

## KHITAN STUDIES I. THE GRAPHS OF THE KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT

### 2. THE VOWELS\*

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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 /i/ 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<sup>1</sup>) 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

\* This paper is the second part of a series, for the first part see *AOH* 69 (2016), pp. 117–138. In that paper a few disturbing misprints appeared, such as the graphs for the numerals (p. 127) the correct graphs for three are: 包 (166), 包 (167), 𐰇 (259), for third masc. 𐰇𐰇𐰇 (151.236.269), <hu.u.er>, 𐰇𐰇 (259.269) <hur.er>, for third fem. 𐰇𐰇𐰇 (151.236.219) <hu.ur.én> 𐰇𐰇 (259.219) <hur.én>, 𐰇𐰇𐰇 (340.236.219) <x.ur.én>, for four 𐰇 (368), 𐰇 (369), (p. 128): for five 𐰇 (029), 𐰇 (030), six 𐰇 (085), 𐰇 (086), seven 𐰇 (141), 𐰇 (441), eight 𐰇 (007), 𐰇 (008). On p. 134 the correct Khitan graphs for ‘sixty’ are 𐰇 (266) and 𐰇 (267), 𐰇 (424), for seventy 𐰇 (300) and 𐰇 (301), for thousand 𐰇 (207), for ‘ten thousand, great amount’ 𐰇 (187) 𐰇 (312) and 𐰇 (406).

<sup>1</sup> See the Abbreviations on pp. 185–186.

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<sup>2</sup> which I give in **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 **bold face** are from my unpublished Khitan–English Wordlist.

## 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<sup>3</sup>, 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<sup>4</sup>. 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 = vowel, C = 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).

<sup>2</sup> Of course, this is an idealised reading, reflecting my preliminary view about how the graph was read by the Khitan scholars.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

## Graphs for Simple Vowels<sup>5</sup>

**a:** <a> 𐰇 (189),  
**e:** <e> 𐰇 (348), <e<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (109),  
**i:** <i> 𐰇 (339), <i> 𐰇 (352)<sup>6</sup>, <i> 𐰇 (114), **ī:** <i> 𐰇 (353), <i<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (113),  
**o:** <o> 𐰇 (186)<sup>7</sup>, <ō> 𐰇 (252), <ō<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (253)<sup>8</sup>, <ó> 𐰇 (090)<sup>9</sup>,  
**u:** <u> 𐰇 (131), <ú> 𐰇 (245)<sup>10</sup>, <ū> 𐰇 (372)<sup>11</sup>, <ü> 𐰇 (226)<sup>12</sup>.

Let us first look at the graphical side. <e> 𐰇 (348) and <e<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (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 <i> 𐰇 (352), <i> 𐰇 (114) and <i> 𐰇 (353), <i<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (113). Clear allographs are also: <ō> 𐰇 (252) and <ō<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (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 𐰇 (189). For /e/ of whatever phonetic shade (open, closed etc.) only one graph existed with two allographs <e> 𐰇 (348), <e<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (109). For the vowel /i/ there existed two graphs, one of which occurs with two allographs: <i> 𐰇 (339) and <i> 𐰇 (352), **ī** 𐰇 (114), /i/ is represented by two allographs: <i> 𐰇 (353) and <i<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (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> 𐰇 (186), <ó> 𐰇 (090), <ō> 𐰇 (252), <ō<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (253), and in the case of <u> also three graphs: <u> 𐰇 (131), <ú> 𐰇 (245), <ū> 𐰇 (372) with no allograph, all three are heterographs, finally <ü> with one graph: 𐰇 (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 <i<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (113) and <i> 𐰇 (353) were used after Chinese syllabants (*s*, *z*, optionally *sh*, *ss*) to denote a retracted <i> vowel (K48, 77). In the KSS we find <sī> 𐰇 (083) and <shī> 𐰇 (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/<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> In the following I will give the Romanisation of the graphs according to Wu–Janhunen (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.

<sup>6</sup> Aisin Gioro (2012) also <yi>.

<sup>7</sup> C also <uə>.

<sup>8</sup> Aisin Gioro (2012) <os>.

<sup>9</sup> C u; Aisin Gioro (2012) <o>, <u>.

<sup>10</sup> Aisin Gioro (2012) o, u.

<sup>11</sup> C u, iu; Aisin Gioro (2012) u, ö.

<sup>12</sup> Aisin Gioro (2012) yu, yo.

<sup>13</sup> 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> 仲 (226). The phoneme /ü/ existed in Liao Chinese<sup>14</sup> as a medial [-y-] or /ü/, and in fact e.g. *yuan* 元 is written in KSS as 安仲公 (264.226.251) <ng.ü.n> (K259). Kane used in his List of graphs for 英 (082) the Romanisation <y>. He remarked (K44) "...used to transcribe Chinese medial -ü-..... see also <û> 仲 2.226". The letter <û> here has to be changed to <ü>. There exist other syllables with <ü> in the system of WJ: <üe> 英 (082 K: <y>), <üen> 叻 (324, K: <iün>) and <ün> 亦 (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> 为 (189), **e:** <e> 券 (348), <e<sub>2</sub>> 券 (109), **i:** <i> 关 (339), <ï> 券 (114), <î> 券 (352), **o:** <o> 及 (186), <ó> 井 (090), <ô> 众 (252), <ö<sub>2</sub>> 公 (253), **u:** <u> 友 (131), <ú> 伞 (245), <ü> 尺 (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<sup>15</sup>.

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> 为 (189).  
**D ay:** <ai> 平 (122), <ai<sub>3</sub>> 平 (395), <ai<sub>2</sub>> 市 (049); **aw:** <au> 夬 (161), <aü> 考 (125), <aú> 尔 (210).  
**VC ad:** <ad> 亦 (099), <ad> 币 (016A)<sup>16</sup>, **ah:** <ah> 夬 (197) (= aγ, aǵ), **al:** <al> 方 (098), **ali:** <ali> 夫 (069)<sup>17</sup>, **am<sup>0</sup>:** <am> 乃 (184), 乃 <am<sup>0</sup>> (185), <am> 毛 (026)<sup>18</sup>, **an:** <an> 夬 (011), <an<sub>2</sub>> 夬 (127), <án> 出 (290), **ang:** <áng> 业 (280), <ang> 夬 (199), **ar:** <ar> 夬 (123), **as/sa:** <sa> 夬 (174).

<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>15</sup> The same as it is in the Turkic Runic or the Uighur script.

<sup>16</sup> <od>, according to Aisin (2012) also <ad>.

<sup>17</sup> <ri>, according to Aisin (2012) <ali>, which does not seem to fit into the system (al or li?).

<sup>18</sup> 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* (*a*+*C*), see Róna-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 为 (189) <*a*>

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

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

**ani** 夹关 (011.339) <*a.ni*> ‘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-** 为 (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** 为半 (189.122) <*a.ai*> ‘converbial 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 iri-de a'ai** <*ci.ur.én i.ri.de a.ai*> ‘was by the second name...’ (D6-18),

**taiši šari a'ai** <*tai si š.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)<sup>19</sup> (Y11, K199, 200) (2×)<sup>20</sup>,

<sup>19</sup> **so'or-** 兩全 (017.255) -in: <*k.em so.or*> ‘received the edict, or the edict was issued’ (K69, Y16, 17, K199, 200), 兩兩 (017.304) <*so.go*> ‘to receive’ (K200), <*so.or*> ‘received’ (K199) | Mo *sur-* ‘to learn’, Da *sore-*, HN *sur-* ‘to learn’, DaE *sor-* || according to WJ (017) reading unknown.

<sup>20</sup> Further examples: <*a.an:un te.bu.ei a.ai*> (Y17), <*hor.se au.o.ju x.ui.ci hu.ri 232.i a.ai*> (X17), <*te xe.ri.s:er a.ai*> (Y20), *aü.ui š.ia* KNOW.er *c.eu a.ai* (Y28), <*eu.e BORN.i a.ai*> (Y32), <*s.iaŋ g.ung a.ai*> (Y35), <*mó:t au.ui.i a.ai*> (Y38), <*cu.ur.ge.ei qudug.er a.ai*> (EX11).

- HEAVEN mo-t awui-i a'ai** <HEAVEN mó:t au.ui.i a.ai> 'the heaven(ly) ladies having brought (*aw-*) there' (Y38).
- \*a'ad-** 为币 (189.016) <a.ad> 'placed there' || passive form with the suffix *-d*.
- a'adlağa'ar** 为币中立本 (189.016.261.051.123) <a.od.l.ha.ar> 'a finite past tense predicate after a noun ending in the locative-dative *-de*'<sup>21</sup> ||
- Hüende a'adlağa'ar** <hu.üen.de a.od.l.ha.ar> (D27-11), '[to the place] Hülen, [he] was placed...'
- a'adbañ-** 为币符伏 (189.099.311.222) <a.ad.b.ñ> 'given' || <ba.ñ> past tense.<sup>22</sup>
- suHEAVEN a'adbañ** <su.Heaven a.ad.b.ñ> 'given by the majestic heaven' (D45-18)<sup>23</sup>.
- a'an** 为出 (189.290) <a.án> 'deverbal noun (participle) in *an* of *a-*' (D7-21, 36-2, 37-1, X34-42, 35-24, 37-42, 46-21, KL6-13, 12-4, 6-10, JU 43-9, 10-16, 40-40, PU10-35, 22-21, 21-39, 21-15, 11-36) || cf. Mo *-gAn*
- usg-en RECORD.gsii a'an** <us.g.en RECORD.g.s.ii a.án> 'being recorded in letters/by letters' (X46-21).
- a'an-er** 为出矣 (189.290.341) <a.án.er> (D13-25) instrumental case of *a'an* in *-er* of the deverbal noun *a'an*, ŠagaTENT a'aner <š.ha.TENT a.án.er> '[he went] together with ShagaTENT [into battle]' (D13-25)<sup>24</sup>.
- \*a'an-ben** 为出业当 (189.290.295.361) <a.án.p.én> *-pen/ben* has to be here a suffix<sup>25</sup>
- <COMPOSE.l.a jin a.án.p.én<sup>26</sup> xi.a.al RECORD.g.ei na.as.hu.al.ún qi> (Y35).
- a'andei** 为出矣矣 (189.290.205.339) <a.án.de.i> '?' || may be a prolative-ablative in <de.i> of **a'an** (K138).
- amiñ a'andei gi 356** <a.am.ñ a.án.d e.i gi 356> (X28-40).
- a'al** 为方 (189.098) <a.al> 'having been conferred, given (title)',
- uniq-uñ iris-er a'al** <uni.qu.ñ i.ris.er a.al> 'after the *uniq-uñ* titles were conferred on him' (D14-6),
- COMPOSE a'an mg mg a'al** 网为出 又凡 又凡为方 (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)<sup>27</sup>, see further: JU33-31, HU10-40, HU32-9, HU27-6, HU19-39.

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

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

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Mo *suu* 'superior, genius'. Most probably *su tengri*.

<sup>24</sup> The name I read as **\*Shagager** occurs in D30-16 in <š.ha.TENT al.a.ar> 'having killed Shagager' and in X17-24 <ai.de ku.ü.su.ür š.ha.TENT al.a.go.de o.oi> '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-?

<sup>25</sup> 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*.

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

<sup>27</sup> K read <mo.gi mo.gi>, but in fact <m.g m.g> is written.

**aġa'al** 为立方 (189.051.098) <a.ha.al> ‘having been conferred, given (title)’ || con-verb in *-al*:

**te iris-er aġa'al** <t i.ri.s.er a.ha.al> ‘after these (*te*) titles (*iris*) were conferred on him, after he was decorated with these titles’ (D20-19)<sup>28</sup>,

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

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

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

|| *a'al* and *aġa'al* have to have the same meaning and function.

**a'alġa'ai** 为方立平 (189.098.051.122) <a.al.ha.ai> ‘converb of a causative form of *a-*, was put in charge, has been made X’ (X24-1).

**ayd-en baqai em-en Bu'ur a'alġa'ai** <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).

**a'alġu** 为方立 (189.098.151) <a.al.hu> ‘a nominal form in *-ġu* of the causative verb *a'al-*’  
**TENTuġur a'alġu teġebu'u MOUNTAIN.de** <TENT.uh.ur a.al.hu t.ge<sub>2</sub>.bu<sub>2</sub>.u MOUNTAIN.de> ‘The TENTuġur [tribe] was placed at the Mountain Teġebuu’ (X33-30). See further: KL18-21, JU24-46, HU30-24, HU12-28, HU15-3, PU17-25.

**a'ar** 为本 (189.123) <a'ar> ‘was there’ past tense in *-ar* of the verb *a-* (Y32, KL32-8, JU17-42, JU37-7, JU 8-55, JU44-2, HU12-1, HU34-26, PU10-35, PU22-21, PU21-39, PU21-15, PU11-36).

**eci teġei a'ar** <e.ci te.ge.ei a.ar> ‘Eci<sup>29</sup> has died, was dead’ (Y32).

**a'arun** 为本 (189.123.144) <a.ar.ún> *a'a-* and a suffix *-run* ? past participle? Poppe (1964, p. 98) *converbum preparativum*, see Mo *öġüleriün* etc.

**tawsuo'ulġa'ai a'arun semier teġer** <tau.su.ó.ul.ha.ai a.ar.ún s.emii.er t.ge.er> ‘having been advanced to the post, fell ill and died’ (D11-6)<sup>30</sup>.

**dür-en tadi en a'arun** <dur:én t.ad.i ēn a.ar.ún> ‘the fourth (feminine) .....having been’ (Y31)<sup>31</sup>. See further: JU32-18, KL24-20, HU14-36.

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

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

**ai** <ai> 平 (122), <ai<sub>3</sub>> 平 (395), <ai<sub>2</sub>> 市 (049)

The graphs (122) and (395) are allographs. <ai<sub>2</sub>> 市 (049) is not present as initial in the texts D, X, Y, L, EX, JU, KL, KC, HU, PC, PU.

<sup>28</sup> *te* demonstrative pronoun, *iri-s-er* ‘with names’ -s plural, *-er* is instrumental, *aġa-* causative of *a-*, *aġal* deverbal noun (on the instrumental of the plural in *-s*, see WJ98).

<sup>29</sup> Eci may be connected with Mo *eġige* ‘father’.

<sup>30</sup> **tawsuo** 为卡升 央 (029.041.090.262) <tau.su.ó.ui> ‘to advance’ (X2-14, 3-17, 24-6) | Mo *dabsi-* ‘to advance’, *dabsigul-* ‘caus. of *dabsi-*’.

<sup>31</sup> **tadi** must be a Chinese title.

The Khitan graph <ai> 𐰇 (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 𐰇 (122) represents two homophonous words with the meanings ‘year’ and ‘father’ resp. Their plural forms are different. The two homophonous words **ay**<sup>1</sup> and **ay**<sup>2</sup> occur together 50 times in the texts D, X, L, Y, EX and 67 times in the texts JU, KC, KL, HU, PC, PU.

**ay**<sup>1</sup> 𐰇 (122) ‘year’ <ai> (K128), Pl. **ayis** 𐰇𐰏 (122.244) <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 ‘calendric year’<sup>32</sup>:

**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)<sup>33</sup>.

**ayde**<sup>1</sup> 𐰇𐰏 (122.204) <ai.de> ‘in the year’ (X23-23, 26-26, 7 times in JU, 11 times in PU, once in HU)<sup>34</sup>.

**HEAVEN udulga’ar 20 ayde** <HEAVEN ú.dū.l.ha.a.ar TWENTY ai.de> ‘in the twentieth year of the Chongxi period’ (= 1051) (X23-23).

**ay**<sup>2</sup> 𐰇 (122) <ai> ‘father’ (K97, D2-12 2-18, 2-27, 3-6, 3-12, 3-18, 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** 𐰇𐰏 (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)<sup>35</sup>,

**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,

**ay Teisu hongti** <ai t.ei s.ú 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 hongti-in ebu ay** <HEAVEN hong.di:in bu ai> (Y4) ‘the grandfather of the Heavenly Emperor’.

**ay-un ceu-un udur pusuwulgi** <ai.ún c.eu.un ud<sub>3</sub>.úr pu.ká.ú.ul.gi> ‘the first prefect of the ancestral district’ (EX10)<sup>36</sup>.

**ayde**<sup>2</sup> 𐰇𐰏 (122.204) <ai.de> ‘to the father (dative)’

**ayde küsü’ür** <ai.de ku.ü.su.ü.úr> ‘to the father in/the favour (...was given)’ (X17-20).

<sup>32</sup> Mo *on* is in Khitan *po* with the basic meaning ‘time, year’ (see in detail K122).

<sup>33</sup> K read (146) 𐰇 giu, but WJ correctly <gi> (157, 301). This word may be a Khitan transcription of Chinese *ji* 己 ‘the sixth heavenly stem’, LMCh, EMCh *ki*’.

<sup>34</sup> The two homophonous words **ayde**<sup>1</sup> and **ayde**<sup>2</sup> are not distinguished yet.

<sup>35</sup> WJ109 <ai.s> ‘fathers’ in error | Da *ačā* ‘father, own’, *ečihe* ‘father, other person’s’, HN only *ečiğe* DaE *ačiy*.

<sup>36</sup> *ceu-un* is Chinese *zhou* ‘province’ 州, *udur* ‘first’, Kane has <yu>. <pu.ká.ü.ul> or <pu.su.ü.ul> is the name of an office, perhaps it may be connected with the office of watering. The Mo word *usun* ‘water’ has hitherto had no *h-* data in MMo, but Monguor has *fudzu*, and East Yugur *qusun*, while DaE *as*, see HN p. 536.

\***ayi-** 𐰇 (122) <ai> ‘to fear’ | Mo *ayu-*, *ayi-* ‘to fear’, Da *ai-* ‘to fear, be afraid’, HN *ayu-*, all modern forms derive from *ayi-*, DaE *ai-*.

\***ayilga-** 𐰇𐰏𐰪 (122.302.051) ‘to frighten, threaten’ causative/passive in *-lǵA*. | Mo *ayulga-* ‘to frighten, to threaten’, Da *ailegaa-* ‘frighten, scare, startle’.

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

**cawur ui(l)de ayilga’ai tūšien iriser** <cau.úr ui:de ai.il.ha.ai tū.ši:en i.ri:s:er> (Y12) ‘for his offensive/frightening deeds in the battle he got the title *dushi* 都事<sup>37</sup>’.

**au:** 𐰇 (125) <aū>, 𐰇 (161) <au>, 𐰇 (210) <aú> (161) and (210) are interchangeable (K54).

**aw** 𐰇 (125) <aū> abbreviated form of **awui** ‘elder sister’ (K95, WJ167), see **awui**.

\***aw-** 𐰇 (161) <au>, 𐰇 (210) <aú> ‘to take, get, to grasp, to get hold of’ | Mo *ab-* ‘to take, get, to grasp, to get hold of’, HN *ab-*, DaE *au-*, *aw-*, cf. WJ213.

\***awul-** 𐰇𐰏𐰪 (161.366) <au.ul> ‘let somebody take (a title), to appoint’ | factitive of \**ab-* ‘to take’, the suffix is *-\*Ul*, \**aw+ul*<sup>38</sup>.

\***awulga-** 𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪 (161.366.051) <au.ul.ha> ‘to let be appointed’ | < \**abulga* < \**abul*+*lga*, the suffix is *-lǵA*

**awulga’a’ar** 𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪 (161.366.051.189.123) <au.ul.ha.a.ar> (JU37-15), also **awulga’ar** 𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪 (161.366.051.123) (KL11-21) past tense in *-ar* of **awulga-**,

**awulga’ai** 𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪 (161.366.051.122) <au.ul.ha.ai> ‘being appointed’ (D9-21, 32-14, JU18-35, 13-3, HU 17-8, PU 19-6) converbal form in *-ai* of the factitive of **aw-**.

**Para Ugurde awulga’ai** <p.ra ú.g.úr.de au.ul.ha.ai> ‘[the Emperor] let him to be appointed to the Ten Ogurs’ (D32-14), see my previous paper, *AOH* 2016, p. 129.

**tawsouulgai awulga’ai** <tau.su.ó.ul.ha.ai au.ul.ha.ai> ‘having advanced him [and appointed]’ (D9-21)<sup>39</sup>.

**awulga’alun** 𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪𐰇𐰏𐰪 (161.366.051.098.144) <au.ul.ha.al.ún> ‘has been appointed’ (K54, KL 9-19) ‘past tense in *-lun* of the factitive stem of **aw-**’.

**awulga’ul** 𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪 (161.366.051.366) <au.ul.ha.ul> deverbal noun in *-ul*, of the factitive stem of **aw-**

<sup>37</sup> *cawur uyi(l)* ‘war affair’, +*de* locative, *tuši* ‘dushi’+gen, *iri* ‘name, title’ +*s* plural, *er* instrumental case marker.

<sup>38</sup> As in Mo *saǵu-* ‘to sit’ > *saǵul-* ‘to set’, *uǵu-* ‘to drink’ > *uǵul-* ‘to give drink’ (Poppe 1964, p. 61).

<sup>39</sup> See for **tawsuo** 𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪 𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪 (029.041.090.262) <tau.su.ó.ui> ‘to advance’ (X2-14, 3-17, 24-6) | Mo *dabsi-* ‘to advance’, *dabsigul-* ‘caus. of *dabsi-*’, *saǵal tawsuo’o’ui awui* <s.a.ha.al tau.su.ó.ui au.ui> ‘Sagal has been advanced to (the post)’ (X24-7), **tawsuo’ulgai** 𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪𐰇𐰏𐰪 (029.041.090.366.051.122) <tau.su.ó.ul.ha.ai> ‘to let advance’ (D9-20, 11-5), **tawsou’ulǵu** 𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪𐰇𐰏𐰪 (029.041.090.366.151) <tau.su.ó.ul.hu> ‘to be advanced’ (X37-23). On **Sagal** 𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪𐰇𐰏𐰪 (244.189.051.098) <s.a.ha.al> (X4-15, 24-5) and **sa’a’al** 𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪𐰇𐰏𐰪𐰪 (244.189.098) <s.a.al t.ge.er> ‘Sagal died’ (D23-4).

- ho:de tawsuwui awulga'ul** <ho:de tau.su.u.ui au.ul.ha.ul> 'to him [as] an advancement an appointment was given' (Y17).<sup>40</sup>
- awliǵalǵa'ai** 央矢 立中 立中 (161.206.051.261.051.122) <au.li.ha.l.ha.ai>  
**MOUNTAIN awliǵalǵa'ai** <MOUNTAIN au.li.ha.l.ha.ai> 'was placed in the tomb/mountain' (X33-18).
- awulu'ui** 央平 仄央 (161.366.372.262) <au.ul.ū.ui> (K54) converbal form in *-ui* of *awul-*.
- awoi** 考央 (125.107) <aū.oi<sub>2</sub>> ? read <aū.er> 考 央 (125.269). The verb **aw-** may have here the meaning 'beginning with, from, since' as in the Mo expressions *ekin-eċe abun* 'from the beginning', *ōrlūge-eċe 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 s.a.ad.i BORN.i aū.oi<sub>2</sub>> (X40-18), <e<sub>2</sub> s.a.ad.i BORN.yi aū.er> (Yongqing Gongzhu Inscription line 28) 'since his birth there' (WJ214).'
- awui<sup>1</sup>** 央央 (161.262) <au.ui> (D28-21, X24-7) seems to be a converbal form of *aw-*, **Elbu-en awui** <l.bu.en au.ui> 'donation of Elbu' (D28-21), **tawsuowui awui** <tau.su.ó.ui au.ui> 'advancing and appointing' (X24+7) **HEAVEN mo-t awui-i a'ai** <HEAVEN mó:t au.ui.i a.ai> 'the heaven(ly) ladies [and] miladys being there' (Y38)<sup>41</sup>.
- awui<sup>2</sup>** 尔央 (210.262) <aú.ui> 'term of respect for a woman of high status, milady' (K108, X15-11 + 11times in X | cf. Mo *abugai* 'term of respect', *abagai* 'wife of a prince, lady' | Sh *awi*, *awui* if not ← Ch *ao*. 嫗 LMCh ?*aw*.  
**moku Doloer awui naġaner mo TENT-en te** <mó ku dolo.er aú.ui na.ha.án.er m.o 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..** <s.iang g.ung b.u ca.ang ś.i:en mó ku ó.ui.i s.en aú.ui TWO:en bo.hu.án TWO° m.o> '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:** <ad> 东 (099), <ad> / <od> 帀 (016)

**Ada'an** 东为央 (099.189.011) <ad.a.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:** <ah> 央 (197) (= *ay*, *ag*) yet no example as initial, only in codas, see below.

<sup>40</sup> K has <ka> instead of <su>.

<sup>41</sup> **awui<sup>1</sup>** is here the same as **awui<sup>2</sup>**.

**al** > 𐰇 (098) appears in the suffix <.....-ha.al.hu> (K46) ‘<-galǰu> in opposition to <-ge.l.gi>’ and can be compared with the Mo causative suffix *-(ga)lga*, *-(ge)elge*.

In word initial position:

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

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

**Sudgey ala’ar** <s.ud<sub>3</sub>.ge.y al.a.ar> ‘[he] killed Sudgey’ (D5-15),

**ŠaǰaTENT ala’ar** <ša.ha.TENT al.a.ar> ‘[he] killed ShahaTENT (Shaha-ger?)’ (D30-16), cf. *sudurgeer* below (D48-18),

**Ciriń gi ala’ar** <ci.ri.ń gi<sub>2</sub> al.a.ar> ‘[he] killed the Ciriń’ (D43-13/14).<sup>42</sup>

**Tümür Ceu ala’ar üsgi tsar** <tümu.úr ci.eu al.a.ar us.gi ts.ar> ‘has killed Tümüür Ceu’<sup>43</sup> and an inscription was raised / a note was written’ (Y38).

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

**alaluji** 𐰇𐰏𐰎𐰏 (098.261.131.337) <al.l.u.ji> ‘having been murdered, killed?’ | converbial form in *-ji*

**ay-iń gi alaluji yara** <ai<sub>3</sub>.ń gi al.l.u.ji<sub>3</sub> ia.ra> ‘the murder of the father’ (X34-29),

**pojig-an gi alaluji nera-en TEXT.u** <p.o.ji.ha.án gi al.l.u.ji ne.rà:en TEXT.ú> ‘The tomb inscription on how Pojig was murdered’ (Y35).

**aluji** 𐰇𐰏𐰎 (098.131.152) <al.u.ji> ‘?’ (D48-18), 𐰇𐰏𐰎 (098.131.153) <al.u.ji> ‘having been killed’ | converbial form of *ala* ‘?’ (D38-18) [written with two different types of <ji>]

**sudurge’er aluji** <s.ud<sub>3</sub>.ur.ge.er al.u.ji RECORD.e nai> ‘was ruined and killed’ (D48-18)<sup>44</sup>,

**ho bayilǰa’ar aluji** <ho bai.l.ha.ar al.u.ji<sub>2</sub>> ‘he was removed and killed’ (D38-18),

**amulǰa’ar aluji jin kem ja’alǰa’ai** <am.ul.ha.ar al.u.ji jin k.em ja.al.ha.ai> ‘?’ (Y22).

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

**alalǰu-an** 𐰇𐰏𐰎𐰏𐰎 (098.261.151.011) <al.l.hu.an> ‘battle + genitive’.

**RECORD alalǰu-an puluǰ** <RECORD.e al.l.hu.an p.ul.uh> ‘in the record the battle detachment ...’ (X2-26)<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> **gi** cannot be here the negation particle, I suppose that after nasals it replaced **qi** 𐰇 (323) ‘that, that very’. In other context **gi** may denote a negative particle, see Mo *ügei* ‘no, not’ > Mo *güi* ‘privative marker’.

<sup>43</sup> <ci.eu> is a transcription of the Chinese name of the ‘province’ 州 *zhou*, but also figures as a part of name e.g. in X20-25.

<sup>44</sup> See <s.ud<sub>3</sub>.ur.ge.y al.a.ar> (D14-15). **sudurge-** may be connected with Mo *süyidge-* ‘to ruin’.

<sup>45</sup> *puluǰ* has been identified by Kane as ‘intercalary month’ from the verb *pulu-*. **puluǰ** 𐰇𐰏𐰎 (295.366.173) <p.ul.uh> (K103, X2-27, 41-9, WJ142), | MMo *hülewü*, Mo *ülegü*, *ilegüü* (<

- alalguer** 方中列戈 (098.261.151. 269) <al.l.hu.er> ‘battle + instrumental?’ (Y5)
- alalguer nówur 048in iride** <al.l.hu.er ní.ō.úr 048.in i.ri:de> ‘battle circuit XXX<sup>46</sup> title [was given?]<sup>47</sup>
- \*?**alagode** 方为罔矢及矣 (098.189.305.205.186.347) <al.a.305.de o.oi> (X17-24), if 罔 (305) is an allograph of 罔 (304) <go> and not <ro> as suggested by K71, then it may be read alagode, as below
- ay-de küsü’ür ŠağaTENT alagode o’oi** <ai.de ku.ū.su.ūr ša.ha.TENT al.a.go.de o.oi> ‘to the father (*aide*) as favour (*kuusuur*) *Sha.ğa.TENT al.a.go.de* was given (*o.oi*)’ (X17-24)<sup>48</sup>,
- ali** 方关 (098.339) <al.i> ‘a superlative particle’ | cf. Mo *ali* in *ali sayin* ‘best’.
- ali ciisen moer** <al.i ci.i.is.en mo.er> ‘with the ladies of the highest/best blood relation’ (D36-19).
- ayri-un ali mu.158** <ai.ri.ún al.i mú.158> (Y39).
- <**am**> 乃 (184) occurs in the transcriptions, e.g. in Chinese *sam* ‘three’ 三 <s.a.am> 全为乃 (244.189.184). 乃 (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’, *amugulang* ‘peace’.
- \***amulga-** ‘to let make peace, to pacify’ factitive in *-ga* of **amul-**.
- amulga’ai** 乃中立平 (184.261.051.122) <am.l.ha.ai> ‘making peace, happiness, pacifying’ converb in *-ai* of **amulga-**.
- kuw-un amulga’ai** <ku.ū.n am.l.ha.ai> ‘the pacification of the people’ (X26-11).
- amulga’ar** 乃平立平 (184.366.051.123) <am.ul.ha.ar> ‘having made peace’ (Y22):
- kuw-un ewurge-un amulga’ar** <ku.ū.un eu.ur.ge.un am.ul.ha.ar> ‘having pacified the people and the officials’<sup>49</sup> (Y22).
- cawur Tiantz amulga’ar** <cau.úr t.ian.tz am.ul.ha.ar> ‘the army pacified Tiantzhi’ (Y24)
- amse** 乃全 (184.244) <am.se> ‘because of’ (K187n, JU15-2, JU16-57), 全 also /s/.

Mo *üle-* ‘to be left over’, Da *hüledee-* ‘remain behind’, HN *hüleeü*, *hileü* ‘surplus’, Ma *fulu* ‘surplus’ | Sh *pulu*, *puluh*. This is possible, but in this context I suggest instead a word to be connected with Mo *bülüg* ‘group, division, detachment’ because in the phrase **alalgu-an puluğ** ‘battle detachment’ fits better into the context. The following expression does not pertain to *puluğ*: 止平及立平本券 (295.366.131 295.366.144.348) <p.ul.u p.ul.ún.e> (X44-20).

<sup>46</sup> The graph 年 (048) is mnemonic for Chinese *nian* 年, is this a part of a title here?

<sup>47</sup> **nour**, **nür** 公伏羽/井公安 (251/222.138/090/253.097) <n.iü.úr>, <n.ó.úr>, <ní.ó.úr> <ní.ó.úr> ‘tribe, circuit’ (K51, 124, 208, D4-13, D4-20, 5-12, 27-25, X25-11, 25-25) | ?Mo *jigür* ‘wing’, see also **noho** 伏公北 (222.253.076) <ní.o.ho> ‘circuit, route’ (K88).

<sup>48</sup> See also <sha.ha.TENT al.a.ar> in D48-18.

<sup>49</sup> **ewürgen** 土化各与 (067.236.112.100) <eu.ur.ge<sub>2</sub>.én<sub>2</sub>> (D50-15), 土安各又 (067.097.349.144) <eu.úr.ge.ún> (Y22) ‘duty, role, function’. | Mo *egürge*, *ügürge* ‘burden, duty, load, role, part, function’.

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

<am> 𐰇 (185) ‘the same as (184) but with dot. It occurs in X34-20, JU33-27, KL17-16, HU39-27, HU39-12 isolated. According to Wu (2012) ‘river’. It occurs sometimes after MOUNTAIN.

<an> 𐰇 (011), <an<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (127), <án> 𐰇 (290).

The graphs <an> 𐰇 (011) and <an<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (127) were considered as allographs, while (290) as a heterograph. (127) and (290) do not occur as initials.

<[tu] x.i an> ‘Tu Xian, an unknown Chinese name’ (D33-2, WJ113).

\*anla- 𐰇 𐰇 (011.261) <an.l.> ‘to hunt’ | Mo *angla-langna-* ‘to hunt’.

šari-d cicien so’or anlağai <š.a.ri.d ci.ci:en so:or an.la.ha.ai> ‘the *langjuns* and others... (and) were called/invited to hunt?’ (Y10)

šarid anlağar <š.a.ri:d an.la.ha.ar> ‘the *langjuns* went to hunt?’ (Y28).

<ang> 𐰇 (199), <áng> 𐰇 (280)

𐰇 (199) does not occur in word initial position.

áng 𐰇 (280) in:

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

angra 𐰇 𐰇 (280.084) <áng.ra>

<SMALL.qu.de.i s.ho.ii áng.ra THIRTYo 066.én eu.ur o.od.077> ‘since his childhood until he reached 30 years’ (X29-4/10).

<-én> may be here the genitive case suffix, the graph 𐰇 (066) is not deciphered yet. According to Aisin (2012) <mə>, it occurs sometimes in place of 𐰇 <ha> (WJ195). The personal pronoun ‘he’ was in Khitan <hó> 𐰇 (309) (WJ143), its genitive case may have been <ha-en>. The graph 𐰇 (077) has to be read according to Aisin (2012) as <bur, bor>. I suggest that it is an allograph of 𐰇 (088) <ii> and functions here as the marker of the converb. If the equation 𐰇 (066) with 𐰇 <ha> is correct, then we can decipher (066) and read it as **ğa(r)**.

\*ğa(r)- 𐰇 (066) <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-*<sup>50</sup>.

## Initial *a-* Not Written

**Abogin** 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 (311.334.222) <b.g.ú> ‘a name, \*Abogin’ (YX 4-29/31) | in Ch *Abaojin* 阿保謹 [ʔa-puaw-kin], see above and Róna-Tas (2016, p. 118).

<sup>50</sup> If the correct reading of (066) is **ga(r)**, we have: **30 ga(r)-en ewür odii** <THIRTYo ha.én eu.ur o.od.ii> ‘when he reached 30’ (X29-8) as in: **sengün 30 ga(r)lun 2 ayis** <s.eng.un THIRTYo ha.lun TWO ai.s > ‘after the sengün reached 30, [he spent] two years....’ (X35-18). **ğa(r)iy 𐰇 𐰇** (066.080) (066.ii) the converbal form of *ğa(r)-* <s.eng.un 017.or 291.oi.uni.qu.de ha.ii> ‘the Field Marshal appeared at the....?’, **ğa’arilǵu 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇** (066.189.069.261.151) <ha.a.ri.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’, **ğa(r)laun 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇** (066.261.122) <ha.l.ún> (X35-20) **ga(r)laci 𐰇 𐰇 𐰇** (066.261.162) <ha.l.ci> (D8-2), a converbal form in *-ci* of the verb *garla-*.

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 **alalguer** 方中列次 (098.261.151. 269) <al.l.hu.er> ‘battle + instrumental?’ (Y5) or **ay-de** 中矢 (122.205) <ai.de> ‘to the father’, **ay-en** 中和 (122.140) <ay-en> ‘of the father’, **ayis-en** 中今和 (122.244.140) <ai.s.en> ‘of the years’, **ayid-en** 中谷和 <122.254.140) <ai.d.en> ‘of the fathers’, **qağa-en** 巫立和 (053.051.140) <qa.ha:en> ‘of the qagan’ etc.

## The Representations of *e*- Initials

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

**V e:** <e> 旁 (348), <e<sub>2</sub>> 旁 (109),

**D eu:** <eu> 去 (067), ey/y: <y> 丙 (020).

**VC el:** <el> 北 (080A), **em:** <em> 企 (257), <em<sub>2</sub>> 企 (256), <ém> 圣 (270), **en:** <en> 和 (140), <én> 与 (361), <én<sub>2</sub>> 与 (100), <én<sub>3</sub>> 与 (219), <én<sub>4</sub>> 与 (399), <ēn> 考 (073), **eng:** <eng> 各 (175), **er:** <er<sub>2</sub>> 次 (269), <er> 次 (341).

## Initial *e*- Written with Simple <e>

旁 (109) <e<sub>2</sub>>, 旁 (348) <e>

The two graphs are allographs, from a systematic point of view, there exists only one <e>. **e 旁** (109) <e<sub>2</sub>>, 旁 (348) <e> ‘this, demonstrative proximal pronoun’ (D21-17, X22-26, 25-29, 28-3, 40-15, +WJ100, JU17-20, HU26-18, JU24-35, JU26-19, HU22-2) || The original root \**e* was lost in the Mongolic languages, but see the derivatives: Mo *ede*, *ene*, *egün-* ‘stem of *ene*’, Da *ene* ‘this’, *ede* ‘these’, HN *ene*, oblique stem *eün*, pl. *ede* <\**e*, see **et** ‘these’.

**e iride sa’ai** <e<sub>2</sub> i.ri.de s.a.ai> ‘while being in this position’ (D21-17).<sup>51</sup>

**e iride geri xüyrigei** <e i.ri.de g.ri x.ui.ri.ge.y> ‘to this position he was promoted’ (X28-3)<sup>52</sup>.

**e sa’adi BORNi awer/awoi** <e s.a.ad.i BORN.i aū.er> ‘to this place he was born’ (X40-15).

𠵿 今 <𠵿> (247) ‘these’ the plural of **e** ‘this’ written with a single <𠵿>.

**et iriser ağa’al** <t i.ri.s.er a.ha.al> ‘these titles having been conferred upon him’ (D20-17, WJ98)<sup>53</sup>.

**et iriser oju’un** ‘with these titles he was awarded/these ranks he entered’ (X12-2).

<sup>51</sup> The verb may perhaps be connected with Mo *sagu-* ‘to sit, stay, be (copula), become’, see below <s.a.ad>.

<sup>52</sup> According to WJ194 <x.ui.ri.ge.y> has the meaning ‘to be promoted’.

<sup>53</sup> The demonstrative distant pronoun is <qī> 𠵿 (323) or <qī.hu> 𠵿 列 (323.151). Aisin (2012) reads <ta>.

## Initials with Diphthongs Containing Initial *e-*: *ey-* and *ew-*

### ey/y: <y> 𐰢 (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-** 𐰢 (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 is perhaps 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** 𐰢 𐰃 (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 Ü eyye** <go:t ü 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)<sup>54</sup>.

Further occurrences: JU32-52, JU36-7, PU23-14, PU16-30.

### **ew** 𐰣 (067) <eu>

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

**ewiñ** 𐰣 𐰃 (067. 222) <eu.ñ> ‘? the state of not being’ (D38-20) an extended form of **ew-**:

**üyi(l) ewiñ** <ui eu.ñ> (L2) has to mean ‘the matters [of the region] were neglected, did not exist’,

**SEAL ewiñ** 𐰣 𐰃 (067.222) <SEAL eu.ñ> ‘not having seal/not being official’ (D38-20).

**Ewiñer** 𐰣 𐰃 𐰃 (067.222.341) <eu.ñ.er> ‘no existence, death, memorial of a passed person’ (D36-15),

**riuijien ewiñer tulu’ur jawulga’ar** <ri.u.ji.en eu.ñ.er t.ul.u.úr jau.ul.ha.ar> ‘at the Riujiien [mountain]<sup>56</sup> a “no existence” [memorial] pillar<sup>57</sup> was erected’ (D36-15).

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

<sup>54</sup> \***ba’a** 𐰣 𐰃 (295.189) <p.a> ‘a small territorial unit’ | cf. Mo *bag* ‘the smallest administrative unit’ < *bag* ‘bunch, group’. **ba’a-d** 𐰣 𐰃 𐰃 (295.189.099) <p.a.ad> ‘plural of ba’a’ (X8-18).

<sup>55</sup> 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.

<sup>56</sup> In the preceding line Riujiien MOUNTAIN.

<sup>57</sup> 令平彘 𐰣 (247.366..131.097) <t.ul.u.úr> ‘pillar’ cf. Mo *tulgaguri*, *tulgur* ‘pillar’, cf. HN *tulga* ‘support’, DA *twa:ləy*, *tu:lga*.

**gi qa'aloji ewji** <gi<sub>2</sub> qa.al.ó.ji eu.ji> '[the coffin was placed and....] not closed (gi qa.al.)?'<sup>58</sup>

**ewüni** ㄗ 杏 (067.059) <eu.uni> '? some category of official' (WJ200)

muji-en ewuni <mu.u.ji3:en eu.ni> 'the Ewuni of the region' (X32-5).

**ewül** ㄗ 平 (067.366) <eu.ul> 'cloud' (K42, 89, also X44-15, 45-22) | Mo *egüle* 'cloud', HN *eülen* 'cloud', Da *eulen*, DaE *əulən* || In lines 44 and 45 of X it is yet impossible to identify the meaning of the word. Cf. Tabgach \**üglen*, Ligeti (1970, p. 304), Vovin (2007, pp. 197–198) reads *gülen* or *yülen*.

**ewül** ㄗ 平 (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** ㄗ 平 (131.366) <u.ul> 'winter' (K3, 79, 126, D47-12, JU37-42, JU28-17, JU20-50, HU7-13, PU11-11, PU10-3, PU13-16, Sh2), <u'ul> (C107, Sh 104) | MMO *übü*, Mo *ebül*, HN *übü*, ?*ebül*, Da *ugul*, DaE *uyul*, *uwul*, *u:l*, Sh *uull/wwul*.

**dawur-un üwül 14 DAY** <dau.ür.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'.<sup>59</sup>

**ewülere** ㄗ 平 交 勞 (067.366.107.348) <eu.ul.[oi<sub>2</sub>]er.e>

**temügeyi-en ewülere MOUNTAIN Am yewrüji-en cier** <t.mu.ge.ii.en eu.ul.er (= oi<sub>2</sub>).e MOUNTAIN am<sup>o</sup> y.eu.ru.ji<sub>3</sub>.en ci.er> 'while he spent the winter at the mountain Am.... he wrote' (X34-18).<sup>60</sup>

**ewülüji** ㄗ 平 及 弱 (067.366.131.152) <eu.ul.u.ji> (D22-8), here the context excludes the meaning 'to be given in marriage', it is a converbial form, perhaps 'after having spent the winter': **tüdlege'er üneden ewülüji** 令 火 中 交 勞 余 与 有 ㄗ 平 及 弱 (247.344,261.349.341 245.361.140 067.366.131.152) <t.ud.le.ge.er ün.én.en eu.ul.u.ji> (D22-8).<sup>61</sup>

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-*.

**üwüi-** ㄗ 火 (372.262) <ü.ui> 'giving, providing' (K66, 67, 99) converbial form of **üw-**

<sup>58</sup> To Mo *qaga-* 'to close'. The structure *-ji -ji* is remarkable.

<sup>59</sup> In WM *ebülji-* 'to pass the winter', the Khitan word **ewüle-** comes from \**ebül-le-*.

<sup>60</sup> The sentence in which the word occurs ends with the block <ci.oi> ㄗ 交 (162.347) 'wrote', most probably <ci.er> ㄗ 交 (162.341) 'wrote'. It is preceded by a verbal noun in *-en* (**yewrüjien**), then a name of a place (Mountain Am) and the latter is preceded by <eu.ul.oi<sub>2</sub>.e> which has to be read <eu.ul.er.e>.

<sup>61</sup> 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 ün.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** 天尺岑 (243.372.341) <HEAVEN ü.er> ‘heaven bestowed, given by the Heaven’ (D3-23-24, 27-9, X39-35),

**üwür-** 尺央 <ü.ür> (372.097) ‘gave’ past tense of üw-

**ayde küsü’ü üwür** <ai.de ku.ü.su ü.ur> ‘to the father in favour was given...’ (X17-22)<sup>62</sup>, but:

\***ewül-** causative of **üw-** ‘to give’.

**ewülgey** 去平岑万 (067.366.112.020) <eu.ul.ge<sub>2</sub>.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 <ü.ul.ge> ‘to be given in marriage’. The context does not exclude this possibility.

**holboñ ONE-i ewülgey** <hó.l.b.ñ ONE.i eu.ul.ge<sub>2</sub>.y> ‘to him (a lady from) the first Eliben 訛里本 (clan) was given (as a wife)’ (D6-13).

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

**ewülgey** 去平岑万 (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).

See further: JU35-22, KL10-15, KL15-4, HU12-22.

**ewülgen** 去平九和 (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** 去平九和 雨全 (067.366.334.140 017.255)<sup>63</sup> <eu.ul.g.en so.or> ‘...given was received’ (X31-5)<sup>64</sup>.

See further KL15-13, PU21-41.

**ewülge’e** 去平岑旁 (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** 去央 (067.097) <eu.ür> ‘age’ (D15-8, 21-20, 22-15, 35-3, X 12-13, 22-9, 23-24, 28-13, 29-11, 31-1, 35-10, 36-7, KL22-12, JU45-30, JU3-24, PU 10 times, HU 6 times), also 去化 (067.236) 去化 (067.236) <eu.ur> ‘age’ (D13-15, 27-3, X17-17, 29-9)<sup>65</sup>.

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

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

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

**ewürge’en** 去化岑与 (067.236.112.100) <eu.ur.ge<sub>2</sub>.én<sub>2</sub>> is a verbal noun in *-én* of **ewürge**.

<sup>62</sup> **küsü** 几尺岑 (178. 372.041) <ku.ü.su> ‘(in) favour’ (D3-29, 27-9, X39-35) | cf. Mo *küise-* ‘to wish, desire’, HN *küise-*.

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

<sup>64</sup> Also **pomufe-i ewülgen KNOWii** <po.mu.fēi.i eu.ul.g.en KNOW.ii> (Y36), **ewülgen šia’ag** <eu.ul.g.en š.ia.ah> (EX8).

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

**soi-en HEAVEN ewurge'en temei** <s.oi.en HEAVEN eu.ur.ge<sub>2</sub>.én<sub>2</sub> t.em.y><sup>66</sup>  
 'having been granted the passing away by the Heaven?' (D50-15). The passage  
 relates to the death of the owner of the epitaph.

**ewüg** 𐰇𐰺 (067.172) <eu.uh> '?' (X28-28). Is this a proper name?

**ewüni** 𐰇𐰽 (067.059) <eu.uni> 'some category of official':

**muji-en ewüni** <mu.u.ji<sub>3</sub>.en eu.uni> 'the Ewuni of the region'<sup>67</sup> (X32-5)  
 <ETERNAL.il.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 Dunga-  
 xian have reflexes of \**p-*, Dagur has none: DaE *uyw-*. The Da datum is impor-  
 tant, 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 *uwäi*, this is less probable.

**ewüi** 𐰇𐰻 (067.262) <eu.ui> 'died' in:

**SMALLqudu ewüi** <SMALL.qu.dü eu.ui> 'he died when he was young/in  
 his childhood'<sup>68</sup> (D9-9).

**RECORD e kü ewüi** <RECORD.e ku eu.ui> 'In the record [was noted that] the per-  
 son died' (X4-28).

See further: JU27-31, JU7-54, JU33-48, JU33-44, HU 6-15,

**ewge** 𐰇𐰾 (067.349) <eu.ge> (Y3) may be another writing for *ü'e* 𐰇𐰿 (372.348)  
 <ü.e> 'a title' (K130, X2-13, 5-9, 8-15) | Mo \**üge* ← T *öge*, see **üwe** below,  
 p. 167.

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

**Ewgeñüg** 𐰇𐰽𐰺 (067.334.222.172) <eu.g.ñ.uh> 'a male personal name' (X18-  
 23)<sup>70</sup>.

## Initial *e-* Written by Graphs of the Type VC-

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

<sup>66</sup> **tem-** 𐰇𐰽 (247.257) <t.em> 'to grant title' (K100), 𐰇𐰽𐰺 <t.em.y> or <t.em.ei>  
 (247.257.020) converb (D37-6, 40-2, 50-16, X39-32), 𐰇𐰽𐰾 (247.257.341) <t em.er> 'appointed  
 to, got the title' (D20-9) | cf. Mo *temdeg-*, Ma *temgetu* 'sign', *temgetule-* 'confer a mark of distinc-  
 tion', 𐰇 (020) may be either -y, or -ei.

<sup>67</sup> **muji** has here the meaning 'region' and not emperor as WJ suppose (WJ200).

<sup>68</sup> **-qu** is a suffix of adjectives, **-du** is locative/temporal.

<sup>69</sup> **mori** 𐰇𐰽 (133.235) <m.ri> '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 *mör*<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> The suffix *-ñug* may be a deminutive, 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> 𐰇 (257), <em<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (256), <ém> 𐰇 (270)

The graph <em<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (256) is an allograph of 𐰇 (257), 𐰇 (270) is a heterograph. That means that we have two graphs for [em].

\***em** 𐰇 (257) <em> ‘place, city’.

**em-en** 𐰇 𐰇 (257.140) <em.en> ‘local, of city’ (K66, X11-21) Sh2 in L4:7-13 translated 𐰇 ‘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 ġorun MANAGE.un** <g.eu.un em.en s.a.ai hor.ún MANAGE.ún> ‘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'alğa'ai** <ai.d.en ba.qa.i em.en b.ū.úr 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.d<sub>2</sub>.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 š.i.en> ‘Tuxian(?) of the Tamu 塌母 district’ (Y25).

**emen nayid** <em:en nai:d> ‘the officials of the region’ (L9).<sup>71</sup>

\***em-** 𐰇 (270) <ém> ‘to drink’ (K67, 93, Sh2)<sup>72</sup> | 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 *ʔim*. || As Kane (K67) remarks, the graph is found with back or front vowels.

**emji** 𐰇 𐰇 (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 (*deu*+sociative)...’.

**ema** 𐰇 𐰇 (270.189) <ém.a> ‘goat, mountain goat’ (K66, 99), <ema> (C107) | Mo *imaga*, Da *imaa*, HN *imaan* ‘goat’, DaE *ima*: || acc to Vovin (2013, p. 622) ← OT *imga*.

**siauqu taulia 11 MONTH YELLOW ema holebun 3 DAY WHITE teqoa** <s.iau.qú tau.lí.a TEN ONE MONTH YELLOW êm.a ho.le.bun THREE DAY

<sup>71</sup> Also **Pogoliñ emen cim pojuğa'ai** <p.o.gó.l.iñ em:en ci.m p.o.ju.ha.ai> (Y9).

<sup>72</sup> The graph 270 is Romanised by Kane as <ém> (in my transcription <ēm>), by WJ as <ém>, by Chinggeltei (2002b) <em>, by Aisin Gioro (2012) <æm, 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** 𠄎 𠄎 (270.084) <ēm.ra>

**aylun dabun emra mo'on-de** <ay.l.un d.bun ēm.ra m.o.ón.de> ‘?’ (KL24-13)

**emrai** 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 (270.084.339) <ēm.ra.i> ‘?’

**qutug emra'I** <qutug ēm.ra.i> ‘good fortune ?...’ (Y3)

**en:** <ēn> 𠄎 (073), <én<sub>2</sub>> 𠄎 (100), <én<sub>3</sub>> 𠄎 (219), <én> 𠄎 (361), <én<sub>4</sub>>, 𠄎 (399), <en> 𠄎 (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** 𠄎 𠄎 (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 (*awui*) was mylady ‘Ēn.se’

The graph 𠄎 (100) <én<sub>2</sub>> occurs in:

**eneyer** 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 (100.020.141) <én<sub>2</sub>.ey.er> ‘?’ (D36-23).

\***enur** 𠄎 𠄎 (100.097) <én<sub>2</sub>.úr> (X11-30) ? a mistake for 𠄎 𠄎 (101.097) <deu.úr>? ‘in assistance to’.

**enü** 𠄎 𠄎 (100.131) <én<sub>2</sub>.u> in:

**mi'in iši enü** 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 (133.339.018.033.100.097) <m.i.in iši én<sub>2</sub>.u> ‘nine tombs...?’ (X4-22)<sup>73</sup>,

**-en<sup>1</sup>** 𠄎 (140) <en> is among others the marker of the genitive case, mostly after consonants (K132-133). After <u> jur:en ‘of two’, <g.úr:en> ‘of the state’, after <i> <c.i.is.en> ‘of the blood (relations)’, after <o> <da.lo n.on:en> ‘of the seventh generation’, after <e> <g.er:en> ‘of the house’.

**-en<sup>2</sup>** 𠄎 (361) <én> marker of the feminine gender after numerals and adjectives, <c.ur.én> ‘second’, <hu.ur.én> ‘third’ etc., see Róna-Tas (2016, p. 131).

**eng** 𠄎 (175)

**Engli** 𠄎 𠄎 (175.206) <eng.li> ‘a name’ (X25-21)

**todo'on engli** <t.od.ó.on eng.li> ‘the fifth Engli’.

**er:** <er<sub>2</sub>> 𠄎 (269), <er> 𠄎 (341), sometimes interchanged with <oi> 𠄎 (347) and <oi<sub>2</sub>> 𠄎 (107).

**-er<sup>1</sup>** <er> 𠄎 (269), <er> 𠄎 (341), suffix of the past tense after <e>: **temleger** <d.em.le.g:er> ‘was awarded (with the title...)', after <i>: **jier** <ci:er> ‘wrote’,

**-er<sup>2</sup>** <er<sub>2</sub>> 𠄎 (269), <er> 𠄎 (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),

**-er<sup>3</sup>** <er<sub>2</sub>> 𠄎 (269), <er> 𠄎 (341), suffix of the instrumental, **Sung usgier** <s.ung us.gi:er> ‘with the letters of the Song’.

**-er<sup>4</sup>** 𠄎 (269), =r in: **GREAT xomur** 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 (373) <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 accusative<sup>74</sup>.

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

<sup>74</sup> **xomur** 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 (057.220.269) <xo.mú.er> ‘coffin of an emperor’ (K87, D39-14), <GREAT ho.mú.er> ‘the great catalpa coffin’ (Y28, K205) | *qomur* < PPMo \**kobur*, cf. Mo *kayirčag* ←

eñe see üne

ere see iri

### Initial e- Not Written

**ebü** 𐰇 (196) ‘grandfather, old man’ (X7-33, 19-22, 38-33 9 times in KL, 5 times in JU, once in HU | Mo *ebüge* ‘ancestor, grandfather’, HN *ebügen* ‘elderly man’, DaE *aukə*.

‘bū ay 𐰇平 (196.395) <bu> ‘grandfather’, <bu.ai> (K33, 100, Y5), <bu’ai> (C107),

‘bū ‘bū ay 𐰇𐰇平 (195.195.395) <bu bu ai> ‘great grandfather’ (K100).

**esen** 𐰇𐰇 (244.073) <s.ēn> ‘long life, also used as a name’ (X37-12, Y13), *Liao shi Yixin* 義信 (K32, 198) | Mo esen ‘healthy’.

**elema** 𐰇𐰇𐰇 (261.270.189) <l.ém.a>, **elemğa** 𐰇𐰇𐰇𐰇 (261.270.151.189) <l.ém.hu.a> ‘a title’ (K 104) ← OT *alimğa* ~ *ilinga* (Vovin 2013, p. 621), Clauson s.v. *imğa* has *el imğa* ‘treasurer, secretary’ || *Liao shi* 林牙 *linya* ‘an official in charge of the academy’, formerly known as *xueshi*, LMCh *limnja* | ← OT *el imğa*. See **ilbun** 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** 𐰇 (020) <ei> ‘the copula’ which may be in fact **äy**- <a+y>.

### The Representations of i- Initials

**V i:** <i> 𐰇 (339), <i> 𐰇 (352), i 𐰇 (114), <i> 𐰇 (353), <i> 𐰇 (113),  
**D ia:** <ia> 𐰇 (335), **iang:** iang 𐰇 (314), <iáng> 𐰇 (062), **ie** [= yä]: <ie> 文 (326),  
 文 (327), **iu:** <iu> 𐰇 (019), <iü> 𐰇 (138), <iü> 𐰇 (382), <iú> 𐰇 (289), iung:  
 <iúng> 𐰇 (181), **ii:** <ii> 𐰇 (080), <ii> 𐰇 (077),  
**VC ih:** <ih> 𐰇 (338), <ih> 𐰇 (455) [=iγ], **il:** <il> 𐰇 (302), **iñ:** <ñ, iñ> 𐰇 (221),  
 𐰇 (222), **in:** <in> 𐰇 (018), <in> 𐰇 (454), **ing:** <ing> 𐰇 (303), **ir:** <ir> 𐰇 (137)  
 (or <ren>), **iš<sup>o</sup>:** <is> or <iš(i)> 𐰇 (033), 𐰇 (034).

There exist three types of rising diphthongs /iä/, /ie/ and /iu/. They figure as initials and their value is /ya/-, /ye/- and /yu/-. Therefore they will be dealt with among the consonants in one of the next parts of this series of papers. The two allographs representing <ii>: <ii> 𐰇 (080) and <ii> 𐰇 (077) are descending diphthongs /iy/ and will be considered in this part.

WOT *kapurčay*, EOT *kapiz*, cf. *kogur* ‘der Sarg’ (ChulR), *kuorčax* ‘jaščik dlja vloženie trupa, grob’ (Y), etc., see all data in WOT562–566.

### Initial *i*- Written with the Single Graph <i> 𠂇 (339)

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

<i> 𠂇 (353), <i><sub>2</sub> 𠂇 (113), both are allographs and occur only in Chinese words after sibilants.

### The Graph for *ii*-

**ii: <ii> 𠂇 (080)**

According to Chinggeltei (1992) (K44) the graph may have the same function as *-ai* and *-ei*. According to Kane (K44) <ii> 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: *-yi* 懿, EMCh 𠂇, LMCh 𠂇 is written in lines 1 and 5 as <i.i> 𠂇 𠂇. Later in the same inscription an extended form of the name occurs as **Newe Mo Xiñ Yi-wui** <neu.e mó x.iñ ii.ū.ui> ‘Earth Mother Xuanyi-wui’ (EX21). The extension <ū.ui> is an abbreviation of **awui** 尔 𠂇 (210.262) <aú.ui> ‘mild lady’, as in Mo *abugai* > *guai* after names, as title of respect, *Qara-guai* ‘Mr. Qara’. See also <tumu.úr rí.l.iñ ii.ñ mó te> ‘the lady Yin of Tumur Ril’ (Y32)<sup>75</sup>. As we have seen in the case of <a’ a> also here in the case of <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: <ih> 𠂇 (338), <ih><sub>2</sub> 𠂇 (455)**

The graph 𠂇 (338) <ih> occurs in transcriptions of Chinese, frequently as final, but also as a *yi*- initial:

**Yicieu-un sishi** <ih ci.eu.un sī shī> ‘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 𠂇<sup>h</sup>, LMCh 𠂇, see <ii> 𠂇 (080) = Yi above.

<sup>75</sup> <te> is written in a separate block.

il: <i|> 用 (302)

**il 用 (302)** <i|> ‘state, empire’ (JU41-2, HU32-5) according to WJ perhaps a personal name in:

**il üwe-de 用 仄 芬 矢** <il ü.e.de> ‘Il üge + dative’ (X8-14)<sup>76</sup>,

K (80) suggests that Chinese *yuyue* 于 越 [is] ‘possibly derived from Tu(rk) *ögüt* ‘counsel’. Chinese *yuyue* (EMCh *wuä*, LMCH *yä*, EMCh *wuat*, LMCh *yat*) may reflect an OT *ögüt*, but Khitan <ü.e> has to be an equivalent of Mo *üge* ← OT *öge*, that is the singular of *ögüt* which itself is a plural. Mo *üge* occurs in the SHM (*Temüjin üge* par. 59, also Rachewiltz 2004, Vol. I, p. 319). The first part i.e. <i|> has to be here the OT word *el* and the full title is *Il üwe* ← \**El öge* ‘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 化 (302.288)** <il.bun>, also **关 符 叉 (302.311.144)** <il. b.ún> ‘tribal judge’ (D10-8), gen. **ilbun-en 用 中 和 (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* deverbial suffix. Similar OT names *El tutmiš*, *El yaratmiš*, *El toğmiš* (Hamilton 1955, p. 151). Even more similar in meaning is *Almiš*, the name of the Bulgar ruler *Almiš ibn Shalkay*, noted by Ibn Fadlan<sup>77</sup>, see OT *al-* ‘to take’. One would expect *llawun*, 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 (*pjit*) 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 baquan** <il.bun.en ba.qa.i b.hu.án> ‘The grandchildren of the Ilbun’ (X13-13),

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

**elema ilbun 中 圣 勿 关 符 叉 (261.270.189 302.311.144)** <l.ém.a il.b.ún> ‘the linya ilbun’ (D10-8)<sup>78</sup>.

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

in: <in> 雨 (018), <in<sub>2</sub>> 雨 (454). Not yet identified as initial.

<sup>76</sup> **üwe 仄 芬 (372.346)** <ü.e>, also **仄 芬 (372.109)** ‘counsellor’ a title as in: **Abogin üwe 为 九 伏 仄 芬 / 芬 (189.334.222.372.346/109)** <b.g.ń ü.e<sub>2</sub>> ‘Abogin üge, counsellor, the founder of the Liao dynasty’ (X4-30).

<sup>77</sup> 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).

<sup>78</sup> On **elema** see above, p. 155.

ing: <ing> 用 (303). Not yet identified as initial.

ir: <ir> 刃 (137) (or/also <ren>).

\***iri(y)**- 刃百 (137.020) <ir.y> ‘to write, put down’. In WOT459 I suggested that Hungarian *ír-* ‘to write’ is a loan from OT *ír-* ‘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 *irk* ‘dice, sticks etc. for casting lots, omen etc.’ and Mo *irua*, *iroa* ‘bad omen etc.’ (in detail Róna-Tas 2004). The base of Khitan *iriyiy*, *iriyil-* 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.er* ‘wrote’.

**iriyiy** 刃百北 (137.020.080) <ir.y.ii> converbal form of **iriy-** in:

**COMPOSE**lağai **iriyiy** <COMPOSE.l.ha.ai ir.y.ii> ‘(he) let compose and writing down’ (X10-15).

**RECORD**e **yu-n iriyiy** <RECORD.e ū.n ir.y.ii> ‘in the record of the *yuye* was written’ (X39-42, 40-5). See further JU13-40, PU10-39.

**iriyilğa’ar** 刃百用並本 (137.020.302.051.123) <ir.y.il.ha.ar> past tense of **iriyilğa-**

**bud nağa’aner SMALL.qó TENTen pu’u iriyilğa’ar** <bú.d na.ha.án.er SMALL.qó TENT.en pú.u ir.y.il.ha.ar> ‘written by [a person] of the junior maternal uncles of the other clan’ (X1-17).

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

**irilgey** 刃中乞百 (137.261.349.020) <ir.l.ge.y> ‘to beg, request’ (causative + converb with the converbal suffix -ey) (X36-3).

**muji-en qağayu irilgey iris** <mu.u.[ji3.en] qa.ha.iú ir.l.ge.y i.ri.s> ‘titles requested from the sacred king’ (X36-3).

**ireded** 刃冬冬 (137.270.254) <ir.ém.d> ‘?’ (D29-20)

**su HEAVEN tau xesegel ireded tabuyi** <s.u HEAVEN ta.u x.s.ge2.l ir.ém.d t.bu.y.i> ‘the Supreme Heaven five region ... Tabuye’.

iši<sup>0</sup>: <is> 𠂇 (033), 𠂇 (034) <iš(i)>

**iši** 𠂇 (033) ‘nine, fem.’, the masc. form is 𠂇 (034) (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’ 𠂇冬冬 (033.254.341) <iši.d.er> (D2-15)

**išider nonen u’ur ay** <iši.d.er n.on.en u.ur ai> ‘His forefather of the ninth generation’.

**Išiuig** <iš.iú.ih/ih<sub>2</sub>> 𠂇火酒/ 𠂇 (033.289.338/455) ‘Išiuig’ (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,

pp. 277–278), Sims-Williams–Durkin-Meisterernst (2012, p. 228) and Sertkaya (2013). See also Lurje (2010). 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 公彘 (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* 奴, LMCh *nuǎ*, EMCh *nɔ*.

**Cie MOUNTAIN.o Yaraud Išiuig Nu** <ci.e MOUNTAIN.o y.ra.u.ud iši.iú.ih<sub>2</sub> n.u> (D1-15).

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

**Išiy** 禾谷 (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> 关 (339), **il**: <il> 用 (302), **ir**: <ir> 刃 (137) (or/also <ren>), **iši<sup>0</sup>**: <is> 禾 (033), 禾, (034). Further we have the following syllables: **ya**: ia: <ia> 才 (335), **yä**: ie<sup>0</sup>: <ie> 文 (326), <ie<sup>0</sup>> 交 (327), **yi ii**: <ii> 北 (080), **yu**: <iu> 丙 (019), **yung**: iung: <iúng> 胤 (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 <sup>1</sup>r-:

**irgen** 儿儿和 (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* 夷離董, [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> 刃 (137) but with <ri> 儿 (235).

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

Though the Romanisation contains a letter <i> and a letter <ī>, 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 **iriyilga’ar** 刃百用並本 (137.020.302.051.123) <ir.y.il.ha.ar> ‘to write, put down’, equal to <ci.er> ‘wrote’ (X1-17) and **irilgey/irlegey** 刃中谷百 (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 /ī/, but the KSS did not reflect it<sup>79</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> 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 /ī/. /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/:/ā/ and /i/:/ī/ 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

**V o:** <o> 及 (186), <ō> 𐰇 (252), <ō<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (253), <ó> 𐰇 (090),  
**D oi:** <oi> 𐰇 (347), <oi<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (107),  
**VC od:** <od> 𐰇 (016), oh: <oh> 𐰇 (377), on: <on> 𐰇 (154), <ón> 𐰇 (322), ong: <ong> 𐰇 (071), or: <or> 𐰇 (255), 𐰇 <or> (076A), ordo <ordo> 𐰇 (355), also <udu>.

### Initial *o*- Written with a Single Graph *o*

<ó> 𐰇 (090), <o> 及 (186), <ō> 𐰇 (252), <ō<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (253),

The first two (090) and (186) are interchangeable, the last two graphs (252) and (253) are allographs.

In the materials of WJ <ó> 𐰇 (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: <ō<sub>2</sub>.ur.hó> treated in Part I (Róna-Tas 2016, pp. 129, 132), as one possible transcription of Ogur, with the disappearance 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> 及 (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.ún> 及子𐰇 (186.149.144) in D and X, four times in KL, JU and PU, and the stem of which is *oju-*. The converbal form 及𐰇 (186.107) <o.oi<sub>2</sub>> occurs in D and X four times, in PU, JU, HU, KL 21 times.

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

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

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

**odzii** 及𐰇𐰇 (186.354.080) <o.dz.ii> ‘perhaps a verb in -s.ii’ (D7-6).

Some Khitan words beginning with <o>:

\***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 及及 <o.o>.

**o-ǰo** 及圪 (186.076) <o.ho> *o.ho* has to be a finite form, perhaps past tense of *o-*.  
**daǰar oǰo** <da.ha.ar o.ho> ‘the coffin was closed’ (D50-20).

This is almost the same as:

**o-on** 及兩 (186.322) ‘finite past tense form of *o-*’ (WJ99). According to K155 *-(o)n* forms verbal nouns in:

**daǰar o’on** <da.ha.ar o.ón> ‘the coffin having been closed’ (D47-17),

**taqoshi o’on** <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’oi** 及及𠂇 (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** 及𠂇 (186.107) <o.oi<sub>2</sub>> ‘got there, came, became (frequently in sentence final position)’

**REGIONayui o’oi** <REGION.a.iú o’oi> ‘arrived in the region’ (D17-14)

**Kimsiugün o’oi** <g.m.s.iu g.ün o.oi> ‘arrived in Jinsujun’ (D19-17)

**sien hong-en po-do ku’usu’u sujide ’o’oi** <s.ie.én hong.en po.do ku.ū.su ũ.ji<sub>3</sub>.de o.oi<sub>2</sub>> ‘In the time of the former Emperor the favour of donation was given’ (X11-6).

**o’o-i** 及𠂇 (186.347) <o.oi> ‘got there, became, was given’ (X17-26).

**TEN ONE ayde süni DAYi nai o’oi** 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 (240 026 122.205 244.059 159 339 332 186.107) <TEN ONE ai:de s.uni DAY.i nai o.oi> ‘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** 及𠂇 (186.016.077) <o.od.077> (077) 𠂇 may be the same as (080) 𠂇 <ii>, its meaning is uncertain (X29-10), and in fact we find:

**o’odii** 及𠂇 (186.016.080) <o.od.ii> ‘?’ (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 od.077** <eu.ur o.od.077> ‘having reached the age’ (X29-10).

**ayur odii** <ai.ur o.od.ii> ‘being aged?’ (X35-42).

**odulga’a’un** 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 (090.249. 261.051.189.144) <ó.dū.l.ha.a. un> (JU13-29) has to be a converbal form of the factitive form of the verb **od/o’od-**.

\***oju**<sup>1</sup>- 及子 <o.ju> (186.149) ‘to close, cover’ (K89, 131, D4-2), *-ju* may be a converbial suffix as Mo *-ju-*, same as **o’oju** 及及子 (186.186.149) <o.o.ju> ‘converbial form in *-ju* of **o’o**’.

**udur o’oju** <ud<sub>3</sub>.úr o.o.ju> ‘first arrived’ (D18-19).

**oju-ga-** 及子立 (186.149,051) factitive in *-ga-* in:

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

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

**ojuğa’aTENT** 及子立为艾 (186.149.051.189.379) <o.ju.ha.a.TENT> in:

**xomur dağar ojuğa’aTENT** <xo.mú.er da.ha.ar o.ju.ha.aTENT> ‘the coffin was closed’ (D39-16).

**oju’un** 及子又 (186.149.144) <o.ju.ún> a modal converbial form in *-n-*:

**mot oju’un** <mo.t o.ju.ún> ‘after the ladies arrived’ (D22-10), followed by <ONE BORN.én<sub>2</sub>.de>.

**oju**<sup>2</sup>- 及子 <o.ju> (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.’ **taishi YOUNG-qú ewur Hüende oju a’ai** <tai shī YOUNG.qú eu.ur hu.üen.de o.ju a.ai> ‘The Grand Preceptor, when young,<sup>80</sup> had served at (the) Hüen’ (D13-17). **nayri-en moritz ojuğa’ai** <n.ai.ri.en m.ri.tz o.ju.ha.ai> ‘he has served as the horsman of the celebrations’<sup>81</sup> (EX9)

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

**oju-un** 及子又/伏 (186.149.222/144) <o.ju.ún>, <o.ju.ín> ‘to appoint, to present with’ (K58, D15-2, 22-10, X6-12, 12-4, 28-2) in:

**tai ong-on cun oju’un** <tai ong:on cu:n o.ju.ún> ‘he was appointed to the office of the Grand Prince (Tai Ong)’ (D15-2),

**te iriser oju’un** <te i.ri.s.er o.ju.ún> ‘with those (*te*) titles (*iriser*) he was rewarded, he got those titles’ (X12-2-4),

**Geu-eun emen oju’un** <g.eu.eun em.en o.ju.ún> ‘he got the region of Geu-eun, he was installed to the region Geu-eun’ (X28-2),

**morid-en ewge oju’un** <m.ri.d:en eu.ge o.ju.ún> ‘having got the title the Ewge (*Üge*) of the Horses/Region’ (Y3) (see above, p. 152).

**ojuğa’an** 及子立为出 <o.ju.ha.a.án> ‘having served’ (186.149.051.123) past participle causative, in:

**230ad ojuğa’an** 仅亦及子立为出 <230:ad o.ju.ha.a.án> ‘having served at 230.ad’ (D5-22).

**ojuğa’alun** 及子立为方本 (186.149.051.098.144)<o.ju.ha.al.ún> ‘served (past tense)’ (X17-8, 19-29),

**305de ojuğalun** 罔矢及子立为方本 <305.de o.ju.ha.al.un> ‘served at 305’ (X17-7), see <305.de o’oi> (X17-25-26).

<sup>80</sup> **-qu** is an adjectiviser.

<sup>81</sup> **nayri-en moriči** ‘horsemen of the celebration’.

In a few cases instead of <o> we find <o.o.>:

**o'o** 及及 (186.186) <o.o> ‘?’ (X25-15).

The graph <ó> 升 (90) occurs once isolated in PC1-3, and also in

**ojulga'ai** 升 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 (090.148.261.051.122) <ó.ju.l.ha.ai> (KL18-18),

**ojulga'a'un** 升 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 (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<sub>2</sub>> 公 (253): 公化国 <o.ur.hó> (253, 236.309) (X43-11), which has been dealt with in Part I (Róna-Tas 2016, pp. 129, 132). See further: 公化符爻 <o.ur.b.un> (253.236.311.144) (JU7-11), 公尔全爻 <o.on.s.er> (253.154.244.269) (JU25-22), 公国 <o.hó> (253.309) (PU21-29).

From these examples we can conclude that <o> 及 (186) and <ó> 升 (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> 𠂇 (347), <oi<sub>2</sub>> 𠂇 (107).

The two graphs are allographs and have to be read as **oy**.

\***oyi-** ‘mourning, sorrow’ | Mo *uy* ‘mourning, sorrow’, HN *uila-* ‘to cry’, DaE *wail-*.

**oyiro'ulǰu** 𠂇 化 升 平 列 (347.235.090.366.151) <oi.ri.ó.ul.hu>, a noun with the deverbal nominiser *-ǰu* (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'ulǰu** 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 (161.262.361 347.235.090.366.151) <au.ui.en oi.ri.ó.ul.hu> ‘the mourning ceremony of the milady’ (EX6)<sup>82</sup>.

**daw-in oyiro'ulǰu** <dau.in oi.ri.ó.ul.hu> Khitan *dau* may be a transcription of Chinese *dao* 悼 ‘to grieve, mourn’ (EX27) ‘mourning ceremony of the grief’.

**oyišiga'ar** 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 (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** 𠂇 (016)

**od-** same as **o'od-** above

**odu** 𠂇 𠂇 (016.131) <od.u> ‘to go to, arrive’, see also **o'od** above

<sup>82</sup> Kane (2009, p. 216) read <en.ó.> 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)<sup>83</sup> arrived’ (X41-2).

**odужи** 帀爻弱 (016.131.152) <od.u.ji> verbal form of **od-moqo odужи** 爻欠帀爻弱 (133.169. 016.131.152) <mo.qó od.u.ji> ‘the coming of the lady’ (X39).

**odulga’a’un** 升分中丰为爻 (090.249. 261.051.189.144) <ó.dū.l.ha.a.un> (JU13-29), written with 升分 <ó.dū> modal converb of **\*odulga’a**, itself a deverbal noun of the factitive base of **odu-**, see above.

**on** 丩 (154)

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

**mori onsiy** 爻化 丩全北 <m.ri on.sii> ‘while riding on horseback’ (X12-20).

**ong** 杰 (071)

**ong** 杰 (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* 丩杰 (174.071) ‘the grand prince’ 大王 | MMo *ong* ‘id.’ (SH).

**ong-on** 杰丩 (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> 仝 (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 <p.o.or> ‘made, caused to be (promoted to a position)’ (K65, 146).<sup>84</sup>

**ordu** <ordo> 米 (355), also <udu>, used as a logograph, also 米仝 (355.245), <ordo.ú>, 及米爻 (186.355.131) <o.ordo.u> and 及米仝 (186.355.245) <o.ordo.ú> (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 仝分 (245.249) <ú.dū> (K77). This may point to a change *ordu* > *urdu* > *udu* in the spoken Khitan language.

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

**uduwur guru** <udu.u.ur húr.ú> ‘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

<sup>83</sup> The graph 小 (294) has two meanings, ‘south’ and ‘tribe’, perhaps two homophonous words.

<sup>84</sup> The graph 𠂔 (076) was read by Chinggeltei as *g, γ*, by Kane (2009) and WJ as <ho>, but Aisin Gioro (2012) suggested to read it as <ur> or <or>.

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 *ölü-* see *ülü-*:

In sum, the investigated material is not enough to decide whether in Khitan there existed an *o:ō* 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 *ölü-* or *ülü-* is of interest, but the question remains open for further investigation.

### The Representations of *u-* Initials

**V u:** <u> 𐰺 (131), <ú> 𐰽 (245), <ū> 𐰾 (372),  
**D ui:** <ui> 𐰻 (262), <ui<sup>o</sup>> 𐰼 (263), <ui<sub>2</sub>> 𐰽 (265), (= üyi(l))  
**VC ud:** <ud> 𐰽 (344), <ud<sub>2</sub>> 𐰾 (105), <ud<sub>3</sub>> 𐰿 (092), udu: <udu> 𐰾 (355) also <ordo>, **uh:** <uh> 𐰻 (172), <uh<sup>o</sup>> 𐰼 (173), ul: <ul> 𐰽 (366), <ul> 𐰽 (050A), umu: <umu> 𐰿 (092A), **un:** <ún> 𐰽 (144), <un> 𐰻 (273), **ung:** <ung> 𐰽 (345), <ung<sub>2</sub>> 𐰾 (106), <ung> 𐰾 (346, WJ also ung<sub>2</sub>), <úng> 𐰽 (357), uni: <uni> 𐰽 (059), **ur:** <ur> 𐰽 (236), <úr> 𐰽 (097), <ur> 𐰽 (063A) 𐰽 <ur> (076A), <ur> 𐰽 (115A), **us:** <us> 𐰽 (068), <us<sub>2</sub>> 𐰽 (103), 𐰽 <us> (041A).

### Initials Written with Simple Graphs for Initial *u-*

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

<u> 𐰺 (131), <ū> 𐰾 (372)

\***uji** 𐰽 𐰽 (131.337) ‘craftsman, master’ (L6, Y16, 39bis, Sh2) | Mo *uran* ‘craft’, HN *uran*, DaE *warən* (cf. OT *uz*) || The basic word may have been \**uran* ‘craft’, with the suffix +*či* > \**ura+či* > \**urji* > **uji** + plural + d > **ujid** 𐰽 𐰽 (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.

**uji-en** <u.ji:en> ‘of the master’ uji + gen marker (Y3, 22).

**u’ur<sup>1</sup>** 𐰽 𐰽 (131.236) <u.ur> ‘first, upper, previous’ | Mo \**uri* in: *urid*, *urida* ‘before’, *urji edür* ‘day before yesterday’, HN *urida*, DaE *ward*, ‘before’ and *urijü üdür* ‘the day before yesterday’, all from \**uri*.

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

**u’ur ging** 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 (131.236.334.303) <u.ur g.ing> ‘supreme capital, Ch Shangjing 上京’ (K119, 204, 208).

The graphs 爰 (131) <u> and 夙 (372) <ü> are interchangeable and of the same phonetic value.

- u'ur<sup>2</sup>** 爰化 (131.236) <u.ur> 'administrative district, ? Ch *yuan* 院' (K93<sup>85</sup>).  
 <SIX 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), <l.iang.an go.er  
 u.ur> 'the district of the Liang house' (EX11)<sup>86</sup>.
- ü'ül** 夙平 (131.366) <u.ul> 'winter' (K3, 79, 126, D47-12, Sh2), <u'ul> (C107,  
 Sh 104) | MMo *übüü*, Mo *ebüü*, Da *ugul*, HN *übüü*, ?*ebüü*, DaE *uyul*, *uwul*, *u:l*,  
 Sh *uull/uwul*.  
**daur-un ü'ül** <dau.ún u.ul> 'the mid winter [month]' (L11),  
**po-on möci-e udur ü'ül** <po.on m.ci.e ud<sub>3</sub>.úr u.ul> 'in a second of time the  
 beginning of winter (came)' (D47-12)<sup>87</sup>.
- U'uli** 夙平夙 (131.366.339) <u.ul.i> 'a tribal name, perhaps Chinese Aoli 奧里 LMCh  
*awli* (*Liao shi*, WF89)' (X11-34) || ? to Mo *agula* 'mountain'.
- \*ü(w)-** 夙 <ü> (372) 'give, provide' (K66, 67, 99) | Mo *ög-* 'to give', Da *uke-*, HN  
*ög-*, DaE *uk<sup>w</sup>-* || The Khitan basic word had to be either /ü-/ or /üw-/ repre-  
 senting a front vocalic syllable. The structure is the same as in **kü(w)-** 'man'.
- üwüi** 夙夙 (372.262) <ü.ui> 'gave, granted' (D3-29, 27-9, X39-35) converbial form  
 in *-ui* of *u-* in:  
**küsü üwüi** 夙夙夙夙夙夙 (178.372.041 372.262) <ku.ü.su ü.ui> 'was given in  
 favour' (D3-29, 27-9)<sup>88</sup>.  
**ayde küsü üwür** 夙夙夙夙夙夙夙夙 (122.205 178.372.041.097) <ai.de ku.ü.su  
 ü.úr> 'to the father was given in/the favour' (X17-22)<sup>89</sup>.
- üwer** 夙夙 (372.341) <ü.er> 'given, bestowed upon' past tense:  
**HEAVEN üwer** <HEAVEN ü.er> 'heaven bestowed, given by the Heaven',  
 (D3-23–24, 27-9, X39-35).
- üwülge-** 夙/爰平夙 (372/131.366.112) <ü/u.ul.ge> 'to marry (of a woman), to give as  
 wife' (K80, 105, D24-17, WJ93-94, Sh | Mo *öggülge* 'the act of giving, debt'  
 to *ög-* 'to give'. The verb is a passive secondary stem of *üw-* 'to give' >  
*üwülge-* 'was given'. The two graphs (372) and (131) are equal and inter-  
 changeable.
- üwülgen** 爰平夙/夙夙与 (131.366.112/349.100/361) <u.ul.ge/ge<sub>2</sub>.en/én<sub>2</sub>> (D24-19),  
 <ü.ul.ge.én> 'was given in marriage to' (X18-17, 18-31, 19-9, D25-11),
- üwügelin** 夙平夙夙夙 (372.366.349.221.222) <ü.ul.ge.le.(i)ń> 'married (of a  
 woman)' (K105, 106, Renxian 8).

<sup>85</sup> Kane (2009, p. 93) has for the second graph <úr>, but 夙 (236) should be transcribed as <ur>. Also in: <qí.oí<sub>2</sub> ü.ui> '?' (X39-35).

<sup>86</sup> See <te/de.ge ging> 'lower, south capital' (K104, 119, 198).

<sup>87</sup> **po** 'time', **möce** 夙夙夙 (133.162.348) <m.ci.e> 'a section of time' ! cf. Mo *möce*, *möci* 'a quarter of an hour'.

<sup>88</sup> **küsü** <ku.ü.su> '(in) favour' (D3-29, 27-9, X39-35) | cf. Mo *küse-* 'to wish, desire', HN *küse-*.

<sup>89</sup> **uwur-** 夙夙 <ü.úr> (372.097) is according to Kane (K148) 'to sit', but correctly 'gave' in (X17-22).

**üwülgeci** 𐰇𐰺𐰠𐰏𐰤 (131.366.112.261.162) <u.ul.ge.l.ci> ‘(she) was given in marriage (to)’ (D17-1, WJ93-94).

**üwülge’ey** 𐰇𐰺𐰠𐰏𐰤 (372.366.349.020) <ü.ul.ge.ei> ‘having been married to’ (K105, Dilie 31).

**üwülge’er** 𐰇𐰺𐰠𐰏𐰤 (372.366.349.341) <ü.ul.ge.er> ‘was given in marriage’ (Y27, Y30, Y31bis)

**üwüley** 𐰇𐰺𐰠𐰏 (372.366. 020) <ü.ul.ei> ‘given’ converb in *-ey* (Y31)

**üwülün** 𐰇𐰺𐰠𐰏 (372.366.144) <ü.ul.ün> ‘was given’ past tense in *-lun* (D47-4,49-6)<sup>90</sup>. As can be seen, 𐰇 (131) and 𐰏 (372) are interchangeable, both can be used in the same word in the same position instead of each other.

**üwe** 𐰇𐰏 (372.348) <u.e> ‘a title’ (K130, X2-13, 5-9, 8-15), see also **ewge** above, p. 152 | Mo *üge*, OT *öge*. K (80) suggests Chin *yuyue* 于越 ‘possibly derived from Tu(rk) *ögüt* ‘counsel’. Chinese *yuyue* (EMCh *wuā*, LMCh *yǎ*, EMCh *wuat*, LMCh *yat*) may reflect an OT *ögüt*, but Khitan <ü.e> has to be an equivalent of Mo *üge* ← OT *öge* that is the singular of *ögüt* which is a plural. In (X8-14) 𐰇𐰏𐰏𐰏 <il ü.e.de> ‘to the Il Üge’. Mo *üge* occurs in the SH (*Temüjin üge* par. 59, see also Rachewiltz 2004, Vol. 1, p. 319). The OT *öge* ‘Councillor, Wise’ is formed from the OT verb *ö-* ‘to think’.

Both graphs 𐰇 (131) and 𐰏 (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/<sup>91</sup>.

#### <ú> 𐰇 (245)

**\*udu** 𐰇𐰏 (245.249) <ú.dū> ‘long, everlasting’ | Mo *urtu* ‘long’, HN *\*urtu*, *\*utu*, *\*utur*, DaE *ort*, *ort<sup>w</sup>*. The /r/ disappeared in Kalmuck and Buriat, in the Shirongol languages it is *\*utur*.

**uduo’on** 𐰇𐰏𐰏𐰏 (245.249.186.154/322) <ú.dū.o.ón/on> ‘?’ (X6-22, 30-29, 44-23, 48-2) ‘a reign period’, <GREAT ú.du.o.ó/on>, Chinese *Da’an* 大安 ‘Great Peace’ (1085–1095) (WJ151) || The first part may be the Khitan equivalent of the Mongol *urtu* ‘long’. Is the second part a Khitan rendering of Chinese *an*? ‘Lasting Peace?’ See LMCh, EMCh *ʔan*.

**udulga’ar** 𐰇𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏 (245.249.261.051.189.123) <ú.dū.l.ha.a.ar> also written <udu.l.ha.ar> in:

**HEAVEN udulgaar** <HEAVEN ú.dū.l.ha.a.ar> Chinese *Chongxi* 重熙 ‘Repeated Splendour’ (X23-21, 23-28). Perhaps also here is *udu* < *urtu* ‘long’. <qudug ú.dū.u.ul.hu.án> ‘everlasting fortune?’<sup>92</sup> (EX23).

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

<sup>91</sup> 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.

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

## Initial *u*- Written with Graphs Containing the Diphthong <ui>

<ui> 夬 (262), <ui<sup>0</sup>> 夬 (263), <ui<sub>2</sub>> 夬 (265). The three graphs are allographs

<ui> 夬 (262)

**üyi(l)<sup>1</sup>** 夬 (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 *üile*, DaE *wail* || It is not clear whether the loss of the final *-l* is a phonetical or only an orthographical feature.

**üyi(l)-en** 夬 尗 (262.140) <ui.en> ‘genitive of <ui>’ in:

**NORTH uwur üi(l)-en** <NORTH u.ur ui.en> ‘of the affairs of the northern division’ (D27-16).

**üyi(l)-eñ** 夬 伏 (262.222) <ui.ñ> ‘a genitive of <ui>’

**tatar diayu yi üyiñ** <t.ad.ar t.ia.iú ii ui.ñ> ‘of the yi (?) affairs of the Tatar enemies’ (X22-20).

**üyi(l)-de** 夬 矢 (262.205) <ui.de> ‘in the matters, in the affairs of’ *-de* is dative-locative.

**ay-en üi(l)de** <ai.én<sub>2</sub> ui.de> ‘in the matters of the forefathers’ (D4-10).

**purus-en üi(l)de** <p.úr.s.en ui.de> ‘in the matters of P?’ (D9-23).

**uyi(l)-er/oi** 夬 𠂇 (262.107) <ui.oi<sub>2</sub>> in:

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

**üyil** 夬 𠂇 (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** 夬 𠂇 令 𠂇 列 (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<sub>2</sub>.en t.em.ey RECORD.g.ún ui.l> ‘the matter of the recording of the ladies...’ (D40-4).

**uyi<sup>2</sup>** 夬 (262) same as **oyi-** ‘mourning, sorrow’.

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

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

**ui<sup>0</sup>** 夬 (263) is a dotted variant of (262), used as word initial only in Chinese transcriptions.

**ui-en** 夬 尗 (263.140) <uio.en> ‘transcription of a Chinese syllable *Wei* in a name in genitive case’ (D12-26),

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

**ui<sub>2</sub>** 夬 (265)

**ui<sub>2</sub>** 夬 (265) ‘?’ (X10-29, 17-28, 20-26) in:

**awui** <au ui<sub>2</sub>> ‘milady’,

**ci ui siau** <ci.iu ui<sub>2</sub> s.iau> the title *zhu wei xiao* 諸衛小 (X23-2).

## Initial *u*- Written with Graphs of the Type *uC*-

- ud** 火 (344), **ud<sub>2</sub>** 大 (105) and **<ud<sub>3</sub>>** 尢 (092) are allographs and interchangeable.<sup>93</sup>
- udunlig** 火 彡 卩 尢 (344.144.261.334) <ud.un.l.g> ‘“bovine”, occurs before GOLD’ (D34-4), perhaps a tribal name, cf. Turkic *Ud adaqlig* 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’.
- üdürlü<sup>1</sup>** 大/火 彡/卩 (105/344.097/236), <ud<sub>2</sub>/ud.ur/úr> (K94), 尢 彡 (092.097) <ud<sub>3</sub>-úr> ‘east (originally south < noon)’ (K196<sup>94</sup>, D4-1, 7-16, 18-18, 47-11, X7-12, 7-18, Y11) | Mo *üde* ‘noon’, *edür*, MMo *üdürlü* ‘day’. According to HN in the Shirongol languages there is some confusion between \**üde* ‘noon’ and \**üdürlü* ‘day’, in Dgx they both have the word shape *udu*, in Kgj both are represented by *udər*, cf. also the confusion in BaoŃ *udərgu* ‘daytime, noon’, Namcarai and Khaserdeni (1983) have Dahur *udur* as ‘day, noon’, suggesting the same confusion which is, however, not confirmed by Enkhbat (1984). Enkhbat has *udur əməl* ‘before noon’ and *udur x<sup>w</sup>aina* ‘after noon’ based on \**üdürlü* rather than \**üde*. DeSmedt and Mostaert (1933) derive MgrH *dur* in the meaning ‘noon’ from \**düli* ‘middle’ [...]. This would be semantically fitting but not phonetically (see HN537-538). Muromskij (Kałużyński 1969, p. 140) has *udur* ‘Tag’, and *udur duandä*, *uduri duańda* ‘Mittag’. Tumurdej and Cybenov (2014) have *udur* ‘den’, *udur duand* ‘polden’, obed’ || \**üdürlü* 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 **udur<sup>1</sup>** and **udur<sup>2</sup>** are two different words<sup>95</sup>.
- üdürlü gıng** 大 彡 卩 卩 <ud<sub>2</sub>.ur g.ing> (105.236 334. 303) ‘eastern capital’ (K76, Y19),
- üdürlü-un gıng-en xubu ling** <ud<sub>2</sub>.ur g.ing:en xu.u b.u l.ing> ‘director of the ministry of revenue of the eastern capital’<sup>96</sup>.
- üdürlü gıng liusheu** <ud.ur g.ing l.iu ś.eu> ‘the *liushou* of the eastern capital’ (K47, 76, 94).
- \*üdürlü- 尢 彡 卩** <ud<sub>3</sub>.úr.<sub>l</sub>> ‘to spend the time’ | Mo *edürle-lüdürlü*- ‘to spend the day (in the field)’.

<sup>93</sup> Takeuchi (2015, p. 455) read 尢 (092) as <um>, but this is not acceptable, all three graphs have the same value, and are interchangeable.

<sup>94</sup> Kane (2009) read *yu*’.

<sup>95</sup> 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 火 and 尢 have to be read as <um>.

<sup>96</sup> On *xū.ū b.ū* ‘ministry of revenue’, see K39.

**üdürlün** 尤安中爻 (092.097.261.144) <ud<sub>3</sub>.úr.l.ún> (X23-11) past tense (< **üdürlün-**)

**sengun SMALL.qu.du sen awa üdürlün B316-de** <s.eng.un SMALL.qu.du s.en au.a ud<sub>3</sub>.úr.l.ún b.316.de> ‘when the Field Marshal was young his health (*esen*) being taken (*awa*), he spent the time at B316’.

**üdürlü-bün** 尤安中 (092.097.261.288) <ud<sub>3</sub>.úr.l.bun> past tense

**möce yara üdürlübün** <m.ci.e ia.ra ud<sub>3</sub>.úr.l.bun> ‘?he spent a short time’<sup>97</sup> (D31-3)

**üdürlü**<sup>2</sup> 尤安 (092.097) <ud<sub>3</sub>.úr> ‘first’ (K45: <yu> corrected by WJ63 to <ud>) (D4-1, 7-16, 18-18, 47-11, X7-12, 7-18)<sup>98</sup>.

**po-on möcie üdür uwul** <po.on m.ci.e ud<sub>3</sub>.úr u.ul> ‘within a short time the first winter[day entered]’ (D47-11),

**üdür ay** 尤安中 (092.097.122) <ud.úr ai> ‘the first year [of a reign period]’.

udu: <udu> 米 (355) also <ordo> see above, p. 164.

**udu, u(r)du** 米 (355) <udu> see o(r)du 及米爻 (186.355.131) <o.udu.u>, 令令 (245.249) <u.dū> ‘palace’ etc. above, p. 164.

\***udu-** 米 (355) = 令令 (245.249) <ú.dū> ‘?’<sup>99</sup>.

\***udu’ulga** <udu.u.ul.ha> <udu.l.ha> <ú.dū.l.ha> (WJ110) a causative form in:

**udu’ulga’an** 米爻平出 (355.131.366.051.290) <udu.u.ul.ha.án>

**udulga’an MANAGEi sa’algai** <udu.l.ha.án MANAGE.i s.al.ha.ai> ‘he was appointed to begin to administer the...’ (D29-4), also:

**udulgar** 米中爻本 (355.261.051.123) <udu.l.ha.ar> ‘the *Chongxi* 重熙 reign period ‘Repeated splendour’ (K77, 78). Also

**udulgar** 令令中爻为本 (245.249.261.051.189.123) <ú.dū.l.ha.a.ar>

**HEAVEN udulga’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 udulga’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** 令令爻及雨 (245.249.090.186.322) <ú.dū.ó.o.ón> in: <ta u.> ‘*Da’an* 大安 ‘Great Peace reign period’ (K159, 160).

Though we do not know the meaning of the basic word, the graphs 米 <udu> and 令令 <ú.dū> reflect the same Khitan syllables.

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

ún 爻 (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** 爻芬 (144.348) <ún.e> ‘now’ (X32-1, 36-23, 38-18, 39-17)<sup>100</sup>,

<sup>97</sup> On **möce** see above, the function of **yara** is not clear.

<sup>98</sup> See also **masku** in Róna-Tas (2016, p. 126).

<sup>99</sup> According to WJ110 the word is perhaps based ultimately on *udu* ‘court, palace’.

<sup>100</sup> According to Kane (2009, p. 109) ‘now, present’, cf. Mo \**önü* in: LM *önü*, *önüge* ‘now’, see further *önüdürlü*, *önügedür* ‘now, today’, Sh2 reads *éne* and equates it with Mong *ene*, but (144)

**üne ciisdebcī baġuan cara** <ún.e ci.i.is.d.b.ci b.hu.an car.a> ‘now the filial children, Cara [and others]’ (X38-18).

**ünen** 爻公 (144.251) <ún.n>, **ünen** 爻与 (144.361) <ún.én> ‘true, authentic, veritable’ (D31-10) | Mo *ünen* ‘true, truth, genuin, authentic’, HN *ünen* ‘true’, DaE *unun*.

**ünen ger** <ún.én go.er> ‘the Veritable House’ (D32-16),

**ünen muji HEAVEN min** <ún.n mu.u.ji:en HEAVEN m.in> ‘(during the) reign period Daozong (HEAVEN min) the Veritable Sacred (Emperor)’ (Y16).

<un> 火 (273)

Mostly used as genitive case marker after stems with /u/

**ung:** <ung<sub>2</sub>> 太 (106), <ung> 水 (345), <ung<sub>3</sub>> 冬 (346, WJ also ung<sub>2</sub>), <úng> 𠂇 (357). The first three graphs are allographs.

<ung<sub>2</sub>.a> (106.189) ‘?’ in:

**sengün elbü ayur o’odii unga** <s.eng.un l.bu ai.ur o.od.ii ung<sub>2</sub>.a> ‘Field Marshal Elbü...’ (X35-43).

**ungsu** 水𠂇 (345.041) <ung.su> ‘a name?’<sup>101</sup>

<te.le.yō te.le.yō ung.su> ‘?’ (EX16).

**ungsu-en** in:

**basa po ungsu-en šid** <b.as po ung.su.en shīd> ‘at the same time (*basa po*) the *shi*-s (plural) of the Ungsu’ (D33-8).

**uni** 杏 (059) <uni>

**üni** 杏 (059) <uni> ‘ox, zodiac animal’ K (110) suggests Mo *üniye* rather than *üker* | Mo *üniye* ‘cow’, HN *ünien*, DaE *üñe* || Mo *üniye* may go back to an earlier \**ünige*.

\***uniqu** 杏余 (059.246) <uni.qu> ‘?’ (PU8-26, JU40-8, JU4122, KL22-21),

**uniquji** 杏余𠂇 (059.246.152) <uni.qu.ji> (X43-17, HU19-20),

**uniquñ** 杏余伏 (059.246.222) <uni.qu.ñ> (D14-4, KL18-8),

**uniquñ-en** 杏余伏𠂇 (059.246.222.140) <uni.qu.ñ.en> (JU9-26).

In the above cases *-qu* may be a suffix, forming adjectives. *-ji* may be a suffix forming converbs, *-ñ* 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** 𠂇 (236)

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

**ürülge’en** 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 (236.131.366.349.361) <ur.u.ul.ge.én> ‘a causative passive in *-lge-* of *uru’u*’

**ġord ürü’ülge’en** <hor.d ur.u.ul.ge.én> ‘the people were set in order, put in line, organised’ (X29-13).<sup>102</sup>

**ürüdbün** 𠂇𠂇𠂇 (236.254.288) past tense in *-bün* of the verb **ürüd-**

**xezüge-en tanayu ürüdbün üġ a’alġu** <xe.zü.ge.én te.n.a.iú ur.d.bun uh a.al.hu> ‘?’ (EX23).

is <ún>. 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’.

<sup>101</sup> For 041 read <su> and not <ka>.

<sup>102</sup> See **uróuy-én uru u’urleġey** in <s.on.le.ha.ai a.án ür.ó.ui.én ür.u u.úr.le.ge.ei> (EX15).

<úr> 矣 (097)

\***ur(a)** – a verbal base with unknown meaning, occurs in:

**urayu** 矣为矣 (097.189.289) <úr.a.iú> a converbial form of \***ura-** in -yu  
**pin shau urayu mod** <p.in sh.au úr.a.iú mo.d<sub>2</sub>> (X14-15) Pin Shau may be a Chinese name, *mod* ‘ladies’.

**uroy** 矣矣 (097.107) <úr.o<sub>2</sub>> ‘?’

**uroi jaw-en yo baqa** <úr.o<sub>2</sub> jau.en yo b.qo> ‘?’ (X44-1).

**uru** 矣矣 (097.131) <úr.u> ‘?’

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

**uri** 矣矣 (097.339) <úr.i> ‘? prince, lad, young man’ | ← OT *urī* ‘male child, son’ (Clauson 1972, p. 197, WOT969–974).

**mo kü erü uri Dawugiñ** <mo ku er.u úr.i dau.uh.iñ> ‘?’ (Y7), **mo kü** ‘wife’ **Dawug** ‘a name’.

<ur> 求 (063A), ETERNAL, according to Aisin Gioro <ur>, the logogram is surely used also as phonogram.

<úr> 圪 (076A), <ho> according to Aisin Gioro <úr>.

<ur> 达 (115A) SOME, according to Aisin Gioro <ur>.

<us> 𐰽 (068), <us<sub>2</sub>> 𐰽 (103), 𐰽 <us> (041A). The first two graphs are allographs.

<us> 𐰽 (068),

**üsgi** 𐰽 𐰽 (068.334) <us.gi> ‘letter, language’ (K 22, X9-23, 35-5) | Mo *üsüg*, *üzüg* ‘letter’, HN *üjüg*, *üsüg* ‘letter, writing’, DaE *usuγw* ‘word, speech’ || ← OT *üjeg* ← Sogd ‘wj’γ. 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.un us.gi.er> ‘with the script of the Song’ (K132),

**üsgi guru’un** <us.gi hur.ú.un> ‘of the person in charge of the script’ (Y2, EX2).

**GREAT ordoo’on EIGHT yoiu poo ay EIGHT MONTH SEVEN DAY üsgi siang gung** <GREAT ordo.ó.o.ón EIGHT yô.iú p.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)<sup>103</sup>.

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

**bas üsgi-de tegü** <bas us.g: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 nèn.ei COMPOSE.cèn.er> (Y29).

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

<sup>103</sup> See also **gó-en üsgi dawui shiqu temlegey** <ho.én us.gi dau.ui ši.qu t.em.le.ge.ei> (Y36), **alar üsgi tsar a-en** <a.l.a.ar us.gi ts.ar a:en> (Y38), **youn üsgi asyooui dawo’on** <yô.ún us.gi as.yô.ó.ui dau.o.ón> (EX13).

**TOMB üsgi-en RECORD.g.s.ii a'an** <MOUNTAIN/TOMB us.gi.en RECORD.g.s.ii a.án> ‘the tomb inscription has been recorded/compiled’ (X46-19).

<us<sub>2</sub>> 𐰇 (103) not as initial in Y, L, EX, D, X, and the inscriptions in Wu (2012).

<us> 𐰇 (041A) not as initial in Y, L, EX, D, X, and the inscriptions in Wu (2012).

### Initial *u*- Not Written

\***ula**- in **laqu** ‘red’ 𐰇𐰏𐰤/𐰇 (261.362.246/118) <l.iau.qu> <l.iau.qú> (K36, 66, 113), <liâu’ái> (C 107) | Mo *ulagan*, Da *hulaan*, HN *hulaan* || (362) <iau> may be <io> (K78), in Khitan no trace of initial *h*-. 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/qú* has to be a suffix, forming adjectives and signalling male or female gender, see **masqu** 𐰇𐰏𐰤/𐰇 (133.174.246/118) <m.as.qu/qú> ‘first’ etc. Thus the basic word is \***ula**. See similar cases with <l> and a vowel to be read before it above s.v. **lem(x)a** 𐰇𐰏𐰤 (261.270.189) <l.ém.a> (D10-7), 𐰇𐰏𐰤 (261.270. 151.189) <l.ém.hu.a> ‘a title’. In the *Liao shi* one comes across (see WJ156) the name Luo Han Nu 羅漢奴 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** 𐰇𐰏𐰤𐰇𐰏𐰤 (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 *ü*- Initials

V ü: <ü> 𐰇 (226),  
 D üe: <üe> 𐰇 (082), üen: <üen> 𐰇 (324)  
 VC ün: <ün> 𐰇 (329)

### Initials Written with the Simple Graph *ü*: <ü> 𐰇 (226)

In D and X there is no example of *ü*- 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 (?from *jür* ‘two’ > *jürge-* ‘to double?’), *got* is ‘tent, house’ plural, *ei.e* is the verb *äy-* ‘to be’.

### Initials with *ü+V*

*üen* 𠵹 (324)

**üen oui** 𠵹升火 (324.090.262) <üen.ó.ui> ‘?’ (D17-22) seems to be a transcription of a Chinese name.

### Initials with *ü+C*

*ün* 亦 (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** 亦芬 (329.348) <ün.e> in the locution:

**u’uruni MYRIAD ay-en üne** <u.úr.u.uni MYRIAD ai.en ün.e>

**mu’uruni iši taw minde** <mū.ru.uni iši tau m.in.de>

**Huas oju’un** <hu.as o.ju.ún> (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** 又芬 (144.348) <ün.e> ‘now’

<ün.e ci.is.d.b.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** 亦矢 (329. 205) <ün.de> ‘?at present’ in:

**tux-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’ (*tux+d ünde*)<sup>104</sup> (X26-24).

**üniń** 亦伏 (329.222) <ün.iń>

**üne de üniń uur ay-en tasha’am holebońer** <ün.e:de ün.iń u.ur.ai:en t.as.ha.am hó.le.boń.er> (Y4)<sup>105</sup>

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

**ünen** 亦与 (329.100) <ün.én<sub>2</sub>> ‘true, veritable?’

**ünen cirier** <ün<sub>2</sub>.én ci.ri.er> ‘?’ (D18-6)

**ünen nílulier shıde yey** <ün<sub>2</sub>.én n.l.ú.li.er shı.de ie.i> ‘?’ (D31-4)

**ünen** 亦与 (329.361) <ün.én> ‘true, veritable?’

**awtum-en ünen hulbu’u** <aú.tum.en ün.én hu.ul.bú<sub>2</sub>.u> ‘?’ (X22-7)

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

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

**tiwjiy-en ünén mo rier** <t.iu.ji<sub>3</sub>.y.én ün.én 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** 爻公 (144.251) <ün.en> ‘true, veritable?’

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

**ünende** 亦当矢 (329.361.205) <ün.én.de> ‘after y.au.ul.hu’

**ünende Para Ogurde awulgai** <ün.én.de p.ra ú.gur.de au.ul.ha.ai> ‘...was placed to the Para Ogur’ (D32-10)

**ünseg** 亦今凡 (329.244.334) <ün.s.g> ‘?a nominal form of a verb?’ (D6-1)

**ünseg kiyiwji** <ün.s.g ki.ii.ü.ji> ‘was called ünsig’ (D6-1)

**ünge-ün** 亦咨爻 (329.349.144) <ün.ge.ün> ‘?’

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

### Initial *ü* Not Written

There is a word which may contain a front labial vowel:

\***ülü-** 𐰇𐰏𐰤 (261.019) <l.iu> ‘to die’ | cf. OT *öl-* ‘to die’, Mo *ölüs-* ‘to suffer starvation’, *ölüng* ‘starvation’, *ölber-* *ölmer-*, *ölmü-r* ‘to suffer extreme hunger, starve’ cf. *öl* ‘food, hunger’, HN *öles-* ‘to be hungry’, in the Baoan dialects \**öler-* which may be from \**öles-*, but everywhere we find the meaning ‘to be hungry’. It is possible that in Khitan \**ölü-* became through assimilation \**ülü-*. The reduction of a closed labial is more probable than that of a mid-closed. Old Turkic originally had \**ölü* see *ölür-* ‘to kill’. The semantics of the Khitan word is nearer to the Turkic original: the word may be honorific, and a loan from Uighur.<sup>106</sup>

**öüriner** 𐰇𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤 (261.019.137.269) <l.iu.ri/rén.er> ‘(she) died (hon)’ (K66, 216, EX5)<sup>107</sup> | *ren* 𐰏𐰤 (137) was read as *ir* in WJ299. The first vowel can also be read as *ö-* or *ü-*, and the word as *ölüriner* or *ülüriner*.

**nadbudi ülürüner** 𐰇𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤 (251.099.195.254.339 261.019.137.361) <n.ad.bu.d.i iu.ren.én> ‘died in the camp’<sup>108</sup> (EX5).

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

Most of the word forms beginning with *un*: 爻 (144) <ün> and *ün*: 亦 (329) <ün> have to pertain together and **ünen** 亦当 (329.361) <ün.én>, **ünen** 爻当 (144.361) <ün.én> and **ünen** 爻公 (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, genuin, 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

<sup>106</sup> Not to Mo *ülü*, the negation verb.

<sup>107</sup> 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.

<sup>108</sup> *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 /*i*/ and /*ö*/ we have not enough material, but in any case, the oppositions /*i*/ : /*i*/ /*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’ *guren* written as 𐰇𐰏 (269.361) <hur.én>, 𐰇𐰏𐰚 (151.236.361) <hu.ur.én>, 𐰇𐰏𐰚 (340.236.361) <x.ur.én>, while for the feminine form of ‘fourth’ we find *duren* 𐰇𐰏𐰚 (247.236.361) <t.ur.én> and 𐰇𐰏𐰚 (254.236.361) <d.ur.én>. It is possible that we have to read *guren* and *düren*, see Mo *gurban* 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: **guren** and **duren** < \**düren*. In any case, (236) 𐰇𐰏 <ur> occurs in both<sup>109</sup>. 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* 捏伊兒 which reflects a Khitan **när**, perhaps **näyir**, this has to be the reading of the graph 𐰇 (159) DAY. The name of the ‘moon’ and the ‘month’ is written in the *Liao shi sai-yi-er* 塞伊兒 which reflects a Khitan **sär** or **säyir**. This is the reading of the Khitan graph 𐰇 (081) MONTH and also for ‘moon’. It has, however, to be mentioned that the same graph with dot 𐰇 (082) has been read as <üe> or <y> with the value [ü] (K44)<sup>110</sup>. The word for spring also shows a kind of palatalisation 𐰇𐰏 (250.097) <heu.ür> ‘spring’ (see Mo *qabur*). 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 **Yärüd** rather than **Yarud**. Nevertheless, at the present time we have to suppose that [ä] 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 >  $\bar{V}$

<sup>109</sup> 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.).

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

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. *-aġa-*, appeared earlier than long vowels resulting from different vowels:  $V_1CV_2$  e.g. *-aġu-*. 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*<sup>111</sup>. 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 <(C)V.V(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** 子水九用 (149.145.334.303) <ju.ung g.ing> ‘the central capital’ (Y18, K200) ← Ch Zhongjing 中京, LMCh *triwŋ kiəŋ*, Liao Chinese *\*zhung ging* (K264), no sign of length in the Chinese original, but the Khitan may render a diphthong [iu].

**tang** 𐰽𐰺 (229.199) <ta.ang> in Tang Qianling (tomb) (L4) Chinese *Tang* 唐 LMCh *tʰaŋ*, EMCh *daŋ*. The word is written with <ta.𐰽> 𐰽 and not with <𐰽> 𐰽 (247). In this case there is no sign of length in Chinese.

**lang** 𐰽𐰺 (261.199) <l.ang> Chinese *lang* 郎 (K257) as part of the title *libu shilang*, LMCh, ELCh *laŋ*, no sign of Chinese length.

**lan** 𐰽𐰺 (261.189.011) <l.a.an> (K257), Chinese *lan* 蘭, EMCh, LMCh *lan*. No sign of length in Chinese<sup>112</sup>.

**šan** 𐰽𐰺 (028.189.011) <š.a.an> (K258), Chinese *shan* 山 ‘mountain, hill’, LMCh *ša:n*, EMCh *šəin/šɛ:n*, here LMCh has long vowel, EMCh a diphthong.

**sam** 𐰽𐰺 (244.189.184) <s.a.am> Chinese *san* ‘three’ 三 LMCh, EMCh *sa:m*. Length is present in Middle Chinese.

<sup>111</sup> A very detailed investigation of the so-called ‘hiatus problem’ was published by R. A. Miller (2002).

<sup>112</sup> 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 <l.an<sub>2</sub>> 𐰽𐰺 (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 CV.VC or even CV.V.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** 𠵹𠵹 (297.131) <pú.u> (X1-16, 18-24, 18-33) 𠵹𠵹几 (297.131.178) <pú.u ku> (297.131.178) (K115, 247) also 𠵹𠵹 (311.172) <b.uh> ‘servant’ (K55) | Ch *pu* 僕 ‘servant’, EMCh *bawk*, *bəwk*, LMCh *phawk* || 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’ 籙 has two Khitan transcriptions, <l.u.u> and <l.u.uh>. These writings may demonstrate that the earliest system reflected the disappearing final  $\gamma$  (<-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, 几 <ku> here is not representing a Chinese final -k, and has here the meaning ‘man, person’ (see **ku** in the wordlist), further that <pu.u> may reflect a long /ū/, but not necessarily.

**pu’uy** in: **pu’uyidaw** 𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹 (295.090.262.339 119)<sup>113</sup> <p.u.u*i*.i dau> ‘bandits and robbers’ (L5, Sh2) ← Ch *fei* 非 EMCh *puj*, LMCh *ffyj/ffi*, *dao* 盜 EMCh *daw*<sup>h</sup> LMCh *thaw* || Either a loan or a foreign word from Chinese. Neither the EMCh nor the LMCh had long vowels in this case, thus the graphic representation <.u.u*i*.i> does not seem to represent a long vowel, it is rather the way of reflecting the Chinese final diphthong, something like /-üi/ rather than /-ūi/.

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

Khitan	Chinese	Pinyin	Tone	Meaning <sup>114</sup>	LMCh <sup>115</sup>	EMCh <sup>116</sup>	Final <sup>117</sup>
pu 𠵹 (241)	福	fú	2	blessing	fjywk/fuwk	puwk	-juwk
p.u 𠵹𠵹 (295.131)	僕	pú	2	servant	pəwk	pəwk	-uwk
pú.u 𠵹𠵹 (297.131)	僕	pú	2	servant	pəwk	pəwk	-uwk

<sup>113</sup> Graph (090) 𠵹 was read by Kane (2009) and Wu – Janhunen (2010) as <ó>, by Chinggeltei (2002a) as *v* and by Aisin Gioro (2012) as *o* and *u*. Shimunek (2011) read <u>.

<sup>114</sup> 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).

<sup>115</sup> Late Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank (1991).

<sup>116</sup> Early Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank (1991).

<sup>117</sup> Final according to Baxter – Sagart (2014).

b.uh 𠵹𠵹 (311.172)	僕	pú	2	servant	pəwk	pəwk	-uwk
p.ah 𠵹𠵹 (295.197)	伯	bó	2	uncle	pa:jk	paijk/pɛ:jk	-aek
b.u 𠵹𠵹 (311.131)	部	bù	4	part, section	pfiuǎ̃	bɔ'	-uw
b.ū.u 𠵹𠵹𠵹 (311.372.131)	部	bù	4	part, section	pfiuǎ̃	bɔ'	-uw
p.u.u 𠵹𠵹𠵹 (295.131.131)	部	bù	4	part, section	pfiuǎ̃	bɔ'	-uw
pu.u 𠵹𠵹 (241.131)	副	fù	4	aide, assistant	fjyw`/fuw`	puwh	-uw
pu 𠵹 (241)	副	fù	4	aide, assistant	fjyw`/fuw`	puwh	-uw
pu 𠵹 (241)	輔	fū	3	assist	ffjyǎ̃`/ffhuǎ̃`	buǎ̃	-ju
p.u.ui.i 𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹 (295.090.262 .339)	非	fēi	1	bandit	fjyj/fji	puj	-əj?

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:

**gür** 𠵹 (259) <hur> ‘three’ 𠵹𠵹𠵹 (151.236.269) <hu.ur.er>, 𠵹𠵹 (259.269) <hur.er> ‘third, masc.’, 𠵹𠵹𠵹 (151.236. 219) <hu.ur.én>, 𠵹𠵹 (259.218) <hur.én>, 𠵹𠵹𠵹 (340. 236. 219), <x.ur.én> ‘third, fem.’ (K53, 54-55, 66, 121, 143, D9-5) | Mo *gurban*, Da *guarebe*, HN *gurban*, DaE *g<sup>w</sup>arbə*, *g<sup>w</sup>arbən*, *g<sup>w</sup>arəb*.

**jun** 𠵹𠵹 (147.273) <ju<sub>3</sub>.un> ‘summer’ (K119, X28-12, 30-36) | Mo *jun*, HN *jun* only in EYu and Mgr, no sign of length in the Mongolic languages, and Khitan also has to have a short vowel. [Da *najire*].

**nūr, nour** 𠵹/伏𠵹/𠵹/𠵹 (251/222.138/090/253.097) <n.iū.úr>, <n.ó.úr>, <ní.ô.úr> <ń.ó.úr> ‘tribe, division, circuit’ (K51, 124, 208, D4-13, D4-20, 5-12, 27-25, X25-11, 25-25, 31-14), **noǵo** 伏𠵹𠵹 (222.253.076) <ńi.o.ho> ‘circuit, route’ (K88) | perhaps to Mo *\*nurgan*, see Kalm *nutug nurgan* ‘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-** 兩全 (017.255) in: <k.em so.or> ‘received the edict, or the edict was issued’ (K69, Y16, 17, K199, 200), 兩兩 (017.304) <so.go> ‘to receive’ (K200), <so.or> ‘received’ (K199) | Mo *sur-* ‘to learn’, Da *sore-*, HN *sur-* ‘to learn’<sup>118</sup> || WJ017 reading unknown.

**po, po’o** 业及(及) (295.186.186) <p.o, p.o.o> ‘monkey’ (K107), <po’o> (C107) | cf. Mo *bečín*, Da *monioo*, HN *bečín*, Ma *bonio*, *monio*.

**u’ur** 爻化 (131.236) <u.úr> ‘first, upper, previous’, **u’ur ai** 爻化中 (131.236 122) ‘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), **u’ur ai** 爻化中 (372.236 122) <u.ur ai> ‘id.’ (D2-9) **u’ur ging** 爻化九用 (131.236.334.303) <u.ur g.ing> ‘supreme capital, Ch *Shangjing* 上京’ (K119, 204, 208) | Mo *urid*, *urida* ‘before’, *urji edür* ‘day before yesterday’, HN *urida*, DaE *ward* ‘before’ and *uriji üdür* ‘the day before yesterday’, both from \**urī*.

### Type Two

IV where an /r/ disappeared:

**o’oju-** 及及子 (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<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>1</sub>

**tü’ür-** 劣安付伏 (202.097.311.222) <tu.úr.bo.ń>, 劣安中 (202.097.288) <tu.úr.bun> 劣安付爻 (202.097.311.144) <tu.úr.b.ún> ‘died, passed away’ (K59, 91, 204, D7-15), <tu.úr.s.ii> ‘after he had died’ (K150-151, WJ73) | Mo *dügür-* ‘to expire, finish, end’, HN *düür-* ‘to be(come) full’, DaE *du:r-*<sup>119</sup>.

**ü’ül** 爻平 (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 *uyul*, *uwul*, *u:l*, Sh *uull/wwul* || PhK *ügül*.

<sup>118</sup> The word is a polite expression.

<sup>119</sup> Shimunek (2001) quotes Da *tur-* ‘be born’, Mo *törü-*, this is hardly acceptable.

*Type Four*

IV in place of V<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>2</sub>

\***dawul-/dau'ul-** 𐰇𐰺𐰏𐰍 (119.366) <dau.ɯl> ‘to lead’, Mo *daga-* ‘to follow’, *dagagul-* ‘to cause or to let follow’, HN *daga-* ‘to follow’ || 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 **dawu'ar-** <dau.a.ar> 𐰇𐰺𐰏𐰍 (119.189.123) (D30-12) ‘lead’. In this case <dau> has to represent /dau/ which can be transcribed as *daw*.

The word **dawul-** occurs in the following forms:

**dawulga-** 𐰇𐰺𐰏𐰍𐰇 (119.366.051) <dau.ɯl.ha> ‘to be lead, follow’ (K148).

**dawulga'ai** 𐰇𐰺𐰏𐰍𐰇𐰏 (119.366.051122) <dau.ɯl.ha.ai> (X25-13), a converbial form in *-ai* of **dau'lga-**, a verb with the double factitive suffix *-UlgA-*, see above **au'ulgai** <au.ɯl.ha.ai>.

**dawulo'oḡo** 𐰇𐰺𐰏𐰍𐰇𐰏𐰏 (119.366.090.186.076) <dau.ɯl.ó.o.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 <ó.o> and occurring with other verbal stems as well has to be a deverbal suffix forming a verbal form, but its function is yet unclear to me.

**dawulji** 𐰇𐰺𐰏𐰍𐰇𐰏 (119.366.131.337) <dau.ɯl.u.ji> (X32-22) is a converbial form in *-ji* with the meaning ‘after having followed’, see K153-154.

**dawulgu'an** 𐰇𐰺𐰏𐰍𐰇𐰏𐰏 (119.366.151.011) <dau.ɯl.hu.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** 𐰇𐰺𐰏 (119.097) <dau.úr> ‘middle’, WJ87, Sh2: *dawr* | cf. Mo *dumda*, Da *Daure* ‘Dagur’, *duande* ‘middle’, HN *dumda*, DaE *dwand*, *dwannə*, see Ch *zhong* 中 as middle, the Middle, China 中國, on *daḡur* = *Khitan* see Kane (2009, pp. 162–165)<sup>120</sup>. This word occurs in the expression <GREAT dau.úr.ún xu-ra qid.ún.i> ‘The great Central Liao State-GEN’. Thus <dau.úr> 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 *Dayúr*, Poppe (1930) *Dagūr*, *Dayūr*, Muromskij (Kałużyński 1969) *dahuru*, Martin (1961) *Daure*. In the Dagur language the CM *-aḡu-* bisyllable became *-au-*, see LM *daḡu* ‘voice’ > Da *dau*. The ethnic name is written in the Uygur-Mongolian script as 𐰇𐰺𐰏, 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

<sup>120</sup> 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 \**dawür*. The word occurs in the genitive case: **dawur-un ü'ül** 尺安又又平 (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:

**dawdu** 尺分 (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** 尺分丰 (119.249 122) <dau.du ai> ‘the middle uncle’ (D13-6. 16-23, X1-4).

**dawdu ku** 尺分几 (119.249.178) <dau.du ku> ‘the middle person (sibling)’ (X2-23).

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

**xāwūr** 介安 (250.097) <heu.úr> ‘spring’ (K46, 119, 211, X29-23), <xāwūr> (C107) | Mo *qabur*, Da *haure* ‘spring’, HN *kabur*, DaE *xaur* || The word is a strongly palatalised pair of Mo *qabur*. The first <u> ending <xeu> has to represent a /u/.

\***ü(w)-** 尺 <ū> ‘to give, provide’ || Mo *ög-* ‘to give’, Da *uke-*, HN *ög-*, DaE *uk<sup>w</sup>-* || The basic Khitan verb *u-* may have had a long vowel, but this is not reflected in the KSS. Forms as <ū.ui> converb, <ū.úr> past tense, have the usual form -V-V in:

**ü'üi-** 尺央 (372.262) <ū.ui> ‘given, provided (conv.)’ (K66, 67, 99),

**ü'ür-** 尺安 (372.097) <ū.úr> ‘gave’ (X17-22), in error: ‘to sit’ (K148), see also:

**ü'er-** 尺芬 (372.341) <ū.er> occurring in the expression

**Heaven ü'er-** 央尺芬 (243.372.341) <HEAVEN ū.er> ‘Heaven bestowed, given by the Heaven’, (D3-23-24, 27-9, X39-35).

**ü'ülge'en** 又平芬与/与 (131.366.112.100/361) <u.ul.ge<sub>2</sub>.én<sub>2</sub>/én> (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 **ü-** 尺 (372.262) <ū> ‘give, provide’ and not from **又平** (131.366) <u.ul> ‘winter’. The morphological segmentation is *ü'ü-lge-en*, may be *ü'ü-lege-en* where *-lge/lege* is the causative-passive suffix, and *-en* is a nominaliser.

**ü'ülgelci** 又平芬中央 (131.366.349.261.162) <u.ul.ge.l.ci> (D17-1) ‘was given (in marriage)’. The morphological segmentation is *ü'ü-lge/lege-l-ci* where to the basic verb *ü-*, the suffix of passivity *-lge* or *-lege*, the suffix of the causative or factitive *-l-* (Mo *-l-*, Poppe 1964, p. 61) and the converbal suffix *-ci/-ji* was added.

## Type Five

IV in non first syllables

**ala'ar** 丰 (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.

- ayilga'ai** 𐰇𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰏𐰤 (122.302.051.122) <ai.il.ha.ai> 'to frighten, to threaten (a factitive form of **ayi-**, Y12) | Mo *ayulga-* 'to frighten, to threaten', Da *ailegaa-* 'frighten, scare, startle' || From the basic Khitan word **\*ayi-** 'to fear' > **\*ayil** 'fear, danger' > **ayilga-** 'to threaten, to make fear' > *ayilga'ai* 'having threatened'.
- muḡo** 𐰇𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰏𐰤 (224.076.186) <mu.ho.o> 'snake' (K58, 60, 118), <moḡo> (C107) | Mo *mogaj*, *\*mokaj*, HN *mogai*, Da *\*moga* > *mɔɣ*<sup>v</sup>, 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 𐰇 (076) should be read here only as <h>, i.e. <mu.h.o>.
- naḡa'an** 𐰇𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰏𐰤 (139.051.290) <na.ha.án> 'maternal uncle', 𐰇𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰏𐰤 (139.051.290.254) <na.ha.án.d> 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* = *nagasi* 'hither'.
- ona-** 𐰇𐰏𐰤 (154.189) 'to descend' | Mo *una-* 'to fall down', Da *uane-*, HN *una-*, DaE *wanə-*.
- ona'an-** 𐰇𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰏𐰤 (154.189:290) <on.a.án> '[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* 𐰇 (011) is the marker of the genitive case, but here we have 𐰇𐰏𐰤 <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-** 𐰇 (154) 'to ride' and **ona-** 𐰇𐰏𐰤 (154.189) '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** 𐰇𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰏𐰤 (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** 𐰇𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰏𐰤 (135 051.011.099) <TWO qa.ha:ad> pl. 'khans' (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 𐰇 (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.
- \*semii-** 𐰇𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰏𐰤 (244.257.080) <s.em.ii> 'being sick, ill' (K116, X4-16).  
**semiyer** 𐰇𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰏𐰤 (244.257.080.341) <s.em.ii.er> '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 令企北𠄎 令𠄎𠄎 <s.em.ii.er t.ge.er>. The marker *-er* is the suffix of the past tense and it occurs twice: fell ill, died. A combination of converb + past tense marker is curious. The graph 北 which looks very similar to (076) <ho> 𠄎 alone represents a converbal suffix, in the series <ai, ei, ii, oi, ui> (K149-15). But all allomorphs occur after the respective vowels, i.e. -a-ai, e-ei etc. Thus *semii-* has to be *semi+i*, but written *sem+ii-*. Why do we find then *semii-er*? Is this a graphic misspelling or a curiosity or does it reflect a long /i/?

**tege-** 令𠄎 (247.349) <te.ge> ‘to die (hon)’, cf. Mo \**dege-* ‘to go, move upwards’, see *degedü* ‘upper, previous etc.’, *degere* ‘on, above, high’, *degde-* ‘to rise, to float, to fly up’, cf. HN *deere*, DaE *dā:r* ‘above, upper’.

**tege’er** 令𠄎𠄎/𠄎 (247.349.269/341) <te.ge.er> ‘deceased, died’ (masc. past tense in *-er*).

**tege’en** 令𠄎𠄎𠄎 (247.349.219) <te.ge.én> ‘deceased, died’ (fem. past tense in *-én*) (K41, 64, 90, D11-8, 2-5, 35-8, X32-17).

## 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. *ö-* above), but also identical vowels were written for short vowels (see *gur* and *ǰu.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.

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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 Kałuziński (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 *Yelü 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 (Luvsandendev 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 *Yelü Pusuli* inscription (AD 1105) (Wu 2012)  
 PKh = Proto Khitan  
 PU = The *Yelü Pusuli* inscription (AD 1105) (Wu 2012)  
 QG = The Qinghai and Gansu Mongol languages according to HN

- Rykin = Rykin (2014)  
 Sh = Shimunek (2011)  
 Sh2 = Shimunek (2014)  
 SH = *The Secret History of the Mongols* (cited after Rachewiltz 1972, 2004)  
 SJL = Sun Bojun – Jing Yongshi – Li Yang (2010)  
 Tib = Tibetan  
 TMR = *Tibeto-Mongolica Revisited* (Róna-Tas 2014)  
 WF = Wittfogel – Fêng (1949)  
 WJ = Wu – Janhunen (2010)  
 WOT = Róna-Tas – Berta (2011)  
 X = The *Yelü Xiangwen* inscription (AD 1091) (WJ)  
 Y = The *Yelü Dilie* inscription (AD 1092) (K191-211)

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