KHITAN STUDIES
I. THE GLYPHS OF THE KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT

3. THE CONSONANTS, 3.1 LABIAL STOPS[*]

Wu Yingzhe and András Róna-Tas

School of Mongolian Studies, Inner Mongolia University,
Höhhot 010021 China
e-mail: khitan1922@126.com

Department of Altaic Studies, University of Szeged
H-6722 Szeged, Egyetem utca 2, Hungary
e-mail: aronatas3@t-online.hu

This paper investigates how the Khitan Small Script renders labial stops of the Khitan language in the initial position of words and syllables. Furthermore, it deals with the problems of alloglyphs, drawings of similar shape, and denotations of the same phoneme. The paper begins with the use of glyphs in cases where they transcribe Chinese words. Evidence permitting, this is followed by the use of glyphs in cases of Chinese loanwords and names—subjects in which we have a robust background. Finally, it examines words of Khitan origin with initial labial stops. The result of our investigation is that postaspiration was the distinguishing feature in the binary opposition of labial stops. Alternation of <b> ~ <p> writing is common in cases where a word occurs with high frequency. To demonstrate this, we used the Khitan Corpus published in 2017.

Key words: Khitan language, Khitan Corpus, Khitan Small Script, Khitan orthography. Khitan – Uighur relations, Chinese in Khitan script, Middle Chinese reconstruction.

Methodological Remarks[1]

The Khitan Small Script (KSS) was developed around AD 925 for rendering the Khitan language, and used during the Liao and early Jin dynasties. The first known and datable text is from AD 1053[2] and the last from AD 1175[3]. The KSS was conceived as a more or less syllabic script. During the process of deciphering, the phonetic value of the glyphs was identified with units of the contemporary Chinese phonetic system. It should be clear, however, that this could only be done in a very approximative way. The phonological structure of contemporary Chinese and that of Khitan are fundamentally different.

Yet, as all languages do, the Khitan language has at least two registers. One is a literary style that arises from the pronunciation of texts when read[4]. Another register is the daily spoken language which existed beneath the literary style. At present, we can only try to reconstruct the reading style of Khitan from the writing system. Even this has its constraints. The Khitan scholars who designed the KSS were not phonologists or phoneticians in the way we define these fields today. They were trained in the contemporary Chinese philological and phonological system. Some "mistakes" or poetic segments of a text may shed light on colloquial Khitan, but such conclusions can only be drawn with great caution.

The only reasonable way to describe the KSS is to devise the rules for how Khitan scholars used KSS glyphs for identifying syllables and sounds of the contemporary Khitan reading style.

In this paper we will investigate how the Khitan Small Script makes use of labial stop consonants in the initial position of words and syllables.

Glyphs beginning in the Romanisations with <b>- are the following[5]: <b> 丹 (311)[6], <bai> 可 (061)[7], <bai₂> 刁 (060)[8], <bi> 付 (225)[9], <bir> 中 (288)[10], <bod> 田 (309)[11], <bot> 外 (176)[12], <bu> 生 (196)[13], <búl> 刹 (272)[14].

---

[1] The authors are indebted to the anonymous reviewers.
[2] An Epitaph of Prince of Guangling of Great Khitan (Guang 广). See the inscriptions and their Sigla in the Appendix.
[3] An Epitaph of General Xianwu Baligong (Xian 显).
[4] We do not know yet whether the texts were read silently or aloud.
[5] Earlier different readings are here noted as K = Kane (2009), WJ = Wu and Janhunen (2010), C = Chinggeltei (2002), A = Aisin Gioro (2012).
[6] C <p>
[7] K <keʔ>
[8] K <keʔ>
[9] C <p>
[10] WJ, K <bun>, C <pən>, A <bur>
[11] WJ <hó>, K <hó>, A <bə>
[12] C <buo>, K, WJ, A <bu>, <bú>, Index <bot>
[13] WJ, K <bu>, C <pu>, A <bu/abu>
[14] WJ, K <bu₂>, C <pul>, A <bu, bur>

Glyphs beginning in the Romanisations with <p>- are the following: <p> 屮 (295)[15], <pen> 汁 (449)[16], <po> 北 (279)[17], <poŋ> 羔 (360=295+071)[18], <pu> 分 (241)[19], <fu> 分 (242)[20].

Earlier we had also <pú> 屮 (297) which has now to be read as <gú>. The group (297.131) 屮� occurs as a part of the name of a person in the recently found *Epitaph of Xiao Chala Xianggong* 蕭查剌相公墓誌銘 in Khitan Small Script (AD 1113, Cha), which corresponds to the name Kuyu 骨欲 in the Chinese version of the same epitaph. The pronunciation of 骨 *ku* and 欲 *yu* are LMCh *kut*, EMCh *kwət* and LMCh *jywk*, EMCh *juwk*,[21] respectively. The final of the first part /-t/ became a fricative and was realised by foreign transcriptions as /r/ and later disappeared. As to the second part 欲, the final was, according to Pulleyblank, –*ywk* and –*uwk*. Both had a labial diphthong /uǫ/ or /uų/ and a final –*k*. This –*k* disappeared, but in Khitan it had three different traces: <–h> (=γ), diphthong or in special cases zero, consequently 欲 had to be read as **yuǫ* or **yuų* or **yuh* (*yuġ*). The pronunciation of the name is then **Guyuġ* or **Kuyuġ* or **Guyuo* or the like[22]. In any case, 屮 (297) has to be read <gú>.

As we can see, <bai> 可 (061) and <bai₂>
dotvariant (060), <bot> 矛 (176) and <búl> 矛 (272), respectively, are alloglyphs or variants.

Interesting is <bi> 付 (225), which may consist of <bai> on the right side and a diacritic sign on the left, which occurs in a series of other glyphs, see Table 1 below.

Table 1. Glyphs with the same element at the left side

No.	Glyph	Romanisation
220	行	mú
221	伏	ñ^x
222	伏	ñ^o
223	仕	mu^x
224	仕	mu
224.1	佚	unknown
225	付	bi
226	仲	ü
227	仅	unknown

[15] C <p, f>

[16] WJ has (438) <fen>, renumbered and corrected by Wu to (449) <pen>

[17] C <pʻo>

[18] C <faŋ, pʻang>

[19] C<fu, pʻu>

[20] C <fu, pʻu>

[21] The Late Middle Chinese (LMCh) and the Early Middle Chinese (EMCh) data are quoted from Pulleyblank (1991).

[22] We are not dealing here with the possible etymologies of this name.

No.	Glyph	Romanisation
228	仔	lú
229	仔	ta
230	仅	unknown
231	伩	unknown
232	仅	unknown
233	仉	kú
234	仴	ta₂
235	仇	ri
236	他	ur
237	们	du
238	佃	BORN

The following glyphs also have an element common with others: <bot> �겨 (176) and
<búl>[23] 夊 (272), they may also be alloglyphs with a vertical stroke on the right side.
The sign left to the stroke is in case of (272): 夊 (271) which remained yet undeci-
phered by the former authors. It occurs four times as initial in Index. The same stroke
appears in (058): 刔 <mi>, (150) 釨 <ja>, (151) 釨 <hu>, (177) 釨 <ra> or <us>,
<uldž>[24] and (190) 釛 <á>. In case of the last one it is a clear additional sign to (189)
为 <a>. We will discuss this feature in another paper.

In the case of glyphs beginning with <p>- interesting may be <poŋ> 粜 con-
sisting of two glyphs (360=295 业+071 赤), one of the rare ligatures in the system.

Important is that <pu> 分 (241) and <fu> 分 (242) differ only by a dot on
which see Róna-Tas (2016: 125 and the earlier literature there). The labiodental /f/
was not part of the Khitan system, but in some cases they used <f> in transcriptions
of Chinese. The dotted variant occurs in the following inscriptions: Yu[25] (AD 1072),
Zhi (1094), Qing (1095), Pu (1105), Zhong (1150) and Nu (1099). In all of those in-
scriptions, except Pu (1105), we find dotted *and* not dotted variants of the same glyph
(241, 242). Maybe in such cases the absence of the dot was simply due to negligence.
As we see, dotting was used for almost a hundred years, therefore we cannot suppose
a chronological reason behind this usage. It is more probable that some masters used
it, some did not. In other cases Chinese /f/ was transcribed by <p>, <pV> etc.

According to Svantesson *et al*. (2005: 12), in Mongolic the consonants are in
a twofold opposition: one series is voiceless unaspirated, the other is voiceless postas-
pirated in initial position. This is a valid statement for most of the recent Mongol lan-
guages, and may be accepted also for Old Mongolian (Svantesson *et al*. 2005: 198).
Phonologically speaking this is an opposition /p/:/pʿ/, /t/:/tʿ/ or in another transcription

---

[23] Reading of Wu Yingzhe in Index instead of <bu₂>.
[24] Kane (2009) reads <ra> with ?, Aisin (2012) <uldž, uldži>, and Index <ur>.
[25] See the list of the sigla in the Concordance Tables in the Appendix of this paper.

/p/:/ph/, /t/:/th/ and so on. It may be disturbing that in some scripts[26] /p/ is graphically represented by <b> and /ph/ is represented by <p>, /t/ by <d> and /th/ by <t> etc. The opposition will be of cardinal importance when we compare it to a system which had a threefold opposition, as Middle Chinese had. Baxter (1992: 46, 49) gives the following table:

Table 2. Middle Chinese oppositions

Baxter	Karlgren	Pulleyblank
p-, t-	p-, t-	p-, t-
ph-, th-	p'-, t'-	p'-, t'-[27]
b-, d-	b'-, d'-	b-, d-

There occurred a labiodentalisation, that is, "Early Middle Chinese labials became labiodentals when followed by medial –j- and a back vowel (-i-, -u-, -a- or -o-)" (Baxter 1992: 47). Now for the time being we will put aside the labiodentalising feature, that is, all initials which are pertaining to the category labials+medial –j-+back vowel. To them we will come back later.

<B> in Word and Syllable Initial Position

Let us now see the correspondences of the Khitan glyphs to the Middle Chinese, or more precisely Liao Chinese (LCh)[28] phonemes.

 b: <b>; [<bo>, <ba>] 丹 (311) and <bi> 付 (225)

 In the transcription of Chinese, <b> is used for the following Chinese initial types:

Table 3. Khitan <b> transcribing Chinese bilabial stops

Romani-sation	Glyph	Chinese	LMCh	EMCh	LCh	Source
<b.ah>	丹朵 (311.197)	*bo* 伯 'uncle on the father's side'	*pajk*	*paɨjk/pɛːjk*	*paɣ*	K256
<b.oh>	丹里 (311.377)	*bo* 博 'a geographic name'[29]	*pak*	*pak*	*poɣ*	K72

---

[26] In the Uighur-Mongol, in the Phagspa, in the Arabic and Cyrillic scripts, though there exist a few special cases.

 [27] Baxter has rewritten Pulleyblank's -^h as '-.

 [28] We use the term *Liao Chinese* following Kane (2009: 227–264). As we will see, Liao Chinese is in many respects nearer to Early Middle Chinese than to Late Middle Chinese.

 [29] In *Bozhou* 博州.

Romani-sation	Glyph	Chinese	LMCh	EMCh	LCh	Source
<b.u>	丹灻 (311.131)	*bao* 保 'to protect'	*puaw*	*paw'*	*pū*	DiX20-8, K256.
<b.ū>	丹尺 (311.372)[30]	*bu* 部 'part, section'	*pɦuɔ̆`*	*bɔ'*	*pū̀*	K262
<b.üe>	丹奻 (311.082)	*bie* 別 'separate'[31,]	*pɦiat*	*biat*	*ƀie*	K72
<b.iau>	丹芎 (311.362)	*piao* 驃 'roan horse [part of a Han title][32]	*pɦjiaw`*	*bjiawh*	*bjaw*	K78, 262
<bi.iŋ>	付用 (225.303)	*bing* 兵 'weapon, soldier'	*piajŋ*	*piajŋ*	*pīŋ*	K62
<b.in>	丹雨 (311.018)	*bin* 豳 'a place name in ancient times'	*pin*	*pin*	*pin*	Zhon5-52
<b.u.u>	丹灻灻 (311.131.131)	*bu* 步 'step, pace'	*pɦuɔ̆`*	*bɔh*	*bu*	Tu10-4, 1123
<b.au.u>	丹灻灻 (311.161.131)	*bao* 鮑 'a surname'[33]	*paw*	*paɨw/pɛːw*	*baū*	Xu32-11

A second use of the glyph was in such words where <b>- occurred in Khitan words. If the initial *b*- was in the script followed by another consonant, the vowel between *b*- and the next consonant was not always explicitly written, and a vowel had to be read as it would be "inherent", as the vowel /a/ is in the Sanskrit-type alphabets. In most cases the vowel is /a/ or /o/[34]. Let us see a few examples:

♦ **bara'ān** 丹夯/𫟛 才/为灻 (311.084/393.335/189.011), <b.ra/ra.ia/a.án> 'right side' (K72, 114) | Mo *baragun* 'right-hand side, west', Da *baren*, 'right(hand side)', DaE *bar*ʸ 'id.'. The form <b.ra.ia.an> is occurring only once in Nu14 in the following example:

✓ **e.hu iši ayde bara'ian u'úr šari senggün pojuli**
芬列秃 丬矢 夯才灻化．灻为夬 仐各火业及子北

---

[30] Also <p.u.u> 出灻灻 (295.131.131) K262.

[31] In the title *biexu*.

[32] As it is known LMCh initials with a strong bilabial stop and a voiced aspiration /pɦ/- may be the continuation of EMCh *p*ʰ-*j*- (Departing Tone) *and* EMCh *b-j*- (Rising Tone) initial+glide complexes. LCh may have had yet *b-j*- in this case, and in fact Pulleyblank reconstructed for this word EMCh *bjiaw*ʰ. In this case the j-glide is followed by a high, front /i/. Thus the transcription 丹芎 (311.362) <b.iau> is rendering a LCh *bjiaw* which is nearer to the EMCh than to the LMCh data. We have to add, however, that Khitan did not have a labiodental fricative /f/, on which see below.

[33] The name 丹灻灻 灻去 贫才灻 鮑叔牙之 occurred in Hu32 (Epitaph of Xiao Hutujin Taishi in Khitan Small Script).

[34] The earlier scholarship read in this word usually <bo>. There exist <b-a>, <b-i>, <b-o> and <b-u> sequences, see Index. The problem lies in those cases where <b> is followed by a consonant as <b-h> etc. Here the Mongolian cognates and the Chinese transcriptions may help.

<e.hu[35]iši ay.de b.ra.ia.an u.úr š.a.ri s.eŋ.ün p.o.ju.li₂>[36]
(033.122.205 109.151 311.084.335.011 131. 236 028 069.175.273 295.
018.149.076)
'该九 年于右 院 郎君 详稳 除' (《奴》14行)
'(in the) 9th year he was promoted to (the rank of) the Langjun Fieldmarshal
(*langjun xiangwen*) of the Right Division (*youyuan*)' (Nu14).[37]
Further see <b.ra.ia.ai₂> 2×, <b.ra.iá.ai₂.en> 1×.

Index has 6 times <b.ra.a.an> 㐂丙为戋 (311.084.189.011), as in:
  ✓ **bara'an u'ur süeüen xui yalġa'al oju'un**
  ✓ 㐂丙为戋 及化 仐扰业丙㐱並㐱 及子戋
    <b.ra.a.an u.ur s.üe.üen x.ui y.al.ha.al o.ju.un>
    (311.084.189.011 131.236 244.082.324 340.263 020.098. 051. 098 186.149.144)
    '右 院 宣 徽 迁 除'（仲19）
    '[he] was promoted to the right *yuan* (of) Xuanhui' (Zhong19).
  ✓ **jurer baqa Diri bara'an u'ur sien ngiu'ui sianggün**
    朿化公 㐂力 丹关 㐂丙为戋及化 仐交方㐱丙 㐱关 仐㐂 九亦
    <ci.ur.er ba.qa dir.i b.ra.a.an u.ur s.i.ēn ŋ.iu.ui.i s.iaŋ.g.ün>
    (162.236.269 311.168 074.339 311.084.189.011 131.236 244.339.073
    264.019.263.339 244.314.334.329)
    '次 子铁离右院千牛卫将军'（广21）
    The second son Diri (was) Right *yuan* Qianniuwei general (*jiangjun*) (Hong9).
  ✓ **Gem giau Gungbuu Šangšiu bara'an u'ur ling gün uiziang gün temlegey**
    九公 九号及 九火 㐂尺及 甪氕 又凸 㐂丙为戋 及化 屮用 九亦 㐱关
    伞㐂 九亦 仒金屮公丙
    <g.em g.iau.u g.uŋ b.ū.u. ša.aŋ š.iu .b.ra.a.an u.ur l.iŋ g.ün ui.i.z.iaŋ g.ün
    t.em.l.ge.y>
    <334.270 334.362.131 334.345 311.372.131 375.199 028. 289
    311.084.189.011 131.236 261.303 334.329263.339 258.314 334.329.247.257.
    261.349.020>
    '检 校 工 部尚书 右院领 军卫 将 军封'（弘9）
    '[on] Gemgiau Gungbuu Shangshiu (Jianjiao Gongbu Shangshu) the [title]
    Right yuan Leading General was conferred' (Hong9).

  ♦ ***bangġu-** 㐂业列 (311.280.151) <.b.áng.hu>[38] 'issue orders'[39]. Derivations are:
    ❖ b áng.hu.al.hu (Liang12)

---

[35] <e.hu> is a pronoun, may be a demonstrative pronoun.
[36] Glyph (076) was earlier read as <ho> by WJ, <g, γ> by C, <ho> by K, <ur, or> by A.
[37] In this and the following examples we give the context also in cases when we are not sure
of the meaning of all words in the phrase.
[38] Shimunek (2014: 113) corrected (151) <hu> to ɣ but it should be read as ġu. In transcrip-
tion we retained <h>.
[39] According to Shimunek (2014: 113), this would correspond to Written Mongolian *banga*-
'to reprimand'. This is highly dubious. There exists an expression in Khalkha *banga xürteex* 'to rep-
rimand', but *banga* is not a verb here, the expression (Mo *banga kürtege-*) is 'to confer upon some-
body *banga*, to reprimand'.

- ❖ b.áng.hu.al.hu.iú (Wu21-16)
- ❖ b.áng.hu.ai (Lang3-6, Zhong39-29), converbal form
- ❖ b.áng.hu.ar (Dao17-35, Xuan39-29), past tense
- ❖ b.ang.hu.u.ji (Song21-13) converbal form

A few examples:

- ✓ **bod bangǵualǵu Pusungjien nigu**
  田 �业列ヰ列 业ゑ 仐屮芮夬 公丷勹
  <bod b.áng.hu.al.hu p.u s.uŋ.ji.en n.i.gu>
  (309 311.280.151.098.151 295.131 244.357.152.140 251.339.165)
  '身 命是 □女古' (《梁》12行)
  'body was ordered[40] Nigu[41] of Pusungji' (Liang12).

- ✓ **RECORDgeen sonlaǵu bangǵualǵu'iu Tabuyi Šibsa'amen**
  盂夅有 仐丕屮列 ff业列ち列屶 仐生丙丷 亥夲 仐为乃有
  <RECORD.ge.en s.on.l.hu b.áng.hu.al.hu.iú t.abu.y.i sh.ib s.a.am.en>
  (052.349.140 244.154.261.151 311.280.151.98.151.289 247.196.020.339
  028.127 244.189.184.140)
  '撰□命 挞不也 十三之' (《兀》21行)
  'Record has been issued …. order (of) Tabuye [name of a person] (and) (Xiao)
  Shibsam (Shisan) [name of a person]' (Wu21).

- ✓ **u'un temudli bod bangǵuai ǵesegete**
  ゑ火 仐伏公北 田 ff业列ヰ 火仐态坐
  <u.un t.mu.d.li bod b.áng.hu.ai h.s.ge.te₂>
  (131.273 247.224.254.080 309 311.280.151.122 340.244.112.356)
  '□□身命□'《仲》39行)
  'body having ordered…..' (Zhong39).

- ✓ **Li Ceuen naider bangǵuai šideujid saqo SMALLǵaalir**
  屮夬 朲土有 穴仝尒 ff业列ヰ 亥矢ゑ氿仝 仅 仐欠州屮坐ち夊
  <l.i ci.eu.en nai.d.er[42] b.áng.hu.ai š.de.u.ji.d[43] s.qó.SMALLl.ha.al.ir>
  (261.339 162.067.140 332.254.341 311.280.151.122 028.205.131.337.254 227
  244.169.188.261.051.098.144)
  '醴 州之 诸官 鸠工修饰' (《郎》3行)
  'officials in Li Zhou have gathered/ordered the craftsmen to repair something
  (Lang3)'[44].

- ✓ **tur bangǵuar tabualǵa'alǵuan**
  仐卖 ff业列ち 仐生ち坐ち列夾
  <t.úr b.áng.hu.ar t.abu.al.ha.al.hu.an>

---

[40] Personal order was given? We interpreted ff业列ヰ as 'order' according to《郎》Lang3,
but it does not look so proper in the above examples. It may have some problems.
[41] Nüzhen, Jurchen, an ancient nationality in China.
[42] <nai.d.er> is instrumental case. "By the officials an order was given to the XXXcrafts-
men." This may point to ergativity: not "he does" but "by him done".
[43] <š.de.u.ji.d> is one word. If this is not a mistake, the earlier reading as <š.de u.ji.d> and
the connection between <ujid> and Mo *uran*, *urci* has to be abandoned.
[44] Note: in the example above, ff业列ヰ 亥矢ゑ氿仝 仅 仐欠州屮坐ち夊 together means
'鸠工修饰', but we are not sure about the exact meaning of each word.

(247.97 311.280.151.123 247.196.098.051.098.151.11）

'□命□'（《道》17行）

'having ordered…?…' (Dao17).

✓ **dur tiudz bangġuar ala'an**

乇 今丙亥 卅业列朱 方为出

<dur t.iu.dz b.áng.hu.ar al.a. án>

(368 247.19.104 311.280.151.123 98.189.290)

'四 洲 命□？'（《宣》14行）

'four continents?……..' (Xuan14)[45].

✓ **bangġuuji giulubań porcien tal**

卅业列亥狗 丕卅卅伏 业北冘扔 午

<b.áng.hu.u.ji giu.lu$_3$.b.ñ p.or.ci.en tal>

(311.280.151.131.152 160. 312.311.222 295.76.162.140 195)

'命□□原野'（《宋》21行）

'….steppe?….' (Song21).

♦ **bas** 卅冬 (311.174) <b.as> 'again' (K32, 72, 84, DiX6-5, 19-18, 21-6 33-6, 35-18, 40-18, Xiang11-10, 27-12, 32-38, 33-10, 37-26, 44-18, Index 104×). ‖ 冬 (174) may here denote [as] or [asa] | Mo *basa,* Da *base,* DaE *bas* 'again, also'.
Examples:

✓ **emen lešeu dordei bas pemu**

丙公 灬祆亥 兮矢关 卅冬 业住非

<em.n l.she.u dor.de.i b.as p.mu>

(21.251 261.315.131 218.205.339 311.174 295.224.282)

'女之哀礼从又余'（《敌》35行）

'more than mourning etiquette of women….' (Di35).

✓ **uġuli ńour taquši bas ša'ang seše günen iri temlegey**

夂平关 伏卅夾 今余 戈关 卅冬 戈为夭 今岀 几亦扔 关化 今金灬岺丙

<uh.ul.i ń.ó.úr t.qu š.i b.as ša.ang s.še g.ün.en i.ri t. tem$_2$.l.ge.y>

(172.366.339 222.90.097 247.246 028.339 311.174 028.189.199 244.314 334.329.140 339.235 247.257.261.349.020)

于骨里 部 都 使 又上 将 军之 号 封（《图》10行）

'(him) was given the title Governor General (*dushi*) and also (the title) Top General (*shang jiang jun*) of the Uguli (Yuguli) Clan' (Tu10).

✓ **ongon iris bas temlegelir**

杰禾 关化今 卅冬 今金灬岺灬叐

<ong.on i.ri.s b.as t.em$_2$.l.ge.l.ir$_2$>

(71.154 339.235.244 311.174 247.257.261.349.261.144)

'王之 号 又 封'（《迪》4行）

'(was) promoted to the title Wang again' (Di4).

[45] Note: the meaning of 今丙亥 here is a guess, as we are not certain whether the concept of four continents already existed at that time.

♦ **baqa** 芍力 (311.168) <b.qa> 'child' (K72, 118, DiX13-11, 15-20, 26-7, 26-16, 16-24, Xiang 8-4, passim, 48 times in Wu 2012, Index 438×) | Mo *baga* 'young, childhood', *bagačud* 'youth', Da *bage* 'little, young', *bage.cude* 'youth, young men', DaE -- || The vowel after <b> may be either [a] or [o], the word was earlier read as *boqo,* only Chinggeltei read *baγa.* The second syllable appears in **ńoqa** 伏力 (222.168) <ń.qa> 'dog', Liao shi *niehe* 捏褐 and in **teqa'a** 今力为 (247.168.189) <te.qa.a> 'chicken'. Orthographic variants are: 芍欠 (311.169) <b.qó> (Index 1×), <b.qó.a > (1×), see also <b.qó.i.ń> (1×), <b.qó.du₂.i> (1×).

    ❖ **baġuan** 芍列出 (311.151.290) <b.hu.án> 'children' (Index 187×), also: <b.qo.án> (311.168.290) (Hai6-14) plural,

    ❖ **baqayi** 芍力关 (311.168.339) <b.qa.i> genitive case, Index 64×,

    ❖ **baqa-yi baqa** 芍力关芍力 (311.168.339.311.168) <b.qa.i b.qa> 'grand-child' (K100) | Mo *baga-yin baga,*

    ❖ **baqa-yi baġuan** 芍力关芍列出 (311.168.339.311.151.290) <b.qa.i ba.hu.án> 'grandchildren' (Xiang13-11),

  ✓ **jürer baqayi pinde** 朵伈炎芍力关业丙矢
(162.236. 347.311.168.339 295.018.205)
<ci.ur.oi b.qa.i p.in.de>
'次子之 品于'《详》17行
'at the "pin[46]" of the second son' (Xiang17-1),

  ✓ **ayden baqai emen bu'úr a'alġai**
年公为芍力关仐为芍尺夾为方业伞
(122.254.240 311.168.339.257.140.311.372.097.189.098.051.122)
<ai.d.en b.qa.i em.en b.ū.ur a.al.ha.ai>
'男孩子之城□□《详》23'行
'let make (a'alγai) the territory (em) of the children (baqa) of the fathers (ayid-en) permanent (bū'ur) (estate)' (Xiang23-31)[47].

    ❖ **baqade** 芍力矢 (311.168.205) <b.qa.de> Dative-Locative case, Index 4×, see further: <b.qa.de.i>, <b.qa.d.b.te₂>, <b.qa.iú> (4×), <b.qa.iú.i>.

      ♦ **bu-** 芍夅 (311.131) <b.u[48]> 'copula, to be' (K156) (Index 29×) | LMo *bol-* 'to become, to change into, to be, to exist', Da *bole-*, DaE *bɔl-* 'to become, is, happens to be' in the Central Mongolian languages the verb has a long vowel. The copula occurs in DiX four times, in Wu (2012) 11 times as <p.u>, further in Hu 6×, Jue 1×. Hui 3×, Pu 1× and twice as <b.u> (Jue). See perhaps also <búl> 刈 (272) below. Orthographical variants are: 芍尺 (311.372) <b.ú> (6×), 芍夅夅 (311.131.131) <b.u.u> (3×), 业夅 (295.131) <p.u> (64×). See also <b.u.úr> (8×), <b.u.ji>, <b.ú.úr> (7×), <b.ú.u>.

    ❖ **bu'ur** 芍尺夾 (311.372.097) <b.ū.úr> 'permanent, what existed and exists' (Xiang23-17, Xiang23-34), past tense. Index (7×). Orthographical variants

---

[46] *pin* is a Chinese territorial unit, cf. <po-ho p.in>, <p.a.ai p.in> K 191, Note 16.
[47] Whether 年公为 denotes "fathers" or "men" is not yet clear.
[48] The copula may also be read as **bau-** or **bou-**.

are: 丹及夾 (311.131.097) <b.u.úr> (Index 8×) (Xiang15-16, 17-18, 20-5, 22-21), 丹及化 (311.131.236) <b.u.ur> (1×).
Written with 矢 <bul> (279):

❖ **bular** 矢方本 <búl.a.ar> (272.189.123) 'was, existed' (Jue38-29)
✓ **tir buludu ojuġai bula'ar**
  今刃矢及化及子並キ矢方本
  <t.ir búl.ú.dú o.ju.ha.ai búl.a.ar>
  (247.137 272.131.073 186.149.051.122 272.189.123) (Jue27-29)[49].
  bayï- 可 (061) <bai>, 寸 (060), <bai₂>. According to Kane (K40-41) 寸 (060) is an allograph of (061), and considered its reading of (061) as uncertain. SJL followed him. WJ read both glyphs as <bai> and Jiruhe and Wu (2009, cited by WJ p.48) suggested to eliminate (060) at all, and replace it by (061). We accept this and read <bai>. Index has only the glyph 可 (061) <bai> 31×. The glyph occurs in:

♦ **bayi-** 可 (061) <bai₂>, 'to stand still, stop' (K42, DiX31-21) | Mo *bayi-* 'to be, to stay, to exist', Da *bai-* 'to exist, be (it is), stand, stand up, stay, stop, give up', DaE *bai-*, while as auxiliary the Mongol word got another shape (*vai-*, *vi-*, *i-*, see HN 277), Index 31×. Derivated forms are:
*bayid- 可公 (061.254) <bai.d> the passive form of **bayi-** in:
  ❖ **bayider** 可公夾 (061.254.341) <bai.d.er> past tense of the passive stem, Index 1×.
*bayidġa- 可公並 (061.254.051) the factitive form in –ġa, of the passive stem **bayid-** in:
  ❖ **bayidġa'ai** 可公並キ (061.254. 051.122) <bai.d.ha.ai> (DiX31-9) (a converb in –ai, of a factitive form in –ga), (14×),
  ❖ **bayidġa'ar** 可公並本 (061.254.051.123) <bai.d.ha.ar> (1×), past tense of bayidġa-,
  ❖ **bayidġa'a'ar** 可公並方本 (061.254.051.189.123) <bai.d.ha.a.ar> (4×), past tense of bayidġa-,
  ❖ **bayidġa'alir** 可公並ち叐 (061.254.051.098.144) <bai.d.ha.al.ir₂> Index 1×,
  ❖ **bayidġa'aju** 可公並方女 (061.254.051.189.386) Index 1×,
*bayidla- 可公丷 (061.254.261) <bai.d.la> a factitive form of the passive stem in:
  ❖ **bayidlaġa'ai** 可公丷並キ (061.254.261.051.122) Index <bai.d.l.ha.ai>,
  ❖ **bayidlagalir** 可公丷态ち叐 (061.254.261.112.098.144) <bai.d.l.ge₂.al.ir₂> Index 1×,
*bayilġa- causative stem,
  ♦ ***bayilġa-** 可丷並 <bai.l.ha> (061.261.051) 'to cause to be, remain, to leave, to cause to stop, to dismiss, to remove from office' | Mo *bayilga-* 'id.' (with the causative/passive suffix –*lga-*), Da *bai.legaa-* 'stand him up, have him stand up'.

---

[49] The meaning of the phrase is not clear, but see the following expression in Xiang42-17: <…t.ir.bú₂.u.dú x.s.ge.ud ja.ri.ha.ar> and in Xiang30-12: <t.ir.bú₂.u.ui>, -du in the first example is the suffix of the dative locative. <t.ir.bu> may be a title.

bayilġa'ar 可 屮 立 为 本 <bai.l.ha.a.ar> (061.261.051.189.123) 'was removed (from office)' (DiX38-17) past tense.

There exist glyphs for /bi/ initials. Let us see them:

bi: <bi> 付 (225)

According to Kane (K62) this glyph is used only in transcription of Chinese. As in:

♦ **bing** 付冋 (225.303) <bi.ing> 'weapon' | ← Chinese *bing* 兵 'weapon, soldier', LMCh *piajŋ*, EMCh *piajŋ*. (K62, see also Jue5-50.) But the glyph occurs also, at least once, in a Khitan word in

♦ **biduji** 付仒爻狇 (225.254.131.152) <bi.d.u.ji> '?' (Xiang46-12)[50].

bir: <bir> 屮 (288). This glyph was earlier read as <bun>, recently Wu read in Index <bir>. The glyph occurs in

♦ ***biru** 屮爻 (288.131) <bir.u>:

Examples for 屮爻

✓ **u'ulun'un biru sir u'un tabualġa'alġuan jariqo püeziuu'n**
爻平 马火 屮爻 仐爻 爻火 仐生 亐立亐刭罘 刭化欠 业夾仐屵火
<u.ul ju.un bir.u s.ir₂ u.un t.abu.al.ha.al.hu.an ja.ri.qó p.üe.z.iú.un>
(131.366 147.273 288.131 244.144 131.273 247.196.098.051.098.151.011 150.235.169 295.082.258.289.273)
冬夏□□□□宰相別胥之 (《迪》12行)
'Winter/summer (of) wife of the prime minister in feudal China' (Di12-7/15)

✓ **colġa'a'ar irien ünen biru pin xarlues ġedege'er**
尚子立为本 关化 将有 亦屶 屮爻 业雨 生丹 狇 乂 夯 夻 仌
<co.l₂.ha.a.ar i.ri.en ün.én bir.u p.in.xar.lu₃es h.d₃.ge.er>
(298.149.051.189.123 339.235 299.140 288.131 295.018.287.312 146 340.089.112.341)
'□号□□□□未' (《抉》6行)
'… title … never….' (Jue6)

✓ **uniqu do 066li ġulalġu'iu baqa'i euru**
杏余朱 土比 平屮刭屵 屮爻 丹力关 屴化
<uni.qu.do 066.li hul.l.hu.iú bir.u b.qa.i eu.ru>
(059.246.217 066.080 048.261.151.289 288.131 311.168.339 067.236)
'少于 □□□ 子 岁于'(《抉》11行)
'… younger than… son at the age of' (Jue11)

Examples for 屮屮九 (288.261.334) <birlig>:

✓ **hoi uru bod birlig taibo pogolir** 一 爻化 田 屮屮九 丞付 业及冈屮爻
<hoi u.ru bod bir.l.g tai.bo p.o.go.l.ir₂>
(001 131.236 309 288.261.334 374.311 295.186.304.261.144)
'北 院 护卫（护身）太保 除' (《仲》8行)

---

[50] The meaning is uncertain, but the morphological structure and the suffix –ji points to a Khitan word.

'Promoted to (the rank of) Huwei taibao of the North Division (*beiyuan*)'
(Zhong 8)

✓ **dur ayde bod birlig o'oi** 乇 キ 矢 田 屮屮九 及 杰
<dur ai.de bod <u>bir.l.g</u> o.oi>
(368 122.205 309 288.261.334 186.107)
'四 年于护卫授' (《蒲》9行)
'Promoted to guard in the fourth year' (Pu 9)

✓ **te MONTHde tuġli bod birlig au'ulġa'ai**
口 艾矢 令久北 田 屮屮九 夾平圡キ
<te MONTH.de t.uh.li bod <u>bir.l.g</u> au.ul.ha.ai>
(323 081.205 247.172.080 309 288.261.334 161.366.051.122)
'该月于□ 护卫 改' (《显》12行)
'Reassigned as flagged (tuġli) guard in this month' (Xian12)

bir 屮又 (288.144) <bir.ir$_2$> in:

✓ **nai nai gende tequ dadusde birir poli**
ㄅ公キ九与矢 令丈 久丹矢 屮又 业及子关
<nai n.ai.g.én.de t.qú da.dus.de <u>bir.ir</u> p.o.l.i>
(211.2[51] 251.122.334.361.205 247.118 171.310.1.205 288.144 295.186.
149.339)
'八十□□□□成为' (《胡》24行)
'Eighty   become'   (Hu24)

✓ **asar šulul bais tiwir birir isuń MR.anji**
冬本 戈平平 可禾 令丙刃 屮又 禾尺伏 仄出豖
<as.ar š.ul.ul bai.is t.iu.ir <u>bir.ir</u> is.û.ñ MR.án.ji>
(174.123 028.366.366 061.033 247.019.137 288.144 033.372.222 170.290.
152)
'清□□康□□□' (《仁》22行)
'A peaceful…was virtue Kang' (Ren22)

✓ **baien tedli birirbirir daior** 可有 令公北 屮又 屮又 雨圠
<bai.en t.d.li <u>bir.ir bir.ir</u> dai.or>
(061.140 247.254.80 288.144 288.144 17.76)
'朝 □□□下' (《宣》16行)
'Morning down' (Xuan16).

❖ ***birgis** 屮九仐 (288.334.244) <bir.g.s> (Xiang24-19) where <s> seems
to be a plural marker. See further: Index <bir.li$_2$.i>. Further examples
are <bir.u.ji>, <bir.u.ur.ir$_2$>.

♦ **bod** or **bud**: <bod> 田 (309). This glyph was earlier read as <hó>, recently
Wu Yinzhe (Index) identified it as <bod> and he tentatively translated it as

[51] A newly identified glyph.

'he', the 3rd person pronoun. As an isolated word it is frequent. In the Index it occurs 116×.[52]

The reason for this change is the following:

It can be observed that there are several ways to write Nabo 捺钵 'travelling camp, settlement' in Khitan, such as 公亐生亐 <n.ad.bu.ad> (Gu3), 公亐生亐关 <n.ad.bu.ad.i> (Xing2), 公亐生公关 <n.ad.bu.d.i> (Xuan5), etc. We hold that 弓火 公亐田 <ju$_2$.un n.ad. bod> in Xian15 and Xian16 perhaps denotes Xia Nabo 夏捺钵 (summer Nabo). Thus, 公亐田 <n.ad.bod> and 公亐生亐 <n.ad.bu.ad> share same meaning and pronunciation, and therefore 田 and 生亐 have to have the same pronunciation. We already know that 生 has to be read as <bu~abu> and 亐 as <ad>. So in this case 田 reads <bud>. Further, in 今冬田 (247.174.309) and 今冬丹公 (247.174. 311.254) 田 and 丹公 <b.d> also seems to be used alternatively. Therefore, we can infer that 田 can be read as <bod> or rather <bud>.

Examples for <n.ad.bu.d> 公亐生亐 (251.099.196.099) 2×:

✓ **Muji nadbud emuseg** 伏夊芀 公亐生亐 毛个几
<mu.u.ji n.ad.bu.ad emu.s.g>
(224.131.152 251.099.196.099 026.244.334)
'圣 捺钵（或宗室）统一？' (《故》3行)
'Sacred Nabo [temporary imperial palace or imperial clan] unify?' (Gu3)

✓ **asci xas nadbuad porcien euru** 冬朩 义仐 公亐生亐 业扎朩ホ 古化
<As.ci x.s n.ad.abu.ad p.or.ci.en eu.ru>
(174.162 340.244 251.099.196.099 295.076.162.140 067.236)
'□□捺钵□岁于' (《弘》24行)
'… Nabo [temporary imperial palace]…at the age of…' (Hong 24).

✓ **HEAVEN udulġa'a'ar hongdi meren nadbuadi del ör semuen udu'udu sa'ai öliuer**
父 仐分屮立为本 主 王 又六ホ 公亐生亐关 小 十 仐伏与 米夊匕 仐为ヰ 屮丙刃公
<HEAVEN ú.dû.l.ha.a.ar hong di m.ri.en n.ad.abu.ad.i del ör s.mu.én udu.u.dú s.a.ai l.iu.ir.er>
(243 245.249.261.051.189.123 075 037 133.069.140 251.099.196.099.339 294 040 244.224.361 355.131.179 244.189.122 261.019.137.341
'重熙□皇帝捺钵之南西行宫于 驻跸 崩' (《兴》2行)
'Emperor Chongxi …died when he resided (sa.a.ai) at the southwest residence (emperor's stop over place during journey) of Nabo (temporary imperial palace)' (Xing2).

✓ **süeüen ii neue em eusuir ġuoren nadbudi öliuren**
仐伏业 关关 夊夯 百 古卡叉 刃扎ホ 公亐生公关 屮丙刃与
<s.üe.üen i.i neu.e em eu.su.ir$_2$ hu.or.en n.ad.abu.d.i l.iu.ir.én>
(244.082.324 339.339 331.109 021 067.41.144 151.076.140251.099.196.254. 339 261.19.137.361)

'宣 懿 皇后长庆川之 捺钵于 崩'(《宣》5行)

'Empress Xuanyi …at the Nabo [temporary imperial palace] of/in Changqing-chuan [place name]…died' (Xuan5).

Examples for <n.ad.bot> 公示列 (251.099.176), Index 25×:

- ✓ **yawo'o n qidiri nadbot usgide** 万央及内 呆又关 公示列 夬九矢
  <y.au.o.ón qid.ir₂.i n.ad.bot us.g.de>
  (020.161.186.322 365.144.339 251.099.176 068.334.205)
  '道 契丹之 捺钵（或宗室） 字于' (《显》6行)
  'in the letters of the Nabo (temporary imperial palace) (or imperial clan) of Khitan' (Xian6).[53]

- ✓ **yarudi nadbot ġuas uġar** 万厷丞火关 公示列 刈冬 久本
  <y.ri₆.u.ud.i n.ad.bot hu.as uh.ar>
  (020.084.131.344.339 251.099.176 151.174 172.123)
  '耶律 宗室□□' (《兴》7行)
  'The Nabo of the Ye lü [the surname Yarud] imperial clan….' (Xing7)

- ✓ **HEAVEN GOLD hongdi ca nadboten išien uń**
  矢 山 主 王 甬先 公示列㐂 禾 与丞伏
  <HEAVEN GOLD hong di ca n.ad.bot.en iši.én₂.u.ñ>
  (243 286 075 037 375.203 251.099.176.140 33 100.131.222)
  '天 金？皇帝 □捺钵之 九 帐' (《玦》3行)
  'Heaven gold? emperor   nine palaces of Nabo' (Jue 3)

At present we cannot answer all questions about the glyph 田. The pronunciation has to be further studied in the future.

We find in the Index: <bod.l.b.ń.de.i>, <bod.l.b.ń.er>. If it is declined, we find: <bod.d>, <bod.de>, <bod.en>.

bot 列 (176). This glyph was earlier read as <bú>, Index has <bú>, recently Wu read <bot>, later <bod> see above. It occurs also in:

♦ **botud** 列公 (176.254) <bot.d> 'other' (DiX1-1/2, 2-3, Xiang1-12, 16-14 Index 26×). The glyph was earlier read also as <bu.d>. It occurs together with **naġaner** 力击出火 (139.051.290.341) <na.ha.an.er> the 'maternal uncles', that is the "other clan", as <bod.d na.ha.an.er> the Xiao clan, that of the maternal uncles, practically the Uyghurs | The Khitan word may pertain to an Ancient Mongolic *bu/bo* stem. This appears in Mongolic *busu* a plural in −*s*, which was petrified later and got a second plural −*d*: *busud*. The Khitan form *bodud* or *budud* would be then structurally the same as Mongolic *busud*, a plural in −*d* of a petrified former plural *bud*.

---

[53] Note: since the examples given here are extracted from certain lines in the inscriptions where most of the content of some lines is yet to be deciphered, we know the meaning of some words when seperately written, but we are not sure about the meaning in the context. For some cases, we are uncertain whether they belong to the same phrase group. For example, 万央及内 (道) and 夬九矢 (字于) in the above case.

bu: <bu> 罕 (196). Wu read 罕 (196) as <abu> which may be the correct reading in some initial positions. Some words written with (196):

♦ **abu** 罕 <abu> (196) 'old man, grandfather'[54].(Index 61×). | Mo. *abu* 'father, grandfather'. The glyph 罕 <bu> (196) occurs in such expression as:

❖ **abu ay** 罕平 (196.395) <abu.ay> 'grandfather' at least in the first two cases in Xiang7-33, 19-22,38-33 (in the third the following word is illegible).

❖ **abu abu ay** 罕罕平 (196.196.395) <abu.abu.ay> 'great grandfather' (K100).

The glyph occurs also in word internal position as in 令罕万父 (247.196.020.269), <t.bu.y.er> which is a name occurring in the Liaoshi as *Tabuye* 撻不也 and the like[55]. The word **tabuyer** is also a common word denoting 'a tiller of fields' according to the *Jinshi* glossary (K59).

Index has the following data:

♦ **tabu-** 令罕 (247.196) <t.abu> (9×) in:

❖ **tabu-en** 令罕与 (247.196.100) <t.abu.én₂>, Index 1×,

❖ **tabu-ai** 令罕半 (247.196.122) <t.abu.ai>, Index 1×,

❖ **tabu-li** 令罕及飞 (247.196. 131.206) <t.abu.u.li> Index 1×,

❖ **tabu-ul** 令罕及平 (247.196.131.366) <t.abu.u.ul> Index 1×,

❖ **tabu- a'ar** 令罕为半 (247.196.189.123.) <t.abu.a.ar> Index 1×,

❖ **tabu-a'an** 令罕为出 (247.196.189.290) <t.abu.a.an>Index 2×.

and:

♦ **tabuy** 令罕万 (247.196.020) (14×), further

❖ **tabuy-ad** 令罕万方 (247.196.020.099) Index 1×,

❖ **tabuy-i** 令罕万父 (247.196.020.339) Index 29×,

❖ **tabuy-en** 令罕万与 (247.196.020.100), see also tabuen<t.abu.én₂> Index 1×,

❖ **tabuy-en** 令罕万当 (247.196.020.361) Index 29×,

❖ **tabuy-eń** 令罕万伏 (247.196.020.222) Index 1×,

❖ **tabuyer** 令罕万父 (247.196.020.341) Index 18×,

❖ **tabuyir** 令罕万及 (247.196.020.144) Index 1×.

A further derivation may be *tabu(a)l-. In these stems there is no *b~p* alternation, no *tapu occurs.

bul 彳 (272) <búl>. This glyph was earlier read as <bu, bú>, it is now read by Wu and Index as <búl>. It is occurring in a name:

♦ **Lebulaġ senggun** <le.bul.ah s.ēng.un> Chinese *Lubugu xiangwen* 魯不古詳穩 (K68) who figures in the *Liao shi*. Here <bul> is transcribing Ch *bu* 不, LMCh *put*, EMCh *put*, *pət*, but the name looks much like a Khitan name (?El-bulaġ), and should have been transcribed as *Lubulgu* (魯不勒古), which was then retranscribed into Khitan.

The glyph also occurs in the expression

❖ **buluji** 彳及扚 (272.131.337) <búl.u.ji₃> (Xiang35-12) and

---

[54] Róna-Tas read earlier *ebü,* see Mo *ebüge* 'ancestor, grandfather', DaE *əukə* 'elderly man', but the correction of Wu to *abu* is a better reading and should be accepted.

[55] WF424 mentions a person of the royal clan with that name, who surrendered to the Jurchen in 1116.

❖ **bula'ar** 乩为本 <búl.a.ar> (272.189.123) (Jue38-19). Both **--ji** and **–ar** are verbal suffixes, the first forms converbs, the second marks the past tense, therefore bul has to be a verb. This verb may be the same as bu-/pu- 苻/业歹 (311/295.131) <b/p.u> see above.

Index has also **buluń** 乩歹伏 (272.131.222), **bulhu** 乩刋 (272.151) (3×), **bula** 乩为 (272.189), **buli** 乩关 (272.339).

bir 屮 <bir> (288), the glyph was earlier read as <bun> now it is read by Index and Wu as <bir>. As we observed the second word 用苻歹 in 屮公为 用苻歹 米歹化 亞仐 <le.ém.hu.a il.bir.ún udu.u.ur hú₂.ú> (261.270.151.189 302.311.144 355.131.236 014.245) meaning 林牙夷离毕行宫统 (*linya yilibi xinggong tong*) in Chinese (DiX10-7-10) denotes Chinese *yilibi* 夷离毕, and the third word 用屮 in 氽九为 歹化 用屮 <ci.g.en u.ń il.bir> (162.334.140 131.221 302.288) meanig 左院 夷离毕 (*zuoyuan yilibi*) in Chinese, appeared in Guang14 also denotes *yilibi* 夷离 毕. Thus, we can infer that 用屮 and 用苻歹 have the same meaning and pronunciation, which can further prove that 屮 equals 苻歹[56]. If (288) has to be read as <bir> then the title is:

♦ **ilbir** 用屮 (302.288) <il.bir> (Index 12×), also 用苻歹 (302.311.144) <il. b.ir₂> 'tribal judge' (DiX10-8), gen. 用屮为 (302.288.140) <il.bir.en> 'tribal judge+gen' (Xiang8-27. 13-13, 18-14, PU16-17 Index 5×). According to WJ79, 156 ← Ch *yilibi* 夷離畢 LMCh *jilipjit. This was first suggested by Sun Bojun and Nie Hongyin (2008) quoted by WJ79, see also Wu17 223, 235. They suggested as a final source OT *el begi*. This is problematic. The original may have been *Eliber[57].

According to Aisin Gioro (2012) the glyph 扎 (077) may be read as <bur> or <bor> but we did not find any evidence for this claim. This is an allograph of 比 (080) with the value /ī/ and transcribed hitherto by <ii> thus it does not pertain here (see Róna-Tas 2017: 156).

<P> in Word and Syllable Initial Position

p: <p> 业 (295)

The glyph for the initial p- is <p> 业 (295). This glyph used as a word initial is very frequent. It occurs before all vowels. In the transcription of Chinese, the glyph appears in three types of initials.

---

[56] Aisin Gioro Ulhicun (2012) read 歹 as ir/r, we read 屮 (288) <bir>. The reconstruction of this pronunciation is not so certain, and needs further examination.

[57] A possible connection with the well-known title *elteber* will be dealt with in another paper.

Table 4. Khitan initials with p/f-

Romanisation	Glyph	Chinese	LMCh	EMCh	LCh	Source
\<p.ing\>,	业用 (295.303)	*ping* 平,'level, even, peaceful'	*phiajŋ*	*biajŋ*	*bīŋ*	K70
\<p.i\>.	业乂 (295.339)	*fei* 妃, 'wife, consort'[58]	*fɟyj/ffji*	*phuj*	*pi*	K70
\<pu\>	夲 (241)[59]	*fu* 府 'treas-ury'	*fɟyə̆/fuə̆*	*puə̆'*	*pu*	K63
\<p.úŋ\>	业丬 (195.357)	*feng* 奉 'pre-sent (to a su-perior)'	*fɦjyawŋ/fɦəŋ*	*buawŋ*	*puŋ*	K262, No. 7.013
\<pu.ši.iń\>.	夲禾伏 (241.033.222)	*furen* 夫人 'lady'	*fjə/fuə*	*puə*	*pu*	K63
\<fu.ong\>	夲杰 (242.071),	*fang* 防 'ward off, protect'	*fɦjyaŋ/fɦaŋ*	*buaŋ*	*fuoŋ*	K262, No. 7.012

Generally there is no Khitan glyph which would reflect an *f-* initial. There does exist
\<fu\> 夲 (242) which is a dotted variant of \<pu\> 夲 (241). In this case the dot in 夲
\<fu\> (242) is marking a phonetic peculiarity, existing in Chinese, but not in Khitan[60].
If 汁 which was earlier listed under (438) and now by CWJ as (337.1) has to be read
as \<pen\> and not \<fen\> as did WJ, then we may state that the Khitan p > f change
had begun before the labial /u/ in Chinese transcriptions.

<u>Chinese loanwords</u> written with 业 (295) \<p\> in Khitan include:
  ♦ **paisï** 业夰/平並 (295.122/395.083) \<p.ai/ai₂.sï\> '*païsï*, tablet of order' ←
Ch *paizi* 牌子, LMCh *pha:jtsẓ* EMCh *baɨj/bɛ:j*, see WOT99. In:
      ❖ **paisï-en** 业夰/平並:杓 (295.122/395.083:140) \<p.ai/ai₂.sï.en\> gen. of
'paizi' (Nan2, K192), Index 12×,
      ❖ **paisï-de** 业夰並:矢 (295.122.083.205) \<p. ai.sï.de\> dative-locative.
  ♦ ***paw** 业丂 (295.125) \<p.aū\>[61] 'to die' (K49) | ← ? ? Ch *piao* 殍 'starve to
death, to perish', LMCh *phiaw*, EMCh *biaw*[62].

---

[58] Also *pei*.
[59] Written also with \<fu\> 夲 (242).
[60] There do exist other glyphs which denote sounds not present in Khitan but existing in Chi-
nese: for instance 仄 (028) is \<š\> and does exist in Khitan, 仄 (330) is an alloglyph of 仄 (028)
with a dot above and denotes /ž/ existing only in Chinese. This is a clear parallel to 夲 \<pu\> (241)
and 夲 \<fu\> (042).
[61] K read \<ió\>, WJ read \<aū\> and Aisin \<jau\> for (125).
[62] For a semantic parallel, see Khitan **ölü-** 屮丙 (261.019) \<l.iu\>- 'to die, to pass away
(honorific)' (K91) ← OT *öl-* 'to die', cf. Mo *ölüs-* 'to suffer starvation', *ölüŋ* 'starvation', *ölber-,
ölmer- ölmü-r* 'to suffer extreme hunger, starve' or ? Mo *ükü-* 'to die', Da *uu-*, HN *ükü-*, DaE *uɣ^w,
u:-*. The Mongolic Qinghsi-Gansu languages have all *p- (EYu, MgrH, MgrM, Bao, Dgx, only Kgj
has *gu-*). According to Hans Nugteren (2011: 540), the *p-s are secondary. In MMo only the Rasulid

- ❖ **pau-er** 业号父 <p.aū.er> (295.125.341) 'died' (DiX4-22), (Index 10×), past tense.

  Index also has: **pau-li** 业号北 (295.125.080) <p.aū.li₂>, **pau-en** 业号与 (295.125.361) <p.aū.én>.

- ♦ **pin** 业雨 (295.018) <p.in> 'a unit of territory', Ch *ping* 平 LMCh *phiajŋ*, EMCh *biajŋ*.[63] (Index 40×).

  - ✓ **pa'ai pin** 业为才业雨 (295.189.122 295.018) <p.a.ai p.in>,
  - ✓ **poġo pin** 北扎业雨 (279.076 295.018) <po.ho p.in> (K191, Xiang14-13),
  - ✓ **pa'ar pin TWO THOUSAND** 业为本业雨圣矢 (295.189.123 295.018 134 207) <p.a.ar p.in TWO THOUSAND>, 'two thousand housholds [were given]'.
  - ✓ **pa'ar pin FIVE THOUSAND** 业为本业雨歹矢 (295.189.123 295.018 029.207) <p.a.ar p.in FIVE THOUSAND> 'five thousand [feudal] housholds [were given]' (K122).

- ❖ **pinde** 业雨矢 (295.018.205) <p.in.de> locative (Index 3×).
  curoi baqai pinde 朱化炎牙为关业雨矢
  (162.236.347 311.168.339 295.018.205) <ci.ur.oi b.qa.i p.in.de>
  'at the houshold of the second son' (Xiang17-1/3).

- ❖ **pini** 业雨关 (295.018.339) <p.in.i> genitive (Index 7×).

Names written with <p> 业 (295):

- ♦ 业右叉 <p.ra.ir₂> (295.084.144)
  '拔里'《姑》6行,
  'Bali (*Beitli) name of a Khitan tribe' (Gu6)
- ♦ 业余犭 <p.qu.ji> (295.246.152)
  '蒲古只（人名）'《抄盖》2行
  'Puguzhi (name of a person)' (Chao Gai2)

Some Khitan words beginning with p-:

- ♦ **par¹** 业右/布 (295.084/397) <p.ra/ra°> 'ten' | MMo *harban*, Mo *arban* 'ten', see Róna-Tas (2016: 129–132), Index 9×,
  - ✓ **para Ugurde aulġai** 业右|伞九夾矢|夬平业才 <p.ra ú.g.úr.de au.ul.hai> (DiX32-11–14) '[the Emperor] let [him to be] appointed to the Ten Ugurs'. Also Hu39-15: <t.mu.t.ii p.ar>.
- ♦ **par²** 业才 (295.123) <p.ar> in:
  - ✓ **mot/d par** 丙令/公业才 <<mó.t/d p.ar> 'wife' (K126, DiX12-13, 25-25, Xiang7-21, 12-29, 16-7) || perhaps a count word, see Róna-Tas (2016: 132).
- ♦ **pō** 业及(及) (295.186.186) <p.o, p.o.o> 'monkey' (K107), <po'o> (C107) | cf. Mo *bečin*, Da *monioo*, Ma *bonio, monio* (Index 5×).

Hexaglott (ed. Golden 2000) has one datum with *h-* : *hüküdel* 'grave', but *ükü-* to die',? cf. Mo *ügei bol-* 'to die'. The etymology is uncertain.

[63] It is remarkable that (018) and an alloglyph (454) are read with final <-n>, and not <-ng>. May be Khitan did not have this final, see Kane (2009: 71).

✓ **par MONTH liauqu po orlabir taw DAY WHITE 216.ġu yeurugey**
 乇 艾 屮芎夬 业及 扎屮中 乇 罘 承夨列 丙圡化公丙
(240 081 261.362.118 <u>295.186</u> 076.261.288 029 159 007. 216.151 020.067.
236.349.020)
<par MONTH l.iau.qú <u>p.o</u> or.l.bir tau DAY WHITE 216.hu y.eu.ru.ge.y>
'十月丙申 朔五日庚子迁'（《太》4行）
'Promoted in the tenth month, the red (屮芎夬 <l.iau.qu>) monkey (业及
<p.o>) [of the] cyclical stem (扎屮中 <or.l.bir> (丙申)) on the fifth day (乇 罘
<tau DAY>) of the WHITE X.hu cyclical branch (庚子) <y.eu.ru.ge.y> [i.e. on
the 5th October]'.[64] (Tai4).
Note: 承 夨列 is <WHITE.216.hu> where 夨 (216) must be a Khitan name of
the cyclical branch and 列 <.hu> is an adjectiviser as –qú in <l.iau.qú>. 'The
10th month was "red monkey" in the cyclical system and the 5th day was
"white.216.hu" in the cyclical branch, it was the 5th October' (Tai4).
✓ **GREAT sen Six White lu ay dur MONTH liauqu teqoa orlabiń jur dur
WHITE po DAY**
 又 全冇 灰 承皮 丰 乇 艾 屮芎夬 仒力为 扎屮舟伏 丁 乇 承 业及 罘
(373 244.140 085 005 064 122 368 081 261.362.118 047.168.189 076.261.
311.222 002 368 007 295.186 159)
<GREAT s.en SIX WHITE lu ai dur MONTH l.iaū.qú t.qo.a or.l.b.ñ jur dur
WHITE <u>p.o</u> DAY>
'寿昌六庚辰年四月丁酉朔二十四庚申日'（《弘》20行）
'In the sixth year of the Great Sen, in the White Dragon year, in the month (of
the) Red Chicken according to the cyclical system, on the twenty-fourth day,
i.e. the [day of the] White Monkey] [On April 24th in the 6th year of Shou-
chang][65] (Hong 20).
Note: <GREAT sen SIX> is Shouchang, the year 1095, the sixth year is 1101,
the White Dragon (灰 承 皮 丰) year, the fourth month is Red Chicken
(屮芎夬 仒力为) in the cyclical system, the twenty-fourth is the White
Monkey (承 业及) day, that is the 24th April 1101.
✓ **te ay u'ulpar emu MONTH GOLD po orlabir jur SIX hariu teqoa DAYde**
 口 丰 亥平 乇 乇 艾 山 业及 扎屮中 丁 灰 虫米 仒力为 罘矢
<te ai u.ul par emu MONTH GOLD <u>p.o</u> or.l.bir jur SIX har.iú t.qo.a DAY.de>
(323 122 131.366 240 026 081 285 295.186 076.261.288 002 085 321.289
247.168.189 159.205)
'该年 冬十一月戊申 朔二十六癸 酉日于'（《显》26行）

'(in) that year, (in) winter at the eleventh month, the yellow (gold) monkey in the cyclical system, on the twenty-sixth day, the day of the Black(?) Chiken, November 26' (Xian26).

Note: 'On November 26th in this winter (山 业及) 戊申 and (虫片 今力为) 癸酉 here denote the cyclical stems and cyclical branches. 扎 屮 中朔 means the first day of the lunar month. In the context, they mean that the cyclical stem and cyclical branch of the first day of November is *wu shen*, and that of 26th day of November is *gui you* (Xian26).

Examples for 业及及 (295.186.186) <p.o.o> 'monkey':

✓ **GREAT uduo'on naim ġariu po'o ay nai MONTH jur gor DAYde eur SIXTY dolde**
又 米开及内 亚 虫片 业及及 卆 穴 艾 丁 包 兲 矢 击夾 乂 厈矢
(373 355.090.186.322 007 321.289 295.186.186 122 332 081 002 166 159.205 067.097 266 141.205)
<GREAT udu.ó.o.ón naim har.iú p.o.o ai nai MONTH jur gor DAY.de eu.úr SIXTY dol.de>
'大安 八 壬 申 年 正月 二十 三 日于 岁 六十 七于' (《南》26行)
'The year (was) the 8th in the Great Peace (Daan) [period] the year of the Black Monkey, it was the first month and the twenty-third day (when he) died in his age of sixty-seven, [on January 23th 1091]' (Nan26) (Year: ren shen)'.

✓ **iši MONTH par nayir DAY po'o podo** 禾 艾 乇 亚 兲 业及及 爿朱
<iši MONTH par nayir DAY po.o.o po.do>
(033 081 240 007 159 295.186.186 279.217)
九 月 十 五 日 申 时于 《显》16行
'(In the) 9th month, eighteen(th) day, Monkey hour (*shen* 申3-5 PM), [September 15] (Xian16)'

✓ **ciruen siu ui ay nair MONTH ġariu po'odo DAY**
朩化与 承 火 卆 亚 艾 虫片 业及及 兲
<ci.ru.én siu ui ai nair MONTH har.iú p.o.o DAY>
(162.236.361 004 262 122 007 081 321.289 295.186.186 159)
'次 辛 亥 年 八 月 壬 申 日' (《玦》34行)
'In the second (or following) White Pig year (Xinhai 辛亥), the eighth month, the Black Monkey Day'

♦ **po 业及** (295/311.186) <p.o> 'appoint, promote, become' (Index 7×) | Mo *bol-* 'to become' HN *bol-* 'to become, to be, to be possible, or allowed'[66], see SH 57§ *Qutulayi qahan bolqaba*[67] (Index 7×). Orthographic variant: bo �及 (311.186) <b.o> (Index 1×).

  ❖ **pōr 业及仝** (295.186.255) <p.o.ri₅> 'made, caused to be [promoted to a position]' (K84, 112, Xiang5-21, 21-24, 24-37, 26-9, 27-30, 27-37, DiX5-6) (Index 96×), past tense. Orthographic variants: 业及扎 (295.186.076) <p.o.or> (Index 2×), �及仝 (311.186.255) <b.o.ri₅> (Index 14×).

---

[66] Not *ol-* 'to find, to earn a living', HN *ol-* 'to find, to get, to obtain', nowhere *h-* in MMo.
[67] Shimunek (2014) suggests MMo *bü* 'to be' which is improbable.

- ✓ **jautau bo'ori** 丽 夭 丹 及 仝 (015.029 311.186.255) <jau tau b.o.ri₅> 'became a *jau tau* (*Chaotao* 招討), a punitive comissioner' (DiX 5-4/6 WJ 67),
- ✓ **tau ayde xung ngii giuungun puu giuung šĭ bori**
  夭 卆 矢 玑 安 安 关 关 几 丙 火 火 夳 夃 几 丙 火 化 丹 及 仝
  <tau ai.de xu.ng ng.i.i g.iu.ung.un pu.u g.iu.ung shĭ b.o.ri₅>
  (029 122.205 036.264 264.339.339 334.019.345.273 241.131 334.019.345 180 311.186.255)
  '五年于弘义宫之副宫使拜'（兀16-32）
  '(was) appointed to *fugongshi* in Hongyigong in the fifth year' (Wu16-32)
- ✓ **šiu mi pu šĭ bori** 夊 火 叉 关 夳 化 丹 及 仝
  <sh.iú m.i pu shĭ b.o.ri₅>
  (028.289 133.339 241 180 311.186.255)
  '枢密副使除'（许13-34）
  '(he was) appointed to *shumifushi*'(Xu 13-34).

♦ ***pol-** 业 及 子 (295.186.149) <p.o.l₂>, also once 业 夞 子 (295.131.149) <p.u.l₂>[68] 'to become, be appointed, promoted to' (K50, 96, Sh2), same as above[69], occurs only in derivated or conjugated stems as:

- ❖ **poleliń** 业 及 子 卝 伏 (295.186.149.261.222) <p.o.l2.l.ń> past tense, feminin in:
- ✓ **iu poleliń** 丙 业 及 子 卝 伏 (019 295.186.149.261.222) <iu p.o.l₂.l.ń> 'she became nothing, she died' (Xiang14-27), *yu* is the negative existential, *-luń* finite past tense feminine, see Old Turkic *yok bol-*.
  - ❖ **polii** 业 及 子 比 (295.186.149.077) <p.ol₂.ii> converb in:
- ✓ **šen polii** 夭 劳 业 及 子 比 (028.073. 295.186.149.077)
  <š.ēn p.o.l₂. ii> (converb) 'having became new' (Lang7, K188, Sh),
  - ❖ **polbuń** 业 及 子 丹 伏 (295.186.149.311.222) <p.o.l₂.b.ń> past tense, in:
- ✓ **sïtu polbuń** 芷 劳 业 及 子 丹 伏 (028.202 295.186.149.311.222)
  <sï tu p.o.l₂.b.ún> '(he) became Minister over Masses (*situ* 司徒) (of Huangci)' (Xiang24-28),
- ✓ **orci bolbun** 扎 秋 丹 及 子 丹 夃 (076.162 311.186.149.311.144)
  <or.ci b.o.l₂.b.ún> '(he) became Orci' (DiX44-9/10)[70].
- ❖ ***polġa-** 业 及 子 坴 (295.186.149.051) <p.o.l₂.ha> factitive, Index 2× in:
- ❖ **polġa'ai** 业 及 子 坴 卆 (295.186.149.051.122) <p.o.l₂.ha.ai> converb of the factitive stem, Index 49× in:
- ✓ **kusu polġa'ai** 几 尺 卡 业 及 子 坴 卆 (178.372.041295.186.149.051.122)
  <ku.ū.su p.o.l₂.ha.ai>
  'the favour was granted' (Xiang4-19).

Further conjugational stems may be: <p.o.l₂.ó.ji>, <p.o.l₂. u.ji/ji₂>,<p.o.l₂ ir₂>, <p.ol₂.a>, <p.ol₂.b.ń> (12×).

---

[68] Once in <p.u.l.b.ń> in Zhen38-31.
[69] The glyph 子 (149) was read according to WJ <ju>, K <ju>, Wu <l₂.>.
[70] The glyph 扎 (076) was earlier read <ho>.

♦ ***pulu-** 业平 (295.366) <p.ul> 'to be left over, to remain' | MMo *hüle-*, Mo *üle-* 'to be left over', Da *huluu* 'more than, over', DaE *xul-* 'to remain, to be left over', in

❖ **puluġ** 业平久 (295.366.172) <p.ul.uh> 'intercalary month, surplus; 闰、越《太》4、《于》60' (K103, Tai4, Yu60, Xiang2-27, 41-9, 44-20, WJ142, Sh, Index 17×) | MMo *hülewü,* Mo *ülegü, ilegüü* 'much, excess, surplus' Da *hüledee-* 'remain behind', DaE *xulu* 'surplus', cf. Ma *fulu* 'surplus'.

❖ **puluġiń** 业平久伏 (295.366.172.222) <p.ul.uh.ń> (Index 2×) genitive case

❖ **puluġun** 业平久火 (295.366.172.273) <p.ul.uh.un> genitive case.

❖ **pulugci** 业平久勺 (295.366.172.337) <p.ul.uh.ji> nomen actoris in **-ci** (X38-9).

See also <p.ul.u.ji>, <p.ul.ō.ji>, <p.ul.271.ji>, <p.ul.271.hu>, <p.ul.u.ń> etc.

♦ **pür** 业夾 (295.097) 'descendant, offspring' | MMo *hüre*, Mo *üre* 'seed, offspring, descendants', Da *hure*, DaE *xur* (Index 4×).

❖ **püres** 业夾仝 (295.097.244.) <p.úr.s> 'descendants, plural' (WJ170-171). Index 58×.

✓ **pures EIGHTder u'urai** 业夾仝丟公兴夊化卆
(295.097.244 008 254.341 131.236 122) <p.úr.s EIGHT.d.er u.ur ai> '[as to the descendants of the 8th forefather] the eighth forfather was…' (DiX2-24/25)

✓ **qidi ġiu282i yeuġa'al pures** 哭关 兴炚非关 万士击亐 业夾仝
(365.339 340.289.282.339 020.067.051.098 295.097.244)
< qid.i h.iú.282.i y.eu.ha.al p.úr.s>
'the descendants brought up (?) by the Khitan Ġiu282i [name]' (DiX2-24/25)

✓ **ay pures gi cier** 卆业夾仝沙氼兴 (122.295.097.244 336 162.341)
<ai p.úr.s gi₂ ci.er> '[his] male descendants were not recorded' (DiX26-17/20).

✓ **aid THREEen ġuTENTgu pures ńu'ur**
卆公包冇列艾列业夾仝伏尺夾
(122.254 167.140 151.379.151 295.097.244 222. 372.097)
<ai.d THREE.en hu.TENT.hu p. úr.s ń.ū.úr>
'the descendant lineages of the three fathers, the HuTENThu' (Xiang6-15/19).

Also Index: <p.úr.s.de.hu>, <p.u.r.s.b.ń>.

The glyph 业 (297) was formerly read as <pu>, but should be now read as <gú>.

Khitan personal names with <pu> 仐 (241):

♦ **Pusuli** 仐卡尺夾<Pu.su.û.oi> (241.041.372.347) 'Pusuli (name of a person) 蒲速里（人名）' occurs in:

✓ **ciruen Purbiń puisiń tau'un uru euginír gu'u taišien baqo Pusu'u'oi taiuide u'ulge'en**

来化与 业夾付伏 分乑伏 毛火 夬化 土九伏又 出夬 盃 兀冇 丹力
分卡尺灾 盃 灾矢 尺平灸与

<ci.ru.én p.úr.b.ñ pu.is.ñ tau.un u.ru eu.g.ñ.ir₂ gú.u tai šĭ.en b.qo pu.su.ū.oi tai ui°.de ū.ul.ge.én>

(162.236.361 295.097.311.222 241.033.222 029.273 131.236 067.334.222.144 297.131 374 180.140 311.168 241.41.372.347 374 263.205 372.366.349.361)

'次□夫人五院欧昆骨欲太师之子蒲速里太师于嫁'《详》18.

'The second (daughter) Lady (*furen*) Purbiń was married to the son of Eugńir Guu *taishi* of the Five Divisions, [namely] to the Grand Commandant (*taiwei*) Pusuli'. (Xiang 18-31)

Note: the glyph 灾 may be a mistake, written instead of 尺 (269) <er>, and the Khitan name may have been *Busur, or Busuri.

♦ **Punuń** 分火夬伏 <Pu.un.u.ñ> (241.273.131.222) '盆奴（人名）'. 'Punuń (name of a person)'

✓ **ya LUCKń tirbir taiši deu ay Punuń teqosir ca'ang šu**
才朵伏 卉屮 盃 兀为 半 分火夬伏 令欠尖又 甬危 又尺
(335.277.222 074.288 374 180 101 122 241.273.131.222 247.169.354.144 375.199 028.372)

<ia LUCK.ñ tir.bir tai shĭ deu ai pu.un.u.ñ t.qó.s₂.ir₂ ca.ang sh.û>

'胡睹堇铁离太师叔父盆奴图古辞尚书' 回》4

'[Hudujin]*tieli taishi*'s uncle Punuń *tuguci shangshu*' (Hui 4-1/10).

Chinese words with 分 <pu> (241):

♦ **puši** 分乑 241.033 <pu.ši> 'deputy commissar' (DiX2-1, 27-1, 29-12) ← Ch *fushi* 副使 LMCh *ffyw, fuw*, EMCh *puwʰ*, LMCh *ʂɟ*, EMCh *ʂɨ, ʂi*, (WF747, Di2-1, 27-1,29-12). Index: <pu-ši> 8×,

❖ 分乑冇 (241.033.140) <pu.ši.en> 'of the Deputy commissar' (DiX1-5, 25-23) <pu.ši.en> 2×, in:
分乑冇丙仚业半圣 (241.033.140 021.254 295.123 134) <pu.ši.en mo.d p.ar TWO> 'the two wives of the Deputy Commissar' (DiX25-24/25).

♦ **püšiń** 分乑伏 (241.033.222) <pu.ši.ń°> 'madam, Lady (Index 137×), Ch *furen* 夫人 LMCh *fjə/fuə*, LMCh *rin*, EMCh *puə*, EMCh *ɲin*' (K23, 39, 62, 104, Sh 106, WJ 53, DiX8-21, 9-4, 12-18, 13-3, Xiang8-23, 12-36, 13-6, 13-31, 14-6, 18-20, 18-34, Xu9, Index 136×) | MMo SH *hüjin* ‖ (033)[71] and (221) have dotted forms (034) 乑 and (222) 伏 resp. Though the inscription Pu uses the glyph <fu> 分 (242), the title *furen* is written 8 times and only with 分 <pu>. In most cases in Pu the glyph fu 分 (242) is the transcription of different Chinese syllables sounding /fu/. This means that *püšiń* 分乑伏 (241.033.222) became a loanword, it became a Khitan word.

❖ **pušińen** 分乑伏冇 (241.033.222.140)) <pu.ši.ń.en> 'of the lady, madam' (Index 36×) genitive case (DiX12-1, Xiang13-26, 33-35, 45-8).

[71] See Róna-Tas (2016: 129) on the reading of (033), otherwise logograph for NINE.

❖ **pušińde** 仐禾伏矢 (241.033.222.205) <pu.ši.ń.de> Index 2×, dative–locative

❖ **pušińdei** 仐禾伏矢关 (241.033.222.205.339) <pu.ši.ń de.i> (Index 1×), morphologically yet not clear.

Khitan words with <pu> 仐 (241):

♦ ***pusu-** 仐卡 (241.041) <pu.su> Index 1×, a verbal stem, from which

❖ ***pusulge-/pusu'ulge-** 仐卡屮态/峇 (241.041.261.112/349) <pu.su.l.ge₂/ge>

❖ 仐卡只屮态/峇 <pu.su.ū.l.ge₂/ge> (241.041.372.261.112/349) a factitive secondary stem, also

❖ 仐卡只平九 (241.041.372.366.334) <pu.su.û.ul.g> 'to celebrate, Ch 庆' in:

ol RECORDe ku pemu 282 curubiń xaše ciqui pusu'ulg juruǵ yu
达 业芬 几 业仕非 才� 劳化卂伏 不乑 朩余火 仐卡只平九 圣夂 丙爻
<ol RECORD.e ku p.mu. 282 cu.ru.b.ñ xa.she ci.qu.ui pu.su.û.ul.g jur₂.uh y.u>
(115 052.1.348 178 295.224.282 335.277 102.236.311.222 130.315 162. 246.262 241.41.372.366.334 134.172 020.131)
'众□人余福积时汉儿庆□□' 《宋》17,
'…celebrate when many … people accumulate good fortune Han people[72]' (Song17-17/26)

❖ **pusu'ulci-** 仐卡只平朩 (241.041.372.366.162) <pu.su.û.ul.ci> 'to prosper, Ch 兴' (Zhi8), in:

✓ **suien DAY yeuji polbir nadbodo amad pusulci iri 307y yieriu abu'ul aulǵa'alir**
佃屿爻 丙圡孖 业及子屮 公亦田公 乃仝 仐卡只平朩 关化 冈丙
丙交左爻 生 伩 夾平业圡爻
(238.361 159 020.067.152 295.186.149.288 251.099.309.253 184.254 241.41. 372.366.162 339.235 307.020 020.327.084.131 196 227 161.366.051.098.144)
<sui.én DAY y.eu.ji p.o.l₂.bir n.ad.bod.ô₂ am.d pu.su.û.ul.ci i.ri 307.y y.ie.ri₆.u abu ul au.ul. ha.al.ir₂>
'生日行成为行帐涌泉涌出号□太平阿不□改' 《智》8
'Birthday walk become,… temporary imperial tent (Nabo)… spring poured out the title…peace Abu …. was changed' (Zhi8-36/48)

❖ **pus'ulger-** 仐卡只平峇爻 (241.41.372.366.349.144) <pu.su.û.ul.ge.ir₂> 'to celebrate, commemorate, Ch 庆'in:

✓ **gur pusu'ulger aluji om054i ora qaǵaan min bagańuede**
九夾 仐卡只平峇爻 亐爻孖 尢朩关 扎为 业圡爻 爻雨 卂九伏
只芬矢
<g.úr pu. su.û.ul.ge.ir₂ al.u.ji om.054.i or.a qa.ha.an m.in b.g.ñ.ū.e.de>

---

[72] <ci.qu.ui> is one form of the Khitan names of the Han or Chinese people, see Róna-Tas (2016).

(334.097 <u>241.041.372.366.349.144</u> 098.131.152 .339 076.189 053.051.011
133.018 311.334.222.372.348.205)
'国<u>庆</u>□□可汗之朝阿保谨于越于'《详》5,
'(the) country <u>commemorated</u> … the royal funeral (*qahaan min*) for Abogiń
üge (*Abaojin yuyue* the founder of the Liao dynasty) (Xiang5-1/9).

The glyph **po** <po> 非 (279) occurs in:

♦   **po** 非 (279) <po> 'time, year', (K19, 68, 122, DiX4-16-17, Sh2), Liao shi *po*
        頗 LMCh *p^{h}ua*, EMCh *p^{h}a* | MMo *hon*, Mo *on*, Da *hoon*, DaE *xə:n*, all data
        with -*n*, Index 42×.

❖   **podo** 非 朱 (279.217) < po.do> 'at the time', temporal-locative: (Jue221-41,
        13-16, 18-44, 12-26, 5-43, 26-59, Hui9-20, Hu6-24, 11-46), Index 65×, in:
        hongdiin podo 主王雨非朱 (075.037.018 027)

✓   <hoŋ.di.in po.do> 'at the time of the Emperor…' (DiX3-23/27),

✓   **te podo** 口非朱 (323.279.217) <te po.do> 'in that time' (DiX 4-17,
        Xiang5-15)[73]

✓   **qahaden podo** 巫击方非朱 (053.051.099 279.217) <qa.ha.ad.en po.do>
        'in the time of the khans' (Xiang3-2),

❖   **po'on** 非不 (279.154) <po.on> genitive case (Hui11-9). Index 4×,

✓   **po'on mocie udur uul** 非不又朿芬尢夾及平 (279.154 133.162.348
        092.097131.366 122) <po.on m.ci.e ud$_3$.úr u.ul > '[as] in a minute of time
        (poon möce), the winter (uul) was beginning (udur 'first')' (Di47-9/14)[74].

❖   **poji** 非关 (279.354) <po.dz> 'season' from **po** 'time, year' and the suffix
        –j/dz, Index 5×.

✓   **FOUR podze** 乇非关 (368279.354) < FOUR po.dz> 'the four seasons'
        (Xiang30-7, 34-16),

❖   **podzen** 非关力 <po.dz.en> (279.354.140) genitive case 1× (Dao17-2)

❖   **podzer** 非关尜 <po.dz.er> (279.354.341) accusative-instrumental case
        (Liang20-22)

pong: <pong> 羔 (360)
        According to Kane (K78) <pong> 羔 (360) is a compound character made
from <p> 屮 (295) and <ong> 击 (071), used to transcribe only Chinese syllables as
fang 方. But even this may be rare. It does not occur in Index as initial.

Summary

In the material we find words with alternating <p>- and <b>- initials and words with
<p>- not alternating with <b>-. The Romanisation <b> (~ <p>) may reflect a voiceless

---

[73] Glyph (332) was earlier read <qi>.
[74] Wu read 尢 (092) as <om>.

unaspirated stop. Whether it was a strong /p/ or a weak bilabial stop /b/ remains open, but for technical reasons we opt for <b>.

In the cases where <p> did not alternate with <b> we have two options. (1) It had a variant with <b>, but this did not occur or was not identified yet, (2) the sound was an aspirated strong bilabial stop /p'/.

This aspirated strong bilabial stop disappeared in most Modern Mongolic languages through /h/, but /h/ or its further continuations were preserved in Middle Mongolian, and are present in some archaic Mongolic languages, among them in Dahur as /h/[75] . In our material we found:

Khitan **par(a)** ~ MMo *harban*, Mo *arban* 'ten', Khitan **pülüġ** ~ MMo *hülewü*, Mo *ülegü* 'surplus', Khitan **püre(s)** ~ MMo *hüre*, Mo *üre* 'seed, descendants', Khitan **po** ~ MMo *hon*, Mo *on* 'year', and as a loan from Chinese: Khitan **pušiń** ~ MMo *hüǰin* 'lady, princess'.

For Khitan we have the following rule of representation:

Khitan phoneme	Romanisation of the Khitan glyph	Middle Chinese phonems	Modern Chinese *pinyin*
/p'/	<p>	/ph/, /pɦ/, /fɦ/, /fj/	<p>, < f>
/p/	<b>	/p/	<b>

As we can see, the opposition of labial stops was based on the existence of postaspiration and its lack. However, we find many words in the case of which the initial <p> and <b> alternated. This may mean that the aspiration was not very strong or this alternation may be due to the weak points of the Khitan Small Script. On the other hand, postaspiration was phonologically relevant and could be traced later. An argument in favour of this statement is that /p'/ became /h/ in Dahur[76].

Signs used

♦   independent lexical item
❖   derivation or morphologically extended item
✓   example from the Corpus

Abbreviations

A = Aisin Gioro (2012)
BaoD = Dahejia (or Jishishan) Baoan (after HN)

[75] The history and later representations of the Proto Mongolian *p'- has been dealt with the last time by H. Nugteren (2011: 250–257).
[76] Some authors suppose that Dahur is a heavily Mongolised Khitan dialect, other authors think that the clear parallels between Dahur and Khitan are due to archaic features preserved in Dahur.

BaoŃ = Ńantoq subdialect of Tongren Baoan (after HN)
C = Chinggeltei (2002)
Ch = Chinese
Da = Dagur according to Martin (1961)
DaE = Dagur according to Enkhbat (1984) (cited from HN)
Dao = The *Daozong* inscription (AD 1101), ed. LK
Dgx = Dongxian (after HN)
DiX = *Xiao Dilu* inscription (AD 1114) in WJ
EMCh = Early Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank (1991)
Eyu = Eastern Yugur after HN
GQ = Gansu Qinghai Mongolian
Gu = The *Gu Yelü shi mingshi* inscription (AD 1115), ed. LK
HN = H. Nugteren (2011)
Hu = The *Xiao Hudujin* inscription (AD 1091), ed. Wu (2012)
Hui = The *Xiao Huilian* inscription (AD 1080), ed. Wu (2012)
Hui gai = The cover of the *Xiao Huilian* inscription (AD 1080), ed. Wu (2012)
Index = The Index to Chinggeltei, Wu Yingzhe and Jiruhe (2017)
Jue = the *Yelü Jue* inscription (AD 1071), ed. Wu (2012)
K = Kane (2009)
Kgj = Kangjia, a Baoanic language (cited fom HN)
KLS = Khitan Large or Linear Script
KSS = Khitan Small or Assembled Script
Lang = The *Langjun* inscription (AD 1134) in K186−189
Lang2 = The *Langjun* inscription according to Sh2
LCh = Liao Chinese
Liang = The *Liang guowang* inscription (AD 1107), ed. LK
List = List of KSS graphs as in WJ 258−272
LK = Liu Pujiang and Kang Peng (2014)
LMCh = Late Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank (1991)
Ma = Manchu according to Norman (1967)
MaH = Manchu according to Hauer (1952−1955)
Mgr = Smedt and 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)
Nan = The *Yelü Dilie* inscription (AD 1092) in K 191
Nu = The *Yelü Nu* inscription (AD 1099)
PC = The cover of the *Yelü Pusuli* inscription (AD 1105), ed. Wu (2012)
PU = The *Yelü Pusuli* inscription (AD 1105), ed. Wu (2012)
QG = The Qinghai and Gansu Mongol languages according to HN
Qing = The *Yongqing* inscription (AD 1095), ed. LK
SH = The *Secret History of the Mongols* (cited after Rachewiltz 1972 and 2004)
Sh = Shimunek (2011)
Sh2 = Shimunek (2014)
Sh17 = Shimunek (2017)
SJL = Sun Bojun, Jing Yongshi and Li Yang (2010)
Song = the *Song Wei* inscription (1110), ed. LK

Tai = The *Taishuzu* inscription (1110), ed. LK
Tib = Tibetan
TMR = Tibeto-Mongolica Revisited (Róna-Tas 2014)
Tu = The *Tuguci* inscription (AD 1068), ed. LK
WF = Wittfogel and Fêng (1949)
WJ = Wu Yingzhe and J. Janhunen (2010)
WOT= Róna-Tas and Berta (2011)
Wu = The *Fubushu* inscription (AD 1102), ed. LK
Wu17 = Wu Yingzhe, Jiruhe and Peng Daruhan (2017)
Xian = The *Xiao Jushi* inscription (AD 1175), ed. LK
Xiang = The *Yelü Xiangwen* inscription (AD 1091), in WJ
Xing = The *Xingzong* inscription (AD 1105), ed. LK
Xu = The inscription of *Xuguo* (AD 1105), ed. LK
Xuan = The *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi* (AD 1101), ed. K 214–223
Yu = The *Renxian* inscription (AD 1072), ed. LK
Zhi = The *Zhixian* inscription (AD 1094), ed. LK
Zhong = The *Xiao Zhonggong* inscription (AD 1150)

References

AISIN GIORO, Ulhicun [YOSHIMOTO Chieko] 吉本 智慧子 2012. 'Kittan shoji no onka suitei oyobi sōkan mondai 契丹小字の音価推定及び相関問題 [Reconstruction of phonetic values of Khitan Small Scripts and concerning problems].' *Ritsumeikan bungaku* 立命館文學 627: 100–128. (Online version: http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/acd/cg/lt/rb/627/627PDF/yosimoto.pdf, last access: 10 December 2018.)

APATÓCZKY, Ákos Bertalan and Béla KEMPF 2017. 'Recent developments on the decipherment of the Khitan Small Script.' *AOH* 70/2: 109–133.

BAXTER, William Hubbard 1992. *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology.* Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

CHINGGELTEI 2002. 'On the Problems of Reading Kitan Characters.' *AOH* 55/1–3: 99–114.

(CHINGGELTEI) QINGGEERTAI 清格尔泰, WU Yingzhe 吴英喆 and JIRUHE 吉如何 2017. *Qidan xiaozi zai yanjiu* 契丹小字再研究 *I–III.* [Further research on Khitan Small Script]. Beijing: Neimenggu Daxue Chubanshe.

GOLDEN, Peter (ed.) 2000. *The King's Dictionary. The Rasūlid Hexaglot. Fourteenth Century Vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian and Mongol.* [Handbuch der Orientalistik. Achte Abteilung, Zentralasien (Book 4).] Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill.

ENKHBAT 1984. *Dagur kelen-ü üges* [Dagur–Chinese Dictionary]. Kökekota.

HAUER, Erich 1952–1955. *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache I–III.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

KAŁUŻYŃSKI, Stanisław 1969–1970. 'Dagurisches Wörtervezeichnis. Nach F. V. Muromskis handschriftliche Sprachaufzeichnungen.' *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 33/1: 103–140, 33/2: 109–143.

KANE, Daniel 2009. *The Kitan Language and Script.* Leiden and Boston: Brill.

KARLGREN, Bernhard 1957. *Grammata Serica Recensa*. Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.

LESSING, Ferdinand D. (ed.) 1960. *Mongolian–English Dictionary*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

LIU Pujiang 刘浦江 and KANG Peng 康鹏 (eds.) 2014. *Qidan xiaozi cihui suoyin* 契丹小字词汇索引 [Lexicon and index to the words in Small Khitan (inscriptions)]. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.

MARTIN, Samuel E. 1961. *Dagur Mongolian Grammar, Texts and Lexicon, Based on the Speech of Peter Onon.* Bloomington: Indiana University; The Hague: Mouton & Co.

NORMAN, Jerry 1967. *A Manchu–English Dictionary.* Taipei: The Liberal Arts Press.

NUGTEREN, Hans 2011. *Mongolic Phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu Languages*. Utrecht: LOT.

PULLEYBLANK, Edwin George (ed.) 1991. *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese and Early Mandarin*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

RACHEWILTZ, Igor de 1972. *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*. [Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 121.] Bloomington: Indiana University.

RACHEWILTZ, Igor de 2004. The Secret History of the Mongols. *A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century. Vols. 1–2.* [Brill's Inner Asian Library, vol. 7.] Leiden and Boston: Brill.

RÓNA-TAS, András 2014. *Tibeto-Mongolica Revisited, with a New Introduction and Selected Papers on Tibetan Linguistics*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

RÓNA-TAS, András 2016. 'Khitan Studies I. The Graphs of the Khitan Small Script. 1. General Remarks, Dottes, Graphs, Numerals.' *AOH* 69/2: 117–138.

RÓNA-TAS, András 2017. 'Khitan Studies I. The Graphs of the Khitan Small Script. 2. The Vowels.' *AOH* 70/2: 135–188.

RÓNA-TAS, András and Árpád BERTA 2011. *West Old Turkic. Turkic Loanwords in Hungarian* I–II. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

SHIMUNEK, Andrew 2011. 'Review of Daniel Kane: *The Kitan Language and Script*. Leiden, Brill, 2009.' *AOH* 64/1: 101–111.

SHIMUNEK, Andrew 2014. 'A New Decipherment and Linguistic Reconstruction of the Kitan–Chinese Bilingual Inscription of 1134 A.D.' *AOH* 67/1: 97–118.

SHIMUNEK, Andrew 2017. *Languages of Ancient Southern Mongolia and North China*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

SMEDT, A. de and A. MOSTAERT 1933. *La dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou Occidentale, IIIe partie: Dictionnaire monguor–français*. Pei'ping.

SUN, Bojun, Yongshi JING and Yang LI 2010. 'Preliminary Proposal for Encoding Khitan Characters in UCS. (ISO/IEC JTC1/SC2/WG2/N3820. 2010-04-15.)' (Online access: http://std.dkuug.dk/jtc1/sc2/wg2/Docs/n3820.pdf, last access: 5 Febr. 2019.)

SVANTESSON, Jan-Olof *et al*. 2005. *The Phonology of Mongolian.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

WITTFOGEL, Karl and FÊNG Chia-shêng 1949. *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125).* Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society.

WU Yingzhe 2012. *Kittan shōji shinhakken shiryō shakudoku mondai* 契丹小字新発見資料釈読問題 [Interpretation problems of the newly discovered Khitan small script materials]. Tokyo: Tōkyō Gaikokugo Daigaku Ajia Afurika Gengo Bunka Kenkyūjo.

WU Yingzhe and Juha JANHUNEN 2010. *New Materials on the Khitan Small Script, A Critical Edition of Xiao Dilu and Yelü Xiangwen.* Folkestone: Global Oriental.

WU Yingzhe, JIRUHE and Daruhan PENG 2017. 'Interpretation of the Epitaph of Changgun Yelü Zhun of Great Liao in Khitan Large Script.' *AOH* 70/2: 217–251.

APPENDIX

Concordance Tables of the Khitan Inscriptions in the Khitan Small Script

Remarks: Lately different numbers, sigla and short titles were given to different Khitan texts written with the Khitan Small or Assembled Script. To avoid further chaos, the Khitan Research Group of the Chinese People's Republic has standardised the Sigla for each major or greater inscription (1−44) and for each minor or smaller inscription (S1−17). In the following table the standardised Chinese sigla are occurring in two forms, in Traditional Chinese (Ch) and in Simplified Chinese (SCh). The Latin form of the sigla and the standard number is followed by the traditional and the simplified forms of the Chinese sigla, then follows, where known, the date of the inscription, the short name given by Apatóczky and Kempf (A−K, 2017) and Shimunek (Sh, 2017), the number given by Kane (K, 2009), by Wu and Janhunen (WJ, 2010), by Wu (Wu, 2012) and by Liu Pujiang and Kang Peng (LK, 2014).

The Major Khitan Inscriptions in the Khitan Small Script

In the Latin alphabetical order of the Sigla

Sigla	No.	Ch	SCh	Date	Short name A−K	Sigla/Sh	K	WJ	Wu	LK
Cha	39	查	查	1113	Xiao Chala				39	
Chao+gai	27	抄+蓋	抄+盖	1082	Cite/Wuluben		2	23	28	21
Da	43	大	大	1073	Gu Taishi					
Dao+gai[77]	4	道+蓋	道+盖	1101	Daozong	Tao	3	4	04	3
Di	21	迪	迪	1101	Yelü Han	Hti	10	19	21	23
DiX	33	敵	敌	1114	Xiao Dilu	HsTi		33	33	
Gao	20	高	高	unknown	Gaoshi	Kao	6	15	20	25
Gu	9	故	故	1115	Gu Yelü	Ku	7	8	09	7
GuD	28	姑	姑	1102	Diligu	Kuei	8	29	27	29
Guang	12	廣	广	1053	Zongjiao	Chiao	32	11	12	11
Hai	11	海	海	unknown	Hai tangshan	Hai	9	12	11	12
Han	26	韓	韩	1078	Temei/Hanshi		21	32	26	32
Hong	14	弘	弘	1100	Honyong	Yung	11	18	15	17
Hu	35	胡	胡	1091	Hudujin	HsHu			35	

[77] *gai* 盖 'canopy'.

Sigla	No.	Ch	SCh	Date	Short name A–K	Sigla/Sh	K	WJ	Wu	LK
Hui+gai	38	回+蓋	回+盖	1080	Xiao Huilian				38 KC, KL	
Jue	37	玦	玦	1071	Yelü Jue	YChüeh			36 JU	
Lang	3	郎	郎	1134	Langjun	Lang	12	3	03	8
Liang	31	梁	梁	1107	Liang guowang		13	28	31	28
Ling	6	令	令	1057(?)	Xiao Lingjong		31	7	06	5
Nan	16	南	南	1092	Dilie	YTi	4	20	18	16
Nu	17	奴	奴	1099	Yelü Nu		15	25	20	24
Pu+gai	36	蒲+蓋	蒲+盖	1105	Pusuli	YP'u			37 PC. PU.	
Qing	25	清	清	1095	Yongqing		28	30	25	30
Ren	2	仁	仁	1076	Renyi	Jen-i	17	2	02	2
Sa+é[78]	29	撒+蓋	撒+额	1100	Shilu		18	26	29	26
Shi	40	師	师	1101	Taishi				40	
ShiZh	41	侍	侍	1091	Shizhong				41	
Song+gai	24	宋+蓋	宋+盖	1110	Song Wei	Sung	19	22	24	20
Tai+gai	23	太+蓋	太+盖	1110	Taishuzu	T'ai	20	21	23	19
Tian	44	天	天	1109	Tianni					
Tu	22	圖	图	1068	Tuguci		22	27	22	27
Wo	42	斡	斡	1099	Wotelan					
Wu	30	兀	兀	1102	Fubushu	YFu	5	27	30	18
Xian+gai	32	顯+蓋	显+盖	1175	Xiao Jushi			31	32	31
Xiang	34	詳	详	1091	Xiang Wen	YHsiang		34	34	
Xing	1	興	兴	1055	Xingzong	Hsing	23	1	01	1
Xu+gai	8	許+蓋	许+盖	1105	Xuguo	Xsü	24	9	08	6
Xuan+gai	5	宣+蓋	宣+盖	1101	Xuanyi	Hsüan	25	5	05	4
Yong	19	永	永	1088	Yogning		27	16	19	15
Yu	10	於	于	1072	Renxian	Jen-hsien	16	10	10	10
Zhen	13	鎮	镇	1170	Zhenguo	Chen	1	13	13	13
Zhi	18	智	智	1094	Zhixian		30	24	25	22
Zhong+gai	7	仲+蓋	仲+盖	1150	Xiao Zhong-gong	Chung	31	6	07	9
Zhuo	15	涿	涿	1108	Cishi		29	14	14	14

[78] *é* = 額 'front piece'.

The Minor Khitan Insciptions in the Khitan Small Script

In the Latin alphabetical order of the Sigla, "S" for "Small"

Sigla	No.	Ch	SCh	Date	Sigla/Sh	Description
BaoS	S4	寶	宝	unknown		Inscription on the back of a Baodi Mirror
Ba erS	S14	巴二	巴三	unknown		Writings on the wall of the Bar Hada Cave II
Ba sanS	S15	巴三	巴三	unknown		Writings on the wall of the Bar Hada Cave III
Ba yiS	S13	巴一	巴一	unknown		Writings on the wall of Bar Hada Cave I
GuoS	S2	槨	椁	unknown		Writings on a Muguo Fresco
QingS	S1	慶	庆	unknown		Writings on a Qinling Fresco
ShouS	S7	壽	寿	unknown		Inscription on a Shouchang Coin
Ta erS	S12	塔二	塔二	unknown		Writings on the wall of the Wan Bu Hua Yan Jing Pagoda II
Ta yiS	S11	塔一	塔一	unknown		Writings on the wall of the Wan Bu Hua Yan Jing Pagoda I
WanS	S5	完	完	unknown		Inscription on the back of a Wanyantong bronze mirror
YanS	S10	硯	砚	unknown		Writings on a tricoloured glazed inkstone and a yellow glazed writing-brush washer
YuS	S6	玉	玉	unknown		Inscription on the Bottom of a jade cup
Yu erS	S9	魚二	魚二	unknown		Inscription on a fish-shaped tally (II)
Yu yiS	S8	魚一	魚一	unknown	Sh17: Yü1	Inscription on a fish-shaped tally (I)
YuanS	S3	圓	圆	unknown		Inscription on the back of a round bronze Mirror
WuS	S16	烏	乌	unknown		Writings on the cliff of Ulaanhada
YeS	S17	葉	叶	unknown		Damaged epitaph found in Yemaotai