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 TWO

INSTITUTE OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES,
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VOLUME TWO

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12. WORD CLASSES

12.1 THE NOUNS

12.1.1 PLURALS

12.1.1.1 **-t** PLURAL

eme 丙 (021) ‘woman, wife’. Earler reading **em**, but see the suffixes. Chin *mu* 母, C365.
eme-t 丙令 (021-247) **L**4, **L**12, 96x.

ñ-iau 伏兮 (222-362) ‘sibling’, Chin *xiong di(zi mei)* 兄弟 (姊妹) C421.
ñ-iau-ñ-t 伏兮伏令 (222-362-222-247) ‘brothers’, 1x, Chin *xiong di* 兄弟 C421.

sh-ri-e$_2$ 叉化券 (028-235-109) a tribal unit, Chin *shi lie* 石烈 C370.
sh-ri-t 叉化令 (028-235-247), 3x.

T-il-* ‘name of a tribe’.
T-il-t 令用令 (247-302-247) 2x, **T-il-t-en** 令用令杓 (247-302 247-140) ‘a name of a tribe, plural, genitive’, Chin *dilie zhi* 敌烈 之.
D-il-t-en 公用令杓, (254-302-247-140) ‘a name, *gen.*’, Chin *di lie* 敌烈, **L**21, only here.

12.1.1.2 **-d** PLURAL

ai2 丰 (122) ‘father, ancestor’ Chin *fu* 父, **L**1, **L**2.
ai-d2 丰公 (122-254) ‘fathers’, Chin *zhufu* 诸父, **L**8, 313x.

ki-ên 业夯 (163-073) ‘county’ Chin *xian* 县.
ki-ên-d 业夯公 (161-073-2549), 4x.

t-qó sh-i 令欠 叉关 (247-169 028-339), ‘Governor General’.
t-qó-od sh-i-d 令欠币 叉关公 (247-169-016 028-339-254) ‘provincial general, commissioner, double plural’, Chin *du shi* 度使 C349. **t-qó-od sh-i-d₃-en** 令欠币 叉关亢杓 (Wu7).

s-ai 仐丰 (244-122) ‘imperial physician’, 14x, Chin *yu yi* 御医 C432, singular, which has two plurals, **-ñ-er** and **-d**.

s-ai-d 仐丯仝 (244-122-254) ‘official, minister’, 3x, Chin *chen* 臣 C432.

sh-a-rí 叉为共 (028-189-069), 133x, ‘court attendant, courtier*, langjun’*, K90, 116, also **sh-ia-ri 叉幺共** (028-274-069), 1x, **sha-ha-rí 叉圡共** (028-051-069), 9x.
sh-a-rí-d (028-189-069-254), 27x.

12.1.1.3 **-od** PLURAL

po 北 (279) ‘time’, Chin *shi* 时 C454.
po-od 北币 (279-016), 8x.

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.
t-qó-od sh-i-d 令欠币 叉关仝 (247-169-016 028-339-254) ‘provincial general, commissioner, double plural’, Chin *du shi* 度使 C349.
t-qó-od sh-i-d₃-en 令欠币 叉关充有 (Wu7)

n-o 公及 (251-186) ‘spouse’, also **n-ô 公仌** (251-252), **L**22, Chin *pei ou* 配偶, ??? to Chinese *nü* 女 YCh *ny.*
n-ô-od公仌币 (251-252-016), see Zhi14, Chin *pei ou* 配偶.

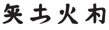
ong 杰 (071) ‘(local) king’, Chin *wang* 王, **L**1, **L**l3.
ong-od 杰币 (071-016) ‘kings, plural’, 6x, Chin *zhu wang* 诸王.

ja-ri-qó 孙化欠 (150-235-169) ‘prime minister’, Chin *zai xiang* 宰相.
ja-ri-qó-od 孙化欠只币 (150-235-169-016) ‘prime ministers’, 3x, Chin *zai xiang* 宰相 C401.

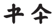
12.1.1.4 -UD PLURAL

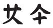
h-s-ge$_2$ 乂仐厺 (340-244-112) ‘region, area, section’ (K115), Chin no gloss, **L**19, see Mong *keseg* ‘part, division, department’.
h-s-ge$_2$-ud 乂仐厺火 (340-244-112-344) ‘all regions’, **L**19, 10x, no gloss.

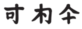
Y-ar-u(n)*??
Y-ar$_2$-u-ud 丏车叐火 (020-084-131-344), 23x, also **y-ar-u-ud 丏本叐火** (020-123-131-344) ‘name of a clan, see Jarud’, 2x, **L**12.

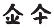
Ming-eu-ud-en  (207-067-344-140) ‘Minggud, plural, genitive, ?Mongol’, Chin gloss: *meng gu zhi* 萌 骨之 **L**21.

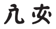
12.1.1.5 S PLURAL

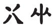
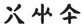
ai1 (122) ‘year’, Chin *nian* 年 **L**13, **L**15, **L**20, **L**23.
ai-s  (122-244), 153x.

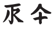
aju (082.1) ‘father-in-law, father, old man’, 9x, **L**9, **L**10’.
aju-s  (082.1-244)., 3x.

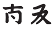
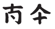
bai-en*.
bai-en-s  (061-140-244) ‘dynasty, plural’, 1x, Chin *zhu chao* 诸朝 C375.

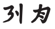
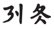
em$_2$* (257) ‘city, town(ship), region, local administration’.
em$_2$-s  (257-140) ‘cities’, 38x, Chin *zhucheng* 诸城 **L**17.

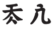
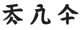
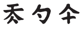
g-úr  (334-097) ‘country, state’, Chin *guo* 国, **L**1.
g-úr-s (334-097-244) ‘countries’, 12x.

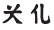
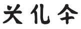
h-l  (340-261) ‘language’, Chin *yu yan* 语言 C478.
h-l-s  (340-261-244) ‘languages’, 3x, Chin *yu yan(fu)* 语言 (复) C478.

har$_3$2 (006) ‘mountain’ also **har$_2$2** (321.1) perhaps to **har1** ‘black’ Chin *shan* 山.
har$_3$-s  (006-244) ‘range of mountains’, 8x, Chin *qunshan* 群山.

hor-u2  (047-131) ‘people’, Chin *min* 民 C376.
hor-s  (047-244) ‘people, plural’, 8x, Chin *min* 民 C377.

hu-a  (151-189) ‘misfortune, pain’, ChinE *huo* 祸 = 禍.
hu-as  (151-174) ‘pains’, 16x, Chin *ku* 苦 C403, plural.

Ishi-g  (033-334) ‘name of a clan’.
Ishi-g-s (033-334-244), 2x.
Ishi-gu-s  (033-165-244), 1x.
also **Ishi-g-d** (033-334-254), 3x.

i-ri  (339-235) ‘name, title’, Chin *ming* 名, *hao* 号 **L**13, **L**16, **L**18, **L**19, **L**21.
i-ri-s  (339-235-244), **L**14, 77x.

m-em$_2$ (133-257) ‘silver’, 14x, Chin *yin* 银 .
m-em$_2$-s (133-257-244), 1x.

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.
m-ri-g-s (133-235-334-244) ‘townships, plural (*mi-li*) 评论’, 1x, **L**16.

na-as1* (139-147) ‘remarry, to continue the marriage (with sbdy else)**’**, see **na-sär** (339-081).
na-as-s-li$_2$ sui-e-ci b-hu-án, ‘children born from the second marriage’ (Yong15).

ñ-ô-or (222-252-076), 16x, ‘circuit, route, division, department’ also **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, **ñ-ó$_2$-or** (222-253-076), 2x, **ñ-ó-úr** (222-090-097), 34x, **ñ-ó-ur$_2$**, (222-090-236), 1x, **ñ-û-úr** (222-372-097), Chin *bu* 部 C421.
ñ-ó-úr-s* (222-090-097-244), plural.
ñ-ó-úr-s-er (222-090-097-244-341), 1x, plural, accusative instrumental.

p-úr (295-097) ‘descendant’, 4x.
p-úr-s (244295-097-244) ‘descendants’, **L**11, 80x.

Qita-i (365-339) ‘Khitan’, 24x, Chin *qi dan* 契丹 C483, see also **Qita-un$_2$** (365-144) ‘Khitan’, Chin *qi dan* 契丹 C482 **L**1.
Qita-s (365-244) ‘Khitans’, 6x, Chin *qi dan(fu)* 契丹 (复) C483.

sär (081) ‘Moon, Month’ earlier MONTH, Ch *yue* 月, **L**13, **L**18, 152x.
sär-s (081-244), 8x, **sär-s-er** (081-244-341) ‘months, plural, accusative-instrumental, see line 13, **L**23.

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, 1x.

t-qu-a (247-246-189) ‘an administrative unit’.
t-qu-a-as (247-246-189-174) (Nan32), 1x.

ui2 (262), ‘matter, act’, K106, 276x, **ui^{o}2** (263), 18x, also **ui-il** (262-302), 20x.
ui-s (262-244), 3x.
(e)t ui-s (247-262-244), ‘all these things’, Chin *zhexie zhu shi* 这些 诸事.

This plural appears also as **-su** (041).
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$_5$*> also **jau-qó-su** (015-169-041), 2x (Zhong1-11, 44-42) and **es s$_2$-ui-u-su** (354-262-131-041), ‘were not born (children)’, 1x, (Yong20-1).

-S$_2$ (354) PLURAL ?

dur po-s$_2$ (368 279-354) ‘the four seasons’, (WanS1) Chin *si shi* 四 时.
dur po-s$_2$-en (Dao17) in:
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, 1x, only here.

12.1.1.6 NAR PLURAL

na-ha-* (139-051) ‘this side, the maternal side’.
na-ha-án-er (139-051-290-341) ‘Maternal Uncles, plural’, **L**4, **L**9, **L**10, **L**12.
In fact **-n-er**, the plural was lexicalized.

12.1.1.7 **ÑER** PLURAL

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**, (189-184-222-341), 11x, see Mong *amin* ‘life, breath’, Dag *ami* ‘one’s life, my life’ (M114), *am´* ‘Leben’, *ami au-* ‘atmen’ (M-K108).
na-am-ñ-er a-ar d-em₂-y-er ‘life-long was given’ (Zhong20).
h-iú (340-289) ‘younger sister’, Chin *mei* 妹 C480[2] .

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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] see Mong *keü, küü* ‘son, young boy’, Dah *huu, kuu* ‘man, adult person, other people’ (<*kümün*), *χu* ‘Mensch’ (M-K142) all to Khitan **ku.**

h-iú-ñ-er (340-289-222-341) ‘younger sisters, plural’, 1x, Chin *mei(fu)* 妹(复) C480.

ia ai (335 122) ‘uncle’, also **ia-iá** (335-274), Chin *bo fu* 伯父 C476.
ia-iá-ñ-er (335-274-222-341) ‘brothers, plural’, Chin *xiong di (fu)* 兄弟(复) *xiong (fu)* 兄 (复) C476.

när ‘day’ (159), Chin *ri* 日 C403, **L**2, **L**13, earlier **DAY**.
när-ñ-er (159-222-341) ‘day, plural’, Chin *ri* 日 C404.

ñ-iau (222-362), ‘siblings, brothers and sisters’, Chin *xiongdi zimei* 兄弟姊妹.
ñ-iau-ñ-er (222-362-222-341), ‘brethren’, 7x, Chin. *xiongdi* 兄弟, *zimei* 姊妹 (Zhi11).

s-ai (244-122) ‘imperial physician’, 14x, Chin *yu yi* 御医 C432..
s-ai-ñ-er (244-122-222-341), ‘imperial physicians, plural’, Chin *yu yi(fu)* 御医 (复), 6x, C432 (Gu14-3, Yu55-51, 63-48, 63-56, Pu14-10, Jue29-37).

uni-qó (059-169), also **uni-qu** (059-246) ‘young person’, 8x.
uni-qu-ñ-er (059-246-222-341) ‘young, plural’, 2x, Chin *you (fu)* 幼 (复) C374.

12.1.1.8 -UR$_2$ PLURAL

úr-u (097-131) ‘son’.
b-hu-án úr-u-ur$_2$ ‘children heirs’ (Xian26).

odu (355), also **odo-ú** (355-245), **o-odu-u** (186-355-131), **o-odu-ú** (186-355-245), ‘ordo-palace’, ChinT *woluduo* 斡鲁朵, Chin *gong (xing gong)* 宫 (行宫) C482.
o-udu-u-ur$_2$-en cau-ji hu$_2$-ú nai-d (186-355-131-236-140 022-152 014-245 332-251) ‘the heads of the armies of the ordos’ plural of **o-udu-u**, **L**15.
qita-s udu-u-úr ‘the ordu-s of the Khitans’ (Guang12).

aju (082.1) ‘father-in-law, father, old man’, 9x, **L**9, **L**10’, **aju-uh** (082.1-172), 2x.

aju-uh-ur$_2$ (082.1-172-236), ‘plural’, 27x, Chin *zhu weng*, 诸翁, plural, C384, genitive: **aju-uh-ur$_2$-en** (082.1-172-140), 8x, (Ling12-22, 28-9) Chin *weng zhi* 翁 之 C384.

g-iu-ung* (334-019-106) ‘palace’, also **g-ung** Chin *gong* 宫 .
par emu g-ung-ur$_2$ ‘the eleven palaces, ordos’ (Ling15), but see:.
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*)”..

ja-ri-qó (150-235-169), 24x, also **ja-ri-qu** (150-235-246), 6x, Chin *zai xiang* 宰相. The plurals are:
ja-ri-qu-od (150-235-246-016), 1x.
ja-ri-qó-ur$_2$ (150-235-169-236), 1x.
ja-ri-qu-ur$_2$-er (150-235-246-236-341) .
ja-ri-hur (150-235-259) ‘prime ministers’, 5x.

eu-úr (067-097) ‘ages’, 216x.
eu-ur$_2$ (067-236), Chin *sui* 岁, **L**14 only in plural.

cau-úr (022-097) ‘solders, army, military’, **L**15, perhaps a plural.
cau-úr g-ung-ur (022-097 334-345-236) ‘military exploit, service, success’. Chin *jungong* 军功. C366, hybrid, ?plural .

lu$_3$-úr (312-097) ‘a kind of feudal revenue, a privilage’ a plural?
t-qu-a-as lu$_3$-úr rí-l-ñ ‘t-qu-a *s* and *lu$_3$*-s were donated’ (Nan32-38).
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$_3$-û-úr** (312-372-097), a plural, see **lu$_3$-u-un** (312-131-273), ?? to Turk *ulug* ‘great’+ **go-ci** ‘tent family’ see there.

T-ang-ur$_2$ (247-199-236) ‘a name, Tangut?’, ChinT *tang gu* 唐古, **L**10, **L**11, 2x, C440.
T-ang-ur$_2$-en (247-199-236-140), genitive, 4x.
see **Heu-úr-ha-al t-ang-ur-en** (250-097-051-098 247-199-236-140) .

12.1.1.9 IRREGULAR PLURAL

b-qo (311-168) ‘child, son’, **L** 3, **L**13.
b-hu-án (311-151-290) ‘children, plural of **b-qo’**, 190x.

t-qó (247-169) ‘name of an administrative unit’, 42x.
t-hu-a-án (247-151-290) (Xiang18) only once, here.

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, the name of the Tatar, *Dada* 韃靼 confederation (WJ 108).
Ci-bu-hu-an (162-196-151-011) ‘tribe name, plural’, Chin *zu bu zhi* 阻卜之 C406, (DiX27-26), according to Wu-Janhunen, 2010 108 “perhaps a plural”. According to CWJ 406 genitive. <*hoi si ñ-ó-úr* *ci-bu-hu-an* *aú-ñ-ó-uni*>.

12.1.1.10 DOUBLE PLURAL -S-D

Khitan has also a double plural.

(e)t ui-s-d (247-262-244-254) ‘all these things, undertakings’, Chin *zhexie shiye* 这些 事业 (Hong28, Nu16), see EL s.v. **bud,** Mong *busud.*
ol t-s-d (115 247-244-254) ‘all those’, gloss only for **ol** Chin *zhong* (Yu56).

According to CWJ there existed also a -ci plural.
g-úr-ci (334-097-162) ‘states, plural’, Chin *zhu guo* 诸国 C472, this seens to me unfounded, see **11.1.1.**

12.1.1.11 SUMMARY

The two plural suffixes **-d/t** and **-s** occur also in Mongolic[3]. It is of importance that the connecting vowel before **-t/d** in Khitan is following a fourfold assimilation (a/e and o/u). Literary Mongolic does have only *-u/ü: bulag* ‘spring, well’, > *bulagud*, *debter* ‘book’ > *debter-üd*, *nom* ‘book’ > *nomud*.

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[3] *-t/d,* Mongolic *-d*, Poppe 1964, 70-71

The suffix ***-s*** occurs in Mongolic after vocal and diphthong finals. This may have been the case also in Khitan, but the material is not unambigous. This can be demonstrated with the case of **ai**, **ai1** ‘year’ which has the pural in **-s**, while **ai2** ‘father, ancestor’ the plural in **-d**. This is clearly secondary. In the case of **p-úr** ‘descendants’ > **p-úr-s**, Mongolic has *üre-* > *üres* that means that Khitan had originally an open syllabic structure. Khitan has **m-em$_2$-s** 叉金仐 (133-257-244) ‘silver’, while Mongolic has *mönggün* > *mönggüd*. In this case as Nugteren (2011, 448) remarked all Qinghai Mongolic languages go back to *menggü ~münggü*, a word with vocalic final.

The plural suffix -*nAr* in Mongolic is joining stems denoting people and antropomorphic beings, it is frequent after terms of relationship as *aqa* ‘brother’ > *aqa-nar*, *eke* ‘mother’ > *eke-ner*. Khitan has **-ñ-er** - 伏仌 (222-341) not only after originally front vocalic stem as in **h-iú-ñ-er** 㐅火伏仌 (340-289-222-341) ‘younger sisters’ <- **keü*, but also after back vocalic ones: **ñ-iau-ñ-er** 伏兮伏仌 (222-362-222-341) ‘brethren’, **s-ai-ñ-er** 仐丰伏仌 (244-122-222-341) ‘imperial physicians, plural’. The latter is of interest because Mongolic has *sayid*, a honorific plural of *sayin*, which is also present in Khitan: **s-ai-d** 仐丰仝 (244-122-254) ‘official, minister’, 3x, Chin *chen* 臣 C432. I could find only one case where the old -**nAr* is preserved in Khitan **na-ha-*** 力圡 (139-051) ‘this side, the maternal side’, **na-ha-án-er** 力圡出仌 (139-051-290-341) ‘Maternal Uncles, plural’, **L**4, **L**9, **L**10, **L**12. This cannot be the accusativ-instrumental case, because we find **na-ha-án-er-en** 力圡出仌朿 (139-051-290-341-140) ‘maternal uncles, plural, genitive’ **L**4, **L**7, **L**12. If further material will strengthen our findings, the original form of the suffix was **-*ner.** It became -*nar/ner* in Mongolic[4] and **-ñer** in Khitan, but due to restructuring it was preserved in **nahaner.**

A special and not always clear case is the **-Vr** plural. In case of **aju-uh-ur$_2$** 艾久伦 (082.1-172-236) which ocurs, 27x CWJ on p. 384 clearly states that it is a plural: *zhu weng* 诸翁. The singular **aju-uh** occurs only twice. The word **aju-uh** has to be the name of the group of ‘father-in-laws’ in contrast to **aju** a singular ‘father-in-law’ which occurs, 9x, and has a genitive form **aju-en** which occurs, 36x., while **aju-uh-en** the genitive form of the plural of the group name occurs 8x.

The prime minister is called **ja-ri-qó** 犭化欠 (150-235-169), 24x, also **ja-ri-qu** 犭化余 (150-235-246), 6x, Chin *zai xiang* 宰相. The plurals are **ja-ri-qu-od** (150-235-246-016), 1x, and **ja-ri-qó-ur$_2$** (150-235-169-236), 1x , further we have **ja-ri-qu-ur$_2$-er** 犭化余伦仌 (150-235-246-236-341) plural, accusative-intrumental, 1x, and even a short form **ja-ri-hur** 犭化灸 (150-235-259) ‘prime ministers’, 5x, which mislead the authors of CWJ in case of the numeral three (see Appendix 12.1).

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[4] Mongolic -*nAr*, Poppe 1964, 69

The Khitan logoglyph for ‘ordo, palace’ is 米 (355), for further details see EL and Appendix 18.1. One of the forms occurring is **o-udu-u 及米叐** (186-355-131) occurring twice. This has a plural in **-ur$_2$**: **o-udu-u-ur$_2$-en cau-ji hu$_2$-ú nai-d** 及米叐化冇 両犳 亜伞 穴公 (186-355-131-236-140 022-152 014-245 332-251) ‘the heads of the armies of the ordos’ plural of **o-udu-u**, in Gao **L**15.

The Chinese word *gong* 宫 is transcribed as **g-iu-ung*** 九丙火 (334-019-106) ‘palace’, also **g-ung** 九火. In Ling15-6 we read: **par emu g-ung-ur$_2$** 乇 毛 九火化 ‘the eleven palaces, the eleven ordos’, a clear plural.

The Khitan name of the Tangut or Xi Xia is **T-ang-ur$_2$** 令忥化 (247-199-236), ChinT *tang gu* 唐古, **L**10, **L**11, 2x C440, the original, which is first occurring in the Old Turkic Runic inscription is *tangut* a plural of the Chinese name of the Tang dynasty.

The origin of the Khitan **-ur** plural needs further investigation.

Though we have only yet two examples the double plurar deserves our special interest. Most probably the **-s** is a petrified suffix, which lost its original semantics and then was joined by a second plural. The case may have been similar to Mong *busud* the basic word of which was *bu* an old demonstrative promoun (see Turkic *bo, bu*) from which *busu* ‘other’ > *busud* ‘others’.

12.1.2 DECLINATION SUFFIXES

12.1.2.1 GENITIVE

12.1.2.1.1 The suffix -en

12.1.2.1.1.1 After all consonantal finals irrespective of the vocalism of the word

a-ad-b-ñ 为朩丹伏 (189-099-311-222) ‘given’, 9x, past tense, participle.
a-ad-b-ñ-en 为朩丹伏冇 (189-099-311-222-140) ‘genitive case of **a-a-d-b-ñ-**, 1x.

a-aju-ñ 为艾伏 (189-082.1-222), a participial, or deverbal nominal form, 1x.
a-aju-ñ-en 为艾伏冇 (189-082.1-222-140) genitive case of the above, 1x.

a-abu-ñ (189-196-222), ‘ancestor, grandfather’.
abu-ñ-en (196-222-140), 1x.

aju-uh-ur$_2$ 艾夂化 (082.1-172-236)-‘plural’, 8x, Chin *zhu weng*, 诸翁, 27x, plural.
aju-uh-ur$_2$-en (082.1-172-236-140), 2x, Chin *weng zhi* 翁之 C384.

ci-ur-én [illegible] 'second, *fem.*, the following' Chin *di er* 第二, **L**4, **L**11, **L** 13, **L**16, see **12.3.**
ci-ur$_2$-én-en [illegible] 'second, genitive' **L**4.

di-í$_2$-in [illegible] (037-114-018) 'a Khitan title', 7x, Chin *ti yin* 惕隐 C370, plural **di-í$_2$-d** [illegible] (037-114-254) , 1x, ← Turk *tegin*, see **d-y z-in.**
di-í$_2$-d-en hu$_2$-ú nai [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (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.

em$_2$-s [illegible] (257-140) 'cities', Chin *zhucheng* 诸城 **L**17.
em$_2$-s-en [illegible] 'of the cities, plural genitive', Chin *zhucheng zhi* 诸成 之 **L**16.

eme-t [illegible] (021-247) 'wives' Chin *qi* 妻, **L**4, **L**12.
eme-t-en [illegible] (021-247-140) 'of the wives', genitive, **L**4..

g-m s-iu g-ün-en [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (334-133 244-019 334-329-140) 'a military title, genitive', Chin *jin su jun zhi* 金肃军之 C473.

go-er [illegible] (319-341) 'patriarchal house, tent', **L**1, **L**6, **L**8.
go-er-en [illegible] (319-341-140) 'house, family, genitive'.

h-ib [illegible] (340-127) '(all) together, all', 博, Chin *jun* 均, C478.
h-ib-ge$_2$-en [illegible] (340-127-112-140) 'all, genitive', Chin *jun zhi* 均之 C478.

h-s [illegible] (340-244) 'side (e.g. of a mountain), region, area', 22x, (K113), no gloss.
h-s-en [illegible] (340-244-140), 8x.

har$_3$2 [illegible] (006) 'mountain' also **har$_2$2** [illegible] (321.1) perhaps to **har1** 'black' Chin *shan* 山.
har$_3$-en [illegible] (006-140), 36x.
har$_3$-s-en [illegible] (006-205-140), 3x.

Heu-úr-ha-al t-ang-ur$_2$-en [illegible] [illegible] (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.

hor-a-iú-i dele par^{o} ci-ên-d-en [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (047-189-289-339 294 240 162-073-254-140.1) 'the ten counties in Guannan, genitive' (Yu10), Chin *guan nan shi zhu xian zhi* 关南十诸县之 C377.

hu-as-al (151-174-098) ‘pain’, 25x, Chin *ku* 苦 C402.
hu-as-al-en (151-174-098-140), 7x, ‘pain, genitive’, Chin *ku zhi* 苦之 C402.

i-ri (339-235) ‘name, title’, 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), 3x.
i-ri-s-en (339-235-244-140), 1x.

j-iau ng-i g-ün-en (104-362 264-339 334-329-140) ‘a military title, genitive’, Chin *zhao yi jun zhi* 昭义军之 C389.

jï-ng shï l-ing-en (087-264 180 261-303-140) ‘a title, genitive’.

ki-ên (163-073) ‘county’ Chin *xian* 县.
ki-ên-en (163-073-140) ‘county, genitive’, Chin *xian zhi* 县之 C410.
ki-ên-d (161-073-254), 4x, plural.
ki-ên-d-en ‘county, plural, genitive’, Chin *xian(fu) zhi* 县 (复) 之 C410.

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), 1x. (Wu8).

m-em$_2$ (133-257) ‘silver’, 14x, Chin *yin* 银, see Mong *mönggün*, Dag *munge* (M192), *meŋu*, *meŋgu, muŋu* ‘Silber, Geld’ (M-K12-122) to **menggü,* (K117, no gloss in C 396).
m-em$_2$-en (133-257-140), 1x, (Nan27.

m-ri-d (133-235-254) ‘villages, countries, plural’, Chin *zhu mi li* 诸弥里 C396.
m-ri-d-en (133-235-254-140) ‘villages, countries, plural, genitive’, Chin *zhu mi li zhi* 诸弥里之 C396.

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.

Ming-eu-ud-en (207-067-344-140) ‘Minggud, plural, genitive, ?Mongol’, Chin gloss: *meng gu zhi* 萌 骨之 **L**21.

Mu-l-g (224-261-334) ‘Taizong, throne name of Abaoji (939-947), Chin *taizong* 太宗.
Mu-l-g-en (224-261-334-140), genitive.

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 C444.
n-ad-bud-en (251-099-176-140), genitive, 9x.
n-ad-(a)bu-ad-i (251-099-196-099-339), 1x, genitive, Chin *nabozhi* 捺钵之 C444.
n-ad-(a)bu-d-i (251-099-196-254-339), 1x.

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).
n-iuk-úr-en (251-138-097-140), 2x.

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, Chin *dai* 代 C445, ? to Mong *nigun, nugun* ‘boy, son’, Dah *non* ‘boy, child’ (M200), *non, noń* ‘Knabe’ (M-K125), **L**13, **L**22.
n-on-en (251-154-140) ‘1. dynasty, 2. generation, genitive’, Chin *dai zhi* 代之 C445.

n-ui sh-iáng-en (251-262 028-062-140) ‘inner division, genitive’, Chin *nei sheng zhi* 内省之 C445.

na-ha-án-er-en 139-051-290-341-140) ‘maternal uncles, plural, genitive’ **L**4, **L**7, **L**12.

när ‘day’ (159), Chin *ri* 日 C403, **L**2, **L**13, earlier **DAY**.
när-en (159-140) ‘day, genitive’, Chin *ri zhi* 日之 C403.
när-en s-uni (159-140 244-059) ‘day and night, through the whole day’, **L**2n.
när-i (159-339) ‘day, genitive’, Chin *ri* 日 **L**2.

ng-iau-u-un GREAT sh-ün-en ci-i-shi-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 又 (373) perhaps **û** 穴 (372), see there. Hybrid, Khitan genitive twice.

ng-iú-ku$_3$ t-ie-ên-en 发炏非 令文考有 (264-289-282 247-327-073-140) 'imperial palace, genitive', Chin *yu dian zhi* 御殿之 C453, hybrid, Chinese+Khitan genitive.

ong 杰 (071) '(local) king', Chin *wang* 王, **L**1, **L**l3.
ong-on 杰不 (071-154), 50x.
ong-en 杰有 (071-140), 1x.
t-i-d ong-od-en 令关公 杰币有 (247-339-254 071-016-140) 'all those kings, genitive', Chin *zhu di wang zhi* 诸帝王之 C442 (Hu19).

p-ar 业本 (295-123) 'wife (and family)', 29, also **p-ar$_2$** 业存 (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.
p-ar-en 业本有 (295-123-140), 3x.

p-úr 业亥 (295-097) 'descendant', 4x, plural **p-úr-s** 业亥仐 (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.
p-úr-i 业亥关 (295-097-339), 8x.
p-úr-s-en 业亥仐有 (295-097-244-140), 20x.

parₒ ci-ên-d 仑 朩考公 (240 162-073-254) .
parₒ ci-ên-d-en 丙为炏关 小 仑 朩考公有 (240 162-073-254-140).
hor-a-iú-i dele parₒ ci-ên-d-en 丙为炏关 小 仑 朩考公有 (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.

s-ai 仐丰 (244-122) 'imperial physician', 14x, Chin *yu yi* 御医 C432.
s-ai-ñ-er-en 仐丰伏公有 (244-122-222-341-140) 'imperial physician, plural, genitive'.

sär 艾 (081) 'Moon, Month' earlier MONTH, Ch *yue* 月, **L**13, **L**18, plural: **särä-s** 艾仐 (081-244) .
sär-en 艾有 (081-140), 1x.

s-iang g-ün 仐并 九亦 (244-314 334-329) 'a title, general'.

s-iang g-ün-en (244-314 334-329-140) ‘general, genitive’, Chin *jiang jun zhi* 将军之 C435.
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-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.

sui-il-g (238-302-334) ‘born’, Chin *sheng* 生 C425.
sui-il-g-en (238-302-334-140) ‘born, genitive’, Chin *sheng* 生 C425.

sh-i-m (028-339-133), ‘the district or prefecture Shen’, Chin *shen* 沈, 瀋, YCh *ȿim* 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.

shï s-iang-en (180 244-314-140) ‘a title, genitive’, Chin *shi xiang* 使 相, **L**24, Hucker, No 5249 “Commissioner-Councilor”.

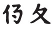
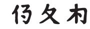
T-ad-ar (247-099-123) ‘a name, Tatar’, 4x, ChinT *ta ta er* 塔塔儿, Chin *da da* 韃靼 C438, **L**11 The Turkic name *tatar* has more, in our case two Chinese transcriptions. Khitan reflects one of them .
T-ad-ar-en (247-099-123-140) genitive, 4x.

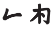
T-ang-ur$_2$ (247-199-236) ‘a name, Tangut?’, ChinT *tang gu* 唐古, **L**10, **L**11, 2x C440.
T-ang-ur$_2$-en (247-199-236-140), genitive, 4x.

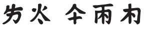
t-ie-ém g-ie-ém-en ui MANAGE-l-hu (247-327-270 334-327-270-140 262 142-261-151) ‘a title, hybrid, genitive’, Chin *dian jian zhi shi zhi* 点检之事知 C442.

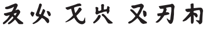
t-ie-le (247-327-093) ‘south’ see **t-le.**
t-ie-le g-ing-en (247-327-093 334-303-140) ‘south capital, genitive’, Chin *nan jing zhi* 南京之 C442.

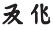
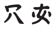
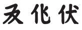
T-il-t-en (247-302 247.

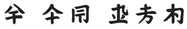
ta-uh  (229-172) ‘long’, Chin *chang* 长.
ta-uh-en  (229-172-140) ‘long, genitive’, Chin *chang zhi* 长之 C423.

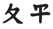
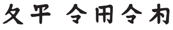
THIRTY-en  (211-140), 3x.

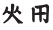
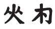
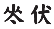
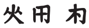
tu-ung s-in-en  (202-345 244-018-140) ‘title, genitive’, Chin *tong jin zhi* 通进之 C417, Hucker 7476 *tong jin si* 通进司 SUNG-LIAO “Memorial-forwarding Office”.

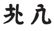
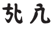
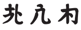
u-un sh-iú m-ir-en  (131-273 028-289 133-137-140) ‘title, genitive’, Chin *wen shu mi zhi* 文枢密之 C393.

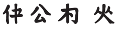
u-ur$_2$2  (131-236) ‘wing (of an army), division’, also **û-ur$_2$**  (372-097) cf. Mong *urug*‘relatives by marriage’, Dah ?? Chin *yuan* 院 C392, **L**17, **L**21.
u-ur$_2$-en 131-236-140), ‘division, genitive’, 1x.
u-ur$_2$-ñ  (131-236-222) ‘division, generation, genitive’, Chin *zuxian* 祖先, **L**8.

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.

Uh-ul  (172-366) ‘name of a Turkic tribe’, ChinT *wugu* 乌古 **L**20, **L**21.
Uh-ul t-il-t-en  (172-366 247-302-247-140) ‘tribe name, genitive’, Chin *wu gu di lie zhi* 乌古敌烈之 C 411.

ui2 (262), ‘matter, act’, 276x, **ui°2** (263), 18x, also **ui-il**  (262-302), 20x.
ui-en  (262-140) ‘matter, affair’, genitive, 13x.
ui°-ñ  (263-222), genitive, 1x.
ui-il-en  (262-302-140) genitive, 1x.

us-g  (068-334) ‘letter, writing, script, document’, also **us$_2$-g**  (103-334) , Chin *zi* 字 C388.
us-g-en  (068-334-140), 13x.

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 *ɣɛn*)+ the second part Khitan genitive+ *ui*[5].

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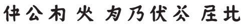
[5]  *ü-n-en ui a-am-ñ-er MANAGE-li$_2$* (Xu12)

xa-áng tai ca-ang sh-iú sh-iáng-en 不业 丞 甬氖 又炏 又並杓 (130-280 374 375-199 028-289 028-062-140) ‘title, genitive’ (Zhong26).

12.1.2.1.1.2 After final -e-/ä

dele1 小 (294) ‘south’, 70x Chin *nan* 四, **L**20, also **t-le** 令为(247-093), 32x.
dele-en 小杓 (294-140), 17x, **t-le-ñ** (247-093-222), 1x.

12.1.2.1.1.3 After final -i

g-u-on ca shï-ï$_2$-en 九及不 甬 兆杏杓 (334-131-154 375 180-113-140) ‘title, genitive’, Chin *guan cha shi zhi* 观察使之 C473, Hucker No. 3269 ‘Surveillance Commissioner”.

i-ri 关化 (339-235) ‘name, title’, 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 关化杓 (339-235-140), 3x.
i-ri-s-en 关化伞杓 (339-235-244-140), 1x.

m-ri2 叉化 ‘an administrative unit, village’, Chin *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, to **m-ri1**?
m-ri-en nai 叉化杓 穴 (133-235-140 332) ‘official, head of village’, Chin *mi li zhi guan* 弥里之官 C396.

s-em$_2$-li$_2$ 伞金北 (244-257-080) ‘illness’, Chin *bing* 病 C434.
s-em$_2$-li$_2$-en, 伞金北杓 (244-257-080-140)xcdf, 2x.

12.1.2.1.1.4 After final -ji/ci

go-er 曲公‘(319-341) ‘patriarchal house, tent’ **L**1, **L**6, **L**8.
go-er-en 曲公杓 (319-341-140) ‘house, family’.
go-ci-en 曲杰杓 (319-162-140) ‘pertaining to the Tent, genitive’, Chin *zhufangzhi* 诸房之, **L**11.

y-u h-eu-ji-en 丙及 乂去弱杓 (020-131 340-067-152-140) ‘soon’, Chin *he wu* 何无 C363, hybrid Chinese+genitive.

mu-u-ji (224-131-152) ‘sacred, great, holy (of an Emperor etc.), Chin *sheng* 圣 C422, **L**18.
mu-u-ji-en (224-131-152-140) ‘holy, genitive’, Chin *sheng zhi* 圣之 C422.
mu-u-ji$_3$-en (224-131-337-140) ‘holy, genitive’, Chin *sheng zhi* 圣之 C422.

12.1.2.1.1.5 After the diphthong -au

jau1 (015) ‘hundred’, Chin *bai* 百, C360, see Mong *jagun*, Dag *jau* (M 176), *ǰau* (M-K 127), see 12.3.
jau-en (015-140) 3x genitive[6].

12.1.2.1.1.6 After the diphthong -ai

nai (332) ‘head, leader, first, commander’, Chin *guan* 官, **L**13, **L**14, Liaoshi *nai* 耐 ‘head’, *shou* 首.
nai-en (332-140) ‘head, leader, first, commander, genitive’, Chin *guanzhi* 官之, **L**17.

s-ai (244-122) ‘imperial physician’, 14x, Chin *yu yi* 御医 C432.
s-ai-en (244-122-140) ‘imperial physician, genitive’, 4x, Chin *yu yi* 御医 C432.

12.1.2.1.1.7 After the diphthong -ui:

Ng-ui°-en po-do (264-263-140 279-217) ‘in the time of the Wei, hybrid, Khitan genitive’, Chin *wei zhi shi zhi* 魏之时之 C453.

ui2 (262), ‘matter, act’, 276x, **ui°2** (263), 18x, also **ui-il** (262-302), 20x.
ui-en (262-140) ‘matter, affair’, 13x.

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[6] Three times: *jau-en hu-ul-búl-u eme-er hul-y dai-du$_2$-te$_2$-er* (Xian11-1), *ku sui-i jau-en eu-úr t-úr-búl-u-ji$_3$* (Xiang35-8), *jau-en har b-qo p-SMALL-l-ha-ai* (Xiang44-2), see also *jau-un ci-ie-ên cau-úr or-te$_2$* (Yu29-54), *jau-un sh-i rí-i s-ir$_2$-g-l-û-ji-u* (Xian27-11), *jau-un ün-e$_2$ 232-or-o h-ui-ri-i ming ai emu sui-én-er* (GuD29-3)

12.1.2.1.2 THE SUFFIX -AN

hor-u2 (047-131) ‘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.

ia-iá-an y-au-o-ón (335-274-011 020-161-186-322) ‘brother, genitive’, Chin *xiong(di)zhi* 兄 (弟) 之 C476 ‘the way of the brethren’.

l-ém-a* (261-270-189)**,** also **l-ém-hu-a** (261-270-151-189) ‘a title, *linya*’, Chin *linya* 林牙.
l-ém-a-an (261-270-151-189-011), 1x.

or-a ‘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.
or-a-an ‘after’ see **eu-ul-g or-a-an** (067-366-334 076-189-011) ‘after death’.
or-a-an l-ing-en ui MANAGE-un$_2$ (076-189-011 261-303-140 262 142-144) ‘the administrator of the Xianling tomb, genitive’, Chin *xian ling zhi shi zhi* 显陵之事知 C384.

qa-ha-an (053-051-011) ‘the title kagan, emperor, used also as imperial’, **qa-a-an** (053-189-011) ‘khan’, Chin *ke han* 可汗 C374 **L**2, the nominal and the genitive case identical.
qa-ha-an (053-051-011) ‘khan, also genitive’, Chin *ke han zhi* 可汗之 C373.

sh-iá (028-274) ‘goodness’, also **sh-ia**, Chin *shan* 善 C365, see ?Mong *sayiqan*??.
sh-iá-an (028-274-011) ‘goodness’, Chin *shan* 善 C365.
Not clear are:
a-am (189-184) ‘life, breath’, 1x, no gloss[7] (Hu38-34)

a-am-an (189-184-011 (DiX35-6).
perhaps ***ama-an.**

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[7] In the expression: <*a-am-an s-em-ii-er t-ge-er*> ‘his life/health became ill and died’ (DiX35-6)

Ku-ung Ming-an 几犬 矢夹 (178-345 207-011) 'Confucius and Mencius, genitive', Chin *kong meng zhi* 孔孟之 C412.

The genitive form of **ming** is **ming-en** (207-140) which occurs twice. **Ming-an** occurs in Hu10.

12.1.2.1.3 THE SUFFIX -ON

n-o 公及 (251-186) 'spouse'.

n-o-ón公及内 (251-186-322) 'spouse, genitive' irregular, 2x (Gao22-5).
n-o-ón ém ji$_2$-en 307-hu eu-ul-ge$_2$-em 公及内 圣 犳有 冈列 去平太丙 (Zhong37-14),

Ci-bu-qó 朮生欠 (162-196-169) 'tribe name', (Xu17-3, Yu51-50, 56-15), also **ci-bu-qu** 朮生余 (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.

ci-bu-qó-on 朮生欠不 (162-196-169-154), 4x, and **ci-bu-qu-un** 朮生余火 (162-196-246-273)., 1x.

ja-ri-qó 犭化欠 (150-235-169) 'prime minister', 24x, also **ja-ri-qu** 犭化余 (150-235-246), 6x, Chin *zai xiang* 宰相, Looks like a nominalized adjective in **-qW.**

ja-ri-qó-on 犭化欠不 (150-235-169-154) 'prime minister, genitive', 6x, Chin *zai xiang zhi* 宰相之 C401.

ja-ri-qu-un 犭化余火 (150-235-246-273), 1x .

ja-ri-qu-on 犭化余不 (151-236-246-154), 6x.

ong 杰 (071) '(local) king', Chin *wang* 王, **L**1, **L**l3.

ong-on 杰不 (071-154), 50x.

ong-en 杰有 (071-140), 1x.

g-ong l-ing g-ün ong-on 九杰 屮同 九亦 杰不 (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.

L-iau ong-on 屮芍 杰不 (261-362 071-154) 'king of Liao, genitive', Chin *Liao wang zhi* 辽王之 C451.

12.1.2.1.4 THE SUFFIX -UN

b-üe-z-iú丹芺伞宍 (311-082-258-289) 'a title', 2x, Chin *bie xu* 别胥 C465, see also **p-üe-siu** 业芺永 (295-082 004) 'a title', 1x (Zhi21-31), Chin *bie xu* 别胥 C459, also **p-üe-z-iú-** 业芺伞宍 (295-082 258-289) , 10x 'the one without girdle.

p-üe-z-iú-un (295-082-258-289-273), 2x.

ci-eu2 (162-067)'prefecture, district', Chin *zhou* , 州 **L**26, genitive.
ci-eu-un (162-067-273) **L**26, 36x, also **ci-eu-en** (162-067-140), 1x.

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.

g-ui (334-262) 'state', Chin *guo* 国 **L**1, **L**21.
g-ui-un$_2$ (334-262-144) 'part of a title', **L**21'state, genitive', Chin *guo* 国 C474.

g-ung c-iú-un (334-345 162-289-273) 'princess, genitive', Chin *gong zhu zhi* 公主之.

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.

ku (178) 'people', Chin *ren* 人 C412.
ku-û-i (178-372-339) 'people, genitive', Chin *ren zhi* 人之 C412.
ku-û-un ui (178-372-273 262) 'people's matter, human affairs', Chin *ren zhi shi* 人之事 C412.
RECORD-e ku-û un (052-348 178-372-273) 'The master of the tombstone, genitive', Chin *zhi zhu zhi* 志主之 C373.

l-iu hu-eu-un (261-019 151-67-273) 'title, genitive', Chin *liu hou zhi* 留后之 C449, Hucker 3790.

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', Chin *Lü zhou zhi du shi* 闾州之度使 C452.

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.

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.

ng-iau-u-un GREAT sh-ün-en ci-i-shi-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), see there. Hybrid, Khitan genitive twice.

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.

qita-un_2 s-ai tai sh-i (365-144 244-122 374 028-339) (Yu55), genitive, 1x, Chin *tai yi (fu) zhi* 太医 (复) 之 C432.

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”.

sh-ie-b g-ung-un (028-327-311 334-345-273) ‘ten palaces, genitive’, Chin *shi gong zhi* 十宫之 C372.

tai-i hong tai-i heu-un (374-339 075 374-339 250-273) ‘empress dowager, genitive’, Chin *tai huang tai hou zhi* 太皇太后之 C487 Hucker No 6169, “Grand Empress Dowager”, paternal grandmother of the reigning Emperor.

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-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 .

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”.

w-un w-u-un 杰火 杰叐火 (070-273 070-131-273) ‘civil and military, genitive’, Chin *wen wu zhi* 文武之 C377.

Xe ri-y ci-eu-un 圣 化丏 术去火 (268 235-020 162-067-273) ‘prefecture Haibei, genitive’, Chin *hai bei zhou zhi* 海北州之 C454 (Cha12). Xe-ri is a Khitan geographic name and not the Khitan transcription of *Hai* 海, ?to Mong *küriye* ‘enclosure, camp, border etc.’.

12.1.2.1.5 THE SUFFIX -IN

hong di 主 王 (075-037) ‘emperor’, Chin *huangdi* 皇帝, **L**19, genitive.
hong-di-in 主 王雨 (075-037-018).

dau-u-s-úng hong-di-in 尺叐仐当 主王雨 (119-131-244-357 075-037-018) ‘the Emperor Daoyong, genitive, Chin *dao zong huang di-zhi* 道宗 皇帝之, C391.

p-i 1 业关 (295-339) ‘consort,’ ChinE *fei* 妃 C461.
p-i-in 业关雨 (295-339-018) ‘consort, genitive’, Chin *fei zhi* 妃之, C461.

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.
ng-üe-n p-i-in 发夹公 业关雨 (264-082-251 295-339-018) ‘the first, principal consort/concubine, genitive’, Chin *yuan fei zhi* 元妃之 C453 .

GOLD 山, (285), GOLD° 山 (286), **GOLD-i** 山关 (285-339.
GOLD-i-in 239-de 山关雨 八矢 ‘to the golden earth’ (Di10).

12.1.2.1.6 THE SUFFIX -I

regular are the cases after **-n**:
an-i 买关 (011-339) ‘genitive of ***an-** oblique stem of the pronoun **a-**?’, to Mong. *anu* ‘genitive case of the pronoun ***a.**

ji-en 犳冇 (152-140) ‘middle’, Chin *zhong* 中, **L**26.
ji-en-i 犳冇关 (152-140-339) ‘among, genitive’, Chin *zhong zhi* 中之 C403.

m-in2 叉雨 (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** 叉雨 仐生及肉 (133-018 244-196-186-322) , **L**19n.

m-in-i (133-018-339) ‘court, administration, genitive’.
terken (333) ‘Queen, logoglyph see EL’.
terken-en (333-140) 3x.
terken-i (333-339) , 5x.

s-on (244-154) ‘night’, 4x.
s-on-i (244-154-339), 5x.
s-on-en (244-154-140), 1x.
but:
s-uni (244-059) ‘night’, 22x.
s-uni-en (244-059-140), 7x.

In some cases after the adjectivizer -qW.
b-qo (311-168) ‘child, son’, 441x.
b-qo-i (311-168-339), 64x.

ci-ar$_2$-qo (162-084-168), 12x, no gloss, perhaps to **ci-ar** (162-123) ‘early, former, in former times’, 55x.
ci-ar$_2$-qo-i (162-084-168-339), 1x, (Pu23).

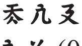
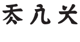
ci-iau-qú (162-362-118) ‘Chinese, *feminine*’.
ci-iau-qú-i (162-362-118-339), 5x.

sh-ri$_5$-qú* (028-255-118), does not occur.
sh-ri$_5$-qú-i (028-255-118-339), 1x, (Zhong4).

sh-em$_2$-qú (028-257-118), ‘good, goodness’, 6x.
sh-em$_2$-qú-i (028-257-118-339), 2x (Nu34-15, Xian20).

Irregular are the following cases: .

ku (178) ‘man, person, people’, Chin *ren* 人 C412.
ku-û un (178-372-273), 151x.
RECORD-e ku-û un (052-348 178-372-273) ‘The master of the tombstone, genitive’, Chin *zhi zhu zhi* 志主之 C373.
ku-û-i (178-372-339) ‘people, genitive’, 1x, Chin *ren zhi* 人之 C412, CWJ 1202, (Nu38: <*ku-û-i y-au-ul-hu t-as-ha-am*> not clear.

Ishi-g ‘name of a clan’, also **Ishi-gu** (033-165) Chin *yi shi* 乙室.
Ishi-g-un$_2$  (033-334-144) ‘name of a tribe’, 3x, Chin *yi shi ji* 乙室已 C369.
Ishi-g-i  (033-334-339) ‘name of a tribe, genitive’, 3x.

One would expect **I-shi-g-en**** but no such form is in the corpus.

n-ad-bud 公亦夘 (251-099-176), also **n-ad-bod** 公亦囯 (251-099-309), 25x, **n-ad-(a)bu-ad** 公亦生亦 (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-bud-en 公亦夘杓 (251-099-176-140), 9x, genitive.

n-ad-(a)bu-ad-i 公亦生亦关 (251-099-196-099-339), 1x, genitive, Chin *nabozhi* 捺钵之 C444.

The second is irregular, but rather equal with **n-ad-(a)bu-d-i** 公亦生仝关 (251-099-196-254-339), 1x ablative-prolative Chin *naboyu* 捺钵于 C444.

när 夭 ‘day’ (159) , Chin *ri* 日 C403, **L**2, **L**13, earlier **DAY**, 125x.

när-en 夭杓 (159-140) ‘day, genitive’, 3x, Chin *ri zhi* 日之 C403 e.g. in: **när-en s-uni** 夭杓 仐杏 (159-140 244-059) ‘day and night, through the whole day’, **L**2n.

but irregular are.

när-ñ 夭伏 (159-222) ‘day, genitive’, 4x, Chin *ri* 日 C404.

när-i 夭关 (159-339) ‘day, genitive’, Chin *ri* 日 **L**2, 21x.

in : **när-i ui** 夭关 夹 (159-339 262) ‘daily matter, the duties of the day’, Chin *ri zhi shi* 日之事 C404.

p-úr 业亥 (295-097) ‘descendant’, 4x, plural **p-úr-s** 业亥仐 (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.

p-úr-i 业亥关 (295-097-339), 8x.

Irregular, should be ***p-úr-en** as in the plural **p-úr-s-en**, but no such data in the corpus .

Qita-i 买关 (365-339) ‘Khitan’, Chin *qi dan* 契丹 C483, see also **Qita-un$_2$** 买叉 (365-144) ‘Khitan’, Chin *qi dan* 契丹 C482 **L**1, see all details there and Appedix **12.9**, accusative-instrumental **Qita-un$_2$-er** 买叉仌 (365-144-341) ‘Khitan’, Chin *qi dan* 契丹 C483.

Irregular is also.

Y-ar$_2$-u-ud 丏左叐火 (020-084-131-344), also **y-ar-u-ud** 丏丰叐火 (020-123-131-344) ‘the clan name of the Khitan leaders, Yarud’, Chin *yelü* 耶律, **L**2.

Y-ar$_2$-u-ud-i 丏左叐火关 (020-084-131-344-339), Chin *ye lü zhi* 耶律之 C363.

Irregular, should be ***Ya-ar$_2$-u-ud-en**. as in **ming-u-ud-en nai-d** (Y u54, Gao21), **s-úr-ud-en eu-ul g-e-te$_2$** (Xiang45), but no such form in the corpus.

12.1.2.1.7 THE SUFFIX -N

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’, perhaps ***e$_4$-g-e-n.**

eme 丙 (021) ‘woman, wife’. Earler reading **em**, but see the suffixes. 243x, Chin *mu* 母, C365.
eme-n 丙公 (021-251) ‘of the wife’, **L**12.
neu-e eme-n 穴券 丙公 (331-348 021-251) ‘empress, genitive’, Chin *ne wo me zhi* 耨斡么之 C471.
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 Daruhan 2023 (066) = ə.

sh-m-n 乂叉公 (028-133-251), 4x, also **sh-m-i-en** 乂叉关村 (028-133-339-140), 2x, secret, genitive’, Chin *shen mi zhi* 审密之 C369[8]← 审=審 YCh *ʂim,* LMCh *ʂim*, 密 YCh *mi,* LMCh *mjiaijk*. Perhaps **shim-mi-** + gentitive **-n/en**.
sh-m-n m-in 乂叉公 叉雨 (028-133-251 133-018) ‘secret tomb’ Chin *shen mi mu* 审密之 墓 (Hu1-8) CWJ 1497.

sh-ri-e$_2$ 乂化芬 (028-235-109) a tribal unit, Chin *shi lie* 石烈 C370, see WF Index.
sh-ri-n 乂化公 (028-235-251), 5x.

un$_2$-e$_2$ 及芬 (144-109) ‘today, present’, 22x, also **un$_2$-e** 及券 (144-348) ‘today, present, now’, 38x, Chin *ji***.**
un$_2$-n 及公(144-251), ‘of this?’ or ‘then, afterwards?’ ‘this, the present, now’, 20x, **L**18*, jin* 今 C400.

12.1.2.1.8 -THE SUFFIX -ñ

d-iu-ir 仝丙刃 (254-019-137), also **t-iu-ir** 令丙刃 (247-019-137), ‘the reign period Dakang (大康 1075-1085, Great Peace), **L**25.
d-iu-ir-ñ ong, 仝丙刃伏 杰 (254-019-137-222 071) ‘the neighbor king’, hybrid, Khitan genitive, Chin *jiu lin wang* 糺邻王 C446 (Xu22).

när-en s-uni 买村 仐杏 (159-140 244-059) ‘day and night, through the whole day’, **L**2n.
när-i 买关 (159-339) ‘day, genitive’, Chin *ri* 日 **L**2.

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[8] Khitan **sh-m-n** has the same meaning as Chinese *shen mi*, where *mi* 密 has the meaning ‘secret’.

när-i ui (159-339 262) ‘daily matter, the duties of the day’, Chin *ri zhi shi* 日之事 C404.
när-ñ (159-222) ‘day, genitive’, Chin *ri* 日 C404.

ui2 (262), ‘matter, act’, 276x, **ui^{o}2** (263), 18x, also **ui-il** (262-302), 20x.
ui-en (262-140) ‘matter, affair’, 13x.
ui-il-en (262-302-140) genitive. 1x.
ui^{o}-ñ (263-222), 1x, genitive.

u-ur$_2$2 (131-236) ‘wing (of an army), division’, also **û-ur$_2$** (372-097) cf. Mong *urug* ‘relatives by marriage’, Dah ?? Chin *yuan* 院 C392, **L**17, **L**21.
u-ur$_2$-en 131-236-140), ‘division, genitive’, 1x.
u-ur$_2$-ñ (131-236-222) ‘division, generation, genitive’, Chin *zuxian* 祖先, **L**8.

siu (004) ‘white’, **siu^{o}** (005) ‘white, (masculine)’, Chin *bai* 白, 7th of the 10 Heavenly Stems’, Chin *geng* 庚 C359.
siu-ñ (004-222), 4x, **siu^{o}-ñ** (005-222), 1x.

Tal-en (195-140) ‘a tribe name’, Chin *da ling* 达领 C416, WF 89 notes a *da ling* 答淩 river, however Tal is a name of a tribe.
Tal-en-ñ (195-140-222) ‘a tribe name, genitive’, Chin *da ling (bian) zhi* 达领 (边) 之 C416.

12.1.2.1.9 Irregular forms

In the Khitan corpus there occur some forms which at our present knowledge seem to be irregular. In some cases they occur parallel to the “regular” forms, in other cases only the irregular form appears in the corpus.

har$_3$2 (006) ‘mountain’ also **har$_2$2** (321.1) perhaps to **har1** ‘black’ Chin *shan* 山, genitive **har$_3$-en** (006-140), also **har$_3$-in** (006-018), dative-locative **har$_3$-de** (006-205), plural **har$_3$-s** (006-244), ‘range of mountains’, Chin *qunshan* 群山, plural genitive **har$_3$-s-en** (006-244.140).

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-bud-en (251-099-176-140), genitive, 9x, is regular, but once we have .

n-ad-(a)bu-ad-i (251-099-196-099-339), 1x, genitive ?, Chin *nabozhi* 捺钵之 C444. This may be the same as .

n-ad-(a)bu-d-i (251-099-196-254-339), 1x, and not a genitive, but a prolative-ablative.

ong (071) '(local) king', Chin *wang* 王, **L**1, **L**l3, we have only once **ong-en** (071-140) (Hui7-19), and **ong-on** (071-154), 50 times .

The finals in **-ung** get **-un:**

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.

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*"*.

sh-ie-b g-ung-un (028-327-311 334-345-273) 'ten palaces, genitive', Chin *shi gong zhi* 十宫之 C372.

but finals in **-ing** get the expected **-en.**

jï-ng shï l-ing-en (087-264 180 261-303-140) 'title, genitive'.

t-ie-le g-ing-en (247-327-093 334-303-140) 'south capital, genitive', Chin *nan jing zhi* 南京之 C442.

In some words the palatalized nasal **ñ** (222) appears: .

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.

dele1 (294) 'south', 70x Chin *nan* 四, **L**20, also **t-le** (247-093), 32x.

dele-en (294-140), 17x, **t-le-ñ** (247-093-222), 1x.

när-en s-uni (159-140 244-059) 'day and night, through the whole day', **L**2n.

när-i (159-339) 'day, genitive', Chin *ri* 日 **L**2.

när-i ui (159-339 262) 'daily matter, the duties of the day', Chin *ri zhi shi* 日之事 C404.

när-ñ (159-222) 'day, genitive', Chin *ri* 日 C404, 4x.

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.

d-iu-ir-ñ ong, 仝丙刃伏 杰 (254-019-137-222 071) ‘the neighbor king’, hybrid, Khitan genitive, Chin *jiu lin wang* 糺邻王 C446 (Xu22-22, 22-38Ö).

ui2 火 (262), ‘matter, act’, 276x, **ui°2** 冬 (263), 18x, also **ui-il** 火用 (262-302), 20x.
ui-en 火有 (262-140) ‘matter, affair’, 13x.
ui°-ñ 冬伏 (263-222), 1x, genitive.
ui-il-en 火用 有 (262-302-140) genitive. 1x.

u-ur$_2$2 及化 (131-236) ‘wing (of an army), division’, 156x, also **û-ur$_2$** 只交 (372-097) cf. Mong *urug* ‘relatives by marriage’, Dah ?? Chin *yuan* 院 C392, **L**17, **L**21.
u-ur$_2$-en 131-236-140), ‘division, genitive’, 1x.
u-ur$_2$-ñ 及化伏 (131-236-222) ‘division, generation, genitive’, 10x, Chin *zuxian* 祖先, **L**8.
siu 求(004) ‘white’, **siu°** 求 (005) ‘white, (masculine)’, Chin *bai* 白, 7th of the 10 Heavenly Stems’, Chin *geng* 庚 C359.
siu-ñ 求 伏 (004-222), **siu°-ñ** 求伏 (005-222).

Tal ñ-ô-or 午 伏仌北 (195 222-252-076) ‘tribe name’, ChinT *da ling (bian) bu* 达领 (边) 部 C416, perhaps a short form for **Tal-en.**
Tal-en-ñ 午有伏 (195-140-222) ‘tribe name, genitive’, Chin *da ling (bian) zhi* 达领 (边) 之 C416.

12.1.2.1.10 SUMMARY

The suffix of the genitive case in Khitan was **-en** 有 (140) after all consonantal finals irrespective of the vocalism of the word. It occurred also after finals in *e/ä, -i*, words with the suffix -*ci/ji*, and words with final diphthongs *-ai, -ei*. Excepted are words with a syllabic form -**ong** which get -**on**, and -**ung**, which get -**un**

The suffix is **-an** 夹 (011) after finals in -**a**. There is a homoformity among the title **qa-ha-an** 厺去夹 (053-051-011) and its genitive form. There are two yet not clear cases.

The suffix is -**on** 不 (154) also after finals in -**o**, also with words ending in-**ui**, and in the case of **ong**, where beside the normal **ong-en** which occurs only once, the form **ong-on** occurs 50 times.

The suffix is -**un** 火 (273), after the finals in -**u**, as it is after the diphthongs **au**, **-eu-**, **iú.** Words with the last syllable -**ung** also get the genitive suffix -**un.**

The suffix is **-in** 雨 (018), after words ending in -**i.**

The suffix is **i** 关 (339) after words ending in -**n.**

All these forms go back to an Old Khitan *-*yin*.

After consonants -*yin* became **-en**, with the exception of final **-n** where it became **-i**, after finals in vowels it was assimilated.

In Mongolic the suffix of the genitive case was also -**yin*, which also lost its final –*n* after finals in -*n*. The assimilation processes run in different ways in different Mongolic languages. In Khalkha the suffix is -*in* (>*iŋ*) after all consonantal finals with the exception of -*n*, and after all final short vowels. After final -*n* it is -*i*, and after final -*i* and -*i* diphthongs it is -*n*.

The irregular, or the cases which seem to be irregular, may point to the uncertainties of the orthography. In some cases one has the impression, that they may co-occur with different authors, but all this needs further research.

12.1.2.2 ACCUSATIVE-INSTRUMENTAL -ER

cau-úr ‘army, military’, also **cau-ur**$_2$ (022-236), Chin *jun* 军, **L**15.
cau-úr-er (022-097-341), 6x.
t-le-ñ cau-ji-er (247-093-222 022-152-341) ‘south army, accusative-instrumental’, Chin *nan jun yi* 南军以 C438.

em$_2$* (257) ‘city, town(ship), region, local administration’.
em-er (021-341) ‘city regions, accusative-instrumental’, Chin no gloss, **L**19 (021!).

go-er ‘(319-341) ‘patriarchal house, tent’ **L**1, **L**6, **L**8.
go-er-er (319-341-341), 1x .
go-ci-er (319-162-341) ‘pertaining to the tent, accusative-instrumental’, Chin *fang* C468.

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-s (340-244) ‘side (e.g. of a mountain), region, area’, 22x, (K113), no gloss, plural accusative-instrumental.
h-s-d-er (340-244-254-341), 3x.

har$_3$**2** (006) ‘mountain’ also **har**$_2$**2** (321.1) perhaps to **har1** ‘black’ Chin *shan* 山.

har$_3$-s-er (006-244-341), 1x.

ha-g(e) (051-334) ‘inscription’, Chin *zhi* 志 C372, accusative-instrumental’ .
ha-g-er (051-334-341) ‘inscription, Chin *zhi* 志 C372.

i-ri (339-235) ‘name, title’, 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), accusative-instrumental.
i-ri-er (339-235-341), 22x.

i-ri-s-er (339-235-244-341), 43x.

ja-ri-qó (150-235-169) ‘prime minister’, 24x, also **ja-ri-qu** (150-235-246), 6x, Chin *zai xiang* 宰相, **L**8, **L**13, **L**26, Hucker No 6819 “Grand Councellor”. Looks like aa nominalized adjective in **-qW.**
ja-ri-qu-ur$_2$-er (150-235-246-236-341), 1x, plural, accusative-intrumental.

k-em$_2$ (283-257) ‘imperial order’, 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.

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 437on *-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.

m-in2 (133-018) ‘court, aministration’, position’, Chin *chao* 朝 C394, on CWJ p. 1245, gloss Chin *wei ji* 位即.
m-in-er (133-018-341) ‘court, administration, accusative-instrumental, Chin *chao* 朝 C394.

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), **L**5, **L**6, **L**7.
p-úr-er (295-097-341), accusative-instrumental, 1x.

po (279) ‘time’, Chin *shi* 时 C454, see Mong *on*, MMo *hon* ‘calendar year’, Dah *hoon* ‘year’ (M164), *χon* ‘Jahr’ (M-K141).

po-ô-er (279-252-341) ‘time’, accusative-instrumental, Chin *shi zhi* 时之 C455.

Qita-i (365-339) ‘Khitan’, Chin *qi dan* 契丹 C483, see also **Qita-un$_2$** (365-144) ‘Khitan’, Chin *qi dan* 契丹 C482 **L**1, see all detals there and Appedix **12.9**.

Qita-un$_2$-er (365-144-341) ‘Khitan, accusative-instrumental’.

s-em$_2$-li$_2$ (244-257-080) ‘illness’, Chin *bing* 病 C434.

s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er (244-257-080-341), 23x, ‘illness, accusative-intrumental’, Chin *bing* 病 C434.

sär (081) ‘Moon, Month’ earlier MONTH, Ch *yue* 月, **L**13, **L**18, plural: **sär-s** (081-244).

sär-s-er (081-244-341), accusative-intrumental, **L**18, **L**23.

t-ie-ên (247-327-073) ‘heaven’, ChinE *tian* 天, **L**3.

t-ie-ên-er accusative-instrumental (247-327-073-341).

ui2 (262), ‘matter, act’, 276x, **ui°2** (263), 18x, also **ui-il** (262-302), 20x, it has a dotted form **ui°** (263), 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, see Turk *qïlïnč*< *qïl,* Chin *shi* 事, **L**2, **L**20, **L**24, **L**26.

ui-er (262-341) ‘matter, affair, accusative-instrumental’, 18x, Chin *shi* 事 C452.

ui-s-d-er (262-244-254-341), double plural accusative-instrumental.

un$_2$-e$_2$ (144-109) ‘today, present’, 22x, also **un$_2$-e** (144-348) ‘today, present, now’, 38x, Chin *jin* 今 C400.

un$_2$-er (144-341), 13x, accusative-istrumental.

xo-mú (057-220) ‘coffin of an emperor’.

xo-mú-er (057-220-269), accusative-instrumental, 6x.

317-ú (317-245) ‘inscription’.

317-ú t-gu (317-245 247-165) ‘inscription said’, Chin *ming yue* 铭曰.

317-ú-er (317-245-341) ‘inscription’, accusative-instrumental, Chin *ming* 铭 C467.

12.1.2.2.1 Summary

The suffix of the accusative-instrumental case is invariably **-er**. It goes back to Old Khitan -**iyer*. Mongolic has for the instrumental case the suffix *-iyAr~-bar* < *ißar.* There existed an accusative suffix in Mongolic : -**gi* but this is not tracable in Khitan. Some functions of the old accusative were taken over by the accusative-instrumental.

There occurs only one irregular form in our texts:

abu 生 (196) ‘ancestor, grandfather’, Chin *zufu* 祖父 **L**3.
abu-ar 生木 (196-123). 1x Xian 30-8: <*m-in-de au-ul-ha-ai abu-ar s-on-l-ha-ai*>又丙矢 丸平立丰 生木 仐不小立丰‘after having been moved to the mausoleum…???? spent the night’.

Perhaps **abu-ar** is another word.

12.1.2.3 DATIVE-LOCATIVE

Used also as temporal.

12.1.2.3.1 -DE

abu 生 (196) ‘ancestor, grandfather’, Chin *zufu* 祖父 **L**3, also **a-abu** 为生 (189-196), Chin *fu* 父, C416.
abu-de (196-205), 1x.
a-abu-ñ (196-305-222), 3x.
a-abu-ñ-de (189-196-222-205), 1x, also **a-abu-ñ-d** (189-196-222-254), 1x.

ai1 丰 (122) ‘year’, Chin *nian* 年 **L**13, **L**15, **L**20, **L**23, plural **ai-s** 丰仐 (122-244) .
ai-de丰矢 (122-205)‘in the year’, Chin *nian yu* 年于, **L**14, **L**16, **L**19.

Ci-eu y-gu 术与 丏勺 (162-067 020-165) *‘Zhou Yi* 周易: the Book of Changes’, C405.
Ci-eu y-gu-de 术与 丏勺矢 (162-067 020-165-205) ‘in the ZhouYi: the Book of Changes, dative-locative’, ChinE *zhou yi yu* 周易于 C405.

dalu 尽 (141), **dalu°**尽 (142), ’seven’, perhaps it has a short form **dal.**
dalu-de (141-205), 8x.

eu-úr与交 (067-097) ‘ages’, **eu-ur$_2$** 与化 (067-236), Chin *sui* 岁, **L**14.

eu-úr-de 与亦矢 (067-097-205), 10x.

g-mu 凡仕 (334-224) ‘wife’s mother’, Chin *zhang mu* 丈母 C474.
g-mu-de 凡仕矢 (334-224-205) ‘wife’s mother, dative-locative’, Chin *zhang mu yu* 丈母于 C474.

g-ng sh-iú-de 凡妥 乏岕矢 (334-264 028-289-205) ‘Confucian classics, dative-locative’, ChinE *jing shu yu* 经书于 C474.

gur 包, (166) **gur°**, 包 (167) ‘three’.
gur-de 包矢 (166-205) 5x.

h-s 乂仐 (340-244) ‘side (e.g. of a mountain), region, area’, 22x, (K113).
h-s-de 乂仐矢 (340-244-205), 9x.

har$_3$2 尿 (006) ‘mountain’ also **har$_2$2 虫** (321.1).
har$_3$-de 尿矢 (006-205), 9x.

hong di 主 王 (075-037) ‘emperor’, Chin *huangdi* 皇帝, **L**19, 11x.
hong di-de 主 王矢 (075-037-205), 1x.

i-ri 关亿 (339-235) ‘name, title’, Chin *ming* 名, *hao* 号 **L**13, **L**16, **L**18, **L**19, **L**21.
i-ri-de 关亿矢 (339-235-205), 47x.

m-em$_2$ 叉企 (133-257) ‘silver’, 14x, Chin *yin* 银.
m-em$_2$-de 叉企矢 (133-257-205), 1x.

jur 圣 (134), ‘two’, 196x, 坙 56x (135).
jur-de (134-205), 12x.

m-in2 叉雨 (133-018) ‘court, aministration’, position’, Chin *chao* 朝 C394.
m-in-de 叉雨矢 (133-018-205), 24x.

MRS 九 (192) a logograph for “mistress’, C416.
MRS-de 九矢 (192-205), 1x.

n-ar$_2$ 公夲 (251-084) ‘tomb’, Chin *mu* 墓 C443.
n-ar$_2$-de 公夲矢 (251-084-205) Chin *mu yu* 墓于 C443 **L**1.

nem 丕, (007), **nem^{o}** 丕 (008) ‘eight’.
nem-de (007-205), 11x, **n-em$_{2}$-de** (251-257-205), 5x.

n-on 公不 (251-154) ‘1. dynasty, 2. generation’, also **n-ô-on** 公仌不 (251-252-154), 5x, **n-o-on** 公及不 (251-186-154), 3x, **n-o-ón** 公及冄 (251-186-322), 2x, Chin *dai* 代 C445.
n-on-de 公不矢 (251-154-205) ‘1. dynasty, 2. generation, dative-locative’, Chin *dai yu* 代于 C445.

när 关 ‘day’ (159) , Chin *ri* 日 C403, **L**2, **L**13, earlier **DAY**.
när-de 关矢 (159-205) ‘day, dative-locative’, Chin *ri yu* 日于 C403.

ñol 灭 (085), **ñol^{o}** 灭 086) ‘six’.
ñol-de 灭矢 (085-205), 8x.

ong 杰 (071) ‘(local) king’, ChinE *wang* 王, **L**1, **L**l3.
ong-de 杰矢 (071-205), 1x, **ong-do** 杰朱 (071-217), 5x, **ong-dú** 杰尺 (071-179), 1x.

p-ar 业书 (295-123) ‘wife (and family)’, 29, also **p-ar$_{2}$** 业夯 (295-084) , 9x, ‘female member of family’, Chin *nü juan* 女眷 C459, Chin *qi* 妻 C459.
p-ar-de 业书矢 (295-123-204), 1x.

s-ai 仐丰 (244-122) ‘imperial physician’, 14x, Chin *yu yi* 御医 C432.
s-ai-de 仐丰矢 (244-122-205) ‘imperial physician, dative’, 1x, Chin *yu yi* 御医 C432.

s-om 仐九 (244-092) ‘arrow’, 61x, Chin *shi* 矢, *jian* 箭 C431.
s-om-de 仐九矢 (244-092-205) ‘crossbow, dative-locative’, Chin *nu yu* 弩于 C431.

s-uni 仐杏 (244-059) ‘night’, Chin *ye* 夜 C432.
s-uni-de 仐杏矢 (244-059-205) ‘night, dative-locative’, Chin *ye yu* 夜于 C432.

sär 女 (081) ‘Moon, Month’ earlier MONTH, Ch *yue* 月, **L**13, **L**18.
sär-de 女矢(081-205), **L**16, 19x.

sh-a-rí 叉为共 (028-189-069), 133x, ‘court attendant, courtier*, langjun’*, also **sh-ia-ri** 叉幺共 (028-274-069), 1x, **sha-ha-rí** 叉击共 (028-051-069), 9x.
sh-a-rí-de (028-189-069-205), 19x.

sh-em-qú (028-257-118) ‘goodness’, 6x, see **sh-ên**, genitive **sh-em$_2$-qú-i**.
sh-em-qú-de (028-257-118-205), 1x.

t-ie-ên (247-327-073) ‘heaven’.
t-ie-ên-de (247-327-073-205), 5x.

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.

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.

Ú g-úr (245 334-097) ‘the state, country Wu’, ChinE *wu* 乌 (=烏).
Ú g-úr-de (245 334-097-205) ‘state of Wu, dative-locative’, ChinE *wu guo yu* 乌 (=烏) 国于 C437.

ui2 (262), ‘matter, act’, 276x, **ui°2** (263), 18x, also **ui-il** (262-302), 20x, it has a dotted form **uiº** (263).
ui-de (262-205) 39x.

uni-qó (059-169), also **uni-qu** (059-246) ‘young person’, 8x.
uni-qó-dú (059-169-179) ‘young, dative-locative’, Chin *you yu* 幼于 C374, 2x.
uni-qó-de (059-169-205) ‘young, dative-locative’, Chin *you yu* 幼于 C374, 1x.
uni-qu-dú-hu (059-246-179-151) ‘young’, Chin *you* 幼 C374, 2x.

us-g (068-334) ‘letter, writing, script, document’, also **us$_{2-}$g** (103-334) , Chin *zi* 字 C388.
us-g-de (068-334-205) ‘writing’, Chin *zi yu* 字于 C376.

xa-shi (130-033) ‘time, occasion, while, interval’, 7x, also **xa-she** (130-315) , 49x, Chin *shi* 时, *ji* 际, C392.
xa-shi-de (130-033-205) ‘at time, dative-locative’, Chin *shi yu* 时于 C392.

xo-mú (057-220) ‘coffin of an emperor’.
xo-mú-de (057-220-205).

y-gu-de (020-165-205) ‘I Ching, [Yi jing] the Book of Changes, dative-locative’, Chin *yi jing (jing) zhi* 易 經 (经) 之 C363, the Chin has genitive, Chin *yi* YCh LMCh *ji*, Chin *jing* YCh *kiŋ,* LMCh *kjiajŋ*, the Romanisation is aberrant.

y-ie (020-327) ‘to be alive, to exist’ ChinE *you* 有, *zai* 在, **L**4, **L**5, tres, **L**7bis, **L**8.
y-ie-ên-094-de (020-327-073-094-205) ‘dative-locative’.

239 (239) ‘earth, ground’, Chin *di* 地.
239-de (239-205) ‘earth, ground, dative-locative’, Chin *di yu* 地于 C425.

THIRTY°-de (211.1-205) 1x, ‘thirty’ (in error) correctly ‘eighty, dative-locative’, Chin *ba shi yu* 八十于 C419.
Ar$_2$-b (084-311) ‘a name, Arab???’, 7x, no gloss, **L**22.
Ar$_2$-b-te$_2$ (084-311-356), 1x, dative-locative .

12.1.2.3.2 -D~T

a-abu-ñ.
abu-ñ-de (189-196-222-205), 1x.
a-abu-ñ-d (189-196-222-254), 1x.

a-aju-ñ (189-082.1-222), a participial, or deverbal nominal form, 1x.
a-aju-ñ-d (189-082.1-222-254) dative-locative case of *a’ajuñ,* 1x.

d-ém **g-ém-d** **deu-úr MANAGE-i** (254-270 334-270-254 101-097 142-339) ‘a title’, ChinT *dian jian yu (tong)zhi* 点检于 (同) 知 C447, with the Khitan dative-locative suffix **-d**.

go-er ‘(319-341) ‘patriarchal house, tent’ **L**1, **L**6, **L**8.
go-t (319-247) ‘house, family, dative-locative’, Chin *fang yu* 房于 C468.

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 **12.3**.

12.1.2.3.3 -DO

n-ad-bot (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.

nai (332) 'head, leader, first, commander', Chin *guan* 官, **L**13, **L**14, Liaoshi *nai* 耐 'head *shou* 首.
nai-do (332-217) 'head, leader, first, commander, locative.', Chin *guanyu* 官于, **L**26.

SMALL-qó (188-169) '.1. small, 2. young', Chin 1.*xiao* 小 2.*ji* 季 C415.
SMALL-qó-do (188-169-217) '1. since his childhood, small, dative-locative, 2. from his young time, 2', Chin 1.*xiao yu* 小于 2. *shao shi yu* 少时于 C415.

po (279) 'time', Chin *shi* 时 C454,
po-do (279-217) 'in the hour', Chin *shi yu* 时于 C455.

12.1.2.3.4 -DÚ

b-üe-z-iú (311-082-258-289) 'a title', 2x, Chin *bie xu* 别胥 C465, see also **p-üe-siu** (295-082 004) 'a title', 1x (Zhi21-31), Chin *bie xu* 别胥 C459, also **p-üe-z-iú-** (295-082-258-289) , 10x, cf. Mong *büse ügei.*
p-üe-z-iú-dú- (295-082 258-289-179), 1x.
ci-eu2 (162-067)'prefecture, district', ChinE *zhou*, 州.
ci-eu-dú (162-067-179), 3x, also **ci-eu-de** (162-067-205), 3x,

g-iu-ung* (334-019-106) 'palace', also **g-ung** ChinE *gong* 宫.
g-iu-ung-dú (334-019-345-179) 'palace, dative-locative', Chin *gong yu* 宫于 C472.
Y -ang G-iu s-eng-dú (Yu63).
ñ-qó-l$_2$ (222-169-149) 'cave',
ñ-qu-du$_2$ (222-246-304) 'cave, dative-locative', Chin *xue yu* 穴于 C421.
ong (071) '(local) king', ChinE *wang* 王, **L**1, **L**l3.
ong-dú (071-179), **ong-de** (071-205), 1x, **ong-do** (071-217), 3x, but prolative-ablative **ong-do-i**, 2x.

pu-ung cu-uh-dú 个尖 艻夊凡 (241-345 102-172-179) ‘young phoenix, dative-locative’, ChinE *feng chu yu* 凤雏于 C427.

sï tu 廿 方 (083-202) ‘ a title’, ChinE *si tu* 司徒.
sï tu-dú 廿 方凡 (083 202-179) ‘a title, dative-locative’, 1x, ChinE *si tu yu* 司徒于 C385.

sh-û 飞只 (028-372) ‘book’, ChinE *shu* 书.
sh-û-dú 飞只凡 (028-372-179) ‘in the book, dative-locative’, Chin *shu yu* 书于 C368.

12.1.2.3.5 -IU

abu 生 (196) ‘ancestor, grandfather’, Chin *zufu* 祖父 **L**3, also ***a-abu* 为生** (189-196), and Chin *fu* 父, C416, also **abu-ñ 生伏** dative-locative **abu-de** (196-205), 1x.
abu-iú 生火 (196-289), 4x, prolative-ablative **abu-iú-i 生火关** (196-289-339), 1x.

b-áng-hu* 付业列 (311-280-151), ‘collect workers’ (Lang3), Chin *jiu gong* 鸠 工 CWJ 895, K 188.
b-ang-hu-al-hu 付业列亏列 (311-280-151-098-151), 1x.
b-ang-hu-al-hu-iú 付业列亏列火(311-280-151-098-151-289), 1x.

au er 丸 公 (161-341) ‘elder sister’.
au er-iú 丸 公火 (161 341-289) ‘siblings, sisters, dative-locative’, Chin *jie mei* 姐妹 C40.

ia ai 才 丰 (335 122) ‘uncle’, also **ia-iá 才幺** (335-274), Chin *bo fu* 伯父 C476.
ia-iá-iú 才幺火 (335-274-289) ‘dative-locative’, Chin *xiong* 兄 C476.

d-ia 仝才 (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.
d-ia-iú 仝才 火 (254-335-289), dative-locative, 1x,

qa-ha-an 巫圡买 (053-051-011) ‘the title kagan, emperor, used also as imperial’, **qa-a-an 巫为买** (053-189-011) ‘khan’, Chin *ke han* 可汗 C374 **L**2, the nominal and the genitive case identical.
qa-ha-iú 巫圡火 (053-051-289) ‘khan’, 11x, Chin *ke han* 可汗 C374.

sh-au-a (028-161-189) ‘eagle’, Chin *ying* 鹰 C369, see Mong *sibagun* ‘bird, fowl’, Dah *šo(u)oo* ‘falcon’ (M218), *šowō* ‘Habicht’ (M-K134), see Kara 2021b, WF 736, dative-locative.
sh-au-a-iú (028-161-189-289) ‘eagle’, Chin *ying* 鹰 C369.

sh-iá (028-274) ‘goodness’, also **sh-ia**, Chin *shan* 善 C365.
sh-iá-iú (028-274-289) ‘goodness’, Chin *shan* 善 C366.

12.1.2.3.6 Summary

The suffix of the dative-locative is **-de** after all types of finals with a few exceptions. In a few cases, the vowel **-e** disappears as in **go-er > go-t**, **t-aû-n > t-aû-t**, see the alternation **abu-ñ-de** (189-196-222-205), 1x, **a-abu-ñ-d** (189-196-222-254), 1x. After final **-o** the suffix is **-do**. Beside the regular **nai-de**, 8x we find **nai-do** once in Gao26-13. After final **-u**, and diphthongs ending in-**u** (**-iu**, **-eu**) the suffix is **-du**. Also after final syllables ending in **-ung**, **-uh** and even after **-qó** and **-ong** we find a few cases with **-du**. The form **-iú** occurs after final syllables ending in **-a.** After final **-b** in one case: **Ar$_2$-b-te$_2$** (084-311-356), 1x, dative-locative (Dao11-13).

The Khitan forms go back to an earlier -**dA*. Proto Mongolic had the dative-locative suffix -**dA*. The origin of the suffix **-iú** is not clear.

12.1.2.4 PROLATIVE-ABLATIVE

The demonstrative pronoun **e**, see**: e i-ri de-i au-ul-û-ui** ‘from that very title he was exempted’ (348 339-235 205-339 161-262-372-262) (Yu21).

aju (082.1)ʿfather-in-law, father, old man’, **9x**, **L**9, **L**10’, plural **aju-s** (82.1-244), genitive **aju-en**, (082.1-140) 36x, Chin *weng* 翁, C384, dative-locative **aju-de** (82.1-205).
aju-de-i (082.1-205-339), 1x.

al-qó (098-169) ‘step’, in: .
al-qó-do-i (098-169-217-339) ‘step, ablative-prolative’ also **al-qó-dú-i** (098-169-179-339), Chin *bu cong* 步从 C387.

h-s 仌 仐 (340-244) 'side (e.g. of a mountain), region, area', 22x, (K113), no gloss, genitive ***h-s-en*** 仌仐朸 (340-244-140), 8x, dative-locative ***h-s-de***仌仐矢 (340-244-205), 9x, ablative-prolative .
h-s-de-i 仌仐矢关 (340-244-205-339), 1x.

i-ri 关亿 (339-235) 'name, title', Chin *ming* 名, *hao* 号 **L**13, **L**16, **L**18, **L**19, **L**21.
iri-de-i 关亿矢关 (339-235-205-339), 6x.

jau qa-ha iú-i弜 丞击 火关 (015-053-051-289-339) 'hundred kagans, ablative-prolative', Chin *bai kehan* 百 可汗.

ku 几 (178) 'people', Chin *ren* 人 C412.
ku-û-dú-i 几只凢关 (178-372-179-339) 'from the people, ablative-prolative', Chin *ren cong* 人从 C412.

m-in1叉雨 (133-018) 'tomb, mausoleum', Chin *mu* 墓' C393, **L**19.
m-in-de叉雨矢 (133.018.205) locative.
m-in-de-i 叉雨矢关 (133-018-205-339) 'grave, ablative-prolative, from the grave', Chin *ying cong* 茔从 C393.

m-ri1 叉亿 (133-235) 'horse'.
m-ri-de-i 叉亿矢关 (133-235-205-339) 'from the horse' prolative-ablative, Chin *macong* 马从 C396.

MRS 九 (192) a logograph for "mistress', C416.
MRS-de-i 九矢关 (192-205-339), 1x.

n-ad-bud 公朩外 (251-099-176), also **n-ad-bod** 公朩国 (251-099-309), 25x, **n-ad-(a)bu-ad** 公朩生朩 (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-(a)bu-d-i 公朩生坌关 (251-099-196-254-339), 1x ablative-prolative Chin *naboyu* 捺钵于 C444.

ol 达 (115) 'many, several', Chin *zhong* 众 C389.
ol-de-i 达矢关 (115-205-339) 'many, several, ablative-prolative', Chin *zhong cong* 众从 C389.

RECORD-ge$_2$-ci-de-i 亟夯术矢关 (052-112-162-205-339) 'the owner of the tombstone, ablative-prolative', Chin *zhi zhu cong* 志主从 C372.

sär (081) ‘Moon, Month’ earlier MONTH, Ch *yue* 月, **L**13, **L**18, plural: **sär-s** (081-244) genitive **sär-en** (081-140), Dative-locative **sär-de** (081-205), **L**16, 19x.
sär-de-i (081-205-339), ablative-prolative, 2x.

sh-ri-e$_2$ (028-235-109) a tribal unit, Chin *shi lie* 石烈 C370.
sh-ri-e$_2$-de-i (028-235-348-205-339), ablative-prolative, 1x.

ui2 (262), ‘matter, act’, 276x, **ui^{o}2** (263), 18x, also **ui-il** (262-302), 20x.
ui-de-i (262-205-339), 6x ‘matter, affair, from’, Chin *shi (cong)*事 (从) C452.

us-g (068-334) ‘letter, writing, script, document’, also **us$_{2}$-g** (103-334) , Chin *zi* 字 C388.
us$_2$-g-de-i (103-334-205-339) ‘writing’, Chin *zi cong* 字从 C388.

xa-shi (130-033) ‘time, occasion, while, interval’, 7x, also **xa-she** (130-315) , 49x, Chin *shi* 时, *ji* 际, C392.
xa-she-de-i (130-315-205-339), 1x.

qa-ha-an (053-051-011) ‘the title kagan, emperor, used also as imperial’, **qa-a-an** (053-189-011) ‘khan’, Chin *ke han* 可汗 C374 **L**2.
qa-ha-iú-i m-in (053-051-289-339 133-018) ‘position of khan’, prolative (Yu3) only here.

abu (196) ‘ancestor, grandfather’, Chin *zufu* 祖父 **L**3, also **a-abu** (189-196), and Chin *fu* 父, C416, also **abu-ñ** (196-222), 3x, accusative-instrumental **abu-ar** (196-123). 1x (Xian 30-8), dative-locative **abu-de** (196-205), 1x, **abu-iú** (196-289), prolative-ablative.
abu-iú-i (196-289-339), 1x.

12.1.2.4.1 Summary

For the function of the ablative-prolative see**: eme-n t-ge$_2$-én or-a-an** **deu-dú-i** **s-lu$_3$ p-o-l$_2$-un** ‘after his wife died, he separated from the brother’ (Hu23)

The suffix of the prolative-ablative case is the suffix of the dative-ablative +**i**. The suffix of the ablative case in Mongolic is -**AčA*, which is another suffix. There does exist a suffix combination Dative-Locative+Ablative in Mongolic, which is *-d/tAčA*. The structure of the Khitan prolative-ablative in case of the **-d** dative-locative: **d-i**, is structurally the same.

12.1.2.5 TEMPORAL

The form **po-or** preserved an old suffix of local-temporal function. See **18.4.3.1** This may be the same as Mongolic *-rU* as in *inaru* 'before' < **ina, činaru* 'after' < **čina* see Poppe 1964, 59.

po-or 279-075 16x Chin *shi* 时 C454 is used also in other expressions as: .

nai po-or 'in the first time/hour'(Yu 69-37).

n-ai-un$_2$-én$_2$ po-or (Zhen35(!)-29) perhaps = **n-ai-ri.**

eu-ul po-or (Zhong7-13, Yu59-43) ? 'on a cloudy, gloomy hour' or 'on the day of death'.

udu-u po-or (335-131 279-076) ? 'in peaceful time' (Zhong16-30), also **udu-.**

Homographic with **p-o-ri$_5$** (295-186-255) 'became (was appointed)', Chin *chengwei* 成为, **L**8n, **L**15, **L**16, **L**17, **L**22 in:

ci-iú-pen tai-shï tai ong po-or (Guang6-11), 'Ci iú Pen *taishi* became *tai ong'.*

12.1.2.6 EXTENDED FORMS

Some times to the dative-locative and the prolative ablative the suffix **-hu** is added. Its function is not yet clear. Its connection with Mongolic *-gUr,* a suffix for prolative has to be studied.

p-úr (295-097) 'descendant', 4x, plural **p-úr-s** (295-097-244) 'descendants', 58x, Chin *zisi* 子嗣.

p-úr-s-de-hu (295-097-244-205-151), 1x.

i-ri (339-235) 'name, title', Chin *ming* 名, *hao* 号 **L**13, **L**16, **L**18, **L**19, **L**21, to ? Mong *nere* 'name, title'.

i-ri-de-i-hu (339-235-204-339-151) 'being nominated ? call, order, literary name', **L**26 only once, there.

uni-qó (059-169), also **uni-qu** (059-246) 'young person' , 8x, perhaps to **uni** '"heifer"' young female animal???+ suffix of adjective +**qU**, see also **uni-qu** (059-246), 7x. One has the impression that where two different suffixes appear with the same function, we have to do with another word.

uni-qu-dú-hu (059-246-179-151) 'young', Chin *you* 幼 C374.

b-iú-li i-ri Ñ-mú-qó-hu rí-l-ñ (Zhong25-16) 'the title *b-iú-li* was awarded to Ñ-mú-qó'.

12.1.3 DECLINATION TABLES OF KHITAN WORDS

12.1.3.1 THE DECLINATION OF B-QO

The Khitan word for ‘son, child’ is one of the most frequent in the coprus. The function of some forms of its declination is not clear. In these cases I cite the context

Singular
Nominative :**b-qo** (311-168)‘son’, 442x, Chin *zi* 子
Genitive: **b-qo-i** (311-168-339), 64x
Accusative-Instrumental: = Nominative
Dative-Locative: **b-qo-de** (311-168-206), 4x (1)
b-qo-iu (311-168-289), 2x (2)
Prolative-Ablative: **b-qo-de-i** (311-168-205-339), 1x (3)
b-qo-iu-i (311-168-289-339), 1x (4)

Plural
Nominative: **b-hu-án** (311-151-290), 190x
Genitive: **b-hu-án-en** (311-151-290-140), 1x
Accusative-Instrumental: **b-hu-án-er** (311-151-290-341), 3x[9]
Dative-Locative: no example
Prolative-Ablative: **b-hu-án-er-i** (311-151-290-341-339)[10].

(1) *p-d-378.1-378.1 b-qo-de sh-ha-aju MANAGE-i* (Xu5-3).
b-qo-de ci-i-shi-d-bun ‘the filial piety to the son’ (Yu69-65).
b-qo-de b-058-u-ji k-li$_2$-g (Jue9-41).
eme-er ku b-qo-de t-abu-al-ha-ar ‘? was placed (buried) to the wife and son’ (Jue12-31).

(2) *b-qo-iú as-ar n-ai-un$_2$-ha-as* (Zhen31-22!) ‘harmonized the peace with the child????’.
b-qo-iú es b-lu$_3$-u-mor p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$ (Hu26-19).

(3) *ol b-qo-de-i p-378.1 378.1 p-o-ri$_5$* (Yong27-29).

(4) *t-mu-d-li$_2$-en b-qo-iú-i b-o-i MANAGE-l-ha-a-al* (Zhen25-40).

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[9] <*deu-úr b-hu-án-er es ci-s$_2$-ge$_2$-i*> (Yu57-29), <*b-hu-án-er i-ri-s t-em$_2$-l-g*> (Hong8-1),

[10] <*uni-qu-do 66-li$_2$ s-ón-qó 234-en ol b-hu-án-er-i s-aú-o-ón b-su ku p-o-ri$_5$ shï us-g COMPOSE-un$_2$ RECORD-e$_2$*> (Jue9-12) <*ja-ri-qó p-üe-z-iú-dú ol b-hu-án-er-i p-ul-271-ji hul-l-ha-ar*> (Di10-8), <*SMALL-en ol /8/ b-hu-án-er-i l-ci-te$_2$ pu m-a g-ung dz$_2$-iú p-ul-uh-ji*> (Xian7/8-1), <*ol b-hu-án-er-i s-aú-o-ón b-su ku p-o-ri$_5$*> (Hu9-25)

12.1.3.2 THE DECLINATION OF ***COMPOSE*** (=THE COMPOSED, COMPOSITION)

The logoglyph **COMPOSE** (308) ‘composition, composed (text)’ **L**2, K89, also **COMPOSE$_2$** (316.2), **COMPOSE$_3$** (316.1) (Hong11-5) Chin *zhuan* 撰 is rendred by CWJ as ‘to write, to compose (a text)’, Chin *zhuan* 撰 also *zhi* 制 ‘work out, formulate’. Gramatically the word is a noun. It gets all nominal suffixes, therefore it should rather be COMPOSITION, COMPOSED, WRITING, SCRIPT or the like. For the time being I have preserved the usage of CWJ. It is frequent, and its declination contains forms with not quite clear functions.

Primary stem I

Nominative : **COMPOSE** (308),
Genitive: **COMPOSE-ń** (308-222), 1x.
COMPOSE-i (308-339), 16x.
COMPOSE-y (308-020), 1x.
Accusative-Instrumental: **COMPOSE-er** (308-341), 1x.
COMPOSE-ar (308-123), 4x.
Dative-Locative: **COMPOSE-de** (308-205), 4x.
COMPOSE-d (308-254), 1x.

Primary stem II

Nominative: **COMPOSE$_2$** (316.2).
Genitive: **COMPOSE$_2$-i** (316.2-339), 1x.
Accusative-Instrumental: **COMPOSE$_2$-er** (316.2-341), 1x.
COMPOSE$_2$-a-ar (316.2-189-123), 1x.

Secondary nominal stems

Nominative **COMPOSE-u-ji*** (308-131-152).
Genitive: **COMPOSE-u-ji-en** (308-131-152-140), 2x.

Nominative: **COMPOSE-u-ji$_2$** (308-131-153), 1x.
Genitive: **COMPOSE-u-ji$_2$-en** (308-131-153-140), 2x.

Nominative**:** **COMPOSE-un** (308-144), 15x.
Genitive **COMPOSE-un-en** (308-144-140), 1x.

Nominative: **COMPOSE-l-ó-ji*** (308-261-090-152).

Genitive: **COMPOSE-l-ó-ji-en** 冈小卄犸冇 (308-261-090-152-140), 3x,

Nominative: **COMPOSE-l-û-ji-*** 冈小穴犸 (308-261-372-152).
Genitive: **COMPOSE-l-û-ji-en** 冈小穴犸冇 (308-261-372-152-140), 1x,

See also **COMPOSE$_2$** 月 (316.2), 20x.
COMPOSE$_2$-li$_2$ (316.2-080)1x.
COMPOSE$_2$-u-ji (316.2-152), 1x.
COMPOSE$_2$-un (316-2-144), 1x.
COMPOSE$_2$-ú (316.2-245), 9x.
COMPOSE$_2$-én (316.2-361), 1x (Xiang34-35).

COMPOSE-te$_2$-er 冈尘夵 (308-356-341), 2x.

12.1.4 THE DECLINATION OF CHINESE LOANWORDS

I have selected three words of Chinese origin to show how were they embedded into the Khitan declination system.

12.1.4.1 THE DECLINATION OF **PU-SHI- Ñ**

Nominative: **pu-shi-ñ** 兮忝伏 (241-033-222) 'milady', 137x, Chin *furen* 夫人.
Genitive: **pu-shi-ñ-en** 兮忝伏冇 (241-033-222-140), 36x.
Dative-Locative: **pu-shi-ñ-de** 兮忝伏矢 (241-033-222-205), 2x.
Prolative-ablative: **pu-shi-ñ-de-i** 兮忝伏矢关 (241-033-222-205-339), 1x.

12.1.4.2 THE DECLINATION OF **G-IU-UNG$_2$**

g-iu-ung$_2$* 九丙火 (334-019-345) 'palace', 21x, Chin *gong* 宫 YCh *kuŋ,* LMCh ***kiwŋ.***

Singular

Genitive **g-iu-ung-ñ** 九丙火伏 (334-019-345-222), 1x.
g-iu-ung-un 九丙火女 (334-019-345-273), 15x.
Accusative-instrumental no data.
Dative-locative **g-iu-ung-de** 九丙火矢 (334-019-345-205), 1x.
g-iu-ung-dú 九丙火尼 (334-019-345-179), 4x.

Prolative-Ablative no data.

Plural

Nominative **g-iu-ung-ur***.
Genitive **g-iu-ung-ur$_2$-en 九丙夹化杓** (334-019-345-236-140), 2x.
Accusative-Instrumental no data.
Dative-Locative no data.
Prolative-Ablative no data.

12.1.4.3 THE DECLINATION OF **G-UNG**

g-ung 九夹(334 345) 'prince, duke', Chin *gong* 公 YCh *kuŋ*, LMCh *kəwŋ,* **L**3, Hucker No 3388.

Singular.

Nominative **g-ung 九夹** (334-345), 114x.
Genitive **g-ung-en 九夹杓** (334-345-140), 3x.
g-ung-ñ 九夹伏 (334-345-222), 1x.
g-ung-un 九夹火 (334-345-273), 52x.
Accusative-Instrumental **g-ung-er 九夹公** (344-345-341), 1x.
Dative-Locative: **g-ung-do 九夹朱** (334-345-217), 1x,
Prolative-Ablative **g-ung-dú-i 九夹尼关** (344-345-179-339), 1x.

Singular

Nominative **g-ung$_2$ 九太** (334-106) 19x.
Genitive **g-ung$_2$-en 九太杓** (334-106-140), 1x.
g-ung$_2$-un九太火 (334-106-273), 2x.
Accusative-Instrumental: no data.
Dative-locative: no data.
Prolative-Ablative: **g-ung$_2$-de-i 九太矢关** (334-106-205-339), 1x.

12.1.5 THE ORIGIN OF THE KHITAN DECLINATION SUFFIXES

	KHITAN	PROTO KHITAN	PROTO KHITAN-MONGOLIC	PROTO MONGOLIC	MONGOLIC
GENITIVE	-EN	-YIN	-YIN	-YIN	-YIN
	-VN				
	-N				
	- Ñ				-I[11]
	-I[11]				
ACCUSA-TIVE INST-RUMENTAL	-ER	-IYER	-IβAR[12]	-BAR -IYAR	-BAR -IYAR
DATIVE-LOCATIVE	-D(V)	-DA	-DA	-DA[13]	-DA
	-IU[14]				
PROLATIVE-ABLATIVE	DATIVE-LOCA-TIVE+I			DATIVE-LOCATIVE +ABLATIVE	
TEMPORAL	-OR[15]	-VR	-VRV	-RV	-RU

12.2 THE PRONOUNS

12.2.1 Demonstrative pronouns

12.2.1.1 THE PRONOUN E

e 券(348), **e**$_2$ 夯 (109) **L**3 ‘this, that’, Chin *zhe* 这, *gai* 该 C389, 481 **L**3. 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 令 <et> (247) ‘these, they’, Chin *tamen* 他们, *zhe xie* 这些 C 437. See Mong *ene* ‘this’, plural *ede* <*e-, Dah *ene, ede* (M 144, 139), *ene, ede* (M-K 128, 130) . It has an emphatic form **e-hu** 券刋 (348-151)

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[11] After -*n* finals

[12] Originally instrumental, the accusative was -GI, lost in Khitan, preserved in Mongolic

[13] Proto Mongolic had also -DVR> -DUR, where -*r* was an old suffux, perhaps directive.

[14] After -*a* finals

[15] Preserved after **po** ‘time’

‘this (emphatic), this very, the aforementioned’, Chin *gai* 该. The plural has the following suffixed forms: **e_2-te_2-**ñ 夯尘伏 (109-356-222) once (Jue12-35: <*ci-i-is-d-b-ñ em-er e_2-te_2-ñ or-u-ji*> and **e_2-te_2-i** 夯尘 (109-356-339) twice (Dao16-8: <e_2-te_2-i dor>, Xian17-15: <*QUEEN-i s-or-077 a-ar es h-úr te_2-i sh-úr e_2-te_2-i s-a-ad-li_2*>. A few expressions: .

e ui 券 火 ‘this matter’, Chin *gai shi* 该事 C482,

e ui-er (Wu 35, Hu22),

e ui-de-i ‘from those matters’ (Yong 36),

e l-ing g-ung-un 券 屮同 九太太 (348 261-303 334-345-273) ‘this order made public, genitive’ Chin *gai ling gong zhi* 该令公之 C482 ,

e_2 g-ung-er 夯 九太公 (109 334-345-341) ‘this is due to’, Chin *zhe gong yi* 这功以 C389 (Yue35),

Plural

et 令 (247) ‘these, they’, Chin *tamen* 他们, *zhe xie* 这些, plural of **e**, C437.

Examples for the plural: .

t jur 令 圣 (247 134) ‘those two (persons)’, (Hai5) Chin *ta men er* 他们 二 (人) C437).

t ui-s 令火仐 (247 262-244) ‘all these matters, affairs’, Chin *zhexiezhu shi* 这些诸事 C 437.

t ui-ri-s-er 令火化仐公 (247 262-235-244-341) **‘**all these dates, accusative-instrumental’, Chin *zhexie zhu hao* 这些诸号 C437.

12.2.1.2 THE PRONOUN TE

te 口 (323)‘that’, 113x, **L**15, also **t(e)** 令(247) 31x, Chin *gai* 该, C490, read by earlier research as <qi> (Kane 2009, 73, Wu—Janhunen 2010, 223, 268), Shimunek 2017, 223, 225 read <qai>, and stressed that it is a discourse deictic demonstrative particle referring to previous parts of the discourse like Chinese *shi* 是 or *kai* 該... According to Shimunek the Khitan word is a loan from Old Mandarin *gai* 該. CWJ 310 gives the earlier readings and the arguments in favour to read **te.** Plural **te-t**, see CWJ 310. The glyph occurs in the name **Te-li_2-ñ qa-ha-an** 口北伏 丞亚央 (323-080-222 053-051-011), Chin *telin kehan* 忒邻可汗之 C470, (Zhi11) earlier reasearch read **Qi-ii-ñ**, the second glyph as 北 (077) instead of 北 (080). **Te-li_2-ñ** is a term for a social group, *this* in opposition to the others, see **Bud**, **EL** and **18.5** .

Some expressions:

te ui (323 262) ‘that matter’, Chin *gai shi* 该事, C470,
te po (323 279) ‘that time (double hour)’. Chin *gai shi* 该时 C470, (Ren15) and 19 more,
te s-uni (323 244-059) ‘that night’, Chin *gai ye* 该 夜 C470, (Yu32, Jue29)ü,
te ju-un (323 147-273) ‘that summer’, C hin *gai xia* 该夏 (Zhuo17),
te ai te sär te när te po-do (323 396 323 081 323 159 323 279-217) ‘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 C470, (Zhong43),

te go-er (323 319-341) ‘that (Patriarchal) Tent’, Chin *gai fang* 该房 C470,
te s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er (323 244-257-080-341), ‘because of that illnes’, Chin *nabingyi* 那病以 C470,
t i-ri-s-er ‘that offices, titles’, 5x (Hai12),

plural

te-t (323-247), ‘those’, 2x.
te-t ai-s-er ‘those years, accusative-instrumental’ (Zhong8-17, 10-23).

t-i-d (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 (247-339-254 071-016-140) ‘all those Wangs, genitive’, Chin *zhu di wang zhi* 诸帝王之 C442.

te-hu (323-151) ‘emphatic, that same, that very’ (Gao19),[16] 8x.
te-hu ai (323-151 ‘that same age (year)’ Chin *gainian* 该年, (Zhong20), 6 times in Zhong 22 23,
te-hu g-iu-ung-un (323-151 334-019-345-273) ‘of that same palace, genitive’, Chin *gaigongzhi* 该宫之 C470,
te-hu g-iu-ung-un shï ï (323-151 334-019-106-273 180-353), ‘the envoy of that palace’, Chin *gaigongzhi shi* 该宫之使.

t ui-ri-s-er (247 262-235-244-341) ‘all these dates, accusative-instrumental’, Chin *zhexie zhu hao* 这些诸号 C437.

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[16] *<ai-de te-hu g-iu-ung-un shï-ï a-ai>* ‘in that (same) year he was the *g-iu-ung-un shï ï*’ (Gao 19)

Unclear are:

ta-d-ñ cau-ji 仍 仝 伏 而 犽 (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) .
tau-un-hu 戋 火 列 (029-273-151) ‘he, accusative-instrumental’, Chin *ta* 他 (工具格) C368 (Jue 24).
Mongolic demonstrative pronouns are: PMong **e, *te.*

ene, ‘this’, stem *egun-*	*tere* ‘that’, stem *tegün-*
ede ‘these’, stem *eden-*	*tede* ‘those’, stem *teden-*
edeger ‘these’, stem *edeger-*	*tedeger* ‘those’, stem *tedeger-*

Khitan **e-** and **-te-** are going back to the same PMKh stems.
Mongolic had also personal, possesive, interrogative and reflexive pronouns.

12.2.2 Personal pronouns

For the time being we found only the genitive case of the personal pronoun first person singular, other pronouns may be expected in the yet undeciphered poetic texts. I found two cases where the contexts are not clear and need further investigation:

m-i-in 叉 关 丙 (133-339-018) ‘my’, 8x, Chin *wu* 吾 C397, cf Mong *minu, mini* ‘my, mine’, Dag *mini, minii, minihe* ‘mine’ (M191), *miñ* ‘mein’ (M-K121), also **m-i-en 叉 关 冇** (133-339-140), 1x in**:**
m-i-en deu$_2$ 叉 关 冇 沩 (133-339-140 361.1) ‘my younger brother’, Chin *wu di* 吾弟 C397, CWJ1566.

The Mongolic personal pronoun first person singular is *bi*, the oblique case, or stem of the declination is *min-,* genitive *minu* <**mi-n-u.*< **mi-n* < **bi-n.*

an-i 买 关 (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’ (P68), *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.**
an-i n-i-gu 买 关 公 关 勺 (Zhen12) ‘their female ancestor’, gloss only for **n-i gu**.
i-ri-de-i an-i au-a-ar 关 亿 矢 关 买 关 丸 为 本 (Nan25)’? from the title what was given them’, gloss only for **i-ri-de-i**.

ñ 伏 (222) '(courtesy) name' Chin *zi* 字, CWJ 1243 or ? for **ñ-e**$_{2}$ 伏夯 (222-109) 'other', Chin *bie* 别 C420, or it is a deictic particle as Mong *inu*? **L** 13 **Ong ñ**. According to Index **ñ** occurs isolated nine times, but all of them excepted Gao13, are only in "highlighted" writing.

12.2.3 Other Pronouns

I have collected a few cases, which are unclear, but look like a kind of pronoun

h 乂 (340)
l-iau g-ui pu-shi-ñ i-ri ia-277 h ri h d$_{3}$ *m o k li*$_{2}$ *ge*$_{2}$ *én* (Yu61-6, 61-8)
p-o-du$_{2}$*-l-un*$_{2}$ *t iu ir ñ ong h ishi 378.1 ur ui un*$_{2}$ *em ri*$_{5}$ *rí i ui l* (Yu62-33
378.1 h ud iu (QingS10-2)

h-n 乂公 (340-251), 1x
h-n t-iu-ir nas-ad-i rí-i qa-ha-an n-o p-o-ri$_{5}$ *sui-i ia-277 rí-l-ñ* (Ren23-1)

h-ñ 乂伏 (340-222), 9x

h-su-em$_{2}$ *h-ñ es a-ai-l-ha-ai* (Xing35-2).

neu-e$_{2}$ *eme h-ñ li*$_{2}$*-û-ui sh-ul-én 066-li*$_{2}$ *iu-mu-ie t-e*$_{2}$*-b har-te*$_{2}$*-én* (Xuan21-3).

p-ir-u-un h-ñ kus-ha-as-er dor-l-i au-ui-er-en b-as d-iu-378.1-378.1 (Xu28-20).

ul$_{2}$ *m-gu-i ñ-ô-ur h-ui-dz*$_{2}$ *h-ñ tir-ia iú-a-al ai-s ol-de t-úr-i* (Yu41-14).

ri$_{3}$*-rí-er h-ib WINE iú-a-án h-ñ t-ge*$_{2}$*-y-un*$_{2}$ *al-a-aju (*Yu45-70).

HEAVEN es t-iu-ir-er o-oi$_{2}$*-er neu-e es hu-as-er g-ui-én*/41/ *p-úr-u-ul p-úr-u-ul m-o udu y-or-s y-or-s sär po-or h-ñ eu-ul-ge* (Yong41-9).

tai us-g mu-i au-ui-er-en u-úr-l-ge-én h-ñ ge-de-i b-am abu s-hu-al-en tau-su-l-ha-a-án (Tai17-24).

g-úr n-ad-bud-en GREAT ui es co-do-i hu-as-al ia-277 tal-hu-ai-én b-uni bod h-ñ kei-en eu-ud-b-te$_{2}$ *t-ge-u-ji b-aû-én* (Wu34-14).

h-ñ-en 乂伏杓 (340-222-140), 2x.

es h-ui iú-a-ar t-úr m-úng-er-de ca-ai-l-ha-ai jau h-ñ-en a-d-li$_{2}$ *p-ul da zhul s-en-u-su p-o-l*$_{2}$*-b-ñ* (Xing29-8).

eme-er-en h-ñ-en a-e-b cu-ur-d-y (Ren29-2).

h-ñ-un$_{2}$ 乂伏叐 (340-222-144), 4x.

es h-û-ó-ji b-úr h-ñ-un$_{2}$ *MR-al-ha-ai* (Ren30-24).

ming heu-úr tum n-am-úr ü y-eu-ur-ñ-er h-ñ-un$_{2}$ *MR-én*$_{2}$*-ó-ji s-iang g-ung-un bai-shi n-ra* (Nan40-7).

SIXTY-en co-or ca-ang sh-iú-un bod y-qu-ui h-ñ-un₂ û-ul-ó-ji g-ung ci-iú-un ñ-an-abu-as es al-u-ji (Tu24-21).

ung-su-de d-su-y-l-ñ h-ñ-un₂ sh-au-a m-ri-er nem°-u-ul-de un₂-er k-iú-un ci-as-a dor-qó-or-l-de 025-a-ar (Tai10-28).

火卡矢 仝卡丙屮伏 乂伏叉 乏夾为 叉化公 垩叐平矢 叉公 叔亢火 朩冬为 丂欠北屮矢 而为本.

h-e 乂券 (340-348), 9x.
h-e₂ 乂夯 (340-109), 3x, (Yu7-46, 7-57, 8-9).

hu-oh 列垩 (151-377), ‘a name or “the same”, a pronoun?’ no gloss, **L**12, and in Dao27-23.

ñ-e 伏券 (222-348) ‘other’, 7x, also **ñ-e₂** 伏夯 (222-109) 10x, Chin *bie* 别 C421.
ñ-e-s 伏券令 (222-348-244), 1x, also **ñ-e₂-s** 伏夯令 (222-109-244), 2x.

12.3 THE NUMERALS

12.3.1 Earlier works and preliminary remarks

The Khitan numerals are since long in the focus of the interest. I quote here only some publications which I found of special importance: Laufer (1921), Poppe (1955), Ji Shi (1986), Liu Fengzhu (1988a), Toyoda Gorō (1992), Chen Naixiong (1992), Chinggeltei (1997), Kara (1997), Toyoda Gorō (1998a), Jacques (2010), Janhunen (2012, pp. 12–13). A. Hölzl (2015) discusses the numerals in Alchuka, a newly discovered and now already extinct language, which seems to be close to Manchu and Jurchen. This language, like other Manchu—Tunguz languages, preserved old loans from Mongolic, among others numerals. A new phase of research was opened by the work of Kane (2009, 143-144) and his English-Khitan glossary, followed by Róna-Tas (2016, 126-134)[17]. A concise treatmeant of the Khitan numerals was given by Shimunek (2017, 228-241). These researches were based on several Khitan inscriptions, some well edited, some published in a philologically poor, or not acceptable form. The appearing of the CWJ brought new possibilities. The numerals were briefly treated on pp. 506-508 and the reader is referred to Wu Yingzhe 2007a for details. The whole corpus is full with numerals and they can partly be reached through the Index if they appear in one box. Thus most of the suffixed forms can be easily gathered. More difficult are those cases in which two numerals are simply positioned side by side. In these case the Index does not help, and other methods have to be used to collect them. The reading of the numerals were for long debated. In case of a logoglyph the reading is always uncertain. A correct reading can be given by several methods:

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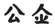
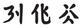
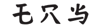
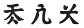
[17] Full with misprints which were corrected in Róna-Tas 2017, p. 135 note

1. The glyph for a numeral can be equated with a syllabic form. Example: **nem** , (007), **nem°** (008), also **n-em$_2$**  (251-257).
2. The ordinal forms help in the reconstruction: (166) **gur**, 116x, (167) **gur°**, 48x, (259) **hur** ‘three’ only in suffixed forms, **hu-ur-er**  (151-236-341) ‘third’, 30x.
3. Residual forms point to a possible reading: **emu** (026), 151x, **emu°** (027) 46x, ‘one’, **emu-û-én**  (026-372-361) ‘first, feminine’, twice.
4. The use of the glyph in names which are known in Chinese transcription: **ishi** , (033), **ishi°** (034) ‘nine’, *Yishiji* 乙室 己 (YCh *yi*, *şi, ki*) ‘a name’ is transcribed by Khitan  (033-334-339).
5. Mongolic parallels, Khitan loanwords in other languages, see **ñol** ‘six’ below.

In the following I have collected all data, from the corpus. I will treat first the numerals from one to ten. For all numerals I give their ordinal, cardinal and multiplicative form, the feminine and the masculine variants. The results will be summarised in a table.

In a next subchapter I treat the numerals above ten.

12.3.2 The numerals 1-10

ONE

Cardinal

emu (026), 239x, **emu°** (027) 50x, ‘one’, Chin *yi* 一 C366. The reading is uncertain, it is given by former research with reference to Mong *emüne,* and the reasearch may have been influenced by Manchu *emu* ‘one’. It is dealt with in CWJ 163-164.

Manchu-Tunguz words for ‘one’ have been collected by Cincius 1977, vol II, 270-272 under the protoform **umun**.

Shimunek (2017, 233) reads <*mas*?>. It has adjectival forms **emu-qu 乇余** (026-246), 3x and **emu°-qó 乇欠** (027-169), 3x.[18.]

The genitive case is **emu-en 乇冇** (026-140), 4x, the dative-locative is **emu-de**乇矢 (026-205), 6x, no prolativ-ablative form is known. The accusative-instrumental form of the cardinal and the masculine form of the ordinal cannot be distinguished: **emu-er 乇兴** (026-341)[19], however once we find **emu-d-er**乇全兴 (026-254-341), 1x, 'first, masculine' (Yu47). Of great importance is here the residual-**d-** of the old suffix of the ordinal numbers, see Mongolic *-dVgAr.* Once we find **emu-ar 乇本** (023-123)(Xian32-1).

Important is also the feminine form of the ordinal: **emu-û-én 乇只当** (026-372-361) 'first, feminine', twice (Xing3-13, Ren19-15), here the **-û-** points to a final *-u* in the base and strengthens the reading **emu**, see also in Jue40 **emu°-û sui-l-ñ bod.**

Mong *emune* is in Dah *emele* 'front, south, early' (M143), *emen* 'Süden' (M-K129). For the numeral "one" see Mong *nigen* 'one', Dah *neke* 'one' (M196), *nek* 'eins' (M-K138), see all Mongolic forms Nugteren 2011, 460.

Ordinal

One expression for 'first' may have been **nai 穴** (332) which occurs 94 times. Its basic meaning was 'head', and functioned as Turkic *baš*, or Mongolic *terigün* both 'head, first'. It precedes expressions for 'month', 'year' etc. In most cases it denotes the first item where it does not follow the second.

Khitan used in enumerations in the sense 'first, eldest, greatest' also the word **m-o 又及** (133-186) 'big, elder, eldest', Chin *tai* 太, *zhang* 长 C394. The expression **m-o b-qo** 'the eldest, or the elder child', occurs 22 times and is followed by names of males. Its feminine form is **m-ô$_2$-qú 又公夫** (133-253-118), 21x all females[20],

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[18] *emu°-qó au-ul-ha-a-al t-am-ar em$_2$-en t-qó sh-i p-o-ri$_5$* (Cha10-6)

[19] (Xu41-14): <*emu-er a-ai*> (Yu36-42): <*emu-er po-od-ha-al-hu*> (Zhen28-15) <*om-úr s-eu-li2 emu-er a-ai*>, (Hong29-17) <*emu-er m-su-l-ir2 od2-én em-t*> (Di29-2): <*ai-378.1 emu-er d3-ge-er*> (Han19-8)<*em-er emu-er po-od-ha-ai*>

[20] *em-t b-hu-án jur m-ô$_2$-qú d-iu-ir ia-277* (Zhong29-11)
úr-u-ur jur m-ô$_2$-qú l̄-au shï g-u y-ra-u-ud s-in-l-ge$_2$-ge$_2$-er (Zhong29-32)
jur-en ci-ur-er b̄-qo m-ô$_2$-qú a-aju-ñ emu ca-ang a-an pu-shi-ñ tai hong tai heu-378.1 圣冇 朩化公 丹力 又公夫 为艾伏 乇 甬氖 为买/今秃伏 丕 圭 丕 介 (Xu8-12)
eme-t p-ar dur m-ô$_2$-qú na-ha-án-er SMALL-qó aju-en ñ-ar-378.1-378.1 (Xu45-23)
eme-t jur m-ô$_2$-qú p̄u d-y 378.1-378.1-en na-ha-án-er SMALL-qó aju-en 圣 (Xu51-18)
b-hu-án gur m̄-ô$_2$-qú zh-ün g-e 210-ui ci-ur-er dz$_2$-iau m-ing sh-a-rí hu-ur-én w-un a-an 210-ui p-ar p-o-l$_2$-ir$_2$ (Ḡu16-17)
aú-ñ-er dur ñ-iau-ñ-er gur° k-iú emu m-ô$_2$-qú sh-shi-al (Gu17-7)
MRS m-ô$_2$-qú 378.1-i 378.1-378.1-ui° b-q̄o b-hu-án gur (Nan31-7)
jur m-ô$_2$-q̄ú tu-ung z-ï n-iú m-o aju-en h-iu g-e tai b-de u-ul-ge$_2$-y (Nu21-2)
or eme-t̄ b-hu-án jur m-ô$_2$-qú dau-ul-ó-o-ón bot-d na-ha-án-er-en ñ-qo tai shï-en b-qo s-g-e ci-ng

perhaps an abbreviated form is **m-qú** [21], which occurs nine times.

Further we have **m-as-qU** which occurs in three forms:

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), 'elder, *masculine*'.

m-as-qó (133-174-169) which occurs 16 times and in genitive case **m-as-qó-on** 133-174-169 (once)[22] 'elder, *masculine*' and

m-as-qú (133-174-118) 'elder, *feminine*' occurs once: .

g-ui-en ja-ri-qó-on b-qo b-hu-án dur ai-d jur° m-as-qó ia-277-ñ ci-ur-er qa-ad-i em-t b-hu-án m-as-qú lu s-ie b-l$_2$ t-em$_2$-y-er tai ui°-de u-ul-ge-l-ñ (Hui 5-26).

'The Prime Minister of the State had four children and grandchildren, from the two the elder was Ia-277-ñ (LUCKY), the second had daughters, from whom the elder Lu Sie was given in marriage to B-l$_2$ T-em$_2$-y-er *tai-wei*'.

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', 'the first of more children'. Reflecting sometimes Chinese *da* 大, frequently used before names of dynasties. The suffix is **-qU**, forming adjectives. See also **12.4** GRAMMAR, THE ADJECTIVE.

The basic meaning of **om-úr** (092-097) is 'first, early, east', see EL. for details.

TWO (134), 196x , 56x (135) **jur**

Cardinal

The reading of the cardinal number has to be, as it was suggested by former research, **jur**, Kane 2009, 50: <c-ur>, <jur>, Róna-Tas 2016, 130: *jür*, Shimunek 2017, 233: <ǯur~čur>. Genitive **jur-en** (134-140) 111x, Dative-Locative **jur-de** (134-205), 12x, and **jur°-en** (135-140), 1x, **jur°-de** (135-205), 1x,

Ordinal

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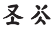
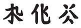
jï-de u-ul-ge$_2$-én (Nu27-15)
tai ong jau-úr p-i jur-en m-ô$_2$-qú b-qo s-iang g-ün g-ün dz$_2$-iú jur-en b-hu-án ai-d (Qing10-8)
h-e aú-ui jur-en b-qo eme-t b-hu-án ñol m-ô$_2$-qú h-ie-ên (Qing11-48)
eme-t b-hu-án jur m-ô$_2$-qú ul$_2$ l-m-xua (Qing13-33)
eme-t b-hu-án gur m-ô$_2$-qú mod-a-án (Qing14-6)
eme-t b-hu-án jur m-ô$_2$-qú bai-s-ha-án (Qing14-35)
or eme-t b-hu-án jur m-ô$_2$-qú ra-l-ó-o-ón (Hu28-44)

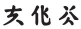
[21] *m-qú ên-ia-ai$_2$ ñ-mú-qu-ñ pu-shi-ñ jur-en b-qo* (Di5-31)

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

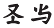
masculine

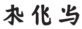
jur-er  (134-140) once (Tai10-22).

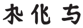
ci-ur-er  (162-236-341), 75x.

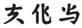
j-ur-er  (104-236-341), 2x (Hong15-6, Xian24-4).

feminine

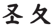
jur-én (134-361), 1x.

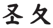
ci-ur-én (162-236-361), 82x,

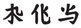
ci-ur-én$_2$  (162-236-100), 5x, genitive: **ci-úr-én$_2$-en** (162-236-100-140), 1x.

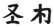
j-ur-én (104-236-361), 1x (Hong15-16), genitive: **j-ur-én-en** (104-236-361-140), 2x.[23.]

multiplicative

jur-uh  (134-172), 5x,

Jur-uh  (134-172) 'a person's name', Chin *zhi li gu* 只里姑, Cha20, C397, ? "the second (born child)" .

Ci-ur-én (162-236-361), 'name of the second daughter' (Tu7).

Jur-en  (134-140) 'a name' (Xu8).

We find for 'second' **jur-er** (for males) and **jur-én** (for females). It is highly probably that the word was front vocalic i. e. **ǰür*. **ǰüren* can be compared with Mo *ǰirin*.

Middle Mongolian *ǰirin, ǰiren* in the SH 'two (of woman)', but also *ǰirin sedkiltü* 'disloyal, i.e. who has double soul'. In the *Erdene-yin Tobči* we find the form *ǰiren. ǰirin* occurs 10 times in the Secret History in nominal case and seven times in other cases, I cite here only one example::

***70**. tere qabur ambaqai qahan-nu qatut Örbei Soqatai **ǰirin** yekes-e qaǰaru inerü qaruqsan-tur Höelün-üǰin otču qoǰit gürčü qoǰidau('u)'uldaǰu Hö'elün-üjin Örbei Soqatai **ǰirin-e** ügülerün.*

"That spring, when Örbei and Soqatai, *the two*, the wives of Ambaqai qaan performed to the ancestors the *Inerü Qaruqsan* (sacrifice), Höelün-üǰin came, but arriving late, she was left out (from the sacrifice). Höelün-üǰin said to Örbei and Soqatai **both**:" (my translation, see de Rachewiltz 2004:17). This occurred at the Spring sacrifice spent by the widows.

This means that MMo *ǰirin* goes back to the PMo feminine form **ǰüren,* where the final -***en*** is the preserved feminine marker (!). Delabialization occurred due to assimilation.

The word is deeply embedded in the Mongolic lexicon. The Mongolian word for 'jealousy, envy', even 'hate' is *ǰitüger.* Lessing reminds in his dictionary

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[23] The reading **dz$_2$** (104) as Shimunek (2011:102) correctly suggested, has to be changed to <ǰ>

(1960:1064), that it is also used as an invective by wives of a polygamous marriage in referring to each other. The word is very old and originally denoted the position of the second wife, the **ǰirtüger* (see Poppe 1955:244). It occurs in the Yemen Polyglot written as *ǰītṻr* ‘concubine’ according to the newest edition of the Yemen Polyglot by Ligeti – Kara, (2012:179). We find other occurrances of the stem of *ǰirin* in several Mongolian sources and languages.

One Mongolian word for ‘pregnant’ is *ǰirmüsün,* an expression denoting that they are two, more precisely “doubled”, see also Mo *dabqur* ‘double’ and ‘pregnant’ (Poppe 1955:244).

Mo *ǰirim* **‘**either one of the two leather straps on the left side of the saddle which are put through the buckles of the *olung*’ i.e. ‘one of the two straps’.

The cardinal number for ‘six’ in Mongolian is *ǰirgugan.* Now it is clear that this numeral consist of ‘two’ and ‘three’, that is *ǰir* and *gur* and the cardinal qualifier *+gAn/bAn: *ǰirgurgan > ǰirgugan* (see already Poppe 1955:245, supposing **ġu-* for the stem for ‘three’, also Janhunen 1993 and Wu—Janhunen 2010:60). Sixty is Mo *ǰiran < *ǰirwan < **ǰirġuġan arban* or *ǰirġuġan on.* According to Janhunen (1993, 175-176) and Wu–Janhunen (2010:60) Mo *ǰirgugan* is a late secondary form, and they expect a form **nil* based on Jurchen, see below under six.

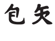
Open remains the vocalism. Mongolic has *jir*, Khitan has **jur.** I suppose that the vocalism of Khitan is secondary, the change **i>u** ccurred under the influence of the following numerals: **gur** ‘three’ and **dur** ‘four’.

Khitan *jur* may be compared with the word for ‘two’ in Jurchen. Jurchen has *ǰue,* Ma *juwe,* but the final -r is preserved in the cardinal form, Ju *ǰuer-hon*, Ma *ǰorgon.*(in the name of the 12th month) This has to be a very early isogloss, because the *-r* is preserved in many Tunguzic languages, see Cincius 1975, 276-277, who reconsructed **ǰūr*, while Benzing 1956, 101: *ǰȫr.*

THREE

Cardinal

(166) **gur**, 116x, (167) **gur°**, 48x
(259) **hur** only in suffixed forms

The numeral ‘three’ is written with the logoglyph (166) and its dotted form (167). Kane supposed <hur> (2009,54), Róna-Tas 2016, 130 <ġur>, Shimunek 2017, 233, <ɢur>, CWJ, 234 <ɣur>, but Index <gor>. (166) occurs 116 times and (167) 48 times. The dative-locative form is **gur-de**  (166-205) 5x, the genitive case is **gur°-en** (67-140) occurring twice.

The numeral ‘three’ is also written with the glyph (259). The glyph (259) was read <ɣur> by Chinggeltei (2002,77) and Shimunek (2017,435), and <hut>,

<ɣut> by CWJ, 299. The reasoning of CWJ cannot be accepted. They read the plural of the title [illegible] (150-235-259) as **ja-ri-qut**, however its correct form is **ja-ri-hur** [illegible] (150-235-259)(GuD14)[24]. On the **-ur** plural see **12.1.1** GRAMMAR NOUN PLURAL. This form occurs only with suffixes. Genitive case is **hur-en** [illegible] (259-140), 1x, the masculine cardinal form is **hur-er** [illegible] (259-341) 17x, the feminine cardinal form is **hur-én,** 13x, the multiplicative **hur-hu**, 2x. A form **hu-od** is also occurring[25], and CWJ correctly recognised this form, on CWJ p. 403: [illegible] (151-016-361) they give Chin *disan* 第三, occurrences see below.

Ordinal

The masculine forms are:

hur-er[illegible] (259-341), 17x.
hu-ur-er[illegible](151-236-341), 30x.
hu-od-er [illegible](151-016-341), 2x.

The feminine forms are:

hur-én, [illegible] (259-361) 13x.
hu-ur-én[illegible] (151-236-361), 1x.
hu-ur-én$_2$[illegible] (151-236-100), 1x.
hu-od-én [illegible] (151-016-361), 3x.

Multiplicative

hur-hu [illegible] (259-151), 2x. Chin *sanci* 三次 CWJ953.
hu-ur-hu [illegible] (151-236-151), 2x[26].
hu-od-hu [illegible] (151-016-151), 1x.

Used as definite quantifier

hur-u-ul[illegible] (259-131-366) 'all three, all the three' (Zhong10).

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[24] *ja-ri-hur go-ci-en uh-ul-ñ il-bir-en b-qo b-hu-án ai-d* (GuD14)

[25] [illegible] /32/ [illegible]*FIFTY jur b-aû-én ci-eng-un pu-is-ñ-en b-hu-án tau GREAT or-l-b-ñ 210-ui bot-d /32/ na-ha-án-er-en ja-ri-qu-on ia deu-un ia-277-ñ tir-b-un tai shï-en ci-ur-er b-qo ia-277-ñ sh-a-rí-de û-ul-ge-én ci-ur-én h-d$_3$-un-o aú-ui úr-u a-ar-un or hu-od-én oh-o aú-ui ia-277-ñ tai shï-en deu pu-un-u-uni t-qu-s$_2$-ir$_2$ ca-ang-un m-as-qó_b-qo d-il-én sï tu-dú û-ul-ge-én d-ur-er g-eu shï sh-o pu kú$_2$-su es û-ui ai-en em$_2$-en i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-er t-ad-o-ón iú-ing l-au 210-ui p-al y-ie g-eu shï sh-o pu-un (Jue 31-32)*

[26] **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)

hur-u-ul hu-ur-hu 灸叐平 列化列 (259-131-366 151-236-151) ‘all the three, three times’.

FOUR

Cardinal

乇 (368) **dur**, 乇 (369) **dur°** also **t-úr1** 令夾 (247-097)

The glyph (368) occurs 120 times, the glyph (369) 23 times. Kane (2009, 79), Shimunek (2017, 229), and CWJ 335 read <dur> (~<tur>), Róna-Tas 2016, 130 <dür>. The numeral occurs also in the dative-locative case : **dur-de** (368-205), 9x.[27]. The vowel is /u/ as it can be seen from the ordinal forms. The change ö>o>u occurred under the influence of **gur.**

Important is the form **t-un** 令火 (247-273), it occurs six times, four times in Yu47-5, 47-15, 47-65, 48-44 and in Nan33-25, and Di17-41. CWJ has on p.441, 令火 Chin *si sui* 四岁 ‘four years old’, see Mong *döne(n)* ‘four years old animal (bull, camel or elephant), four years old male child’. See Di17 **t-un eme-t b-hu-án** ‘four years old female children, girls’, Chin *si nühai* 四 女孩.

Ordinal

Masculine
t-ur-er 令化公 (247-236-341), 27x.
d-ur-er 仝化公 (254-236-341), 5x.

Feminine
t-ur-én 令化与 (247-236-361), 7x.
d-ur-én 仝化与 (254-236-361), 2x.

Multiplicative
t-ur-uh 令化久 (247-236-172), 1x.

FIVE

Cardinal

戈 (029) **tau**, 戈 (030) **tau°**

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[27] The form **dur°-un** 乇叉 (369-144) (Gu18-16, Wu4-32) is not clear for me, a genitive?

The pronunciation of this numeral is since long known, because it was transcribed by the Chinese character 討 *tao* in the Liaoshi, and cited many times by the earlier literature. The same Chinese character was used to transcribe the first syllable of the Khitan word for the zodiac animal 'hare, rabbit' *tau-li* 討里 (see Kane 2009, 38) and EL. The glyph (029) occurs 111 times, the glyph (030) 10 times. Kane 2009, 38 read <tau>, Róna-Tas 2016, 130 <taw>, Shimunek 2017, 233 <taw>, CWJ , 165 <t'aw>, Index <tau>. Genitive **tau-un 乇火** (029-273), 16x, and **tau^{o}-un 乇火** (030-273), 1x. Dative-locative case is **tau-de 乇矢** (029-205), 10x, and **t-aû-t 令考令** (247-125-247) , 2x, also **t-aû-d 令考仝** (247-25-254) , 2x, see also **SIXTY t-aû-t** (Hong4).

Ordinal

Masculine

t-od-o-or令币及北 (247-016-186-076), 10x, also **d-od-o-or** 仝币及北 (254-016-186-076), 1x.

t-ad-o-or令亦及北 (247-099-186-076), 10x.

Feminine

t-od-o-ón令币及冉(247-016-186-322), 6x.

t-ad-o-ón令亦及冉(247-099-186-322), 5x.

Multiplicative

tau-uh 乇久 (029-172), 1x (Guang25-23).

SIX

Cardinal

ñol 灭 (085), **ñol^{o}** 灭 (086)

For 'six' we find the logoglyphs (085), 99x and (086), 8x. Dative-Locative: **ñol-de** 灭矢 (085-205), 8x.

The Khitan word for 'six' is the last numeral, which remained undeciphered for a long time. CWJ cited it only as SIX throughout the three volumes, but on p. 188-189, suggested to read *nir-n*, supposing that it has been preserved in Manchu as *niolhun* "the 16th day of the first month" (holiday), similar opinions were earlier forwarded by Janhunen (2003, 399-400 "**nir*, more probable **nil"*), and Hölzl (2015. 107 **niUl*, where *U* is a "somewhat unclear element". supposing a diphthong). In fact the Manchu data is written as *niolhun* (see Hauer (706) and Norman (305)) which has to be read with initial palatalized nasal *ń*-, see Manchu *ńol-χun ineŋgi* where *χun* is 'ten' and *ineŋgi* is 'day' (see also Cincius 643: *ńolχun ineŋgi* 'prazdnik', *ńolχun ilχa* 'cvetok (krasnyj, pohožij na ajvu, rascvetajusčij šestnadcatogo čisla pervogo mesjaca gody)', thus 'six' is in this expression *ńol* with a palatalized *ń-* initial and an *-l* final. The Tunguzic languages had an initial *ń-* which is represented in Ewenki, Ewen, Solon, Negidal, Oroch, Udihe, Ulcha, Nanai and Manchu as /*ń*-/, and in Solon and Orok as /*ń~n*/. Having the opposition *ń : n* the foreign, in our case Khitan, *ń-* was copied as *ń-*. To the writing *ni-* for Manchu initial /ń/- see also Ma *niyahan* 'puppy' (Norman 308), *ńaχan* 'ščenok' (Cincius 628) to Khitan *ñ-qo* 伏力 (222.168) 'dog' + diminutive suffix Jurchen *ñalma* 'person', Manchu *niyalma* (read *ñalma*), Ligeti 1986, 118.

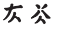
Mongolic *jirgugan* 'six' comes (as it was proposed already by former research, (see Janhunen 2003, Hölzl 2015, see above) from *jir-gur-gan* 'twice three+suffix -*βan*' and is a secondary development.

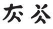
The final *-l* of *ńol* is preserved in **ñol-l-hu** 犬小列 (085-261-151) 'six times' (Zhong41-26). The original word in Proto Khitan Mongol was **ńol.* This is preserved in Mongolic *nolgu* 'very much, excessive', mostly in such expression as *nolgu bayajiqu* 'to become very rich < to become many times rich', see Khalkha *nolgo* 'id', (Kara 1998, 291, Luvsandendev, 1957, 270), Kalm *nolχɒ, nol′χɒ* 'viel essen, fressen', *nol′ɣɒrχɒ* 'zur genüge haben' (Ramstedt, 1935, 278-279 ref. to Zwick 125b), *nul′ɣɒrχɒ* 'zur genüge haben, von einer Sache zu viel haben' (Ramsted *op.cit*, 281), Buryat *nyula* '(*častica usil. pri glagolah) übhé nyula sabšaxa* 'kosit′ travu dočista [to mow the grass entirely]' (Čeremisov, 1973, 343), Ordos *nulgu-* 'tres fort, extrêmement, abondamment, brutalement, à fond. vite', *nulgu džodo-* 'frapper très fort' (Mostaert. 1968, 500). As it may be seen, residues of the initial palatalized *ń-* are preserved in Kalmück, where the *l* is palatalized, and in Buryat where the initial *ny-* is representing an old **ń-*. In most cases Buryat *ny-* is going back to an earlier *ni-*:*nyurgan* 'spina' (<*nigurgan*), *nyuur* 'lico' < *nigur*, *nyulga* 'skrytno, tayno' < **nigulga*, etc. The Proto Mongol *ni-* in some cases goes back to an *ń-* : Mong *nidurga* 'fist' < *ńudurga* ~ Turk *yudrug*, *nilbusun* 'tear' <**ńil-bu-sun* ~ Turk *yaš*, Chuv *śul,* Mong *nilqa* 'young' <**ńilqa* ~ Turk *yaš*, Chuv *śul* etc. (see Poppe, 1960, 38-39). The *-gu* in the Mongolic form is the old multiplicative suffix, Khitan *-hu* 列 (151).

The relation of Khitan *ńol* to Jurchen *ning-gu* 'six' (see Kane 1989, 195, 363) is improbable. Jurchen has *nin(g)ǰu* 'sixty' with the same initial "ning" as Manchu *ninggun* and *ninju* resp. Proto Tunguz has to be reconstructed as **ńuŋun* (the Tunguz data see Cincius 647) with clear final *-ŋ* of the first syllable. The word for 'six' in the Tunguzic languages goes back to a word which has the meaning 'above, on top' see Jur *ninggu* 'on top of' (Kane 168), Ma *ninggu* 'top, on top', similarily as Mong *nolgu*, that may mean that the Tunguzic system also was a quinary one.

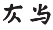
Ordinal

Masculine

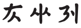
ñol-er  (085-341), 9x.

ñolº-er  (086-341), 1x.

Feminine

ñol-én  (085-361), 1x.

Multiplicative

ñol-l-hu  (085-261-151), 1x.

SEVEN

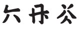
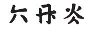
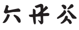
Cardinal

dalu (141), **daluº** (142), perhaps it has a short form **dal**, 4x. The word for 'great lake' is written with the logoglyph for "seven' **dalu-ñ** (141-222), see EL.

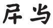
The glyph (141) occurs, 52x, the glyph (141.1) 8 times. The locative-dative is **dalu-de** (141-205) 9x. Kane (2009, 51) suggested <dolo>, Róna-Tas 2016, 130 <dalo>, Shimunek (2017, 233) <dalu>, CWJ 217 <dol>. The reading is now secured by the syllabic forms. See Mong *dolugan*, Dag *doloo* 'seven' (M312), *dolō, dolōn* (M-K 123).

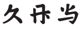
Ordinal

Masculine

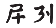
da -lu -er(214-312-341), 9x so, and once in error **da -lu -oi**  (214-312-3^{3}47),^{3} 1x, (Hai4-23) where (347) is a frequent misreading^{3} of^{3} (341), further once **da$_3$-313-er**  (214-313-341), where (313) has to be read <lu$_4$>.

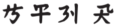
Feminine

dalu-én (141-361), 2x, both in Nan (Nan11-28, 11-42) as a name, see below.

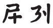
da-lu$_3$-én  (171-312-361), 1x (Dao14-5).

Multiplicative

dalu-hu  (141-151), 2x,

also **do$_2$-ul-hu när** (Hui25-15).

We know of three personal names connected with the numeral:

Dalu-hu  (141-151) 'a person's name, the Seven times', Chin *die la* 迭剌 (Yong3). *di lie* 迪烈 (Zhong30) C399.

Dalu-én [illegible] (141-361) ‘a person’s name “the seventh girl”’, Chin *di nian* 迪輦 (Nan11) C399.
Dalu°-t [illegible] (141.1-247) ‘a person’s name’, Chin *di lie* 迪烈 (Nan4) C399. Important is .
dalu-ñ [illegible] (141-222), 4x, ‘big lake, sea’ Chin *hai* 海.
dur dalu-ñ [illegible] (368 141-222) ‘the four lakes’ Chin *si hai* 四海.
dur dalu-ñ-en eme-d-en ci-ge-li$_2$ ui eu-ul-g[illegible] (Xu9-30).

EIGHT

nem [illegible] (007), **nem°** [illegible] (008), also **n-em$_2$** [illegible] (251-257) 36 times, also **ñ-ie-ém** in: **ñ-ie-ém ci-iá-qo** [illegible] (222-327-270 162-274-168) ‘eight Chinese feet’, Chin *ba chi* 八尺 C421, see also CWJ p.1471

Cardinal

The glyph (007) occurs 63 times, the glyph (008) twice. The earlier research has suggested to read the glyph <naim> (Chinggeltei 2002, 111), Wu Yingzhe (2014, 132-133) suggested <ñ-ie-m>[28], Shimunek (2017, 233) <ńɛm>, CWJ 155 reads <naim> and throughout the three volumes, but correctly on p. 445 [illegible] **n-em$_2$**, Chin *ba* “八”. The numeral for ‘eight’ is written as **n-em$_2$** [illegible] (251-257) 36 times[29]. The dative-locative is **nem-de** (007-205), 11x, **n-em$_2$-de** (251-257-205), 5x.

Ordinal

Masculine
nem-d-er[illegible] (007-254-341), 1x[30].
nem-ri-er[illegible] (008-235-341), 5x.
The form with **-ri-** occurs five times (Nan4-37, Gao9-5, 13-6, Jue7-35, Hui 2-19)[31] see also **ishi-ri** below.

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[28] The form **ñ-ie-m** occurs only in Xiang3-11, see Wu-Janhunen 2010,143

[29] A few examples: <*par n-em$_2$ DAY*> [illegible] >(Zhong14-25) ‘the 18. day’, <*n-em$_2$ po-do*>[illegible] (Yu36-24) ‘at 8 o’clock’, <*FOURTY n-em$_2$ ai-s*> [illegible] (Yu66-74) ‘forty eight years’, <*s-uni när-i nai a-ai n-em$_2$ m-in-de*> [illegible] (Sa10-7) ‘the Night-and-Day (guard) being there at the eight Mausoleums /Tombs’, <*n-em$_2$ m-in-de*>[illegible] (Wu30-2) ‘at the eight Mausoleums,/Tombs’, <*par n-em$_2$ ai-s*>[illegible] (Xiang30-22!) ‘the eighteen ancestors’.

[30] <*par°-d-er n-on-en u-ur ai ku-û-su hu-mú-ri$_5$ iši°-d-er n-on-en u-ur ai ku-û-su y-or-qu qid-i h-iú-282-i y-eu-ha-al p-úr-s nem-d-er u-ur ai do$_2$-o-or sh-a-rí*> (DiX2-25) ‘his forfather from the tenth generation was Ku-û-su (sacred) Hu-mu-ri, his forefather of the nineth generation was Ku-û-su (sacred) Y-or-qu Qita-i H-iú-288-i and his descendants, his forefather of the eighth generation was the Do$_2$-o-or langjun’ (DiX2)

[31] <*nem-ri-er n-on-en u-ur-ai*> [illegible] (Nan7-37) ‘The eighth was from the tribal

Feminine
not yet found.

Multiplicative
n-em$_2$-hu (251-257-151), 1x.

Usage as definite quantifier:
nem°-u-ul (008-131-366) 'all eight', Chin *gongba* 共八, only once in Tai10.

NINE

Cardinal

ishi, (033), **ishi^{o}** (034).
The glyph (033) occurs, 59x, the gyph (034) 3 times. Kane (2009, 39) suggested <is> or <isu> or <iš>, Róna-Tas (2016, 130) <iši>, Shimunek (2011, 102, 2017, 233) <iši>, CWJ p. 166 <is> and <isu-n>, and pp. 1695-1696 <is>. Already Kane called the attention, that the Khitan clan name *Yishiji* 乙室 已 (YCh *yi*, *ʂi, ki*) is transcribed by Khitan (033-334-339). Kane read the name <is.g.i>, but added: "which strongly suggests *is (or iš)" for . The initial Chinese 乙 was a glottal stop in Late Middle Chinese, but *y*- in YCh. Thus we cannot exclude the reading **yishi** for (033). The dative-locative case is **ishi-de** (033-205), 13x, but also **ishi-iú** (033-289), 1x, prolative-ablative **ishi-iú-i$_2$** (033-289-22.1).

The reading with /*š/ is supported by the Chinese transcription of the Khitan word for 'filial piety' which is written in four forms: .
ci-ishi d-bun (162-339-033-254-288), 15x.
ci-ishi-d-b-un (162-339-033-254-311-144), 10x.
ci-ishi-d-b-ñ (162-339-033-254-311-222), 48x, and
ci-ishi-d$_3$-b-ñ (162-339-033-089-311-222), 1x.

The Liaoshi transcribed this Khitan word as*: chi shi de ben* 赤是得本, (YCh *tʂʰi-ʂɿ-təj-pun*). The Chinese title *furen* 夫人 'lady' is transcribed by KSS as **pu-shi-ñ** (241-033-222) 137 times. However this word was already adapted to the Khitan phonetic system and became a loanword, therefore its orthography may reflect even an earlier stage. The Chinese word occurred also in Middle Mongolian as *hüǰin* > Mo *üǰin.*

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ancestors' <,*nem-ri-er pu g-e sï tu*> (Gao9-5) 'the eighth (son was) Pu Ge Situ, < *nem-ri-er n-on-en ku deu or-l-b-ñ*> (Jue7-35) 'the younger brother Orlabiń from the eighth tribe', < *nem-ri-er n-on-en abu ai GREAT eme ku qita-i*> (Hui2-19) 'The great grand father from the eighth tribe, the senior wife, the Kitan..'

Did ‘nine’ had a voiced laringeal inicial:/ɦ/? It is possible, that this changed before /i/ to /y/. Mongolian has *yisün* for ‘nine’. Wu and Janhunen following earlier opinions suggested that the base of the numeral ‘nine’ has to be **yer* because *yeren* ‘ninenty’ and they suggested that Proto Mongolic had *yersün* > *yesün.* In favour of this /r/ may be the fact, that we have this very old /r/ in **jir, *gur, *dör,* and **par* that is in the bases for ‘two’, ‘three’, ‘four’ and ‘ten’, secondarily in ‘six’. As to the suffix, we may suppose that here the Mongolic suffix *-sUn* appears, which forms nouns with a special quantity: see *u-sun* ‘water’, *dabu-sun* ‘salt’, *togu-sun* ‘dust’, *nilmu-sun* ‘tears, mucus’, *üne-sün* ‘ash, ashes’.

‘90’ is in Mongolian *yeren, yiren* which looks like a rhotacistic form of **yiz* or **yez*. If we have here to do with an early Turkic loanword with the semantics ‘copper’ or ‘brass’ and ‘nine’ was a unit of payment, the etymology is not impossible. Mongolian took over T *yez* as *ǰes, ǰis* ‘copper’, but has also *ǰer* in *ǰer ǰebseg* ‘weapons’ originally brass or bronze weapons. That means that the name of this important metal was borrowed more times, and from T *yez*. The word is ultimately of Indo-European origin, appears also in the Finno-Ugric languages (see Hungarian *vas*) on the details see Róna-Tas 1970: 412-417, 2012: 1020, 1029, 1292, 1309.

In line 6 of the Xiang inscription we read: **ishi tau m-in-de** which is glossed by CWJ as *jiuwu weiyu* 九五位于 CWJ1493 that is ‘at the ninety five tombs’. Wu and Janhunen who published this inscription read ‘nine-five =accession to the throne’ referring to Kane 2009, 109 3.140. Kane quotes (Gu10) *<223-u-ji*$_3$*-en ishi tau-de o-s*$_2$*-li*$_2$ *sh-o pu pu-u sh-o t-em*$_2$*-l-ge-y*> ‘On the occasion of the present emperor’s accession to the throne, having been given the title *shuaifu fushuai.* ‘Accession to the throne’ is usually in Chinese *jiwei* 即位.

In our text in line five a clan name occurs: **Ishi-i** it is the clan from where the wife of Pu-ie-én came. The name is in genitive case, so the orginal clan name was *Ishi* (033), well known in the Chinese sources as *Yi-shi* 乙室, see WF Index 722. It is highly probable, that we have here to do with the numeral 9 as name of a tribe or clan, as the well known Toquz Oguz or Nine Oguz. The use of numerals for tribal confederations was present also at the Khitans. There existed the Nine *shi-lie* a tribe (WF730 Index). These tribes were many times reorganized and the name was inherited also when the number of the units was other than nine since long time. Though the clan name is Ishi or Ishi-i (genitive) in many cases a frequent form occurs as **Ishi-g** ‘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 C369. I think that the two Khitan names pertain together, but this needs further investigation.

Ordinal

Masculine

ishi^{0}-d-er (034-254-341), 1x (DiX2-15 <*ishi*°-*d-er n-on-en u-ur ai*> ‘forefather of the ninth generation), *di jiu dai zhi* Chin 第九代之 C375[32].

ishi-un$_{2}$-er (033-144-341), 1x (Hui2-7 <*ishi-un$_{2}$-er n-on-en u-ur ai*> ‘forefather of the ninth generation’).

Feminine

ishi-ri-én (033-235-361), 1x (Qing26-15: <*ishi-ri-én ai ai-en a-án*>) ‘those were the ancestors from the ninth generation (*female*) on’.

Multiplicative

ishi-d-hu (033-254-151) (Nan5-31).

TEN

Cardinal

par (240), **par^{o}** (240.1)

The glyph (240) occurs 179 times, the glyph (240.1) only once in **par^{o}-d-er** in DiX2-9. According to Kane (2009,63), ‘could be [hon]’, Róna-Tas 2016, 130 <para>, Shimunek 2017, 233, 361 <par>, CWJ 266 <p’o~ap’o>, pp.1990-1991 et passim <ab>. Dat-loc **par-de** (Yu28-53), Abl-Prol **par-de-i** (Yu29-5).

Ordinal

Masculine

par^{o}-d-er (240.1-254-341) 1x.

Feminine

po-od-én (279-016-361), 1x (Jue3-10), Chin gloss *di shi* 第十, CWJ 1533.

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[32] The Khitan is not in the genitive case

12.3.3 THE KHITAN NAME OF THE MONTHS FORMED WITH NUMERALS

For the grammatical embedding of the numerals I quote the names of the months (**sär** 关 (081). As it can be seen, we find the cardinal and not the ordinal numerals , see also names of the days of the month **18.4.3.3**

01. **nai sär** 穴 女 (Dao 4, Zhong10, Gu13) , **emu sär** 毛 女 (Xian7, Yu54) ‘month one, first month’.
02. **jur sär** 圣 女(Ling31, Zhong24, Xua38, 53) ‘month two, second month’ **p-ul-uh jur sär** 业平久 圣 女 ‘the second, intercalary month’ (Pu16/17).
03. **gur sär** 包 女 (Ren11, Qing18, Hui17) ‘month three, the third month’.
04. **dur sär** 乇 女 (Gu15, Gu25, Hon20) ‘month four, the fourth month’.
05. **tau sär** 戋 女 (Zhong6, Gu9,) ‘month five, the fifth month’.
06. **ñol sär** 仄 女 (Ren14, Dao6, Xuan5), ‘month six, the sixth month’.
07. **dalu sär** 斥 女 (Yu27, 49, 51, Xiang1/2 ‘month seven, the seventh month’.
08. **nem sär** 丕 女 (Xing1, Guang22, Hong11) ‘month eight, the eigthth month’.
09. **ishi sär** 忝 女 (Zhong50, Yu51, 65, Zhi8) ‘month nine, the nineth month’.
10. **par sär** 乇 女 (Hong14, Zhuo21, 23, Yong35, Tai4) ‘month ten, the tenth month.
11. **par emu sär** 乇 毛 女 (Xuan4, Gu13, Yu44) ‘month eleven, the eleventh month’.
12. **par jur sär** 乇 圣 女 (Nu3) ‘month twelve, the twelfth month’.

12.3.4 THE KHITAN AND MONGOLIC CARDINAL NUMERALS 1-10

	logoglyph	**reading basic**	**reading variants**	**Mongolic**
1	毛 (026) 毛 (027)	**emu**		*nigen, emüne*
2	圣 (134) 圣 (135)	**jur**	**ci-ur** 朩化 (162-236), **j-ur** 亥化 (104-236)	*jirin, qoyar*
3	包 (166) 包 (167)	**gur**	**hur** 灸 (259) **hu-ur** 列化 (151-236)	*gurban*
4	乇 (368) 乇 (369)	**dur**	**t-ur** 令化 (247-236) **d-ur** 仝化 (254-236)	*dörben*
5	戋 (029) 戋 (030)	**tau**	**t-aû** 令考 (247-125)	*tabun*

6	(085) (086)	**ñol**		*nolgu* ‘many times’ *jirgugan* (<*jir+gurban*)
7	(141) (142)	**dalu**	**d a-lu$_3$** (171-312) **da$_3$-lu$_3$** (214-312)	*dolugan*
8	(007) (008)	**nem**	**n-em$_2$** (251-257)	*naiman*
9	(033) (034)	**(i)shi**		*yisün*
10	(240) (240.1)	**par**		Middle Mongolian *harban*, Mongolic *arban*

TABLE XLI. KHITAN AND MONGOLIC CARDINAL NUMBERS

12.3.5 THE ORDINAL NUMERALS 1-10

12.3.5.1 WORDS USED FOR ‘FIRST, GREATEST ETC.’

Masculine		Feminine	
Romanization	Glyphs	Romanization	Glyphs
m-o	(133-186), 206x	**m-as-qú**	(133-174-118). 1x
m-as-qu	(133-174-246), 22x		
m-as-qó	(133-174-169), 16x		
om-úr	(092-097), 126x		

TABLE XLII. WORDS USED FOR ‘FIRST, GREATEST ETC.’

12.3.5.2 TABLE OF THE ORDINAL NUMERALS 1-10

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	Masculine		Feminine	
	Romanization	glyph	Romanization	glyph
1.	**emu-er**	(026-341)	**emu-û- én**	(026-372-361)

2.	**jur-er**	圣仌 (134-341)	**jur-én**	圣当 (134-161)
	ci-ur-er **j-ur-er**	朩化仌 (162-236-341) 支化仌 (104-236-341)	**ci-ur-én** **j-ur-én**	朩化当 (162-236-361) 支化当 (104-236-361)
3.	*no* ***gur-er**	*包仌 (166-341) or *包仌(167-341)	*no* ***gur-én**	*包当 (166-161)
	hur-er **hu-ur-er** **h-ri-er** **h-úr-er**	佘仌 (259-341), 列化仌 (151-236-341) 乂仉仌 (340-235-341) 乂夾仌 (340-097-341)-	**hur-én** **hu-ur-én** **hu-ur-én$_2$**	佘当 (259-361) 列化当 (151-236-361) 列化与 (151-36-100)
4.	*no* ***dur-er**	*乇仌 (368-341) or *乇仌 (369-341)	*no* ***dur**-én	*乇当 (368-361)
	t-ur-er **d-ur-er**	令化仌 (247-236-341) 坌化仌 (254-236-341)	**t-ur-én** **d-ur-én**	令化当 (247-236-361) 坌化当 (254-236-361)
5.	*no* ***tau-er**	*戋仌 (029-341) or *戋仌 (030-341)	*no* ***tau-én**	*戋当 (029-361)
	t-od-o-or **t-ad-o-or**	令币及北 (247-016-186-076) 令亦及北 (247-099-186-076)	**t-od-o-ón** **t-ad-o-ón**	令币及内 (247-016-186-322) 令亦及内 (247-099-186-322)
6.	**ñol-er**	灰仌 (085-341) 灰仌 (086-341)	**ñol-én**	灰当 (085-361)
7.	*no* ***dalu-er**	*屏仌 (141-341)	**dalu-én**	屏当 (141-361) (2x in Nan)
	da$_3$-lu$_3$-er	六舟仌 (14-312-341)	**da-lu$_3$-én**	久舟当 (171-312-361)
8.	*no* ***nem-er** **nem-d-er** **nem-ri-er>**	丕坌仌 (007-254-341) 丕仉仌 (007-235-341)		

9.	*no* **ishi-er**		*no* **ishi-én**	
	ishi^{o}-d-er	(034-254-341), 1x		
	ishi-un$_2$-er	(033-144-341), 1x		
			ishi-ri-én	(033-235-361), 1x
10.	*no* **par-er**		*no* **par-én**	
	par-d-er	(240-254-341), 1x	**po-od-én**	(279-016-361), 1x

12.3.5.3 TABLE OF THE MULTIPLICATIVE NUMERALS 1-10

Romanization	**Glyph**		
emu-hu	no data		
jur-uh	(134-172), 5x	**jur-uh-ñ** (134-172-222), 2x	genitive
hur-hu	(259-151), 2x		
hu-ur-hu	(151-236-151), 2x		
hu-od-hu	(151-016-151), 1x		
t-ur-uh	(247-236-172), 1x		
tau-uh	(029-172), 1x		
ñol-l-hu	(085-261-151), 1x		
dalu-hu	(141-151), 2x		
n-em$_2$-hu	(251-257-151), 1x		
ishi-d-hu	(033-254-151), 1x		
par-hu	no DATA		

12.3.6 THE NUMERALS ABOVE TEN

12.3.6.1 THE NUMERALS 11-19

par emu (240 026), ‘eleven’, 32x, **L**14.
par jur (240 134), ‘twelve’, 17x.
par gur (240 166), ‘thirteen’, 12x, **L**14.
par dur (240 368), ‘fourteen’, 13x.
par tau (240 029), ‘fifteen’, 12x.
par ñol (240 085), ‘sixteen’, 3x.
par dalu (240 141), ‘seventeen’, 1x, **L**16.
par nem (240 007), ‘eighteen’, 9x, **L**16.
par ishi (240 033), ‘nineteen’, 11x.

12.3.6.2 THE NUMERALS 20-29

(002) ‘twenty’ occurs altogether 97 times.

Kane regarded the reading to be unknown (2009,35), Róna-Tas suggested *jüri* (2016, 133), Shimunek has *ǰuri* (2017, 425). CWJ is dealing with the glyph on p. 151 and reads *tɛyr* and Index has throughout < jur$_2$>. I consider the reading for the time being as uncertain, I preserved the reading of CWJ, but see Jur *orin* ‘twenty’ (Kiyose 133), *ori* (Kane 364), Ma *orin* to Mong, *qorin* ‘twenty’.

In the corpus we find the following: .
jur$_2$ emu (002 026), ‘twenty-one’, 3x.
jur$_2$ jur (002 134) ‘twenty-two’, 10x.
jur$_2$ gur (002 166), ‘twenty-three’, 16x.
jur$_2$ dur* (002 368), ‘twenty-four’ no example.
jur$_2$ tau (002-029), ‘twenty-five’, 4x.
jur$_2$ ñol (002 085) ‘twenty-six’, 7x.
jur$_2$ dalu (002 141) ‘twenty-seven’, 2x.
jur$_2$ nem (002 007), ‘twenty-eight’, 6x.
jur$_2$ ishi (002-033) ‘twenty-nine’, 7x**.**

12.3.6.3 THE NUMERALS 30-39

THIRTY (211) 34x, **THIRTY^o** (211.1), 2x.

According to Kane (2009, 60) reading unknown, Wu-Janhunen 2010, 265 no reading, but called the attention to the dotted form which they registered under No 447. Róna-Tas (2016, 133-134) suggested a form **gurčin* based on a Chinese transcription of a Tu-yu-hun word with the meaning ‘30’. This was accepted by Shimunek (2017, 238) as an early Middle Serbi form, but otherwise no reading. CWJ p. 255 has *γoʧ*, but Index only THIRTY (211) and THIRTY° (201.1)[33]. For the time being I accept the usage of CWJ because we have the following suffixed forms: genitive **THIRTY-en** 乚 冇 (211-140), 2x and a dative-locative form **THIRTYᴼ-de** 厶矢 (211.1-205) 1x, these point to a consonantal final. This could be **guč** or **gučin**, and further research has to decide. Attested forms are further: .

THIRTY emu 乚 乇 (211 026) ‘thirty-one’, 1x, (**THIRTY emu-de** Hu10).
THIRTY jur 乚圣 (211 134), ‘thirty-two’, 1x.
THIRTY gur 乚包 (211 166) ‘thirty-three’, 3x.
THIRTY dur* 乚 毛 (211 368) ‘thirty-four’, no example.
THIRTY tau 乚 戋 (211 029), ‘thirty-five’, 1x.
THIRTY ñol* 乚灰 (211-085) ‘thirty-six’ no example.
THIRTY dalu 乚屏 (211 141) ‘thirty-seven’, 2x.
THIRTY nem 乚丕 (211 007) ‘thirty-eight’, 2x.
THIRTY ishi 乚忝 (211 033) ‘thirty-nine’, 4x.

12.3.6.4 THE NUMERALS 40-49

FORTY 了 (145), 16x.

Kane (2009,52) no reading, Wu-Janhunen 2010 no reading, Róna-Tas 2016 no reading, Shimunek 2017 no reading. CWJ p. 221 has *tuʧ* , but Index throughout FORTY[34]. In the corpus we find further the genitive **FORTY-en** 了冇 (145-140), 3x and **FORTY-li** 了八 (145 239) ‘forty miles’, 1x. The following cases may be of interest: .

In lines 24-25 of Zhi we find a word **ui-FORTY** 火了 (262-145):

<t-ri ui-FORTY na$_2$-li$_2$-in$_2$ em-ci gor sui-ji eu-úr-ge-er ci-i-is-d jur /25/ xo-or-ci-l-ñ eu-ul-ge$_2$-y> 令化 火了 叉北叉 丙朩 包 佃犭 土安尜公 朩关忝仝 圣/25/ 夹北朩丬伏 土平杰丙.

In Xing25 a word **n-o-FORTY-hu** occurs:

<jau n-o-FORTY-hu mu-u-ji un$_2$-she sh-en s-d$_3$> 乑 公及了列 仕叒犭 叉朩 叉冇 仐丸 (Xing25).

perhaps ‘hundred and forty times’.

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[33] On CWJ p- 418 乚 is correctly translated as *sanshi* 三十, but on p. 419 the dotted form 厶 is given as *bashi* 八十 ‘eighty’ in error.

[34] Actually FOURTY.

In the coprus the following numerals occur:
FORTY emu 了 毛 (145 026), 2x.
FORTY jur* 了 圣 (145 134), no example.
FORTY gur 了 包 (145 166), 2x.
FORTY dur* 了 乇 (145-368) no example.
FORTY tau 了 戋 (145 029), 1x.
FORTY ñol 了 灰 (145 085), 1x.
FORTY dalu 了 屏 (145 141), 2x.
FORTY n-em$_2$ 了 公 企 (145 251-257), 1x.
FORTY nem 了 垩 (145 007), 2x.
FORTY ishi* 了 忝 (145 033) no example.

12.3.6.5 THE NUMERALS 50-59

FIFTY 乙 (155), 24x

No reading in earlier literature. Based on a paper of Ji Shi 即实 (1996a) CWJ on p. 229 suggested *t'æb*, but in Index throughout FIFTY. The genitive case is **FIFTY-en** 乙 冇 (155-140), which occurs twice. I am following CWJ and retain FIFTY.

FIFTY emu 乙 毛 (155 026), 2x.
FIFTY jur 乙 圣 (155 134), 1x.
FIFTY gur 乙 包 (155 166), 1x.
FIFTY dur* 乙 乇 (155 368), no example.
FIFTY tau* 乙 戋 (155 029), no example.
FIFTY ñol* 乙 灰 (155 085), no example.
FIFTY dalu 乙 屏 (155 141), 4x.
FIFTY nem 乙 垩 (155 007), 2x.
FIFTY ishi 乙 忝 (155 033), 4x.

12.3.6.6 THE NUMERALS 60-69

SIXTY 乂 (266), 21x, 火 (267), 义 (266.1) <yun>.

CWJ on p 281 based on earlier literature suggested for 乂 (266), *ʧar*. Index throughout only SIXTY, which I retain. The glyph with one dot is 义 (266.1) for it a Romanization <yun>is given on CWJ281-282. The glyph 义 occurs in **yun dus** 义 丹 (266.1 310.1) 9 times, once misread as **yun b** 义 舟 (266.1-311) in (Yong 34-25) , and once we have **yun-om** 义 九 (266.1-092) (Qing23), which has to mean 'corps'. **Yun-dus** is a name, transcribend by CWJ p. 454, as *yun de shi* 匀德实.

For the double dotted form (267), no reading is given. This double dotted form occurs only once in Dao22-15. Suffixed form is: **SIXTY-en** (266-140), 4x.

There are two forms which may be of interest: **SIXTY-m** (266-133), 1x, and **SIXTY-dus.** (266-310.1), the latter is a misreading or miswriting for **yun dus** (266.1 310.1), 1x. More interesting may be **SIXTY-m** (266-133), which occurs in Yu28-16. The context is not clear, but, if not a miswriting, the **-m** may be a residual element of the numeral for sixty.

SIXTY emu (266 026), 1x.
SIXTY jur (266 134), 4x.
SIXTY gur (266 166), 1x.
SIXTY dur (266 368), 1x.
SIXTY tau (266 029), 1x.
SIXTY ñol* (266 085), no example.
SIXTY dalu (266 141), 3x.
SIXTY nem* (266 007), no example.
SIXTY ishi (266 033), 2x.

12.3.6.7 THE NUMERALS 70-79

SEVENTY (300), 12x, SEVENTY (301) 3x, perhaps (317)

CWJ on p. 300 based on earlier research suggested <dal> for both (300), (301), but gave SEVENTY in Index. I retain SEVENTY.

We find the following suffixed forms: genitive **SEVENTY-en** (300-140), 5x, **SEVENTY-ô** (300-252)[35], 1x. **SEVENTY-ui** (300-262), 1x, **SEVENTY-i** (300-339), 1x, **SEVENTY^{o}-úr** (301-097). The last is in Xing18-20, and may perhaps be a plural, ‘the seventies’.

SEVENTY emu* (300 026), no example.
SEVENTY jur (300 134). 1x.
SEVENTY gur (300 166), 1x.
SEVENTY dur* (300 368), no example, but:
SEVENTY t-ur$_2$ (300 247-236)[36] ‘seventy-four’[37.]
SEVENTY tau (300 029), 1x.
SEVENTY ñol (300 185), 1x.
SEVENTY dalu* (300 141), no example.
SEVENTY nem* (300 007), no example.

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[35] in:< *p-úr-s es SEVENTY-ô m-o ai-en te$_2$-a-ñ har$_3$-ia tai w-on em ku*> (Yu5).

[36] CWJ 463 in error: *qishi san* 七十三.

[37] *eu-úr SEVENTY t$_2$-ur tu-úr-bun* ‘he died at the age 74’ (Di9).

SEVENTY ishi* (300 033), no example.
With a yet undeciphered glyph:
317-en eu-úr-de (317-140 067-097-205) (Nan38).

12.3.6.8 THE NUMERALS 80-89

EIGHTY (211.2)

The glyph was late identified, and got the serial number 449 in Wu-Janhunen, 2010, 272, and Shimunek 2017 440. In CWJ it was renumbered and got the number 211.2. CWJ on p. 255 and in Index suggested <nai>. Index on p. 1955 gives <nai> but the glyph in the second column is missing. According to Index the glyph occurs three times: Liang 18-7, Xiang31-2, and Hu24-24. Since there does exist another glyph **nai** (332) the glyph (211.2) should be **nai$_2$** but for the time being I retain **EIGHTY.**

<eu-úr EIGHTY nem-de s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er tu-úr-b-ñ> 'At the age of eighty eight he became ill and died' (Liang18-7).

<eu-úr EIGHTY jur-de tu-úr-bun> 'he died at the age of eighty two' (Xiang31-2), see also Wu-Janhunen 198, who read EIGHTY two.

<EIGHTY n-ai-g-én-de t-qú da-dus-de bun-un$_2$ p-o-l$_2$- i> (Hu24-24), the text is not clear for me, the expression <n-ai-g-én-de> is occurring only here, CWJ on p. 1508 where the text of Hu is reproduced, has no gloss.

12.3.6.9 NINETY

No glyph for ninety has been yet identified.

12.3.6.10 HUNDRED **JAU** (015), CHIN *BAI* 百 C360,

For Mongolic see Mong *ǰagun*, Dag *jau* (M 176), *ǰau* (M-K 127), also Nugteren 2011, *ǰaun.* Suffixed forms are genitive **jau-en** (015-140), 3x, dative-locative **jau-de** (015-205), 1x.

In the corpus I found:
emu jau (026 015) 'one-hundred' (Yu 43, Zhen23),
jur jau (134 015)'two-hundred' (Yu50, Zhen18, Nan1, Xian17, Jue21),
gur jau (166 015) 'three-hundred' (Hong8, Xian1, 14),

tau jau 乇豕 (029 015) ‘five-hundred’ (Yu69, Zhuo2, Tai2, Jue21, Jue40) in **ming tau jau**.

dalu jau 仄 (141 015) ‘seven-hundred’ (Zhen22).

12.3.6.11 THOUSAND

ming 关 (207) ‘thousand’, Chin *qian* 千 C417,

For the Mongolic data see Mong *mingga(n)* ‘thousand’, Dag *miange* (M325), *m’aŋa, m’ aŋga* ‘tausend’ (M-K120), cf. Turkic *miŋ* < *biŋ*. Genitive case is **ming-en** 关杓 (207-140) 2x. The word also occurs in the name of the military unit: **ming-an** 关夹 (207-011) ChT *meng an* 猛安 C418 and its plural **ming-ad** 关亦 (207-099) ‘the thousands, plural of the military term’, Chin has *qian* 千 C418. See also the expression **ming-en ku** 关杓 几 (207-140 178) ‘thousand people’, Chin *qian ren* 千人 C418.

Not related is.

ming-eu-ud-en 关去火杓 (207-067-344-140) and **ming-u-ud-en** 关叐火杓 (207-131-344-140) both plural and in genitive case, ChinE gloss: *meng gu zhi* 萌骨之 **L**21 in: **Ming-u-ud-en nai-d** (Yu54-28), for details see **L**21.

12.3.6.12 TEN THOUSAND, MANY

tum 及 (187) ‘ten thousand, many, everlasting’, 55x, Chin *wan* 万 C414, see Mong *tüme(n)* ‘ten thousand, a military unit ’, Dag *tume* ‘ten thousand’ (M228), *tume* ‘zehntausend’ (M-K139), genitive **tum-en** 及杓 (187-140), 1x and **tum-un** 及火 1x. For the semantics see **tum-en eu-úr** 及杓 去交 (187-140 067-097) ‘long life’, Chin *wan sui* 万岁 C415.

12.3.7 SUMMARY

As it can be seen with the exeption of the numerals for ‘one’ and ‘six’ the Khitan and the Mongolic numerals can be compared, and they go back to a common Proto Mongolic form. On the surface it looks like, that Khitan preserved the non suffixed forms, while Mongolic added to the respective bases a special suffix. This is, however not the case. Let us first look to the suffix. The PMong suffix was -*βVn.* This suffix changed after vocalic finals to -*gVn*: *ni-gen, dolu-gan,* and after consonantal finals to -*ban*: *gur-ban, dör-ben, ar-ban*. In case of ‘five’ we have to suppose *tau* where the second element of the diphthong functioned as a consonant *taw-ban* which changed the vocalism under the influence of the diphthong to *u* and became *tabun*. The word for 'eight' was *nai* (see *nayan* 'eighty'), here also the second element of the diphthong was treated as a consonant and therfore got the suffix *-ban*: *nai-ban* which was then nazalised on the influence of the first consonant > *nai-man.* The numeral for 'nine' had to be **yersün*. Nugteren (2011, 545) has pointed to the Ñantoq subdialect of Tongren Baoan which preserved the -r-: *yirsəŋ*, and which is also present in *yeren* 'ninety'. In this case we have a suffix -*sUn* which may be connected with the Mongolic suffix -*sUn* used for denoting special quantities as in *u-sun* 'water', *dabu-sun* 'salt', *adugu-sun* 'animal (stock)', *agura-sun* 'houshold equipment' (by the way: not a suffix for liquids). Finally *ar-ban* is also fitting into the system, it has a final consonant.

Now we can look to Khitan. Khitan lost the suffix, which is preserved only in the numeral **nem**, which is a secondary form of earlier ***nayim.** Here the final **-m** is a residual or preserved element of the PMong suffix *-man < βVn.*

Let us now turn to he poblems around the numeral 'six'. As earlier studies already stressed (see above, under SIX) Mongolic *jirgugan* is a secondary development, and was formed from the expression "2x3", that is *jir+gurban*. This type of numerals which is formed by two other numerals is known e.g. from French *quatre-vingts* "four twenties" = eighty.

This means that the Mongolic numeral system was originally a *quinary* system, a system of five, *one, two, three, four, five, many*. These systems are using the natural counting practice with the fingers. The Indo-European word for 'five' **p*^{h}*enkh*^{oe} can be etymologized as 'hand, five fingers', see T. Gamkrelidze—V.V. Ivanov (1995, 746). A remote hint to the quinary system may be Turkic *elig* fifty' from *elig* 'hand'. A quinary system has been used by speakers of Saraveca, a now extinct South American Arawakan language in Bolivia. Some other South American languages have numerals as *6=five+1*, *seven=five*+2 and so on.

The hypothesis, that Mongolic system of numerals was originally a quinary system can be now hardened by the Khitan numeral for 'six'. As we have seen above, the numeral for 'six' was **ñol** and the Mongolic counterpart was **ñolqu* with the meaning 'very much, excessive'. It has the old multiplicative suffix -*qu/gu* which is present in Khitan, see below. **ñol* had the meaning 'many, more' and *ñolgu* 'many times, more times'. The PMong *ñol* had originally the meaning 'more then five, many', see further Mong. *arban* 'ten' which is from the same base as *arbi* 'abundance'.

12.3.8 THE ORIGIN OF THE KHITAN NUMERALS

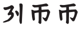
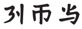
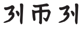
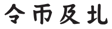
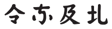
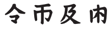
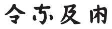
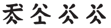
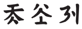
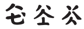
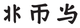
KHITAN	PROTO KHITANO-MONGOLIC	MONGOLIC
emu	*emu-gen	_emu-ne ni-gen_
jur < *jir	*jir-ben	_jir-in, qo-yar_
gur	*gur-ban	_gur-ban_
dur < *dör	*dör-ben	_dör-ben_
tau	*tau-ban	_*taw-bun > ta-bun_
ñol	*ñol	_ñol >nolgu, jirgugan_ _< jir-gurban_
dalu	*dalu-gan	_*dalu-gan > dolu-gan_
nem <*nayim	*nayi-man <*_nayi-ban_	_nayiman_
ishi <*yishi<*yisi	*yir-sün	_*yirsün > yisün_
par	*parban	_harban > arban_

TABLE XLIII. THE ORIGIN OF THE KHITAN NUMERALS

12.3.9 THE SUFFIX OF THE ORDINAL NUMERALS

In Mongolic there are two suffixes expressing the ordinal form of the numerals. The suffix -_dUgAr_ can be detected as early as Middle Mongolian: _nikendü'er_, _nikentü'er_ 'first' (Hua i yiyu, ed Mostaert, 79), _qoyaduwar_ 'second' (ibid, p.90). In Modern Mongolic languages the final -_n_ is dropped, Khalkha _gurawdugaar_. In Buriat another suffix emerged -_dAχi: gurbadaχi_ 'third' (see also Poppe, 1955, 248-249). Mong *-dUgAr* is of nominal origin, see *dugar* 'number' in *dugar tabu* 'number five' , Khalha Mongol *dugaar* 'number, issue of a periodical', *dugaargui* 'without number'. The suffix *-dAki* is a composite, from *-da+ki* the locative *-dA* and the suffix *-ki* as in *degere-ki* 'the upper', see *dalai-daki* 'that of the sea, marine'.

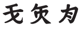
In Khitan the ordinal numerals get a suffix depending on their linguistic gender: **-er** for masculine and **-én** for feminine forms, see GENDER, **13.3.** In some cases we find a residual **-d-**:

hu-od-er  (151-016-341), 'third, masculine', 2x.
hu-od-én  (151-016-361), 'third, feminine', 3x,
hu-od-hu  (151-016-151), 'three times', 1x,
t-od-o-or  (247-016-186-076), 'fifth, masculine', 10x,
t-ad-o-or  (247-099-186-076), 'fifth, masculine', 10x,
t-od-o-ón  (247-016-186-322), 'fifth, feminine', 6x,
t-ad-o-ón  (247-099-186-322) 'fifth, feminine', 5x,
ishi°-d-er  (034-254-341)'nineth, masculine, 1x,
ishi-d-hu  (033-254-151) 'nine times'(Nan5-31),
par°-d-er  (240.1-254-341) 'tenth, masculine', 1x,
po-od-én  (279-016-361), 'tenth, feminine', 1x.

The analysis of these examples point to the suffix *-dUgAr*. The suffixes of the genders see **13.4.7**.

12.3.10 The origin of some Khitan numeral signs

'four' (166) < **'one'** (026) +
'five' (029) **<sh>** (028) +
'ten' (240) < **'one'** (026) +

While the origin of the glyphs for 'four' and 'ten' seems to be very probable, I do not have any reason to connect <sh> with <tau>, the more that (029) is also used as phonetic part of words as **tau-li-a**  (029-206-189) 'rabbit, hare'. Does this offer a bridge to the origin of the Khitan Small Script?

12.3.11 The traces of Khitan numerals in Jurchen

The Jurchen numerals can be identified with the help of two basic works compiled in the Bureau of Translators and the Bureau of Interpreters respectively. For the first I used the publication of Kiyose (1977), for the second that of Kane (1989), I cite Manchu according to Norman 1967.

	Jurchen cardinals 1-10 Kiyose, Kane	**Manchu Norman**		**Jurchen cardinals 11-19 Kiyose, Kane**		**Jurchen cardinals teens 20-90 Kiyose, Kane**	**stem**	**Khitan**
1	emu	emu	11	amšo, ǰuan emu				
2	ǰuwe, ǰue <*ǰūr[38]	ǰuwe	12	ǰirhon, ǰuerhon	20	orin < *xorin	*jur *qorin	jur
3	ilan	ilan	13	gorhon	30	gušin, guši < *gurčin	*gor, *gur	gur
4	duwin, du'in	duin	14	durhon	40	tehi, dehi	*dur	dur
5	šunǰa	sunǰa	15	tobohon	50	susai	*tau	tau
6	ningu	ningun	16	nilhun	60	ninǰu<*ninguǰu	*ñol	ñol
7	nadan, nada	nadan	17	darhon = dalhon	70	nadanǰu, nadaǰu	*dalu	dalu
8	ǰakun	ǰakūn	18	niyuhun	80	ǰakunǰu	*nayi	nayim> nem
9	uyun	uyun	19	oniyohon	90	uyunǰu	*isi	(i)shi
10	ǰuwa, ǰuan	ǰuwan					*par	par

TABLE XLIV. THE JURCHEN NUMERALS

The following Jurchen numerals or part of numerals have connection with the Khitan-Mongolic system:

PKhM *emü*: Khitan **emu**, Jurchen *emu,* Ma *emu*, Mongolic *emüne* 'in front', see above.

PKhM **jǖr* appears in Jurchen **ǰüer* in *ǰüerhon, ǰirhon* '12', the long /*ǖ*/, perhaps secondary in Tunguzic, became a diphthong, and lost its final *-r* in *ǰue,* but is preserved in '12', see also Ma *juwerge* 'a two-stringed musical instrument', Khitan **jur**, Mongolic *ǰirin* (< **jüren*)*,* see above.

PKhM **gur* appears in Jurchen *gorhon* (<**gurhon*) , and *gušin* < **gučin* <**gurčin,* Khitan **gur**, Mongolic *gurban*.

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[38] See also *emu ǰure* 'one pair'.

PKhM **dör* appears in Jurchen *duwin, du'in* (< **durwen* < *dörben*) and in *durhon,* Khitan **dur**, Mongolic *dörben.*

PKhM **tab* appears in Jurchen *tobo-hon,* Ma *tofohon*, see Khitan **t-od-o-ón***,* Khitan **tau,** Mongolic *tabun.*

PKhM **ñol* appears in Jurchen *nilhun* (< **niyolhun* < **ñolhun*), Khitan **ñol**, Mongolic *nol-gu*. see above.

PKhM **dalu* appears in Jurchen in *dalhon*, misread earlier as *darhon*, Khitan **dalu**, Mongolic *dolugan* <**dalugan* .

PKhM **nayi* appears in Jurchen *niyuhun* (< **nayi-hun*), Khitan **nem** < *nayim*, Mongolic *nayiman* <**nayiban.*

PKhM **qorin* 'twenty' appears in Jurchen, Manchu *orin* 'twenty', from a dialect with loss of initial *q*-, see *Qonggirad ~Onggirad* in the SHM, Jur *üdige* 'field, wild', see Mong *ködüge, ködege* 'open steppe', Ligeti 1986, 118), and Pelliot 1944.

For the Tunguzic group the following basic numerals can be reconstructed[39], none of them can be connected with KhM[40]:

**ilan* 'three': Ju *ilan,* Ma *ilan,* (Cincius I, 304).
**tuŋga* >> Ju *šunǰa* 'five', Ma *sunǰa* (Cincius II, 214).
**ñungu* 'six': Ju *ningu*, Ma *ninggun* (Cincius I 647-648), see *ningu* 'top, on top' (Cincius I, 598) 'verh, veršina', see Ju *ningju* '60' (Ligeti 1953, 222).
**ǰ̱apkun* > *ǰakun* 'eight': Ju *ǰakun*, Ma *ǰakūn* (Cincius I 251-252).
**nadan* 'seven': Ju *nadan*, Ma *nadan* (Cincius I. 576).
**yegin* > *uyu-gun* > *uyun* 'nine': Ju *uyun*, Ma *uyun* (Cincius I, 352-353).
**ǰān* > *juwan* 'ten': Ju *ǰuwa*, Ma *ǰuwan* (Cincius I 248).

Tungusic possessed an independent numeral system, which was originally a quinary system. The Tungusic word for 'six' functioned as a general term for 'all that lay beyond five', see Ma *ningu* 'on top'. At a later stage the system was reorganized into a decimal one, and subsequently came under Khitan–Mongolic influence. Tungusic **hon* 'ten,' which appears in the second part of the teens, has been compared with Turkic *on* 'ten'. However, there is no evidence for an initial **h*; Halaj, which in many cases preserved earlier *h*, shows *ūᵒn* (Doerfer–Tezcan 1989: 210), a regular reflex of Old Turkic **ōn*. Even less acceptable is a former idea of Poppe according to whom *hon* <<<*qorin* 'twenty'.

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[39] I accept the reconstructions of V. I. Cincius and do not quote the rich material collected and published by her. Benzing 1956 has a somewhat different reconstruction. For the Manchu see Norman 1967.

[40] The Manchu is cited after Norman 1967.

12.3.12 The Khitan and the Altaic numerals

Now we can place the Khitan numerals into an Altaic framework

	TUNGUZIC			MONGOLIC			TURKIC		
	Jurchen	*Manchu*	*PTung*	*Khitan*	*PKhit-Mong*	*Mongolic*	*EOTurk*	*WOT*	*Chuvash*
1	**emu**	**emu**	**emü**	**emu**	*emü	emüne nigen	bir	bir	pĕr
2	**ǰue**	**ǰuwe**	**ǰǖr**	**ǰür**	*ǰüre	ǰirin qoyar	ikki	iki	ikĕ
3	ilan	ilan	ilan	gur	*gur	gurban	üč	üč	viśĕ
4	du’in	duin	dugin	dur	*dör	dörben	tȫrt	tȫrt	tăvat
5	šunǰaí	sunǰa	tuñga	taw	*tab	tabun	bēš	belik	pilĕk
6	ninggu	ninggun	ñungu	ñol	*ñol	jirgugan <*ǰirgurban nolgu	altï	altï	ultă
7	nada	nadan	nadan	dalu	*dalu	dolugan <*dalugan	yeti	ǰeti	śičĕ
8	ǰakun	ǰakun	ǰapkun	nem	*nayi	naiman	sekiz	säkir	sakăr
9	uyun	uyun	huyegin	(i)shi	*yisi	yisün	toquz	toqur	tăxăr
10	ǰuan	ǰuwan	ǰān	par	*par	harban < *parban	ōn	ōn	vun
20	**ori**	**orin**		?	?	**qorin**	yegirmi	ǰegirmi	śirĕm

TABLE XLV. THE ALTAIC NUMERALS

In the following I try not to repeat what was said in chapter **12.3** on the Khitan numerals.

ONE. All Altaic languages have words for ‘one’ originating from words with the meaning ‘before’ and the like. While Turkic has invariably **bir*, other words as *baš,* ‘head’, *ön* ‘before’ and others are also used in counting. Mongolic has *nigen* which is of inner origin, *emüne* is ‘front’ and in orientation ‘south’, looking to south. Though the orientation of the Mongols was since long following the Chinese orientation to the south, we know, that for the Khitans or at least for some Khitan clans East was the main orientation point, see the Horizontal Tents, Khit **h-dú-un**$_2$

go-er 乂尼叐 曲仌. Khitan has *emu* for ‘one’ and this was taken over by the Tunguzic languages.

TWO. All Turkic languages have *iki* and *ikki* for ‘two’, the second was the stressed variant ‘that two’. The opposition of the simple and the stressed variants existed in most Turkic languages, and is clearly distinguished in Chuvash (*ikĕ , ikkĕ*). The word for ‘twins’ was in EOT *ikiz* and in WOT *ikir* and the WOT word was copied by Mongolic (*ikire*) and Hungarian (*iker*). The Mongolic *qoyar* is of inner origin see **qoi* ‘follow’ in *qoina* ‘in the rear, after, later’, *qoiši* ‘back, backwards etc.’as *secundus* from Latin *sequor* ‘to follow’> English *second.* The original Khitan—Mongolic numeral was **jür*, feminine *ǰüren*, masculine *jürer.* The feminine form was preserved in Mongolic as *ǰirin.* The word *ǰirin* is preserved not only in various locutions, but also in Mongolic *jirgugan* ‘six’ <**ǰir-gurban.* The Tunguzic word for ‘two’ was *ǰǖr*. The final -*r* and the vowel length was preserved in some Tunguzic languages as Solon *ǰūr,* Nanai *ǰuer* and in secondary forms as Evenki *ǰūrmen* ‘dvoinoi’, Udihe *ǰūregde* ‘dvojka’, Orok *dūruke* ‘dvojka’, NanaiDialect *ǰuer, jūr* ‘dva’ (see the data in Cincius 1975, 276-277). The length of the vowel surfaces in Jurchen and Manchu as -*ue, uwe* and Negidal *ǰūyi* ‘dva’ which is going back to **ǰūri* . It remains an open question whether the Tunguzic length is preserving an earlier phase, or is a secondary, stressed form in proto Tunguzic.

THREE. The words for the numeral ’three’ are independent words, Turkic *üč*, Khitan-Mongolic *gur* and Tunguzic *ilan.*

FOUR. Turkic *tȫrt* was since long compared with Mong *dörben* and Manchu *duin*. While ---*ben* in Mongolic *dörben* is a clear suffix (see **12.3** above) , the final -*t* in *tȫrt* does not seems to be a suffix. Cincius (1975, 204) reconstructed for Tunguzic‘four’ **digin*, while Benzing (1956, 101) reconstructed **dügün.* The reconstruction **digin* is acceptable for Evenki (*digī*), Solon (*digī*), Negidal (*digī*), Udihe (*dī*), but Orok *dundatči* ’lodka na 4 grebcov’ preserved the -*u*-, while *ǰilte* ‘četyrie dna’ and other point to *ǰī* (<**digi*). Nanai *dūī,* Manchu *duji*, Jurchen *du’in* show a preserved -*u*-. Considering the above and the whole Tunguzic material collected by Cincius and others I opt for Tunguzic **dugin.*

FIVE. Turkic has *bēš* while Chuvash with lambdacism and a suffix **belik* > *pilĕk*. Khitano-Mongolic has **tab* > **taw,* while Tunguzic *tuñga*. Cincius reconstructed (op. cit. 214) *tunŋa*, while Benzing (op. cit. 101) *tuñga*. I accept the latter, because of Negidal *toñga*, Ulcha *tuñǰa*, Nanai *tojŋga*, *toiŋga* where the patal element is preserved.

SIX. Turkic has everywhere *altī*. Mongolic has *ǰirgugan* < *ǰir gurban* ‘two three’, while Khitan *ñol* which can be compared with Mongolic **ñol* in *nolgu* ‘very much’ < **ñol-gu,* the details see above. Mongolic had originally a quinary system and a word for everything which was above five. Tunguzic has *ñungun* for ‘six’, in this case we can accept the reconstruction of Cincius (op.cit. 647), Benzing has *ñöŋün* which is practically the same, but the front vocalism is hypothetical. The word for ‘six’ in the Tunguzic languages goes back to a word which has the meaning ‘above, on top’, see Jur *ninggu* ‘on top of’ (Kane 168), Ma *ninggu* ‘top, on top’, similarily as Mong *nolgu*, that may mean that the originalTunguzic system also was a quinary one.

SEVEN. The Turkic languages have *yeti*, WOT *ǰeti.* Mongolic *dolugan* is an assimilated form of earlier **dalugan* and has a common origin with Khitan *dalu.* Tunguzic **nadan* has no connection with the other numerals.

EIGHT. The Turkic languages have *säkiz* and with rhotacism the WOT languages **säkir.* Mongolic n*ayiman* and Khitan **nem** <*nayiman* are of the same origin. Tunguzic **ǰapkun* is an independent word, the -*p*- is preserved in Evenki (*ǰapkī*), Orok (*ǰappa*), Udihe (*ǰakpa*), Ulcha (*ǰaqpa*), Orok (*daqpa*), Nanai (*ǰakpa*), and lost only in Jurchen and Manchu.

NINE. Turkic has **toquz* and with rhotacism WOT **toqur.* Mongolic **yisün*, perhaps going back to earlier -**yirsün,* while Khitan **ishi* maybe from an earlier**isi.* The relationship between Mongolic *yisün* and Khitan *ishi* < *isi* needs further investigation, but they are most probable going back to the same stem. Tunguzic may be reconstructed as **huyegin*. Benzing (op.cit. 101) has *xüyügün* and Cincius (op.cit. 352) *yegin*. The initial *h*- is preserved in Oroch (*xuyǣ*), Ulcha (*xuyi(n)*), Orok (*xuyē*), Nanai (*xuyū*), but lost in Evenki (*yegi*), Solon (*yegī*) and in Jurchen and Manchu.

TEN. Turkic has **ōn* in all Turkic languages, Mongolic *arban* goes back through Middle Mongolic *harban*, to the protoform **parban* and has the common stem **par* with Khitan. For Tunguzic we can reconstruct**ǰān* as Cincius did (op.cit. 248) and not as **ǰuwan* as was claimed by Benzing (op.cit. 101). The diphthongs in Ulcha (*ǰua(n)),* Nanai (*ǰoa*), in Jurchen and Manchu go back to a long vowel.

TWENTY. The word for ‘twenty’ is in Turkic -**yegirmi*, in most cases assimilated to *yigirmi*. In Mongolic we find *qorin.* Mongolic *qorin* fits into the system of the teens: *gučin, döčin, tavin, ǰiran, nayan, yiren*. and it is probable, but not quite sure that *qor*-of *qorin* is going back to *qoyar*. More probable seems to be to suppose here that the stem was *qo*- with a petrified suffix -*r*, as in *gur-ban*, *dör-ben* etc. At present the Khitan equivalent 丅 (002) is not deciphered CWJ suggested **jur**$_2$**.** Tunguzic has **orin*, but Ulcha (*xorin*) and Nanai (*xorĩ*) have initial *h*-. this may point to the possibility, that Mong *qorin* in a form *xorin* entered the Tunguzic change Proto Tunguzic *h- >Nanai, Olcha, Orok *x*-, all other Tunguzic languages Zero-, as the many times cited **xedin* ‘wind’: Ulcha , Orok *xedu(n),* Nanai *xedũ*, all Tunguzic languages, with *e*-, Manchu *edun,* or *xolgo*- ‘to dry’, Evenki *olgī*-, Solon *olgī*-, Even *olgĕ*-, Negidal *olgi*-, Oroch *olgi*-, Udihe *waisi*-, Ulcha *xolǰo(n-),* Orok *xoldo*-, Nanai *xolgi*-, Ma *olhon* ‘dry’ and **huyegin* ‘nine’ above. According to Cincius (op.cit. 24) the Tunguzic words for ‘twenty’ with zero initial were transmitted from Mongol through Manchu where they lost their initial, while those with *x*- are direct loans from Mongol. It is safer to suppose, that *xorin* entered a Tunguzic change of Proto

Tunguzic *h*--. However we can not exlude that the forms without *q*- are of Khitan origin. We know (see EL) that the in-law or *quda* clan of Chinggis was the Onggirat clan. As Pelliot (1944) stressed, Onggirat is the Khitan form of the clan or tribe name, while Qonggirat appears only with the Jin and Yuan dynasties. In this case the majority of the Tunguzic languages copied the Khitan form **orin* and Ulcha and Nanai the Mongolic one. The possibility of Khitan elements in Tunguzic needs serious attention.

THE STRUCTURE OF NUMERALS 11–19 and 21-29. In Old Turkic, the units are counted in relation to the next higher decade (*Oberstufenzählung*). For example, *bir yegirmi* means 'eleven' ('one from twenty'). The same pattern occurs with the following decade: *bir otuz* means 'twenty-one' ('one from thirty'). Further the word *artuqï* is used as in *otuz artuqï bir* 'thirty-and-one' (see Pritsak 1955, Tekin 1968:145; Erdal 2004, 220-227). This counting system has been preserved by the Sarig Yugurs: *pyrjigurmo* 'eleven', *iškijigurmo* 'twelve', *peri'otus* 'twenty-one', etc. (Tenišev 1976:73). Otherwise in the Turkic languages 'eleven' is *onbir*' (ten-one, 10+) etc. Important is, that the word for 'fifty' is *älig* as the name of the 'hand', a remnant of an old quinary system. Mongolic had in Middle Mongolic times a system of ten+. In the SHM we find *harban niken* 'eleven', *harban gurban* 'thirteen', *harban ǰiro'an/ǰirwa'an-/jiqo'an* 'sixteen'. The structure of the Khitan numerals is the same as that of Mongolic: **par emu** 乇 モ (240 026), 'eleven', **par jur** 乇 圣 (240 134), 'twelve', **par gur** 乇 乜 (240 166), 'thirteen', etc. Other is the case of Jurchen. The structure of the Jurchen numerals 11-19 is *one+ten*, that is ten is on the second place. Further as we have seen in chapter **12.3.11** numerals above ten stay under heavy Mongolic influence.

Jurchen 'eleven' is *ǰuan emu* a 10+ structure with only Jurchen elements, 'twelve is *ǰirhon, ǰuerhon* which is a +10 structure with Jurchen numerals, but further we find that the numeral 'thirteen' is *gor-hon* and not *ilan+hon,* fourteen' is *durhon* and not *duin+hon,* 'fifteen' is *tobohon* and not *šunja+hon*, 'sixteen' is *nilhun* and not *ninggu+hon*, 'seventeen' is *dalhon* and not *nadan+hon.* That is the Jurchen structure was preserved, but the numerals partly are of Mongolic origin. In this case Manchu differs from Jurchen. However in case of texts translated from Chinese, the Chinese structure of the numerals is followed by Jurchen and is the same as that of Manchu

	Manchu	Jurchen Kiyose 133	Jurchen if translated from Chinese, see Kiyose texts before *aniya* ‘year’ or *biya* ‘month’, *inengi* ‘day’
	10+	10+	
11	ǰuwan emu	amšo,ǰuan emu	ǰuwa emu
	10+	+10	10+
12	ǰuwan juwe	ǰirhon, ǰuerhon	ǰuwa ǰuwe
13	ǰuwan ilan	gorhon	ǰuwa ilan
14	ǰuwan duin	durhon	ǰuwa duwin
15	ǰuwan sunǰa, tofohon (+10)	tobohon	ǰuwa šunǰa
16	ǰuwan ninggun	nilhun	ǰuwa ningu
17	ǰuwan nadan	dalhon	ǰuwa nadan
18	ǰuwan jakūn	niyuhun	Juwa ǰakun
19	ǰuwan uyun	oniyohon	no example

In some Evenki dialects there exists a type of *Oberstufenzählung* (see Pritsak 1955, Benzing 1956, 102). The Evenki data according to Vasilevič 1958 transcribed from Cyrillic:

	Evenki	Evenki dialectal	Evenki
10	ǰān		ǰān
	10+		
11	ǰān umūn	ǰān-umūkēn, umūkēn ǰaleke, ǰanduk umukēn, ǰānduk umun	ǰān umun
	20+	**+10**	**10+**
12	ǰūrǰākin ǰūr	ǰūrǰēheleke, ǰūrǰaleki, ǰūrǰi, ǰūrǰileke	ǰān ǰūr
13	ǰūrǰakïn ilan	ilanǰāleki, ilan ǰeleke	ǰān ilan
14	ǰūrǰakïn dïgin	dïgin ǰaleki, dïginǰeleke, ǰanduk dïgin	ǰān dïgin
15	ǰūrǰakïn tungga	ǰānduk tunga, tunngaǰāleke	ǰān tungga
16	ǰūrǰakïn ñungun	ñungun ǰa/ǰān/ǰār	ǰān ñungun

17	ǰūrǰakïn nadan	nadan ǰagi, nadangī, nadan jān/ǰār, nadanǰeleke	ǰān nadan
18	ǰūrǰakïn ǰapkun	ǰapkungï, ǰapkun ǰār, ǰapkunǰāleki, ǰapkun ǰāleke	ǰān ǰapkun
19	ǰūrǰakïn yegin	yeginǰeleke, yeginǰāleki	ǰān yegin
20	ǰūrǰān, ǰūrǰār,		

TABLE XLVI. EVENKI NUMERALS 10-20

As we see from the column on the right, the structure is 10+. where 'ten' is *ǰān* followed by the numerals. In the column on the left we find for eleven 10+1, but then from '12' on there is 'twenty'+numerals. Here 'twenty' is *ǰūrǰakin* < *ǰūr+ǰa(n)+kin* 'two+ten+suffix', see *ǰaki, ǰagi* 'tenth' (<**ǰanki*). and the suff. of genitive: -*n,* verbally 'of two tenth', that is '12' is verbally 'two of the two tenth'.

In the column in the middle I have collected from Vasilevič 1958 variants occurring in Evenki dialects. The different variants of *ǰāleke* are results of suffixed forms of *ǰān*, (**ǰān+li+ki*), see Evenki *ǰalle* 'ten days, decade'. *ǰagi* 'tenth', in most cases +10 constructions, but see the 10+ form in *ǰānduk tunga* '15'. The numeral 'fifteen' is also an exception in Jurchen. The word *janduk* is a similarily suffixed form of *ǰān*. On -*duk* 'ablative suffix' see Vasilevič 1958, 754. Speculations as < **ǰi+hələki* 'zehn zufiel' (Benzing 102) can be here excluded.

At this point we cannot evoid the question: can we suppose any historical connection between the Tunguzic and the Old Turkic systems? From a bird-eyes point of view, one may have the impression that yes. But if we look at the inner structure there are differences: Turkic *yegirmi üč* has the structure 20+3 'thirteen', while Evenki has for 'thirteen' *ǰurǰakin ilan* '2+10+suffix+3' . Of course one can argue that only the basic system was borrowed but it was realized with their own Evenkic instruments. If this was the case we would to have to suppose a heavy Turkic influnce on Evenki, which is absent from all other Tunguzic languages. Though Turkic elements can be traced in Tunguzic, most of them are transmitted through Mongolic. At our present knowledge I would opt for two independent developements.

Summary.

1. The basic wordstock for the decimal numeral systems of the three Altaic languages, Turkic, Mongolic and Tunguzic is entirely different. The similarities of the words for ‘four’ are due to chance.
2. The Turkic system has two words which underwent the *z* > *r* change (*sekiz, tokuz*) and one which went through the change *š* > l (*bēš*), that is rhotacism and lambdaism occured in the system. That means that the rhotacism and the lambdaizm are younger than the decimal system or least the Turkic decimal system.
3. In Khitan-Mongolic the decimal system is later than the quinary system, and most probably the same is the case with the Tunguzic. In Turkic only the word for 50 may have preserved a hint to an old quinary system.
4. The words for ‘one’ are in most languages derivations from common words.
5. The Khitan-Mongolic system had originally a common word for ‘two’ with feminine and masculine forms. Later a new word for ‘two’ emerged in Mongolic by inner etymology.
6. The Tunguzic system came under heavy Khitan-Mongolic influence. The words for ‘one’ and ‘two’ are of Khitan-Mongolic origin. The word for ‘twenty’ seems to be of Khitan origin. Elements of the Jurchen words for numerals 13-19 are all of Khitan-Mongolic origin.
7. Old Turkic had a special system for the numerals 11-19 and 21-29, a +20 system, which is preserved in Sarig Yugur, otherwise they have a 10+ system. Mongolic and Khitan have a 10+ system. Jurchen has preserved the 10+ system only in the word for ‘eleven’ from ‘twelve’ on the system changed to a +10 one with the first units of Khitan-Mongolic origin, and the name of ten is a word of Tunguzic origin. Manchu has a 10+ system, but the basic word for ‘twenty’ (*orin*) is not used for the numerals 21-29, instead there exists a 2+10+ system which developed under Chinese influence. In some Evenki dialects there is a 20+ system for the numerals 13-19 with the structure ’two+ten+suffix+’
8. I have here to remark that since the earliest sources the Chinese system is 10+, *shiyi*十一 ‘eleven’, *shier*、十二 ‘twelve’、*shisa*n十三 ‘thirteen’ etc. The names of the mumerals have not influenced the Altaic ones, but they, as many other languages in the world, have the same 10+ system for the numerals 11–19, as Chinese has, and Jurchen is an exception.
9. The study of the Altaic numerals show that the three branches were independent languages from each other, no trace of genetic relation can be detected in the mumeral systems. On the other hand the three systems later have influenced each other, but in different times in different ways. This picture is the same when we analyze other parts of the respective grammars. Of course an even much earlier period may show genetic relations, this we cannot exclude, but at the present moment also not prove.

12.4 THE ADJECTIVES

12.4.1 THE TWO TYPES OF ADJECTIVES

Khitan has two types of adjectives: words which have attributive functions without a special suffix, and words with the special suffixes forming adjectives.

As in Mongolic, words can be used as nouns and as adjectives (Poppe 1964, 40):

as-ar 冬本 (174-123) ‘clear, quiet, peace, peaceful’, **L**18, **L**19.
cau-úr 而安 ‘army, military’, also **cau-ur**$_2$ 而化 (022-236), Chin *jun* 军, **L**15 .
dele1 小 (294) ‘south, southern’, 70x Chin *nan* 四.
dor1 丂 (218) ‘seal, offical’, Chin *yin* 印, etc.
am-d 乃仝 (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.

see also **12.6** ADVERBS.

Some nouns are of adjectival origin:
ja-ri-qó 引化欠 (150-235-169) ‘prime minister’, 24x, also **ja-ri-qu** 引化余 (150-235-246), 6x, Chin *zai xiang* 宰相

In Khitan a group of adjectives were formed with the suffix **-qW**. The form **qú** 夬 (118) is used for feminine while **-qu** 余 (246) and **-qó** 欠 (169) for masculine gender. See the details at lines 1 and 4 resp. In names they are sometimes mixed up, see

In Pu4-32: <*pu-ul-ñ l-ing-un ñ-ar-qu-ñ pu-shi-ñ jur-en b-hu-án gur*>分平伏 屮同火 伏本余伏 分秃伏 圣有 舟列出 包 ‘Pu-ul-ñ L-ing-un (and) Ñ-ar-qu-ñ lady’s three children’.

GuD5-20 <*pu-ul-ñ l-ing-un ñ-ar-qó-ñ pu-shi-ñ jur-en b-hu-án gur*>分平伏 屮同火 伏本欠伏 分秃伏 圣有 舟列出 包 ‘Pu-ul-ñ L-ing-un (and) Ñ-ar-qó-ñ of (them) two (*jur-en*), the three children’.

The basic form of the name is relatively frequent, see **Ñ-ar-qó** 伏本欠 (222-123-169) in Yu 27-59, 29-52, and **Ñ-ar-qu**伏本余 in Yu 7-25, Zhi 11-15.

This may be due to the fact, that we have here to do with a name, but in any case this shows, that there could not be a great difference in the pronunciation of余 (246) and 欠 (169). The change between the two masculine forms are frequent:
ja-ri-qó 引化欠 (150-235-169), 26x ~ **ja-ri-qu** 引化余 (150-235-246), 6x.
t-qó sh-i 令欠 叉关 (247-169 028-339), 23x ~ **t-qu sh-i** 令余 叉关 (247-246 028-339), 5x (the frequencies of the first part **t-qó** and **t-qu** are, 42x and 8x resp.).

Masculine:
-qu 余 (246) also **-gu** 勺 (165).

ci-iau-qu-ui (162-362-246-262), ‘Chinese’, **L**4, on the details see **L**4.
j-iau-qu-ui (104-362-246-262) ‘Chinese’, Chin *han* 汉 C389.
m-as-qu (133-174-246), ‘big, great’ also **m-as-qó** see GREAT **L**1 and GRAMMAR, **12.3** NUMERALS.
Ci-bu-qu (162-196-246), 2x, also **Ci-bu-qó** (162-196-169) , 3x.
l-iau-qu (261-362-246) ‘red’, 3x.
m-em$_2$-qu (133-257-246) ‘silver’, 1x.
s-iau-qu (244-362-246) ‘blue’, 3x.
SMALL-qu (188-246) ‘1. small, 2. young’, Chin 1.*xiao* 小 2.*ji* 季 C415, 12x.
uni-qu (059-246) ‘young (person)’, 8x.

?secondary after nasal?
m-gu (133-165) 7x.
m-gu eme (133-165 021) ‘(paternal) grand mother’ (Di17). Chin *zu mu* 祖母 C395.

Masculine 2:
-qó (169).
Ci-bu-qó (162-196-169) ‘name of a tribe’, see EL.
ja-ri-qó (150-235-169) ‘prime minister’, 24x, Chin *zai xiang* 宰相
ja-ri-qó-on (150-235-169-154) ‘prime minister, genitive’, **L**13, **L**26
SMALL-qó ‘younger, adjective’, **L**1, **L**9, **L**10
m-as-qó (133-174-169) see GREAT **L**1
jau-qó-ui (015-169-262)‘Chinese’, C361
uni-qó (059-169), ‘young person’, 8x**.**

The suffix is joining also Chinese words:
fu-qó g-ui (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*, +Khitan **-qó.**

Y-l$_2$-qó ‘the name of the Yalu river’, Chin *Yalu* 鴨淥, see WF p.749 Index.
y-l$_2$-qó mor ‘the Yalu river’ (Hui1) .

In the hybrid title:
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), **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*)”.

Feminine.
-qú 夹 (118).
s-iau-qú 仐兮夹 (244-362-118) ‘blue’, **L**13, **L**19, **L**25.
m-as-qú 及冬夹 (133-174-118) see GREAT line1.
l-iau-qú 屮兮夹 (261-362-118) ‘red’, see EL.
YOUNG-qú ‘young’, see EL.
l-iu-qú 屮丙夹‘dead, adjective’ (261-019-118), see EL.
m-ô$_2$-qú 及仌夹 (133-252-118) ‘elder’, Chin *zhang* 长 C396.
sh-em-qú 叉金夹 (028-257-118) ‘goodness’, see EL.

Some words have three forms as **m-as-qú** 及冬夹 (133-174-118), 1x, **m-as-qó** 及冬欠 (133-174-169), 16x, and **m-as-qu** 及冬余 (133-174-246), 22x , but most of them only two.

Problematic cases:
-qo 力(168).
ci-iá-qo 杰才力 (162-335-168) ‘foot (length)’, 6x, Chin *chi* 尺 C407. The Khitan word is a Chinese loan from Chin, YCh *tʂʰi,* LMCh *tʂiajk* + Khitan **-qo** replacment or substitution or structural reordering.
Otherwise **-qo** is a frequent word end, see: .
b-qo 舟力 (311-168) ‘child, son’.
ci-ia-qo 杰才力 (162-335-168) ‘foot (length)’.
ñ-qo 伏力 (222-168) ‘1. cyclical branch Xu, 2. heavenly branch, dog’.
t-qo-a 令力为 (247-168-189) ‘1- cyclical branch You, 2- heavenly branch Ji, chicken, hen’.

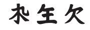
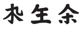
-ku$_3$
ng-iú-ku$_3$ t-ie-ên-en 发火非 令文寿内 (264-289-282 247-327-073-140) ‘imperial palace, genitive’, Chin *yu dian zhi* 御殿之 C453, hybrid, Chinese+Khitan genitive **ng-iú** 发火 is the transcription of Chinese *yu* 御 YCh *y*, LMCh *ŋiă/ŋyă,* Khitan **t-ie-ên** is the transcription of Chinese *dian* 殿, YCh *tjɛn*, LMCh *tian,* **ku$_3$** 非 may be here a Khitan suffix, and **-en** 内 is the suffix of the genitive case. For the glyph 非 (282) see **8.7** Corrections.

A suffix with attributive use:
si-l-i 十屮关 (040-261-339) ‘pertaining to the west’, in: *si-l-i l-i-in tu-li em$_2$-s* ‘pertaining to the western rebelled cities of Li’ **L**17.

This suffix can not be compared with Mongolic *-li*, which is a deverbal suffix: *saga-* ‘to milk’, *sagali* ‘milking’, *saču-* ‘to threw’ > *sačuli* ‘libation’ (Poppe 1964, 46), neither to Mongolic *-lig* which forms nouns designating abundance of something: *čečeg* ‘flower’ > *čečeglig* ‘orchard’, *miqa* ‘flesh’ > *miqalig* ‘corpulent’ (Poppe 1964, 42). This Mongolic suffix can be compared with the Turkic suffix -*lXk*, see Erdal, 1991 121-130. We have not enough material, but if more examples can be added, this may be the Turkic suffix -*lXg*, on which see Erdal 1991, 139-155.

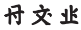
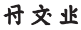
12.4.1.1 SUMMARY

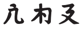
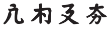
While all other Mongolic languages have only one category, nouns can be used as substantives and as adjectives, and words originally with adjectival semantics may be used as nouns with substantive function without any additional suffixation, Khitan has two types of adjectives. The nouns can be used as adjectives without suffixation as in Mongolic, but Khitan has a special set of suffixes, forming adjectives. One of them is used for females and two for males, that is Khitan has masculine and feminine suffixes for adjectives. This is a speciality of Khitan and connected with linguistic gender, present also in other parts of the grammar, see Chapter **13.** LINGUISTIC GENDER. I do not think that this Khitan suffix may be connected with the Mongolic suffix for nomen futuri -*kU*.

An old Chinese transcription of the suffix -qó we find in the Chin form of : **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, the name of the Tatar, *Dada* 韃靼 confederation (WJ 108). *Zhibugu* 值 不姑 , YCh *tʂi pu ku*, LMCh *trɦiăk put kuə̆, Zhubugu* 住不姑 YCh *tʂy pu ku,* LMCh *trɦyă put kuə̆* and *Zubu* 阻卜 YCh *tʂu pu,* LMCh *tʂəă pəwk.*

12.4.2 Intensification of adjectives

Intensification can be expressed by repeating.

b-ie-áng b-ie-áng   (311-327-280 311-327-280) ‘very bright, very splendid’ (Dao13) no gloss, ? Chin *bing* 炳, YCh *piŋ*, LMCh *piajŋ* 炳炳, ‘bright, splendid’.

g-en-un g-en-un-e   (334-140-144 334-140-144-109) ‘deep sadness, mourning’, **Chin** *ai ai* 哀哀, C473.

12.4.3 ATTRIBUTIVE STRUCTURE

12.4.3.1 GENERAL REMARKS

The adjective as attribute generally stands before the noun.

12.4.3.2 COLOR NAMES

siu t-qo-a (004 247-168-198) ‘white chicken (year)’ (Ren11, Xuan4).
siu° m-em$_2$ ‘white silver’ (Zhong48).
l-iau-qú m-ri när ‘red horse day’ (Wu37).
l-iau-qú ui ai ‘red pig year’ (Liang29).
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.
har-iú t-qo-a när-de ‘in the black chicken year’ (Xian26).
GOLD ém-a (285 270-189) ‘yellow goat’ (Xuan4).
GOLD go-t ‘Golden (Patriarchal) Tents’ (Xuan16).
s-iau-qú cal°-a (244-362-118 183.1-189) ‘blue stone’ (Tai25, Xian33).

12.4.3.3 ADJECTIVES

b-ra-a-an u-ur$_2$ ‘right wing (of the army)’.
ci-g-en u-ur$_2$ (162-334-140 131-236) ‘left wing (of the army)’, 14x, Chin *zuo yuan* 左院 C408.
d-le g-ing ‘southern capital’ (Zhong 1, 16).
eu-ul-g när (067-366-334 159) ‘death day, day of death’, Chin *gu ri* 故日 C381.
h-dú-un$_2$ go-er (340-179-144 319-269) ‘Horizontal Tents’, Chin *heng fang* 横房.

12.4.3.4 NOUNS USED AS ATTRIBUTE

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).
abu ai (196 122) ‘grandfather’, 41x.
g-u tau-li-a (334-131 029-206-189) ‘jade rabbit’, Chin *yu tu* 玉兔 C473.

sui-én go-er ‘birth Patriarchal Tent’, *sheng fang* 生房 (Nan12, 31) CWJ 1173, 1182, with feminine suffix.
heu-ur n-ad-bud (250-097 251-099-176) ‘spring camp, spring *nabo*’, **Chin** *chun nabo* 春捺钵.
ju-un n-ad-bod (147-273 251-099-309) ‘summer *nabo*’, Chin *xia na bo* 夏捺钵 C401.
mu-or-o po-do (224-076-186 279-217) ‘in the *si* period, in the snake time’, Chin *sishiyu* 巳时于 .

12.4.3.5 NUMERALS IN ATTRIBUTIVE FUNCTION

12.4.3.5.1 Numerals in cardinal form used as attributes, before the noun

dur sär ‘month four, fourth month’ (Dao5).
par dur ai ‘year fourteen, the fourteenth year’ (Zhong19).
dur us-g-d ‘the four diplomas’ (Xu16).
dur us-g-en g-ung ci-in (Xu1), also **g-ung-ci-in us-g dur** ‘the four diploma of the official of merit’ (Xu23)- ChinE *gong chen zi si* 功臣字四 CWJ993.
par dur när-de ‘in the year 14, in the fourteenth year’ (Zhen24).
dalu k-li$_2$-û-ji (141 283-080-372-152) ‘the seven saying’ Chin *qi wei* 七谓 C472.
jur jau ir-er ‘two hundred housholds’ (Nan1), Chin *er bai hu* 二百户 CWJ1168.

12.4.3.5.2 Numerals in cardinal form used after the noun

eme b-qo emu° ‘first daughter’, 8x **.**
eme-t b-hu-án dur ‘(had) four daughters’ (GUANG20).
pu-shi-ñ-en b-hu-án/19/**dur** /19/ ‘the milady had four children’ (Gu18-19).
eu-úr THIRTY dur-de ‘when his age was 34’ (Zhen7.
ci-ar iu b-hu-án gur ‘(had) three children, who died early’ (Hu29).

12.4.3.5.3 Numerals in ordinal form used as attributes, with gender suffix

ci-ur$_2$-én ai ‘the second or the following year’ see EL.

ci-ur-er b-qo 朮化仌 ‘the second son’, 15x.
t-ur-er b-qo 令化仌 冄力 ‘the fourth son’ (Han3).
t-ur-én…… û-ul-ge$_2$-én 令化当…….穴平夻当 ‘the fourth (daughter)……….given in marriage’ (Yu8).

12.4.3.6 GENITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS USED AS ATTRIBUTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

har$_3$-en g-iu-ung 乑冇 九丙太尺 (006-140 334-019) ‘mountain palace, burial tomb, kurgan’ (Xing3), Chin *shanzhi gung* 山之宫. The modern Chinese translation follows the Khitan structure.
GOLD-i-in 239-de 山关雨 八矢 ‘to the golden earth’ (Di10).
m-án-un$_2$ ku 叉出及 几 (133-290-144 178) ‘hunting man, hunter’, Chin *lieren* 猎人.
m-án-un$_2$ sh-au-a 叉出及 叉夬为 (133-290-144 028-161-189) ‘hunt eagle’, Chin *lie ying* 猎鹰 C396.

qita-un$_2$ s-ai tai shï sh-i d-i (Yu55-43)‘the Khitanese State Physisian, great preceptor and *shi di’.*
qita-un$_2$ m-as-qu-on g-úr (Zhen8-31) ‘the Khitanese Great Country’.
qita-un$_2$ m-as-qu-on n-i-gu g-úr-de (Zhen12-23) ‘to the Khitanese and the Great Golden Country (namely the Jurchen).
qita-un$_2$-i g-úr-en us$_2$-g-de (Zhong6-8) ‘was (written) into the Khitanese State Scripts (Annals) .

12.5 THE VERB

12.5.0 General remarks on Khitan verbs and verbal nouns

Verbs can appear in their basic stem form (primary stems) or in their secondary, tertiary, and further derivations (see section 11.2). Khitan verbs do not have personal suffixes. Verbal nouns can serve different functions and may appear in various tenses. They can function as: 1) predicates, in which case they appear at the end of a sentence; 2) qualifiers of a noun, where they precede the qualified noun; and 3) modifiers of a verb, appearing as converbs that precede the verb or verbal form. All three functions can be expressed in different tenses.

Earlier works on Khitan verbs include those by Kane (2009), Shimunek (2017), and CWJ, with bibliographies of previous studies.[41] First, I will present the paradigms of ten frequent verbs (see section **12.5.1**). This will be followed by a discussion of the two types of verbal negation (see section **12.5.2**). The following chapter will cover the masculine and feminine forms of the past participle (sections **12.5.3.2** and **12.5.3.3**). Then, I will address the two past perfect forms of the verbs (sections **12.5.3.4**, **12.5.3.5** and **12.5.2.6**). This section will conclude with a brief summary (section **12.6.3.7**). The next subchapter will focus on the past continuous (section **12.5.3.8**).

12.5.1 VERBAL PARADIGMS

In the following I will deal with different forms of ten Khitan verbs. I will treat the verbs and verbal nouns together and try to show the functions of the different forms. I will include some texts, where only the grammatical function is or seems to be clear, the whole expression remains for the time being unclear. I tried to collect all orthographical variants and also their derivations. It was impossible and the given space did not allow to analyze all and give the context of all of them. Here, as in all other parts of this book, I hope to offer material to a future work.

12.5.1.1 sui-‘to give birth’.
12.5.1.2 rí-1 ‘to give birth’.
12.5.1.3 tu-úr- ‘to die’.
12.5.1.4 t-ge- ‘to die’.
12.5.1.5 h-ui-(r)-‘to arrive, reach to’.
12.5.1.6 p-od- ‘to go back, to return’.
12.5.1.7 t-em$_2$- ‘to grant, to give’.
12.5.1.8 au-a- ‘to take, to get’.
12.5.1.9 o-l$_2$ ‘to get, to obtain, to close’.
12.5.1.10 û- ‘to give’ also ‘to marry, to give in marriage’.

12.5.1.1 sui- 佃 (238) and 12.5.1.2 rí-* 共 (069) ‘to bear (child)’

As first example I will quote two verbs for ‘to bore, to give birth’. Khitan **sui-** ***佃** (238) ‘to bear’, Chin *sheng* 生 C424 is very frequent. The basic stem is **sui-** occuring 3 times, also **sui-i 佃关** (238-339) 26x, **sui-y-i- 佃丙关** (238-020-339),

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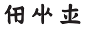
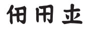
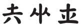
[41] I have already closed my manuscript, when, thanks to Béla Kempf, I got the paper of Davide Rizzi (2025). This paper. being a part of a PhD thesis in preparation, opens new perspectives in the study of the Khitan verbal system mainly from the aspectual point of view.

7x. From this stem several verbforms are derived, for our case the following are of importance: **sui-l-ha-**  (238-261-051) and **sui-il-ha-**  (238-302-051), the differnce of the two forms is only orthographic, both are passive, factitive verb stems with the meaning ‘to be born’.

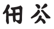
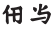
The suffixes of the past perfect are distinguished according to the gender of the subject -*Ar* masculine -*Án* feminine.

Another Khitan word for ‘to bear’ is **rí-*** (069), the factitive passive form is: **rí-l-ha-**  (069-261-051).

In the expressions with “birth” as “birth father” etc. “birth” has the meaning ‘relative by birth, consangineous’.

sui- (238)

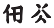
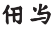
PAST PERFECT -Ar, masculine/**-Án** feminine

1. Past perfect participle, **used as predicate: sui-er**  (238-3419, **sui-én** 
ci-ur-er g-ui ong qita-un$_2$-i GREAT ú-dû-ó-o-ón ñol siu° m-ri ai tau sär gur när-de *sui-er* (Zhong6-40)

‘The second (son) Gou *wang* was born (*sui-er*) on the third day of the fifth month of the sixth, white horse, year of the Khitan reign period[42] GREAT *ú-dû-ó-o.*

jur-en b-qo HEAVEN as-ar om-úr ai par emu sär jur$_2$jur när-de *sui-én* (Hong13).

‘the second daughter was born (*sui-én*) on the twenty second day of the eleventh month of the first year of reign period *Heaven as-ar.*

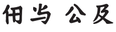
2. Past perfect participle, **used as qualifier: sui-er**  (238-3419), **sui-én** 

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.

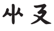
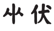
sui-én go-er ‘birth (Patriarchal) Tent’ *sheng fang* 生房 (Nan12, 31) CWJ 1173, 1182.

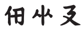
hong tai heu-un sui-én när ‘the birthday of the Empress dowager’ (Ren9).

sui-én n-o  (Gu7), ‘birth spouse, feminine’ Chin *sheng pei ou* 生配偶.

3. Past perfect, **used as converb**

sui-er ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar ‘being born prospering, a honorific expression’ (Yong22).

PAST in **-L-UN$_2$**  (261-144) and **L-Ñ**  (262-2229

sui-l-un$_2$  (238-261-144), Chin *sheng* 生 CWJ1210.

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[42] The dates can be identified with the help of chapter **18.4.1**.

This past perfect form denotes in most cases the act of birth, it co-occurs many times with **bod** ‘person’ or **ku** ‘man’, it is used to denote titles got by birth, that is hereditary titles.

GREAT g-en-un$_2$ *GREAT xe-ri-e y-lu*$_3$ *ming-en* (45) *ün-n sui-l-un*$_2$ *t-abu-y-én lu*$_3$*-úr g-m-ci* (Xu45-2).

bod sui-l-un$_2$ *dele-hu-ar-i dai-ô-du*$_2$ *au-a-iú eu-úr-b-ñ lu*$_3$*-úr-en go-er* (Hong28-1).

ku sui-l-un$_2$ *k-li*$_2$*-û-ji tai ui° p-or (*Zhi4-39)[43].

‘the man became *tai wei* by birth, it is said’.

ri-g-en h-eu-ji sui-l-un$_2$ *ri-g-en b-qo ki-ên z-ú hong-di ki-ên z-ú-un b-hu-án gur°* (Zhi5-26).

‘the erkin ??? by birth, the erkin’s son was Xuanzu emperor, and Xuanzu emperor had three children[44].

ong g-ui-in sui-l-un$_2$ *tai ui° y-ie-ên ong-on ai-d b-hu-án ji-en d-ur-er* (Zhi8-11).

‘Wang Gui-yin, the *taiwei* by birth, was the fourth among the children of the ancestors of the Wang of Yan’[45].

HEAVEN neu-e-de t-abu-y-i sui-l-un$_2$ *ku k-li*$_2$*-û-ji*$_2$ *tai ong-on b-hu-án dur (*DiX8-12).

‘there were four children of the Great Wang, the man who was said to be born among the Sky and the Earth’[46].

sui-l-ñ 佃 ⺌ 伏(238-161-222) has to have the meaning ‘being born’ or the like, though most of the following texts are yet undeciphered:

i s-i-in sui-l-ñ ri eme-t (Zhi24-7).

‘all consangineous women, who were born from Yi-si’[47.]

sh-m-e$_2$ *t-l-ge*$_2$*-én-en bod sui-l-ñ RECORD-ge*$_2$*-d* (Hu35-17)[48.]

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[43] Chin *ren sheng wei tai wei* 人生谓 太尉, CWJ1210.

[44] Chin *yilijin sheng yilijin zi xuan zu huang di, xuan zu zhi haizi san* 夷离堇之 生 夷离堇 子 玄祖 皇帝 玄祖之 孩子 三, CWJ1210

[45] Chin *wang gui yin sheng tai wei wang zhi zhunan haizi zhong disi* 王 瑰引 生 太尉 燕王之 诸男 孩子 中·弟·四, CWJ1212.

[46] Chin *tian diyu yue sheng ren wei tai wangzhi zinu si* 天迪于 越生 人 渭 太 王在之 子女 四, CWJ1453

[47] Chin *yi qi zhi sheng zhu nü* 夷齐之 生 诸女 CWJ1220.

[48] Chin *shen mi shen sheng zhi* 审密 身 生 志 CWJ1513/1514.

tau jau-de emu°-û sui-l-ñ bod es t-abu-y-én ming ai-en ün-e k-li$_2$-u-ji un$_2$-e (Jue40-23)[49].

‘In five hundred (years) the first born person did not appear, in thousand years ???….

uni-qu k-li$_2$-u-ji sh-ia ün-én rí-i sui-l-ñ tal-s-er k-li$_2$-u-ji n-i-gu /23/ *h-du$_3$-ge-én* (Hui22-26, 23).

ñ-mú-qó sui-l-ñ bod MR-al-ha-a-án (Hui25-22).

sui-l-ha-

1. Past perfect participle, used as predicate
b-hu-án jur° sui-l-ha-a-ar ‘two sons were born’ (Cha5).

2. **Past perfect, used as qualifier, participle .**
sui-l-ha-a-ar ai (238-261-051-189-123 122) ‘birth father, own father’, 3x, Chin *sheng fu* 生父 C424, also **s-oi$_2$-l-ha-a-ar ai** (244-107-261-051-189-123 122) ‘birth father’, (Guang3), *sheng fu* 生父 C431.
sui-l-ha-a-án eme (238-261-051-189-290 021) ‘birth mother, own mother’, 2x, Chin *sheng mu* 生母 C424.

3. Past perfect, used as converb
no example.

PAST CONTINUOUS -Ai

1. Past continuous as predicate
ku-û-un bod es t-úr-búl-u-ji sui-l-ha-ai m-o HEAVEN nas-ad ja-al-ha-ai[50] (Hu34).
‘the body of men is not dying, it is borning in the great heaven resting forever’.

2. Past continuous participle used as qualifier
sui-l-ha-ai po (238-261-051-122 279) ‘birth time’, Chin *sheng shi* 生时 C424.

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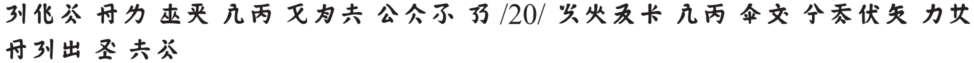
[49] Chin *wubaiyu yi sheng shen wei ....qian nian zhi yun wei ling* 五百于 一生身未 千 年之 运谓 令

[50] **t-úr-búl-u-ji** (247-097-272-131-152)=**tu-úr-búl-u-ji** (202-097-272-131-152), **tu-úr-** (202-097) ‘to die, to expire, to finish (hon)’, Chin *hong* 薨 **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)

neu-e$_2$ e$_4$-g-n sui-l-ha-ai g-úr ‘the birth country of Earth Mother (Empress)’ (Hu2-30).

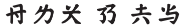
12.5.1.2 rí- (069) ‘to bear, give birth’ and **rí-2** (069) ‘bestow, grant, confer’, I treat the two homographic verbs, which may have a common origin, together.

1. Past perfect participle, **used as predicate**



hu-ur-er b-qo qa-an g-iu sh-a-rí n-ô-on es /20/ s$_2$-ui-u-su g-iu z-ie pu-shi-ñ-de na-aju b-hu-án jur° rí-er (Yong20-8).

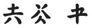
‘The third son, Qa-an G-iu *langjun*’s wife did not give birth (*es /20/ s$_2$-ui-u-su*), he married (*na-aju*) the milady G-iu Z-ie, from whom two children were born’ (masculine)(*rí-er*).

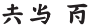


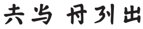
b-qo-i es rí-én.

‘did not give birth to a child’ (feminine)’ (Liang9).

2. Past perfect participle, **used as qualifier**

rí-er ai  (069-341 122) ‘birth father, own father’, 1x, Chin *sheng fu* 生父 C423.

rí-én eme ‘ (069-361 021) ‘birth mother, own mother’, 1x Chin *shengmu* 生母 C382.

rí-én b-hu-án ‘birth children, own children, feminine’ (Nan33).

3. Past perfect participle, **used as converb** from the homograph **rí-2** ‘bestow, grant’ perhaps of the same origin as the word for ‘giving birth’

rí-er b-u-un-er ‘was bestowing being’ (Jue10).

rí-l-un$_2$ (069-261-144), 17x.

rí-l-un$_2$ ci-iau-qu-ui g-úr ku-ud-h-or du$_3$-ge-l-ge-er (Xing9-16).

‘was born, in the Chinese country… and died?’.

<ci-su-li$_2$ rí-l-un$_2$ û-n hu-ur-er n-on-en ia ai m-or-qó s-iáng g-ün-de> (Xu46-34).

ku bai-s-en ci-eu l-ge-én-en sui-li$_2$ rí-l-un$_2$ go-t ja-ri-ha-ar (Xu56-16)-.

g-ung ci-en jur us-g-d rí-l-un$_2$ jur ai û-úr-ū̂-ñ sh-eu sï tu jï-ing ong-on i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-l-un$_2$ (Yu23-10).

‘him was given the double diploma of merit, and two years later him was awarded the title sh-eu sï tu jï-ing ong’.

g-ung ci-en jur us-g-d rí-l-un$_2$ ja$_2$-a-iú o-oi$_2$ (Yu24-51).
'him was given the double diploma of merit ?? with….?'.
t-le g-ing-en tau-ur-hu o-oi$_2$ ng-iú ku-ung$_2$ p-o-l$_2$-ha-ai t-em$_2$-l-ge-e$_2$-ci i-ri-s-en go-n g-au-ur tau rí-l-un$_2$ tau ai-de i-ri-de s-269-al (Yu39-22).
jur g-úr-s n-ai-j$_2$-l-ha-ar da-en ui-de om-úr-l-en ong-on i-ri-s par rí-l-un$_2$ sh-iú m-ir t-ur-uh p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$ (Yu66-29).
rí-l-ñ 共屮伏 (069-261-222), 8x, (Ren23-10), past perfect .

qa-ha-an n-o p-o-ri$_5$ sui-i ia-277 rí-l-ñ HEAVEN h-ñ ú-dû-l-ha-a-án h-e de-i én-i bai-er h-ui-ri-ge-én ji-en p-û-úr che-a-aju ci-uh-ul-ge-én'.
'She became the spouse of the Kagan, and gave birth to the blessed gift'.
Chin *kehanzhi pei ou cheng weisheng* 可汗之 配偶 成为生, (Ren23-10)'.
pu-shi-ñ-en i-ri rí-l-ñ m-o b-qo s-om-ji tai shï (Ling8-12).
'the title milady was her given (*i-ri rí-l-ñ)* her eldest son was S-om-ji tai shï'.
ñ-mú-qó-hu rí-l-ñ (Zhong25-16).
ar-b gú-u-un rí-l-ñ t-ém-shi RECORD-g-ñ es MANAGE-il-ia (Xu43-4).
ci-em$_2$ aju-uh-ur rí-l-ñ (Yu16-70).
t-qu-a-as lu$_3$-úr rí-l-ñ (Nan32-38).
'*t-qu-a* s and *lu$_3$*-s were donated'.
n-on-s s-abu-y-i bai-ri rí-l-ñ co-do-i GREAT udu-ó-o-ón dau-úr-un$_2$ ku-su û-úr o-oi$_2$ (Di13-18).
HEAVEN s-abu-o-or hong di-in dele-en deu s-i g-ui tai ong-on b-qo p-aû-én ai b-qo-i es rí-l-ñ eme-t b-hu-án jur (Han5-23).
'the younger brother from the tribe of the Heavenly succeeding emperor, S-i G-ui great wang had only daughters but no son was born, the two daughters were…'.

rí-l-ha- and **rí-l-ha-a-**

1. Past perfect, **used as predicate**
n-i-gu g-úr-de rí-l-ha-a-án or-a-an.
'after giving birth in the country of the Jurchen' (Zhen12-27).
nai s-eu-li$_2$ es rí-l-ha-a-án.
'was very ill and was not giving birth' (Jue36-5).
m-aû-er 227 ja-ar h-ui-ri-094.1 es rí-l-ha-ar (Yu34-71) '.
….???was not bestowed'.

2. Past continuous
*il ul$_2$ rí-l-ha-ai y-iá-ra-l-ha-ai (*Zhen 17-35) context not clear.
*n-ai-un$_2$-én rí-l-ha-ai (*Hong25-24) context not clear.

12.5.1.3 tu-úr-* (202-097) ‘to die, to finish (hon)’,

The next example is a word for ‘to die’, **tu-úr-*** (202-097) ‘to die, to finish (hon)’, Chin *hong* 薨, also **t-úr** (247-097), 18x. While for the past tense forms **tu-úr-bun** (202-097-288) etc. (see below) we have clear data, the present tense is absent, which is understandable from the semantic point of view. Instead there is a form **t-úr** (247-097) which occurs with the verb **iu-** ‘to not exist’ or **eu-ul-ge-** itself ‘to die’. The expression is in some cases connected with **es h-ui** or **es hul-ha-a-ar.** The expression **es-h-ui** may have the meaning ‘irreversible/bly, verbally “not arriving“’, the meaning of **hul-ha-a-ar,** 1x, is unknown, but has to have a similar meaning, see also **hul-ha-al** (048-050-098), 1x, **hul-ha-a-al** (048-051-189-098), 1x. The verb **h-ui-** is front vocalic, **hul-ha-a-** is back vocalic.

The picture is complicated by the fact, that **t-úr** ((247-097) also occurs in other contexts. One of them is the old Khitan title: **t-úr** (247-097). For the details see EL s.v. **t-úr1**, see also the title: **t-úr tai ui°** (247-097 374 263) , (Nan18) ChinT *tu li tai wei* 禿里太尉 C438.

with the verb **i-ú-** ‘to not exist’:
es h-ui *iú-a-ar t-úr* (Xing29-4), only here.
‘did not arrive/ irreversibly died’ (*iú-a-ar t-úr).*

with the verb **eu-ul-ge-** (067-366-349)
bod-de hor-y-ñ *t-úr eu-ul-ge-un*$_2$ *es h-ui* (Xing21-17).
‘…? died irreversibly/ did not arrive’.

bod xa-she *t-úr eu-ul-ge-y* (Ling19-17).
‘the personal time of death’.

t-úr eu-ul-ge-y (Liang13-15).
‘having been died’.

perhaps a case of merger of two verbs:
eme-350-de *t-úr-y-l-ge-ñ* (?=*t-úr eu-ul-ge-ñ*) (Jue40-6).

As I pointed out above, **tu-úr-** occurs only in past tense:

tu-úr-bun (202-097-288) ‘died’, 23x, Chin *hong* 薨 C417.
tu-úr-b-ñ (202-097-311-222) ‘died’, 7x, Chin *hong* 薨 C417.
tu-úr-b-un$_2$ (202-097-311-144) ‘died’, 4x, Chin *hong* 薨 C417.

túr-bun eu-úr FIFTY nem p-aû-er g-en-un$_2$-e ci-ar-l a-d-bun (Ling18-1).
'died when he was 58 years old, a worthy mourning (ceremony) (was him) given'.

te ai tau sär jur när-en /26/ s-uni tu-úr-bun (Zhong25/26-2).
'in that (same) year, month five, in the night of day two, died'.

jur sär jur när-de eu-úr SEVENTY° xa-she-de s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er tu-úr-bun (Xu38-15).
'month two, day two, when (*xa-she-de*) at age 70, he became ill and died'.

te ai dur sär jur$_2$ när-de eu-úr SIXTY xa-she-de jau tau-un 003-ud-i tu-úr-bun g-en-un$_2$ g-en-un$_2$-e$_2$ t-od-ha-ar ci-i-is-en □□□□(Yu55-72).
'the same year, month four, day twenty two, when he was at age 60 at *003-ud-i* of the punitive officer, he died and the great mourning (ceremony) with all relatives' XXX……'.

eu-úr SIXTY jur-de ETERNAL s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er hu-áng-i go-ci-er s-a-ai tu-úr-bun (Guang16-19).
'at age 62 he became eternally ill, while staying at the Paternal Tent of Hu-áng, he died'.

tu-úr-b-ñ-er 为亦丹伏公 (202-097-311-222-341) , (Song5-34) 1x

灰 丰 乇 圣 艾 丁 包 尖 圡亦 丁 乇矢 仐廾平公 为亦丹伏公 屵 丰 乇 圣 艾 丁 包 尖 乂亦只券朩 尿仐朽 冇夹 伏欠闲 /6/ 乏亦 今生亏关

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.
'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 ñ-qó* of the *H-úr-û-e-ci* Mountains'.

Important is the expression **tu-úr-s-li$_2$** 为亦仐北 (202-097-244-080) 'death of somebody', where **-li$_2$** is a converbal suffixm see **12.7.2.** The structure is **tu-úr-s-li$_2$** …… **dor-l-b-ñ, tu-úr-s-li$_2$**…. **ci-iá-ar$_2$ a-án.**

For **-s-li$_2$** see also **ui-s-li$_2$** 火仐北 (262-244-080) 'cause', 8x, Chin *shi* 事, *shi ye* 事业 C452 **L**17,

s-in ong-on tu-úr-s-li$_2$ dele si jau tau p-o-ud-l-er hoi si ñ-ô-úr dor-l-b-ñ (Di5-15).
'with the death of S-īn wang, he became the south-west punitive officer and the north west tribes submitted'.

s-om-de n-o-l$_2$-ha-ai tu-úr-bun om-úr *tu-úr-s-li$_2$* *HEAVEN neu-e$_2$-en ci-iá-ar$_2$ a-án* (DiX7-17).

‘when he was in the middle of the *som* (county), he died, and soon after his death the ??? *ci-iá-ar$_2$* of the heavenly Earth (mother) was…’.

The form **tu-úr-o-li$_2$ 为夾及北**(202-097-186-080) is yet unclear, it occurs once, perhaps the same as **tu-úr-s-li$_2$ 为夾仐北** (202-097-244-080).

h-en-n s-om-de n-o-l$_2$-ha-ai tu-úr-o-li$_2$ o-l$_2$-hu p-od-l-a-an (Hu5-9).

after his death in the middle of the *som* (county) of H-en (? secret, hidden), was buried?????’.

12.5.1.4 t-ge-*令尜(247-349) ‘to die’, also **t-ge$_2$-*令夽** (247-112), **d-ge- 仝尜** (254-349), and **du-ge 丸夽** (089-112), but no **d-ge$_2$**, Chin *gu* 故 C349

Past perfect

t-ge-er 令尜爻 (247-349-341), 24x.

t-ge$_2$-er令夽爻 (247-112-341), 2x (Qing18-31, 23-23).

d-ge-er 仝尜爻 (254-349-341), 1x (Jue1-6).

1. Past perfect used as predicate.

GREAT s-en dur ai par jur sär dur när-de un$_2$-én t-ge b-u har$_3$-en h-s-de s-a-ai s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er *t-ge-er* *eu-úr FIFTY ishi b-aû-er.*

‘In year four, month 12, day four of the reign period Great Sen, he just (*un$_2$-én*) stayed at the vicinity of the mausoleum (*t-ge b-u-har$_3$*), he became ill and died, he was 59 years old (Nu20-20).

par emu sär par gur när-de eu-úr jur$_2$ dalu-de *t-ge-er*.

‘In month 11, on day 13 at age 27 he died’ (Yong31-26).

GREAT ú-dû-ó-o-ón jur ai nem sär jur$_2$ jur när-de eu-úr THIRTY t$_2$-ur s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er *t-ge-er* ‘In the second year of Great *ú-dû-o*, the month eight, day twenty second, at age of 34, he became ill and died’ (Hong11-27).

s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er *t-ge-er* *eu-úr FIFTY ishi.*

‘he became ill and died at age 59’ (Nu20-20).

We have three possible structures for ‘to became ill and died, became deadly ill’**:**

s-em₂-li₂-er *t-ge-er* (Hong1, Nu20+), 6x, masculine.

s-em₂-li₂-er *t-ge-én* (Hong14), 1x feminine.

t-ge-én *s-em*$_2$*-li*$_2$*-er eu-ui* (*Nu3*), 1x.

In an other construction:
圡安 冂 /乇矢/23/仐金北 氵卜 罒中夵丙 仐为ち 令忩公
eu-úr SEVENTY dur-de/23/ *s-em*$_2$*-li*$_2$ *ul*$_2$ *na*$_2$*-l-ge*$_2$*-y s-a-al t-ge-er* (DiX23).
‘when he was 74 years old /23/ and became ill and did not recover, soon (?*s-a-al*) he died’.

2. Past perfect participle, used as qualifier
GREAT t-iau-dû qita-i xu-ur g-úr-en t-ge-er g-ong l-ing g-ün ong-on n-ra-de RECORD-g-én.
‘This is the burial inscription of the deceased G-ong L-ing G-ün ong of the Great Central Kitan Liao Empire’ (Guang1-6).
In the expression **t-ge**$_2$**-er ai** 令夵公 中 ‘dead father’ (247-112-341 122) Chin *gufu* 故夫 C439.
令夵公 中冇 火九 丸平夵丙 *t-ge*$_2$*-er ai-en yun-om tou(=nas)-ul-ge*$_2$*-y* ‘The corps of the dead father was buried’.[51] (Qing23).

3. Past Perfect Participle
t-ge-én 令忩当 (247-349-361), 26x *hong* 薨 C443.
t-ge$_2$**-én** 令夵当 (247-112-361), 7x.
d-ge-én 仝忩当 (254-349-361), 6x.

4. Past perfect participle, used as qualifier
d-ge-én bod 仝忩当 田 (254-349-324 309) ‘dead body, corpse’, Chin *gushen* 故身 C448 in the expression:
d-ge-én bod-de d-em$_2$**-l-ge**$_2$**-er** ‘posthumously granted, “given to the dead body’ *hongshen feng* 薨身封 CWJ949.

叔中 尒 𠆢关 为火 仐为乃 廿 丹雨 九火 九太 令忩当 田矢 仝金屮夵公
k-ai fu ng-i tu-ung s-a-am sï b-in g-ui g-ung$_2$ *t-ge-én bod-de d-em*$_2$*-l-ge*$_2$*-er* (Zhong5-55).
‘the title *kai fu yi tong san si guo gong* was him posthumously given’.

GREAT s-en tau ai par sär nem när-de eu-úr FOURTY tau-de s-em$_2$*-li*$_2$*-er t-ge-én ñ-iau-ñ-un*$_2$ *ñol° m-o….*

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[51] **yun-om** 火九 has to be **‘**corpse, body of the deceased’, 丸 **tou** (191) = 九 **nas** (193) = **na-as2*** 力冬 (139-174), **‘**to rest, be buried’.

‘in the year five of the Great Sen (longevity and prosperity) , month ten, day eight at age 45, became ill and when he was dying, from his six brethren the eldest…’ (Hong14-25).

GREAT s-en dur GOLD qa-ha-as ai par jur sär dur GOLD qa-ha-as när un$_2$-én t-ge-b-u har$_3$-en h-s-de t-ge-én s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er (Nu3-19).

‘In the year four of the Great Sen (longevity and prosperity), a tiger year, month 12, on the day four, golden tiger, being just at the mausoleum, he was becoming deadly ill.

Past continuous

t-ge-y **令岑丏** (247-349-020), 14x,
t-ge$_2$-y (247-112-020), 3x,
d-ge-y- **仝岑丏** (254-349-020), 5x.

See the expression:

d-ge-y d-em$_2$-l-ge-én **仝岑丏 仝金屮岑与** (254-349-020 254- 257-261-349-361) ‘confer a posthumous title’, also **t-ge-y t-em$_2$-l-ge-én$_2$ i-ri** **令岑丏 令金屮岑与 关化** (Yu5), *zhui feng* 追封 C447 **t-ge-y t-em$_2$-l-ge-én** (Song4-19, 4-39).

去交 乙 丕 业号公 九有叉芬 朩夯屮 为仝屮 令平仐比 火叉 令金丏

eu-úr FIFTY nem p-aû-er g-en-un$_2$-e ci-ar-l a-d-bun t-ul-s-li$_2$ un-un$_2$ t-em$_2$-y> (Ling18-14).

‘at age 58 regrettably (*g-en-un$_2$-e*) virtous (*ci-ar-l*) ????? died’.

s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er t-ge-er t-ge-y shï ju-ung-un i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-l-un (DiX11-9).

‘became ill and died, and got posthumously title of Chamberlain’ (see also WJ82).

去交 又 犀矢 而交 犸有关 而廾火比 叉化 不仐比 囯 方交屮 令岑丏 仐平 九火有 关化 令金屮岑炎

<*eu-úr SIXTY dalu-de cau-úr ji-en-i 024-ó-ui-li$_2$*[52] *m-ri on-s-li$_2$ bod tu-úr-bun t-ge-y s-iang g-ung-en i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-oi (=er*) (Xiang12-23).

‘when he was sixty seven years old, being hit (???*024-ó-ui-li$_2$*) in the midst of a war/battle, the horse fall, his body was deadly hit (*tu-úr-bun*), he got the posthumous title of Duke (*xiang gung*)’.

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[52] Only parallel: *g-úr-en ui-de 024-ó-ui-li$_2$* (Hai8).

Converb Past imperfect
t-ge-e-ci (247-349-348-162), 2x,
t-ge$_2$-e$_2$-ci (247-112-109-162), 1x.

p-úr-s tal-hu-ai-li$_2$ t-ge-e-ci n-o-ó-ur tau-su-ó-ul-hu (Nan34-4).
'the descendants were robbed and died , therefore his family (*n-o-ó-úr*) was advanced'.

ñ-qó-du$_2$ t-ge$_2$-e$_2$-ci n-ô-od-en n-ar .
'to the cave, the tomb (*n-ar*) of the deceased spouses', Chin *xue gu pei ou mu* 穴故 配偶墓 CWJ 1219.

ci-ci YOUNG-qú eu-úr-de t-ge-e-ci.
'all died in their childhood' (Yong37-14).

Past perfect
t-ge-un$_2$ (247-349-144), 3x,
t-ge$_2$-un$_2$ (247-112-144) , 10x, no example with **d-**.

nai-en emu när FIFTY t-ge-un$_2$ 230-ad o-l$_2$-ha-a-án (DiX5-20).
'At the beginning of the first day 50 (people) died, and have been granted (*o-l$_2$-ha-a-án*) by/with (*230-ad*)??

hur-er p-dor$_2$-de h-ui-d-l-ñ au-ui-er jur$_2$ t-ge-un$_2$ (Pu18).
'after having arrived to the third rank 20 were dying', not clear.

t-ge-én-er (247-349-361-341) but CWJ443, CWJ1307: *gu* 故.
iú-a-án rí-i t-ge-én-er /10/ hong di-in HEAVEN m-in-de o-s$_2$-li$_2$ tau-su-ó-ui t-em$_2$-l-ge-én (Song9-21),
'…yet died (?) into the emperor's heavenly tomb was advancing given (? was buried into the mausoleum of the emperor ?).

d-ge-en-er (254-349-140-341), (Xian18-42) no gloss,
ci-er d-ge-en-er om-úr s-ar-li$_2$ m-378.1-jï y-ir$_2$-or /19/ a-án.

12.5.1.5 h-ui-(r) * (340-262) 'to arrive, to reach'

The next example is the verb **h-ui-(r) *** (340-262) 'to arrive, to reach, best, perfect, apex, extremity', 9x, see Mong *kür-,* Chin *zhi* 至 C479, also **h-ui-i**

(340-262-339), 2x, **h-uiº-** (340-263), 6x, **h-uiº-i** (340-263-339), 1x, Chin *zhi* 至 C480. In this case we can observe different morphonological features as well.

The final **-r** of the stem disappears in certain cases. The central meaning of the verb may be 'to finish something, complate, to make or be sufficient, to perfect and the like'. The Mongolic equivalent *kür-* has also the meaning 'to become, to begin'.

The pronunciation can be reconstucted with the help of Chinese transcriptions: It transcribes also Chin *hui* 徽 'insignia', YCh *xuj,* LMCh *xyj,* in **h-uiº-en** (340-263-140), 3x **s-üe-üen h-ui** ← Chin *xuanhui* 宣徽 C431, *b-ra-a-an u-ur s-üe-üen h-ui°-en* 'right wing insignia, genitive' (Zhong19-42), *sh-ul-or s-üe-üen h-ui°-en* 'Sh-ul-or insignia' (Xian17-24), this shows, that Khitan has a fricative χ- and not a stop *k-* as initial.

The form is also used for the name *H-ui-ri-ge-én Sh-m(-n)*, the owner of the Hui inscription (AD1080). This name is glossed ChT *hui lian* 回琏 "vessel for offerings" CWJ1565, C480 (Hui1). transcribing a Khitan **hui-rien*. The second part of the name is of Chinese origin, see **sh-m*** (028-133) 'secret, hidden', ChinE 审(=審) YCh *ʂim,* LMCh *ʂim.* On the name see further: *m-i-en deu$_2$ i-ri qa-ad-i ci-ur-én-en h-ui-ri-ge-én* 'the first name of my younger brother is Qa-ad-i, his second (name) is H-ui-ri-ge-én' (Hui2). For an earlier attempt to give a morphological paradigm of this word, see Shimunek, 2017, 242, he reconstructed the stem as /kuyr/.

The verb has a defect and a full primary stem and secondary and tertiary derivations.

h-ui-(r) * (340-262) , **h-ui-ri** (340-262-235).

h-ui-ri-ge- * (340-262-235-349) and **h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-*** (340-262-235-112), 1x,

h-ui-d-* (340-262-254), only as base of the next.

h-ui-d-l-* (340-262-254-261).

h-ui-t-* (340-262-247).

h-ui-l-* (340-262-261).

h-ui-ri-ge-l-g (340-262-235-349-261-334).

h-ui-ri-ge-un$_2$ (340-262-235-349-144) '1. to arrive to, 2. completely, time to end, fulfil, ful', Chin 1. *zhi* 至, 2. *man* 满 C480.

h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-ri-i (340-262-235-112-020-339), 1x,

h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-li$_2$ (340-262-235-112-080), 4x,

h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-un$_2$ (340-262-235-112-144), 2x,

h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-ci (340-262-235-112-162),1x.

Primary stem with loss of -r: **h-ui-** (340-262).

Past perfect

h-ui-er 'he had arrived' (340-262-341), 1x.

h-ui-er MANAGE-er (Xian26-20),
'he had arrived and managed (he managed to arrive)'.

h-ui-én 'she had arrived' (340-262-361),
y-ung-ñ-de ia deu-de-i p-ul-uh-ji h-ui-én (Yong39-5),
'from the brethren exceeding (*p-ul-uh-ji* namely as first) she had arrived to the eternal peace (*y-ung-ñ-de*).

Converb

h-ui-ci (340-262-162) 'arriving to', 24x, Chin *zhi* 至 C479,
B-ie-ên-de h-ui-ci (311-327-073-205 340-262-162) 'arriving at Bian and ...', Chin *bian yu zhi* 汴于至 C467.
g-úr-de h-ui-j (334-097-205 340-262-104) 'arriving to the country and ...' (Yu13-15).

Primary full stem : **h-ui-ri** (340-262-235) ' to arrive to', 2x, occurs in the past tense forms:
h-ui-ri-bun (340-262-235-288) 'had arrived', 6x.
h-ui-ri-b-un$_2$ (340-262-235-311-144) 'had arrived to', 4x,[53]
h-ui-ri-b-ñ (340-262-235-311-222), 'had arrived to'[54], 19x,
Accusative-instrumental of the participle: **h-ui-ri-b-ñ-er** (340-262-235-311-222-341).[55]
Secondary stem:**h-ui-ri-b-**
h-ui-ri-b-ci (340-262-235-311-162), 1x.

Secondary stem: **h-ui-ri-ge-** * (340-262-235-349) and **h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-** (340-262-235-112), 1x.

Past perfect

h-ui-ri-ge-er (340-262-235-349-341), 2x,
h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-er (340-262-235-112-341), 4x,
h-ui-ri-ge-én (340-262-235-349-361), 10x ,
h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-én (340-262-235-112-361), 2x,
accusative-instrumental **h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-én-er** (340-262-235-112-361-341), 2x.

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[53] *emu° p-dor$_2$-de es h-ui-ri-b-un$_2$ FIFTY-en eu-úr ar-em$_2$ t-ge-er* (Tu15-21) 'did not have arrived to the first grade/rank, at the age fifty he became ill (*ar-em$_2$* ??) and died'.

[54] *t-ia h-ui-ri-b-ñ-a dai-l$_2$-b-ad xa-she* (Yu42-24), 'at the time when the arrived enemy was attacked' The -a is occurring only here and its function is not clear.

[55] *HEAVEN tu-dú rí-i h-ui-ri-b-ñ-er/26/ tau-su-ó-ul-ó-ji* (Di25-36) 'In the reign period Heaven t-ud he was advanced ????'

Past continuous

h-ui-ri-ge-y 乆火化峇丏 (340-262-235-349-020) ‘1. take to, send to , 2. time to end, fulfil, full’, 13x, Chin 1. *song* 送, 2. *man* 满 C480, also **h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-y** (340-262-235-112-020), 5x.

Plural.

h-ui-ri-ge-s 乆火化峇仐 (340-262-235-349-244) (Chao11-11).

Secondary stem: **h-ui-ri-e** 乆火化劵 (340-262-235-348) ‘ to arrive to’, 1x, (Xiang25-10) Chin *zhi* 至 C480, also **h-ui-ri-e$_2$** (340-262-235-109), 1x, (Yu17-56), accusative-instrumental **h-ui-ri-e$_2$-er** (340-262-235-109-341) (Yu66-45), ablative-prolative **h-ui-ri-e$_2$-de-i** (340-262-235-109-205-339), 2x.

Secondary stem: **h-ui-d-*** 乆火仝 (340-262-254), only as base of the next.

Tertiary stem: **h-ui-d-l** 乆火仝屮 (340-262-254-261).

h-ui-d-l-ci 乆火仝屮术 (340-262-254-261-162), 1x.

h-ui-d-l-ñ 乆火仝屮伏 (340-262-254-261-222), 7x.

h-ui-d-l-ñ-de 乆火仝屮伏矢 (340-262-254-261-222-205), 1x.

h-ui-d-l-g 乆火仝屮九 (340-262-254-261-334), 2x.

Secondary stem:**h-ui-t-** (340-262-247)

h-ui-t-li$_2$ (340-262-247-080), 1x.

h-ui-t-hu (340-262-247-151), 1x.

Secondary stem: **h-ui-l-*** 乆火屮 (340-262-261)

h-ui-l-bun (340-262-261-288), 1x,

Tertiary stem: **h-ui-l-ge-** 乆火屮峇 (340-262-261-349)

h-ui-l-ge-er (340-262-261-349-341), 1x.

12.5.1.6 p-od*- 业币 (295-016) ‘to go back, return’, also **po-od-*** 非币 (279-016)

This verb does not pertain to Mong *od-* ‘to go to, auxiliary’ because it did not have *h-* in MMo and ArchMong, see Nugteren 466. No **p-od-ar*** only **p-od-a-ar**, see below.

Primary stem

p-od-i 业币关 (295-016-339), 40x, frequent is the structure **p-od-i rí- (sui-)** ‘to be reborn’.

HEAVEN ku-û-un nas-ad p-od-i rí-i sui-én (Ren24-22).
‘The heavenly person’s having been buried returning (is re-)born’.

中朻 业币关 共当朻 伏仌北 雨羽 支左火芬 圡芬
ai-en p-od-i rí-én-en ñ-ô-or dai-ji j-ar-ud-e RECORD-e (Xu27).
‘(It was added) to the record of the ancestor’s reborn great tribe, Yelü[56]’.
p-od-y 业币丙 (295-016-020) ‘go back’, Chin *gui* 归 C458, 6x.
叉欠北叐羽矢 及太 业币丙 火北 囯 屮个九 夬平圡中.
m-qó-or-u-ji-de o-oi$_2$ *p-od-y ui-li*$_2$ *bod bun-l-g au-ul-ha-ai* (Wu9-12).
‘to the grown up/elder was given, and when he returned it was changed to….?’.
ai p-od-y na-as-u-ji (Wu51-45).
‘to the ancestors returning (dead) was buried’.

hong tai heu p-od-y t-gu (Jue23-52).
‘the empress dowager returned saying (answered??)’, Chin *huang tai hou gui yue* 皇太后 归 曰.

业币丙 乂火支 (Jue28-37),
p-od-y h-ui-j Chin *gui zhi* 归至.
‘returning arrived (? came back, returned to)’.

p-od-y-i 业币丙关 (295-016-020-339) ‘go back’, Chin *gui* 归 C458.
p-od-y-i che-a-ar li$_4$*-ge-er* (Yu11-12).
‘the returned envoy ??

p-od-y-li$_2$ 业币丙北 (295-016-020-080) ‘go back’, Chin *gui* 归 C458.
p-od-y-li$_2$ *t-ul û-ul-ge*$_2$*-y* (Yu43-8).

p-od-y-én 业币丙当 (295-016-020-361) ‘go back’, Chin *gui* 归 C458.
dor p-od-y-én 063.1 ñ-ar-ha-al-hu (Xuan6-10).

p-od-a-*.
p-od-a-aju (295-016-189-82-1), 1x.
t-úr-búl-u-ji p-od-a-aju (Yu48-43).
‘dying returned’.

p-od-a-al (295-016-189-098), 1x.
ci-eu-de 378.1-ui p-od-a-al (Hui9-14).

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[56] CWJ 993 *ai-en p-od-i* gives Chin *nian gui* 年归 year return.

‘to the prefecture…. turned back’.

p-od-a-ar (295-016-189-123), 5x.

au-úr DITTO n-o-or-er p-od-a-ar or-a-an (Yu44-4) ‘after having returned to N-o-or’.

s-úng ui-il-ha-ai n-o-or-er p-od-a-ar (Yu46-20).

P-od-a-ar (295-016-189-123) a female name,

tai shï-en b-qo-i b-qo p-od-a-ar s-iang g-ün-de û-ul-ge$_2$*-l-ñ* (Yu62-99).

‘The granddaughter of the Grand Preceptor, P-od-a-ar, was given (in marriage) to the general’.

Chin *tai shi zhi sunzi pu da jiang junyu jia* 太师之 孙子 普达 将军于 嫁 CWJ1096[57].

p-od-a-ar-en (295-016-189-123-140), 1x as a name in genitive case.

灸当 又冬欠 乑及 业币为丰村 刃丙北/小村 为 令金公矢 尺平太当.

hur-én m-as-qó har$_3$*-o p-od-a-ar-en ir-y-li*$_2$ *dele-en deu t-em*$_2$*-er-de û-ul-ge*$_2$*-én* (Yu63-19).

‘the third (daughter)[58], after the elder son-in-law changed of returning [that is devorced from her] , (she) was given in marriage to T-em$_2$-er of the younger brothers of the Dele (tribe)’.

Chin *di san zhang nüxu pu da zhi tong bao di te moli yu jia* 弟 三 长 女婿 普达 之 同胞 弟 特末里 于嫁.

CWJ on p. 1076 gives *pu-da* as a name for *p-od-a-ar,* but the expression *p-od-a-ar-en ir-y-li*$_2$ has to have the meaning after having changed of returning. CWJ does not translate *ir-y-li*$_2$ **刃丙北** but on C 398 **ir-y-li**$_2$ is translated by *gai* 改 ‘to change, alter’, see **EL** *p-od-ar* is masculine, therefore it can only refer to the son-in-law. The expression “changed of returning” may have the meaning that they devorced.

p-od-a-án (295-016-189-290), ‘having returned’, 7x (Zhi13-47, Song20-21, Hu23-20).

又 九村叉 屮朩及 叔北尺豹 仐文寺 业币为出.

GREAT g-en-un$_2$ *l-she-u k-li*$_2$*-û-ji*$_2$ *s-ie-ên p-od-a-án* (Dao31-34).

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[57] According to CWJ P-od-ar is the name of the granddaughter of the Grand Preceptor, perhaps the granddaughter, after having returned (devorced from her first husband) was given (in marriage) to the general, see the next item.

[58] This was the third daughter of Pu L-iu S-ie (son of the (imperial) son-in-law) . The eldest was Gú-u M-gu, the second was T-il-én 378.1 378.1 and the third who returned and changed (namely her consort) was then given in marriage to T-em$_2$-er.

'the great mourning cry (ceremony) was called (performed) for the return of the deceased (to their homeland, into the Tushita Heaven).

Chin *da ai hu wei xian gui* 大 哀 呼 謂 仙归 (CWJ914).

GREAT g-en-un$_2$ *l-she-u k-li*$_2$*-û-ji*$_2$ *sh-en* *p-od-a-án* (Xuan24-21).

'the great mourning cry (ceremony) was called (performed) for the good return (to their homeland, into the Tushita Heaven).

s-iáng g-ün-en b-qo b-il-234 b-o-ri$_5$ *p-od-a-án* *b-hu-án jur m-as-qó* …. (Xu48-27).

te xa-she GREAT 020-úr t-iu-ir-er *p-od-a-án* *ñ-ô-ur s-a-ai* (Yu20-16),

p-od-ha-*.
p-od-ha-al (295-016-051-098), 1x,
p-od-ha-ar (295-016-051-123), 1x.

p-od-l-*.
p-od-l-a (295-016-261-189), 1x,
p-od-l-a-an (295-016-261-189-011), 1x.

p-od-l-hu (295-016-261-151), 6x.
p-od-l-hu-ad (295-016-261-151-099), 1x.
p-od-li$_4$**-ha-ai** (295-016-310-051-122), 1x.
p-od-te-*.
p-od-te$_2$**-én**$_2$ (295-016-356-100), 1x,
p-od-te$_2$**-i** (295-016-356-339, 1x,
p-od-te$_2$**-er** (295-016-356-341), 1x.

12.5.1.7 t-em$_2$-* 令金 (247-257), also d-em$_2$-* 仝金 (254-257) 'to give, to grant'

t-em$_2$**-ge-** (247-257-349)

The basic meaning of the word may have been 'to mark, to make a mark, to give a mark', see Mong *temdeg* 'mark, sign' which is a deverbal form from an obsolate verb **tem-*, see the deverbal suffix: *yabu-* 'to go' > *yabudag* 'the act of going, usually going', *keledeg* 'act of speaking, usually speaking' (Poppe 1964, 94 "nomen usus"). From the basic meaning 'to mark, to give a mark' developed the meaning 'to give something which remains at the presented, to grant', usually a title, or other favour by the emperor or his substitute. The basic stem occurs as primary stem and is further extended by secondary, tertiary and even quadriary stem-forming suffixes. The most frequent is the tertiary stem **t-em**$_2$**-l-ge-**, occurring itself 52 times, where **-l-ge** is a complex suffix, denoting causativity and passivity. In the case of this verb the meaning is that the person was awarded by the emperor, or in his name, a title, a rank, a function etc., him was the title granted, it was caused to be given him.

Primary stem

Past perfect

t-em$_2$-er 令金仌 (247-257-341), 15x, ‘to grant’, **d-em$_2$-er** 仝金仌 (254-257-341), 2x, Chin *feng* 封 CWJ911, also in names of persons[59].

n-ai-ri-ha-ai t-em$_2$-er ‘was harmonizing granted, was given in harmony, graceful’ (Dao24).

as-ar sh-iá-ai$_2$ b-as t-em$_2$-er ‘peacefully kindly, (was) also granted’ Yu24-61).

g-úr-de t-em$_2$-er ‘was given, conferred to the country’ (Yu69-79), Chin *guo-yu feng* 国于 封 CWJ1082.

Also as a name: **T-em$_2$-er** 令金仌 (247-254-341) ‘a person’s name’ (Yu63), ChinT *temoli* 特末里 CWJ 1076.

t-em$_2$-én 令金当 (247-257-361).

There does exist a homograph denoting a person, see **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, 20, C441, ? to *temen* ‘camel’ and **abu.**

ong-on go-er-en *t-em$_2$-én* *COMPOSE-a-ar us$_2$-g* (Yu1-29).

The document composed by T-em$_2$-én of the Wang’s Patriarchal Tent’**.**

GREAT b-qo *t-em$_2$-én* (Guang21-16).

‘the grandson T-em$_2$-én’.

Used as qualifier of a noun:

The expression **t-em$_2$-én aú-ui** 令金当 尔 火(247-257-361 210-161), has to mean the ‘widowed lady, the lady left behind, who was earlier given (in marriage)’.

ong-on p-i p-o-du$_2$-l-ñ eu-úr jur$_2$ SIX-de tu-úr-b-ñ *t-em$_2$-én aú-ui* *ia deu-un n-o-oi$_2$-er sh-a-rí-de û-ul-ge-y eu-úr jur$_2$ ishi-de iu* (Hong18-8).

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[59] In names **T-em$_2$-er-de** ‘a person’s name’ (247-257-341-205) in: <*hur-én m-as-qó har$_3$-o p-od-a-ar-en ir-y-li$_2$ dele-en deu t-em$_2$-er-de û-ul-ge$_2$-én*> (Yu63-23) ‘the third, (daughter) after having returned from the elder (brother) Har$_3$-o, changing and was given to **T-em$_2$-er**, (ChinT *temoli* 特末里 CWJ 1076) younger brother of the Dele (clan)’ (Yu63), CWJ1076 gives *nü xu pu da* 女婿 普达 ‘son-in-law Puda’ for *har$_3$-o p-od-a-ar.* **D-em$_2$-er** in: <*tai ong-on b-hu-án jur° m-as-qó /5/ uh-ul-ñ d-em$_2$-er pu m-a*> (Zhong5-2). ‘The tai-ong had two children, the elder was D-em$_2$-er son-in-law, from the Uh-ul (clan)’.

‘when the consort of the *wang* went back and he died when he was 26 years old, the remained widow lady was given in marriage to *N-o-oi$_2$-er* the langjun of the brethren, (but) when she was 29 years old, died’.

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, 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).

Past continuous

t-em$_2$-y令金丙 (247-257-020), 25x, **d-em$_2$-y** 坌金丙 (254-257-020), 18x, Chin *feng* 封 CWJ1055.

As a qualifier **t-em$_2$-y** has the meaning that something is not only made, but also given. In the expressions **t-em$_2$-y COMPOSE**, 令金丙 冈父 and **t-em$_2$-y RECORD**, the expressions have the meaning ‘given composition, given record, a record which was not only written, but also given’.

sh-ên sh-iá-ai$_2$ t-em$_2$-y COMPOSE-a-ar (Yu26-33).

‘being good auspices it was given composed’.

t-em$_2$-y COMPOSE-l-hu (247-257-020 308-261-151), ‘postscript’, (Nu2), Chin *zhui zhuan* 追撰, C440.

eu-úr FIFTY nem p-aû-er g-en-un$_2$-e ci-ar-l a-d-bun t-ul-s-li$_2$ un-un$_2$ t-em$_2$-y RECORD-e (Ling18-11) ‘when his age was 58 a mourning ceremony was performed ???? (and on this) was given recorded (a record was given)’.

Negation with es:

朩关忝父 尚子 走为出父 乃/22/令金丙 乃 尔化廾火 为出

ci-i-ishi-er co-l$_2$ ha-a-án es /22/ t-em$_2$-y es aú-ur$_2$-ó-ui a-án (Gu21/22-1).

‘he assembled (?) the relatives, not given, was not getting better’ (Perhaps ‘the relatives assembled, they did not come and he was not getting better’).

es t-em$_2$-y ul mod-a-án-en es do$_2$-ul-ha-ai (Guang28).

‘not given and, not???????? of no evil’.

emu-qu p-al-i es aú-ur-ó-ui es t-em$_2$-y a-án eme-er-er y-al-ha-al RECORD-g-er RECORD-g-én t-gu (Nan36).

‘the first ? was not getting better, (*es aú-ur-ó-ui)*, was not forwarded (*es t-em$_2$-y a-án),* and it was said (*t-gu)* that the respectieve wives have changed (*y-al-ha-al)* their official positions???’.

Negation with ul$_2$

ul$_2$ aú-ur-ó-ui ul$_2$ t-em$_2$-y y-al-ha-al RECORD-g-er RECORD-g-én (Yu69).

‘not improved, not forwarded changed, the record was recorded.

In the structure TITLE+genitive + **i-ri t-em$_2$-y:** see also **i-ri t-em$_2$-l-g-e-y**

s-iau s-iang g-ün-en i-ri t-em$_2$-y sh-a-rí-d b-hu-án ji-en a-al-ha-a-ai (Yu9-43).

‘the rank of junior general was given and was placed among the sons of the langjuns‘.

p-ing ja-ang shï-en i-ri t-em$_2$-y g-ung ci-en dur us-g-d p-a-ar p-in tau ming û-er (Yu13-47).

‘the office Manager of the Government Affairs was granted and him was given the fourfold diploma of the Duke and five thousand estates’.

s-in ong-on i-ri t-em$_2$-y xar-ar-ha-ar (Yu38-14).

‘the title of Sin wang was given’.

Accusative-Instrumental:

t-em$_2$-y-er (247-257-020-341), 2x ‘by heaven’s favour’, Chin *tianjuan* 天眷 C440天 *tian* YCh *thjɛn*, LMCh *t^{h}ian juan* 眷 YCh *kɥɛn,* LMCh *kyan.*

d-em$_2$-y-er (254-257-020-341), 4x ‘by heaven’s favour’, Chin *tianjuan* 天眷 CWJ 959.

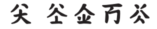
A context where the word occurs four times.

nai-en p-m y-qu-ui ir-y-l-ha-as-li$_2$ tai z-ï$_2$ sh-iau-u shï tou-ul-û-ui l-iúng xu ui°sh-ang s-iang g-ün p-o-l$_2$-b-un$_2$ t-em$_2$-y-er jur ai al-194 /21/ ng-in s-ing g-ong lu da-ai-i pu d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-li$_2$ MANAGE-l-hu-ad i-ri-s a-am-ñ-er a-ar d-em$_2$-y-er gur ai-de al-194 d-y z-in d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-li$_2$ ca-ang sh-iú y-eu-u ci-ng qa-an g-ui g-ung$_2$ p-o-l$_2$-bun / (Zhong20-54).

‘Again the rank of the leader was changed and he was forwarded (*tou-ul-û-ui)* to the office of the Junior envoy of the heir apparent (*tai z-ï$_2$ sh-iau-u shï)*, and became by (the Heaven’s) favour (*p-o-l$_2$-b-un$_2$ t-em$_2$-y-er*), the General of the Dragon-Tiger Army (*l-iúng xu ui°sh-ang s-iang g-ün*). In year two, the offices (*i-ri-s*) of the Grand Master of Glorious Happiness with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon (*ng-in s-ing g-ong lu da-ai-i pu)* being him awarded (*d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-li$_2$ MANAGE-l-hu-ad*) (for) life-long (*a-am-ñ-er*) was given (*a-ar d-em$_2$-y-er)*, in year 3 while being appointed (*d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-li$_2$) al-194 d-y z-in* (Chin *te-jin,* Turk *tegin*)*,* (also) he became (*p-o-l$_2$-bun*) the Right Aid to the Minister (*ca-ang sh-iú y-eu-u ci-ng*), and country duke (*qa-an g-ui g-ung)*. see also CWJ 958-959.

In the sentence we have twice **t-em$_2$-y-er /d-em$_2$-y-er**, first time: **p-o-l$_2$-b-un$_2$ t-em$_2$-y-er ‘**given by favour’, second time: **a-am-ñ-er a-ar d-em$_2$-y-er** ‘given for life long’, and twice we have **d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-li$_2$** in both cases it has the meaning ‘while a title was given another (title, office) was also conferred’.

With explicit Heaven:

HEAVEN d-em$_2$-y-er  (243 254-257-020-341) (Zhong 35-20) ‘by Heaven’s favour, given by Heaven’ Chin *tianjuan* 天眷 CWJ 968, also Zhen22-11.

t-em$_2$-y-én (247-257-020-361), 2x ‘the given, granted, *feminine*’.
n-o ta-139.1-en t-em$_2$-y-én n-iú-282 g-iu-ung-dú /16/ ci-ar$_2$-l-de a-án (Xuan15-18).
’the spouse seal’s (*ta-139.1-en = tamga)* granted to the N-iú-282 palace, ceremonially was….???’.

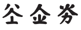
t-em$_2$-y-l-ñ (247-257-020-261-222), 1x (Jue45-18, 1071).
sh-ie-b g-ung-un lu sui-y-de t-em$_2$-y-l-ñ.
‘To the Dragon birth (*lu sui-y*) of the ten palaces (*sh-ie-b g-ung)* being given’.

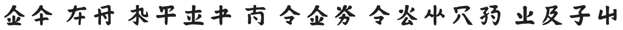
t-em$_2$-y-l-g (247-257-020-261-334), 1x (Han33-12).
ñ-qó-l$_2$ mú-s$_2$ ku-su t-em$_2$-y-l-g g-m d-ishi kei-de a-lu$_3$-l-hu.
‘burial tomb (*ñ-qó-l$_2$ mú-s$_2$*) graciously given, golden (*g-m*)…’.

Secondary stem **t-em$_2$-e** (247-257-348), 2x

t-em$_2$-e t-ge-l-û-ji p-o-l$_2$-bun (Xing12-19).
‘was posthumously awarded’.

ng-ü-n p-i k-iú eme-n ci-i-shi t-em$_2$-e a-al-hu (Gu12-22).
‘the first consort, the junior mother’s relatives ???were noted???

d-em$_2$-e (254-257-348), ‘a person’s name’, 2x, ChinT *te-mo* 特末, (C446) Gao19-8, Liang23-32, uncertain, because we have the following variants and derivations:

t-em$_2$-e (247-257-348), 2x (Gu12-22).
em$_2$-s ar-b ci-ul-ha-ai hor t-em$_2$-e t-ge-l-û-ji p-o-l$_2$-bun
 (Xing12-19)
“He was posthumously rewarded (*t-em$_2$-e t-ge-l-û-ji)* as the man who supressed *(ci-ul-ha-ai)* the rebels ??’

d-em$_2$-e (254-257-348), 2x (Gao19-8, Liang23-32).
d-em$_2$-e$_2$ (254-257-109). 1x (Zhong31-33).
t-em$_2$-e$_2$ (247-257-109), 2x (Yu45-38, GuD24-12).
t-em$_2$-e$_2$-ci (247-257-109-162), 1x, (Nan16-22).
d-em$_2$-e-ci (254-257-348-162), 1x, (Liang5-1).
d-em$_2$-un$_2$ (254-257-144), 1x, (Xu58-22).

Simple past tense -l-un$_2$

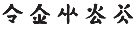
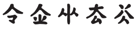
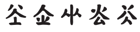
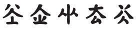
t-em$_2$-l-un$_2$ (247-257-261-144), 2x.
i-ri t-em$_2$-l-un$_2$ (Hong7-15).
'the office was given'.

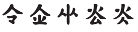
SIXTY t-ge-l-ñ eu-úr bai-shi nai-de t-em$_2$-l-un$_2$ (Cha24-26).
'in the death age when he was sixty on him was conferred the head of the *bai shi* (?)'.

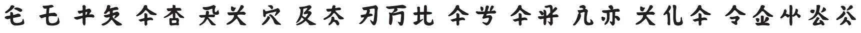
Tertiary stems.
t-em$_2$-ge-l-un$_2$ (247-257-349-261-144), 1x.

t-em$_2$-l-ge* causative passive stem, 'be given, granted (a title, a rank), having been ennobled, appointed' also, **d-em$_2$-l-ge-*** Chin *feng* 封 C440, 441.

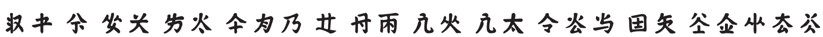
Past perfect tense

t-em$_2$-l-ge-er  (247-257-261-349-341), 12x, also.
t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-er  (247-257-261-112-341), 2x.
d-em$_2$-l-ge-er  (254-257-261-349-341), 11x.
d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-er  (254-257-261-112-341), 10x.

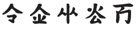
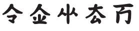
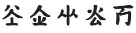
miswritten: **t-em$_2$-l-ge-oi****  (247-257-261-349-347), 1x

 (Gao 14)
par emu ai-de s-uni när-i nai o-oi$_2$ ir-y-li$_2$ s-iau s-iang g-ün i-ri-s t-em$_2$-l-ge-er.
'in the eleventh year [1042] he was awarded with the title 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]…

It is here the past perfect tense of the passive stem. The structure is **o-oi$_2$ t-em$_2$-l-ge-er** …


k-ai fu ng-i tu-ung s-a-am sï b-in g-ui g-ung$_2$ t-ge-én bod-de d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-er.
'To K-ai fu Ng-i tu-ung s-a-am sï, (the title) Duke of Bin county was posthumously given (to the dead corpse was given)' (Zhong5-55).

Past continuous

t-em$_2$-l-ge-y  (247-257-261-349-020), 52x, also.
t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y  (247-257-261-112-020), 14x.
d-em$_2$-l-ge-y  (254-257-261-349-020), 15x.

d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y [illegible] (254-257-261-112-020), 11x.

The expression **i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-y**

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] /16/ [illegible] [illegible] (Gao 15/16)

bod-l-b-ñ ci-er k-li$_2$-ge$_2$-y da$_3$-ai s-iang g-ün iri t-em$_2$-l-ge-y.

‘by a personally written (imperial document), so is it said, the title of Great General (was him) awarded’.

Past participle

t-em$_2$-l-ge-én [illegible] (247-257-261-349-361) , 8x, (Song4-20, 4-40, 10-7, Chao5-34, Xiang2-15, Jue4-37, 5-35, Cha1-19).

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).

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (Xiang2-15)

t-ur-oi(=er) s(=n)-on-en û-ur ai sh-or-ha-a-án sh-il-u û-e tau-su-ó-ui t-em$_2$-l-ge-én.

‘(his) forefather of the fourth generation, Sh-or-ha-a-án Sh-i-l-u (who) has been advancing awarded with the title û-e’.

The expression *tau-su-ó-ui t-em$_2$-l-ge-én* literally ‘advancing given’, *t-em$_2$-l-ge-én* is here the past participal form of the passive stem, see Gao 17, EL, see also Wu-Janhunen, 2010, 140-141. The expression occurs also as in Song10-7, Chao5-34, Jue5-35), and as <*tau-su-ó-ui d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-én*>in Zhen5-11 and as <*tau-su-ó-ui d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-én$_2$* >in Zhen 40-14.

A similar construction is

t-ge-y t-em$_2$-l-ge-én (Song4-20, 4-40, Jue4-37, Cha1-19, Yu5-68) and the form *d-ge-y d-em$_2$-l-ge-én* (Xu2-10), *d-ge-y d-em$_2$-l-ge-én* (Xu7-13, 46-7).

See the following context:

ci-ur-én ci-in g-ia pu-shi-ñ d-ge-y d-em$_2$-l-ge-én s-in g-ui tai pu-shi-ñ (Xu46-7).

‘the second (was) Ci-in G-ia lady, posthumously Great Lady (*tai pu-shi-ñ*) of the S-in country’.

Here the expression *t-ge-y t-em$_2$-l-ge-én* literary “(after) dying given” has the meaning ‘posthumously’, Chin . *zhui feng* 追封 CWJ1001.

Past participle+ci

t-em$_2$-l-ge-ci (247-257-261-349-162) , 3x (Sa7-3, 9-8).
t-em$_2$-l-ge-e$_2$-ci (247-257-261-349-109-162), 1x, no forms with d-.
t-em$_2$-l-ge-ci i-ri-s (Sa7-3, 9-8), ‘the given titles’.
p-úng ci-en-en i-ri-s t-em$_2$-l-ge-ci (Wu28-6) ‘the *p-úng ci-en* titles were given’.
t-em$_2$-l-ge-e$_2$-ci i-ri-s-en (Yu39-17) ‘the given titles, genitive’.

The participial form has here an attributive function.

t-em$_2$-l-ge-li$_2$ (247-257-261-349-080), 2x (Gu11-1, Wu14-35).
d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-li$_2$ (254-257-261-112-080), 3x (Zhong21-7, 21-18, 23-39).
d-em$_2$-l-ge-li$_2$ (254-257-261-349-080), 2x (Zhong7-50, Xu12-32).

sh-o pu sh-o /11/ t-em$_2$-l-ge-li$_2$ or-a-an i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-y (Gu10—11-1),
‘after (*ora-an*) having been given the (office of) *shuai fu shuai* he got (also) the title’.

sh-o pu pu-u sh-o t-em$_2$-l-ge-li$_2$ HEAVEN as-ar om-úr ai u-úr-l-ge-én /15/ l-i b-in shï t-em$_2$-l-ge-y (Wu 14-35—15).
‘having been given the (office of) *shuai fu fu shuai,* in the first year of *HEAVEN asar* as donation (also) the (title) *li bin shi* was given.’

par gur-de p-û-úr 269-al j-qó ui° s-iau s-iang g-ün d-em$_2$-l-ge-li$_2$ par tau-de to-on l-ie-ên d-em$_2$-l-ge-l-un$_2$ (Zhong7-50).
‘In year thirteen *269-al j-qó ui* ?……(the title) Junior General (*s-iau s-iang g-ün)* was given, (and) in year 15 (the title) *tuan lian* was given’.

jur ai al-194 /21/ ng-in s-ing g-ong lu da-ai-i pu d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-li$_2$ MANAGE-l-hu-ad i-ri-s a-am-ñ-er a-ar d-em$_2$-y-er gur ai-de al-194 d-y z-in d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-li$_2$ (Zhong21-18).
‘In year two he got the title *yin qing chong lu dai fu,* for managing it the titles (were given for) lifelong (*a-am-ñ-er a-ar*) by heaven’s favour’ (*d-em$_2$-y-er*), in year three him was given the *al-194 te-jin (tegin)* (title)’.

te-hu ai-de ta-am h-ing-er 378.1-378.1 ong d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-li$_2$ te-hu sär-de b-as l-ú ong d-em$_2$-y d-le g-ing-en l-iu sh-eu p-o-l$_2$-ha-ar (Zhong23-39).
‘In the same year him was given the *ta-am h-ing-er 378.1-378.1 ong* and in the same month also the *l-ú ong* was given and became the *l-iu sh-eu* of the south capital.’

The passive form of the word with the suffix **-li$_2$** is occurring always, when a similar action followed, the suffix marks a simultaneuous or quasi simultan event.

Past perfect

t-em$_2$-l-ge-l-un (247-257-261-349-261-144), 8x.
t-em$_2$-l-ge-un (247-257-261-349-144), 1x.
d-em$_2$-l-ge-l-un (254-257-261-349-261-144), 1x, Zhong7-55.
d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un (254-257-261-112-261-144), 1x Zhong 8-16.

sh-eu tai b-u h-iú ong-on i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un$_2$ te ai dalu MONTH par shi DAY-de s-mu-én udu-ú ci-abu-ar (Yu27-10) 'having got the title *shau tai bao,* in the same year in month 7, day 19 moved to the palast'.

go-n ca shï xe-ri-pu em$_2$-en /11/ t-qó sh-i-en i-ri-s ir-i-li$_2$ t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un$_2$ (Guang10, 11-5) 'his offices were changed to *guan cha shi* and *dushi* of Haibei'.

to-on l-ie-ên p-ung ng-iú jur i-ri-s ir-y-li$_2$ t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un$_2$ (Zhi10-25) 'his offices were changed to *tuan lian* and *fangyu*, these two'.

g-iu-ung-un l-iu sh-eu p-o-ri$_5$ g-ia-ém jï-ng shï l-ing-en i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un$_2$ (Di2-48), 'he became the regent of the palast and got the office of the *zhen shi ling*'.

na-ha-án-er s-eng-un p-o-ri$_5$ shï s-iang-en i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un$_2$ (Qing9-10).
'he became *sengun* of the Maternal Uncles, and got the office of *shi xiang.*

s-iau s-iang g-ün t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un$_2$ s-eng-un SMALL-qu-dú s-en au-a om-úr-l-un$_2$ (Xiang23-6).
'While being forwarded to the (office of) junior general, he was also for lifelong (*s-en*) raised *(au-a om-úr-l-un*) into (the group of) Junior Field Marshals (*s-eng-un SMALL-qu-dú).*

ñol us-g g-ung ci-en rí-i h-iú ong-on i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un$_2$ oh-ji-ñ (Hu6-40).
'having got the honorary (*rí-i*) title of *xuwang* of duke with six diplomas'.
HEAVEN t-ud om-úr ai u-úr-l-ge$_2$-ñ jur us-g-d g-ung ci-in sh-eu tai s-ï sh-iau-u b-u-un i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un (Jue20-24).
'In the first year of *HEAVEN t-ud* (1065) the office of *shou taizi shao bao* of the duke with double diplomas was him given'.

12.5.1.8 au-a-2* (161-189) ‘to take, to get’, also **au-**, see Mong *ab-* ‘to take’, Dag *au-*‘to take’ (M116), *au-, $\overset{\frown}{au}$-* ‘nehmen’ (N-K110), it also occurs in the biverb **y-al-ur$_2$- au-ul-û-ul-**, 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 are permanently changing (changing changing)’, (WanS1) Chin *si shi zhuan gai* 四时转改 (CWJ1602).

Past pefect

The short form occurs only once in a Small inscritpion

au-ar (161-123).

au-ar y-au-ad (TayiS2) ‘get habit???’.

The full stem is **au-a-.**

au-a om-úr-l-un$_2$ ‘giving raised (to an office), forwarded’ (Xiang23-6).

au-a-ar (161-189-123), 6x.

udu-378.1-dú h-ui-ci i-ri-de-i an-i au-a-ar (Nan24-39).

‘after turning back to the ordu he was getting that (*an-i*?) title.

k-em$_2$ dai-ri$_5$ t-iu-dû-bun e$_4$-ge-er au-a-ar p-od-l-un$_2$ jau-ul-ha-ai (Nan26-18).

‘the (imperial) order has been received, and the mother who was getting it, turned back and was met’.

ñol ai-s au-a-ar s-a-ar (Nan38-26).

‘was getting and residing for six years.

au-a-er (161-189-341).

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, (hit by an arrow) he did not recover’ ??? (Gu6).

au-a-án (161-189-290), 2x.

dur ja$_2$-a-ad-er au-a-án ai-d-b-ñ (Xu41-23).

‘the four border areas (he) was getting and existing’.

jur-en b-qo 232-i au-a-án (Qing10-39).

‘the second child …..was getting ???’.

au-ul-* **夬干** (161-366)‘change (position), to relieve from a position, factitive of **au-**’, Mong *abugul-* ‘to let have get’ , factitive’ or *ag̡ul-*‘to place, put into, to store’, Dag *auleji-* ‘to meet, introduce, mix’ (M116), *auldʼĭ-* ‘zusammentreffen, sich begegnen’ (M-K110), *aulji-* ‘vstrečatˊja’ (P). The stem occurs twice, both in Zhen (7-23, 8-8) where **s-l au-ul** seems to be the name of a group, it qualifies **p-úr-s** ‘descendants’ and **cau-úr** ‘soldier, army’: .

s-l au-ul p-úr-s-en ñ-ó-li (Zhen7-23).

s-l au-ul cau-úr (Zhen8-8).

The factitive passive stem, has two forms: **au-ul-ha-*** (161-366-051) and **au-ul-ha-a-*** (161-366-051-189).

Past perfect

au-ul-ha-ar 夬干圡 朩 (161-366-051-123), 1x, In-x 1875.
ku-û-un ui p-ai tau-su-ó-uni au-ul-ha-ar (Hui11-21).
‘the people’s affair ??????the forwarding was changed’.

au-ul-ha-a-ar 夬干圡为朩 (161-366-051-189-123), 5x, In-x 1875.
tu-ung jï-in b-qo b-qo emu° au-ul-ha-a-ar (Xu47-45).
‘the child of the *tongzhi* was getting only one child’.

Past continous

au-ul-ha-ai 夬干圡丰 (161-366-051-122) ‘change (position to), alter, correct’, 30x, Chin *gai* 改 C404.
221-u-un /26/ nai-en 025-i au-ul-ha-ai (Dao26-3).
‘the adoptation of the head of ??was changing’.

ci-én /16/ au-ul-ha-ai (Ling16-1).
‘was existing changing???

h-ui-ri-s-li$_2$ *or-a-an 269-al au-ul-ha-ai* (Zhong16-21).
‘after he returned, ??? was changing’.

y-qu-ui ir-te$_2$ *au-ul-ha-ai* (Zhong33-9).
again ?? was changing.

t-abu-al-ha-al es au-ul-ha-ai (Zhong40-23).
burial (customs) were not changed.

The expression **tau-su-ó-ui au-ul-ha-ai** ‘literary “forwarding was changing”, (got a new position, was forwarded to a higher position)’ occurs more times

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’.[60]

ci-eu ci-ge$_2$*-li*$_2$ *b-am h-s-ge*$_2$*-ud tau-su-ó-ui /41/ au-ul-ha-ai* (Zhong41-1).

‘together with the Prefecture all (?) regions were forwarding and changing (reorganizing?).

s-úng hong di-in eu-úr par tau-de tau-su-ó-ui au-ul-ha-ai (Xu49-23).

‘emperor S-úng when he was 15 years old his position was changing’….

HEAVEN ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar hong di-en p-û-úr a-ai tau-su-ó-ui au-ul-ha-ai’ (Yong15).

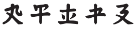
‘He was the descendant of the Emperor *HEAVEN ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar* (*chongxi* 1032-1055) then his position was changing’.

HEAVEN ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar dur ai par ishi-de tau-su-ó-ui au-ul-ha-ai (Liang6).

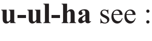
‘In the fourth year on the 19th (day) of the reign period *HEAVEN ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar*, his position was changing (he was forwarded)’.

ku-û-su û-ji-de au-ul-ha-ai (Nu11-18).

‘to imperial grace donation was changing’.

au-ul-ha-ai-un  (161-366-051-122-144), 1x, In-x 1875 (Zhong 37-10).

Negation of **au-ul-ha** see :**12.5.2** Negation *es au-ul-ha-ai, ul*$_2$ *au-ul-ha-ai.*

au-ul-ha-a-al  (161-366-051-189-098), 1x, (Cha10-5).

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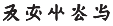
[60] u-**ú**r-l-ge-**é**n  (131-097-261-349-361)

eu-úr FIFTY dalu-de /10/ sh-eu-u p-i-in g-iu-ung-de o-s$_2$-li$_2$ emu°-qó au-ul-ha-a-al t-am-ar em$_2$-en t-qó sh-i p-o-ri$_5$ (Cha10).

‘when he was 57 years old /10/ he went to the palace of the imperial concubines, his first changing (of office), was to became the *t-qó-shi* of the township of T-am-ar’.

au-ul-ha-án 丸平圡出 (161-366-051-290), 3x, In-x 1875, also **au-ul-ha-a-án 丸平圡为出** (161-366-051-189-290), 3x, In-x 1875.

几平伏 叉及炎叐犳 夲圠朩伏 叉及炎叐犳 丹安 可仝廾犳 叉雨矢 犳 㐅火仝卝伏 平 㐅丸尜当 仐仌亐 犳 丸平圡为出 业圠朩 圡安 业勺卝叐安 丙幺疒当 业安仐 府力关 犳 十圡 为出买 (Chao20-18)

ku-ul-ñ m-o-s$_2$-u-ji 387-or-ci-ñ m-o-s$_2$-u-ji lu$_3$-úr bai-d-ó-ji m-in-de es h-ui-d-l-ñ ul h-du$_3$-ge-én s-ô-al es au-ul-ha-a-án p-or-ci eu-úr p-gu-l-u-úr y-iá-ar$_2$-én p-úr-s b-qo-i es si$_2$-ha a-án an.

‘the elder of the *ku-ul* (*ku-ul-ñ m-o-s$_2$-u-ji*), and the elder of the ?? Patriarchal. Tents (*387*[61]*-or-ci-ñ m-o-s$_2$-u-ji*), the prominent sculptors (*lu$_3$-úr bai-d-ó-ji)* to the tomb did not arrive (*m-in-de es h-ui-d-l-ñ)*[62], coming not through (*ul h-du$_3$-ge-én*), illness (*s-ô-al*), did not change (*es au-ul-ha-a-án*), old age arrrived (*p-or-ci eu-úr p-gu-l-u-úr*) being in peace (i.e. died) (*y-iá-ar$_2$-én*) the descendants and children did not…? (*es si$_2$-ha a-án an*).

矢 府叐 全化券 关化 㐅火仝卝叉 朩化公 业为矢 圡安 府考公 乙 厈 仍叉卝尜当 朩文寿公 丸平圡为出 丙叐 丙尖矢 令安卝杰伏 囯卝府伏 业 才疒 仍公 丹安… □仝□

ming b-u xe-ri-e i-ri h-ui-d-l-un$_2$ ci-ur-er p-dor$_2$-de eu-úr b-aû-er FIFTY dalu 234-un$_2$-l-ge-én ci-ie-ên-er au-ul-ha-a-án y-u eme-350-de t-úr-l-ge$_2$-ñ bod-l-b-ñ áng ia-ra 234-er lu$_3$-úr 378.1-ri$_5$-378.1 (Jue45-36).

‘To the office of Ming Haibei arriving (*h-ui-d-l-un$_2$)* the second rank (*ci-ur-er p-dor$_2$-de*) age was reached (*eu-úr b-aû-er*) and (the age) *57* ?? he reached (*234-un$_2$-l-ge-én)* things turned fataly ?(*ci-ie-ên-er au-ul-ha-a-án*) and he died (*t-úr-l-ge$_2$-ñ)* at *Y-u eme-350* ???.

au-ul-ó-*.

au-ul-ó-ji 丸平廾犳 (161-366-090-152), 1x:.

ku hu$_2$-ó-dú au-ul-ó-ji 378.1-er u-ur t-p-de bod-én t-iu-ir hu (Jue44-46).

au-ul-ó-ui 丸平廾火 (161-366-090-262), 2x.

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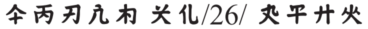
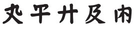
[61] 夲(387=388=110.1?) see 夲 (110)

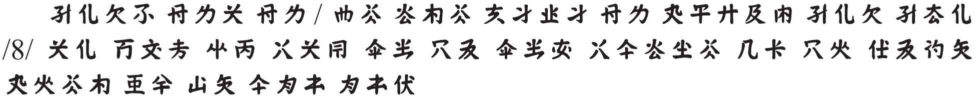
[62] **es h-ui-d-l-ñ** ‘did not arrived to, did not reach’, Chin *zhi* 至 CWJ1360



s-iu-ir-g-en i-ri /26/ au-ul-ó-ui.

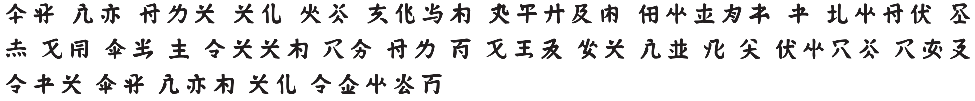
The title *s-iu-ir-g-en* was changed' (Zhi26-1), Chin *hao gai* 号改 CWJ1221, for *s-iu-ir-g* no gloss.

au-ul-ó-o-ón  (161-366-090-186-322), 3x, seems to be a name or referring to a person.



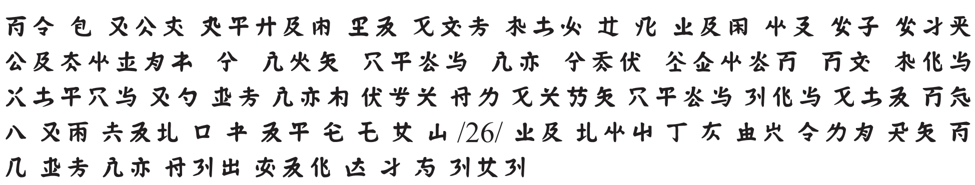
ja-ri-qó-on b-qo-i b-qo go-er ge-en-er j-ia-áng-ia b-qo au-ul-ó-o-ón ja-ri-qó ja-ge$_2$-ri /8/ i-ri y-ie-ên l-iu h-i-ing z-úng û-u z-úng-úr h-s-ge-te$_2$-er ku-su û-ui mu-u-ji$_3$-de au-ui-er-en hu$_2$-ú GOLD°-de s-a-ar a-ar-ñ (Gu7-34).

'the grandson of the Prime Minister, Patriarchal Tent …..the following text is not clear for me.



s-iang g-ün b-qo-i i-ri ui-er j-ur-én-en au-ul-ó-o-ón sui-l-ha-a-ar ai or-l-b-ñ tai ong sh-ing z-úng hong t-i-i-en dau-dû b-qo eme sh-iû$_2$-u ng-i g-iáng shï HEAVEN ñ-l-û-er dau-úr-un$_2$ t-ai-i z-iang g-ün-en i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-y (Hong2-7).

'the infant name of the general was Ui-er (*Wei-li*) the second (name) was *Au-ul-ó-o-ón*. The birth father(was) the majestic (*Or-l-b- ñ*) great king (*tai ong)* Shengzong emperor's middle son, his wife (was the mother) Mrs (shï) S*h-iû$_2$-u Ng-i G-iáng.* In the reign period *Heaven open prosperity* (Kaitai 1012-1021) he was appointed General-in-chief of the Middle'.



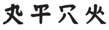
eme-t gur m-ô$_2$-qú au-ul-ó-o-ón oh-u sh-ie-ên ci-eu-un sï shï p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$ ng-l$_2$ ng-ia-an n-o-oi$_2$-l-ha-a-ar pu g-ui-de û-ul-ge-én g-ün pu-shi-ñ d-em$_2$-l-ge-y y-ie ci-ur-én h-eu-ul-û-én m-gu ki-ên g-ün-en ñ-iau-i b-qo sh-i-cu-de û-ul-ge-én hu-ur-én sh-eu-u y-ang 239 m-in rí-u-or te ai u-ul par emu sär GOLD /26/ p-o or-l-bun jur$_2$ ñol har-iú t-qo-a när-de eme ku ki-ên g-ün b-hu-án úr-u-ur ol ia deu hu-aju-hu (Xian25-5).

'had three daughters.

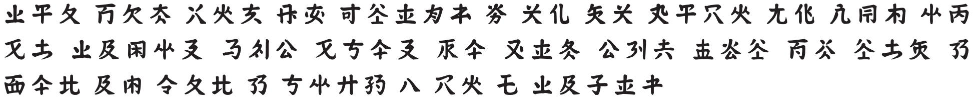
1. the eldest Au-ul-ó-o-on Oh-u, returned/devorced (*p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$)* from the regional chief (*sï shi*) of the prefecture Xian (*sh-ie-ên ci-eu)*, where she?? and was given in marriage to the country Fu (*Fu guo*, former Bohai), and got the title milady of the prefecture (*g-ün pu-shi-ñ*) and is alive (*y-ie*).

2. the second H-eu-ul-û-én grandmother (*m-gu*) was given in marriage to Sh-i-cu, son of the younger brother (*ñ-iau-i b-qo*) (from/of) the Xian prefecture (*ki-ên g-ün*).

3. the third Sh-eu-u Y-ang…….

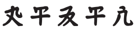
au-ul-û-* au-ul-û-ui  (161-366-372-262) ‘change position to’, Chin *gai* 改 C404.

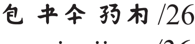
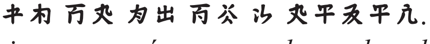
p-ul-uh y-qó-oi$_2$ h-ui-j lu$_3$-úr bai-d-ha-a-ar e i-ri de-i *au-ul-û-ui* *om-ur g-ing-en l-iu sh-eu p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$ ju-ur-n sh-al-s-un$_2$ har$_3$-s m-ha-as n-hu-rí RECORD-ge-d eme-er d-eu-li es 025-s-li$_2$ o-ón t-uh-li$_2$ es al-l-ó-ji 239 dau-ui emu p-o-l$_2$-ha-ai (*Yu21-46).



‘the exceeding again returned and his prominence was set up, from this very position he was relieved (*e i-ri de-i au-ul-û-ui)* and became first the regent of the capital (*om-ur g-ing-en l-iu sh-eu p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$)*, the range of mountains of the Jurchen (*ju-ur-n sh-al-s-un$_2$ har$_3$-s)* the entire (*m-ha-as*) ??? records (*n-hu-rí RECORD-ge-d)*, the women ??.... *dauwei* first became *(dau-ui emu p-o-l$_2$-ha-ai)* ??’.

au-ul-u-*.

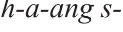
au-ul-u-ul-g  (161-366-131-366-334), 1x, In-x1876.

 /26/ 

gur ai-s ji-en /26/ ai-en y-au a-án eme-er ul$_2$ *au-ul-u-ul-g* (Qing26-6).

Chin *san nian zhong /26/ fu zhi li zai dao bu gai* 三年中/26/ 父之 礼 在 道 不 改.

‘within three years /26/ the father ceremony has not been changed by the wife’. The Chinese has *dao* where Khitan **eme.**

au-ul-u-ui  (161-366-131-262), 1x, In-x1876.

na-ha-án-er s-eng-un du g-ia-ém au-ul-u-ui t-le g-ing-en tu-ung s-ie-ém b-as g-m ng-u ui° sh-a-ang s-iang g-ün-en i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-y (Tu10-22).

‘was relieved from the (duties of) of the uncle’s Field Marshal Military Director, and was appointed to the office of the Deputy (*tu-ung s-ie-ém,* Chin *tong qian)* of the South Capital and Grand General (*g-m ng-u ui* Chin *jin wu wei* 金吾 卫*)*°high general (*sh-a-ang s-iang g-ün)…’.*

au-ul-un$_2$ 丸平叉 (161-366-144), 6x.

sh-eu tai b-u h-iú ong-on i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un$_2$ te ai dalu MONTH par ishi DAY-de s-mu-én udu-ú ci-abu-ar SEVENTY° au-ul-un$_2$ 378.1-378.1 s-a-án HEAVEN as-ar hong di hu-s$_2$ ng-u-ji 227 ja-ha-ar il-ge$_2$-er (Yū27-22).

‘him was awarded the office of the acting *tai bao h-iú ong* in the same year on the 19th day of the seventh month travelling palace the Ci-bu???? seventy changed???

又 令丙刃灰 丰 包 艾 圣 夹矢 丙子欠 内 丸平叉 及化 叉公 万火关 仝金北公 令岑公

GREAT t-iu-ir ñol ai gur sär jur när-de y-l$_2$-qó mor au-ul-un$_2$ u-ur un$_2$-er 003-iú-i s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er t-ge-er (Hui17-17).

‘In the reign period Great virtue year six (1155), month three, day two the Y-l$_2$-qó river (*y-l$_2$-qó mor*) rose (changed), the region (*u-ur*) present (*un$_2$-er*) …??????. (*003-iú-i*). became ill and died’. For *u-ur un$_2$-er* CWJ 1591 has *yuan jin* 院今.

au-ul-hu 丸平列 (161-366-151), 1x, in: *b-úr j-ui car°-a au-ul-hu 063.1-en pu-shi-ñ-en a-án* (Han26-11).

au-ul-ñ-er 丸平伏公 (161-366-222-341), 1x, In-x1876.

au-ul-l-ha-a-ar 丸平业立为未 (161-366-261-051-189-123), 1x.

au-ul-û-ul-g 丸平穴平九 (161-366-372-366-334) ‘change position to’, Chin *gai* 改 C404.

乇 非火 丙专化业九 丸平穴平九(WanS1-4)

dur po-s$_2$ y-al-ur-l-g au-ul-û-ul-g.

‘the four seasons which are permanently changing (changing changing)’.

Chin *si shi zhuan gai* 四时转改.

12.5.1.9 o-l$_2$- 及子 (186-149) ‘to get’

The simple stem is **o-** < ***ol-**, ‘to get, to obtain’, its factitive forms with *-l$_2$-* **o-l$_2$** have the meaning ‘to let to get >to give, to grant’, see Mong *ol-* ‘to get’, *olga-* ‘to grant’. The factitive suffix *-l-* dropped in some cases too. The stem occurs in the following forms listed on CWJ 414:

o-l$_2$-* 及子 (186-149), ‘to give’, with loss of *-l-*: **o-oi$_2$** 及太 (186-107) ‘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 及北 (186-076) ‘to grant, to award’, Chin *shou* 授 C414.

o-ri$_5$-er 及仝公 (186-254-341) ‘to grant, to award’, Chin *shou* 授 C414.

o-s$_2$-li$_2$ 及火北 (186-355-080) ‘to grant, to award’, Chin *shou* 授 C414.

o-s$_2$-or 及火北 (186-354-076), ‘to grant, to award’, Chin *shou* 授 C414.

o-ui 及火 (186-262) ‘to grant, to award’, Chin *shou* 授 C414.

Factitive-passive stem**:**

o-l$_2$-ha-* 及子圡 (186-149-051) ‘was given’.
o-l$_2$-ha-ar (186-149-051-123), 4x.
da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-ar t-ge$_2$-en-er (Zhong17-24).
‘the closing of the burial ceremony (covered and granted and died)’.

da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-ar b-qo dau-ul-ó-o-or (Wu38-4).
‘after the burial ceremony (covered and granted) his son followed him’.

eu-úr jur$_2$ nem-de ai tai shï-en jau-ul-ha-ai od$_2$-u ku-su û-en-de o-l$_2$-ha-ar (Hu11-11).
‘At the age 28 being, him was given the task to guard the meeting of the *ta-shï*-s’.

o-l$_2$-ha-a-ar (186-149-051-189-123), 6x.
叉当 田矢 乃 及子圡为 本 *un$_2$-én bod-de es o-l$_2$-ha-a-ar* /25/ (Xing24-28).
‘to the statue (*un-én bod*) it was not given’.

o-l$_2$-ha-ai 及子圡廾 (186-149-051-122) ‘having been granted’, 21x Chin *shou* 授 **L**26, C414.
h-i-ing s-úng hong di-en li-un$_2$-ge-de o-l$_2$-ha-ai (Ren16-6).
‘it was placed into the mausoleum of the emperor Xingzong’.

ul n-ai-ri-én m-ri-jï o-l$_2$-ha-ai (Xuan9-12).
‘the not harmonious villages got it’.

nai chi-i g-in b-as ol ku-û-un ji-i o-l$_2$-ha-ai û-er (Zhen14-40).
‘him was granting given (*o-l$_2$-ha-ai û-er*) the function of the head of the *ch-i-g-in* further the *ji-i* of all the people’.

GREAT xo-mú-er o-l$_2$-ha-ai (Nan28-8).
‘the great imperial coffin was given’.

ñ-qó-du$_2$ t-ge$_2$-e$_2$-ci n-ô-od-en n-ra ñ-l-û-ui o-l$_2$-ha-ai (Zhi22-6).
‘As burial grave the tomb of the spouse was opened and given’.

ci-ur-én ai nai sär par gur när-de y-ung-ñ-de m-iu-qó o-l$_2$-ha-ai (Yong35-29).

‘(after he died) in year second, first month, day three, to the eternal *y-ung-ñ-de* the *m-iu-qó*[63] was given’.

s-a-aju o-l$_2$*-ha-ai.*
‘to place’ (Gao26-16) **L**26.

bai-s p-y dai-or es o-l$_2$*-ha-ai* (Han19-24).
‘did not get the *bai-s p-y dai-or*’[64].

dau-ul-ó-o-ón ú búl-a es o-l$_2$*-ha-ai* Chao16-22.
‘did not get the *ú búl-a*[65] of the *dau-ul-ó-o-*’ (to *dau-ul* ‘to lead’?)

o-l$_2$-ha-án (186-149-051-290), 1x.

par emu sär nem När t-ge-er n-o hong tai sh-iuk z-ú-un da$_3$*-ha-ar o-l*$_2$*-ha-án* (Song7-22).
‘month eleven, day eight, (he) died, by the spouse, the imperial great younger uncle Z-ú (was) the burying (closing given) (ceremony) performed.

o-l$_2$-ha-a-án (186-149-051-189-290), 6x.

te ai ñol sär jur$_2$ *gur har-u hus-hu ETERNAL ia-277 hu-o-du*$_2$ *da-ha-ar o-l*$_2$*-ha-a-án* (Dao6-29).
‘In the same year, month 6, 23, black rat (day) to the one who became immortal, the burial ceremony was performed’.

The expression *da-ha-ar o-l*$_2$*-ha-a-án* occurs also in: Gu16-11, Tai-5-21, Liang22-27, Pu22-13, while in DiX5-22 we find *230-ad o-l*$_2$*-ha-a-án*.

o-l$_2$-ha-aju (186-149-051-082.1), 2x.

da-ar o-l$_2$*-ha-aju* (GuD18-30) = *da*$_3$*-ha-ar o-l*$_2$*-ha-aju.*

te ai par sär ñol nar-de aju-uh-ur na-al-hu t-oi$_2$*-b-u har*$_3$*-de em ku pu-shi-ñ-en m-in ñ-l-û-ui n-ai-ri-a-ha-ar po-do da*$_3$*-ha-ar o-l*$_2$*-ha-aju* (Xiang33-43).

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[63] **m-iu-qó 叉丙欠** (133-019-169) occurs in the whole corpus only here.
[64] **bai-s** (061-244), perhaps to bai-d-ha-a-ar ‘stand, erect, set up’, Chin *li* 立.
[65] **ú búl-a** (245 272-189) only here.

‘In the same year, month 10, on day 6, the father-in-laws gathered (*na-al-hu* **力丂列** 139-098-151), at the mausoleum (*t-ge$_2$b-u har$_3$*) where the wife lady’s tomb was opened (*ñ-l-û-ui)* in an auspicious time (*n-ai-ri-a-ha-ar po-do*) and then closed (by the burial ceremony)’.

o-l$_2$-ha-a-aju (186-149-051-189-82.1), 13x.

har$_3$-en g-iu-ung-dú da-ha-ai o-l$_2$-ha-a-aju (Xing3-11).
‘At the Mountain Palace (burial tomb) the closing (ceremony) has been perfomed’.
See further the expression: **da-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-aju** (Zhong43-28), and **da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-aju** (Zhen24-49, Hong21-29, Thuo24-5, Nu4-19, Di23-10 etc.)

o-l$_2$-ha-a-al (186-149-051-189-123), 1x.
b-ra-a-an u-ur s-üe-üen h-ui°-en cu-n o-l$_2$-ha-a-al b-hu-án d-od-ha-ar s-ar-un$_2$-d (Zhong19-17).
‘(To the) Right wing Xuan arriving, and spending the summer (*c-un o-l$_2$-ha-a-al*) the children all ….?

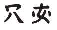
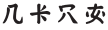
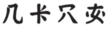
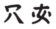
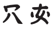
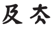
o-l$_2$-ha-al-un$_2$ (186-149-051-098-144).
SMALL-qu-s$_2$jur°-en 305-de o-l$_2$-ha-al-un$_2$ (Xiang17-8, Wu-Janhunen 175).
‘from the juniors to the second 305 was given?’

ku-û-su h-ji$_3$-de o-l$_2$-ha-al-un$_2$ (Xiang19-29, Wu-Janhunen179).
‘by favour to H-ji$_3$ was given’.

o-l$_2$-ha-al-hu (186-149-051-098-151) (? Zhen46-21).
da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-al-hu (Nu39-2).
‘covering up, the closing ceremony of the tomb’.

o-l$_2$-ha-al-ñ (186-149-051-098-222).
t-od-ha-ar h-zhul-am-ri hu-aju-a-iú o-l$_2$-ha-al-ñ (Wu31-16).
‘his misfortune was caused by the Tatar/all *h-zhul-am-ri’*.

12.5.1.10 û- 只 (372) ‘to give’

The basic form is û-*: 只 (372) ‘to give’, Mong *ög*-, see **L22n**, also **û-ui** 只火 (372-262) ‘give, grant’, see also Bai Yuanming 2022 and Shimunek 2022. Negation: **es û-ui** 另 只火 (146 372-262) ‘was not given (in marriage)’ (Jue32) Chin *wei ci* 未賜. Shimunek 2022 read 只 (372) as <uw>. He also claims that there does exist a form  (372-097) in the expression *ku-su-û-úr*  (178-041-372), read by him as <ku.r.u.w.wr>and translated '[He] gave official positions to (the father and mother)', but the expression *ku-su-û-úr*  (178-041-372-097), has the meaning 'by Imperial grace'. Nevertheless the form  (372-097) does exist independently 39 times in the corpus and is a noun, with the meaning 'donation, the given', see **û-úr o-oi$_2$**   (372-097 186-107) 'was giving, was awarding a donation', Chin *shou yu* 授予 C484. See a few passage on marriage customs quoted from the Liaoshi:

1013-1020 Zi zhong was punished for a crime, later he was restored to the Horizontal Tents and the old property was returned. An imperial decree ordered that a daughter from the imperial consort family be married to him' LS 88, 5a-b, WF232.

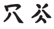
1019 On the day *gui-si* [of the tenth month in the eighth year of Katai] it was decreed that the Horizontal Tents and the Three [Patriarchal] Housholds could not intermarry with the lesser tents and lineages. All marriages had to be reported to the throne before being concluded. LS 16, 4a WF232.

11 century. Empress Qin ai (wife of Shenzong) bored two daughters, the second of whom, Yan-mu-jin…first married Xiao Zhu-bu (sentenced to death in 1031, also Zubuli). She was married again to Xiao Hai-li. As they were not compatibale, she devorced him and then married Xiao Hu-tu (a nephew of the empress Qin ai). [Again] there was incompability. She devorced him and then married the Prince of Han, Xiao Hui (LS65, 30-b, WF266).

1032-1055 [Ye-lü Shu cheng] was convicted of a crime through his wife. When the case came up for judgment, it was decided that they should be devorced' (LS89, 15) WF263.

1077 Husband falsely accused, deprived of rank and exiled to the Wu-ku tribe. Yi-shin the wife asked for to go with him in exile LS107, WF265.

Primary stem:Past perfect, **masculine**

û-er  (372-341), 'active voice, past tense perfect of the verb 'give', and past participle, 'given, the given, donation etc.', masculine, 29x.

HEAVEN *û-er* (Dao12-2, Yu26).
'given by the Heaven'.

ú-dû-l-ha-ai *û-er* (Dao30-18).
'given by the Emperor Xingzong'.

us-g-de deu-úr-ge-y û-er (Yu12-43.
‘given attached to the diplom’.

p-a-ar p-in tau ming û-er (Yu13-56).
‘gave five hundred estates’.

HEAVEN ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar hong di go-n g-au 025-a-al SEVENTY-i û-er (Yu15-60).
‘an official patent (*guan gao*) was given by the emperor Xingzong, appointing (*025-a-al*) 70??

HEAVEN as-ar hong di go-n g-au 025-a-al COMPOSE-i û-er (Yu23-36).
‘a document of appointment *(guan gao*) fixed (*025-a-al*) and composed, was given by the Emperor Daozong’.

Past perfect, **feminine**
û-n 穴 公 (372- 251), Chin *yu yue* 于越 CWJ1001.
û-n û-n hu-ur-er Chin *yu yue zhi di san* 于越 之 弟三.
û-én (372-361) ‘active voice, past tense perfect of the verb ‘give’, and past participle, ‘given, the given, donation etc.’, feminine, 5x.
go-er ji-en ci-mu-i û-én (Yu61-78).
‘she was given in marriage to Ci Mu of the Paternal Tent’.

ci-i-shi-en dor ku-û-un ui-de j-mu-i û-én (Liang21-22).
‘according to the customs of the relatives, ….????*(ku-û-un ui-de* ‘to the affairs of the people’ Chin *renzhi shi yu* 人之 事于 CWJ1423) she was given.

ci-i-is-en b-qo-i iú-a-án ci-ge$_2$-li$_2$ da-ha-ai-l-ha-ai i-ri û-én (Jue18-19).
‘the relatives had no children, them all (*ci-ge$_2$-li$_2$)* the office (*i-ri*) of closing (*da-ha-ai-l-ha-ai* the tomb)’ was given’ that is: they all got the official ceremonial functions at the burial.

û-én-er, 1x (Nan9-29).
g-úr rí-ñ ir-uh ci-mu-i tou s-abu-y û-én-er s-ai p-ong-on i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-er (Nan9).
the title of investigation commissioner (*s-ai p-ong*) was awarded together with …???
s-abu-y û-én-er ‘??in connection with the accession (to the throne)??

eu-uh-ñ-d ja-ri-hur go-ci-en l-iu sh-a-rí-de u-ul-én$_2$ (GuD17).
‘she was given in marriage to L-iu langjun of the Patriarchal Tent of the subclans of the Xiao (*eu-uh-ñ-d*) and the Prime Ministers.

Secondary stem:

u-ul-ge-én Passive voice, past simple tense, singular, feminine “was given”.
u-ul-ge-er Passive voice, past simple tense, singular, masculine “was given”.
u-ul-ge-ey Passive voice, past perfect “had been given”.
u-ul-ge-l-ñ Passive voice, past continous “was being given” but/while…….
u-ul-ge-e-ci ???
u-ul-ge-l-ci.

1. u-ul-ge-én Passive voice, past simple tense, singular, feminine “ (a lady) was given (in marriage)”, occurs 40 times

Orthographic variants

û-ul-ge$_2$-én 只平厺当 (372-366-112-361), 6x[66.]
û-ul-ge-én$_2$ 只平㕕与 (372-366-349-100), 3x[67.]
û-ul-ge-én 只平㕕当 (372-366-349-361), 22x[68.]
u-ul-ge$_2$-én$_2$ 叐平厺与 (131-366-112-100), 1x[69.]
u-ul-ge$_2$-én 叐平厺 当 (131-366-112-361), 3x[70.]
u-ul-ge-én 叐平㕕当 (131-366-349-361), 4x[71.]
û-ul-ge$_2$-én$_2$ 只平厺与 (372-366-112-100), 1x[72.]

YOUNG-qú hul-a-án ia deu-un s-in ong-on go-er-en s-om-ur-ge-er sh-a-rí-de *û-ul-ge$_2$-én$_2$.*

‘(from the three daughters) the youngest *Hul-a-án* was given in marriage to the brethren’s (*ia-deu*) Sin ong’s Patrirachal Tent’s *S-om-ur-ge-er langjun*, see below.

see more examples in Bai Yuanming 2022, 645-648.

u-ul-ge$_2$-ñ 叐平 厺伏 (131-366-112-222)[73]

丙令 舟列出 圣 叉公丈 左半廾及内 /29/ 太 叐化 叉 岺才圣 公叐 叉为共矢 只平厺半伏 本本 丙 舟列出 包 本当 兮丈 丰为出 才 为火 仐雨 / 杰不 曲公冇 仐九化㕕公 叉为共矢 只平厺与

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[66] Yu 8-19,Yu 8-28,Yu 63-15, Yu 63-24, Han 7-24, Han 8-9

[67] Zhen 45-11, Zhen 45-25, Nan 30-39

[68] Yu 7-68, Yu 8-6, Guang 21-28, Guang 22-7, Hong 13-23, Hong 17-17, Nan 31-3, Nan 31-19, Tu 7-11, Han 6-26, Han 11-22, Han 15-2, Liang 19-19, Xian 25-17, Xian 25-30, Xiang 18-17, Xiang 18-31, Xiang 19-9, Jue 32-13, Jue 32-35, Cha 19-31, Cha 19-43

[69] Di 24-19

[70] Nu 27-26, Qing 12-9, Di 25-11

[71] Qing 12-45, Han 6-8, Han 15-14, Jue 10-32

[72] Hu 29-22

[73] Qing12-34

eme-t b-hu-án jur m-ô$_2$-qú ar-l-ó-o-ón /29/ ñol u-ur xua ng-ia-ém n-u sh-a-rí-de û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ ci-ar iu b-hu-án gur ci-én YOUNG-qú hul-a-án ia deu-un s-in ong-on go-er-en s-om-ur-ge-er sh-a-rí-de û-ul-ge$_2$-én$_2$ (Hu29).

'Out of the two daughters, the elder having been given in marriage (*û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ*) to Ng-ia-ém Nu *langjun* of the Six Division (*ñol u-ur)* of the Ar-l-ó-o, (she) had there (*ci-én*) three children, who died early (*ci-ar iu b-hu-án* ***gur)***, the young (one) Hul-a-án was given in marriage (*û-ul-ge$_2$-én$_2$)* to S-om-ur-ge-er langjun, from the brethren's the Patriarchal Tent (*go-er*) of S-in Ong'.

In one sentence two verbs: *û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ* and *iu*, in the second sentence only *û-ul-ge$_2$-én$_2$*.

/7/… 丙令 乇 又 ㄨ同 ㄨ夯 分秃伏 令丙才攴 口比伏 巫圡平 曲公冇 叔 巫 公叐 丞 兆矢 只平岑当 朩化当 中关 仐文 分秃伏 /8/□□□ 丞 兆矢 只平岑当 灸 当 们太 ㄨ夯 尔火 令丙才攴 口比伏 巫圡平 / 曲公冇 令同 / ㄨ杰 公叐 王秃九矢 只平杏当 令化当 伏行欠伏 业芵伞岗 州欠 艾冇 叉中只伏 马刈夯 孙化欠朱 只平杏当 令币及肉 丙氖 仐文 分秃伏 力圡出公 用与 曲公冇 才条伏 卉中 丞 兆矢 只平岑中伏 令丙刃伏 杰 关 伏中只公 圣 由岗 杏 中 佃公

/7/…eme-t ***tau GREAT*** *h-ing h-e$_2$ pu-shi-ñ t-023-ia-ar te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en k qa n-u tai shï-de û-ul-ge-én* ***ci-ur-én*** *l-i s-ie pu-shi-ñ /8/378.1 378.1 378.1 tai shï-de û-ul-ge-én* ***hur-én*** *du-ung$_2$ h-e$_2$ aú-ui t-023-ia-ra te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en t-ing h-ong n-u di-shi-g-de û-ul-ge$_2$-én* ***t-ur-én*** *ñ-mú-qó-ñ p-üe-z-iú SMALL-qó aju-en sh-l-û-ñ ju-ur-e$_2$ ja-ri-qó-do û-ul-ge$_2$-én* ***t-od-o-ón*** *y-ang s-ie pu-shi-ñ na-ha-án-er il-én₄ go-er-en ia-277-ñ tir-bun tai shï-de û-ul-ge-l-ñ t-iu-ir-ñ ong HEAVEN ñ-l-û-er jur har-iú uni ai sui-er* (Yu7-8).

There were five ladies.

1. the **eldest** was H-ing h-e$_2$ milady, (she) was given in marriage to K Qa N-u *tai-shï* from the T-023-ia-ar Te-li$_2$-ñ kagan's Tent.
2. the **second** L-i S-ie milady was given in marriage to 378.1 378.1 378.1 tai shï.
3. the **third** Du-ung$_2$ h-e$_2$ lady was given in marriage to T-ing H-ong Nu *di-shi-g*.
4. the **fourth** Ñ-mu qó-ñ p-üe-z-iú was given in marriage to the Minister Sh-l-û-ñ Ju-úr-e$_2$ from the Junior Father-in-laws.
5. and the **fifth** Y-ang Sie milady given in marriage to Ia-277-ñ Tir-bun *taishi,* from them T-iu-ir-ñ Ong in the reign period 'Kaitai (1012-1021) in the second, the black ox year (2013) was born…..

Four times *û-ul-ge-én* or its homoglyphs, and once û-ul-ge-l-ñ because there is another verb in the sentence (*sui-er*).

丙令 包 又 业叐 叉勺 刈全 力圡出公冇 才条伏 业关化 丞 兆冇 守力关 守力 业币为本 仐兆 九亦矢 只平杏中伏 朩化当 令用当 □□ /63/ 令丙才攴 刈叐伏 巫圡平 曲公冇

曲公伏 丞关 九才 公叐 丞 杰不 舟为 丙気 九丙 仐各尼 只平岙当 汆当 叉冬欠 丆及 业币为丰冇 刃丙北 / 小冇 为 令金公矢 只平岙当.

eme-t gur GREAT gú-u m-gu bot-d na-ha-án-er-en ia-277-ñ p-i-ri tai shï-en b-qo-i b-qo p-od-a-ar s-iang g-ün-de *û-ul-ge*$_2$*-l-ñ ci-ur-én t-il-én 378.1-378.1 /63/ t-023-ia-ar bot-u-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en go-n-ñ qa-an g-ia n-u tai ong-on b-qo y-ang g-iu s-eng-dú* *û-ul-ge*$_2$*-én hur-én m-as-qó har*$_3$*-o p-od-a-ar-en ir-y-li*$_2$ *dele-en deu t-em*$_2$*-er-de û-ul-ge*$_2$*-én (Yu62-63).*

There were three ladies, the

1. **eldest** Gú-u M-gu came back (*p-od-a-ar*) from the grandson of the Other Maternal Uncles *Ia-277-ñ p-i-ri* taishi and was given to the General, (*s-iang g-ün*),
2. the **second** T-il-én 378. 378.1 was given into marriage to *Y-ang-g-iu s-eng*, who was from the Other t-023-ia-ra from the kagan's Tent, Qa-an G-ia N-u Ong's son, and
3. the **third** who had to return (*p-od-a-ar-en*) because of the great black (Illness??, mountain?) (*m-as-qó har*$_3$*-o*), was given to T-em$_2$-er from the Dele-deu (younger brother tribe).

Two times *û-ul-ge*$_2$*-é* once *û-ul-ge*$_2$*-l-ñ*, the second because there is a second verb (*p-od-a-ar*) in the same sentence. In the case of the third daughter, the return of the daughter is told in a separate sentence.

*eme-t b-hu-án **jur GREAT** pu l-iu s-ie y-228-ol-un*$_2$ *m-o ai-en s-ên-ci qa-ha-an én*$_2$*-u-ui ü-n-ñ d-il-e l-i-ing g-ung-un b-qo ar-ha-a-ar tai b-de û-ul-ge*$_2$*-én **ci-ur-én** oh-u ia or /8/ 378.1 378.1 378.1 378.1 378.1-en b-qo t-il-uh sh-a-rí-de û-ul-ge*$_2$*-én* (Han 7-8).

'two daughters. the elder *Pu l-iu s-ie y-228-ol-un* was given into marriage to *Ar-ha-ar tai-b*, son of S-*ên-ci qa-ha-an én*$_2$*-u-ui ü-n-ñ d-il-e l-i-ing g-ung* of the greater ancestors (*m-o ai*), the second was given into marriage to O-hu ????XXXXXXXX' s son, T-il-uh langjun'.

Both forms in such sentences where they are the only respective predicates:

*n-ing-h-e sh-a-rí-en b-qo b-hu-án **jur GREAT** sh-she-al pu-shi-ñ na-ha-án-er t-qu-s*$_2$*-ir*$_2$ *s-eng-dú û-ul-ge-én*$_2$ ***ci-ur-én** rí-378.1 pu-shi-ñ ci-228-dû jï-ing 160 -/31/ tai sh-i-de û-ul-ge-én* (Nan 30-31).

There is only one predicate in the respective sentences, see further materials in: Jue 32-13, Jue 32-35, and Cha 19-31, Cha 19-43.

In the following context before the first predicate, a longer subordinate sentence is inserted, and the predicate of the second sentence is extended to the next sentences: .

GREAT pu s-a n-iú aú-ui ji-d b-qo s-ar-ha-án tai ong-on b-qo jel tai ui°-de û-ul-ge-l-ñ ci-ur-én /7/ ci-ur-én g-o-on-un ia deu-en dau-dû ai-en ri$_4$-en-ñ t-em$_2$-er tai shï-de û-ul-ge-én hur-én s-iú shï n-iú t-ur-én m-i l-y n-iú t-ad-o-or du-ung g-e (Tu6-7).

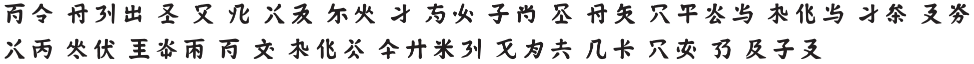
1. The eldest was Pu S-a, who was given in marriage to Jel Tai Ui, son of S-ar-ha-án tai ong, who was the heir (*ji-d b-qó*) of the younger aunt (???*n-iú aú-ui*).
2. the second, /7/ the second (dittography in the new line) was given in marriage to T-em$_2$-er *tai-shi*, great grand child (*ri$_4$-en-ñ*) of the Middle Ancestors (*dau-dû ai*) of the Patriarchal Tent's brethren (*g-o-on-un ia deu*).
3. the third S-iú-shi n-iú.
4. the fourth M-i l-y n-iú.
5. the fifth Du-ung G-e, ….

In the following sentences only one predicate occurs with one of the homoglyphs of **u-ul-ge-n**

eme-t b-hu-án jur GREAT s-en aú-ui ia deu-un m-o ai /6/378.1 tai shï-en b-qo g-o-378.1 378.1 378.1 u-ul-ge-én ***ci-ur-én*** *ong g-ia pu-s hi-ñ ia deu-un m-o ai-en ja g-e tai b-en b-qo p-a 160 tai ui°-de û-ul-ge-én* (Han 6-7).

'…had two daughters, the elder S-en lady was given in marriage to G-o-378.1-378.1-378.1, son of 378.1 *tai shï* from the senior ancestors (*m-o ai*)of the brethren (*ia-deu*), the second, milady Ong G-ia, was given in marriage to P-a 160 *tai ui*, son of Ja Ge *tai-b*, from the senior ancestors of the brethren.

The following sentence is of special interest, because of the fate of the second daughter:



eme-t b-hu-án jur GREAT shï h-u-ui ia deu-un l$_2$-co tai b-de û-ul-ge-én ***ci-ur-én*** *ia-277 un$_2$-e h-iu ui°-ñ di-í-in eme ie ci-ur-er s-ó-udu-hu sh-a-rí ku-su û-úr es o-l$_2$-un* (Han11).

'…had two daughters , the elder, Shï H-u-ui, was given in marriage to L$_2$-co *tai-b* of the brethren, the second, by (*un$_2$-e*) the good luck (*ia-277*) the younger sister (*h-iu*) became (*ie*???) the wife of the *tegin* of Wei (*ui°-ñ di-í-in eme)* and therefore to *S-ó-udu-hu* langjun, by imperial grace (she) was not given (*es o-l$_2$-u-n*'. The text is not quite clear for me, but perhaps there was an earlier marriage agreement or customal prescription to give the younger sister to *S-ó-udu-hu* langjun, and from this an exemption was given by the emperor.

eme-t b-hu-án ***jur GREAT*** *du-ung*$_2$ *g-e aú-ui ia deu-un dau-dû ai-en s-abu-a-ar/15/ sh-a-rí-de û-ul-ge-én* ***ci-ur-én*** *h-o aú-ui ia deu-un dau-dû ai-en da*$_3$*-ai bi n-u sh-a-rí-de u-ul-ge-én (Han14-15).*

'… had two daughters, the elder, lady Du-ung$_2$ G-e, was given in marriage to S-abu-a-ar *langjun* of the middle ancestors of the brethren, the second, lady H-o was given in marriago to Da$_3$-ai Bi Nu *langjun* of the middle ancestors of the brethren'.

eme-t jur GREAT p-u/19/ sh-ün s-úng hong di-in neu-e em YOUNG-qú cu n-iú g-e aú-ui na-ha-aju ia deu-un j-iú ishi-ï tai ui°-de û-ul-ge-én (Liang 18-19).

'…had two daughters, the elder P-u Sh-ün (became) the empress (*neu-e em*) of the Song emperor, the younger, lady Cu N-iú G-e was given in marriage to J-iú Ishi *taiwei* of the maternal uncle's brethren'.

eme-t gur m-ô$_2$*-qú au-ul-ó-o-ón oh-u sh-ie-ên ci-eu-un sï shï p-o-du*$_2$*-l-un ng-l*$_2$ *ng-ia-an n-o-oi*$_2$*-l-ha-a-ar pu g-ui-de û-ul-ge-én g-ün pu-shi-ñ d-em*$_2$*-l-ge-y y-ie ci-ur-én h-eu-ul-û-én m-gu ki-ên g-ün-en ñ-iau-i b-qo sh-i-cu-de û-ul-ge-én hu-ur-én sh-eu-u y-ang 239 m-in rí-u-or te ai u-ul par emu sär GOLD/26/ p-o or-l-bun jur*$_2$ *ñol har-iú t-qo-a när-de eme ku ki-ên g-ün b-hu-án úr-u-ur*$_2$ *ol* (Xian25-26).

'…had three daughters.

1. The eldest was Au-ul-ó-o-ón Oh-u (a genitive construction), who was given in marriage to the regional chief (*sï shï*) of the Xian prefecture (*sh-ie-ên ci-eu*) who was the same time (*p-o-du*$_2$*-l-un*) the *ng-l*$_2$ *ng-ia-an n-o-oi*$_2$*-l-ha-a-ar* in Pu g-ui (Fu country see EL) (where) she was appointed as Milady of the Prefecture, life long (*y-ie*?).
2. the second, H-eu-ul-û-én grand mother (*m-gu*) was given in marriage to Sh-i Cu brother (*ñ-iau-i b-qo)* of the Xian county (*ki-ên g-ün*).
3. the third, Sh-eu-u y-ang (whom) an Earth mausoleum (*239 m-in*) was granted (? *239 m-in rí-u-or*), in that year, in winter, eleventh month, golden time, at the first day (of the lunar month) the 26, that is the black chicken day, as wife (*eme ku*) gave (*ol*) children heirs (*b-hu-án úr-u-ur*$_2$) for the Xian county (*ki-ên g-ün)*'.

The Earth Mausoleum was perhaps a mausoleum for the Earth mother, that is the Queen. The second and the third daughter have married brethren (*ñ-iau-i b-qo*). The text distinguishes the Xian prefecture *sh-ie-ên ci-eu* and the Xian county (*ki-ên g-ün).*

丙令 舟刃出 包 又 令大 尔火 乇 伏只夾 令刃为出 用中有 曲大有 仐生走本矢 只平㕣与 朩化与 业夾舟伏 兮杰伏 乇火 及化 土九伏叉 出及 丕兆有 舟力 兮卡只炎 丕 炎矢 只平㕣与 灸与 出及 兮杰伏 /19/ 令丙才左 口北伏 厶走夹 曲炎有 舟及有 公及 为火 友矢 只平㕣与

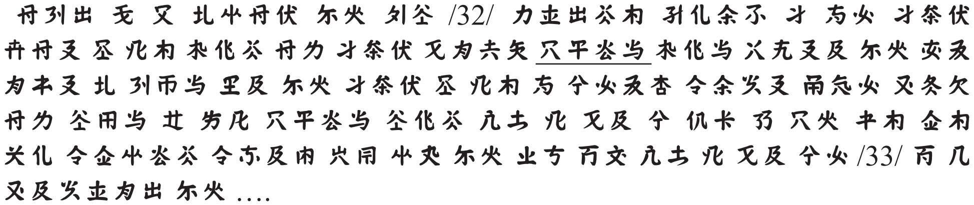
eme-t b-hu-án gur GREAT t-ud$_2$ *210-ui dur° ñ-û-úr t-hu-a-án il-bun-en go-oi*$_2$*(=er)-en s-abu-ha-ar-de û-ul-ge-én* ***ci-ur-én*** *p-úr-b-ñ pu-shi-ñ tau-un u-ur* *eu-g-ñ-un*$_2$ *gú-u tai shï-en b-qo pu-su-û-oi tai ui°-de û-ul-ge-én* ***hur-én*** *gú-u pu-shi-ñ /19/ t-023-ia-ar*$_2$ *te-li*$_2$*-ñ qa-ha-an go-oi(=er)-en b-u-en n-u tu-ung jï-de û-ul-ge-én* (Xiang 18-19),

'…had three daughters,

1. the eldest lady T-ud$_2$, was given in marriage to S-abu-ha-ar from the Patrial Tent of the ilbun of the Four Division (*ñ-û-úr)* t-qos.

2. the second, milady P-úr-b-ñ was given in marriage to Pu-su-û-oi *taiwei*, son of Gú-u tai-shï of the Five Division (*u-ur*).

3. the third , milady Gú-u was given in marriage to Bu-en Nu *tu-ung jï* of the Patriachal Tent of Te-li$_2$-ñ kagan of T-*023-ia-ar*$_2$.


/32/ /33/ ….

b-hu-án tau ***GREAT*** *or-l-b-ñ aú-ui bot-d/32/ na-ha-án-er-en ja-ri-qu-on ia deu-un ia-277-ñ tir-b-ir*$_2$ *tai shï-en ci-ur-er b-qo ia-277-ñ sh-a-rí-de û-ul-ge-én* ***ci-ur-én*** *h-d*$_3$*-un*$_2$*-o aú-ui úr-u a-ar-un*$_2$ *or* ***huod-én*** *oh-o aú-ui ia-277-ñ tai shï-en deu pu-un-u-uni t-qu-s*$_2$*-ir*$_2$ *ca-ang-un m-as-qó b-qo d-il-én sï tu-dú* ***û-ul-ge-én d-ur-er*** *g-eu shï sh-o pu kú*$_2$*-su es û-ui ai-en em*$_2$*-en i-ri t-em*$_2$*-l-ge-er* ***t-ad-o-ón*** *iú-ing l-au aú-ui p-al y-ie g-eu shï sh-o pu-un/33/ eme ku m-o-s*$_2$*-ha-a-án aú-ui* (Jue31-33).

…had five children.

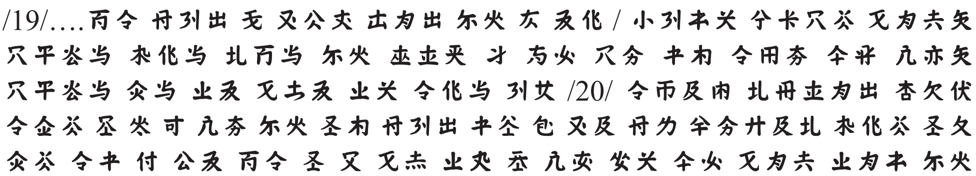
1. the eldest lady Or-l-b-ñ, was given in marriage to Ia-277-ñ *langjun*, who was the second son of Ia-277-ñ Tir-bun *tai shï* from the Prime Ministers brethren, of the other, the Maternal Uncles.

2. the second, lady H-d$_3$-un$_2$-o had (*a-ar-un*)(already) a son (*úr-u*).

3. the third, lady Oh-o, was given in marriage to D-il-én *sï tu* the elder son of Ca-ang of the *t-qu-s*$_2$ of Pu-un-u-uni, the younger brother of Ia-277-ñ tai shï。.

4. the fourth (*d-ur-er)*, was (a son) Geu shï *sh-o-pu* (*shuai fu*), the guard (*ku*$_2$*-su*), did not became ? (*es û-ui*) but was awarded to the office of the ancestor's region.

5. the fifth, lady Iú-ing l-au, together with? (*p-al y-ie*) *G-eu shï*'s wife lady M-o-s$_2$-ha-a-án…….


/19/…. / /20/

圣冇 丹列出 丰仝 丞 又及 丹力 仝文 九才 公夊 朩化仌 土为 丙令 圣 又 □□只平□ 朩化当 井为出

/19/ ...em-t b-hu-án tau m-ô$_2$-qú mod-a-án aú-ui ñol u-ur dele-hu-ar-i pu-su-û-er sh-a-rí-de û-ul-ge-én ***ci-ur-én*** *or-y-én aú-ui qa-ha-an ia deu-un dau-dû ai-en t-il-e$_2$ s-iang g-ün-de û-ul-ge-én* ***hur-én*** *p-u sh-eu-u p-i* ***t-ur$_2$-én*** *hu-aju /20/* ***t-od-o-ón*** *or-li4-ha-a-án uni-qó-ñ t-em$_2$-er tai ui° bai g-e$_2$ aú-ui jur-en b-hu-án ai-d gur° m-o b-qo ú-dû-ó-o-or ci-ur-er jur-uh hur-er t-ai bi n-u eme-t jur GREAT sh-ong p-au 35 g-úr ng-i s-un sh-a-rí p-a-ar aú-ui jur-en b-hu-án ai-d jur° m-o b-qo s-ie g-ia n-u ci-ur-er kus-a em-t jur GREAT 378.1-378.1-û-ul-378.1 ci-ur-én hul-a-án* (Cha19, 20).

…had five children.

1. the eldest was lady Mod-a-án who was given in marriage to Pu-su-û-er lang-jun, from the Six Division's (*ñol u-úr*) consanguins (*dele-hu-ar-i*).
2. the second was lady Y-én who was given in marriage to T-il-e$_2$ general, of the Middle ancestors (*dau-dû ai*) of the kagan's brethren.
3. the third P-u sh-eu *p-i*.
4. the fourth Hu-aju and the.
5. fifth Or-li4-ha-a-án (were) considered (??*t-em$_2$-er*) young (*uni-qó-ñ*)[74].

û-ul-ge-er, factitive, masculine gender, occurs four times. CWJ gives in one case no glosss (Nan27), in one case Chin *gei* 给 'to give' (Hu23), and in two cases *jia* 嫁 'to marry (of a woman)' (Jue30, Yong34), in the last two cases CWJ seems to be wrong.

û-ul-g-er 只平九仌 (372-366-334-341), 1x.
û-ul-ge-er 只平岑仌 (372-366-349-341), 2x.
u-ul-ge-er 及平岑仌 (131-366-349-341), 1x.

eme-n t-ge$_2$-én or-a-an deu-dú-i s-lu$_3$ p-o-l$_2$-un p-in go-er û-ul-g-er (Hu 23-15).

'after his wife died, he became from the brother separate and him was given the estate tent (household)' (*p-in go-er*).

sh-au-úr-ha-aju-en m-o-s$_2$-u-ji-en û-ul-ge-er (Jue 30-42).

'him was given the majority of the falconiers', the *-en* suffix of the genitive in *m-o-s$_2$-u-ji-en* is well visible on the photo, its function is not clear to me.

hu-üen s-ô-ul-un$_2$ m-em$_2$-en 194-a hiu-shi û-ul-ge-er (Nan 27-20), no gloss,

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[74] **p-i1** 业关 (295-339) 'consort,' Chin 1. *fei* 妃 C461, **hu-aju-a** 列艾为 (151-082.1-189) 'misfortune1, pain2', Chin 1. *huo* 祸 2. *ku* 苦 C402, **hu-aju-a-û** 列艾为只 (151-082.1-189-372) 'misfortune', Chin *huo* 祸 C402.

‘him was given the award -silver (*m-em*$_2$) -silk (*hiu-shi)*’ Perhaps the Khitan equivalent of **ng-in s-ing cau-úng lu-uh da$_3$-ai pu** [illegible] (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 Hucker 7981 “Grand Master of Glorious Happiness with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon”.

eu-ñ u-ul-ge-er (Yong34).

‘was not given (a wife), or did not marry (?)’ Chin *wu jia* 无, 嫁 CWJ1234.

Converbal forms:

û-ul-ge$_2$-y [illegible] (372-366-112-020), 3x[75].

û-ul-ge-y [illegible] (372-366-349-020), 6x[76].

u-ul-ge$_2$-y [illegible] (131-366-112-020), 3x[77].

cau-úr ci-ar t-aju p-od-y-li$_2$ t-ul û-ul-ge$_2$-y (Yu 43-10).

eu-úr FOURTY SIX b-aû-er eu-ul-g QUEEN-i s-or-077 a-ar es h-úr te$_2$-i sh-úr e$_2$-te$_2$-i s-a-ad-li$_2$ d-ge-oi u-un eu-ul-g-en dai-ri$_5$ p-ul-uh-ji sh-ul-or s-üe-üen h-ui°-en p-ar-ha-ai hu-a ge-ul-de û-ul-ge$_2$-y (Xian 17-28).

m-o ai ñ-ar-ñ tai shï-en b-qo ñ-qó-s$_2$ s-iáng g-ün-de û-ul-ge-y y-ie 111 pu /52/ sh-i-ng ñol ñ-ó-li-en te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-e-en bod-l-b-un di-shi-g-de û-ul-ge-y (Xu 51-41, Xu 52-9).

‘She was given in marriage to **Ñ-qó-s** general, the son of Ñ-ar-ñ *tai shï* of the Senior ancestors’, Yie-111 pu-sh-i-ng (!) was given to the *di-shi-g* from the imperial lineage of the Patriarchal House of the Teliñ kagan of the Six Divisions’.

b-hu-án jur° m-o qa-an g-ia n-u sh-a-rí ün-én m-a-hu-ar ci-ri-er us-g eme-er hul-y eu-úr jur$_2$ gur ku-su û-ui dor p-ai sï-de 160-ai SMALL-qó s-324.2-l$_2$-ha-a-ar sh-a-rí eu-úr par tau eme b-qo emu pu-su-û-én aú-ui SMALL-qó na-ha-aju j-abu-qu /20/ *sh-a-rí-de û-ul-ge-y* (Hong19-20).

‘had two children, the elder was Qa-an G-ia N-u sh-a-rí, the second… from here the text is not clear for me, only the last part: ‘she was given in marriage to J-abu-qu *sh-a-rí*’.

[illegible]/18/[illegible]

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[75] Zhong 29-17,Yu 43-10, Xian 17-28.

[76] Xu 51-41, Xu 52-9, Hong 18-14, Hong 18-29, Hong 20-2, Nan 31-30

[77] Nu 21-12, Di 19-13, Di 21-35

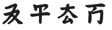
/17/…-m-o deu s-úng ng-ui°-i g-ui /18/ ong-on p-i p-o-du$_2$-l-ñ eu-úr jur$_2$ ñol-de tu-úr-b-ñ t-em$_2$-én aú-ui ia deu-un n-o-oi$_2$-er sh-a-rí-de û-ul-ge-y eu-úr jur$_2$ ishi-de iu ú-dû-l-ha-a-án eme ia deu-un dau-dû ai-en g-ung sh-i du g-ia-am-de û-ul-ge-y eu-úr THIRTY t$_2$-ur iu (Hong 17-18).

'she became the consort (*pi*) of the elder younger brother (*m-o deu*) of the holy (Emperor) of the Song-Wei country's (*s-úng ng-ui°-i g-ui*) /18/ wang, but when she was 26 years old, she died.

Lady T-em$_2$-én was given in marriage to N-o-oi$_2$ *langjun* of the brethren, when she was 29 years old she died. Ú-dû-l-ha-a-án *eme* was given in marriage to the duke (*g-ung*) Sh-i du g-ia-am, from the brethren of the middle ancestors (*dau-dû ai*). When she was 30, she died.

/31/b-qo b-hu-án gur GREAT t-ud pu-shi-ñ na-ha-án-er or s-eng-dú û-ul-ge-én ***ci-ur-én*** *ta-ang MRS-ñ em-t sui-én go-er-en y-au-u shï n-u sh-a-rí-de û-ul-ge-y un-e p-il-234 y-ie* ***hur-én*** *t-ad-i* (Nan31-30).

'…had three children, the eldest T-ud mylady was given in marriage to Or S-eng, of the Maternal Uncles, the second Ta-ang MRS-ñ *while* given in marriage to Shï Nu langjun, according to the custom (*y-au-u*) of the Patriarchal Tent of the birth mothers (*em-t sui-én*) ???, she was (*yie*) ?????, the third…

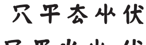
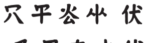
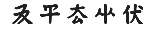
u-ul-ge$_2$-y  (131-366-112-020).

t-ang-a pu-shi-ñ b-ra-un$_2$ sh-úng-or pu m-a-an b-qo ia-277 tai-shï-de u-ul-ge$_2$-y eu-úr SIXTY ishi-de t-ge-én.

'mylady T-ang-a, who was given in marriage to Ia-277 *tai-shï*, son of the son-in-law of the Right Sh-úng-or (Falcon army), died, when she was 69 years old. (Di 21-35).

ci-ur-én udu-l-ha-a-án aú-ui na-ha-üe (= ju) s-abu-ha-ar s-iang g-ün-de u-ul-ge$_2$-y eu-úr THIRTY xa-shi-de iu (Di19-13).

'The second, lady Udu-l-ha-a-án was given in marriage to S-abu-ha-ar general, of he Maternal Uncles, and when she was 30 she died'.

û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ  (372-366-112-261-222)9x[78].
û-ul-ge-l-ñ  (372-366-349-261-222)7x[79].
u-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ  (131-366-112-261-222)3x[80].

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[78] Yu 62-102, Zhi 11-48, Zhi 12-9, Zhi 12-21, Zhi 12-31, Zhi 13-12, Hu 29-7, Pu 15-29, Pu 16-1
[79] Xu 9-7, Xu 46-1, Yu 8-40, Guang 4-24, Tu 6-43, Han 10-8, Jue 31-17
[80] Zhuo 8-5, Qing 12-16, Qing 12-26

u-ul-ge-l-ñ 叐平岺屮伏 (131-366-349-261-222)2x[81].

/62/ 丙令 包 又 凼叐 叉勺 刘仝 力圡出公有 才条伏 业关化 丞 兆有 舟力关 舟力 业币为丰 仐北 九亦矢 只平杰屮伏 来化当 令用当 □□ -/63/ 令丙才斥 刘叐伏 丞圡夹 曲公有 曲公伏 丞夹 九才 公叐 丞 杰不 舟力 丙気 九丙 仐各尼 只平杰当 灾当 叉冬欠 灰及 业币为丰有 刃丙比 / 小有 为 令企公矢 只平杰当

eme-t gur GREAT gú-u m-gu bot-d na-ha-án-er-en ia-277-ñ p-i-ri tai shï-en b-qo-i b-qo p-od-a-ar s-iang g-ün-de û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ ci-ur-én t-il-én 378.1-378.1/63/ t-023-ia-ra bud-u-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en go-n-ñ qa-an g-ia n-u tai ong-on b-qo y-ang g-iu s-eng-dú û-ul-ge$_2$-én hur-én m-as-qó har$_3$-o p-od-a-ar-en ir-y-li$_2$ dele-en deu t-em$_2$-er-de û-ul-ge$_2$-én. (Yu62-64).

…had three daughters.

1. the eldest, G-ú M-gu was given in marriage to P-od-a-ar general, grandson of Ia-277-ñ P-i-ri *taishï* from the Other Maternal Uncles'.

2. the second, T-il-én was given in marriage to Y-ang G-iu s-eng, son of ??(go-n-ñ) Qa-an G-ia N-u *tai wang* from the Other kagan's Patriarchal Tent's ???.

3. the third when she returned from the elder son-in-law? (*m-as-qó har$_3$-o p-od-a-ar-en*) there was a change (*ir-y-li*) and she was given in marriage to T-em$_2$-er, the younger brother of consanguineous (group *dele*).

See for the next two texts also ORTHOGRAPHY with the comparison of the two texts.

ñ-iau-ñ-er tau GREAT h-ing g-e$_2$ pu-shi-ñ te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en na-ha-aju k qa-an n-u tai sh-i-de û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ ***ci-ur-én*** */12/l-i z-ie pu-shi-ñ udu-ú-ur-en pu l-iu tai sh-i-de û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ* ***hu-ur-én*** *du-ung g-e$_2$ aú-ui te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en d-ing g-ong n-u di-shi-g-de û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ* ***d-ur-én*** *ñ-mú-qu-ñ b-üe-z-iú na-ha-án-er SMALL-qó aju-en sh-il-û-uni ju-ur-e$_2$ ja-ri-qu-on û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ 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-qō-a-er ci-i-shi-d-b-ñ /13/ ku-û-ul-ge$_2$-y y-ie* ***t-od-o-ón*** *y-ang z-ie pu-shi-ñ bot-d na-ha-án-er tir-bun tai sh-i-de û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ* (Zhi11/12/13).

'There were five siblings.

1. the eldest H-ing G-e$_2$ milady was given in marriage to Qa-an-Nu *tashï,* from the Maternal Uncles of the Patriarchal Tent of Te-li$_2$-ñ kagan.

2. the second, L-i Z-ie milady was given in marriage to Pu L-iu *taishï* of the ordu.

3. the third, Du-ung Ge$_2$ lady was given in marriage to D-ing g-ong Nu *di-shi-g* of the Paternal Tent of Te-li$_2$-ñ kagan.

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[81] Hui 5-33, Hui 6-7

4. the fourth, Mú-qu-ñ *b-üe-z-iú* though given in marriage to Sh-il-û-uni Ju-úr-e$_2$ prime minister (gentive construction!), of the Junior Father-in-Laws of the Maternal Uncles, she was, yet in her childhood (*YOUNG-qú eu-úr-de*) ?? of the wang of Y-ie-ên country, *the rest is uncertain.*

5. the fifth Y-ang z-ie milady was given in marriage to Tir-bun *taishï*, from the other Maternal Uncles.

eme-t tau GREAT *h-ing h-e$_2$ pu-shi-ñ t-023-ia-ra te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en k qa n-u tai shï-de û-ul-ge-én* ***ci-ur-én*** *l-i s-ie pu-shi-ñ /8/378.1 378.1 378.1 tai shï-de û-ul-ge-én* ***hur-én*** *du-ung$_2$ h-e$_2$ 210-ui t-023-ia-ra te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en t-ing h-ong n-u di-is-g-de û-ul-ge$_2$-én* ***t-ur-én*** *ñ-mú-qó-ñ p-üe-z-iú SMALL-qó aju-en sh-l-û-ñ ju-ur-e$_2$ ja-ri-qó-do û-ul-ge$_2$-én* ***t-od-o-ón*** *y-ang s-ie pu-is-ñ na-ha-án-er il-én$_4$ go-er-en ia-277-ñ tir-bun tai shï-de û-ul-ge-l-ñ t-iu-ir-ñ ong HEAVEN ñ-l-û-er jur har-iú uni ai sui-er sh-or-ha-a-án g-ui ong ú-she qa-ha-an ñ-t yun-dus g-úr-en QUEEN-050 s-a-ar t-iu-ir em-er n-282 xua-she h-s-ge-l n-ô-úr po da3-054 om-úr-te2 sh-058-l-ge2-e bod y* (Yu7/8).

'… had five daughters (*eme*).

1. the eldest H-ing-h-e$_2$ milady was given in marriage to K Qa N-u *taishï* of the Patriarchal Tent of *t-023-ia-ra* Te-li$_2$-ñ kagan.

2. the second L-i S-ie milady was given in marriage to XXXXXXXXX tashï.

3. the third, Du-ung$_2$ He lady, was given in marriage to T-ing h-ong N-u *di-shi-g* of the Patriarchal Tent of the *t-023-ia-ra* Te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an.

4. the fourth, Ñ-mú-qó-ñ *p-üe-z-iú,* was given in marriage to Sh-l-û-ñ u-ur-e$_2$ Prime Minister of the Junior Father-in-laws (dative construction).

5. The fifth Y-ang s-ie milady was given in marriage to Tir-bun *taishï* from the Paternal Tent of the Maternal Uncles *il én$_{2.}$*

em-t b-hu-án jur m-ô$_2$-qú *ra-l-ó-o-ón/29/ ñol u-ur xua ng-ia-ém n-u sh-a-rí-de û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ ci-ar iu b-hu-án gur ci-én* ***YOUNG-qú*** *hul-a-án ia deu-un s-in ong-on go-er-en s-om-ur-ge-er sh-a-rí-de û-ul-ge$_2$-én$_2$* (Hu29-7).

'…There were two daughters:

1. the elder was given in marriage to Xua ng-ia-ém N-u *langjun* from the Six Division of Ra-ló-o.

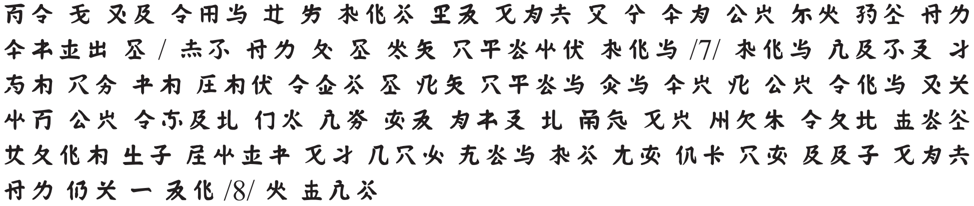
2. the next died.

3. the third the younger Hul-a-án, remained alive and was given in marriage to S-om-ur-ge-er *langjun* of the Patriarchal Tent of S-in wang of the brethren.

*/15/...****em-t jur m-ô$_2$-qú*** *t-em$_2$-én te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en as-ar di-shi-g-en û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ eu-úr jur$_2$ dur-de t-ge-én* ***YOUNG-qú*** *bod-l-b-ñ ci-228-dû bod bun-l-g /16/ dau-ñ s-iang g-ün-de û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ eu-úr jur$_2$ dur-de t-ge-én* (Pu15/16).

There were two daughters.

1. the elder, T-em$_2$-én being given in marriage to As-ar *di-shi-g* (genitive construction) of the Patriarchal Tent of Te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an, when she was 24, she died.
2. the younger being given in marriage to Dau general (genitive construction) from the imperial lineage of the Ci-288-dû (tribe ??? *bod bun-l-g)* and when she was 24 died, …….



***eme-t tau** m-o t-il-én sï tu ci-ur-er oh-u sh-a-rí **GREAT** pu s-a n-iú aú-ui ji-d b-qo s-ar-ha-án tai ong-on b-qo jel tai ui°-de û-ul-ge-l-ñ **ci-ur-én** /7/ ci-ur-én g-o-on-un$_2$ ia deu-en dau-dû ai-en ri$_4$-en-ñ t-em$_2$-er tai shï-de û-ul-ge-én **hur-én** s-iú shï n-iú **t-ur-én** m-i l-y n-iú **t-ad-o-or** du-ung g-e úr-u a-ar-un or ca-ang sh-iú SMALL-qó-do t-uh-li$_2$ RECORD-ge-d aju-uh-ur-en to-l$_2$ MANAGE-l-ha-ai sh-ia ku-û-un d$_3$-ge-én ci-er om-úr kú$_2$-su û-úr o-o-l$_2$ sh-a-rí b-qo 234-i hoi u-úr /8/ ui RECORD-g-er* (Tu6/7).

…there were five daughters.

1. the eldest, T-il-én was given in marriage to Jel *tai-ui*, son of S-ar-ha-án *tai ong*, son of (the couple *=ji-d*?) , the *sï-tu* Ci-úr-er Oh-u *langjun* and the GREAT Pu S-a-an lady.
2. the second [*written twice at the end of line 6 and the beginning of line7*] was given in marriage to T-em$_2$-er *tai shï,* great grandchild (*ri$_4$-en*) of the Middle Ancestors of the Patriarchal Tent's (*G-o-o-on*) brethren.
3. the third was S-iú shï *n-iú.*
4. the fourth was M-i l-y *n-iú.*
5. the fifth (masculine suffix!!!! ***t-ad-o-or***) Du-ung G-e was a son (*úr-u a-ar-un*), the rest is not clear.

*/11/ b-qo em-t b-hu-án ñol **m-ô$_2$-qú** h-ie-ên sh-ng g-e$_2$ aú-ui /12/ ia deu-un SMALL-qó ai-en na-ha-aju ar-l-ó-o-or tai ui°-en u-ul-ge$_2$-én **ci-ur-én** ja$_2$ g-e aú-ui y-228-ol-un ar-ha-ar-de u-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ **hur-én** g-ui g-e$_2$ aú-ui ia deu-un t-abu-y-er s-iang g-ün-de u-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ **t-ur-én** t-y g-e aú-ui ong-od-en t-ud sh-a-rí-de u-ul-ge$_2$-ñ **t-ad-o-ón** shï g-u aú-ui ia deu-un dau-dû ai-en fu-su-û-er sh-a-rí-de u-ul-ge-én **ñol-én** üe-en g-e aú-ui /13/* (Qing11-12).

/11/…had six daughters.

1. the eldest was H-ie-ên Sh-ng G-e lady, who was given in marriage to Ar-l-ó-o-or *tai ui°* from the Maternal Uncles from the brethern's JuniorAncestors.

2. the second was Ja$_2$ G-e lady who was given in marriage to Ar-ha-ar of Y-228-ol.
3. the third was G-ui G-e lady who was given in marriage to T-abu-y-er general from the bretheren.
4. the fourth was T-y G-e lady who was given in marriage to the t-ud *langjun* fom the Ong-od.
5. the fifth was Shï G-u lady who was given in marriage to Fu-su-û-er *langjun* from the brethren's Middle Ancestors.
6. the sixth was Üe-en G-e lady.

/15/…… *eu-úr FIFTY nem-de jau-ul-ha-ai t-l-un tai shï-en* ***b-hu-án tau GREAT*** *eme ku-û-un b-qo emu° t-il-én dai p-u n-u /16/ tai shï* ***ci-ur-én*** *em ku-û-un* ***b-hu-án dur m-o*** *ia-277-ñ tai shï* ***ci-ur-er*** *qa-ad-i sh-a-rí* ***em-d jur*** *l-ú z-ie t-l-ge-én ci-eu-ci-un ia deu-un dau-dû ai-en /17/ u-ul-ge-l-ci t-il-én*$_2$ *dai p-u n-u tai shï* (DiX15-18).

'when he was 58, he died. The *tai shï* had five children.

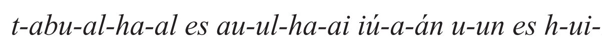
'from the elder wife he had one son T-il-én dai p-u N-u /16/ *tai shï*, from the second wife he had four children, the eldest was Ia-277-ñ *tai shï,* the second was Qa-ad-i *langjun*, from the two daughters L-ú Z-ie died and Ci-eu-ci-un was given in marriage to the brethren's Middle Ancestors' T-il-én$_2$ dai p-u N-u *tai shï'*.

12.5.2 Verbal Negation and the negative verb

12.5.2.1 THE PARTICLE **es** (146)

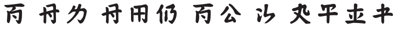
It is difficult to distinguish the different functions of the two particles **es** (146) wich occurs 465 times and **ul**$_2$ (336) which occurs 23 times in the corpus. Formally both may occur before the same verbal form. The same is the case with their Mongolic countertaparts *ese* and *ülü* (see Poppe 1964, 175). The particle **es** is in most cases glossed by Chin *wei* 未, the particle **ul**$_2$, by Chin *wu* 无、*bu* 不 and *wei* 未, C477.

Negation of the same word with different particles:



t-abu-al-ha-al es au-ul-ha-ai iú-a-án u-un es h-ui-ri-ge$_2$*-li*$_2$ (Zhong40-23).

'was buried (*t-abu-al-ha-al*) without change (so as he) died (*iú-a-án)* and does not come back (passed forever)'.



eme b-qo b-il-234 ( ) *eme-n ul*$_2$ *au-ul-ha-ai* (Zhen13-17).

'daughter ????? without change of the wife (?or daughter)'.

While in the first case the second part of a converbal construction is denied, in the second case we have a genitive construction.

In the folllowing I will quote negations with different verbs in one sentence:

几平伏 叉及岁炙犳 夲北朩伏 叉及岁炙犳 丹夾 可仌廾犳 叉雨矢 犳 㐅火仌屮伏 平 乂丸公当 仐仌亏 犳 夾平圡为出 □丸□□ □ □犳屮□仐 (Chao20-18)

ku-ul-ñ m-o-s$_2$-u-ji 056.1-or-ci-ñ m-o-s$_2$-u-ji lu$_3$-úr bai-d-ó-ji m-in-de es h-ui-d-l-ñ ul h-du$_3$-ge-én s-ô-al es au-ul-ha-a-án p-or-ci eu-úr p-gu-l-u-úr y-iá-ra-én p-úr-s b-qo-i es si$_2$-ha a-án an 378.1-d3-378.1-378.1 378.1 378.1-ji-l-378.1-ú.

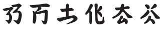
CWJ on p. 1360 glosses only *h-ui-d-l-ñ* as *zhi* 至 'arrive' and gives for *ul* here *shan* 山 'mountain' with? mark, supposing the Mongol word *agula* (>*ūl*) but this is clearly not the case, *ul* is here the negation particle. The first *es* before *h-ui-d-l-ñ* is not glossed, the second correctly by *wei* 未, further they glossed *eu-úr* by *sui* 岁 'age', *p-úr-s* by *zisi* 子嗣 'descendant'.

Though the whole text is not very clear for me, some parts can be perhaps identified: There are three persons (see below), who did not came and did not arrive (**es h-ui-d-l-ñ ul h-du$_3$-ge-én**) to the mausoleum (**m-in-de**), and this situation (? **s-ô-al**) did not change (**es au-ul-ha-a-án**), and the old age became imminent (**p-or-ci eu-úr p-gu-l-u-úr)**, and the descendants and children of Y-iá-ra were not available (**es si$_2$-ha a-án an**), unfortunately the following part is not readable.
The name of all three end in **-ji.**

1. **几平伏 叉及岁炙犳 ku-ul-ñ m-o-s$_2$-u-ji.**
2. **夲北朩伏 叉及岁炙犳 387-or-ci-ñ m-o-s$_2$-u-ji.**
3. **丹夾 可仌廾犳 lu$_3$-úr bai-d-ó-ji**.

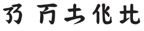
Though **bai-d-ó-ji 可仌廾犳** occurs only here, it has to be connected with **bai-d- 可仌** (061-254) 'to erect, set up, build', (K87 <ke?>, Shimunek no reading, Wu-Janhunen <bai>, see Mong *bari-* 'to hold, to build, to set up, to establish'? Dag *bari-* 'take, touch, set (a bone M119), *bari* 'halten' (M-K113) and has perhaps the meaning 'sculptor, decorator, architect' similar to Turkic *bedizči* who came to the burial of the Turk kagan from China' (Kül Tegin , see Clauson, 310, Kül Tegin South11, Bilge khagan North 14, ed Tekin 1968, 311), see also Mong *barimal* 'sculpture'.

lu$_3$-úr has to be a qualifier. See **lu$_3$ -úr go-ci-er 丹夾 曲朩公** (312-097 319-162-341) 'prominent, famous family', Chin *xian jia* 显家 C467 and further details in EL. Thus **lu$_3$-úr bai-d-ó-ji** has to be 'the famous sculpturer, architect'. The other two were both **m-o-s$_2$-u-ji.** According to C395 **m-o-s$_2$-u-ji eme ku 叉及岁炙犳 丙 几** (133-186-354-131-152 021 178) is 'elder wife', Chin *zhang qi* 长妻 C395, and **m-o-s$_2$-u-ji$_3$-en 叉及岁炙犳朩** (133-186-354-131-337-140) 'big', Chin *da* 大 C395. In this context perhaps 'elder, senior leader', **ku-ul-ñ** and **387-or-ci-ñ**, both parts of a genitive construction, occur only here and are yet not deciphered**.**

es y-eu-ur$_2$-ge$_2$-er  (020-067-236-112-341), (Dao13)

ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar ai-en h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-én es y-eu-ur-ge$_2$-er sh-ing s-úng dai-mú dai-mú t-iu-ir úr-te$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y (Dao13-16).

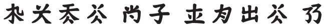
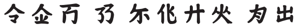
'during the year "prospering" (things) having not changed, Shengzong (982-1030) established (*úr-te$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y*) longlasting (*dai-mú dai-mú*) peace (*t-iu-ir*)' [by the Chanyuan treaty in 1005].

es y-eu-úr-li$_2$  (146 020-067-236-080) (Xiang30)

par n-em$_2$ ai-s ir-i emu h-du$_3$-ge-én es y-eu-ur-li$_2$ GREAT ú-dû-o-ón dalu ai ñol sär THIRTY när-de ju-un p-ar-b-ñ p-úng-s-un$_2$ h-s-de-i /31/ *eu-úr EIGHTY jur-de tu-úr-bun eu-ul-g-en.*

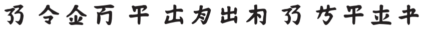
'(during) 18 years his one function has not changed, in year 7 of the reign period *Daan* (1091), month six, day 30, summer, (=July 24, 1091, see Wu-Janhunen, 2010, p. 198) …….from the region of *P-úng-s-un$_2$,* in the age of eighty two, he died'.

Before the verb **tem$_2$**-'to grant, to give' : **es t-em$_2$-ey**

/22/ 

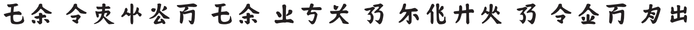
ci-i-shi-er co-l$_2$ ha-a-án es /22/ t-em$_2$-y es aú-ur$_2$-ó-ui a-án (Gu21/22-1).

'the assembled (?) the relatives, not noting, was not getting better' (Perhaps 'the relatives assembled, but they did not realized his bad condition, which deteriorated.).



es t-em$_2$-y ul mod-a-án-en es do$_2$-ul-ha-ai (Guang28).

'not conferred, not (doing?) evil, not ???'.



emu-qu t-050 ( )*-l-ge-y emu-qu p-al-i es aú-ur-ó-ui es t-em$_2$-y a-án (Nan36).*

'the first ????, the first was not getting better, (*es aú-ur-ó-ui),* was not noted (*es t-em$_2$-y a-án).*

also here we find **ul$_2$ t-em$_2$-y**

ul$_2$ aú-ur-ó-ui ul$_2$ t-em$_2$-y y-al-ha-al RECORD-g-er RECORD-g-én (Yu69).

'not improved, not given changed (entirely not changed), the record was recorded.

With the verb **hui-**: 'to arrive': **es h-ui**

bod-de hor-y-ñ t-úr eu-ul-ge-un$_2$ es h-ui (Xing21-17).

'…????. died (*t-úr eu-ul-ge-un$_2$)* and did not arrive (irreversibly)'.

es h-ui iú-a-ar t-úr (Xing29-4), only here.
‘did not arrive, died’ (*iú-a-ar t-úr*).

With the verb **tu-úr-** (202-097) ‘to die, to expire, to finish (hon)’, Chin *hong* 薨: **es t-úr**

ku-û-un bod es t-úr-búl-u-ji sui-l-ha-ai m-o HEAVEN nas-ad ja-al-ha-ai (Hu34-8).
‘the body of men is not dying, it is (re)born in the great heaven resting forever’.
t-úr-búl-u-ji (247-097-272-131-152)=**tu-úr-búl-u-ji** (202-097-272-131-152).
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.

With the verb **tal-s-er**, meaning uncertain: **es tal-s-er**

ku-û-un es tal-s-er sui-l-ha-ai po rí-i t-abu-y-i GREAT y-ie-ar-u-un hor-ó-ui bod-l-un s-iau qa ja-ang l-iáng ci-ci 156 ul$_2$ t-abu-y-i (Hu16-24).
‘the people are not (???? *tal-s-er* ? aware? of) the time of birth and the transmigration (*rí-i t-abu-y-i*) to the rebirth (*bod-l-un*) into the state (*hor-ó-ui*) of the great peace ???? .

With the verb **bod-** ‘to be in person’**: es bod-l-**
GREAT y-ie-ra-u-un hor-ó-ui rí-i es bod-l-li$_2$ od$_2$-i.
‘he was not reborn into the great peace (he did not reman in the everlasting peace, Nirvana), but was (re)born as…

with the verb **t-abu-y-** ‘exceed, step over, pass’**: es t-abu-y**
xe-ri-e tau jau-de emu°-û sui-l-ñ bod es t-abu-y-én (Jue40-23).
‘In the punitive office of Haibei as a first born (*emu°-û sui-l-ñ)* his person was not surpassed’

with the verb **o-l$_2$-ha-** ‘to get’: **es o-l$_2$-ha-**
un$_2$-én bod-de es o-l$_2$-ha-a-ar /25/ (Xing24-28).
‘to the statue (*un-én bod*) it was not given’.
eme-t b-hu-án jur GREAT shï h-u aú-ui ia deu-un l$_2$-co tai b-de û-ul-ge-én ci-ur-én ia-277 un-e h-iu ui°-ñ di-í-in eme ie ci-ur-er s-ó-udu-hu sh-a-rí ku-su û-úr es o-l$_2$-un (Han11).
‘had two daughters, the elder was given in marriage to L$_2$-co *tai-b* of the Shï H-u-ui brethren, the second …while she was the wife of the ??? *ti-yin* (*ti-yin di-í-in*

eme ie) became ill for the second time *(ci-ur-er s-ó-udu-hu)* and to the shari body guard, the marriage (giving) was not perfectuated given (*û-úr es o-l$_2$-un).*

with the verb **iú-li$_4$-ha-** to **iu** ‘not exist, disappear?’
es iú-li$_4$-ha-ai d-mu-378.1-én /Xu9/.

In the expression: **es rí-i b-l-ge$_2$-y… es rí-i y-au-ul-ha-ai**’ not knowing, not going’
*ku-û-un eme-*e$_4$*-en ci-ge-li$_2$ ta-u po t-abu-y-***i** *es rí-i b-l-ge$_2$-y GREAT h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-y ci-ge$_2$-li$_2$ es/18/ rí-i y-au-ul-ha-ai emu ui zhul-én eu-ul-ge$_2$-y* /Hu 17-18).
m-aû-er 227 ja-ar h-ui-ri-094.1 es rí-l-ha-ar (Yu34-71).
nai s-eu-li$_2$ es rí-l-ha-a-án ‘was very ill and was not giving birth’ (Jue36-5).
m-aû-er 227 ja-ar h-ui-ri-094.1 es rí-l-ha-ar (Yu34-71) ‘….???was not bestowed’.
*il ul$_2$ rí-l-ha-ai y-iá-ra-l-ha-ai (*Zhen 17-35).

12.5.2.2 THE PARTICLE UL$_2$ (336)

As we have seen (**12.5.2.1**) the particle **ul** may occur before the same verb as **es**:

eme b-qo b-il-234 eme-n ul$_2$ au-ul-ha-ai (Zhen13-17)
t-abu-al-ha-al es au-ul-ha-ai (Zhong40-23)

It also occurs before verbal forms:

tum n-on-de ul$_2$ y-eu-ur-u-ji$_2$ (Nu35-15)
‘it will not change during everlasting (*tum*) generations (*n-on*)

ul$_2$ aú-ur-ó-ui ul$_2$ t-em$_2$-y y-al-ha-al RECORD-g-er RECORD-g-én (Yu69)
‘not improved, not being changed, the record was recorded.

ul n-ai-ri-én m-ri-jï o-l$_2$-ha-ai (Xuan9-12).
‘the not harmonious villages got it’.

/26/
gur ai-s ji-en /26/ ai-en y-au a-án eme-er ul$_2$ au-ul-u-ul-g (Qing26-6).
san nian zhong /26/ *fu zhi li zai dao bu gai* Chin 三年中/26/ 父之 礼 在 道 不 改 (CWJ1329).
‘within three years /26/ the father ceremony and that of the mother did not change’ (They mourned without interruption three years long’).

12.5.3 Tense

12.5.3.1 GENERAL REMARKS

In the following I present verbal forms in past perfect. First I will introduce the two past participles in **-Vr** and **-Vn**, then the past perfect verbal suffixes **-l-un$_2$**, **l-ñ** and **-bun**, **-b-un$_2$** and **-b-ñ**.

The suffixes of past perfect will be followed by the suffixes of past continuous. **-Vy/Vi.**

The lists are not exhaustive, see also the ten verbs for more details. I included a few forms, the meaning of which is yet unknown, because they represent important morphonological features. Those items where I give the meaning can be followed up in the EL. The sigla **L** refers to the line of the Gaoshi inscription.

12.5.3.2 PAST PERFECT -VR

12.5.3.2.1 -ar (123)

a-ar (189-123) 'was, had existed', past perfect tense of **a-**, **L**17, 64x, an auxiliary, see also there.
au-ar (161-123), **au-a-ar** (161-189-123) 'had taken, got', 1x.
tal-hu-ar (195-151-123) 'had uprised, plundered', **L**17, 3x.
o-l$_2$-ha-ar (186-149-051-123), 'had been given', 4x.
s-qó-SMALL-l-ha-ar (244-169-188-261-051-123) 'had repaired', 3x, Chin *xiu* 修 C433.

12.5.3.2.2 -a-ar (189-123)

COMPOSE-a-ar (308-189-123) 'had composed', **L**2, 37x.
ETERNAL-li$_4$-ha-a-ar (063-310-051-123) 'had perpetuated, fixed, written down', **L**9, 4x.
p-od-a-ar (295-016-189-123), 'went back, had returned', 5x.
S-abu-a-ar (244-196-189-123). 3x, see **s-abu-o-or** below.
sui-l-ha-a-ar (238-261-051-189-123), 6x, also **sui-il-ha-ar** (238-302-051-123), 1x, **sui-il-ha-a-ar** (238-302-051-189-123), 'gave birth, had bore', 1x.
sh-iá-áng-l-ha-a-ar (028-274-280-261-051-189-123) **'**was praised', 3x, Chin *zan* 赞 C366.

ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar (245-249-261-051-189-123), 26x, in **HEAVEN ú ~.** 'the Reign title *Zhongxi* "Repeated splendour" (重熙1032-1055), **L**13.

12.5.3.2.3 -er (341)

h-ui-er (340-262-341), 'had arrived', 1x.
h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-er (340-262-235-112-341), 4x.
h-ui-ri-ge$_{2-}$én-er (340-262-235-112-361-341), 2x.
h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-te$_2$-er (340-262-235-112-356-341), 1x.
l-iu-ir-er (261-019-137-341) 'had died, *masculine*', 2x, Chin *beng* 崩 C449.
ñ-l-û-er (222-261-372-341), 'had opened', 7x. **L**13.
sui-er (238-341)'had been born', 22x, **L**13.
t-ge-er (247-349-341) 'had deceased, died' (*masc*), 24x, Chin *gu* 故, also **t-ge$_2$-er** (247-112-341), 2x, (Qing18-31, 23-23), **d-ge-er** (254-349-341), 1x (Jue1-6).
t-em$_2$-er (247-257-341), 'had granted', 15x, also **d-em$_2$-er** (254-257-341), 2x, Chin *feng* 封 CWJ911.
t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-er 247-257-261-112-341), 2x, **L**22, also **t-em$_2$-l-ge-er** (247-257-261-349-341), 12x, **d-em$_2$-l-ge-er** (254-257-261-349-341) 'had awarded (a title), had granted', **L**14, **d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-er** (254-257-261-112-341).
û-er (372-341), 'had given', 28x.

12.5.3.2.4 -or (076)

p-o-or (295-186-076), 2x, 'became' 'had excepted, removed', Chin *chu* 除, 2x, (076) former <ho>, ?also **po-or** (279-076), 13x.
MANAGE-or (142-076) 'had managed', 2x.
s-abu-s-or (244-196-244-076) 'had approached, assumed, undertook ;which was, that was immediately, had accession to', **L**19, 1x, also **s-abu-o-or** (244-196-186-076), 14x, **HEAVEN s-abu-o-or** (Qing9), **es s-abu-te$_2$-ó-o-or** (Hui14), **m-in s-abu-o-or** (Xing4).

12.5.3.2.5 -o-or 及 圠 (186-076)

This suffix has to be sparated from the masculine ordinal suffix of the numeral for five: **t-od-o-or 令币及圠** (247-016-186-076) ‘fifth, masculine’, **L**6, **L**13Chin *di wu* 第五 C437.

au-o-or 夬及圠 (161-186-076) ‘?’, 3x, in: **p-in go-er û-ul-g-er au-o-or** (Hu23), no gloss, **ci-g-ci-û-ul-g-de nai-l-ha-ar au-o-or** (Dao28), **m-ir-jï es au-o-or** (Liang18).

dau-o-or 尺及圠 (119-186-076), 3x, in: **eu-úr FOURTY dalu b-aû-er dau-o-or** (Wu23) ‘when he was 47 years old …..’.

ñ-au-o-or 伏夬及圠 (222-161-186-076), 1x, (Zhen45), no gloss, in **ul$_2$ ñ-au-o-or** .

s-abu-o-or 仐生 及圠 (244-196-186-076) ‘who suceeded, the following’, 14x, in: **s-abu-o-or qa 仐生及圠 丞** (244-196-186-076 053) ‘the heir, the succeeding khan’, Chin *si han* 嗣汗 C433, also **S-abu-a-ar 仐生为 朩**(244-196-189-123). 3x a name.

s-au-o-or 仐夬及圠 (244-161-186-076), 1x, (Zhen49-11), and in: **s-au-o-or-en d$_3$-ge$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y**, **1x**, (Zhen9-5) no gloss.

she-o-or 朱及圠 (315-186-076), 2x (Tai8-1, Jue2-46) **y-ar-u-ud m-ri-i she-o-or** ‘the *Yarud m-ri-i* tribal unit’, Chin *shi-lie* 石烈 CWJ1532, same as **sh-ri-e$_2$** 叉仳券 (028-235-348) ???.

y-au-o-or 丏夬及圠 (020-161-186-076), 3x (Zhen45, no gloss) in: **h-d$_3$-ge-y y-au-o-or.**

12.5.3.2.6 -ó-o-or 廾及圠 (090-186-076)

ai-il-ó-o-or 丰用廾及圠 (122-302-090-186-076) **‘?’**, 1x, (Xu23), no gloss.

ar-ó-o-or 朩廾及圠 (123-090-186-076) ‘governed’, 20x, (Dao5, Tu33, Xu35, Xu64), also **ar-ú-o-or 朩伞廾及圠** (123-245-090-186-076), 1x, (Zhuo21), **ar-ú-o-or 关 朩伞及圠** (123-245-186-076) (Gu17) , 1x in Heaven ~, **hu-as ar-ó-o-or 列冬 朩廾及圠**(151-174 123-090-186-076) ‘governed by pain’ (Song15)**.**

au-ñ-ó-o-or 夬伏廾及圠 (161-222-090-186-076) ‘?’, 2x, (Zhong3-6, Yu25-47).

au-ñ-ó-o-or-en 夬伏廾及圠冇 (161-222-090-186-076-140), ‘?’, 1x (Zhen9-27).

au-uni-ó-o-or 夬杏廾及圠 (161-059-090-186-076)‘?’, 1x, (Yu14). no gloss .

aú-ur$_2$-ó-o-or 尔化廾及圠 (210-236-090-186-076) ‘was getting better, had improved’, 4x.

b-ó-o-or 丹廾及圠 (311-090-186-076) ‘?’, 1x, (Tai10) **eme-er** ~, no gloss.

Dau-ul-ó-o-or 尺平廾及圠 (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.

hu-en$_2$-shi-ó-o-or (151-324-033-090-186-076), 3x, '?' **t-ai-i** ~ (Yu41).

hu-aju-ó-o-or (151-082.1-090-186-076) 'had pains, had misfortune', 1x, (Hu38).

m-ci-ó-o-or (133-162-090-186-076), 1x, (Xian8) in: *<s-mu-y-én har$_3$-ia-ur m-ci-ó-o-or ku-û-dú ETERNAL ku p-o-ri$_5$>.*

mor-ó-o-or (185-090-186-076), 2x, (Dao10-4, Zhi4-35) no gloss, in: **HEAVEN GOLD° t-iu-ir** ~see **HEAVEN t-iu-er** (243 247-019-341) 'a reign title, Heaven meeting', Chin *tian hui* 天会 C429.

n-oi$_2$-shi-ó-o-or (251-107-033-090-186-076)'?' (Hu14-2), no gloss, in: **n-oi$_2$-shi-ó-o-or ku-û-un.**

s-ul-l-ó-o-or (244-366-261-090-186-076) 1x, (Yu59-49), no gloss, in: **MANAGE-i t-úr eme-er mú-SMALL s-ul-l-ó-o-or sh-ia kus-a-ar-i.**

t-ur$_2$-ó-o-or (247-236-090-186-076) '?', 1x, (DiX18), no gloss, Wu-Janhunen 96 read: *da-ur-ó-o-ho.*

Û-li$_2$-ó-o-or sh-a-rí (372-080-090-186-076 028-189-069), 'a person's name' (Yong14), no gloss.

udu-ó-o-or (355-090-186-076) in HEAVEN **udu-ó-o-or** (Di12).

Udu-ó-o-or (355-090-186-076) in: *<par dur ri$_4$-iú n-u par jur udu-ó-o-or t-un eme-t b-hu-án>* (Di17) Chin *shi si ru nu shier (renming) si nü hai* 十四乳奴 十二 (人名) 四女孩 '14 newborn *Nu*, 12 *Udu-ó-o-or,* four years old female children'.

12.5.3.3 SUMMARY

The past perfect suffix **-Vr** has three basic forms depending on the last vowel of the verbal stem: **-ar**, **-er** and **-or**. The first has two variants **-ar** and **-a-ar**, the last has three variants **-or**, **-o-or** and **-ó-o-or.** I assume, that the longer forms are due to secondary lengthening due to word stress. The suffix is used to represent both verbal and nominal (qualifier) functons as in English: *Peter* baked *the bread*, *Peter sold the* baked *bread.* In some cases we can identify the masculine gender behind these forms.

12.5.3.4 PAST PERFECT **-L-UN$_2$**

Some verbs have their past perfect form in **-l-un$_2$.** See **t-em$_2$-l-un$_2$**, **t-em$_2$-l-ge-l-un$_2$** and its orthographical variants **12.5.1.7**. In some cases it functions as a verbal noun. Many verbs have two forms, with **-l-un$_2$** and **-l-ñ** as in **na-as-l-un$_2$** (139-174-261-144) 'remarry', past tense Chin *xuhun* 续婚 C399 and **na-as-l-ñ**

(139-174-261-222), 1x, (Xu47-9), **h-ui-d-l-un$_2$** (340-262-254-261-144), 11x, and **h-ui-d-l-ñ** (340-262-254-261-222), 7x. or **p-o-du$_2$-l-un** (295-186-304-261-144) 'got rid of, eliminated, removed, divorced ?, Chin *chu* 除 CWJ1443, and **p-o-du$_2$-l-ñ** (295-186-304-261-222) 'became something (else), turned into', Chin *chengwei* 成为 etc...

au-ul-un$_2$ (161-366-144) 'was changed, exempted etc.', 6x.
bod-l-un$_2$ (309-261-144) '(to be, to make) personally, in person', 5x, Chin *shen* 身 'body, person' CWJ 1504 (Hu16).
h-ui-d-l-un$_2$ (340-262-254-261-144), 11x, 'has arrived'.
na-as-l-un$_2$ (139-174-261-144) **'**was remarried', 3x, past tense Chin *xuhun* 续婚 C399.
o-l$_2$-ha-al-un$_2$ (186-149-051-098-144)) 'was granted, awarded', Chin *shou* 授 C414.
om-úr-l-un$_2$ (092-245-261-144) in: **au-a om-úr-l-un$_2$** 'got raised (to an office)' (Xiang23-6).
p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$ 'got rid of, was eliminated, removed, divorced ?, Chin *chu* 除 CWJ1443 (Nan26, Yu21).
rí-l-un$_2$ 'born' (069-261-144), 17x.
sui-l-un$_2$ 'born' (238-261-144), 6x.
t-l-un$_2$ (247-261-144) 'died', Chin *hong* 薨 C441 to **t-ge$_2$-*** (247-112).
t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un$_2$ **(**247-257-261-349-261-144) in: **ir-i-li$_2$ t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un$_2$** (137-339-080 247-257-261-349-261-144) 'was changed, was upgraded (a position) also **d-em$_2$-l-ge-un$_2$** (Xu12-32).
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.
232-l-un$_2$ (232-261-144) 'take charge of', Chin *ling* 领 C423.

12.5.3.5 PAST PERFECT **-L-Ñ**

bod-l-l-ge$_2$-l-ñ (309-261-261-112-261-222), '?', 1x, (Zhen18-16).
h-ui-d-l-ñ (340-262-254-261-222), 7x, in: **h-ui-d-l-ñ au-ui-er** (340-262-254-261-222 161-262-341) 'having arrived to the third (grade rank) (Pu18) 7x.
k-li$_2$-ge-l-ñ (283-080-349-261-222) 'it was said' (Yu22).
mu-l-ñ (224-261-222) '?' (Xu43).
n-de-l-ge-l-ñ (251-205-261-349-261-222) '?', 1x, (Gu12-26).
n-de-l-ñ (251-205-261-222) '?' (Zhong2).
na-as-l-ñ (139-174-261-222), 'remarried', 1x, (Xu47).

p-o-du$_2$-l-ñ 业及闲朩伏 (295-186-304-261-222) 'became something (else), turned into', Chin *chengwei* 成为.
rí-l-ñ 共朩伏 (069-261-222), 'was born', 8x,[82].
sui-l-ñ 佃朩伏 (238-261-222), 'was born', 6x.
t-em$_2$-y-l-ñ 令金丙朩伏伏 (247-257-020-261-222), 'was awarded', 1x.
û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ 冗平厺朩伏 (372-366-112-261-222), 'was given', 9x and its orthographic variants see **12.5.1.10.**
y-eu-ur$_2$-l-ñ 丙 去 化朩伏 (020-067-236-261-222), '?', 2x (Yu15-3, 26-3).

12.5.3.6 SUMMARY

The two suffixes **-l-un$_2$** and **l-ñ** have the same function and origin and are only variants. See:

sui-l-un$_2$ 佃朩叉 (238-261-144), 6x,
sui-l-ñ 佃朩伏 (238-261-222), 6x, **12.5.1.1**,
rí-l-un$_2$ 共朩叉 (069-261-144), 17x,
rí-l-ñ 共朩伏 (069-261-222), 8x.

12.5.3.7 PAST PERFECT **-BUN, B-UN2, -B-Ñ**

This suffix is also very frequent and written in three forms: **-bun 屮** (288) earlier transcribed as **-bir**, **-b-un$_2$ 丹叉** (311-144) earlier transcribed as **-b-ir$_2$** and **-b-ñ 丹伏** (311-222). As I pointed out concerning the Khitan word for acting filial piety (see line 1 note) the Chinese transcription is the most important argument in favour of the reading of this suffix. The suffix form **-bun 屮** (288) occurs 229x, the form **-b-un$_2$**, 55x, and the suffix **-b-ñ** 333x in the corpus. I quote here only a few verbs with this suffix:

bod-l-b-ñ 国朩丹伏 (309-261-311-222) '(to be, to make) personally, in person, personal lineage', Chin *qinzi* 亲自, **L**15.
bod-l-bun 国朩屮 (309-261-288), 7x.
bod-l-b-un$_2$ 国朩丹叉 (309-261-311-144), 6x.

ci-i-shi-d-bun 术关忝坌 屮 (162-339-033-254-288), 15x, 'to act filial piety'.
ci-i-shi-d-b-un$_2$ 术关忝坌 丹叉 (162-339-033-254-311-144), 10x.

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[82] *qa-ha-an n-o p-o-ri$_5$ sui-i ia-277 rí-l-ñ HEAVEN h-ñ ú-dû-l-ha-a-án h-e de-i én-i bai-er h-ui-ri-ge-én ji-en p-û-úr che-a-aju ci-uh-ul-ge-én*' She became the spouse of the Kagan, and gave birth to the blessed gift. Chin *kehanzhi pei ou cheng weisheng* 可汗之 配偶 成为生, (Ren23-10) *pu-shi-ñ-en i-ri rí-l-ñ m-o b-qo s-om-ji tai shï* (Ling8-12), for *rí-l-ñ* CWJ938 gives with ? mark *de* 得

c-i-shi-d-b-ñ (162-339-033-254-311-222), 48x.
c-i-shi-du-b-ñ (162-339-033-089-311-222), 1x (Yu22-23), ChinT *chishideben* 赤是得本, YCh *tʂʰi ʂʐ̩ təj pun,* **L**1n, Chin *xiao* 孝 C408.

or-l-bun (076-261-288) '(to be the) first day of the lunar month', K98, Chin *shuo* 朔 C384.
or-l-b-ún$_2$ (076-261-311-144), 2x, 'sequence, order, preface, initial', 34x, Chin *xu* 序. K111, CWJ 1239.
or-l-b-ñ (076-261-311-222) 'first day of the lunar month', Chin *shuo* 朔 C384.

p-o-l$_2$-bun (295-186-149-144), 'became, was appointed to', 14x.
p-o-l$_2$-b-ñ (295-186-149-311-222), 12x.
p-o-l$_2$-b-un$_2$ (295-186-149-311-144), 5x.

tu-úr-bun (202-097-288) 'died', 23x.
tu-úr-b-un$_2$ (202-097-311-144), 4x.
tu-úr-b-ñ (202-097-311-222), 7x.

In the corpus only:
y-eu-ur$_2$-b-ñ (020-067-236-311-222) 'changed, moved', 2x, Chin *qian* 迁 CWJ1137.

12.5.3.8 PAST CONTINUOUS -**VY**/-**VI**

12.5.3.8.1 -ai (122)

a-ai (189-122) 'was existing', 140x, Chin no gloss or *zai* 在, **L**6, **L**10, **L**11, **L**12, **L** 19.
a-al-ha-ai (189-098-051-122) 'converb of a causative form of *a*- 'was put in charge, was making X', 20x.
au-ul-ha-ai (161-366-051-122) 'was changing position to'.
bai-d-ha-ai (061-254-051-122) , 'was carrying a coffin to a burial place, was placing a coffin in a memorial hall, was burying' Chin *bin* 殡 C375.
b-o-l$_2$-ha-ai (311-186-149-051-122) 'was becoming' Chin *chu (cheng wei)*除 (成为) C466, see **p-o-(l$_2$)-**.
ca-ul-ha-ai (022-366-051-122) 'was attacked?'.
COMPOSE-l-ha-ai (308-261-051-122) 'was composing'.
dai-l$_2$-l-ha-ai (017-149-261-051-122) 'was fighting, making war, was attacking ???', **L**22, 6x.

dau-ul-ha-ai (119-366-051-122), ‘was lead’, 5x.

hu-ém-li$_4$-ha-ai (151-270-310-051-122) ‘was managing’, ChinT *guan li* 管理 C403.

jau-ul-ha-ai (015-366-051-122) ‘was meeting with, was calling on, was interviewing?’, Chin no gloss, **L**26.

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).

o-l$_2$-ha-ai (186-149-051-122), ‘was granting’, 21x.

on-a-ai (154-189-122) ‘was dropping, was letting to fall’, Chin *jiang* 降 C403.

p-ar-ha-ai (295-123-051-122), ‘was chasing’, 4x.

p-o-l$_2$-ha-ai (295-186-149-051-122) ‘was appointing to an office, was investing’, 49x, Chin *chu* 除 (*chengwei* 成为).

p-o-l$_2$-ha-a-ai (295-186-149-051-189-122) ‘was becoming (an official)’, 1x, Chin *chengwei* 成为.

s-a-al-a-ai (244-189-098-189-122) ‘was taking office, was appointing to an office’, Chin *ren* 任 C434.

s-abu-ai (244-196-122) ‘was suceeding, entering the throne’.

s-qó-SMALL-l-ha-ai (244-169-188-261-051-122) ‘was commanding’, Chin *ming* 命 C433.

sh-iá-áng-l-ha-ai (028-274-280-261-051-122) was praising’, Chin *zan* 赞 C366.

t-abu-al-ha-ai (247-196-098-051-122), ‘was burying’, 2x, also **t-abu-al-ha-a-ai** (247-196-098-051-189-122), 1x.

t-od-ha-ai (247-016-051-122), ‘?’, 1x.

tal-hu-ai (195-151-122), ‘was uprising’, 2x.

tau-su-l-ha-ai (029-041-261-051-122), 15x, also **tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ai** (029-041-090-366-051-122), ‘was advancing’, 8x, Chin no gloss **L**17, **L**24, **L**25 .

ú-dû-l-ha-ai (245-249-261-051-122), ‘was prospering’, 1x.

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.

12.5.3.8.2 (e)-y (020)

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.

COMPOSE$_3$-y (316.1-020) (Hong11-5) also **COMPOSE-y** (308-020) (Chao17-8), 1x, ‘was composing’.

ci-uh-ul-ge-y / (162-172-366-112/349-020) ‘was conquering’.

d-ge-y (254-349-020) ‘was dying, after, following the death’ .

eu-ul-ge-y (067-366-349-020) ‘was not existing’, Chin *wu* 无 C381.

h-du$_3$-ge-y (340-089-349-020) 16x, also **h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-y** (340-089-112-020) ‘???? was crossing, throughout, during’.

h-ui-ri-ge-y in: **g-ri h-ui-ri-ge-y** (334-235 340-262-235-349-020) ‘”was returning and arriving” a general assessment of every official who has served a certain term’, Chin *kao man* 考满, ‘exam full’, C474.

k-li$_2$-ge$_2$-y (283-080-112-020) ‘was saying, it is said’, Chin *wei* 渭, **L**15, also **k-li$_2$-ge-y** (283-080-349-020) , Chin *wei* 谓 C455.

na$_2$-li$_2$-ge$_2$-y (318-080-112-020), ‘was defeating’, also **na$_2$-li$_2$-ge-y** (318-080-144), 2x. Chin no gloss, **L**19.

t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y (247-257-261-349-020) ‘was granting’ *feng* 封 **L**16, **L**18, **L**23, **L**24, **L**25.

t-em$_2$-y (247-257-020) ‘was noting’.

û-ul-ge$_2$-y (372-366-112-020) ‘was giving’, 3x[83], also **û-ul-ge-y** (372-366-349-020), 6x,[84] **u-ul-ge$_2$-*y*** (131-366-112-020)3x[85].

12.5.3.8.3 -oi (347), oi$_2$ (107)

o-oi$_2$ (186-107) ‘was granting, was giving, was awarding’, Chin *shou* 授, **L**14, **L**16, **L**21, **L** 24, see also **232-y o-oi$_2$** (232-020 186-107) ‘was awarding’, Chin *ling shou* 领授 **L**16, **L**21.

Perhaps a grammaticalized form:

y-qó-oi$_2$ (Xu7, 39) **y-qu-ui** (020-246-262) ‘further, repeat(edly), again’, 22x, also **y-qó-ui** (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$_2$** (020-169-107) ‘again’, 9x, Chin *fu* 复 C358, ? a past continous form from **y-qu-** which occurs once (Xian16-30).

Not clear, undeciphered:

xo-ô-oi$_2$ (057-252-107) (Gu117-9, 18-5, 15, 19-13).

ci-ô-oi$_2$ (162-252-107) (Yu9).

n-o-oi (251-186-347) (Yu36).

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[83] Zhong 29-17,Yu 43-10, Xian 17-28

[84] Xu 51-41, Xu 52-9, Hong 18-14, Hong 18-29, Hong 20-2, Nan 31-30

[85] Nu 21-12, Dih 19-13, Dih 21-35

12.5.3.8.4 -ui (262)

au-ul-û-ui ‘has been exempted’.
au-ur$_2$-ó-ui (161-236-090-262) ‘was getting better’, Chin *hao zhuan* 好转, C404.
eu-ui (067-262) ‘was not existing, did not exist, died, finished, ended’, Chin *zu* 卒, *wu* 无 C381.
hu$_2$-ó-ui (014-090-262) ‘was uniting, was unifying’, Chin *tong* 统, C360.
ñ-l-û-ui (222-261-372-262) ‘was starting (opening)’, Chin *qi* (*qai*) 启 开, CWJ 421, **L**13.
o-ui (186-262) ‘was granting, awarding’, Chin *shou* 授 C414.
ó-ui1 (090-262) ‘was giving’, Chin 1. *shou* 授, see **u-** C386.
p-ó-ui-i in: **y-iu-te$_2$ p-ó-ui-i** (020-289-356 295-090-262-339) ‘was in ruins, was collapsing’, Chin *tuiran* 颓然 C365.
s-abu-ui y-au-ul-ha-ai ‘was proceeding the successing’ (Hu16).
t-ul-u-ui (247-366-131-262) ‘was rebelling ?’, 2x, Chin no gloss, **L**17.
tou-ul-û-ui ‘was increasing, augmenting, conferring, forwarding’, Chin *jia* 加, CWJ 959 .
y-au-ui (020-161-262) , ‘was doing according to the prescriptions, customs’, 12x.

12.5.3.8.5 Summary

Mongolic has a suffix -*lAgAi,* as in *ükülegei* ‘he has died’. This suffix is abbreviated to -*lAi* or *lA* in modern Mongolic. The Khitan suffix is clearly -V$_4$y, sometimes written -V$_4$i. Its connection with Mongolic is unclear.

12.5.4 VERBS OF EXISTENCE

Verbs of existence are used in predicative constructions without or with deverbal nominals, converbs or participals, see **16.** REMARKS ON THE SYNTAX.

a- ‘to be’

Used as simple predicate:

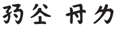
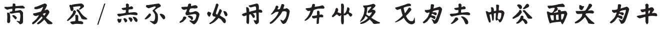
HEAVEN ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar hong di-en p-û-úr a-ai tau-su-ó-ui au-ul-ha-ai (Yong15-23) ‘he was the descendant of Emperor Xingzong, and was forwarded’.

ol nai hor-u ku-û-un /6/ n-ai-jï a-ai (Xiang6) ‘all leaders and the black (common) people were in harmony (whom to elect the next ruler).

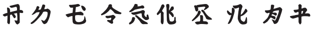
used with deverbal construction as predicate

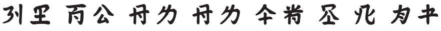
ci-ar au-ul-ha-ai *a-án* (Zhen14-4) ‘earlier (his position) was changed’ [earlier changing was].

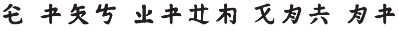
Nominal construction

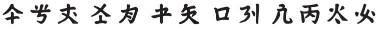
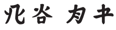
ji-d b-qo hor-u tai ong-on deu-un b-qo ar-l-o sh-a-rí go-er 025-i *a-ai*  

‘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’ **L**6 [adopted son was].

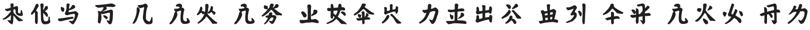
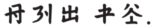
b-qo emu° t-ang-ur$_2$ tai shï *a-ai*  ‘his one child (only) was Ta-ang-ur$_2$ *tai shï’* (**L**10).

hu-oh eme-n b-qo b-qo s-299 tai shï *a-ai*  ‘son of their daughter’ (*hu-oh eme-n b-qo*) is (*a-ai*) S-299 Grand Preceptor (*tai-shï*) **L**12.

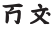
par ai-de dor p-ai-sï-en sh-a-rí *a-ai*  ‘in the year ten [of the *Zhongxi* period, in 1041] he was the *langjun* of the Bureau of the Seals and Tallies’ **L**14.

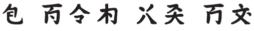
s-iau-qú ém-a ai-de te-hu g-iu-ung-un shï-ï *a-ai*   ‘(in the) blue goat year, again (he) was the Comissioner *(g-iu-ung-un shï-ï)*’, **L**19.

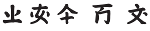
plural

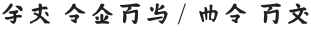
ci-ur-én eme ku g-ui g-e p-üe-z-iú na-ha-án-er har-hu s-iang g-ung-un b-qo b-hu-án *ai-d*  .

‘(from the) second wife G-ui Ge *p-üe-z-iú*, (of Go-S-a-am)(who was the daughter of) the maternal uncle’s Har-hu Chancellor (*s-iang g-ung*) (their) children and grandchildren are (alive)’ **L**12.

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*.

gur eme-t-en/5/ h-ib y-ie  ‘all (desendants) of the three wives are alive’ (**L**4-5).

p-úr-s *y-ie*  ‘the descendants are alive’ **L**5.

YOUNG-qú t-em$_2$-y-én go-t *y-ie*  ‘were considered to be young and were (remained) at home’ (Nu28).

g-ün pu-shi-ñ d-em$_2$-l-ge-y y-ie ‘(after she was given in marriage) she got the title milady of the county’ (Xian25) Chin *jun fu-ren* 郡 夫人.

m-ô$_2$-qú d-iu-ir ia-277 od-a-ai pu g-ui-de û-ul-ge$_2$-y y-ie 叉公夬 仝丙刃 才叅 币为丰 分 九火矢 只平杰丙 丙文 ‘the elder daughter D-iu-ir was given in marriage by good luck (*ia-277)* to *Od-a-ai Pu-gu.*

b-u-3 丹及 (311-131)[86] ‘copula, to be’, Chin *shi* 是 C466, also **p-u**.

079 s-iang g-ung b-u 坨 仐丬 九太 丹及(Nan4) ‘079 general was’ (Nan4).

ku-ud-ñ tai-b-en n-ra p-u 几火伏 丕丹有 公左 / 业及‘(this) is the tomb of Ku-ud-ñ *tai-bo*’ (Di33).

The words of existence used as parts of the predicate are well known in the Mongolic languages. Khitan **a-** and its extended forms can be compared with Monogolic *a-,* though the extended forms and their functions are not always the same. Khitan **b-u-3** can be compared with Mongolic *bui-* ‘to be’. Khitan **y-ie** is of Chinese origin.

12.5.5 VERB of NON EXISTENCE

The verb of non existence is **iu** (019) ‘1. not exist, dead, 2. disappear’, 53x, K92, also **iú** 火 (289), 18x, **y-iu-u** 丙丙及 (020-019-131), 1x, (Dao6-13), Chin 1. *zu* 卒 2. *wu* 无 C361, **L**6, **L**8, **L**11, see Turkic *yoq* with similar grammatical functions. We have to distinguish the function of the same glyph **iú** 火 (289) which occurs as the suffix of the dative-ablative case after vocalic finals: see NOUNS, **12.1.2.3.5.**

s-ém-y-ñ iu 仐仝丙伏 丙 (244-270-020-222 019) ‘became ill and died’ (Dao35-10).

GREAT dor-a-án par siu° qa-ha-as ai par jur sär l-iau-qu m-ri or-l-bun jur$_2$ tau siu° m-ri när eu-úr SEVENTY xa-she-de iu p-u-l$_2$-b-ñ.

又 丂为出 乇 术 㐀㐀冬 丰 乇 圣 艾 艹兮余 叉化 扎艹屮 丁 乇 术 叉化 尺 圡交 门 不尗矢 丙 业及子丹伏

‘In the year 10 of GREAT *dor-a-án* (1170), which was a white tiger year, month two, a red horse month according to the lunar calendar, when he was at the age of seventy, he died (became dead)’, (Zhen36-26).

ñ-ó-úr m-a pu l-ang ju-ung-un b-qo iu p-o-l$_2$-b-ñ.
伏廾交 叉为 分 艹气 马太火 丹力 丙 业及子丹伏
‘the son of L-ang Ju-ung (from the) Ma tribe died (became dead)’ (Zhen40-7).

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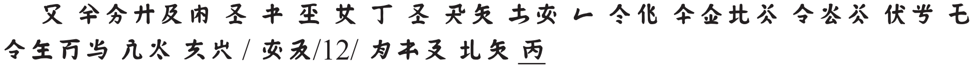
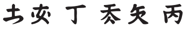
[86] The copula may be read also as ***bau-*** or ***bou-***.

Chin *bu ma fu lang zhong zhi zi cu chengwei* 部马府郎中之子卒成为 CWJ1135.

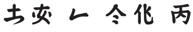
GREAT ú-dû-ó-o-ón jur ai nem sär jur$_2$ jur när-de eu-úr THIRTY t$_2$-ur s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er t-ge-er ñ-iau emu t-abu-y-én g-ung j-iú úr-u /12/ a-ar-un$_2$ or-de iu.

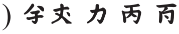


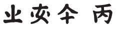
‘In the second year of the Da an period (1087) month eight, day 22, when he was 34, he became ill and died, the sibling one (*ñ-iau emu*) T-abu-y-én princess (*g-ung j-iú*) had no heir earlier’ (Hong11-12-3).

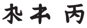
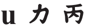
eu-úr jur$_2$ ishi-de iu  (Hong18-18) ‘died at age 29’.

eu-úr THIRTY t$_2$-ur iu ‘died at age 34’ (Hong18-33).

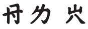
eu-úr par nem-de ci-ar iu  ‘at age 18, died early (premature)’ (Hong20-7).

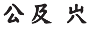
YOUNG-qú na iu (Nu21-15)  ‘the young (daughter) died early’.

p-úr-s iu ‘descendants did not existed’  (Zhi10-46, 11-5).

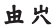
The expression **iu p-o-l$_2$-b-ñ** ‘died (became dead)’ (Zhen40), Chin *cu chengwei* 卒成为 also **iu p-u-l$_2$-b-ñ** (Zhen36-26) is occurring only in these two inscriptions, perhaps because **iu** has no past tense. Khitan had several forms to express the early premature death, as **ci-ar iu**  (162-123 019), **na iu**  (139 019).

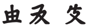
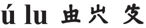
We have also a variant form **iú-** (289), ‘to not exist. As in.

b-qo iú ‘had no child’ (Yu57-16, Jue8-45, 36-47, 38-48).

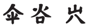
n-o iú  (Qing2-17) ‘had no spouse’.

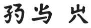
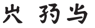
A special case is **ta-an g-úr-en iú qa** (Guang4-3). CWJ gives the following glosses *dan guo zhi sheng han* 丹国之 圣汗 ‘the holy king of the Dan kingdom (former Bohai)’, on CWJ1101. This is an error, as it is clear from a personal letter by Peng Daruhan (2024.05.17), it it should have been glossed by *gu* 故 ‘deceased’, that means ‘the deceased, the former king of Dan.

It also occurs after names of colour as in: **har** ‘black’, **har-iú**  (321-289), as in **har$_2$ iú m ri ai** (Wu49-8) ‘black horse year’see more examples in EL s.v. **har.**

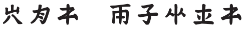
In case with **har**, it alternates with **u** (131) as in **har-u lu**  (321-131 208) ‘black dragon (year)’, (Xuan26), Chin *hei long* 黑龙 C469, **har-iú lu**  ‘black dragon (year)’ (Di22) Chin *renchen* 壬辰. According to Wu Yingzhe (quoted in a letter by Peng Daruhan 2024-05-17), **har-u** is expressing masculine gender (see Mongolic *qara*) while **har-iu** expresses feminine gender (as Mongolic *qaragčin*), see also CWJ 562-563.

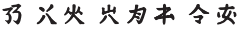
This function may occur also in names, where it distinguishes male and female forms of the same personal name: **Pu S-a N-u** (Jue5) **Pu s-a N-iú** (aú-i) (Tu5). This feminine suffix occurs 8 times see **13.** GENDER.

The glyph **iú** (289) is occurring also in Khitan transcriptions of Chinese names: The Khitan name **z-ï iú**  (258-353 289) (Wu45-2) is glossed *zi yu* 子與 on CWJ1406, Zi Yu is a fictional character in Zhuangzi 庄子, a classic work of Taoist school 道家.

A similar case may be **Ji-én iú**  (Hu27, Jue2). This was glossed by *wu zhan* 吾展 which is the Chinese name of Yelü Renxian. Wu supposes that the Khitan transcription was wrong and it may have been rather written as  **Iú Ji-én**. (letter of Peng Daruhan 2024.05.17). This form may occur also in **qita-s ji-en iú** (Jue24-16) with <-en> and not <én> glossed as Chin *qidan zhongwu* 契丹中吾.

There does exist a verb **iú-a-** (289-189), whith 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.

iú-a-ar dai-l_2*-l-ha-ar*  perhaps 'annihilated, fought' (Xing21-2).

es h-ui iú-a-ar t-úr  'did not arrive/ irreversibly died'.
(*iú-a-ar t-úr*) (Xing29-4), only here.

12.6 THE CONVERB

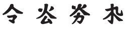
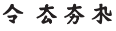
The converbal suffixes denote an action performed simultaneously with the main or an other action. Theoretically in a converbal construction the semantics of the construction contains an additional meaning to the simple addition of the two meanings.

The converbal suffix *-ci-* denotes an action performed simultaneously with the main or an other action. See the Mongolic suffix *-čU/jU,* which occurs in non classical Mongolic languages as *-či/ji,* see Poppe 1964, 96.

12.6.1 CONVERBS in -CI

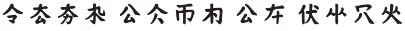
Not pertaining here are the suffix **-ci** which occur in personal and geographic names and another **-ci** which occurs as suffix denoting member of a social group, and vocations. The syllable **-ci** also occurs in transcriptions of Chinese: **S-ên-ci qa-ha-an** Chin *xianzhi kehan* 鲜质可汗 CWJ 1340, mentioned in the Liaoshi as *xianzhi* 鲜質 (質=质), see WF p.88.

Some examples

t-ge-e-ci  (247-349-348-162), 'to have died', 2x, **t-ge$_2$-e$_2$-ci**  (247-112-109-162), 1x.

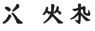
p-úr-s tal-hu-ai-li$_2$ t-ge-e-ci n-o-ó-ur tau-su-ó-ul-hu (Nan34-4).

'the descendants were robbed and died , (therefore) the family (*n-o-ó-úr*) was advanced', [robbed deathly].

ñ-qó-du$_2$ t-ge$_2$-e$_2$-ci n-ô-od-en n-ar ñ-l-û-ui .

'(for burying) into the cave, the deceased spouses' tomb (*n-ar*) was opened',

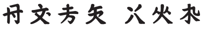
Chin *xue gu pei ou mu qi* 穴 故 配偶墓 启 CWJ 1219 (Zhi22).

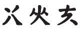
h-ui-ci  (340-262-162) 'arriving to', the meaning is, that somebody turned to, was arriving at somewhere, and something happened, 24x, Chin *zhi* 至 C479.

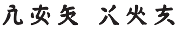
ju-un 239-d-er h-ui-ci /26/ *eu-úr SIXTY jur-de y-qu-oi$_2$ p-iau t-ge-l-ge-y* (Nan25-48).

'he returned to the summer resorts (fields), (and) being 62 years old became.

again (ill), passed away' [coming back died].

B-ie-ên-de h-ui-ci  (311-327-073-205 340-262-162) 'having arrived (returned) at Bian…(he became ill and died)…' (Zhen18), Chin *bian yu zhi* 汴 于至 C467.

h-ui-j  (340-262-104).

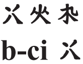
g-úr-de h-ui-j  (334-097-205 340-262-104) 'returning to the country' Chin *guo yu zhi* 国于至 (Yu13-15).

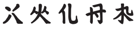
h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-ci (340-262-235-112-162).

ul$_2$ ci-i-shi-d-b-ñ eme-er cu-de h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-ci k-li$_2$-û-ji-d (Qing26-35).

'they have returned to Cu, because of the extramely unfilial women—so was said'.

bu xiao dao ji zhi wei 不孝道极至 谓 (Qing26).

h-ui-ci  (340-262-162).

h-ui-ri-b-ci  (340-262-235-311-162), 1x.

ta-ang-en ki-ên l-ing-de h-ui-ci g-iu-ung t-ie-ên y-iú-te$_2$ p-ó-ui-i dau-ñ ul$_2$ (Lang2-8).

‘when he was arriving to the Tang tombs (*ki-ên l-ing)* the hall of the palace was collapsed’[87].

Chin *tang zhi gan ling yu zhi gong dian tuiran* 唐 之乾 陵 于 至 宫 殿颓然 CWJ895.

s-i g-ing-de h-ui-ci nai-d-er hu-áng al-ha-a-én (Zhong16-25).

‘Returning to the western capital he ??? the leaders’.

ju-un 239-d-er h-ui-ci /26/ *eu-úr SIXTY jur-de y-qu-oi*$_2$ *p-iau t-ge-l-ge-y* (Nan25-48).

‘having returned to the summer resorts (fields), (and) being 62 years old and being again (ill). passed away’.

udu-378.1-dú h-ui-ci i-ri-de-i an-i au-a-ar (Nan24-39).

‘after turning back to the ordu he was getting that (*an*-i?) title’.

12.6.2 CONVERBS in -LI$_2$ and -LI$_2$-er

-li$_2$

na-as-s-li$_2$ *sui-e-ci b-hu-án* ‘second marriage born children, children born from the second marriage’ (Yong15).

nai s-eu-li$_2$ *es rí-l-ha-a-án* ‘was very ill and was not giving birth’ (Jue36-5).

eu-úr SIXTY dalu-de cau-úr ji-en-i 024-ó-ui-li$_2$[88] *m-ri on-s-li*$_2$ *bod tu-úr-bun t-ge-y s-iang g-ung-en i-ri t-em*$_2$*-l-ge-oi (=er)* (Xiang12-23).

‘he got the posthumous title of Duke (*xiang gung*) because when he was sixty seven years old, being hit (???*024-ó-ui-li*$_2$) in the midst of a war/battle, the horse was falling, (while) his body was deadly hit (*tu-úr-bun*),’.

s-om-de n-o-l$_2$*-ha-ai tu-úr-bun om-úr tu-úr-s-li*$_2$ *HEAVEN neu-e*$_2$*-en ci-iá-ar*$_2$ *a-án* (DiX7-17).

‘when he was in the middle of the *som* (county), he died, the heavenly Earth (mother) was ?? following’…

ku bai-s-en ci-eu l-ge-én-en sui-li$_2$ *rí-l-un*$_2$ *go-t ja-ri-ha-ar* (Xu56-16)-no gloss, not clear, but the expression **sui-li$_2$ rí-l-un$_2$** has to be the same as **rí-i sui-l-ñ** ‘bestowed birth’, Chin *cisheng* 赐生, see EL.

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[87] see Shimunek 2017 276 slightly differing

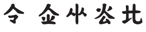
[88] Only parallel: *g-úr-en ui-de 024-ó-ui-li*$_2$ (Hai8)

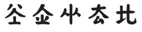
A special expression is: **om-úr s-eu-li$_2$** ‘early illness, soon after becoming ill’ “after becoming a premature illness…”, 8x.

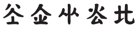
om-úr s-eu-li$_2$ y-eu-ur-b-ñ eu-ul-ge$_2$-én pu-shi-ñ-en s-om t-qó-a-as s-ón-qó-s$_2$ em-110 ci-eu lu$_3$-úr dai-ri$_5$ a-al-hu-er (Zhen44).

‘(after) the early illnes (*om-úr s-eu-li$_2$*) [of the milady] turned to death (*y-eu-ur-b-ñ eu-ul-ge$_2$-én*), he has received (*dai-ri$_5$ a-al-hu-er)* the (offices) “*s-om t-qó*-s”, the “*s-ón-qó-s*”, the fortified cities (*em-110*), the prefecture (*ci-eu*) *lu$_3$-úr* of the milady (*pu-shi-ñ-en*)’.

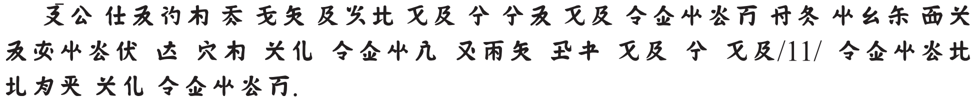
The expression ‘being forwarded, being appointed and….’ occurs in three orthographic variants:

t-em$_2$-l-ge-li$_2$  (247-257-261-349-080), 2x (Gu11-1, Wu14-35).

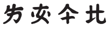
d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-li$_2$  (254-257-261-112-080), 3x (Zhong21-7, 21-18, 23-39).

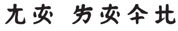
d-em$_2$-l-ge-li$_2$  (254-257-261-349-080), 2x (Zhong7-50, Xu12-32).

un$_2$-n mu$_2$-u-ji$_3$-en ishi tau-de o-s$_2$-li$_2$ sh-o pu pu-u sh-o t-em$_2$-l-ge-y b-as l-iá-ai$_2$ 025-i u-úr-l-ge-ñ ol nai-en i-ri t-em$_2$-l-g m-in-de 160-ai sh-o pu sh-o/11/ t-em$_2$-l-ge-li$_2$ or-a-an i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-y (Gu10/11).

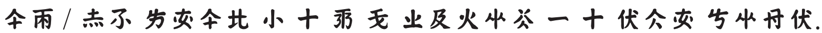


‘After the enthronement of the present Holy (Emperor)[89] was perfectuated (*o-s$_2$-li$_2$),* he was forwarded to the office of the deputy prefecture *fu shuai,* and then L-iá-ai$_2$ (?) has adopted him, (*025-i u-úr-l-ge-ñ)* and all offices were forwarded to him and he was appointed to the Mausoleum as *shuai fu shuai* /11/ and later he got (also) the title’.

tu-úr-s-li$_2$  (202-097-244-080), 2x.

om-úr tu-úr-s-li$_2$  (092-097 202-097-244-080) ‘soon after his death’ (DiX7-17).

s-in ong-on tu-úr-s-li$_2$ dele si$_2$ jau tau p-o-ud-l-er hoi si$_2$ ñ-ô-úr dor-l-b-ñ (Di5-15).



‘after the death of Sin ong, he became (*p-o-ud-l-er)* the punitive officer of south-west, and the north-west circuit (was him) submitted’.

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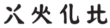
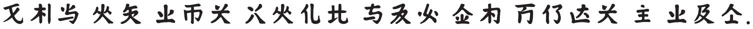
[89] *un$_2$-n mu$_2$-u-ji$_3$-en ishi tau-de* Chin *jinzhi jiuwuyu* 今之 九五于

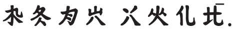
h-ui-ri-li$_2$,  ‘after having returned’, 2x.

sh-058-én ui-de p-od-i h-ui-ri-li$_2$ én$_2$-u-un em$_2$-en y-228-ol-i kei p-o-ri$_5$ (Nu17-22).



‘after having returned to Sh-058-én ui, he became the Manager of the imperial chariot of the city of the Tent’.

ci-as-a-iú h-ui-ri-li$_2$ (Jue28-8).



‘while, soon after, arriving by (imperial) order’.

h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-li$_2$ (340-262-235-112-080), 4x, Chin *zhi* 至 CWJ968.

emu° p-m-de h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-li$_2$ ‘soon after he arrived to the first grade (rank)’ Chin *yi pinyu zhi* 一品于至 CWJ 968, (Zhong36-22).

u-un es h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-li$_2$ ‘? after having not yet arrived’, Chin *wei zhi* 未至, CWJ971 (Zhong40-27).

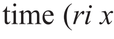
m-in-de h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-li$_2$ ‘after having arrived to the Mausoleum’, Chin *ying zhi* 茔至 (Zhong42-29).

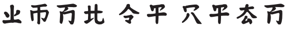
rí-i h-ui-ri-ge$_2$-li$_2$ ‘after having been bestowed’ (Zhong44-23) no gloss on CWJ973 for *rí-i.*

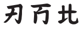
Not clear is the function of the suffix **-t-li$_2$** in: **h-ui-t-li$_2$** (340-262-247-080), occurring only once in a context which is also yet obscure:

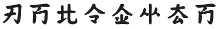
gur sär-de-i ri xa-she dalu sär-de h-ui-t-li$_2$ po-on hu-or-un$_2$ t-ul-û-li$_2$ a-ai (Yu53-39).

‘The birth time (*ri xa-she)* (which was due) by three months arrived (*h-ui-t-li$_2$*) (only) at the seventh month, of the time (*po-on*)………… was (*a-ai*).

p-od-y-li$_2$  (295-016-020-080) ‘go back’, Chin *gui* 归 C458, in the expression:

p-od-y-li$_2$ t-ul û-ul-ge$_2$-y  (Yu43-8), the other words are not glosssed, though *û-ul-ge$_2$-y* is ‘was (let) given’, see EL s.v. **û-**, **t-ul** is unknown, however the structure is ‘after having returned….was given’.

A frequent expression is **ir-y-li$_2$**  (137-020-080) ‘changing (a post, a title, etc.), 32x, *gai* 改, C 398, this expression has the meaning: ‘somebody’s function, title, was changed and he was forwarded, a title A was changed to title B, and the like.

ir-y-li$_2$ t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y  (137-070-080 247-257-261-112-020), 'was changing, upgrading (a position)', Chin *gaifeng* 改封 C398 with many othographic variants as.

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).

par ai-de 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$_2$ s-iau s-iang g-ün i-ri-s t-em$_2$-l-ge-er (Gao14).

'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 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.

The expression **p-od-a-ar-en ir-y-li$_2$** verbally 'coming back and changing' is occurring in the following text:

bud-u-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en go-n-ñ qa-an g-ia n-u tai ong-on b-qo y-ang g-iu s-eng-dú û-ul-ge$_2$-én hur-én m-as-qó har$_3$-o p-od-a-ar-en ir-y-li$_2$ dele-en deu t-em$_2$-er-de û-ul-ge$_2$-én h-ib sh-m-e$_2$ ji-en m-ha-as go-ci-er úr-u a-ad-094.1 (Yu63)[90].

'(the second daughter) was given to Y-ang-G-iu S-eng, the son of Qa-an G-ia Nu wang of the Patriarchal Tent of the other Qa-ha-an, the third (daughter) who from the first son-in-law returned and changed, was given to T-em$_2$-er younger brother, of the same clan (*dele-en deu)*'.

eu-úr SEVENTY dur-de /23/ s-em$_2$-li$_2$ ul$_2$ na$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y s-a-al t-ge-er (DiX22/23).
'At age 74 he was becoming ill, did not recover, and soon (?) he died'.

-li$_2$-er masculine and **-li$_2$-en** feminine

For the relation that somebody became ill and died we have among others the following constructions:

s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er t-ge-er (Hong1, Nu201) 6x.
s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er t-ge-én (Hong14) 1x.
t-ge-én s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er (Nu3) *1x.*
***s*-em$_2$-li$_2$-er…. tu-úr-bun** (Guang16-19).

In context:

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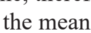
[90] CWJ on p. 1076 gives *pu-da* as a name for *p-od-a-ar,* but the expression *p-od-a-ar-en ir-y-li$_2$* has to have the meaning after having changed of returning. CWJ does not translate *ir-y-li$_2$*  but on C 398 **ir-y-li$_2$** is translated by *gai* 改 'to change, alter', see **EL** *p-od-ar* is masculine, therefore it can only refer to the son-in-law. The expression „changed of returning" may have the meaning that they devorced.

s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er t-ge-er t-ge-y shï ju-ung-un i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-l-un (DiX11-9).
'became ill and died, and got posthumously the title of Chamberlain' (see also WJ82).

GREAT ú-dû-ó-o-ón jur ai nem sär jur$_2$ jur när-de eu-úr THIRTY t$_2$-ur s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er t-ge-er.
'In the second year of Great *ú-dû-o-ón* (1086), the month eight, day twenty second, at age of 34, he became ill and died'. (Hong11-27).

GREAT s-en tau ai par sär nem när-de eu-úr FOURTY tau-de s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er t-ge-én (Hong14-25).
'In the year five of the Great Sen (longevity and prosperity) (1194), month ten, day eight, at age 45, she became ill and was dying, …'

GREAT s-en dur GOLD qa-ha-as ai par jur sär dur GOLD qa-ha-as när un$_2$-én t-ge-b-u har$_3$-en h-s-de t-ge-én s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er (Nu3-19).
'In the year four of the Great Sen (1193)(longevity and prosperity), a tiger year, month 12, on the day four, golden tiger, being just at the mausoleum, he was becoming deadly/terminally ill'.

eu-úr SIXTY jur-de ETERNAL s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er hu-áng-i go-ci-er s-a-ai tu-úr-bun (Guang16-19).
'At age 62 he became eternally (terminally) ill, and while staying at the Paternal Tent of Hu-áng, he died'.

s-em$_2$-li$_2$-en 仐金北有 (244-257-080-140), 2x, looks like a genitive construction, but while we have 25 times **s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er**, masculine gender, there is no **s-em$_2$-li$_2$-én** **仐金北 当** form, only:

s-em$_2$-li$_2$-en yun-b 378.1-hu-al (Yong34), unclear.

e$_4$-l-ge-er s-em$_2$-li$_2$-en s-au-un g-úr-en s-ai-ñ-er-en es al-a-aju (Xian31).
'beginning the ???? of the illness the physician of the state did not, ?????
no gloss for *e$_4$-l-ge-er , s-au-un* and *al-a-aju* on CWJ1446-1447.

12.6.3 Converb in -aju 女 (082.1)

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish this suffix and the glyph for 'month' *sär* 女 (081). In the term **na-ha-aju 力业女** (139-051-082.1) 'maternal uncle', Chin *jiu* 舅 C398, the suffix has the function to form a term of relationship, see Mong *-ču* in *nagaču* 'maternal uncle'.

/11/..b-qo em-t b-hu-án ñol m-ô$_2$-qú h-ie-ên sh-ng g-e$_2$ aú-ui /12/ ia deu-un SMALL-qó ai-en na-ha-aju ar-l-ó-o-or tai ui°-en u-ul-ge$_2$-én (Qing11-12).

/11/…had six daughters the eldest was H-ie-ên Sh-ng G-e lady, who was given in marriage to Ar-l-ó-o-or *tai ui°* from the Maternal Uncles from the brethern's Junior Ancestors, see further EL.

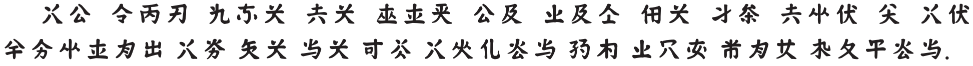
The form **-aju** occurs only after words ending in **-a**, they may be primary or secondary stems in-**a.** Words with other endings may get < **-j>** (104), former <dz$_2$>.

hu-ur-er b-qo qa-an g-iu sh-a-rí n-ô-on es /20/ s$_2$-ui-u-su g-iu z-ie pu-shi-ñ-de na-aju b-hu-án jur° rí-er (Yong20-8).

'The third son, Qa-an G-iu *langjun*'s wife did not gave birth (*es /20/ s$_2$-ui-u-su*), has married for the second time (*na-aju*) the milady G-iu Z-ie, from whom two children were born' (masculine) (*rí-er*).

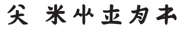
p-û-úr che-a-aju ci-uh-ul-ge-én lit: 'descendant sent submitted' not clear, only once, here

h-n t-iu-ir nas-ad-i rí-i qa-ha-an n-o p-o-ri$_5$ sui-i ia-277 rí-l-ñ HEAVEN h-ñ ú-dû-l-ha-a-án h-e de-i én-i bai-er h-ui-ri-ge-én ji-en p-û-úr che-a-aju ci-uh-ul-ge-én'.



She became the spouse of the Kagan, and gave birth to the blessed gift (*ia-277 rí-l-ñ*).

Chin *kehanzhi pei ou cheng weisheng* 可汗之 配偶 成为生, (Ren23-10), the second part is not glossed, unclear also for me, but the structure is …..**-aju** …….**-én.**

HEAVEN h-ñ ú-dû-l-ha-a-án feminine form of the reign title **HEAVEN udu-l-ha-a-ar**  (243 355-261-051-189-123) *C429,* (1032-1055) with the insertion of **h-ñ.**

p-od-a-aju (295-016-189-82-1), 1x.
t-úr-búl-u-ji p-od-a-aju (Yu48-43).
'dying returning (into Heaven)'.

s-a-aju (244-189-).
s-a-aju o-l$_2$-ha-ai.
'to place somebody somewhere' (Gao26-16) **L26.**

o-l$_2$-ha-aju (186-149-051-082.1), 2x.

da-ar o-l$_2$-ha-aju (GuD18-30) = *da$_3$-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-aju.*

te ai par sär ñol nar-de aju-uh-ur na-al-hu t-oi$_2$ (=t-ge2) b-u har$_3$-de eme ku pu-shi-ñ-en m-in ñ-l-û-ui n-ai-ri-a-ha-ar po-do da$_3$-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-aju (Xiang33-43).

'In the same year, month 10, on day 6, the father-in-laws gathered (*na-al-hu* 139-098-151), at the mausoleum (*t-ge$_2$b-u har$_3$*) where the wife lady's tomb was opened (*ñ-l-û-ui*) in an aspicious time (*n-ai-ri-a-ha-ar po-do*) and then closed (by the burial ceremony).

o-l$_2$-ha-a-aju (186-149-051-189-82.1), 13x

har$_3$-en g-iu-ung-dú da-ha-ai o-l$_2$-ha-a-aju (Xing3-11).

'At the Mountain Palace (burial tomb) the closing (ceremony) has been performed'.

See further the expression: **da-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-aju** (Zhong43-28), and **da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-aju** (Zhen24-49, Hong21-29, Tu24-5, Nu4-19, Di23-10 etc.).

12.7 CONNECTIVES

In the function of connecting two or more parts of a sentence, there are two ways in Khitan. Khitan uses either connective particles or adds numerals.

12.7.1 Connective particles

b-as (311-174) 'again', Chin *you* 又, **L**19, (K83), see Mong *basa*, Dag *base* 'also, still, again' (M126), *bas, basě* '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.

ci-ci (162-162) 'together with, etcetera, and so on' K96, Chin no gloss, **L**8.

ci-ci YOUNG-qú eu-úr-de t-ge-e-ci 'all died in their childhood' (Yong37-14).

ci-ge$_2$-li$_2$ 'and, side by side, together', Chin *bing* 并 **L**1.

ci-su-û-ul-un$_2$ ci-ge$_2$-ñ 'with preface, addition of preface' Chin *xu bing* 序并 C404, Zhi1.

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.**

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 what was former known of the Chinese and Khitan history was composed and recorded', Chin *qidan hanzi jun tongxiao ? han er qidan shi zhuan* 契丹汉字 均 通晓 汗儿契丹 史 撰.

12.7.2 Numerals marking conjunctions

Khitan as the Mongolic languages uses numerals to mark that two or more parts of sentence are to be connected.

hoi-d te-le jur g-úr-s 一 公 令为 圣 九安仐 (001-254 247-093 134 334-097-244) 'the northern and southern these two countries', Chin *bei nan er guo* 北南二国 GuD5-20.

pu-ul-ñ l-ing-un ñ-ar-qó-ñ pu-shi-ñ jur-en b-hu-án gur 分平伏 屮同火 伏本欠伏 分忝伏 圣有 舟列出 包 'The three children of Pu-ul-ñ L-ing-un (and) Ñ-ar-qó-ñ of (they) two (*jur-en*)'.

s-ie-ên p-ai$_2$ jur sï-d-en 仐文考 业乐 圣 廿公有 (244-327-073 295-197 134 083-254-140) 'bureau of coins and silk, 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 *sz̩* LMCh *sz̩* C435, hybrid see the function of **jur** and the Khitan plural and genitive.

to-on l-ie-ên p-ung ng-iú jur i-ri-s ir-y-li$_2$ t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un$_2$ 生不 屮文考 业太 发火 圣 关亿仐 刃丙北 令企屮杰屮叉 'his offices were changed to *tuan lian* and *fangyu*, these two' **(**Zhi10-25).

12/…**HEAVEN t-ud om-úr ai-s-er ja-ang m-in d-un mû y-ie-ên h-ing gur g-iu-ung-ur-en fu g-iu-ung shï ir-y-li$_2$ p-o-ri$_5$** (Nu12) 'In the first year of the Heaven Tud (First year of the Xianyong period, 1065-1075, first year 1065), his position was changed to the the deputy palace commander (*gong shi fu* 副宫使) of Ja-ang min, and D-un Mu and Yangqing, these three.'.

12.8 PARTICLES

Classical Mongolian has a series of particles as *ber, ču, ǰ-a, a, ele, da, kü* (see Poppe 1964 185-187), most of them are also present in several spoken Mongolic languages. Generally speaking they have emphatic or highlighting function. In Khitan I could separate only the following.

12.8.1 The emphatic particle -hu

e 芬 (348) 'this, that', also ***e$_2$*l** (109), Chin *zhe* 这, *gai* 该 **L**3.

e-hu (348-151) ‘this (emphatic), this very’, 2x, Chin *gai* 该.

te (323) ‘that’, 113x, plural **te-t** (323-247), 2x.
te-hu (323-151) ‘that mentioned, the very’, 8x, Chin *gai* 该 **L**19.

i-ri (339-235) ‘name, title’, Chin *ming* 名, *hao* 号 **L**13, **L**16, **L**18, **L**19, **L**21.
i-ri-de-i-hu (339-235-205-339-151) ‘being nominated ? call, order, literary name’, **L**26 only once, there.

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 ‘to that very descendants’.

uni-qó (059-169), also **uni-qu** (059-246) ‘young person’**,** 8x**.**
uni-qu-dú-hu **(**059-246-179-151) ‘to that (emphatic) young’, Chin *you* 幼 C374.
This particle can be compared with Mongolic *kü* as in *tere kü kümün*, ‘precesely that man, that man indeed’ (Poppe 1946, 186).

13. LINGUISTIC GENDER

13.1 GENERAL REMARKS

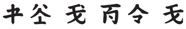
One of the most interesting features of the Khitan language is the presence of linguistic gender. In this subchapter I will introduce the material. A broader background and the possible connection with Mongolic I will deal with in the subchapter **17.3.**

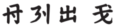
13.2 THE DOT ON GLYPHS MARKING MASCULINE GENDER

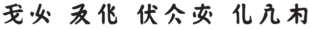
The fact that some glyphs occur with and without a dot has been early recognized. Several suggestions were forwarded to describe the function of the dots. An important step was the 2005 paper of Wu Yingzhe in the journal *Neimenggu daxue xuebao* vol 37, No 3, pp. 25-28: *Qidan xiao zi „xing" de yufa fanchou yanjiu* [Preliminary investigation into the grammatical category of 'gender' in the Khitan small script]. Wu supposed that the dot may mark linguistic gender. This was then further followed by others. Kane (2009, 27) gives a series of examples and later scholars cite mostly numerals with dots and without dots and remark that the script distinguishes masculine and feminine gender.

I have dealt with the question in the subchapter **8.4.3** and stated „One has the impression, that the dot was used in KSS for diacritic purposes, of which the marking of grammatical gender was an important one, but it was used also for other purposes, as it is the case in other scripts."

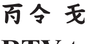
In the following I cite some clear examples with a dotted numeral

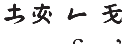
ai-d tau° eme-t tau  'five fathers and (their) five wives (five women' (Yu6).

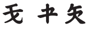
b-hu-án tau°  'five male children, five sons' (Zhong6) .

tau°-un u-ur ñ-ô-úr ir-g-en  'the five Division (*u-ur ñ-ô-úr*) official (*erkin*) (Nu5), Chin *wu yuan bu yi li jin* 五院部 夷离堇 CWJ1 1191.

There is no dot:

eme-t tau  'five women' (Yu7).

eu-úr THIRTY tau  'at age 35' (Hong16).

tau ai-de  'In year five', 8x, never with dotted form **tauº** (030).

The above examples show, that the dot added to a cardinal numeral signalize a male person, and the absence may mark a female, but there are many other cases, where the absence of the dot does not mean that the word qualified is a feminine. In these cases the numeral follows the qualified word.

13.3 GENDER MARKED ON CARDINAL NUMERALS (SEE 12.3.2)

Masculine

t-od-o-or 令币及扎 (247-016-186-076),10x, also **d-od-o-or** 公币及扎 (254-016-186-076), 1x.

t-ad-o-or 令朩及扎 (247-099-186-076), 10x.

About the seven sons:

m-as-qu sh-ib d-y n-u ci-ur-oi (=er)[1] *ci-in g-ia n-u hur-oi(=er) s-ie g-ia n-u d-ur-oi(=er) qa-an g-ia n-u t-od-o-or g-au 160 ñol-oi (=er) s-ie-ên y-ie-ên* *da$_3$-lu-oi (er) t-abu-b-ñ qa-an* (Hai4-12)

‘the eldest was Sh-ib D-y N-u, the second Ci-in G-ia N-u, the third S-ie G-ia N-u, the fourth Qa-an G-ia N-u, the fifth G-au 160, the sixth S-ie-ên y-ie-ên, the seventh T-abu-ñ qa-an.’

see also Gao6-22.

Feminine form

t-od-o-ón 令币及肉 (247-016-186-322), 6x.

t-ad-o-ón 令朩及肉 (247-099-186-322), 5x.

t-od-o-ón y-ang s-ie pu-shi-ñ na-ha-án-er il-én₄ go-er-en ia-277-ñ tir-bun tai shï-de û-ul-ge-l-ñ

令币及肉 丙氖 仐文 兮乔伏 力走出仌 用与 曲仌冇 才条伏 卉屮 丞 兆矢 只平岑屮伏

(Yu8-29)

‘The fifth (daughter) Y-ang S-ie mylady was given into marriage to Ia-277-ñ *tir-bun tai-shi* of the Maternal Uncle’s Tent’

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[1] The miswriting or misreading of **er** 仌 (341) as **oi** 炏 is a frequent mistake

13.4 GENDER MARKED ON COLOR NAMES

13.4.1 Color names with dots

siu° (005)16x, ‘white, (male)’, **siu** (004) ‘white’, 30x, Chin *bai* 白, .
siu° m-ri ai ‘white (male) horse year’(Zhong6).
siu° qa-ha-as ai ‘white (male) tiger year’ (Guang36).
siu t-qo-a ‘white (female) chicken (year) (Ren11-22).
siu mu-or-o nai sär ‘white (female) snake first month’ (Dao4).
siu lu₂ ai ‘white (female) dragon year’ (Hong20).

13.4.2 Color names with suffix

s-iau-qu (244-362-246) masculine, 3x, **s-iau-qú** (244-362-118) ‘blue, feminine’. 29x, no **s-iau-qo***.

s-iau-qu ém-a ‘blue (male) goat (year)’ ((Xing1-7), .
s-iau-qu hus-hu ‘blue (male) rat’ (Xing3).
s-iau-qu ñ-ar ‘blue ?’(Xian33) **ñ-ar** may be a name (*Ñ-ar tai shï* Yong10), but it occurs 15 times, and some of the data are not names.

s-iau-qú ñ-qo ‘blue (female) dog’(Dao4).
s-iau-qú m-ri ha-qa-as po-do ‘in the hour blue (female) dog pig (and) tiger (Ren14).
s-iau-qú tau-li-a ‘blue (female) hare (year) (Xuan4).
s-iau-qú ém-a ai ‘blue (female) goat year’ (Gu25).
s-iau-qú cal°-a (244-362-118 183.1-189) ‘blue stone’ [2](Tai25).

also **l-iau-qu** (261-362-246) ‘red, masculine’ and **l-iau-qú** (261-362-118) ‘red, feminine’, no **l-iau-qo****.

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[2] *<cal°-a-an us-g s-ir₂-g-l-ge-y>* (Song24-11) *<cal°-a-an u-un-i s-or-77 dau-ul-ha-ar>* (Chao27-29) *<s-iau-qú cal°-a-an m-oi₂ 317-ú ming n-am-úr a-lu₃-l-û-ji p-u or-a>* (Xian33-18)

13.4.3 Masculine gender in -u 叐 (131) and female gender in -iú 炏 (289)

As we have seen above in case of ‘white’ gender is distinguished by a dot, while in case of ‘blue’ and ‘red’ gender is distinguished by a suffix. A third type occurs with ‘black’ **har 由** (321)[3]:

har-u lu 由叐 支 (321-131 208) ‘black (male) dragon’, (Xuan26), Chin *hei long* 黑龙 C469.
har-iú lu 由炏 支 ‘black (female) dragon (year)’ (Di22), Chin *renchen* 壬辰.
    har-iú lu or-l-b-ñ ‘black (female) dragon first month’ (Di22).
har-u po-o 由叐 业及 ‘black (male) hour’ (Tai5).
  har-iú p-o-o ai-ñ 由炏 业及及 丰伏 ‘black (female) monkey year’ (Nan26, 40).

har-un$_2$ (!) t-qo-a 由叉 令力为 ‘black (male) chicken (day)’, (Nu3), Chin *gui you* 癸酉 10th year of the sexagenary cycle.
    har-iú t-qo-a när-de 由炏 令力为 买矢 ‘on the black (female) chicken day’ (Xian26).

har-u ñ-qo 由叐 伏力 ‘black (male) dog (hour) (Dao4), Chin *renqu* 壬戌 ‘the 11th celestial branch’.
    har-iú ñ-qo ai 由炏 伏力 丰 ‘the black (female) dog year’ (Chao18).

We have no parallel forms in the corpus in the following cases:
har-u hus-hu 由叐 失列 (321-131 216-151) ‘black rat (year) [male]’, (Dao6), Chin *ren zi* 壬子 C469.
    har-iú uni ai ‘ black ox (cattle) year’ (Yu8) [female],
    ai-en s-l-b har-iú m-ri ‘according to the sequence of years black horse’ (GuD17) [female],
    har-u n-o iú 由叐 公及 炏 ‘the black spouse was not (died)’(Qing2), perhaps a name,
    Perhaps the same suffix can be found.
ri$_4$-iú 庄炏 (038.10-289) ‘new born child’, ChinE *ru* 乳, (Di17) YCh *ry,* LMCh *ryǝ̆.*

13.4.4 Suffixed forms with three suffixes

Some adjectives or nouns used as adjectives have three suffixes, two masculine and one feminine, see also **12.4.1** :

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[3] Many thanks to Peng Daruhan,, who in a personal letter 2024.05.17 called my attention to page 563 of CWJ, where this use of **-iu** is explained as marker of feminine gender of the color name.

m-as-qu (133-174-246), 22x, masculine.
m-as-qó (133-174-169), 16x, masculine.
m-as-qú (133-174-118), 1x, feminine.

b-hu-án tau° m-as-qu ia-277 tai ui° ‘had five sons, the eldest was Good Luck *taiwei*’ (Zhong6-22).

tai ong-on b-hu-án jur° m-as-qó /5/ **uh-ul-ñ d-em$_2$-er pu m-a** ‘the *taiwang* had two sons, the elder was D-em$_2$-er (?appointed), son-in-law, of the Uh-ul (clan)’.

eme-t b-hu-án m-as-qú lu s-ie b-l$_2$ ‘out of the daughters the eldest was Lu S-ie B-l$_2$’ (Hui5).

ci-iau-qu-* (162-362-246) ‘Chinese, *masculine.*
ci-iau-qó-* (162-362-169) ‘Chinese, *masculine*’.
ci-iau-qú-* (162-362-118) ‘Chinese, *feminine*’.
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).
Chin *qidan hanzi jun tongxiao ? haner qidan shi zhuan* 契丹 汗 字 均 通晓 ，汗儿契丹 史 撰

‘the Khitan and Chinese literature and what was former known of the Chinese and Khitan history was composed and recorded’,

ci-iau qú-ui i-ri ‘Chinese title, name’ (Lang5).
em-er qita-s ji-en iú ci-iau-qú-ji ji-en l-iu sh-in sh-058-l-ge$_2$-e$_2$.
‘there was no (suitable) among the Khitan women, therefore among the Chinese (women) L-iu Sh-in was? chosen???
ci-iau-qú-su udu-u-ur ‘Chinese palaces’ (Nan21).

ci-iau-qó-úr che-a-ar ‘Chinese messenger’ (Pu10), Chin *han er shi zhe* 汗儿 使者 (CWJ1523).
s-iang g-ung eme-t p-ar gur GREAT ci-iau-qu-ui cau g-e pu-shi-ñ (Gao4) ‘chancellor (*s-iang g-ung*) (who had) three wives, the eldest (was) the Chinese Cau Ge milady (*pu-shi-ñ*).
Here instead of the expected **c-iau-qú-*** (162-362-118) ‘Chinese, *feminine*’ we have
ci-iau-qu-ui though **ci-iau-qú-ui** (162-362-118-262), occurs four times: .
ci-iau-qú-ui us-g ‘Chinese script, letters’ (Hu10, 28).
ci-iau-qú-ui p-in ‘Chinese household, estate’ (Jue23).

ci-iau-qú-j ja-ri-qu-ur-er ‘Chinese ministers, plural accusative-instrumental’ (Jue24).

13.4.5 Words marked by adjectives with gender suffixes

As we have seen above, words denoting living creatures (persons, animals) can get markers according their gender. On the other hand the gender suffix appears in other cases as ‘literature’, ‘title’, ‘palace’. In the following I have collected some more cases, where the marked word denotes something else, not a living creature.

sh-em$_2$-qú 叉佥夫(028-257-118), ‘good, goodness’, feminine, 6x, only **-qú.**

sh-em₂-qú eme-er 叉佥夫 丙公 ‘good women’ (Ren25-1), but also .

sh-em₂-qú n-ai-ci-én ci-as-a 叉佥夫 公丰朩当 朩冬为 ‘good, harmonious law’ (Xu50-29).

sh-em₂-qú gur eme-ci-en ‘the three harmonious waters (rivers), genitive’, Chin *shan san shui zhi* 善三水 之 (Zhi17-33).

sh-em$_2$-qú-i cu-ur$_2$-ge-én 叉佥夫关 艻化公当 (028-257-118-339 102-236-349-361) ‘accumulation of goodness’, Chin *shan ji* 善积 C370.

YOUNG-qú 乎夫 (248-118) 37x only **-qú,** in most cases with **eu-úr.**

YOUNG-qú-er (248-118-341), 3x.

YOUNG-qú-de (248-118-205), 3x.

YOUNG-qú eu-úr-de 乎 夫 去变矢 (248-118 067-097-205) ‘in young age, dative-locative’, (Zhi12, Yong37), Chin *you (xiao) sui yu* 幼（小）岁于 C443.

YOUNG-qú na iu 乎夫 力 丙 ‘the young (daughter), died early, premature’ (Nu21).

YOUNG-qú eme ku-û-un b-qo 乎夫 丙 几只火 舟为 ‘the child of the young wife’ (DiX26).

SMALL-qó, SMALL-qu, no **-qú,** that is: no feminine form.

SMALL-qó 州欠 (188-169) ‘1. small, 2. young, junior’, 64x, Chin 1.*xiao* 小 2.*ji* 季 C415.

SMALL-qu 州余 (188-246) ‘1. small, 2. young, junior’, 12x, Chin 1.*xiao* 小 2.*ji* 季 C415.

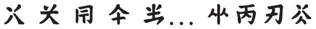
eu-úr SMALL-qó ‘in (his) young age’ (Jue14) .

s-iang g-ung-un SMALL-qó b-qo ‘the small child of the duke’ (Song27).

Frequent in name of social groups: **SMALL-qó aju** ‘junior Father-in-laws’**,** also **SMALL-qó na-ha-aju** ‘the junior Maternal Uncles’, **SMALLL-qó ai** ‘the junior Ancestors’, **SMALL-qó m-o ku-û-un** ‘the junior elder (senior) people, genitive (from young to old)’ (Yu34) Chin *xiao da ren zhi* 小大人之.

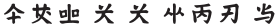
13.4.6 Linguistic gender suffixes joining past participle

Kane wrote on (2009, 144): “In the past tense of verbs, one can also see this distinction between the suffox <er> for males and <én> for females. A clear example is:



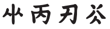
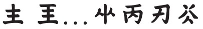
<x-i-ŋ s-úŋ… l-iu.ren:er> in my transcription: *h-i-ing s-ung… l-iu-ir-er* (340-339-303 261-019-137-341) (Xing2)

‘[the emperor] Xingzong…..passed away’

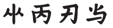


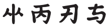
<s.y.iên i.i… l.iu.ren:én> in my transcription *s-üe-en*$_2$ *i i… l-iu-ir-én*$_3$ (244-082-324 339 339 261-019-137-361) (Xuan5)

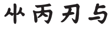
‘[the empress] Xuanyi …passed away’ ”.

l-iu-ir-er  (261-019-137-341) occurs also in Dao5-22: *hong di…. l-iu-ir-er*  ‘the emperor passed away’.

For the feminine form we have the following variants:

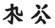
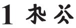
l-iu-ir-én  (261-019-137-361), 2x (Ren12-8, Xuan5-8)

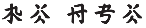
l-iu-ir-én$_2$  (261-019-137-100),1x (Zhong43-40)

l-iu-ir-én$_3$ (261-019-137-100.1), 1x (Tai22-12)

As we have seen above **12.5.3.1** that what was considered by Kane and his followers, among them Shimunek (2017, 246), as finite verb forms, are nominals (past participles) used (also) as predicates.

The past participles takes suffixes referring to gender also in other cases as:

ci-er2  (162-341) ‘to exist, to be somewhere *masculine*’, has to be distinguished from **ci-er1**  (162-341) ‘wrote (past perf-), inscribed’, **L**15 Chin *ti* 题 C409.

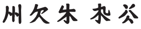
ci-er b-aû-er  ‘existed, was’ (Zhong5-39) CWJ949 gives only for **b-aû-er** *zai* 在, it is a hendiadyoin.

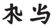
ai-d-en ci-i-s hi-er d-ém-ci-er ci-er (Xu58).

‘he was generous donor (*d-ém-ci-er)* to the (blood) relatives of the ancestors’, .

eu-úr-ge-én$_2$ **ci-er** (Yu15) .

‘he was enhancing, was genereous’ no gloss.

SMALL-qó-do ci-er  ‘when he was young, “in his youth being”’ (Guang6).

ci-én  (162-361) ‘had existed, had been somewhere, *feminine*’, 32x.

ci-ar iu b-hu-án gur ci-én ‘(a daughter) died early, the three daughters (remained) alive’ (Hu29).

b-qo p-úr-s es ci-én 舟力 业安仐 犭 朩当 ‘were no children and descendants’ (Xu52).
b-hu-án gur ci-én ‘there were three daughters’ (Hu29).
See also **sui-er** and **sui-én, sui-l-ha-a-ar** and **sui-l-ha-a-án**, **rí-er** and **rí-én, t-ge-er** and **t-ge-én, h-ui-er** and **h-ui-én, p-od-a-ar** and **p-od-a-án** and their variants in **12.5.1**.

In the following cases the marking of gender is not evident: .
COMPOSE$_2$-er 月 公 (316.2-341), 1x, (Xing11-11), **COMPOSE-er 冈公** (308-341), 1x, (Ren21-15).
COMPOSE$_2$-én 月当 (316.2-361), 1x, (Xiang34-35) .

COMPOSE-a-ar 冈 为 丰 (308-189-123), 37x, .
COMPOSE-a-án 冈为 出 (308-189-290), 6x, **COMPOSE-a-an 冈为 买** (308-189-011), 1x.

13.4.7 Gender marking on clan names

In a personal letter 2024 05, Peng Daruhan wrote “CWJ (p. 563) explained that the suffix is always used to spell a woman’s name, while the suffix 及 is always used to spell a man’s name, for example, 菩萨奴 pu sa nu (《玦》5), 菩萨女 pu sa nü (《图》6)”

In fact we find female names with the clan name **N-iú**, see the following:

em-t b-hu-án gur GREAT bi h-ia n-iú ‘there were three daughters, the eldest was Bi H-ia N-iú’ (Ling24). H-ia is an other form of G-ia.

g-ia n-iú aú-ui ‘G-ia N-iú lady’ (Xu45) who was given in marriage to a certain D-ud langjun,

g-ia n-u (Wu2, Wu28), the name of the composer of Wu inscription: *na-ha-án-er SMALL-qó ai-en s-ie g-ia n-u sh-a-rí* G-ia Nu langjun from the Maternal Uncles junior ancestors.

Further female persons, with feminine form of the clan name:
Ca-ang N-iú (GuD15)
Ong G-ia N-iú (Xu45)
H-ie-ên ta-an N-iú (Guang24)
Pu T-y N-iú (Han13)
hong di-in neu-e eme YOUNG-qú Cu N-iú g-e aú-ui (Liang19)
eme b-qo emu Ci-eu G-ia N-iú aú-ui (Xiang20)

This clan name has also the variant Ñ-iú, see:

Ca-ang G-ia Ñ-iú aú-ui (GuD16)
L-iu Pu Ñ-iú aú-ui (Yong13)
Bi G-ia Ñ-iú (Di17), same as **Bi H-ia N-iú** (Ling 24) above

13.4.8 Summary

As we see from the above material, linguistic gender is marked on adjectives or nouns used as attributives. It can be expressed by orthographic means, in our case by dots, and with suffixes. The masculine suffix is**-er** in case of the cardinal numerals and **-én** in the case of the feminine forms of the cardinals:

masculine	**feminine**
jur-er	jur-én
hur-er	hur-én
tur-er	tur-én
t-od-o-or	t-od-o-ón
ñol-er	ñol-én
da-lu-er	dalu-én
nem-d-er	not yet found
ishi^{o}-d-er,	ishi-ri-én
par^{o}-d-er	po-od-én

It is tempting to suppose that the suffix **-er** has its ultimate origin in the Proto Mongolic noun *ere* ‘man, male’, see also such forms as Mong *erkis* ‘male sable’ which has to be a loan from Turkic, where *er* has also the meaning ‘man’. However looking to the the last numerals, we can state that the suffix has to go back to *-dUgAr,* because the *-d-* is preserved. Already in preclassical Mongolian we can obsereve a simplification: *gurbadugar* > *gutugar* ‘third’, *dörbedüger >dötüger* ‘fourth’, *tabudugar >tabtagur* ‘fifth’. This simplification process can be observed also in the present Mongolic languages, as Dag *guta:r* ‘third’, *dutə:r* ‘fourth’ (see Nugteren 2011, 345, 319). Based on the above, I suppose, that the suffix **-er** has its origin in the Proto Mongol – *dUgAr* > *dU’Ar* > *Ar*-. The general fronting *ar* > *er* is a systemic feature. It has not effected ‘fifth’.

More propblematic is the origin of the suffix *-én*. It has to be separated from Mong *eme* ‘woman, female, etc.’ for phonological reasons. See alo Khitan **eme** in the EL. If Proto Mongolic had already this distinction, then we may suppose a feminine suffix -**dUgAn.* Such a suffix does exist, but has a different function: *ala-*‘to kill’, *alaldu*- ‘to kill each other’, *alaldugan* ‘slaughter, bloody battle’. The way out would be to suppose two homophonous suffixes: *-dUgAn1* and -*dUgAn2*. In favour of such a proposition would be the preserved -*d*- in ‘fifth’ and ‘tenth’.

As it can be seen from the above, the marking of gender appears in case of livings. Those cases where the feminine gender marker surfaces with other word categories deserve a special interest. In case of the dot used as marker of males and the dotless forms marking females we may speculate about the omission of the dot. But the use of the marker of the feminine gender by the suffix **-qú** for abstract concepts as ‘goodness’, ‘literature’, ‘history’ or ‘young’ needs further research not to speak of ‘stone’. See further **12.3.2** the historical aspect of linguistic gender.

14. REMARKS ON THE LEXICON

The Corpus of Khitan words as it is reproduced in CWJ and represented in the Index comprises 10.402 items. Separate items are all units which are written in a different way. For example **hong-di** 主 王 (075-037) ‘emperor’ is once (Guang3-9) written one under the other as:

主
王

and ten times one beside the other:

主 王.

In the Index these are two entries. The homographs as **ai1** 才 (122) ‘year’ and **ai2** 才 (122) ‘father, ancestor’ are not distinguished, and considered as one item. Separate items are all identical words which are written with a different orthography, see chapter **9**. Orthography. Separate items are all forms of declination and coniugation. If a word has four different orthographic forms and occurs in four members of declination, it may appear in 16 separate entries.

The 39 major and 17 minor inscriptions have a special content. Most of the major inscriptions are epithaphs, some are euologies, but the content is representing the same structure, they are relating the life of the owners or the praised person of the inscriptions. This on the one hand helps to decipher the texts, on the other hand it reduces the extant word stock. A very rare case is the poem at the end of DiX arranged in eight lines with five groups of blocks each line, see Wu—Janhunen 2010, 120-126, and **10.7** RHYMING, (p. 366). In other inscriptions one can identify short quotations from Chinese classics, and also some proverbs and common sayings.

Considering all these facts one can state that we have to do with a variant of the Khitan literary language. Elements of the spoken language may be reflected in some rare cases, but the official style narrows the lexicon. On the other hand one can observe different layers due to different social backgrounds. These layers are detectable in the different ways of honorific expressions.

14.1 THE ORIGIN OF THE KHITAN WORDS

14.1.1 Words of Khitan origin

14.1.1.1 KHITAN WORDS WITH MONGOLIC PARALLELS

In about 200 cases was it possible to quote a Mongolic word as parallel to the Khitan one. In most cases this means that the Khitan and the Mongolic words go back to one and the same proto-form. A clear case are the Khitan numerals, where not only the individual words, but the entire system can be followed back to a common Proto Mongolic origin, see **12.3** Numerals.

Similar is the case with the demonstrative pronouns, see **12.2.**

In some cases the correspondence is not clear. Khitan **d-ia** 仝才 (254-335) ‘enemy’ also **t-ia1** 令才(247-335), may perhaps be connected with 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), but the Mong word goes back to a former **dagin* see Turk *yagï* ‘enemy, hostile’ (Clauson 898). Or it may have Chinese origin: Chin 敵, *di* ‘enemy’, YCh *ti,* LMCh *thiajk,* EMCh *dɛ jk.* None of the two is convincing.

In other cases the common origin is very probable, but there may exist two candidates. **t-ge$_2$-*** 令 厺 (247-112) ‘to die’, K90, also **t-ge-*** 令公 (247-349) and **d-ge** etc., and **du$_3$-ge**, in past tense also **t-l-un** (DiX15), 1. 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*-‘fliegen̉, *derēs* von oben her’, *der‘gi* ‘oberer’ (M-K122) or 2. Mong *dügür-, degür-* ‘to be (come) full, filled, to expire, finish, 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). The second is rather to be connected with Khitan **tu-úr-** 为夾 (202-097) ‘to die, to expire, to finish (hon)’, also **t-úr** 令夾 (247-097).

In the following case the same word got a special meaning in Khitan: **g-úr** 九夾 (334-097) ‘country, state’, K89, Chin *guo* 国, **L**1 plural: **g-úr-s** (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’, and see Dag *gurun* ‘country, nation’ (M153), *gurun* ‘Staat’ (M-K135) (← Manchu *gurun* ← Khitan).

In some cases the phonetic correspondence is very tempting, but the semantic fields are very different: **t-od-ha-ar** 令币圡本 (247-016-051-123), also **d-od-ha-ar** 仝币圡本 (254-016-051-123), 10x, is on the surface near to Mong Mong *todqar* 'obstacle, evil, calamity, demon evil spirit', see Turk *todgur-~todgar->toygar-* 'to satiate, satisfy' (Clauson 1972, 454) but semantically does not fit here. The Khitan word has the meaning 'all, all together, or the like' (see the examples in EL).

The Khitan may offer in some cases a key to the origin of the Mongolic word: One may suppose that in Mong *usun* 'water' the *-sun* is the otherwise well known suffix *-sun*, as it has been suggested by some authors, but the stem **u** came up only now in Khitan. In other cases the semantics is more clear if we consider also the Khitan word. The Mongolic word *üniye* has in all languages and dialects the meaning 'cow'. The Khitan word **uni** [illegible] (059) is used as calendric term and represents Chinese *chou* 丑 which is in the Chinese system of symbolic animals 'ox'. The meaning of the Khitan word is 'cattle', which can be seen from the title **uni-qu-un ca-ang shï** [illegible] (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'. In the Mongolic calendar the equivalent of Chinese *chou* 丑 is *üker* 'ox', Middle Mongolian *hüker.* In the Old Turkic calendar *chou* is *ud* (and not *öküz*) 'cattle, bovine' see also Bazin 1974. Important is here, that Khitan and Mongolic have two different equivalents of the Chinese calendric term. I will come back to the question in subchapter **18.4**.

We have a few cases where only the semantic parallel exists. In the case of the Khitan title **sh-a-rí** [illegible] (028-189-069), we find that the title goes back to the verb **sha-** 'to press', as Mongolic *daruga* 'chief, commander etc.' to the verb *daru-* 'to press', and the Turkic title *basqaq* to the verb *bas-* 'to press'.

The material contains several words which are present in Khitan and Monglic, but are of non-Mongolic origin in both languages. For example **us-g** [illegible] (068-334) 'letter, writing, script, document', also **us$_2$g** [illegible] (103-334)4x, Chin *zi* 字 C388, see Mong *üsüg, üjüg* 'letter, writing', Uigur *üsig*, which is a variant of Old Turkic *ujig.* The Old Turkic word goes back to Sogd *'wj'k.* (Gharib 1995, 74). Similar is the case with Khitan **b-as** [illegible] (311-174) 'again', Chin *you* 又, **L**19, (K83), see Mong *basa*, Dag *base* 'also, still, again' (M126), *bas, basě* '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 supposed.

Of special importance is the history of Khitan **b-u-har$_3$** [illegible] (311-131-006) 'temple, monastery' (Xiang33, 46, Nu47), also **p-u har** [illegible] (295-131 321) (DiX45) only once. See Preclassical Mong *buqar* 'monastery' (Sonom Gara, ed Kara, 2009, 49), Mongol *buqar* 3 'temple, monastery'. As I have pointed out in EL, the word does occur in Late Uigur and is finally of Sanskrit origin. Khitan and Middle Mongolian borrowed the word from Uigur.

After a narrower look, it is clear, that these words were borrowed from Uigur independently, with other words, Khitan and Mongolic both have words of Uigur origin, borrowed independetly and in different periods.

14.1.1.2 KHITAN WORDS WITH NO MONGOLIC PARALLELS

There exists a large group of Khitan words which have at present no Mongolic parallel. For a few of them a Mongol correspondence may be identified later as our knowledge will progress. But a great amount of Khitan words have no Mongolic parallels. The Khitan word for ‘morning’ is **bai 可** (061) ‘morning’, in: **bai-en sär** **可杓艾** (061-140 081) ‘morning moon’, Chin *zhao yue* 朝月 C380, while Mongolic has *örlüge ~öglüge.* The Khitan word for ‘mountain’ is **har$_3$2 汞** (006) ‘mountain’ 175x, K108, also **har$_2$2 虫** (321.1) Chin *shan* 山, Mongolic has *agula.* It may perhaps be connected with the word for black, see EL, but in any case Khitan **har** ‘mountain’ has no Mongolic parallel. The Khitan word for ‘tiger’ in the cyclical system is **qa-ha-as 亟圡冬** (053-051-174). Tiger in Mongolic is *bars* (← Turk *bars*). The Khitan word for ‘blue’ is **s-iau1 仐苄 (**244-362), 14x, (K85, 103), while Mongolic is *köke* (← Turk *kök(e)*), the Khitan word for ‘white’ is **siu 汞** (004) ‘white’, **siu⁰ 汞** (005) ‘white, (masculine)’, while Mongolic is *čagan*. The Khitan word for ‘father’ **ai2 丰** (122) has no Mongolic parallel, while Mongolic *abu* ‘father’ is present in Khitan as **abu 生** (196) ‘ancestor, grandfather’, K100, Chin *zufu* 祖父.

14.1.1.3 KHITAN WORDS FORMED BY KHITAN SUFFIXES FROM KHITAN WORDS

Khitan is an agglutinative language, and almost all suffixes join the end of the stem. In the chapter **11**. I have collected those derivational suffixes, which could be identified. Most of the word formative suffixes were living during the 10th-12th centuries. A few old, petrified suffixes could be also identified. In **bud 夘** (176) ‘the other (namely the other tribal group, in most cases the Xiao)’, the suffix **-d** originally the suffix of plurality has been lexicalized. In the case of **na-ha-án-er 力圡出公** (139-051-290-341) ‘maternal uncles’, the suffix of plurality is also lexicalized and written in a form, as it would pertain to the stem.

14.1.2 Khitan words of foreign origin

14.1.2.1 KHITAN WORDS OF CHINESE ORIGIN

14.1.2.1.1 Khitan common words of Chinese origin

As I have pointed out in Chapter **10**. the Chinese sources on Khitan include data from Late Middle Chinese and from Early Mandarin or Yuan Chinese. Looking from the Khitan side, most of the Chinese loanwords pertain to these two periods.

14.1.2.1.1.1 Early Mandarin, Yuan Chinese loanwords

b-ai$_2$ 丹乐 (311-197) ‘paternal uncle, father’s elder brother’, ChinE *bo* 伯, YCh *paj,* LMCh *pɦa:jk* CWJ1014.

b-u2 丹及 (311-131) ‘foot, infantry’, ChinE *bu* 步,YCh *pu*, LMCh *pɦuǝ̆* **L**18.

d-y 坌万 (254-020) ‘virtue, favour’, ChinE *de* 德, YCh *tǝj*, LMCh ***tǝǝ̆k*** CWJ1376 (GuD21).

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

g-ui 九火 (334-262) ‘state’, ChinE *guo* 国 **L**l, **L**21, YCh *kuj*, LMCh ***kuǝ̆k.***

g-ung ci-iú 九犬 本穴 (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 *kǝwŋ,* YCh *tʂy,* LMCh *tʂyǝ̆.*

go-n g-au 曲公 九丸 (319-251 334-161) ‘official patent’, ChinE *guan gao* 官诰 C467.

ju-ung 马犬 ‘central’, (147-345), ChinE *zhong* 中, **L**1 YCh *tʂuŋ* LMCh *triwŋ.*

ki-ên 丞考 (163-073) ‘county’, 14x, ChinE *xian* 县 = 縣, YCh *xjɛn.* LMCh *xɦjian.*

ki-ên l-ing 丞考 屮同 **(**163-073 261-303) ‘tomb’, ChinE *qian ling* 乾陵, YCh *kʰjɛn,* LMCh *kɦian* YCh *liŋ* LMCh *liǝ̆ŋ.*

m-ing 叉同 (133-303) ‘inscription’, ChinE *ming* 铭 (=銘) C396, YCh *miŋ,* LMCh *mjiajŋ.*

mû 半 (358) ‘tomb, grave, mausoleum’, ChinE *mu* 墓, YCh *mu*, LMCh *muǝ̆,* plural **mú-s$_2$.**

m(u)1 叉 (133) ‘tomb’, ChinE *mu* 墓 C393, YCh *mu*, LMCh *muǝ̆* see above.

m(u)2 叉 (133) ‘tree, wood’, ChinE *mu* 木 C393, YCh *mu*, LMCh *mǝwk.*

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) ChinE 1. *nü gu* 女古 YCh *ny*, LMCh *nriǝ̆/nryǝ̆,* YCh *ku*, LMCh *kuǝ̆.*

na2 力 (139) ‘accept, admit, offer’ CWJ903, ChinE *na* 纳(=納) YCh *na,* LMCh *nap* .

p-ai-sï 业丰廿 (295-122-083) ‘order, tally’, ChinE *paisi* 牌司, **L**2, YCh *pʰai*, LMCh *pʰa:j* YCh *sẓ* LMCh *sẓ* .

p-i 1 业关 (295-339) ‘consort, concubine’, ChinE 1. *fei* 妃, YCh *fi*, LMCh *fjyj/fji.*

p-u-u 业及及 (295-131-131) and **p-û** 业只 (295-372) the term for ‘tribe’, ChinE *bu* 部 YCh *pu,* LMCh *pɦuǝ̆* .

pu1 个 (241) ‘vice, deputy’, also **pu-u** 个及 (241-131) ChinE *fu* 副, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjyw/fuw.*

pu2 个 (241) ‘palace, residence’, also **pu-u** 个及 (241-131), Chin *fu* 府, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjyǝ̆/fuǝ̆,* .

pu-shi-ñ 个忝伏 (241-033-222) ‘milady’, K104, ChinE *furen* 夫人, YCh *fu,* LMCh *fjyǝ̆/ fuǝ̆,* YCh *rin,* LMCh *rin.*

pu-u (241-131) ‘prefecture, region, official residence’, ChinE *fu* 府, YCh *fu*, LMCh *fjyə̆/fuə̆,* see **pu.**

s-ung1 (244-345) ‘ancestors’, ChinE *zong* 宗, YCh *tsuŋ,* LMCh *tsəwŋ.*

si$_2$ (040) ‘west’, earlier <ör>, also **s-i** (244-339) see Róna-Tas 2019[1], **L**20, ChinE *xi* 西 YCh *si,* LMCh *siaj*.

sh-ên (028-073) ‘1. auspicious, 2. new, 3. good’, Chin 1. *ji* 吉, 2. *xin* 新*,* 3. *shan* 善 C368, to ChinE, *shan* 善, YCh *ʂεn*, LMCh *ʂhian*, and *not* Mong *sayin* ‘good’, Dag *sain* ‘good’ (M 205), *sä, sǟ, sä^{i}n, sän* ‘gut’ (L-M131) .

sh-eu-u p-i ‘imperial concubine’, ChinE *shu fei* 淑妃 YCh *ʂy,* LMCh *ʂhiwk,* YCh *fi*, LMCh *fjyj/fji.*

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, **L**3, YCh *thjεn*, LMCh *thian.*

t-ie-ên2 (247-327-073) ‘hall’, ChinE *dian* 殿, CWJ 895 YCh *tjεn*, LMCh *tian* .

tai sh-ing (374 028-303) ‘holy’, ChinE! *da sheng* 大圣 C486.

w-un (070-273) ‘writing, script’, 7x, ChinE *wen* 文 (Dao5), YCh *ʋun,* LMCh *ʋjyn.*

w-un w-u-un (070-273 070-131-273) ‘civil and military, genitive’, ChinE *wen wu zhi* 文武之 C382.

xu (036) ‘tiger’, ChinE *hu* 虎.

y-ung-ñ (020-345-222) ‘eternal, perpetual peace’, ChinE *yongning* 永宁, CWJ1235.

14.1.2.1.1.2 Late Middle Chinese loanwords

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* 炳炳.

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.*

hu-a* ‘misfortune, pain’, ChinE *huo* 祸 =禍 ‘catastrophe, disaster, misfortune’, YCh *xwə*, LMCh *xɦua.*

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 LMCh Chinese **lap* 腊= 臘, YCh *la*, LMCh *lap* and an early Chinese loanword for Chinese 腊= 臘, ‘sacrifice, offered at the end of the lunar year’.

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[1] In my paper 2019 I opted for the Middle Chinese form, but now I prefer the Early Old Mandarin, that is /si/

ng-ü-n p-i (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.

p-i 2 (295-339) 'tablet', ChinE *bei* 碑, YCh *puj,* LMCh *pi* C461.

p-m (295-133) 'grade, rank, class', ChinE *pin* 品, YCh p^h*in*, LMCh p^h*im*, CWJ 959.

ri$_4$-iú (038.1-289) 'new born child', ChinE *ru* 乳, (Di17) YCh *ry,* LMCh *ryə̆.*

shï2 (180) 'poem', ChinE *shi* 诗(=詩), YCh *ʂɻ̩,* LMCh *ʂi.*

sh-iú1 (028-289) 'pivot, hub, center', ChinE *shu* 枢,(= 樞) YCh *tʂ*^{h}*y*, LMCh *tʂ*^{h}*yə̆.*

sh-iú2 (028-289) 'writing, book', ChinE *shu* 书 (=書), YCh *ʂy*, LMCh *ʂiə̆/ʂyə̆*, **L**21, **L**23.

sh-û (028-372) 'book, written document', ChinE *shu* 书 (=書), YCh *ʂy,* LMCh *ʂiə̆/ʂyə̆.*

tai sh-iuk (374 028-138) 'great uncle', ChinE *tai shu* 太叔 CWJ 1307, YCh *ʂy*, LMCh *ʂiwk.*

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.

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-ie (020-327) 'to be alive, to exist' Chin *you* 有, *zai* 在, **L**4, **L**5, tres, **L**7 bis, **L**8, ChinE YCh *jiw*, LMCh *iw* .

14.1.2.1.1.3 The chronology can not be decided

ci-eu2 (162-067) 'prefecture, district', ChinE *zhou*, 州, YCh *tʂiw,* LMCh *tʂiw.*

ong (071) '(local) king', K111, ChinE *wang* 王, YCh *waŋ*, LMCh *yaŋ.*

sh-m* (028-133) 'secret, hidden', ChinE *shen* 审 (=審) YCh *ʂim,* LMCh *ʂim.*

shï1 (180) 'envoy, in charge', ChinE *shi* 使, YCh *ʂɻ̩,* LMCh *ʂɻ̩,* **L**18.

14.1.2.1.1.4 Special cases

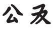
b-qó2 (311-169) 'servant', ChinE *pu* 仆 (=僕), YCh p^h*u,* LMCh p^h*əwk.*

ci-ia-qo (162-335-168) 'foot (length)', 6x, ChinE *chi* 尺 C407, YCh *tʂ*^{h}*i,* LMCh *tʂiajk.*

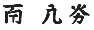
Both Chinese words had a final -*k* in MChin. The Khitan words have the suffix -qW. Are these suffixes simple replacements for the Chinese final -k?: Or Khitan borrowed the Yuan Chinese form and then added the suffix?

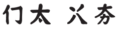
14.1.2.1.2 Khitan names of persons of Chinese origin

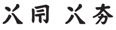
The corpus is full with Khitan personal names of Chinese origin. I will here concentrate on such elements which are frequent parts of the names. In EL I included only those personal names which may give some clues to the pronunciation of the glyphs.

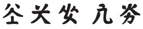
N-u  (251-131), a frequent part of a personal name, 87x, ChinE *nu* 奴, **L6**, Chinese *nu* has the meaning ‘slave, bondsman’ and it occurs in the name of the leading elit as in Ye-lü Nu 耶律奴, see WF 265 and n. 596. It is used as a clan name, and it has a feminine counterpart **N-iú**, see **13.4**, see **Pu S-a N-u** male form, (Jue5) and **Pu s-a N-iú** (*aú-ui*) female form (Tu5), see Chapter **13**. The clanname may have Buddhist origin.

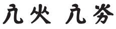
Khitan **Ge** and **He** in names of female and male persons is transcribed by Chinese *ge* 哥 ‘brother, elder brother, a honorific address’. I have the impression that CWJ uses the Chinese only for transcription purposes.

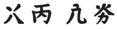
Cau ge-e  (022 334-348) ‘a female name’, ChinT *chuge* 楚哥, **L**4 also Zhong30-24.

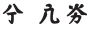
Du-ung$_2$ h-e$_2$  (237-106 340-348) ‘a female name’, (Yu8), ChinT *tong? ge* 童哥.

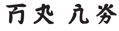
H-ing h-e$_2$  (340-303 340-109) ‘a female name’ (Yu7), ChinT *xing ge* 兴哥.

D-i-ng G-e (254-339-264 334-348) ‘a name’, ChinT *dingge* 定哥, **L**7.

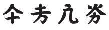
G-ui$_2$ G-e (334-266 334-348), **L**12, ChinT *guige* 贵哥.

H-iu G-e  (340-019 334-348) (Nu6), ChinT *xiu ge* 休哥 CWJ 1191.

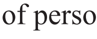
Pu g-e  (241 334-348) ‘a name’, ChinT *fu ge* 福哥, the name occurs only **L9**, but **Pu G-e$_2$**. The eighth son of **Tie-ên y-au-ji$_3$ Sin wang (*Han Kuangsi*** 韓 匡嗣917-982).

Y-au G-e  (020-161 334-348) ‘a name’, ChinT *yaoge* 姚哥, **L**6.

A special case is:

S-ên G-e  (244-073 334-348) ‘a name’ (only once in Yong 10-10) ← Uigur *Säŋä, S(ä)ŋä* ← Tibetan *seṅ-ge* ‘lion’ ← Sanskrit.

In a group of personal names we find the suffix **-qW** forming adjectives:

Ci-am-qó  ‘a name’, only here, ChinT *chu mu gu* 楚募古 **L**10.

Ci-bu-qó 杰生欠 (162-196-169) ‘tribe name’, (Xu17-3, Yu51-50, 56-15), also **ci-bu-qu** 杰生余 (162-196-246), see for details EL .
Ju-qu 马余 (147-246) ‘a name’, no gloss, **L**7.
L-an-ku$_3$ 屮买非 (261-011-282) ‘a name’, no gloss, **L**4.
178.2-ol-qú 凡达夫 (178.2-115-118) ‘a name’, no gloss **L**11.

14.1.2.1.3 Khitan titles of Chinese origin

The corpus includes many Chinese titles transcribed by or adapted to Khitan. One group of the title has the same grammatical structure as the Chinese original, but uses Khitan suffixes. I call these titles hybrids.

14.1.2.1.3.1 Hybrid titles

Examples for using Khitan genitive suffix:
b-oh ci-eu-un fu-ong ng-iú shï-*ï* 舟里 杰去火 介杰 发岀 兆谷 (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.
d-le pu-un ja-ri-qó 全方 个火 引化欠 (254-092 241-273 150-235-169) ‘prime minister of south division’, Chin *nan fu zhi zai xiang* 南府之宰相 C446.
fu-u g-ui t-ai-i s-iang g-ün 介攵 九火 令中关 仐米 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”.
g-ui-ñ cau-ji 九火伏 而犳 (334-262-222 022-152) ‘army of the state, genitive’, hybrid, Khitan genitive, Chin *guo zhi jun* 国之军 C474.
l-û ci-eu-un t-qu sh-i 屮只 杰去火 令余 又关 (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.
p-i shi-un$_2$-i s-eng-un 业关 禾爻关 仐各火 (295-339 033-144-339 244-175-273) ‘a title, hybrid construction, Khitan genitive’, (Hu7, Pu5) ChinE *pi shi xiang wen* 皮室详稳 C462 DiX6 in error.
sh-eu tai s-ï sh-iau-u b-u-un$_2$ i-ri 又去 丞 仐谷 又岁攵 舟攵火 关化 (028-067 374 244-353 028-362-131 311-131-144 339-235) ‘a title’ (Jue20-24), ChinE *shou taizi shao bao* 守太子 少保, hybrid genitive construction Hucker: 5110 *shao bao* ‘Junior Guardian’ .

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 C372, hybrid, with Khitan genitive.

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 *du dian jian* 都點檢 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* in *doudian* 都點 ‘metropolis’ had a final *-n* in YCh and LMCh.

t-le g-ing-en b-u g-ün (247-093 334-303-140 311-131 334-329) Chin *nanjing zhi bujun* 南京之步軍.

t-le g-iu-ung-un l-iu shï-eu (247-093 334-019-345-273 261 019-028-067) ‘the commander in absence of the emperor of the south palast (capital)’, Chin *nan gong (jing) zhi liu shou* 南宮 (京) 至留守 C438.

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 **L**25.

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.

ü-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.*

Additional Khitan plural suffix:

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.

m-ri-g-s (133-235-334-244) ‘??? townships, (*mi-li*) 评论’, Chin *zhu mili* 诸弥里, **L**16, C396.

Khitan word in genitive case+Chinese

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).

Partly translated**:**

cau-úr g-ung-ur (022-097 334-345-236) ‘military exploit, service, success’. Chin *jungong* 军功. C366. the first part is Khitan, the second Chinese with a Khitan plural suffix.

u-ur$_2$ 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”.

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).

Khitan numeral used as connectives in a Chinese title and Khitan plural and genitive:

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’, ChinE *qian bo er si zhi* 钱 (=錢)帛二司之, YCh *ts^{h}jɛn,* LMCh *tsɦian,* YCh *paj,* LMCh *pɦa:jk,* YCh *sẓ* LMCh *sẓ* C435.

14.1.2.1.4 Khitan geographic names of Chinese origin

A-an (189-011) ‘An, a geographic name’, ChinE *an* 安 .

G-u-un (334-131-273), ‘part of a geographical name, Guun’, ChinE *guwen* 孤稳, **L**15, Chin *guwen* 孤稳, *gu* YCh *ku*, LMCh *kŭə, wen* YCh *un* LMCh *ʔun.*

H-ai (340-122) ‘a geographic name’, CWJ ChinT *kai* 开 = 開 ‘name of a prefecture’, **L**1.

H-úr-û-e-ci (340-097-372-348-162) ‘geographic name’, Chin *caiyun* 彩云 ‘rosy, colourful clouds’ CWJ1305.

H-úr-û-e-ci har$_3$-s (340-097-372-348-162 321.10-244) ‘the H. mountains’- (Song5-41).

H-úr-û-e-ci ñ-qó (340-097-372-348-162 222-168) ‘the H. cave’ (Song22-3).

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 .

Xe ri-y ci-eu-un (268 235-020 162-067-273) ‘prefecture Haibei, Chin 海北[2], 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** 圣亿 (268-235) which occurs, 5x.

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[2] Haibei is in Qinghai Province

14.1.2.2 KHITAN WORDS OF TURKIC ORIGIN

The Turkic elements in Khitan raised the interest of many scolars. I gave an overview in Róna-Tas 2019, Orçun Ünal (2022) based on earlier studies has collected a group of Old Turkic titles occurring also in Khitan. Following WF 1949, Vovin 2003, Kane 2009, Wu 2009, Sun and Nie 2009 he gives only the Chinese transcriptions with two exceptons[3]. He also identified animal names from the calendric cycles. Three of these identifications are also present in Mongolic: **tau-li-a** 'hare, rabbit', **t-qo-a** 'chiken' and **ém-a** 全为 (270-189) 'goat', (see Exteneded Lexicon), while **hus-hu** 失列 (216-151). 1. 'cyclical barnch', *zi*, 2. 'heavenly branch, rat, mouse', also **hus-qó** 失欠 (216-169), Chin 1. *zi* 子, 2. *shu* 鼠 C419, is absent from the lexicon of Mongolic, where *qulugana* 'mouse. rat' is used for the cyclic year, The 'dragon' **lu** 叏 (208) '1. cyclical branch, 2. heavenly branch, dragon', also **lu$_2$** 皮 (064) Chin *chen* 辰, *long* 龙 C418, is in Mongolic *luu,* in Old Turkic *lu* (Kašgari) and present also in Tibetan as *klu* 'id'. The word seems to be a very old Central Asiatic word. On the terminology of the animal cycle see Appendix **18.4.**

The names of animals are used to identify the year, the month, the day and also the double hours, see Appendix **18.4.** This may mean that they were in daily use.

Orçun Ünal (2022) claims further that the word **tu-úr-** 劣交 (202-097) 'to die, to finish (hon)', Chin *hong* 薨, has its origin in Old Turkic *tōr(u)-* 'to be exhausted'. The Turkic word is also present in Mongolic, see LMo *tura-* 'to be(come) lean, emaciated, to lose weight, to be(come) exhausted, worn out' In Khitan **tu-úr** is a honorific expression and therefore it is rather improbable that a word with the semantic field of 'to be exhausted, emaciated etc.' gets a honorific connotation. Shimunek (2017 374) suggested to connect the Khitan word with Mong *törü-* 'to be born, reborn' with the idea, that for a Buddhist to die means to be reborn. Shimunek also added in a footnote, that the word is present in Old Turkic. In our paper with Wu (Wu–Róna-Tas 2020, 80) we connected the Khitan word with Mong *dügür-*'to expire, finish, end'[4]. Also this word may be connected with a Turkic one, see *tüke-* 'to come to end, finish'.

To the early layer pertains **üni** 杏 (059) 'ox, zodiac animal' ← Oguric *ineg* (> Chuv *ĕne*) → Hung *ünő* (see also WOT, p 978-981), **či(r)-er$_2$-** 术仌(162-269), or **či(r)-er** 术公(162-341) past tense 'to write', LMo *jiru-* 'to draw' ← Oguric **jiru-*

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[3] The Khitan title <ir-g-en> 亿九 冇 (235-334-140) he cites as <irgin> and 中全为 <lêma> ~ 中全列为 <lêmhua>.

[4] The semantic field of the verb *dügür-,* is 'to be full', see *dügüreng* 'full, filled, complete'.

(> Chuv *śïr*- 'to write', **d-ia** (254-335) 'enemy'[5], LMo *dayin* 'war, enemity', *dayisun* 'enemy, foe' Old Turkic *yagï*, the Mongolic forms reflect an Oguric *dagï (> *ǰagi > Chuv *śăv, śu* 'enemy, adversary' in *śu čăvaš*)[6]. Of immediate Turkic, maybe Uigur origin is **us-g** (068-334) 'letter, language'. The Khitan word reflects an Uigur *üsig,* which is a variant of Old Turkic *üǰeg.* The Old Turkic word goes back to Sogd *'wj'γ*. In my paper (2019) I have also dealt with the titles **il-bun**, **l-ém-a** and **ir-g-en** (see EL)

At present we can identify the following Turkic loanwords in Khitan:

Au-ñ-ó-ñ (161-222-090-222)'tribal confederation (**ñ-ó-ñ**) of the ChinT Ao (yan) 奥 (Turks)[7]?, **L**21.

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-u5 (311-131)'this, that', Chin *shi* 是, ← Old Turkic *bo* also *bu* 'this, that' (Clauson 1972, 291), 'dieser' (Wilkens 182).

bai-en2 (061-140), 'dynasty' plural **bai-en-s** (061-140-244) 'dynasty,', Chin *zhu chao* 诸朝 CWJ 1072, may be from *Bayan* < *bayan* 'rich < *bay*-, see also Chu *puyan*, Hung *bán*, "a title", name of several Turk kagans, frequent in HSM, also "moyin čur" in the Chinese sources (WOT 93-96), .

bod (309) 'body, oneself, person, incarnation', Chin *shen* 身 C464 also for *huashen* 'ncarnation' 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).

ci-(r)-* (162) 'to write', the original form may have been <ci-r>, the -r- disappeared in certain morphonological positions, but then got the suffix **-(e)r** of the past tense. EL and **L**15. 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 "witing" see Bodrogligeti (1965), WOT 459-464).

cal°-a (183.1-189) 'stone', 14x: Mong *cilagun,* Turkic *taš.*

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[5] The word was quoted by Ótake 2017,201 but he read the second glyph as *ää.* The glyph No 335 is <ia> in all authorities. The identification of the Khitan word is nevertheless correct. Its reading may be also <daya> or <dayi>.

[6] Two etymologies turned out to be wrong, on **xo-mú-er** see Róna-Tas 2021 The Turkic etymology of **u-ji** (131-337) <uji> 'craftsman, master' has also unsolved problems

[7] WF 703 has *Ao-yan* Turks and *Ao-yan Nü-zhi*.

dor (218) ‘seal, official’, K114 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).

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

d-y z-in (254-020 258-018) ‘title’, K120, ChinE *te jin* 特进 C446, ← Turk *tegin* (Clauson 483), also **di-í$_2$-in** (037-114-018) ‘a title’, 7x, also **di-í-in**, ChinT *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.

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).

har (321) ‘black’, see Mong, Turkic *qara* ‘black’.

hus-hu (216-151) ‘1. cyclical branch Zi, 2. heavenly branch, rat’, K112, no reading, also **216-qó** (216-169)， Chin 1. *zi* 子 2. *shu* 鼠 C419 ← Turk *küskü* → 88 Hung *güzü* WOT361-362.

ir-g-en (235-334-140) ‘tribal chief’, read **ri-g-en** ChinT *yi li jin* 夷离堇 C423, see Turkic *erkin, irkin* ‘a title’, also in Rashid-ud-in, Tibetan transcription *hirkin.*

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.

l-ém-a* (261-270-189), ← OTurk *el ïmga* (Clauson 1972, 158) a title described by Kashgari.

l-iu-* (261-019)‘to pass away, die (honorific), K91, 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), ?? to Turk *öl-* ‘to die’.

m-en (133-140) ‘holy, sacred’, Chin *shen* 神 C394 to Mong *mendü* ‘health’??? or *möngke* ‘eternal’ ???? Turk *menggü.*

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.*

S-ar-ha-án (244-123-051-290) ‘name of a person’, 12x, ChinT *sa lan* 撒懒. The name may pertain to the Turkic word for ‘dragon’, *sazagan* ← Turk, The form with rhotacism exists as a loanword in Hungarian as *sárkány* (see

WOT 695-697). Golden (2006-2007, 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 relationship of the Cumans with the Khitans see Appendix **18.7**.

Sh-úng-or (028-357-076) ‘a person’s name’, ChinT *shuang gu* 双古 C367 see. Mong *singqur, šongqur* etc. ‘falcon’, see also Turk *čongqur*, ChinT is *ad hoc* and only the two first syllables, see Chin *shuang* 双 =雙 ‘pair, double’, YCh *ʂwaŋ,* LMCh *ʂwa:wŋ.*

t(e)-* ‘to say’ ← Turk *te*- ‘to say’ (Clauson 433), see **t-gu** (247-165) ‘saying’, 56x, also **t-gu$_2$** (247-165.1), K112, 2x, Chin *yue* 曰 C439.

terken* QUEEN (333) ‘empress, logograph’ read **terken**, 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).

t-qo-a (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 .

tau-li-a (029-206-189) ‘fourth earthly branch, rabbit, hare’, K101, 112, ‘1. mao (branch), 2. rabbit’, Chin 1. *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).

t-ud1 (247-344) ‘1. army commander, top provincial commander of both military and civil administration’, 30x, ChinE *dudu* 都督, YCh *tu*, LMCh *təwk*, C442. ← Chinese ← Old Turkic *todog.*

úr-u (097-131) ‘son’, Chin *zi* 子 C387 also *chujia* 出嫁 ← Turk *urï* ‘son, boy’, see also Mong *ur* ‘exrescence or burr on a tree, tumour’, see WOT 969-974, .

û-e$_2$ (372-109) ‘title’, also **û-e** (372-348) ‘title’, ChinT *yu yue* 于越 C484, see MMo *üge*, ← Turk *öge* (<**ö*-).

Uh-ul (172-366) ‘name of a Turkic tribe’, ChinT *wugu* 乌古 **L**20, **L**21.

us-g (068-334) ‘letter, writing, script, document’, also **us$_2$-g** (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), see ← Uigur *üsig*, which is a variant of Old Turkic *ujig.* The Old Turkic word goes back to Sogd *’wj’γ.*

y-or-ñ (020-076-222) ‘(moon)light, to shine’, Chin *zhao* 照 C361, ??Turk *yaru*- ‘to be or become bright’ > *yarïn* ‘morning’, Wilkens 868.

Khitan may had loanwords from other languages, as the language of Bohai, the Old Korean (Koryo) language[8], Tibetan[9] and others.Though also here the first steps were made, we have to wait for further research.

14.1.3 Summary

There are two layers of Turkic lonawords detectable in the Khitan corpus. To the earlier period pertain words of Ogur origin. Words with clear criteria are **tau-li-a** **戈矢为** (029-206-189) ‘hare, rabbit’, and **cal°-a** **尽为** (183.1-189) ‘stone’, both with lamdacism, see Turkic *tabišgan, taš* and **ci-(r)-*** ‘to write’, with rhotacism, see Turk *yaz.* We have to suppose that words of finally Turkic origin among the names of the animals of the duodecimal cycle have to be from the same source as **t-qo-a** **令力为** (247-168-189 ‘chicken, rooster’, **uni** **杏** (059) ‘cattle’, **hus-hu** **失列** (217-151) ‘rat’, **ém-a** **丕为** (270-189) ‘goat’ see Appendix **18.4.**

The second layer consists of words of Uigur origin. The Khitan elit had close marriage contacts with the Uigurs, a few titles pertain here as **d-y z-in** **公丙 伞雨** (254-020 258-018) ‘title’, K120, ChinE *te jin* 特进 C446, ← Turk *tegin* (Clauson 483), also **di-í$_2$-in** **王谷雨** (037-352-018), 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*, **ir-g-en** **化九杓** (235-334-140) ‘tribal chief’, ChinT *yi li jin* 夷离堇 C423, see Turkic *erkin, irkin,* **l-ém-a*** **屮丕为** (261-270-189), OTurk *el ïmga* and **û-e$_2$** **只夯** (372-109) ‘title’, also **û-e** **只券** (372-348), ChinT *yu yue* 于越 C484, MMo *üge*, ← Turk *öge* (<**ö*-). In some cases it is possible, that the extant Khitan word is a loan from Chinese, and the Chinese is of Uigur origin. This may have been the case with **t-ud**, **d-y z-in** and the name of the Turks **Du$_3$-ge.**

Though the new administration of the Liao dynasty was formed by and modelled on the contemporary Chinese system, a certain role was played by the Uigurs. The following words reflect this situation: **dor** **亐** (218) ‘seal, official’, K114 (read<doro>) 131x, K87, Chin *yin* 印, **L**2, **L**14, ‘ceremony, rite’ *li* 礼 CWJ905 (Dao12), plural **dor-s** **亐仐** (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) **us-g** **兆九** (068-334) ‘letter, writing, script, document’, also **us$_2$-g** **犰九** (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’,

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[8] See Vovin 2003, 2017

[9] On a possible Tibetan loan word, see Róna-Tas (2004)

usugulji- ‘reden’ (M-K142), see Uigur *üsig*, which is a variant of Old Turkic *uǰig*. The Old Turkic word as noted above goes back to Sogd *’wj’γ*.

The frequent title used for the Emperor is *qagan* **qa-ha-an** (053-051-011) and its short form **qa** (053). The title is of course present in Uigur, written as *qagan, hagan,* and in many Old Turkic monuments, see Clauson. 1972, 611. The title is detectable in Chinese sources since the 3rd century referring to nomads of the steppe, see the collected data presented by Shimunek 2017, 367-368. Since it was present among earlier Xianbi tribes, (Tabgach, Tu-yu-hun) it is difficult to identify the direct origin of the Khitan word.

The Khitan term for ‘queen’ is of Uigur origin and is fixed in the Liaoshi and present by a logoglyph in KSS:

QUEEN (333) ‘empress, logograph’ read, *terken,* Liao shi ChinT *te li jian* 忒里蹇 C471, WF 431, also 膩俚建, YCh *tʰəj li kjɛn*, LMCh *tʰəə̆k li kian*, the Chinese is a transcription of **teriken* or **terigen*, see Turk *terken* ‘queen’, also *terken qatun, terken qunčui* (Clauson 1972, 544),

Of Uigur origin may be words of the everyday speech as: **b-as** (311-174) ‘again’, Old Turk *basa* ← Sogd, **b-u5** (311-131) ‘this, that’, Chin *shi* 是, see Old Turkic *bo* also *bu* ‘this, that’ (Clauson 1972, 291), ‘dieser’ (Wilkens 182), the Khitan form is pointing to Uigur *bu,* **t(e)-*** ‘to say’ ← Turk *te-* ‘to say’, **bod** (309) ‘body, oneself, person, incarnation’, Chin *shen* 身 C464 also for *huashen* ‘incarnation’ 化身, OTurk *bod* ‘stature, size of a man, clan’ (Clauson 296-297), Old Uigur *bod* ‘Körper, Stature’ (Wilkens, 183), for Khitan **ci-ci** (162-162) ‘together with, etcetera, and so on’ K96, Chin no gloss, **L**8, see Mong *jiči* ‘and, also, furthermore, especially’, no Uigur parallel could be detected.

There exist a few Khitan personal names of Uigur origin as **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. Another case is: **S-ên G-e** (244-073 334-348) ‘a name’ (only once in Yong 10-10) ← Uigur *Säŋä, S(ä)ŋä* ← Tibetan *seṅ-ge* ‘lion’ ← Sanskrit.

Interesting are the names **Sh-úng-or** (028-357-076) 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, and **S-ar-ha-án** (244-123-051-290), 12x, ChinT *sa lan* 撒懶. with rhotacism, see Old Turkic *sazagan* ‘dragon’ etc. see WOT 695-697. These names, were formed from common words which reflect Oguric traits.

The corpus mentions Turkic clan and tribe names in most cases in their Sinicized form. The most powerful Uigur clan living in marriage relationship with the Khitan ruling clan got a Chinese name *Xiao* 蕭 in 947 which appears as **S-iau2** (244-362) in the corpus. In most of the inscriptions they are called: **bud na-ha-án-er** (176-139-051-290-341), ‘the other, those from the Maternal Uncles’. The ethnic and tribal name *Turk* appears only in the Khitan transcription of its

Chinese form: **Du$_3$-ge 丸 岑** (089-349) Chinese *Tu-jue* 突厥. YCh *tu-kyε*. The name occurs also together with another tribal name: **Au-ui-én Du-ge-én jur$_2$ ñ-ó-de-en 犮火当 丸岑当 圣 伏升矢冇** (161-262-361 089-349-361 134 222-090-205-140) ‘the two tribal confederations, Ao-yan and Duge(y)en, genitive’ (Ling17).

14.2 HONORIFIC WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS

The inscriptions represent a high literary level of the language. Words and expressions, which are frequent include additionally different levels of honor. Let us see the expressions for ‘to die’.

iu 丙 ‘to die, to be not’.
YOUNG-qú na iu 兮夬 力 丙 (248-118 139 019) ‘the young (daughter), died early, premature’ (Nu21-15) Chin *shao zao zu* 少早卒.
b-qo na iu 舟为 力 丙 ‘the child died early’ (Xu45) Chin *nü* ?? *cu* 女 卒.

tu-úr- 为亦 (202-097), ‘to die’ Chin *hong* 薨.
only past tense for the forms see VERBS.
t-qó shï…… tu-úr-bun eu-úr FIFTY nem p-aû-er ‘the governor general died when he was 58 years old’ (Ling18-1).
ja-ri-qó……… eu-úr SEVENTY° xa-she-de s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er tu-úr-bun ‘the prime minister……. when he was 70 years old, he became ill and died’ (Xu38-15).
qita-un$_2$ s-ai tai shï te ai dur sär jur$_2$ när-de eu-úr SIXTY xa-she-de jau tau-un 003-ud-i tu-úr-bun
‘the Khitan imperial physician Grand Preceptor in that year, in the month four, day twenty, when he was sixty years old in the ???? of the *jau tau*, died’.

t-ge$_2$ 令厷 (247-112), Chin *gu* 故 .
s-iang g-ün-en m-in ñ-l-û-ui t-ge$_2$-er ‘the mausoleum of the general was opened (when he) died’ (Qing23-23).
or-a qa-ha-an m-in b-g-ñ û-e-de u 227 ja-ai t-ge$_2$-oi (=er) ‘when he died to the former kagan’s mausoleum Abogiñ *üe* ……????’ (Xiang 5-13).
t-ge$_2$-oi (=er) nai l-ie-ên-ñ s-eng-un ‘died the leader L-ie-ên-ñ field marshal (the owner of the Xiang inscription)’ (Xiang40-11).

l-iu 小丙 (261-019), Chin *beng* 崩.
liu-ir-er 小丙刃公 (261-019-137-341) (Xing2, Dao5).

h-i-ing s-úng m-en mu-u-ji m-o ci-i-shi-d-bun ta-139.1 HEAVEN ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar hong di m-rí-en n-ad-abu-ad-i dele si s-mu-én udu-u-dú s-a-ai l-iu-ir-er

[illegible]

‘Xingzong the sacred and holy with great filial piety marked, the emperor of heaven’s repeated splendour, moved south west with the moving palace of the horses, and when he made a stop over at the ordu, died’ *(*Xing2-19)

Chin *xing zong shen sheng da xiao zhang chongxi huang di ??? nabozhi nan xi xing gong yu zhubi beng* 兴宗 神 圣 大 孝 章 重熙 皇帝。。。。捺钵之 南西 行宫于 驻跸 崩 CWJ868

l-iu-ir-én [illegible] (261-019-137-361).

GREAT t-iu-ir jur l-iau-qú lu ai gur sär l-iau-qú lu or-l-bun ñol när siu t-qo-a udu-u heu-úr n-ad-bot g-eu m-uh-ud /12/ s-uh-i s-a-án ad-búl a-ai eu-úr SIXTY jur-de l-iu-ir-én

[illegible] /12/ [illegible]

‘In the reign period Heaven Virtue, year two, red dragon, month three, red dragon according the cyclical system, day six, white chicken, at the spring palace, the moving palace G-eu m-uh-ud S-uh when she (the empress dowager) was 62, died’ (Ren11-12)

Chin *da kang er bing chen nian san yue bing chen shuo liu ri xin you gong chun nabo ……….sui liu shi er yu beng*

大 康 二 丙 辰 年 三 月 丙辰 朔六 日 辛 酉 宫 春 捺钵。。。。。。岁 六十 二 于 崩 CWJ883.

As we see **iu, yiu** is used for the pass away of children, young persons with no office yet. The verbs **tu-úr** and **t-ge-** are used for several officials of different high ranks and **liu-ir-** with masculine and feminine forms is ued only for the emperor and the empress or the empress dowager.

14.3 TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

The overwhelming majority of the terminology of kinship[10] is of Khitan origin and most of the terms can be found also in Mongolic. The few exceptions are of Chinese origin.

14.3.1 Terms of relationship of Chinese origin

au 夬 (161) ‘elder sister, honorific’, K95,117, Chin *jie* 姐 C404, also **aú** 尔 (210) ‘elder sister’, Chin *jie* 姐 C418 to ChinE *ao* 奥 ‘old woman’, YCh *aw*, LMCh *ʔaw* see further WF 275 note 191.

n-i-gu2 公关勺 (251-339-165) ‘female ancestor’, ChinE *nügu* 女古, **L**9, C445, also Hu22, CWJ1573.

n-iú 公炏 (251-289) ‘woman, female, daughter, young girl’, 11x, ChinE *nü* 女 CWJ1277 with ? mark.

n-iú aú-ui 公炏 尔火 (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-.

p-i 1 业关 (295-339) ‘consort, concubine’, ChinE 1. *fei* 妃, YCh *fi*, LMCh *fjyj/fji* C461.

pu-shi-ñ 分忝伏 (241-033-222) ‘milady’, K104, ChinE furen 夫人, YCh fu, LMCh fjyə̌/ fuə̌, YCh rin, **LMCh** *rin*. Hucker, No 2006”Consort” **L**7, **L**8, **L**9.

14.3.2 The reading is partly unknown:

025-i 西关 (025-339) ‘adopted by the paternal uncle, who has no son’, 31x, see **L**6, **L**11.

025-l-un$_2$ 西屮叉 (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.

I could not identify Mongolic parallels for:

aju 艾 (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.

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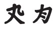
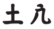
[10] For an overview of the Khitan kinship and marriage system as reflected in the Chinese sources see Holmgren 1986.

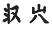
14.3.3 The Mongolic parallel is or seems to be regular:

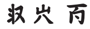
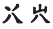
abu (196) 'ancestor, grandfather', K100, Chin *zufu* 祖父 L3 see Mong *abu, aba* 'father, grandfather, esp. applied to an old father (endearing)' **au-a1**  (161-189) 'male honorific title "Uncle"', 11x, no gloss, see Mong *abugai, abagai* 'title of respect', not in Dag, see also **Mong** *abaga* 'paternal uncle' (Nugteren 2011, 263-264) .

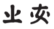
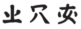
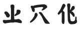
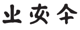
deu (101) 'younger brother', Chin *di* 第, **L**6. Mongolic *degüü.* 'younger brother or sister', Dag *deu* 'younger brother' (M136), *dou, du, deu* 'jüngerer Bruder' (M-K124).

e$_4$-g  (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* 'mat' (Poppe 79), *əγ* 'id.', Chin *mu* 母 (DagE 23).

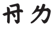
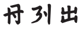
eme (021) 'woman, wife', K97, 109, read **mo**, earlier reading in CWJ **em**, but see the suffixes. 243x, see Mong *eme* 'woman, wife, female', Dag *eme* 'female, adult female, woman, lady, wife' (M143), *emih, emhe* 'Weib, Gattin' (M-K129), Chin *mu* 母, C365.

k-iú  (283-289) 'younger sister', see also **h-iú**. Chin *mei* 妹 C456, see Mong *keü(ken)* 'child, girl, virigin, young', but *keu, küü* 'son, young boy', Dag *uin* 'girl, daughter', plural: *uiire* 'girls, daughters' (M231), *keku* 'son, child' (M182) *uhin, uhiń* 'Tochter' (< *ökin*) (M-K140).

k-iú eme  'the younger sister of the mother, aunt, second consort', Chin *xiao yi mu* 小姨母 CWJ1018 (Gu12) also **h-iú**  (340-289) 'younger sister', Chin *mei* 妹 C480[11].

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.

14.3.4 Problems with the existing Mongolic parallels

b-qo  (311-168) 'child, son', 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 6.1.3.1.

The reading of the Khitan word is not quite clear, it can be **baqo** or **boqo**. The phonetic correspondence is in both cases irregular.

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[11] 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'.

$\textbf{har}_3$-o 朿及 (006-186), 7x, ‘son-in-law’, Chin *nüxu* 女婿 C359, plural: **$\textbf{har}_3$-o-od**, 2x, C359.
m-as-qó har₃-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.*
The reading is uncertain, the phonetic correspondence is irregular.

ñ-iau 伏兮 (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.*
Neither the semanatic, nor the phonetic correspondence is regular.

úr-u 夾及 (097-131) ‘son’, Chin *zi* 子 C387 also *chujia* 出嫁 Turk *urï* ‘son, boy’, see WOT 969-974, also Mong *ur* ‘exrescence or burr on a tree, tumour’.
Maybe that the word is of Turkic, Uigur origin, the labial character of the second vowel may be secondary, evolved under the influence of the first.

15. REMARKS ON THE ONOMASTICON

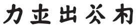
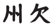
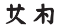
There are 43 personal names in the Gao shi inscrption, of them 16 females, wives of the clan members. The male names are of three types. To the first type pertain those names, which give only the title. This is the case of **S-in ong** 仐雨 杰 (244-018 071) 'wang of Qin' 秦. To the second type pertain the names of male persons, who were not member of the Han clan. This is the case with **Y-ar-u-ud G-u-uh**, the compiler of our inscription and four other cases, when beside the clan name of the wife, her father or ancestor is also given, as in the following cases: **Xe-l-ñ** 圣屮伏 'the first wife of **L-iu-ñ Go S-a-am**, daughter of **T-il-én** from the Maternal Uncles' Junior Father-in-laws', **L**9. **Ar-l**, 'wife of **Pu-ung H-ia Nu** daughter of **T-en$_2$-un$_3$**, princess', **178.2-ol-qú** 凡达夹 'wife of **C-am-qó,** daughter of **Ñ-ar-qó-ñ** chancellor from the Maternal Uncles' **L**11, and **G-ui Ge p-üe-z-iú** 九火 九劵 业芺伞岗 'second wife of **L-iu-ñ Go S-a-am,** daughter of **Har-hu** chancellor from the Maternal Uncles' **L**12**.**

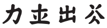
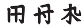
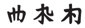
There is a group of personal names, which consists of two parts and the first seems to be in genitive case, such are: **Y-ie-ên-(e)ñ S-ó-su-hu** 丙文考伏 仐廾卡列 'the eldest son of the eldest son of Bu Jel, eldest of the eight brothers' **L**4, **H-ing-iñ Y-au Ge** 火同伏 丙丸 九劵 'the fourth son of Sin wang [=Han Kuangsi]', (Derang, later Dechang, finally Longyun) **L**5-6, **S-a-am-ñ D-i-ng G-e** 仐为乃伏 仝关发 九劵 'the seventh son of Sin wang', **L**7, and **L-iu-ñ Go S-a-am** 屮丙伏 曲 仐为乃 'the first son of Pu G-e (=Guo-san)', **L**9, see also Appendix **18.3.** The first element is not the name of the father, or at least that name of the father as known from the text. The name **H-ing** is otherwise frequent. It occurs in the name of the emperor Xingzong (H-ing S-úng), who has an inscription (Xing A.D. 1055), in the name of mylady **H-ing H-e$_2$** (Yu7) or in the name of **H-ing G-e** *sh-a-rí* (Yong 26).

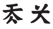
There are two personal male names which look like ethnonyms: **T-ang-ur$_2$** 令気化 'first son of **Pu-ung H-ia Nu**', **L**10 and **T-ad-ar** 令亦本 'the third son of **L-iu-ñ Go S-a-am**', **L**11.

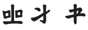
The following clan and subclan names and names of social groups of wives are mentioned in the Gaoshi inscription:

1. **Eu-uh-ń-i** 与夂伏关 (067-172-222-339), 7x, written also as **Eu-g-ñ-i** 与九伏关 (067-334-222-339), 2x, both in Di (Di3-3. 4-22), **L**3bis, **L4, L**5. **L**7,
2. **En$_2$-ia-ai** 凹 才 丰 (324-335-122), 1x, **L**7, also **En$_2$-ia-ai$_2$** 凹才东 (324-335-197), 4x, (Nan12-28, 30-24, Gu4-23, Pu3-36),
3. **Na-ha-án-er-en**, 力圭出公布 (139-051-290-341-140), 48x, Maternal Uncles, **L**17', plural, genitive,

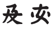
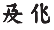
4. **Na-ha-án-er-en SMALL-qó aju-en**    (139-051-290-341 188-169 082.1-140), 13x, Maternal Uncles' Junior Father-in-laws', **L**9, **L**10, in genitive,

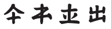
5. **Na-ha-án-er Il-b-ci go-ci-en**    (139-051-290-341 302-311-162-162 319-162-140), 'Maternal Uncles' Il-bi-ci Tent's, **L**11, genitive,

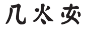
6. **Ishi-i**  (033-339), 3x, **L**5, genitive.

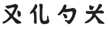
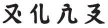
In most cases the clan and subclan names are in genitive case, not quite clear is. **En$_2$-ia-ai**  (324-335-122).

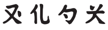
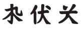
In some cases the name pertains to an other language or dialect:

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 name occurs 7 times once in Gu17-25 and six times in Yu, the form **tum-ur$_2$**  (187-236) occurs twice in Xu21-13 45-13.

S-ar-ha-án  (244-123-051-290) 'name of a person' 12x, ChinT *sa lan* 撒懒. 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 (2006-2007, 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**.

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.

M-ri-gu-i （133-235-165-339）'tribe name "Merkit"', ChinE *mei li ji* 梅里急 C396, also **M-ri-g-un$_2$**  (133-235-334-144) 'tribe name, "Merkin"', ChinT *mei li ji* 梅里急 C396,

M-ri-gu-i c-ñ-i   (133-235-165-339 162-222-339) 'a person's name' ChinT *meiliji chinü* 梅里急 迟女, C396 (Guan3).

All Chinese forms are modern transcriptions.

The rich onomastic material of the Khitan inscriptions is waiting for a detailed research. Plans were made in Höhhot and we have to wait the first results.

16. REMARKS ON THE SYNTAX

We have an early witness of the Khitan syntax, which was published by Wittfogel and Feng. WF quotes (244) from the *Yi jian zhi* 夷堅志 the following anecdote from Hong Mai 洪 邁:

The Sung envoy Hung Mai heard from Wang Bu 王蔀 that a Khitan child in the process of learning Chinsese would first be taught the vernacular rearranged to mirror the Khitan sentence structure. To illustrate this point Wang Bu cited two lines of a poem by the Tang writer Jia Dao 賈島:

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

These verses would be rephrased in the vernacular; at the same time , the word order would be modified, as follows:

月 明裹 和尚 門子 打
yuemingguo heshang menzi da
Moon-in monk door hits

水底裹 樹上 老鴉 座
shuidiguo shushang laoya zuo
water-in tree-on crows sit”

WF remark further „In the rearranged sentences the attribute precedes the subjects and the verb is placed at the end” (WF 244).That is the sentence is of a typical SOV structure.

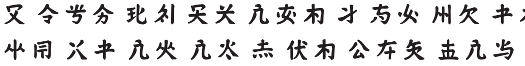
The sentence is further a good example of how a Khitan who have learnt Chinese, but is not yet fluent in his second language would have translated the Khitan text.

In contrast to Chinese which is a SVO language in the time of the Liao dynasty, Khitan was an SOV language as Mongolic and Turkic were. This means that the subject is followed by the object and all other parts of speech, and the predicate is at the end of the sentence. This is the case in the above cited texts.

Comcerning the structures of sentences present in the corpus, we can identify the following subtypes:

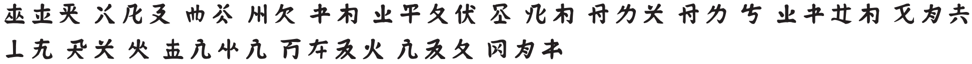
1. The predicate is a finite verb
2. The predicate is a deverbal noun, a participle
3. The predicate is a structure consisting of an auxiliary verb preceded by a nominal part
4. The predicate is nominal
5. Zero

In the following I present the sentence structures of the Gaoshi inscription.

 (Gao1)
GREAT t-iau-dû xu-ur qita-i g-úr-en ia deu-un SMALL-qó ai-en s-in ong-on go-er-en g-ie-ém ju-ung sh-iú l-ing h-ai g-ui g-ung ong ñ-en n-ra-de RECORD-g-én

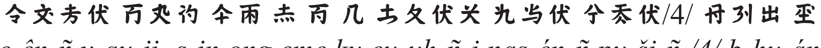
[This is what is] recorded on the burial tomb of (an offspring) of the Great Liao Central Khitan State's Brethren's Junior Ancestor's Sin wang's (Patriarchal) House, and concurrently (*g-ie-ém*) Chief of the Secretarial Council (*ju-ung sh-iú l-ing*), country duke (*g-ui g-ung ong*) of Hai.

The predicate is *RECORD-g-én* 'had been recorded', passive voice past perfect participial.

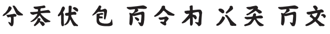

qa-ha-an h-dú-un$_2$ *go-er SMALL-qó ai-en p-ul-uh-ñ tai shï-en b-qo-i b-qo dor p-ai-sï-en sh-a-rí 284-d*$_3$ *när-i ui RECORD-g-l-g y-ra-u-ud g-u-uh COMPOSE-a-ar* (Gao2).

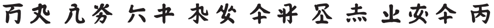
The grandson of P-ul-uh-ń, the Great Preceptor (*tai shï*), member of the Imperial Horizontal Junior Tent Ancestors, the court attendant (*sh-a-rí*) of the Bureau of the Seals and Tallies (*dor p-ai sï*), Y-ra-u-ud G-u-uh (according to) what was written in the (Imperial) Daily Agenda was it composing.

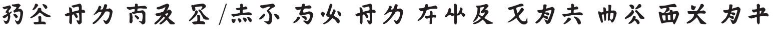
The predicate is *COMPOSE-a-ar* past perfect, participal, active voice.

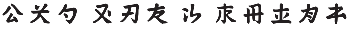
1. 
t-ie-ên-ñ y-au-ji$_3$ *s-in ong eme ku eu-uh-ñ-i nas-én-ñ pu-ši-ñ /4/ b-hu-án nem* (Gao 3-4)

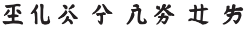
The Heaven Sent (*t-ie-ên-ñ y-au-ji$_3$*) Sin wang [=Han Kuangsi] (and his) wife Eu-uh-ń-i Nas-en-eń milady (had) eight children.
The predicate is here nominal ‘eight children’ without verbal constituent.

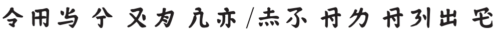
2. 
pu-shi-ñ gur em-t-en h-ib y-ie (Gao4-5).
‘of the three wives all (descendants) are alive.’
The predicate is a Khitan verb of Chinese origin ‘to exist, to be alive’ *you* 有.

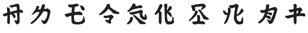
3. 
y-au g-e da$_3$-ai ci-ng s-iang tai ong p-úr-s iu (Gao6)
Y-au Ge (Derang, later Dechang, finally Longyun) Great Prime Minister (*ci-ng s-iang*) Grand Prince (*tai ong*)’s descendants, (are) not alive.
The predicate is **iu**, verb of negative existence.

4. 
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 (Gao6)
‘(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.’
The predicate is *025-i a-ai* ‘adopted son is’ with the verb of existence in past continuous tense (a ai)

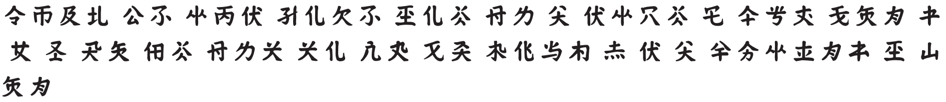
5. 
n-i-gu m-ir-jï ul$_2$ ETERNAL-li$_4$-ha-a-ar (Gao9)
‘the female ancestors’ deeds (??? *m-ir-jï*) have not been perpetuated.
The predicate is *ETERNAL-li$_4$-ha-a-ar* past tense participial, masculine, passive voice with the negation particile **ul$_2$**.

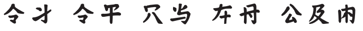
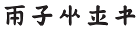
6. 
nem-ri-er pu g-e sï tu (Gao9)
The eighth son (was) Pu Ge Minister over the Masses.
Here and in all similar cases the word of existence is missing, the role of the predicate is taken over by the ordinal numeral.

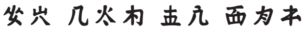
7. 
t-il-én pu m-a g-ün ong-on b-qo b-hu-án dur° (Gao10)
T-il-én, imperial son-in-law (*pu-ma*), prefecture wang (*g-ün ong*) (had) four children.
The predicate is here the ordinal numeral ‘four’ which follows the marked words.

8. 
b-qo emu° t-ang-ur$_2$ tai shï a-ai (Gao 10)

first child *(b-qo emu)*, was T-ang-ur$_2$ Grand Preceptor (*tai-shï)*.
The predicate is the name of the person with the verb of existence in past continuous tense (a ai).

9. 
t-od-o-or n-on l-iu-ñ ja-ri-qó-on nem-ri-er b-qo HEAVEN ñ-l-û-er dur s-iau-qú tau-li-a ai ñol sär jur när-de sui-er b-qo-i i-ri g-au sh-ib c-ur-én-en ong ñ HEAVEN ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar nem GOLD tau-li-a (Gao13).
In the fifth generation Vicegerent (*L-iu-ń*) Minister's (*ja-ri-qo*) eighth son, 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*).
The predicate is here nominal **b-qo**……….. **G-au sh-ib** the second wang, emphasised by the deictic **ñ**. There are two subordiate clauses, the first has the nominal predicate **sui-er** (born), the second has also a nominal predicate 'children's name' (**b-qo-i i-ri**).

10. **t-ia t-ul û-én (a)ra-b n-o-ón dai-l$_2$-l-ha-ai**   'He fought with the enemical T-ul ū-én Ar-b (Arab) people (**n-o-ón**), (Gao22)
The predicate is here the past continous tense of the factitive form **dai-l$_2$-l-ha-ai**.

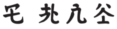
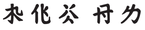
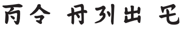
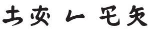
11. **ng-iú ku-ung-en RECORD-g 025-a-ar**  'were put down into the Record of the (famous) Imperial Ministers' (Gao24).
The predicate is here **025-a-ar** past tense participal.

12. From line 14 on the structure is in most cases the following: a title X is mentioned and the predicates are the following
12.1 **û-úr o-oi$_2$** 'was made X' (Gao14)
12.2 **o-oi$_2$** 'became X' (Gao14, 16, 21, 24)
12.3 **t-em$_2$-l-ge-er** 'was forwarded to X' (Gao14, 22), **t-em$_2$-l-ge-y** (Gao16, 18, 23, 24, 26), **d-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y** (Gao20, 21, 23)
12.4 **p-o-ri$_5$** 'became X' (Gao15, 17, 22)
12.5 **deu-úr MANAGE-er a-án** 'had to act as manager of X' (Gao15)
12.6 **da$_3$-ha-ar-i tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ai** 'was successively advanced to X' (Gao17)
12.7 **p-o-l$_2$-bun** 'became X' (Gao18, 23)
12.8 **ai** 'was X' (Gao20)
12.9 **160-ai** 'was awarded X' (Gao21)
12.10 **tau-su-ó-ul-ha-ai** 'was forwarded to X' (Gao25)

12.11 **p-o-l$_2$-li$_2$** ‘becoming X’ (Gao25)
12.12 **jur us-g-d rí-i** ‘him was granted the double diploma’ (Gao25)
12.13 **ul$_2$ an-i 025-ha-al** ‘was not appointed (to a new position)’ (Gao26)
12.14 **jau-ul-ha-ai au-a-an.** ‘X was extended to him’ (Gao26)
12.15 **s-a-aju o-l$_2$-ha-ai** ‘was placed among X’ (Gao26)
12.16 **MANAGE-u-ji$_3$-de o-o-l$_2$** ‘became the manager of X’ (Gao26).

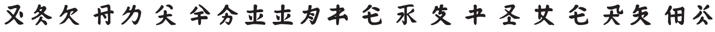
As it can be seen, there existed nominal and verbal predicates. I have the impression that the choice of the different types of predicates had stylistic purpose.

At the present state of research we can conclude, that Khitan was an SOV language where the predicate was either verbal or nominal. The predicates were in past tense (past perfect or past continuous) which is due to the narrative type of the texts.

In most of the attributive structures the qualifier precedes the qualified. This is also the case with numerals: **dur us-g-d**  ‘the four diplomas’ (Xu16), **ci-ur-er b-qo**  ‘the second son’, but numerals can also function as predicatives: **eme-t b-hu-án dur**  ‘(had) four daughters’ (Guang20), **eu-úr THIRTY dur-de**  ‘when his age was 34’.

Further on the structure of the attributive phrases see **12.4.2**.

As we have seen in case of the numerals if they are functioning as attributives, they do not take their ordinal but appear in their cardinal form and precede the qualified noun:



m-as-qó b-qo HEAVEN ú-dû-ha-ha-a-ar par siu lu ai jur MONTH par DAY-de sui-er
‘The eldest son was born in the reign period HEAVEN *ú-dû-ha-ha-a-ar* (***chong xi*** 1032-1075) in ten (or) white dragon year (**1043**), in month two, day ten (two month, ten day)’ (Nu10).

17. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

17.1. THE GAO SHI INSCRIPTION AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

The great value of Khitan inscriptions lies in their contemporaneity. Unlike other sources—such as the Daily Records and the Annals, which were written after the events they describe and subjected to numerous revisions—these inscriptions were carved into hard stone and have remained unchanged for centuries. Although the ancestry and life of the inscription's subject were recorded retrospectively, the texts were compiled by high-ranking officials and carved shortly after the burial ceremony.

The compiler, or author, of the inscription drew upon the imperial court annals, both excerpting from them and supplementing them with additional information. The inscription briefly outlines the subject's ancestry and situates their lineage within the Khitan and Uigur (Xiao) tribal systems. It includes remarks on the continuity of the clan and statements indicating whether the clan persisted or had died out. In cases where the paternal line had ceased to exist, the adoption of a male heir into the clan is noted.

The Gaoshi inscription provides valuable insights into the clan system and its internal relationships. The life of Gaoshi, as portrayed in the inscription, appears typical, with parallels found in other inscriptions. This allows us to reconstruct the hierarchy of functions and titles that existed during Gaoshi's time. While the Gaoshi inscription offers a valuable perspective on the contemporary Khitan tribal system—including marriage rules, kinship ties, and social, political, and military organization—it provides comparatively little detail on the broader political context.

Other sources indicate that members of the Han clan maintained close ties with the ruling Khitan Yelü clan, yet the inscription does not elaborate on these connections. Gaoshi participated in the burial ceremony of Emperor Xingzong in 1055 and retained favour under his successor, Emperor Daozong (r. 1055–1101). However, it remains unclear why Gaoshi was not promoted in 1076, despite receiving a high post shortly thereafter. As discussed in Subchapter **2.4,** following Xinzong's death, there were minor succession issues involving Daozong, due to the Empress Dowager's favouring of Xinzong's younger brother. Nevertheless, Daozong ultimately resolved the matter. None of these political details are reflected in the inscription.

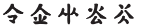
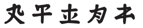
In sum, the Gaoshi inscription offers more insight into the social than the political history of the Liao dynasty. Still, it represents an essential contribution toward compiling a new, comprehensive history of the period.

17.2 A BIRD-EYE VIEW ON THE KHITAN LANGUAGE

To determine the position of Khitan within the narrower network of Mongolic and the broader context of Altaic languages, we must first understand how the extant Khitan scripts reflect the Khitan language, and to what extent these scripts might distort our perception. Based on our current knowledge, the Khitan Large Script (KLS) may aid in reconstructing Khitan syntax and expanding our understanding of the Khitan lexicon, but it does not assist in reconstructing Khitan phonology and morphology. More promising are the texts written in the Khitan Small Script (KSS), also known as the Assembled Script. The glyphs of the KSS have been transcribed using the Latin alphabet by a research group in Höhhot, Inner Mongolia, PR China. Although this Höhhot List required some corrections and revisions, it generally reflects the phonological system of Khitan when the glyph system is used correctly. However, it is important to acknowledge that the entire system is unsuitable for reconstructing the phonetic background, rendering the use of International Phonetic Alphabet symbols unfounded. The identification of the phonological system's components was achieved by comparing Khitan transcriptions with their Chinese originals and through the analysis of loanwords. The use of glyphs to render Khitan words and suffixes is inconsistent. The same words and suffixes are written with different glyphs, and a single word may be represented in various ways. These orthographic variants might indicate phonetic peculiarities, but they could also result from inconsistencies, simple mistakes, or a lack of mastery of orthographic rules. Further studies may reveal that some orthographic peculiarities are associated with different scribes.

Following research on graphemics and orthography, the path was opened for reconstructing the phonological system of Khitan. A detailed study has shown that the Khitan vowel system consisted of five vowel phonemes: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/, and an allophone of /a/, namely /ä/. The KSS can distinguish the following diphthongs: /au/, /eu/, /ie/, /oi/, /ui/, and /üe/. There are some cases that may suggest vowel length, but their nature and origin remain unclear.

The Khitan consonant system was dual, with the primary opposition between aspirated and non-aspirated stops and affricates, even though the Hohhot transcription uses letters to distinguish voiced and unvoiced categories. The uvular fricatives may have had a voiced: unvoiced or lax: tense opposition, but there is currently insufficient material to determine this. Additionally, two sibilants and two liquids are elements of the inventory.

Traces of vowel harmony can be detected, particularly in words with chains of suffixes. In units with only back or front vowels, the quality of the consonants may have changed. For example, in **t-em$_2$-l-ge-er**  (247-257-261-349-341) 'was forwarded', and **au-ul-ha-a-ar**  (161-366-051-189-123) 'was taken', /g/ was replaced by /h/. On the other hand, while some suffixes have front and back variants, others do not, and suffixes with front vowels occur in back vowel stems. The genitive case suffix typically appears as **-en** 枂 (140) (<-*yin*) even after syllables with back vowels, as in **har$_3$-en** 尿枂 (006-140) ‘mountain, genitive’, **hu-as-al-en** 列冬亐枂 (151-174-098-140) ‘pain, genitive’. In the case of **ong** 杰 (071) ‘local king, wang’, in 50 instances we find **ong-on** 杰不 (071-154), and only once **ong-en** 杰枂 (071-140), indicating the beginning of labial harmony.

The change of the sibilant *s*- to *š*- before /i/ can be detected, as in **sh-ha-aju** 叉业艾 (028-051-082.1) ‘to suppress, put down, to defeat ’ (<**siqa*-), and **sh-au-a** (028-161-189) ‘eagle, falcon’ (<*siba-gu*), both also cases of the „breaking”.

The corpus enabled the identification of significant aspects of Khitan grammar. The basic traits of derivational morphology, the declension system of nouns, a part of the pronoun system, the entire system of numerals, and the main characteristics of adjectives have been identified. By introducing and analyzing ten verbal paradigms, it became possible to present the forms of verbal negation, the system of tense marking, the predicative function of deverbal nominals, and some functions of converbs. Existential verbs and auxiliaries emerged in their contexts, and connectives and some particles were identified.

Special attention was dedicated to the existence of grammatical gender in Khitan, which appears not only in adjectives and deverbal nominals used as predicates, – but also in the orthography and the system of clan names.

The Khitan lexicon, as revealed in the corpus, is limited by the specific genre of the texts. The lexical stock has been studied from several perspectives. As expected, Chinese and Turkic loanwords, from different periods, played a significant role.

The very rich onomastic material awaits further research. I have mainly treated them for phonological analysis, but even so, insights into Khitan social systems were possible.

Regarding syntax, we have an early, contemporaneous source indicating that Khitan was an SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) language, in contrast to Chinese, an SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) language. We have identified five types of predicates and highlighted the nominal forms used as predicates. The overall picture, which is gradually emerging, allows us to attempt a comparison between Khitan and Mongolic, albeit in a very preliminary manner. Before delving into the comparison of Khitan and Mongolic, I will summarize my perspective on the status and history of the Mongolic languages.

17.3 KHITAN AND MONGOLIC

17.3.1 Comparative historical grammar

According to the mainstream of Mongolic comparative studies—developed by scholars such as Ramstedt, Poppe, Sanzheev, Janhunen, and more recently Nugteren—the Mongolic languages are typically divided into two main groups: (1) Central Mongolic and (2) Peripheral or Archaic Mongolic. While this classification is broadly acceptable, it is essential to consider the historical context as well.

From the 13th century onward, the Chinggisid Empire facilitated large-scale population movements for military, political, and economic purposes. These migrations often disregarded previous tribal or clan structures, including dialectal distinctions. As a result, the linguistic landscape was significantly reshaped, leading to the emergence of a new linguistic entity. This situation may be cautiously compared to the development of American English, which cannot be directly traced back to specific dialects of the British Isles.

Following the collapse of the Yuan dynasty and the gradual transformation of the Golden Horde, groups that once spoke a common Mongolic language became geographically and socially isolated. In regions such as China, Afghanistan, and the northern territories, these communities developed their languages independently, preserving earlier features while also undergoing new innovations. These are now referred to as Peripheral or Archaic Mongolic languages. In contrast, the Central Mongolic languages remained in contact for a longer period, influenced by continued migrations (e.g., the Oyrats) and the establishment of new borders.

Middle Mongolian, as attested in various historical sources, reflects a period when the language of the Great Mongolian Empire was relatively homogeneous. Literary Mongolian, in its Preclassical and Classical forms, represents written varieties shaped by orthographic conventions rooted in Buddhist clerical traditions. Early Modern Mongolian marks the transition to the modern Mongolic languages we know today. Although we possess substantial contemporaneous sources for reconstructing Middle Mongolian, many of its features can only be reconstructed through comparison with modern Mongolic languages.

Our knowledge of Mongolic languages and dialects before the 13th century—before the emergence of Middle Mongolian—is limited. For the purposes of this discussion, I refer to the period between the separation from Khitan and the rise of Middle Mongolian as *Old Mongolic*, when discussing the spoken language. The earliest reconstructible stage, based on internal reconstruction and the comparative method, is *Proto-Mongolic*. This can be compared with *Proto-Khitan*, and their hypothesized common ancestor may be termed *Proto-Mongolo-Khitan* (PMK).

A key question is whether Khitan and Mongolic continued to have contact after their initial separation, and if so, whether any linguistic traces of such interaction remain. Additionally, the relationship between Proto-Mongolo-Khitan and other so-called Altaic languages must be considered. Within this framework, comparisons between Proto-Khitan and Proto-Mongolic can be illuminating.

In the following, I present selected cases to illustrate the types of historical comparison:

Phonology: The Khitan system of word-initial consonants includes nasal stops such as *n-* , *ng-* and *ñ-* , whereas Mongolic retains only *n-* . Khitan words with initial *ng-* are of Chinese origin, suggesting that this category developed under Chinese influence. Comparisons between Khitan words with initial *ñ-* and their Mongolic counterparts show that Mongolic lost the palatal component, reducing it to *n-* . Thus, Khitan preserved the *ñ- : n-* opposition that was lost in Mongolic. Poppe (1960) proposed the existence of a Proto-Mongolic *ñ-* , though his examples require revision.

Plurals: Both languages use plural suffixes *-d* and *-s* ; for example, the ethnonym appears as *Kitad* in Middle Mongolic and *Qitas* in Khitan. The Khitan suffix **-ur$_2$,** used with both animate and inanimate nouns, seems to have no Mongolic equivalent, though a possible connection to Turkic ethnonyms like Ogur (~ Oguz) cannot be excluded. Plural forms like **b-hu-án** , **t-hu-a-án** , and **Ci-bu-hu-an** (singulars: **b-qo ,** **t-qó** , **ci-bu-qó**) in Khitan lack clear Mongolic parallels, suggesting ancient formations.

Case Marking: A comparison of noun declension shows that the genitive case can be traced to Proto-Khitan-Mongolic (PKhM) in both languages. While Mongolic distinguishes between accusative and instrumental cases, Khitan uses the instrumental for both. Proto-Mongolic had a dative-locative in *-dA* and *-dU(r) ,* while Khitan predominantly shows *-dA* but also displays traces of - *dU*. The Khitan prolative-ablative structure (e.g., *-d > d-i*) is structurally similar to Mongolic. Mongolic retained a prolative case in adverbs, such as Khalkha *doo-guur* 'along beneath' (< *-gUr*).

Numerals: Except 'one' and 'six' Khitan and Mongolic have the same numerals. The vestige of the PKhM word for 'six' can be detected in Mongolic. The Khitan word for 'eight' (*nem < nayiman <nayiban*) preserves a trace of the common PKhM suffix found in all Mongolic languages. Detailed research suggests that both Khitan and Mongolic originally employed a quinary numeral system.

Adjectives and Pronouns: Khitan adjective-forming suffixes include gendered forms (**-qó , -qo , -qú**), while Mongolic uses different suffixes for similar functions (e.g.,*-jin* , *-gčin*). Demonstratives are well attested in Khitan and are comparable to their Mongolic counterparts. However, equivalents for other pronoun types—personal, possessive, interrogative, reflexive, and indefinite—are yet to be clearly identified in Khitan

Verbal System: Some elements of the Khitan verbal system can now be compared with Mongolic. Khitan past tense suffixes **-l-un** and **-b-un** show parallels with Mongolic forms, though further clarification is needed. The Khitan past continuous suffix **-Vy/Vi** may correspond to Mongolic *-lAgAi > lAi > la* . Negation particles **es** and **ul** in Khitan match Mongolic *ese* and *ülü* . The existential verbs (**a-** , **bu-**) are comparable in both languages, although Khitan **y-ie-** ‘to be alive’ is of Chinese origin. The Khitan verb of non-existence **iu** , absent in Mongolic, functions similarly to Turkic **yoq** , suggesting a historical connection.

Adverbs and Converbs: Some Khitan adverbs have clear Mongolic parallels; others require further lexicon-based study. The Khitan converb suffix **-ci** compares with Mongolic *čU > či* , and **-aju** may also be related. Suffixes like **-li$_2$** , **-li$_2$-er**, which include gender elements, lack Mongolic counterparts.

Conjunctions: Khitan conjunctions also can be found in Mongolic. The Khitan connective particle **bas** corresponds to Mongolic **basa**, a borrowing of Turkic and, ultimately, Sogdian origin. Numerals used in conjunctions appear in both languages

Lexicon and Loanwords: The Khitan lexicon contains many words with clear Mongolic parallels, though some comparisons remain inconclusive. Chinese loanwords in Khitan and Mongolic are independent borrowings. Turkic-origin loanwords fall into two categories: earlier Oguric borrowings and later Old Turkic ones, mainly from Uigur. Much of the onomastic material—personal names, geographic names, and titles—is of Chinese origin, with some Uigur elements.

Word Order and Syntax: Like all Mongolic languages, Khitan is an SOV language, whereas Chinese is primarily SVO. In Khitan, predicates may be verbal or nominal. Adjectives precede the nouns they modify. Numerals preceding a date are in their cardinal form: **dur när-de** (Nu20-13) ‘on day four, on the fourth day’ but **dur us-g-d** ‘the four diplomas’ while the ordinal is used as in **d-ur-er s-en pu m-a** ‘the fourth (masculine) was S-en son-in-law’ or **d-ur-én ñ-mú-qu-ñ b-üe-z-iú** ‘the fourth (feminine) was Ñ-mú-qu-ñ (lady) without girdle’. The numeral follows the noun **te ai dur sär jur$_2$ när-de eu-úr SIXTY xa-she-de** ‘in that year, in month four, on day twenty, being sixty years old’ (Yu55) . All of these features align with Mongolic syntax..

Chinese titles are so deeply integrated into the Khitan system that hybrid forms appear. For example:

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, where **sh-i-m** = *shen* and **sh-i =** *shi* are of Chinese , while **em$_2$**, **-en** and **t-qó** are of Khitan origin. This reflects a high impact of Chinese. However we must consider that our texts do not reflect the daily speech of the Khitans.

17.3.2 The historical aspects of grammatical gender

As discussed in the relevant chapters, aside from grammatical gender, the catalog the phonological and morphological markers of Khitan do not include elements foreign to Mongolic. The high frequency of r- and l-sounds in initial positions and the strong tendency toward monosyllabic stems, as also hybrid structures, are later developments ~~and~~ developed under Chinese influence. Therefore, as a first step, we must address the question: Is grammatical gender a secondary feature in Khitan, a grammatical subsystem that evolved after Ancient Khitan and the other Ancient Mongolic languages diverged? A definitive answer cannot be provided at this stage of the research. However, I will present arguments suggesting that Mongolic may have originally possessed grammatical gender, which was gradually lost over time, although residual elements can still be traced in Middle Mongolian.

1. As we have seen in Chapter **12.3** Khitan has **jur** for the numeral ‘two’, while Mongolic has *qoyar*. Mongolic *qoyar* is a “late” innovation from an Old Mongolic stem, with the meaning ‘follow’ as Latin *secundus* from *sequor*, see *qoyiči* ‘subsequent, future’, *qoimar, qoimur* ‘back (“what follows”), *qoina* ‘in the rear, back, in the future, etc,’*qoiši* ‘backwards’, *qoitu* ‘back, future’ etc. all from **qoyi,* but of Turkic origin are: *qous, qos, qod* ‘pair, even number, double’ (*qod < qos, quos* ← OTurk *qoōš* ‘pair’.

2. As it has been stressed by earlier studies and in chapter **12.3.,** the Mongolic word for ‘6’ is *jirgugan*, a secondary development from *jir+gurban* ‘two three”. It is essential that ‘six’ is not *qoyar-gurban**, ‘two’ is here the word common to Khitan and the other Mongolic languages.

3. In Chapter **12.3** I have demonstrated that Mongolic *jirin*, the feminine form of ‘two’ is deeply embedded in the Mongolic lexicon; it occurs not only in different sections in Modern Mongolic~~,~~ but also in the earliest documents of the history of the Mongolic languages.

4. Mongolic *jirin* is the counterpart of Khitan *jüren*, written as **jur-én** (134-361), **ci-ur-én** (162-236-361), and **ci-ur-én$_2$** (162-236-100), **j-ur-én** (104-236-361) (Hong15-16), where **-én** is the feminine suffix.

5. Mongolic has the suffix **-čin, -ǰin** to express the feminine character of animals: *dönen buqa* ‘four year old bull’, *döneǰin üniye* ‘four year old cow’, see Khitan **t-un** 247-273）‘four year old’, but also *čagan takiya* ‘white cock’, *čagaǰin takiya* ‘white hen’ and so on, see more examples Poppe, 1964,132 and Khabtagaeva 2001. This means that the marking of the feminine gender was present at least in one section of the Mongolic lexicon.

6. In the Secret History of the Mongols, paragraph 3, we read that one of Chinggis Khan’s ancestors, Borǰigidai mergen’s wife, was called *Mongqolǰin Qoa*. Here, the ethnonym has the suffix of the feminine gender, indicating a female Mongol. The suffix also occurs with other names, such as the daughter of Barqudai Mergen was *Barquǰin* Qo’a, mother of Alan Qo’a, and *Borogčin* Qo’a, who was the wife of

Toroqolǰin Bayan. While -*dai/tai* was the suffix for males pertaining to a clan, -*ǰin/ čin* was the suffix for the female members of the clan.

7. Rudiments of feminine gender in conjugation can be found in the SHM.[1] Feminine *aǰi’ai* (<*aǰigai*) versus masculine *aju‘u* (<*aǰugu*) in imperfect past: The perfective past has feminine -*bi*, masculine -*ba(i*) -/*be(i),* there is feminine -*yi* in front of masculine -*yu* of present imperfect participial, and feminine *-ǰigi/jïgï, versus* masculine -*ǰugui/jügüi* in imperfect preterit. I quote only a few examples. The SHM[2] begins: *činggis-qahan uǰagur: de’ere Tengri-eče ǰaya’atu töreksen börte činō aju’u gergei inu qo’aimaral aǰia’i.* ‘The Origins of Cinggis qa’an: At the beginning, there was a blue-grey wolf, born with his destiny ordained by the Heaven Above. His wife was a fallow doe’.

In the par. 100 of the SHM we come across the following story: Börte üǰin was hidden in a cart driven by the old lady Qo’aqčin-emegen. On their way, they were surrounded by soldiers who asked who she were. Qo’aqčin-emegen answered: *bi temüjin-ü’ei bui, yeke ger-tür qonin kirqara irele’e ger-tür-iyen qariǰu ayisi ke’ebi* ‘I belong to Temüǰin. I came to shear sheep at the big tent, and now I am returning to my tent—she answered’. Then the soldiers asked: Is Temüǰin at home? How far is his tent from here? The old lady answered:*ger-či oyira buyu, temüǰin-i büküi-yi ügei ese uqabi, qoyinača bosu’at irebi bi ke’ebi.* ‘The tent is nearby, but whether Temuǰin is there or not, I did not notice. I arose and left from the back ’–she said.

In par 55: Hö’elün üǰin persuades Čiledü to flee from the menacing three bad-looking men and leave her. If his life will be spared: *ölǰige tutum ökit, qara tutum qatut bui amin ele činu bö’esü öki qatu oluyi-ǰe nerete-yi hö’elün taki nereyüdüyü-je.* ‘In the front seat of every cart, there are girls; in every black cart, there are women. If you are spared, you will always find a girl like me. If her name is a different, name her also Hö’elün’ . As it can be seen, feminine forms occur in both the nominal and the verbal categories.

8. Mongolic *erkis* ‘male sable’ is a Tukic loan (*er kiš*) and points to a different mode to express the gender of an animal.

Earlier studies recognized the morphological markers indicating female gender in Middle Mongolian, but they were often treated as curiosities or isolated facts[3]. Now, we understand that in the case of the Mongolic languages, these features are residual remnants of an earlier, more explicit system. If further research supports my conclusions, we can assert that the linguistic marking of gender was present in both Khitan and the common Mongolic proto-languages. However, before concluding that Khitan preserved and Mongolic gradually lost the gender system, we must explore additional questions.

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[1] Poppe (1955) mentions the feminine forms without context and historical background, as do most of the scholars dealing with the SHM

[2] My quotations from the SHM and the translations are based on the edition of de Rachewiltz (1972, 2004).

[3] A special meeting of the PIAC was dedicated to the Altaic and especially the Mongolian women and feminine gender in 2001, see Veronika Weit (ed.) 2007, .A paper of Peter Kalchofner (2007)„Expressing Feminine Gender in Mongolian” (pp.103-108) concluded that Mongolian has no linguistic gender, only some suffixes.

1. Is it possible that Proto-Khitan and Proto-Mongolic were influenced by a language or languages that distinguished male and female gender marking, leading to the independent development of this feature in both proto-languages, rather than it being present in their common proto-language? The answer to this question may align with the next.

2. By suggesting that linguistic gender was present in the common proto-language of Khitan and Mongolic, we must also ask whether this feature was inherent or developed under foreign influence.

These questions are valid, but without identifying the language or languages that might have influenced the formation of gender marking system in Khitan and Mongolic, we cannot provide definitive answers. Such influence would require bilingualism, which typically results in borrowing, evident in loanwords. Until we identify a group of loanwords from a language with gender marking, we cannot make further progress. Based on our current knowledge, we can only state that the common proto-language of Khitan and Mongolic had a gender marking system. While Mongolic lost the gender distinction system and Khitan preserved a significant part of this shared heritage, the situation is reversed with numerals.

Khitan lost the numeral-forming suffix, preserved only in **nem** (‘eight’ <**nayiman*), while Mongolic retained the entire system. The plural suffixes of the nominal case system are different. Most suffixes are common to both Khitan and Mongolic (*-t/d, -s, -nAr*), but Mongolic lacks **-ñAr**, which appears to be a secondary Khitan development. The Khitan suffix–**Ur$_2$** is not found in Mongolic and typically occurs after labial vocalic syllables. Irregular plurals such as **b-huán** for singular **b-qo, t-hua-án**, and **Ci-bu-hu-an** (see **12.1.1.9)** are also unknown in Mongolic. Although many details need to be worked out in the future, from the above sketchy overview, it can be concluded that Khitan and Mongolic can be traced back to a common proto-languge, that is, they are sister branches.

When did Khitan and Mongolic separate? In WOT I assumed that the contacts between the Oguric or WOT languages and Mongolic lasted from the 3rd century B.C. to the 5th century A.D. A recent discovery of the earliest single-sided stirrup on a ceramic equestrian figurine, dated approximately A.D. 271 (published by Ji Yuqiao in *Global Times* Jan.12, 2025) may narrow the timespan, but does not alter it.

Research on the Khitan and Mongolic animal cycles (see **18.4.2**) shows that we must assume more than one donor language. Both Khitan **uni** and Mongolic *hüker,* Khitan **é-ma** and Mongolic *qonin,* denote the same respective cyclical years (ox, goat). All four are of Turkic origin, but Khitan and Mongolic borrowed different sets. The Khitan names of the year of the rabbit (**tau-li-a**) and the rooster **(t-qo-a**) are the same as in Mongolic (*taolai, takiya)* and would point to the same source. The name of the year of the dog is invariably *it* in all Turkic languages including Chuvash. The word for the year 'dog' in Khitan and Mongolic originates from the form *ñoqai,* which replaced the original Turkic word, and subsequently Mongolic lost the palatalization (*noqai*). These considerations suggest that we must assume an Oguric influence on Khitan and Mongolic after they separated. This impact, represented by the names in the animal cycle, points to a period before the first hundred years of our era. If this hypothesis can be hardened, then we may place the end of the Khitan—Mongolic cohabitation or the separation of Khitan and Mongolic to some hundred years BC.

17.4 KHITAN AND THE XIANBEI OR SERBI LANGUAGES

Into this framework, we must place the two languages that show common features with Khitan and Mongolic, namely Tabgach and Tuyuhun[4]. The material at our disposal is very scanty and was not always dealt with the necessary methodological rigour. The material collected and treated by Shimunek 2017 (see my review Róna-Tas 2018, Corrigenda Róna-Tas 2020) was at the time, the most comprehensive, and future research will have to build upon it. To this material, some new discoveries have to be added. The language of the Khuis Tolgoi inscription was written in Brahmi script, and published by De la Vassière, Maue, Ölmez and Vovin (2018), a Tuyuhun inscription was discovered in Gansu in 2019 and published first in 2021 in a local newspaper, mentioned by Mehmed Ölmez and Christopher. Atwood (many thanks to them!). The Tuyuhun script used on the Gansu inscription is a Sinitic one and may be a member of the chain of Sinitic scripts from the Tabgach down to the Khitan Large script. Its decipherment and further publications of inscriptions of Tuyuhun kings (*Murong* 慕容 clan) in Chinese will be of great importance~~,~~ the more so since some of these Tuyuhun leaders may be identified in Tibetan sources. At present, we can only state, that the four units, namely Mongolic, Khitan, Tabgach and Tuyuhun, were four branches of the Xianbei or Serbi languages. We know much more of the relationship of Khitan and Mongolic than of their relationship to the other two~~,~~ because our knowledge of Tabgach and Tuyuhun is very restricted due to the limited sources and the early phase of their research. The four branches, and perhaps others, go back to a common language, the reconstructed form of which may be called *Proto Xianbei* or *Serbi,* and the spoken form *Common Xianbei* or *Serbi*.[5]

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[4] It is possible, that there existed other Serbi or XianbI languages as well.

[5] *Serbi* is one of the possible reconstructions of the Chinese *Xianbei* 鮮卑 first suggested by Pelliot

17.5 KHITAN AND “ALTAIC”

At the end of this summary I cannot avoid addressing the question of the position of Proto-Xianbei (and, therefore, Khitan) within the so-called Altaic network. Broadly speaking, I concur with Janhunen (2023) that the similarities among Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic languages (leaving Korean and Japanese aside) are typological in nature and result from very long periods of contact. An example of typological resemblance is provided by leader-titles in Turkic, Mongolic and Khitan: *basqaq*, *daruga* and **shari** — each deriving from verbs meaning “to press (down)” in the respective languages.

Several older strata of loanwords appear as apparent identities or regular correspondences. The reconstruction of Proto-Tungusic therefore requires revision: the results of researchers such as of Vera Ivanova Cincius and others must be updated in the light of recent work on Jurchen and Alchuka. The Mongolic strata in Tungusic languages, studied by Ligeti, Doerfer, Rozycki and others, must now be reconsidered in view of Khitan borrowings into Tungusic; many items previously attributed to Mongolic origins in Tungusic may ultimately derive from Khitan.

On the Turkic side, considerable effort has been made to incorporate Chuvash into reconstructions of Proto-Turkic. Historically the direction of comparison ran from Old Turkic toward Chuvash; Klára Agyagási is now working in the opposite direction, from Chuvash toward Proto-Turkic. This reverse approach promises a more nuanced understanding of Proto-Turkic, which has often been equated with Old Turkic except for a few uncertain exceptions.

Once newly reconstructed Proto Turkic, Proto Khitano—Mongolic and Proto Tungusic are in hand, we may ask whether these three proto languages shared a common ancestor. The differences among them, as currently understood, are considerable — greater than those between many Indo European proto languages (for example, Proto Italic vs. Proto-Germanic or Proto Balto Slavic vs. Proto Celtic). In my view, our immediate task is to refine the reconstructions of the three Altaic proto languages. Fifty years have passed since my paper “On the meaning of ‘Altaic’” (Róna Tas 1975); I reiterate that before attempting a reconstruction of Proto Altaic we must first separate all correspondences among Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic that are due to contact and borrowing.

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and favoured by Pulleyblank and many others. I am very sceptical, but use it. In comparison with Shimunek’s periodization mine is a more simple one but not contradiciting with his.

Areal contacts,
Loan relations,
Typologically common features,
Adstrate influence,
Identity due to chance and
Convergent development,
and then we can work with what is left.

No doubt Khitan and Mongolic are of identical origin, they are genetically related. If we compare the identities of Khitan and Mongolic with correspondences between Proto-Khitano-Mongolic and Proto-Turkic, we arrive at a totally different field.

PART III

APPENDIXES

18.1 THE ORDO-S

18.1.1 GENERAL REMARKS ON THE KHITAN *ORDO*

According to earlier research (see more in WF 508) the institution has early roots. During the Early Han dynasty (B. C. 207-A.D. 9) a type of settlement was known as *ou-tuo* 歐脫, later sources refer to *outou* garrisons of the Huns. WF cite the Liaoshi (93, 50-6b) which records an old settlement in inner Asia called *woludo* 窩魯朵 which formerly was the city of the (Hunnish) *shanyü.* I am very sceptical about these data. There are serious phonetical problems around *ou-tuo*.(YCh *əw*, LMCh, EMCh *ʔəw*, YCh tʰɔ, LMCh *tʰuat,* EMCh *tʰwat*), which in the best case may be reconstructed as -**otuat* or **otuar*. The report of the Liaoshi that there existed a settlement of the *shanyü* in Central Assia called *woludo* (with another *wo*) means only that the settlement was so idenitified by the Khitans, and not that was so called by the Huns.

The earliest certain mention of the term *ordu* is in the Old Turkic Kül Tegin inscription (AD 732). Kül Tegin is defending the *ordu* against the Oguz (North 8, 9) (see Tekin 1968, 237, Berta 2004, 183,203). We learn from the text that Kül Tegin defended not only the *ordu* but also the life of the mother of the kagan, the katun, the step mothers, the sisters, the brides who all would have became slaves if catched alive. In this context *ordu* is the central camp of the kagan. The *ordu* remains an important institution of the Uigurs. Their capital is sometimes called *ordu balik,* also *ordu uluš* (Wilkens 153). The word also entered the astrological terminology. No doubt that the Khitans took over the name from the Uigurs. The term was later borrowed by the Mongols, it occurs frequently in the SHM, first in chapter 123 where Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki agreed that they will make Temüjin *kan,* they tell their vision. Among others he will own the *ordo ger* translated by Rachewiltz as “palatial tent.” (2004, p.49), the same expression is translated in other context as ‘palace tent’.

The origin and the task of the ordos among the Khitan is described in the Liao Shi 35, 1b, and the text is translated by WF on p. 540. We learn that after Abaoki ascended the throne, he divided his own tribe into two parts: the *Six Division* and the *Five Division*. But a personal guard was lacking, and therefore the ordo system was established. I have here not enough place to go into the details of the Khitan ordo-system. We see from the inscriptions that it was a military center protecting the emperor, or in case the empress. During the time of the Liao two ordos were organized for empresses. One for Empress Dowager Yingtian and the second for Empress Dowager Chengtian.

The term *ordu* is written by the Khitan Small Script as 米 (355), which is a logoglyph. I will focus on the Khitan linguistic material of the names of the ordos. All ordos had a Khitan name, in Chinese transcription (ChinT), followed by the meaning of the Khitan name in Chinese. Then the Chinese name of the ordo is following, finally the name of the owner, emperor or empress. The Chinese names, as far as I can judge do not give any key to the identification of the Khitan name, therefore I am not analyzing their meaning. For the Khitan names I give the reconstructed pronuntiation of the Chinese characters according to Pulleyblank 1991. The names of the Ordos have been collected also by earlier scholars, important are WF 540 and Pursey, 2019, Table C 17.

There were some earlier attampts to identify the Khitan names of Ordos. I will not deal here with them. My aim is to identify the Khitan names with items occurring in the corpus. On the word **ordu** and its orthographic variants see EL **udu**.

18.1.2 THE ORDOS AND THEIR NAMES

1. Khitan name in ChinT *Suan woluduo*, 算 斡魯朵, meaning *xinfu* 心腹 'confidant, "heart and belly"', Chinese name *Hongyi gong* 弘義宮 弘= 宏 'great', *yi* 義 'righteousness', owner Taizu Emperor (Abaoji) 太祖 907-926.

   Khitan attested name: **S-a-an odu-u-un** (244-189-011 355-131-273) genitive in:

   s-a-an odu-u-un tai-b p-o-du₂-l-un₂ (Ling17-2) 'became the tai-bo of the S-a-an ordu' (Ling17-2).

   ChinT *suan,* YCh *sɔn,* LMCh *suan*

   To **s-a-*** (244-189) 'live somewhere, reside', see **s-a-ai** (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'.

2. Khitan name in ChinT *Pusuwan woluduo* 蒲速盌 斡魯朵, meaning *xinglong* 興隆 'prosperous, "development"', Chinese name *Changning gong* 長寧宮, owner Empress Dowager Yingtian 應天皇后, *pusuwan*, see YCh *phu su ɔn,* LMCh *pĥuǎ sə ʔuan.*

   The Khitan word is **Pu-su-û-én** (241-041-372-361), which is frequent as name, see **Pu-su-û-én aú-ui** 'lady P.' (Hong19-32, Yong32-19) transcribed by CWJ as ChinT *pu-su-yuan* 蒲速苑 C427 and <*pu-su-û-én sh-úng-úr tai ui*°*-en b-qo bod-l-b-un₂ ci-er*> 'Bod-la-bun son of Pu-su-û-én sh-úng-úr tai wei wrote it' (Chao28-13) as the scribe of the Chao inscription. The basic word is **pu-su-û-** occurring in a yet unclear context (Zhen15-38), but we have **pu-su-û-ji po** 'celebration time' (241-041-372-152 729) *qingshi* 庆时 C427. One can conclude, that the basic meaning is 'to prosper, to flourish' as in: **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 or **pu-su-**

û-ul-ci 仐卡穴平术 (241-041-372-366-162) ‘prospering, flourishing’, Chin *xing* 兴 C427. The word could not be found as a name of an ordo in the Corpus[1].

3. The Khitan name in ChinT is *Guo’a nian woluduo* 國阿輦斡魯朵, the meaning is *shou guo* 收國 ‘to rule, to conquer, to give, to confer the country’, Chinese name is Yongxing Palace 永興宮, the owner is Taizong Emperor 世宗 (947-951).

   Guo’a’nian 國阿輦, YCh *gui ɔ ljɛn*, LMCh *kuə̆k ʔa lia n*

   Perhaps the same as **L-i-in g-ui-ñ g-u-un o-odu-u 屮关雨 九火伏 九及火 及米亥**, see Gaoshi line 15

   Khitan **g-ui 九火** (334-262) ‘state’, **? o-l$_2$-un$_2$**, see **o-l$_2$-un$_2$ 及子叉** (186-149-144) ‘to grant, to award’, 27x, Chin *shou* 授 C414.

4. The Khitan name is *Yeluwan woluduo* 耶魯盌斡魯朵. the meaning is *xinglong* 興隆 ‘prosperous, flourishing, developing’, Chinese name is Jiqing Palace 積慶宮, ‘accumulated celebration’, the owner is Shizong Emperor 世宗 (947-951).

   The first two characters of the transcription *yelü* 耶魯 are the same as those used to transcribe the first syllables of the clan name **Y-ar$_2$-u-ud 丏存亥火** (020-084-131-344)‘the clan name of the Khitan leaders’, Chin *yelü* 耶律 YCh *jɛ*, LMCh *jia*, YCh *ly*, LMCh *lywk*

   The second character is 魯- *lu*, YCh *lɔ*, LMCh *luə,* while the third Chinese *wan* 盌 is also occurring in *Pusuwan,* there transcribing Khitan **-én**, the transcription may reflect a Khitan ***yärüen** or ***yälüen** or the like, the identification will be a future task.

   The Chinese name *Jiqing* (積慶 YCh *tsi khiŋ*), is transcribed to Khitan as **s-i h-ing**, see EL and **18.1**.

5. The Khitan name in ChinT is *Duoliben woluduo* 奪里本斡魯朵, the meaning is *taoping* 討平 ‘to pacify, to seek or make peace’, the Chinese name is Yanchang Palace 延昌宮, the owner is Muzong Emperor 穆宗 (951-969).

   Duoliben 奪里本 YCh *tɔ li pun,* LMCh *thuat li pun.*The Khitan word has to be a verb in past participle, as it is with *chishideben* 赤寔得本, the name is most probaly identical with **dor-l-bun 亐小屮** (218-261-288) ‘to submit, come over and pledge allegiance’, Chin *gui shun* 归顺 C420, also **dor-l-b-un$_2$**

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[1] A few more places: pu-su-û-én *aú-ui* (Hong19-32, Yong32-19), *ETERNAL* pu-su-û-én *hu-o-du$_2$ ci-ad-y-l-ha-ai* (Tai5-178), *GREAT t-iu-ir nem ai nem MONTH par emu DAY us-g deu ai* pu-su-û-én *sh-úng-úr tai ui°-en b-qo bod-l-b-un$_2$ ci-er* (Chao28-13) *t-ur-er* pu-su-û-én *sh-l-û-úr tai shï* (Liang4-14, 4-42), *SMALL-qó b-qo pu-su-û-én 378.1-378.1-378.1-378.1* (Pu6-44), *tai fu pu-su-û-én sh-ha-rí* (Pu8-6), *g-úr pu-su-û-ñ y-ra-u-ud-i n-ad-bot hu-as uh-ar dur dol-ñ emu-s-g hu$_2$-ó-ui tum 66-e p-o-ri* (Xing7-8), *pu-su-û-én$_2$ n-ar-a-án em-108-l-ge$_2$-y dau ui pu$_2$-un$_2$ un$_2$-e$_2$* (Dao28-9) *b-qo g-au-sh-ib-úr-u-ur /24/ ji$_2$-en pu-su-û-én$_2$ ñ-qó-du$_2$ da$_3$-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-aju* (Zhuo23-24), *b-qo g-au-sh-ib-úr-u-ur /24/ ji$_2$-en pu-su-û-én$_2$ ñ-qó-du$_2$ da$_3$-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-aju* (Zhuo23-24)

与朩舟叉 (218-261-311-144)C420 and **dor-l-b-ñ** 与朩舟伏 (218-261-311-222) (Xu62),4x, the semantics is not properly fitting.

6. The Khitan name in ChinT is *Jianmu woluduo* 監母斡魯朵, the meaning is *yiliu* 遺留 'legacy, to transmit, hand down, leave over', the Chinese name is Zhangmin Palace 彰愍宮, the owner is Jingzong Emperor 景宗 (969-982).

   監母 YCh *kjam mu* LMCh *kja :m məw* perhaps to **k-em₂** 叔金 (283-257) '(imperial) order', K94, Chin *chi* 敕, morphology unclear, In the Chinese title *jian jiao gong bu shang shu* 检校工部尚书 C474, Hucker No 804, Chinese *jian* is transcribed by Khitan **g-ém** 九仝(334-270), see EL.

7. The Khitan name in ChinT is *Guwen woluduo* 孤穩斡魯朵, the meaning is *yu* 玉 'jade', the Chinese name is Chongde Palace 崇德宮, the owner is Chengtian Empress Dowager 承天太后.

   gu-wen 孤穩 YCh *ku un,* LMCh *kuǎ ʔun.*

   Khitan **g-u** 九叐 (334-131) 'jade', ChinE *yu* 玉, Jurchen *gu-u, gu-wen*, (Kane 1989, 351), see **g-u-on** 九叐不 (344-131-154) (Zhong33-3) CWJ966 where it is glossed as *guan* 管 'tube, pipe' supposing that Khitan word would be the transcription of the Chinese word. The context is:

   仍叐 亚亚买 九叐不 马太火 北仃州冇 几只平伏 丙余火*ta-u qa-ha-an g-u-on ju-ung₂-un 077-336.1-SMALL-en ku-û-ul-ñ y-qu-ui* glossed by CWJ 966 as *du ? ke han guan zhong zhi du.*

   都 ? 可汗 管 仲 之 笃 Perhaps the jade middle??? of the Five kagans, not *dou* 'all', but **tau** 戋 (029) 'five'.

   Khitan **gu-wen*** is preseved only in Jurchen.

8. The Khitan name in ChinT is *Nügu woluduo* 女古斡魯朵, the meaning is *jin* 金 'gold', the Chinese name is Xingsheng Palace 興聖宮, the owner is Shengzong Emperor 聖宗 (982-1031).

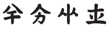
   Khitan **n-i-gu1** 公关勺 (251-339-165) '1. Jurchen, 2. gold', also **n-i-gu$_2$** 公关勺 (251-339-165.1). The Chinese transcription reflects the change *nigu* > *nugu* the so-called breaking.

   The Chinese name of the palace is transcribed as **H-i-ing sh-ng** 乂关同 戈火(340-339-303 028-264) Gao 16, see also Gao18.

9. The Khitan name in ChinT is *Woduwan woluduo* 窩篤盌斡魯朵, the meaning is *zixi* 孳息 'propagation. reproduction, multiplication', the Chinese name is Yanqing Palace 延慶宮, the owner is Xingzong Emperor 興宗 (1031-1055).

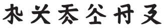
   Woduwan 窩篤盌 YCh *wɔ tu ɔn* LMCh *ʔua təwk ʔuan.*

   Khitan **ú-dû-o-ón** 伞分及内 (245-249-186-322), 3x, 'multiplication, reproduction' also **ú-dû-o-on** 伞分及不 (245-249-186-154), 1x, see the frequent

ú-dû-l-ha-*,  (245-249-261-051), also **u-dû-l-ha-a-*** (245-249-261-051-189) ‘to prosper, let multiple’.

10. The Khitan name is *Asi woluduo* 阿思 斡魯朵, the meaning is *kuanda* 寬大 ‘extensive, wide, generous’, the Chinese name is Taihe Palace 太和宮, the owner is Daozong Emperor 道宗 ((1055-1101).
    asi 阿思 Y Ch *ɔ sz̝* LMCh *ʔa sz̝* I have no solution.

11. The Khitan name is *Aluwan woluduo* 阿魯碗斡魯朵, the meaning is *fu you* 輔佑 ‘to assist’, the Chinese name is Yongchang Palace 永昌宮, the owner is Tianzuo Emperor 天柞 (1101-1125).
    Eluwan 阿魯碗 (=椀) YCh *ɔ lɔ ɔn,* LMCh *ʔa luǝ̆ ʔuan.* I have no solution.

12. The Khitan name is *chishideben woluduo* 赤寔得本斡魯朵, the meaning is 孝 ‘filial piety’, the Chinese name is Dunmu Palace 敦睦宮, the owner is Wenzhang Wen Imperial Younger Brother *wenzhang wen huang tai di* 文章文皇太弟.
    chishideben 赤寔得本 YCh *tʂʰi ʂṛ tǝj pun* see **ci-i-shi-d-b-ún**  (162-339-033-254-311-144) and variants in EL.

18.1.3 Summary

I have dealt with the pronunciation of the logoglyph (355) in the chapter on Orthography. As we see *ordu* is transcribed by ChinT *woludu* 斡魯朵, YCh *wɔ lɔ tɔ*, LMCh *ʔuat luǝ̆ tua* that is, the Chinese transcription is from the Early Mandarin period and reflects a contemporary pronunciation -/*ordo*/, or /*orodo*/.

Looking at the Khitan words which occur in Chinese transcription, we may state that there where we could reconstruct the Khitan form, it is transcribed by the Chinese of Early Mandarin (YCh). The names were fixed by the scribes of the Liaoshi, and therefore they reflect a reading of the Yuan times. I have the impression that they used Khitan sources written with Khitan Large Script which then they transcribed to Chinese.

18.2 THE CAREER OF HAN GAOSHI

In the following I give a chronological overview of the carrier of Gao shi adding where possible the occurrances of his titles in other inscriptions.

1. 1039 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*), **(L14).**
   ku-su is very frequent.

2. 1041 *langjun* of the Bureau of the Seals and Tallies, **(L14).**

this title occurs also in Nan15, Yong29.

3. 1042 head of the Night and Day (guards), changed to the Junior General (*s-iau s-iang g-ün),* (**L14**).
   s-uni när-i nai Xu10, Di13, GuD10, Sa10,Wu 9, DiX 4, Xiang24, Pu9,
   s-iau s-iang g-ün Liang6, Zhong7, Xiang23.

4. 1044 deputy (*pu-u*) Palace Commander (*gongshi*) of the Si-h-ing (ordu) (*jiqing fu gongshi*). had to manage the army of the L-i-in g-ui-ñ g-u-un Ordu, and also the heads of the army officers of the A-ha-al (the same???) Ordu, Great General (*da*$_3$*-ai s-iang g-ün*) **(L15).**
   pu-u g-iu-ung shï-ï Zhong8, Wu16bis, .
   da$_3$-ai s-iang g-ün Yu7, Wu19.

5. 1049 *du-u g-iu-ung shï-ï*$_2$ of the H-i-ing sh-ng (palace/ordu), **(L16),** only here and **L18.**

6. 1050 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) **(L16),** only here.

7. 1051 Field Marshal *(s-eng-un)* of the four Tribal Groups (?. *234-a-ad*).**(L17),** only here.

8. 1051 autumn Right Wing (*b-ar-a-an u-ur*) Marshal of the Langjuns, during the winter months (he functioned as) the Commander of the South Capital infantry**(L18).**
   b-ra-a-an u-ur sh-a-rí-d s-eng-un only here.
   t-le g-ing-en b-u g-ün only here and in **L20.**

9. 1054 Governor General *(dushi*) of Haibei (*Xe-ri-pu*$_2$) again the *du-u g-iu-ung shï*. **(L18),** see line **16.**
   xe-ri-320 t-qó sh-I, also line **19,** and in: Wu10, Wu17, Jue5, Jue16.

10. 1055 (he) took part in the burial ceremonies (*m-in s-abu-s-or)* of the Emperor (*Xingzong* 1031-1055). With his first wife (?) and the representatives of the regions and tribes, XXXXXX the townships were pacified **(L19)**.

11. 1055 Comissioner of the Ordu (*du-u*) *(g-iu-ung-un shï-ï)*, Governor General (*t-qo-sh-i*) of Hai bei (*Xe-ri-pu$_2$*) was on him (re-) conferred **(L19)**, see line **18**.

12. 1059 again (in charge of) the infantry *(b-u g-ün*) of the South Capital (*tele g-ing*), **(L20),** see **L18.**

13. 1061 Governor general (*t-qo-(378.1 = sh-i)* of the region Lu, (**L20**), only here.

14. 1062 Commanding Field Marshal (*hu$_2$-ú s-eng-un*) of the Uh-ul T-il-t (tribes), **(L20).**
    uh-ul t-il-t-en hu$_2$-ú s-eng-un also in: Tu11, Wu12.

15. 1063, winter, Grand General (*g-m ng-u-ui^o*), High Feld Marshal (*sh-ang s-iang g-ün*) and Punitive Officer (*jau tau shi*) of the South-West**.(L20).**
    g-m ng-u-ui^o also in: Xu12, Tu10, Song7, Qing8, Pu13.
    sh-ang s-iang g-ün,18x.
    jau tau shi only here.

16. 1064 winter Minister of the Ministry of Works (*g-ung b-u ca-ang sh-iú*). Then Commanding Field Marshal (*hu$_2$-ú s-eng-un*) of the *U-hu-ul D-il-t* (tribes, line 20 *T-il-t*) **(L21).**
    g-ung b-u ca-ang sh-iú, only here.
    uh-ul d-il-t-en hu$_2$-ú s-eng-un, see line 20.

17. 1065 summer, the (same) title and 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*) and Minister (*ca-ang sh-iú*) of the Ministry of the Revenue (*xu-u b-u*). **(L22).**
    ming-eu-ud-en au-ñ-ó-ñ hu$_2$-ú 232-y g-ui-un$_2$ only here.
    xu-u b-u ca-ang sh-iú, only here.

18. 1066 spring, Military Commissioner of the District Shenzou (*sh-i-m em$_2$-en t-qó sh-i*). **(L22).**
    Commander of the Secreterial Council (*L-i b-û ca-ang sh-iú*). In winter Governor general (*t-qo-sh-i*) of Ling (**L22-23**)-.
    sh-i-m em$_2$-en t-qó sh-i only here.
    L-i b-û ca-ang sh-iú, only here.

19. 1067 summer Commander of the Dragon-Tiger Army (*l-iúng xu g-ün sh-ang s-iang g-ün*), *tong-pan* of the East Capital (*om-ru g-ing*), (in the same) year winter, South-West Punitive (Officer) (*jau-au*), **L23.**
l-iúng xu g-ün sh-ang s-iang g-ün only here.
om-ur g-ing-en tu-ung p-a-an only here.

20. 1069 summer *shï siang*, in winter Army Commander of the South Capital (*t-le g-ing-en t-ung g-ün)*. **L24.**
shï s-iang, 10x.

t-le g-ing-en t-ung g-ün, only here.

21. 1070 while bearing the same post(s) (*te i-ri-de 160-ha-al*) 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*$_2$). **L24.**

22. 1072 Controller General of the East Capital (*om-ur g-ing-en tu-ung p-a-an*), **L25 om-ur g-ing-en tu-ung p-a-an** only here.

23. 1075 Minister (*ja-ri-qó*) of the Wei (??) South Palast (*ui-i t-le pu*), Double Diploma of Meritorious Officer (*g-ung ci-en jur us-g-d*).
ui-i t-le pu-un ja-ri-qó, only here.
g-ung ci-en jur us-g-d also in Yu23, 24, 37.

24. 1076 winter not forwarded, then ministerial appointment and placed among the leaders, and Manager of the affairs of the Prefecture of Fengsheng (*shï ju-ung p-ung sh-ng ci-eu-un ui MANAGE-u-ji*$_3$*).*
shï ju-ung p-ung sh-ng ci-eu-un ui MANAGE-u-ji$_3$ only here.

18.2.1 Summary

The career of Han Gao Shi spanned from 1039 to at least 1076, the last year mentioned in the inscription. He received his first appointment at the age of 25 and may have been 62 in 1076. Gao Shi was frequently appointed to new positions or functions, sometimes receiving multiple appointments within a single year, with specific seasons, such as winter or summer, noted for these changes. It is noteworthy that Gao Shi often held simultaneous posts. He rose to high positions within the ordu and served as a military leader in both the Southern and Eastern Capitals. In the early stages of his career, he held positions similar to those found in the biographies of other Khitan leaders. This record provides not only a chronology of his appointments but also offers insight into the hierarchy of the bureaucratic system of the Liao dynasty.

18.3 PROPER NAMES OF THE GAOSHI INSCRIPTION IN OTHER TEXTS

18.3.1 Names of persons

In this subchapter I have collected those places of the other published inscriptions where the proper names of the Gao shi inscription occur. This list shows how deeply the story of Gao shi is embedded in the history of the Khitan elite.

18.3.1.1 **S-in ong 仐雨 杰** (244-018 071) ‘the 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). The title is used to identify a person **(L1)**

The title and person occurs in the following inscriptions:

Zhong27 *s-in ong-on go-er* 仐雨 杰不 曲公 ‘The Patriarchal Tent of S’ also in Di 1,4, DiX 24, Hu29, Hui7

Yu38 s-*in ong-on i-ri t-em$_2$-y* 仐雨 杰不 关化 令金万 ‘having got the title S’

Di1 *ia deu-un s-in ong-on go-er-en ku-ung-ñ t-il-e tai-b-en n-ra* ‘the tomb inscription of the Ku-ung T-il-a *tai-bo* of the Patriarchal Tent of the brethrens’ S.’

Di3 *s-in ong t-ud* ‘S. the Army Commander (*dudu* 都督)

Di4 *t-ie-ên-ñ s-in ong eu-g-ñ-i nas-én-ñ pu-shi-ñ* ‘the heavenly S. and Nas-én-ñ mylady from the Eu-g-ñ (subclan) (had children)

Di5 *s-in ong-on tu-úr-s-li$_2$* ‘the death of S.’

18.3.1.2 **P-ul-uh-ñ tai shï 业平久伏 丞 兆 (L2),**

Han2 *l-ém-hu-a-an ui MANAGE-i p-ul-uh-ñ COMPOSE-a-ar* ‘while managing the affairs of the *linya,* P-ul-uh-ñ composed (the inscription Han)

18.3.1.3 **Y-ar-u-ud G-u-uh 九及久 万犮及火 九及久** (020-084-131-344 334-131-172) **(L2)**

occurs in six other inscriptions as composer of the text**:**

Dao2-3 /2/ *y-ar-u-ud g-u-uh /3/ k-em$_2$ dai-ri$_5$ COMPOSE-a-ar*

Huan2-3 /2/ *y-ar-u-ud g-u-uh /3/ k-em$_2$ dai-ri$_5$ COMPOSE-a-ar*

Gu2 *y-ar-u-ud g-u-uh COMPOSE-a-ar*

Nan2 *y-ar-u-ud g-u-uh COMPOSE-a-ar*

Tai3 *y-ar-u-ud g-u-uh k-em$_2$ dai-ri$_5$ COMPOSE-a-ar*

Cha2-3/*2/ y-ar-u-ud g-u-uh /3/ k-em$_2$ dai-ri$_5$ COMPOSE$_2$-a-ar*

k-em$_2$ dai-ri$_5$ ‘according to the imperial order’

18.3.1.4 **T-ir-uh-úr B-u jel l-ing g-ung$_2$ 令刃久安 舟及 夂 ⺦同 九太 (L3)**

the Khitan name of Han Zhigu is occurring without the elements Bu Jel:
Di2-14: *u-ur ai t-ir-uh-úr l-ing g-ung HEAVEN hong-di-in g-úr 066-l-ge*$_2$*-y*
Di2-49 *t-ir-uh-úr l-ing g-ung eu-g-ñ-i m-o s-a pu-shi-ñ jur-en b-qo*

18.3.1.5 **M-o S_2-a 叉及 火为 (L3)** only here but **M-o S-a 叉及 仐为** twice
Di3 *l-ing g-ung eu-g-ñ-i m-o s-a pu-shi-ñ* (Di3)
Tu3 *l-ing g-ung eu-g-ñ-i m-o s-a pu-shi-ñ* (Tu3)

18.3.1.6 **eu-uh-ñ-i Nas-én-ñ 圡夂伏关 丸当伏 (L3)**
wife of S-in ong
Di4 *t-ie-ên-ñ s-in ong eu-g-ñ-i nas-én-ñ pu-shi-ñ* (Di4)
Tu4 *t-ie-ên-ñ s-in ong eu-g-ñ-i nas-én-ñ pu-shi-ñ* (Tu4)

18.3.1.7 **Y-ie-ên-ñ S-ó-su-hu 丙文考伏 仐廾卡列 (L4)** occurs only here but
y-ie-ên 丙文考occurs 20 times, as first part of names as in:
*u-ur-ai y-ie-ên sh-eu-ñ ci-378.*1 (Ling4)
y-ie-ên l-iu h-i-ing z-úng û-u z-úng-úr h-s-ge-te$_2$*-er* (Gu8)
eu-ui y-ie-ên-ñ qa-hu-a ja-ri-qó y-ie-ên h-e$_2$ *p-üe-z-iú* (Yu8) and 17 more
for *y-ie-ên ong* CVJ 364 gives *yan wang* 燕 王 'wang of the region Yan'
y-ie-ên-ñ 丙文考伏, 9x also in names, this form looks like a genitive case of the former
em y-ie-ên-ñ dai-ci 378.1-l-378.1-o em ku (Ling21)
eu-ui y-ie-ên-ñ qa-hu-a ja-ri-qó y-ie-ên h-e$_2$ *p-üe-z-iú jur-en go-er k-em*$_2$*-er* (Yu7)
l-iu pu ñ-iú aú-ui y-ie-ên-ñ s-en ja-ri-qó xar-an-a-an p-üe-z-iú (Yong13)
GREAT eme ku ci-228-dû-i du g-e pu-shi-ñ y-ie-ên-ñ ja-ri-qó-on-hu (Yong17)
eme ku t-023-ia-ai$_2$ *g-e-em*$_2$ *shï pu-shi-ñ te-li*$_2$*-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en y-ie-ên-ñ tai ong s-a-am p-ï l-ie-ên*(Yong20)
m-o y-ie-ên-ñ s-ie sh-ib di-í-in shï ju-ung-en i-ri-er (Di6)
b-hu-án gur° m-o y-ie-ên-ñ s-ie sh-ib di-í-in shï ju-ung-en i-ri-er (Tu6)
go-ci-en y-ie-ên-ñ xu-úr-s sh-iú m-ir-en b-qo-i b-qo (Chao6)

18.3.1.8 **Cau G-e 而 九券 (L4)** only here, but
sui-e$_2$*-ci eme b-qo emu cau m-gu g-ui ong b-qo-i eu-ui* (Zhong30)

18.3.1.9 **Oh-o 玊及 L4,** the name occurs in four other inscriptions, three times in Jue[2]

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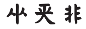
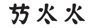
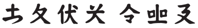
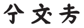
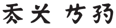
[2] *gú-u s-iang h-ün-en eme ku oh-o aú-ui-de* (Ling15)
s-e*ng-un p-ar-un*$_2$ *oh-o eme jur-en b-qo* (GuD 6)
s-eng-un p-ar-un$_2$ *oh-o / eme jur-en b-qo* (Pu5-6)
or hu-od-én oh-o aú-ui (Jue32)
s-iang g-ün oh-o aú-ui jur-en b-qo (Jue33)
h-d$_3$*-un*$_2$*-o oh-o b-as ol ci-378.1-er MANAGE-er* (Jue34)

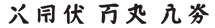
18.3.1.10 **L-an-ku**  **(L4)** only here

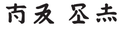
18.3.1.11 **Cu-ung-ung**  (L5) only here
does exist cu-ung-ud,2x, cu-ung b-en, 2x,

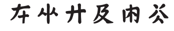
18.3.1.12 **Eu-uh-ñ-i T-en-un$_3$**  **(L5**, **L10)** only here

18.3.1.13 **Pu-ie-ên**,  (**L5**), only here

18.3.1.14 **Ish-i do$_2$-ji,**  **(L5)**
the first part which is a clan name occurs both in female and male names in the following contexts
g-ui ong-on t-abu-y-i di-ri-g o-s$_2$-li$_2$ ishi-i eme b-o-du$_2$-l-ñ (Xu50-14)
z-iang g-ün-en b-qo h-ing g-e ishi-i eme ci-ur-én eme ku (Hai5-8)
*ci-ur-én ng-ing ishi-ï aú-ui (*Xiang21-11)
ia deu-un j-iú ishi-ï tai ui°-de û-ul-ge-én (Liang-16)

18.3.1.15 **H-ing-ñ Y-au Ge**  **(L5)**
t-ur-er h-ing-ñ y-au g-e t-ai-i ci-ng s-iang p-úr-s (Di4-32)
t-ur-er h-ing-ñ y-au g-e t-ai-i ci-ng s-iang p-úr-s (Tu4)

18.3.1.16 **Hor-u tai ong**  (L6) only here, but **hor-u,** 23x, see EL

18.3.1.17 **Ar-l-o (L6)** only here**,** but see **Ar-l-ó-o-on,** 12x, once in Hong22-2, Zhi3-31, Di25-16, resp., twice in Liang18-31, 27-7, DiX1-3,2-8, and Hu17-20, 28-45 and three times in Xian29-6, 29-14, 30-23. It cannot be a genitive case, because we find **Ar-l-ó-o-on-er**  (084-261-090-186-322-341) in Zhong4-27.[3]

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[3] *y-228-ETERNAL-i ar-l-ó-o-ón (*Di25-16)
go-er ar-l-ó-o-ón dau-úr y-iá-ar-i kei-en m-o bai-en-en sh-eu-su (Hong22-2)
ar-l-ó-o-ón ar-ó-ul-ha-a-án (Zhi3-31)
*ar-l-ó-o-ón pu-su-û-én-er sh-58-ñ t-iu-ir-er ar-ó-ul-hu (*Liang18-31)
*go-t ja-ri-ha-a-ar or-a ar-l-ó-o-ón ia-277 (*Liang27-7)
bot-d na-ha-án-er-en ar-l-ó-o-ón t-il-uh pu-shi-en m-in RECORD-g-én (DiX1-3)
ci-ur-én-en ar-l-ó-o-ón par°-d-er n-on-en u-ur ai (DiX2-8)
ar-l-ó-o-ón b-û-du$_2$-én-de h-ib rí-i (Hu17-20)
b-hu-án jur m-ô$_2$-qú ar-l-ó-o-ón (Hu28-45)
ong-on go-t te ar-l-ó-o-ón s-tal-l-û-ji-d (Xian 29-6)
307-y-hu ar-l-ó-o-ón 299 p-a-ar (Xian29-14)
ar-l-ó-o-ón 065-or ji-d ñ-an-de (Xian30-23)

18.3.1.18 **Pu-ul-ñ 伞平伏** (241-366-222) (**L6, 8, 23**) occurs seven times in four inscriptions Di, Tu, GuD and Pu[4]

18.3.1.19 **En-ia-ai** Ñ-**mú-qó-ñ 业才丰 伏行欠伏 (**L7, 11) only here, but **Ñ-mú-qó-ñ**, 4x[5]

18.3.1.20 **Qa-a Hu-a 亟为列为** (053-198 151-189) **(L7)** in four other inscriptions Yu, Han, Xian, Jue[6].

18.3.1.21 **Ju-qu 弓余 (L7)** only in this inscription.

18.3.1.22 **S-a-am-ñ 伞为乃伏 (L7),** see **S-a-am** L9,the first form occurs in two inscriptions Di[7], Tu.

18.3.1.23 **D-i-ng 全关发 (L7)** occurs here but as **d-i-ing** once**:**
d-le g-ing-en tu-ung g-ün g-ia-iáng d-i-ing t-ung sh-ng t em$_2$-s-en (Xian5-31)

18.3.1.24 **G-e 九券** (334-348) (L7), also **G-e$_2$ 九夯**, ChinT 哥 YCh *kə,* LMCh *ka*, ‘elder brother, polite or honorary expression’.
Very frequent as second element: **Zh-ün G-e, H-ing G-e, Cu G-e, S-ui° G-e, H-iu G-e, Ci-en G-e, Ca-ang Ge, M-o-l-iu Ge** etc.
Pu G-e$_2$, Fu-ung G-e$_2$, H-ing Ge$_2$, Du-ung G-e$_2$, Cu-ñ G-e$_2$, S-u G-e$_2$, Sh-ng G-e$_2$, G-ui G-e$_2$, H-o G-e$_2$, H-iu G-e$_2$, Y-au G-e$_2$ etc.

18.3.1.25 **Ar-l 本屮 (L7**, **L10)**, in 3 other Hu, Qing, Cha[8].

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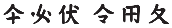
[4] *t-od-o-or pu-ul-ñ dai qa-an shï ju-ung* (Di5-4)
pu-ul-ñ jau tau k-li$_2$-g an p-u pu-ul-ñ shï ju-ung m-qú ên-ia-ai$_2$ (Di5-31)
pu-shi-ñ ia deu-en SMALL-qu ai-en s-in ong-on go-er-en pu-ul-ñ dai qa-an jau tau-un b-qo oh-ji-ñ tai ong-do-i sui-e-ci b-hu-án dur ai-d (Tu4-25)
m-ri-g em jur-en b-qo pu-ul-ñ m-ui l-ing-un hu$_2$-ú (GuD4-28)
pu-ul-ñ l-ing-un ñ-ar-qó-ñ pu-shi-ñ jur-en b-hu-án gur (GuD5-20)
m-ri-g em jur-en b-qo pu-ul-ñ m-ui l-ing-un hu$_2$-ú (Pu4-5)
pu-ul-ñ l-ing-un ñ-ar-qu-ñ pu-shi-ñ jur-en b-hu-án gur (Pu4-32)

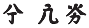
[5] *t-ur-én ñ-mú-qó-ñ p-üe-z-iú SMALL-qó aju-en sh-l-û-ñ ju-ur-e$_2$ ja-ri-qó-do û-ul-ge$_2$-én* (Yu8)
ci-ur-er ñ-mú-qó-ñ di-ge-in /g-ün ong hu-aju-u p-úr-s iu (Zhi10/11)
ñ-mú-qó-ñ ia deu-en dau-dû ai-en car°-a-án (Liang15)
ia deu-un SMALL-qó ai-en s-in ong-en go-er-en t-ad-ir$_2$ s-iang g-ün ñ-mú-qó-ñ 210-ui (Hui7)

[6] *dor hu-a lu p-o-l$_2$-ha-ai* (Yu37-58)
qa-an-ñ y-ang hu-a s-iang g-ung h-iu pu-shi-ñ jur-en t-ur-er b-qo (Han3-5)
s-üe-üen h-ui°-en p-ar-ha-ai hu-a ge-ul-de û-ul-ge$_2$-y (Xian17-26)
b-hu-án gur GREAT am hu-a aú-ui bot-d na-án-er-en ja-ri-qó-on ia deu-un xe-il sh-a-rí-de u-ul-ge-én (Jue10-23)

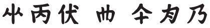
[7] *deu abu ai s-a-am-ñ s-iang g-ung-un go-er 025-l-ge-er* (Di7-40)
deu abu ai s-a-am-ñ s-iang g-ung-un go-er 025-l-ge-er (Tu7)

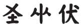
[8] *ar-l de-i si 054-ai$_2$-ri 198.1-is MANAGE-er (Xu48*-10)

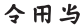
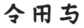
18.3.1.26 **S-un-ñ T-il-uh,**  **(L8)** occurs twice in Di and Tu[9].

18.3.1.27 **Pu g-e** (241 334-348) **(L9)** only here, but **Pu-Ge**$_2$.

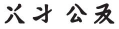
eme ku pu g-e$_2$ *aú-ui* (Zhong27).

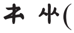
18.3.1.28 **L-iu-ñ Go S-a-am**  **(L9),** only here, but, **L-iu-ñ gau-g-iu**, 3x[10]**S-a-am** (**L9**) 21x, see **Sa-a-m-ñ** L7.

18.3.1.29 **Xe-l-ñ**  **(L9)**, 8x, Guang, Yong, Song twice, Wu, Liang, Hu[11].

18.3.1.30 **T-il-én**  **(L10),** 18x, also  **T-il-én**$_2$, 2x, Yu4-55, DiX12-7.

18.3.1.31 **Pu-ung H-ia N-u (L10),** only here.
Pu-ung occurs three times, in Zhong twice and in Tai[12]

18.3.1.32 **H-ia N-u**  **(L11),** only here, but.
b-hu-án gur GREAT bi h-ia n-iú (Ling24), with the feminine form of Nu
.

18.3.1.33 **Ar-l** (123-261), 6x, twice in Gao (**L7, 10**) and in Xu48-11, Qing11-15. 13-40, and Cha17-5[13]. .
T-en-un$_3$ see **L5**

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cal°-a sh-a-rí eme ku ar-l aú-ui (Qing11-15)
cal°-a sh-a-rí ar-l aú-ui (Qing13-40)
*eme-t p-ar jur ci-299 ar-l g-ui pu-shi-*ñ (Cha17-5)

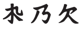
[9] *ci-ur-er s-un-ñ t-il-uh tai ong* (Di7)
ci-ur-er s-un-ñ t-il-uh tai ong (Tu7)

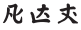
[10] *l-iu-ñ g-au g-iu tai ong* (Hong12)
l-iu-ñ g-au g-iu na-ha-án-er s-eng-un (Song4)
l-iu-ñ g-au g-iu tai ong p-úr-s-en (Liang3)

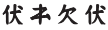
[11] *s-iang g-ung xe-l-ñ pu-is-ñ* (Guang20)
te-li$_2$*-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en xe-l-ñ ong l-iu tai ong* (Yong21)
na-ha-án-er SMALL-qó aju-en ku abu abu ai xe-l-ñ tau-ó-ui t-ge-y t-em$_2$*-l-ge-én* (Song4)
s-u-HEAVEN n-s-b-e xe-l-ñ tau-ó-ui ja-al-ha-a-án (Song18)
66-l-ge-er xe-l-ñ û-n b-qo (Wu4)
g-ung l-ing g-ung-un b-qo xe-l-ñ tau-ó-ui g-ui ong g-ui ong-on b-hu-án tau° hu-ur-er (Liang3)
tai shï-en b-qo b-hu-án ai-d jur° g-iu g-in xe-l-ñ (Hu28)

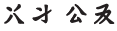
[12] *hu-ur-er jel-bun-i pu-ung g-ui* (Zhong6)
t-ad-o-or bai-s-bun pu-ung g-ui g-ui ong-on uni-qu-do (Zhong6)
pu-ung cu-uh-dú l-abu-qu au-ul-ha-a-ar (Tai12)

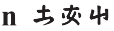
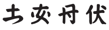
[13] *ar-l de-i si 054-ai*$_2$*-ri 198.1-is MANAGE-er* (Xu48-11)
ci-ur-er car°-a sh-a-rí eme ku ar-l aú-ui (Qing11-15)
ar-l aú-ui (Qing13-40)
ar-l g-ui pu-shi-ñ (Cha 17-5)

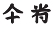
18.3.1.34 **C-am-qó**  **(L10)** ocurs only here.

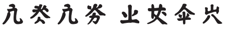
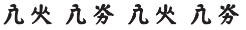
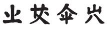
18.3.1.35 **178.2-ol-qú**  (**L11**) occurs in one other inscription:
ci-ú-qu eme eme-n h-iú 178.2-ol-qú aú-ui (Guang 23-32) =178.2 was earlier No. 497.

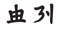
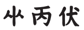
18.3.1.36 **Ñ-ar-qó-ñ**  (**L11**), twice in Yu and once in Gu [14]

18.3.1.37 **Ong H-ia N-u F**  **(L11)** see **L10 Pu-ung H-ia N-u.**

18.3.1.38 **Eu-úr-bun**  **(L12)** in four other Xing 17-3, Yu54-24, Di17-32, Xian8-25[15] further **Eu-úr-b-ñ**  Ling9/10-1, Guang6-2) and Hong28-6[16], .

18.3.39 **S-299**  (**L12**) occurs only here.

18.3.1.40 **G-ui$_2$ G-e P-üe-z-iú**  **(L12)**, the full title occurs once:
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 l-ing g-ung-un b-qo pu-shi-ñ / l-iu-ñ ja-ri-qó p-üe-z-iú-un b-qo (Han8/9)
G-ui G-e  Yong25, Qing12, Jue30
P-üe-z-iú, , 17x, as in:
car°-a ja-ri-qu p-üe-z-iú (Yu6)
ja-ri-qó y-ie-ên h-e$_2$ p-üe-z-iú (Yu7)
t-ur-én ñ-mú-qó-ñ p-üe-z-iú (Yu8)
h-e h-ung ci-iú tau-uh p-üe-z-iú (Guang25) etc.
*eme ku g-ui g-e p-üe-z-iú na-ha-án-oi 378.1-378.1-ñ ja-ri-qu-on n-em$_2$-d har-hu l-ing g-ung-un b-qo pu-shi-ñ / l-iu-ñ ja-ri-qó p-üe-z-iú-un b-qo… (*Han8/9*)*

18.3.1.41 **Har-hu**  **(L12)**.
em ku g-ui g-e p-üe-z-iú na-ha-án-oi 378.1-378.1-ñ ja-ri-qu-on n-em$_2$-d har-hu l-ing g-ung-un b-qo pu-shi-ñ / l-iu-ñ ja-ri-qó p-üe-z-iú-un b-qo (Han8/9)
h-de-g-ñ har-hu qa-ha-an un$_3$ m-in y-eu-ur-ge$_2$-y (Jue2)
L-iu-ñ  see L9,

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[14] *b-qo ñ-ar-qó-ñ sh-i-si t-ie-ên 378.1-i ñ-ar-qó-ñ /378.1-378.*1 (Yu4-60, 64/5)
pu-ul-ñ l-ing-un ñ-ar-qó-ñ pu-shi-ñ (GuD5-22)

[15] *sh-a y-ie-ar-û-ji eu-úr-bun 339.1-bai ai-s-er eu-l-ha-a-ar én* (Xing17-3)
n-o-oi$_2$-er ñ-ô-úr ku eu-úr-bun 227 s-or-77 MANAGE-l-ha-ai (Yu54-24)
m-gu eme QUEEN a-ai eu-úr-bun po-od (Di17-32)
m-gu eme QUEEN ci-qó eu-úr-bun hu-ar-l-en eu-ur a-ai-hu (Xian8-25)

[16] *g-ing z-úng hong di deu-úr eu-úr / eu-úr-b-ñ co-do-i* (Ling9/10-1),
eu-úr-b-ñ ol-de-i p-ul-uh dele-en deu ci-iú-pen tai-shï tai ong po-or (Guang6-2)
dele-hu-ar-i dai-ô-du$_2$ au-a-iú eu-úr-b-ñ lu$_3$-úr-en go-er 343-én$_4$ b-23-ar-e-ci zhul ün-én au-ui-én (Hong28-6)

18.3.1.42 **G-au Sh-ib 九夬 叉关 (L13)** in DiX25, read by Wu and Janhunen as **G-au sh-an$_2$.**

t-ur-er ong-ñ g-au sh-ib ja-ri-qó eme-t b-hu-án (Han9)
ja-ri-qó-on tou b-qo g-au sh-ib tai shï-en b-qo ur-i eu-ur p-úr-s eu-ul-ge$_2$-y (Han13)
t-ur-er g-au sh-ib t-od-o-or p-ung g-ia n-u t-abu-y-én h-s-ge$_2$-ud RECORD-e (DiX25)
g-au-sh-ib-úr-u-úr (Zhuo23)

18.3.1.43 **H-i-ing sh-ng 乂关同 叉安 (L16, L18)** only in Gao, but:
gur ai-de h-ing sh-ing g-iu-ung-un fu g-iu-ung shï p-o-l$_2$-li$_2$ sh-ul-ó-úr ong-on u-úr û-úr a-án (Pu10)

18.3.1.44 **L-i-in 小关雨 (L15, L16, L17),**
l-i-in ud-un$_2$-ge-l-g p-iau d-ge-l-ge-y(Xu32)
b-as ETERNAL-ia-023 l-i-in cau-ji hu-en$_2$-shi-ó-o-ón po-do (Chao9)
b-qo ci-ur-én / ur hu-üen-de o-l$_2$ l-i-in cau-ur-i hu-she-e hu-rí 232-i a-ai (DiX12/13)
al-i l-i-in cau-ur-i p-od-d-li$_2$ dele u-ur deu-úr MANAGE-u-ji (Jue14)

18.3.2 Geographic names

18.3.2.1 **Xe-ri-pu$_2$ 圣化由** (268-235-320), **(L19)** 16x[17] see **Xe ri-y ci-eu-un 圣 化丏 术去火** (268 235-020 162-067-273) 'prefecture Haibei, genitive',

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[17] *xe-ri-pu$_2$ a-an ci-aû-un sï shï cau-úr ui-de ol ja-ai-il-ha-ai* (Xu49)
n-em$_2$ ci-i-shi xe-ri-pu$_2$ zhul te-te$_2$ xu-úr-ó-ui (Xu54)
n-em$_2$ ci-i-shi xe-ri-pu$_2$ MANAGE-er-hu tu-su n-ai-ci-én emu-s-g (Gu13)
ñ-ô-úr ku xe-ri-pu$_2$ ci-i-shi-378.1 da$_3$ 66-ul-uh-ji ci-abu-qó t-ad-ar n-em$_2$-d zhul em$_2$-ir$_2$ h-d h-d h-úr-e p-a-rí-e$_2$ ku-û-un d$_3$-ge$_2$-l-ge$_2$-én (Yu56)
go-n ca shï xe-ri-pu$_2$ em$_2$-en / t-qó sh-i-en i-ri-s ir-i-li$_2$ t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-l-un$_2$ (Guang10/11)
xe-ri-pu$_2$ p-úng ng-iú shï-en i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-y (Nan18)
b-as xe-ri-pu$_2$ go-n ca-an i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-y (Nan18)
jur$_2$ jur ai-de xe-ri-pu$_2$ t-qó sh-i-en i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge$_2$-y (Gao19)
xe-ri-pu$_2$ MANAGE-er a-al-hu (Chao16)
par när 160-lu$_3$-ir$_2$ or-de xe-ri-pu$_2$ t-qó sh-i-in i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-y (Wu10)
l-au-HEAVEN-en 232-de-i xe-ri-pu$_2$ t-qó sh-i sh-ang s-iang g-ün-en i-ri-s jï-shi-b-un$_2$ t-em$_2$-l-ge-er (Wu17)
uni-qu-ñ i-ri-s-er a-al xe-ri-pu$_2$ t-em$_2$-l-ge-y (DiX14)
ku-û-un or-ci MR-a-án xe-ri-pu$_2$ ñ-un$_2$-e$_2$-n-hu (DiX37)
tau-su-ó-ui t-em$_2$-l-ge-én i-ri xe-ri-pu$_2$ t-qó sh-i sh-ng (Jue5)
b-as xe-ri-pu$_2$ t-qó sh-i-in i-ri t-em$_2$-l-ge-y (Jue16)
xe-ri-pu$_2$ MANAGE-er a-al-hu (Hui18)

18.3.2.2 **Lu em$_2$- (L20)** only here

18.3.3 Ethnic and tribal names

18.3.3.1 **Uh-ul T-il-t 夂平 令用令 (L20),** 3x, Gao20, the two tribal names are occurring together:

cau-úr-en hu$_2$-ú uh-ul t-il-t-en hu$_2$-ú (Wu12)

uh-ul t-il-t-en ñ-ô-od Wu25

y-iau-qú cau-úr-en hu$_2$-ú uh-ul t-il-t-en hu$_2$-ú s-eng-un hor-un$_2$ MANAGE-un$_2$ jau-ul-ha-ai (Wu12)

un$_2$-e uh-ul t-il-t-en ñ-ô-od a-al-hu ñ-ó-úr t-iu-ui s-eng-un 160-ai (Wu25)

Uh-ul in genitive case*:uh-ul-i ñ-û-úr t-qu sh-i hoi-d ju-ur-n* (Xiang11)

Uh-ul D-il 夂平 仝用 (L**21**) only here, Gao21

Uh-ul [18], and in genitive case **Uh-ul-ñ**[19] are frequent

18.3.3.2 **Ming-eu-ud-en 关圡火冇** (**L21**) only here**,** but see **Ming-u-ud-en** (Yu54-28)[20], and **Ming-ad**[21]

ku ming-ad b-aû-er udu-ú-dú h-ui-dz$_2$ hoi u-ur pu sh-iú p-o-ri$_5$ sh-a-rí-d b-hu-án MANAGE-u-ji k-em$_2$ (Jue22-31)

18.3.3.3 **Au-ñ-ó-ñ** (**L21**) recte **Au ñ-ó-ñ** also **Au ñ-ó-ón** and also **Au-ui-én** = Chin *Ao yan*, for which see:

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[18] *dau-úr-ir$_2$ uh-ul /t-ad-ar-en 378.1-378.1-l-378.1-a-án* (Nu6/7)
uh-ul t-ad-ar-en ñ-ó-úr-s-er ta hu-am-ul-ha-ai (Nu30)
ñ-ar-ñ uh-ul sh-a-rí (Chao5, 6)

[19] *uh-ul-ñ tai-/shï ai-en bod sh-ia ün-én hor-do-én hu-a-al-ú eu-úr-û-*ji (Chao7/8)
uh-ul-ñ tai shï (Chao10)
ci-ur-er ia ai uh-ul-ñ ku-ung-úr tai shï ca-ang g-e pu-shi-ñ (Chao7)
uh-ul-ñ tai shï (Chao10)
pu-ul-ñ l-ing-un ñ-ar-qó-ñ pu-shi-ñ jur-en b-hu-án gur m-o b-qo pu-ul sh-a-rí ci-ur-er t-rí-hu sh-a-rí hur-er uh-ul-ñ po-od tu-ung$_2$ sh-ün / t-rí-hu sh-a-rí (GuD5/6)
hoi si h-úr uh-ul-g h-378.1-s-i g-úr t-e$_2$-b (GuD11)
ja-ri-hur go-ci-en uh-ul-ñ il-bun-en b-qo b-hu-án ai-d (GuD14)
hu-ur-er b-qo uh-ul-ñ p-deu tu-ung g-ün t-rí-hu sh-ha-rí is-g-i ñ-au-qu aú-ui (Pu5)
eu-uh-ñ-er ja-ri-qu-od go-ci-en uh-ul-ñ il-bun-en b-qo eme b-qo-i emu-i ci-én hu$_2$-ú (Pu16)
ci-ur-er ia ai uh-ul-ñ ku-ung-úr tai shï (Chao7)

[20] *ming-u-ud-en nai-d* (Yu54-28)

[21] *GREAT s-b h-ib p-od-i rí-i ku-û-un ol ming-ad 024-ó-ui hor tum n-em$_2$ rí-i när 035-de dalu-ia har-l-ha-ai* (Yu43-53)
077 emu-un 024-ó-ui ming-ad m-ar il-ha-al-hu k-li$_2$-g gr sär-de-i ri xa-she dalu sär-de h-ui-t-li$_2$ po-on (Yu53-29)
ming-ad p-in-i bai-s-en kei-en eu-u (Hong25-4)
emu-MR-ar ming-ad ir-jï tau-un ñol u-ur jur ñ-ô-li p-o-l$_2$-ha-ar (Nan6-18)

Au-ui-én Du$_3$-ge-én jur$_2$ 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) (Ling 17) 'was appointed as teqoshi of the Aoyan and Duge tribal units'

Au-ñ-ó-ón (161-222-090-322), (Xu24-32).

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 û-iu-148 t-abu h-i-is-û-én or-a-ad (Zhong3-12)

231-te$_2$ al-a-án or-a-an au-ñ-ó-o-ón ri$_4$-124 (Xu24-32)

Au-ui-én, 10x[22]

also **au-ñ-ó-o-or-en** (161-222-090-186-076-140) (Zhen9-27) Nu43-1, Wu14-17, Hu13-1 (Nu43-1???, and: **au-ñ tai ong b-qo ñ-e 227 jau-ul-ha-ai** (Wu14-17), . **au-ñ 284-du$_3$ när-i ui-de o-oi$_2$** (Hu13-1).

au-ñ-ó-o-or

au-ñ-ó-o-or-en g-ci-l-u-ji$_2$ hu$_2$-d-u-ji-en ol a-al-hu-er (Zhen9-27)

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 û-iu-148 t-abu h-i-is-û-én or-a-ad (Zhong3-12)

18.3.3.4 **Ar$_2$-b** (084-311) **L22** read earlier as **ra-b,** see EL also for the parallel texts, six times in three inscriptions[23]**.**

18.3.3.5 **Co-do-i** (298-217-339)??? **L26**,no gloss, 18x, for Co see: **Co-on tu t-ie-ên-de** (298-154 202 247-327-073-205) 'in Zantu palace, dative-locative', Chin *zan tu dian yu* 攢涂殿于 C463.

p-iu-l-ó-ji-en co-do-i t-le s-ung g-úr-en qa (Ren8-10)

g-ing z-úng hong di deu-úr eu-úr/10/ eu-úr-b-ñ co-do-i 378.1-u-ji (Ling10-2)

es co-do-i hu-sär-ó-o-ón eme-er t-ul-378.1-378.1 emu-er a-ai (Xu41-10)

hu-she-378.1-en co-do-i jau 239-de-378.1 (Yu19-70)

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[22] *t-ge-er au-ui-én 66-378.1-378.1* (Ling1)
au-ui-én sh-te$_2$-i-én t-od-ha-ad n-ai-ri-hu-as gú-u-un (Yu61)
au-ui-én eme-er p-ul-uh-ji ci-én tai ong eme-n ai-d eme-t b-hu-án dur (Guang20)
au-ui-én n-ai-ci-én har$_3$-ia t-ie-er (Hong28)
au-ui-én n-ai-s$_2$-én ün-én ia deu-de hul-l-ha-ai (Nu28)
YOUNG-qú eu-ur au-ui-én n-378.1-s$_2$-én har$_3$-ia p-e$_2$-ud-ge-y (Nu36)
au-ui-én jur-er 066-li$_2$ hu-ul-búl-u a-al (Tai 10)
au-ui-én emu-s-g-te$_2$ ci-i-shi-d-b-ñ-er y-au-o-ón (Tai 14)
au-ui-én ci-i-shi-de hul-l-ha-a-án (Chao10)
au-ui-én s-mu-y-én har$_3$-ia-ur (Xian8)

[23] *tu-li em$_2$-s ar-b ci-ul-ha-ai* (Xing12-16)
ar-b har-l-ha-al-ñ (Xu42-28)
025-l-ñ ar-b gú-u-un rí-l-ñ t-ém-shi (Xu43-2)
024-ó-ui ku ar-b tum n-em$_2$ rí-i hor t-em$_2$-e$_2$ ar-u (Yu45-33)
rí-én ar-b es s-ul-dû-ge$_2$-y ci-eu h-ui-d-l-ir$_2$ t-iu-ñ ci-as-a-ad-en ku e$_2$ ar-b n-o-or-er áng-ra p-o-l$_2$-bun ol o-oi$_2$ (Yu46-30, 46-39)

co-do-i *bod-u-ji-en eu-ul-g-en* (Yu63-41)
co-do-i *zhul t-378.1-l-ge₂-y* (Yu69-14)
co-do-i *u-ur n-on när-i ui-de s-or-077 s-a-án* (Guang27-14)

18.3.4 Summary

As it can be seen, Gaoshi is not an isolated inscription, its proper names occur in many other major inscriptions. The parallel texts may help to identify them or at least fix the context of the given proper names. A great work is ahead.

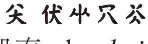
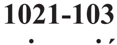
18.4 THE KHITAN CALENDAR

18.4.1 The Khitan reign titles in chronological order

The Khitan reign titles have been collected and analyzed by Kane (2009: 158–162). My analysis, though grounded in Kane's study, incorporates the results of more recent scholarship and introduces corrections, additional materials, and orthographic variants. Included are reign titles attested in the Corpus. The variants show the instability of the Khitan orthography, see Chapter 9, ORTHOGRAPHY.

The Khitan reign titles are sometimes used instead of the names of that emperor, whose is the reign title, see: *HEAVEN s-abu-o-or hong di HEAVEN udu-ó-o-or hong di-in po-do*, 'in the time of the emperor Shengzong (982-1031) and Daozong (1055-1101)' (Hu6).

I Shengzong (耶律隆緒 Yelü Longxu, r. 982–1031)

1. **983-1012 HEAVEN hu$_2$-ú** (243 014-245), 4x. Chin *tong he* 统和 'government unity', C428, Nu7, Xiang1. Hu4,5 also **HEAVEN s-abu-o-or** (243 244-196-186-076), 7x, Hu3, 6, Di5, 6, Qing8, 9, Han5, see Kane 2009,159.
2. **1012-1021**, **HEAVEN ñ-l-û-er**  (243 222-261-372-341) ChinS *kai tai* 开泰, Chin (Kane6) *kaitai* 凱泰 also *kaitai* 開泰 'the heaven open prosperity', **L**13.
3. **1021-1031 GREAT y-ie-ar$_2$-u**,  (020-327-084-131) also **y-ie-ar-ú** and **y-ie-ar-iú** 'great peace', Chin *tai ping* 太平 Dao28, Xu36, Nan13, Zhi8, Wu8, 43, Hu5, 16.
4. **1031-1032** Chin *jing fu* 竟福 'bright happiness' not yet identified.

II. Xingzong (耶律宗真 Yelü Zongzhen, r. 1031–1055)

5. **1032-1055 HEAVEN ó-dû-l-ha-a-ar 关 廾分屮圡为本** (243 090-249-261-051-189-123)’, Chin *chongxi* 重熙 C428, ‘repeated splendour, prosperity’(Jue19-29) also.
   HEAVEN o-udu-l-ha-a-ar 关 及米屮圡为本 (243 186-355-261-051-189-123), (Chao8-19)
   HEAVEN h-ñ ú-dû-l-ha-a-án 关 乂伏 伞分屮圡为出 (Ren23), no gloss for **h-ñ** on CWJ886.
   HEAVEN ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar 关 伞分屮圡为本 (243 245-249-261-189-123), (Cha10).
   HEAVEN udu-l-ha-a-ar 关 米屮圡为本 (243 355-261-051-189-123) C429,
   HEAVEN udu-l-ha-ar 关 米屮圡本 (243 355-261-051-123) C429,
   HEAVEN udu-ú-a-ha-ar 关 米伞为圡本 (243 355-245-189-051-123) C429.
   HEAVEN udu-ó-o-or关 米廾及圠 (243 355-090-186-076) (Di12) Chin *chongxi* 重熙 CWJ 1256.

III. Daozong (耶律洪基 Yelü Hongji, r. 1055–1101)

6. **1055-1064 HEAVEN as-ar 关 冬本** (243 174-123), C428, Chin *qingning* 清寧 ‘clear tranquility’.
7. **1065-1074 HEAVEN t-ud 关 令火** (243 247-344) Chin x*ianyong* 咸雍, “together harmony, concord” **L22** see perhaps **HEAVEN tu-dú rí-i h-ui-ri-b-ñ-er** /26/ **tau-su-ó-ul-ó-ji** (Di25) **tu-dú** only once, here.
8. **1075-1084 GREAT t-iu-ir又 令丙刃** (373 247-019-137) 83x, also GREAT **d-iu-ir 又 公丙刃** (373 254-019-137), 17x, Chin *dakang* 大康 ‘great prosperity’.
9. **1085-1094 GREAT ú-dû-ó-o-ón 又 伞分廾及肉** (373 245-249-090-186-322),14x, also **GREAT ú-dû-o-ón 又 伞分及肉** (373 245-249-186-322), (Nan7), **GREAT udu-ó-o-ón 又 米廾及肉** (373 355-090-186-322), (Hu16-4), Chin *da an* 大安 ‘great peace’.
10. **1095-1101 GREAT s-en 又 仐冇** (373 244-140), Chin *shou chang*寿昌C485 ‘longevity prosperity’.

IV. Tianzuo (耶律延禧 Yelü Yanxi, r. 1101–1125)

11. **1101-1110 HEAVEN ar-ó-o-or 关 本廾及圠** (243 123-090-186-076), also **HEAVEN ar-ú-ó-o-or 关 本伞廾及圠** (243 123-245-090-186-076) 1x,(Zhuo21) **HEAVEN ar-ú-o-or关 本伞及圠** (243 123-245-186-076) (Gu17),1x Chin *qian tong* 乾统 C428 ‘celestial government’.

12. **1111-1120 HEAVEN pu-su-û-ul-er** 关 亇卡只平亦 (243 241-041-372-366-341) also **HEAVEN pu-su-û-ul-ge-un$_2$** 关 亇卡只平坌叉 (243 241-041-372-366-349-144), **HEAVEN pu-su-û-ul-oi (=er)** 关 亇卡只平炎 (243 241-041-372-366-347) C429 Chin *tian qing* 天庆(=慶), C429, ‘heaven blessing’.
13. **1117-1123 GREAT du$_3$-g-én** 又 尤九当 (373 089-334-361), also **du$_3$-ge-én$_2$** (089-349-100) (Yu47-17), **d$_3$-ge-én** (089-349-361), 5x, Chin *tianfu* 天輔 ‘heaven assistance’.
14. **1123-1137 HEAVEN t-iu-er**, 关 令丙亦 (243 247-019-341) 7x, also **HEAVEN d-iu-er** 关 仝丙亦 (243 254-019-341), 3x, *tianhui* 天會 ’heaven meeting’.
15. **1138-1141 HEAVEN d-em$_2$-y-er** 关 仝金丏亦 (243 254-257-020-341) also **HEAVEN t-em$_2$-y-er** 关 令金丏亦 (243 247-257-020-341), 2x, Chin *tian juan* 天眷‘heaven favour’ C429.
16. **1141-1149 t-p bod-l-b-ñ** 令业 国朩舟伏 (247-295 309-261-311-222) (Zhong21) ‘ C464 also **bod-l-b-un$_2$.** 国朩舟叉 (309-261-311-144) 6x, and **bod-l-bun** 国朩屮 (309-261-288). Chin *huang tong*皇统 ‘august, imperial government, or imperial lineage’, C441, **t-p** ‘central’.
17. **1149-1153 HEAVEN d-iu-ir** 关 仝丙刃 (243 254-019-137),3x (Zhong23,24, 50), Chin *tiande* 天德 ‘heaven virtue’. .
18. **GREAT dor-ha-am**又 亐圭乃 (373 218-051-184) Chin *dading* 大定 ‘great settlement’ not in the corpus, but **HEAVEN dor-ha-án** 关 亐圭出 (243 218-051-290) occurs in Taer2S, line 1. and is glossed by *dading*大定, CWJ 1608.

A few sample:
HEAVEN ú-dû-l-ha-a-ar jur₂ dur ai-en s-l-b s-iau-qu ém-a nem sär l-iau-qu ñ-qo or-l-bun dur när GOLD uni
圭为本 丁 乇 丰有 仐朩舟 仐号余 仝为 巠 艾 朩号余 伏力 圠朩屮 乇 叉 山 杏 (Xing1)
‘in the year 24 of the regnal period *chongxi* 重熙, according to the cyclical order of the years, the blue goat month, eight, red dog, first day of the month, the gold night of the day four’.

*GREAT s-en dalu ai ai-en s-l-b siu mu-or-o nai sär har-u ñ-qo or-l-bun par gur s-iau-qú ñ-qo*又 仐有 岸 丰 丰有 仐朩舟 汞 仕圠及 穴 艾 由叒 伏力 圠朩屮 乇 包 仐号夬 伏力 (Dao4)
‘In the year seven of the regnal period *shou chang* 寿昌, according to the cyclical order of years white snake, the first month, black dog, first day of the month, the day 13, blue dog’.

HEAVEN ar-ó-o-or par ai ai-en s-l-b siu qa-ha-as p-ul-uh nem sär l-iau-qú t-qo-a or-l-bun
关 本廾及圠 乇 丰 丰有 仐朩舟 汞 亟圭冬 业平久 巠 艾 朩号夬 令力为 圠朩屮 (Tai4)

'In year 10 of the regnal period *qian tong*乾统, according to the cyclical order of the years, white tiger intercalary month eight, red chicken the first day of the month'.

Remarks

仐芐犮 *s-iau-qú* and 朩芐犮 *l-iau-qú* are feminine forms.

18.4.2 THE KHITAN CYCLICAL ANIMALS

The Khitan system for naming the units of the zodiac animal cycle shares common features with the Mongolic system, though the differences are significant. The two systems are independent and cannot be traced back to a common origin. An important point highlighted by Vovin (2004) is that, in many cases, the names of animals used in the duodenary system do not necessarily match their usual names. I would distinguish three procedures:

1) Speakers of language A borrow all the names of the years from the animal cycle as they exist in language B and adapt them to the phonological structure of language A.

2) Speakers of language A borrow the system from language B but translate the names into their own language.

3) Speakers of language A adopt a system and, after long use, replace one or more elements with their own, using the habitual name of the same animal. It is unrealistic to suppose that speakers of language A would introduce the duodenary system and pick the names of the years from various other languages.

In the following table, I give the terminology of Khitan, Middle and Modern Mongolian, Middle Turkic (Uigur, Kashgari, and Codex Cumanicus). In another table, I included Jurchen, Manchu, Chuvash, and Kazan Tatar. For further material, see Bazin 1974, 1991, Vovin 2004. Shimunek—Shurgaia 2024.

English	Chinese	Khitan	MMo SH and Hyy/ Georgian (Shimunek-Shurgaia)	Mongol Bazin 1974 402 Luvsandendev 1957	Uigur[24], Bazin 1974 356 Biruni, Wilkens 2021	Kashgari, ed Dankoff-Kelly 1982	Codex Cumanicus Bazin 432, Grønbech 1942
Rat	鼠 *shǔ*	**hus-hu** 失列 (216-151)	qula-gana/ q'alγun	qulagana xulagana	küskü/ sïčgan	sïčgan	sïčkan
Ox	牛 *niú* *chou* 丑	**uni** 杏 (059)	*hüker/* *ukur*	*üker* *üxer*	*ud*[25]	*ud*	*sïgïr*
Tiger	虎 *hǔ*	**qa-ha-as** 亟圭冬 (053-051-174)	*bars/* *pars*	*bars* *bar*	*bars*	*bars*	*palaŋ* 'leopard'
Rabbit	兔 *tù*	**tau-li-a** 戋矢为 (029-206-189)	*ta'ulai/* *tavlai*	*taola* *tuulai*	*tavïšgan*	*tavïšgan*	*qoyan*
Dragon	龍/龙 *lóng*	**lu** 犮 (208)	*lu* *(Hyy)/* *lu*	*luu* *luu*	*lū, luu*	*näk*	*sazagan*
Snake	蛇 *shé*	**mu-or-**o 仗北及 (224-076-186)	*moqai* *(Hyy)/* moγi	*mogai* *mogoi*	*yïlan*	*yïlan*	*yïlan,* *ïlan*
Horse	馬/马 *mǎ*	**m-ri1** 叉化 (133-235)	*morin/* *morin*	*morin* *morin*	*yunt*	*yund*	*at*
Goat	羊 *yáng* *wei* 未	**ém-a** 圣为 (270-189)	*qonin/* *q'oni*	*qonin* *xonin*	*qoñ/* *qoyn*[26]	*qoy*	*qoy*

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[24] Malov 200-218

[25] Wilkens 784 'Rind, Ochse, Kuh'

[26] Wilkens 398 'Schaf, Widder 1

Monkey	猴 *hóu*	**p-o** **业及** (295-186)	*bečin (Hyy)/ mečin*	*bičin bičin*	*bičin/ bečin*	*bičin*	*maymun* Grønbech 1942, 162
Rooster	雞/鸡 *jī*	**t-qo-a** **令为为** (247-168-189)	*takïya/ taxa*	*takiya taxia*	*takigu/ taquq*	*takagu*	*tavuk*
Dog	狗 *gǒu*	**ñ-qo** **伏为** (222-168)	*noqai/ noxi*	*noqai-noxoi*	*ït*	*ït*	*it*
Pig	豬/猪 *zhū*	**ui1** **火** (262)	*gaqai/ q'aq'ai*	*gaqai gaxai*	*lagzin, tonguz*	*tonguz*	*tonguz*

English	Jurchen, Kane 1989, 198-200[27]	Manchu Vovin 2024 Norman 1967	Chuvash[28]	0rigin	Kazan Tatar[29]	Origin
Rat	šinggeri	singgeri	*kušak-kayăk* *šăši, šăših, šărši,*	*< Rus koška- + kayïk sičgan*	*tičkan, küse*	*sïčgan, küskü*
Ox	iha	ihan ihangga aniya	*ĕne*	*ineg < ingek*	*sïer*	*sïgïr*
Tiger	tas-ha	tas-ha	*parăs*	*< bars* ← Iranian	*bars*	*bars*

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[27] For the name of the double hours with *eri,* Kane 1989

[28] Ivanov-Nikolaev-Dmitriev 2000, 88, a late collection, thanks to Klara Agyagási for the bibliographical data.

[29] Golovkina 1966, 805.

Rabbit	*gu[l] mahun*	*gūlmahūn*	*mulkač*	*?*	*kujan*	*qoyan*
Dragon	*muduri*	*muduri*	*arăslan ‘lion’*	*arslan*	*balïk*	*balïq*
Snake	*meihe*	*meihe*	*śĕlen*	*yïlan*	*yelan*	*yïlan*
Horse	*inenggi eri (noon hour)*	*morin*	*ut*	*at*	*at, yelkï*	*at*
Goat	*imu’a*	*honin*	*surăx ‘sheep’*	*sarïk*	*sarïk,kuy*	*sarïq, qoy*
Monkey	*monio*	*bonio*	*pĕśin*	*bečin*	*may-mïl,bešin*	*maymun, bečin*
Rooster	*tiko*	*coko*	*čax*	*tik*	*tavïk*	*taguq*
Dog	*indahu*	*indahūn*	*yïtă*	*it*	*et*	*it*
Pig	*u[l]gia*	*ulgiyan*	*sïsna*	*ǰasnag*	*duŋïz*	*toŋuz*

TABLE XLII. THE NAMES OF THE ANIMALS OF THE ZOODIAC CYCLE II

Remarks on the above tables

1. Year of the Rat/Mouse

Khitan **hus-hu** goes back to a form like *küskü.* The Turkic word *küskü* is used as calendric term in the Old Turkic Runiform Inscriptions (TerhinS5), in early Uigur sources (the data see in WOT 361) and is a WOT loan in Hungarian. Chuvash is an adaptation. The original word may have been *küskü*, but under the influence of Russian *koška → Chuv kušak* it changed *küskü*> *kušak.* The composite noun *kušak-kayăk(ĕ)* ‘mouse’ is a new wordformation. *Kayăk* is OT *keyik* ‘wild animal, in Chuvash used as generic term,

The Chuvash word for weasel, Russian *laska* is *kušak kayăk yusă*, where *yusă* is ‘ermine’. The other name of ‘weasel’ is *šăši-yusĕ* (Ashmarin VII, 59, XVII 363), *šăši* is the original Chuvash word for ‘mouse’. This can be seen from the fact that *šăši* occurs in many names of plants and animals, see Ashmarin XVII, 364-366. Chuvash *šăši* has to pertain to PT *sïčgan* from s*ïč*-’to defecate’ but the way is obscured because of social taboo. Pehaps *sïcïg* > *siči* > *šiči* > *šăši*. To similar irregularity is due Kazan Tatar *tïčkan*, dial *tïskan*, *tïs’an* (Zakiev et al. 1993, 435). Kazan Tatar *küse* is ’rat’, which pertains to *küskü.* In WOT 362 I have dealt with the connections between *küskü* and *kösürgen* ‘mole’ and supposed an old *ü~ö* alternation in the base, see also Vovin 2024, 125. Mongolian has *kürene* ‘skunk, polecat, weasel’ in which is tempting to see rhotacism, but the details remain, so far, obscure[30]. If Chuvash had *k*üskü* then it may have been the source of Khitan *hus-hu.* Anyhow Turkic has mouse or rat, Mongolic has only mouse and so has Khitan.

2. Year of the Cattle

The Khitan word is **uni**. It is of Turkic origin, and the backround is somewhat complicated. In many Turkic languages the meaning of *öküz~ökür* is 'ox', that is 'castrated male cattle' in some also 'bull' in others only 'bull', in any case 'male cattle, bovine', in a few Turkic languages it is the generic term for cattle: as in Yellow Uigur '(Malov), (for the data see WOT 663-664). The name of a calendric year is *sïgïr* which in many Turkic languages has the meaning 'cow' in other 'bull, male bovine' originally 'a large bovine as generic term'(see Clauson, 1972, 815), as is also *ud* originally also a generic term for bovines, but in some cases it got additionally a meaning of 'male bovine' as aleady in Old Turkic (see Clauson 1972,34). From our point of view Chuvash is the only Turkic language where the year is marked as *ĕne* < *ineg*< *ingek* 'cow'. The word is in Mongolic *üniye* < **ünige* that is the first syllable has a labial vowel. On the other hand the calendric year is *üker*, *hüker.* Khitan **uni** if the reading is correct, can originate only from the same source as the Mongolic *üniye*, that is Oguric.

3. Year of the Tiger

In all languages *bars* of Iranian, in Codex Cumanicus *palaŋ* 'leopard' of Persian origin. The origin of Khitan **qa-ha-as** remains obscure

4. Year of the Rabbit/Hare

Khitan has **tau-li-a**. Old Turkic *qodan* > early *qoyan* (Clauson 1972, 678), see *kozan* (Alt Verbickij 138), *xozan* (Hakass, Shubrakova N.N. et al 2006, 833), *qodan, qoygun* (Tuvan, Tenišev. 1968, 244, 245). Clauson (1972, 678) quotes Chuvash *xoran* < *qodan>quyan* referring to Egorov 1964, 122. Egorov on the cited place refers to Cheremis *moren, meran* according to him < *ma +xoran*, *ma* is 'earth'. The Chuvash word for 'rabbit' is *mulkač, mulkaś* and other variants, the word is according to Egorov (1964, 134-135) and Fedotov of Udmurt origin (Fedotov 1996, 360). Turkic

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[30] Chuvash *yĕke xüre* 'krysa, polecat', Chuv *yĕke* is 'spindle' and *xüre* is 'tail', thus 'polecat' would be the animal with spindleform tail.

tabišqan ‘hare’ was in Ogur with lambdacism **tabilqan/i* → Mongolic **tabligai* > *taolai,* Khitan **tau-li-a,** Chuvash replaced this Oguric word.

5. Year of the Dragon

Khitan has *lu*, as Uigur and Mongolic. Chuvash is a recent loan from Tatar, but Chuvash has also *uslan kayăk* see all data WOT 647-649. The ‘dragon’ was replaced by ‘lion’ also in other Turkic languages.

6. Year of the Snake

The Khitan word **mu-or-o** cannot be connected with Mongolic *moqai.* Chuvash *śĕlen* is a regular continuation of PT *yïlan.* Jurchen and Manchu have *meihe* < *mey-* ‘rock, swing, roll’ as *yïlan* ‘snake’ <*yïl-* ‘to glide,slide, creep, crawl’ the data see WOT 452. The origin of the Khitan word is unknown.

7. Year of the Horse

Khitan **m-ri1** pertains to Mongolic *mori(n)* which is not of Turkic origin. I am not going into speculations about its possible Indo-European connections. Chuvash *ut* is regular from PT *at*.

8. Year of the Goat/Sheep

Khitan **ém-a** ‘goat’, where Mongolic *imagan* ‘goat’← Turk *ïmga* ‘wild mountain goat’ (Clauson 1972, 158), that is both Khitan and Mongolic are of Turkic origin. Chuvash has *surăx* ‘sheep’ < *sarïk.*

9. Year of the Monkey

Khitan **p-o** 业及 (295-186) ‘monkey’, also **p-o-o** 业及及 (295-186-186), **b-o**, may be connected with Jurchen, Manchu *bonio, monio*, Dagur has *monioo* ‘monkey, funny, amusing’ (M192), *mońo* ‘Affe’ (M-K 121) also of Jurchen or Mancchu origin. The second part of the Jurchen, Manchu word may be a separate Manchu word see *niohan* ’the name of a constellation’ (Norman 1967, 305) The origin of **bo-o** is unknown to me.

10. The year of the Rooster/Chicken

Khitan **t-qo-a** is the same word as Mongolic **takïya,** a word of Turkic origin. Chuvash is *čăxă*, a regular development of **taki* → Hungarian *tyúk.* All other Turkic data see WOT 965, 966. Khitan, Mongolic and Turkic have the same name.

11. The year of the Dog

Khitan **ñ-qo** is the same word as Mongolic *noqai*, both go back to a word with palatal nasal, where Mongolic lost the palatal component. Turkic has the habitual name for ‘dog’ *ït*/*it,* and Chuvash *yïtă* is a regular development.

12. The year of the Pig

The Khitan **ui** is of unknown origin, perhaps an onomatopoeic word. Chuvash has *sïsna* with no parallels in other Turkic languages. It is present in Hungarian *disznó,* which is a loan from WOT and had an earlier form**ǰïsnag* or **ǰasnag,* see WOT 296-298.

18.4.2.1 SUMMARY

The first point we can establish is that although the duodenary zodiac system is of Chinese origin, among the Khitan terms we find only one name of clear Chinese provenance:*lu* ‘dragon’. This is the only animal of the cycle that does not have an everyday counterpart. The Chinese origin of *lu* is highly probable, but direct borrowing can be excluded.

In Chinese, the word 龍/龙 *lóng* (MCh: YCh *ljuŋ*, LMCh *lywŋ*, EMCh *luwŋ*) consistently preserved a final -*ŋ*. For Old Chinese reconstructions see Karlgren (1957: no. 1193a, p. 308) and Baxter–Sagart ([mə]-roŋ). To account for the Khitan form *lu*, there are two possible explanations:

1. There may have existed a Chinese dialect in which the final -ŋ was lost.
2. The word could have been borrowed into an intermediary language that had undergone the loss of -*ŋ*, from which the Khitan form was subsequently adopted.

A parallel might be drawn with Tibetan *klu*, a relatively late form that likewise lacks -ŋ; however, in Tibetan the general loss of final -*ŋ* is not attested. In Chuvash, on the other hand, there exists a process whereby final -*ŋ* disappeared through an intermediate stage of denasalisation: *-ŋ > γ > Ø. Compare Hungarian **bú**, **dió*-* and see WOT 1085–1086. Admittedly, this proposal remains speculative.

Three Khitan names still resist etymology: **qa-ha-as** ‘tiger’, **mu-or-o** ‘snake’, and **ui** ‘pig’. In eight other cases, however, their origins can be traced. One of them, **tau-li-a** ‘hare’, is undoubtedly of Oguric origin, and in the other instances Oguric derivation cannot be ruled out. As a working hypothesis, we may therefore suggest that the Khitan zodiacal nomenclature—if not the entire system, then at least part of it—may derive from Oguric sources.

It is of further significance that both Mongolic and Khitan appear to have independently adopted the duodenary system of the twelve cyclical animals. This adoption must have taken place after the divergence of the two branches.

18.4.3 Time and auspicious times

18.4.3.1 TIME

The term for ‘time’ in Khitan is **po** which has two basic meanings ‘time’ and ‘hour’ as s*hi* 时 has in Chinese, see the details in EL.

The special meaning for the (double) hour see:

te ai te /43/ *sär te när te* *po-do* 口 丰 口/43/ 女 口 关 口 非 朱 ‘in that (same) year, that month, that day and in that (double) hour’ (Zhong42-43)

GREAT t-iu-ir nem har-iú ñ-qo ai nem sär siu ñ-qo or-l-b-ñ par emu siu p-o-o när tau-li-a *po-do* (Chao18)

‘In the *dakang* period (1075-1084) in the year eight, black female dog year, month eight, white dog, according to the cyclical system, on the day eleven, white monkey, in the (double) hour hare’.

The form **po-or** preserved an old suffix of local-temporal function. This may be the same as Mongolic *-rU* as in *inaru* ‘before’ < **ina, činaru* ‘after’ < **čina* see Poppe 1964, 59.

po-or 非 北 (279-076), 16x, Chin *shi* 时 C454 is used also in other expressions as:
nai po-or ‘in the first time/hour’ (Yu 69-37)
n-ai-un$_2$-én$_2$ po-or (Zhen35(!)-29) perhaps = **n-ai-ri**
eu-ul po-or (Zhong7-13, Yu59-43) ? ‘on a cloudy, gloomy hour’ or ‘on the day of death’
udu-u po-or 米 及 非 北 (355-131 279-076) ? ‘in peaceful time’ (Zhong16-30), also **udu-ú po-or** 米 伞 非 北 (355-245 279-076) (Yu29-59)
tou-ul-h-e-ci sär po-or h-eu-ul-ir (Dao35-34) ‘with the progressing month and hours ???’
see **tou-ul-û-ui** 丸 平 只 火 ‘was increasing, augmenting, conferring, forwarding’, Chin *jia* 加, CWJ 959 with ?
Used perhaps as orthographical variant for **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 in:

ci-iú-pen tai-shï tai ong po-or (Guang6-11), ‘Ci iú Pen *taishi* became *tai ong*’

The other word for ‘time’ is **xa-shi** (130-033) ‘time, occasion, while, interval’, 7x, also **xa-she** (130-315), 49x, Chin *shi* 时, *ji* 际, C392, the dative-locative (temporal) is **xa-shi-de** (130-033-205), 4x, and **xa-she-de** (130-315-205) and ablative prolative **xa-she-de-i** (130-315-205-339).

This word occurs also frequently in cases when the age is given:

eu-úr THIRTY xa-shi-de iu ‘when she was 30 she died’ (Di18)

eu-úr SEVENTY xa-shi-de s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er t-ge-er ‘when he was seventy years old, he became ill and died’ (Pu7)

SEVENTY xa-she-de iu p-u-l$_2$-b-ñ ‘when he was 70, he died’

eu-úr jur$_2$ xa-she-de z-iang g-ün-de û-ul-ge-én ‘when she was 20, she was given in mariage to the general’

bod xa-she t-úr eu-ul-ge-y ‘death time’ (Ling19-17)

18.4.3.2 AUSPICIOUS TIME

Khitan has special expressions for auspicious times, Chin *jishi* 吉时. The first is a participial form and derived from **n-ai-ri-*** ‘be in harmony’ and occurs in two orthographic variants. It is qualifying **po** in the sense ‘time’, or other words with similar meaning as **när** ‘day’. The second is **sh-ên** (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 *ʂɦian*, and *not* Mong *sayin* ‘good’, Dag *sain* ‘good’ (M 205), *sä, sǟ, sä^{i}n, sän* ‘gut’ (L-M131) it is very rare.

n-ai-ri-ha-án po (251-122-235-051-290 279), ‘in an auspicious time’ (Xiang45-5), only once

n-ai-ri-ha-a-án po ‘in an auspicious time’ (Chao17), the expression is sometimes completed with other qualifier as **s-én$_2$**[31]

n-ai-ri-ha-a-án s-én$_2$ po (Dao35) ‘the auspicious and good time’

with dative-locative, used as temporal

n-ai-ri-ha-a-án po-do (251-122-235-051-189-290 279-217)

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[31] **s-én$_2$** (244-100), no gloss, ? ’good’, see Mong *sayin* Dag *sain* ‘good’ (M 205), *sä, sǟ, sä^{i}n, sän* ‘gut’ (L-M131) while : **sh-ên** (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 *ʂɦian*, or **s-en** (244-140) ‘life, age, longevity’, K104, Chin *shou*, 寿 C432

with a petrified old temporal suffix:
n-ai-ri-ha-a-án po-or 公丰化圡为出 北比 (Hui21)[32]
n-ai-ri-ha-a-án när 公丰化圡为出 关 'auspicious day' (Qing19, Ren17)
These are all feminine forms, but we have also masculine gender in:
n-ai-ri-a-ha-ar po-do 公丰化为圡本 北朱 'in auspicious time, hour', Chin *jishi yu* 吉时于 C444 (Xiang33)[33] only once, here, perhaps because the auspicious time was for the burial of a male person.
Further:

n-ai-ri-ha-a-án när 'auspicious day' (Ren17-7)
sh-ên när 叉寿 关 (028-073 159) 'auspicious day' (Ren9)

18.4.3.3 THE KHITAN NAMES OF THE DAYS OF THE MONTH

The month consisted of 30 days, their names are formed with cardinal numerals. The name of the months see also NUMERALS 12.3.3

emu 毛 (026), **emu°** 毛 (027) 'one'
01. *s-iau-qú t-qo-a emu när siu p-o dor xo-mú-er da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-hu emu när-i uni po XXXX.*
'blue (female) chicken day one, white hour, the burial ceremony was on day one in the cattle hour' (Hui28-14).
01. *emu när ji-en* 毛 关 犳有 (Ling6-4)
01. *emu när* 毛 关 (Yu66-69, Liang5-18)
01. *emu när-de* 毛 关矢 (Wu13-39, Hui20-22)
01. *nai-en emu när FIFTY t-ge-un$_2$* 穴有 毛 关 乙 令岔叉 (DiX5-18)

jur 圣 (134), **jur°** 圣 (135), **ci-ur-én$_2$** 朩 化 当 (162-236-361)
02. *ci-ur-én$_2$ när* 朩化当 关 (Yu45-63, 56-71)
02. *jur när* 圣 关 (Xiang48-8, Hui17-14)
02. *te ai tau sär jur när* 口 丰 戋 艾 圣 关 (Zhong25-51)
02. *jur när-de* 圣 关矢 (Gao13-17, Xian7-47, Pu13-34, Xu38-10)

gur 包 (166), 包 (167), **hur** 灸 (259)
03. *gur när-de* 包 关矢 (Zhong6-39, Di14-35)
03. *h-úr när* 乆安 关 (340-097 159) (Yu34-74)

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[32] *n-ai-ri-ha-a-án po-or da-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-a-aju* 'was buried on an auspcious time/ hour'(Hui21-9)

[33] *t-oi$_2$-(=t-ge) b-u har$_3$-de eme ku pu-shi-ñ-en m-in ñ-l-û-ui n-ai-ri-a-ha-ar po-do da$_3$-ha-ar o-l$_2$-ha-aju* (Xiang33) The tomb of the wife milady in the Mausoleum was opened and in an auspiciouos time he was buried (in it)', see an earlier translation by Wu and Janhunen (2010, 202-203)

03. *hur-én När* 灸当 夬 (259-361 159) (Yu34-56)
03. *h-úr-te₂-u när* 乂亥尘叐 夬 (Yu36-51) morphology unclear

dur 乇 (368) **durº** 乇 (369)
04. *dur när-de* 乇 夬矢 (Nu20-13)
04. *dur när* 乇 夬 (Xing1-15)

tau 戋 (029), **tauº** 戋 (030)
05. *tau när* 戋 夬 (Tai4-39)

ñol 仌 (085), **ñolº** 仌 (086)
06. *ñol när* (Ren11-21, Xiang45-2)
06. *ñol när-de* 仌 夬矢 (Hong6-26, Xiang33-30)

dalu 屵 (141), **daluº** 屵 (141-1)
07. *dalu när* 屵 夬 (Nan41-10)
07. *do₂-ul-hu när* 芍平列 夬 (Hui25-15)

nem 丕 (007), **nemº** 丕 (008), **n-em$_2$** 公佥 (251-257)
08. *nem när* 丕 夬 (Tai5-13,Song7-14)
08. *nem när-de* 丕 夬矢 (Hong14-20)
08. *nem när-en s-uni* 丕 夬有 仐杏 ‘night of day eight’ (Zhuo23-6)
08. *n-em₂ rí-i när* 公佥 共关 夬 (Yu43-59)

ishi 忝 (033), **ishiº** 忝 (034)
09. *ishi när* 忝 夬 (Tu26-9)
09. *ishi när-de* 忝 夬矢 (Nan27-26, Zhi20-36, Pu8-21)

par 乇 (240), **parº** 乇 (240.1)
10. *par när* (Ren14-12, Dao 6-1, Wu10-9, Gu15-30)
10. *par när-de* (Nu10-12, Yong33-9)
10. *par när-de* (Yong33-9)

11. *par emu när-de* (Gu13-15, Xiang2-5)
11. *par emu när* (Chao28-9, GuD17-27,31-10)
11. *par emu p-o när* ‘eleven, monkey day’ (Qing20-12)
11. *par emu siu p-o-o när tau-li-a po-do* 乇 毛 汞 业及及 夬 戋矢为 非朱 ‘eleven, white monkey day, in the hare hour’ (Cha18-38).

12. 乇 圣 夬矢 (Guang22-17, GuD9-28)
par jur när-de

13. *par gur* *när* 乇 包 尖 (Yong43-14)
13. *par gur* *när-de* 乇 包 尖矢 (Yong31-22, 31/32-2, 35-26, GuD13-9, Hu9-18)

14. *par dur* *när* 乇 宅 尖 (Liang29-11)
14. *par dur* *när-de* 乇 宅 尖矢 (Zhen23-53, GuD13-9, Liang22-14)
14. *par dur* *när-en s-uni uni po-do sui-er* ‘he was born in the night of 14 day, hour cattle’ (Yong27-21).

15. *par tau* *när* (Zhi27-12)
15. *par tau* *när-de* (Wu19-10)

16. *par ñol* *när-de* (Zhong10-46, Qing18-19, Hu16-11)

17. *par dalu* 乇 犀 no example, only for year 17

18. *par nem* *när p-o-o po-do* 乇 丕 尖 业及及 非朱 ‘day eleven, hour monkey’ (Xian16-45).
18. *par nem* *när-de* 乇 丕 尖矢 (Gu7-12)
18. *par n-em$_2$* *när* 乇 公企 尖 (Zhong14-26)

19. *par ishi* *när* (Zhong50-16, Yu41-67, 65-13)
19. *par ishi* *när-de* 乇 秃 尖矢 (Yu27-17, Chao15-15, Wu23-20, Zhuo21-11, Cha15-15).

20. *jur$_2$* *när-de* 丁 尖矢 (Yu55-65)
20. *jur$_2$* *l-iau-qú ñ-qo när* 丁 屮兮夬 伏为 尖 ‘twenty, red (female) dog day’ (Qing21-41).
20. *jur$_2$* *s-iau-qú b-o när* 丁 仐兮夬 舟及 尖 ‘twenty blue (female) monkey day’ (Qing23-8).
20. *jur$_2$* *s-iau-qú p-o när* 丁 仐兮夬 业及 尖 ‘same as above’ (Qing31-32)

21. *jur$_2$ emu när**-de* 丁 毛 尖矢 (Xu53-35, Yu55-65)

22. *jur$_2$ jur* *när* 丁 圣 尖 (Pu gai1-15)
22. *jur$_2$ jur* *när-de* 丁 圣 尖矢 (Hong11-22, 13-16)

23. *jur$_2$ gur* *när* 丁 包 尖 (Song5-29, 42, Xuan5-15)
23. *jur$_2$ gur* *när-de* 丁 包 尖矢 (Nan26-34, Zhi21-29)

24. *jur$_2$ dur* *när-de* 丁 宅 尖矢 (Yong35-13)

25. *jur₂ tau när-de* 丁 乇 关矢 (Tu16-8)
25. *jur₂ tau-l iau-qú m-ri när* 丁 乇 朩 兮 夬 叉 化 关 (Wu 47-8) ‘day 25, red horse’

26. *jur₂ ñol har-iú t-qo-a när-de* (Xian26-7) ‘on the day26, black (female) chicken’

27. *jur₂ dalu när-de* (Ling25-1, Yu54-49)

28. *jur₂ nem GOLD ém-ia när* 丁 丞 山 圣才 关 (Di22-20) ‘28 gold/yellow goat day’.
28. *jur₂ nem när* 丁 丞 关 (Di34-9, Nu48-7)

29. *jur₂ ishi när* 丁 忝 关 (DiX51-9)
29. *jur₂ ishi när-de* 丁 忝 关矢(Nan13-45, Liang5-18, Jue28-65)

30. *THIRTY när-de* 乚 关矢 (Xiang30-36)
30. *THIRTY s-iau-qú tau-li-a när* (Hu29-39) ‘30, blue (female) hare day’

There does exist THIRTY emu-de 乚 乇矢 (Hu10)

I have collected expressions with **när** ‘day’. Some can be translated word-by-word, but their meaning is not always clear.

om-úr när 九交 关 ‘first day’(Hui30-6)
har-iú p-o-o när ‘black (female) monkey day’ (Jue34-22)
063.1-ñ när (Xuan10-7)
när-i us-g 关关 兆九 ‘the diplom of the day’ (Dao36-24)
dor-l-b-ñ när 亐朩舟伏 关 ‘the day of submission’ (Dao21-21)
ú-dû-ó-ji när ‘reproduction day’ (Xuan10-28)
HEAVEN när ‘heaven(ly) day’ (Xing3-5)
HEAVEN ku-ud-h-ul g när (Xing33-20) perhaps *ku-ud-h-ul-g,* no gloss
hu-üen-ishi-ó-ui bud-l-hu när gur h-ul-ri-l-ir xo-mú (Xing34-16)
ja₂-al-hu ci-én₂ när ‘the following day’ (Dao35-24)
mu-u-ji-d-en när ‘the day of the sacrals, saints, the holy’ (Nu2-4)
p-ai-ñ o-l₂-un₂ när (Ren18-19)
GREAT xo-mú-er 117-a-sär p-ai-ñ o-l₂-un₂ när emu-ó-ul-un₂ ETERNAL-ci si üen 177.1-û-ji p-a-rí-l-hu-an
又 夹行㕣 丈为艾 业丰伏 及子叉 关 乇廾平叉 朿朩 十 凹 儿只犭 业为共朩列关
‘for he great catafalque on….month….day was built’
sh-ên när ‘auspicious day’ (Ren9-3)
sh-eu-su när-de ‘dew drop day’ (Xuan25)
s-úng-ji när 仐当犭 关 (Xing25-2) (? s-úng= **s-ung1** 仐太 (244-345) ‘ancestors’, ChinE *zong* 宗)

sui-én när ‘birthday’ 佃当 关 (Ren10-5, Zhi8-36)
te när te po-do 口 关 口 非朱 ‘on that day, in that hour’ (Zhong43-3)
t-qo-a när ‘chicken day’ (Gu25-15)

18.5 THE KHITAN ADMINISTRATIVE AND TRIBAL UNITS

18.5.1 Chinese terminology and their Khitan counterparts

According to the analysis of WF the five circuits (*dao* 道) were subdivided into administrations (*fu* 府), prefectures and counties (*xian* 縣). These units are supplemented by commanderies, military prefecture (*jun* 軍), fortified cities (*cheng* 城) or fortresses (*bao* 保), see WF45. The identification of these units in the Khitan teminology is not always an easy work.

I could identify the following Chinese terms[34]:
dao 道 ‘circuit’ Khitan **y-au-o-ón** 丏夹及内 (020-161-186-322), 23x
fu 府 ‘administration, division’, Khitan **pu** 个 (241)
zhou 州 ‘prefecture’, Khitan **ci-eu** 朮去 (162-067), 10x
xian 縣 ‘county’, Khitan **ki-ên** 业考 (163-073), 14x
jun 軍 ‘military prefecture’, Khitan **g-ün2** 凡亦 (334-329)
cheng 城 ‘fortified city’, Khitan **em$_2$** 企 (257), 4x
bao 保 ‘fortress, an administrative unit’ Khitan **b-u1** 舟叐 (311-131).

Further identified Khitan terms of Chinese origin :

zhen 镇 ‘market town’ (WF104, 707), Khitan **jï-in** 友雨 (087-018), 20x

zhi yuan 知院 ‘division of administration’, Khitan **jï üe-ên** 友 艾考 (087 082-073) C386, also **ci-üe-ên** 朮艾考 (162-082-073), 4x, see also
üe$_2$-n 仲公 (226-251) ‘division (walled courtyard)’, ChinE *yuan* 院
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*[35]
nei sheng 内省 ‘inner division’, Khitan **n-ui sh-iáng** 公火 叉並 (251-262 028-062),

guo 国 ‘country, state’, Khitan **g-ui** 凡火 (334-262) ‘state’, 132x, ChinE 国 **Ll**, **L21**, YCh *kuj*, LMCh *kuə̆k,* Khitan equivalent: **g-úr** 凡交 (334-097), 53x,

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[34] In some cases the number of the occurrences coud not be identified because of homography

[35] 仲公冇 火 为乃伏公 居北 *ü-n-en ui a-am-ñ-er MANAGE-li$_2$* (Xu12)

fu 府 'division' in: *nan fu zhi zai xiang* 南府之宰相 C446, Khitan **pu** (241), **d-le pu-un ja-ri-qó** (254-092 241-273 150-235-169) 'prime minister of South Division'
yi 邑, *hu* 户 'estate, city, household', Khitan **p-in** (295-018).

18.5.2 The Khitan administrative and social terminology[36]

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,
bud (176) 'the other (namely the other tribal group, in most cases the Xiao)'
em$_2$ (257) '(fortified) city, town(ship), region, local administration', K111, Chin *cheng* 城.
eme-110 (021-110) 'township, fortified city', 10x, see above
go-er (319-341) 'Patriarchal House, tent, a social group', 118x
kus-a-as (042-189-174), 7x, no gloss, plural of **kus-a** (042-189), 6x, accusative-instrumental **kus-a-as-er** (042-189-174-341), 1x
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
sh-ri-e (028-235-348), 8x, 'a tribal unit' also **sh-ri-e$_2$** (028-235-109), 1x, **she-o-or** (315-186-076), ChinT *shi lie* 石烈, (Tai8, Jue2)
sh-i-l-oi$_2$-én (028-339-261-107-361) 'a title', 1x, only here, perhaps to *shi lie* 石列, 'tribal unit', a backloan, **L**19
sh-ri-n in: **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
s-om (244-092) 'arrow, an administrative unit', 61x, Chin *shi* 矢, *jian* 箭 C431
t-qó (247-169) 'name of an administrative unit', 42x, also **t-qu sh-i** (247-246 028-339), 6x, the basic word of the title **t-qó shi** Chin *dushi* 度使.
s-ón-qó (244-322-169), 5x, 'an administrative unit' plural **s-ón-qó-s$_2$** (244-322-169-354) no gloss, genitive **s-ón-qó-s$_2$-en** (244-322-169-354-140), 1x, also **s-ón-qu** (244-322-246)
lu$_3$-úr (312-097) no gloss, but see EL **lu$_3$-úr go-ci-er** (312-097 319-162-341) 'prominent, famous family', Chin *xian jia* 显家 C467
m-ri2 (133-235) 'an administrative unit, village', K107, once **m-rí-en** (133-069-140) (Xing2-12), 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, to **m-ri1** ? (133-069), 'a unit which had originally to give in tribute or tax a certain amount of horses'

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[36] On details of the following terms see in EL the given word.

ñ-ó-li (222-090-206) ‘part, section, unit, troops, division’, Chin *bu* 部 CWJ1118, CWJ 1355
ñol ñ-ó-li (085 222-090-206) ‘the Six Divisions’ Chin *liu bu* 六部
tau-un ñol u-ur$_2$ (029-273 085 131-236) ‘the Five and Six Divisions’, Chin *wu liu yuan* 五六院 C368

ñ-ô-or (222-252-076),16x, ‘circuit, route, division, department, tribe, sub-tribe’, K88, also **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, **ñ-û-úr** (222-372-097), 7x, Chin *bu* 部 C421, CWJ 993

ñ-ó-ñ (222-090-222) ‘tribal confederation’, **L**21 in **Au~**

n-on (251-154) ‘1. dynasty, 2. generation, age, era’, K99, also **n-ô-on** (251-252-154), 5x, **n-o-on** (251-186-154), 3x, **n-o-ón** (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

u-ur$_2$2 (131-236) ‘wing (of an army), division’, K93, also **û-ur$_2$** (372-097) Chin *yuan* 院 C392, **L**17, **L**21

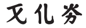
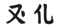
18.5.3 Remarks on the Khitan administrative and social terminology

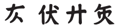
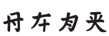
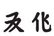
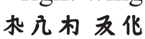
What we observe in the inscriptions is a relatively late use of terminology related to the tribal system. In the regions where the Chinese had their earlier administrative system, the Khitans introduced minimal changes. From the perspective of Khitan texts, the terms were transcribed into Khitan; in some cases, the content may have been altered, but the terminology remained intact.

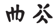
An interesting aspect is the Khitan rendering of the term ‘circuit’. The Chinese word *dao* 道, which typically means ‘road’, ‘the way taken’, or ‘the Dao’, also had an earlier meaning of ‘circuit’ since the Han dynasty. This was translated into Khitan as **y-au-o-ón** (, 020-161-186-322), derived from **yau-** meaning ‘to go’ (similar to Mongolian *yabu*-). As indicated in the EL, the Khitan word conveys meanings related to ‘ceremony’, ‘ritual’, and ‘etiquette’, which are also associated with *dao* 道, referring to the way as conducted according to customs.

This can be compared to the Mongolian term *yabudal,* which originally referred to the act of going or walking; however, in certain contexts, such as *sayin yabudal*, it conveys the meaning of ‘good conduct’. For example, *jögelen yabudal* means ‘gentle manners’.

The Khitan terminology also includes names for various groups of relatives. The groups of fathers-in-law and maternal uncles play significant roles in the marriage system. The Patriarchal House or Tent, referred to as the **go-er**, is frequently mentioned in connection with the origins of the wives, who come from other groups, specifically the Bud, the Xiao, the Uigur.

The name of the sub tribe as social or administrative unit was **sh-ri-e**  (028-235-348), 8x, its Chinese transcription is *shi-lie* 石烈. We know from the Liaoshi that the founder of the Liao dynasty was born in the *Xia lai-yi shi-lie* 霞瀨暨(?)石烈, (WF87). The *shi-lie* was the actually functioning organization unit, to which e.g. land was granted (WF137), the smaller unit was **m-ri2**  (133-235). When they wrote on the origin of Abaoki, they idenify his origin as from the *Xia lai yi shi-lie*, and the *Ye-lü mi-li***,** in Khitan **m$_2$-ri2** (WF443). The history of these terms is not always clear. We learn from the Liaoshi that during the lifetime of Abaoki's great-grand uncle the Yi-la tribe had five *shi-lie* and six *zhao* 爪. In 922 these two designations were replaced by a single Chinese word *yuan* 院. During the time of Ye-lü Zhishen (WF444) five *shi-lie* of the Yi-la tribe were reorganized in seven, and its six *zhao* into eleven. After founding the dynasty the *shi-lie* were assigned to the emperor's ordu. In the course of the dynasty the ordus had control over twenty three *shi-lie* and ninety eight *mi-li*. (WF 433) The *shi-lie* functioned also as a military unit.

The greater unit was by earlier research translated as Division. There existed the Five Divisions and the Six Divisions. In 922 the Yi-la tribe was split into the Five and the Six Division (WF87). The latter was the tribe of the ruling clan, and included the Ye-lü, the clan of Abaoki. The Six Divisions appear in our texts as **ñol ñ-ó-li**  (085 222-090-206) 'the Six Division', in Xu52bis, Zhen12, Chao9, Wu24, Liang7. They are glossed by CWJ Chin *liu bu* 六部, by WF (84) as *liu yuan* 六院), The Division, according to WF 84, originally contained 'one hundred' families' The organization by ten, hundred, thousand and ten thousand is a very old form of military organization known in Central Asia and the elements of which are also detectable in Khitan (see **ming-an**, **tum**). But the military organization is not the same as the clan organization. I can not evoid to suppose that **ñ-ó-li** had originally the meaning 60, a number of the tens above fifty, as **ñol** six, the number over five, see 12.3 NUMERALS. Whatever the etymology of **ñ-ó-li** may be, CWJ uses the Chinese term *yuan* for another Khitan unit, the "wing". In line 17 of Gaoshi we have *b-ar-a-an u-ur$_2$*  /  'right wing' which was glossed by CWJ as *youyuan* 右院, see also **ci-g-en u-ur$_2$**  (162-334-140 131-236) 'left wing (of the army)', 14x, glossed as Chin *zuo yuan* 左院 C408, Mongolic has for this meaning of "wing of a military unit" *gar*, 'arm', *baragun gar* and *jegün gar* the lattter is known also as the name of the Dzungars, the Khanate of the Oirats.

The tribes were divided into Tents **go-er**  (319-341), which is glossed by CWJ by *fang* 房 'house', or *fu zhang* 父帳 'Paternal Tent' and by WF translated as 'Patriarchal Housholds'. In line 1 of the Gaoshi inscription it is stated that the owner of the epitaph is an offspring of Sin ong's Patriarchal House, which belonged to the Junior Ancestors, which pertained to the brethrens, themselves part of the Khitan

Liao State. The author of the inscription is identified as a descendant of the Junior Ancestors of the Horizontal Tent of the kagan.

From line 6 we learn, that in case of death of somebody who died without successors a heir is adopted. The adoption is done into the Patriarchal Tent, the **go-er**. This is also the case in lines 8 and 11. In the same line we find that the wife of T-ad-ar general came from the Maternal Uncle's Ilbiči Tent (**il-bi-ci go-ci**). The Liaoshi also uses sometimes *fang* 'house' in the sense of a 'branch of a lineage' for clan, which is otherwise *zu* 族 or *bu-zu* 部族, sometimes also *shi* 氏 or *shizu* 氏族. We are here interested only in the Khitan terminology.

The tents or lineages were orginized into groups. As we have seen there existed the Horizontal Tents **h-dú-un go-er,** Chin *heng zhang* 横帳 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 descendants of the two uncles of Abaoki, and his brothers were reorganized into the three Patriarchal Tents, *san fu fang* 三父房 (WF191). In the Khitan texts they are mentioned as **ia-deu,** 才 为, elder brother, younger brother (Mongolic *aqa degü*), that is the brethren, which was subdivided into the Senior and Junior group, the first group is called **m-o ai** 叉及 丰 (133-186 122) 'senior paternal ancestor(s)' (Han6), Chin *yufu* 孟父 CWJ1339, the the second is called **SMALL-qó ai** 州欠 丰 'the junior paternal ancestors. in our text (Gaoshi line1).

This whole system of the Emperor and his consangineous relatives were in opposition to the social group with which they had a marriage alliance. On the one, the Khitan side was 'this, our khagan', Khitan **Te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an** 口北伏 丞圡买 (323-080-222 053-051-011), transcribed by CWJ as ChinT *telin kehan* 忒邻可汗 C470, (Zhi11-39). See also the following texts.

ñol ñ-ó-li-en te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en bod-l-b-un$_2$ 仄 伏井矢冇 口北伏 丞圡买 曲芬冇 囯屮舟叉 (Xu52-4) 'the imperial lineage (*bod-l-b-un$_2$*) of Te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an of the Patriarchal Tent of the Six Tribes'.

ñol ñ-ó-li-en te-li2-ñ qa-ha-a n go-er-en g-au n-u l-ém-a-an b-qo 仄 伏井矢冇 口北伏 丞圡买 曲公冇 九夹 公叐 屮圣为买 舟力 (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'.

t-023-ia-ra te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en 令丙才夲 口北伏 丞圡买 曲公冇 'the Patriarchal Tent of the southern *(t-023-ia-ra)* Te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an (令丙才夲=**t-ie-ar$_2$** 令文夲 (247-327-084)), (Yu6-21, 7-60, 8-12), Further:

t-023-ia-ai$_2$ te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er 令丙才朱 口北伏 丞圡买 曲公 (Yong22).

t-023-ha-ar te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er 令丙圡丰 口北伏 丞圡买 曲公(Pu14-22).

t-em$_2$-én te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er 令佥当 口北伏 丞圡买 曲公 (Pu15).

In opposition to the khagan of this side was the khagan of the other, the opposite side, the group with which they were in marriage alliance. His full name was B**ud-ó-ñ qa-ha-an** 外井伏 丞圡买 (176-090-222 053-051-011), 'the khagan of the other (namely the Xiao)', 3x, ChinT *bo-lu-en ke-han* 勃鲁恩 可汗 C412, and his Tent was called **bud-u-ñ qa-ha-an go-er** 'the Patriarchal Tent of the other khagan' (Yu63).

The other that is the Xiao tribe is called **Bud na-ha-án-er** (176-254 139-051-290-341)'the others, the Maternal Uncles', (Jue31), or simply **Bud**.

In the Gaoshi inscription we meet two subclans: **Eu-uh-ñ-i** (067-172-222-339) 'a subclan of the Xiao', ChinT *oukun* 瓯 (=甌)昆 L**3,** **L**4, **L**5, **L**7. and **En$_2$-ia-ai** (324-335-122), 'a subclan name', Line 7, no gloss, both are in genitive case.

In our text occurs a third clan from which Pu-ie-ên's wife came, see **L**5. The name is written as **Ishi-i** (033-339). and figures in the Chinese sources as *Yi-shi* 乙室. This clan name may be the same as **Ishi-g** '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* 乙室已 C369, ***ji*** YCh *ki,* LMCh, *ki.*

The **Ishi-g** clan had two sub-clans*:*

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 or senior 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-g-d na-ha-án-er SMALL-qó ai-en (033-334-254 139-051-290-341-140 188-169 122-140), 'the younger or junior branch maternal uncles from the Ishi-g (plural) clan', ChinT *yi shi ji* 乙室已 (Wu24-20, 26-1, 28-16) C370,

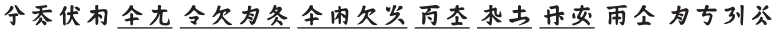
Ishi-g-s na-ha-án-er-en SMALL-qó ai-en (033-334-244 139-051-290-341-140 188-169 122-140) 'the younger/junior branch of the imperial maternal uncles, from the Ishi-g (plural) clan', Chin *yi shi ji guo jiu zhi xiao weng zhi* 乙室已国舅之小翁之 C369. (Guang19-27, YeS3-5), hybrid Khitan plural, genitive.

From the administrational units I would first highlight **t-qó** (247-169) 'name of an administrative unit', 42x, the head of which was the **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, translated as Provincial Governor ((Wu–Janhunen 2010, 90), Commanding Prefect (WF708), Military Commisioner (Hucker No. 777). He was the commander of the unit, called by the Khitan **t-qó**.

Important was the **s-om** (244-092) 'arrow, an administrative unit', 61x, Chin *shi* 矢, *jian* 箭 C431. The Mongolic counterpart *sumu(n)* is until present the term for the administrative unit, the subdivision of the *ayimag* in the Mongolian Republic. According to Lessing 1960, 737 formerly consisted of 150 soldiers with families. The unit is known in Manchu as *niru* 'a large arrow for shooting game and people, a banner company, a company of hundred men' (Norman 1967, 307). Similar functions had Old Turkic *oq* 'arrow, sub tribe' (Clauson, 1972, 76) and hence the name of the Turkic group On Oq 'the Ten Arrows' (Kül tegin, E19).

In the heavily damaged Zhen inscription (A.D. 1170) published first by *Zhu Zhimin* 朱志民 in 1995, and newly by CWJ (pp. 1115-1138) there is a text with names of several administrative units of a milady, mentioned in connection of a death.[37] The text (47=44)[38] runs:

pu-shi-ñ-en s-om t-qó-a-as s-ón-qó-s_2 eme-110 ci-eu lu$_3$-úr dai-ri$_5$ a-al-hu-er



'He has received (*dai-ri$_5$ a-al-hu-er*) the *som t-qó*-s (plural), the *eme-110*, the prefecture (*ci-eu*), and the **lu$_3$-úr** (plural)'

The term **s-om t-qó-a-as** (244-092 247-169-189-174) may be one unit, the 'arrow t-qó-s". It occurs in two other inscriptions:

s-om t-qu-a-as lu$_3$-úr rí-l-ñ (Nan32)

mu-u-ji heu s-om t-qó-a-as p-ên-qo au-ui-én bai-shi ja$_2$-a-iú-i (Xuan13)

The next unit was the **s-ón-qó** (244-322-169), 'an administrative unit', 5x, no gloss, plural **s-ón-qó-s_2** (244-322-169-354), genitive **s-ón-qó-s_2-en** (244-322-169-354-140), 1x, also **s-ón-qu** (244-322-246), 1x. The only thing we know is, that it is frequently connected with the young ages of a person[39].

Not clear is the following unit: **eme-110** (021-110), it occurs 10 times in the corpus, also in the genitive case **eme-110-en** (021-110-140), 7x, and dative locative **eme-110-de** (021-110-205), 1x. In Zhen twice in genitive case (Zhen26,30), and three times in nominal case (Zhen36,44bis)

eme-110-en d-l-ge$_2$-y (Zhen26, 30)

eme-110 sh-iá-ai$_2$ (Zhen36)

jï-in g-ui-en eme-110 (Zhen44)

and Zhen 44 see above

Once we have **jï-in g-ui-en eme-110**, . Zhen gui is the owner of the Zhen inscription (Zhen44), that means that **eme-110** could be possessed.

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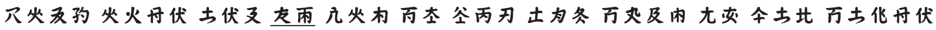
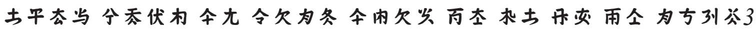
[37] At the beginning of the line 47 (=44). about 29 characters are illegible, then follows. □□  *378.1-378.1-l-ku-de dau-ui-u-ji$_2$ ui-ud-b-ñ eu-ñ-un$_2$ jï-in g-ui-en eme-110 d-iu-ir kus-a-as y-au-o-ón om-úr s-eu-li$_2$ y-eu-ur-b-ñ eu-ul-ge$_2$-én pu-shi-ñ-en s-om t-qó-a-as s-ón-qó-s_2 em-110 ci-eu lu$_3$-úr dai-ri$_5$ a-al-hu-er* …(Zhen44(=47!)-13), see CWJ p. 1137 '……by the following (*dau-ui-u-ji$_2$)* ???(*ui-ud-b-ñ*) the death (*eu-ñ-un*), the boroghs (*jï-in*), the fortified cities of the country (*g-ui-en eme-110*), the ????????, the early illnes (*om-úr s-eu-li$_2$)* turned to death (*y-eu-ur-b-ñ eu-ul-ge$_2$-én)*, he has received (*dai-ri$_5$ a-al-hu-er)* the "*s-om t-qó*-s", the "*s-ón-qó-s*", the fortified cities (*eme-110*), the prefecture (*ci-eu*) and the *lu$_3$-úr* of the mylady (*pu-shi-ñ-en)*.

[38] There are problems with the numeration of the line, because of the great damages.

[39] *uni-qó-dú s-ón-qó 234-a* (Wu13-42), *uni-qu-do e$_4$-li$_2$ s-ón-qó 234-en ol b-hu-án-er-i s-aú-o-ón* (Hu9-23),*uni-qu-dú s-ón-qu 234-a ku p-o-ri$_5$* (Pu8-26)

Further we know that it was documented in the archive of the Khitan state[40] and that it was donated with grace[41].

The next unit was the prefecture, Chinese *zhou*, 州, borrowed by Khitan and written as **ci-eu2 朩圡**, see EL a very frequent term in the corpus.

Finally we have **lu$_3$-úr 丹亦** (312-097). The word is very frequent, it occurs 59 times in the corpus in nominal case, it has also a form **lu$_3$-u-úr** (312-131-097), 8x, and **lu$_3$-û-úr** (312-372-097),1x, genitive is **lu$_3$-úr-en** (312-097-140), 3x, the word is perhaps a plural. It occurs in expressions like **lu$_3$ úr go-ci-er 丹亦 曲朩公** (312-097 319-162-341) which has been glossed as Chin *xian jia* 显家 C467 'prominent, famous family'. **lu$_3$-úr-en go-er 丹亦冇 / 曲公** (Hong28-7, Wu41-15) has to be a similar expression. We find **GREAT lu$_3$-úr 又 丹亦** (Zhong45,Yu13 Jue41), **ming n-on-en** /27/ **lu$_3$-úr 矢 公不冇** /27/ **丹亦**(Liang26-27), **tum n-on-en lu$_3$-úr 及 公不冇 丹亦** (Yu18), **sh-ia lu$_3$-úr** (Yu9 and many other places), **ci-i-shi-s-d-b-ñ lu$_3$-úr 朩关秀全舟伏 丹亦** (Wu34), 'great, thousand, ten thousand, good filial piety l. and among others': **lu$_3$-úr-en ku b-aû-er 丹亦冇 几 舟号公** (Wu30-23) 'was a l. man'. It may denote a type of nobility, a feudal rank with certain property.

A yet unidenified unit was **kus-a 圡为** (042-189), 6x, one of them a male name, plural **kus-a-as 圡为冬** (042-189-174), 7x, no gloss, accusative-instrumental **kus-a-as-er** (042-189-174-341), 1x. We know that it had some connection with the Falconers [42], and that it was gracefully donated according to the customary law[43]. They were mentioned in another text also together with **lu$_3$-u-úr**[44] and with the otherwise yet unknown **p-ên-qo** and **p-ên-hu-ai**[45].

There existed several titles used for women. The logogram **九** (192) was noted as **MRS**, and identified with Chinese *shi* 氏 'family name used after womens names to indicate their family name before marriage' by Kane (2009,58). CWJ has **MRS eme 九 百** (192 021)and translated it as Chin *qi* 妻 'wife', C416 quoting Hong6, also **eme MRS** (021-182). The logogram occurs 16 times, its genitive case is **MRS-en** (192-140), 1x, the dative-locative case **MRS-de** (192-205), 1x, and the ablativ-prolative **MRS-de-i** (192-205-339), 1x, **MRS eme deu 九 百 为** (Yu65-21) glossed as *qi di* 妻弟 on CWJ 1078 are the sister wives perhaps a sign of sororate. The title MRS followed the name:

eme-t p-ar jur GREAT eme ku jur-uh-ñ MRS ci-ur-én eme ku hor-ó-uni eme (Xiang7-27)

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[40] *eme-110 sh-ia qita-un$_2$-i g-úr-en us$_2$-g-de h-ib o-ón-er.* (Zhong6) 'was, among others, introduced into the documents of the good Khitan state

[41] *eme-110 n-ai-ri-ha-ai rí-i* (Yu63-64)

[42] *kus-a sh-au-a-aju RECORD-e* (Yu58-51)

[43] *kus-a ci-as-a-iú n-ai-ri-hu au-ul-ha-úr* (Hu7-9)

[44] *kus-a-as lu$_3$-u-úr ji-en dai-l$_2$-l-ha-ai* (Ling15-24)

[45] *kus-a-as p-ên-qo-i l-abu-an a-al-ha-ai* (Yu12-14), *ai eme kus-a-as p-ên-hu-ai l-abu dau-ui-l-ha-a-ar* (Guang31-3) *kus-a-as p-ên-qo l-abu n-ai-ri-én t-iu-ir* (Tai20-5).

‘he had two wives, the elder was Jur-uh-ñ MRS, the second wife was Hor-ó-uni wife’ (see also Wu-Janhunen 2010, 153).

s-iang g-ung-un eme-t p-ar gur GREAT ng-u s-ie MRS (Nan30)

‘the general had three wives, the eldest was Ng-u S-ie MRS’.

There were three expressions for noble women:

1. **aú-ui 尔火** (210-262) ‘lady’, 142x, Chin *niangzi* 娘子- CWJ gives no reading to **尔** (210),

2. **pu-shi-ñ 仒忝伏** (241-033-222) ‘milady’, 137x, ChinE *furen* 夫人 and

3. **p-üe-siu 业犮豕** (295-082-004) ‘a title’, 1x, (Zhi21-31), Chin *bie xu* 别胥, YCh *pjɛ,* LMCh *piat*, YCh *sy*, LMCh *siə̆ / syə̆* C459, see also **b-üe-z-iú 丹犮伞火** (311-082-258-289), 2x, (Xu54-4, Zhi12-24) **p-üe-z-iú- 业犮 豕伞火** (295-082 258-289), 10x. In Yu we come across a case where somebody has five daughters[46]. The title used depends on the rank of the husband. If he is a tai-shi than she gets the title pu-shi-ñ, if he is a di-shi-g she is an aú-ui, and a ja-ri-qó’s wife is called p-üe-z-iú for which see EL, Mong *büsegüi* ‘woman’ < *büse ügei.*

18.6 THE NAME KHITAN[47]

18.6.1 External sources

18.6.1.1 EARLY MIDDLE CHINESE

The name of the Khitans is transcribed by the Chinese sources as 契丹. This form is first occurring in the *Weishu,* ch. 100, compiled in 554[48]. According the Weishu in A. D. 388 the Qidan 契丹 separated from the other Xianbei or Xianbi 鮮卑 [49] tribes.

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[46] **eme-t tau**

1. *GREAT h-ing h-e$_2$ pu-shi-ñ t-023-ia-ra te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en k qa n-u tai shï-de û-ul-ge-én*
2. *ci-ur-én l-i s-ie pu-shi-ñ 378.1 378.1 378.1 tai shï-de û-ul-ge-én*
3. *hur-én du-ung$_2$ h-e$_2$ aú-ui t-023-ia-ra te-li$_2$-ñ qa-ha-an go-er-en t-ing h-ong n-u di-shi-g-de û-ul-ge$_2$-én*
4. *t-ur-én ñ-mú-qó-ñ p-üe-z-iú SMALL-qó aju-en sh-l-û-ñ ju-ur-e$_2$ ja-ri-qó-do û-ul-ge$_2$-én*
5. *t-od-o-ón y-ang s-ie pu-shi-ñ na-ha-án-er il-én₄ go-er-en ia-277-ñ tir-bun tai shï-de û-ul-ge-l-ñ*

[47] This subchapter is an extended and complemented version of my 2016 paper.

[48] The compilation of the Weishu was closed in A. D. 554, therefore the usual quotation “the name Qidan occurs already in A. D. 388” is misleading. Fact is, that the Khitans appear as one tribe of the Xianbei confederation in A.D. 388. and most probably they had already at that time the name Khitan.

[49] I am not going into the details of the original form transcribed by the Chinese as Xien-bi. Serbi is one of the possible forms.

This form remaines the Chinese designation of the Khitans through the following periods.

The first Chinese sign had in Early Middle Chinese two readings:

契 No.1 *qi* ‘notch, carving, contract’, EMCh $k^h\varepsilon j^h$

契 No.2 *qiè* ‘to make a notch, to carve’, EMCh $k^h\varepsilon t$

In case of the first syllable 契 the initial phoneme was an aspirated non voiced guttural stop, the vowel a lower-mid-front /ɛ/, the final was in the first case high front glide, with a final aspiration which may have denoted the departing tone, in the second case the final was a non aspirated dental stop.

The second syllable *dan* 丹 YCh, LMCh, EMCh *tan*, had as initial a non aspirated dental stop, and the final *-an.*

Important is here that the vowel is not ɨ, though EMCh had that vowel as in 乞 *qi* ‘to beg’, EMCh *khɨt* (high, central, unrounded) and which was later also used to transcribe the ethnonym Khitan.

18.6.1.2 OLD TURKIC RUNIFORM

In the Old Turkic Runiform inscriptions we find *Qitań* with a final palatalized -*ń* in the Küli-čor[50] (A. D 720-725), the Toñuquq[51] (A. D. 725), and the Kül Tegin (A. D. 732) inscriptions.

- 𐰪 𐱃 𐰃 𐰶
- Ń T I Q

Back vocalic <qi> and <t>, neutral <i>, and a palatalized /ñ/. Because of the orthographical rules <i> has to be read as back vocalic /ï/.

The name occurring in the 8th century was a Turkic name, or at least used by the Turks. The Old Turk final -*ń* changed in two different dialects in two directions. In the eastern part it was depalatalized to -*n*, in the western region it changed to -*y* [52]. This change is the same as in the case of the Old Turkic word *qoń* ‘sheep’, which changed to *qon* and *qoy* respectively. This means that the name of the Khitans reflects the eastern Old Turkic dialect and the final became an -*n*. The other form with the final -*y*, namely *Qitay* has an other history.It became later in Russian the name of China, and the forms Qitay and Qatay spread through Arabic and Persian mediation to the sources of the western world, on which see below.

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[50] See *qitań tatabi tapa qagan süledükte* ‘the qagan sent (his army) against the Kitań and the Tatabi’ (Küličor East17, Berta XXX), *tabgač, oguz, qitań bučägü qabïsar qaltači biz* ‘if the Chinese, the Oguz and the Qitań, these three unite, we remain helpless’ (Tońuquq SOUTH6), Berta XXXXX

[51] In the name of the Minister Toñuquq we find the same Old Turkic Runiform letter <ñ> as in the name of the Khitan.

[52] On details of the Turkic form see my paper (Róna-Tas 2016).

18.6.1.3 UIGUR IN TIBETAN TRANSCRIPTION

The name of the Khitans occurs in the famous Report of the five Uigur envoys, (Pelliot tibétain 1283) published first by Bacot (1956), then by Clauson (1957), later by Moriyasu (1977, 1980) and commented by Ligeti (1971) and others. The last paper on the text is Venturi, F. (2008). The text runs /(line 1559):… *ge tang zhes bgyi ba mchiste / rgyal po ge tan gyi kha gan* (1560) *zas dang chos gyang*/[53]. 'They arrived to the so called Ge-tang, their king is known as the Kagan of Ge-tan'. As we see the name occurs in two forms, with final *–n* and *–ng*. However, in contrary to earlier opinions, this is not the Tibetan name of the Khitan, it is the Uigur name in a Tibetan transcription. The report of the Uigur envoys was first put down in Uigur language and script, then an excerpt was made, this excerpt was translated to Tibetan, and the extant text is a copy of this summary. Interesting is, that the Tibetan transcription shows an /e/, the vowel also reflected by EMCh.

Tibeto-Uigur ***ge-taŋ** end of the 8th century**.**

18.6.1.4 THE NAME KHITAN IN THE EARLY TIBETAN SOURCES

The Tibetan name of the Khitans occurs in the Old Tibetan fragments from Dunhuang and Turkestan. Most of them were edited by Thomas 1934/1951 and kept in the collections in London. We come across the following material:

Personal names in local taxation units

Khri-tang Thu-ñi a person with 100 asses (Thomas II, 363),"... /6-9/ reaches the crop land of Khri-tang Bor-to with hundred *khu*… /9-11/ On the west reaches the juniper land of the *khram* account of *Khri-tang Thu*... /11-13/ ... reaches the poor land of the *khram* account [of] *Khri-tang Bor-go* (Thomas II, 365), 14-17 (an account of taxes of) *Khri-tang Bor-Ño-ko* (Thomas II 366).

Name of military unit

khri-dang-gi sde "a Khri-gdang (thousand disitrict) regiment" (Thomas II 461-462, 3x from Mazar Tagh), *khri-tha* the Kyung-po Thousand District (Thomas I, 277).[54]

At this point we have to ask: do these Old Tibetan data reflect the Tibetan name of the Khitan? The answer can be find in the Bon-po literature. The books of this non-Buddhist, or we may say anti-Buddhist religion appeared in Tibet in the 11th–12th centuries[55]. In the Bonpo literature it figures as one of the 18 countries of the mythical geography. They occur together with the *Rgya-nag,* that is the Black Country, namely China.[56] The forms are: *Khri-tang, Khri-btan, Khri gdan, Khri-dan, Khyi-than, Khyi tan.* The position of the Khitan/Khridan can be seen in the schematic map:

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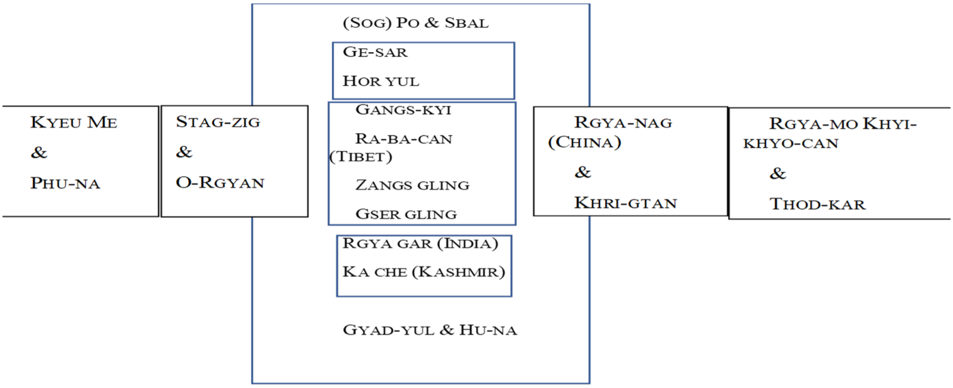
[53] URL1http://otdo.aa.tufs.ac.jp/search/kwic.cgi, For the reference to the Old Tibetan Documents Online I owe many thanks to Tsuguhito Takeuchi.

[54] Thomas (I 368) recognized the Khri-tang is a clan name and name prefix but did not indetify it with the ethnonym Khitan.

[55] The dating of the Bon-po literture is a much debated problem. According to the tradition, bon



The eighteen Great Countries of the world according to the *Rgyal rabs Bon-gyi 'byung gnas* (1439), after Martin, p. 521

18.6.1.5 KHITAN IN A MANICHEAN DOCUMENT

The name ocurs in a Manichean document written with Uigur script, (ed. Le Coq, 1911, p. 31, reprint Leipzig 1972, Band I, 419, T.M.159, from Turfan). I quote here the text, which is an insertion to an earlier Manichean text:

min Yapγun iki/ yaruq orduγa k(i)rtg'ünčlüg n(i)γošak χ(i)tai-/tïn k(ä)lmištä bu/ äm(i)g iki χata /oχï(y)u t(ä)g(i)ntim

I, Yapgun, who is an Auditor, believing in both Palasts of Light (*yaruq ordu*), after having returned from Xitai, respectfully recited twice this remedy. (The vowel of the first syllable is not written, that is, we have only *Xtai* the reading put into brackets is of Le Coq).[57]

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works were hided during the 8th century, when the Bon religion was persecuted by the Buddhist Titbetan kings, beginning with the reign of Khri-song lde-brtsan (reigned 755-797). These hidden works were later „discovered”. The discoveries went on from the tenth century. The extant Bonpo texts show a strong Buddhist influence, but preserved a great amount of pre-Buddhist content.

[56] On these tetxts and the name of the Khitans in them see Per Kvarne 1980 and D. Martin 1994.

[57] In these Manichean Uigur texts the vowels, and especially the /i/ are not always explicitly, *plene,* written.

18.6.1.6 EARLY UIGUR CIVIL DOCUMENTS 10TH–12TH CENTURY

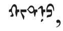
In the pre-Mongol Uigur literature the ethnic name occurs on a few documents. In the colphon of the Buddhist Maitrisimit we find *Kitan* (Kasai, 2008,193). In a civil document edited by Yamada (1993, II, 167) we read:

"Year of the hare, 2nd month, 22 day. The members of the *il-bodun* purchasing cotton: Bäg Buqa, Bay Buqa, Yürüng, Qipčaq, Il Buqa, Malda, *Kiṭan* and…" (Mi21).

Here the ethnonym figures as a name of a person, and refers to his ethnic origin.

Early Uigur **kitan* 11th–12th century.

18.6.1.7 LATE UIGUR TEXTS FROM THE 13TH–14TH CENTURIES

In the civil documents of the Yuan time the name is in most cases written with the *daleth:* , and transcribed with <ḍ> which should be read as /t/. In personal names, all data are written as *qïtay*. Twice: *qïtay daruga* 'name of person and a Mongolian title' (Vér 2019, 59), once: *qïtatay elči* 'ethnic name (with the Mongol suffix -*tay*) and an Uigur title (Vér 145). In geographic names: *tangut-ta qïtay-ta* "in the (country) Tangut and Khitay" (Yamada II, Mi05-5, p.151), *Xitay-qa barïr etmiš* (Hamilton 1986, p. 232). As we see, always with final -*y*.

Late Uigur **kïtay* 13th-14th centuries.

18.6.1.8 THE NAME KHITAN IN TANGUT

In Tangut written in a Siniform logographic script we find *tɕhji' tā* (Jacques 2010 163). This is pointing to a rather palatalized initial /*q*/, and a nasalized final /*tã*/.

Tangut **k'itã* 11th century

18.6.1.9 THE JURCHEN FORM OF THE NAME KHITAN

The Jurchen name of the Khitans is *hi.tan* on the Jurchen Victory Stele 1185 (Kane 2009, 163).

18.6.1.10 KHITAN IN THE MIDDLE MONGOLIAN SOURCES

The name Khitan occurs in plural as Khitad in the Middle Mongolian sources. In the Secret History of the Mongols (SHM) the name occurs eight times (§§ 53, 132, 247, 250, 153, 266, 271, 272) (see Ligeti 2004, de Rachewiltz 2004), always as *kitad.* In most cases it denotes the Jürchens, whose name occurs in the SHM also as Jürčed.

I quote here only one text from the par. 247:

kitad-i gödölgejü qara qidad-un jürced-ün jüyin-ü erekün omuqun ceriʾüd-i daruju.... '(Chinggis kan) dislodged the Kitad, crushed the valiant and bold Jüyin troops of the Qara Kidat and Jürchet' (Rachewiltz 175). Here the (reconstructed)[58] writings of the name are different and we see how opac is the meaning of Khitad.

In a Latin letter translated from Mongol and sent by kan Hülegü to Louis IX of France in 1262 we find *Kytay* which has the meaning "Jürchen" (Ligeti, 1981, 125).

The name is slowly going to refer the Chinese:

In the inscription of Jigüntei 1338: in line /36/: *Qitad-un ayalgus-ača* "from the Chinese language" (was it translated) (ed. Cleaves, 1951, 56).

The reading **qita** is appearing in the Sino-Mongol wordlist, the *Hua yi yiyu* (Hy ed. Mostaert/Rachewiltz—Schönbaum 1977). The name was glossed with *hanren* 漢 人, that is 'Chinese' and was transcribed by two Chinese characters *qi* 乞 and *ta* 塔. Though the character *ta* was read in MCh with a final *–p*, in the time of the Hy (1389) it already lost its final consonant and the Yuan pronunciation was /*t^ha*/, thus this Yuan name form has to be read as *qita*. The plural form is transcribed as *qitati* 乞塔 愓, and the pronunciation was **kitat**. The genitive case of the plural is written *qi ta dun* 乞塔敦 read *qitad-un.*[59]

18.6.1.11 THE NAME KHITAN IN THE WORK OF THE KHARAKHANID MAHMUD AL KASHGĀRĪ

The work of Kāshgarī (1005-1102), *Divan-u Lugat-it-Turk* compiled between 1072-74 and finalized in 1077 was lost, and we have only a copy from 1266 (see the edition Dankoff—Kelly 1982). The author was a contemporary of the Khitan emperor Daozong (1055-1101). The form in the extant manuscript is خِطاي´. It is well visible, that in the original there was a kesra (i), but by a later hand in the fourteenth century a fatha (a) was added. That means that the name was pronounced as *Khatay* at least in the community where the person, who corrected the text of Kashagri lived, according to Dankoff and Kelly in Damaskus or Cairo. (see Dankoff—Kelly 1982, 11). The name occurs three times.

Ṣīn [i.e., China] is originally three-fold; Upper, in the east which is called Tawgāj; Middle which is Khita'y and Lower which is Barxān. p.341 (228 folio). Also_

khita'y (folio 550) 'name of upper Ṣīn' (p.274)

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[58] The HSM was preserved in Chinese transcripton, the Mongol text was reconstructed.

[59] According to Apatóczky (p.c.) *qita* in the Hy is a corrupted form from the plural *qitat,* but there existed the plural as *qitati.*

khita'y (folio 21) which is Sin, and Twga'j which is Māṣin (p.82)

18.6.1.12 KHITAN IN THE ARABIC AND PERSIAN SOURCES

The material was collected by Pelliot 1953 and Anya King 2013. In the sources we find two forms. In none of them the vowel of the first syllable is explicitly, that is with alif or ya written, and the *harak*ats are in many cases omitted:

خطاي KHṬAY 099-579 (Ibn Kaysān), cca 1009-10 (al Azdī), 1160-1233 (Ibn al-Athir), 1077 (al-Khashgārī, see above), 1128 (Ibn al-Athīr), 1306-1311 Rashid-ud-Din[60].

قتاي QTAY (al-Bīrūnī), 1049-52 (Gardīzī), 1120 (al-Marwazī).

According to Marwazī, the spelling with *khā*ʾ and *ṭā* instead of *qāf* and *tā* is preferred by the common folk (*al-ʾāmmah*) (Anye King 2013, 260).

As we see, in most cases the first syllable is not vocalized, and the reading with /i/ or /a/ is an opiton realized by the scribes, the copyists, editors or publishers. The final is *-ay*, and the second consonant either <emphatic t> or <ta>. The initial is <kh> or <qaf>.

According to Pelliot (1959, 216-229) the earliest form written as *Chata* occurred in the document describing the Mongol campaign against the Musulmans which was translated from Arabic into Latin at Damietta in 1221 (Pelliot 1959, 216 cites the edition of Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, II, 50). The name refers to the Khara Khitans.

The next data occurring as *Chata* or *Chatha* is from 1248 and denotes North China (Pelliot, 1959, 216). The form *Hata* occurs in the *Gestes des Chiprois* (Pelliot, 1959, 216). In recent times scholars editing parts of Rashid-ud-din transcribe *khaṭā'ī,* (see Calzolaio, Francesco 2024, p. 3 and passim).

18.6.1.13 THE NAME KHITAN IN OLD CHURCH SLAVIC

As Peter Golden pointed out (Golden 1987/1991, p. 67., note 72) the name occurs in the Old Russian Chronicle. Mentioned are two Cuman envoys named *Itlar* and *Qitan,* who were murdered by Volodimir Monomach in 1095. In the Lay of Igors campaign (1185-1187) a person *Qitanopa* is mentioned. This testifies that Khitan groups joined the Cumans, a Kipchak community in the eleventh century.

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[60] Shimunek 2017, 67 quotes from the edition by Thackston (2012) a passage of Rashid-ud-Din, according to which the people of (Qara) Khtāy (sic and not Khitay) ختآی are called *Čīdan Yār* بار . .جيدن

18.6.1.14 THE NAME KHITAN IN LATIN SOURCES

The European chronicles written in Latin were also aware of the Khitans. In the Chronicum Pictum, (1358 or 1360) it is related: "*Circa enim (sc. Don) meridiem inter ipsum iacet gens kytanorum et gens alanorum*" Khitans and Alans, who live south to the Don (!)" (ed Szentpétery II, 1938, p. 16, see also Sinor 1995).

18.6.1.15 KHITAN ON OLD MAPS

The name Khitan occurs also on old maps. On the map of Matthias Quad (1557–1612) a lake is named *Rythay lago* a clear mistake for *Kithay lago,* see János Tardy 1982, 211-212. It can be identified with the present lake *Zaysan* in Kazakhstan. The lake was part of the Kara Khitan empire until 1216, when the Mongols destroyed it, but the name survived.

18.6.1.16 THE NAME KHITAN IN THE RECENT MONGOLIC LANGUAGES

The name is denoting China and Chinese in the recent Mongolic languages. The word is absent from Dagur, which uses *Niaken* to denote China.[61] The material was collected by Nugteren (2011, 414), who remarked "All Shiringol languages except Mongghuol use development of **kïtaï,* apparently from Turkic **kïtay* < CT *kïtañ* (cf, WYu[West Yugur] *qïdey*, Sal [Salar] *χadi*)". The data quoted by Nugteren from Mongguol or Monguor is *ćidar,* Mostaert 1933, 444, 445 has *čidar* and *čidad* they are developments of *kitad,* the plural of the ethnonym in Mongolic. Interesting may be the two data from Eastern Yugur: *qutad* and *qudad,* but they seem to be late and local variants. Dungxiang *qïdəi* shows that the breaking did not occur in these language, in some as the Baoan dialects and Kangjia the first vowel was elided *(xdi, χte, χde)* but in BaoD (Daheija or Jishishan Bao) a reduced vowel is preserved: *χəti.*

In the Central Mongolic languages we find the following: Khalkha *xyatad*, Chakhar *gıtād*, Ordos *gitat*, Buriat *xitad*, Barguzin *x*^{y}*atad*, Kalmuck *kitd* all from the plural **kitad*.

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[61] This is of Manchu origin, see Manchu *Nikan* 'China', plural *Nikasa*. From Manchu the word penetreted all Tunguz langauages, see Cincius 1975, 590., who reconstructed *Nixā* as it woud be a Proto Manchu-Tunguz word, but which is the actual Solon form. The initial may have been ñ- see Nanai *n'iqā* 'kitaec, Chinese', and **12.3** Numerals 'six'.

18.6.1.17 THE NAME OF THE KHITANS IN THE VOLGA REGION

From this section I excluded those data, which are late borrowing from Russian mostly in form Kitay and denote ‘China’, or ‘Chinese’.

Bashkir

In the *Shejere* of the Karagaj-Kipsak: *Katay atasi* ‘father Katay’. He lived togther with father Burzjan, father Yurmatï and father Tabin in one yurt (Kuzeev, 1960, 111). Burzjan, Yurmatï and Tabin were Bashkir tribes.

qïtat ‘1. kitajka (tkan´), 2. kitajčatyj ’(Uraksin 1996, 401) *qïtay* = *munsak* ‘busy, ožerel’ie’ (ibid 445)

Tatar

From the great Tatar unilingual dictionary:

kïtat ‘borïngï vakïtta Kïtajdan kertelĕ torgan tïgïz efĕk tukïma (tight silk cloth originating from the old time Kitaj)’, (Abdrahmanov—Zil-jaeva 1979, 240) *kataj* ‘katï sygïšlarda bik küp tabïš, ülžĕ aluï bezĕn mĕšhür bulgan borïngï (X-XI gasïrlardagï) mongol kabilĕsĕ’ (An ancient (10th–11th-century) Mongol tribe that was well known for gaining great booty in fierce battles and for seizing others’ possessions.) (ibid 69).

From Tatar dialectal dictionaries:

kïtat ‘kitajka, parča’ (Minzel, Gaj, T.ja Nagornye), ‘tonkaja zelenaja materija’ (Minzel), ‘prostaja černaja materija (Gäj)’ (Mahmutova, 1969, 222), *kïtat* in*: ‘kïtat kebek’,* ‘jarkij—o krasnom, i zelenom cvetah’ (Šrl, Šarlïk), ‘zelenyj, prezelenyj barhat’ (Strl, Sterlitamak) (Zakiev—Ramazanova, 1993, 190).

Chuvash

kătat ‘nazv. marterii, kitajka i časti, soobšče sitec’ (Ashmarin VII 1936, 196) *kătat* ‘kitajka (tkan´), see also *kătat pyr* dial ‘polotno’ (Sirotkin, 163) but *kitajka* ‘kitajka’ (Sirotkin 179), *kătaj* ‘bjaz´’ (from Kovali, Sergeev, 1968, 29).

A splitter group of the Khitans joined the Bashkirs and their name is preserved in the geneological legend of the Karagay-Kipčak.

In the Volga region the name of the Khitans—beside *Kitaj* name of China—is preserved in names of several materials, cloths. The use of a country as name of a material is common, see *Cashmir, Tibet* (see Róna-Tas 1983). The name of a special cloth is Russian *kitajka* ‘a type of cotton fabric, mostly variegated’. The Russian word spread over the Volga region and the speakers were aware that the word denotes the “fabric from China”. Interesting is the form *kitat* also name of fabrics, cloths, but preserving the Mongolic plural *-t*. While *kitajka* came through Russian to the Volga-Kama region, *kitat* is a loan from the time of the Golden Horde. It got into Tatar and from Tatar to Bashkir and Chuvash. Another word for a material, for several types of linens is *kiten* a word of Arabic origin. As we see the two words of different origin were sometimes contaminated.

Bashkir *kitän* ‘holost, holostina (konopljanaja) (Uraksin 1996 281), Kazan Tatar *kitän* ‘Leinwand’ (Paasonen, ed Kecskeméti, JSFOu 66, 1965, 27, *kitěn* ‘jaxšï sějfatlï žiten süsenněnen sügizgan ak kinder tukïma’ (Mahmutova, 1969, 113), *kitän* =*turap* ‘holst, holstina, domotkannaja holostnik’ (Tumaševa 1961, 135) *kitän* ‘polotno’ (Gär) (Mahmutova, 1969,1969, 249), *katan pir* ‘sitec’,‘dvojnaja belaja materija, upotrebljajusčiesja ženščinami na rubaški i na *šopar*’ (Ashmarin VI, 1934, 157), *kătan pir* ‘id.’ (ibid 194), *katan tutăr*, *katan tutărě* ‘belyj platok iz tonkoj tkani’ (ibid).

18.6.1.18 THE NAME OF THE KHITANS IN SIBERIA

Sinor (1995) called the attention to the fact that in two Siberian languages the name of the Tatars may be connected with the name of the Khitans. In East Ostyak *kătan*´ “Tatarin” (Tereškin 1981, 158), in Vogul *xatań xum,* “Tatar man” (Munkácsi 1892, 321). The history of the names was recently studied by Bakró-Nagy (forthcoming).

18.6.1.19 SUMMARY

We can observe significant changes in both the semantics and phonetic structure of the name “Khitan”. Initially, the name referred to a tribe and an ethnic group organized into a tribal system. Over time, it came to denote a larger political entity and its members. It was also used to describe a geographical region, initially as part of a larger area, and eventually became synonymous with the entire political unit of China. Concurrently, it appeared as a clan name and a personal name in various parts of Central Asia.

The phonetic form of the name also underwent notable changes. In earlier times and in the East, it was pronounced as “Qitan”. Meanwhile, in the West, another form, “Qitay”, emerged. These two primary forms can be traced back to two Old Turkic, possibly Uigur, dialects, and were dialectal variations of an older form, “Qitañ”.

As time passed, further phonetic changes occurred. Due to a process known as “breaking”, which involves the assimilation of the vowel in the first syllable to the second—a typical Mongolic phonetic change—the name “Qitay” evolved into “Qatay”, and “Qitan” became “Qatan”. This change is documented in the manuscript of the Divan of Kashgārī and occurred by the 13th century, albeit at different times in different vernaculars.

18.6.2 Internal sources

18.6.2.1 THE READING OF THE GLYPH QITA (365)

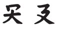
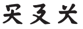
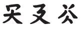
In this subchapter I will try to reconstruct how did the Khitans call themselves. First we haved to state that the glyph **qita** (365) occurs in the corpus only as the ethnonym and never as a part of another word or proper name, which makes difficult to identify its pronunciation. It never occurs isolated. The only example quoted in the Index from Dao *gai* 16-16 is in the so called highlighted mode. The logoglyph occurs with the glyph (144) which I read as **-un$_2$** see the details at line 1 of the text (p. 17 above).

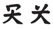
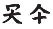
The earlier readings of the logoglyph were
Chinggeltei 2002, 29: **qït**
Kane 2009,78: **qid**
Wu—Janhunen 2010, 269: **qid**
Aisin Gioro 2012: **qita**
Shimunek 2017, 439: **qıta**
Chinggeltei—Wu—Jiruhe (CWJ) 2017, 330: **qït**,
CWJ 2017, 2282: **qid**.

As I have tried to demostrate in the chapter on Phonology, that though the KSS had the possibility to represent back vocalic /ï/, this was used only for Chinese words and only in special cases. Therefore I join Aisin Gioro and read the logograph (365) as **qita-**.This reading is present in the *Hua yi yiyu* see above.

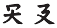
This form **qita** is a result of the disappearence of the original final -ñ.

In the corpus we have the following combinations:

+un$_2$  (365-144), 7x
+ un$_2$-i  (365-144-339), 15x
+un$_2$-er  (365-144-341), 1x

+i  (365-339), 24x
+s  (365-244), 6x

First we have to identify the function of these forms. When the ethnonym occurs with **-un$_2$** it functions as an adjective as Mongolian versus Mongol, Chinese versus China etc., and I will translate it as Khitanese. This form may occur also in genitive (**-un-i**) and in accusative-instrumental case (**-un-er**). When it occcurs only with **-i** it functions as the ethnonym in genitive case. The forms with **-s** are plurals of the nominal case. Let us see a few examples:

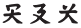
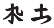
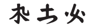
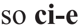
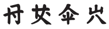
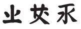
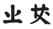
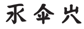
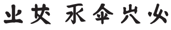
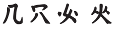
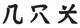
qita-un$_2$  (365-144)

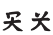
__qita__-un$_2$ s-ai tai shï sh-i d-i (Yu55-43) 'the Khitanese State Physician, great preceptor and *shi di*'

***qita**-un$_2$ m-as-qu-on g-úr* (Zhen8-31) ‘the Khitanese Great Country’
***qita**-un$_2$ m-as-qu-on n-i-gu g-úr-de* (Zhen12-23) ‘to the Khitanese and the Great Golden Country (namely the Jurchen)’.

The suffix **-un** is an old suffix of the genitive case, as it is in Mongolic. See Middle Mongolic, Secret History of the Mongols par 53:
qitad-un altan qahan ‘the Altan kagan of the Khitad (=Jürchen)’.

In Modern Mongolian Khalkha:
Xjatad-ïn ard tümen “the Chinese people”.

qita-un$_2$-i  (365-144-339), 15x
qita-un$_2$-i **g-úr-en us$_2$-g-de** (Zhong6-8) ‘was (written) into the Khitanese State Scripts (Annals)’
*ci-ur-er g-ui ong **qita**-un$_2$-i GREAT ú-dû-ó-o-ón ñol siu° m-ri ai tau sär gur när-de sui-er* (Zhong6-29) ‘the second (son), the Country wang, was born on the third day of the fifth month of the sixth (year of) the Khitanese Great Peace (reign title), a white horse year’
qita-un$_2$-i **udu-u** (Zhong10-47) ‘the Khitanese ordu’
qita-un$_2$-i **pu-ma** (Xian5) ‘the Khitanese son-in-law’
qita-un$_2$-i **n-ad-bud us-g-de** (Xian6) ‘into the documents of the Khitanese royal moving camp’
For the function of **-un$_2$** see
ci-eu2  (162-067) ‘prefecture, district’, Chin *zhou*, 州 **L**26, genitive
ci-eu-un  (162-067-273) **L**26, 36x, also **ci-eu-en**  (162-067-140), 1x
b-üe-z-iú  (311-082-258-289) ‘a title’, 2x, Chin *bie xu* 别胥 C465, see also **p-üe-siu**  (295-082 004), 1x (Zhi21-31), also **p-üe-z-iú-**   (295-082 258-289), 10x ‘the one without girdle’.
p-üe-z-iú-un  (295-082-258-289-273), 2x
ku (178) ‘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, but also
ku-û-i  (178-372-339) ‘people, genitive’, Chin *ren zhi* 人之 C412
See more data **6.1.2.1.4**
qita-un$_2$-er (only once)
***qita**-un$_2$-er hu$_2$-ó-ur ün-s-g-en* (Zhen7-30) ‘with the Khitanese benevolence’ ???

qita-i  (365-339)
qita-i **ci-iau-qú-i us$_2$-g h-ib na al-a-ar ci-iau-qú-i** ***qita-i*** **shï COMPOSE-in$_2$ RECORD-e** (Zhong7)
‘the Khitanese and the Chinese text all were gathered, and (from them) the Chinese and the Khitanese books were composed and put down (recorded)’

For the genitive with –i see:
b-qo (311-168) ‘child, son’, 441x
b-qo-i (311-168-339), 64x
när ‘day’(159), Chin *ri* 日 C403,**L2**, **L**13, earlier **DAY**, 125x
när-i (159-339) ‘day, genitive’, Chin *ri* 日 **L**2, 21x,
but also
när-en (159-140) ‘day, genitive’, 3x, Chin *ri zhi* 日之 C403 e.g. in: **när-en s-uni** (159-140 244-059) ‘day and night, through the whole day’, **L**2n,
när-ñ (159-222) ‘day, genitive’, 4x, Chin *ri* 日 C404
Y-ar$_2$-u-ud (020-084-131-344), also **y-ar-u-ud** (020-123-131-344) ‘the clan name of the Khitan leaders, Yarud’, Chin *yelü* 耶律, **L**2,
Y-ar$_2$-u-ud-i (020-084-131-344-339), Chin *ye lü zhi* 耶律之 C363. Irregular, should be ***Ya-ar$_2$-u-ud-en**. as in **ming-u-ud-en nai-d** (Y u54, Gao21), **s-úr-ud-en eu-ul g-e-te$_2$** (Xiang45), but no such form in the corpus.

qita-s (365-244)
qita-*s o-udu-ú-ur hu$_2$-ú b-o-ri$_5$* (Xu25-19) ‘became the commander of the Khitan ordus (plural)’,
qita-*s udu-u-ur hu$_2$-ú p-o-du$_2$-l-un$_2$* (Guang12-23) ‘became the commander of the Khitan ordus (plural)’,
qita-*s ji-en iú ci-iau-qú-j ji-en l-iu sh-in* (Jue24-14) ‘among the Khitans nobody, among the Chinese L-iu Sh-in’.

For the plural suffix -s see:
ai1 (122) ‘year’, Chin *nian* 年 **L**13, **L**15, **L**20, **L**23
ai-s (122-244)

aju (082.1) ‘father-in-law, father, old man’, 9x, **L**9, **L**10
aju-s (082.1-244)

bai-en*
bai-en-*s* (061-140-244) ‘dynasty, plural’, 1x, Chin *zhu chao* 诸朝 C375

em$_2$* (257) ‘city, town(ship), region, local administration’
em$_2$-s (257-140) ‘cities’, Chin *zhucheng* 诸城 **L**17

g-úr (334-097) ‘country, state’ Chin *guo* 国, **L**1
g-úr-s (334-097-244)

h-l 乆屮 (340-261) ‘language’, Chin *yu yan* 语言 C478,
h-l-s 乆屮仐 (340-261-244) ‘languages’, Chin *yu yan(fu)* 语言 (复) C478

Further data **12.1.1.5**

Our next question is whether, and if so, when the phonetic change occurred in the Khitan word **Qita-**. This change took place at different times across various parts of the Mongolic world, but can be documented from the fourteenth century onward. The earliest occurrence of this ethnonym in Khitan inscriptions written with the KSS appears in Guang in A.D. 1053 (**qita-s**), and the latest in Xian in A.D. 1175 (**qita-un$_2$-i**), with no changes in orthography. Since the ethnonym is consistently written with a logoglyph in all known Khitan sources, its actual pronunciation and any changes in pronunciation by the Khitan elite cannot be determined. However, as we observe, the phonetic change also occurred in Khitan words of Khitan origin (see Chapter **17**).

18.6.2.2 SUMMARY

Although the earliest form of the ethnonym is attested only from the time of the Wei dynasty, it may have existed earlier, possibly as a clan name. The fact that the vowel of the first syllable was rendered by both Chinese and Tibetan with an *e*-sound is noteworthy, but further studies are needed to provide a solid interpretation of this feature. All external forms appearing from the 8th century onward can be connected with the Old Turkic form *Kitañ.* The two finals, -*n* and -*y*, are of Turkic dialectal origin. Later, the ethnonym was “Mongolized”; it underwent a phonetic change where the first vowel assimilated to the second, leading to the forms *Katay* and *Katan*. Its meaning gradually expanded from a clan name to an ethnonym and eventually to the name of various political units. It became the name for a part of China and ultimately the name of China itself. The ethnonym initially referred to the people of a tribal confederation and later to a country, the Liao empire. Splintered groups carried the ethnonym with them, and in various parts of Eurasia, groups originally of Khitan origin changed their language and ethnic identity but preserved their name.

18.7 REMARKS ON THE KHITAN NAMES OF THE JURCHEN

The Khitan name of the Jurchen has been dealt with by Pelliot, 1959, 216-229, 366-390, Ligeti 1986, 116 note, Kane 2009, 165-166 and others[61], we can make now one step forward.

18.7.1 Jurchen in the external sources

In the Chinese sources, there are two forms:

nüzhen 女真 YCh *ny*, LMCh *nriǎ/nryǎ*, EMCh *nriǎ*, 真 YCh *tʂin*, LMCh *tʂin*, EMch *tɕin*

nüzhi 女直 YCh *tʂi,* LMCh *trɦiǎk*, EMCh *driajk*

According to the *San chao bei meng hui bian* 三朝北盟 會 編 [1126-1207], ed Franke 1975, 122, "their original name was *Zhu-li-zhen* 术 理 真, which in the foreign language became *Nü-zhen* 女真".[62]

Jurchen

jušen *zhu xian* 朱 先 (Kiyose 115 1977, Ligeti 1952, 224)

Middle Mongolian

Jürčed (SH, see above **18.6.1.10**)

jürčet (Hua yiyi yu, ed.Mostaert—Rachewiltz, 1977, 69)

Late Uigur

<čwrč'd> read Jürčed (Danka 2019, 317) ← Mong

Manchu

Manchu *jurčit,* 'Chin *nüzhen, nüzhi,* Dschurdschen, die Vorfahren der Manchu' (Hauer1952, 557)' (← Mong).

jušen 'mandschurischer Leibeigener' (Hauer 1952 561)

jušeri 'einer der 66 Manchustämme zu Begin der Dynastie' (Hauer 1952, 561)

Persian

جورجه (Rashid-ud-Din ← Mong), see Pelliot, 1959, 366

Latin

Ciorcia (Marco Polo), see Pelliot, 1959, 366-390

Zorça (Map of Fra Mauro), see Pelliot, 1959, 366

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[62] In several later sources there are other and partly distorted names of the Jurchen.

18.7.2 Jurchen in the KSS Corpus[63]

The Khitan corpus. written in KSS, has the following forms:[64]

1. Ju-ur-e$_2$ 马 糺 夯 (147-177-109) 'Jurchen: tribe name', 4x, also **Ju-ur-e** 马 糺 券 (147-177-348), 4x, Chin *nü zhen* 女真 C401.

Liao

今化当 伏行欠伏 业艾伞岑 州欠 艾冇 叉屮只伏 马糺夯 犲仡欠朱 只平夳当

t-ur-én ñ-mú-qó-ñ p-üe-z-iú SMALL-qó aju-en sh-l-û-ñ ju-ur-e$_2$ ja-ri-qó-do û-ul-ge$_2$-én

'The fourth (daughter) Ñ-mú-qó-ñ *p-üe-z-iú* was given (into marriage) to the Jurchen Minister Sh-l-û-ñ of the Junior Father-in-law (group)' (Yu8-26)

仝化当 伏行余伏 舟艾伞岑 力圡出厼 州欠 艾冇 叉用只杏 马糺夯 犲仡余不 只平夳屮伏

d-ur-én ñ-mú-qu-ñ b-üe-z-iú na-ha-án-er SMALL-qó aju-en sh-il-û-uni ju-ur-e$_2$ ja-ri-qu-on û-ul-ge$_2$-l-ñ

'the fourth (daughter) Ñ-mú-qu *b-üe-z-iú* was given (into marriage) to the Jurchen Minister Sh-il-û-uni, from the Junior Father-in-laws of the Maternal Uncles' (Zhi12-29) (same persons, same event)

马糺夯 又 而安厼

<ju-ur-e$_2$ GREAT cau-úr-er

'The Jurchen great army (acc)' (Yu22-20)

仝化厼 马糺夯 叉为共

d-ur-er ju-ur-e$_2$ sh-a-rí

'fourth, the Jurchen *shari* (*langjun*)' (Zhuo 9-3)

刭化厼 马糺券 叉为共

hu-ur-er ju-ur-e sh-a-rí (Yong26-25), Chin *shulizhe langjun* 术里者 郎君 CWJ 1231

'the third was the Jurchen langjun'

马糺券 朩化当冇 叉屮及伏

ju-ur-e ci-ur-én-en sh-l-u-ñ (Liang2-4), Chin *shulizhe zi shiluyin* 术里者 字 石鲁隐

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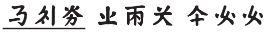
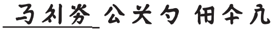
[63] I have separated the data according to the dynasties during which the inscription was written.

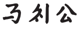
[64] See the debate on the reading of (177) at lines 1 and **8.7**

'the Jürchen second Sh-l-u-ñ' feminine genitive and not 字, for the name see above *Sh-il-û-uni, Sh-l-û-ñ*

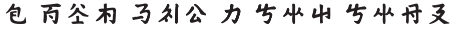

ju-ur-e p-in-i s-un-un (DiX19-19)
'the Jurchen estate ???'

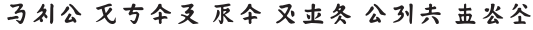
Jin

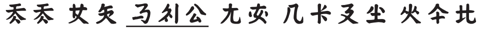

ju-ur-e n-i-gu sui-s-g (Zhong2-7 1150), Chin *shuli zhe nügu sheng* 术里者 女古 生 CWJ 947
'being born in the Jurchen Golden (country)'

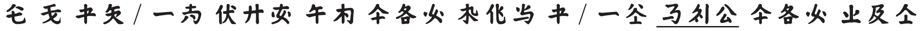
2. Ju-ur-n  (147-177-251), 7x

Liao


gur eme-d-en ju-ur-n na dor-l-bun dor-l-b-un$_2$
'The Jurchen of the Three Rivers came earlier (prompt) over (and over) and pledged alliance (submitted)', (2x) (Dao25-14)[65]


ju-ur-n sh-al-s-un har$_3$- (Yu21-52)
'The Jurchen mountain range'


ishi sär-de ju-ur-n om-úr ku-su-un-te$_2$ ui-s-li$_2$ (Hai3-11)
'In month nine the office of the Jurchen guard head (was given him)'[66]


par tau ai-de hoi-dor$_2$ ñ-ó-úr tal-en s-eng-un ci-ur-én ai hoi-d ju-ur-n s-eng-un p-o-ri$_5$ (Liang7-20)

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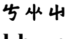
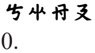
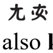
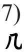
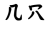
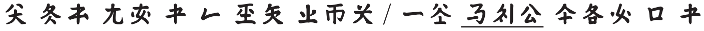
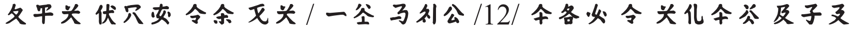
[65] **dor-l-bun**  (218-261-288) 'come over and pledge allegiance, submit', Chin *gui shun* 归顺 C420, **dor-l-b-un$_2$**  (218-261-311-144) 'come over and pledge allegiance,submit', Chin *gui shun* 归顺 C420.
dor-te$_2$ (218-356) 'come over and pledge allegiance, submit', Chin *gui shun* 归顺 C420. According to CWJ dittography,

[66] **om-úr**  (092-097) 'first, head' Chin *yuan* 元, **ku-su**  ((178-041) 'guard', Chin *shi wei* 侍卫 C412, also **ku-û-su**  ((178-372-041) 'guard', Chin *shi wei* 侍卫 C412.

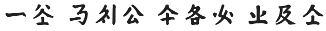
‘In the year 15 he became the general of the North-East circuit region, in the second (next) year, he became the general of the North Jurchen’



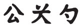
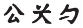
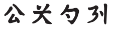
HEAVEN as-ar om-úr ai THIRTY nem-de p-od-i hoi-d ju-ur-n s-eng-un te ai (Liang8-34)
‘In the year 1055, on the 38th (day) (he) was returning as the general of the North Jurchen, he was there……’



uh-ul-i ñ-û-úr t-qu sh-i hoi-d ju-ur-n /12/ s-eng-un t i-ri-s-er o-l$_2$*-un*$_2$ (Xiang11-38)[67]
‘he became the *t-qu-shi* of the Uh-ul tribe and the general of the North Jurchen’



hoi-d ju-ur-n s-eng-un p-o-ri$_5$ (Xiang 26-7)
‘became the general of the North Jurchen’

3. **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 *nriǎ/nryǎ,* YCh *tʂin*, LMCh *tʂin,*2. Chin *jin* 金 ‘gold, golden’, C445, ChinT *nü gu* 女古 YCh *ny*, LMCh *nriǎ/nryǎ,* YCh *ku*, LMCh *kuǎ*, C446, see the logoglyph **GOLD** , (285), see Numerals **12.3**, see also ChinT *Nugu woludu* 女古斡魯朵 ‘the golden ordu’ with breaking, see **18.1**
n-i-gu-hu  (251-339-165-151) ‘Jurchen’, ChinT *nü gu* 女古 C445
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

Liao

n-i-gu xa-she ‘the golden time, period’ (Xu15-36)

gur ai-s-er n-i-gu xa-she rí-i dor-l-ha-ar ‘during three years a golden period was bestowed’ (Yu54-5)

s-i-ing ci-iau-u n-i-gu aú h-iú eme-t-en 378.1 378.1 deu-378.1 ui-er-378.1 (Hai9-24) ‘the Sing Chinese golden elder and younger sister-wives ……(were to) younger brother…given.’

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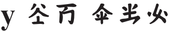
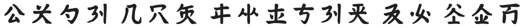
[67] The identification was made already by Ji Shi 1996, and cited also by Wu-Janhunen 2010, 164, but because of the uncertainty of the reading of (177) with doubts.

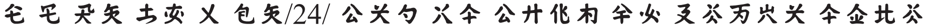
Jin

n-i-gu ci-as-a-iú- ‘according to the law of the Golden (dynasty)’ (Zhong5-21)
d-y z-úng-un n-i-gu-hu ku-û-li hul-l-ha-al-hu-an u-un d-em$_2$-y   (Zhong36-3) ‘the golden people of the Emperor Taizong got a document of ??? adoptation?’

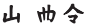
HEAVEN t-iu-er jur ai-de ol ñ-ó-li ci-as-a-ad /10/ **n-i-gu g-úr-en cau-ji$_3$-en nai-d**
‘In the second year of *HEAVEN t-iu-er*’ (1076)(the tribal) law and the military leader of the Golden Country… (Zhen11-1)

an-i n-i-gu h-du$_3$-ge$_2$-én$_2$ ul$_2$ y-eu-ur-ge$_2$-y g-úr qa-ha-an 077-336.1 -SMALL-en ia-275-ar go-er (Zhen12-3) ‘during that golden (period) the things did not change and the Gur Qahan…..’

n-i-gu g-úr-de rí-l-ha-a-án or-a-an ‘after being born in the country of the Jurchen’ (Zhen12-25)
n-i-gu g-úr-de-i ‘from the Golden Country’ (Zhen15-14)


jur sär par dur när-de eu-úr SIXTY gur-de/24/ **n-i-gu h-s n-ó-ur-en ú-un un$_2$-er 003-iú-i s-em$_2$-li$_2$-er** ‘on month two, day 14, in the age 63 the Jurchen (Golden) region… … he became ill’ (Zhen24-1)

4. GOLD (285), GOLD^{o} (286), ‘cyclical stem. yellow, gold’, most probably **alti** see El in most cases in dates, which I do not quote here, but also:

GOLD go-t  ‘Golden (Patriarchal) Tents’ (Xuan16, 1101)

HEAVEN GOLD° hong di-en hu-as n-ad-bot (Ling4, ?1057) ‘the misfortunate travelling palace (nadbod) of the Heavenly Gold Emperor’

GOLD t-ie-ên-de n-em$_2$ a-al-hu (Ling16) ‘to the golden heaven ??????????,’

HEAVEN GOLD° hong di-in dele-en deu h-iú (Xu5, 1105) ‘the younger brother and younger sister of the heavenly Gold Emperor’s same clan’

udu-ó GOLD-i-in 239-de o-s$_2$-li$_2$ go-er qa-ha-ad har-l-ha-ai (Di10, 1101) ‘went to the ordu, golden ??mile??, and made black (slandered??) the qagans of the Patriarchal Tent’

emu s-om-er jur° GOLD°-ur ci-uh-ul-ge-l-un$_2$ b-qo (Wu4, 1102) ‘the son who let conquer the first *som* and the two Golds’

GOLD p-i-shi-un$_2$ s-eng-un t-úr (Hu7, 1091) ‘the Field Marshal with golden *pi-shi* 皮室 died’

GREAT GOLD-i eu-ul-g (Xian1, 1175) ‘the death of the Great Gold (Emperor, Taizu died 1123)’

18.7.3 Summary

We lack data regarding the name for the Jurchen before the Khitan inscriptions. Contemporary Chinese sources refer to them as *nüzhen* 女真 and *nüzhi* 女直, with the latter likely emerging later due to tabooistic reasons. This suggests that it was introduced after the enthronement of Xingzong (1031), whose birth name was Yelü Zongzhen 耶律宗真. The name Jurchen, or more precisely Jürčen, appears to have Mongolian origins. It is tempting to derive it from the Mongolic *jöri-* meaning ‘to fail to meet, to be disobedient’, which evolved into *jörci-, jöriče-* meaning ‘to disobey, to do the opposite.’ Nugteren (2011, 393) reconstructed the Mongolic word *jöriü* meaning ‘transverse, askew, stubborn’, see also Dag *jure-* ‘do badly (wrong)’, *jureci-* ‘go against, to disobey’ (M180), and *jür‘č’ üwei* meaning ‘without nothing, without anything’ (DagP 82). The Manchu term *jurčen*, meaning ‘resistance, opposition, annulment’, derives from *jurče-* ‘to deviate, to oppose’ (Hauer 1952, 557; Norman 1967, 237) and connects to Mong *jörči-* (Rozycki 1994, 126) < *jöri-* ‘to fail to meet’. This root word also appears in other Tungus languages (see Cincius 1975, 277).

I remain somewhat skeptical of this type of etymology for ethnic names. Nevertheless, it can be asserted that the ethnic name is of Mongolic origin, as attested in the sources, and is predominantly used in the plural form. I am confident that Rashid-ud-din’s data should also be read as Jürčet. The Khitan variants, which appear as **Jure** and **Juren**, are enigmatic. These likely derive from *Jurče* and *Jurčen* with the simplification of the cluster *-rc-* to *-r*. A similar simplification is seen in the Manchu *Jušen* < *Jučen* < *Jurčen*.

The origin of Khitan **ni-gu** ‘gold, yellow’ is also unclear. Kane (2009, 165) noted that in the *Qidanguo zhi*, the Khitan names for the Yellow River (Huangho) are: *niao-luo-ge* 裊羅個 and *nü-gu* 女古, which are considered to be the same. The first was YCh *njew lɔ kɔ*, LMCh *niaw la ka,* possibly transcribing a Khitan *nirugu*. Kane also suggested this, but speculated that in this case, the **gu** of **n-i-gu1** 公关勺 (251-339-165) must be read as *-urgu,* which seems unlikely since Chinese also has *nügu*.

The Khitan transcription of the Chinese ‘Book of Change’ Zhou Yi 周易 is **Ci-eu y-gu** 朩圡 丏勺 (162-067 020-165), where Chinese *yi* 易 was YCh *ji*, LMCh *jiajk,* EMCh *jiajk*, and -*gu* replaces the final -*k* of LMCh, as noted in Phonology. The form *nirugu* or *nirgu* may be an older form of *ni-gu,* with the simplification *rg*>*g*. It is worth noting, as Ligeti pointed out (1960, see also Rozycki 1994, 228), that in earlier Mongolian loanwords into Manchu, the clusters -*rk*- and -*rg*- were simplified to -*č*- and -*ǰ*-, respectively.

As I proposed in EL, the logograph 山 (285) may represent a Khitan form *alti,* which could constitute a link in the complex etymological history of the name for this metal. Compare Jurchen *ančun*, Manchu *aisin*. I have retained the form GOLD because it is unlikely to be two distinct terms for ‘gold’. It is perhaps worth mentioning that references to gold, golden, etc., as epithets of the Emperor appear in our corpus prior to the establishment of the Jin dynasty. The name of the Jurchen people should not be connected with the name for gold; this association is a later development and tied to the Jin dynasty, which adopted gold as their dynastic color, and, consequently, as the name of their dynasty.

19. LISTS

19.1 THE HÖHHOT LIST OF KSS GLYPHS REVISED

The list follows the Index of CWJ with corrections dealt with in Chapter **8.7**. In cases where there is yet no reading, the list number is repeated after the glyph. If the glyph does not occur as initial, that is, it cannot be found under the list number in the Index, I noted *n.i.* (not as initial). I made the last revision in May of 2025. PD is Peng Daruhan, 2023.

001		hoi
002		jur$_2$
003		003
004		siu
005		siu^{o}
006		har$_3$
007		nem[1]
008		nem^{o}
009		009 n.i[2]
010		hoii
011		an
012		012
013		013
014		hu$_2$

015		jau
016		od
017		dai
017.1		017.1
018		in
019		iu
020		y
021		eme
022		cau
022.1		i$_2$
022.2		022.2
023		023
024		024
025		025

026		emu
027		emu^{o}
028		sh[3]
029		tau
030		tau^{o}
031		chi
031.1		031.1
031.2		031.2 n.i.
032		032
033		ishi[4]
034		ishi^{o}
035		035
035.1		035.1
035.2		035.2

---

[1] CWJ <naim, naim^{o}>

[2] n.i. = not as initial, 009 is a composite from 001+127, does not exist as new glyph

[3] Former also <š>

[4] CWJ <is>, <is^{o}>, should be <ishi>

035.3	王	iu$_2$ n.i
036	玌	xu
037	王	di
038	厇	ri$_3$
038.1	厈	ri$_4$
039	死	39
040	十	si$_2$[5]
041	长	su
042	圡	kus
043	凷	mod
043.1	古	043.1
044	乜	044
045	支	045
046	内	046
047	冇	hor
048	半	hul
049	市	le$_2$ n.i
050	夹	050
051	亚	ha
052	击	RECORD
052.1	車	RECORD2

053	巫	qa
054	木	054
055	夲	055
056	尘	n.i
056.1	杢	056.1[6]
057	关	xo
058	札	058
059	杏	uni
060	寻	bai$_2$ n.i
061	可	bai
062	业	iang, n.i.
063	求	ETERNAL
063.1	求	063.1
064	皮	lu$_2$
065	夾	065
066	土	066[7]
066.1	圡	066.1
067	去	eu
068	兆	us
069	共	ri
070	赤	w

071	赤	ong
072	冇	dor$_2$
073	寿	ên
074	卉	tir
075	主	hong
076	圠	or
077	北	077[8]
078	比	078
079	地	079
080	北	li$_2$
081	艾	sär[9]
082	芡	üe
082.1	艾	aju
083	廿	sï
084	在	ar$_2$
084.1	存	084.1, n.i
085	灰	ñol[10]
086	灰	ñol^{o}
087	友	jï
088	为	088
089	亢	du$_3$[11]

---

[5] CWJ <ör>

[6] On CWJ 1718 unexpected "387", remained from the old list

[7] PD <ə>

[8] A dotted (076) 圠?

[9] CWJ: MONTH

[10] CWJ <SIX>, <SIX^{o}>

[11] CWJ d$_3$

090		ó
091		do$_2$
092		om
093		le
094		094
094.1		n.i
095		095
096		096
097		úr
098		al
098.1		jih
099		ad
100		én$_2$
100.1		én$_3$
100.2		n.i.
101		deu
102		cu
103		us$_2$
104		j[12] = ǰ
105		om[13]
106		ung$_2$
107		oi$_2$

108		108, n.i
109		e$_2$
110		110
111		111
112		ge$_2$
113		ï$_2$ n.i.[14]
114		í$_2$ n.i.[15]
115		ol
116		116
117		117
118		qú
119		dau
120		shi
121		un$_3$ n.i.
122		ai
123		ar
124		124
125		aû
126		n.i.
127		ib
128		ri$_2$
129		129, n.i.

129.1		129.1
130		xa
131		u
132		132
133		m
134		jur
135		jur^{o}
135.1		135.1
136		136
137		ir
137.1		137.1 n.i.
138		iuk
139		na
139.1		139.1
140		en
141		dalu[16]
141.1		dalu^{o}
142		MANAGE
143		xua
144		un$_2$
145		FORTY
146		es

---

[12] Read <j> earlier dz$_2$

[13] In certain cases an alloglyph of (092) <om>

[14] See (353)

[15] See (352)

[16] CWJ <dol>, <dol^{o}>

147		ju
148		148
149		l$_2$
150		ja
151		hu
152		ji
153		ji$_2$
154		on
155		FIFTY
156		156
157		157, n.i.
158		l$_4$
159		när
160		160[17]
160.1		160.1 n.i.
161		au
162		ci
163		ki
164		yos[18]
165		gu
165.1		gu$_2$ n.i.
166		gur[19]

167		gur^{o}
168		qo
169		qó
170		MR
171		da
172		uh
173		jel
174		as
175		eng
176		bud
177		ur
177.1		177.1
178		ku
178.1		kuo
178.2		178.2[20]
179		dú
179.1		179.1
179.2		179.2
180		shï
181		iúng n.i.
182		182
183		cal

183.1		cal^{o}
184		am
185		mor
186		o
186.1		186.1 n.i.
187		tum
188		SMALL
189		a
190		190
191		tou
192		MRS
193		nas
194		194
195		tal
196		abu
197		ai$_2$
198		hiu[21]
198.1		hiu
199		199, n.i.
200		200, n.i.
201		201
202		tu

---

[17] CWJ no reading, <PD pæt>

[18] PD <yos>

[19] CWJ <gor>, <gor^{o}>

[20] CWJ p. 1921 No. 497 by error

[21] PD <hiu>

203		203, n.i.
204		de$_2$[22]
205		de
206		li
207		ming
208		lu
209		209, n.i.
210		aú
210.1		210.1
210.2		n.i.
211		THIRTY
211.1		THIRTY^o
211.2		nai[23]
212		od$_2$
213		to
213.1		n.i.
213.2		213.2
214		da$_3$
215		**deest**=171
216		hus
216.1		216.1

217		do
218		dor
219		219
220		mú
221		221
222		ñ
223		mu$_2$
224		mu
224.1		n.i.
225		bi
226		üe$_2$[24]
227		227
228		228
229		ta
230		230
231		231
232		232
233		ku$_2$[25]
234		234
235		ri (iri)[26]
236		u$_r$2

237		du
238		sui
239		239
240		pa^r[27]
240.1		pa^{r}o
241		pu
242		fu
243		HEAVEN
244		s
245		ú
246		qu
247		t
248		YOUNG
249		dû
250		heu
251		n
252		ô
253		ô$_2$
254		d
255		ri$_5$
256		256

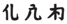
---

[22] CWJ no reading

[23] CWJ 1955 no glyph, nai, ?eighty?

[24] CWJ <ü>

[25] CWJ <kú$_2$>

[26] In the title **iri**-g-en  (235-334-140)

[27] CWJ has <ab>, <ab^o> ’ten’

256.1		256.1
257		em$_2$
258		z
259		hur[28]
260		t$_2$
261		l
261.1		261.1
262		ui
263		ui°
264		ng
264.1		264.1 n.i.
265		ui$_2$
266		SIXTY
266.1		yun
267		267[29]
268		xe
269		er$_2$[30]
270		ém
271		271
272		búl
273		un
274		iá
275		LUCK, n.i
275.1		275.1
276		276, n.i.
277		277, n.i.
278		278, n.i.
278.1		278.1
279		po
279.1		279.1
280		áng
281		281. n.i.
282		ku[31]
283		k
284		284
285		GOLD
286		GOLD°
287		xar
288		bun[32]
289		iú
290		án
291		291
292		292
293		si$_2$[33]
294		dele
294.1		294.1
294.2		294.1, n.i.
295		p
296		296
296.1		296.1, n.i.
297		gú
298		co
299		299
300		SEVENTY
301		SEVENTY°
302		il
303		ing
304		du$_2$
305		305
306		306
307		307
308		COMPOSE
309		bod
310		li$_4$
310.1		dus
310.2		310.2, n.i.

---

[28] CWJ <hut>

[29] Occurs only once, = 266.1

[30] Alloglyph of (311)

[31] PD <ku>

[32] Earlier <bir>

[33] Earlier <si>, very rare

310.3		310.3, n.i.
311		b
312		lu$_3$
313		lu$_{4,}$ n.i.
314		iang
315		she
316		zhul
316.1		COMPOSE$_3$
316.2		COMPOSE$_2$
317		317
318		na$_2$
318.1		318.1
319		go
320		pu$_2$[34]
321		har
321.1		har$_2$
322		ón
323		te
324		en$_2$[35]
324.1		n.i.
324.2		úng$_2$ n.i.[36]

---

[34] PD <pu>

[35] CWJ <üen>, corr. by Wu in a letter 17-06-2021

[36] PD <úng>

324.3		324.3
325		325
326		326
327		ie
328		kei
329		ün
330		ž
331		neu
332		nai
333		QUEEN
334		g
335		ia
336		ul$_2$
336.1		336.1[37]
336.2		336.2
336.3		336.3
337		ji$_3$
337.1		pen
337.2		337.2
338		i$_3$
339		i

---

[37] PD <po>

339.1		339.1[38]
339.2		339.2
340		h
341		er
342		WINE
343		343
343.1		343.1
344		ud
345		ung
346		ung$_3$
347		oi
348		e
349		ge
350		d$_2$
351		n.i.
352		í
353		ï, n.i.
354		s$_2$
355		odu
355.1		355.1, n.i.
356		te$_2$

---

[38] PD <k~ek>

357		úng
358		mû
359		n.i.
360		pang[39] n.i.
361		én
361.1		deu$_2$
362		iau
363		che
364		dele$_2$

365		qita
366		ul
367		rung
368		dur
369		dur^{o}
370		REGION
371		ja$_2$
372		û
373		GREAT

374		tai
375		ca
376		376
377		oh
377.1		377.1
378		DITTO
378.1	□	illegible

---

[39] CWJ 327 *p‘aŋ, faŋ* 295
= (295) + (071)

19.2 ALPHABETICAL LIST OF KSS GLYPHS

Excluded are glyphs not yet deciphered and the logoglyphs

Romani-zation	**Glyph**	**Number in List**
<a>		189
<a$_2$>		190
<abu>		196
<ad>		099
<ai>		122
<ai$_2$>		197
<ai$_3$>		395[40]
<aju>		082.1
<al>		098
<am>		184
<an>		011
<án>		290
<ang>		199
<áng>		280
<ar>		123
<as>		174
<au>		161
<aû>		125
<aú>		210[41]
<b>		311
<bai>		061
<bai$_2$>		060
<bi>		225
<bod>		309
<bud>		176[42]
<búl>		272
<bun>		288
<c(i)>		162[43]
<ca>		375
<cal>		183
<cal^{o}>		183.1
<cau>		022
<che>		363
<chi>		031
<co>		298
<cu>		102
<d>		254
<d$_2$>		350
<da>		171
<da$_3$>		214
<dai>		017
<dalu>		141
<dalu^{o}>		141.10
<dau>		119
<de>		205
<de$_2$>		204[44]
<dele>		294
<dele$_2$>		364
<deu>		101
<deu$_2$>		361.1
<di>		037
<do>		217
<do$_2$>		091
<dor>		218
<dor$_2$>		072

---

[40] In WJ, but not in CWJ Index

[41] CWJ no reading

[42] Earlier <bu>, <bot>

[43] In fact č throughout

[44] CWJ no reading

<du>	仃	237
<du$_2$>	闲	304
<du$_3$>	丸	089[45]
<dú>	尺	179
<dû>	分	249
<dur>	乇	368
<dur°>	乇	369
<dus>	丹	310.1
<e>	券	348
<e$_2$>	夯	109
<e$_4$>	土	066
<em>	丙	021
<ém>	仝	270
<em$_2$>	企	257
<emu>	毛	026
<emu°>	毛	027
<en>	冇	140
<en$_2$>	㞢	324
<én>	当	361
<én$_2$>	与	100
<én$_3$>	与	100.1

<én$_4$>	与	100.2
<ên>	夸	073
<eng>	各	175
<er>	炎	341
<er$_2$>	冬	269[46]
<es>	歹	146
<eu>	去	067
<fen>	see	<pen>
<fu>	佘	242
<g>	凡	334
<ge>	岑	349
<ge$_2$>	会	112
<giu>	丕	160[47]
<go>	曲	319
<gu>	勺	165
<gú>	出	297
<gu$_2$>	匀	165, n.i.
<gur>	包	166[48]
<gur°>	包	167
<h>	从	340[49]
<ha>	走	051

<har>	由	321
<har$_2$>	虫	321.1
<har$_3$>	灰	006
<heu>	介	250
<hoi>	一	001
<hoii>	买	010
<hong>	主	075
<hor>	内	047
<hu>	列	151
<hu$_2$>	亜	014
<hul>	卉	048
<hus>	失	216
<hur>	灸	259
<i>	关	339
<i$_2$>	有	022.1
<i$_3$>	洦	338
<í>	谷	352
<ï>	谷	353
<ī$_2$>	杏	114
<ï$_2$>	杏	113
<ia>	才	335

---

[45] Earlier <d$_3$>

[46] CWJ no reading

[47] CWJ no reading

[48] CWJ <gor>

[49] Read ɣ

<iá>	幺	274
<iang>	并	314
<iáng>	业	062
<iau>	兮	362
<ib>	关	127
<ie>	文	327
<ih>	洦	338
<ii>	北	077
<il>	用	302
<in>	雨	018
<ing>	同	303
<ir>	刃	137
<(i)shi>	忝	033
<(i)shi^{o}>	忝	034
<iu>	丙	019
<iú>	火	289
<iu$_2$>	王	035.30
<iuk>	习	138
<iúng>	甩	181
<j>	友	104
<ja>	孔	150

<ja$_2$>	飞	371
<jau>	弗	015
<jel>	冬	173
<ji>	犸	152
<ji$_2$>	犳	153
<ji$_3$>	礿	337
<jï>	犮	087
<jïh>	与	098.1
<ju>	马	147
<jur>	圣	134
<jur^{o}>	圣	135
<jur$_2$>	丁	002
<k>	叔	283
<kei>	主	328
<ki >	业	163
<ku>	几	178
<ku^{o}>	凡	178.10
<ku$_2$>	仉	233
<ku$_3$>	非	282
<kus>	圡	042
<l>	氺	261
<l$_2$>	子	149

<l$_3$>	予	157
<l$_4$>	予	158
<le>	方	093
<le$_2$>	市	049
	灰	206
<li$_2$>	北	080
<li$_4$>	冊	310
<lu>	支	208
<lu^{o}>	支	209
<lu$_2$>	皮	064
<lu$_3$>	丹	312
<lu$_4$>	丹	313
<m>	叉	133
<ming>	矢	207
<mod>	去	043
<mor>	丙	185
<mu>	伕	224
<mu$_2$>	仕	223
<mú>	行	220
<mû>	半	358
<n>	公	251
<na>	力	139

<na$_2$>		318
<nai>		332
<nai$_2$>		211.2[50]
<nem>		007
<nem^{o}>		008
<när>		159[51]
<nas>		193
<neu>		331
<ng>		264
<ñ^{x}>		222[52]
<o>		186
<ó>		090
<ô>		252
< ô$_2$>		253
<od>		016
<od$_2$>		212
<oh>		377
<oi>		347[53]

<oi$_2$>		107
		115
<om>		092
<on>		154
<ón>		322
<ong>		071
<or>		076
<ordu>	see	<udu>
<p>		295
<pang>		360
<par>		240
<par^{o}>		240.1
<pen>		337.10
<po>		279
<pu>		241
<pu$_2$>		320
<qa>		053
<qita>		365[54]
<qo>		168

<qó>		169
<qu>		246
<qú>		118
<ra>		084
<ra^{o}>		084.1
<ri>		235[55]
<ri$_2$>		128
<ri$_3$>		038
<ri$_4$>		038.1
<ri$_5$>		255
<rí>		069
<rung>		367
<s>		244
<s$_2$>		354
<si>		<040>[56]
<si$_2$>		293
<sär>		081[57]
<sï>		083
<siu>		004

---

[50] On CWJ p. 1955 the glyph is missing, the two <nai> glyphs are not distinguished in the Romanization.

[51] Earlier DAY

[52] In the Latin alphabet a separate letter

[53] Sometimes mixed up with (341)

[54] CWJ <qid>

[55] **iri** in **iri-g-en**

[56] CWJ <ör>

[57] Earlier MONTH

<siuº>		005
<su>		041
<sui>		238
<sh>		028
<she>		315
<shi>		120
<shi>	see	ishi
<shï>		180
<t>		247
<t$_2$>		260
<ta>		229
<tai>		374
<tal>		195
<tau>		029
<tauº>		030
<te>		323
<te$_2$>		356
<tir>		074
<to>		213
<tou>		191
<tu>		202
<tum>		187
<u>		131
<ú>		245

<û>		372
<ud>		344
<ud$_2$>		105[58]
<udu>		355
<uh>		172
<ui>		262
<uiº>		263
<ui$_2$>		266
		366
<ul$_2$>		336
<un>		273
<un$_2$>		144[59]
<un$_3$>		121
<ung>		345
<ung$_2$>		106
<ung$_3$>		346
<úng>		357
<úng$_2$>		324.2
<uni>		059
<ur>		177
<ur$_2$>		236[60]
<úr>		097

<us>		068
<us$_2$>		103
<üe>		082
<üe$_2$>		226
<ün>		329
<w>		070
<xa>		130
<xar>		287
<xe>		268
<xo>		057
<xu>		036
<xua>		143
<y>		020
<ya>	see	<ia>
<yang>	see	<iang>
<yau>	see	<iau>
<ye>	see	<ie>
<yos>		164
<yun>		266.1
<z>		258
<zh>[61]		330
<zhul>		316

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[58] In certain cases an alloglyph of (092) <om>

[59] CWJ <ir$_2$>

[60] CWJ <ur>

[61] <ž>

19.3 SIGLA OF THE MAJOR AND MINOR INSCRIPTIONS IN KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT WITH REFERENCE TO THE CWJ

19.3.1 Sigla of the Major Inscriptions in Khitan Small Script

No	Sigla	Chinese	Chinese Simplified	Date	Photo page in CWJ Vol. I	Initial page in CWJ Vol. II
1	Xing	興	兴	1055	603	866
2	Ren	仁	仁	1076	606	880
3	Lang	郎	郎	1134	610	893
4	Dao+gai[62]	道+蓋	道+盖	1101	612	898
5	Xuan+gai	宣+蓋	宣+盖	1101	621	921
6	Ling	令	令	1057(?)	631	935
7	Zhong+gai	仲+蓋	仲+盖	1150	634	945
8	Xu+gai	許+蓋	许+盖	1105	642	979
9	Gu	故	故	1115	652	1012
10	Yu	於	于	1072	658	1023
11	Hai	海	海	unknown	671	1093
12	Guang	廣	广	**1053**[63]	672	1099
13	Zhen	鎮	镇	1170	679	1115
14	Hong	弘	弘	1100	682	1139
15	Zhuo	涿	涿	1108	691	1159
16	Nan	南	南	1092	692	1165

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[62] *gai* 盖 ‘canopy’

[63] The earliest known and dated inscription published in CWJ

No	Sigla	Chinese	Chinese Simplified	Date	Photo page in CWJ Vol. I	Initial page in CWJ Vol. II
17	Nu	奴	奴	1099	699	1189
18	Zhi	智	智	1094	710	1208
19	Yong	永	永	1088	716	1224
20	Gao	高	高	after 1076	721	1238
21	Di	迪	迪	1101	727	1250
22	Tu	圖	图	1068	735	1274
23	Tai+gai	太+蓋	太+盖	1110	741	1286
24	Song+gai	宋+蓋	宋+盖	1110	749	1302
25	Qing	清	清	1095	757	1315
26	Han	韓	韩	1078	763	1337
27	Chao+gai	抄+蓋	抄+盖	1082	767	1350
28	GuD	姑	姑	1102	773	1365
29	Sa+é[64]	撒+額	撒+额	1100	779	1381
30	Wu	兀	兀	1102	781	1387
31	Liang	梁	梁	1107	792	1410
32	Xian+gai	顯+蓋	显+盖	**1175**[65]	799	1430
33	DiX	敵	敌	1114	805	1449
34	Xiang	詳	详	1091	815	1470
35	Hu	胡	胡	1091	823	1496
36	Pu+gai	蒲+蓋	蒲+盖	1105	828	1517

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[64] é = 額 'front piece'

[65] The last known dated inscription

No	Sigla	Chinese	Chinese Simplified	Date	Photo page in CWJ Vol. I	Initial page in CWJ Vol. II
37	Jue	玦	玦	1071	834	1531
38	Hui+gai	回+蓋	回+盖	1080	841	1564
39	Cha	查	查	1113	847	1577
40	Shi	師	师	1101	not included in CWJ	
41	ShiZh	侍	侍	1091		
42	Wo	斡	斡	1099		
43	Da	大	大	1073		
44	Tian	天	天	1109		

19.3.2 Sigla of the Minor Inscriptions in the Khitan Small Script

No	Sigla	Chinese	Chinese simp-lified	Date	Photo page in CWJ Vol. I	Initial page in CWJ Vol. II
S1	QingS	慶	庆	unknown	853	1593
S2	GuoS	槨	椁	unknown	not included in CWJ	1598
S3	YuanS	圓	圆	unknown	855	1599
S4	BaoS	寶	宝	unknown	856	1601
S5	WanS	完	完	unknown	857	1602
S6	YuS	玉	玉	unknown	858	1603
S7	ShouS	壽	寿	unknown	858	1604
S8	Yu yiS	魚一	鱼一	unknown	858	1604
S9	Yu erS	魚二	鱼二	unknown	858	1605
S10	YanS	硯	砚	unknown	860	1606
S11	Ta yiS	塔 一	塔一	unknown	861	1607
S12	Ta erS	塔 二	塔二	unknown	862	1608
S13	Ba yiS	巴 一	巴一	unknown	863	1608
S14	Ba erS	巴 二	巴二	unknown	not included in CWJ	1610
S15	Ba sanS	巴 三	巴三	unknown	863	1611
S16	WuS	烏	乌	unknown	not included in CWJ	1612
S17	YeS	葉	叶	unknown	864	1612

19.4 CONCORDANCES AND SIGLA

Concordance Table of the Khitan Inscriptions in Khitan Small Script (2022.09.15)

Remarks: In the last time, different numbers, sigla, and short titles were given to different Khitan texts. To avoid further chaos, the Khitan Research Group of the Chinese People's Republic has standardized the Sigla for each great Inscription (1-44) and each smaller inscription (S1-S17). In the following tables, the standardized Sigla occur in two forms, classical Chinese (**Ch**) and Chinese Simplified (**ChS**). The Sigla are followed, where known, by the date of the inscription, by the short name given by Apatóczky—Kempf (**A—K**, 2017), by Shimunek (**Sh**, 2017), the number given by **Kane** (K, Kane 2009), by **Wu—Janhunen** (WJ, 2010), by **Wu** (Wu, 2012) and by Liu Pujiang and Kangpeng (**LK**, 2014).

No	Sigla	Ch	ChS	Date	Short name A–K	Sigla/ Sh	K	WJ	Wu	LK
1	Xing	興	兴	1055	Xingzong	Hsing	23	1	01	1
2	Ren	仁	仁	1076	Renyi	Jen-i	17	2	02	2
3	Lang	郎	郎	1134	Langjun	Lang	12	3	03	8
4	Dao+gai[66]	道+蓋	道+盖	1101	Daozong	Tao	3	4	04	3
5	Xuan+gai	宣+蓋	宣+盖	1101	Xuanyi	Hsüan	25	5	05	4
6	Ling	令	令	1057	Xiao Lingjong		31	7	06	5
7	Zhong+gai	仲+蓋	仲+盖	1150	Xiao honggong	Chung	31	6	07	9
8	Xu+gai	許+蓋	许+盖	1105	Xuguo	Xsü	24	9	08	6
9	Gu	故	故	1115	Gu Yelü	Ku	7	8	09	7
10	Yu	於	于	1072	Renxian	Jen-hsien	16	10	10	10
11	Hai	海	海	unknown	Hai tangshan	Hai	9	12	11	12
12	Guang	廣	广	1053	Zongjiao	Chiao	32	11	12	11

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[66] *gai* 盖 'canopy'

No	Sigla	Ch	ChS	Date	Short name A–K	Sigla/ Sh	K	WJ	Wu	LK
13	Zhen	鎮	镇	1170	Zhenguo	Chen	1	13	13	13
14	Hong	弘	弘	1100	Honyong	Yung	11	18	15	17
15	Zhuo	涿	涿	1108	Cishi		29	14	14	14
16	Nan	南	南	1092	Dilie	YTi	4	20	18	16
17	Nu	奴	奴	1099	Yelü Nu		15	25	20	24
18	Zhi	智	智	1094	Zhixian		30	24	25	22
19	Yong	永	永	1088	Yogning		26 27	16	19	15
20	Gao	高	高	unknown[67]	Gaoshi	Kao	6	15	20	25
21	Di	迪	迪	1101	Yelü Han	Hti	10	19	21	23
22	Tu	圖	图	1068	Tuguci		22	27	22	27
23	Tai+gai	太+蓋	太+盖	1110	Taishuzu	T'ai	20	21	23	19
24	Song+gai	宋+蓋	宋+盖	1110	Song Wei	Sung	19	22	24	20
25	Qing	清	清	1095	Yongqing		28	30	25	30
26	Han	韓	韩	1078	Temei/ Han-shi		21	32	26	32
27	Chao+gai	抄+蓋	抄+盖	1082	Cite/ Wuluben		2	23	28	21
28	GuD	姑	姑	1102	Diligu	Kuei	8	29	27	29
29	Sa+é[68]	撒+額	撒+额	1100	Shilu		18	26	29	26
30	Wu	兀	兀	1102	Fubushu	YFu	5	27	30	18
31	Liang	梁	梁	1107	Liang guowang		13	28	31	28
32	Xian+gai	顯+蓋	显+盖	1175	Xiao Jushi			31	32	31

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[67] After 1076

[68] é = 額 'front piece'

No	**Sigla**	**Ch**	**ChS**	**Date**	**Short name A–K**	**Sigla/ Sh**	**K**	**WJ**	**Wu**	**LK**
33	DiX	敵	敌	1114	Xiao Dilu	HsTi		33	33	
34	Xiang	詳	详	1091	Xiang Wen	YHsiang		34	34	
35	Hu	胡	胡	1091	Hudujin	HsHu			35	
36	Pu+gai	蒲+蓋	蒲+盖	1105	Pusuli	YP'u			37 PC. PU	
37	Jue	玦	玦	1071	Yelü Jue	YChüeh			36 JU	
38	Hui+gai	回+蓋	回+盖	1080	Xiao Huilian				38 KC, KL	
39	Cha	查	查	1113	Xiao Chala				39	
40	Shi	師	师	1101	Taishi				40	
41	ShiZh	侍	侍	1091	Shizhong				41	
42	Wo	斡	斡	1099	Wotelan					
43	Da	大	大	1101	Gu Taishi					
44	Tian	天	天	1109	Tianni					

19.5 REMARKS ON THE MINOR KHITAN INSCRIPTIONS IN KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT

No	**Sigla**	**Ch**	**ChS**	**Date**	**Short name**	**Remarks**
S1	QingS	慶	庆	unknown		Writings on a Qinling fresco
S2	GuoS	槨	椁	unknown		Writings on a Muguo fresco

S3	YuanS	圓	圆	unknown		Inscription on the back of a round bronze mirror
S4	BaoS	寶	宝	unknown		Inscription on the back of a Baodi Mirror
S5	WanS	完	完	unknown		Inscription on the back of a Wanyantong bronze mirror
S6	YuS	玉	玉	unknown		Inscription on the bottom of a jade cup
S7	ShouS	壽	寿	unknown		Inscription on a Shouchang coin
S8	Yu yiS	魚一	鱼一	unknown	Sh17: Yü$_1$[69]	Inscription on a fish-shaped tally (I)
S9	Yu erS	魚二	鱼二	unknown		Inscription on a Fish-shaped Tally (II)
S10	YanS	硯	砚	unknown		Writings on a tricolored glazed inkstone and a yellow glazed writing-brush washer
S11	Ta yiS	塔 一	塔一	unknown		Writings on the wall of the Wan Bu Hua Yan Jing pagoda I
S12	Ta erS	塔 二	塔二	unknown		Writings on the wall of the Wan Bu Hua Yan Jing pagoda II
S13	Bo yiS	巴 一	巴一	unknown		Writings on the wall of Bar Hada cave I
S14	Bo erS	巴 二	巴二	unknown		Writings on the wall of the Bar Hada cave II
S15	Bo sanS	巴 三	巴三	unknown		Writings on the wall of the Bar Hada cave III
S16	WuS	烏	圆	unknown		Writings on the cliff of Ulaanhada
S17	YeS	葉	叶	unknown		Damaged Epitaph Found in Yemaotai

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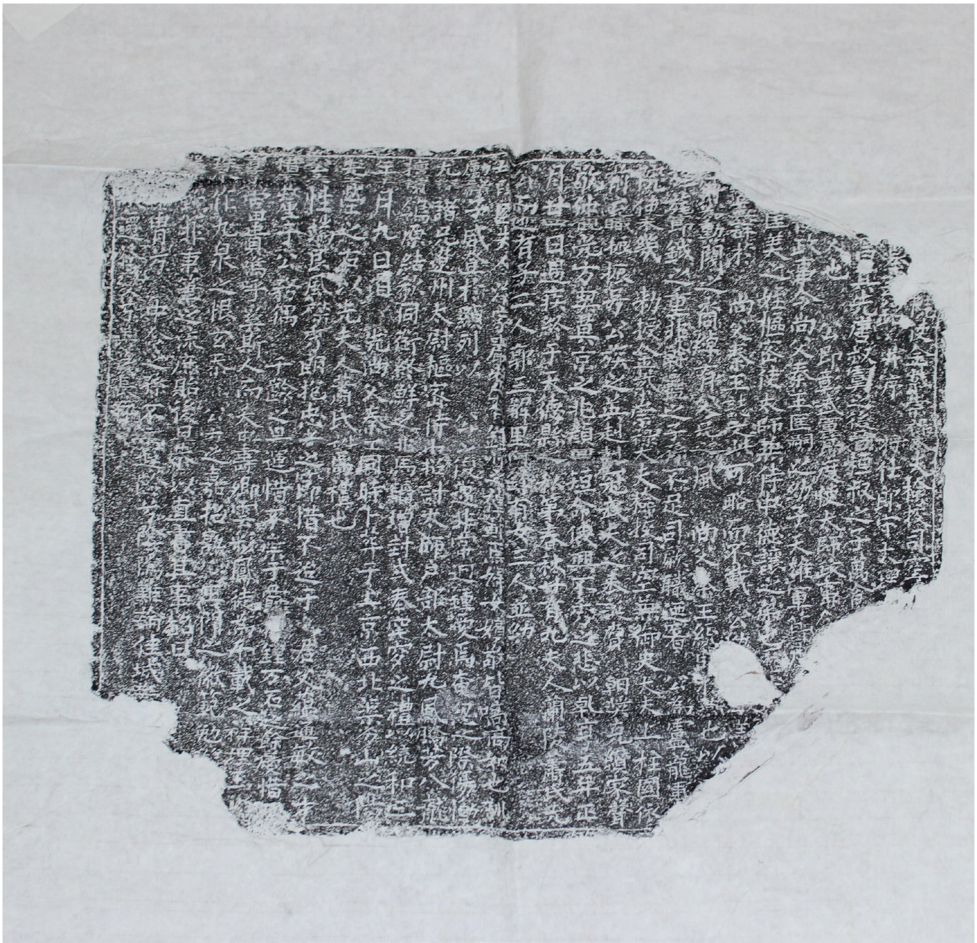
[69] Quoted by Shimunek 2017

PART IV.

THE CHINESE DECHANG INSCRIPTION

by

PENG DARUHAN



THE DECHANG INSCRIPTION

20.1 INTRODUCTION.
TECHNICAL DATA OF THE EPITAPH OF HAN DECHANG

20.1.1 Basic Information

Epitaph of *Han Dechang* was carved in the 5th year of Qianheng (乾亨) Reign of Emperor Jingzong (景宗) of the Liao Dynasty (983 AD). It was unearthed from the cemetery of the Han Zhigu family in Baiyinhanshan(白音罕山), Baarin Left Banner, Chifeng City, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, and is now kept in the Liao Shangjing Museum. The epitaph stone is 54.5 cm in length, 50 cm in width, and 9 cm in thickness, with its four corners damaged. The epitaph has approximately 645 characters, of which about 62 are unrecognizable.

20.1.2 Lineage and Family Background

Han Dechang traced his ancestry to Shuyu of the Tang (a figure in ancient Chinese nobility), with his forebear being Wan, son of Huan Shu of Jin; his family took "Han" as their surname after the State of Han (their fiefdom) and later became residents of Changli.

His immediate family was prominent:

Grandfather: Han Zhigu (Military Commissioner of Zhangwujun Army, Grand Preceptor, Director of Governmental Affairs).

Father: Han Kuangsi (Military Commissioner of Jinchangjun Army, Director of Governmental Affairs, Shangfu, Prince of Qin).

Uncle: Han Kuangmei (Military Commissioner of Tianxiongjun Army, Grand Preceptor, Director of Governmental Affairs, Prince of Ye).

Elder brothers: Including Han Derang (Palace Secretary, Grand Preceptor), Han Deyuan (Defender-in-Chief of Liao Zhou), Han Dewei (Bandit-Suppression Grand Preceptor), and Han Dechong (Defender-in-Chief of the Ministry of Revenue) — all held high official positions and had great reputations.

Family: His wife, from the Xiao clan of Lanling, predeceased him; they had two sons (Guo San, Xieli Abo) and three young daughters. His mother, Madam of the State of Chen, managed the household strictly and harmoniously, and guided the children well.

20.1.3 Life and Official Experience

Though born into a family of meritorious officials and inheriting the spirit of his father and brothers, Han Dechang's early life details are incomplete due to damaged text.

He once followed his father Han Kuangsi (Prince of Qin, commander of Yan) and was later officially appointed Grand Master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon, Inspecting Minister of Works, Grand Master of Censors, and Upper Pillar of State (in line with his family's official heritage). He was regarded as a prominent figure in his family and a model warrior for his imposing presence and strength.

Before he could be promoted (a plan initiated during Jingzhong's period), he died young.

20.1.4 Death and Funeral

Han Dechang passed away from illness on the 24th day of the first month in the 5th year of Qianheng, at the age of 29, in his private residence in Tiande County.

On the 9th day of the 10th month in the 3rd year of Tonghe, he was buried (following divination and proper funeral rites) at the south side of Qulie Mountain (northwest of Supreme Capital), beside his ancestor's tomb and adjacent to his father Han Kuangsi's burial place. He was buried with his late wife, the Xiao clan, in accordance with etiquette.

20.1.5 Character and Regrets

Han Dechang was inherently upright, kind, and broad-minded, with virtues of loyalty to the state, filial piety to parents, and brotherly love. He was sensible and intelligent, and had access to rare opportunities (a "once-in-a-lifetime era") and abundant wealth.

Regrets abounded: He died too young to surpass his father in achievements, apply his talents to state governance, or enjoy his wealth and status. The writer lamented that his death wasted his talent and auspicious omens (e.g., colorful clouds, phoenixes) associated with him, leaving eternal sorrow.

20.1.6 Epitaph Author's Note

The author, Li Xuan, stated he was invited by Han Dechang's family (and felt unworthy of their praise). Though he considered himself unqualified to write historical accounts, he strived to document Han Dechang's life for future generations. The final inscription emphasizes Han Dechang's noble lineage (grandson of Han Zhigu), his short life, and the permanence of his achievements despite his early death.

20.1.7 Earlier Works on the Epitaph of *Han Dechang*

20.1.7.1 BOOKS, COLLECTIVE VOLUMES

(1) Jiang Jinling 蔣金玲2009. *Liaodai Han Zhigu Jiazu Shixi Zhengbu* 遼代韓知古家族世系證補[Supplementary Evidence for the Genealogy of the Han Zhigu Family in the Liao Dynasty], In *Liaojin Qidan shixue hui bian, Liaojin shi lunji* 遼金契丹史學會編.遼金史論集[Liao-Jin-Qidan History Association (Ed.). Collected Essays on Liao and Jin History], Volume 11. Hohhot: *Neimenggu Daxue chubanshe* 內蒙古大學出版社.

(2) Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥, Tang Cailan 唐彩蘭 and Qinggele 青格勒 (Eds.) 2009. *Liao Shangjing diqu chutu de Liaodai beike huibian* 遼上京地區出土的遼代碑刻彙編[Compilation of Liao Dynasty Stone Inscriptions Unearthed in the Liao Shangjing Area]. Beijing: *Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe* 社會科學文獻出版社.

(3) Xiang Nan 向南, Zhang Guoqing 張國慶 and Li Yufeng 李宇峰(Eds.) 2010. *Liaodai shike wen Xubian* 遼代石刻文續編[Continuation of Liao Dynasty Stone Inscriptions]. Shenyang: Liaoning *Renmin chubanshe* 遼寧人民出版社.

20.1.7.2 PAPERS

(1) Fu Lu 付璐 2011. *Liaodai "Hanren" Qidanhua yanjiu--yi Han Zhigu jiazu weili* 遼代"漢人"契丹化研究——以韓知古家族為例[A Study on the Khitanization of Han People in the Liao Dynasty: Taking the Han Zhigu Family as an Example], Master's Thesis of Zhongnan Minzu Daxue 中南大學.

(2) Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 and Jin Yongtian 金永田2000. *Liao Dai Han Kuangsi yu qi Jiaren san Muzhiming Kaoshi* 遼代韓匡嗣與其家人三墓誌銘考釋[Textual Research on Three Epitaphs of Han Kuangsi and His Family Members in the Liao Dynasty], Volume 9, *Zhongguo Wenhua Yanjiu suo Xuebao* 中國文化研究學報 of The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

(3) Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 and Qinggele 青格勒 2005. *Liaodai <Han Dechang muzhi> he <Yelü (Han) Gaoshi muzhiming> Kaoshi* 遼代<韓德昌墓誌銘>和<耶律（韓）高十墓誌銘>考釋 [Textual Research on the *Epitaph of Han Dechang* and *Epitaph of Yelü (Han) Gaoshi* in the Liao Dynasty]. Vol. 15, *Guoxue Yanjiu* 國學研究, Beijing Daxue Chubanshe 北京大學出版社.

(4) Ulhicun 烏拉熙春2005. *Han Zhigu Jiazu Shixi kao* 韓知古家族世系考[A Study on the Genealogy of the Han Zhigu Family. No. 591, *Ritsumeikan Bungaku* 立命館文學.

(5) Wang Yuting 王玉亭2008. *Cong Liaodai Han Zhigu Jiazu Muzhi Kan Han shi Jiazu QidanhuaWenti* 從遼代韓知古家族墓誌看韓氏家族契丹化的問題 [On the Khitanization of the Han Family Based on the Epitaphs of the Han Zhigu Family in the Liao Dynasty]. No.1, *Beifang Wenwu* 北方文物.

(6) Wang Yuting 王玉亭2009. *Liaodai Han Dechang jiqi Zisi Zhiguan Shulüe--jianlun Yutian Han Diwudai Quanshi Wenti* 遼代韓德昌及其子嗣職官述略——兼論玉田韓第五代權勢問題 [A Brief Account of the Official Positions of Han Dechang and His Descendants in the Liao Dynasty: Also on the Power of the 5th Generation of the Yutian Han Family]. No.3, *Beifang Wenwu* 北方文物.

(7) Zhao Hao 趙浩2011. *Shilun Liaodai Yutian Hanshi Jiazu* 試論遼代玉田韓氏家族 [A Tentative Study on the Yutian Han Family in the Liao Dynasty]. Master's Thesis of Liaoning Shifan Daxue 遼寧師範大學

(8) Yu Chao 于超2014. *Liaodai Yutian Hanshi Jiazu Yanjiu* 遼代玉田韓氏家族研究[A Study on the Yutian Han Family in the Liao Dynasty]. Master's Thesis of Changchun Shifan Daxue 長春師範大學.

20.2 TEXT

20.2 THE EPITAPH OF HAN DE-CHANG《韩德昌墓志铭》 TEXT, TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

/1/盧龍軍節院使、 金紫崇祿大夫、 檢校司空、 兼御史大夫、 上柱國韓 **/2/** 公墓志铭并序

Lulongjun Jieyuanshi, Jinzi Chonglu Dafu, Jianjiao Sikong, jian Yushi Dafu, Shangzhuguo Han /2/ Gong Muzhiming bing Xu

Epitaph and Preface of Duke Han, Military Commissioner of the Lulongjun Army, Grand Master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon, Inspecting Minister of Works, Grand Master of Censors, and Upper Pillar of State

/2cont/ 将仕郎、 守大理寺少卿　　賜金魚袋李玄撰

Jiangshilang, Shou Dalisi Shaoqing ci Jinyudai Lixuan Zhuan
Composed by Li Xuan, Court Gentleman for Ceremonial Service, Vice Minister of the Dalisi, and Recipient of the Golden Fish Bag

/3/ 公諱德昌。其先唐叔虞之後，晉桓叔之子萬，食采於韩，因以命氏，**/4/** 今昌黎人也。
/3/ Gong Hui Dechang. Qi Xian Tang Shuyu zhi hou, Jin Huanshu zhi zi Wan, Shicai yu Han, Yin yi Mingshi, /4/ Jin Changli ren ye.
The Duke’s personal name was Dechang. His ancestry traces back to Shuyu of the Tang, with Wan, the son of Huan Shu of Jin, as a forebear. Their fief was the State of Han, from which they took their family name. In later generations, they became people of Changli.

/**4cont**/ 公即彰武軍節度使、太師、政事令知古之孫。晉昌軍 **/5/** 節度使、政事令、尚父、秦王匡嗣之幼子。
/4/ Gong ji Zhangwujun Jiedushi, Taishi, Zhengshiling Zhigu zhi sun. Jinchangjun/5/ Jiedushi, Zhengshiling, Shangfu, Qinwang Kuangsi zhi Youzi.
He was the grandson of Zhigu, Military Commissioner of the Zhangwujun Army, Grand Preceptor, and Director of Governmental Affairs; and the youngest son of Kuangsi, Military Commissioner of the Jinchangjun Army, Director of Governmental Affairs, Attendant at the Shangfu, and Prince of Qin.

/5cont/ 天雄軍節度使、太师、政事令、 **/6/** 鄴王匡美之姪。
Tianxiongjun Jiedushi, Taishi, Zhengshiling, /6/ Yewang Kuang mei zhi Zhi.
He was the nephew of Kuang Mei, Military Commissioner of the Tianxiongjun Army, Grand Preceptor, Director of Governmental Affairs, and Prince of Ye.

/**6cont**/ 樞密使、太師兼侍中德讓之弟也。历□□国勳世 **/7/** 盡詳拎尚父、秦王誌文，此可略而不載。
Shumishi, Taishi, jian Shizhong Derang zhi di ye. Li □□ Guo Xunshi /7/ Jinxiang yu Shangfu, Qinwang Zhiwen, ci ke lue er buzai.
He was the younger brother of De Rang, who served as Palace Secretary, Grand Preceptor, and Attendant. The Han family has rendered great service to the state; full details are recorded in the epitaph of Shangfu, Prince of Qin, and need not be repeated here.

/7cont/ 公幼□□敏，（下殘）…… **8** □爵為勳閥之裔，綽有父兄之風。
Gong you □□ min, (xia can) /8/ □Jue wei Xunfa zhi yi, chuo you fuxiong zhi feng.
When the Duke was young (the following details are lost due to damage)… He was a descendant of meritorious heroes and inherited the noble spirit of his father and brothers.

/8cont/ 尚父、秦王統帥於燕也，以□□ **/9/** 旌旄節鉞之重，
Shangfu, Qinwang Tongshuai yu Yan ye, yi□□ /9/ Jingmao Jieyue zhi Zhong,
Shangfu, Prince of Qin, served as the commander of Yan. Because of the weighty responsibility symbolized by the flag, tally, and axe,

/9cont/ 非干盅之子孫不足司厥職，迺署公為盧龍軍節 **/10/** 院使。
fei Ganzhong zhi Zisun buzu si jue zhi, qiu shu Gong wei Lulongjun Jie /10/ Yuanshi.
He was not a descendant of Father Gan and thus was not eligible to assume that position. Therefore, he was appointed as the Military Commissioner of the Lulongjun Army.

/10cont/ 未幾 勑授金紫崇禄大夫、檢校司空兼御史大夫、上柱國,
Weiji chishou Jinzi Chonglu Dafu, Jianjiao Sikong jian Yushi Dafu, Shangzhuguo,
Soon after, he was granted the titles of Grand Master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon, Inspecting Minister of Works, Grand Master of Censors, and Upper Pillar of State by imperial decree

依**/11/** 前充職。振振号公族之英；赳赳冠武夫之表。誕膺朝獎，克纘家聲。
yi /11/ qian Chongzhi. Zhenzhen hao Gongzu zhi ying, Jiujiu Guan Wufu zhi biao. Danying Chaojiang, kezuan jiasheng.
In accordance with his previous appointments, he rose to prominence within his family, distinguished by his imposing presence. Mighty and strong, he stood as a model among warriors. Honored by the imperial court, he was deemed worthy to inherit the prestige of his lineage.

/12/ 敬仲觀光，方契莫京之兆；顏回短命，俄興不秀之悲。
/12/ Jingzhong guanguang, fang qi mo Jing zhi zhao, Yanhui duanming, e xing bu qiu zhi bei.
During Jingzhong's reign—when the State of Chen experienced notable development—he began making plans to elevate Han Dechang to a higher position. Sadly, Yanhui passed away at a young age, and with his untimely death came the sorrow of a life that had not yet fully blossomed

/12cont/ 以乹（乾）亨五年正**/13/** 月廿四日遇疾終于天德縣之私第，春秋廿有九。
Yi Qianheng Wu nian zheng /13/ Yue nian si ri yu ji zhongyu Tiande xian zhi sidi, Chunqiu nian you jiu.
He passed away due to illness on the 24th day of the first month in the fifth year of the Qianheng era, at his private residence in Tiande County, at the age of twenty-nine

/13cont/ 夫人蘭陵蕭氏，**/14/** 先公而逝。有子二人：郭三；解里阿鉢。有女三人，並幼。
Furen Lanling Xiaoshi, /14/ xian Gong er shi. You zi er ren: Guo San, Xieli Abo. You nü san ren, bing you.
His wife was from the Xiao clan of Lanling County and predeceased the Duke. They had two sons, Guo San and Xieli Abo, as well as three daughters, all of whom were still young at the time of his passing

/15/ 母陳國夫人，治家嚴整，有鍾郝之禮範焉。婦女嬪敬，皆嗃嗃如也。
/15/ Mu Chenguo Furen, zhi jia yan zheng, you Zhonghao zhi Lifan yan. Funü bin jing, jie hehe ru ye.
His mother was the Milady of the State of Chen, known for her strict and orderly management of the household. She maintained harmonious and cordial relations with her sisters-in-law. The women of the family treated one another with mutual respect and carried themselves with dignity and grace.

訓**/16/** 勵諸子，咸登扵顯列。以公之俊邁非常，迴鍾愛焉。
Xun /16/ Li zhuzi, xian dengyu xianlie. Yi Gong zhi jun mai fei chang, dong Zhong ai yan.
He guided and encouraged his children, all of whom have risen to positions of distinction. The Duke was a man of exceptional talent, far from ordinary, and he was deeply admired by many.

/16cont/ 奄忽之際，傷懷/**17**/尤深。諸兄遼州太尉、樞密侍中、招討太師、户部太尉，九鳳騰芳；
Yan hu zhi ji, shang huai /17/ you shen. Zhuxiong Liaozhou Taiwei, Shumi shizhong, Zhaotao Taishi, Hubu Taiwei, jiu feng teng fang;
His sudden passing brought profound sorrow to all. His elder brothers—[Han De-yuan], Defender-in-chief of Liao Zhou; [Han De-rang], Military Affairs Commissioner and Palace Superintendent; [Han De-wei], Grand Preceptor for Bandit Suppression; and [Han De-chong], Defender-in-chief of the Ministry of Revenue—were all distinguished figures, likened to the mythical nine-headed divine birds, their reputations more enduring and fragrant than flowers and herbs

/17cont/ 八龍 **/18/** 擅價。鴒原結欷，同銜終鮮之悲。馬鬣增封，式奉窀穸之禮。
ba long /18/ Shan jia. Ling yuan jie xi, tong xian Zhong xian zhi bei. Ma lie zengfeng, shi feng zhunxi zhi li.
They were like the eight dragon horses of legend—noble, swift, and rare. At a time when brotherhood and camaraderie flourished, the untimely death of Han De-chang brought deep sorrow to them all. United in grief, they bore the cruel tragedy of their

brother’s premature passing. The tomb was sealed in the shape of a horse’s mane, and the Duke was laid to rest with full honors, in accordance with the prescribed rites and traditional funeral customs.

/**18cont**/ 以统和三**/19/** 年十月九日，洎先尚父秦王同时卜葬于上京西北渠劣山之陽，**/20/** 先王塋之右。
Yi Tonghe San /19/ Nian shi yue shijiu ri, ji xian shangfu Qinwang tongshi bu zangyu Shangjing xibei Qulie shan zhi yang,/20/ Xianwang ying zhi you.
On the ninth day of the tenth month in the third year of the Tonghe era, he was escorted to the burial site of his father, [Han Kuang-si]—Shangfu, Prince of Qin. Following divination, he was interred on the southern slope of Qulie Mountain, located northwest of the Supreme Capital, to the right of his ancestor’s tomb.

/**20cont**/ 以先夫人蕭氏祔焉，禮也。
Yi xian furen Xiaoshi fu yan, li ye.
He was laid to rest beside his wife, of the Xiao clan, who had passed away before him, and all funeral arrangements were conducted in accordance with proper rites and etiquette.

/21/ 公志性端良，風襟秀朗。抱忠孝之節，惜不迨于君父，蘊通敏之才，
/22/ 惜不釐于公務。
/21/Gong zhixing duanliang, fengjin xiulang. Bao Zhongxiao zhi jie, xi budai yu Junfu, yun tongmin zhi cai, /22/xi buli yu gongwu.
The Duke was upright and kind-hearted by nature, possessing noble integrity and a generous spirit. He exemplified loyalty to the state, filial piety toward his parents, and deep affection for his brothers. Regrettably, he did not live to surpass his father in merit. Though he was wise and perceptive, fate did not grant him the opportunity to administer the affairs of the realm.

/**22cont**/ 偶　　千齡之景運，惜不崇于爵□，鍾万石之餘慶，**/23/** 惜不享于富貴。呜呼！
Ou　qianling zhi jingyun, xi buchong yu jue □, Zhong wan shi zhi yu qing,/23/ Xi buxiang yu fugui. Wuhu!
He chanced upon a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, yet he did not strive for merit or seek imperial favor. Though he amassed considerable family wealth, he was unable to enjoy the prosperity and honor it brought. Alas!

/**23con**t/ 奚斯人而夭斯壽。卿雲彩鳳，徒爲千載之祥，埋玉□ **/24/** 珠，永作九泉之恨。
Xi siren er yao si shou. Qing yuncai feng, tuwei qianzai zhixiang, maiyu □ /24/ zhu, yong zuo jiuquan zhi hen.

What force has curtailed the life of this fine young man so prematurely? Though colorful clouds and radiant phoenixes graced the heavens—auspicious omens of great fortune—they appeared in vain, as even a thousand years of blessings could not alter his fate. Talented men lie buried beneath the earth, rare pearls returned to the depths—forever lost to the realm of the Nine Springs (the underworld of Chinese mythology).

/**24cont**/ 玄忝公府之嘉招，熟□王门之徽範。勉強□□□
Xuan tian Gong fu zhi jiazhao, shu □ wang men zhi huifan. Mianqiang □□□
Li Xuan, humbled by the praise and summons extended by the Duke’s esteemed household. Fully aware of the standards and decorum upheld by the family of a vassal king, I recognize my own shortcomings, yet I strive to fulfill my duties to the best of my ability.

/25/ □□□非秉筆之流，庶贻后昆。恭以直書其事。铭曰：
/25/ □□□ fei bingbi zhi liu, shu yi hou kun. Gong yi zhi shu qishi. Ming yue:
I am deeply ashamed, for I am not one suited to the task of composing historical records. Yet I hope that future generations, with reverence and care, will duly record the deeds and virtues of Han Dechang. Thus, the inscription reads,

/26/ □□□胄兮，中令之孫。不享遐齡兮，陰骘難論。佳城欝欝兮，□□□□
/26/ □□□zhou xi, Zhongling zhi sun. bu xiang xia ling xi, yin zhi nan lun. Jiacheng yuyu xi, □□□□
The Duke hailed from a distinguished lineage of high officials, being the grandson of the esteemed Secretariat Director, [Han Zhigu]. Though his years were few and his life cut short, his quiet virtues and hidden good deeds remain difficult to fully recount.

/27/ 陵遷谷變兮，英茂長存。
/27/ Ling qian gu bian xi, ying mao chang cun.
Even if the mountain mausoleum should one day be relocated, the Duke’s merits and accomplishments shall endure through the ages, never to be forgotten.

20.3 INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE CHINESE EPITAPH OF *HAN DE-CHANG*

20.3 INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

Line 1

[1] Lulongjun Army 盧龍軍 [*Lu long jun* Army]: A military governorship title. Emperor Xuanzong of Tang Dynasty made Pingzhou the Lu long Military Commandery, and during Emperor Suzong's reign, it was moved to Qingzhou. In the first year of Huitong of Liao Taizong's reign (938), Liao Taizong raised the prefecture of *You zhou* 幽州 to the rank of *Nanjing You du fu* 幽都府 and in the first year of Kaiyuan of Emperor Shengzong's reign (1012), Emperor Shengzong abolished the military title of Lu Long Military Commandery and renamed it *Xi jin fu* 析津府, with the title of Regent (*Liu shou*).

[2] The Military Commissioner 節院使 [*Jie yuan shi*]: 節院使 [*Jie yuan shi*] is a subordinate official under 節度使 [*Jie du shi*]. The Liao 節院使 [*Jie yuan shi*] followed the Tang dynasty system and had the same functions as the Tang dynasty's 節院使 [*Jie yuan shi*]. It was part of the southern official system in the dual-track political system of the Liao Dynasty and was widely and long-term established during the Liao Dynasty.

[3] Grand Master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon 金紫崇祿大夫 [*Jinzi Chong lu Da fu*]: is a civil service prestige title, the 2nd rank. The character 光 was changed into 崇 to avoid the name of Tai zong De guang 德光 [*De guang*] of Liao.

[4] Grand Master of the Palace 檢校司空 [*Jian jiao si kong*]: It is a title of an office of Liao , a prestige title which was granted to the nobles and ministers.

[5] Inspecting Minister of Works and Grand Master of Censors 御史大夫 [*Yu shi Da fu*]: It is a title of an office of Liao. The head of the censorate of the southern official system of Liao which was mostly held by Khitans. It was first set up in the first year of Hui tong of Emperor Tai zong (938). Yelü Xie li, a native of the clan of Tulübu, was the first to hold this post.

[6] Upper Pillar of State 上柱國 [*Shang zhu guo*]: It is the official title of Liao Dynasty. Set up by the State of Chu during the Warring States period, originally as an official for the defense of the state capital, and later as the highest military official, also known as Pillar of State 柱國 [*Zhu guo*]. There are 12 levels in total, and Upper Pillar of State 上柱國 [*Shang zhu guo*] is the highest one.

Line 2

[7] The Court Gentleman for Ceremonial Service 將仕郎 [*Jiang shi lang*]: It is a civil service prestige title established by the Sui Dynasty. During the Tang and

Song dynasties, it was classified as rank 9b, and the Liao Dynasty adopted a similar system.

[8] The Vice Minister of Dalisi 守大理寺少卿 [*Shou Dalisi Shaoqing*]: 守 [*Shou*] sometimes prefixed to a title when the appointee's rank was lower than was appropriate for the post, or when there was already a nominal appointee for the post. It is the southern official system of Liao, which was established in the 12th year of Tonghe of Emperor Shengzong (994).

[9] Granted Golden Fish Bag 賜金魚袋 [*Ci Jinyudai*]: The official wear of Liao dynasty imitated the Tang Dynasty's. In the Tang Dynasty, officials of the third rank wore purple robes, and those of the fifth rank wore scarlet robes. If the official rank is not high enough, he will be dressed in crimson with fish bag decorated with silver, which is called a "silver fish bag". If he is dressed in purple, his fish bag will be decorated with gold, which is called a "purple gold fish bag".

[10] *Li Xuan* 李玄 [Li Xuan]: There is no any record about Li Xuan in *The History of Liao*.

Line 3

[11] Name 諱 [hui]: The name was regarded as taboo, of a deceased emperor or head of a family.

[12] De-chang 德昌 [*De-chang*]: There is the record in the Chinese *Epitaph of Han Kuangsi*: He had nine sons. The second was Dechang, who served as the Military Commissioner of the Lulongjun Army and died one year after Han Kuangsi. (《韓匡嗣墓誌》：有子九人，……次曰德昌，任盧龍軍節院使，後公一年而終。) There is the record in the Chinese *Epitaph of Yelü Suizhong*: The name of his late father was Dechang, with the courtesy name Ke Rou. He was the Military Commissioner of the Lulong Army and Inspecting Grand Guardian. (《耶律遂忠墓誌》: 烈考諱德昌，字克柔，盧龍軍節度使，檢校太保。)

[13] *Shuyu* of the Tang (Dynasty) 唐叔虞 [*Tang Shuyu*]: Also known as "Shu Yu" 叔虞 [*Shuyu*] and "Tai Shu" 太叔[*Taishu*], surnamed Ji 姬 [ji], given name Yu 虞[*yu*], courtesy name Ziyu 子于[*ziyu*]. The title was granted in the Tang dynasty, so it was called Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞 in history. Tang Shuyu was the son of Ji Fa 姬發, King Wu of Zhou and the younger brother of Ji Song 姬誦, King Cheng of Zhou.

[14] Huan Shu of Jin 晉桓叔[*Jin Huan shu*]: Huan Shu is Marquis Zhao of Jin's uncle named Chengshi. Marquis Zhao of Jin granted Quwo (a place name) to his uncle Chengshi, also known as Uncle Huan of Jin (*Huan Shu of Jin*). In 739 BC, a Jin official named Panfu 潘父 murdered Marquis Zhao of Jin and welcomed Huan Shu of Jin to ascended the throne of Jin.

[15] The State of Han is their fiefdom 食采於韓 [*Shi cai yu Han*]: Their family enjoy the land tax of the State of Han.

Line 4

[16] *Changli* 昌黎: an ancient place name, governed the current Changli in Hebei. It was first established in the Han Dynasty, re-established in the first year of Tianbao in the Tang Dynasty (742 AD), and Yingzhou 营州 was set up here in the Liao Dynasty.

[17] *Zhigu* 知古: That is Han Zhigu, who was a minister of Liao, a native of Yutian 玉田 of Jizhou 薊州. He was captured by the Khitan when he was six years old, and was a servant of the Empress of Taizu of Liao. At the time of Emperor Taizu, he was ordered to complete the repair of Liucheng 柳城 (present-day Chaoyang, Liaoning) and resettled the captured Yan 燕 people, so he resided in Liucheng 柳城. At the beginning of the Year of Shen Ce 神冊 (916-922), he was remotely granted to be the Military Commissioner of the Zhang chengjun Army, and to be in charge of the affairs of the Han Commission (*Han er si* 漢兒司), as well as the ceremonies of all the states. He was one of the Meritorious Ministers of Taizu, and appointed Left Vice director (*Zuo pu ye* 左僕射) and Secretariat Director. His descendants held many high-ranking positions in the Liao Dynasty, making them one of the most powerful Han official families. Referring to their origin, they were called Yutian Han clan (*Yu tian Han shi* 玉田韓氏).

[18] Military Commissioner of Jinchangjun Army: There is no record about Jinchangjun Army in *The History of Liao·Geographica*. It is the title which was remotely granted.

Line 5

[19] *Shang fu*: It is a name of the Guard Officer, nominal title, conferring honors and ranks on meritorious officials, or an alternative name for the Grand Preceptor.

[20] *Kuangsi* 匡嗣: Minister of Liao from 917 to 982 AD, belonging to the Hans' of Yutian, entered into the service of Liao in his father Zhigu's period, and was born in Liu cheng 柳城 (present-day Chaoyang, Liaoning). He was firstly on duty at Chang ning gong Palace of Empress Ying tian. In Tai zong's period, he was appointed as left courageous general of guard and General of Temple of Taizu. In the period of Jingzong, he was appointed as Military Commissioner of Shi ping jun Army, Lord Specially Advanced Defender in chief and conferred the title of Dynasty-founding Duke of Changli commandery, the office left on guard of Upper capital, Governor of Lin Huang, jointly Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat-Chancellery, and conferred Prince Yan. At the end of Year Baoning (969-978), he took the position of Regent, acting Palace Secretary of South Capital. In the first year of Qian Heng (979), he was remotely granted the title of Military Commissioner of Jin Chang Jun Army, and demoted to the title of Prince of Qin. In the third year (of Qian Heng), he was reappointed to the Bandit-suppression Commissioner of Southwest. He was given the posthumous honor of Director of the Imperial Secretariat at his death. He had nine sons, and De Chang was his ninth son.

Line 6

[21] *Han Kuang Mei:* He was the Minister of Liao, and the native of Yutian Han Clan. The second son of Zhigu. He took the position of the Army Commander of Yan Jun Army and conferred the title of Duke of Wei (魏國公). He served as the Military Commissioner of Tianxiong Jun Army and Supervisory Commissioner within the domain and so on. He was conferred the title of Area Commander Unequalled in Honor (*Kai fu yi tong san si* 開府儀同三司). He was given the title of the Grand Preceptor and the Government affairs order, and Executive Governor of Wei Zhou Prefecture (northeast of present-day Da Ming, Hebei Province), Supreme Pillar of State. He was bestowed the title of Meritorious Official of 協謀 Assisting Counsel, Upholding Rectitude, Defending the Throne and Loyal Bravery, and conferred the Prince of Ye (鄴王).

[22] Military Affairs Commissioner (*Shu mi shi* 樞密使): It is one of the names of the officials of the Liao Dynasty. The northern and southern Bureau of Military Affairs (*Nan bei shu mi yuan* 北南樞密院) each have their own Military Affairs Commissioners which are the highest officials of two Bureaus of Military Affairs.

[23] Palace Attendant (*Shi zhong* 侍中): It is one of the names of the officials of the Liao Dynasty.

[24] *Han De Rang* 韩德讓 (941-1011): A high-ranking official of Liao Dynasty. He was from the Han Clan who served in the Jingzong(景宗) and Shengzong(聖宗) periods of Liao Dynasty. He served as Court Service Official on the East (*Dong tou cheng gong feng guan* 東頭承供奉官), Interpreter clerk of Bureau of Military Affairs(樞密院通事), Censor of the Imperial Upper Capital (*Shang jing Huang cheng shi* 上京皇城使) successively, and conferred remotely as the Military Commissioner of Zhang de jun Army (*Zhang de jun jie du shi* 彰德軍節度使), the Regent of Upper Capital (*Shang jing liu shou* 上京留守), Provisional Administrator of the Capital Affairs (*Quan zhi jing shi* 權知京事), the Regent of Southern Capital (*Nan jing liu shou* 南京留守), the Military Commissioner of Xing jun Army of Liao (*Liao xing jun jie du shi* 遼興軍節度使), Military Affairs Commissioner of Southern Bureau (*Nan yuan shi mi shi* 南院樞密使), Administrator-general of the Guard of the Lodging (*Zong su wei shi* 總宿衛事), and he was promoted to the Area Commander Unequalled in Honor (*Kai fu yi tong san si* 開府儀同三司) and the Government affairs order (政事令), and acting Minister of Works (*Shou si kong* 守司空) or Minister of Education (*Si tu* 司徒)・He was appointed to Senior Administrative official in the Northern Establishment (北府宰相), still leading the Military Affairs Commissioner, Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History (監修國史). He was bestowed Meritorious Minister of Xing hua (興化功臣), and promoted to acting Grand Guardian (太保) and the Government affairs order (政事令) and Administrative Clerk of Military Affairs Commissioner of Northern Bureau (知北院樞密使事), Military Affairs Commissioner of Northern Bureau (北院樞密使), and appointed as the Grand Councilor (大丞相) etc. . After his death, he was hon-

ored with the title of the Imperial Secretariat order (尚書令), and with the posthumous title of Wen zhong (文忠). During the years of Tong He, he was granted the royal surname of Yelü. He was removed from the imperial household register and attached to the Horizontal Tent (橫帳)，granting a residence and a burial place. He was also granted name Long yun (隆運). He was successively appointed Duke of Chu (楚國公), Prince of State Chu (楚國王), Prince of Chu (楚王) , Prince of Qi (齊王), Prince of Jin (晉王) and Prince of State Jin (晉國王). It was permitted to build the Palace of Prince Wen Zhong imitating the examples of other palaces. He was loyal and kind-hearted, with wisdom and strategy, and well-versed in the principles of governance. During the reign of Emperor Jingzong, he guarded the Southern Capital, and when the Song soldiers attacked Yan (燕, the Southern Capital) and besieged the city, he was able to reassure the people and defend the city. He has great merit in breaking the enemies at the Battle of Gao liang he River (高粱河之戰). When Emperor Shengzong ascended the throne, he was entrusted with a posthumous edict by Emperor Jingzong. Along with the empress and Xie Zhen, he participated in decision-making on state affairs. He loyally assisted the young ruler, capable of stabilizing the situation domestically by recommending virtuous talents, implementing benevolent policies, uniting ministers, and quelling rebellions by princes. Abroad, he led troops to resist enemies, assessed the situation strategically, and adapted policies of war and peace to changing circumstances.

Line 7

[25] *Shangfu*, Prince of Qin (尚父, 秦王): It refers to Han Kuang si.

Line 8

[26] *Yan* 燕: Southern Capital of Liao, which is present-day Bei jing.

Line 9

[27] *Mao* 旄: A flag with a yak's tail at the end of the pole, decorated with colored feathers, which is a general term for flags. Here it is translated as flag.

[28] *Jie yue* 節鉞: It literally means tally and axe, which is a symbol of imperial power.

[29] not the descendant of Father Gan (*fei gan gu zhi zi sun* 非幹蠱之子孫): Gan gu 幹蠱 is an abbreviation of Gan fu zhi gu 幹父之蠱, which originally means a son's ability to carry on his father's career and correct his father's mistakes in ancient Chinese. The idiom of Gan fu zhi gu 幹父之蠱 is from *The Zhouyi· Gu*《周易·蠱》. "(He was) not the descendant of Father Gan" means he was not able to carry on his father's career.

Line 11

[30] *jiu jiu guan wu fu zhi biao* 赳赳冠武夫之表: *jiu jiu wu fu* 赳赳武夫 is an allusion from *Ode to the Rabbit Nets* from *The Book of Songs · Odes of Zhou South*: These brave and strong warriors serve as the protectors and defenders of the dukes and marquises. (《詩經·周南·兔置》：赳赳武夫，公侯干城。) *jiu jiu* 赳赳 means "valiant", *guan* 冠 means the best, in the first place, *wu fu* 武夫 refers to the warriors, and *biao* 表 means exemplary, role, model.

[31] *dan ying chao jiang* 誕膺朝獎: This means Gloriously receive the imperial award. *dan ying* 誕膺 means "gloriously receive" which is from *The Book of History · The Completion of Martiality*, it is stated: "Our late father, King Wen of Zhou, successfully accomplished his great deeds, gloriously received the mandate of Heaven, and thus pacified the regions of the Central Plains. (《尚書·武成》: "我文考文王，克成厥勳，誕膺天命，以撫方夏。")

[32] *ke zuan jia sheng* 克纘家聲: *ke* 克 means "be able to". *zuan* 纘 means "to inherit", which is from *The Doctrine of the Mean* from *The Book of Rites*, it is written: "King Wu continued the undertakings of King Tai, King Ji, and King Wen. With one military expedition, he gained sovereignty over the world." (《禮記：中庸》:"武王纘大王，王季，文王之緒，壹戎衣而有天下。") *jia sheng* 家聲 means "the family's prestige, reputation".

Line 12

[33] *Jing zhong guan guang* 敬仲觀光: Jing Zhong 敬仲 is Tian Wan 田完, whose real name is Chen Wan 陳完. He was a Prince of the State of Chen during the Spring and Autumn Period, and his posthumous title was Jing Zhong (敬仲). In *Biography of Tian Jingzhong Wan* in records of *The Grand Historian*: Chen Wan was the son of Chen Ligong, whose personal name was Ta. When Chen Wan was born, a Grand Historian of the Zhou Dynasty passed through the State of Chen. Chen Ligong asked him to divine for Chen Wan. The divination resulted in the hexagram changing from "Guan 觀" to "Pi 否". The divination statement read: "This means observing the glory of the state and being beneficial to become a guest of the king. Will this indicate that he will replace the ruling family of Chen and possess the state? Or will it happen not in Chen but in a foreign state? It will not be fulfilled in his own lifetime but in that of his descendants. If it is in a foreign state, it must be a state of the Jiang surname. The Jiang surname descends from the Four Mountains. Nothing can be great in two aspects simultaneously. When Chen declines, will this lineage prosper?" (《史記·田敬仲完世家》:"陳完者，陳厲公他之子也。完生，周太史過陳，陳厲公使卜完，卦得《觀》之《否》：是為觀國之光，利用賓於王，此其代陳有國乎？不在此而在異國乎？非此其身也，在其子孫。若在異國，必薑姓。薑姓，四獄之後，物莫能兩大，陳衰，此其昌乎？")

[34] *fang qi mo jing zhi zhao* 方契莫京之兆: In this Chinese expression, *fang* 方 means "just" and *qi* 契 means "contract", and *mo* 莫 "to plan" or "to scheme", while *jing* 京 means "tall and big", and *zhao* 兆 means "omen"or "sign". And this expression means when it just started to planning for a higher position (for Han Dechang).

[35] *yan hui duan ming* 顏回短命: This is an allusion. Yan hui 顏回 is a person's name and , his second name is Zi yuan 子淵. He was a native of the state of Lu in the late Spring and Autumn period, and a disciple of Confucius. Yan hui was extremely talented and well - versed in etiquette, yet he had a short lifespan.

[36] *e xing bu xiu zhi bei* 俄興不秀之悲：It can be translated as "the sorrow of something not blooming", which was originally used to lament the early death of a person who had talent and learning. The process of plant growth is used as a metaphor for the development of a person or a thing that fails to live up to expectations.

Line 13

[37] *Lan ling* 蘭陵: Ancient county name, today's ancient city site in the west of Feng cheng town in the southeast of Zaozhuang Shandong Province, which is the hometown of Han Prime Minister Xiao He. The Xiao Clan of the Liao Dynasty admired the Han Prime Minister Xiao He, and took Lan ling as their local prestige. During the Liao Dynasty, many people from the Xiao clan were conferred titles such as "Prince of Lan ling", "Duke of Lan ling".

Line 15

[38] *Mu chen guo fu ren* 母陳國夫人: In the Chinese *Epitaph of the Grand Milady of the State of Qin* (*qin guo tai fu ren mu zhi* 秦國太夫人墓誌), there are records: "Shortly afterwards, during the reign of Emperor Jingzong, the imperial fortune was revitalized." (*e shu Jing zong cheng huang di zhong xing bao zuo* 俄屬景宗成皇帝中興寶祚), "By imperial decree, she was conferred the title of Milady of Chen State." (*zhao feng chen guo fu ren* 詔封陳國夫人).

[39] *Zhong hao zhi li fan* 鍾郝之禮範: This is an allusion. Zhong Hao 鍾郝 is recorded in *Biographies of Exemplary Women* of *The History of Jin Dynasty*: Née Zhong 鍾氏, the wife of Wang Hun, and Née Hao 郝氏, the wife of Wang Zhan, were sisters-in-laws. Née Zhong 鍾氏, Wang Hun's wife, was from a noble family with a long line of renowned officials, while Née Hao 郝氏, Wang Zhan's wife, came from a relatively poor family. In ancient times when the concept of social hierarchy and family status prevailed, it was quite rare for Née Zhong 鍾氏 and Née Hao 郝氏 to respect each other and get along harmoniously as sisters-in-law. Since then, "Zhong Hao 鍾郝" has often been used to metaphorize sisters-in-law who love, respect, and live in harmony with each other.

Line 17

[40] (His) older brothers were the Defender-in-chief of Liao Zhou, the Military Affairs Commissioners and Palace Superintendent, the Bandit-suppression Grand preceptor, and Defender-in-chief of the Ministry of Revenue.: Defender-in-chief of Liao Zhou (Liao zhou tai wei 遼州太尉) refers to Han de yuan 韓德源, who is recorded in Chinese *Epitaph of Han Kuang Si* "De yuan, Military Commissioner of Shiping Jun Army, Grand Marshal."; Military Affairs Commissioners and Palace Superintendent refers to Han de rang 韓德讓, who is recorded in Chinese *Epitaph of Han Kuang Si* "De Rang, Military Affairs Commissioners, the Grand Preceptor, concurrently holding the Palace Superintendent."; Bandit-suppression Grand preceptor refers to Han de wei 韓德威, who is recorded in Chinese *Epitaph of Han Kuang Si* "De Wei, the Bandit-suppression of the Southwest Region, concurrently serving as the Supervisor of Five Military Affairs, the Military Commissioner of Zhang wu jun Army, and the Grand Preceptor"; Defender-in-chief of the Ministry of Revenue refers to Han de chong 韓德沖, who is recorded in Chinese *Epitaph of Han Kuang Si* "De Chong, Commissioner of the Ministry of Revenue, Military Commissioner of Wei sheng jun Army, Grand Marshal".

[41] *jiu feng* 九鳳: The divine bird in ancient Chinese mythology, which appears in the form of a nine-headed bird, first originated from the nine-phoenix divine bird of the Chu people.

[42] *ba long* 八龍: The eight dragon-horses in mythology. As described in Li Sao from The Songs of Chu "I drive the eight sinuous dragon-horses, with cloud-like banners fluttering gracefully."

Line 18

[43] *ling yuan* 鴒原: It might be short for "*ji ling zai yuan* 鶺鴒在原", which expresses the brotherly love. It is an allusion quoted from *The Wagtail on the Plain* from *Chang di* in *Xiaoya* of *The Book of Songs*, which reads "The wagtail on the plain, brothers in distress". It means that when wagtails encounter danger on the plain, their kind will come to each other's rescue. Later, it is often used as a metaphor for brothers sharing hardships and caring for each other.

[44] *tong xian Zhong xian zhi bei* 同銜終鮮之悲: It means they jointly bear the grief of having few brothers or having lost their brothers. Here, " *xian* 銜"means to hold or carry in one's heart, "*zhong xian* 終鮮" is an allusion from *Yang zhi Shui* in *The Book of Songs – Zheng Feng*, which reads "Ultimately, there are few brothers, only you and me (終鮮兄弟，維予與女)". This phrase often implies a scarcity of brothers or refer to the death of brothers.

[45] Ma lie zeng feng 馬鬣增封: *Ma lie* 馬鬣 originally refers to the mane of a horse. It was often used to describe the shape of the mound of earth over a tomb. This expression means to enlarge the tomb mound (in a respectful way just like the mane of a horse spreading out).

[46] *Shi feng zhun xi zhi li* 式奉窀穸之禮: *Zhun xi* 窀穸 is burial or tomb-related matters originates from *Zuo Zhuan · Duke Xiang's Reign, the 13th Year*. *Shi feng zhun xi zhi li* 式奉窀穸之禮 means to perform the ceremony of burying the coffin and settling the tomb.

Line 19

[47] *Qu lie shan* 渠劣山: The name of the mountain, it is also recorded as *qu lie shan* 屈烈山, *qu lie shan* 渠列山。

Line 22

[48] *zhong wan dan zhi yu qing* 鍾萬石之餘慶: *Zhong* 鍾 means gathering or concentrating. *Dan* 石: *Dan* 石 was a unit of volume or weight in ancient China. Ten thousand *dan* 萬石 indicates an extremely large quantity, which could describe vast amounts of wealth, grain, or official salaries in different contexts. *Yu qing* 餘慶: It refers to the inherited good fortune, blessings, and luck. *Zhong wan dan zhi yu qing* 鍾萬石之餘慶 means to gather and accumulate blessings as abundant and substantial as "ten thousand *dan*". It is often used to describe an individual or a family that has amassed a great deal of good fortune and luck due to past benevolent deeds, virtues, or other positive factors, and thus has a promising future and favorable prospects.

Line 23

[49] *qing yun cai feng, tu wei qian zai zhi xiang* 卿雲彩鳳，徒為千載之祥: *Qing yun* 卿雲 refers to auspicious clouds or colorful clouds, which the ancient people regarded as an omen of good fortune. *Cai feng* 彩鳳 represents a colorful phoenix, also a sign of good luck. This expression means the auspicious clouds and colorful phoenix are merely the symbols of good fortune for thousands of years.

[50] *mai yu* 埋玉: *mai yu* 埋玉 has this extended meaning, comparing the death of an outstanding person to the burying of a beautiful jade. *Mai yu na zhu*, *yong zuo jiu quan zhi hen* 埋玉納珠，永作九泉之恨 Burying the jade and interring the pearls will forever remain as the regret in the netherworld.

Line 24

[51] *xuan tian gong fu zhi jia zhao* 玄忝公府之嘉招: *xuan* 玄 refers to Li Xuan 李玄. *tian* 忝 means "to be unworthy" or "to bring disgrace". A humble term indicating "to feel ashamed" or "to be unworthy of". *gong fu* 公府 refers to the family of Han Dechang. *jia* 嘉 means "goodness", "to praise". *Zhao* 招 means "to invite" or "to summon".

Line 26

[52] *jia cheng yu yu xi* 佳城欝欝兮: This expression is from *Bowu Zhi* 博物志 (*Natural History*), Volume 7 written by Zhang Hua of the Jin Dynasty. The original text reads: “When Teng Gong (Xiahou Ying) of the Han Dynasty passed away, his family sought to bury him outside the east gate of the capital. As ministers and nobles escorted the funeral, the team of four horses refused to move, falling to the ground and wailing mournfully. Their hooves pawed the earth, uncovering a stone with an inscription that read: ‘The graveyard stands lush and green; after three thousand years, it sees the bright sun. Alas, Teng Gong dwells in this chamber!’ Thus, he was buried there.” (“漢滕公（夏侯嬰）薨，求葬東都門外，公卿送喪，駟馬不行，踣地悲鳴。跑蹄下地，得石有銘，曰：‘佳城鬱鬱，三千年，見白日，吁嗟滕公居此室！’遂葬之。”) *jia cheng* 佳城 is a literary allusion referring to “graveyard” or “tomb”, *yu yu* 鬱鬱 describes the lush growth of plants and trees. Here, it metaphorically depicts the graveyard as a verdant and solemn place.

20.4 PERSONS AND THEIR RELATIONS IN THE DECHANG INSCRIPTION

Li Xuan 李玄 (DCh2, DCh24), composer of the Dechang inscription
De Chang 德昌(DCh3), owner of the Dechang inscription (=**Pu Ge**)
Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞 (DCh3) ancestor of Dechang
Wan, *son of Huan Shu of Jin* 晉桓叔之子萬 (DCh3) ancestor proper of Dechang
Zhigu 知古 (DCh4) grandfather of Dechang
Kuang Si 匡嗣(DCh4, DCh) ‘father of Dechang, Prince of Qin (*qinwan*g 秦王)
Kuang Mei 匡美 (DCh5) 匡美 uncle of Dechang
De Rang 德讓 (DCh6) elder brother of Dechang
Furen Lanling Xiaoshi, 夫人蘭陵蕭氏 (DCh13) ‘lady of the Xiao clan of the Lanling county , wife of Dechang, personal name not given
Guo San (DCh14) 郭三 ‘’son of Dechang’ (=**Go Sam**)
Xieli Abo (DCh14) 解里阿鉢 ‘son of Dechang
three unnamed daughters of Dechang, who died young (DCH14)
Chenguo Furen 母陳國夫人 milady of the State of Chen, mother of Dechang, no personal name given
[*Han De Yuan*] (DCh17) elder brother of Dechang named only by his title
[*Han De Rang*] (DCh17) see above, here elder brother of Dechang named only by his title
[*Han De Wei*] (DCh17) elder brother of Dechang named only by his title
[*Han DeChong*] (Dh17) elder brother of Dechang named only by his title

From the above it follows that

Gao shi is the son of Go Sam = Guo San, Guo San is the son of Dechang, Gao shi is the grandson of Dechang, **Dechang is the grandfather of Gaoshi.**

The other name of Go Sam is Yelü Suizhong (耶律遂忠), who has a Chinese Epitaph named *The Epitaph of Yelü Suizhong* (耶律遂忠墓志铭)

Go Sam is the son of Dechang who is named **Pu Ge** in the Gaoshi inscription.

兯 九劳 may be pronouced *Pu G-e* or *Fu G-e.*

20.5 EPITAPHS RELATED TO THE EPITAPHS OF *HAN DECHANG* AND *HAN GAOSHI*

20.5.1 Epitaphs in Khitan small script

	Epitaphs	**The date and place of excavation**	**Time of engraving**	**Place of collection**	**Relationship**	**Published**
1	*Epitaph of Yelü (Han) Gaoshi* (《耶律（韩）高十令公墓志》)	1995, Baarin left banner Inner Mongolia	unknown, after 1076	Liao shang jing Museum at Lindong Baarin left banner	The eighth son of Yelü Suizhong (Guosan)	CWJ 721-725, 1238-1247 and this book
2	*Epitaph of Yelü (Han) Dilie Taibao* (《耶律（韩）迪烈太保墓志铭》)	1996, Baarin left banner Inner Mongolia	1101	Liao shang jing Museum at Lindong Baarin left banner	Great grandson of Han Dewei (韩德威)	CWJ 727-731, 1250-1267.

3	*Epitaph of Milady Han* (《韩氏夫人墓志碑铭》)	Unknown	1078	unknown	Elder sister of Han Gaoshi	CWJ 763-766, 1337-1349.

20.5.2 Epitaphs in Chinese

	Epitaphs	**The date and place of excavation**	**Time of engraving**	**Place of collection**	**Relationship**
1	*Epitaph of Han Kuangsi* (《韩匡嗣墓志》)	1994, Baarin left banner Inner Mongolia	985	Liao shang jing Museum at Lindong Baarin left banner	Han Zhigu's son, Han Dechang's father, Han Gaoshi's great grand father
2	*Epitaph of Lady Xiao, the Grand Duchess of Qin, Wife of Han Kuangsi* (《韩匡嗣妻秦国太夫人萧氏墓志》)	1994, Baarin left banner Inner Mongolia	993	Liao shang jing Museum at Lindong Baarin left banner	Han Kuangsi's wife
3	*Epitaph of Han Dewei* (《韩德威墓志》)	1994, Baarin left banner Inner Mongolia	997	Liao shang jing Museum at Lindong Baarin left banner	The fifth son of Han Kuangsi, Han Dechang's elder brother
4	*Epitaph of Han Dechang*(《韩德昌墓志》)	2003, Baarin left banner Inner Mongolia	983	Liao shang jing Museum at Lindong Baarin left banner	The ninth son of Han Kuangsi, Grand father of Han Gaoshi
5	*Epitaph of Yelü Longyou* 《耶律隆祐墓志》 (The other name of Yelü Longyou is Han Deyong 韩德颙)	1994, Baarin left banner Inner Mongolia	1011	Liao shang jing Museum at Lindong Baarin left banner	The seventh son of Han Kuangsi, Han Dechang's elder brother

	Epitaphs	**The date and place of excavation**	**Time of engraving**	**Place of collection**	**Relationship**
6	*Epitaph of Han Derang* (《韩德让墓志》)	2016, Beizhen City, Liaoning Province	1011	It may be in Beizhen, but the exact place of collection cannot be confirmed.	The fourth son of Han Kuangsi, Han Dechang's elder brother
7	*The Epitaph of Yelü Suizhong* (《耶律遂忠墓志铭》) (The other name of Yelü Suizhong is Guo San 郭三)	1994, Baarin left banner Inner Mongolia	1037	Liao shang jing Museum at Lindong Baarin left banner	The eldest son of Han Dechang, Han Gaoshi' s father
8	*The Epitaph of Wuluben Niangzi* (《乌卢本娘子墓志》)	1996, Baarin left banner Inner Mongolia	1091	Liao shang jing Museum at Lindong Baarin left banner	Wife of Yelü (Han) Dilie 耶律（韩）迪烈
9	*The Epitaph of Yelü Yuanzuo* 《耶律元佐墓志》	1994, Baarin left banner Inner Mongolia	1083	Liao shang jing Museum at Lindong Baarin left banner	The second son of Yelü Suizhong (Guosan)
10	*The Epitaph of Yelü Zongfu*《耶律宗福墓志》(The other name of Yelü Zongfu is Zunning Dilu 遵宁・涤鲁)	Baarin left banner Inner Mongolia	1073	Liao shang jing Museum at Lindong Baarin left banner	Father of Yelü (Han) Dilie 耶律（韩）迪烈, grandson of Han Dewei 韩德威, son of Yelü Suizheng 耶律遂正

	Epitaphs	**The date and place of excavation**	**Time of engraving**	**Place of collection**	**Relationship**
11	*The Epitaph of Yelü Suizheng* (《耶律遂正墓志铭》) (The other name of Yelü Suizheng is Hanning Pangjin 韩宁・雱金)	Baarin left banner Inner Mongolia	1027	Liao shang jing Museum at Lindong Baarin left banner	Father of Yelü Zongfu, son of Han Dewei 韩德威
12	*The Epitaph of Hanyu* (《韩瑜墓志》)	1916，Chaoyang City Liaoning Province	991	Unknown	Son of Han Kuangmei 韩匡美
13	*The Epitaph of Hanchun*《韩椿墓志》	Chaoyang City Liaoning Province	1037	Chaoyang Museum	grandson of Han Kuangmei 韩匡美, son of Hanyu

21. BIBLIOGRAPHY

compiled by Attila Katona-Kiss[1]

Bibliographical abbreviations

Acta Orientalia Hung.	Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
AEMA	Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi, Wiesbaden
AOF	Altorientalische Forschungen, Berlin
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
CAJ	Central Asiatic Journal, Wiesbaden
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Cambridge, Mass.
JA	Journal Asiatique, Paris
JAH	Journal of Asian History, Wiesbaden
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London
JSFOu	Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja/Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne, Helsinki
JSYS	Journal of Song-Yuan Studies, Baltimore, Maryland
KCsA	Kőrösi Csoma Archivum, Budapest
MNy	Magyar Nyelv, Budapest
OE	Oriens Extremus, Hamburg
RO	Rocznik Orientalistyczny, Warszawa
SEC	Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia, Kraków
TP	T'oung Pao, Leiden
UAJb	Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, Berlin – Bloomington
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden
ZSt	Zentralasiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens der Universität Bonn, Wiesbaden

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22. ADDENDA

After having closed the manuscript of this book end 2024, important publications have appeared, the results of which could not have been included. The first two marked the 100th anniversary of the beginning of Khitan studies.

*

The 49th issue of the journal *Mongol Sudlal* (Mongol Studies), was published in Hohhot in 2025. It contains an overview of the studies on Khitan in the People's Republic of China, especially, but not exclusively, at the Inner Mongolian University. See now the review of Bence Gombkötő in *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 79 (2026)2, 445–453.

*

The 68th volume of *Central Asiatic Studies,* 2025 includes an overview on earlier studies on the Khitan script and five papers written on Khitan matters. Marc Miyake wrote on Khitan obstruents, Sulongga on the decipherment of some graphemes in Khitan Large script, Yasunori Takeuchi on age expression in Khitan texts and Zachary Hersey on the Tatayar: Rediscovering the Khitan language Qai Ethnonym.

*

In a paper published in the 146/2 issue of the JAOS, 2025, 263–282 Pavel Rykin offered a new reading of the Mongolian textx of the 1413 Tyr inscription. In line 15–16 we read:

kümün[**-ü neres**] *bügüde-yi qitad bičig*-**ṯür-iyen** [?] **bi**[**čiǰü**] *amu mong*[*γol*] *bičigeči ar*[*uγ*]*buq-a* **ǰiruγsan**.

All the names of the [participating] people have been listed (lit. 'written') in the Chinese inscription (lit. 'in their[?] Chinese inscription'). The Mongol secretary Aruγbuqa engraved [it]. (Translation of Pavel Rykin).

As we see the Mongol scribe (*monggol bičigeči*) Arugbuqa wrote (*ǰiruġsan*) all names ocurring in the Chinese text (**kümün**[**-ü neres**] *bügüde-yi qitad bičig*-**ṯür-iyen)** into the Mongol version. In this text dated **1413,** QITAD has already the meaning 'Chinese'.

*

On the 15th September, 2025 delivered at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Marianne Bakró-Nagy her inaugural presentation on the history of the ethnonym Khitan among the Obi-Ugric people. The written form will be published under the title: *χatań. A Multidisciplinary Approach to Explain the Origin of an Ethnonym.*

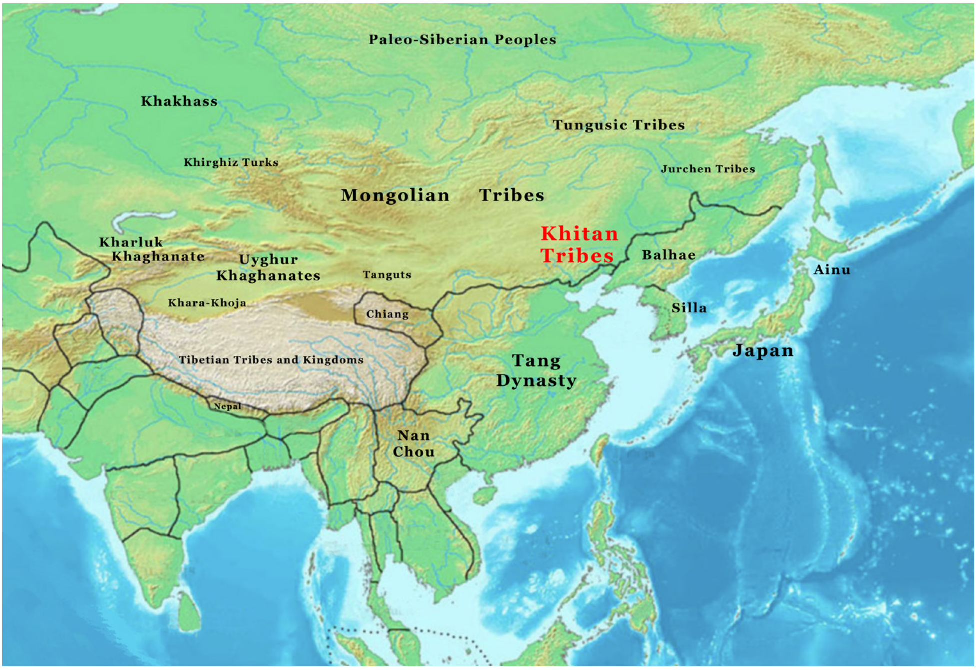
The Obi-Ugric ethnonym denotes the Siberian Tatars, and she introduces the historical background and the Obi-Ugor representation of the ethnonym

*

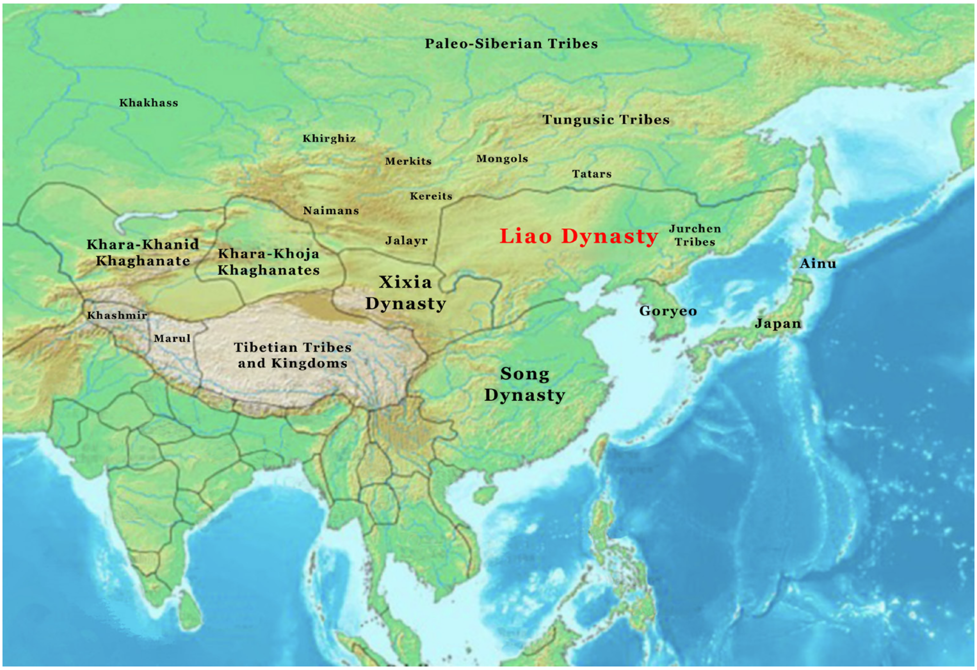
In the 22nd volume of *Eurasiatica* published in Venice, in 2025, an edition of Ca'Foscari, Davide Rizzi published an important paper "Time in Khitan". It was included in a volume titled *Time in East Asian Endangered Languages, Grammar, History and Society*, edited by Elia Dal Corso and Elisabetta Ragagnin.

*

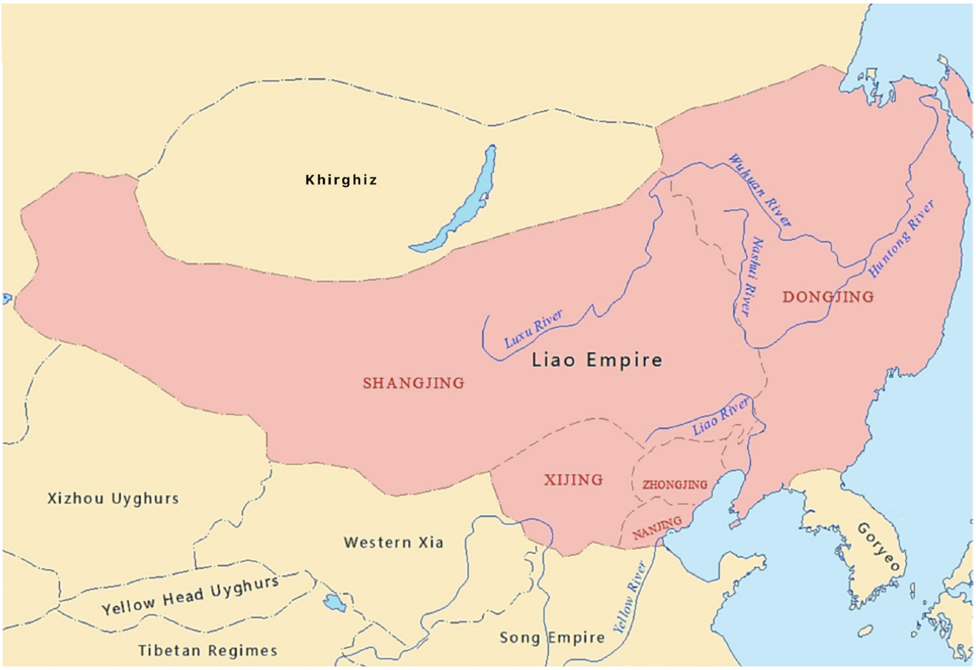
In October 2025 a new journal was launched in Ulaanbaatar under the title KHITAN STUDIES. *An International Journal on Khitan Language, Culture and History*. The Editor-in-Chief is Wu Yingzhe (Inner Mongolian University. People's Republic of China), the two Associate Editors are Batdorj Tseveendorj (National University of Mongolia) and Peng Daruhan (Inner Mongolian University, People's Republic of China). The papers are published under the headings Khitan Large Script Studies, Khitan Small Script Studies, Khitan History and Archeology and Khitan Cultural Studies.


Paleo-Siberian Peoples
Khakhass
Tungusic Tribes
Khirghiz Turks
Jurchen Tribes
Mongolian Tribes
Khitan Tribes
Kharluk Khaghanate
Uyghur Khaghanates
Balhae
Ainu
Tanguts
Khara-Khoja
Silla
Chiang
Japan
Tibetian Tribes and Kingdoms
Tang Dynasty
Nepal
Nan Chou

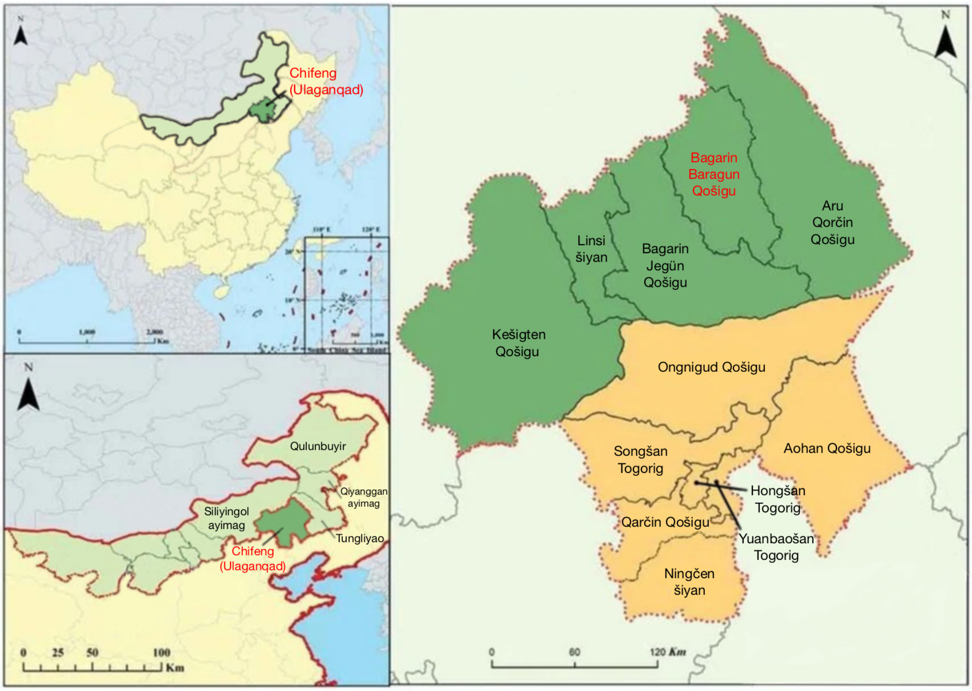
MAP ONE: EAST ASIA AROUND 900 AD


Paleo-Siberian Tribes
Khakhass
Tungusic Tribes
Khirghiz
Merkits
Mongols
Tatars
Kereits
Naimans
Jalayr
Liao Dynasty
Jurchen Tribes
Khara-Khanid Khaghanate
Khara-Khoja Khaghanates
Ainu
Xixia Dynasty
Goryeo
Khashmir
Japan
Marul
Tibetian Tribes and Kingdoms
Song Dynasty

MAP TWO: EAST ASIA AROUND 1100 AD


Khirghiz
Wukuan River
Naskui River
Huntong River
DONGJING
Luxu River
Liao Empire
SHANGJING
Liao River
XIJING
ZHONGJING
NANJING
Xizhou Uyghurs
Western Xia
Yellow Head Uyghurs
Tibetan Regimes
Song Empire
Yellow River
Goryeo

MAP THREE: THE FIVE LIAO CAPITALS AND THEIR CIRCUITS


N
Chifeng
(Ulaganqad)
N
Qulunbuyir
Qiyanggan
ayimag
Siliyingol
ayimag
Tungliyao
Chifeng
(Ulaganqad)
0 25 50 100 Km
N
Bagarin
Baragun
Qošigu
Aru
Qorčin
Qošigu
Linsi
šiyan
Bagarin
Jegün
Qošigu
Kešigten
Qošigu
Ongnigud Qošigu
Songšan
Togorig
Aohan Qošigu
Hongšan
Togorig
Qarčin Qošigu
Yuanbaošan
Togorig
Ningčen
šiyan
0 60 120 Km

MAP FOUR: INNER MONGOLIA

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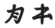
12.5.3.2.2 -a-ar  (189-123) 662
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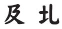
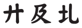
12.5.3.2.5 -o-or  (186-076) 663
12.5.3.2.6 -ó-o-or  (090-186-076) 664

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