AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ

A Sample of a Khitan–English–Chinese Wordlist with Etymological Remarks:

Letters A and B

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ABSRACT

The paper offers a sample of a Khitan–English–Chinese Wordlist in preparation by scholars from the People's Republic of China and Hungary. After a preface on general questions, it deals with the glyphs beginning with a- and b- in the Khitan Small Script. This is followed by Khitan words beginning with the first two letters of the Latin alphabet. The aim of the paper is to open a discussion on a future Khitan Etymological Dictionary.

KEYWORDS

PREFACE

To compile a Khitan–English Etymological Dictionary is almost an impossible undertaking, at least in the twenties of the 21th century. On the one hand, the material is drastically increasing, on the other hand, the deciphering is slow. A team of scholars from the People's Republic of China and Hungary decided to begin to compile a Khitan–English–Chinese Wordlist. We are at the very beginning of our work, but thought to publish a draft with a sample of words beginning with the letters A and B. While this work includes common words and titles, another work is running, which will include the Khitan onomastic materials. The Khitan–English Etymological Dictionary

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(KHED) and the Khitan Onomasticon (KHON) are conceived as two independent works mutually supporting each other.

The Corpus of the Khitan texts is fixed by two different scripts, the Khitan Large (or Linear) Script (KLS) and the Khitan Small (or Assembled) Script (KSS).

The Khitan Large or Linear Script (KLS) uses in most cases characters, logographs, signs expressing one word, as Chinese usually does. The KLS is a siniform[1], a basically logo-syllabic script. At present, there are 19 inscriptions and a book written in KLS, the deciphering of which is in an early phase. There is a list of characters of the Khitan Large script on 107–126 of the work of Chinggeltei, Wu Yingzhe and Jiruhe (2017 = CWJ). A tentative comparison of some KLS characters with KSS glyphs can be read on pp. 92–104 of the same work. The inclusion of the material written in the KLS will be, however, a later task. Even in those cases where we have ideas about the meaning of a KLS character, there is no hint to its pronunciation. Nevertheless, the work to put together the glyphs with the same meaning of KLS and Khitan Small Script (KSS) began. A masterpiece of such a work is the study written by Wu Yingzhe, Jiruhe and Peng Daruhan, published in *Acta Orientalia Hung,* 70/2 (2017). Of great importance are the two papers of Zaycev (2011, 2015) on a Khitan historical work written in KLS. There is also a small fragment kept in Berlin where a few characters in KLS are accompanied by Uighur letters (Wang Ding 2004).

Much better is the case with the Khitan Small Script[2] (KSS), which offers a greater insight into the language of the Khitans. The extant corpus is also larger than that of KLS. We know about 44 major inscriptions, out of which 39 are published in the three volumes monograph CWJ quoted above. To them 17 minor inscriptions can be added, which are also published in CWJ. This work distinguished 10,407 different morphological units,[3] which occur altogether about 80,000 times. The KSS is a basically syllabic script that uses small drawings called *glyphs*. The present List of KSS glyphs includes 489 different items. Some of them are *alloglyphs*, that is variants rendering the same sounds. About 100 glyphs are not yet deciphered; however, these undeciphered glyphs occur relatively rarely in the extant texts. Most glyphs are accompanied by a so-called Romanization, a tentative reading fixed by letters of the Latin alphabet. This Romanization is based on the Khitan transcription of contemporary Chinese proper names. Those cases where the meaning of a word represented by a KSS glyph is known, but the pronunciation could not be established, we call *logoglyph* and write their meaning in CAPITAL letters.

In many respects, the publication of CWJ made it possible to begin the compilation of a Khitan–English–Chinese wordlist. The first step was to transform the list on pp. 357–488 of CWJ. This list is ordered according to the growing number in the List of the glyphs and offers a Chinese translation of the Khitan words, sometimes of expressions and compounds. In most cases, the onomastic material got a transcription into modern Beijing Chinese. This List has been edited and an English translation of the Chinese meanings was added by Bai Yuanming. This Wordlist has been then processed and serves now as the Basic List of the Khitan Etymological Dictionary

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[1] The KLS has antecedents, such are the scripts used by the Tabgach-Wei and the Tuyuhun, see Ligeti 1970 and Shimunek 2017: 121–122, 172. An inscription found in Gansu province in 2019 and mentioned first in 2021, turned out to be written with a sinitic type of Tuyuhun script. We hope this important monument will be published soon.
[2] This script was called Khitan Assembled Script by György Kara (1996), because the morphological units are assembled in boxes.
[3] A *morphological unit* may include one or more morphemes, unsuffixed or suffixed forms. In the Index all suffixed forms are distinguished; however, the homographs, i.e. different words written with the same glyphs, are not. Orthographical variants are dealt with as different items.

(KHED). This Basic List of about 840 Khitan word stems has been complemented by a few other lists. To them we added all cases where the suffixed form of a stem is identifiable, using the Index of CWJ (pp. 1619–2314).

The hitherto known lexicon of Khitan has two main sources. One group of these sources has been written in Chinese and with Chinese characters. This material begins in the times of the Liao 遼 dynasty. The earliest contemporary work which contains Khitan words is a so-called macaronic poem written by Yu Jing 余靖 (1000–1064). As an ambassador of the Song, he visited the Liao court in the years 1043, 1044 and 1045.[4] Almost contemporary is the poem by Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031–1094). His *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 ('Brush discussions of the Dream Creek'), a large collection of essays of the so-called 'brush notes' genre (*biji* 筆記), includes another macaronic poem.[5] Both Chinese poems contain several contemporaneous Khitan words in Chinese transcription. We find in later Chinese works, from the time of Tang and Song dynasties and mainly in the *Liaoshi* 遼史 (finalized and printed in 1345)[6] and its sources, a small amount of Khitan words. There are about 200 words in the glossary appended to the *Liaoshi* in the last, 116th chapter, but most of them are personal or place names and titles rendered by Chinese characters. Also, scattered in the text of the *Liaoshi*, one finds Khitan words transcribed into Chinese. Both the transcriptions of the onomastic material and the genuine Khitan words offered a great help to the deciphering of the script, and serve even recently as an important control material.

On the testimony of the few Khitan common words transcribed by Chinese was Khitan identified as a Mongolic language by Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥 庫吉, Paul Pelliot, Louis Ligeti and others or as Para-Mongolic by Juha Janhunen.[7] A misleading interpretation of the linguistic glosses in the *Liaoshi* was due to K. Menges (1968), who was also the linguistic consultant of the great work on the Liao dynasty written by Karl Wittfogel and Feng Chia-shêng (1949). He insisted that the main bulk of the Khitan words were of Tungusic origin. This opinion was heavily criticized by Herbert Franke (1969) and G. Doerfer (1969), but seems to influence some scholars even at present.[8]

After a long series of important works,[9] a breakthrough was achieved by the three volumes work by Chinggeltei and Wu Yingzhe and Jiruhe published in 2017 (CWJ) mentioned above. Our Khitan Etymological Dictionary (KHED) will be based on the CWJ. In all cases where we differ from CWJ and this is mainly in the reading of some glyphs, we note it. At the present time (2022 August), our Basic list of KHED includes about 830 word stems and 3570 morphological units, that is stems and suffixed forms.

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[4] This work was dealt with by Herbert Franke (1978: 175–188), Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt (1997) and Isaac Yue (2019: 139).

[5] The text was dealt with by Herbert Franke (1976: 178–180) and Isaac Yue (2019: 144).

[6] The history of the *Liaoshi* is summarized in WF, pp. 610–614. For a long time, the work was not finished because the debate on the orthodoxy of the Liao dynasty. In 1343, a Mongol officer urged that the debate should be closed, the work should be done, otherwise all the sources will be slowly lost. The emperor agreed, and the Prime Minister Toqtoa (Chinese Tuotuo 脫脫) was appointed to superwise the work of 23 specially designated historians. They decided that the Liao was an orthodox dynasty and its history should be written using their own calendar. The work has been finished in 1344. The first edition was printed in 1345 in 100 copies.

[7] The term Para-Mongolic is debated, see Shimunek 2017: 14, because it identifies Khitan as a language which is *beside* Mongolic and not as a language *linguistically related*. Nevertheless the term got wide acceptance.

[8] Manchu and some southern Tungusic languages are of importance for deciphering Khitan so far that they contain Khitan loanwords, some of which were earlier considered to be of Mongolic origin.

[9] The history of the research of Khitan was summarized by Kane (2009: 12–24, bibliography: 269–293), to which may now be added Janhunen (2013), Wu Yingzhe and Janhunen (2010), Kane (2013a, 2013b), CWJ Vol 2, 1–10, Shimunek (2017, with further bibliography), Róna-Tas (2018, review of Shimunek 2017).

Abbreviations:

A-I = Accusative-Instrumental
B = remarks by Bai Yuanming
C = CWJ
CE = compound expressions
CWJ = Chinggeltei–Wu–Jiruhe 2017
Dag M = Dagur in Martin 1961
Dag M-K = Dagur in Muromski–Kałużiński
1970 (Cicikar)
D-L = Dative-Locative
E = Etymology
Ex = Examples
Gen = Genitive
In-x = CWJ Index
K = Kane 2009

Mong = Lessing 1960
N = Nugteren 2011
O = related Onomastic material
P = Poppe 1930 (Dagur, Hailar)
Pr-A = Prolative-Ablative
R = remarks by Róna-Tas
S = Suffixed form(s)
Ts = Tsumagari 1986 (Dagur, Hailar)
U = glyph unknown reading and pronunciation
W = error, misprint, wrong
WF = Wittfogel and Fêng 1949
WOT = Róna-Tas and Berta 2011
YCh = Yuan Chinese according to Pulleyblank
1991, there Y[10]

Technical remarks

The Khitan inscriptions are cited according to their Sigla (see at the end of this paper).
Glyph is a drawing used by the Khitan Small Script.
The KSS is written in so-called boxes, the glyphs pertaining to one morphological unit are written in pairs under each other so that, though the lines run from right to left, within the boxes the paired glyphs follow from left to right each other. For technical reasons the system is changed to a linear one, and the glyphs of the same box are connected by a hyphen.

Written:
a b
c d
e f
g

h i
j k

transposed as <a-b-c-d-e-f-g h-i-j-k>.
xxxx* one asterisk after the unattested base/stem of the word,
xxxx** two asterisks: incorrect data[11]

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[10] The Chinese dialect reflected by the Khitan texts was labeled by Kane (2009: 227–264) as Liao-Chinese, which is, of course, historically the correct term, see also Shimunek 2017: 99. For technical reasons we give the data of Pulleyblank. He called it Early Mandarin, the language of the capital of the Yuan dynasty, that is Beijing, and quoted it as Y. We will deal with the differences of Liao and Yuan Chinese in another paper.
[11] We put the asterisk(s) after the word because of data processing reasons.

In cases where we considered it to be relevant, we give the frequency of the glyph. The Index of CWJ gives the number of occurrences of the morphological units. Because of homography, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the number of occurrences of a given word. For example on pp. 1788–1790 all 423 occurrences of <ai> 夫 are given; however, **ai1** 'year' and **ai2** 'father' are not distinguished. The frequency of *alloglyphs* offers a help to identify the orthography of KSS. Even in cases in which glyphs occur rarely or occur only as initial of one word and its suffixed forms, frequency can help us in judging orthographical features and has to be separately investigated in the future.

A BASIC ALPHABETIC LIST OF KHED

LETTER A

The following glyphs occur in word initial position with **a**- in the Khitan Small Script:

Table 1. Glyphs with initial a-

INITIAL	Romanization[12]	Glyph	Number in the Höhhot List	Frequency as initial	Uigur- Mongol
A1	<a>	为	(189)	very frequent	᠊ᠠ
A2	<a₂>[13]	列	(190)	rare	
	<ab>	㐣	(240)	corrected to <par>[14]	
	<ab°>	㐣	(240.1)	corrected to <par°>	
A3	<abu>[15]	生	(196)	61 base+13	᠊ᠠᠪᠤ
A4	<ad>	方	(099)	rare	᠊ᠠᠳ
A5	<ai>	夫	(122)	very frequent	᠊ᠠᠢ
A6	<ai₂>	朱	(197)	2 cases	
A7	<aju>	女	(082.1)	frequent	᠊ᠠᠵᠤ

[12] The List, which we call the Höhhot List of the glyphs of the Khitan Small Script, has been many times revised. We follow the list given by CWJ on pp. 92–104 and on 341–353 and dealt with in details on pp. 150–338. Further the Index (volume III of CWJ) is ordered according to the List, and is of help in some cases. We remark cases where we differ from the Romanization of CWJ. In technical cases, we tacitly give the new reading: e.g. glyph (189) is written <ɑ> which we changed to <a> without reference. The term *Romanization* means that the possible pronunciation is rendered on the base of the transcription of Chinese words. We would stress here that it is more a code than a phonetical reality. The glyphs denoting the same or similar sounds are distinguished in the system by diacritic signs and index numerals. The diacritics have no own value, they only denote another glyph with the temporary same Romanization, as e.g. <a> and <á>, or <au>, <aû>, <aú>. Same is the case with the low indexes as <a₂>, <a₃>, etc.
[13] CWJ gives no Romanization.
[14] The numeral '10' 㐣 and its dotted variant 㐣 was read by CWJ as <ab>, but it is correctly <par>. The Middle Mongolian form is *harban*. We will deal with the word under P <par>.
[15] The glyph may be a logoglyph with two readings: <abu> and <bu>.

INITIAL	Romanization[12]	Glyph	Number in the Höhhot List	Frequency as initial	Uigur- Mongol
A8	<al>	方	(098)	frequent	
A9	<am>	乃	(184)	frequent	
A10	<an>	夹	(011)	frequent[16]	
A11	<án>	出	(290)	rare[17]	
	<ang>	灸	(199)	not as initial	
A12	<áng>	北	(280)	rare	
A13	<ar>	木	(123)	frequent	
A14	<as>	冬	(174)	frequent	
A15	<au>	夬	(161)	very frequent	
A16	<aû>	丂	(125)	4 cases	
A17	<aú>	尒	(210)[18]	frequent	

Remarks on Table 1.

The system is basically syllabic, though there exist glyphs representing one consonant or two syllables. In our sample, there are two cases, where the Romanization of the glyph is bisyllabic: **abu** and **aju.** In both cases, the readings **bu** and **ju** are also possible.

In most cases where we find two glyphs for the same or seemingly same syllable, one of the glyphs is rare, as in the cases of <ai> and <ai₂> or <au> and <aû>. This is, however, not the case with <au> and <aú>. The glyph <au> (161) is frequent, and occurs in the stem of different words. The glyph (210) occurs in the form **aú-ui 尒火** (210-262) 'milady, a term of respect of noble women', Chin *niangzi* 娘子. CWJ gives no reading for 尒 (210), but it is surely to be read **aú-ui** and is frequent, see below.

For comparison, in the last column we added the identical syllable written in the Uigur-Mongolian script.

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[16] Frequent also as suffix.
[17] Frequent as suffix.
[18] CWJ has no reading.

Remarks on the glyphs beginning with a-

<a> 力 (189) occurs 6 times in isolation. However, it is only an orthographic variant in Yu35-68 <g úr ci ar il or a án>, it is written in the 'highlighting mode'[19] and is a part of -<a-án>, the same is the case with <a-al> (Yu35-76, Yu 62-44 and Wu50-12). The only place where <a> (189) seems to occur in real isolation is Zhen21-32, perhaps a part of a name. In all other cases, this glyph occurs as the first syllable of a morphological unit. There are more subtypes: 1. It appears as the representative of the verb of to be somewhere and takes suffixes, see below **a-***; 2. in some cases, it seems to secure the length or stressed syllable at the initial syllable as in **a-abu** versus **abu**, in other cases 3. it is simply representing the first syllable of words.

$<a_2>$ 列 (190) is the glyph (189) extended by a vertical dash on its right side. CWJ does not give a Romanization, but its occurrence points to a reading near to <a>. It occurs as intial ten times isolated, in 5 cases as $<a_2$-an> (Song14-3, Zhong34-44, Nan29-16, Tai14-5, Jue35-11) in the same or similar function as <a-an>, see below. Similar graphic extensions are:

Table 2. Glyphs with the same extension on the right side

Number in the Höhhot List	Glyph	Romanization
176	쉬	bu[20]
272	쇠	bu$_2$[21]
150	쥐	ja
177	쉬	ur
058	쉬	058[22]
278.1	ᅵ	278.1[23]

There do exist also other extensions in the system. Their function, if any, is unclear.

<abu> 岳 (196)[24] This glyph seems to be a logoglyph with the reading **abu**. As a glyph representing the word **abu** it occurs 61 times in the Corpus. The word **abu** may have different suffixes (see below). Its reading as **abu** is secured by the transcription of names (see below). It may have also a reading **abu** in non initial position, as we can see in the name **T-abu-y** 今岳丙 (247-196-020), which occurs as *ta bu ye* 撻不也 (*Liaoshi*, also *ta bu yan* 撻不衍, see Kane 2009: 59). The Khitan name of the moving imperial palace, the *nabo* is written in KSS as **n-ad-bu-ad** 公圹岳圹 (251-099-196-099) etc. (see there), and is transcribed by Chinese *nabo* 捺钵, see also below. The only word that may be different from the basic meaning of **abu** is <abu-il-ha-a-án> 岳用立力出 (196-302-051-189-290) (Pu19-27), which looks like a participial form in -**án** of a verb **abu-il-ha**-[25].

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[19] The 'highlighting mode' is present if the words are not written in boxes.
[20] CWJ <bot>.
[21] CWJ <búl>.
[22] Yet undeciphered.
[23] Yet undeciphered.
[24] Shimunek 2017: 433: <ebu>, see below.
[25] Not *abu ilhan*.

<ad> 忝 (099). The glyph occurs in initial position, where it is relatively rare. Khitan bases as **ad-y-** (099-020) with several further suffixes are occurring once each, the base <ad-ha>, seemingly a verbal stem (**ad-ha-ai, ad-ha-a-án**), is also occurring only once each. The base <ad-a> (**ad-a, ad-a-an**) is represented by six cases. The glyph frequently occurs in word middle and in final positions, see e.g. **n-ad-bu-ad** 公忝生忝 (251-099-196-099).

<ai> 华 (122) is a very frequent initial, the three homoglyph words written with <ai> occur 423 times, and the genitive case of the two nouns <ai-en> appear in 110 cases. Other words with <ai> are the stems **ai-ó-ul-***, **ai-ci***, **ai-l-***. The short form of the converb of **a-** <ai> is also very frequent.

<ai₂> 朱 (197). This glyph as initial occurs only in two cases according to the Index (p. 1948). It occurs on the canopy of the inscription Tai (A.D. 1110) line 3. In the Index it looks like it would be an independent word, but on the canopy all words are written separately 'highlighted', and the glyph pertains to the word **ci ai₂** 朱朱 (162-197). In fact, the word is repeated in line 1 of Tai and there in one box 朱朱 (162-197). In line 19 of the inscription Xu, the glyph occurs as initial, and it is followed by the suffix of the genitive case **ai₂-en** 朱利 (197-140) in a context yet unclear. As non initial it occurs 112 times. Kane (2009: 59) has <ah>, but remarked that it transcribes Chinese /ai/.

<aju> 艾 (082.1). It is difficult to distinguish from 艾 (081), the logoglyph for MONTH (to read **sär**), and from <üe> 艾 (082), which is a dotted form of (081) and which should be read as <ü>. The glyph looks like a logoglyph. In cases as <COMPOSE-a-aju> 冈为艾 and the like it should in all probability be read as -**ju.**

<al> 右 (098) as an initial is used for several different words, many of which are not yet deciphered.

<am> 乃 (184) used among others in the verb **am-l-ha-** 乃屮圭 (184-261-051) and **am-ul-ha-** 乃平圭 (184-366-051), perhaps two orthographic variants of the same stem.

<an> 罘 (011). Its most common use is as suffix for the genitive case. Rarely used also as initial as in the verb **an-l-ha-** 罘屮圭 (011-261-051).

<án> 出 (290). It occurs frequently as a verbal suffix. It is very rare as initial, and in some cases functions as an orthographic variant of <an> 罘 (011).

<áng> 坐 (280) is not very frequent. On a formal basis, one can separate a noun **áng** (280) 18x, with the suffixed forms **áng-er** (280-341) 1x, **áng-en** (280-140) 2x, **áng-d** (280-254) 3x, **áng-iú** (280-289) 1x, and which also occurs in the compound **áng-ui** (Dao30-31, Ren24-1) and as **áng DITTO ui** in Yu31-50. In Jue46-6 we find **áng g-en-un-e** 坐几利叐为. The meaning is yet undetermined.

<ar> 未 (123). In this group we can separate the following verbal bases: **ar-ha-*** (**ar-ha-ar, ar-ha-a-r, ar-ha-a-án**), **ar-ó-ul-ha-*** (**ar-ó-ul-ha-ai, ar-ó-ul-ha-a-ar, ar-ó-ul-ha-a-án, ar-ó-ul-ha-án**), and perhaps a nominal base: **ar-ó-*** (**ar-ó-ur, ar-ó-ji, ar-ó-o-on, -ar-ó-ñ, ar-ó-ui**).

<as> 冬 (174). Beside the word **as-ar** (see below) this gyph is very rare in initial position, but very frequent in word internal and final positions.

<au> 夊 (161). This glyph is very frequent. Clear verbs are among others: **au-a-*** (**au-a-aju, au-a-al-, au-a-ar, au-a-án**), **au-ui-l-ha-*** (**au-ui-l-ha-al-hu, au-ui-l-ha-ai, au-ui-l-ha-a-án, au-ui-l-ha-án, au-ui-il-ha-ar**), frequent is the verb **au-ul-ha-ai** which occurs 30 times. On this and other questions connected with the initials **au** see below.

<aû> 弓 (125), and <aú> 尓 (210), see below.

WORDS WITH INITIAL A-

Introduction

In this sample we present the words that begin with **a-** and have a meaning suggested by the former research and fixed by CWJ or identified by us. In case when the word and its meaning is occurring in CWJ, we give the page number in the form C000. In many cases, if a word has a meaning, its suffixed forms are added under **S** also when the meaning of the latter was not identified. In cases where we think that the Khitan word may have parallels in the Mongolic languages, we give the literary form of the Mongolian word from Lessing (1960), and add the Dagur data.[26] The Chinese meanings are in most cases from CWJ. In clear cases, we add some compounds under **C**. If a similar syllable does exist in a Khitan name and it is transcribed in the contemporary Chinese sources, we cite it under **O**. In this case, we give the place where the name occurs. Later we will quote the Khitan Onomasticon, which is now a work in progress. We consider the frequency of a word in the Corpus of great importance, therefore we give it where it is reasonable in the form XXx. In some cases we added a short remark, hint for possible further research under the abbreviation **R** for Róna-Tas or **B** for Bai Yuanming**.** Errors, misprints are mentioned under **W.**

- **a-**٭ 夃 (189) 'to exist, to be at, to be present (somewhere), also an auxiliary verb'
  E: Mong *a-*'to be, verb of existence', see also *ajugu, aji* past tense of *a-* 'it was, there was, or were', Dag *aa-* 'to live, be, stay, auxiliary verb' (M109), *a-* 'sein' (M-K107), *ā-* 'byt´´' (P67)
  R: the length is present in some Dag dialects (see also Poppe 1930)
  S: a-ai 夃ㄓ (189-122) 'converbal form of *a-*, being, having been, was'
  a-aju 夃女 (189-082.1) 'to exist', Chin *zai* 在 C416, see also **aju**
  a-ad 夃夻 (189-099) 'past participle of *a-* formed with the suffix *-d*
  a-an 夃夹 (189-011) 'deverbal noun (participle) in *an* of *a-*'[27]
  a-án 夃出 (189-290) 'deverbal noun (participle) in *án* of *a-*'
  a-al- 夃ㄎ (189-098) passive stem of *a-*, 'having been conferred, given (a title)'
  a-ar 夃ㄤ (189-123) past tense of *a-* 'was there'
- **abu** 全 (196), 'father, honorific' 61x, C416, see also **a-bu-ñ**[28]
  E: Mong *abu, aba* 'father, old father' , *abugai* (>*guai*) 'a title of respect used in addressing one's seniors', Dag *aŭše* 'muž sestry' (P69)
  R: see **au-a,** Mong *abaga* 'paternal uncle', see below
  S: *A-I* **abu-ar** 全 ㄤ (196-123) 1x
  Gen ? see **a-abu-ñ**
  D-L **abu-iú** 全 ㄨ (196-289) In-x1948

[26] There is an ongoing debate on the relationship between Khitan and Dagur. Ligeti (1950: 167) was inclined to suppose that Dagur is identical with Khitan or more precisely with one of its dialects. Some authors claim that Dagur is a heavily Mongolized Khitan language, other think that Dagur is a Mongolic dialect that was under Khitan influence. At present, we will not take part in this discussion, only quote the Dagur data. In this sample we are quoting the Dagur wordlist given by Martin (1961), Muromskij and Kaluzinsky (1969–1970) and Poppe (1930). Later other important sources of Dagur, as e.g. of Enkhbat, will be added.
[27] In most cases 夹 (011) is the suffix of the genitive.
[28] Shimunek follows a former reading <ebu> and connects it with Mong *ebüge(n)* 'old man, ancestor', but read **Abu** in his paper (2017a: 265).

Pr-Ab **abu-iú-i** 歪兴关 (196-289-339) In-x1948

Ex: abu ai 歪 本 (196 122) 'grandfather', Chin *zu fu* 祖父 C416

O: **Abu-de** 歪矢 (196-205) 'a person's name, D-L' Xian27-5, **Abu L-i** 歪 屮 关 (196 261-339) 'a person's name', Chin *Abaoli* 阿保礼 Qing5 C416, Cha5, C416, **Abu L-i-en** 歪屮关布 (196-261-339-140) 'a person's name, Gen', Chin *Abaoli zhi* 阿保礼之 Xian3 C416, see also **T-em₂-én Abu** 仐仐与 歪 (247-257-361 196) 'a person's name', Chin *Temian'abu* 特免阿不 Hui7, C441.

- **a-abu-ñ** 为歪伏 (189-196-222) 'father', 1x, In-x 1939, also **abu-ñ** 歪伏 (196-222) 3x, In-x 1948, Chin *fu* 父 C416

  E: The extended form in **-ñ** of **abu**, written in most cases as **a-abu-ñ**

  S: *Pl* **a-abu-ñ-d** 为歪伏公 (189-196-222-254) In-x 1939

  Gen **abu-ñ-en** 歪伏布 (196-222-140) In-x 1748

  D-L **a-abu-ñ-de** 为歪伏矢 (189-196-222-205) In-x 1939

- **ai1** 本 (122) 'year', Chin *nian* 年

  E: perhaps to Mo *yil* 'calendric year' , cf. MMong *hon*, Mong *on*, Dag *hoon* (M164), *χon* 'Jahr' (M-L141), which is in Khitan **po** 北 (279) 'time', Chin *shi* 时

  R: in some cases it is difficult to separate <ai1> and <ai2>

  S: *Pl* **ai-s** 本仐 (122-244) 'years', 49x, Chin *nian* 年 C391

  Pl A-I **ai-s-er** 本仐关 (122-244-341) 'during a certain era, lit. 'with years', Chin *nian jian* 年间 C391

  Pl Gen?? **ai-s-er-i** 本仐关关 (122-244-341-339) 1x (Hui16-6)

  Gen **ai-en** 本布 (122-140)

  D-L **ai-de** 本矢 (122-205) 'year, in the year (of age)' (Gao22), 86x, Chin *nian yu* 年于 C391

  Pr-Ab **ai-de-i** 本矢关 (122-205-339) 3x, In-x 1792

- **ai2** 本 'father, ancestor', Chin *fu* 父 C391

  E: ?

  S: *Pl* **ai-d** 本公 (122-254) 'men, plural', Chin *nan* 男 C391

  Gen **ai-en** 本布 (122-140) 'father's', Chin *fu zhi* 父之 C391

  Ex: ai ku 本 几 (122 178) 'husband', Chin *zhang fu* 丈夫 C391

  ai-mo u-úr 本丙 圣奂 (122-021 131-097) 'parental donation, inheritance', Gao22

  W: ai-s-en 本仐布** (122-244-140) 'fathers', plural, genitive', Chin *zhu fu zhi* 诸父之 C391 quoted from Hu19 is uncertain[29].

- **ai3** 本 (122) converbal form of the verb **a-**, see **a-ai.**

- **aju1** 艾 (082.1) 'father, old man, ? father-in-law', (Gao9,10), Chin *weng* 翁 C384

  E: ← Chin *ajiu* 阿舅 'mother' s brother, uncle, wife' s brother, brother-in-law, husband's father' Chin [30] → Salar *ajü, aʒu, a'ʒu* 'djadja (brat materi)' (Tenishev 1976: 280, 300), Monguor *ādźiä* 'frère aînée' (De Smedt-Mostaert 1933: 2), cf. Dag *acaa* 'speaker' s own father' (M110), *ača* 'Vater' (M-K 107), Khalkha *ažaa* etc.

  R: change of function: husband's father → father, old man

  S: *Pl* **aju-s** 艾仐 (082.1-244) In-x1755, 2x

  Gen **aju-en** 艾布 (082.1-140), Chin *weng zhi* 翁之 C384

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[29] In the transcription: <sh-ri-s <u>ai-s-en</u> n-ai-ci-én a-al> 叐化仐 本仐布 公本术与 / 为方 (Hu19). On the photo the glyph before <s> of <ai-s>- is almost unreadable, but surely not 本.

[30] See the Chinese origin already in De Smedt et Mostaert (1933: 2) and recently in Erhan Taşbaş's (2021: 513) paper.

De-Loc **aju-de** 艾矢 (082.1-205), In-x1755 4x

Pr-Abl **aju-de-i** 艾矢关 (082.1-205-339), In-x1755 1x

- **aju2** a suffixed form of **a-**, see above
- **aju-uh** 艾夂 (082.1-172) 'father, old man', In-x1754 2x

  E: to **aju**, **-uh** is a frequent suffix or perhaps more suffixes are written in the same way.

  S: *Pl* **aju-uh-ur** 艾夂化 (082.1-172-236) 'father, old man, plural', Chin *zhu weng* 诸翁 C384

  PL Gen **aju-uh-ur-en** 艾夂化禹 (082.1-172-236-140) 'father, old man, plural genitive', Chin *weng zhi* 翁之 C384

- **al-a-** 丏夯 (098.189) 'to kill', In-x 1768

  E: Mong *ala-* 'to kill', Dag *ale-* 'to kill' (M122), *ala-* 'töten' (M-K108)

  S: **al-a-ai** 丏夯夅 (098-189-122) 1x, In-x 1768

  al-a-aju 丏夯艾 (098-189-082.1) 4x, In-x 1768

  al-a-ar 丏夯夲 (089-189-123), 31x, In-x 1768

- **al-qó** 丏欠 (098-169) 'step', In-x 1768, 1x

  E: Mong *alqu-* 'to step, to walk' , *alqu, alquga* 'gait, walk, pace, step', Dag *aleku-* 'walk' (M112), *alku-* 'schreiten' (M-K108), *alxŭ* 'šagat' (P68), see further data N 268 s.v. *alku*

  S: *Pr-Ab* **al-qó-do-i** 丏欠朱关 (098-169-217-339) 'step along, far', also **al-qó-dú-i** 丏欠仄关 (098-169-179-339), Chin *bu cong* 步从 C387

  Ex: in: **FIFTY al-qó-do-i** 乙 丏欠朱关 (155 098.169.217.339) 'from 50 steps, fifty steps far', Chin *wushi bucong* 五十步从

- **am-d** 乃仝 (184-254) 'sweetness', 1x, Chin *ganmei* 甘美 C414 (Zhi8-40)

  E: Mong *amta* 'taste' , *amtatu, amtatai* 'sweet' , Dag *ame.te/tei* 'tasty' (M114)

- **am-s*** 乃仐 (184-244) in the expression **am-s ja₂-a** 乃仐 丟夯 (184-244 371-189) 'frontier, border', Chin *bianjiang* 边疆

  E: perhaps to Mong *ama(n)* 'mouth, opening (usually of vessels)', see also *amasar* 'opening, (lid)'. Dag *ame* 'mouth, opening', *ame sare* 'small opening (into anything empty), a hole' (M114), *ama* 'Mund' (M-K109). The second part is comparable with Mong *jagag* 'border, boundary, joint, junction', see also *jaqa* 'brim, border etc.', see under **ja₂-a-an** 'border area' (below), Chin *jiangyi* 疆場

  R: Is *-s* a plural? Perhaps 'gates of the border'

  Ex: **am-s ja₂-a** 乃仐 丟夯 (184-244 371-189) 'border area', Chin *bianjiang* 边疆 C414

  am-s ja₂-a-an 乃仐 丟夯关 (184-244 371-189-011) 'frontier, border, genitive', Chin *jiangchang* 疆場.

- **ar-ó-*** '? command, govern'[31] occurs in the name of the reign period *Qiantong* 乾统[32] (1101-1111)

  S: **ar-ó-o-or** 禾廾反扎 (123-090-186-076) 20x, also **ar-ú-o-or** 禾仐反扎 (123-245-186-076) 1x, **ar-ú-ó-o-or** 禾仐廾反扎 (123-245-090-186-076) 1x, past time participle?

  E: ?

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[31] Kane (2009: 161) tentatively identified this word with a term found in the *Liaoshi* as *Aluwan* 阿鲁盌 and glossed there by *fuyou* 輔右 'to assist, support'. Following Kane, Shimunek (2017: 421–422, n. 39) reconstructed a Khitan verb **aru-* 'assist, support'. The question here is how freely the Chinese expression *tong* was translated into Khitan. The meaning of *tong*, as it was mentioned by Kane, was 'gather into one, unite'. We claim that the Khitan reign name was rather 'Governed by the Heaven' than 'Heavenly Assistance'. The proper meaning of the Khitan verb has to be fixed yet.

[32] *qian* = 'one of the eight trigrams representing heaven', *tong* = command.

Ex: HEAVEN ar-ó-o-or 夾 㔮廾反扎 (243 123-090-186-076) 'a reign title, celestial government (1101-1111)', Chin *qiantong* 乾统 C428, 20x

HEAVEN ar-ú-ó-o-or 夾 㔮夵廾反扎 (243 123-245-090-186-076) 'a reign title, celestial government', 1x, also **HEAVEN ar-ú-o-or** 夾 㔮夵反扎 (243 123-245-186-076) Chin *qiantong* 乾统 C428, 1x

- **as-ar** 冬㔮 (174-123) 'clear, peace, peaceful' (K56), occurs also in the name of the *Qingning* 清宁 reign period (1055–1065) '"clear tranquility" period'
  E: ?
  S: *Gen*: **as-ar-en** 冬㔮枂 (174-123-140) 2x (both in Ren26-9, 27-11), also **as-ar-ñ** 冬㔮伏冬 (174-123-222) 1x (Yong32-24)
  C: HEAVEN as-ar 夾 冬㔮 (243-174-123) 'a reign title, clear tranquility' (1055-1065)', Chin *Qingning* 清宁 C428
  O: As-ar 冬㔮 (174-123) 'a person's name', Chin *Asali* 阿撒里 Zhi13 C412
  As-ar-ñ 冬㔮 (174-123-222) 'a person's name, genitive', Chin *Asali* 阿撒里 Yong32 C412

- **au** 夬 (161) 'elder sister, honorific', 10x, Chin *jie* 姐 C404, see also **aú** 尒 (210) 'elder sister', CWJ no reading, Chin *jie* 姐 C418, see below.
  E: ← Chin *ao* 媪 'old woman'. See *Liaoshi* in WF 275 and 275n, where we read: 'According to the old Qidan custom, during the ceremony of wedding banquet a woman deserving of respect was chosen to sit in the position of honor. She was called the *ao* woman' (WF275), there also about the 'red woman' (WF275n). It is possible, that **aú** 尒 (210) is also used as short form for **aú-ui** see below.
  R: ? convergence of originally two words Chinese x Khitan
  S: *Pl* **aû-ñ-er** 尒伏夵 (210-222-341) 'elder sister, plural', also **au-a-án-er** 夬为出夵 (161-189-290-341), In-x1872, Chin *zhu jie* 诸姐 C418
  Gen **au-ñ** 尒伏 (161-222) In-x1872
  Ex: au-er-iu 夬夵兲 (161-341-289) 'siblings, sisters and brothers, D-L', Chin *jiemei* 姐妹 C404
  au eme 夬 丙 (161 221) honorific, Aunt', (Chao12), Chin *yimu* 姨母

- **au-a** 夬为 (161-189) 'male honorific title, Uncle' 11x, In-x 1871
  E: Mong *abaga* 'paternal uncle', Dag *awśe* 'älterer Bruder der Frau'
  S: *A-I* **au-a-er** 夬为夵 (161-189-341) 1x, also **au-a-ar** (161-189-123) 6x
  Gen **au-a-an** 夬为枀 (161-189-011) 6x, In-x1871
  D-L **au-a-iú** 夬为兲 (161-189-289) 10x, In-x1872

- **au-a-*** 夬为 (161-189) perhaps a verbal stem
  E: Mong *ab-* 'to take, get hold of, receive, obtain', extended stem *abu-*, Dag *au-* 'take, buy', (M116), *au-, a͡u-* 'nehmen' (M-K110)
  S: au-a-án 夬为出 (161-189-290) 2x, In-x 1872
  au-a-án-er 夬为出夵 (161-189-290-341) 1x, In-x1872
  au-ui-er 夬兲夵 (161-262-341) 7x
  au-ui-er-en (161-262-341-140) (a gentive) and **au-ui-én** (161-262-361) etc., see In-x 1874, they have to be treated separately.
  Ex: au-a-án eme ku 夬为出 丙 几 (161-189-290 021 178) (Qing10)
  O: Au-ui-er hong-di 夬兲夵 玍玊 (161-262-341 075-037) 'the Emperor Tianzuo (1101-1111)', Chin *Tianzuo huangdi* 天祚 皇帝 C404
  R: Khitan <au-ui-er> is here rendering the Chinese expression *zuo* 祚 'blessed'.

Au-ui-én D₃-ge-én jur ñ-ó-li 夬火屶 充峇屶 圣 伏廾夂 (161-262-361 089-349-361 134 222-090-206) 'the two tribes of the Ao-yan Turks', Chin *Aoyan Tujue er bu* 奧衍 突厥 二部 C404, WF 90, *Aoyan*, they are like the *Weiyan* 隈衍 Turks. There existed also an *Aoyan* Jurchen tribe, *ibid*. The ethnonym *Tujue* 突厥 was YCh *tu-kɥε*. The glyph 充 (089) has to be read as <du₃>, see also Kane (K45), who gives first <zú> based on a suggestion of Aisin Gioro.

W: au-ui-oi₂ 夬火杢* (161-262-107) a frequent miswriting or misreading of 杢 (107) instead of 仸 (341)

- **aú-ui** 尒火 (210-262) 'milady, term of respect of noble women', 142x. It was read so by Kane (K60), with the same meaning. CWJ has **210-ui** 尒火 (210-262) for which on p. 418 CWJ gives Chin *niangzi* 娘子. According to Kane (K54) **au** 夬 (161) (see K61) is similar to the first part of **aú-ui** *niangzi* 娘子. In fact there does exist a form **au-ui** 夬火 (161-262), but this pertains to a verb **au-**[33]

  E: cf. Mong *abagai* 'wife of a prince, lady', Dag *awśe* 'älterer Bruder der Frau' (M-K111), *aŭšē* 'muž sestry' (P69) (not to Mong *abisun* 'the wife of an elder brother in relation to the wife of the younger brother')

  R: change of semantics in Dag

  S: Pl aú-ui-d 尒火仒 (210-262-254) 'miladies', Chin *zhu niangzi* 诸娘子 C418

  Gen **aú-ui-en** 尒火丹 (210-262-140)

  D-L **aú-ui-de** 尒火矢 (210-262-205)

  not clear is the form **aú-ui-iši** 尒火忝 (210-262-033) (Nan28-1)

- **au-ur-o-*,** 夬伦廾

  E: ?Mong *abura* 'to save, help' occurs in:

  S: au-ur-ó-ui 夬伦廾火 (161-236-090-262) 'getting better, to improve', 2x, Chin *hao zhuan* 好转 C404

  au-ur-ó-o-ón 夬伦廾及甬 (161-236-090-186-322) In-x1873

  E:?

- **au-ul-*** 夬平 (161-366) 'change (position)'

  E: cf. Mong *abugul-* 'to let have get', factitive' or *agul-* 'to place, put into, to store', Dag *auleji-* 'to meet, introduce, mix' (M116), *auld'ĭ-* 'zusammentreffen, sich begegnen' (M-K110), *aulji-* 'vstrečat́ sja' (P)

- **au-ul-ha-***

  S: au-ul-ha-ai 夬平立冇 (161-366-051-122) 'change position to', Chin *gai* 改 C404

  au-ul-ha-ai-un 夬平立冇叐 (161-366-051-122-144) 1x, In-x 1875

  au-ul-ha-ar 夬平立夲 (161-366-051-123) 1x, In-x 1875

  au-ul-ha-a-al 夬平立为古 (161-366-051-189-098) 1x, In-x 1875

  au-ul-ha-a-ar 夬平立为夲 (161-366-051-189-123) 5x, In-x 1875

  au-ul-ha-án 夬平立出 (161-366-051-290) 3x, In-x 1875

  au-ul-ha-a-án 夬平立为出 (161-366-051-189-290) 3x, In-x 1875

  au-ul-ó-*

  au-ul-ó-ui 夬平廾珝 (161-366-090-152) 1x, In-x 1876

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[33] **au-ui** (161-262) occurs with various extensions. Later Kane (K54) remarked that in the Xingzong inscription 充 rhymes with 叐. CWJ gives <d₃>. In the expression cited above the Khitan transcription of *Tu-jue* is Khitan *Du-ge*, which is a retranscription of the Chinese *tu-küe*, which is a transcription of the original *Türkü*. **ñ-ó-li** is 'tribe', Chin *bu* 部 C420.

au-ul-ó-o-ón 夨平廾及甪 (161-366-090-186-322) 3x, In-x 1876
au-ul-ó-ui 夨平廾火 (161-366-090-262) 2x, In-x 1876
au-ul-û-*
au-ul-û-ui 夨平只火 (161-366-372-262) 'change position to', Chin *gai* 改 C404
au-ul-û-ul-g 夨平只平儿 (161-366-372-366-334) 'change position to', Chin *gai* 改 C404.
aul-ul-u-*
au-ul-u-ui 夨平丞火 (161-366-131-262) 1x, In-x1876
au-ul-u-ul-g 夨平丞平儿 (161-366-131-366-334) 1x, In-x1876
au-ul-un 夨平叐 (161-366-144) 6x, In-x1876
au-ul-hu 夨平剕 (161-366-151) 1x, In-x1876
au-ul-ñ-er 夨平伏尒 (161-366-222-341) 1x, In-x1876
au-ul-l-ha-a-ar 夨平屮並为禾 (161-366-261-051-189-123) 1x, In-x1876

LETTER B

Table 3. The glyphs with initial b-

INITIAL	Romanization	Glyph	Number in the Höhhot List	Frequency as initial	Uigur Mongol
B1	<b>	丹	(311)	very frequent	ᠥ
B2	<bai>	可	(061)	frequent	ᠥᠺ
B3	<bai₂>	寸	(060)	not as initial	ᠥᠺ
B4	<bi>	付	(225)	rare	ᠥᠬ
B5	<bun>	屮	(288)	rare	ᠥᠵ
B6	<bod>	田	(309)	frequent	ᠥᠥᠵ
B7	<bot>	刔	(176)	rare	ᠥᠬᠥ

Remarks on Table 3 and on the glyphs begining with b-[34]

<b> 丹 (311) as also the other glyphs with initial b- are used in the transcription for Chinese not aspirated bilabial stops /p/. The glyph (311) is perhaps also used in some cases for the initial <ab->.
    <bai₂> 寸 (060) may be an alloglyph of <bai> 可 and is not occurring as initial.
    <bai> 可 (061) is frequent and occurs as initial syllable of nouns and verbs as well.
    <bi> 付 (225) is occurring only in four morphological items and alone it is occurring 10 times. It pertains to a group of glyphs with the same element on their left side (see Wu and Róna-Tas 2019: 49).

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[34] For a detailed discussion on the bilabials in initial position, see Wu Yingzhe and Róna-Tas András 2019, earlier readings of glyphs beginning with b- are cited on p. 48.

<bun> 中 (288) has been Romanized by CWJ as <bir> and the reasons are given on CWJ 290. They identified 叒 (144) as <ir₂> and hence 开叒 as <b-ir₂>. This is alternating with 中 (288). This is true, but the correct reading of (144) is <un>, and thus 中 (288) has to be written as <bun>[35].

<bod> 田 (309) is frequent, it occurs isolated in 114 cases, as initial of the word <bod-l-b-ñ> in 73 cases. It was earlier Romanized as <hó> (Kane 2009: 72, Wu and Janhunen 2010: 72), by CWJ it is Romanized as <bod>, on CWJ 302-303 the reasons are given.

<bot> 乣 (176) and <búl> 乣 (272) may be alloglyphs, in any case (176) is frequent in the expression 乣仐 (176-254) (see below), while (272) is rare, occurs altogether five times as initial. The reading of 乣 (176) is uncertain, the reasons are given in CWJ pp. 240–241, mainly based on the transcription of the <n-ad-176> 公志乣 (251-099-176), which is also written <n-ad-bu-ad> 公志生志 <n-ad-bu-ad> (251-099-196-099) and <n-ad-bod> 公志田 (251-099-309), but just these transcriptions show that there was no -d:-t opposition in final position in Khitan. We incline to read (176) as <bod₂>, but for the time being we retain the reading of CWJ.

<búl> 乣 (272) is discussed in CWJ 283-284. The glyph is used in the transcription of Chinese names.

Words with initial b-

- **b-as** 开冬 (311-174) 'again', 103x, Chin *you* 又 C466
  E: Mong *basa* 'again, also, too, still, yet', Dag *base* 'also, still, again' (M120), *bas, basě* 'wieder, auch, noch' (M-K113) ← Old Turk *basa* (Clauson 1972: 371, Erdal 1991: 403, Shimunek 2017: 327).
- **b-aû-er** 开万炎 (311-125-341) 'existed, was', Chin *zai* 在 C466
  E: Mong *bayi-* 'to be (copula), stay, exist' (?<***bagi-* ???, cf. *bagu-* 'to come or go down, to settle')
  R: past tense
  S: b-aû-én 开万与 (311-125-361) 5x, In-x2189, participle?? feminine??
  b-aû-én₂ 开万与 (311-125-100) 1x, In-x 2189
  b-aû-li₂ 开万比 (311-125-080)[36] 2x, In-x 2189
  b-aû-oi₂ 开万杰 (311-125-107) 1x, In-x 2189
  b-aû-un 开万叒 (311-125-144) 1x, In-x 2189
  b-aû-ci 开万朱 (311-125-162) 1x, In-x 2189
- **b-áng-hu-*** 开並刋 (311-280-151), 'issue orders', Chin *jiu gong* 鸠工 (Lang3, K188, Shimunek 2014: 113, CWJ 895)
  E: according to Shimunek (2014: 113) 'to Mong *banga-* 'reprimand', but there is only *banga kürtege-* 'to confer upon somebody *banga*, to reprimand' (see Wu and Róna-Tas 2019: 53)
  S: b-áng-hu-ai 开並刋丰 (311-280-151-122) 2x, In-x2200
  b-áng-hu-al-hu 开並刋万刋 (311-280-151-098-151) 1x, In-x 2199
  b-áng-hu-al-hu-iú 开並刋万刋火 (311-280-151-098-151-289) 1x, In-x2200

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[35] Shimunek (2017: 430, 436) read glyph (144) as <eñ> and (288) as <beñ>. The vocalism has to be <u>, the final is alternating n~ñ. The Chinese syllable *ben* 本, which is used for the transcription of Khitan 开又 <b-un>, 中 <bun> and 开伏 <b-uñ> has to be reconstructed as /pun/, see Pulleyblank 1999: 32, and letter C.
[36] Shimunek (2017: 422–423) suggested to tentatively read the glyph (080) as <Awr>. We are not convinced by his arguments, but the question is not finally settled.

b-áng-hu-ar 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-280-151-123) 2x, In-x2200

b-áng-hu-u-ji 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-280-151-131-152) 2x, In-x2200

- **b-hu-án** 𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-151-290) 'offsprings', Chin *zinü* 子女、*haizi* 孩子、*zi* 子 C466

  E: to **b-qo** see there

  S: *Gen* **b-hu-án-en** 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-151-290-140) 1x, In-x2192

  A-I **b-hu-án-er** 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-151-290-341) 3x, In-x2192

  Pl Gen? **b-hu-án-er-i** 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-151-290-341-339) 3x, In-x2192

- **b-iau g-i-i da-ai s-iang g-ün** 𘬊𘬊 𘬊𘬊𘬊 𘬊𘬊 𘬊𘬊 𘬊𘬊 (311-362 334-339-339 171-122 244-314 334-329) 'title', Chin *piaoqi da jiangjun* 骠骑大将军 C467

  E ← Chin, Hucker 1985: 380 (in *pinyin*): 'Cavalry General-in-chief, prestige title (*sanguan*) for military officers of rank Ib.'

  R: Chin 大 is transcribed as <da-ai>

- **b-in g-ui g-ung₂** 𘬊𘬊 𘬊𘬊 𘬊𘬊 (311-018 334-262 334-106) 'a title', Chin *bin guo gong* 豳国公 C465

  E: ← Chin

- **b-jel-z-iú** 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-173-258-289) 'a title', Chin *biexu* 别胥 C466

  E: ← Chin

- **b-o** 𘬊𘬊 (311-186) 'monkey', Chin *shen* 申 C466, see **po-o, po** C466[37]

- **b-oh ci-eu-un fu-ong ng-iú shï-ï** 𘬊𘬊 𘬊𘬊𘬊 𘬊𘬊 𘬊𘬊 𘬊𘬊 (311-377 162-067-273 242-071 264-289 180-353) 'a title', Chin *Bozhou zhi fangyushi* 博州之防御使 C467

  E: ← Chin, hybrid with Khitan genitive suffix **-un** translating Chinese *zhi*. The Defence Prefect (*fangyushi*) of the Prefecture Bo 博[38]

- **b-o-l-***

  E: Mong *bol-* 'to become', *bolga-* 'to cause to become, to make, to make into', Dag *bole-* 'become', *bole-gaa-* 'make into, produce, carry out', *bole-sen-* 'become' (M125, 126), *bolo-* 'reifen, werden' (M-K115)

  S: b-o-l₂-ha-ai 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-186-149-051-122) 'to become', Chin *chu* (*cheng wei*) 除（成为）C466 (Xu27) 4x, see also below **b-u-l₂-ha-ai*****

  b-o-l₂-ha-ar 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-186-149-051-123) 1x, In-x2197

  b-o-l₂-ha-a-ar 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-186-149-051-189-123) 2x, In-x2197

  b-o-ul-ha-ar 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-186-366-051-123) 1x, In-x2198

  b-o-l₂-li₂ 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-186-149-080) 'become', 1x, In-x2197, Chin *cheng wei* 成为 C466

  b-o-l₂-ñ 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-186-149-222) 'become', 1x, In-x2197, Chin *cheng wei* 成为 C467

  b-o-l₂-bun 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-186-149-288) 3x, In-x2197

  b-o-l₂-b-un 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-186-149-311-144) 1x, In-x2197

  b-o-l₃-li₂ 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-186-157-080) 'become', 3x, In-x2197, Chin *cheng wei* 成为 C467

  b-o-ul-li₂ 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-186-366-080) 1x, In-x2198

  b-o-du₂-l-un 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-186-304-261-144) 'become', 4x, In-x2197, Chin *cheng wei* 成为 C467

  b-o-du₂-l-ñ 𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊𘬊 (311-186-304-261-222)

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[37] Shimunek (2017: 402) suggested a Tangut origin of the word, with which we will deal under P.

[38] This name is found in Zhen23, which was written in 1170 during the Jin dynasty. In the *Jinshi* 金史 (*juan* 25, *zhi* 6), it said that Bozhou belongs to the Shandong west road (Shandong xilu 山东西路).

W: Errors: **b-al-ha-a-ar**** 丹丂立为ネ (311-098-051-189-123) 'become', Chin *chu (cheng wei)* 除（成为）C465 is noted from Yu16 where there is no **b-al-ha-a-ar** only **a-al-ha-a-ar** (Yu16-67)

b-u-l$_2$-ha-ai** 丹圣子立キ (311-131-149-051-122) 'become', Chin *chu (cheng wei)* 除（成为）C466 noted from Xu27, in the transcript correctly **b-o-l₂-ha-ai** 丹及子立キ.

- **b-qo** 丹力 (311-168) 'child, son and daughter', Chin *zi* 子、*nü* 女 C466[39], plural **b-hu-án** 丹列出 (311-151-290), see above.
  E:? to Mong *baga* 'small', Dag deest
  S: *Gen* **b-qo-i** 丹力关 (311-168-339) 64x, In-x 2195
  D-L **b-qo-de** 丹力矢 (311-168-205) 4x, In-x 2195
  Pr-Abl **b-qo-de-i** 丹力矢关 (311-168-205-339) 1x, In-x 2195
  b-qo-iú 丹力火 (311-168-289) 2x, In-x 2195 'son', Chin *zi* 子 C466[40]
  b-qo-iú-i 丹力火关 (311-168-289-339) 1x, In-x 2195
  C: **b-qo-i qa** 丹力关 坐 (311-168-339 053) 'son khan, the infant khan, prince', Chin *zihan* 子汗 C466, a genitive construction.

- **b-ra-a-an** 丹卉为天 (311-084-189-011) 'right', 6x, Chin *you* 右 C465, also **b-ra-ia-an** 丹卉才天 (311-084-335-011) 1x (Nu14-4)[41]
  E: Mong *baragun* 'right-hand/side', Dag *baren* 'right (direction)' (M119), *barān, barūn* 'recht' (M-K113), Shimunek 2017: 328
  S: **b-U-ra-én** 丹丙卉当 (311-023-084-361) 'west', Chin *xi* 西 C465
  C: **b-ra-ia-an u-ru** 丹卉才天 圣化 (311-084-335-011 131-236) 'right division', Chin *you yuan* 右院 C465
  W: **b-U-ra-un** 丹丙卉圣 (311-023-084-144) 'west', Chin *xi* 西 C465 and **b-U-ra-en** 丹丙卉机 (311-023-084-140) *xi* 西 'west', C465, The two data, occurring in DiX 20 and DiX32 respectively are denoting 'right (side)' as part of a military title , and not west as given in C465.

- **b-u** 丹圣 (311-131) 'to be', Chin *shi* 是 C466[42]
  E: to Mong *bayi-* see -**b-āū**-
  S: **b-u-úr** 丹圣安 (311-131-097) 'to be, past tense, was', Chin *shi* 是 C466
  b-u-ur 丹圣化 (311-131-236) 1x, In-x2189
  b-u-ji 丹圣玓 (311-131-152) 1x, In-x2189

- **b-üe-z-iú** 丹焚伞火 (311-082-258-289) 'a title', Chin *biexu* 别胥 C465
  E: ← Chin

- **b-u-u g-ün** 丹圣圣 几亦 (311-131-131 334-329) 'infantry', Chin *bujun* 步军 C466
  E: ← Chin

- **b-u-u sh-iú ü-n** 丹圣圣 牝火 仲公 (311-131-131 028-289 226-251) 'office of the administrator', Chin *bushuyuan* 部署院 C466
  E: ← Chin,[43]

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[39] Shimunek 2017: 327: <b.aq>.

[40] The grammatical function of <b-qo-iú> occurring twice (Zhen31-23 (not 33-23)) and Hu26-12 is not clear to us.

[41] Shimunek (2017: 328) reconstructed *baran < b.ar.a.an> and he read the glyph (084) on p. 428 as <ar>. This is possible, but has to be tested on the Corpus. If the reading <ar> will turn out to be the correct reading, words and names which begin with (048) have to be treated under the initial letter A and not R.

[42] Shimunek 2017: 330: <b.uʷ>.

[43] See Hucker 1985: 393 (in *pinyin*): '*bùshǔ* 部署 (1) From Han on, may be encountered as a term meaning "to divide up and assign matters (to the appropriate offices)." (2) Also from Han on, may be encountered as a term

- **bai-d-ha-*** 可公圵 (061-254-051) 'to make'

  E: perhaps to Mong *bari-* 'to hold, to take, to build, to set up, to make (of bread, cookies etc.)' *barildu-* recipr to *bari-* 'catch each other etc.', Dag *bari-* 'to take, catch, hold, keep, get a hold on; touch; set (a house)' (M119), *bari-* 'halten' (M-K113)

  R: <bai-d-ha-ai> seems to be formed from a factitive stem 'building' see Mong *barimal* 'sculpture'

  S: bai-d-ha-a-ar 可公圵为朩 (061-254-051-189-123) 5x, In-x1723, 'made', Chin *li* 立 C380

  bai-d-ha-ai 可公圵夲 (061-254-051-122) 'funeral', Chin *bin* 殯 C380 (which was made, perfected?)

  bai-d-ha-a-ar 可公圵为朩 (061-254-051-189-123) see: **g-ung bai-d-ha-a-ar** 九火 可公圵为朩 (334-345 061-254-051-189-123)

  bai-d-ha-aju 可公圵艾 (061-254-051-082.1) 1x, In-x1723

  bai-d-ha-a-aju 可公圵为艾 (061-254-051-189-82.1) 1x, In-x1723

  bai-d-ha-ai 可公圵夲 (061-254-051-122) 16x, In-x1723

  bai-d-ha-a-án-er 可公圵为出汆 (061-254-051-189-290-341), 1x, In-x1724

  bai-d-ha-al-un 可公圵ち叐 (061-254-051-098-144) 1x, In-x 1723

  bai-d-ha-al-hu 可公圵ち刋 (061-254-051-098-151) 2x, In-x 1723

- **bai-en1** 可袔 (061-140) 'morning', Chin *zhao* 朝

  E ?

  Pl. **bai-en-s** 可袔仐 (061-140-244) 1x, In-x1722

  Gen **bai-en-en** 可袔袔 (061-140-140) 3x, In-x1722

  B: xua bai-en MONTH s-uni po-on 又 可袔 艾 仐杏 扑尒 (143 061-140 081 244-059 279-154) 'when the Flower (=Sun) morning and Moon evening', Chin *hua zhao yue ye zhi shi* 花朝月夜之时 (Hui 11)

  C: bai-en-en sh-eu-su 可袔袔 叐圡卡 (061-140-140 028-067-041) 'morning dew', Chin *zhao lu* 朝露 C380 (Hong22-33, Tu25-18) on **sh-eu-su** see under Sh

  s-uni bai-en-en po-or 仐杏 可袔袔 扑扎 (244-059 061-140-140 279-076) 'through night and morning time' (DiX50-3), on **s-uni** see under S

- **bai-en2** 可袔 (061-140) 'dynasty'

  E:?? *Bayan* < *bayan* 'rich', see Chu *puyan*, Hung *bán*, 'a title', name and/or title of several Turk kagans, frequent in the Secret History of the Mongols, also 'moyincur' in the Chinese sources (see the details in WOT 93-96), very problematic.

  Pl: **bai-en-s** 可袔仐 (061-140-244) 'dynasty, plural' (Yu58-26: <bai-en-s s-or-ha-ar>), Chin *zhu chao* 诸朝 C380

- **bi-ing m-a du g-ia-ém** 付用 叐为 闬 九才조 (225-303 133-189 237 334-335-270) 'title', Chin *bingma dujian* 兵马都监 C422

  E: ← Chin[44]

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meaning "to establish offices or agencies (for the handling of) divided-up and distributed (affairs or business matters)." (3) Ministries and Offices: from the era of NS Division may be encountered as a generic reference to all the agencies of the central government. (4) SONG: Administrator, in very early Sung used as a designation for the head of a Superior Prefecture (*fu*) and in some military units, in the latter cases traditionally equated with the titles *zongguan* (Area Commander-in-chief) and *du zongguan* (Supreme Area Commander).'

[44] See Hucker 1985: 384 (in *pinyin*): 'SUNG: Military Director-in-chief, a duty assignment, or a nominally concurrent (*jian*) appointment, for officials of units of territorial administration from District Magistrates (*xianling, zhixian*) up to Circuit Supervisors (*jiansi*) giving them authority over military forces in their jurisdictions for

- **bir** 中 (288) '?' see **bun**
- **bod** 田 (309) 'body, oneself', Chin *shen* 身 C464
  E: Mong *boda* '1. body, substance, 2. also *bodu* 'large cattle (unit of livestock) [to *boda-* 'count'], Dag *bode* 'think, figure out' (M124), *bodo* 'erwegen, bedenken' (M-K115)]'
  S: bod-hu 田刂 (309-151) 'body, oneself', Chin *shen* 身 C464
  D-L **bod-de** 田夨 (309-205) 11x, In-x 2181
  Pl? **bod-s** 田仐 (309-244) 1x, In-x 2181
  Pl? **bod-d** 田厽 (309-254) 2x, In-x 2181
  A-I **bod-er** 田氽 (309-341) 'body, oneself, instrumental case', 10x, In-x2180 Chin *shen yi* 身以 C464
  Gen **bod-én** 田与 (309-361) 'body, oneself, genitive',14x[45], In-x2183, Chin *shen* 身 C465
  Pr-Abl **bod-de-i** 田夨关 (309-205-339) 2x, In-x 2181 'body, oneself, ablative', Chin *shen cong* 身从 C464
  Gen? **bod-i** 田关 (309-339) 2x, In-x 2183
- **bod-l-*** the meaning is not yet clear, the base is surely a verb
  bod-l-l-ge₂-l-ñ 田屮屮态屮伏 (309-261-261-112-261-222) 1x, In-x 2181
  bod-l-l-ge₂-er 田屮屮态氽 (309-261-261-112-341) 1x, In-x 2182
  bod-l-li₂ 田屮比 (309-261-080) 1x, In-x 2181
  bod-l-ge₂-y 田屮态丙 (309-261-112-020) 1x, In-x 2181
  bod-l-u-ji 田屮�羽 (309-261-131-152) 1x, In-x 2181
  bod-l-u-ta 田屮丞仔 (309-261-131-229) 1x, In-x 2181
  bod-l-un 田屮叐 (309-261-144) 'body, oneself', 5x, In-x2181 Chin *shen* 身 C464
  bod-l-bun 田屮中 (309-261-288) 7x, In-x2182
  bod-l-b-un 田屮丹叐 (309-261-311-144) 6x, In-x 2182
  bod-l-b-ñ 田屮丹伏 (309-261-311-222) 73x, In-x 2182 'imperial lineage', Chin *huangtong* 皇统, see also **t-p bod-l-b-ñ** 仐业 田屮丹伏 (247-295 309-261-311-222)
  C: bod-l-b-ñ RECORD-g-û-ji 田屮丹伏 壸九冘羽 (309-261-311-222 052-334-372-152) 'record by oneself, record by the emperor himself', Chin *qinzi zhi* 亲自志 C464
- **bot** 刹 (176) reading uncertain, earlier <bú> (Kane 2009, Wu and Janhunen 2010). Frequent in 刹仝 力击出氽 **bot-d na-ha-án-er** 'the other, the Maternal Uncles', and as the second part of 公示刹 **n-ad-bot** 'the nabo, the movable camp, travelling palace'. Another transcription of this latter word is: 公示生示 **n-ad-abu-ad** (occurs twice), which may be read as <n-ad-bu-ad>, and in this case perhaps **bud** = 刹 (176) (see also Kane 2009: 56).
  E: see Mong *busu* 'other (precedes the qualified word)', *busud* 'others (plural of *busu*)', Dag *bišin* 'other, other person' (also a negative particle) (M124), *bisi, bisin* 'nicht; anderer' (M-L 114) <*busi, see Nugteren 2011: 292.
  R: Mong *busi* may go back to the demonstrative pronoun *bo/bu* which was preserved in Old Turkic, -s- may be a petrified plural in Mongolic, which is followed by a second plural in case of *busud*.

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the suppression of banditry or other pacification activities; also for various officials in the central government occasionally assigned to oversee police activities of the 4 urban Townships (*xiang*) into which the dynastic capital, Kaifeng, was divided for local administration. Commonly abbreviated as *dujian*.'
[45] Only few cases seem to be genitive case, like Xian20-5 and Hui8-7, others are not clear.

S: bot-ó-ñ 刔廾伏 (176-090-222) 3x, In-x 1911
bot-u-ñ 刔灻伏 (176-131-222) 2x, In-x 1911
bot-en 刔朾 (176-140) 1x, In-x 1911
bot-un 刔叐 (176-144) 1x, In-x 1911
bot-d 刔厼 (176-254) 1x, In-x 1911, 26x, In 1912
bot-i 刔夬 (176-339) 13x, In-x 1912

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SIGLA OF THE MAJOR AND MINOR INSCRIPTIONS IN KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT WITH REFERENCE TO THE CWJ

No	Sigla	Ch	ChS[46]	Date	photo on page in CWJ Vol I	initial page in CWJ Vol II
1	Xing	興	兴	1055	603	866
2	Ren	仁	仁	1076	606	880
3	Lang	郎	郎	1134	610	893
4	Dao+gai[47]	道+蓋	道+盖	1101	612	898
5	Xuan+gai	宣+蓋	宣+盖	1101	621	921
6	Ling	令	令	1057(?)	631	935
7	Zhong+gai	仲+蓋	仲+盖	1150	634	945
8	Xu+gai	許+蓋	许+盖	1105	642	979
9	Gu	故	故	1115	652	1012
10	Yu	於	于	1072	658	1023
11	Hai	海	海	unknown	671	1093
12	Guang	廣	广	**1053**[48]	672	1099

[46] Chinese Simplified.
[47] *Gai* 盖 'canopy'.
[48] The earliest known and dated inscription.

No	Sigla	Ch	ChS[46]	Date	photo on page in CWJ Vol I	initial page in CWJ Vol II
13	Zhen	鎮	镇	1170	679	1115
14	Hong	弘	弘	1100	682	1139
15	Zhuo	涿	涿	1108	691	1159
16	Nan	南	南	1092	692	1165
17	Nu	奴	奴	1099	699	1189
18	Zhi	智	智	1094	710	1208
19	Yong	永	永	1088	716	1224
20	Gao	高	高	after 1076	721	1238
21	Di	迪	迪	1101	727	1250
22	Tu	圖	图	1068	735	1274
23	Tai+gai	太+蓋	太+盖	1110	741	1286
24	Song+gai	宋+蓋	宋+盖	1110	749	1302
25	Qing	清	清	1095	757	1315
26	Han	韓	韩	1078	763	1337
27	Chao+gai	抄+蓋	抄+盖	1082	767	1350
28	GuD	姑	姑	1102	773	1365
29	Sa+é[49]	撒+額	撒+额	1100	779	1381
30	Wu	兀	兀	1102	781	1387
31	Liang	梁	梁	1107	792	1410
32	Xian+gai	顯+蓋	显+盖	**1175**[50]	799	1430
33	DiX	敵	敌	1114	805	1449
34	Xiang	詳	详	1091	815	1470
35	Hu	胡	胡	1091	823	1496
36	Pu+gai	蒲+蓋	蒲+盖	1105	828	1517
37	Jue	玦	玦	1071	834	1531
38	Hui+gai	回+蓋	回+盖	1080	841	1564
39	Cha	查	查	1113	847	1577

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[49] é = 額 'front piece'.
[50] The last known dated inscription.

No	Sigla	Ch	ChS[46]	Date	photo on page in CWJ Vol I	initial page in CWJ Vol II
40	Shi	師	师	1101		
41	ShiZh	侍	侍	1091		
42	Wo	斡	斡	1099	not included in CWJ	
43	Da	大	大	1073		
44	Tian	天	天	1109		
Sigla of the Minor Inscriptions in the Khitan Small Script						
S1	QingS	慶	庆	unknown	853	1593
S2	GuoS	梛	㭶	unknown	not included in CWJ	1598
S3	YuanS	圓	圆	unknown	855	1599
S4	BaoS	寶	宝	unknown	856	1601
S5	WanS	完	完	unknown	857	1602
S6	YuS	玉	玉	unknown	858	1603
S7	ShouS	壽	寿	unknown	858	1604
S8	Yu yiS	魚一	鱼一	unknown	858	1604
S9	Yu erS	魚二	鱼二	unknon	858	1605
S10	YanS	硯	砚	unknown	860	1606
S11	Ta yiS	塔 一	塔一	unknown	861	1606
S12	Ta erS	塔 二	塔二	unknown	862	1608
S13	Ba yiS	巴 一	巴一	unknown	863	1608
S14	Ba erS	巴 二	巴二	unknown	not included in CWJ	1610
S15	Ba sanS	巴 三	巴三	unknown	863	1611
S16	WuS	烏	圆	unknown	not included in CWJ	1612
S17	YeS	葉	叶	unknown	864	1612