In the second part of this series of papers the author investigates the way how the Khitan Small Script rendered the vowels of the Khitan language. The graphic system was tailored to the contemporary Chinese language, nevertheless, it is possible to make conclusions concerning the system of vowels. Three illabial vowels /a/, /e/ and /i/ can be identified, the back vocalic /ï/ can only be supposed. The vowel /o/ is dominant, for traces of /ö/ no sure data can be given. The phoneme /u/ can be clearly detected, the phoneme /ü/ can be supposed. The former opinion that the Khitan had a front:back vowel harmony can be confirmed. The paper presents a few newly deciphered Khitan words. The system of the Khitan word formation is emerging and a few earlier readings have been corrected.

**Key words**: Khitan, Khitan Small Script, Khitan word formation, vowel harmony, illabial vowels, Mongolic languages.

**Technical Remarks on the Presentation of the Khitan Material**

In the following presentation I have used and followed the two main works on Khitan published in English: Kane (2009) and Wu – Janhunen (2010). Five inscriptions (L, X, EX, D, Y) are included in these two works, which I call the Smaller Corpus. I have also used the index of the work of Wu (2012), which contains the material of the
inscriptions JU, KC, KL, HU, PC, PU. The Romanised transcription of the Khitan graphs follows the List in Wu–Janhunen 2010, pp. 259–272. Where I differ or I am uncertain, I give the Romanised transcription of others, mainly of Chinggeltei (2002b) adding the letter C to the numeral, or Aisin Gioro (2012), adding the letter A to the numeral or in a few cases my own, adding the letter R to the numeral. A Khitan item usually has a reading\(^2\) which I give in \textbf{bold}, followed by the graph(s). Then follow the three-digit numbers of the List (in round brackets) and the Romanisation in angle brackets \(<\)., the English translation in single quotation marks ‘ ’ if it exists, or a question mark if the structure of the word is clear, but its meaning is unknown. After a perpendicular stroke | I quote a possible cognate from Mongolic, using as symbol the Literary Mongolian form of Lessing (1960), to which I usually add the reconstructed Mongolic form as given by Hans Nugteren (2011). From the modern Mongolian I quote as a rule only the Dahur form(s). The items beginning in \textbf{bold face} are from my unpublished Khitan–English Wordlist.

\textbf{Introduction}

This paper will deal with the representations of the vowels in the Khitan Small Script (KSS). The reconstruction of the Khitan vowel system has to surmount special difficulties. Khitan is a dead language, and though it has some connections with spoken Mongolian languages and especially with Dahur\(^3\), due to their distance in time and in relation, they give only limited help. The KSS consists of drawings, signs or graphs which have no inherent connection with any class or subclass of phonetic units, not to speak of phonemic ones. The Khitan graphs, as to our present knowledge, are arbitrary\(^4\). The Romanisation of the graphs is not more than a convention, mainly based on the value of the given graph in transcribing contemporaneous Chinese words. The conventional Romanisation, built up step-by-step by the Khitan Research Group working in the People’s Republic of China, turned out to be a good point of departure, but we should not forget that it is a convention and not a system describing the original Khitan phonic values. Thus in the following I will try to look behind the letters of Romanisation.

For some syllables there exists one, for others more different graphs. The types of the sound structures represented by the graphs are the following (\(V = \text{vowel}, C = \text{consonant}\)): \(V, C, VC, CVC, CVV, VVC, VCV\). In cases of \(VV\) sequences we have to distinguish \(V1V1\) and \(V1V2\) types. \(V1V1\) occur only in two graphic units \(<a\ a.>\ etc.\), while \(V1V2\) may occur in one or two graphic units \(<au>, <a.u.>\ etc.\). The \(V1V2\) units are, or may be diphthongs (D). To the \(V1V1\) sequences I will return on pp. 176–184).

\(^2\) Of course, this is an idealised reading, reflecting my preliminary view about how the graph was read by the Khitan scholars.

\(^3\) For a long time we have known that Dahur has a special relationship with Khitan. The only question is whether Dahur is a Khitanised Mongolian language or a strongly Mongolised Khitan. In all cases where possible I quote relevant data from Dahur.

\(^4\) There are some graphs which have a regular connection with some others, e.g. the dotted and undotted ones, some allographs and so on, but none of the graphs has any overt reference to a phonetic unit.

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Graphs for Simple Vowels

a: <a> አ (189),
e: <e> ㄆ (348), <e2> ㄆ (109),
i: <i> ㄆ (339), <i> ㄆ (352), <í> ㄆ (114), í: <í> ㄆ (353), <í2> ㄆ (113),
o: <o> ㄏ (186), <o> ㄏ (252), <o2> ㄏ (253), <ó> ㄏ (090),
u: <u> ㄠ (131), <u> ㄠ (245), <ū> ㄠ (372), <ū> ㄠ (226).

Let us first look at the graphical side. <e> ㄆ (348) and <e2> ㄆ (109) are typical allographs, in the inscriptions the two dots or the horizontal stroke at the same place are not always possible to distinguish. It is the same as in the case of <í> ㄆ (352), <í> ㄆ (114) and <í2> ㄆ (353), <í2> ㄆ (113). Clear allographs are also: <o> ㄏ (252) and <o2> ㄏ (253). If we count these allograph pairs as only one each, 12 graphs remain to denote vowels. For the vowel /a/ of whatever phonetic shade (labial, illabial etc.) there existed only one graph አ (189). For /e/ of whatever phonetic shade (open, closed etc.) only one graph existed with two allographs <e> ㄆ (348), <e2> ㄆ (109).

For the vowel /i/ there existed two graphs, one of which occurs with two allographs: <i> ㄆ (339) and <í> ㄆ (352), í: ㄆ (114), /í/ is represented by two allographs: <í> ㄆ (353) and <í2> ㄆ (113).

At the labials we find the following: in the case of <o> which may or may not represent one phoneme, we have three graphs, one with an allograph: <o> ㄑ (186), <o> ㄑ (090), <o> ㄑ (252), <o2> ㄑ (253), and in the case of <u> also three graphs: <u> ㄠ (131), <u> ㄠ (245), <ū> ㄠ (372) with no allograph, all three are heterographs, finally <í> with one graph: ㄠ (226).

We have to keep in mind that the whole system was tailored to the stock of the Chinese vowels appearing in Khitan transcription. The allographs <í> ㄆ (113) and <í> ㄆ (353) were used after Chinese sybilants (s, z, optionally sh, ss) to denote a retracted <í> vowel (K48, 77). In the KSS we find <sí> ㄕ (083) and <shí> ㄕ (180) only in transcriptions of Chinese. There is no sign that these graphs were used to denote Khitan original vowels. Thus we can exclude them from the group of graphs denoting Khitan vowels. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the Khitan vocalic system did not have a back vocalic /i/.

In the following I will give the Romanisation of the graphs according to Wu – Jahnunen (2010), but add in footnotes other suggestions, mainly from Chinggeltei (2002a,b) and Aisin Gioro (2012). The diacritics on the vowel letters serve only for differentiation.

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5 In the following I will give the Romanisation of the graphs according to Wu – Jahnunen (2010), but add in footnotes other suggestions, mainly from Chinggeltei (2002a,b) and Aisin Gioro (2012). The diacritics on the vowel letters serve only for differentiation.

6 Aisin Gioro (2012) also _CLIP1_.

7 C also _CLIP1_.

8 Aisin Gioro (2012) _CLIP1_.

9 C u; Aisin Gioro (2012) _CLIP1_.

10 Aisin Gioro (2012) _CLIP1_, _CLIP1_.

11 C u; Aisin Gioro (2012) _CLIP1_, _CLIP1_.

12 Aisin Gioro (2012) _CLIP1_, _CLIP1_.

13 The Uighur script also had only one graph, the yod, which represented both the front and the back i-sounds.
There existed one graph for ü: <ü> (226). The phoneme /ü/ existed in Liao Chinese as a medial [-y-] or /ü/, and in fact e.g. yuan ễn (K259). Kane used in his List of graphs for 玲 (082) the Romanisation <y>. He remarked (K44) “…used to transcribe Chinese medial -ü-….. see also <û> 2.226”. The letter  <û> here has to be changed to <ü>. There exist other syllables with <ü> in the system of WJ: <üe> (082 K: <y>), <üen> (324, K: <iûn>) and <ün> (329). All were used only for transcribing Chinese ü-sounds.

Making one step forward we have to state that excluding the graphs which denote only Chinese vowels, the single graphs representing Khitan vowels are the following: a: <a> 爲 (189), e: <e> 努 (348), <e> 努 (109), i: <i> 具 (339), 具 (114), <i> 恐 (352), o: <o> 恐 (186), <o> 恐 (090), <o> 恐 (252), <o> 恐 (253), u: <u> 爲 (131), <u> 爲 (245), <ü> 恐 (372).

If we consider the allograph pairs as one each, ten different graphic representations remain for Khitan vowels: one for [a], one for [e], two for [i], three for [o] and three for [u]. Kane writes: “Kitan was exceptionally rich in rounded vowels” (K28). From other sources we know that in Khitan there existed a kind of vowel harmony. On the other hand, the vocalic assimilation of vowels in suffixes seems to have been more complicated. We have to depart from the fact that if there existed a series of front vowels opposed to the back vowels, this is not systematically reflected in the Khitan Small Script.

I will now investigate the graphic representations of Khitan vowels in initial positions.

The Representations of a- Initials

The graphic representations of [a] in initial position are the following:

| V a: | <a> 爲 (189). |
| D ay: | <ai> 立 (122), <ai> 立 (395), <ai> 立 (049); aw: <au> 立 (161), <au> 立 (125). |
| VC ad: | <ad> 恐 (099), <ad> 努 (016A), ah: <ah> 恐 (197) (= ay, ag), al: <al> 恐 (098), ali: <ali> 恐 (069), am: <am> 恐 (184), am: <am> 恐 (185), am: 恐 (026), an: <an> 立 (011), <an> 立 (127), <án> 恐 (290), ang: <äng> 恨 (280), <ang> 恨 (199), ar: <ar> 立 (123), as/sa: <sa> 立 (174). |

14 I use the term Liao Chinese following Kane (K227-265), this is the Chinese reflected by the Khitan transcriptions and spoken in the territories ruled by the Khitans from the 10th to the first part of the 12th centuries.
15 The same as it is in the Turkic Runic or the Uighur script.
16 <od>, according to Aisin (2012) also <ad>.
17 <ri>, according to Aisin (2012) <ali>, which does not seem to fit into the system (al or li?).
18 ONE, mas, according to Aisin (2012) <am>.
Further there exist cases where the graphic representation begins with a consonant, but it may be read with a preconsonantal vowel (a+C), see Réona-Tas (2016, p. 118).

Here we have to note that graphs for initials with (a) + gutturals as *ag, *ak, *ax are absent, while (ah) does not occur in word initial position, but exists in codas. I will deal with this problem later in connection with the long vowels, see below, pp. 176–184.

**Words with Initial a- Written with the Single Graph (189) <a>**

Khitan (a) (189) appears in transcriptions of Chinese in place of the Middle Chinese glottal stop+a, e.g. Khitan (189.011) <a.an> Ch an 安 LMCh, EMCh ʔan ‘peaceful’ (K262).

*a* stem of the pronoun of the third person plural ‘they’ | cf. Mo *a.*

ani 天 (013.339) <an.i> ‘their (genitive case)’ (Y24, 25, 26, HU15-30) | Mo anu || originally the genitive case of the obsolete pronoun *a*, in LM it has the function of a deictic particle.

*a* (189) <a> ‘to be at, to be present (somewhere)’ (K58) | Mo *a* ‘to be’, Da aa-, HN a-, DaE a:- ‘to stay, to live’. HN remarks that the vowel may have been long. This is the case in Dahur. The semantics of the extended base includes meanings like ‘to place (somebody somewhere)’ (as an official), to appoint somebody somewhere’ and the like. It has also to be noted that all extensions, known to me, have the structure <a.aC>, but not all words beginning with <a.aC> are derivatives of ‘to be’. Some derivatives were used as auxiliary verbs.

**Extended Forms of the Verb of Existence a-:**

a’ai AllWindows (189.122) <a.ai> ‘conversal form of a-, being, having been, was’ (D6-18, 7-11, 10-6, 13-18, 17-9, X6-2, 15-7, 17-19, 22-22, 39-33, HU4-36, 8-21, 12-18, 13-42, JU4-14, 5-47, 7-52,10-37, 12-50, 16-5 22-15, 25-23, 25-54, 34-48, 36-22).

*jüren i.r.i-de a’ai* <ci.ur.én i.r.i.de a.ai> ‘was by the second name…’ (D6-18),

*taiši šari a’ai* <tai si ś.a.ri a.ai> ‘being taishi langjun, having the title t.l.’ (Y10),

kem so’or a’ai <kem so.or a.ai> ‘an edict being sent (received, heard, observed)’ (Y11, K199, 200) (2×),

19 so’or - 饅 (017.255) -in: <k.em so.or> ‘received the edict, or the edict was issued’ (K69, Y16, 17, K199, 200), 饅 (017.304) <so.go> ‘to receive’ (K200), <so.or> ‘received’ (K199) | Mo sur- ‘to learn’, Dzsore-, HN sur- ‘to learn’, DaE sør-; according to WJ (017) reading unknown.

20 Further examples: <a.an:un te:bu.ei a.ai> (Y17), <hor.se au.o.ju x.ui.ei hu.ri 232.1 a.ai> (X17), <te xe:ri.ser a.ai> (Y20), auiui šia KNOW.er c.eu a.ai (Y28), <eu.e BORN.i a.ai> (Y32), <s.iaŋ g.ung a.ai> (Y35),<mọ:ri au:ui.i a.ai> (Y38), <c.eu:ge.ei qudug.er a.ai> (EX11).
HEAVEN mo-t auui-i a’ai <HEAVEN:hot au.ui.i a.ai> ‘the heaven(ly) ladies having brought (aw-) there’ (Y38).

*a’ad- (189.016) <a.ad> ‘placed there’ || passive form with the suffix -d.

a’adlagha’ar (189.016.261.051.123) <a.od.l.ha.ar> ‘a finite past tense predicate after a noun ending in the locative-dative -de’21 ||

Hüende a’adlağa’ar <hu.üen.de a.od.l.ha.ar> (D27-11), ‘[to the place] Hüen, [he] was placed…’.

a’adbań- (189.099.311.222) <a.ad.b.ń> ‘given’ || past tense.22

suHEAVEN a’adbań <su.Heaven a.ad.b.ń> ‘given by the majestic heaven’ (D45-18).


usg-en RECORD.g.sii a’an <us.g.en RECORD.g.s.ii a.án> ‘being recorded in letters/by letters’ (X46-21).

a’an-er (189.290.341) <a.án.er> (D13-25) instrumental case of a’an in -er of the deverbal noun a’an,
ŠagaTENT a’uner <š.ha.TENT a.án.er> ‘[he went] together with ShagaTENT [into battle]’ (D13-25).

*a’an-ben (189.290.295.361) <a.án.p.én> -pen/ben has to be here a suffix25

<COMPOSE.l.a.jın a.án.p.én 26 xı.a.al RECORD.g.ei na.as.hu.al.ún qı> (Y35).

a’andei (189.290.205.339) <a.án.de.i> ‘?’ || may be a prolative-ab-lative in <de.i> of a’an (K138).

amiń a’andei gi 356 <a.am.ń a.án.de.i gi 356> (X28-40).

a'al (189.098) <a.al> ‘having been conferred, given (title)’,

uniq-ün iris-er a’al <uni.qu.ń i.ri.s.er a.al> ‘after the uniqun titles were conferred on him’ (D14-6),

COMPOSE a’an mg mg a’al (308.189.290 133.334 133.334 189.098) <COMPOSE.a.án.m.g.m.g a.al> ‘having been composed MGMG was given to her’ (EX14)27, see further: JU33-31, HU10-40, HU32-9, HU27-6, HU19-39.

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21 Aisin Gioro (2012) read for (016) <ad>, which seems to be here the correct reading, see the next item.

22 Kane (2009, p. 141) quotes only <-bo.ń>, -<b.ún> and <-bun> as suffixes of the past tense, all his examples are after labials. After illabials the suffix may have been <-bań/beń>.


24 The name I read as *Shağager occurs in D30-16 in <š.ha.TENT al.a.ar> ‘having killed Shağager’ and in X17-24 <ai.de ku.ü.su.üür ş.ha.TENT al.a.go.de o.oï> ‘to the father, as favour, because of killing Shagager, was given’. Is this connected to <š.ha.ad/en> (X36-14) which seems to be a genitive of a plural of Shaga-?

25 The function of the suffix <p.én> is not clear, it may be the reflexive-possessive suffix which is in Mo after -n finals -bAN.

26 K has <er> in error, the graph is <én> (361), see also Cinggeltei (2002b, p. 230).

27 K read <mo.gi mo.gi>, but in fact <m.g m.g> is written.
َاُغاَلدل  (189.051.098) <a.ha.al> ‘having been conferred, given (title)’ || con-

verb in -al:  
 ٍتَّيَریسِرَاْغَاَلدل  <t i.r.i.s. e r a.ha.al> ‘after these (te) titles (iri)s were conferred on him, after he was decorated with these titles’ (D20-19)

eلَمْعناَاَغَاَلدل  <l.em.hu.a a.ha.al> ‘having been given the [title] linya’ (JU19-36),

ُپوِشیعَاَغَاَلدل  <pu sh.iu a.ha.al> ‘having been given the [title] pushiu’ (JU20-61),

ُزیعَاَغَاَلدل  <x.i zu a.ha.a.al> ‘having been given the [title] xizu’ (KL10-18),

|| a’al and a’ga’al have to have the same meaning and function.

َاُالْجَاَلدل  (189.098.051.122) <a.al.ha.ai> ‘converb of a causative form of

a-‘al-', was put in charge, has been made X’ (X24-1).

ُایدِینباّقائیِِبْعِرَاْالْجَاَلدل  <ai.d.en ba.qa.i em.en b.ū.ur a.al.ha.ai> ‘he was put in charge of (installed into) region (em) of Buur of the childhood (baka+i em) of the fathers (ayden)’ (X23-31) (see WJ186).

َاْالْجِن  (189.098.151) <a.al.hu> ‘a nominal form in -u of the causative verb a’al-

ْتِنْتَعِجَرَاْالْجَاَلدلِِتْجِبِعُ  <TEN.tugur a.al.hu t.ge2.bu2.u MOUNTAIN.de> ‘The TENTugur [tribe] was placed at the Mountain Tegebuu’ (X33-30). See further: KL18-21, JU24-46, HU30-24, HU12-28, HU15-3, PU17-25.


ُئْیِقِیِئِیِاْالْجِردل  <e.ci te.ge.ei a.ar> ‘Eci29 has died, was dead’ (Y32).

َاْالْجِن  (189.123.144) <a.ar.ún> a’ar- and a suffix -run? past participle? Poppe (1964, p. 98) convorb as preparativum, see Mo ỷgülerün etc.

ْتَوْسَؤِیِلْجِاَ اْالْجِنْسِیِمرِِتِجِردل  <tau.su.ó.ul.ai a.ar.ún s.emii.er t.ge.er> ‘having been advanced to the post, fell ill and died’ (D11-6)

ْدیِرِینِتاِدِیِْاْالْجِن  <dur:én t.ad.i ēn a.ar.ûn> ‘the fourth (feminine) ……having been’ (Y31)

There exist further Khitan words and names with initial <a> (189), which will be dealt with in the Wordlist.

**Initials with Diphthongs Containing Initial a-: ay- and aw-**

َاْئِییدِیئِی (122), <aiy>  (395), <ai>  (049)

The graphs (122) and (395) are allographs, <ai>  (049) is not present as initial in the texts D, X, Y, L, EX, JU, KL, KC, HU, PC, PU.

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28 te demonstrative pronoun, iri-s-er ‘with names’ -s plural, -er is instrumental, a’ga- causative of a-, agal deverbal noun (on the instrumental of the plural in -s, see WJ98).

29 Eci may be connected with Mo ečige ‘father’.

30 tawsuo  (029.041.090.262) <tau.su.ó.ai> ‘to advance’ (X2-14, 3-17, 24-6) | Mo dabsi ‘to advance’, dabsigul- ‘caus. of dabsi’.

31 tadi must be a Chinese title.
The Khitan graph <ai> (122) is used in transcriptions of Chinese da 大 as <dá.ai>, <d.ai.i>, <t.ai.i> and for other Chinese finals as in *kai ‘open’ or pai ‘plate, tablet’. In KSS (122) represents two homophonous words with the meanings ‘year’ and ‘father’ resp. Their plural forms are different. The two homophonous words ay¹ and ay² occur together 50 times in the texts D, X, L, Y, EX and 67 times in the texts JU, KC, KL, HU, PC, PU.

ay¹ (122) ‘year’ <ai> (K128), Pl. ayīs <ai.s> <SIX ai.s> ‘six years’ (K204), (D38-12, 39-3, 47-16, 51-4, X1-28, 14-24, 28-11, 30-31, 33-24, 35-22, 44-25, 48-4, Y26, 27), Sh2 | Mo oi ‘full year, anniversary, birthday’, the ‘calendaric year’32:
qi ay ‘the same year, that year’ (X33-23),
Hongdi-in podo ay-en gi <hong di:in po:do ai:en gi> ‘during the time of the Emperor, in the gi (of the) year’ (Y9)33.
ayde¹ ✳ (122.204) <ai.de> ‘in the year’ (X23-23, 26-26, 7 times in JU, 11 times in PU, once in HU)34.
HEAVEN uduľa’ar 20 ayde <HEA VEN ú.dū.l.ha.a.ar TWENTY ai.de> ‘in the twentieth year of the Chongxi period’ (= 1051) (X23-23).

ay² ✳ (122) ‘father’ (K97, D2-12 2-18, 2-27, 3-6, 3-12, 13-18, 19-4, 21-15, 26-17, 43-20, X2-10, 3-25, 7-6, 7-34, 8-30, 11-11, 16-37, 19-23, 22-14, 24-30), Pl. ayid ✳ (122.254) <ai.d> (C107, X3-29, 6-16, 14-29, 17-33, 19-15, 32-34, Y22, PU18-34, 5-26, JU9-33, 25-21, KL9-29, HU15-36, 31-38, 30-18)35, u’ur(u) ay ‘ancestor’ (D2-11, 2-17 passim, X7-5, 7-15 passim),
ay mon <ai mo.n> ‘parents’ (D17-10),
bu ay ‘grandfather’ (X19-22, Y5) most probably ebu ay, see below, p. 155,
a-y Teisu honti <ai t.ei sú hong.di> (Y6) ‘the father De Zu 德祖 the Emperor’,
ebü ay sengün sa’ar <bu ai s.eng.un s.a.ar> (X19-22) ‘[when] his grandfather was holding the title (appointed) Field Marshal’,
HEAVEN honti-in ebu ay <HEA VEN hong.di:in bu ai> (Y4) ‘the grandfather of the Heavenly Emperor’.
ay-un ceu-un udur pusuwulgi <ai.ún c.eu.un ud 3.úr pu.kả.û.ul.gi> ‘the first prefect of the ancestral district’ (EX10)36.

ayde² ✳ (122.204) <ai.de> ‘to the father (dative)’
ayde küsų’ur <ai.de ku.ű.ů.ů.û.ur> ‘to the father in/the favour (…was given)’ (X17-20).

32 Mo on is in Khitan po with the basic meaning ‘time, year’ (see in detail K122).  
33 K read (146) ꜩ gu, but WJ correctly <gi> (157, 301). This word may be a Khitan transcription of Chinese ji 己 ‘the sixth heavenly stem’, LMCh, EMCh ki’.  
34 The two homophonous words ayde¹ and ayde² are not distinguished yet.  
35 WJ109 <ai.s> ‘fathers’ in error | Da ačā ‘father, own’, ečihe ‘father, other person’s’, HN only ečihe DaE ači.  
36 ceu-un is Chinese zhou ‘province’ 介, udur ‘first’, Kane has <yu> <pu.kà.û.ul> or <pu.ů.û.ů.û.ů.ul> is the name of an office, perhaps it may be connected with the office of watering. The Mo word un ‘water’ has hitherto had no h- data in MMo, but Monguor has fudzu, and East Yugur qusun, while DaE as, see HN p. 536.

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*ayi- ʻto fear’ | Mo ayu-, ayi- ʻto fear’, Da ai- ʻto fear, be afraid’, HN ayu-, all modern forms derive from ayi-, DaE ai-.

*ayilg̃a- ʻto frighten, threaten’ causative/passive in -ľ̄g̃a. | Mo ayulga- ʻto frighten, to threaten’, Da ailegaa- ‘frighten, scare, startle’.

ayilg̃a’ai <ai.il.ha.ai> (122.302.051.122) ‘having been frightened, threatened’ (Y12) || converbal form in -ai of ayilg̃a.

cawur ui(l)de ayilg̃a’ai tüšien iriser <cau.úr ui:de ai.il.ha.ai tü:ši:en i.ri:s:er> (Y12) ‘for his offensive/frightening deeds in the battle he got the title dushi 都事’.

au- ʻwar affair’, +de locative, tuši ‘dushi’+gen, iri ‘name, title’ +x plural, er instrumental case marker.

37 cawur uy(i)l ‘war affair’, +de locative, tuši ‘dushi’+gen, iri ‘name, title’ +x plural, er instrumental case marker.

38 As in Mo saŋg̃u- ‘to sit’ > saŋgul- ‘to set’, uŋga- ‘to drink’ > uŋgul- ‘to give drink’ (Poppe 1964, p. 61).

39 See for tawsuo uŋg̃ul- (029.041.090.262) <tau.su.ó.ui> ‘to advance’ (X2-14, 3-17, 24-6) | Mo dabsi- ‘to advance’, dabsigul- ‘caus. of dabsi-’, saŋg̃al tawsuo’uui awui <s.a.ha.al tau.su.ó.ui au.ui> ‘Sagal has been advanced to the post’ (X24-7), tawsuo’ułgai Ʇuŋg̃al Ʇuŋg̃al Ʇuŋg̃al Ʇuŋg̃al <tau.su.ó.ui.ů.ai> ‘to let advance’ (D9-20, 11-5), tawsuo’ułg̃u Ʇuŋg̃al Ʇuŋg̃al Ʇuŋg̃al <029.041.090.366.151> <tau.su.ó.ů hips.łu> ‘to be advanced’ (X37-23). On Sagal Ʇuŋg̃al Ʇuŋg̃al Ʇuŋg̃al Ʇuŋg̃al (244.189.051.098) <s.a.ha.al> (X4-15, 24-5) and sa’a’al Ʇuŋg̃al (244.189.098) <s.a.al t.ge.er> ‘Sagal died’ (D23-4).

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ho:de tawsuowui awulga’ul  ‘to him [as] an advancement an appointment was given’ (Y17).40

awlīgalga’ai  MOUNTAIN awlīgalga’ai  ‘was placed in the tomb/mountain’ (X33-18).

awulu’ui  ‘to him [as] an advancement an appointment was given’ (Y17).40

awliğalğa’ai  MOUNTAIN awliğalğa’ai  ‘was placed in the tomb/mountain’ (X33-18).

awul  awul  he:ta  ‘beginning with, from, since’ as in the Mo expressions ekinci-e abun ‘from the beginning’, örlüge-e abugad ‘since morning’ (L). The expression <BORN.i yi aū.oi> had then the meaning ‘from his birth on’. In the preceding sentence we read about the death of the Field Marshal: e saadi BORN awoi  <e 2 s.a.ad.i BORN.yi aū.oi> (X40-18), <e s.a.ad.i BORN.yi aū.er> (Yongqing Gongzhu Inscription line 28) ‘since his birth there’ (WJ214).’


moku Doloer awui naģaner mo TENT-en te  ‘Those of the wife, Doloer milady, the maternal uncle, the great lineage’ (Y11), senggün Bu Cang shi-en moku Owii Esen awui TWO-en bahuan TWO mo.. ‘To the wife of the senggün Fu changshi, the milady Owii Esen two sons and two daughters [were born]’ (Y13).

Initial a- Written with Graphs of the Type VC-

ad:  (099),  /  (016)

Ada’an  ‘of Dong Dan, Eastern Dan Ch 東丹 in Adan guren ‘Kingdom of Adan’ (D8-3) || Adan or Dan (WF112-113, note 9, WJ74), the former Bohai. There is no hint in the Chinese sources that the proper name Dan had an a- initial. The Chinese used here the same character 丹 as for the second syllable of the Chinese transcription of Khitan.

ah:  (197) = ay, aġ yet no example as initial, only in codas, see below.

40 K has <ka> instead of <su>.
41 awui’ is here the same as awui2.
al > 方 (098) appears in the suffix <….-ha.al.hu> (K46) ‘-ğalğu’ in opposition to <-ge.l.gi>-’ and can be compared with the Mo causative suffix -(ga)liga, -(ge)elge.

In word initial position:

*ala- 方 (098.189) <al.a> ‘to kill’ | Mo ala- ‘to kill’, HN ala- ‘to kill’, DaE al-.

ala’ar- 方卡仌 (098.189.123) <al.a.ar> past tense masculine form of ala- (D5-15, 30-16, 43-14).

Sudgey ala’ar <s.ud3.ge.y al.a.ar> ‘[he] killed Sudgey’ (D5-15),
ŠagaTENT ala’ar <sa.ha.TENT al.a.ar> ‘[he] killed ShahtaTENT (Shahtager?)’ (D30-16), cf. sudurgeer below (D48-18),
Ciriń gi ala’ar <ci.ri.n gi al.a.ar> ‘[he] killed the Ciriń’ (D34-13/14).

Tümür Ceu ala’ar üsgi tsar <tuumu.ur ci.eu al.a.ar us.gi ts.ar> ‘has killed Tüümür Ceu’ and an inscription was raised / a note was written’ (Y38).

*alal- ala- ‘to let kill, with the factitive/passive suffix -l.

alalji <al.l.u.ji> ‘having been killed’ | converbal form of ala? (D38-18) [written with two different types of <ji>]

sudurge’er aluji <s.ud3.ur.ge.er al.u.ji RECORD.e nai> ‘was ruined and killed’ (D48-18),
ho bayilğa’ar aluji <ho bai.l.ha.ar al.u.ji2> ‘he was removed and killed’ (D38-18),
amuilğa’ar aluji jin kem ja’alğa’ai <am.ul.ha.ar al.u.ji jỉn k.em ja.al.ha.ai> ‘!’ (Y22).

*alalgu ‘battle’ | Khitan +ğu is a deverbal nominal suff., cf. Mo -gu in yadagu ‘poor’ < yada- ‘to be unable’, this is more probable than Mo -gu, the suffix of the nomen futuri.

alalgü-an 方卡仌天 (098.261.151.011) <al.l.hu.an> ‘battle + genitive’.

RECORD alalgü-an puluğ <RECORD.e al.l.hu.an p.ul.uh> ‘in the record the battle detachment …’ (X2-26).

<ci.eu> is a transcription of the Chinese name of the ‘province’ 省 zhou, but also figures as a part of name e.g. in X20-25.

sudurge- may be connected with Mo sütüdge- ‘to ruin’.

puluğ has been identified by Kane as ‘intercalary month’ from the verb pulu-. puluğ
alalgüer ḥal me (098.261.151. 269) <al.l.hu.er> ‘battle + instrumental?’ (Y5)
alalgüer núwur 048iń irdide <al.l.hu.er ŋi.ō.ūr 048.iń i.ri.de> ‘battle circuit XXX
*? alagode ḥal me (098.189.305.205.186.347) <al.a.305.de o.oi> (X17-24), if

ay-de küsi‘ūr ŞaşaTENT alagode o’i <ai.de ku.ū.su.ūr ša. ha. TENT al.a.go.de
o.oi> ‘to the father (aide) as favour (kuusuur) Sha.ša. TENT al.a.go.de was
given (o.oi)’ (X17-24)46;

ali ḥal (098.339) <al.i> ‘a superlative particle’ | cf. Mo

ali ciisen moer <al.i ci.i.is.en mo.er> ‘with the ladies of the highest/best blood
relation’ (D36-19).

<am> Ṣ (184) occurs in the transcriptions, e.g. in Chinese sam ‘three’ ทะเล <s.a.am>

<an> Ṣ (244.189.184). Ṣ (184) occurs in Y39 and JU10-22 isolated.

*amu ‘peace, rest’ | Mo amur ‘peace, rest’, Da amare ‘peace’.

*amul- ‘to put into rest, make peace’ | Mo amugul- ‘to put into rest’, amugu-

<ai> Ṣ (184.261.051.122) <ai.ri.ún al.i mú.158> (Y39).

*amulġa- ‘to let make peace, to pacify’ factitive in -ga of amul-.

amulğa’ai ḥal me (184.261.051.122) <am.l.ha.ai> ‘making peace, happiness,
pacifying’ converb in -ai of amulga-.

kuw-un amulğa’ai <ku.ū.n am.l.ha.ai> ‘the pacification of the people’ (X26-
11).

amulğa’ar ḥal me (184.366.051.123) <am.ul.ha.ar> ‘having made peace’
(Y22):

kuw-un ewurge-un amulğa’ar <ku.ū.un eu.ur.ge.un am.ul.ha.ar> ‘having
pacified the people and the officials’ (Y22).

cawur Tianz amulğa’ar <cau.úr t.ian.tz am.ul.ha.ar> ‘the army pacified
Tianzhi’ (Y24)
amse Ṣ (184.244) <am.se> ‘because of’ (K187n, JU15-2, JU16-57), Ṣ also /s/.

Mo īle- ‘to be left over’), Da hüledee ‘remain behind’, HN hülei, hileī ‘surplus’, Ma fulu ‘sur-
plus’ | Sh pulu, puluh. This is possible, but in this context I suggest instead a word to be connected
with Mo bulüg ‘group, division, detachment’ because in the phrase alalgü-an pulüg ‘battle detach-
ment’ fits better into the context. The following expression does not pertain to pulüg:

Mo古老的 ‘wing’, see also nöbo hu (222.253.076) <ni.o.ho> ‘circuit, route’ (K88).

See also <sh.a.TENT al.a.ar> in D48-18.

ewürgen ḥal me (067.236.112.100) <eu.ur.ge.ën> (D50-15), ḡal gis (067.097.
349.144) <eu.ūr.ge.ūn> (Y22) ‘duty, role, function’. | Mo egürge, īgürge ‘burden, duty, load, role,
part, function’.

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car amse REGIONa-an 〈c.ar am.se REGION.a.an〉 ‘because for a time in the region’ (L2).


<an> 〈011〉, <an> 〈127〉, <án> 〈290〉.

The graphs <an> 〈011〉 and <an> 〈127〉 were considered as allographs, while (290) as a heterograph. (127) and (290) do not occur as initials.

*anla- 〈011.261〉 ‘to hunt’ | Mo
angla-<angna- 'to hunt'.

šari-d cicien so'or anlaġai 〈s.a.r.i.d ci.ci:en so:or an.la.ai〉 ‘the langjuns and others… (and) were called/invited to hunt’? (Y10)
šarid anlaġar 〈s.a.r.i.d an.la.ar〉 ‘the langjuns went to hunt’? (Y28).

<áng> 〈199〉, <ang> 〈280〉
<br>〈199〉 does not occur in word initial position.

-angular 〈280〉 in:

dagar o'on xas ang 〈da.ha.ar o.ón x.s áng〉 ‘[the coffin] was closed and…..?’ (D47-20).

angra 〈280.084〉 〈ang.ra〉
<br>〈SMALL.qu.de.i s.ho.ii áng.ra THIRTYo 066.én ee.ur o.o.077〉 ‘since his childhood until he reached 30 years’ (X29-4/10).
<br>〈-én〉 may be here the genitive case suffix, the graph 〈066〉 is not deciphered yet. According to Aisin (2012) 〈ma〉, it occurs sometimes in place of 〈ha〉 (WJ195). The personal pronoun ‘he’ was in Khitan 〈hó〉 (309) (WJ143), its genitive case may have been 〈ha-en〉. The graph 〈077〉 has to be read according to Aisin (2012) as 〈bur, bor〉. I suggest that it is an allograph of 〈088〉 〈i:i〉 and functions here as the marker of the converb. If the equation 〈066〉 with 〈ha〉 is correct, then we can decipher (066) and read it as 〈ga(r)〉.

*ga(r)- 〈066〉 recte 〈ha〉 ‘to go, or come out, to appear, to reach’ | Mo gar- ‘to go or come out’, HN gar- ‘to come out, appear’, DaE gar-50.

Initial a- Not Written

Abogin 阿保金 (311.334.222) 〈b.g.i:〉 ‘a name, *Abogin’ (XY 4-29/31) | in Ch Abaowin 阿保謹 [?a-puaw-kin], see above and Róna-Tas (2016, p. 118).

50 If the correct reading of (066) is 〈ga(r)〉, we have: 30 〈ga(r)-en ewür ođii〉 THIRTYo ha.én ee.ur o.o.ii 〈when he reached 30〉 (X29-8) as in: sengin 30 〈ga(r)lun〉 〈2 ayis〉 <s.eng.un THIRTYo ha.lun TWO a.i.s > ‘after the sengin reached 30, [he] spent two years….’ (X35-18). 〈ga(r)i〉 〈066.080〉 (066.ii) the converbal form of 〈gar(r)〉- <s.eng.un 017.or 291.o.i.un.qu.de ha.i> ‘the Field Marshal appeared at the….?’, 〈ga’arilguŋu 〈k̂a ŋištə 〈066.189.069.261.151〉 <ha.a.r.i.l.hu> (X36-34) a deverbal noun of the factitive verb garil- | Another word is: *garla- ‘to handle’ | Mo garla- ‘to handle’ from gar- ‘hand’, 〈gar(la)un 〈066.261.122〉 <ha.l.ün> (X35-20) 〈gar(la)ci 〈066.261.162〉 <ha.l.ci> (D8-2), a converbal form in 〈ci〉 of the verb garla-.

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If we distinguish, which is not always easy, word formative suffixes and inflectional suffixes, we can state that if the first syllable contains /a/ it can be followed by <a>, <i>, <o> and <u>. However, inflectional suffixes may also contain <e> as in alalguéer (098.261.151.269) ‘battle + instrumental?’ (Y5) or ay-de (122.205) ‘to the father’, ay-en (122.140) ‘of the father’, ayis-en (122.244.140) ‘of the years’, ayid-en (122.254.140) ‘of the fathers’.

The Representations of e- Initials

| The graphic representations of [e] in initial position are the following: |
|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| V e: <e2> (348), <e> (109), | D e: <eu> (067), ey/y: <y> (020), | VC e: <el> (080A), em: <em> (257), <em2> (256), <em> (270), en: <en> (140), <en2> (361), <en> (100), <en> (219), <en> (399), | en: <en> (073), eng: <eng> (175), er: <er2> (269), <er> (341), |
|                             |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |

Initial e- Written with Simple <e>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e (109)</th>
<th>e (348)</th>
<th>e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The two graphs are alllographs, from a systematic point of view, there exists only one <e>.
| e (109) | e (348) | e |
| ‘this, demonstrative proximal pronoun’ (D21-17, X22-26, 25-29, 28-3, 40-15, +WJ100, JU17-20, JU26-18, JU24-35, JU26-19, HU22-2) || The original root *e was lost in the Mongolic languages, but see the derivates: Mo ede, ene, egün- ‘stem of ene’, Da ene ‘this’, ede ‘these’, GN ene, oblique stem eün, pl. ede <e, see et ‘these’.
| e iride sa’ai <i.r.i.de s.a.ai> ‘while being in this position’ (D21-17). | e iride geri xüyrigei <i.r.i.de g.ri x.u.i.ri.ge.y> ‘to this position he was promoted’ (X28-3)52.
| e sa’adi BORNi awer/awoi <e s.a.ad.i BORN.i aū.ér> ‘to this place he was born’ (X40-15). |
| ‘t ‘ (247) ‘these’ the plural of e ‘this’ written with a single <t>. |
| et iriser ağa’al <t i.r.i.ser a.ha.al> ‘these titles having been conferred upon him’ (D20-17, WJ98)53. |
| et iriser oju’un ‘with these titles he was awarded/these ranks he entered’ (X12-2). |

51 The verb may perhaps be connected with Mo sagu- ‘to sit, stay, be (copula), become’, see below <s.a.ad>.
52 According to WJ194 <x.u.i.ri.ge.y> has the meaning ‘to be promoted’.
53 The demonstrative distant pronoun is <qi> (323) or <qi.hu> (323.151). Aisin (2012) reads <ta>.
Initials with Diphthongs Containing Initial e-: ey- and ew-

ey/ey: <y> 𐀎 (020)
The graph represents a /y/ in initial position in most cases and will be dealt with among the y- initials. But it may also stand for /ey/. In the transcriptions of Chinese it represents -ei finals (K37). In Khitan morphology it represents a converb as -ay, -iy and -oy do.

In word initial position:
*ey- 𐀎 (020) <ei> ‘the copula, to have, to exist, to be present’ (K156) | The relationship of Khitan *a- and <ei>, is not clear. It may be an extended base of *a-/a+y/ and under the influence of /y/ it may have been palatalised. In this case it perhaps is to be read as /äy/, that is, with a palatalised /a/. The graph is Romanised normally as <y> but in this case as <ei> or <ey>.

eyye 𐀎 ereotype (020.327) <ey:ie> ‘being somewhere, to be present somewhere’.
MagaTENT eyye <ma.ha.TENT ey:ie> ‘MagaTENT being (there)’ (D40-9),
got eyye <go:t ey:ie> ‘remained_was at home/in the lineage’ (K156),
got Ù eyye <go:t ù ey:ie> ‘he was.remained in the lineage of Ü’ (Y3),
pa’ad eyye <p.a.ad ey:ie> ‘was in the bagas…’ (X8-19)54.

ew 𐀎 (067) <eu>
*ew- 𐀎 (067) <eu> ‘to not exist’ (L2, Sh2) | cf. Mo *eb ‘not exist’, see ebde- ‘to destroy, annihilate, to cause to not exist’.55, HN ebde- ‘to break, to destroy’, Da erede-, ?DaE ǝrd-, DaM erde (< *ebdere-).

ewiń 𐀎 (067.222) <eu.ń> ‘?the state of not being’ (D38-20) an extended form of ew-:
üyi(l) ewiń <ui eu.ń> (L2) has to mean ‘the matters [of the region] were neglected, did not exist’,
SEAL ewiń 𐀎 (067.222) <SEAL eu.ń> ‘not having seal/not being official’ (D38-20).
Ewińer 𐀎 (067.222.341) <eu.ń.er> ‘no existence, death, memorial of a passed person’ (D36-15),
niuijen ewińer tulur jawulgăr ar <ri.u.ji.en eu.ń.er t.uł.u.ür jau.ul.ha.ar> ‘at the Ruujien [mountain]50 a “no existence” [memorial] pillar’ was erected’ (D36-15).

ewi 𐀎 (067.152) <eu.ji> ‘?converbal form of *ew-, not being?’ (D39-19) in line final position:

54 *ba’a 𐀝 (295.189) <p.a> ‘a small territorial unit’ | cf. Mo bag ‘the smallest administrative unit’ < bag ‘bunch, group’. ba’a-d 𐀝 (295.189.099) <p.a.d> ‘plural of ba’a’ (X8-18).
55 The relation of *eb > ebde with Mo ese the negation particle and ese- the negative verb will not be treated here. See Brosig (2015) on Mongolian negation.
56 In the preceding line Ruujien MOUNTAIN.
gi qa’aloji ewji <gi₂ qa.al.ó.ji eu.ji> ‘[the coffin was placed and…] not closed (gi qa.al)’.

ewüni (067.059) <eu.uni> ‘? some category of official’ (WJ200)
muij-en ewuni <mu.u.ji3:en eu.ni> ‘the Ewuni of the region’ (X32-5).


ewül (067.366) <eu.ul> ‘name of a region’.

sengün Ewül tequshi <s.eng.un eu.ul t.qu.sh.i> [in the capacity of] Field Marshal [he was also] the Governor General of the Ewül region’ (X11-21),

I have to deal here with the Khitan word for ‘winter’, because certain derivatives begin with e-:

ü’ül (131.366) <u.ul> ‘winter’ (K3, 79, 126, D47-12, JU37-42, JU52-17, JU20-50, HU7-13, PU11-11, PU10-3, PU13-16, Sh2), <u’ul> (C107, Sh 104) | Mo übül, Mo ebül, HN übül, Da ugel, DaE ugul, uwul, u₁, Sh uul/uuul.

dawur-un üwül 14 DAY <dau.úr.ún u.ul TEN FOUR DAY> ‘on the 14th day of the middle winter [month]’ (L11).

The denominal verb is:

*ewüle- ‘to spend the winter’.

ewülere (067.366.107.348) <eu.ul.[oi2]er.e>
temügeyi-en ewülere MOUNTAIN Am yewrüji-en cier <t.mu.ge.ii.en eu.ul.e (= o₁)er MOUNTAIN amo y.eu.ru.ji3.en cier> ‘while he spent the winter at the mountain Am… he wrote’ (X34-18).

ewülüji (067.366.131.152) <eu.ul.u.ji> (D22-8), here the context excludes the meaning ‘to be given in marriage’, it is a deverbal form, perhaps ‘after having spent the winter’:

tüdlege’er ünenen ewülüji (247.344,261.349.341 245.361.140 067.366.131.152) <t.ud(le.ge.e r ún.en.en eu.ul.u.ji> (D22-8). A similar case is the verb üw-, which has derivatives with e-:

*ü(w)- ‘to give, to provide’ | Mo ög- ‘to give’, Da uke-, HN ög-, DaE ukw-.

üwü- 元 (372.262) <ü.ui> ‘giving, providing’ (K66, 67, 99) conversal form of üw-

58 To Mo qaga- ‘to close’. The structure -ji -ji is remarkable.
59 In WM ebiilji- ‘to pass the winter’, the Khitan word ewüle- comes from *ebul-le-.
60 The sentence in which the word occurs ends with the block <ci.oi> (162.347) ‘wrote’, most probably <ci.c> (162.341) ‘wrote’. It is preceded by a verbal noun in -en (yewrüjen), then a name of a place (Mountain Am) and the latter is preceded by <eu.ul.oi₂.e> which has to be read <eu.ul.er.e>.
61 After a causative verb in past tense the next word has to be *ünen+-en. The word occurs in D32-16 <ün.en.de> and D34-26 <pu.i.un.én>. It recalls Mo ünen ‘truth, truthful’, but may be something different. It is not a genitive case marker, because after -n finals it is -i. More probably it is a deverbal noun or a modal form.
HEAVEN üwer (243.372.341) <HEAVEN ü.ér> ‘heaven bestowed, given by the Heaven’ (D3-23-24, 27-9, X39-35),

üwür- (372.097) ‘gave’ past tense of üw-

ayde küsüü üwür <ai.de ku.ū.su ū.ur> ‘to the father in favour was given…’ (X17-22)

*ewüi- causative of üw- ‘to give’.

ewülgey (067.366.112.020) <eu.ul.ge.y> a causative+converbal form of ewül- ‘was given (a consort from the Imperial clan)’ Wu and Janhunen (WJ70) suggested that here the word would be the same as <ū.ul.ge> ‘to be given in marriage’. The context does not exclude this possibility.

holboń ONE-i ewülgey <hó.l.b.ń ONE.i eu.ul.ge.y> ‘to him (a lady from the first Eliben 諱里 本 clan) was given (as a wife)’ (D6-13).

See further: JU11-13, HU14-38, HU18-6, HU18-36.

ewülgey (067.366.349.020) <eu.ul.ge.y> ‘was given’ must be the same as the preceding: ürü‘ülge’en ewülgey <ur.u.ul.ge.én eu.ul.ge.y> ‘… was given’ (X29-14).


ewülgen (067.366.334.140) <eu.ul.g.en> the final <en> here looks like a modal suffix, see Mongolian -n the suffix of the modal converb (Poppe 1964, p. 97) and not the marker of the genitive case.

ewülgen so’or (067.366.334.140 017.255) <eu.ul.g.en so.or> ‘…given was received’ (X31-5).

See further KL15-13, PU21-41.

ewülge’e (067.366.349.348) <eu.ul.ge.e> is a nominal form, like Mo ög-gülge ‘debt’, öglige ‘alms’ in the following sentence the word before it is in genitive case:

una’an-en ewülge’e u’un sa’ar <un.a.án.en eu.ul.ge.e u.un s.a.ar> ‘?’ (X18-2)


ewür 58-de <eu.ur FIFTY.EIGHT.de> ‘in his 58th year’ (X12-13).

ewür 67-de <eu.ur SIXTY SEVEN:de> ‘in his 67th year’ (Y26).

*ewürge (067.236.112) <eu.ur.ge> ‘to become old, age’ | cf. Mo ebügere- ‘to become old, age’.

ewürge’en (067.236.112.100) <eu.ur.ge2.én> is a verbal noun in -én of ewürge.


63 According to Aisin Gioro (2012) graph (017) has to be read <do>, but I suggest <so>.

64 Also pomufei-i ewülgen KNOWii <po.mu.fi.ei eu.ul.g.en KNOW.ii> (Y36), ewülgen śia’ág <eu.ul.g.en ś.ia.ah> (EX8).

65 The word may be etymologically connected with Mo ebüge ‘ancestor’, see ebügere- ‘to become old, age’, HN ebügen, DaE auka (form of address). See Kh <bu> (195) “ebü(ge)” ‘grandfather’.

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soi-en HEAVEN ewurge’en temei ‘having been granted the passing away by the Heaven?’ (D50-15). The passage relates to the death of the owner of the epitaph.

ewüg 〔久 (067.172) <eu.uh> ‘?’ (X28-28). Is this a proper name?
ewünī 〔香 (067.059) <eu.uni> ‘some category of official’:
muji-en ewünī <mu.u.ji3.en.eu.uni> ‘the Ewuni of the region’ (X32-5)
<ETERNAL.i.l.ha.ar.eu.uni> ‘?’ (Y29). See further: JU10-5.

*ewü - ‘to die’ | Mo ükü - ‘to die’, HN ükü - ‘to die’. The initial h- in one MMo source, the Rasulid Hexaglot, may be secondary. Though Monguor, Baoan and Dungxian have reflexes of *p-, Dagur has none: DaE uɣw-. The Da datum is important, because it shows that the -*k- was voiced, as in all other GQ Mongol languages, see the details in HN 540. According to WJ this word is somehow connected with Mo ügei, ügüi ‘(there is) not’. HN ügei (?ügüi), in all Shiron-gol languages it can take verbal suffixes, DaE uwai, this is less probable.

ewüi 〔気 (067.262) <eu.ui> ‘died’ in:
SMALL.qudu ewüi <SMALL.qu.dú.eu.ui> ‘he died when he was young/in his childhood’ (D9-9).

RECORD e kü ewüi <RECORD.e ku.eu.ui> ‘In the record [was noted that] the person died’ (X4-28).

ewge 〔格 (Y3) may be another writing for ü’e 〔CU (372.348) ‘a title’ (K130, X2-13, 5-9, 8-15) | Mo *üge ← T ōge, see üwe below, p. 167.

morid-en ewge ouj’un <m.r.i.d:en.eu.ge.o.ju.un> (Y3). According to K182 <m.r.i> is either the tribal unit (Chinese mili 彌里) or the Khitan word mori ‘horse’, ‘he was appointed Üge of the Tribal Unit/Horses’.69

Ewgenüg 〔音 伏久 (067.334.222.172) <eu.g.ñ.uh> ‘a male personal name’ (X18-23).

Initial e- Written by Graphs of the Type VC-

<el> 〔尔 (080A). According to Aisin Gioro (2012) (080) which is usually read as <ii>, may also be read as <el>.

66 tem- 〔定 (247.257) <t.em> ‘to grant title’ (K100), 令交 〔t.em.y> or <t.em.ei> (247.257.020) convert (D37-6, 40-2, 50-16, X39-32), 令交 〔247.257.341) <t.em.er> ‘appointed to, got the title’ (D20-9) | cf. Mo temdeg-, Ma temgetu ‘sign’, temgetule- ‘confer a mark of distinction’, 令 (020) may be either -y, or -ei.
67 muji has here the meaning ‘region’ and not emperor as WJ suppose (WJ200).
68 -qu is a suffix of adjectives, -du is locative/temporal.69 mori 〔马 (133.235) <mo.rí> ‘horse’ (K50, 102), <mori> (C107), Sh2 read for (235) <ir>, thus <m.ir> ‘horse’ and refers to Old Koguryo mero what is unnecessary. | Mo mori(n), Da mori, HN morin, DaE mror.
70 The suffix -ühug may be a diminutive, which I can trace back only in Old Turkic, see WOT146. If this can be supported by other data, then it would be the Small Üge, the minor Üge.
em: <em> 发 (257), <em longer> 发 (256), <éem> 发 (270)
The graph <em longer> 发 (256) is an allograph of 发 (257), 发 (270) is a heterograph. That means that we have two graphs for [em].
*em 发 (257) <em> ‘place, city’.
em-en 发 (257.140) <em.en> ‘local, of city’ (K66, X11-21) Sh2 in L4:7-13 translated om ‘city’, in em-en naid ‘[with his younger brothers the] local officials’. In the Chinese version ‘the prefect of Liyang’. It occurs in one case as em, in most cases as emen.
Dowun em Tamun emen <do.u.un em t.am.ún em.en> ‘of the region of Dow [and] of the region of Tamun’ (D14-13-16), only the second em is in genitive case.
Gewun emen sa’ai gorun MANAGE.un <g.eu.un em.en s.a.ai hor.ún MANAGE.un> ‘being in the region of Geu while he administered/organised the people’ (D15-4).
Gewun emen oju’un <g.eu.un em.en o.ju.ún> ‘he was installed to the region of Geu’(X28-1).

sengün Ewül emen tequshi <s.eng.un eu.ul em.en t.qu sh.i> ‘Being Field Marshal [sengün] he was the Governor General [tequ shi] of the Ewul region’ (X11-22).
ayden baqai emen Buur a’alga’ai <ai.d.en ba.qa.i em.en b.ü.ür a.al.ha.ai> ‘he was put in charge of (installed into) the childhood region (baka+i em) of Buur of the ancestors’ (X23-33).
moden emen gi awur <mo.d2.en em.en gi aú.ur…> ‘The maternal (mo-d-en) region was not (gi) taken’ (X39-27).
Tamar emen tušien <t.am.ar em:en t.ú ś.i.en> ‘Tuxian(?) of the Tamu 堤母地区’ (Y25).
emen nayid <em:en nai:d> ‘the officials of the region’ (L9).71
*em- 发 (270) <em> ‘to drink’ (K67, 93, Sh2)2 | cf. T em- ‘to suck’, Mo eme ‘woman’, Mo emkü-, ümkü- ‘to put or hold in mouth’, HN emkü ‘to hold in the mouth’, acc to Sh Ch honorific 飲 yin, LMCh ṭim. || As Kane (K67) remarks, the graph is found with back or front vowels.
emji 发 (270.162) <ēm.ci> ‘after he drank’ (K67, 93, L9),
em-en nayi-d dew-ur WINE.bo emji <em:en nai:d deu.úr WINE.bo ēm.ci…> ‘after he drank (emji) wine with the local officials (emen nayid) and his younger brothers (deur+sociative)...’.
ema 发 (270.189) <ēm.a> ‘goat, mountain goat’ (K66, 99), <emα> (C107) | Mo imaga, Da imaa, HN imaän ‘goat’, DaE ima: || acc to Vovin (2013, p. 622) ← OT ŋmga.
siauqu taulia 11 MONTH YELLOW ema holebun 3 DAY WHITE teqoa <s.iau.qú tau.li.a TEN ONE MONTH YELLOW ēm.a ho.le.bun THREE DAY

71 Also Pogoliń emen čim pojuga’ai <p.o.gól.1.in em:en ci:m p.o.ju.ha.ai> (Y9).
The graph 270 is Romanised by Kane as <ēm> (in my transcription <em>), by WJ as <ēm>, by Chinggeltei (2002b) <em>, by Aisin Gioro (2012) <em, jam>; I accept the form given by WJ.
WHITE te.qo.a> ‘in the blue hare [year], [in the] first period (holebun) of the
eleven[th] month, of the yellow goat on the third day, white chicken’ (EX4).

emra ☙ (270.084) <ēm-ra>
aylun dabun emra mo’on-de <ay.l.un d.bun ēm-ra m.o.ōn.de> ‘?’ (KL24-13)
emrai ☙ (270.084.339) <ēm-ra.i> ‘?’

qutug emra’l <qutug ēm-ra.i> ‘good fortune ?….’ (Y3)

emra ☙ (073.084) <ēm-ra>
aylun dabun emra mo’on-de <ay.l.un d.bun ēm-ra m.o.ōn.de> ‘?’ (KL24-13)
emrai ☙ (270.084.339) <ēm-ra.i> ‘?’

qutug emra’l <qutug ēm-ra.i> ‘good fortune ?….’ (Y3)

emra ☙ (073.084) <ēm-ra>
aylun dabun emra mo’on-de <ay.l.un d.bun ēm-ra m.o.ōn.de> ‘?’ (KL24-13)
emrai ☙ (270.084.339) <ēm-ra.i> ‘?’

qutug emra’l <qutug ēm-ra.i> ‘good fortune ?….’ (Y3)

en: ☙ (1073), <ēn> ☙ (100), <ēn> ☙ (219), <ēn> ☙ (361), <ēn₃> ☙ (399),
<ēn> ☙ (140). The graphs (100, 219, 361, and perhaps 399) are allographs.
From the systematic point of view there exist only two independent graphs,
(140) is used mostly in suffixes.

Ense ☙ (073.244) <ēn.se> according to WJ182 the unit <ēn.se> in X is a name.

Xurse Ense sa’adi <x.úr.s ēn.s s.a.ad.i> ‘spent the time in Xurse Ense’ (D49-3)

GREAT Ense awui <GREAT ēn.se au.ui> (X21-7) ‘the elder daughter (auui)
was mylady ‘Ēn.se’

The graph ☙ (100) <ēn₃> occurs in:

eneyer ☙ (100.020.141) <ēn₂.ey.er> ‘?’ (D36-23).
*enur ☙ (100.097) <ēn₂.úr> (X11-30) ? a mistake for ☙ (101.097) <deu.ūr>?

‘in assistance to’.

enü ☙ (100.131) <ēn₂.u> in:

mi’in iši enü ☙ (133.339.018.033.100.097) <m.i.in iši ēn₂.u> ‘nine tombs…?’ (X-422)73,

-en¹ ☙ (140) <en> is among others the marker of the genitive case, mostly after con-
sonants (K132-133). After <i> jur:en ‘of two’, <g.ūr:en> ‘of the state’, after
<e> c.i.is.en ‘of the blood (relations)’, after <o> <da.l.o.n:en> ‘of the seventh
generation’, after <e> g.e.en ‘of the house’.

-en² ☙ (361) <ēn> marker of the feminine gender after numerals and adjectives,

eng ☙ (175)
Engli ☙ (175.206) <ēng.li> ‘a name’ (X25-21)
todo’on engli ☙ <t.od.ō.on eng.li> ‘the fifth Engli’.

er: ☙ (269), <er> ☙ (341), sometimes interchanged with <oi> ☙ (347) and
<er₂> ☙ (107).

-en¹ ☙ (269), <er> ☙ (341), suffix of the past tense after <e>: temleger
<d.em.le.g:er> ‘was awarded (with the title…’), after <i>: jier ☙ <c.i:er> ‘wrote’,

-en² ☙ (269), <er> ☙ (341), suffix of the accusative, after <ai>: <nai.d:er> ‘the
officials (acc)’, after <a> <TWO qa.ha.ad:er> ‘two kagans (acc) (served)’ (K132),

-en³ ☙ (269), <er> ☙ (341), suffix of the instrumental, Sung usgier ☙ <s.ung
us.gi:er> ‘with the letters of the Song’.

-en⁴ ☙ (269), =r in: GREAT xomur ☙ <GREAT xo.mu:er> ‘the great
catalpa coffin’ (K131). A mistake in the Romanisation <ho recte <xo> and the
final -er pertains to the word and is not the suffix of the accusative74.

73 To <m.i.in>, see: min-i ☙ (133.018.339) <m.in.i> ‘tomb+gen’ (X46-13) cf. WJ221,
this has to be in the genitive case which is after -n [i].

74 xomur ☙ (057.220.269) <xo.mu:er> ‘coffin of an emperor’ (K87, D39-14), <GREAT
ho.mú:er> ‘the great catalpa coffin’ (Y28, K205) | qomur ☙ <P P M o  @

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Initial e- Not Written

ebū 生 (196) 'grandfather, old man' (X7-33, 19-22, 38-33 9 times in KL, 5 times in JU, once in HU | Mo ebūge 'ancestor, grandfather', HN ebūgen 'elderly man', DaE āvāra.
'bū ay 生平 (196.395) <bu> 'grandfather', <bu.ai> (K33, 100, Y5), <bu’ai> (C107),
'bū 'bū ay 生平平 (195.195.395) <bu bu ai> 'great grandfather' (K100).
esen 生考 (244.073) <s.en> 'long life, also used as a name' (X37-12, Y13), Liao shi Yixin 義信 (K32, 198) | Mo esen 'healthy'.
elema 生為 (261.270.189) <l.ēm.a>, elemga 生為為 (261.270.151.189) <l.ēm.hu.a> 'a title' (K 104) ← OT alimga ~ ilimga (Vovin 2013, p. 621), Clauson s.v. imga has el imga 'treasurer, secretary' || Liao shi 林牙 linya 'an official in charge of the academy', formerly known as xueshi, LMCh limnya | ← OT el imga. See ibun below, p. 157.

The Khitan vowel rendered by various kinds of <e> may reflect a closed /e/, in some cases even /i/ as in <e.ma> 'goat' *imā or in <te.qo.a> *tiqoa 'chicken'.

It is possible that as an allophone also [ä] was present, mainly before /y/ as in ey 爷 (020) <ei> 'the copula' which may be in fact äy- <a+y>.

The Representations of i- Initials

| V | i: <i> (339), <ι> (352), ἴ (114), <i> (353), Ī (113), ι | Ι | D | ia: <ia> (335), iang: iang (314), iàng (062), ie [= yā]: <i> (326), i or <e> (327), iu: <iu> (019), iū (138), iū2 (382), Ī (289), iung: <iung> (181), ii: <ii> (080), íi (077), VC ih: <ih> (338), <i> (455) [=iy], il: <i> (302), īn: <ιh, in> (221), и (222), in: <in> (018), iō (454), ing: <i> (303), ir: <ir> (137) (or <ren>), i or <e> (033), Ι (304). |

There exist three types of rising diphthongs /iy/, /ye/ and /yu/. They figure as initials and their value is /ya/-, /ye/- and /yu/-.

There are also three allographs representing <ii>: <ii> (080) and <ii2> (077) are descending diphthongs /iy/ and will be considered in this part.

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WOT kapurçay, EOT kapēč, cf. kogur 'der Sarg' (ChulR), kuorçax 'jaščik dlja vloženie trupa, grob' (Y), etc., see all data in WOT562–566.
Initial i- Written with the Single Graph ￿ (339)

iri ￿ (339.235) 〈i.ri〉 ‘name, title’ (K76, 108, Sh2, D2-5-6, 9-14 passim, X1-22, 12-26, 42-5, L12, Y4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 18bis, 26, 33, JU 22 times, KL 3 times, HU 3 times, PU 5 times), pl. iris ￿ (239.235.244) 〈i.ri.s〉 (X36-4, KL6-17, JU43-6, JU18-34), pl. acc. 〈i.ri.s.er〉 (D14-5, 20-18, X 12-3, Y12, HU8-20, HU3-22, JU22-56, PU7-39), dat-loc. 〈i.ri.de〉 (D6-17, 10-5, 21-18, X25-9, 28-4, Y28, 31) ?read ere || ? Mo nere, pl. neres, Da nere, HM nere || The loss of n- is curious, but Mo has the same plural -s as Khitan.

<i> ￿ (352) not in initial position, an allograph of ￿ (114) which is neither in initial position.

<i> ￿ (353), ￿ (113), both are allographs and occur only in Chinese words after sibilants.

The Graph for ii-

ii: ￿ (080)
According to Chinggeltei (1992) (K44) the graph may have the same function as -ai and -ei. According to Kane (K44) 〈i〉 is one of a series of converbal suffixes used in subordinate clauses. This may be accepted if it occurs as a suffix where we have to read /iy/. Otherwise, as initial it has to be read as /yi/. In the EX inscription the second part of the name of the Empress Xuanyi: ￿, EMCh ￿h, LMCh ￿ is written in lines 1 and 5 as 〈i.ii〉 ￿. Later in the same inscription an extended form of the name occurs as ￿ ￿ (EX21). The extension 〈.ii.u〉 is an abbreviation of ￿ ￿ 210.262 〈a.u.u〉 ‘mi-lady’, as in Mo abugai > guai after names, as title of respect, Qara-guai ‘Mr. Qara’. See also 〈tumu.ur rí.l.iń ii.ń mó te〉 ‘the lady Yin of Tumur Ri’ (Y32)75. As we have seen in the case of ￿ also here in the case of 〈i.ii〉 the Khitan graph represents a MCh glottal stop + vowel. The graph also occurs as an isolated word where it has to be read as yi and will be dealt with among the y- initials in one of the next parts of this series.

Initial i- Written with Graphs of the Type VC-

ih: ￿ (338), ￿ (455)
The graph ￿ (338) 〈ih〉 occurs in transcriptions of Chinese, frequently as final, but also as a yi- initial:
Yicieu-un sishi ￿ 〈ih ci.eu.un sì shî〉 ‘the Prefect of the 懿州 Yi Prefecture’(X25-4),
Yicieu-un tequshi ￿ 〈ih.ci.eu.un t.qu sh.i〉 ‘The Governor-General of Yi Prefecture’ (X27-26).
Ch 懿 yi was in EMCh ￿, LMCh ￿, see ￿ (080) = Yi above.

75 〈te〉 is written in a separate block.
il: <il> 国 (302) 'state, empire' (JU41-2, HU32-5) according to WJ perhaps a personal name in:

il üwe-de 国 眾[众] (302) üwe.de ‘Il üge + dative’ (X8-14)76.

K (80) suggests that Chinese yuyue [越] [is] ‘possibly derived from Tu(rk) ögüt ‘counsel’. Chinese yuyue (EMCh wuū, LMCh yū, EMCh wuät, LMCh yat) may reflect an OT ögüt, but Khitan <ü.e> has to be an equivalent of Mo üge ← OT üge, that is the singular of ögüt which itself is a plural. Mo üge occurs in the SHM (Temüjin üge par. 59, also Racheviltz 2004, Vol. I, p. 319). The first part i.e. <il> has to be here the OT word el and the full title is Il üwe ← *El üge ‘cancellor of the empire’. WJ may be right when they suppose that we have to do here with a name. Names derived from titles are frequent.

ilbun 关 (302.288) <il.bun>, also 关于 (302.311.144) <il.b.ún> ‘tribal judge’ (D10-8), gen. ilbun-en 关于 (302.288.140) <il.bun.en> ‘tribal judge + gen’ (X8-27, 13-13, 18-14, PU16-17).

According to WJ79, 156 < Chin yilibi 夷離畢 MCh *jilipjit. They suggest as a final source OT el begi. This is problematic; ilbun may be <*il abun. See Mo abun ‘who takes’ <ab- ‘to take’ +n deverbal suffix. Similar OT names El tutmiš, El yaratmiš, El toğişi (Hamilton 1955, p. 151). Even more similar in meaning is Almiš, the name of the Bulgar ruler Almiš ibn Shalkay, noted by Ibn Fadlan77, see OT al- ‘to take’. One would expect Ilawun, but it may be that /lb/ was preserved after the disappearance of /a/. The connection with Chinese yilibi 夷離畢 < MCh *jilipjit was suggested by Sun Bojun and Nie Hongyin (2008) quoted by WJ79. The first two Chinese characters may represent Khitan il ← OT el. However the third Chinese character bi 畢 had in MCh a final dental (pjišt) and not a nasal. Some occurrences:

ilbun-en baqa <il.bun.en ba.qa> ‘the son of the Ilbun’ (X8-27),

ilbun-en baqa-i baγuan <il.bun.en ba.qa.i b.hu.án> ‘The grandchildren of the Ilbun’ (X13-13),

Taguan ilbun-en goi-en Sabuγarde üwülge’en <t.hu.a.án il.bun.en go.i.en s.bu.ha.ar.de ū.ul.ge.én> ‘(She) was given in marriage to Tagu’an Ilbun of the house Sabuγa’ar’ (X18-14, WJ176).

elema ilbun エレマ イルブン (261.270.189 302.311.144) <l.ém.a il.b.ún> ‘the linya ilbun’ (D10-8)78.

in: <ń, iń> 仹 (221), 仺 (222). In most cases as initial it represents ń-. See in the section on the consonants.

in: <in> 雲 (018), <iń> 烏 (454). Not yet identified as initial.

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76 üwe 国 (372.346) <ü.e>, also 国务 (372.109) ‘counsellor’ a title as in: Abogiń üwe 力几 于 于 (189.334.222.372.346/109) <b.g.ń ü.e> ‘Abogin üge, counsellor, the founder of the Liao dynasty’ (X4-30).

77 See Ibn Fadlan in Togan (1939) and the name Almuš, the father of Árpád, founder of the Hungarian Kingdom. On Almuš, see Róna-Tas – Berta (2011, pp. 1171–1172).

78 On elema see above, p. 155.
*ir(y)- ُٔٔ (137.020) <ir.y> ‘to write, put down’. In WOT459 I suggested that Hungarian *ir- ‘to write’ is a loan from OT ُٔٔ ‘to make a notch or breach, to make an incision in wood, to carve’ hence ‘to carve (runiform) signs’. To this word-family pertains also OT ُٔٔ ‘dice, sticks etc. for casting lots, omen etc.’ and Mo ُٔٔ, ُٔٔ ‘bad omen etc.’ (in detail Róna-Tas 2004). The base of Khitan ُٔٔ- ُٔٔ- ُٔٔ- ُٔٔ may have been the same word, even if the formation of the actual words is yet unclear. According to Wu and Janhunen (WJ138) more or less equal to ci.ер ‘wrote’.

iri(y) - ُٔٔ (137.020.080) <ir.y.ii> converbal form of ir(y)- in:

COMPOSElağı iriyi (X10-15).


iri(y)ilğa’ar ُٔٔ ُٔٔ (137.020.302.051.123) <ir.y.il.ha.ar> past tense of iriylğa-

bud nağa’aner SMALL.qó TENTen pu’u iriyilğa’ar (X1-17).

*iri- ‘to beg, to request’ | Mo eri- ‘to seek, beg, request’, HN eri- ‘to look for, to request’, DaE ُٔٔ.

irilgey ُٔٔ (137.261.349.020) <ir.l.ge.y> ‘to beg, request’ (causative + converb with the converbal suffix -ey) (X36-3).

muji-en qağıyu irilgey iris (X36-3).

iremed ُٔٔ (137.270.254) <ir.ém.d> ‘?’ (D29-20)

su HEAVEN tau xeseğel iremed tabuyi (X1-15).

iši‘: <is> (033), ُٔٔ (034) <iš(i)>

iši (033) ‘nine, fem.,’ the masc. form is ُٔٔ (K24, 109), <is> (C107) | Mo yisün, Da ise, HN yesün ُٔٔ.yersün, DaE is, Sh: *iši, see the details in Róna-Tas (2016, p. 129).

išider ‘ninth’ ُٔٔ (033.254.341) <iši.d.er> (D2-15)

išider nonen u’ur ay (D2-15) ‘His forefather of the ninth generation’.

Išiuğ <iš.iú.ih/ih> ُٔٔ ُٔٔ (033.289.338/455) ‘Išiuğ’ (D1-15, 51-10) as the name of the scribe of the Xiao Dilu inscription. According to WJ53 “the possibility can not be ruled out that it is a question of a non-Chinese name”. The name may be of Biblic origin and perhaps Nestorian. The name occurs in Uighur documents as Išug ‘Jesus, Josuah’, see Raschmann (2015, pp. 410–411), also in U 5795 (Raschmann 2009a, VOHD13,22 #279) and U5832b (Raschmann 2009a, VOHD13,22 #439). The name, as Raschmann (2015, p. 411) stated, is also present in Sims-Williams (1992, p. 55), Rybatzky (2004,
The name of the scribe shows that he was a member of the Yelü clan (Yarud, see Róna-Tas 2016, p. 121) and his personal name was Išiuig Nu. The personal name Nu 亊 (251.131) occurs 13 times in the inscriptions D and X, 3 times in the Y, 6 times in the HU, once in the PU, twice in the JU and once in the KL inscriptions as a name or a part of a personal name. In the Liao shi the last part of the name of Han Jia Nu (WJ172) is rendered by Chinese nu Უ, LMCh nuš, EMCh ㄴ.

Cie MOUNTAIN.o Yaraud Išiuig Nu <ci.e MOUNTAIN.o y.ra.u ud iši.iú.iḥ₂ n.u> (D1-15).

Išiuig Nu jier <iši. u.ih n.u ci.er> ‘was written by Išiuig Nu’ (D51-10-12).

Išiy 与 (033.353) <iši.i> ‘part of a female name’ (X21-11)

juren Ngin Išii awui <ci.ur.én ng.ing iši.i aú.ui> ‘the second [daughter] was Lady Ngin Išii’.

In fact we have the following initials with i: i <i> (339), il: <il> (302), ir: <ir> (137) (or/also <ren>), iši: <iši> (033), (034). Further we have the following syllables: ya: <ia> (335), yä: ie o: <ie> (326), <ieo> (327), yi ii: <ii> (080), yu: <iu> (019), yung: iung: <iúng> (181). The last five have to be dealt with the y- initials. Only [i], [il] and [ir] remain, /i/ and I + one of the two sonants (r, l) and /iši/. As I assumed (Róna-Tas 2016, p. 129) /iši/ goes back to *irsi.

Initial i- Not Written

In the following case we have an initial ’r’:

irgen 亊 亊 (235.334.140) <ri.g.en> ‘a title’ (K12, X3-7/9, PU2-13, PU2-26, PU3-27, PU3-31, PU3-34, PU 4-14) Sh2 read for (235) <ir> i.e. <ir.g.en> | Ch yilijin 畏離堇, [LMCh yi-li-kin = *yirkin], WF 1949 398-4, 432, K128-129, WJ142 | Mo erkin, erkim ‘the best’, OT erkin ‘a title’ cf. Latin optimates. The word is written not with <ir> (137) but with <ri> 仧 (235).

ya Namuqu irgen <ia ń.mú.qu ri.g.en> ‘[his] elder brother [was] Namuqu irgen’ (X3-7/9, WJ142).

Though the Romanisation contains a letter <i> and a letter <ı>, the second is not used for Khitan words. On the other hand, the letter <i> is used in front and in back vocalic words. See iryilga’ar 亊 亊 亊 (137.020.302.051.123) <i.y.i.l.ha.ar> ‘to write, put down’, equal to <ci.er> ‘wrote’ (X1-17) and irilgey/irlegey 亊 亊 亊 (137.261.349.020) <ir.l.ge.y> ‘to beg, request’ (causative + converb) (X36-3). From such doublettes we may conclude that Khitan had a front and a back closed illabial sound: /i/ and /ı/, but the KSS did not reflect it 亊.

79 Same as in the Uighur script. Further arguments will be given in connection with the rendering of the gutturals.
Analysing the Khitan texts written in KSS we can conclude that the Khitan language had the following illabial vowels: /a/, /e/, /i/ and /ï/. /a/ was illabial, /e/ was rather closed and may have sometimes been interchanged with /i/. An opposition of short and long vowels in the cases of /a:/ and /i:/ could be observed. There existed secondary long vowels, and probably also primary ones. At least in the case of the verb of existence -a- we can suppose a primary length. This may have several origins, but at present we cannot go beyond this general statement. To the length of the vowels I will come back below, pp. 176–184.

The Representations of o- Initials

| Vo: | <o> (186), <õ> (252), <õ> (253), <õ> (090), |
| D o i: | <oi> (347), <oq> (107), |
| V C o d: | <od> (016), oh: <oh> (377), on: <on> (154), <on> (322), ong: <ong> (071), or: <or> (255), or: <or> (076A), ordo <ordo> (355), also <udo>. |

Initial o- Written with a Single Graph o

<õ> (090), <o> (186), <õ> (252), <õ> (253).
The first two (090) and (186) are interchangable, the last two graphs (252) and (253) are allographs.

In the materials of WJ <õ> (090) does not occur as initial, but it occurs in Y, JU, KL and PU.

From the two allographs (252) and (253) only (253) does occur in one case, just where there is a special phonetic context: <õ2.ur.ho> treated in Part I (Róna-Tas 2016, pp. 129, 132), as one possible transcription of Ogur, with the disappearence of -g-. If we put aside for the time being this single case, we see that the “normal” representation of /o/ in word initial position is <o> (186). It occurs in the inscriptions D and X in 18 different cases, some of them are frequent, up till 5 occurrences as <o.ju.un> (186.149.144) in D and X, four times in KL, JU and PU, and the stem of which is oju-. The converbal form <o.o> (186.107) <o.o2> occurs in D and X four times, in PU, JU, HU, KL 21 times.

The graph (186) may be followed by syllables containing <a>, <o>, <u> and <i>, there is one exception <o.or.en> (D6-7), where <en> is a suffix.

**ojien** (090.152.140) (Y3), read by K192 as <u.ji:én>. The graph (090) is transcribed in C (p. 111) as o and by Aisin (2012) as <o> and <u>.

**sio ojien** (294 290.152.140) <sio.õ.ji.én> (Y3), may pertain together with the following:

**odzii** (186.354.080) <o.dz.ii> ‘perhaps a verb in -s.ii’ (D7-6).
*o- 及 (186) ‘verbal stem with the meaning to come, to become, to come there, to finish, to close’ | cf. Mo oro- ‘to enter, to go or come into a place, space, a state or condition’, HN ora- ‘to enter’, DaE war-. || I will come back to the absence of /r/. In some cases the verb or the verbal base is written as 及 <o.o>.

O-go 及 (186.076) <o.ho> o.ho has to be a finite form, perhaps past tense of o-.

dağar ogo <da.ha.ar o.ho> ‘the coffin was closed’ (D50-20).

This is almost the same as:
o-on 及 (186.322) ‘finite past tense form of o-’ (WJ99). According to K155 -{(o)n forms verbal nouns in:
dağar oon <da.ha.ar o.ón> ‘the coffin having been closed’ (D47-17),
taqoshi oon <t.qó sh.i o.ón> ‘having got the title Governor General’. (D21-12), (WJ163).

One has the impression that <o> and <o.o> are equivalent, or may be only two orthographic variants.

O’oai 及 (186.186.122) <o.o.ai> converbal form of o’o
sengün 305en o’o’ai <s.eng.un 305.en o.o.ai> ‘the Field Marshal...arrived’ (X24-15).

The following two verbal forms are read in the same way, but written with different graphs (107=347), they are converbal forms:
o’o-i 及 (186.107) <o.o.i> ‘got there, came, became (frequently in sentence final position)’
REGIONayu o’oi <REGION.a.iú o’oi> ‘arrived in the region’ (D17-14)
Kimisugün o’oi <g.m i.u g.ún o.o.i> ‘arrived in Jinsuju’n’ (D19-17)
sien hong-en po-do ku’usu’u sujide’ o’oi <s.ie.én hong.en po.do ku.ū.su ī.ji, de o.o.i> ‘In the time of the former Emperor the favour of donation was given’ (X11-6).

O’o-i 及 (186.347) <o.o.i> ‘got there, became, was given’ (X17-26).
TEN ONE ayde sünü DAYi nai o’oi ăo’o ai:de s.uni DAY.i nai o.o.i> ‘in the eleventh year he was given the title/entered the office of the head (nai) of the Night- and-Day-guard’ (K150).

O’od ‘to go to, to arrive’ | Mo od- ‘to go to, proceed to’, HN od- ‘to go’, not in Da, only in EYu where it is used as an auxiliary verb.

O’od 077 及 (186.016.077) <o.od.077> (077) 北 may be the same as (080) 北 <i>, its meaning is uncertain (X29-10), and in fact we find:

O’dii 及 (186.016.080) <o.od.i> ‘?’ (X35-42) both in a context with the meaning of a date or age to which the tomb owner arrived. The suffix <ii>, read -iy (see above) is a converbal suffix used in subordinate clauses (K44).

Ewur o.dii <eu.ur o.o.dii> ‘having reached the age’ (X29-10).

Ayur odii <a.i.ur o.o.od.i> ‘being aged?’ (X35-42).

Odulga’un 升 及 (090.249. 261.051.189.144) <ö,di.łu.ha.a.un> (JU13-29) has to be a converbal form of the factitive form of the verb od/o’od-.
oju\(^1\)- 

(186.149) ‘to close, cover’ (K89, 131, D4-2), -ju may be a converbal suffix as Mo -ju-, same as o’oju and oju (186.186.149) 

<o.o.ju> (186.149) ‘to close, cover’ (K89, 131, D4-2), -ju may be a converbal suffix as Mo -ju-, same as o’oju.

udur o’oju <ud, ū o.o.ju> ‘first arrived’ (D18-19).

oju-ga- 

(186.149.051) factitive in -ga- in:

ojuga’ar 

(186. 149. 051.123) <o.ju.ha.ar> ‘finite past tense of the factitive extension of oju- in:

dağar ojuga’ar <da.ha.ar o.ju.ha.ar> ‘the coffin was closed (he was buried)’ (X33-41).

ojuga’a\(^\text{TENT}\) 

(186.149.051.189.379) <o.ju.ha.a.TENT> in:

xomur dagar ojuga’a\(^\text{TENT}\) <xo.mú.er da.ha.ar o.ju.ha.a.TENT> ‘the coffin was closed’ (D39-16).

oju’un 

(186.149.144) <o.ju.ún> a modal converbal form in -n:

mot oju’un <mo.t o.ju.ún> ‘after the ladies arrived’ (D22-10), followed by <ONE BORN.én2.de>.

oju\(^2\)- 

(186.149) ‘to serve in an official position, to enter a position’ (K115). The material is not sufficient to decide whether the two words ‘to close, cover’ and ‘to serve’ are the same or two homophonous verbs. The Mongol verb oro- has the meaning ‘to enter’ but also ‘to obey, to be dependent on, etc.’

80 -qu is an adjectiviser.

81 nayri-en moritz ojuga’ai <n.ai.ri.en m.ri.tz o.ju.ha.ai> ‘he has served as the horsman of the celebrations’ (EX9)

oju a’ai and ojuga’a’ai seem to have the same function.

oju-ga’an 

(186.149.051.123) past participle causative, in:

230ad ojuga’an <230:ad o.ju.ha.a.án> ‘having served at 230.ad’ (D5-22).

ojuga’alun 

(186.149.051.098.144)<o.ju.ha.a.ál.un> ‘served (past tense)’ (X17-8, 19-29),

305de ojugalun <305.de o.ju.ha.a.ál.un> ‘served at 305’ (X17-7), see <305.de o’oi> (X17-25-26).

305
In a few cases instead of <o> we find <o.o>:  
{o'o} (186.186)<o.o> ‘?’ (X25-15).
The graph <ó> (90) occurs once isolated in PC1-3, and also in  
{ojulga'ai} (090.148.261.051.122) <ó.ju.l.ha.ai> (KL18-18),  
{ojulga'a'un} (090.148.261.051.189.144) <ó.ju.l.ha.a.un> (JU30-13).

It may be supposed, but has to be either confirmed or disproved that the extended stem <ojulga>- is the same as <ojuga>- above.

I found a word written with initial <ō 2> (253):  
{o.ur.hó} (253, 236.309) (X43-11), which has been dealt with in Part I (Róna-Taš 2016, pp. 129, 132). See further:  
{o.ur.b.un} (253.236.311.144) (JU7-11),  
{o.on.s.er} (253.154.244.269) (JU25-22),  
{o.hó} (253.309) (PU21-29).

From these examples we can conclude that <o> (186) and <ó> (90) have the same value, reflect the same original sound, most probably /o/, and that the relation between <o> and <o o.> has to be the same as between <a> and <a a.>, <i> and <ii>.

**Initials with Diphthongs Containing Initial o:- oy- and ow-**

- **oi**: <oi> (347), <oi> (107).
The two graphs are allophones and have to be read as *oy*.
- **oyi**- ‘mourning, sorrow’ | Mo *uy* ‘mourning, sorrow’, HN *uila* ‘to cry’, DaE wail-
- **oyiro’ulgu** (347.235.090.366.151) <oi.ri.ó.ul.hu>, a noun with the deverbal nominiser -gu (Mo -gu, Poppe, 1964, p. 46) of the passive verb in -l, itself a verb with the deverbal nominal suffix -ri (Mo -ri, Poppe 1964, p. 49) ‘the mourning ceremony’.
- **awui-en oyiro’ulgu** (161.262.361 347.235.090.366.151) <au.ui.en oí.ri.ó.ul.hu> ‘the mourning ceremony of the miLady’ (EX6)82.
- **daw-iń oyiro’ulgu** Khitan *dau* may be a transcription of Chinese *dao* 悼 ‘to grieve, mourn’ (EX27) ‘mourning ceremony of the grief’.
- **oyišiga’ar** (347.033.051.189.123) <oi.ši.ha.a.ar> the word is a past tense form of the verb **oyišiga**- which itself is a verb with the factitive suffix -ga (Poppe 1964, p. 61), and the resultative -ši- (Poppe 1964, p. 65) ‘having performed the mourning ceremonies’ (D23-13).

There is no <ou> in initial position in the material, though we found <au>, <eu> and <iu>.

**Initial o- Written with oC-**

- **od** (016)
- **od-** same as o’od- above
- **odu** (016.131) <od.u> ‘to go to, arrive’, see also o’od above

82 Kane (2009, p. 216) read <.en ô.> in error.
taw SOUTH no odu <tau SOUTH n.o od.u ci.s.b.e> ‘a spouse (no) from the Five Tribes (tau SOUTH)\(^{83}\) arrived’ (X41-2).

oduji 币及 (016.131.152) <od.u.ji> converbal form of od-moqo oduji 及欠 币及 (133.169. 016.131.152) <mo.qo od.u.ji> ‘the coming of the lady’ (X39).

odulga’a’un 卜令 ﯽ ﯽ ﯽ (906.249. 261.051.189.144) <ô.dú.l.ha.a.un> (JU13-29), written with 卜令 <ô.dú> modal verb of *odulga’a, itself a deverbal noun of the factitive base of odu-, see above.

**on** 亙 (154) ‘to ride’ | Mo unu- ‘to mount (as a horse)’, Da one- ‘to ride’, in:

mori onsiy 元礼 不令 元礼 <m.rí on.sií> ‘while riding on horseback’ (X12-20).

ong 東 (071) ‘king, prince, transcription of or loan for Chinese wang 王’ (D3-22, 9-13, X2-18, 7-8, 9-9, HU17-3, HU6-8, HU3-35, PU7-22, PU3-18, KL3-25, JU19-43), occurs also in tai ong 唐 (174.071) ‘the grand prince’ 大王 | MMO ong ‘id.’ (SH).

ong-on 東 (071.154) <ong.on> ‘the genitive case of ong’ (D8-16, 10-20, 12-4, 14-26, 24-12, 25-9, JU20-53, KL21-4).

or <or> 亄 (255), the graph (255) does not occur in the inscriptions D, X, L, Y, EX, JU, KC, KL, HU, PC, PU in initial position, but appears as the marker of the past tense in in <p.o.or> ‘made, caused to be (promoted to a position)’ (K65, 146).\(^{84}\)

ordu <ordo> 米 (355), also <udu>, used as a logograph, also 米 (355.245), <ordo.û>, 反米父 (186.355.131) <o.ordo.u> and 反米父 (186.355.245) <o.ordo.û> (K2, 58, 65, 77), see also WJ87 | The word is of Old Turkic origin, its earliest form occurs in the Köl Tegin inscription (AD 732) as ordu ‘royal residence, palace’ (Clauson 1972, p. 203). The final origin of the word is uncertain. It is highly probable that the pronunciation of the word in Khitan was ordu. The graph 米 (355) was also used as a phonogram with the value of udu in place of 米 (245.249) <û.dú> (K77). This may point to a change ordu > urdu > udu in the spoken Khitan language.

uduwur 米及 (355.131.236) <udu.u.ur> ‘pertaining to the court’ *wur is a suffix, in:

uduwur guru <udu.u.ur húr.û> ‘Court Commander, the person in charge of the Ordu’ (D10-9).

All words or word forms beginning with <o> are clearly back vocalic. Does this mean that Khitan did not have the front vocalic labial phoneme /ö/? I do not think so. This situation emerged due to two causes. First, it was tailored to the Chinese system of vowels where /ö/ was absent, second, in the inscriptions the word with the

\(^{83}\) The graph 亙 (294) has two meanings, ‘south’ and ‘tribe’, perhaps two homophonic words.

\(^{84}\) The graph 亄 (076) was read by Chinggeltie as g, y, by Kane (2009) and WJ as <ho>, but Aisin Gioro (2012) suggested to read it as <ur> or <or>.

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meaning ‘to get a title, to give a rank, to enter an office etc.’ is highly overrepresented and most word forms go back to the same verbal base o-, or ō-. There may be words with front vocalic labial vowels in the category of vowel initial not written, as in öül- see üül-:

In sum, the investigated material is not enough to decide whether in Khitan there existed an o:ö opposition. All clear examples beginning with <o> are back vocalic, followed by back vocalic suffixes, with the exception of the genitive case. The only example öül- or üül- is of interest, but the question remains open for further investigation.

The Representations of u- Initials

As we have seen, there existed three graphs for rendering a closed labial vowel and all three are heterographs: <u> (131), <ū> (372), and <ú> (245). Let us see first (131) and (372):

* ūji (131.337) ‘craftman, master’ (L6, Y16, 39bis, Sh2) | Mo *uran ‘craft’, HN *uran, DaE *waran (cf. OT *uz) || The basic word may have been *uran ‘craft’, with the suffix +či > *ura+či > *uji > plural + d > ujid 穀 (131.337.254) <u.ji.d> ‘craftsmen, masters pl.’ (L 6). The disappearance of the /r/ in preconsonantal position is important and I will come back to this feature.


u’ur1 穀 (131.236) <u.ur> ‘first, upper, previous’ | Mo *uri: in: urid, urida ‘before’, urjì edür ‘day before yesterday’, HN urida, DaE ward, ‘before’ and urjì ildür ‘the day before yesterday’, all from *uri.

u’ur ay 穀 侵 (131.236 122) <u.ur ai> ‘ancestor’ (K84, 193, D2-11, 2-17, 2-26, 3-5, 3-11, 3-17, 14-10, 25-3, 26-4, 27-15, X7-5, 7-15, 11-26, 18-22, WJ57, Y4),

u’ur ay 穀 (372.236 122) <u.ur ai> ‘id.’ (X2-9).

u’ur ging 穀 侵 (131.236.334.303) <u.ur g.ing> ‘supreme capital, Ch Shangjing 上京’ (K119, 204, 208).
The graphs 𛀠(131)〈u〉 and 𛀠(372)〈ū〉 are interchangeable and of the same phonetic value.

u'ur (131.236) 〈u.ur〉 ‘administrative district, Ch yuàn院’ (K93).

<SI> u.ur> (Y4, 6), <UPPER u.ur> (Y15), <NORTH u.ur> (Y17, 20), <SOUTH u.ur> (Y20), <cig.en u.ur> ‘the left district’ (EX2), <liang.an go.er u.ur> ‘the district of the Liang house’ (EX11).

ü'ül (131.366) 〈u.ul〉 ‘winter’ (K3, 79, 126, D47-12, Sh2), 〈u'ul〉 (C107, Sh 104) | MMo übül, Mo ebül, Da ugul, HN übül, ?ebül, DaE nyul, uwul, ül, Sh uul/uwul.

daur-un ü'ül 〈dau.un u.ul〉 ‘the mid winter [month]’(L11), po-on möci-e udur ü'ül 〈po.on m.ci.e ud 3.ür u.ul〉 ‘in a second of time the beginning of winter (came)’ (D47-12)

U'uli (131.366.339) 〈u.ul.i〉 ‘a tribal name, perhaps Chinese Aoli 奥里LMCh awli (Liao shi, WF89)’ (X11-34) || to Mo agula ‘mountain’.

*ū(w)- 〈u〉 (372) ‘give, provide’ (K66, 67, 99) | Mo ög- ‘to give’, Da uke-, HN ög-, DaE uk”- 〈u.ul〉 The Khitan basic word had to be either /ū-/, or /ūw-/ representing a front vocalic syllable. The structure is the same as in kü(w)- ‘man’.

üwüi (372.262) 〈ū.ui〉 ‘gave, granted’ (D3-29, 27-9, X39-35) converbal form in -ui of u- in:

küsü üwüi 几只卡夾 (178.372.041 372.262) 〈ku.ū.su ū.ui〉 ‘was given in favour’ (D3-29, 27-9)

ayde küsü üwür 仏夾 (122.205 178.372.041.097) <ai.de ku.ū.su ū.úr> ‘to the father was given in/the favour’ (X17-22)

üwer (372.341) 〈ū.er〉 ‘given, bestowed upon’ past tense:

HEAVEN üwer 〈HEAVEN ū.er〉 ‘heaven bestowed, given by the Heaven’, (D3-23–24, 27-9, X39-35).

üwilge (372/131.366.112) 〈ū-ul.ge〉 ‘to marry (of a woman), to give as wife’ (K80, 105, D24-17, W93-94, Sh | Mo öggülge ‘the act of giving, debt’ to ög- ‘to give’. The verb is a passive secondary stem of üw- ‘to give’. The two graphs (372) and (131) are equal and interchangeable.

üwilgen (372/131.366.112/349.100/361) (<u-ul.ge/en/e2>) (D24-19), 〈ū.ul.ge.en〉 ‘was given in marriage to’ (X18-17, 18-31, 19-9, D25-11),

üwilgelin (372.366.349.221.222) 〈ū.ul.ge.le(i)ń〉 ‘married (of a woman)’ (K105, 106, Renxian 8).

85 Kane (2009, p. 93) has for the second graph 〈ur〉, but 𛀠(236) should be transcribed as 〈ur〉. Also in: <qi.ois, ū.ui> ‘?’ (X39-35).

86 See 〈te/de.ge ging〉 ‘lower, south capital’ (K104, 119, 198).

87 po ‘time’, möci 募刺 (133.162.348) <m.ci.e> ‘a section of time’! cf. Mo möčē, mōci ‘a quarter of an hour’.

88 küsü <ku.ū.su> ‘(in) favour’ (D3-29, 27-9, X39-35) | cf. Mo kūse- ‘to wish, desire’, HN küse-.

89 uwur- 几夾 (372.097) is according to Kane (K148) ‘to sit’, but correctly ‘gave’ in (X17-22).
üwülge'ey (372.366.349.349) <ū.ul.ge.ei> ʻhaving been married to' (K105, Dilie 31).

üwülge'er (372.366.349.341) <ū.ul.ge.er> 'was given in marriage' (Y27, Y30, Y31bis)

üwüley (372.366.020) <ū.ul.ei> 'given' converb in -ey (Y31)

üwülün (372.366.144) <ū.ul.ún> ʻwas given’ past tense in -lun (D47-4, 49-6). As can be seen, ü (131) and ū (372) are interchangeable, both can be used in the same word in the same position instead of each other.

üwe (372.348) <u.e> ʻa title’ (K130, X2-13, 5-9, 8-15), see also ewge above, p. 152 | Mo üge, OT øge’. K (80) suggests Chin yuyue 于越 ‘possibly derived from Tu(tk) ögüt ‘counsel’. Chinese yuyue (EMCh wuā, LMCh yā, EMCh wua, LMCh yat) may reflect an OT ögüt, but Khitan ¼.e> has to be an equivalent of Mo öge ← OT øge that is the singular of ögüt which is a plural. In (X8-14) ṭu Müge 〈i l ü.e.de〉 ‘to the II Üge’. Mo üge occurs in the SH (Temüjin üge par. 59, see also Rachewiltz 2004, Vol. 1, p. 319). The OT øge ‘Councellor, Wise’ is formed from the OT verb ø- ‘to think’.

Both graphs ü (131) and ū (372) representing <u> may occur in the same word. On the other hand, they occur in different words which have in Mongolian front vocalic (ög-, ebül > übül, üge) and back vocalic (uran, urida) parallels. This suggests that the compilers of the KSS could not distinguish, or did not make a difference between the front and back closed labials /u/ and /ü/.91

<ú> (245)

<udulğa’ar (245.249) <ū.dū.l.ha.a.ar> also written <udu.l.ha.ar> Chinese Chongxi 重熈 ‘Repeated Splendour’ (X23-21, 23-28). Perhaps also here is udu < urtu ‘long’.<qudug ú.dû.u.ul.hu.án> ‘everlasting fortune?’ 92 (EX23).

90 See also <x.ie.én MR al.ha.a.ar ci.iüh.ji.a.an ü.ul.un> ‘?’ (D47-4), <BORN.ü ü.ul.ún t.ud po:ho> (D49-6).

91 Of course, we do not know how they read the graphs, Mo oru- ‘to enter' and uru- ‘to tear, rip’ are written in the same way but read differently in the Uighur-Mongolian script. My readings with ü and u, respectively, reflect an etymological reading and not necessarily the reading of the Khitans.

92 According to Kane (2009, p. 221) ‘good fortune, peace’.

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Initial α- Written with Graphs Containing the Diphthong <ui>

<ui> (262), <uio> (263), <ui> (265). The three graphs are allographs
<ui> (262)

üyi(1) ᱤ (262) <ui> ‘matter, affair’ (K106, 111, D5-1, 17-15, 32-3, 34-4, 37-20, X3-4, 5-23, 14-21, 26-14, 37-1, 44-6, Sh2) | Mo üyile ‘work, act, deed, action’, Da uile, HN uile, DaE woif || It is not clear whether the loss of the final -l is a phonetrical or only an orthographical feature.

üyi(1)-en ᱤ (262.140) <ui.en> ‘genitive of <ui>’ in:
NORTH uwur üyi(l)-en <NORTH u.ur ui.en> ‘of the affairs of the northern division’ (D27-16).

üyi(1)-en ᱤ (262.222) <ui.n> ‘a genitive of <ui>’
tatar diayu yi üyín <t.ad.ar t.ia.iú i i u.i.n> ‘of the yi (?) affairs of the Tatar enemies’ (X22-20).

üyi(l)-de ᱤ (262.205) <ui.de> ‘in the matters, in the affairs of’ -de is dative-locative.
ay-en üyi(l)de <ai.en ui.de> ‘in the matters of the forefathers’ (D4-10).

üyi(l)-er/oi ereum (262.107) <ui.oi> in:
ciis-en üyi(l)-er <ci.i.is.en ui.oi> (er (269)) ‘in matters of the blood relatives’ (-er = instrumental) (X39-24).

üyil ᱤ (262.302) <ui.il> ‘same as <ui>?’ (D34-21, 40-4) || in the second text the word is preceded by a noun in genitive case, thus it is most probably the same as <ui>.

üyil temegü ᱤ (262.302 247.133.151) <ui.il t.m.hu> ‘to charge with a matter’ (D34-21)
mod-en temey RECORDg-un üyil <mo.d.e n t.em.ey RECORD.g.un ui.l> ‘the matter of the recording of the ladies….’ (D40-4).

üyi2 ᱤ (262) same as oyi- ‘mourning, sorrow’.

uyi-un ᱤ (262.144) <ui.un> ‘duty, etiquette, what has to be done (in case of mourning)’.

mo ku Üwenem-an uyî-un <mo ku üe.en.m.an ui.un> ‘of [his younger] wife Üwenem’s mourning ceremony’ (D35-12).

ui2 ᱤ (263) is a dotted variant of (262), used as word initial only in Chinese transcriptions.

ui-en ᱤ (263.140) <ui.en> ‘transcription of a Chinese syllable Wei in a name in genitive case’ (D12-26).

ui-de ᱤ (263.205) <ui.de> ‘transcription of Chinese wei in the title taiwei 太尉 ‘grand commandant + de locative’ (X18-30).

ui2 ᱤ (265)

ui2 (265) ‘?’ (X10-29, 17-28, 20-26) in:
awui <au ui2> ‘milady’,
ci ui siau <ci.iu ui2 s.iau> the title zhui wei xiao 諸衛小 (X23-2).
Initial u- Written with Graphs of the Type uC-

ud (344), ud, (105) and ud, (092) are allographs and interchangeable.93
udunlig (344.144.261.334) ‘bovine’, occurs before GOLD’ (D34-4), perhaps a tribal name, cf. Turkic Ud adaqlïg in Tibetan transcription, “with bovine (feet)”. As Ligeti (1971, p. 182) called attention, we have a witness who describes people having human body but bovine legs. This is related by Hu Jiao who visited the Khitans in the middle of the 10th century. The people with bovine feet used boots made of bovine hide and a type of short ski and lived in a very cold region. The word form udun may be an extended Mongolian form of OT ud ‘bovine, ox’.

üdür¹ (105/344.097/236), <ud2/ud.ur/úr> (K94), üdür (092.097) <ud3-úr> ‘east (originally south < noon)’ (K196, D4-1, 7-16, 18-18, 47-11, X7-12, 7-18, Y11) | Mo üde ‘noon’, edür, MMo üdür ‘day’. According to HN in the Shirongol languages there is some confusion between *üde ‘noon’ and *üdür ‘day’, in Dgx they both have the word shape udu, in Kgj both are represented by uðor, cf. also the confusion in BaoN uðorgu ‘daytime, noon’, Namcarai and Khaserdeni (1983) have Dahur uðor as ‘day, noon’, suggesting the same confusion which is, however, not confirmed by Enkhbat (1984). Enkhbat has uður smol ‘before noon’ and uður xwaina ‘after noon’ based on *üdür rather than *üde. DeSmedt and Mostaert (1933) derive MgrH dur in the meaning ‘noon’ from *dili ‘middle’ […]. This would be semantically fitting but not phonetically (see HN537-538). Muromskij (Kalużyński 1969, p. 140) has uður ‘Tag’, and uður duandá, uðuri duaðna ‘Mitag’. Tumurdej and Cybenov (2014) have uður ‘den’, uðor duand ‘polden’, obed || *üdür had to mean ‘south’ (see semantically Hung dél ‘noon, south’ WOT291–296), then ‘south’ changed to ‘east’, the “Mongol” orientation changed to the “Uighur-Turkic”. According to WJ63-64 uður¹ and uður² are two different words. üdür ging (105.236 334. 303) ‘eastern capital’ (K76, Y19),

üdür-un ging-en xubu ling <ud2.ur g.ing:en xu.u b.u l.ing> ‘director of the ministry of revenue of the eastern capital’90.

üdür ging liusheu <ud2.ur g.ing liu ś.eu> ‘the liushou of the eastern capital’ (K47, 76, 94).

*üdürli- (092,úr,) ‘to spend the time’ | Mo edürle-üdürle- ‘to spend the day (in the field)’.

93 Takeuchi (2015, p. 455) read üdür (092) as <um>, but this is not acceptable, all three graphs have the same value, and are interchangeable.
94 Kane (2009) read yu’.
95 There exists a long list of papers on the names of the directions in Khitan. The last paper was written by Yasunori Takeuchi (2015). According to Takeuchi üdür and üdür have to be read as <um>.
96 On xū.ū b.ū ‘ministry of revenue’, see K39.
ütürülün 元年 (092.097.261.144) <ud₁,ür₁,ún> (X23-11) past tense (< ütürül-ün-)

sengun SMALL.qu.du sen awa ütürülün B316-de <s.eng.un SMALL.qu.du s.en au.a ud₃,ür₁,ún b.316.de> ‘when the Field Marshal was young his health (esen) being taken (awa), he spent the time at B316’.

ütürülü-bün 元年 (092.097.261.288) <ud₃,ür₁,bun> past tense

möce yara ütürülübün <m.ci.e ia.ra ud₃,ür₁,bun> ‘he spent a short time’

ütür2 元年 (092.097) <ud₂,ür> ‘first’ (K45: <yu> corrected by WJ63 to <ud>) (D4-1, 7-16, 18-18, 47-11, X7-12, 7-18)

po-on möcie üdür uwul <po.on m.ci.e ud₁,ür u.ul> ‘within a short time the first winter[day entered]’ (D47-11), üdür ay 元年 (092.097.122) <ud₁,ür ai> ‘the first year [of a reign period]’.

ütür: <ütür> (355)

*ütür 范 (355) = 范 (245.249) ‘?’. 99.

*ütür'ulğa <ütür.u.ul.ha> <ütür.l.ha> <ütür.l.ha> (WJ110) a causative form in:

ütür'ulğa’an 范 平主出 (355.131.366.051.290) <ütür.u.ul.ha.an> udulğa’an MANAGEMENT sa’algai <ütür.l.ha.an MANAGEMENT.s.al.ai> ‘he was appointed to begin to administer the…’ (D29-4), also:

ütür'ulgar 范 平主 (355.261.051.123) <ütür.l.ha.ar> ‘the Chongxi 重熙 reign period ‘Repeated splendour’ (K77, 78). Also

ütür'ulgar 范 平主 力 (245.249.261.189.123) <ütür.l.ha.ar> HEAVEN utulğa’ar 20 ayde <HEAVEN ú.dū,l.ha.a.ar TWENTY ai.de> ‘in the twentieth year of the Chonxi reign period (1051)’ (X23-21).

HEAVEN utulğa’ar hongdi RECORDge.d <HEAVEN ú.dū,l.ha.a.ar hong.di RECORD.ge.d> ‘(his merits were) recorded in the Imperial Chongxi period’ (X23-28) and...

uduo’on 范 方及雨 (245.249.090.186.322) <ütür.o,o.ón> in: <ta u.> ‘Da’an 大元 ‘Great Peace reign period’ (K159, 160).

Though we do not know the meaning of the basic word, the graphs 范 <ütür> and 范 <ütür> reflect the same Khitan syllables.

uh <uh> 久 (172), 久 (173) frequent in final syllables.

ün 年 (144). Suffix of the genitive case after stems with -u-:

ngitien hongtay heu-un <ng.i t.ie.én hong.tai heu:un> ‘of the empress dowager Yitien’ (K135).

üne 年 (144.348) <ün.e> ‘now’ (X32-1, 36-23, 38-18, 39-17) 100.

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97 On möce see above, the function of yara is not clear.

98 See also masku in Róna-Tas (2016, p. 126).

99 According to WJ110 the word is perhaps based ultimately on udu ‘court, palace’.

100 According to Kane (2009, p. 109) ‘now, present’, cf. Mo *önü in: LM önü, öüge ‘now’, see further öndürür, öngüdür ‘now, today’, Sh2 reads eñe and equates it with Mong eñe, but (144)

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üne ciisdebcı bağuan cara <ун.е си.и.си.би.си б.у.а.н кара.а> ‘now the filial children, Cara [and others]’ (X38-18).

ünen asionally (144.251) <ун.э> ünen oriously (144.361) <ун.эн> ‘true, authentic, veritable’ (D31-10) | Mo ünen ‘true, truth, genuine, authentic’, HN ünen ‘true’, DaE ünen.

ünen ger <ун.эн.ге.ер> ‘the Veritable House’ (D32-16).

ünen muji HEAVEN min <ун.эн мув.жи.ен HEAVEN мин.эн> ‘(during the) reign period Daozong (HEAVEN min) the Veritable Sacred (Emperor)’ (Y16).

<ун> ünen ger <ун.эн ге.ер> ‘the Veritable House’ (D32-16),

<ünü> ünen muji HEAVEN min <ун.э.н мув.жи.ен HEAVEN мин.эн> ‘(during the) reign period Daozong (HEAVEN min) the Veritable Sacred (Emperor)’ (Y16).

<un> ʻox, zodiac animal’ K (110) suggests Mo üniye rather than üker | Mo üniye ‘cow’, HN ünen, DaE üıne || Mo üniye may go back to an earlier *ünige.

*uniqu ʻox (059.246) <уник.у> ‘?’ (PUS-26, JU40-8, JU4122, KL22-21),

uniquji ʻox i.ox (059.246.152) <уник.у.жи> (X43-17, HU19-20),

uniqün ʻox и.ок (059.246.222) <уник.у.эн> (D14-4, KL18-8),

uniqün-en ʻox и.ок эн (059.246.222.140) <уник.у.эн.эн> (JU9-26).

In the above cases -qu may be a suffix, forming adjectives. -ji may be a suffix forming converbs, -ń may form verbal nouns, -en is the marker of the genitive case, but as a whole, the structure and the meaning of the words are not clear.

ur ʻox (236)

*ürüʻu- ‘to set in order, to put in line’ | Mo örü-, ürü- ‘to set in order, to put in line’.

ürülge'en ʻox у.ле.е.ен (236.131.366.349.361) <ур.ул.ге.эн> ‘a causative passive in -лге- of uru’u’

őrd ürüʻülge'en <а.o.рд уру.ул.ге.эн> ‘the people were set in order, put in line, organised’ (X29-13).

ürübün ʻox у.б.ун (236.254.288) past tense in -б.ун of the verb ürüd-

xezüge'en thanayu ürüdbün üğ a'alğu <xe.бу.ге.эн тена.иу уруд.б.ун уг a.al.гу> ‘?’ (EX23).

is <ун>. Kane (2009) forwarded good arguments to read un on pp. 51–52. The word occurs as an adjective. It could be ‘the present’, but also ‘the true, veritable, authentic’.

101 For 041 read <su> and not <кa>.

102 See uróuy-én uru u'urlegey in <s.он.ле.аи а.áн ур.о.у.из.ун уру.у.уру.ле.ге.эй> (EX15).
*ur(a) – a verbal base with unknown meaning, occurs in:

urayu ṣaṣa <u.r.a.iú> a converbal form of *ura in -yu

pin shau urayu mod <p.in sh.u.u u.r.a.iú mo.d2> (X14-15) Pin Shau may be a Chinese name, mod ‘ladies’.

uroy ṣaṣa <u.roi2> ?

uroi jaw-en yo baqa <u.roi2 jau.en yo b.qo> ‘?’ (X44-1).

uru ṣaṣa <u.ru> ?

uygiu uru <ui giu u.ru> (X44-8, see further JU9-4, JU9-9, JU32-17, HU27-25, HU28-7).

uri ṣaṣa <u.ri> ‘? prince, lad, young man’ | ← OT uri ‘male child, son’ (Clauson 1972, p. 197, WOT969–974).

mo kü erü uri Dawugjin <mo ku er.u u.ru u.ru> ‘?’ (Y7), mo kü ‘wife’ Dawug ‘a name’.

<ur> ṣaṣa, ETERNAL, according to Aisin Gioro <ur>, the logogram is surely used also as phonogram.

<ur> ṣaṣa, <ho> according to Aisin Gioro <ur>,

<ur> ṣaṣa, SOME, according to Aisin Gioro <ur>.

<us> ṣaṣa, <us2> ṣaṣa (103), <us> (041A). The first two graphs are allographs.

<us> ṣaṣa, üsgi ṣaṣa (068.334) <us.gi> ‘letter, language’ (K 22, X9-23, 35-5) | Mo üsüg, üsüg ‘letter’, HN üjüg, üsüg ‘letter, writing’, DaE usuyw ‘word, speech’ || ← OT üjeg ← Sogd ‘wj’; The Khitan word also has the meaning ‘language, speech’ as is the case in Dahur.

qitan-i gür-en üsgi <qid.ún.i g.úr:en us.gi> ‘the script of the Khitan State’ (K127, 136).

cauqui üsgi <c.iau.qú.ui us.gi> ‘the Chinese script’ (L13).

cau üsgi-de <c.iau us.gi:de> ‘in the Chinese script’ (Y3).

Sung üsgi-er <s.úŋ us.gi:er> ‘with the script of the Song’ (K132), üsgi ğuru’un <us.gi hur.ú.un> ‘of the person in charge of the script’ (Y2, EX2).

GREAT ordo’on EIGHT yooi poo ay EIGHT MONTH SEVEN DAY üsgi siang gung <GREAT ordo.ó.o.ó.o.ó.n EIGHT yô.iú p.o.o o ai EIGHT MONTH SEVEN DAY us.gi s.iang g.ung> ‘in the Daan reign period, in the monkey year, 8th month seventh day the writing [was done] by the Xianggong’ (Y40).103

üsgi-de <us.gi.de> [.de LOC] ‘in the writing, script’ (K22, 42, 127, 192)

bas üsgi-de tegü <bas us.gi:de t.gu> ‘also as it was said in the script’ (X37-27)

üsgidü ‘in the writing, in the language’

üsgidü neney COMPOSEcener <us.gi.dú nén.ei COMPOSE.cén.ei> (Y29).

üsgi-en ṣaṣa (068.334.140) ‘of the script’ (genitive).

103 See also go-em üsgi dawui shiqu temlegü <ho.én us.gi daw.uui ši.qu t.e.m.leg.e.ei> (Y36), alar üsgi tsar a-en <al.a.ar us.gi ts.ar a:en> (Y38).

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TOMB üsgi-en RECORD.g.s.ii a'an <MOUNTAIN/TOMB us.gi.en RECORD.g.s.ii a.an> ‘the tomb inscription has been recorded/compiled’ (X46-19).
<us>ё (103) not as initial in Y, L, EX, D, X, and the inscriptions in Wu (2012).
<us>≡ (041A) not as initial in Y, L, EX, D, X, and the inscriptions in Wu (2012).

Initial ु- Not Written

*ula- in "laqu ‘red’ 十号全/全 (261.362.246/118) <l.iau.qu> <l.iau.qu> (K36, 66, 113), <liau’tai> (C 107) | Mo ulagan, Da hulaan, HN hulaan || (362) <liau> may be <io> (K78), in Khitan no trace of initial łu-. All words have p- which later appear with initial h- in MMO. In this word there is no sign of either p- or h-. The final -qu/qu has to be a suffix, forming adjectives and signalising male or female gender, see masqu 右条全/全 (133.174.246/118) <m.as.qu/qu> ‘first’ etc. Thus the basic word is *ula. See similar cases with <l> and a vowel to be read before it above s.v. onomiesa 十条为 (261.270.189) <l.ém.a> (D10-7), 十条为 (261.270. 151.189) <l.ém.hu.a> ‘a title’. In the Liao shi one comes across (see WJ156) the name Luo Han Nu 罗汉奴 which can be reconstructed as MCh La Xan Nu. Nu is the clan name and the personal name is Laxan. The name occurs in the Inscription X, line 8 as Laqa Nu 十力马公 (261.189. 053.251.311) <l.a qa.n.u>. He was by name Ulaqa from the clan Nu, on which see p. 153 above.

As can be seen, KSS did not make difference in transcribing /u/ or /ü/, in many cases the front or back vocalism of the word can be ascertained by its etymology, but these etymologies may point to an earlier phase, and at the time of use of the KSS the phonemes /u/ and /ü/ may have merged. Though this is a possibility, at the present time I opt for the case that /u/ and /ü/ were distinguishable phonemes, but had not been distinguished by the writing system.

The Representation of ㄤ- Initials

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<tr>
<td>V ü: &lt;ü&gt; ⸯ (226),</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>D üe: &lt;üe&gt; ⸯ (082), üen: &lt;üen&gt; ⸯ (324)</td>
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<tr>
<td>VC ün: &lt;ün&gt; ⸯ (329)</td>
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Initials Written with the Simple Graph ㄤ: <ü> ⸯ (226)

In D and X there is no example of ㄤ- in initial position, but it exists in Y3, and KL14-6, JU39-20, HU39-19:

jürgeer got ü eye <cu.ur.ge.er go:t ü ei.e> (Y3).
The first word is a verb in past tense (ʼfrom jür ‘two’ > jürge- ‘to double’),
got is ‘tent, house’ plural, e.i.e is the verb äy- ‘to be’.

**Initials with ü+V**

üen (324)

üen oui (324.090.262) <uen.oui> ‘?’ (D17-22) seems to be a transcription
of a Chinese name.

**Initials with ü+C**

ün (329)

This graph is used in Chinese transcriptions for -ün finals as in 軍 jun ‘army’ MCh
kün, EMCh kun, written in KSS as <g.ün> (K74).

üne (329.348) <un.e> in the locution:

u'uruni MYRIAD ay-en üne <u.ur.uni MYRIAD ai.en ün.e>

mu'uruni isí taw minde <mu.ru.uni isí tau m.in.de>

Huas oju'un <hu.as o.ju.un> (X6-6)

…..since innumerable years (Chinese Wansui 萬歲)
…..on the (occasion of the) nine-five (the accession to the throne jiuwu 九五) (see
WJ149), him was given (the rank) Huas’.

In D29-7/9 we find <hu.as m.in>. The words u'uruni – mu'uruni may pertain
to an old locution or saying, minde is locative, thus üne may also be a locative form.

üne (329.348) <un.e> ‘now’

<ün.e ci.is.d.ci ba.hu.án car.a MR ci.ci> now ‘the filial children Mr. Cici of
Cara’ (X38-18), W-J translated here <ün.e> as ‘now’, see also X32-1, 36-23,
39-17.

ünde (329.205) <ün.de> ‘at present’ in:

tuy+t ünde šülegsen ayde <t.uh.t ün.de š.ul.eg.s.en ai.de> ‘in the ??? month
(ayde) when in the presence of the banners’ (tuy+d ünde)104 (X26-24).

ünîn (329.222) <ün.in>

ünede ünîn uur ay-en tasha’am holebońer <ün.e.de ün.in u.ur.ai:en
t.as.ba.am hó.le.boń.er> (Y4)105

The following three words are differently written, but may be the same:

ünen (329.100) <ün.en> ‘true, veritable’?

ünen cirier <ün2.en ci.ri.er> ‘?’ (D18-6)

ünen nilulier shide yey <ün2.en ni.l.ü.li.er shi.de ie.i> ‘?’ (D31-4)

ünen (329.361) <ün.en> ‘true, veritable’?

awtum-en ünen hulbu’ <au.tum.en ün.en hu.ul.bú2.u> ‘?’ (X22-7)

104 <tuh> is the banner, the royal emblem in Uighur (Clauson 1972, p. 454), itself a loan from
Chinese du’ 都, ‘yak-tail banner’.

105 <u.ur.ai:en> ‘of the former fathers’, <hó.le.boń> ‘imperial clan, imperial line’.

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tiwji-en ünen mo rier <t.iu.ji, y.én ün.en mo rí.er> ‘?’ (X25-34).
In both places the respective words before ünen are in genitive case, therefore ünen has to be a noun or adjective.

ünen 旮钯 (144.251) <ún.en> ‘true, veritable?’

ünen ger <ún.en go:er> ‘The Veritable House?’ (D32-16)

ünende 旮钯 (329.361.205) <ún.cn.de> ‘after y.au.ul.hu’

ünende Para Ogurde awhulγai <ún.cn.de p.ra u.ur.de au.uh.ai> ‘….was placed to the Para Ogur’ (D32-10)

ünseg 旮钯 (329.244.334) <ún.s.g> ‘?a nominal form of a verb?’ (D6-1)

ünseg kiywiji <ún.s.g ki.iu.ji> ‘was called ünsig’ (D6-1)

ünge-űn 旮钯 (329.349.144) <ün.ge.ûn> ‘?’

xas nad ho üngeûn <x.s n.ad hó ün.ge.ûn> ‘?’(X29-39).

Initial ü Not Written

There is a word which may contain a front labial vowel:
*$üli- 卝 (261.019) <l.iu> ‘to die’ | cf. OT öl- ‘to die’, Mo ölēs- ‘to suffer starvation’, ölēng ‘starvation’, ölber- ölmēr-, ölmér- ‘to suffer extreme hunger, starve’ cf. öl ‘food, hunger’, HN öles- ‘to be hungry’, in the Baoan dialects *ölēr- which may be from *ölēs-; but everywhere we find the meaning ‘to be hungry’. It is possible that in Khitan *ölē- became through assimilation *öli-. The reduction of a closed labial is more probable than that of a mid-closed. Old Turkic originally had *ölē see öľur- ‘to kill’. The semantics of the Khitan word is nearer to the Turkic original: the word may be honorific, and a loan from Uighur.106

ölûriner 卝 (261.019.137.269) <l.iu.ri/rén.er> ‘(she) died (hon)’ (K66, 216, EX5)107 | ren 卝 (137) was read as ir in WJ299. The first vowel can also be read as ǝ- or ü-, and the word as ölûriner or ülûriner.


ülü-ui 卝 (261.019.262) <l.iu.ui> ‘having died’ (X33-2) converbal form in -ui of ülü-.

Most of the word forms beginning with un: 旮 (144) <ún> and ün: 旮 (329) <ün> have to pertain together and ünen 旮钯 (329.361) <ün.cn.en>, ünen 卅 (144.361) <ün.cn> and ünen 旮钯 (144.251) <ün.n> have to be the same word written in different ways. Perhaps they can be connected with Mo ünen ‘truth, faithfulness, justice, genuine, etc.’, but at present we have no univocal evidence. According to HN ünen does not occur in the GQ languages. Some other words may pertain to Khitan

106 Not to Mo öli-, the negation verb.
107 The word is used for the death of the Empress Xuanyi, and thus it may be not only a honorific word, but even an Uighur word, used here as honorific.
108 nadbu is ‘camp, travelling place’. It occurs with final -ad or -d, which is not a plural, but most probably a locative. In this case -di may also be a locative.
une ‘now’ or to the Khitan equivalent of Mo üne ‘price, value’. From the above we can conclude that at least Khitan *ü and *u are interchangeable, or were so near to each other that they could have been interchanged. In any case, the KSS did not systematically distinguish /u/ and /ü/.

With due caution it is possible to state that the Khitan graphemes reflect the following vocalic phonemes /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/ and perhaps /ü/. For /ü/ and /ũ/ we have not enough material, but in any case, the oppositions /i/ : /ũ/ /o/ : /ö/ are not reflected by the KSS. This may be due to the shortcomings of the KSS graphs. In the case of numerals we have for the feminine form of the ordinal numeral ‘third’ ğuren written as (269.361) <hur.én>, (151.236.361) <hu.ur.én>, (340.236.361) <x.ur.én>, while for the feminine form of ‘fourth’ we find duren (247.236. 361) <t.ur.én> and (254.236.361) <d.ur.én>. It is possible that we have to read ğuren and düren, see Moqurban and dörben, but numerals are most likely subjects of partial assimilation, and the Khitan numerals may already have been on the way of this assimilation: ğuren and duren < *düren. In any case, (236) <ur> occurs in both. It has been observed that Khitan is a highly palatalised language. The name for ‘sun’ and ‘day’ is transcribed in the Liao shi nie-yi-er 捏咿兒 which reflects a Khitan när, perhaps näyir, this has to be the reading of the graph (159) DAY. The name of the ‘moon’ and the ‘month’ is written in the Liao shi sai-yi-er 塞咿唲 which reflects a Khitan sär or säyir. This is the reading of the Khitan graph (081) MONTH and also for ‘moon’. It has, however, to be mentioned that the same graph with dot (082) has been read as <üe> or <y> with the value [ü] (K44). The word for spring also shows a kind of palatalisation 介 (250.097) <heu.úr> ‘spring’ (see Moqurban). This may be read as xäwür. As I suggested in Part I of this paper, the clan name of the Khitan Emperors Yelü 耶律, is also likely to be read Yärūd rather than Yarud. Nevertheless, at the present time we have to suppose that [ã] is only an allophone of /a/, mostly written by <e>.

Graphs with Identical Vowels. Long Vowels in Khitan?

There exists a controversy about primary long vowels in Mongolian, which I will not touch upon in my present paper. On the other hand, all experts believe that there existed and exist secondary long vowels in the past and present Mongolic languages. The most typical case of secondary long vowels is when a consonant in intervocalic position disappeared and the neighbouring vowels merged. The type VCV > VV > ľ

109 Janhunen (2012, p. 17) has also called attention to the neutralisation of the opposition of the first vowels in the case of numerals. His suggestions of a possible vowel rotation in Khitan, which is present in North East Asia, need further corroboration. He himself is aware of the difficulties, as he wrote: “Although the vowel letters contained in the Romanizations should not be taken at face value…” (Ibid.).

110 There is no connection with yue 月, the Chinese word for ‘moon’ and ‘month’, which was EMCh guat, but the fact that ‘moon’ and ‘month’ are reflected by the same name may be of Chinese influence.

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is common. The different types of changes depend partly on the quality of the vowels, partly on the quality of the consonant, as it has been adequately described several times. The fact that there are secondary long vowels in several Mongolic languages raises the question when they appeared? It is also clear that the vowels resulting from sequences containing identical vowels, \( V_1CV_1 \) e.g. -ağa-, appeared earlier than long vowels resulting from different vowels: \( V_1CV_2 \) e.g. -ağu-. All types and the main processes have been described by Poppe (1955, pp. 59–73). Looking at the Middle Mongol material, we can see that the process is observable and in statu nascendi.\(^{111}\) A detailed discussion of Modern Mongolic vowel length can be found in Nugteren (2011, pp. 134–195). Now, our question is whether secondary long vowels appear in the hitherto published Khitan material? As was seen, in the graphic system there is no graph which would denote a long vowel.

In a series of cases we can find identical vowels (\( IV \)) written by two different graphs, one occurring at the end of the first and one at the onset of the second graph \((\text{C})V(V)(\text{C})\). My aim of this section is to find out what kind of phonetic reality is behind these graphic forms. First we have to study the Khitan transcriptions of Chinese (see Kane 2009, pp. 243–259).

1. Before Nasal Finals

Kane (2009, pp. 248–251) dealt with the Khitan transcriptions of Chinese nasal finals.

**jung.ging 子太九曁** (149.145.334.303) \(<\text{j}u.\text{ng} \text{g}.\text{i}ng>\) ‘the central capital’ (Y18, K200) \(\leftarrow\) Ch Zhongjing 中京, LMCh tšiŋ kiaŋ, Liao Chinese *zhung ging* (K264), no sign of length in the Chinese original, but the Khitan may render a diphthong [iu].

**tang ৎ in Tang Qianling (tomb) (L4) Chinese Tang 唐 LMCh than, EMCh day.** The word is written with <ta.>  peux and not with <t>  (247). In this case there is no sign of length in Chinese.

**lang rtc in Chinese lang 郑 (K257) as part of the title libu shilang, LMCh, ELCh lay, no sign of Chinese length.**

**lan ㄩ in (261.189.011) \(<\text{l}a.\text{n}>\) Chinese lan 郑, EMCh, LMCh lan.** No sign of length in Chinese.\(^{112}\)

**šan ㄥ (028.189.011) \(<\text{s}.\text{a.}\text{m}>\) Chinese šan 山 ‘mountain, hill’, LMCh ša:n, EMCh ši:n, here LMCh has long vowel, EMCh a diphthong.

**sam ㄩ (244.189.184) \(<\text{s}.\text{a.}\text{m}>\) Chinese san ‘three’ 三 LMCh, EMCh sa:m.** Length is present in Middle Chinese.

\(^{111}\) A very detailed investigation of the so-called ‘hiatus problem’ was published by R. A. Miller (2002).

\(^{112}\) Though Kane does not give the source of the data on p. 257, this may be a part of a female name, occurring in several inscriptions also as \(<\text{l}a.\text{n}>\) (261.127) (X13-33), the Chinese name of the orchid.
More data could be added, but even from the sample above one can see that writings as CVVC or even CV.VC occur in cases where the Chinese original did not have long vowel, and also in cases where the Chinese had a diphthong or a long vowel.

2. Before Oral Finals

It may be interesting to cast a glance at cases where Chinese had originally a final oral stop. First let us see two cases in detail:

**pu, bu (297.131) <pú.u> (X1-16, 18-24, 18-33) 僕僕 (297.131.178) <pú.u ku> (297.131.178) (K115, 247) also 僕僕 (311.172) <b.uh> ‘servant’ (K55) | Ch pu ‘servant’, EMCh hawk, bowk, LMCh púawk || Some of the Chinese finals in *-k are transcribed by KSS with different types of vowels or diphthongs, others are transcribed by Khitan graphs of the type -Vh <.ah>, <.oh>, <.uh> (see Kane 2009, p. 253), never by <.eh> or <.ih>. In this case we find <pú.u> and <b.uh>. The Chinese word *lu ‘blessings’ 福 has two Khitan transcriptions, <lu.u> and <lu.uh>. These writings may demonstrate that the earliest system reflected the disappearing final γ (<-k), but the later one did not, and in a given inscription the two writings may have occurred side by side. It is possible, but not sure, that in the process of disappearance of the final guttural, the coda vowel was long. In any case, 僕 <ku> here is not representing a Chinese final -k, and has here the meaning ‘man, person’ (see ku in the wordlist), further that <pú.u> may reflect a long /ū/, but not necessarily.

**pu’uy in: pu’uyidaw (295.090.262.339 119) <p.u.i dau> ‘bandits and robbers’ (L5, Sh2) ← Ch fei non EMCh puf, LMCh fjywk/fuwk puwk -juwk pu’uyidaw (295.131) <p.u.i dau> ‘bandits and robbers’ (L5, Sh2) ← Ch fei non EMCh puf, LMCh fjywk/fuwk puwk -juwk

In the following table I am giving a selected material of cases of different Chinese finals reflected by their respective Khitan transcriptions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khitan</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Meaning¹¹⁴</th>
<th>LMCh¹¹⁵</th>
<th>EMCh¹¹⁶</th>
<th>Final¹¹⁷</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pu (241)</td>
<td>福</td>
<td>fú</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>blessing</td>
<td>fjywk/fuwk</td>
<td>puwk</td>
<td>-juwk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.u (295.131)</td>
<td>僕</td>
<td>pú</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td>pǝwk</td>
<td>pǝwk</td>
<td>-uwk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹¹³ Graph (090) ⚠ was read by Kane (2009) and Wu-Janhunen (2010) as <ó>, by Chinggeltei (2002a) as e and by Aisin Gioro (2012) as o and u. Shimune (2011) read <u>.
¹¹⁴ The Khitan items are quoted after Kane (2009). The meaning serves here only for differentiation and is based on the meaning given in Pulleyblank (1991).
¹¹⁵ Late Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank (1991).
¹¹⁶ Early Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank (1991).
¹¹⁷ Final according to Baxter – Sagart (2014).
It can be seen from the table above that the KSS rendering of Chinese finals is far from being consistent, many different types can be observed, CV, C.V, C.V.V, C.V.Vh and C.V.Vi.i and so on. The only conclusion which can be drawn is that KSS tried to render Chinese finals in different ways and that writings with identical vowels do not reflect long vowels, but may render diphthongs.

Now we can turn to the cases where the KSS used identical vowels in Khitan words. The following types can be distinguished:

**Type One**

Khitan has IV where there is no sign of disyllables in Mongolian:

- **ġur** (259) <hur> ‘three’
- **ńūr** (251) <n.iū.úr> ‘tribe, division, circuit’
- **ńoģo** (222) <ńi.o.ho> ‘circuit, route’

**jun** (147) <ju.un> ‘summer’

Mo *nurjan, see Kalm nutug nurjan ‘Land und Volk’ (Ramstedt 1935, p. 281b). This is a good example for the Khitan sequence /ńi/
which may be written as <n+i>, or <ńi> or <ń>. The word denoting an important unit of administration occurs in various forms and is frequent in the inscriptions. Its Chinese equivalent is *bu* 部 'part, section, department', an abbreviation of *bu-luo* 部落 and the history of the word is reflecting the settling of the nomadic tribes (WF47), ‘tribe’ → ‘local unit’. Here we can see that in one case we find <u.u> which has to be the equivalent of <o.u>.

so’or - 部 (017.255) in: <k.em so.o r> ‘received the edict, or the edict was issued’ (K69, Y16, 17, K199, 200), 部田 (017.304) <so.go> ‘to receive’ (K200), <so.or> ‘received’ (K199) | Mo sur- ‘to learn’, Da sore-, HN sur- ‘to learn’\(^{118}\) || WJ017 reading unknown.

po, po’o 出及 (足) (295.186.186) <p.o, p.o.o> ‘monkey’ (K107), <po'o> (C107) | cf. Mo bečin, Da monioo, HN bečin, Ma bonio, monio.

**Type Two**

IV where an /r/ disappeared:

**o’oju** - 出及 (足) (186.186.149) ‘to enter’ <o.o.ju> (X18-19) | Mo oro- ‘to enter’, HN ora-, DaE war-.

**Type Three**

IV in place of Mo disyllables V.CV.

**tů’ür** - 努勒付伏 (202.097.311.222) <tů’ür.bo.i>, 努勒中 (202.097.288) <tů’ür.bun>

**tů’ür** - 努勒付伏 (202.097.311.144) <tů’ür.b.ün> ‘died, passed away’ (K59, 91, 204, D7-15), <tů’ür.s.ii> ‘after he had died’ (K150-151, WJ73) | Mo dügür- ‘to expire, finish, end’, HN düür- ‘to become’ full’, DaE du:ru-\(^{119}\).

**u’ül** 時平 (131.366) <u.ul> ‘winter’ (K3, 79, 126, D47-12, Sh2), <u’ul> (C107, Sh 104) | MMo übülı, Mo eböl, Da uğul, HN übülı, eböl, DaE uyul, uyul, u:ı, Sh uulu/uvulu || PhK ügöl.

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\(^{118}\) The word is a polite expression.

\(^{119}\) Shimunek (2001) quotes Da tur- ‘be born’, Mo tür-, this is hardly acceptable.
Type Four

IV in place of \( V_1 CV_2 \)

\*dawul/dau'ul- 窣 obese (119.366) <dau.ul> ‘to lead’, Mo daga- ‘to follow’, dagagul- ‘to cause or to let follow’, HN daga- ‘to follow’ \( \parallel \) The Khitan word may go back to an earlier *dagugul- where -gul- is the factitive suffix, that is, *dagu- > *dau- is the basic word. It occurs in past tense as dawur- <dau.ar>- 窣力 (119.189.123) (D30-12) ‘lead’. In this case <dau> has to represent /day/ which can be transcribed as daw.

The word dawul- occurs in the following forms:

- **dawulğa- 窣貴 (119.366.051) <dau.ul.ha> ‘to be lead, follow’ (K148).**
- **dawulğa'ai 窣貴 (119.366.051122) <dau.ul.ha.ai> (X25-13), a converbal form in -ai of dau' VGA-, a verb with the double factitive suffix -UlgA-, see above au'ulgai <au.ul.ha.ai>.**
- **dawulo'go 窣貴及 (119.366.090.186.076) <dau ul.ho> (X16-3,20-29), a verbal noun in -go. This Khitan suffix may have a similar function as Mo -gU (Poppe 1964, p. 46). The suffix represented by <go> and occurring with other verbal stems as well has to be a deverb suffix forming a verbal form, but its function is yet unclear to me.**
- **dawulji 窣貴及 (119.366.131.337) <dau.ul.ji3> (X32-22) is a converbal form in -ji with the meaning ‘after having followed’, see K153-154.**
- **dawulğa'an 窣貴及 (119.366.151.011) <dau.ul.ha.an> (X29-2). This form looks like a noun in genitive case -an. If this is the correct interpretation, then <hu> must be the same, or have the same function as <ho> and is a nominaliser**
- **dawur 窣 (119.097) <dau.ur> ‘middle’, WJ87, Sh2: dawur | cf. Mo dumda, Da Daure ‘Dagur’, duande ‘middle’, HN dumda, DaE dwand, dwann, see Ch zhong 中 as middle, the Middle, China 中國, on dağur = Khitan see Kane (2009, pp. 162–165) [120]. This word occurs in the expression <GREAT dau.ur.ùn xu-ra qid.ùn.i> ‘The great Central Liao State-GEN’. Thus <dau.ur> denoted not only the word ‘middle’ in space or time, but also the centre of the world, and thus the Central Empire, the Empire of the Middle, as zhong in Chinese zhongguo. This is the origin of the ethnic name Dagur, Dahur, Daur. Ivanovskij (1894) registered the form Daýur, Poppe (1930) Daýur, Daýrú, Muromskij (Kalužynský 1969) dahuru, Martin (1961) Daure. In the Dagur language the CM -a- bisyllable became -au-, see LM dağu ‘voice’ > Da dau. The ethnic name is written in the Uygur-Mongolian script as ʧȫɆĬ˄, but this may be a modern form of the ethnic name. Enkhbat (1984) is cautious, though in all other similar cases he gives a written Mongolian form, in the case of Daur he does not. The modern Chinese transcription is dawoer 达斡尔 which represents a pronunciation [dawur] or [dawor]. Though we have to pay attention to the notions of Muromskij and Poppe respectively, for the time being I cannot decide

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[120] A similar idea was formulated by G. Kara in one of his lectures at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
whether the sequence <u.u> in <dau.úr> denoted a long vowel or not, i.e. we have to reconstruct dawur or *dawūr. The word occurs in the genitive case:
dawur ü'ül (119.097.144 131.366) <dau.úr:ún u.ul> ‘mid-winter (month)’ (K3, 22, 107, 49,189 L11, D30-4, X42-7). In the dative-locative case:
dawu (119.249) <dau.dū> ‘in the middle, the middle one, etc.’ with the loss of -r, or at least without an overt <r>.
dawdu ai (119.249 122) <dau.du ai> ‘the middle uncle’ (D13-6. 16-23, X1-4).
dawdu ku (119.249.178) <dau.du ku> ‘the middle person (sibling)’ (X2-23).

ewül (067.366) <eu.ul> ‘cloud; name of a region’ (K42, 89, X11-21, 44-15, 45-22) | Mo qööl, Da eulen, HN eülen ‘cloud’, DaE ələn.

xawür (250.097) <xeu.u̯r> ‘spring’ (K46, 119, 211, X29-23), <xawur> (C107) | Mo qabar, Da haure ‘spring’, HN kabur, DaE xaur. The word is a strongly palatalised pair of Mo qabar. The first <u> ending <xeu> has to represent a /u̯/.

*ũ(w)- <ũ> ‘to give, provide’ || Mo ōg- ‘to give’, Da ūke-, HN ōg-, DaE ūk''- || The basic Khitan verb u- may have had a long vowel, but this is not reflected in the KSS. Forms as <ũ.u̯> converb, <ũ.ûr> past tense, have the usual form -V-V in:
ũũ- (372.262) <ũ.u̯i> ‘given, provided (conv.)’ (K66, 67, 99), ụ̃ʻụ̃- (372.097) <ụ̃.u̯r> ‘gave’ (X17-22), in error: ‘to sit’ (K148), see also: ụ̃ʻụ̃- (372.341) <ụ̃.ûr> occurring in the expression Heaven ụ̃-er (243.372.341) <HEAVEN ụ̃.er> ‘Heaven bestowed, given by the Heaven’, (D3-23-24, 27-9, X39-35).
ụ̃ũḷgẹn (131.366.112.100/361) <ụ̃.ụ̃.łę̣-ę̣ ẹ̃ṇ> (D24-19, D25-11). Judging from the context the word has the meaning ‘was given in marriage’, i.e. the word is a derivation from ụ̃- (372.262) <ụ̃> ‘give, provide’ and not from ụ̣̣̃ (131.366) <ụ̣̣̃> ‘winter’. The morphological segmentation is ụ̃'ụ̃-ḷgẹ-ę̣n, may be ụ̃'ụ̃-ḷgẹ-ę̣n where -ḷgẹ/ḷẹ (Mo -ḷ-, Poppe 1964, p. 61) and the converbal suffix -ę̣n is a nominaliser.
ụ̃ũḷgẹci (131.366.349.261.162) <ụ̃.ụ̃.ę̣.ḷẹ.ći> (D17-1) ‘was given (in marriage)’. The morphological segmentation is ụ̃'ụ̃-ḷgẹ/ḷẹ-ę̣-ći where to the basic verb ụ̃-, the suffix of passivity -ḷẹ or -ḷẹ, the suffix of the causative or factitive -ḷ- (Mo -ḷ-, Poppe 1964, p. 61) and the converbal suffix -ći/-ći was added.

Type Five

IV in non first syllables
ala'ar (098.189.123) <al.a.ar> ‘killed’ (D5-15, 30-16, 43-14) || The past tense masculine of ala- ‘to kill’. The suffix is -Vr, the vowel is assimilated to the last vowel of the word, if it is an open syllable.
ayılğa'ai (122.302.051.122) ‘to frighten, to threaten (a factitive form of ayi-, Y12) | Mo ayulğa- ‘to frighten, to threaten’, Da alleqa- ‘frighten, scare, startle’ || From the basic Khitan word *ayi- ‘fear’ > *ayıl ‘fear, danger’ > ayilğa- ‘to threaten, to make fear’ > ayılğa’ai ‘having threatened’.

muغو (224.076.186) ‘snake’ (K58, 60, 118), <moγo> (C107) | Mo mogai, *mokai, HN mogai, Da *moga > mᴐγw, only Khitan and Dagur lost the final -i. Here the question is: does a long vowel in Khitan correspond to the final Mongol diphthong -ai? As we can see Dagur lost its final -i, and we may suppose the same for Khitan. This makes it very probable that the o.o in the word <mu.ho.o> does not represent a long vowel, it has to be read as mugo and not *mugō. Why is it then written <ho.o>? I suppose that <h> should be read here only as <h>, i.e. <mu.h.o>.

nağa’an (139.051.290) ‘maternal uncle’, 力主出谷 (139.051.290.254) plural (K25, 51, 106, 124, 206, D1-1/2) | Mo naga ‘relatives on the mother’s side’ (Lessing 1960, p. 1207), nagaču, SH naqačunar, HN nagaču ‘maternal uncle, relatives on the mother’s side’ | <nagagan, perhaps -(g)An is a dimin. suff. Mo nagaču is used for the maternal lineage, n. aqa ‘elder brother of the mother’, n. bergen ‘wife of mother’s brother’ etc., perhaps originally ‘those on this, on our side (in a matrilineal structure of relationship)’, see nagana ‘nearer, on this side’, also inagsi = nagsi ‘hither’.

ona- (154.189) ‘to descend’ | Mo una- ‘to fall down’, Da uane-, HN una-, DaE wanə-.

ona’an- (154.189-290) ['sweet dew', descended, came down, fell (past)] (K20, 53) || The graph (154) occurs also as marker of the genitive case. It follows words with /o/, but from this it cannot be concluded that it has to be read as /on/, it may also be /un/. The suffix -an (011) is the marker of the genitive case, but here we have <án> (290) the suffix of the verbal noun, following a verb ending in -a (cf. K155). The pronunciation behind the sequence <.a.á> could be either /a'a/ or /ā/. I would call here attention to the fact that Khitan had two verbs on- and ona- (154.189) ‘to ride’ and ona- ‘to descend’ which in Mo correspond to unu- and una- respectively. If this can be generalised, we can conclude that the Proto-Mongol final -u disappeared in Khitan, unlike -a which did not.

qaha’an (053.051.011) <qa.ha.an> ‘gen. of kagan’ (K103, X1-1, 5-6, 5-26, 14-32, 15-31, 19-3, Sh2), qaha’ad 力主 (135 051.011.099) <TWO qa.ha.ad> pl. ‘khan’ (K50, X3-1, 3-32) | Mo qagan-un, qagad, Da haan, HN kaan || The enormous literature on kan and kagan will not be cited here. We are interested in the second vowel of the Khitan form of kagan. The graph (011) ‘an’ is mainly used as the graph representing the genitive marker and in this case the final -n of kagan disappeared, or is not reflected in the KSS.

*semi- (244.257.080) ‘being sick, ill’ (K116, X4-16).

semiyer (244.257.080.341) ‘becoming ill’ (K116, D11-7, 23-1) || The verbal base seems to be semi- to which joins the converbal -i
(K149) and has to be translated ‘falling ill’; the word occurs in a sentence where it is said that the person fell ill and died. On the other hand, in D11-7/8 we read ṭege 〈te.ge〉 ‘to die (hon)’, cf. Mo *dege- ‘to go, move upwards’, see degedi ‘upper, previous etc.’; degere ‘on, above, high’, degde- ‘to rise, to float, to fly up’, cf. HN deere, DaE dr ‘above, upper’. tege’er ṭege 〈te.ge.er〉 ‘deceased, died’ (masc. past tense in -er).

Conclusion

The writing of identical vowels is of course only a description of the situation from our Western linguistic aspect. For the Khitan scribe a graph had one or more readings and he was not aware of its phonetic structure and value. He learnt to write suffixes with separate graphs and wrote Khitan finals with the same graphs, since the morphological borders were not always clear. Graphs denoting single vowels were also used for secondary long vowels (see e.g. 〈ò-〉 above), but also identical vowels were written for short vowels (see 〈gur〉 and 〈ġu.ur〉 ‘three’ above). The writing of identical vowels in the transcription of Chinese words was only an adaptation to the Khitan writing system. 〈p.u.ui〉 had the value /pui/ a diphtong and thus adapted to the system of the Khitan -ui finals.

In brief, the KSS does not reflect vowel length directly, but in some cases we can identify long vowels behind the script. These long vowels are secondary. Secondary long vowels may have had two origins. They could be the result of bisyllables of the type of VCV after the consonant disappeared, and the length of a vowel may have been the result of compensation and stress. The length of the verbal base a- may have pertained to the second group.

* 

The investigation of the rendering of the Khitan vowels by the Khitan Small Script shows that the system was far from being suitable for reflecting the contemporary vocalic system. However, it is important to state that the limits of the KSS system were not narrower than those of the Uighur script. I have the impression that the graphs were partly borrowed, partly invented by the Khitans, but the system itself
was modelled after the Uighur script. This would be in line with the record in the *Liao shi* on the creation of the Khitan Small Script – quoted in WF243.

(to be continued)

**Abbreviations**

BaoD = Dahejia (or Jishishan) Baoan (after HN)
BaoŃ = Ńantoq subdialect of Tongren Baoan (after HN)
C = Chinggeltei (2002a)
Ch = Chinese
D = *Xiao Dilu* inscription (AD 1114) (WJ)
Da = Dagur according to Martin (1961)
DaE = Dagur according to Enkhbat (1984) (after HN)
DaM = Dagur according to Muromskij in Kahužiński (1969–1970)
DaTC = Dagur according to Tumurdej – Cybenov (2014)
Dgx = Dongxian (after HN)
Dilie = *The Epitaph of Yelü Dilie* (AD 1092), cited after K
EMCh = Early Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank (1991)
EX = *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi* (AD 1101) (K214-223)
EYu = Eastern Yugur
GQ = Gansu Qinghai Mongolian
HN = H. Nugteren (2011)
HU = The *Xiao Hudujin* inscription (1091) (Wu 2012)
Hung = Hungarian
JU = The *Yelu Jue* inscription (AD 1071) (Wu 2012)
K = Kane (2009)
KC = The cover of the *Xiao Huilian* inscription (AD 1080) (Wu 2012)
Kgj = Kangjia (after HN)
Kh = Khalkha Mongol (Luv sanden dev 1957)
KL = The Xiao Huilian inscription (AD 1080) (Wu 2012)
KLS = Khitan Large Script
KSS = Khitan Small Script
L = The *Langjun* inscription (AD 1134) (K186-189)
L2 = The *Langjun* inscription according to Sh2
List = List of KSS graphs as in WJ
LMCh = Late Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank (1991)
Ma = Manchu
Mgr = Smedt – Mostaert (1933)
MgrH = Huzhu dialect of Monguor (after HN)
MgrM = Minhe dialect of Monguor (after HN)
MMo = Middle Mongolian
Mo = Literary Mongolian according to Lessing (1960)
PC = The cover of the *Yelu Pasuli inscription* (AD 1105) (Wu 2012)
PKh = Proto Khitan
PU = The *Yelu Pasuli inscription* (AD 1105) (Wu 2012)
QG = The Qinghai and Gansu Mongol languages according to HN

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Rykin = Rykin (2014)
Sh = Shimunek (2011)
Sh2 = Shimunek (2014)
SJL = Sun Bojun – Jing Yongshi – Li Yang (2010)
Tib = Tibetan
TMR = Tibeto-Mongolica Revisited (Róna-Tas 2014)
WF = Wittfogel – Feng (1949)
WOT = Róna-Tas – Berta (2011)
X = The Yelü Xiangwen inscription (AD 1091) (WJ)
Y = The Yelü Dilie inscription (AD 1092) (K191-211)

References

DeSmedt – Mostaert (1933) see Smedt, A. de – Mostaert, A. (1933)

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