, adult woman’, also **eme-t p-ar** line4, which may denote the married woman with children. See Mong *eme* ‘woman, wife, female’, Dag *eme* ‘female, adult female, woman, lady, wife’ (M143), *emehe* ‘wife’ (<*eme huu*) (M143), *emhe, emih, emhun, emχun, emχun χu* ‘Weib, Gattin’ (M-K129). The second part is the word for (male) person, Mong *kümün*, MMong *kü’ün.* The word has been shortened in many Mong languages, as in Khalkhan *χun* etc, see N437. The final *-n* disappeared only in Dag *huu* ‘adult person man, person, other people’, dial *kuu* (M167) where in compounds it was preserved.

Eu-uh-ñ-i 去夊伏关 (067-172-222-339) Name of a sub-clan of the Xiao. It occurs 7 times (6x in this inscription and once in GuD14-24), the variant **eu-g-ñ-i** (067-334-222-339) occurs twice in Di3-3, 4-22 ChinT *oukun* 瓯昆, WF 135 has *Ou-jin* 瓯堇 and *Ou-kun* 瓯昆 ‘a tribal unit’: ‘land was granted to the people of the three *shi-lie* of *Ou jin* to be used for cultivated fields’. Crossley (2013, p.59, note 30) quotes **Ouguni** 歐古妮. The MCh pronunciation of all modern Chinese *ou* syllables were *əw* (Pulleyblank 1991, 230). The Khitan syllable *-uh* was in fact *-uɣ,* see the variant with -g-. It seems to occur as a noun and has such suffixed forms as **eu-hu-ñ-un, eu-hu-ñ-er, eu-hu-ñ-d** and **eu-g-ñ-un.** The Chinese gloss *oukun* 瓯昆 YChin *ewkun,* etc., are transcriptions of the Khitan word. The suggestion of Liu (2002) that it would note “purple clothes”, with the meaning that the lady gave birth to a son, I could not substantiate.[29]

m-o 叉及 (133-186) ‘here a part of a name’, ChT *me* 么

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[29] Liu 2002 “The ‘Purple Clothes’ below means that Mrs. Daxia gave birth to a son.”

s_2-a (354-189) ‘part of a name’, ChinT *sa* 撒. The name **Mo Sa** occurs only in this inscription, but **M-o S-a** , see Di3, and Appendix **18.3.**

eu-uh-ñ-i m-o s_2-a and **eu-uh-ñ-i nas-én** are paralelly structured names. The first part is the same, the second **Mo S_2a** and **Nas-én** are different, personal names. Both were from the same subclan

pu-shi-ñ (241-033-221) ‘madame, milady’, Chin *furen* 夫人. The Khitan word is a Chinese loanword, which occurs also in Middle Mongolian (SH *hüjin, üjin*). The initial **p-** is a substitution of the Chinese *f-* by Khitan *p-*.

b-qo (311-168) ‘child’, Chin *zi* 子. The word looks like a nominalized adjective in **-qW**, see also **b-qú** (311-118) 1x, (Ren26-8). The form **b-qó** (311-169) occurs only in extended forms, and their meaning is yet uncertain. If this analyzis could be hardened, then the basic word may have been **ba*** and connected with Mong *baga* as it was already suggested, among others by Shimunek 2017, 322 with earlier literature. Dag *bage* ‘little, young’, *bage.cude* ‘youth, young men’ (M117), Nugteren has no Dagur data. Genitive **b-qo-i** (311-168-339), dative-locative **b-qo-de** (311-168-206), ablative-prolative: **b-qo-de-i** (311-168-205-339), dative-locative **b-qo-iú** (311-168-289), ablative-prolative II **b-qo-iú-i** (311-168-289-339). The plural is **b-hu-an** (311-151-290), Chin *zinü, hai, zizi* 子女，孩，子子. Plural genitive: **b-hu-án-en** (311-151-290-140), accusative-instrumental **b-hu-án-er** (311-151-290-341), ablative-prolative **b-hu-án-er-i** (311-151-290-341-339). Some expressions:

b-qo b-hu-án (311-168 311-151-290) ‘grandchildren’, Chin *haizi* 孩子-, **L**10, **L**12
b-qo b-qo (311-168 311-168), gloss *nüzi* 女子 ‘woman’, **L**10, L12
b-qo p-úr-s (311-168 295-097-244) ‘son and descendants or male descendants’, Chin gloss *nü zisi* 女 ’ 子嗣 ‘female descendants’ **L**11
b-qo-i b-qo (311-168-339 311-168) ‘grandson, grandchild’, Chin *sunzi* 孙子, *sunnü* 孙女, **L**2, **L**8
b-qo-i i-ri (311-168-339 339-235) ‘infant name, milk name’, Chin *ruming* 乳名, **L**13

emu^{o} (027) ‘one’, it has also an undotted form (026) Chin *yi* 一. The reading is uncertain, it is formed by earlier research after Mong *emüne,* and dealt with in CWJ 163-164. It has an adjectival form **emu-qu** (026-246) and **emu**^{o}**-qó** (027-169). Dag *neke* ‘one’ (M196), *nek* ‘eins’ (M-K138). Mong *emune* is in Dag *emele* ‘front, south, early’(M143), *emen* ‘Süden’ (M-K129), see **12.3** NUMERALS for my reasons accepting the reading.

t-ie-ên-ñ 令文考伏 (247-327-073-222) ‘heaven, gen.’, ChinE *tian* 天. The Khitan word is a transcription of the Chinese with the Khitan suffix of the genitive case.

y-au-ji$_3$ 丙夬礿 (020-161-337) ‘a part of a name’, ChinT *yaozhi* 尧治. Here a part of a name, to Mong *yabu-*‘to go’, *yabugul-* ‘to cause to go, to send’ and a suffix **-ji$_3$.** The Chin gloss is a transcription of the Khitan.

t-ie-ên-ñ y-au-ji$_3$ A hybrid expression *Tieneniñ Yauji* is a genitive construction, perhaps “the one coming from or sent by the Heaven”, a general title or name of the members of the ruling clan. A more free translation may be “the One who’s behaviour is like that of Heaven”, see Old Turkic *Teŋri teg teŋri yaratmiš* ‘the Heaven-like and by Heaven created’ (Kül Tegin 1).

S-in 仐雨 (244-018) ‘originally the name of the Qin dynasty, a geographical name’, Chin *qin* 秦, YCh *ts^{h}in*, LMCh *tsɦin*. The Khitan transcription is with an initial sibilant. There were two dynasties: the earlier Qin (during the Zhou 770BC-256 BC) and the later Qin (221 BC -206 BC). As a geographical name it denotes the Shaanxi and Gansu provinces, sometimes only Shaanxi. Here the latter is meant. *Sin ong* was the local king of the territory Qin. Under the year 991 *Liaoshi* remarked: “the private city of the prince of Qin, Han Kuangsi 韓匡嗣 was granted the name of Quan 全 prefecture”, (WF p.584).

ong see **L1,**

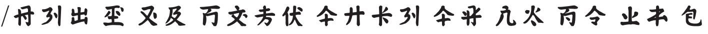
S-in ong *Han Kuangsi,* see above, see also the same person in Di4.

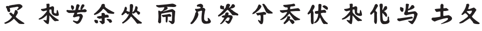
eme ku see above

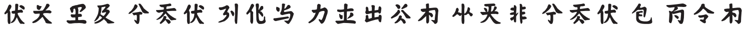
Nas-én-ñ 九当伏 (193-361-222) ‘a female name’, ChinT *nasi* 拏思, the Chinese gloss is a transcription of the Khitan. On CWJ p. 416 the name is written **Nas-GOLD^{o}-**ñ 九山 伏 (193-286-222), but on p. 1240 as 九当伏. On the facsimile p. 723 the second glyph is difficult to read, but 山 (286) seems to be more probable. The same person occurs in Di4: *s-in ong eu-g-ñ-i nas-én-ñ pu-shi-ñ jur-en b-hu-án nem* 仐雨 杰 去九伏关 九当伏 分忝伏 圣有 付列出 巫 ‘the eight children from the second wife of Sin wang [=Han Kuangsi] milady Nas-én-ñ’, see perhaps **nas eme** 九丙 (193 021), ‘wife, a girl given in marriage’, Chin *qi*, 妻, C416.

Gao line 4

Text

/4/
b-hu-án nem° m-o y-ie-ên-ñ s-ó-su-hu s-iang g-ung eme-t p-ar gur
children 8, eldest Y-ie-ên-ń S-ó-su-hu chancellor wives three

/
GREAT ci-iau-qu-ui cau g-e pu-shi-ñ ci-ur-én eu-uh
eldest Chinese Cau G-e milady second+FEM Eu-uh-


-ñ-i oh-o pu-shi-ñ hu-ur-én na-ha-án-er-en l-an-ku pu-shi-ñ gur eme-t-en
-ñ-i Oh-o milady thirdFEM maternal unclesGEN L-an-ku milady, three wivesGEN

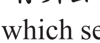
Translation

4/ (had) eight children. The eldest (was) Y-ie-ên-(e)ñ S-ó-su-hu chancellor (*s-iang g-ung*) (who had) three wives, the eldest (was) the Chinese Cau Ge milady (*pu-shi-ñ*), the second Eu-uh-ń Oh-o milady (*pu-shi-ñ*), and the third the Maternal Uncles' L-an-ku milady (*pu-shi-ñ*), from (these) three wives…

Remarks to line 4

Out of the eight childen the eldest is given with his title. In case of the first wife only her Chinese origin is mentioned, for the second wife the sub-clan is given and in case of the third wife the Xiao, the tribe of the Maternal Uncles is mentioned.

Lexica to line 4

b-hu-án  (311-151-290) "children", 190x, Chin *haizi* 孩子. Irregular plural of **b-qo** which see line 2. Genitive **b-hu-án-en** (311-151-290-140), 1x, accusative-instrumental **b-hu-án-er** (311-151-290-341), 1x, **b-hu-án-er-i** (311-151-290-341-339), 1x.

nem (007) 'eight', (006), 63x, Chin *ba* 八, was read earlier as <naim>, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

m-o (133-186) ‘elder/st, greater/st’, 206x, Chin *zhang* 长, figures also as a name, genitive case **m-o-on** (133-186-154), 4x, accusative-instrumental **m-o-er** (133-186-341).

Y-ie-ên-ñ (020-327-073-222) ‘a name’, 8x, ChinT *Yan ning* 延宁.

S-ó-su-hu (244-090-041-151) ‘a name’, ChinT *Susa Ge* 速撒哥, occurs only here.

Y-ie-ên S-ó-su can be identified with **Deyuan** 德 源 died 978.[30]

s-iang g-ung (244-314 334-345), ‘chancelor’, ChinE *xiang gong* 相公, Hucker No.2331: “Minister Duke, an unofficial reference to a paramount executive offical in the central govermen such as……T’ang-Sung Grand Counselor-in-chief (*ch’en-hsiang*)”.

eme-t (021-247) ‘woman, wife, plural’, Chin *nü*., see line 3.

p-ar (295-123). ‘family’, Chin *juan* 眷. The expression **eme-t p-ar** is denoting ‘wife’, perhaps those wives who have children.

gur ‘three’, Chin *san* 三, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

GREAT (373) ‘great’, see line 1.

ci-iau-qu-ui (162-362-246-262), ‘Chinese’, 2x, Chin *han er* 汉儿. an adjecitival form of **ci-iau** (162-362), 12x, or **ci-iau-u** (162-362-131), 2x, also **jau-*** (015). The base occurs once in genitive case: **ci-iau-u-un** (162-362-131-273) (Tai 10-37: <*ci-iau-u-un dur i-ri-s*> ‘the four titles of the Chinese officials’. Rarely also written as **ci-aû** (162-125). The two glyphs **iau** (362) and **aû** (125) are very similar and may have been sometimes mixed. In the corpus we find **ci-aû-un** (Xu49-4) and **ci-au-qû-ur** (Gu7-5).

The noun has three adjectival forms, many of these forms are noted also in the Wordlist of CWJ on p. 409 as *han er* 汉儿

ci-iau-qu-* (162-362-246),
ci-iau-qu-ui (162-362-246-262), ‘Chinese, *masculine*’, 2x, Chin *han er* 汉儿
ci-iau-qu-úr (162-362-246-097) plural, 1x

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[30] Liu: *Yanning* 延寧 and *Sudelihe* 蘇淂里赫, Ulhicun *Su’alige* 蘇阿里葛

ci-iau-qu-úr-i (162-362-246-097-339), plural, genitive, 1x

ci-iau-qó-* (162-362-169) ‘Chinese, *masculine*’
ci-iau-qó-úr (162-362-169-097) plural, 1x
ci-iau-qú-* (162-362-118) ‘Chinese, *feminine*’
ci-iau-qú-ui (162-362-118-262), 4x
ci-iau-qú-úr (162-362-118-097), plural, 5x
ci-iau-qú-úr-i (162-362-118-097-339), plural genitive:3x
ci-iau-qú-su (Nan21-21) plural, In: <*ci-iau-qú-su udu-u-ur hu$_2$-ú-un 378.1-378.1 o-oi$_2$*> parallel to Guang12-24 <*qita-s o-udu-ú-ur hu$_2$-ú b-o-ri$_5$*>
see also **ci-iau-qú-úr-i dor-er** (162-362-118-097-339 218-341) ‘Chinese ritual, accusative instrumental ’, Chin *han er li* 汉儿礼 C409
jau-qu (015-246), 1x, same as **ci-iau-qu**
jau-qu-úr (015-246-097), 1x
jau-qu-ui (015-246-262), 1x
jau-qó-ui (015-169-262), 1x (Yong9-4), same as **ci-iau-qó-***
jau-qó-su (015-169-041), 2x (Zhong1-11, 44-42).

In our text the adjective marking of the Chinese wife should be in feminine case, but it is masculine. I have controlled the reading on the photo and well visible there is **qu** (246) and not **qú** (118).

The origin of the word is debated. The connection with ‘hundred, name of a military unit’ **jau** is very uncertain. There do exist such names as *Minggad* ‘an Oirad tribe (*Mjangad*)’, *Tümen* and the plural *Tümed*, see in the Secret History *Tümen-Oirat, Tümen-Tübegen, Qori-Tümed*, but it is unlikely that a so relatively low numeral as **jau** ‘hundred’ would denote the Chinese. The idea that the **ci-iau/jau** may be connected with the Mongolian word *jau* ‘hundred’ occurred much earlier. In the SHM 134 § occurs the title *ja’ut quri*, which has the form *ča’ut quri* in §170. De Rachewiltz (p.492) after quoting earlier opinions suggested to see in the first part of the title the plural of *ja’un* ‘hundred’, while *quri* found also in the title *digit quri* in §182, may have been a Khitan title used later also by the Jurchen. He pointed to a Jurchen title, according to him **quru* ‘leader of several tribes’ and an alternance *quru~quri* “…is certainly possible” (p.494). The context is the following: After the title *jaut quri* was given to Chinggis qan the text follows: *Megüjin-seültü-yi qamsaju alaqsan tanu Altan qan-a masi yeke tusa kiba. Ta ene tusa-yi tanu Altan qan-a öčisü bi, Činggis qahan-a eün-ece yeke nere nemeküi-yi jautau nere ögkü-yi Altan qan medetügei keeba….* “You have done a very good service to the Altan Qan by your joint attack on Megüjin Seültü and by killing him. I shall inform the Altan Qan of this service of yours. Let the Altan Qan decide whether a title higher than the present one should be further conferred on Chinggis qaan – whether he should be given the title of *jautau*”. (translation of de Rachewiltz, my underlines). On

j-au tau ‘punitive officer’ see line 6 below. From this it looks like *ja’ut quri* was a lower title than the title *jau tau*, which is correct, but it does not mean that *ja’ut* in *ja’ut quri* is from *ja’un* ‘hundred’. Theoretically the Khitan title may be connected with Khitan **ca’ur** ‘army etc.’ see line 15., see also **cau-ji** $\mathbf{hu_2}$**-u** **而犳 亜伞** (022-153 014-245) ‘commander of the army, campain commander’, Chin *dutong* 都統, line 15. where $\mathbf{hu_2}$**-u** is a secondary form of **huru.** However, more probable is that we have here to do with the name of one of the Chinese dynasties. The name of several dynasties *Zhou*, 周 (1046-256 BC) Northern *Zhou* (557-581), *Zhou* Kingdom (690-705), Later *Zhou* (951-961) would be a candidate, but there are phonetical problems (**tiw*). There does exist a Chinese title *zhaowu dajiangjun* 昭武 大將軍 which is transcribed as **ci-iau w-u d-ai-i s-iang-g-ün** (see also Kane 2009, 264) where Khitan **ci-iau** **朮兯** (162-362) is transcribing Chinese *zhao* 昭 ‘bright, illustrious, etc.’, see Pulleyblank:1991 YCh *tʂɛw*, LMCh *tʂiaw*, Baxter-Sagart 2015, No. 4612. *tsyew.* Because of semantic reasons this can be also excluded. The way to the solution was opened by P. Pelliot (1959, 228-229), who supposed that the name is reflecting the family name of the Song Emperors, namely *Zhao* 趙 (simplified Chinese: 赵). His reasoning was overseen, because he did not have the Khitan data, and referred only to one place (§251) in the SHM. So also CWJ1033, where Khitan **j-iau-u** 104-362-131 is correctly glossed by 赵.

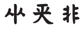
Cau G-e **而 九芬** (022 334-348) ‘a name’, ChinE *chu ge* 楚哥. The Chinese name consisting of two parts is occurring only here. 楚 YCh *tʂʰu,* LMCh *tʂəə̆,* and 哥 YCh *kə,* LMCh *ka,* the first part occurs also in Zhong30-24. The second part is frequent, in Chinese ‘elder brother, polite, honorary’ see **18.3.24**

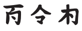
$\mathbf{ci\text{-}ur_2}$**-én** **朮化与** (162-236-361) ‘second, *feminine*’, Chin *ci* 次, see **12.3** NUMERALS

Oh-o **圣及** (377-186) ‘a name’, 7x, ChinT *a-gu* 阿古

$\mathbf{hu\text{-}ur_2}$**-én** **列化与** (151-236-361) ‘third, feminine’, Chin *di san* 第三, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

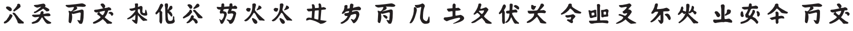
na-ha-án-er **力亚出爻** (139-051-290-341) ‘maternal uncles, plural’, 48x, Chin *jiufu* 舅父 or Chin *wengzhang* 翁帳, also Chin *guo jiu* 国舅 ‘the maternal uncle of the state’, singular **na-ha** **力亚** (139-051) ‘maternal uncle’, 5x. Plural, genitive **na-ha-án-er-en** (139-051-290-341-140), 17x, see also **na-ha-aju** **力亚艾** (139-051-82.4). The Khitan word can be compared with Mong *naga* ‘relatives on the mother’s side’(L 1207), *nagaču* ‘maternal uncle, relatives on the mother’s side’, *nagačunar* ‘maternal relatives’ (L), MMong SHM *nagaču* ‘uncle on the mother’s side', *naqačunar* (SHM 62 §[31]), '*nagaču* is used for the maternal lineage *n. aqa* elder brother of the mother', *n. bergen* 'wife of mother's brother' etc. The Mongolian word is related to the base **naga* 'this side' as preserved in *nagadu* 'situated on this side', *nagaduki* 'the nearest, situated on this side', *nagagur* 'superficial, nearer, on or along this side', *nagagurda-* 'to be on this side', *nagan-a* 'nearer', etc. The plural suffix is here **-n-er.** The plural suffix -NER/NAR is present in Mongolic, and joins vocalic endings, it occurs in words denoting people and anthromorphous beings such as gods, spritits (Poppe1955, 181-182) and specially joins terms of relatives as: *aqanar* 'elder brothers' (<*aqa*), *dewüner* 'younger brothers' (<*dewü* <*degü*) etc. We have also Mong *nagačunar* 'maternal uncles'.

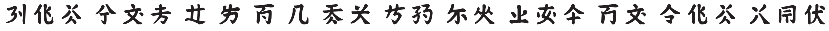
L-an-ku  (261-011-282) 'a name', Chin no gloss, occurs only here.

eme-t-en  (021-247-140) 'of the wives', genitive case, Chin *qi zhi* 妻之, see line 3.

Gao line 5

Text

/5/ 
h-ib y-ie ci-ur-er cu-ung-ung sï tu eme ku eu-uh-ñ-i t-en$_2$*-un*$_2$ *aú-ui p-úr-s y-ie*
all alive, second Cu-ung-ung *sï-tu* wife Eu-uh-ñ-i T-en GEN lady descendants alive


hu-ur-er pu-ie-ên sï tu eme ku ishi-i do$_2$*-ji aú-ui p-úr-s y-ie t-ur-er h-ing*
third Pu-ie-ên sï-tu wife Ishi-i Do$_2$-ji lady descendants alive, fourth, H-ing-ñ

Translation

5/ all (descendants are) alive, second, the descendants of Cu-ung-ung, Minister over the Masses (*sï-tu*) (and) his wife lady (*aú-ui*) Eu-uh-ñ-i T-en-un, alive, third, the descendants of Pu-ie-ên (=De-zhang), Minister over the Masses (*sï-tu*), (and) his wife lady (*aú-ui*) Ishi-i Do-ji, alive, fourth H-ing-iñ

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[31] SH 62§ *naqačunar olqunu'ut irgen* 'the Olqunuut, who are the maternal relative people'.

Remarks to line 5

From this point onward, the epitaph indicates whether the descendants of the mentioned couples were alive at the time it was compiled. The origins of the wives are occasionally detailed, though not consistently throughout the text.

Lexica to line 5

h-ib 乂关 (340-127) ‘all’, Chin *jun* 均, 108x, ??? to Mong *kiged* (<**ki*-) ‘having done and…’

y-ie 丏文 (020-327) ‘to be alive, to exist’, 37x, Chin *zai* 在, *you* 有, 37x.

ci-ur$_2$-er 朩化仌 (162-236-341) ‘second’, to **jur** ‘two’ see **12.3** NUMERALS.

Cu-ung-ung 芀太太 (102-345-345) ‘a name, ChinE *Chong Weng* 崇翁 Occurs in this form only in this inscription, but there exist **Cu-ung** and **Cu-ung-ud**, the latter 3 times in Guang. Most probably identical with *Deqing* 德慶

sï tu 廾 为 (083-202) ‘a title, Minister over Masses’, Chin *si tu* 司徒, 10x, see WF Index728, genitive **sï-tu-un** 廾 为火 (083-202-273), 2x, dative-locative **sï-tu-dú** 廾 为凡 (083-202-179), 1x, Hucker No. 5801.

T-en$_2$-un$_2$ 令业及 (247-324-144) ‘a name’, ChinT *de an* 地安. The glyph (324) was earlier <üen>, but corrected to <en$_2$> in a letter by Wu (2021.06.17). (144) is CWJ <ir$_2$> It looks like a Khitan name and the gloss as its Chinese transcription. The name occurs only in this inscription., see also line 10. 令业及.

aú-ui 尔火 (210-262) ‘lady, term of respect’, Chin *niangzi* 娘子, 142x, CWJ gives no reading for (210), but the earlier reading by Kane (2009, 60, also WJ 2010, 265) is the correct one. Its plural is **aú-ui-d** 尔火仝 (210-262-254), 1x (Zhi15-20), and there exists a form **au-ui-shi** 尔火秃 (210-262-033) 1x (Nan28-1) which seems to be a derivate **378.1-em$_2$ /28/ aú-ui-ishi sh-ia** □佥 -/28/ 尔火秃 乏才. Genitive is **aú-ui-en** (210-262-140), 13x, dative-lovative **aú-ui-de** (210-262-205). Semantically Mong *abagai* ‘wife of a prince, lady’, Dag *awśe* ‘älterer Bruder der Frau’ (to Mong *abisun* ‘the wife of an elder brother in relation to the wife of the younger brother.’ There occurred a change of semantics in Dagur). The basic word is **aú** 尔 (210) ‘elder sister’, Chin *jie*. C418 has **aú-ñ-er** 尔伏仌 (210-222-341), 2x, (Gu17-1, Song11-21) ‘elder sisters, plural’, Chin *zhu jie* 诸姐 C418. To ?Chin *ao* 媪 ‘old woman' or short form for **au-i**. Perhaps a convergence of originally two words: Chinese x Khitan?

p-úr-s (295-097-244) 'offsprings, descendants, plural', Chin *zisi* 子嗣. The basic word is **p-úr** (295-097), 4x. Accusative-instrumental **p-úr-er** (295-097-341), 1x, see MMong *hüre*, Mong *üre* 'seed, fruit', Dag *hure* 'seed' (M167), *χure* 'Korn' (M-K 144).

y-ie (020-327) 'exist', Chin *zai* 在 see above.

hu-úr-er (151-097-341) 'third', Chin *disan* 第三. To **gur** 'three', see **12.3** NUMERALS.

Pu-ie-ên (241-327-073) 'a name, occurs only here, ChinT *Fan*? 范. To Mong (← Skrt) Buyan?, the gloss is a transcription with questionmark, I could not identify the Chinese form.

sï tu (083-202) see above.

Ishi-i Do$_2$-ji (033-339 091-152) 'a name, no Chin gloss, the first part occurs also in Xu50-14 and Hai5-8. The name is in genitive case, and may have the meaning 'the nine', see the well known tribal confederation of the Nine Oguz, the Toquz Oguz. On the tribe or clan name *Yi-shi* 乙室, see WF Index 722. On the **Ishi-i** clan name see also EL, **12.3** NUMERALS, and Appendix **18.2.**

t-ur$_2$-er (247-236-341) 'fourth', Chin *disi* 第四.

H-ing-ñ (340-303-222) 'a name, occurs once more in Di4-32[32], ChinT *Xing ni* 兴你[33]. It is the person known by the Chinese sources as **Han Derang** 韓德讓 940–1011, whose name changed and he was called from 1001- **Dechang** 德昌 which was the name of his deceased younger brother, from 1010 and finally he was also formally adopted to the ruling clan, and called **Yelü Longyun** 耶律 隆運. He had no sons.

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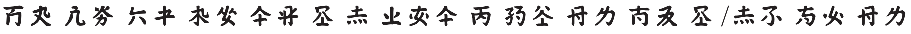
[32] *<s-in ong eu-g-ñ-i nas-én-ñ pu-shi-ñ jur-en b-hu-án nem h-ib shï s-iang-d t-ur-er h-ing-ñ y-au g-e t-ai-i ci-ng s-iang p-úr-s es ci-er>.*

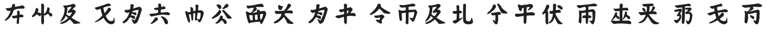
[33] Liu has *Xingning Yao* 興 宁 (=zhu) 咛? 姚哥

Gao line 6

Text

/6/

y-au g-e da_3*-ai ci-ng s-iang tai ong p-úr-s iu ji-d b-qo hor-u tai ong-on deu-un b-qo*



ar-l-o sh-a-rí go-er 025-i a-ai t-od-o-or pu-ul-ñ dai qa-an jau tau eme[34]

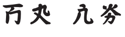
Translation

/6/ Y-au Ge (Derang, later Dechang, finally Longyun) Great Prime Minister (*ci-ng s-iang*) Grand Prince (*tai ong*)'s descendants, (are) not alive, his heir (*ji-d b-qo*) is Hor-u Grand Prince's younger brother's son, Ar-l-o court attendant (*sh-a-ri*) (who was) adopted son (*025-i*) (into) the Patriarchal Tent, fifth Pu-ul-ñ (Dewei) the Punitive Officer (*jau tau*) of the Great Han (*dai qa-an*) (and his) wife.

Remarks to line 6

Here we learn, that if a male member of the clan had no male successors, a person was adopted to continue the line of the deceased. The adoptation was into the tribe, here into the Patriarchal Tent. The wife of the adopted son is not given. In this line, after the name of the fifth son the Han clan is also mentioned, may be because the post of the punitive officer was bound or given to the Han clan and became hereditary.

Lexicon of line 6

Y-au G-e  (020-161 334-348) 'the second part of the name **H-ing-ñ ~**', see line 5, ChinT *yao ge* 姚哥. The usual Chinese transcription of the second part of the name, *ge* 哥 has the meaning 'elder brother', used also as honorific, see also Chapter **15.**

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[34] From line 6 on I do not give the interlinear grammatical structure, which remains the same. The words will be cited with their grammatical forms.

ci-ng s-iang (162-264 244-314) ‘Prime Minister’, ChinE *chengxiang* 丞相, 4x, Hucker No. 483 “Grand Councellor, in Liao the 2nd executive post in the Secretariate (*chung-shu sheng*), under a director (*ling*).”

da$_3$-ai ci-ng s-iang (214-122 162-264 244-314) ‘the Great Prime Minister’ the entire title occurs only here, Chin *dai chengxiang* 大 丞相. There exist two <da> glyphs, <da> (171) and <da$_3$> (214), an old <da$_2$> (215) was deleted because of duplication. The two glyphs occur with similar frequency and seem to be interchangable.

tai ong (374 071) ‘title, Great Wang’, Chin *dai wang* 大王. The same Chinese word *dai* is here transcribed by another glyph. This glyph functions as logoglyph. It may be connected with the glyph <d> (254) ~ (374), occurs 73 times, gentive case **tai ong-on**, dative-locative **tai ong-dú**. On **ong** see line 1. Hucker No.6103, Grand Prince.

pu-úr-s see line 5.

iu (019) ‘not existing, die, finish, end, not to be, is/become annihilated’, used as a noun, if a predicate, it functions as a nominal predicate. Also **y-iu**, Chin *wu* 无, *zu* 卒 also C361. This word is very frequent, it occurs 53 times in the Corpus. See the expression: **ci-ar iu** (162-123 019) ‘early, premature death’, (Hong20, Di16 and 5 more places), Chin *zao zu* 早卒 and a variant **y-iú** (Xian24-38), which occurs also in the expression: **y-iú-te$_2$ p-ó-ui-i** (020-289-56 295-090-262-339) (Lang2-11) ‘was in ruins, collapsed’, Chin *tui ran* 颓然. Mongolic has no such word, but Turkic has a noun with similar functions: *yoq* (Clauson 895). It is possible that this form goes back to **yo-* as Clauson supposes, see *yod-*‘to destroy, obliterate, wipe out, wipe off’, also *yodug* ‘disaster’ (Erdal 1991, 219, 257 with further bibliography) and the deverbal suffix -*Ok* (on which see Erdal 1991, 224-262). It needs further investigation how the Turkic verbal base, **yo-* itself not detectable, and the Khitan **iú**, **y-iú** can be connected.

ji-d (152-254) ‘heir??’, occurs 14 times. It looks like a plural and we have **ji-en** (152-140) ‘middle, among’, Chin *zhong* 中 C403, perhaps from Middle Chinese, see YCh *tʂuŋ*, LMCh *triwŋ,* **ji-en-i** (152-140-339) ‘among, middle genitive’, Chin *zhong zhi* 中之 C403 and **ji-hu** (152-150) ‘middle, among’, Chin *zhong* 中 C403. Here **ji-d** may have the meaning ‘among them’. But the expression **ji-d b-qó** does not fit in this semantic field, here it has to mean ‘heir’. Perhaps *mediated* son? In the sense “adopted?”.

b-qo (311-168) see line 2.

Hor-u (047-131) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *helu* 和鲁. There are two common words, **hor-u1** (047-131) has the meaning ‘1. cyclical stem Ren’, Chin 1. *ren* 任, see **har** (to *qara* ‘black’) and **hor-u2** (047-131) ‘people’, Chin 2. *min* 民 C371, the second perhaps to Tibetan *hor* “Uigur, Turk, Mongol” also **hor-un** (047-144) ‘people’, Chin *min* 民 C371, **hor-a** (047-189) ‘people’, Chin *min* 民 C371, **hor-a-an ui** (047-189-011 262) ‘a matter of people, civil affairs’, Chin *min zhi shi* 民之事 C371, **hor-s**. (047-244) ‘people, plural’, Chin *min* 民 C372. It is uncertain that the name would pertain to either common word. **Hor-u tai ong** has to be the emperor Shengzong, his eldest son, and later his second son was made heir to **H-ing-ñ Yau-ge.** In the Han inscription line 6. we find **Hor-u-úr pu-shi-ñ**, who had two children, and the elder was called **Ja-ang G-au sh-ib.**

tai ong , ‘Great Wang’, Chin *dai wang* 大王, see above.

Ar-l-o (084-261-186) ‘a name’ has no ChinT gloss. The name has to be a short form of **Ar-l-ó-o-on** (084-261-090-186-322) which occurs 12 times, once in Hong, Zhi, Di, resp., twice in Liang, DiX, and Hu and three times in Xian. It cannot be a genitive case, because we find **Ar-l-ó-o-on-er** (084-261-090-186-322-341) in Zhong4-27.

sh-ar-i (028-189-069) ‘court attendant, courtier, *langjun*’, 131x, also **sh-ia-ri** (028-274-069), 1x (Jue24-3), Chin *langjun* 郎君, transcribed as ChT *shali* 沙里, LMCh *ʂa: li*. It is a Khitan title, and one is tempted to suppose that it is an old Xianbei title, inherited by the Khitans, perhaps with changed function. It is used basically to denote the nobleman. Hucker No. 3571 “court attendant” for a possible etymology se EL.

go-er (319-341) ‘Patriarchal house, tent, a social unit of the Khitans’. See line 1.

025-i (025-339) ‘adopted son as heir to one’s paternal uncle, who has no son’, 31x, Chin *cheng tiao* 承祧, [but: ‘main, primary, host’ in (Yu14), Chin *zhu* 主 C366]. The glyphs (024) and (025) have no reading. They seem to be interchangeable. The suffixes joining these bases point to a back vocalic word.

a-ai (189-122) ‘was, were’. 140x. No gloss. This is a past continuous form of the verb **a-** ‘to be’.

t-od-o-or (247-016-186-076) ‘fifth’, 10x, Chin *diwu* 第五, to **taw**, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

Pu-ul-ñ 仐平伏 (241-366-222) ‘a name’, 10x. Same as or similar to **P-ul-uh-ñ** see Line 2. The person can be equated with *Dewei* 德威 (942-996)[35], the name perhaps may be connected with **p-ul-u 业平及** (295-366-131) ‘to surpass’, Chin *yue* 越 C462, and **p-ul-uh1 业平夂** (295-366-173) ‘intercalary month, surplus’, Chin *run* 閏 C462 or **p-ul-uh2 业平夂** (295-366-173) ‘to get over, surpass’, Chin *yue* 越 C462.

dai 而 (017) ‘great’, this is the third form used to transcribe the Chinese word *dai* 大

qa-an 丞关 (053-011) ‘the Han 韩, originally a name of a state in the time of the Warring States, later used as a family name’[36], see **Qa-an-ñ 丞关伏** (053-011-222) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *han ning* 韩宁 C373, **Qa-an G-iu 丞关 九丙** (053-011 334-019) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *han jiu* 韩九 C373, **Qa-an G-ui tai ong 丞关 九火 丕 杰** (053-011 334-262 374 071) ‘great prince of state of Han’, Chin *han guo da wang* 韩国大王 C373, **Qa-an h-ui pu-shi-ñ-en 丞关 乂火 仐夽伏冇** (053-011 340-262 241-033-333-140) ‘lady of state of Han, gen’, Chin *han guo fu ren zhi* 韩国夫人之 C373. The glyphs 乂火 **h-ui** should be *gui* 九火 <g-ui> (334.262) ‘country, state’ Chin *guo* 国,

Qa-an G-ia N-u 丞关 九才 公及 (053-011 334-335 251-131) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *han jia nu* 韩家奴 C373.

N-u 公及 (251-131), a frequent part of a personal name, name of a clan? 87x, Chin *nu* 奴 see Chapter **15.**

jau tau 丣 戋 (015-029) ‘punitive officer’, Chin *zhao tao* 招讨 C360, from “call for surrender and quell the rebellion”. The full name of the office was: **jau tau si 丣戋廿** (015-019 083) ‘the punitive department’, Chin *zhao tao si* 招 讨司. See also **hoi si jau tau 一十丣戋** (001-040-015-029),‘North-West punitive officer’, Chin *bei si zhao tao* 北 四 招讨. Hucker Nos 303, 304 招 讨使 “Bandit-suppression Comissioner” 招 讨司, “Bandit-Supression office”.

eme 丙 (021) see **L3.**

Gao line 7

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[35] Liu gives the Khitan name as **Fulening** 富樂寧, Gioro Ulhicun: **Pulinsahan** 普鄰颯韓

[36] Not to be mixed with Han 漢 simplified 汉 which was the name of a dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) and the Later Han (947-950) during the period of the Five Dynasties. Later the name of the ethnic group, the Chinese.

Text

几 业才丰 伏行欠伏 分忝伏 业亦仐 丙文 灰公 尗为 列为 北及 丹及 丙 几 土久伏关
ku en$_2$-ia-ai ñ-mú-qó-ñ pu-shi-ñ p-úr-s y-ie ñol-er qa-a hu-a xu-u b-u eme ku eu-uh-ñ-i

马余 分忝伏 业亦仐 丙文 六升公 仐为乃伏 仝关发 九芬 仐并 九尖 丙 几 力土出公村 木屮
ju-qu pu-shi-ñ p-úr-s y-ie da$_3$-lu$_3$-er s-a-am-ñ d-i-ng g-e s-iang g-ung eme ku na-ha-án-er-en ar-l

Translation

7/ (wi)fe En-ia-ai Ñ-mú-qó-ñ milady's (*pu-shi-ñ*) descendants, alive, sixth the descendants of Qa-a Hu-a Minister of the Revenues (*xu-u b-u*) and (his) wife, Eu-uh-ñ-i Ju-qu milady (*pu-shi-ñ*) alive, seventh the descendants of S-am-ñ D-i-ng G-e chancellor (*s-iang g-ung*) (and his) wife Ar-l of the Maternal Uncles.

Remarks to line 7

In this line the fifth, the sixth and the seventh of the brothers are mentioned with their respective wives.

Lexica to line 7

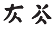
ku 几 to **eme** of line 6.

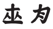
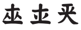
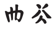
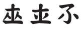
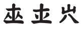
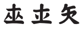
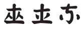
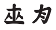
En$_2$-ia-ai 业才丰 (324-335-122) 'a female subclan name', Chin no gloss. On the reading of (324) see line 5. The basic word may have been **En$_2$-ia**, because we have <en$_2$-ia-ar$_2$> (324-335-084), <en$_2$-ia-ai$_2$> (324-335-197> and <en$_2$-ia-ñ> (324-335-197). It should be the clan or subclan name of **Ñ-mú-qó-ñ,** this subclan name occurs also as **En$_2$-ia-ai$_2$** 业才朱 (324-335-197) in Nan12-28, 30-24 and Pu3-36.

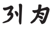
Ñ-mú-qó-ñ 伏行欠伏 (222-220-169-222) 'a name', ChinT *nian mu hun* 拈母浑, *Nian mu gu* 拈睦古 was the wife of *Ye-lü An-duan* (see WF730), similar names, but perhaps not identical persons.

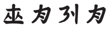
pu-shi-ñ 分忝伏 (241-033-221) 'madame, lady', 137x, ChinE *furen* 夫人. The Khitan title is of Chinese origin. It occurs also in Middle Mongolian as *hujin* and in classical Mongolian as *ujin.* The title was read by CWJ as <**pu-is-ñ**(-en)>. Dative-locative **pu-shi-ñ-de** (241-033-222-205) 2x, ablative-prolative **pu-shi-ñ-de-i,** 1x.

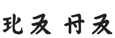
y-ie see L5.

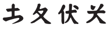
ñol-er  (085-341) ‘sixth’, Chin *di liu* 第六, to **ñol** ‘six’, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

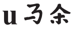
Qa-a  (053-198) ‘a name, also *kan*, leader’, Chinese no gloss. The literature on *qa* and *qagan* is vast, we do not need to go here into the details. See L2. Khitan has two forms: the short form is present in 46 cases (not distinguishing the title and the name), while the full form of the title is **qa-ha-an**  (053-051-011) which occurs 81 times. Once we find **(go-er) qa-ha-on**   (052-051-154) (Yu63-52). Dative-locative **qa-ha-iú**  (053-051-289), 11x, also **qa-ha-de**  (053-051-205), 1x. It has the plural **qa-ha-ad**  (053-051-099), 7x. The plural gentive is **qa-ha-ad-en** (053-051-099-140), 2x, plural accusative-instrumental **qa-ha-ad-er** (053-051-099-341), 4x, the form **qa-a**  (053-198) is here, however rather the transcription of a name.

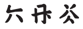
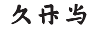
Hu-a  (151-189) ‘a name’, Chin glossed *renming* 人名, this name occurs in four other inscriptions (Yu37-58, Han3-5, Xian17-26, Jue10-23).

Qa-a Hu-a  (053-198 151-189) may be the same as **Dechong** 得崇 of the Chinese sources[37].

Xu-u b-u (036-131 311-131) ‘Ministry/Minister of Revenue’, Chin *hu bu* 户部, 4x, see Kane 2009, 39, Hucker No. 2789

Eu-uh-ñ-i  see line 3.

Ju-qu  (147-246) ‘a female name’, Chin *ren ming* 人名, the name occurs only in this inscription.

da$_3$-lu$_3$-er  (171-312-341) ‘seventh’, Chin *di qi* 第七, feminine **da-lu-én**  (171-312-361), see **12.3** NUMERALS.

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[37] Liu: **Han’a** 漢阿 and **Ha** 哈, Ulhicun: **Hege** 曷葛

S-a-am-ñ 仐为乃伏 (244-189-184-222) 'a name', ChinT *si mu* 思母 occurs also in Di7-40.

D-i-ng 仝关发 (254-339-264) 'a name', ChT *ding* 定, occurs as **D-i-ing 仝关同** (254-339-303) in Xian5-31.

G-e 九劵 (334-348) 'a frequent part of names' see above line 4.

S-a-am-ñ D-i-ng G-e may be the same as **Dening** 德凝 of the Chinese sources, who later was renamed as **Deyong** 德顒

s-iang g-ung 仐平 九太 (244-314-334-345) 'chancelor', 22x, ChinE *xiang gong* 相公. Hucker No 2331 Minister Duke "…an unofficial reference to a paramount executive official in the central government…", see **L** 4.

na-ha-án-er-en 力业出公内 'of the Maternal Uncles, genitive case', see line 4.

Ar-l 本屮 (123-261) 'a name', ChinT *ali* 阿里, also line 10, occurs also in three other inscriptions Xu48-10, Qing11-15, 13-40, Cha17-5. The Chinese transcription of CWJ is misleading. The name has to be something like *Aril*. and is a female name, perhaps to Mong *aril-* 'to become clean'.

Gao line 8

Text

8/分秀伏 业夾仐 丙 才 分平伏 丣 乇火 舟力关 舟力 仐火伏 令用夂 孑化欠 曲公 覀屮叉 业夾仐 丙文
pu-shi-ñ p-úr-s iu ia pu-ul-ñ jau tau-un b-qo-i b-qo s-un-ñ t-il-uh ja-ri-qó go-er 025-l-un p-úr-s y-ie

及化伏 戽 丰仝 丙夾及内 丙公 叉丙 为仆业为 击九当 北九 业为亦 本本 冈丙
u-ur-ñ dalu° ai-d y-au-o-ón eme-er un-y a-lu$_3$-ha-a RECORD-g-én us-g p-a-ad ci-ci 307-y

Translation

8/ milady, are not alive, (however), the descendants of the grandson of the brother Pu-ul-ñ the punitive officer (*jau tau*), (namely) S-un-ñ T-il-uh Minister (*ja-ri-qó*) adopted (*025-l-un*) into the Patriarchal Tent, are alive. These seven clan ancestors' deeds and ways (of life, *dao)* were written down to the document successively (*ci-ci 307-y*).

Remarks to line 8

Here once more an adoptation into the Patriarchal Tent for the seventh brother who deceased without descendant is related. Closing the enumeration of the seven brothers, the author mentions that their deeds are written to documents, to report on them is not his task.

Lexica to line 8

pu-shi-ñ 兮忝伏 see line 7.

p-úr-s 业交仐 see line 7.

iu 丙, see line 6.

ia 才 'brother', Chin *xiong* 兄 see line 1.

Pu-ul-ñ see line 6.

jau tau 刕 戋 (015-029) 'punitive officer', see line 6.

b-qo-i b-qo 舟为关 舟为 (311-168-339 311-168) 'child of child, grandson, grandchild', 16x, Chin *sunzi* 孙子.

S-un-ñ 仐火伏 (244-273-222) 'a family name', 12x, ChinT *zunning* 遵宁 .

T-il-uh 令用夂 (247-302-172) 'a name of a person, same as the clan name', 11x, ChinT *dilu* 涤 鲁.

ja-ri-qó 犲化欠 (150-235-169) 'prime minister', 26x, also **ja-ri-qu 犲化余** (150-235-246), Chin *zai xiang* 宰相. To Mong *jar* 'written order or instruction', *jarčim*‘principle, rule, custom’, *jargu* ‘lawsuit’, *jarguči* ‘judge’, *jarla*-‘to order’, *jarlig* ‘decree’, etc., plural **ja-r-i-qó-od** (150-235-169-016), 3x, **ja-ri-qu-od** (150-235-246-016), 1x, also **ja-ri-hur** (150-235-259), 5x, gentive **ja-ri-qó-on** (150-235-169-154), 28x, **ja-ri-qu-on** (150-235-246-154), 6x, **ja-ri-qu-un** (150-235-246-273), 1x, accusative-instrumental **ja-ri-qu-ur-er** ((150-235-246-235-341), dative-locative **ja-ri-qó-do** (150-235-169-217). Judging from the suffixes **-qu/qó** one has the impression that the word was originally an adjective ‘the one who gives the orders, sets the rules’. On the form (150-235-259) see 13.2 NUMERALS, s. v. NUMBER THREE. Hucker No.6819, 2 prefixed Left and Right senior administrative officials in both Northern and Southern Establishments (*pei-yüan, nan yüan*), rank not clear. Similar pairs were established in each auxiliary capital under a Regent (*liu shou*) of the imperial clan.

go-er (319-341) see above, lines 1, 6.

025-l-un (025-261-144) ‘adopted son’ Chin *cheng tiao* 承桃 ‘being adopted as heir to one’s paternal uncle who has no son’**.** See **025-l-ha-a-án go-er** (025-261-051-189-290 319-341) ‘inherit the ancestral temple/tent’, Chin *cheng tiao fang* 承祧房 C366, also **025-a-án go-er** (025-189-290 319-341) ‘inherit the ancestral temple’, Chin *cheng tiao fang* 承祧房 C366, ***025-l** seems to have the meaning ‘to be adopted into the family of the paternal uncle, to get, to inherit the ancestral temple’. Words with initial glyph (025) see the Extended Lexicon.

p-úr-s see line 7.

y-ie see line 7.

u-ur$_2$-ñ (131-236-222)‘division, generation, genitive ’, 10x, Chin *yuan* 院 C392, see Mong *urug*‘relatives by marriage’, Dag ??, singular nominative **u-ur$_2$** (131-236) 156x, genitive also **u-ur$_2$-en** (131-236-140), 1x, see **u-ur$_2$ ai** (131-236 122) ‘ancestor’, Chin *xian zu* 先祖 C392 written in one box 20x, also **u-ur$_2$-ai-en** (131-236-122-140), 1x.

dalu (141) ‘seven’, **dalu°** (141.1), Chin *qi* 七, see **13.2** NUMERALS.

ai-d (122-254) ‘fathers, ancestors’, Chin *zhufu* 诸父, plural of **ai** ‘father’, 58x, genitive **ai-d-en** (122-254-140), 19x.

y-au-o-ón (020-161-186-322) ‘life, deed’. Deverbal noun to **y-au-*** ‘to go’, see Mong *yabu-* ‘to walk’, *yabudal* ‘act, action, conduct, etc.’, see also **: y-au-úr** (020-161-097) ‘1. way, 2. etiquette’, Chin *dao* 道 C363, **y-au-o-ón** (020-161-186-322) ‘1.way, 2. etiquette’, Chin *dao* 道 C363, **y-au-o-ón-er** (020-161-186-322-341), **y-au-a-án** (020-161-189-290) Chin *dao* 道 C363. **y-au-li-er dor** (020-161-206-341 218) ‘etiquette, ceremony’, Chin *dao li* 道礼 C363, **y-au ui** (020-161 262) ‘1.way, 2. etiquette’, Chin *dao shi* 道事 C363, (cf Mong *yabu üyil*), **y-au-ul-ha-a-al** (020-161-366-051-189-098) Chin *dao* 道 C363, **y-au-ul-hu-an** (020-161-366-151-011) Chin *dao* 道 C363.

eme-er (021-341) occurs 147 times, here no gloss. It cannot be the accusative-instrumental case of **eme**, because it has the genitive case **eme-er-en** (021-341-140) which occurs seven times. On CWJ 1329 for **eme-er** (021-341) Chin *dao* 道 ‘road, way, moral, *dao*’ is given.

y-au-o-ón eme-er (020-161-186-322 021-341) ‘deed and way’

un$_2$**-y** (144-020), 3x, no Chin gloss. CWJ reads <ir$_2$-y>. Perhaps with the meaning ‘respective, their respective, of each of them’, or the like.

a-lu$_3$**-ha-a** (189-312-051-189) occurring only in this inscription, pertains to the base **a-lu**$_3$**-ha-**, itself a derivation from **a-lu**$_3$. The expression **un-y a-lu**$_3$**-ha-a** has to have the same or similar meaning as **y-au-o-ón,** ‘the life, conduct or similar of the respective wives’.

RECORD-g-én see above, line 1.

us-g (068-334) ‘letter, writing, document’, 76x, Chin *zi* 字, to Mong *üsüg* < Turk ← Sogd. The word had the original meaning in Sogdian ‘letter’, which through Old Turkic came also to the Mongolic languages. Genitive: **us-g-en** (068-334-140), 13x, accusative-instrumental **us-g-er** (068-334-341), dative-locative **us-g-de** (068-334-205), 16x, plural **us-g-d** (068-334-254), 18x, plural genitive **us-g-d-en** (068-334-254-140). We find **us-g-ci** (068-334-162) 4x, three times in the title **us-g-ci tai-b** (Zhi23-11), **us-g-ci tai-b p-o-ri** (Jue14-35), **y-qó-ui us-g-ci tai-b p-o-ri**$_5$ (Jue16-23), Liang6-60 is not yet clear. This is the Khitan equivalent of the Xianbi *bitikčin,* (see Ligeti, 1970, 298-302), and Mong *bičigeči* ‘scribe, clerk’, **tai b** (374.311) is Chinese *taibao* 太保 ‘Grand Gardian’ (see also Wu-Janhunen 98).

p-a-ad [illegible] (295-189-099), 18x, ‘having done, finished’, no Chinese gloss. The form seems to be a participial, i.e. deverbal nominal form, it has to have the meaning ‘to compose, write down (as a document, here **us-g**), finalize’. To Mong *bara*-‘to finish, end, as an auxiliary with gerund, indicating completion of an action’ *bi tegün-i bičijü baragsan* ‘I have finished writing’ (Lessing, 1960, 82), Dag *bare*- ‘finish, end’, *baragaa* ‘to finish, end it’ (N119), *bara*- ‘zu Ende bringen’ (M-K112), less probale to Mong *bari*- ‘to hold, grasp; to set up; to present’, ‘to build’, Dag *bari*- ‘to take, to catch; to touch, to set (a bone)’ (M119), *bari* ‘halten’ (M-K 112, 1143).

ci-ci [illegible] (162-162) ‘together with, etcetera, and so on’ (K96), 39x, Chin no gloss. To Mong *jiči* ‘and, also, furthermore’, ??Dag *cici*- ‘to throw, spread, sow’ (M129).

307-y [illegible] (307-020) frequent, occurs 62 times. No Chin gloss. Its function looks like an assertation, a form closing a sentence as a predicate, perhaps as **a-i**, or **a-a-i**.

Gao line 9

Text

9/[illegible]

n-i-gu m-ir-jï ul$_2$ ETERNAL-li4-ha-a-ar nem-ri-er pu g-e sï tu eme ku eu-uh-ñ-i iu-uh-ñ aú-ui b-qo

[illegible]

emu° l-iu-ñ go s-a-am ja-ri-qó eme-t p-ar jur GREAT xe-l-ñ pu-shi-ñ na-ha-án-er SMALL-qó aju-en

Translation

9/ (However) the female ancestors’ deeds (??? *m-ir-jï*) have not been perpetuated. The eighth (son of **Tie-ên y-au-ji$_3$ Sin wang** that is of ***Han Kuangsi*** 韓匡嗣 917-982) was Pu-G-e (=De-chang) Minister over the Masses (*sï-tu*) and his wife lady (*aú-ui*) Eu-uh-ñ-i Iu-uh-ñ, their first son (was) L-iu-ñ Go S-a-am (Guosan) Minister (*ja-rí-qó*) (who had) two wives, the elder (was) Xe-l-ñ milady (*pu-shi-ñ*), from the Maternal Uncles’, Junior Father-in-law’s

Remarks to line 9

Here the enumeration reaches the eighth son of Sin ong whose name was Pu Ge. In the following his descendants are enumerated. It begins with his first son Go S-a-am.

Lexicon to line 9

n-i-gu1 公关勺 (251-339-165) ‘female ancestor’, 37x, also **n-i-gu$_2$** 公关勺 (251-339-165.1), 4x, ChinE *nügu* 女古 ‘female ancestor’, plural **n-i-gu-d** 公关勺仝 (251-339-165-254), 1x. The word is a loanword from Chinese.

m-ir-jï 叉刃友(133-137-087) here ‘history? deeds?’. In other places: **m-ir-jï** ‘mayor, head of township’, 27x, Chin no gloss, also **m-ir-c-i** 叉刃朩关 (133-137-162-339), perhaps also **m-ri-ji** 叉化友(133-235-087), **m-ir-c-u-ji** (133-137-162-131-152) ?genitive?, to **m-ir**, Chin *mili* 弥里. ‘an administrative unit’, WF 728, *mi-li-ji* 弥里己 ‘an official’ (WF728), see line 16.

ul$_2$ 汐 (336) ‘not (negation of verbs or verbal forms)’, 130, Chin *bu* 不 to Mong *ülü* ‘negation’, Dag *ule* ‘negation adverb used in conjunction with [](e)n’ (M232), *ul* ‘Negationspartikel’ *ul, ulu* ‘nicht (Negation beim Verbum)’ (M-K141).

ETERNAL-li$_4$-ha-a-ar 求冊走为本 (063-310-051-189-123) ‘perpetuated, fixed, written down’, 5x, see also **ETERNAL-li$_4$-ha-a-án** (063-310-051-189-290) and **ETERNAL-li$_4$-ha-án** (063-310-051-290), Chin *zhuan* 撰 ‘to write, compose’

nem-ri-er 丕化仌 (007-235-341) ‘eighth’, Chin *diba* 第八, see **13.2** NUMERALS.

Pu G-e 分 九券(241 334-348) ‘a name’, ChinT *fu ge* 福哥, the name occurs only here, also **Pu G-e$_2$.** The eighth son of **Tie-ên y-au-ji$_3$ Sin wang (*Han Kuangsi*** 韓 匡嗣 917-982).

sï tu 廿 另 (083-202) ‘Minister over the Masses’, Chin *situ* 司徒, see line 5.

eme ku 丙 几 (021-178) see line 3.

Eu-uh-ñ-i 去久伏关 (067-172-222-339) see line 3.

aú-ui 尔火(210-262) see line 5.

b-qo 丹力(311-168) see line 2.

emu 毛 (027) see line 3.

L-iu-ñ 屮丙伏 (261-019-222) ‘a name’, ChinT *liu ni* 留你, genitive of **Liu**? 15x

Go 曲 (319) ‘a name’, 3x, ChinT *guo* 郭 also **G-au** 九夹 (334-161).

S-a-am 仐为乃 (244-189-184) ‘a name’, 18x, Chin *san* 三.

Go S-a-am 曲 仐为乃(319 244-189-184), see *Guosan* grandfather of *Guoshi,*

ja-ri-qó 犲亿欠 (150-235-169) see line 8.

em-t p-ar 丙令 业丰 (021-247 295-123) see line 4.

p-ar 业丰 (295-123) see **eme-t-p-ar.**

jur 圣 (134) ‘two’, Chin *er* 二, **12.3** NUMERALS.

GREAT 又 (373) see line 1.

Xe-l-ñ 圣屮伏 (268-261-222), ‘a female name’ 8x, ChinT *jie ling* 解领, see Uigur *kelin* ‘bride’.

pu-shi-ñ 兮秃伏 (241-033-222) see line 3.
na-ha-án-er 力圭出公 (139-051-290-341) see line 4. The unit **na-ha-án-er SMALL-qó aju-en** 力圭出公 州欠 艾冇 (139-051-290-341 188-169 082.1-140). ‘the father-in-law (group of) the Junior Maternal Uncles’ occurs 18 times.

SMALL-qó 州欠 (188-169), here the younger wife, see line 1.

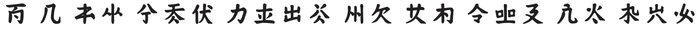
aju-en 艾冇 (082.1-140) ‘father-in-law?’, 36x, Chin *weng* 翁, looks like a genitive of **aju** (082.1) which occurs 9 times, but here it is uncertain.

Gao line 10

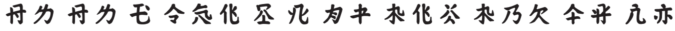
Text

10/令用当 分 叉为 九亦 /杰不 丹力 丹列出 乇 叉及 分火 八才 公叒 仐并 九火

t-il-én pu m-a g-ün ong-on b-qo b-hu-án dur° m-o pu-ung h-ia n-u s-iang g-ung



eme ku ar-l pu-shi-ñ na-ha-án-er SMALL-qó aju-en t-en$_2$*-un*$_2$ *g-ung ci-iú-un*



b-qo b-qo emu° t-ang-ur$_2$ *tai shï a-ai ci-ur-er ci-am-qó s-iang g-ün*

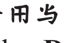
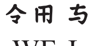
Translation

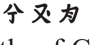
10/ T-il-én, imperial son-in-law (*pu-ma*), prefecture wang (*g-ün ong*) (they had) four children, the eldest Pu-ung H-ia Nu Chancellor (*s-iang g-ung*) (from his) wife, milady Ar-l, who was from the Maternal Uncles Junior Father-in-law (*aju-en*) (and) the child (=daughter, *b-qo*) of T-en$_2$-un$_3$, princess *(g-ung c-iú)* (their) first child (*b-qo emu*), was T-ang-ur$_2$ Grand Preceptor (*tai-shï)*, the second (son namely of G o S-a-am) Ci-am-qó general (*s-iang g-ün*).

Remarks to line 10

As we have seen Pu Ge, the eighth son of Sin wang, had one son Go S-a-am. Go S-a-am's eldest son was Pu-ung H-ia N-u, whose first son T-ang-úr is mentioned. The second son of Go S-a-am was Ci-am-qó.

Lexicon to line 10

T-il-én  (247-302-361) 'a name', ChinT *di nian* 敌辇 Gu5 迪辇 (Gao10 C441) also **D-il-én$_2$ abu** Chin *di nian a bu* 敌辇阿不 (Zhong28 C447) 18x, also **t-il-én$_2$**  (247-302-100), 2x, ChinT *dinian* 迪辇, most probably Chinese *Di-lian*, see WF Index 743. A name pertaining to the Xiao Di-lu 蕭 敵魯. The lineage of Taizu's wife's father had two branches the Senior Patriarchal Tent and the Junior Patriarchal Tent, probably descended from Taizu's wife's blood brothers *Di-lu* and *A-gu-zhi* 阿古只. *Di-lian* was the style of Xiao Di-lu. Here T-il-én is introduced as the father of Xe-l-ñ, the wife of L-iu-ñ Go S-a-am Minister (*ja-rí-qó*).

pu m-a  (241 133-189) 'Imperial son-in-law', 28x, ChinE *fuma* 駙馬. This Khitan title of Chinese origin is the equivalent of Mong *kürgen* 'son-in-law' see *kürge-* 'to cause to arrive, conduct the bride to the home of her husband, to give as present'. Hucker No 2083 "title conferred on the consorts of the Imperial Princesses (*kung-chu*)".

g-ün ong (334-329 071) 'head of prefecture, prefecture wang', ChinE *jun wang* 郡王, Hucker No. 1800 "ordinarily prefixed with place-name designating the noble's real or nominal fief; normaly granted to sons of Imperial Princes (*ch'in wang*) by their principal wives, except for the eldest son (see *shi-tzu*)".

b-qo b-hu-án (311-168 311-151-290) 'child and children', 21x, Ch *haizi* 孩子 'baby', Though it may be here a short form of the genitive construction **b-qo-i b-hu-án** (311-168-339 311-151-290) which occurs only 2x, logically it has to mean here 'children' (*b-hu-án*), perhaps small children, babies.

b-hu-án (311-151-290), see line 4.

dur (268) 'four', Chin *si* 四, see **12.3** NUMERALS.
m-o (133-186) 'big, eldest', 205x, Chin *zhang* 长 see line 4.

Pu-ung H-ia N-u (241-106 340-335 251-131) 'a name', ChinT *feng jia nu* 冯家奴, occurs only here, but see **Ong H-ia Nu** in **L**11.

s-iang g-ung (244-314 334-345), see line 7.

eme ku (021-178) see line 3.

Ar-l (123-261) 'female name', 6x, see **L**7 and Chapter 15.
pu-shi-ñ 241-033-222) see line 3.

na-ha-án-er (139-051-290-341) see line 4.

SMALL-qó (180-169) see line 1.

aju-en (082.1-140) 'father-in-law', see line 9.

T-en$_2$-un$_2$ (247-324-144), see line 5.

g-ung ci-iú-un (334-345 162-289-273) 'princess, genitive', ChinE *gong zhu zhi* 公主之, occurs in Ling9, Liang9, Jue8. Hucker No. 3408: Princess or Imperial Princess.

b-qo b-qo 舟为 舟为 (311-163 311-163), unusual structure. In the line of the ancestors of the mother, also her mother occurs. The first **b-qo** pertains to the preceding couple Pu-ung H-ia Nu Chancellor (*s-iang g-ung*) and milady Ar-l who was from the Maternal Uncles Junior Father-in-law (*aju-en*) and the child (**b-qo** daughter, gloss *nüzi* 女子 ‘woman’) of T-en$_2$-un$_2$, princess *(g-ung c-iú)*, the second **b-qo** is the first son (**b-qo emu**) of the couple, see line8.

emu° 乇 (027), see line 3.

T-ang-ur$_2$ 令気化 (247-199-236) ‘a name’, ChinT *tang gu* 唐古, occurs only in this inscription, see also line 11.

tai shï 丞兆 (374-180), see line 2.

a-ai 为丰 (189-122), see line 6.

ci-ur$_2$-er 朩化公(162-236-341), see **12.3** NUMERALS.

Ci-am-qó 朩乃欠 (162-184-169) ‘a name’, ChinT *chu mu gu* 楚募古, occurs only here.

s-iang g-ün 仐并 九亦 (244-314 334-329), see line 7.

GAO line 11

Text

11/**丙 几 凡达夹 尔火 力圡出公 伏丰欠伏 仐并 九太火 舟为 业夾仐 丙**
eme ku 178.2-ol-qú aú-ui na-ha-án-er ñ-ar-qó-ñ s-iang g-ung-un b-qo p-úr-s iu

令気化 丞 兆有 舟为 杰 火才 公及 曲公 西关 为丰
t-ang-ur$_2$ tai shï-en b-qo ong h-ia n-u go-er 025-i a-ai

列化公 令亍丰 仐并 九亦 丙 几 伏行欠伏 尔火 力圡出公 用舟朩 曲朩有
hu-ur-er t-ad-ar s-iang g-ün eme ku ñ-mú-qó-ñ aú-ui na-ha-án-er il-b-ci go-ci-en

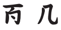
Translation

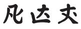
11/ (and his) wife 178.2-ol-qú lady (*aú-ui*), (from) the Maternal Uncles' Ñ-ar-qó-ñ chancellor-(*s-iang g-ung*) (their) child(ren) and offsprings are not alive, (however) the son of T-ang-ur Grand Preceptor (*tai shi*), Ong Hia Nu (who was) adopted to the Tent (is) alive, the third (son) T-ad-ar general (*s-iang g-ün*), (and his) wife Ñ-mú-qó-ñ lady, from the Maternal Uncle's Il-bi-ci Tent (their)

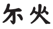
Remarks to line 11

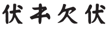
From line 11 we learn that the descendants of Ci-am-qó were not alive when the inscription was written, but the son of T-ang-ur was adopted to the Patriarchal Tent as heir. The third son of Go S-a-am was T-ad-ar.

Lexica to line 11

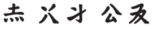
eme ku  (021 178) see line 3

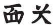
178.2-ol-qú  (178.2-115-118) 'a name', Chin no gloss, the name occurs also in Guang 23-32 *<ci-ú-qu eme eme-n h-iú 178.2-ol-qú áú-ui>* =178.2 was earlier No. 497.

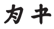
aú-ui  (210-262) 'lady' see line 5.

Ñ-ar-qó-ñ  (222-123-169-222) 'a name', ChinT *nie li gun* 涅里衮, the name occurs in Yu 4-60, 4-64 and GuD5-22, *Nie-li* is mentioned in the Veritable Records as the grandfather of Taizu, who taught tilling and weawing to the Khitans, WF 481, 489. The Chinese transcription reflects a LMCh form: *ŋjiat+li.*

iu (019) 'not exist', Chin *wu* 无, see line 6.

Ong H-ia N-u  (071 340-335 251131) 'a name', Chin *wang jia nu* 王家奴, occurs only here, see **Pu-ung H-ia N-u** in L10.

025-i  (025-339) 'adopted to the paternal uncles', ChinT *cheng tiao* 承祧, see line 6.

a-ai  (189-122) 'was, existed', no gloss, see line 6.

hu-ur$_2$-er 列化公 (151-236-341) ‘third’, Chin *disan* 第三, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

T-ad-ar 今亦本 (247-099-123) ‘a name, Tatar’, 4x, (Yu56-16, Xiang23-17, Hu4-13, Chin *ta ta er* 塔塔儿. The Khitan name is a transcription of Chinese, which reflects the original. Genitive: **t-ad-ar-en** (247-099-123-140) see in **ci-abu-qó t-ad-ar-en** (Xu17-4), **uh-ul t-ad-ar-en** (Nu6/7-1, 30-2).

s-iang g-ün 个并 九亦 (244-314 334-329) ‘general of the army’, see line 10.

b-qo p-úr-s 舟力 业交个 (311-168 295-097-244) ‘child and descendants or children and descendants’, Chin gloss *nü zisi* 女子嗣 ‘female descendants’.

Ñ-mú-qó-ñ 伏行欠伏 (222-220-169-222) ‘a female name’, ChinT *nian mu hun* 拈母浑, see line7.

il-b-ci 用舟朩 (302-311-162) ‘a title’, Chin *yi li bi* 夷离毕, see WF Index 722, Hucker No 2977: “Chinese rendering of a Khitan word meaning Tribal Judge: one of the most important aides to the Chief (*i-li-chin*) of the Khitan tribe (*pu-tsu*); at some date not clear (c.940?) all gathered into a Tribal Judiciary (*i-li-pi yüan*), with various modified designations such as Tribal Judge of the Left; part of the Northern Administration (*pei-mien*), which governed nomadic tribes in the Liao empire”.

go-ci-en 曲朩有 (319-162-140), ‘pertaining to the Tent, gen’, 11x, Chin *zhu-fangzhi* 诸房之, see line1, the base is **go-ci** (319-162) occurring twice in Lang4-2 and Yu14-30, the accusative-instrumental is **go-ci-er** (319-162-341) 3x.

Gao line 12

Text

12/列里 丙公 舟力 舟力 个肖 丞 兆 为丰 今化公 圡交中 叉为夫 业交个 丙
hu-oh eme-n b-qo b-qo s-299 tai shï a-ai t-ur-er eu-úr-bun sh-a-rí p-úr-s iu

朩化当 丙 几 九火 九券 业关伞光 力圭出公 由列 个并 九太火 舟力 舟列出 丰仝
ci-ur-én eme ku g-ui g-e p-üe-z-iú na-ha-án-er har-hu s-iang g-ung-un b-qo b-hu-án ai-d

乇 丙今 圣 中同 九太 今刃夂交
dur° eme-t jur l-ing g-ung t-ir-uh-úr

Translation

/12/son of their daughter (*hu-oh eme-n b-qo*) is (*a-ai*) S-299 Grand Preceptor (*tai-shi*). The fourth Eu-úr-bun court attendant's (*sh-a-rí*) offsprings are not alive, (from the) second wife G-ui Ge *p-üe-z-iú*, (of Go-S-a-am) (who was the daughter of) the maternal uncles' Har-hu Chancellor (*s-iang g-ung*) (their)children and grandchildren are (alive), four women (*eme-t*), two Ling princes (*ling g-ung)* (Zhi-gu?) are known

Remarks to line 12

In the enumeration the fourth son of Go S-a-am is here mentioned as Eu-úr-bun. He had no descendants. From the second wife of Go S-a-am children and grandchildren were alive when the inscription was written. The author of the inscription considered to be important here to summarize and state that four women and two *ling* princes existed (in addition, but were not named).

Lexica to line 12

hu-oh (151-377), no gloss, 'the', pronoun? **hu-oh** occurs also in Dao27-23. Genitive case **hu-oh-un** (151-377-273) in Tai12-39, Cha24-27, see 12.2.3 OTHER PRONOUNS.

eme-n (021-251) 'of the wife', no gloss, but see the next item.
b-qo b-qo looks like a dittography, twice written instead of once, (but gloss *nüzi* 女子 'woman' CWJ 1242, supposing that **eme-n b-qo** is for daughter and the second **b-qo** for 'son'). The sequence **b-qo b-qo** occurs 11x in the corpus. Nine times it appears in a genitive construction followed by **emu**^{o} as in **sh-a-rí-en b-qo b-qo emu**^{o} (Zhi14) 'the court attendents son(s), the first son was…'. It can be neither instead of **b-qo-i b-qo** 'grandchild', nor instead of **b-qo p-úr-s** (311-168 295-097-244) 'child and descendants'.

S-299 (244-299) 'a name', no gloss. Occurs only here.

tai shi (374-180) see line 2.

a-ai (189-122) 'existed, was', no gloss, see line 6.

t-ur$_2$-er (247-236-341) ‘fourth’, Chin *disi* 第四, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

Eu-úr-bun (067-097-280) ‘a name, Chin no gloss, occurs five times Xing 17-3, Yu54-24, Di17-32, Xian8-25 and here, also **Eu-úr-b-ñ** Ling10-1, Guang6-2 and Hong28-6, to **eu-úr** ‘age, ages’? pehaps “the old’?

sh-a-rí (028-189-069), see line 2.

G-ui$_2$ G-e p-üe-z-iú (334-266 334-348 295-082-258-289) ‘a female name and title’, Chin *guige biexu* 贵哥 别胥, the name occurs also in Han8 < *y-ra-u-ud l-iu-ñ g-o s-a-am di-ge-in t-le pu-un ja-ri-qó p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$ eme ku g-ui g-e p-üe-z-iú na-ha-án-oi (=er) 378.1-378.1-ñ ja-ri-qu-on n-em$_2$-d har-hu*>. She figures there as the wife of L-iu-ñ G-o S-a-am Di Ge, her father was from the Maternal Uncles.

p-üe-z-iú ‘a female title’, “***büs iu**” see Mong *büse ügei* ‘beltless, a women’, the details see EL.

na-ha-án-er see line 4

Har-hu (321-151) ‘a name, Hargu’, Chin no gloss, occurs 5 times. **Har** (321) is ‘black’, 13x, Chin *hei* 黑 C469 in the calendric terminology. Earlier <yô> see Kane 73, Wu-Janhunen 268. The argumentation for reading <yô> by Ji Shi (1996) quoted by Kane 71 has to be checked, see also Han8 **Har-hu l-ing g-ung**

s-iang g-ung see line 4.

b-qo b-hu-án see line 10.

ai-d ‘exist all’, Chin *zhu nan* 诸男, to **a-***.

eme-t see line 4.

dur° ‘four’, Chin si 四, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

jur ‘two’, Chin *er* 二, see line 9., **12.3** NUMERALS.

l-ing g-ung ‘a title, Chin *ling gong* 令公, see line 3.

t-ir-uh-úr ‘are known???? (as Zhigu??)’, Chin *zhigu* 知古, see line 3.

Gao line 13

Text

/13/**业丰为夭 令币及扎 公不 屮丙伏 孔化欠不 丕化公 冄力**
p-ai-a-012 t-od-o-or n-on l-iu-ñ ja-ri-qó-on nem-ri-er b-qo

关 伏屮穴公 乇 仐兮夫 乇灰为 丰 灰 艾 圣 夬矢
HEAVEN ñ-l-û-er dur s-iau-qú tau-li-a ai ñol sär jur när-de

佃公 冄力关 关化 九夾 叉关 木化当有 杰 伏 关 伞分屮 韭为丰 丕 山 乇灰为
sui-er b-qo-i i-ri g-au sh-ib ci-ur-én-en ong ñ HEAVEN ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar nem GOLD tau-li-a

Translation

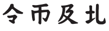
/13/ have finished (their enumeration) (??) (*p-ai-a-012).* In the fifth generation (*n-on*) Vicegerent (*L-iu-ń*) Minister's (*ja-ri-qo*) eighth son was born (*sui-er*) on day two of the month six, the blue hare year, the fourth year of the reign period *HEAVEN ñ-l-û-er* (*Kaitai* 開泰 1012-1021 [i.e on the 2nd June, 1015]. (with) the children's name G-au Sh-ib, the second ong (*wang*). In the period *HEAVEN ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar* [Zhongxi "Repeated splendour" 重熙1032-1055], (year) eigth (1039), (which was a) Yellow hare.

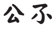
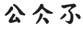
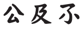
Remarks to line 13

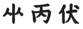
In this line we meet for the first time the owner of the insrciption Gao shib who was the eighth son of Go S-a-am. His date of birth is given. This is followed by a second date which marks his first position.

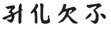
Lexica to line 13

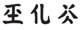
p-ai-a-012 业丰为夭 (295-122-189-012) '?', no gloss, occurs only here. **t-ir-uh-úr p-ai-a-012** has to be a verbal structure, **夭** (012) has to be a suffix, see <*tau-ui-er au-a-012 ün-én or-ci*> (Chao13) <*024-ó-ui-ñ h-012 om-úr-te$_2$ a-ar*> (Wu6), and the base **p-ai** which occurs 10 times, mainly in the expression <*ui pa-i*>, perhaps to **p-a-ad** 'having done, finished' <**p-a**> ~Mong *bara-* 'to finish, etc.'. The glyph (012) **夭** may be a variant of (011) **夹** (an). The morphological structure then may have been ***p-a-ai-a-an**. In this case **t-ir-uh-úr p-ai-a-012** may have had the meaning ‘became (well) known’. If so than the whole phrase **dur^{o} eme-t jur l-ing-g-ung t-ir-uh-úr / p-ai-a-012** can be translated as: ‘four ladies and two ling princes were known to have finished (their life)’.

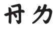
t-od-o-or  (247-016-186-076) ‘fifth, *masc.*’ Chin *diwu* 第五, see **12.3** NUMERALS, L6.

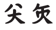
n-on  (251-154) ‘1. dynasty, 2. generation’, 16x, also **n-ô-on**  (251-252-154), 5x, **n-o-on**  (251-186-154), 3x, Chin *dai* 代 C445, ? to Mong *nigun, nugun* ‘boy, son’, Dag *non* ‘boy, child’ (M200), *non, noń* ‘Knabe’ (M-K125) see line 22, gentive: **n-on-en** (251-154-140)m 41x, accusative-intrumental **n-on-er** (251-154-341), 6x, dative-locative **n-on-de** (251-154-205), 14x, plural nominative **n-on-s** (251-154-244), 10x, plural genitive: **n-on-s-en** (254-154-244-140), 4x, plural accusative-instrumental **n-on-s-er** (251-154-244-341), 6x.

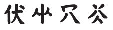
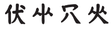
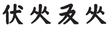
L-iu-ñ  (261-019-222) ‘a name’, ChinT *liu ni* 留你 ? see Gao9, Gao13, occurs 15 times in Han7: <*l-iu-ñ ja-ri-qó p-üe-z-iú-un b-qo*>. It looks rather as a qualifier of **jariqo** ‘Minister’. Acc. to WF (742, 448) the *liu shou* 留守 were the vicegerents.

ja-ri-qó-on  (150-235-169-154), gentive, see line 8.

nem-ri-er  ‘eighth’, Chin *di ba* 第八, see line 9, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

b-qo  (311-168) ‘child, son/daughter’ see L2

HEAVEN (243) ‘heaven, Tengri’, Chin no special gloss, occurs 287 times, and **HEAVEN-li**  (243-206) 1x (WanS2-4, on the back side of a bronze mirror). This is the only hint to a possible reading /tengri/. The name of the heaven was most probably *Tengri* or *Tenggeri* in Khitan, but since we have no independent source, I retain the logoglyph transcritption. The word is functioning also as an adjective as **HEAVEN DAY** ‘heavenly day’, the day of birth of the emperor, (Xing2), **HEAVEN b-qo** ‘the heavenly child’ namely the emperor (Xing 9) etc.

ñ-l-û-er  (222-261-372-341), ‘open’, see **ñ-l-û-ui**  (222-261-372-262) ‘open’, Chin *qi* (*kai*) 启 (开) C421, **ñ-ui-u-ui**  (222-262-131-262). Chin *qi* 启 C421.

HEAVEN ń-l-û-er a reign period, “open sky”, Chin *kaitai* 開泰 “open prosperity” (1012-1021), see **18.4.**

dur 乇 (368) ‘four’, Chin *si* 四, see **12.3** NUMERALS, L6.

s-iau-qú 仐兮夹 (244-362-118) ‘blue’, 29x, also **s-iau-qu** 仐兮余 (244-362-246), 3x, but see **s-iau** 仐兮 (244-362), 14x., which is the transcription of Chin *xiao* 小 ‘small, junior etc.’.

tau-li-a 毛矣为 (029-206-189) ‘hare’ 10x, Chin *mao* 卯.

ai 丰 (122) ‘year’, Chin *nian* 年, plural **ai-s** 丰仐 (122-244), plural genitive **ai-s-en** 丰仐朸 (122-244-140), plural accusative-instrumental **ai-s-er** 丰仐公 (122-244-341).

tau-li-a ai 毛矣为 丰(029-206-189 122) ‘the (blue) hare year’, Chin *yimao* 乙卯 ‘fourth earthly branch’,

ñol, 仄 (085) ‘six’ Chin *liu* 六, earlier only as logoglyph SIX, see **12.3** NUMERALS.
sär 丈 (081) ‘Moon, month’ earlier MONTH**,** Chin *yue* 月, plural: **sär-s** 丈仐 (081-244), sing. genitive **sär-en** 丈朸 (081-140), **sär-ñ** 丈伏 (081-222), dative-locative **sär-de** 丈矢 (081-205), ablative-prolative **sär-de-i** 丈矢关 (081-205-339) plural accusative-instrumental **sär-s-er** 丈仐公 (081-244-341), Liaoshi: *saiyier* 賽咿唲.

jur 圣 ‘two’, Chin *er* 二, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

när 尺 (159) ‘day’, earlier read as DAY, Chin *ri* 日, see line 2.

sui-er 佃公 (238-341) ‘born, past perfect’, 22x, Chin *sheng* 生, see ? Mong *süi* ‘engagement, betrothal, gifts given to the bride’s family’, *süike, süyikü* ‘earring, a part of a married woman’s headdress hanging down on both sides of the head (provided by the bridegroom’s family: a symbol comparable to a wedding ring)’, *süikele*-‘to put on earrings; to present a “süike” to the bride’, *süyile*-‘to contract in marriage (a girl)’, *süyitei, süyitü* ‘betrothed, engaged (a girl)’, Dag *süihe* ‘a kind of ear-ring’ (M213).

b-qo-i 丹力关 see line 8.

i-ri 关仉 (339-235) ‘name, title’, 207x, plural **i-ri-s** 关仉仐 (339-235-244), 32x, singular dat-loc **i-ri-de**关仉矢 (339-235-205), 41x, ablative-prolative **i-ri-de-i** 关仉矢关 (339-235-205-339), plural genitive **i-ri-s-en** 关仉仐朸 (339-235-244-

140), 1x, plural acc-instr **i-ri-s-er** [illegible] (339-235-244-341) 43x, also a denominal verbal form **i-ri-de-i-hu** [illegible] 'being nominated', Chin *hao* 号 'call, order, literary name'.

b-qo-i i-rí [illegible] [illegible] 'infant name, milk name', Chin *ruming* 乳名.

G-au Sh-ib [illegible] [illegible] (334-161 028-127) 'a name, Gau Sh-ib', Chin *gao shi* 高十. The earlier reading of ~ (127) was <an> and considered as an alloglyph of <an> [illegible] (011), see K49, WY 263 <an$_2$>, Shimunek (2017) has no reading. CWJ p.211 argues that it has to be read <ib>. This can be hardened by the fact that Chinese *shi* 十 had in LMCh a final *-p*, it was *ʂhip*. See Introduction. The name occurs also in DiX25, here read by Wu and Janhunen as **G-au sh-an$_2$**.(WY 104). It occurs also in the other Han inscription: <*t-ur-er ong-ñ g-au sh-ib ja-ri-qó eme-t b-hu-án jur*> 'the fourth (son) Ong-ñ G-au sh-ib minister had two daughters' (Han9, 13 written in 1078). In the Zhuo inscription written in1108 that is 30 years later, we read:

□ [illegible] □[illegible]□[illegible]/23/ [illegible] [[illegible]

……/22/<378.1 d-y pu-shi-ñ jur-en b-qo g-ung-un ai b-qo 378.1-y 378.1-au-sh-ib eme-t b-hu-án dur /23-/ …………GOLD hus-hu par sär nem när-en s-uni dur h-116-ir-u om-úr po-do eme ku pu-shi-ñ b-qo g-au-sh-ib-úr-u-úr> (Zhuo22-23 from AD 1108)

XX D-y milady's second child Gung-un's male child XXXX [G-]-au shib, who had four daughters, /23/……….year gold rat, month two, day eight's night four …..??? first hour, the wife milady gave birth to Gau-shib heir (*Gau-shib úr-u-úr*, written as one word and no gloss for the second part on CWJ1163).

Sh-ib see **G-au**

ci-ur$_2$-én-en [illegible] (162-236-361-140) 'of the second', see **12.3** NUMERALS.

ong [illegible] (071) '(local) king', Chin *wang* 王, see line 1.

ñ [illegible] (222), is glossed by Chin '(courtesy) name' *zi* 字, **ñ** [illegible] (222), occurs isolated 9 times, but in Ren3-19, Yu1-18, 35-83, 62-21, Guang1-17, Nan1-56, Qing 1-22 Chao1-(not2-6) are "highlighted" words with a final **ñ**, thus yet we have no parallels. The isolated **ñ** may be here the deictic particle related to Mong *inu >ni,* which is the genitive case of the pronoun **i*. The Mongol deictic particles *inu* and *anu* are following nominals and stressing their syntactic place.

HEAVEN see above line 13.

ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar 伞分屮亚为本 (245-249-261-051-189-123) in **HEAVEN ú.** ‘the Reign title *Zhongxi* “Repeated splendour” (重熙 1032-1055), 26x, also **ú-dû-ó-ul-ha-a-ar** (245-249-090-366-051-189-123) 2x, **ú-dû-ó-ul-a-ar** (245-249-090-366-189-122), 1x, **ú-dû-l-ha-ar** (245-249-261-051-123), 2x, see also **ú-dû-ó-ul-ha-a-ai** (245-249-090-366-051-189-122), 1x, **ú-dû-l-ha-ai** (245-249-261-051-122), 1x, **ú-dû-ó-ul-hu-an** (245-249-090-366-151-011), 1x, **ú-dû-l-ha-a-án** (245-249-261-051-189-290) 10x, **ú-dû-l-ha-án** (245-249-261-051-290), 1x. The basic word is a verb, from which deverbal forms are **ú-dû-l-ha-*** and **ú-dû-ó-ul-ha-*.**

nem 亚 (007) ‘eight’, Chin *ba* 八, read earlier and by CWJ <naim>, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

GOLD 山 (285) ‘gold, yellow’, 32x, ‘1. member of the cyclical stem of Wu, Ji, 2. gold’, Chin 1. *wu* 戊 *ji* 已 2. *jin* 金 C456, Mong has *alta(n)* ‘gold’, *sira* ‘yellow’, Dag *alete* ‘gold’ (M274), *šari* ‘yellow’ (M214), *alt* ‘Gold’ (M-K108), *šara* ‘gelb’ (M-K134), gentive **GOLD-i 山关** (285-339) ‘yellow’, Chin *huang* 黄 C456, **GOLD° 山** (286) ‘1. cyclical stem of Wu, 2. gold’, Chin *wu* 戊, *jin* 金 C456, **GOLD°-ur$_2$ 山化** (286-236) ‘yellow (constellation)’, Chin *huang (shi wei)* 黄 (室韦) C456.

tau-li-a 戋灰为 (029-206-189) ‘fourth earthly branch, hare’, 10x, Chin *mao* 卯, Liaoshi: ChT *taoli* 陶里, see Mong *taulai* ‘hare’, Dag *tawl* ‘Hase’ (M-K 136), *taŭl̆ē* (P92), Turk *tabïšgan, tavïšgan* ‘Hase’ (Wilkens, 605).

Gao line 14

Text

14/**丰矢 圡安 丁 乇矢 几卡 穴安 及夵 亐 业丰廿冇 叉为共 仍关 乇 丰矢**
ai-de eu-úr jur$_2$ dur-de ku-su û-úr o-oi$_2$ dor p-ai-sï-en sh-a-rí 234-i par ai-de

亐 业丰廿冇 叉为共 为丰 乇 毛 丰矢 仐杏 癶关 穴 及夵 刃丙北
dor p-ai-sï-en sh-a-rí a-ai par emu ai-de s-uni när-i nai o-oi$_2$ ir-y-li$_2$

仐兮 仐并 九亦 关化仐 令金屮岑公 乇 包 丰矢
s-iau s-iang g-ün i-ri-s t-em$_2$-l-ge-er par gur ai-de

Translation

14/ year (when he was) twenty four years old, he was made (*û-úr o-oi₂*) guard (*ku-su*) in the office of the vice head of the langjuns of the Bureau of Seals and Tallies (*dor p-ai-sï-en sh-a-rí*), and in addition in the year ten [of the *Zhongxi* period, in 1041] he was the *langjun* of the Bureau of the Seals and Tallies, (further) in the year eleven [1042] he was forwarded to the office of the head of the Night and Day (guards), which was then changed to the title Junior General *(s-iau s-iang g-ün),* these titles were given. In the year thirteen [1044]

Remarks to line 14

Here continues the report on the carrier of owner of the inscription. The date of entering his first office is related, followed by how was he forwarded within one year.

Lexica to line 14

ai-de 丰矢 (122-205) ‘in the year (of age)’, Chin *nian yu* 年于 dative-locative see line13.
eu-úr 与亦 (067-097) ‘ages’, 154x, Chin *sui* 岁, dat-loc: **eu-úr-de 与亦矢** (067-097-205), there does exist a verb **eu-úr-ge-* 与亦坌** (067-097-349) with various suffixes, perhaps to ‘fulfil the age, pass an age etc.’.

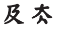
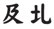
jur₂ 丁 (002) ‘twenty’, 97x, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

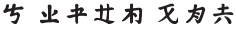
jur₂ dur-de 丁 乇矢 (002 368-205) ‘in (year) twentyfour’, Chin *ershi si yu* 二十四于 see **12.3** NUMERALS.

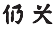
dur-de (368-205) see **jur₂ -dur-de.**

ku-su 几卡 (178-041) ‘guard, body guard’, also **ku-û-su 几穴卡** (178-372-041) ‘guard’, Chin *shi wei* 侍卫 C412, genitive **ku-su-en** (178-041-140), **ku-su-ñ** (178-041-222), Dat-loc: **ku-su-de** (178-041-205), plural **ku-su-û-úr** (178-041-372-097).

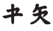
û-úr 穴亦 (372-097) ‘give’, **û-úr o-oi₂ 穴亦 及夲** (372-097 186-107) ‘having been given’, Chin *shou yu* 授予, the base is **û-* 穴**- to Mon *ög*- ‘give’. On this verb see Bai Yuanming 2022 and Shimunek 2022.

o-oi$_2$  (186-107) ‘granted, was given, was awarded, in fact a copula’, 103x, Chin *shou* 授, past tense perfect : **o-or**  (186-076), 25x.

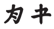
dor p-ai-sï-en sh-a-rí  (218 295-122-083-140 028-189-069) ‘langjun of the bureau of seals and tallies’, ChinE *paisi zhi langjun’* 牌司 之 郎君, a mixed title, with Khitan genitive suffix **-en**, see Line2.

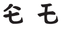
234-i  (234-338) ‘amend, supplement, in addition’, Chin *bu* 补, the glyph (234) is frequent also as initial. Judging from the suffixes it has to be a front vocalic syllable, see **234-u-l-ge$_2$-er** (234-131-261-112-341) etc. See **234-i aú-úr sär-s** ‘in the following months’ (Wu15).

par (240) ‘ten’, 179x, Chin *shi* throughout read by CWJ as <ab>, Mong *arban* ‘ten’, see MMo *harban*, **12.3** NUMERALS, Dag *harebe* ‘ten’ (M157), *χarʙ, χarban* ‘zehn’ (M-K137), dative-locative **par-de** (240-205), 1x, ablative-prolative **par-de-i** (240-205-339), 1x.

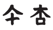
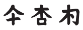
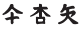
ai-de  (122-205) ‘in the year (of age)’, Chin *nian yu* 年于 see line 13.

dor ‘seal, official’ see line 2.

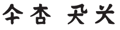
p-ai-sï-en sh-a-rí see above.
a-ai  ‘existed, was’, Chin no gloss, see line 6.

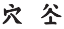
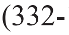
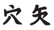
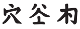
par emu  (240 026) ‘eleven’, see above**, 12.3** NUMERALS

ai-de see above

s-uni  (244-059) ‘night’ cf. Mong *söni* ‘night’, Dag *suni* ‘night’ (N212), *sun, suń* ‘Nacht’ (M-K133), gen: **s-uni-en**  (244-059-140), dative-locative **s-uni-de**  (244-059-205).

när see line 2.

s-uni när-i  (244-059 159-339) ‘night and day (guardians), genitive’, Chin *yeri* 夜日.

nai (332) ‘head, leader’, Chin *guan* 官, plural **nai-d**  (332-254), 35x, 2x, singular genitive **nai-en**  (332-140), 33x, dative-locative **nai-de**  (332-205), 8x. plural genitive **nai-d-en**  (332-254-140), plural accusative-instrumental **nai-d-er** [illegible] (332-254-341), 7x, plural prolative-ablative **nai-d-er-i** [illegible] (332-254-341-339), 2x.

o-oi$_2$ [illegible] (186-347) 'granted, was given, was awarded', Chin *shou* 授, see above.

ir-y-li$_2$ [illegible] (137-020-080) 'to transform, change', 32x, Chin *gai* 改, a verb **ir-y-il-ha-ar (**137-020-302-051-123) occurs once in Xiang 1-17, where Wu—Janhunen (2010, p.138) tentatively translated it as 'wrote' or 'compiled'. Here **ir-y-li$_2$** has to denote that the title of the Head of the Night and Day Guards was changed to the title Junior General, see **12.7** CONVERBS

s-iau [illegible] (244-362) 'junior', ChinE *xiao* 小, here a Chinese loanword.

s-iang g-ün [illegible]/[illegible] [illegible] <s-iang/iáng g-ün> (244-314/062 334-329) 'general (a title)', also **z-iang g-ün** [illegible] [illegible] (258-314 334-329), Ch *jiangjun* 將 軍, see also **da-ai z-iang g-ün** in: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] *<n-i-ing üe-ên-da-ai z-iang g-ün d-em$_2$-l-ge-y>* (Zhen22-15), Hucker No.694 "General".

i-ri-s [illegible] (339-235-244) 'names, titles', 32x, Chin *hao* 号 plural of **i-ri** [illegible]. which occurs 207 times, singular genitive **i-ri-en** (339-235-140), accusative-instrumental **i-ri-er** (339-235-341), 3x, dative-locative **i-ri-de** (339-235-205) 41x, ablative-prolative **i-ri-de-i** (339-235-205-339), also **i-ri-de-i-hu** (339-235-205-339-015), plural genitive **i-ri-s-en** (339-235-244-140), plural accusative-instrumental **i-ri-s-er** (339-235-244-341), 43x.

t-em$_2$-l-ge-er [illegible] (247-257-261-349-341) 'granted', 12x, Chin *feng*. The basic word is **t-em$_2$-*,** with the factitive suffix **-l-ge-** and the suffix of the past perfect: **-er**. See Mong *temdeg* 'mark, sign, stamp, seal', *temdegle-* 'to mark, to note down, to give a signal', *temdeglel* 'record, note, mark, sign, brand', Dag *temedehe* 'a mark, a spot' (M223), in M-K not present, see further **t-em$_2$-l-ge-y** (247-257-261-349-020) 52x, **t-em$_2$-l-ge-én$_2$** (247-257-261-349-100), 1x, **t-em$_2$-l-ge-én** (247-257-261-349-361), 8x.

par gur [illegible] [illegible] (240-166) 'thirteen', see **12.3** NUMERALS.

ai-de [illegible] (122-205) 'in the year', 86x, Chin *nian yu* 年于, **ay-de-i** (122-205-339), 3x.

Gao line 15

Text

15/**今关 火同 兮叐 九丙太 兆 业及仝 口 中 中关雨 九火伏 九叐火 及米叐火 而安**
s-i h-ing pu-u g-iu-ung shï p-o-ri$_5$ *te ai l-i-in g-ui-ñ g-u-un o-odu-u-un cau-úr*

木□当 木冬为宍 为玉亏 及米叐化有 而羽 亜伞 穴公
ci-378.1-én ci-as-a-iú a-ha-al o-odu-u-ur-en cau-ji hu$_2$*-ú nai-d*

为安 户公 为出 国中舟伏 木公 叔比太万 六中 伞米 九亦
deu-úr MANAGE-er a-án bod-l-b-ñ ci-er k-li$_2$*-ge*$_2$*-y da*$_3$*-ai s-iang g-ün*

Translation

15/ he became the deputy (*pu-u*) Palace Commander (*gongshi*) of the S-i-hing (ordu) (*jiqing fu gongshi)*. In the same year he had to manage the army of the L-i-in g-ui-ñ g-u-un Ordu, and by a second order (*ci-úr-én ci-as-a-iú*) also he headed the army officers of the A-ha-al (the same???) Ordu. By a (document) personally written (*bod-l-b-ñ ci-er (*by the Emperor), so it is said (*k-li*$_2$*-ge*$_2$*-y*), (he was with) the Great General (*da*$_3$*-ai s-iang-g-ün*)

Remarks to line 15

In this line further important steps of the carrier of Gao shi are related. He got key functions connected with the Ordu of the emperor, see **18.1.2.**

Lexica to line 15

s-i h-ing pu-u g-iu-ung shï 今关 火同 兮叐 九丙太 兆 (244-339 340-303 241-131 334-19-345 180) ‘deputy palace commander of Jiqing’, ChinE *ji qing fu gong shi* 积庆副宫使 C436, Hucker 2070, *fu gong* “TANG unofficial reference to a Commandry Governor”. *Ji-qing* see WF707, occurs only here. *Jiqing* (積慶 YCh *tsi khiŋ*)*,* is the name of the ordo built for Shizong (947-961). Its Khitan name was transcribed as *Ye-lu-wan* 耶魯盌 “Prosperity”.[38] The YCh pronunciation of the Chinese characters used for the transcription was *jɛ lɔ ɔn,* see the history of the ordos in WF542n23 and 24. The name is mentioned as early as 971 (WF230). See **18.1** THE ORDO-S.

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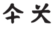
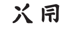
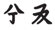
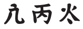
[38] According to Shiratori to Mongol *urgu*-‘to grow, to bud’, according to WF (Menges) Jurchen’*o-léh-hĕi-hûn* ‘content’ (Grube 96, 96), Manchu *elehun* (Gabelentz 64, 53) from the base *ele-* ‘to satisfy’.

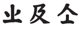
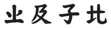
s-i  see above, ChinE *ji* 积.

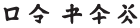
h-ing  see above, ChinE *qing* 庆.

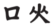
pu-u  ‘vice, deputy’ ChinE *fu* 副.

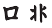
g-iu-ung  (334-019-273) ‘palace’, ChinE *gong* 宫.

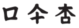
shï ‘commander’, ChinE *shi* 使.

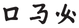
p-o-ri$_5$  (295-186-255) ‘became’ 98x, Chin *chengwei* 成为, the basic verb is **p-o-***, to Mong *bol-* ‘to become, to change into, to happen, to occur, take place, to arrive or pass (of time), to be, exist, to continue, represent’, Da *bole-* ‘become, is, happen to be, is OK, fine’ (M125), *bol-* ‘vorkommen’, *bolo-* ‘reifen, werden’ (M-K115). The Khitan verbform **p-o-ri$_5$** is a past tense form. See **p-o-l$_2$-li$_2$**  ‘became’, Chin *chengwei* 成为, Gao **L**25.

te (323) ‘that’, 113x, Chin *gai* 该, for the plural see **te-t ai-s-er**  ‘those years, acc-instr’ (Zhong8-17, 10-23) see **12.2** PRONOUNS.

te ui  (323 262)’that matter’, Chin *gai shi* 该事

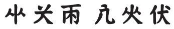
te po  (323 279) ‘that time (double hour)’. Chin *gai shi* 该时

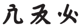
te s-uni  (323 244-059) ‘that night’, Chin *gai ye* 该 夜

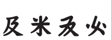
te ju-un  (323 147-273) ‘that summer’ *gai xia* 该夏

<*te ai te sär te när te po do*> ‘in that year, that month, that day, that (double) hour’, Chin *na nian na yue na ri na shi yu* 那 年 那 月 那 日 那时于

ai1 (122) ‘year’, Chin *nian* 年, see line **13.**

L-i-in g-ui-ñ  (261-339-018 334-262-222) ‘a part of a name of an Ordu’, Chin no gloss, **l-i-in** occurs 9x. Perhaps the same as *Guo’e’nian woluduo* 國阿輦斡魯朵, YCh *gui ɔ ljɛn*, LMCh *kuəǩ ʔa lia n* see **18.1.2**.

g-u-un  (334-131-273), ‘part of a name of an ordu’, 2x, both in Gao, Chin *guwen* 孤稳.,

o-odu-u-un  (186-355-121-273) ‘ordu, genitive’, ChinT *wo lu duo zhi* 斡鲁朵 之. CWJ reads <udu>, Shimunek 2017, 439 <ordu>. The word has different writings, see **9.** Orthography and **18.1** ORDOS.

cau-úr 而安 (022-097) ‘army, military’, 69x, Chin *jun* 军, also **cau-ur$_2$ 而化** (022-236), Liaoshi *chaowuer* 炒伍儞 ‘warfare, fight’ (see Kane 2009, 38), see MMo *čaur* in: *urtu ča’ur ča’urqan* ‘Waging a long (military) campaign’ (§254, also 255) (see Racheviltz, 2004, 925 with further bibliography), Hyy *ča’ura*-‘se mettre en expédition militaire’, Chin *chuzheng* (Lewicki 1959, 24), *ča’uraqui-tur* ‘dat-loc. nom fut. (ed Mostaert, 1977, 46).The word looks like a plural as “troops, army, military expedition”’. Genitive **cau-úr-en 而安有** (022-097-140), 1x, accusative-instrumental **cau-úr-er 而安公** (022-097-341) 6x, **cau-ji 而犳** (022-152), 39, ‘soldier’. A few expressions:

cau-úr ui-de 而安 火矢 (022-097 262-205) ‘in the army (affairs)’, Chin *junshiyu* 军事于,
cau-úr m-án-un ui-de 而安 又出叉 火矢 (022-097 133-290-144 262-205) ‘during the military hunting (exercise)’ *junlie shiyu* 军猎 事于,
cau-ji hu$_2$-ú 而犳 亘伞 (022-153 014-245) ‘commander of the army, campaign commander’, Chin *dutong* 都統 (Kane 2009, 93/94)
cau-úr g-ung-ur$_2$ 而安九太化 (022-097 337-345-236) ‘military merit’, Chin *jungong* 军功
see further **L-i-in cau-ji** ‘soldiers, army of Liin’ (Chao9).

ci-378.1-én 朩□当 (162-378.1-361) no Chin gloss, read **ci-ur-én** ‘second’, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

ci-as-a-iú 朩冬为穴 (162-174-189-29) ‘politics, by power of the *jasa*’, Chin *zheng* 政 C406. The basic word is **ci-as-a 朩冬为** (162-174-189), 33x, to Mong *jasa*- ‘to put in order, to fix, repair’(→ Turkic *yasa*-), *jasag* ‘rule, government, law, punishment, penalty’ (→ Turkic *yasaq*), Dag ?, genitive case **ci-as-a-an 朩冬为买** (162-174-189-011), 8x, dative-locative **ci-as-a-iú 朩冬为穴** ‘politics, by power of the jasa’, 16x, Chin *zheng* 政, **L**15. Plural: **ci-as-a-ad 朩冬为市** (162-174-189-099), 9x, plural accusative-instrumental **ci-as-a-ad-er 朩冬为市公** (162-174-189-099-341), plural, genitive **ci-as-a-ad-en** (162-174-189-099-140), also **ci-as-ha-an 朩冬业买** (162-174-051-011) Chin *zheng* 政 see also **j-s-li$_2$ 文仐北** (104-244-080) ‘governance’, Chin *zhi* 治 C389

a-ha-al 为业亏 (189-051-098) ‘??’, 4x, also **a-ha-a-al 为业为亏** (189-051-189-098), 7x Chin no gloss, has to mean something like ‘repeat, repeatedly, also’, occurs also after **es** which may mean that it is a verbal form.

o-udu-u-ur$_2$-en cau-ji hu$_2$-ú nai-d 及米叐化有 而犳 亘伞 穴公 (186-355-131-236-140 022-152 014-245 332-251) ‘the heads of the armies of the ordo’, Chin *gong zhi juntong guan tong zhi zai* 宫之军统 诸 官 同知 在, occurs only here.

cau-ji (022-152), 39x, ‘soldier, troops’, also **cau-ji$_2$** (022-153), 2x, Chin *jun* 军, to **cau-úr** see above, genitive: **cau-ji-en** (022-152-140), also **cau-ji$_2$-en** (022-153-140), accusative-instrumental: **cau-ji-er** (022-152-341).

hu$_2$-ú (014-245) ‘commander’, pertains to the verb **hu$_2$-ú- /hu$_2$-ó** (014-245) / (014-090). Perhaps: *huu <*huru,* see Mong *qura-* ‘to gather, assemble’, *quraga-* ‘id’, *quriya-* ‘id’, Dag *hore-*‘gather (collect) them’ (M164), *hure-* (variant *kure-*) ‘reach’ (M167), *χor e-, χorē* ‘sammeln’ (M-K141). See **hu$_2$-**ú (014-245) ‘1. to unify, 2. to be in charge, to control’, Chin 1. *tong* 统, 2. *zhang* 掌, C360, **hu$_2$-ú-ur$_2$** (014-245-236) ‘to unify, to unite’, Chin *tong* 统, C360, past tense: **hu$_2$-ú-ur$_2$-bun** (014-245-236-288) ‘to have been in charge etc.’, Chin *zhang* 掌 C360, **hu$_2$-ú-ur$_2$-b-ñ** (014-245-236-311-222) ‘id.’, Chin *zhang* 掌, C360, past tense. Also **hu$_2$-ó-ui** (014-090-262) ‘to unite, to unify’, Chin *tong* 统, C360, converb **hu$_2$-ó-ur$_2$** (014-090-236) ‘to unite, to unify’, Chin *tong* 统, C360.

nai-d (332-254), plural of **nai,** see line 14.

deu-úr (101-097), 50x ‘(to be as, act as) younger brothers, in the same way, to be similar’, Chin *tong* 同 ‘be the same’, for **deu** see line 6, verbal forms are: **deu-úr-bun** (101-097-288), 2x, **deu-úr-b-ñ** (101-097-311-222), 1x, **deu-úr-ge-y** (101-097-349-020) 2x.

MANAGE-er a-án (142-341 189-290) ‘have managed, operated, was in charge of etc.’, Chin *zhi zai* 知在, the basic word is a verb **MANAGE** (142), 2x, according to CWJ **MANAGE-er** ‘to know matters’, Chin *zhi shi* 知事 C400. It is a devebal nominal form, past participle, occurs 37 times. This may be in genitive case: **MANAGE-er-en** (142-341-140), 2x, the function of **MANAGE-er hu** (142-341-151) in Gu12-12 is not clear. It may be possible, that **MANAGE** is a nomen-verbum, or at least has a nominal form, because forms as the genitive case **MANAGE-i** (142-339) and the plural **MANAGE-t** (142-247), 11x. However CWJ has **MANAGE-t-i** (142-247-339) ‘to administer, to be in charge of’, Chin *zhi* 知 C400, 1x, and **MANAGE-d-ji** (142-254-152) ‘to administer, to be in charge of’, Chin *zhi* 知 C400, 1x. Clear verbal derivations are the forms with the suffix **-l-ha-** as in **MANAGE-l-ha-ai** (142-261-051-122) ‘to administer, to be in charge of’, Chin *zhi* 知 C400, 5x, and **MANAGE-l-ha-a-án** (142-261-051-189-290) ‘to administer, to be in charge of’, Chin *zhi* 知 C400, 3x, **MANAGE-l-ha-a-án-er** (142-261-051-189-290-341), 1x, Not clear is the function of **MANAGE-l-hu** (142-261-151 ‘to administer, to be in charge of’, Chin *zhi* 知 C400. The Chinses glosses are not reflecting the grammatical functions, only the basic meaning. See also the expression **ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$** (142-131-337) ‘who is managing the affairs’ line 24.

a-án (189-290) from the existence verb **a-*** used as a copula, occurs 104x.

bod-l-b-ñ (309-261-311-222) ‘personally, in person’, 73x, Chin *qinzi* 亲自 (CWJ1244), ‘imperial lineage’, Chin *huang tong* 皇统 C465. Grammatically it has to be a past participle, see **bod-l-bun** (309-261-288), 7x, **bod-l-b-un** (309-261-111-144), 6x, accusative-Instrumental **bod-l-b-ñ-er** (309-261-311-222-341), 4x, and prolative-ablative **bod-l-b-ñ-de-i** (309-261-311-222-205-339), 1x. The basic word is: **bod** (309) ‘body, oneself’, Chin *shen* 身 C464. To Mong *boda* ‘1. body, substance, 2. also *bodu* ‘large cattle’ (unit of livestock) [to *boda-* ‘count’], Dag *bode* ‘think, figure out’ (M124), *bodo* ‘erwegen, bedenken’ (M-K115)]’, **bod-er** (309-341) ‘body, oneself’, accusative- instrumental, Chin *shen yi* 身以 C465, prolative-ablative, **bod-de-i** (309-205-339) ‘body, oneself, ablative’, Chin *shen cong* 身从 C464, **bod-én** (309-361) ‘body, oneself’, Chin *shen* 身, C465 **bod-hu** (309-151) ‘body, oneself’, Chin *shen* 身 C464.

ci-er1 (162-341) ‘wrote (past perf.)’, 121x Chin *shu* 书 C409, the basic word has to be ***cir-** with a disappearing **-r** of the stem and a second **-er** of the past tense. To Mong *jiru-* ‘to draw (as a line or picture)’, *jirum* ‘code of laws’, ?Dag *šii-* ‘to write’ (M216), see Turk *yaz-* ‘to write’, Chuv *śïr* (on Turk “writing” see Bodrogligeti (1965), WOT 459-464), has to be distinguished from the homograph below.

ci-er2 (162-341) ‘exist’, Chin *zai* 在 C409, **ci-én2** (162-361) ‘to exist, be at’, 32x, Chin *zai* 在 C409. Masculine and feminine gender?

k-li$_2$-ge$_2$-y (283-080-112-020) ‘they say, it is said’, 3x, Chin *wei* 渭, past tense**:** **k-li$_2$-ge$_2$-er** (283-080-112-341), 2x, see also **k-li$_2$-ge$_2$-e** (283-080-112-348). To Mong *kele-* ‘to utter words, to speak, say, tell’, *kelegči* ‘speaker’, *keleči* ‘interpreter, commentator’, Dag *hele-* ‘talk, say’ (M151), *χele-* ‘sprechen’ (M-K138).

da$_3$-ai (214-122) ‘great’, 9x, ChinE *dai* 大, transcription of the Chinese

s-iang g-ün (244-314 334-329) see line 7.

Gao line 16

Text

16/关化 令金屮岑丙 乇 厈 丰矢 乂关同 叉发 仃叐 九丙火 兆杏 业及仝
i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-y par dalu ai-de h-i-ing sh-ng du-u g-iu-ung shï-ï$_2$ p-o-ri$_5$

乇 丕 丰矢 丙余火 屮关雨 九火伏 犳仝伏 金仐冇 叉化九仐 亜仐 伇丙 及太
par nem ai-de y-qu-ui l-i-in g-ui-ñ ji-d-ñ em$_2$-s-en m-ri-g-s hu$_2$-ú 232-y o-oi$_2$

朩化当 丰 穴 艾矢 几火安 业币伏
ci-ur$_2$-én ai nai sär-de ku-ung-úr p-od-ñ

Translation

/16/ title (was) him awarded. (He) became in the year 17 (1049) the *du-u g-iu-ung shï-ï*$_2$ of the H-i-ing sh-ng (palace/ordu), in the year 18 (1050) (he) in-between (*ji-d-ñ*) was awarded as Commander *(hu*$_2$*-u*) of the administration of the leaders of the townships (*em*$_2$*-s-en m-r-ri-g-s*) of L-i-in g-ui-ñ (Ordu). In the first month of the following year (19th year, 1051) (he) returned to Ku-ung-úr.

Lexica to line 16

i-ri (339-235) ‘title’, see line 13.

t-em$_2$-l-ge-y (247-257-261-349-020) ‘has been granted’, (247-257-261-349-020), see line 14.

par (240) ‘ten’ see line 14, and **12.3** NUMERALS.

dalu^{o} 厈 (141.1) ‘seven’, see line 8 and **12.3** NUMERALS.

ai-de 丰矢 (122-205) ‘in the year (of age)’, see line 14.

H-i-ing sh-ng 乂关同 叉发 (340-339-303 028-264) ‘name of a palace, an ordo’, ChinE *xingsheng* 兴圣, see WF 265, Khitan *Nü-ku* ordo 女古 established by Shengzong (982-1031), see also line 18, and Appendix **18.1.**

du-u g-iu-ung shï-ï$_2$ 仃叐 九丙火 兆杏 (237-131 334-019-346 180-114) ‘a title’, Chin *(xing sheng) du gong shi* (兴圣) 都宫使, commander of the *H-i-ing-sh-ng* ordu. Only here.

p-o-ri$_5$ (295-186-255) ‘became (was appointed)’, Chin *chengwei* 成为, see line15.

par nem (240-008) ‘eighteen’, **par** see line 14, **nem** line 4, **12.3** NUMERALS.

ai-de (122-205) ‘in the year’, see line 14.

y-qu-ui (020-246-262) ‘repeat(edly), again’, 22x, Chin *fu* 复, *zai* 再 C363, also **y-qó-oi$_2$** (020-169-107) ‘again’, 9x, Chin *fu* 复 C358, **y-qó-ui** (020-169-262) ‘again’, 2x, Chin *zai* 再, see also **ol y-qu ui-de** (Xian16-30), 1x.

L-i-in g-ui-ñ (261-339-018 334-262-222) ‘a part of a name of an Ordu’, see Gao 15.

ji-d-ñ (152-254-222) ‘?’, 15x, see **j-id** (152-254) 14x, has to mean ‘in-between, at the same time’, see **ji-en** (152-140) ‘middle, among’, Chin *zhong* 中 C403 ? ← ChinE YCh *tşuŋ*, LMCh *triwŋ,* **ji-en-i** (152-140-339) ‘among, genitive’, Chin *zhong zhi* 中之 C403, **ji-hu** (152-150) ‘middle, among’, Chin *zhong* 中 C403, ‘in-between, at the same time’.

em$_2$-s-en (257- 244-140) ‘of the cities, pl., gen’, 4x, Chin *zhucheng zhi* 诸成之, to **em$_2$** (257) ‘city, township, an administrative unit’, 4x, singular genitive: **em$_2$-en** (257-140), 40x, dative-locative **em$_2$-de** (257-205), plural **em$_2$-es** (257-244), 11x, plural accusative-instrumental: **em$_2$-s-er** (257-244-141).

m-ri-g-s (133-235-334-244) ‘townships, plural (*mi-li*) 评论’, ChinE *zhu mili* 诸 弥里, WF: Index 728: 彌里. The basic word is **m-ri** (133-235) which occurs 25 times. Genitive **mi-ri-en** (133-235-140), 3x, accusative-instrumental **mi-ri-er** (133-235-341), 3x, prolative-ablative **m-ri-de-i** (133-235-205-339), 3x, plural **m-ri-d** (133-235-254), 2x, plural genitive **m-ri-d-en** (133-235-254-140), 1x. The leader is called *mi-li-chi* 彌里己 (WF372) which is in Khitan: **m-ri-jï** (133-235-087), 5x. The genitive case is: **m-ri-ci-en** (133-235-162-140) also **m-ir-ci-i** (133-137-162-339). The form with the **-g-s** is occurring only here, but there exists a form **m-ri-g** (133-235-334) 2x, from which **m-ri-g-s** is the plural.

em$_2$-s-en m-ri-g-s (257- 244-140 133-235-334-244) ‘the township organisation of the cities’.

hu$_2$-ú (014-245) ‘Commander’, Chin *tong ling* 统领, see line 15.

232-y o-oi$_2$ (232-020 186-107) ‘to be awarded’, Chin *ling shou* 领授. The glyph (232) is occurring as initial in a few words. It occurs isolated 17 times, the form (232-y) occurs 5 times, twice in Gao. It looks like a converb in -y.

o-oi$_2$ (186-107), see line 14.

ci-ur$_2$-én ai (162-236-361 122) ‘following year, in the second year, feminine, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

ai (122) ‘year’, see line 13.

ci-ur$_2$-én ai nai sär-de (162-236-361 122 081-205) ‘in the first month of the following year’, Chin *zhengyue yu ci nian* 正月于 次 年.

nai (332) see line 14.

sär-de (081-205), see line 13.

Ku-ung-úr (178-345-097), ‘a geographic name, Khunggur’, 12x, (five times in Yu, once **GREAT ku-ung-úr** Yu20), Chin no gloss, ? Mong *qonggur* ‘fallow, yellow-bay’ or *qongqur* ‘a hollow, cavity, cavern’, no Dag.

p-od-ñ (295-016-222) ‘return, come together’, 2x, Chin *gui* 归, The base may have been **p-od-,** see **p-od-y** (295-016-020), 6x, **p-od-i** (295-016-339), 40x(!), **p-od-a-ar** (295-016-189-123), 5x, but also **p-od-a-ar-en** (295-016-189-123-146), 1x, **p-od-a-al** (295-016-189-098) 1x, **p-od-a-án** (295-016-189-290), further derivations from **p-od-l-ha-*** ((295-016-261-051), **p-od-l-*-** (295-016-261).

Gao line 17

Text

17/

dur° 234-a-ad-en s-eng-un p-o-ri$_5$ si-l-i l-i-in tu-li em$_2$-s tal-hu-ar

ui-s-li$_2$ d-ia t-ul-u-ui sh-ha-aju a-ar nai-en g-350-er RECORD-g 025-a-ar

/

te ai n-am-úr da$_3$*-ha-ar-i tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ai b-ar-a-an u-ur*

Translation

17/ he became Field Marshal *(s-eng-un)* of the four Tribal Groups (? *234-a-ad*). Then he had to deal with the affairs of the uprising (*tal-hu-ar ui-s-li*$_2$) of the western (*si-l-i*) rebelled cities (*tu-li em*$_2$*-s*) of Li (? Khotan?), which (he) being charged with (*ui-s-li*$_2$), he fought and crushed down the enemy (*d-ia t-ul-u-ui sh-ha-aju a-ar*). This was fixed (*025-a-ar*) in the Record of the Main Annals?? (*nai-en g-350-er*). In the autumn of the same year he was successively (*da*$_3$*-ha-ar-i*) advanced Right Wing (*b-ar-a-an u-ur*)…

Lexica to line 17

dur° ‘four’, Chin *si* 四, see line 10.

234-a-ad-en ‘??’, Chin no gloss, genitive construction. Perhaps the Four Tribal Groups (*sibuzu* 四部族, WF 99), less probable the four tents of the imperial family. Not to **234-i** ‘amend, supplement, in addition’, Chin *bu* 补, Gao14.

s-eng-un (244-175-273) ‘Field Marshal’, 75x, Chin *xiangwen* 詳稳 *xiang* 詳 LMCh *shiaŋ*, *wen* 稳 LMCh *ʔun,* accusative-instrumental **s-en-g-un-er** (244-175-273-341), Hucker No 2367 “LIAO: General, a tribal dignitary; one of the several terms that seem to be Khitan renderings of the Chinese title *chiang-chün*. Also see *hsian-kun*”.

p-o-ri$_5$ (295-186-255), ‘became, was appointed to’, Chin *chengwei* 成为, see line 15.

si-l-i (040-261-339), CWJ reads <ör> for the logoglyph WEST (040), 44x, see Róna-Tas 2019, 108-111 as who read it as **sei,** the correct reading is **si** and a Chinese loanword, ← ChinE *si* 西 ‘West’, **l-i** is a suffix, see Mong *-lig*, a hybrid construction, see also: **s-i g-iu-ung-un l-iu sh-eu** (244-339 334-19-345-273 261-019 028-067) ‘regent of the west palace (capital), hybrid’, ChinE *xi gong(jing) zhi liu shou* 西宫 (京)之留守 C435, Khitan genitive construction, Hucker 3813 *liu shou si* “an office left on guard:Regency”.

L-i-in (261-339-018) ‘a name, gen?’, 9x (3x in Gao15-9, 16-16, 17-6), Chin no gloss.

tu-li (202-206) ‘lean against, fight’, 4x, see **t-ul-u-ui** below, see **tu-li-er** (202-206-341), **tu-li em$_2$-es** may mean ‘the rebel cities’.

em$_2$-s ‘cities’, Chin *zhucheng* 诸城, see line 16.

tal-hu-ar (195-151-123) ‘??upraising, robbery’, Chin no gloss, ?to Mong *tala*- ‘take away, confiscate, plunder’, Dag *tale*- ‘take everything, ransack, plunder, clean out (by robbing), rob, spend up, waste’ (M226), M-K no data, only *tala-, t’al-*‘anzünden’ *gal t*. ‘zünde den Feuer an’, to *tali*- ‘blitzen’. The basic word may be **tal-hu-*** (195-151), 6x, from which **tal-hu-ai** (195-151-122), 2x, further **tal-hu-ai-li$_2$** (195-151-122-080), 1x, **tal-hu-ai-un** (195-151-122-144), 2x, **tal-hu-ai-ñ** (195-151-122-222), 1x, **tal-hu-ai-l-hu** (195-151-122-261-151), 1x, **tal-hu-ai-i** (195-151-122-339), 1x, **tal-hu-ai-én** (195-151-122-361), 1x, **tal-hu-ar** (195-151-123), may be a past tense participial form. The form **tal-hu-ar** occurs also in Yu56-57 and Tu9-3.

ui-s-li$_2$ (262-244-080) ‘the matters which cause, being charged with the matter’, Chin *shi* 事, *shi ye* 事业 C452, the basic word is **ui2** (262), ‘matter, act’, 276x, **ui^{o}2** (263), 18x, also **ui-i** (262-339), 29x, **ui^{o}-i** (263-339), 6x, **ui-í** (263-352), 1x, **ui-il** (262-302), 20x, see Mong *üyile* ‘work, act, action, deed etc.’, Dag *uile* ‘act’ (M238!), *uilde*-[machen, tun]’ (M-K141), to *weilede*- ‘dreschen’, also *weil* ‘Verbrechen’ < Ma < Mong, see Turk *qïlïnč* < *qïl-,* Chin *shi* 事, see **L**2, **L**20 and Extended Wordlist. The base is here **ui-s**, which can not be a plural, because we have **ui-s-d** (262-244-254), 8x, and from this **ui-s-d-er** (262-244-254-341). or perhaps a double plural?

d-ia (254-335) ‘??? fight, war, conquering’, 7x, Chin no gloss, Mong *dayin* ‘war, hostility, enmity’, *dayisun* ‘enemy’, *daila*- ‘to wage war, to conquer’, Dag *daile*- ‘conquer, fight’, *dain* ‘war, fight’ (M132), *dain* ‘Schlacht’ (M-K120), plural **d-ia-ad** (254-335-099), 1x, dative-locative **d-ia-iú** (254-335-289), 1x, same as **t-ia**, L22, see Chin *di* 敌=敵 YCh *ti*, LMCh *thiajk* perhaps of LMCh origin?

t-ul-u-ui (247-366-131-262) ‘was rebelling’?, 2x, also **t-u-l-û-ui** (247-366-372-262), 8x, Chin no gloss, see Mong *tul*- ‘to lean against, to fight’. The Mong verb has two opposite meanings ‘to lean against, to support’ and 'to fight'[39]. Dag *tua͡lh* 'Pfosten' (M-K138 < *tulqa*(*i*)). Here may pertain **t-ul-û-úr** (247-366-372-097) 5x. **d-ia t-ul-u-ui** looks like a phrase.

sh-ha-aju (028-051-082.1) 'to suppress, put down'?, 21x', Chin no gloss, to Mong *siqa-* 'to press, to force something upon somebody', Dag *šaa-* 'beat, hammer', *šahe-* 'wipe, clean, wipe off, erase' (M214), *śaha-* 'drücken, pressen, (be)drängen' (M-K129), see **sh-ha-al-ha-ar** (028-051-098-051-123) once, the semantics may be similar to Mong *daru-*, Turki *bas-* 'to press down, subdue' to its connection with **sh-a-rí,** see EL.

a-ar (189-123) 'was', Chin no gloss, past tense of **a-.**

nai-en (332-140) 'of the first, of the head etc.', Chin *guanzhi* 官之.

g-du$_3$-er (334-350-341) '???', Chin no gloss, (350) <du$_3$> may be an alloglyph of <d> (254).

nai-en g-du$_3$-er (332-140 334-350-341) 'the history/annals (of the deeds) of the leaders??? or the Main Annals'.

RECORD-g (052-334) 'recorded ??', Chin no gloss.

nai-en g-du$_3$-er RECORD-g (332-140 334-350-341 052-334) 'Record of the Main Annals' (?)

025-a-ar (025-189-123) 'was fixed in, put down (to the Annals)', Chin no gloss, see Gao24.

te (323) 'that', 113x, Chin *gai* 该, plural **te-t** (323-247) 2x, see **L**15, **12.2** PRONOUNS.

ai (122) 'year', see **L**15.

n-am-úr (251-184-097) 'autumn, fall', Chin *qiu* 秋, Mong *namur* 'autumn, fall', Dag *namare* 'autumn, fall'(M194), *namar* 'Herbst' (M-K123).

da$_3$-ha-ar-i (214-051-123-339) 'successively, perhaps: covering the previous', Chin no gloss, but see **da$_3$-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-aju** (214-051-123 186-149-051-082.1) 'covered, closed', Chin *yan bi* 掩蔽 C419 and

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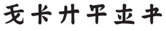
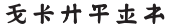
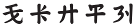
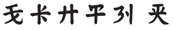
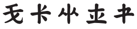
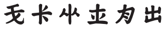
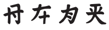
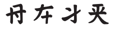
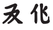
[39] see Turkic *tüš-*, → Mong *tüsi-* 'to lean against', *tüšimel* 'official, minister' etc. Hung *dől* WOT 299-303 and its backvocalic pair *tul-* 'id,'.

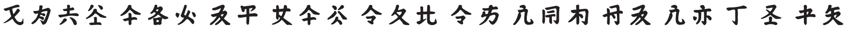
da-ha-ar o-ju-ha-ai ‘cover up’, Chin *yan bi* 掩闭, C411. **da$_3$** (214) and **da** (171) are alloglyphs, see EL. ? to Mong *daga-* ‘to follow, to comply with’, Dag *dahe-* ‘follow’ (M131), *daha-* ‘folgen, nachfolgen’ (M-K120).

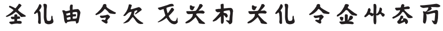
tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ai  (029-041-090-366-051-122), 8x, Chin no gloss, see Mong *dabsi-* ‘to advance’, see further, L24, L25, see **tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ar**  (029-041-090-366-051-123), **tau-su-ó-ul-hu**  (029-041-090-366-151), 8x, **tau-su-ó-ul-hu-an**  (029-041-090-366-151-011), 1x., also **tau-su-l-ha-ai**  (029-041-261-051-122), 15x, **tau-su-l-ha-a-án**  (029-041-261-051-189-290), 3x.

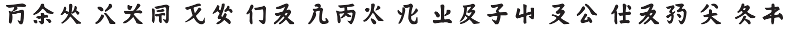
b-ar-a-an  (311-084-189-011) ‘right (side)’, 6x, Chin *you* 右 also  **b-ra-ia-an** (311-084-335-011), 1x, Mong *baragun* ‘right-hand side, west’, Dag *baren* ‘right (direction)’ (M119), *barān* ‘recht’ (M-K112).

u-ur$_2$ (131-236) ‘wing (of an army), division’, 158x, Chin *yuan* 元 in Gao21, genitive **u-ur$_2$-en** (131-236-140), 1x.

Gao line 18

18/
sh-a-rí-d s-eng-un u-ul sär-s-er t-uh-li$_2$ t-le g-ing-en b-u g-ün jur$_2$ jur ai-de


xe-ri-pu t-qó sh-i-en i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y


y-qu-ui h-i-ing sh-ng du-u g-iu-ung shï p-o-l$_2$-bun un$_2$-n mu-u-ji HEAVEN as-ar

Translation

18/ Marshal of the Langjuns. During (*t-uh-li$_2$*) the winter months (he functioned as) the Commander of the South Capital infantry, in the year 22 (1054) the office of the Governor General (*dushi*) of Haibei (*Xe-ri-pu$_2$*) was him awarded, and again he became (*p-o-l$_2$-bun*) the *du-u g-iu-ung shï*. In the first year (? *un$_2$-n* 1055)[40] of the reign period *m-u-ji HEAVEN as-ar* [Qing ning 1055-1065].

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[40] The expression **un$_2$-n** ‘present, now’, has to have here the meaning, that in the first year of the new reign era.

Lexica to line 18

sh-a-rí-d s-eng-un 'langjun marshall', Chin *langjun xiangwen* 郎君 祥穏, see line 2., 17., Hucker No 3571.

u-ul (131-366) 'winter', 15x, Chin *dong* 冬 C393, cf. Mong *ebül, öbül* 'winter', Dag *eule* 'winter' (M146), *uhul* 'Winter' (M-K140).

sär month', see line 13.

u-ul sär-s-er 'in the winter months, pl. accusative-instrumental', Chin *dong yue* 冬月.

t-uh-li$_2$ (247-172-080) 'during??', no gloss, 56x cf. Mong *tugul-, togul-, tagul-* 'to pass, surmont, go through'.

t-le (247-093) 'south', 33x, Chin *nan* 南, also **de-le** 19x (254-093). The glyph **dele** (294) seems to be a homoglyph. **dele1** has the meaning 'tribe, pertaining to a tribe', and **dele2** 'south'. The word may be connected with Mong *düli* 'half, middle, middle of the day, night, noon', *qoyar düli* 'the two middle: noon and midnight' (L). In Dagur 'midday' is according to Enkhbat (1984, 47) *udur dwand*, Martin (1961:291) has *udure duande*, similar expressions at Muromskij: *udur duandä, uduri duańda* 'Mittag' (Kałużyński 1970, 140) and Poppe (1930, 1934/35). The Mongolian word is a loan from WOT, see Chuv *těl, tö̆l* 'place, time' < **dül,* OT *tüš* 'time, midday, the place for a stop at midday, noon' and Hungarian *dél* 'south, midday' (Róna-Tas—Berta 2011, 291-294). In Dagur 'south' is *əməl* (DaE), *emele* (Martin), *emen, emel, emüne, emende* (Muromskij) etc. all connected with Mong *emüne, ömüne* 'south, in front, before'. The Khitan **t-le** etc. occurs frequently with **g-ing** (334-303) 'South capital' (See Róna-Tas 2019), see **t-le-ñ cau-ji-er** (247-093-222 022-152-341) 'southern army, southern soldiers, the solder of the South' (Tu2-12), also **t-ie-ra-d.**

g-ing (334-303) 'capital', 20x, ChinE *jing* 京, a Chinese loan, already embeded into Khitan: genitive **g-ing-en** (334-303-140) 'capital', 34x, dative-locative **g-ing-de** (334-303-205), 4x, plural **g-ing-d** (334-303-254), 1x, plural, genitive **g-ing-d-en** (334-303-254-140), 2x.

b-u g-ün (311-131 334-329) 'infantry', Chin *bujun* 步軍, a Chinese loanword, YCh *pu,* LMCh *pɦuə̌,* YCh *kyn,* LMCh *kyn.*

g-ün see **b-u g-ün** above.

jur₂ (002), ‘twenty’ 97x, the reading is uncertain, Chin *ershi* 二十 C358, See **12.3** NUMERALS.

jur (134) ‘two’, also **ci-ur** see **12.3** NUMERALS.

jur₂ jur ai-de (002 134 122-205) ‘in year 22’, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

ai (122) ‘year’, see line 13.

Xe-ri-pu₂ (268-235-320) no gloss, see **Xe-ri-y ci-eu-un** (268-235-020 162-067-273) ‘prefecture Haibei, genitive’, Chin *hai bei zhou zhi* 海北州之 C454 (Cha12).

sh-i (028-339) ‘part of a title’, Chin *shi* 使, see **t-qó sh-i.**

t-qó sh-i (247-169 028-339) ‘governor general, military comissioner’, Chin *dushi* 度使, (=*jiedushi* 節度使) also **t-qu-shi** (247-246 028-339) (Xiang11), p. 144 Genitive **t-qó sh-i-en** (247-246/169 028-339-140) Hucker No. 777: “Military Commissioner. In Liao there were Military Commissioners in charge of most Prefectures (*chou*) and Military Prefectures (*chün*), under the control of the Southern Administration (*nan-mien*)”, see **t-qó** in EL.

i-ri (339-235) ‘name, title’, see line 13.

t-em₂-l-ge₂-y ‘granted’ (247-257-261-112-020), Chin *feng* 封, see lines 14, 16.

y-qu-ui (020-246-262) ‘complex??, repeat, again’, Chin *fu* 复, see line 16.

H-i-ing sh-ng (340-339-303 028-264) ‘name of a palace, an ordo’, ChinT *xingsheng* 兴圣, see WF 265, Khitan **Nü-ku** 女古 ordo established by Shengzong (982-1031), see **18.1** THE ORDO-S.

sh-ng see **H-i-ing sh-ng** above.

du-u g-iu-ung (237-131 334-019-345) ‘metropolis, ordo’, Chin *dougong* 都宫 L18.

du-u g-iu-ung shï 仃叐 九丙氺 兆 (237-131 334-019-345 180) ‘a title, commissioner of the ordo’, L18, ChinE *dougong shi* 都 宫使, on C404 **du g-iu-ung shï 仃 九丙氺 兆** (237 334-019-345 180) and **du g-iú-ung shï 仃 九尖氺 兆** (237 334-289-345 180), both *dougong shi* 都 宫使.

g-iu-ung see **du-u g-iu-ung** above.

shï see **du-u g-iu-ung shï** above.

p-o-(l)-* 业及 (295-186) ‘to be appointed to, promoted to’, Chin *shen* 申, cf. Mong *bol-* ‘to become, to change into’, *bolga-* ‘to cause to be’, *bolugad* ‘having become’, Dag *bole-*‘to become’, *bole-gaa-* ‘to make into, put into effect’ (M125), *bol-* ‘vorkommen’, *bolo-* ‘reifen, werden’, *bolohu-* ‘reifen, reif werden’ (M-K 115), the extant paradigm see **12.5** VERB.

un-n 叉公 (144-251), 20x, ‘of this?, or ‘then, afterwards??’??’, Chin *jin* 今, ‘now, present’ ? also **un-n-en 叉公杓** (144-251-140) 3x, looks like a genitive construction.

mu-u-ji 仕叐犳 (224-131-152) ‘sacred, great, holy (of an Emperor etc.)’, 43x, Chin *sheng* 圣, also **mu-u-ji$_2$ 仕叐犳**, (224-131-153), 7x, **mu-u-ji$_3$ 仕叐彴** (224-131-337), 3x, genitive **mu-u-ji-en** (224-131-152-140), dative-locative **mu-u-ji-de,** plural **mu-u-ji-d,** plural accusative-instrumental **mu-ji-d-er.**

HEAVEN 关 (243) ‘Heaven, Tengri’, 287x, Chin 天, see above line 13.

as-ar 冬本 (174-123) ‘clear, quiet, peace, peaceful’ (K56) there does exist also a person’s name **As-ar 冬本** (174-123), ChinT *a sa li* 阿撒里 Zhi13 C412 **As-ar-ñ 冬本伏** (174-123-222) ‘a person’s name, genitive’, ChinT *a sa li* 阿撒里 C412 Yong32[41]

mu-u-ji HEAVEN as-ar 仕叐犳 关 冬本 ‘according to the will of the holy Clear Heaven, the Qingning period (1055-1065), Chin *sheng qing ning* 圣清 寧 (宁) “Holy Clear Tranquility”.

Gao line 19

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[41] *as-ar n-ai ci-er h-ün sï eme-u ku-û-un ai eme,* Chin *qi di jun zi min ren zhi fumu* 岂第 君子民 認 之父母 (CWJ 412), ‘parents of Qi Di’ Jun Zi min (Guang19) in fact ‘the parents (*ai eme*) of the wife (*eme-u ku-û-un*) of As-ar nai ci-er H-ün sï’ [*junzi* gentleman, *min* people, *ren*??].

Text

19/
hong di-en m-in s-abu-s-or ci-299 h-s-ge$_2$-ud sh-i-l-oi$_2$-én d-em$_2$-e

□□□□ □□
378.1-378.1-378.1-378.1 378.1-378.1 eme-er na$_2$-li$_2$-ge$_2$-y HEAVEN as-ar om-úr s-iau-qú

ém-a ai-de te-hu g-iu-ung-un shï-ï a-ai b-as xe-ri-pu t-qó sh-i-en i-ri d-em$_2$-l-oi$_2$-y dur ai-de

Translation

/19/ (he) took part in the burial ceremonies (*m-in s-abu-s-or)* of the Emperor (*Xinzong* 1031-1055) (with his) first wife (*ci-299*) and the representatives (*d-em$_2$-e*) of the regions and tribes (????*h-s-ge$_2$-ud sh-i-l-oi$_2$-én)* XXXXXX, the townships were pacified (*na$_2$-li$_2$-ge$_2$-y*). In the first year of *HEAVEN as-ar* [*Qing ning* 1055 the year of the enthronement of the new Emperor Daozong] (a) blue goat year, again (he) was the Comissioner *(g-iu-ung-un shï-ï)*, and also the title of the Governor General (*t-qó-shi)* of Hai bei (*Xe-ri-pu*) was on him (re-) conferred. In the year four (1059)

Lexica to line 19

hong-di (075-037) 'Emperor', 11x, ChinE *huangdi* 皇帝, genitive: **hong di-en** (075-037-140), 22x, also **hong-di-in** (073-037-018), 13x, dative-locative **hong-di-de** (075-037-205), 1x.

m-in1 (133-018) 'tomb, mausoleum', Chin *mu* 墓 C393.

m-in2 (133-018) 'court, aministration, position', Chin *chao* 朝 C394, on CWJ p. 1245, gloss Chin *wei* 位 'place, location', also C393 in the expression **m-in s-abu-o-ón** (133-018 244-196-186-322) genitive **m-in-i** (133-018-339) 'court, administration', Chin *chao* 朝 C394, accusative-instrumental **m-in-er** (133-018-341) 'court, administration', Chin *chao-yi* 朝 以 C394 dative-locative **m-in-de** (133-018-205) 'court, administration', Chin *chao yu* 朝于 C393.

s-abu-s-or (244-196-244-076) ‘to approach, assume, undertake; which is, that is immediately, acession to (the throne)’, Chin *ji* 即 . The base has to be **s-abu-** (244-196), 4x, also **s-a-abu-** (244-189-196), 1x, from which **s-abu-an** (244-196-011), **s-abu-y** (244-196-020), **s-abu-ha-** (244-196-051) and derivatives from this secondary base. For the expression we have the following compositions:

m-in s-abu-o-or (133-018 244-196-186-076) (Xing4, Dao7,) 14x
m-in s-abu-o-ón (133-018 244-196-186-322) (Yu9), 11x, Chin *weiji* 位 即 (*ji wei* 即位) C393
m-in s-abu-s-li$_2$ (133-018 244-196-244-082) (Yu22), 5x
m-in s-abu-y (133-018 244-196-020-080) (Xing22, Ren7) 14x.

In most cases we find before **sabu-: hong-di m-in, hong-di-in min, b-qo m-in, b-qo-i b-qo min**, but also **au-ui m-in** (Yu9), therefore I think that **m-in s-abu** has to have the meaning ‘take part in the rituals of the burial’ and we have only one **m-in.** Otherwise the Khitan word may also to denote to ‘take place’, hence ‘to ascend to the throne’, Chin *ji wei* 即位.

ci-299 (162-299) ‘first, legal wife’, 20x, Chin *xian pei* 先配 C407 once, **ci-299-de,** 1x (Zhen23-30).

h-s-ge$_2$-l (340-244-112-261) ‘region, area, section’, also **h-s-ge-l** (340-244-349-261) (K115 **h-s-ge$_2$**, but this form does not exist), **h-s-ge$_2$-ud** (340-244-112-344), 10x, plural, ‘region, area, section’ also **h-s-ge-ud** ((340-244-349-344), 28x, Chin no gloss, see perhaps Liaoshi *xishou* 奚首 YCh *xi̯iw* ‘the name of a cantonment or tent’ (WF1949, 297 n 209), cf. ? Mong *keseg* ‘part, division’, MMo *kesig* ‘shift (of the guards), or *kasiya(n), kasiga* ‘hedge, fence, enclosure’, Dag *hesehe* ‘one part’ (M161) here also **h-s-ge-l**? genitive **h-s-ge$_2$-l-en** (340-244-112-261-140), accusative-instrumental **h-s-ge-l-er** (340-244-349-261-341), dative-locative **h-s-ge$_2$-l-ui** (340-244-112-261-262), plural, genitive **h-s-ge-ud-un** (340-244-349-344-144).

sh-i-l-oi$_2$-én (028-339-261-107-361) ‘?tribe’, 1x only here, Chin no gloss, perhaps to *shi lie* 石列, ‘tribal unit’, same as **sh-il-l-u-én** (028-302-261-131-361) (Chao26-5) no gloss, see also **Sh-il-u** (028-302-131) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *shi lu* 室鲁、释鲁 C366, for the latter see WF135n, and *Ye-lü Shi-lu,* Index 751, see ?Mong *silugun* ‘straight, plain, frank, honest’, *silugun čagan qosigun* “plain with white banner”, one of the eight banners of the Chahar league (Manchu military system), Chin *zheng bai qi* 正白旗, or a backloan from Chin *shi lie* 石烈. Unclear, the final **-én** is here unexpected instead of the genitive marker **-en** (140).

d-em$_2$-e 仌金券 (254-257-348) ‘a part of a title, ?? the representative’, 2x, ChinT *temo* 特末, see Liang23-32: **ci-i-shi-en d-em$_2$-e** and Zhong31-33 **ci-em$_2$-shi-en d-em$_2$-e$_2$** ‘representing the clan?’.

eme-er 丙公 (021-341) ‘city region, (not women?)’ accusative-instrumental, 147x, Chin no gloss, see line 8. The two glyphs are almost invisible on the photo CWJ p. 724, most probably a mistake for **em$_2$** 金 (257).

na$_2$-li$_2$-ge$_2$-y 罗北厺丙 (318-080-112-020) ‘to defeat, pacify’, 1x, Chin no gloss, but C467: Chin *mie* 灭 ‘go out, extinguish, annihilate, destroy etc.’, see also **na$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y** (318-261-112-020) 2x, **na$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-g** (318-261-112-261-334) 1x. ??? see Mong *nalai-* ‘to be quiet’.

HEAVEN as-ar 关 冬术 (243 174-123) ‘the reign period *Qing ning*’ (1055-1062), see **L**18

as-ar 冬术 (174-123), see **L**18.

om-úr 九亦 (092-097) ‘first, early’, 97x, Chin *yuan* 元, see **12.3** NUMERALS genitive **om-úr-en** (092-097-140), 1x, accusative-instrumental **om-úr-er** (092-097-341), 1x, dative-locative **om-úr-te$_2$** (092-097-356) 18x.

s-iau-qú 仐兮夬 (244-362-118) ‘blue’, see **L**13.

ém-a 丕为 (270-189) ‘goat’, 5x, Chin *wei* 未 8th of the 12 Earthly Branches’, Mong *imaga(n)* ‘goat’, Dag *imaa* ‘goat’ (M171), *ima, imo, jama* ‘Ziegenbock’ (M-K 116, 117)
ai-de 丰矢 (122-205) ‘in the year’, see line 14.

te-hu 口引 (323-151) ‘that (the same)’, 8x, Chin *gai* 该, to **te** 口 (323) ‘that’, line 15, see **12.2** PRONOUNS.

du-u 仃及 (237-131) ‘capital (city)’, ChinE *dou* 都 CWJ1279, Chinese 都 has two readings *du* and *duo*, here *du* is transcribed, see *du* 都 ‘capital city’, YCh *tu,* LMCh *tuǝ̆.*

g-iu-ung-un shï-ï 凡丙火女 兆谷 (334-019-345-273 180-353) ‘a title, commander of the palace’, only here, ChinE *gongzhishi* 宫之使, a hybrid composition, the Chinese genitive marker is translated. Hucker No3389 *kung* ‘Palace’, LIAO-YÜAN “Chinese translation of the Khitan-Mongolian word *ordo* (see *wo-lu-to*) designation of the camp of the tribal chief including all his entourage, which moved wherever the chief moved and after his death endured as a living and fighting unit”.

a-ai 为丰 ‘existed, was’, Chin *zai* 在, see line6.

b-as 丹冬 (311-174), ‘again’, 103x, Chin *you* 又, Mong *basa* ‘again, also, too, still, yet’, Dag *base* ‘also, still, and/or, even, what’s more, then too’ (M126), *bas, basĕ* ‘wieder, noch, auch’ (M-K 113). ← Turk *basa* ← Sogd *ps’, ps’h.*

Xe-ri-pu$_2$ 全化由 (268-235-320), 18x, Chin no gloss, see, **xe-ri** (268-235) 5x, **Xe ri-y ci-eu-un 全 化丙 朩去火** (268 235-020 162-067-273) ‘prefecture Haibei, genitive’, Chin *hai bei zhou zhi* 海北州之 C454.

t-qó sh-i-en 今欠 叉关冇 (247-169 028-339-140), genitive, see line 18.

i-ri 关化 ‘name, title’, Chin *hao* 号, see line 13.
d-em$_2$-l-oi$_2$-y ** 坌金屮夵丙 (254-257-261-107-020) ‘conferred (a title)’, for **oi$_2$** read **ge$_2$** Chin *feng* 封. See Mong *temdeg* ‘mark’, *temdegle-* ‘to mark, to note down, to make a signal’, Dag *temedehe-* ‘a mark, a spot’ (M223). The occurring form is clearly a miswriting instead of **d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y 坌金屮夽丙** (254-257-261-112-020), 21x or **d-em$_2$-l-ge-y 坌金屮岔丙** (254-257-261-349-020), 15x. The base is **d-em-*~t-em,** see the next line and for details, **12.5**. VERB.

dur 乇, ‘four’, Chin *si* 四, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

ai-de see **L**14

Gao line 20

Text

20/丙余火 今方 九同冇 丹及 九亦 灰 丰矢 戈 金冇 今欠 □□ □ 丰矢
y-qu-ui t-le g-ing-en b-u g-ün ñol ai-de lu em$_2$-en t-qó 378.1-378.1 378.1 ai-de

夂平 今用今冇 亜全 仐各火 垩 丰 及平 九叉 发及 尖
uh-ul t-il-t-en hu$_2$-ú s-eng-un nem ai u-ul g-m ng-u ui°

叉気 仐井 九亦 坌金屮夽丙 小 十 乑 乇 忝 丰
sh-ang s-iang g-ün d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y dele si jau tau shi ai

Translation

20/ again (he was in charge of) the infantry (*b-u g-ün*) of the South Capital (*tele g-ing*), in the year six (1061) (he became) the Governor general (*t-qo-(378.1 = sh-i)* of the region Lu, in the year (378.1= **seven)** (1062) he became the Commanding Field Marshal (*hu$_2$-ú s-eng-un*) of the Uh-ul T-il-t (tribes), in the year eight (1063), winter, he was forwarded to Grand General (*g-m ng-u-ui*), High Feld Marshal (*sh-ang s-iang g-ün*) and was the Punitive Officer (*jau tau shi*) of the South-West.

Lexica to line 20

y-qu-ui 丙余火 (020-246-262) 22x, 'complex??, repeat, again', Chin *fu* 复, see line 16.

t-le 令为 'south' (247-093), see line18.

t-le g-ing-en 令为 九同右 (247-093 334-303-140) 'South Capital, genitive', Chin *nanjing* 南京.

g-ing see line 18.

b-u g-ün 丹及 九亦 (311-131 334-329) 'infantry', ChinE *bujun* 步军, see **L**18.

ñol 仄 (085) 'six', see **12.3** NUMERALS

ai-de 丰矢 (122-205) 'in the year', Chin *nian yu*, see **L**13.

Lu 支 (208) 'name of a region, a prefecture' ChinE *lu* 渌, see WF Index 727.

em$_2$ 企 (257) 'region, prefecture', Chin *zhou* 州, see **L**16.

t-qó 378.1-378.1 令欠 □ □ (247-169 378.1 378.1) 'Governor general', see **L**18.

Lu em$_2$-en t-qó [shi] 支 企右 令欠□ (208-257-140 247-169-378.1 'the t-qo (shi) of the region Lu', Chin *lu zhou zhi du (shi)* 渌州之度(使).

378.1 ai-de (378.1 122-205) 'in the XX year', here the word for 'seven' is not legible.

Uh-ul T-il-t (172-366 247-302-247) ‘a name of a tribe and its territory’, Chin *Wugu Dilie* 乌古 敌烈 Classical Chinese *wugu* 烏 古, also *wu gu li* 烏 古里 Chin *wū gŭ (lĭ)* 烏 古 (里), YCh *u ku li,* LMCh *ʔuǝ̆ kuǝ̆ li* and *Di-lie* 敵烈, here a plural, see **L** 21, and WF Index. This has to be the Ugur tribe (<Ogur), at least a part of it, or a group which had this name.

Uh-ul t-il-t-en hu$_2$-ú s-eng-un (172-366 247-302-247-140 014-245 244-175-273) ‘the Commanding Field Marshal of the Wugu Dilie’, Chin *wugu dilie zhi tong xiangwen* 乌古 敌烈 之 统 详稳.

T-il-t-en (247-302-247-140) ‘a name of a tribe, plural, genitive’ see **Uh-ul ~**.

hu$_2$-ú (014-245) ‘Commander’ see **uh-ul t-il-t-en**, Chin *tong* 统, see **L**15.

s-eng-un (244-175-273) ‘Field Marshal’, ChinE *xiangwen* 詳穏, see **L**17

nem ‘eight’, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

ai (122) ‘year’, see **L**13.

u-ul (131-366) ‘winter’, Chin *dong* 冬, see **L**18

g-m ng-u ui° (334-133 264-131 263) ‘a Chinese title, grand general’, ChinE *jin wu wei* 金吾 卫 WF Index, Hucker No 1166: “Imperial Insignia Guard, often one each of Left and Right, a distinguished unit of the impeial bodyguard, normally commanded by a General (*chiang-chün*), sometimes with prefixes creating titles such as General-in-chief (*ta chiang chün*)”

ng-u see **g-m ng-u ui°.**

ui see **g-m ng-u ui°.**

sh-ang s-iang g-ün (028-199 244-314 334-329) ‘a title, High Field Marshal’, Chin *shang jiangjun*, 上 将军 HuckerNo. 4982 上 将軍: Generalissimo; SUNG: also the head of any Guard (*wei*) not included in the Sixteen Guards;rank 3b.

s-iang g-ün see **sh-ang ~**.

d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y 仌企屮厺丙 (254-257-261-112-020) ‘was conferred to’, Chin *feng* 封 see line 19.

dele 小 (294) ‘south’, see **t-le** above and see Róna-Tas 2019.

si 十 (040) earlier <ör>, see Róna-Tas 2019.

dele si 小 十 (294 040) ‘south-west’, Chin *nansi* 南四.

jau tau shi 乃 乇 忝 (015 029 033) ‘the punitive department’ see **L**6.

ai 丰 (122) ‘was’, short form for **a-ai**, see line **6.**

Gao line 21

Text

21/公乃安 乇火 癶化 /小列朩关 艻公 口 丰 癶平 九太 舟癶 甬氕 又出 仌企屮厺丙
n-am-úr tau-un u-ur$_2$ dele-hu-ar-i cu-n te ai u-ul g-ung b-u ca-ang sh-iú d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y

丙余火 夂平 仌用令冇 亜伞 仐各火 乇 丰 马火 口 关化矢 丞丰 矢土火冇 夬伏廾伏 亜伞 伇丙 九火叉 及太
y-qu-ui uh-ul d-il-t-en hu$_2$-ú s-eng-un par ai ju-un te i-ri-de 160-ai ming-eu-ud-en au-ñ-ó-ñ hu$_2$-ú 232-y g-ui-ún o-oi$_2$

Translation

/21/ having spent (*dele-hu-ar-i*) the autumn (at) the Five Divisions (*tau-un u-ur*) (also the next) the summer (*cu-n*), (and) in winter of the same year (1064) he was appointed Minister of the Ministry of Works (*g-ung b-u ca-ang sh-iú*). Then (he functioned) as the Commanding Field Marshal (*hu$_2$-ú s-eng-un*) of the *U-hu-ul D-il-t* (tribes, line 20 *T-il-t*). In year ten (1065), in summer, the (same) title was awarded (*160-ai*) and him was granted the title Commander of the State (*232-y g-ui-un*) of the Ao (*au*) (*yan*) tribal union (*ñ-ó-ñ*) of the Minggad (*Ming-eu-ud*).

Lexica to line 21

n-am-úr ‘autumn, fall’, Chin *qiu* 秋, see line 17.

tau-un ‘five, gen’, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

u-ur$_2$ (131-236) ‘division’, Chin *yuan* 元, see line 17.

dele-hu-ar-i (294-151-123-339) 15x, ‘??spend the summer??, to go to the summer pastures?’, Chin no gloss, base is **dele** (294) >**dele-hu** (294-151), 2x, from this **dele-hu-ar** (294-151-123), 4x, and then **dele-hu-ar-i** (294-151-123-339) 15x, perhaps spend the time in the south? To go to the south pastures???. There is another base: **dele-ha** (294-051) which is a verb, see **dele-ha-ar** (294-051-123), 4x, **dele-ha-ai** (294-051-122), 5x, **dele-ha-al-*** (294-051-098), **dele-ha-a-án** (294-051-189-290) 3x, and **dele-ha-án** (294-051-290), 1x, all these to Mong *düli* ‘half, middle of the day’ ← Turk *tüli~tüš* ‘place. time of the halt’ → Hung *dél* ‘south, midday’, see the details in WOT 291-294, see also **heu-úr-ha-al** (250-097-051-098), ‘to spend the spring’ (remarks to line 22).

cu-n (102-251) ‘summer’, 17x, no Chin gloss, same as **ju-un** (147-273), ‘summer’, Chin *xia* 夏, see further in this same line. See Mong *jun* ‘summer, in summer’, Dag has *najire* ‘summer’ (M 194), *nadir, najir* ‘Sommer’ (M-K122).

te ai (323 122) ‘the (same) year’, Chin *gai nian* 该 年, **te** see line 15, **ai** see line 13.

u-ul (131-366), 35x, ‘winter’, Chin *dong* 冬, see line 18.

g-ung b-u (334-345 311-131) ‘ministry of works’, ChinE *gongbu* 工部.

ca-ang sh-iú (375-199 028-289) ‘minister, a title’, Chin *shangshu* 尚书, Hucker No. 5042, “Minister, head of the top-level administrative agency in the central government’s Department of State Affairs (*shang-chu sheng*)”.

sh-iú2 (028-289) ‘writing, book’, ChinE *shu* 书.

d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y (254-257-261-112-020) see line 20.

y-qu-ui (020-246-262) see line 16.

Uh-ul d-il-t-en 夂平 公用令冇 (172-366-254-302-247-140) genitive, same as **Uh-ul t-il-t,** see line 20.

hu$_2$-ú s-eng-un, 亜伞仐各火 (014-245 244-175-273), see line 20.

par ai 乇 丰 (240 122) ‘year 10’, Chin *shi nian* 十 年, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

ju-un 马火 (147-273) ‘summer’, Chin *xia* 夏, see above **cu-n.**

te 口 (323) ‘that’, Chin *gai* 该, see line 15.

i-ri 关亿 (339-235) ‘name, title’, Chin *hao* 号, see line 13.

160-ai 玊丰 (160-122) ‘to appoint, award a title’, Chin *ren* 任, see line 24, **160-ha-al 玊圡亏** (166-051-098)-‘appointed’, Chin *ren* 任, line 24.

Ming-eu-ud-en 矢去火冇 (207-067-344-140) (*au-ñ-ó-ñ hu$_2$-ú 232-y*) ‘of the Mongols?, Minggud? genitive’, Chin *meng gu zhi* 萌骨之. The Chinese transcription of the name of the Mongols is *meng* 蒙 for the ethnic group, and *menggu* 蒙古 for Mongolia. In the Tang-shu their name is *mengwu* 蒙兀 and *mengwa* 猛瓦. The Liaoshi has *Meng gu* 萌古. The Liaoshi remarks that in 1084 the country of *Meng-gu* sent envoys to make a courtesy call, see WF361, 592. If **Ming-eu-ud** would refer to the Mongols, it would be a hybrid expression, the Chinese name woud be used with a Khitan plural. But this is improbable, both because of the form of the name (unlikely that the Khitan did not know or use their own name for the Mongols) and because of historical circumstances. Most probably we have here to do with the tribe of the Minggad (on which see Zhamcarano 1935, 82-84, Rákos 2016). The name goes back to the numeral *ming* ‘thousand’ on which see **12.3** NUMERALS. The Khitan form may have been **minggud.** Though the numeral **ming** occurs frequently in the inscriptions, the name **Ming-eu-ud** occurs only here. In an other place (Yu54-28) it is occurring in the form **Ming-u-ud 矢及火** (207-131-344), see the phrase: **ming-gu-u-ud-en nai-d 矢及火冇 穴公** ‘the heads of the Minggud’. At present one Mingad (Khalkha *myangad*) group is known, they are a member of the Oirat group living in the Mongol Republic, Khowd province, Myangad sumun and total about 6.500 people (Rákos 2016, 21).

Au-ñ-ó-ñ (161-222-090-222) ‘tribal confederation (**ñ-ó-ñ**) of the Ao (yan)’, also **au-ñ-ó-ón** (161-222-090-186-322) (Zhong3-12, Xu24-32), also **au-ñ-ó-o-or-en** (161-222-090-076-140) (Zhen9-27) no gloss[42]

Au-ñ-ó-ñ (Nu43-1, Wu14-17, Hu13-1),

Au-ñ tai ong b-qo ñ-e 227 jau-ul-ha-ai (Wu14-17),

Au-ñ 284-du$_3$ D-i ui-de o-oi$_2$ (Hu13-1)

Au-ui-én Du$_3$-ge-én jur ñ-ó-li-en t-qó shï t-a-ai (161-262-361 089-349-361 134 222-090-206-140 247-169-180 247-189-122) ‘Became the teqóshi of the Ao-yan and the Türk, two tribes’, Chin *ao yan tu jue er bu zhi* 奥衍突厥二部之 C404 (the full text: Ling 17). The Ao-yan Turks belonged to the Office of the Chief Controller of the *Huang-lung* administration, WF552.

Du$_3$-ge (089-349) is a Khitan transcription of the Chinese name of the Turks, ChinE *Tu-jue* 突厥. YCh *tu-kɥɛ.*

ñ-ô-or (222-252-076) ‘tribe’, 12x, Chin *bu* 部 C421, also **ñ-ô-úr** (222-252-097) in: **ñ-ô-úr ku-û-un** (222-252-097 178-372-273) ‘people of a tribe, genitive’, Chin *bu ren zhi* 部人之 C421, see also: **n-ó-li**, which has to be the same as **ñ-ô-or** in**:** *<udu-u-un tai-b p-o-du$_2$-l-un au-ui-én du$_3$-ge-én jur ñ-ó-li-en t-qó shï t-a-ai>* (Ling 17), also **ñ-ó-ñ** (222-090-222), ‘tribe, tribal confederation’, Chin *bu,* genitive **ñ-ó-ón** (222-090-186-322), accusative-instrumental **ñ-ó-o-or.**

hu$_2$-ú (014-245) ‘part of a title, Commander [hu-ru]’, Chin *tong* 统, see line 15.

232-y (232-020) see: **232-y o-oi$_2$** ‘to be awarded’, Chin *ling shou* 领授 see line 16.

g-ui-ún (334-262-144) ‘part of a title, State…’, Chin no gloss, ?? to **g-ui** ‘state’.

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[42] **au-ñ-ó-on** (161-222-090-186-322) (Zhong3-12). In: *te po-do l-abu t-abu-y-i au-ñ-ó-o-or s-en-en sh-ün z-úng-un de-l-ge$_2$-én* (Zhong3-12 Index au-ñ-ó-o-ón), *al-a-án or-a-an au-ñ-ó-o-ón ri₄-124 s-om-ur-b-ñ* (Xu24-32), *uni-qu au-ñ-ó-o-or-en* (161-222-090-186-076-140) (Zhen9-27)

o-oi$_2$ 及杰 ‘granted, was given, was awarded’, Chin *shou* 授, see line 14, perhaps for **o-er.**

Gao line 22

Text

22/令才 令平 只当 乍丹 公及内 雨子中走丰 只安叉 夫北 北叐 丹叐 雨乞 叉尖火 关化 令金中杰公
t-ia t-ul û-én ar-b n-o-ón dai-l$_2$*-l-ha-ai û-úr-un rí-li*$_2$ *xu-u b-u ca-ang sh-iú-un i-ri t-em*$_2$*-l-ge*$_2$*-er*

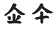
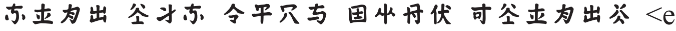
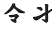
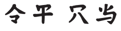
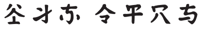
天 令火 九安 山 仕北及 丰 介安 叉关叉 金有 令欠 叉关 业及仝 叐安中杰伏 中关
HEAVEN t-ud om-úr GOLD mu-or-o ai heu-úr sh-i-m em$_2$*-en t-qó sh-i p-o-ri*$_5$ *u-úr-l-ge*$_2$*-ñ l-i*

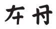
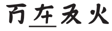
Translation

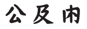
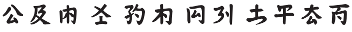
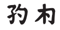
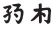
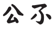
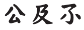
/22/ He fought (*dai-l*$_2$*-l-ha-ai*) with the enemical (*t-ia*) T-ul ū-én Ar-b (Arab?) people (*n-o-ón*), **û-úr-un rí-li$_2$** (???), he was appointed Minister (*ca-ang sh-iú*) of the Ministry of the Revenue (*xu-u b-u*). In the first (year of the reign period, *Heaven t-ud* (1066) (*Xianyong* 1065/1066-1075), (which was a) gold snake year, in spring, by donation (*u-úr-l-ge*$_2$*-n*) he became (*p-o-ri*$_5$) Military Commissioner (*t-qó-shi*) of the District Shenzou (*sh-i-m em*$_2$*-en t-qó sh-i*). (and was)

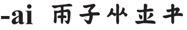
Lexica to line 22

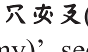
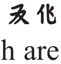
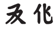
t-ia 令才 (247-335) same as **d-ia** 仐才 (254-335) ‘enemy??’, 22x, Chin no gloss, see **d-ia** line **17**.

t-ul û-én 令平 只当 (247-366 372-361, separately written), ‘?’, no gloss. It is difficult to decide, do we have here one or two words? The two words occur separately once more: in the expression : **p-od-y-li$_2$ t-ul û-ul-ge$_2$-y** (Yu43-8) where we have the same structure **t-ul û-ul-ge$_2$-y** (Yu43). CWJ has the following data: written in one box **t-ul-u-én** 令平叐当 (247-366-131-361) 2x, (Yong14-24, Tu3-28), also **t-ul-û-én** (247-366-372-361) 1x, (Xu42-39), **t-ul-û-én$_2$** (247-366-372-100) (Zhen41-53), see further **t-ul-u-er** (247-366-131-341), 1x, **t-ul-u-ui** (247-366-131-262), 2x. If **û-én** 只当 (372-361) is a separate word, it may pertain to **û-** ‘give’, but this is unlikely, see above, Chin no gloss, but see **ku-su û-en-de o-l$_2$-ha-ar** (Hu11-11), ‘he got to the guard **û-en**’. The word also occurs after **d-ia-ad** in:   <*em$_2$-s ad-ha-a-án d-ia-ad t-ul-û-én$_2$ bod-l-b-ñ bai-d-ha-a-án-er*> (Zhen39). This means that we have:   *t-ia t-ul û-én* and  *d-ia-ad t-ul-û-én*. From this we also learn that **d-ia-ad** is a plural, and hence **t-ia** is the singular. The photo on CWJ p. 681 does not help us to decide, whether we have with one or two words to do. In Xing12-16 we have: **tu-li em$_2$-s ar-b ci-ul-ha-ai**, where **tu-li** may be ‘to lean against, fight’ see line 17.

ar-b  (084-311) ‘a name, Arab???’, 7x, Chin no gloss, perhaps the Arab people, the first glyph according to CWJ 189 <ri>, but Index <ra>, according to Shimunek 2017: should be read <ar>. See the name  ‘Y-ar-u-ud’ (020-084-131-344) in line 2. Genitive**:** **ar-b-en** (084-311-140), dative-locative **ar-b-te$_2$** (084-311-356). On the Liao-Arab contacts see Biran 2013.[43]

n-o-ón  (251-186-322) ‘??’, Chin no gloss, the word occurs also in Zhong37-14 **n-o-ón ém ji$_2$-en 307-hu eu-ul-ge$_2$-em** , where **ém** is ‘life, destiny’, Chin *ming* 命 (CWJ969), and **ji$_2$-en**  may be the same as **ji-en**  (152-140) ‘middle’ in the midle’, perhaps ‘during’, our word **n-o-ón** seems not be the same as **n-on**  (251-154), 15x, also **n-o-on**  (251-186-154), 3x, ‘1. genitive case of **n-o** ‘spouse’**,** 2. generation, dynasty’, Chin *dai* 代. The form **n-o-or** is perhaps a plural, see line 13. and **ar-b n-o-or-er** (Yu46-39).

dai-l$_2$-l-ha-ai  (017-149-261-051-122) ‘to fight, make war, to attack ???’, 2x, Chin no gloss, also **dai-l$_2$-ha-ar**, 1x, **da-l$_2$-ha-a-ar**, 1x, perhaps here also **dai-ul-ha-al** (017-366-051-098), see **d-ia** line 17, see Mong *dayin* ‘war, battle, hostility, enmity’, *dayisun* ‘enemy’, *dayita*-, *dayitu*- ‘to fight, wage war, attack’, *dayila*- ‘to wage war, to conquer’, Dag *daile*- ‘conquer, fight’ (M132), *dain* ‘war, fight’ (M132), *dain* ‘Schlacht’ (M-K 120).

û-úr-un$_2$ (372-097-144) ‘???’, Chin no gloss¸ either to **u-ur**  ‘wing (of an army)’, see line 17, or **u-ur**  ‘division’, Chin *yuan* 元, which are perhaps the same, see line 17.

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[43] Further texts in which **ar-b** occurs: *tu-li em$_2$-s ar-b ci-ul-ha-ai* (Xing12-16), *ar-b har-l-ha-al-ñ pu-un$_2$ un$_2$-e* (Xu42-28), *ar-b gú-u-un rí-l-ñ t-ém-ishi RECORD-g-ñ es MANAGE-il-ia* (Xu43-2), *t-iá-an ku-û-un ol an-ad 024-ó-ui ku ar-b tum n-em$_2$ rí-i hor t-em$_2$-e$_2$ ar-u* (Yu45-33), *t-iu-ir ci-ra-qo ud-s$_2$ uni-qó-dú ku eme es sh-ge$_2$-y rí-én ar-b es s-ul-dû-ge$_2$-y* (Yu46-30), *t-iu-ñ ci-as-a-ad-en ku e$_2$ ar-b n-o-or-er áng-ar p-o-l$_2$-bir ol o-oi$_2$ s$_2$-a-aju (*Yu46-39)

rí-li$_2$ 夫北 (069-080) ‘???’ ?? to **rí-i** 夫关 (069-339) ‘take a wife, married, bestow’, Chin *shang* 尚, *ci* 賜, C377, **rí-l-un** 夫屮叉 (069-261-144) ‘1. married, 2. bestow’, Chin 1. *shang* 尚 2. *ci* 賜 C377 here improbable, the expression is **û-úr-un rí-li$_2$**. See line 25.

xu-u b-u 北及 丹及 (036-131 311-131) ‘Ministry of Revenue’, also **xu-û-b-û** 北穴丹穴 (036-372 311-372), Chin *hubu* 戶 部 (CWJ, K39), see line 7.

ca-ang sh-iú-un 吊気 叉炏火 (375-199 028-289-273) ‘a title, Minister, genitive’, see line 21.

i-ri 关化 (339-235) ‘title, name’, see line 13.

t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-er 令金屮杏公 (247-257-261-112-341) see line 14.

t-ud2 令火 (247-344) ‘command’, Chin *tongling* 统领.

HEAVEN t-ud 关 令火 ‘the reign period *Xianyon*g 咸雍 “together harmony” (1065-1075).

om-úr 九亦 (092-097) ‘first’, Chin *yuan* 元 see line 19.

GOLD 山 (285), 32x, GOLD° 山 (286), 13x ‘cyclical stem. yellow, gold’, Chin 1. *wu* 戊 *ji* 己, 2. *jin* 金 C456, it is possible, that the logoglyph denotes two different words, that for gold and that for the colour, but it is more probable, that we have to do with one word, which denotes the two concepts ‘gold(en)’ and ‘yellow’. In the inscription Xian written in 1175 during the Jin dynasty, we find in line 1. GREAT GOLD-i 又 山关 here surely with the meaning Golden (i.e the Jurchen) dynasty. See Mong *altan* ‘gold’, *sira* ‘yellow’, Dag *alete* ‘gold’ (M274), *šari* ‘yellow’ (M214), *alt* ‘Gold’ (M-K108), *šara* ‘gelb’ (M-K134). Genitive **GOLD-i** (285-339), 2x, **GOLD-i-in** (285-339-018), **GOLD°-un** (286-273), dative locative **GOLD°-de** (286-205), 2x, plural **GOLD°-ur$_2$** (286-236), 1x, see Wu4-5 *<jur° GOLD°-ur ci-uh-ul-ge-l-un b-qo>* ‘the two conquering golden children’.

mu-or-o 仕北及 (224-076-186), 7x, ‘a calendric term, snake’, Chin *si* 巳. Problems with the reading of the second glyph 北 (076). It was read earlier as <ho> (Kane 2009, 43, Wu-Janhunen 2010, 261), <γo> (Shimunek 2017, 428). CWJ 182-184 gives the history of research and the reasons why they read ər ~ʊr, normalized as *or*. The main argument is, that a verb **s-or-ha-a-ai** (244-076-051-189-122) occurs, which would be the Khitan form of Mongolian *surga(b)ai* ‘learn’.

The cited Khitan word pertains to the verb stem **s-or-ha-** (244-076-051) and is not very frequent, but we find the following forms: **s-or-h-al-hu** (244-076-051-098-151), **s-or-ha-ai** (244-076-051-122), **s-or-ha-ar** (244-076-051-123), **s-or-ha-a-ai** (244-076-051-189-122), **s-or-ha-a-ar** (244-076-051-189-123), all occurring once resp. This argumentation is convincing, but in this case the word **mu-or-o 仕北及** (224-076-186), can hardly be connected with Mong *mogai* 'snake', Khalkha *mogoi*, Dag *moh* 'Schlange' (M-K121).

ai 丰 (122) 'year' see line 13.

heu-úr 介安(250-097) 'spring', 28x, Chin *chun* 春, cf. Mong *qabur*, Dag *haure* 'spring (time)' (M158), *χawr̥, χavur* 'Frühling' (M-K138), see the verb **heu-úr-ha-al** (250-097-051-098), 2x, 'spend the spring?' and dative-locative **heu-úr-ar$_2$** (250-097-084), 1x, also **heu-úr-a** (250-097-189), 1x, here temporal.

sh-i-m 叉关叉 (028-339-133), 'the district or prefecture Shen', 4x, Chin *shen* 沈, 瀋, YCh *ʂim* see WF Index, 737.

em$_2$-en 企 有 (257-140) 'prefecture, genitive', Chin *zhou* 洲, see line 16.

sh-i-m em$_2$-en t-qó sh-i 叉关叉 企有 令欠 叉关 (028-339-133 257-140 247-169 028-339) 'military commissioner of the district Shenzhou', Chin *shen zhou zhi du shi* 沈洲之度使 C367.

t-qó sh-i 令欠 叉关 (247-169-028-339), see line 18.

p-o-ri$_5$ 业及仐 (295-186-255), see line 16.

u-úr-l-ge$_2$-ñ 夂安屮杰伏 (131-097-261-112-222) 'has been donated', Chin no gloss, see **u-úr 夂安** 'donation, giving', **u-ur$_2$-û-ñ 夂化只伏** (131-236-372-222) 'grant, given', Chin *gei* 给, to the base **u-: 只** <û>(372), also **u-u-,** see **û-ui 只火** (372-262) 'gave, granted', Chin *shou* 授, **û-er 只父** (372-341) 'given, bestowed upon' past tense, Chin *shou* 授, to Mong *ög-* 'to give', see Bai Yuanming 2022.

L-i 屮关 (261-339) '? a name'.

Gao line 23

Text

23/ 丹只 甬忥 叉火 仐企屮杰丙 夂平 艾仐父 屮同有 令欠 叉关 业及子屮

b-û ca-ang sh-iú d-em$_2$*-l-ge*$_2$*-y u-ul sär-s-er l-ing-en t-qó sh-i p-o-l*$_2$*-bun*

圣 丰 马火 爿用 北 九亦 叉忥 仐丬 九亦 今金爿杰丙
jur ai ju-un l-iúng xu g-ün sh-ang s-iang g-ün t-em$_2$*-l-ge*$_2$*-y*

九化 九同冇 芀尖 业为买 口 丰 及平 丙余火 小 十 弜
om-ur$_2$ *g-ing-en tu-ung p-a-an te ai u-ul y-qu-ui dele si jau*

Translation

/23/appointed as the Commander of the Secreterial Council (*L-i b-û ca-ang sh-iú*). In the winter months he became the Governor general (*t-qo-shi*) of Ling. In the year two (1067) in the summer he was appointed as the Commander of the Dragon-Tiger Army (*l-iúng xu g-ün sh-ang s-iang g-ün*). (At the same time) he was forwarded to the post of the *tong-pan* of the East Capital (*om-ru g-ing*). In the (same) year in winter, he also became the South-West Punitive (Officer) (*jau-*).

Lexica to line 23

l-i b-û 爿关 舟尺 (261-339 311-372) 'Ministry of Personnel' (Hucker No. 3630, p. 306), ChinE *li-bu* 吏部.

ca-ang sh-iú 甬忥 叉火 (375-199 028-289) 'Secretariate', ChinE *shangshu* 商书 (書) 'literary "in charge of writing, Imperial Secretary "' (Hucker No. 5042, p.410),

l-i b-û ca-ang sh-iú 爿关舟尺 甬忥 叉火 (311-372-375-199 028-289) 'Minister of the Secretarial Council', ChinE *li bu shangshu* 吏部 商书 (書).

sh-iú2 叉火 (028-289) 'writing, book', ChinE *shu* 书.

d-em$_2$**-l-ge**$_2$**-y** 仌金爿杰丙 (254-257-261-112-020) see line 20.

u-ul 及平 (131-366) 'winter', see line 18.

u-ul sär-s-er 及平 艾仐仌 (131-366 081-244-341) 'in the winter months, plural accusative-instrumental', Chin *dong yue* 冬月.

sär-s-er 艾仐仌 (081-244-341) 'month' see above and line 13.

t-qó sh-i (247-169 028-339) ‘Governor General’, see line 18.

l-ing-en (261-303-140) ‘a title, genitive’, see line 1.

l-ing-en t-qó sh-i (261-313-140 247-169 028-339) ‘a title, concurrently *teqoshi*’, Chin *ling(?) zhi dushi* 灵(?)之 度使.

p-o-l$_2$-bun (295-186-149-288) ‘became’, Chin *chengwei* 成为, see line 18.

jur ‘two’(134), Chin *er* 二, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

ai1 (122) ‘year’, Chin *nian* 年, see line 13.
ju-un (147-273) ‘summer’, Chin *xia* 夏, see line 21.

l-iúng xu g-ün (261-181 036 334-329) ‘Dragon-Tiger Army’, ChinE *long hu jun* 龙虎君. The Romanization of the second glyph has problems. CWJ on p. 243 gives *uŋ*, that is *-ung*, the glyph does not occur in initial position. In the transcription CWJ gives <-iúng>, but there is no other <iung> so the accent would not be necessary. The transcription is correct, the word for ‘dragon’ 龙 had a /-j-/ after /l-/ in YCh (*ljuŋ*). I did not change the transcription – <iúng> (181).

xu ‘tiger’, ChinE *hu* 虎, see **l-iúng hu g-ün**

sh-ang (028-199), see **sh-ang s-iang g-ün.**

s-iang g-ün see **sh-ang s-iang g-ün.**

t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y (247-257-261-112-020) see line 16.

om-ur$_2$ (092-236)‘east’, Chin *dong* 东, also C387. In Róna-Tas 2019 I have dealt with the problems connected with the glyphs (105-236), and (092-236) and stated that the glyphs (105) and (092) are alloglyphs or variants, and the basic form is (092). The words written in these forms have to be read **om-ur$_2$** and have the meaning ‘east’. I have not dealt there with a minor problem, namely that CWJ gives for both (177) and (236) the Romanization <ur>. p. 1912 (177) <ur>, pp. 1985-1986 (236) <ur>, but on CWJ p. 241: (177) <ur~ul>, p. 263-264: (236) <ru~ud> [sic, instead of ur~ud]. For the time being I suggest to change the Romanization of (177) to <ur$_2$>, because this is a rare glyph. The word **om-ur** ‘east’ has to be separated from **om-úr** (092-097) ‘first, early’, Chin *yuan* 元, which occurs in lines 19, 22. That the two words for ‘east’ and for ‘first’ do pertain together is of course possible, see Mong *emüne* ‘south, front, in front of, earlier, before’. In this case the orientation of the Khitans should have been to the east as that of the Turks and not to the south as that of the Chinese. The Khitan Horizontal Tents looked to the east, see above line 2, s.v. **h-dú-un**.

g-ing-en 九同冇 (334-303-140) ‘capital, genitive’, see line 18.

tu-ung p-a-an 劣火 业为买 (202-345 295-189-011) ‘a title’, ChinE *tong pan* 通判.

g-ing-en tu-ung p-a-an 九同冇 劣火 业为买 (334-303-140 202-345 295-189-011) ‘a title, the *tong-pan* of the capital city’, Chin *jing zhi tong pan* 京之 通判. Hucker No 7479 Controller-general.

te 口 (323) ‘that’, see line 15.

ai 丰 (122) ‘year’, see 13.

u-ul 亥平(131-366) ‘winter’ see line 18.

y-qu-ui 丏余火 (020-246-262) ‘further’, see line 16.

dele si 小 十 (294-040) ‘South-West’, Chin *nansi* 南四, see line 20.

jau see next line **jau-tau.**

Gao line 24

Text

24/**乇 乇 丰 马火 乇长卄平圡丰 火关 兆 仐并冇 关化 令佥业厺丏**
tau dur ai ju-un tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ai ui-i shï s-iang-en i-ri t-em$_2$*-l-ge*$_2$*-y*

令方 九同冇 令火 九亦 乇 丰 亥平 口 关化矢 丕圡亐 劣火 友冇 火 库亥约矢 及太
t-le g-ing-en t-ung g-ün tau ai u-ul te i-ri-de 160-ha-al tu-ung jï-en ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$*-de o-oi*$_2$

尖宂 几火冇 圡九 西为本 厈
ng-iú ku-ung-en RECORD-g 025-a-ar dalu

Translation

/24/(-*tau*). In the year four (1069), summer, he was also forwarded (namely) he was appointed to the post of the *shï siang*. In winter he was appointed Army Commander of the South Capital. In year five (1070) while bearing the same post(s) (*te i-ri-de 160-ha-al*) he was jointly charged with the (re)organizing of the matters of the same office (*tu-ung jï-en ui MANAGE-u-ji*$_3$*-de o-oi*$_2$). (His merits) were put down (*025-a-ar*) into the Record of the (famous) Imperial Ministers (*ng-iú ku-ng-en RECORD-g*), (in the year) seven (1072)

Lexica to line 24

tau see **jau tau** ‘Punitive officer’ continuing line 23, see **L**6.

dur (368) ‘four’, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

dur ai ju-un (368 122 147-273), ‘year four, summer’, Chin *si nian xia* 四 年 夏.

ai (122) ‘year’, see line 13.

ju-un (147-273) ‘summer’, Chin *xia* 夏 see line 21.

tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ai (029-041-090-366-051-122), ‘was advanced to’, 8x, Chin no gloss, see Mong *dabsi-* ‘to advance’, Dag no. Also **tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ar** (029-041-090-366-051-123), 1x., see line 17.

ui-i (262-339) ‘a geographic name, ?? Wei?, no gloss, there were more Prefectures Wei, see WF748.

shï s-iang-en (180 244-314-140) ‘genitive’, ChinE *shi xiang* 使 相. According to WF “*Shih hsiang* was a term designating officials who held much military positions as that of commanding prefect or chancellor along with a civil position of the rank of prime minister” (WF 232, note 41), Hucker No 5249, p.425 “SUNG: quasiofficial reference to an Imperial Prince (*ch’in-wang*), a Commissioner of the Bureau of Military Affairs (*shu-mi shi*), a Military Commissioner who concurrently was a Grand Councilor”.

i-ri-de (339-235-205), ‘to the position’, see line 13.

t-em$_2$-l-ge-y (247-257-261-349-020) ‘granted a position, nominated’ see line 14.

t-le (247-093) ‘south’ see **dele** line 20.

g-ing-en (334-303-140) ‘capital, genitive’ ChinE *jing* 京, see line 18.
t-ung g-ün (247-345 334-329) ‘Army Commander’, ChinE *tongjun* 童军, Hucker No 7483 “*t’ung-chün shih* LIAO: Army Commander, one of the titles used for hereditary chieftains of Tribal Armies (pu-tsu chün)”.

t-le g-ing-en t-ung g-ün ‘the Army Commander of the South Capital’, ChinE *nanjing zhi tongjun* 南京之童军 a hybrid title, the first word is Khitan, the second a Chinese loanword, last part a Chinese word.

tau (029) ‘five’, see 12-3 NUMERALS.

ai (122) ‘year’, see line 13.

u-ul (131-366) ‘winter’, see line 18.

te (323) ‘that, same’ see line 15.

i-ri-de (339-235-205) ‘to the office, to the title’, see line 13.

160-ha-al (160-051-098) ‘appointed’, Chin *ren* 任, see also line 21**.**

tu-ung jï-en (202-345 087-140) ‘the same office, genitive’, ChinE *tongzhi* 同 知. Hucker No 7464 ‘Associate or Jointly, a prefix generally indicating that an official already serving in one post had been assigned, additionally, to take part in the work of another post; normally more prestigious, the *fu (*Vice)’. Not conneted with the name of a prefecture Tong 同, WF 72, Index 746.?

ui (262) ‘matter, act, affairs’, Chin *shi* 事, see line 2.

MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de (142-131-337-205) see line 15, also line 26.

tu-ung jï-en ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de ‘to (202-345 087-140 262 142-131-337-205) ‘to the one who manages the affairs of the *tongzhi*’, Chin *tongzhi zhi shi zhi you* 同知之 事知于, a hybrid expression in dative-locative case.

ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de see line 26.

o-oi$_2$ 及夵 ‘granted, was given, was awarded’, Chin *shou* 授, see line 14.

ng-iú ku-ung$_2$ 尖火 几太 (264-289 178-106) ‘Imperial Minister’. On p. 453 CWJ gives Chin *wu gong* 五公 ‘five Ministers’, and quotes Yu39 where we read 尖火 几太 业及子圡中 令企屮公夯杰 <*ng-iú ku-ung$_2$ p-o-l$_2$-ha-ai t-em$_2$-l-ge-e$_2$-ci*> see also Yu line 15: 尖火 几太 込 业及子圡中 圡九 <*ng-iú ku-ung$_2$ ol p-o-l$_2$-ha-ai RECORD-g*>. On the same page CWJ has also **ng-iú ku-ung** 尖火 几尔 (264-289 178-345) and gives the translation: *yu xiong* 御 兄 ‘Imperial brother’. This title occurs in Nan24 尖火 几尔 业及子圡丰 <*ng-iú ku-ung p-o-l$_2$-ha-ar*>. However 几太 (178-106) and 几尔 (178-345) are alloglyphs. On p. 1247 of CWJ where the normalized transcription of Gao line 24 is given, the word **ng-iú** is glossed with Chin *yu* 御 ‘imperial, defend’ and **ku-ung** has no gloss, though the expression **ng-iú ku-ung$_2$** 几太 should be in both inscriptions the same. Chinese *yu* 御 was pronounced in LMCh *ŋiă / ŋyă*, and this **ng-iú** was an (earlier) transcription of the Chinese. Considering the context I opt for the category of Imperial Minister.

ng-iú ku-ung-en RECORD-g 尖火 几尔冇 圡九 (264-289 178-345-140 052-334) ‘Record of the Imperial (famous) ministers’.

ng-iú 尖火 (264-289) ‘Imperial’, Chin *yu* 御 ‘imperial, defend’, see above.

ku-ung-en 几尔冇 (178-345-140) ‘minister, genitive’, Chin *gong* 公 see above.

RECORD-g 圡九 (389-334) ‘was recorded’ see above.

025-a-ar 西为丰 (025-189-123) ‘was fixed in, put down (into the Annals, etc.)’, Chin no gloss, see line 17.

dalu 屽 (141), ‘seven’ see **12.3** NUMERALS.

Gao line 25

25/中矢 丙余火 大化 九同冇 方尔 业为买 又 公丙刃
ai-de y-qu-ui om-úr g-ing-en tu-ung p-a-an GREAT d-iu-ir

九亦 仐兮夫 戋矢为 中 马火 戋长廾平圡中 火关 令方 分火 孓化欠 业及子比
om-úr s-iau-qú tau-li-a ai ju-un tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ai ui-i t-le pu-un ja-ri-qó p-o-l$_2$-li$_2$

九太 朩有 圣 兆九公 共关 圣 丰 及平 业号 生本㐀有
g-ung ci-en jur us-g-d rí-i jur ai u-ul p-iau xar-ar-ha-en

Translation

/25/ year [seven, 1072] he (became) the Controller General of the East Capital (*om-ur g-ing-en tu-ung p-a-an*). In the first *GREAT d-iu-ir* (year =1075 Dakang year one), in the Blue Hare Year, in summer, he was advanced (*tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ai*) becoming (*p-o-l$_2$-li$_2$)* the Minister (*ja-ri-qó*) of the Wei (??) South Palast (*ui-i t-le pu*). Him was granted (*rí-i*) the two (double) diploma(s) of Meritorous Officer (*g-ung ci-en jur us-g-d*). In year two (1076) winter **p-iau xar-ar-ha-en**

Lexica to line 25

ai-de 丰矢 (122-205) see line 13.

y-qu-ui 丙余火 (020-246-262) see line 16.

om-úr 九交 (092-097), see line 19 earlier reading **ud$_2$-ur**.

g-ing-en 九同有 (334-303-140) ‘Capital, gen’, see line 18.

tu-ung p-a-an 为太 业为买 (202-345 295-189-011) ‘a title, tongpan’, 3x, ChinE *tong pan* 通判, see line 23 and Zhong 25. See Hucker, p. 555: No. 7497 “**t’ŭng-p’àn** 通判 (1) SUNG: Controller-general, in early Sung decades a central government official delegated to serve as resident overseer of the work of a Prefect (*chih-chou*), with the right to submit memorials concerning prefectural affairs without the knowledge of the Prefect; no document issued by the Prefect was considered valid without being countersigned by the Controller-general. Some appointees were similarly delegated to Defense Commands (*chen*). Also known as a Prefectural Supervisor (*chìen-chou*). After the earliest decades, the appointment became regularized as a Vice Prefect but remained a duty assignment rather than a regular post (*kuan*)”.

GREAT 叉 (373), see line 1.

d-iu-ir 公丙刃 (254-019-137), 17x, also **t-iu-ir 令丙刃伏** (247-019-137), 83x, ‘the reign period Dakang (大康 1075-1085, Great Peace)

’. Genitive **t-iu-ir-ñ** (247-019-137-222), 33x, **d-iu-ir-ñ** (254-019-137-222), 2x, accusative-instrumental **t-iu-ir-er** (247-019-137-341), 15x, **d-iu-ir-er** (254-019-137-341) 1x. The word occurs as a name: **T-iu-ir** (247-019-137) transcribed as ChinT *di-li-gu* 迪里姑 C428 also **T-iu-ir abu** ChinT *di-li-gu a-bu* 迪里姑 啊不 C426. further as **T-iu-ir g-ung ci-iú-er**, ChT *di-li gong zhu* 迪里 公主 (以) C438 in accusative instrumental ‘the princess Tiuir’ and **d-iu-ir-ñ ong,** ChT *jiu lin wang* 糺邻王 ‘the neighbor king’ C446 (Xu22). The reading <gu> for (137) in CWJ 215: “rə and gu” is not convincing.

om-úr ‘first’ (092-097) see line 19.

s-iau-qú (244-362-118) ‘blue’ see line 13.

tau-li-a (029-206-189) ‘hare’ see line 13.

ai (122) ‘year’ see see line 13.

ju-un (147-273) ‘summer’ see line 23.

tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ai (029-041-090-366-051-122) ‘being advanced, no Gloss, see line 17.

ui-i (262-339) ‘a name, ? Wei ???’, no Gloss, neither on C452.

t-le pu-un ja-ri-qó (247-093 241-273 150-235-169) ‘minister of the Southern Palace’, Chin *nanfuzhi zaixiang* 南府之 宰相, hybrid title with Khitan genitive.

t-le (247-093) ‘south’ see line 20.

pu-un (241-273) ‘palace, genitive’, ChinE *fu* 府, see **18.1** THE ORDO-S.

ja-ri-qó (150-235-169) ‘prime minister’ see line 8.

p-o-l$_2$-li$_2$ (295-186-149-080) ‘becoming’ see line 18.

g-ung ci-en, (334-345 162-140) ‘a title, Meritorious Minister’, ChinE *gongchen* 功臣, Hucker No 3395 “Meritorious Minister, a generic designation of eminent civil officials and military officers”

ci-en (162-140) see **g-ung ci-en**

jur us-g-d (134 068-334-254) ‘two letters, a double diploma’, 5x, Chin *erzi* 二字.

jur (134) ‘two, double’, see **12.3** NUMERALS.
us-g-d (068-334-254), ‘diplomas, plural‘see line 8.

rí-* 1 (069) ‘to give birth’, see **12.5.1.2,** VERBS, PARADIGMS.
rí-er ai (069-341 122) ‘birth father’, Chin *sheng fu* 生父 C377.
rí-én eme (069-361 021) ‘birth mother’, Chin *sheng mu* 生母 C377.
rí-*2 (069) ‘bestow, grant, confer¸ gift’[44], also **rí-i** (069-339) Chin *ci* 赐 (=賜) YCh *sz̨*, LMCh *sz̨*, CWJ 1538, also *shang* 尚 ‘esteem, value’, C382, to this base: **rí-l-un$_2$** (069-261-144) ‘1. esteem, value, 2. bestow, confer’, Chin 1. *shang* 尚 2. *ci* 赐 C382, a derivative may be: **rí-l-ha-***, from which: **rí-l-ha-ai** (069-261-051-122), 2x, **rí-l-ha-ar** (069-261-051-123), 1x, **rí-l-ha-a-al** (069-261-051-189-098), 2x, **rí-l-ha-án** (069-261-051-189-290), 2x.

ai (122) ‘year’ see line 13.

u-ul (131-366) ‘winter’ see **L**18.

p-iau (295-362), 3x ‘to exist, to be somewhere’, no gloss, see **p-iau xar-ar-ha-en** (295-362 287-123-051-140), Xiang19: **p-iau-oi** ‘exist, to be somewhere’, Chin *zai* 在 C462

xar-ar-ha-en (287-123-051-140). The word **xar-ar-ha-** looks like a verbal stem, we have: **xar-ar-ha-ai** (287-123-051-122), 4x, **xar-ar-ha-ar** (287-123-051-123), 1x. The reading of the glyph (287) is dealt with on CWJ 290, the words are absent on CWJ 457. (287) was read by Wu-Janhunen (p. 267) as <to$_2$>.

p-iau xar-ar-ha-en (295-362 287-123-051-140) ‘????, no gloss.The fact expressed by this phrase has to be the reason why Gaoshi was not forwarded <*ul$_2$ an-i 025-ha-al*>, see the next line, ??denigrated, slandered???, to **har** ‘black’??.

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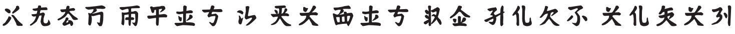
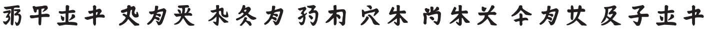
[44] Perhaps the two verbs have the same origin.

Gao line 26

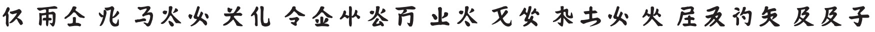
Text

26/

h-du-ge$_2$-y dai-ul-ha-al ul$_2$ an-i 025-ha-al k-em$_2$ ja-ri-qó-on i-ri-de-i-hu



jau-ul-ha-ai au-a-an ci-as-a ji-en nai-do co-do-i s-a-aju o-l$_2$-ha-ai



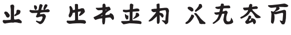
227 dai-ri$_5$ shï ju-ung-un i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-y p-ung sh-ng ci-eu-un ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de o-o-l$_2$

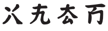
Translation

/26/ throughout (*h-du-ge$_2$-y*) and fought (*dai-ul-ha-al*) (the enemy) he was not forwarded (*ul$_2$ an-i 025-ha-al*) (then by) Imperial order (*k-em$_2$*) a ministerial appointment (*ja-ri-qó-on i-ri-de-i-hu*) was extended to him (*jau-ul-ha-ai au-a-an*). He was placed (*s-a-aju o-l$_2$-ha-ai*) among the leaders (*nai-do*) and ??co (*co-do*) of the Middle of the Rule (*c-as-a ji-en*) and he received the appointment to the post of Inner Chamberlain (*shï ju-ung*) and became (*o-o-l$_2$*) the manager of the affairs of the Prefecture of Fengsheng (*p-ung sh-ng*).

END of the extant text.

Lexica to line 26

p-iau xar-ar-ha-en h-d$_3$-ge$_2$-y  (295-362 287-123-051-140 340-089-112-020) is a genitive construction

h-du$_3$ -ge$_2$-y  (340-089-112-020) ? 'throughout, during', 12x, Chin no gloss, neither on p.478, perhaps to MMo *gödülge-, gedülge-* 'to drive off, rout an enemy', not in Lessing, but *ködelge-* 'to set in motion, to stir, to incite', < *ködel-* 'to move', HYY *gödölge-* 'émouvoire' SH 153: *tatar-i gödölgeba* 'drove off the Tatar' ed. Rachewiltz, 1972, 2004, p. 76. The Khitan form looks like a deverbal form, see **h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-én$_2$** (340-089-112-100), 10x, **h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-er** (340-089-112-341), 6x, **h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-én** (340-089-112-361), 9x, **h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-én-in** (340-089-112-361-018), 1x, **h-du$_3$-ge-y** (340-089-349-020) 16x, **h-du$_3$-ge-én$_2$** (340-089-349-100) 2x, **h-du$_3$-ge-er** (340-089-349-341) 7x, **h-du$_3$-ge-én** (340-089-349-361) 19x, see also

ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar ai-en h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-én es y-eu-ur-ge$_2$-er ‘having not changed during the prosperous years’ (Dao13).

dai-ul-ha-al (017-366-051-098) ‘???to uprise, become enemy???’, no gloss, this form only here, to **d-ia** ‘???, enemy??’ Chin no gloss, line 17, and perhaps pertains to **dai-l$_2$-*** in: **dai-l$_2$-l-ha-ai** ‘make war???’, Chin no gloss, Gao22.

ul$_2$ (336) ‘not’, 130x, Chin *bu* 不, see L9.

an-i (011-339) ‘????’, 9x, Chin no gloss, ?? see Mong. *anu* ‘genitive case of the personal pronoun ***a**-plural, obsolate in most Mongolian languages, but *anu* is used as a deictic particle. Dag *ani* ‘wer’ (M-K109), *ańīŋ* ‘kto’ (Poppe68), *an* ‘*ken*, who’ (Enkhbat1), see also Dag *ini* ‘third person possessive, which functions also as a particle as *ini~ni* ‘as for’ (M172). PMong had the third person singular: **i* and the third person plural **a* and the stems were **in-* and **an-,* see also **ñ.**

025-ha-al (025-051-098) ‘to appoint to a position’, 7x, Chin *ren* 任, C404, also **025-ha-a-al** (025-051-189-098).

k-em$_2$ (283-257) ‘imperial order’, 68x, Chin *chi* 敕, See Mong *kele(n)* ‘tongue, language’, *kele-* ‘to speak’, *keme-* ‘to say, speak’, *kelegei* ‘dumb, stammering, stuttering, tongue-tied’, *kem* ‘measure, size, proportion, limits, measure of time, term’, Dag *kelegei* ‘stumm’ (M-K114), genitive **k-em$_2$-en** (283-257-140), 2x, accusative instrumental **k-em$_2$-er** (283-257-341), 8x.

ja-ri-qó-on (150-235-169-154) ‘prime minister, genitive’, Chin *zai xiang* 宰相, see line 8.

i-ri-de-i-hu (339-235-205-339-151) ‘being nominated’, Chin *hao* 号 ‘call, order, literary name’, see line 13.

jau-ul-ha-ai (015-366-051-122), 29x, ‘to meet with, call on, to interview’, Chin *jian* 见 C356, perhaps to Mongolic *jagu-** as in *jaguči* ‘matchmaker, go-between’, *jagura* ‘interval, between, during’, **jau-ul-ha-*** is a secondary verbal base, with the following occurring foms: **jau-ul-ha-a-ar** (015-366-051-189-123), 1x, **jau-ul-ha-ar** (015-366-051-123), 10, **jau-ul-ha-al** (015-366-051-098), 1x, **jau-ul-ha-a-al** (015-366-051-189-098), 1x, **jau-ul-ha-al-hu** (015-366-051-098-151), 1x, **jau-ul-ha-a-án** (015-366-051-189-290), 1x.

au-a-an (161-189-011) ?? to **au-,** see Mong **abugan,* further see *abugad* < *ab-* ‘to take’, perhaps a structure: **jau-ul-ha-ai au-a-an** ‘got in between’

ci-as-a (162-174-189) ‘legal life, law, politics, *jasa*’, 33x, Chin *zheng* 政, see line 15.

ji-en (152-140) ‘middle’, 114x, Chin *zhong* 中, genitive **ji-en-en** (152-140-140), 1x, **ji-en-i** (152-140-339), 18x, **ji-en-hu** (152-140-151), 1x, **ji-en-a** (152-140-189), 1x.

nai-do ‘to the officer, head, dative-locative’, Chin *guanyu* 官于, see line 14.

co-do-i (298-217-339)??? no gloss, a prolative-ablative of Co, or genitive of Co-do. In Xing line 2. <co-on tu t-ie-ên-de>, to which CWJ p 463 gives a gloss: *cuan tu dian yu* 攢涂殿于 a dative-locative (-de=yu) of *cuan*-(=zan) *tu dian.* ‘in the Hall of Cuan Tu’.

s-a-aju ‘beeing sat, being placed, being somewhere’, Chin no gloss, from **s-a-*,** see Mo *sagu*- ‘sit, **sagul*- preclassical form for *sagulga*-, i. e. ‘to cause to sit down, to set, to settle, also to seat’, Dag *sau.legaa*- ‘to seat, have him sit down’, (M206), *sau* ‘sitzen’ (M-K130), existing forms are: **s-a-aju** ‘beeing sat, being somewhere’, Chin no gloss, in **co-do-i s-a-aju**, **L**26, **s-a-al-a-ai** (244-189-098-189-122) ‘take office’, Chin *ren* 任 C434, **s-a-ai** (244-189-122) ‘1.to dwell’, Chin 1. *zai* 在, (Yu6), 2. ‘emperor’s stopover place during journey’, Chin *zhu bi* 驻跸 C434, see Mong *sagudal* ‘seat, residency’.

o-l$_2$-ha-ai (186-149-051-122) ‘having been granted’, 21x Chin *shou* 授, the secondary base is **o-l$_2$-ha-**, which is a derivative from **o-l$_2$**. also **o-o-l$_2$**, itself from ***o-** see line 14. **-o-oi$_2$**, further existing forms see **12.5** The Verb.

227 (227) ‘???’, 155x, Chin no gloss, occurs also: *<or-a qa-ha-an m-in b-g-ñ û-e-de u 227 ja-ai t-ge$_2$-oi (=er)>* (Xiang 5-13).

dai-ri$_5$ shï ju-ung (017-255 180 147-345) ‘a title’, occurring only here, Chin *feng shi zhong* 奉侍中. Hucker has only No 2016 *feng shi xuan-fu* 奉使 宣撫, “YÜAN:Pacification Commissioner”.

dai-ri$_5$ < (017-255) ‘to receive (from the superior)’, 83x, Chin *feng* 奉 C361’ also by order, esteem etc., see **dai-ri$_5$ qita-i s-a-ai** (Hai2).

shï ju-ung-un (180 147-345-273) ‘a title, inner Chamberlain, genitive’, Chin *shi zhong* 侍中, Hucker No. 5229 “LIAO: Attendant, one of the senior officials found in Herds Office at the Route (*lu*) level”.

i-ri 关化 (339-235), see line 13.

t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y 令企米太丏(247-257-261-112-020), see line 16.

p-ung sh-ng 业太 叉安 'name of a prefecture, Fengsheng', Chin *fengsheng* 奉圣, WF 奉 聖.

ui 火 (262), see line2.

ci-eu-un 未去火 (162-067-273) 'prefecture, genitive', ChinE *zhou*, 州

MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de 厓叐礿矢 (142-131-337-205), see **ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de,** line 24.

ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de o-o-l$_2$ 火厓叐礿矢 及及子 (262 142-131-337-205 186-186-149) 'got the (title) manager of affairs', Chin *shi zhi yu shou* 事 知 于 授, Hucker only No. 5212 *shi ji* 侍極 "T'ANG, lit., attending the supreme, i.e. the Emperor from 662 to 671 the offiial redesignation of Policy Advisers (*san-chi ch'ang-shih*) in the Chancellery (*men-hsia sheng*), specifically Policy Advisers of the Left".

4. AN EXTENDED LEXICON KHITAN-ENGLISH-CHINESE A-ZH

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The Extended Khitan-English-Chinese Lexicon, or Extended Lexicon (EL), encompasses the entire lexicon of the Gaoshi inscription and extends to some lexica found in the CWJ. In CWJ, pages 356–488 feature a Khitan-Chinese Lexicon organized according to the running numbers of the Höhhot List of glyphs. This section primarily repeats the glosses from the texts published with normalized Khitan Small Script on pages 868–1615, usually providing only one source line. The utility of this comprehensive lexicon is somewhat limited by the fact that, although the Khitan glyphs are ordered according to the Höhhot list numbers, these numbers are not shown for glyphs beyond the first in a sequence. Consequently, identifying non-first glyphs can be a challenging and time-consuming task. While the Chinese equivalent offers a semantic field, it typically does not indicate grammatical function or form. Building on the preparatory work by Bai Yuan-ming (see Róna-Tas—Bai Yuan-ming, 2023), I have added English meanings. These entries are cited with the capital letter "C" followed by the CWJ page number. In some instances, the Chinese gloss is sourced from the normalized texts, cited as "CWJ" plus the page number.

In CWJ volume 3, pages 1621-2314 contain an Index to the entire Corpus, comprising 10,407 units. A unit is a group of glyphs written within one box (see **8.** GRAPHEMICS). The Index is organized into six columns: the first column lists the unit numbers from 001 to 10,407; the second column displays the Khitan glyphs in Small Script; the third column provides the Höhhot numbers of the glyphs; the fourth column includes the Romanization of the glyphs; the fifth column indicates the number of occurrences of the unit in the Corpus; and the sixth column presents the sigla of the source inscriptions, along with line and location data. Although this chapter is extensive and highly useful, it has some limitations. It does not differentiate homoglyphs or consolidate orthographic variants. If a word is written in a highlighting mode (see **9.** ORTHOGRAPHY), it is treated as a separate item.

序号	契丹字	编号	拉丁文	出现次数	出处
1.	一	1	hoi	57	仁 13-5；道 5-10；令 14-11；仲 8-37；仲 9-24；许 12-4；故 13-8；于 9-48；于 10-2；于 16-62；于 19-5；于 20-37；于 24-5；于 28-3；于 39-37；于 40-31；于 52-42；于 57-2；广 13-12；广 13-19；镇 6-33；弘 3-17；南 15-5；南 17-9；南 17-17；南 20-33；迪 8-26；迪 10-16；图 7-45；抄 11-2；姑 10-21；姑 11-25；姑 18-20；兀 15-26；兀 15-39；兀 51-4；兀 51-19；兀 51-33；梁 7-51；梁 8-53；梁 9-23；梁 10-30；梁 28-1；敌 4-18；敌 27-14；敌 27-23；详 11-25；详 46-9；胡 8-7；胡 11-36；蒲 17-31；玦 22-35；玦 28-21；玦 34-9；玦 35-7；查 8-12；查 16-32

TABLE III. A SAMPLE OF THE INDEX OF CWJ, P. 1721

The compilation of the Extended Lexicon (EL) involved a detailed analysis of the Chinese glosses for the Gaoshi inscription, as found on pages 1239–1247 of CWJ. These glosses were primarily derived from earlier works by Liu Fengzhu (2002) and Liu and Qinggele (2005), with additional insights from subsequent research. Furthermore, I incorporated material from the Lexicon of the other inscriptions included in CWJ, noting that most Chinese glosses in the CWJ are in simplified Chinese.

When a Khitan name, title, or occasionally a common word is glossed with a Chinese transcript, I have labeled it as ChT (Chinese Transcript). These transcripts generally represent modern Beijing pronunciation, so they should be interpreted cautiously. In some cases, I introduced Khitan words not found in either the Gaoshi or the CWJ Lexicon, providing the sigla of the inscription and the line where each word appears. Unlike the CWJ, which specifies both the line and the "box" (e.g., 仁 13-5 refers to Ren line 13, box 5), I only cite the line.

If the CWJ lacks a Chinese equivalent and I have attempted to deduce the word's meaning from the context, I indicate this with "no gloss." I also integrated selected material from the Index, especially where grammatical forms of words existed in the Index but were not present or glossed in the CWJ Lexicon. For items sourced from the Index, I note their frequency (e.g., 3x for "occurs three times") and/or the sigla of the inscription(s). Understanding the frequency of an item is vital, as it can help identify which orthographical variant was more prevalent or aid in distinguishing different "hands" in the inscriptions. Identifying the compiler and recorder in nearly all inscriptions is possible, and pairing these hands and analyzing their orthographic characteristics will be a task for future research

In the Extended Lexicon, personal, geographic, and administrative terms and names are included when they are pertinent to the pronunciation of glyphs or homographic words, or if they appear in texts cited in the grammar. A notable portion of Khitan words are derived from Chinese, and I denote these by adding an "E" to "Chin," forming "ChinE" to indicate their Chinese origin. For these words, I provide Early Mandarin (YCh), Late Middle Chinese (LMCh), and occasionally Early Middle Chinese (EMCh) forms based on Pulleyblank's work (1991). Additionally, I offer classical Chinese equivalents to supplement the simplified Chinese from CWJ, such as Chin *huo* 祸 = 禍 ('catastrophe, disaster, misfortune'), with YCh *xwə* and LMCh *xɦua*. Titles are referenced using Hucker (1985), and when they appear in the Gaoshi, I include Hucker's full text with his Giles-Wade transcription. Some Khitan titles are hybrid, combining Chinese words with Khitan suffixes, often the genitive marker, and are labeled as "hybrid."

I have also proposed possible Mongolic parallels for Khitan words, although these are tentative. I consistently cite the Literary Mongolian form Lessing (1960) and include Dagur data from Martin (1961, as M) and Muromskij-Kałużyński (1969-1970, as M-K). Material from Poppe, Enkhbat, Nugteren, and others is quoted only when necessary. Items that are finalized in the EL or whose base is identified are highlighted in **bold**. Words from the Gaoshi inscription are treated according to the respective lines in the Lexica and are quoted in the EL with minimal additional material. Words not found in the Gaoshi inscription receive more detailed treatment, although maintaining consistency in this was challenging.

The Extended Lexicon includes approximately 1.200 items including 380 Khitan words of Chinese origin, with 138 being titles or parts of titles. In over 200 instances, I suggest possible Mongolian parallels, and in more than 70 cases, a Turkic origin or parallel is identified. For further details, please refer to section **14.** REMARKS ON THE LEXICON.

4.2 TECHNICAL REMARKS

The material in EL includes the vocabulary from the Gaoshi inscription, noted with **L** followed by the line number, as well as items I worked with from the entire corpus. In the latter case, I reference the page of CWJ as C followed by the page number, or the location of the inscription. If I cite an item from the Index, I use the abbreviation or sigla of the inscription, the line, and the position within the line, formatted as (Hu38-34). When quoting directly from the inscription, I only mention the line (Hu38).

Khitan words, their grammatical forms, expressions, and phrases are printed in **bold**. Longer texts are enclosed in <*angle brackets*> . The Khitan word is followed by its form in Khitan Small Script, using the Menksoft Khitan font. Next, I provide the three-digit codes from the Revised Höhhot List for the KSS forms. The English meaning generally reflects the basic semantics of the word in the given context. If the word form is clear but the meaning is uncertain, I indicate this with a question mark. I quote the Chinese meaning or transcription (ChinT) from the CWJ, either from its wordlist (C) or from the text (CWJ), with the page number. If the Khitan word has a Chinese etymology, I use the abbreviation ChE. A lack of CWJ gloss is noted as "no gloss."

I have attempted to collect all orthographical variants and grammatical forms available in the corpus. It is possible that a few homoglyphs have inadvertently slipped in. Where possible, I have added phrases and expressions. Sometimes the base or stem is not present in the corpus; in such cases, an asterisk follows the reconstructed stem. In the case of an erroneous form, two asterisks follow.

The alphabetical order treats the hyphen as a separate letter. Homoglyphs are distinguished by an added numeral. Logoglyphs are quoted in CAPITAL letters. Khitan Small Script does not have capital letters—in the EL, I used capitalization to distinguish proper names.

4. 3 AN EXTENDED KHITAN-ENGLISH-CHINESE LEXICON A–ZH

A

a-* (189) ‘to be’, see Mong *a*-‘to be, verb of existence’, see also *ajugu, aji* past tense of *a*-‘it was, there was, or were’, Dag *aa*-‘to live, be, stay, auxiliary verb’ (M109), *a*- ‘sein’ (M-K107), *ā*- ‘byt’ (P67). The length is present in some Dag dialects (see Poppe 1930, 67),
a-ai (189-122) ‘was existing’, 140x, Chin no gloss or *zai* 在, **L**1, **L**6, **L**10, **L**11, **L**12, **L** 19, see **12.5.4** VERBS OF EXISTENCE.

a-abu-ñ (189-196-222), ‘ancestor, grandfather’, same as **abu**, genitive; **abu-ñ-en** (196-222-140), 1x, dative-locative **a-abu-ñ-de** (189-196-222-205), 1x, also **a-abu-ñ-d** (189-196-222-254), 1x.

a-ha-al (189-051-098) ‘??’, 4x, also **a-ha-a-al** (189-051-189-098), 7x, has to mean something like ‘repeat, repeatedly, also’, occurs also after **es** which may mean that it is a verbal form, **L**15.

a-lu$_3$-* >**a-lu$_3$-ha-*** (189-312-051)
a-lu$_3$-ha-a (189-312-051-189) ‘?’, Chin no gloss, **L**8. only there,
a-lu$_3$-ha-ai (189-315-051-122), 1x,
a-lu$_3$-ha-a-al (189-312-051-189-098), 1x,
a-lu$_3$-ha-a-ar (189-312-051-189-123), 1x,
a-lu$_3$-ha-a-án (189-312-051-189-290), 1x.

a-am (189-184) ‘life, breath’, 1x, no gloss[1] (Hu38-34), genitive **a-am-an** (189-184-011 (DiX35-6), plural **a-am-ñ-er,** see Mong *amin* ‘life, breath’, Dag *ami* ‘one’s life, my life’ (M114), *am* ‘Leben’, *ami au-* ‘atmen’ (M-K108), **a-am-ñ-er a-ar d-em$_2$-y-er** ‘life-long was given’ (Zhong20).

A-an (189-011) ‘An, a geographic name, ChinE *an* 安’,
A-an ci-eu, ‘the prefecture An’, ChinE *An zhou* 安 州 C415.

Ab-g-ñ (311-334-222) see **B-g-ñ.**

abu (196) ‘ancestor, (great) grandfather’, K100, Chin *zufu* 祖父 **L**3, see Mong *abu, aba* ‘father, grandfather, esp. applied to an old father (endearing)’ also **a-abu** (189-196) see above, and Chin *fu* 父, C416, also **abu-ñ** (196-222), 3x, accusative-instrumental **abu-ar** (196-123)[2], 1x (Xian 30-8), dative-locative **abu-de** (196-205), 1x, **abu-iú** (196-289), prolative-ablative **abu-iú-i** (196-289-339),

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[1] In the expression: <*a-am-an s-em-ii-er t-ge-er*> ‘his life/health became ill and died’ (DiX35-6)

[2] Should be **abu-er**, see 12.1.2.2

abu ai (196 122) ‘grandfather’,

abu DITTO ai (196 378 122) ‘great grandfather’, Chin *zengzufu* 曾祖父 **L**3.

ai1 (122) ‘year’, Chin *nian* 年 **L**13, **L**15, **L**20, **L**23, plural **ai-s** (122-244) . dative-locative **ai-de** (122-205) ‘in the year’, Chin *nian yu* 年于, **L**14, **L**16, **L**19.

ai2 (122) ‘father, ancestor’, K97, 105, Chin *fu* 父, **L**1, **L**2, plural **ai-d** (122-254) ‘fathers’, K105, Chin *zhufu* 诸父, **L**8,

ai-eme u-úr (122-021 131-097) ‘parental donation’, **L**22,

ai ku (122 178) ‘husband’, K103, see **ku, eme ku**,

ia ai ‘father’s older brother, uncle’, Chin *bofu* 伯父 CWJ 1001, (Xu47),

m-o ai (133-186 122) ‘(social group of) senior paternal ancestor(s)’ (Han6), Chin *yufu* 盂父 CWJ1339,

ai-en em$_2$-en i-ri ‘a title of the father’s region (given to a daughter who did not marry)’, Jue32, Chin *fu zhi cheng zhi hao* 父之城之号 CWJ553.

ai-d (122-254) ‘exist all’, to **a**-, Chin *zhu nan* 诸男, **L**12,

au-a-án ai-d-b-ñ (Xu41-23).

ai-s see **ai1**.

aju (082.1) ‘father-in-law, father, old man, name of a social group, a tribal unit’, 9x, **L**9, **L**10, Chin *weng* 翁, C384, plural **aju-s** (82.1-244), genitive **aju-en**, (082.1-140) 36x, dative-locative **aju-de** (82.1-205), ablativ-prolative **aju-de-i** (082.1-205-339), also **aju-uh** (082.1-172), 2x, see K120 ‘tribal unit’ gives Chin *zhang* 帳 ‘tent, canopy’, also with a glyph not included in CWJ,

aju-uh-ur$_2$ (082.1-172-236)-‘all old men, father-in-laws plural’, 8x, Chin *zhu weng*, 诸翁, 27x, plural, genitive: **aju-uh-ur$_2$-en** (082.1-172-140), Chin *weng zhi* 翁 之 C384,

SMALL-qó aju-en ‘of the junior father-in-law (group)’, 21x,

na-ha-án-er SMALL-qó aju-en ‘the junior father-in-law group of the maternal uncles’ (Ren5),

m-ô$_2$-qú a-aju-ñ ‘of the senior father-in-law (group)’ (Xu8).

al-a-*1 (098-189) ‘to kill, being killed’, Mong *ala*- ‘to kill, murder’, Dag *ale*- ‘to kill’ (M112), *ala*- ‘töten’ (M-K108),

al-a ün-n eu-úr ETERNAL y-ie ‘having been killed and existed in the eternal?’ (Zhong44-3) no gloss,

ku-û-su û-úr sh-ha-aju al-a ‘being opressed and killed by imperial will?’ (Xiang17-24) no gloss, no translation by Wu—Janhunen 175-176.

al-a-*2 (098-189) ’to be known, understand’

al-a-ar 亐为本 (098-189-123) ‘understand well, to be knowledgable’, 21x, Chin *tongxiao* 通晓 CWJ 950 (Zhong7),
qita-i ci-iau-qú-i us$_2$-g h-ib na al-a-ar ci-iau-qú-i qita-i shï COMPOSE-un$_2$ RECORD-e (Zhong7-5) ‘the Khitan and Chinese literature and all what was former known was composed and recorded in/by the Chinese and Khitan history’, Chin *qidan hanzi jun tongxiao ? han er qidan shi zhuan* 契丹 汉字 均 通晓 汗儿契丹 史 撰.
m-su-én i-ri-de al-a-ar k-li$_2$-ge$_2$-er 叉卡当 关化矢 亐为本 叔北厺尜 (Zhong29-6)
h-ib s-úng oi$_2$-il-ha-ar al-a-ar hong di ci-iau qú-su ja-ri-qó-od ui-s-li$_2$ 乂关 仐当 杰用止本 亐为本 主 王 朩芳 夫卡 孖化欠币 火仐北 (Yu35-4)
Further verbal forms, homoglyps not distinguished:
al-a-ai 亐为丰 (Dao12-12),
al-a-aju 亐为艾 (Yu45-72, 55-59,Qing26-29, Xian 31-28),
al-a-al 亐为亐 (Wu17-32),
al-a-án 亐为出 18x,
al-a-án-er 亐为出尜 (Dao22-8),
al-a-ar 亐为尜 (098-189-122), 21x.

al-qó 亐欠 (098-169) ‘step’, in: **al-qó-do-i** 亐欠朱关 (098-169-217-339) ‘step, ablative-prolative’, 1x, also **al-qó-dú-i** 亐欠凡关 (098-169-179-339), Chin *bu cong* 步从 C387,
FIFTY al-qó-do-i 乙 亐欠朱关 (098-169-217-339) ‘of 50 steps, fifty steps far’, Chin *wushi bucong* 五十 步从, C387.

al-194 亐坌 (098-194) used before titles (only in Zhong20-17, 20-57, 21-15), no gloss,
om-úr ai-de al-194 tai z-ï$_2$ sh-iau-u shï d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y (Zhong20-17),
jur ai al-194 ng-in s-ing g-ong lu da-ai-i pu d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-li$_2$ (Zong20-57),
gur ai-de al-194 d-y z-in d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-li$_2$ (Zhong21-15).

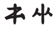
alti see **GOLD**.

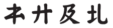
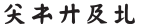
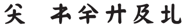
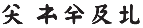
am-d 乃公 (184-254) ‘sweetness, luscious’, see Mong *amtan* ‘taste, flavor’, (< *amta-* ‘to have a taste, find tasty’), Dag *ametale-* ‘taste it’, *ametetei* ‘tasty’ (M 114), Chin *ganmei* 甘美, C414.

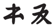
am-s 乃仐 (184-244) ‘frontier, border’, in **am-s ja$_2$-a** 乃仐吊为 (184-244-371-189) Chin *bianjiang* 边疆 C414 and **am-s ja-a-an** 乃仐 吊为买(184-244 371-189-011) ‘front, battle field’, Chin *jiangchang* 疆 場 C414.

an-i 买关 (011-339) ‘genitive of **an**-?’, 8x, to Mong. *anu* genitive case of the pronoun ***a-**, obsolate in most Mongolian languages, but *anu* is used as a deictic particle, see Dag *ani* ‘wer’ (M-K109), *ańīŋ* ‘kto’ (Poppe 1930, 68), *an* ‘*ken*, who’ (Enkhbat1), see also Dag *ini* third person possessive, which functions also as a particle as *ini~ni* ‘as for’ (M172), no gloss, **L**26. The word occurs in 7 other places, but none of them offers a clear solution. One of them is:

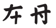
udu-378.1-dú h-ui-ci i-ri-de-i an-i au-a-ar t-abu-al-ó-ji-en /25/ **hul-378.1 227** (Nan24-39).

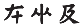
Ar-l  (123-261) ‘a female name’ (**L7**, **L10**), ChinT *a li* 阿里 also in 3 other inscriptions Hu, Qing, Cha.

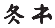
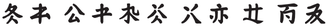
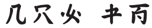
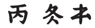
ar-ó-o-or  (123-090-186-076) ‘to unite, to govern, past perfect’, 20x, in:
HEAVEN ar-ó-o-or  (243 123-090-186-076) ‘a reign title, celestial government (1101-1111)’, Chin *qian tong* 乾统 C428, also **HEAVEN ar-ú-ó-o-or**  (243 123-245-090-186-076) 1x, (Zhuo21), **HEAVEN ar-ú-o-or**  (243 123-245-186-076) (Gu17), 1x.

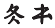
ar-u  (123-131), ‘behind, back, following’, 5x, no gloss, Mong *aru* ‘back, rear, north’, on Dag *arkan* see Nugteren, 274,
ar-u-ji, 1x (Jue27-38).

ar-ú-o-, ar-ú-ó- see **ar-ó-o-or**.

Ar$_2$-b  (084-311) ‘a name, Arab?’, 7x, (Xing12-16[3], Xu42-28[4], 43-2[5], Yu45-33[6],46-30[7],46-39[8] and Gao22-4), no gloss, **L22**,
Ar$_2$-b-en (084-311-140)1x, genitive (Zhen18-25)[9],
Ar$_2$-b-te$_2$ (084-311-356), 1x, dative-locative (Dao11-13)[10].
ar$_2$-b ci-ul-ha-ai hor t-em$_2$-e t-ge-l-û-ji p-o-l$_2$-bun (Xing12-19)

Ar$_2$-l-o  (084-261-186) ‘a name’, no ChinT, **L**6.

as-ar  (174-123) ‘clear, quiet, peace, peaceful’, K111, **L**18, **L**19, K88, see also
mu-u-ji HEAVEN ~,
as-ar n-ai-ci-er h-ün sï eme-u ku-û-un ai eme   (174-123 251-122-162-341 340-329 083 021-131 178-372-273 122 021),
‘peace and harmony of the parents (*ai eme*) of the noble (*h-ün-sï*) women and men (*eme-u ku-û-un*)’,
qidi junzi min ren zhi fumu 岂弟 君子民 人之父母 (*qidi junzi min zhi fumu* 岂弟 君子民 之父母) C412,
iu as-ar  ‘not peaceful, unclear, unexpected’ (Xu62) Chin *cu* 卒, for **iu** CWJ1008.

As-ar (174-123) ‘a person’s name’, ChT *asali* 阿撒里 C412.

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[3] *tu-li em$_2$-s ar-b ci-ul-ha-ai* (Xing12-16)

[4] *ar-b har-l-ha-al-ñ* (Xu42-28),

[5] *ar-b gú-u-un rí-l-ñ t-ém-shi* (Xu43-2)

[6] *ku ar-b tum n-em$_2$ rí-i* (Yu45-33),

[7] *rí-én ar-b es s-ul-dû-ge$_2$-y* (Yu46-30)

[8] *ku e$_2$ ar-b n-o-or-er áng-ra p-o-l$_2$-bun* (Yu46-39)

[9] *ar-b-en ku-û-un ming p-û-su rí-i* (Zhen18-25)

[10] *ar-b-te$_2$ bot-l-ha-a-ar* (Dao11-13)

au (161) ‘elder sister, honorific’, K95,117, Chin *jie* 姐 C404, also **aú** (210) ‘elder sister’, Chin *jie* 姐 C418, CWJ gives no reading for the second, to ChinE *ao* 奥 ‘old woman’, YCh *aw*, LMCh *ʔaw* see further WF 275 note 191,
au eme (161 021) ‘maternal aunt’, Chin *yimu* 姨母, C404,
au er-iú (161 341-289) ‘siblings, sisters, dative-locative’, Chin *jie mei* 姐妹 C40.

au-* (161), see **au-a2**.

au-a1 (161-189) ‘male honorific title “Uncle”’, 11x, no gloss, see Mong *abugai*, *abagai* ‘title of respect’, not in Dag, see also Mong *abaga* ‘paternal uncle’ (Nugteren 2011, 263-264), genitive **au-a-an** (161-189-011), 6x.

au-a-2* (161-189) ‘to take, to get’, also **au-**, see Mong *ab-* ‘to take’, Dag *au-*‘to take’ (M116), *au-, a͡u-*‘nehmen’ (N-K110), see VERB, **12.5.1.8**,
au-a-án (161-189-290), 2x, ‘had taken’ past tense and participle of the verb **au-**, see Mong **abugan, abugad* < *ab-* ‘to take’, further verbal forms are **au-a-ar** (161-189-123), 6x, **au-a-er** (161-189-341), 1x,
jau-ul-ha-ai au-a-an ‘got in between’, no gloss, **L**26, perhaps a structure,
au-ar (161-123) in: **au-ar y-au-ad** (TayiS2),
au-a om-úr-l-un$_2$ ‘got raised (to an office)’ (Xiang23-6).

au-ñ-ó-o-*, ‘**?**’ no gloss,
au-ñ-ó-o-ón (161-222-090-186-322) (Zhong3-12, Xu24-32),[11],
au-ñ-ó-o-or (161-222-090-186-076), 2x (Zhong3-6, Yu25-47),
au-ñ-ó-o-or-en (161-222-090-186-076-140) (Zhen9-27).

Au-ñ-ó-ñ (161-222-090-222) ‘tribal confederation (**ñ-ó-ñ**) of the ChinT Ao (yan) 奥 (衍) (Turks)[12], **L**21,
Ming-eu-ud-en Au-ñ-ó-ñ hu$_2$-ú ‘the Commander of the Au tribe of the Minggad’ **L**21.

Au-ui-er hong-di (161-262-341 075-037) ‘the Emperor Tianzuo (1101-1111)’, Chin *Tian zuo huangdi* 天祚 皇帝 C404.

Au-ui-én Du-ge-én jur ñ-ó-li-en (161-262-361 089-349-361 134 222-090-206-140), ‘the two tribal confederations, ChinT Ao-yan and Duge(y)en’ (Ling17) see also Wu--Janhunen145.

au-ui-l-û-ji (161-262-261-372-152) in:
n-iuk-úr-l-û-ji au-ui-l-û-ji-en hul-y (Xian9).

au-ul-* (161-366) ‘change (position), to be exempted (from a position), relieve (from a function, a position)’, see Mong *abugul-* ‘to let have get’, factitive’ or *agul*- ‘to place, put into, to store’, Dag *auleji*- ‘to meet, introduce, mix’ (M116), *auldǐ*- ‘zusammentreffen, sich begegnen’ (M-K110), *aulji*- ‘vstrečat sja’ (P) in:

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[11] *te po-do l-abu t-abu-y-i au-ñ-ó-o-or s-en-en sh-ün z-úng-un de-l-ge$_2$-én or-a-an au-ñ-ó-o-ón* ‘in that time a sacrifice was performed (laid down) and after the of Shengzong ??’ (Zhong3)

[12] WF 703 has *Ao-yan* Turks and *Ao-yan Nü-zhi*.

au-ul-ha-ai (161-366-051-122) ‘was changing position to’, Chin *gai* 改 C404,

tau-su-ó-ui au-ul-ha-ai (029-041-090-262 161-366-051-122) ‘forwarded by changing the earlier office, exempted (from a position) and forwarded’ (Wu15),

e i-ri de-i au-ul-û-ui ‘being exempted from that very (**de-i**) position’ (Yu21),

dur po-s$_2$ y-al-ur-l-g au-ul-û-ul-g ‘the four seasons are permanently changing (changing changing)’ *si shi zhuan gai* 四时转改 (WanS, CWJ1602, also C362),

t-abu-al-ha-al es au-ul-ha-ai ‘buried and not changed (namely his title)’ (Zhong40-23),

s-úng hong di-in eu-úr par tau-de tau-su-ó-ui au-ul-ha-ai ‘emperor S-úng when he was 15 years old forwarded—changed (namely got a new title)’ (Xu49-23),

HEAVEN as-ar om-úr ai u-úr-l-ge-én /15/ **l-i b-in shï t-em$_2$-l-ge-y HEAVEN as-ar ishi ai u-ul eu-úr THIRTY gur-de tau-su-ó-ui au-ul-ha-ai dor p-ai-sï-de 234-i aú-úr sär-s búl-i dor p-ai-sï-en sh-a-rí-d ci-as-a-iú o-o-l$_2$** (Wu15-14),

‘In the first year of *Heaven asar* (1055) being?????, he was forwarded to the office of *l-i b-in-shï* (Chin *li bin shi* 礼宾使), In winter of the 9th year of reign year *Heaven as-ar* (1063), when he was 33 years old, he was changing forwarded to the bureau of the seals and tallies and after a few (*aú-úr*) months elapsed him was granted by imperial order (*ci-as-a-iú*) the office of *langjuns* of the bureau of seals and tallies’,

ku-û-su û-ji-de au-ul-ha-ai ‘he changed to (the position **û-ji**?) of the guards’ (Nu11-18).

Au-ul-ó-o-ón (161-366-090-186-322) ‘a person’s name, genitive’, ChinT *ao lu o* 敖卢斡 (Gu7-8, Hong2) CWJ 1443.

Au-ul-ó-o-ón Oh-u (161-366-090-186-322 377-131) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *ao lu o a gu* 敖卢斡 阿古 (Xian2).

aú-ur$_2$-ó-* (210-236-090) ‘to improve, get better’,

aú-ur$_2$-ó-o-or (210-236-090-186-076) ‘was getting better, had improved’, 4x,

aú-ur$_2$-ó-ul-ha-a-ar (210-236-090-366-051-189-123), 1x, (Wu44-18),

aú-ur$_2$-ó-l-ha-ar (210-236-261-051-189-123), 1x (Jue18-41),

au-ur$_2$-ó-ui 丸化廾火 (161-236-090-262) ‘was getting better, improved’, 9x, Chin *hao zhuan* 好转, C404.

aú-ui 尔火 (210-262) ‘lady’, ‘term of respect of noble women’, K108, see Mong *abagai* ‘wife of a prince, lady’ also *abugai* ‘a title of respect, used addressing one’s seniors’, the two terms alternate and are considered as equivalent in many spoken Mongolic languages. Chin *niangzi* 娘子, CWJ gives no reading to 尔 (210), but it is surely to be read <aú-ui>, K95, **L**5, **L**9, **L**11.

aú-úr sär-s búl-i 尔夾 艾仐 刈关 (210-097 081-244 272-339) ‘after a few months?’ (Wu15), no gloss.

B[1]

b-ai$_2$ (311-197) ‘paternal uncle, father’s elder brother’, ChinE *bo* 伯, YCh *paj,* LMCh *pɦa:jk* CWJ 1014 Gu2-24, Zhen22-30.

b-al-ha-a-án (311-095-051-189-290), 1x, (Han12-22) to **b-o-l$_2$**, see below.

b-al-ha-a-ar** (311-098-051-189-123) ‘become’, Chin *chu (cheng wei)* 除 (成为) C465, error, on the given place Yu16: <*sh-378.1 a-al-ha-a-ar*>.

b-ar$_2$-a-an (311-084-189-011) ‘right (side)’, K114, 6x, also **b-ar$_2$-ia-an** (311-084-335-011), 1x see Mong *baragun*, Dag *baren* ‘right (direction) (M119), *barā* ‘recht’ (M-K112), Chin *you* 右, **L**17,
b-ra-a-an u-ur$_2$ ‘right wing (of the army)’, 6x.

B-ar$_2$-un$_2$ (311-084-144) ‘name of a tribe, perhaps the Right Banner’, 9x, also **P-ar$_2$-un$_2$** (295-084-144), 2x.

b-as (311-174) ‘again’, Chin *you* 又, **L**19, (K83), see Mong *basa*, Dag *base* ‘also, still, again’ (M126), *bas, basĕ* ‘wieder, noch, auch’ (M-K113), DagE *bas* ‘again, also’ ← Turk *basa* ← Sogd *ps’, ps’h* ‘then, afterwards, on the other hand’ (Gharib 1995, 298), not to *bas*- ‘press’ as Ramstedt 1952,135 and Wu—Janhunen 2009, 69.

b-aû-* - (311-125) ‘to exist, to reach an age’, also **p-aû-** (295-125), see Mong *bagu*- ‘to come or go down, to stop on a way’, Dag *boo*- ‘to get down, to stop’ (M126), *bōo*- ‘absteigen’ (M-K 115),
b-aû-er (311-125-341) ‘existed, past perfect, masculine’ **p-aû-er** (295-125-341), Chin *zai* 在 C466,
eu-úr FORTY ñol b-aû-er ‘when he reached the age of 46’ (Xian17),
b-aû-én ‘past perfect, feminine’,
FIFTY jur b-aû-én ‘when she became 52’ (Jue31).

b-áng-hu* (311-280-151), ‘collect workers’ (Lang3), Chin *jiu gong* 鸠工 CWJ 895, K 188, Shimunek 2014, 113 has **b-ang-γ** ’issue orders’ which would according to him correspond to WM *banga*- ‘to reprimand’, but this is improbable, see Wu—Róna-Tas 2019, 53. The text speaks about collecting workers for renovation,
b-ang-hu-al-hu (311-280-151-098-151), 1x,
b-ang-hu-al-hu-iú (311-280-151-098-151-289), 1x,
b-áng-hu-ar t-abu-al-ha-al-hu-an ‘put to peace, buried’ (Dao17-34).

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[1] See also Wu—Róna-Tas 2019 on the labial stops. Words with initial <b> may also occur under <p>

B-g-ñ (311-334-222) ‘The Khitan name of the founder of the Liao Dynasty, r. 907-926, (Yu2-44, 3-57, Xiang 4-28, 5-8), Chinese name *Taizu*, ChinT *Abaojin* 阿保謹. var. *Abaoji* 阿保機, YCh *ɔ-pɔw-kin/ki*, LMCh *ʔA-puaw-kin/ki*.

b-hu-án (311-151-290) ‘children, plural of **b-qo**’, K88, but gloss, Chin *haiz*i 孩,子 ‘baby’, **L**4, **L**10, see **b-qo** and 12.1.3.1.

b-ie-áng b-ie-áng (311-327-280 311-327-280) ‘very bright, very splendid’ (Dao13-3, 13-4 only here) no gloss, ? ChinE *bing* 炳, YCh *piŋ*, LMCh *piajŋ, bing bing* 炳炳.

B-in g-ui g-ung$_2$ ‘a title, duke of Bin country’, ChinE *bin guo gong* 豳國公 CWJ 949.

b-jel-z-iú (311-173-258-289)** ‘a title’, ChinE *bie xu* 别胥 C466, occurs once in Xu52-32, a mistake, see **b-üe-z-iú** (311-082-258-289) and **Jel.**

b-l-ge$_2$-* (311-261-112), also **b-l-ge-*** (311-261-349) < **b-l-***, **b-l-ge$_2$-y** (311-261-112-020), 1x, (Hu17-40), also **b-l-ge-y** (311-261-349-020), 1x, (Yu45-2), ‘was knowing’ no gloss, see Mong *bü-* ‘to be’ > *bülüge-* ‘was, were, has been’ or to Turk *bil-* ‘to know’, **bilge-* ‘to have knowledge, to be intelligent’ (Clauson 349:*bilged-*), but *-ge* in Turkic is forming nouns (Erdal 1991,376), Mong has *-ge* as a verb formative (Poppe, 1964 61), but does not have *bil-* as verb, only *bilig* ‘wise’ from Uigur. On the Khitan suffix **-ge$_2$-y** see **11.2.2**,

es rí-i b-l-ge$_2$-y ‘not yet/ahead known’ (Hu17),

b-l-ge-én ‘?’ (311-261-349-152) (Tai16-35).

b-o (311-186) ‘monkey’, Chin *shen* 申 C466, see **po-o, po,** C466.

b-o-l$_2$*- (311-186-149) in: **b-o-l$_2$-ha-ai** (311-186-051-122) ‘had become’, Chin *chu (cheng wei)* 除 (成为) C466, see **p-o-(l$_2$)-,** see **12.5** Verb, Paradigms.

b-oh ci-eu-un fu-ong ng-iú shï-ï (311-377 162-067-273 242-071 264-289 180-353) ‘a title, the Defence Comissioner of the prefecture Bo, hybrid’, ChinE *bo zhou zhi fang yu shi* 博州之防御 C467, Hucker No 1923 YCh *paw*, LMCh *pak,* YCh *tʂiw,* LMCh *tʂiw,* YCh *faŋ* LMCh *fɦjyaŋ/fɦaŋ*, YCh *ʂɽ* LMCh *ʂɽ*.

b-qo (311-168) ‘child, son’, 441x, K88, 114, ??? see Mong *baga* ‘small in size or quantity, little, tiny, a little, not too much’, *bagačud, bagačul* ‘youth, young people’ plural **b-hu-án** (311-151-290) **L** 3, **L**13, see **12.1.3.1**,

b-qo b-hu-án (311-168 311-151-290) ‘grandchildren’, Chin *haizi* 孩子, **L**10, **L**12,

b-qo b-qo (311-168 311-168) gloss *nüzi* 女子, also CWJ 1001, ‘woman’, **L**10, **L**12,

b-qo p-úr-s (311-168 295-097-244) ‘son and descendants or male descendants, Chin gloss *nü zisi* 女 子嗣 ‘female descendants’ **L**11,

b-qo-i b-qo (311-168-339 311-168) ‘grandson, grandchildren’, Chin *sunzi* 孙子, *sunnü* 孙女, **L**2, **L**8,
b-qo-i i-ri (311-168-339 339-235) ‘infant name, milk name’, Chin *ruming* 乳名, **L**13,
b-qo eme (311-168 021) ‘daughter’,
b-qo ur$_2$-i (311-168 236-339) ‘son heir’ (Han13),
GREAT b-qo (373 311-168) ‘eldest son’ (Guang21).

b-ri ‘family’**,** Chin *hu* 戶, Peng 2023, 657, see perhaps also **p-ar** (295-123) ‘wife (and family)’.

B-u (311-131) ‘a name’, ChinT *bao* 保. **L**3.

b-u1 (311-131) ‘fortress, a fortified city’, ChinE *bao* 保, YCh *pɔw*, LMCh *puaw*.

b-u2 (311-131) ‘to walk; foot, infantry’, ChinE *bu* 步, YCh *pu*, LMCh *pħuǎ* **L**18,
b-u g-ün (311-173 334-329) ‘infantry’, ChinE *bujun* 步军, **L**18, **L**20, C466.

b-u-3 (311-131)[2] ‘copula, to be’, 29x, Chin *shi* 是 C466, see Mong *bol-* ’to become, to change into, to be, to exist’, Dag *bole-* ‘become, is, happen to be, is OK’ (M 124)*, bol-* ‘vorkommen’, *bolo-* ‘reifen, werden’ (M-K 115), DagE *bɔl-* ‘to become, is, happens to be’, in the Central Mongolian languages the verb has a long vowel, see Nugteren, 285. See perhaps also **búl** (272) below. Orthographical variants are: **b-ú** (311-372), 6x, **b-u-u** (311-131-131), 3x, **p-u** (295-131), 64x, some may be homoglyphs, **p-u-u** (295-131-131), 1x,
rí-er b-u-un-er ‘bestowing, granting being’ (Jue10).

b-u4 (311-131) ‘monkey’ see **po**.

b-u5 (311-131) ‘this, that’, Chin *shi* 是, see Old Turkic *bo* also *bu* ‘this, that’ (Clauson 1972, 291), ‘dieser’ (Wilkens 182)[3].
b-u sh-iá-áng-û-ji ‘that eulogy’ Chin *shi zan* 是赞.

b-u-har$_3$ (311-131-006) ‘temple, monastery’ (Xiang33, 46, Nu47), also **p-u har** (295-131 321) (DiX45) only once, here. See Preclassical Mong *buqar* ‘monastery’ (Sonom Gara, ed Kara, 2009, 49), Mongol *buqar* 3 ‘temple, monastery’, *buqar* 1, ‘a kind of coarse leather’ (Lessing 142), *buxar* ‘monastyr, xram’ (Luvsandendev 2001-2002, I. 443), *buχā̆r* ‘espéce de cuir épais employé pour faire des bottes’ (Mostaert 1968, 92), *buxāri* ‘Buchara, bucharisch; Ö eine art bereitetes Leder, gefärbtes und schlecht gegerbtes Leder (Ramstedt, 1935, 58) ← Sanskrit *vihāra*.

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[2] The copula may be read also as **bau-** or **bou-**.

[3] The Old Turkic word was earlier read as *bu,* later as *bo*, if the Khitan word is of Turkic, Uigur origin, this would point to a reading *bu*.

For the possible way of borrowing see: Late Uigur *buqar* (*pou-ha-eul*) «temple, monastère (bouddhique)» II lb (54a) *mäcit buqar* «mosquée» II 2a (55b) (Ligeti, 1966, 146), *buhar* 'Kloster, Stūpa' (Wilkens 2021, 196, 846, 2023, 32 with earlier publications) also Uigur *v(i)rhar~virhar~v(i)rh(a)r* 'Kloster' ← Sogd *βrγʾr*, *frγʾr* 'temple' (Gharib 1955, 108, 154), see also TochA *wyār.* The geographic name *Bukhara* has two etymologies. According to one it goes back to the same Sanskrit word, according to the other it has its origin in a Sogdian form **buxārak* 'place of good fortune' (not in Gharib). The early Chinese transcription of the geographic name *Buhara* is Chin *buhe* 捕喝 (**Bu-har*) YCh *pu, pʰu,* LMCh *pĥuə̆*, EMCh *bɔʰ* YCh *xɔ,* LMCh *xat,* EMCh *xat*, Modern Chinese 布哈拉 *Bu-ha-la.* Mongol has also the word *buqar* 'a kind of coarse leather', literary 'the leather from Bukhara', as the similar name Mong *bulgari*, 'yuft, Russian leather', from the name of Bulgar, name of a town, a country and a people. Earliest Sogdian coins from pre-Islamic times, with the name of Buhara: *bwγ'r* (Smirnova, O. L. 1970, 56. Enc. Iranica) ?? Sogd *fwx'r* 'fortunate, blessed' (Gharib 160). The Khitan word has to be of Uigur origin. The Mongol word may be either of Khitan or of Uigur origin, see also recently on Sanskrit in Uigur: Horváth, Ferenc 2020. p.32.

The expression is **t-ge b-u-har$_3$** 'death temple, mausoleum' the first word was misred, see **t-ge$_2$**,

t-er-b-u har$_3$** [illegible] (Nu47, 1099) corr.: **t-ge b-u-har$_3$** [illegible],

t-oi$_2$-b-u har$_3$** [illegible] (Xiang33, 46, 1091) corr. **t-ge b-u-har$_3$** [illegible][4],

t-ge b-u-har$_3$ [illegible] 'mausoleum, the death temple',

p-u-har l-she-u [illegible] (295-131 321 261-315-13) 'temple ceremony' (DiX45-46),

For the Sanskrit origin see Sanskrit वहिार, vihāra, Hindi *vihar* 'monastery', *vihar* (वहिार) is alternatively transliterated as *Vihāra*, Sogd *pwxʾr* → Uigur *buhar* → Khitan *buhar* → Mongol *buhar.*

B-u xe-ri-e (Jue45) see **Xe-ri-pu$_2$** [illegible] (268-235-320) 'Haibei', **Xe ri-y ci-eu-un** [illegible] (268 235-020 162-067-273).

b-u-u sh-iú ü-n [illegible] (311-131-131 028-289 226-251) 'office of the administrator', ChinE *bushuyuan* 部署院 C466, Hucker No 4801.

b-û ca-ang sh-iú [illegible] (311-372 375-199 028-289), see **l-li ~**.

b-u-úr [illegible] (311-131-097) 'to be, what exist(ed) and exist, 8x, Chin *shi* 是 also **b-û-úr** [illegible] (311-372-097) 'permanent, what existed and exists' past tense, 7x, also **b-u-ur$_2$** [illegible] (311-131-236), 1x, **p-u-úr** (295-131-097), 1x.

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[4] Wu—Janhunen; p. 220: *t-oi$_2$ b-u* '*MOUNTAIN* mountain' ~ 'tomb'.

b-üe-z-iú (311-082-258-289) ‘a female title’, 2x, ChinT *bie xu* 别胥 C465, K84, see in detail **p-üe-siu** (295-082 004).

bai-en1 (061-140) ‘morning’,

bai-en sär (061-140 081) ‘morning moon’, Chin *zhao yue* 朝月 C380,

bai-en-en sh-eu-su (061-140-140 028-067-041) ‘morning dew’, Chin *zhao lu* 朝露 C375, CWJ1147-1148,

bai-shi (061-033) (Xu40-24), 29x, in,

ci-ur-er bai-shi-de h-ui-ci(Xu40).

bai-en2 (061-140), ‘dynasty’plural **bai-en-s** (061-140-244) ‘dynasty’, Chin *zhu chao* 诸朝 C375, may be from *Bayan* < *bayan*‘rich < *bay*-, see also Chin *puyan*, Hung *bán*, “a title”, name of several Turk kagans, frequent in HSM, also “moyin čur” in the Chinese sources (WOT 93-96).

bai-d-* (061-254) ‘to erect, set up, build’, (K87 <ke?>, Shimunek no reading, Wu-Janhunen <bai>), see Mong *bari*- ‘to hold, to build, to set up, to establish’? Dag *bari*- ‘take,touch, set (a bone) (M119), *bari* ‘halten’ (M-K113),

bai-d-ha-a (061-254-053-189) ‘erect, set up’, Chin *li* 立 C375,

bai-d-ha-ai (061-254-053-122), ‘was carrying a coffin to a burial place, was placing a coffin in a memorial hall, was burying’ Chin *bin* 殡 C375,

bai-d-ha-a-ar (061-254-053-189-123) ‘made, set up, erected’, Chin *li* 立 C375,

bai-d-ó-ji (061-254-090-152) ‘sculptor, architect??’ no gloss (Chao20, only there),

see Mong *barimal* ‘sculpture’, see also **g-ung bai-d-ha-a-ar** (334-345 061-254-051-189-123).

Bi H-ia N-iú (225-340 335 251-289), ‘a female name with a feminine form of the clan name’ (Ling23). see **13.4.3.**

bi-ing m-a du g-ia-ém (225-303 133-189 237 334-335-270) ‘a title’, ChinE *bingma dujian* 兵马都监 C422, Hucker, No 4687.

bod (309) ‘body, oneself, person, incarnation’, Chin *shen* 身 C464 also for *huashen* ‘incarnation’ 化身, see Mong *boda* 1. unit of livestock, 2. substance, matter, body’, Dag *bɔd* ‘large livestock’ DagE, Nugteren 2011, 284, ← OTurk *bod* ‘stature, size of a man, clan’ (Clauson 296-297). Old Uigur *bod* ‘Körper, Stature’ (Wilkens, 183), accusative-instrumental **bod-er** (309-341) 11x, dative-locative **bod-te**$_2$ (309-356), ? genitive **bod-én** (309-361) 14x,

bod-hu (309-151) ‘body’, Chin *shen* 身 CWJ1217,

ku-û-un bod es t-úr-búl-u-ji sui-l-ha-ai m-o HEAVEN nas-ad ja-al-ha-ai ‘the body/self of men is not dying, it is (re) born in the great heaven resting forever’ (Hu34-8).

bod-l- * (309-261) stem not occurring isolated, see the next item.

bod-l-b-ñ 囯 小丹伏 (309-261-311-222) ‘(to be, to make) personally, in person, personal lineage’, Chin *qinzi* 亲自, **L**15, also **bod-l-b-ñ** 囯小丹伏 (309-261-311-222) ‘imperial lineage’, Chin *huang tong* 皇统 C464, also **bod-l-b-un**$_2$. 囯小丹及 (309-261-311-144), 6x, and **bod-l-bun** 囯小屮 (309-261-288). It has to have the meaning in some cases, that the Emperor personally (in person) made the arrangements, accusative-instrumental **bod-l-b-ñ-er** (309-261-311-222-341), ablative-prolative: **bod-l-b-ñ-de-i** (309-261-311-222-205-339), for **es bod-l-li**$_2$ see **6.5.2.1.** Has to be a past participial form of a verb **bod-l-***, derived forms are: **bod-l-li**$_2$ (309-261-080), **bod-l-e**$_2$**-ci** (309-261-109-162), **bod-l-ge**$_2$**-y** (309-261-112-020), **bod-l-u-ji** (309-261-131-152), **bod-l-u-ta** (309-261-131-229),

bod-l-un$_2$ 囯小及 (309-261-144) ‘body’, Chin *shen* 身 CWJ 1504 (Hu16),

bod-l-l-ge$_2$**-l-ñ** (309-261-261-112-261-222), **bod-l-ge**$_2$**-er** (309-261-261-112-341),

YOUNG-qú bod-l-b-ñ ci-228-dû bod bun-l-g dau-ñ s-iang g-ün 兮夫 囯小丹伏 朩仃分 囯 屮小九 尺伏 仐将 九亦矢 (Pu15),

GREAT bod-l-b-ñ-er g-ung ci-in us-g-d dur 又 囯小丹伏尜 九火 朩雨 兆九仌 乇 (373 309-261-311-222-341), (Xu29),

t-úr-l-ge$_2$**-ñ bod-l-b-ñ** 令夾小杏伏 囯小丹伏 (Jue45-36),

bud 刘 (176) ‘the others (namely the other tribal group, in most cases the Xiao’, read by CWJ as <bot>, see also Róna-Tas—Bai 2023, 41-42, see Mong *busu* ‘other (precedes the qualified word)’, *busud* ‘others (plural of *busu*)’, Dah *bišin* ‘other, other person’ (also a negative particle) (M124), *bisi, bisin* ‘nicht; anderer’ (M-L 114) <**busi*, see Nugteren 2011, 292. Mong *biši* is a colloquial form of *busu* and if follows the word it has the meaning ‘not’ a relative negation (<’the other’ > ‘not this, but’). The Mong words may go back to the demonstrative pronoun *bo/bu* which was preserved in Old Turkic, the-*s*- may be a petrified plural in Mongolic, which is followed by a second plural in case of *busud.* A similar double plural is Khitan **ui-s-d** in **et ui-s-d** ‘all these things’. Khitan **bud** may have its origin in the same demonstrative pronoun to which the plural marker **-d** was added. Genitive: **bud-ó-ñ** 刘廾伏 (176-090-222), also **bud-u-ñ** 刘叐伏 (176-131-222), 2x, **bud-en** 刘冇 (176-140) 1x, **bud-un**$_2$ 刘及 (176-144), 1x, plural **bud-d** 刘仌 (176-254) 27x. To the reading of (176) see **n-ad-bud** 公市刘 (251-099-176), ‘the *nabo*, the movable camp, travelling palace’ = **n-ad-abu-ad,** 公市生市 (251-099-196-099), 2x, **n-ad-bod-ô** 公市囯介 (251-099-309-252), 1x, dative-locative and **n-ad-bud** below, the alternation of the connective vowels may point to an alternation of the stem vowel **bud** ~ **bod**,

bud-d na-ha-án-er 刘仌 力圭出尜 (176-254 139-051-290-341) ‘the others, the Maternal Uncles’, (Jue31),

bud-ó-ñ qa-ha-an (176-090-222 053-051-011), 'the khagan of the other (namely the Xiao)' genitive, 3x, ChinT *bo-lu-en ke-han-zhi* 勃鲁恩 可汗之 C412, see **Te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an** also,

bud-u-ñ qa-ha-an go-er- (176-090-222 053-051-011 319-341) 'the Patriarchal Tent of the other khagan' (Yu63).

bu see **abu** (196).

C[1]

ca-ang sh-iú (375-199 028-289) ‘minister, a title’, ChinE *shangshu* 尚书 (=書) **L**21, **L** 22, C488, Hucker No. 50-42. 尚 *shang*, YCh *ʂaŋ,* LMCh *ʂhiaŋ,* 書 *shu*: YCh *ʂy,* LMCh *ʂiă/ʂyă,*

ca-ang sh-iú y-eu-u ci-ng (375-199 028-289 020-067-131 162-264) ‘a title, the Right Assistant of the Minister’, ChinE *shang shu you cheng* 尚书右丞 C488 *you cheng* is the Right Aide, Assistant Director of the Right, Hucker No 8034, instead of *shang* 尚 ‘still¸value’ perhaps *chang* 敞 ‘open’ see the next item.

ca-eng-un (375-175-273) ‘a title, “open and stable”’, ChinE *chang wen* 敞稳 C488.

cal°-a* (183.1-189) ‘stone’, 15x, (CWJ**:** earlier **car**, see Kara 2021, 677-684), see Mong *cilagun,* Turkic *taš*, genitive **cal°-a-an** (183.1-189-011), 5x, dative-locative **cal°-a-iú** (183.1-189-289), 9x, The Liaoshi mentions two persons with the name transcribed *chala*, one was a servant who could read, Cha-la 茶剌 (WF267), the other was an official who lead a military operation in 1117, Cha-la 查剌 (WF425),

cal°-a-an us-g (183.1-189-011 068-334) ‘words on stone, stone inscription’, Chin *shi zi* 石字 C413,

s-iau-qú cal°-a (244-362-118 183.1-189) ‘blue stone’[2] (Tai25).

Cal-a-án (183.1-189-290) ‘name of an administrative unit, country’ ChinT *chala* 查剌,

cal°-a-án g-ui-in ja-ri-qu ‘prime minister of the Cal-a-án country’ (Yu5-46) ChinT *cha la gui yin zai xiang* 查剌瑰引 宰相 CWJ1028,

cal°-a-án y-ie-ên ong g-ui-in sui-l-un$_2$ tai ui (Zhi8-7), ChinT *cha lan yan wang gui yin sheng tai wei* 查懒 燕 王 瑰引 生 太尉 CWJ1212,

cal°-a-án tai-shï i-ri / (Sa9-1) ‘the title of the taishi of Chalaán’, ChT *cha lan tai shi hao* 查懒 太 师 号 CWJ1384,

cal°-a-án g-ui-in ja-ri-qó-on b-qo HEAVEN ñ-l-û-er nem GOLD ém-ia ai sui-én cal°-a-án ja-ri-qó-on h-ing s-úng-un ci-i-shi p-g-er ‘the daughter of the prime minister of the Chala country in the year eight, a gold (yellow) goat year of the reign period *kaitai* (1019) gave birth to the prime minister’s Xingzong’s blood relative ??? (Liang15-34, 45) Chin *cha lan gui yin zhi nü kai tai ba yi wei nian sheng cha la zaixiang zhi xing zong zhi xue* 查剌 瑰引女开泰 八已未 年 生查剌 宰相之 兴宗之 血 CWJ1420.

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[1] The letter <c> throughout denotes an affricate /tʂ/, that is <č> in other transcriptions.

[2] <*cal°-a-an us-g s-ir$_2$-g-l-ge-y*> (Song24-11) <*cal°-a-an u-un-i s-or-077 dau-ul-ha-ar*> (Chao27-29) <*s-iau-qú cal°-a-an m-oi$_2$ 317-ú ming n-am-úr a-lu$_3$-l-û-ji p-u or-a*> (Xian33-18).

cau-* (022) the base of the next words, independently does not exist. Wu and Janhunen (2009, 69) supposed that **cau** is a verb and **cau-ji** is a converb, while **cau-úr** is a deverbal noun. Shimunek (2017, 332-333) further refers to the form **cau-ul-ha-ai** (022-366-051-122) which occurs in Hui19-2. To this we can now add **cau-ul-ha-ar** (022-366-051-123), 1x (Chao27-2), and **cau-ul-ha-a-ar** (022-366-051-189-123), 1x (Tai12-24). At present I would leave open the question of the word class of the base, which may also be a noun, while **cau-úr** a plural (see **12.1.1**, Plurals). **Cau-ji** may be a denominal noun with the suffix for vocations (Mong *-či*). The word is present in Middle Mongolian: see MMo *čau’ur ča’uran* ‘to make a military campaign’ (SHM254), *ča’ur ča’uraju* ‘id.’ (SHM255), *ča’uralba* ‘sent on a war mission, campaign’ (SHM199, SHM 202), Hyy *ča’ura-* ‘se mettre en expédition militaire’ *chuzheng* (Lewicki 1959, 24), also in Hyy: *ča’uraqui-tur* ‘dat-loc. nom fut. ed. Mostaert 1977, 46). According to Kara (2005, 8) the word is present in Khlakha as *tsereg tsuur* (quoted also by Shimunek 2017, 331, note 164). To this we can add Ordos *tširik tšūr* ‘soldats, armés’ (Mostaert 1968,708b), Buriat *sereg suur* ‘*sobir*. voiska, *paarn.* vojna’ (Čeremisov,1973, 404), The word penetreted also the Manchu-Tunguz languages: *čoga* ‘voisko’ (Solon), *čavga~čauga* ‘id.’ *čavga-~čauga-* ‘voevat’ (Negidal), *čauxa* ‘voisko’ (Oroch), *čavaha~čauxa* ‘id’, *čavahala-, čauhala-* ‘voevat’. (Udihe), *čauxa*, ‘voisko, voina, voin, soldat’, *čauhara-*‘voevat’ (Ulcha), *čauχa* ‘voina’ (Orok), *čaoχa* ‘voisko, armija, voina’, Manchu *čooχa,* Jurchen *čáó-hā* (Cincius 1977,402), see also JurchenI *čauha*, Sibe *cuahĕ* ‘soldier’ (Kane 1989, 266),

cau-ui (022-262) in:

cau-ui-én (022-262-361) ‘army (military affairs)’, Chin *jun* 军 C366 (Jue28-24), only here.

cau-ji (022-152) ‘1. solders, army, military, see above, Chin *jun* 军, 2. a person’s name’, 39x, ChinT *chao zhi* 抄只 C366, see **cau-*,** genitive see below, accusative-instrumental: **cau-ji-er** (022-152-341), 4x,

cau-ji$_2$ (022-153) ‘army’, Chin *jun* 军 C366, same as the above,

cau-ji$_2$-en nai-d (022-153-140 332-254) ‘officers of the army’, Chin *jun zhi zhu guan* 军之诸官 C366,

cau-ji$_3$-en nai-d (022-337-140 332-254) ‘officers of the army’, Chin *jun zhi zhu guan* 军之诸官 C366,

cau-ji$_3$ hu$_2$-ú (022-337 014-245) ‘campaign commander’, Chin *jun tong* 军统 C366,

cau-ji y-au-ul-ó-ji$_2$ 丙犳 丏央平廾犳 (022-152 020-161-366-099-153) ‘military disciplin’, Chin *junlü* 军律,

s-l au-ul cau-úr 仐屮 央平 丙安 (244-261 161-366 375-097) (Zhen8-8), no gloss.? separetely moving troops?.

cau-úr 丙安 (022-097) ‘army, military; soldier’, 69x, see above, also **cau-ur$_2$** 丙化 (022-236), 2x, **cau-úr-i** 丙安关 (022-097-339) ‘military’, Chin *jun* 军 C366, Liaoshi *chaowuer* 炒伍儞 ‘warfare, fight’ (see Kane 2009, 38), Chin *jun* 军, C365, **L**15 plural, genitive **cau-úr-en** (022-097-140), 1x, accusative-instrumental **cau-úr-er** 丙安公 (022-097-341), 6x, see **cau-ji** 丙犳 (022-152), 39x ‘soldier’ see **cau-***,

cau-úr g-ung-ur 丙安 九火化 (022-097 334-345-236) ‘military exploit, service, success’, Chin *jungong* 军功. C366, hybrid,

cau-úr m-án-un$_2$ ui-de ‘in the matter of the military hunting (exercise)’, Chin *junlieshiyu* 军猎事于 C365,

d-ia cau-úr ‘enemical army’ (Zhen27).

cau-ul-* 丙平 (022-366)a secondary base from **cau-,** in the following items restructured from **cau-u-lha-**,

s-ó-ul-d cau-ul-ha-ai 仐廾平公 丙平去本 (244-090-366-254 022-366-051-122), 1x,

cau-ul-ha-ar 丙平去 本 (022-366-051-123), 1x (Chao27-2),

cau-ul-ha-a-ar 丙平去为本 (022-366-051-189-123), 1x (Tai12-24).

Cau ge 丙 九券 (022 334-348) ‘a name’, ChinT *chuge* 楚哥, **L**4 also Zhong30-24.

cau-úng l-uh da-ai pu 丙当 屮久 久本 分 (022-357 261-172 171-122 242) ‘a title’, ChinE *chong lu dai fu* 崇禄大夫 C366, Hucker 1666 *chong lu si* “LIAO: alternate designation of the *kuang-lu ssu* (Court of Imperial Entertainments), changed (date not clear) to avoid name taboo”.

che-a-ar1 芇为本 (363-189-123) ‘messenger, envoy’, Chin *shi zhe* 使者, C482,

ci-iau-qó-úr che-a-ar ‘Chinese messenger’ (Pu10), Chin *han er shi zhe* 汗儿 使者 (CWJ 1523).

che-a-ar2 芇为本 (363-189-123) ‘mission’, Chin *chu shi* 出使, C482, perhaps same as the above,

che-a-an, genitive in: **hu-aju-ó-o-ón che-a-an us-g-de deu-úr-ge-y û-er** 列艾廾及内 芇为采 兆九矢 与安公丙 只公 ‘had pains, misfortune, got attached a diplom of messenger’ (Yu12).

Che-a-ar 芇为本 (363-189-123) ‘a Khitan person’s name’, ChinT *zhi la* 只剌, C482.

ci-abu 朩生 (162-196) see **Ci-bu**.

ci-ad-* 朩亐 (162-099) ‘open’, 1x, > **ci-ad-y-***, > **ci-ad-y-l-ha-***,

ci-ad-y-l-ha-ai ‘having opened (a tomb, mausoleum), before closing for burial’ (Tai5) Chin *kai* 开 CWJ 289.

ETERNAL pu-su-û-én hu-o-du$_2$ ci-ad-y-l-ha-ai da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-án [illegible] ‘was buried (opened and covering closed) into the tomb of eternal celebration’ (Tai5-9), Chin *yong qing ling kai yan bi* 永庆陵 开 掩闭.

Ci-am-qó [illegible] (162-184-169) ‘a name’, only here, ChinT *chu mu gu* 楚募古 **L**10, looks like a name from a noun which is a nomnalized adjective.

ci-ang sh-iú [illegible] (162-199 028-289) ‘Minister, head of a top level administration’ ChinE *shangshu* 尚书=書, Hucker 5042,

ci-ang sh-iú [Jï Pang] l-ang ju-ung [Hong-ing H-i ci-er] [illegible] (Lang5)[3].

ci-ang s-in g-ün [illegible] (162-199 244-018 334-329) ‘name of a military office’, ChinE *zhang xin jun* 彰信军, see **s-in g-ün**.

ci-ar [illegible] (162-123) ‘early, former, in former times’, 55x, K110, Chin *zao* 早, *xi* 昔 C405,

ci-ar iu [illegible](162-123 019) ‘early, premature death, to die early’, Chin *zao zu* 早卒 C406,

ci-ar iu b-hu-án gur [illegible] ‘(had) three children who died early’ (Hu29),

ci-ar eu-e$_2$ [illegible] (162-123 067-109) ‘early, premature death’, Chin *zao zu* 早卒 C406,

ci-ar t-g-er [illegible] (162-123 247-349-341) ‘early, premature (death)’, Chin *zaogu* 早故 C406,

ci-ar am-s [illegible] (162-123 184- 244) ‘some times ago’ (Liang1, K 110),

ci-ar g-úr-de [illegible] ‘in/to the former country’, Chin *xi guoyu* 昔国于, CWJ 1006,

po ci-ar [illegible] (279 162-123) ‘the time elapsed’ (DiX34-11).

ci-ar$_2$-b-s-li$_2$ [illegible] (162-084-311-244-080) ‘fall into’, Chin *fen* 分 C405.

ci-ar$_2$-l [illegible] (162-084-261) ‘virtuous, worthy’, Chin *xian* 贤 C405, also **ci-ar$_2$-l-i** [illegible] (162-084-261-339) ‘worthy’, Chin *xian* 贤 C405, **ci-ar$_2$-il** [illegible] (162-084-302) ‘worthy’, Chin *xian* 贤 C405,

g-en-un$_2$ ci-ar-l ‘worthy mourning (ceremony)’.

ci-as-a [illegible] (162-174-189) ‘legal life, law, politics, *jasa*’, 33x, K 103, Chin *zheng* 政, **L**26, C406, see Mong *jasag* ‘rule, government etc.’ → Turk *yasag* (< Mong *jasa-* ‘to put in order, to fix, repair’ → Turk *yasa*), Jur *ǰasa-* ‘to govern’, in *čuwin ǰasala* (Kiyose 140).

ci-as-a-iú [illegible] (162-174-189-289) ‘by (imperial) order’ (Wu15),

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[3] K read **ci-ang sh-iú j pong l-ang ju-ung** [illegible](=[illegible])[illegible] (162-199 028-289 104 360 261-199 149 (=147)-345) ‘director of the bureau of military operations of the imperial secretariat’, ChinE *shangshu zhifang langzhong* 尚 書 蘵方 郎中 (K16) *zhifang* Hucker No 978 “Bureau of Operatons”.

ci-as-a-iú h-ui-ri-li$_2$ 'while arriving by the imperial order', Chin *zheng zhi* 政至 (Jue28) CWJ1550.

ci-aû (162-125) see **ci-iau** (162-362).

Ci-bu-qó (162-196-169) 'tribe name', (Xu17-3, Yu51-50, 56-15), also **ci-bu-qu** (162-196-246) (Guang35-14, Song11-14), ChinT *zu bu* 阻卜**:** ChinT *Zhibugu* 值 不姑 or *Zhubugu* 住不姑 may be identical with *Zubu* 阻卜, the name of the Tatar, *Dada* 韃靼 confederation (WJ 108). *Zhibugu* 值不姑, YCh *tʂi pu ku*, LMCh *trɦiăk put kuǝ̆, Zhubugu* 住不姑, YCh *tʂy pu ku,* LMCh *trɦyǎ put kuǝ̆* and *Zubu* 阻卜 YCh *tʂu pu,* LMCh *tʂǝǎ pǝwk.* **Ci-bu-hu-an** (162-196-151-011) 'tribe name, plural genitive', Chin *zu bu zhi* 阻卜之 C406, the name looks like a nominalized adjective in **-qW**, especially interesting is the plural in **-hu-an**, as in **b-qW** and **b-hu-an**, genitive: **ci-bu-qó-on** (162-196-169-154), 4x, and **ci-bu-qu-un** (162-196-246-273), 1x, For the Zubu Tatars, see Twitchett and Tietze, 1994, 138–139; and WF 593–594, Biran 2013, 228. A Khitan or Khitanized name of a Mongol tribal name.

Ci-búl-uh (162-272-172) 'a person's name', ChinT *chu bu lu* 楚不鲁 (= 魯) (Yu61) C407, YCh *tʂ^{h}u*, LMCh *tʂ^{h}ǝǝ̆/tʂ^{h}uǝ̆,* YCh *pu*, LNC *put*, YCh *lɔ,* LMCh *luǝ̆.*

ci-ci (162-162) 'together with, etcetera, and so on' K96, Chin no gloss, **L**8, see Mong *jiči* 'and, also, furthermore, especially', Dag no example, **ci-ci YOUNG-qú eu-úr-de t-ge-e-ci** 'all died in their childhood' (Yong37-14).

ci-e (162-348) 'nephew', also **ci-e$_2$** (162-109), Chin *sheng* 甥 C409, **ci-e$_3$** (162-264.1), Chin *wai sheng* 外甥 C407, see Mong *jige* 'child of one's daughter or sister, child of any of one's female descendants', Dag *jee* 'one's sister's son, nephew' (M176), *ǯe* 'Neffe' (M-K 127).

ci-er1 (162-341) 'wrote (past perf-)', 121x, Chin *shu* 书, *ti* 题 C409, **L15.** The basic word has to be ***cir**- with a disappearing **-r** of the stem and a second **-er** of the past tense. To Mong *jiru-* 'to draw (as a line or picture)', *jirum* 'code of laws', ? Dah *šii-* 'to write', (M216), see Turk *yaz-*' to write', Chuv *śïr* (on Turk "writing" see Bodrogligeti (1965), WOT 459-464), see a homograph below, **ci-iau qú-ui us-g ci-ang sh-iú l-ang ju-ung [hong-ing] h-i ci-er** [ ] (Lang5-14),

'the Chinese script was written by *ci-ang sh-iú* L-ang Ju-ung [Hong-ing] H-i[4], Chin *han zi shang shu zhi fang lang zhong [huang ying] qi ti* 汗字 尚 书 职 方 郎 中 [黄 应] 期 题 CWJ 896,

qita-un$_2$-i g-úr-en us$_2$-g-de h-ib o-ón-er es m-ir ci-er (Zhong6-15), 'It was written in the script of the

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[4] In brackets the text as on p. 896

Khitan state and without ………, Chin *qi dan zhi guo zhi ziyu jun…………. wei……..*契丹之 国之 字于 均。。。。未。。。CWJ949,

HEAVEN d-iu-ir jur ai ai-en s-l-b siu° m-ri ishi sär s-au-qu ñ-qo or-l-bun par ishi när ishi-g-un$_2$ h-ang-n-u ci-er [illegible] (Zhong50-19), 'Written in the second year of the reign period *tian hui* (1150), in the cyclical counting of the year the white horse, in the month nine, (which was) a blue dog lunar month, on day 19 (by) Ishi-g-un$_2$ H-ang Nu', Chin *tai de er nian sui ci gengwu jiu yue jia qu shuo shi jiu ri yi shi yishu* 太 德 二 年 岁 次 庚 午 九 月 甲 戌 朔 十 九 日 乙室 已……书 CWJ 976.

ci-er2 [illegible] (162-341) 'to exist', *masculine*, Chin *zai* 在, see also **ci-én** and **13**.

ci-én [illegible] (162-361) 'to exist, to be somewhere, *feminine*', Chin *zai* 在 C409, **ci-ar iu b-hu-án gur ci-én** '(the second daughter) died early, the third remained alive' (Hu29).

ci-eng-un [illegible] (162-175-273) 'a Khitan title', ChinT *chang wen* 敞稳 C406, WF 'a Khitan tribal title' (WF 434, see also Pelliot, 1930, 46, note3). The earlier literature discusses the Khitan origin of this title, our data give only the form in KSS.

ci-eu1 [illegible] (162-067) '(to be) in, at', Chin *zai* 在 C404.

ci-eu2 [illegible] (162-067) 'prefecture, district', 107x, ChinE *zhou*, 州, YCh *tʂiw,* LMCh *tʂiw,* **L**26, genitive **c-eu-un** [illegible] (162-067-273) 'prefecture', **L**26, 36x, also **ci-eu-en** [illegible] (162-067-140), 1x, dative-locative **ci-eu-dú** [illegible] (162-067-179), 3x, also **ci-eu-de** [illegible] (162-067-205), 3x, ablative-prolative **ci-eu-de-i** [illegible] (162-067-205-339), **ci-eu-un ui MANAGE-er** [illegible] (162-067-273 262 142-341) 'administrator of a prefecture' (Song10) *zhou zhi shi zhi* 州之事知 CWJ 1307.

ci-eu3 [illegible] (162-067) 'the *Zhou* 周 dynasty' (Peng 2023 659), **dor yos ci-eu** [illegible] (218 164 162-067) 'the (Three) Ritual Classics (*San li* 三禮) of Zhou', (Peng 2023, 659).

ci-eu-û-ul-un$_2$ [illegible] (162-067-372-366-144) 'preface', Chin *xu* 序 C405.

Ci-eu y-gu [illegible] (162-067 020-165) '*Zhou Yi* 周易: the Book of Changes', C405, **Ci-eu y-gu-de** [illegible] (162-067 020-165-205) 'in the ZhouYi: the Book of Changes, dative-locative', Chin *zhou yi yu* 周易于 C405.

Ci-eu g-ia n-iu [illegible] (162-067 334-335 251-289) 'a female name', ChT *zhou jia nu* 周 家女 (the woman from the Zhou family) C 405.

Ci-eu g-ung$_3$ [illegible] (162-067 334-346) 'a Zhou prince', ChinE *zhou gong* 周 公 C405.

ci-en [illegible] (162-140) see **g-ung ci-en, L**25.

ci-g-en (162-334-140) 'left (side)', K104, Chin *zuo* 左 C408, also **j-g-en** (104-334-140), see Mong *jegün* 'left, East', Dag *solegoi* 'left (direction' (M211), *solhoi* 'link' **(M-K132)**,

ci-g-en u-ur$_2$ (162-334-140 131-236) 'left wing (of the army)', 14x, Chin *zuo yuan* 左院 C408.

ci-iau-* (162-362) 'Chinese', also **ci-iau-u, ci-aû, j-iau-** etc. see the family name of the Song Emperors, ChinE *Zhao* 趙 (simplified Chinese: 赵), and in detail **L**4, also CWJ1033 where Khitan **j-iau-u** 104-362-131 is correctly glossed by 赵,

ci-iau-qu-* (162-362-246), 'Chinese, *masculine*',

ci-iau-qó-* (162-362-169) 'Chinese, *masculine*',

ci-iau-qú-* (162-362-118) 'Chinese, *feminine*',

jau-qu (015-246), 1x, same as **c-iau-qu,**

jau-qó-* (015-169) 'Chinese, *masculine*'.

ci-iau s-a-an t-ai-i pu (162-362 244-189-011 247-122-339 241) 'a title', ChinE *zhao san dai fu* 朝散大夫 C410. ? Senior Minister of the imperial houshold.

ci-iau w-u d-ai-i s-313 g-ün (162-362 070-131 254-122-339 244-313 334-329) Chin *zhao wu da jiang jun* 昭武大将军 C482 in Zhen23 incorrectly with **s**$_2$, but Zhong27 correctly where (313) is (314) <iang>, see Chapter **10.** PHONOLOGY Sibilants.

ci-ia-qo (162-335-168) 'foot (length)', 6x, ChinE *chi* 尺 C407. The Khitan word is a Chinese loan from Chin, YCh *tʂʰi,* LMCh *tʂiajk* + Khitan **-qo** replacement or substitution or structural reordering.

ci-ge$_2$-li$_2$ (162-112-080) 'and, side by side, together', 11x, also **ci-ge-li$_2$** (162-349-080), 27x, Chin *bing* 并 **L**1,

ci-su-û-ul-un$_2$ ci-ge$_2$-ñ 'with preface, with addition of preface', Chin *xu bing* 序并 C404, Zhi1.

ci-i-in g-ung$_2$ (162-339-018 334-106) 'a title, Duke of Qin', ChinE *qin gong* 秦公 (Yu34), CWJ 1052.

ci-i-shi / (162-339-033/034) 'blood, blood relative, clansman, filial', 98x, K85, 95,114, see also in the following word: **ci-i-shi-d-b-un$_2$** (162-339-033-254-311-144), 10 times 'to act with filial piety', also **ci-i-shi-d-bun** (162-339-033-254-288), 15 times, **ci-i-shi-d-b-ñ** (162-339-033-254-311-222), 48 times, **ci-i-shi-du-b-ñ** (162-339-033-089-311-222) once (Yu22-23), ChinT *chishideben* 赤是得本, YCh *tʂʰi ʂʅ təj pun,* **L**1n, Chin *xiao* 孝 C408. < ***ci-i-shi-d-** 'to act with filial piety',

s-û-HEAVEN rí-i mu-u-ji ci-i-shi-de (244 372 373-169-339 224-131-152 162-339-033-205) 'in the holy Heaven born sacred clan' (Guang6) see K85.

ci-il-i (162-302-339) ‘assist, help’, Chin *fu zuo* 辅佐 C408.

ci-in g-ia pu-shi-ñ (162-018 334-335 241-033-222) ‘a female title’, ChinE *chen jia fu ren* 陈家夫人 C404.

ci-ing jï (162-303 087) ‘recipient of the edicts’, ChinE *cheng zhi* 承旨 C407, Hucker No.463.

ci-li$_2$-ge-ji (162-080-349-152) ‘together’, Chin *bing* 并 C405, see also **ci-ge-li$_2$** (162-349-080).

ci-ng s-iang (162-264 244-314) ‘Prime Minister’, ChinE *chengxiang* 丞相, **L**6, Hucker No. 483: Grand Councellor.

Ci-ng t-ie-ên tai heu-un (162-264 247-327-073 374 250-273) ‘Chengtian empress dowager, genitive’, ChinE *cheng tian tai hou zhi* 承天太后之 C407, see also Hucker No 6698.

Ci-ñ-i (162-222-339) ‘part of a name’ ?? see Mong *činoa* ‘wolf’, not in Dag. in some lgs *čina*, see Nugteren 2011, 303,
M-ri-gu-i ci-ñ-i (133-235-165-339 162-222-339) ‘a person’s name’ ChinT *meiliji chinü* 梅里急 迟女 C 396.

ci-qu-ui (162-246-262) ‘Chinese’, see **ci-iau-*** (162-362).

ci-qu-w-un (162-246-070-273) ‘(memorial) text’, Chin *ai ce* 哀冊.

ci-su-li₂ rí-l-un₂ û-n hu-ur-er (162-041-080-261-144-251-151-236-341) ‘?’ (Xu46).

ci-su-li₄-ge$_2$-un$_2$ n-o-or (162-041-310-112-144 251-186-076) ‘previous spouse, ?divorced spouse or widow’ (Dao12), no gloss.

ci-su-li₄-ge$_2$-er (162-041-310-112-341) in: *ci-su-li₄-ge$_2$-er emu-un$_2$-en od$_2$-ha-ai* (Yu37), no gloss.

ci-su-û-ul-un$_2$ ci-ge$_2$-ñ ‘added preface, addition of preface’, Chin *xu bing* 序并 C404, (Zhi1).

ci-uh-ul-ge$_2$-* (162-172-366-112) ‘to conquer, to subjugate’,
ci-uh-ul-ge$_2$-er (162-172-366-112-341) ‘to conquer, subdue’ Chin *zheng fu* 征服, C 406,
ci-uh-ul-ge-y (162-172-366-112/349-020) ‘was conquering’,
ci-uh-ul-ge$_2$-l-un$_2$ (162-172-366-112-144) ‘to conquer, to subjugate’ Chin *zheng fu* 征服, C406,
che-a-aju ci-uh-ul-ge-én ‘?’ (Ren23).

ci-ú g-ui ong (162-245 334-262 071) ‘(local) king of state Chu’, ChinE *chuguo wang*, 楚国王 YCh *tʂʰu,* LMCh *tʂʰəə̆/tʂʰuə̆.*

ci-üe-ên ün deu-úr MANAGE-u-ji-de (162-082-073 329 101-097 142-131-152-205) ‘a title’, ChinE *zhuan yun tong zhi* 转运同知 C405, see Hucker No1490 *zhuan-yun shi* SUNG-CHIN “Fiscal Commissioner” but here rather No 1492 *zhuan-yun si* “Tax Transport Commission” and the second part is *tong-zhi* Commander Geneal. That is Commander General of the Transport Commission.

ci-ur$_2$ (162-236), ‘two’, K115, Chin *er* 二, also **j-ur$_2$** (104-236), **jur** (134), (135) see **12.3** NUMERALS,

ci-ur-én ‘second, *fem.,* the following, the next’ Chin *di er* 第二, **L**4, **L**11, **L** 13, **L**16, see **12.3** NUMERALS,

ci-ur$_2$-én ai nai särä-de (162-236-361 122 081-205) ‘in the first month of the following year’, Chin *zhengyue yu ci nian* 正月于 次, 年 L16,

ci-ur$_2$-én-en ‘second, genitive’ **L**4,

ci-ur$_2$-er (162-236-341) ‘second’, *masc*, Chin *di er* 第二, **L**5, **L**10, ‘next’ Chin *ci* 次 CWJ 1342.

Ci-228-dû ñ-ó-úr (162-228-249 222-090-097) ‘a tribe name’, ChinT *chu te bu* 楮特部 C406, (Gu7), see WF p. 710 where two tribal names are given: *chu-de* 鉏德 (鋤淂) and *chu-te* 楮 特, also *chu-te Ao-wei* 奧隗. They are Xiao, that is of Uigur origin. The expression is a Khitan gentive construction[5] see also <*m-o y-ra-u-ud-i* *ci-228-dû* *t-il-uh-ñ z-iang g-ün-en sh-ï t-ad-i aú-ui-en n-ra-de RECORD-g-én*> (Gu1). If the identification is correct **ci-228** has to be something like *chu.* However Khitan **dû** cannot be Chinese *tè* 特, because Chin *tè* 特 YCh *təj*, LMCh *tɦəǎk.*Perhaps **dû** is for **du-g-e** ‘Turk’ see **Ci-228-dû-i du g-e** (162-228-249-339 237 334-348) ‘a name’, ChinE *chu te du ge* 楮特都哥 (Yong17) C406.

ci-299 (162-299) ‘first wife’, Chin *xian pei* 先配 C407,

ci-299 eme ku (162-299 021-178) ‘legal wife’, **L**19, Chin *diqi* 娣凄, same as **ci-299-de** in: <*p-in ci-299-de y-l-ge$_2$-li$_2$*> (Zhen23-30).

ci-378-1-én □ (162-378-1-361), read **ci-ur-én** ‘second’, see **12.3** NUMERALS, **L**15, Chin no gloss.

Co-do-i (298-217-339)??? a prolative-ablative of Co, or genitive of **Co-do**, **L**26.

COMPOSE (308) ‘composition, composed (text)’ **L**2, K89, also **COMPOSE$_2$** (316.2), **COMPOSE$_3$** (316.1) (Hong11-5) Chin *zhuan* 撰, see **12.1** DECLINATIONS, **12.1.3.2**,

COMPOSE-a-ar (308-189-123) ‘has composed’, Chin *zhuan* 撰, **L**2.

Co-on-tu t-ie-ên-de (298-154-202 247-327-073-205) ‘in the Cuan tu Hall’, ChinE *cuan tu dian yu* 攢涂殿于 (Xing2), see **Co-on dû-u** (Ren13), ? to **ju-un** ‘summer’.

cu-de (102-205) ‘extremely, utmost’, 2x, Chin *ji* 极,

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[5] *bod-l-b-ñ ci-228-dû bod bun-l-g dau-ñ s-iang g-ün,*

ul$_2$ ci-i-shi-d-b-ñ eme-er cu-de h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-ci k-li$_2$-û-ji-d 汐 杰 关 炁 公 舟 伏 丙 仌 芀 矢 乂 炏 化 夳 杰 ‘they have rapidly returned with the unfilial women? —so was said’, Chin *bu xiao dao ji zhi wei* 不孝道极至谓 (Qing26).

cu-n 芀 公 (102-251) ‘summer’, Chin no gloss, **L**21 see **ju-un**.

Cu-ung-ung 芀 太 太 (102-345-345) ‘a name’, ChinT *chongweng* 崇翁, **L**5.

cu-ur$_2$* 芀 化 (102-236) ‘to accumulate’, see ? Mong *ǰigura~ ǰugura-* ‘to knead’, Dag ← Turk *yugur* ‘to knead’ → Hung *gyúr* ‘to knead’, see WOT 411,
cu-ur$_2$-ge$_2$-er 芀 化 夳 仌 (102-236-112-341) ‘accumulate’, Chin *ji* 积 C388,
cu-ur$_2$-b-ñ 芀 化 舟 伏 (102-236-311-222) ‘accumulate’, Chin *ji* 积 C388,
cu-ur$_2$-l-g 芀 化 屮 九 (102-236-261-334) ‘accumulate’, Chin *ji* 积 C388,
cu-ur$_2$-ge-én 芀 化 岑 当 (102-236-349-361) ‘had accumulated’, Chin *ji* 积 C388,
sh-em$_2$-qú-i cu-ur$_2$-ge-én 叉 金 夬 关 芀 化 岑 当 (028-257-118-339 102-236-349-361) ‘accumulate goodness’, Chin *shan ji* 善积 C370,
ia-277 cu-ur-ge$_2$-er ‘having accumulated good fortune’, Chin *fu ji* 福 积 (Dao13-16).

D

d-ém g-ém-d deu-úr MANAGE-i (254-270 334-270-254 101-097 142-339) ‘a title, the one who is managing the affairs in the office of inspection’, ChinT *dian jian yu (tong)zhi* 点检 (= 點檢) 于 (同) 知 C447, with the Khitan dative-locative suffix **-d**, see **deu-úr**, Hucker 6529: *~~fang* “SUNG:Office of Inspection”.

d-em$_2$-* (254-457) ‘mark’ see also **t-em$_2$**.

d-em$_2$-e (254-257-348) ‘represent? a part of a title?, the representative of? appointed?’, **L**19, ChinT *temo* 特末, **ci-i-shi-en d-em$_2$-e** and Zhong31-33 **ci-em$_2$-shi-en d-em$_2$-e$_2$** ‘representing the clan?’.

d-em$_2$-l-*- (254-257-261) ‘to appoint, to give a higher rank, to ennoble etc.’, K100, see also **t-em$_2$-l-*** (247-257-261),

d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y (254-257-261-112-020) ‘was conferring to’, **L**20, **L**23, Chin *feng* 封 **L**20, **L** 23,

d-em$_2$-l-oi$_2$-y** (254-257-261-347-020) ‘conferred (a title)’, Chin *feng* 封 **L** 19 recte: **d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y**.

d-em$_2$-y-er ‘heaven’s favour’ Chin *tianjuan* 天眷 CWJ959, 天 *tian* YCh *thjɛn*, *juan* 眷 YCh *kɥɛn.*

d-ge (254-349) ‘to die’ see **t-ge-** (247-349),

d-g-én see **YOUNG-qú-de d-ge-én**,

d-ge-y (254-349-020) ‘was dying, after, following the death’,

d-ge-y d-em$_2$-l-ge-én (254-349-020 254-257-261-349-361) ‘enfeoffed after, posthumously’, Chin *zhui feng* 追封 C447.

D-i-ng G-e (254-339-264 334-348) ‘a name’, ChinT *dingge* 定哥, **L**7.

d-ia (254-335) ‘enemy’, also **t-ia**, Chin *di* 敌 = 敵 YCh *ti*, LMCh *thiajk,-* see Mong *dayin* ‘war, hostility, enmity’, *dayisun* ‘enemy’, *daila-* ‘to wage war, to conquer’, Dah *daile-* ‘conquer, fight’, *dain* ‘war, fight’ (M132), *dain* ‘Schlacht’ (M-K120), **L**17, **L**22, or ChinE LMCh an old loan, see above, dative-locative **d-ia-iú** (254-335-289), 1x, plural **d-ia-ad** (254-335-099), 1x,

d-ia cau-úr ‘enemical army’ (Zhen27).

d-iau-dû go-er (254-362-249 319-341) ‘reputation tent, central tent’, Chin *sheng yu fang* 声誉房 C448.

d-ie-ên ju-ung shï-d (254-327-073 147-345 180-254) ‘envoy in palace, plural’, hybrid, ChinE *dian zhong shi* 殿中使 C447.

D-il-t-en, (254-302-247-140) ‘a name of a tribe, *gen.*’, see also **T-il-t**, ChinT *di lie* 敌烈, **L**21.

d-iu-ir (254-019-137), also **t-iu-ir** (247-019-137), ‘the reign period Dakang' (大康 1075-1085, Great Peace), **L**25, see 18.4.1.

sh-ing s-úng dai-mú dai-mú t-iu-ir úr-te$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y Shengzong established (*úr-te$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y*) longlasting (*dai-mú dai-mú*) 'peace' (Dao13).

d-iu-ir-ñ ong (254-019-137-222 071) 'the neighbor king', hybrid, Khitan genitive, ChinT *jiu lin wang* 糺邻王 C446 (Xu22).

d-le (254-093) see **dele1** (K119 **de-ge**).

D-od-ha-ar (254-016-051-123), 10x, see **T-od-ha-ar** (247-016-051-123), 25x, genitive: **D-od-ha-ar-en**, 2x.

d-od-o-or 'fifth, *masc.*' see **t-od-o-or** (247-016-186-076.

d-p bod-l-b-ñ (254-295 309-261-311-222) 'imperial lineage', Chin *huang tong* 皇统 C447, see Mong *töb* 'center, central'? No Dag.

d-un (254-273) 'four years old', see Mong *döne(n)* 'four years old animal (bull, camel or elephant), four years old male child', see **t-un** (247-273).

d-ur* (254-236), stem of the ordinal of 'four', see also **t-úr**,

d-ur-er (254-236-341), 'fourth, masculine', 5x,

d-ur-én (254-236-361), 'fourth, feminine', 2x.

d-y (254-020) 'virtue, favour', ChinE *de* 德, YCh *təj*, LMCh *təə̆k* CWJ 1376,

d-y ir-er 'written in favour' (GuD21).

d-y z-in (254-020 258-018) title', K120, ChinE *te jin* 特进 C446, ← Turk *tegin* (Clauson 483), see **di-i$_2$-in.**

D-y z-úng (254-020 258-345) 'the Emperor Taizong 太宗 (926-947)' (Zhong36).

d$_3$- see du$_3$.

da (171) 'great', ChinE *da, dai* 大.

da-ha-* (171-051), see also **da$_3$-ha-** (214-051),

da-ha-ar (171-051-123) 'cover up', 24x. also **da-ar** (171-123), 3x, Chin *yanbi* 掩闭 C411,

da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-hu när (171-051-123 186-149-151 159) 'the day of the closing the tomb', Chin *yan bi ri* 掩闭日 C411, (Xu gai 1),

da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-án (171-051-123 186-149-051-) 'cover up, close, the burial ceremony', Chin *yan bi* 掩闭 C411,

da-ha-ar o-l$_2$ ha-a-án (171-051-123 186-149-051-189-290) 'cover up, close', Chin *yan bi* 掩闭 C411,

da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-al (171-051-123186-149-051-189-098) 'the closing ceremony (of the tomb)', Chin *yan bi li* 掩闭礼 C411,

da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-al-hu (171-051-123 186-149-051-098-151) 'cover up,close', 2x, Chin *yan bi* 掩闭 C411,

da-ha-ai o-l$_2$-ha-ai (171-051-123186-149-051-122) 'was covering up, was closing', Chin *yan bi* 掩闭 C411,

da-ha-ai o-l$_2$-ha-aju (171-051-123 186-149-051-082.1) 'cover up, close', Chin *yan bi* 掩闭 C411,

da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-aju, 13x,

da-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-aju (Zhong43-28).

da$_3$-ai (214-122) 'great' ChinE *dai* 大, **L**6,

da$_3$-ai ci-ng s-iang (214-122 162-264 244-314) 'Prime/ Great Minister', ChinE *da chengxiang* 大丞相, **L**6, Hucker No. 5889 "Grand Caunselor in-chief",

da$_3$-ai s-iang g-ün (214-122 244-314 334-329) 'Grand General', ChinE *da jiangjun* 大 蒋军, **L**15Hucker No 5897 'General-in-chief' C411,

da$_3$-ai y-ie-ên L-m-en (214-122 020-327-073 261-133-140) 'a title, genitive' (Wu 8).

da$_3$-ha-* (214-051), see **da-ha-*** (171-051),

da$_3$-ha-ar-i (214-051-123-339), **L**17, Chin no gloss, but see **da-ha-ar o-ju-ha-ai** Chin *yan bi* 掩闭 'cover up', C419,

to-aju tou da$_3$-ha-ar-i i-ri-s au-ul-ha-ai (Nu18-5),

da$_3$-ha-ar o-ón em$_2$-s-ge-l-g (Gu14).

da$_3$-lu$_3$-er (214-312-341) 'seventh', Chin *diqi* 第七, **L**7, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

dai (017) 'great', ChinE *dai* 大, **L**6,

dai-ji (017-152) in:

dai-ji j-ar$_2$-ud-e RECORD-e (017-152 104-084-344-348-052-348) 'to the record of the great Jarud' (Xu27).

dai-mú dai-mú (017-220 017-220) 'longlasting' in:

dai-mú dai-mú t-iu-ir 'longlasting peace' no gloss (Da13).

dai-l$_2$-*, (017-149)

dai-l$_2$-l-ha-ai (017-149-261-051-122) 'was fighting, making war, was attacking ???', **L22**, 6x (<**dai-l$_2$*<**dai-l-lha-* see Mong *dayila-* 'to wage war, to conquer' <*dayin* 'war, hostility', *dayisun* 'enemy, menace')' **dayilalga-*, see the noun *dayilalga* 'entertainment, baquet, dinner' < *dayila-2* 'to treat, entertain', to **d-ia**,

dai-l$_2$-l-ha-ar (017-149-261-051-123), (Xing21-3, Sao24-12, Tai11-15),

dai-l$_2$-ha-ai (017-149-051-122)(Xu7-1, Tu13-18),

dai-l$_2$-ha-ar (017-149-051-123) (Di12-29),

dai-l$_2$-ha-a-ar (017-149-051-189-123) (Yu24-22),

dai-ul-ha-al (017-366-051-098), **L26-2**,

t-ia h-ui-ri-b-ñ-a dai-l$_2$-b-ad xa-she (Yu42-24) 'at the time when attacked the arriving enemy'.

dai-ul-ha-al (017-366-051-098) 'to uprise, become enemy???', no gloss, **L**26.

dai-ri$_5$* (017 255) 'to receive (from the superior), 83x, Chin *feng* 奉.

dai-ri$_5$ shï ju-ung (017-255 180 147-345), 'a title', Chin *feng shi zhong* 奉使中 L26.

dalu (141), **dalu°** (142), 'seven', K115, **L**8, **L**24, see 12.3 NUMERALS 1, see also below **dalu-ñ**,
da$_3$-lu$_3$-er (214-312-347) 'seventh, masc.', Chin *diqi* 第七 C419,
da-lu$_3$-én (171-312-361) 'seventh, fem.', 1x, Chin *diqi* 第七 (Dao14-5),
da-lu$_3$-én h-s-ge$_2$-ud s-abu-o-ón (Dao14-5) 'arriving at the seven regions'.

Dalu-hu (141-151) 'a person's name, the Seven times', ChinT *die la* 迭剌 Yong3, YCh *tjɛ*, LMCh *thiat*, ChinT *di lie* 迪烈, YCh *ti*, LMCh *thiajk* (Zhong30) C399,
Dalu-én (141-361) 'a person's name', ChinT *di nian* 迪輦 (Nan11) C399,
Dalu°-t (141.1-247) 'a person's name', ChinT *di lie* 迪烈 (Nan4) C399.

dalu-ñ (141-222) 'sea, great lake', 4x, Chin *hai* 海, see Mong *dalai* 'sea, great lake, great number, universal etc.', Dag *daliee* 'ocean, sea' (M132), *dalai, dalɛ̄* 'more' (Poppe 1930, 75), see Old Turkic *taluy* (Clauson 1972, 502), *taloy t(a)loy* (Wilkens 666),[1] the earliest Old Turkic data are from the Tonyuquq (726) and Kül Tegin (732) inscriptions, genitive **dalu-ñ-en** (Xu9-28), **dur dalu-ñ** (368 141-222) 'the four lakes', Chin *si hai* 四海 CWJ 869 (Xing7, Tai7-6, DiX45-10), **dalu-i ú** (141-339-245) 'the water of the great lake' (Nu 47-7).

dargan *dalagan da-la-gan* 達剌斡 also *da-la-gan* 達剌干 'a title, occurring in personal names', Liaoshi, WF 432,740, see Mong *darqan* 'artisan, craftsman, a person free free from taxes and official duties', pl. *darhad* ← Turk *tarkan* 'a title' also an Avar title and see Hung *Tarkány* and *Tarján* 'names of persons preserved in placenames' (WOT1164), Clauson 539, Doerfer II, 870) Mong → Chagatai. In:
麻普　即麻都不，縣官之副也，初名達剌斡 *Má pǔ　jí má dōu bù, xiàn guān zhī fù yě, chū míng dá lá gàn.*
Mapu, that is, Mabu, the deputy of the county magistrate, was originally named Dalagan. (Liaoshi, 46,1a-2a, WF480).
year 984. Su-sa and other generals attacked the Zu-bu and killed the chieftan *Da-la-gan* 達剌干 (Laoshi10,7b, WF 583).

Dau-ñ (119-222) 'a name', 9x, ChinT *du* 睹, perhaps in genitive case, see **Dau** (119)12x.

dau-dû (119-249) 'middle' see **dau-úr** (119-097) 'middle', also **d-iau-dû**,
dau-dû ai (119-249 122) 'second or midle ancestor, uncle' Chin *zhongfu* 仲父 C391,
dau-dû-hu ai-en (119-249-151 122-140) 'of the middle ancestor, uncle, genitive' Chin *zhongfuzhi* 仲父之 C391,

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[1] The reading of the second syllbale is uncertain in Old Turkic.

dau-dû ku 尺分 几 (119-249 178) ‘the middle or second person’, Chin *zhong ren* 仲人,

dau-dû b-qo 尺分 丹为 (119-249 311-168) ‘the middle one, the middle child’, Chin *zhongzi* 仲子.

dau-ul- 尺平 (119-366) ‘to lead’, no gloss, see Mong *daga-* ‘to follow, obey, comply with’, *dagagul-* ‘to cause or let follow, to reduce to submission’, Dag *dahe-* ‘to follow’, *dage-legaa-* ‘make follow, lead, guide’ (M131), *daha-* ‘folgen’, *dahalχa-* ‘folgen lassen’ (M-K120), (Yong37-21) 尺平 圡为艾 to be read as 尺平圡为艾 **dau-ul-ha-a-aju**, so in Yong 41-14,

dau-ul-ha- 尺平圡 (119-366-051) ‘? to be lead, follow’,

dau-ul-ha-ai 尺平圡丰 (119-366-051-122), ‘was lead’, 5x,

dau-ul-ha-ar 尺平 圡未 (119-366-051-123), 3x,

dau-ul-ha-a-ar 尺平 圡为未 (119-366-051-189-123), 3x,

dau-ul-ha-án 尺平圡出 (119-366-051-189-290), ‘had lead’, 2x,

dau-ul-ha-a-án 尺平圡为出 (119-366-051-189-290-151), 1x.

Dau-ul-ó-o-or 尺平廾 及扎 (119-366-090-186-076) ‘a name of a person’, ChinT *duo lu-wo* 铎鲁斡, C 391, Wu-Janhunen 172, 181 Xiang16, 20, also GuD7.

Dau-u s-úng 尺叐 仐当 (119-131-244-357) ‘(the Emperor) Daozong (1055–1101)’ ChinE *dao zong* 道宗 C390,

dau-u-s-úng hong-di-in 尺叐仐当 主王丙 (119-131-244-357 075-037-018) ‘the Emperor Daozong’, genitive ChinE *dao zong huang di-zhi* 道宗 皇帝之, C391.

dau-úr 尺交 (119-097) ‘middle’, K107, also **dau-ur$_2$** 尺化 (119-236), **ta-úr** 仍交 (229-097), **tau-úr** 戋交 (029-097), see also **d-iau-dû, t-iau-du**, **L**1, on details see Róna-Tas 2019.

de 矢 (205) ‘that’, see **te** 口 (323) ‘that’,

de-i 矢关 (205-339) ‘from that’, Chin *cong* 从,

e i-ri de-i au-ul-û-ui 券 关化 矢关 丸平尺火 ‘from that very title/office he was exempted’ (348 339-235 205-339 161-262-372-262) (Yu21), see **te**.

dele1 小 (294) ‘south, southern’, K119, 70x Chin *nan* 四, **L**20, genitive **dele-en** 小有 (294-140),17x, also **t-le** 令方 (247-093), 32x, (genitive **t-le-ñ** (247-093-222)), **t-ie-le** 令文方 (247-327-093), 5x, **d-le** 公方 (254-093), 19x, and **t-ie-ar$_2$** 令文左 (247-327-084), 14x, The glyph **dele** 小 (294) seems to be a homoglyph representing two words **dele1** has the meaning ‘south’ and **dele2** ‘tribe, pertaining to a tribe’ (see below), **dele1** may be connected with Mong *düli* ‘half, middle, middle of the day, night, noon’, *qoyar düli* ‘the two middle: noon and midnight’ (L). In Dagur ‘midday’ is according to Enkhbat (1984, 47) *udur dwand*, Martin (1961:291) has *udure duande*, similar expressions at Muromskij: *udur duandä, uduri duańda* ‘Mittag’ (Muromskij—Kałużyński 1970, 140) and Poppe (1930, 1934/35). The Mongolian word is a loan from WOT, see Chuv *tĕl, tŏl* ‘place, time’ < **dül,* OT *tüš* ‘time, midday, the place for a stop at midday, noon' and Hungarian *dél* 'south, midday' (WOT 291-294). In Dahur 'south' is *əməl* (DaE), *emele* (M 143), *emen, emel, emüne, emende* (M-K 129) etc. all connected with Mong *emüne, ömüne* 'south, in front, before', see Róna-Tas 2019, see also Ju *dulila* 'central' (Kiyose 131), *dulimba* in *ali dulimba* 'in the middle of the mountain' (Kane 1989, 168), Ma, *dulin* 'half, middle' *dulimbai* 'middle', *dulimbai gurun* 'China', (perhaps also *duli-* 'to stay up all night, to watch, to stay vigil' see Turk above).

dele si$_2$ 小 十 (294 040) 'south-west', Chin *nansi* 南四, **L**20, **L**23,

d-le pu-un ja-ri-qó 公为 仐火 孑化欠 (254-092 241-273 150-235-169) 'prime minister of south division', Chin *nan fu zhi zai xiang* 南府之宰相 C446, hybrid,

dele-hu-ar-i 小列本关 (294-151-123-339) 'spend the summer??', Chin no gloss **L**21.

dele2 小 (294) 'from the same clan, consanguin(ity)', K119, Chin *tongbao* 同胞, CWJ 1341,

dele-ha-ar-i ia-iá-ñ-un$_2$ 小亚本关 才幺伏叉 (294-051-123-339 335-274-222-144) 'consanguineous brothers, genitive', Chin *tong fu yi mu xiong di* 同父异母兄弟 C457,

dele-hu-ar-i ia 小列本关 才 (294-151-123-339 335) 'consanguineous brother, half brother, Chin *tong fu yi mu xiong* 同父异母兄 C458, hybrid construction,

dele-en deu 小冇 为 (294-140 101) 'compatriot brother, sibling brother', Chin *tong bao di* 同胞弟.

deu 为 (101) 'younger brother', Chin *di* 第, **L**6, see. Mongolic *degüü.* 'younger brother or sister', Dag *deu* 'younger brother'(M136), *dou, du, deu* 'jüngerer Bruder' (M-K124). The Mongolic word *degü* is used in some Modern Mongolic languages only in the compound *aka-degü* (see Nugteren 316).

deu-úr 为安 (101-097), '(to be as, act as) younger brothers, to treat in the same way, to be similar, same', Chin *tong* 同, **L**15,

p-û sh-iú sï deu-úr MANAGE-i 业只 叉火 廿 为安 层关 (295-372 028-289 083 101-097 142-339) (Song8),

d-ém g-ém-d deu-úr MANAGE-i 公圣 九圣公 为安 层关 (254-270-334-270-254 101-097 142-339) (Song11),

Ci-üe-ên ün deu-úr MANAGE-u-ji-de 木芙寿 亦 为安 层及犳矢 (162-082-073 329 101-097 142-131-152-205) (Wu15),

us-g-de deu-úr-ge-y û-er 'was giving with a diplom attached' (Yu12-43).

di 王 (037) 'emperor', ChinE *di* 帝, see **huang di**.

di-í$_2$-in 王夲雨 (037-114-018) 'a Khitan title', 7x, also **di-í-in** 王谷雨, ChinT *ti yin* 惕隐 C370, plural **di-í$_2$-d** 王夲公 (037-114-254), 1x, ← Turk *tegin*, see **d-y z-in**,

di-í$_2$-d-en hu$_2$-ú nai 王夲公冇 亜伞 穴 (037-114-254-140 014-245 332) 'commander of the Tiyins, plural, genitive', Chin *ti yin zhi tong guan* 惕隐之统官 C370.

di-shi-g (037-033-334) ‘a title’, 2x, no gloss (Zhi12), because of phonetical and historical reasons not ChinE *dishi* 帝師 YCh *ti ʂr,* LMCh *tiaj ʂr,* but the first part may be the same, genitive **di-shi-g-en** (037-033-334-140), 2x, dative-locative **di-shi-g-de** (037-033-334-205), 3x.

Do$_2$-ji har$_3$-en-** (091-152 006-140) ‘name of a mountain, genitive’ (Pu7-33), correted by CWJ 1521 to **Do$_2$-ji$_3$ tai ui°-en**, no gloss for **Do$_2$-ji$_3$, tai ui** = *tai wei* 太尉.

dor (218) ‘seal, official’, K114 (read<doro>) 131x, K87, Chin *yin* 印, **L**2, **L**14,‘ceremony, rite’ *li* 礼 CWJ905 (Dao12), plural **dor-s** (218-244), 1x, see Mong *törü* ‘law, order, rule, goverment, etc.’, Dag *tori* ‘ the second visit of the prospective bridegroom to his financee’s family’ (M226) ← Turk *törü* ‘traditional, customary, unwritten law’ (Clauson 1972, 531),

dor-ñ (218-222) ‘ritual, ceremony, genitive’, Chin *li* 礼 C420,

dor-er (218-341) ‘ritual, ceremony, accusative-instrumental’, Chin *li yi* 礼以 C420,

dor-de-i (218-205-339) ‘ritual, ceremony, ablative’, Chin *li cong* 礼从 C420,

dor-d-un$_2$ (218-254-144) ‘ritual, ceremony, plural’, Chin *li* 礼 C420,

dor-d-b-ñ (218-254-311-222) ‘ritual, ceremony’, Chin *li* 礼 C420,

dor-l-ha-al-un$_2$ (218-261-051-098-144) ‘ritual, ceremony’, Chin *li* 礼 C420,

dor p-ai-sï-en sh-a-rí (218 295-122-083-140 028-189-069) ‘langjun of the bureau of seals and tallies (the offical diploms)’ Chin *(yin) paisizhi langjun* 牌司 之 郎君 **L**2, see **sh-ar-í**, **L**14,

dor-s-en us-g (218-244-140 068-334) ‘the Book of Rites’ (Peng 2023,659),

g-úr-en dor ‘the (customary) law of the country’ (Dao12), Chin *guozhi li* 国之 礼 CWJ 904,

dor-te$_2$ (218-356), ‘to submit’, Chin *gui shun* 归顺 C420, (Dao12, Hu4-15, Yu33-53.

dor-a-án in**:**

GREAT dor-a-án (373 218-189-290) ‘great order?’ Chin *dading* 大定 CWJ 1134.

dor-l-* (218-261) ‘to submit’,

dor-l-li$_2$ (218-261-080) ‘to submit, come over and pledge allegiance’, Chin *gui shun* 归顺 C420 see ??? Mong *dörüle-* < *dörü* ‘ iron or rope nose-ring (for cattle), lead rope (for cattle)’, ???metaphoric, or to dor ‘ceremony’,

dor-l-ñ (218-261-222) ‘to submit, come over and pledge allegiance’, Chin *gui shun* 归顺 C420,

dor-l-bun (218-261-288) ‘to submit, come over and pledge allegiance’, Chin *gui shun* 归顺 C420,

dor-l-b-un$_2$ (218-261-311-144) ‘to submit, come over and pledge allegiance’, Chin *gui shun* 归顺 C420,

dor-l-b-ñ (218-261-311-222) (Xu62), 4x,

dor-l-li$_2$ (218-261-080) ‘to submit’, Chin *gui shun* 归顺 C420,

dor-te$_2$ (218-356), ‘to submit’, Chin *gui shun* 归顺 C420, (Dao12, Hu4-15, Yu33-53.

dor$_2$ (072) ‘East’, 23x, Chin *dong* 东, C383, see Róna-Tas 2019.

Dor$_2$-050 (072-050) ‘name of a cave’, 11x,

Dor$_2$-050 ñ-qó-du$_2$ ‘into the cave of D’, (Sa37, Gu16, Di23, Wu13).

du (237) ‘all’, ChinE *dou* 都 CWJ1279, Chinese 都 has two readings *du* and *duo*, here *du* is transcribed, see *du* 都 ‘capital city’, YCh *tu,* LMCh *tuǝ̆.*

du g-ia-ém ‘a title.’(Tu10-22, CWJ 1279) ChinE *du jian* 都监, Hucker No 7192 “(Military) Director-in-chief”.

du-u g-iu-ung (237-131 334-019-345) ‘metropolis, ordo’, ChinE *dou-gong* 都 宫 **L**18,

du-u g-iu-ung shï (237-131 334-019-345 180) ‘a title, commissioner of the ordo’, **L**18, ChinE *dougong shi* 都 宫使, on C404 **du g-iu-ung shi** (237 334-019-345 180) and **du g-iú-ung shi** (237 334-289-345 180), both ChinE *dougong shi* 都 宫使, Chinese 都 has two readings *du* and *duo*, *du* is transcribed.

du tu-ung (237 202-345) ‘campaign commander’, K94, ChinE *du tong* 都统 C424.

du ui° (237 263) ‘Commander-in-Chief’, ChinE *du wei* 都尉 C424, Hucker No7326.

Du-ung$_2$ h-e$_2$ ‘ a female name’, (Yu8), ChinT *tong? ge* 童哥.

du$_3$-ge-l-ge-er ‘had died’ (089-112-261-112-341) (Xing9) no gloss, see **t-ge-**.

Du$_3$-ge-én (089-349-361) in: **Au-ui-én Du$_3$-ge-én jur$_2$ ñ-ó-de-en** (161-262-361 089-349-361 134 222-090-205-140) ‘the Ao-yan and the Türk confederations’ (Ling17-7), ChinT CWJ 941, *tujue* 突厥, see **Ci-228-dûi-i du g-e** (162-228-249-339 237 334-348) ‘a name’, ChinE *chu te du ge* 楮特都哥 (Yong17) C406, see **Ci-228**. Khitan **du$_3$** ← Chin *tū* 突 YCh *tu,* LMCh *tʰut,* see Kasai 2014.

dur, **dur°** (368, 369) ‘four’, Chin *si* 四, **L** 10, **L**12, **L**13, **L** 19, see **12.3** NUMERALS,

dur ai ju-un (368 122 147-273) ‘year four, summer’, Chin *si nian xia* 四年 夏 **L**24,

d-ur-er (254-236-341), ‘fourth, masculine’, 5x,

d-ur-én (254-236-361), ‘fourth, feminine’, 2x.

dz$_2$- see **j-**.

E

e 券 (348) ‘this, that’, also **e$_2$** 夯 (109), Chin *zhe* 这, *gai* 该 **L**3, plural **et**, see there,

e$_2$ g-ung-er 夯 九太父 (109 334-345-341) ‘this work is’, Chin *zhe gong yi* 这功以,

e-hu 券列 (348-151) ‘this (emphatic), this very’, Chin *gai* 该,

e ui 券火 (348-262), ‘this matter, this thing’, Chin *gai shi* 该事,

e ui-de-i 券火矢关 (348 262-205-339) ‘from/in this matter’, Chin *zheshi cong* 这事从,

e i-ri de-i au-ul-û-ui 券关化 矢关 丸平只火 ‘from this very position he was exempted’ (Yu21).

(e)t 令 (247) ‘1. they, 2. these’, Chin 1. *ta men* 他们 2. *zhe xie* 这些 C437.

e$_4$-g 土九 (066-334) ‘mother’, see Mong *eke* ‘mother’, Dag *ehe* ‘mother (of other person)’, *euee* ‘(speaker’s own) mother (< *ebe*)’ (M141,146), *ehe* ‘Mutter’, (M-K128), *eg, eγ, egĕ, ege. ewe, ewo* ‘matʹ’ (Poppe 79), *əγ* ‘id.’, Chin *mu* 母 (DagE 23),

e$_4$-g-n 土九公 (066-334-251) in: **neu-e e$_4$-g-n** 穴券 土九公 (331-348 066-334-251) ‘earth mother, genitive’, 7x, Chin *di mu zhi* 地母之 C471, Peng 2023, 657,

g-mu 九仕 (334-224 !) ‘wife’s mother’, Chin *zhang mu* 丈母 C474,

see **e$_4$-ge-er au-a-ar p-od-l-un$_2$ jau-ul-ha-ai** (Nan26).

e$_4$-l-ge-er 土屮岔父 (066-261-349-341) ‘begin(ning)’, see Mong *ekile-* ‘to begin’, Peng 2023, 657 (Xian31), metathetic form.

EAST 为 (072) see **dor2**.

EIGHTY ㄣ (212.2) earlier No.449, the glyph is missing on CWJ p.1955, column 2, but read as <nai>, in column 4. It occurs three times, given as Chin *bashi* 八十 on C419. On the same page the glyph ㄥ (211.1, earlier 447) is erroneously given as *bashi* 八十, but it is thirty ㄴ (211.1), with a diacritic. Kane on K95 gives ㄇ as ‘eighty’, but correctly ‘seventy’ on p.115. see **12.3.6.8** NUMERALS,

EIGHTY jur-de ㄣ 圣矢 (212.2-134-205), ‘(died) in (his) eighty second year, in the age 82’.

em$_2$ 佥 (257) ‘(fortified) city, town(ship), region, local administration’, K111, Chin *cheng* 城,

em$_2$-en em-u 佥有丙及 (257-140 021-131), ‘inhabitant of a city district’, Chin *chengmin* 城民 C448,

em$_2$-en nai-d 佥有 宂坌 (257-040 332-254), ‘local officials’K104, (Lang3),

em-er 丙父 (021 (!)-341) ‘city regions, accusative-instrumental ?’, Chin no gloss, **L**19 (021!). The two glyphs are almost invisible on the photo CWJ p. 724, most probably a mistake for **em$_2$** 佥 (257),

em$_2$-s (257-140) ‘cities’, Chin *zhucheng* 诸城 L17,
em$_2$-s-en m-ri-g-s (257-244-140 133-235-334-244) ‘the township organisation of the cities’, **L**16,
em$_2$-s-en (257-244-140) ‘of the cities, plural genitive’, Chin *zhucheng zhi* 诸成 之 **L**1.6,
em$_2$-110 (257-110), see the enumeration of administrative units Zhen 44=47,
em$_2$-s-b-ñ eu-úr-de sh-ia a-al (257-244-311-222 067-097-205 028-335-189-098)- (Zhi9-27),
ai-en em$_2$-en i-ri ‘a title of the father’s region (given to a daughter who did not marry)’ Jue32 Chin *fu zhi cheng zhi hao* 父之城之号 CWJ553,
em$_2$-ñ-u$_2$-ji (257-222-131-152) ‘**?**’ (Han24-11), no gloss,
dur dalu-ñ-en em-ém (=d)-en (Xu9-28) (270) = (254) ‘the regions of the four lakes’,
see **T-am-úr em$_2$** **(**247-184-097 257) ‘the town region of Tamur’, ChinT *Ta mu li cheng* 塌母里城.

ém (270) ‘from this’ *zi* (*ben*), 自 (本), ‘from oneself’ *zi* (*ben*) *shen* 自 (本) 身, ‘life, command, fate’ Chin *ming* 命 C454, CWJ969.

ém-a (270-189) ‘goat’, K99, Chin *wei* 未 8th of the 12 Earthly Branches’, **L**19, see Mong *imagan* ‘goat’, Dag *imaa* ‘goat’ (M171), *ima, imo* ‘Ziegenbock’ (M-K 110), see Nugteren 2011, 372: **imaan*, ← Turk *ïmga* ‘wild mountain goat’ (Clauson 1972, 158), see Jur *imala (*Kiyose 106, Ligeti 1961, 10), *imu’a eri* (Kane 1989, 200), Ma *imahū*.

ém-ci (270-162) 2x, ‘drink to your heart’s content’ (Lang4-11, Jue44-19) *han yin* 酣饮 CWJ896. K93, Shimunek 2014.106,
WINE-b ém-ci (342-311 270-162) ‘drink wine to the full, ?drunken’, Chin *han yin* 酣饮 C481,
ém-ci-en ui (270-162-140 262) 1x (Hu10-32).

eme (021) ‘woman, wife’, also ‘daughters’ (Xian25), Chin *zhu nü* 诸女 CWJ1443 K97, 109, **mo**, earlier reading in CWJ **em**, but see the suffixes. 243x, Chin *mu* 母, C365. Mong *eme* ‘woman, wife, female’, Dag *eme* ‘female, adult female, woman, lady, wife’ (M143), *emih, emhe* ‘Weib, Gattin’ (M-K129), **L**4, **L**12, used also as title as in **Ú-dû-l-ha-a-án eme** , Chin *wo-te-lan furen* 斡特懒 夫人·(Hong18), CWJ1146, genitive **eme-n** (021-251) ‘of the wife’, **L**12, pural **eme-t** (021-247) ‘wives’ plural genitive **eme-t-en** (021-247-140) ’of the wives’, **L**4m Chin *qi* 妻, **L**4, **L**12,
eme ku (021-178) ‘wife’, Chin *qi* 妻 L3, **L**6/7, **L**10, **L**11,

eme-er (021-341)??? ‘their respective wives’,Chin no gloss, **L**8,[1]

ai-en y-au a-án eme-er ul$_2$ au-ul-u-ul-g (122-140 020-161-290 021-341 336 161- 366-131-161-334) ‘the father ceremony and that of the mother did not change’ (Qing26), Chin 三年中/26/父之 礼 在 道 不 改 (CWJ1329),

eme-er-en (021-341-140), 7x,

eme-t p-ar (021 247 295-123) ‘wives and their family, female family members’, **L**4, **L**9., Chin *nü juan* 女眷 CWJ1000, also **eme-d p-ar** (021-254 295-123) ‘wives and family’, Chin *qi shi* 妻室 C365,

eme-n h-iú (021-251 340-289) ‘younger sister of wife’, Chin *fu ren zhi mei* 夫人之妹 C365,

eme-ém-en** (021-270-140) Xu9, only here, once, no gloss, correctly: **eme-d-en** (021-254-140), the correct data **eme-d** occurs, 3x, and **eme-d-en** once Dao25-3,

y-u eme-350-de (020-133 021-350-205) (Jue45),

see **ci-299 eme ku** (162-299 021-178) ‘legal wife’, Chin *diqi* 娣淒.

eme2, also **eme-ci** (021-162) ‘water, river’, 9x, Chin *shui* CWJ1217, see also Bai 2020, on “river” in Khitan,

gur eme-d-en ju-ur-n na dor-l-bun (dor-l-b-un$_2$) ( ) (Dao25-15) ‘The Jurchen of the three rivers (who) formerly submitted’, Chin *san shui zhi nü zhen zhi xi guishun* 三水之 女 真之 昔 归顺,

eme-ci-en (021-162-140), 2x,

eme-ci-er (021-162-341), 4x.

eme-110 (021-110), 10x. (? =),

jï-in g-ui-en eme-110 (Zhen44) Chin *zhen guo* 镇国, and no gloss Zhen Guo is the name of the owner of the inscription.

eme-qu-ui** (021-236-262) ‘again’, Chin *fu* 复 C365 misreading for **y-qó-oi$_2$** (020-169-107) ‘again’, Chin *fu* 复 C358.

emu (026), **emu°** (027) ‘one’, K110,. Chin *yi* 一, **L**3, **L**9, **L**10. see 12.3. NUMERALS,

emu°-û sui-l-ñ bod (026 372 238-261-222-309) ‘first born (male) person’, Chin *yi sheng shen* 一生身,

emu-s-g hu$_2$-ó-ui (026 244-334-014-094-262) ‘unite in one’ in: **dur dalu-ñ emu-s-g hu$_2$-ó-ui** ‘uniting the four lakes to one’ (Xing7),

emu us-g (260 068-334) ‘document, diploma with one character, name of a diploma of a high office’, in:

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[1] On CWJ 1329 for **eme-er** (021-341) Chin *dao* 道 ‘road, way, moral, *dao*’ is given

emu us-g-en ong ‘wang with a one character rank’. Chin *yi zi wang* 一字王 the highest rank written only with one character, a Chinese expression translated into Khitan, see Kane 2009, 21, CWJ948) (Zhong4), further:

emu us-g-hu (260 068-334-151)- (Gu21), **emu us-g-er** (260 068-334- 341)(Hong9),

emu-ó-ul-un$_2$ (026-090-366-144) (Ren18), no gloss.

En$_2$-ia-ai (324-335-122) ‘name of a subclan of Xiao’, **L**7.

én$_2$-u (100-131) ‘tent, canopy, curtain, tent is also here a social unit’, Chin *zhang* 帐, in **po-od-én$_2$ én$_2$-u** (279-016-371 100-131) ‘the tenth tent, tenth canopy’, Chin *dishi zhang* 第十 帐 C455, also **én$_2$-u-ui** (100-131-262), Chin *zhang* 帐 CWJ 1340,

en$_2$-un em$_2$-en ‘the city of the Tent, lmperial (tent) chariot’, Chin *zhang cheng zhi* 帐 城之.(Nu17).

es (146) ‘not (before verbs or verbal forms) not yet’, Chin *wei* 未 C400, see Mong *ese*‘negation used before verbs’, *ese-* defective negative verb’, ???? Dah *eseruu* ‘opposite, facing, against’ (M146), *es* (DagE, 27, Nugteren 333). See details **12.5.2.1**,

es od$_2$-i ul$_2$ or-u-ji, Chin *bu qu bu ke* 不去不可 ‘don’t go, can’t go’ (Cha11:*es od$_2$-i ul$_2$ or-u-ji u-ul o-udu-u-dú a-aju us-g t-em$_2$-l-ge-y* ‘him was awarded a diploma which cannot be revocked’.

et (247) ‘these, they’, Chin *tamen* 他们, *zhe xie* 这些, plural of **e,**

et jur (247-134) ‘those two of them’, Chin *tamen er* 他们二,

et ui-s (247-262-244) ‘all these things’, Chin *zhexie zhu shi* 这些 诸 事,

et ui-s-d (247-262-244-254) ‘all these things, undertakings’, Chin *zhexie shiye* 这些 事业.

ETERNAL (063) ‘perpetual, eternal’, K96, Chin *yong* 永,

ETERNAL -li4-ha-a-ar (063-310-051-123) ‘perpetuated, fixed, written down, immortalized’, Chin *zhuan* 撰 ‘to write, compose’, **L**9,

ETERNAL ia-277 hu-o-du$_2$ da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-án ‘to the one who became immortal (died) the burial ceremony was performed’ (Dao6-29),

ETERNAL s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er ‘became terminally ill’ (Nu3-19).

eu-e$_2$ (067-109) ‘to die’, 1x, also **eu-e** (067-348), 5x, Chin *zu* 卒 C380,

eu-ñ (067-222) ‘not exist’, Chin *wu* 无 C381,

eu-ñ u-ul-ge-er (067-222 131-366-349-341)(Yong34) ‘was not given (a wife), did not marry (?)’ Chin *wu, jia* 无, 嫁 CWJ1234,

eu-ui (067-262) ‘was not existing, did not exist, died, finished, ended’, Chin *zu* 卒, *wu* 无 C381,

eu-ul-g (067-366-334) ‘death’ (Xian17, Chin *gu* 故 CWJ1439,

eu-ul-g or-a-an (067-366-334 076-189-011) ‘after death’, Chin *gu hou* 故后 C381,

eu-ul-g-ji (067-366-334-152) ‘not exist’, Chin *wu* 无 C381,

eu-ul-g när (067-366-334 159) ‘death day, day of death’, Chin *gu ri* 故日 C381,

eu-ul-ge-y (067-366-349-020) ‘was not existing’, Chin *wu* 无 C381,

t-úr eu-ul-ge-y ‘was dying’ (Ling19-17),

tu-úr-bun eu-ul-g-en ‘has died’ (Xiang31).

Eu-uh-ñ-i (067-172-222-339) ‘a term of relationship, pertaining to a sub-clan of the Xiao’, ChinT *oukun* 瓯 (= 甌)昆 L3, **L**4, **L**5, **L**7,

eu-uh-ñ-i iu-uh-ñ, ChinT *oukun ouni (*?) 瓯昆 偶你 (?), **L**9,

eu-uh-ñ-i M-o S$_2$-a (067-172-222-339 133-186) ‘a name’, **L**3,

eu-uh-ñ-i Nas-én-ñ, ‘a name’, **L**3,

eu-uh-ñ-d plural (Tai17).

eu-ul (067-366) ‘cloud’, K89, Chin *yun* 云, see Mong *egüle(n)* ’cloud’, Dag *eulen* ‘winter’ (M146), *eulen* ‘Wolke’ (M-K 131),

eu-ul pu-su-û-t (067-366 241-041-372-247), ‘the “cloud army”’ Chin *yunqing* 云庆 [a military formation],

HEAVEN eu-ul cau-úr (243 067-366-022-097) ‘the “Heaven Cloud Army”’, Chin *tian yunjun* 天雲軍

eu-ul-ge$_2$- (067-366-112) see **eu-e$_2$.**

eu-úr (067-097) ‘ages’, also **eu-ur$_2$** (067-236), Chin *sui* 岁, **L**14, dative-locative **eu-úr-de** (067-097-205), see Mong *egüri* ‘long time, long ago’,

YOUNG-qú eu-úr-de (248-118 067-097-205) ‘in young age, dative-locative’, Chin *you (xiao) sui yu* 幼 (小)岁于 C443,

YOUNG-qú eu-ur$_2$ (248-118 067-236) (Zhong2),

eu-úr SMALL-qó (067-097 ‘young age’, Chin *sui xiao* 岁小 C380,

eu-úr SMALL-qó-er ‘young, infant age’, Chin *sui you* 岁 幼 C380.

eu-úr-ge$_2$-y (067-097-112-020) ‘was enhancing, augmenting’, (Dao13), no gloss, perhaps to the former,

eu-úr-ge-én$_2$ ci-er ‘he was enhancing, was generous’(Yu15) no gloss.

Eu-úr-bun (067-097-288) ‘a name’, no gloss, **L**12, see als **Eu-úr-b-ñ** (Hong28).

F

FIFTY 乙 (155), ‘fifty’, K98, Chin *wu-shi* 五十, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

FIFTY al-qó-do-i 乙 丂欠朱关 (155 098-169-217-339) ‘of 50 steps, fifty steps far’, Chin *wushi bucong* 五十 步从 C403.

FORTY 了 (145), ‘forty’, Chin *sishi* 四十.

fu g-iu-ung shï 佘 九丙太 兆 (242 334-019-345 180) ‘deputy palace commander’, ChinE *fu gong shi* 副宫使 C428.

fu-ong ng-iú shï 佘杰 发炏 兆 (242-071 264-289 180) ‘a title’, ChinE *fang yu shi* 防御使 C428 Hucker No. 1923 “Defence Commissioner”.

fu-qó g-ui 佘欠 九火 (242-169 334-262) ‘a title, bulwark general of the state’, ChinE *fu guo* 辅国 C428, see Hucker Nos 2073–2076.

fu-û g-ui sh-ang s-iang g-ün 佘只 九火 叉気 仐丯 九亦 (242-372 334-262 028-199 244-314 334-329) ‘senior bulwark general of the state’, ChinE *fu guo shang jiang jun* 辅国上将军 C428, see the next item.

fu-u g-ui t-ai-i s-iang g-ün 佘及 九火 令屮关 仐丯 九亦 (242-131 334-262 247-122-339 244-314 334-329) ‘senior bulwark general of the state’, ChinE *fu guo da jiang jun* 辅国大将军 C428, Hucker No 2076 *fu guo jiang jun* “Bulwark-generalissimo of the State”, hybrid construction.

G

g-ai g-ui s-ï (334-122 334-262 244-353) 'a title', ChinE *kai guo zi* 开国子 C473, Hucker No 3119 "dynasty founding Viscount".

g-au ci-eu-un go-n ca shï (334-161 162-067-273 319-251 375 180) 'a title, the *gon ca shi* of the Gau prefecture', ChinE *gao zhou zhi guan cha shi* 高州之观察使 C473.

G-au sh-ib (334-161 028-127) 'a name, Gaushib', ChinT *gaoshi* 高十, **L**13.

g-d$_3$-er (334-350-341) '???', no gloss, **L**17.

G-e (334-348) 'part of a name', see **Cau G-e** (022-334-348), **L**4, **Y-au G-e** (020-161 334-348) **L**6, **S-a-am-ñ D-i-ng G-e**, L7, **G-ui$_2$ G-e p-ü-z-iú**, **L**12.

g-e-te$_2$ (334-348-356) 'to mourn', 8x, also **g-e$_2$-te$_2$** (334-109-356), 5x, Chin *ai* 哀 C476, see **g-en-un$_2$** below.

g-ém g-iau-u g-ung b-û-u ca-ang sh-iú (334-270 334-362-131 334-345 311-372-131 375-199 028-289) 'title', ChinE *jian jiao gong bu shang shu* 检校工部尚书 C474, Hucker No 804 *jian jiao* "Acting", No 3462 *gongbu* 'Ministry of Works', No. 5044 *shang shu cheng* "Aid to the Imperial Secretary".

g-en-un$_2$ (334-140-144) 'sadness, mourning', K114, 56x, see Mong *gene-, genü-* 'to be worried, troubled', *genültü* 'troubled, grieved, penitent', <ir$_2$ =un$_2$>,

g-en-un$_2$-e (334-140-144-348) 'sad, sadness, lamentation, mourning, regretable', 16x, also **g-en-un$_2$-e$_2$** (334-140-144-109), 8x,

g-en-un$_2$ ci-ai$_2$ (334-140-144 162-197) 'eulogy, memorial', Chin *aice* 哀册, C473,

g-en-un$_2$ ci-qu (334-140-144 162-246) 'eulogy, memorial', K97, Chin *aice* 哀册, C473,

g-en-un g-en-un$_2$-e (334-140-144 334-140-144-109) 'deep sadness, mourning', Chin *ai ai* 哀哀, C473,

GREAT g-en-un$_2$ l-she-u k-li$_2$-û-ji 'the great mourning (ceremony) cry', Chin *da ai hu wei* 大哀呼謂 (Dao31, CWJ914),

g-en-l-g (334-140-261-334) 'mourn', Chin *ai* 哀 C473.

g-í du ui° (334-352 237 263) 'a title', Chin *qi du wei* 骑都尉 C476, Hucker No. 606 "Commandant of the Cavalry".

g-ia-ém jï-ng shï l-ïng (334-335-270 087-264-180 261-303) (Di2-48), see **jï-ing shï l-ing.**

g-ia-ém m-en ui° sh-ang s-iang g-ün (334-335-270 133-140 263 028-199 244-314 334-329) 'a title', ChinE *jian men wei shang* *jiang jun* 监门卫上将军 C475, Hucker, No 847 *jian men wei* “Palace Gate Guard”, No 4982 *shang jiang gun* “Generalissimo”.

g-ia-ang g-ün (334–335–199 334-329), 1x, ‘a military title’, ChinE *jingjiang jun* 静江军 (Pu13-20), see also Bai 2020, 86., and **s-i-ing ~**

g-iau see **g-ie-ém g-iau tai shï** (334-327-270 334-362 374 180).

g-ie-ém (334-327-270) also ‘simultaneous(ly), concurrent(ly)’, ChinE *jian* 兼, **L**1.

g-ie-ém g-iau tai shï (334-327-270 334-362 374 180) ‘a title’, ChinE *jian jiao tai shi* 检校太师 C475, Hucker 804 *jian jiao* “Acting, a honorary status”.

g-ie-ém ju-ung sh-iú l-ing (334-327-270 147-345 028-289 261-303) ‘a title’, ChinE *jian zhong shu ling* 兼中书令 C475, Hucker No. 1616 *zhong shu ling* “Secreteriat Director”.

g-ing l-iau-u (334-303 261-362-131) ‘military commissioner’, ChinE *jing lüe* 经略 C475, Hucker 1231 “Military Commissioner”.

g-ing (334-303) ‘capital city’, ChinE *jing* 京, **L**18, on the details see Róna-Tas 2019,

g-ing-en tu-ung p-a-an (334-303-140 202-345 295-189-011) ‘a title, the *tongpan* of the capital’, Chin *jing zhi tong pan* 京之 通判, **L**23, Hucker 7497 *tongpan* “Controller-general”,

g-ing-d em$_2$-s-er (334-303-254 257-244-341) ‘the capital city of a country’, plurals, ChinE *jing cheng (fu)* 京城 (复) C475,

u-ur g-ing ‘supreme or north capital’ *Shangjing*, Mongol *Boro Hoton* (WF62),

om-ur ging (092-236 334-303) ‘the eastern capital’,

de-le ging (254-093 334-303) ‘the south capital’, also **t-ie-le ging** (247-327-093 334-303), **te-le ging** (247-093 334-303)

t-ie-ar-d ging (247-327-084-254 334-303),

s-i ging (244-339 334-303) ‘the west capital’,

j-ung ging (147-345 334-303) ‘the central capital’.

G-ing s-úng (334-303 244-352) ‘Emperor *Jingzong*’, (r. 1031-1055), ChinE *jing zong* 景宗 (Dao12).

G-ing har$_3$-en n-qu-l$_2$-a g-u (334-303 006-140 251-246-149-189 334-131) ‘the fine jade of the mountain Ging’, ChinE *jing shan zhi mei yu* 荆 山 之 美玉 C474.

g-iu-ung* (334-019-106) ‘palace’, 21x, also **g-iu-ung$_3$** 334-019-346 and **g-ung** (334-106), ChinE *gong* 宫 YCh *kuŋ,* LMCh *kiwŋ,*

g-iu-ung t-ie-ên (334-019-106 247-327-073) ‘palace hall’ (Lang2), ChinE *gong dian* 宫 殿,

g-iu-ung-dú (334-019-345-179) ‘palace, dative-locative’, ChinE *gong yu* 宫于 C472,

g-iu-ung-dú-er (334-019-345-179-341) 'palace', ChinE *gong* 宫 C472,

g-iu-ung-un shï-ï (334-019-106-273 180-353), 'a title, commander of the palace', Chin *gongzhishi* 宫之使 L19, hybrid,

du-u g-iu-ung$_3$ shï-í$_2$ (237-131 334-019-346 180-114) 'a title, commander of the entire palace' **L**16, ChinE *dou gong shi* 都宫使 C424,

s-i h-ing pu-u g-iu-ung shï (244-339-303 241-131 334-019-345 180), 'a title, vice commander of the ordo Jiqing', **L**15, ChinE *ji qing fu gong shi* 积庆 副 宫使,

sh-ie-b g-ung-un (028-327-311 334-345-273), 'ten palaces, genitive', ChinE *shi gong zhi* 十宫之 C372,

par emu g-ung-ur$_2$ 'the eleven palaces, ordos' (Ling15),

har$_3$-en g-iu-ung 'the palace of the mountain = mausoleum' (Xing3).

g-m s-iu g-ün-en (334-133 244-019 334-329-140) 'a military title, genitive', ChinE *jin su jun zhi* 金肃 (=肅)军 (=軍) 之 YCh *kim*, LMCh *kim*, YCh *sy*, LMCh *siwk*, YCh *kyn,* LMCh *kyn,* C473.

g-m ng-u ui (334-133 264131 263) 'a title, Grand General', ChinE *jin wu wei* 金吾卫 (=衛), **L**20, YCh *kim*, LMCh *kim,* YCh *u,* LMCh *ŋuǝ̆*, YCh *uj*, LMCh *yaj,* Hucker No. 1166 "Imperial Insignia Guard".

g-mu (334-224) 'wife's mother', 8x, Chin *zhang mu* 丈母 C474, see Mong *egeci* 'elder sister, older (referring to the age of women)', *emege* 'grand (mother)', *emege eke* 'grand mother' (< **eme eke*) "g" can not be a transcripion of *zhang* 丈 'husband', YCh *tʂaŋ,* LMCh *trhiaŋ.* From **e$_4$-g** (066-334) 'mother',

g-mu-de (334-224-205) 'wife's mother, dative-locative', Chin *zhang mu yu* 丈母于 C474.

g-ng sh-iú-de (334-264 028-289-205) 'Confucian classics, dative-locative', ChinE *jing shu yu* 经书于 C474.

g-ong l-ing g-ün ong-on (334-071 261-303 334-329 071-154) 'the wang of Guang-ling county, genitive', ChinE *guang ling jun wang zhi* 广陵郡王之 C472.

g-ri (334-235) 'returning', see Mong *qari-* 'to return', *qarigu-* 'answer, return, in return', Dag *hari-* 'to return' (M157), *χari-, χaŕ-* 'zurück kehren' (M-K138) in:

g-ri h-ui-ri-ge-y (334-235 340-262-235-349-020) '"was returning and arrived" a general assessment of every official who has served a certain term', Chin *kao man* 考满, 'exam full', C474.

g-u (334-131) 'jade', K103, ChinE *yu* 玉, Chin YCh *y*, LMCh *ŋywk*, or Tibetan *g-yu*, Liaoshi *guwen* 孤穩, see Jurchen *gu-u, gu-wen*, Manchu *gu* (Kane 1989, 351),

g-u tau-li-a 九叐 乇矢为 (334-131 029-206-189) ‘jade rabbit, the Moon’, Chin *yu tu* 玉兔 C473.

g-u see **G-ing har$_3$-en n-qu-l$_2$-a g-u 九同 朿冇 公余子为 九叐** (334-303 006-140 251-246-149-189 334-131).

g-u-on ca shï-ï$_2$-en 九叐不 両 兆杏冇 (334-131-154 375 180-113-140) ‘title, genitive’, ChinE *guan cha shi zhi* 观察使之 C473, Hucker No. 3269 ‘Surveillance Commissioner”.

G-u-uh 九叐夂 (334-131-172) ‘a name of a person’, ChT *gu* 固, **L**2, WF 279, 610, YCh *ku*, LMCh *kuǝ̆.*

G-u-un 九叐火 (334-131-273) ‘part of a geographical name, Guun’, ChinE *guwen* 孤稳, **L**15, Chin *guwen* 孤稳, *gu* YCh *ku*, LMCh *kuǝ̆, wen* YCh *un* LMCh *ʔun,*

G-u-un o-udu-u-un cau-úr 九叐火 及米叐火 両安 (334-131-273 186-355-131-273 022-097) ‘the solder(s) of the Gu Wen ordu’, ChinE *gu wen wo lu duo jun* 孤稳斡鲁朵军 C473, see: **G-u un** ← Chin *gu wen* 孤稳 ‘name of an ordu’, see WF542, 544.

g-ui 九火 (334-262) ‘state’, ChinE *guo* 国, **L**l, **L**21, YCh *kuj*, LM Ch *kuǝ̆k,*

g-ui g-ung 九火 九太 (334-263 334 345) ‘a title, prince of the country, duke’, Chin *guo gong* 国公, **L**1,

g-ui pu-shi-ñ ‘a title, milady of the country’, 8x,

g-ui-un$_2$ 九火叉 (334-262-144) ‘part of a title’, **L**21 ‘state, genitive’, Chin *guo* 国 C474,

g-ui ong 九火 杰 (334-262 071) ‘king of the state’, Chin *guo wang* 国王 C474, Hucker No. 3548,

g-ui-ñ cau-ji 九火伏 両犭 (334-262-222 022-152) ‘army of the state, genitive’, hybrid, Khitan genitive, Chin *guo zhi jun* 国之军 C474.

G-ui G-e p-üe-z-iú 九火 九券业芡伞火 (334-266 334-348 295-082-258-289) ‘a name and a title’, ChinE *guige biexu* 贵哥 别胥, **L**12.

G-ui-in 九火雨 (071 334-262-018) in **Ong G-ui-in 杰 九火雨** (071 334-262-018) ‘a name’ ChinT *gui yin* 瑰引, CWJ 1212.

g-ung 九太 (334 345) ‘prince, duke’, 114x, also **g-ung$_2$ 九太** (334-106), 19x, ChinE *gong* 公 YCh *kuŋ*, LMCh *kǝwŋ,* **L**3, Hucker No 3388,

par emu g-ung-ur 乇 乇 九太化 (240 026 334-345-236) ‘the eleven princes’ (Ling15-21),

see **B-in g-ui g-ung$_2$ 丹雨 九火 九太** ‘a title, duke of Bin country’.

g-ung b-u 九太 丹叐 (334-345 311-131) ‘ministry of works’, ChinE *gongbu* 工部, **L**21 Hucker No. 3463,

g-ung b-u ca-ang sh-iú 九太 丹叐 両氖 戈火 (334-345 311-131 375-199 028-289) ‘a title’, ChinE *gong bu shang shu* 工部尚书 C476, Hucker No 5042 *shang shu* “Minister, head of the top level administrative agency in the central goverment’s Department of State Affairs (*shang-shu sheng*)”.

g-ung bai-d-ha-a-ar 九犬 可公业为本 (334-345 061-254-051-189-123) ‘make a success’, ChinE *gong li* 功立 C475, a hybrid expression, **g-ung**, ChinE *gong* 功 ‘meritorious service, success’ + **bai-d-ha-a-ar,** see there.

g-ung ci-en 九犬 朩有, (334-345 162-140) ‘a title, official of merit’, K106, also **g-ung ci-in** ChinE *gongchen* 功臣, **L**25, Hucker, No 3397 “Chief of Palace Surveillance”,

g-ung-ci-in us-g dur ‘the diploma of four [characters] of official of merit’, ChinE *gong chen zi si* 功臣字四 CWJ993, Kane 2009,21, also **dur us-g-en g-ung ci-in 乇 兆九有 九犬 朩雨**.

g-ung ci-iú 九犬 朩穴 (334-345 162-289) ‘princess’, K112, ChinE *gong zhu* 公主 C476, also **g-ung$_2$ j-iú 九太 亥穴** (334-106 104-289) ‘princess’, ChinE *gong zhu* 公主 C473, YCh *kuŋ*. LMCh *kəwŋ,* YCh *tʂy,* LMCh *tʂyǎ* **g-ung ci-iú-un 九犬 朩穴氺** (334-345 162-289-273) ‘princess, genitive’, also **g-ung j-iú 九犬亥穴** (334-345 104-289), ChinE *gong zhu zhi* 公主之, occurs in Ling9, Liang9, Jue8. Hucker No. 3408: Princess or Imperial Princess. **L**10,

g-ung j-iú 九犬 亥穴 (334-262 104-289) see **S-in g-ui g-ung j-iú 仐雨 九火 九犬 亥穴** (244-018 334-345 334-262 104-289),

g-ung$_2$ j-iú see **Üe-e g-ung$_2$ j-iú-un 芙芬 九太 亥穴氺** (082-348 334-106 104-273)C389,

g-ung$_2$ ci-iú see **T-iu-ir g-ung$_2$ ci-iú-er 令丙刃 九太 朩穴公** (247-019-137 334-106 162-289-341),.

g-úr 九亦 (334-097) ‘country, state’, K89, Chin *guo* 国, **L**1 plural: **g-úr-s 九亦仐** (334-097-244)see Mong *gür, gür-e* ‘a crowd of people, cavalry brigade’, *gür ulus* ‘a crowd of people, all the people’, see *gürqan*, ‘Emperor of the Khara Khitan’, see Dag *gurun* ‘country, nation’ (M153), *gurun* ‘Staat’ (M-K135) (← Manchu *gurun* ← Khitan),

g-úr y-au-ul-hu 九亦 百夹平列 (334-097 020-161-366-151) ‘ceremony, ritual of state’, Chin *guo li* 国礼 C472,

g-úr-en sh-iú m-ir 九亦有 叉穴 及刃 (334-097-140 028-289 133-137) ‘a member of the palace secretariat’, Chin *guo zhi shu mi* 国之枢密 C472,

g-úr-ci 九亦朩 (334-097-162) ‘states, plural’, Chin *zhu guo* 诸国 C472,[1],

g-úr-de h-ui-j 九亦矢 乂火亥 (334-097-205 340-262-104) ‘to arrive at the state’, Chin *guo yu zhi* 国于至 C472,

g-úr-s ji-en dalu k-li$_2$-û-ji 九亦仐 矛 有 斥 叔北只矛 (334-097-244 152-140 141 283-080-372-152) ‘seven saying in/of the state’, Chin *guo zhong zhi qi wei* 国中之七谓 C472,

g-úr-s-en i-ri 九亦仐有 关化 (334-097-244-140 339-235) ‘the name of the states’, Chin *guo zhi hao* 国之号 C472.

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[1] I am not convinced that this is a plural.

g-ün1 九亦 (334-329) ‘military, army’, ChinE *jun* 军, **L**18.

g-ün2 九亦 (334-329) ‘county, an administrative territory, used also for military prefecture’, Chin *jun* 郡,

g-ün ong 九亦 杰 (334-329 071) ‘head of county, prefecture, county wang’, ChinE *jun wang* 郡王, **L**10,

g-ün pu-shi-ñ ‘a title, the milady of the county’, Chin *jun fu-ren* 郡 夫人.

g-ün sï 九亦 廿 (334-329 083) ‘esquire, gentleman’, ChinE *jun zi* 君子 C475.

ge-en-er 岑有公 (349-140-341), 11x, also **ge$_2$-en-er** 夵有公 (112-140-341), 2x, no glosses,

go-er ge-en-er 由 公 岑有公 (Gu7).

Go 由 (318) ‘a part of a name’, ChinT *guo* 郭, **L**9.

go-er 由公 (319-341) ‘Patriarchal House, tent, a social group’, 128x, K12, **L**1, **L**6, **L**8, see Mong *ger* ‘tent, yurt, house’, Dag *geri* ‘house, room, home’ (M150) (‘tent’ is *maikan*), *geri, ger* (M-K133), not Tibetan *gur*, perhaps earlier **guer.* Chin *fang* 房之 C468. Genitive **go-er-en** 由公有 (319-341-140) ‘house, family, genitive ’, **go-i**** 由夾 (319-347) = **go-er** ‘house, family’, Chin *fang* 房 C468, accusative-instrumental **go-er-er** 由公公 (319-341-341), dative-locative’ **go-t** 由令 (319-247) ‘house, family’, Chin *fang yu* 房于 C468, ablativ-prolative **go-t-i** (319-247-339) (Zhen18). Further details see Róna-Tas 2020,

go-ci-en 由杀有 (319-162-140) ‘pertaining to the Tent, genitive’, Chin *zhu-fangzhi* 诸房之 **L**11,

l-ang go-ci 小気 由杀 (261-199 319-162) ‘corridor, balcony’, Chin *lang wu* 廊庑 C450, hybrid Chinese and Khitan **go–ci,**

go-ci-er 由杀公 (319-162-341) ‘pertaining to the tent, accusative-instrumental’, Chin *fang* C468,

g-o-on-un ia deu-en 杀化当 九及不叉 才 为有 ‘the brethren from the Patriarchal Tent’ (Tu7), no gloss,

il-bun-en go-oi$_2$ (=er) 用出有 由夾 (= 公) ‘the Patriarchal Tent of the Ilbun’ (Xiang18),

sui-én go-er ‘birth Patriarchal Tent, Tent by birth’ *sheng fang* 生房 (Nan12, 31) CWJ 1173, 1182,

sui-én go-t ‘to the birth Patriarchal Tent’ (Xu51) *sheng fang* 生房, CWJ 1003.

go-t 由令 (319-247) ‘Patriarchal Houshold, family, plural of **go-er’**, Chin *fang yu* 房于C468, ablativ-prolative **go-t-i** (319-247-339) (Zhen18) 33x, in context:

go-t h-ui-d-l-ñ (Gu11-34)

YOUNG-qú t-em$_2$-y-én go-t y-ie g-ung YOUNG-qú eu-ur t-u-li$_2$ au-ui-én n-ai-s$_2$-én ün-én ia deu-de hul-l-ha-ai (Nu28-3),

bod bai-s ci-ra-l go-t sui-y-i (Di24-4),

go-t ü 291 p-mu-282 ia-**277** (GuD21-22),

ong-on go-er-en tu n-u tai shï-en go-t u-ul-ge$_2$-én$_2$ (DiX24-18),
SIX u-ur xe-il û-n go-er-en s-en-ñ tai ong-on go-t u-ul-ge$_2$-én (DiX25-10),
GOLD go-t t-iu-ir (Xuan16-4),
go-t ü 291 p-mu-282 ia-277 k-li$_2$-g (Zhong4-30),
go-t a-ar ci-i-ishi-d-b-ñ u-un t-mu-d-li$_2$ bod b-áng-hu-ai (Zhong39-23).

go-n ca shï 曲公 甬 兆 (319-251 375 180) ‘Surveillance Commissioner’, ChinE *guan cha shi* 观察使 C468, Hucker 3269.

go-n g-au 曲公 九夾 (319-251 334-161) ‘official patent’, ChinE *guan gao* 官诰 C467.

GOLD 山 (285), 32x, GOLD^{o} 山 (286), 13x, ‘cyclical stem. yellow, gold’, see **n-i-gu1** 公关勺 (251-339-165), **L**13, **L**22, Chin *wu* 戊, ‘the fifth of the Heavenly stems’, *ji* 己 ‘the sixth of the Heavenly stems’, Chin *jin* 金 ‘gold’ C456, most probably **alti** or **altai**, because the residual i see below, but this hypothesis has to be hardened, see Mong *altan,* Dag *alete* ‘gold’ (M113), *alt* ‘Gold’ (M-K 108), see also the Manchu-Tunguz languages: Negidal *ajsima,* Oroch *aisi-(n),* Udehe *aisi*, Ulcha *aisi(n), ~ajsi(n),* Orok *ajsi(n),* Nanaj *ajsi*, Manchu *anču* (← Jurchen), Jurchen *anchu* (Cincius 1975, 22-23), which all may point to an earlier form **alti*. This may be the cause of forms with an **-i**, perhaps **alti,*
GOLD-i 山关 (285-339) ‘yellow’, Chin *huang* 黄 C456, once in Xian1-2,
GOLD-i-in 山关雨 (285-339-018), once in Di10-22,
GOLD tau-li-a 山 戋矢为 ‘the golden hare’, Chin *ji mao* 己卯, **L**13,
GOLD°-ur$_2$ 山化 (286-236) ‘yellow (shiwei)’, Chin *huang (shi wei)* 黄 (室韦) C456 (Wu4), in the astrological datations.

gú-u-ku 出及几 (297-131-178), K115, also **gú-u ku** 出及 几 (297-131 178) ‘official, minister’, Chin *chen* 臣 C462, ? < **gur ku** ‘state man’.

gur 包 (166) ‘three’ Chin *san* 三, **L**4, see 6.3 NUMERALS.

GREAT 叉 (373) ‘great’, Chin *da* 大, **L**1, **L**4, **L** 9, in dates see also **12.3** NUMERALS,
GREAT m-qu-ui sh-ri-e 叉 叉余火 叉化券 (373 133-246-262 028-235-348) ‘a tribe, a *shirie* name’, ChinE *da mie gu shi lie* 大蔑弧石烈 C485, where *gu* recte *hu* YCh *xu, LMCh xhuǎ,* WF (p. 100) has *mie-si-nai* 蔑思乃 ‘tribe’, where **nai** may be ‘the head of the tribe’.

H

H-ai ‘a geographic name’, CWJ ChinT[1] *kai* 开 = *kai* 開 ‘name of a prefecture’. The prefecture had 1.000 households and its modern geographical equivalent can be found near Feng 風 City, in the southeastern corner of Liaoning. After 1003 the Kai Prefecture comprised Feng-huang City, Liaoning and Wiju, Korea, see WF68, 542, 558. **L**1.

h-ci (340-162) ‘to’, Chin *zhi* 至 C478 ‘to arrive, to reach, best, perfect, apex, extremity’,

h-ci-ñ (340-162-222) ‘direction, to (until)’, Chin *zhi* 至, C478,

nem h-ci-ñ (008 340-162-222) ‘the eight directions’ (Dao17, DiX30), no gloss (K86).

h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-y (340-089-112-020) ‘??? was crossing, throughout, during’, 12x, **L**26, no gloss, neither on p.478, perhaps to MMo *gödülge-, gedülge-* ’to drive off, rout an enemy’, not in Lessing, but *ködelge-* ‘to set in motion, to stir, to incite’, HYY *gödölge-* ‘émouvoire’, SH 153: *tatar-i gödölgeba* ‘drove off the Tatar’ (ed. Rachewiltz, 1972, 2004–2013, p.76). The Khitan form looks like a deverbal form, see **h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-én$_2$** (340-089-112-100), 10x, **h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-er$_2$** (340-089-112-341), 6x, **h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-én** (340-089-112-361), 9**x, h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-én-in** (340-089-112-361-018), 1x., **h-du$_3$-ge-y** (340—089-349-020), 16x, **h-du$_3$-ge-én$_2$** (340-089-349-100) 2x, **h-du$_3$-ge-er** (340-089-349-341), 7x, **h-du-ge-én** (340-089-349-361) 19x,

ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar ai-en h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-én es y-eu-ur-ge$_2$-er ‘having not changed during the prosperous years’ (*Zhongxi* 重熙 (1032-1055) (Dao13),

ul h-du$_3$-ge-én ‘coming not through??’ (Chao20),

GREAT h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-y ci-ge$_2$-li$_2$ (Hu17).

h-dú-un$_2$ (340-179-144) ‘horizontal “east to west”’, K12, Chin *heng* 横, **L**2, C478, ?? to Mong *getül-* ‘to traverse, cross, ford’,

h-dú-un$_2$-én (340-179-144-361) ‘horizontal’, Chin *heng* 横 C478,

h-dú-un$_2$ go-er (340-179-144 319-269) ‘Horizontal Tents’, Chin *heng fang* 横房, “It was the Liao custom to face the east and to esteem the left. The imperial tent faced the east, the nine tents of Yao-lien faced the south, and the Three Patriarchal Tents of the imperial clan faced the north. The east-west line was the warp, the north-south line was the woof. Hence the imperial camp was called the Horizontal Tents” (LS45, 20a), WF 267.

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[1] CWJ gives in most cases a transcription by the present pronunciation which may or may not coincide with the contemporary Chinese transcription.

h-en-n (340-140-251) ‘hidden’, Chin *an* 暗 C478:?? Mong *genen* ‘silly, unexpected etc.’, *genedte* ‘suddenly, by chance, by accident’, Dag *genteken* ‘sudenly’ (M150),

h-en-n s-om-de n-o-l$_2$-ha-ai tu-úr-o-li$_2$ (Hu5-9).

h-eu-ji-en see **y-u h-eu-ji-en** (020-131 340-067-152-140) ‘soon’, Chin *he wu* 何无 C363, hybrid Chinese+genitive.

h-eu-s (340-067-244) ‘throat’, in **l-iau-qu-ur$_2$ h-eu-s sh-au-a** 261-362-246-236) 340-067-244 028-161-189) ‘red-throated eagle’, Chin *hong hou ying* 红喉鹰 C452, ?? to Mong *qogulai* ‘throat, neck’, Dag *hoole* ‘throat, gullet’ (M163), *χōlē* ‘Kehle’*, xōlē* ‘gorlo’ (P99).

h-i (340-339) ‘call’, Chin *wei* 谓 C481.

H-i-ing s-úng hong di (340-339-303 244-357 075 037) ‘Xing-zong emperor (1031-1055)’, ChinE 兴宗 皇帝 CWJ884.

H-i-ing sh-ng (340-339-303 028-264) ‘name of a palace, an ordo’, ChinT *xingsheng* 兴圣, see WF 265, Khitan **Nü-gu** *woludu* 女古 see **18.1.2**. The Ordo-s established by Shengzong (982-1031), **L** 16, **L**18.

H-i-ing sh-ng du-u g-iu-ung shï-ï$_2$ (340-339303 028-264 237-334-019-345 180-113) ‘a title, the Commissioner (shi) of the H-i-ing shang ordu’, ChinE *xing sheng dou gong shi* 兴圣都宫使, **L**16, **L**18, WF 721.

h-ib (340-127) ‘(all) together, all,108x, 博’, Chin *jun* 均, C478,

h-ib-ge$_2$-en (340-127-112-140) ‘all, genitive’, Chin *jun zhi* 均之 C478, Index, p. 1981 wrote it separately **h-ib ge$_2$-en.**

h-ing (340-303) ‘chief minister’, ChinE *qing* 卿, YCh *k^{h}iŋ,* LMCh *k^{h}iajŋ* Hucker 1255,

h-iau-u h-ing (028-362-131 340-303), ‘junior or vice minister’, ChinE *shaoqing* 少卿 Hucker No. 5091,

ta-am h-ing-er ng-i tu-ung$_2$ s-a-am sï (Zhong21) ChinE *yi tong san si* 仪(=義)同三司, YCh *ji,* LMCh *ŋi,* YCh *t^{h}uŋ,* LMCh *tĥəwŋ,* C453, Hucker No 3024 *yi tong san si* “Unequaled in Honor”.

H-ing h-e$_2$ ‘a female name’ (Yu7), ChinT *xing ge* 兴哥.

H-ing-ñ (340-303-222) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *xing ni* 兴你, **L**5.

H-iu g-e$_2$ (340-019 334-109) ‘a person’s name’, ChinE *xiu ge* 休哥 Chao9 C477.

h-iú (340-289) ‘younger sister’, Chin *mei* 妹 C480[2], see **k-iú,**

h-iú-ñ-er (340-289-222-341) ‘younger sisters, plural’, Chin *mei (fu)* 妹 (复)C480.

h-iú ong (340-289 071) ‘a title’, 4x, ChinE *xu wang* 许王 =許王 (Yu27).

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[2] see Mong *keü, küü* ‘son, young boy’, Dag *huu, kuu* ‘man, adult person, other people’ (< *kümün*), *χu* ‘Mensch’ (M-K142) all to Khitan **ku**, *keüken* ‘girl, young lady’

h-l (340-261) ‘language’, Chin *yu yan* 语言 C478, see Mong *kele(n)* ‘tongue, language, dialect, speech’, Dag *heli* ‘tongue, language’ (M160), *χele* ‘Zunge, Sprache’ (M-K138), **h-l-s** (340-261-244) ‘language, plural’, Chin *yu yan(fu)* 语言 (复) C478,
h-l-er (340-261-341) ‘language, accusative-instrumental’, Chin *yan yi* 言以 C479.

h-ri$_4$-y-i (340-038.1-020-339) ‘lead’, Chin *ling?* 领? C478 see ? Mong *kürge-* ‘‘to cause to arrive, to send, to accompany, take home, to deliver, etc.’ (<*kür-*), Dag *hüre- ~küre-* ‘reach, reach out’, *hure.gee-*‘send, cause to reach’ (M167), *kur΄(e)* ‘erreichen, anlangen, erlangen’ (M-K118).

h-s (340-244) ‘side (e. g. of a mountain), region, area’, K113, 22x, no gloss, genitive **h-s-en** (340-244-140), 8x, dative-locative **h-s-de** (340-244-205), 9x, ablative-prolative **h-s-de-i** (340-244-205-339), 1x, plural accusative-instrumental **h-s-d-er** (340-244-254-341), 3x, **h-s-en ku-û-dú** (340-244-140 178-179) ‘the people of this jurisdiction, region’ (Nan14, K113-114).

h-s-ge$_2$-l (340-244-112-261) ‘region, area, section’, 12x, also **h-s-ge-l** (340-244-349-341)19x, K115, no gloss, **L**19, see Mong *keseg* ‘part, division, department’, genitive **h-s-ge$_2$-l-en** (340-244-112-261-140), accusative-instrumental **h-s-ge-l-er** (340-244-349-261-341), plural **h-s-ge$_2$-ud** (340-244-112-344) ‘all regions’, 10x, **L**19, also **h-s-ge-ud** (340-244-349-344), 28x, **h-s-ge$_2$-ud$_2$** (340-244-112-261-262), 10x, no gloss.

h-s-l-u-ul-g (340-244-261-131-366-334) ‘illuminate, light up, shine’, Chin *zhao* 照 C478 (DiX50-11).

h-ui-* (340-262) ‘to arrive (to)’, K89, Chin *zhi* 至 C479‘to arrive, to reach, best, perfect, apex, extremity’, ? to Mong *kür(e)-* ’to reach, arrive at, to be sufficient’, *kürge-* ‘to cause to arrive, to send’, Dag *hure-, kure-* ’to reach, reach out, to be enough, reach the limit’ (M167), *kur'esn* ‘erreichte’ (M-K118), see **12.5.1.5** on its negation see **12.5.2,**
h-ui-d-l-ñ au-ui-er (340-262-254-222 161-262-341) ‘having arrived to the third (grade rank)’, (Pu18),
Derived stems,
h-ui-ri- (340-262-235) ‘to arrive to’, 2x. Chin *zhi* 至 C479,
h-ui-d-* (340-262-254),
h-ui-l-* (340-262-261),
h-ui-ri-ge- * (340-262-235-349),
h-ui-d-l-*(340-262-254-261),
h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-te$_2$-*(340-262-235-112-356), 1x,
h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-l-* (340-262-235-112-261),1x,
h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-l-g-*- (340-262-235-112-261-334),1x,
see **12.5.1.5** for more details,

p-od-y h-ui-j 业币丙 乂火支 (295-016-020 340-262-104) 'returning arrived' (Jue28-37),

es h-ui 乃 乂火 (146 340-262) 'does not arrive, being irreversible, for ever',

es h-ui iú-a-ar t-úr 乃 乂火 穴为本 令夾 (146 340-262 289-189 123 260-097) 'irreversibly died' (Xing29-4),

es s-am-378.1-ha-al-hu es h-ui-ri-b-ñ kei us-g 'an imperial (?**kei** 主(328) = 主 (**hong** 075) eternal diplom ?? (Hui12).

H-úr-ñ har$_3$ 乂夾伏 乑 (340-097-222 006) 'mountain Qulie', Chin *qü lie shan* 屈劣山 C478,

H-úr-er har$_3$**-en** 乂夾尕 乑有 (340-097-341 006-140) 'mountain Qulie, genitive', Chin *qū lie shan zhi* 屈劣山之 C478.

H-úr-û-e-ci 乂夾只芬杰 (340-097-372-348-162) 'geographic name', Chin *caiyun* 彩云 'rosy, colourful clouds' CWJ1305,

H-úr-û-e-ci har$_3$**-s-en** 乂夾只芬杰 乑仐有 (340-097-372-348-162 006-244-140) 'mountain Caiyun, genitive', Chin *cai yun shan zhi* 彩云山之 C478,

H-úr-û-e-ci har₃-s 乂夾只芬杰 乑仐 (340-097-372-348-162 321.10-244) 'the H- mountains' (Song5-41),

H-úr-û-e-ci ñ-qó 乂夾只芬杰 伏为 (340-097-372-348-162 222-168) 'the H. cave' (Song22-3).

h-ün sï 乂亦 廿 (340-329 083) 'esquire', ChinE *jun zi* 君子 YCh *kyn,* LMCh *kyn,* C481, see **g-ün sï** 九亦 廿 (334-329 083) 'esquire, gentleman', Chin *jun zi* 君子 C475.

ha-g-én 走九与 (051-334-361) 'inscription', Chin *zhi* 志 C377, 2x, (both in Hong27-16, 31-7)[3], Chin *zhi* 志 C372, ? accusative-instrumental' **ha-g-er** 走九尕 (051-334-341) (Hong27-15) 'inscription, Chin *zhi* 志 C372.

har 由 (321) 'black', also **har-i** 由关 (321-339), **har-u** 由及 (321-131), **har-iú** 由穴 (321-289) (K85: <yô-u>) Chin *hei* 黑 C469, **har-u** may be the masculine and **har-iú** the feminine form. see Mong *qara* 'black', Dag *hare* 'black, evil (M157), *xar* 'schwarz'(MK137), Turk *qara,*

har-u lu 由及 爻 (321-131 208) 'black dragon', (Xuan26), Chin *hei long* 黑龙 C469,

har-iú lu 由穴 爻 'black dragon (year)' (Di22), Chin *renchen* 壬辰,

har-u hus-hu 由及 失夕 (321-131 216-151) 'black rat (year)', (Dao6), Chin *ren zi* 壬子 C469,

har-u ñ-qo 'black dog (year) (Dao4), Chin *renqu* 壬戌 'the 11th celestial branch',

har-u p-o(-o) 'the black monkey' Chin *ren shen* 壬申 'the ninth of the 12 earthly branches',

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[3] *ha-g-er ha-g-én t-gu* (Hong27-16), *ha-g-én em-er /32/ us-g-en ui-en sh-a-rí ñol u-ur xe-il-ñ û-n go-er ñol ai-d-en ci-en to-on n-u COMPOSE-a-ar* (Hong31-7)

har-iú p-o-o ai 由火 业及及 丰伏 ‘black monkey year’ (Nan26),
har-u t-qo-a ‘black chicken (year)’, Chin *gui you* 癸酉 10th year of the sexagenary cycle,
har-u po ‘(calendric) black day’ (Tai5),
har-u n-o iú ‘black spouse ? was not/died??’ (Qing2),
see **har-i n-o-ém-én hong-di-en m-o b-qo** (Gu4),
har-iú bod-de-i 由火 国矢关 ‘from the black body’ (Yu15), Chin *hei shen-cong* 黑 身从 CWJ1036,
har-iú uni 由火 杏 (321-289 059) ‘black ox (year)’, Chin *gui chou* 癸丑 C469,
har-iu m-ri 由火 叉化 (321-289 133-235), Chin *renwu* 壬午 C469 the ninth Heavenly Stem and the seventh Earthly Branch,
har$_2$ iú m ri ai ‘black horse year’ (Wu49) Chin *ren wu nian* 壬午年,
har-un$_2$ t-qo-a 由叐 令力为 (321-144 247-168-189) ‘black chicken (year)’, (Nu3) Chin *gui you* 癸酉 C469,
har-un$_2$ mu-or-o ai 由叐 仕扎及 丰 ‘black snake year’ (Cha4),
har-iú mû-ñ 由火 半伏 (321-289 358-222) ‘?’ (Pu1), no gloss for **mû-ñ,**
har$_2$-GOLD m-ri 虫山 叉化 (321.1-285 133-235) ‘black (yellow) horse’, Chin *ren wu* 壬午 C470,
har-i a-ar-b-ñ 由关 为丰丹伏 ‘?’ (Cha15), no gloss.

Har-hu 由列 (321-151) ‘a name’, no gloss, **L**12, see also Han8 **Har-hu l-ing g-ung.**

Har-ha-ai sh-ri-e 由赱丰 叉化券 (321-051-122 028-235-348), also **Har$_2$ -ha-ai sh-ri-e$_2$ 虫赱丰 叉化夯** (321.1-051-122 028-235-109) and **Har-a-ar sh-ri-n** (genitive) ‘a name of a *shirie*’, ChinT *xia-lai-yi shi-lie* 霞瀨益石烈 C469, the *Xia-lai-yi shi lie* is the tribal unit in which the first Liao emperor, A-bao-ki was born (WF87), it may be the same as the *Xia-lan shi-lie* 轄懶 石烈,?? to Mong *qargai* ‘larch tree’.

har$_3$2 乑 (006) ‘mountain’ 175x, K108, also har$_2$2 **虫** (321.1) Chin *shan* 山, perhaps to **har1** ‘black’, see the Black Mountain **Hei shan** 黑 山, genitive **har$_3$-en 乑冇** (006-140), 36x, also **har$_3$-in 乑雨** (006-018), accusative-instrumental **har$_3$-er 乑 公** (006-341), dative-locative **har$_3$-de 乑矢** (006-205), plural **har$_3$-s 乑全公** (006-244), ‘range of mountains’, Chin *qunshan* 群山, plural genitive **har$_3$-s-en 乑全冇** (006-244.140), plural accusative-instrumental **har$_3$-s-er 乑全公** (006-244-341),
har$_3$-in-ri 乑雨化 (006-018-235), ‘the foot of the mountain’, Chin *shanxia* 山下 C359,
har$_3$-en g-iu-ung-dú 乑冇 九丙火尼 (006-140 334-019-179) ‘to the mountain palace, burial tomb, kurgan’ (Xing3), Chin *shanzhi gung* 山之宫,
sh-al-s-un har$_3$-s 叉方全叐 ‘mountains, range of mountains’, Chin *qunshan* 群山 (Yu21),

see **G-ing har$_3$-en n-qu-l$_2$-a g-u 九同 尿冇 公余子为 九叐** (334-303 006-140 251-246-149-189 334-131), ‘the fine jade of the mountain Ging’, Chin *jing shan zhi mei yu* 荆 山 之 美玉 C474,

see **Y-ie-ên har$_3$ 丙文考 尿** (020-327-073 006), ‘name of a mountain’, C364, (Tai13),

see **T-ui-u-úr har$_3$-de 令火叐安 尿矢** (247-262-131-097 006-205), ‘name of a mountain, locative’, (Xuan5),

see **T-oi$_2$-b-u har₃-de 令太舟叐 尿矢** (247-107-311-131 006-205) ‘name of a mountain, dative-locative (Xiang33) = **T-ge$_2$-b-u,**

see **Rí-u-ji-en har 共叐羽冇 尿** ‘the mountain of Ri-u-ji’, (069-131-152-140 006) **(**DiX35), Corrected to: **rí-u-ji-en eu-ñ-er 共叐羽冇 去伏公** by CWJ 1463, but no gloss.

har$_3$-o 尿及 (006-186), ‘son-in-law’, 7x, Chin *nüxu* 女婿 C359, plural : **har$_3$-o-od**, 2x, C359,

m-as-qó har$_3$-o Chin *nüxu* 女婿 from whom the lady came back and then was married to another person (Yu63), ??? see Mong *qadam, qadum* ‘‘in-law relatives from the point of view of the husband or wife’, Dag *xadam* ‘id,’ (M-K136), son-in-law is Mong *küregen*, Dag *huregen* (M167), *χurgun* ‘Schwiegerson’ (M-K144), see also *pu-ma.*

HEAVEN 关 (243) K101, perhaps **tengri** or **tenger**i, no special gloss, **L**13,

HEAVEN-li 关灰 (243-206) ‘heaven, sky’, Chin *tian* 天 C430 only once: WanS2, **-li** perhaps a residual and the Chinese transcription of Khitan syllable **-ri** of **Tengri**,

HEAVEN d-em$_2$-y-er 关 仝金丙公 (243 254-257-020-341 (Zhong 35-20) ‘by heaven’s favour’ Chin *tianjuan* 天眷 CWJ 968, also Zhen22-11,

HEAVEN eu-ul cau-úr 关 去平 而安 (243 067-366 022-097) ‘a military name, the heaven-cloud army see **eu-ul** ’, Chin *tian yun jun* 天云军 C428,

HEAVEN t-ud 关 令火 (243 247-344) ‘the reign period ‘together harmony’’ (1065-1075), x*ianyong* 咸雍, **L** 22, in Reign titles see Appendix **18.4.1.**

heu-ul- 介平* (250-366) ‘to copy?’, no gloss, see Mong *qagul-* ‘to peel off, to copy’, Dag *haule-* ‘take off (the skin of an animal), flay, skin’ (M158), *haul-* (*haulbe*) ‘abhäuten’ (M-K 138),

heu-ul-l-ha-án (250-366-261-051-290), only once in:

COMPOSE-a-án heu-ul-l-ha-án us-g 冈为出 介平少去出 扎九 ‘the document was composed and copied’ (Hu22), and,

heu-ul-ha-ar (250-366-051-189-123), 1x (Dao19-3) in:

ñol m-ñ-d po-ô-er eu-úr-ge$_2$-er tau° /19/ p-úr ün-ge$_2$-er
heu-ul-ha-a-ar 灰 叉伏仝 非尒公 去安太公 戋/19/ 业安 亦太公 介平去为丰.

heu-úr 介安 (250-097) ‘spring’, K119, Chin *chun* 春 L22, see Mong *qabur* ‘spring’, Dag *haure* ‘spring (time)’ (M158), *χawr̥, χavur* ‘Frühling’ (M-K138),

heu-ur n-ad-bot 介亦 公示夘 (250-097 251-099-176) ‘spring camp, spring *nabo*’, Chin *chun nabo* 春捺钵,

heu-úr-ar$_2$ 介亦车 (250-097-084), 1x,

heu-úr-a 介亦为 (250-097-189), 1x,

heu-úr-a mor-en 介亦为 乃有 (250-097-189 185-140), ‘the Spring river, genitive’, Chin *he la he-zhi,* 曷剌河之 C443 the Chinese seems to be a transcription of *Hara* ‘black’ and Chin *he* ‘river’. *He-la* lake see WF 151, *He-lan* River 93, 154n.

Heu-úr-ha-al t-ang-ur$_2$-en 介亦圡亐 令気化有 (250-097-051-098 247-199-236-140) ‘the He-la Tangut tribe, genitive’, ChinT *he la tang gu zhi* 鹤剌唐古之 C443, according to WF 91 *he-la Tangut* 鶴剌 唐古, which is *Hara Tangut*, that is Black Tangut.

hiu 矢 (198), 矢(198.1) ‘silk’, Chin *juan* 絹, Peng 2023, 649, see Mong *kiib, kib* ‘silk, silken scarf, or kerchief, silk tissue’, Dag ??.

hoi 一 <hoi> (001) reading uncertain. ‘North, Northern’, K109, Chin *bei* 北, see also NORTH, C357, see also **u-ur$_2$ 及化** (131-236), **û-ur$_2$ 只化** (372-236), see Mong **qoy* in *qoyina* “in the rear, north, also in the future”, *qoyigur, qoyimur* etc. Dag *χoin* Norden (M-K 140), *huaine* ‘id’ (M 165),

“It was the Liao custom to face the east and to esteem the left. The imperial tent faced the east, the nine tents of Yao-lien faced the south, and the Three Patriarchal Tents of the imperial clan faced the north. The east-west line was the warp, the north-south line was the woof. Hence the imperial camp was called the Horizontal Tents (LS45, 20a)”, WF 267,

Accordingly **hoi** can be North if the word was used in this meaning by the nine tents of Yao-lien.

hoi-d 一坌 (001-254) ‘Northern’, Chin *beifang* 北方, C358, Mong *qoyitu* ‘back, rear, north’,

hoi-d-ñ 一坌伏 (001-254-222) ‘Northern, genitive’,

hoi u-ur$_2$ 一及化 (001-131-236) ‘the North Division’, Chin *beiyuan* 北院**’,**

hoi si$_2$ 一 十 (001-040) ‘North-West’, Chin *bei xi* 北西,

hoi si$_2$ jau tau 一 十 弗戋 (001-040 015-029),‘North-West punitive officer’, Chin *bei xi zhao tao* 北西 四招,

hoi si$_2$ jau tau sï 一 十 弗戋廿(001-040 015-029 083), ‘North-West punitive department’, Chin *bei xi zhao tao si* 北 西 招讨司,

hoi si$_2$ ñ-ô-úr 一十 伏仌亦 (001-040 222-252-097), ‘North-Western tribe’, Chin *bei xi bu* 北 西 部 (Yu39),

hoi-d te-le jur g-úr-s 一坌 令方 圣 九亦仐 (001-254 247-093 134 334-097-244) ‘the northern and southern countries, plural’, Chin *bei nan er guo* 北南二国.

hong di 主王 (075-037) ’emperor’, K95, ChinE *huangdi* 皇帝, **L**19, genitive **hong-di-in 主 王雨** (075-037-018), dative-locative **hong di-de 主 王矢** (075-037-205).

Hong L-iú-ung pu-un (075 261-389-345 241-273)also **Hong L-iúng pu-un** (075 262-181 241-273) ‘name of an (official) residence of Huanglong, genitive’, ChinE *huang long fu zhi* 黄龙府之 C383.

hong-heu (075-250), ‘empress’, ChinE *huanghou* 皇后.

hong-tai-heu (037-374-250) ‘empress dowager’, K96, ChinE *huang taihou* 皇太后.

hong tai sh-iuk z-ú (037 374 028-138-258-245) ‘imperial uncle, the younger brother of the emperor’s father’ ChinE *huang tai shuzu* 皇太叔祖 (CWJ 1306).

hor, **hor-u2** (047-131) ‘people’, K111, Chin *min* 民 C376, cf ?? Tibetan *hor* “Uigur, Turk, Mongol”, or perhaps to **har** ‘black as in *kara kümün*, layman, husband’, *kara ulus* ‘lay people’ and many other, as *karaču* ‘common people’, plural: **hor-s** . (047-244) ‘people, plural’, Chin *min* 民 C377, **hor-un$_2$** . (047-144) ‘people’, Chin *min* 民, C376, **hor-a** (047-189) ‘people’, Chin *min* 民 C376,

hor-a-an ui (047-189-011 262) ‘a matter of people, civil affairs, genitive construction ’, Chin *min zhi shi* 民之事 C376,

see also **hor-a-iú-i dele par^{o} ci-ên-d-en** (047-189-289-339 294 240 162-073-254-140) ‘the ten counties in Guannan, genitive’(Yu10), Chin *guan nan shi zhu xian zhi* 矢南十诸县之 C377.

hor-ó-ui (047-090-262) 3x, no gloss,

GREAT y-ie-ar-u-un hor-ó-ui bod-l-un (Hu16),

bod-de hor-y-ñ t-úr (Xing21).

hor-u1 (047-131) ‘1. cyclical stem Ren, ’, Chin 1. *ren* 任, 2. ‘black’, see **har**,

hor-u lu (047-131 208) ‘black dragon, cyclical stem Ren and cyclical branch Chen’, Chin *ren, chen* 王 辰 C371,

hor-u ku-û-un (047-131 178-372-273) ‘the black, the common people’ (Xiang6-1), see Turk *qara bodun* ‘das einfache Volk, (Wilkens), **Mong** *qara kümün* ‘layman, husband’, here not a name as proposed by Wu—Janhunen 149.

Hor-u2 (047-131) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *helu* 和鲁, **L**6,

Hor-u-un (047-131-273) ‘a person’s name’, ChT *helu* 曷鲁, C376,

Hor-u-uni : (047-131-059) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *helu* 曷鲁, (Nan7).

Hor-u-úr (047-131-097) ‘a female name’ ChT *he lu* CWJ1340.

hu (151) ’emphatic particle, sufix of the multiplicative numerals’.

Hu-a (151-189) ‘a person’s name’, no gloss (*renming* 人名), **L**7.

hu-a (151-189)’misfortune, pain’**,** ChinE *huo* 祸 = 禍 ‘catastrophe, disaster, misfortune’, YCh *xwə*, LMCh *xhua,*

hu-aju-a (151-082.1-189) ‘1. misfortune, 2. pain’, Chin 1. *huo* 祸, 2. *ku* 苦 C402, 17x,

t-ur-én_hu-aju ‘the fourth (daughter) (died of) misfortune’ (Cha19),

hu-aju-a ün (151-082.1-189-329). ‘misfortune’, Chin *huo yun* 祸运 C403,

hu-aju-a-û (151-082.1-189-372) ‘misfortune’, 1x, Chin *huo* 祸 C4030,

hu-aju-a-iú (151-82.1-189-289), 6x,(sic, not separate **iú**) (Wu31-16),

hu-aju-ó-o-ón (151-082.1-090-186-322) ‘had pains, misfortune’ (Zhong35),

hu-aju-ó-o-or (151-082.1-090-186-076) ‘had pains, misfortune’ (Hu38),

hu-as (151-174) ‘pains’, 16x, Chin *ku* 苦 C403, plural,

hu-as-al (151-174-098) ‘pains, misfortune, disaster’, 25x, K92, Chin *ku* 苦 C403,

hu-as-al-en (151-174-098-140)7x, ‘pains, genitive’, Chin *ku zhi* 苦之 C403,

hu-as ar-ó-o-or (151-174 123-090-186-076) ‘governed by pain’ (Song15), no gloss,

hu-sär-ó-o-ón ** (Xu41) correctly **hu-aju-ó-o-ón**.

hu-ém-li$_4$-ha-ai (151-270-310-051-122) ‘was managing’, ChinT *guan li* 管理 C403, Hybrid, Chin+Kh suffixes: **-ha-ai,** Chin *guan* YCh *kɔn*, LMCh *kuan*, neither the initial, nor the final fits, YCh, LMCh *li*, the word has to be a Khitan word.

hu-o-du$_2$ (151-186-304) ‘imperial tomb, mausoleum’, 3x, (K122 ‘throne’ Chin *zuo* 座), correctly CWJ 902 *ling* 陵 (Dao6-27, Xuan5-29, Tai5-18),

ETERNAL ia-277 hu-o-du$_2$ da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-án ‘was buried in the mausolum of eternal happiness’ (Dao6-27), see **ia-277**,

ETERNAL pu-su-û-én hu-o-du$_2$ ci-ad-y-l-ha-ai da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-án ‘was buried (opened and then closed) into the eternal flourishing tomb (Tai5-18),

ETERNAL ia-277 hu-o-du$_2$ qa-abu-te$_2$ (Xuan5-29).

hu-oh (151-377), ‘a name or “the same”, a pronoun?’, 2x, no gloss, **L**12, (Dao 27-23).

hu-or p-od-te$_2$-*i* (150-076 295-016-356-339) ‘crow returns’, Chin *wu ya gui* 乌鸦归 C402 (Xiang46 in a poetic passage).

hu-ri** (151-235) ‘crow’ K90, seems to be a misquote from Xuan 5, CWJ 1858 only **hu-ri-én** (151-235-361) (Tai22-2).

hu$_2$-ó-* (014-090) see **hu$_2$-ú1.**

hu$_2$-ó-ur$_2$* (014-090-236) ‘to be benevolent??’ (K84 *ren* 仁, K102), on C360: *tong* 统 see below **hu$_2$-ú1** ‘control etc.’,

hu$_2$-ó-ur$_2$-bun ai (014-090-236-288 122) ‘benevolent father’, Chin *ren fu* 仁父 C360 past participal,

hu$_2$-ó-ur$_2$-b-ñ (014-090-236-311-222) ‘benevolence, benevolent’, Chin *ren* 仁 C360 ?past participal?,

hu$_2$-ó-ur$_2$-bun mu$_2$-u$_2$-ji (014-090-236-288 222-131-152) ‘holy, benevolent master, sage’ Chin *rensheng* 仁圣, C360,

hu$_2$-ó-ur$_2$-bun nai (014-090-236-288) ‘benevolent chief, officer’, Chin *ren guan* 仁官 .

hu$_2$-ú1 (014-245) ‘1. to unify, 2. to be in charge, to control’, 74x, K89 <hur-ú>, Shimunek 2017 **qur-ú**, CWJ 157 **xu**, CWJ 1627 **hu$_2$**, Chin 1. *tong*, 统, (Ling21), 2. *zhang* 掌 (Dao10), also **hu$_2$-ó-*** (014-090), <***huru,** see Mong *qura-* ‘to gather, assemble’, *quraga-* ‘id’, *quriya-* ‘id’, Dag *hore-* ‘gather (collect) them’, (M164), *hure-* (variant *kure-*) ‘reach’ (M167), *χor´e-, χor´ē-* ‘sammeln’ (M-K141),

hu$_2$-ó-ui (014-090-262) ‘was uniting, was unifying’, Chin *tong* 统, C360,

hu$_2$-ó-ur$_2$ (014-090-236) ‘to unite, to unify’, Chin *tong* 统, C360,

hu$_2$-ô-úr-b-ñ (014-252-236-311-222), 1x,

hu$_2$-ú-ur$_2$ (014-245-236) ‘to unify, to unite’, Chin *tong* 统 C360,

hu$_2$-ú-ur$_2$-bun (014-245-236-288) ‘to be in charge etc.’, Chin *zhang* 掌 C360, past tense,

hu$_2$-ú-ur$_2$-b-ñ (014-245-236-311-222) ‘to be in charge etc.’, Chin *zhang* 掌, C360, past tense.

hu$_2$-ú2 (014-245) ‘part of a title, Commander, who is in charge’, Chin *tong* 统, **L**15, **L**16, **L** 20, **L**21, Hucker No. 7464 “Associate of, Jointly, a prefix”,

hu$_2$-ú 232-y (014-245 232-020) ‘Commander’, Chin *tong ling* 统领 **L**21, Hucker No7494,

hu$_2$-ú nai (014-245 332) ‘commander’, Chin *tong guan* 统官, C360,

hu$_2$-ú (014-245)see **cau-ji$_3$ hu$_2$-ú** (022-337 014-245),

hu$_2$-ú (014-245) see **HEAVEN hu$_2$-ú** (243 014-245) ‘a reign title, government unity’, Chin *tong he* 统和 C428.

Hu$_2$-ú3 (014-245) ‘dendrobium, an orchidea’ in:

T-ang-ur$_2$-en S-iau hu$_2$-ú QUEEN (247-199-236-140 244-362 014-245 333) ‘a person’s name, the Xiao Hu *teriken* of the Tanguts’, Chin *xiao hu lu* 小斛禄 Zhong14, CWJ has here 小 instead of 萧 =蕭,

Khitan **hu$_2$-ú** ← Chin *hú* 斛, YCh *xu*. LMCh *xhəwk* ‘dendrobium’ (a type of the Orchidaceae).

hu-ur$_{2.}$ see **gur** ‘three’ see **12.3** NUMERALS,

hu-ur$_2$-én$_2$ (151-236-361) ‘third,*fem.*’, Chin *disan* 第三, **L**4, see **12.3** NUMERALS,

hu-ur$_2$-er (151-236-341) ‘third, *masculine*’, Chin *disan* 第三, **L**5, **L**8, **L**11 see **12.3** NUMERALS,

hu-od-én (151-016-361) ‘third, *feminine*’, Chin *di san* 第三 C402 see **12.3** NUMERALS,

hu-ur$_2$-hu (151-236-150) ‘three times’, Chin *san ci* 三次 C402 see **12.3** NUMERALS.

hu$_2$-hu-û-ji (014-151-372-152) ‘corpse?’ in Xian30-5: <*al-i hu$_2$-hu-û-ji m-in-de au-ul-ha-ai*> ‘his corpse has been transferred to the tomb’, gloss on p. 1446 only for <*au-ul-ha-ai*>, Chin *gai* 改 ‘change, put right’.

hudugu** a not confirmed reading of No 277. , see LUCK and **ia-277.**

Hul-a-án (048-189-290) **Hul-a-án** (048-189-290) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *hu lan* 胡懒 C372 see Mong *qulan* ‘wild ass’, not Middle Mongolian *hulagan* ‘red’, Yu 8-19,Yu 8-28,Yu 63-15, Yu 63-24, Han 7-24, Han 8-9.

hul-ha-* ‘?’,

hul-ha-al (048-051-099), 1x,

hul-ha-a-al (048-051-189-098), 1x,

hul-ha-a-ar (048-051-189-123), 1x,

hul-l-ha-ai (048-261-051-122), 8x,

hul-l-ha-ar (048-261-051-123), 4x,

hul-l-ha-a-al (048-261-051-189-098), 1x,

hul-l-ha-a-án (048-261-051-189-290), 2x,

hul-l-ha-án (048-261-051-290), 1x,

Au-ui-én ci-i-shi-de hul-l-ha-a-án ‘adopted to the Ao-yan family?’ (Chao10), no gloss.

hul-y (048-020), 30x, ‘?’ no gloss,

us-g shï hul-y COMPOSE-te$_2$-er (Nan29),

us-g hul-y or-a ci-ar (Yu62),

hul-y us-g y-t h-du$_3$-ge-er (Hong10),

m-in RECORD-g-én COMPOSE-l-ó-ji-en hul-y (Hong27).

hur (259) ‘three’, see **gur** and **12.3** NUMERALS.

hus-hu (216-151) ‘1. cyclical brarnch Zi, 2. heavenly branch, rat’, K112, no reading, also **216-qó** (216-169), Chin 1. *zi* 子 2. *shu* 鼠 C419 ← Turk *küskü* (Terhin inscription *küsgü yïlïqa* ‘in the Rat year’ → Hung *güzü* WOT361-362,

hus-hu po-de ‘in the rat double hour (11p.m.– 1 a.m.)’ (216-151), Chin *zishi yu* 子时于.

hut** (259)wrong reading, see **hur** (259) also **hu-ur$_2$** (151-236) ‘three’, THREE (166), **gur** (167), Chin *san* 三[4].

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[4] K143 has also **hur** <h-úr> (340-097), but this is problematic.

I

i-ri (339-235) ‘title, office, rank’, K108, Chin *ming* 名, *hao* 号 **L**13, **L**16, **L**18, **L**19, **L**21, to ? Mong *nere* ‘name, title’, Dag *nere* ‘name, title’ (M198), *nere, ner’, nöri* ‘Name’ (M-K124), genitive **i-ri-en** (339-235-140), accusative-instrumental **i-ri-er** (339-235-341), dative-locative **i-ri-de** (339-235-205), ablative-prolative **i-ri-de-i** (339-235-205-339), 5x, plural **i-ri-s** (339-235-244), **L**14, plural genitive **i-ri-s-en** (339-235-244-140) plural accusative-instrumental, **i-ri-s-er** (339-235-244-341),

i-ri-de-i-hu (339-235-204-339-151) ‘being nominated ? call, order, literary name’, **L**26,

ai-en em$_2$-en i-ri ‘a title of the father’s region (given to a daughter who did not marry)’, Jue32, Chin *fu zhi cheng zhi hao* 父之城之号 CWJ553.

ia (335) ‘elder brother’, K110, 144x, see Mong *aqa* ? > *aga* > **ā* > *ia,* Chin *xiong* 兄, **L**8 ,

ia deu <ia deu> (335-101) ‘brethren, elder and younger brothers’, Chin *xiongdi* 兄弟 **L**1,

ia ai (335 122) ‘uncle, father’s older brother’, also **ia-iá** (335-274), Chin *bo fu* 伯父 C476, CWJ1001,

ia abu ai (335 196 122) ‘great uncle’, Chin *bo zu fu* 伯祖父 C476,

ia-iá-an y-au-o-ón (335-274-011 020-161-186-322) ‘brother, genitive’, Chin *xiong(di)zhi* 兄 (弟) 之 C476, this has to be an expression, perhaps ‘the way of the brethren’ see **y-au-o-ón,**

ia-iá-ai dus-qo (= b-qo) (=) (335-274-122 310.1-168(311-168) ‘brother’s son, nephew’, Chin *xiong zi (zhi zi)* 兄子 (侄子) C476,

ia-iá-ai$_2$ (335-274-197) ‘brother’, Chin *xiong di* 兄弟 C476, rather ‘brethren’,

ia-iá-ñ-un$_2$ (335-274-222-144) ‘brothers, plura, ? genitive’, Chin *xiong di (fu)* 兄弟 (复) C476,

ia-iá-ñ-er (335-274-222-341) ‘brothers, plural’, Chin *xiong di (fu)* 兄弟 (复) *xiong (fu)* 兄 (复) C476,

ia-iá-iú (335-274-289) ‘dative-locative’, Chin *xiong* 兄 C476,

sui-er ia ‘birth brother, brother by birth’ (Cha8) Chin *sheng xiong* 生兄.

ia-277 (335-277) ‘blessing, good fortune, good luck’, also a name, Chin *fu* 福 CWJ905, ‘blessing, sanctity, holy rank, happiness, bliss, benediction’ (Han11), Chin *hu du gu* 胡睹古 CWJ1342, the Chin is a transcription of Mongolian *qutug* ‘id.’ see also LUCK,

ia-277 cu-ur-ge$_2$-er ‘having accumulated good fortune’, Chin *fu ji* 福 积,

ETERNAL ia-277 hu-o-du$_2$ da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-án ‘was buried in the mausoleum of eternal happiness’ (Dao6-27),

ETERNAL ia-277 hu-o-du$_2$ qa-abu-te$_2$ ‘buried into the mausoleum of eternal blessing’ (Xuan5-29),

ETERNAL pu-su-û-én hu-o-du$_2$ ci-ad-y-l-ha-ai da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-án 丕夬 由叐 业及 > 分(只当 列及闲 朩朩丂屮亚中 ‘was buried (opened and covering closed) into the tomb of eternal celebration’ (Tai5-9), Chin *yong qing ling kai yan bi* 永庆陵 开 掩闭.

il 用 (302), 16x see **18.11,**

used in transcriptions as in: ,

il-én$_4$ 用与: in **na-ha-án-er il-én$_4$ go-er 力亚出公 用与 曲公** ‘the Patriarchal Tent of the maternal uncle’s **il-én$_4$**’ (Yu8), Chin *guojiu yilibi* 国舅 夷离毕 CWJ1030,

il-b-ci 用付朩 (302-311-162) ‘a title’, ChinT *yi-li-bi* 夷离毕, C463, **L**11, Hucker 2977, see the next item,

il-b-un$_2$ 用付叉 (302-311-144) also **il-bun 用屮** (302-288) ‘a title, tribal judge’ (Sun Bojun—Nie Hongyin 2008. 120-121, WJ 79), ChinT *yi li bi* 夷离毕 C463,

il-bun ui MANAGE-er Chin *yi-li-bi shizhi* 夷离毕 事知 not *el begi* (Menges 1959 54-55), see WF Index 722, shall be read as *il(i)ber*, a short form of *(h) ilteber, helitber* a Turkic title (see Erdal TL 2016) that is *ilibe(r)* + suffixes **-ci, -un,**

Uh-ul-ñ il-bun-en b-qo ‘the son of the tribal judge of Uh-ul’ (Pu16).

ir 刃 (137) ‘to inscribe (on a tombstone, wall etc)’,

FOURTY gur de ir-er qa-shi-g-iu 了 包 矢 刃公 亚丞九丙 Chin *si shi san yu ti* 四十三 于题 CWJ 1611 (Ba sanS2-3), **de** is separately written and is not the dative-locative suffix (Chin *yu*) but perhaps the same as **d-y** in the next example ,

m-o HEAVEN n-em$_2$-de eu-ul-ge$_2$-y d-y ir-er ci-qó ar-ó-ui (GuD21-36). Chin *da tian qin wu de* 大天亲无德 ‘the great Heaven to the relatives (**nem$_2$** = *qin)* was not (**eu-ul-ge$_2$-y**) (*wu*)…????,

l-iu g-ia n-u tai shï-en b-qo cal°-a ir-er (Nan41-28) ‘the son of L-iu g-ia N-u tai-shï Cal-a wrote (it)’ ChinE *liu jia nu tai shi zhi zi cha la shi* 刘 家 奴 太之子查剌书,

ci-as-a ir-er us-g 朩冬为 刃公 圥九 ‘written diploma by the/according to the jasa, officially written letter’ (Nan2), Chin for **ci-as-a** *zheng* 政 and for **us-g** *zi* 字. CWJ1168 (Nan2), but no gloss for **ir-er.**

ir-er 刃公 (137-341) ‘door, household, family’, Chin *hu* 户 CWJ1168,

jur jau ir-er 圣 豖 刃公 ‘two hundred housholds’ (Nan1), Chin *er bai hu* 二百户 CWJ1168,

bod-l-b-ñ ir-er eme ku t jur-en ci-ur-er b-qo hor-b-ñ h-eu s-ai p-ong jur/9/ qa-ha-ad-er ir-l-ge-er dalu° RECORD-ge-d[1] (Nan8), [illegible] /9/ 42[illegible],

s-iang g-ung ku sui-i t-iu-ir MANAGE-hu-as-en ir-er om-úr s-eu-li$_2$ dau-ui-il-ha-ar us-g shï hul-y COMPOSE-te$_2$-er [illegible] /[illegible](Nan29).

ir-g-en [illegible] (235-334-140) ‘a title, tribal chief’, 49x, Turkic *erkin*, ChinT *yili-jin* 夷离堇, see **ri-g-en**, plural **iri-g-d** [illegible] (235-334-254) ‘tribal chief, plural’, 4x, Chin *yi li jin(fu)* 夷离堇 (复) C423. There are several reasons, that (235) should be read as <ri> and not as <iri>, this title is the only counterexample. Problems also with the final, which serves in most cases as the genitive suffix, but only once in the corpus where it may be the sufix (see below), and the plural shows that the final was **-en** and not the suffix. See the only example where it could, but not nessesarily is a genitive suffix:

ñ-ô-úr iri-g-en i-ri-de hu-ur-hu o-l$_2$-un$_2$ [illegible] ‘the office of the *erkin* of the sub-tribe was him three times (*hu-ur-hu)* granted’ (Pu2),

On the lineages of the of the *yi-li-jin* and other subordinate officials who were not to wear camel yarn (clothes) and otter furs see Liao shi 21 1b-2a, WF235.

ir-y-li$_2$ [illegible] (137-020-080) ‘to transform, change’, also **ir-i-li$_2$** [illegible] (137-339-080), Chin *gai* 改, C398, **L**14, ? to Mong *öger-e-* ‘other’, *ögerečile-, öberečile-* ‘to change’,

ir-y-li$_2$ p-o-ri$_5$ [illegible] ‘have been changed (the position)’ (Nu12),

ir-y-li$_2$ t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y [illegible] (137-020-080 247-257-261-112-020), ‘was changing, upgrading (a position), Chin *gaifeng* 改封 C398,

ir-i-li$_2$ t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un$_2$ (137-339-080 247-257-261-349-144) ‘change, upgrade (a position) also **d-em$_2$-l-ge-un$_2$ ir-y-li$_2$** (Xu12-32),

ir-te$_2$ au-ul-ha-ai ‘changed’ (Zhong33-9),

p-od-a-ar-en ir-y-li [illegible] (Yu63-19).

ir$_2$-y [illegible] (144-020)**, see **un$_2$-y** ‘???’, Chin no gloss, **L**8.

iri see **ri-**.

ishi [illegible] (033) ‘nine’, K109, Chin *jiu* 九, **ishi°** (034) ‘nine, *masculine*’, Chin *jiu* 九 C370 (read earlier **is**), see Mong *yisün,* Dag *ise* ‘nine’ (M174), *is, jis* ‘neun’ (M-K110): the Khitan form points to an earlier **iši-gün* <**isi-gün*, see 12.3 NUMERALS,

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[1] [illegible] /9/[illegible] ‘personal household, wife, and those (*te*) (of) the second son of the second son (*jur-en ci-ur-er b-qo*) Hor-b-ñ Heu S-ai p-ong was recorded in the Seven Records of the two kagans (Nan8) *qi ta men erzhi ci zi he lu ben hou tan fang er zhu ke han qichuan xian* 妻他们 二·之子次子曷鲁本吼 探访二·诸可汗·七传 贤 CWJ1171.

ishi tau 忝 戈 (033 029) 9, 5, 'imperial throne', K111, Chin 九五, CWJ905,
ishi tau-de o-s$_2$-li$_2$ 'accession to the throne' (Gu10-11, see Kane 2009, 109, Wu-Janhunen 201, 149),
ishi tau s-abu-y-li$_2$ 'to ascend the imperial throne' (Dao12), no gloss,
ishi tau m-in-de hu-as o-l$_2$-un$_2$ di-di (=hong di) s-abu-ai 'having ascended to the throne he was enthroned as emperor' (Xiang6), see Wu-Janhunen 2010, 149-150),
un$_2$-n mu$_2$-u-ji$_3$-en ishi tau-de 'at the enthronement of the present holy (Emperor)', Chin *jinzhi jiuwuyu* 今之 九五于.

Ishi-g 忝 九 'name of a clan', also **Ishi-gu 忝 勺** (033-165) ChinT *yi shi* 乙室, **Ishi-g-un$_2$ 忝 九 叉** (033-334-144) 'name of a tribe', ChinT *yi shi ji* 乙室己 C369, *ji* YCh *ki*, LMCh, *ki,* 'The Nine'?
Ishi-g-i 忝 九 关 (033-334-339) 'name of a tribe, genitive', Chin *yi shi ji* 乙室己 C370, it has two plurals, in **-d** and in-s,
Ishi-g-d na-ha-án-er SMALL-qó ai-en 忝 九 公 力 圡 出 公 州 欠 丰 冇 (033-334-254 139-051-290-341-140 188-169 122-140) 'the younger branch of the maternal uncles from the Ishi clan', ChinT *yi shi ji* 乙室己 (Wu24-20, 26-1, 28-16) C370,
Ishi-g-s na-ha-án-er-en SMALL-qó ai-en 忝 九 仐 力 圡 出 公 冇 州 欠 丰 冇 (033-334-244 139-051-290-341-140 188-169 122-140) 'the younger branch of the imperial maternal uncles, from the Ishi Gi clan', Chin *yi shi ji guo jiu zhi xiao weng zhi* 乙室已国舅之小翁之 C369. (Guang19-27, YeS3-5), hybrid Khitan plural, genitive,
Ishi-gu-s na-ha-án-er-en m-o ai-en 忝 勺 仐 力 圡 出 公 冇 又 及 丰 冇 (033-165-244 139-051-290-341-140 133-186 122-140) 'the elder branch of the maternal uncles', from the Ishi Gu (plural) clan, genitive', Chin *yi shi ji guo jiu zhi* 乙室已国舅之 C369, (Yu61-26), see WF Index under *I-shih*.

Ishi-i Do$_2$-ji 忝 关 芀 玢 (033-339 091-152) 'a name of a woman', ChinT no equivalent, see the name of a tribe, *Yi-shi* 乙室 (WF722), on genitive case, **L**5.[2.]

Ishi-iú-i$_3$ 忝 火 洎 (033-289-338) 'a name',1x, ChinT *yishi* 乙實 (see WFIndex), also **Ishi-iú-i$_2$ 忝 火 百** (033-289-022.1), 1x. Both forms in DiX. The reading of 洎 earlier <**ih$_2$**> should be **i$_3$, 12.3** NUMERALS,
Ish-iú-i$_3$ N-u 忝 火 洎 公 叐 (033-289-338 251-131), the author of DiX.

Ishi-ï 忝 谷 (033-353) 'a woman's name' (Liang19-16, Xiang21-11).

iu 丙 (019) '1. not exist, die, 2. disappear', 53x, K92, also **iú 火** (289), 18x, **y-iu-u 万 丙 叐** (020-019-131), 1x (Dao6-13), Chin 1. *zu* 卒, CWJ 1000, 2. *wu* 无 C361, **L**6, **L**8, **L**11 see Turkic *yoq* with similar grammatical function, see **12.5.5** Verb of non existence.There does exist a verb **iú-a-** (289-189), whith

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[2] ?Tibetan Ishidorji = Ye-shes rdo-rje???, Gao5

the derivations **iú-a-al** (289-189-098), 1x, **iú-a-ar** (289-189-123), 5x, **iú-a-ar-en** (289-189-123-140) (genitive), 1x, **iú-a-án** (289-189-290), and **iú-a-án-de-i** (289-189-290-205-339), 1x,
es au-ul-ha-ai-un$_2$ iú-a-án 'did not change and died' (Zhong37),
ci-ar iu (162-123 019) 'early, premature death', Chin *zao zu* 早卒 C406,
ci-ar iu b-hu-án gur ci-én 'three children existed who died early' (Hu29),
t$_2$-ur$_2$ iu (247-in: **eu-úr THIRTY t$_2$-ur iu** 'in his age 30 he passed away' (Hong18),
es h-ui iú-a-ar t-úr 'he did not came back and died' (Xing29-4),
na iu (139 019) 'early, premature death' (Xu45), CWJ has no gloss for **na**, 19x, for **iu** it has *zu* 卒,
ci-i-shi-en b-qo-i iú-a-án 'the relatives had no children' (Jue18),
iú-a-án rí-i t-ge-én-er (Song9),
y-iu-te$_2$ p-ó-ui-i (020-289-356 295-090-262-339) 'was in ruins, collapsed', Chin *tuiran* 颓然 C365,
b-qo na iu 'the child died early ?' (Xu25), **YOUNG-qú na iu** 'the younger (daughter) died early' (Nu21),
úr-u /12/ **a-ar-un$_2$ or-de iu** 'earlier (*or-de*) having no heir' (Hong11-12), Chin *chujia wei cu* 出嫁。未卒 CWJ1143-1144.

iú (289) '? I, we, my', Chin *wu* 吾 YCh *u*, LMCh *ŋuǎ*, (Jue27) CWJ1542[3]

iú qa (289 053) 'the passed away khan, the dead khan', CWJ has Chin *sheng han* 圣汗 C457 'holy Khan' which is at least misleading.in:
ta-an g-úr-en iú qa (Guang4-3:), 'the deceased khan of the Ta-an country (Bohai), Chin *dan guo zhi sheng han* 丹国之圣汗.

Iú-iú g-ung-un (289-289 334-345-273) 'a person's name, genitive', Chin *yu gong zhi* 虞公之 C457.

Iú-ing s-ing ng-iau s-ie g-ün dz$_2$-iú-dú (289-303 244-303 264-362 244-327 334-329 104-289-179) 'a person's name, dative-locative', Chin *yong qing yue jie jun zhu yu* 永清岳姐郡主于 C457.

Iú Ji-én, see **Ji-én iú** (Hu27, Jue2).

Iú-ng a-an (289-264 189-011) 'a person's name', Chin *yong an* 永安, Xian24, C457.

Iú-ng ci-eu-un tu-ung jï (289-264 162-067-273 202-345 087) 'a title', ChinE *yong zhou zhi tong zhi* 永州之同知 C457, a hibryd expression with a Khitan gentive, the *tong-zhi* of the *Iú-ng* prefecture.

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[3] In *nai-d-er ja-ai-un$_2$ e$_2$* *iú* *l-ém-ia-ên kú$_2$-su û-úr o-s$_2$-li$_2$* (Jue17), not clear.

J[1]

J-ar$_2$-ud (104-084-344) see **Y-ar$_2$-u-ud** (020-084-131-344), 1x only in:

dai-ji j-ar$_2$-ud-e RECORD-e no gloss (Xu27).

j-g-en (104-334-140) ‘left (side)’, Chin *zuo* 左 C389, see **ci-g-en** (162-334-140).

j-ia-áng-ia (104-335-280-335) ‘?’ (Gu7) no gloss.

j-iau ng-i g-ün-en (104-362 264-339 334-329-140) ‘a military title, genitive’, ChinE *zhao yi jun zhi* 昭义军之 C389.

j-iau-qu-ui (104-362-246-262) ‘Chinese’, Chin *han* 汉 C389, see **ci-iau.**

j-iú g-ui (104-C389 334-262) ‘title, Pillar of State’, ChinE *zhu guo* 柱国, Hucker 1400, C389.

j-s-li$_2$ (104-244-080) ‘governance, rule’, Chin *zhi* 治 389 to **ci-as-a, j-as-a.**

j-ur$_2$ (104-236) ‘two’, Chin *er* 二, C389, see **ci-ur.**

ja-al-ha-a-* (150-098-051-189), ‘to follow’, to Mong *jalga-* ‘to connect, continue, to meet, adjoin’, *jalgaga* ‘connection, succession’, Dag *jalegaa-* ‘connect (join) it’, (M175). *ǯalha-* ‘ erben’ (M-K125),

ja-al-ha-a-aju (150-098-051-189-082.1) ‘continue someone’s work, succeed’, Chin *ji ren* 继任 C401,

ja-al-ha-a-án (150-098-051-189-290) ‘had continued someone’s work’, Chin *ji* 继 C401.

ja-ri-qó (150-235-169) ‘prime minister’ 24x, also **ja-ri-qu** ((150-235-246), 6x, Chin *zai xiang* 宰相, to Mong *jar* ‘written order or instruction’, *jarčim* ‘principle, rule, custom’, *jargu* ‘lawsuit’, *jarguči* ‘judge’, *jarla-* ‘to order’, *jarlig* ‘decree’ etc, **L8, L13, L26,** Hucker No 6819 “Grand Councellor”. Looks like a nominalized adjective in **-qW,**

ja-ri-qó-on (150-235-169-154) ‘prime minister, genitive’, Chin *zai xiang zhi* 宰相之 C401,

ja-ri-qó-do (150-235-169-217),

ja-ri-qó-ur$_2$ (150-235-169-236), plural, 1x,

ja-ri-qu-ur$_2$-er (150-235-246-236-341) ‘prime minister’, Chin *zai xiang* 宰相 C401, 1x, plural, accusative-intrumental,

ja-ri-hur (150-235-259) ‘prime ministers’, Chin *zai xiang* 宰相 C 401, plural,

ja-ri-û-od (150-235-372-016) ‘prime ministers’, Chin *zai xiang* 宰相 C401,

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[1] <j> represents the voiced palatal affricate /dž/, also written as <j>

de-le pu-un ja-ri-qó (254-093 241-273 150-235-169) ‘the commander of South Palace (*fu*), Chin *nanfuzhi zaixiang* 南府之宰相 C446.

ja-te$_2$-i (150-356-339), ‘south side of a hill’, K117, Chin *yang* 陽 (K117).

ja-úng-i (150-357-339) ‘hill, mountain’, Chin *ling* 岭 C402.

ja$_2$-a (371-189) ‘border area’, to Mong *jaqa* ‘brim, border, frontier’ see **am-s**
ja$_2$-a (184-244 371-189),
dur ja$_2$-a-ad-er au-a-án (368 371-189-099-341 161-189-290) ‘he got four border areas’ (Xu41).

jau1 (015) ‘hundred’, K102, Chin *bai* 百, C360, see Mong *jagun*, Dag *jau* (M 176), *ǰau* (M-K 127), see **12.3** NUMERALS, genitive **jau-en** (015-140),
jau-en eu-úr (015-140 067-097) ‘hundred years old’, Chin *bai sui* 百岁 C360,
jau ai (015 122) ‘hundred years’, Chin *bai nian* 百年,
jau min (015 133-018) ‘hundred tombs/dynasties,’ Chin *bai chao* 百朝,
jau qa-ha iú-i (015-053-051-289-339) ‘hundred Khagans, ablative-prolative’, Chin *bai kehan* 百 可汗.

jau2* (015) see **ci-iau** (162-362) ‘Chinese’ C360, ‘Chinese people’, Chin *han er* 汉儿 C361. On the details see **ci-iau**,
jau-qu-úr (015-246-097), ‘Chinese people’, Chin *han er* 汉儿 C361, see **ci-iau-úr**, also **jau-qó-ui** (015-169-262) C361, **jau-qu-ui** (015-246-262) C361, **jau-ur$_2$** (015-236).
jau-ul-* (015-366) ‘to meet, to reach’, see Mong **jagu, *jigu* ’in between’, *jaguci, jiguci* ‘matchmaker, go-between’, *jagura* ‘situated between, interval’, *jabsar* ‘gap, interstice, slit¸ interval, intermission, break’, etc., Dag *jauici* ‘go-between’ (M 176),
jau-ul-ha-ai, 29x, ‘to meet with, call on, to interview’, **L**26, no gloss,
jau-ul-ha-al od$_2$-l-ha ‘to go to meet, to meet somewhere’, Chin *jian qu* 见去 C361.
jau-ul-ha-al-hu (015-366-051-098-151) ‘to meet, to interview’, Chin *jian* 见 C356,
eu-úr FIFTY nem-de jau-ul-ha-ai t-l-un ‘when he reached the 58th year of age, he died’ (DiX15),
jau-ul-ha-ar (015-366-051-123), 10x,
jau-l-ha-a-ar (015-261-051-189-123), 1x (Yu64-27),
jau-ul-ha-a-ai (015-366-051-189-098), 1x (Di11),
jau-ul-ha-a-án (015-366-051-189-290), 1x,
jau-ul-a-ar (015-366-189-123), 1x,
jau-ul-ha-al-hu (015-366-051-098-151), 3x.

jau tau (015-029) ‘punitive officer’, **jau tau shi** (015 029 033), ChinE *zhao tao (shi)* 招讨(使) “call for surrender and quell the rebellion”, **L**6, **L**8, **L**20, **L**23/24-,
hoi si$_2$ jau tau (001-040-015-029), ‘North-West punitive officer’, Chin *bei si zhao tao* 北 四 招讨, see also **jau tau sï** (015-019 083) ‘the punitive department’, ChinE *zhao tao si* 招 讨司。.

Jel (173) ‘a name (trade?)’, Chin *ye* 业 = 業, YCh *jɛ,* LMCh **ŋiap***,* **L**3, read **Yel**?, see Lexica to line 3.

ji-d (152-254) ‘?’, in: **ji-d b-qó**, ‘heir ?’, no gloss, **L**6, also Tu6.

ji-d-ñ (152-254-222) ‘?’, see **j-id** (152-254) 14x, has to mean ‘for the second time’, Chin no gloss, in: **ji-d-ñ em$_2$-s, L**16.

ji-en (152-140) ‘middle’, **ji$_2$-en**, Chin *zhong* 中, **L**26, *zhong zhi* 中之 CWJ969,
ji-en-i (152-140-339) ‘among, genitive’, Chin *zhong zhi* 中之 C403,
ji-hu (152-150) ‘middle, among’, Chin *zhong* 中 C403,
ji-en see **g-úr-s ji-en dalu k-li$_2$-û-ji** (334-097-244 152-140 141 283-080-372-152),
gur ai-s ji-en ‘within three years’, Chin *san nian zhong* 三年中.

ji-én (152-361) ‘bier, catafalque’, Chin *wuzhan* 吾展 CWJ 1510, 1532,
m-o ai-en ji-én iú ‘the catafalque of the grandfather’ (Hu27-37), Chin 孟父之 吾展?’ CWJ1510.

Ji-én iú (152-361 289) ‘a name’ (Hu27, Jue2), *wu zhan* 吾展 the Chinese name of Yelü Renxian, perhaps for **Iú Ji-én.**

jï-in (087- 018) ‘town, borough’, ChinE *zhen* 镇 (=鎮), YCh *tʂin* LMCh *trin* CWJ1137.

jï-ing l-iang g-ung ci-en (087-303 261-314 334-345 162-140) ‘a title’, Chin *zhen liang gong chen* 贞亮功臣 C386 Hucker No 3395 *gong chen* “Meritorious Minister.”.

jï-ing shï l-ing (087-303 180 261-303) ‘title’, ChinE *zheng shi ling* 政事令 C386,
jï-ng shï l-ing-en (087-264 180 261-303-140) ‘title, genitive’, ChinE *zheng shi ling zhi* 政事令之 C386, ? Hucker No434 (only HAN) ”Verifier (?) a staff assistant to the Counsellor-in-chief (*ch’eng-hsiang*), rank =600 bushels, functions not clear. HB:consultant”,
see **g-ia-ém jï-ing shï l-ing.**

jï üe-ên (087 082-073) ‘division of administration’, ChinE *zhi yuan* 知院 C386.

Ju-qu (147-246) ‘a name’, no ChinT, **L**7.

ju-un (147-273) ‘summer’, K119, Chin *xia* 夏, cf. Mong *jun* ‘summer’, Dag *najire* summer’ (M194), *nad’ir, naʒir* ‘Sommer ’ (MK122). See Buriat, MgrM and existed but now obsolete in Khalkha (N451), see Jur *ǰuwa erin* ‘summer season’ (Kiyose 101), *ǰuanri* (Kane 167), Ma *ǰuwari*.

ju-un n-ad-bod 马火 公东国 (147-273 251-099-309) ‘summer *nabo*’, Chin *xia na bo* 夏捺钵 C401.

ju-ung 马太 ‘central’, (147-345), ChinE *zhong* 中, **L**1 YCh *tʂuŋ,* LMCh *triwŋ.*

ju-ung jï-ing g-ün z-ie du shï 马太 友同 九亦 伞文 仃 兆 (147-345 087-303 334-329 258-327 237 180) ‘a title’, ChinE *zhong zheng jun jie du shi* 忠正军节度使 C401.

ju-ung sh-iú 马太 叉炏 (147-345 028-289) ‘secretariate’, ChinE *zhong shu* 中书 **L**1, **L**22, **L**23.

ju-ung sh-iú l-ing 马太 叉炏 木同 (147-345 028-289 261-303) ‘a title’, ChinE *zhong shu ling* 中书令 C401, Hucker 1616 “Secreteriat Director”.

Ju-ur-e 马刹券 (147-177-348), ‘Jurchen’, 4x, also **Ju-ur-e$_2$ 马刹夯** (147-177-109), 4x, also **Ju-ur-i 马刹关** (147-177-339), 1x, **Ju-ur-094 马刹方** (147-177-094) 1x, genitive **Ju-úr-n 马刹公** (147-177- 251) ‘Jurchen, tribe name’, Chin *nü zhen* 女真 C401 **L**1n, see **12.3** NUMERALS and **18.7**,

gur eme-d-en ju-ur-n na dor-l-bun ‘the Jurchen of the three rivers formerly sumitted’ *san shui zhi nü zhen zhi xi guishun* 三水之 女 真之 昔 归顺 (Dao25).

jur 圣 (134) ‘two’, see also **ci-úr,** Chin *er* 二, see **12.3** NUMERALS, **L**9, **L**12, **L** 13, **L** 23,

jur ai ju-un 圣 丰 马火 (134 122 147-273) ‘in the summer of the year two’, Chin *er nian xia* 二年夏, **L**23,

jur ai u-ul 圣 丰 及平 (134 122 131-366) ‘in the winter of year two’, Chin *er nian dong* 二年冬, **L**25,

jur när 圣 夹 (134 159) ‘day two, day second’, Chin *er ri* 二日, **L**13,

jur us-g-d 圣 执九坌 (134 068-334-254) ‘two letters, a double diploma’, Chin *erzi* 二字, **L**25,

jur em$_2$-s see **ng-i ci-ü-ên jur° em$_2$-s-en 发关 朩艾寺 圣 企仐冇**,

jur see **s-ie-ên p-ai$_2$ jur sï-d-en 伞文寺 业乐 圣 廿坌冇** (244-327-073 295-197 134 083-254-140),

jur see **Au-ui-én Du-ge-én jur$_2$ ñ-ó-de-en 夬火当 允岺当 圣 伏廾矢冇** (161-262-361 089-349-361 134 222-090-205-140) Ling17.

jur$_2$ 丁 (002), ‘twenty’ the reading is uncertain, see **12.3** NUMERALS, **L**14, **L**18,

jur$_2$ dur-de 丁 乇矢 (002 368-205) ‘in twentyfour’, see **12.3** NUMERALS, Chin *ershi si yu* 二十四于, **L**14,

jur$_2$ jur ai-de 丁 圣 丰矢 (002 134 122-205) ‘in year twentytwo’, see **12.3** NUMERALS, Chin *ershi er* 二十二, **L**18.

Jur-uh 圣久 (134-172) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *zhi li gu* 只里姑, Cha20, C397, ? “the second (born child)”.

K

k-ai pu ng-i tu-ung s-a-am sï (283-122 241 264-339 202-345 244-189-184 083) 'title', ChinE *kai fu yi tong san si* 开府仪同三司 C455, Hucker No 3105, "Commander Unequalled in Honor".

k(e)-* (283) 'to call', also **k-li$_2$** (283-080), see Mong **ke-* in: Mong *keme-*. 'to say, to speak', MMo *ke'e-* 'to say', *kele(le)-* 'to speak', *kelen* 'tongue' (see Nugteren 408, but no Dag), Dag *hele-* 'say' (M309), Dag *əl-* (E24, N410), *ele-* 'man spricht, man sagt' (M-K129), *kelče-* 'zusammen etwas besprechen' (M-K114),

k-én (283-361) 'had called', Chin *wei* 谓 C456,

k-y (283-020) 'call', Chin *wei* 谓 C455,

k-li$_2$-u-ji (283-080-131-152) 'call', Chin *wei* 谓 C455, 19x,

k-li$_2$-u-ji$_3$ ((283-080-131-337), 1x,

k-li$_2$-u-ji-u (283-080-131-152-131) 'call', Chin *wei* 谓 C455, 1x,

k-li$_2$-û-ji (283-080-372-152) 'call', Chin *wei* 谓 C455, 49x,

k-li$_2$-û-ji$_2$ (283-080-372-153) 'call', Chin *wei* 谓 C455, 27x,

k-li$_2$-û-ji$_3$ (283-080-372-337) 'call', Chin *wei* 谓 C455, 12x,

k-li$_2$-g (283-080-334) 'call', Chin *wei* 谓 C455,

k-li$_2$-g-d-un (283-080-334-254-144) 'so-called', Chin *suo wei* 所谓 C455,

k-li$_2$-ge-y (283-080-349-020) 'was saying, was calling', Chin *wei* 谓 C455,

k-li$_2$-ge$_2$-y (283-080-112-020) 'they were saying, it is said', Chin *wei* 渭, **L**15,

k-li$_2$-ge-l-ñ 'it was said' (Yu22).

k-li$_2$-û-ji (283-080-372-152) 'saying', Chin *wei* 謂, CWJ 1453, see **k(e)**, see **g-úr-s ji-en dalu k-li$_2$-û-ji** (334-097-244 152-140 141 283-080-372-152),

GREAT g-en-un$_2$ l-she-u k-li$_2$-û-ji$_2$ 'the great mourning (ceremony) cry (Dao31), Chin *da ai hu wei* 大哀呼謂 CWJ 914,

ci-i-shi-d-b-ñ eme-er cu-de h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-ci k-li$_2$-û-ji-d (Qing26-35), Chin *bu xiao dao ji zhi wei* 孝不孝道极至谓 CWJ 1329.

k-em$_2$ (283-257) 'imperial order', K94, Chin *chi* 敕, **L**26, see Mong *kem* 'measure, size, proportion, measure of time etc.', <*ke-m*, to *ke-* 'say', see Turk *sözömüz, savim* etc.,

k-em$_2$-er (283-257-341) 'imperial order, edict, accusative-instrumental', Chin *chi yi* 敕以 C456,

k-em$_2$ dai-ri$_5$ (283-257 017-255) ‘(according to) the (imperial) edict received’, Chin *chi feng* 敕奉 C455.

k-iú (283-289) ‘younger sister’, Chin *mei* 妹 C456, see Mong*keü(ken)* ‘child, girl, virigin, young’, see **h-iú,** but *keu, küü* ‘son, young boy’, Dag *uin* ‘girl daughter’, plural: *uiire* ‘girls, daughters’ (<*ökin*) (M231), *keku* ‘son, child’ (M182) *uhin, uhiń* ‘Tochter’ (<*ökin*), (M-K140) see also **h-iú**,
k-iú eme ‘the younger sister of the mother, aunt, second consort’, Chin *xiao yi mu* 小姨母 CWJ1018 (Gu12).

k-y g-ui g-ung (283-020 334-262 334-345) ‘title’, Chin *kai guo gong* 开国公 C455, Hucker 3116 “Dynasty-founding Duke”.

kei (328) ‘conquer, manage to do, be capable of’, 30x, ChinE *kei* 剋 YCh *k^{h}əj,* LMCh *khəǎk,*
én$_2$-u-un em$_2$-en y-228-ol-i kei p-o-ri$_5$ (Nu 17) ‘he became the Manager of the imperial (tent) chariot’,
Chin *zhang cheng zhi yao nian kei chu* 帐成之 遥辇剋除. CWJ 1195.

ki-ên (163-073) ‘county’, 14x, ChinE *xian* 县 = 縣, YCh *xjɛn.* LMCh *xɦjian,* genitive **ki-ên-en** (163-073-140) ‘county, genitive’, 3x ChinE *xian zhi* 县之 C410, plural **ki-ên-d** (161-073-254), 1 4x, plural, genitive **ki-ên-d-en** (161-073-254-140), 2x, Chin *xian(fu) zhi* 县 (复)之 C410,
Ú s-ing ki-ên-en (245 244-303 163-073-140) ‘Wu qing county, genitive’, ChinE *wu qing xian zhi* 武清县 (= 縣) 之 C437, YCh *ʋu,* LMCh *ʋjyǎ*, YCh *ts^{h}iŋ*, LMCh *tshiajŋ*, YCh *xjɛn,* LMCh *xɦjian.*

ki-ên g-ün (163-073 334-329), ‘Xian prefecture’, ChinE *xian jun* 县(= 縣) 郡 YCh *xjɛn*, LMCh *xɦjyan* and YCh *kyn* LMCh *kɦyn* CWJ1444, see also **g-ün**.

ki-ên l-ing (163-073 261-303) ‘tomb’, ChinE *qian ling* 乾陵, YCh *k^{h}jɛn,* LMCh *kɦian* YCh *liŋ* LMCh *liǎŋ*, see **Ta-ang-en ki-ên l-ing-de** (229-199-140 163-073 261-303-205).

Ki-ên s-ú hong di (163-073 244-245 075 037) ‘Xuanzu emperor, son of Yizu emperor’, ChinE *xuan zu huang di* 玄祖皇帝 C410 also **Ki-ên z-ú hong-di** (Zhi5), the postumous name of Song emperor Zhao Hongyin 趙弘殷 899-956.

ku (178) ‘people’, K105, Chin *ren* 人 C412, see Mong *kümün* ‘man, person, people’, MMo *kü’ ün,* Dag *huu, kuu* ‘person’ (M 167, 185), *χu* ‘Mensch’ (M-K142), see Nugteren 437 on *-m- < β*, see *kemen ke’ e* ‘to say’, *-n* preserved in Dagur in adjectival function, see **eme ku,**
ku-û-er (178-372-341) ‘people, accusative-instrumental’, Chin *ren* 人 C412,
ku-û-dú sh-iá-ai$_2$ (178-372-179 028-274-197) ‘the benefit for the people’, Chin *ren yu shan* 人于善 C412,

ku-û-dú-i 几只尼关 (178-372-179-339) ‘from the people, ablative-prolative’, Chin *ren cong* 人从 C412,
ku-û-li 几只灰 (178-372-206) ‘people’, Chin *ren* 人 C412,
ku-û-un ui 几只火 火 (178-372-273 262) ‘people’s matter, human affairs’, Chin *ren zhi shi* 人之事 C412,
ku-û-un bod 几只火 国 (178-372-273 309) ‘people’s body, itself’, Chin *ren zhi shen* 人之身 C412,
ku-û-un bod es t-úr-búl-u-ji 几只火 国 乃 令安刈及羽 ‘the body of men is not dying’ (Hu34-8),
ku-û-i 几只关 (178-372-339) ‘people, genitive’, Chin *ren zhi* 人之 C412,
aju-uh-ur-en to-l$_2$ rí-er ku p-o-ri$_5$ (Ling12-24),
see **RECORD-e ku 去券 几** (052-348 178) ‘the master of the tombstone’, Chin *zhi zhu* 志主 C373,
see **RECORD-e ku-û un 去券 几只火** (052-348 178-372-273) ‘The master of the tombstone, genitive’, Chin *zhi zhu zhi* 志主之 C373.
see **mod-u ku-û-un* 出及 几只火** (043-131 178-372-273) ‘evil people’ (Yu29) **ku** see **eme ku L**6, **L**7.

ku-su 几卡 (178-041) ‘guard’, also **ku-û-su 几只卡** (178-372-041), and **ku$_2$-su 仉卡** (233-041) Chin *shi wei* 侍卫 C412[1] **L**1n, **L**14, genitive **ku-su-en 几卡有** (178-041-140), dative-locative **ku-su-de 几卡矢** (178-041-205), also **ku$_2$-su-en 仉卡 有** (233-041-140), **ku$_2$-su-de 仉卡矢** (233-041-205).

ku-su û-úr 几卡 只安 (178-044-372-097) ‘by imperial grace’, no gloss, **L**14.

ku-ul 几平 (178-366) ‘?’, no gloss,
ku-ul-ñ m-o-s$_2$-u-ji 几平伏 又及兴及羽 ‘the elder of the ????’ (Chao20), see **387-or-ci-ñ m-o-s$_2$-u-ji** (Chao20).

ku-ung 几太 (178-345) ‘duke’, ChinE *gong* 公, **L**24, Hucker, No 3388.

Ku-ung Ming-an 几太 矣买 (178-345 207-011) ‘Confucius and Mencius, genitive’, ChinE *kong meng zhi* 孔孟之 C412.

Ku-ung-úr 几太安 (178-345-097) ‘a person’s name’, no gloss, but ChinT *kong gu li* 控骨里 C412 (Guang22) see Turk *qoŋur* ‘chestnut (colour)’, **L**16, a frequent name, see WOT, 560–562.

kus-a 土为 (042-189), 6x, ‘an administrative unit’, plural **kus-a-as 土为冬** (042-189-174), 7x, no gloss, accusative-instrumental **kus-a-as-er** (042-189-174-341), 1x.

Kus-a 土为 (042-189) ‘a person’s name’, ChT *gusa* 鶻洒 C376 (Cha20).

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[1] not Shi Wei 室韦; traditional Chinese: 室韋; pinyin: *Shìwéi*

L

l-a-(a)bu sär (261-189-196 081) ‘the twelfth lunar month’, Chin *la yue* 腊月 C450 (Han34). **l-a-bu** is transcribing **lap* 腊 = 臘, YCh *la*, LMCh *lap* and an early Chinese loanword for Chinese 臘, ‘sacrifice, offered at the end of the lunar year’.

L-an-ku$_3$ (261-011-282) ‘a name’, no gloss, **L**4.

l-ang go-ci (261-199 319-162) ‘corridor, balcony’, ChinE *lang wu* 廊庑 C450, hybrid Chinese and Khitan **go–ci.**

l-au-qu-ñ or xar-li ong (261-161-246-222 287-206 071) ‘prince of Yan’, ChinE *lao gu yan wang* 老古燕王 C449, ??red and black wang to **l-iau** and **xar?** WF352, 593, *Lao-gu* is mentioned as Minister over the Masses, WF352, and in 1094 a *Lao-gu* is submitting with his tribe, or 老古 *lao-gu* ‘old’, see also **L-au-qó-ñ y-ie-ên ong** (261-161-169-222 020-327-073 071) ‘prince of Yan’, Chin *lao gu yan wang* 老古燕王 C449.

l-ém-a* (261-270-189), also **l-ém-hu-a** (261-270-151-189) ‘a title, *linya*’, K104, ChinE *linya* 林牙, ‘an official in charge of the academy, formerly known as *xueshi* 學士’. C450, YChin 林 *lim,* 牙 YCh *ja,* Hucker 3731 LIAO: “Secretary, Chinese rendering of a Khitan word similar to *han-lin* (Hanlin); occurs throughout the Liao government with a variety of particularizing prefixes and suffixes”. It can be compared with OTurk *el ïmga* (Clauson 1972, 158) a title described by Kashgari,

l-ém-a-an (261-270-189-011) ‘a title, genitive’, Chin *lin ya zhi* 林牙之 C450,

l-ém-hu-a-an (261-270-151-189-011) ‘a title, genitive’, Chin *lin ya zhi* 林牙之 C450,

l-ém-ia-ên (261-270-335-073) ‘a title’, Chin *lin ya* 林牙 C450,

l-ém-a sh-iú ‘the book of the linya’ Chin *linya shu* 林牙 书 CWJ985 (Xu12-8).

L-i (261-339) ‘name of a prefecture’, *li zhou* 鳢州 C451,

L-i ci-eu-un ‘the prefecture Li, genitive’, ChinE.

l-i bi-in shï (261-339 225-018 180) ‘a title’, ChinE *li bin shi* 礼宾使 C451, perhaps to *li-bin yuan*, Hucker 3627 “Foreign relations Office”,

ñol^o m-o l-i bi-in shï ‘the Six Great Li Bin Shi’ (Song7).

l-i b-û ca-ang sh-iú (261-339 311-372 375-199 028-289) ‘a title’, **L23** ChinE *li bu shang shu* 礼部尚书 C451, Hucker 3631 *li-bu* “Ministry of Rites”, *shangshu* Hucker 5042 “Minister, head of the top-level administrative agency in the Central government’s Departmen of State Affairs”.

L-i S-ie ‘a female name’ (Yu 7), ChinT *li jie*? 丽洁.

l-iau* (261-362) ‘red’, K112, also once **l-iu,-** see Mong *ulagan* ‘red’, MMo *hula’an*, Dag *hulaan* (M166), *χulañ* ‘rot’ (M-K143), masculine: **l-iau-qu**, (261-362-246), 2x, feminine: **l-iu-qú** (261-019-118) (Yong35), and, 12x,

l-iau-qu m-ri (261-362-246 133-235) ‘red horse (year)’, Chin *bing wu* 丙午 C452,

l-iau-qu-ur$_2$ h-eu-s sh-au-a (261-362-246-236 340-067-244 028-161-189) ‘red-throated eagle’, Chin *hong hou ying* 红喉鹰 C452,

l-iau-qú (261-362-118) ‘red, feminine, cyclical stem of Bing, Ding, red’, Chin *bing* 丙 *ding* 丁 C452.

L-iau (261-362)‘the name of the Liao dinasty’, ChinE *Liao* 辽 = 遼 (C451),

L-iau ong-on (261-362 071-154) ‘king of Liao, genitive’, ChinE *Liao wang zhi* 辽王之 C451,

L-iau-ar$_2$ g-úr-en (261-362-084 334-97-140) ‘Liao state, genitive’, ChinE *Liao guo zhi* 辽国之 C452 (Ren17) **L-iau-ar$_2$**, 10x, **L-iau-ar$_2$-er**, 2x.

L-i-in g-ui-ñ (261-339-018 334-262-222) ‘a part of a name of an Ordu’, Chin no gloss, **L**15, **L**16.

L-i-in (261-339-018) ‘a name, gen?’, no gloss, **L**17.

l-ing (261-303) ‘concurrent (offices), ChinE *ling*, 令 **L**1.

l-ing g-ung (261-303 334-345) ‘a title’, ChinE *ling gong* 令公, **L**3, **L**12 an abbreviation of the title *zhongshu ling* 中書令, on which see Hucker No1616, “Secreteriat Director”.

l-ing g-ün ong (261-303 334-329 071) ‘a title’ (Zhong21), ChinE *ling jun ong* 陵郡王 CWJ959.

l-ing g-ün ui° (261-303 334-329 263) ‘a title’, ChinE *ling jun wei* 领军卫 C451, Hucker 3756 “T’ANG: Metropolitan Guard”.

L-ing h-ai (261-303 340-122) ‘a name’, ChinT *ling kai* 令开 L1.

l-ing-en t-qó sh-i (261-303-140 247-169-028-339) ‘a title, the *teqoshi* of Ling’, ChinE *ling(?) zhi dushi* 灵(?)之 度使 **L**23, for **t-qó-sh-i** see line 13.

l-ing-un (261-303-273) ‘a title’, ChinE *ling wen* 令稳 C451.

l-iu-* (261-019) ‘to pass away, die (honorific), K91*, beng* 崩 C449, ?to Mong **ölü-* in *ölügle-* ‘to starve, be hungry’, *ölüng* ‘starvation’, *ölüs-* ‘to suffer starvation’, Dag *ulese-* ‘get hungry, starve’ (M232), *onso-* ‘hungrig werden’ (M-K127), ← Turk *öl-* ‘to die’, Turkic *ölür-* is ‘to kill’, the Khitan word is of immediate Turkic origin,

l-iu-ir-én (261-019-137-361) ‘had died, *feminine*’, Chin *beng* 崩 C449,

l-iu-ir-én$_3$ (261-019-137-100.1) 'had died, honorific: had passed away (of a queen etc.)', Chin *beng* 崩 C449,,

l-iu-ir-er (261-019-137-080) 'had died, *masculine*', Chin *beng* 崩 C449,

l-iu-ir-er y-eu-ji 'after having died (masculine) was moved to' Chin *beng xi* 崩徙 (Xing2),

l-iu-ir-én y-eu-ji$_2$ 'after having died (feminine) was moved to' (Xuan5-9),

l-iu-ir-s-li$_2$ (261-019-137-244-080) 'death', Chin *beng* 崩 C449.

l-iu hu-eu-un (261-019 151-67-273) 'a title, genitive', ChinE *liu hou zhi* 留后之 C449, Hucker 3790.

l-iu-qú (261-019-118), see **l-iau-** 'red' (Yong35).

l-iu-ñ (261-019-222) 'a name, ChinT *liu ni* 留你, ? **L**9, **L**13 genitive?.

l-iu sh-eu (261-019 028-067) 'regent', see Hucker No 3813 ChinE *liu shou si* 留守司.

om-ur g-ing-en l-iu sh-eu p-o-du$_2$**-l-un**$_2$ 'became the regent of the first capital' (Yu21).

L-iu sh-in (261-019 028-018) 'a person's name', ChinE *liushen* 刘伸 (Jue24).

l-iúng xu g-ün (261-181 036 334-329) 'Dragon-Tiger Army', ChinE *long hu jun* 龙虎君, **L**23.

L-m-en (261-133-140) **L-m**+genitive', see **da**$_3$**-ai y-ie-ên L-m-en** (214-122 020-327-073 261-133-140) (Wu8).

l-she-u (261-315-131) 'en exclamation, a cry, ceremony', Chin *hu, zai* 呼, 哉 C451,

GREAT g-en-un$_2$ **l-she-u** 'the great mourning ceremony' (Dao31) Chin *da ai hu wei* 大 哀 呼 謂 (CWJ914),

p-u har l-she-u 'temple ceremony' (DiX46),

t-em$_2$**-y l-she-u** 'burial ceremony' (DiX50)..

l-û ci-eu-un t-qu sh-i (261-372 162-067-273 247-246 028-339) 'title, th *teqoshi* of the Lü prefecture, hybrid with Khitan genitive', ChinE *Lü zhou zhi du shi* 闾州之度使 C452.

L-un ng-iú-de (261-273 264-289-205) 'in The Analects of Confucius, dat-loc.', ChinE *Lun yu zhong* 论语中 C451.

l$_2$**-ha-aju** see **da**$_3$**-ha-ar o-l**$_2$**-ha-aju** (214-051-123 186-149-051-082.1).

li-un$_2$**-ge** (206-144-349) 'mausoleum, imperial tomb', ChinE *ling* 陵, YCh *liŋ,* LMCh *liǝ̆ŋ* CWJ 884.

li$_4$**-ge**$_2$**-** (310-112), also **li**$_4$**-ge-** (310-349) has to be among others a verb, see:

li$_4$**-ge**$_2$**-én**$_2$ (310-112-100), 1x, **li**$_4$**-ge-én** (310-349-361), 2x, **li**$_4$**-ge**$_2$**-er** (310-112-141), 11x, **li**$_4$**-ge**$_2$**-y** (310-112-020), 12x, **li**$_4$**-ge-y** (310-349-020), 2x.

p-od-y-i che-a-ar li$_4$**-ge-er** 'the returned envoy'???? (Yu11-12).

lu (208) '1. cyclical branch Chen, 2. heavenly branch, dragon', K93, also **lu$_2$** (064), Chin 1. *chen* 辰 2. *long* 龙 (=龍) C418, see Uighur *luu* (Clauson 1972, 763), Wilkens 457 (*luu* < Chin. *long* 龍 (Spätmittelchin. *lywŋ*) 'Drache, Schlange (Skt. *nāga*)' (> Mong *luu* 'dragon', see also Tibetan *klu* 'id.', YCh *ljuŋ*, LMCh *lywŋ,* EMCh *luwŋ.*

Lu (208) 'name of a region, a prefectrure', ChinE *lu* 渌, **L**20,
Lu em$_2$-en t-qó-378.1 □ (208 257-140 247-169-378.1) 'the *teqo(shi)* of the region Lu', ChinE *lu zhou zhi du (shi)* 渌州之度(使), **L**20,
There were several prefectures with the name Lu: 禄, 麓, 廬, see WF727.

lu$_3$ -úr go-ci-er (312-097 319-162-341) 'prominent, famous family', Chin *xian jia* 显家 C467, a plural?, l**u$_3$-úr**, 59x, see **lu$_3$-úr-en** (312-097-140), **lu$_3$-u-úr** (312-131-0979, **lu$_3$-û-úr** (312-372-097), a plural, see **lu$_3$-u-un** (312-131-273), see in the enumeration: **pu-shi-ñ-en s-om t-qó-a-as s-ón-qó-s$_2$ em-110 ci-eu lu$_3$-úr dai-ri$_5$ a-al-hu-er,**
??to Turk *ulug* 'great' + **go-ci** 'tent family' see there,
lu$_3$-úr bai-d-ó-ji 'a prominent sculptor?' (Chao20).

LUCK (277), LUCK$_2$ (275), LUCK$_3$ (276), LUCK$_4$ (278), not in Shimunek 2017, not in CWJ Index as separate item. Dealt with by Kane (2009,68) according to whom it is used commonly as a name and is transcribed as ChinT *hudugu* 胡覩古. According to Kane the Khitan glyphis derived from a cursive form of Chinese *fu* 福. 'blessing, good fortune'. It does not occur separately, only in the combination **ia-277** which occurs in the corpus: **ia-277**, 70x, **ia-277-on**, 1x, **ia-277-de**, 1x, **ia-277-ñ**, 27x, **ia-277-ñ-i**, 1x, **ia-277-úr**, 2x, and **ia-277-er**, 1x. According to Kane (loc.cit) **ia-277** is 'really a single graph'. This is not acceptable, the word is always written in two parts.

M

m-a pu l-ang ju-ung-un (133-189 241 261-199 147-345-273) ‘a title, genitive’, ChinE *ma fu lang zhong zhi* 马府郎中之 C395.

m-án-* (133-290) ‘to hunt’ K102,

m-án-un$_2$ ku (133-290-144 178) ‘hunting man, hunter’, Chin *lieren* 猎人,

m-án-un$_2$ sh-au-a (133-290-144 028-161-189) ‘hunt eagle’, Chin *lie ying* 猎鹰 C396,

m-án-ci (133-290-162) ‘hunter’, Chin *lie zhe* 猎者 C396,

cau-úr m-án-un$_2$ ui-de ‘in the matter of the military hunting (exercise)’, Chin *junlieshiyu* 军猎事于 C365,

cau-úr m-án-un$_2$ aju-uh-ur-en b-qo ar-u tir-ia-an ‘the boy who was at the military hunting, turned back’ (Jue41-17).

m-as-qu (133-174-246), K98, also **m-as-qó** (133-174-169), K95, **m-as-qú** (133-174-118), **m-s$_2$-qó** (133-354-169) ‘elder’, **L**1n, see GREAT, **12.3** NUMERALS.

m-as-qu-on g-úr (133-174-246-154 334-097) ‘first state’, Chin *di yi guo* 第一国 C395.

m-au-e** (133-161-348) ‘ancestral temple’, Chin *miao* 庙 C395, occurs only once in Guang7-29 and is surely a miswriting or misreading for **m-ci-e** (133-162-348), see below.

m-aû-* (133-125) ‘bad’? see Mong *magu* ‘bad’, Dag *moo* ‘(be) bad’ (M192), *mō* ‘schlecht’ (M-L121), no gloss,

m-aû-er (133-125-341) ?‘to deteriorate, become bad, *masculine.*’ (Yu34-66, 44-21),

m-aû-én (131-125-361) ?‘to deteriorate, become bad, *feminine*.’ (Ling10-11, Yu34-8,43-18, Qing19-14, Chao17-19).

m-ci-e (133-162-348), 7x, also **m-ci-e$_2$** (133-162-109), 2x ‘(ancestral) temple, shrine, monastery’, Chin *miao* 庙, C395, YCh *mjɛw*, LMCh *mjiaw*, genitive **m-ci-e$_2$-n** (133-162-109-251), ablative-prolative: **m-ci-e-de-i** (133-162-348-205-339).

m-ci-ge$_2$- (133-162-112), 4x, perhaps the same as the above, ‘(ancestral) temple, shrine, monastery’, genitive **m-ci-ge$_2$-en** (133-162-112-140), dative-locative **m-ci-ge$_2$-de (**133-162-112-205), see:

dur po-s$_2$-en l-iau-ar m-ci-ge$_2$-en nem h-ci-ñ ri$_3$-rí nas-ar RECORD-ge$_2$-en d-û-ud-l-g (Dao17) ‘into the 8 directions of the red temple of the four seasons…’.

m-em$_2$ (133-257) ‘silver’, K117, 14x, Chin *yin* 银, see Mong *mönggün*, Dag *munge* (M192), *meŋu*, *meŋgu, muŋu* ‘Silber, Geld’ (M-K12-122) to **menggü,* see Jur *mengun* ‘silver’ (Kiyose 129), *menggu* (Kane 350), Ma *menggun,* (K117, no gloss in C396), genitive **m-em$_2$-en 又金冇** (133-257-140), dative-locative **m-em$_2$-de 又金矢** (133-257-205), plural **m-em$_2$-s 又金仐** (133-257-244), adjective **m-em$_2$-qu 又金余** (133-257-246).

m-en 又冇 (133-140) ‘holy, sacred’, Chin *shen* 神 C394 to Mong *mendü* ‘health???' or *möngke* ‘eternal’ ???? Turk *menggü,*
m-en-e 又冇券 (133-140-348) ‘holy, sacred’, Chin *shen* 神 C394.

m-gu see **m-o1.**

m-ha-aju 又圡艾 (133-051-082.1), 49x, ‘?’, no gloss, frequently **m-ha-aju ci-én** and **m-ha-aju-ci-er**, pehaps a certificate, a diploma, a written document?
s-abu-o-ón m-ha-aju ci-én-er 仐生及内 又圡艾 朩当公 (Zhen19).

m-ha-aju-hu 又圡艾列 (133-051-082.1-151), 2x,
t-qó-a-as-en m-ha-aju ci-er(Zhong42-6),
ci-i-is-d-b-ñ m-ha-aju ci-én-er (Zhong2),
cau-úr m-ha-aju h-ui-ri-b-ñ (Gu32),
m-ha-aju ci-én (Gu61),
m-ha-aju-hu ci-er ul ui-er (Di26),
m-ha-aju rí-er (Wu18).

m-ha-as 又圡冬 (133-051-174) ‘all, many??’, no gloss, it occurs in plural contexts[1].
ma-ha-as n-hu-rí RECORD-ge-d 又圡冬 公列夫 圡岑仝 (Yu21).

m-i 又关 (133-339) ‘secret’, ChinE *mi* 密,
m-i üe$_2$-n 又关 仲公 (133-339 226-251), ChinE *mi yuan* 密 院.

m-i-in 又关雨 (133-339-018) ‘my’, genitive case of the personal pronoun first person singular, Chin *wu* 吾 C397, cf. Mong *minu, mini* ‘my, mine’, Dag *mini, minii, minihe* ‘mine’ (M191), *miñ* ‘mein’ (M-K121),
m-i-en deu$_2$ 又关冇 汋 (133-339-140 361.1) ‘my younger brother’, Chin *wu di* 吾弟 C397, CWJ1566.

m-in1 又雨 (133-018) ‘tomb, mausoleum’, Chin *mu* 墓 C393, **L**19, dative-locative, **m-in-de 又雨矢** (133-018-205) ablative-prolative, ‘from the grave’, **m-in-de-i 又雨矢关** (133-018-205-339) ‘grave’, Chin *ying cong* 茔从 C393,
m-in see **qa-ha-iú-i m-in 坙圡炏关 又雨** (053-051-289-339 133-018).

m-in2 又雨 (133-018) ‘court, aministration, position’, Chin *chao* 朝 C394, on CWJ p. 1245, gloss Chin *wei ji* 位即 also C393 in the expression **m-in s-abu-o-ón 又雨 仐生及内** (133-018 244-196-186-322, **L**19n, genitive **m-in-i 又雨关**

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[1] *ja-ri-qu t-le pu 232-l-ir$_2$ p-úr-s-en m-ha-as i-ri-s-er ol o-ri$_5$-er* (Yu 5-55), *p-úr-s-en m-ha-as i-ri-s-er ol o-ri$_5$-er (Yu*6-49). *SEVENTY-i û-er m-ha-as hu$_2$-ú-ur t-gu* (Yu15-31)*, jur° ci-i-shi-d-b-ñ m-ha-as-er lu$_3$-úr p-ul-e$_2$-ci* (Yu16-57)*, h-ing s-úng hong t-i-i or-l-un$_2$ ui-i i-ri 25-a-al ci-eu-li j-g-en u-ur p-úng ci-en-en i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ir$_2$ HEAVEN as-ar jur ai u-ul go-er qa-ha-ad u-úr-l-ge-y ci-i-shi-en ong-od m-ha-as nai-d-en /8/ b-hu-án-er i-ri-s t-em$_2$-l-g* (Hong 7-8), *p-úr-s-en m-ha-as i-ri-s-er ol o-ri$_5$-er* (Han15), *l-iu-ñ g-au g-iu tai ong p-úr-s-en m-ha-as i-ri-s-er ol o-ri$_5$-er tau ai* (Liang3)

(133-018-339) ‘court, administration’, Chin *chao* 朝 C394, accusative-instrumental, **m-in-er** (133-018-341) ‘court, administration’, Chin *chao* 朝 C394, dative locative, **m-in-de** (133-018-205) ‘court, administration, Chin *chao yu* 朝于 C393.

m-in s-abu-o-ón (133-018 244-196-186-322) ‘“who had” access to the position’, Chin *wei ji* 位即 C393.

m-ing (133-303) ‘inscription’, ChinE *ming* 铭 (=銘) C396, YCh *miŋ,* LMCh *mjiajŋ,*

m-ing t-gu (133-303 247-165) ‘the inscription said’, ChinE *ming yue* 铭曰 C396.

m-ir see **sh-iú m-ir** (028-289 133-137) ‘a title, a member of the palace secretariat’, ChinE *shu mi* 枢 (=樞) 密 C366, Hucker No. 5447 YCh *tʂʰy,* LMCh *tʂʰyǎ*, YCh *muj,* LMCh *mjit.*

m-ir-jï (133-137-087) here ‘history? deeds?’ In other places: **m-ir-jï** ‘mayor, head of township, ChinE or ChinT *mili*?’, **L**9, see K107, WF 728, *mi-li-ji* 弥 (=彌) 里己 ‘name of an official’ (WF728, 372), YCh *mi,* LMCh *mji,* YCh *li*, LMCh *li,* YCh *ki*, LMCh *kin* see **mi-rí.**

m-ng g-u (133-264 334-131) ‘Mongol’, ChinE *meng gu* 萌古, (4x in Yue39, 40, 41, 46) ← Mongol.

m-o1 (133-186) ‘big, eldest’, 206x, K95, 98,100, Chin *zhang* 长, **L**4, **L**10, Chin *da* 大 C394, K85, plural **m-o-s$_2$**, adjectival forms: **m-ó$_2$-qú** (133-253-118) ‘elder’, Chin *zhang* 长 C396,

m-gu (133-165) ‘grandmother’, Chin *zumu* 祖母 CWJ1444,

m-gu eme (133-165 021) ‘grandmother’, Chin *zu mu* 祖母 C395,

m-o-on (133-186-154), 1x,

m-o-ô-on (133-186-252-154), 4x,

m-o-ón-de (133-186-322-205), 1x,

m-o-ô-do (133-186-252-217) ‘big, elder’, 1x, Chin *da* 大 C395 dative-locative,

m-qó-od-b-ñ (133-169-016-311-222) ‘praise, past tense’, 1x, Chin *zan* 赞 C395,

m-qó-od-bun (133-169-016-288), ‘praise, past tense’, 2x,

m-qó-or-u-ji-de o-oi$_2$ (133-169-076-131152-205 186-107) ‘was given to the elder/grown up?’ (Wu9) no gloss only once, here. but **m-qó-or-ó-ui** (133-169-076-090-262) once (Nu16-13),

m-o b-qo (133-186 311-168) ‘elder/eldest son’,

SMALL-qó m-o ku-û-un (Yu34).

m-o2 (133-186) ‘wood’, ChinE *mu* 木 YCh *mu,* LMCh *məwk*, C394? (186) instead of (131) <u>, see **m(u).**

m-o-s$_2$-u-ji (133-186-354-131-152), 6x, ‘?the seniors, the elder’ also **m-o-s$_2$-u-ji$_3$** (133-186-354-131-337), 1x, genitive: **m-o-**

s_2-u-ji-en (133-186-354-131-152-140), 2x, m**o-s_2-u-ji_3-en** (133-186-354-131-152-140), 2x,

k**u-ul-ñ m-o-s_2-u-ji** (Chao 20),

056.1-or-ci-ñ m-o-s_2-u-ji 'the deceased khan of the Ta-an country (Bohai)' (Chao20),

m-o-s_2-u-ji eme ku (133-186-354-131-152 021 178) 'elder wife', Chin *zhang qi* 长妻 C395,

m-o-s_2-u-ji_3-en (133-186-354-131-337-140) 'big, the elder, genitive', Chin *da* 大 C395.

m-o-s_2-ha- '? to magnify? to praise',

m-o-s_2-ha-ar (133-186-354-051-123), 1x,

m-o-s_2-ha-a-ar (133-186-354-051-189-123), 1x,

m-o-s_2-ha-ai (133-186-354-051-122), 2x,

m-o-s_2-ha-a-án (133-186-354-051-189-290), 2x, Jue 32, no gloss.

M-o (133-186) 'here a part of a name', ChT *me* 么 **L**3.

M-or-qó (133-076-169) 'a name', ChT *mo lu jin* 磨鲁堇 C394, also **M-or-qó s-iáng g-ün** (Xu46).

m-qó (133-169), see **m-o1**,

m-ri1 (133-235) 'horse', '1. cyclical branch: Wu, 2. horse', K12, Chin 1. *wu* 午 2. *ma* 马 C396 see Mong *mori(n)* 'horse', Dag *mori* 'horse' (M192), *moŕ* 'Pferd' (M-K121), see Jur *morin* 'horse' (Kiyose 105), *muri* (Kane 216), Ma *morin,*

l-iau-qu m-ri (261-362-246 133-235), 'red horse (year)',

m-ri-de-i (133-235-205-339) 'from the horse' prolative-ablative, Chin *macong* 马从 C396,

m-ri-de-i on-i (133-235-205-339-154-339) 'from the horse fall', Chin *cong ma luo* 从马落 C396,

m-ri on-s-li_2 'the horse fall',

m-ri sh-au-a nai-ui (133-235 028-161-189 332-262), 'the head of the horse (men) and falcon(er)', Chin *ma ying guan* 马 鹰 官 C396.

m-ri2 (133-235) 'an administrative unit, village', K107, genitive **m-rí-en** (133-069-140) (Xing2-12), K107, ChinE or ChinT *mili* 弥里, see WF430 *mo-li* 抹里~ *mei li* 抹里 or *mi li* 彌里 'tribal unit, a small tribal settlement' ← Chin? or Khitan → Chin, perhaps to **m-ri1** a unit which had to give originally one horse(man) as tribute or tax?,

m-ri-en nai (133-235-140 332) 'official, head of village', Chin *mi li zhi guan* 弥里之官 C396, plural **m-ri-d** (133-235-254) 'villages, countries, plural', Chin *zhu mi li* 诸弥里 C396, plural genitive **m-ri-d-en** (133-235-254-140), Chin *zhu mi li zhi* 诸弥里之 C396,

m-ri sh-ri-e-de-i (133-235 028-235-348-205-339) ‘from the villages and settlements’, Chin *mili shi lie cong* 弥里 石烈从 C396,

m-ri-g (133-235-334), 2x, same as **mi-ri-gu**??,

m-ri-g-s (133-235-334-244) ‘??? townships, (*mi-li*) 评论’, Chin *zhu mili* 诸弥里, **L**16, C396, hybrid.

M-ri-gu-i (133-235-165-339) ‘tribe name, the Merkit’, ChinT *mei li ji* 梅里急 C396, see WF 100, 362, 594,

M-ri-gu-i ci-ñ-i (133-235-165-339 162-222-339) ‘a person’s name’ ChinT *meiliji chinü* 梅里急 迟女,

m-ri-gu-i (133-235-165-339), ChinT *meiliji* 梅里急 C396 genitive?,

m-ri-gu-i ca-úr ((133-235-334-244 375-097) ‘the army of the Merkit’ Chin *meiliji jun* 梅里急军.

M-ri-g-un$_2$ (133-235-334-144) ‘tribe name, Merkin’, ChinT *mei li ji* 梅里急 C396, see above,.

MANAGE (142) ‘to manage’, reading unknown, should be backvocalic and labial, see **12.5** VERB, PARADIGMS,

MANAGE-or (142-076) ‘had managed, had organized’, 2x, (Yu68-52, Guang27-1),

MANAGE-li (142-080) ‘to know, to be expert in’, Chin *zhi* 知 C399,

MANAGE-u (142-131) ‘to know, to be an expert in’, Chin *zhi* 知, C400,

MANAGE-li$_2$ (142-080) ‘to know’, Chin *zhi* 知,

MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de see **ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$ L**24,

MANAGE-u-ji-de-i (142-131-152-205-339), ‘to know what to follow’, Chin *zhi zong* 知從 C399,

MANAGE-i see **d-ém g-ém-d deu-úr MANAGE-i**, see also **t-ie-ém g-ie-ém-en ui MANAGE-l-hu** (247-327-270 334-327-270-140 262 142-261-151) ‘a title, hybrid, genitive’, Chin *dian jian zhi shi zhi* 点检之事知 C442, no exact equivalent in Hucker or WF, perhaps see *du dian jian* 都電檢 Hucker No 7297 LIAO: one of the titles given heads of regional Tax Offices (*ch’ien po ssu*), but while Khitan **t-ie-ém** ← ChinE *dian* 点 = 點, YCh *tjɛm,* LMCh *tiam,* Chinese *dian* 電 had a final *-n* in YCh and LMCh.

ming (207) ‘thousand’, Chin *qian* 千, C417, cf Mong *mingga(n)* ‘thousand’, Dag *miange* (M325), *m’aŋa, m’aŋga* ‘tausend’ (M-K120), ← Turkic *miŋ* < *biŋ,*

ming tum ‘thousand ten thousand, very long, eternal’ in

ming tum ai-s (Chao27),

ETERNAL ming tum p-on-de-hu (Xiang47), ‘in eternal times’,

ming-en ku (207-140 178) ‘thousand people’, Chin *qian ren* 千人 C418.

ming-an (207-011) ‘1. thousand, 2. a military unit’, K106, Chin 1. *qian* 千, 2. ChT *meng an* 猛安 C418, **ming-ad** (207-099) ‘thousand, plural, the name of a unit’, Chin *qian* 千 C418 (Yu 43, 53, Hong 25).

Ming (207) Mencius see **Ku-ung Ming-an** (178-345 207-011) ‘Confucius and Mencius, genitive’, ChinE *kong meng zhi* 孔孟之 C412.

Ming-ad see **ming-an.**

Ming-eu-ud-en (207-067-344-140) ‘Minggud, plural, genitive’, ChinE gloss: *meng gu zhi* 萌 骨之 **L**21 also **Ming-u-ud-en,** in: **Ming-u-ud-en nai-d** (Yu54-28). Not Mongol, see **L**21.

mod (043) ‘evil’, Chin *e* 恶 C371 reading uncertain, see ?Mong *magu*, Dag *moo* (M192), *mō* (M-K121) see CWJ 170-071 based on the plural of *magun* in the SH and *mawut, magutan*,

mod-i (043-339) ‘evil’, Chin *e* 恶 C371,

mod-u ku-û-un (043-131 178-372-273) ‘evil people, genitive’, Chin *e ren zhi* 恶人之 C371,

mod-a-án ui (043-189-290 262) ‘evil thing’, Chin *e shi* 恶事 C371,

mod-a-án-en (043-189-290-140) ‘evil thing, genitive’, Chin *e* 恶 C371.

Mod-i a-ar-en * (043-339 189-123-140) ‘clan name, genitive’ is the name of one of the five nations (*wu guo*) identified by CWJ (376) with *pou a li zhi* 剖阿里之. Their territory in the northen part of the present Kirin was famous for its falcons (WF92). They became subordinate under Shenzong, but remained semi-independent[2].

MONTH (081) see **särä L**13 Chin *yue* 月.

mor (185) ‘river’, PU, Chin *he* 河 C414, see Mong *mören* ‘large river or lake’, Dag *mure* ‘river’ (M192), *muruŋ* ‘river’ (Ts23),

mor-en ú (185-140 245) ‘water of the river’, Chin *he zhi shui* 河之水 C414.

MR (170) a logoglyph for ‘mister’, 16x,

MR-an (170-011), 6x,

MR-ai (170-122), 3x,

MR-ar (170-123), 4x,

MR-al-ha-a-án (170-095-051-189-290), 3x, (Hui25-22).

MRS (192) a logograph for ‘mistress’, K105, C416, genitive **MRS-en** (192-140), 1x, **MRS-ñ** (192-222), 4x, **MRS-i** (192-339), 3x, dative-locative **MRS-de** (192-205), 1x, ablative-prolative **MRS-de-i** (192-205-339),

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[2] The second part cannot be Mong. *aran*, which is *haran* in MMo.

MRS eme 龙 百 (192 021) ‘wife’, Chin *qi* 妻, C416,

MRS eme deu 龙 百 为 (Yu65-21) glossed as *qi di* 妻弟 on CWJ 1078, they are the sister wives.

mu-én bod 伕当 国 (224-361 309) ‘remains’, Chin *yi ti* 遗体 C422.

Mu-l-g 伕朩九 (224-261-334) ‘Taizong, throne name of Abaoji (939-947)’, ChinE *taizong* 太宗,

Mu-l-g-en 伕朩九有 (224-261-334-140), genitive,

Mu-l-g hong-di 伕朩九 主王 (224-261-334 075-037) ‘the Emperor Taizong’, Chin *taizong* 太宗.

mu-or-o 伕北及 (224-076-186) ‘a calendric term, snake’, K118, Chin *si* 巳, **L**22, earlier 北 (076) was read <ho>, ? to Mong *mogai* ‘snake, serpent’, Dag *mɔɣ*^{w} (E202). or Jurchen *muduri*’ ‘dragon’ Kane 1989 199, 215, see **18.4.2**,

mu-or-o po-de 伕北及非矢 (224-076-186 279-205) ‘in the *si* period, in the snake time’, Chin *sishiyu* 巳时于.

mu-u-ji 伕叐羽 (224-131-152) ‘sacred, great, holy (of an Emperor etc.), K114, also

mu$_2$-u-ji 仕叐羽 (223-131-152), Chin *sheng* 圣 C422, **L**18,

mu-u-ji-en 伕叐羽有 (224-131-152-140) ‘holy, genitive’, Chin *sheng zhi* 圣之 C422,

mu-u-ji$_3$-en 伕叐礿有 (224-131-337-140) ‘holy, genitive’, Chin *sheng zhi* 圣之 C422,

mu-u-ji HEAVEN as-ar 伕叐羽 关 冬丰 (224-131-152 243 174-123) ‘according to the will of the holy Heaven, the Qingning period (1055-1065)’, Chin *sheng qing ning* 圣清宁 **L**18,

un$_2$-n mu$_2$-u-ji$_3$-en ishi tau-de ‘at the enthroning of the present sacred (Emperor)’, Chin *jinzhi jiuwuyu* 今之 九五于,

hu$_2$-ó-ur$_2$-bun mu$_2$-u$_2$-ji 亜井化中 仕叐羽 (014-090-236-288 223-131-152) ‘holy, benevolent master, sage’ Chin *rensheng* 仁圣, C360 仕 (223) = 伕 (224) <mu>.

mû 半 (358) ‘tomb, grave, mausoleum’, ChinE *mu* 墓, YCh *mu*, LMCh *muǎ*, plural **mú-s$_2$**,

ñ-qó-l$_2$ mú-s$_2$ t-em$_2$-y-l-g 伏欠子 行岁 几卡 令金百朩九 (Han33),

mû jïh 半 亐 (358 098.1) ‘grave inscription, epitaph’, also **mu shï** 半兆 (358-180), ChinE *mu zhi* 墓志 C482,

mû jïh COMPOSE-l-ha-ai 半 亐 冈朩走丰 ‘was composing the grave inscription’ (Tu18).

m(u)1 叉 (133) ‘tomb’, ChinE *mu* 墓 C393, YCh *mu*, LMCh *muǎ* see above,

m(u)2 叉 (133)‘tree, wood’, ChinE *mu* 木 C393, YCh *mu*, LMCh *məwk.*

NG

Ng-i-i S-ung hong-di 发关关 仐岦 圭王 ‘the Emperor Yizong’, ChinE *yizong huang di* 义(=義) 宗皇帝 YCh *ji,* LMCh *ŋi,* Ych *tsuŋ* , LMCh *tsəwŋ* C453.

ng-i tu-ung$_2$ s-a-am sï 发关 为太 仐为乃 廿 (264-339 202-106 244-189-184 083) ‘a title’, ChinE *yi tong san si* 仪(=義)同三司, YCh *ji,* LMCh *ŋi,* YCh *tʰuŋ,* LMCh *tɦəwŋ,* C453, Hucker No 3024 “Unequaled in Honor”.

ng-iau-u-un GREAT sh-ün-en ci-i-shi-d-b-ñ 发丂叒火 又 乂亦礻 朩关丟公丹伏 (264-362-131-273 373 028-329-140 162-339-033-254-311-222) ‘Yao’s respect and Shun’s filial piety’, ChinE *yao zhi zun shun zhi xiao* 尧之尊舜之孝 YCh *jɛw,* LMCh *ŋiaw*, YCh *tsun*, LMCh *tsun* YCh *ʂyn,* LMCh *ʂyn* YCh *xjaw,* LMCh *xja:w* C453, instead of GREAT 又 (373) perhaps **û** 只 (372), see there. hybrid, Khitan genitive, 2x.

ng-in s-ing cau-úng lu-uh da$_3$-ai pu 发雨 仐同 芮岦 爻夂 六屮 分 (264-018 244-303 022-357 208-172 214-122 241) ‘a title’, ChinE *yin qing chong lu dai fu* 银(=銀) 青崇禄大夫 YCh *jin,* LMCh *ŋin*, YCh *tsʰiŋ,* LMCh *tsʰiajŋ*, YCh *tʂʰuŋ*, LMCh *tʂʰəwŋ* YCh *lu*, LMCh *ləwk* YCh *taj*, LMCh *tɦaj*, YCh *fu,* LMCh *fjyə/fuə* C452, Hucker 7981 “Grand Master of Glorious Happiness with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon”.

ng-iú ku-ung$_2$ 发火 几太 (264-289 178-106) ‘five (famous) ministers (of history)’, ChinE *wu gong* 五公 YCh *u*, LMCh *ŋuə̌,* YCh *kuŋ,* LMCh *kəwŋ* C453, **L**24.

ng-iú üe-ên t-ung z-in 发火 夾夻 令尜 伞雨 (264-289 082-073 247-345 258-018) ‘a title’, ChinE *yu yuan tong jin* 御院通进 YCh *y,* LMC *ŋiă/ŋyă*,YCh *ɥɛn,* LMCh *yan*, YCh *tʰuŋ,* LMCh *tʰəwŋ* C453, Hucker No 8214 CHIN: “Ceremonial Receptionist”.

ng-iú-ku$_3$ t-ie-ên-en 发火非 令文夻礻 (264-289-282 247-327-073-140) ‘imperial palace, genitive’, ChinE *yu dian zhi* 御殿之 C453, hybrid, Chinese+Khitan genitive **ng-iú 发火** is the transcription of Chinese *yu* 御 YCh *y*, LMCh *ŋiă/ŋyă* Khitan **t-ie-ên** is the transcription of Chinese *dian* 殿, YCh *tjɛn*, LMCh *tian* **ku$_3$ 非** is a Khitan suffix, and **-en 礻** is the suffix of the genitive case.

Ng-ui°-en po-do 发尜礻 非朱 (264-263-140 279-217) ‘in the time of the Wei, hybrid, Khitan genitive’, ChinE *wei zhi shi zhi* 魏之时 (=時) 之, YCh *uj,* LMCh *ŋyj,* YCh *ʂr̩,* LMCh *ʂhi* C453.

ng-üe-ên sh-oi$_2$ pu 发夾夻 乂太 分 (264-082-073 028-107 241) ‘administration/office of Marshal’, ChinE *yuan shuai fu* 元帅 (=帥) 府 YCh *ɥɛn*, LMCh *ŋyan,* YCh *ʂwaj,* LMCh, *ʂuj,* YCh *fu,* LMCh *fjyə̌/fuə̌* C452, Hucker No 8245 “Headquarters of a Marshal”.

ng-ü-n p-i 发仹公 业关 (264-226-251 295-339) ‘the first, principal consort/concubine, ChinE *yuan fei* 元妃, YCh *ɥɛn*, LMCh *ŋyan,* YCh *fi,* LMCh *fjyj/fji* C453, Hucker No 8224, also **ng-üe-n p-i-in 发夾公 业关雨** (264-082-251 295-339-018) ‘the first, principal consort/concubine, genitive’, Chin *yuan fei zhi* 元妃之 C453.

N

n-a-án 公为出 (251-189-290) ‘will, predestination’ only once (Qing18-36), no gloss,

HEAVEN neu-e$_2$ n-a-án 关 穴夯 公为出 ‘by the will of Heaven and Earth (she died)’.

n-ad 公亣 (251-099) ‘imperial court’, Chin *chaoting* 朝廷, C444.

n-ad-bud 公亣夘 (251-099-176), K108, also **n-ad-bod** 公亣田 (251-099-309), 25x, **n-ad-(a)bu-ad** 公亣生亣 (251-099-196-099), 2x, ‘(royal, imperial) camp, settlement, travelling palace, “*nabo*”’, also ‘royal clan, ancestral shrine of a large clan’, ChinT *nabo* 捺钵 C 444, Chin *zongshi* 宗室 see also WF Index 729. Another Chinese transcription is *na bao* 納寶. The first part of the Khitan expression is **n-ad**, and has to have the meaning ‘imperial, pertaining to the ruling clan’ or the like. The reading of the second glyph 夘 is secured by different readings, see below **bud = bu-ad, bu-d**. The second part has to mean ‘moving camp, moving palace’ etc. another expression for *ordu*. See Pursey 2019, 2019a, see also **bud** above,

n-ad-bud-en 公亣夘有 (251-099-176-140), genitive, 9x,

n-ad-(a)bu-ad-i 公亣生亣关 (251-099-196-099-339), 1x, genitive, Chin *nabozhi* 捺钵之 C444,

n-ad-(a)bu-d-i 公亣生坌关 (251-099-196-254-339), 1x ablative-prolative Chin *naboyu* 捺钵于 C444,

n-ad-bod-ô 公亣田仌 (251-099-309-252), 1x, dative-locative, **(bod-dô>bod-ô)**,

abu ai y-ar-u-ud-i n-ad-bud-en t-ad-o-or qa g-ing s-úng hong-di 生 丰 丙冇叐火关 公亣夘有 今亣及北 巫 九用 仐当 / 主王 (Guang3),

‘Emperor Jingzong the fifth kan of the clan of the grandfather Yaruud’,

Chin *zufu yelüzhi zongshizhi diwu han jing song huangdi* 组父 耶律之 宗室之第五 汗 景宗 皇帝.

n-ai-* 公丰 (251-122), see also **n-ai-ri** 公丰化 (251-122-235), see Mong *nai* ‘friendship’, *nair* ‘accord, harmony, concord, etc.’, *naira-* ‘to be in harmony’, *nairal, nairam* ‘harmony’, not in Dag, see Nugteren, 2011, 451. The Khitan basic form was **nair-*** and the /r/ disappeared before consonants,

n-ai-ci-* 公丰朩 (251-122-162), K99, **n-ai-j-*** 公丰支 (251-122-104), **n-ai-jï** 公丰友 (251-122-087), 3x, ‘harmony, concord, harmonious, amicable, friendly’, Chin *hemu* 和睦,

ol nai hor-u ku-û-un /6/ **n-ai-jï a-ai** (Xiang6) ‘all leaders and the black people were in harmony (whom to elect the next ruler)’,

n-ai-ci-én 公丰朩当 (251-122-162-361) ‘had been harmonious’,

n-ai-ci-én$_2$ 公丰朩 与 (251-122-162-100),

n-ai-ci-én$_2$-er (251-122-162-100-341) ‘friendship, fellowship’, Chin *youyi* 友谊 C444,

n-ai-ci-ñ (251-122-162-222),

n-ai-ci-un$_2$ (251-122-162-144),

n-ai-ci-er (251-122-162-341) ‘(to be in) harmony, in accord’, 20x, Chin *he hao* 和好. C444,

n-ai-ci-l-ci (251-122-162-261-261) ‘harmony’, Chin *hemu* 和睦, C444,

n-ai-ci-l-hu (251-122-162-261-151) ‘harmony’, Chin *hemu* 和睦, C444,

n-ai-j-én (251-122-104-361) also **n-ai-j-en$_2$** (251-122-104-100), ‘harmony’, Chin *hemu* 和睦, see **n-ai-ci-én** (251-122-162-361).

n-ai-l-ha-* (251-122-261-051),

n-ai-al-l-ha-ai (251-122-098-261-051-122), ‘friendship, fellowship’ Chin *he hao* 和好, C444 Yu66,

n-ai-l-ha-ar (251-122-261-051-123), 2x,

n-ai-l-ha-a-án (251-122-261-051-189-290) 1x.

n-ai-ri-* (251-122-235),

n-ai-ri-en$_2$ (251-122-235-100), also **n-ai-j-en$_2$** (251-122-104-100), ‘harmony’ Chin *hemu* 和睦, C444,

n-ai-ri-ha-a-án po-do (251-122-235-051-189-290 279-217), ‘in auspicious time’, Chin *jishi* 吉时 C444, also **n-ai-ri-ha-án po** (251-122-235-051-290), (Xiang45-5), **n-ai-ri-ha-a-án po** (Chao17), **n-ai-ri-ha-a-án po-or** (251-122-235-051-189-290 279-076) (Hui21), **n-ai-ri-ha-a-án s-én$_2$ po** (Dao35), **n-ai-ri-ha-a-án när** ‘auspicious day’ (Ren17, Qing19),

n-ai-ri-ha-a-ar po-or (251-122-235-051-189-290 279-123) ‘(in) auspicious time’, 2x, C444, also **n-ai-ri-ha-ar** (251-122-235-051-123), **n-ai-ri-a-ha-ar** (251-122-235-189-051-123), 1x,

n-ai-ri-ha-ar (251-122-253-051-123) (Nan5-26, Tu14-1),

n-ai-ri-ha-ar rí-er (Xing10-9), no gloss,

n-ai-ri-hu-as (251-122-235-151) ‘harmonious’, no gloss,

n-ai-ri-ha-ai t-em$_2$-er ‘gave in harmony, graceful’ (Dao24).

n-am-úr (251-184-097) ‘autumn, fall’, Chin *qiu* 秋, **L**17, **L**21 K84, Mong *namur* ‘autumn, fall’, Dah *namare* ‘autumn, fall’ (M194), *namar* ‘Herbst’ (M-K123).

n-ar$_2$ (251-084) ‘tomb’, K96, Chin *mu* 墓 C443, dative-locative **n-ar$_2$-de** (251-084-205) Chin *mu yu* 墓于 C443 **L**1,

n-ar$_2$-en ñ-qó-l$_2$ (251-084-140 222-169-149) ‘tomb cave, grave’, Chin *mu xue* 墓穴 C443.

n-em$_2$ (251-257) ‘eight’, also **ñ-ie-ém** (222-327-270) see **nem** and **12.3** NUMERALS.

n-em$_2$-d-en (251-257-254-140) ‘relative, blood relation, plural, genitive’, also **n-em$_2$-d-ñ** (251-257-254-222), Chin *qin* 亲 C445, ??? to Mong *neme-* ‘to add, supplement, increase’, Dag *neme-* ‘to add’ (M197), *neme-* ‘zugeben’ (M-L124).

n-hu-rí ‘?’, (Yu20) in:

ma-ha-as n-hu-rí RECORD-ge-d (Yu21).

n-i-gu1 (251-339-165) 37x, ‘1. Jurchen, 2. gold’, also **n-i-gu$_2$** (251-339-165.1), 4x, Chin *nüzhen* 女真 YCh *ny*, LMCh *nriə̆/nryə̆,* YCh *tʂin*, LMCh *tʂin,* 2. *jin* 金 ‘gold, golden’, C445, ChinT *nü gu* 女古 YCh *ny*, LMCh *nriə̆/nryə̆,* YCh *ku*, LMCh *kuə̆*, C446, see the logoglyph **GOLD** (285), see **12.3** NUMERALS, see also ChinT *Nugu woludu* 女古斡魯朵, ‘the golden ordu’ with breaking. Perhaps also Manchu *Nikan* ‘China’. Plural **n-i-gu-d** (251-339-165-254), 1x,

n-i-gu-hu (251-339-165-151) ‘Jurchen’, ChinE *nü gu* 女古 C445, **n-i-gu g-úr-de rí-l-ha-a-án or-a-an** ‘after being born in the country of the Jurchen’ (Zhen12-27).

n-i-gu2 (251-339-165) ‘female ancestor’, ChinE *nü gu* 女古, **L**9, C445, also Hu22, CWJ 1573.

N-i-ing üe-ên da-ai z-iang g-ün (251-339-303 082-073 171-122 258-314 334-339) ‘Ning yuan great general’, ChinE *ning yuan da jiang jun* 宁远大将军 C446.

n-iuk-úr (251-138-097), 24x, also **n-iuk-ur$_2$** (251-138-236), 4x, ‘friend, associate, attendant, retinue’, Chin *you* 友, *shicong* 侍从, C445, see Mong *nökür* ‘friend, associate, husband’, Dag *nuġur* (DagE 63, see Nugteren 463), Jur *nekur* ‘friend’ (Kiyose 115), Ma *neku* ‘a woman’s female friend, sworn sister’, genitive **n-iuk-úr-en** (251-138-097-140),

n-iuk-úr eme (251-138-097 021) ‘wife’ (Guang23, Nan8), no gloss, plural **n-iuk-úr eme-t** (Chao26).

n-iú (251-289) ‘woman, female, daughter, young girl’, 11x, ChinE *nü* 女 CWJ1277 with ?, YCh *ny,* LMCh *nriə̆/nryə̆,*

n-iú aú-ui (251-189 210-262) ‘a term of female relationship’ Chin *nü niangzi* 女 娘子 Tu6, also in: Xu45 and Xiang20, the Chin is only a word-by-word translation.

n-m-gu$_2$ (251-133-165.1) ‘thin’, Chin *bo* 薄 C444, also **n-m-g** (251-133-334) ‘thin’, Chin *bo* 薄 C444, see Mong *nimegen, nimgen* ‘thin, shallow’ Dah *ningen* ‘thin and flat (like paper)’ (M199), *niŋgen* ‘dünn’ (M-K 124).

n-o 公及 (251-186) ‘spouse’, also **n-ô** 公 仌 (251-252), K119**, L**22, Chin *pei ou* 配偶, ??? to Chinese *nü* 女, YCh *ny,* LMCh *nriǎ,* genitive **n-o-ón** 公及内 (251-186-322) plural **n-ô-od** 公仌币 (251-252-016), see Zhi14, Chin *pei ou* 配偶[1],
sui-én n-o 佃当 公及 (Gu7), ‘birth spouse’ Chin *sheng pei ou* 生配偶,
ñ-qó-du$_2$ t-ge$_2$-e$_2$-ci n-ô-od-en n-ar 伏欠闲 令夵夯朩 公仌币冇 公乍 ‘to the cave, the tomb of the deceased spouses’, Chin *xue gu pei ou mu* 穴 故 配偶 墓 CWJ 1219.

N-o G-e$_2$ 公及 九夯 (251-186 334-109) ‘a person’s name’, ChT *na ge* 那哥 C445.

n-o-l$_2$-ha-ai 公及子圡半 (251-186-149-051-122), 2x,
s-om-de n-o-l$_2$-ha-ai 仐尢矢 公及子圡半 (244-092-205 251-186-149-051-122) Chin *nu yu zhong* 弩于中 C431 ‘to ? in the middle of the *som* (arrow, as the name of an administrative unit, Mong *sumun* ‘administrative unit)’, the Chin (hit into arrow) is a misunderstanding (DiX7, Hu5-9),
ng-l$_2$ ng-ia-an n-o-oi$_2$-l-ha-a-ar 叉 尖子 尖才买 公及夵屮圡为半 ‘?’, (Xian25),
B-ie-ên-de h-ui-ci or-a ci-ar ol m-g-s-d-er n-o-oi$_2$-l-ha-a-án 丹文寿矢 㐅火朩 北为 朩半 达 又九仐仝㕣 公及夵屮圡为出 (311-327-073-205 340-262-162).

n-on 公不 (251-154) ‘1. dynasty, 2. generation, age, era’, K99, also **n-ô-on** 公仌不 (251-252-154), 5x, **n-o-on** 公及不 (251-186-154), 3x, **n-o-ón** 公及内 (251-186-322), 2x, Chin *dai* 代 C445, ? to Mong *nigun, nugun* ‘boy, son’, Dah *non* ‘boy, child’ (M200), *non, noń* ‘Knabe’ (M-K125), **L**13, **L**22, genitive **n-on-en** 公不冇 (251-154-140) ‘1. dynasty, 2. generation, genitive’, 16x, Chin *dai zhi* 代之 C445, dative-locative **n-on-de** 公不矢 (251-154-205) ‘1. dynasty, 2. generation, dative-locative’, 14x, Chin *dai yu* 代于 C445, plural **n-on-s** 公不仐 (251-154-244), 20x,
n-ô-on b-hu-án 公仌不 丹列出 (251-252-154 311-151-290) ‘boy’, Chin *nan hai zi* 男孩子 C445,
b-qo n-ô-on p-úr-s iu 丹为 公仌不 业夾仐 丙 ‘had no children, descendants whomever’ (Yong21),
or-a n-on 北为 公不 (076-189 251-154) ‘posterity, offspring, earlier generation’, Chin *hou dai* 后代 C384,
tum n-on-de ‘during everlasting generations, Chin *wan daiyu* 万代于 CWJ 1201.

n-ô-in** 公仌雨 (251-252-018) ‘spouse’, Chin *pei ou* 配偶 C445, correctly **n-ô-od** 公仌币 (251-252-016) in: Zhi14.

n-ô-od 公仌币 (251-252-016) ‘spouse’, Chin *pei ou* 配偶 C445, CWJ1219, plural?

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[1] **n-ô-in**** 公仌雨 (251-252-018) ‘spouse’, Chin *pei ou* 配偶 C445 is an error.

N-qó-a 公欠为 (251-169-189) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *nu gua* 奴瓜 Han14 C445 to ‘dog’ as name see Turk *Noqai, Nogai,* see **ñ-qo** 伏力 (222-168).

n-qu-l$_2$-a 公余子为 (251-246-149-189) ‘beautiful, good’, Chin *mei* 美, in: **G-ing har$_3$-en n-qu-l$_2$-a g-u** 九同 尿有 公余子为 九及 (334-303 006-140 251-246-149-189 334-131) ‘the beautiful gem (jade) of mountain Jing’, Chin *jing shan zhi mei yu* 荆山之美玉 C475.

N-u 公及 (251-131), a frequent part of a personal name, 87x, ChinE *nu* 奴, **L6,** though Chinese *nu* has the meaning ‘slave, bondsman’ it occurs in the name of the leading elit as in Ye-lü Nu 耶律奴, see WF 265 and n, 596. It is used as a clan name, and it has a feminine counterpart **N-ui**, see **13.4**, see **Pu S-a N-u** male form (Jue5) and **Pu s-a N-iú** (*aú-ui*) female form (Tu5). Influenced by Turk *kul* ‘slave’ frequent in names “servant of God”.

n-ui sh-iáng-en 公火 叉並有 (251-262 028-062-140) ‘inner division, genitive’, ChinE *nei sheng zhi* 内省之 C445.

na1 力 (139) ‘early’ Chin *zao* 早 CWJ1196,

YOUNG-qú na iu 兮夹 力 丙 (248-116 139 019 ‘the young (daughter), died early, premature’ (Nu21-15) Chin *shao zao cu* 少早卒 CWJ 1196,

b-qo na iu ‘the child died early’ (Xu45),

na iu 力丙 (139 019) ‘early, premature death’ (Xu45), CWJ has no gloss for **na**, 19x, for **iu** it has *zu* 卒,

See **12.6** ADVERBS.

na2 力 (139) ‘accept, admit, offer’ CWJ903, ChinE *na* 纳 (=納) YCh *na,* LMCh *nap.*

na-al-hu 力与列 (139-098-151), ‘to gather, to collect’, 15x, no gloss (Xiang33),

qita-i ci-iau-qú-i us$_2$-g h-ib na al-a-ar ‘the Khitan and Chinese literature is all collected’ (Zhong7),

na-al-ha-ai (139-098-151), 5x.

na-as1* 力冬 (139-174) ‘remarry, to continue the marriage (with sbdy else), second marriage’, also **na-aju** 力女 ‘to marry second time (after the first wife did not have a child)’ (Yong20-8), see **na-sär** 力女 (339-081),

na-as-l-un$_2$ 力冬业叉 (139-174-261-144) ‘remarry’, past tense Chin *xuhun* 续婚 C399,

na-as-b-ñ1 力冬舟伏 (139-174-311-222) ‘remarry’, past tense Chin *xuhun* 续婚 C399,

na-as-s-li$_2$ ‘from the second marriage, plural’ 力冬仐北 (139-174-244-080),

na-as-s-li$_2$ sui-e-ci b-hu-án ‘children born from the second marriage’ (Yong15).

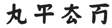
na-as2* 力冬 (139-174) ‘to rest, rest in peace, to be buried’, also **nas-*** 丸 (193),

na-as-b-ñ 力冬舟伏 (139-174-311-222) ‘rest’, *anxi* 安息 C399,

na-as-b-ñ n-ar$_2$ ~ 公布 (251-084) ‘restplace, tomb’, Chin *ximu* 息墓 C399,

na-as-ha-án 力冬亚出 (139-174-051-290) ‘to rest in peace’, Chin *anxi* 安息,

na-as-ha-a-án dor (139-174-051-290-218) ‘the ceremony to bury together’ Ch *fuli* 祔礼 (Zhi22) C399,

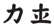
tou(=nas)-ul-ge$_2$-y  (191 (=183)-366-112-020) ‘was burying, put in peace’ (Qing23), no gloss,

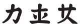
na-as2-ad ja-al-ha-ai (139-174-099 150-098-051-122) = **nas-ad ja-al-ha-ai** (193-099 150-098-051-122) ‘was resting forever’ (Hu34-8),

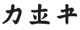
nas-ad sui-il-g-en ‘die and be born’ (Qing25),

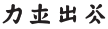
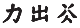
HEAVEN ku-û-un nas-ad p-od-i rí-i sui-én (Ren24),

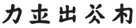
h-n t-iu-ir nas-ad-i rí-i (Ren23) only rí-i is glosed by **ci** 赐 ‘gift, grant’.

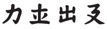
na-ha-*  (139-051) ‘this side, the maternal side’, see Mong **naga* ‘this side’, *nagadu,* etc. *nagaču* maternal uncle’, Dag *naa.ši* ‘ towards here, hither, *nauci* ‘younger brother or sister of the mother’s side, aunt’, *naucoo* ‘younger brother or sister of one’s own mother’ (M194, 195), *nakču* ‘Onkel mütterlichseits’ (M-K123), see the year 935 in LS, record of two former tents—the the lineage of the empress dowager’s father and the lineage of the mother’s former husband—were made the Imperial Maternal Uncles, WF254, see also Jur *nakaču* ‘maternal uncle’ (Kane 271), Ma *nakču.*

na-ha-aju  (139-051-082.1) ‘maternal uncle’, Chin *jiu* 舅 C398,

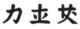
na-ha-ai  (139-051-122) ‘maternal uncle’, Chin *jiu* 舅, *jiufu* 舅父 or Chin *wengzhang* 翁帳,

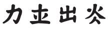
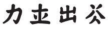
na-ha-án-er  (139-051-290-341) ‘maternal uncles’, K106, plural, also **na-án-er**  (139-051-290) ‘maternal uncles’, Chin *jiu* 舅 C399,

na-ha-án-er-en  (139-051-290-341-140) ‘maternal uncles, plural, genitive’ **L**4, **L**7, **L**12,

na-ha-án-un$_2$  (139-051-290-144) genitive, 5x,

g-úr-en na-ha-an-un$_2$ ‘the maternal uncles of the state’, Chin *guo zhi jiu* 国之舅 (Hu2) CWJ 1498,

na-ha-üe**  (139-051-082), mistake, occurs only once in Di19-9.[2,]

na-ha-án-oi**  (139-051-290-347) (Han8-26, Xiang16-15) is a miswriting instead of **na-ha-án-er**  (139-051-290-341) this type of miswriting is frequent in the inscriptions.

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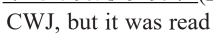
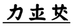
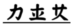
[2] Though (082) was read as <üe> = <ü$_2$> and (82.1) as <aju> the two glyphs are distinguished only by a dot. The form occurs only once and in the expression <210.ui na-ha-ü$_2$ s-abu-ha-ar> (Di 19-9)  (210-262 139-051-082 196-051-123). The glyph (210) has no reading in CWJ, but it was read as <aú> by K and WJ and that is the correct reading. <aú-ui> is a respectful term of the mother (*niang zi* 娘子) and <na-ha-ü$_2$> has to be Chin *guo jiu* 國舅 ‘the Emperor’s maternal uncle or brother-in-law’, <aú-ui na-ha-ü$_2$> is the uncle on the maternal side of the grandmother. Sabuhaar is a name, Chin *Sabali* 撒八里. MCh *sat-pa:t-li.* This means that  (139-051-082) is a dotted variant of NAHAAJU  (139-051-082.1), and has the dot, because Sabuhaar is a male person. (NAHAAI)

na-ha-a-al 力圡为亐 (139-051-189-098) occurs once in (Zhong3-30), not in C and has to be a verb in <*nem ishi ai-s na-ha-a-al*> 'eight-nine years ?????>'? when he came near to his 8-9 years'? needs further investigation, see also: **na-ha-ai** in: *na-ha-ai YOUNG-qú eu-úr-de* 'she was yet in her childhood'? (Zhi12).

na-sär 力艾** (139-081) 'to remarry, to continue the marriage (with sbdy else)' *xuhun* 续婚 C398 error for **na-aju 力艾** (139-082.1).

na$_2$**-l-ge**$_2$**-y** see the next item.

na$_2$**-li**$_2$**-* 罗北** (318-080), 1x (Liang10-57),

na$_2$**-li**$_2$**-ge**$_2$**-y 罗北夵丙** (318-080-112-020), 'was defeating, destroying, was exterminating, to pacify, overcome, recover', also **na**$_2$**-li**$_2$**-ge-y** (318-080-349-020), 2x, Chin *mie* 灭 **L**19,

s-em$_2$**-li**$_2$ **ul**$_2$ **na**$_2$**-l-ge**$_2$**-y 仐金北 沙 罗屮夵丙** 'became ill and did not recover' (DiX23).

nai 穴 (332) 'head, leader, first, commander', K101,109, Chin *guan* 官, **L**13, **L**14, Liaoshi *nai* 耐, 'head' *shou* 首, plural **nai-d** (332-254) (Yu46),

nai-en 穴冇 (332-140) 'head, leader, first, commander, genitive', Chin *guanzhi* 官之, **L**17,

nai-en p-m 'rank of head, leader' *guanzhi pin* 官之品, CWJ959,

nai-do 穴朱 (332-217) 'head, leader, first, commander, locative', Chin *guanyu* 官于, **L**26,

nai-en g-350-er RECORD-g 穴冇 九尘癸 圡九 (332-140 334-350-341 152-334) 'Record of the Main Annals' (?), **L**17,

nai-l-ha-* 穴屮圡 (332-261-051) 'to head, to lead' no gloss, in,

nai-l-ha-ar 穴屮圡丰 (332-261-051-123) only once in Dao28-19,

ol nai hor-u ku-û-un 'all the leaders and the people of the…'.

naim** see **nem.**

nas 丸 (193) see **na-as2 力冬** (139-174).

nas-ad ja-al-ha-ai (193-099 150-098-051-122) = **na-as2-ad ja-al-ha-ai** (139-174-099 150-098-051-122).

nas-ad sui-il-g-en = na-as2 sui-il-g-en.

nas eme 丸 丙 (193 021), 'wife, a girl given in marriage' Chin *qi*, 妻, C416. see **na-as1.**

Nas-én-ñ 丸与伏 (193-361-222), 'a female name', ChinT *nasi* 拏思, **L**3.

när 夬 'day'(159), Chin *ri* 日 C403, **L**2, **L**13, earlier **DAY,** see Mong *nara(n)* 'sun', Dag *nare* 'sun' (M194), *nar* 'Sonne' (M-K123) formed after the Chinese where *ri* is 'sun' and 'day', ChT Liaoshi *nieyier* 捏咿兒 'day (K52, WF 269) ' under the semantic influence of Chinese *ri* 日, which has both meanings 'day' and 'sun'. Less probable **neyir* <**ene* **(e)dür*, also **näroi** (159-347=?? **när-er**) C404, Mongolic has *edür~üdür* 'day', Nugteren 538-539, Dag *udure* 'day' (M230), *udur* 'Tag' (M-K140), genitive **när-en 夬冇** (159-140) Chin *ri zhi* 日之 C403 **när-i** (159-339), **L**2, **När-ñ** (159-222) Chin *ri* 日 C404, dative-locative' **när-de** (159-205), Chin *ri yu* 日于 C403, plural **när-ñ-er** (159-222-341),

när-en s-uni (159-140 244-059) 'day and night, through the whole day', **L**2n,

när-i ui (159-339 262) 'daily matter, the duties of the day', Chin *ri zhi shi* 日之事 C404,

när-ia-án (159-335-290) 'to spend the day' (**L**2n, Song15-16).

nem (007) 'eight', also **n-em**$_2$ (251-257), **ñ-ie-ém** (222-327-270) Chin *ba* 八, **L4, L** 13, see **12.3** NUMERALS, C359,

nem-ri-er (007-235-341) 'eighth, masc.', see **12.3** NUMERALS, Chin *diba* 第八, **L**9, **L**13,

ñ-ie-ém ci-iá-qo (222-327-270 162-274-168) 'eight Chinese feet', Chin *ba chi* 八尺 C421.

neu-e (331-348) 'earth', 24x, K94, also **neu-e**$_2$ (331-109) C471, see the details in Róna-Tas 2020, also Peng 2023,

neu-e ETERNAL (331-348 063) 'the everlasting earth', Chin *di jiu* 地久 C471,

neu-e eme (331-348 021) 'Earth Mother, the empress', Chin *huang hou* 皇后 C471,

neu-e eme-n (331-348 021-251) 'empress, genitive', Chin *ne wo me zhi* 耨斡么之 C471,

neu-e e$_4$**-g-n** (331-348 066-334-251) 'earth mother, genitive', 7x, Chin *di mu zhi* 地母之 C471, K94, Peng Daruhan 2023 656 e4 = ə.

NORTH see **hoi-.**

Ñ

ñ (222) ‘(courtesy) name’ Chin *zi* 字, CWJ 1243 or ? for **ñ-e$_2$** (222-109) ‘other’, Chin *bie* 别 C420, or is it a deictic particle as Mong *inu*? **L** 13, see 12.2.2.

Ñ-ar (222-123) ‘a name’, Chin *nie li* 捏里 C420.

Ñ-ar-ñ (222-123-222) ‘a name’, ChinT *nie lin* 捏邻 C421.

Ñ-ar-qó-ñ (222-123-169-222) ‘a name’, ChinT *nie li gun* 涅里衮, **L**11 C421.

ñ-e (222-348) ‘other’, also **ñ-e$_2$** (222-109), Chin *bie* 别 C421.

ñ-en (222-140) ‘peaceful??, burial?’, Chin *ning* 宁 **L**1.

ñ-iau (222-362) ‘sibling(s)’, K116, Chin *xiong di (zi mei)* 兄弟 (姊妹）C421, see Mong *nigun, nugun* ‘boy, son’, Dah *non, noń* ‘Knabe’, *non kȯk* ‘Knabe’ (M-K125) < *nogun*, cf. SHM *no’un,*

ñ-iau-ñ-un$_2$ (222-362-222-144) ‘siblings’, Chin *tong bao xiong di (zi mei)* 同胞兄弟 (姊妹）C421,

ñ-iau-ñ-t (222-362-222-247) ‘brothers’, 1x, Chin *xiong di* 兄弟 C421,

ñ-iau-ui (222-362-262) ‘younger sister’, Chin *mei* 妹 C422,

ñ-iau-ui° b-qo (222-362-263 311-168) ‘niece’, Chin *zhi nü* 侄女 C422, ‘younger brother’ Chin *xiong di* 兄弟 CWJ1444,

ñ-iau-ñ-er (222-362-222-341) ‘siblings, sisters and brothers, a plural’, Chin *zi mei xiong di* 姊妹, 兄弟 C422 (Zhi11),

ñ-iau-i (222-362-339) ‘brother’, Chin *xiong di* 兄弟 C422, CWJ 1444.

ñ-ie-ém ci-iá-qo (222-327-270 162-274-168) ‘eight Chinese feet’, Chin *ba chi* 八尺 C421 to **nem** < ***naim** ‘eight’, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

ñ-l-û-ui (222-261-372-341) ‘was starting (opening)’, Chin *qi* (*qai*) 启开, CWJ 421, **L**13, ? cf. Mong *nege(ge)-* ‘to open’, Dah *nee-* ‘to open (it)’ (M196), *ne-* ‘öffnen’ (M-K123),

ñ-l-û-er see **HEAVEN ñ-l-û-er,**

m-in ñ-l-û-ui ‘the tomb was opened’ (Xiang 33),

n-ar ñ-l-û-ui o-l$_2$-ha-‘the tomb was opened’ (Zhi22).

Ñ-mú-qó-ñ (222-220-169-222) ‘a name’, ChinT *nian mu hun* 拈母浑, **L**7, **L**11, also in Yu8, but there ChinT *zhan* (=*nian*) *mu gun* 粘木衮.

ñ-ó-li (222-090-206) ‘part, section, unit, troops’, Chin *bu* 部 CWJ1118, CWJ 1355, perhaps to **ñol**, see **18.5.2,**

ñol ñ-ó-li (085 222-090-206) ‘the Six Division’ Chin *liu bu* 六部.

ñ-ó-ñ (222-090-222) ‘tribal confederation’ **L**21 in **Au~,** ??see **n-on, n-o-ón.**

ñ-ô-or **伏仌北** (222-252-076), 16x, 'circuit, route, division, department, tribe, sub-tribe', K88, also **ñ-ô-úr** **伏仌亦** (222-252-097), 21x, **ñ-ô-ur$_2$** **伏仌化** (222-252-236), 5x, **ñ-ó$_2$-úr** **伏 公 亦** (222-253-097), 2x, **ño-o$_2$-ur$_2$** **伏仌化** (222-252-236), 5x, **ño-ó$_2$-or** **伏公北** (222-253-076), 2x, **ñ-ó-úr** **伏廾亦** (222-090-097), 34x, **ñ-ó-ur$_2$** **伏廾化** (222-090-236), 1x, **ñ-û-úr** **伏只亦** (222-372-097), Chin *bu* 部 C421, CWJ 993, also **ñ-û-úr** **伏只亦** (222-372-097),
hoi si$_2$ ñ-ó-úr **一 十 伏廾化** (001-040 222-090-236), 'North-Western region',
hoi si ñ-ô-úr **一 十 伏仌亦** (Yu40), 北西部 C357,
hoi si ñ-úr **一 十 伏廾** (DiX3),
hoi-dor$_2$ ñ-ó-úr tal 'North-East circuit region' (Liang7-20),
ñ-ó-li (222-090) 'a part, a division', Chin *bu* 部 CWJ 1118,
ñ-ô-ur$_2$ ku-û-un **伏仌化 几只火** (222-252-236 178-372-273) 'member of a tribe, a unit, tribesman, genitive', Chin *burenzhi* 部人之 C421,
ñ-ó-úr-s* **伏廾亦仐** (222-090-097-244), plural,
ñ-ó-úr-s-er **伏廾亦仐火** (222-090-097-244-341), plural, accusative instrumental,
ñ-ô-ur$_2$-i **伏仌化关** (222-252-236-339),
Sh-au-a-aju ñ-û-úr **叉夬为丈 伏只亦** (028-161-189-082.1 222-372-097) 'The Falconer tribe', ChinT *shao wa bu* 稍瓦部 C369,
ñol u-ur$_2$ ñ-ó-úr **犮 叐化 伏廾亦** (085 131-236 222-090-097) 'the six ancient tribes' (Qing10),
ñ-ô-or dai-ji (Xu27) binom Khitan **ñ-ô-or** and Chinese,
sui-er ñ-ô-or ji-en '(with) in the birth tribe' (Xu30) Chin *shengbu zhongzhi* 生部中之,
tau°-un u-ur$_2$ ñ-ô-úr ir-g-en **戈火 叐化 伏仌亦 化九冇** 'the official (*erkin*) of the Five Divisions (*u-ur ñ-ô-úr*)' (Nu5) Chin *wu yuan bu yi li jin* 五院部夷离堇 CWJ1 1191.

Ñ-oh-ji **伏里犳** (222-377-152) 'person's name', ChinT *niaoguzhi* 褭古, YCh LMCh.

ñ-qo **伏力** (222-168) 1. 'cyclical branch', Xu, 2. 'heavenly branch, dog', K93, Chin 1. *xu* 戌 2. *gou* 狗 C421 see Mong *noqai* 'dog', Dah *nohe* 'dog' (M200), *noḫ, noχ, noho* 'Hund' (M-K125),
Ñ-qo **伏力** (222-168) 'a person's name', Chin *nie he* 捏褐 Qing32 C421,
N-qó-a **公欠为** (251-169-189) 'a person's name', ChinT *nu gua* 奴瓜 (Han14) C445 to 'dog' as name see Turk *Noqai, Nogai.*

ñ-qó-l$_2$ **伏欠子** (222-169-149) 'cave', see **n-ar$_2$-en ñ-qó-l$_2$** **公夻冇 伏欠子** (251-084-140 222-169-149) 'tomb, cave', Chin *mu xue* 墓穴 C443 seems to be an adjectival form in **-qU** or ?**ñaqug+o-*. The final **-l$_2$** is disappearing in certain cases,

ñ-qó-l$_2$ mú-s$_2$ ku-su t-em$_2$-y-l-g 伏欠子 行兴 几卡 令金丙屮九 ‘the tomb inscriptions have been graciously given’ (Han33) or ? **ku-su** ‘guard??’, no gloss on p. 1349,

ñ-qu-du$_2$ 伏余闲 (222-246-304) ‘cave, dative-locative’, Chin *xue yu* 穴于 C421,

ñ-qó-du$_2$ t-ge$_2$-e$_2$-ci n-ô-od-en n-ar 伏欠闲 令夳夯朩 公仌币冇 公冇 ‘to the cave, the tomb of the deceased spouse’, Chin *xue gu pei ou mu* 穴 故 配偶 墓 CWJ 1219.

ñ-ui-u-ui** 伏火及火 (222-262-131-262) ‘open’, Chin *qi* 启 C421 ? a miswriting for **ñ-l-ū-ui** 伏屮只火 (222-261-372-341).

ñ-û-úr 伏只亥 (222-372-097), ‘part, unit, section, command’, 7x, all in Xiang, Chin *bu* 部, see **ñ-ô-or** 伏仌北 (222-252-076).

ñol 仄 (085) ‘six’, K117, see **12.3** NUMERALS 1 **L**13, **L**20,

ñol-er 仄公 (085-341) ‘sixth’, see 6.3 NUMERALS 1, **L**7, **L**8,

ñol särä 仄 艾 ‘month six’, Chin *liu yue* 六月, **L**13,

ñol ñ-ó-li 仄 伏廾灭 (085 222-090-206) ‘the Six Division’ (Chao9), K117, Chin *liu yuan* 六 院, see WF738,

tau-un ñol u-ur jur ñ-ô-li p-o-l$_2$-ha-ar (Nan6-18) ‘two divisions were formed of the Six division of the Five’,

ñol-l-hu eme-110 ‘six times ?’ (Zhong 41-27).

O

o-oi$_2$ 及夳 (186-107) ‘granted, was given, was awarded’, Chin *shou* 授, C414, **L**14, **L**16, **L**21, **L** 24, see the next item.

o-l$_2$-* 及子 (186-149), ‘‘to close, to cover, to give, to grant’ (read **o-ju** by K89), see Mong *ol-* ‘to find, get, obtain’, *olga-* ‘to grant’, Dag *ole-* ‘get, find’ (M201), *ol-* ‘finden’. (M-K 126). The -l- dropped out, and the factitive-passive suffix -l- was joining, and partly also dropped, see, **12.5.1.9**,

o-l$_2$-ha-ai 及子圡丰 (186-149-051-122) ‘was granting’, Chin *shou* 授 **L**26, C414,

o-l$_2$-ha-al-un$_2$ 及子圡亐叉 (186-149-051-098-144) ‘granted, awarded’, Chin *shou* 授 C414,

o-l$_2$-ñ 及子伏 (186-149-222) ‘to grant, to award’, Chin *shou* 授 C414,

o-l$_2$-un$_2$ 及子叉 (186-149-144) ‘to grant, to award’, Chin *shou* 授 C414,

o-o-l$_2$ 及及子 (186-186-149) ‘to grant, to award’, Chin *shou* 授 C414,

o-or 及圠 (186-076) ‘to grant, to award’, Chin *shou* 授 C414,

o-ri$_5$-er 及仝公 (186-255-341) ‘to grant, to award’, Chin *shou* 授 C414,

o-ui 及火 (186-262) ‘was granting, awarding’, Chin *shou* 授 C414,

see also **da-ha-ar ol-**,

SIXTY-en eu-ur$_2$ o-ón 尖 艾 乂有 士化 及内 ‘had reached the 60th year of age’ (Xu14),

tu-úr-o-li$_2$ o-l$_2$-hu p-od-l-a-an 为亦及北 及子列 业币屮为买 (Hu5),

es o-l$_2$-un$_2$ 另 及子叉 (145 186-140-144) ‘was not given’ (Han11) Chin *wei shou* 未授.

o-s$_2$-li$_2$1 及岁北 (186-354-080), 15x, ‘to give, confer, to teach’, Chin *shou* 授 C414.

o-s$_2$-li$_2$2 及岁北 (186-354-080) ‘to go somewhere, enter’, 15x, Chin *rú*(?) 入 (Cha10).

ishi tau-de o-s$_2$-li$_2$ ‘accession to the throne’ (Gu10-11, see Kane 2009, 109, Wu-Janhunen 201, 149).

o-odu-ú 及米伞 (186-355-245), ‘ordo-palace’, see **odu**.

o-udu-l-ha-a-ar 及米屮圡为本 (186-355-261-051-189-123), see **ó-dû-l-ha-a-ar** 廾分屮圡为本 (090-249-261-051-189-123).

ó-dû-l-ha-a-ar 廾分屮圡为本 (090-249-261-051-189-123) ‘a reign title’, also **o-udu-l-ha-a-ar** 及米屮 圡为本 (186-355-261-051-189-123) see **HEAVEN** ~, see **18.4.1.**

ó-ui1 廾火 (090-262) ‘was giving’, Chin 1. *shou* 授, see **u-** C386.

Ó-ui2 廾火 (090-262) ‘a name of a tribe’, ChinE *wu wei* 乌隗 C386, see WF Index *Wu wei, Wu-wei Wu-ku-li, Wu-wei Yu-jüe,*

Ó-ui-un$_2$ 廾火叉 (090-262-144) ‘name of a tribe, genitive?’, ChinE *wu wei* 乌隗 C386.

odu 米 (355), also **odo-ú 米伞** (355-245), **o-odu-u 及米叐** (186-355-131), **o-odu-ú 及米伞** (186-355-245), ‘ordo-palace’, ChinT *woluduo* 斡鲁朵, YCh *wɔ lɔ tɔ,* LMCh *ʔuat luǎ tua,* Chin *gong (xing gong)* 宫 (行宫) C482, see details at **9.2.6** ORTHOGRAPHY and **L**15, and **18.1** THE ORDOS,

o-udu-u-ur-en cau-ji hu$_2$-ú nai-d 及米叐化冇 而犳 亜伞 穴公 (186-355-131-140 022-152 014-245 332-251) ‘the heads of the armies of the ordos’, Chin *gong zhi juntong guan tong zhi zai* 宫之军统 诸 官 同知 在, **L**15.

odu-ó-o-ón 米廾及内 (355-090-186-322) ‘having had great peace’, ChinE *da an* 大安 C482, perhaps a Chinese loan, used in a reign title as: **GREAT udu-ó-o-ón 又 米廾及内** (373 355-090-186-322) ‘a reign title (1085–1095)’, Chin *da an* 大安 C485 written also: **GREAT ú-dû-ó-o-ón 又 伞分廾及内** (373 245-249-090-186-322) **GREAT ú-dû-o-ón 又伞分及内** (373 245-249-186-322), see **9.2.6** ORTHOGRAPHY.

Oh-o 王及 (377-186) ‘a name’, ChinT *agu* 阿古, **L**4, also in Xian25, ChinT the same on CWJ 1443 and 1553.

ol 达 (115) ‘many, several’, K116 (no reading), Chin *zhong* 众 C389, see Mong *olan* ‘much, many’, Dag *ualen* ‘many’ (M229). Not *olose* ‘many people, a crowd’, *olor* ‘Leute, Menschen’ (M-K126) to *ulus,* PoppeDag *olōr*,

ol b-hu-án 达 舟列出 (115 311-151-290) ‘all children’, see **b-hu-án**,

ol b-qo-de-i p-378.1 378.1 p-o-ri$_5$ (Yong27-29),

ol p-úr-s ‘all descendants’ (Xing31),

ol-de-i 达矢关 (115-205-339) ‘many, several, ablative-prolative’, Chin *zhong cong* 众从 C389,

ol-de-i p-ul-uh 达矢关 业平久 (115-205-339 295-366-172) ‘outstanding, “more than all”’, Chin *chu zhong* 出众 C389,

ol-de-i p-ul-er 达矢关 业平公 (115-205-339 295-366-341) ‘outstanding’, Chin *chu zhong* 出众 C389 see above.

om-úr 九交 (092-097) ‘first, early; east’, see **12.3** NUMERALS, also **om-ur$_2$ 九化** (092-236), earlier read **ud$_2$-ur 大化** (105-236), Chin *yuan* 元, *dong* 东 C387, *chu* 初 CWJ 1137, **L**19, **L**22, **L**23, **L**25, see Róna-Tas 2019a,

om-úr ai 九交中 (092-097 122) ‘first year’, Chin 元年 C387,

om-úr g-ing 九化 凡同 ‘East capital’, Chin *dongjing* 东京 **L**23,

om-úr po-do 九化 非朱 (092-097 279-217), ‘at the beginning, first time’, Chin *chushi* 初 時,

om-úr u-ul 九交 叐平 (092-097 131-366) ‘early winter’, Chin *chu dong* 初冬 C387,

om-úr-te$_2$ 九交尘 (092-097-356) ‘early, at the beginning’, Chin *chu* 初 C387,

om-úr tu-úr-s-li$_2$ 九交 为交仐北 (092-097 202-097-244-080) ‘early death, soon after his death’ (DiX7-17, Chin *chu hong* 初薨 CWJ1453,

om-úr s-eu-li$_2$ ‘early illnes, soon after becoming ill’, 8x,

au-a om-úr-l-un$_2$ ‘giving raised (to an office)’ (Xiang23-6).

on-a-* **不为** (154-189) ‘to (let) fall’, K97, see Mong *una-* ‘to fall’, Dag *uane-* ‘fall down, be downed’, *uane.legaa-* ‘to drop it, let it fall’ (M229), not ‘to ride’ as suggested by WJ 166, Mong *unu-* ‘to sit or ride astride, to mount (as a horse)’,

on-a-án **不为出** (154-189-290) ‘to drop, to let fall’, Chin *jiang* 降 C403,

on-a-ai **不为丰** (154-189-122) ‘was dropping, was letting to fall’, Chin *jiang* 降 C403,

on-s-li$_2$ **不仐北** (154-244-080) ‘to drop, let fall, to fall’, Chin *jiang* 降, *zhui* 坠, *duo* 堕 C403,

on-i **不关** (154-339) ‘to (let) fall’, Chin *jiang,* 降, *zhui* 坠 C403,

m-ri-de-i on-i **叉化矢关 不关** (133-235-205-339 154-339) ‘from the horse fall’, Chin *cong ma luo* 从马落,

m-ri on-s-li$_2$ **叉化 不仐北** (133-235 154-244-080) ‘the horse fall’ (Xiang12).

On-a-b-a sh-ri-n **不为舟为 叉化公** (154-189-311-189 028-235-251) ‘a name of an administrative unit (*shi-rie*), genitive’, ChinT *wo na ba shi lie zhi* 斡纳拔 石烈之 C403.

On-a-hor-a sh-ri-e **不为丙为 叉化券** (154-189-047-189 028-235-348) ‘a name of an administrative unit, a *shi-rie*’, ChinT *wo na a la shi lie* 斡纳阿剌石烈 C403, s*hilie* 石烈 is a tribal and a military unit, there existed groups of Eight and Nine *shi-lie*-s, WF Index 737, see also **shari**, Chin 阿 a mistake for *he* 河 *a-la* > *he-la* correctly 斡纳河剌石烈 *wo na he la shi lie.*

ong **杰** (071) ‘(local) king’, K111, ChinE *wang* 王, YCh *waŋ*, LMCh *yaŋ* **L**1, **L**l3, genitive **ong-en** **杰有** (071-140), 1x, genitive, **ong-on** **杰不** (071-154), 50x, dative-locative **ong-dú** **杰凡** (071-179), locative **ong-de** **杰矢** (071-205), **ong-do** **杰朱** (071-217), plural **ong-od** **杰币** (071-016) ‘kings, plural’, Chin *zhu wang* 诸王, ‘kings, plural, genitive’ **ong-od-en** **杰币有** (071-016-140), **ong-od** see **t-i-d ong-od-en** **令关坌 杰币有** (247-339-254 071-016-140) ‘all emperors, genitive’, Chin *zhu di wang zhi* 诸帝王之 C442.

Ong-ñ **杰伏** (071-222) ‘a name’, ChT *wang ning* 王宁.

Ong G-ui-in **杰 九火雨** (071 334-262-018) ‘a name’ ChinT *gui yin* 瑰引, CWJ 1212.

Onggirat *wang ji la* 王 紀刺 (Liaoshi 30, WF 634)‘the name of a tribe, one of the 18 tribes the chiefs of which Yelü Dashi assembled in 1129, see also HSM §§ 6, 93, 196. Onggirat, the in-law clan of Temujin-Chingis kan’, see also Pelliot 1944. The form Qonggirad apperas only in the Jinshi as *guang-ji-la* 廣紀刺. and 光吉刺, the Yuanshi has both forms reflecting Onggirad and Qonggirad, see Pelliot 1944, 77n. who claimes that Onggirad may have been the Khitan and Qonggirad the Jurchen form.

Ong H-ia N-u **杰 乂才 公及** (071 340-335 251-131) ‘a name’ ChinE *wang jia nu* 王家奴, **L**11.

or-a **圠为** (076-189) ‘earlier, the past’, see Mong *orui, orai* ‘evening, late’, *orui köbegün* ‘son born to aged parents, “late son”’, Dag *ordo* ‘Altertum, alte

Zeiten’, *ordōn* ‘früher’, *ordon čahi olor* ‘ältere Generation, die ältere Leute’ (M-K127),

or-a-an (076-189-011) ‘posterity, genitive’, Chin *hou* 后 C384,

see **eu-ul-g or-a-an** (067-366-334 076-189-011), ‘after the death’ (Tu5),

or-a-an l-ing-en ui MANAGE-un$_2$ (076-189-011 261-303-140 262 142-144) ‘administrator of the Xianling tomb, genitive’, Chin *xian ling zhi shi zhi* 显陵之事知 C384,

or-a n-on (076-189 251-154) ‘posterity, offspring, earlier generation’, Chin *hou dai* 后代 C384,

n-i-gu g-úr-de rí-l-ha-a-án or-a-an ‘after being born in the country of the Jurchen’ (Zhen12-27),

iu or-a ‘after death, posthumously’ (Xu42-33),

or-a ci-ar in:

b-ie-ên-de h-ui-ci or-a ci-ar ‘after having returned to B-ie-ên’ (Zhen18-18).

or-l-bun (076-261-288) ‘first day of the lunar month, the beginning of something, hence preface, also used for denoting the lunar calendar, morphologically past tense of the factitive verb **or-l-***, 14x, K98, Chin *shuo* 朔 C384, also **or-l-b-ñ** (076-261-311-222) ‘first day of the lunar month’, 34x, Chin *shuo* 朔 C384, **or-l-b-un$_2$** (076-261-311-144), 2x, ‘sequence, order, preface, initial’, Chin *xu* 序, K111, CWJ 1239, **L**1, used as ‘majestic, his majesty for royal persons’.

Or-l-b-ún$_2$ (076-261-311-144) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *e li ben* 讹里本 C384, **L**1.

Or-l-b-ñ (076-261-311-222) ‘a female person’s name’, ChinT *wu lu ben* 乌鲁本 C384, **L**1 Lexica, Jue 31, Chin *wu lu ben* 乌卢本 (CWJ 1552).

Or-li$_4$-ha-a-án (076-310-051-189-290), 1x, ‘name of a person’, ChT *wulilan* 乌里懒 C384.

or-li$_4$-ha-án (076-310-051-290), 2x.

ORDO see **odu** etc.

Ö

ör** **十** (040) ‘west’, Chin *xi* 西 C371 uncertain reading of the logoglyph based on Mong *örüne* ‘west’, see **si**$_2$, Dag *nare-uane.ui (juhe)* ‘west’ (sun fall+ ?) (M195), *nar vanuwei ʒuhuini* (M-K 123), see CWJ 168-169. Read **si** and see there,

ör-i ** **十关** (040-339) ‘west’, Chin *xi* 西 C371.

P

p-a-ad **业为朩** (295-189-099), ‘having done, finished’, Chin no gloss, **L**8.

p-a-ar p-in **业为本 业雨** (295-189-123 295-018) ‘estate, local capital, community’, K96, Chin *shi yi* 食邑 C461, see **p-ar** ‘family’ and **p-in** ‘estate’.

p-a-rí-l-hu **业为共屮列** (295-189-069-261-151), 16x, ‘?’ (Xiang31) no gloss, ??? to Mong *bari-* ‘to hold, grasp, build, establish, to present’, *barilga* ‘construction, building’,

p-a-rí-l-hu-an **业为共屮买** (295-189-069-261-151-011), 4x,

n-iuk-úr es xe-te$_2$-u-ji$_3$ ku al-oi$_2$ b-hu-án t-od-ha-ar p-a-rí-l-hu (Xiang31),

eme-110 p-a-rí-l-ha-a-án-en t-ñ-un$_2$ (Zhong13-27).

p-ai-sï **业丰廿** (295-122-083) ‘order, tally’, ChinE *paisi* 牌司, **L**2, YCh *p^{h}ai*, LMCh *p^{h}a:j,* YCh *sẓ,* LMCh *sẓ.*

p-ai-a-012 **业丰为夭** (295-122-189-012) ‘?’, no gloss, **L**13.

p-al **业亐** (295-098) ‘?’, 1x,

p-al y-ie **业亐 丙文** ‘?? together or instead’ no gloss (Jue31).

P-al-ha-án **业亐圡出** (295-098-051-290) ‘a name’, 1x, ChinT *pogu* 婆姑 “mother-in-law” C459.

P-al-a-án **业亐为出** (295-098-189-290) ‘a name’, 1x, ChinT *pogu* 婆姑 C459, see above.

p-ar **业本** (295-123) ‘wife (and family)’, 29x, also **p-ar$_2$** **业乍** (295-084), 9x, ‘female member of family’, Chin *nü juan* 女眷 C459, Chin *qi* 妻 C459, ?perhaps to *aran* ‘man, person’ pl. *arad*, MMo *haran* ‘hommes, gens’, pl. *harad* (Hy), <**para(n)*, **L**4, **L**9, genitive **p-ar-en** **业本冇** (295-123-140), dative-locative **p-ar-de** **业本矢** (295-123-204),

eme-t p-ar **丙今 业本** (021 247 295-123) ‘wife and the children, wife with her family’, Chin *juan* 眷, 女眷, C459, **L**4, **L**9, see pehaps also **b-ri** ‘family’,

p-a-ar p-in 业为本 业雨 (295-189-123 295-018) '(family) estate', Chin *shi yi* 食邑 C461, see **p-or p-in**[1], and **p-ar** 'family' and **p-in** 'estate',
p-a-ar p-in tau ming 'five thousand estates' (Yu13).

p-ar-ha-* 业本圡 (295-123-051) 'to chase, posthumously, retroactive',
p-ar-ha-ar 业本圡本 (295-123-051-123)[2], 4x, Chin *zhui* 追, C459,
p-ar-ha-ai 业本圡丰 (295-123-051-122), 4x.

P-ar$_2$-un$_2$ 业圥叉 (295-084-144) 'a tribe name', 2x, ChinT *ba li* 拔里 C459 see **b-ar$_2$-un$_2$ 舟圥叉** (311-084-144).

p-aû-* 业号 (295-125) 'to exist' 在 C460, also **b-aû 舟号** (311-126), see ? Mong *bai-* 'to be, to exist', Dag *bai-* 'to exist, stand, stand up, stay, stop' (M116), *bai, bei* 'war', *bai-* 'stehen' (M-K11-112), phonetical problems, ?<**bagi-,*
p-aû-er 业号公 (295-125-341) 'was, existed', also **b-aû-er 舟号公** (311-125-341), Chin *zai* 在 C460, C466 在,
eu-úr FIFTY nem p-aû-er 'when his age was 58' (Ling18),
p-aû-én 业号当 (295-125-361) '1. had existed, 2. was', Chin 1. *zai* 在 2. *shi* 是 C460,
p-u 业叐 (295-131) 'was', Chin *shi* 是 C460,
p-iau-oi 业兮炎 (295-362-347) 'exist', Chin *zai* 在 C462,
p-iau xar-ar-ha-en h-du-ge$_2$-y 业兮 㞢本圡冇 乂九夵丙 (295-362 287-123-051-140 340-089-112-020), '?', **L**25,
p-iau-ha-al-aju-a (295-362-051-098-82.1-189), 1x.

p-dor$_2$ 业内 (295-072) 'level, grade, rank', 2x, Chin *ji* 级 CWJ 1529,
p-dor$_2$-de 业内 业内矢 (295-072-205), 7x, dative-locative,
p-dor$_2$-i 业内关 (295-072-339), 2x.

p-i 1 业关 (295-339) ' consort, concubine', ChinE 1. *fei* 妃, YCh *fi*, LMCh *fjyj/fji* C461,
p-i-in 业关雨 (295-339-18) 'consort, genitive', Chin *fei zhi* 妃之, C461,
p-i ku (295-339 175) 'consort person' Chin *fei ren* 妃人 C461, see **eme ku**,
p-i see **ng-üe-n p-i-in 发夹公 业关雨** (264-082-251 295-339-018),
Üe-e$_2$ g-ui p-i 夹夯 凡火 业关 (082-109-334-262 295-339) 'principal state consort of Yue', ChinE *yue guo fei* 越国妃 C384,
sh-eu-u p-i 叉去叐 业关雨 'imperial concubine', ChinE *shu fei* 淑妃.

p-i 2 业关 (295-339) 'tablet', ChinE *bei* 碑, YCh *puj,* LMCh *pi* C461, see **p-í 业谷**
p-i-in 业关雨 (295-339-18) 'tablet, genitive', ChinE *bei zhi* 碑之 C461.

p-i-shi-ci 业关秃术 (295-339-033-162) 'become, turn into', Chin *chu (cheng wei)* 除 (成为) C462, see Mong *bolusi ügei* 'impossible'.

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[1] *p-a-ar p-in jur ming or -l-b ñ p-or p-in jur jau ir-er y-ra-u-ud s-ar-ha-án s-iang g-ung-un n-ra-de RECORD-g-én* (Nan1)

[2] *eme-ci-er ur-u-ui sh-ur-om* *p-ar-ha-ar* *SEVENTY 239-en ci-ie-ên a-aju t-iá-iú rí-i dau-ui-er* *p-ar-ha-ar* (Yu42bis)

p-i shi-un$_2$-i s-eng-un 业关 忝叉关 仐各火 (295-339 033-144-339 244-175-273) ‘a title, hybrid construction, Khitan genitive’, ChinE *pi shi xiang wen* 皮室详稳 C462, hybrid *pi-shi* + Khitan genitive + *xiangwen* 詳稳, see WF p. 521, there was a right and a left guard and the **p-i shi-un s-eng-un**-s were the heads of them, see also **s-eng-un**. The Chinese transcription may be a rendering of a Khitan name of the guard, established by Abaoki. To its Khitan name see Mong *busigu, bisigu* ‘promptly, quickly, alert, diligent’, *busigula-* ‘to be prompt, quick, alert’, Proto Khitan **bisigun*, this is the only way to count for the syllable **-un-** in the word.

p-í 业谷 (295-352) ‘inscription, stele’, ChinE *bei* 碑 YCh *pui,* LMCh *pi* C461, see

p-í 业谷

p-í-in COMPOSE$_2$-ú 业谷丙 月伞 (295-352-018 316.2-245) ‘the inscription of the stele or monument’, Chin *bei zhi ming* 碑之铭 C462,

p-ir-u RECORD-e 业刃叐 圭劵(295-137-131 052-348) ‘was recorded on a stele’ (Di23) no gloss.

p-iau 业兮 (295-362), see **p-aû**.

p-in 业丙 (295-018) ‘estate, city, household’, 41x, Chin *yi* 邑, *hu* 户 C459, see **p-or p-in**.

p-in go-er 业丙 曲公 ‘houshold’ (Hu23) Chin *hu fang* 户房 (CWJ 1508).

p-ing j-ie-iang jï-ng shï 业同 支文并 友安兆 (295-303 104-327-314 087-264 180) ‘ a title’, ChinE *ping zhang zheng shi* 平章政事 C461, (Xian11, 1175), Hucker No. 4700 “Manager of Governmental Affairs”, LIAO designation of one or more eminent central government officials on the executive staff of the Great Councilor (*tsai-hsiang*), at each auxiliary capital as well as at the prinicipal dynastic capital”. The title occurs in Xian11, which was written under the Jin dynsty and is the last dated inscription.

p-m 业叉 (295-133) ‘grade, rank, class’, ChinE *pin* 品, YCh *p^{h}in*, LMCh *p^{h}im*, CWJ 959.

nai-en p-m ‘rank of head, leader’ *guanzhi pin* 官之品.

p-mu-ku$_3$ ia-277 业仕非 才条 (295-224-282 335-277) ‘remaining, surplus, good fortune (?)’, (Nan3) Chin *yu fu* 余福 C461 unclear.

p-o 业及 (295-186) ‘monkey’, K107, C460 also **p-o-o 业及及** (295-186-186) and **b-o 丹及** (311-186), **b-u 丹叐** (311-131) ‘cyclical branch of Shen, monkey’, Chin *shen* (*hou*) 申 (猴) C460, see Mong *bečin, mečin, bičin* ‘ape, monkey, 9th year of the 12 year cycle’ (← Sogd??), Dag *monioo* ‘monkey, funny, amusing’ (M192), *mońo* ‘Affe’ (M-K 121) Manchu *bonio, monio* (Norman 1967, 51, 286) . The second half of the Manchu and Jurchen word is *niohan* ‘name of a constellation: *mo+niohan* > monio.

p-od*- 业币 (295-016) ‘to go back, return’, K114, also **po-od-* 北币** (279-016), Chin *gui* 归 CWJ1408, not to Mong *od-,* see, **12.5.1.6**,

p-od-a-ar 业币为丰 (295-016-189-123), ‘went back, returned’, 5x,

p-od-i 业币关 (295-016-339), 40x, ‘to return’, Chin *gui* 归 C459,

p-od-i h-ui-ri-li$_2$ (295-016-339 340-262-235-080) ‘coming back arrive = to return to’ Chin *gui zhi* 归至, CWJ1195,

p-od-ñ 业币伏 (295-016-222) ‘return, come together’, 2x, Chin *gui* 归, **L**16, **tu-úr-o-li$_2$ o-l$_2$-hu p-od-l-a-an** (Hu5),

p-od-i rí-én 业币关 共当 (295-016-339 069-361) ‘re[turn] birth’ (Xu27), see **12.5.1.6** no gloss, in:

ai-en p-od-i rí-én-en ñ-ô-or ‘the region of the re[turning] birth of the ancestors (cemetry)’ (Xu27),

p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$ 业及闲屮叉 (295-186-304-261-144) ‘got rid of, eliminated, removed, divorced ?’, Chin *chu* 除 CWJ1443,

p-o-du$_2$-l-ñ 业及闲屮伏 (295-186-304-261-222) ‘became something (else), turned into’, Chin *chengwei* 成为,

ong-on p-i p-o-du$_2$-l-ñ ‘the consort of the wang returned/went back, divorced’ (Hong18),.

p-o-(l$_2$)- 业及 (295-186) ‘become somebody/something, to be appointed to, promoted to’, K96, 112, **L**18, see Mong *bol-* ‘to become, to change into, to happen, to occur, to be etc.’, Dag *bole-* ‘to become, is, happens to be’ (M125), *bol-* ‘vorkommen’ (M-K 115), the original final *-l-* disappeared, the **-l$_2$-** is a Khitan factitive-passive suffix, see **12.3** VERB and TENSE also **p-ó-** 业卄 (295-090), and **po-** see **b-o-l$_2$**,

p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$ see **t-úr tai ui° p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$** ‘became *t-úr tai ui*’ (Hu3-25),

om-ur g-ing-en l-iu sh-eu p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$ ‘became *l-iu sh-eu* of the first capital’ (Yu21),

p-o-l$_2$-bun 业及子屮 (295-186-149-288) ‘became’, Chin *chengwei* 成为 **L**18, **L**23, ‘to appoint sbdy to an office’, Chin *chu* 除 CWJ 871,

p-o-l$_2$-li$_2$ 业及子北 (295-186-149-080) ‘became’, Chin *chengwei* 成为 **L**18, **L**25,

p-o-l$_2$-ha-ai 业及子圭丰 (295-186-051-122) (Yu21, Jue26),

es p-o-l$_2$-ha-ai 丏 业及子圭丰 (146 295-186-051-122) ‘did not become’ (Jue26),

iu p-o-l$_2$-b-ñ ‘died having changed (his existence)’ (Zhen40), Chin *cu chengwei* 卒 成为,

p-o-ud-l-er 业及火屮苁 ‘became’, Chin *chengwei* 成为 (Di5),

also **iu p-u-l$_2$-b-ñ** (Zhen36-26),

p-o-ri$_5$ 业及仝 (295-186-255) ‘became (was appointed)’, Chin *chengwei* 成为, **L**8n, **L**15, **L**16, **L**17, **L**22,

p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$ ‘became’, Chin *chengwei* 成为 CWJ 1549,

also **po-or** in: **ci-iú-pen /tai-shï tai ong po-or** 朩火汁 / 丕兆 丕 杰 非北 ‘Ci-iú Pen taishi became tai ong’ (Guang6) CWJ 1102 has *shi* 时 ‘time’ for **po-or**, but it is instead **p-o-ri$_5$**.

p-o-ón (295-186-322) ‘auxiliary word’, Chin ye 也 C461, see **p-o(l)-**, Mong *bolun* modal converb ‘having become, and…’.

p-or p-in (295-076 295-018) ‘real estate’, Chin *shi feng shi* 实封食 C459, (Nan1) see **p-in**, the Chinese gloss *shi* 食 ‘food’ is not clear here to me. The expression should have the meaning of ‘(feudal) estate, land’ as *fengjian zhuangyuan* 封建庄园.

p-or-ci eu-úr ‘old age?’ (Chao20), see **po**.

p-ó-ui-i (295-090-262-339) ‘was becoming’ see **y-iú-te$_2$ p-ó-ui-i** (020-289-356 295-090-262-339).

p-on (295-154) ‘great grandchild’, Chin *zeng sun* 曾孙 *si(zi si)* 嗣 (子嗣) C460.

p-ong ng-iú shï (295-071 264-289 180) ‘a title’, ChinE *fang yu shi* 防御 (=禦)使 C458, Hucker No 1923 YCh *faŋ,* LMCh *fɦjyŋ/fɦaŋ,* YCh *y*, LMCh *ŋiă/ŋyă,* YCh *ʂʅ* LMCh *ʂʅ.*

p-ra** (295-084) see **p-ar**.

p-u (295-131) ‘was’, Chin *shi* 是 C460, see **p-aû-***.

p-u-u (295-131-131) and **p-û** (295-372) the term for ‘tribe’, ChinE *bu* 部 YCh *pu,* LMCh *pɦuə̆* the term has been dealt with in detail by WF 84 and the following pages. I would evoid here to go into the discussion about the background of this term. The Chinese conception is present in the following title:,

p-u-u sh-iú sï (295-131-131 028-289 083) ‘office of the (tribal) administrator’, ChinE *bu shu si* 部署司 C460.

p-û-úr (295-372-097), 23x, **p-û-ur$_2$** (295-372-236) see, **p-úr** (295-097).

p-û sh-iú sï deu-úr MANAGE-i (295-372 028-289 083 101-097 142-339) ‘a title, genitive’, ChinE *bu shu si yu (tong) zhi* 部署司于 (同) 知 C462 hybrid, the first part is Chin *bu shu si*, the second is Khitan **deu-úr MANAGE-i** (Song8).

p-ul-u- (295-366-131) ‘to exceed, to surpass’, Chin *yue* 越 C462, see Mong *üle-* ‘to be left over, to be superflous, to remain, to survive’, MMo *hüle-,* Dah *huledee-* ‘remain (behind), get left’ (M166), *χulu-* ‘übrig bleiben’ (M-K143), Ma *fulu* ‘surplus, excelling’.

p-ul-uh (295-366-172), 2x, ‘intercalary, intercalation, exceeding’, K103, Chin *run* 闰, *yue* 越 C462,

p-ul-uh jur sär ‘the second, intercalary month’ (Pu16/17),

p-ul-uh-ji (295-366-172-152) ‘exceeding’, Chin *chao* 超 C462,

p-ul-ó-ji-en (295-366-090-152-140) ‘exceeding, genitive’, Chin *yue* 越 C462,

p-ul-d-li$_2$ (295-366-254-080) ‘exceed’, Chin *chao* 超 C462.

p-ul-uh2 (295-366-172) '?famous', Chin *wen* 闻 (Tai4)[3], has to be the same as the former.

P-ul-uh-ñ (295-366-172-222) 'a name', ChinT *puni* 普你 C462, **L**2, to **p-ul-uh**.

p-ung go-n (295-345 319-251) 'a title', ChinE *pan guan* 判官 C462, Hucker, No. 4425 "(Administrative) Assistant", irregular vocalism in the first syllable.

p-ung ng-iú (295-345 264-289) a 'title', ChinE *fang yu* 防御 C462, Hucker No. 1920 "a prefix « Defense »" irregular vocalism in the first syllable, see also **p-ong ng-iú shï** (295-071 264-289 180) 'a title', ChinE *fang yu shi* 防御使, YCh *faŋ,* LMCh *fhjyaŋ/fhaŋ,* YCh *y*, LMCh *ŋiă/ŋyă* C458, Hucker No 1923 "duty assignment (*ch'ai ch'ien*) for a central government official to supervise the affairs of a Prefecture (*chou*) where military matters were of some importance", genitive: **p-úng ng-iú shï-en** (295-357 264-289 180-140) 'a title, genitive', ChinE *fang yu shi zhi* 防御使之 C462, irregular vocalism in the first syllable.

P-ung sh-ng (295-345 028-264) 'name of a prefecture, Fengsheng', ChinE *fengsheng* 奉圣, WF 奉 聖 **L**26.

P-ung sh-ng ci-eu-un ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de (295-345 028-264 162-067-273 262 142-131-337-205) 'a title, the manager of the affairs of the Fengsheng prefecture', ChinE *feng sheng zhou zhi shi zhi* 奉圣州之事知 C462, hybrid, Khitan genitive and **MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de** locative, the *shi zhi* of the prefecture Fengsheng.

p-úr (295-097) 'descendant', 4x, also **p-û-úr** (295-372-097), 23x, **p-û-ur$_2$** (295-372-236), 5x, plural **p-úr-s** (295-097-244) 'descendants', 58x, Chin *zisi* 子嗣, see Mong *üre*, MMo *hüre* 'seed, fruit', Dah *hure* 'seed' (M167), *χure* 'Korn' (M-K144), **L**5, **L**6, **L**7, genitive **p-úr-i** (295-097-339), 8x, accusative-instrumental **p-úr-er** (295-097-341), 1x, plural, genitive **p-úr-s-en** (295-097-244-140),
h-ib p-úr-i 'all descendants' (Zhong12),
not clear are,
s-l au-ul p-úr-s-en ñ-ó-li (Zhen7-23),
p-úr-én (295-097-361), 1x,
p-úr-s-b-ń (295-097-244-311-222), 1x,
p-úr-s-de-hu (258-097-244-205-151), 1x.

p-üe-siu (295-082-004) 'a title, used for women', 1x, (Zhi21-31), ChinT *bie xu* 别胥, YCh *pjɛ,* LMCh *piat*, YCh *sy*, LMCh *siă / syă* C459, see Mong *büsegüi* 'woman' < *büse ügei* 'without belt', see Dag *bese* 'cloth belt' (M122),

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[3] *HEAVEN ar-ó-o-or par ai ai-en s-l-b siu qa-ha-as* *p-ul-uh* *nem MONTH l-iau-qú t-qo-a or-l-bir jur$_2$ tau siu t-qo-a ng-i xo zh-in sh-eu-u hong tai sh-iuk*

be̊se ‘pojas’ (P71) see Uigur *böz*[4] see also **b-üe-z-iú** (311-082-258-289), 2x, (Xu54-4, Zhi12-24) **p-üe-siu-z-iú-** (295-082 004-258-289) 10x (Ren6-2, Yu6-36, 7-47, 8-22, Gung25-24, Yong13-30, Gao12-19, Di9-13, 9-28, Han8-25), **b-jel-z-iú**** (311-173-258-289) C466, occurs once in Xu52-32, ChinE *bie xu* 别胥 C459 see **18.3.40**, genitive **p-üe-z-iú-un** (295-082-258-289-273), 2x, dative-locative **p-üe-siu z-iú-dú-** (295-082 004-258-289-179), 1x.,

p-üe-z-iú-un (295-082-258-289-273) ‘a title, genitive’, ChinE *bie xu zhi* 别胥之 C459,

p-üe-z-iú-dú (295-082-258-289-179) ‘a title, dative-locative’, ChinE *bie xu yu* 别胥于 C459.

par (240) ‘ten’, Chin *shi* 十 C425, **par°** (240.1) ‘ten, (masculine)’, see Mong *arban*, MMo *harban*, Dah *harebe* ‘ten’ (M157), *χarB, χarban* ‘zehn’ (M-K137), CWJ read **ab**, see **12.3** NUMERALS,

par ai-de (240 122-20) ‘in year ten’, Chin *shi nian yú* 十年于, **L**14,

par dol (240 141) ‘seventeen’ **L**16,

par emu (240 026) ‘eleven’, **L**14,

par gur (240 166)‘thirteen’ **L**14,

par nem (240 007) ‘eighteen’ **L**16,

see also **hor-a-iú-i dele parº ci-ên-d-en** (047-189-289-339 294 240 162-073-254-140) ‘the ten counties in Guannan, genitive’ (Yu10), Chin *guan nan shi zhu xian zhi* 关南十诸县之 C377.

po (279) ‘time, hour’, Chin *shi* 时 C454, Liaoshi *po* 时 (WF269), 42x, see Mong *on*, MMo *hon* ‘calendar year’, Dah *hoon* ‘year’ (M164), *χon* ‘Jahr’ (M-K141), accusative-instrumental **po-ô-er** (279-252-341) ‘time’, genitive **po-on** (279-154) Chin *shi zhi* 时之 C455, dative-locative **po-do** (279-217) ‘time’, Chin *shi yu* 时于 C455, plural **po-s$_2$** ‘season’,

dur po-s$_2$ ‘the four seasons’ (WanS1) Chin *si shi* 四 时,

po-or (279-076) ‘in time’, 18x, Chin *shi* 时 C454,

but **po-or** in **: ci-iú-pen /tai-shï tai ong po-or** / Ci-iú Pen taishi became tai ong’ (Guang6) CWJ 1102 has *shi* 时 ‘time’ for **po-or**, but it is instead **p-o-ri$_5$** see there,

po-od (279-016) ‘at/in the time’, Chin *shi* 时 C454,

p-or-ci eu-úr ‘old age’ (Chao20), no gloss,

po-o (295-186), **po-o-o** (259-186-186), also **b-u** (311-131) ‘monkey, a cyclical sign’, Chin *shen* 申.

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[4] Finally an old Egyptian word, which through Greek mediation came to Old Turkic and from there twice to Mongolic, as *bös* and *büse*, the word, joining the late, second rotacism appears also in Chuvash *böz* > *bez* > *pir*, see Róna-Tas 1975

po-o (295-279), **po-o-o** (279-186-186), also **b-u** (311-131) 'monkey, a cyclical sign', Chin *shen* 申, see **p-o** (295-186).

Po-od (279-016) 'a person's name', ChinT *po de* 破得 (Di17) C454.

pu1 (241) 'vice, deputy', also **pu-u** (241-131) ChinE *fu* 副, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjyw/fuw,*

pu shi (241 033) 'vice envoy, deputy commissar', ChinE *fu shi* 副使 C426,

see **s-i h-ing pu-u g-iu-ung shï** (244-339-303 241-131 334-019-345 180) 'a title', ChinE *jiqing fu gongshi* 积庆 副 宫使, **L**15.

pu2 (241) 'palace, residence', also **pu$_2$** (320), **pu-u** (241-131), Chin *fu* 府, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjyǎ/fuǎ,* genitive **pu-un** (241-273),

pu$_2$-un$_2$ ku-û-un (320-144 178-372-273) 'people, genitive, "people of the palace, genitive"', Chin *min ren zhi* 民人之 C469, see **ku**, on (320) see also Peng Daruhan 2023,

see **d-le pu-un ja-ri-qo** (254-093 241-273 150-235-169) 'the commander of the South Palace *(fu)*', ChinE *nan fu zhi zai xiang* 南府只宰相, C446,

see **sh-iau-u pu g-ia-am** (028-362-131 241 334-335-184), 'governor of the Shao palace, residence', ChinE *shao fu jian* 少府监 C373,

see also **Hong L-iú-ung pu-un** (075 261-C389-345 241-273) ChinE! *huang long fu zhi* 黄龙府之 C383.

pu3 see **b-u-3**.

Pu G-e sï tu (241 334-348 083-202) 'a name and title', ChinT *fuge situ* 福哥 司徒, **L**9, Hucker, No 5801 *si-tu* "Minister over the Masses".

Pu g-ui (241 334-262) 'the Fu country or commandery in former Bohai', ChinE *fu guo* 辅国 = 輔國 WF 152, *fuguo* 富國 (Zhong8),

Pu g-ui-de ((241 334-262-204).

pu m-a (241-133-189) 'Imperial son-in-law', ChinE! *fuma* 駙 馬, YCh fu, LMCh *fĥjyǎ/ fĥyǎ*, **L**10, see Hucker No 2082.

pu ma-a-an (241 133-189-011), 5x.

Pu S-a (241 244-189) 'a name', ChinT *pu sa* 普萨 CWJ1277,

Pu S-a N-u masculine form (Jue5),

Pu S-a N-iú (*aú-ui*) feminine form (Tu5).

Pu-ie-ên (241-327-073) 'a name', ChinT *fan* 范?, **L**5.

pu-u sh-iú (241-131 028-289) 'a title', ChinE *fu shu* 副署 C427, *fu* is 'vice, deputy', *shu* 'department', an abbreviation for *fu-bu-shu* 'Assistant controller' 副部署, WF 703.

pu-ong ng-iú (241-071 264-289) 'a title', also **p-ung ng-iú** ChinE *fang yu* 防御 C427, details there.

Pu-su-û-én (241-041-372-361) 'a name of person, name of an Ordo, see: ChinT *pu-su-yuan* 蒲速苑 C427.

Pu-su-û-er (241-041-372-341) ‘a name, ChinT *pu-su-li* 蒲速里 C427.

pu-su-û-ul* (241-041-372-366) ‘to celebrate, congratulate’, Chin *qing* 庆 CWJ 1289,

pu-su-û-ji po ‘celebration time’ (241-041-372-152) Chin *qing-shi* 庆时 C427,

pu-su-û-ul-ci (241-041-372-366-162) ‘prospering, flourishing’, Chin *xing* 兴 C427,

pu-su-û-ul-er see **HEAVEN pu-su-û-ul-er** (243 241-041-372-366-341) ‘a reign title(1111-1118), Heaven’s blessing’, Chin *tian qing* 天庆 C429,

pu-su-û-ul-g (241-041-372-366-334) ‘prosperous, flourishing’, Chin *qing* 庆 C427,

pu-su-û-ul-ge (241-041-372-366-349) ‘blessing’, Chin *qing* 庆 C429,

pu-su-û-ul-ge-un$_2$ (241-041-372-366-349-144) ‘prosperous, flourishing’, Chin *qing* 庆 C427,

pu-su-û-ul-oi** (241-041-372-366-347) = **pu-su-û-ul-er** (243 241-041-372-366-341) see above.

pu-shi (241-033) ‘deputy comissar’, ChinE *fushi* 副使 C426.

pu-shi-ñ (241-033-222) ‘milady’, K104, ChinE *furen* 夫人, YCh *fu,* LMCh *fjyə̆/ fuə̆,* YCh *rin,* LMCh *rin*, EMCh *ɲin.* Hucker, No 2006 “Consort”, **L**7, **L**8, **L**9, see MMong *üjin* (SH) an old Chin loanword,

g-ui pu-shi-ñ ‘a title, milady of the country’, 8x,

g-ün pu-shi-ñ (334-329 241-033-222), ChinE *jun furen* 郡夫人, ‘the milady of the prefecture’ (CWJ 1444),

see **sh-en g-ui pu-shi-ñ-en** (028-140 334-262 241-033-222-140) ‘a title, the milady of Shen, genitive’, ChinE *shen guo fu ren zhi* 莘国夫人之 C369,

see **Qa-an h-ui pu-shi-ñ-en** (053-011 340-262 241-033-222-140) ‘milady of state of Han, genitive’, ChinE *han guo fu ren zhi* 韩国夫人之 C373,

see **L-an-ling g-ün pu-sh-ñ** (261-011 261-303 241-033-222) ‘The milady of the Lanling prefecture’.

pu-u (241-131) ‘prefecture, region, official residence’, ChinE *fu* 府, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjyə̆/fuə̆,* see **pu**.

Pu-ul-ñ (241-366-222) ‘a name (?Fulin)’, ChinT *pu ni* 普你 **L**6, **L**8, occurs in 8 other places, (Di5-4, 5-31, 5-37, Tu4-25, GuD4-28, 5-20, Pu4-5,4-32).

Pu-un-u-uni ‘a male name’ (Jue32), ChinT *pen nu* 湓奴 CWJ553.

pu-ung cu-uh-dú **兮炏 芀夂尼** (241-345 102-172-179) ‘young phoenix, dative-locative’, ChinE *feng chu yu* 凤 (=鳳) 雏 (=雛) 于 C427 YCh *fuŋ*, LMCh *fjywŋ/fuŋ* YCh *tʂhy,* LMCh *tʂhyə̆*[5].

pu-ung g-ui **兮炏 九火** (241-345 334-262) ‘a title’, ChinE *feng guo* 奉国 C427, Hucker 1999: *feng guo jiang jun* 奉果將 軍, “Supporter-general of the State”.

Pu-ung H-ia N-u **兮炏 仌才 公夃** (241-106 340-335 251-131) ‘a name’, ChinT *feng jia nu* 冯家奴, **L**10.

pu ün **兮 亦** (241 329) ‘prefect of administration’, ChinE *fu yin* 府尹 C426, Hucker 2116 → 7969, “Governor of a Superior Prefecture (fu)”.

pu$_2$ in: **pu**$_2$**-un**$_2$ **ku-û-un** **由叉 几只火** (320-144 178-372-273), see **pu2.**

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[5] The consonantal final of **uh** is irregular.

Q

qa 亟 (053) ‘the short form of qagan’, K103, **L**2n, ChinT *han* 汗 C378,

t-le s-ung g-úr-en qa zh-in s-úng 令夯 仐火 九安有 亟 戈雨 仐当 ‘Ren-zong of the South Song’ (Ren8), Chin *nan song guo zhi han ren zong* 南 宋 国 之 汗 仁宗 CWJ 882,

ñol-er n-on-en mu-u-ji qa 灰公 公不有 仕及犸 亟 ‘the holy kagan of the sixth generation’ (Xing10) Chin *di liuzhi sheng han* 第六之 圣汗 CWJ 870,

abu ai y-ar-u-ud-i n-ad-bud-en t-ad-o-or qa g-ing s-úng hong-di 生 丰 丙车及火关 公亦夕有 令亦及北 亟 九同 仐当 / 主王 (Guang3),

‘Emperor Jingzong the fifth kan of the clan of the grandfather Yaruud’,

Chin *zufu yelüzhi zongshizhi diwu han jing song huangdi* 组父 耶律之 宗室之第五 汗 景宗 皇帝.

Qa-a 亟为 (053-198) ‘part of a name’, **L**7.

qa-abu 亟生 (053-196)[1], 3x, ‘tomb, burial’, no gloss,

qa-abu-te$_2$ 亟生尘 (053-196-356), 5x ‘to bury’ no gloss,

ETERNAL ia-277 hu-o-du$_2$ qa-abu-te$_2$ ‘was buried into the tomb of eternal happiness’ (Xuan5-29).

Qa-ad-i 亟亦关 (053-099-339) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *xia di* 辖底 C374.

Qa-an 亟买 (053-011) ‘the Han 韩 originally a name of a state in the time of the Warring States, later used also as a family name[2], **L**6.

qa-ha-an 亟圭买 (053-051-011) ‘the title kagan, emperor, used also as imperial’, also **qa-a-an 亟为买** (053-189-011) ‘khan’, ChinT *ke han* 可汗C374 **L**2, the nominative and the genitive cases are identical, dative-locative **qa-ha-iú 亟圭火** (053-051-289), 11x, prolative-ablative **qa-ha-iú-i 亟圭火关** (053-051-289-339), plural **qa-ha-ad 亟圭亦** (053-051-099) ‘khan, 7x, Chin *zhu ke han* 诸可汗 C374, plural genitive **qa-ha-ad-en 亟圭亦有** (053-051-099-140), 2x, plural, accusative-instrumental **qa-ha-ad-er 亟圭亦公** (053-051-099-341), see also:

Te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an 口北伏 亟圭买 (323-080-222 053-051-011), 4x.

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[1] *tai p-ui ETERNAL nai-en* *qa-abu* *t-iu-ir ge-en-er t-i-MONTH/32/ or-a-an (*Xu31-14*),* *qa-abu* *y-l-ge-er ku-û-un h-ib eu-378.1-ge-l-g tai ong 378.1-378.1-ge-er ishi ai tau-su-l-ha-ai (*Yu26-53*),GREAT t-iu-ir ai ta-ar* *qa-abu* *HEAVEN ar-ó-o-or när m-in-er ci-su-y-er h-s-ge-l dor (*Song23-15*).*

[2] Not to be mixed with Han 漢 simplified 汉 which was the name of a dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) and the Later Han (947-950) during the period of the Five Dynasties. Later the name of the ethnic group, the Chinese.

bud-ó-ñ qa-ha-an (176-090-222 053-051-011), ‘the khagan of the other (namely the Xiao)’ genitive, 3x, ChinT *bo-lu-en ke-han-zhi* 勃鲁恩 可汗之 C412.

qa-ha-as (053-051-174) ‘1.cyclical stem Yin, third earthly branch, 2. tiger’, 9x, K103, Chin *yin* 寅, *hu* 虎 C374 ? ‘king of animals’????, cf. Dah *tasehe* ‘tiger’ (M221), Jurchen *tasha* ‘tiger’, Kane 1989, 215, while Mong *bars* ← Turk *bars* ← Iranian. Speculation that the word would have some connection with **qa-ha-an**, and would mean the ‘king of the animals’ as suggested by Kane 2009, 122 can be hardly accepted.

qa-shi-g-iu (053-033-334-019) ‘shrine?’ only once in Basan3-1, no gloss, see Mong *qasiga, qasiya(n)* ‘hedge, fence, enclosure’, Dag no or Mong *gasigu(n)* ‘bitter, sorrowful’ ? Dag *gasun* ‘bitter’ (M148), *gasačun jome* ‘traurig, jummervoll’ (M-K133),

FOURTY gur de ir-er qa-shi-g-iu Chin *si shi san yu ti* 四十三 于题 CWJ 1611 (Ba sanS2-3), **de** is separately written and is not the dative-locative suffix (Chin *yu*) but perhaps the same as **d-y** ‘favour’.

qi** see **te.**

Qita-i (365-339) ‘Khitan’, ChinT *qi dan* 契丹 C483, see also **Qita-un$_2$** (365-144) ‘Khitan’, Chin *qi dan* 契丹 C482 **L1**, see all detals there and Appedix **18.6**, accusative-instrumental **Qita-un$_2$-er** (365-144-341) ‘Khitan’, Chin *qi dan* 契丹 C483, genitive **Qita-un$_2$-i** (365-144-339) Chin *qi dan zhi* 契丹之 C482, plural **Qita-s** (365-244) ‘Khitans’, Chin *qi dan(fu)* 契丹 (复) C483.

QUEEN (333) ‘empress, logograph’ see **terken**.

Qu-ad (246-099) ‘name of a person’, 1x, (Sa11), no gloss.

qu-ur$_2$ (246-236) ‘?’, 1x, (Xing13-22), no gloss.

R

REGION (370) K112, occurs only in composites: no glossses for (370) on CWJ 484, K on p. 79 no reading, but REGION for (371) Wu—Janhunen 2010,270, REGION^x for (370) and REGION for (371), Shimunek 2017 no reading for (370), REGION for (371), CWJ no reading for (370), but **ja$_2$** for (371) to which they give their arguments on p. 335-336, see **ja$_2$-a**,

REGION-eme-er (370-021-341), 1x (Xing16-14),

REGION-a-ad-er (370-189-099-341) (Gu10-6),

REGION-ur$_2$-de-i (370-236-205-339 (Di9-4) 439 no reading, for (370).

RECORD-* (052) also **RECORD$_2$** (052.1) ‘to record’, See line1,

RECORD-g (052-334) ‘recorded, was recorded?’, K112, Chin no gloss, **L**17,

RECORD-g-l-g (052-334-261-334), ‘the one who is recording, the person who is in charge of the records’, L2,

RECORD-g-en (052-334-361) ‘the record’, Chin *zhi* 志 **L**1, **L**8, **L**24,

RECORD$_2$-g-én$_2$ t-gu$_2$ (052.1-334-361 247-165.1) ‘the inscription said’, Chin *zhi yue* 志曰 C373,

RECORD-e ku (052-348 178) ‘the owner of the tombstone’, Chin *zhi* zhu 志主 C373,

RECORD-e ku-û un (052-348 178-372-273) ‘The owner of the tombstone, genitive’, Chin *zhi zhu zhi* 志主之 C373,

RECORD-ge$_2$-* (052-112),

RECORD-ge$_2$-ci (052-112-162) ‘the owner of the tombstone, who is recorded’, Chin *zhi zhu* 志主 C372,

RECORD-ge$_2$-ci-de-i (052-112-162-205-339) ‘the owner of the tombstone, ablative-prolative’, Chin *zhi zhu cong* 志主从 C372,

ma-ha-as n-hu-rí RECORD-ge-d (Yu21).

ri (235) ‘great grand child’, Chin *zeng sun* 曾孙 C423, see perhaps Mong *jige* ‘child of one’s daughter or sister, child of any of one’s female descendants’ *jige ökin* ‘granddaughter (daughter of the daughter)’.

ri$_4$-iú (038.10-289) ‘new born child’, ChinE *ru* 乳, (Di17) YCh *ry,* LMCh *ryə*ˇ.

ri$_4$ (038.10), in **ri$_4$-en-ñ** (038.10-140-222) perhaps the same as the above, genitive?

Ri dai-or ‘a name??’ (235 017-076) (Hu2).

ri-g-en (235-334-140) ‘tribal chief’, read **iri-g-en** ChinT *yi li jin* 夷离堇 C423, see Turkic *erkin, irkin* ‘a title’, also in Rasid-ud-in, Tibetan transcription *hirkin,*

iri-g-d 化九坌 (235-334-254) 'tribal chief, plural', Chin *yi li jin (fu)* 夷离堇(复) C423.

rí-* 1 夫 (069) 'to give birth', see **12.5.1.2**, VERBS, PARADIGMS,

rí-én eme 夫当 丙 (069-361 021) 'birth mother, own mother', Chin *shengmu* 生母 C382,

rí-er ai 夫公 丰 (069-341 122) 'birth father, own father', Chin *sheng fu* 生父 (C423),

ri eme-t 夫 丙令 (069 021-247) (Zhi24), in: **i s-i-in sui-l-ñ ri eme-t** 'all consangineous women, who were born from Yi-si'.

rí-*2 夫 (069) 'bestow, grant, confer¸ gift'[1], Chin *ci* 赐 (= 賜) YCh sz̹, LMCh sz̹, CWJ 1538, also **rí-i** 夫关 (069-339),

rí-l-un$_2$ 夫屮叉 (069-261-144), id, past tense, Chin *ci* 赐 **L25**, C382, **rí-l-un$_2$ û-n** 夫屮叉 只公 (069-261-144 372-251) (Xu46),

rí-i sui-l-ñ 夫关 佃屮伏 (069-339 238-261-222) 'bestowed birth, birth given as gift', Chin *cisheng* 赐生 CWJ 1573 (Hui22),

sui-li$_2$ rí-l-un$_2$ 佃北 夫屮叉 (238-080 069-261-144), no gloss on CWJ 1006, (Xu56) has to be the same as the above.

rí-i 夫关 (069-339) 'still, yet, value, esteem, honorary', Chin *shang* 尚 C382,

rí-i b-hu-án (Cha5-11) 'still, yet children, babies, minors', Chin *shang hai zi* 尚孩子 (CWJ1579),

es rí-i b-l-ge$_2$-y 'not yet known' (Hu17), see **12.5.2.1**,

g-ung ci-en rí-i h-iú ong-on i-ri 'the honorary title of *xuwang* duke' (Hu6).

Rí-u-ji-en har 夫叐犳冇 尿 'the mountain of *Ri-u-ji*', (069-131-152-140 006) (DiX35). Corrected to: **rí-u-ji-en eu-ñ-er** 夫叐犳冇 土伏公 by CWJ 1463, but no gloss, looks like a burial place.

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[1] Perhaps the two verbs have the same origin.

S

s-299 仐肖 (244-299) ‘a name’, Chin no gloss, **L**12.

s-a-* 仐为 (244-189) ‘live somewhere, reside’, K104,114, see Mo *sagu-* ‘sit’, **sagul-* preclassical form for *sagulga-*, i. e. ‘to cause to sit down, to set, to settle, also to seat’, Dah *sau.legaa-* ‘to seat, have him sit down’, (M206), *sau* ‘sitzen’ (M-K130),

s-a-aju 仐为艾 ‘beeing sat, being somewhere’, Chin no gloss, in **co-do-i s-a-aju**, **L**26,

s-a-al-a-ai 仐为亐为丰 (244-189-098-189-122) ‘was taking office, was appointing to an office’, Chin *ren* 任 C434,

s-a-ai 仐为丰 (244-189-122) ‘1. to dwell’, Chin 1. *zai* 在, (Yu6), 2. ‘stay, emperor’s stopover place during journey’ Chin *zhu bi* 驻跸 C434, see Mong *sagudal* ‘seat, residency’.

s-a-al 仐为亐 (244-189-098), 2x, in:

s-em$_2$-li$_2$ ul$_2$ na$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y s-a-al t-ge-er ‘became ill and did not recover, soon (?*s-a-al*) he died’ (DiX23).

S-a-am 仐为乃 (244-189-184) ‘a name’, ChinE *san* 三, YCh *sam*, LMCh *sam*. **L**9.

s-a-am sï ‘Triple Office (of State Finances)’, ChinE *san si* 三司 see WF Index,

tu-ung s-a-am sï 为火 仐为乃 廿 ‘Associate Controller of Finances’,

ng-i tu-ung$_2$ s-a-am sï 尖关 为太 仐为乃 廿 (264-339 202-106 244-189-184 083) ChinE *yi tong san si* 仪 (=儀)同三司, YCh *ji,* LMCh *ŋi,* YCh *tʰuŋ,* LMCh *tĥəwŋ,* Y Ch, LMCh *sam,* YCh sẓ̩, LMCh sẓ̩ C453, Hucker No3024 “Unequaled in Honor”.

S-a-am-ñ (244-189-184-222) ‘a name, genitive?’, ChinT *simu* 思母, **L**7.

S-a-an udu-u-un 仐为夹 米及火 (244-189-011 355-131-273) ‘palace name, the palace of Taizu, also called Hongyi palace, genitive’, Chin *suan wo lu duo zhi* 算斡鲁朵之 C434, ???*Sayin* or *Sagan ordu*, WF541 *Suan Ordo* 算 to *saba* ‘vessel’ — impossible. “In the national language “heart” and “belly” was called *suan* and “palace” was called *ordo.* It was the Hong-yi palace”, further description on the same page (Liaoshi 35.2a), to *saga-* to sit??? see *sagaguri* ‘seat’, see **18.1**, THE ORDO-S, there also the Khitan names of the other ordos. Khitan **s-a-an** ← ? → ChinT *suan* 算 YCh *sɔn,* LMCh *suan.*

s-abu-* 仐生 (244-196) ‘to follow, to succeed’,

s-abu-ai 仐生丰 (244-196-122) in: **di-di(=hong-di) s-abu-ai** 王王 (主王) 仐生丰

(075-037 244-196-122) ‘the emperor was ascending the throne, the emperor was enthroned’, Chin *huang di ji wei* 皇帝即位 C370,

s-abu-o-or qa 仐生及北 丞 (244-196-186-076 053) ‘the heir, the succeeding khan’, Chin *si han* 嗣汗 C433,

ishi tau s-abu-y-li$_2$ (033 029 244-196-020-080) ‘to ascend the imperial throne’ (Dao12), no gloss,

ishi tau m-in-de hu-as o-l$_2$-un$_2$ di-di (=hong di) s-abu-ai (033 029 133-018-205 151-174 186-149-144 075-037 244-196-122) ‘having ascended to the throne, he was enthroned as emperor’ (Xiang6), see Wu-Janhunen 2010, 149-150,

s-abu-ui y-au-ul-ha-ai (244-196-262 020-161-366-051-122) ‘was proceeding to the succession’ (Hu16),

m-in s-abu-o-ón (133-018 244-196-186-322) ‘“who had” access to the position’, Chin *wei ji* 位即 C393,

b-qo m-in s-abu-o-or (311-168 133-018-244-196-186-076) ‘the son was in position to succeed’ (Xing4, Dao7), Chin *zi weiji* 子位即 CWJ 868.

S-abu-a-ar (244-196-189-123), ‘a persons name’, 3x,

ia deu-un dau-dû ai-en s-abu-a-ar/15/ **sh-a-rí** ‘S-abu-ar langjun of the Middle ancestors of the brethren’ (Han14-15) *xiongdizhi fu zhi sabali* /15/ *langjun* 兄弟之仲父之撒八里 郎君 CWJ 1343, also **S-abu-a-ar sh-a-rí** (Yong19-8),

S-abu-a-ar s-iáng g-ün ‘S-abu-a-ar general’ (Xu48-21).

S-abu-o-ón (244-196-186-322), 11x, ‘a name’, ChinT *sa bu wan* 撒不椀 C433.

S-abu-ha-ar (244-196-051-123) ‘a name’, ChinT *sa-ba* 撒八 C433.

s-abu-s-* (244-196-244), 1x, L19,

s-abu-s-or (244-196-244-076) ‘approach, assume, undertake;which is, that is immediately, succeed, access(ion) to’, Chin *ji* 即, **L**19.

s-ai (244-122) ‘imperial physician’, 14x, Chin *yu yi* 御医 C432, singular, which has two plurals, **-ñ-er** and **-d**, to Mong *sayid* ‘magnate, dignitary, minister etc.’, plural of *sayi(n)* ‘good’, Dah *sain* ‘good, well’, *saire* ‘a tough guy, a strong man’ (< *sain ere*), (M205), *sait* ‘besser’ (<*sayitu*), see **s-ai-d**, genitive **s-ai-en** (244-122-140) ‘imperial physician’, 4x, Chin *yu yi* 御医 C432, dative-locative **s-ai-de** (244-122-205) ‘imperial physician, dative’, 1x, Chin *yu yi* 御医 C432, plural **s-ai-ñ-er** (244-122-222-341) ‘imperial physician, plural’, Chin *yu yi(fu)* 御医 (复), 6x, C432 (Gu14-3, Yu55-51, 63-48, 63-56, Pu14-10, Jue29-37), plural, genitive **s-ai-ñ-er-en** (244-122-222-341-140),

qita-un$_2$ s-ai tai shï (365-144 244-122 374 028-180) (Yu55), 1x, Chin *tai yi (fu) zhi* 太医 (复) 之 C432 the genitive is here an error.

s-ai-d (244-122-254) ‘official, minister’, 3x, Chin *chen* 臣 C432, see the above.

s-ai p-ong 仐丰 业杰 (244-122 295-071) ‘investigation commissioner’, ChinE *cai fang* 採访 C432, Hucker 6826 *cai fang shi* “Investigation Commissioner”, K87.

S-ar-ha-án 仐本击出 (244-123-051-290) ‘name of a person’, 12x, ChinT *sa lan* 撒懶. The name may pertain to the Turkic word for ‘dragon’, *sazagan.* The form with rhotacism exists as a loanword in Hungarian as *sárkány* (see WOT 695-697). Golden (2008, 37) cites the name of a Cuman-Kipchak Chieftain *Šarukan*, which is *Šarakan* in the Russian and *Šaragan* in the Georgian sources. On the special reliationship of the Cumans with the Khitans see **18.6.1**.

S-au ong 仐夾 杰 (244-161 071) ‘a title, the wang of a specialized unit’, see Hucker 6916, ChinE *cao wang* 曹王 CWJ 960.

s-au-qu 仐夾余 (244-161-246) ‘cyclical stem of Jia’, 4x, Chin *jia* 甲 C433 see **s-iau-qu.**

S-au-qu 仐夾余 (244-161-246) ‘a name’, ChT *saogu* 扫古, *zaogu* 慥古 C433 (Chao26).

s-em$_2$-li$_2$ 仐金北 (244-257-080) ‘illness’, 26x, K92, 116, Chin *bing* 病 C434, also
s-eu-li$_2$ 仐去北 (244-067-080),
s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er 仐金北公 (244-257-080-341), 23x, ‘to become ill, past tense’, Chin *bing* 病 C434,
s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er t-ge-er ‘became ill and died’ (Hong11) Chin *bing gu* 病故 CWJ143,
te s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er 口 仐金北公 (323 244-257-080-341), ‘because of that illnes’, Chin *nabingyi* 那病以 C470,
s-em$_2$-li$_2$-en 仐金北冇 (244-257-080-140),genitive, 2x,
s-em-y-ñ iu (244-270-020-222 019) ‘became ill and died’ (Dao35),
ETERNAL s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er ‘became terminally ill’ (Nu3-19).

s-en 仐冇 (244-140) ‘life, age, longevity’, K104, 160, Chin *shou* 寿 C432,
s-en-en eu-úr-ge-e$_2$-ci s-om au-a-er es 307-ñ lu-ur-b-te ‘becoming aged and getting an arrow, he did not recover??? (Gu6),
GREAT s-en 又 仐冇 (373 244-140), Chin *shouchang* 寿昌 ‘longevity and prosperity’ name of a reign period (1095-1101) (Hong14, Nu3).

s-én$_2$ 仐与 (244-100), no gloss, ? ‘good’, see Mong *sayin* Dag *sain* ‘good’ (M 205), *sä, sā̈, säⁱn, sän* ‘gut’ (L-M131), while: **sh-ên 叉考** (028-073) ‘1. auspicious, 2. new, 3. good’, Chin 1. *ji* 吉, 2. *xin* 新*,* 3. *shan* 善 C368, to ChinE, *shan* 善, YCh *ȿɛn*, LMCh *ȿhian*, or = **s-en 仐冇** (244-140) ‘life, age, longevity’, K104, Chin *shou*, 寿 C432.

S-ên G-e 仐考 九券 (244-073 334-348) ‘a name’ (only once in Yong 10-10) ← Uigur *Säŋä, S (ä)ŋä* ← Tibetan *seṅ-ge* ‘lion’← Sanskrit.

S-ên-ci qa-ha-an 仐考来 丞击买, 7x, Chin *xianzhi kehan* 鲜质可汗 CWJ 1340, mentioned in the Liaoshi as *xianzhi* 鮮質 (質=质), see WF p.88.

s-eng-un 仐各 火 (244-175-273) 'Field Marshal', 75x, ChinE- *xiangwen* 詳稳, C433, **L**17, **L** 20, Hucker 2367 LIAO "General, a tribal dignitary; one of the several terms that seem to be the Khitan rendering of the Chinese title *chiang-chün*, also *hsian kun*", accusative instrumental **s-eng-un-er 仐各火公** (244-175-273-341) 'chief of an army', 1x, Chin *xiang wen* 详稳 C433.

s-eu-li$_2$ 仐圡北 (244-067-080) 'being ill', 10x, (Jue36-5), ? to **s-em$_2$**.

s-i g-iu-ung-un l-iu sh-eu 仐关 九丙太火 屮丙 叉圡 (244-339 334-19-345-273 261-019 028-067) 'regent of west palace (capital), hybrid', ChinE *xi gong(jing) zhi liu shou* 西宫 (京) 之留守 C435, Khitan genitive construction, Hucker 3813 *liu shou si* "an office left on guard:Regency".

S-i g-ui 仐关 九火 (244-339 334-262) 'the state of Qi' Chin *qi guo* 齐国 = 齊國 C435,

S-i g-ui g-ung j-iú-un 仐关 九火 九太 支尖火 (244-339 334-262 334-345 104-289-273) 'princess of state of Qi, genitive', Chin *qi guo gong zhu zhi* 齐国公主之 C435,

S-i-i g-ui ong 仐关关 九火 杰 (244-339-339 334-262 071) 'prince of state of Qi', Chin *qi guo wang* 齐国王 C436.

s-i h-ing pu-u g-iu-ung shï 仐关 乂同 兮及 九丙太 兆 (244-339 340-303 241-131 334-19-345 180) 'deputy palace commander of Jiqing', Chin *ji qing fu gong shi* 积 (=積)庆 (=慶) 副宫使 C436 積 *ji,* YCh *tsi,* LMCh *tsiajk,* 慶 *qing,* YCh *kʰiŋ*, LMCh *kʰiajŋ-.*

s-i-ing ci-iau-u n-i-gu aú h-iú eme-t-en 仐关同 朩兮及 公关勺 尔 乂尖 丙仐冇 (Hai9)'The S-i-ing (?) and Chinese elder and younger sister wives' (Hai9).

s-i-ing g-ia-ang g-ün 仐关同 九才気 九亦 (244-339-303 334-335-199 334-339) 'a military title', ChinE *jing jiang jun* 静 (=靜)江军 (=軍) YCh *tsiŋ*, LMCh *tshiajŋ,* YCh *kjaŋ*, LMCh *kja:wŋ*, YCh *kyn,* LMCh *kyn* (Pu13).

s-i sh-ui ki-ên h-ai g-ui b-ai$_2$ 仐关 叉火 亚方 乂中 九火 丹东 (244-339 028-262 163-073 340-122 334-262 311-197) 'a title, founding father of the Qishui county', ChinE *qi shui xian kai guo bo* 漆水县(=縣)开(= 開)国 (=國)伯, YCh *tsʰi* LMCh *tsʰit*, YCh *ʂuj,* LMCh *ʂyj,* YCh *xjɛn*, LMCh *xɦjyan,* YCh *kʰai* LMCh *kʰaj*, Y Ch *kuj*, LMCh *kuə̆k,* YCh *paj,* LMCh *pɦa:jk* C435.

s-i h-ing pu-u g-iu-ung shï 仐关 乂同 兮及 九丙太 兆 (244-339 340-303 241-131 334-19-345 180) 'deputy palace commander of Jiqing', ChinE *ji qing fu gong shi* 积(=積)庆(=慶)副宫使 YCh tsi, LMCh *tsiajk*, YCh *kʰiŋ,* LMCh *kʰiajŋ,* YCh *fu,* LMCh *fjyw/fuw*, YCh *kuŋ*, LMCh *kiwŋ* C436, Hucker 2070 *fu gong* "TANG unofficial reference to a Commandry Governor", *Ji-qing* see WF707.

s-iang g-ün 仐并 九亦 (244-314 334-329) 'a title, general', K99, ChinE *jiang jun* 将军 (=將軍), YCh *tsjaŋ,* LMCh *tsiaŋ*, YCh *kyn*, LMCh *kyn,*

s-iang g-ün-en 仐并 九亦冇 (244-314 334-329-140) 'general, genitive', Chin *jiang jun zhi* 将军之 C435, see **S-en$_2$-üen w-u s-iang g-ün 仐炏㞢 杰叐 仐并 九亦** (244-082-324 070-131 244-314 334-329) ‘general of Xuanwu’, ChinE *xuan wu jiang jun* 宣武将军 C431.

s-iáng g-ung 仐並 九太 (244-062 334-345) ‘his excellency, duke’, also **s-iang g-ung 仐并 九太** (244-314 334-345), Chin *xiang gong* 相公, YCh *sjaŋ*, LMCh *siaŋ,* YCh *kuŋ,* LMCh *kəwŋ* C435, C431, Hucker 2331 “Minister Duke”.

s-iáng s-ün see **sh-eu-u s-iáng s-ün 叉圡叐 仐並 仐亦** (028-067-131 244-062 244-329).

s-iau1 仐兮 (244-362) ‘blue’, 14x, (K85, 103), **12.4** and **13**, see also **s-au-qu 仐夾余** (244-161-246),

s-iau-qu 仐兮余 (244-362-246) ‘cyclical stems of Jia, Yi, blue, masculine’, 3x, Chin *jia* 甲 *yi* 乙 *qing* 青 C436,

s-iau-qú 仐兮夹 (244-362-118) ‘blue, feminine’, 29x,

s-iau-qu ï$_3$ 仐兮余 杏 (244-362-246 113) ‘2nd year of the Sexagenary Cycle’ Chin *yichou* 乙丑, hybrid: Khitan ‘blue’ and Chinese *yi* ‘second heavenly stem’C436,

s-iau-qú tau-li-a 仐兮夹 无矢为 (244-362-118 029-206-189) ‘blue hare’, Chin *yi mao* 乙卯 C436,

s-iau-qu m-ri 仐 兮余 叉化 (244-362-246 133-235) ‘blue horse’, 11th year of the Sexagenary Cycle’ Chin *jiaxu* 甲戌, C436,

s-iau-qu ñ-qo 仐兮余 伏力 (244-362-246 222-168), ‘blue dog’,C436,

s-iau-qu t-qo-a 仐兮 余令力为 (244-362-246 247-168-189), ‘blue chicken’ C436,

s-iau-qu ui 仐兮余 火 ‘blue pig’ (244-362-246 262) C437,

s-iau-qu ém-a 仐兮余圣为 ‘blue goat’ (244-362-246 270-189), C437,

s-iau-qu p-o 仐兮 余 业及 (244-362-246 295-186) also **s-iau-qu b-o 仐兮余 舟及 及及** (244-362-246 311-186), ‘blue monkey’ C437, both in Qing,31,23.

S-iau2 仐兮 (244-362) ‘name of the clan Xiao, the Uigur clan, in marriage relation with the Khitan ruling clan’, ChinE 萧 = 蕭, YCh *sjɛw,* LMCh *siaw,*

The kin group from which the empress came probably received its Chinese clan name *Xiao* 蕭 in the year 947. According to Liaoshi 67,1a and CTK-C17,1a Taizong granted to *Xiao-han* 小漢 a meritorious brother-in-law, who was then commanding prefect of the conquered city, the homonymic name *Xiao Han* 蕭翰. Thereafter the Name Xiao was applied to the whole clan, see the details in WF237, note3,

see **T-ang-ur$_2$-en S-iau hu$_2$-ú QUEEN 令氕化冇 仐兮 亜伞 乐** (247-199-236-140 244-362 014-245 333) ‘a person’s name, the Xiao Hu (dendrodium) *teriken* of the Tanguts’, Chin *xiao hu lu* 小斛禄 Zhong14, CWJ has here 小 instead of 萧 = 蕭.

s-iau3 仐兮 (244-362) ‘junior, small’, ChinE *xiao* 小 ‘junior’ YCh *sjɛw,* LMCh *siaw* see also **s$_2$-iau**,

s-iau s-she g-ün** 仐芍 仐尗 九亦 (244-362 244-315 334-329) ‘junior army general’ ChinE *xiao jiang jun* 小将军 C437 on Zhong 7: correctly **s-iau s-iang g-ün** 仐芍 仐丬 九亦, also Yu9.

S-iau qa 仐芍 业 (244-362) ‘a person’s name’, ChinE *xiaohe* 萧何 C436 ?Xiao He (–193 BC) famous strategist and chancellor or the Xiao king, (Hu18).

s-ie du-u 仐文 仃及 (244-327 237-131) ‘military commissioner’, ChinE *jie du* 节 (=節)度, YCh tsjɛ, LMCh *tsiat,* YCh *tu*, LMCh *tɦuǝ̆* C435, Hucker 777, *jie du shi* 節 都使 “Military Commissioner”, see also **z-ie-du-shi**.

s-ie-ên 仐文夬 (244-327-073) ‘former, the late, the deceased’, ChinE *xian* 先,

s-ie-ên hong-en 仐文夬 主冇 (244-327-073 075-140) ‘the late/former emperor, genitive’, ChinE *xian huang zhi* 先皇之 YCh *sjɛn*, LMCh *sian* C435,

s-ie-ên p-od-a-án 仐文夬 业币为出 ‘the return to one’s (immortal) homeland’ (Dao31), Chin *xian gui* 仙归 CWJ 914.

s-ie-ên ng-iu ui°-i z-iang g-ün 仐文夬 发丙 冬关 伞丬 九亦 (244-327-073 264-019 263-339 258-314 334-339) ‘general of Qianniu wei (Thousand cattle guard)’, ChinE *qian niu wei jiang jun* 千牛卫(=衛) 将军 YCh ts^{h}jɛn, LMCh *ts^{h}ian,* YCh *jiu*, LMCh *ŋiw,* YCh *uj,* LMCh *yai,* C435.

s-ie-ên p-ai$_2$ jur sï-d-en 仐文夬 业乐 圣 廿仝冇 (244-327-073 295-197 134 083-254-140) ‘bureau of coins and silk, the two, genitive’, ChinE *qian bo er si zhi* 钱(=錢)帛二司之, YCh *ts^{h}jɛn,* LMCh *tsɦian,* YCh *paj,* LMCh *pɦa:jk,* YCh *sẓ̩* LMCh *sẓ̩,* C435, hybrid see the function of **jur** and the Khitan plural and genitive.

s-ie-ên p-úng 仐文夬 业当 (244-327-073 295-357) ‘avantgarde’, ChinE *xian feng* 先锋 (=鋒) YCh *sjɛn* LMCh *sian,* YCh *fuŋ*, LMCh *fɦjyawŋ/fǝwŋ,* C435.

S-in g-ui g-ung j-iú 仐雨 九火 九太 支火 (244-018 334-345 334-262 104-289) ‘the princess of S-in (Qin) country, (Xian3).

S-in ong 仐雨 杰 (244-018 071) ‘name of a person, a title’, **L**1, Chin *qin wang* 秦王, CWJ1253,

t-ie-ên-ñ y-au-ji$_3$ s-in ong ‘the Heaven sent/from the Heaven coming S-in ong’ **L**3.

s-iu-ir-g-en 仐丙刃九冇 (244-019-137-334-140) ‘a title??’-(Zhi26-1) so also on p.2000 Index to **ir-g-en?**,

s-iu-ir-g-en i-ri /26/ **au-ul-ó-ui** 仐丙刃九冇 关化/26/ 夬平廾火 ‘the title s. was changed???’ *(*Zhi26-1), Chin *hao gai* 号改 CWJ1221, for **s-iu-ir-g** no gloss.

s-ï shï 仐谷 兀 (244-353 180) ‘prefect’, Chin *ci shi* 刺史 YCh *ts^{h}ẓ̩*, LMCh *ts^{h}ẓ̩,* YCh *ʂɽ̩,* LMCh *ʂɽ̩,* C436, also **sï shï** 廿 兀 (083 180) ‘regional chief’, Chin *ci shi* 刺史 C384.

s-l-b 仐屮舟 (244-261-311) ‘order of years, the cyclical order of the years, the animal cycle, to follow’ K110, 19x, no gloss, read by K as <*se-le-bo*>, on CWJ

914: Chin *hui* 回 ‘to return’, in the expression **ai-en s-l-b** according to the cyclical order of the years’, accusative-instrumental **s-l-b-er** (244-261-311-341), dative-locative **s-l-b-de** (244-261-311-205), prolative-ablative **s-l-b-d-iú** (244-261-311-254-269),

ai-en s-l-b y冇 仐屮舟 (122-140 244-261-311) ‘order, the cyclical sequence of the year’ (Xing1-6),

emu ming-an s-l-b ‘one thousand times returning (years)’ (Dao31) Chin *yi qian hui* 千回.

s-lu$_3$- 仐升 (244-312) incorrectly **t-lu$_3$** 令升 (247-312) ‘separate, discrete, detachment’, Chin *fenli* 分离 C441 (Hu23),

s-lu$_3$-y-* 仐升万 (244-312-020) ‘to separate’, see Mong *salu-, sal-* ‘to separate, branch off, part with, divorce’, Dah *sale-* ‘they separate, it separates’, *sale-gaa* ‘separate them or it’, (M205), M-K deest, also,

s-lu$_3$-y-i 仐升万关 (244-312-020-339) ‘separate’, Chin *fen li* 分离 C434,

s-lu$_3$-y-un$_2$ 仐升万叉 (244-312-020-144) ‘separate’, Chin *fen li* 分离 C434.

s-mu-i 仐仕关 (244-224-339) ‘travel, move’, Chin *xing* 行 C434,

s-mu-én tau-ud 仐仕当 乇亦 (244-224-361 029-099) ‘travelling palace’, Chin *xing zhang* 行帐 C434,

s-mu-én udu-ú 仐仕当 米伞 (244-224-361 355-245) ‘travelling palace’, Chin *xing gong* 行宫 (Yu27).

s-o sh-o pu pu sh-o 仐及 飞及 分 分 飞及 (244-186 028-186 241 241 028-186) ‘a title, left (*zuo*) commandant (*shuai*) guard, deputy commandant’, ChinE *zuo shuai (= lü, lyu) fu fu shuai* 左率府副帅 (= 帥) YCh *tsɔ*, LMC *tsa*, YCh *shwaj*, LMCh *suj*, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjyǎ/fuǎ,* YCh *fu,* LMCh *fjyw/fuw*, YCh *ʂwaj,* LMCh *ʂuj* (also shuo YCh *ʂu?,* LMCh *ʂut*) C433, Hucker 5479 *shuai fu shuai* “Commandant of the Guard Command, commonly abbreviated to *shuai*”, *shuai* 率 other reading *lü,* C431.

s-oi$_2$ 仐夵 (244-107) ‘to give birth’, 11x, see **sui** (238),

s-oi$_2$-l-ha-a-ar ai 仐夵屮圡为丰 丰 (244-107-261-051-189-123 122) ‘birth father’, (Guang3), Chin *sheng fu* 生父 C431 Index CWJ 2006, and transcription CWJ1101 have **s-oi$_2$-l-ha-a-er** 仐夵屮圡为公 (244-107-261-051-189-341) for the same place, on CWJ 674 on the photo the place is unclear, the

s-om 仐九 (244-092) ‘arrow, an administrative unit’, 61x, Chin *shi* 矢, *jian* 箭 C431, see Mong *sumu(n)* ‘arrow, district, a military unit’, Dah *some* ‘arrow’ (M211), *som* ‘Banner, Pfeil, Kompagnie’ (M-K132), dative-locative **s-om-de** 仐九矢 (244-092-205) ‘the *som*, administrative unit, Chin *nu yu* 弩于 C431,

s-om-de n-o-l$_2$-ha-ai ‘the midle of the *som* (county)’, Chin *nu yu zhong* 弩于中 C431,

s-om t-qó-a-as 仐九 令欠为冬 ‘the som and the teqos’, (Xuan 13, Zhen44=47),

s-om-ji$_2$ 仐九犳 (244-092-153), 1x, also **s-om-ji** 仐九犲 (244-092-152), 2x.

S-om-ji 仐九犲 (244-082-152) ‘person’s name, “Archer” (Ling8-15),

m-o b-qo s-om-ji tai shï 又及 冄力 仐九犭 丞 兆 (Ling8-15).

s-on 仐不 (244-154) ‘night’, 4x, Chin *ye* 夜 C433, see Mong *söni* ‘night’, Dah *suni* ‘night’ (M213), *sun,* ‘Mitternacht’ (M-K133) also **s-uni,** genitive **s-on-en** (244-154-140), 1x, **s-on-i 仐不关** (244-154-339), 5x, dative-locative, **s-on-de** (244-154-205), 1x.

s-on-l-* ‘to spend the night’ in:
m-in-de au-ul-ha-ai abu-ar s-on-l-ha-ai 又雨矢 夬平圡丰 生本 仐不屮圡丰 ‘after having been moved to the mausoleum…???. spent the night’. Perhaps **abu-ar** is not **abu** ‘ancestor’.

s-or-ha-* 仐北圡 (244-076-051) ‘to teach’, see Mong *surga-* ‘to teach’ < *sur-* ‘to learn’, Dag *sore-* ‘to learn’, *sore-gaa-* ‘to teach’ (M212), *soro-* ‘lernen’ (M-K 13),
s-or-ha-a-ai 仐 北圡为丰 (244-076-051-189-122),
s-or-h-al-hu 仐 北圡亐列 (244-076-051-098-151),
s-or-ha-ai 仐北圡丰 (244-076-051-122),
s-or-ha-ar 仐北圡本 (244-076-051-123),
s-or-ha-a-ai 仐北圡为丰 (244-076-051-189-122),
s-or-ha-a-ar 仐北圡为本 (244-076-051-189-123).

s-ó-ul-d 仐廾平公 (244-090-366-254) ‘illness’, see Mong *sulad-* ‘to be weak, insufficient’ to *sula* ‘loose, lx, empty’ (Nugteren 505), Dah *suale* ‘loose, free (not tight, not captured)’ (M212), *sula* ‘unbeschäftigt, müssig, frei’ (M-K 133),
s-ó-ul-d tu-úr-b-ñ-er 仐廾平公 岁夾冄伏兴 (244-090-366-254 202-097-311-222-341) ‘die of illness’, Chin *bing hong* 病薨 C431,
s-ó-ul-uh (244-090-366-172), 1x,
s-ó-ul-b-ñ (244-090-366-311-222), 1x,
s-ô-al 仐仌亐 (244-252-098) ‘illness’ (Chao20), no gloss.

s-qó-SMALL-l-ha* 仐欠州屮圡 (244-169-188-261-051) ‘1. command, 2. to repair’, Chin 1. *ming* 命 2. *xiu* 修 C433, see ? Mong *sayidqa-* ‘to improve,
s-qó-SMALL-l-ha-al-un$_2$ 仐欠州屮圡亐叉 (244-169-188-261-051-098-144) ‘1. command, 2. to repair’, Chin 1. *ming* 命 2. *xiu* 修 C433,
s-qó-SMALL-l-ha-ai 仐欠州屮圡丰 (244-169-188-261-051-122) ‘was commanding’, Chin *ming* 命 C433.
s-qó-SMALL-l-ha-ar 仐欠州屮圡本 (244-169-188-261-051-123) ‘had reapaired’, Chin *xiu* 修 C433.

s-ung1 仐太 (244-345) ‘ancestors’, ChinE *zong* 宗, YCh *tsuŋ,* LMCh *tsəwŋ,*
s-ung us-g-er 仐太 兆九兴 (244-345 068-334-341) ‘ancestor’s words’, instrumental’, Chin *zong zi yi* 宗字以 C436 “from (*yi*) the ancestors (*zong*) word (*zi*)”, hybrid first part is ChinE *zong*, YCh *tsuŋ*, LMCh *tsəŋ* the second Khitan **us-g**+instrumental.

S-ung2 仐太 (244-345) ‘the name of the Song dynasty’, 16x, also **S-ung$_3$ 仐冬** (244-346),

S-ung qa-ha-an ‘the Song emperor’ (244-345 053-051-011), Chin *song ke han zhi* 宋可汗之 C436, CWJ read it as being in genitive case,
S-ung ong-on (244-345 071-154) ‘the king (*wang*) of Song genitive’, ChinE *sung wang zhi* 宋王之 C436,
S-ung g-úr-en (244-345 334-094-140) ‘the Song state, genitive’, Chin *sung guo zhi* 宋国之 C436,
S-ung g-ui ong (244-345 334-262 071) ‘the king (wang) of the Song state’, Chin *sung guo wang* 宋国王,
S-ung$_3$ ng-ui g-uiº p-i-in (244-346 264-262 334-263 292-339-018), ‘the imperial concubine of the Sungwei state, genitive’, ChinE *sung wei guo fei zhi* 宋魏国 妃之.

s-uni (244-059) ‘night’, 22x, K108, Chin *ye* 夜 C432, see Mong *söni* ‘night’, Dah *suni* ‘ night’ (M213), *sun, suń* ‘Nacht’ (M-K133), see **s-on**,
s-uni-en (244-059-140), 7x,
s-uni-en sär (244-059-140 081) ‘night’s moon’, Chin *ye zhi yue* 夜之月 C432,
s-uni-de (244-059-205) ‘night, dative-locative’, 2x, Chin *ye yu* 夜于 C432.

S-úng ng-ui-i g-ui ong-on (244-357 264-262-339 334-262 071-154) ‘prince of state of Songwei, genitive’, ChinE *song wei guo wang zhi* 宋魏国王之 C436 (Song1), *Song-wei* is here the same as Song.[1]

S-úng t-ie-ên hong tai heu-un (244-357 247-327-073 075 374 250-273) ‘Zongtian empress dowager’, Chin *zong tian huang tai hou* 宗天皇太后 C436.

s-üe-en$_2$ h-uiº (244-082-324 340-263) ‘coat of arms, declaration emblem’ ChinE *xuan hui* 宣徽 YCh *sɥɛn,* LMCh *syan*, YCh *xuj*, LMCh *xyj*, C431.

S-üe-en$_2$ w-u s-iang g-ün (244-082-324 070-131 244-314 334-329) ‘general of Xuanwu’, ChinE *xuan wu jiang jun* 宣武将军 YCh *sɥɛn,* LMCh *syan*,YCh *ʋu,* LMCh *ujyǎ/ʋuǎ* C431.

S-üe-en$_2$ i$_3$ (244-082-324 338) ‘Xuan yi (Empress)’, ChinE *xuan yi* 宣毅, YCh *sɥɛn,* LMCh *syan*, YCh *ji,* LMCh *ŋi*, C431,
S-üe-en$_2$ i i eme-n (244-082-324 339 339 021-251) ‘mother Xuan yi (Empress), genitive’, ChinE *xuan yi huanghou zhi* 宣毅 皇后 之.

S$_2$-a (354-189) ‘part of a name’, ChinT *sa* 撒, **L**3.

s$_2$-iau (354-362) ‘junior’, 1x, ChinE *xiao* 小, YCh *sjɛw,* LMCh *siaw.*

s$_2$-iau w-u da-ai z-iang g-ün (354-362 070-131 171-122 258-314 334-329) ‘a title’, Chin *zhao wu da jiang jun* 昭武大将军 C482 ?

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[1] *<m-o y-ar-u-ud-i t-ge-én s-ung$_3$ ng-ui° g-ui p-i-in n-ar-de RECORD-g-én COMPOSE$_2$-ú>*

Zhaowu great general? Wrong reading, see **ci-iau w-u d-ai-i s-313 g-ün** 术芍 杰及公 丰关 仐仔 几亦 (162-362 070-131 254-122-339 244-313 334-329).

s$_2$-ui- 岁火 (354-262) ‘to bore, to give birth’ (Hui13-28), no gloss, see **sui-*** 佃 (238),
es s$_2$-ui-u-su 岁火及卡 (354-262-131-041), ‘did not give birth’, 1x, (Yong20-1),
ku-û-un û-ui s$_2$-ui 几只㐅 只火 岁火 (Hui13-28), no gloss, but has to be the same as above.

sär 丈 (081) ‘Moon, month’ earlier MONTH, K107, Ch *yue* 月, **L**13, **L**18, plural: **sär-s** 丈仐 (081-244) genitive **sär-en** 丈有 (081-140), Dative-locative **sär-de** 丈矢 (081-205), **L**16, 19x, Ablative-prolative **sär-de-i** 丈矢关 (081-205-339), plural, accusative-instrumental **sär-s-er** 丈仐公 (081-244-341), **L**18, **L**23, Liaoshi: *saiyier* 賽咿唲.

si$_2$ 十 (040) ‘west’, earlier <ör>, also **s-i** 仐关 (244-339) see Róna-Tas 2019[2], **L**20, ChinE *xi* 西 YCh *si,* LMCh *siaj*,
si$_2$-l-i 十屮关 (040-261-338) ‘western?’, Chin no gloss, former <ör>~, **L**17.

si$_2$-ha-* 十走 (040-051) ‘?’, 1x, in:
es si$_2$-ha a-án an 乃 十走 为出 (Chao20-18). *wei zai ci* ? 未在此 ? CWJ 1370.

SEVENTY 冂 (300) ‘seventy’, **SEVENTY°** 冃 (301) (K95 “EIGHTY” but K115 SEVENTY), Chin *qi shi* 七十 C463, see Mong *dala(n)* ‘seventy’, Dah *dale* (M132), *dal, dalaŋ* ‘siebzig’, see **dalu** 斥, (141), **dalu°** 斥 (141.1), see **12.3** NUMERALS.

siu 求 (004) ‘white’, **siu°** 求 (005) ‘white, (masculine)’, Chin *bai* 白, 7th of the 10 Heavenly Stems’, Chin *geng* 庚 C359, genitive **siu-ń** 求 伏 (004-222), **siu°-ń** 求伏 (005-222).

Siu 求 (004) ‘a name’, ChinT *su* 苏 C359.

SIX° 灰 (086) ‘six, masculine’, Chin *liu* 六 C385 see **ñol.**

SIXTY 乂 (266) ‘sixty’, Chin *liu shi* 六十 C453,
SIXTY-en eu-ur$_2$ 乂有 圠化 (266-140 067-236) ‘sixty years old’, Chin *liu shi sui* 六十岁 C454.

s-ï g-m ng-u t-ai-i 仐谷 几叉 炎及 令丰关 (244-353 334-133 264-131 247-122-339) ‘a rank, with purple gold fish bag’, Chin *zi jin yu dai* 紫金鱼袋 YCh *tsẓ,* LMCh *tsẓ,* YCh *kim,* LMCh *kim*, YCh *y,* LMCh *ŋiă/ŋyă*, YCh *taj,* LMCh *tĥaj* C436.

sï shï 廿 兆 (083 180) ‘regional chief’, also **s-ï shï** 仐谷 兆 (244-353 180) ChinE *ci shi* 刺史 YCh tsʰẓ, LMCh *tsʰẓ,* YCh *ʂṛ,* LMCh *ʂṛ,* C384, CWJ1443.

sï tu 廿 方 (083-202) ‘a title’, ChinE *si tu* 司徒, YCh *sẓ* LMCh *sẓ,* YCh *tʰu* LMCh *tĥuǝ̆,* Hucker No 5801 “Minister over the masses” dative-locative **sï tu-dú** 廿 方尼 (083 202-179), Chin *si tu yu* 司徒于 C385 see also **sh-eu sï tu** 夊圠 廿 方 (028-067 083 202).

SMALL 州 (188) ‘small, junor’, K118, C415,

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[2] In my paper 2019 I opted for the Middle Chinese form, but now I prefer the Early Old Mandarin, that is /si/

SMALL-qó 州欠 (188-169) '1. small, 2. young', Chin 1. *xiao* 小 2. *ji* 季 C415,
SMALL-qu 州余 (188-246) '1. small, 2. young', Chin 1. *xiao* 小 2. *ji* 季 C415,
SMALL-qó-do 州欠朱 (188-169-217) '1. since his childhood, small, dative-locative, 2. from his young time', Chin 1. *xiao yu* 小于 2. *shao shi yu* 少时于 C415,
SMALL-qó-do ci-er 州欠朱 朩公 'when he was young, in his youth' no gloss for **ci-er** (Guang6),
SMALL-qu-de-i 州余矢关 (188-246-205-339) 'since his childhood', Chin *xiao cong* 小从 C415,
SMALL see also **s-qó-SMALL-l-ha-al-ir$_2$** 仐欠州屮圡亐叐 (244-169-188-261-051-098-144).

sui-* 佃 (238) 'to bear, give birth to', Chin *sheng* 生 C424, earlier (K86, Wu-Janhunen, Shimunek 2017) only as logoglyph BORN, also **s$_2$-ui** (354-262), **s-oi$_2$** 仐夳 (244-107), **s-oi$_2$-l-ha-a-ar** 仐夳屮圡为夲 (244-107-261-051-189-123), also see **12.5.1.1**,
sui-l-ha-ai po 佃屮圡丰 非 (238-261-051-122 279) 'birth time', Chin *sheng shi* 生时 C424,
sui-l-ha-a-ar ai 佃屮圡为夲 丰 (238-261-051-189-123 122) 'birth father, own father', Chin *sheng fu* 生父 C424 (Hong2),
sui-l-ha-a-án eme 佃屮圡为出 丙 (238-261-051-189-290 021) 'birth mother, own mother', Chin *sheng mu* 生母 C424,
sui-i 佃关 (238-339) 'born', Chin *sheng* 生 C425,
sui-y-de 佃丏矢 (238-020-205) (Jue45), Chin *sheng* 生 CWJ 1561,
sui-il-g 佃用九 (238-302-334) 'born', Chin *sheng* 生 C425,
sui-il-g-en 佃用九冇 (238-302-334-140) 'born, genitive', Chin *sheng* 生 C425,
sui-er ku 佃公 几 (238-341 178) 'stranger, born man, people who borned', Chin *sheng ren* 生人 C425,
sui-én när 佃当 尺 (238-361 159) 'birth day', Chin *sheng ri* 生日 C425, *dan ri* 诞日 (CWJ883),
sui-én go-er 'birth Patriarchal Tent' *sheng fang* 生房 (Nan12, 31) CWJ 1173, 1182,
sui-én go-t 'to the birth Patriarchal Tent' (Xu51) *sheng fang* 生房, CWJ 1003,
sui-er ñ-ô-or ji-en '(with) in the birth tribe' (Xu30) Chin *shengbu zhongzhi* 生部中之,
sui-er ia 'birth brother, brother by birth' (Cha8) Chin *sheng xiong* 生兄,
ju-ur-e n-i-gu sui-s-g '(of) Jurchen Gold birth' (Zhong2-8), Chin *shu li zhe nü gu sheng* 术里者 女古 生.

SH

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sh(a)-* (028) ‘to press’, no gloss, see **sh-a-ri, sh-ha.**

sh-a-ang s-iang g-ün ‘high general’, ChinE *shang jiang jun* 上 将军 & 上 將軍 (= 上 將軍 &上 將軍) (Tu10) YCh *ʂaŋ*, LMCh *ʂaŋ,* YCh *tsjaŋ* LMCh *tsiaŋ,* YCh *kyn*, LMCh *kyn,* Hucker4982 “Generalissimo” also **sh-ang s-iang g-ün** (028-199 244 334 329), **L**20**, L**23.

sh-a-rí (028-189-069), 133x, ‘court attendant, courtier*, langjun*’, K90, 116, also **sh-ia-ri** (028-274-069), 1x, **sha-ha-rí** (028-051-069), 9x, plural **sh-a-rí-d** (028-189-069-254), also **zh-a-ri** (330-189-069) Chin *lang jun* 郎君 C470, transcribed as ChinT *shali* 沙里, **L**2, **L**6, **L**12, **L**14 to Khitan **sh-ha-** ‘to supress’, cf. Mong *daruga* ‘chief, superior, commander etc.’ < *daru-* ‘to press’, Turk *basgaq* ‘Gouverneur’ (Wilkens, 145) < *bas-* ‘to press’, gentive: **sh-a-rí-en** (028-189-069-140), dative-locative **sh-a-rí-de** (028-189-069-205),

sh-a-rí-d s-eng-un (028-189-069 244-175-273) ‘langjun marshall’, Chin *langjun xiangwen* 郎君 祥穩, **L**18, Hucker 3571,

dor p-ai sï-en sh-a-rí (218 295-122-083-140 028-189-069) ‘court attendant of the Bureau of the Seals and Tallies’, Chin. *yin pai si langjun* 牌司郎君, **L**2,

ci-g-sï-en sh-a-rí ‘the shari of the left’ (162-334-083-140 028-189-069) Chin *zuo si zhi langjun* 左司之郎君 C408.

sh-al-s-un$_2$ (028-098-244-144) ‘group, multitude, plural, genitive of **sh-al-***?’, Chin *qun* 群 in,

sh-al-s-un har$_3$-s ‘mountains, range of mountains’, Chin *qun shan* 群 山 CWJ 1040,

ju-ur-n sh-al-s-un$_2$ har$_3$-s ‘the mountains of the Jurchen’ (Yu21).

sh-ang s-iang g-ün (028-199 244 334 329), **L**20, **L**23, see **sh-a-ang s-iang g-ün**.

sh-au-a (028-161-189) ‘eagle, falcon’, K97, Chin *ying* 鷹 C369, Liaoshi ChinT *shaowa* 稍瓦 see Mong *sibagun* ‘bird, fowl’, Dah *šo(u)oo* ‘falcon’ (M218), *šowō* ‘Habicht’ (M-K134), see Kara 2021, WF 736, dative-locative **sh-au-a-iú** (028-161-189-289) ‘eagle’, Chin *ying* 鷹 C369,

see **l-iau-qu-ur$_2$ h-eu-s sh-au-a** (261-362-246-236 340-067-244 028-161-189) ‘the falcon with red neck/throat’,

see **m-ri sh-au-a nai ui** (133-235 028-161-189 332-262), ‘the head of the horse(men) and falcon(er)’, Chin *ma ying guan* 马 鷹 官 C396,

see in the year 1061:… “lower officials and common people were forbidden to tame the gray falcons from east of the sea” LS21,6b WF236.

Sh-au-a-aju ñ-û-úr 又夾为艾 伏只亥 (028-161-189-082.1 222-372-097) ‘The Falconer tribe’, ChinT *shao wa bu* 稍瓦部 C369.

Sh-au-úr-ha-aju-en m-o-s$_2$-u-ji-en û-ul-ge-er ‘got the majority of the falcony’ (Jue30).

sh-au-u pu 又夾及 分 (028-161-131 241) ‘a title’, Chin *shao fu* 少傅 YCh *ʂɛw*, LMCh *ʂiaw,* YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjyǎ/fuǎ,* C369 Hucker 5097.

sh-em-qú 又企夬 (028-257-118) ‘good, goodness’, 6x, see **sh-ên,** genitive **sh-em$_2$-qú-i 又企夬关** (028-257-118-339), 2x, dative-locative **shem-qú-de 又企夬矢** (028-257-118-205), 1x,

sh-em$_2$-qú-i cu-ur$_2$-ge-én 又企夬关 艻化岑当 (028-257-118-339 102-236-349-361) ‘accumulate goodness’, Chin *shan ji* 善积 C370, not Mong *sayin* see **sh-ên 又考** (028-073).

sh-en g-ui pu-shi-ñ-en 又冇 几火 分秃伏冇 (028-140 334-262 241-033-222-140) ‘a title, the milady of Shen, genitive’, ChinE *shen guo fu ren zhi* 莘国夫人之 C369, YCh *ʂən,* LMCh *ʂən..*

sh-ên 又考 (028-073) ‘1. auspicious, 2. new, 3. good’, Chin 1. *ji* 吉, 2. *xin* 新*,* 3. *shan* 善 C368, to ChinE, *shan* 善, YCh *ʂɛn*, LMCh *ʂhian*, and *not* Mong *sayin* ‘good’ or *sine* ‘new, fresh’, Dag *sain* ‘good’ (M 205), *sä, sǟ, säın, sän* ‘gut’ (L-M131),

sh-ên när 又考 尖 (028-073 159) ‘auspicious day’ (Ren9).

sh-eu-u p-i-in 又去及 业关雨 ‘imperial concubine’, ChinE *shu fei* 淑妃 YCh *ʂy,* LMCh *ʂhiwk,* YCh *fi*, LMCh *fjyj/fji,*

sh-e-u p-i-in g-iu-ung-de 又去及 业关雨 九丙太矢 ‘to the palace of the imperial concubins, hybrid’ ChinE *shu fei gong yu* 淑妃公于 (Cha10), CWJ1582.

sh-eu sï tu 又去 廿 方 (028-067 083 202) ‘a title’, ChinE *shou si tu* 守司徒 C368, *shou* is ‘defend(ing), guard(ing)’ YCh *ʂiw,* LMCh *ʂiw, si-tu* “Minister over the Masses” see above,.

sh-eu tai s-ï sh-iau-u b-u-un i-ri 又去 丞 仐谷 又兯及 舟及火 关化 ‘a title’ (Jue20-24), ChinE *shou taizi shao bao* 守太子 少保, hybrid genitive construction Hucker: 5110 *shao bao* ‘Junior Guardian’.

sh-eu-su 又去卡 (028-067-041) ‘dewdrop’, 5x, Chin *lu* 露 C368, may have two possible Mong parallels. 1. Mong *sigüsün* ‘sap, juice, food (usually meat) for offerings, food for travelling, wholed sheep cooked and served to honored guests’ (Wu 2007, 100), Shimunek 2014 111 did not accept this, and suggested instead Mong *sibere-*‘to drizzle’ and read with ? mark <š-eu-ru> or 2. Mong *silüsün* ‘saliva’, but Dag *silǔs, sils, silus* ‘Tau’ (M-K132) in other Dag dialects and Mong languages ‘salive, juice’, The word *sigüsün* goes back to *sigü-* ‘filter’. The word *silüsün* occurs also as the second part of the expression ‘spider web, spider’s silk’ see Nugteren 2011,496. The Cicikar dialect of Dagur, noted by Muromskij and edited by Kałużyński preserved the Khitan meaning ‘dew’ , see **bai-en-en sh-eu-su** ((061-140-140 028-067-041) , **sh-eu-su när-de** ‘dew drop day’ (Xuan25).

sh-eu tai b-u (028-067 374 311-131), 2x ‘acting Great Guardian’, Chin *shou tai bao* 守 太保 CWJ993, *shou* Hucker 5355 “Acting” see **tai-b** ‘Great Guardian’,

sh-eu tai b-u h-iú ong-on i-ri ‘the title of the acting **tai-bao** (Yu27), ChinE *shou tai-bao xu wang zhi* 守太保 许王之 (CWJ1046).

sh-eu-u s-iáng s-ün (028-067-131 244-062 244-329) ‘a title’, Chin *shao jiang jun* 少将军 C368, *shao* ‘lesser, here: junior’, YCh *ʂεw*, LMCh *ʂiaw,* for *jiang jun* see Hucker 694 see above, **s-iáng s-ün.**

sh(a)-* (028) ‘to press’, see the next item.

sh-ha- (028-051) ‘to let press’, no gloss,

sh-ha-aju (028-051-082.1) ‘to suppress, put down, to defeat ?’, to Mong *siqa-~siga-* ‘to press, to force something upon somebody’, Dag *šaa-* ‘beat, hammer’, *šahe-* ‘wipe, clean, wipe off, erase’ (M214), *śaha-* ‘drücken, pressen, (be)drängen’ (M-K129), see **sh-ha-al-ha-ar** (028-051-098-051-123) once, the semantics may be similar to Mong *daru-*, Turki *bas-* ‘to press down, subdue’. Chin no gloss, **L**17,

hoi si ñ-ó-ur cau-ui-én ji-en sh-ha-aju ‘they were subdued by the army of the North-West tribes/regions’ (Jue28).

sh-i-ju (028-339-147) ‘a title’, ChinE *shi zhu* 世烛, YCh *ʂi,* LMCh *ʂiaj,* YCh *tʂy, tʂiw,* LMCh *tʂywk* C367, also **sh-i-ci-u** (028-339-152-131) ‘a title’, Chin *shi zhu* 世烛 (= 燭), C367.

sh-i-l-oi$_2$-én (028-339-261-107-361) ‘a title’, 1x, only here, perhaps *shi lie* 石列, ‘tribal unit’, a backloan, **L**19,

? **sh-il-l-û-ui au-ul-ha-ai** (Xu47-2).

sh-i-m (028-339-133), ‘the district or prefecture Shen’, ChinE *shen* 沈, 瀋, YCh *ʂim* see WF Index, 737**. L**22,

sh-i-m em$_2$-en t-qó sh-i (028-339-133 257-140 247-169 028-339) ‘military commissioner of the district Shenzhou’, ChinE *shen zhou zhi du shi* 沈洲之度使 C367, hybrid, with Khitan genitive.

sh-i-ri (028-339-235) ‘yellow’, Chin *huang* 潢, see Mong *sira*, Dag *šari* (M 214), *šara* (M-K 134),

Sh-i-ri mor (028-339-235 185) ‘river name, Shira mörön’, Chin *huang he* 潢河 C367 (Wu46) only **mor.**

sh-iau-u (028-362-131) ‘few, junior, lesser’, ChinE *shao* 少 YCh *ʂεw,* LMCh *ʂiaw* CWJ 959,

sh-iau-u shï (028-362-131 180) ‘young master, junior teacher’ ChinE *shaoshi* 少师 (Ling11), Hucker 5113.

sh-iau-u ün (028-362-131 329) ‘vice governor’, Chin *shao yin* 少尹 (Xian6), Hucker 5126.

sh-iau-u pu g-ia-am shi (028-362-131 241 334-335-184 180) ‘a title’ Chin *shao fu jian shi* 少府 監史 (Cha12), see Hucker 5098 ‘Directorate for Imperial Manufactures’.

sh-iá (028-274) ‘goodness’, K100, also **sh-ia ,** Chin *shan* 善 C365, see ?Mong *sayiqan*??, genitive **sh-iá-an** (028-274-011) ‘goodness’, Chin *shan* 善 ‘good’ C365, dative-locative **sh-iá-iú** (028-274-289) ‘goodness’, Chin *shan* 善 C366,

sh-iá-ai$_2$ (028-274-197) ‘goodness, well, kind (ly)’, Chin *shan* 善 C365,

sh-iá-ai$_2$ COMPOSE-un$_2$ (028-274-197 308-144) ‘well composed’, Chin *shan zhi* 善制 C366,

sh-ia em-n (028-335 021-251) ‘loving (good) mother, genitive’, Chin *shan mu zhi* 善母之 C367.

sh-iá-áng* (028-274-280) ‘to praise’, from **sh-iá** (028-274) ‘goodness’, see Mong *sayisiya-*‘to praise’ < *sayin,*

sh-iá-áng-û-ji (028-274-280-372-152) ‘eulogy, praising’, Chin *zan* 赞 C366,

sh-iá-áng-ha-ai shï (028-274-280-051-122 180) ‘poem of praise, eulogy’, Chin *zan shi* 赞诗 C366,

sh-iá-áng-ha-ai us-g (028-274-280-051-122 068-334) ‘poem of praise, hymn’,

sh-iá-áng-un$_2$ (028-274-280-144) ‘praise’, Chin *zan* 赞 C366,

sh-iá-áng-l-ha-ai (028-274-280-261-051-122) was praising’, Chin *zan* 赞 C366,

sh-iá-áng-l-ha-ai-ar (028-274-280-261-051-122-123) ‘to praise, past tense’, Chin *zan* 赞 C366.

sh-ie-b g-ung-un (028-327-311 334-345-273) ‘ten palaces, genitive’, ChinE *shi gong zhi* 十宫之, YCh *ʂi* LMCh *ʂhip* C372, Chinese *-p* preserved!, see: *sh-ie-b g-ung-un lu sui-y-de t-em$_2$-y-l-ñ* “having been appointed to the *lu-sui* (?) of the Ten Palaces” (Jue45) and **Gao-shi,** *lu* my be *lu* 路, Hucker, No3839 LIAO: “Route, the territorial base of juridiction of a tribal army (*pu-tso chün*)”, see **par emu g-ung-ur$_2$** ‘the eleven palaces, ordos’ (Ling15).

Sh-ie-ên (028-327-073) ‘name of a prefecture, Xian’, ChinE *xian* 显 = 顯, (Xian25) YCh *xjɛn,* LMCh *xjian* there were two prefectures, WF 70.One of them 顯 was in Modern *Bei-zhen* county, *Liaoning*, the other *xian* 咸 YCh *xjam*, LMCh *xɦjam* in modern *Kai yuan* county, North-eastern Liaoning WF73. see also **ki-ên.**

Sh-ing s-úng (028-303 244-357) 'the emperor Shengzong', (Dao13), also **Sh-ing z-úng** (028-303 258-357) (Hon2), **Sh-ün z-úng-un** (028-329 258-357-273) gentive (Zhong3) ChinE *shengzong* 圣(= 聖)宗, YCh *ʂiŋ,* LMCh *ʂiajŋ,* YCh *tsuŋ,* LMCh *tsəwŋ* CWJ 905.

sh-iú1 (028-289) 'pivot, hub, center', ChinE *shu* 枢, (= 樞) YCh *tʂ^{h}y*, LMCh *tʂ^{h}yǎ*,

ju-ung sh-iú (147-345 028-289) 'secretariate', **L**1, **L**22, **L**23,

sh-iú m-ir (028-289 133-137) 'a title, a member of the palace secretariat', K116, ChinE *shu mi* 枢密 C366, Hucker No. 5447 see **m-ir**, see **g-úr-en sh-iú m-ir** (334-097-140 028-289 133-137),

sh-iú-dú te-gu (028-289-179 247-165) 'as the Book (of Documents *Shujing* 書經) says' (Nu34, Wu31) K85.

sh-iú2 (028-289) 'writing, book', ChinE *shu* 书 (= 書), YCh *ʂy*, LMCh *ʂiǎ/ʂyǎ*, **L**21, **L**23.

sh-ï (028-353) 'wife', 2x, ChinE *qi* 妻 ?, CWJ 1013, C367, YCh *ts^{h}i*, LMCh *ts^{h}iaj,* (Gu1-7, 18-21), sibilant ← affricate.

Sh-iû$_2$-u ng-i g-iáng shï 'a person's name', ChinE *shu yi geng shi* 淑仪(= 儀)耿 氏 YCh *ʂy*, LMCh *ʂhiwk*, YCh *ji,* LMCh *ŋi,* YCh *kiŋ* LMCh *kja:jŋ* YCh *ʂɽ,* LMCh *ʂhi,* (CWJ1140).

Sh-l-û-ñ Ju-ur-e 'a male name' (Yu8), ChinT *shi lu yin? shu li zhe* 石鲁隐 术里者.

sh-m* (028-133) 'secret, hidden', ChinE *shen* 审 (= 審) YCh *ʂim,* LMCh *ʂim,* occurs only in suffixed forms, ? see , Jur *somibi* in *somibi tebi* 'to lie in hiding' (Kiyose 143, Ligeti 1961, 20), Ma *somi-* 'to hide, to bury (a coffin)'.

sh-m-e$_2$ (028-133-348) 'secret, hidden', ChinE *shenmi* 审(= 審)密 YCh *ʂim,* LMCh *ʂim,* YCh *muj*, LMCh *mit*, CWJ1513.

sh-m-e$_2$ t-l-ge$_2$-én-en bod sui-l-ñ RECORD-ge$_2$-d (Hu35-17).

sh-m-n (028-133-251) 'secret, genitive', 4x, also **sh-m-i-en** (028-133-339-140), 2x, ChinE *shen mi zhi* 审密之 C369[1] ← 审 = 審 YCh *ʂim,* LMCh *ʂim*, 密 YCh *mi,* LMCh *mjiaijk*, **shim-mi-** + gentitive **-n/en**,

sh-m-n m-in (028-133-251 133-018) 'secret tomb' Chin *shen mi mu* 审密之 墓 (Hu1-8) CWJ 1497,

sh-m-n n-ar-de RECORD-g-én (028-133-251 251-084-205 052-334-361) 'inscripted on the secret tomb' *shen mi zhi mu* 审密之 墓 (Hui gai 3-2), CWJ 1565,

sh-m-n n-ar-de RECORD-g-én see above (Hui1-12) 审密之 墓 CWJ 1565,

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[1] Khitan **sh-m-n** has the same meaning as Chinese *shen mi*, where *mi* 密 has the meaning 'secret', *shen* , 'to investigate'.

sh-m-n na-as-b-ñ n-ar 叉㕚公 力冬冉伏 公方 (028-133-251 139-174-311-222 251-084) ‘secret rest tomb’ Chin *shen mi anxi mu* 审密 安息 墓 (Hui29-14),
sh-m-i 叉㕚关 (028-133-339) ChinE (Qing28-33), see above,
sh-m-i-en 叉㕚关 (028-133-339-140) see above.

sh-o pu sh-o 叉及 分 叉及 (028-186 241 028-186) ‘a title’, ChinE *shuai fu shuai* 率府率 C369, Hucker No. 5479 “Commandant of the Guard Command”, see **s-o sh-o pu pu sh-o 仐及 叉及 分 分 叉及** (244-186 028-186 241 241 028-186).

Sh-or-ha-a-án Sh-il-u û-e 叉北圡为出 叉用叐 只券 ‘a personal name and title’, Chin *shulan shilu* 述蘭 逹魯, *Liaoshi*, Wu—Janhunen 146, (Xiang2) see **û-e**.

sh-ri-e$_2$ 叉化券 (028-235-109) ‘a tribal unit’, see also **she-o-or 尗及北** (315-186-076), ChinT *shi lie* 石烈, YCh *ʂi*, LMCh *ʂɦiajk*, YCh *ljɛ,* LMCh *liat* C370, see WF Index, genitive **sh-ri-n 叉化公** (028-235-251) ‘tribal unit’, ChinT *shi lie* 石烈 C370, ablative-prolative **sh-ri-e$_2$-de-i 叉化券矢关** (028-235-348-205-339), plural **sh-ri-s 叉化仐** (028-235-244) ChinT *shi lie* 石烈 C370, Perhaps to Mong *čerig*, ← Old Turkic, Chuv *śar* < *čäri* see WOT 716-719, DagE *čəllə, čərəl*, Nugteren, 2011, 300. Or Mong *sirege(n*) ‘table, throne, seat’, Dag *širee* ‘table’ (M216), *śir’e, sire*, *sirē, šire* ‘Tisch’ (M-K132),
sh-ri-t 叉化令 (028-235-247), 3x, plural,
on-a-b-a sh-ri-n 不为冉为 叉化公 (154-189-311-189 028-235-251), ‘the tribal unit of On-a-ba genitive’, ChinT *wo na ba shi lie zhi* 斡纳拔 石烈之 C403.

sh-ui 叉火 (028–262) ‘water, transcription of Chinese’ also **sh-ui° 叉尜** (028–263), ChinE *shui* 水, see also Bai 2020, 86.

sh-û 叉只 (028-372) ‘book, written document’, ChinE *shu* 书 (= 書), YCh *ʂy,* LMCh *ʂiə̆/ʂyə̆,*
sh-û-dú 叉只凡 (028-372-179) ‘in the book, dative-locative’, Chin *shu yu* 书于 C368.

Sh-û-g-iu ong ‘the wang of the Shu country’, ChinE *shu guo wang* 蜀国(= 國)王, YCh *ʂy,* LMCh *ʂɦywk* C373.

Sh-úng-or 叉当北 (028-357-076) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *shuang gu* 双古 C367 see. Mong *singqur, šongqur* etc. ‘falcon’, see also Turk *čongqur*, Chuvash *šănkkar,* the common word is of Ogur origin, see WOT 810-812. ChinT is *ad hoc* and only the two first syllables, see Chin *shuang* 双 = 雙 ‘pair, double’, YCh *ʂwaŋ,* LMCh *ʂwa:wŋ.*

sh-úr 叉亦 (028-097) ‘temporal(ly), provisional(ly)’, 26x,
sh-úr t-abu-al-ha-aju 叉亦 令年亏 圡艾 (028-097 247-196-098-051-082.1) ‘buried somewhere for the time being (provisionally)’, Chin *quan yi* 权瘗 C368,

sh-úr t-abu-al-ha-ar (028-097 247-196-098-051-123) 'buried somewhere for the time being (provisionally)', Chin *quan yi* 权瘗 C368.

she-o-or (315-186-076) 'tribal unit', (Jue2), Chin *shi lie* 石烈 see **sh-ri-e$_2$**.

shï1 (180) 'envoy, in charge', ChinE *shi* 使, YCh *ʂʅ,* LMCh *ʂʅ,* **L**18.

shï2 (180) 'poem', ChinE *shi* 诗(= 詩), YCh *ʂʅ,* LMCh *ʂi,*

shï us-g (180 068-334) 'poetry', Chin *shi wen* 诗文 C413, also **us-g shï** (Nan29),

shï t-gu (180 247-165) 'to recite poems, as the book of Odes (*Shijin*g 詩經) says', Chin *shi yue* 诗曰, CWJ986. K83-84,

shï3 (180) 'used after surnames, Mr/Mrs, form of adress of celebrity, née' ChinE *shi* 氏, YCh *ʂʅ ,* LMCh *ʂhi*

shï4 (180) 'history', ChinE *shi* 史 YCh *ʂʅ ,* LMCh *ʂʅ ,* CWJ950, in:

qita-i ci-iau-qú-i usg$_2$ h-ib na al-a-ar ci-iau-qú-i qita-i shï COMPOSE-un$_2$ RECORD-e (Zhong7-5) 'the Khitan and Chinese literature and all what was former known was composed and recorded in/by the Chinese and Khitan history', Chin *qidan hanzi jun tongxiao ? han er qidan shi zhuan* 契丹 汉字 均 通晓 汗儿契丹 史 撰 (Zhong7) CWJ 950,

shï COMPOSE-un$_2$ (180 308-144) 'historical writing', Chin *shi zhuan* 史撰, YCh *ʂʅ,* LMCh *ʂʅ,* C413, hybrid structure.

shï$_5$ (180) 'steward, attendant' in titles as:

shï ci-eu-ung (180 162-067-106) 'a title', also **shï ju-ung** (180 147-345) ChinE *shi zhong* 侍中, YCh *ʂʅ,* LMCh *ʂi,* YCh *tʂuŋ,* LMCh *triwŋ* C413, Hucker No 5229 "Palace Attendant", "LIAO Attendant, one of the senior officials found in Herds Offices at the Route (*lu*) level",

shï s-iang-en (180 244-314-140) 'a title, genitive', ChinE *shi xiang* 使 相, **L**24, Hucker, No 5249 "Commissioner-Councilor",

shï-ï ci-i z-ie (180-353 162-339 258-327) 'a title', ChinE *shi chi jie* 使持节(= 節), YCh *ʂʅ,* LMCh *ʂi,* YCh *tʂʰi*, LMCh *trɦi.* YCh *tsjɛ* LMCh *tsiat,* C413, Hucker No 5223 "Commissioned with extraordinary power",

shï-ï$_2$ l-ang (180-113 261-199) 'a title', ChinE *shi lang* 侍郎, YCh *ʂʅ,* LMCh *ʂi,* YCh *laŋ,* LMCh *laŋ* C413, Hucker, No 5278.

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t(e) 令 (247), see **te**.

t(e)-* 令 (247) ‘to say’ ← Turk *te-*‘to say’ (Clauson 433), see **t-gu** 令勺 (247-165) ‘saying’, 56x, also **t-gu**$_2$ 令勺 (247-165.1), K112, 2x, Chin *yue* 曰 C439.

t-a-ai 令为丰 (247-189-122) ‘appoint (to an office)’ only once (Ling17-12), Chin *ren* 任 CWJ 942.

t-abu- 令生 (247-196) ‘to place, to put, to put down, put to rest, bury (hon)’ no gloss, see Mong *talbi-, tabi-* ‘to place, put, put down’, *yasu talbiqu* ‘to lay down the bones, to die’, Dag *tali-* ‘to put, rest, release, let go’ (M220), *tali-* ‘legen, hinstellen’ (M-K 135), *-tabi* <**talbi-* > *tali-* (see Nugteren, 510-511),
t-abu-al-ha-* ‘to bury, honorific?’,
t-abu-al-ha-al (247-196-098-051-098), 1x,
t-abu-al-ha-al-hu-an (Dao17-34),
t-abu-al-ha-a-al (247-196-098-051-189-098), 2x,‘
t-abu-al-ha-ai (247-196-098-051-122), ‘was burying’, 2x,
t-abu-al-ha-a-ai (247-196-098-051-189-122), 1x,
t-abu-al-ha-án (247-196-098-051-290), ‘had placed’, 1x,
t-abu-al-ha-a-án (247-196-098-051-189-290), 1x,
t-abu-al-ha-ar (247-196-261-051-121), 1x,
t-abu-al-ó-ji-en (Nan24),
sh-úr t-abu-al-ha-aju 叉安 令生亐业艾 (028-097 247-196-098-051-082.1) ‘buried somewhere for the time being (provisionally)’, Chin *quan yi* 权瘗 C368 (Yu65),
sh-úr t-abu-al-ha-ar 叉安 令生亐业本 (028-097 247-196-098-051-123) ‘buried somewhere for the time being (provisionally)’, Chin *quan yi* 权瘗 C368 (Dao5).

T-abu-y-én 令生丙当 (247-196-020-361) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *ta bu yan* 挞不衍 (Gung7), a person with the name *Da-bu-ye* an imperial clansman who with other clansmen surrendered to the Jurchen in 1116, WF 424.

t-abu-y-én must be a verb, see **tau jau-de emu°-û sui-l-ñ bod es t-abu-y-én** (Jue40).

T-abu-y-er 令生丙公 (247-196-020-341) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *ta bu ye* 挞不也 (Hai12) C440.

t-abu-y-i 令生丙关 (247-196-020-339) ‘exceed, step over, pass, go through’, Chin *yue* 越 (CWJ1504).

T-abu-y-i 令 生丙关 (247-196-020-339) ‘a person’s name’ ChinT *ta bu ye* 挞不也 (Wu21, Hu16).

T-ad-ar 令亦本 (247-099-123) ‘a name, Tatar’, 4x, ChinT *ta ta er* 塔塔儿, Chin *da da* 韃靼 C438, **L**11 The Turkic name *tatar* has more, in our case two Chinese transcriptions. Khitan reflects one of them,
T-ad-ar-en 令亦 本有 (247-099-123-140) genitive, 4x,
see **Uh-ul t-ad-ar-en** 夊平 令亦本有 (172-366 247-099-123-140.

t-ad-o-* see **taw**, **12.3** NUMERALS,
t-ad-o-or 令亦及北 (247-099-186-076) ‘fifth, masc.’, Chin *di wu* 第五 C349,
t-ad-o-ón 令亦及内 (247-099-186-322) ‘fifth, femin.’, Chin *di wu* 第五 C349.

t-ai-i 令丰关 (247-122-339) ‘great, in titles’, ChinE *da* 大 YCh *ta, tɔ, taj,* LMCh *tha, thaj,*,
t-ai-i ci-ng s-iang 令丰关 术发 仐并 (247-122-339 162-264 244-314) ‘a title’, ChinE *da cheng xiang* 大丞相 C349, Hucker No. 5889 “Grand Councilor-in-chief”,
t-ai-i s-iang g-ün 令丰关 仐并 九亦 (247-122-339 244-314 334-329) see **fu-u g-ui t-ai-i s-iang g-ün** 尒叐 九火 令丰关 仐并 九亦 (242-131 334-262 247-122-339 244-314 334-329),
t-ai-i z-iang g-ün in: **dau-úr-un$_2$** ~ 尺安叉 令丰关 伞并 九亦 (119-097 247-122-339 258-314 334)-329, ChinE *zhong da jiang jun* 中大将军 = 中大將軍 (CWJ1140) Hucker 5896 ‘Genral-in-chief’.

T-am-úr em$_2$ 令乃安 金 (247-184-097 257)‘the town region of Tamur’, ChinT *Ta mu li cheng* 塌母里城 (Guang11-12) C244,
T-am-ar em$_2$-en t-qu sh-i-en 令乃本 金有 令余 飞关有 (247-184-123 257-140 247-246 028-339-140) ‘commissioner of T-am-úr (*Ta mu li*) town (*cheng*), genitive’, (Nan25),
ChinT *ta mu li cheng zhi du shi zhi* 塌母里城之度使之 C440, also,
T-am-ar em$_2$-en t-qó sh-i 令乃本 金有 令欠 飞关 (247-184-123 257-140 247-169 028-339) (Cha10),
T-am-un$_2$ em$_2$-en t-qó sh-i 令乃叉 金有 令欠 飞关 (247-184-144 257-140 247-169 028-339) ‘commissioner of Ta mur town (*cheng*)’, (DiX14) ChinT *ta mu li cheng zhi du shi* 塌母里城之度使 C440, also,
T-am-úr em$_2$-en t-qó sh-i 令乃安 金有 令欠 飞关 (247-184-097 257-140 247-169 028-339) ‘commissioner of Ta mur town (*cheng*)’, (Guang11), ChinT *ta mu li cheng zhi du shi* 塌母里城之度使 C440.

T-ang-a 令気为 (247-199-189) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *dang ge* 当哥 C440, (Di15).

T-ang-ur$_2$ 令気化 (247-199-236) ‘a name, Tangut? plural of T-ang’, see Old Turkic *t^{a}ŋ^{u}t* (Bilge kagan E24), ChinT *tang gu* 唐古, **L**10, **L**11, 2x, C440,
T-ang-ur$_2$-en 令気化有 (247-199-236-140), genitive, 4x,
see **Heu-úr-ha-al t-ang-ur-en** 介安圡亐 令気化有 (250-097-051-098 247-199-236-140) .

t-aû-t (247-125-247) ‘five, dative-locative’, 2x, also **t-aû-d** (247-125-254), 2x, CWJ in error ‘four’, Chin *si* 四 C439, Chin *si yu* 四于 C439, CWJ 1141, but correctly on CWJ 1539, as glossed Jue line 13 *wu yu* 五于, see **tau** (029) and **12.3** NUMERALS.

t-em$_2$-* (247-257), K100, also **d-em$_2$-*** (254-257) ‘to grant, to give (a title)’, Chin *feng* 封 CWJ911, secondary stems: **t-em$_2$-y-, d-em$_2$-y, t-em$_2$-e, d-em$_2$-e, t-em$_2$-l-,** tertiary stem: **t-em$_2$-l-ge-,** quadrialy stem **t-em$_2$-l-ge-l-** see detailed in **12.5** see Mong *temdeg* ‘mark, sign, stamp’, *temdegle-* ‘to mark, to note down etc.’, *temdeglel* ‘record, note’, Dag *temedehe* ‘a mark, a spot’ (M223), *təmdəgə* ‘mark’ (Ts30), see **12.5.1.7**,

g-úr-de t-em$_2$-er ‘gave to the country’ (Yu69-79), Chin *guo-yu feng* 国于 封 CWJ1082,

t-em$_2$-y (247-257-020) ‘was noting’,

t-em$_2$-y COMPOSE-l-ha (247-257-020 308-261-051) ‘post-script, after having composed’, Chin *zhui zhuan* 追撰 C440,

t-em$_2$-y-er (247-257-020-341) ‘given by heaven’s favour’, 2x, Chin *tian juan* 天眷 C440,with or without explicit Heaven,

t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y (247-257-261-349-020) ‘was granting’, Chin *feng* 封 **L**16, **L**18, **L**23, **L**24, **L**25,

t-em$_2$-l-ge-er (247-257-261-112-341) **L**22, also **t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-er** (247-257-261-349-341) ‘was granted’, Chin *feng* 封, **L**14,

t-em$_2$-e t-ge-l-û-ji ‘was posthumously awarded’ (Xing12-19).

T-em$_2$-én abu (247-257-361 196) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *te mian a bu* 特免阿不 Hui7 C441, ? to *temen* ‘camel’ and **abu .**

T-em$_2$-er (247-254-341) ‘a person’s name’ (Yu63), ChinT *temoli* 特末里 CWJ 1076.

T-en$_2$-un$_2$ (247-324-144) ‘a name’, ChT ?*de an* 地安+?, **L**5, **L**10, only in this inscription.

T-eng-ur$_2$ (247-175-236) ‘a tribe name’, ChinT *tang gu* 唐古 C440 .

t-ge$_2$-* (247-112) ‘to die’, K90, also **t-ge-*** (247-349) and **d-ge** etc., and **du$_3$-ge**, in past tense also **t-l-un** (DiX15), Chin *gu* 故 C439, see Mong **dege(de)-* ‘to go up (into heaven)’ < Mong **dege-* ‘up’, *degedü* ‘higher, upper’, *degeji* ‘the first or choicest part of food or drink offered to the deities, etc-’, *degüli-* ‘to jump a distance, jump across or over, leap’, *degedüs* ‘the highest or upper ones, denizens of heaven, saints’, Dag **dee* in: *dee-re* ‘on above’, *dee-ši* ‘up, upwards’, *dee- ure* ‘over, (head), above, upper’, *degede-* = *derede-* ‘fly’ (M135), *degide* ‘hoch’, *der gar* ‘erklimmen, klettern’, *derde-* ‘fliegen’, *derēs* ‘von oben her’, *der gi* ‘oberer’ (M-K122). or Mong *dügür-, degür-* ‘to be (come) full, filled, to expire, fininish, end’, Dag *duure-* (a box, etc.) be full, be filled, fil up (= get ful), (M139), *durk* ‘voll’ (M-K 124), see

OTurk *tüke-* ‘vollendet sein, beendet sein, zu Ende kommen’ (Wilkens 769), see GRAMMAR, VERB, **12.5.1.4**,

t-g te-y-em$_2$-l-ge-én ‘had given posthumously’, *zhui feng* 追封, CWJ1001,

t-ge-én s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er ‘she had become deadly ill’ (Nu3-19),

s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er t-ge-én ‘had become ill and had died’ (Hong14),

t-em$_2$-e t-ge-l-û-ji ‘was posthumously awarded’ (Xing12-19),‘

ñ-qó-du$_2$ t-ge$_2$-e$_2$-ci n-ô-od-en n-ar 伏欠闲 令夵夯杀 公仌币冇 公车 ‘to the cave, the tomb of the deceased spouse’, Chin *xue gu pei ou mu* 穴 故 配偶 墓 CWJ 1219.

T-ge$_2$ b-u-har$_3$ 令夵 丹及尿 (247-112-311-131-006) (Xiang33) ‘burial temple, mausoleum, the vihara of the death’ no gloss, read by Wu—Janhunen 2010, p. 202, as **t-ge$_2$-bú$_2$-MOUNTAIN-de 令夵刎及 尿矢** (247-112-176-006-205) and (Xiang46) on p. 220 **t-ge$_2$-b-u-MOUNTAIN 令夰丹及 尿** (247-107-311-131 006), by CWJ 1486 **T-oi$_2$-b-u har$_3$-de 令夰丹及 尿矢** (247-107-311-131 006-205), and on CWJ 1491: **t-oi$_2$-b-u har$_3$ 令夰丹及** (247-107-311-131), and Index CWJ p.2043 **t-oi$_2$-b-u** for both places. Correctly **t-ge$_2$ b-u har$_3$ 令夰丹及 尿** (247-112-311-131 005) ‘the burial mountain, temple, the mausoleum’ (Xiang 33, 46), see **b-u-har**.

t-gu 令勺 (247-165) ‘saying’, 56x, also **t-gu$_2$ 令勺** (247-165.1), 2x, Chin *yue* 曰, to **t(e)-**, see above **t(e)**,

m-ing t-gu 叉同 令勺 (133-303 247-165) *ming yue* 铭 曰 ‘the inscripion said’ C396 (Nu41),

see **RECORD$_2$-g-én$_2$ t-gu$_2$ 重九当 令勺** (052.1-334-361 247-165.1) ‘the inscription said’, Chin *zhi yue* 志曰 C373.

t-i-d 令关仝 (247-339-254) ‘those’, see Mong *tede(n)* ‘they, those’, Dah *tede*, *tere* ‘they’ (M223, 224), *tere* ‘jener, er’*, tendēs* ‘von dort, von da’ (M-L 136),

t-i-d ong-od-en 令关仝 杰币 冇 (247-339-254 071-016-140) ‘all those Wangs, genitive’, Chin *zhu di wang zhi* 诸帝王之 C442**.**

t-ia1 令才 (247-335) same as **d-ia 仝才** (254-335) ‘enemy’, 22x, Chin *di* 敌 = 敵, C442, see Mong *dayisun* ‘enemy’, *dayin* ‘war, battle, enmity’, *dayiči-* ‘to be hostile’, *dayicila-* ‘to mobilize, to seize forcibly, to act as an enemy’, Dah *daile-* ‘conquer, fight’, *dain* ‘war, fight’ (M132), *dain* ‘Schlacht’ (M-K120) or ← Chin 敵, *di* YCh *ti,* LMCh *thiajk,* **L**17, **L**22, plural: **d-ia-ad** (254-335-099), 1x.

t-ia2 令才 (247-335) ‘rare, dilute’, Chin *xi* 稀 C442.

t-iau-dû 令号分 (247-362-249) ‘central’, Chin *zhongyang* 中央, see detailed at **L**1.

t-ie-ar$_2$ 令文车 (247-327-084),14x, see **dele1**.

t-ie-ém g-ie-ém-en ui MANAGE-l-hu (247-327-270 334-327-270-140 262 142-261-151) ‘a title, hybrid, genitive’, ChinE *dian jian zhi shi zhi* 点检之事知 C442, no exact equivalent in Hucker or WF, perhaps see *dou dian jian* 都電檢 Hucker No 7297 LIAO: “one of the titles given heads of regional Tax Offices (*ch’ien po ssu*)”, but while Khitan **t-ie-ém** ← ChinE *dian* 点 ‘point, place’ = 點, YCh *tjɛm,* LMCh *tiam,* Chinese *dian* 電 in *doudian* 都電 ‘metropolis’ had a final *-n* in YCh and LMCh.

t-ie-ên1 (247-327-073) ‘heaven’, gentitive **t-ie-ên-en** (247-327-073-140), 1x, **t-ie-ên-ñ** (247-327-073-222) ‘heaven’, 6x, ChinE *tian* 天, YCh *thjɛn*, LMCh *thian* **L**3, accusative-instrumental **t-ie-ên-er** (247-327-073-341), dative-locative **t-ie-ên-de** (247-327-073-205), see also **d-em$_2$-y-er**,

t-ie-ên-ñ y-au-ji$_3$ S-in ong ‘the Heaven sent S-in ong (who performs as the Heaven)’ **L**3,

t-ie-ên-ñ S-in ong ‘S-in ong the Heavenly (of Heaven)’ (Di4, Tu4).

t-ie-ên2 (247-327-073) ‘hall, temple’, ChinE *dian* 殿, CWJ 895, YCh *tjɛn*, LMCh *tian*,

g-iu-ung t-ie-ên ‘the palace hall’ (Lang2),

Co-on tu t-ie-ên-de (298-154 202 247-327-073-205) ‘Into the Zantu palace’ Chin *zan tu dian yu* 攢涂殿于 C463.

t-ie-ên ju-ung shï-ï ng-iú shï (247-327-073 147-345 180-353 264-289 180) ‘a title’, ChinE *dian zhong shi yu shi* 殿中侍御史, YCh *tjɛn*, LMCh *tian,* YCh *tsuŋ,* LMCh *triwŋ*, YCh *ʂʅ,* LMCh *ʂi,* YCh *y*, LMCh *ŋiă/ŋyă*, YCh *ʂʅ,* LMCh *ʂʅ* C441, Hucker, No 6556 “LIAO: Palace Administrator, head of the Administration Office (*tien-chung ssu*)”.

t-ie-le (247-327-093) ‘south’ see **t-le**,

t-ie-le g-ing-en (247-327-093 334-303-140) ‘south capital, genitive’, Chin *nan jing zhi* 南京之 C442.

t-ie-ar$_2$-d (247-327-084-254) ‘south’, Chin *nan* 南 Hu39 C442, see **t-le**, **t-ie-le, dele** etc, see **L**1n.

T-il-én (247-302-361) ‘a name, ?a title’, 18x, ChinT *dinian* 迪輦, **L**10.

T-il-t-en (247-302 247-140) ‘a name of a tribe, plural, genitive’ also **D-il-t**, ChinT *dilie zhi* 敌烈 之, **L**20, see **T-il-uh**, *Dilie*: WF Index 743, on p. 90 many different transcriptions of the name are given. At a certain time they consisted of 8 *shilie* (WF p.97) .

T-il-uh (247-302-172) ‘the clan name Dilu’, ChinT *dilu* 涤 鲁, **L**8, **-uh** seems to be a suffix.

T-ing H-ong Nu ‘a male name’ (Yu8) ChinT *ding guang nu* 定 光 奴.

t-ir-uh-úr **令刃夂夾**(247-137-172-097) '? are known, ancient knowledge, know the past, the name Zhigu', 4x, ChinE *zhigu* 知古, YCh *tʂ̨i,* LMCh *tri* YCh *ku*, LMCh *kuǎ* **L**3, **L**12.

t-iu-er **令丙公** (247-019-341) see **HEAVEN t-iu-er**.

t-iu-ir **令丙刃** (247-019-137) see **d-iu-ir** **坌丙刃** (254-0-19-137).

t-l-g-e$_2$-én **令屮九夯当** (247-261-334-109-361) (Hu35), also **t-l-ge$_2$-én$_2$** (247-261-112-100), 1x, **t-l-ge$_2$-én$_2$-en** (247-261-112-100-140), 1x, **t-l-g-e-én** (247-261-349-361), 6x (Chao11-15, 21-28, 26-26, DiX16-19[1], Hui6-2, 19-19), Chin *hudujin* 胡睹堇 CWJ1356, 1363 (Chao11,26),
sh-m-e$_2$ t-l-ge$_2$-én-en bod sui-l-ñ (Hu35).

t-l-un$_2$ **令屮叉** (247-261-144) 'died', Chin *hong* 薨 C441 to **t-ge$_2$-*** **令厺** (247-112).

t-le **令方** (247-093) 'south', K104, see also **dele**, Chin *nan* 南, **L**18, **L**20, **L**24,
t-le g-ing **令方 九同** (247-093 334-303) 'South Capital', Chin *nanjing* 南京, **L**20,
t-le g-ing-en b-u g-ün **令方 九同有 舟及 九亦** (247-093 334-303-140 311-131 334-329) Chin *nanjing zhi bujun* 南京之步軍, hybrid, Khitan word+gentive suffix+Chin,
t-le g-ing-en t-ung g-ün **令方 九同有 令太 九亦** (247-093 334-303-140 247-345 334-329) 'the Army Commander of the South Capital', Chin *nanjing zhi tongjun* 南京之童军, **L**24, hybrid,
t-le g-iu-ung-un l-iu shï-eu **令方 九丙太火屮丙 兆 去** (247-093 334-019-345-273 261-019-067) 'the commander in absence of the emperor of the south palast (capital)', Chin *nan gong (jing) zhi liu shou* 南宫 京 至留守 C438, hybrid,
t-le pu-un ja-ri-qó **令方 分火 孙化欠** (247-093 241-273 150-235-169) 'minister of the Southern Palace', Chin *nanfuzhi zaixiang* 南府之 宰相 **L**25, hybrid,
t-le-ñ cau-ji-er **令方伏 而犳公** (247-093-222 022-152-341) 'south army, accusative-instrumental', Chin *nan jun yi* 南军以 C438,
t-le qa **令方 巫** (247-093 053) 'south khan', Chin *nan han* 南汗 C438.

t-lu$_3$** **令丹** (247-312) 'separate, discrete, detachment', Chin *fenli* 分离 C441 (Hu23) a mistake for **s-lu$_3$-** **仐丹** (244-312).

t-od-ha-* **令币圭** (247-016-051), also **d-od-ha-** (254-016-051),
t-od-ha-aju (247-016-051-082.1), 2x,
t-od-ha-ai (247-016-051-122), 1x,

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[1] Wu—Janhunen, 93 perhaps 'died', but see Hui6-2: **ci-ur-én t-l-ge-én b-l$_2$ ci-ang g-ia n-u-dú u-ul-ge-l-ñ**, 'the second (daughter)was ?? and being given in marriage to B-al$_2$ Ci-ang G-ia Nu', and Hui19-19: **ci-eu m-ir-jï ci-ur-er ia t-l-ge-én deu ai ca-ang sh-iú-un b-qo t-il-én ca-ang sh-i m-as-qu**/20/ **b-qo t-em$_2$-én abu b-as ia deu ci-i-shi MANAGE-er.**

t-od-ha-ar (247-016-051-123), also **d-od-ha-ar** (254-016-051-123), 10x '?' genitive **t-od-ha-ar-en**, 3x, **d-od-ha-ar-en**, 2x, **t-od-ha-ar-i** (247-016-051-123-339), 1x, CWJ gives 'Tatar' Chin *dada* 鞑靼 (C437), for Xuan17 where we read: *t-od-ha-ar GREAT YOUNG-qú sh-ri-un$_2$ sh-ri-un$_2$ p-û-úr*. In this and the following expressions the word can not mean 'Tatar'. Mong *todqar* 'obstacle, evil, calamity, demon evil spirit', see Turk *todgur-~todgar->toygar-* 'to satiate, satisfy' (Clauson 1972, 454) semantically does not fit here. It has to have here the meaning 'all, all together', see the following cases,
b-hu-án t-od-ha-ar (Di24),
t-od-ha-ar b-qo-iú (Hu26),
eu-úr FIFTY ishi-de t-ge$_2$-er t-od-ha-ar p-a-rí-l-hu (Qing18),
b-hu-án t-od-ha-ar (Di2),
t-od-ha-ar p-úr-i FIFTY-en tu-de-i p-ri-en t-ge$_2$-én (GuD21),
b-hu-án t-od-ha-ar p-a-rí-l-hu (Xiang31),
t-od-ha-ar b-qo-iú es b-lu$_3$-u-mor (Hu26),
bod t-od-ha-ar-en (Pu19),
un-én$_2$ d-od-ha-ar ia deu-un h-ib p-úr-i (Zhong12-28),
ci-i-shi-en t-od-ha-ar (Qing25),
t-od-ha-ad (247-016-051-099),11x, also **d-od-ha-ad** (254-06-051-099), 1x.

T-od-ha-ar (247-016-051-123), also **D-od-ha-ar** (254-016-051-123) 'a tribe name, ? Tatar', ChinT *da da* 鞑靼 C437, .

t-od-o* to **taw** 'five', see **12.3** NUMERALS,
t-od-o-ón (247-016-186-322) 'fifth, feminine', Chin *di wu* 第五 C437,
t-od-o-or (247-016-186-076) 'fifth, masculine', **L**6, **L**13Chin *di wu* 第五 C437.

T-oi$_2$-b-u ** (247-107-311-131) incorrectly Index CWJ 2043 and CWJ 1486 see **T-ge$_2$-b-u** .

t-p (247-295) 'main, central', 6x, see Mong *töb* 'centre, middle etc.' Dah deest,
t-p-de (247-295-205), 1x, in: **u-ur t-p-de bod-én t-iu-ir** (Jue 44-49),
t-p bod-l-b-ñ (247-295 309-261-311-222) 'imperial lineage', Chin *huang tong* 皇统 C441.

t-qó (247-169) 'name of an administrative unit', 42x, also **t-qu** (247-246), 8x, the basic word of the title **t-qó shi** also **t-qó-a** (247-169-189), 19x, **t-qu-a** (247-246-189), genitive **t-qu-a-an** (247-246-189-011), 1x, accusative-instrumental **t-qó-a-er** (247-169-189-341), dative-locative **t-qó-a-iú** (247-169-189-289), 2x, **t-qu-a-iú** (247-246-189-289), 1x, plural **t-qó-od** (247-169-016), 2x, (Yu65-57, Wu7-25) and **t-qó-a-as** (247-169-189-174), 7x,

plural, genitive **t-qó-a-as-en** (247-169-189-174-140), 2x, plural **t-hu-a-án** (Xiang18),
t-qó-a-i (247-169-189-339), 1x, another genitive?,
t-qó-úr$_2$ (247-169-236), 1x, ? another pural?,
see **pu-shi-ñ-en s-om t-qó-a-as** 'the *som* and the *t-qó-a-s* of the milady' (Zhen44(47!)-13), see **18.5**.,
mu-u-ji heu s-om t-qó-a-as (Xuan13),
pu-shi-ñ jur-en b-qo eme-er t-qó-a-as (Yu61-43),
t-qó-a-as-en m-ha-aju ci-er (Zhong42-4),
t-qó-a-as-en mor-ó-o-ón eme-n eme-er g-en-un$_2$-e a-al-ñ (Song20-13),
GREAT sh-she-al pu-shi-ñ na-ha-án-er t-qu-s$_2$-un$_2$ s-eng-dú û-ul-ge-én (Nan30), 'The eldest Sh-she-al milady was given in marriage to S-eng of the Maternal T-qu-s',
s-om t-qu (244-097 247 246) 'arrow *t-qu* an administrative unit' (Nan32), also **som t-qó-a-as** (Xuan13).

t-qó sh-i 令欠 叉关 (247-169 028-339) 'Governor General', 32x, also **t-qu sh-i** 令余 叉关 (247-246 028-339), 6x, Chin *dushi* 度使. The Chinese term is an abbreviation of *jie du shi* 節度使 (Wu–Janhunen 2010, 90), 'provincial governor' WF 708 'Commanding prefect', **L**18, **L**19, **L**20, **L**23, **L**23, Hucker No 777 "Military Commisioner", "In Liao there were Military Commissioners in charge of most Prefectures (*chou*) and Military Prefectures (*chün*) under the control of the Southern Administration (*nan mien*)". Khitan **t-qó** and **t-qu** are Khitan words with the adjectivizer suffix **-qW**,
t-qó sh-i-en 令欠 叉关有 (247-169 028-339-140) 'commissioner, genitive', Chin *du shi zhi* 度使之 C349,
t-qó-od sh-i-d 令欠币 叉关坌 (247-169-016 028-339-254) 'commissioner, plural', Chin *du shi* 度使 C349,
see also **Sh-i-m em$_2$-en t-qó sh-i** 叉关㕚 企有 令欠 叉关 (028-339-133 257-140 247-169 028-339) 'military commissioner of the district Shenzhou', Chin *shen zhou zhi du shi* 沈洲之度使 C367,
see also **T-am-ar em$_2$-en t-qu sh-i-en** 令乃未 企有 令余 叉关有 (247-184-123 257-140 247-246 028-339-140) 'commissioner of Tamar township, genitive', Chin *ta mu li cheng zhi du shi zhi* 塌母里城之度使之 C440,
see also **L-û ci-eu-un t-qu sh-i** 屮只 杀去火 令余 叉关 'a title, the t. of the Lu prefecture'.

t-qo-a 令为彐 (247-168-189) '1. cyclical branch You, 2. heavenly branch Ji, chicken, hen', K88, Chin *you(ji)* 酉 (鸡) C349, see: Mong *takiya(n)* 'chicken, the tenth of the twelve animal of the zodiac', Dag *tu(u) tekiee* 'pigeon, turtle', (M229), Turk *takigu, tiguk*, see WOT 965-967.

T-qó-s$_2$-un$_2$ 令欠兴叐 (247-169-354-144) 'a person's name', ChinT *tu gu ci* 图古辞 (Gu17-13, Han4-14, Hui4-8) C440, also **T-qu-s$_2$-un$_2$** 令余兴叐 (247-

246-354-144) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *tu gu ci* 图古辞 Tu2 C440, **tugučin,* to Mong *tug* ‘flag, standard, banner’, *tugči* ‘standard bearer, flag-bearer’, Dah *toi* ‘Fahne, Banner’? Ma *tu* ‘grosse Standarte’ ← Mong *tug* (M-L137). The Khitan name became an accepted Chinese name, and was transcribed as a Chinese one.

t-su-ñ 令卞伏 (247-041-222) ‘drip’, Chin *di* 滴 C438 see Mong *dusu-* ‘to drip’, *dusul* ‘drip’, Dah *dose*, ‘drop, drip’, *dose-* ‘drip dawn, leak’ (M135), M-K.

t-u t-ie-ém g-ie-ém ui MANAGE-l-ha-ar 令及 令文仝 九文仝 火 屃屮圡本 (247-131 247-327-270 334-327-270 262 142-261-051-123) ‘a title’, ChinE *du dian jian zhi shi zhi* 都点检之事知 C349, ChinE *du dian jian* 都電檢 Hucker No 7297 “LIAO: one of the titles given to heads of regional Tax Offices (*ch’ien po ssu*)”, see **t-ie-ém**.

t-ud1 令火 (247-344) ‘1. army commander, top provincial commander of both military and civil administration’, 30x, ChinE *dudu* 都督, YCh *tu*, LMCh *tuǝ̆*, YCh *tu*, LMCh *tǝwk*, C442. This is the famous title occurring in Old Tibetan as *to-dog*, Sogd *twtwk’n*, Khotanese *ttuttū, ttāttāhā,* Old Turkic *totoq*, dealt with by Ecsedy 1965, 84-86 (see there the earlier literature) and later literature[2] on the Turkic title citing or not citing Ecsedy. The title was established by emperor *Wenti* of the *Wei* dynasty in 222, and is perhaps of Turkic origin, but the Khitan is a Chinese loanword. For the final see **tai-b**,
ong-od-en t-ud sh-a-rí (Qing11).

t-ud2 令火 (247-344) ‘command’, Chin *tongling* 统领, **L**22, in **HEAVEN t-ud** “concord”, K101 ‘harmony’.

t-uh-li$_2$ 令夂北 (247-172-080) ‘during??’, 56x, no gloss, **L**18.

T-ul 令平 (247-366) ‘part of a name’, Chin no gloss, 2x, see **t-ia t-ul û-én (a)ra-b n-o-ón L**22.

t-ul-u-ui 令平及火 (247-366-131-262) ‘?’, 2x, Chin no gloss, **L**17,
dia t-ul-u-ui sh-ha-aju a-ar 令平及火 叉圡艾 为本 ‘the enemy he was fighting he crushed down’.

t-ul û-én 令平 只当 (247-366 131-361, separately written), ‘?’, no gloss, also written in one box **t-ul-u-én** 令平只当 (247-366-131-361), 2x (Yong14-24, Tu3-28), also **t-ul-û-én** (247-366-372-361), 1x (Xu42-39), **t-ul-û-én$_2$** (247-366-732-100), 1x, after **d-ia-ad** in: <*m$_2$-s ad-ha-a-án d-ia-ad t-ul-û-én$_2$ bod-l-b-ñ bai-d-ha-a-án-er*> (Zhen39), see further **t-ul-u-er** (247-366-131-341),1x, **t-ul-u-ui** (247-366-131-262), 2x,
p-od-y-li$_2$ t-ul û-ul-ge$_2$-y (Yu43-8).

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[2] Rybatzky-Wu Kuosheng 2014 ZDMG 164 115-128, Doerfer TMEN No 874, Rybatzki 2006, 340-343, Apatóczky 2009, 93.

t-un 令火 (247-273) ‘four years old’, see **d-un**, Chin *si sui* 四岁 C441, see Mong *döne(n)* ‘four years old animal (bull, camel or elephant), four years old male child’, to **dur, tur, d-ur**, etc.

t-ung p-a-an 令太 业为买 (247-345 295-189-011) ‘a title’, ChinE *tong pan* 通判, YCh *tʰuŋ*, LMCh *thə̆wŋ*, YCh *pʰɔn* LMCh *pĥuan* C442.

t-ur see **dur** etc. ‘four’.

t-ur$_2$-* 令化 (247-236), also **t-úr1** 令交 (247-097),

t-ur$_2$-er 令化炎 (247-236-341) ‘fourth’, Chin *disi* 第四, **L**12, ee 6.3 NUMERALS,

t-ur$_2$-uh 令化久 (247-236-172) ‘four times’, see **dur**,

t-ur$_2$-én 令化与 (247-236-361) ‘fourth, feminin’, Chin *di si* 第四 C440,

t-ur$_2$-er n-on-en 令化炎 公不冇 (247-236-341 251-154-140) ‘the fourth generation, genitive’, Chin *di si dai zhi* 第四代之 C440,

t-ur$_2$-uh p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$ 令化久 业及闲屮叉 (247-236-172 295-186-304-261-144) ‘to become four times’, Chin *si (ci) chu* 四 (次) 除 C440.

t-úr1 令交 (247-097) ‘a tribal official of the Six Tribes of Xi’, ChinT *tu li* 秃里 C438, *tu-li* 吐里 *tu-lu* 秃魯 WF 432, 439, 666. WF connected this title, with OTurk *törä* (WF 432) qutoed from Radlov, Dict. vol. III, 1250, there with reference to Qutadgu Bilig, 34,12, but this is a goast word, such a title does not exist in QB and Old Turkic. Shimunek (2017, 64) offers eight possile reconstructions, among them also **tʰur*. Perhaps the word may be connected with Mong *terigün* ‘head’, see also *türügüü* colloquial, *türügün* ‘head (of a group’, already Middle Mong *türün*, see the material collected by Nugteren (2011, 520), Dag *turun* ‘first, champion’ (DagE 264 = *terigün*),

t-úr tai ui° 令交 丞 冬 (247-097 374 263) ‘a title’, ChinT *tu li tai wei* 秃里太尉 (Hu3, C438, the first part see above, for *tai wei* see Hucker No 6260 CH’IN-HAN “Defender-in-chief”, later occasionally title of the senior military officer in a kingdom”.

t-úr2 令交 (247-097), also **t$_2$-úr$_2$** 令化 (260-236), see **tu-úr-** 为交 (202-097) ‘to die, to expire, to finish (hon)’, Chin *hong* 薨, see **12.5** VERBS,

bod xa-she t-úr eu-ul-ge-y 囯 不乖 令交 去平尜万 (309 130-315 247-097 067-366-349-020) ‘death time’ (Ling19-17) no gloss,

t-úr-y-l-ge-ñ bod-l-b-ñ 令交万屮尜伏 囯屮丹伏 (247-097 020-261-349-222 309-261-225-222) no gloss, in: *eme-350-de t-úr-y-l-ge-ñ* (?= *t-úr eu-ul-ge-ñ*) (Jue40-6),

t$_2$-ur$_2$ iu 令化 丙 (260-237 019) ‘to die’ (Hong18).

t-úr-búl-u-ji 令交刈叐豸 (247-097-272-131-152) (Yu48-42, Di14-23, Hu34-7) = **tu-úr-búl-u-ji** 为交刈叐豸 (202-097-272-131-152), **es** ~ ‘not dying’.

ta (229) ‘old, senior, chief, head’, 30x, Chin *zhang* 长 CWJ1289 (Tai5-37). Unclear[3], perhaps **ta1, ta2** and even **ta3**.

ta-am (229-184) ‘treasure’, Chin *bao* 宝(= 寶),

ta-am h-ing-er ng-i tu-ung$_2$ s-a-am sï (Zhong21),

ta-am h-ing-er 378.1-378.1 ong □□ (Zhong23) no gloss, not in Hucker,

pu ta-am-de hu$_2$-ú (Jue16, 18, 20) ChinE *fu bao yu tong* 符宝(= 寶)于 统 CWJ 1542.

Ta-an (229-011) ‘the name of the kingdom Tan, the former Bohai’, 7x, Chin *dan* 丹 also the name of a prefecture (Song 10: **ta-an ci-eu-un ui** ‘the affairs of the prefecture *Ta-an*’) on CWJ1307 transcribed as *tan* 檀 ‘sandalwood’, see also WF 60, 80 (Hobei). There was also another prefecture with the same name, Chin *tan* 潭 WF 77 (Jehol),

Ta-an g-úr-en iú qa ‘the deceased king of Tan’ (Guang4-3).

Ta-ang-en ki-ên l-ing-de (229-199-140 163-073 261-303-205) ‘Tang qianling (tomb), dative-locative’, ChinE *tang qian ling yu* 唐乾陵于 C423.

ta-d-ñ cau-ji (229-254-222 022-152) ‘that army, army from other side, the other army’, 1x, Chin *bi jun* 彼军 C423, to Mong *tede* ‘they, those’, Dah *tede, tere* ‘they’ (M222, 224), *tendēs* ‘von dort, von da, daher’, *tere* ‘jener, er’ (M-K136,137).

ta-u (229-131) no gloss, 2x,

ta-u qa-ha-an (229-131 053-051-011), ‘all, every?’ ChinE *dou* (?) *ke-han zhi* 都 (?) 可汗 之, (Zhong33-1) CWJ966,

ta-u-en ui MANAGE-li$_2$ (229-131-140 262 142-080), (Zhong7-15),

ta-u po (229-131 279) (Hu17).

ta-uh (229-172) ‘long’, Chin *chang* 长,

ta-uh sär (229-172 081) ‘long month’, Chin *chang yue* 长月 C423,

ta-uh-en (229-172-140) ‘long, genitive’, Chin *chang zhi* 长之 C423.

ta-úr see **t-iau-du**

ta-139.1 (229-139.1) ‘seal’, Chin *zhang* 章 C423. ? cf. Mong *tamaga(n)* ‘seal, stamp, brand’, Dag ??

(229-131-140), see **sh-eu tai b-u** (028-067 374 311-131), 2x,

see **us-g-ci tai-b** (068-334-162 374-311),

m-o ci-i-shi-d-bun ta-139.1 ‘marked with great filial piety’ (Xing2).

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[3] *xo-mú ir-y-én ta ñ-ar-ha-a-ar* (Tai5-37), *xe ta h-ui-ri-ge-er ci-ar$_2$-l* (Tai8-23) *n-ai-ci-én har$_3$-ia es h-ui-ri-ge-er* (Tai15-5)

tai-b (374-311) ‘a title’, ChinE *tai bao* 太保, Hucker 6195 “Grand Guardian”, LIAO “Keeper of the Horse Herd”, also **tai b-u**, 2x,

us-g-ci tai-b (068-334-162 374-311) ‘a title, scribe tai bo’, ChinE *wen ban tai bao* 文班太保 C377,

sh-eu tai b-u h-iú ong-on i-ri ‘the title of the acting **tai-bao** and Xu wang, genitive (Yu27) ChinE *shou tai-bao xu wang zhi* 守太保 许王之 (CWJ 1046),

g-ung ci-in us-g-d dur sh-eu tai b-u d-em$_2$-l-ge-y ‘was appointed by the fourfold diploma of the Duke (or ducal) as acting Grand Guardian (Xu29), ChinE *gongchen zisi shou tai bao* 功臣字 四 守 太保 CWJ 993.

tai heu-un (374 250-273) see **Ci-ng t-ie-ên tai heu-un** (162-264 247-327-073 374 250-273) ChinE *tian hou* 天 后 ‘heavenly queen’ Hucker 6698, an occasional variant of *tai hou* 太后.

see **Ci-ng t-ie-ên tai heu-un** (162-264 247-327-073 374 250-273),

tai-i hong tai-i heu-un (374-339 075 374-339 250-273) ‘empress dowager, genitive’, ChinE *tai huang tai hou zhi* 太皇太后之 C487 Hucker No 6169, “Grand Empress Dowager”, paternal grandmother of the reigning Emperor.

tai ong (374 071) ‘title, Great Wang’, ChinE, *dai wang* 大王, **L**6.

tai sï (374 083) ‘heir apparent’, K119, **tai z-ï$_2$** (374 258-113) ChinE *tai zi* 太子 C486, CWJ 959, Hucker 6239,

tai sï sh-iau-u shï (Ling11, Zhong50), ‘junior envoy of the heir apparent’ Chin *tai zi shaoshi*, 太子少師 only Hucker No 6253.

tai sh-ing (374 028-303) ‘holy’, ChinE *da sheng* 大圣 C486.

tai sh-iuk (374 028-138) ‘great uncle’, ChinE *tai shu* 太叔 CWJ 1307, YCh *ʂy*, LMCh *ʂiwk*.

tai shï (374-180) ‘a title, Grand Preceptor’, also **tai sh-i** (374 028-339) ChinE *tai shi* 太师, **L**2, **L**10, **L**1, Hucker No 6212.

tai sh-ing (374 028-303) ‘holy’, ChinE! *da sheng* 大圣 C486.

tai-ui (374-262) ‘a military office’, ChinE *tai wei* 太尉,

tai-ui-de, Chin *tai wei yu* 太尉于 (Jue 38),

see **t-úr tai ui°** (247-097 374 263) ‘a title’, ChinT *tu li tai wei* 秃里太尉 (Hu3, C438, the first part see above, for *tai wei* see Hucker No 6260 CH’IN-HAN “Defender-in-chief”, later occasionally title of the senior military officer in a kingdom, see above.

tai z-ï$_2$ (374 258-113) see **tai sï**.

tal (195) ‘plain, flatland’, Chin *ping yuan* 平原 C416, see Mong *tala* ‘plain, steppe, side’, Dah *tale* ‘steppe, side’ (M220), *tal, tală* ‘Ebene, Feld’ (M-K135), see also the next proper name,

tal-s-er ‘the prominent territory’ accusative-instrumental, Chin *da ling* 达领 CWJ 1550, (Jue28),

hoi-dor$_2$ ñ-ó-úr tal ‘North-East circuit region’ (Liang7-20).

Tal-en (195-140) ‘tribe name’, ChinT *da ling* 达领 C416, WF 89 notes a *da ling* 答凌 river, however Tal is a name of a tribe,

Tal-en-ñ (195-140-222) ‘tribe name, genitive’, ChinT *da ling (bian) zhi* 达领 (边) 之 C416,

Tal ñ-ô-or (195 222-252-076) ‘tribe name’, ChinT *da ling (bian) bu* 达领 (边) 部 C416 perhaps a short form for **Tal-en**.

tal-hu-* (195-151) ‘to uprise, rob’, 6x, see Mong *tala-* ‘to take away, plunder’, Dag *tale-* ‘to take everything, ransack, plunder, clean out (by robbing), rob’ (M228), M-K, Poppe no data, According to Nugteren 510-511 the Dag forms *tal^{y}-*, *tala-* pertain to -**talbï-* ‘put/lay down’. In any case *talbi-* and *tala-* are two different verbs,

tal-hu-ar (195-151-123) ‘uprising, plundering?’, 3x, Chin no gloss, **L**17 (also Yu56-57, Tu9-3),

tal-hu-ai (195-151-122), ‘was uprising’, 2x,

tal-hu-ai-li$_2$ (195-151-122-080), 1x,

tal-hu-ai-l-hu (195-151-122-261-151), 1x,

tal-hu-ai-u-ji (195-151-122-131-152), 1x,

p-úr-s tal-hu-ai-li$_2$ t-ge-e-ci n-o-ó-ur tau-su-ó-ul-hu ‘the descendants were robbed and died, therefore his family (*n-o-ó-úr*) was advanced’ (Nan34-4).

tau (029) ‘five’, **tau°** (030) ‘five, (masc), Chin *wu* 五, **L**21, see **12.3** Numerals1,

tau-un ñol u-ur$_2$ (029-273 085 131-236) ‘the Five and Six Division’, Chin *wu liu yuan* 五六院 C368,

tau°-un u-ur$_2$ ñ-ô-úr (030-273 131-236 222-252-097) ‘the five administrations’, Chin *wu yuan bu* 五院部 C369,

tau jau-de ‘five hundred, dative-locative’ (Jue40), Chin *wubaiyu* 五百于.

tau-úr see **t-iau-dû**.

tau-úr-un sh-ri-n (029-097-273 028-235-251) ‘an official of a tribal unit, genitive’, Chin *ta li shi lie zhi* 塌里石烈之 C368.

tau-li-a (029-206-189) ‘fourth earthly branch, rabbit, hare’, K101,112, ‘1. mao (branch), 2. rabbit’, Chin1. *mao* 卯, 2. *tu* 兔 Liaoshi: ChT *taoli* 陶里, C368, **L** 13, see Mong *taulai* ‘hare’, Dag *tawl* ‘Hase’ (M-K 136), *taŭĺē* (P92), Turk *tabïšgan, tavïšgan* ‘Hase’ (Wilkens, 605),

see **g-u tau-li-a** (334-131 029-206-189).

tau-su-ó-* (029-041-090) ‘to advance’, no gloss, see Mong *dabsi-* ‘to advance’ (< *daba-* ‘to cross, to exceed’),

tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ai (029-041-090-366-051-122),‘was advancing’, 8x, Chin no gloss **L**17, **L**24, **L**25, see,

tau-su-l-ha-ai 戋卡朩圡中 (029-041-261-051-122), 15x,
tau-su-l-ha-a-án 戋卡朩圡为出 (029-041-251-051-189-290), 'had been advanced', 3x,
tau-su-ó-ul-hu 戋卡廾平列 (029-041-090-366-151), 8x,
tau-su-ó-ul-hu-an 戋卡廾平列 夹 (029-041-090-366-151-011), 1x,
tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ar 戋卡 廾平圡 本 (029-041-090-366-051-123),,
tau-su-ó-o-ón 'had advanced' (Xuan28),
tau-su-ó-ul-ó-ji (Di25-36),
tau-su-ó-ui au-ul-ha-ai 'his advancing, his position was changing, he was forwarded', 5x,
û-e tau-su-ó-ui t-em$_2$-l-ge-én 'has been advancing (and) awarded with the title *û-e*' (Xiang2).

tau-un-hu 戋火列 (029-273-151) 'he, accusative-instrumental', Chin *ta* (*gong juge*) 他 (工具格) C368 (Jue 24).

te 口 (323) 'that', 113x, (earlier <qi> K121 and connected with Mong *kü*, emphatic particle by Wu 2011a, it was hesitatingly read as **qi** by Wu—Janhunen 2010, 55 and Shimunek 2017 223 read *qay), see 6.2.1.2 PRONOUNS, also **t 令** t(e)(247) **de 矢** (205) plural **te-t 口令** (323-247), 2x, Chin *gai* 该, Mong *tere* 'that', pl. *tede* (<*te, see also *tende* etc.), Dah *tere* 3rd person pronoun', *tede* 'third person plural pronoun' (M222-224), *tere* 'jene, er' (M-K137), **L**15, **L**17, **L**21, see 12.2.1 GRAMMAR, WORD CLASSES, PRONOUNS,
t i-ri-s-er 令 关化仐公 'these offices, titles' (Xiang12),
te-hu 口列 (323-151) 'that mentioned, the very', Chin *gai* 该 **L**19,
te ai 口 中 (323 122) 'that year', Chin *gai nian* 该年, **L**15,
te-hu ai-de 'in the same year' (Zhong23), **te-hu sär-de** 'in the same month' (Zhong23),
te i-ri-de 口 关化矢 (323 339-205) 'that title, dative-locative', Chin *gai hao yu* 该 号 于, **L**24,
te ai te sär te när te po-do 口中 口艾 口癸 口非 朱(323 122 322 081 323 159 323 279 217) 'in that year, that month, that day, that (double) hour', Chin *na nian na yue na ri na shi yu* 那 年 那 月 那 日 那 时于, C 470.

Te-li$_2$-ñ 口北伏 (323-080-222) 'the name of the imperial clan', 19x, earlier read **qi-ii-ñ 口北伏** (323-077-222) that is instead of **北** (li$_2$) (080) it was read as **北** (ii) (077) and considered (by Kane 121, and Wu—Janhunen 178, see also Shimunek 2017, 92, 423, 437 and note) to be the Khitan name of the *Xi* 奚 tribe (YCh *xi,* LMCh *xhjiaj*, on which see WF Index 719, Atwood 2015, and Shimunek 2017 passim). Shimunek 2011,223, 225 read (323) <qai>. It occurs 19 times and only with **qa-ha-an go-er** as the name of the social group the members of which became the respective husbands of the daughters of the owners of the inscriptions. CWJ gives on one place: **Te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an 口北伏 丞圡夹** (323-080-222 053-051-011), ChinT *telin kehan zhi* 忒邻可汗

之 C470, (Zhi11-39). This seems to be a modern transcription of the Khitan term. **Te-li$_2$-ñ** is not a person, the expression **Te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er** denotes the royal Khitan clan while the expression **Bud-ó-ñ qa-ha-an go-er** denotes the originally Uigur Xiao clan, with which the Khitan ruling clan was in exchange marriage relation. **Te-li$_2$-ñ** and **Bud-ó-ñ** are genitive constructions, qualifying the following expression. **Te-li$_2$** has the meaning 'that, pertaining to that', while **Bud-ó** 'pertaining to the other'. The **Te-li$_2$-ñ** clan was member of the Six Patriarchal Tent as we see from the following:
仄 伏廾矢朸 口比伏 巫圡买 由券朸 国仆付叉<*ñol ñ-ó-li-en te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en bod-l-b-un$_2$*> (Xu52-4)'from the imperial lineage (*bod-l-b-un$_2$*) of Te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an of the Patriarchal tent of the Six Tribes'. See also,
仄 伏廾矢朸 口比伏 巫圡买 由公朸<*ñol ñ-ó-li-en te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-a n go-er-en g-au n-u l-ém-a-an b-qo* > (Wu24-10), 'the son of G-au N-u *l-ém-a* of the Patriarchal Tent of the Te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an of the Six Divisions' Further:
令丙才存 口比伏 巫圡买 / 由公朸<*t-023-ia-ra te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en*> 'the Patriarchal Tent of the southern (*t-023-ia-ra)* Te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an (**令丙才存** = **t-ie-ar$_2$** **令文存** (247-327-084)), (Yu6-21, 7-60, 8-12), the same have to be:
令丙才条 口比伏 巫圡买 由公朸 <*t-023-ia-ai$_2$ te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en*> (Yong22),
令丙圡本 口比伏 巫圡买 由公朸 <*t-023-ha-ar te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en*> (Pu14-22),
令金当 口比伏 巫圡买 由公朸 <*t-em$_2$-én te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en*> (Pu15).

T-em$_2$-én abu **令金当 生** (247-257-361 196) 'a person's name', ChinT *te mian a bu* 特免阿不 (Hui7) C441.

terken **乐** (333) logoglyph, 13x, Liao shi ChinT *te li jian* 忒里蹇 C471, WF 431, also 腻俚建, YCh *tʰəj li kjɛn*, LMCh *tʰəə̆k li kian,* the Chinese is a transcription of **teriken* or **terigen*, ← Turk *terken* 'queen', also *terken qatun, terken qunčui* (Clauson 544). read earlier as **QUEEN** **乐** (333), genitive **terken-en** **乐朸** (333-140), 3x, Chin *te li jian zhi* 忒里蹇之 C471, plural **terke-d** **乐公** (333-254), 4x, Chin *te li jian* 忒里蹇 C472, **terken-i** **乐关** (333-339), 5x, Chin *te li jian* 忒里蹇 C472, see **T-ang-ur$_2$-en S-iau hu$_2$-ú terken** **令气化朸 仐兮 亜伞 乐** (247-199-236-140 244-362 014-245 333) 'a person's name', Chin *xiao hu lu* 小斛禄 (Zhong14 C436, Peng 2023,656, see **S-iau hu$_2$-ú,** not **qatun**, on *qatun*, see Mong *qatun* 'queen' ← Sogd *xwtyn, xwt'ynh* 'queen' (Gharib 440).

THIRTY **ㄥ** (211) 'thirty', **THIRTY°** **ㄥ** (211.1)[4], Chin *san shi* 三十 C418, cf. Mong *gučin,* Dah *goci* 'thirty' (M151), *gočidar* 'dreissigster' (M-K134),

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[4] CWJ on p. 419 for **ㄥ** (211.1) has *bashi* 八十 'eighty', and **THIRTY°-de** (211.1-205) 'eighty, dative-locative', Chin *ba shi yu* 八十于.

THIRTY-en eu-ur$_2$ (211-140 067-236) ‘thirty years old’, Chin *san shi sui* 三十岁 C419.

tir-* (074) ‘?’, past tense **tir-bun** (074-288) and **tir-b-un$_2$** (074-311-144), past participle **tir-er** (074-341), **tir-a-an** (074-189-011), converb **tir-a-aju** (074-189-082.19) no gloss, occurs also in names, as **Tir-b-un$_2$**, ChinT *tie li* 铁离, CWJ383, because CWJ read **Tir-b-ir$_2$****.

to-on l-ie-ên (213-154 261-327-073) ‘a title’, ChinE *tuan lian* 团练 C419, Hucker, No 7383 “Militia”.

tou-ul-û-ui (191-366-372-262) ‘was increasing, augmenting, conferring, forwarding’, Chin *jia* 加, CWJ 959 with ?

tu-li (202-206) ‘lean against, fight?’, 4x, Chin no gloss, **L**17.

tu-ung g-ün *see* **t-le g-iu-ung-un tu-ung g-ün** (247-093 334-019-345-273 202-345 334-329).

tu-ung jï (202-345 087) ‘a title’, ChinE *tongzhi* 同 知, **L**24, Hucker No 7471,

tu-ung jï-en ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de (202-345 087-140 262 142-131-337-205) ‘to the manager of the matters of the Associate, a title’, dative-locative Chin *tong zhi zhi shi zhi* 同知之事知 C417, Hucker No 7471 *tong zhi:* “Associate Administrator or Associate”, hybrid.

tu-ung s-a-am sï (202-345 244-189-184 082) ‘a title, Associate Commissioner of Finances’, Chin *tong san si* 同三司, Hucker 7464 *tong* “Associate or Jointly, a prefix generally indicating that an official already serving in one post had been assigned additionally, to take part in the work of another post¸ normally more prestigous then fu (Vice)”, see **s-a-am sï**.

tu-ung s-ie-ém ‘deputy’, in **t-le g-ing-en tu-ung s-ie-ém** (Tu10-12), ChinE *tong qian* 同 签 (CWJ 1279).

tu-ung s-in-en (202-345 244-018-140) ‘a title, genitive’, ChinE *tong jin zhi* 通进之 C417, Hucker 7476 *tong jin si* 通进司 SUNG-LIAO “Memorial-forwarding Office”.

tu-ung p-a-an (202-345 295-189-011) ‘a title’, ChinE *tong pan* 通判, **L**23. **L**25 Hucker No 7497 “Controller General”.

tu-ung$_2$ g-ia-am s-iu g-ui shï (202-106 334-335-184 244-019 334-262 180) ‘title’, ChinE *tong jian xiu guo shi* 同兼修国史 C417 Hucker No 7470 *tong jian* “Deputy” + Hucker No 2626 *xiu guo shi* SUNG, LIAO “State Historiographer”.

tu-ung$_2$ sh-ün (202-106 028-329) ‘commander’, ChinE *tong jun* 统军 C417.

tu-úr- (202-097) ‘to die, to expire, to finish (hon)’, also **t-úr** (247-097), K91, Chin *hong* 薨, see Mong *dügür-*‘to expire, finish’ (Wu—Janhunen 2010, 73, Wu—Róna-Tas 2020, 80), Dag *duure-*(a box, etc.) be full, be filled,

fill up (= get full)’ (M139), *dü:r* ‘to be(come) full’ (DagE, Nugteren, 321), not as Shimunek 2017, 374, *töre-* etc. ‘be born’, see the details **12.5.1.3**,
tu-úr-ú-li$_2$ 为夾伞北 (202-097-245-080) ‘to die’, Chin *hong* 薨 C417,
tu-úr-bun 为夾屮 (202-097-288) ‘died’, Chin *hong* 薨 C417,
bod tu-úr-bun t-ge-y 国 为夾屮 令谷丙 (309 202-097-288 247-349-020)‘his body was deadly hit and died’ (Xiang12-23),
tu-úr-b-ñ 为夾丹伏 (202-097-311-222) ‘died’, Chin *hong* 薨 C417,
tu-úr-b-un$_2$ 为夾丹叉 (202-097-311-144) ‘died’, Chin *hong* 薨 C417,
tu-de-i 为矢关 (202-205-339) ‘die’, Chin *hong* 薨 C417,
tu-úr-b-ñ-er 为夾丹伏公 (202-097-311-222-341),
t-úr-búl-u-ji 令夾刈及犳 (247-097-272-131-152) = **tu-úr-búl-u-ji** 为夾刈及犳 (202-097-272-131-152), **es** ~ ‘not dying’,
see also **s-ó-ul-d tu-úr-b-ñ-er** 仐井平坌 为夾丹伏公 (244-090-366-254 202-097-311-222-341),
xa-she t-úr eu-ul-ge-y 不朩 令夾 圡平谷丙 (130-315- 247-097 067-366-349020) ‘time of death’ (Ling19-17),
tu-úr-s-li$_2$ 为夾仐北 (202-097-244-080), ‘death (honorific)’, Chin *hong* 薨 C417, CWJ 1452,
see **om-úr tu-úr-s-li$_2$** 九夾 为夾仐北 (092-097 202-097-244-080) ‘soon after his death’ (DiX7-17),
s-in ong-on tu-úr-s-li$_2$ ‘the death of S-in wang’ (Di5).

tum 殳 (187) ‘ten thousand, everlasting’, K120, 55x, Chin *wan* 万 C414, see Mong *tüme(n)* ‘ten thousand, a military unit’, Dag *tume* ‘ten thousand’ (M228), *tume* ‘zehntausend’ (M-K139),
tum-en eu-úr 殳冇 圡夾 (187-140 067-097) ‘long life’, Chin *wan sui* 万岁 C415.

Tum-úr 殳夾 (187-097) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *tu mu ri* 图木日 Gu17 C415, see Mong *temür* ‘iron, metal’, but Dah *kaso, kazo* ‘Eisen’ (M-K114), the name occurs 7 times once in Gu17-25 and six times in Yu, the form **tum-ur$_2$** 殳化 (187-236) occurs twice in Xu21-13 45-13.

U

u-ul (131-366) 'winter', see Mong *ebül, öbül* 'winter', Dah *eule* 'winter' (M146), *uhul* 'Winter' (M-K140), Chin *dong* 冬 **L**18, **L**20, **L**21, **L**23, **L**24, **L**25,

u-ul sär-s-er 'in the winter months, plural accusative-instrumental', Chin *dong yue* 冬月 **L**23.

u-ul-ge (131-366-349) see **û-** below, also **û-ul-ge**$_2$ (372-366-112), **û-ul-ge** (372-366-3490), 3x, **û-ul-ge-én** (372-366-349-361), 22x, **u-ul-ge**$_2$**-én**$_2$ (131-366-112-100), 1x, **u-ul-ge**$_2$**-én** (131-366-112-361), 3x, **u-ul-ge-én** (131-366-349-361), 4x, **û-ul-ge**$_2$**-én**$_2$ (372-366-112-100).

u-un (131-273) 'writing, script, composition, document?' no gloss, ChinE *wen* 文, see **w-un**.

u-un sh-iú m-ir-en (131-273 028-289 133-137-140) 'title, genitive', ChinE *wen shu mi zhi* 文枢密之 C393, Hucker only 7722 *wenshu fang* 文書房 MING: "Palace Secretariate", *mi* 密 'silent, secret' was YCh *mij*, LMCh *mit*, that is Chinese final-*t* is reflected in its /r/ form.

u ur$_2$**1** (131-236), 'former, ancient, ancestral, supreme', K119, also **û-ur**$_2$,

u-ur$_2$ **ai** 'ancestor', also **û-ur**$_2$ **ai** (372-236 122) 'ancestor', Chin *xian zu* 先祖 C484, C392 (K84),

u-ur$_2$ **ai-en** (131-236-122-140) 'ancestor's, genitive', Chin *xian zu zhi* 先祖之 C392,

u-ur$_2$**-ñ ai-d** (131-236-222 122-254) 'ancestors, plural', Chin *zhu xian zu* 诸先祖 C393,

u-ur$_2$ **g-ing-en** 'supreme capital, 4x, genitive' (Hong4),

u-ur$_2$ **g-iu-u ng-un l-iu sh-eu** (131-236 334-019-345-273 261-019 028-067) 'a title?', Chin *shang gong(jing) zhi liu shou* 上宫(京) 之留守 C393, hybrid, with Kitan genitive,? those who were left behind, stood behind for duty in the superior palace, Hucker No 5012 *shang gong ju* 上宫局 TANG-SUNG "General Palace Service",

ñol u-ur$_2$ **ñ-ó-úr** (085 131-236 222-090-097) 'the six ancient tribes' (Qing10).

u-ur$_2$**2** (131-236) 'wing (of an army), division', K93, also **û-úr** (372-097) cf. ??Mong *urug* 'relatives by marriage', Dah ??, Chin *yuan* 院 C392, **L**17, **L**21,

u-ur$_2$**-en** (131-236-140), 'division, genitive', 1x,

u-ur$_2$**-ñ** (131-236-222) 'division, generation, genitive', Chin *zuxian* 祖先, **L**8,

see **b-ra-a-an u-ur**$_2$ 'right wing (of the army)', 6x,

ñol u-úr 'Six Division' (Cha19).

u-úr-û-ñ 叐安穴 (131-097-372-222) ‘to give’, Chin *gei* 給 C392, see û-*: 穴 (372), **u-úr-l-ge$_2$-ñ** (131-097-261-112-222), 2x, also **u-úr-l-ge-ñ** (131-097-261-349-222).

udu-ó-*1 米卅 (355-090) ‘ordu, movable palast’, also **udu-u** 米叐 (355-131Chin *gong, (xing) gong*’ 宫 (行)宫 see **odu** and **9.** ORTHOGRAPHY.

udu-ó-*2 米卅 ‘peace in the reign title’, **GREAT udu-ó-o-ón** 又 米卅及肉 (373 355-090-186-322) ‘a reign title (1085-1095)’, Chin *da an* 大安 C485 written also: **GREAT ú-dû-ó-o-ón** 又伞分卅及肉 (373 245-249-090-186-322) **GREAT ú-dû-o-ón** 又伞分及肉 (373 245-249-186-322), see **9**. ORTHOGRAPHY and **12.3** NUMERALS, **18.4.** THE KHITAN KALENDAR.

udu-u 米叐 (355-131), also **udu-ú** 米伞 (355-245), in: **udu-u po-or** 米叐 非北 (355-131 279-076) (Zhong16-30) and **udu-ú po-or** 米伞 非北 (355-245 279-076) (Yu29-59) ? ‘peaceful’.

û-*: 穴 (372) ‘to give’, K99, **L**22n, also *û-ui* 穴火 (372-262) ‘gave, granted’ see Mong *ög-* ‘to give’, Dah *uke-* (M232), *uku-, ukku-* ‘geben’ (M-K141), K105, Bai 2022, Shimunek 2022, see **12.5.1.10** VERB special forms attested are:
û-ul-ge$_2$-* (372-366-112), also **û-ul-ge-*** (372-366-349) ‘to let give’,
û-su-li$_2$ 穴卡圵 (372-041-080) ‘concede, give away, surrender’, Chin *rang* 让 C484,
û-li$_2$ 穴圵 (372-080) ‘give’, Chin *shou* 授 C484,
û-úr o-oi$_2$ 穴安 及太 (372-097 186-107) ‘was giving, was awarding a donation’, Chin *shou yu* 授予 C484,
û-úr-l-ge-y 穴安屮坌丏 (372-097-261-349-020) ‘self-supporting as, self-reliance’, Chin *zi li* 自立 C484,
u-úr-l-ge$_2$-ñ 叐安屮夽伏 (131-097-261-112-222) ‘has been donatated’, Chin no gloss, **L**22,
û-er 穴公 (372-341) ‘given, bestowed upon’ past tense, Chin *shou* 授, **L**22n,
HEAVEN û-er hong di-in po-do 关 穴公 主 王雨 非朱 几穴卡 穴火 ‘at the time of the Heaven-bestowed Emperor’ (DiX3),
u-úr 叐安 (131-097) ‘donation, giving’, **L**22,
u-ur$_2$-û-ñ 叐化 穴伏 (131-236-372-222) ‘grant, given’, Chin *gei* 给 **L**22,
es û-**ui** 刃 穴火 (146 372-262) ‘should not marry, not given in marriage’ (Jue32), Chin *wei ci* 未赐 CWJ1553.

Û-e 穴券 (372-348) ‘a name’, ChT *yu yue* 于越.

ú 伞 (245) ‘water’, 27x, see Mong *usun* ‘water’, Dah *ose* ‘water’ (M203), *oso* ‘Wasser’ (M-K128), Chin *shui* 水 C437, see also Bai 2020, 86.
see **mor-en ú** 乃有 伞 (185-140 245) ‘water of the river’, *hezhi shui* 河之水 C414.

Ú 伞 (245) ‘the state, country Wu’, ChinE *wu* 乌 (= 烏),
Ú g-úr-de 伞 九安矢 (245 334-097-205) ‘state of Wu, dative-locative’, Chin *wu guo yu* 乌 (= 烏) 国于 C437.

Ú s-ing ki-ên-en (245 244-303 163-073-140) ‘Wu qing county, genitive’, ChinE *wu qing xian zhi* 武清县 (= 縣) 之 C437, YCh *vu,* LMCh *vj*, YCh *ts^{h}iŋ*, LMCh *tshiajŋ*, YCh *xjɛn,* LMCh *xɦjian.*

ú-dû-o-ón (245-249-186-322), 3x, ‘multiplication, reproduction’, also **ú-dû-o-on** (245-249-186-154), 1x,

see the ordu name *Woduwan woludu* 窩篤盌斡魯朵, the meaning is *zixi* 孳息 ‘propagation, reproduction, multiplication’.

ú-dû-l-ha-*, (245-249-261-051), also **u-dû-l-ha-a-*** (245-249-261-051-189) ‘to prosper??? let multiple’ The word is frequent in the reign title (see also **18.4.1**) and as name of persons,

ú-dû-l-ha-ai (245-249-261-051-122), 1x (Dao30-17: *ú-dû-l-ha-ai û-er*),

ú-dû-l-ha-ar (245-249-261-051-123), 2x:

ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar (245-249-261-051-189-123) ‘the Reign title *Zhongxi* 重熙 (1031-1055), 26x, ‘Repeated Splendour, Steady Prosperity’,

Ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar (245-249-261-051-189-123) ‘name of a male person’, ChinT *wo-te-la* 斡 特 剌 (Zhen4) C437, it was used as a name of the Emperor Xingzong, Chin *Xingzong Huangdi Yelü Zongzhen* 興宗 皇帝 耶律 宗 真, see Wu--Janhunen 185,

Ú-dû-l-ha-a-án (245-249-261-051-189-290) ‘name of a person’, ChinT *wo-te-la* 斡持剌, C437,

Ú-dû-l-ha-án (245-249-261-051-290) ‘name of a female person’, ChinT *wo-li-duo* 窝里朵 C437 (Song11),

ú-dû-l-ha-a-án (245-249-261-051-189-290) ‘had prospered’,10x.

úr-te$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y in**:**

dai-mú dai-mú t-iu-ir úr-te$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y ‘established a longlasting peace’ (Dao13).

úr-u-ur$_2$ (097-131-236) ‘heir’, Chin *zi sun* 子孙 C387, plural in: Zhong29-30: <*úr-u-úr*> plural, Yu4-36: <*qa-ha-an b-hu-án QUEEN-en úr-u-ur p-o-l$_2$-én$_4$* >, Xian26-13: <*b-hu-án úr-u-úr*> see Mong *ur* ‘exrescence or burr on a tree, tumour’, to *urug* ‘relatives by marriage’,

úr-u /12/ **a-ar-un$_2$ or-de iu** ‘earlier (*or-de*) having no heir’ (Hong11-12), Chin *chujia wei cu* 出嫁 未卒 CWJ 1143-1144.

û-e$_2$ (372-109) ‘title’, also **û-e** (372-348) ‘title’, ChinT *yu yue* 于越 C484 MMo *üge*, ← Turk *öge* (<**ö-*), Hucker 8216, LIAO “Counsellor, one of the most eminent dignitaries in the Northern Administration (*pei-mien*) of the central government, also in separate tribes headed by Grand Princes (*ta-wang*)”,

û-n (372-251) ‘title, genitive’, Chin *yu yue zhi* 于越之 C484.

Û-én (372-361) ‘part of a name’, Chin no gloss, **L**22.

û-ur$_2$ ai (372-236 122) ‘ancestor’, Chin *xian zu* 先祖 C484 to **u ur*2*** (131-236), ‘former, ancient, ancestral, supreme’.

û-ur$_2$-un$_2$ 只安叉 (372-097-144) ‘???’, to **u-ur$_2$** 叐化 (131-236) ‘wing (of an army’, see **L**17, **L**22.

ud$_2$-ur$_2$** 大化 (105-236) K94, see **om-ur**.

udu 米 (355) ‘royal camp, royal palace, ordu’, 2x, Chin *gong (xing gong)* 宫 (行宫), C482, ChinT *woluduo* 斡魯朵 (WF 508)’ see **odu-ó** 米廾 (355-090), **s-mu-én udu-ú**.

Uh-ul T-il-t 夂平 令用令 (172-366 247-302-247) ‘a name of a tribe and its territory’, Chin *Wugu Dilie* 乌古 敌烈 Classical Chinese *wugu* 烏 古, also *wu gu li* 烏 古里 Chin *wū gŭ (lĭ*) 烏 古 (里), YCh *u ku li,* LMCh *ʔuǝ̆ kuǝ̆ li* and *Di-lie* 敵 烈, here a plural, see **L**20, **L**21, and WF Index. This has to be the Ugur tribe (<Ogur), at least a part of it, or a group which had this name. For the second name see **T-il-t-en**,

Uh-ul t-il-t-en 夂平 令用令有 (172-366 247-302-247-140) ‘tribe name, genitive’, Chin *wu gu di lie zhi* 乌古敌烈之 C 411,

Uh-ul t-il-t-en hu$_2$-ú s-eng-un 夂 平 令用令有 亜伞 仐各火 (172-366 247-302-247-140 014-245 244-175-273) ‘the Commanding Field Marshal of the Wugu Dilie’, Chin *wugu dilie zhi tong xiangwen* 乌古 敌烈 之 统 详稳 line **L**20, see **L**21,

Uh-ul-i ñ-ó-úr 夂平关 伏廾安 (172-366-339 222-090-097) ‘a tribe name’, Chin *yu gu li bu* 于骨里部 Tu10 C412,

Uh-ul-ñ D-em$_2$-er pu-m-a ‘D-em$_2$-er, son-in-law of the Uh-ul (clan)’ (Zhong5)’.

ui1 火 **1** (262) ‘cyclical branch of Hai, pig’, K111, Chin *hai (zhu)*亥 (猪) C452 see Jur *u[l]gia* (Kane 1989, 216), Kiyose 1977, 106 *uliyan*, Ma *ulgiyan,* (Kane 2006). Perhaps to read **uil**, see the next item. Occurs in dates as:

s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er 378.1 378.1 ui ai dur sär GOLD° m-ri or-l-bun jur$_2$ nem s-iau-qú t-qo-a när (Zhen24) ‘became ill [and died in the] pig year, month four, gold horse year, according the cycle, twenty eight, blue rooster day’, **b-hu-án ji-en d-ur-er GREAT y-ie-ra-u gur l-iau-qú ui ai p-ul-uh iši sär jur när-de 239 jau-úr dele-160-lu$_3$-i sui-er** (Zhi8),

‘the fourth of the children was born in the year three of the regnal period *tai ping* (1023), red pig year, intercalary month nine, day twenty, in the ?? tribe’. **jur-en dau-dû b-qo HEAVEN as-ar tau GOLD ui heu-úr jur sär par dur när-en s-uni uni po-do sui-er**,

‘the second, middle child was born in the year five of the reign period *qingning* (1059) the [year] yellow pig, spring, month two, in the night, the ox hour of the day 14’.

ui2 火 (262), ‘matter, act’, K106, 276x, **ui^{o}2** 冬 (263), 18x, also **ui-il** 火用 (262-302), 20x, it has a dotted form **ui^{o}** 冬 (263), see below, see Mong *üyile* ‘work, act, action, deed etc.’, plural *üyiles,* Dag *uile* ‘act’ (M238!), *uilde-* ‘machen, tun’ (M-K141), to *weilede-* ‘dreschen’, also *weil* ‘Verbrechen’ <Ma <Mong. Chin

shi 事, **L**2, **L**20, **L**24, **L**26. Genitive **ui-en** (262-140) ‘matter, affair’, 13x, accusative-instrumental’, **ui-er** (262-341) ‘matter, affair, 18x, Chin *shi* 事 C452, dative-locative **ui-de** (262-205) 39x, ablative-prolative **ui-de-i** (262-205-339), 6x, ‘matter, affair’, Chin *shi (cong)* 事 (从) C452, plural **ui-s** (262-244), ‘matters, affairs’, 3x, ??? a double plural **ui-s-d** (262-244-254), 8x, double plural accusative-instrumental **ui-s-d-er** (262-244-254-341), 1x,

Special forms are,

ui-ji (262-152) ‘matter, affair’, 1x, Chin *shi* 事 C452,

ui-s-li$_2$ (262-244-080) ‘cause’, 8x, Chin *shi* 事, *shi ye* 事业 C452 **L**17,

ui-l-g (262-261-334), 1x,

ui-il (262-302), 20x, ‘matter, affair’, 20x, Chin *shi* 事 C452,

ui-il-en (262-302-140) genitive, 1x,

ui-il-gu (262-302-165), 1x,

ui-il-ñ (262-302-222), 1x,

ui-il-g (262-302-334), 1x,

ui-il-g-en (262-302-334-140), 1x,

ui-il-ci (262-302-162), 3x,

ui-li$_2$ (262-080), 1x,

ui^{o}-ñ (263-222), 1x, genitive, Chin *wei ning* 蔚宁 (?) CWJ 1342, (295-345 028-264 162-067-273 262 142-131-337-205 186-186-149) ‘became the manager of the affairs of the Prefecture of P-ung sh-ng (Chin *feng-sheng* 奉圣), **L**26,

see **tu-ung jï-en ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de** (202-345 087-140 262 142-131-337) ‘to be the one who manages the affairs of the tongzhi’, Chin *tongzhi zhi shi zhi you* 同知之 事知于 **L**24,

see **ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de** see **tu-ung jï-en ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de**.

ui3 (262) in **y-au ui** (020-161 262) ‘1.road, 2. ceremony, ritual’, Chin *daoli* 檤礼, if not instead of **y-au-ui**.

Ui-er (262-341) ‘an infantry name’, ChT *wei li* 维里 (Hong2).

Ui-i (262-339) ‘a geographic name, ?? Wei?, 29x, **ui^{o}-i** (263-339), 6x, **ui-í** (263-352), 1x, no gloss, there were more Prefectures Wei, see WF748, **L**24 .

ui-ri-* (262-235) ‘date, event’,

t ui-ri-s-er (247 262-235-244-341) ‘all these dates, accusative-instrumental’, Chin *zhexie zhu hao* 这些诸号 C437.

ul$_2$ (366) ‘not, not yet’, Chin *wu* 无, *bu* 不, *wei* 未 C477, see Mong *ülü* ‘negation’, Dah *ule* ‘negation adverb used in conjunction with [] (e)n’ (M232), *ul* ‘Negationspartikel’, *ul, ulu* ‘nicht (Negation beim Verbum)’ (M-K141). Chin *bu* 不, **L**9, **L** 26,

es od$_2$-i ul$_2$ or-u-ji, Chin *bu qu bu ke* 不去不可 ‘don’t go, can’t go’ C400, (Cha11: *es od$_2$-i ul$_2$ or-u-ji u-ul o-udu-u-dú a-aju us-g t-em$_2$-l-ge-y* ‘him was awarded a diploma which cannot be revoked’).

un$_2$-e$_2$ **叉夯** (144-109) ‘today, present’, K109, 22x, also **un$_2$-e** **叉岔** (144-348) ‘today, present, now’, 38x, Chin *jin* 今 C400, CWJ 1342, not to Mong *erte* ‘early time, long ago, former’, Dag *erete* ‘long ago, anciently, formerly, early’ (M145), *erde* ‘Morgen’, ‘früh, am Morgen’ (M-K130), N 333: *erte* ‘early, morning’, cf OT *erte* ‘the early morning’ *-te* is a suffix or Mong *ene edür* ‘today’ > Khalka *önöödör*, Dag *ene udure* (M144), *enedŭr, enedur* ‘heute’ (M-K 130), see Nugteren 330, genitive **un$_2$-n** **叉公**(144-251), ‘of this?’ or ‘then, afterwards?’ ‘this, the present, now’, 20x, K111, **L**18, accusative-instrumental **un$_2$-er** **叉仌** (144-341), 13x, **un$_2$-e$_2$-n** **叉夯公** (144-109-251) ‘today, present, now, genitive’, Chin *jin* 今 C400,

un$_2$-n mu$_2$-u-ji$_3$-en ishi tau-de ‘at he enthroning of the present holy (Emeperor)’, Chin *jinzhi jiuwuyu* 今之 九五于 CWJ 1017.

un$_2$-én **叉当** (144-361) ‘this, present?’ (Nu20) no gloss, perhaps the same as **un$_2$-e$_2$-n** **叉夯公** (144-109-251) Chin *jin* 今 C400, see above.

un$_2$-y **叉丙**(144-020), ‘?’, CWJ read <ir$_2$-y>. Perhaps with the meaning ‘respective, their respective, of each of them’, or the like. Chin no gloss, **L**8.

un$_2$-pu2 **叉由** (144-320) ‘image, portrait’, Chin *xiang* 像 C400 Peng 2023, 660,

un$_2$-én bod **叉当 囯** (144-361 309) ‘statue’?.

uni **杏** (059) ‘cyclical branch *chou* 丑 in heavenly branch it is ox’ K110, the Khitan meaning is here ‘cattle’, (neither ox nor cow), but also ‘young cow’, that is ‘heifer’, see the next item, 12x, see Mong *üniye* ‘cow’, Dag *une, uńe,* see *ukir* ‘cattle’. Chin *chou* 丑 C374. In the Mongolic calendar the equivalent of Chinese *chou* is *üker* ‘ox’, **uni po-do** **杏 北朱** (059 279-217) ‘the double hour **uni**, 1-3 A.M.’, Chin *choushi* 丑时, see Old Turkic *ingek*, *inek*, and the details in WOT 978-981,

uni-qu-un ca-ang shï **杏余火 甬忥 兆** (059-246-273 375-199 180) ‘a title’, Chin *niu qun chang shi* 牛群敞史 C379 ‘the *changshi* of the *niuqun’, niuqun* ‘herd of cattle’. *changshi* LIAO “a minor official in both Northern and Southern Bureaus of Military Affairs”, KL110, Hucker No 263, but WF706 *changshi* Directing secretary, or Permanent chamberlain (Ling16, 2x), Chin *niu qun* 牛群, *niu*:YCh *jiw*, LMCh *ŋiw, qun* Baxter—Sagart 2823 MCh *gjun*, *chang shi* 敞史, YCh *tʂ^{h}aŋ*, LMCh *tʂ^{h}iaŋ*, LMCh *ʂṛ*, LMCh *ʂṛ.* The Chinese translation of the first part is playing with the similarity of Khitan **uni**, Chin *ŋiw.*For **-qu** see the next item, **-un** is the genitive suffix.

uni-qó **杏欠** (059-169), also **uni-qu** **杏余** (059-246) ‘young person’, 8x, perhaps to **uni** ‘heifer’ young female animal???+ suffix of adjective +**qU**, see also **uni-qu** (059-246), 7x,

uni-qó-dú **杏欠凡** (059-169-179) ‘young, dative-locative’, Chin *you yu* 幼于 C374,

uni-qó-de **杏欠矢** (059-169-205) ‘young, dative-locative’, Chin *you yu* 幼于 C374,

uni-qu-ji **杏余犸** (059-246-152) ‘teenager’, Chin *shao* 少 C374,

uni-qu-dú-hu **杏余尼列** (059-246-179-151) ‘young’, Chin *you* 幼 C374,

uni-qu-ñ **杏余伏** (059-246-222) ‘1. teenager 2. young’, Chin *shao* 少, *you* 幼 C374,

uni-qu-ñ-er **杏余伏公** (059-246-222-341) ‘young, plural’, Chin *you (fu)* 幼(复) C374.

úr-u **安及** (097-131) ‘son’, Chin *zi* 子 C387 also *chujia* 出嫁 in the sentence: *úr-u* /12/ *a-ar-un$_2$ or-de iu* (Hong11-12) see Turk *urï* ‘son, boy’, *urug* ‘Saat, Samen, Frucht (Stein), Spross’ see WOT 969-974, Wilkens 803, also Mong *ur* ‘exrescence or burr on a tree, tumour’, to *urug* ‘relatives by marriage’, **úr-u-ur$_2$** **安及化** (097-131-236) ‘heir’, Chin *zi sun* 子孙 C387, plural in: Zhong29-30: **úr-u-úr** *plural*, Yu4-36: *<qa-ha-an b-hu-án QUEEN-en úr-u-ur$_2$ p-o-l$_2$-én$_4$>*, Xian26-13: *<b-hu-án úr-u-úr>*,

b-hu-án úr-u-ur$_2$ ol ‘gave heir children’ Xian26-13,

b-qo úr-i see **b-qo**.

us-g **北九** (068-334) ‘letter, writing, script, document’, also **us$_2$-g** **北九** (103-334), 4x, Chin *zi* 字 C388, see Mong *üsüg, üjüg* ‘letter, writing’, Dag *usuue* ‘language, words’ (M233), *usugei* ‘Wort’, *usuh* ‘Gesprech’, *uzuhu, uzugo* ‘Wort’ *usugulji-* ‘reden’ (M-K142), to Uygur *üsig*, which is a variant of Old Turkic *ujig*. The Old Turkic word goes back to Sogd *’wj’γ*, see the broadening of the semantics, accusative-instrumental **us-g-er** (068-334-340), 2x, genitive **us-g-en** **北九有** (068-334-140), 13x, dative-locative **us-g-de** **北九矢** (068-334-205), 16x, Chin *zi yu* 字于 C376, **us$_2$-g-de** (103-334-205), 2x, ablative-prolative **us$_2$-g-de-i** **北九矢关** (103-334-205-339), 2x, plural **us-g-d** (068-334-254), 18x, plural genitive **us-g-d-en** (068-334-254-140), 1x, Chin *zi cong* 字从 C388,

us$_2$-g-ci **北九杰** (103-334-162) ‘script, writing, rather scribe’, *üsügci* as *bitigci*??? **L8** Chin *zicong* 字 从 = 從 C388,

us-g-ci tai-b **北九杰 丞舟** (068-334-162 374-311) ‘title’, Chin *wen ban tai bao* 文班太保 C377, see **tai-b**,

us-g shï **北九 兆** (Nan29) also **shï us-g** **兆 北九** (180 068-334) ‘poetry’, Chin *shi wen* 诗文 C413,

us$_2$-g-en ui **北九有 火** (103-334-140 262) ‘matter of words, of writing’, Chin *zi zhi shi* 字之事 C388,

see **cal°-a-an us-g** **居为买 北九** (183.1-189-011 068-334),

see **emu us-g** **毛 北九**.

Ü

üe see **Y-ang S-iúng üe** (020-199 244-181 082) C364.

Üe-e g-ung$_2$ j-iú-un (082-348 334-106 104-C389-273) ‘princess of state of Yue, genitive’, ChinE *yue guo gong zhu zhi* 越国公主之 C384, for **g-ung$_2$ j-iú** see **g-ung ci-iú**, also Hucker 3408 “Princess, or Imperial Princess”.

üe$_2$ (226) ‘sure, must, certainly’, (Guang30), Chin *bi* C423, Not clear, perhaps a Chinese word,

üe$_2$-ai (226-122) ‘sure’, (Yu36), Chin *bi* 必 C423 perhaps **üe$_2$ ai**, separately[1],

üe$_2$-de (226-205) ‘sure’, (Tai15), Chin *bi* 必 C 423.

üe$_2$-n (226-251) ‘division (walled courtyard)’, ChinE *yuan* 院,

üe$_2$-n-en ui (226-251-140 262) ‘matter of division (walled courtyard)’, Chin *yuan zhi shi* 院之事 C423 hybrid expression, first part is Chin *yuan* (YCh *ɥɛn*) + the second part Khitan genitive+ *ui*[2].

Üen-ia-ai** see **En$_2$-ia-ai L**7.

ün gu-í ui° (329 165-352 263) ‘commander of the military formation “clouds”’ to *yun qi* ‘clouds’, ChinE *yun qi wei* 云骑尉 C470, Hucker No 8272 “Commandant of Fleet-as-Clouds Cavalry, prestige title (*san kuan*) in Sui, merit title (*hsün*) from Ta’ang through Chin”.

W

w-un (070-273) ‘writing, script’, 7x, ChinE *wen* 文 (Dao5), YCh *vun,* LMCh *vjyn*, see **u-un**.

w-un w-u-un (070-273 070-131-273) ‘civil and military, genitive’, ChinE *wen wu zhi* 文武之 C382.

WINE (342) logoglyph C481,

WINE-b ‘wine’ Chin *jiu* 酒 CWJ896,

WINE-b-un$_2$ (342-311-144) ‘wine’, Chin *jiu* 酒 C480,

WINE-b ém-ci (342-311 270-162) ‘drink to the full, ?drunken’, Chin *han yin* 酣饮 C481.

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[1] I could not find the word in Yu.

[2] *ü-n-en ui a-am-ñ-er MANAGE-li$_2$* (Xu12)

X

xa-áng tai ca-ang sh-iú sh-iáng-en (130-280 374 375-199 028-289 028-062-140) ‘title, genitive’, ChinE *xing tai shang-shu sheng zhi* 行台尚书省之 C392, Hucker No 2599 CHIN (!) “Branch Department of State Affairs, established in 1140 at Kaifeng”.

Xa-ia g-úr (130-335 334-097) ‘state of Xia, Tangut’, ChinE *xia guo* 夏国 C392.

xa-shi (130-033) ‘time, occasion, while, interval’, 7x, also **xa-she** (130-315), 49x, Chin *shi* 时, *ji* 际, C392, ablative-locative **xa-shi-de** (130-033-205) ‘at time, dative-locative’, Chin *shi yu* 时于 C392, **xa-she-de** (130-315-205), ablative-prolative **xa-she-de-i** (130-315-205-339),
eu-úr THIRTY xa-shi-de iu ‘when she was 30, she died’ (Di19-13),
see **bod xa-she t-úr eu-ul-ge-y** ‘death time’ (Ling19-17) s.v. **t-úr,**
te ai jur sär xa-she ‘that year, month two’ (Zhong24-42),
gur sär-de-i ri xa-she dalu sär-de (Yu53).

xar-ar-ha-en (287-123-051-140), ‘????? gen:’, Chin no gloss, **L**25, to **xar-** ‘black’ ‘?to be denigrated’,
see **xar-ar-ha-ar** (287-123-051-123) (Yu38-15),
xar-ha-ai (287-123-051-122) (Yu40-39).

Xe-l-ñ ‘a name’ (268-261-222), ChinT *jie ling* 解领, **L**9, see Turk *kelin* ‘daughter-in-law, who came’ < *kel-* ‘to come’, Clauson 719).

Xe-ri-pu$_2$ (268-235-320), see **Xe ri-y ci-eu-un** (268 235-020 162-067-273) **L**18, **L**19 also **b-u xe-ri-e** (Jue45).

Xe ri-y ci-eu-un (268 235-020 162-067-273) ‘prefecture Haibei[1], Chin 海北, genitive’, Chin *hai bei zhou zhi* 海北州之 C454 (Cha12-26). *Xe-ri* is a Khitan geographic name and not the Khitan transcription of *Hai* 海, “north of the lake”?, or to Mong *küriye* ‘enclosure, camp, border etc.’, the **-y-** in **ri-y** occurs only here in Cha12. It has to be **Xe-ri** (268-235) which occurs 5x.

xo-mú (057-220) ‘coffin of an emperor’, K87, gentive **xo-mú-en** (057-220-140), accusative-instrumental **xo-mú-er** (057-220-269), dative-locative **xo-mú-de** (057-220-205), see Róna-Tas 2021.

Xo Sh-ang N-u ‘name, “monk Nu”’ (057 028-199 251-131), ChinE *heshang nu* 和尚 奴.

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[1] Haibei is in Qinghai Province

xo-ô-ge$_2$ 夹仌夳 (057-252-112) ‘daughter’, Chin *qian jin* 千金 C374, see Mong *kegüken, keüken* ‘child, girl’, Dag *kəkw,* (N423), *kekü* ‘son, child’ (M183), *keuk* (M-K115).

xo-ô-ñ-t 夹仌伏令 (057-252-222-247) ‘deceased mother’, Chin *bi* (fu) 妣(复) C374.

xu 北 (036) ‘tiger’, ChinE *hu* 虎.

xu-û g-ün 北穴 九亦 (036-372 334-329**)** ‘tiger army’, Chin *hu jun* 虎军 C370. **L**23, Hucker 2775 has *hu jun* 護軍 T’ANG-MING “Military Protector” that is not ‘tiger’, but ‘protect, guard’, CWJ seems to be right, see **l-iúng xu g-ün**.

xu-u b-u 北及 丹及 (036-131 311-131) ‘Ministry of Revenue’, also **xu-û-b-û** 北穴丹穴 (036-372 311-372) ‘Ministry of Revenue’, ChinE *hubu* 戶部 (CWJ, K39), **L**7, **L**22, Hucker No. 2789.

Xu-ur 北刈 (036-177) ‘Liao’, Chin *liao* 遼, **L**1.

Y[1]

y-al-* (020-098) perhaps to the next item,

y-al-ha-al (020-098-051-098) ‘1. The actual feudal title given, (officially) sealed, 2. change of official position’, Chin 1. *shi feng* 实封, 2. *qian* 迁 C362,

y-al-ha-al-en sh-iá-áng-u-ji (020-098-051-098-140 028-274-280-372-152) see **sh-iá-áng-û-ji** (028-274-280-372-152) ‘eulogy, praising’, Chin *zan* 赞 C366.

y-al-ur$_2$- (020-098-236) ‘to change, turn, shift, revolve’, Chin *zhuan* 转 C362,

y-al-ur$_2$-l-g (020-098-236-261-334) ‘be appointed to a certain post, to change’, Chin *zhuan* 转 C362,

see **dur po-s$_2$ y-al-ur$_2$-l-g au-ul-û-ul-g** (368 279-354 020-098-236-261-334 161-366-372-366-334) ‘the four seasons which are permanently changing (changing changing)’, (WanS1), Chin *si shi zhuan gai* 四时转改 (CWJ1602).

Y-ang S-iúng üe (020-199 244-181 082) ‘a name’, ChinE *yang cong yue* 杨 从 越 C364.

Y-ang S-ie ‘a female name’, Chin *yang jie*? 杨 洁.

Y-ar$_2$-u-ud (020-084-131-344) ‘the clan name of the Khitan leaders’, 23x, **L**2, also **Y-ar-u-ud** (020-123-131-344), 2x, Chin *yelü* 耶律 YCh *jɛ*, LMCh *jia*, YCh *ly*, LMCh *lywk.* The Khitan name seems to be a plural, as the well known Mongol tribal name *Jarud*. The relation of the initials is not quite clear, it may be due to dialectal difference.[2] The Chinese transcription points to a pronunciation /yärü/ without the plural. The Yarud clan played a central role in the history of the Khitans. The details can be collected from WF, see also **J-ar-ud** (Xu27), genitive **Y-ar$_2$-u-ud-i** (020-084-131-344-339), ChinT *ye lü zhi* 耶律之 C363 see also **J-ar$_2$-ud** (104-084-344), 1x, only in: **j-ar$_2$-ud-e RECORD-e** no gloss (Xu27),

Y-ar$_2$-u-ud shi-iú-i$_2$ N-u (020-084-131-344 033-289-022.1 251-131) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *ye lü shu yi nu* 耶律淑仪奴 C362,

Y-ar$_2$-u-ud M-ri (020-084-131-344 133-235) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *ye lü mi li* 耶律弥里 C362,

Y-ar$_2$-u-ud M-ri-i (020-123-131-344 133-235-339) ‘a person’s name, genitive’, ChinT *ye lü mi li zhi* 耶律弥里之 C362,

Y-ar$_2$-u-ud G-u-uh (020-084-131-344 334-131-172) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *ye lü gu* 耶律固 C362, **L**2.

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[1] Some words are written with **i-**, as **ia-**, **iu-** etc. see there

[2] Shimunek (2017 198) notes that the clan name is occurring also in Persian as *Yār*.

y-au (020-161), ‘ceremony, ritual, “the way as done”’ 15x, Chin *li* 礼 (CWJ1329), see Mong *yabu-* ‘to walk’, *yabudal* ‘act, action, conduct etc.‘, Dag *iau-* ‘to go’’ (M 175), *ja͡u-* ‘gehen’ (M-K 111), see **12.5** VERBS, PARADIGMS,

y-au ui (020-161 262) ‘1.way, road 2. etiquette, conduct’, 1x, Chin *dao shi* 道事 C363, see Mong *yabu üyil,* perhaps correctly **y-au-ui** (020-161-262), 13x,

y-au-a-án (020-161-189-290) ‘1.way, road, 2. etiquette, had gone (way), custom’, Chin *dao* 道 C363,

ai-en y-au a-án ‘the father ceremony, the ceremony devoted to the ancestors’, *fu zhi li zai,* Chin 父之 礼 在,

y-au ui (020-161 262) ‘1.way, road 2. etiquette’, 1x, Chin *dao shi* 道事 C363, see Mong *yabu üyil,*

y-au-a-án (020-161-189-290) ‘1.way, road, 2. etiquette’, Chin *dao* 道 C363,

y-au-li-er dor (020-161-206-341 218) ‘etiquette, ceremony’, Chin *dao li* 道礼 C363,

y-au-li-er dor (020-161-206-341 218) ‘etiquette, ceremony’, Chin *dao li* 道礼 C363,

y-au-o-en (020-161-186-140), 3x,

y-au-o-l$_2$ (020-161-186-149), 3x,

y-au-o-ón (020-161-186-322) ‘1.way, road, 2. etiquette, also circuit, see **12.5.1**, Chin *dao* 道 C363, CWJ 1137 a qualque, mirror translation from Chinese,

y-au-o-ón-er (020-161-186-322-341) ‘etiquette, ceremony, instrumental’, Chin *dao yi* 道以 C363,

y-au-o-or (020-161-186-076), 3x,

y-au-ui (020-161-262), ‘was doing according to the prescriptions, customs’12x.

y-au g-ün (020-161 334-329) ‘ancient Chinese administrative division name’, ChinE *you jun* 宥郡 C363, Hucker 8048 右軍 “Right Army”.

Y-au G-e (020-161 334-348) ‘a name’, ChinT *yaoge* 姚哥, **L**6.

Y-au-ji$_3$ ‘a name’, ChinT *yaozhi* 尧治 **L**3.

y-au-o-ón (020-161-186-322) ‘life, deed “had been gone through”’. Deverbal noun to **y-au-***, see above, Chin *dao* 道, **L**8,

y-au-o-ón em-er (020-161-186-322 021-341) ‘an administrative unit’, Chin *dao* 道, ‘road, circuit’ **L**8.

Y-au-u shï N-u ‘a name’, ChT *yao shi nu* 药师奴 (Xu9),CWJ984.

y-au-ul-ó-ji$_2$ (020-161-366-099-153) ‘the way of doing, discipline’, see **yau-,**

cau-ji y-au-ul-ó-ji$_2$ (022-152 020-161-366-099-153) ‘military discipline’, Chin *junlü* 军律.

y-eu-* (020-067) ‘to move away, change the position’, K108, 1x (Yu34-38)[3], see Mong *yegü-* ‘to move away, pass on, die, end, transmigrate’, *yegüdke-* ‘to change once place of living. to emigrate, die etc.’, *yegüdkel* ‘change, instability etc’[4]. On its negation see **12.5.2.1,**

y-eu-ha-al-ci (020-067-051-098-162) ‘change of official position’, Chin *qian* 迁 C362, see **12.5.1.9** VERB, PARADIGMS,

y-eu-ji (020-067-152) ‘change of official position, change dwelling place, migrate’, 24x, Chin *qian*, 迁, *xi* 徙, C362,

y-eu-ji$_2$ (020-067-153),

y-eu-ur$_2$-ó-ñ (020-067-236-090-222) ‘change of official position’, Chin *qian* 迁 C362,

y-eu-ur$_2$-ge$_2$-y (020-067-236-112-020) ‘was changing of official position’, Chin *qian* 迁 C362,

y-eu-ur$_2$-u-ji$_2$ (020-067-236-131-153) ‘change of official position’, 1x, Chin *qian* 迁, C362,

y-eu-ur$_2$-u-ji$_3$-en (020-067-236-131-337-140), 1x, genitive,

y-eu-ur$_2$-i (020-067-236-339)in: **hu-aju-ó-o-ón es y-eu-ur$_2$-i** (151-082.1-090-186-322) ‘had pains, misfortune and could not move, was not moved’ (Zhong35),

y-eu-ur$_2$-ñ (020-067-236-222), 1x,

y-eu-ur$_2$-ñ-er (020-067-236-222-341), 1x, ‘change of official position’, Chin *qian* 迁 C362,

y-eu-ur$_2$-ge-ñ (020-067-236-349-222) ‘change of official position’, 1x, Chin *qian* 迁 C362,

es y-eu-ur-ge$_2$-er ‘did not change’ (Dao12-30/13),

y-eu-ur$_2$-te$_2$-i (020-067-236-356-339) ‘change of official position’, 4x, Chin *qian* 迁 C36,

y-eu-ur$_2$-te$_2$-er (020-067-236-356-341), 1x,

y-eu-ur$_2$-û-ji (020-067-236-372-152), 1x,

y-eu-ur$_2$-b-ñ (020-067-236-311-222) ‘changed, moved’, Chin *qian* 迁 CWJ1137,

om-úr s-eu-li$_2$ y-eu-ur-b-ñ eu-ul-ge$_2$-én ‘early illness changed (and he) died’ (Zhen44).

y-eu-u (020-067-131) ‘right (side) phonetic transcription of the Chinese character for “right”’, 9x, ChinE *you* 右 C362, YCh *yiw*, MCh *iew,*

y-eu-u ci-ng (020-067-131 162-264) ‘the right (wing) official’ ChinE *you cheng* 右丞 C363,

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[3] Most probably not here, perhaps a transcription of Chinese

[4] Is there anything common with: Mong *negü-* ‘to nomadize, move from place to place’, *negüdel* ‘nomadizing, nomad camp etc.’ ?? *egü-~negü-* as **iri-**~ *nere*???

y-eu-u ci-ng s-iang 丙圡及 朮发 仐并 (020-067-131 162-264 244-314) ‘Right Prime Minister’ ChinE *you cheng xiang* 右丞相 (Zhong 22). CWJ 362 has **she 朩** (315) as last syllable, CWJ 960 has **lu4 并** (313); but the correct reading is **iang 并** (314) in conformity with the gloss,

y-eu-u b-qó y-ie 丙圡及 冄欠 丙文 (020-067-131 311 020-327),‘Right Vice Director of the Secretariate’, ChinE *you pu she* 右仆 (= 僕)射 (*she → ye),* Hucker 4826 *puye* 僕射 HAN-SONG ‘Vice Director of the Later Han Imperial Secretariat’. 仆 (= 僕) YCh *pʰu,* LMCh *pʰəwk, ye* 射 YCh *jɛ*, LMCh *jia:*Pulleyblank 365 *púyè* 僕射 ‘title of a high court official, supervisor’.

y-gu-de 丙勺矢 (020-165-205) ‘I Ching, [Yi jing] the Book of Changes, dative-locative’, ChinE *yi jing (jing) zhi* 易經 (经) 之 C363, the Chin has genitive, Chin *yi* YCh LMCh *ji*, Chin *ing* YCh *kiŋ,* LMCh *kjiajŋ*, the Romanisation is aberrant.

y-iau-qú 丙岁夬 (020-362-118) once in: **m-ie-ar$_2$-d y-iau-qú 叉文圶公 丙岁夬** (133-327-084-254 020-362-118.

y-ie 丙文 (020-327) ‘to be alive, to exist’ Chin *you* 有, *zai* 在, **L**4, **L**5, tres, **L**7bis, **L**8, ChinE YCh *jiw*, LMCh *iw*,

y-ie-ên-094-de 丙文夸方矢 (020-327-073-094-205) ‘dative-locative’, Chin *yan yu* 严于 exactly there’ C364, on CWJ p.1136 (Zhen45) *yan ge yu* 延哥于 ‘here’.

y-ie-ar$_2$ 丙文圶 (020-327-084) ‘peace’, “Peace and Security”, a reign year’s name (1021-1031)’, 2x, see ? Mong *iragu* ‘melodious sound, harmony’, Dag *anire* ‘sound’ (M115), *iro* ‘melody accompanying a shamanic prayer’ (Enkhbat, N373), Chin *tai ping* 太平 C364 “peace and security”, it has to mean “eternal peace”, perhaps Nirvana, also **y-iá-ar$_2$ 丙幺圶** (020-274-084-361),

y-ie-ar$_2$-u 丙文圶 及 (020-327-084-131) ‘a reign year’s name’, 9x, Chin *tai ping* 太平 C364 = **GREAT** ~,

GREAT y-ie-ar$_2$-u-un hor-ó-ui bod-l-un$_2$ 又 丙文圶及火 内井火 因卝叉 (Hu16),

y-ie-ar$_2$-u-ji 丙文圶及犳 (020-327-084-131-152) ‘a reign year’s name’, 6x, Chin *tai ping* 太平 C364,

y-ie-ar$_2$-iú 丙文圶尖 (020-327-084-289) ‘a reign year’s name’, 3x, Chin *tai ping* 太平 C364,

y-ie-ar$_2$-iú-dú 丙文圶 尖尼 (020-327-084-288-179), 1x,

y-ie-ar$_2$-iú-un 丙文圶 尖火 (020-327-084-289-273), 1x,

y-ie-ar$_2$-û-ji 丙文圶只犳 (020-327-084-372-152), 2x,

y-ie-ar$_2$-û-ji$_2$ 丙文圶只豹 (020-327-084-372-153), 2x,

y-ie-ar$_2$-û-un 丙文圶只火 (020-327-084-372-273), 1x.

Y-ie-ên 丙文夸 (020-327-073) ‘the state of Yan 燕 in ancient Northern Hebei, ChinE 燕, YCh *jɛn*, LMCh *ʔjian.*

y-ie-ên L-m-en 丙文夸 卝叉冇 (020-327-073 261-133-140) see **da$_3$-ai y-ie-ên L-m-en 六中 丙文夸 卝叉冇** (214-122 020-327-073 261-133-140) .

Y-ie-ên-ñ 丙文夸伏 (020-327-073-222) ‘a geogarphical name, Yanning’, ChinT *yan ning* 延宁, **L**4.

y-iú 万灾 (020-289) 'not exist' see **iu** 丙 (019) 'not exist, die, finish, end, not to be', K92 (<*ei-iú*> 1x (Xian 24-38) ,

y-iú-te$_2$ p-ó-ui-i 万灾尘 业廾火 关 (020-289-356 295-090-262-339) 'in a state of decay', Chin *tui ran* 颓然 C364, see **iu** 丙 (019) 'not exist, die, finish, end, not to be', Chin *zu* 卒, *wu* 无 and **p-ó-ui-i** 业廾火关 (295-090-262-339) 'to become'.

Y-l$_2$-qó 万子欠 'the name of the Yalu river', Chin *Yalu* 鴨渌, see WF p.749 Index,

y-l$_2$-qó mor 万子欠 乃 'the Yalu river' (Hui1).

y-or-ñ 万北伏 (020-076-222) '(moon)light, to shine', Chin *zhao* 照 C361, ??Turk *yaru-* 'to be or become bright' > *yarïn* 'morning', Wilkens 868.

y-qu-ui 万余火 (020-246-262) 'further, repeat(edly), again', 22x, also **y-qó-ui** 万欠火 (020-169-262), 2x, Chin *fu* 复, *zai* 再 **L**16, **L**18, **L**20, **L**21, **L**23, **L**25, also **y-qó-oi$_2$** 万欠夵 (020-169-107) 'again', 9x, Chin *fu* 复 C358, ? a past continous form from **y-qu-** which occurs once (Xian16-30),

eu-úr SIXTY jur-de y-qu-oi$_2$ p-iau t-ge-l-ge-y 'being 62 years old, being again (ill), passed away' (Nan25-48).

y-u h-eu-ji-en 万及 乂土犳冇 (020-131 340-067-152-140) 'soon', Chin *he wu* 何无 C363.

y-ung-ñ 万太 (020-345-222) 'eternal, perpetual peace', ChinE *yongning* 永宁, CWJ 1235.

y-ung-ñ-en sui-l-ha-a-ar 'be born in eternal peace' (Yong15) *yong ningzhi sheng* 永宁之生.

Y-ra-u-d see Y-ar-u-d.

y-228-ol-i 万仃达关 (020-228-115-339) 'the emperor's carriage, imperial chariot', Chin *yao nian* 遥辇,

y-228-ol-i kei p-o-ri$_5$ 'became the Manager of the imperial chariot' (Nu17-22).

Yel see **Jel** 夂 (173).

yos 叐 (164) 'etiquette', 14x, see Peng 2023, 660, see Mong *yosun* 'generally accepted rule, traditional custom, habit, usage etc.', Dag *iose* 'custom, manners, rule, code of behaviour' (M 173), *jos* 'Gesetz' (M-K 112),

dor yos ci-eu 亐 叐 朩土 (218 164 162-067) 'the (Three) Ritual Classics (*San li* 三禮) of the *Zhou* 周 [dynasty]' (Peng 2023 659),

yos-de (164-205), 1x.

YOUNG 兮 (248) logoglyph C443, see Mong *jalu*??,

YOUNG-qú eu-úr-de 兮夫 土安矢 (248-118 067-097-205) 'young age, dative-locative', Chin *you (xiao) sui yu* 幼 (小) 岁于 C443,

YOUNG-qú-de d-ge-én 兮夫矢 仝岑当 (248-118-205 254-349-361) 'dead in a young age', Chin *you gu* 幼故 C443,

YOUNG-qú-er 兮夫公 (248-118-341) 'young', Chin *you (xiao)* 幼 (小) C443.

yun-om 义九 'corps, dead body' (266.1-092) (Qing23), see **12.3**, SIXTY.

Z

Z-i ong 伞关 杰 (258-339 071) ‘a title, king of Ji’, ChinE *ji wang* 济王 C448.

z-iang g-ün 伞半 九亦 (258-314 334-329) ‘general’, ChinE *jiang jun* 将军 C448 see **s-iang g-ün**.

z-ie du shï 伞文 仃 兆 (258-327 237 180) ‘military commissioner’, ChinE *jie du shi* 节度使 C448 see **t-qó sh-i 令欠 叉关** (247-169 028-339), **s-ie-du-u 仐文 仃叐** (244-327 237-131).

z-ing g-ang g-ün 伞同 九気 九亦 (258-303 334-199 334-329) ‘a military title’, ChinE *jing jiang jun* 静江军 C448.

Z-ï iú 伞谷 火 (258-353 289) ‘Zi Yu a fictional character in *Zhuangzi* 庄子, a classic work of Taoist school *daojia* 道家 (Wu45-2).

z-o ci-ng s-iang 伞及 术安 仐半 (258-186 162-264 244-314) ‘a title, the left Prime Minister’, ChinE *zuo cheng xiang* 左丞相 C448, see **ci-ng s-iang**.

Zh

Zh-a-ri 戈为共 (330-189-069) ‘court attendant’, Chin *lang jun* 郎君 C470, see **sh-a-rí**.

zhul-ô$_2$-ur$_2$ 目公化 (316-253-236) ‘inscription’, 1x, (Hui6-30), Chin *ming* 铭 C467 plural?

Zhul-u-er 目叐公 (316-131-341) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *shu lu lie* 术鲁列 (Di3), C467,

Zhul-û-er 目只公 (316-372-341) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *shu lu lie* 术鲁列 (Hu3).

Undeciphered initials

025-a-al-* (025-189-098).

025-a-al jau-ul-ha-ai od-u-ji (025-189-098 015-366-051-122 212-131-152) ‘was meeting up’, Chin *mian jian qu* 面见去 C366.

025-a-al COMPOSE-a-ar (025-189-098 308-189-123) ‘personally edit’, Chin *qin zhuan* 亲撰 C366.

025-a-án (025-189-290), see **025-l-ha-a-án**.

025-a-ar (025-189-123) ‘was fixed in, put down (into the Annals), bear, carry’, see **L**17, **L**24, Chin *cheng* 承 C366.
k-iú-un ci-as-a dor-qó-or-l-de 025-a-ar ‘the sister’s rights were fixed and put down into the *jasa* law’ (Tai10).

025-ha-al (025-051-098), ‘to appoint to a position’, also **025-ha-a-al** (025-051-189-098) Chin *ren* 任, C404, **L**26.
sh-iá-áng-u-ji 025-ha-al (028-274-280-131-152 025-051-098) (Xu20-20).

025-i (025-339) ‘adopted by the paternal uncle, who has no son’, 31x, see **L**6, **L**11 Chin CWJ 1241: *chéng tiao* 承祧, [but: ‘main, primary, host’, (Yu14), Chin *zhu* 主 C366].

025-l-ha-a-án go-er (025-261-051-189-290 319-341) ‘inherit the ancestral temple’, Chin *cheng tiao fang* 承祧房 C366, also **025-a-án go-er** (025-189-290 319-341) ‘inherit the ancestral temple’, Chin *cheng tiao fang* 承祧房 C366.

025-l-ha-ai (025-261-051-122) ‘main, primary, host’, Chin *zhu* 主 C366.

025-l-un$_2$ (025-261-144) ‘adopted son’, Chin *cheng tiao* 承桃 ‘being adopted as heir to one’s paternal uncle who has no son’, **L**8.

025-s-li$_2$ (025-244-080) ‘??’ no gloss, in: **eme-er d-eu-li es 025-s-li$_2$** (Yu21).

160-ai (160-122) ‘was appointing to a position’, Chin *ren* 任, C404, **L**21.

160-ar (160-123) ‘had appointed to a postion, past tense’, Chin *ren* 任, C404.

160-ha-al (160-051-098) ‘appointed’, see also line 21 **160-ai**, Chin *ren* 任, C404, **L**24.

178.2-ol-qú (178.2-115-118) ‘a name’, no gloss **L**11.

198.1-shi (198.1-033) ‘thin, tough silk’, Chin *juan* 绢 C416 :?? *bös* ‘cotton, linen’, *büse* ‘girde or belt (put around the outer garment)’, Dah *buse* ‘cloth, material’ (?Chinese *bu+ -z*) (M127), *bos* ‘Gürtel’, *bos* ‘Leinwand’ (M-K116).

227 (227) ‘???’, Chin no gloss, **L**26.

232-y o-oi$_2$ (232-020 186-107) ‘was awarding’, Chin *ling shou* 领授 **L**16, **L**21.

232-i au-a-án (232-339 161-189-290) (Qing10-39).

232-y 仅丙 (232-020) ‘take charge of’, Chin *ling* 领 C423, also **232-i 仅关** (232-339) ‘take charge of’, Chin *zhang* 掌, *ling* 领 C423.

232-l-un$_2$ 仅朩叉 (232-261-144) ‘take charge of’, Chin *ling* 领 C423.

234-a-ad-en 仍为市杓 (234-189-099-140) ‘??’, Chin no gloss, but see **234-i 仍关** ‘amend, supplement, in addition’, Chin *bu* 补, **L**17.

234-i 仍关 (234-339) ‘amend, supplement, repair, mend, supply’, Chin *bu* 补 C423, **L**14.

239 八 (239) ‘earth, ground’, Chin *di* 地 C425 ? see Mong *gajar* ‘ground, soil, place’, Dag *gajire* ‘land, place, area, earth’ (M147), *gaďire, gaǯir* ‘Erde’ (M-K132).

239-d-er ‘all fields, all lands, plural, accusative-instrumental’ Chin *zhudi* 诸地 CWJ 1179.

239-de 八矢 (239-205) ‘earth, ground, dative-locative’, Chin *di yu* 地于 C425.

239-de-er 八矢公 (239-205-341) ‘earth, ground’, Chin *di zhi* 地之 C425.

239 m-in 八 叉雨 (Xian25), ‘tomb, crypt’, Chin *di mu* 地墓, CWJ 1444.

284-du när-i ui 丄 九 尺关 火 (284-089 159-339 262). The *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* (according to Kane (K69) or *Diaries of Activity and Repose* (according WF 712), **L**2.

292-u 岁及 (292-131) ‘sweet’ in: **292-u sh-eu-su on-a-án 岁及 叉圡卡 不为出** (292-131 028-067-041 154-189-290) ‘sweet dew fall’, Chin *gan lu jiang* 甘露降 C457 *? tatlig- amtatai.*

307-y 冈丙 (307-020) frequent, occurs 62 times. No Chin gloss. Its function looks like an assertation, a form closing a sentence as a predicate, perhaps as **a-i**, or **a-a-i**, **L**8,
but see **?? es 307-ñ lu-ur-b-te** and **307-hu eu-ul-ge$_2$-em** (Zhong37).

316.1 日 (316-1) ‘COMPOSE?’ has to be an alloglyph of 冈 (308) COMPOSE.

317-ú 月伞 (317-245) ‘inscription’.

317-ú t-gu 月伞 令勺 (317-245 247-165) ‘as the inscription said’, Chin *ming yue* 铭曰.

317-ú-er 月伞公 (317-245-341) ‘inscription’, accusative-instrumental Chin *ming* 铭 C467.

but: **317-en eu-úr-de 月杓 圡亦矢** (317-140 067-097-205) (Nan38).

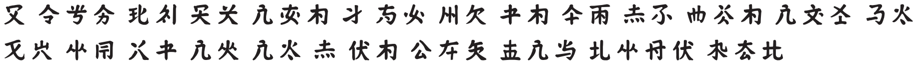
378.1 ai-de (378.1 122-205)‘in the XX year’, **L**8, **L**20.

387-or-ci-ñ m-o-s$_2$-u-ji ‘the elder of???’ (Chao20).

497=178.2 L11.

5. THE ENTIRE TEXT OF THE GAOSHI INSCRIPTION TRANSPOSED TO LINEAR FORMAT[1]

1



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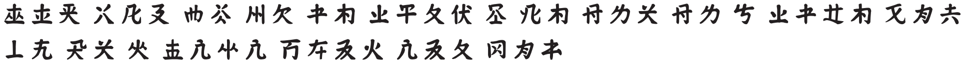

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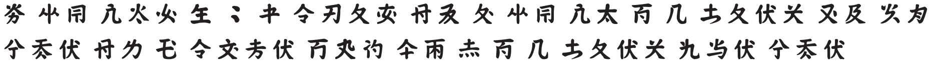

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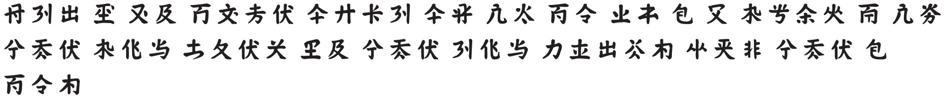

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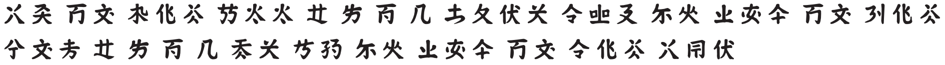

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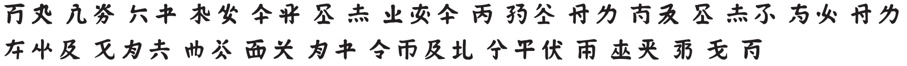

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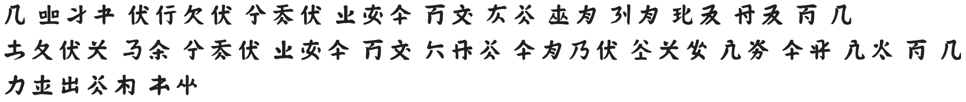
[1] I offer my sincere thanks to Professor Wu Yingzhe and his team for their help in making possible this transformed edition of the text

7



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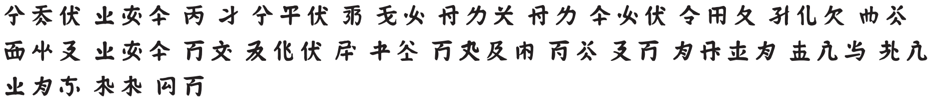

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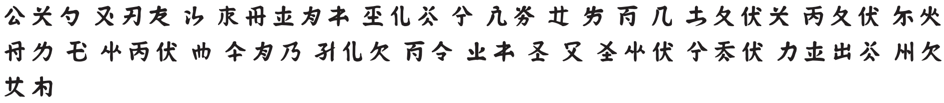

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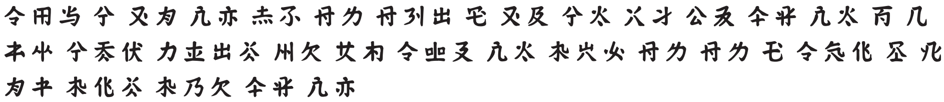

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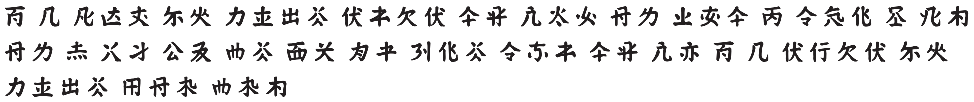

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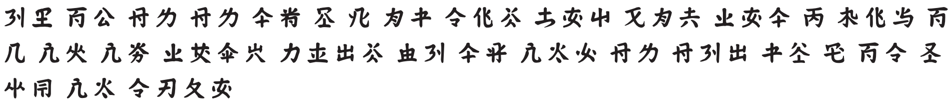

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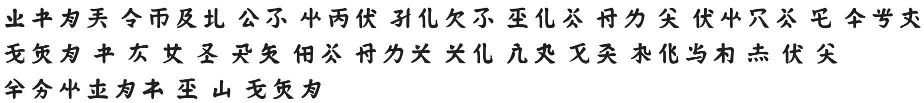


14

中矢 圡交 丁 乇矢 几卡 只交 及夵 兮 业中廿朩 犮为共 仍关 乇 中矢 兮 业中廿朩
犮为共 为中 乇 乇 中矢 仐杏 夬关 穴 及夵 刃丙北 仐兮 仐并 九亦 关化仐
令企屮岺尜 乇 包 中矢

15

仐关 乂同 兮叐 九丙尜 兆 业及仐 口 中 屮关雨 九火伏 九叐火 及米叐火 丙交
朩□当 朩冬为尖 为圡亐 及米叐化朩 丙犳 亜仐 穴仌 为交 屖尜 为出 囯屮忖伏
朩尜 叔北夵丙 六中 仐并 九亦

16

关化 令企屮岺丙 乇 屖 中矢 乂关同 犮岁 仃叐 九丙尜 兆杏 业及仐 乇 丕 中矢
丙余火 屮关雨 九火伏 犳仌伏 企仐朩 叉化九仐 亜仐 伩丙 及夵 朩化当 中 穴 艾矢
几尜交 业币伏

17

乇 仍为朩朩 仐各火 业及仐 十屮关 屮关雨 为矢 企仐 午列朩 火仐北 仌才
令平叐火 犮圡艾 为朩 穴朩 九岺尜 圡九 西为朩 口 中 公乃交 六圡朩关
乇卡廾平圡中 忖左为夹 叐化

18

犮为共仌 仐各火 叐平 艾仐尜 令夂北 令方 九同朩 忖叐 九亦 丁 圣 中矢 圣化由
令欠 犮关朩 关化 令企屮夵丙 丙余火 乂关同 犮岁 仃叐 九丙尜 兆 业及子屮 叉公
仕叐犳 关 冬朩

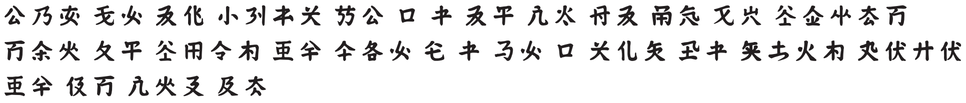
19

主 王朩 叉雨 仐生仐北 朩肖 乂仐夵火 犮关屮夵当 仌企岺 □□□□ □□ 丙尜
罒北夵丙 关 冬朩 九交 仐兮夾 仌为 中矢 口列 九丙尜火 兆谷 为中 忖冬 圣化由
令欠 犮关朩 关化 仌企屮夵丙 乇 中矢

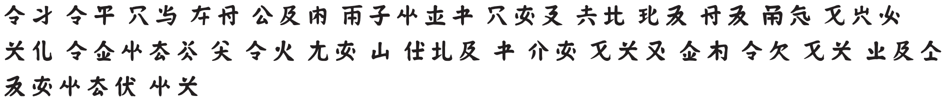
20

丙余火 令方 九同朩 忖叐 九亦 灰 中矢 支 企朩 令欠 □□ □ 中矢 夂平 令用令朩
亜仐 仐各火 丕 中 叐平 九叉 岁叐 尜 犮気 仐并 九亦 仌企屮夵丙 小 十 叒 乇 夵 中

21



22



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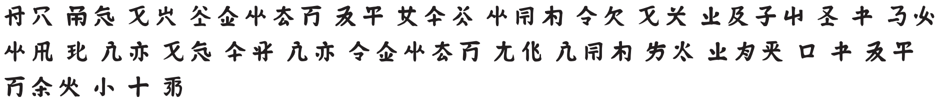

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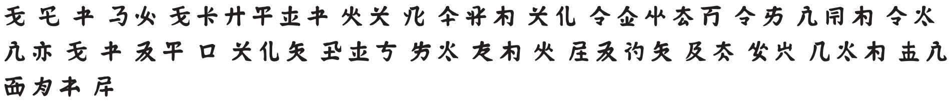

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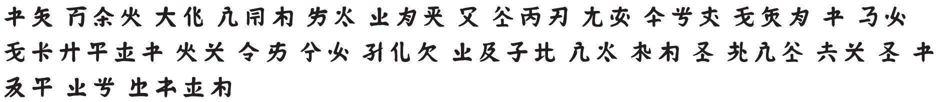

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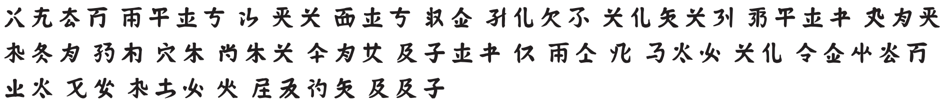

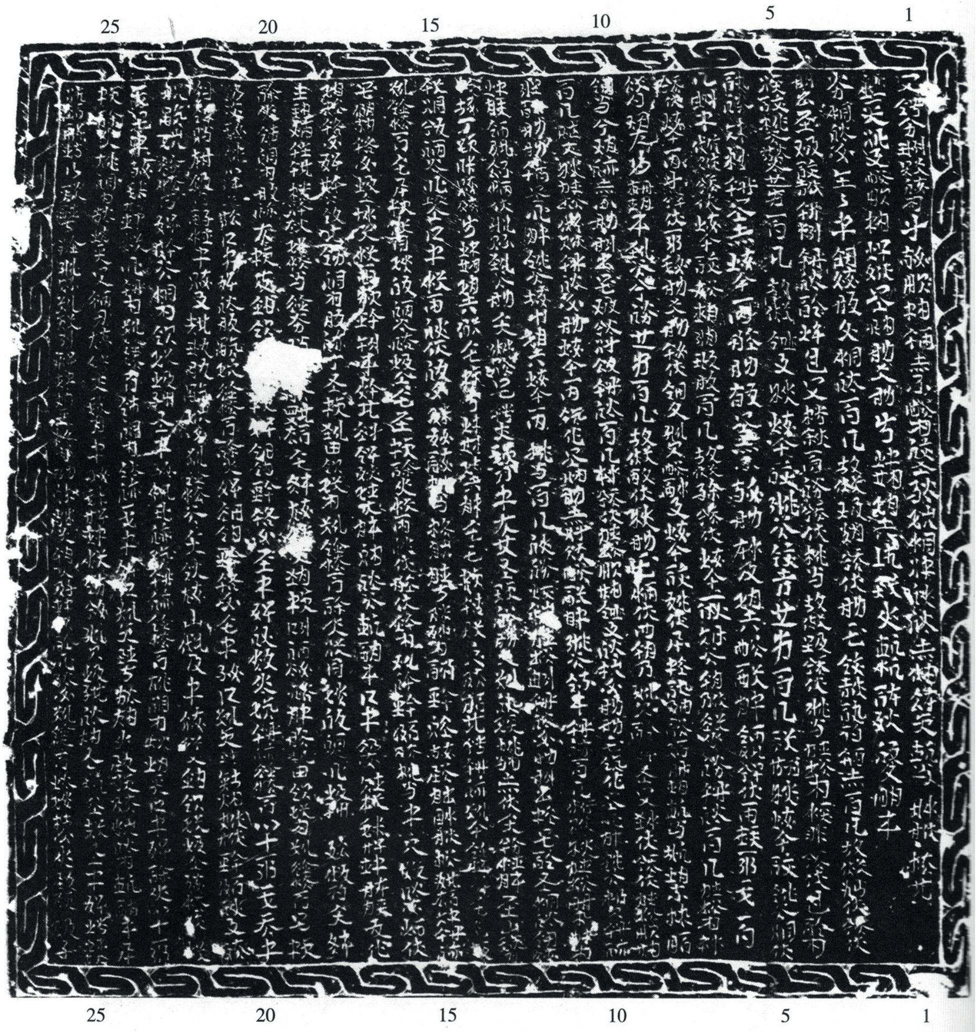
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20
15
10
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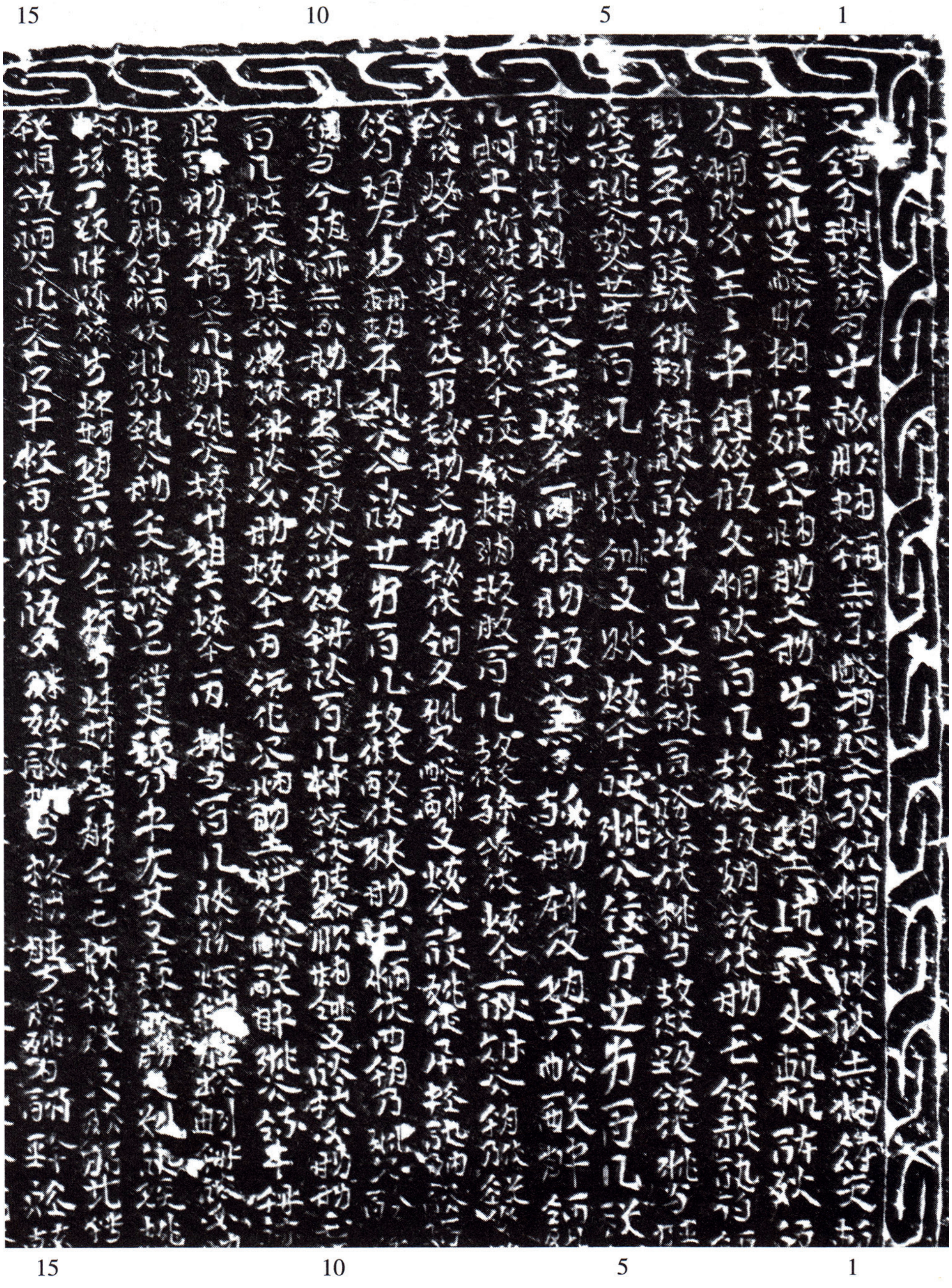
5
1

The entire text of the Gaoshi inscription, lines 1-26 (see CWJ 721)


15
10
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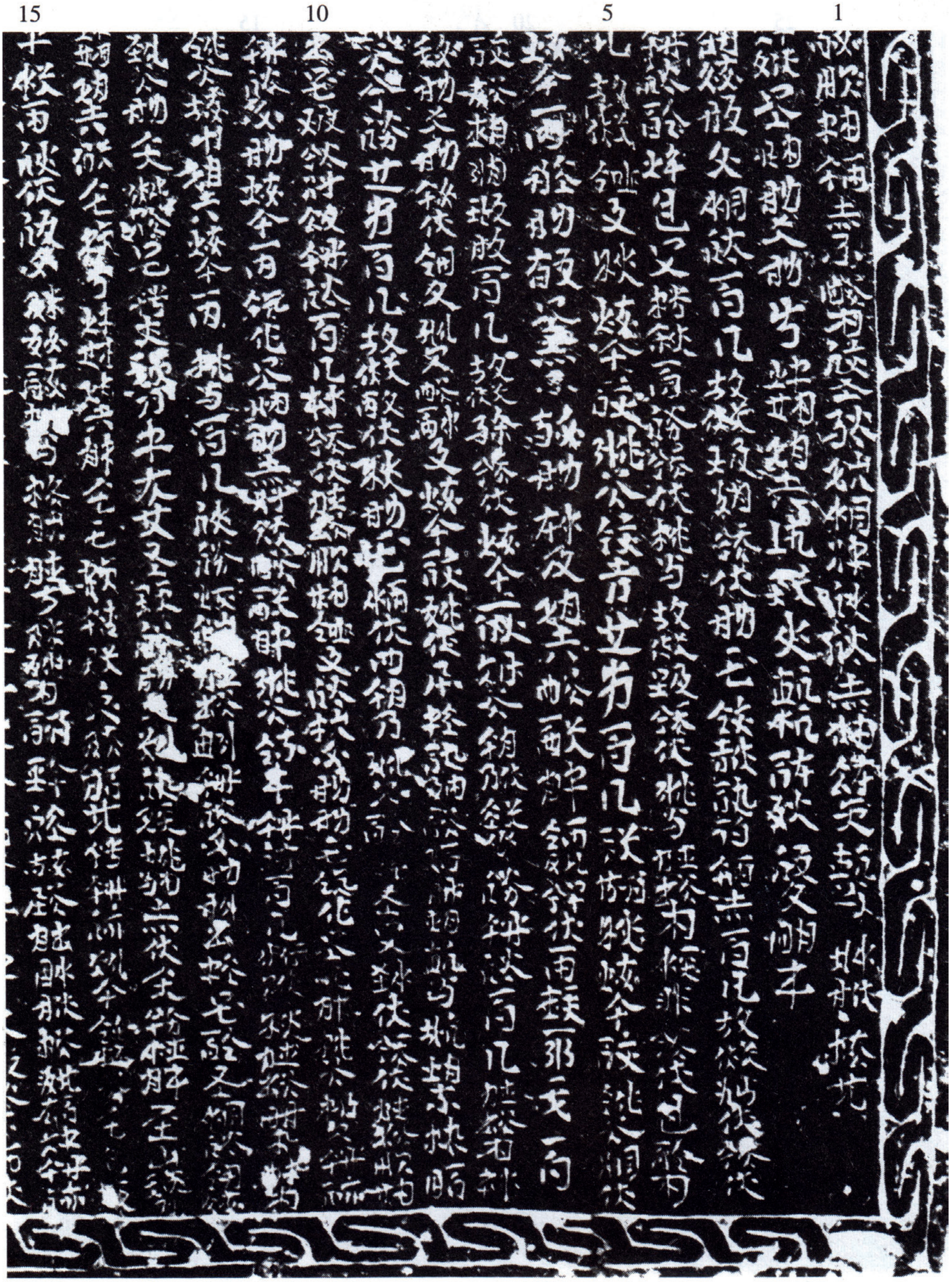
The upper part of the first 15 lines (see CWJ 722)


15
10
5
1
15
10
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1

The lower part of the first 15 lines (see CWJ 723)

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20
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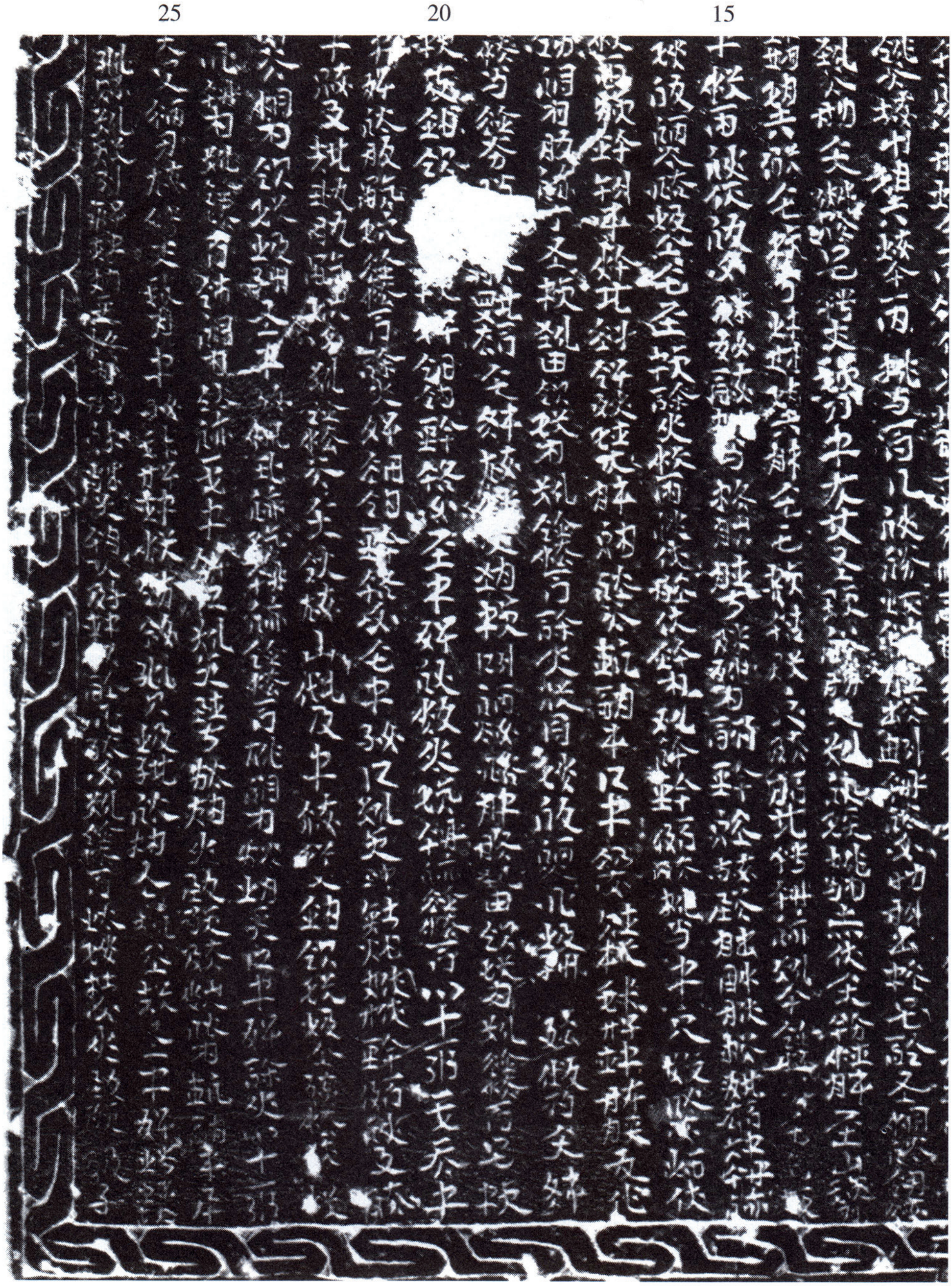
25
20
15

The upper part of lines 12-26 (see CWJ 724)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20
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15

The lower part of lines 12-26 (see CWJ 724)

6. A FULL ENGLISH TRANSLATION

/1/This is] the burial tomb inscription of the Chief of the Secretarial Council (*zhong shu ling*) (who was) simultaneously the country duke (*guo gong wang*) of Hai, (an offspring) of the Great Liao Central Khitan State's brethren's younger ancestor's Sin (*Qin*) wang's (Patriarchal) Tent, which is beginning here, and follows

/2/ Written by the grandson of P-ul-uh-ñ Grand Preceptor (*taishi*), member of the Imperial Horizontal Junior Tent Ancestors, the court attendant (*shari, langjun*) of the Bureau of the Seals and Tallies (*dor p-ai-sï*) Y-ar-ud G-u-uh (according to) what was written in the Imperial Daily Agenda (*yin pai si*)

/3/The great grand father of this prince Ling, T-ir-uh-úr Bu Jel Ling prince [that is **Han Zhigu**], and his wife milady (*pu-shi-ñ*) Eu-uh-ñ-i Mo Sa's eldest son, the Heaven Sent Sin wang [that is **Han Kuangsi** 韓 匡嗣 917-982] (and his) wife Eu-uh-ñ-i Nas-en-eñ milady

/4/(had) eight children. The eldest (was) Y-ie-ên-ñ S-ó-su-hu (**Deyuan**, d. 978) chancellor (*s-iang g-ung*) (who had) three wives, the eldest (was) the Chinese milady, Cau Ge, the second (was) milady Eu-uh-ñ-i Oh-o and the third milady L-an-288 (from) the Maternal Uncle's. From (these) three wives (the descendants) are

/5/ all alive, (those from) the second (son of Sin wang), the descendants of Cu-ung-ung, Minister over the Masses (*si tu*) (and) his wife Eu-uh-ñ-i T-en-un lady (*aú-ui*), (are all) alive, (those from) the third (son of Sin wang), the descendants of Pu-ie-ên (**Dezhang**), Minister over the Masses (*si tu*), (and) his wife I-shi-do-ji lady, (are all) alive, (but those of the) fourth (son of Sin wang), H-ing-iñ

/6/ Yau Ge (**Derang**, later **Dechang**, finally **Longyun**) Great Prime Minister (*dai chengxiang*) Great Wang (*dai wang*)'s descendants, (are) not alive, but his heir (*ji-d b-qo*) Hor-u Great Wang's younger brother's son, Ar-l-o court attendant (*sh-a-ri*) (who was) adopted son (*025-i*) (into) the Patriarchal Tent, is alive, the fifth (son of Sin wang) Pu-ul-ñ (Dewei) the Punitive Officer (*zhao tao*) of the Great Han (clan and his) wi(fe)

/7/(wi)fe En-ia-ai Ñú-qó-ñ milady's descendants (are) alive, the descendants of the sixth (son of Sin wang) Qa-a Hu-a, (**Dechong**) Minister of the Revenues (*hu bu*) and (his) wife, Eu-uh-ñ-i Ju-qu milady (are) alive, the descendants of the seventh (son of Sin wang) Sa-am-ñ D-ing G-e (**Dening**, later **Deyong**) chancellor (*xiang gong*) (and his) wife from the Maternal Uncles, Ar-l

/8/milady, are not alive, (however), the descendants of the grandson of elder brother Pu-l-ñ, the Punitive Officer (*zhao tao*), (namely) S-un-ñ T-il-uh Minister (*ja-ri-qó*), who was adopted to the Patriarchal Tent, are alive. These seven clan ancestors' deeds and the record of their respective wives' lives (*y-a-lu$_3$-h-a*) have been written down to the document, successively (*ci-ci 307-y*)

/9/ (However) the female ancestors' (*n-i gu*) deeds (*m-ir-jï*)(??) have not been perpetuated. The eighth (son of Sin wang) was Pu-G-e (**Dechang**) Minister over the Masses (*sï-tu*) and his wife (was) Eu-uh-ñ-i Iu-uh-ñ lady, their first son Vicegerent (*l-iu-ñ*) Go S-a-am (**Guosan**) Minister (*ja-rí-qó*) (who had) two (wives), the elder (was) Xe-l-ñ milady, from the Maternal Uncles' Junior Fathers -in-Law, the younger (wife)

/10/ (daughter of) T-il-én, imperial son-in-law (*pu-ma*), prefecture wang (*g-ün ong*), (they had) four children, the eldest (was) Pu-ung H-ia Nu Chancellor (*s-iang g-ung*), (from his) wife, milady Ar-l, who was from the Maternal Uncles Junior Father-in-law (*aju-en*) (and) the child (=daughter, *b-qo*) of T-en$_2$-un$_3$ princess *(g-ung c-iú)* (their) first child (*b-qo emu*), was T-ang-ur$_2$ Grand Preceptor (*tai-shï),* the second (son namely of G o S-a-am) Ci-am-qó general (*s-iang g-ün*)

/11/ (and his) wife 178.2-ol-qú lady, (from) the Maternal Uncles' Ñ-ar-qó-ń general (*s-iang g-ung)*, (their) children and offsprings are not alive, however the son of T-ang-úr Great Preceptor (*tai shi),* Ong Hia N-u (was) adopted (*025-i*) to the Tent, and is alive, the third (son) T-ad-ar general, (and his) wife Ñ-mú-qó-ñ lady, from the Maternal Uncles Ilbici Tent

/12/ son of the same wife (*hu-oh eme-n b-qo*) is (*a-ai*) S-299 Grand Preceptor (*tai-shï*). The fourth Eu-úr-bun court attendant (sh-a-rí)'s offsprings are not alive, (from the) second wife [of Go S-a-am] G-ui Ge *p-üe-z-iú,* (who was the daughter of) the maternal uncle's Har-hu Chancellor (*s-iang gung)* the grandchildren (*b-qo b-hu-án)* are alive, four women, and two Ling princes are known

/13/ (I) have finished (their enumeration) (??) (*p-ai-a-012).* In the fifth generation (from) the Vicegerent (*l-iu-ń*) Minister *(ja-ri-qo)* (Go S-a-am)'s eighth son, on day two of the month six of the fourth, the blue hare year of the reign period *HEAVEN ñ-l-û-er* (*Kaitai* 開泰 1012-1021), (i.e. on the 2nd June, 1015) a son was born and (he got) the children's name G-au Sh-ib, the second *wang*. Further in the period *HEAVEN ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar* [*Zhongxi* "Repeated splendour" 重熙 1032-1055], (year) eight (1039), (which was a) Yellow hare

/14/ year (when he was) twenty four years old, he was made (*û-úr o-oi*$_2$) guard (*ku-su*) in the office of the vice head of the *langjun*s of the Bureau of Seals and Tallies (*dor p-ai-sï-en sh-a-rí*), and in addition in the tenth year [of the *Zhongxi* period, in 1041] he became the *langjun* of the Bureau of the Seals and Tallies, (further) in the eleventh year [1042] he was awarded with the titles of the head of the Night and Day (guards), to which was added the title Junior General (*s-iau s-iang g-ün)*, in the year thirteen [1044]

15/ he became the deputy (*pu-u*) Palace Commander (*gongshi*) of the *S-i-hing* (ordu) (*jiqing fu gongshi).* In the same year he had to manage the army of the *L-i-in g-ui-ñ g-u-un* Ordu, and by a second order (*ci-úr-én ci-as-a-iú*) the heads of the army officers of the A-ha-al (the same???) Ordu. By a (document) personally written by the Emperor (*bod-l-b-ñ ci-er*), so it is said (*k-li*$_2$*-ge*$_2$*-y*), the Great General (*da*$_3$*-ai s-iang-g-ün*)

/16/ title (was) him awarded. (He) became in the year 17 (1049) the commander of the H-i-ing sh-ng (palace/ordu), *(du-u g-iu-ung shï-ï*$_2$), in the year 18 (1050) (he) again became the Commander (*hu*$_2$*-u*) of the administration of the leaders of the townships (*em*$_2$*-s-en m-r-ri-g-s*) of L-i-in g-ui-ñ (Ordu). In the first month of the following (namely the19th? 1051?) year (he) returned to Ku-ung-úr

/17/ he became Field Marshal *(s-eng-un*) of the Four Tribal Groups. Then he had to deal with the affairs of the uprising (*tal-hu-ar ui-s-li*$_2$) of the western (*si-l-i*) rebelled cities (*tu-li em*$_2$*-s*) of Li (?), which (he) fought and crushed down (*d-ia t-ul-u-ui sh-ha-aju a-ar*). This was fixed (*025-a-ar*) to the Record of the Main Annals?? (*nai-en g-350-er*). In the autumn of the same year, he was successively (*da*$_3$*-ha-ar-i*) advanced Right Wing (*b-ra-a-an u-ur*)

/18/ Marshal of the *langjun*s, during (*t-uh-li*$_2$) the winter month (he functioned as) the commander of the South Capital infantry, in the year 22 (1054) the office of the Governor General (*dushi*) of Haibei (*Xe-ri-pu*$_2$) was him awarded, and again he became (*p-o-l*$_2$*-bun*) the Commissioner of the Ordu (*du-u g-iu-ung shï)*. In the first year (? *un-n* 1055) of the reign period *m-u-ji HEAVEN as-ar* (*Qing ning* 1055-1065)

/19/ (he) took part in the burial ceremonies (*m-in s-abu-s-or)* of the emperor (*Xingzong* 1031-1055). At the same time (?*ci-299*) the regions ???? (*sh-i-l-oi*$_2$*-én d-em*$_2$*-e*) XXXXXX the townships were pacified (*na*$_2$*-li*$_2$*-ge*$_2$*-y*). In the first year of *HEAVEN as-ar* [*Qing ning* 1055 the year of the enthronement of the new Emperor Daozong] (a) blue goat year, again (he) was the (*du-u*) *g-iu-ung-un shï-ï*, and also the title of the Governor General (*t-qo-shi)* of Hai bei (*Xe-ri-320*) was on him(re-)conferred. In the year four (1059)

/20/ again (he was in charge of) of the infantry *(b-u g-ün*) of the South Capital (*tele g-ing*), in the year six (1061) (he became) the *te-qo-(shi)* of the region Lu, XXXXXX year seven (1062) he became the Commanding Field Marshal (*hu*$_2$*-ú s-eng-un*) of the U-g-ul T-il-t (tribes), in the year 8 (1063), winter, he was forwarded to Grand General (*g-m ng-u-ui*), High Feld Marshal (*sh-ang s-iang g-ün*) and was the Punitive Officer (*jau tau shi*) of the South-West.

/21/ The autumn he spent (*dele-hu-ar-i*) (at) the Five Divisions (*tau-un u-ur*) (also the) the summer (*cu-n*), (and) in winter of the same year he was appointed Minister of the Ministry of Works (*g-ung b-u ca-ang sh-iú*). Then (he functioned) as the Commanding Field Marshal (*hu*$_2$*-ú s-eng-un*) of the *U-hu-ul D-il-t* (tribes, line 20 *T-il-t*). In year ten (1065), in summer, the (same) title was awarded (*160-ai*) and him was granted the title Commander of the State (*232-y g-ui-un*) of the Ao (*au*) (*yan*) tribal union (*ñ-ó-ñ*) of the Minggad (*Ming-eu-ud*).

/22/ He fought (*dai-l*$_2$*-l-ha-ai*) with the hostile (*t-ia*) T-ul û-én Ar-b (Arab) people (*n-o-ón*), **û-úr-un rí-li**$_2$ (???), and he was appointed Minister (*ca-ang-sh-iú*) of the Ministry of the Revenue (*xu-u b-u*). In the first (year of the reign period 1066) *Heaven t-ud* (1066-1075), (which was a) yellow snake year, in spring, by donation (*u-úr-l-ge*$_2$*-n*) he became (*p-o-ri*$_5$) Military Commissioner (*t-qó-shi*) of the District Shenzou (*sh-i-m em*$_2$*-en t-qó sh-i*). (and was)

/23/appointed as the Commander of the Secretarial Council (*L-i b-û ca-ang sh-iú*). In the winter months he became the Governor general (*t-qós-hi*) of Ling. In year two (1067) in the summer he was appointed as the Commander of the Dragon-Tiger Army (*l-iúng xu g-ün sh-ang s-iang g-ün*). (At the same time) he was forwarded to the post of the Controller General (*tu-ung p-a-an*) of the East Capital (*om-ur-g-ing*). In the (same) year in winter he also became the South-West Punitive Officer (*jau-*)

/24/(*tau*). In year four (1069), summer, he was also forwarded (namely) he was appointed to the post of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Military Affairs concurrently Grand Councillor (*shi xiang*). In winter he was appointed Army Commander of the South Capital. In year five (1070) while bearing the same post (*te i-ri-de 160-ha-al*) he was jointly charged with the (re)organizing of the matters of the same office (*tu-ung jï-en ui MANAGE-u-ji*$_3$*-de o-oi*$_2$). (His merits) were put down (*025-a-ar*) into the Record of the Famous) Ministers' book (*ng-iú ku-ng-en RECORD-g*), (in the year) seven (1072)

/25/ (he became) the Controller General (*tong-pan*) of the East Capital (*om-ur g-ing-en tu-ung p-a-an*). In the first (year =1075 Dakang year one), in the Blue Hare Year in summer he was advanced (*tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ai*) (and) became (*p-o-l*$_2$*-li*$_2$) the Minister (*ja-ri-qó*) of the Wei (??) South Palast (*ui-i t-le pu*). He was granted the double diplomas of official merit (*g-ung ci-en jur us-g-d*). In year two (1076) winter **p-iau xar-ar-ha-en** (??being baselessly accused/denigrated)

/26/ throughout (*h-du-ge*$_2$*-y*) and fought (*dai-ul-ha-al*) (the enemy) he was not forwarded (*ul*$_2$ *an-i 025-ha-al*), (by) Imperial order (*k-em*$_2$) a ministerial appointment (*ja-ri-qó-on i-ri-de-i-hu*) was extended to him (*jau-ul-ha-ai au-a-an*). He was placed (*s-a-aju o-l*$_2$*-ha-ai*) among the leaders (*nai-do*) and ??co (*co-do*) of the Middle of the Rule (*c-as-a ji-en*) and he received the appointment to the post of Inner Chamberlain (*shï ju-ung*) and became (*o-o-l*$_2$) the manager of the affairs of the Prefecture of Fengsheng (*p-ung sh-ng*). **END of the text.**

PART II

MATERIALS TO THE KHITAN GRAMMAR

NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE GAOSHI INSCRIPTION AND BEYOND

7. INTRODUCTION TO PART II

7.1 GENERAL REMARKS

In the following chapters, I have compiled materials for a future grammar of Khitan. While the material is not exhaustive, I have endeavored to include all grammatical data found in the Gaoshi inscription, as well as insights gained from my many years of working with various Khitan texts, including those in CWJ. I have aimed to maintain consistency with the terminology previously used to describe the Khitan language, although I occasionally felt inclined to adopt new grammatical terms. Whenever possible, I have highlighted parallels with Mongolic morphemes, citing Poppe's seminal 1964 work on the grammar of written or literary Mongolian, or Poppe 1955 on comparative historical studies of Mongolic. This was a practical choice, as significant progress has been made in the study of several Mongolic languages since Poppe's works, though the comparative and historical grammar of the Mongolic languages has seen less advancement. I hope that Khitan will provide fresh impetus to these studies.

Following the material on Khitan grammar, an Appendix addresses various aspects of Khitan culture as reflected in the language. In most cases, these were originally footnotes to the text edition but would have exceeded the technical limits, see 18.1–18.7.

7.2 THE CORPUS

The corpus of Khitan texts written in the Khitan Small Script is included in CWJ. It consists of the words from 39 major and 17 minor inscriptions. Additionally, we are aware of five more inscriptions that have been listed but not yet published, and thus are not included in the corpus:

1. Shi 师 (1101)
2. ShiZh 侍 (1091)
3. Wo 斡 (1099)
4. Da 大 (1073)
5. Tian 天 (1109)

The entire published corpus contains 115,899 characters or glyphs, the vast majority of which are legible and identifiable. In some instances, illegible characters can be substituted, particularly when the same word appears both with and without an illegible character. Some lines or half-lines of the published text are lost, and while we can sometimes reconstruct their content or parts of it, the exact wording is often lost.

The Gaoshi inscription contains 6,109 characters, making up 5.2% of the corpus. The longest inscription is Yu, with 46,671 characters, while the shortest is Lang, with 752 characters. Two inscriptions, Hai and Gao, could not be precisely dated. The others can be dated by the year of the owner's death or, in some cases, with the help of the text itself. The earliest dated inscription is Guang from 1053[1], and the latest is Xian from 1175, with the entire material written over a span of 122 years.

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[1] We have learned from a paper of Bai Yuanming published in 2025 (*Mongol Sudlal* 49, 64) that the newly discovered inscription of Yelü Yüguli taishi is the earliest dated inscription. It's date is 1051, its sigla Lin and it was the subject of her not yet published PhD dissertation, defended in 2024.

8. GRAPHEMICS

8.1 THE LEGEND ON THE ORIGIN OF THE KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT

There does exist a legend on the origin of the Khitan Small Script. The following text has been quoted by many scholars, I refer here to Wittfogel and Feng (1947, p. 243) and to Kane (2009, p.35):

Uighur messengers came to court, but there was no one who could understand their language. The empress said to Taizu (Abaoki +926):"Diela (the younger brother of the emperor) is clever. He may be sent to welcome them". By being in their company for twenty days he was able to learn their spoken language and script. Then he created a script of smaller Khitan characters which, though few in number, covered everything. (Liaoshi 64, 4b-5b).

Based on this, scholars like Ligeti (1927) initially suggested identifying the Khitan Small Script (KSS) with the Uigur script or a variant of it. However, it later became clear that the KSS is not the Uigur script. Scholars then proposed dating the invention of the KSS to A.D. 925, the year before Abaoji's death. Despite this, several issues challenge this legend. Firstly, the Uigur language was known at the Khitan court due to long-standing contacts between the Khitans and Uigurs, with members of the ruling clan having Uigur wives. Taizu's wife, Ying Tian from the Shu-lü clan (WF111), was of Xiao, indicating Uigur origin (WF238). Secondly, the earliest dated object featuring KSS is from 1053, 128 years later, during Emperor Xingzong's reign (1033–1055). Thirdly, the number of KSS glyphs is substantial, as will be discussed later.

The source of this narrative, the Liaoshi, was finalized only in 1334 and has a long history filled with abridgments, miscopying, and misunderstandings, necessitating a critical edition. It is possible that the KSS was developed under Uigur influence, a topic I will revisit later. Currently, the origin of this unique script remains unknown. Its form and structure were certainly the invention of Khitan scholars, but the antecedents or models they followed are still open questions.

Before introducing the KSS, which is essential for understanding the Gaoshi inscription, it is important to mention the Khitan Large Script (KLS). According to the Liaoshi, the KLS was compiled in 920, with the first dated monument from 986 and the last from 1176. Most texts are burial inscriptions. There is also the so-called St. Petersburg book, believed to be a historical work found in present-day Kyrgyzstan (Zaytsev, 2011, 2015). A small Berlin fragment from Turfan contains a few KLS characters with Uigur glosses (Wang Ding, 2004). KLS inscriptions frequently surface, such as the Salbar Uul inscription in Mongolia (Shimunek, 2021 oral presentation). A Chinese source contains KLS samples, though without Chinese equivalents. The KLS is a Siniform script modeled after Chinese script, with each character representing a word. Many KLS characters are identical or similar to Chinese characters, but they never share the same meaning or pronunciation.

The KLS has its antecedents. The Tabgach (Tuoba Wei or Later Wei dynasty, 386–534) and the Tuyuhun had scripts similar to the KLS, such as the Tuyuhun Tainzhu inscription in Gansu. Other Siniform scripts were used by different peoples, like the Bohai. For more on the use of Sinitic and Siniform scripts in literacy, see Wu—Janhunen (2010, 17-20), Galambos (2024). The use of KLS monuments for linguistic reconstruction is limited, mainly aiding in reconstructing syntactic structures and phrases. Researchers have identified 2,018 distinct KLS characters, detailed on pages 109–126 of CWJ.

8.2 DECIPHERING OF THE KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT

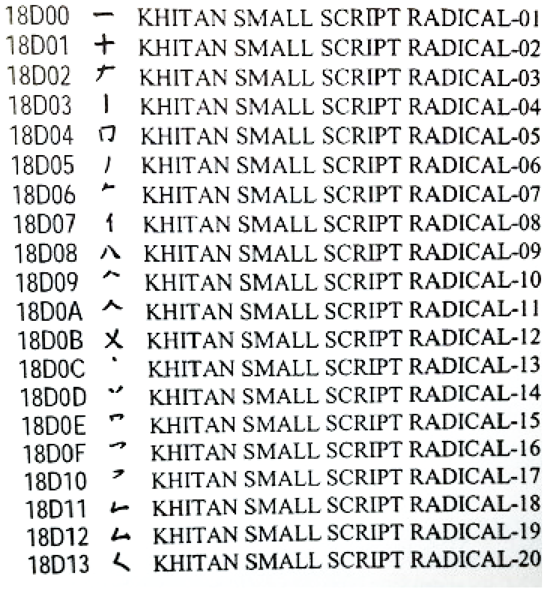
A short overview on the state-of-art of the decipherment of the KSS will help to understand its further research. After the two Khitan scripts and the monuments written with them have been distinguished in 1922 (Kervyn 1923a,b), the great work of deciphering begun in China. In Hohhot a group of scholars lead by Chinggeltei concentrated to Chinese names and titles which appeared in the inscriptions written in KSS. Knowing the contemporary pronunciation of the Chinese characters, the tentative pronunciation of its Khitan transcription was identified. In many cases the same Khitan glyph was used in the transcription of different, but homophonous, or quasi homophonous Chinese syllables. After a time these researches were systematized. Chinggeltei and other scholars used to note the sound value of the deciphered glyphs with Latin alphabet. This alphabet was a mix of different fonts. Chinggeltei for example used <ʧ> for what later was written as <c>-, or <ɑ> for later <a>. They called this process Romanization (see Chinggeltei 2002, 99-114) or Latinization. This system of coding was changed in 2017. The Earlier Höhhot List was ordered according to a kind of stroke system, see the details in Chinggeltei 2002. 378 glyphs were organized under 13 "radicals". Later Lists simply added the newly identified glyphs to the end, and they got code numbers from 379 on. Kane (2009, 81) added Nos 379, 380. In the book of Wu Yingzhe and Janhunen (2010) glyphs with new code numbers from 379 to 459 appear. In 2017 in the three volumes work by Chinggeltei—Wu Yingzhe and Jiruhe (CWJ) the Höhhot List was reorganized. The last two signs were ⁚ (378) for DITTO and □ (378.1) for illegible glyph.

All those glyphs which had numbers above 378, (see Wu—Janhunen 2010, 379-459) were inserted into the list with decimal extensions or deleted. So (393) became (084.10) and was inserted after <ar$_2$> (084) former <ra>, as all other dotted forms, which emerged later. Other were deleted as <ai$_3$> (395) which turned out to be a wrong reading.

8.3 CODING THE KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT

For better use of the Informatical Technology in deciphering the KSS, several systems were proposed. One of them was suggested by Sun Bojun, Jing Yonshi and Li Yang in 2010 in a proposal to encode the KSS glyphs. The glyphs were tried to put in order according to the “beginning strokes as horizontal, upright, aside, dot, fold”. 18 groups were formed and new numbering was introduced from J-0001 to J-0463.

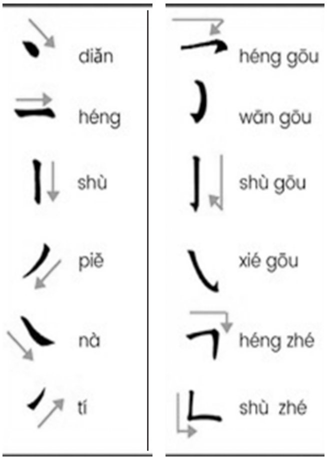
The twenty radicals according to Bojun-Wu-Jing et. al 2016.



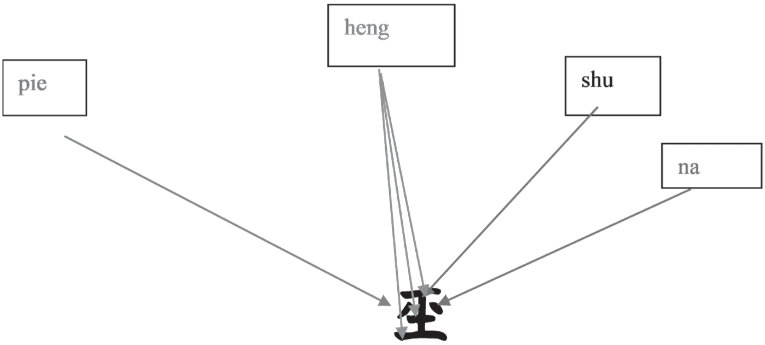
18D00	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-01
18D01	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-02
18D02	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-03
18D03	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-04
18D04	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-05
18D05	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-06
18D06	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-07
18D07	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-08
18D08	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-09
18D09	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-10
18D0A	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-11
18D0B	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-12
18D0C	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-13
18D0D	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-14
18D0E	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-15
18D0F	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-16
18D10	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-17
18D11	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-18
18D12	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-19
18D13	KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT RADICAL-20

Another system was put forward by Jiruhe and Wu Yingzhe 2016. They used the Chinese terminology for different strokes and abbreviated them by one letter

d=dian 點
g=gou 鈎
h=heng 橫
n=na 捺
p=pie 撇
s=shu 竪
t=ti 提
w=wan 彎
x=xie 斜
z=zhe 折



This system was also used by Wu--Janhunen 2010. To give an example, the glyph for the numeral 'eight' (108) was coded as *hpnhsh* that is *heng-pie-na-heng-shu-heng*.



This type of coding has followed the Chinese usage, may have helped in computer coding but I will not use it.

In this work I will use the CWJ list as revised by me and will call it *The Höhhot List Revised* (see **8.7, 19.1**).

8.4 TERMINOLOGY

In the following I offer a standardized terminology. In the earlier literature the same features were labeled by different terms, and same terms were used for different features.

8.4.1 Terminology of the Khitan Small Script

GLYPH: a drawing consisting of one or more lines. Other names: *graph, sign, character*. In most cases it represents a syllable. The glyph has a reading value. We identify a glyph by three markers. For example: in case of (189) <a>,

is the glyph

(189) is the code number in the Höhhot List in (parentheses), *Earlier Lists* (Chinggeltei, Kane, Wu-Yingzhe—Janhunen), *present List* as it appears in CWJ, *Revised Höhhot List,* see below

<a> is the Romanization in <angle brackets>

ROMANIZATION*:* The reading of a glyph transcribed by Latin letters. In the great majority of the KSS glyphs there exists only one reading. There are, however a few exceptions. The name of the founder of the Liao dynasty is written **B-g-ñ** (311-334-222), the Chinese transcription is : Chin *Abaojin* 阿保謹. var. *Abaoji* 阿保機, YCh *ɔ-pɔw-kin/ki*, LMCh *ʔA-puaw-kin/ki,* that is *Apoki(n).* If the Chinese *a-* pertains to the name and is not the Chinese prefix *a*-, then the glyph (311) has here to be read as **ab.** The plural of the near demonstrative pronoun **e-** is (247), read **et,** otherwise **te-** as in **t(e)-* '**to say', see **t-gu** (247-165) 'saying', 56x, also **t-gu**$_2$ (247-165.1), 2x, Chin *yue* 曰 C439. The glyph (196) 'ancestor, grandfather', Chin *zufu* 祖父 L3, also **a-abu** (189-196), Chin *fu* 父, C416, has to be read **abu**, but after consonants some times **-bu**: **n-ad-bu-ad** (251-099-196-099), 2x, '(royal, imperial) camp, settlement, travelling palace, "*nabo*"', Chin *zongshi* 宗室 'royal clan, ancestral shrine of a large clan', ChinT *nabo* 捺钵, also **n-ad-bot** (251-099-176), and **n-ad-bod** (251-099-309), 25x, but see **t-abu**, **s-abu** in the EL.

THE HÖHHOT LIST: of the glyphs of KSS. Published in CWJ 2017 on pp. 93–104. The highest number is 378. Glyphs which had higher number in earlier Lists got a decimal extension, for example: (017) <dai>, <017.1> , earlier WJ gave the number (390).

FONTS: There are different fonts for KSS. I use *Menksoft*, other fonts are: UNICODE, Babelstone Khitan Small Linear.

BASIC GLYPH: Glyphs that may be connected with an individual letter of the Latin alphabet. This list is used for learning purposes.[1] Most of them are of high frequency.

BASIC ALPHABET: A list of Basic Glyphs in alphabetic order, to help learning.

ALLOGLYPH*:* A variant, or a very similar form of a glyph, which represents the same sound. Earlier also *allograph:* (348) <e>, (109) <e$_2$>

ARCHIGLYPH. Glyphs with the same signified always written with capital letter as O for <ô> (252) <ô$_2$> (253) <ó> (090), <o> (186),

HETEROGLYPH: Represents the same or similar sound as the basic one, but has a different form: (011) <an> (290) <án>.

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[1] During the two semesters of the 2021/22 academic year, I taught Khitan as part of a joint program between the Universities of Szeged and Budapest, using the Basic Glyphs for instructional purposes

DOTTED GLYPH: A variant where the glyph has an additional dot. Sometimes it is marked in the transcription by a raised ^{o} (134) <jur>, (135) <jur^{o}>. Sometimes the undotted pair is marked by a raised x (134) <jur^{x}>. I will not use this type of marking.
LOGOGLYPH: Glyph the meaning of which we know, but its Romanization is or was earlier unknown. After the reading of many logoglyphs has been solved, the term began to denote those glyphs where one glyph denotes one word. The meaning of yet undeciphered glyphs are written in CAPITAL letters: (052) <RECORD>. Earlier *logograph.*

MONOGLYPH Glyph which renders one word, usually it has also a syllabic value: (196) as monoglyph <abu>, with syllabic sign <bu>.

MEMNONIC: In some cases the glyph of the Khitan Small Script is identical with, or very similar to a Chinese character. In such cases neither the meaning nor the pronunciation of the Chinese is identical as or similar to that of the Khitan glyph. However, in cases, where we yet do not know the reading and the meaning of the glyph the Chinese serves a help for memorizing, it is *memnomic*. This labeling was introduced by Kane 2009. There exists one exception: (239) has the same meaning and most probable also the same pronunciation as the Chinese counterpart.

Mnemonic Number	Number in the Höhhot List	Glyph	Chinese character	pinyin of the Chinese character	Kane's (2009) suggestion of the Chinese reading[2]	CWJ (2017) reading
MN1	024		而	er	e$^?$r	
MN2	025		西	xi		
MN3	032		天	tian	te$^?$n	
MN4	039		开	kai	ka$^?$i	
MN5	048		年	nian	ne$^?$n	hul
MN6	061		可	ke	ke$^?$	bai
MN7	050		吏	li	li	
MN8	054		木	mu	mu	
MN9	066		土	tu	tu	
MN10	128		在	zai	zai	ri$_2$
MN11	136		刀	dao	do	
MN12	188		州	zhou	zo$^?$	SMALL

---

[2] The question marks are on top of the vowel at Kane.

MN13	204		失	shi	shi	
MN14	14		仍	reng	reŋ	
MN15	239		八	ba	ba[3]	li
MN16	282		非	fei	feˀi	
MN17	305		肉	ro	roˀ	
MN18	316		目	mu	muˀh	zhul
MN19	320		由	you	yoˀ	pu$_2$
MN20	321		由	you	yô	har ‘black’
MN21	356		尘	chen	ceˀn	te$_2$

8.4.2 Terminology of the Roman transcription

DIACRITICS: In case of heteroglyphs and dotted glyphs diacritic signs were used to distinguish glyphs. Lower case index numbers were used as <a> (189), <a$_2$> (190) or as:

Romanization	Glyph	Code number
<ri>		(235)
<ri$_2$>		(128)
<ri$_3$>		(038)
<ri$_4$>		(038.1)
<ri$_5$>		(255)
<rí>		(069)

Other diacritics used are: *circumflex* as on <aû> (125) and *accent* as on <aú> (210), *double dots* as on <sï> (083) or <ü> (226). These diacritics serve only for distinguishing heteroglyphs.

In case of necessity two types, that is index and diacritic are used:

<en>		(140)
<én>		(361)
<én$_2$>		(100)
<én$_3$>		(100.1)
<én$_4$>		(100.2)
<ên>		(073)

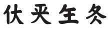
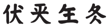
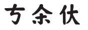
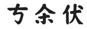
---

[3] According to Kane 2009, has the meaning of Chinese *li* mile 里, but see **8.8.11.**

In case of the so-called dotted alloglyphs a raised ^{o} after a glyph is used as in <dalu> (141) 'seven', <dalu^{o}>, (141.1) 'seven, masculine'.

8.4.3 The function of the dot in the KSS

As Kane stated (2009,27) some glyphs have an additional dot. Some suggested, that a dot may indicate a subclass of a category as numerals or colors (Chen Naixong 1992). It was Wu (2005a) who proposed first that the dot indicates grammatical gender. This is true for the great part of the material and I will deal with it in the GRAMMAR, Chapter **13.** However, the dot has in some cases other functions.
The glyph (242) is sometimes used for rendering a Chinese initial /fu/, while Chinese /fu/ is transcribed in other cases with the KSS glyph (360) <pu>. Khitan did not have an /f/ phoneme in its system, but in some cases distinguished /fu/ by a dot.

The glyph (222) is a dotted one, it is very frequent in the corpus it occurs 1423 times. while its undotted pair (221) is rare, there are only six cases with it. Out of the six cases five have it as initial. In one case it has to be read as ñ. The expression <221-an-abu-as>  (221-011-196-174) which occurs in Zhong48-38 we find as <ñ-an-abu-as>  (222-011-196-174) which occurs 15 times (Dao36-18, Xuan 28-12, Yu31-76, 69-19, Guang24-30, Tu24-25, Han28-17, 32-7, Chao16-38, Xian26-30, Hu38-15, Nu22-20, Jue33-37 Hui18-22, 23-17). It may be the case that in Zhong48-38 simply the dot was not written. In case of <al-qu-221>  in line 31 of the inscription Ren it is also clear that it should be <al-qu-ñ>  as it is correctly in Chao21 and 27, only the dot is missed. The remaining four cases are not yet clear, but it is sure that the dot in this case does not signalize the masculine gender.

It seems that the dot in the Khitan Small Script was used as a diacritic, notably to mark grammatical gender, although it also fulfilled various other functions, much like in other writing systems.

DASH

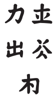
In some glyphs a small dash or line can be observed. <gu> (165) has a dot and <gu$_2$> (165.10.) has a dash, (178) <ku> has no diacritics, while (178.10) has a dot, and (178.2) has a dash on its right side, the glyph (178.2) is yet undeciphered and occurs only twice in the corpus. <lu$_3$> (312) has a dot, while <lu$_4$> (313) has an additional dash.

Sometimes it is easy to observe that two glyphs have a graphic relation as <s> (244) and <z> (258)

8.5 THE ORGANIZATION AND TRANSPOSITION OF THE TEXTS

8.5.1 Organization

The Khitan texts in KSS are written in lines running vertically top down and from right to left. This is following the Chinese usage of the time and also that of the Khitan Large Script. However in addition the KSS uses so called boxes. One morphological unit is written in a virtual “box”. The first two glyphs are written from the left to right followed by the third and fourth glyphs written in the next line from left to right and so on For example the word **nahaaneren** ‘of the Maternal Uncles’ is written:



na ha (139 051)
án er (290 341)
en (140).

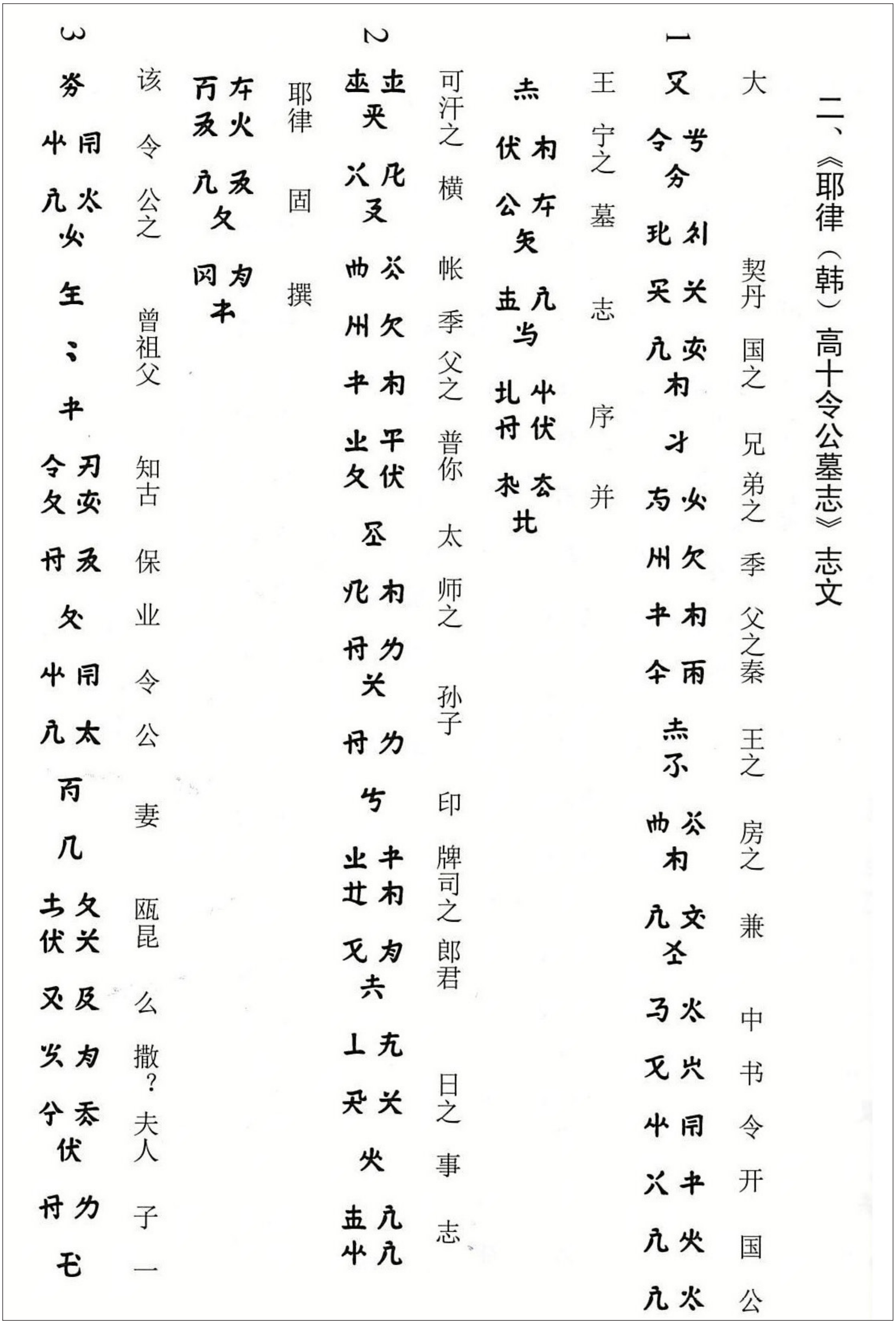
Since this would be very cumbersome in publications, the morphological units were transposed in a linear way. Earlier they used dots within a box, in the above case: **na.ha.án.en**. The dots were later changed to hyphens: **na-ha-án-en. In my publication I follow this latter usage.** The hitherto observed maximum in one “box” is eight glyphs.

8.5.2 Transposition and glosses

A major aid in my research was the fact that the authors of CWJ transcribed the Khitan text into normalized Khitan fonts. Multiple printable fonts exist for the Khitan Small Script; for my work, I used the Menksoft font. On pages 866–1615 of CWJ, all included inscriptions are reproduced in these normalized fonts. I primarily worked with these transcriptions and consulted the original photographs only when necessary. In my experience, the transcriptions — which represent the first step in the decipherment process — are highly reliable. Those cases where I had to turn to the photo of the original I noted this.

For illustration I added the first three lines of the Gaoshi inscription see page 310. The process can be followed looking at the first line of the Gaoshi inscription alongside its normalized transcription and Romanization (see p. 311).

The Chinese glosses are generally broad in nature; in most cases, they suggest the semantic field of the Khitan word, but rarely indicate its grammatical form, syntactic position, or function.



二、《耶律（韩）高十令公墓志》志文

大 契丹 国之 兄弟之 季 父之秦 王之 房之 兼 中 书 令 开 国 公

1

王 宁之 墓 志 序 并

可汗之 横 帐 季 父之 普你 太 师之 孙子 印 牌司之 郎君 日之 事 志

2

耶律 固 撰

该 令 公之 曾祖父 知古 保 业 令 公 妻 瓯昆 么 撒？ 夫人 子 一

3

TABLE IV. CWJ PAGE 1239,
THE FIRST THREE LINES OF THE GAOSHI INSCRIPTION, CHINESE TITLE,
CHINESE GLOSSES, NORMALIZED KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT

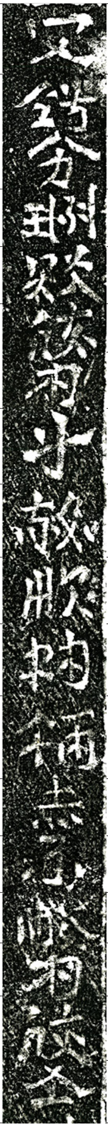
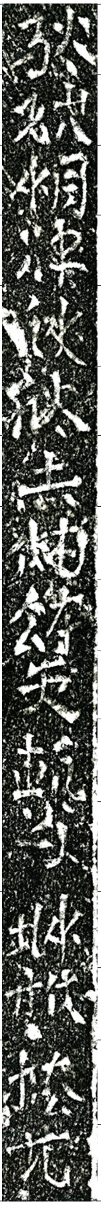
1.		又	**GREAT**
2		令 岁	**t-iau-**
		分	**-dû**
3.		玭 纠	**xu-ur**
4.		买 关	**qita-i**
5.		九 安	**g-úr-**
		有	**-en**
6.		才	**ia**
7.		为 火	**deu-un**
8.		州 欠	**SMALL-qó**
9.		中 有	**ai-en**
10.		仐 雨	**s-in**
11.		赤	**ong-**
12.		不	**-on**
13.		由 爻	**go-er-**
14		有	**-en**
15.		九 文	**g-ie-**
		圣	**-ém**
16.		马 火	**ju-ung**
17.		飞 岕	**sh-iú**
18.		仆 同	**l-ing**
19.		兴 中	**h-ai**
20.		九 火	**g-ui**
21-		九 火	**g-ung**
22.		赤	**ong**
23.		伏 有	**ñ-en**
24.		公 存	**n-ar$_2$-**
		矢	**-de**
25.		去 九	**RECORD-g-**
		当	**-én**
26.		北 仆	**or-l-**
		丹 伏	**-b-ñ**
27.		木 去	**ci-ge$_2$-**
		北	**-li$_2$**

TABLE V. ORIGINAL, NORMALIZED TRANSCRIPTION AND ROMANIZATION OF THE FIRST LINE OF THE GAOSHI INSCRIPTION

8.6 RECURRENT ELEMENTS IN THE KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT

There is ongoing work to find some system in the KSS. One of these attempts was to find graphic units which occur repeatedly in different glyphs. Chinggeltei's "radicals" was such an attempt. In the following table I give 18 glyphs with their Romanization, if it exists, and the element to which it was added, with their List number. The repeatedly occurring element is the Chinese *ren* as in *ren* 任: 'to appoint'.

No	Glyph	Romanization Kane	CWJ Index	Original element	Romanization of the original element	Höhhot List of the original element
220		mú	mú			
221		ñ^x	no reading			
222		ñ	ñ			
223		mu^x	no reading			
224		mu	mu			
224.1		unknown	no reading			
225		bi[4]	bi			
226		ü	ü			
227		unknown	no reading			
228		lú	no reading			
229		ta	ta			
230		unknown[5]	no reading		<m>	132
231		unknown	no reading			
232		unknown	no reading		<un$_2$>	144
233		kú	kú$_2$		<ku>	178
234		ta$_2$	no reading			
235		ri[6]	ri			
236		ur	úr			
237		du	no reading			
238		BORN	sui		<il>	302

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[4] Only used in Chinese transcriptions, e.g. of *bing*, but see <*bi-du-ji*> Xiang46-12 <*bi-du-ji m-in-i*> where **mi-n-i** is 'tomb'.

[5] *jin,* which is memnonic.

[6] Index no reading.

Until now the function of the repeated element could not be identified. There exist similar cases as:

No	Glyph	Romanization
244		s
246		qu
247		t
249		dū
252		ō
255		ri_5
256.1		256.1
257		em_2
258		z
259		hur
260		t_2

Here the same Chinese element *ren* is reoccurring, but above the glyph as in Chinese *gong* 公 'duke'.

Another group is:

No	Glyph	Romanization
176		bu
272		bu_2
150		ja
177		ur
058		058
190		190
278.1		278.1

This may be also a Chinese radical, namely No.2 as in *jiu* 旧 'used, worn, old', but this Chinese radical occurs only on the left side, and not on the right as in KSS.

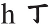
Glyphs with the same part on the right upper corner are

157		n.i.
158		l_4
159		DAY
160		160
160.1		n.i.
161		au
162		ci
163		ki
164		164

There may be also other recurrent elements, but hitherto the function of these recurrent elements could not have been identified. In the following case I am not sure, that the same element is reoccurring:

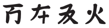
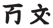
	300	SEVENTY
	301	SEVENTY°
	302	il
	303	ing
	304	du$_2$
	305	305
	306	306
	307	307
	308	COMPOSE
	310	bod
	310.1	dus
	310.2	310.2, not as initial
	310.3	310.3, not as initial
	311	b
	312	lu$_3$
	313	lu$_4$
	314	lang
	315	she
	316.1	316.1
	316.2	COMPOSE$_2$
	317	317

8.7 THE CORRECTIONS TO THE READINGS OF THE HÖHHOT LIST OF KSS GLYPHS

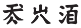
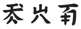
On the pages 150-337 CWJ gives the reading of the KSS glyphs from No 1 to 377. Here they give a phonetical transcription using IPhA signs and give the reasons why they transcribe it in the given way. In the Index on pages 1621-2314 they quote the glyphs using the normal Latin alphabet. For example on p. 152 they transcribe the glyph  (002) as <*tɕyr*> on p. 1621 as <jur$_2$>. Since we have no idea about the pronunciation of Khitan in the 10th to 12th centuries, it is safer and more practical to use the simple Latin alphabet. As I mention in the chapter on Phonology I accepted as point of departure the Latinization or Romanization of the KSS systems proposed by the team in Höhhot. In the following I give may reasons for those cases where I revised or added a new reading to CWJ. In all other, not mentioned cases I accepted the readings of CWJ and do not deal with readings prior to CWJ including Shimunek 2017 which was an important step in its time.

(008) <nem>, (009) <nem^{o}> (earlier <naim>) , see **12.3 Numerals.**

(009) this is a composite of (001) and (127), does not occur as initial, and is not noted by Index .

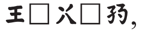
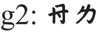
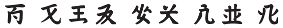
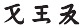
(020) is correctly transcribed as **y-** in earlier literature, but according to Kane (2009,37) it is probably [ei] in final position. He even transcribed on p.37 **Y-ar$_2$-u-ud**  (020-084-131-344)'the clan name of the Khitan leaders' as <ei.ra.u.ud> and treated <y-> according to him <ei> as a copula, in fact: **y-ie**  (020-327) 'to be alive, to exist', Chin *you* 有, *zai* 在, **L**4, **L**5, tres, **L**7bis, **L**8, ChinE YCh *jiw*, LMCh *iw.*

(021) <eme>, CWJ <em>, see line 3. Shimunek 2017, p. 425 has <omo> and cites earlier readings, Bai 2020, 85 reads <em>.

(022.1) <i$_2$>, earlier <455> is occurring twice, DiX1, Xiang41. It has to have the same value as (338) see the name Ishi-iú-ih2  (033-289-338) and Ishi-iú-i2  (033-289-022.1), I opt for <i> because of the Chinese transcription, and changed <ih$_2$> to <i$_3$>, see (338).

(028) , <sh> in some papers as those of Shimunek and mine this was transcribed by <š>, technical change.

(033) <(i)shi>, (034) <(i)shi^{o}> (earlier <is>), corrected by Shimunek, 2017, 426.

(035.30) given by CWJ in two forms :<iu$_2$>, <iû$_2$>. The glyph occurs only two times in the corpus, in Zhi22-23: Index has: 035.2-378.1-340-378.1-152 , which is read in the transcription as <35.2 [!]-378.1-h-378.1-ji>, and on p. 1219 no gloss, and is very uncertain. The other place is Hong2:   <b-qo eme sh-iû$_2$-u ng-i g-iáng shï> in a name of a daughter. On CWJ p. 1140 glossed the Khitan name  with Chinese *shu* 淑 YCh *ʂy.* CWJ deals with the glyph also on p. 167 as (35.3) and suggest to read <iu~iuk>, while Index has no reading. I accept for the time being <iu$_2$>.

(040) <si$_2$> (earlier <ör>) see Róna-Tas 2019 as <sei>, Early Old Mandarin loan Shimunek 2017, deest.

(060) <bai$_2$>.This glyph appears on CWJ p. 94, but neither among the glyphs on p. 196, nor in Index or in the corpus. It has to be a local form of (061), I have retained it, but its occurrence is 0.

(066) <e$_4$> see Peng Daruhan 2023. She transcribed <ə> which is a phonetic transcription, in the Romanization it is <e$_4$>, Shimunek 2017 deest.

(081) <sär> (earlier as logograph MONTH), Shimunek 428 <sayr>, see **L**6.

(084) <ar> (earlier <ra>) corrected by Shimunek 2017, 428 for medial use. Should be <ar$_2$>.

(085) <ñol> CWJ as logograph SIX, see **12.3** NUMERALS**.**

(089) 丸 <du$_3$> earlier <d$_3$>, see **Du$_3$-ge** 丸尜 (089-349) a Khitan transcription of the Chinese name of the Turks, *Tu-jue* 突厥. YCh *tu-kɥɛ.*

(092) 九 <om> read earlier <ud>, Shimunek 2017 <ud>, an alloglyph of (105) 大, see **s-om** 仐九 (244-092) ‘arrow’, Chin *shi* 矢, *jian* 箭 C431 see also Róna-Tas 2018.

(104) 支 <j> earlier <dz$_2$>, there is no /dz/ in Khitan, see **10.9.6** technical change, see also Shimunek 2017, 429 <ǰ>.

(105) 大 <ud$_2$> = (092) (earlier <ud>, <ud2>), Shimunek 2017 429 <ud>, is in certain cases an alloglyph of (092) 九 <om> and has to be read as <om>, see Róna-Tas 2018.

(106) 太 <ung$_2$> CWJ 200 <uŋ>, Index, 1669 <ung$_2$> alloglyph of 尜 (345), Shimunek 2017, 429 <ung>.

(114) 奈 <í$_2$> is an alloglyph of 籴 <í> (352), CWJ has on p. 203 <i>, not initial.

(121) 求 <un$_3$>, CWJ on p. 205 <iun>~<un>, has to be distinguished from (273) <un> and (144) <un$_2$>, Shimunek 2017, 428 deest. The glyph was read so in Ren 32, but later corrected by CWJ 205, and <un$_3$> does not occur more in the corpus.

(137) 丹 <ir> CWJ Index <ir>, but on p. 215 *rə* and *gu*, Shimunek 2017, 430 <r>

(144) 叉 <un$_2$> (earlier <ir$_2$>), see line 1, Shimunek 2017,430 <ñ>.

(159) 关 <när> CWJ as logoglyph DAY, on p. 230 <nær>, Shimunek 2017, 431 <ñayr$^?$>.

(160) 丟 CWJ no reading, Kane 2009, p. 53 gives <giú>referring to Ashin Gioro 2004, 2, on Kane 2009, p. 303 <gió> seems to be a misprint, Shimunek 2017 deest, Peng Daruhan 2023 <pæt>, in corpus 89x, following Zhao 2019, not clear, I remain at “Unknown”.

(160.1) 㕚 earlier (445) Wu—Janhunen 2010, 272, no reading, not in Shimunek 2017, not on CWJ231, nor on 404, 1890, but present on CWJ p. 97. Occurs only once in a name (Yu61 *ñ-ar-ñ l-160.1*) for **ñ-ar-ñ** ChinT *nie li* 捏里. for l-160.1 perhaps **ñ-ar-ñ l-iu** 伏书伏 屮丙 (Han5), in this case 㕚=丙.

(164) 炙 <yos> (CWJ no reading), Peng Daruhan 2023, Shimunek 2017, 433 deest.

(165.1) 勺 <gu$_2$>; CWJ no reading, it is a homoglyph of 勺 (165) <gu>, correctly CWJ on p. 234, see **n-i-gu** in EL.

(166) 包 (167) 包 <gur, gur^o> (earlier CWJ <gor, gor^o>) see **12.3** Numerals.

(176) 夘 <bud> earlier <bú> (Kane 2009,56), Wu—Janhunen 2010, Shimunek 2017 432 <bu>, CWJ 140 <bot>, because of 公示夘 (251-099-176) = **n-ad (a)bu-ad** 公示 生示 (251-099 196-099), Róna-Tas—Bai, 2023, 41 perhaps rather <bud> because of the same reason.

(177) 刈 <ur> see 化 (236) both were <ur> in CWJ Index, Kane 2009, 56 <ra$^?$>, Aisin Gioro <lʤi>, Kane 2013a, 42<ulǰi>, Shimunek 2017, 432<ulǰi>, see the details Line 1.

(181) <iúng> CWJ 243 gives <uŋ>, but in transcription <iúng>, see line 23, Shimunek 2017, 433 deest.

(183) (183.1) <car^{o}>, CWJ p. 243 has *ʧar ~ʧal,* on p. 1923 <car>, Kara 2021, 677-684 convincingly suggested <cal>.

(185) <mor>, according to Bai 2020, 85 there exists an alloglyph of (185), which is not included in the Höhhot list and can be found only in Dao. It's reading is the same as that of (185).

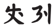
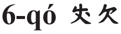
(198) , (198.1) <hiu>, see Peng 2023.

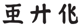
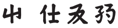
(204) <de$_2$> CWJ no reading, alloglyph of (205) , Shimunek 2017,433 deest.

(210) <aú> CWJ no reading, Kane (2009, 60) <aú>, Shimunek (2017 , 433) <au>, see EL, **L**5.

(211.2) EIGHTY or <nai$_2$> CWJ on p. 1955 <Nai> but the glyph is missing in the second column. See (332) <nai>. See **12.3** NUMERALS.

(215) deleted by CWJ because of duplication, see (171) .

(216) <hus>, no reading by CWJ, but **216-hu**  (216-151) '1. cyclical barnch, *zi*, 2. heavenly branch, rat, mouse', also **216-qó**  (216-169), Chin 1. *zi* 子, 2. *shu* 鼠 C419, Turk *küskü* see EL and 18.4.2.

(223) <mu$_2$> = (224) <mu> in: **hu$_2$-ó-ur$_2$-bun 223-u$_2$-ji**   (014-090-236-288 222-131-152) 'holy, benevolent master, sage', Chin *ren-sheng* 仁圣, C360, also in **un$_2$-n 223-u-ji$_3$-en ishi tau-de** 'at the enthronement of the present holy (Emperor)' (Gu10).

(226) <üe$_2$> earlier <ü>, see **10.** PHONOLOGY.

(233) <ku$_2$> CWJ 206 <ku>, 1980 <kú$_2$>, technical change, there is no <kú>.

(236) <ur$_2$> CWJ <ur> technical change, see 177 <ur>.

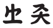
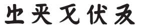
(240) <par> (240.1) <par^{o}>, CWJ <ab>, see .**12.3** NUMERALS.

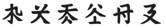
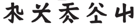
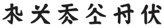
(259) <hur> (CWJ <hut>) , see **12.3** NUMERALS)

(267) occurs only once, to (266) SIXTY or (266.1) <yun>, Shimunek 2017 <SIXTY>.

(269) <er$_2$> CWJ no reading, alloglyph to (341) , Shimunek deest.

(282) <ku$_3$> CWJ no reading, see Peng Daruhan 2023, Shimunek 2017, 436 deest.

(287) <xar> see CWJ 290, Kane 304 no reading, Wu-Janhunen 266, <to$_2$>, Shimunek 436 deest, Wu-Janhunen on p. 83 argues that a name written in DiX as  (287-127) should be read as <to$_2$-an$_2$ > because in the inscription Tu line4 the same name occurs written as  <To$_2$-an shi-ñ-u>. CWJ reads the name in Tu2 as **Xar-an-sh-ñ-u**, and I accept the reading of CWJ.

(288) <bun> earlier <bir>, so also in CWJ , but see the suffixes in **ci-i-shi-d-b-un$_2$**  (162-339-033-254-311-144), 10 times, 2. **ci-i-shi-d-bun**  (162-339-033-254-288), 15 times, **ci-i-shi-d-b-ñ**  (162-339-033-254-311-222), 48 times and the Chinese transcription: *chishideben* 赤是得本, YCh *tʂ^{h}i ʂʅ təj pun,* LMCh *tʂ^{h}iajk ʂhi təə̆k pun.*

Lexicon to Line 1. Also in other cases as **m-qó-od-b-ñ** (133-169-016-311-222) ‘praise’, Chin *zan* 赞 C395 and **m-qó-od-bun** (133-169-016-288), 2x.

(293) <si$_2$> earlier <si> for technical reasons see (040), very rare.

(313) <lu$_4$>, no reading in CWJ, but **da$_3$-313-er** (214-313-341) once (Gu3-3) is same as **da$_3$-lu$_3$-er** (214-312-341) ‘7th’ seven times.

(314), on p. 2203 CWJ gives <lang>, but correctly <iang> on p. 305.

(316,1) COMPOSE$_3$ not identified earlier, but see COMPOSE (308), COMPOSE$_2$ (316.2).

(320) Kane 2009, Shimunek 2017 no reading, not treated by CWJ, Peng 2023 <pu$_2$>.

(323) <te> read earlier <qi> WJ 268, Shimunek 2017 , 223, 437 <qai>, see the details in EL s.v. **Te-li$_2$-ñ** (323-080-222).

(324) <en$_2$>, CWJ <üen>, corrected by Wu Yingzhe in a letter dated 17-06-2021, Shimunek 2017,438 <ên>.

(324.2) <úng$_2$>, CWJ no reading, Shimunek 2017, 438, deest, see Peng Daruhan 2023.

(336.1), no reading in CWJ, not in Shimunek 2017, Peng 2023: <po, pau>.

(338) <i$_3$> CWJ has on p.2242 <ih$_2$>, but correctly on p. 319 <i>, for technical reasons it has to be changed to <i$_3$> see (022.1) above and **12.3.**

(339.1) not in Shimunek 2017, CWJ has no reading, Peng 2023: <k, ek>.

(340) <h> so in CWJ, earlier Kane 2009 305, WJ 269 <x>, Shimunek, 2017, 438 <k>.

(345) <ung> see 106.

(355) <odu> in CWJ, <udu> see 9. ORTHOGRAPHY, and Line 15 and **18.1**, Shimunek 2017, 439 <ordu>.

(360) <pang> CWJ 327 *p‘aŋ, faŋ,* Kane 2009, 78, <pong>, WJ 269 <pong>, Shimunek 439 <pong> because? 295+071 +-. but it transcribes Chinese *faŋ* 方, YCh *faŋ,* LMCh *fjyaŋ/faŋ* in **ci-ang sh-iú ji pang l-ang ju-ung** (162-199 028-289 087 360 261-199 149-345) **‘**director of the bureau of military operations of the imperial secretariat ’, Chin *shangshu zhifang langzhong* 尚 書 蘵方 郎中, (K16, CWJ 897).

(365) <qita>, CWJ <qid>, see line 1 and Appendix **18.6.**

(370) REGION, CWJ gives no reading, occurs only in composites: no glosses for (370) on CWJ 484, K on p. 79 no reading, but REGION for (371), Wu--Janhunen 2010,270, REGION^x for (370) and REGION for (371), Shimunek 2017 no reading for (370), REGION for (371), CWJ no reading for (370), but **ja$_2$** for (371) to which they give their arguments on p. 335-336.

(371) <ja$_2$>see above

8.8 THE SYSTEM OF THE KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT

8.8.1 The monosyllabic character of the KSS

Our knowledge on the Khitan Small Script is very scanty. We know that it is *basically* a monosyllabic script, that is, most of the glyphs represent one syllable. I will deal with the few glyphs which represent or may represent more syllables in the subchapter **8.8.9.** We can distinguish the following monosyllabic groups: Vowel (V), Diphthong (D), Consonant+Vowel (CV), Consonant+Diphthong (CD), Vowel+Consonant (VC), Consonant+Vowel+Consonant (CVC). Formally there does exist a group Diphthong+Consonant written as <iang> 氺 (314) and <iáng>= (062) and an other Diphthong+Vowel written as <iau> 号, but they are in fact syllables beginning with y-.

According to my counting the Corpus consist of 115.899 occurrences of glyphs. The longest text is Yu with 46.671 occurrences, the shortest of the major texts is Lang with 752 occurrences of glyphs, while our Gaoshi inscription contains 6.109 occurrences.

It is not easy to tell how many different glyphs exist. At present in the Höhhot list the last number is 378.1, but this is the code for illegible glyphs. 378 is the list number of "ditto". To this we have to add 68 glyphs with added decimal numbers, as in the case of <aju> 艾 (082.**1**), that is 377+68=445. The total number of the different glyphs, which have a different number in the Höhhot system is somewhat lesser. To give one example: the glyph (215) <da> 久 had to be deleted, because it is the same as (171) <da> 久. Six glyphs I could not find in the corpus, though mentioned in one or another place in CWJ. Glyph (009) is a composite and not an independent glyph, so at present I could identify 437 glyphs.

A script consisting of 437 glyphs, graphs or letters is unusual. My next approach will be the occurrence of the glyphs.

Let us first see the V glyphs and their occurrences.

8.8.2 The V glyphs

	Romanization	glyph and number in the List	occurrence in the corpus	occurrence in the corpus total	percentage	occurrence in EL	occurrence in EL total	percentage
A	<a>	为 (189)	2938	2955	23,3 %	167	167	18,9%
	<a_2>	为丨 (190)	17			0		
E	<e>	劵 (348)	579	921	7%	35	57	6%
	<e_2>	夯 (109)	342			22		

I	<i>	关 (339)	2709	2740	21,6 %	198	207	23,4%
	<i_2>	刵 (022.1)	2			2		
	<i_3>	洦 (338)	6			2		
	<í>	杂 (352)	17			2		
	<$\bar{ı}_2$>	夵 (114)	6			3		
Ï	<ï>	谷 (353)	42	57	0,4 %	10	15	1,7%
	<$ï_2$>	杏 (113)	15			5		
O	<ô>	仌 (252)	147	2605	20,6 %	2	153	17,3%
	<$ô_2$>	公 (253)	33			3		
	<ó>	廾 (090)	867			49		
	<o>	及 (186)	1558			99		
U	<u>	叐 (131)	2008	3360	26,5 %	167	283	32%
	<ú>	伞 (245)	207			34		
	<û>	冗 (372)	1145			82		
	Total			**12638**	~100%	**882**	882	~100%

TABLE VI. THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRANCE OF THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING ONE VOWEL

Among others the above table shows that EL is near to represent the frequencies of the Corpus. That means that EL is a sample which has nearly the same features as the corpus. This statement has, of course be considered with great caution.

From the graphematic point of view

	Romanization	glyph and number in List	graphic variant	occurrence	archiglyph	occurrence in the corpus total
A	<a>	为 (189)		2938	A	2955
	<a_2>	为丨 (190)	(189) + a vertical stroke	17		
E	<e>	券 (348)		579	E	921
	<e_2>	夯 (109)	homoglyph of (348)	342		
I	<i>	关 (339)		2709	I	2740
	<i_2>	刵(022.1)		2		
	<i_3>	洦 (338)	added left side to (022.1)	6		
	<í>	杂 (352)		17		
	<$\bar{ı}_2$>	夵 (114)	homoglyph of (352)	6		

Ï	<ï>	谷 (353)		42	Ï	57
	<ï$_2$>	杏 (113)	homoglyph of (353)	15		
O	<ô>	仌 (252)		147	O	2605
	<ô$_2$>	公 (253)	homoglyph of (252)	33		
	<ó>	廾 (090)		867		
	<o>	及 (186)		1558		
U	<u>	叐 (131)		2008	U	3360
	<ú>	仐 (245)		207	U	
	<û>	穴 (372)		1145	U	
	Total			**12.638**		**12.638**

TABLE VII. THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRANCE OF THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING ONE VOWEL FROM THE GRAPHEMATIC POINT OF VIEW

From the point of view of the Khitan language we can exclude the two glyphs with ï <ï> 谷(353) and <ï$_2$> 杏 (113), because they occur only in transcriptions of Chinese (42x+15x =57x). The glyphs <i$_2$> 有 (022.1) and <i$_3$> 洦 (338) are insignificant, they occur twice and six times respectively, together 8 times in the Corpus.

The remaining data (12.483-57-6=12.420) show an interesting feature: Illabials, that is A, E, I are practically represented by one each glyph. This is not the case with the labials. Both O and U are represented by three heteroglyphs each. O glyphs are:

<ô> 仌 (252), 147**x**, <ô2>, 公 (253), 33x (180**x**), 2. <ó> 廾 (090), 867x, 3. <o> 及 (186), 1558x O glyph all together: **2605**

while U glyphs:

<u> 叐 (131), 2008x, <ú> 仐 (245), 207x <û> 穴 (372), 1145x. U glyphs all together **3360**

If we contrast illabials and labials concerning their frequency in the corpus, we get the following:

ILLABIALS (A+E+I) **6.471** average per archiglyph 6471/3=**2157**

LABIALS (O+U) **5.965** average per archiglyph 5.965/2= **2982.5**

We should not attach great importance to the above data, all such countings have their limits. We can nevertheless state, that according the above count if a Khitan vowel is represented by and only by one glyph this type of representation occurs all together 12.638 times. Further the information load is more or less evenly distributed among the archiglyphs with a light overweight of the labials.

8.8.3 The diphthong glyphs

There are formally seen[7] 17 glyphs which represent diphthongs:[8]

Romanization	Glyph	Höhhot Number	Occurren-ce in the corpus	Archi-glyph	Joint occurrence in the Corpus
<au>		(161)	516	AU	829
<aû>		(125)	81		
<aú>		(210)[9]	232		
<eu>		(067)	987	EU	987
<ia>		(335)	688	IA	859
<iá>		(274)	171		
<ie>		(327)	444	IE	444
<iu>		(019)	473	IU	1098
<iú>		(289)	624		
<iu$_2$>		(035.3)	1[10]		
<oi>		(347)	92	OI	422
<oi$_2$>		(107)	330		
<ui>		(262)	1749	UI	1883
<ui^o>		(263)	126		
<ui$_2$>		(336)	8		
<üe>		(082)	84	ÜE	129
<üe$_2$>		(226)	45		
Total			**6651**		**6651**

From the graphemic point of view <iu> (019) and <iú> (289) are homoglyphs as are <oi> (347) and <oi$_2$> (107), further <ui> (262) and <ui^o> (263) and <ui$_2$> (336). On the other hand AU is represented by three, IA by two heteroglyphs, IU by two heteroglyphs, but the second must be an error. Used also for logoglyphs: are <iu> (019) '1. not exist, die, 2. disappear', <ui$_1$> (262) 'cyclical branch of Hai, pig, matter, act'.

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[7] In some cases, it is difficult to separate cases with the i- diphthongs and the y- syllables at the onset.

[8] From here on I will give only the occurrences in the corpus.

[9] CWJ no reading

[10] In Hong2

8.8.4 The VC glyphs

8.8.4.1 The AC glyphs

Romanization	Glyph	Höhhot number	occurrence in the corpus
<abu>	[11]	(196)	459
<ad>		(099)	429
<aju>		(082.1)	424
<al>		(098)	1041
<am>		(184)	229
<an>		(011)	640
<án>		(290)	901
<ang>		(199)	173
<áng>		(280)	186
<ar>		(123)	1358
<ar$_2$>		(084)	569
<ar$_2^{o}$>		(084.1)	1
<as>		(174)	625
Total			**7035**

TABLE VIII. THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING MONOSYLLABLES OF TYPE AC

As we see, in this category we find only one dotted variant: <ar$_2^{o}$> (084.10) which occurs only once in the whole corpus. In some cases <aju> (082.1) also a logoglyph for 'father-in-law' is mixed up with <sär> (081) the logoglyph for 'month'. Further it occurs also as a suffix which may be read as **aju** or **ju.** The glyphs <an> (011) and <án> (290) are used for different suffixes, the first for the genitive of nouns, see **12.1.2.1.2** the second for the past perfect see **12.5.3.3.1**.

8.8.4.2 The EC glyphs

omanization	Glyph	Höhhot number	occurrence in the corpus
<ém>		(270)	252
<em$_2$>		(275)	712
<en>		(140)	2683

---

[11] This glyph has two readings abu and bu, I counted it as AC

<en$_2$>		(324)	95
<én>		(361)	1326
<én$_2$>		(100)	223
<én$_3$>		(100.1)	2
<én$_4$>		(100.2)	6
<eng>		(175)	100
<er>		(341)	2498
<er$_2$>		(269)	23
<es>		(146)	448
Total			**8368**

TABLE IX. THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING MONOSYLLABLES OF TYPE EC

Here for EN we have three heteroglyphs, and the third is present in three variants, but two of them are very rare. <én$_3$> (100.10) and <én$_4$> (100.20) occur together 8 times and are practically insignificant variations of <én$_2$> (100). Both <en> (140) and <én$_2$> (100) are also frequent suffixes, the first is the marker of the genitive case, see **12.1.2.1.1 ,** the second of the past perfect see **12.5.3.3.3.**

The very frequent <er> (341) sometimes is mixed up with and read as <oi> (347), it is used for different suffixes as: accusative-instrumental see **12.1.2.1.2** masculine form of ordinals, **12.3.5.2** and past perfect **12.5.3.2.3**.

The glyph <es> (146) is one of the two particles for verbal negation see **12.5.2.1**, the other is ul$_2$ (336).

8.8.4.3 The IC glyphs

Romani-sation	Glyph	Höhhot number	occurrence in the corpus
<ib>		(127)	135
<in>		(018)	459
<ing>		(303)	273
<ir>		(137)	431
<ishi>		(033)	99
<ishi^{o}>		(034)	4
Total			**1401**

TABLE X. THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING MONOSYLLABLES OF TYPE IC

The glyph <ishi> !(033) and its dotted pair <ishi^{o}> (034) are logoglyphs for the numeral 'nine' and used also for representing parts of names and words. They may be read as /iši/ or /ši/, see **12.3** Numerals and EL. Here I counted them in the group IC but see **8.99**.

8.8.4.4 The OC glyphs[12]

Romanization	Glyph	Höhhot number	Occurrence in the corpus
<od>	币	(016)	289
<od$_2$>	午	(212)	42
<oh>	里	(377)	44
<oi>	炎	(347)	92
	迲	(115)	213
<om>	九	(092)	282
<on>	不	(154)	412
<ón>	肉	(322)	197
<ong>	杰	(071)	294
<or>	扎	(076)	814
Total			**2679**

TABLE XI. THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING MONOSYLLABLES OF TYPE OC

The12 glyphs representing the OC combination are all heteroglyphs. As mentioned above <oi> 炎 (347) is frequently mixed up with or misread for <er> 仌 (341). The glyph <ol> 迲 (115) may be considered also as logoglyph because it has the meaning ‘many, several’. Grammatical functions have <ón> 肉 (322) and <on> 不 (154), both as suffixes of the genitive case see **12.1.2.1.3.** The glyph <or> 扎 (076) is also the suffix of the past tense see **12.5.3.2.4.** <ong> 杰 (071) is used for transcription of Chines *wang* 王, as a title and also as a name or part of a name.

8.8.4.5 The UC glyphs

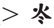
omanization	Glyph	Höhhot number	Occurrence in the corpus
<ud>	火	(344)	259
<ud$_2$>	大	(105)	18
<uh>	夂	(172)	390
	平	(366)	1224
<ul$_2$>	汐	(336)	132
<un>	火	(273)	884
<un$_2$>	及	(144)	1624

---

[12] For ordu odu etc see UC.

<un$_3$>[13]		(121)	0
<ung>		(345)	460
<ung$_2$>		(106)	44
<ung$_3$>		(346)	11
<úng>		(357)	129
<úng$_2$>		(3242)	21
<ur>		(177)	50
<ur$_2$>		(236)	907
<úr>		(097)	1699
<us>		(068)	132
<us$_2$>		(103)	8
Total			**7992**

TABLE XII. THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING MONOSYLLABLES OF TYPE UC

In this group we find several homoglyphs: <ud> (344) and <ud$_2$> (105), <ung> (345), <ung$_2$> (106) and the rare <ung$_3$>  (346). The glyph <us$_2$> (103) and <us> (068) have the same right but a different left side. The glyph <ul$_2$> (336) represents the other negative particle, see **12.5.2.2.** The glyph <un> (273) functions as the genitive suffix see **12.1.2.**

8.8.5 The CV glyphs

8.8.5.1 The CA glyphs

Romanization	Glyph	Höhhot number	occurrence in the corpus
<ca>		(375)	87
<da>		(171)	75
<da$_3$>		(214)	52
<ha>		(051)	2092
<ia>		(335)	688
<iá>		(274)	171
<ja>		(150)	339
<ja$_2$>		(371)	78
<na>		(139)	186
<na$_2$>		(318)	30

---

[13] (121) does not occur in the corpus, was a wrong reading

<qa>	亚	(053)	254
<ta>	仍	(229)	140
<xa>	不	(130)	85
Total			**4277**

TABLE XIII. THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRANCE OF THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING CA SYLLABLES

No homoglyphs in this group.

8.8.5.2 The CE glyphs

Romanization	Glyph	Höhhot number	occurrence in the corpus
<che>	㡀	(363)	45
<de>	夭	(205)	1224
<de_2>	矢	(204)	13
<ge>	公	(349)	1018
<ge_2>	厺	(112)	625
<te>	口	(323)	163
<te_2>	尘	(356)	390
<xe>	圣	(268)	120
Total			**3598**

TABLE XIV. THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRANCE OF THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING CE SYLLABLES

We find in this group two homoglyphs <de> 夭 (205) and <de_2> 矢 (204), of which the second is very rare. Further <ge> 公 (349) and <ge_2> 厺 (112) both frequent. The glyph <te> 口 (323) is the demonstrative pronoun, see **12.2.1.2**.

8.8.5.3 The CI Glyphs

Romanization	Glyph	Höhhot number	Occurrence in the corpus
<bi>	付	(225)	30
<ci>	朮	(162)	2443
<di>	王	(037)	157
<ii>	北	(077)	77
<ji>	犸	(152)	1115
<ji_2>	犳	(153)	154
<ji_3>	訋	(337)	145

<ki>		(163)	27
		(206)	108
<li$_2$>		(080)	1016
<li$_4$>		(310)	104
<ri>		(235)	1050
<ri$_2$>		(128)	11
<ri$_3$>		(038)	33
<ri$_4$>		(038.1)	81
<ri$_5$>		(255)	260
<rí>		(069)	593
<si$_2$>		(293)	14
<si>		(040)	51
<sï>		(083)	86
<shi>		(120)	15
<shï>		(180)	323
<ishi> see above and 8.9.9			
Total			**7633**

TABLE XV. THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRANCE OF THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING CI SYLLABLES

From the graphemic point of view <ii> (077), may be a dotted variant of <or> (076). The three glyphs for <ji> are homoglyphs, as are <ri$_3$> and <ri$_4$>. The glyph <sï> and <shï> occur only in Chinese words.

8.8.5.4 The CO glyphs

Romanization	Glyph	Höhhot number	Occurrence in the corpus
<co>		(298)	76
<do>		(217)	160
<go>		(319)	277
<po>		(279)	171
<qo>		(168)	599
<qó>		(169)	531
<to>		(213)	26
<xo>		(057)	60
Total			**1900**

TABLE XVI. THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRANCE OF THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING CO SYLLABLES

The glyph <po> is also a logoglyph and represents the Khitan word for 'time, hour', see EL. <qo> (168) and <qó> 欠 (169) represent suffixes of adjectives, see **12.4.**

8.8.5.5 The CU glyphs

Romanization	Glyph	Höhhot number	Occurrence in the corpus
<(a)bu>[14]	生	(196)	459
<cu>	艻	(102)	87
<du>	仃	(237)	67
<du$_2$>	闲	(304)	135
<du$_3$>	九	(089)[15]	215
<dú>	尼	(179)	167
<dû>	分	(249)	155
<gu>	勺	(165)	144
<gú>	出	(297)	29
<gu$_2$>	匀	(165.1,ni)	11
<hu>	列	(151)	1588
<hu$_2$>	亜	(014)	122
<iu>	丙	(019)	473
<iú>	岕	(289)	611
<iu$_2$>	玉	(035.3)	2
<ju>	马	(147)	111
<ku>	几	(178)	743
<kuº>	凡	(178.1)	5
<ku$_2$>	仉	(233)	48
<ku$_3$>	非	(282)[16]	76
<lu>	支	(208)	28
<luº>	攱	(209)	
<lu$_2$>	皮	(064)	4
<lu$_3$>	丹	(312)	182
<lu$_4$>	舟	(313)	5
<mu>	住	(224)	268
<mú>	行	(220)	195

---

[14] Counted only at AC

[15] Earlier <d$_3$>

[16] PD

<mû>	半	(358)	24
<pu>	个	(241)	458
<qu>	余	(246)	260
<qú>	丈	(118)	195
<su>	卡	(041)	476
<tu>	劳	(202)	157
<xu>	北	(036)	51
Total			**7092**

TABLE XVII. THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRANCE OF THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING CU SYLLABLES

In this group we find the following dotted glyphs: <ku> 几 (178) and <ku°> 凡 (178.10), <lu> 叏 (208) and <lu°> 叐 (209) practically impossible to distinguish on the photos of the original. The two glyphs <gu> 勺 (165) and <gu$_2$> 勺 (165.10, n.i.) are distinguished by a dot and dash resp., if this is not only a scribal custom. The suffix of multiplication of numerals **-hu** (also **-uh**) is one of the many functions of <hu> 列 (151), see **12.3** Numerals. The glyph <iu> 丙 (019) functions as logoglyph ‘1. not exist, die, 2. disappear’, see EL as also <ku> 几 (178) ‘man’. Interesting is the glyph <ku$_2$> 仉 (233) with the Chinese character *ren* 人 on the left side, see the similar cases **8.6.** Also in this group appear the suffixes of adjectives: <qu> 余 (246) <qú> 丈 (118). The glyph <pu> 个 (241) is sometimes dotted as 仒 (242), but 个 (241) is also used to transcribe Chin *fu.*

8.8.6 The diphthong + C glyphs

There are no examples of D+C glyphs, the following are in fact pertaining to a usage to write y- initials, see Orthography

Romanization	Glyph	Höhhot number
<iang>	将	(314)
<iáng>	並	(062)
<iuk>	习	(138)
<iúng>	用	(181)

8.8.7 The C+diphthong glyphs

Romanization	Glyph	Höhhot number	Occurrence in the corpus
bai		(061),	243
bai_2[17]		(060)	0
dau		(119),	243
giu		(160),	89
heu		(250)	61
hoi		(001)	81
jau		(015)	158
kei		(328)	44
nai		(332)	198
nai_2		(211.2)	3[18]
neu		(331)	53
siu		(004)	35
siu°		(005)	16
sui		(238)	202
tai		(374)	407
tau		(029)	277
tau°		(030)	12
tou		(191)	101
xua		(143)	20
Total			**2240**

TABLE XVIII. THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRANCE OF THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING CD SYLLABLES

The glyph <bai_2> is not existing, see **8.7** The reading of <hoi> is very uncertain, see EL, <jau> (015) for 'hundred', <nai> (332) for 'head, leader, first, commander' function also as logoglyphs. To save space I marked with **bold** in the left column those glyphs which are used also as logoglyphs, that is they may denote one Khitan word.

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[17] This glyph occurs in CWJ p. 94 see 8.7.

[18] Only in Hu.

8.8.8 The CVC group

Romanization	Glyph	Höhhot number	Occurrence in the corpus
<bod>		(309)	333
<bud>		(176)	115
<bun>		(288)	281
<cal>		(183)	6
<cal^{o}>		(183.10)	39
<dor>		(218)	255
<dor$_{2}$>		(072)	58
<dur>		(368)	126
<dur^{o}>		(369)	25
<dus>		(310.10)	20
<gur>		(166)[19]	122
<gur^{o}>		(167)	50
<har>		(321)	56
<har$_{2}$>		(321.10)	7
<har$_{3}$>		(006)	175
<hoit>		(009)[20]	0
<hong>		(075)	130
<hor>		(047)	175
<jïh>		(098.1)	6
<hul>		(048)	114
<hus>		(216)	30
<hur>		(259)	49
<jur>		(134)	329
<jur^{o}>		(135)	54
<jur$_{2}$>		(002)	96
<kus>		(042)	18
<ming>		(207)	65
<mod>		(043)	31
<mor>		(185)	50
<nem>		(007)	80
<nem^{o}>		(008)	3

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[19] CWJ <gor>

[20] Two glyphs, not in CWJ Index

<när>		(159)[21]	223
<nas>		(193)	22
<ñol>		(085)	120
<ñol°>		(086)	9
<pang>		(360)	0
<par>		(240)	185
<par°>		(240.1)	1
<pen>		(337.10)	6
<rung>		(367)	9
<tum>		(187)	67
<xar>		(287)	66
<iang>		(314)	187
<iáng>		(062)	22
<iuk>		(138)	53
<iúng>		(181)	13
<yos>		(164)	18
<yun>		(266.1)	10
<žul>		(316)	117
Total			**4026**

TABLE XIX. THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRANCE OF THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING CVC SYLLABLES

Fifty glyphs represent CVC structrure. This deserves a closer look. As a first step, we can separate the glyphs representing numerals: <jur> and <jur°> ‘two’, <gur> <hur> and <gur°> three’, <dur> and <dur°> ‘four’ <ñol> and <ñol°> ‘six’, <nem> and <nem°> ‘eight’ and <par> and <par°> ‘ten’. ‘five’ is formally ending in a diphthong <tau>, ‘seven’ seems to be a bisyllabic word, as also ‘nine’ <ishi>. ‘hundred’ <jau> is ending in a diphthong, thousand is <ming> and ‘ten thousand, very much’ is <tum>.

Remain: <bod> ‘body, self’ and <bud> ‘the other’ are also logoglyphs, while <bun> occurs as suffix of the past tense. <dor> ‘seal, official’. For the problems connected with <dus> see **12.3.6.6** Sixty. The glyphs <har> and <har$_2$> may be homoglyphs with the meaning ‘black’, while <har$_3$> is a heteroglyph with the meaning ‘mountain’. <hoit> is a ghost word, not in the corpus as such. The glyph read earlier as <pong> in Lang 5 because, it was suggested to consist of <p> and <ong> . This is graphically possible, but as it was already mentioned by Kane the Chinese character *faŋ* 方, YCh *faŋ,* LMCh *fjyaŋ/faŋ* which it transcribes, had never an -*o*-, it had an -*a*-see **8.7** Corrections. The glyph is occurring only once so its actual reading is of lesser importance. Concerning the cases <iang>, <iáng>, <iuk> and <iúng> we have to remark that there are no glyphs beginning with y-, on the other hand for <yos> and <yun> there are no examples for forms with <i>.

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[21] DAY, reading <när> not in “Ladin”.

If we exclude the glyphs rendering numerals, the remaining group of CVC representation is minimal.

8.8.9 The polysyllabic glyphs

At the end of our research only the following glyphs remained, which represent, or may represent polysyllables:

Romanization	Glyph	Höhhot number	Occurren-ce in the corpus
<dele>	小	(294)	149
<dele$_2$>	⺌	(364)	5
<dalu>	戸	(141)	73
<dalu^o>	户	(141.1)	9
<eme>	丙	(021)	662
<emu>	乇	(026)	239
<emu^o>	乇	(027)	50
<hoii>	关	(010)	5
<(i)shi>[22]	忝	(033)	0
<(i)shi^o>	忝	(034)	0
<qita>	买	(365)	54
<udu>	米	(355)	70
Total			**1316**

TABLE XX. THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRANCE OF THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING POLYSYLLABLES

In the polysyllabic group we find three numerals <emu> ‘one’, <dalu> ‘seven, <ishi> ‘nine’. In the subchapter **12.3.2** I gave my reasons why I read <emu>, <dalu> and <ishi> respectively. The glyph **dele1** 小 (294) ‘south’ occurs also in an orthographic variant **t-le** 令芀 (247-093), see EL. For the reading <eme> my reasons are the forms of declination: genitive **eme-n** 丙公 (021-251), plural **eme-t** 丙令 (021-247), on <qita> see L1 and EL, and on <udu> **9.2.6** The glyph <hoii> is very rare, and in the five occurrances it is not the initial syllable, but part of a, to me unknown, word: **sh-hoii-ci** 飞夭术 (Dao36), **o-l₂-hu-hoii** 及子列夭 (Gu14), **or-a-hoii** 北为夭 (Qing2) **294.1-i hoii** 刂 关 夭 (Ren23), **378.1-hoii-ar** □夭本 (GuD30).[23]

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[22] Here not counted only treated.

8.8.10 The C glyphs

There is a group of glyphs which is transcribed or Romanized by only one Latin letter.

Romanization	Glyph	Höhhot number	Occurrence in the corpus
<b>	丹	(311)	2035
<c(i)>	术	(162)[24]	2443
<d>	仝	(254)	1276
<g>	九	(334)	2437
<j>	丈	(104)	192
<k>	叔	(283)	332
<l>	个	(261)	2897
<m>	叉	(133)	1205
<n>	公	(251)	1179
<ng>	安	(264)	200
<ñˣ>	伏	(222)[25]	2113
<p>	业	(295)	1661
<s>	仐	(244)	2798
<sh>	飞	(028)	1465
<t>	令	(247)	2175
<w>	赤	(070)	24
<y>	丙	(020)	1834
<z>	伞	(258)	139
<zh>[26]	戈	(330)	16
Total			26.421

TABLE XXI. THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRANCE OF THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING ONE CONSONANT

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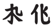
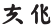
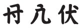
[23] Daruhan suggested: 夭 (010) may be the glyph 买 (011), very possible.

[24] In fact, č throughout.

[25] In the Latin alphabet a separate letter. I placed it here.

[26] <ž> is <zh> in CWJ

In some cases it is difficult to decide whether we have to do with simple consonants or one or even more different vowels have to be read after or before the initial consonant. In case of (162) I accepted the usage of CWJ and transcribed always <ci>. In the great majority of the cases it works well, but e.g. in case of **ci-ur$_2$**  (162-236), ‘two’, it is surely to read < čur>, see the variants **j-ur$_2$**  (104-236) and **jur** (134), (135). In the case of the name of the founder of the Liao dynasty **B-g-ñ**  (311-334-222) it is almost surely to be read as **Abo-g-iñ**, see EL.

In the case of glyphs transcribed by only one letter we find a few with dots, such are: <b> (311) 2035x and <dus> (310.10), 20x, <m> (133), 1205x, and <132> <132> 13x,<ñ> (222) and <221> (221), 6x, as we see the last two have yet no reading, and their occurrence is low. In some cases, the dot may be simply omitted, but its function is not clear.

In the next table I offer an oversight of the results dealt with above:

Type	Occurrence			Total
V	12483			12483
D	6651			6651
AC	7035	VC	27475	27475
EC	8368			
IC	1401			
OC	2679			
UC	7992			
CA	4277	CV	24500	24500
CE	3598			
CI	7633			
CO	1900			
CU	7092			
subtotal			**51975**	
CD	2240			
CVC	4026			
Polysyllables	1316			
C	26421			
subtotal	**34003**			**34003**
Total of glyphs transcribed in the corpus				**105112**

TABLE XXII. THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRANCE OF THE GLYPHS REPRESENTING EXISTING COMBINATIONS OF CONSONANTS, VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGES

As wee see the percentage of the polysyllables is around 1,29 %.

Two groups are not included in the above tables: the logoglyphs and the yet undeciphered glyphs.

8.8.11 The logoglyphs

As I mentioned above there exist a few glyphs the meaning of which is known, but we don’t know their tentative pronunciation. Many of the glyphs which were earlier included into this category have been deciphered in the last time, and we can now identify their pronunciation. In the following table I included only those which are yet not deciphered or their pronunciation is uncertain.

List number	Glyph	WJ 2010	Connection according to WJ	Cinggeltei 2002	Kane 2009	Aisin Goro 2012	Occurrence in the corpus
(002)		TWENTY		tɕyr	TWENTY		96
(052)		RECORD	=460		RECORD	tʃə	345
(052.1)		RECORD$_2$	=052				2
(063)		ETERNAL		un, unj= 121	= 121	ur	113
(142)		MANAGE			KNOW		229
(145)		FORTY		(tutʃʻ)	FORTY[27]		16
(155)		FIFTY		(tʻæp)	FIFTY		24
(170)		MR			baˀi	ba	79
(188)		SMALL		bɑ	zoˀ	odʒi	200
(192)		MRS			śï	ilim	28
(211)		THIRTY	>447	(γʊtʃʻ)	THIRTY		34
(211.1)		THIRTY^{O}					2
(211.2)		EIGHTY					3
(239)		Chinese mile, Li			baˀ	bai	86
(243)		HEAVEN		əʊ, ɑʊ	HEAVEN	au	304
(266)		SIXTY	>424	(tʃɑr)	SIXTY		21

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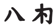
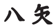
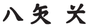
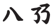
[27] See also Ji Shi 1996

(267)		SIXTY^{O}						1
(275)		LUCK$_2$	=277				deest	11
(276)		LUCK$_3$	=275				deest	1
(277)		LUCK	>380				deest	100
(278)		LUCK$_4$	=275				deest	0
(300)		SEVENTY	>301	(nɑj)	EIGHTY*			12
(301)		SEVENTY^{O}	<300				deest	3
(308)		COMPOSE	=405		COMPOSE	dʒohi		145
(316.1)		COMPOSE$_3$						4
(316.2)		COMPOSE$_2$						20
(317)		TEXT			TEXT	jo		66
(333)		QUEEN		(ru, lu)	qatuʔn			28
(380)		REGION^{x}	>371					3
(342)		WINE			WINE?			46
(371)		REGION	<370		REGION			78
(378)		DITTO			REPEAT	deest		58
Total								**2124**

TABLE XXIII. THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRANCE OF YET UNDECIPHERED LOGOGLYPHS

On the decades, see **12.3** NUMERALS. The two glyphs RECORD, and RECORD$_2$ are homoglyphs.

According to CWJ (239) has the meaning 'earth, ground', Chin *di* 地 C425, according to Kane (2009,63) it is a memnonic written as Chinese *ba* 八 'eight' and has the same meaning as Chinese *li* 里 'mile'. The genitive case is **239-en**  (239-140), 12x, the dative locative is **239-de**  (239-205), 14x, the ablative-prolative **239-de-i**  (239-205-339) 1x, the plural is **239-es**  (239-146), 1x. Shimunek 2017 has no suggestion. I think that the correct meaning may be that given by CWJ because of the forms of declination. Mongolic *gajar* 'earth, place' and the like can be excluded, because of the plural which points to a front vocalism.

On HEAVEN (243) HEAVEN see EL. The following four glyphs are of special interest: (308) COMPOSE, (316.1) COMPOSE$_3$, (316.2), COMPOSE$_2$, and (317) TEXT. CWJ considers (308), (316.1) and (316.2) as logoglyphs and quote them as COMPOSE, for (317) they give no reading. While the frame is a repeated element (see above p.314), the glyphs seem to be pictograms. a sheet of paper and lines or signs written on them. This may be one of the sources of the origin of the KSS. The logoglyph (333) QUEEN is *terken,* a loan from Turkic, most probable from Uygur not **qatun**, see EL. REGION (371) is a dotted variant of REGION (370) , where the dotless form is very rare.

8.8.12 The undeciphered glyphs

In the following I gathered into one table the yet undeciphered glyphs, in the right column I give those inscriptions in which a glyph occurs only once. If I could not find a glyph in the corpus at all, I signalize it by "no" in the right column

Undeciphered			Occurrence	Inscription
003		003	43	
009		009 n.i[28]	0	no
012		012	5	
013		013	3	
017.1		017.1	2	
022.2		2.2	1	Cha11
023		023	98	
024		024	33	
025		025	144	
031.1		031.1	5	
031.2		031.2 n.i.	1	Yong37
032		032	5	
035		035	27	
035.1		035.1	1	Wu6
035.2		035.2	2	
035.3		035.3 n.i	1	Hong2
039		039	5	
043.1		043.1	1	Qing24
044		044	1	Qing24
045		045	1	Xu43
046		046	3	
050		050	125	
054		054	8	
055		055	25	
056		056 n.i	1	Dao16
056.1		056.1[29]	1	Chao20[30]
058		058	85	

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[28] 009 is a composite from 001+127, does not exist as new glyph

[29] On CWJ 1718 unexpected "387", remained from the old list

[30] Earlier coded as 387

060		060, n.i	0	no
063.1		063.1	34	
065		065	6	
066.1		066.1	1	Xiang36
077		077[31]	77	
078		078	6	
079		079	33	
084.1		084.1, n.i	1	Tai7
094		094	18	
094.1		094.1n.i	21	
095		095	5	
096		096	11	
100.2		100.2 n.i.	6	
108		108, n.i	25	
110		110	21	
111		111	4	
116		116	6	
117		117	7	
121		121 n.i.	0	no
126		126 n.i.	0	no
129		129, n.i.	0	no
129.1		129.1	7	
132		132	13	
135.1		135.1	2	
136		136	6	
137.1		137.1 n.i.	1	Qing21
148		148	12	
156		156	21	
157		157, n.i.	26	
160.1		160.1 n.i.	1	Yu61
165.1		165.1 n.i.	11	
177.1		177.1	3	
178.2		178.2[32]	2	
179.1		179.1	1	Guang17
179.2		179.2	8	

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[31] A dotted (076) <or> ?

[32] CWJ p. 1921 No. 497 by error

181		181, n.i.	13	
182		182	11	
186.1		186.1 n.i.	1	Zhen16
194		194	29	
198.1		198.1	9	
199		199, n.i.	173	
200		200, n.i.	1	Zhong26
201		201	4	
203		203, n.i.	17	
209		209, n.i.	0	no
210.1		210.1	1	Guang8
210.2		210.2 n.i.	3	
213.1		n.i.	1	Tai16
215		**deest**=171	0	no
216		216	30	
216.1		216.1	2	Cha19,21[33]
219		219	15	
223		223	5	
224.1		224.1 n.i.	5	
227		227	215	
228		228	32	
230		230	28	
231		231	24	
232		232	77	
234		234	137	
239		239	86	
256		256	1	Hu14
256.1		256.1	2	
261.1		261.1	3	
264.1		264.1 n.i.	4	
267		267	1	Dao22
269		269	23	
271		271	25	
275.1		275.1	1	Yu67
276		276, n.i.	1	Gul15
277		277, n.i.	100	

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[33] In the same female name + -hu

278		278, n.i.	0	no
278.1		278.1	2	
279.1		279.1	1	Wu21
281		281. n.i.	0	no
284		284	37	
291		291	42	
292		292	13	
294.1		294.1	2	
294.2		294.1, n.i.	1	Wu51
296		296	9	
296.1		296.1, n.i.	2	
299		299	50	
305		305	26	
306		306	2	
307		307	110	
310.2		310.2, n.i.	1	Song13
310.3		310.3, n.i.	1	Tai24
318.1		318.1	4	
324.1		324.1 n.i.	2	
324.3		324.3	2	
325		325	5	
326		326	72	
336.2		336.2	4	
336.3		336.3	1	Yu34
337.2		337.2	1	Yu56
339.2		339.2	4	
343		343	20	
343.1		343.1	3	
350		350	53	
351		351 n.i.	1	Zhong42
355.1		355.1 n.i.	1	Tai16
359		359 n.i.	3	
370		370	3	
376		376	4	
377.1		377.1	1	Jue24
Total occurrence of 124 undeciphered glyphs			**2586**	

TABLE XXIV. THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRANCE OF YET UNDECIPHERED GLYPHS

In the corpus there are about 124 yet undeciphered glyphs. However I could not identify the following in the corpus, they actually do not exist, may be they were later replaced.

List number glyph			Occurrence	Source
009		009 n.i	0	no
060		060, n.i	0	no
121		121 n.i.	0	no
126		126 n.i.	0	no
129		129, n.i.	0	no
209		209, n.i.	0	no
215		**deest**=171	0	no
278		278, n.i.	0	no
281		281. n.i.	0	no

TABLE XXV. YET UNDECIPHERED GLYPHS, OCCURANCE OF FREQUENCY

009 is a composite from 001+127, does not exist as new glyph, 215 is a duplicate of 215, it is deleted from the list. The rest may have been ad hoc drawings or misread glyphs.

In the List of the yet undeciphered glyphs we find 32 glyphs which occur only once in the whole corpus. In the column at the right side I gave the Sigla of the respective inscriptions. If we now put aside all glyphs which do not occur in the corpus (10) and those which occur only once (32) there remain 91 glyphs.

Now we can group them according to their frequency in the corpus. There is only one undeciphered glyph which occurs 215 times. Six glyphs occur 100 times or more.

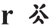
	Glyph	List number	Occurance
above 200		(227)	215
above 100		(050)	125
		(025)	144
		(199)	173
		(234)	137
		(277)	100
		(307)	110
			1004

TABLE XXVI. UNDECIPHERED GLYPHS WITH OCCURRENCY 100 OR ABOVE

The frequency of all the remaining 85 (92-7=85) undeciphered glyphs are occurring below hundred times each. Their accumulated frequency is 1555 which has to be distributed among the 85 undeciphered glyphs. If this were done evenly the average would be around 18. This is, of course, not the case. We have to remain at the fact that to the sum **105.112**, representing the occurrence of in one-or another-way deciphered glyphs, we have to add 2.586 occurrences of yet undeciphered glyphs. Perhaps we may risk stating that the corpus published in CJW consists in total of around 108.000 occurrences of glyphs.

8.8.13 Conclusions

In conclusion, we can assert that the Khitan Small Script (KSS) is a unique type of writing system. While attempts to break down the glyphs into smaller components were feasible, they did not reveal their underlying secrets. Some glyphs appear to be simple drawings, while others are more complex. From a graphemic perspective, most glyphs represent a single syllable, but they do not inherently indicate pronunciation, as their forms are arbitrary. However, the orthography can sometimes denote certain pronunciation features. The number of glyphs that might represent disyllabic units is relatively low. Currently, most glyphs have been assigned a reading value, identified with the aid of contemporary Chinese characters, as discussed in the chapter on Phonology. For a few glyphs, only their meanings are known.

In some instances, heteroglyphs do not necessarily denote different sounds. There are cases where heteroglyphs indicate different grammatical functions, such as the genitive suffix **an** (011) or the past tense marker **án** (290). Conversely, a single glyph might represent entirely different grammatical functions, such as the glyph **-er**  (341), which serves as a suffix for the masculine gender of ordinal numbers, the accusative-instrumental case of nouns, and the past tense of deverbal nouns. It is possible that a common origin for these functions will be discovered historically.

Finally, we must consider the origins of the Khitan Small Script. It is clear that KSS is an artificial system, reflecting an effort to create a non-Sinitic script in contrast to the Khitan Large Script. We might distinguish between the model on which it was based and the original elements used in its construction. The model may have been a misunderstood form of the Uigur script. For those analyzing the Uighur script, it contains elements of Semitic origin. The graph for /ö/ or /ü/ consists of an *alif*, a *waw* and a *yod*, the word <öd> 'time' can be analysed as *alif*+*waw*+*yod*+*dal*. But for a Khitan it may have been a monosyllabic sign for /*öd*/. This is why our paper (Róna-Tas—Bai 2023) includes a column with possible equivalents in Uigur-Mongolic script, using this form for technical reasons instead of contemporary Uigur.

Other possibilities, such as Sanskrit, Brahmi, and Tibetan scripts, can be excluded due to their different structures. The elements of the Khitan Small Script are Khitan inventions, but Chinese models played a significant role, as evidenced in several cases. Other potential influences, such as Bohai, cannot be excluded. Signs found on Bohai archaeological materials, like roof tiles, are of high importance (see Reckel 1995, Kim 2008, Ivliev 2014). The signs, listed by Reckel 1995, 555-567 need further investigation. Some of them are identical with or similar to Chinese characters among them Chinese numerals. As we know now, this does not mean that their meaning, and/or pronunciation is necessarily the same as their Chinese model. They may have been used as property signs, tamgas for identification of the master or tax-payer who payed with tiles, with or without the knowledge of their origin or original function..

During fieldwork in Mongolia, I observed cattle marked with tamgas resembling Tibetan letters. They were earlier used by monasteries in 1957-1958 long time destructed, and herdsmen used them without the knowledge of their original meaning. A more detailed study of Bohai signs could aid in identifying the origins of Khitan glyphs. However, until there is evidence of Bohai texts, we can cautiously suggest that the supposed Bohai script may have influenced the Khitan Small Script.

Some glyphs undoubtedly have internal Khitan origins, such as <s> 仐 (244) and <z> 伞 (258) <sh> 叉 (028) and <zh> 文 (330), which also hints to the knowledge on unvoiced and voiced character. As we will see in the Chapter on Numerals **12.3.10** inner creations are ‘four’ 乇 (166) < ‘one’ 乇 (026) + ˥, five’ 乏 (029), <sh> 叉 (028) + ‘ten’ 乇 (240) < ‘one’ 乇 (026) + ˆ.

In other cases the recurring elements show the process of creation of glyphs.

In summary, the glyphs, their forms, pronunciations, and functions are the result of a creative process by the Khitans, specifically members of the Liao dynasty's Chancellery. The script was modeled after the Uigur script, with some glyphs possibly following a Bohai-like pattern. Overall, it is a structured effort to create a script distinct from both Chinese and the Sinitic Khitan Large Script. It was used for at least 122 years, from its inception to the early years of the Jurchen Jin dynasty.

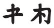
9. ORTHOGRAPHY

9.1 EMPHASIS

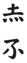
The system of the KSS used two types of stress or highlighting.

Glyphs may be written in somewhat larger form than in normal cases. In line 1 of the Gaoshi inscription **ia** 'elder brother' is larger than other glyphs. This occurs in most cases when the glyph is isolated, that is it occurs without any additional morpheme.

Glyphs may be written one under the other and not in boxes. For instance, in Gao line1 **ai-en** genitive case of the word 'ancestor' is written in one line, side by side,



while the expression **ong-on** 'the genitive case of the word Wang' is written one beneath the other

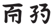
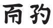
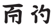


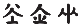
This type of "highlighting" occurs more frequently in other inscriptions where it usually marks a name or a name and a title.

9.2 ORTHOGRAPHICAL VARIANTS

The same word is sometimes written differently, even within the Gaoshi. I quote several types below; neither list is exhaustive. See the relevant entries in the Extended Lexicon.

9.2.1 Different writings due to the use of homoglyphs:

cau-ji  (022-152), 'soldier, warrior', 39x, L15,
cau-ji$_2$  (022-153), 2x,
cau-ji$_3$  (022-337), 3x.

d-em$_2$-l-*-  (254-257-261) 'to appoint, to give a higher rank, to ennoble etc.'
d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-li$_2$ (254-257-261-112-080), 3x,
d-em$_2$-l-ge-li$_2$ (254-257-261-349-080), 2x.

d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un (254-257-261-112-261-144), 1x,
d-em$_2$-l-ge-l-un (254-257-261-349-261-144), 1x,
d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-er (254-257-261-112-341), 10x,
d-em$_2$-l-ge-er (254-257-261-349-341), 11x.

t-em$_2$-l-ge-er (247-257-261-349-341), 12x,
t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-er (247-257-261-112-341), 2x.

t-em$_2$-l-ge-l-un (247-257-261-349-261-144), 14x,
t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un (247-257-261-112-261-144), 8x.

t-em$_2$-l-ge-én 令企屮岺当 (247-257-261-349-361), 8x[1],
t-em$_2$-l-ge-én$_2$ (247-257-261-349-100) 1x, **(**Yu5-68),
t-em$_2$-l-g$_2$-én (247-257-261-112-361), 1x (Jue35-33),
d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-én (254-257-261-112-361),1x (Zhen5-11),
d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-én$_2$ (254-257-261-112-100) 2x (Zhen40-14, 41-26),
d-em$_2$-l-ge-én (254-257-261-349-361), 5x (Xu2-10, 6-9, 7-13, 46-7, Liang17-1).

d-em$_2$-l-ge-er (254-257-261-349-341), 11x,
t-em$_2$-l-ge-er (247-257-261-349-341), 12x,

k-li$_2$-u-ji 叔北及羽 (283-080-131-152), ‘saying’ 15x,
k-li$_2$-û-ji 叔北穴羽 (283-080-372-152), 49x,
k-li$_2$-û-ji$_2$ 叔北穴犳 (283-080-372-153), 27x,
k-li$_2$-û-ji$_3$ 叔北穴礿 (283-080-372-337), 12x,

ñ-ô-or 伏仌圠 (222-252-076), ‘circuit. tribe, subtribe’, 16x,
ñ-ô-úr 伏仌交 (222-252-097), 21x,
ñ-ô-ur$_2$ 伏仌化 (222-252-236), 5x,
ñ-ó$_2$-úr 伏公交 (222-253-097), 2x,
ñ-o$_2$-ur$_2$ 伏仌化 (222-252-236), 5x,
ñ-o$_2$-or 伏公圠 (222-253-076), 2x,
ñ-ó-úr 伏廾交 (222-090-097),34x,
ñ-ó-ur$_2$, 伏廾化 (222-090-236), 1x.

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[1] Song4-20, 4-40, 10-7, Chao5-34, Xiang2-15, Jue4-37, 5-35, Cha1-19

9.2.2 Different writing with heteroglyphs

b-u-úr (311-131-097) ‘to be, what exist(ed) and exists’, past tense, 8x, Chin shi 是 .
b-û-úr (311-372-097) ‘permanent, what existed and exists’ past tense, 7x
b-u-ur (311-131-236), 1x
p-u-úr (295-131-097), 1x

k-li$_2$-u-ji (283-080-131-152) ‘call’, Chin *wei* 谓 C455, 19x
k-li$_2$-u-ji$_3$ (283-080-131-337), 1x
k-li$_2$-u-ji-u (283-080-131-152-131), ‘call’, Chin *wei* 谓 C455, 1x
k-li$_2$-û-ji (283-080-372-152), ‘call’, Chin *wei* 谓 C455, 49x
k-li$_2$-û-ji$_2$ (283-080-372-153), ‘call’, Chin *wei* 谓 C455, 27x
k-li$_2$-û-ji$_3$ (283-080-372-337), ‘call’, Chin *wei* 谓 C455, 12x

n-ad-bud (251-099-176), also **n-ad-bod** (251-099-309), 25x, **n-ad-(a)bu-ad** (251-099-196-099), 2x, ‘(royal, imperial) camp, settlement, travelling palace, *“nabo”*’, Chin *zongshi* 宗室 ‘royal clan, ancestral shrine of a large clan’, ChinT *nabo* 捺钵 C 444,
n-ad-bod-ô (251-099-309-252), 1x, dative-locative (**bod-dô>bod-ô)**, 1x

9.2.3 Different writings due to different orthography:

Au-ñ-ó-ñ (161-222-090-222) ‘tribal confederation of the Ao (yan) (Turks) L21
Au-ñ-ó-ón (161-222-090-186-322) (Zhong3-12, Xu24-32),

u-ul-ge$_2$-ñ (131-366-112-222)1x[2]
u-ul-ge$_2$-én (131-366-112-361) (Qing 11/15)

D-i-ng (254-339-264) L7 ‘a name’, ChT *ding* 定,
D-i-ing (254-339-303) in Xian5-31

dai (017) ‘great, transcription of Chinese’, L6,
da$_3$-ai (214-122) ‘great, transcription of Chinese’, L15.

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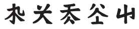
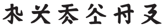
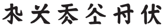
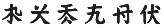
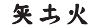
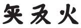
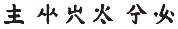
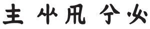
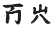
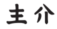
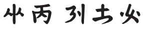
[2] Qing12-31

c-i-iši-d-bun (162-339-033-254-288), 15 times,
c-i-iši-d-b-un  (162-339-033-254-311-144), 10 times,
c-i-iši-d-b-ñ  (162-339-033-254-311-222), 48 times,
c-i-iši-d$_3$-b-ñ  (162-339-033-089-311-222), once (Yu22-23).

Ming-eu-ud  (207-067-344), 1x, L21,
Ming-u-ud  (207-131-344), 1x.

Hong l-iú-ung pu-un  (075 261-289-345 242-273) ‘name of official residence of Hong-long, genitive’, Chin *huang long fu zhi* 黄龙府之 C383,
Hong l-iúng pu-un  **(**075 262-181 242-273)

y-iú  **(**020-289) ‘not exist’ 1x,
iu (019), 53x (homoglyphs not separated).

heu ← Chin *hou* 后, YCh *xəw*, LMCh *xɦəw*,
in: **hong-heu**  (075-250), ‘empress’, Chin *huanghou* 皇后,
hu-eu ← Chin *hou* 后 YCh *xəw*, LMCh *xɦəw*,
in **l-iu hu-eu-un**  (261-019 151-67-273) ‘title, genitive’, Chin *liu hou zhi* 留后之 C449, Hucker 3790.

9.2.4 Different writing of the vowel of the last syllable:

dele-ha-án (294-051-290), 1x,
dele-ha-a-án (294-051-189-290) 3x,

dai-l$_2$-ha-ar (017-149-051-123) (Di12-29),
dai-l$_2$-ha-a-ar (017-149-051-189-123) (Yu24-22),

jau-l-ha-a-ar (015-261-051-189-123) 1x (Yu64-27),
jau-ul-ha-ar (015-366-051-123) 10x,

o-l$_2$-ha-án (186-149-051-290), 1x,
o-l$_2$-ha-a-án (186-149-051-189-290) 6x,

t-abu-al-ha-al (247-196-098-051-098), 1x,
t-abu-al-ha-a-al (247-196-098-051-189-098), 2x,

t-abu-al-ha-ai (247-196-098-051-122), 2x,
t-abu-al-ha-a-ai (247-196-098-051-189-122), 1x

t-abu-al-ha-án (247-196-098-051-290), 1x
t-abu-al-ha-a-án (247-196-098-051-189-290), 1x

9.2.5 Use of abbreviated forms:

b-qo b-qo 丹力 丹力 (311-168 311-168) instead of **b-qo-i b-qo** ’grandchild’ L10, L12

9.2.6 Different writing because of the problems of the KSS reflecting the original (see 10. PHONOLOGY below).

unvoiced~voiced
cu-n 节公 (102-251) ‘summer’, L21 17x
ju-un 马火 (147-273) L21(same line both) , L23, L24, L25, 19x

c-ur$_2$ in **c-ur**$_2$**-én** 尗化当 (162-236-361)‘second, feminine’.L4, L13, L16, 5x,
c-ur$_2$**-er** 尗化公 (162-236-341) ‘second, masculine’ 75x
jur 圣 (134) ‘two, double’, L9, L12, L13, L22, L23, L25, 196x, **jur-én** 圣 (134-361) 1x

dele 小 (294) ‘south’, L20 homoglyphs, 70x
t-le 令为 (247-093), L18, L20, L24, 32x

d-ia 仝才 (254-335) ‘enemy??’ L17, 7x
t-ia 令才 (247-335) L22, 22x

d-iu-ir 仝丙刃254-019-137). L25, 17x,
t-iu-ir 令丙刃 (247-019-137), 83x

Uh-ul d-il-t 夂平 仝用令 (172-366 254-302-247-140) 1x
Uh-ul t-il-t 夂平 令用令 (172-366 254-302-247) L20,L21, 4x

9.2.7 Orthographic variants of the word for *ordu*

The word for ‘ordu’ is occurring twice in the Gao shi inscription: **o-odu-u-un** **及米灸火** ‘palace, genitive’, L15 and **o-odu-u-ur$_2$-en cau-ji hu₂-ú nai-d** **及米灸化冇 而犳 亜伞 穴公** (186-355-131-140 022-152 014-245 332-251) ‘the heads of the armies of the ordos’, L15. This word has a special orthography in the KSS. The word for ordu is written in KSS by a logoglyph **米** (355) and read by CWJ as <udu>with a loss of /r/ before an occlusive. This has to be corrected. The correct reading is **odu.**

There are cases where the logoglyph **米** (355) is used in a reign title. As we will see in **18.4.1** there is a Khitan reign title for Chinese *zhong xi* 重熙 (1032-1054) of which the Khitan equivalent is HEAVEN **ó-dû-l-ha-a-ar** **关 廾分氺圡为丰** (243 090-249-261-051-189-123) This is also written with the logoglyph for ordu: HEAVEN **odu-l-ha-a-ar** **关 米氺圡为丰** (243 355-261-051-189-123).

It is also used in the reign title *da an* 大安,

GREAT odu-ó-o-ón **又 米廾及肉** (373 355-090-186-322), (Hu16-4), also **GREAT ú-dû-ó-o-ón** **又 伞分廾及肉** (373 245-249-090-186-322), 14x, **GREAT ú-dû-o-ón** **又 伞分及肉** (373 245-249-186-322), (Nan7), Chin *da an* 大安 ‘great peace’ (1085-1095)’ in:

<GREAT odu-ó-o-ón nem har-iú p-o-o ai> ‘It was in the eigth black monkey year of the Great Peace’ (Nan26-25, 41-2), see also (Yong33-17, Di13-21, Qing18-1, 30-38),

and with the same meaning:

udu-ó-o-or **米廾及北** (355-090-186-076) in:

<HEAVEN udu-ó-o-or> (Di12-24),
<par jur udu-ó-o-or> (Di17-40),
<HEAVEN udu-ó-o-or hong di-in po-do> (Hu6-21),
<HEAVEN udu-ó-o-or dau-úr-un₂ ku-su û-úr> (Hu7-19),

From this we can conclude that the actual pronunciation of the logoglyph **米** (355) had to be **odu** or the like.

In one or the other way this is confirmed by further orthographic variants. We have cases where an <o> is written before **米** (355) and <u> after it to ensure its pronunciation:

o-odu-u **及米灸** (186-355-131), 2x, further in declined forms: **o-odu-u-dú** (186-355-131-179) 2x, **o-odu-u-úr-en** (186-355-131-236-140) 4x, **o-odu-u-un** (186-355-131-273), **o-odu-u-û-úr** (186-355—245-236), 1x.

The glyph occurs also with only a postponed -u: **odu-u** **米灸** (355-131) three times, and in declined forms in 8 more cases.

Interestingly enough there occur also cases with postponed -o:

odu-ó **米廾** (355-090), 2x and in declined forms 1x. These occur in the following inscriptions: Di10-21, 20-18, (1101), Pu11-32 (1105), Jue 14-25 (1071).

Di and Pu were composed by the same author (Ci-en To-on N-u), the place where the name of the author of Jue is written is badly legible, but taking in account the date it is not probable that this author is the same.

Based on the above we can reconstruct the history of the pronunciation of the word for ordu as Uigur *ordu* → Khitan *ordu >odu~odo.*

The plural is with -Ur

odu-ó-ur$_2$ **米廾化** (355-090-236) Di20-18**,** **odu-ú-ú**r **米伞交** (355-245-236), Yu15-10[3], 15-30, **odu-u-ur$_2$** **米叐化** (355-131-236), Guang12-24[4], Nan21-21[5], DiX10-9[6], the genitive case is **o-odu-u-ur-en** **及米叐有** (186-355-131-236-140), Xu25-20[7], Zhen5-4[8], 41-18[9], 42-18[10], Gao15-17, **odu-ú-úr-en** **米伞交有** (355-245-236-140) Zhi12-4 [11]The accusative-instrumental case of the plural is **odu-u-ur$_2$-er** **米叐化公**(355-131-236-341) Ling4-17[12]

9.2.8 Different Khitan glyphs transcribe the same Chinese word

p-u-u sh-iú sï **业叐叐 叉炏 廿** (295-131-131 028-289 083) ‘office of the (tribal) administrator’, Chin *bu shu si* 部署司 C460, (Nu13).

p-û sh-iú sï deu-úr MANAGE-i **业穴 叉炏 廿 为交 层关** (295-372 028-289 083 101-097 142-339) ‘a title, genitive’, Chin *bu shu si yu (tong) zhi* 部署司于(同)知 C462, (Song8) hybrid, the first part is Chin *bu shu si*, the second is Khitan **deu-úr MANAGE-i**, Chin *bu* 部 ‘tribe’, YCh *pu,* LMCh *pɦuǝ̆t* → Khitan **p-u-u** **业叐叐**, **p-û** **业穴**.

xu-u b-u **玭叐 舟叐** (036-131 311-131) **‘**Ministry of Revenue**’**, 4x.

xu-û-b-û **玭穴舟穴** (036-372 311-372) **‘**Ministry of Revenue**’**, 2x, Chin *hubu* 戶 部 (CWJ, K39), L7, L22, Hucker No. 2789, Chinese *hu* 戶 YCh *xu,* LMCh *xɦuǝˇ* → Khitan **xu-u** **玭叐**, **xu-û** **玭**.

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[3] *udu-ú-ur hu$_2$-ú p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$*

[4] *qita-s udu-u-ur hu$_2$-ú p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$*

[5] *ci-iau-qú-su udu-u-ur hu$_2$-ú-un 378.1-378.1 o-oi$_2$*

[6] *udu-u-ur hu$_2$-ú om-ur g-iu-ung-un tu-ung g-ün shï s-iang-en i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y*

[7] *o-udu-u-ur-en cau-ji hu2-u* **及米叐化有 丙犳 亚伞** (186-355-131-236-140 022-152 014-245） ‘commander of palaces’, Chin *gong zhi jun tong* 宫之军 C414 统 (Xu25-20).

[8] *eme t-ad-i aú-ui o-udu-u-ur-en chi-i sh-ui° g-iú-ün tai pu-is-ñ tau-su-ó-ui d-em2-l-ge2-én*

[9] *o-udu-u-ur-en sh-e$_3$-n chi-ai-i z-ie fu-û-un b-qo*

[10] *xu-û b-û l-i z-ie pu-is-ñ udu-ú-ur-en pu l-iu tai sh-i-de û-ul-ge2-l-ñ -un ca-ang sh-iú o-udu-u-ur-en 160 g-in d-y z-in-en b-qo y-ie-ên-94-de û-ul-ge-é*

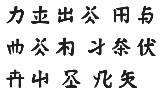
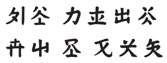
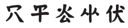
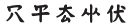
[11] *ci-ur-én/ l-i z-ie pu-shi-ñ udu-ú-ur-en pu l-iu tai sh-i-de û-ul-ge2-l-ñ*

[12] *ku-su û-úr ji-én udu-u-ur-er ci-su-i a-ai*

9.2.9 Different orthography in parallel texts

In the corpus there are a handful of parallel texts. in which the same events are related with mostly the same words, but different orthography . One of these cases is the story of five daughters in Yu7 (AD1072) and Zhi11 (AD1094).

Yu7 AD 1072		Zhi 11 AD 1094	
eme-t	丏令	*ñ-iau-ñ-er*	伏号伏公
h-ing h-e$_2$	乂同 乂夯	*h-ing g-e$_2$*	乂同 九夯
t-023-ia-ar te-li$_2$-ñ	令丙才左 令丙才左	*te-li$_2$-ñ*	口北伏
go-er-en k qa n-u	曲公冇 叔 尘 公叒	*go-er-en na-ha-aju* *k qa-an n-u*	曲公冇 力圭艾 叔 尘来 公叒
tai shï-de	丞 兆矢	*tai sh-i-de*	丞 叉关矢
û-ul-ge-én	只平岑当	*û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ*	只平杏屮伏
L-i s-ie	屮关 仐文	*L-i z-ie*	屮关 伞文
tai shï-de	丞 兆矢	*tai sh-i-de*	丞 叉关矢
hur-én	灸当	*hu-ur-én*	列化当
Du-ung$_2$ h-e$_2$	仃太 乂夯	*du-ung g-e$_2$*	仃火 九夯
t-023-ia-ar te-li$_2$-ñ	令丙才左 口北伏	*te-li$_2$-ñ*	口北伏
t-ing h-ong n-u	令同 乂杰 公叒	*d-ing g-ong n-u*	仝同 九杰 公叒
di-shi-g-de	王秃九矢	*di-shi-g-de*	王秃九矢
û-ul-ge$_2$-én	只平杏当	*û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ*	只平杏屮伏
t-ur-én	令化当	*d-ur-én*	仝化当
Ñ-mú-qó-ñ	伏行欠伏	*Ñ-mú-qu-ñ*	伏行余伏
p-üe-z-iú	业芡伞火	*b-üe-z-iú*	舟芡伞火
SMALL-qó aju-en	州欠 艾冇	*na-ha-án-er* *SMALL-qó aju-en*	力圭出公 州欠 艾冇
Sh-l-û-ñ	叉屮只伏	*Sh-il-û-uni*	叉用只杏
ju-ur-e$_2$ ja-ri-qó-do	马刹夯 孙化欠朱	*ju-ur-e$_2$ ja-ri-qu-on*	马刹夯 孙化余不
û-ul-ge$_2$-én	只平杏当	*û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ*	只平杏屮伏
deest		*y-ie-ên g-ui ong-on* *305-a na-ha-ai* *YOUNG-qú* *eu-úr-de b-il-234* *p-o-ri$_5$ t-qó-a-er* *ci-i-shi-d-b-ñ /13/* *ku-û-ul-ge$_2$-y y-ie*	丏文寿 九火 /杰不 肉为 力圭丰 兮丈 土农矢 舟用仍 业及仝 令欠为公 朩关秃公舟伏 /13/几只平杏丏 丏文
y-ang s-ie	丏气 仐文	*y-ang z-ie*	丏气 伞文

na-ha-án-er il-én$_4$ go-er-en ia-277-ñ tir-bun tai shï-de		*bot-d na-ha-án-er tir-bun tai sh-i-de*	
û-ul-ge-l-ñ		*û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ*	

See also the examples of different orthographies of the same suffix in GRAMMAR.

9.2.10 Orthography as source of phonology

We can observe from the material above, the same Khitan word or morpheme can be represented in various ways. These variations are not due to different phonetic backgrounds but rather reflect inconsistencies in the Khitan Small Script (KSS) orthography. However, these orthographic variants can help us reduce the number of phonetic units associated with them. Several general features can be noted:

1. The Höhhot transcription employs Latin letters to denote consonants, typically using the same letters for both voiced and unvoiced forms, such as d- and t-, b- and p-, g- and k-, j- and c-. In all instances, these are interchangeable; for example, b- alternates with p- and vice versa in the transcription of the same word. This does not imply that Khitan had only one phoneme for each pair. This characteristic may be attributed to the fact that KSS was initially designed for transcribing Chinese or was based in this respect on a Chinese model. When applied to Khitan, it became apparent that Khitan phonological oppositions differ from those in Chinese. This feature cannot be attributed to a supposed Uigur model, as in the late Uigur script, t- and d- are not interchangeable in initial positions, where their use depends on their position. The few instances where d- appears initially in Uigur script are typically words of foreign origin, such as ‘dakini’ from Sanskrit *ḍākinī* (‘female angel’) and ‘*dvip*’ (‘continent’) from Tocharian *dvip*, which in turn derives from Sanskrit *dvīpa* (see Wilkens). For more on the phonological background, refer to Chapter 10. PHONOLOGY.

2. Homoglyphs consistently denote the same sound, and in many cases, it can also be demonstrated that heteroglyphs represent the same sound.

3. It is possible that different homoglyphs were used by different scribes, but better photographic evidence would be necessary to substantiate this.

4. For representing vowels, the Höhhot transcription uses the letters a, e, i, ï, o, u, and ü. The letter < ï> is used exclusively for specific Chinese syllables, and ü is only used for <üe> and <ün>.

10. PHONOLOGY

10.1 GENERAL REMARKS

We have no and will never have phonetic records of the spoken or even of the loudly read Khitan language. Therefore our investigation will be based on two existing source materials, the KSS glyphs as they are used to render Khitan and Chinese, and the reconstructed contemporary pronunciation of Chinese as it tries to transcribe Khitan.

What we know at present of the sound inventory of Khitan is very limited, and suffers from problems usually connected with sources other than oral or instrumental recording. What we can do is to reconstruct the phonological system of Khitan with a lot of caveats. One of these caveats is that the Khitan Small Script was not a phonological script, and we have—as Janhunen (2012) pointed out—to try to understand what may have been behind the script. It would be a methodological failure to suppose that the transcription of a glyph is representing a phonological unit, or units. On the other hand the use of the glyphs may reflect a system and this is what we can reconstruct.

Before I offer a description of the phonological system of Khitan, we have to deal with the periodization, and then visit the sources used for the reconstruction and shortly recall debates on Mongolic and Khitan phonology.

10.2 PERIODIZATION AND TIME INTERVAL

In his monograph Shimunek (2017, 197) gives the following periodization:

Old Khitan is the language spoken until the foundation of the Liao Empire (cca 386–907 AD)

Middle Khitan (cca 920–cca 11th century A D)

Late Khitan (cca 11th century –cca 13th century A D).

Old Khitan is mirrored by Early and Late Middle Chinese sources, further by Old Turkic and Old Tibetan written sources. The Middle Khitan period is based by Shimunek on the assumption, that the two Khitan scripts, the KSS and the KLS were created in 920 and 925 respectively and based on the then spoken Khitan language. This would represent the Middle Khitan variety. Late Khitan would be the language spoken in the Liao Empire as it is attested in Early Old Mandarin transcriptions from the Song envoys sent to the Khitan Empire in such sources as *Chi-dan guo-ji Yen Bei-lu* and *Yen Bei Za-ji* and as they are transcribed by the *Liaoshi* of the Yuan period.

I agree with the separation of Old Khitan with the remark, that what is supposed by Shimunek to be Old Tibetan as a source of reconstruction is in fact Uigur in Old Tibetan transcription. We have very few Tibetan data on the ethnonym Khitan, on which see Appendix **18.6.** The basis of the reconstruction of a few names and titles said to be Khitan in different early Chinese sources is very shaky. The meaning of the names, and thus their identification is always problematic. A Khitan person may have had a non Khitan name, which is the case in Liao times. The titles are used by different ethnic groups speaking different langauges. Thus that the Old Khitans used the title *khagan* is not helping us in the reconstruction of their language. Nevertheless it is one of the merits of Shimunek, that he collected the material, and tried to interpret it, and any further work will make use of it. It is another question, should we reconstruct an Old Khitan phase between the Proto Mongolic and Khitan. Such a variety surely existed and may be the object of linguistic reconstruction.

More problematical is the separation of Middle and Late Khitan. I think at present we are not in the position to separate Middle Khitan and what Shimunek calls Late Khitan. He himself concedes:

"Presumably all or most Literary Kitan data represents, or is heavily based on Early Middle Kitan (ie Early Imperial Kitan), including texts dating much later than the 11th century, when the spoken language seems to begun diverging Literary Kitan data is attested in epitaphs and other texts in the two Kitan Scripts" (Shimunek 2017, 197).

All materials which we can work with come from the time of the Liao and the first years of the Jin dyansty. The earliest dated inscription written in KSS is Li from 1051 and the last dated inscription is *Xian* from 1175. It is true that some of the Chinese sources, as those from the times of the Song dynasty and the basic source on Khitan, the *Liaoshi,* are in their *final form* from the Yuan times. To them I will come back. But the material which, sometimes in a garbled form, they reflect is or is intended to represent the language of the times of the Liao dynasty. Of course Khitans existed later within the Empire of the Golden Dynasty of the Jurchens. In the first period of their rule, they even used or tolerated the Khitan language, and script. In the Kara Khitan Empire Khitan was spoken. In the time of the Chinggisid Mongols Khitan persons are mentioned. But their languge has not been identified, and only by chance may we have a glimpse on their language

Consequently I will separate only Old Khitan and Khitan. In the present analysis of the phonology of Khitan I exclude Old Khitan, and will concentrate only on the language of the Khitans during the time of the Liao and early Jin dynasty. To Old Khitan I will come back in the subchapter **17.2.**

10.3 WRITTEN SOURCES IN NON KHITAN SCRIPTS

10.3.1 Sources in Chinese script. General considerations

The Chinese sources transcribe a Khitan word or a Khitan expression with the help of Chinese characters. In such cases we have to reconstruct the contemporary pronunciation of the given Chinese character. Sinology has its utensils and its methods with which I am not dealing here. My analysis is based on the works of Pulleyblank, mainly on his *Lexicon* (Pulleyblank 1991), but occasionally I refer also to the works of Baxter–Sagart (Version 11 (20 September 2014), Schuessler (2007), W. South Coblin (1994, 2007) and Shen (2007).

For reconstructing Khitan two phases of the development of Chinese may be relevant for our study: *Late Midlle Chinese* (LMCh) and *Old Mandarin* (EOM) or Yuan Chinese. Late Middle Chinese begun around the tenth century, and was reconstructed among others based on the *Yunjing* 韻鏡 rime table. More problematic is the period which follows it. I join those who call Early Old Mandarin the Chinese from the times of the Liao, Song and Jin dynasties, and *Late Old Mandarin* the Chinese of the Yuan dynasty. Late Old Mandarin was reconstructed mainly based on the *Zhongyuan yinyun* 中原 音韻 a traditional rhyme dictionary of the Chinese finished in 1324, and the *Ziyun* 蒙古 字韻, the rhyme dictionary in the Mongolian Phagspa script finished in 1292. As already Shen (2007, 2020) and Kane (2009) stressed, Chinese of the Liao times shows many features which were earlier fixed only for Yuan Chinese, that is Late Old Mandarin. We have, however evoid to base the reconstruction of Early Old Mandarin on Khitan and then reconstruct it with the only help of the contemporary Chinese. I will try to demonstrate the evolving problems with help of the following examples:

(1) The Khitan word for ’rabbit, hare’ is transcribed in the Liaoshi as *taoli* 陶里, Middle Chinese and Early Old Madarin *thaw li,* while the same word is in Khitan Small Script **tau-li-a 戋灰为** (029-206-189). The Khitan word for ‘five’ is transcribed by the Liaoshi by the same character *tao* 陶 and by the Khitan glyph **tau 戋** (029) ‘five’, also **tau° (**030**)** This example does not help us in identifying the given period of Chinese.

(2) The Khitan word for ‘dog’ is transcribed in the Liaoshi as *niehe* 捏褐 which was in Late Middle Chinese *niat xĥat*, both syllables had a final -*t.* The pronunciation of the same syllables changed in Early Old Mandarin to *njɛxɔ.* KSS transcribed the word as **ñ-qo 伏为** (222-168). In this case Khitan reflects the Early Mandarin pronunciation and may be reconstructed as */ɲɛk'ɔ/.* The initial consonant is a palatalized /n/, the following vowel is a palatalized /a/ that is /ä/, the following consonant is an aspirated guttural stop and the final vowel is an open-mid-back labial vowel, structurally an /o/.

(3) The Khitan word for ‘head’ is transcribed as *nai* 耐 which is in both Late Middle Chinese and Early Old Mandarin *naj,* in KSS we have a logoglyph **nai** (332) ‘head, leader, first, commander’, Chin *guan* 官. In this case the Khitan reading is based on the Chinese pronunciation of the character *nai* 耐, which had the same pronunciation in MCh and Early Old Mandarin, Khitan does not help in reconstructing Chinese, but Chinese reflects a Khitan form with an initial /n/, and a diphthong /ai̭/ which within the Khitan system may represent a disyllable /ayi/.

(4) The word for ‘day’ is in the Liaoshi *nieyier* 捏咿兒, LMCh *niat yi er,* EOM *njɛ yi-er.* The KSS uses a logoglyph **när** ‘day’ (159), Chin *ri* 日. The vowel has to be back vocalic, because we find a word **när-ha-ar-i** (159-051-123-339) (Gu19-12), where the word is followed by back vocalic suffixes. Early Mandarin *ɛ* is diachronically arisen through fronting of the vowel /a/ [lower-mid-front] (Pulleyblank, 1991, 5) and the same has happened with the /a/ of Proto Mongolic /a/ of *nara* ’sun’. This means that <ä> is low, its front feature is secondary and from the point of view of the phonological structure it pertains to the low or back series of vowels and is in opposition to mid-front <e>.

(5) The name of the owner of our inscription[1] is given in the Chinese sources as *Gaoshi* 高十. The pronunciation of the first syllable was both in LMCh and in Early Old Mandarin *kaw*, however the pronunciation of the second character 十 *shi* ‘ten’ was in LMCh *ʂɦip* and in EOM *ʂi.* The name is written in KSS as **G-au sh-ib** (334-161 028-127), that is with a final <b> reflecting LMCh final *-p* which disappeared in Old Mandarin see also **sh-ie-b g-ung** (028-327-311 334-345**)** ‘the ten palaces’, Chin *shi gong* 十宫, C367. Here Khitan is reflecting Late Middle Chinese or this Early Old Mandarin has in this case preserved a LMCh feature.

(6) The name of the ruling clan of the Khitan *Yarud* is given by the Liaoshi as *yelü* 耶律. The first syllable is in LMCh *jia*, in Old Mandarin *jɛ*, the second in LMCh *lyt* and in Old Mandarin *ly*, which means that the Khitan clan name *Yarud* is rendered as <yalut> wich reflects a Late Middle Chinese form.

(7) The title Chin *jing lüe* 经略 (see Hucker No 1231) is transcribed by KSS as **g-ing l-iau-u** (334-303 261-362-131) where the first syllable *jing*经 =經 is YCh *kiŋ*, LMCh *kjiajŋ* and the second syllable in LMCh is *liak*, while YCh *ljɛw* or *ljɔ*, that means that here Khitan transcribed Yuan Chinese, Old Mandarin. while the final long vowel may point to the Chinese *ru sheng* tone.

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[1] The details see **2.3**

(8) The title *guan cha shi* 观察使, (see Hucker, No 3269) is transcribed by KSS as **go-n ca shï** 岀公 甬 兆 (319-251 375 180)where Chinese *cha* is in LMCh *ʈʂʰa:t* and in YCh *ʈʂha*, that is, KSS transcribed Yuan Chinese, Old Mandarin.

What we see here from the point of view of the Chinese periodization is, that the changes between Late Middle Chinese and Old Mandarin are occurring in the time of Liao, sometimes LMCh sometimes already OM is reflected by the material. *Names are mostly preserving Late Middle Chinese, while titles reflect in most cases Old Mandarin.* What can be behind this feature?

A detailed study is, and will be the task of Sinology and surely will be based on the works of Kane and Shen with the corrections of the last results of Khitan studies.

10.3.2 Chinese written sources

We have Chinese sources in which Khitan words occur. The originals of these sources are written in the 11st and 12th centuries, but in most cases they are available in later copies, and/or re-editions.

A special subgroup of these sources are the so called macaronic poems, Chinese poems with embedded Khitan words, written with Chinese characters. They have been dealt with by Shiratori Kurakichi 1912, Matsuo Otagi, 1961, Alexander Vovin 2003, András Róna-Tas 2004, 27-29, Herbert Franke, 1976, Isaac Yue 2019 and others. The material offered by these poems has yet not been properly evaluated because the Khitan words occurring in them wait for decipherment. The following Chinese sources contain Khitan words:

Yu Jing 余靖 (1000–1064) visited the Liao court three times, (1043, 1044 and 1045). His record includes eight Khitan words in one of the above mentioned macaronic poem.

Shen Kua or *Kuo* 沈括 (1031–1094) ambassador of the Song dynasty, visited the Liao court. In his *Menqi bitan*, (夢溪筆談) "Brush discussions of the Dream Creek" there is a Chinese poem preserved with another eight Khitan words inserted, written by Diao Yue (died in 1082 or 1083).

Hong Mai 洪邁, (1123-1202), visited the *Jin* court. He was reported by a certain Wang Bu that a Khitan child in the process of learning Chinese would first be taught the vernacular rearranged to mirror the Khitan sentence structure. This is the earliest record of Khitan syntactic features [2]

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[2] A Chinese sentence: *Birds sleep pond-in tree/Monk knocks moonlight-under gate* (SVO language) Khitan syntax: *Moon-in monk door knocks/Water-in tree-on crows sit* Attribute-subject-object – predicative (SOV language) (see WF 244),see chapter 16.

Qidan Guo zhi 契丹国志 'Records of the Khitan Empire' compiled by*Ye Longli* 葉隆禮 (1267-1274).

Liaoshi 遼史 based on contemporary or quasi contemporary records, compiled by a group of historians under the leadership of *Toqtoa,* was finished in 1344. First printed edition was published in 100 copies in 1345. According to WF (see pages 612-614) until 1934 there existed more than 34 re-editions. As it can be seen, the work was finished after 233 years elapsed since the Jurchens defeated the Liao dynasty. It sometimes used the contemporary records from the Liao period and sometimes changed them by forms and terms used by the later times. This makes the use of Liaoshi for philological purposes very difficult. We are in great need of a new, critical edition of this important work

10.3.3 Turkic, Tibetan, Arabic and other written sources

Old Turkic sources written in Runiform, Uigur and Brahmi script preserved among others the ethnic name Khitan as did Old Tibetan. The ethnonym is occurring in all scripts current in the times since the Liao Empire was founded. I will deal with the history of the ethnonym Khitan in Appendix **18.6**. These data are of importance for the changes in the bakckground of the ethnonym, but do not help us much in the reconstruction of the language of the Khitans

As it is known the work *Dīvān lugāt-at-Turk* of Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī was written in Arabic and finished in 1077. The extant copy is from 1266 and has a lot of insertions and corrections, or miscorrections by later hands (see the edition of Dankoff and Kelly 1982). I will deal with it in the Appendix **18.6.1.11** in connection with the name of the Khitans. There is one aspect of the problems around the ethnonym which may pertain to this chapter. It may give a hint to the chronology of the "breaking", the assimilation of the first syllable to the second in Khitan.

10.4 LOANWORDS FROM KHITAN

Words from the then prestigeous Khitan langububuge were borrowed even by Chinese. These have to be separated from the cases, where Chinese only transcribed the Khitan word. It is very difficult to distinguish between a foreign word, used so that the speakers have an idea that the word is of non-Chinese origin, and a loanword in case of which the speakers consider the word as part of their own language. The title *shari* or the name of the palace *ordu* (see the Extended Lexicon) may have pertain to this group.

More material is present in the Tunguzic languages. There are important researches carried out and published by Ligeti, Cincius, Doerfer, Rozycki and others on the Mongolic loanwords in all or some Manchu-Tunguzian langauges. Some of these will turn out to be of Khitan origin. Such a case may be ProtoManchuTunguz *ñeke* 'duck'. It was compared by Rozycki (1994, 164) with Mongolian *nuġusun,* but he correctly remarked that the comparison is phonologically problematic. Cincius (1975, 590-591) has seen the problem and cited LMo *nigusun~nugusun,* but *nigusun* does not exist. The Manchu-Tunguzic data have been collected by Cincius, the Mongolic data by Nugteren (2011, 463). The preserved palatalized initial nasal and the front vocality points to Khitan, who lead great hunting exercises. There exist a handful of other cases, which which I will deal with later.

A special case is the group of loan element in Jurchen and Manchu, as it can be seen in the Manchu equivalent of the Khitan word for 'six', **ñol 欠** (085) see Appendix **12.3**.

10.5 CHINESE, TURKIC AND OTHER LOANWORDS IN KHITAN

The Khitan texts at our disposal are full with Chinese words, partly Chinese loanwords and partly Chinese terms, which are more or less adapted to the Khitan linguistic system. The transcription of Chinese words by KSS is a very special case. The decipherment of Khitan is based on the Khitan transcription of contemporary Chinese, so the system, as we shall see, has its special limits. Therefore I will treat the problems together with the structure of the Khitan sound system.

Khitan had loanwords also from other langauges. Important are the borrowings from Turkic. As far as I see at present, two layers can be separated. Khitan had loanwords from an early Turkic language, which was identical with or near to the Oguric language, from which only Chuvash is alive, and from which Hungarian as well as Mongolic borrowed a great amount of loanwords. I will come back to this question in the subchapter **17.3** where I will deal with the relationship of Khitan and Mongolic. To another layer pertain the Old Turkic, more precisely Uigur words, which come from the language of a group of Uigurs who lived in a marriage system with the Khitan. It is difficult, but in some cases it may be posible to distinguish them from such Turkic words, which were spread in a greater area in Central Asia, and are Old Turkic, but not necessarily of Uigur origin. They are in most cases titles, such as **ir-g-en 亿 九 礿** (235-334-140) 'a title, tribal chief', Turkic *erkin*, ChinT *yilijin* 夷离堇, see more details on the Turkic loanwords in Khitan in subchapter **14.1.2.2**.

One would expect loanwords from Jurchen. The idea that Khitan is a Tunguzic language or full with Tunguzic elements as it was claimed by Menges (1968) and under his influence by WF (1949)[3] could not be substatiated. Nevertheless the possible lingustic influence of Jurchen on Khitan needs further investigation.

The Khitans were Buddhists and surely used in their religious terminology elements from Tibetan and Chinese. They may be also topics for further investigation.

10.6 KHITAN ORTHOGRAPHY AS SOURCE OF KHITAN PHONOLOGY

As we have seen in the chapter on Khitan orthography (Chapter **9**) the writing of Khitan word by KSS offer in some cases more variants. Some of these variants help us to reconstruct phonetic features. Such are the alternation of voiced and unvoiced stops, the alternation of several glyphs, or the alternation of the writing of the last syllable.

10.7 KHITAN RHYMING

Shen (2009) analyzed some Khitan poems and their rhyming. His work was continued by Ōtake (2017, 194–195).

One would expect that Khitan rhyming reflects the Chinese one, adapted to a polysyllabic language, and as it will be seen, that is the case.

Wu and Janhunen (2010, 120–121) presented a poem, which, at the end of the epitaph, followed the life-story of the deceased Xiao Diliu (DiX43-50). They concluded that „…the number of the blocks on each poetic lines consists of 5 x 4 = 20 blocks, that is words. However the size of the blocks themselves varies from one to six characters depending on the phonetic values involved [……] the exact implication of the graphic representation remain unclear”. To this they added: „… we have no information on the suprasegmental properties of Khitan. It seems, however, that the poetic structure is at least loosely conneted with the number of stressed syllables (perhaps four) per poetic line, while there *are no clear signs of any type of rhyme, including alliteration* (my italics) (which is common in Mongolic folk poetry [and Middle Mongolian texts] ART). There are, however, some examples of reduplications….”.

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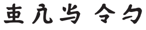
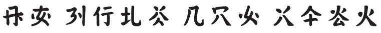
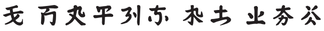
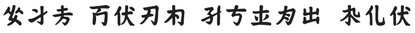
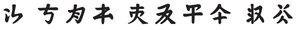
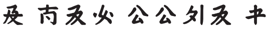
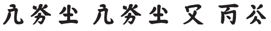
[3] K. H. Menges was the chief consultant in Altaic linguistics to K. Wittfogel, see WF p. 429

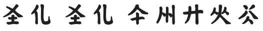
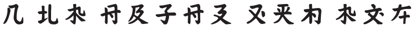
Now we can make a few steps forward. If I correctly segmented the text, we get the following lines (see DiX43-50):

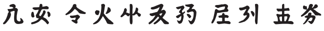
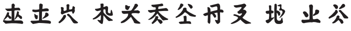
/42/ RECORD$_2$-g-én t-gu  'the poem (the text) says':

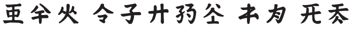
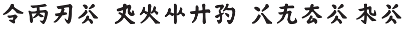
(1) /43/ lu$_3$-úr| hu-mú-or-er| ku-û-un| h-s-ge-ud| 
(2) tau| y-au-ul-hu-ad| ci-eu| **p-e$_2$-er|** 

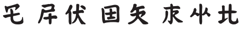
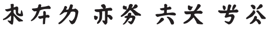
(3) ng-ia-ên| y-ñ-ir-en |ja-al-ha-a-án| ci-ri-ñ| 
(4) ul$_2$| al-a-ar| 050-u-ul-s| **k-er** 

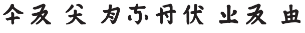
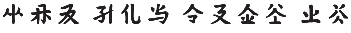
(5) tum| hor-u-un| n-n-bot-u| ai| 
(6) /44/g-e-te$_2$ |g-e-te$_2$| GREAT| **eme-er|** 

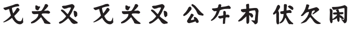
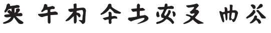
(7) xe-ri| xe-ri |s-**SMALL-ó-ui-er|** 
(8) ku| or-ci| b-o-l$_2$-b-un$_2$| m-an-en| **ci-ie-ar$_2$|** 

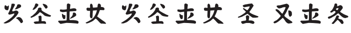
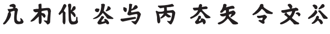
(9) g-úr |t-ud-l-u-ji| MANAGE-hu |RECORD-e| 
(10) qa-ha-iú| ci-i-shi-d-b-un$_2$ |079| **p-er|** 

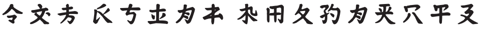
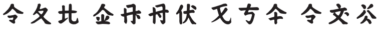
(11) /45/ hu$_2$-ú-ui| t-l$_2$-ó-ji-d| ar-a| 039-shi| 
(12) t-iu-ir-er| au-ui-l-ó-ji$_2$| h-d$_3$-ge$_2$-er| **ci-er** 

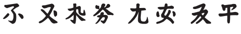
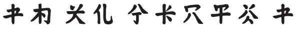
(13) dur| dalu-ñ| bod-de| ETERNAL-l-li$_2$| 
(14) ci-ar$_2$-qo| ün-e| rí-i| **iau-er|** 

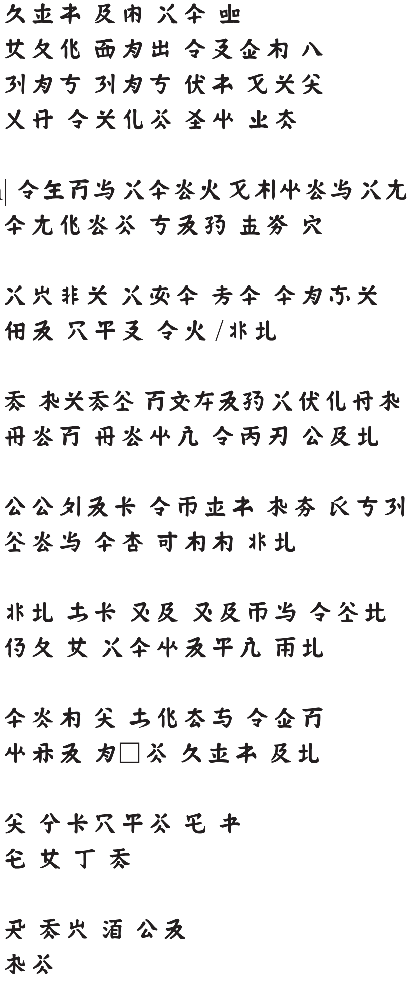
(15) s-u|-HEAVEN |a-ad-b-ñ| p-u har| 
(16) /46/ l-she-u| ja-ri-én| t-un$_2$-em$_2$-d| **p-er|** 

(17) sh-i-m| sh-i-m| n-ra-en| ñ-qó-du$_2$| 
(18) ming| tal-en| s-eu-úr-un$_2$| **go-er** 

(19) s$_2$-d-ha-aju| s$_2$-d-ha-aju| jur| m-ha-as| 
(20) g-en-ur-ge-én| iu| ge$_2$-de| **t-ie-er|** 

(21) /47/ t-ie-ên| MR-al-ha-a-ar| ci-il-uh-ji$_2$-a-an| û-ul-un$_2$|

(22) t-uh-li$_2$| em$_2$-lu$_3$-b-ñ| sh-al-s| **t-ie-er|** 

(23) po-on |m-ci-e |om-úr| u-ul| 
(24) ai-en| i-ri |pu-su-û-ul-er| **ai** 



(25)| da-ha-ar| o-ón| h-s| üen|
(26) /48/ aju-uh-ur| 025-a-án| t-un$_2$-em$_2$-en| 239
(27) hu-a-al| hu-a-al| ñ-ar| sh-i-HEAVEN|
(28) yun-dus| t-i-ri-er| xe-l| **p-oi$_2$ |**

(29) t-abu-y-én| h-s-ge-ud| sh-058-l-ge-én| h-om|
(30) s-om-ur-ge-er| al-u-ji| RECORD-e| **nai|**

(31) /49/ h-iú-ku-i| h-úr-s| ên-s| s-a-ad-i|
(32) sui-u| û-ul-un$_2$| t-ud| **po-or|**

(33) ishi| ci-i-shi-d| y-ie-ar2-u-ji| h-ñ-ri-b-ci|
(34) li4-ge-y |li4-ge-l-g| t-iu-ir| **n-o-or**|

(35) n-n-bod-u-su| t-od-ha-ar| ci-e$_2$ |MR-al-hu|
(36) /50/ d-ge-én| s-uni| bai-en-en| **po-or**|

(37) eu-su| m-o| m-o-od-én| t-d-li$_2$ |
(38) ta-uh| sär| h-s-l-u-ul-g| **dai-or**|

(39) s-oi-en| HEAVEN| eu-ur-ge$_2$-én$_2$| t-em$_2$-y |
(40) l-she-u| a-378.1-er| da-ha-ar| **o-or**|.

(41) HEAVEN| pu-su-û-ul-er |dur| ai |
(42) par| sär| jur$_2$| ishi|

(43) när| ishi-iú| ih| n-u|
(44) ci-er

Before discussing the poetical structure of the above text, a few remarks. The text was first published by Wu Yingzhe and Juha Janhunen in their 2010 work on pp. 120-131, and later in CWJ, pages 810, 814 (rubbings), and 1464-1466. My reading is slightly differing from that of Wu—Janhunen. The poem consists of 44 lines which I renumbered. The last lines (41-44) give the date (*Tianqing* year four, month 10, day 29 = 4th December 1114) and the name of the author Ishi-iú-ih Nu.

The poem is written in lines containing four words each. This is even the case with the colophon. The poem is rhymed with the rhyme structure ***xaxaxaxa*** etc., where ***x*** is for different and ***a*** is for identical rhymes.

The first rhyme is **-er** written with one exception always by (341), but we know that **-er** may be a suffix with different grammatical functions (accusative-instrumental, ordinal, past tense). and may also appear as simple final of a word (see

go-er, line 17). The exception is at the end of line 8: **ci-ie-ar$_2$** (162-237-084) which occurs only once in the corpus, here, in the expression. **m-an-en ci-ie-ar g-úr t-ud-l-u-ji| MANAGE-hu |RECORD-**e in a very tentative translation may be: ‘as recorded, he is now commanding doing in the (celestial) country of the hunting meadows ?’. In any case **ci-ie-ar** sounded similar to **ci-er.** There may have been some miswriting, because this is the only line where instead of four, five words are in the same line. Perhaps it is not by chance that the line 7. which should not rhyme, ends in-**-er**.

The second rhyme is **-ai**, here we have solve two problems. In line 25 the final is 八 (239) and the end of line 27 we find **p-oi** . We may suppose that **-oi** somehow rhymed with **-ai,** but the pronunciation of (239) is unknown The word appears in the phrase | **t-un$_2$-em$_2$-en**| **239**, where as Wu—Janhunnen supposed **t-un$_2$-em$_2$** is the name of a mountain and (239) may be the equivalent of Chinese *li* 里 ‘mile, neighborhood place, area’’. That 239 is connected with mountain can be seen in line 30 of Qing30 **har$_3$-en 239** glossed on CWJ p. 1331 as *shan zhi de* 山之地 ‘ mountain land’. Mongolian *gajar* has partly the same semantics and may occur as ’place, land, Chinese mile’ as it was pointed out by Wu—Janhunen. The Khitan word can be then reconstructed as a word with the final **-ai**, and with the meaning ‘land, region, place’. It has to be a monosyllabic word. Whether it can be somehow connected with Mongolic *gajar* remains open.

The third rhyme is **-or**.

The poem adopted the structure of one type of classical Chinese verse.The rhyme is *xaxaxa* etc. Where *x* is for different and *a* is for identical word-ends. Each line consists of four units, which follows an old pattern, known since the Book of Songs, *Shijing* 诗经. While in the case of Chinese the units are single Chinese words, appearing as single characters, in Khitan we find also four words per line, but the words are of different number of syllables. The eight vertical lines have five units each.

Another feature typical for classical Chinese poetry also appears. Word repetion is one of the most beloved instruments in classical Chinese poetry, this is also the case in the above poem, see: **g-e-te$_2$** |**g-e-te$_2$**| (line 6), **xe-ri| xe-ri|** (line 7) **sh-i-m| sh-i-m|** (line 17), **s$_2$-d-ha-aju**| **s$_2$-d-ha-aju|** (line 19).

In the chapter **16** on SYNTAX I deal with a Chinese poem transponed in the 11th centutry to Khitan syntax.

Chinese:
鳥 宿 池中 樹
niao su chi zhong shu
birds sleep pond-in tree
僧 敲 月下 門
seng qiao yue xia men
Monk knocks moonlight under gate

Khitan in Chinese word-by-word translation:
月明裏和尚 門子 打
yuemingli| *heshang*| *menzi*| *da*|
Moon-in monk door hits
水底裏 樹上 老鴉 座
shuidili| *shushang*| *laoya*| *zuo*
water-in tree-on crows sit”

As we can see, the four-character-per-line structure was preserved even in the 11th-century Chinese translation of Khitan. In DiX, we find a Khitan poem that adopts the poetic system of classical Chinese poetry. Although some words and even expressions can be understood, the entire verse remains undeciphered at present. In reconstructing the history of Chinese, rhymes and rhyme tables play an important role. Certain conclusions can also be drawn about the history of Khitan; however, due to the structural differences between the two languages, Khitan poetry—especially when imitating Chinese forms—is less conclusive.

10.8 THE SYSTEM OF VOWELS

10.8.1 Recent debates on the vocalic system of Mongolic and Khitan

There can be no doubt that Khitan is a relative of the Mongolic languages. One would expect a system of sounds which are not necessarily identical with Mongolic, but can be compared with it, and then lead back to their common origin. Therefore it may be useful to cast a glimpf on the results of the latest research on the Mongolic vocalism.

An important work on Mongolian phonology was the monograph of Jan-Olaf Svantesson and al. (2005). His phonological system based on the phonetic analysis of Mongolian, practically Halha, introduced a structure of seven phonemes, realizing that the back vocalic /ï/ and front vocalic /i/merged.

In his notation the following representations occur:

earlier	present
i	i
ï	
e	e
a	a
o	ɔ
ö	o
u	ʊ
ü	u

TABLE XXVII. THE VOWEL SYSTEM OF HALHA MONGOL BY SVANTESSON 2005

Phonetically this means that /u/ and /o/ have been pharingealized to /ʊ/ and /ɔ/ respectively, further a velarization occurred, /ü/ became /u/ and /o/ became /ɔ/. From the phonological point of view the original structure of eight vowel phonemes was reduced to a seven member system by the coalescing of the two I sounds. Two archaic Mongolic languages are of interest. In Monguor after the /i/ and /ï/ coalesced, this happened also to /ü/ and /u/ and /ö/ and /o/, that means that a five phonemes system evolved: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/. A similar process run in Dagur, where in addition to the Halha type /e/ was also velarized to /ɣ/, /u/ became /ɔ/, the original /u/ changed to /o/, and finally a new /ɛ/ appeared. This means that Dagur has a system of six phonemes: /a/, /ɔ/, /ɣ/, /u/, /i/ and /ɛ/ where /ɛ/ is a new phoneme, see Svantesson 2005, 181. The research by Svantesson has shown that there were changes on the phonetic level, mainly coalescing, pharigalization and/or velarization, from the phonological point of view the original system was reduced by one or even two members.

In 2007 appeared the work of Zhongwei Shen. He analyzed the KSS from the point of view of the contemporary Chinese phonological system. The study is based on Chinggeltei et al 1985 and the Phagspa transcription of Chinese. He renumbered the codes of the Höhhot list, but I will use the latter. Shen concluded:

Glyph	Höhhot number	present transcription	Shen for Chinese	Remarks
	(189)	<a>	[a]	
	(339)	<i>	[i]	
	(339,339)	<i> <i>	long [i]	
	(352)	<í>	long [i]	
	(131)	<u>	[u]	
	(172)	<uh>	[u]	after (372) /u:/, tonal feature or consonant coda to be studied
	(245)	<ú>	[u:]	
	(372)	<û>	[u] also [uhu]	
	(186)	<o>	[ɔ]	
	(327)	<ie>	[je]	read for Khitan: **[ɛ] or [ä]**
	(289)	<iú>	[y]	=ü, cannot be [iu]
	(082)	<üe>	[œ]	its graphical variant (081)
	(226)	<ü>	long /œ/	only appears in front of (251)

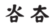
	(353), (113)	<ï>, <ï$_2$>	[ɨ]	only Chinese apical vowels

TABLE XXVIII. RECONSTRUCTION OF KSS GLYPHS BY SHEN 2007

As the result of the detailed research, Shen reconstructed the Khitan system as follows:

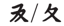
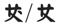
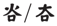
*a	*i	*u	*ɛ	*ɔ	*œ	*y	* ɨ
 (189)	 (339)	 (131/172)	 (327)	 (186)	 (082/081)	 (289)	 (353/113)

TABLE XXIX. KHITAN VOWELS ACCORDING TO SHEN 2007

To these short vowels Shen added three long vowels:

*i:	*u:	* œ:
(352)	(245)	(226)

After a series of works on details, Janhunen (2012) placed the Khitan vocalism into a broader frame. As a working hypothesis, he assumed, that Khitan had originally a vowel system similar to Pre-Proto-Mongolic with eight vowels **a, *e, *i, *ï, *o, *ö, *u,* and **ü,* from which four were front (*e, i, ö, ü*) and four were back (*a, ï, o, u*) vocalic. The system had four low (*a, e, o, ö*) and four high (*i, ï, u, ü)* members. With small modifications similar were the vocalic systems in the other proto-languages in the area, in Proto-Turkic, Proto-Tunguzic and even in Proto-Koreanic. Then all over the region a process of rotation occurred. The original front vowels have been raised and velarized, while the original back vowels have been lowered and, in some languages pharyngealized. As a result a five phonemes system evolved with the vowels *a, e, i, o, u.* In some languages a new set of palatal vowels appeared.

In the 2017/2 issue of *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* two papers were published on the vocalic structure of Khitan, one by Masami Ōtake (2017, 189-206) and one by me (Róna-Tas, 2017, 135-188). Though our points of departure and methods were different, our results were in some cases near to each other. We differ in the case of vowel length. While Ōtake insists, that there is an overt representation of vowel length in the KSS texts, I resumed: “In brief, the KSS does not reflect vowel length directly, but in some cases we can identify long vowels behind the script” (2017,184). I added: *“These long vowels are secondary. Secondary long vowels may have had two origins They could be the result of bisyllables of the type of VCV after the consonant disappeared, and the length of a vowel may have been the result* *of compensation and stress. The length of the verbal base a- may have pertained to the second group"* (ibid).

We also differ in reconstruction of the number of vowel phonmes. Ōtake reconstructed a system of twelve vowel phonems: <a>, <ä>, <e>, <ë>, <o>, <ö>, <ɵ>, <u>, <ü>, <i> ,<ï>. This high number is in itself improbable. He introduced the vowel /ʊ/ a rounded vowel with retracted tongue root (RTR), an /ɵ/ open, round, /ö/ open, front, round, RTR, and an /ë/ open, front, RTR. I consider this at the present state of our knowledge far fetched.

In 2017 appeared the monograph of Shimunek. On pp. 214-216 he presents the vowel system of Middle Khitan. According to him it consisted of seven members: /i/. /u/, /ɪ/,/ /ɛ/, /ə/./ɔ/, /a/. I think, at the level of our present knowledge the use of phonetic symbols for Khitan can not be justified.

I will not go here into more details, at our present knowledge we can distinguish only six vowel phonemes, or more precisely the Khitan vocalic system as reflected by the KSS consisted of six distinct vocalic phonemes. The system had a non-phonematic seventh element, the platalized /a/ that is /ä/.

10.8.2 The vowels

10.8.2.1 Monophthongs

As we have seen in chapter **8**. glyphs representing single vowels are:

A: <a> 为 (189), only one glyph, the function of <a_2> 刋 (190) is not clear, but is very rare, it occurs 17 times in the whole corpus in all cases as an initial. In a few cases it has the same function as (189)

E: <e> 夯 (348), <e_2> 夯 (109), the two glyphs are homoglyphs. <e_3> 土 (066) is a heteroglyph

I: <i> 关 (339), <í> 岙 (352), <$ī_2$> 夵 (114), The glyphs (352) and (114) are homoglyphs, (339) is a heteroglyph

ï: <ï> 谷 (353), <$ï_2$> 杏 (113), the two glyphs are homoglyphs and occurring only in the transcription of Chinese syllables, in most cases after <she>朩, (315) and <z> 伞 (258) also used only for Chinese

O: <ō> 仌 (252), <$ō_2$> 公 (253) <ó> 廾 (090), <o> 及 (186), (252) and (253) are homoglyphs, (090) and (186) are heteroglyphs,

U: <u> 丞 (131), <ú> 伞 (245), <û> 穴 (372), are three heteroglyphs

<üe> 件 (226) was earlier transcribed as <ü>, it occurs only in the transcription of Chinese,

If we exclude the glyphs <ï> 谷 (353), <$ï_2$> 杏 (113), and <üe> 件 (226) used only in Chinese transcriptions, we remain with the glyphs used for the sounds A, E, I, O and U. At this point of analysis I use the capital letters for all vowels which are or may be represented by the glyphs denoting the vowels. Since KSS was not a phonematic system, it is of course possible that one or more of these glyphs represent more phonems of the Khitan vowel system. Etymology in the first step does not help. The Khitan word for the numeral ‘four’ is **dur** written also as **t-ur** and **d-ur**, see **12.3**. It has the same origin as Mongolic *dör-ben,* but the vocalism was assimilated to **gur** ‘three’[4].

10.8.2.1.1 The A glyphs

In the whole corpus there is only one glyph for /a/ (189), it has an extremely high frequency, it occurs 2938 times in the whole corpus and 167 times in our EL. The 17 occurences of <a$_2$> (190) in the whole corpus show that it has no relevance for the Khitan phonological system:

In Khitan transcription of Chinese[5] words

bi-ing m-a du g-ia-ém (225-303 133-189 237 334-335-270)
‘a title’, Chin *bingma dujian* 兵马都监 C422, Hucker, No 4687.
Khitan **m-a** ← Chinese *mǎ* 马,= 馬 YCh *ma*, LMCh *ma:*

ci-iau s-a-an t-ai-i pu (162-362 244-189-011 247-122-339 241) ‘a title’, Chin *zhao san dai fu* 朝散大夫 C410.
Khitan **s-a-an** ← Chin *sàn* 散, YCh, LMCh *san.*

g-ing-en tu-ung p-a-an (334-303-140 202-345 295-189-011)
‘a title, the *tongpan* of the capital’, Chin *jing zhi tong pan* 京之 通判, **L**23, Hucker 7497 *tongpan* “Controller-general”.
Khitan **p-a-an** ← Chin *pàn* 判, YCh p^{h}ɔn, LMCh p^{h}uan.

k-ai pu ng-i tu-ung s-a-am sï (283-122 241 264-339 202-345 244-189-184 083) ‘a title’, Chin *kai fu yi tong san si* 开府仪同三司 C455, Hucker No 3105, “Commander Unequalled in Honor”.
Khitan **s-a-am** ← Chin *sān* 三 YCh, LMCh *sam.*

On-a-b-a sh-ri-n (154-189-311-189 028-235-251) ‘a name of an administrative unit (*shi-rie*), genitive’, Chin *wo na ba la shi lie zhi* 斡纳拔石烈之 C403.
Khitan **on-a-b-a** ← Chin *wò nà bá* 斡纳拔 *wo* YCh *wɔ*, LMCh *ʔuat* , *na* YCh *na,* LMCh *nap, ba* YCh *pa*, LMCh *pɦa:t*.

Chinese transcription of Khitan words:

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[4] Assimilation in most languages is a frequent process in the system of numerals.

[5] I quote the Chinese words in most cases following CWJ but added the pinyin transcription and also the tones for the Beijing data.

sh-a-rí (028-189-069) 'court attendant, courtier*, langjun'*, also **sh-ia-ri** (028-274-069), Chin *langjun* 郎君, transcribed as ChT *shali* 沙里**,** *sha* YCh *ʂa,* LMCh *ʂa:, li* YCh, LMCh *li*, WF736.

Sh-au-a-aju ñ-û-úr (028-161-189-082.1 222-372-097) 'The Falconer tribe', ChinT *shao wa bu* 稍瓦部 C369, WF 587. The Chinese transcription renders only the name of the falcon **sh-au-a** → Chin *shao* YCh, *LMCh ʂaw, and bu* 部 *'tribe'.*

S-a-an udu-u-un (244-189-011 355-131-273) 'a palace name, the palace of Taizu, also called Hongyi palace, genitive', Chin *suan wo lu duo zhi* 算斡鲁朵之 C434, ??? **Sagan ordu*, WF541.
Khitan **s-a-an** ← Chin *suan* 算, YCh *sɔn,* LMCh *suan.*
Based on the above I reconstruct only one A sound in the system.

10.8.2.1.2 The E glyphs

Out of the two homoglyphs for /e/ <e> (348) occurs 579 times and <e_2> (109), 342 times, while in EL (348) occurs 35 times, (109), 22 times. This shows the following percentual share:

E-glyphs	Whole Corpus		Extended Lexicon	
(348) <e>	579	59.9 %	55	70.5 %
(109),<e_2>	342	32.9 %	8	10.2 %
(066)<e_4>	116	11.2 %	15	19.2 %
Total	1037	~100%	78	~100%

TABLE XXX. THE PERCENTUAL SHARE OF E-GLYPHS

The two homoglyphs denote the same Khitan vowel, KSS renders only one sound of the E type. In those cases where we have enough examples, words occur with both (109) and (348).

Khitan transcriptions of Chinese words with Khitan <e>

Ci-228-dû-i du G-e (162-228-249-339 237 334-348) 'a person's name', Chin *chu te du ge* 楮特都哥 (Yong17) C406, see WF p 710 **D-i-ng G-e** (254-339-264 334-348) 'a name', ChinT *dingge* 定哥, **L**7 **Cau G-e** (022-334-348), **L**4, **Y-au G-e** (020-161 334-348) **L**6, **S-a-am-ñ D-i-ng G-e**, **L**7, **G-ui$_2$ G-e p-üe-z-iú**, **L**12.
Khitan **g-e** ← Chin *gè* 哥, YCh *kɔ,* LMCh *ka.*

Ge is a Khitan clan name. It is always transcribed by CWJ by *ge* 哥 'elder brother'. May be that the Khitan clan name is of Chinese origin. Its modern Chinese transcription does not help much in the reconstruction of the vowel in it.

In the following cases the Khitan <e> is a part of a triphthong:

m-au-e (133-161-348) 'temple', Chin *miào* 庙 C395, YCh *mjɛw,* LMCh *mjaw.*

Üe-e g-ung$_2$ j-iú-un (082-348 334-106 104-289-273) 'princess of state of Yue, genitive', Chin *yue (guo) gong zhu zhi* 越(国)公主之 C384, for **g-ung$_2$ j-iú** see **g-ung ci-iú** , also Hucker 3408 "Princess, or Imperial Princess".
Khitan **üe-e** ← Chin *yuè,* 越, YCh *ɥɛ*, LMCh *yat.*

Chinese transcription of Khitan words

In most cases the Chinese transcription of Khitan reflects the modern Beijing pronunciation given by CWJ, sometimes they quote Laoshi or other transcriptions.

On-a-hor-a sh-ri-e (154-189-047-189 028-235-348) 'a name of an administrative unit, a *shi-rie*', ChinT *wo na a la shi lie* 斡纳阿剌石烈 C403, Corr: 斡纳河剌石烈 *wo na he la shi lie,* also WF 748 has *Wo-na-a-la.* Khitan **sh-ri-e** → *shi lie* 石烈 *shi,* YCh *ʂi,* LMCh *ʂɦiajk*, *lie* YCh *ljɛ,* LMCh *liat.*

Khitan **û-e** (372-348) 'a title', 20x, **û-e$_2$** (372-109) 'a title',1x, Mo *üge*, ← Turk *öge* (<*ö-), → ChinT *yu yue* 于越 C484, WF 752, *yu:*, YCh *jy,* LMCh *jă, yue:* YCh *ɥɛ,* LMCh *yat.*

In a paper published in 2023 Peng Daruhan suggested that the earlier not identified glyph (066) should be read as <ə>. The glyph is frequent, occurs about 116 times in the corpus and 15 times in EL. I transcribe it as <e$_4$>

neu-e e$_4$-g-n (331-348 066-334-251) 'earth mother, genitive', 7x.

e$_4$-l-ge-er (066-261-349-341) 'begin(ning)', 8x.

In both cases we have Mongolic parallels. In the first case Mong *eke* 'mother, *egečiner* 'elder sisters*'* and in the second Mong *ekile*- 'to begin'. It is possible, that after a velar consonant the /e/ got another shade, but there is no reason to suppose another phoneme. Therefore I reconstruct only one E sound in the system.

10.8.2.1.3 The I glyphs

I glyphs		Num. in List	Corpus	EL
<i>	关	(339)	2709	198
<i$_2$>	有	(022.1)	2	2
<i$_3$>	洦	(338)	6	2
<í>	尜	(352)	17	2
<í$_2$>	夵	(114)	6	3
<ï>	谷	(353)	42	10
<ï$_2$>	夻	(113)	15	5
I sounds			**2797**	222

As we see the 关 (339) gives the overwhelming majority of the I sounds (96,8 %), the second (353) is occurring 42 times (1,5 %). The glyphs 有 <i$_2$> (022.1), and 洦 <i$_3$> (338), <í> 尜 (352) and , <ī$_2$> 夵 (114), further <ï> 谷 (353) and <ï$_2$> 夻 (113) are homoglyphs respectively.

If we look at the glyph 关 (339), it occurs 198 times in EL. In most cases it props up in Khitan words, suffixes (genitive, prolative-ablative), but also in transcriptions of Chinese words. In case of the frequent title **tai shï** 丞兆 (374-180) 'a title, Grand Preceptor', (Chin *tai shi* 太师, **L**2, **L**10, **L**1, Hucker No 6212) it is also written as **tai sh-i** 丞 叉关 (374 028-339)(Gu5, 6, Nan10).

Khitan words written with <i> 关 (339):

m-i-in 㕚关雨 (133-339-018) 'my', Chin *wu* 吾 C397.

sh-i-ri叉关亿 (028-339-235) 'yellow', Chin *huang* 潢.

ci-i-shi 朩关忝/柰 (162-339-033/034) 'blood, blood relative, clansman, filial' 98x, see also in the following word: **ci-i-shi-d-b-ún** 朩关忝仝丹叐 (162-339-033-254-311-144), 10 times 'filial piety', also **ci-i-shi-d-bun** 朩关忝仝屮 (162-339-033-254-288), 15 times, **ci-i-shi-d-b-ñ** 朩关忝仝丹伏 (162-339-033-254-311-222), 48 times, **ci-i-shi-d$_{3}$-b-ñ** 朩关忝允丹伏 (162-339-033-089-311-222), once (Yu22-23), ChinT *chishideben* 赤是得本, YCh *tʂʰi ʂr̩ təj pun,* **L**1n, Chin *xiao* 孝, C408.

i-ri 关亿 (339-235) 'name, title', Chin *hao* 号 **L**13, **L**16, **L**18, **L**19, **L**21, to ? Mong *nere* 'name, title', Dag *nere* 'name, title' (M198), *nere, ner΄, nöri* 'Name' (M-K124), genitive **i-ri-en** 关亿冇 (339-235-140), accusative-instrumental **i-ri-er** 关亿爻 (339-235-341), dative-locative **i-ri-de** 关亿矢 (339-235-205), ablative-prolative **i-ri-de-i** 关亿矢关 (339-235-205-339), plural **i-ri-s** 关亿仐

<i-ri> (339-235-244), **L**14, plural genitive **i-ri-s-en** (339-235-244-140) plural accusative-instrumental, **i-ri-s-er** (339-235-244-341).

Etymologically **m-i-in, sh-i-ri** and **ci-i-shi** go back to back vocalic words, PPMong **mïn-, *šïra* and **čïsun.* Khitan **i-ri** has been compared with Mong *nere.* Indepently form the question of its origin, the Khitan word **i-ri** has front suffixes and in one case a front derivative suffix. This means, that the KSS, though it has the possibility to use glyphs with a back vocalic I sound, which it uses only for transcription of Chinese, it cannot or does not distinguish the back and front I sounds. The opposition can be detected only with help of the suffixes, which in many cases reflect a back or front series, see **o-l$_2$-ha-ai** (186-149-051-122) 'having been granted' and **d-em$_2$-l-ge-y** (254-257-261-349-020) 'having been conferred (a title)' and more examples in Chapter **11**.

Khitan transcription of Chinese words:

S-i h-ing pu-u g-iu-ung shï (244-339-303 241-131 334-019-345 180), 'a title, vice commander of the ordo Jiqing', **L**15, *ji qing fu gong shi* 积庆 副 宫使.
Khitan **s-i** ← Chin jī 积=積 YCh *tsi*, LMCH *tsiajk*, WF 707.

H-i-ing sh-ng (340-339-303 028-264) 'name of a palace, an ordo', Chin *xingsheng* 兴圣, see WF 265, Khitan *Nü-ku ordo* 女古 (Nü-gu) ordo established by Shengzong (982-1031), **L** 16, **L**18.
Khitan **H-i-ing** ← Chin *xìng* 兴 or WF 721 *Xìng* 興 ,YCh *xing,* LMCh *xjiajŋ.*

j-iau ng-i g-ün-en (104-362 264-339 334-329-140) 'a military title', Chin *zhao yi jun zhi* 昭义军之 C389.
Khitan **ng-i** ← Chin *yì* 义=義, YCh *ji*, LMCh *ŋiaj.*

k-ai pu ng-i tu-ung s-a-am sï (283-122 241 264-339 202-345 244-189-184 083) 'a title', Chin *kai fu yi tong san si* 开府仪同三司 C455, Hucker No 3105, "Commander Unequalled in Honor".
Khitan **ng-i** ← Chin *yi* 仪 same as above.

l-i b-û ca-ang sh-iú (261-339 311-372 375-199 028-289) 'a title', Chin *li bu shang shu* 吏部尚书 C451, Hucker 3631 *li-bu* "Ministry of Rites", *shangshu* Hucker 5042 "Minister, head of the top-level administrative agency in the Central government's Departmen of State Affairs".
Khitan **l-i** ← Chin *lì* 吏 YCh, LMCh *li.*

l-û ci-eu-un t-qu sh-i (261-372 162-067-273 247-246 028-339) 'title, the *teqoshi* of the Lü prefecture', Chin *Lü zhou zhi du shi* 闾州之度使 C452, hybrid, Khitan genitive.
Khitan **sh-i** ← Chin *shǐ* 使, YCh *ʂŗ,* LMCh *ʂhŗ* Baxter-Sagart 3066 *sri.*

Though the LMCh onset *ng*- is preserved in 义, and 仪 , also in this and in the other Chinese words Khitan <i> (339) is always rendering a Chinese /i/.

The other glyphs for I sounds are relatively rare in the whole corpus, <í> (352) occurs 17 times, <í$_2$> (114) six times, <ï> (353) 42 times and <ï$_2$> (113) 15 times.

examples from the EL:

Glyph <í> (352):

g-í du ui° (334-352 237 263) ‘a title’, Chin *qi du wei* 骑都尉 C476, Hucker No 606 “Commandant of the Cavalry”.
Khitan **g-í** ← Chin *qi* 骑 = 騎, YCh *ki*, LMCh *kɦi.*

ün gu-í ui (329 165-352 263)‘commander of the military formation ‘‘clouds”’ to *yun qi* ‘clouds’, Chin *yun qi wei* 云骑尉 C470, Hucker No 8272 “Commandant of Fleet-as-Clouds Cavalry, prestige title (*san kuan*) in Sui, merit title (*hsün*) from Ta’ang through Chin”.
Khitan **gu-í** ←Chin *qí* 骑 = 騎, YCh *ki*, LMCh *kɦi* see above.

Glyph <**í$_2$**> (114)

di-í$_2$-in (037-114-018) ‘a Khitan title’, 7x Chin *ti yin* 惕隐 C370, plural **di-í$_2$-d** (037-114-254), 1x, ← Turk *tegin*, see **d-y z-in.**

di-í$_2$-d-en hu$_2$-ú nai (037-114-254-140 014-245 332) ‘commander of the Tiyins, plural, genitive’, Chin *ti yin zhi tong guan* 惕隐之统官 C370, see also **d-y z-in** (254-020 258-018) ‘a title’, Chin *te jin*特进 C446, ← Turk *tegin* (Clauson 483).
Khitan **di-í$_2$** ← Chin *tì* 惕, YCh *tʰi,* LMCh *tʰiajk.*

du-u g-iu-ung shï-í$_2$ (237-131 334-019-346 180-114) ‘a title, commander of the entire palace’, **L**16, Chin *dou gong shi* 都宫 使 C424.
Khitan **shï-í$_2$** ← Chin *shǐ* 使, YCh *ʂṛ,* LMCh *ʂṛ.*

Glyph <ï> (353)

t-ie-ên ju-ung shï-ï ng-iú shï (247-327-073 147-345 180-353 264-289 180) ‘a title’, Chin *dian zhong shi yu shi* 殿中侍御史 C441, Hucker, No 6556 “LIAO: Palace Administrator, head of the Administration Office (*tien-chung ssu*)”.
Khitan **shï-ï** ← Chin *shì* 侍, YCh *ṣṛ,* LMCh *ṣhi.*

b-oh ci-eu-un fu-ong ng-iú shï-ï (311-377 162-067-273 242-071 264-289 180-353) ‘a title, the Defence Comissioner of the prefecture Bo’, Chin *bo zhou zhi fang yu shi* 博州之防御使, C467, Hucker No 1923.
Khitan **shï-ï** ← Chin *shì* 使, YCh *ʂṛ,* LMCh *ʂṛ* see above.

g-ai g-ui s-ï (334-122 334-262 244-353) ‘a title’, Chin *kai guo zi* 开国子 C473, Hucker No 3119 “dynasty founding Viscount”.
Khitan **s-ï** ← Chin *zì* 子 YCh *tsẓ* LMCh *tsz̢*

g-iu-ung-un shï-ï (334-019-106 180-353) ‘a title, commander of the palace’, Chin *gongzhi shi* 宫之使 L19.
Khitan **shï-ï** ← Chin *shì* 使, YCh *ʂṛ,* LMCh *ʂṛ* see above.

s-ï shï (244-353 180) ‘prefect, governor’, Chin *ci shi* 刺史 C436, also **sï shï** (083 180) ‘regional chief’, Chin *ci shi* 刺史 C384.
Khitan **shï** ← Chin *shǐ,* 史 YCh *ʂṛ,* LMCh *ʂṛ.*

s-ï g-m ng-u t-ai-i (244-353 334-133 264-131 247-122-339) ‘a type of insignia worn on the garment denoting a rank’, lit. ‘purple-gold fish pocket/bag’, Chin *zi jin yu dai* 紫金鱼袋 C436.
Khitan **s-ï** ← Chin *zǐ,* 紫, YCh *tsz̢,* LMCh *tsz̢.*

sh-ï (028-353) ‘wife, to give in marriage’, 2x, Chin *qī* 妻 C367, YCh *tsʰi*, LMCh *tsʰiaj.*

shï-ï ci-i z-ie (180-353 162-339 258-327) ‘a title’, Chin *shi chi jie* 使持节 C413, Hucker No 5223 “Commissioned with extraordinary power”.
Khitan **shï-ï** ← Chin *shǐ* 使, YCh *ʂṛ,* LMCh *ʂṛ* see above

t-ie-ên ju-ung shï-ï ng-iú shï (247-327-073 147-345 180-353 264-289 180) ‘a title’, Chin *dian zhong shi yu shi* 殿中侍御史 C441, Hucker, No 6556 “LIAO: Palace Administrator, head of the Administration Office (*tien-chung ssu*)”.
Khitan **shï-ï** ← Chin 史 *shǐ,* YCh *ʂṛ,* LMCh *ʂṛ* see above.
After Chinese sibilants.

<ï$_2$> (113), in the following cases:

g-u-on ca shï-ï$_2$-en (334-131-154 375 180-113-140) ‘title, genitive’, Chin *guan cha shi zhi* 观察使之 C473, Hucker No 3269 “Surveillance Commissioner”.

H-i-ing sh-ng du-u g-iu-ung shï-ï$_2$ (340-339-303 028-264 237-334-019-345 180-113) ‘a title, the Commissioner (shi) of the H-i-ing shang ordu’, Chin *xing sheng dou gong shi* 兴圣都宫使, **L**16, **L**18, WF 721.
Khitan **shï-ï$_2$** ← Chin *shï* 使, YCh *ʂṛ,* LMCh *ʂṛ.*

shï-ï$_2$ l-ang (180-113 261-199) ‘a title’, Chin *shi lang* 侍郎 C413, Hucker, No 5278.
Khitan **shï-ï$_2$** ← Chin *shì* 侍, YCh *ʂṛ*,LMCh *ʂhi.*

As it can be seen, the frequent Chin *shi* 使, YCh *ʂṛ,* LMCh *ʂṛ* is transcribed by <**í$_2$**> (114) and <ï> (353) and in all cases they were used in Khitan transcriptions of Chinese, see also Kane 2009,77. The conclusion is, that KSS had only one glyph which was used for representing Khitan I-sound(s).

10.8.2.1.4 The O glyphs

For the O sounds we have three independent representations:

	corpus	percentage	EL	percentage
<ô > (252), <$ô_2$> (253)	180	7%	25	4%
<ó> (090)	867	33,7%	49	29,1%
<o> (186)	1522	59,2%	94	55,9%
O glyphs total	**2569**	100%	**168**	100%

TABLE XXXI. THE RATIO OF THE OCCURRANCES OF THE O GLYPHS

Here we see that the distribution of the three glyphs is more balanced, but 59,2 % of the occurrences is (186). In some cases we can observe that one of the glyphs can be used instead of the others:

Alternation of <o> (186) and <ô > (252)

n-on (251-154) ‘1. dynasty, 2. generation’, **L**13, also **n-ô-on** (251-252-154), 5x, **n-o-on** (251-186-154), 3x.

m-o1 (133-186) ‘big, eldest’, 205x, **m-ô-qú** (133-252-118) ‘elder’, 21x.

n-o (251-186) ‘spouse’, 28x, also **n-ô-od** (251-252-016), 2x, plural.

Alternation of <ó> (090) and <o> (186).

The name of a reign period **ó-dû-l-ha-a-ar** (090-249-261-051-189-123)(Jue30-13) is also written **o-udu-l-ha-a-ar** (186-355-261-051-189-123), (Chao8-19),

p-o-(l_2)- (295-186) ‘become somebody/something, to be appointed to, promoted to’, **L**18, also **p-ó-** (295-090).

Alternation of <ô > (252) <o> (186), <ô >(252) and <$ô_2$> (253).

ñ-ô-or (222-252-076),16x ‘circuit, route, division, department’, Chin *bu* 部 C421also **ñ-ô-úr** (222-252-097), 21x, **ñ-ô-ur_2** (222-252-236), 5x, **ñ-$ó_2$-úr** (222-253-097), 2x, **ño-o_2-ur_2** (222-252-236), 5x,

ño-ó$_2$-or (222-253-076), 2x, **ñ-ó-úr** (222-090-097), 34x, **ñ-ó-ur$_2$**, (222-090-236), 1x.

As it can be seen, in cases where we have a frequent word (86 times), all three O glyphs occur in the same word. Some of the O-glyphs are followed by back vocalic suffixes:

b-o-l$_2$*- (311-186-149) > **b-o-l$_2$-ha-ai** (311-186-051-122) 'to become' Chin *chu (cheng wei)* 除 (成为)C466, 4x, see also **b-o$_2$-l-ha-a-ar-** (311-186-149 051-189-123), 1x, also **p-o-(l$_2$)-** (295-186) 'become somebody/something, to be appointed to, promoted to' > **p-o-l$_2$-ha-ai** (295-186-149-051-122).

o-l$_2$-* 'get, to obtain' > **o-l$_2$-ha-ai** (186-149-051-122) 'having been granted'**.**

o-l$_2$-ha-ar (186-149-051-123), 4x, see VERBAL PARADIGMS, **12.5.1**.

ó-dû-l-ha-a (090-249-261-051-189-123) (Jue13-29), also **o-udu-l-ha-a-ar** (186-355-261-051-189-123) (Chao8-19) see Appendix **18.1**.

Khitan transcriptions of Chinese words by <o> (186):

I did not find Chinese words in EL transcribed by (252), (253), (090), only with (186):

s-o sh-o pu pu sh-o (244-186 028-186 241 241 028-186) 'left Commander-in-Chief', Chin *zuo shuai fu fu shuai* 左率府副帅 C433, (Xu3), Hucker 5479 *shuai fu shuai* "Commandant of the Guard Command, commonly abbreviated to *shuai".*

Khitan **s-o** ← Chin 左 *zuǒ,* YCh *tsɔ*, LMCh *tsa.*

Khitan **sh-o** ← Chin *shuai* 率 'follow, going along', YCh *shwaj,* LMCh *suj,* not clear.

z-o ci-ng s-iang (258-186 162-264 244-314) 'a title, the left Prime Minister', Chin *zuo cheng xiang* 左丞相 C448.

Khitan **z-o** ← Chin 左 *zuǒ*, YCh *tsɔ*, LMCh *tsa*, see above.

Khitan <o> is transcribing Chinese /ɔ/.

Khitan KSS was able to distinguish only one O sound.

10.8.2.1.5 The U glyphs

The glyph <ü> (226) occurs only in the transcriptions of Chinese, it can be exluded from the analyzis of Khitan. We have three heteroglyphs, their distribution is as follows

glyph	corpus	percentage	EL	percentage
<u> (131)	2008	57,3 %	162	58,9 %
<û> (372)	1145	32,6 %	82	29,4 %
<ú> (245)	350	9,9 %	34	12,3 %
U glyphs total	**3503**	~100%	**278**	~100%

Alternation of <u> (131) and <û> (372) in the same Khitan word: see **9.** ORTHOGRAPHY
Two other cases:

u ur$_2$1 (131-236), 'former, ancient, ancestral, supreme' also **û-ur$_2$** see **u-ur$_2$ ai** (131-236 122), 15x, and **û-ur$_2$ ai** (372-236 122), 1x.

u-ur$_2$2 (131-236) 'wing (of an army), division', also **û-úr** (372-097) cf Mong *urug* 'relatives by marriage', Dah ?? Chin *yuan* 院 C392, **L**17, **L**21.

ku-su (178-041) 'guard', also **ku-û-su** (178-372-041), Chin *shi wei* 侍卫 C412 **L**1n, **L**14.

Different Khitan U glyphs transcribe the same Chinese word

p-u-u sh-iú sï (295-131-131 028-289 083) 'office of the (tribal) administrator', Chin *bu shu si* 部署司 C460, (Nu13).

p-û sh-iú sï deu-úr MANAGE-i (295-372 028-289 083 101-097 142-339) 'a title, genitive', Chin *bu shu si yu (tong) zhi* 部署司于(同)知 C462, (Song8) hybrid, the first part is Chin *bu shu si*, the second is Khitan **deu-úr MANAGE-i**.

Khitan **p-u-u**, **p-û** ← Chin *bu* 部 'tribe', YCh *pu,* LMCh *phuǎt*.

xu-u b-u (036-131 311-131) 'Ministry of Revenue', 4x.

xu-û b-û (036-372 311-372) 'Ministry of Revenue', 2x, Chin *hubu* 戶部 (CWJ, K39), **L**7, **L**22, Hucker No 2789.

Khitan **xu-u**, **xu-û** ← Chinese *hù* 戶 YCh *xu,* LMCh *xhuǎ*.

Khitan **b-u**, **b-û** ← Chinese *bù* 部, YCh *pu,* LMCh *phuǎ* see above.

fu-û g-ui sh-ang s-iang g-ün (242-372 334-262 028-199 244-314 334-329) 'senior bulwark general of the state', Chin *fu guo shang jiang jun* 辅国上将军 C428, (Zhen 41) see the next item.

fu-u g-ui t-ai-i s-iang g-ün (242-131 334-262 247-122-339 244-314 334-329) 'senior bulwark general of the state', Chin *fu guo*

da jiang jun 辅国大将军 C428, (Nu 15) Hucker No 2076 *fu guo jiang jun* “Bulwark-generalissimo of the State”, hybrid construction.
Khitan **fu-û** (242-372), **fu-u** (242-131) ← Chinese *fŭ* 輔, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fɦjyə̌/ fɦuə̌*.

The orthographical variation is always between <u> (131) and <û> (372) and we have in the same word sometimes -V-V, sometimes only -V representations.

Khitan words with <u> (131) in front vocalic words:
h-s-l-u-ul-g (340-244-261-131-366-334) ‘illuminate, light up, shine’, Chin *zhao* 照？C478 (DiX50-11).
g-u (334-131) ‘jade’, Chin *yu* 玉, Chin YCh *y*, LMCh *ŋywk*, or Tibetan *g-yu*.
g-u tau-li-a.
Khitan words with (131) and back vocalic:
har-u lu (321-131 208) ‘black dragon’, Chin *hei long* 黑龙 C469.
har-u hus-hu (321-131 216-151) ‘black rat’, Chin *ren zi* 王子 C469.
mod-u ku-û-un (043-131 178-372-273) ‘evil people, genitive’, Chin *e ren zhi* 恶人之 C371.

Khitan transcription of Chinese by <u> (131)
b-u1 (311-131) ‘a name of a prefecture’; also ‘to protect, save’, **L**3, Chin *bao*.
Khitan **b-u** ← Chin *bǎo* 保, YCh *pɔw*, LMCh *puaw*.
b-u2 (311-131) ‘to walk; foot, infantry’, **L**18, Chin *bu* 步, YCh *pɔw,* LMCh *pɦuə̌*.
Khitan **b-u** ← Chin 步, *bù*, YCh *pɔw,* LMCh *pɦuə̌*.
G-u-uh (334-131-172) ‘a name of a person’, ChT *gu* 固, **L**2, WF 279, 610, YCh *ku*, LMCh *kuə̌*. This is a modern transcription.
G-u-un (334-131-273), ‘part of a geographical name, Guun’, **L**15, Chin *guwen* 孤稳, *gu:* YCh *ku*, LMCh *kuə̌*, *wen:* YCh *un,* LMCh *ʔun*.
Khitan **G-u** ← Chin *gū* 孤.
m-ng g-u (133-264 334-131) ‘Mongol’, Chin *meng gu* 萌古.
Khitan **g-u** ← Chin *gŭ*, YCh *ku*, LMCh *kuə̌*.
t-u t-ie-ém g-ie-ém ui MANAGE-l-ha-ar (247-131 247-327-270 334-327-270 262 142-261-051-123) ‘a title’, Chin *du dian jian zhi shi zhi* 都点检之事知 C349, Chin *du dian jian* 都點檢 Hucker No 7297 LIAO: one of the titles given heads of regional Tax Offices (*ch’ien po ssu*)”.
Khitan **t-u** ← Chin *dū* 都, YCh *tu*, LMCh *tuə̌,* also *dōu*.
u-un sh-iú m-ir-en (131-273 028-289 133-137-140) ‘title, genitive’, Chin *wen shu mi zhi* 文枢密之 C393, Hucker only 7722 *wenshu fang*

文書房 MING: "Palace Secretariate", *mi* 密 'silent, secret' was YCh *mij*, LMCh *mit*, that is Chinese final *-t* is reflected in its /r/ form.

Khitan **u-un** ← Chin *wén* 文, YCh *vun*, LMCh *vjyn/vun,* see the next item.

w-un w-u (070-273 070-131-273) 'civil and military', Chin *wen wu* 文武 C377.

Khitan **w-u** ← Chin *wǔ* 武 YCh *vu,* LMCh *vjyə̌*.

Khitan representations of Chinese final diphthongs by VV or DV with (131) as the second element:

pu-u (241-131) 'prefecture, region, official residence', Chin *fǔ,* 府, YCh *fu*, MCh *fjyə̌/fuə̌.*

b-u-u sh-iú ü-n (311-131-131 028-289 226-251) 'office of the administrator', Chin *bushuyuan* 部署院 C466, Hucker No 4801.

Khitan **b-u-u-** ← Chin 部 *bù* , YCh *pu*, LMCh *pɦuə̌*.

ca-ang sh-iú y-eu-u ci-ng (375-199 028-289 020-067-131 162-264) 'a title, the Right Assistant of the Minister', Chin *shang shu you cheng* 尚书右丞 C488 *you cheng* is the Right Aide, Assistant Director of the Right, Hucker No 8034.

Khitan **y-eu-u** ← Chin *yòu* 右 YCh *jiw,* LMCh *iw.*

du-u g-iu-ung (237-131 334-019-345) 'metropolis, ordo', Chin *dougong* 都 宮 **L**18.

du-u g-iu-ung shï (237-131 334-019-345 180) 'a title, commissioner of the ordo', **L**18, Chin *dougong shi* 都 宫使, on C404 **du g-iu-ung** ***shi*** (237 334-019-345 180) and **du g-iú-ung shi** (237 334-289-345 180), both *dougong shi* 都 宫使, Chinese 都 has two readings *du* and *duo*, *du* is transcribed.

Khitan **du-u** ← Chin *dōu* 都, YCh *tu*, LMCh *tuə̌,* see above.

fu-u g-ui t-ai-i s-iang g-ün (242-131 334-262 247-122-339 244-314 334-329) 'senior bulwark general of the state', Chin *fu guo da jiang jun* 辅国大将军 C428, Hucker No 2076 *fu guo jiang jun* "Bulwark-generalissimo of the State", hybrid construction.

Khitan **fu-u** ← Chin *fǔ*, 辅 = 輔 YCh *fu*, LMCh *fɦjyə̌ / fɦuə̌*.

g-ém g-iau-u g-ung b-û-u ca-ang sh-iú (334-270 334-362-131 334-345 311-372-131 375-199 028-289) 'a title', Chin *jian jiao gong bu shang shu* 检校工部尚书 C474, Hucker No 804 *jian jiao* "Acting", No 3462 *gongbu* "Ministry of Works', No 5044 *shang shu cheng* "Aid to the Imperial Secretary".

Khitan **g-iau-u** ← Chin *jiào* 校, YCh *kjaw,* LMCh *kja:w* also *xiào.*

Khitan **b-û-u** ← Chin *bù* 部 see above **b-u-u sh-iú ü-n** .

y-eu-u (020-067-131) 'phonetic transcription of the Chinese character for "right"', 9x ← Chin *yòu* 右 C362, YCh *yiw*, MCh *iew.*

sh-iau-u h-ing (028-362-131 340-303), 'junior or vice minister', Chin *shao qing* 少卿 Hucker No 5091.
Khitan **sh-iau-u** ← Chin *shǎo* 少, YCh *ʂεw*, LCh *ʂiaw.*

g-u tao-li-a (334-131 029-206-189) 'jade rabbit', Chin *yu tu* 玉兔 C473.
Khitan **g-u** ← Chin *yù,* YCh *y,* LMCh *ŋywk*, not directly from Chinese see EL.

g-ing l-iau-u (334-303 261-362-131) 'military commissioner', Chin *jing lüe* 经略 C475, Hucker 1231 "Military Commissioner".
Khitan **l-iau-u** ← Chin *lüè* 略, YCh *ljεw, ljɔ,* LMCh *liak.*

In all cases Khitan reflects a LMCh final. Interesting is the last case, where Khitan is reflecting an intermediate form *liak* > ***liaw*** > *ljεw.*

Khitan (372) <û>

Khitan (372) <û> transcriptions of Chinese:

b-û ca-ang sh-iú (311-372 375-199 028-289), 'a title, commander of the infantry', Chin *bushangshu* 部尚书*,* **L**23.
Khitan **b-û** ← Chin *bù* 部, YCh *pu*, LMCh *phuǎ* see above.

g-ém g-iau-u g-ung b-û-u ca-ang sh-iú (334-270 334-362-131 334-345 311-372-131 375-199 028-289) 'a title', Chin *jian jiao gong bu shang shu* 检校工部尚书 C474, Hucker No 804 *jian jiao* "Acting", No 3462 *gongbu* "Ministry of Works', No 5044 *shang shu cheng* "Aid to the Imperial Secretary".
Khitan **b-û-u** ← Chin *bu* 部, YCh *pu*, LMCh *phuǎ*, see above.

p-û sh-iú sï deu-úr MANAGE-i (295-372 028-289 083 101-097 142-339)'a title, genitive', Chin *bu shu si yu (tong) zhi* 部署司于(同)知 C462 hybrid, the first part is Chin *bu shu si*, the second is Khitan **deu-úr MANAGE-i** (Song8).
Khitan **p-û** ← Chin *bù* 部, YCh *pu*, LMCh *phuə̌*, see above.

fu-û g-ui sh-ang s-iang g-ün (242-372 334-262 028-199 244-314 334-329) 'senior bulwark general of the state', Chin *fu guo shang jiang jun* 辅国上将军 C428.
Khitan **fu-û** ← Chin *fǔ* 辅, YCh *fu,* LMCh *fhjyǎ/ fhuǎ.*

l-û ci-eu-un t-qu sh-i (261-372 162-067-273 247-246 028-339) 'title, the teqoshi of the Lü prefecture', Chin *Lü zhou zhi du shi* 闾州之度使 C452.
Khitan **l-û** ← Chin *lǘ,* or *lyu* 闾 = 閭, YCh *ly*, LMCh *liǎ/lyǎ.*

sh-û (028-372) 'book', Chin *shū* 书 = 書 C373.
Khitan **sh-û** ← Chin *shū,* YCh *ʂy,* LMCh *ʂiǎ/ʂyǎ.*

xu-û g-ün (036-372 334-329) 'tiger army', Chin *hu jun* 虎军 C370 **L**23, Hucker 2775 has *hu jun* 護軍 T'ANG-MING "Military Protector" that is not 'tiger' 虎, but 'protect, guard', but CWJ seems to be right, see **l-iúng xu g-ün**.

Khitan **xu-û** ← Chin *hǔ* 虎 YCh *xu,* LMCh *xhuǝ̌.*

Zhul-û-er (316-372-341) 'a person's name', Chin *shu lu lie* 术鲁列 (Hu3). Transcription into modern Chinese.

The glyph <û> (372) is used to render Chinese /u/, perhaps-**u-û** is signalizing Mandarin third tone, but the material is not enough to be sure.

The glyph <û> (372) which occurs in EL 82 times is present in the following Khitan words:

g-úr-s ji-en dol k-li$_2$-û-ji (334-097-244 152-140 141 283-080-372-152) 'seven saying in the state', Chin *guo zhong zhi qi wei* 国中之七谓 C472.

û-ur (372-236), **u-úr** (131-236), 'North'.

hu-aju-a-û (150-0821-189-372) 'misfortune', Chin *huo* 祸 C402.

hu$_2$-hu-û-ji (014-151-372-152) 'corpse?' in Xian30-5: <*al-i hu$_2$-hu-û-ji m-in-de au-ul-ha-ai*> 'his corpse has been transferred to the tomb', gloss on p 1446 only for <**au-ul-ha-ai**>, Chin *gai* 改 'change, put right'.

ja-ri-û-od (150-235-372-016) 'prime ministers'.

k-li$_2$-û-ji (283-080-372-152) 'call', Chin *wei* 谓 C455, 49x.

k-li$_2$-û-ji$_2$ (283-080-372-153) 'call', Chin *wei* 谓 C455, 27x.

k-li$_2$-û-ji$_3$ (283-080-372-337) 'call', Chin *wei* 谓 C455, 12x.

ku (178) 'people', Chin *ren* 人 C412, see Mong *kümün* 'man, person, people', MMo *kü'ün,* Dag *huu, kuu* 'person' (M 167, 185), *χu* 'Mensch' (M-K142), see Nugteren 2011, 437 on *-m-* < *β*, see *kemen ke'e* 'to say', *-n* preserved in Dagur in adjectival function, see **eme ku.**

ku-û-er (178-372-341) 'people, accusative-instrumental', Chin *ren* 人 C412.

ku-û-dú sh-iá-ai$_2$ (178-372-179 028-274-197) 'the benefit for the people', Chin *ren yu shan* 人于善 C412.

ku-û-dú-i (178-372-179-339) 'from the people, ablative-prolative ', Chin *ren cong* 人从 C412.

ku-û-li (178-372-206) 'people', Chin *ren* 人 C412.

ku-û-un ui (178-372-273 262) 'people's matter, human affairs', Chin *ren zhi shi* 人之事 C412.

ku-û-un bod (178-372-273 309) 'people's body, itself', Chin *ren zhi shen* 人之身 C412.

ku-û-i (178-372-339) 'people, genitive', Chin *ren zhi* 人之 C412.

ku-su û-úr (178-044 372-097) 'by imperial grace', Chin no gloss, **L**14 ? *kŭčügür*??

lu$_3$-úr go-ci-er (312-097 319-162-341) ‘prominent family’, Chin *xian jia* 显家 C467, a plural-plural?, l**u$_3$-úr** 59x, see **lu$_3$-úr-en** (312-097-140), **lu$_3$-u-úr** (312-131-0979), **lu$_3$-û̲-úr** (312-372-097), a plural, see **lu$_3$-u-un** (312-131-273), ?? to Turk *ulug* ‘great’+ **go-ci** ‘tent family’ see there.

ñ-l-û-ui (222-261-372-341) ‘to start (open)’, Chin *qi* (*qai*) 启 开, CWJ 421, **L**13, ? cf Mong *nege(ge)-* ‘to open’, Dah *nee-* ‘ to open (it) ’ (M196), *ne-* ‘öffnen’ (M-K123).

pu-su-û-ul* **(**241-041-372-366) ‘?’.

pu-su-û-ji po ‘celebration time’ (241-041-372-152), Chin *qingshi* 庆时 C427.

pu-su-û-ul-ci ‘prospering, flourishing’, Chin *xing* 兴 C427.

pu-su-û-ul-er see **HEAVEN pu-su-û-ul-er** (243 241-041-372-366-341)‘a reign title(1111-1118) , heaven’s blessing’, Chin *tian qing* 天庆 C429.

pu-su-û-ul-g (241-041-372-366-334) ‘prosperous, flourishing’, Chin *qing* 庆 C427.

pu-su-û-ul-ge (241-041-372-366-349)‘blessing’, Chin *qing* 庆 C429.

pu-su-û-ul-ge-un$_2$ (241-041-372-366-349-144) ‘prosperous, flourishing’, Chin *qing* 庆 C427.

pu-su-û-ul-oi (241-041-372-366-347)**= pu-su-û-ul-er** (243 241-041-372-366-341).

eu-ul pu-su-û-t (067-366 241-041-372-247), ‘the “cloud army”’ Chin *yunqing* 云庆 [a military formation].

Sh-au-a-aju ñ-û-úr (028-161-189-0821 222-372-097) ‘The Falconer tribe’, ChinT *shao wa bu* 稍瓦部 C369.

sh-iá-áng-û-ji (028-274-280-372-152) ‘to praise’, Chin *zan* 赞 C366.

û-* (372) ‘to give’ **L**22n, also ***u-u-,** see **û-ui** (372-262) ‘gave, granted’.

û-e$_2$ (372-109) ‘a title’, also **û-e** (372-348) ‘a title’, ChinT *yu yue* 于越 C484, MMo *üge* ← Turk *öge* (<**ö*-), Hucker 8216, LIAO “Counsellor, one of the most eminent dignitaries in the Northern Administration (*pei-mien*) of the central government, also in separate tribes headed by Grand Princes (*ta-wang*)”, not from Chinese.

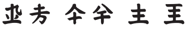
ci-eu-û-ul-un (162-067-372-366-144) ‘preface’, Chin *xu* 序 C405.

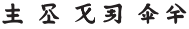
KSS <û> (372) occurs in Khitan words with front and back vocalism.

The glyph (245) <ú>

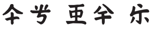
The EL contains 36 words with the glyph (245). It is used in Khitan transcription of Chinese words, in Khitan words, transcribed by Chinese and in Khitan genuin words. In all cases it reflects an /u/.

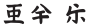
<ins>Khitan transcription of Chinese syllables:</ins>

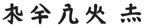
ki-ên s-ú hong di  (163-073 244-245 075 037) 'Xuanzu emperor, son of Yizu emperor', Chin *xuan zu huang di* 玄祖皇帝 C410.

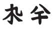
hong tai sh-iuk z-ú  (075 374 028-138 358-245) 'imperial uncle, the younger brother of the emperor's father' ChinE *huang tai shuzu* 皇太叔祖 (CWJ1306).

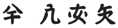
Khitan **s-ú, z-ú** ← Chin *zǔ* 祖, YCh *tsu,* LMCh *tsuə̆.*

S-iau hu$_2$-ú QUEEN  (244-362 014-245 333) 'the name of the Xiao queen', Chin *xiao hu lu* 小斛禄.

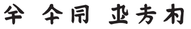
Khitan **hu$_2$-ú**  ← Chin *hú* 斛. YCh *xu*, LMCh *xɦəwk.*

ci-ú g-ui ong  (162-245 334-262 071) '(local) king of state Chu', Chin *chuguo wang*, 楚国王.

Khitan **ci-ú**  ← Chin *chǔ* 楚 YCh *tʂ^{h}u,* LMCh *tʂ^{h}əə̆/tʂ^{h}uə̆.*

Ú g-úr-de  (245 334-097-205) 'state of Wu, dative-locative', Chin *wu guo yu* 乌国于 C437,

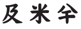
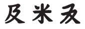
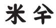
Khitan **ú** ← Chin *wū* 烏, YCh *u*, LMCh *ʔuə̆.*

Ú s-ing ki-ên-en  (245 244-303 163-073-140) '*Wu qing* county, genitive', Chin *wu qing xian zhi* 武清县之 C437.

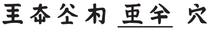
Khitan **ú** ← Chin *wǔ* 武, YCh *vu*, LMCh *vjyə̆/vuə̆.*

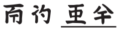
The conclusion is that (245) is used for the transcription of Chinese /u/.

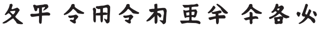
Khitan word in Chinese transcription:

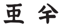
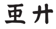
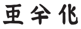
o-odu-ú  (186-355-245), 'ordo-palace', also **o-odu-u**  (186-355-131), **odu** (355), **odo-ú**  (355-245), ChinT *woluduo* 斡鲁朵, Chin *gong (xing gong)* 宫 (行宫) C482. Modern transcription.

Khitan words with <ú> (245)

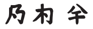
di-i$_2$-d-en hu$_2$-ú nai  (037-114-254-140 014-245 332) 'head of the commanders of the Tiyins', Chin *ti yin zhi tong guan* 惕隐之统官 C370.

cau-ji$_3$ hu$_2$-ú  (022-337 014-245) 'campaign commander', Chin *jun tong* 军统 C366.

Uh-ul t-il-t-en hu$_2$-ú s-eng-un  (172-366 247-302-247-140 014-245 244-175-273) 'the Commanding Field Marshal of the Wugu Dilie', Chin *wugu dilie zhi tong xiangwen* 乌古 敌烈 之 统 详稳.

hu$_2$-ú1  (014-245) '1. to unify, 2. to be in charge, to control', Chin 1 *tong*, 统, (Ling21) 2 *zhang* 掌 (Dao10), also **hu$_2$-ó***  (014-090), <***huru** *,* see Mong *qura-* 'to gather, assemble', see **hu$_2$-ú-ur**  (014-245-236) 'to unify, to unite', Chin *tong* 统 C360.

ú (245) 'water', LMong *usun,* Dag *ose* 'water' (M203), *oso* 'Wasser' (M-K128) Chin *shui* 水 C437.

mor-en ú  (185-140 245) 'water of river'.

The glyph <ú> (245) as a suffix:

p-í-in COMPOSE$_2$-ú (295-352-018 3162-245) 'the inscription of the stele or monument'.

tu-úr-ú-li$_2$ (202-097-245-080) 'to die', C417 < **tu-úr-** (202-097) 'to die, to finish (hon)', Chin *hong* 薨.

The glyph <ú> (245) occurs in words which had a backvocalic **u* in Proto Mongol (cf. Mong *quru-, usun)*

In all cases where we have Khitan syllables consisting only of one vowel, we can reconstruct the following five: a, e, i, o, u. Khitan had either five vocalic phonemes, or could distinguish only five. Though in a few cases we find two identical vowels, they are alternating with those consisting only of one.

We got the following overview:

Khitan	Chinese
a	*à, ă, á*
a-a	*à, ā*
e	*è,*
i	*ī, ì, ǐ*
í$_2$	*ì*
ï	*ì, ǐ, ī, ŗ*
ï$_2$	*ŗ*
o	*ɔ*
u	*ɔw, u, y*
û	*y, u,*
ú	*u*

The Khitan transription is faithfully following the Chinese original. Only the Khitan U glyphs may represent a back and a front closed Chinese labial (*u, y=ü*).

10.8.2.2 Diphthongs

From a formal point of view we find in KSS the following glyphs with two vowels:

ai, bai, dai, nai, nai$_2$, tai
au, aû, aú, cau, dau, iau, jau, tau, yau
kei
deu, deu$_2$, eu, heu, neu
ia, iá, iang, iáng
ie

iu, iú, giu, iúng, iuk, siu
ui, sui
tou
xua

Some of the above are not denoting two vowels. The glyphs: <ia> (335), <iá> (274), <iang> (314), <iu> (019), <iú> (289), <iúng> (181) and <iuk> (138) are used to denote ***y***- initials and will be dealt with there. The glyph <giu> (160) is used to transcribe Chinese.

10.8.2.2.1 The AI glyphs

Some examples for the use of the diphthong **ai** in transcription of Chinese:

ci-iau s-a-an t-ai-i pu (162-362 244-189-011 247-122-339 241) ‘a title’, Chin *zhao san dai fu* 朝散大夫 C410.
Khitan **t-ai** ← Chin *dài* 大 ,YCh *taj,* LMCh t^haj.

da$_3$-ai (214-122) ‘great’ Chin *dai* 大, **L**6, see above.

dai (017) ‘great’, Chin *dai* 大 , **L**6, see above.

g-ai g-ui s-ï (334-122 334-262 244-353) ‘a title’, Chin *kai guo zi* 开国子 C473, Hucker No 3119 “dynasty founding Viscount”.
Khitan **g-ai** ← Chinese *kāi* 开,=開 YCh k^haj, LMCh k^haj.

Khitan in contemporary Chinese transcription:

nai (332) ‘head, first, leader, commander’, Chin *guan* 官, *shou* 首 **L**13, **L**14,
Khitan **nai** → Chin Liaoshi *nài* 耐 YCh *naj*, LMCh *naj.*

The diphthong **ai** is frequent in genuin Khitan words, see EL **ai1** ’year’, **ai2** ’father, ancestor’, **bai** ‘morning’, **bai-d** ‘to erect’, **dai-ri$_5$** * (017 255) ‘to receive (from the superior), 83x, Chin *feng* 奉, etc.

4.8.2.2.2 The AU glyphs

The diphthong **au** is used in Chinese transcriptions:

Au ñ-ó-ñ (161-222-090-222)‘tribal confederation (**ñ-ó-ñ**) of the Ao 奥 (yan) (Turks) ?’, also **au-ñ-ó-on** (161-222-090-186-322) (Zhong3-12, Xu24-32), perhaps also **au-ñ-ó-o-or-en** (161-222-090-186-076-140) (Zhen9-27), **L**21.
Khitan **au** ← Chin *ào* 奥, YCh *aw,* LMCh *ʔaw.*

g-au ci-eu-un go-n ca shï (334-161 162-067-273 319-251 375 180) ‘a title, the *gon ca shi* of the Gau prefecture’, Chin *gao zhou zhi guan cha shi* 高州之观察使 C473.
Khitan **g-au** ← Chin *gāo* 高, YCh *kaw* LMC *kaw.*

G-au sh-ib (334-161 028-127) ‘the name of the owner of the Gaoshi inscription’, Chin *gaoshi* 高十, **L**13.
Khitan **g-au** ← Chin *gāo* 高 YCh *kaw* LMC *kaw*,see above.

go-n g-au (319-251 334-161) ‘imperial edict’, Chin *guan gao* 官诰 C467.
Khitan **g-au** ← Chin *gào* 诰 = 誥 YCh *kaw,* LMCh *kaw.*

jau tau (015-029) ‘punitive officer’, Chin *zhao tao* 招讨 ‘.
Khitan **jau** ← Chin *zhāo* 招, YCh *tʂɛw,* LMCh *tʂiaw.*
Khitan **tau** ← Chin *tǎo* 讨 = 討, YCh *t^haw* , LMCh *t^haw.*

ng-iau-u-un GREAT sh-ün-en ci-i-is-d-b-ñ (264-362-131-273 373 028-329-140 162-339-033-254-311-222) ‘Yao’s respect and Shun’s filial piety’, Chin *yao zhi zun shun zhi xiao* 尧之尊舜之孝 C453, instead of GREAT (373) perhaps **û** (372).
Khitan **ng-iau-u-un** genitive ← Chin *yao zhi, yao* 尧 = 堯 YCh *jɛw*, LMCh *ŋjiaw.*

ng-in s-ing cau-úng lu-uh da$_3$-ai pu (264-018 244-303 022-357 208-172 214-122 241) ‘a title’, Chin *yin qing chong lu dai fu* 银青崇禄大夫 C452, Hucker 7981 “Grand Master of Glorious Happiness with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon”.
Khitan **cau-úng** ← Chin *chóng* 崇, YCh *tʂ^{h}uŋ,* LMCh *tʂ^{h}əwŋ.*

The diphthong **au** exists also in Khitan words:

cau-úr ‘army, military’, Chin *jun* 军, **L**15 ?plural.

dau-úr (119-097) ‘middle’, also **dau-ur** (119-236), **ta-úr** (229-097), **tau-úr** (029-097), see also **d-iau-dû, t-iau-du, L**1, **d-iau-dû go-er** (254-362-249 319-341) ‘reputation tent, central tent’, Chin *sheng yu fang* 声誉房 C448.

s-iau-qú tau-li-a (244-362-118 029-206-189) ‘blue hare ’, Chin *yi mao* 乙卯.

t-aû-t (247-125-247) ‘four, dative-locative’, 2x, also **t-aû-d** (247-125-254), 2x ‘four’, Chin *si* 四 C349, Chin *si yu* 四于 C349, C436, see **t-ur, d-úr,** and **12.3** NUMERALS**.**

tau (029) ‘five’, **tau°** (030) ‘five, (masc), Chin *wu* 五, **L**21, see 12-3 NUMERALS.

tau-su-ó-* (029-041-090) ‘to advance’, no gloss, , see Mong *dabsi-* ‘to advance’, < *daba-* ‘to cross, to exceed’.
Khitan had only one diphthong **au**.

kei (328) does not occur in EL, but occurs in the corpus 44 times.

10.8.2.2.3 The EU glyphs

The diphthong **eu** in the transcription of Chinese:

ca-ang sh-iú y-eu-u ci-ng (375-199 028-289 020-067-131 162-264) 'a title, the Right Assistant of the Minister', Chin *shang shu you cheng* 尚书右丞 C488 *you cheng* is the Right Aide, Assistant Director of the Right, Hucker No 8034.
Khitan **y-eu-u** ← Chin *yòu* 右, YCh *jiw,* LMCh *iw.*

ci-eu2 (162-067) 'district', Chin *zhou* 州,
Khitan **ci-eu** ← Chin *zhōu* 州, YCh *tʂiw* LMCh *tʂiw.*

Ci-eu y-gu *'Zhou Yi* 周易: the Book of Changes'.
Khitan **ci-eu** ← Chin *zhōu* 周, YCh *tʂiw.* LMCh *tʂiw.*

hong-heu (075-250), 'empress' Chin *huanghou* 皇后.
Khitan **heu** ← Chin *hòu* 后, YCh *xəw,* LMCh *xɦəw.*

s-i g-iu-ung-un l-iu sh-eu (244-339 334-19-345-273 261-019 028-067) 'regent of west palace (capital), hybrid ', Chin *xi gong(jing) zhi liu shou* 西宫 (京)之留守 C435, Khitan genitive construction Hucker 3813 *liu shou si* "an office left on guard:Regency*".*
Khitan **sh-eu** ← Chin *shǒu* 守, YCh *ʂiw,* LMCh *ʂiw.*

sh-eu sï tu (028-067 083 202) 'a title', Chin *shou si tu* 守司徒 C368, *shou* is 'defend (ing), guard(ing)'*, si-tu* 'Minister over the Masses.
Khitan **sh-eu** ← Chin *shǒu* 守 see above.

l-iu hu-eu-un (261-019 151-67-273) 'Capital Liaison Representative, genitive', Chin *liu hou zhi* 留后之 C449, Hucker 3790.
Khitan **hu-eu** ← Chin *hòu* 后, YCh *xəw,* LMCh *xɦəw* see above.

sh-eu-u s-iáng s-ün (028-067-131 244-062 244-329)'a title', Chin *shao jiang jun* 少将军 C368, *shao* 'lesser, here junior', for *jiang jun* see Hucker 694 and **s-iáng s-ün.**
Khitan **sh-eu-u** ← Chin *shǎo* 少 YCh *ʂɛw,* LMCh *ʂiaw.*

shï ci-eu-ung (180 162-067-106) 'a title', Chin *shi zhong* 侍中, C413, Hucker No 5229 "Palace Attendant".
Khitan **ci-eu-ung** ← Chin *zhōng* 中, YCh *tʂuŋ*, LMCh *triwŋ.*

u-ru g-iu-ung-un l-iu sh-eu (131-236 334-019-345-273 261-019 028-067) 'a title?', Chin *shang gong(jing) zhi liu shou* 上宫 (京)之留守C393, hybrid, with Kitan genitive,? those who were left behind, stood behind for duty in the superior palace, Hucker No 5012 *shang gong ju* 上宫局 TANG-SUNG "General Palace Service".
Khitan **sh-eu** ← Chin *shǒu* 守, YCh *ʂiw,* LMCh *ʂiw.*

y-eu-u (020-067-131) 'phonetic transcription of the Chinese character for "right"', 9x,
Khitan **y-eu-u** ← Chin *yòu* 右 C362, YCh *yiw*, MCh *iew.*

The diphtongue **eu** is common in Khitan:
deu (101) 'younger brother', Chin *di* 第, **L**6.
eu-e$_2$ (067-109) 'to die', Chin *zu* 卒 C380.
eu-uh-ñ-i (067-172-222-339) 'a title, a term of relationship, pertaining to a subclan of the Xiao', ChinT *oukun* 甌昆 L3, **L**4, **L**5, **L**7.
eu-ul (067-366) 'cloud', Chin *yun* 云.
eu-úr (067-097) 'ages', **eu-ur$_2$** (067-236), Chin *sui* 岁, **L**14.
h-eu-s (340-067-244) 'throat'.
neu (331) 'earth', C471.
sh-eu-su (028-067-041) 'dewdrop', 5x, Chin *lu* 露 C368.
y-eu-* (020-067) 'to move away, change the position', 1x (Y u34-38)[6].
Khitan had only one **eu** diphthong which is written sometimes as **eu+u**.

10.8.2.2.4 The IE glyphs

Khitan <ie> (327) in transcription of Chinese.
Ci-ng t-ie-ên tai heu-un (162-264 247-327-073 374 250-273) 'Chengtian empress dowager, genitive', Chin *cheng tian tai hou zhi* 承天太后之 C407, see also Hucker No 6698,
Khitan **t-ie-ên** ← Chin *tiān* 天, YCh *t^hjɛn,* LMCh *t^hian*
co-on-tu t-ie-ên-de (298-154-202 247-327-073-205) 'in the Cuan Hall', Chin *cuan tu dian yu* 攢涂殿于,
Khitan **t-ie-ên** ← Chin *diàn* 殿 YCh *tjɛn,* LMCh *tian.*
g-ie-ém (334-327-270) 'simultaneously, concurrently', **L**1.
Khitan **g-ie-ém** ← Chin *jiān* 兼, YCh *kjɛm* LMCh *kjiam.*
ju-ung jï-ing g-ün z-ie du shï (147-345 087-303 334-329 258-327 237 180) 'a title', Chin *zhong zheng jun jie du shi* 忠正军节度使 C401.
Khitan **z-ie** ← Chin *jié* 节 = 節 YCh *tsjɛ,* LMCh *tsiat.*
L-au-qó-ñ y-ie-ên ong (261-161-169-222 020-327-073 071), 'prince of Yan', Chin *lao gu yan wang* 老古燕王 C449,
Khitan **y-ie-ên** ← Chin *yàn* 燕, YCh *jɛn,* LMCh *ʔjian.*
ng-iú-ku t-ie-ên-en (264-289-282 247-327-073-140) 'imperial palace, genitive', Chin *yu dian zhi* 御殿之 C453, hybrid, Chinese+Khitan genitive.
Khitan **t-ie-ên** ← Chin *diàn* 殿, YCh *tjɛn,* LMCh *tian*, see above.

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[6] Most probably not here, perhaps a transcription of Chinese

s-ie du-u 仐文 仃豖 (244-327 237-131) 'military commissioner', Chin *jie du* 节度 C435, Hucker 777, *jie du shi* 節 都使 "Military Commissioner".
Khitan **s-ie** ← Chin *jié* 节 see above.

s-ie-ên hong-en 仐文夯 圭冇 (244-327-073 075-140) 'the late emperor, genitive', Chin *xian huang zhi* 先皇之 C435.
Khitan **s-ie-ên** ← Chin *xiān* 先, YCh *sjɛn*, LMCh *sian.*

s-ie-ên ng-iu ui°-i z-iang g-ün 仐文夯 尜丙 尖关 伞丬 九亦 (244-327-073 264-019 263-339 258-314 334-339) 'general of Qianniuwei', Chin *qian niu wei jiang jun* 千牛卫将军 C435.
Khitan **s-ie-ên** ← Chin *qiān* 千, YCh *ts*^{h}*jɛn,* LMCh *ts*^{h}*ian.*

s-ie-ên p-ai$_2$ jur sï-d-en 仐文夯 业朱 圣 廿仌冇 (244-327-073 295-197 134 083-254-140) 'bureau of coins and silk, two, genitive', Chin *qian bo er si zhi* 钱帛二司之 C435, hybrid see the function of **jur**.
Khitan **s-ie-ên** ← Chin *qián* 钱, (= 錢), YCh *ts*^{h}*jɛn,* LMCh *tsɦian.*

shï-ï ci-i z-ie 卂谷 朩关 伞文 (180-353 162-339 258-327) 'a title', Chin *shi chi jie* 使持节 C413, Hucker No 5223 "Commissioned with extraordinary power".
Khitan **z-ie** ← Chin *jie* 节 see above.

t-ie-ên ju-ung shï-ï ng-iú shï 令文夯 马火 卂谷 尜火 卂 (247-327-073 147-345 180-353 264-289 180) 'a title', Chin *dian zhong shi yu shi* 殿中侍御史 C441, Hucker, No 6556 "LIAO: Palace Administrator, head of the Administration Office (*tien-chung ssu*)".
Khitan **t-ie-ên** ← Chin-殿 *diàn* see above.

t-ie-ém g-ie-ém-en ui MANAGE-l-hu 令文仌 九文仌冇 火 压屮列 (247-327-270 334-327-270-140 262 142-261-151) 'a title, hybrid, genitive (the one who inspects at the point)', Chin *dian jian zhi shi zhi* 点检之事知 C442, no exact equivalent in Hucker or WF, perhaps see *du dian jian* 都電檢 Hucker No 7297 LIAO: one of the titles given heads of regional Tax Offices (*ch'ien po ssu*)".
Khitan **t-ie-ém** ← Chin 点 = 點 *diǎn,* YCh *tjɛm*, LMCh *tiam.*
Khitan **g-ie-ém** ← Chin 检 = 檢 *jiǎn,* YCh *kjɛm,* LMCh *kiam.*

to-on l-ie-ên 生不 屮文夯 (213-154 261-327-073) 'a title', Chin *tuan lian* 团练 C419 Hucker, No 7383 "Militia".
Khitan **l-ie-ên** ← Chin 练 = 練 *liàn*, YCh *ljɛn*, LMCh *lian.*

We can state that the glyph 文 (327) is reflecting a Chinese /ie/ or /je, jɛ/. All examples with two exceptions point to an Early Old Mandarin form (YCh). The two exceptions are:

p-ing j-ie-iang jï-ng shï 业同 支文丬 友尜 卂 (295-303 104-327-314 087-264 180) 'a title', Chin *ping zhang zheng shi* 平章政事 C461 (Xian11-42, 1175), Hucker No 4700 "Manager of Governmental Affairs", LIAO designation of one or more eminent central government officials on the executive staff of the Great Councilor (*tsai-hsiang*), at each auxiliary capital as well as at the prinicipal dynastic capital", the title occurs in Xian11-42, 13-15, 14-2, which was written under the Jin dynsty and is the last dated KSS inscription.

Khitan **j-ie-iang** ← Chin *zhāng* 章, YCh *tʂaŋ,* LMCh *tʂiaŋ,*The Khitan form has to be a miswriting**, j-ie-iang** should be **j-iang** or **j-ang** or similar. In this case the Khitan reflects a LMCh form.

sh-ie-b g-ung-un (028-327-311 334-345-273) 'the ten palaces, genitive', Chin *shi gong zhi* 十宫之 C372 (Jue45, 1071).

Khitan **sh-ie-b** ← Chin *shí* 十, YCh *ʂi,* LMCh *ʂhip*, see also the name **Gao shib** Chin 高十 see INTRODUCTION **2.3**, clearly a LMCh form.

Khitan had only one **ie** diphthong, sometimes also as **ie-e**.

10.8.2.2.5 The OI glyphs

This diphthong which is frequent in Khitan words and as Khitan suffix is rare in transcription of Chinese. I found only two cases in EL:

ng-üe-ên sh-oi$_2$ pu (264-082-073 028-107 241) 'administration/ office of Marshal', ChinE *yuan shuai fu* 元帅(=帥) 府 YCh *ɥɛn*, LMCh *ŋyan,* YCh *ʂwaj,* LMCh, *ʂuj,* YCh *fu,* LMCh *fjyə̌/fuə̌* C452, Hucker No 8245 "Headquarters of a Marshal".

Khitan **sh-oi$_2$** ← Chin *shuai*, 帅(=帥) YCh *ʂwaj,* LMCh, *ʂuj.*

sh-i-l-oi$_2$-én (028-339-261) Chin *shi lie* 石列, 'tribal unit', a backloan, **L**19 not clear.

In one case it is a miswriting:

T-oi$_2$-b-u har$_3$-de (247-107-311-131 006-205) 'mausoleum', dative-locative (Xiang33) = **T-ge$_2$-b-u**.

10.8.2.2.6 The UI glyphs

The diphthong ui is represented by two glyphs: <ui> (262), <ui$_2$> (265), the former has also a dotted variant <ui°> (263), they are very frequent, in the corpus (262) occurs 1749 times, (266) 8x times and (263) 80 times, while in EL (262) 109 times, (263) 18 times resp. and (265) is not present.

In Khitan transcription of Chinese

du ui° (237 263) 'Commander-in-Chief', Chin *du wei* 都尉 C424, Hucker No7326.

Khitan **ui** ← Chin *wèi* 尉 YCh *uj*, LMCh *ʔyj.*

G-ui g-e p-ü-z-iú (334-266 334-348 295-082-258-289) ‘a name and a title’, Chin *guige biexu* 贵哥 別胥, **L**12.
Khitan **g-ui** ← Chin 贵 = 貴 *guì,* YC *kuj* LMCh *kyj.*

g-ui (334-262) ‘state’, **L**l, **L**21, ← Chin *guó* 国 YCh *kuj*, LMCh *kuə̆k.*

GREAT m-qu-ui sh-ri-e (373 133-246-262 028-235-348) ‘a tribe, a *shirie* name’, Chin *da mie gu shi lie* 大蔑弧石烈 C485.
Khitan **m-qu-ui** ← Chin *miè hú* 蔑弧 *mie* YCh *mjɛ,* LMCh *mjat gu* recte *hu* YCh *xu,* LMCh *xɦuə*[7].

l-ing g-ün ui° (261-303 334-329) ‘a title’, Chin *ling jun wei* 领军卫 C451, Hucker 3756 “T’ANG: Metropolitan Guard”.
Khitan **ui** ← Chin *wèi* 卫 = 衛, YCh *uj,* LMCh *yaj.*

n-ui sh-iáng-en (251-262 028-062-140) ‘inner division, genitive’, Chin *nei sheng zhi* 内省之 C445.
Khitan **n-ui** ← Chin *nèi* 内, YCh *nuj,* LMCh *nuaj.*

Ng-ui°-en po-do (264-263-140 279-217) ‘in the time of the Wei ’, Chin *wei zhi shi zhi* 魏之时之 C453.
Khitan **ng-ui** ← Chin *wèi*, 魏, YCh *uj,* LMCh *ŋyj.*

s-i sh-ui ki-ên h-ai g-ui b-ai$_2$ (244-339 028-262 163-073 340-122 334-262 311-197) ‘a title, founding father of the Qishui county’, Chin *qi shui xian kai guo bo* 漆水县开国伯 C435.
Khitan **sh-ui** ← Chin *shuǐ,* 水, YCh *ṣuj* LMCh *ṣyj.*
Khitan **g-ui** ← **Chin** 贵=貴 *guì*, YC *kuj* LMCh *kyj*, see above.

ün gu-í ui° (329 165-352 263) ‘commander of the military formation ‘clouds’’ to *yun qi* ‘clouds’, Chin *yun qi wei* 云骑尉 = 雲騎尉 C470, Hucker No 8272 “Commandant of Fleet-as-Clouds Cavalry, prestige title (*san kuan*) in Sui, merit title (*hsün*) from T’ang through Chin”[8].
Khitan **ui** ← Chin *wèi* 尉, YCh *uj*, LMCh *ʔyj* see above.

s-ie-ên ng-iu ui°-i z-iang g-ün (244-327-073 264-019 263-339 258-314 334-339) ‘general of Qianniuwei’, Chin *qian niu wei jiang jun* 千牛卫将军 C435.
Khitan **ng-iu** ← Chin *niú* 牛 YCh *jiw*, LMCh *ŋiw.*
Khitan **uiº** ← Chin *wèi* 卫 = 衛, YCh *uj,* LMCh *yaj* see above.
Khitan **ui** is transcribing Chinese *ui.*

The diphthongue <ui> and <uiº> are frequent in the genuin Khitan words, like

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[7] The Khitan transcription needs further research

[8] Khitan **gu-í** ← Chin qí 騎, YCh *khi*, LMCh *kɦi* is Khitan **g-i**.

h-ui-* (340-262) ‘to (arrive to)’, Chin *zhi* 至 C479 ‘to arrive, to reach, best, perfect, apex, extremity’.

ó-ui1 (090-262) ‘to give’, Chin 1 *shou* 授, see **u-** C386.

sui* (238) ‘born’, Chin *sheng* 生 C424, also **s-oi$_2$** (244-107) also see **12.5.1** VERBS, PARADIGMS.

ui1 (262) ‘1. cyclical branch of Hai, pig’, Chin 1 *hai (zhu)* 亥 (猪) C452, ?onomatopoeic??

ui2 (262), ‘matter, act’, 276x, **ui^{o}2** (263), 18x, also **ui-il** (262-302), 20x, it has a dotted form **ui^{o}** (263).

y-qu-ui (020-246-262) ‘further, repeat, again’, 5x, Chin *fu* 复, *zai* 再 **L**16, **L**18, **L**20, **L**21**,** **L**23, **L**25, also **y-qó-oi$_2$** (020-169-107) ‘again’,9x, Chin *fu* 复 C358, **y-qó-ui** (020-169-262), 2x, **y-qu-ui** (020-246-262), 22x.

The diphthong **ui** is also present in suffixes.

10.8.2.2.7 The ÜE glyphs

The glyph (082) <üe> is quite frequent, according to CWJ Index p 1754 16 items begin with it, but all together its occurrance is 84 in the corpus and about 17 in EL

Khitan üe in transcription of Chinese

b-üe-z-iú (311-082-258-289) ‘a title’, Chin *bie xu* 别胥 C465, see also **b-jel-z-iú** (311-173-258-289) in error.
Khitan **b-üe** ← Chin 别 *bié,* YCh *pjɛ,* LMCh *pĥiat,* this and the next two are of ultimately Khitan origin.

p-üe-siu (295-082-004) ’a title Chin *bie xu* 别胥 C459, also **p-üe-z-iú-** (295-082 258-289-004) ‘a title’, Chin *bie xu* 别胥 C459.
Khitan **p-üe**← Chin 别 *bié,* YCh *pjɛ,* LMCh *pĥiat* see above, both Khitan transcription of a Chinese title of Khitan origin.

G-ui g-e p-üe-z-iú (334-262 334-348 295-082-258-289) ‘a name’, Chin *guige biexu* 贵哥 别胥, **L**12.
Khitan **p-üe** ← Chin *bié* YCh *pjɛ,* LMCh *pĥiat* see above.

ci-üe-ên ün deu-úr MANAGE-u-ji-de (162-082-073 329 101-097 142-131-152-205) ‘a title’, Chin *zhuan yun tong zhi* 转运同知 C405.
Khitan **ci-üe-ên** ← Chin *zhuǎn* 转 = 轉, YCh *tʂwɛn,* LMCh *tryan.*

jï üe-ên (087 082-073) ‘division of administration’, Chin *zhi yuan* 知院 C386.
Khitan **üe-ên** ← Chin *yuan* 院 YCh *ɥɛn,* LMCh *yan*.

N-i-ing üe-ên da-ai z-iang g-ün 公关同 艾考 久廾 伞并 九亦 (251-339-303 082-073 171-122 258-314 334-339) ‘Ning yuan great general’, Chin *ning yuan da jiang jun* 宁远大将军 C446.
Khitan **üe-ên** ← Chin *yuàn* 远, = 遠, YCh *ɥɛn,* LMCh *yan*.

ng-iú üe-ên t-ung z-in 发岕 艾考 令太 伞雨 (264-289 082-073 247-345 258-018) ‘a title’, Chin *yu yuan tong jin* 御院通进 C453, Hucker No 8214 CHIN: “Ceremonial Receptionist”.
Khitan **üe-ên** ← Chin *yuàn* 院, YCh *ɥɛn,* LMCh *yan*, see above.

ng-üe-ên sh-oi$_2$ pu 发艾考 戈太 介 (264-082-073 028-107 241) ‘administration/office of a Marshal’, Chin *yuan shuai fu* 元帅府 C452, Hucker No 8245 “Headquarters of a Marshal”.
Khitan **ng-üe-ên** ← Chin *yuán* 元, YCh *ɥɛn*, LMCh *ŋüan.*

Y-ang S-iúng üe 丙気 仐用 艾 (020-199 244-181 082)Chin *yang cong yue* 杨 从 越 C364.
Khitan **üe** ← Chin *yuè* 越 YCh *ɥɛ* LMCh *yat.*
Khitan **üe** transcribes YCh or Early Mandarin *üe*, also in words in which *ŋ* is preserved on which see below:

Khitan <üe$_2$> 仲 (226) in the transcription of Chinese.

The glyph 仲 (226) <üe$_2$> occurs 22 times in the corpus and 5 times in EL. As we see in the following example, the glyph (226) 仲 and the glyph (082) 艾 have, at least in one case, an identical function:

ng-üe$_2$-n p-i 发仲公 业关 (264-226-251 295-339)‘the first, principal consort/concubine, Chin *yuan fei* 元妃 (Gu12), C453, Hucker No 8224, also **ng-üe-n p-i-in 发艾公 业关雨** (264-082-251 295-339-018) ‘the first, principal consort/concubine, genitive’, (Gu17), Chin *yuan fei zhi* 元妃之 C453.
Khitan **üe$_2$, üe** ← Chin *yuán* 元 YCh *ɥɛn*, LMCh *ŋüan.*

other cases: 仲 (226) in Chinese words is reflecting a Chinese /üe/:

b-u-u sh-iú üe$_2$-n 舟及及 戈岕 仲公 (311-131-131 028-289 226-251) ‘office of the administrator’, Chin *bushuyuan* 部署院 C466, Hucker No 4801.
Khitan **üe$_2$-n** ← Chin *yuàn* 院, YCh *ɥɛn,* LMCh *yan*.

üe$_2$-n-en ui 仲公冇 火 (226-251-140 262) ‘matter of division (walled courtyard)’, Chin *yuan zhi shi* 院之事 C423 hybrid expression, first part is Chin *yuan* (YCh *ɥɛn*)+ the second part Khitan genitive+ *ui*[9], see above.
Khitan **üe$_2$-n** ← Chin *yuàn,* 院, YCh *ɥɛn,* LMCh *yan*, see above.

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[9] 仲公冇 火 为乃伏亦 压北 *<ü-n-en ui a-am-ñ-er MANAGE-li$_2$>*(Xu12)

There is a Khitan word with <üe$_2$> but it is unclear:

üe$_2$ 仲 (226) ’sure, must, certainly’, (Guang30), Chin *bi* C423. Not clear, perhaps a Chinese word.

üe$_2$-ai 仲丰 (226-122) ‘sure’, (Yu36), Chin *bi* 必 C423 perhaps **üe$_2$ ai**, separately[10.]

üe$_2$-de 仲矢 (226-205) ‘sure’, (Tai15), Chin *bi* 必 C423.

Special case is 丸 (191)<tou>- This is the only glyph with the diphthong *ou.* The glyph (191) occurs 101 times in the corpus. In the wordlist on p. 416 Index has 26 different items beginning with (191). From them the isolated glpyph (191) occurs 64 times. All other words are rare, occurring once or twice, with the exception of **tou-il-û-ui** (191-366-372-262) which occurs nine times. CWJ on pp 248-249 has a longer text on the earlier research and gives interesting contexts of the word. Since the glyph does not occur in EL I will not treat it.

The diphthong **ua** occurs in the glyph **xua** 久 (143) which can be found 20 times in the corpus, in most cases in the transcription of Chinese. It is not occurring in EL.

Summing up: Khitan could distinguish the following diphthongs: **ai, au, eu, ie, oi, iu, ui, üe,** they are correctly rendering the Chinese originals.

Khitan	Chinese
au	*aw*
eu	*ou*, iw, *əw, ɛw, u,*
ie	*jɛ*
iu	*iw*
oi	*waj* (one example)
ui	*uj*
üe	*wɛ, ɥɛ*

10.8.2.3 The vowel+consonant and consonant+vowel units

10.8.2.3.1 A+C GLYPHS

See **8.8.4.1**.

What may be the difference between <an> 买 (011) and <án> 出 (290)?

The glyph: 买 (011)

In transcription of Chinese

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[10] I could not find the word in Yu.

Khitan **A-an** (189-011) ‘in a geographic name’ ← Chin *ān* 安’

ci-iau s-a-an t-ai-i pu (162-362 244-189-011 247-122-339 241) ‘a title’, Chin *zhao san dai fu* 朝散大夫 C410.
Khitan **sa-a-an** ← Chin *sàn* 散, YCh *san,* LMCh *san.*

g-ing-en tu-ung p-a-an(334-303-140 202-345 295-189-011) ‘a title, the *tongpan* of the capital’, Chin *jing zhi tong pan* 京之 通判, **L**23, Hucker 7497 *tongpan* “Controller-general”.
Khitan **p-a-an** ← Chin *pàn* 判, YCh p^{h}*ɔn,* LMCh p^{h}*uan.*

In Khitan words

an-i (011-339) ‘genitive of **an**-?

b-ar$_{2}$-a-an (311-084-189-011) ‘right (side)’, an old suffix, see Mong *baragan.*

suffix of genitive case, see **12.1.2.1.2.**

cal°-a-an us-g (183.1-189-011 068-334) ‘words on stone, stone inscription’.

Ci-bu-hu-an (162-196-151-011) ‘tribe name, plural genitive’,

hor-a-an ui (047-189-011 262) ‘a matter of people, civil affairs, genitive construction ’, Chin *min zhi shi* 民之事 C376.

ia-iá-an y-au-o-ón (335-274-011 020-161-186-322) ‘brother, genitive’, Chin *xiong(di)zhi* 兄 (弟)之 C476, this has to be an expression, perhaps‘the way of the brethren’ see **y-au-o-ón.**

Ku-ung Ming-an (178-345 207-011) ‘Confucius and Mencius, genitive’, Chin *kong meng zhi* 孔孟之 C412.

l-ém-a-an (261-270-189-011) ‘a title, genitive’, Chin *lin ya zhi* 林牙之 C450,

l-ém-hu-a-an (261-270-151-189-011) a ‘title, genitive’, Chin *lin ya zhi* 林牙之 C450.

pu ma-an (241 133-189-011), ‘son-in-law’, 5x.

deverbal suffix.

a-an <a-an> (189-011) ‘deverbal noun (participle) in *an* of *a*-’ same as the above, 17x.

au-a-an (161-189-011) ?? a converb of the verb **au-**.

eu-ul-g or-a-an (067-366-334 076-189-011) ‘after death’, Chin *gu hou* 故后 C381.

The glyph <án> 出 (290)

1. In Khitan words

Hul-a-án 丯为出 (048-189-290)‘a person’s name’, Chin *hu lan* 胡懒 C372, see Mong *qulan* ‘wild ass’, not Middle Mongolian *hulagan*‘red’.

m-án* 叉出 (133-290) ‘to hunt’.

mod 圡 (043) ‘evil’, Chin *e* 恶 C371 reading uncertain.

mod-a-án ui 圡为出 火 (043-189-290 262) ‘evil thing’, Chin *e shi* 恶事 C371.

mod-a-án-en 圡为出杓 (043-189-290-140) ‘evil thing, genitive ’, Chin *e* 恶 C371.

n-a-án 公为出 (251-189-290) ‘will, predestination’ only once (Qing18-36).

HEAVEN neu-e$_2$ **n-a-án** 关 穴夯 公为出 ‘by the will of Heaven and Earth (she died)’.

2. In irregular plurals

b-hu-án 舟列出 (311-151-290) ‘children, plural of b-qo’, but gloss Chin *haizi* 孩子 ‘baby’, **L**4, **L**10, see **b-qo**.

na-ha-án-er 力业出公 (139-051-290-341) ‘maternal uncles’, plural, also **na-án-er** 力出公 (139-051-290) ‘maternal uncle’, Chin *jiu* 舅 C399.

3. As suffix of participal, deverbal noun

a-án 为出 (189-290) ‘deverbal noun (participle) in **-án** of **a-án**, 104x.

da-ha-ar o-l$_2$ **ha-a-án** 久业 本 及子业出 (171-051-123 186-149-051-290) ‘cover up, close’ Chin *yan bi* 掩闭 C411.

ja-al-ha-a-án 孙亏业为出 (150-098-051-189-290) ‘continue someone’s work’, Chin *ji* 继 C401.

n-ai-ri-ha-a-án po-do 公丯化业为出 北朱 (251-122- 235-051-189-290 279-217), ‘in auspicious time’, Chin *jishi* 吉时 C444.

na-as-ha-a-án dor (139-174-051-290-218) ‘the ceremony to bury together’ Ch *fuli* 袝礼 (Zhi22) C399

när-ia-án 关才出 (159-335-290) ‘to spend the day’ (**L**2n, Song15-16).

on-a-án 不为出 (154-189-290) ‘to drop, to let fall’, Chin *jiang* 降 C403.

sui-l-ha-a-án eme 佃卝业为出 丙 (238-261-051-189-290 021) ‘birth mother’, Chin *sheng mu* 生母 C424.

y-au-a-án 万夹为出 (020-161-189-290) ‘1.way, road, 2. etiquette’ (the gone), Chin *dao* 道 C363.

The glyph <án> 出 (290) is not used in EL for transcription of Chinese, in most cases it functions as a suffix of the participal.

There is no demonstrable phonetical difference between the two glyphs.

The difference between <ang> (199) and <áng> (280)
<ang> (199)

In Chinese transcription

l-i b-û ca-ang sh-iú (261-339 311-372 375-199 028-289) ‘a title’, Chin *li bu shang shu* 礼部尚书 C451, Hucker 3631 *li-bu* “Ministry of Rites”, *shangshu* Hucker 5042 “Minister, head of the top-level administrative agency in the Central government’s Department of State Affairs”.
Khitan **ca-ang** ← Chin 尚 *shàng*, YCh *ʂaŋ*, LMCh *ʂɦiaŋ.*

l-ang go-ci (261-199 319-162) ‘corridor, balcony’, Chin *lang wu*廊庑 C450, hybrid Chinese and Khitan **go–ci.**
Khitan **l-ang** ← Chin *láng* 廊, YCh *laŋ,* LMCh *laŋ.*

m-a pu l-ang ju-ung-un (133-189 241 261-199 147-345-273) ‘a title, genitive’, Chin *ma fu lang zhong zhi* 马府郎中之 C395.
Khitan **l-ang** ← Chin *láng* 郎 YCh *laŋ,* LMCh *laŋ.*

S-i-ing g-ia-ang g-ün (244-339-303 334-335-199 334-339) ‘a military title’, Chin *jing jiang jun* 静江军.
Khitan **g-ia-ang** ← Chin *jiāng* 江*,* YCh *kjaŋ,* LMCh *kja:wŋ.*

sh-ang s-iang g-ün (028-199 244 334 329) ‘a title, General’, Chin *shang jianggjun* 上 将军, **L**20**, L**23, Hucker No 4982 “Generalissimo”.
Khitan **sh-ang** ← Chin *shàng* 上, YCh *ʂaŋ*, LMCh *ʂɦiaŋ.*

In Khitan word of not Khitan origin

T-ang-ur (247-199-236) ‘a name, Tangut?, plural?’, ChinT *tang gu* 唐古, **L**10, **L**11, 2x C440, **T-ang-ur-en** (247-199-236-140), genitive, 4x.
Khitan **t-ang** ← Chin *táng* 唐 , YCh t^h*aŋ*, LMCh *tɦaŋ.*

<áng> (280)

In transcription of Chinese

xa-áng tai ca-ang sh-iú sh-iáng-en (130-280 374 375-199 028-289 028-062-140) ‘title, genitive ’, Chin *xing tai shang-shu sheng zhi* 行台尚书省之 C392, Hucker No 2599 CHIN (!) “Branch Department of State Affairs, established in 1140 at Kaifeng”.
Khitan **xa-áng** ← Chin *xíng* 行, YCh *xiŋ*, LMCh *xɦja:jŋ.*

ca-ang ← Chin *shàng* 尚 , YCh *ʂaŋ,* LMCh *ʂɦiaŋ,* see above.

sh-iáng ← Chin *shěng* 省, YCh *ʂəŋ,* LMCh *ʂa:jŋ*.

In Khitan words

b-áng-hu* 舟业列 (311-280-151), ‘collect workers’ (Lang3), Chin *jiu gong* 鸠 工 CWJ 895, K 188, Shimunek 2014, 113 has **b-ang-γ** ’issue orders’ which would correspond to WM *banga*-‘to reprimand’, but this is improbable, see Wu—Róna-Tas 2019, 53. The text speaks about collecting workers for renovation.

sh-iá-áng* 叉幺业 (028-274-280)‘to praise’ from **sh-iá** 叉幺 (028-274) ‘goodness’, see Mong *sayisiya*-‘to praise’ < *sayin.*
? long a:?, one example.

Difference between <ar> 本 (123) and <ar$_2$> 车 (084).

The same name written with both glyphs:.

Y-ar$_2$-u-ud 丙车及火 (020-084-131-344), 23x, also **Y-ar-u-ud** 丙本及火 (020-123-131-344), 2x ‘the clan name of the Khitan leaders, Yarud’, Chin *yelü* 耶律, **L**2, **Y-ar$_2$-u-ud-i** 丙车及火关 (020-084-131-344-339), genitive, Chin *ye lü zhi* 耶律之 C363.

p-ar 业本 (295-123) ‘wife, family’, 29x, also **p-ar$_2$** 业车 (295-084), 9x, ‘female member of family’, Chin *nü juan* 女眷 C459, Chin *qi* 妻 C459, ?perhaps to *aran* ‘man, person’ pl. *arad*, MMo *haran* ‘hommes, gens’, pl. *harad* (Hy), Chin *juan* 眷, 女眷, C459 **L**4, **L**9, genitive **p-ar-en** 业本冇 (295-123-140), dative-locative **p-ar-de** 业本矢 (295-123-205).

eme-t p-ar丙令 业本 (021 247 295-123)‘wife and the children, wife with her family’, Chin *juan* 眷, 女眷, C459, **L**4, **L**9, **p-a-ar p-in** 业为本 业雨 (295-189-123 295-018) ‘estate’, Chin *shi yi* 食邑 C461 see **p-ar** family and **p-in** ‘estate’ in EL.

In Khitan name of not Khitan origin?

T-ad-ar 令示本 (247-099-123) ‘a name, Tatar’,4x, ChinT *ta ta er* 塔塔儿, Chin *da da* 韃靼 C438, **L**11.

In Khitan words and names:

as-ar 冬本 (174-123) ‘clear, quiet, peace, peaceful’, **L**18, **L**19, see also **mu-u-ji HEAVEN ~.**

che-a-ar1 芾为本 (363-189-123)‘messenger, envoy’, Chin *shi zhe* 使者, C482.

che-a-ar2 芾为本 (363-189-123)‘mission’, Chin *chu shi* 出使, C482.

Che-a-ar 芾为本 (363-189-123) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *zhi la* 只剌, C482.

ci-ar 术本 (162-123) ‘early, former, in former times’, Chin *zao* 早, *xi* 昔 C405.

p-ar-* 业本 (295-123)‘to chase’.

S-abu-ha-ar 伞生走本 (244-196-051-123) ‘a name’, Chin *sa-ba* 撒八.

tal-hu-ar 午列本 (195-151-123) ‘uprising, robbery?’, Chin no gloss, **L**17.

xar-ar-ha-en 出本走冇 (287-123-051-140), ‘????? gen:’, Chin no gloss, **L**25.

In the suffix of the past tense

a-ar (189-123) ‘was, was there’ past tense in *–ar* of the verb *a*-’, 64x, Chin no gloss, **L**17.

b-al-ha-a-ar (311-098-051-189-123) ‘become’, Chin *chu (cheng wei)* 除 (成为) C465, to **b-o-l$_2$.**

bai-d-ha-a-ar (061-254-053-189-123) ‘made’, Chin *li* 立 C375.

COMPOSE-a-ar (308-189-123) ‘has composed’, Chin *zhuan* 撰, **L**2.

y-au-ul-ha-ar (020-161-366-051-123). 4x.

In the suffix of accusative-instrumental

MR-ar (170-123), 4x.

The glyph <ar$_2$> (084) does not occur in transcriptions of Chinese in EL

In Khitan words and names:

ar$_2$-b (084-311) ‘a name, Arab???’ Chin no gloss, **L**22.

Ar$_2$-l-o (084-261-186) ‘a name’, no ChinT, **L**6.

b-ar$_2$-a-an (311-084-189-011) ‘right (side)’, see Mong *baragun*, Dag *baren* ‘right (direction) (M119), *barā* ‘recht’ (M-K112), Chin *you* 右, **L**17.

b-ar$_2$-un$_2$ (311-084-144) ‘name of a tribe, perhaps the Right Banner’, CWJ 465 ChinT *bali* 拔里 is a transcripion of the Khitan.

ci-ar$_2$-b-s-li$_2$ (162-084-311-244-080) ‘fall into’, Chin *fen* 分 C405.

ci-ar$_2$-l (162-084-261) ‘virtuous, worthy’, Chin *xian* 贤 C405, also **ci-ar$_2$-l-i** (162-084-261-339) ‘worthy’, Chin *xian* 贤 C405, **ci-ar$_2$-il** (162-084-302) ‘worthy’, Chin *xian* 贤 C405.

t-ie-ar$_2$ (247-327-084), ‘?’, 14x..

heu-úr-ar$_2$ (250-097-084), 1x.

L-iau-ar$_2$ g-úr-en (261-362-084 334-97-140) ‘Liao state, genitive’, Chin *Liao guo zhi* 辽国之 C452 (Ren17) **L-iau-ar** 13x.

n-ar$_2$ (251-084) ‘tomb’, Chin *mu* 墓 C443, dative-locative **n-ar$_2$-de** (251-084-205) Chin *mu yu* 墓于 C443 **L**1.

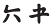
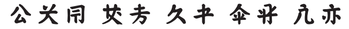
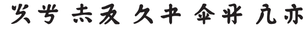
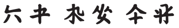
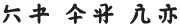
n-ar$_2$-en ñ-qó-l$_2$ (251-084-140 222-169-149) ‘tomb cave, grave’, Chin *mu xue* 墓穴 C443.

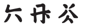
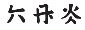
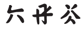
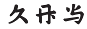
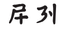
The two glyphs appear in the same words, the second glyph occurs neither in Chinese words nor as suffix.

10.8.2.3.2 The C+A glyphs

See **8.8.5.1**

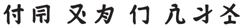
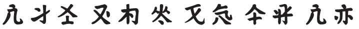
The difference between <da> (171) and <da$_3$> (214)

Both in Chinese transcription:
da$_3$-ai  (214-122) 'great', Chin *dai* 大, YCh *ta, tɔ, taj,* LMCh *tha, thaj* **L**6.
N-i-ing üe-ên da-ai z-iang g-ün  (251-339-303 082-073 171-122 258-314 334-329) 'Ning yuan great general', Chin *ning yuan da jiang jun* 宁远大将军 C446.
Khitan **da-ai** ← Chin *dà* 大, YCh *ta, tɔ, taj,* LMCh *tha, thaj,* see above
s$_2$-iau w-u da-ai z-iang g-ün  (354-362 070-131 171-122 258-314 334-329) 'a title', Chin *zhao wu da jiang jun* 昭武大将军 C482 ? Zhaowu great general?.
Khitan **da-ai** ← Chin *dai* 大 YCh *ta, tɔ, taj,* LMCh *tha, thaj,* see above.
da$_3$-ai ci-ng s-iang  (214-122 162-264 244-314) 'Prime/Great Minister', ChinE *da chengxiang* 大丞相, **L**6, Hucker No. 5889 "Grand Counselor in-chief".
da$_3$-ai s-iang g-ün  (214-122 244-314 334-329) 'Grand General', ChinE *da jiangjun* 大 将军, **L**15Hucker No 5897 "General-in-chief' C411.
Khitan **da$_3$-ai** ← Chin *dai* 大 YCh *ta, tɔ, taj,* LMCh *tha, thaj,* see above.

Both in the same Khitan word:
dalu (141), **dalu°** (142) 'seven', perhaps it has a short form **dal,** see **12.3**, the ordinal form is **da -lu -er**  (214-312-341) 9x, and once **da$_3$-lu$_3$-oi**  (214-312-347)[3], 1x[3], (Hai4-23) where (347) is a frequent misreading of (341), further once **da$_3$-313-er**  (214-313-341), where (313) has to be read <lu$_4$>, the feminine form is : **da-lu$_3$-én**  (171-312-361) 1x (Dao14-5), Multiplicative **dalu-hu**  (141-151) 2x.

There is no detectable difference between <da> (171) <da$_3$> and (214)

The difference between: <ia> (335) and <iá> (274)

<ia> in transcription of Chinese:
bi-ing m-a du g-ia-ém  (225-303 133-189 237 334-335-270) 'a title', Chin *bingma dujian* 兵马都监 C422, Hucker, No 4687.
g-ia-ém m-en ui° sh-ang s-iang g-ün  (334-335-270 133-140 263 028-199 244-314 334-329) 'a title', Chin *jian men wei shang*

jiang jun 监门卫上将军 C475, Hucker, No 847 *jian men wei* “Palace Gate Guard”, No 4982 *shang jiang gun* “Generalissimo”.
Khitan **g-ia-ém** ← Chin *jiān* 监, YCh *kjam*, LMCh *kja:m.*

Pu-ung H-ia N-u (241-106 340-335 251-131) ‘a name’, ChinT *feng jia nu* 冯家奴, L10.
Khitan **h-ia** → Chin *jiā* 家 YCh *kja*, LMCh *kja:* a modern transcription, perhaps retranscription.

S-i-ing g-ia-ang g-ün (244-339-303 334-335-199 334-339) ‘a military title’, Chin *jing jiang jun* 静江军.
Khitan **g-ia-ang** ← Chin *jiāng* 江, YCh *kjaŋ*, LMCh *kja:wŋ.*

tu-ung$_2$ g-ia-am s-iu g-ui shï (202-106 334-335-184 244-019 334-262 180) ‘a title’, Chin *tong jian xiu guo shi* 同兼修国史 C417 Hucker No 7470 *tong jian* “Deputy” + Hucker No 2626 *xiu guo shi* SUNG, LIAO “State Historiographer”.
Khitan **g-ia-am** ← Chin *jiān* 兼, YCh *kjɛm*, LMCh *kjiam.*

Xa-ia g-úr (130-335 334-097) ‘state of Xia, Tangut’, Chin *xia guo* 夏国 C392.
Khitan **xa-ia** ← Chin 夏 *xià*, YCh *xja*, LMCh *xɦja:.*

l-ém-ia-ên (261-270-335-073) ‘a title’, Chin *lin ya* 林牙 C450.
(Khitan **l-ém** ← Chin *lín* 林, YCh *lim*, LMCh *lim*).
Khitan **ia** ← Chin *yá* 牙, YCh *ja*, LMCh *ŋja:*

sh-iau-u pu g-ia-am (028-362-131 241 334-335-184), ‘governor of the Shao palace, residence’, Chin *shao fu jian* 少府监 C372.
Khitan **g-ia-am** ← Chin *jiān* 监, YCh *kjam*, LMCh *kja:m.*

Transcribes Chinese *ia-* and *ya-*

In Khitan word:
när-ia-án (159-335-290) ‘to spend the day’ (**L**2n, Song15-16).

Both in the same Khitan word
sh-iá (028-274) ‘goodness’, also **sh-ia** (028-335)**,** Chin *shan* 善 C370, see ?Mong *sayiqan*??, genitive **sh-iá-an** (028-274-011) ‘goodness’, Chin *shan* 善 C370, dative-locative.

dele-ha-ar-i ia-iá-ñ-un (294-051-123-339 335-274-222-144) ‘consanguineous brothers, genitive’, Chin *tong fu yi mu xiong di* 同父异母兄弟 C457.

ia (335) ‘elder brother’, Chin *xiong* 兄, **L**8, **ia deu** <ia deu> (335-101) ‘brethren, elder and younger brothers’, Chin *xiongdi* 兄弟 **L**1.

dele-hu-ar-i ia (294-151-123-339 335) ‘consanguineous brother, half brother’, Chin *tong fu yi mu xiong* 同父异母兄 C458.

ia ai (335 122) ‘uncle’, also **ia-iá** (335-274), Chin *bo fu* 伯父 C476.

t-ia1 (247-335) same as **d-ia** (254-335) ‘enemy?’, Mong *dayisun* ‘enemy’, *dayin* ‘war, battle, enmity’, *dayiči-* ‘to be hostile’, *dayicila-* ‘to mobilize, to seize forcibly, to act as an enemy’, Dah *daile-* ‘conquer, fight’, *dain* ‘war, fight’(M132), *dain* ‘Schlacht’ (M-K120) Chin *di* 敌, C442, **L**17, **L**22.

t-ia2 (247-335) ‘rare, dilute’, Chin *xi* 稀 C442.

As a suffix

när-ia-án (159-335-290) ‘to spend the day’ (**L**2n, Song15-16).

iá (274) in Khitan words:

dele-ha-ar-i ia-iá-ñ-un (294-051-123-339 335-274-222-144) ‘consanguineous brothers, genitive’, Chin *tong fu yi mu xiong di* 同父异母兄弟 C457.

ku-û-dú sh-iá-ai$_2$ (178-372-179 028-274-197) ‘the benefit for the people’, Chin *ren yu shan* 人于善 C412.

iá (274) in a word of Chinese origin:

ñ-ie-ém ci-iá-qo (222-327-270 162-274-168) ‘eight Chinese feet’, Chin *ba chi* 八尺 C421.
Khitan **ci-iá-qo** ← Chin *chi* 尺 YCh *tʂhi*, LMCh *tʂiajk* + Khitan **-qo.**

10.8.2.3.3 The E+C glyphs

see **8.8.4.2**

ém (270) and **em$_2$** (257)

In transcriptions of Chinese:

g-ia-ém m-en ui° sh-ang s-iang g-ün (334-335-270 133-140 263 028-199 244-314 334-329) ‘a title’, ChinE *jian men wei shang jiang jun* 监门卫上将军 C475, Hucker, No 847 *jian men wei* “Palace Gate Guard”, No 4982 *shang jiang gun* “Generalissimo”.

du g-ia-ém (237 334-335-270) ‘a title.’(Tu10-22, CWJ 1279) ChinE *du jian* 都监, Hucker No 7192 “(Military) Director-in-chief”.

bi-ing m-a du g-ia-ém (225-303 133-189 237 334-335-270) ‘a title’, ChinE *bingma du jian* 兵马都监 C422, Hucker, No 4687.
Khitan **g-ia-ém** ← Chin *jiān* 监 YCh *kjam*, LMCh *kja:m.*

d-ém g-ém-d deu-úr MANAGE-i (254-270 334-270-254 101-097 142-339) ‘a title, the one who is managing the affairs in the office of inspection’, ChinT *dian jian yu (tong)zhi* 点检 (= 點檢) 于 (同)知 C447, with the Khitan dative-locative suffix **-d**, see **deu-úr,** Hucker 6529: ~ *fang* “SUNG: Office of Inspection”.

Khitan **d-ém** ← Chin *diǎn* 点= 點, YCh *tjɛm*, LMCh *tjam.*

g-ie-ém g-iau tai shï (334-327-270 334-362 374 180) ‘a title’, ChinE *jian jiao tai shi* 检校太师 C475, Hucker 804 *jian jiao* “Acting, a honorary status”**.**

g-ém g-iau-u g-ung b-û-u ca-ang sh-iú (334-270 334-362-131 334-345 311-372-131 375-199 028-289) ‘a title’, ChinE *jian jiao gong bu shang shu* 检校工部尚书 C474, Hucker No 804 *jian jiao* “Acting”, No 3462 *gongbu* “Ministry of Works”, No. 5044 *shang shu cheng* “Aid to the Imperial Secretary”.

Khitan **g-ie-ém**, **g-ém** ← Chin *jiǎn* 检 = 檢, YCh *kjɛm*, LMCh *kiam.*

g-ie-ém (334-327-270) ‘simultaneous(ly), concurrent(ly)’, ChinE *jian* 兼, **L**1.

Khitan **g-ie-ém** ← Chin *jiān* 兼, YCh *kjɛm*, LMCh *kjiam.*

Two problematic cases:

hu-ém-li$_4$-ha-ai (151-270-310-051-122) ‘was managing’, ChinT *guan li* 管理 C403, Hybrid, Chin+Kh suffixes:**-ha-ai,** Chin *guan* YCh *kɔn*, LMCh *kuan*, neither the initial, nor the final fits, YCh, LMCh *li*, the word has to be a Khitan word.

Khitan **hu-ém** ← Chin *guǎn* 管 YCh *kɔn*, LMCh *kuan.*

l-ém-a* (261-270-189)**,** also **l-ém-hu-a** (261-270-151-189) ‘a title, *linya*’, K104, ChinE *linya* 林牙, ‘an official in charge of the academy, formerly known as *xueshi* 學士. C450, YChin 林 *lim,* 牙 YCh *ja,* Hucker 3731 LIAO: “Secretary, Chinese rendering of a Khitan word similar to *hanlin* (Hanlin);occurs throughout the Liao government with a variety of particularizing prefixes and suffixes”. It can be compared with OTurk *el ïmga* (Clauson 1972, 158) a title described by Kashgari and is an Uigur loanword. As we see the same Chinese syllable may have two different transcriptions: **g-ie-ém, g-ém,** otherwise Khitan **-ém** transcribes Chinese *-ɛm*

10.8.2.3.4 The C+E glyphs

See **8.8.5.2**

<che> (363)

does not occur in EL in items of Chinese origin, in modern Chinese transciption of Khitan names:

Che-a-ar (363-189-123) ‘a Khitan person’s name’, ChinT *zhi la* 只剌, C482.

<de> (205), does not occur in Chinese transcription in EL, see dative-locative, ablative-prolative, and pronouns.

<ge>(349) and <ge$_2$> (112)

does not occur in transcriptions of Chinese, frequent in Khitan words and suffixes, only in one word of Chinese origin, a name of the Turks, **Du-ge-én** *tu jue* 突厥 which is a retranscription.

<te> (323)

does not occur in transcriptions of Chinese in EL.

<te$_2$> (356)

does not occur in transcriptions of Chinese in EL.

<xe>(268)

does not occur in transcriptions of Chinese in EL, but see the Modern Chinese transcription of two Khitan items.

Xe-l-ñ ‘a name’ (268-261-222), ChinT *jie ling* 解领, **L**9, see Turk *kelin* ‘daughter-in-law, who came’ < *kel-* ‘to come’, (Clauson 719).

Xe-ri-y ci-eu-un (268 235-020 162-067-273) ‘prefecture Haibei, Chin 海北[11], genitive’, Chin *hai bei zhou zhi* 海北州之 C454 (Cha12-26). *Xe-ri* is a Khitan geographic name and not the Khitan transcription of *Hai* 海, “north of the lake”?, or to Mong *küriye* ‘enclosure, camp, border etc.’, the **-y-** in **ri-y** occurs only here in Cha12. It has to be **Xe-ri** (268-235) which occurs 5x.

I could not find Chinese words or names transcribed by any of the Khitan C+E glyphs.

10.8.2.3.5 The I+C glyohs

See **8.8.4.3**.

<ib> (127**)**

G-au sh-ib (334-161 028-127) ‘a name, Gaushib’, ChinT *gaoshi* 高十, see **2.3** and **L**13. The final **-b** in reading of the glyph (127) is reflecting the

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[11] Haibei is in Qinghai Province

Middle Chinese pronunciation of the final /-p/ of *shi*十, otherwise the character for the Chines number ʽten', see LMCh *ʂhip*.

<in> (018)

in Chinese titles

ci-ang s-in g-ün (162-199 244-018 334-329) 'name of a military office', ChinE *zhang xin jun* 彰信军, see **s-in g-ün.**
Khitan **s-in** ← Chin *xìn* 信, YCh *sin*, LMCh *sin.*

ci-in g-ia pu-shi-ñ (162-018 334-335 241-033-222) 'a female title', ChinE *chen jia fu ren* 陈家夫人 C404.
Khitan **ci-in** ← Chin *chén* 陈 = 陳. YCh *tʂhin*, LMCh *trɦin.*

jï-in (087- 018), 'town, borough', ChinE *zhen* 镇 (= 鎮), YCh *tʂin* LMCh *trin* CWJ1137.
Khitan **jï-in** ← Chin *zhen* 镇 (= 鎮), YCh *tʂin* LMCh *trin* CWJ1137.

l-i bi-in shï (261-339 225-018 180) 'a title', ChinE *li bin shi* 礼宾使 C451, perhaps to *li-bin yuan*, Hucker 3627 "Foreign relations Office.
Khitan **bi-in** ← Chin *bīn* 宾 = 賓 YCh *pin,* LMCH *pjin.*

ng-in s-ing cau-úng lu-uh da$_3$-ai pu (264-018 244-303 022-357 208-172 214-122 241) 'a title', ChinE *yin qing chong lu dai fu* 银(=銀)青崇禄大夫 YCh *jin,* LMCh *ŋin*, YCh *tsʰiŋ,* LMCh *tsʰiajŋ*, YCh *tʂʰuŋ*, LMCh *tʂʰəwŋ* YCh *lu*. LMCh *ləwk* YCh *taj*, LMCh *tɦaj*, YCh *fu,* LMCh *fjyə/fuə* C452, Hucker 7981 "Grand Master of Glorious Happiness with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon".
Khitan **ng-in** ← Chin 银 (= 銀) *yín,* YCh *jin,* LMCh *ŋin.*

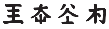
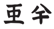
g-iú üe-ên t-ung z-in (264-289 082-073 247-345 258-018) 'a title', ChinE *yu yuan tong jin* 御院通进 YCh *y,* LMC *ŋiă/ŋyă*,YCh *ɥɛn,* LMCh *yan*, YCh *tʰuŋ,* LMCh *tʰəwŋ* C453, Hucker No 8214 CHIN: "Ceremonial Receptionist".

tu-ung s-in-en (202-345 244-018-140) 'title, genitive', ChinE *tong jin zhi* 通进之 C417, Hucker 7476 *tong jin si* 通进司 S UNG-LIAO "Memorial-forwarding Office".
Khitan **z-in, s-in** ← Chin *jìn* 进 = 進, YCh *tsin*, LMCh *tsin.*

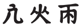
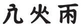
The following item is of Turkic origin, we can observe a multiple reborrowing:

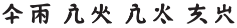
d-y z-in (254-020 258-018) a Khitan title', K120, ChinE *te jin* 特进 C446, ← Turk *tegin* (Clauson 483).

di-í$_2$-in (037-114-018) 'a Khitan title', 7x , also **di-í-in**, ChinT *ti yin* 惕隐 C377, plural **di-í$_2$-d** (037-114-254), 1x, see also:

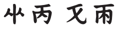
di-í$_2$-d-en hu$_2$-ú nai   (037-114-254-140 014-245 332) ‘commander of the Tiyins, plural, genitive’, Chin *ti yin zhi tong guan* 惕隐之统官 C375.

In Chinese names:

G-ui-in  (334-262-018) in **Ong G-ui-in**  (071 334-262-018) ‘a name’ ChinT *gui yin* 瑰引, CWJ 1212 Modern Chinese retranscription.

S-in g-ui g-ung j-iú  (244-018 334-345 334-262 104-289),‘the princess of S-in (Qin) country (Xian3).

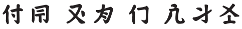
S-in ong ‘name of a person, a title’, **L**1, Chin *qin wang* 秦王, CWJ1253.
Khitan **s-in** ← Chin *qín* 秦, YCh *ts^{h}in* LNCh *tsɦin.*

L-iu sh-in  (261-019 028-018) ’ a person’s name’, ChinE *liushen* 刘伸.
Khitan **sh-in** ← Chin *shēn* 伸, YCh *ʂin*, LMCh *ʂin*.

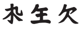
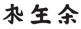
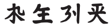
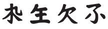
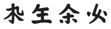
10.8.2.3.6 The C+I glyphs

See **8.8.5.3**

<bi> (225)

bi-ing m-a du g-ia-ém  (225-303 133-189 237 334-335-270) ‘a title’, ChinE *bingma dujian* 兵马都监 C422, Hucker, No 4687.
Khitan **bi-ing** ← Chin *bīng* 兵, YCh *piŋ*, LMCh *piajŋ.*

<ci> (162), as I mentioned above, this glyph has two readings it reflects a simple affricate /č/ and sometime the same affricate and an /i/. Here I will cite examples only for the second case:

Ci-bu-qó  (162-196-169) ‘tribe name’, (Xu17-3, Yu51-50, 56-15), also **ci-bu-qu**  (162-196-246) (Guang35-14, Song11-14), ChinT *zu bu* 阻卜: ChinT *Zhibugu* 值 不姑 or *Zhubugu* 住不姑 may be identical with *Zubu* 阻卜, the name of the Tatar, *Dada* 韃靼 confederation (WJ 108). *Zhibugu* 值不姑, YCh *tʂi pu ku*, LMCh *trɦiăk put kuŏ, Zhubugu* 住不姑, YCh *tʂy pu ku,* LMCh *trɦyă put kuŏ* and *Zubu* 阻卜 YCh *tʂu pu,* LMCh *tʂəă pəwk.* **Ci-bu-hu-an**  (162-196-151-011) ‘tribe name, plural genitive’, Chin *zu bu zhi* 阻卜之 C406, the name looks like a nominalized adjective in **-qW**, especially interesting is the plura in **-hu-an**, as in **b-qW** and **b-hu-an**, genitive: **ci-bu-qó-on**  (162-196-169-154), 4x, and **ci-bu-qu-un**  (162-196-246-273), 1x. For the Zubu Tatars see Twitchett and Tietze, 1994, 138–139; and WF 593–594, Biran 2013, 228. A Khitan or Khitanized name of a Mongol tribal name.
Khitan **ci-** ← Chin *zhí* 值, YCh *tʂi,* LMCh *trɦiăk* also *trɦi.*

ci-i-in g-ung$_2$ (162-339-018 334-106) 'a title, Duke of Qin', ChinE *qin gong* 秦公 (Yu34), CWJ 1052.
Khitan **ci-i-in** ← Chin *qín* 秦, YCh *tsʰin,* LMCh *tshɦin*. Only one example from the other group:

ci-in g-ia pu-shi-ñ (162-018 334-335 241-033-222) 'a female name and title', ChinE *chen jia fu ren* 陈家夫人 C404.
Khitan **ci-in** ← Chin *chén* 陈, LMCh *tʂʰin*, LMCh *trɦin.*

<di> (037)

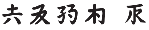
occurs in EL only in **hong-di**

hong di (075-037) 'emperor', K95, ChinE *huangdi* 皇帝.
Khitan **di** ← Chin *dì* 帝, YCh *ti*, LMCh *tiaj.*

<ii> (077) earlier mixed up with **li$_2$** (080) see **Te-li$_2$-ñ** (323-080-222) 'the name of the imperial clan', not in EL as initial.

<ji> (152),<ji2> (153), <ji$_3$> (337), homoglyphs, frequently used as suffix, in EL only in the two following Chinese expressions.

Do$_2$-ji har$_3$-en-** (091-152 006-140) 'name of a mountain, genitive' (Pu7-33), corrected by CWJ 1521 to **Do$_2$-ji$_3$ tai ui°-en** , no gloss for **Do$_2$-ji$_3$.**

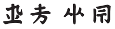
Rí-u-ji-en har  'the mountain of Ri-u-ji', (069-131-152-140 006) **(**DiX36-7), Corrected to: **rí-u-ji-en eu-ñ-er** by CWJ 1463, but no gloss.

<ki> (163).

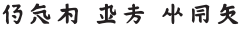
ki-ên (163-073) 'county' , 14x, ChinE *xian* 县 = 縣, YCh *xjɛn.* LMCh *xɦjian,* genitive **ki-ên-en** (163-073-140) 'county, genitive', 3x ChinE *xian zhi* 县之 C410, plural **ki-ên-d** (161-073-254), 1 4x, plural, genitive **ki-ên-d-en** (161-073-254-140)-, 2x, Chin *xian(fu) zhi* 县 (复)之 C410.

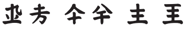
Ú s-ing ki-ên-en (245 244-303 163-073-140) 'Wu qing county, genitive', ChinE *wu qing xian zhi* 武清县(=縣)之 C437, YCh *ʋu,* LMCh *ʋjyə̆*, YCh *tsʰiŋ*, LMCh *tshiajŋ*, YCh *xjɛn,* LMCh *xɦjian.*

ki-ên g-ün (163-073 334-329), 'Xian prefecture', ChinE *xian jun* 县 (=縣).
Khitan **ki-ên** ← Chin *xiàn* 县 (=縣) 郡 YCh *xjɛn*, LMCh *xɦjyan* see above.

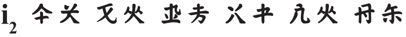
ki-ên l-ing  **(**163-073 261-303) ‘tomb’ , ChinE *qian ling* 乾陵 , YCh *k^{h}jɛn,* LMCh *kɦian* YCh *liŋ* LMCh *liə̆ŋ*.

Khitan **ki-ên** ← Ch *qián* 乾 YCh *k^{h}jɛn*, LMCh *kɦian.*

see **Ta-ang-en ki-ên l-ing-de**  (229-199-140 163-073 261-303-205).

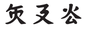
Ki-ên s-ú hong di  (163-073 244-245 075 037) ‘Xuanzu emperor, son of Yizu emperor’, ChinE *xuan zu huang di* 玄祖皇帝 C410 also **Ki-ên z-ú hong-di** (Zhi5).

Khitan **ki-ên** ← Chin *xuán* 玄, YCh *xɥɛn*, LMCh *xɦjyan*.

s-i sh-ui ki-ên h-ai g-ui b-ai$_2$  (244-339 028-262 163-073 340-122 334-262 311-197) ‘a title, founding father of the Qishui county’, ChinE *qi shui xian kai guo bo* 漆水县(=縣)开(= 開)国 (=國)伯, YCh *ts^{h}i* LMCh *ts^{h}it*, YCh *ʂuj,* LMCh *ʂyj,* YCh *xjɛn*, LMCh *xɦjyan,* YCh *k^{h}ai* LMCh *k^{h}aj*, Y Ch *kuj*, LMCh *kuə̆k ,* YCh *paj,* LMCh *pɦa:jk* C435.

Khitan **ki-én** ← **Chin** *xiàn* 县 = 縣, YCh *xjɛn.* LMCh *xɦjian* see above.

 (206), <li$_2$> (080), <li$_4$> (310), the three glyphs are heteroglyphs

li-un$_2$-ge  (206-144-349) ‘mausoleum, imperial tomb’, ChinE *ling* 陵, YCh *liŋ,* LMCh *liə̆ŋ* CWJ 884.

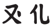
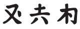
Khitan **li-un$_2$-ge** ← **Chin** *líng* 陵, YCh *liŋ,* LMCh *liə̆ŋ.*

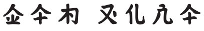
li$_2$ (080), in EL frequent as suffix, but not in trancription of Chinese.

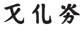
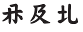
li$_4$ (310) frequent in Khitan words and names, not in transcription of Chinese.

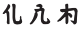
<ri> (235), <ri$_2$> (128) < ri$_3$> (038), <ri$_4$> (038.1), <ri$_5$> (255) <rí> (069), two are homoglyphs: < ri$_3$> (038), <ri$_4$> (038.1).

The glyph (235) occurs in name of administrative units:

m-ri2  (133-235) ‘an administrative unit, village’, K107, one case: **m-rí-en**  (133-069-140) (Xing2-12), K107, ChinE or ChinT *mili* 弥里, see WF430 *mo-li* 抹里 ~ *mei li* 抹里 or *mi li* 彌里 ‘tribal unit, a small tribal settlement’ ← Chin? or Khitan → Chin.

em$_2$-s-en m-ri-g-s  (257-244-140 133-235-334-244) ‘the township organisations of the cities’, **L**16.

sh-ri-e$_2$  (028-235-109)‘a tribal unit’, see also **she-o-or**  (315-186-076), ChinT *shi lie* 石烈, YCh *ʂi*, LMCh *ʂɦiajk*, YCh *ljɛ,* LMCh *liat* C370, see WF Index. In a title of Turkic origin:

ri-g-en  (235-334-140) ‘tribal chief’, read **iri-g-en** ChinT *yi li jin* 夷离堇 C423, see Turkic *erkin, irkin* ‘a title’ , also in Rashid-ud-in, Tibetan transcription *hirkin.*

ri-g-d (235-334-254) 'tribal chief, plural', Chin *yi li jin (fu)* 夷离堇 (复) C423.

It occurs in names:

M-ri-gu-i (133-235-165-339) 'the tribe name "Merkit"', ChinE *mei li ji* 梅里急 C396.

M-ri-gu-i ci-ñ-i (133-235-165-339 162-222-186) 'a person's name' ChinT *meiliji chinü* 梅里急 迟女 C 396.

M-ri-g-un (133-235-334-144) 'the tribe name, "Merkin"', ChinT *mei li ji* 梅里急 C396.

In all cases it has to be read as **-iri-**. All Chinese forms are modern transcriptions.

ri$_2$ (128) in EL not in Chinese transcriptions,

ri$_4$ (038.1), one case:

ri$_4$-iú (038.1-289) 'new born child', ChinE *ru* 乳, YCh *ry,* LMCh *ryə̆* (Di17). Khitan **ri$_4$-iú** ← Chin *ru* 乳, YCh *ry,* LMCh *ryə̆.*

<ri$_5$> (255) only in Khitan words.

<rí> (069), occurs in the Khitan title.

sh-a-rí (028-189-069), 133x, 'court attendant, courtier*, langjun*', K90,116, also **sh-ia-ri** (028-274-069),1x, **sha-ha-rí** (028-051-069), 9x, plural **sh-a-rí-d** (028-189-069-254), also **zh-a-ri** (330-189-069) Chin *lang jun* 郎君 C470, transcribed as ChT *shali* 沙里**,** **L**2, **L**6**,** **L**12, **L**14 to Khitan **sh-ha-** 'to supress', cf. Mong *daruga* 'chief, superior, commander etc.' < *daru-* 'to press', Turk *basgaq* 'Gouverneur' (Wilkens, 145) < *bas-* 'to press', gentive: **sh-a-rí-en** (028-189-069-140), dative-locative **sh-a-rí-de** (028-189-069-205).

and in

Rí-u-ji-en har 'the mountain of *Ri-u-ji*', (069-131-152-140 006) **(**DiX36). Corrected to: **rí-u-ji-en eu-ñ-er** by CWJ 1463, but no gloss, looks like a burial place.

<si$_2$> (293) not in EL

<si> (040)

si (040) 'west', earlier <ör>, also **s-i** (244-339), see Róna-Tas 2019, **L**20, Khitan **si** ← ChinE *xi* 西 YCh *si*, LMCh *siaj.*

<sï> (083)

dor p-ai-sï-en sh-a-rí (218 295-122-083-140 028-189-069) ‘langjun of the bureau of seals and tallies (the offical diploms)’ Chin *(yin) paisizhi langjun* 牌司 之 郎君 **L**2 see **sh-ar-í, L**14.

ta-am h-ing-er ng-i tu-ung$_2$ s-a-am sï (001-040 015-029 083) (Zhong21) ChinE *yi tong si* 仪(=義)同三司, YCh *ji,* LMCh *ŋi,* YCh *t^huŋ,* LMCh *tɦəwŋ,* C453, Hucker No 3024 *yi tong san si* “Unequaled in Honor”.

hoi si jau tau sï (001-040 015-029 083), ‘North-West punitive department’, Chin *bei xi zhao tao si* 北 西 招讨司, Khitan **sï**← Chin司sī Ch *sz̩*, LMCh *sz̩*.

g-ün sï (334-329 083) ‘esquire, gentleman’, ChinE *jun zi* 君子 C475.

h-ün sï (340-329 083) ‘esquire’, ChinE *jun zi* 君子 YCh *kyn,* LMCh *kyn,* C481.

as-ar n-ai-ci-er h-ün sï eme-u ku-û-un ai eme (174-123 251-122-162-341 340-329 083 021-131 233-372-273 122 021) **‘**peace and harmony of the parents (*ai eme*) of the noble (*h-ün-sï*) women and men (*eme-u ku-û-un*).

Khitan **sï** ← Chin *zi* 子, YCh *tsz̩*, LMCh *tsz̩.*

<shi> (120), not in EL
<shï> (180)

shï1 (180) ’ envoy, in charge’, ChinE *shi* 使.

shï s-iang-en (180 244-314-140) ‘a title, genitive’, ChinE *shi xiang* 使 相, **L**24, Hucker, No 5249 “Commissioner YCh *ʂr̩,* LMCh *ʂr̩,* **L**18-Councilor”.

shï-ï ci-i z-ie (180-353 162-339 258-327) ‘a title’, ChinE *shi chi jie* 使持节 (=節), YCh *ʂr̩,* LMCh *ʂi,* YCh *tʂ^{h}i,* LMCh *trɦi.* YCh *tsjɛ* LMCh *tsiat,* C413, Hucker No 5223 “Commissioned with extraordinary power”.

Khitan **shï** ← Chin *shǐ* 使 YCh *ʂr̩,* LMCh *ʂr̩.*

shï2 (180) ‘poem’, ChinE *shī* 诗 .

shï ci-eu-ung (180 162-067-106) ‘a title’, also **shï ju-ung** (180 147-345) ChinE *shi zhong* 侍中, YCh *ʂr̩,* LMCh *ʂi,* YCh *tʂuŋ,* LMCh *triwŋ* C413, Hucker No 5229 “Palace Attendant”.

shï-ï$_2$ l-ang (180-113 261-199) ‘a title’, ChinE *shi lang* 侍郎 ,YCh *ʂr̩,* LMCh *ʂi,* YCh *laŋ,* LMCh *laŋ* C413, Hucker, No 5278.

Khitan **shï** ← Chin 诗 (=詩), YCh *ʂr̩,* LMCh *ʂi.*

shï3 (180) ’used after surnames, Mr/Mrs, form of adress of celebrity, née’, Chin *shi* 氏.

Khitan **shï** ← Chin *shì* 氏 YCh *ʂr̩,* LMCh *ʂr̩.*

shï4 (180) ‘history’, Chin *shǐ* 史.

Khitan **shï** ← **C**hin *shǐ* 史, YCh *ʂr̩,* LMCh *ʂr̩,* As we see in this case the Khitan transciption does not distinguish tones.

10.8.2.3.7 O+C GLYPHS

see **8.8.4.4**

<od> (016), and <od$_2$> (212) in EL no case of Chinese transcription
<oh> (377)

b-oh ci-eu-un fu-ong ng-iú shï-*ï* (311-377 162-067-273 242-071 264-289 180-353) ‘a title, the Defence Comissioner of the prefecture Bo, hybrid’, ChinE *bo zhou zhi fang yu shi* 博州之防御使 C467, Hucker No 1923 YCh *paw*, LMCh *pak,* YCh *tʂiw,* LMCh *tʂiw,* YCh *faŋ* LMCh *fhjyaŋ/fhaŋ*, YCh *ʂr̩* LMCh *ʂr̩*.
Khitan **b-oh** ← Chin *bó*, 博 YCh *paw*, LMCh *pak.*

 (115), in EL no case of Chinese transcription.
<om> (092) in EL no case of Chinese transcription.
<on> (154).
Co-on tu t-ie-ên-de (298-154 202 247-327-073-205) ‘Into the Zantu palace’, Chin *zan tu dian yu* 攒涂殿于 C463.
Khitan **co-on** ← Chin *zăn* 攒 not in Pulleyblank, should be *tsan* if the identification of CWJ is correct, which I assume it is.

<ón> (322) in EL not in transcritption of words of Chinese origin, frequent as suffix.
<ong> (071) the usual transcription of Chinese *wang.*

Khitan **ong** ← Chin *wang* 王, YCh *waŋ*, LMCh *yaŋ,* EMCh *wuaŋ [y=ü].*
It is used for transcription of Chinese syllables which do not exist in Khitan:.

fu-ong ng-iú shï (242-071 264-289 180) ‘a title’, ChinE *fang yu shi* 防御使 C428 Hucker No. 1923 “Defence Commissioner”.
Khitan **fu-ong ← Chin** *fáng* 防**.** YCh *faŋ*, LMCh *fhjyaŋ/fhaŋ.*
g-ong l-ing g-ün ong-on (334-071 261-303 334-329 071-154) ‘the wang of Guang-ling county, genitive’, ChinE *guang ling jun wang zhi* 广陵郡王之 C472.
Khitan **g-ong** ← Chin *guăng* 广 = 廣 YCh *kwaŋ*, LMCh *kuaŋ.*

p-ong ng-iú shï 业杰 关火 兆 (295-071 264-289 180) ‘a title’, ChinE *fang yu shi* 防御 (=禦)使 C458, Hucker No 1923 YCh *faŋ* , LMCh *fɦjyŋ/fɦaŋ,* YCh *y*, LMCh *ŋiă/ŋyă,* YCh *ʂɽ* LMCh *ʂɽ.*
Khitan **p-ong** ← Chin *fáng* 防. YCh *faŋ,* LMCh *fɦjyaŋ/fɦaŋ* see above.
<or> 圠 (076), used frequently in Khitan, also as suffix, in Khitan names , but in EL not for transcription of Chinese.

10.8.2.3.8 The C+O glyphs

see **8.8.5.4**

<co> 尚 (298)

Co-do-i 尚朱关 (298-217-339)??? a prolative-ablative of Co, or genitive of **Co-do**, **L**26.
Co-on-tu t-ie-ên-de 尚不劣 令交考矢 (298-154-202 247-327-073-205) ‘in the Cuan tu Hall’, ChinE *cuan tu dian yu* 攒涂殿于 (Xing2).
Khitan **co-on** ← Chin *zăn* 攒 see above **-on.**

<do> 朱 (217) see above, otherwise frequent as suffix, not used in transcription of Chinese.
<go> 曲 (319) frequent in Khitan **go-er**.
go-n ca shï 曲公 甬 兆 (319-251 375 180) ‘Surveillance Commissioner’, ChinE *guan cha shi* 观察使 C468, Hucker 3269.
Khitan **go-n** ← Chin 观=觀 *guān,* YCh *kɔn*. LMCh *kuan.*
p-ung go-n 业太 曲公 (295-345 319-251) ‘a title’, ChinE *pan guan* 判官 C462, Hucker, No. 4425.
go-n g-au 曲公 凡夹 (319-251 334-161) ‘official patent’, ChinE *guan gao* 官诰 C467.
Khitan **go-n** ← Chin 官 *guān*, YCh *kɔn*. LMCh *kuan*.

<po> 非 (279), frequent, see EL in El not used for transcription of Chinese.
<qo> 为 (168), frequent in Khitan, also as suffix, in names transcribed into Modern Chinese, but not as transcription of Chinese.
<qó> 欠 (169).
b-qó 丹欠 (311-169) ‘servant’, ChinE *pu* 仆 (=僕), YCh *p^hu,* LMCh *p^həwk,* in:
y-eu-u b-qó y-ie 丙去及 丹欠 丙交 (020-067-131 311-169 020-327),‘Right Vice Director of the Secretariate’, ChinE *you pu ye* 右仆 (=僕)射, substitution or a Khitan suffix?
Khitan **qó** ← Chin *pū* 仆 仆 (=僕), YCh *phu*, LMCh *phəwk.*

fu-qó g-ui 尒欠 九火 (242-169 334-262) ‘a title, bulwark general of the state’, ChinE *fu guo* 辅国 C428, see Hucker Nos 2073–2076.
Khitan **fu-qó** ← Chin *fǔ* 辅 =輔, YCh *fu,* LMCh *fɦjyǎ* + Khitan suffix See **12.4** ADJECTIVE.

<to>生(213)

to-on l-ie-ên 生不 屮文夯 (213-154 261-327-073) ‘a title’, ChinE *tuan lian* 团练 C419, Hucker, No 7383 “Militia”.
Khitan **to-on** ← Chin *tuán* 团 = 團, YCh *thɔn,* LMCh *tɦuan*.

<xo> 夹 (057)

Xo Sh-ang N-u 夹 叉炁 公及 ‘name, “monk Nu”’ (057 028-199 251-131), ChinE *heshang nu* 和尚 奴.
Khitan **xo** ← Chin *hé* 和, YCh *xwɔ,*:MCh *xɦua.*

10.8.2.3.9 The U+C glyphs

see **8.8.4.5**

<ud> 火 (344) <ud$_2$>大 (105), frequent in Khitan, see plural suffix, no example for Chinese transcription.
<uh> 夂 (172) in Khitan words and names:

cau-úng l-uh da-ai pu 雨当 屮夂 久丰 尒 (022-357 261-172 171-122 242) ‘a title’, ChinE *chong lu dai fu* 崇禄大夫 C366, Hucker 1666 *chong lu si* ”LIAO:alternate designation of the *kuang-lu ssu* (Court of Imperial Entertainments), changed (date not clear) to avoid name taboo”.
ng-in s-ing cau-úng lu-uh da$_3$-ai pu 发雨 仐同 雨当 支夂 六丰 分 (264-018 244-303 022-357 208-172 214-122 241) ‘a title’, ChinE *yin qing chong lu dai fu* 银 (=銀)青崇禄大夫 C452, Hucker 7981 “Grand Master of Glorious Happiness with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon”.
Khitan **l-uh** ← Chin *lù* 禄 YCh *lu*, LMCh *ləwk.*

 平 (366), frequent in Khitan, a suffix, also in Khitan names transcribed to Modern Chinese, in EL no transcription from Chinese.
Uh-ul 夂平 (172-366) ‘name of a Turkic tribe’, ChinT *wugu* 乌古 **L**20, **L**21 in:

Uh-ul T-il-t (172-366 247-302-247) 'a name of a tribe and its territory', Chin *Wugu Dilie* 乌古 敌烈 Classical Chinese *wugu* 烏 古, also *wu gu li* 烏 古里 and *Di-lie* 敵 烈, here a plural, see **L** 21, and WF Index.

Khitan **uh-ul** ← Chin *wū gǔ (lǐ*) 烏 古 (里), YCh *u ku li* LMCh *ʔuă kuă li* [Ugur].

<un> (273), frequent in Khitan, also a suffix of the genitive case, also in Khitan words of Chinese origin.

ca-eng-un (375-175-273) 'a title, "open and stable"', ChinE *chang wen* 敞稳 C488.

ci-eng-un (162-175-273) 'a Khitan title', ChinT *chang wen* 敞稳 C406, WF 'a Khitan tribal title' (WF 434, see also Pelliot, 1930, 46, note3). The earlier literature discusses the Khitan origin of this title, our data gives only the form in KSS.

G-u-un o-udu-u-un cau-úr (334-131-273 186-355-131-273 022-097) 'the solder(s) of the Gu Wen ordu', ChinE *gu wen wo lu duo jun* 孤稳斡鲁朵军 C473,: Khitan **G-u un** ← Chin *gu wen* 孤稳 'name of an ordu', see WF542, 544.

l-ing-un (261-303-273) 'a title', ChinE *ling wen* 令稳 C451.

s-eng-un (244-175-273) 'Field Marshal',75x, ChinE- *xiangwen* 詳稳 , C433, **L**17, **L** 20, Hucker 2367 LIAO "General, a tribal dignitary; one of the several terms that seem to be the Khitan rendering of the Chinese title *chiang-chün*, also *hsian kun"*. accusative instrumental **s-eng-un-er** (244-175-273-341) 'chief of an army',1x, Chin *xiang wen* 详稳 C433.

Khitan **un** ← Chin *wĕn* 稳, YCh *un*. LMCh *ʔun.*

L-un ng-iú-de (261-273 264-289-205) 'in The Analects of Confucius, dat-loc.', ChinE *Lun yu zhong* 论语中 C451.

Khitan **l-un** ← Chin *lùn* 论 = 論, Ych *lun*, LMCh *lun.*

u-un (131-273) 'writing, script, composition, document?' no gloss, ChinE *wen* 文.

u-un sh-iú m-ir-en (131-273 028-289 133-137-140) 'title, genitive', ChinE *wen shu mi zhi* 文枢密之 C393, Hucker only7722 *wenshu fang* 文書房 MING: "Palace Secretariate", *mi* 密 'silent, secret' was YCh *mij*, LMCh *mit*, that is Chinese final-*t* is reflected in its /r/ form.

w-un (070-273) 'writing, script', 7x, ChinE *wen* 文 (Dao5), YCh *vun,* LMCh *vjyn.*

w-un w-u-un (070-273 070-131-273) 'civil and military, genitive', ChinE *wen wu zhi* 文武之 C382.

Khitan **w-un** ← Chin *wén* 文, YCh *vun*. LMCh *vjyn/vun.*

<un$_2$> (144), earlier <ir$_2$>, frequent in Khitan, in the name **Qita-un$_2$** (365-144) 'Khitan'.

li-un$_2$-ge (206-144-349) ‘mausoleum, imperial tomb’, ChinE *ling* 陵, YCh *liŋ,* LMCh *liǎŋ* CWJ 884.
Khitan **un$_2$** in:
li-un$_2$-ge ← Chin *líng* 陵, YCh *liŋ,* LMCh *liǎŋ.*
In EL not in transcription of Chinese only in problematic Modern Chinese transcriptions:

T-am-un$_2$ em$_2$-en t-qó sh-i (247-184-144 257-140 247-169 028-339) ‘commissioner of Ta mur town (*cheng*)’, (DiX14) ChinT *ta mu li cheng zhi du shi* 塌母里城之度使 C440, also.

T-am-úr em$_2$-en t-qó sh-i (247-184-097 257-140 247-169 028-339) ‘commissioner of Ta mur town (*cheng*)’, (Guang11), ChinT *ta mu li cheng zhi du shi* 塌母里城之度使 C440.

T-qó-s$_2$-un$_2$ (247-169-354-144) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *tu gu ci* 图古辞 (Gu17-13, Han4-14, Hui4-8) C440, also **T-qu-s$_2$-un** (247-246-354-144) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *tu gu ci* 图古辞 Tu2 C440, **tugučin,* to Mong *tug* ‘flag, standard, banner’, *tugči* ‘standard bearer, flag-bearer’, Dah *toi* ‘Fahne, Banner’? Ma *tu* ‘grosse Standarte’ ← Mong *tug* (M-L137). The Khitan name became an accepted Chinese name, and was transcribed as a Chinese one.

<ung> (345), frequent in transcription of Chinese finals, as:

g-ung (334-345) ‘prince, duke’,114x, also **g-ung$_2$** (334-106) 19x ChinE *gong* 公 YCh *kuŋ*, LMCh *kəwŋ,* **L**3, Hucker No 3388, **g-ung c-iú-un** (334-345 162-289-273) ‘princess, genitive’, also **g-ung j-iú** (334-345 104-289), ChinE *gong zhu zhi* 公主之, occurs in Ling9, Liang9, Jue8. Hucker No. 3408: Princess or Imperial Princess. **L**10.
see **B-in g-ui g-ung$_2$** ‘a title, duke of Bin country’.
Khitan **g-ung** ← Chin *gōng* 公 YCh *kuŋ,* LMCh *kəwŋ*

cau-úr g-ung-ur (022-097 334-345-236) ‘military exploit, service, success’. Chin *jungong* 军功. C366, hybrid, ?plural.
Khitan **g-ung** ←Chin *gōng* 功, YCh *kuŋ,* LMCh *kəwŋ*

ci-ang sh-iú ji pong l-ang ju-ung (=) (162-199 028-289 087 360 261-199 149 (=147)-345) **‘**director of the bureau of military operations of the imperial secretariat’, ChinE *shangshu zhifang langzhong* 尚書 䪷方 郎中 (K16). *shangshu* Hucker 410-411 “minister’, *zhifang* Hucker No 978 “Bureau of Operatons”, *langzhong* Hucker 3565 “Director of the Section(*ts’ao*) or Bureau (*pu, ssu*, *ch’ing-li ssu*) in a Ministry (*pu*) or in some agency”.

d-ie-ên ju-ung shï-d (254-327-073 147-345 180-254) ‘envoy in palace, plural’, hybrid, ChinE *dian zhong shi* 殿中使 C447.

Khitan **ju-ung**← Chin *zhōng* 中, YCh *tʂuŋ,* LMCh *triwŋ.*

Cu-ung-ung (102-345-345) ‘a name’, ChinT *chongweng* 崇翁, **L**5.

Khitan **cu-ung** ← Chin *chóng* 崇, YCh *tʂʰuŋ,* LMCh *tʂɦəwŋ.*

Khitan **ung** ← Chin *wēng* 翁, YCh *uŋ*, LMCh *ʔəwŋ.*

du-u g-iu-ung (237-131 334-019-345) ‘metropolis, ordo’, ChinE *dougong* 都 宫 **L**18.

du-u g-iu-ung shï (237-131 334-019-345 180) ‘a title, commissioner of the ordo’, **L**18, ChinE *dugong shi* 都 宫使, on C404 **du g-iu-ung shi** (237 334-019-345 180) and **du g-iú-ung shi** (237 334-289-345 180), both ChinE *dugong shi* 都 宫使, Chinese 都 has two readings *du* and *dou*, *du* is transcribed.

Khitan **g-iu-ung, g-iú-ung** ← Chin *gōng* 宫, YCh *kuŋ*, LMCh *kiwŋ.*

g-ém g-iau-u g-ung b-û-u ca-ang sh-iú (334-270 334-362-131 334-345 311-372-131 375-199 028-289) ‘a title’, ChinE *jian jiao gong bu shang shu* 检校工部尚书 C474, Hucker No 804 *jian jiao* “Acting”, No 3462 *gongbu* “Ministry of Works’, No. 5044 *shang shu cheng* “Aid to the Imperial Secretary”.

Khitan **g-ung** ← Chin *gōng* 工, YCh *kuŋ*, LMCh *kəwŋ.*

du tu-ung (237 202-345) ‘campaign commander’, K94, ChinE *du tong* 都统 C424.

Khitan **tu-ung** ←Chin *tǒng* 统, YCh *tʰuŋ,* LMCh *tʰəwŋ.*

p-ung ng-iú (295-345 264-289) a ‘a title’, ChinE *fang yu* 防御 C462, Hucker No. 1920 “a prefix «Defense»” irregular vocalism in the first syllable, see also **p-ong ng-iú shï** (295-071 264-289 180) ‘a title’, ChinE *fang yu shi* 防御使, YCh *faŋ,* LMCh *fɦjyaŋ/fɦaŋ,* YCh *y*, LMCh *ŋiă/ŋyă* C458, Hucker No 1923 “duty assignment (*ch’ai ch’ien*) for a central government official to supervise the affairs of a Prefecture (*chou)* where military matters were of some importance”, irregular vocalism in the first syllable, genitive: **p-úng ng-iú shï-en** (295-357 264-289 180-140) ‘a title, genitive’, ChinE *fang yu shi zhi* 防御使之 C462.

Khitan **p-ung** ← Chin *fáng* 防 YCh *faŋ,* LMCh *fɦjyaŋ/fɦaŋ.*

<ung$_2$> (106), <ung$_3$> (346), homoglyphs, see above

<úng> (357) in the name of the Khitan emperors:

Dau-u-s-úng (119-131-244-357) ‘(the Emperor) Daozong (1055-1101)’ ChinE *dao zong* 道宗 C390.

H-i-ing s-úng hong di (340-339-303 244-357 075 037) ‘Xingzong emperor (1031-1055)’, ChinE 兴宗 皇帝 CWJ884.

Sh-ing s-úng (028-303 244-357) ‘the emperor Shengzong’, (Dao13), also **Sh-ing z-úng** (028-303 258-357) (Hon2), **Sh-ün z-úng-un** (028-329 258-357-273) gentive (Zhong3) ChinE *shengzong* 圣(=聖)宗 , YCh *ʂiŋ,* LMCh *ʂiajŋ,* YCh *tsuŋ,* LMCh *tsəwŋ* CWJ905.

S-úng t-ie-ên hong tai heu-un (244-357 247-327-073 075 374 250-273) ‘Zongtian empress dowager’, Chin *zong tian huang tai hou* 宗天皇太后 C436.
Khitan **s-úng** ← Chi *zōng* 宗, YCh *tsuŋ,* LMCh *tsəwŋ.*

S-úng ng-ui-i g-ui ong-on (244-357 264-262-339 334-262 071-154) ‘prince of state of Songwei, genitive’, ChinE *song wei guo wang zhi* 宋魏国王之 C436 (Song1), *Song-wei* is here the same as Song[12].
Khitan **s-úng** ← Chin *sòng* 宋, YCh *suŋ,* LMCh *səwŋ.*

cau-úng l-uh da-ai pu (022-357 261-172 171-122 242) ‘a title’, ChinE *chong lu dai fu* 崇禄大夫 C366, Hucker 1666 *chong lu si* ”LIAO:alternate designation of the *kuang-lu ssu* (Court of Imperial Entertainments), changed (date not clear) to avoid name taboo”.

ng-in s-ing cau-úng lu-uh da$_3$-ai pu (264-018 244-303 022-357 208-172 214-122 241) ‘a title’, ChinE *yin qing chong lu dai fu*银(=銀)青崇禄大夫 YCh *jin,* LMCh *ŋin*, YCh *tsʰiŋ,* LMCh *tsʰiajŋ*, YCh *tʂʰuŋ*, LMCh *tʂʰəwŋ* YCh *lu*. LMCh *ləwk* YCh *taj*, LMCh *tɦaj*, YCh *fu,* LMCh *fjyə/fuə* C452, Hucker 7981 “Grand Master of Glorious Happiness with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon”.
Khitan **cau-úng** ← Chin *chóng* 崇 YCh *tʂʰuŋ,* LMCh *tʂɦəwŋ.*
for Khitan **l-uh** ← Chin *lù* 禄 YCh *lu*, LMCh *ləwk,* see above.

s-ie-ên p-úng (244-327-073 295-357) ‘avantgarde’, ChinE *xian feng* 先锋 (=鋒) YCh *sjɛn,* LMCh *sian,* C435.
Khitan **p-úng**← Chin YCh *fuŋ,* LMCh *fɦjyawŋ/fəwŋ.*

<úng$_2$> (324.2), not in EL
<ur> (177), see Line 1
<ur$_2$> (236), frequent in Khitan words, not in Chinese transcriptions
<úr> (097), frequent in Khitan words and names , not in Chinese transcriptions.

<us> (068), in **us-g** frequent, not in Chinese transcritption
<us$_2$> (103), does not occur in EL

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[12] < *m-o y-ra-u-ud-i t-ge-én s-ung$_3$ ng-ui° g-ui p-i-in n-ar$_2$-de RECORD-g-én COMPOSE$_2$-ú*> (Song1).

10.8.2.3.10 C+U glyphs

See **8.8.5.5**

<(a)bu> (196), frequent in Khitan as <abu> and <bu>, not in EL in transcription of Chinese
<cu> (102)

Cu-ung-ung (102-345-345) ‘a name’, ChinT *chongweng* 崇翁, **L**5.
Khitan **cu-ung** ← Chin *chóng* 崇, YCh *tʂhuŋ*, LMCh *tʂɦəwŋ.*
pu-ung cu-uh-dú (241-345 102-172-179) ‘young phoenix, dative-locative’, ChinE *feng chu yu* 凤 (=鳳)雏(=雛)于 C427 (Tai12[13]) YCh *fuŋ*, LMCh *fjywŋ/fuŋ*.
Khitan **cu-uh** ← Chin *chú* 雏(=雛), YCh *tʂhy*, LMCh *tʂhyə̆.*
This identification of **cu-h** with Chin *chú* by CWJ on C427 and 1292 is doubtful, because of the final **-uh**

<du> (237) is transcribing Chinese 都 which has two readings *dou* and *du*, in all cases it is transcribing *du*.
bi-ing m-a du g-ia-ém (225-303 133-189 237 334-335-270) ‘a title’, ChinE *bingma dujian* 兵马都监 C422, Hucker, No 4687.
du tu-ung (237 202-345) ‘campaign commander’, K94, ChinE *du tong* 都统 C424.
du ui° (237 263) ‘Commander-in-Chief’, ChinE *du wei* 都尉 C424, Hucker No7326.
g-í du ui° (334-352 237 263) ‘a title’, ChinE *qi du wei* 骑都尉 C476, Hucker No. 606 “Commandant of the Cavalry” in the following: **du-u**.
du-u g-iu-ung (237-131 334-019-345) ‘metropolis, ordo’, ChinE *du gong* 都 宫 **L**18.
du-u g-iu-ung shï (237-131 334-019-345 180-113) ‘a title, commissioner of the ordo’, **L**18, ChinE *dugong shi* 都 宫使, on C424 **du g-iu-ung shi** (237 334-019-345 180) and **du g-iú-ung shi** (237 334-289-345 180), both ChinE *dugong shi* 都 宫使.
du-u g-iu-ung$_3$ shï-í$_2$ (237-131 334-019-346 180-114) ‘a title, commander of the entire palace’ **L**16, ChinE *du gong shi* 都宫使 C424.
H-i-ing sh-ng du-u g-iu-ung shï-ï$_2$ (340-339303 028-264 237-334-019-345 180-113) ‘a title, the Commissioner (shi) of the

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[13] ***pu-ung cu-uh-dú*** *l-abu-qu au-ul-ha-a-ar tum g-úr-en u-ur*

H-i-ing shang ordu', ChinE *xing sheng du gong shi* 兴圣都宫使, **L**16, **L**18, WF 721.

Khitan **du, du-u** ← Chin *dū* 都, YCh *tu,* LMCh *tuǎ.*

s-ie du-u (244-327 237-131) 'military commissioner', ChinE *jie du* 节 (=節)度, YCh tsjɛ, LMCh *tsiat,* YCh *tu*, LMCh *thuǎ* C435, Hucker 777, *jie du shi* 節 都使 "Military Commissioner".

z-ie du shï (258-327 237 180) 'military commissioner', ChinE *jie du shi* 节度使 C448**.**

Khitan **du-u** ← Chin *dù* 度, YCh *tu,* LMCh *thuǎ.*

<du$_2$> (304) only in Khitan,

<du$_3$> (089) only in Khitan, also a suffix,

Du$_3$-ge-én in: **Au-ui-én Du$_3$-ge-én jur$_2$ ñ-ó-de-en** (161-262-361 089-349-361 134 222-090-205-140) 'the Ao-yan and the Türk confederations' (Ling17-7), ChinT, CWJ 941, *tujue* 突厥, see **Ci-228-dûi du g-e** (162-228-249-339 237 334-348) 'a name', ChinE *chu te du ge* 楮特都哥 (Yong17) C406, see **Ci-228.**

Khitan **du$_3$** ← Chin *tū* 突 YCh *tu*, LMCh *thut.*

<dú> (179), frequent in Khitan, suffix of dative-locative, not in transcription of Chinese

<dû> (249) frequent in Khitan see **dau-dû** (119-249) 'middle' etc.

Ci-228-dû ñ-ó-úr (162-228-249 222-090-097) 'a tribe name', ChinT *chu te bu* 楮特部 C406, (Gu7), see WF p. 710 where two tribal names are given: *chu-de* 鉏德 (鋤淂) and *chu-te* 楮 特, also *chu-te Ao-wei* 奧隗. They are Xiao, that is of Uigur origin. The expression is a Khitan gentive construction,[14] see also *<m-o y-ra-u-ud-i ci-228-dû t-il-uh-ñ z-iang g-ün-en sh-ï t-ad-i aú-ui-en n-ra-de RECORD-g-én>* (Gu1) . If the identification is correct **ci-228** has to be something like *chu.* However Khitan **dû** cannot be Chinese *tè* 特, because Chin *tè* 特 YCh *təj*, LMCh *thəək.* Perhaps **dû** is for **du-g-e** 'Turk' see **Ci-228-dûi du g-e** (162-228-249-339 237 334-348) 'a name', ChinE *chu te du ge* 楮特都哥 (Yong17) C406.

<gu> (165), <gu$_2$> (165.1, n.i.) homoglyphs.

Ci-eu y-gu (162-067 020-165) *'Zhou Yi* 周易: the Book of Changes', C405.

Ci-eu y-gu-de (162-067 020-165-205) 'in the ZhouYi: the Book of Changes, dative-locative', Chin *zhou yi yu* 周易于 C405.

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[14] *bod-l-b-ñ ci-228-dû bod bun-l-g dau-ñ s-iang g-ün*

Khitan **y-gu** ← Chin *yì* 易, YCh *ji*, LMCh *jiajk* for the interchange of **-g** and **-gu** finals see:

Ishi-g **(**033-334) ‘name of a clan’, also **Ishi-gu** (033-165) ChinT *yi shi* 乙室, **Ishi-g-un$_2$** (033-334-144) ‘name of a tribe’, ChinT *yi shi ji* 乙室己 C374, *ji* YCh *ki,* LMCh, *ki.*

Ishi-g-i (033-334-339) ‘name of a tribe, genitive’, Chin *yi shi ji* 乙室己 C370, it has two plurals, in **-d** and in-s:

Ishi-g-d na-ha-án-er SMALL-qó ai-en (033-334-254 139-051-290-341-140 188-169 122-140)’the younger branch of the maternal uncles from the Ishi clan’, ChinT *yi shi ji* 乙室己 (Wu24-20, 26-1, 28-16) C375.

ishi-g-s na-ha-án-er-en SMALL-qó ai-en (033-334-244 139-051-290-341-140 188-169 122-140) ‘the younger branch of the imperial maternal uncles, from the Ishi Gi clan’, Chin *yi shi ji guo jiu zhi xiao weng zhi* 乙室己国舅之小翁之 C375. (Guang19-27, YeS3-5), hybrid Khitan plural, genitive.

ishi-gu-s na-ha-án-er-en m-o ai-en (033-165-244 139-051-290-341-140 133-186 122-140) ‘the elder branch of the maternal uncles’, from the Ishi Gu (plural) clan, genitive’, Chin *yi shi ji guo jiu zhi* 乙室己国舅之 C375, (Yu61-26), see WF Index under *I-shih*. The clan name has plurals **Ishi-g-s, Ishi-gu-s** and **Ishi-g-d.**

ün gu-í ui° (329 165-352 263) ‘commander of the military formation «clouds»’ to *yun qi* ‘clouds’, ChinE *yun qi wei* 云骑尉 C470, Hucker No 8272 “Commandant of Fleet-as-Clouds Cavalry, prestige title (*san kuan*) in Sui, merit title (*hsün*) from Ta’ang through Chin”.

Khitan **gu-í** ← Chin *qí* 骑 =騎 YCh k^h*i* , LMCh *kɦi.*

<gú> (297) not in transcription of Chinese in EL.

<hu> (151) very frequent in Khitan, also suffix.

hu-a (151-189)’misfortune, pain’, ChinE *huo* 祸 =禍 ‘catastrophe, disaster, misfortune’.

Khitan **hu-a** ← Chin *huò* 祸 =禍 YCh *xwə*, LMCh *xɦua.*

l-iu hu-eu-un (261-019 151-67-273) ‘title, genitive’, ChinE *liu hou zhi* 留后之 C449, Hucker 3790.

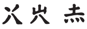
Khitan **hu-eu** ← Chin *hòu* 后 = 後, YCh *xəw,* LMCh *xɦəw.*

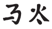
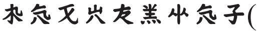
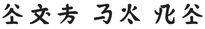
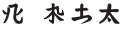
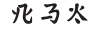
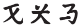
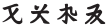
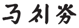
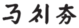
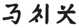
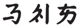
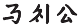
<hu$_2$> (014), frequent in Khitan.

T-ang-ur$_2$-en S-iau hu$_2$-ú QUEEN (247-199-236-140 244-362 014-245 333) ‘a person’s name, the Xiao Hu *teriken* of the Tanguts’, Chin *xiao hu lu* 小斛禄 Zhong14, CWJ has here 小 instead of 萧=蕭.

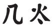
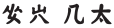
Khitan **hu$_2$-ú** ← Chin *hú* 斛, YCh *xu*. LMCh *xɦəwk.*

<iu> (019) in word initial position = yu- not in transcription of Chinese
<iú> (289), frequent as Khitan suffix, in transcriptions part of diphthong after consonantal initials as in:

h-iú ong  (340-289 071) 'a title', 4x, ChinE *xu wang* 许王 = 許王 (Yu27).
Khitan **h-iú** ← Chin *xǔ* 许=許, YCh *xy,* LMCh *xiǎ/xyǎ.*

<iu$_2$> (035.3), not in EL.
<ju> (147) frequent in:
Khitan **ju-ung**  'central', (147-345), ← ChinE *zhōng* 中, **L**1 YCh *tʂuŋ,* LMCh *triwŋ.*
and titles containing it as in:
ci-ang sh-iú ji pong l-ang ju-ung (=) (162-199 028-289 087 360 261-199 149 (=147)-345) **'**director of the bureau of military operations of the imperial secretariat', ChinE *shangshu zhifang langzhong* 尚 書 職方 郎中 (K16), *shangshu* Hucker 5042.
d-ie-ên ju-ung shï-d  (254-327-073 147-345 180-254) 'envoy in palace, plural', hybrid, ChinE *dian zhong shi* 殿中使 C447.
also as.
shï ci-eu-ung  (180 162-067-106) 'a title', also **shï ju-ung**  (180 147-345) ChinE *shi zhong* 侍中, YCh *ʂʅ,* LMCh *ʂi,* YCh *tʂuŋ,* LMCh *triwŋ* C413, Hucker No 5229 "Palace Attendant".
sh-i ju  (028-339-147) 'a title', ChinE *shi zhu* 世烛, YCh *ʂi,* LMCh *ʂiaj,* C367, also **sh-i-ci-u**  (028-339-162-131) 'a title', Chin *shi zhu* 世烛(=燭), C372.
Khitan **ju** ← Chin *zhú* 烛 (=燭), YCh *tʂy, tʂiw,* LMCh *tʂywk.*
Ju-ur-e  (147-177-348), 'Jurchen' 4x, also **Ju-ur-e$_2$**  (147-177-109), 4x, also **Ju-ur-i**  (147-177-339), 1x, **Ju-ur-094**  (147-177-094)1x, genitive **Ju-úr-n**  (147-177- 251) 'Jurchen, tribe name', Chin *nü zhen* 女真 C401 **L**1n, see **12.3** NUMERALS and **18.7**.

<ku> (178), <kuº> (178.10), the second is a dotted variant, the first is frequent in Khitan, see **ku** 'man, person'.

ku-ung  (178-345) 'duke', ChinE *gong* 公, **L**24, Hucker, No 3388.
ng-iú ku-ung$_2$  (264-289 178-106) 'five (famous) ministers (of history)', ChinE *wu gong* 五公 YCh *u*, LMCh *ŋuə̌,* YCh *kuŋ,* LMCh *kəwŋ* C453, **L**24.
Khitan **ku-ung** ← Chin *gōng* 公, YCh *kuŋ*, LMCh *kəwŋ.*

Ku-ung Ming-an (178-345 207-011) 'Confucius and Mencius, genitive', ChinE *kong meng zhi* 孔孟之 C412.
Khitan **ku-ung** ← Chin *kǒng,* YCh *k^{h}uŋ,* LMCh *khəwŋ*.

<ku$_2$> (233) a modified (178) not in Chinese transcription.
<ku$_3$> (282), rare, in Khitan a suffix, in the name:

L-an-ku$_3$ (261-011-282) 'a name', no gloss, **L**4.

<lu> (208), <lu^o> (209) <lu$_2$> (064) in the Khitan name of the dragon.
Lu (208) 'name of a region, a prefecture', ChinE *lu* 渌, **L**20, more with the name Lu, not yet identified.

<lu$_3$> (312), not in transcription of Chinese, <lu$_4$> (313), variant with dash, but miswritten instead of **iang** (314).
<mu> (224), frequent in Khitan, not in Chinese transcription
<mú> (220), occurs in Khitan names and words, not in Chinese transcription
<mû> (358):
mû (358) 'tomb, grave, mausoleum', ChinE *mu* 墓, YCh *mu*, LMCh *muə̆*, plural **mú-s.**
Khitan **mû** ← Chin *mù* 墓, YCh *mu*, LMCh *muə̆*.

<pu> (241) transcribes Chinese *pu* and *fu*
ci-iau s-a-an t-ai-i pu (162-362 244-189-011 247-122-339 241) 'a title', ChinE *zhao san dai fu* 朝散大夫 C410. ? Senior Minister of the imperial houshold.
ci-in g-ia pu-shi-ñ (162-018 334-335 241-033-222) 'a female name and title', ChinE *chen jia fu ren* 陈家夫人 C404.
ng-in s-ing cau-úng lu-uh da$_3$-ai pu (264-018 244-303 022-357 208-172 214-122 241) 'a title', ChinE *yin qing chong lu dai fu* 银(=銀)青崇禄大夫 YCh *jin,* LMCh *ŋin*, YCh *ts^{h}iŋ,* LMCh *ts^{h}iajŋ*, YCh *tʂ^{h}uŋ*, LMCh *tʂ^{h}əwŋ* YCh *lu*. LMCh *ləwk* YCh *taj*, LMCh *tɦaj*, YCh *fu,* LMCh *fjyə/fuə* C452, Hucker 7981 "Grand Master of Glorious Happiness with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon".
Khitan **pu** ← Chin *fū* 夫, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjyə̆/fuə̆.*
k-ai pu ng-i tu-ung s-a-am sï (283-122 241 264-339 202-345 244-189-184 083) 'a title', ChinE *kai fu yi tong san si* 开府仪同三司 C455, Hucker No 3105, "Commander Unequalled in Honor".
m-a pu l-ang ju-ung-un (133-189 241 261-199 147-345-273) 'a title, genitive', ChinE *ma fu lang zhong zhi* 马府郎中之 C395.

d-le pu-un ja-ri-qó [illegible] (254-093 241-273 150-235-169) 'prime minister of south division', Chin *nan fu zhi zai xiang* 南府之宰相 C446, hybrid.

Hong L-iú-ung pu-un [illegible] (075 261-289-345 241-273)also **Hong L-iúng pu-un** [illegible] (075 262-181 241-273) 'name of an (official) residence of Huanglong, genitive', ChinE *huang long fu zhi* 黄龙府之 C383.

s-o sh-o pu pu sh-o [illegible] (244-186 028-186 241 241 028-186) 'a title, left (*zuo*) commandant (*shuai*) guard, deputy commandant ', ChinE *zuo shuai (=lü, lyu) fu fu shuai* 左率府副帅 (=帥) YCh *tsɔ*, LMC *tsa* , YCh *shwaj*, LMCh *suj*, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjyə̆/fuə̆,* YCh *fu,* LMCh *fjyw/fuw*, YCh *ʂwaj,* LMCh *ʂuj* (also *shuo* YCh *ʂu?,* LMCh *ʂut*) C433, Hucker 5479 *shuai fu shuai* "Commandant of the Guard Command, commonly abbreviated to *shuai". shuai* 率 other reading *lü,* C431,
Khitan **pu** ← Chin *fŭ* 府, YCh *fu,* LMCh *fjyə̆/fyə̆.*

pu1 [illegible] (241) 'vice, deputy', also **pu-u** [illegible] (241-131).

s-i h-ing pu-u g-iu-ung shï [illegible] (244-339-303 241-131 334-019-345 180), 'a title, vice commander of the ordo Jiqing', **L**15, ChinE *ji qing fu gong shi* 积庆 副 宫使.
Khitan **pu-u** ← Chin *fù* 副 YCh *fu,* LMCh *fjyw/fuw.*

Pu G-e sï tu [illegible] (241 334-348 083 202) 'a name and title', ChinT *fuge situ* 福哥 司徒, **L**9, Hucker, No 5801 *si-tu* "Minister over the Masses".
Khitan **pu** ← Chin *fú* 福, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjwk/fuwk*.

Pu g-ui [illegible] (241 334-262) 'the Fu country or commandery in former Bohai', ChinE *fu guo* 辅国, = 輔國 WF 152, *fuguo* 富國.
Khitan **pu**← Chin *fŭ* 辅, = 輔, YCh *fu,* LMCh *fħjyə̆/fħə̆.*

pu m-a [illegible] (241 133-189) 'Imperial son-in-law', ChinE! *fuma*駙 馬, YCh fu, LMCh *fħjyə̆/ fħyə̆* **,** **L**10, see Hucker No 2082.
Khitan **pu** ← Chin *fù* 駙, YCh *fu,* LMCh *fħjyə̆/fħuə̆.*

Pu S-a [illegible] (241 244-189) 'a name', ChinT *pu sa* 普萨 CWJ1277.

<qu> [illegible] (246) frequent in Khitan as suffixes, names, not in transcritption of Chinese
<qú> [illegible] (118) frequent in Khitan as suffixes, names, not in transcritption of Chinese
<su> [illegible] (041) not in transcritption of Chinese
<tu> [illegible] (202):

Co-on-tu t-ie-ên-de [illegible] (298-154-202 247-327-073-205) 'in the Cuan tu Hall', ChinE *cuan tu dian yu* 攒涂殿于 (Xing2),
Khitan **tu** ← Chin *tú* 涂, YCh *tʰu,* LMCh *tħuə̆.*

sï tu [illegible] (083 202) 'a title', ChinE *si tu* 司徒, YCh *sz̩* LMCh *sz̩,* YCh *tʰu* LMCh *tħuə̆,* Hucker No 5801 "Minister over the masses" dative-locative **sï tu-dú** [illegible] (083 202-179), Chin *si tu yu* 司徒于 C385.

Pu G-e sï tu [illegible] (241 334-348 083-202) 'a name and title', ChinT *fuge situ* 福哥 司徒, **L**9, Hucker, No 5801 *si-tu* "Minister over the Masses".

Khitan **tu** ← Chin *tú* 徒 YCh *tʰu*, LMCh *thuǎ*.

Used in transcription of various Chinese *tong* characters:

iú-ng ci-eu-un tu-ung jï (289-264 162-067-273 202-345 087) 'a title', ChinE *yong zhou zhi tong zhi* 永州之同知 C457, a hybrid expression with a Khitan gentive, the *tong-zhi* of the *Iú-ng* prefecture.

k-ai pu ng-i tu-ung s-a-am sï (283-122 241 264-339 202-345 244-189-184 083) 'a title', ChinE *kai fu yi tong san si* 开府仪同三司C455, Hucker No 3105, "Commander Unequalled in Honor".

ng-i tu-ung$_2$ s-a-am sï (264-339 202-106 244-189-184 083) 'a title', ChinE *yi tong san si* 仪(=義)同三司, YCh *ji,* LMCh *ŋi,* YCh *tʰuŋ,* LMCh *thəwŋ,* C453, Hucker No 3024 "Unequaled in Honor".

see also **sh-eu sï tu** (028-067 083 202).

tu-ung jï (202-345 087) 'a title', ChinE *tongzhi* 同 知, **L**24, Hucker No 7471.

tu-ung jï-en ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de (202-345 087-140 262 142-131-337-205) 'to the manager of the matters of the Associate, a title', dative-locative Chin *tong zhi zhi shi zhi* 同知之事知 C417, Hucker No 7471 *tong zhi:* "Associate Administrator or Associate", hybrid.

tu-ung s-a-am sï 'a title, Associate Commissioner of Finances', Chin *tong san si* 同三司, Hucker 7454 *tong* "Associate or Jointly, a prefix generally indicating that an official already serving in on post had been assignedm additionally, to take part in the work of another post¸ normally more prestigous then fu (Vice)", see **s-a-am sï.**

Khitan **tu-ung** ← Chin *tóng* 同, YCh *tʰuŋ*, LMCh *thəwŋ.*

du tu-ung (237 202-345) 'campaign commander', K94, ChinE *du tong* 都统 C424.

Khitan **tu-ung** ← Chin *tǒng* 统, YCh *tʰuŋ*, LMCh *tʰəwŋ.*

g-ing-en tu-ung p-a-an (334-303-140 202-345 295-189-011) 'a title, the *tongpan* of the capital', Chin *jing zhi tong pan* 京之 通判, **L**23, Hucker 7497 *tongpan* "Controller-general".

Khitan **tu-ung** ← Chin *tōng* 通, YCh *thuŋ*, LMCh *thəwŋ.*

<xu> (036).

xu (036) 'tiger', ChinE *hu* 虎.

l-iúng xu g-ün (261-181 036 334-329) 'Dragon-Tiger Army', ChinE *long hu jun* 龙虎,军, **L**23.

xu-û g-ün (036-372 334-329) 'tiger army', Chin *hu jun* 虎军 C375.

Khitan **xu** ← Chin *hǔ,* YCh *xu,* LMCh *xuǎ.*

xu-u b-u (036-131 311-131) 'Ministry of Revenue', also **xu-û-b-û** (036-372 311-372) 'Ministry of Revenue', ChinE *hubu* 戶 部 (CWJ, K39), **L**7, **L**22, Hucker No. 2789.

Khitan **xu** ← Chin *hù* 戶, YCh *xu,* LMCh *xɦuə̌.*

10.8.2.4 Summary

We have investigated how the letters of the Latin alphabet were used by the Höhhot system for transcription of the Chinese vowels. We can state that in the great majoritiy of the cases, they fix those Chinese sounds, which the Latin letter reflects in the use of European transcriptions. On the other hand there is a discrepancy. Chinese has very few syllables which consist only of one vowel and with the exception of 阿 none of them are used in the text style we are dealing with. Khitan is in many cases using separately written glyphs both in transcription of Chinese and in genuin Khitan words. What is written by Chinese as one syllable, Khitan transcribes it sometimes with two or three glyphs. A Chinese character as *sān* 三 'three' is transcribed by three Khitan glyphs: **s-a-am 仐为乃**, or Khitan **p-a-an 业为买** ← Chin *pàn* 判, as we see the tones are different. Khitan heteroglyphs may transcribe the same Chinese vowel as *fŭ* 輔 → Khitan , **fu-û 尒只** and **fu-u 尒及**.

These are the reasons why I suppose that Khitan had only five vowels which functioned as phonemes: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/ and an allophone of /a/ namely /ä/ was present in some words. The system treated them as back vocalic, low, illablial that is /a/. Vowels were reproduced slightly differently after different consonants and before consonantal finals, but these were only allophones.

10.9 THE CONSONANTS

10.9.1 General remarks on the Chinese and Mongolic systems of consonants

Before addressing the Khitan consonant system, we need to provide a brief introduction to the Chinese phonetic system, which will aid in reconstructing Khitan sounds for non-Sinologists. The current Latin-letter transcription for Modern Chinese, the official *pinyin*, features two series of stops: *p, t, k* and *b, d, g*. However, from a phonetic perspective, these series are better described as aspirated versus non-aspirated stops: that is, p^h, t^h, k^h versus *p, t, k*. In various linguistic handbooks, aspirated stops are represented as p^h, t^h, k^h (Pulleyblank) or *p', t', k'* (Karlgren). I will use Pulleyblank's notation here.

Historically, this dual distinction evolved from a tripartite system. Middle Chinese included a third set of voiced stops, traditionally transcribed as *b, d, g*. Over time, these voiced stops lost their voicing while developing a voiced aspiration, rendered as *pɦ, tɦ, kɦ*. Eventually, this series split into two groups. One group lost voicing and became voiceless aspirated stops (*ph, th, kh*), while the other preserved voicing but lost aspiration, resulting in *b, d, g*. This split was influenced by tonal differences: words with level tones became voiceless aspirated stops, whereas those with non-level tones became unaspirated voiceless stops. According to mainstream Sinology, this transformation from a three-way distinction to a two-way one occurred in Early Mandarin, during the Yuan period. Changes in initial affricates followed a similar pattern, though the evolution of sibilants and fricatives need a separate treatment and will be discussed later.

Yuan Chinese was reconstructed with the help of two works, both written during the Yuan dynasty: the *Zhongyuan yinyun* (中原音韻), completed in 1324, and the *Menggu Ziyun* (蒙古字韻), a rhyme dictionary in Mongolian Phagspa script completed in 1292. Scholars have noted that certain traits of Early Mandarin phonology are already evident in Khitan (see Shen 2007, Kane 2009).

As to the Mongolian side of the history of the consonants I refer to the work of Svantesson et al. (2005). Mongolic has a dual system and the basic opposition is between the aspirated and not aspirated stops (Svantesson 2005 p. 13). Both are voiceless, that is in fact we have *p, t, k* and *p^h, t^h, k^h*. However the traditional transcriptions as used also for Literary Mongolian e.g. by Lessing, or the modern cyrillic transcription, has the two series as *b, d, g* and *(p), t, k,* because as initial *ph* or *p* is absent from the present systems. For the history of the consonantal system we can summarize the following: Differing with Ramstedt, Poppe and others according to Svantesson Old Mongolic had the two series voiceless aspirated and voiceless unaspirated. The unaspirated stops became voiced in Buriat and Oirat. According to Svantesson (2005, 198) in Mogol the opposition is voicless and voiced. Nugteren (2011) has convincingly shown that the archaic Mongolic languages spoken in the Qinghai-Kansu region had also a voiced and unvoiced main opposition. It is thus an open question that which is the earlier, or in other words the dominancy of weak–strong (or voiced–unvoiced) opposition is the earlier or the aspirated–unaspirated opposition. I assume that both oppositions voiced/weak/lax –unvoiced/strong/tense and aspirated–non aspirated were present in the system, however their dominance was different. We will now analyse the Khitan system in hope that it may help to solve the problem.

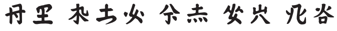
First I will confront the Khitan system of glyphs with the contemporary Chinese sounds which they transcribe. In all cases I give the frequency of the glyph in the whole corpus and in the EL. These frequencies serve as indicators. It may be of importance that a given glyph is very frequent, or frequent or its distribution is an avarage one or a rare one. These frequency numbers refer to texts. Different is the case with the frequency numbers of EL, which is a lexicon, a wordlist, in which all words, but not all glyphs occur as a rule once. However EL has many reference items, that means that a word may occur twice, sometime even more times. Thus the frequency numbers of EL point to a total different relation of occurrance. Comparing the frequencies of the corpus with the frequencies of the EL they relate to each other only in great lines. A glyph which is very frequent in the corpus is expected to be also frequent in EL, and a rare glyph in the corpus may even not occur in EL.

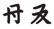
10.9.2 THE LABIAL STOP GLYPHS

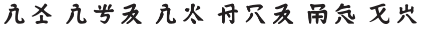
The labial stops where dealt with in our paper (Wu–Róna-Tas 2019) from another point of view.

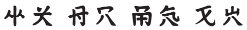
10.9.2.1 The B glyphs

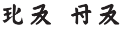
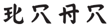
The glyph <b> (311) which occurs 2035 times in the corpus is used in Chinese transcriptions:

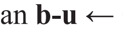
b-oh ci-eu-un fu-ong ng-iú shï-ï  (311-377 162-067-273 242-071 264-289 180-353) ‘a title, the Defence Comissioner of the prefecture Bo’, Chin *bo zhou zhi fang yu shi* 博州之防御使, C467, Hucker No 1923.
Khitan **b-oh** ← Chin *bó* 博 YCh *paw,* LMCh *pak.*

b-u2  (311-131) ‘to walk; foot, infantry’, **L**18, Chin *bu* 步, YCh *pɔw,* LMCh *pɦuǝ̆.*

g-ém g-iau-u g-ung b-û-u ca-ang sh-iú  (334-270 334-362-131 334-345 311-372-131 375-199 028-289) ‘a title’, Chin *jian jiao gong bu shang shu* 检校工部尚书 C474, Hucker No 804 *jian jiao* “Acting”, No 3462 *gongbu* “Ministry of Works’, No. 5044 *shang shu cheng* “Aid to the Imperial Secretary”.
Khitan **b-û-u** ← Chin *bù* 部 YCh *pu*, LMCh *pɦuǝ̆.*

l-i b-û ca-ang sh-iú  (261-339 311-372 375-199 028-289) ‘a title’, Chin *li bu shang shu* 礼部尚书 C451, Hucker 3631 *li-bu* “Ministry of Rites”, *shangshu* Hucker 5042 “Minister, head of the top-level administrative agency in the Central government’s Departmen pf State Affairs”.
Khitan **b-û-u** ← Chin *bu* 部 YCh *pu*, LMCh *pɦuǝ̆* see above.

xu-u b-u  (036-131 311-131) ‘Ministry of Revenue’, also **xu-û-b-û**  (036-372 311-372) ‘Ministry of Revenue’, Chin *hubu* 戶 部 (CWJ, K39), **L**7, **L**22, Hucker No. 2789.
Khitan **b-u** ← Chin *bu* 部 YCh *pu*, LMCh *pɦuǝ̆* see above.

g-ung b-u  (334-345 311-131) ‘ministry of works’, Chin *gongbu* 工部, **L**21 Hucker No. 3463.
Khitan **b-u** ← Chin *bu* 部 YCh *pu*, LMCh *pɦuǝ̆* see above.

On-a-b-a sh-ri-n 不为丹为 叉化公 (154-189-311-189 028-235-251) ‘a name of an administrative unit (*shi-rie*), genitive’, Chin *wo na ba shi lie zhi* 斡 纳 拔 石 烈之 C403.
Khitan **b-a** ← Chin *ba* 拔, YCh *pa*, LMCh *pɦa:t.*

s-i sh-ui ki-ên h-ai g-ui b-ai$_2$ 仐关 叉火 亚寿 乂丰 九火 丹东 (244-339 028-262 163-073 340-122 334-262 311-197) ‘a title, founding father of the Qishui county’, Chin *qi shui xian kai guo bo* 漆水县开国伯 C435.
Khitan **b-ai$_2$** ← Chin *bo* 伯, YCh *paj*, LMCh *pa:jk.*

t-le g-ing-en b-u g-ün 令为 九同内 丹及 九亦 (247-093 334-303-140 311-131 334-329) Chin *nanjing zhi bujun* 南京之步軍, hybrid, Khitan word+gentive suffix+Chin.
Khitan **b-u** ← Chin *bu* 步, YCh *pu*, LMCh *pɦuǝ̆.*

tai b 丕丹(374-311) ‘a title, Grand Gardian, see WF Index’,Chin *tai bao* 太保 **L**8n, Hucker No 6195 “Grand Guardian” **L**8n.
Khitan **b** ← Chin *bao* 保, YCh *pɔw*, LMCh *puaw.*

For b 丹 (311) in Khitan words see the EL

The glyph <bi> 付 (225)

bi-ing m-a du g-ia-ém 付同 叉为 门 九才圣 (225-303 133-189 237 334-335-270) ‘a title’, Chin *bingma dujian* 兵马都监 C422, Hucker, No 4687.
Khitan **bi-ing** ← Chin *bing* 兵, YCh *piŋ,* LMCh *piajŋ.*

l-i bi-in shï 屮关 付雨 兆 (261-339 225-018 180) ‘a title’, Chin *li bin shi* 礼宾使 C451, perhaps to *li-bin yuan*, Hucker 3627 “Foreign relations Office”.
Khitan **bi-in** ← Chin *bin* 宾 = 賓, YCh *pin*, LMCh *pjin.*

10.9.2.2 The P glyphs

The glyph <p> 业 (295).

ng-ü-n p-i 发仲公 业关 (264-226-251 295-339)‘the first, principal consort/concubine, Chin *yuan fei* 元妃 C453, Hucker No 8224.
Khitan **p-i** ← Chin *fei* 妃, YCh *fi,* LMCh *fjyj/fji.*

p-i 2 业关 (295-339) ‘tablet, stele’, Chin *bei* 碑 C461.
Khitan **p-i** ← Chin *bei* 碑, YCh *puj*, LMCh *pi*.

p-i shi-un$_2$-i s-eng-un 业关 忝及关 仐各火 (295-339 033-144-339 244-175-273) ‘”belly and heart guard”, a title, hybrid construction, Khitan genitive’, Chin *pi shi xiang wen* 皮室详稳 C462, hybrid *pi-shi* + Khitan genitive + *xiangwen* 詳穩, see WF p. 521, also *pi-shi* army, WF394, 419, 452, 521, 549, 550, 556. There were a right and a left guard and the **p-i shi-un s-eng-un**-s were the heads of them, see also **s-eng-un.** The Chinese transcription may be a rendering of a Khitan name of the guard, established by Abaoki. To its Khitan name see Mong *busigu, bisigu* 'promptly, quickly, alert, diligent', *busigula-* 'to be prompt, quick, alert', Proto Khitan **bisigun*, this is the only way to count for the syllable **-un-** in the word.

Khitan **p-i** ← Chin *pi* 皮, YCh *p^h^uj,* LMCh *pɦi.*

p-ing j-ie-iang jï-ng shï (295-303 104-327-314 087-264 180) 'a title', Chin *ping zhang zheng shi* 平章政事 C461, (Xian11, 1175), Hucker No. 4700 "Manager of Governmental Affairs", LIAO designation of one or more eminent central government officials on the executive staff of the Great Councilor (*tsai-hsiang*), at each auxiliary capital as well as at the prinicipal dynastic capital". The title occurs in Xian11, which was written under the Jin dynsty and is the last dated inscription.

Khitan **p-ing** ← Chin 平 *ping*, YCh *p^h^iŋ,* LMCh *pɦiajŋ.*

p-u-u sh-iú sï (295-131-131 028-289 083) 'office of the (tribal) administrator' (Nu13), Chin *bu shu si* 部署司 C460.

Khitan **p-u-u** ← Chin *bu* 部 YCh *pu*, LMCh *pɦuǝ̌,* see Khitan **b-u** etc. above.

p-ung go-n (295-345 319-251) 'a title', Chin *pan guan* 判官 C462, Hucker, No. 4425 "(Administrative) Assistant", irregular vocalism and final in the first syllable.

Khitan **p-ung** ← Chin *pan* 判, YCh *p^h^ɔn*, LMCh *p^h^uan.*

p-ung ng-iú (295-345 264-289) a 'a title', Chin *fang yu* 防御 C462, Hucker No. 1920 "a prefix »Defense«" irregular vocalism in the first syllable. see also **p-ong ng-iú shï** (295-071 264-289 180) 'a title', Chin *fang yu shi* 防御使 C458, Hucker No 1923.

Khitan **p-ung**, **p-ong** ← Chin *fang* 防, YCh *faŋ*, LMCh *fɦjyaŋ.*

p-úng ng-iú shï-en (295-357 264-289 180-140) 'a title, genitive', Chin *fang yu shi zhi* 防御使之 C462, Hucker 1923 "duty assignment (*ch'ai ch'ien*) for a central govenment official to supervise the affairs of a Prefecture(*chou)* where military matters were of some importance", irregular vocalism in the first syllable.

Khitan **p-úng** ← Chin 防, YCh *faŋ* ,LMCh *fɦjyaŋ* see above.

P-ung sh-ng ci-eu-un ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de (295-345 028-264 162-067-273 262 142-131-337-205) 'a title', Chin *feng sheng zhou zhi shi zhi* 奉圣州之事知 C462, hybrid, Khitan genitive and **MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de** locative, the *shi zhi* of the prefecture Fengshen, g 奉圣, = WF 奉 聖 **L26.**

Khitan **p-ung** ← Chin *feng* 奉, YCh *fuŋ*, LMCh *fɦjyawŋ/fɦǝwŋ.*

p-üe-siu (295-082-004) 'a title' Chin *bie xu* 别胥 C459, also **p-üe-z-iú-** (295-082 258-289 -004) 'a title', Chin *bie xu* 别胥 C459[15].
Khitan **p-üe** ← Chin *bie* 别, YCh *pjɛ*, LMCh *pɦiat.*

s-ai p-ong (244-122 295-071) 'investigation commissioner', Chin *cai fang* 採访 C432, Hucker 6826 *cai fang shi* "Investigation Commissioner".
Khitan **p-ong** ← Chin *fang* 访 = 訪 YCh *faŋ*, LMCh *fjyaŋ/faŋ*.

s-ie-ên p-ai$_2$ jur sï-d-en (244-327-073 295-197 134 083-254-140) 'bureau of coins and silk, two, genitive', Chin *qian bo er si zhi* 钱帛二司之 C435, hybrid see the function of **jur.**
Khitan **p-ai$_2$** ← Chin *bo* 帛, YCh *paj,* LMCh *pɦa:jk.*

dor p-ai sï-en sh-a-rí (218 295-122-083-140 028-189-069) 'court attendant of the Bureau of the Seals and Tallies', Chin. *yin pai si lang-jun* 印牌司郎君, **L**2.
Khitan **p-ai** ← Chin *pai* 牌, YCh p^h*aj,* LMCh *pɦa:j.*

t-ung p-a-an (247-345 295-189-011) 'a title', Chin *tong pan* 通判 C442.
Khitan **p-a-an** ← Chin *pan* 判, YCh p^h*ɔn* LMCh p^h*uan.*

<pen> (337.1) does not occur in EL, it is rare, it occurs twice in Jue (7-41, 11-51), in <pen-de> (337.1-205) once in Jue 12-55 and once in Hui24-17.
The glyph **po** (279) occurs in the EL once in a name, it may be a Khitan name
Po-od (279-016) 'a person's name', 8x, Chin *po de* 破得 (Di17) C454.
Khitan **po** ← or → Chin *po* 破, YCh p^h*ɔ,* LMCh p^h*ua.*

The glyph <pang> (360) occurs in one title:
ci-ang sh-iú ji pang l-ang ju-ung (162-199 028-289 087 360 261-199 147-345) **'**director of the bureau of military operations of the imperial secretariat', Chin *shangshu zhifang langzhong* 尚 書 職方 郎中, (K16). *shangshu* Hucker 410-411 "minister', *zhifang* Hucker No 978 "Bureau of Operations", *langzhong* Hucker 3565 "Director of the Section(*ts'ao*) or Bureau (*pu, ssu*, *ch'ing-li ssu*) in a Ministry (*pu*) or in some agency".
Khitan **pang** ← Chin *fang* 方, YCh *faŋ,* LMCh *fjyaŋ/faŋ.*

The glyph <pu> (241) 458x, EL 55x.

ci-iau s-a-an t-ai-i pu (162-362 244-189-011 247-122-339 241) 'a title', Chin *zhao san dai fu* 朝散大夫 C410.
Khitan **pu** ← Chin *fu* 夫, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fɦjə̆/fɦuə̆.*

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[15] The title is of Khitan origin, see EL

d-le pu-un ja-ri-qó 仝\ 仐火 刋化欠 (254-092 241-273 150-235-169) 'prime minister of south division', Chin *nan fu zhi zai xiang* 南府之宰相 C446, hybrid. genitive construction.
Khitan **pu** ← Chin *fu* 府, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjə̌/fuə̌*[16].

s-i h-ing pu-u g-iu-ung shï 伞关 乂同 仐叐 九丙太 兆 (244-339-303 241-131 334-019-345 180), 'a title, vice commander of the ordo Jiqing', **L**15, *ji qing fu gong shi* 积庆 副 宫使.
Khitan **pu-u** ← Chin *fu* 副, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjyw/fuw.*

k-ai pu ng-i tu-ung s-a-am sï 叔丰 仐 发关 劳太 伞为乃 廿 (283-122 241 264-339 202-345 244-189-184 083) 'a title', Chin *kai fu yi tong san si* 开府仪同三司 C455, Hucker No 3105, "Commander Unequalled in Honor".
Khitan **pu** ← Chin *fu* 府. YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjə̌/fuə̌*[17] see above.

m-a pu l-ang ju-ung-un 叉为 仐 屮気 马太火 (133-189 241 261-199 147-345-273) 'a title, genitive', Chin *ma fu lang zhong zhi* 马府郎中之 C395.
Khitan **pu** ← Chin *fu* 府 *fu* 府, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjə̌/fuə̌* see above.

ng-in s-ing cau-úng lu-uh da$_3$-ai pu 发雨 伞同 而岁 支夂 六丰 仐 (264-018 244-303 022-357 208-172 214-122 241) 'a title', Chin *yin qing chong lu dai fu* 银青崇禄大夫 C452, Hucker 7981 "Grand Master of Glorious Happiness with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon".
Khitan **pu** ← Chin *fu* 夫, YCh *fu,* LMCh *fħjyə̌/fħuə̌.*

ng-üe-ên sh-oi$_2$ pu 发夹寿 叉太 仐 (264-082-073 028-107 241) 'administration/office of Marshal', Chin *yuan shuai fu* 元帅府 C453, Hucker No 8245 "Headquarters of a Marshal".
Khitan **pu** ← Chin *fu* 府, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjə̌/fuə̌* see above.

pu1 仐 (241) 'vice, deputy', also **pu-u** 仐叐 (241-131) Chin *fu* 副.

pu shi 仐秃 (241 033) 'vice envoy', Chin *fu shi* 副使 C426.

s-i h-ing pu-u g-iu-ung shï 伞关 乂同 仐叐 九丙太 兆 (244-339-303 241-131 334-019-345 180) 'a title', Chin *jiqing fu gongshi* 积庆 副 宫使, **L**15.
Khitan **pu, pu-u** ← Chin *fu* 副 YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjyw/fuw* see above.

pu 仐 (241) 'palace, residence', Chin *gong* 宫, also **pu-u** 仐叐 (241-131), Chin *fu* 府, genitive **pu-un** 仐火 (241-273) 'palace'.
Khitan **pu** ← Chin *fu,* 府 *fu* 府, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjə̌/fuə̌* see above.

pu ün 仐 亦 (241 329) 'prefect of administation', Chin *fu yin* 府尹 C426, Hucker 2116 → 7969, "Governor of a Superior Prefecture (fu)".

pu m-a 仐 叉为 (241-133-189) 'Imperial son-in-law', Chin *fuma* 駙馬 **L**10, see Hucker No 2082.
Khitan **pu** ← Chin *fu* 駙 YCh *fu*, LMCh *fħjyə̌/fħə̌.*

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[16] For 府 Baxter–Sagart No 947 gives MCh *pjuX*

[17] For 府 Baxter–Sagart No 947 gives gives here and in the following cases: MCh *pjuX*

pu-u sh-iú 亇叐 叉炏 (241-131 028-289) ‘a title’, Chin *fu shu* 副署 C427, *fu* is ‘vice, deputy’, *shu* ’department’, an abbreviation for *fu-bu-shu* ’Assistant controller’ 副部署, WF 703.

pu-ong ng-iú 亇杰 发炏 (241-071 264-289) ‘a title’, also **p-ung ng-iú** 业太 发炏, Chin *fang yu* 防御 C427 details there,
Khitan **pu-ong** ← Chin *fang* 防, YCh *faŋ,* LMCh *fhjyaŋ/fhaŋ.*

pu-shi-ñ 亇忝伏 (241-033-221) ‘milady’, Chin *furen* 夫人, **L**7, **L**8, **L**9.
see **sh-en g-ui pu-shi-ñ-en** 叉冇 九火 亇忝伏冇 (028-140 334-262 241-033-222-140).
see **Qa-an h-ui pu-shi-ñ-en** 亟买 乂火 亇忝伏冇 (053-011 340-262 241-033-333-140) ‘lady of state of Han, gen’, Chin *han guo fu ren zhi* 韩国夫人之 C378.
see **ci-in g-ia pu-shi-ñ** 朩雨 九才 亇忝伏 (162-018 334-335 241-033-222) ‘a female title’, Chin *chen jia fu ren* 陈家夫人 C404.
Khitan **pu** ← Chin *fu* 夫, YCh *fu,* LMCh *fhjyə̆/fhuə̆* see above.

pu-ung cu-uh-dú 亇太 芀久尼 (241-345 102-172-179) ‘young phoenix, dative-locative’, Chin *feng chu yu* 凤雏于 C427.
Khitan **pu-ung** ← Chin *feng* 凤= 鳳 YCh *fuŋ,* LMCh *fhjywŋ/fhuwŋ.*

pu-ung g-ui 亇太 九火 (241-345 334-262) ‘a title’, Chin *feng guo* 奉国 C427, Hucker 1999: *feng guo jiang jun* 奉果將-軍 “Supporter-general of the State”.
Khitan **pu-ung** ← Chin *feng* 奉, YCh *fuŋ,* LMCh *fhjyawŋ/ fhəwŋ.*

sh-au-u pu 叉夹叐 亇 (028-161-131 241) ‘a title’, Chin *shao fu*少傅 C369 Hucker 5097.
Khitan **pu** ← Chin *fu* 傅 YCh *fu,* LMCh *fjyə̆/fuə̆.*

sh-o pu shi-o 叉及 亇 叉及 (028-186 241 028-186) ‘a title’, Chin *shuai fu shuai* 率府率 C369, Hucker No. 5479 “Commandant of the Guard Command”.
Khitan **pu** ← Chin *fu* 府 Baxter–Sagart No 947 MCh *pjuX,* see above.

<fu> 尒 (242) 26x , EL 5

This dotted variant of **pu** 亇 (241) occurs in the follwing inscriptions: Zhong, Yu, Nu, Zhi, Qing and Zhen. In EL we find:.

fu g-iu-ung shï 尒 九丙太 兆 (242 334-019-345 180) ‘deputy palace commander’, Chin *fu gong shi* 副宫使 C428,
Khitan **fu** ← Chin *fu* 副 YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjyw/fuw* see above.

fu-ong ng-iú shï 尒杰 发炏 兆 (242-071 264-289 180) ‘a title’, Chin *fang yu shi* 防御使 C428 Hucker No. 1923 “Defence Commissioner”.
Khitan **fu-ong** ← Chin *fang* 防, YCh *faŋ,* LMCh *fhjyaŋ/fhaŋ* see **pu-ong.**

fu-qó g-ui 尒欠 九火 (242-169 334-262) ‘a title, bulwark/auxiliary general of the state’, Chin *fu guo* 辅国 C428, see Hucker Nos 2073–2076.
Khitan **fu** ← Chin *fu* 辅 = 輔, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fhjyə̆/fhuə̆.*

fu-û g-ui sh-ang z-iang g-ün 仒只 九火 叉気 伞丬 九亦 (242-372 334-262 028-199 258-314 334-329) ‘senior bulwark general of the state’, Chin *fu guo shang jiang jun* 辅国上将军 C428, see the next item.

Khitan **fu-û** ← Chin *fu* 辅 = 輔, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fɦjyə̆/fɦuə̆* see above.

fu-u g-ui t-ai-i s-iang g-ün 仒及 九火 令中关 仐丬 九亦 (242-131 334-262 247-122-339 244-314 334-329) ‘senior bulwark general of the state’, Chin *fu guo da jiang jun* 辅国大将军 C428, Hucker No 2076 *fu guo jiang jun* “Bulwark-generalissimo of the State”,

Khitan **fu-u** ← Chin *fu* 辅 YCh *fu*, LMCh *fɦjyə̆/fɦuə̆* see above.

As it can be seen from the above examples Khitan B transcribes in all cases Chinese non aspirated */p/*—while Khitan P transcribes Chinese */f/*- and aspirated */ph/*. In three cases Khitan P transcribes Chinese non aspirated */p/*-. In the following two cases we have to do with earlier borrowed loanwords, and Khitan is reflecting the Late Middle Chinese form:

p-i 2 业关 (295-339) ‘tablet, stele’, Chin *bei* 碑 C461.

Khitan **p-i** ← Chin *bei* 碑, YCh *puj*, LMCh *pi*.

This is a loanword and was borrowed earlier, during LMCh.

s-ie-ên p-ai$_2$ jur sï-d-en 仐文寿 业朱 圣 廿公冇 (244-327-073 295-197 134 083-254-140) ‘bureau of coins and silk, two, genitive’, Chin *qian bo er si zhi* 钱帛二司之 C435,

Khitan **p-ai$_2$** ← Chin *bo* 帛, YCh *paj,* LMCh *pɦa:jk.*

Hybrid see the function of **jur** and the Khitan plural and genitive, an early loanword.

In case of Chinese *bie* 别, we find two transcripions **b-üe** and **p-üe:**

b-üe-z-iú 付犮伞穴 (311-082-258-289), 2x, and once in genitive case **b-üe-z-iú-un** 付犮伞及 (311-082-258-289-273) Chin *bie xu* 夂 (173), **b-jel-z-iú** 付夂伞穴 (311-173-258-289) ‘a title’, Chin *bie xu* 别胥 C466, occurs once in Xu 52, and is a miswriting,

Khitan **b-jel** ← Chin 别 *bie,* YCh *pjɛ,* LMCh *piat.*

p-üe-siu 业犮禾 (295-082 004) ’a title Chin *bie xu* 别胥 C459, also **p-üe-z-iú-** 业犮伞穴 (295-082-258-289) ‘a title’, Chin *bie xu* 别胥 C459. This and the above are Khitan and have an adhoc Modern Chinese transcription, see EL.

Khitan **p-üe** ← Chin *bie* 别, YCh *pjɛ*, LMCh *pɦiat.*

Khitan p- goes back to PKhM p- which through *h*- disappeared in the Modern Mongolic languages, but was preserved as *h*- in Middle Mongolian and in the archaic dialects. See a recent overview by Nugteren 2011, 250-257. In Khitan the following cases were identified:

p-úr (295-097) ‘descendant’, 4x, plural **p-úr-s** (295-097-244) ‘descendants’, 58x, ‚Chin *zisi* 子嗣, see Mong *üre*, MMo *hüre* ‘seed, fruit’, Dah *hure* ‘seed’ (M167), *χure* ‘Korn’ (M-K144), **L5, L**6, **L**7, genitive **p-úr-i** (295-097-339), 8x, accusative-instrumental **p-úr-er** (295-097-341), 1x, plural, genitive **p-úr-s-en** (295-097-244-140).

par (240) ’ten’, Chin *shi* 十 C425, **par°** (240.1) ‘ten, (male)’, see Mong *arban*, MMo *harban*, Dah *harebe* ‘ten ’ (M157), *χarB, χarban* ‘zehn’ (M-K137), CWJ read **ab**, see **12.3** NUMERALS.

po (279) ‘time’, Chin *shi* 时 C454, see Mong *on*, MMo *hon* ’calendar year’, Dah *hoon* ’year’(M164), *χon* ‘Jahr’ (M-K141), accusative-instrumental **po-ô-er** (279-252-341) ‘time, Chin *shi zhi* 时之 C455, dative-locative **po-do** (279-217) ‘time’, Chin *shi yu* 时于 C455.

p-ul-u (295-366-131) ‘to exceed, to surpass’, Chin *yue* 越 C462, see Mong *üle*-‘to be left over, to be superflous, to remain, to survive’, MMo *hüle*-, Dah *huledee*- ‘remain (behind), get left’ (M166), *χulu*-‘übrig bleiben’ (M-K143). For other Khitan words with *p*- see EL.

In all following tables I will not raise *h* rendering aspiration

	KSS GLYPH	CHINESE PINYIN	YUAN CHINESE	LATE MIDDLE CHINESE
B				
b-	(311)	b-	pj-	pi-
		b-	p-	p-
		b-	p-	pɦ-
bi	(225)	b-	p-	pi-
		b-	p-	pj-
P				
p-	(295)	f-	f-	fj-
		b-	p-	pi-
		p-	ph-	pɦ-
		p-	ph-	ph-
		f-	f-	fh-
		f-	f-	fɦj-
		b-	pj-	pɦi-
pang	(360)	f-	f-	fj-/f-
pu	(241)	f-	f-	fɦj/fɦ-
		f-	f-	fj-/f-
		f-	fj-	fj-/f-
fu	(242)	f-	f-	fj-/f-
		f-	f-	fɦj-/fɦ-

TABLE XXXII. THE KHITAN BILABIALS AND THE CHINESE INITIALS REFLECTED BY THEM

10.9.3 THE DENTAL STOP GLYPHS

The dental stops have been treated from an other point of view in Wu–Róna-Tas (2020).

10.9.3.1 The D glyphs

The glyph <d> 仝 (254) occurs in the corpus 1276 times, in EL 97 times

In transcription of Chinese:

D-i-ng G-e 仝关发 九券(254-339-264 334-348) ‘a name’, ChinT *dingge* 定哥, **L**7.
Khitan **d-i-ng** ← Chin *ding* 定 , YCh *tiŋ*, LMCh *thiajŋ.*

d-ie-ên ju-ung shï-d 仝文夯 马太 兆仝 (254-327-073 147-345 180-254) ‘envoy in palace, plural’, Chin *dian zhong shi* 殿中使 C447.
Khitan **d-ie-ên** ← Chin *dian* 殿, YCh *tjɛn*, LMCh *tian* and *thian.*

D-il-t-en 仝用令冇, (254-302-247-140) ‘a name, *gen.*’, see also **T-il-t**, plural, Chin *di lie* 敌烈, **L**21.
Khitan **d-il-**← Chin *di lie* 敌烈, 敵 YCh *ti,* LMCh *thiajk.*

d-y z-in 仝丏 伞雨 (254-020 258-018) ‘a title’, Chin *te jin* 特进 C446, ←Turk *tegin* (Clauson 483), see **di-i$_2$-in.**
Khitan **d-y** ← Chin *te* 特 YCh *təj*, LMCh *thəə̆k.*

<du> 丸 (089), in the corpus 215x, EL 5x

Au-ui-én Du-ge-én jur$_2$ ñ-ó-de-en 夾火当 丸公当 圣 伏廾矢冇 (161-262-361 089-349-361 134 222-090-205-140) (Ling17-7), **Du-ge** Chin *tujue* 突厥.
Khitan **du** ← Chin *tu* 突, YCh *tu*, LMCh *thuat.*

<da> 久 (171), in the corpus 75x, EL 14x

N-i-ing üe-ên da-ai z-iang g-ün 公关同 芡夯 久丰 伞斗 九亦 (251-339-303 082-073 171-122 258-314 334-339) ‘Ning yuan great general’, Chin *ning yuan da jiang jun* 宁远大将军 C446.

s$_2$-iau w-u da-ai z-iang g-ün 头号 赤及 久丰 伞斗 九亦 (354-362 070-131 171-122 258-314 334-329) ‘a title’, Chin *zhao wu da jiang jun* 昭武大将军 C482 ? Zhaowu great general?.
Khitan **da-ai** ← Chin大 *da, dai*, YCh *ta, taj*, LMCh *tha, thaj*.

<da$_3$> 六 (214), in the corpus 52x, EL 12x

da$_3$-ai 六丰 (214-122) ‘great’ Chin *dai* 大, **L**6.

ng-in s-ing cau-úng lu-uh da$_3$-ai pu 发雨 仐同 而当 支夂 六丰 分 (264-018 244-303 022-357 208-172 214-122 241) ‘a title’, Chin *yin qing chong lu dai fu* 银

青崇禄大夫 C452, Hucker 7981 “Grand Master of Glorious Happiness with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon”.

Khitan **da_3-ai** ← Chin 大 *da, dai*, YCh *ta, taj*, LMCh *tħa, tħaj* see above.

<dai> 币 (017), 237x, EL 6x

dai 币 (017) ‘great’, Chin *dai* 大 , **L**6.

Khitan **dai** ← Chin 大 *da, dai*, YCh *ta, taj*, LMCh *tħa, tħaj* see above.

The glyph <de> 矢 (205) occurs in the corpus 1224x, in EL 84, always in the dative-locative and ablative-prolative suffixes. The glyphs <dau> 尺 (119), which occurs in the corpus 12x and <de_2> 矢 (204), which occurs in the corpus 13x, do not occur in EL

10.9.3.2 The T glyphs

The glyph <t> 令 (247) in the corpus 2175x, in EL 169x

In transcriptions of Chinese:

ci-iau s-a-an t-ai-i pu 术芍 仐为买 令丰关 分 (162-362 244-189-011 247-122-339 241) ‘a title’, Chin *zhao san dai fu* 朝散大夫 C410.

fu-u g-ui t-ai-i s-iang g-ün 尒及 九火 令丰关 仐非 九亦 (242-131 334-262 247-122-339 244-314 334-329) ‘senior bulwark general of the state’, Chin *fu guo da jiang jun* 辅国大将军 C428, Hucker No 2076 *fu guo jiang jun* “Bulwark-generalissimo of the State”, hybrid construction.

t-ai-i 令丰关 (247-122-339) ← Chin *dai*, 大 *da, dai*, YCh *ta, taj*, LMCh *tħa, tħaj* in the following.

t-ai-i ci-ng s-iang 令丰关 术发 仐非 (247-122-339 162-264 244-314) ‘a title’, Chin *da cheng xiang* 大丞相 C439, Hucker No. 5889 “Grand Councilor-in-chief”.

t-ai-i s-iang g-ün 令丰关 仐非 九亦 (247-122-339 244-314 334-329) see **fu-u g-ui t-ai-i s-iang g-ün** 尒及 九火 令丰关 仐非 九亦 (242-131 334-262 247-122-339 244-314 334-329).

Khitan **t-ai** ← Chin *tai* 太, YCh *tʰaj,* LMCh *tʰaj.*

s-ï g-m ng-u t-ai-i 仐谷 九叉 发及 令丰关 (244-353 334-133 264-131 247-122-339) ‘a rank, with, purple gold fish bag’, Chin *zi jin yu dai* 紫金鱼袋 C436.

Khitan **t-ai-i** ← Chin *dai* 袋, YCh taj, LMCh *tħaj.*

Further:

t-ie-ên ju-ung shï-ï ng-iú shï 令文寿 马太 兆谷 发穴 兆 (247-327-073 147-345 180-353 264-289 180) ‘a title’, Chin *dian zhong shi yu shi* 殿中侍御史 C442, Hucker, No 6556 “LIAO: Palace Administrator, head of the Administration Office (*tien-chung ssu*)”.

co-on-tu t-ie-ên-de (298-154-202 247-327-073-205) ‘in the Cuan Hall’, Chin *cuan tu dian yu* 攢涂殿于.
Khitan **t-ie-ên** ← Chin *dian* 殿, YCh *tjɛn,* LMCh *thian.*

ng-iú üe-ên t-ung z-in (264-289 082-073 247-345 258-018) ‘a title’, Chin *yu yuan tong jin* 御院通进 C453, Hucker No 8214 CHIN: “Ceremonial Receptionist”.
Khitan **t-ung** ← Chin *tong* 通 YCh *thuŋ*, LMCh *thəwŋ.*

ng-iú-ku$_3$ t-ie-ên-en (264-289-282 247-327-073-140) ‘imperial palace, genitive’, Chin *yu dian zhi* 御殿之 C453, hybrid, Chinese+Khitan genitive.
Khitan **t-ie-ên** ← Chin *dian* 殿, YCh *tjɛn,* LMCh *thian*, see above.

T-abu-y-én (247-196-020-361) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *ta bu yan* 挞不衍 (Gung7).

T-abu-y-er (247-196-020-341) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *ta bu ye* 挞不也 (Hai12) C440.
Khitan **t-abu** ← Chin *ta bu* 挞 = 撻不, YCh *ta,* LMCh *tʰat*, YCh *pu*, LMCh *put.*

T-ad-ar (247-099-123) ‘a name, Tatar’,4x, ChinT *ta ta er* 塔塔儿, Chin *da da*鞑靼 =韃靼 C438, **L**11.
Khitan **t-ad-ar** ← Chin *dada* 韃靼, YCh *ta,* LMCh *that,* YCh *ta*, LMCh *tat.*

T-ang-a (247-199-189) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *dang ge* 当哥 C440, (Di15).
Khitan **t-ang** ← Chin *dang* 当 = 當 YCh *taŋ,* LMCh *taŋ.*

T-ang-ur (247-199-236) ‘a name, Tangut?’, ChinT *tang gu* 唐古, **L**10, **L**11, 2x C440.

Heu-úr-ha-al t-ang-ur-en (250-097-051-098 247-199-236-140) ‘the He-la Tangut tribe, genitive’, Chin *he la tang gu zhi* 鹤剌唐古之 C443, according to WF 91 *he-la Tangut* 鶴剌 唐古, which is *Hara Tangut*, that is Black Tangut.
Khitan **t-ang** ← Chin *tang* 唐 YCh *tʰaŋ,* LMCh *thaŋ.*

t-ie-ên (247-327-073) ‘heaven’, gentitive **t-ie-ên-en** (247-327-073-140), 1x, **t-ie-ên-ñ** (247-327-073-222) ‘heaven,’ 6x, Chin *tian* 天, **L**3, accusative-instrumental **t-ie-ên-er** (247-327-073-341), dative-locative **t-ie-ên-de** (247-327-073-205).
Khitan **t-ie-ên** ← Chin *tian* 天, YCh *tʰjɛn,* LMCh *tʰian.*

t-ie-ém g-ie-ém-en ui MANAGE-l-hu (247-327-270 334-327-270-140 262 142-261-151) ‘a title, hybrid, genitive’, Chin *dian jian zhi shi zhi* 点检之事知 C442, no exact equivalent in Hucker or WF, perhaps see *du dian jian* 都電檢 Hucker No 7297 LIAO: one of the titles given heads of regional Tax Offices (*ch’ien po ssu*)”.

t-u t-ie-ém g-ie-ém ui MANAGE-l-ha-ar (247-131 247-327-270 334-327-270 262 142-261-051-123) ‘a title’, Chin *du dian jian zhi shi zhi* 都点检之事知 C349, Chin *du dian jian* 都電檢 Hucker No 7297 LIAO: one of the titles given heads of regional Tax Offices (*ch’ien po ssu*)”.
Khitan **t-ie-ém** ← Chin *dian* 点 = 點, YCh *tjɛm,* LMCh *tiam.*

Khitan names in Chinese transcription
Most of these Chinese transcriptions are identifications by recent works and of present scholars, here mostly by CWJ. I deal here only with a few names::

T-em$_2$-én abu (247-257-361 196) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *te mian a bu* 特免阿不 Hui7 C441, ? to *temen* ‘camel’ and **abu.**
Khitan **t-em$_2$-én** → Chin *te mian* 特免, YCh *təj.* In front of Turkic *tebe, tewe* (see WOT 903-905) all Middle Mongolic and recent Mongolic languages have **teme-ge-n.* (Nugteren 2011, 517).

T-en$_2$-un$_2$ (247-324-144) ‘a name’, ChT ?*de an* 地安+? , **L**5, **L**10, only in this inscription.
Khitan **t-en$_2$-** → Chin *de-an* 地 安.

T-eng-ur (247-175-236) ‘a tribe name’, ChinT *tang gu* 唐古 C440.
Khitan **t-eng** → Chin *tang* 唐.

T-il-t-en (247-302‘247-140) ’ a name of a tribe, genitive also **D-il-t,** Chin *dilie zhi* 敌烈 之, **L**20.

T-il-uh (247-302-172) ‘the clan name Dilu’, ChinT *dilu* 涤 鲁, **L**8.
Khitan **t-il** → Chin *dilie* 敌烈 *, dilu* 涤 鲁.

t-úr tai ui° (247-097 374 263) ‘a title’, ChinT *tu li tai wei* 秃里太尉 Hu3, C438, **t-úr** has to be a Khitan word, see EL and Chin *tu-li* is a transcription, for *tai wei* see Hucker No 6260 CH’IN-HAN “Defender-in-chief”, later occasionally title of the senior military officer in a kingdom.
Khitan **t-úr** → Chin *tu li* 秃里.

Glyph <t$_2$> (260) in the corpus 7x, none in EL, <ta> (229) in the corpus 140x, in EL 12x.

In Chinese transcription:

Ta-ang-en ki-ên l-ing-de (229-199-140 163-073 261-303-205) ‘Tang qianling (tomb), dative-locative’, Chin *tang qian ling yu* 唐乾陵 于 C423.
Khitan **ta-ang** ← Chin *tang* 唐, YCh *tʰaŋ,* LMCh *thaŋ.*

Ci-ng t-ie-ên tai heu-un (162-264 247-327-073 374 250-273) ‘Chengtian empress dowager, genitive’, Chin *cheng tian tai hou zhi* 承天太后之 C407, see also Hucker No 6698.

Khitan **tai** ← Chin *tai* 太, see above.

The glyph <tal> 午 (195), in the corpus 86x, in EL 5x, in Chinese transcription of a Khitan name :

Tal-en 午 村 (195-140) ‘tribe name’, Chin *da ling* 达领 C416.

Tal-en-ñ 午 村 伏 (195-140-222) ‘tribe name, genitive’, Chin *da ling (bian) zhi* 达领(边)之 C416.

Tal ñ-ô-or 午 伏 仌 北 (195 222-252-076) ‘tribe name’, Chin *da ling (bian) bu* 达领(边)部C416.

Khitan **tal-en** → Chin *da ling* 达领 recent transcripion, not clear.

<te> 口 (323) in the corpus 163x, in EL 5x

In Chinese transcription:

Te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an 口 北 伏 丞 去 夹 (323-080-222 053-051-011), Chin *telin kehan* 忒邻可汗之 C470, (Zhi11).

Khitan **te** → Chin *te* 忒, YCh *t^{h}əj.*

<te$_2$> 尘 (356), in the corpus 390x, , in EL 12x, none in Chinese transcription, <to> 生 (213), in the corpus 26x, in EL once:

to-on l-ie-ên 生 不 屮 文 寿 (213-154 261-327-073) ‘a title’, Chin *tuan lian* 团练 C419 Hucker, No 7383 “Militia”.

Khitan **to-on** ← Chin *tuan* 团 = 團, YCh *t^{h}ɔn*, LMCh *thuan.*

<tou > 丸 (191), in the corpus 63x, not in EL

<tu> 为 (202), in the corpus 157x, in EL 40x

co-on-tu t-ie-ên-de 尚 不 为 令 文 寿 矢 (298-154-202 247-327-073-205) ‘in the Cuan Hall’, Chin *cuan tu dian yu* 攒涂殿于.

du tu-ung 门 为 太 (237 202-345) ‘campaign commander’, Chin *du tong* 都统 C424.

Khitan **tu-ung** ← Chin *tong* 统, YCh *t^{h}uŋ*, LMCh *t^{h}əwŋ.*

g-ing-en tu-ung p-a-an 九 同 村 为 太 业 为 夹(334-303-140 202-345 295-189-011) ‘a title, the *tongpan* of the capital’, Chine *jing zhi tong pan* 京之 通判, **L**23, Hucker 7497 *tongpan* “Controller-general”, hybrid.

tu-ung p-a-an 为 太 业 为 夹 (202-345 295-189-011) ‘a title’, Chin *tong pan* 通判, **L**23. **L**25 Hucker No 7497 “Controller General”.

tu-ung s-in-en 为 太 仐 雨 村 (202-345 244-018-140) ‘title, genitive’, Chin *tong jin zhi*通进之 C417, Hucker 7476 *tong jin si* 通进司 SUNG-LIAO “Memorial-forwarding Office”.

Khitan **tu-ung** ← Chin *tong* 通 YCh *t^{h}uŋ*, LMCh *t^{h}əwŋ.*

iú-ng ci-eu-un tu-ung jï 穴 发 朩 厺 火 为 太 友 (289-264 162-067-273 202-345 087) ‘a title’, Chin *yong zhou zhi tong zhi* 永州之同知 C457, a hibryd expression with a Khitan gentive, the *tong-zhi* of the *Iú-ng* prefecture.

k-ai pu ng-i tu-ung s-a-am sï (283-122 241 264-339 202-345 244-189-184 083) ‘a title’, Chin *kai fu yi tong san si* 开府仪同三司 C455, Hucker No 3105, “Commander Unequalled in Honor”.

ng-i tu-ung$_2$ s-a-am sï (264-339 202-106 244-189-184 083) ‘a title’, Chin *yi tong san si* 仪同三司 C453, Hucker No 3024 “Unequaled in Honor”.

tu-ung jï-en ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de (202-345 087-140 262 142-131-337-205) ‘to the manager of the matters of the Associate, a title’, dative-locative Chin *tong zhi zhi shi zhi* 同知之事知 C417, Hucker No 7471 *tong zhi:* “Associate Administrator or Associate”, hybrid.

tu-ung$_2$ g-ia-am s-iu g-ui shï (202-106 334-335-184 244-019 334-262 180) ‘a title’, Chin *tong jian xiu guo shi* 同兼修国史 C417 Hucker No 7470 *tong jian* “Deputy” + Hucker No 2626 *xiu guo shi* SUNG, LIAO “State Historiographer”.

tu-ung jï (202-345 087) ‘a title’, Chin *tongzhi* 同 知, **L**24, Hucker No 7471.
Khitan **tu-ung/ung$_2$**← Chin *tong* 同, YCh *tʰuŋ,* LMCh *tɦəwŋ.*

sï tu (083-202) ‘a title’, Chin *si tu* 司徒, Hucker No 5801 “Minister over the masses”.

sï tu-dú (083 202-179) ‘a title, dative-locative’, Chin *si tu yu* 司徒于 C385.
Khitan **tu** ← Chin *tu* 徒 YCh *tʰu*, LMCh *tɦuǝ̆.*

t-le g-iu-ung-un tu-ung g-ün (247-093 334-019-345-273 202-345 334-329) ‘commander of south capital’, Chin *nan gong(jing) zhi tong jun* 南京之统军 C437, hybrid.

tu-ung$_2$ sh-ün (202-106 028-329) ‘commander’, Chin *tong jun* 统军 C417.
Khitan **tu-ung/ung$_2$** ← Chin *tong* 统 YCh *tʰung*, LMCh *tʰəwŋ.*

<tum> (187), In the corpus 67x, EL once

Tum-úr (187-097) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *tu mu ri* 图木日 Gu17 C415, see Mong *temür* ‘iron, metal’, but Dah *kaso, kazo* ‘Eisen’ (M-K114), the Chinese transcription is recent.
Khitan **tum-úr** → Chin *tu mu ri* 达领.

As it can be seen from the above Khitan D reflects a non aspirated Chinese *t*-, while Khitan T is reflecting partly a Chinese aspirated *tʰ*, partly a non aspirated Chinese *t*-. This goes along with Khitan words, which are written both with d- and t- initials as:

d-le 19x (254-093) ~ **t-le** (247-093) ‘south’.

d-em$_2$-le-*- (254-257-261) ~ **t-em$_2$-l-*** (247-257-261) ‘to appoint, to give a higher rank, to ennoble etc.’.

d-ge 仝岑 (254-349) ~ **t-ge-** 令岑 (247-349) ‘to die’.

d-iu-ir 仝丙刃 (254-019-137), ~ **t-iu-ir** 令丙刃 (247-019-137),‘the reign period Dakang (大康 1075-1085, Great Peace), **L**25.

D-il-t-en 仝用令冇, (254-302-247-140) ~ **T-il-t-en** 令用令冇 (247-302‘247-140)’ a name of a tribe, plural, genitive**,** Chin *dilie zhi* 敌烈 之, **L**20,

All types of Khitan words, names, titles have the alternate forms with D and T.

	KSS GLYPH	CHINESE PINYIN	YUAN CHINESE	LATE MIDDLE CHINESE
D-				
d-	仝 (254)	di-	tj-	tɦi-
		d-	tj-	ti- /tɦi
		di	ti-	tɦi-
		t-	t-	tɦ-
du-	丸 (089),	t-	t-	tɦ-
da-	久 (171),	d-	t-	tɦ-
da$_3$	六 (214),	d-	t-	tɦ-
dai	雨 (017)	d-	t-	tɦ-
T-				
t-	令 (247)	d-	t-	tɦ-
		t-	th-	th-
		di-	tj-	tɦi-
		t-	tj-	tɦi-
		t-	t-	th-
		d-	t-	tɦ-
		d-	t-	t-
		t-	th-	th-
		di-	tj-	ti-
to-	生 (213)	t-	th-	tɦ-
tu-	劣 (202),	t-	th-	th-

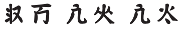
TABLE XXXIII. THE KHITAN DENTAL STOPS AND THE CHINESE INITIALS WHICH THEY REFLECT

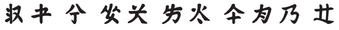
10.9.4 THE VELAR STOP GLYPHS

See Wu–Róna-Tas 2020 from another point of view

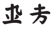
10.9.4.1 The K glyphs

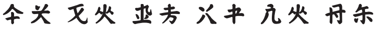
<k> (283), in the corpus 332x, in EL 22x. In Chinese transcriptions:

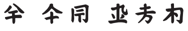
k-y g-ui g-ung  (283-020 334-262 334-345) ‘a title’, Chin *kai guo gong* 开国公 C455, Hucker 3116 “Dynasty-founding Duke”.

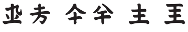
k-ai pu ng-i tu-ung s-a-am sï  (283-122 241 264-339 202-345 244-189-184 083) ‘a title’, Chin *kai fu yi tong san si* 开府仪同三司 C455, Hucker No 3105, “Commander Unequalled in Honor”.
Khitan **k-y, k-ai** ← Chin *kai* 开= 開 YCh *k^haj* LMCh k^haj.

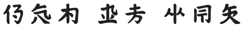
<kei> (328), in the corpus 29x, not in EL, <ki > (163), in the corpus 27x, in EL 9x, in Chinese words:

ki-ên  (163-073) ‘county’ , Chin *xian* 县.

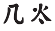
s-i sh-ui ki-ên h-ai g-ui b-ai$_2$  (244-339 028-262 163-073 340-122 334-262 311-197) ‘a title, founding father of the Qishui county’, Chin *qi shui xian kai guo bo* 漆水县开国伯 C435.

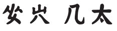
Ú s-ing ki-ên-en  (245 244-303 163-073-140) ‘Wu qing county, genitive’, Chin *wu qing xian zhi* 武清县之 C437.
Khitan **ki-ên** ← Chin *xian* 县=縣 YCh *xjɛn,* LMCh *xɦjyan.*

ki-ên s-ú hong di  (163-073 244-245 075 037) ‘Xuanzu emperor, son of Yizu emperor’, Chin *xuan zu huang di* 玄祖皇帝 C410.
Khitan **ki-ên** ← Chin *xuan* 玄 YCh *xɥɛn,* LMCh *xɦjyan.*

Ta-ang-en ki-ên l-ing-de  (229-199-140 163-073 261-303-205) ‘Tang qianling (tomb), dative-locative’, Chin *tang qian ling yu* 唐乾陵于 C423.
Khitan **ki-ên** ← Chin *qian* 乾 YCh *khjɛn,* LMCh *kɦian.*

<ku> (178), in the corpus 743x, in EL 39 times, in Chinese words:

ku-ung  (178-345) ‘duke’, Chin *gong* 公, **L**24, Hucker, No 3388.

ng-iú ku-ung$_2$  (264-289 178-106) ‘five (famous) ministers (of history)’, Chin *wu gong* 五公 C453, **L**24.
Khitan **ku-ung** ← Chin *gong* 公 YCh *kuŋ*, LMCh *kɛwŋ.*

Khitan word Chinese transcription

Ku-ung-úr (178-345-097) ‘a person’s name’, no gloss, but ChinT *kong gu li* 控骨里 C412 (Guang22) see Turk *qoŋur* ‘chestnut (colour)’, **L**16, a frequent name, see WOT, 560–562.

<ku^{o}> (178.1), 5x in the corpus, not in EL<ku$_2$> (233), 15x in the corpus, not in EL <ku$_3$> (282) 76x in the corpus, 3x in EL, in one Chinese expression:

ng-iú-ku$_3$ t-ie-ên-en (264-289-282 247-327-073-140) ‘imperial palace, genitive’, Chin *yu dian zhi* 御殿之 C453, **ku$_3$** is here a Khitan suffix.

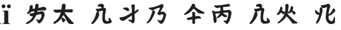
10.9.4.2 The G glyphs

<g> (334), 2437x in the corpus, 259x in EL, in Chinese transcription

Sh-iû$_2$-u ng-i g-iáng shï (028-035.3-131 264-339 334-062 180) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *shu yi geng shi* 淑仪耿 氏 (CWJ1140).

t-u t-ie-ém g-ie-ém ui MANAGE-l-ha-ar (247-131 247-327-270 334-327-270 262 142-261-051-123) ‘a title’, Chin *du dian jian zhi shi zhi* 都点检之事知 C349, Chin *du dian jian* 都電檢 Hucker No 7297 LIAO: one of the titles given heads of regional Tax Offices (*ch’ien po ssu*)”, see **t-ie-ém**.

Khitan **g-ie-ém** ← Chin *jian* 检 = 檢 YCh *kjɛm*, LMCh *kiam.*

tu-ung$_2$ g-ia-am s-iu g-ui shï  (202-106 334-335-184 244-019 334-262 180) ‘title, Deputy State Historiographer ’, Chin *tong jian xiu guo shi* 同兼修国史 C417 Hucker No 7470 *tong jian* “Deputy”+ Hucker No 2626 *xiu guo shi* SUNG, LIAO “State Historiographer”.

Khitan **g-ia-am** ← Chin *jian* 兼 YCh *kjɛm,* LMCh *kjiam.*

Khitan **g-ui** ← Chin *guo* 国 = 國 YCh *kuj*, LMCh *kuə̆k.*

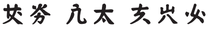
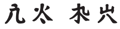
t-le g-ing (247-093 334-303)’South Capital’, Chin *nanjing* 南京, **L**20.

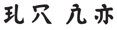
Khitan **g-ing** ← Chin *jing* 京 YCh *kiŋ*, LMCh *kiajŋ.*

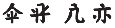
t-le g-iu-ung-un l-iu sh-eu (247-093 334-019-345-273 261-019 180 067)’the commander in absence of the emperor of the south palast (capital)’Chin *nan gong (jing) zhi liu shou* 南宫 (京)之留守 (Dao3) C438.

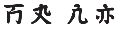
u-ru g-iu-ung-un l-iu sh-eu (131-236 334-019-345-273 261-019 028-067) ‘a title?’, Chin *shang gong(jing) zhi liu shou* 上宫 (京)之留守 C393, hybrid, with Kitan genitive,? those who were left behind, stood behind for duty in the superior palace, in case the emperor was in abscence, Hucker No 5012 *shang gong ju* 上宫局 TANG-SUNG “General Palace Service”.

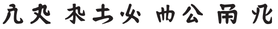
Khitan **g-iu-ung** ← Chin *gong* 宫 YCh *kuŋ*, LMCh *kiwŋ.*

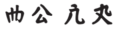
Üe-e g-ung$_2$ j-iú-un  (082-348 334-106 104-289-273) ‘princess of state of Yue, genitive’, Chin *yue guo gong zhu zhi* 越国公主之 C384, for **g-ung$_2$ j-iú** see **g-ung ci-iú** , also Hucker 3408 “Princess, or Imperial Princess”.
Khitan **g-ung$_2$** ← Chin *gong* 公 YCh *kuŋ*, LMCh *kəwŋ.*

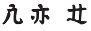
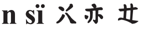
xu-û g-ün  (036-372 334-329) ‘tiger army’, Chin *hu jun* 虎军 C370.
L23, Hucker 2775 has *hu jun* 護軍 T’ANG-MING “Military Protector” that is not ’tiger’, but ‘protect, guard’, this is not the same, but CWJ seems to be right, see **l-iúng xu g-ün.**

z-iang g-ün  (258-314 334-329) ‘general’, Chin *jiang jun* 将军 C448 see **s-iang g-ün.**
Khitan **g-ün** ← Chin *jun* 军 =軍 YCh *kyn*, LMCh *kyn.*

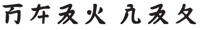
y-au g-ün  (020-161 334-329) ‘ancient Chinese administrative division name’, Chin *you jun* 宥郡 C363,
Khitan **g-ün** ← Chin *jun* 郡 YCh *kyn*, LMCh *kɦyn.*

g-au ci-eu-un go-n ca shï  (334-161 162-067-273 319-251 375 180) ‘a title, the *gon ca shi* of the Gau prefecture’, Chin *gao zhou zhi guan cha shi* 高州之观察使 C473.

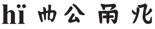
go-n g-au  (319-251 334-161) ‘official patent’, Chin *guan gao* 官诰 C467.
Khitan **g-au** ← Chin *gao* 高, YCh *kaw*, LMCh *kaw.*

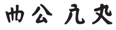
g-ün sï  (334-329 083) ‘esquire, gentleman’, Chin *jun zi* 君子 C475, see also **h-ün sï**  (340-329 083) ‘esquire’, Chin *jun zi* 君子 C481,
Khitan **g-ün** ← Chin *jun* 君, YCh *kyn,* LMCh *kyn.*

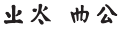
Khitan name in Chinese transcription

Y-ar$_2$-u-ud G-u-uh  (020-084-131-344 334-131-172) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *ye lü gu* 耶律固 C362, **L**2.
Khitan **g-u-uh** → Chin 固 *gu*, YCh *ku.*

The glyph <ge$_2$> (112), 625x, in EL 23x, does not occur in transcription of Chinese, <go> (319), 277x. In EL 17x, in Chinese transcriptions:

go-n ca shï  (319-251 375 180) ‘a title’, Chin *guan cha shi*观察使 C468, Hucker 3269.
Khitan **go-n** ← Chin *guan* 观 = 觀 YCh *kɔn*, LMCh *kuan.*

go-n g-au  (319-251 334-161) ‘official patent’, Chin *guan gao* 官诰 C467.

p-ung go-n  (295-345 319-251) ‘a title’, Chin *pan guan* 判官 C462, Hucker, No. 4425 “(Administrative) Assistant”, irregular vocalism in the first syllable.
Khitan **go-n** ← Chin *guan* 官 YCh *kɔn*, LMCh *kuan.*

The glyph <gu> (165), 144x, in EL 22x, in Chinese transcription

Ci-eu y-gu (162-067 020-165) *'Zhou Yi* 周易: the Book of Changes', C405.
Khitan **y-gu** ← Chin *yi* 易 YCh *ji*, LMCh *jiajk*, EMCh *jiajk.*
n-i-gu1 (251-339-165) '1. Jurchen, 2. gold', also **n-i-gu$_2$** (251-339-165.1) Chin 1. *nü gu* 女古 2. *jin* 金 C445 'Jurchen', Chin *nü gu* 女古 C446, see Appendix **12.10.**
n-i-gu-hu (251-339-165-151) 'Jurchen', Chin *nü gu* 女古 C445.
n-i-gu2 (251-339-165) 'female ancestor', Chin *nügu* 女古, **L**9, C445.
Khitan **gu** ← Chin *gu* 古, YCh *ku*, LMCh *kuǎ.*
Khitan name in Chinese:
Ishi-g 'name of a clan', Chin *yi shi* 乙室, **ishi-gu-s na-ha-án-er-en** (033-165-244 139-051-290-341-140) 'maternal uncles', from the Ishi Gu clan, plural, genitive', Chin *yi shi ji guo jiu zhi* 乙室己国舅之 C369, see WF Index under *I-shih.*
Khitan **gu** also **-g** → Chin *ji* 己, YCh *ki.*

The glyph <gú> (297), in the corpus 30x, in EL 2x, not in Chinese transcription, <gu$_2$> (165.1), n.i, in the corpus 11x, in EL, 6x.
n-i-gu$_2$ (251-339-165.1) Chin 1. *nü gu* 女古 2. *jin* 金 C445 'Jurchen', Chin *nü gu* 女古 C446, see above and Appendix **12.10**.
Khitan **gu$_2$** ← Chin *gu* 古 YCh *ku*, LMCh *kuǎ* see above.

10.9.4.3 The Q glyphs

The glyph <qa> (053), occurs in the corpus 254x, in EL 21x, in most cases for the two titles 'kagan', **qa** (053) and **qa-ha-an** (053-051-011), but, these titles were for a long time known to the Chinese and their transcription followed earlier traditions. In transcription of Chinese words:

Qa-an h-ui pu-shi-ñ-en (053-011 340-262 241-033-333-140) 'lady of state of Han, genitive', Chin *han guo fu ren zhi* 韩国夫人之 C373.
Khitan **qa-an** ← Chin *han* 韩 = 韓, YCh *xan*, LMCh *xɦan.*
S-iau qa (244-362 'a name', Chin *xiaohe* 萧何 (?Xiao He -193 BC famous strategist and chancellor), C436.
Khitan **qa** ← Chinese *he* 何 YCh *xɔ*, LMCh *xɦa.*

Chinese transcription of Khitan
Qa-ad-i (053-099-339) 'a person's name', Chin *xia di* 辖底 C374.
Khitan **qa** → Chin *xia* 辖 = 轄 YCh *xja*, LMCh *xɦja:t.*

<qo> 力 (168), in the corpus 599x, in EL 22x, in most cases adjectival suffix, only in a Khitan name:

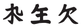
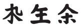
Ñ-qo 伏力 (222-168) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *nie he* 捏褐 (Qing32) C421.
Khitan **qo** → Chin *he* 褐, YCh *xɔ,* LMCh *xɦat.*

<qó> 欠 (169), in the corpus 531x, in EL 56x
The glyph occurs in several Khitan personal and geographical names, in most cases the Chinese transcription is recent

N-qó-a 公欠为 (251-169-189) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *nu gua* 奴瓜 (Han14) C445 to ‘dog’ as name see Turk *Noqai, Nogai.*
Ci-am-qó 朩乃欠 ‘a name’, only here, ChinT *chu mu gu* 楚募古 **L**10, looks like a name from a noun which is a nomnalized adjective.
fu-qó g-ui 仐欠 九火 (242-169 334-262) ‘a title, bulwark general of the state’, Chin *fu guo* 辅国 C428, see Hucker Nos 2073–2076, hybrid, **-qó** is a Khitan suffix.
L-au-qó-ñ y-ie-ên ong 屮夹欠伏 丙文寿 杰 (261-161-169-222 020-327-073 071) ‘prince of Yan’, Chin *lao gu yan wang* 老古燕王 C449 also **l-au-qu-or xar-li ong** 屮夹余伏 生灰 杰 (261-161-246-222 287-206 071) ‘prince of Yan’, Chin *lao gu yan wang* 老古燕王 C449, ??red and black wang to **l-iau** and **xar?** WF352, 593, *Lao-gu* is mentioned as Minister over the Masses, WF352, and in 1094 a *Lao-gu* is submitting with his tribe, or 老古 *lao-gu* ‘old’ ?.
M-or-qó 又北欠 (133-076-169) ‘a name’, ChT *mo lu jin* 磨鲁堇 C394.
Ñ-ar-qó-ñ 伏丰欠伏 (222-123-169-222) ‘a name’, ChinT *nie li gun* 涅里衮.
Ñ-mú-qó-ñ 伏行欠伏 (222-220-169-222) ‘a name’, ChinT *nian mu hun* 拈母浑, **L**7, **L**11.

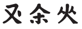
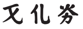
None of the above help us to reconstruct the phonetic value of 欠 <qó> (169)
The following cases need some remarks:
T-qó-s_2-un 令欠兴叉 (247-169-354-144) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *tu gu ci* 图古辞 (Gu17-13, Han4-14, Hui4-8) C440, also **T-qu-s_2-un** 令余兴叉 (247-246-354-144)(Nan 30-37, 36-1, Tu2-4, 5-10, Jue32-28) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *tu gu ci* 图古辞 Tu2, C440, **tugučin,* to Mong *tug* ‘flag, standard, banner’, *tugči* ‘standard bearer, flag-bearer’, Dah *toi* ‘Fahne, Banner’? Ma *tu* ‘grosse Standarte’ ← Mong *tug* (M-L137). The Khitan name became an accepted Chinese name, and was transcribed as a Chinese one.
t-qó sh-i 令欠 叉关 (247-169 028-339) ‘Governor General’, 32x also **t-qu sh-i** 令余 叉关 (247-246 028-339), 6x, Chin *dushi* 度使**,** abbreviation of *jie du shi* 節度使 (Wu–Janhunen 2010, 90), **L**18, **L**19, **L**20, **L**23, **L**23, Hucker No 777 “Military Commisioner” “In Liao there were Military Commissioners in charge of most Prefectures (*chou*) and Military Prefectures (*chün*) under the

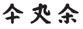
control of the Southern Administration (*nan mien*)”. Khitan **t-qó** and **t-qu** are Khitan words with the adjectivizer suffix **-qW**.

Ci-bu-qó  (162-196-169) ‘tribe name’, (Xu17-3, Yu51-50, 56-15), also **ci-bu-qu**  (162-196-246) (Guang35-14, Song11-14), Chin in the Liaoshi *zu bu* 阻卜, *Zhibugu* 值 不姑 or *Zhubugu* 住不姑. A Khitan or Khitanized name of a Mongol tribal name.The final of the name was felt to be a suffix.

<qu> (246), in the corpus 260x, in EL 51x in most cases as a suffix

In transcription of Chinese:

GREAT m-qu-ui sh-ri-e   (373 133-246-262 028-235-348) ‘a tribe, a *shirie* name’, Chin *da mie gu shi lie* 大蔑弧石烈 C485, where *gu* 弧 has two readings YCh *ku*, LMCh *kuǎ* and *hu* YCh *xu,* LMCh *xɦuǎ,* WF (p. 100) has *mie-si-nai* 蔑思乃 ‘tribe’, where **nai** may be ’the head of the tribe’.

S-au-qu  (244-161-246)‘a name’, ChT *saogu* 扫古, *zaogu* 慥古 C433 (Chao26).

In both cases late transcriptions.

The glyph <qú> (118) occurs in the corpus 195x, in EL 17x, all cases as a Khitan suffix.

	KSS GLYPH	CHINESE PINYIN	YUAN CHINESE	LATE MIDDLE CHINESE
K				
k	(283)	k-	kh-	kh-
ki-	(163)	xi-	xj-	xɦj-
		xu-	xɥ-	xɦj-
		qi-	khj-	kɦi-
ku-	(178)	g-	k-	k-
G				
g-	(334)	j-	kj-	ki-
-		j-	kj-	kj-
		g-	k-	k-
		j-	k-	ki-
		g-	k-	ki-
		j-	k-	k-
go-	(319)	gu-	k-	ku-
gu-	(165)	g-	k-	ku-

Q				
qa-	(053)	h-	x-	xɦ-
qó-	(169)			
qu-	(246)			
qú-	(118)			

TABLE XXXIV. THE KHITAN VELAR STOPS AND THE CHINESE INITALS THEY REFLECT

10.9.5 THE UVULAR FRICATIVE GLYPHS

10.9.5.1 The H glyphs

H

<h> (340), in the corpus occurs 1220x, in EL 52x, in Chinese words:

s-i sh-ui ki-ên h-ai g-ui b-ai$_2$ (244-339 028-262 163-073 340-122 334-262 311-197) 'a title, founding father of the Qishui county', Chin *qi shui xian kai guo bo* 漆水县开国伯 C435.
Khitan **h-ai** ← Chin *kai* 开, = 開 YCh *kʰaj* LMCh *kʰaj*.

s-i h-ing pu-u g-iu-ung shï (244-339 340-303 241-131 334-19-345 180) 'deputy palace commander of Jiqing', Chin *ji qing fu gong shi*积庆副宫使 C436, Hucker 2070 *fu gong* "TANG unofficial reference to a Commandry Governor", *Ji-qing* see WF707.
Khitan **h-ing** ← Chin *qing* 庆 = 慶 YCh *kʰiŋ*, LMCh *kʰiajŋ*.

H-ai (340-122) 'a geographic name', CWJ ChinT *kai* 开 'open', *kai* 開 'name of a prefecture'. **L**1.
Khitan **h-ai** ← Chin *kai* 开, = 開 YCh *kʰaj* LMCh *kʰaj* see above.

H-i-ing sh-ng du-u g-iu-ung shï-ï$_2$ (340-339303 028-264 237-334-019-345 180-113) 'a title, the Commissioner (shi) of the *H-i-ing shang* ordu', Chin *xing sheng dou gong shi* 兴圣都宫使, **L**16, **L**18, WF 721.
Khitan **h-i-ing** ←Chin *xing* 兴 = 興 YCh *xiŋ*, LMCh *xiǎŋ*.

h-ing (340-303) 'minister', Chin *qing* 卿, 28x,
Khitan **h-ing** ← Chin *qing* 卿 YCh *kʰiŋ,* LMCh *kʰiajŋ*.

h-ün sï (340-329 083) 'esquire, gentleman, lord', Chin *jun zi* 君子 C481.
Khitan **h-ün** ← Chin *jun* 君 YCh *kyn*, LMCh *kyn* also **g-ün sï** (334-329 083) 'esquire, gentleman', Chin *jun zi* 君子C475.

Ong H-ia N-u (071 340-335 251-131) 'a name' Chin *wang jia nu* 王家奴, **L**11.

Pu-ung H-ia N-u (241-106 340-335 251-131) ‘a name’, ChinT *feng jia nu* 冯家奴, L10.
Khitan **h-ia** ← Chin *jia* 家 YCh *kja*, LMCh *kja***:**

for h~k see

h-iú (340-289) ‘younger sister’, Chin *mei* 妹 C480[18], see **k-iú** (283-289) ‘younger sister’, Chin *mei* 妹 C456.

<ha> (051), in the corpus 2092x, in EL 127x. From the Chinese transcriptions below no conclusions can be drawn:

Har-ha-ai sh-ri-e (321-051-122 028-235-348), also **Har$_2$ -ha-ai sh-ri-e$_2$** (321.1-051-122 028-235-109) ‘a name of a *shirie*’, ChinT *xia-lai-yi shi-lie* 霞瀨益石烈 C469, the *Xia-lai-yi shi lie* is the tribal unit in which the first Liao emperor, A-bao-ki was born. (WF87), it may be the same as the *Xia-lan shi-lie* 轄懶 石烈.

T-od-ha-ar (247-016-051-123) ‘a tribe name, ? Tatar’, Chin *da da* 韃靼 = 韃靼 C437, earlier pronunciation unclear.

The glyph <heu> (250), in the corpus 61x, In EL 15x, in transcription of Chinese

Ci-ng t-ie-ên tai heu-un (162-264 247-327-073 374 250-273) ‘Chengtian empress dowager, genitive’, Chin *cheng tian tai hou zhi* 承天太后之 C407, see also Hucker No 6698, also in **hong-heu** (075-250), ‘empress’ Chin *huanghou* 皇后.
Khitan **heu** ← Chin *hou* 后, YCh *xəw*, LMCh *xɦəw.*

<hu> (151), in the corpus 1588x, In EL 54x.

l-ém-a* (261-270-189)**,** also **l-ém-hu-a** (261-270-151-189) ‘a title, *linya*’, Chin *linya* 林牙, ‘an official in charge of the academy, formerly known as *xueshi* 學士. C450, YChin 林 *lim,* 牙 YCh *ja,* Hucker 3731 LIAO: “Secretary, Chinese rendering of a Khitan word similar to *han-lin* (Hanlin); occurs throughout the Liao government with a variety of particularizing prefixes and suffixes”. It can be compared with OTurk *el ïmga* (Clauson 1972, 158) a title described by Kashgari. The longer form **l-ém-hu-a** (261-270-151-189) is closer to the Turkic form.

hu-a (151-189)’misfortune, pain’**,** ChinE *huo* 祸 = 禍 ‘catastrophe, disaster, misfortune’, YCh *xwə*, LMCh *xɦua.*

l-iu hu-eu-un (261-019 151-67-273) ‘title, genitive’, Chin *liu hou zhi* 留后之 C449, Hucker 3790.

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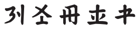
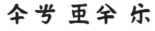
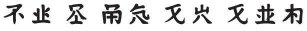
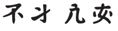
[18] see Mong *keü, küü* ‘son, young boy’, Dag *huu, kuu* ‘man, adult person, other people’ (< *kümün*), *χu* ‘Mensch’ (M-K142) all to Khitan **ku,** *keüken* ‘girl, young lady’

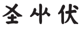
Khitan **hu-eu** ← Chin *hou* 后 YCh *xəw*, LMCh *xɦəw.*

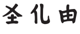
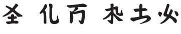
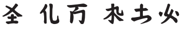
hu-ém-li$_4$-ha-ai  (151-270-310-051-122) ‘manage’, ChinE *guan li* 管理C403, Hybrid, Chin+Kh suffixes: **-ha-ai** Chin *guan* 管 YCh *kɔn*, LMCh *kuan*, YCh, LMCh *li* the initial and the final do not fit.

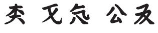
<hu$_2$> (014), in the corpus 122x, in EL 24x , in a Chinese name:
S-iau hu$_2$-ú QUEEN  (244-362 014-245 333) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *xiao hu lu* 小斛禄 Zhong14 C436.
Khitan **hu$_2$-ú** ← Chin *hu* 斛, YCh *xu,* LMCh *xɦəwk*
In most cases a voiceless velar fricative equivalent with Chinese x-.

10.9.5.2 The X glyphs

<xa> (130) In the corpus 86x, in EL 5x
xa-áng tai ca-ang sh-iú sh-iáng-en  (130-280 374 375-199 028-289 028-062-140) ‘title, genitive ’, Chin *xing tai shang-shu sheng zhi* 行台尚书省之 C392, Hucker No 2599 CHIN (!) “Branch Department of State Affairs, established in 1140 at Kaifeng”
Khitan **xa-áng** ← Chinese *xing* 行 YCh *xiŋ,* LMCh *xɦja:jŋ*
Xa-ia g-úr  (130-335 334-097) ‘state of Xia, Tangut’, Chin *xia guo* 夏国 C392
Khitan **xa-ia** ← Chin *xia* 夏 YCh *xja* LMCh *xɦja:*

<xe> (268) In the corpus 120x. In EL 4x
In a Khitan female name of Turkic origin:
Xe-l-ñ  ‘a name’ (268-261-222), Chin *jie ling* 解领, **L**9, ChinT *jie ling* 解领, see Uigur *kelin* ‘bride’ < *kel-* ‘to come’
Uigur *ke* → Khitan **xe** → Chinese *jie* 解

In a Khitan geographic name:
Xe-ri-pu$_2$  (268-235-320), see **Xe ri-y ci-eu-un**  (268 235-020 162-067-273) **L**18, **L**19 see WF 71, 426.
Xe ri-y ci-eu-un  (268 235-020 162-067-273) ‘prefecture Haibei, genitive’, Chin *hai bei zhou zhi* 海北州之 C454 (Cha12). , ?to Mong *küriye* ‘enclosure, camp, border etc.’

<xo> (057) In the corpus 60x, in EL 7x
Xo Sh-ang N-u  ‘name, “monk Nu”’ (057 028-199 251-131), Chin *heshang nu* 和尚 奴
Khitan **xo** ← Chin *he* 和, YCh *xwɔ,* LMCh *xɦua*

<xu> (036) In the corpus 51x

xu (036) ‘tiger’, Chin *hu* 虎 in:

xu-û g-ün (036-372 334-329) ‘tiger army’, Chin *hu jun* 虎军 C370.
L23, Hucker 2775 has *hu jun* 護軍 T’ANG-MING “Military Protector” that is not ’tiger’, but ‘protect, guard’, but CWJ seems to be right, see **l-iúng xu g-ün**,
Khitan **xu-û** ← Chin *hu* 虎 YCh *xu,* LMCh *xuǝ̆.*

xu-u b-u (036-131 311-131) ‘Ministry of Revenue’, also **xu-û-b-û** (036-372 311-372) ‘Ministry of Revenue’, Chin *hubu* 戶 部 (CWJ, K39), **L**7, **L**22, Hucker No. 2789.
Khitan **xu-u, xu-û** ← Chin *hu* 戶, YCh *xu*, LMCh *xɦuǝ̆.*

<xua> (143) In the corpus 20x, not in EL.

	KSS GLYPH	CHINESE PINYIN	YUAN CHINESE	LATE MIDDLE CHINESE
H				
h-	(340)	k-	kh-	kh-
		q-	kh-	kh-
		j-	k-	k-
ha-	(051)	see text		
heu-	(250)	h-	x-	xɦ-
hu$_2$	(014)	h-	x-	xɦ-
X				
xa-	(130)	x-	x-	xɦ-
xe-	(268)			
xo-	(057)	h-	xw-	xɦu-
xu-	(036)	h-	x-	xu-
		h-	x-	xɦu-

TABLE XXXV. THE KHITAN UVULARS AND THE CHINESE INITIALS THEY REFLECT

For the time being we can sum up the use of Khitan glyphs in transcription of Chinese.

KHITAN	CHINESE
G GLYPHS	k-
Q GLYPHS	x-
X GLYPHS	x-
K GLYPHS	k^h-, x-
H GLYPHS	k-, k^h-, x-

10.9.6 THE AFFRICATE GLYPHS

10.9.6.1 The C glyphs

The glyph <c(i)> (162) occurs in the corpus 2443x, in EL 153x. In transcription of Chinese:

ci-eu2 (162-067) ‘prefecture, district’, Chin *zhou*, 州.

b-oh ci-eu-un fu-ong ng-iú shï-ï (311-377 162-067-273 242-071 264-289 180-353) ‘a title, the Defence Commissioner of the prefecture Bo’, Chin *bo zhou zhi fang yu shi* 博州之防御使, C467, Hucker No 1923.

g-au ci-eu-un go-n ca shï (334-161 162-067-273 319-251 375 180) ‘a title, the *gon ca shi* of the Gau prefecture’, Chin *gao zhou zhi guan cha shi* 高州之观察使 C473.

iú-ng ci-eu-un tu-ung jï (289-264 162-067-273 202-345 087) ‘a title’, Chin *yong zhou zhi tong zhi* 永州之同知 C457, a hibryd expression with a Khitan gentive, the *tong-zhi* of the *Iú-ng* prefecture.

l-û ci-eu-un t-qu sh-i (261-372 162-067-273 247-246 028-339) ‘title, the teqoshi of the Lü prefecture, hybrid with Khitan genitive’, Chin *Lü zhou zhi du shi* 闾州之度使 C452.

P-ung sh-ng ci-eu-un ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de (295-345 028-264 162-067-273 262 142-131-337-205) ‘a title’, Chin *feng sheng zhou zhi shi zhi* 奉圣州之事知 C462, hybrid, Khitan genitive and **MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de** locative, the *shi zhi* of the prefecture Fengsheng.
Khitan **ci-eu** ← Chin *zhou,* 州 YCh, *tʂiw*, LMCh *tʂiw.*

ca-ang sh-iú y-eu-u ci-ng (375-199 028-289 020-067-131 162-264) ‘a title, the Right Assistant of the Minister’, Chin *shang shu you cheng* 尚书右丞 C488 *you cheng* is the Right Aide, Assistant Director of the Right, Hucker No 8034.
Khitan **ci-ng** ← Chin *cheng* 丞, YCh *tʂiŋ,* LMCh *ʂhiəŋ.*

ci-iá-qo (162-335-168) ‘foot (length)’, 6x, Chin *chi* 尺 C407. The Khitan word is a Chinese loan from Chin, YCh *tʂʰi,* LMCh *tʂiajk* + Khitan advjective suffix **-qW** replacing MCh final -k.
Khitan **ci-iá-qo** ← Chin *chi,* YCh *tʂʰi,* 尺**,** LMCh *tʂiajk.*

ci-ang sh-iú ji pong l-ang ju-ung (162-199 028-289 087 360 261-199 147-345) **‘**director of the bureau of military operations of the imperial secretariat’, Chin *shangshu zhifang langzhong* 尚 書 職方 郎中, (K16). *shangshu* Hucker 410-411 “minister’, *zhifang* Hucker No 978 “Bureau of Operatons”, *langzhong* Hucker 3565 “Director of the Section(*ts’ao*) or Bureau (*pu, ssu*, *ch’ing-li ssu*) in a Ministry (*pu*) or in some agency”.
Khitan **ci-ang** ← Chin *shang* 尚, YCh ʂaŋ, LMCh ʂɦiaŋ.

ci-ang s-in g-ün (162-199 244-018 334-329) ‘name of a military office’, Chin *zhang xin jun* 彰信军,
Khitan **ci-ang** ← Chin *zhang* 彰 YCh *tʂaŋ*, LMCh *tʂiaŋ***.**

ci-iau s-a-an t-ai-i pu (162-362 244-189-011 247-122-339 241) ‘a title’, Chin *zhao san dai fu* 朝散大夫 C410.
Khitan **ci-iau** ← Chin *zhao* 朝, YCh *tʂɛw,* LMCh *triaw.*

Ci-eu y-gu (162-067 020-165) ‘*Zhou Yi* 周易: the Book of Changes’, C405.

Ci-eu y-gu-de (162-067 020-165-205) ‘in the ZhouYi: the Book of Changes, dative-locative’, Chin *zhou yi yu* 周易于 C405.

Ci-eu g-ia n-iu (162-067 334-335 251-289) ‘a name’, Chin *zhou jia nu* 周 家女 (the woman from the Zhou family) C405.

Ci-eu g-ung$_3$ (162-067-334-345) ‘a Zhou prince’, Chin *zhou gong* 周 公 C405.
Khitan **ci-eu** ← Chin *zhou* 周, YCh *tʂiw*, LMCh *tʂiw.*

ci-in g-ia pu-shi-ñ (162-018 334-335 241-033-222) ‘a female name and title’, Chin *chen jia fu ren* 陈家夫人C404.
Khitan **ci-in** ← Chin *chen* 陈 = 陳 YCh *tʂʰin*, LMCh *trʰim.*

ci-ing jï (162-303 087) ‘recipient of the edicts’, Chin *cheng zhi* 承旨 C407, Hucker No.463.
Khitan **ci-ing** ← Chin *cheng* 承 YCh *tʂʰiŋ,* LMCh *ʂhiə̆ŋ.*

ci-ng s-iang (162-264 244-314)‘Prime Minister’, Chin *chengxiang* 丞相, **L**6, Hucker No. 483: Grand Councellor.

t-ai-i ci-ng s-iang (247-122-339 162-264 244-314) ‘a title’, Chin *da cheng xiang* 大丞相 C349, Hucker No. 5889 “Grand Councilor-in-chief”.

Ci-ng t-ie-ên tai heu-un (162-264 247-327-073 374 250-273) ‘Chengtian empress dowager, genitive’, Chin *cheng tian tai hou zhi* 承天太后之 C407, see also Hucker No 6698.

z-o ci-ng s-iang (258-186 162-264 244-314) ‘a title, the left Prime Minister’, Chin *zuo cheng xiang* 左丞相 C448, see **ci-ng s-iang.**

ca-ang sh-iú y-eu-u ci-ng (375-199 028-289 020-067-131 162-264) ‘a title, the Right Assistant of the Minister’, Chin *shang shu you cheng* 尚书右丞 C488 *you cheng* is the Right Aide, Assistant Director of the Right, Hucker No 8034).
Khitan **ci-ing** ← Chin *cheng* 丞 YCh *tʂʰiŋ,* LMCh *ʂhiə̆ŋ.*

ci-üe-ên ün deu-úr MANAGE-u-ji-de (162-082-073 329 101-097 142-131-152-205) ‘a title’, Chin *zhuan yun tong zh*i 转运同知 C405, see Hucker No1490 *zhuan-yun shi* SUNG-CHIN “Fiscal Commissioner” but here rather No 1492 *zhuan-yun si* “Tax Transport Commission”and the second part is *tong-zhi* Commander Geneal. That is Commander General of the Transport Commission.
Khitan **ci-üe-ên** ← Chin *zhuan* 转=轉, YCh *tʂwɛn*, LMCh *tryan.*

Ci-228-dû ñ-ó-úr (162-228-249 222-090-097) ‘a tribe name’, Chin *chu te bu* 楮特部 C406, see **Ci-228-dû-i du g-e** (162-228-249-339 237 334-348) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *chu te du ge* 楮特都哥 (Yong17) C406, see WF p. 710 where two tribal names are given: *chu-de* 鉏德 (鋤淂) and *chu-te* 楮 特, also *chu-te Ao-wei* 奧隗. They are Xiao, that is of Uigur origin. The expression is a Khitan gentive construction.
Khitan **ci-228** ← Chin *chu* 楮, YCh *tʂʰy,* LMCh *trʰiə̆/ trʰyə̆.*
Khitan **ci-228** ← Chin chu 鉏 YCh *tʂʰu,* LMCh *tʂɦəə̆/ tʂɦuə̆.*

g-ung (334 345) ‘prince, duke’, Chin *gong* 公 **L**3, Hucker No 3388.

g-ung ci-iú (334-345 162-289) ‘princess’, Chin *gong zhu* 公主 C476, also ***g-ung$_2$ j-iú*** (334-106 104-289) ‘princess’, Chin *gong zhu* 公主 C473, **L**10.
Khitan **ci-iú** ← Chin *zhu* 主, YCh *tʂy*, LMCh *tʂyă.*

g-ung ci-en (334-345 162-140) ‘a title, official of merit’, Chin *gongchen* 功臣, **L**25, Hucker, No 3397 “Chief of Palace Surveillance”.

Jï-ing l-iang g-ung ci-en (087-303 261-314 334-345 162-140) ‘a title’, Chin *zhen liang gong chen* 贞亮功臣 C386 Hucker No 3395 *gong chen* “Meritorious Minister”.
Khitan **ci-en** ← Chin *chen* 臣, YCh *tʂhin,* LMCh *ʂhin.*

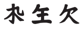
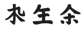
hor-a-iú-i dele parº ci-ên-d-en (047-189-289-339 294 240 162-073-254-140) ‘the ten counties in Guannan, genitive’(Yu10), Chin *guan nan shi zhu xian zhi* 关南十诸县之 C377.
Khitan **ci-ên** ← Chin *xian* 县 = 縣, YCh *xjɛn*, LMCh *xɦjyan*, the identification seems to be wrong.

sh-i-ju (028-339-147) ‘a title’, Chin *shi zhu* 世烛 C372, also **sh-i-ci-u** (028-339-152-131) ‘a title’, Chin *shi zhu* 世烛 C372.
Khitan **ci-u, ju** ←Chin *zhu* 烛 = 燭, YCh *tʂy, tʂiw*, LMCh *tʂywk.*

shï-ï ci-i z-ie (180-353 162-339 258-327) ‘a title’, Chin *shi chi jie* 使持节 C413, Hucker No 5223 “Commissioned with extraordinary power”.

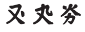
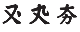
Khitan **ci** ← Chin *chi* 持 YCh *tʂʰi*, LMCh *trɦi.*

Special remarks on two items:

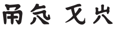
Ci-bu-qó  (162-196-169) ‘tribe name’, (Xu17-3, Yu51-50, 56-15), also **ci-bu-qu**  (162-196-246) (Guang35-14, Song11-14), Chin *zu bu* 阻卜**:** Chin *Zhibugu* 值不姑 or *Zhubugu* 住不姑 may be identical with *Zubu* 阻卜.

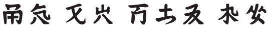
Khitan **ci** → Chin 1. *zu* 阻 YCh, ? *tsu.*
2. *zhi* 值 YCh *tʂi.*
3. *zhu* 住 YCh *tʂy*

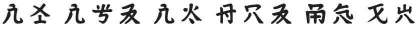
The two Chinese tanscriptions *Zhibugu* 值不姑 and *Zhubugu* 住不姑 are fixing a form before the “breaking” ***čibu-qu** and the third Chinese transcription gives the name after the “breaking”: ***čubu-qu**, in both cases the initial is */tʂ/.*

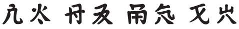
m-au-e  (133-161-348) also **m-au-e$_2$**  (133-162-109) ‘(ancestral) temple, shrine, monastery’, Chin *miao* 庙,= 廟C 395, YCh *mjɛw*, LMCh *mjiaw*. Seems to be a Khitan word.

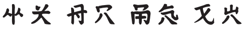
<ca> (375) in the corpus 87x, in EL 12x

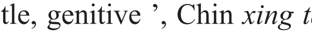
ca-ang sh-iú  (375-199 028-289) ‘minister, a title’, Chin *shangshu* 尚书 **L**21, **L** 22, C488, Hucker No. 50-42.

ca-ang sh-iú y-eu-u ci-ng  (375-199 028-289 020-067-131 162-264) ‘a title, the Right Assistant of the Minister’, Chin *shang shu you cheng*尚书右丞 C488 *you cheng* is the Right Aide, Assistant Director of the Right, Hucker No 8034).

g-ém g-iau-u g-ung b-û-u ca-ang sh-iú  (334-270 334-362-131 334-345 311-372-131 375-199 028-289) ‘a title’, Chin *jian jiao gong bu shang shu* 检校工部尚书 C474, Hucker No 804 *jian jiao* “Acting”, No 3462 *gongbu* “Ministry of Works’, No. 5044 *shang shu cheng* “Aid to the Imperial Secretary”.

g-ung b-u ca-ang sh-iú  (334-345 311-131 375-199 028-289) ‘a title’, Chin *gong bu shang shu* 工部尚书 C476, Hucker No 5042 *shang shu* “Minister, head of the top level administrative agency in the central goverment’s Department of State Affairs (*shang-shu sheng*)”.

l-i b-û ca-ang sh-iú  (261-339 311-372 375-199 028-289) ‘a title’, Chin *li bu shang shu* 礼部尚书 C451, Hucker 3631 *li-bu* “Ministry of Rites”, *shangshu* Hucker 5042 “Minister, head of the top-level administrative agency in the Central government’s Department of State Affairs”.

xa-áng tai ca-ang sh-iú sh-iáng-en  (130-280 374 375-199 028-289 028-062-140) ‘title, genitive ’, Chin *xing tai shang-shu sheng zhi*行台尚书省之 C392, Hucker No 2599 CHIN (!) “Branch Department of State Affairs, established in 1140 at Kaifeng”.

Khitan **ca-ang** ← Chin *shang* 尚 YCh *ʂaŋ,* LMCh *ʂhiaŋ* ? instead of *shang* 尚 *chang* 敞, see the next item.

ca-eng-un (375-175-273) ‘a title’, Chin *chang wen* 敞稳 C488.

Khitan **ca-eng**← Chin *chang* 敞, YCh *tʂʰaŋ* , LMCh *tʂʰiaŋ.*

uni-qu-un ca-ang shï (059-246-273 375-199 180) ‘a title’, Chin *niu qun chang shi* 牛群敞史 C374 ‘the changshi of the *niuqun’, niuqun* ‘herd of cattle’. *changshi* LIAO “a minor official in both Northern and Southern Bureaus of Military Affairs” , Hucker No 263.

Khitan **ca-ang** ← Chin *chang* 敞, YCh *tʂʰaŋ* , LMCh *tʂʰiaŋ* see above **ca-eng.**

g-au ci-eu-un go-n ca shï (334-161 162-067-273 319-251 375 180) ‘a title, the *gon ca shi* of the Gau prefecture’, Chin *gao zhou zhi guan cha shi* 高州之观察使 C473.

g-u-on ca shï-ï$_2$-en (334-131-154 375 180-113-140) ‘title, genitive’, Chin *guan cha shi zhi* 观察使之 C473, Hucker No. 3269 ‘Surveillance Commissioner”.

go-n ca shï (319-251 375 180) ‘a title’, Chin *guan cha shi*观察使 C468, Hucker 3269.

Khitan **ca** ← Chin *cha* 察 YCh *tʂʰa,* LMCh *tʂha*:

<cau> (022), in the corpus, 153x, in EL 18x

Cau g-e ‘a Khitan name’, ChinT *chuge* 楚哥, **L**4.

ng-in s-ing cau-úng lu-uh da$_3$-ai pu (264-018 244-303 022-357 208-172 214-122 241) ‘a title’, Chin *yin qing chong lu dai fu* 银青崇禄大夫 C452, Hucker 7981 “Grand Master of Glorious Happiness with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon”.

Khitan **cau-úng** ← Chin *chong* 崇, YCh tʂʰ*uŋ*, LMCh *trhiwŋ.*

<che> (363), in the corpus 45x, in EL 3x, once in a Chinese transcription of a Khitan name:

Che-a-ar (363-189-123) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *zhi la* 只剌, C482.

<chi> (031), in the corpus 10x, not in EL

<co> (298), in the corpus 76x, in EL 2x

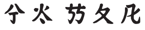
co-on-tu t-ie-ên-de (298-154-202 247-327-073-205) ‘in the Cuan Hall’, Chin *cuan tu dian yu* 攒涂殿于.

Khitan **co-on** ← Chin *cuan* 攒 YCh *tshɔn*, LMCh *tshuan.*

<cu> (102), in the corpus 87x, in EL 10x

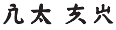
Cu-ung-ung (102-345-345) ‘a name’, ChinT *chongweng* 崇翁, **L**5.

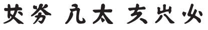
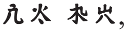
Khitan **cu-ung** ← Chin *chong* 崇, YCh tʂʰ*uŋ*, LMCh *trhiwŋ* see **cau-úng**.

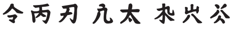
pu-ung cu-uh-dú  (241-345 102-172-179) ‘young phoenix, dative-locative’, Chin *feng chu yu* 凤雏于C427.
Khitan **cu-uh** ← Chin *chu* 雏 =雛, YCh *tʂʰu*, LMCh *tʂɦuǝ̆.*

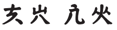
10.9.6.2 The J glyphs

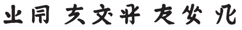
The glyph <j> (104) in the corpus 192x, in EL 20x

g-ung$_2$ j-iú  (334-106 104-289) ‘princess’, Chin *gong zhu* 公主 C473.

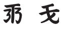
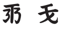
Üe-e g-ung$_2$ j-iú-un  (082-348 334-106 104-C389-273) ‘princess of state of Yue, genitive’, Chin *yue guo gong zhu zhi* 越国公主之 C384, for **g-ung$_2$ j-iú** see ***g-ung ci-iú*** , also Hucker 3408 “Princess, or Imperial Princess”.

T-iu-ir g-ung$_2$ ci-iú-er  (247-019-137 334-106 162-289-341).
Khitan **j-iú** ← Chin *zhu* 主 YCh *tʂy*, LMCh *tʂy.*

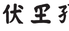
j-iú g-ui  (104-C389 334-262) ‘a title’, Chin *zhu guo* 柱国 C389.
Khitan **j-iú, c-iú** ← Chin *zhu* 柱 YCh *tʂy*, LMCh *trɦyǎ.*

p-ing j-ie-iang jï-ng shï  (295-303 104-327-314 087-264 180) ‘a title’, Chin *ping zhang zheng shi* 平章政事 C461, (Xian11, 1175), Hucker No. 4700 “Manager of Governmental Affairs”, LIAO designation of one or more eminent central government officials on the executive staff of the Great Councilor (*tsai-hsiang*), at each auxiliary capital as well as at the prinicipal dynastic capital”. The title occurs in Xian11, which was written under the Jin dynsty and is the last dated inscription written in KSS.The transcription points to a LMCh form.
Khitan **j-ie-iang** ← Chin 章 *zhang*, YCh *tʂaŋ, LMCh tʂiaŋ.*

<ja> (150), in the corpus 339x, in EL 14x, not in Chinese transcriptions
<ja$_2$> (371), 78x, in EL 4x, in the same Khitan word
<jau> (015), 158x, in EL 6x

jau tau  (015-029) ‘punitive officer’, **jau tau shi**  (015 029 033) Chin *zhao tao (shi)* 招讨(使) ‘call for surrender and quell the rebellion’, **L**6, **L**8, **L**20, **L**23/24.
Khitan **jau** ← Chin *zhao* 招 YCh *tʂɛw*, LMCh *tʂiaw.*

<jel> (173), 3x (Zhong45, Gao3, Tu6-40)
Jel (173) there are several problems with the reading, see **L**3.

<ji> (152), in the corpus 1115x, in EL 47x in most cases as a suffix,
Ñ-oh-ji  (222-377-152) ‘person’s name’, ChinT *niaoguzhi* 裹古直.

Khitan **ji** → Chin *zhi* 直 YCh *tʂi*

<ji$_2$> (153), 154x, in EL 6x, always as suffix
<ji$_3$> (337), 1x (Yu62). not in EL

<jï> (087), 83x, in EL 14x
iú-ng ci-eu-un tu-ung jï (289-264 162-067-273 202-345 087) ‘a title’, Chin *yong zhou zhi tong zhi* 永州之同知 C457, a hibryd expression with a Khitan gentive, the *tong-zhi* of the *Iú-ng* prefecture.
Khitan **jï** ← Chin *zhi* 知, YCh *tʂi,* LMCh *tri.*

<jïh> (098.1), 6x, EL once
mû jïh (358 098.1) ‘inscription’, Chin *mu zhi* 墓志 C482.
Khitan **jïh** ← Chin *zhi* 志, YCh *tʂɽ*, LMCh *tʂi.*

<ju> (147), 111x, EL 20x
sh-i-ju (028-339-147) ‘a title’, Chin *shi zhu* 世烛 C372, also **sh-i-ci-u** (028-339-152-131) ‘a title’, Chin *shi zhu* 世烛 C372.
Khitan **ju** ← Chin *zhu* 烛 = 燭, YCh *tʂy, tʂiw*, LMCh *tʂywk.*
ju-ung ‘central’, (147-345), Chin *zhong* 中, **L**1.
g-ie-ém ju-ung sh-iú l-ing (334-327-270 147-345 028-289 261-303) ‘a title’, Chin *jian zhong shu ling* 兼中书令 C475, Hucker No. 1616 *zhong shu ling* ”Secreteriat Director”.
ju-ung sh-iú (147-345 028-289) ’secretariate’, Chin *zhong shu* 中书 **L**1, **L**22, **L**23.
m-a pu l-ang ju-ung-un (133-189 241 261-199 147-345-273) ‘a title, genitive’, Chin *ma fu lang zhong zhi* 马府郎中之 C395.
t-ie-ên ju-ung shï-ï ng-iú shï (247-327-073 147-345 180-353 264-289 180) ‘a title’, Chin *dian zhong shi yu shi* 殿中侍御史 C441, Hucker, No 6556 “LIAO: Palace Administrator, head of the Administration Office (*tien-chung ssu*)”.
d-ie-ên ju-ung shï-d (254-327-073 147-345 180-254) ‘envoy in palace, plural’, Chin *dian zhong shi* 殿中使 C447.
dai-ri$_5$ shï ju-ung (017-255 180 147-345) ‘a title’, Chin *feng shi zhong* 奉使中 **L**26.
Khitan **ju-ung**← Chin *zhong* 中 YCh *tʂuŋ*, LMCh *triwŋ.*
ju-ung jï-ing g-ün z-ie du shï (147-345 087-303 334-329 258-327 237 180) ‘a title’, Chin *zhong zheng jun jie du shi*忠正军节度使C401.
Khitan **ju-ung** ← Chin *zhong* 忠 YCh *tʂuŋ*, LMCh *triwŋ*.

Ju-ur-e (147-177-348), 'Jurchen' 4x, also **Ju-ur-e$_2$** (147-177-109), 4x, also **Ju-ur-i** (147-177-339),1x, **Ju-ur-094** (147-177-094)1x, 'Jurchen, tribe name', Chin *nü zhen*女真C401 **L**1n.
Khitan **ju** ←**?** → Chin *nü* 女 YCh *ny,* LMCh *nriǎ/nryǎ* , see Appendix 12.10.

	KSS GLYPH	CHINESE PINYIN	YUAN CHINESE	LATE MIDDLE CHINESE
C				
c-	(162)	zh-	tʂi-	tʂi-
		ch-	tʂ-	ʂɦ-
		ch-	tʂh-	tʂi-
		sh-	***ʂ-***	***ʂɦ-***
		zh-	tʂ-	tʂi-
		zh-	tʂ-	tri-
		ch-	tʂh-	trh-
		ch-	tʂh-	ʂɦi-
		zh-	tʂw-	try-
		zh-	tʂ-	tʂy-
ca-	(375)	ch-	tʂh	tʂh
cau-	(022)	ch-	tʂh-	trɦ-
che-	(363)			
co-	(298)	cu-	tsh-	tsɦ-
cu-	(102)	ch-	tʂ-	tʂɦu-
J				
j-	(104)	zh-	tʂ-	trɦy-
		zh-	tʂ-	tʂi-
jau	(015)	zh-	tʂ-	tʂi-
jï-	(152)	zh-	tʂ-	tr-
jih	(098.1)	zh-	tʂr̩-	tʂ-
ju-	(147)	zh-	tʂ-/ tʂi-	tʂy-

TABLE XXXVI. THE KHITAN AFFRICATES AND TE CHINESE INITIALS WHICH THEY REFLECT

We can state that Khitan J glyphs reflect Chinese not aspirated *tʂ,* but in some cases J is alternating with C.

10.9.7 THE SIBILLANTS

10.9.7.1 The S glyphs

<s> (244) occurs in the corpus 2798x, in EL 203x

s-i h-ing pu-u g-iu-ung shï (244-339-303 241-131 334-019-345 180), ‘a title, vice commander of the ordo Jiqing’, **L**15, *ji qing fu gong shi* 积庆 副 宫使.
Khitan **si** ← Chin *ji* 积 =積, YCh *tsi*, LMCh *tsiajk.*

g-m s-iu g-ün-en (334-133 244-019 334-329-140) ‘a military name, genitive’, Chin *jin su jun zhi* 金肃军之 C473.
Khitan **s-iu** ← Chin *su* 肃 = 肅, YCh *sy*, LMCh *siwk.*

S-a-am (244-189-184) ‘a name’, Chin *san* 三, **L**9.

k-ai pu ng-i tu-ung s-a-am sï (283-122 241 264-339 202-345 244-189-184 083) ‘a title’, Chin *kai fu yi tong san si* 开府仪同三司 C455, Hucker No 3105, “Commander Unequalled in Honor”.
Khitan **s-a-am** ← Chin *san* 三, YCh *sam*, LMCh *sam.*

fu-û g-ui sh-ang s-iang g-ün (242-372 334-262 028-199 244-314 334-329) ‘senior bulwark general of the state’, Chin *fu guo shang jiang jun* 辅国上将军 C428,
Khitan **s-iang** ← Chin *jiang* 将 = 將, YCh *tsjaŋ*, LMCh *tsiaŋ.*

Ng-i-i S-ung hong-di (264-339-339 224-357 075-037) ‘the Emperor Yizong*’,* Chin *yizong huang di* 义宗皇帝 C453.
Khitan **s-ung**← Chin *zong* 宗, YCh *tsuŋ*, LMCh *tsəwŋ.*

ng-in s-ing cau-úng lu-uh da$_3$-ai pu (264-018 244-303 022-357 208-172 214-122 241) ‘a title’, Chin *yin qing chong lu dai fu* 银青崇禄大夫 C452, Hucker 7981 “Grand Master of Glorious Happiness with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon.
Khitan **s-ing** ← Chin *qing* 青 YCh *tsʰiŋ,* LMCh *tsʰiajŋ.*

s-i h-ing pu-u g-iu-ung shï (244-339 340-303 241-131 334-19-345 180) ‘deputy palace commander of Jiqing’, Chin *ji qing fu gong shi* 积庆副宫使 C436, Hucker 2070 *fu gong* “TANG unofficial reference to a Commandry Governor”, **L**15, *Ji-qing* see WF707.
Khitan **s-i** ← Chin *ji* 积=積, YCh *tsi*, LMCh *tsiajk.*

S-iau hu$_2$-ú QUEEN (244-362 014-245 333) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *xiao hu lu* 小斛禄 Zhong14 C436.
Khitan **s-iau** ← Chin *xiao* 小, YCh *sjɛw*, LMCh *siaw.*

s-ai p-ong (244-122 295-071) ‘investigation commissioner’, Chin *cai fang*采访C432, Hucker 6826 *cai fang shi* “Investigation Commissioner”.
Khitan **s-ai** ← Chin *cai* 採, YCh *tsʰaj*, LMCh *tsʰaj.*

s-i g-iu-ung-un l-iu sh-eu 仐关 九丙尜火 中丙 叉圡 (244-339 334-19-345-273 261-019 028-067) ‘regent of west palace (capital), hybrid ’, Chin *xi gong(jing) zhi liu shou* 西宫 (京)之留守 C435, Khitan genitive construction Hucker 3813 *liu shou si* “an office left on guard: Regency”.
Khitan **s-i** ← Chin *xi* 西, YCh *si*, LMCh *siaj.*

S-i-ing g-ia-ang g-ün 仐关同 九才気 九亦 (244-339-303 334-335-199 334-339) ‘a military title’, Chin *jing jiang jun* 静江军.
Khitan **s-i-ing** ← Chin *jing* 静, YCh *tsiŋ*, LMCh *tshiajŋ.*

s-i sh-ui ki-ên h-ai g-ui b-ai$_2$ **仐关 叉火 亚寿 乂丰 九火 丹乐** (244-339 028-262 163-073 340-122 334-262 311-197) ‘a title, founding father of the Qishui county’, Chin *qi shui xian kai guo bo* 漆水县开国伯 C435.
Khitan **s-i** ← Chin *qi* 漆, YCh *tsʰi*, LMCh *tsʰit.*

s-iang g-ün 仐丬 九亦 (244-314 334-329) ‘a title, general’, Chin *jiangjun* 将军, Hucker 694, “General” C435.

S-üe-en$_2$ **w-u s-iang g-ün 仐灾业 未及 伞丬 九亦** (244-082-324 070-131 244-314 334-329) ‘general of Xuanwu’, Chin *xuan wu jiang jun* 宣武将军 C431.

t-ai-i s-iang g-ün 令丰关 仐丬 九亦 (247-122-339 244-314 334-329)see **fu-u g-ui t-ai-i s-iang g-ün 尒及 九火 令丰关 仐丬 九亦** (242-131 334-262 247-122-339 244-314 334-329).
Khitan **s-iang** ← Chin *jiang* 将 = 將 YCh *tsjaŋ*, LMCh *tsiaŋ.*
Khitan **s-üe-üen** ← Chin *xuan* 宣 YCh *sɥɛn*, LMCh *syan.*

s-ie-ên ng-iu ui°-i z-iang g-ün 仐文寿 发丙 尖关 伞丬 九亦 (244-327-073 264-019 263-339 258-314 334-339) ‘general of Qianniuwei’, Chin *qian niu wei jiang jun* 千牛卫将军 C435.
Khitan **s-ie- ên** ← Chin *qian* 千 YCh *tsʰjɛn*, LMCh *tsʰian.*

s-iáng g-ung 仐並 九尜 (244-062 334-345) ‘excellency’, also **s-iang g-ung 仐丬 九尜** (244-314 334-345) Chin *xiang gong* 相公 C431, Hucker 2331 ’Minister Duke’.

sh-ang s-iang g-ün 叉気 仐丬 九亦 (028-199 244-314 334 329) ‘a title, General’, Chin *shang jiangjun* 上 将军, **L**20**, L**23, Hucker No 4982 “Generalissimo”.

sh-eu-u s-iáng s-ün 叉圡及 仐並 仐亦 (028-067-131 244-062 244-329)‘a title’, Chin *shao jiang jun* 少将军 C368, *shao* ‘lesser, here junior’, for *jiang jun* see Hucker 694 above, **s-iáng s-ün.**

shï s-iang-en 凡 仐丬冇 (180 244-314-140) ‘a title, genitive’, Chin *shi xiang* 使 相, **L**24, Hucker, No 5249 “Commissioner-Councilor”.

t-ai-i ci-ng s-iang 令丰关 未发 仐丬 (247-122-339 162-264 244-314) ‘a title’, Chin *da cheng xiang* 大丞相 C349, Hucker No. 5889 “Grand Councilor-in-chief”.

z-o ci-ng s-iang 伞及 未发 仐丬 (258-186 162-264 244-314) ‘a title, the left Prime Minister’, Chin *zuo cheng xiang* 左丞相 C448, see **ci-ng s-iang.**
Khitan **s-iáng, s-iang** ← Chin *xiang* 相, YCh *sjaŋ* LMCh *siaŋ.*

s-iau s-she g-ün** (244-362 244-315 334-329) 'junior army general' Chin *xiao jiang jun* 小将军 C437 on Zhong 7:correctly **s-iau s-iang g-ün**.

Khitan **s-iau** ← Chin *xiao* 小, YCh *sjɛw,* LMCh *siaw.*

s-ie du-u (244-327 237-131) 'military commissioner', Chin *jie du* 节度 C435, Hucker 777, *jie du shi* 節 都使 "Military Commissioner".

Khitan **s-ie** ← Chin *jie* 节 = 節, YCh *tsjɛ,* LMCh *tsiat.*

s-ie-ên hong-en (244-327-073 075-140) 'the late emperor, genitive', Chin *xian huang zhi* 先皇之 C435.

s-ie-ên p-úng (244-327-073 295-357) 'avantgarde', Chin *xian feng* 先锋 C435.

Khitan **s-ie-ên** ← Chin *xian* 先, YCh *sjɛn*, iLMCh *sian.*

s-ie-ên p-ai$_2$ jur sï-d-en (244-327-073 295-197 134 083-254-140) 'bureau of coins and silk, two, genitive', Chin *qian bo er si zhi* 钱帛二司之 C435, hybrid see the function of **jur** and the Khitan plural and genitive.

Khitan **s-ie-ên** ← Chin *qian* 钱 = 錢 YCh *tshjɛn*, LMCh *tshian.*

s-ï shï (244-353 180) 'prefect', Chin *ci shi* 刺史 C436, also **sï shï** (083 180) 'regional chief', Chin *ci shi* 刺史 C384.

Khitan **s-ï, sï** ← Chin *ci* 刺, YCh *tsʰʐ*, LMCh *tsʰʐ.*

s-o sh-o pu pu sh-o (244-186 028-186 241 241 028-186) 'a title, left (*zuo*) commandant (*shuai*) guard, deputy command ', Chin *zuo shuai fu fu shuai* 左率府副帅 C433, Hucker 5479 *shuai fu shuai* "Commandant of the Guard Command, commonly abbreviated to *shuai*". *shuai* 率 other reading *lü, shuai* 帅 = 帥.

Khitan s-**o** ← Chin *zuo* 左, YCh *tsɔ*, LMCh *tsa.*

s-ung us-g-er (244-345 068-334-341) 'from the ancestors word (lit. letters)', Chin *zong zi yi* 宗字以 C436, hybrid first part is Chin *zong*, the second Khitan **us-g**+instrumental.

Khitan **s-ung** ← Chin *zong* 宗, YCh *tsuŋ,* LMCh *tsɛwŋ.*

s-úng in **Sh-ing s-úng** (028-303 244-357) 'the emperor Shengzong', (Dao13), also *sh-ing z-úng* (028-303 258-357) (Hon2), Chin *shengzong* 圣宗 CWJ905.

Khitan **s-úng, z-úng** ← *zong* Chin 宗, YCh *tsuŋ,* LMCh *tsɛwŋ.*

s-i g-iu-ung-un l-iu sh-eu (244-339 334-19-345-273 261-019 028-067) 'regent of west palace (capital), hybrid ', Chin *xi gong (jing) zhi liu shou* 西宫 (京)之留守 C435, Khitan genitive construction Hucker 3813 *liu shou si* "an office left on guard:Regency".

Khitan **s-i** ← Chin *xi* 西, YCh *si,* LMCh *siaj.*

s-ï g-m ng-u t-ai-i (244-353 334-133 264-131 247-122-339) 'a rank, with, purple gold fish bag', Chin *zi jin yu dai* 紫金鱼袋 C436.

Khitan **s-ï** ← Chin *zi* 紫, YCh *tsʐ*, LMCh *tsʐ.*

sï shï (083 180) 'regional chief', also **s-ï shï** (244-353 180) Chin *ci shi* 刺史 C384.

Khitan **sï** ← Chin *ci* 刺, YCh *tsʰʐ,* LMCh *tsʰʐ.*

tu-ung s-in-en (202-345 244-018-140) 'a title, genitive', Chin *tong jin zhi* 通进之 C417, Hucker 7476 *tong jin si* 通进司 SUNG-LIAO "Memorial-forwarding Office".

Khitan **s-in** ← Chin *jin*进, =進 YCh *tsin,* LMCh *tsin.*

Ú s-ing ki-ên-en (245 244-303 163-073-140) 'Wu qing county, genitive', Chin *wu qing xian zhi* 武清县之 C437.

Khitan **s-ing** ← Chin *qing* 清, YCh *tsʰiŋ*, LMCh tsʰ*iajŋ.*

Uh-ul t-il-t-en hu$_2$-ú s-eng-un (172-366 247-302-247-140 014-245 244-175-273) 'the Commanding Field Marshal of the Wugu Dilie', Chin *wugu dilie zhi tong xiangwen* 乌古 敌烈 之 统 详稳 line **L**20, see **L**21.

Khitan **s-eng** ← Chin *xiang* 详 = 詳, YCh *sjaŋ*, LMCh *sɦiaŋ*.

Y-ang S-iúng ü (020-199 244-181 082)Chin *yang cong yue* 杨 从 越 C364.

Khitan **s-iúng** ← Chin *cong* 从 = 從 YCh *tsjuŋ,* LMCh *tsɦywŋ.*

s-ï shï (244-353 180) 'prefect', Chin *ci shi* 刺史 C436, also **sï shï** (083 180) 'regional chief', Chin *ci shi* 刺史 C384.

Khitan **s-ï, sï** ← Chin *ci* 刺, YCh *tsʰʐ*, LMCh *tsʰʐ.*

A Khitan name and its Chinese transcription

S-a-am-ñ (244-189-184-222), 'a name, genitive?', ChinT *simu* 思母, **L**7 not clear.

<s$_2$> (354), in the corpus138x, in EL 9x

es s$_2$-ui-u-su (146 354-262-131-041), 'did not give birth', 1x (Yong20-1).

ku-û-un û-ui s$_2$-ui (Hui13-28), no gloss, but has to be the same as above.

s$_2$-iau w-u da-ai z-iang g-ün (354-362 070-131 171-122 258-314 334-329) 'a title', Chin *zhao wu da jiang jun* 昭武大将军 C482 ? Zhaowu great general?.

Khitan **s$_2$-iau** ← Chin *zhao* 昭, YCh *tʂɛw*, LMCh *tʂiaw*,

T-qó-s$_2$-un (247-169-354-144) 'a person's name', Chin *tu gu ci* 图古辞 (Gu17-13, Han4-14, Hui4-8) C440, also **T-qu-s$_2$-un** (247-246-354-144) 'a person's name', Chin *tu gu ci* 图古辞 Tu2 C440, **tugučin,* to Mong *tug* 'flag, standard, banner', *tugči* 'standard bearer, flag-bearer', Dah *toi* ‘Fahne, Banner’? Ma *tu* ‘grosse Standarte’ ← Mong *tug* (M-L137). The Khitan name became an accepted Chinese name, and was transcribed as a Chinese one.

Khitan **s$_2$-un** ← Chin *ci* 辞 in fact *ci-n.*

A modern transcription is:

s$_2$-a (354-189) ‘part of a name’, ChinT *sa* 撒, **L**3.

The glyph <si> <040>occurs in the corpus 51x, in EL only in the word for West. <si>, the glyph (293) occurs 14x in the corpus, does not occur in EL.

<sï> (083) 86x, EL 26x

p-û sh-iú sï deu-úr MANAGE-i (295-372 028-289 083 101-097 142-339) ‘a title, genitive’, Chin *bu shu si yu (tong) zhi* 部署司于 (同)知 C462 hybrid, the first part is Chin *bu shu si*, the second is Khitan **deu-úr MANAGE-i** (Song8).

dor p-ai-sï-en sh-a-rí (218 295-122-083-140 028-189-069) ‘langjun of the bureau of seals and tallies (the offical diploms)’ Chin *(yin) paisizhi langjun* 牌司 之 郎君 **L**2 see **sh-ar-í, L**14.

hoi si jau tau sï (001-040 015-029 083), ‘North-West punitive department’, Chin *bei xi zhao tao si* 北 西 招讨司.

Pu G-e sï tu (241 334-348 083-202) ‘a name, and title’, ChinT *fuge situ* 福哥 司徒, **L**9, Hucker, No 5801 *si-tu* “Minister over the Masses”.

S-a-am sï see **ng-i tu-ung$_2$ s-a-am sï** (264-339 202-106 244-189-184 083) ‘a title’, Chin *yi tong san si* 仪同三司 C453, Hucker No3024 “Unequaled in Honor”.

s-ie-ên p-ai$_2$ jur sï-d-en (244-327-073 295-197 134 083-254-140) ‘bureau of coins and silk, two, genitive’, Chin *qian bo er si zhi* 钱帛二司之 C435, hybrid see the function of **jur** and the Khitan plural and genitive.

p-u-u sh-iú sï (295-131-131 028-289 083) ‘office of the (tribal) administrator’, Chin *bu shu si* 部署司 C460.

sï tu (083-202) ‘a title’, Chin *si tu* 司徒, Hucker No 5801 “Minister over the masses”.

sï tu-dú (083 202-179) ‘a title, dative-locative’, Chin *si tu yu* 司徒于 C385.

sh-eu sï tu (028-067 083 202) ‘a title’, Chin *shou si tu* 守司徒 C368, *shou* is ‘defend (ing), guard(ing)’*, si-tu* ‘Minister over the Masses’ see above.

k-ai pu ng-i tu-ung s-a-am sï (283-122 241 264-339 202-345 244-189-184 083) ‘a title’, Chin *kai fu yi tong san si* 开府仪同三司 C455, Hucker No 3105, “Commander Unequalled in Honor”.

ng-i tu-ung$_2$ s-a-am sï 发关 为太 仐为乃 廿 (264-339 202-106 244-189-184 083) ‘a title’, Chin *yi tong san si* 仪同三司 C453, Hucker No 3024 “Unequaled in Honor”.
Khitan **sï** ← Chin *si* 司, YCh *sz*, LMCh *sz*.

g-ün sï 九亦 廿 (334-329 083) ‘esquire, gentleman’, Chin *jun zi* 君子 C475.

h-ün sï 火亦 廿 (340-329 083) ‘esquire’, Chin *jun zi* 君子 C481, see **g-ün sï** 九亦 廿 (334-329 083) ‘esquire, gentleman’, Chin *jun zi* 君子 C475.

tai sï 丕 廿 (374 083) ‘a title’, Chin *tai zi* 太子 C486.

tai sï sh-iau-u shï- 丕 廿 叉兯及 兆 (Ling11), Chin *tai zi shaoshi*, 太子少師 only Hucker No 6253.
Khitan **sï** ← Chin *zi* 子, YCh *tsz* LMCh *tsz*.

<siu> 永 (004) 35x, EL 9x

p-üe-siu 业芡永 (295-082 004) ‘a title’ 1x (Zhi21-31), Chin *bie xu* 别胥 C459, see also **b-üe-z-iú** 丹芡伞火 (311-082-258-289)2x, (Xu54-4, Zhi12-24) **p-üe-z-iú-** 业芡伞火 (295-082-258-289)10x (Ren6-2, Yu6-36, 7-47, 8-22, Gung25-24, Yong13-30, Gao12-19, Di9-13, 9-28, Han8-25, a word of ultimately Khitan origin.
Khitan **siu** ← Chin *xu* 胥 YCh *sy*, LMCh *siǎ/syǎ*.

<siu°> 永 (005), 16x, EL 2x, in both cases for Khitan ‘white’,<su> 卡 (041), 476x, in EL 27x, not in Chinese transcriptions, <sui> 佃 (238), 202x, in EL 9x, only in the word for ‘to be born’

	KSS GLYPH	CHINESE PINYIN	YUAN CHINESE	LATE MIDDLE CHINESE
S				
s-	仐 (244)	j-	ts-	tsi-
		s-	s-	si-
		s-	s-	s-
		ji-	ts-	tsi-
		s-	ts-	ts-
		q-	tsh-	tsh-
		xi--	sj-	si-
		c-	tsh-	tsh-
		xi-	sj-	si-
		x-	s-	si-
		j-	ts-	tsɦ-
		ji-	tsj-	tsi-
		xu-	sɥ-	sy-
		jo-	tsj-	tsi-

		qi-	tshj-	tsɦi-
		zu-	ts-	ts-
		z-	ts-	ts-
		x-	ts-	ts-
		xi-	sj-	sɦi-
		c-	tsj-	tsɦy-
s_2-	头 (354)	zh-	*tʂ-*	*tʂi-*
sï-	廿 (083)	z-	ts-	ts-
siu-	氶 (004)	x-	s-	si-/sy-

TABLE XXXVII. THE KHITAN S- AND THE CHINESE INITIALS WHICH IT REFLECTS

10.9.7.2 THE SH GLYPHS

<sh> 叉 (028), In the coprus 1465x, in EL 149x

sh-ang s-iang g-ün 叉忥 仐丬 九亦 (028- 199 244 334 329) ‘a title, General’, Chin *shang jianggjun* 上 将军, **L20, L**23, Hucker No 4982 “Generalissimo”.
Khitan **sh-ang** ← Chin *shang* 上, YCh *ʂaŋ*, LMCh *ʂɦaŋ.*

sh-au-u pu 叉夾及 分 (028-161-131 241) ‘a title’, Chin *shao fu* 少傅 C369 Hucker 5097.
Khitan **sh-au-u** ← Chin *shao* 少, YCh *ʂɛw*, LMCh *ʂiaw.*

sh-eu-u s-iáng s-ün 叉去及 仐並 仐亦 (028-067-131 244-062 244-329) ‘a title’, Chin *shao jiang jun* 少将军 C368, *shao* ‘lesser, here junior’, for *jiang jun* see Hucker 694 above, **s-iáng s-ün.**
Khitan **sh-eu** ← Chin *shao* 少, YCh *ʂɛw*, LMCh *ʂiaw.*

sh-en g-ui pu-shi-ñ-en 叉冇 九火 分忝伏冇 (028-140 334-262 241-033-222-140) ‘a title, the milady of Shen, genitive’, Chin *shen guo fu ren zhi* 莘国夫人之 C369,
Khitan **sh-en** ← Chin *shen* 莘, YCh *ʂən*, LMCh *ʂən.*

sh-ên 叉寿 (028-073) ‘1. auspicious, 2. new, 3. good’, Chin 1. *ji* 吉, 2. *xin* 新*,* 3. *shan* 善 ‘good’, C368, to Chinese, *shan* 善, YCh *ʂɛn*, and not Mong *sayin* ‘good’, Dag *sain* ‘good’ (M 205), *sä, sǟ, säⁱn, sän* ‘gut’ (L-M131).
Khitan **sh-ên** ← **Chin** *shan* 善, YCh *ʂɛn*, LMCh *ʂhian.*

sh-eu sï tu 叉去 廿 方 (028-067 083 202) ‘a title’, Chin *shou si tu* 守司徒 C368, *shou* is ‘defend (ing), guard(ing)’*, si-tu* ’Minister over the Masses ’.
Khitan **sh-eu** ← Chin *shou* 守, YCh *ʂiw, ʂy*, LMCh *ʂhiwk.*

sh-i-ju 叉关马 (028-339-147) ‘a title’, Chin *shi zhu* 世烛 C372, also **sh-i-ci-u 叉关朩及** (028-339-152-131) ‘a title’, Chin *shi zhu* 世烛 C372.
Khitan **sh-i** ← Chin *shi* 世, YCh *ʂi*, LMCh *ʂiaj.*

sh-i-m (028-339-133), ‘the district or prefecture Shen’, Chin *shen* 沈, 瀋, YCh *ʂim* see WF Index, 737**.** **L**22.

sh-i-m em$_2$-en t-qó sh-i (028-339-133 257-140 247-169 028-339) ‘military commissioner of the district Shenzhou’, Chin *shen zhou zhi du shi* 沈洲之度使 C367, hybrid, with Khitan genitive.
Khitan **sh-i-m** ← Chin *shen* 沈, YCh *ʂim*, LMCh *ʂim.*

sh-ie-b g-ung-un (028-327-311 334-345-273) ‘ten palaces, genitive’, Chin *shi gong zhi* 十宫之 C372, Chinese -p preserved!, see: *sh-ie-b g-ung-un lu sui-y-de t-em$_2$-y-l-ñ* “having been appointed to the *lu-sui* (?) of the Ten Palaces” (Jue45) and **Gao-shi,** *lu* my be *lu* 路, Hucker, No3839 LIAO: “Route, the territorial base of juridiction of a tribal army (*pu-tso chün*)”.
Khitan **sh-ie-b** ← Chin *shi*, 十 YCh *ʂi*, LMCh *ʂhip.*

sh-iú1 (028-289) ‘pivot, hub, center’, Chin *shu* 枢.

ju-ung sh-iú (147-345 028-289) ’secretariate’, **L**1, **L**22, **L**23.

sh-iú m-ir (028-289 133-137) ‘a title, a member of the palace secretariat’, Chin *shu mi* 枢密 C366, Hucker No. 5447.

sh-iú m-ir see **g-úr-en sh-iú m-ir** (334-097-140 028-289 133-137).

u-un sh-iú m-ir-en (131-273 028-289 133-137-140) ‘title, genitive’, Chin *wen shu mi zhi* 文枢密之 C393, Hucker only7722 *wenshu fang* 文書房 MING: “Palace Secretariate”, *mi* 密 ‘silent, secret’ was YCh *mij*, LMCh *mit*, that is Chinese final -t is reflected in its /r/ form.
Khitan **sh-iú** ← Chin *shu* 枢, = 樞 YCh *tʂʰy,* LMCh *tʂʰyə̆.*

sh-iú2 (028-289) ‘writing, book’, Chin *shu* 书, **L**21**,** **L**23.

Sh-iû$_2$-u ng-i g-iáng shï ‘a person’s name’, Chin *shu yi geng shi* 淑仪耿 氏 (CWJ1140).

sh-û (028-372) ‘book’, Chin *shu* 书.
Khitan **sh-iú, sh-û** ← Chin *shu* 书 = 書, YCh *ʂy*, LMCh *ʂiə̆/ʂyə̆.*

sh-ï (028-353) ‘wife, to marry?’, 2x, Chin *qi* 妻 C367,
Khitan **shï** ← Chin *qi,* YCh *tsʰi*, LMCh *tsʰiaj.*

sh-o pu sh-o (028-186 241 028-186) ‘a title’, Chin *shuai fu shuai* 率府率 C369 Hucker No. 5479 “Commandant of the Guard Command” (Gu10: <**sh-o pu pu u sh-o**>), and the full form **s-o sh-o pu pu sh-o** (244-186 028-186 241 241 028-186) ‘a title, left (*zuo*) commandant (*shuai*) guard, deputy command ’, Chin *zuo shuai fu fu shuai* 左率府副帅 C433, Hucker 5479 *shuai fu shuai* “Commandant of the Guard Command, commonly abbreviated to *shuai”*. *shuai* 率 other reading *lü, shuai* 帅 = 帥.
Khitan **sh-o** ← Chin *shuai* 率 YCh *shwaj*, LMCh *suj* (?) Baxter –Sagart *srwijH.*

t-qó sh-i (247-169 028-339) ‘Governor General’, 32x, also **t-qu sh-i** (247-246 028-339), 6x, Chin *dushi* 度使**,** abbreviation of *jie du shi* 節度使 (Wu–Janhunen 2010, 90).

T-am-ar em$_2$-en t-qu sh-i (247-184-123 257-140 247-246 028-339) ‘commissioner of Ta mu li cheng’, Chin *ta mu li cheng zhi du shi zhi* 塌母里城之度使之 C440, also.

T-am-un$_2$ em$_2$-en t-qó sh-i (247-184-144 257-140 247-169 028-339) ‘commissioner of Ta mu li cheng’, Chin *ta mu li cheng zhi du shi* 塌母里城之度使 C440, also.

T-am-úr em$_2$-en t-qó sh-i (247-184-097 257-140 247-169 028-339) ‘commissioner of Ta mu li cheng’, Chin *ta mu li cheng zhi du shi* 塌母里城之度使 C440.

Khitan **sh-i** ← Chin *shi* 使, YCh *ʂṛ*, LMCh *ʂṛ*.

tai sh-ing (374 028-303) ‘holy, sage’, Chin *da sheng* 大圣 C486.

Khitan **sh-ing** ← Chin *sheng* 圣 = 聖 YCh *ʂiŋ,* LMCh *ʂiajŋ.*

p-ung sh-ng ci-eu-un ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de o-o-l$_2$ (295-345 028-264 162-067-273 262 142-131-337-205 186-186-149) ‘became the manager of the affairs of the Prefecture of P-ung sh-ng (Chin *fengsheng* 奉圣), **L**26.

Khitan **sh-ng** ← Chin *sheng*, 圣 = 聖 YCh *ʂiŋ,* LMCh *ʂiajŋ* see above

z-ie du shï (258-327 237 180) ‘military commissioner’, Chin *jie du shi* 节度使 C448 see **t-qó sh-i** (247-169 028-339).

tai shï (374-180)‘title, Grand Preceptor’, also **tai sh-i** (374 028-339) Chin *tai shi* 太师, **L**2, **L**10, **L**1, Hucker No 6212.

tai sï sh-iau-u shï (Ling11), Chin *tai zi shaoshi*, 太子少師 only Hucker No 6253.

Khitan **shï** ← Chin *shi* 师 = 師 YCh *ʂṛ*, LMCh *ʂṛ*

dai sh-ing (374 028-303) ‘holy’, Chin *da sheng* 大圣 C486.

Khitan **sh-ing** ← Chin *sheng* 圣 = 聖 YCh *ʂiŋ,* LMCh *ʂiajŋ*

u-ru g-iu-ung-un l-iu sh-eu (131-236 334-019-345-273 261-019 028-067) ‘a title?’, Chin *shang gong(jing) zhi liu shou* 上宫 (京)之留守 C393, hybrid, with Kitan genitive,? those who were left behind, stood behind for duty in the superior palace, Hucker No 5012 *shang gong ju* 上宫局 TANG-SUNG “General Palace Service”.

Khitan **sh-eu** ← Chin *shou* 守, YCh *ʂiw*, LMCh *ʂiw*

Xo Sh-ang N-u ‘name, “monk Nu”’ (057 028-199 251-131), Chin *heshang nu* 和尚 奴.

Khitan **sh-ang** ← Chin *shang* 尚, YCh *ʂaŋ,* LMCh *ʂɦiaŋ.*

There are three Khitan words which were transcribed into Chinese:

sh-a-rí 叉为共 (028-189-069) ‘court attendant, courtier*, langjun’*, also **sh-ia-ri 叉幺共** (028-274-069), Chin *langjun* 郎君, → ChT *shali* 沙里, YCh *ʂa,* LMCh *ʂa:* **L**2, **L**6**, L**12, **L**14.
sh-ri-e$_2$ **叉化券** (028-235-109) a tribal unit, → Chin *shi lie* 石, *shi,* YCh *ʂi,* LMCh *ʂhiajk, lie* 烈 YCh *ljɛ* LMCh *liat*, C370.
Sh-au-a-aju ñ-û-úr 叉夬为艾 伏只交 (028-161-189-082.1 222-372-097) ‘The Falconer tribe’, ChinT *shao wa bu* 稍瓦部 C369.
Khitan **sh-au** → Chin *shao* 稍, YCh *ʂaw,* LMCh *ʂa:w*

In case of the following name the Chinese is reflecting the Khitan syllable:
Sh-úng-or 叉当北 (028-357-076) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *shuang gu* 双古 C367 see Mong *singqur, šongqur* etc. ‘falcon’ , see also Turk *čongqur*, ChinT only the two first syllables.
Khitan **sh-úng** → Chin *shuang* 双 = 雙 ‘pair, double’, YCh *ʂwaŋ,* LMCh *ʂwa:wŋ*

A wrong identification is:
tu-ung$_2$ **sh-ün 劳太 叉亦** (202-106 028-329) ‘commander’, Chin *tong jun* 统军 C417 wrong identification.
Khitan **sh-ün** ← Chin* *jun* 军 = 軍, YCh *kyn*, LMCh *kyn*

<she> **术** (315). In the corpus 156x, in EL 2x, once a mistake, once in aKhitan word
s-iau s-she g-ün 仐号 仐术 九亦** (244-362 244-315 334-329) ‘junior army general’ Chin *xiao jiang jun* 小将军 C437 on Zhong 7:correctly **s-iau s-iang g-ün 仐号 仐丬 九亦**.

<shi> **犬** (120). In the coprus 15x, not in EL <shi> see (i)shi
<(i)shi> **乔** (033). In the corpus 262x, in EL 35x, in the frequent clan name, sinified and rewritten in Khitan:
Ishi-g 乔九 ‘name of a clan’, also **Ishi-gu 乔勺** (033-165) Chin *yi shi* 乙室.
ishi-gu-s na-ha-án-er-en m-o ai-en 乔 勺仐 力亚出公有 又及 丰有 (033-165-244 139-051-290-341-140 133-186 122-140) ‘the elder branch of the maternal uncles, from the Ishi Gu (plural) clan, genitive’, Chin *yi shi ji guo jiu zhi* 乙室己国舅之 C369, (Yu61-26), see WF Index under *I-shih*. The clan name has two plurals **Ishi-g-s** and **Ishi-gu-s.**
Khitan **ishi** ← Chin *yi shi, yi* 乙 YCh *ji*, LMCh *ʔit, shi* 室, YCh *ʂi*, LMCh *ʂit.*
jau tau 弜 戋 (015-029) ‘punitive officer’, **jau tau shi 弜 戋 乔** (015 029 033) Chin *zhao tao (shi)* 招讨(使) ‘call for surrender and quell the rebellion’, **L**6, **L**8, **L**20, **L**23/24.
p-i shi-un-i s-eng-un 业关 乔叐关 仐各火 (295-339 033-144-339 244-175-273) ‘a title, hybrid construction, Khitan genitive’, Chin *pi shi xiang wen* 皮室详

稳 C462, hybrid *pi-shi* + Khitan genitive + *xiangwen* 詳稳, see WF p. 521, there was a right and a left guard and the **p-i shi-un s-eng-un-s** were the heads of them, see also **s-eng-un.**
Khitan **shi** ← Chin shi 室 YCh *ʂi*, LMCh *ʂit*, see above.

pu shi (241 033) 'vice envoy', Chin *fu shi* 副使 C426.
Khitan **shi** ← Chin *shi* 使, YCh *ʂr̩,* LMCh *ʂr̩.*

Y-ar$_2$-u-ud Ishi-iú-i$_2$ N-u (020-084-131-344 033-289-022.1 251-131) 'a person's name', Chin *ye lü shu yi nu* 耶律淑仪奴 C362.
Khitan **shi-iú-i$_2$** ← Chin *shu* 淑, YCh *ʂy,* LMCh *ʂhiwk*, *yi* 仪 = 儀 YCh *ji*, LMCh *ŋi.*

A special case is:

pu-shi-ñ (241-033-222) 'milady', Chin *furen* 夫人, **L**7, **L**8, **L**9.
Khitan **shi-ñ** ← Chin *ren* 人, YCh *rin* LMCh *rin.*

The glyph <(i)shi^{o}> (034) occurs in the corpus 4x, in EL once, not in Chinese transcription, while the glyph <shï> (180) occurs in the corpus 323x, in EL 49x.
In the following titles:

d-ie-ên ju-ung shï-d (254-327-073 147-345 180-254) 'envoy in palace, plural', hybrid, Chin *dian zhong shi* 殿中使 C447.

dai-ri$_5$ shï ju-ung (017-255 180 147-345)'a title', Chin *feng shi zhong* 奉侍中 **L**26.

du-u g-iu-ung shï (237-131 334-019-345 180) 'a title, commissioner of the ordo', **L**18, Chin *dougong shi* 都 宫使, on C424 **du g-iu-ung shi** (237 334-019-345 180) and **du g-iú-ung shi** (237 334-289-345 180), both *dougong shi* 都 宫使, Chinese 都 has two readings *du* and *duo*, *du* is transcribed.

fu g-iu-ung shï (242 334-019-345 180) 'deputy palace commander', Chin *fu gong shi* 副宫使 C428.

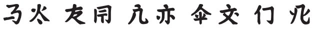
fu-ong ng-iú shï (242-071 264-289 180) 'a title', Chin *fang yu shi* 防御使 C428 Hucker No. 1923 "Defence Commissioner".

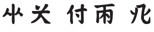
g-au ci-eu-un go-n ca shï (334-161 162-067-273 319-251 375 180) 'a title, the *gon ca shi* of the Gau prefecture', Chin *gao zhou zhi guan cha shi* 高州之观察使 C473.

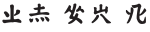
g-iu-ung-un shï-ï (334-019-345-273 180-353) 'a title, commander of the palace', Chin *gongzhishi* 宫之使 **L**19.

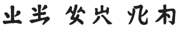
du-u g-iu-ung$_3$ shï-í$_2$ (237-131 334-019-345 180-113) 'a title, commander of the entire palace' **L**16, Chin *dou gong shi* 都宫使 C424.

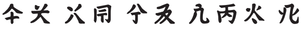
s-i h-ing pu-u g-iu-ung shï (244-339-340-303 241-131 334-019-345 180), 'a title, vice commander of the ordo Jiqing', **L**15, *ji qing fu gong shi* 积庆 副 宫使.

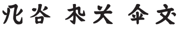
ju-ung jï-ing g-ün z-ie du shï  (147-345 087-303 334-329 258-327 237 180) ‘a title’, Chin *zhong zheng jun jie du shi* 忠正军节度使 C401.

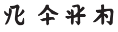
l-i bi-in shï  (261-339 225-018 180) ‘a title’, Chin *li bin shi* 礼宾使 C451, perhaps to *li-bin yuan*, Hucker 3627 “Foreign relations Office”.

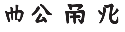
p-ong ng-iú shï  (295-071 264-289 180) ‘a title’, Chin *fang yu shi* 防御使 C458, Hucker No 1923.

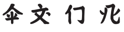
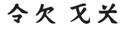
p-úng ng-iú shï-en  (295-357 264-289 180-140) ‘a title, genitive’, Chin *fang yu shi zhi* 防御使之 C462, Hucker 1923 “duty assignment (*ch’ai ch’ien*) for a central government official to supervise the affairs of a Prefecture(*chou)* where military matters were of some importance”, irregular vocalism in the first syllable.

s-i h-ing pu-u g-iu-ung shï  (244-339-303 241-131 334-019-345 180) ‘a title’, Chin *jiqing fu gongshi* 积庆 副 宫使, **L**15.

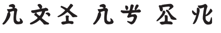
shï-ï ci-i z-ie  (180-353 162-339 258-327) ‘a title’, Chin *shi chi jie* 使持节 C413, Hucker No 5223 “Commissioned with extraordinary power”.

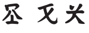
shï s-iang-en  (180 244-314-140) ‘a title, genitive’, Chin *shi xiang* 使 相, **L**24, Hucker, No 5249 “Commissioner-Councilor”.

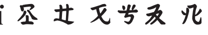
go-n ca shï  (319-251 375 180) ‘a title’, Chin *guan cha shi* 观察使 C468, Hucker 3269.

z-ie du shï  (258-327 237 180) ‘military commissioner’, Chin *jie du shi* 节度使 C448 see **t-qó sh-i**  (247-169 028-339).

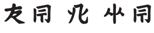
Khitan **shï** ← Chin *shi* 使,YCh *ʂr̩,* LMCh *ʂr̩.*

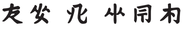
g-ie-ém g-iau tai shï  (334-327-270 334-362 374 180) ‘a title’, Chin *jian jiao tai shi* 检校太师 C475, Hucker 804 *jian jiao* “Acting, a honorary status”.

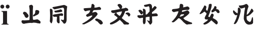
tai shï (374-180)‘title, Grand Preceptor’, also **tai sh-i**  (374 028-339) Chin *tai shi* 太师, **L**2, **L**10, **L**1, Hucker No 6212.

tai sï sh-iau-u shï  (Ling11), Chin *tai zi shaoshi*, 太子稍師 only Hucker No 6253.

Khitan **shï** ← Chin *shi* 师 = 師, YCh *ʂr̩,* LMCh *ʂr̩.*

jï-ing shï l-ing  (087-303 180 261-303) ‘a title’, Chin *zheng shi ling* 政事令 C386**.**

jï-ng shï l-ing-en  (087-264 180 261-303-140) ‘a title, genitive’, Chin *zheng shi ling zhi* 政事令之 C386, ? Hucker No434 (only HAN).

p-ing j-ie-iang jï-ng shï  (295-303 104-327-314 087-264 180) ‘a title’, Chin *ping zhang zheng shi* 平章政事 C461, (Xian11, 1175), Hucker No. 4700 “Manager of Governmental Affairs”, LIAO designation of one or more eminent central government officials on the executive staff of the Great Councilor (*tsai-hsiang*), at each auxiliary capital as well as at the prinicipal

dynastic capital". The title occurs in Xian11, which was written under the Jin dynsty and is the last dated inscription.
Khitan **shï** ← Chin *shi* 事 YCh *ʂr̩,* LMCh *ʂr̩.*

s-ï shï [illegible] (244-353 180) 'prefect', Chin *ci shi* 刺史 C436, also **sï shï** [illegible] (083 180) 'regional chief', Chin *ci shi* 刺史 C384.

sï shï [illegible] (083 180) 'regional chief', also **s-ï shï** [illegible] (244-353 180) Chin *ci shi* 刺史 C384.

shï COMPOSE-un [illegible] (180 308-144) 'historical writing', Chin *shi zhuan* 史撰 C413, hybrid structure.

tu-ung$_2$ g-ia-am s-iu g-ui shï [illegible] (202-106 334-335-184 244-019 334-262 180) 'a title', Chin *tong jian xiu guo shi* 同兼修国史 C417 Hucker No 7470 *tong jian* "Deputy" + Hucker No 2626 *xiu guo shi* SUNG, LIAO "State Historiographer".

uni-qu-un ca-ang shï [illegible] (059-246-273 375-199 180) 'a title', Chin *niu qun chang shi* 牛群敞史 C374 'the changshi of the *niuqun', niuqun* 'herd of cattle'. *changshi* LIAO "a minor official in both Northern and Southern Bureaus of Military Affairs" , Hucker No 263.
Khitan **shï** ← Chin *shi* 史 YCh *ʂr̩,* LMCh *ʂr̩.*

shï-ï$_2$ l-ang [illegible] (180-113 261-199) 'a title', Chin *shi lang* 侍郎 C413, Hucker, No 5278.

shï ci-eu-ung [illegible] (180 162-067-106) 'a title', Chin *shi zhong* 侍中 C413, Hucker No 5229 "Palace Attendant".

t-ie-ên ju-ung shï-ï ng-iú shï [illegible] (247-327-073 147-345 180-353 264-289 180) 'a title', Chin *dian zhong shi yu shi* 殿中侍御史 C441, Hucker, No 6556 "LIAO: Palace Administrator, head of the Administration Office (*tien-chung ssu*)".
Khitan **shï** ← Chin *shi* 侍 YCh *ʂr̩,* LMCh *ʂr̩.*

shï2 [illegible] (180) 'poem', Chin *shi* 诗.
shï us-g [illegible] (180 068-334) 'poetry', Chin *shi wen* 诗文 C413.

The two Khitan sibilants <s> and <sh> represent the respective Chinese sybillants /s/ and /ʂ/, but both Khitan sibillants are also used for sounds which are in YCh and in LMCh affricates: Chinese /ts/ and /tsʰ/ → Khitan <s> and Chinese /tʂʰ/ → Khitan <sh>, even Chinese /tsʰ/ → Khitan <sh>. This is only possible if in Liao Chinese /ts/ became /s/ and /tʂh/ became /ʂ/.

A special case is **pu-shi-ñ** [illegible] (241-033-221) 'milady', Chin *furen* 夫人, **L**7, **L**8, **L**9, an old Chinese loanword in Khitan,
Khitan **shi-ñ** ← Chin *ren* 人, YCh *rin*, LMCh *rin*.

There are three problematic cases:

sh-o pu sh-o (028-186 241 028-186) ‘a title’, Chin *shuai fu shuai* 率府率 C369 Hucker No. 5479 “Commandant of the Guard Command” (Gu10: **sh-o pu pu-u sh-o**) and the full form **s-o sh-o pu pu sh-o** (244-186 028-186 241 241 028-186) ‘a title, left (*zuo*) commandant (*shuai*) guard, deputy command’, Chin *zuo shuai fu fu shuai* 左率府副帅 C433 (Xu3), Hucker 5479 *shuai fu shuai* “Commandant of the Guard Command, commonly abbreviated to *shuai*”. *shuai* 率 other reading *lü, shuai* 帅 = 帥. The vocalism is abberant, but possible, the initial is Chin /ʂ/ or /sr/.

Khitan **sh-o** ← Chin *shuai* 率 YCh *shwaj*, LMCh *suj* Baxter –Sagart *srwijH.*

The next case is a wrong identification:

tu-ung$_2$ sh-ün (202-106 028-329) ‘commander’, Chin *tong jun* 统军 C417.

Khitan **sh-ün** ← Chin* *jun* 军 = 軍, YCh *kyn*, LMCh *kyn* (GuD5-38)

Here the identification of **sh-ün** is wrong, **sh-ün** occurs 4 times: Zhong3-8, GuD5-38, Liang19-1, Xian6-35, and its gentitive case:**sh-ün-en** (028-329-140) twice in Dao23-3 and Zhi3-4. It is also incorrectly given on p. 1368, but correctly given on p. 947 as *shun* 顺 順, YCh *ʂyn*, LMCh *ʂɦyn.*

In the last case the reading was wrong instead of <s$_2$> (354) the reading <ci > (162) is the correct reading of the Khitan part:

s$_2$-iau w-u da-ai z-iang g-ün (354-362 070-131 171-122 258-314 334-329) ‘a title’, Chin *zhao wu da jiang jun* 昭武大将军 C482, also on CWJ p 1127. The correct Khitan form is in the 27th line of the Zhong inscription:

ci-iau w-u d-ai-i s-313 g-ün d-em₂-y (Zhong 27), where (313) is (314) <iang> and **ci** (162) is correctly the first syllable.

Khitan **ci-iau** ← Chin *zhao,* YCh *tʂɛw*, LMCh *tʂiaw* where Khitan reflects a LMCh form.

	KSS GLYPH	CHINESE PINYIN	YUAN CHINESE	LATE MIDDLE CHINESE
SH				
sh-	(028)	sh-	ʂ-	ʂɦ-
		sh-	ʂ-	ʂ-
		sh-	tʂh-	tʂh-
		sh-	ʂ-	ʂi/ʂy-
		qi-	tsh-	tsh-
		sh-	shw-	srw-[19]
		sh-	ʂɽ-	ʂɽ-

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[19] Baxter –Sagart *srwijH*

(i)shi	(033)	sh-	ʂ-	ʂ-
		sh-	ʂr̦-	ʂr̦-
		r-	r-	r-
shï-	(180)	sh-	ʂr̦-	ʂr̦-

TABLE XXXVIII. KHITAN SH- AND THE CHINESE INITIALS IT REFLECTS

10.9.8 THE NASAL GLYPHS

10.9.8.1 The M glyphs

<m> (133), in the corpus 1205x, in EL 97x

bi-ing m-a du g-ia-ém (225-303 133-189 237 334-335-270) 'a title', Chin *bingma dujian* 兵马都监 C422, Hucker, No 4687.

m-a pu l-ang ju-ung-un (133-189 241 261-199 147-345-273) 'a title, genitive', Chin *ma fu lang zhong zhi* 马府郎 中之 C395.

pu m-a (241-133-189) 'Imperial son-in-law', Chin *fuma* 駙 馬, **L**10, see Hucker No 2082.
Khitan **m-a** ← Chin *ma* 马 = 馬, YCh *ma*, LMCh *ma:.*

g-ia-ém m-en ui° sh-ang s-iang g-ün (334-335-270 133-140 263 028-199 244-314 334-329) 'a title', Chin *jian men wei shang jiang jun* 监门卫上将军 C475, Hucker, No 847 *jian men wei* "Palace Gate Guard", No 4982 *shang jiang gun* "Generalissimo".
Khitan **m-en** ← Chin *men* 门 = 門 YCh *mun*, LMCh *mun.*

g-úr-en sh-iú m-ir (334-097-140 028-289 133-137) 'a member of the palace secretariat', Chin *guo zhi shu mi* 国之枢密 C472
Khitan **m-ír** ← Chin *mi* 密, YCh *muj*, LMCh *mit* (see the final!)

m-ng g-u (133-264 334-131) 'Mongol', Chin *meng gu* 萌古, 4x in Yue39, 40, 41, 46.
Khitan **m-ng** ← Chin *meng* 萌, YCh *məŋ, muŋ*, LMCh *ma:jŋ.*

m-ing (133-303) 'inscription', Chin *ming* 铭 C396.
Khitan **m-ing** ← Chin *ming* 铭 = 銘, YCh *miŋ*, LMCh *mjiajŋ.*

m(u)1 (133) 'tomb', Chin *mu* 墓 C393.
Khitan **m(u)** ← Chin *mu* 墓, YCh *mu*, LMCh *muǝ̆.*

m-o2 (133-186) 'wood', Chin *mu* 木 C394 (Jie29) ? instead of (131) <u>.

m(u)2 (133) 'tree, wood', Chin *mu* 木 C393.
Khitan **m-o = mu** ← Chin *mu* 木, YCh *mu*, LMCh *məwk.*

In three Khitan words, an administrative unit and two person's name, Khitan **m** is transcribed by **m-**:

m-ri2 又化 'an administrative unit, village', Chin *mili* 弥里, see WF430 *mo-li* 抹里 or *mei li* 抹里 or *mi li* 彌里 'tribal unit, a small tribal settlement' Khitan → Chin.

Y-ar$_2$-u-ud M-ri 丙存叐火 又化 (020-084-131-344 133-235) 'a person's name', Khitan → Chin *ye lü mi li* 耶律弥里 C362.

M-or-qó-ñ 又北欠伏 (133-076-169-222) 'a name', ChT *mo lu jin* 磨魯堇 C394.

<mu> 仕 (224), in the corpus 268x, in EL 15x

g-mu 九仕 (334-224) 'wife's mother', Chin *zhang mu* 丈母, see *zhang* 'husband' 丈, YCh *tʂaŋ* LMCh *trɦiaŋ*.
Khitan **mu** ← Chin *mu* 母, YCh *mu*, LMCh *məw*

<mú> 行 (220), in the corpus 195x, in EL 5x

Ñ-mú-qó-ñ 伏行欠伏 (222-220-169-222) 'a name', ChinT *nian mu hun* 拈母渾, **L**7, **L**11.
Khitan **mú** → Chin *mu* 母, YCh *mu*, LMCh *məw*

<mû> 半 (358) in the corpus 24x, in EL 1x

mû jïh 半 与 (358 098.1) 'grave inscription, epitaph', Chin *mu zhi* 墓志 C482.
Khitan **mû** ← Chin *mu* 墓, YCh *mu,* LMCh *muǎ*

10.9.8.2 The N glyphs

<n> 公 (251), 209x EL 119, frequent because its function as the suffix of the genitive case.

n-i-gu1 公关勺 (251-339-165) '1. Jurchen, 2. gold', also **n-i-gu$_2$** 公关勺 (251-339-165.1) Chin 1. *nü gu* 女古 2. *jin* 金 C445 'Jurchen', Chin *nü gu* 女古 C446, see Appendix 12.10.
Khitan **n-i** ← Chin *nü* 女 YCh *ny*, LMCh *nriǎ/nryǎ.*

N-i-ing üe-ên da-ai z-iang g-ün 公关同 芡寿 久丰 伞将 九亦 (251-339-303 082-073 171-122 258-314 334-339) 'Ning yuan great general', Chin *ning yuan da jiang jun* 宁远大将军 C446.
Khitan **n-i-ing** ← Chin *ning* 宁 = 寧, YCh *niŋ*, LMCh *niajŋ*

n-ui sh-iáng-en 公火 叉並有 (251-262 028-062-140) 'inner division, genitive', Chin *nei sheng zhi* 内省之 C445.
Khitan **n-ui** ← Chin *nei* 内, YCh *nuj*, LMCh *nuaj.*

N-u (251-131) ’a clan ame’, Chin *nu* 奴.

Ong H-ia N-u (071 340-335 251-131) ‘a name’ Chin *wang jia nu* 王家奴, **L**11.

Pu-ung H-ia N-u (241-106 340-335 251-131) ‘a name’, ChinT *feng jia nu* 冯家奴, **L**10.

Xo Sh-ang N-u ‘name, “monk Nu”’ (057 028-199 251-131), Chin *heshang nu* 和尚 奴.

Y-ar$_2$-u-ud shi-iú-i$_2$ N-u (020-084-131-344 033-289-022.1 251-131) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *ye lü shu yi nu* 耶律淑仪奴 C362.
Khitan **n-u** ← Chin *nu*, 奴, YCh *nu*, LMCh *nuǒ.*

p-ung go-n (295-345 319-251) ‘a title’, Chin *pan guan* 判官 C462, Hucker, No. 4425 “(Administrative) Assistant”, irregular vocalism in the first syllable.
Khitan **go-n** ← Chin *guan*, 官 YCh *kən*, LMCh *kuan.*

In names of Khitan origin:

N-o-g-e$_2$ (251-186 334-109) ‘a person’s name’, ChT *na ge* 那哥 C445.

N-qó-a (251-169-189) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *nu gua* 奴瓜 Han14 C445 to ‘dog’ as name see Turk *Noqai, Nogai,* see **ñ-qo** (222-168).

<na> (139), 186x, in EL 26x, not in Chinese transcriptions, <na$_2$> (318), 30x, in EL 1x in a Khitan word, <nai> (332), 198x , in EL 12x, all in the Khitan word for ‘head, leader’, <nai$_2$> (211.20) 3x, not in EL, <neu> (331), 53x, in EL 8x, all in the word for ‘earth’

10.9.8.3 The Ñ glyphs

<ñ> (221), 6x , not in EL
<ñ^x> (222) 2113x, in EL 154x

In transcriptions of Chinese:

pu-shi-ñ (241-033-221) ‘milady’, Chin *furen* 夫人, Hucker, No 2006” Consort” **L**7, **L**8, **L**9.
Khitan **shi-ñ** ← Chin *ren* 人, YCh *rin* LMCh *rin.*

ci-in g-ia pu-shi-ñ (162-018 334-335 241-033-222) ‘a female title’, Chin *chen jia fu ren* 陈家夫人 C404 and many other.

ñ-en (222-140) ‘peaceful??, burial?’, Chin *ning* 宁.
Khitan **ñ-en** ← Chin *ning* 宁 = 寧, YCh *niŋ*, LMCh *niajŋ.*

Both transcriptions are irregular.

Transcription of Khitan names:
as initials:

Ñ-ar-qó-ñ 伏本欠伏 (222-123-169-222) ‘a name’, ChinT *nie li gun* 涅里衮**, L**11.
Khitan **ñ-ar** → Chin *nie li* 涅里, YCh *jɛ*, LMCh *ŋjiat.*
Ñ-mú-qó-ñ 伏行欠伏 (222-220-169-222) ‘a name’, ChinT *nian mu hun* 拈母浑, **L**7, **L**11 *Nian mu gu* 拈 睦古 was the wife of *Ye-lü An-duan* WF730, similar names, but perhaps not identical persons.
Khitan **ñ** → Chin *nian* 拈, YCh *njɛm*, LMCh *niam.*
Ñ-oh-ji 伏王犳 (222-377-152) ‘person’s name’, ChinT *niaoguzhi* 裹古直, occurs 2x in Hong1-3, 3-3, see *Ye-lü Niao gu zhi,* WF 403, 421.
Khitan **ñ-oh** → Chin *niaogu* 裹古, YCh *njɛw*, LMCh *niaw*, YCh *ku*, LMCh *kuə̆.*

In the folllowing examples Khitan names with Khitan suffixes are transcribed in modern times:

Ong-ñ 杰伏 (071-222) ‘a name’, ChT *wang ning* 王宁.
Or-l-b-ñ 北屮村伏 (076-261-311-222) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *wu lu ben* 乌鲁本 C384, **L**1n.
P-ul-uh-ñ 业平久伏 (295-366-172-222) ‘a name’, Chin *puni* 普你 C462, **L**2, to **p-ul-uh.**
Xe-l-ñ 圣屮伏 ‘a name’ (268-261-222), ChinT *jie ling* 解领, **L**9.
Y-ie-ên-ñ 丏文寿伏 (020-327-073-222) ‘a geogarphical name, Yanning’, ChinT *yan ning* 延宁, **L**4.
L-iu-ñ 屮丙伏 (261-019-222) ‘a name, ChinT *liu ni* 留你, ? **L**9, **L**13 genitive?
eu-uh-ñ-i 去久伏关 (067-172-222-339) ‘a title, a term of relationship, pertaining to a subclan of the Xiao’, ChinT *oukun* 瓯昆 **L**3, **L**4, **L**5, **L**7.See remarks at L3.

10.9.8.4 The Ng glyph

The glyph <ng> 发 (264), occurs in the corpus 200x, in EL 49x

In initial position:

Sh-iû$_2$-u ng-i g-iáng shï 叉玉及 发关 九並 兆 ‘a person’s name’, Chin *shu yi geng shi* 淑仪耿 氏 (CWJ1140).

k-ai pu ng-i tu-ung s-a-am sï **叔丰 分 尖关 为冭 仐为乃 廿** (283-122 241 264-339 202-345 244-189-184 083) ‘a title’, Chin *kai fu yi tong san si* 开府仪同三司 C455, Hucker No 3105, “Commander Unequalled in Honor”.

ng-i tu-ung$_2$ s-a-am sï **尖关 为太 仐为乃 廿** (264-339 202-106 244-189-184 083) ‘a title’, Chin *yi tong san si* 仪同三司 C453, Hucker No 3024 “Unequaled in Honor”.

j-iau ng-i g-ün-en **亥号 尖关 九亦冇** (104-362 264-339 334-329-140) ‘a military title, genitive’, Chin *zhao yi jun zhi* 昭义军之 C389
Khitan **ng-i** ← Chin *yi* 仪 = 儀, YCh *ji*, LMCh *ŋi*.

ng-iau-u-un GREAT sh-ün-en ci-i-shi-d-b-ñ **尖号及火 又 叉亦冇 朩关忝公舟伏** (264-362-131-273 373 028-329-140 162-339-033-254-311-222) ‘Yao’s respect and Shun’s filial piety’, Chin *yao zhi zun shun zhi xiao* 尧之尊舜之孝 C453, instead of GREAT **又** (373) perhaps **û** **只** (372), see there.
Khitan **ng-iau-u** ← Chin *yao* 尧 = 堯, YCh *jɛw*, LMCh *ŋjiaw.*

Ng-i-i S-ung hong-di **尖关关 仐当 主王** ‘the Emperor Yizong’*,* Chin *yizong huang di* 义宗皇帝 C453.
Khitan **ngi-i** ← Chin *yi* 义 = 義*,* YCh *ji*, LMCh *ŋi.*

ng-in s-ing cau-úng lu-uh da$_3$-ai pu **尖雨 仐同 而当 叏久 六丰 分** (264-018 244-303 022-357 208-172 214-122 241) ‘a title’, Chin *yin qing chong lu dai fu* 银青崇禄大夫 C452, Hucker 7981 “Grand Master of Glorious Happiness with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon”.
Khitan **ng-in** ← Chin *yin* 银 = 銀, YCh *jin*, LMCh *ŋin.*

b-oh ci-eu-un fu-ong ng-iú shï-ï **舟里 朩去火 仒杰 尖穴 兆谷** (311-377 162-067-273 242-071 264-289 180-353) ‘a title, the Defence Comissioner of the prefecture Bo’, Chin *bo zhou zhi fang yu shi* 博州之防御使, C467, Hucker No 1923.

fu-ong ng-iú shï **仒杰 尖穴 兆** (242-071 264-289 180) ‘a title’, Chin *fang yu shi* 防御使 C428 Hucker No. 1923 “Defence Commissioner”.

L-un ng-iú-de **屮火 尖穴矢** (261-273 264-289-205) ‘in The Annalects of Confucius, dat-loc.’, Chin *Lun yu zhong* 论语中 C451.
Khitan **ng-iú** ← Chin *yu* 御, YCh *y*, LMCh *ŋiă.*

ng-iú ku-ung$_2$ **尖穴 几太** (264-289 178-106) ‘five (famous) ministers (of history)’, Chin *wu gong* 五公 C453, **L**24.
Khitan **ng-iú** ← Chin *wu* 五 YCh *u,* LMCh *ŋuə̆.*

ng-iú üe-ên t-ung z-in **尖穴 芙寿 令冭 伞雨** (264-289 082-073 247-345 258-018) ‘a title’, Chin *yu yuan tong jin* 御院通进 C453, Hucker No 8214 CHIN: “Ceremonial Receptionist”.

ng-iú-ku$_3$ t-ie-ên-en **尖穴非 令文寿冇** (264-289-282 247-327-073-140) ‘imperial palace, genitive’, Chin *yu dian zhi* 御殿之 C453, hybrid, Chinese + Khitan genitive.
Khitan **ng-iú** ← Chin *yu,* 御, YCh *y*, LMCh *ŋiă/ŋyă.*

p-ong ng-iú shï 业杰 发火 九 (295-071 264-289 180) ‘a title’, Chin *fang yu shi* 防御使 C458, Hucker No 1923.

p-ung ng-iú 业尜 发火 (295-345 264-289) a ‘a title’, Chin *fang yu* 防御 C462, Hucker No. 1920 “a prefix « Defense »” irregular vocalism in the first syllable. see also **p-ong ng-iú shï 业杰 发火 九** (295-071 264-289 180) ‘a title’, Chin *fang yu shi*防御使 C458, Hucker No 1923.

p-úng ng-iú shï-en 业当 发火 九有 (295-357 264-289 180-140) ‘a title, genitive’, Chin *fang yu shi zhi* 防御使之 C462, Hucker 1923 “duty assignment (*ch’ai ch’ien*) for a central govenment official to supervise the affairs of a Prefecture (*chou*) where military matters were of some importance”, irregular vocalism in the first syllable.

t-ie-ên ju-ung shï-ï ng-iú shï 令文寿 马尜 九谷 发火 九 (247-327-073 147-345 180-353 264-289 180) ‘a title’, Chin *dian zhong shi yu shi* 殿中侍御史 C441, Hucker, No 6556 “LIAO: Palace Administrator, head of the Administration Office (*tien-chung ssu*)”.

Khitan **ng-iú** ← Chin *yu* 御, YCh *y,* LMCh *ŋiă/ŋyă.*

s-ï g-m ng-u t-ai-i 仐谷 几叉 发及 令丰关 (244-353 334-133 264-131 247-122-339) ‘a rank, with, purple gold fish bag’, Chin *zi jin yu dai* 紫金鱼袋 C436.

Khitan **ng-u** ← Chin *yu* 鱼, YCh *y*, LMCh *ŋiă.*

g-m ng-u ui 几叉 发及 冬 (334-133 264131 263) ‘a title, Grand General’, Chin *jin wu wei* 金吾 卫, **L**20, Hucker No. 1166 “Imperial Insignia Guard”.

ng-u ← Chin *wu* 吾, YCh *u*, LMCh *ŋuə.*

Ng-ui°-en po-do 发冬有 非朱 (264-263-140 279-217) ‘in the time of the Wei , hybrid, Khitan genitive’, Chin *wei zhi shi zhi* 魏之时之 C453.

Khitan **ng-ui** ← Chin *wei* 魏 ,YCh *uj*, LMCh *ŋyj.*

ng-ü-n p-i 发仲公 业关 (264-226-251 295-339)‘the first, principal consort/concubine, Chin *yuan fei* 元妃 C453, Hucker No 8224, also **ng-üe-n p-i-in 发夬公 业关雨** (264-082-251 295-339-018) ‘the first, principal consort/concubine, genitive’, Chin *yuan fei zhi* 元妃之 C453.

ng-üe-ên sh-oi$_2$ pu 发夬寿 戈太 分 (264-082-073 028-107 241) ‘administration/ office of Marshal’, Chin *yuan shuai fu* 元帅府 C452, Hucker No 8245 “Headquarters of a Marshal”.

Khitan **ng-ü-n**, **ng-üe-ên** ← Chin *yuan* 元 , YCh *ɥɛn*. LMCh *ŋyan.*

	KSS GLYPH	CHINESE PINYIN	YUAN CHINESE	LATE MIDDLE CHINESE
M				
m-	叉 (133)	m-	m-	m-
mu-	仕 (224)	m-	m-	m-
mú-	行 (220)	m-	m-	m-

mû-	半 (358)	m-	m-	mu-
N				
n-	公 (251)	n-	n-	nri-/nry-
		n-	n-	ni-
		n-	n-	nu-
Ñ				
ñ-	伏 (222)	n-	n-	ni-
NG		n-	nj-	ni-
ng-	发 (264)	yu-	ɥ-	ŋy-
		y-	j-	ŋji-
		y -	j-	ŋ-
		y-	y (!)	ŋi
		w-	u	ŋu-
		y-	y	ŋi-/ŋy-
		w-	uj	ŋy-

TABLE XXXIX. THE KHITAN NASALS AND THE CHINESE INITIALS THEY REFLECT

In syllable final position:

H-i-ing sh-ng du-u g-iu-ung shï-ï$_2$ 父关同 叉发 门及 九丙太 兆杏 (340-339303 028-264 237-334-019-345 180-113) ‘a title, the Commissioner (shi) of the H-i-ing shang ordu’, Chin *xing sheng dou gong shi* 兴圣都宫使, **L**16, **L**18, WF 721.

ca-ang sh-iú y-eu-u ci-ng 甬気 叉光 丏去及 术发 (375-199 028-289 020-067-131 162-264) ‘a title, the Right Assistant of the Minister’, Chin *shang shu you cheng* 尚书右丞 C488 *you cheng* is the Right Aide, Assistant Director of the Right, Hucker No 8034, and instead of *shang* 尚 ‘still, value’ *chang* 敞, ‘open’?

ca-eng-un 甬各火 (375-175-273) ‘a title’, Chin *chang wen* 敞稳 C488.

ci-ng s-iang 术发 仐并 (162-264 244-314)‘Prime Minister’, Chin *chengxiang* 丞相, **L**6, Hucker No. 483: Grand Councellor.

Ci-ng t-ie-ên tai heu-un 术发 令文考 丕 介火 (162-264 247-327-073 374 250-273) ‘Chengtian empress dowager, genitive’, Chin *cheng tian tai hou zhi* 承天太后之 C407, see also Hucker No 6698.

D-i-ng G-e 仝关发 九券 (254-339-264 334-348) ‘a name’, ChinT *dingge* 定哥, **L**7.

g-ng sh-iú-de 九发 叉光矢 (334-264 028-289-205) ‘Confucian classics, dative-locative’, Chin *jing shu yu* 经书于 C474.

iú-ng ci-eu-un tu-ung jï 光发 术去火 为太 友 (289-264 162-067-273 202-345 087) ‘a title’, Chin *yong zhou zhi tong zhi* 永州之同知 C457, a hibryd expression with a Khitan gentive, the *tong-zhi* of the *Iú-ng* prefecture.

jï-ing shï l-ing (087-303 180 261-303) ‘a title’, Chin *zheng shi ling* 政事令 C386**.**

jï-ng shï l-ing-en (087-264 180 261-303-140) ‘title, genitive’, Chin *zheng shi ling zhi* 政事令之 C386, ? Hucker No434 (only HAN).

m-ng g-u (133-264 334-131) ‘Mongol’, Chin *meng gu* 萌古, (4x in Yue39, 40, 41, 46) ← Mongol.

p-ing j-ie-iang jï-ng shï (295-303 104-327-314 087-264 180) ‘a title’, Chin *ping zhang zheng shi* 平章政事 C461, (Xian11, 1175), Hucker No. 4700 “Manager of Governmental Affairs”, LIAO designation of one or more eminent central government officials on the executive staff of the Great Councilor (*tsai-hsiang*), at each auxiliary capital as well as at the prinicipal dynastic capital”. The title occurs in Xian11, which was written under the Jin dynsty and is the last dated inscription.

P-ung sh-ng (295-345 028-264) ‘name of a prefecture, Fengsheng’, Chin *fengsheng* 奉圣, WF 奉 聖 **L**26.

P-ung sh-ng ci-eu-un ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de (295-345 028-264 162-067-273 262 142-131-337-205) ‘a title, the manager of the affairs of the Fengsheng prefecture’, Chin *feng sheng zhou zhi shi zhi* 奉圣州之事知 C462, hybrid, Khitan genitive and **MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de** locative, the *shi zhi* of the prefecture Fengsheng.

t-ai-i ci-ng s-iang (247-122-339 162-264 244-314) ‘a title’, Chin *da cheng xiang* 大丞相 C349, Hucker No. 5889 “Grand Councilor-in-chief.

z-o ci-ng s-iang (258-186 162-264 244-314) ‘a title, the left Prime Minister’, Chin *zuo cheng xiang* 左丞相 C448, see **ci-ng s-iang.**

10.9.9 THE LIQUIDS

10.9.9.1 The L glyphs

<l> (261), In the corpus 2897x, in EL 151x. In transcription of Chinese:

ci-ang sh-iú l-ang ju-ung (162-199 028-289 (087 360) 261-199 147-345) (Lang5) **‘**director of the bureau of military operations of the imperial secretariat’, Chin *shangshu zhifang langzhong* 尚書 藏方 郎中, (K16). *shangshu* Hucker 410-411 “minister’, *zhifang* Hucker No 978 “Bureau of Operatons”, *langzhong* Hucker 3565 “Director of the Section(*ts’ao*) or Bureau (*pu, ssu*, *ch’ing-li ssu*) in a Ministry (*pu*) or in some agency”.

m-a pu l-ang ju-ung-un (133-189 241 261-199 147-345-273) ‘a title, genitive’, Chin *ma fu lang zhong zhi* 马府郎中之 C395.
Khitan **l-ang** ← Chin *lang* 郎, YCh *laŋ*, LMCh *laŋ*.

g-ie-ém ju-ung sh-iú l-ing (334-327-270 147-345 028-289 261-303) ‘a title’, Chin *jian zhong shu ling* 兼中书令 C475, Hucker No. 1616 *zhong shu ling* ”Secreteriat Director”.

jï-ing shï l-ing (087-303 180 261-303) ‘a title’, Chin *zheng shi ling* 政事令 C386**.**

jï-ng shï l-ing-en (087-264 180 261-303-140) ‘title, genitive’, Chin *zheng shi ling zhi* 政事令之 C386, ? Hucker No434 (only HAN).

ju-ung sh-iú l-ing (147-345 028-289 261-303) ‘a title’, Chin *zhong shu ling* 中书令 C401, Hucker 1616 “Secreteriat Director”, **L**1.
Khitan **l-ing** ← Chin *ling* 令, YCh *liŋ,* LMCh *liajŋ.*

g-ing l-iau-u (334-303 261-362-131) ‘military commissioner’, Chin *jing lüe* 经略 C475, Hucker 1231 “Military Commissioner”.
Khitan **l-iau-u** ← Chin *lüe* 略, YCh *ljɛw, ljɔ,* LMCh *liak.*

g-ong l-ing g-ün ong-on (334-071 261-303 334-329 071-154) ‘the wang of Guang-ling county, genitive’, Chin *guang ling jun wang zhi* 广陵郡王之 C472.

ki-ên l-ing **(**163-073 261-303) ‘tomb’, Chin *qian ling* 乾陵 see **Ta-ang-en ki-ên l-ing-de** (229-199-140 163-073 261-303-205).
Khitan **l-ing** ← Chin *ling* 陵, YCh *liŋ*, LMCh *liǝ̆ŋ.*

l-ang go-ci (261-199 319-162) ‘corridor, balcony’, Chin *lang wu* 廊庑 C450, hybrid Chinese and Khitan **go–ci.**
Khitan **l-ang**← Chin *lang* 廊 YCh *laŋ*, LMCh *laŋ.*

shï-ï$_2$ l-ang (180-113 261-199) ‘a title’, Chin *shi lang* 侍郎 C413, Hucker, No 5278.
Khitan **l-ang** ← Chin *lang* 郎 YCh *laŋ*. LMCh *laŋ.*

Hong L-iú-ung pu-un (075 261-C389-345 241-273)also **Hong L-iúng pu-un** (075 262-181 241-273) ‘name of an (official) residence of Huanglong, genitive’, Chin *huang long fu zhi* 黄龙府之 C383.
Khitan **l-iú-ung, l-iúng** ← Chin *long* 龙 = 龍, YCh *ljuŋ,* LMCh *lywŋ.*

Jï-ing l-iang g-ung ci-en (087-303 261-314 334-345 162-140) ‘a title’, Chin *zhen liang gong chen* 贞亮功臣 C386 Hucker No 3395 *gong chen* “Meritorious Minister”.
Khitan **l-iang** ← Chin *liang* 亮, YCh *ljaŋ*, LMCh *liaŋ.*

l-ém-a* (261+270+189)**,** also **l-ém-hu-a** (261-270-151-189) ‘a title, *linya*’, Chin *linya* 林牙, ‘an official in charge of the academy, formerly known as *xueshi* 學士. C450.
Khitan **l-ém** ← Chin *lin* 林, YCh *lim*, LMCh *lim.*

L-i (261-339)‘part of a name’, Chin *li* 吏, **L**22.
Khitan **l-i** ← Chin *li* 吏, YCh *li*, LMCh *li.*

l-i bi-in shï (261-339 225-018 180) ‘a title’, Chin *li bin shi* 礼宾使 C451, perhaps to *li-bin yuan*, Hucker 3627 “Foreign relations Office”.

l-i b-û ca-ang sh-iú (261-339 311-372 375-199 028-289) ‘a title’, Chin *li bu shang shu* 礼部尚书 C451, Hucker 3631 *li-bu* “Ministry of Rites”, *shangshu* Hucker 5042 “Minister, head of the top-level administrative agency in the Central government’s Departmen pf State Affairs”.
Khitan **l-i** ← Chin *li* 礼 YCh *li* LMCh *li.*

L-iau (261-362) ‘the name of the Liao dinasty’ Chin *Liao* 辽 (C451).

L-iau ong-on (261-362 071-154) ‘king of Liao, genitive’, Chin *Liao wang zhi* 辽王之 C451.

L-iau-ar$_2$ g-úr-en (261-362-084 334-97-140) ‘Liao state, genitive’, Chin *Liao guo zhi* 辽国之 C452 (Ren19).
Khitan **l-iau** ← Chin l*iao* 辽 = 遼, YCh *ljɛw*, LMCh l*iaw.*

l-ing (261-303) ‘concurrent (offices), Chin *ling*, 令 **L**1.

l-ing g-ung (261-303 334-345) ‘a title’, Chin *ling gong* 令公, **L**3, **L**12 an abbreviation of the title *zhongshu ling* 中書令, on which see Hucker No1616, “Secreteriat Director”.

l-ing g-ün ui° (261-303 334-329) ‘a title’, Chin *ling jun wei* 领军卫 C451, Hucker 3756 “T’ANG: Metropolitan Guard”.

L-ing h-ai (261-303 340-122) ‘a name’, ChinT *ling kai* 令开 **L**1.

l-ing-un (261-303-273) ‘a title’, Chin *ling wen* 令稳 C451.
Khitan **l-ing** ← Chin *ling* 令, YCh *liŋ*, LMCh *liajŋ.*

l-ing-en t-qó-sh-i (261-313-140 247-169-028-339) ‘a title, the teqoshi of Ling’, Chin *ling(?) zhi dushi* 灵(?)之 度使 **L**23,
Khitan **l-ing** ← Chin *ling* 灵 = 靈 YCh *liŋ,* LMCh *liajŋ.*

l-iu hu-eu-un (261-019 151-67-273) ‘title, genitive’, Chin *liu hou zhi* 留后之 C449, Hucker 3790.

l-iu-ñ (261-019-222) ‘a name, ChinT *liu ni* 留你, ? **L**9, **L**13 genitive?

s-i g-iu-ung-un l-iu sh-eu (244-339 334-19-345-273 261-019 028-067) ‘regent of west palace (capital), hybrid ’, Chin *xi gong(jing) zhi liu shou* 西宫 (京)之留守 C435, Khitan genitive construction Hucker 3813 *liu shou si* “an office left on guard: Regency”.

u-ru g-iu-ung-un l-iu sh-eu (131-236 334-019-345-273 261-019 028-067) ‘a title?’, Chin *shang gong(jing) zhi liu shou* 上宫 (京)之留守 C393, hybrid, with Kitan genitive,? those who were left behind, stood behind for duty in the superior palace, Hucker No 5012 *shang gong ju* 上宫局 TANG-SUNG “General Palace Service”.
Khitan **l-iu** ← Chin *liu* 留 YC *liw*, LMCh *liw.*

l-iúng xu g-ün (261-181 036 334-329) ‘Dragon-Tiger Army’, Chin *long hu jun* 龙虎君, **L**23.
Khitan **l-iúng** ← Chin *long* 龙 = 龍YCh *ljuŋ*, LMCh *lywŋ.*

da$_3$-ai y-ie-ên L-m-en (214-122 020-327-073 261-133-140) ‘ a title, genitive’, Chin *da yan lin* 大 延 琳 (Wu8)

Khitan **l-m** ← Chin *lin* 琳, YCh *lim*, LMCh *lim*.

l-û ci-eu-un t-qu sh-i (261-372 162-067-273 247-246 028-339) 'title, the teqoshi of the Lü prefecture, hybrid with Khitan genitive', Chin *Lü zhou zhi du shi* 闾州之度使 C452.

Khitan **l-û** ← Chin *lü* 闾 = 閭 CYh *ly*, LMCh *liǎ/lyǎ.*

L-un ng-iú-de (261-273 264-289-205) 'in The Analects of Confucius, dat-loc.', Chin *Lun yu zhong* 论语中 C451.

Khitan **l-un** ← Chin *lun* 论 = 論, YCh *lun*, LMCh *lun.*

Ta-ang-en ki-ên l-ing-de (229-199-140 163-073 261-303-205) 'Tang qianling (tomb), dative-locative', Chin *tang qian ling yu* 唐乾陵于 C423.

Khitan **ling** ← Chin *ling* 陵, YCh *liŋ*, LMCh *liǎŋ.*

to-on l-ie-ên (213-154 261-327-073) 'a title', Chin *tuan lian* 团练 C419 Hucker, No 7383 "Militia".

Khitan **l-ie-ên** ← Chin *lian* 练 = 練, YCh *ljɛn*, LMCh *lian.*

In the following Khitan names with <l> are transcribed by Modern Chinese:

Ar-l (123-261) 'a female name', ChinT *a-li* 阿里, **L**7, **L**10.

Xe-l-ñ 'a name' (268-261-222), ChinT *jie ling* 解领, **L**9.

Or-l-b-ñ (076-261-311-222) 'a person's name', ChinT *wu lu ben* 乌鲁本 C384, **L**1n.

<l_2> (149), in the corpus 473x, in EL 30x, not in Chinese transcriptions, <l_3> (157), in the corpus 26x, not in EL, <l_4> (158), in the corpus 27x, not in EL. <le> (093), in the corpus 54x, in EL 19x, not in Chinese transcriptions, <le_2> (049), in the corpus 2x, not in EL, <li> (206), in the corpus 108x, in EL 10x, not in Chinese transcriptions, <li_2> (080), in the corpus 1016x , in EL 40x.

Te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an (323-080-222 053-051-011), Chin *telin kehan* 忒邻可汗之 C470, (Zhi11).

Khitan **li$_2$-ñ** ← Chin *lin,* 邻 = 鄰 YCh *lin,* LMCh *lin.*

<li_3> (239), In the corpus 86x, in EL 3x, not in Chinese transcription, <li_4> (310), In the corpus 104x, In EL twice, not in Chinese transcription

<lu> (208), 28x, in EL 7x

Lu (208) 'name of a region, a prefecture', Chin *lu* 渌, **L**20.

Lu em$_2$-en t-qó-378.1 □ (208 257-140 247-169-378.1) 'the teqo(shi) of the region Lu', Chin *lu zhou zhi du (shi)* 渌州之度(使), **L**20.

Khitan **lu** ← Chin *lu*, 渌, = 渌 not in Pulleyblank, Baxter–Sagart, but 绿 YCh *ly,* LMCh *lywk.*

<lu^{o}> (209) In the corpus no example, <lu$_2$> (064), In the corpus, 4x, EL once, in the word for dragon, <lu$_3$> (312). In the corpus 182, in EL 12x, not in Chinese transcription
<lu$_4$> (313), 5x, EL mistake 2x instead of 314
Khitan l- transcribes always Chinese l- initials.

10.9.9.2 The R glyphs

<ri> (235), In the corpus 1050x, in EL 69x. In three cases we have to do with Khitan terms and their Chinese transcriptions

sh-ri-e$_2$ (028-235-109)a tribal unit, Chin *shi lie* 石烈 C370, see WF Index, genitive **sh-ri-n** (028-235-348) ‘a tribal unit’, Chin *shi lie* 石烈 C370, ablative-prolative **sh-ri-e-de-i** (028-235-348-205-339), plural **sh-ri-s** (028-235-244) ChinT *shi lie* 石烈 C370, **sh-ri-t** (028-235-247), 3x, plural?

on-a-b-a sh-ri-n (154-189-311-189 028-235-251), genitive, Chin *wo na ba shi lie zhi* 斡纳拔 石烈之 C403.

Har-ha-ai sh-ri-e (321-051-122 028-235-348), also **Har$_2$-ha-ai sh-ri-e$_2$** (321.1-051-122 028-235-109) ‘a name of a *shirie*’, ChinT *xia-lai-yi shi-lie* 霞瀨益石烈 C469, the *Xia-lai-yi shi lie* is the tribal unit in which the first Liao emperor, A-bao-ki, was born (WF87), it may be the same as the *Xia-lan shi-lie* 轄懶 石烈, ??to Mong *qargai* ‘larch tree’.

GREAT m-qu-ui sh-ri-e (373 133-246-262 028-235-348) ‘a tribe, a *shirie* name’, Chin *da mie gu shi lie* 大蔑弧石烈 C485, where *gu* recte *hu* YCh *xu,* LMCh *xhuə̌* WF (p. 100) has *mie-si-nai* 蔑思乃 ‘tribe’, where **nai** may be ‘the head of the tribe’.

m-ri2 ‘an administrative unit, village’, Chin *mili* 弥里, see WF430 *mo-li* 抹里or *mei li* 抹里 or *mi li* 彌里 ‘tribal unit, a small tribal settlement’ ← Chin? or Khitan → Chin.

Y-ar$_2$-u-ud M-ri (020-084-131-344 133-235) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *ye lü mi li* 耶律弥里 C362.

ri-g-en (235-334-140) ‘tribal chief’, Chin *yi li jin* 夷离菫 C423, see Turkic *erkin, irkin* ‘a title’ , also in Rashid-ud-in, Tibetan transcription *hirkin.*

ri-g-d (235-334-254) ‘tribal chief, plural’, Chin *yi li jin(fu)* 夷离菫 (复) C423.

<ri$_2$> (128), in the corpus 11x, not in EL
<ri$_3$> (038), in the corpus 33x, not in EL
<ri$_4$> (038.1), in the corpus 81x, in EL once, not in Chinese transcription.

<ri$_5$> 仝 (255), in the corpus 260, in EL 6x, not in Chinese transcription.
<rí> 共 (069), in the corpus 593x, in EL 5x all in the title **sh-a-rí** 叉为共 (028-189-069).

sh-a-rí 叉为共 (028-189-069) ‘court attendant, courtier*, langjun’*, also **sh-ia-ri** 叉幺共 (028-274-069), Chin *langjun* 郎君, transcribed as ChT *shali* 沙里, **L**2, **L**6**,** **L**12, **L**14 to Khitan **sh-ha-** ‘to supress’, cf. Mong *daruga* ‘chief, superior, commander etc.’ < *daru-* ‘to press’, Turk *basgaq* ‘Gouverneur’ (Wilkens) < *bas-* ‘to press’.
Khitan **r-** Khitan **ri-** is transcribed by Chinese *li-*.
It is possible, that in some cases instead of **ri-** an **ir-** has to be read.

	KSS GLYPH		CHINESE PINYIN	YUAN CHINESE	LATE MIDDLE CHINESE
l	小 (261)		l	l	l
l$_2$	子 (149)		l	l	l
lu	攵 (208)		lu	lu	lu
ri	亿 (235)	→	li	li	li
rí	共 (069)	→	li	li	li

TABLE XL. THE KHITAN LIQUIDS AND THE CHINESE INITIALS THEY REFLECT

10.10 SOME PHONOTACTIC RULES

The relatively high frequency of liquids in word-initial positions, the simplification of consonant clusters (often involving ‘r’), and the tendency for polysyllables to shorten to monosyllables all indicate a significant foreign influence, most likely from Chinese.

10.11 ON THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF KHITAN

An overview of the above suggests that the Khitan consonantal system was dualistic concerning stops, affricates, and fricatives. The Latin letters representing voiced and unvoiced stops and affricates may have actually reflected an opposition between aspirated and non-aspirated consonants. Fricatives may have existed in a voiced versus unvoiced opposition.The Khitan consonantal system included an initial "ph-" sound, which disappeared over time, transitioning through "h-" as preserved in Middle Mongol (MMo) and archaic dialects, becoming absent in non-archaic Mongolic languages.

We identified labial /ph/:/p/, dental /th/:/t/, and velar /kh/:/k/ stops, uvular fricatives /h/ and /x/, affricates /tšh/:/tš/, and further liquids /l/ and /r/. The uvular fricative represented by <h> was most probably voiced or lax, while <x> may have been unvoiced or tense. Khitan had two sibilants, /s/ and /š/, the latter transcribed as <sh> to align with Chinese transcription.The Khitan nasals represent four phonemes: /n/, /ñ/, /ng=ŋ/, and /m/. The ng- initials are all of Chinese origin, with n- and ñ- in initial positions having only n- as a Mongolic parallel. This system mirrors the original Mongolic one, where p- disappeared and ñ- merged with n-. We identified the so-called "breaking," the assimilation of the first vowel to the following one. Looking at the history of the ethnonym Khitan, this appears to be a relatively late development, not present in the common proto-language.

11. DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Khitan has a rich derivational morphology. The following is a small collection of examples. In most cases CWJ does not signalize the grammatical function or the semantic side of the derivation, it gives only the semantic field of the basic word. In the subchapter on the verbs **12.5**, I tried to track the function of some derivational suffixes, but the bulk of the work has yet to be done. For Mongolic parallels I cite Poppe 1964.

11.1 DERIVED NOUNS

11.1.1 DENOMINAL NOUNS

-ci/ji

Forms names of vocations in Mongolic: -*či*, Poppe 1964, 40-41

cau-úr 而交 ‘army, military’, Chin *jun* 军, **L**15 ?plural.

cau-ji 而羽 (022-152) ‘1. solders, army, Chin *jun* 军, 2. a person’s name, ChinT *chao zhi* 抄只 C366.

go-er 曲公 (319-341) ‘Patriarchal House, tent, a social group’, 128x, .

go-ci 曲朮 (319-162) ‘person pertaining to the Patriarchal Tent’, 2x[1].

n-ai-* 公丰 (251-122) see Mong *nai* ‘friendship’, *nair* ‘accord, harmony, concord, etc.’, *naira*- ‘to be in harmony’, *nairal, nairam* ‘harmony’, not in Dag ?

n-ai-ci-*公丰朮 (251-122-162), also **n-ai-j-* 公丰支** (251-122-104), 3x, ‘harmony, concord, harmonious, amicable, friendly’, **n-ai-jï 公丰友** (251-122-087), 3x, Chin *hemu* 和睦[2].

p-ul-uh 业平夂 (295-366-172), 2x, ‘intercalation, exceeding’ Chin *run* 闰, *yue* 越 C462.

p-ul-uh-ji 业平夂羽 (295-366-172-152) ‘exceeding’, Chin *chao* 超 C462.

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[1] *THIRTY xa-she-de iu t-em*$_2$*-én aú-ui eu-uh-ñ-d ja-ri-hur* *go-ci**-en l-iu sh-a-rí-de u-ul-én*$_2$ (Tai17) ‘When he was 30 he died and the remained widow lady was given in marriage to L-iu langjun of the Paternal Tent of the Prime Ministers of the *Eu-uh-ñ-d* (plural)

[2] *qa-ha-an tu-úr-b-ñ or-a-an ol nai hor-u ku-û-un /6/ n-ai-jï a-ai* ‘after the death of the khagan all leaders and the black (common) people were in harmony (concerning the election of the next khagan)’ (Xiang6-1)

pu-su-û-ul* **(**241-041-372-366) '?'.

pu-su-û-ji po (241-041-372-152) 'celebration time' Chin *qingshi* 庆时 C427.

pu-su-û-ul-ci (241-041-372-366-162) 'prospering, flourishing', Chin *xing* 兴 C427.

RECORD-ge$_2$-* (052-112).

RECORD-ge$_2$-ci (052-112-162) 'the owner of the tombstone, who is recorded', Chin *zhi zhu* 志主 C372.

s-om (244-092) 'arrow, an administrative unit', 61x, Chin *shi* 矢, *jian*箭 C431, see Mong *sumu(n)*'arrow, district, a military unit'.

S-om-ji (244-082-152) 'person's name, "Archer" (Ling8-15).

m-o b-qo s-om-ji tai shï (Ling8-15).

COMPOSE-l-ó/û-* 'was let to compose'.

COMPOSE-l-ó-ji-en (308-261-·090-152-140) genitive (Hong27-4, Liang24-13, Hu31-12).

COMPOSE-l-û-ji-en (308-261-372-152-140) genitive (Zhi22-39).

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sh-iá-áng* (028-274-280)'to praise'.

sh-iá-áng-û-ji (028-274-280-372-152) 'the one who is praising', Chin *zan* 赞 C366.

us-g (068-334) 'letter, writing, script, document', also **us$_2$-g** (103-334), Chin *zi* 字 C388.

us$_2$-g-ci (103-334-162) 'scribe', *üsügci* as *bitigci*? **L**8 Chin *zicong* 字从 = 從 C388.

In names:

H-úr-û-e-ci har$_3$-s (340-097-372-348-162 321.1-244) 'the H-mountains'- (Song5-41)[3], .

H-úr-û-e-ci ñ-qó (340-097-372-348-162 222-168) 'the H. cave' (Song22-3), no gloss.

-cu/ju

Forms nouns designating social groups, Mongolic *–ču*, Poppe 1964, 41.

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[3] *ñol ai par jur sär jur$_2$ gur när eu-úr jur$_2$ tau-de s-ó-ul-d tu-úr-b-ñ-er dalu ai par jur sär jur$_2$ gur när h-úr-û-e-ci har$_3$-s-en dor$_2$-050 ñ-qó-du$_2$ /6-/ sh-úr t-abu-al-i*. (Song5-41) 'Year six, month 12, day 23, at the age 25 he became ill and died, in year seven, month twelve, day twenty three, he was provisionally (*sh-úr*) buried at *Dor$_2$-050* cave of the *H-úr-û-e-ci* Mountains.'.

sh-au-a (028-161-189) ‘eagle, falcon’, Chin *ying* 鹰 C369, see Mong *sibagun* ‘bird, fowl’, Dah *šo(u)oo* ‘falcon’ (M218), *šowō* **‘**Habicht’ (M-K134), see Kara 2021, WF 736.

Sh-au-a-aju ñ-û-úr (028-161-189-082.1 222-372-097) ‘The Falconer tribe’, ChinT *shao wa bu* 稍瓦部 C369.

-li

HEAVEN (243) perhaps **tengri** or **tenger**i, Chin no special gloss, **L**13. HEAVEN in dates see **18.4.**

HEAVEN-li (243-206) ‘heaven, sky’, Chin *tian* 天 C430 only once: WanS2, **-li** perhaps a residual and the Chinese transcription of Khitan syllable **-ri** of **Tengri**.

ci-as-a (162-174-189), 33x, ‘legal life, law, politics, *jasa*’, Chin *zheng* 政.

j-s-li$_2$ (104-244-080) ‘governance, rule’, Chin *zhi* 治 389.

ui2 (262), ‘matter, act’, 276x, **ui^{o}2** (263), 18x, also **ui-il** (262-302), 20x, it has a dotted form **ui^{o}** (263).

ui-s-li$_2$ (262-244-080) ‘cause’, 8x, Chin *shi* 事, *shi ye* 事业 C452 **L**17, plural.

tu-úr* (202-097) ‘to die’, **tu-úr-s-** ‘death’.

tu-úr-s-li$_2$ **(**202-097-244-080) ‘death of somebody’.

p-o-(l$_2$)- (295-186) ‘to become somebody/something, to be appointed to, promoted to’, **L**18,

p-o-l$_2$-li$_2$ (295-186-149-080) ‘becoming’ see **L**18**, L**25.

11.1.2 DEVERBAL NOUNS

l-hu, Vl-hu

Factitive verbs with a nominalizer, see Mongolic -lA, -gU, Poppe 1964. p. 46.

a-al (189-098) ‘having been conferred, given (title)’, 29x.

a-al-hu (189-098-151) ‘a nominal form’, 40x.

b-áng-hu* (311-280-151), ‘collect workers’ (Lang3), Chin *jiu gong* 鸠 工 CWJ 895, K 188[4],

b-ang-hu-al-hu (311-280-151-098-151), 1x.

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[4] Shimunek 2014, 113 has *b-ang-γ* ‘issue orders’ which would correspond to WM *banga-*‘to reprimand’, but this is improbable, see Wu—Róna-Tas 2019, 53. The text speaks about collecting workers for renovation.

jau-ul-* 丙平 (051-366) to Mong **jagu, *jigu* ‘in between’, *jaguci, jiguci* ‘match-maker, go-between’, *jagura* ‘situated between, interval’ etc., Dag *jauici* ‘go-between’ (M 176), the secondary verbal base is **jau-ul-ha-**, **L26** with the following occurring foms:

jau-ul-ha-ai 丙平圡丰 (015-366-051-122), 29x, ‘to meet with, call on, to interview’, Chin *jian* 见 C356,

jau-ul-ha-al (015-366-051-098), 1x,

jau-ul-ha-al-hu 丙平圡方列 (015-366-051-098-151) ‘to meet, to interview’, Chin *jian* 见 C356,

jau-ul-ha-al-hu od$_2$-ul-hu (015-366-051-098-151 212-366-151), 1x, ‘to go and meet there’, Chin *jianqu* 见去.

jau-ul-ha-al-hu 丙平圡方列 (015-366-051-098-151) ‘to meet, to interview’, Chin *jian* 见 C356.

MANAGE 层 (142) ‘to manage’,

MANAGE-l-hu 层小列 (142-261-151) in:

t-ie-ém g-ie-ém-en ui MANAGE-l-hu 令文圣 九文圣冇 火 层小列 (247-327-270 334-327-270-140 262 142-261-151) ‘a title, hybrid, genitive’, Chin *dian jian zhi shi zhi* 点检之事知 C442, no exact equivalent in Hucker or WF, perhaps see *du dian jian* 都電檢 Hucker No 7297 LIAO: one of the titles given heads of regional Tax Offices (*ch’ien po ssu*), but while Khitan **t-ie-ém** ← Chin *dian* 点 = 點, YCh *tjɛm,* LMCh *tiam,* Chinese *dian* 電 had a final *-n* in YCh and LMCh.

n-ai-ci-* 公丰杰 (251-122-162), **n-ai-j-***公丰支 (251-122-104), **n-ai-jï** 公丰友 (251-122-087), 3x, ‘harmony, concord, harmonious, amicable, friendly’, Chin *hemu* 和睦.

n-ai-ci-l-hu 公丰杰小列 (251-122-162-261-151) ‘harmony’, Chin *hemu* 和睦, C444.

n-ai-ri* 公丰化 (251-122-235).

n-ai-ri-hu-as 公丰化列冬 (251-122-235-151) ‘harmonious’, no gloss, 4x.

tau-su-ó-* 戋卡廾 (029-041-090) ‘to advance’, no gloss, see Mong *dabsi-* ‘to advance’, < *daba-* ‘to cross, to exceed’.

tau-su-ó-ul-hu 戋卡廾平列 (029-041-090-366-151), 8x, **tau-su-ó-ul-hu-an** 戋卡廾平列 夹 (029-041-090-366-151-011), 1x.

tal-hu-* (195-151) 6x, ‘to uprise, rob’.
tal-hu-ar (195-151-123) **L**17.
tal-hu-ai-l-hu (195-151-122-261-151), 1x,

y-au (020-161), 15x, ‘to go, to walk’, see Mong *yabu*- ‘to walk’, *yabudal* ‘act, action, conduct etc.’, Dag *iau*- ‘to go’ (M 175), *ja͡u*- ‘gehen’ (M-K 111), see GRAMMAR, VERBS, PARADIGMS.
y-au-ul-hu (020-161-366-151), 7x.

11.2 DERIVED VERBS

11.2.1 DENOMINAL VERBS

-l(i), see Mongolic -*lA*, Poppe 1964, p. 65, + deverbal **-l(i)ha,** Mongolic -*lgA* Poppe 1964, 62.
dor1 (218) ‘seal, offical’, Chin *yin* 印, **L**2, **L**14.
dor-l-bun (218-261-288) ‘come over and pledge allegiance, past tense, participial’, 3x, Chin *gui shun* 归顺 C420.
dor-l-b-un$_2$ (218-261-311-144) 2x.
dor-l-b-ñ (218-261-311-222) 4x.

ETERNAL (063) ‘perpetual, eternal’, Chin *yong* 永.
ETERNAL-li$_4$-ha-a-ar (063-310-051-123) ‘perpetuated, fixed, written down’, 5x, **ETERNAL-li$_4$-ha-a-án** (063-310-051-189-290), 2x.
ETERNAL-li$_4$-ha-án (063-310-051-290) 1x, Chin *zhuan* 撰, ‘to write, compose’, **L**9.

MANAGE (142) C399 reading unknown, should be backvocalic and labial (**MANAGE-or**).
MANAGE-li (142-080) ‘to know, to be expert in, to administer, to be in charge of’, Chin *zhi* 知 C399.
MANAGE-l-ha-ai (142-261-051-122), 5x.
MANAGE-l-ha-a-án (142-261-051-189-290).
MANAGE-l-ha-ai (142-261-051-122).
MANAGE-l-ha-a-iú-i (142-261-051-189-289-339).
MANAGE-l-hu (142-261-151).

COMPOSE (308), ‘to compose, write’ **COMPOSE$_2$** (310), **COMPOSE$_3$** (316.2) **COMPOSE$_4$** (316.1) (Hong11-5).
COMPOSE-l-ó-ji-en (308-261-090-152-140), 3x.

COMPOSE-l-hu (308-261-151), 8x.
COMPOSE-l-hu-an (308-261-151-011), 2x.

-d, see Mongolic *-d*, Poppe1964 p. 64.
ci-i-shi (162-339-033/034) ‘blood, blood relative, clansman, filial’, 98x.
ci-i-shi-d-* ‘to act with filial piety’.
ci-i-iši-d-b-ún (162-339-033-254-311-144), 10x.
ci-i-iši-d-bun (162-339-033-254-288), 15x.
ci-i-iši-d-b-ñ (162-339-033-254-311-222), 48x.
ci-i-iši-d$_{3\text{-}}$b-ñ (162-339-033-089-311-222), once (Yu22-23), ChinT *chishideben* 赤是得本, YCh *tʂʰi ʂɽ təj pun,* L1n.

MANAGE (142) C399 reading unknown, should be backvocalic, Chin *zhi* 知 C400.
MANAGE-d-ji (142-254-152).

m-o1 (133-186) ‘big, eldest’, Chin *zhang* 长, **L**4, **L**10, Chin *da* 大 C394.
m-qó-od-b-ñ (133-169-016-311-222) ‘praise’, Chin *zan* 赞 C395.

-te$_2$/de see Mongolic *-dA*, Poppe 1964 p. 64.

t-em$_2$-l-ge-te$_2$-e-ci (247-257-261-349-356-348-162) ‘ennoble’, Chin *feng* 封 C441.
d-em$_2$-l-ge-te$_2$-i (254-257-261-112-356-339) 1x.

p-úr (295-097) ‘descendant’, 4x, plural **p-úr-s** (295-097-244) ‘descendants’, 58x, Chin *zisi* 子嗣.
p-úr-s-de-hu (258-097-244-205-151), 1x.

-a- Mongolic ?
COMPOSE (308) ‘composition, composed (text)’ **L**2, also **COMPOSE$_2$** (316.2), COMPOSE$_3$ (316.1) (Hong11-5) Chin *zhuan* 撰, see **12.5.**
COMPOSE-a-án (308-189-391) (Xuan14-18, 21-27, Liang16-40, Xiang32-10, 37-30, Hu22-16).
COMPOSE-a-an (308-189-011) (Jue3-23).
COMPOSE-a-ar (308-189-123) 37x (Xing7-24, 27-11,-34-8, 36-19, Ren32-13, Dao3-3, Xuan3-3) etc.
COMPOSE-a-aju (308-189-082.1) (Dao22-5, Tai23-10).
COMPOSE-a-sär (308-189-081) (Xing-3-23).
COMPOSE-a-al (308-189-098) (Guang17-9, Hong22-14).

-áng
sh-iá (028-274) ‘goodness’ also **sh-ia** **,** Chin *shan* 善 C365.
sh-iá-áng* (028-274-280) ‘to praise’ .
sh-iá-áng-û-ji (028-274-280-372-152) ‘to praise’, Chin *zan*赞C366.
sh-iá-áng-ha-ai shï (028-274-280-051-122 180) ‘praise of the poem’, Chin *zan shi* 赞诗 C366.
sh-iá-áng-un$_2$ (028-274-280-144) ‘praise’, Chin *zan* 赞 C366.
sh-iá-áng-l-ha-ai (028-274-280-261-051-122) ‘to praise’, Chin *zan* 赞 C366.
sh-iá-áng-l-ha-ai-ar (028-274-280-261-051-122-123) ‘to praise, past tense’, Chin *zan* 赞 C366.

11.2.2 DEVERBAL VERBS

see also **12.5** WORD CLASSES, VERBS, PARADIGMS
Suffixes used with backvocalic words
-l-ha Mongolic *-lgA*, see Poppe 1964, p. 62.

sui- (238) ‘to give birth, to bear’, 3x, also **s-ui-** (244-262), 1x, **s-ui^{o}-** (244-263), 2x, **s-ui^{o}-i-** (244-263-339), 2x, Chin *sheng* 生.
sui-l-ha-ai (238-261-051-122), 4x.
sui-l-ha-a-ar (238-261-051-123) ‘was born’, Chin *sheng shi* 生, .
sui-l-ha-a-ar ai (238-261-051-123 122), also **s-oi$_2$-l-h-er-ai** (244-107-261-051-189-341 122) ‘natural father, father by birth’ .

d-ia (254-335) ‘enemy’, same as **t-ia,** Chin *di* 敌 see Mong *dayin* ‘war, hostility, enmity’, *dayisun* ‘enemy’, *daila-* ‘to wage war, to conquer’, Dah *daile*-‘conquer, fight’, *dain* ‘war, fight’ (M132), *dain* ‘Schlacht’ (M-K120), **L**17, **L**22, dative-locative **d-ia-iú** (254-335-289), 1x, plural **d-ia-ad** (254-335-099),1x.
dai-l$_2$-l-ha-ai (017-149-261-051-122) ‘to fight, make war, to attack ???’, **L22,** 6x (<**dai-l$_2$*<**dai-l-lha-* see Mong *dayila-* ‘to wage war, to conquer’ <*dayin* ‘war, hostility’, *dayisun* ‘enemy, menace’)’ **dayilalga-*, see the noun *dayilalga* ‘entertainment, banquet, dinner’ < *dayila- 2* ‘to treat, entertain’, also **dai-l$_2$-ha-ai** (017-149-051-122)(Xu7-1, Tu13-18).
dai-l$_2$-l-ha-ar (017-149-261-051-123), (Xing21-3, Sao24-12, Tai11-15).
dai-l$_2$-ha-ar (017-149-051-123) (Di12-29).
dai-l$_2$-ha-a-ar (017-149-051-189-123) (Yu24-22).

dai-ul-ha-al 雨平圡方 (017-366-051-098), **L**26-2 (**h-d$_3$-ge$_2$-y dai-ul-ha-al**).
jau3-* 邪 (051) to Mong **jagu, *jigu* ’in between’, *jaguci, jiguci* ’matchmaker, go-between’, *jagura* ‘situated between, interval’ etc., Dag *jauici* ‘go-between’ (M 176).
jau-ul-ha-al-hu 邪平圡方刭 (015-366-051-098-151) ‘to meet, to interview’, Chin *jian* 见 C356.
jau-ul-ha-ai 邪平圡半 (015-366-051-122), 29x, ‘to meet with, call on, to interview’**, L26,** see Mong *jagur-a* ‘interval, space between halfway, situated between’, *jabsar* ‘gap, interstice, slit¸ interval, intermission, break’, *jaguči* ‘matchmaker, go-between’, < **jaβu-*.
jau-ul-ha-ar (015-366-051-123) 10x.
jau-l-ha-a-ar (015-261-051-189-123), 1x (Yu64-27).
jau-ul-ha-a-ai (015-366-051-189-098), 1x.
jau-ul-ha-a-án (015-366-051-189-290), 1x.
jau-ul-a-ar (015-366-189-123), 1x.
jau-ul-ha-al-hu (015-366-051-098-151), 3x.

o-l$_2$-* 及子 (186-149), ‘to get, obtain’.
o-l$_2$-ha-ai 及子圡半 (186-149-051-122) ‘having been granted’, **L**26, 21x, see Mong *olga-* ‘to grant, issue, to pay out, to supply, to provide or furnish with’ <*ol-* ‘to find, get, acquire, earn¸ to achieve’.
o-l$_2$-ha-aju (186-149-051-82.1), 2x.
o-l$_2$-ha-al-ñ (186-149-051-098-222), 1x.
o-l$_2$-ha-ar (186-149-051-123), 4x.
ol-l$_2$-ha-a-aju (186-149-051-189-82.1), 13x.
o-l$_2$-ha-a-al (186-149-051-189-098), 1x.
o-l$_2$-ha-a-ar (186-149-051-189-123), 6x.
o-l$_2$-ha-a-án (186-149-051-189-290), 6x.
o-l$_2$-ha-án (186-149-051-290), 1x.
o-l$_2$-ha-al-un (186-149-051-098-144), 2x.
o-l$_2$-ha-al-hu (186-149-051-098-151), 2x.

tau-su-ó-* 戈卡廾 (029-041-090) ‘to advance’, no gloss, see Mong *dabsi-* ‘to advance’, < *daba-* ‘to cross, to exceed’.
tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ai 戈卡廾平圡半 (029-041-090-366-051-122) ‘was advanced to’, **L17, L24, L25,** 8x, .
tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ar (029-041-090-366-051-189-123), 1x.
tau-su-l-ha-ai (029-041-261-51-122), 15x.
tau-su-l-ha-a-án (029-041-261-051-189-290), 3x.

COMPOSE (308) ‘composition, composed (text)’, perhaps from **COMPOSE-a-** with **-a-** elided?
COMPOSE-l-ha* (308-261-051).
COMPOSE-l-ha-ai (308-261-051-122).
COMPOSE-l-ha-a-ar (308-261-051-123).
COMPOSE-l-ha-án (308-261-051-290).

dau-ul-ha- (119-366-051) ‘to be lead, follow’ **not in Gao.**
dau-ul-ha-ai (119-366-051-122), 5x.
dau-ul-ha-ar (119-366-051-123), 3x.
dau-ul-ha-a-ar (119-366-051-189-123), 3x.
dau-ul-ha-án (119-366-051-189-290), 2x.
dau-ul-ha-a-án (119-366-051-189-290-151), 1x.

o-l$_2$-* (186-149), ‘to get, obtain’.
o-l$_2$-ha-al-un (186-149-051-098-144), 2x.
o-l$_2$-ha-al-hu (186-149-051-098-151), 2x.
o-l$_2$-ha-al-ñ (186-149-051-098-222), 1x.

sh-iá-áng* (028-274-280) ‘to praise’.
sh-iá-áng-l-ha-ai (028-274-280-261-051-122) ‘to praise’, Chin *zan* 赞 C366.
sh-iá-áng-l-ha-ai-ar (028-274-280-261-051-122-123) ‘to praise, past tense’, Chin *zan* 赞 C366.

-l-hu
o-oi$_2$ (186-107) ‘granted, was given, was awarded’, Chin *shou* 授, **L**14, **L**16, **L**21, **L** 24.
o-oi$_2$-l-hu (186-107-261-151), 3x.
o-oi$_2$-il-hu (186-107-302-151), 1x.

o-l$_2$-* (186-149), ‘to get, obtain’, perhaps $l_2l > l_2$.
o-l$_2$-hu (186-149-151), 9x.
o-l$_2$-hu-an (186-149-151), 2x.
o-l$_2$-hu-ad (186-149-151-099), 1x.

Suffixes used with front vocalic words.
-l-ge

d-em$_2$-* (254-457) ‘mark’ see also **t-em$_2$.**

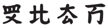
d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y 仝佥㣺厺丙 (254-257-261-112-020) ‘was conferred to’, **L19, L20, L21, L23**, 11x, see Mong *temdeg* ‘mark, sign, signal, stamp, seal, brand’, *temdegle-* ‘to mark, check off, make a mark, to note down, to give a signal’, *dangsa-dur t.* ‘to enter into a register, a book’.
d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-li$_2$ (254-257-261-112-080), 3x.
d-em$_2$-l-ge-li$_2$ (254-257-261-349-080), 2x.
d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-én (254-257-261-112-100), 2x.
d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un (254-257-261-112-261-144), 1x.
d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-er (254-257-261-112-341), 10x.
d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-te$_2$-i (254-257-264-112-356-339), 1x.
d-em$_2$-l-ge-y (254-257-261-349-020), 15x.
d-em$_2$-l-ge-l-un (254-257-261-349-261-144), 1x.
d-em$_2$-l-ge-l-g (254-257-261-349-261-334), 1x.
d-em$_2$-l-ge-er (254-257-261-349-361), 11x.
d-em$_2$-l-ge-én (254-257-261-349-361), 5x.

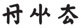
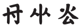
orthographic variant
t-em$_2$-l-ge-y (247-257-261-349-020) ‘has been granted’, see line 14, **L16**, **L18, L23, L24, L26,** 52x .
t-em$_2$-l-ge-li$_2$ (247-257-261-349-080),2x.
t-em$_2$-l-ge-e$_2$-ci (247-257-261-349-109-162), 1x.
t-em$_2$-l-ge-l-un (247-257-261-349-261-144), 14x.
t-em$_2$-l-ge-er (247-257-261-349-341), 12x .
t-em$_2$-l-ge-oi = t-em$_2$-l-ge-er (247-257-261-349-341), 1x.
t-em$_2$-l-ge-te$_2$-e-ci (247-257-261-349-356-348-162), 1x.
t-em$_2$-l-ge-én (247-257-261-349-161), 8x.
t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y (247-257-261-112-020), 14x.
t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un (247-257-261-112-261-144), 8x.
t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-er (247-257-261-112-341), 2x.
t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-én (247-357-361-112-361), 1x.

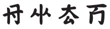
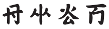
-ge$_2$-y
h-du-*?
h-du-ge$_2$-y 乂尣厺丙 (340-089-112-020), ‘????’, **L26.**

ke-* ‘to call’, also **k-li$_2$** 叔比 (283-080).
k-li$_2$-ge$_2$-y 叔比厺丙 (283-080-112-020), ‘they say, it is said’, **L15**, cf. Mong *kele-* ‘to utter words, to speak, say, tell’.

na$_2$-li$_2$-*

na$_2$-li$_2$-ge$_2$-y  (318-080-112-020),‘to defeat’ **L19**, also **na$_2$-li$_2$-ge-y** (318-080-144), 2x cf. Mong *nalai-* ‘to be quiet’.

b-l-ge$_2$-*  (311-261-112), also **b-l-ge-***  (311-261-349).

b-l-ge$_2$-y  (311-261-112-020) 1x, (Hu17-40), also **b-l-ge-y**  (311-261-349-020), 1x, (Yu45-2), no gloss, see Mong *bü-* ‘to be’ > *bülüge-* ‘was, were, has been’ or to Turk *bil-* ‘to know’, **bilge-*‘to have knowledge, to be intelligent’ (Clauson 349:*bilged-*), but -*ge* in Turkic is forming nouns. Mong has -*ge* as a verb formative (Poppe, 1964 61), but does not have *bil-* as verb, only *bilig* ‘wise’ from Uigur.

es rí-i b-l-ge$_2$-y ‘not yet/ahead known’ (Hu17).