

The Kitan Language and Script

Handbook of Oriental Studies

Handbuch der Orientalistik

SECTION EIGHT

Central Asia

Edited by

Denis Sinor

Nicola Di Cosmo

VOLUME 19

The Kitan Language and Script

By

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BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON

2009

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

ISSN 0169-8524
ISBN 978 90 04 16829 9

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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PREFACE

There are many reconstructions, and not all of them can be correct. This is an obvious fact. Then is only one reconstruction accurate? Hard to say. For each reconstruction, there will always be other researchers who disagree. This situation is troublesome not only for the general reader and for novices in the field; even such a famous grammatologist as Nishida Tatsuo could only sigh: "To tell you the truth, the Kitan script is becoming more and more incomprehensible. Things which we were not able to understand before we are even less able to understand now." - Speech at Kyoto Conference 1991. Quoted in Chinggeltei 2002:15.

Kitan is a largely undeciphered language preserved in about forty epitaphs from the 11th century. It is also one of the most intriguing riddles in the field of Altaic linguistics. In theory, it cannot be deciphered: the script cannot be read; it has no known cognate languages. These statements, however, are not entirely true: many Chinese words have been identified in the Kitan script, and these have given approximate values to about one third of the known graphs. Using these values, a large number of Chinese official titles and placenames can be deciphered. However, most of the graphs used primarily to write Kitan words have not been deciphered - only those which are also used in the Chinese transcriptions. Again, that is not entirely true: some native Kitan words have been tentatively identified on the basis of these transcriptions, possible cognates in other languages, and more often than not, educated guesswork. Nevertheless, even when Kitan words, and whole sentences, are transliterated, they do not yield anything resembling Mongol, Jurchen, Turkic or any other attested language. This situation has led to some researchers suggesting that Kitan graphs had two 'readings': one set for transcribing Chinese and another set of values when writing Kitan. The first set is partially known, the second set remains to be discovered. This is unlikely, but the fact remains that the transcription of Kitan is by no means straightforward, or even settled. Much remains to be discovered.

As for cognate languages, some of the numerals, the seasons and the names of some animals are clearly similar to Mongol, whether through affinity or borrowing we cannot tell. Kitan is indisputably 'Altaic' in the broad sense, with vowel harmony, agglutination, case markers and subject-object-verb syntax. There is no Kitan-Chinese glossary extant, such as those available for Middle Mongolian or Ming dynasty Jurchen. There is only one short bilingual, and even that cannot be completely deciphered. The

meanings of words and the basic morphology and syntax of the language have to be implied through the context of imperfectly understood texts.

Despite all this, a certain amount of information on Kitan can be extracted from the texts. In many ways working on Kitan is like working on Etruscan. In both cases the texts are mainly epitaphs, where words like father, son, married and died can be deduced from the context. The Etruscan script can be read; until a couple of decades ago, the Kitan script could not, and even now cannot be read with confidence. And although there is a supposition that Kitan will eventually turn out to be related to some form of proto-Mongol, if only the right readings for the graphs could be determined, and although some words are indeed similar to Mongol, no sense can be extracted from transcribed texts with a knowledge of Mongol. It may well be that Kitan was related to Mongol in the sense that Latin was related to Oscan. Which gives as much comfort as trying to decipher an Oscan inscription with only a knowledge of Latin.

When one of my colleagues learnt I was writing attempting to write a book on the Kitan language, he commented that it would not be a very long book. Another colleague was more encouraging in relation to the comparison with Etruscan: just because not much is known about the language is no reason for not writing down what is known. It is in that spirit that this book has been written.

This book deals with a limited corpus - the inscriptions in the Kitan small script. A separate chapter relates what is currently known about the large script. Kitan words in Chinese transcription, which until recently formed the major source of our knowledge of Kitan, are not treated, unless they also occur in the inscriptions. These words have been dealt with extensively in the literature, and not much more can be said. There are many other issues, however, which are not dealt with here. One is the relationship of Kitan to other languages. It may well be that Kitan can be described as 'paramongolic', or that there is a Kitan substratum or superstratum in Daur, but these issues remain to be investigated at a later stage. The question of the descendants of the Kitans, though not a linguistic one, may have some bearing on this issue. Other issues are Kitan names, and indeed the name of the Kitan state. As historical documents, the Kitan inscriptions provide much material lacking in the Chinese texts, but these are also not primarily related to the language and script, and are not discussed here.

Thanks and acknowledgments

This book has its beginnings in the early 1970s, when Dr. Igor de Rachewiltz referred me to the section on the Kitan script in Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao*. There was a flurry of activity as I collected and read all the published research, but needless to say I did not get very far. I turned my attention to Jurchen, in the vague expectation that the Jurchen script, which can at least be partly understood, might give some insights into Kitan. That is still a possibility: the Jurchen script is clearly derived from the Kitan large script, but the relationship between them is not clear. Neither seems to be related directly to the Kitan small script, in which most of the inscriptions are written.

In 1980 I attended an exhibition of *Languages and Scripts of Ancient Minorities* at the Minorities Cultural Palace, Beijing, where I met Liu Fengzhu and Yu Baolin, two of the members of the Kitan Research Group. They gave me a copy of their original report on the Kitan small script, published in 1979. I translated that for my own interest at the time, but other matters directed my attention away from Kitan for some years. In 1996 I was again working in Beijing, and contacted my old friends Jin Qizong, the foremost expert on Jurchen, Liu Fengzhu and Yu Baolin. From them I learnt of the many recent archaeological discoveries which had provided more textual material in Kitan.

The real impetus to rekindle my interest in Kitan came in 2003, when Liu Fengzhu told me he was preparing a complete annotated corpus of all Kitan inscriptions, in both the small and large scripts. So I started going through *Research on the Kitan Small Script*, the *major opus* published by the Kitan Research Group in 1985, and also read up on publications over the past twenty years. The suggestion that I write a book on Kitan came from Nicola di Cosmo in 2004, and he has been unfailing in encouraging me to persist in what sometimes seemed a bottomless pit. Once I started working in earnest, many scholars and friends came to my aid. Liu Fengzhu sent me practically all articles published on Kitan in China over the past few years, and also sent me Ji Shi's *Seeking a Path through the Forest of Riddles*. Aisin Gioro Ulhicun sent me her *Research on the Kitan Language and Script*. In 2006 Liu Fengzhu accompanied me to visit museums and research institutes in Chifeng and other parts of Inner Mongolia, introducing me to archaeologists, museum curators and other researchers in the field. In 2007 I also met Professor Chinggeltei and his research team in the University of Inner Mongolia, and Ji Shi at the Liaoning Academy of Social Sciences. Professor Chinggeltei presented me with a copy of his invaluable *Issues in the Decipherment of the Kitan Small Script*, and Wu Yingzhe gave me a copy of

his PhD thesis *Research on Nominal Grammatical Categories in Kitan*, and several other articles by himself and others. Without this material, the present book could not have been written.

Some of the original inscriptions have been well preserved; others are quite damaged, and this sometimes results in probably inaccurate transcriptions. It is also a well known fact that Chinese sources on the Liao are often not reliable. The *Liaoshi*, the official Chinese history of the Liao, was compiled on the basis of scanty materials some two centuries after the demise of the dynasty. Individuals are referred to by one name here, another name there. Their names in the *Liaoshi* often do not correspond to their names in the Liao Chinese or Kitan inscriptions. Chinese transcriptions of Kitan words are generally not very accurate, and in many cases are probably wrong. All of which makes acquiring some knowledge of what is known about the Kitan language and script a rather formidable challenge.

Many of the original texts and studies on them are now readily available, and this book will hopefully make them more approachable. Kitan still needs a prolonged attack by number of specialists in various disciplines before it will give up its secrets: sinologists and altaicists, philologists and linguists, historians and archaeologists. This book is probably more sinological than altaistic, more philological than linguistic, more historical than archaeological, which represents both the nature of the material and my own weaknesses. There are many unsolved issues in this book which will be obvious to specialists in Liao history, or Middle Mongolian, or Old Turkic. Chinese scholars often call their work “a piece of rock thrown to attract jade”, and it is in this spirit that these lines are written.

This book is typographically complex, and has benefited greatly from the patient explanations of my editor, Patricia Radder, on such matters as margins, font sizes and other vagaries of computer programs. I must also thank her for believing in the existence of this rather arcane book long before it was in any fit state to actually show her a first draft.

It is common for a scholar to thank his wife. Ye Xiaoqing is a specialist on Qing history. Some of the Chinese versions of the imperial epitaphs in praise of one or another of the Liao emperors are almost as incomprehensible as the Kitan texts themselves, and her help has been invaluable. She has also had to share her life with my scribes from the pines and deserts for some years. For the rest I stand on the shoulders of pioneers and current authorities: Pelliot and Franke, Wittfogel and Fêng, Ligeti and Kara, Liu Fengzhu, Chinggeltei, Ji Shi, Hambis, Taskin, Šavkunov, Toyoda, Nishida, Wu Yingzhe, Aisin Gioro Ulhicun and many other scholars whose works appear in the bibliography and footnotes.

Transcription conventions

Research distinguished 378 graphs in the Kitan small script, which has become the standard list. A new list has been prepared by Chinggeltei's research team, but this has not yet been published. Some are logographs, some are logographs used phonetically. Some appear to be graphic variants of others. Most of the identified graphs are phonograms. There is still a large number of unidentified graphs: neither their meaning, nor pronunciation, or even whether they are logographs or phonogram, is known.

The principles of the Kitan script are by no means fully understood. It is possible some graphs represent consonants, some vowels, some syllables of the CV type, some of the VC type, and some of the CVC type. The script is used to transcribe two quite different languages, Kitan and Liao Chinese. Some graphs are used only in Kitan words, some only in Chinese words, some in both. We might presume those in the first group represent phonemes present in Kitan but absent from Chinese, such as the back velars and laryngeals. Others represent phonemes present in Chinese but not present in Kitan, such as dental affricates and retroflexes. The Kitan script is said to have been inspired by the Uighurs, and it may be there are two sets of consonants, one set used with front vowels, one set used with back vowels.

The readings of many graphs have been determined through the Kitan transcription of Chinese words. These are transcribed 力 <a> 𠂇 𠂈 <c> 𠂉 <d> and so on. This leads to transcriptions such as 𠂈𠂈 <c.c> and 𠂇𠂈𠂉 <s.l.b>. It is widely presumed there is an "inherent vowel" attached to the consonant, that is, the graphs represented syllables, not consonants. Seen from a Chinese perspective this is likely; seen from a Uighur perspective, there is no reason to suppose this is the case. As an interim measure, an "inherent vowel" has been supplied when called for. Generally speaking, this is [o] after labials, [i] after palatals and affricates and [e] after dentals. So 𠂈𠂈 and 𠂇𠂈𠂉 are transcribed <ci.ci> and <se.le.bo>. When two graphs seem to represent the same sound, or perhaps a slightly different one, they are transcribed 𠂇 <ò> 𠂈 <ó> and 𠂉 <ô>, 𠂇 <u> 𠂈 <ú> and 𠂉 <û> etc. Chinese scholars sometimes use <ə> as the symbol for the "inherent vowel", which may or may not be modified by other vowels in the same word in accordance with the principles of vowel harmony. This is possible, but the script is not understood well enough to come to any firm conclusions.

Articles in Chinese and Japanese quote words and phrases in Kitan without transcription. This is not acceptable in a work written in English. The transcription system here is provisional and certainly less than perfect. It is simply used *faut de mieux*. Chinese specialists, when talking about the Kitan script, often refer to 𠂇 <kâ> as 卡 *ka*, 𠂈 <ú> as 八干 *bagan* and so on,

simply as a mnemonic, without any implication that * was really pronounced [ka]. I have adopted this system here, indicating such transcriptions with an unusual diacritic like a question mark written above the vowel, so * (nèn) (年), * (tèn) (天) and * (ù) (午). This system of mnemonics is certainly less than satisfactory, but the alternative is to use the graphs in their original form, to use their numbers or pepper the text with question marks.

Modern Mandarin is transcribed in *pinyin*. Liao Chinese is transcribed in a modified *pinyin* which is meant to represent the phonemes of the variety of Chinese underlying the Kitan transcriptions. This transcription is described and discussed in Chapter Seven. Transcriptions of Liao official titles have been given in reconstructed Liao Chinese, not modern Mandarin. Reconstructed Liao forms are preceded by an asterisk. The asterisk is also used with Kitan names for which a more precise phonetic form is not possible at this stage. Middle Chinese is transcribed according to the general principles in Baxter 1992 and 2002, somewhat modified.

The Kitan true type font used in this book was created with Font Creator 5. It is based on the calligraphy of Xing Fuli, one of the original members of the Kitan Research Group. It is widely used in books and articles on Kitan published in China, including *Research*. Wu Yingzhe and Aisin Gioro have developed their own fonts. Graphs in the Kitan large script are based on the calligraphy on the *Epitaph of the Princess of Yongning Prefecture*, and other texts in the large script, generated by the same process. Occasional graphs in the Jurchen script are from the font created by Jason Glavy, itself based on Jin Qicong's handwritten graphs in his *Jurchen Dictionary*.

Transcriptions of the Kitan small graphs are given between single *guillemets* ‹ ›, and of the Kitan large graphs between double *guillemets* ‹‹ ››. Occasional suggested phonetic transcriptions are given between square brackets [].

This book contains a large number of references to Liao administrative terminology, Kitan tribes, lineages and hierarchies, horizontal tents and maternal uncles, Chinese reign periods, stems and branches and innumerable official titles. It is not been possible in a book on the Kitan language to give a detailed explanation of these terms, which can be found in Wittfogel and Fêng 1949 or Charles Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. There is also a good deal of duplication in various entries throughout the book. The alternative was an extensive system of cross-referencing which would have made things even more complicated. For these and many other inadequacies, I am alone responsible.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

It is not impossible that the countries which were under their domination still contain stone monuments, with inscriptions destined to perpetuate the remembrance of treaties of peace, of decisive battles, and splendid actions. It is customary, in China, to erect tablets on such occasions, and the Tartars frequently conform to this practice. If any such could be found, with inscriptions in the characters of the Leaou or the Kin, we should be enabled to speak from knowledge, in deciding whether the Tartars had adopted the Chinese characters purely and simply, or whether they had subjected them to some such corruption as those alluded to above; whether they had adhered to what others had thought out before them, or whether they had themselves taken a step in advance in this career, which is open to inventive and perfective genius. For want of such decisive monuments, being unprovided even with such Chinese works as could supply the want in presenting us with syllabaries, with alphabets, or with words expressed in the characters in question, we are reduced to conjectures regarding the system of writing followed by the Tsitan and the Neu-chih. J. P. Abel Rémusat, *Recherches sur les langues tartares* (1820); quoted in A. Wylie, "On an Ancient Inscription in the Neu-chih Language" (1860).

1.1 Background

Until the twentieth century the only known surviving text in Kitan was the *Record of the Journey of the Younger Brother of the Emperor of the Great Jin Dynasty* (the Langjun inscription), engraved on the "stele without an inscription" in front of the tomb of Empress Wu Zetian of the Tang dynasty in Xi'an. It was well known before modern times, but scholars thought it was in the Jurchen script, being misled by the reference to the Great Jin Dynasty. It was included in the Ming compilation of inscriptions, the *Shi mo juan hua* [Selected lapidary inscriptions] by Zhao Han (1618), and reproduced in several Qing collections, usually with a note: "not a single character can be understood" The Langjun inscription is a bilingual, and the Chinese text is explicitly stated to be a translation of the Kitan. In 1860, Wylie made a study of this inscription, giving a translation of the Chinese text. It was only after the discovery of the Kitan inscriptions in the tombs of the Liao emperors at Qingling, first published by Louis Kervyn in 1924, that scholars realized that the scripts were identical. A number of studies followed, which were

published together with rubbings, transcriptions and other related material under the title *Liaoling shike jilu* [Corpus of inscriptions from the Liao tombs] (Jin Yufu 1934). Until the 1980s, this was the basic and most important reference tool for the Kitan small script.

The *Liaoshi* refers to two Kitan scripts, the large and the small. It was not known which one was the script on the Langjun and Qingling inscriptions. Before 1950, the only known examples of Kitan were the four imperial epitaphs and the Langjun inscription, a total of about 3000 graphs. By the late 1970s, 19 texts were available, with about 10,000 graphs.

In the 1950s, the Xiao Xiaozhong inscription was discovered in a different type of Kitan script. This was similar to some earlier inscriptions in an unidentified script. In 1962, Jin Guangping published a study in which he argued that the script on the Langjun inscription and the Liao tombs was the Kitan small script, and that on the Xiao Xiaozhong inscription the Kitan large script. This is now generally accepted.

Little progress was made in the decipherment of either script until the publication of *Research on the Kitan Small Script* by Chinggeltei, Liu Fengzhu, Chen Naixiong, Yu Baolin and Xing Fuli in 1985, though the initial studies on which this book was based were published in the late 1970s. Basing themselves on the transcription of Chinese loanwords in the Kitan texts, they were able to establish readings for a number of graphs and on the basis of the values thus established to determine the pronunciation of several native Kitan words. About 25% of the graphs were given tentative readings. Practically all subsequent research has developed from this seminal work. This chapter summarizes research done prior to this publication, the methodology and major findings of *Research*, with some notes on more recent research.

1.2 Kitan words in Chinese works

Little is preserved on the language of the Kitans in Chinese works. There are about 200 words in the glossary appended to the *Liaoshi*, of which about a half are personal names and place names. Many of the rest are official titles. There are only about 40 basic words, such as *nügu* 'gold', *guwen* 'jade', *taoli* 'hare', *niehe* 'dog', *husi* 'strength', *jau* 'hundred', *ordo* 'palace'. About one fifth of these words are similar to Mongol. There is some other material: the Kitan poem in the *Mengqi bitan*, the Northern poem by Yu Jing and the Kitan poem in the *Yijianzhi* by Hong Mai.

1.3 Creation of the Kitan scripts

After Yelü Abaoji established the Liao state, he turned his attention towards the creation of a written script for the Kitan language. The large script was created in 920. The script is clearly modeled on Chinese, and many graphs are the same or similar, but the principles are quite different. It is now becoming apparent that each large graph (such as 𐰽) represented a syllable, in this case **gur*. This could write a word **gur* ‘state’, and could also be used in other words with the syllable **gur*. The innovation of the small script was that it wrote **gür* as 𐰽𐰺 <g.úr>, with two symbols. 𐰽 <g> could be used for any initial or final [g], and 𐰺 <úr> for any initial or final [úr]. Both scripts also had a number of logograms, which primarily stood for common words such as heaven, moon, man and the numerals, though these could also be used with their phonetic values. Chinese records state that the large script was based on the Chinese *li shu* “clerical script”, but it is clearly much more similar to the Chinese calligraphic style known as *kai shu* “standard script”, and the small script is similar to the cursive style known as *xing shu* “running script”. The date of the creation of the smaller script is not given, but the generally accepted date is 925. This was more than a century before the earliest extant inscription, the *Epitaph of Yelü Zongjiao*, dated 1053.

1.4 Use of the Kitan script under the Jin

The Jurchens continued to use the Kitan scripts, even after the creation of two Jurchen scripts, the large in 1119, and the small in 1138. An edict dated 1138 ordered that Jurchen, Kitan and Chinese be used in official documents for the relevant parts of the population. More than thirty Jurchen mentioned in the *Jinshi* were familiar with the Kitan script. The Jin government assigned a number of posts to officials who were familiar with the Kitan script and language, some close to the emperor, others in the presidential council. In 1151, the staff of the Hanlin academy included seven persons familiar with the Kitan script. In 1156, it was officially ordered that in the examination for copyist in the Department of National Historiography the Jurchen copyists be able to translate Kitan into Jurchen, and the Kitan copyists Chinese into Kitan. Even the Jin emperor Shizong commented, “The new Jurchen script cannot match it”. The Chinese original was first written in the Kitan small script and then annotated in or translated into the Jurchen script. This was the procedure followed by Yelü Chucai’s father, Yelü Lü, when he translated the *History of the Tang Dynasty* into Kitan, using the small script. In 1191 the Jin emperor Zhangzong ordered that Jurchen should be directly translated into Chinese. Clerks of the Department

of National Historiography who knew only the Kitan script were dismissed. In 1192, the position of Kitan secretary was abolished in all ministries. Yelü Chucai (1189-1243) learned Kitan during his stay with the Karakitai and translated a Kitan poem into Chinese. The Kitan script was abolished by the Jin Emperor Zhangzong in 1191-1192. Yelü Chucai seems to be the last person mentioned in Chinese records who had a knowledge of the Kitan language and script.

1.5 The Kitan inscriptions

Most of the extant corpus consists of epitaphs for the Kitan nobility. There are many Chinese inscriptions from the Liao, some of which are connected with the Kitan texts. The earliest collection was Chen Shu 1982. More recent collections are Xiang Nan 1995 and Gai Zhiyong 2002, which also contains some photographs and hand copies of Kitan texts. For a general discussion on the Liao inscriptions, see Yang Ruowei 1993. The Chinese texts contain of a certain number of sections: the name of the Kitan state, the name and official titles of the subject of the epitaph, the name and official titles of its composer, the preface, a rhymed text and a final date.

The dates are given by reference to the reign title, followed by the year of the reign and the position in the sexagenary cycle expressed in Chinese by the ten stems and the twelve branches, and in Kitan by the five colours and the twelve animals. The preface of the inscription gives some details of the life of the person concerned: his ancestors, his wife, their children and their spouses. Then there is a poem in praise of the person's achievements. The inscription ends with the date of the person's death, and the date of the burial, followed by the name of the composer of the text. The information in the following paragraphs sets out the terms indicating the reign titles, the sexagenary stems and other information common in the epitaphs.

1.6 Name of the Liao State

The Great Kitan State was founded in 907 and was defeated by the Jurchens in 1125. The first use of the name Liao seems to have been in 947. In 983 the state changed its name back to the Great Kitan State. It is generally understood that the reason for the first change of name was the inclusion of non-Kitan nationalities in the state, and the reason for the second change of name was the reassertion of Kitan nationalism. In Chinese inscriptions it is generally referred to as *Da Liao Guo* "the Great Liao State" In the Kitan inscriptions it has a longer and more enigmatic title, incorporating between the words 'great' and 'state' a number of words which are interpreted as

meaning ‘central’ (though two quite different words are used at different times), a word which means Kitan and another of unknown meaning, which is perhaps the Kitan word for Liao. This term is discussed in detail in 4.58.

1.7 The Yelü clan and the Xiao clan

All the inscriptions, with the exception of those of two emperors, two empresses and the imperial uncle and his consort, are epitaphs for members of the Kitan aristocracy. Many of these have the clan name 耶律 Yelü, and were members of the clan of Abaoji, the founder of the Kitan state. Others have the clan name 蕭 Xiao, which, as the *Liaoshi* informs us, was the “consort clan” However, no one term corresponding to Xiao has yet been identified in the Kitan inscriptions. What we find are a number of clan names: the Shulü 述律, the Bali 拔里 and the Yishiji 乙室己. These were apparently merged during the course of the dynasty. Yuan historians suggested the Kitan terms for Xiao was Shimo 石抹, but this does not seem to be the case; the Kitan equivalent of Shimo was Shenmi 審密 (Wittfogel and Fêng, 1949:238), a term which occurs in the inscriptions. We also find the names of some Chinese, in particular Han Zhigu and his family, and a number of other clans. Kitan social hierarchy was complex, with senior and junior patriarchal tents, imperial maternal uncles and many combinations, for which Wittfogel and Fêng 1949 may be consulted. Many of these terms have been identified in the Kitan texts.

1.8 Names of Liao emperors

A Liao emperor was given a number of personal names and titles. Each had a personal name 名 *ming*; this was called 諱 *hui* after his death. Many had Kitan childhood names, 小名 *xiaoming*. On reaching adulthood, he would receive an adult name 字 *zi* and perhaps a literary name 號 *hao*. When ascending the throne, an emperor received an honorific title 尊號 *zunhao* and after his death, a posthumous title *shi hao* 諡號. Historically, emperors are referred to by their temple title *miaohao* 廟號, sometimes preceded by the dynastic name. In the Kitan texts, a person has a Kitan “childhood name” a “second name”, and sometimes a Chinese name as well. The names and titles of the Liao emperors are as follows:

Taizu (916-926)
Taizong (939-947) (Abaoji)
Shizong (947-951)
Muzong (951-969)

Jingzong (969-979)
 Shengzong (979-1031)
 Xingzong (1031-1055)
 Daozong (1055-1101)
 Tianzuo (1101-1111)

1.9 Reign titles of Liao emperors

Generally speaking, each emperor adopted a new reign title on accession and changed the reign title several times during the rest of his reign. There were twenty-two reign titles during the Liao period; two covered the reigns of more than one emperor.

1 Shence	916-922	神冊	spirit appointment
2 Tianzan	922-926	天贊	heaven assistance
3 Tianxian	926-939	天顯	heaven manifest
4 Huitong	938-947	會同	assemble together
5 Datong	947-947	大同	great togetherness
6 Tianlu	947-951	天祿	heaven prosperity
7 Yingli	951-969	應曆	respond calendar
8 Baoning	969-979	保寧	protect tranquility
9 Qianheng	979-983	乾亨	heaven perseverance
10 Tonghe	983-1012	統和	government unity
11 Kaitai	1012-1021	開泰	open prosperity
12 Taiping	1021-1031	太平	great peace
13 Jingfu	1031-1032	景福	bright happiness
14 Chongxi	1032-1055	重熙	repeated splendour
15 Qingning	1055-1065	清寧	clear tranquility
16 Xianyong	1065-1075	咸雍	together harmony
17 Dakang	1075-1085	大康	great prosperity
18 Da'an	1085-1095	大安	great peace
19 Shouchang	1095-1101	壽昌(壽隆)	longevity prosperity
20 Qiantong	1101-1111	乾統	celestial government
21 Tianqing	1111-1121	天慶	heaven blessings
22 Baoda	1121-1125	保大	protect greatness

1.10 Reign titles of Jin emperors

23 Shou guo	1115-1118	收國	retake country
24 Tianfu	1118-1123	天輔	heaven assistance
24 Tianhui	1123-1138	天會	heaven meeting

25 Tianjuan	1138-1141	天眷	heaven favour
26 Huangtong	1141-1149	皇統	august government
27 Tiande	1149-1153	天德	heaven virtue
28 Zhenyuan	1153-1156	貞元	purity origin
29 Zhenglong	1156-1161	正隆	upright abundance
30 Dading	1161-	大定	great settlement

1.11 The ten stems and twelve branches

The Chinese designated years by a combination of the ten stems and twelve branches. The ten stems were: 甲 *jia* 乙 *yi* 丙 *bing* 丁 *ding* 戊 *wu* 己 *ji* 庚 *geng* 辛 *xin* 壬 *ren* 癸 *gui*. The twelve branches were 子 *zi* 丑 *chou* 寅 *yin* 卯 *mao* 辰 *chen* 巳 *si* 午 *wu* 未 *wei* 申 *shen* 酉 *you* 戌 *xu* and 亥 *hai*. These were combined to form a cycle of sixty years.

1.12 The five colours or the five elements

The ten stems of Chinese are represented by five symbols in Kitan. Turkic used words from Chinese: *qap, ir, pi, ti, bou, ku, qi, sim/sin, žim, äžim, kui*. In Tibetan, the ten stems correspond to the five elements: wood, fire, earth, metal, water. In Mongol and Manchu, the ten stems are expressed by the five colours, with modifications for the second of each pair. It is not known if the Kitan terms refer to colours, elements or something else, as they are not related to terms in other known languages. General opinion is tending towards regarding them as meaning the five colours. They come in two forms: with added dots for 'yellow' and 'white', with different suffixes (*qu/qu, u/iú*) for the others. These may represent the second of the pair, but analysis does not support this theory. It may reflect original usage, later blurred because the distinction, real in Chinese, was artificial in Kitan. Or it may refer to grammatical gender. The Kitan forms of these words are discussed under the relevant entries in Chapter Three.

1.13 Cyclical stems; the five elements; the five colours

Cyclical stems	Five elements	Five colours	Mongol	Manchu
甲乙 <i>jia yi</i>	木 <i>mu</i> wood	blue	<i>küke</i> <i>kükekcin</i>	<i>niowanggiyan</i> <i>niohon</i>
丙丁 <i>bing ding</i>	火 <i>huo</i> fire	red	<i>ulayan</i> <i>ulaqcin</i>	<i>fulgiyan</i> <i>folahon</i>
戊己 <i>wu ji</i>	土 <i>tu</i> earth	yellow	<i>šira</i> <i>širaqcin</i>	<i>suwayan</i> <i>sohon</i>

庚辛 geng xin	金 jin metal	white	cayan cayaqcin	šanyan šahon
壬癸 ren gui	水 shui water	black	qara qaraqcin	sahaliyan sahahon

1.14 The twelve animals

The Turks, Mongols and Manchus used twelve animals to designate years, corresponding to the twelve branches of the Chinese calendar. The correspondences are:

Chinese Cyclical Branch Mongol Manchu Old Turkish

鼠 rat	子 zi	quluqana	singgeri	sičyan/küskü
牛 ox	丑 chou	üker	ihan	ud
虎 tiger	寅 yin	bars	tasha	bars
兔 rabbit	卯 mao	taulai	gûlmahûn	tawišyan
龍 dragon	辰 chen	luu	muduri	luu
蛇 snake	巳 si	moyai	meihe	yïlan
馬 horse	午 wu	morin	morin	yunt
羊 sheep	未 wei	qonin	honin	qoyn
猴 monkey	申 shen	bečin	bonio	bičin
雞 chicken	酉 you	takiya	coko<Ju. tiko	taqïqu
狗 dog	戌 xu	noqai	indahûn	it
豬 pig	亥 hai	yaqai	ulgiyan	layzïn/toņuz

Further discussion on these terms in Kitan can be found in the English-Kitan Glossary in Chapter 3. Both the small script forms and the large script forms can be found in tabular form in Chapter Five.

1.15 Sources

The following inscriptions form the extant corpus of material in the Kitan small script. They are referred to by their conventional abbreviations. For details on their excavation, current location and publication details see Liu Fengzhu 1999.

(1) Bozhou 博州. *Jindai Bozhou fangyushi muzhi*. 金代博州防禦使墓誌. *Epitaph of the Defense Commissioner of Bozhou of the Jin Dynasty*. Dated

1170. This is the latest inscription found, written only 20 years before the formal abolition of the Kitan script in 1191.

(2) Cite 慈特. *Yelü Cite muzhi*. 耶律慈特墓誌. *Epitaph of Yelü Cite*. Dated 1082. 28 lines, 885 words.

(3) Daozong 道宗. *Daozong huangdi aice*. 道宗皇帝哀冊. *Eulogy for the Emperor Daozong*. Dated 1101. Excavated by 湯佐榮 Tang Zuorong, the son of the Governor of Rehe 湯玉麟 Tang Yulin, in 1930 from the Yongxing Tomb in modern Balin Right Banner of Inner Mongolia. 37 lines, of which 9 were reinscribed, 1134 words.

(4) Dilie 迪烈. *Yelü Dilie muzhiming*. 耶律迪烈墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü Dilie*. Dated 1092. 41 lines, 1740 words.

(5) Fushu 副署. *Yelü fushu muzhming*. 耶律副署墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Deputy Director Yelü*. Dated 1102. Discovered 1996 in the tombs of Yelü Qi family in Alukerqin Banner. 51 lines, 2000 words.

(6) Gaoshi 高十. *Yelü (Han) Gaoshi muzhi*. 耶律(韓)高十墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü (Han) Gaoshi*. Discovered 1995. Date unknown. Balin Right Banner, in the Han Kuangci family tombs. 51 lines of text; lower half of inscription is missing.

(7) Gu 故. *Gu Yelü shi mingshi*. 故耶律氏銘石. *Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü*. Dated 1115. 25 lines, 699 words. Discovered 1969 in Ongniut Banner, Inner Mongolia.

(8) Gui 貴. *Yelü Gui muzhiming* 耶律貴墓誌. *Epitaph of Yelü Gui*. Dated 1102. Excavated Balin Right Banner. 31 lines, 1100 words.

(9) Haitang 海棠. *Haitangshan muzhi canshi*. 海棠山墓誌殘石. *Damaged epitaph found near Haitangshan*. Discovered in Fuxin, Liaoning province, 1991. Year of inscription unknown. 13 lines, about 300 words.

(10) Han Dilie 韓敵烈. *Han Dilie muzhiming*. 韓敵烈墓誌銘. Also known as *Yelü Dilie muzhiming* 耶律敵烈墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü (Han) Dilie*. Dated 1101. 34 lines, 1350 graphs. Discovered 1996.

(11) Hongyong 弘用. *Yelü Hongyong muzhiming*. 耶律弘用墓誌. *Epitaph of Yelü Hongyong*. Dated 1100. Discovered 1996. Also known as the *Wurigentalala Inscription* or *Epitaph of Yelü Hongbian*. 32 lines, 847 graphs.

(12) Langjun 郎君. *Da Jin huang di dutong jinglüe langjun xingji*. 大金皇弟都統經略郎君行記. *Record of the Journey of the Younger Brother of the Emperor of the Great Jin Dynasty*. Also known as the *Langjun xingji* 郎君行記. Dated 1134 (Jin dynasty). Engraved on a stele in front of the tomb of Empress Wu of the Tang in Qian county, near Xi'an. The only extant Kitan-Chinese bilingual. The Kitan text has 5 lines with 97 words; the Chinese text has 6 lines with 108 characters.

(13) Liangguo 梁國. *Liangguo taifei muzhi*. 梁國太妃墓誌. *Epitaph of the Imperial Consort of the State of Liang*. Discovered in 2001 in Fuxin, Liaoning.

(14) Linggong 令公. *Xiao Linggong muzhi canshi*. 蕭令公墓誌殘石. *Damaged epitaph of Xiao Linggong*. Dated 1057. Discovered 1950 in Fuxin, Liaoning.

(15) Nu 奴. *Yelü Nu muzhiming*. 耶律奴墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü Nu*. Dated 1099. Discovered 1999. 48 lines, 1274 words.

(16) Renxian 仁先. *Yelü Renxian muzhiming*. 耶律仁先墓. *Epitaph of Yelü Renxian*. Dated 1072. Discovered 1983. 70 lines, more than 5,100 words.

(17) Renyi 仁懿. *Renyi huanghou aice*. 仁懿皇后哀冊. *Eulogy for Empress Renyi*. Dated 1076. Discovered 1922. Along with the Xingzong inscription, the earliest tomb inscription to be found in modern times. 32 lines. The original stele is still in the Yongxing tomb.

(18) Shilu 實魯. *Shilu taishi muzhi bei*. 實魯太師墓誌碑. *Epitaph of Shilu taishi*. Dated 1100.

(19) Songwei 宋魏. *Song Wei Guo fei muzhiming*. 宋魏國妃墓誌銘. *Epitaph of the Imperial Consort of the States of Song and Wei*. Dated 1110. 24 lines, 642 words.

(20) Taishuzu 太叔祖. *Huang taishuzu aice*. 皇太叔祖哀冊. *Eulogy for the Imperial Grand Uncle*. Dated 1110. Discovered 1997. 25 lines, 807 words.

- (21) Hanshi 韓氏. *Xiao Temei - Guoge fuma di'er furen Han shi muzhiming*. 蕭特每-闊哥駙馬第二夫人韓氏墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Mme. Han, second wife of the imperial son-in-law Xiao Temei-Kuoge*. 1078. Date and place of excavation not known. 35 lines, 814 words. Unpublished.
- (22) Tuguci 圖古辭. *Xiao Tuguci muzhiming*. 蕭圖古辭墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Xiao Tuguci*. Dated 1068. Discovered 2000, Fuxin, Liaoning. 26 lines, 739 words.
- (23) Xingzong 興宗. *Xingzong huangdi aice*. 興宗皇帝哀冊. *Eulogy for Emperor Xingzong*. Dated 1055. Only a handwritten copy is available. 36 lines, 861 words. The original stele is still in the Yongxing tomb.
- (24) Xu 許. *Xuwang muzhi*. 許王墓誌. *Epitaph of Prince Xu*. Dated 1109. Discovered 1975 in Fuxin, Liaoning. Published 1977. 64 lines, 2157 words. 5 lines of Chinese text.
- (25) Xuanyi 宣懿. *Xuanyi huanghou aice*. 宣懿皇后哀冊. *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi*. Dated 1101. Excavated 1930 from the Yongfu tomb. 30 lines, 620 words.
- (26) Yelü Langjun 耶律郎君 *Yelü Langjun canshi*. 耶律郎君殘石 *Damaged epitaph of Prince Yelü*. Dated 1085-1087. Discovered 1995. The upper right corner with the owner's name has been broken. 26 lines.
- (27) Yongning 永寧. *Yelü Yongning langjun muzhiming* 耶律永寧郎君墓誌銘殘石. *Epitaph of Prince Yelü Yongning*. Dated 1088. Discovered 1995. 43 lines, 1041 words.
- (28) Yongqing 永清. *Yongqing gongzhu muzhi*. 永清公主墓誌. *Epitaph of Princess Yongqing*. Also known as 蕭大山和永清公主墓誌 *Xiao Dashan he Yongning gongzhu muzhi*. *Epitaph of Xiao Dashan and Princess Yongqing*. Discovered 2003. 32 lines, 1373 words.
- (29) Zezhou 澤州. *Zezhou cishi muzhi*. 澤州刺史墓誌. *Epitaph of the Prefect of Zezhou*. Also known as 涿州刺史墓誌 *Zhuozhou cishi muzhi*. Dated 1108. Discovered 1994.
- (30) Zhixian 智先. *Yelü Zhixian muzhiming*. 耶律智先墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü Zhixian*. Dated 1094. 27 lines, 1081 graphs.

(31) Zhonggong 仲公. *Xiao Zhonggong muzhi*. 蕭仲公墓志. *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong*. Dated 1150. Discovered 1942, published 1973. 50 lines, 2492 words.

(32) Zongjiao 宗教. *Yelü Zongjiao muzhiming*. 耶律宗教墓志銘. *Epitaph of Yelü Zongjiao*. Dated 1053. Discovered 1991. The earliest inscription in the small script discovered so far.

1.16 Early Chinese research

The Qingling Kitan epitaphs were accompanied by inscriptions in Chinese, but it soon became clear that the texts were not bilinguals. Nevertheless, early researchers were able to compare sections of text in both languages, determining some names, cyclical terms, numerals and placenames, sometimes correctly, sometimes not.

The small Kitan script looks similar to the Chinese “running script” There is also a “seal script” variety used on the canopies of the inscriptions, for example that of the *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi*:

𐰞𐰪𐰮𐰩 𐰞𐰪𐰮𐰩 𐰞𐰪𐰮𐰩 𐰞𐰪𐰮𐰩

Here we have sixteen graphs set in a square in groups of four. These corresponded to the “running script” forms 𐰞𐰪𐰮𐰩 𐰞𐰪𐰮𐰩 𐰞𐰪𐰮𐰩 𐰞𐰪𐰮𐰩. In the main text, these elements were linked together. This suggested that Kitan words, written *en bloc*, were made up of discrete graphs. This led to the insight that the script was phonetic, or at least partially phonetic.

𐰞	𐰪	𐰮	𐰩	𐰞	𐰪	𐰮	𐰩	𐰞	𐰪	𐰮	𐰩	𐰞	𐰪	𐰮	𐰩
𐰞	𐰪	𐰮	𐰩	𐰞	𐰪	𐰮	𐰩	𐰞	𐰪	𐰮	𐰩	𐰞	𐰪	𐰮	𐰩

1.17 Arrangement of the small graphs to form words

In the inscriptions the graphs are linked together rather like Korean *hangul* and written from top to bottom, left to right.

①	①②	①②	①②	①②	①②	①②
		③	③④	③④	③④	③④
				⑤	⑤⑥	⑤⑥
						⑦

The combined graphs (words) are written down the page, from top to bottom, right to left, like Chinese.

Luo Fucheng (1933, 1934) was able to determine all the numerals except 'five' and 'nine', all the heavenly stems except *ding*, *wu* and *gui*, and all the earthly branches except *shen* and *hai*. He also deciphered the reign titles *Shouchang*, *Dakang*, *Qiantong*, *Chongxi* and *Qingning*, and the names of the emperors Daozong and Xingzong. Most of these are now generally accepted.

Wang Jingru 1933 is a comparison of the Daozong and Xuanyi epitaphs and of the Xingzong and Renyi epitaphs, which were excavated in 1930. Wang listed 72 Kitan words, the highest number of correct interpretations of that period. Luo Fucheng 1934 is a collection of all inscriptions known at that time, several studies by Japanese and Chinese scholars, and a translation of Kervyn's report of his initial discovery. In his preface, Jin Yufu reviewed the discovery of the Qingling tombs, the account in the *Liaoshi* as to how the Kitan scripts were invented, and other historical material on Kitan. He concluded that the characters in the imperial epitaphs were the "small script", and noted that this was still being used well into the Jin dynasty, even after the creation of the Jurchen script. He suggested that Mongol was the key to understanding Kitan.

There were few developments until the discovery of the *Epitaph of Xiao Linggong* (Li Wenxin 1954; Li Dingkui 1954). Li Dingkui noted that 公存矢 五九与 月半 corresponded to Chinese 墓誌銘 *muzhiming* 'epitaph, inscription on a tombstone'. He suggested that 叔金 雨全 网力本 corresponded to 奉敕撰 *feng chi zhuan* 'composed by imperial edict'. He also noted that the same Kitan graph was used for both the first and second of the ten stems, *jia* and *yi*, and another graph was used for both the third and fourth of the ten stems, *geng* and *xin*. He thought the traditional correspondences between *jia* ~ *yi* and 'wood', and *geng* ~ *xin* and 'metal' meant that the Kitan graphs might mean 'wood' and 'metal' respectively, and that the ten stems were related to the traditional five elements (wood, metal, water, fire, earth). This was later to be known as "the five element theory". In a later article, Li Dingkui 1957 suggested that 主王 'emperor' and 主介 'empress' were not Turkic words like *khan* and *qatun* but were loanwords from Chinese 皇帝 *huangdi* 'emperor' and 皇后 *huanghou* 'empress'.

In 1973 the *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong* was discovered (Zheng Shaozong 1973; Wang Jingru 1973). Zheng Shaozong was able to confirm Li Dingkui's proposal that 公存矢 means 'tomb' (actually 'on the tomb' - 矢 is a locative suffix) and that 五九与 means 'recorded'. From the dates he was able to determine the numerals 'five' and 'nine', thus completing the list of all the numbers from one to ten. Wang Jingru 1973 confirmed the Kitan forms of the reign titles Da'an and Tiande, recognised three new reign titles:

Tianfu, Huangtong and Tianjuan. He concluded that 令丙茶 and 茶丙茶 are variants; both mean the reign title Tianhui; 令金丙茶 and 茶金丙茶 are the same; both mean the reign title Tianjuan. He thought that perhaps 令 was a cursive form of 茶.

1.18 Japanese research

Japanese scholars such as Shiratori Kurakichi and Haneda Toru showed an interest in Kitan quite early, but the first to deal with the Kitan script as such were Yamaji Hiroaki, Murayama Shichirō, Osada Natsuki and Otagi Matsuo. Yamaji 1956 argued that the Kitan characters, large and small, as well as the Jurchen script, could all be derived from Chinese characters through a series of stages. He distinguished ten ways of deriving characters: 丰 ‘year’ is derived from Chinese 年 ‘year’; 天 ‘heaven, sky’ is from Chinese 天 ‘heaven, sky’ These are possibly correct. But he extended the principle to derive 奕 from Chinese 安 ‘peace’, which is not correct. Yamaji suggested readings for about 70 Kitan graphs, of which about 10 are correct. Murayama Shichirō worked on the basis that the Kitan script was derived from the Old Turkic runiform script. 药, for example, looks like the Old Turkic letter 𐰽, which is Turkic <d¹>. On the basis of such perceived similarities, 倭及药 <mu.u.ji> ‘sacred, holy, pertaining to the emperor 聖’ was read **bogda*, cf. Mo. *bogda* ‘sacred’ Murayama assumed the underlying language was Mongol, and that the script was derived from Turkic runiform.

Osada 1951 also attempted to identify the underlying language by comparing 31 Kitan words in Chinese transcription from the *Liaoshi* and other sources. He concluded that Kitan was unlike Mongol in many ways; it was more similar to Daur. He distinguished 327 elements in the script, which he divided these into logographs and phonetic symbols. There were 200 phonetic graphs, of 49 were of high frequency. The most common graphs initially were 丰 <s> (39 times) and 令 <t> (37 times). Medially, the most common graphs were 丰 <l> (39 times) and 力 <a> (37 times). In final position the most common graphs were 与 <én> (33 times) and 又 <ún> (30 times). On the basis of these statistics, he concluded that 令 <t> 又 <ś> and 止 <p> must be vowels. Zheng Shaozong 1957 analysed the composition of Kitan words into their component elements, and derived 402 separate graphs.

Otagi 1956 also presumed that the language underlying the Kitan script was some sort of Mongol. From an analysis of twelve dates in Kitan and Chinese, he identified the basic numerals, the stems and branches, some official titles and some other words. He identified the numerals 一 ‘one’ 二 ‘two’ 三 ‘three’ 四 ‘four’ 五 ‘five’ 六 ‘six’ 七 ‘seven’ 八 ‘eight’ 九 (= 玖) ‘nine’ 十 ‘ten’ and 丁 ‘twenty’, but his suggested readings were based on Mongol

and lacked evidence. In more recent years the most insightful researcher has been Toyodo Gorō, whose contributions will be discussed later in this chapter.

1.19 Russian and other research

Rudov 1963 was also a study of the Kitan words in the *Liaoshi*. He found about 30, from more than 200, words similar to Mongol. He thought the Kitan script was a “special syllabic script”, in which sometimes a graph could sometimes represent a syllable, sometimes a whole word. He thought that the first words of the Langjun inscription 又 山 九奕和 巫立天 <GREAT GOLD g.úr:en qa.ha:an> ‘of the khan of the Great Jin State’ corresponded to 大金皇弟 *Da Jin huang di* ‘younger brother of the emperor of the Great Jin dynasty’ So he concluded 九奕和 <g.úr:en> ‘of the state’ meant ‘emperor’, and 巫立天 <qa.ha:an> ‘of the khan’ meant ‘younger brother’ Proceeding from this, he suggested readings for a dozen or so graphs, with little success. Šavkunov 1963 compared several texts in Kitan with the Jurchen inscription at Nurgan, and concluded that the Langjun inscription was possibly in Jurchen, written in the Kitan script. Taskin 1963 also presumed that Kitan is a branch of Mongolic, and that the Kitan script is syllabic. He noticed that 又 尺奕爻 兆利 奚爻天 <GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.rá qid.ún.i> on the canopy of the Daozong inscription, and 尺奕爻 及干 <dau.úr.ún u.ul> ‘mid winter’ in the Langjun inscription both contain the word 尺奕爻 <dau.úr.ún>. He translated 又 尺奕爻 兆利 奚 [=奚]爻天 ‘Great Central Liao Kitan [State]’ as ‘The Great Kitan State Son of Heaven’

Hambis 1963 is a report on the research findings of Luo Fucheng, with some comments on possible cognates. Starikov and Nadelyaev 1964 was a statistical analysis of the graphs. The Kitan texts were coded, each graph being given a number, and the corpus transcribed in an attempt to perceive underlying morphological patterns. So line 4 of the *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi* 又 令西月 九奕 丰 丰和 令中符 令考天 无策力 毛 毛 艾 山 圣力 北中中 包 天 采 令力力 is transcribed 222 090-142-156 256-310 080 080-119 074-066-144 074-066-144 074-166-223 237-191-177 350 248 228 087 003-177 242-066-084 240 184 204 090-178-177. Starikov 1982, Arapov 1982 and Probst et al. 1986 are along the same lines.

1.20 The Kitan Small Script Research Group

Earlier research is now mainly of historical interest, though some important discoveries were made. The Kitan Small Script Research Group formed during the late 1970s, with Chinggeltei and Chen Naixiong at the University

of Inner Mongolia, and Liu Fengzhu and Yu Baolin at the Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. Their research was based on the material available at that time: the Langjun inscription, the four imperial eulogies, and another four inscriptions excavated during the 1950s and 1960s. Using the conventional abbreviations, the texts were Langjun, Renyi, Daozong, Xuanyi, Xingzong, Xu, Linggong, Zhonggong and Gu. The results of their research were first published in 1977, which together with concordances, bibliographies and other studies, culminated in the monograph *Research on the Kitan Small Script* in 1985. This book is referred to hereafter as *Research*.

The first step was to identify place names, personal names, reign titles, dates, numerals, cyclical terms, places and official ranks in Kitan and Chinese. The Langjun inscription begins “the younger brother of the emperor of the Great Jin” (大金皇弟) and lists his titles: 都統 *dutong* ‘campaign commander’, 經略 *jinglüe* ‘military commissioner’ and 郎君 *langjun* ‘court attendant’. If the Kitan word for ‘emperor’ was borrowed from Chinese, as several scholars had suggested, the equivalent of 皇帝 *huangdi* ‘emperor’ should be found near the beginning of the inscription. Previous research had suggested that 圭 介 corresponded to 皇后 *huanghou* ‘empress’ and 圭 丕 介 to 皇太后 *huangtaihou* ‘empress dowager’. So 圭 might correspond to 皇 *huang*. The last word in the Kitan version of the Langjun, Gu and Zhong inscriptions is 𐰽𐰺 <c.er>. The Chinese version of Langjun indicates these two graphs must mean ‘written by, 題’. The words before 𐰽𐰺 <c.er> ‘written by’ should be a title or a personal name. The Chinese text gives the names of the writers of the inscription as 王圭 Wang Gui and 黃應期 Huang Yingqi. If 圭 is *huang*, one of the names in front of 𐰽𐰺 <ci.er> ‘written by’, 圭 用 𐰽𐰺, might be the Kitan transcription of Huang Yingqi. Huang’s official title was 尚書職方郎中 *shangshu zhifang langzhong* ‘director of the bureau of military operations of the imperial secretariat’. The first, fourth and fifth characters end in *-ang*. Above Huang’s name we find the Kitan words 𐰽𐰺 𐰽𐰺 𐰽𐰺 𐰽𐰺 𐰽𐰺 𐰽𐰺 <c.aŋ s.iú tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ> where 𐰽𐰺 <aŋ> occurs twice, corresponding to the final in the Chinese words 尚 *shang* and 郎 *lang*. It did not transcribe 方 *fang*, because in Liao Chinese 方 was probably pronounced **foŋ*. The other name, 𐰽𐰺 𐰽𐰺 <oŋ g.ui> must be Wang Gui.

Determination of these graphs led to others. 𐰽𐰺 𐰽𐰺 <l.iŋ g.uŋ>, in Xu 7 and Xu 8, is a common title: 令公 *linggong* ‘lord’ 𐰽𐰺 𐰽𐰺 <g.uŋ dz.iú> is Chinese 公主 *gongzhu* ‘princess’. A place name in the Langjun inscription, 唐乾陵 *Tang Qianling* ‘the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty’ could then be identified in the Kitan version. 𐰽𐰺 <aŋ>, 𐰽𐰺 <l> and 𐰽𐰺 <iŋ> were known, so Tang Qianling was written 𐰽𐰺 𐰽𐰺 𐰽𐰺 𐰽𐰺 <ta.aŋ ki.ên l.iŋ>. 𐰽𐰺 <en> is a genitive ending.

九用 𠂔考 <g.iŋ l.iəu> must be a transcription of 經略 *jinglüe*. Wang Jingru had shown that 𠂔用 𠂔考 <x.iŋ s.úŋ> was the Kitan transcription of the name of the emperor Xingzong, and 𠂔𠂔 𠂔考 <dau.u s.úŋ> the emperor Daozong. So 九用 𠂔考 主 王 <g.iŋ s.úŋ hoŋ di> must have been a transcription of *Jingzong huangdi* ‘the emperor Jingzong’

On the right hand side of Xu there are five lines of Chinese, which contain the word 留守 *liushou* ‘regent, viceroy’ In the Kitan text we find 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <l.iu s.éu>, giving 𠂔 <iu> and 𠂔 <eu>. Xu also contains an official title: 開府儀同三司 *kaifu yitong sansi* ‘commander unequalled in honour’ This corresponds to 𠂔𠂔 𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.úŋ s.a.am ss> in the Kitan inscription. 𠂔𠂔 <ŋ.i> is the transcription 儀 *yi*, from which we may presume an initial [ŋ] in Liao Chinese. 𠂔𠂔𠂔 <s.a.am> is a transcription of 三 *san*, indicating a final *-m* in Liao Chinese. We also find the term 尚父 混 corresponding to Kitan 𠂔𠂔 𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <s.aŋ pu hu.un>. So we can deduce that 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 九亦 𠂔 <hu.un tu.úŋ g.ün oŋ> transcribes 混同郡王 *hun tong jun wang*.

Similarly, 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <tu.úŋ ju.úŋ s.iú m.en xa p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh> occurs in Xu 13. 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <tu.úŋ ju.úŋ s.iú> is a transcription of 同中書 *tongzhongshu*. The chapter on official titles in the *Liaoshi* lists the title 同中書門下平章事 *tongzhongshu menxia pingzhangshi*, which must correspond to this.

𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <s.iú m.i pu sh> in Xu 12 must be a transcription of 樞密副使 *shumi fushi* ‘deputy military affairs commissioner’ Ling 3 𠂔𠂔 <tai sh> must be a transcription of 太師 *taishi* ‘grand preceptor’ In Dao 2, 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <ŋ.in s.iŋ cau.úŋ l.uh da.ai pu> is a transcription of 銀青崇祿大夫 *yingqing chonglu dafu* ‘grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon’ 九𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <g.ui z.i z.i s.iu> must be 國子祭酒 *guozi jijiu* ‘chancellor of the directorate of education’

𠂔 is used to transcribe [s] in 𠂔𠂔𠂔 <s.a.am> 三 **sam* ‘three’, [ts] in 𠂔𠂔 <z.úŋ> 宗 **zung* ‘ancestor’ and [tsh] in 𠂔𠂔 <s.iŋ> 青 **cing* ‘blue’, suggesting that Kitan phonology did not distinguish [s], [ts] and [tsh].

In Gu 2, 大 in 崇祿大夫 *chonglu daifu* is written 𠂔𠂔 rather than 𠂔𠂔 <da.ai>, suggesting that 𠂔 and 𠂔 <da> are probably allographs. In the same inscription 金紫 is transcribed 九𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <gi.m z.i>, showing 金 ‘gold’ had a final *m* in Liao Chinese.

The Kitan transcription of the Jin title 銀青光祿大夫 *yingqing guanglu daifu* appears in Zhong 21: 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 九𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <ŋ.in s.iŋ g.oŋ lu da.ai.i pu>. 𠂔 is <oŋ> rather than **uaŋ* because it is followed by the genitive suffix 𠂔 <on>, not 𠂔 <an>. 𠂔 <lu> is the equivalent of the cyclical term 辰 *chen*, which corresponds to the zodiac animal ‘dragon’, MMo. *luu*. Both the

MMo. and Kitan words are derived from Tu. *luu* and presumably ultimately from a dialect form of Ch. 龍 *long* ‘dragon’

兩危 戈火 万去及 得欠 万交 <ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u b.uh ei.ie> in Gu 2 must be a transcription of 尚書右僕射 *shangshu you puye* ‘left vice director of the department of state affairs’ The word 僕 was *buk* in Middle Chinese, the Mandarin initial *p* is irregular. In Langjun 尚 *shang* is transcribed 來危 <c.aŋ>, in Xu it is written 戈危 <ś.aŋ> and in Gu it is written 兩危 <ca.aŋ>.

In Zhong 27, 中火 得只 死杏 中危 <l.i b.û sh.ī l.aŋ> should be a transcription of 禮部侍郎 *libu shilang* ‘vice director of the ministry of rites’. Xu 11 令用 九危 九亦 令交 竹 死 <z.iŋ g.aŋ g.ün z.ie du sh> is a transcription of 靜江軍節度使 *Jingjiangjun jiedushi* ‘military commissioner of the Jingjiang army’ Zhong 20 釜交考 令交考 竹 釜釜 九交釜 <d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm> transcribes 殿前都點檢 *dianqian du dianjian* ‘chief inspector of the palace command’ In Langjun 2, 九丙水 令交考 <g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên> transcribes 宮殿 *gongdian* ‘palace’ In Dao 6, 令交考 万丙及 令交考 <s.ie.ên ei.iu.u t.ie.ên> transcribes 仙游殿 *Xianyoudian* ‘Hall of the Wandering Immortals’ In many words, 釜 <d> and 令 <t> appear to be interchangeable. The difference between 釜 <d> and 令 <t> is not known. Wang Jingru thought they might be allographs, but this seems unlikely.

The “temple names” of emperors contain either 祖 *zu* or 宗 *zong*. Gu 4 丕 令令 戈安 安笑公 主 丕 <tai z.ú ś.i.ŋ ŋ.y.n hoŋ di> is a transcription of *tai zu sheng yuan huang di* 太祖聖元皇帝, the temple name of Abaoji. In Gu 4, 关关 令令 主 丕 <i.i z.ú hoŋ di> is a transcription of 懿祖皇帝 *Yizu huangdi*, the temple name of Abaoji’s great grandfather. In Gu 5, 釜万 令令 主 丕 <d.ei z.ú hoŋ di> transcribes 德祖皇帝 *Dezu huangdi*, the temple name of Abaoji’s father.

令 <pu> transcribes *fu* in 父, 府, 副, 夫 and 傅. It seems likely that 令 was meant to write Kitan [pu] but also used to write Chinese [fu]. The modified 令 was presumably devised for Chinese, but the distinction became blurred, especially if the Kitans pronounced Chinese [fu] as [pu]. Zhong 8 令 九火 戈危 令得 九亦 <pu g.ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün> must be a transcription of 輔國上將軍 *fuguo shang jiang jun* ‘bulwark generalissimo of the state’ In Langjun 1, 中並 戈为矣 <l.ián ś.a.an> transcribes 梁山 *Liangshan*. Xu 12 九又 安及 來 戈危 令並 九亦 <gi.m ŋ.u ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün> is 金吾衛上將軍 *jinwuwei shang jiangjun* ‘generalissimo of the imperial insignia guard’ Zhonggong 21 中为矣 中用 九亦 杰 <l.a.an l.iŋ g.ün oŋ> transcribes 蘭陵郡王 *Lanlingjun wang* ‘prince of Lanling prefecture’ In Xu 9, Lanlingjun is written 中为矣 中用 九亦 <l.a.an l.iŋ g.ün>, confirming 矣 is an allograph of 矣 <an>.

Xu 6 为矣 九火 九亦 <a.an g.ui g.ün> is 安國軍 *anguojun* ‘pacification army’ Zhong 19 得考 九关关 久平 令得 九亦 <b.iau g.i.i da.ai s.iaŋ g.ün> is 驃騎大將軍 *biaoji da jiangjun* ‘cavalry general’. Zhonggong 20 令及 九又 來

𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <z.o gi.m ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ> transcribes 左金衛上將 *zuo jinwei shang jiang* ‘left gold senior general of the imperial insignia guard’. Zhonggong 20 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ g.ün> is a transcription of 龍虎衛上將軍 *longhuwei shang jiangjun* ‘senior general of the dragon and tiger guard’

Zhong 22 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <xa.aŋ tai ca.aŋ ś.iú ś.iaŋ:en s.o ci.ŋ s.iaŋ> transcribes 行台尚書省左丞相 *xingtai shang shu zuo chengxiang* is ‘left prime minister of the department of state affairs’ 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ s.iaŋ> is 尚書左丞相 *shangshu you chengxiang* ‘right prime minister of state affairs’. 𠄎 <ss> transcribes 司 *sī* in 開府儀同三司 **kaifu yitong sansi*; 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ś.en c.eu:un ss sh> transcribes 沈州刺史 *Shenzhou cishi* ‘prefect of Shenzhou’ This again indicates that Kitan did not distinguish Chinese [s] and [tsh].

Gu 2 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <s.i ś.ui ki.ên g.ui b.ah> is 漆水縣開國伯 *Qishuixian kaiguobo* ‘dynasty founding earl of Qishui county’ Zhonggong 19 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <s.y.iên x.ui □.n> is the equivalent of 宣徽 *Xuanhuiyuan* ‘court ceremonial institute’ The reading of 𠄎 is problematic. See 2.102. In the transcription of 開府儀同三司 *kaifu yitong sansi*, 開 *kai* is transcribed 𠄎𠄎 <k.ai>, but in 開國伯 *kaiguobo* it is written 𠄎𠄎 <x.ai>. In Zhong 5 守司空 *shou sikong* is transcribed 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ś.eu ss x.uŋ>, again using 𠄎 <x> for Chinese [kh].

Xu 12 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ś.iú m.i ü.n> is a transcription of 樞密院 *shumiyuan* ‘bureau of military affairs’ Xu 49 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ:un pu b.u ś.iú> transcribes 長寧宮副部署 *Changninggong fu bushu* ‘deputy administrator of the Changning palace’ 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ŋ.y.iên ś.oi pu> in Zhong 18 is 元帥府 *yuan shuai fu* ‘headquarters of a marshal’ Dao 2 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <w.u g.î ú.i.i> is a transcription of 武騎尉 *wujiwei* ‘commandant of military cavalry’ 騎 is transcribed 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <g.i.i> above but 𠄎𠄎 <g.î> here, showing 𠄎 <î> = 𠄎𠄎 <i.i>.

1.21 Research on Kitan words in Chinese sources

There have been several studies on the Kitan words in the glossary appended to the *Liaoshi* and some Song travel memoirs, notably Franke 1969, 1976 and 1982, Vovin 2003 and Shimunek 2007. Not long after the discovery of the Qingling inscriptions, Luo Fucheng identified 𠄎 **po* with 𠄎 <po> ‘time’, 陶里 **tauli* with 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <tau.lí.a> ‘rabbit’ (the cyclical branch 卯) and 捏褐 [niehe < neho] with 𠄎 <ni.qo> ‘dog’ (the cyclical branch 戌). Zheng Shaozong identified 𠄎 <tau> as ‘five’ (討 **tau*). They were also discussed *passim* in Wittfogel and Fêng 1949. These words are not dealt with in this book, unless they can be identified with actual Kitan words in the Kitan texts.

In the *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi*, 全英虫 关关 穴旁 丙 corresponds to 宣懿太后 *Xuanyi taihou* ‘the empress Xuanyi’. Clearly 穴旁 丙 corresponds to ‘empress’. The *Liaoshi* glossary explains the word 耨幹么 **nou’emo* as 后土 *houtu* ‘deity of the earth’ and 母 *mu* ‘mother’. Cf. *Liaoshi* 71: “The Liao, following the Turks, called their empress 可敦 *kedun* (= *qatun*). In their national language they called her 臧俚睿 *telijian* (= **terigen*). The term of respect was 耨幹么 **neu’omo*, because it was said that she was ‘the empress of the earth’. In Chinese inscriptions, it is common to see 天 *tian* ‘heaven’ contrasted to 地 *di* ‘earth’. In the Kitan inscriptions, too, 天 ‘heaven’ is found in contrast with 穴旁 ‘earth’. Shen Hui 1980 observed that the words in the Daozong epitaph 天 仔 穴旁 本 must correspond to Chinese 天長地久 ‘heaven is eternal and earth is forever’

In a series of articles (1983b, 1989a, 1993c, 1995) Liu Fengzhu made a number of important discoveries. In *Xuanyi* 19, for example, we read the following rhymed lines:

午舟 午舟 穴旁 冬本	ù.bo ù.bo neu.e as.ar
凡旁坐 凡旁坐 尖 扎	g.e.cèn g.e.cèn ǒ ho
扎本 又雨黍 凡及 无笈力	ho.ci m.in.is g.u tau.lí.a
巧 兮 关 山 刈扎	giù doro.i nigu hu.ho

无笈力 <tau.lí.a> means ‘hare’. The *Liaoshi* glossary tells us the word for ‘jade’ was 孤穩 *guwen* = **gu’un*. This corresponds to 凡及 <g.u>. So 凡及 无笈力 <g.u tau.lí.a> means ‘jade hare’, a poetic term for ‘moon’. The corresponding term for ‘sun’ is 金鳥 *jin niao* ‘golden bird’. 山 is used in the Langjun inscription in the formal title of the Jin dynasty. 山 is an allograph of 山 used with masculine nouns. The word following 山, 刈扎 <hu.ho> should be ‘bird’, cf. Ju. ‘crow’ **gaha*. 兮 is a logograph meaning variously ‘ceremony’, ‘ritual’ or ‘seal’. It was probably pronounced **doro*. 山 is a logograph transcribed GOLD[♂], used with nouns of masculine gender. The word ‘gold’ was pronounced something like **nigu*. See 2.285.

On the canopy of the *Epitaph of the Prince of Xu*, we read: 久立本 及子刈 天 多及 戈去卡 不力出 <da.ha.ai o.ju.hu DAY 292.o ś.eu.kâ on.a.án> corresponding to 掩閉日甘露絳 *yanbi ri gan lu jiang* ‘on the day of the covering, sweet dew descended’. From which we can deduce 久立本 及子刈 <da.ha.ar o.ju.hu> means ‘to cover [the coffin]’, 多及 戈去卡 <292.o ś.eu.kâ> means ‘sweet dew’ and 不力出 <on.a.án> is a past tense: ‘descended, came down, fell’.

In the *Eulogy for Emperor Daozong*, in 徙殯於仙游殿之西階 *xi bin yu Xianyoudian zhi xi jie* ‘it was transferred for burial to the steps at the west of the Xianyoudian’, 徙 corresponds to 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 *<x.ui.ri.ge.ei>*. This is *<x.ui>* ‘to come’ with a causative suffix followed by a converb suffix. The word following 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 *<x.ui.ri.ge.ei>*, namely 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 *<kê.d.ha.ai>*, must mean 殯 *bin* ‘to bury’, with a converb suffix. This word is also in *Renyi* 13, and likewise corresponds to 殯 *bin* in the Chinese inscription.

In the eulogies for *Renyi*, *Daozong* and *Xuanyi*, we find the word 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 *<l.iu.rèn.er>* or 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 *<l.iu.rèn.en>* after the year, month and date indicating the time of death. These seem to be honorific terms corresponding to Chinese 崩 *beng* ‘to die [of an emperor or empress]’ The stem is 𠂔𠂔𠂔 *<l.iu.rèn>* and 𠂔 *<er>* and 𠂔 *<én>* are suffixes indicating the gender of the subject.

In following the career of Prince Xu, we read: 子𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 *<j.uŋ s.iú l.iŋ d.em.l.ge.er>* (Xu 7). 子𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 *<ju.uŋ s.iú l.iŋ>* is the title 中書令 *zhongshuling* ‘secretariat director’ In line 34 we read 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 *<s.eu tai pu d.em.le.ge.ei>*. 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 *<s.eu tai pu>* is 守太傅 *shou taifu* ‘acting grand mentor’. In line 35 we read 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 *<s.eu tai sh d.em.le.ge.ei>*. 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 *<s.eu tai sh>* is 守太師 *shou taishi* ‘acting grand preceptor’ Similarly, in *Zhong* 8 we read 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 *<pu g.ui s.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün d.em.le.ge.ei>*. 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 *<pu g.ui s.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün>* is 輔國上將軍 *fuguo shang jiangjun* ‘bulwark generalissimo of the state’. In *Zhong* 22 we read 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 *<ci.ŋ oŋ d.em.le.ge.ei>*. 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 *<ci.ŋ oŋ>* is 鄭王 *Cheng wang* ‘the prince of Cheng’ In line 23 we read 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 *<y.e g.ui oŋ d.em.le.ge.er>*. 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 *<y.e g.ui oŋ>* is 越國王 *Yueguo wang* ‘prince of the state of Yue’. In each of these expressions, an official title is followed by 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 *<d.em.le.ge.ei>* except the last in the series, which is 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 *<d.em.le.ge.er>*. It is clear from the context that 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 ~ 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 means ‘to be enfeoffed, to be awarded an honorary title’ (封 *feng*). The stem is 𠂔𠂔 *<d.em>*, 𠂔𠂔 *<le.ge>* is a causative/passive suffix, 𠂔 *<ei>* is a converb ending and 𠂔 *<er>* indicates the past tense of the finite verb following stems with the vowel [e].

Official titles were sometimes designated by the number of characters used to designate the rank of the person concerned. The highest rank had only one character. This was known as 一字王 *yi zi wang* ‘one character prince’, e.g. the prince of Yan. The equivalent in Kitan can be found in *Zhong* 4: 𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 *<ONE us.g:en oŋ>*. 𠂔 *<en>* is a genitive/attributive suffix. In *Xu* 16, 23, 34 and 37 we find 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔 𠂔𠂔 *<g.uŋ c.in FOUR us.gi:d>*, where *<g.uŋ c.in>* is 功臣 *gongchen* ‘meritorious official’ 𠂔 is ‘four’ and 𠂔 *<d>* is a plural ending. The equivalent title in Chinese is 四字功臣 *si zi gongchen*. In *Xu* 35 we have 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 *<g.úŋ c.in us.gi:d SIX>*

‘meritorious official designated by six characters 六字功臣 *liu zi gongchen*’ In Ling 6 we have 九水 來雨 至 共九登 <g.uj c.in EIGHT us.gi:d> ‘meritorious official designated by eight characters 八字功臣 *ba zi gongchen*’ The reading <us> for 共 is based on a possible connection with Mo. *üsüg* ‘writing’

In Ren 8 we read 令市 令水 九奕和 巫 戈雨 令羌 <t.ai s.uj g.úr en qa z.in s.ún> ‘Renzong, Khan of the Great Song State’ 市 must be an allograph of 丰 <ai>. Renzong was the Song emperor at the time Xingzong was emperor of the Liao. Here we have the word 巫 <qa> ‘khan’ as distinct from 巫巫 <qa.ha> ‘khaghan’. Zhong 21 巫天 九火 九太 <qa.an g.ui g.uj> is a transcription of 韓國公 *Hanguo gong* ‘lord of the state of Han’, suggesting that 巫 <qa> was a fricative.

The Langjun inscription is dated 時天會十二年歲次甲寅仲冬十有四日 ‘the time was the fourteenth day of mid-winter, *jiayin* year, the twelfth year of the Tianhui reign period’ Wang Jingru 1933 proposed that 尺奕又 <dau.úr.ún> was 仲冬 *zhongdong* ‘mid-winter’ Chinggeltei 1976 proposed that since 仲 *zhong* means the same as 中 *zhong* ‘middle’, 尺奕又 <dau.úr.ún> might be related to Mo. *dumda* ‘middle’, Da. *duanda* ‘middle’

Zhong 6 contains the phrase 天又天 九奕和 共九矢 <qid.ún:i g.úr:en us.gi:de>. 九奕和 <g.úr:en> is ‘country, state’ (genitive) and 共九矢 <us.gi:de> means ‘writing, script’ (locative). So 九奕和 共九矢 <g.úr:en us.gi:de> must mean ‘in the national script’ The first word must be the name of a state. So 天又天 <qid.ún.i> must be the Kitan word for Kitan.

Zhong 6 can be read as: 九火 杰 天又天 又 令分升及肉 大 禾 又化 丰 无 艾 包天矢 相茶 <g.ui on qid.ún:i GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón SIX WHITE mo.ri ai, FIVE MONTH THREE DAY:de BORN:er> ‘the prince was born on the third day of the fifth month of the white horse year, the sixth year of the Kitan Da’an reign period’ 矢 <de> is a locative suffix, 茶 <er> a past tense suffix. Xiao Zhonggong was a Liao noble taken prisoner by the Jin. In the inscription, the early events of his life are referred to in terms of how old he was at that particular time. It was not until the sixth year of the Tianfu 天輔 reign period of the Jin dynasty, when he was taken prisoner, that the years are referred to according to the Jin system. The Jin always referred to the Liao as Kitans, never as Liao.

In Renyi 4, 任天 出本丹伏 主 界 介 百存及火天 公亦列和 勿卡天 任及药 义天用 令羌 矣 令分牛立本力 主 至和 尔及公 <mu.i án.ar.bo.n honj tai heu ei.ra.u.ud.i n.ad.bú:en 201.ká.i mu.u.ji x.i.inj s.ún HEAVEN ú.dû.l.ha.ar.a honj di:en qad.ún:n>. 主 界 介 <honj tai heu> is 皇太后 *huang tai hou* ‘empress’ 百存及火 <ei.ra.u.ud> is ‘Yelü’ 义天用 令羌 <x.i.inj s.ún> is Xingzong. 矣 令分牛立本(力) <HEAVEN ú.dû.l.ha.ar(a)> is the reign title Chongxi. 主 至 means ‘emperor’ According to the *Liaoshi*, the Kitans followed the Turks in

calling the empress *kedun*, so Liu Fengzhu suggested 妣又 <qad.ún> is *qatun*, ‘wife of the khan’ 公 <n> is perhaps a genitive ending.

Gu 1 reads: 又及 百年及火关 未仔分 令用久伏 未将 九亦有 又谷 令亦关
尔火和 公亦矣 孟九与 月令 未土 尺又 未谷北 <m.o ei.ra.u.ud.i ci.lú.dú t.il.uh.in
z.iaj g.ün s.i t.ad.i áu.ui:en ne.ra:de RECORD.g:én TEXT.ú c.eu û.ún ci.ge.ho>.
又及 <m.o> is ‘great’ 百年及火关 <ei.ra.u.ud:i> is Yelü with a suffix, probably
genitive. 公亦矣 孟九与 月令 <ne.ra:de RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú> means ‘epitaph,
inscription on a tombstone’. 未将 九亦有 <z.iaj g.ün> is 將軍 *jiangjun* ‘general’
令用久伏 <t.il.uh.in> should be the name of the general, perhaps *Dilgun. His
clan name may have been Churud 未仔分 <ci.lú.dú>. In Gu 4 we have 百年及火
未亦立出 丕 志 <ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.an tai oŋ>. 百年及火 <ei.ra.u.ud> means Yelü.
未亦立出 <s.ar.ha.an> must correspond to the personal name Salan found in
Chinese texts. 丕 志不 <tai oŋ:on> is the genitive form of 大王 ‘great king’
Note the genitive ending 不 <on>, indicating the vowel in 王 was [o].

In Gu 5, 太祖聖元皇帝 *Taizu shengyuan huangdi*, 懿祖皇帝 *Yizu huangdi* and 德祖黃帝 *Dezu huangdi* are listed among the ancestors of the occupant of the tomb. 尔火 <áu.ui> is the official status of the owner, corresponds to the Chinese term 娘子 *niangzi* ‘royal highness’ The word preceding this is her name: 令亦关 <t.ad.i>. In Gu 3 we read 尔火 关化 令亦关 <áu.ui i.ri t.ad.i> ‘her highness’ name was *Tadi. 关化 <i.ri> means ‘name’

After a name we often find the title 令亦伏 <pu.is.in>. Liu Fengzhu identified this with Chinese 夫人 *furen* ‘madame’ Tadi’s name and titles are followed by 灰 及化 小. The first graph, 灰, is ‘six’ The term 六院部人 *liu yuan bu ren* ‘a member of the six groups’ is common in the *Liaoshi* biographies. Liu concluded that 灰 及化 小 must correspond to 六院部. 及化 <u.ur> can also mean 院 *yuan* ‘division’ The graph 小 remains a problem. In some contexts it seems to mean ‘south’, in others a tribal unit. In the third line of Zhong we find 灰 及化 又夫, so perhaps 小 and 又夫 <mo.qú> both mean something like ‘tribe’, cf. Ma. *mukün* ‘clan, extended family, kindred’

The logographs 山 and 山 refer to the stems 戊 *wu* and 己 *ji*. But 山 also occurs in the first line of the Langjun inscription, where it corresponds to 金 *jin*, the Jin dynasty. 金 *jin* here means ‘gold’ rather than ‘metal’: the Jurchens referred to their state as **alcün*, ‘gold’ But the two stems 戊 *wu* and 己 *ji* correspond to the element 土 *tu* ‘earth’ in the five elements, not 金 *jin* ‘metal’ Yamaji 1956 was the first to suggest that as the Mongols and Manchus use colours to correspond to the elements, perhaps the Kitans did the same. Yamaji suggested that 山 could mean both ‘yellow’ and ‘gold’ Ji Shi 1981 also argued that the Kitans used the five colours to indicate the heavenly stems. The *Qidanguo zhi* [Kitan State Annals] notes that the river known in Chinese as the 黄河 Huang river was called 裊羅個沒里 **niao-luo-go mo-li* and 女古沒里 **niu-gu mo-li* in Kitan. The river is now known

by its Mongol name, *Šira müren* ‘yellow river’ In *Liaoshi* 31, we read that the Kitan word for ‘gold’ was *nü-gu* ‘金曰女古’ This suggests that the Kitan name of the Jin dynasty was **nügu* ‘gold’, the same as the Chinese and Jurchen names for the Jurchen state. Ling 4 天 戈 用 矣 山 主 至 <tai ś.iŋ HEAVEN GOLD[♂] hoŋ di> and Xu 5 天 今 矣 山 主 至 雨 <tai s.ú HEAVEN GOLD[♂] hoŋ di> indicate that 矣 山 seems to be the name or the reign title of an emperor. In Daozong 10, we also find 矣 山 preceding 主 至 ‘emperor’ We read in the *Qidanguo zhi* that “in the first year of the Shence period, Abaoji declared himself emperor. The people of the state called him 天皇王 *tianhuangwang* ‘heaven august king’.” Perhaps 皇 *huang* ‘august’ was translated by the homophone 黃 ‘yellow’, especially if 山 also meant ‘gold’

The Confucian virtue ‘humaneness 仁’ appears in the name 重 令 化 中 佐 丞 弼 <hur.ú.ur.bun mu.u.ji>, corresponding to Chinese 仁 聖 Rensheng. 佐 丞 弼 <mu.u.ji> means 聖 *sheng* ‘holy, sacred, pertaining to the emperor’, so 重 令 化 中 <hur.ú.ur.bun> must be 仁 *ren*. The connection is not clear: 重 令 <hur.ú> seems to mean ‘person in control, person in charge of’ The name and official title of the composer of the text, Yelü Gu, is given in the Daozong inscription. Most of his official titles are transcriptions from Chinese, but the term 執 凡 重 令 女 矣 屋 关 <us.gi hur.ú:un ui KNOW.i> is Kitan. The graph 屋, transcribed here <KNOW>, corresponds to Chinese 知 *zhi*, which is used in official titles in the sense of ‘to administer, to be in charge of’ In the *Chapter on Rituals* in the *Liaoshi*, we learn that Yelü Gu was the 總 知 翰 林 院 事 *zongzhi Hanlinyuan shi* ‘in overall charge of the Hanlin academy’ So Shen Hui concluded that 執 凡 重 令 女 矣 屋 关 must mean ‘in charge of the Hanlin academy’ So 重 令 <hur.ú> should mean ‘to be in charge of’ The officials in charge of the 翰 林 *hanlin* ‘forest of pens’ [written matters] were the Hanlin academicians. The *Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü* (Gu) was dated the fifth year of the Tianqing period of the emperor 天 祚 Tianzuo (1115). There are four empty spaces in line 10, followed by 又 公 佐 丞 弼 杓 禾 无 <ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau>. The last two graphs are ‘nine’ and ‘five’ 九 五 *jiu wu* ‘nine five’ is from the *Book of Changes* and refers to the accession to the imperial throne. The first word 又 公 <ún.n> is ‘now, present’ 佐 丞 弼 杓 <mu.u.ji:en> is the genitive of 聖 *sheng* ‘holy, sacred, pertaining to the emperor’ So 又 公 佐 丞 弼 杓 禾 无 <ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau> means ‘when the present emperor ascended the throne’ We find a similar expression in Renyi 5: 佐 丞 弼 矣 冬 本 主 至 杓 <mu.u.ji HEAVEN as.ar hoŋ di> ‘the present sacred one [emperor], the heavenly peace [Qingning] emperor’ Qingning was a reign period of Daozong, who was emperor when the Renyi epitaph was composed.

In Gu 17 we read: 毛 伏 考 伏 茶 包 叔 火 毛 又 公 丈 <FOUR ní.iau.n.ér THREE[♂] k.iú ONE m.ô.qú>. We would expect this to mean ‘four children, three male,

one female’ (Wang Hongli 1998). The second word is 伏考伏茶 <ń.iau.ń.er>, cf. Da. noon ‘boy, son’ The word after 也 <THREE^o> is 叔火 <k.iú>, cf. Da. keuke ~ keku ‘child’ (Liu Fengzhu 1987:153-161).

Toyoda Gorō suggested that the common word 今春 might mean ‘night’, which he compared to MMo. *sūni*, Mo. *sōni* (Liu Fengzhu 1995). If so, Zhong 9 今春和 非朱 <s.uni:en po:do> would mean ‘at night time’ In Xu 10 and Renxian 41, 今春 天火 <s.uni DAY.i> is ‘night and day’ In Renxian we find 口 今春 <qī s.uni> ‘that night’ and 毛 今春矢 <ONE s.uni:de> ‘on one night’ So 春 ‘ox’ and its corresponding cyclical branch 丑 *chou* should be read <uni>, cf. Mo. *ūniye* ‘cow’ (Liu Fengzhu 1995). Toyoda 1998b also suggested 又 毛 住及弱 为生伏 <SIXTY FOUR mu.u.ji a.bu.ń> means ‘the sixty four sacred hexagrams 六十四聖卦’

In Xing 31, we read 了 毛 來在中 公及 得力 盛 去安 州欠 得冬 秀黍並 半 又及 <EIGHTY ONE ci.ra.l n.o, bo.qo qa eu.úr zò.qó b.as ên.is.ha.ai m.o>. In several inscriptions, 又及 <m.o> ‘big, great [older]’, is contrasted with 州欠 <zò.qó>, which in this context must mean ‘younger’ The expression 去安 州欠 <eu.úr zò.qó> can also be found in Zhong 34: 去安 州欠朱 <eu.úr zò.qó:do> ‘when he was young’ with the locative suffix 朱 <do>. If 州欠 <zò.qó> means ‘young’, we can understand the common expression 力並出茶 州欠 艾和 <na.ha.án.er zò.qó TENT:en>. In Xu 3, there are a few spaces before 九奕和 力並出茶 州欠 艾和 安雨 今用 <g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zò.qó ŋ.in s.in>, followed by a suffix of unknown meaning. This should be the status and title of the composer of the inscription. In the Chinese part of the Xu inscription we find the expression 翁帳銀青 *wengzhang yinqing*. 安雨 今用 <ŋ.in s.in> is 銀青 *yinqing*. So 州欠 艾和 must be 翁帳 *weng zhang*. The graph 艾 <TENT> looks like 艾 <MONTH>; in many transcriptions they are confused. Wang Hongli translated 九奕和 力並出茶 州欠 艾和 <g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zò.qó TENT:en> as ‘the tent of the junior maternal uncles’ According to the *Chapter on Officials* in the *Liaoshi*, there were two categories of 翁帳 *wengzhang*: the 大翁帳 *da wengzhang* and the 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang*. So 力並出茶 州欠 艾和 <na.ha.án.er zò.qó TENT:en> can be translated 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang* ‘of the lineage of the junior maternal uncles’

1.23 Other research

Wang Hongli 1986 agreed with Osada’s suggestion that Prince Xu was Yelü Wotela, that the word 北牛得伏 <ho.le.bo.ń> meant ‘first, first-born’, 序 *xu* ‘preface [in an inscription]’ and 朔 *shuo* ‘first day of the month’ He deciphered the words for boy, eldest son, second son, third son, fourth son, ‘age at death’ and ‘sixty’ and concluded that Empress Renyi died at the age

of 62. Wang Hongli 1988 is a discussion on why scholars could not agree on the word for Kitan in Kitan.

Ji Shi is one of the most prolific writers on Kitan. His decipherment of many graphs, such as father, mother, wife, son, uncle, second son, third son, family, *biexu* 'her excellency', 'six divisions' and others, are generally accepted. The results of his researches have been collected in Ji Shi 1996.

Toyoda 1992 is a study of the directions and some numerals; Toyoda 1998b is a study of the terms for the four seasons. Chinggeltei 1991 is a study of the twelve zodiac animals, comparing the terms in Kitan with Mongol. Chinggeltei 1998 is a study of the Kitan numerals.

Most of the most recent inscriptions have been published by Liu Fengzhu, either by himself or in co-authored with others. These include comments and partial translations of the text. Each inscription provides more information or evidence about one aspect or another of the Kitan script and lexicon. Aisin Gioro (2004a, 2005b) are collections of articles on many aspects of the language of the inscriptions, including numerals, seasons and comparisons with Mongol and other languages. Her work on Kitan morphology, based on the inscriptions, is particularly valuable.

1.24 Transcription of the small Kitan script

Chinese and Japanese researchers quote words and sentences in Kitan without any transcription. This is not acceptable in a book written in English, so a transcription system must be devised. That proposed here is mainly based on the phonetic values of the graphs as determined by their use in Chinese loanwords, as outlined above and discussed in greater detail below. They are *transcriptions*: each graph is represented by one or more roman letters which probably, but by no means certainly, represent the approximate phonetic values of the Kitan graphs. They are written 𐰪 <a>, 𐰪𐰺 <an> and so on. Graphs which seem to have the same, or perhaps a very similar pronunciation as deduced from the transcription values are indicated by an acute accent: 𐰪𐰺 <o> 𐰪𐰺 <ó>; 𐰪𐰺 <u> 𐰪𐰺 <ú>. Many graphs, however, are still unexplained. Chinese researchers often refer to 𐰪, for example, as [ka] because of its graphic similarity to 𐰪 *ka*. This does not imply any phonetic similarity: it is simply a way of referring to 𐰪. I have written 𐰪 as <ká>, the unusual diacritic over the vowel being a stylized question mark. It is typographically more convenient to write <ká> than <ka>(?) or <041>, and relates to the original graph 𐰪 in a way <041> does not. Similarly, 𐰪 is <ké> because of its similarity to Chinese 𐰪. The same annotation is used for graphs for which a particular reading has been proposed, such as 𐰪 <zù>, but

which is not commonly accepted in the literature. This diacritic has some mnemonic value, no more.

1.25 Transcription of logographs

In some cases the meaning of a graph is known, but not its reading. An example is 𠄎 308, which means ‘compose [the text of an inscription]’ The pronunciation of 𠄎 is unknown. In these cases, the graph is transcribed by its gloss in small capitals: <COMPOSE>. I have transcribed logographs by their meaning when it is known. Undeciphered graphs are referred to by their numbers in the standard list in *Research*.

1.26 The dotted forms

Some graphs have an additional dot. There have been many suggested explanations for these: that they indicate some sub-class of numerals or colours, or are used with nouns to whom respect is due (Chen Naixiong 1992). Recently Wu Yingzhe 2005a has proposed the dot indicates grammatical gender. The texts do not contradict that interpretation. The dot is indicated by the symbol [♂], e.g. 毛 <ONE>, 毛[♂] <ONE[♂]>. Some dotted forms are:

毛 ⁰²⁶	毛 ⁰²⁷	丕 ¹³⁴	丕 ¹³⁵	包 ¹⁶⁶	包 ¹⁶⁷	无 ⁰²⁹	无 ⁰³⁰
𠄎 ⁰⁸⁵	𠄎 ⁰⁸⁶	𠄎 ³⁶⁸	𠄎 ³⁶⁹	𠄎 ⁰⁰⁷	𠄎 ⁰⁰⁸	𠄎 ⁰³³	𠄎 ⁰³⁴
𠄎 ⁰⁰⁴	𠄎 ⁰⁰⁵	山 ²⁸⁵	山 ²⁸⁶	艾 ⁰⁸¹	艾 ⁰⁸²	文 ³²⁶	文 ³²⁷

1.27 Similar and probably identical graphs

又 ¹³²	又 ¹³³	火 ³⁴⁴	大 ¹⁰⁵	可 ⁰⁶¹	可 ⁰⁶⁰	爻 ²⁰⁸	爻 ²⁰⁹	皮 ⁰⁶⁴
伏 ²²¹	伏 ²²²	𠄎 ³⁴⁸	𠄎 ¹⁰⁹	𠄎 ⁰¹¹	𠄎 ¹²⁷	久 ¹⁷¹	久 ²¹⁴	久 ²¹⁵
𠄎 ³⁴⁹	𠄎 ¹¹²	𠄎 ¹⁴⁶	𠄎 ³³⁶	𠄎 ³⁷⁰	𠄎 ³⁷¹	𠄎 ²³⁰	𠄎 ²³¹	𠄎 ²²⁷
𠄎 ²⁵⁴	𠄎 ¹¹⁰	𠄎 ³⁶¹	𠄎 ¹⁰⁰	𠄎 ⁰⁷²	𠄎 ¹⁰¹	𠄎 ³⁴⁷	𠄎 ¹⁰⁷	𠄎 ¹⁰⁸
𠄎 ²⁴¹	𠄎 ²⁴²	𠄎 ³⁵²	𠄎 ¹¹⁴	𠄎 ⁰⁶⁸	𠄎 ¹⁰³	𠄎 ¹⁴⁶	𠄎 ¹⁵³	𠄎 ³³⁷
𠄎 ²²³	𠄎 ²²⁴	𠄎 ³⁵³	𠄎 ¹¹³	𠄎 ²⁶²	𠄎 ²⁶³	子 ¹⁴⁹	子 ¹⁴⁷	子 ¹⁴⁸
𠄎 ⁰⁰³	𠄎 ⁰³¹	𠄎 ²⁰⁰	𠄎 ²⁰¹	𠄎 ³⁶²	𠄎 ¹²⁵	市 ⁰⁴⁹	𠄎 ³⁵⁴	𠄎 ¹⁰⁴
久 ¹⁷²	久 ¹⁷³	𠄎 ³⁰⁶	𠄎 ³⁰⁷	𠄎 ¹¹⁷	𠄎 ¹¹⁸	𠄎 ²⁷¹	𠄎 ²⁷²	

1.28 Probably miswritten graphs

𠄎 ³⁰¹	=𠄎 ³⁰⁰	𠄎 ²⁶⁷	𠄎 ²⁶⁶	=爻 ²⁰⁹	爻 ²⁰⁸	=𠄎 ²⁷⁵	=𠄎 ²⁷⁶	=𠄎 ²⁷⁷	=𠄎 ²⁷⁸
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1.29 Similar but different graphs

又	<x>	关	<i>	𠂇	<ér>		
𠂇	<oi>	𠂇		𠂇			
𠂇	<ô>	公					
𠂇		𠂇		𠂇		𠂇	
雨	<in>	肉	<on>				
𠂇	312	𠂇	<ló>	𠂇<iaŋ>		𠂇<iaŋ>	
𠂇	<rí>	𠂇	<w>	𠂇<oŋ>			
𠂇	<BORN>	𠂇	310				
𠂇	<un>	𠂇	<úr>	𠂇		𠂇	
大	<ud>	火	<ud>	太	<uŋ>	𠂇	<uŋ>
九	<g>	𠂇	<dú>	𠂇	<sh>		
刀	<dó>	刃	<rén>	力	<na>	𠂇	<qo>
九	<mú>	九	<sí>	九	193	𠂇	194
方	200	𠂇	201	𠂇	<tu>	𠂇	<zú>
反	<o>	𠂇	<u>	𠂇	<dau>	𠂇	<nai>

1.30 Phonograms

The phonograms are of three types: (1) those used only to transcribe Chinese (2) those used only to write Kitan words and (3) those used in both Chinese and Kitan words. On *a priori* grounds, we might suspect that group (1) represents phonemes or syllables in Chinese which Kitan did not have: retroflexes, for example, and initial and final /ŋ/. We can presume that group (2) represents phonemes or syllables which Kitan had but Chinese did not: back consonants, fronted vowels, initial and final /r/. We can also presume that group (3) represents phonemes common to both Kitan and Chinese.

When we analyse the Kitan transcriptions of Chinese, we note that certain Kitan consonants seem to go in pairs (using the transliteration scheme I have adopted):

𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇
b	p	d	t	m	mu	ń	n

It is by no means clear what phonetic difference there was between 𠂇 and 𠂇 <p>, for example, or 𠂇 <d> and 𠂇 <t>. The difference between and <p> in English is that of voiced and voiceless, but in the *pinyin* transcription of modern Chinese the two graphemes distinguish aspirated and unaspirated labial stops. 𠂇 seems to be associated with rounded vowels and 𠂇 <p>

with unrounded vowels; 伏 <ń> seems to be associated with front vowels and 公 <n> with back vowels. Both 叁 and 令 are used as plural suffixes, but only 令 is used after feminine nouns.

Chinese *k* and *g* (using the *pinyin* based romanisation system I am using for Liao Chinese) are transcribed as 叔 <k> and 九 <g>, which I think must represent Kitan ‘front’ [k] and [g]. 巫 <qa> and 巫 <ha> or 刈 <hu> are generally not used in Chinese words, and represent the ‘back’ Kitan phonemes which are absent from Chinese. I use <h> for [ɣ].

1.31 Graphs only used to write Chinese

兆	北	秀	万	走	灾	赤	安	伞	戈
sh	ss	ts	tś	tz	tź	w	ŋ	z	ź

危	业	丹	並	用	水	羔	胤	亦	吞	吞
aŋ	án	iaŋ	ián	iŋ	uŋ	úŋ	iúŋ	ün	ĩ	ĩ

1.32 Symbols used for the Kitan vowels

为 <a>	券 <e>	关 <i>	反 <o>	友 <u>
			升 <ó>	伞 <ú>
			伞 <ô>	尺 <û>

Kitan was exceptionally rich in rounded vowels. I have transcribed them as above, but it is not clear at the moment which graph corresponds to which particular phoneme. One would expect vowels like [ü] and [ö], but it is not clear which graphs might represent these phonemes. Graphs used to transcribe Chinese medials are 交 <ie> 英 <y> and 仲 <ü>. 吞 <i> transcribes the Chinese ‘retracted *i*’ [ɤ, ɨ] 券 <î> is rare. 伞 <êm> is probably [iam] ~ [iæm] ~ [iem] and 秀 <ên> is probably [ian] ~ [iæn] ~ [ien]. 各 <êŋ> is possibly [iæŋ] ~ [ieŋ].

1.33 Syllables of the VV type

1.34 Syllables of the VC type

方al		用il		干ul	
本ar	茶er	仝or	奕úr	化ur	
冬as		忝is		光us	
亦ad		币od	火ud		
央an	栴en	雨in	尔on	女un	
出án	与én	伏ín	肉ón	又ún	
	秀ên	虫ièn	亦ün		
见aŋ	业ánŋ	用iŋ	杰oŋ	水uŋ	考úŋ
	昔iaŋ	业iánŋ	凡iuŋ	各êŋ	
乃am	茶êm	雨in	用iŋ		
东ah			里oh	久uh	

1.35 Syllables of the C and CV type

本	c, ci	雨	ca	雨	cau	芳	cu	尚	co
冬	d, de	久	da	尺	dau	仵	du	分	dú
令	t, te	仵	ta	无	tau	芳	tu	凡	dú
药	j, ji	升	ja	勇	jau	子	ju		
公	n	力	na	穴	neu	伏	ní		
骨	b, bo	止	bi	骨	bo	生	bu		
又	m, mo	行	mú	又	m	住	mu		
水	l, le	复	lí	失	lu				
伞	s, se	又	ś						
升	hu	虫	ha	北	ho				
凡	g, gi	忝	ge	曲	go	勺	gu	力	qo
力	q, qo	虫	qa	口	qi	欠	qó	余	qu
叔	k, ke	业	ki	几	ku	饥	kú	夫	qú
入	x, xe	不	xa			夫	xo	北	xu
发	ŋ	伞	z	戈	z	凡	sh	北	ss
友	tz, tzi	友	dz	发	dz	秀	ts	歹	tś

1.36 Vowel harmony

Vowels fall into two groups: 方 ⟨a⟩ 出 ⟨án⟩ 干 ⟨ai⟩ 本 ⟨ar⟩ 方 ⟨al⟩ 升 ⟨ó⟩ often appear in the same words, while 雨 ⟨ei⟩ 与 ⟨én⟩ 茶 ⟨er⟩ 北 ⟨ii⟩ 尺 ⟨û⟩ appear in other words. Some graphs occur mainly in one group (such as 茶 ⟨er⟩), but occasionally occur in another group. Some graphs, such as 又 ⟨ún⟩ 药 ⟨ji⟩ and 伏 ⟨ń⟩ appear in both groups. *Research* listed the following:

Suffixes based on ⟨a⟩

半立半立本立为半

a a.ai ha.ar ha.a.ar

立出立为出立为出相立为出茶

ha.an ha.a.an ha.a.an.én ha.a.an.er

立方立方列立方列灵立方灵 立为方

ha.al ha.al.hu ha.al.hu.an ha.al.un ha.a.al

列列茶 列灵列亦

hu hu.er hu.an hu.ad

Suffixes based on ⟨e⟩

万与茶相

ei én er en

套万套与套茶套与茶

ge.ei ge.én ge.er ge.én.er

比伞比及比套比

ii s.ii o.ii ge.ii

几茶几相几灵

g.er g.en gi.de

Suffixes based on ⟨o⟩/⟨ó⟩

反肉

o on

升反肉升反比

ó.o.on ó.o.ii

升尖升尖关

ó.ui ó.ui.i

升安升药升药茶升药相

ó.úr ó.ji ó.ji.er ó.ji.en

及药及药茶及药相

ó.ji ó.ji.er ó.ji.én

方药方药茶方药茶

al.ii al.ii.er al.ii.er

Suffixes based on ⟨û⟩

𠄎当 𠄎火 𠄎茶
û.en û.ui û.er
𠄎北 𠄎实 𠄎大 𠄎尔
û.ii û.úr ú.un û.on
𠄎药 𠄎药相
û.ji û.ji.én
𠄎药 𠄎药相
uh.ji uh.ji.én
𠄎药 𠄎药相
u.ji u.ji.en

1.37 Inherent vowels

The consonants listed above seem to represent consonantal phonemes in some words, and syllables in others. There must have been an “inherent vowel” attached to these consonants: for convenience, and partly based on the transcriptions of Chinese, I write ⟨o⟩ after labials, ⟨e⟩ after dentals and ⟨i⟩ after velars, palatals and affricates. So 𠄎 is ⟨b⟩ in 𠄎冬 ⟨b.as⟩ ‘again’ but ⟨bo⟩ in 𠄎𠄎 ⟨tai.bo⟩, a transcription of Chinese 太保 *taibao*. 𠄎九相 ⟨ri.g.en⟩ ‘a tribal chief’ is transcribed *yilijin* 夷離堇, suggesting 𠄎 should here be transcribed ⟨ir⟩ or ⟨iri⟩, or that a prothetic vowel was pronounced before [r]. A similar situation arises with 𠄎相 ⟨s.en⟩, a common name which means ‘long life’ which is transcribed in Chinese as 義信 *Yixin*. This also suggests a prothetic vowel. In other cases, graphs seem to have slightly different values, depending on where they are in a word. 𠄎 is clearly [ńi] at the beginning of a word, as in 𠄎力 ⟨ńi.qo⟩ ‘dog’, variously normalised as **noqai*, **nehe*, **noho*, **nyaka* and others. At the end of a syllable, however, it appears to have been read [ín].

Kitan graphs were used to write two quite distinct languages, with different phonological systems. At this stage we cannot see clearly how the Kitans perceived Chinese aspirates. We cannot clearly see how the Chinese perceived such syllables as *qa* or *yu*. It is unlikely there was any systematic means of transcription on either side.

A *normalisation* of a transliterated script can be done on the basis of words in the same or a closely cognate language. Runic Turkic is a case in point. It is too early in the study of Kitan to attempt a systematic normalisation, though there may be some possibilities when there is a cognate word in Mongol or a reliable transcription in Chinese. The transcription system presented here still has too many “accented letters” and

doubtful readings. The transcriptions are no more than plausible possibilities, but they are also no less. If we are going to make any progress, we have no choice but to use such a transcription system in order to move on to the study of the texts themselves.

1.38 Possible multiple readings of Kitan graphs

One suggestion sometimes made is that some Kitan graphs might have two readings: one when used as logograph, and another when used as a phonogram. Toyoda 2000, for example, reads 𐰽 as ⟨ai⟩ when it is used in the transcription of Chinese words, but **awi* when it is the Kitan word for ‘father’. Similarly, 𐰽 is ⟨bu⟩ in Chinese transcriptions, but **ewüge* in the Kitan word 𐰽𐰽 **ebüge awi* ‘grandfather’. Aisin Gioro 2004:38 reads ⟨ai⟩ for 𐰽 in Chinese transcriptions, but **aja* in the Kitan word ‘father’. The Kitan word for ‘elder brother’ is 𐰽 ⟨ia⟩, and it is commonly used to transcribe such words as 家 **gia*, written 𐰽𐰽 ⟨g.ia⟩. A reading based on Mongol, such as **axa* or **aqa*, is commonly suggested as the Kitan word for ‘elder brother’. It is not impossible some such system did not exist, but there is little evidence to support this hypothesis.

Part of the impetus to seek multiple readings comes from a sense of desperation. It is now possible to transcribe words, phrases, paragraphs, even the greater part of whole inscriptions, with a large number of probably more or less accurate readings, based on the transcriptions of Chinese words in the inscriptions. In some cases, these readings are shown to be reasonably accurate, because actual Kitan words emerge, such as 𐰽𐰽 ⟨mo.ri⟩ ‘horse’. In most cases, however, texts in Kitan, using the current transcriptions, cannot be understood on the basis of Mongol. Therefore, goes the argument, the transcriptions must be wrong, or there must be a separate system of transcriptions for Kitan words, as yet undiscovered. At this stage, however, such suggestions lack any evidence.

The above charts suggest that some of the unidentified graphs may fill some of the gaps, if the Kitan script (as used for Kitan) is primarily a syllabary, with some logographs. When used to transcribe Chinese, it was not a syllabary: certain graphs transcribed certain Chinese initials, certain graphs transcribed Chinese finals. It is also possible that the Kitan script indicated vowels sparsely. A script is not necessarily a phonemic transcription: the native speaker knew how to pronounce 𐰽𐰽 ⟨c c⟩ or 𐰽𐰽𐰽 ⟨s.l.b⟩ from context. More texts, and more intensive investigation of the texts, might make these matters clearer.

ANALYSIS OF THE KITAN SMALL GRAPHS

Uighur messengers came to court, but there was no one who could understand their language. The empress said to Taizu, “Tiela is clever. He may be sent to welcome them.” By being in their company for twenty days he was able to learn their spoken language and script. Then he created a script of smaller Kitan characters which, though few in number, covered everything. - *Liaoshi*, quoted in Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125)*, p. 243.

The Kitan small graphs were each allocated a number in *Research*, which has become a standard list, and the numbers a recognised way of referring to them. The expression 該貫 in the above quotation, translated ‘covered everything’, is usually understood by Chinese scholars to mean ‘linked together’, contrasting the graphs of the large script, written individually like Chinese characters, with the small script, in which the graphs are ‘linked together’ to form words. Chinese characters are transcribed in a modified form of *pinyin*, which reflects more closely the underlying form of Chinese transcribed by the Kitan script. This transcription is presented in Chapter Seven.

*

2.001 一 (ABOVE, NORTH). 一 夂化 (NORTH u.ur) 北院 ‘northern administration’ See also 009. Reading unknown. Suggested readings based on Mo. such as *umar-a*, *xoina*, *xoi*, or Mo. *aru* ‘back, rear’ lack evidence.

2.002 丌 (TWENTY). Reading unknown. Ji Shi 1986a noted a reference to an early Kitan leader named 晝里昏阿 *zhou-li-hun-a*, who, according to the *Qidanguo zhi*: 惟養羊二十口，日食十九，留其一焉，次日復有二十口，日如之 ‘he kept twenty goats; every day he ate nineteen, only leaving one; the next day again there were twenty, this continued day after day, every day was like this’. Ji Shi suggested that 晝 *zhou* might be a mistake for 晝 *hua*, thus giving the name as 晝里昏阿 *hua-li-hun-a*. This is reminiscent of Mo. *qori* ~ *qorin* ‘twenty’ and *qoni* ~ *qonin* ‘sheep’

2.003 万 (ts). Probably an allograph of 秀 031.

2.004 禾 <WHITE>. 禾 represents the Chinese cyclical terms 庚 *geng* and 辛 *xin*. Mo. and Ma. use the five colours 藍 *lan* ‘blue’, 紅 *hong* ‘red’, 黃 *huang* ‘yellow’, 白 *bai* ‘white’ and 黑 *hei* ‘black’ to correspond to the cyclical terms, but Tibetan and Japanese use the five elements, 水 *shui* ‘water’ 火 *huo* ‘fire’ 金 *jin* ‘metal’ 木 *mu* ‘wood’ 土 *tu* ‘earth’ It is generally accepted that the Kitan terms correspond to the five colours, but those which are written phonetically, such as 𠂇𠂇𠂇 <l.iau.qu> ‘red’ and 𠂇𠂇𠂇 <s.iau.qu> ‘blue’ do not resemble the Mo. forms. Ji Shi 1981, 1984, 1986 suggested Kitan may have used the five elements to correspond to the ten stems of Chinese. The graph for white has a dotted version: 𠂇 and 𠂇, which might mean ‘white’ and ‘whitish’, the way the two stems 庚 *geng* and 辛 *xin* are distinguished in Mongol and Manchu. Wu Yingzhe 2005a links the dotted forms with grammatical gender. The reading of 𠂇 is unknown. Some scholars suggest forms based on Mo. *čayan*.

2.005 𠂇 Dotted form of ‘white’

2.006 𠂇 <MOUNTAIN> <TOMB> <MOUNTAIN TOMB>. This graph looks very similar to 𠂇 2.063, ‘eternal’ In some contexts, it appears to mean ‘mountain’, in others ‘tomb’ Perhaps ‘tomb cut into a mountain’, as the Kitan tombs were.

2.007 𠂇 <EIGHT>. Ji Shi and Chinggeltei suggest *naim* < Mo. *naima*. Many numerals which can be reconstructed, such as *three*, *four*, *five*, *seven*, *nine* and *hundred* are similar to Mongol. Others, such as *one*, *two* and *six* are not. There is no evidence from the ordinals for the reading of 𠂇. Cf. 𠂇𠂇𠂇 ‘eighth, ordinal form of 𠂇’

2.008 𠂇 Dotted form of ‘eight’

2.009 𠂇 A contraction of 𠂇 2.001 ‘above, upper’ and the plural ending 𠂇 <d>, so ‘the upper ones, the superiors’ In Gu 17 𠂇 corresponds to 正妻 ‘first wife, senior wife’ In some contexts, it appears to mean ‘ancestors’, i.e. ‘those above’ or ‘those who gave gone before’ In other contexts 𠂇 𠂇 seems to mean ‘northern administration, the administration in the upper region’

2.010 𠂇

2.011 𠂔 <an>. An allograph is 𠂔 <an> 2.127. Cf. 𠂔为𠂔 <ś.a.án> 山 *shan* ‘mountain’; 𠂔为𠂔 <l.a.an> 蘭 *lan* ‘orchid’; 为𠂔 <a.an> 安 *an* ‘peace’ It is commonly used as a genitive suffix after stems with the vowel [a].

2.012 𠂔

2.013 𠂔

2.014 𠂔 <hur>. In Langjun 雨𠂔 𠂔𠂔 corresponds to 都統 ‘campaign commander’ From other contexts, it seems 𠂔𠂔 <hur.ú> means ‘person in control of’ Cf. 𠂔𠂔 𠂔 <hur.ú qa> ‘controlling khan’ Wang Hongli 1986 suggested 𠂔𠂔 𠂔 was a name, written variously 小斛祿, 小胡虜, 小胡魯, all **siauhulu*. 𠂔𠂔 is read <s.iau>, so 𠂔𠂔 may be <hur.ú> and so 𠂔 <hur>.

2.015 𠂔 <HUNDRED> [jau]. *Liaoshi* glossary ‘爪, 百數也’ **zhau* means a hundred, a number’ 𠂔𠂔 <jau tau> transcribes the Chinese expression 招討 **zhautau* ‘bandit suppression commissioner’

2.016 𠂔 <od>. The word for ‘fifth’ is normally written 𠂔𠂔及𠂔 <t.ad.o.ho>. In some inscriptions, for example Haitangshan, 𠂔𠂔及𠂔 <t.ad.o.ho> is written 𠂔𠂔及𠂔 <t.od.o.ho> Aisin Gioro 2004:186. It is used as a plural suffix following stems with the vowel [o].

2.017 𠂔 <sò>. The reading of 𠂔 is not known. 𠂔𠂔 <sò.or> is common in 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <k.em sò.or> ‘an imperial edict was issued; in accordance with the imperial edict 奏奉’. Aisin Gioro suggests **so*.

2.018 𠂔 <in>. Only used in transcriptions from Chinese: 𠂔𠂔 <ŋ.in> ‘silver’ = 銀 **ngin*; 𠂔𠂔 <z.in> ‘enter’ = 進 **zin*; 𠂔𠂔 <c.in> ‘official’ = 臣 **chien*; 𠂔𠂔 <ʒ.in> ‘benevolence’ = 仁 **rin*. It is a genitive suffix following stems with the vowel [i].

2.019 𠂔 <iu>. Often appears in Chinese loan words. 𠂔𠂔 <s.iu> = 修 **sieu*, 𠂔𠂔 <l.iu> = 留 **lieu*; 𠂔𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔𠂔 <g.iu.uŋ d.ie.ên> = **gungdien* 宮殿. By itself it means ‘is not, was not’ = ‘died’

2.020 𠂔 <ei>. 𠂔 is commonly used transcribe Chinese initial *y*. As a final, it is probably [ei]: 𠂔𠂔 <d.ei> **dei* 特; 𠂔𠂔𠂔 <ei.eu.u> **yeu* 右; 𠂔𠂔 ~ 𠂔𠂔 <d.ei> ~ <t.ei> *dei* 德; 𠂔𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <ei.ie.ên oŋ> 燕王 **yen ong* ‘the prince of Yan’ 𠂔𠂔𠂔及𠂔 <ei.ra.u.ud> ‘Yelü’ 耶律. In Kitan morphology, 𠂔 is a converb suffix in the series 𠂔 ai, 𠂔 ii, 𠂔 oi, 𠂔 ei.

2.021 𠂔 <MOTHER, FEMALE>. Transcribed <mó>. *Research* interpreted 𠂔 as ‘empress’, based on the entry in the *Liaoshi* glossary: 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 neu-e-mo: 𠂔 亦作改; 𠂔 𠂔, 后土稱; 𠂔, 母稱 (𠂔 is also written 改). 𠂔 𠂔 neu-e means ‘earth’, 𠂔 mo means ‘mother’ 后土 means ‘all producing earth’, as in 皇天后土 ‘all ruling heaven, all producing earth’. Ji Shi proposed that 𠂔 几 means ‘wife’, so 𠂔 is more generally ‘female person’ 几 <ku> is ‘man, person’ 𠂔 令 <mó:t> means ‘women’, with the plural suffix 令 <t>. Cf. 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <mó bo.qo> ‘daughter’, 𠂔 𠂔 <bo.qo> ‘son, child’; 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <mó bo.ha.án> ‘daughters’

2.022 𠂔 <cau>. 𠂔 appears in 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <ŋ.in s.iŋ cau.ún l.uh da.ai pu> 銀青崇祿大夫 **ŋin cing chung lu dai fu*; 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <gi.m z.ĩ cau.ún l.uh dá.ai pu>. 金紫崇祿大夫 **gim zĩ chung lu dai fu*. 𠂔 also appears in the name 𠂔 𠂔 <cau.iń> 嘲隱 *chayin*, 𠂔 𠂔 <cau.úr> ‘army’ = *Liaoshi* glossary 炒伍倆 **chawwur* ‘warfare, to fight’.

2.023 𠂔 <iu>. Possibly an allograph of 𠂔 <iu>.

2.024 𠂔 <ér>. Mnemonic from 𠂔.

2.025 𠂔 xi. Mnemonic from 西.

2.026 𠂔 <ONE>. Reading unknown. In the emended sections of the Daozong inscription, 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <mu.em.se.gi> was rewritten 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <𠂔.se.gi>, suggesting that 𠂔 was pronounced 𠂔 <mu.em>. Chinggeltei 1986 noted that ‘first’ is 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <m.as.qu>, so ‘one’ might be **mas*. There is, however, little correlation between ‘one’ and ‘first’ in many languages, and no real evidence to support the reading of **mas* for ‘one’

2.027 𠂔 Dotted form of ‘one’

2.028 𠂔 <ś>. Examples: 𠂔 𠂔 <ś.iŋ> ~ 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <ś.i.iŋ> ~ 𠂔 𠂔 <śi.iŋ> 聖 **shing*; 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <ś.a.an> 山 **shan*; 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <ś.a.rí>: a Kitan title transcribed 沙里 *sha-li* and translated 郎君 *langjun* ‘court attendant’; 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <śi.m.i>: Kitan name written in Chinese 審密 *Shenmi*; 𠂔 𠂔 <ś.ên> ‘new’

2.029 𠂔 <FIVE> [tau] ‘five’ 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <tau.lí.a> corresponds to 卯 *mao* in the twelve branches, and the zodiac animal ‘hare, rabbit’ Cf. *Liaoshi* glossary: 𠂔 **tau*, ‘five’; 陶里 **tauli* ‘hare’ On the basis of this, 𠂔 is read <tau> and 𠂔 <lí>, giving <tau.lí.a> for ‘hare’ Cf. 𠂔 𠂔 <jau tau>, a transcription of *zhaotao* ‘bandit suppression commissioner’.

2.030 𠄎. Dotted form of ‘five’

2.031 秀 <ts>. 秀关 九奕女 <ts.i g.úr:un> ‘belonging to the state of Qi’ 秀关 𠄎𠄎 九亦 <ts.i ś.ui g.ün> ~ 𠄎关 𠄎𠄎 九亦 <z.i ś.ui g.ün> 齊水郡 **cishueigün* ‘Qishui prefecture’ Used in a narrow transcription of the Chinese initial [ts].

2.032 天 <tén>. Mnemonic from 天.

2.033 𠄎 <NINE> [is]. 𠄎 is part of the word 𠄎关𠄎𠄎𠄎伏 <c.is.de.bo.ń> ‘filial piety’, so 𠄎 is probably [is] or perhaps [isu], cf. Mo. *yisü* ~ *yisün* ‘nine’ Liu Fengzhu 1983b noticed that 𠄎𠄎伏 <pu.is.in> is the Kitan transcription of 夫人 **fuzin* ‘lady’ Wang Hongli 1986 suggested 𠄎九又 <is.g.ún> is the Kitan word transcribed in Chinese as 乙室董 **yishigin*. Note the Chinese transcription of the Kitan clan name 𠄎九关 <is.g.i> 乙室己; *yi-shi-ji* **išigi*, which strongly suggests *is (or iš) for 𠄎. It also occurs in 𠄎𠄎 <ci.is> ‘blood relation’, cf. Mo. *cisu* ‘blood’

2.034 𠄎 Dotted form of ‘nine’

2.035 𠄎 Reading unknown. Aisin Gioro 2004:177 suggests 𠄎 might mean ‘the next [son, daughter etc.]’ In Xu 51, the eldest child is referred to as 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <m.as.qú> ‘first’, but the youngest is not 𠄎𠄎 <YOUNG.qú> ‘young’, as usual, but 𠄎 108. 𠄎 035 might be an allograph of 𠄎 108.

2.036 𠄎 <xu>. *Research* explained 𠄎𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 九亦 <l.iún xu ui ś.aŋ ś.iaŋ g.ün> as 龍虎衛上將軍 **lunghu wei shang gianggün* ‘senior general of the dragon and tiger guards’ Cf. 𠄎𠄎 九亦 <xu.ú g.ün> 護軍 **hu gün* ‘military protector’; 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <xu.ú b.û> 戶部 **hubu* ‘ministry of revenue’

2.037 𠄎 <di>. In 主𠄎皇帝 **hongdi* ‘emperor’

2.038 𠄎

2.039 𠄎 <kái>. Mnemonic from 开.

2.040 十 <WEST>. Reading unknown. Suggestions include *ör*, *hörene* or *uru*. There is no evidence for any of these readings, except similarity to Mongol. 一十𠄎𠄎 𠄎 as ‘<NORTH WEST jau tau ss> ‘the bureau of punishments 招討司 *zhaotaosi* of the north west’ Wang Hongli 1986, Toyoda 1991, 1992. The ‘western capital’ is 𠄎关 九用 <s.i g.in> <西京 **si ging*. However, 一十

夔化 <[NORTH ~ UPPER] [SOUTH/LOWER] u.ur> is presumably the common expression ‘the northern and southern administrations’, so it is not clear if 十 means ‘west’ or ‘south’ Perhaps the directions were expressed by such terms as forward, backward, upper, lower and so on. The terms for the directions in Jurchen are also isolates, and may shed some light on the directions in Kitan. The Jurchen terms are *juleši*, *fulisi*, *fanti* and *uliti*. Kiyose 1977, 590-594, of which the final *ši* and *ti* may be (ablative?) suffixes.

2.041 𠂇 Reading unknown. On the canopy of the Prince of Xu inscription, 𠂇及 𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 <292.u ś.eu.ká on.a.án> corresponds to 甘露降 ‘sweet dew descended’ 𠂇𠂇𠂇 <ś.eu.ká> must mean ‘dew’ On the basis of Mo. *sigüder* ~ *sigüderi* ‘dew’, *Research* suggested <der> for 𠂇

2.042 止

2.043 止

2.044 屯

2.045 支

2.046 市

2.047 𠂇 <hor>. Ji Shi noticed that in 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 <bo.qo hor.bo.ń x.eu s.ai poŋ>, 𠂇𠂇 <bo.qo> is ‘son’ and 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 <s.ai poŋ> is 採訪 *caifang* ‘investigation commissioner’ So 𠂇𠂇𠂇 <hor.bo.ń> must be a name, probably 曷魯本 *Holubun*, which is common in the *Liaoshi*. Liu Fengzhu noticed that in the Yelü Dilie inscription, 𠂇𠂇 <x.eu> is a transcription of 耶律吼 Yelü Hou. His son was called 𠂇𠂇 <hor.bo>. This name is transcribed in the Chinese text as 何魯不 **holubu*. Aisin Gioro suggests 𠂇 ~ 𠂇及 <hor> ~ <hor.u> means ‘people 民’

2.048 𠂇 <nén>. Mnemonic from 年 .

2.049 市 *Research* noted that 大同郡 *datongjun* **datunggün* is written 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 <t.039 tu.uŋ g.ün>, so 市 is probably an allograph of 𠂇 <ai>.

2.050 𠂇 . Mnemonic from 吏 .

2.061 可 <kè>. Mnemonic from 可. 可登並半 <kè.d.ha.ai> 殯 ‘to be placed in a coffin, to be buried’; 可登芥 <kè.d:er> ‘buried’

2.062 並 <ián>. 並 often appears in transcriptions from Chinese: 几又 安及 來 又知 全並 <gi.m ŋ.u ui s.ián g.ün> 金吾衛上將軍 *jinwu wei jiangjun* **gim ŋu wei zianggün* ‘general of the imperial insignia guard’

2.063 康 <ETERNAL>. This graph corresponds to Chinese 永 ‘eternal’ and is probably derived from it. It appears in the Daozong and Xuanyi inscriptions in the Kitan terms for 永福陵 Yongfuling, the name of the tomb in which they were buried. It also appears on the back of a bronze mirror known as the 寶坻鏡 *Baodijing*: 全和 康 及 令芥 <s.en ETERNAL u t.oi>, of which the first word is 壽 ‘long life’ There is also a coin from the Changshou 長壽 period with a similar inscription: 全和 康 及 芥. The Daozong inscription contains the phrase 天 傷 穴秀 康, interpreted as ‘heaven long [time] earth eternal’ = ‘heaven and earth are eternal’

2.064 度 <lu>. Allograph of 矣 <lu>. Wu Yingzhe 2005a notes that 矣 with a dot is probably a mistranscription.

2.065 夾 Perhaps an allograph of 夾 116.

2.066 土 <tù>. Mnemonic from 土.

2.067 去 <eu>. 又去 <ś.eu> 守 **sheu*; 來去 <c.eu> 州 **zheu* ‘prefecture’, 中去 <l.eu> 婁 **leu* ‘a surname’ 去 is more likely [əu] than [ou] because it is followed by the genitive 和 <en> rather than 不 <on>. It is also common in Kitan words: 去干 <eu.ul> ‘cloud’, cf. Mo. *egüle ~ egülen*; 去夾 <eu.úr> ‘years of age 歲’

2.068 共 <us>. 共 appears in the expressions 几次 來雨 共几芥 毛 <g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d FOUR> 四字功臣 ‘four character meritorious official’ and similar expressions. 共几 <us.gi> must mean ‘characters, graphs, writing’; the proposed reading of <us.gi> is based on Mongol *üsüg* ‘id.’ Ji Shi 1990 suggested 共几 重今 <us.gi hur.ú> ‘controller of writing’ refers to the Hanlin academy. 共几 重火女 火 压共 <us.gi hur.iú:un ui KNOW.i> corresponds to 總知翰林院事 ‘official in general control of the matters of the Hanlin academy’ 共 103 is an allograph of 共 068.

2.069 夫 <rí>. 夫 appears in the word 又为夫 <ś.a.rí> in the Langjun inscription. Cf. *Liaoshi* glossary: 沙里, 郎君也 ‘*sha-li* means *langjun* [court

attendant]’ 夫 should be <ri> rather than **li* as it does not appear in Chinese words.

2.070 杰 <w>. 杰 appears in Chinese words such as 杰女 <wu.un> 文 **wun*, 杰及 ~ 杰久 <w.u ~ w.uh> 武 **wu*, 杰系 杰女 <c.ah w.un> 册文 **chawun* ‘text of inscription’ 杰 is more likely to be [w] rather than [v] or [u]. There is no evidence for [v] in either Kitan or Chinese at the time.

2.071 杰 <oŋ>. *Research* suggested **uaŋ* for 杰, but its genitive suffix is 丩 <on>, not 矣 <an>, suggesting the main vowel is [o], not [ua].

2.072 为 Allograph of 为 101. <EAST>. 一 为 伏介北和 午和 伞各女 <NORTH EAST ni.ó.ho:en ú:en s.êŋ.un> ‘*xiangwen* of the of the north east route’ = 东北路详稳 (Zong 13). 伏介北 <ni.ó.ho> is a form of the word for ‘division, tribal division, route, circuit’

2.073 考 <ên>. 业考 <ki.ên> 乾 **kien*, 业考 <ki.ên> 县 **hien* ‘county’; 伞交考 <s.ie.ên> 仙 **sien* ‘immortal’ In Chinese the vowel was probably fronted by the medial -i-, so [ien].

2.074 弁 <tir>. 弁力 <tir.a> or 弁火 <tir.i>, a Kitan name written in Chinese 帖刺 *Tiela* (Ji Shi 1996) or 铁离 *Tieli* (Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995). Cf. 弁力 化儿伏 <tir.a ri.g.in> 帖刺夷离堇 ‘the tribal chief (*yilijin*) *Tiela*’ Also: 弁中 <tir.bun> a Kitan name written in Chinese 迪里鉢 *Dilibo*. (Zhao and Bao 2001).

2.075 主 <hoŋ>. 主 mainly appears in 主至 <hoŋ di> ‘emperor’ from Chinese 皇帝 **hongdi*, and characters such as 黄. Note 主 至雨 <hoŋ di:in> ‘of the emperor’; 主 至和 <hoŋ di:en> ‘of the emperor’, with different genitive suffixes 和 <en> and 雨 <in>.

2.076 扎 <ho>. 扎 appears in 山 列扎 <GOLD³ hu.ho> ‘gold crow’, as *Research* pointed out. Liu Fengzhu 1983b suggested the reading **haha* ~ **hehe* for 列扎, noting the Jurchen word *gaha*, Ki. 157 ‘crow’ Ji Shi 1982a suggested 扎 be read *gə*. As a verbal ending, it follows stems with the vowel [o]. Note 扎 中 符 伏 <ho.le.bo.ń> ‘first day(s) of the lunar month 朔’ and 扎 中 符 伏 来 泰 扎 <ho.le.bo.ń ci.ge.ho>, a formula at the end of the title of inscriptions ‘together with preface 並序’ 来 泰 扎 <ci.ge.ho> may be related to 来 <ci> ‘write’ The semantic field of 扎 中 符 伏 <ho.le.bo.ń> is ‘first, in front of’ The name 扎 中 符 伏 <ho.le.bo.ń> probably means ‘the first [son, child]’

2.077 圮

2.078 圮

2.079 圮

2.080 圮 <ii>. 圮 looks similar to 圮 <ho> 076, but the horizontal stroke is extended through the downstroke. Chinggeltei 1992 discovered that 圮 is a suffix, similar in use to 丰 <ai> and 百 <ei>. For example, 包 丰矢 方空 叁百 伞雨 叁金中叁圮 雨危 戈火 百去及 来安 巫天 几火 几太 止及子中 <THREE YEAR:de al.194 d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii, ca.aŋ s.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ, qa.an g.ui g.uŋ p.o.ju:bun> ‘in the third year [of the Tianjuan period], by special advancement, having been granted the title of *shangshu youcheng* 尚書右丞, he was promoted to the position of duke of the state of Han’ The suffix 中 <bun> is one of a series indicating the past tense, used at the end of sentences. 圮 <ii> is one of a series of converb suffixes used in subordinate clauses.

2.081 艾 <MONTH>. The Chinese texts give **sayir ~ *sar* as the Kitan word for ‘moon’, ‘month’: 武珪 Wu Gui, 燕北雜記 *Yanbei zaji* [Miscellaneous notes on Yanbei]: 七月十三日至十五日 迎節, 送節, 哭節, 遼人呼為賽離捨 ‘on the thirteenth day of the seventh month they have welcoming festivals, sending-off festivals and weeping festivals. The Liao people call these 賽離捨 *saili she*’ He adds ‘賽離 *saili* means ‘moon, month’; 捨 *she* means ‘good’ The *Liaoshi* writes the same word 賽啞兒 *saiyier*: 五月重五日 國語謂是日討賽啞兒. 討,五; 賽啞兒; 月也: “the fifth day of the *chongwu* festival in their language they call this day 討賽啞兒 *tao saiyier*. 討 *tao* means ‘five’, 賽啞兒 *saiyier* means ‘month’” 艾 is common within a word, but it is possible a mistranscription for 英. Note the graph 艾, which was not distinguished from 艾 in *Research*, and is not clearly distinguished in many copies of the inscriptions. 艾 apparently means ‘tent’ in the sense of ‘lineage, house, household’ Its reading, and its relationship with 艾, if any, is not known. Cf. 2.379.

2.082 英 <y>: used to transcribe Chinese medial -ü-. 今英虫 关关 穴秀 百 <s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó> ‘Empress Xuanyi 宣懿皇后’ 英秀 <y.e> transcribes 越 *yue* and similar syllables. See also <û> 仲 2.226.

2.083 𪛗 <ss>. Transcribes Chinese characters such as 司 **sī* and 刺 **cī*, clearly indicating the vowel in such words was [i] rather than [i], and that Kitan had no affricate [tsh]. 戈去 𪛗 又太 <s.eu ss x.uŋ> 守司空 **sheusikung*

‘minister of works’; 叔半 今 安火 劣火 半为乃 北 <k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.ŋ s.a.am ss>
 開府義同三司 **kaifu ngitung samci* ‘commander unequalled in honour’;
 北 兆 <ss sh> 刺史 **cishi* ‘regional chief’

2.084 𠂔 <ra>. 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 火 <ei.ra.u.ud> was the Kitan form of 耶律 Yelü. 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 火
 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh> is 耶律固 Yelü Gu, the author of the Daozong,
 Xuanyi and other epitaphs. Cf. Su He 1979; 1981. This graph seems to be
 associated with graphs with the vowel [a].

2.085 𠂔 <SIX>. Reading unknown. Cf. Jurchen **nilhun* Ki. 651; Ma.
niolhon ‘the sixteenth day of the first month’, so perhaps **nil/nir*. The word
 for ‘sixth’ is found in the inscriptions, but it is written 𠂔 𠂔, and does not
 indicate the reading of 𠂔.

2.086 𠂔 Dotted form of 𠂔.

2.087 𠂔 <tʂ>. Only used in Chinese words; transcribes the retroflex affricate
 [tʂ]. 𠂔 <tʂ> 職 **zhī*, 𠂔 𠂔 <tʂ.iŋ> 政 **zhing*, 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <tʂ paŋ l.aŋ ju.ŋ>
 職方郎中 **zhifang langzhung* ‘director of the bureau of operations’

2.088 𠂔

2.089 𠂔 <zù>. 𠂔 appears in the reign title 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <zù.ge.én> ‘Tianfu’ Aisin
 Gioro 2004:51 notes that the title for a lady of high rank, 別胥 *biexu*, was
 normally written 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <b.y.z.iú> ~ 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <p.y.z.iú>, but in Gu it is
 written 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <p.y.zù.iú>, suggesting that 𠂔 is similar to 𠂔 <z>. 𠂔 is only
 found in Kitan words. In the rhymed sections of the Xingzong inscription,
 𠂔 rhymes with 𠂔 <u>.

2.090 𠂔 <ó>. In *Research*, the vowels were divided into four types: the [a]
 group; the [e] group; the [ó] group and the [û] group. Cf. 1.24. 𠂔 [ó] is
 mainly used in Kitan words. It can exchange with 𠂔 <u>, 𠂔 <û>, 𠂔 <iû>, and
 𠂔 <ô>, none of which appear in syllable initial position. 𠂔 <ó> and 𠂔 <ú> can
 appear in initial position.

2.091 𠂔

2.092 𠂔 <yù>. 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <yù.úr ai> ‘the first year [of a reign period] 元年’
 The reading <yù> is common, based on the presumption that 𠂔 𠂔 is a
 transcription of 元 *yuan*, but this seems unlikely. Mnemonic from 尤.

2.093 劣 <gè>. Research identified 叁劣 九用 中丙 戈土 <de.gè g.iŋ l.iu s.eu> as 燕京留守 **Yenging liushieu* ‘the viceroy of Yanjing’ so 叁劣 = 燕 ‘swallow’, the name of the ancient state around modern Beijing, the southern capital of the Liao. Ji Shi pointed out that 叁劣 is also written 令劣 and suggested it means ‘down, under, lower, below’ So 叁劣 九用 <de.gè g.iŋ> is the lower capital, Yanjing, as opposed to the upper capital Shangjing. Chinggeltei thinks that 叁劣 should be translated ‘south’, but there are no words for ‘south’ like 叁劣 <de.gè> in other Altaic languages.

2.094 劣

2.095 女

2.096 奈

2.097 奕 <úr>. The name 控骨里 **kungguli* is transcribed 几水奕 <ku.uŋ.úr> in Zongjiao. Toyoda 1998: 奕 介奕 公乃奕 <THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úr> ‘thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋’ 介奕 <heu.úr> and 公乃奕 <n.am.úr> are clearly related to Mo. *qabur* ‘spring’ and *namur* ‘autumn’

2.098 方 <al>. Cf the following verbal endings:

小壹方列	<siò.ha.al.hu>	令叁中凡	<te.ge.le.gi>
可叁壹方列	<ké.d.ha.al.hu>	无叁中凡	<zù.ge.le.gi>
尺平壹方列	<dau.ul.ha.al.hu>	令叁中叁中凡	<te.ge.le.ge.le.gi>
中壹方列奕	<le.ha.al.hu:an>	金叁叁中凡相	<me.se.ge.le.g:en>

In these examples from Chinggeltei 1992, 壹 <ha> corresponds to 叁 <ge>; 列 <hu> corresponds to 凡 <gi>; 奕 <an> corresponds to 相 <en> and 方 <al> corresponds to 中 <l> [el~le]. We can also see that 方 generally appears after 壹 <ha>; it also appears in front of 列 <hu>. Cf. the Mo. causative suffixes *alya* and *elge*.

2.099 亦 <ad>. In 公亦生亦 <n.ad.bu.ad>, the Kitan word for 捺鉢 *nabo*, also written 納鉢, 納撥, 納跛, 刺鉢, 納寶. (Wang Hongli 1990). Chinggeltei suggests *nabo* is related to Mo. *negü-* ‘to nomadise’ and *bayu-* ‘to settle down, to encamp’ Cf. Toyoda 1998: 介奕 公亦列 <heu.úr n.ad.bú> = 春捺鉢 ‘spring *nabo*’ 公亦列 <n.ad.bú> may be a plural form.

2.100 与 <én>. Allograph of 焉 <én>.

2.101 𠂔 <YOUNGER BROTHER> [deu]. In the Langjun inscription we read 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 <qa.ha:an deu> which corresponds to 皇弟 ‘younger brother of the emperor’. A number of combinations with <deu> are found: 𠂔𠂔 <deu ai> ‘uncle; younger brother of ones father 叔’; 𠂔𠂔 <deu ia> ‘younger brother(s) and elder brother(s) 弟兄’ 𠂔 is also used in 𠂔𠂔 <deu.úr> ‘with, together with’: 金和 穴空 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci> ‘after he drank wine with the local officials’ (Langjun 4). It also seems to be used to translate 同 ‘together’ in 同知 ‘associate administrator’: 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <ś.iú m.i ú.n deu.úr KNOW.u.ji:de o.ii> ‘having been appointed to the position of associate administrator in the bureau of military affairs’ (Di 20). The graph 𠂔 KNOW 142 corresponds to 知 ‘know’ i.e. ‘to be in charge of’ 𠂔 072 is perhaps an allograph of 𠂔 101.

2.102 𠂔 <cu>. Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995 point out that in Zongjiao, 𠂔𠂔𠂔 is a name transcribed in Chinese as 崇古德 Chonggude **chunggudei*. This suggests 𠂔 must <cu>. However, 𠂔𠂔 <cu.n> also transcribes 院 *yuan*, so *Research* suggested **ue* for 𠂔. The matter remains unresolved. Perhaps two similar but separate graphs are involved.

2.103 𠂔 Allograph of 𠂔 068 above.

2.104 𠂔 <dz>. 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <g.uŋ dz.iú> **gungzhiu* ‘princess’; also written 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <g.uŋ c.iú>, suggesting 𠂔 <dz> and 𠂔 <c> must have been pronounced similarly. 𠂔 <dž> 354 is perhaps a variety of 𠂔 <dz> 104. Also in 𠂔𠂔𠂔 <dz.ur.er> ‘second [in a series]; 𠂔𠂔𠂔 <dzi.g.en> ‘right [side], perhaps ‘east’ These words are also found with 𠂔 instead of 𠂔. Cf. 087 𠂔 <tz> 104 𠂔 <dz> 354 𠂔 <dž>

2.105 𠂔 <ud>. *Research* considered 𠂔 <ud> an allograph of 𠂔 <uŋ>. Gao Lujia 1988b recognised 𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 <ei.ra.u.ud> as Yelü, and suggested the original form was **yila’ut*. Liu Fengzhu 1984a interpreted 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <ud.ur.g.iŋ l.iu ś.eu> as 東京留守 ‘the *liushou* [regent] of the eastern capital’ 𠂔𠂔 has a variant form 𠂔𠂔𠂔 <ud.ur.iń>. Ji Shi thinks that 𠂔𠂔 should be read **doru*. Toyoda 1992 suggested **dorona*, based on Mongol.

2.106 𠂔 <uŋ>. An allograph of 𠂔 <uŋ>. 𠂔𠂔 <g.uŋ> 公 **gung* ‘duke’ but 𠂔𠂔𠂔 <g.iu.uŋ> 宮 **giung* ‘palace’; 𠂔𠂔 <x.uŋ> 空 **kung* ‘empty’

2.107 𠂔 <oi>. This graph appears in 元帥府 *yuanshuai fu* 𠂔𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔 <ŋ.y.iên ś.oi pu> ‘headquarters of a marshal’ The reading of 帥 in Liao Chinese is uncertain, but 𠂔 is different from 𠂔 <ui> or 𠂔 <ai>. It is used as a

converb suffix, in the series *ai, ei, ii, ui*, so ⟨oi⟩ seems reasonable. 𣎵 has an allograph 𣎵 347.

2.108 𣎵 Perhaps an allograph of 𣎵 035.

2.109 𣎵 ⟨e⟩ 𣎵 is found in the word 𣎵𣎵 ⟨û e⟩ 于越 *yuyue* ‘a tribal title, the highest position of honour’ and 𣎵𣎵 𣎵𣎵 𣎵𣎵 ⟨y.e g.ui oŋ⟩ 越國王 ‘prince of the state of Yue’. 𣎵 is an allograph of 𣎵 2.348.

2.110 𣎵

2.111 𣎵

2.112 𣎵 ⟨ge⟩. See the comments under 2.090. *Research* divided the vowels of the suffixes into four groups. See 1.35. 𣎵 ⟨ha⟩ represented the [a] group and 𣎵 ⟨ge⟩ represented the [e] group. Since we know that 𣎵 is ⟨ha⟩, 𣎵 must be ⟨ge⟩.

2.113 𣎵 ⟨i̯⟩. Used in Chinese words after 𣎵 ⟨s⟩ and 𣎵 ⟨z⟩, and optionally after 𣎵 ⟨sh⟩ and 𣎵 ⟨ss⟩, to denote the retracted ⟨i̯⟩ vowel: 𣎵𣎵 ⟨sh.i̯⟩ 侍 **shī* ‘to wait on’; 𣎵𣎵 ⟨sh.i̯⟩ 事 **shī* ‘matter’, 𣎵𣎵 ⟨s.i̯⟩ 子 **zī* ‘son’, 𣎵𣎵 𣎵𣎵 𣎵𣎵 𣎵𣎵 ⟨g.ui z.i̯ z.i̯ z.iu⟩ 國子祭酒 **gueizī zizieu* ‘chancellor of the national university’ 𣎵 353 is an allograph.

2.114 𣎵 ⟨i̯⟩ occurs in 騎 **gi* with apparently the value [i:]. See 2.352.

2.115 𣎵 ⟨dâ⟩. Mnemonic from 达. This seems to be a sort of numeral; perhaps ‘two, a couple’ or ‘some, several’

2.116 𣎵 Perhaps an allograph of 𣎵 065.

2.117 𣎵 Perhaps an allograph of 𣎵 118.

2.118 𣎵 ⟨qú⟩. Cf. 𣎵 ⟨qu⟩ 246. 𣎵𣎵𣎵 ⟨s.iau.qu⟩ and 𣎵𣎵𣎵𣎵 ⟨s.iau.qú⟩ are both used to spell 甲 *jiǎ* 乙 *yǐ*, corresponding to ‘blue’; 𣎵𣎵𣎵𣎵 ⟨m.as.qu⟩ and 𣎵𣎵𣎵𣎵𣎵 ⟨m.as.qú⟩ both mean ‘first’ The two endings *may* indicate the grammatical gender of the modified noun. *Research* suggested *ai* for 𣎵 as 𣎵𣎵 transcribes 𣎵 **chai* in 𣎵文 **chawun*. In this case 𣎵 may be a misreading of 𣎵. 𣎵 is also used in 𣎵 MC *chreak* and 𣎵 MC *paek*, both of which ended in [k]. Wang Hongli 86 suggests 𣎵𣎵 and 𣎵𣎵 are read *čey* and *bey*. 𣎵 is transcribed in this book as ⟨ah⟩.

2.119 尺 <dau>. 尺 appears in the sequence 尺及 今岁 主 至 <dau.u s.únj hoŋ di> 道宗 皇帝 ‘Emperor Daozong’ This graph also appears on the canopy of the epitaph of Daozong, the first two words of which are 又 尺矣又. The first graph means ‘great’; there is a general consensus that 尺矣又 <dau.úr.ún> means ‘middle, central’ In Langjun, we find this word in the sequence 尺矣又 及平 <dau.úr.ún u.ul> corresponding to 仲冬 ‘mid-winter’

2.120 大 Possibly an allograph of 𠂔 <iàn> 2.315.

2.121 𠂔 This graph appears in the handcopy of the Renyi inscription, where 𠂔 corresponds to 軍 *gün, normally written 九亦. Presumably a mistranscription. Cf. 𠂔 063.

2.122 𠂔 <ai> 𠂔𠂔 ~ 𠂔𠂔 <k.ai> ~ <x.ai> 開 *kai ‘open’, 𠂔𠂔 <dá.ai> ~ 𠂔𠂔𠂔 <d.ai.i> ~ 𠂔𠂔𠂔 <t.ai.i> 大 *dai ‘big, great’ 𠂔 <ai> means ‘year’ and also ‘father’ The plural of ‘father’ (men, males) is 𠂔𠂔 <ai:d>, but the plural of ‘years’ is 𠂔𠂔 <ai:se>. 牌 *pai is written both 𠂔𠂔 <p.ai> and 𠂔𠂔 <p.ah>.

2.123 𠂔 <ár>. Liu Fengzhu 1987a suggested 𠂔𠂔 <c.ar> in the Langjun inscription corresponded to 向 *xiang* ‘all along, in the past’, and suggested 𠂔𠂔 be read *cala cf. Ma. *cala*. Chinggeltei 1992 discovered that the grammatical function of 𠂔 and 𠂔 may be the same, a perfective suffix. Aisin Gioro suggests 𠂔 *ar* and 𠂔 *er*. In a new article (unpublished) Chinggeltei has given more evidence for reading 𠂔 <ar> and 𠂔 <er>.

2.124 𠂔

2.125 𠂔 <iáu>. Possibly an allograph of 𠂔 <iáu>. Ji Shi interpreted 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <a.án c.iáu.un ss sh> as 安州之刺史 ‘prefect of Anzhou’ (Xu 49). 州 *zhou* is normally written 𠂔𠂔 <c.eu>, so if this identification is correct we have 𠂔𠂔 <c.iáu> ~ 𠂔𠂔 <c.eu>. The stem 𠂔𠂔 <p.iáu->, which seems to mean ‘die’, is only found spelled with 𠂔, never with 𠂔, so 𠂔 and 𠂔 might be two separate graphs, not allographs.

2.126 𠂔

2.127 𠂔 <an>. Allograph of 𠂔 <an> 011. Cf. 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 九亦 <l.a.an l.iŋ g.ün> (Zhong) ~ 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 九亦 <l.an l.iŋ g.ün> (Xu) ‘Lanlingjun (Lanling prefecture) 蘭陵郡’

2.128 𠂔 <zài>. Mnemonic from 在.

2.129 乃

2.130 不 <xa>. 不 occurs in 劣太 子太 又火 又和 不 止用 引危 兆 <tu.un ju.un ś.iú m.en xa ja.aŋ sh> 同中書門下平章事 **tungzhungshiu munhia pingzhangshi* ‘joint manager of affairs with the secretariat-chancellery’ and 不才 九夷 <xa.ia g.úr> ‘name of a state: Xixia 西夏’ (Toyoda 1989).

2.131 及 <u>. 及 is one of the several graphs which transcribe Chinese [u]: 棠及 <ŋ.u> ‘I’ 吾 **ŋu*, 今及 <pu.u> 副 **fu* ‘deputy’, 赤及 <w.u> 武 **wu* ‘martial, military’ 及 <u> may have been similar to 及 <o>: 止及子 <p.o.ju> ~ 止及子 <p.u.ju> are the stem forms of ‘become, be appointed to, be promoted to’; 止及子立 <p.o.ju.ha> ~ 止及子立 <p.u.ju.ha> the stem forms of the causative of the above: ‘to set up, appoint, establish’

2.132 又 Possibly an allograph of 又 133.

2.133 又 <m>. 又 occurs both in Chinese and Kitan: 又火 <m.i> 密 **mi* ‘secret’ 又力 <m.a> 馬 **ma* ‘horse’, 九又 <gi.m> ‘gold’ 金 **gim*. Kitan words: 又化 <mo.ri> ‘horse’, 又冬余 <m.as.qu> ‘first’, 又及 <m.o> ‘big, great’ 又又火 <śi.m.i> ‘Shenmi: name of a tribe 審密’; 又及 住及药 <m.o mu.u.ji> ‘Kitan term corresponding to Chinese ‘sacred, holy 神聖’ 又出又 令住火 <m.án.ún se.m.i> ‘to go hunting’ (Langjun), 又出又 几 <m.án.ún ku> ‘hunter’; 又及 得力 <m.o bo.qo> ‘eldest child, eldest son 長子’; 又火 又 <m.ó.qu> ‘first [son], eldest [son] 長子’

2.134 圣 <TWO>. The stem of the word for ‘second’ in the inscriptions is 杂化 <c.ur>. Cf. MMo. *jir* ~ *jur* ‘two’, Ma. *juwe* ‘two’; *juru* ‘a pair’ 圣 also occurs within a word, where it is presumably used phonetically <jür>.

2.135 𠄎 <TWO^ó>. Dotted form of 圣: 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 <TWO qa.ha:ad> ‘two khans’

2.136 刀 <dó>. Mnemonic from 刀

2.137 刃 <rén> 刃 appears in the Renxian inscription, in 令丙刃伏志 <t.iu.rén.in on> ‘the prince t.iu.rén.in’. Ji Shi noted that 纥鄰 Jiulin was the Kitan name of 仁先 Renxian, according to his *Liaoshi* biography. 令丙刃 <t.iu.rén> is also in the reign titles 大康 Dakang ‘Great Prosperity’ and 天德 Tiande ‘Heavenly Virtue’, so 令丙刃 <t.iu.rén> should be some auspicious word like ‘prosperity, health, virtue’ One of the more puzzling aspects of this graph is that it also appears in the Kitan transcription of the Chinese word 樞密 **shiumi*, written both 又火 又火 <ś.iú m.i> and 又火 又刃 <ś.iú mo.rén>. 密 was

MC **mit*, so presumably had a final *r* in Late Tang NW Chinese. Perhaps this is an early loanword borrowed in pre-Liao times.

2.138 𠄎 ⟨iû⟩. The title of the Taishuzu inscription is 𠄎年及火火 令茶茶 安火 矣 戈雨 戈去及 主 𠄎 戈到 令令火 九和及 來糸 ⟨ei.ra.u.ud:i t.e.er ŋ.i xo ź.in ś.eu.u onj tai ś.iû z.ú.un g.en.ún c.ah⟩, corresponding to 義和仁壽皇太叔祖 哀冊文 **ŋi ho žinshieu hong taishiuzu aichaiwun*. 戈到 must be 叔 and 到 ⟨iû⟩ similar to 火 ⟨iú⟩. 叔 is written both 戈到 ⟨ś.iû⟩ and 戈去到 ⟨ś.eu.iû⟩. The Kitan word for ‘tribe, division 部’ has the following forms: 公到矣 ⟨n.iû.úr⟩ ~ 公升矣 ⟨n.ó.úr⟩ ~ 伏升矣 ⟨ní.ó.úr⟩ ~ 伏令矣 ⟨ní.ô.úr⟩. 叔 was *syuk* in MC, and the use of 到 in this word might reflect a final *k*.

2.139 力 ⟨na⟩. This occurs in 力主出茶 ⟨na.ha.án.er⟩ ‘maternal uncle’, which Ji Shi 82 related to Mo. *nayaču* ‘relatives on mother’s side’ 力乃 ⟨na.am⟩ transcribes 男 *nan* **nam* ‘male, man, rank of nobility, baron’

2.140 和 ⟨en⟩. Usually used as a genitive suffix. There are six graphs which are used to indicate the genitive preceded by various vowels: 和 ⟨en⟩, 矣 ⟨an⟩, 尔 ⟨on⟩, 火 ⟨un⟩, 雨 ⟨in⟩ and perhaps 公 ⟨n⟩ and 伏 ⟨ń⟩. 和 ⟨en⟩ often follows a consonant or semivowel. Chinese words with medial -i- such as 陳 **chien* or 臣 **chien* ‘official’ are written either 來和 ⟨c.en⟩ or 來雨 ⟨c.in⟩.

2.141 𠄎 ⟨SEVEN⟩. Liu Fengzhu 1993c suggests this word might be related to Mo. *doloyan* ‘seven’ It seems to transcribe ⟨dolo⟩ in some names. There is also a dotted form, which was not included in the original *Research* list.

2.142 𠄎 ⟨KNOW⟩. 𠄎 corresponds to 知 ‘know’ in official titles such as 知事 ‘to know matters’, i.e. ‘administrator’. It is often followed by 令 ⟨t⟩ as in 𠄎令 ‘administrators’

2.143 𠄎 ⟨xua⟩. The expression 𠄎 安火茶 ⟨xua ŋ.y.êm⟩ occurs in Ling 13 and 20. Toyoda 1991 suggested 安火茶 ⟨ŋ.y.êm⟩ might be 嚴 **ŋiam*, and so 𠄎 安火茶 ⟨hua ŋ.y.êm⟩ would be 華嚴 Huayan. 華 is MC **xuae*, so presumably Liao **xua*. 𠄎 安茶 公及 令得 九亦 ⟨xua ŋ.y.êm n.u s.iaŋ g.ün⟩ would be 華嚴奴將軍 General Huayannu (Gu 7).

2.144 𠄎 ⟨ún⟩. This is one of the most enigmatic graphs. Suggestions include *u*, *da*, *in* and *en*. 𠄎 appears in 尺矣𠄎 𠄎干 ⟨dau.úr.ún u.ul⟩ in *Langjun*, where it corresponds to 仲冬 ‘mid-winter’ *Research* 1977 suggested **u*, *Research* 1985 suggested **da*. Ji Shi 1982 suggested **in*. Liu Fengzhu 1983b read 𠄎 **da*, and 尺矣𠄎 as **duanda*, 矣𠄎火 ⟨qid.ún.i⟩ as

**kiday*, and 𠄎𠄎公 <qatun.ún.n> as **kadan*. Wang Hongli 1986 analyzed 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <qid.ún.i> as **xit-en-i*. From the changes made to the Daozong inscription, we can see that 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <hó.le.b.ún> is the equivalent of 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <hó.le.bun> and 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <al.le.b.ún> is the equivalent of 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <al.le.bun>. On the canopy of the Daozong inscription we read 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <m.o c.i.is.de.b.ún>, but in the main part of the inscription 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <m.o c.i.is.de.bun>. Clearly 𠄎𠄎 = 𠄎 <bun>, so 𠄎 must be [un]. Here it is written 𠄎 <ún> to distinguish it from 𠄎 <un>, the genitive suffix. 𠄎公 <ún.n> ‘now’; 𠄎𠄎 ~ 𠄎𠄎 <ún.e> ‘now’; 𠄎公 任𠄎𠄎 <ún.n mu.u.ji> ‘the present sacred one [monarch, ruler] 今聖’

2.145 𠄎 <FORTY>. 𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <FORTY ONE:de ku.ká û.u o.o.i□ u.ur s.a.rí rên.i> (Xu 7) seems to correspond to the entry in the *Liaoshi* biography of Yelü Wotela: 年四十一, 始補本班郎君 ‘in the forty first year, for the first time he was appointed court gentleman in the same bureau’ (Ji Shi 1996). If that is so, 𠄎 must mean ‘forty’ Its reading is unknown.

2.146 𠄎 <giù>. 𠄎𠄎 <giù.ün> transcribes 君 *jun* **gün*, so perhaps 𠄎 is <giù>. Its meaning is unknown.

2.147 𠄎 <jú> Allograph of 149.

2.148 𠄎 <jú> Allograph of 149.

2.149 𠄎 <ju>. 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ> 職方郎中 **zhifong langgün*; 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ju.uŋ g.iŋ> 中京 **zhungging* ‘the central capital’ It often appears also in Kitan words: 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ta.ha.ai o.ju.hu> ‘covered, closed 掩閉’; 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <p.o.ju.ha-> base form of ‘became, promoted to the position of’ (passive/causative).

2.150 𠄎 <ja>. 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <p.iŋ ja.aŋ tz.iŋ sh.ï> 平章政事 **pingzhang zhingshi*; 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ju.uŋ s.iú m.en xa p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh> 中書門下平章事 **zhiung shiu mun hia pingzhangshi*. 𠄎 often appears in Kitan words. Wang Hongli 1986 suggested 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <ja.ri.qó> is related to Mo. *jerge* ‘rank, title’ Ji Shi translated 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <ja.ri.qo> as ‘prime minister 宰相’

2.151 𠄎 <hu>. *Research* noted that 𠄎 appeared in: 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <s.aŋ pu hu.un tu.uŋ g.ün oŋ> 尚父混同郡王. 𠄎𠄎 <hu.un> corresponds to 混 **huen*. 𠄎 <hu> is also very frequent in Kitan words. 𠄎𠄎 <hu.ho> ‘crow’

列化茶 <hu.ur.er> ‘third’, 得列出 <bo.hu.án> ‘children’ It often appears in verbal morphology, where it is in opposition to 九 <gi> as suffix.

2.152 药 <ji>. 药 and 药 153 are allographs, as is, probably, 药 337. *Research* 77 suggested **sun*; *Research* 85 suggested **ku*. Ji Shi suggested **sun* from the cursive form of Chinese 孫 *sun*. Liu Fengzhu suggested **gu* from Chinese 孤 *gu*. Chinggeltei noted that the graphs 药, 药 and 药 appear most frequently in verbal suffixes, with both back and front vowels. They are followed by suffixes such as 和 <en> and 茶 <d>. So they might indicate a type of verbal noun. More recently the discovery of the name of the name 止欠药 <po.qo.ji> in Dilie, which is given in the *Liaoshi* as *Puguzhi* 蒲古只, indicates that 药 must be something like <ji>. Chinggeltei has suggested that 药 <ji> might indicate a verbal noun similar to Mongol *-ci*.

2.153 药 Allograph of 152.

2.154 尔 <on>. Genitive suffix. 尔 follows words such as 九火 志尔 <g.ui on:on> ‘of the king of the country 國王’ This word also appears initially in the word 尔力出 <on.a.án> ‘descended’

2.155 乙 <FIFTY>. Based on context, Ji Shi translated Ling 18 乙奕 乙 至 乙考 茶 <eu.úr 乙 EIGHT p.iáu.er> as ‘he died (?) at the age of fifty eight’ 乙奕 <eu.úr> means ‘years of age’

2.156 乙

2.157 乙

2.158 乙

2.159 天 <DAY>. We read in the *Liaoshi*, “In the national language, the first day of the new year 正旦 is called 乃捏哱兒 *nai-nie-yi-er*. 乃 *nai* means first 正, 捏哱兒 *nie-yi-er* means ‘day ~ sun 日’” In the *Liaoshi* glossary we read: “乃捏哱兒 *nai-nie-yi-er* means “the first day of the first month 正月朔旦”. In Mo. *nara/n* is ‘sun’ and *edür* is ‘day’

2.160 丑. Transcribes 九 *jiu* **gieu* ‘nine’, so may be <giù> (Aisin Gioro 2004:2).

2.161 央 <au>. Used in both Chinese and Kitan: 牛央及 九用和 牛丙 戈土 <l.au.u g.iŋ:en l.iu s.eu> 洛京之留守 **lauging leushieu* ‘the *liushou* [regent,

viceroy] of Luoqing’ In Kitan words it occurs in 𠬞𠬞𠬞 <s.au.qu> ‘blue’ The 奥 *ao* in 略胡奥 *lüehu ao* ‘the red woman’ is presumably 𠬞 <au>. See Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:275, n.191. In the inscriptions 𠬞 <au> means ‘elder sister’. A similar word, 𠬞 <áu> occurs in 𠬞𠬞 <áu.ui> ‘娘子 *niangzi*: a term of respect for a lady of high status’. 𠬞 and 𠬞 sometimes alternate, e.g. 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 <oi.ri.u.ul.hu s.au.ul.hu> in Zhong 33 and Dao 23 is written 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 <oi.ri.u.ul.hu s.au.ul.hu.an> in Zhixian 16. Note also 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 <au.ul.ú.ui>, 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 <au.ul.ha.ai>, 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 <au.ul.ha.al.ún>, all forms of 𠬞𠬞 <au.ul>- ‘to appoint’

2.162 𠬞 <c> ~ <ci> 𠬞𠬞 <ci.ŋ> 承, 成 **chieng*, 𠬞𠬞 ~ 𠬞𠬞 <c.in> ~ <c.en> 臣 **chien* ‘official’, 𠬞𠬞 <c.aŋ> 上 *shang*; 𠬞𠬞 [= 𠬞𠬞] <c.ah> 冊 **chai*; 𠬞𠬞 <ci ci> ‘together with, *et cetera*, and others 等, 以及’; 𠬞𠬞 <ci.er> ‘written, written by’: used at the end of inscriptions immediately preceding the name of the writer of the inscription: 題’; 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 <c.i.is.de.bo.ń>, 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 <c.i.is.de.bun> 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 <c.i.is.de.b.ún> ‘filial piety’; 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞 <c.i.is.de.bun bo.qo> ‘filial son’; 𠬞𠬞𠬞 <ci.i.is> ‘blood; blood relative, clansman, relative’ (Ji Shi 1988).

2.163 𠬞 <ki> 𠬞𠬞 <ki.ên> transcribes 乾 **kien*, 縣 **hien* and 玄 **hüen*, suggesting there was no phonemic difference between [kh] and [x].

2.164 𠬞

2.165 𠬞 <gu>. 𠬞 is commonly used in the word 𠬞𠬞 <te.gu>, which introduces a quotation (曰). Liu Deng Han 95 noticed that in the Bozhou inscription, there is a space preceding 𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞. 𠬞𠬞 <g.úr> means ‘country’, so 𠬞𠬞𠬞 should be the name of a country. (Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995). As this inscription was written during the Jin, the use of the space in front of it to indicate respect can only indicate the Jin dynasty. 𠬞 is <n>, 𠬞 is <i>. The Chinese word 女真 *Nüzhen* appears to be a borrowing from Kitan, that is, how the Kitans referred to the Jurchens. The Mongols called them *Jürčid*; the Jurchen name for themselves was *alčun* ‘gold’ There is now general agreement that 𠬞𠬞𠬞 means ‘Jurchen’ Aisin Gioro suggests that the underlying word is a form of 女古 **nügu*, the Kitan word for ‘gold’ corresponding to Chinese 金 *jin* in the *Liaoshi* glossary. This would mean <nu.i.gu> for 𠬞𠬞𠬞 and <gu> for 𠬞

2.166 𠬞 <THREE>. Possibly [hur]. ‘Third’ is written 𠬞𠬞𠬞 <hu.ur.er>, 𠬞𠬞𠬞 <hu.ur.én>, 𠬞𠬞 <hur.er> or 𠬞𠬞 <hur.en> (Ji Shi 1983, Wang Hongli 1986). In Haitangshan, the ordinal numerals from first to eighth are spelt out.

These showed that the ordinal suffix is 𠄎 <er> ~ 𠄎 <én> which directly follows a numeral. 𠄎 <er> is used with masculine nouns and 𠄎 <én> with feminine nouns. 𠄎 <hur> and 𠄎 <hu.ur> are both used as the basic stem in ‘third’ Cf. Mo. *yurba/n*.

2.167 𠄎. Dotted form of 包 166: 包 𠄎 𠄎 <3^o ai:d> ‘three males, three fathers’

2.168 𠄎 <qo>. 𠄎 appears in 𠄎 <ni.qo> ‘dog’ and 𠄎 <te.qo.a> ‘hare’ In the *Liaoshi* glossary ‘dog’ is 捏褐 **nieho*, cf. Mo. *noqai*. *Research* read 𠄎 as **nə-xəi* and 𠄎 as **t’-xəi-a*. Liu Fengzhu 1983b read 𠄎 as **daha*. Chinggeltei 1992 writes 𠄎 as *nəxi* ~ *noxixi*, and 𠄎 as *t’axia*. As Chinggeltei 1997 notes, reconstructions such as *daha*, *noxixi*, *t’axia* show less reliance on the transcription values, and greater reliance on Mo. forms.

2.169 欠 <qó>. This graph only occurs in Kitan. Wang Hongli 1986 noticed that in the *Liaoshi* biography of 耶律斡特拉 Yelü Wotela, we read 北阻卜酋長磨古斯叛 “Mogusi, the chieftain of the northern Zubu, rebelled” Elsewhere in the *Liaoshi* the name of this tribe is given as 阻卜 Zubu or 朮不古 *Zhubugu*. In Xu 17 we find 朮不古欠 <ci.bu.qó> and 朮不古欠不 <ci.bu.qó:on>, the genitive form, which seems to refer to the same tribe. 欠 is also in 朮不古欠 <ja.ri.qó> ‘prime minister’

2.170 𠄎 <bái>. Mnemonic from 派. Aisin Gioro 2004:53 notes that a title written 𠄎 in Zhixian 7 is written 𠄎 <bà.i> in Renxian 4, which suggests its reading is **bai*. Ji Shi suggests it means ‘licentiate, graduate of the imperial examination system’

2.171 欠 <da>. 欠 𠄎 <da.ai> ~ 欠 𠄎 𠄎 <da.ai.i> transcribes 大 **dai*. In Kitan it appears in 欠 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 <da.ha.ai o.ju.hu DAY> ‘the day the coffin was covered’

2.172 欠 <uh>. 𠄎 <w.uh> 武 *wu* ‘martial, military’, 𠄎 欠 僕 <b.uh> **pu* ‘servant’, 𠄎 <l.uh> 祿 *lu* ‘salary. 欠 <uh> is sometimes used in words which ended in *k* in MC.

2.173 欠

2.174 𠄎 <as>. In Langjun we find 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 <s.iau.qu qa.ha.as> corresponding to the year *jiayin*. The cyclical branch 寅 *yin* corresponds to the zodiac animal ‘tiger’ In the 燕北錄 *Yanbeilu* we read: 番兵以萑珍思為號，漢語熊虎二字也 “the barbarian soldiers use the term 萑珍思

louzhensi as their name; in Chinese this means 熊虎 bear and tiger” In a revised edition of the *Yanbeilu*, we read “the barbarian soldiers use the term 蕃珂忍 *fankeren* as their name, in Chinese this means 龍虎 ‘dragon and tiger’ ” Most researchers agree that “bear and tiger” should read “dragon and tiger” Many suggestions have been made to try to reconcile this passage with 虫虫冬 <qa.ha.as>, none very convincing. 虫虫 <qa.ha> can be identified with ‘king’, so 虫虫冬 <qa.ha.as> might mean ‘king of the beasts 獸王’ 冬本 <as.ar> occurs in the reign title 天冬本, corresponding to 青寧 *Qingning* ‘clear and quiet’

2.175 各 <êŋ>. Wang Hongli recognised 𠂇各女 as 詳穩 *xiangwen*, a title probably derived from Ch. 將軍 *jiangjun* ‘general’: 𠂇各女 sometimes corresponds to 將軍 ‘general’ in the inscriptions. The possible derivation of 詳穩 *xiangwen* from 相公 *xianggong* is not likely. Several suggestions have been made for 各: *əŋ, *kul, *aŋu. Here 各 is transcribed <êŋ> and 𠂇各女 <s.êŋ.un>. Chinggeltei 2002b has suggested 𠂇各女 may not be *xiangwen* at all. In the texts he examined, 𠂇各 appears once, 𠂇各凡 three times, 𠂇各女 twenty one times. 𠂇各女 does not appear with any suffixes, as one would expect from a noun.

2.176 𠂇 <bú>. Probably a allograph of 𠂇. In Renyi we read 𠂇 𠂇𠂇及火火公𠂇𠂇 <ei.ra.u.ud:i n.ad.bú>. 𠂇𠂇及火火 <ei.ra.u.ud:i> is the genitive form of 𠂇𠂇及火 <ei.ra.u.ud> ‘Yelü’ 𠂇 occurs in the expression 𠂇及介安 公𠂇𠂇 <ORDO.u heu.úr n.ad.bú> 行宮春捺鉢 ‘travelling palace, *ordo*, spring *nabo*’ 公𠂇𠂇 <n.ad.bú> is *nabo*. Under 𠂇 <ad> 099, it was suggested that 公𠂇 𠂇𠂇 <n.ad bu.ad> means *nabo*. If 公𠂇𠂇 <n.ad.bú> is similar to 公𠂇 𠂇𠂇 <n.ad bu.ad>, then 𠂇 = 𠂇𠂇 <bu.ad>, written here <bú>, but perhaps **bad*. Sometimes the suggestion is made that 𠂇 refers to the Xiao clan, the imperial maternal clan. The term Xiao has not been identified in the Kitan inscriptions. It seems to be a Chinese word to include a number of Kitan families who married into the Yelü clan.

2.177 𠂇 <râ>. Other suggestions: *lus*, *la*, *ris*. This graph is usually discussed in the context of 𠂇𠂇 <qid.i> and 𠂇𠂇 <xu.râ>. See 4.58.

2.178 𠂇 <ku>. Toyoda 1991 recognised that 𠂇 means ‘man, person’, and that 𠂇及 𠂇 <p.u.ku> corresponds to 臣 *chén* ‘official’ Liu 1995 noticed that 𠂇𠂇𠂇 <ku.uŋ.úr> corresponded to the name 控骨里 *kungguli*, confirming the value of 𠂇 as <ku>. Toyoda suggested the reading *kü’ün* cf. Mo. *kümün*. Chinggeltei noted that in the rhymes in the inscriptions, 𠂇 seems to have a [u] type vowel. The genitive form of 𠂇 <ku> is 𠂇𠂇女 <ku.û.un>. Zongjiao 19

contains a quote from the *Book of Odes*: 允矣 令句 冬本 公乎来茶 孑亦 北 商及 几只女 半 丙 <sh:de te.gu: as.ar n.ai.ci.er giù.ün ss hor.u ku.û.un ai mó> 允 <sh> is 詩 *shi*, referring to the *Book of Odes*. 令句 <te.gu> introduces direct speech (曰). 冬本 <as.ar> is ‘peaceful, quiet’ 公乎来茶 <n.ai.c.er> is ‘harmonious’ 商及 <hor.u> is ‘people’ 几只女 <ku.û.un> is ‘man’ (genitive). 半 <ai> is ‘father’, 丙 <mó> is ‘mother’ 允矣 令句 <sh:de te.gu> ‘in the *Book of Odes*’ Aisin Gioro identified this as Ode 251: 豈弟君子, 民之父母 “How much more then should the happy and courteous sovereign be the parent of his people?” The Kitan version can be translated “the peaceful harmonious gentleman (*junzi*) is the father and mother of the people”

2.179 允 <dú>: a locative suffix corresponding to 朱 <do> and 矢 <de>, used after words with the main vowel [u]: 左 九丙水允 <SIX g.iu.uŋ.dú> ‘in the six palaces 六宮’ Cf. 来及允 <ORDO.u.dú> ‘in the ordo’ 几只允 <ku.û.dú> ‘among the men, among the people’; 允火 允 令句 <ś.iú:dú te.gu> ‘in the *Book of Documents* it says’ (Nu 34).

2.180 允 <sh>. Transcribes the Chinese syllable **shī* and clearly shows the existence of [i] in Liao Chinese. Examples: 允, 允吞 <sh, sh.ï> 事 *shī* ‘affair, matter, to serve’; 允, 允吞 <sh, sh.ï> 使 *shī* ‘envoy’ 允 <sh> 史 *shī* ‘history, historian’ 允吞 ~ 允吞 <sh.ï> 侍 *shī* ‘to wait on’, 允 <sh> 師 *shī* ‘teacher, army’ However, there are many other examples in which 使 and similar words are written 允火 <ś.i>. There were no retroflexes in Kitan, so we can say that transcriptions of the 允火 <ś.i> type were broad, reflecting Kitan pronunciation, and transcriptions of the 允吞 <sh.ï> type narrow, reflecting more closely the Chinese pronunciation.

2.181 胤 <iúŋ>. 胤胤 允 冬 允矣 令句 几亦 <l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün> **liung hu wei shang giang gün* ‘senior general of the dragon and tiger guard’ (*Research*).

2.182 風

2.183 嬰 <car>. Ji Shi translated 令丙刃伏 杰 止北 关化 婴为 <t.iu.rén.in on po.ho i.ri car.a> in the Renxian inscription as “the childhood name of Prince Jiuling was Chara” This is based on Yelü Renxian’s biography in the *Liaoshi*.

2.184 乃 <am>. 乃 is in 令为乃 <s.a.am> 三 **sam* and 几才乃 <g.ia.am> 監 **giem*.

2.185 乃 <âm>

2.186 及 ⟨o⟩. This graph appears in 令及 ⟨s.o⟩ 左 *zo and 兀及 ⟨s.o⟩ 率 *sho. It also occurs in Kitan words, such as 又及 ⟨m.o⟩ ‘big’ 住北及 ⟨mu.ho.o⟩ ‘snake’, 止及 ⟨po.o⟩ ~ 止及及 ⟨p.o.o⟩ ‘shen, monkey’ Chinggeltei suggests 住北及 ⟨mu.ho.o⟩ should be read *mogo. Also: 及米 ⟨o.ordu⟩ ‘ordo’; 及米及 ⟨o.ordu.u⟩ ‘ordo’; 及米及兀 ⟨o.ordu.u.dú⟩ ‘ordo’ (locative); 及子伏 ⟨o.ju.in⟩ ~ 及子又 ⟨o.ju.ún⟩ ‘to appoint 任 ~ 除’

2.187 𠂔 ⟨TEN THOUSAND⟩. Perhaps ⟨tumu⟩. Wang Hongli 1986 suggested 𠂔 might mean ‘ten thousand’ 𠂔 appears in the present corpus 13 times, but never following another numeral. Examples: 𠂔 𠂔 ten thousand matters 萬事’ 𠂔 九安和 ⟨TEN THOUSAND g.úr:en⟩ ‘of ten thousand countries 萬國’ (Toyoda 1992); 𠂔 九安令 至令 𠂔 ⟨TEN THOUSAND g.úr:se hur.ú qa⟩ ‘khan in control of ten thousand countries’; 𠂔 介安 𠂔 公乃安 ⟨THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úr⟩ ‘a thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋’ (Toyoda 1998).

2.188 州 ⟨zò⟩. Mnemonic from 州. 州欠 means ‘small, young’, as in 九安和 力 𠂔 𠂔 州欠 𠂔 𠂔 ⟨g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zò.qó TENT:en⟩ ‘the younger (junior) branch of the imperial maternal uncles 國舅小翁帳’ The *Liaoshi* informs us that the maternal uncle lineage of the Liao had two branches, 大翁帳 *da weng zhang* and 小翁帳 *xiao weng zhang*. Amongst these, 小 *xiao* corresponds to 州欠. Chinggeltei relates 州欠 to Mo. *baya* ‘small’, and suggests 州 may be read *ba. Aisin Gioro suggests *od.

2.189 𠂔 ⟨a⟩: 又𠂔 ⟨m.a⟩ 馬 *ma; 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 ⟨l.a.an⟩ *lan 蘭 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔. Kitan 𠂔 𠂔 ⟨ém.a⟩ ‘goat; cyclical term 未’, 令𠂔 𠂔 ⟨te.qo.a⟩ ‘chicken, cyclical term 酉’, 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 ⟨tau.lí.a⟩ ‘hare, rabbit, cyclical term 卯’; 𠂔 ⟨a⟩ ‘to be at, to be present at 在’

2.190 𠂔 ⟨à⟩.

2.191 𠂔

2.192 𠂔 sí. Corresponds to Chinese 氏 *shi*, ‘name, family name, used after women’s names to indicate their family name before marriage’

2.193 𠂔

2.194 𠂔

2.195 午 ⟨ù⟩. Mnemonic from 午.

2.196 生 ⟨bu⟩. Wang Hongli 1986 recognized 今生百答 ⟨te.bu.ei.er⟩ as 撻不也 Tabuye, a common name in the *Liaoshi*. Tabuye is said to mean ‘a tiller of fields’. *Jinshi* glossary: 答不也, 耕田者. In the *Liaoshi* the name appears as 撻不也 Tabuye and 撻不衍 Tabuyan. This is probably not a Jurchen word, as there is no equivalent in Manchu. Also in 生 ⟨bu⟩ ‘grandfather’ 生半 ⟨bu ai⟩ ‘grandfather’; 生生半 ⟨bu bu ai⟩ ‘great grandfather’

2.197 余 ⟨ah⟩. 余 transcribes Chinese [ai] in 父半 九火 母余 ⟨x.ai g.ui b.ah⟩ ~ 叔半 九火 母余 ⟨k.ai g.ui b.ah⟩ 開國伯 *kaigüebai ‘elder who assisted in founding the state’ In some transcriptions, there seems to be some confusion between 余 ⟨ah⟩ and 余 ⟨qu⟩. 伯 may have had a glottal stop in Liao Chinese, and it is not clear if the use of 余 ⟨ah⟩ instead of 半 ⟨ai⟩ in such words reflects this.

2.198 久

2.199 久 ⟨aŋ⟩. 令用 九久 九亦 ⟨z.iŋ g.aŋ g.ün⟩ 靜江軍 *cinggiang gün ‘the Jingjiang army’; 止用 引久 九 ⟨p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh⟩ 平章事 *pingzhangshi ‘official title’ Cf. 並 ⟨iáŋ⟩.

2.200 方 Possibly an allograph of 旁202 or 力168.

2.201 方 Possibly an allograph of 考 ⟨ên⟩. Cf. Gu 25: 父文方 ⟨x.ie.201⟩ 賢 *hien ‘virtuous’

2.202 旁 ⟨tu⟩. 旁太 ⟨tu.uŋ⟩ transcribes 同 *tung and 統 *tung. In Kitan it appears in 旁奕中 ⟨tu.úr.bun⟩ ~ 旁奕得又 ⟨tu.úr.b.ún⟩ ‘died, passed away (honorific: 薨).’

2.203 先 Possibly ⟨lâ⟩. 兩先 might mean ‘previous, past’ 兩 is ⟨ca⟩. If this word is related to Ma. *cala* ‘previously, before’, 先 might be ⟨lâ⟩.

2.204 矢 ⟨shi⟩. Mnemonic from 矢.

2.205 矢 ⟨de⟩. Locative suffix: 丕 父考矢 ⟨tai m.iau:de⟩ ‘in the imperial ancestral temple, the Taimiao 太廟’; 半矢 ⟨ai:de⟩ ‘in that year’ There is no independent proof for the usual reading (*Research*, Chinggeltei, Ji Shi, Liu, Aisin Gioro) of 矢 as ⟨de⟩. The Mongol locative suffix is *du/dü* < OMO. *dur/dür*. In Jin Jurchen the locative suffixes were probably *dö* and *du*. Another Kitan locative suffixes are 朱 ⟨do⟩, used after stems with the vowel

[o], and 𠂔 <du>, used after [u]. If the Kitan prolativ (ablative) suffix ‘from’ 𠂔𠂔 <de.i> is related to Ma. *deri*, this might be evidence for a final [r] in 𠂔 <de>.

2.206 𠂔 . 𠂔 appears in the word 无𠂔为 <tau.li.a> ‘hare’ cf. *Liaoshi* glossary 陶里 *taoli* ‘hare’. Cf. Mo. *taulai* ‘hare’

2.207 𠂔 <THOUSAND>. Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995 give the following examples: 止为𠂔 止雨 圣 𠂔 <p.a.ar p.in TWO THOUSAND> 食邑二千 (Linggong). 食邑 means “lit. to feed off a fief: a general reference to land-grant nobles, who had broad political, military and fiscal control over tracts awarded to them” (Hucker 5258). Also: 止为𠂔 止雨 无 𠂔 <p.a.ar p.in FIVE THOUSAND> ‘fiefdom of five thousand households’ (Renxian). Toyoda 98 pointed out that if 𠂔 means ‘thousand’, 𠂔介安 及公乃安 <THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úr> in Xuan 30 means ‘a thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋’ 𠂔 may be <miŋ>: cf. 𠂔𠂔 is *meng’an* 孟安. Cf. Ming Jurchen 𠂔𠂔 *min’gan* ‘thousand’ (Ki. 664); Mo. *mingya* ~ *mingyan* ‘thousand’ Also: 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <miŋ.an nai:d> ‘the leaders of a *meng’an*’

2.208 𠂔 <lu>. 𠂔 corresponds to the cyclical sign 辰 *chen*, i.e. 龍 *long*, ‘dragon’ Cf. Mo. *luu*, Tu. *luu* ‘dragon’ In 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <ŋ.in s.iŋ g.oŋ lu da.ai.i pu> 銀青光祿大夫 **yingqing guanglu daifu* **ngincing gunglu daifu*, 祿 *lu* is transcribed 𠂔𠂔 <l.uh>. 𠂔 is an allograph. The form with a dot (𠂔 209) seems to be a mistranscription.

2.209 𠂔 See 208 𠂔.

2.210 𠂔 <au>. In 𠂔𠂔 <au.ui> 娘子 *niangzi*: title of a woman of noble rank’

2.211 𠂔 <THIRTY>. Reading unknown.

2.212 𠂔

2.213 𠂔 <to>. *Research* noticed that 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔 <to.on l.ie.ên> transcribes 團練 **tonlien* ‘trainband prefect’ Seeing 𠂔 precedes 𠂔 <on>, it can be transcribed <to>.

2.214 𠂔 <dá>. Allograph of 𠂔 <da> 171 and 𠂔 <da> 215.

2.215 𠂔 <da>. Allograph of 𠂔 <dá> 214 and 𠂔 <da> 171.

2.216 𠂔 Used in the word 𠂔列, the cyclical sign 子; corresponding to 鼠 ‘rat’. Its pronunciation is unknown.

2.217 𠂔 <do>. 𠂔 regularly appears with 𠂔 <po> ‘time’ It seems to be a locative suffix following stems with the main vowel [o].

2.218 𠂔 <doro> ~ <SEAL> ~ <RITUAL>. 𠂔 regularly corresponds to 禮 ‘ritual, rite, ceremony’ It also appears in the Jin reign title 大定 Dading 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <HEAVEN doro.ha.am>. In Di 2, 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d> means ‘court attendants of the bureau of seals and tallies’

2.219 𠂔 Possibly an allograph of 𠂔.

2.220 𠂔 <mú>. Ji Shi recognised in 𠂔行欠伏 <ní.mú.qú.ń> the Kitan name written 粘木袞 *Niemugun* in the *Liaoshi*. It is followed by 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <p.y.z.iú> 別胥 ‘*biexu*, a title of nobility for a woman’ A similar name appears in the form 𠂔行欠 <ní.mú.qó>, corresponding to 涅木古 *Niemugu* in the *Liaoshi*. The form with *n* indicates a ‘second name’

2.221 𠂔 Possibly an allograph of 𠂔 222.

2.222 𠂔 <ń>. This graph seems to be read [ńi] initially and [iń] finally. Other graphs may also have this characteristic, but the evidence at the moment is scanty. In the *Liaoshi* glossary we read “捏褐耐, 犬首也” **nieho nai* means ‘head of a dog’, so the Kitan word for ‘dog’ was something like **nieho*. In the inscriptions, this corresponds to 𠂔力 <ńi.qo>, the cyclical branch corresponding to 狗 ‘dog’ Cf. Mo. *noqai* ‘dog’ Modern forms of Mongol all have [no] in the first syllable. Kitan “second names” end in 𠂔, and are regularly transcribed with Chinese [iń]; when it is final, I transcribe it <iń>.

2.223 𠂔 Possibly an allograph of 𠂔 224.

2.224 𠂔 <mu>. 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <mu.ho.o> means ‘snake’, the zodiac animal corresponding to the branch 巳, cf. Mo. *moyai* ‘snake’ 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <mu.le.gi> is the temple name of Emperor Taizong. 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <mu.u.ji> corresponds to ‘聖 holy, sacred, referring to the emperor’, cf. 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <mu.u.ji heu> ‘聖后 sacred empress’; 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <mu.u.ji qa> 聖汗 ‘sacred khan’ Evidently a variety of [m], it seems to be used with rounded or back vowels, while 𠂔 <m> is used with unrounded or front vowels.

2.225 付 <bi>. Only used in Chinese 付用 又为 付 几才茶 <bi.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm> **bingma dugiem* 兵馬都監.

2.226 仲 <ü>. In 又火 又关 仲公 <ś.iú m.i ü.n> 樞密院 **shiumi'nguan* and 赏仲公 止关 <ŋ.ü.n p.i> 元妃 *Yuan Fei*.

2.227 仅 <jin>. Mnemonic from 仅. Possibly an allograph of 仅 230 and 仅 231. Langjun 3 仅 今欠州中坐方又 <jin se.qo.zò.l.ha.al.ún> corresponds to 修飾 *xiushi* 'repair, ornament, embellish' 仅 might mean 'appearance, external appearance' Its pronunciation is unknown. Aisin Gioro suggests *jisu*, cf. Mo. *jisü* 'appearance, shape, face, feature'

2.228 仔 <lú>. Aisin Gioro 2004:22 equates 未仔分 with the tribal name 初魯德 [chu-lu-de], **Chulud*, so <ci.lú.dû>.

2.229 得 <ta>. 得 appears in Langjun: 得免有 查考 中用矢 <ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ> 'at the Tang Qianling [tomb]' This word also appears in the phrase 天 得 天寿 康 in the Daozong inscription. 天 'sky, heaven', 天寿 'earth' and 康 'eternal, forever' *Research* concluded that the phrase means 天長地永 'heaven is forever and earth is eternal' This would suggest the Kitan word for 'long ~ long time' is 得 <ta>.

2.230 仅 Allograph of 仅.

2.231 仅 Allograph of 仅.

2.232 仅

2.233 仇 <kú>. Possibly an allograph of 几 <ku> 'man' Renxian 7: 仇卡 <kú.kǎ> is written elsewhere 几卡 <ku.kǎ>.

2.234 仍 <rèŋ>. Mnemonic from 仍.

2.235 儿 <ri>. 儿 appears in 又儿 <mo.ri> 'horse', cf. Mo. *mori* ~ *morin* 'horse' and 关儿 <i.ri> 'name' 儿九有 <ri.g.en> is a Kitan title, *yilijin*. 儿 <ri> might be [ri] or [ir].

2.236 儿 <ur>. 儿 often appears in ordinal numbers: 未儿茶 <c.ur.er> 'second', 列儿茶 <hu.ur.er>, 'third' 茶儿茶 <d.ur.er> 'fourth'. Chinggeltei 1999

suggested 朶兀朶 朶化 <ci.g.en u.ur> ‘left division’ and 朶化 朶 <u.ur ai> ‘former fathers = ancestors’

2.237 朶 <du>: 朶文 朶朶 <z.ie du sh> **ziedushi* ‘military commissioner 節度使’ 朶朶朶 <du tu.uŋ> **dutung* ‘campaign commander 都統’

2.238 朶 <BORN>: 主 朶 介 朶 朶 朶 朶 <hoŋ tai heu:un BORN:er DAY> ‘the day the empress dowager was born’ (Renyi 10). A jade cup in the Qianlong collection of antiquities has a Kitan inscription: 朶 朶 朶 朶 朶 朶 朶 朶 <neu mó.n BORN:er DAY, go.er qa û.er> ‘on the birth day of the empress, the family khan gave her [this]’ Luo Fucheng explained the first part, Chinggeltei the second. Ji Shi 1982 proposed that 朶 be read *tur*, cf. Mo. *törü-* ‘to be born’ Wang Hongli 1986 suggested *men* cf. Mo. *mendüle-* ‘to be born, said of illustrious persons’

2.239 朶 <bà>. Mnemonic from 八. 朶 also means 里 *li* ‘a Chinese mile’

2.240 朶 <TEN>. The Jurchen numerals from twelve to nineteen are: *jirxon*, *gurxon*, *dürxon*, *toboxon*, *ñirxon*, *dalxon*, *ñuxon*, *oñoxon*. (Janhunen 2003a). Apart from the stems for ‘eight’ and ‘nine’ they are clearly related to the Mongol basic numerals. In the Kitan inscriptions the teens are expressed by the graphs for ‘ten-two’, ‘ten-three’ and so on, like Chinese. The pronunciation of 朶 could be [hon] or similar. It is still unknown if the Jurchen words for the teens actually did come from Kitan.

2.241 朶 <pu>. Used to transcribe the Ch. syllable [fu] 夫, 傅, 父, 輔, 駙, 副, 府. 副 is written 朶 <pu> or 朶朶 <pu.u>, and 府 written 朶 <pu> or 朶 <fu>. 朶 is also found in the Kitan word 朶朶朶朶 <pu.ká.l.ge.er> ‘天慶 Tianqing, a reign title’ Presumably Kitan did not have an initial [f], so 朶 may have been <pu>. So the underlying form of 朶朶朶 <pu.is.iń> 夫人 would be **pužin* rather than **fužin*. The difference between 朶 and 朶 is unknown; the original distinction may have been 朶 <pu> and 朶 <fu>, the dot indicated a modified form. If there was no [f] in Kitan it is not surprising if 朶 and 朶 were not differentiated in later inscriptions.

2.242 朶 <fu>. See 2.241.

2.243 朶 <HEAVEN>. Readings such as *teŋri*, *dəŋri*, *təŋgər*, *tŋgri* and the like are sometimes suggested, but there is no evidence. Ji Shi noticed that the word written 朶生及朶 <se.bu.o.ho> ‘inherited the throne, succeeded to the throne’ in the imperial epitaphs was written 朶生朶朶 <se.bu.243.ho> in the Renxian inscription. In that case, the reading of 朶 should be close to 及 <o>.

but this is more likely to be a mistranscription. 天 伤 穴 寿 康 <HEAVEN ta, neu.e ETERNAL> ‘heaven is long, earth is eternal 天長地久’ (Dao 37); 天 穴 寿 ‘heaven and earth’ corresponding to 乾坤, which is a literary term for ‘heaven and earth’ (Xuanyi 10, Renxian 36, Zhixian 19); 天 穴 寿 万 古 化 只 弱 和 <HEAVEN.neu.e ei.eu.ur.û.ji:en> ‘乾坤旋轉 heaven and earth revolve’ (Renxian 36).

2.244 𠂔 <s>. Used in Kitan words and Chinese words. 𠂔 is used to transcribe Chinese [s], [ts] and [ts’]. 𠂔 关 <s.i> ‘west’ **si*; 𠂔 交 考 <s.ie.ên> ‘immortal’ 仙 **sien*; 𠂔 央 虫 <s.y.iên> 宣 **süen*; 𠂔 力 乃 <s.a.am> 三 **sam*; 𠂔 考 <s.iau> 小 **siau*. In the following words, 𠂔 transcribes [tsh]: 𠂔 用 <s.iŋ> 青 **cing* ‘green’; 𠂔 关 <s.i> ‘lacquer’ 漆 **ci*; 𠂔 交 考 <s.ie.ên> ‘before’ 前 **cien*. In the following words, 𠂔 transcribes Chinese [ts]: 𠂔 丙 <s.iu> 酒 **ziu* ‘wine’; 𠂔 将 <s.iang> ‘general’ 將 **ziang* 𠂔 宗 <s.ún> 宗 **zong*; 𠂔 宗 <s.ú> 祖 **zu* ‘ancestor’; 𠂔 谷 <s.ì> 子 **zi* ‘son’ 𠂔 also appears in the reign title 又 𠂔 和 <GREAT s.en> <s.en> = [isin] ‘great longevity 壽昌’ (壽: ‘longevity’); 𠂔 考 余 <s.iau.qu> ‘甲, 乙; blue’; 𠂔 香 <s.uni> ‘night’ Other examples: 𠂔 仕 与 及 米 及 凡 <se.mu.én o.ORDU.u.dú> ‘in the travelling palaces’ (Dao 5), 𠂔 又 与 米 𠂔 <se.m.én ORDU.ú> ‘travelling palace’

2.245 𠂔 <ú>. 𠂔 often appears in the word 祖 **zu* ‘ancestor’: 𠂔 万 𠂔 𠂔 <t.ei z.ú> 德祖 Dezu, 𠂔 关 𠂔 𠂔 <i.i z.ú> 懿祖 Yizu; 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <tai s.ú> 太祖 Taizu; 𠂔 𠂔 用 亚 和 <ú s.iŋ ki.en> 武清縣 Wuqing county. In other inscriptions, 武 **wu* is written 𠂔 及 <w.u>. So 𠂔 <ú> and 𠂔 及 <w.u> must be similar in pronunciation. 𠂔 <ú> alternates with 𠂔 <u> and 𠂔 <ó> in the word *ordu*, written 𠂔 米 𠂔 <ORDU.ú> 𠂔 米 及 <ORDU.u> or 𠂔 米 𠂔 <ORDU.ó>. The name 韓特拉 Wotela is written 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <ú.dú.l.ha.a.ar>.

2.246 余 <qu>. 余 appears in 𠂔 考 余 <s.iau.qu> ‘blue’, 𠂔 考 余 <l.iau.qu> ‘red’ and 𠂔 米 余 <m.as.qu> ‘first’ Sometimes it seems to be confused with 𠂔 <ah>, as in the word 𠂔 米 余 (𠂔) 𠂔 𠂔 <c.ah w.un> 冊文 **chaiwun* ‘text of an inscription’

2.247 𠂔 <t>. 𠂔 appears to transcribe both [d] and [t]. 𠂔 太 <t.un> 通 **tung*; 𠂔 交 考 <t.ie.ên> **dien* ‘palace’; 𠂔 万 <t.ei> 德 **dei* ‘virtue’, 𠂔 力 力 <te.qo.a> ‘chicken’, 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <te.ge.er> ‘deceased’, 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <t.em.l.ge.er> ‘enfeoffed 封’; 𠂔 勺 <te.gu> ‘said 曰’; 𠂔 生 万 与 <te.bu.ei.en> ‘撻不衍 Tabuyan’ Cf. 𠂔 生 万 𠂔 <te.bu.ei.er> or 𠂔 生 万 关 <te.bu.ei.i>: ‘Tabuye 撻不也’.

2.248 𠄎 <YOUNG>. 𠄎夫 <YOUNG.qú> is often followed by 𠄎化 <eu.ur> ‘time, age, period’, and is sometimes contrasted with 𠄎𠄎夫 <m.ó.qú> ‘old, elder, eldest’ when listing elder and younger siblings.

2.249 𠄎 <dû>. The name 斡特拉 Wotela is spelled in two ways, 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎出 <ORDO.le.ha.a.án> and 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar>, so it can be seen that 𠄎 <ORDO> = 𠄎𠄎 <ú.dû>. Chinggeltei 1999 compared 𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón>, the reign title Da’an 大安 ‘Great Peace’ with the word 窩篤碗 *wodu’on* in the *Liaoshi* glossary.

2.250 介 <heu>. 介 appears in 主介 <hoj heu> 皇后 **hongheu* ‘empress’

2.251 公 <n>. 公用 <n.iŋ> 寧 **ning*; 公火 <n.ui> 内 **nuei* (note medial -u- in the Liao Chinese form); 曲公 兩 𠄎 <go.n ca sh> **gonchashi* ‘investigative official 觀察使’ (note lack of medial -u- in the Liao Chinese form); 安仲公 𠄎𠄎 <ŋ.ü.n p.i> ‘Yuan Fei 元妃’; 公𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 月𠄎 <ne.ra:de RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú> ‘epitaph, inscription written on a tomb 墓誌銘’ (公𠄎 <ne.ra> = tomb); 公乃安 <n.am.úr> ‘autumn’; 公𠄎 <n.on> ‘generation’; 公𠄎𠄎 <n.i.gu> ‘Jurchen, gold’; 公𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <n.i.gu g.úr:en> ‘of the Jurchen state’

2.252 𠄎 <ó>. 𠄎 alternates with 𠄎, as in 𠄎𠄎 <m.o> ~ 𠄎𠄎 <m.ó> ‘big’, 公𠄎 <n.ó> ~ 公𠄎 <n.o> ‘spouse’. (Aisin Gioro 2004:11).

2.253 公. Possibly an allograph of 𠄎252.

2.254 𠄎 <d>. Like 𠄎 <t> 2.247, 𠄎 seems to transcribe both [t] and [d]. These two graphs seem to be interchangeable in both Chinese and Kitan words; Wang Jingru suggested 𠄎 is a cursive allograph of 𠄎. Nevertheless, there is clearly some difference between them: 𠄎𠄎 <ai:d> ‘fathers, males’ is the plural of 𠄎 <ai>, but 𠄎𠄎 <mó:t> ‘mothers, females’ is the plural of 𠄎 <mó> ‘mother’ Examples of 𠄎 are 𠄎𠄎 <d.ei> 德 **dei* ‘virtue’; 𠄎𠄎 <d.ei> 特 **dei* ‘special’ (Modern Mandarin *tè* is irregular, we would expect *dé*); 𠄎化𠄎 <d.ur.er> ‘fourth’, 𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <HEAVEN d.iu.rén> 天德 Tiande; 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <d.em.l.ge.er> ‘was enfeoffed’. All of these words can also be found written with 𠄎. Other examples: 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <d.iu.er> in 𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <HEAVEN d.iu.er>, also written 𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <HEAVEN t.iu.er> Jin dynasty reign title Jin Tianhui 天會. The stem 𠄎𠄎 <d.em> means ‘to enfeoff, to grant an honorary title 封’

2.255 𠄎 <or>. 𠄎 occurs in 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <p.o.or> ‘made, caused to be [promoted to a position]’ This is a past suffix in the series 𠄎<ar> 𠄎<er> and 𠄎<or>.

2.256 𠄎

2.257 𠄎 . A personal name in the Zongjiao inscription, 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <t.em.én>, is transcribed 特每 **deimui* or 特免 **deimien*, the form with the suffix 伏 <ín> indicates the Kitan “second name” This would tend to suggest that 𠄎 is [em]. In the rewritten lines of the Daozong inscription, 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <mu.em.se.gi> was rewritten 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <𠄎.se.gi>. So 𠄎 ‘one’ must be pronounced 𠄎𠄎 <mu.em> **mem*. The stem of the word ‘to enfeoff, to grant an honorary title’ is 𠄎𠄎 <d.em>, similar to Mongol *temdeg-* and Manchu *temgetu* ‘sign’, as in *temgetulembi* ‘to confer a mark of distinction on’ So 𠄎𠄎 ‘edict’ would be <k.em>. Lu and Zhou 2001 suggested that 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <em:en nai:d> in Langjun corresponds to ‘local officials 地方首長’, so 𠄎 em> would mean ‘place’ and 𠄎𠄎 <em:en> ‘local’

2.258 𠄎 <z>. Appears mainly in Chinese words: 𠄎𠄎 <z.iu> 酒 **ziu* ‘wine’, 𠄎𠄎 <z.i> 濟 **zi* ‘name of a place’; 𠄎𠄎 <z.ie> 節 **zie* ‘branch’; 𠄎𠄎 <z.in> 靜 **zing* ‘quiet’; 𠄎𠄎 <z.ún> 宗 **zung* ‘ancestor; used in emperors’ temple names’; 𠄎𠄎 <z.ì> 紫 **zì* ‘purple’; 𠄎𠄎 <z.ian> 將 **ziang*; 𠄎𠄎 <z.i> 祭 **zi* ‘sacrifice’, 𠄎𠄎 <z.in> 進 **zin* enter, 𠄎𠄎 <z.ú> 祖 **zu* ‘ancestor’ 𠄎𠄎 <z.ì>, 子 **zì*; 𠄎𠄎 <z.o> 左 **zo* ‘left [side]’

2.259 𠄎 <THIRD>. Possibly <hur>. The word for ‘third’ is 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <hu.ur.er>, sometimes also written 𠄎𠄎, so 𠄎𠄎 <hu.ur> = 𠄎 <hur>. See 包 166.

2.260 𠄎 <FOURTH>. This graph is only found in 𠄎𠄎 ‘fourth’

2.261 𠄎 <l>. 𠄎𠄎 <l.iún> 龍 **liung* (note the medial -i- in the Liao form); 𠄎𠄎 <l.ián> 梁 **liang*; 𠄎𠄎 <l.a.an> 蘭 **lan* ‘orchid’; 𠄎𠄎 <l.uh> 祿 **lu* MC luk; 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <ú.ul.ge.l.ún> ‘married [of a woman] 嫁, 適’; 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <d.em.l.ge.ei> ‘enfeoffed 封’ 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <l.iu.rén.er> ‘died [of an emperor] 崩’; 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <p.od.l.ún> ‘returned’; 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <l.ián ś.a.an> Liangshan, Mount Liang 梁山’ 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <l.i c.eu> ‘Lizhou, Li prefecture 醴州’; 𠄎𠄎 <l.êm.a> ‘*linya* 林牙’; 𠄎𠄎 <l.êm.hu.a> ‘*linya* 林牙’; 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <l.in g.un> ‘Lingong 令公’; 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <l.eu ś.i tai on> Loushi dawang 婁室大王 (Jurchen general who defeated the Liao); 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <l.iún xu ui ś.aŋ s.ian g.ün> **lunghuwei shangzianggün* 龍虎衛上將軍 ‘senior general of the dragon and tiger guard’; 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <l.iu.rén.er> ‘died (honorific term: 崩)’; 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <l.iau.qu> ‘red’

2.262 𠄎 <ui>. 𠄎 <ui> regularly translates ‘matter, affair 事’, and is used to transcribe Chinese words such as 衛 *wei*, 尉 *wei* etc. It is also used for the

cyclical stem 亥 *hai* ‘pig’ Some scholars have suggested it is read *uil* or *uile*, with which one can compare Mo. and Ma. *weile* ‘affair, business’ Cf. Ju. *ulgian* ‘pig’, where *-gian* is a nominal suffix, perhaps leaving the stem as **ul-*. It is used in the expression 爨 屋爨 <ui KNOW.i>, which corresponds to 知事, ‘managing the affairs of’. 九爨 <g.ui> 國 **guei* ‘country, state’; 爨水 <ś.ui> 水 **shuei* ‘water’; 公爨 <n.ui> 内 **nuei* ‘inside’; 只爨 <û.ui> ‘give, provide’; (<ui> in these examples might be a converb suffix); 爨爨來 <x.ui.ci> ‘after he arrived’

2.263 𣎵 <ui>. Allograph of 爨 262: 𣎵 ui 衛 **wei*, 尉 **wei*; 爨水 <ś.ui> 水 **shuei* ‘water’; 九爨 𣎵爨 𣎵 爨 𣎵 𣎵 𣎵 𣎵 𣎵 𣎵 <gi.m ŋ.u ui ś.aŋ s.ián g.ün> **gim ’nguwei shang zianggün* 金吾衛上將軍 爨 are 𣎵 are both common and in many cases interchangeable, but 𣎵 tends to be used more in Ch. words, the dot perhaps indicating a reading slightly different from 爨.

2.264 𣎶 <ŋ>. This is used in Chinese words to transcribe initial or final [ŋ]. Examples: 𣎶𣎵 <ŋ.i> 儀 **ngi*; 𣎶爨 <ŋ.u> 吾 **ngu*; 爨𣎶 <ś.i.ŋ> 聖 **shing*; 𣎶雨 <ŋ.in> 銀 **ngin*; 𣎶爨 <ŋ.iú> 御 **ngiu*; 𣎶𣎶公 <ŋ.y.n> ~ 𣎶𣎶圭 <ŋ.y.iên> ~ 𣎶𣎶公 <ŋ.ü.n> 元 **ngüen*.

2.265 𣎷

2.266 𣎸 [SIXTY]. 𣎸𣎸 𣎸 𣎸 𣎸 𣎸 𣎸 𣎸 𣎸 <eu.úr 𣎸 TWO:de l.iu.rén:én> ‘he died at the age of sixty two’ (Renyi 12). (Wang Hongli 1986). 𣎸 is a mistake for 𣎸. 𣎸 𣎸 𣎸 𣎸 𣎸 𣎸 𣎸 𣎸 <SIXTY FOUR mu.u.ji a.bu.iín> ‘the sixty four sacred hexagrams 六十四聖卦’ (Toyoda 1991, 1992).

2.267 𣎹 See 2.266

2.268 𣎺 <yi>.

2.269 𣎻 = 𣎻 341 (?)

2.270 𣎼 <êm>. 𣎼 is found with back or front vowels: 𣎼𣎼𣎼 <hu.êm.hu>, a name which in the *Liaoshi* is transcribed 匣馬葛 **hiamaho*; 𣎼𣎼 <êm.a> ‘goat, mountain goat 山羊’; 𣎼𣎼 <êm.ci> ‘after he drank’; 𣎼𣎼𣎼 <l.êm.a> **limŋa* ‘*linya* 林牙: Kitan official title’ In Chinese loanwords: 𣎼𣎼𣎼 𣎼𣎼𣎼 𣎼𣎼 𣎼𣎼 𣎼𣎼 <d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm> 殿前都點檢 **diencien du diem giem* ‘chief inspector of the palace command’.

2.271 𣎽

2.272 𠄎 <bú>. Ji Shi 1996 suggested that 𠄎 𠄎久 𠄎各女 <le.bù.uh s.êŋ.un> stands for 魯不古 詳穩 *Lubugu xiangwen*, Lubugu being a name found in the *Liaoshi*. 𠄎 is presumably an allograph of 𠄎 <bú>. See 2.176.

2.273 𠄎 <un>. A genitive ending following stems with the main vowel [u]: 𠄎用 𠄎各女 <l.iŋ g.uŋ:un> ‘of the 令公 *linggong* [lord]’; 𠄎各 𠄎各女 <g.uŋ tz.iú:un> ‘of the 公主 **gungzhiu* [princess]’ Used in transcriptions of Chinese loan words, as in 𠄎各 <w.un> 文 **wun*.

2.274 𠄎 <iá>. Gao Lujia 1991 suggests that 𠄎 is an allograph of 𠄎 <ie>. Aisin Gioro suggests it is pronounced the same as 𠄎 <ia>.

2.275 𠄎 Probably an allograph of 𠄎 277.

2.276 𠄎 Probably an allograph of 𠄎 277.

2.277 𠄎 <qudug>. A logogram: ‘good fortune, happiness’ Commonly used as a name, transcribed 胡覩古 **hudugu*. This graph always occurs with 𠄎, so 𠄎𠄎. From an examination of the rubbings, it seems 𠄎𠄎 is really a single graph, 𠄎, derived from a cursive form of Chinese 福 *fu* ‘good fortune, happiness’ See also 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎. 𠄎. Cf. 2.380.

2.278 𠄎 Probably an allograph of 277: 𠄎𠄎 = 𠄎𠄎 = 𠄎.

2.279 𠄎 <po>. The *Liaoshi* glossary lists the word for ‘time’ as 𠄎, and notes that 𠄎 is pronounced 頗 *po*. The *Qidanguo zhi* gives more detail: 𠄎里 𠄎, 漢人譯云: 𠄎里是請, 𠄎是時: “the Chinese translate *hiali po* like this: *hiali* means ‘to invite’, *po* is ‘time’” *Research* suggested the reading *po* for 𠄎. Shen Zhong 80 noted that 𠄎 𠄎各女 means ‘four seasons 四時’ 𠄎 is often followed by 𠄎 <do>: 𠄎 𠄎 <po:do> ‘at the time, at that time’

2.280 𠄎 <áŋ>. occurs in 不𠄎 𠄎 𠄎各女 𠄎各女 <xa.áŋ tai ca.áŋ s.iú s.iáŋ>, the transcription of 行台尚書省 **hang tai shang shiu shieng*’ This suggests which suggests 𠄎 must be similar to 𠄎 <áŋ>.

2.281 𠄎

2.282 𠄎 <fěi>. Mnemonic from 非.

2.283 𠄎 <k>. 𠄎 appears in: 𠄎𠄎 𠄎 𠄎各女 𠄎各女 𠄎各女 𠄎 <k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.uŋ s.a.am ss> 開府儀同三司 **kaifu ngitung samsi*; 𠄎𠄎 𠄎各女 𠄎各女 <k.ai g.ui

b.ah) 開國伯 *kaiguebai 開國伯; also written 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 <x.ai g.ui b.ah), 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 <k.em sò.or> ‘he heard [received] the imperial edict 敕’; 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 <k.em te.gu> ‘the edict says 敕曰’

2.284 𠂇. This graph always appears together with 𠂇 <zù> in the word 𠂇𠂇. Gao 2: 𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 <doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí 𠂇𠂇 DAY.i ui RECORD.gi.le.gi; ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh COMPOSE.a.ar). 𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇 <doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí> means 印牌司郎君 ‘court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies’ 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 <RECORD.gi.le.gi> ‘cause to be recorded’ 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 <ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh> is the name of the compiler of the inscription, 耶律固 Yelü Gu. 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 means ‘composed’; the pronunciation of 𠂇 308 is unknown. 𠂇𠂇 means ‘of the day’ and 𠂇 <ui> is ‘affairs, matters’ On the basis of other inscriptions, one would presume that 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 means ‘according to the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* 起居注 qijuzhu’ So 𠂇𠂇 must refer to the emperor, the throne, or affairs of state. 𠂇 may derive from 上 shang ‘above’, one of the words which referred to the emperor. 𠂇𠂇 often has one or more spaces in front of it.

2.285 𠂇 ‘yellow, gold’ See 4.59.

2.286 𠂇. A form of 𠂇 used with masculine nouns. 𠂇 𠂇𠂇 <GOLD[♂] hu.ho> ‘golden bird 金鳥’

2.287 𠂇

2.288 𠂇 <bun> The title in Daozong inscription includes the term ‘great, filial’ written 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 <m.o ci.i.is.de.b.ún>. In the text of the inscription, the same term is written 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 <m.o ci.i.is.de.bun>. In the revised lines of the Daozong inscription, 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 <hó.le.b.ún> is written 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 <hó.le.bun> and 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 <doro.le.b.ún> is written 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 <doro.le.bun>. So 𠂇𠂇 <b.un> = 𠂇 = <bun>.

2.289 𠂇 <iú>. Distinguished from 𠂇 <iu> and 𠂇 <io>. 𠂇 appears in the following Chinese words: 𠂇𠂇 <x.iú> 許 *hiu; 𠂇𠂇 <ś.iú> 書 *shiu; 𠂇𠂇 <ś.iú> 署 *shiu; 𠂇𠂇 <ŋ.iú> 御 *ŋiu; 𠂇𠂇 <dz.iú> 主 *zhiu. It is used in Kitan words as a dative-locative suffix following stems in [a].

2.290 𠂇 <án>. *Research* concluded that the main vowel in 𠂇 was [u]. It resembles the Chinese character 出 chu, so *Research* suggested it might be read t*fu*. It later became clear that the main vowel was not [u], but more

likely [a]. In Zhong 38, 本升平立与 <ar.u.ul.ha.én> was changed to 本升平立出 <ar.u.ul.ha.án>, suggesting 与 and 出 must have been close, morphologically and/or phonetically. Both of them were used in verbal inflections, and could modify nouns. They could both be followed by case endings, e.g. 主 丕 介女 相与 天 ‘the day on which the empress dowager was born’, 主 丕 天矢 相与 ‘born on the eighteenth day’ 出 often follows 立 <ha>, and 与 mostly follows 丕 <ge>. Chinggeltei has now come to the conclusion that 出 is *an* and 与 is *en*. They are transcribed here 出 <án> and 与 <én> to distinguish them from the genitive endings 天 <an> and 和 <en>.

2.291 水

2.292 𠂔. 𠂔 appears in the phrase 𠂔及 又与卡 尔为出 <292.u ś.eu.ká on.a.án> ‘sweet dew descended’ 甘露降 [on the day the coffin was interred]. Whether or not it is a logogram meaning ‘sweet’ is not known, but [u] seems to be a nominal/adjectival suffix.

2.293 炎

2.294 小 <SOUTH>/<TRIBE> <sió>. Mnemonic from 小. Liu Fengzhu 1993 suggested that 小 means ‘tribe’ or ‘division 部’ Ji Shi suggested 小 is a logograph, <SOUTH>. So 小 及他 <SOUTH u.ur> meant ‘the southern administration 院’ Toyoda concluded that 大 is ‘east’, 十 ‘west’, 小 ‘south’ and 一 ‘north’ 小 十 <SOUTH WEST> 南西=西南; 小 及他 中丕为 <SOUTH u.ur l.êm.a> ‘*linya* of the southern administration 南院林牙’ In many cases, however, 小 is better understood in the meaning of ‘tribe, division’. Perhaps one graph was used for two separate but homophonous words.

2.295 出 <p>. 出 appears in the following words: 出用 <p.in> 平 **ping*; 出关 <p.i> 妃 **fuei* (?), 出与 <p.on> 奉 **fung*. 出用 引危 友用死 <p.in ja.an tz.in sh> **pingzhang zhang shi* 平章政事; 出关公 出关雨 <ŋ.y.n p.i.in> Yuan Fei ‘principal consort 元妃 (genitive); 出用 中为尔 九水 来和 <p.in l.a.on g.un c.en> **pinglon gungchen* ‘meritorious official suppressing disorder 平亂功臣’; 出及 <po.o> ‘*shen*, cyclical sign, monkey, 申’; 出及及 <p.o.o> *id.*; 出而关 <p.od.i> ‘return’; 出而中又 <p.od.l.ún> ‘returned’ 出而中立与又 <p.od.le.ha.al.ún> (causative) ‘sent back’; 出平久 秀 艾 <p.ul.uh NINE MONTH> ‘intercalary ninth month 閏九月’ 出及及 又火 北 <p.u.u ś.iú ss> ‘office of the administrator 部署司’

2.296 𠂔

2.297 出 <pú>. In Xuanyi, 出及几 <pú.u ku> corresponds to 僕 *pu* ‘servant’. 几 <ku> is ‘man’

2.298 尚 <co>. Wang Hongli 1984 noticed that 尚不 分及 <co.on dû.u> is perhaps a transcription of 攢涂殿 *Cuantu Dian*, cf. *Liaoshi* 50: 喪葬儀, 聖宗崩, 興宗哭臨于攢涂殿 ‘during the burial ceremonies after Shengzong died, Xingzong approached the Cuantu Hall and wept’ In Xing 2 the same word is written 尚不 劣 <co.on tu>. 攢 *cuan* means ‘to keep a coffin in a temporary shelter until burial’

2.299 耆

2.300 𠃉 <EIGHTY>. See also 𠃉 301. Xu 38: 去奕 𠃉 劣奕中 <eu.úr EIGHTY tu.úr.bun> ‘he died at the age of eighty’ Wotela, the subject of the inscription, was appointed court attendant at the beginning of the Xianyong period, and died in the fifth year of the Qiantong period, a period of 40 years. If he was 40 on his appointment he would be 80 at the time of his death. Ji Shi 1996 thinks that 𠃉 is a mistake for 𠃉. 𠃉 八和 來交考 <EIGHTY bâ:en c.ie.ên> seems to be related to a passage in the *Liaoshi* biography of Renxian: 塔里干復來寇, 仁先逆擊, 追殺八十餘里 ‘Taligan returned to plunder, Renxian counterattacked him; he pursued him, killing, for more than 80 *li*.’

2.301 𠃉 This seems to be a mistranscription of 300.

2.302 𠃉 <il>. The name 令用久伏 <t.il.uh.in> is probably a form of the common name 迪烈 ~ 敵烈 *Dilie*. 𠃉 is similar in shape to 𠃉 310. It also occurs in the word 𠃉用伏 <yi.il.in>, which is common but not identified. It may be 迤邐免 *yilimian*, also written 迤邐免 *yilimian* (princess consort, wife of a prince).

2.303 𠃉 <in>. 𠃉 is only found in Chinese words. 𠃉 <in> 應 **ying* 止用 <p.in> 兵; 𠃉用 <bi.in> 平 **ping*; 𠃉用 <g.in> 景, 經 **ging*.

2.304 𠃉 <gò>. 𠃉及 𠃉及 𠃉 <ETERNAL u hu.o.gò> in Daozong 6 corresponds to 永福座 *Yongfuzuo* ‘throne of eternal happiness’ 𠃉及 𠃉 <hu.o.gò> must mean ‘throne’ or something similar.

2.305 𠃉 <rò>. Mnemonic from 肉.

2.306 𠃉

2.307 𠄎

2.308 𠄎 <COMPOSE>. 𠄎𠄎 <COMPOSE.i> ‘to compose [the text of an inscription], 撰’

2.309 𠄎. <hó>. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <hó.le.bo.ń> is part of the reign title 皇統 Huangtong. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <c.ur.er jau.qó.ui hó.le.bo.ń aú.ui> ‘the second was the royal lady Oliben 訛里本娘子’ Cf *Liaoshi* 100, *Biography of Xiao Chouwo*, which gives her second name as 訛里本娘子 Presumably Chouwo is a transcription of 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <jau.qó.ui>, the meaning of which is not known. It may be part of her name. 𠄎 or 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 is often translated 皇族 *huangzu* ‘imperial clan’

2.310 𠄎 A similar graph is 𠄎 302.

2.311 𠄎 ~ <bo>. 𠄎𠄎 <b.ah> 伯 *bai; 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <b.iau> 驃 *biau; 𠄎𠄎 <b.u> 保 *bau 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <b.û> 部 *bu. 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <b.oh c.eu fu.oŋ ŋ.iú sh.ì> 博州防禦使 *bozheu fong ngushì; ‘defense commissioner of Bozhou’ 𠄎𠄎 <oh> could be [o?]. 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <bo.qo> ‘child’; 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <m.o bo.qo> ‘eldest child’; 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <bo.qo.i bo.qo> ‘grandson’; 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <bo.hu.án> ‘children, sons’; 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <mó:t bo.hu.án> ‘daughters’; 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <b.as> ‘again’; 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <b.y.z.iú> a Kitan title transcribed 別胥 *biexu*; 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <bo.ra.ia.án> ~ 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <bo.ra.a.án> ‘right side’

2.312 𠄎 <tùmu>. Ji Shi 1996 noted that a name in the Kitan version of Renxian, 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <tùmu.úr t.ún.a>, may correspond to a name in the Chinese inscription, 圖木里同刮 **tumulitungua*. This strongly suggests that 𠄎 is [tùmu]. In Renxian 49, 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 corresponds to 兩萬 ‘twenty thousand’, suggesting that 𠄎 means ‘ten thousand’ In Renxian 11 we read 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <TEN TEN-THOUSAND ũ.ji:en> ‘gave a hundred thousand’ This refers to the Song increasing the amount of silver and silk to a hundred thousand taels to compensate for the land taxes of the ten Chinese counties in Liao territory.

2.313 𠄎 <ló>. 𠄎 appears in 𠄎𠄎𠄎 ‘seventh’, which is presumed to be read <dau.ló.er>, so 𠄎 could be <ló>.

2.314 𠄎 <ian>. 𠄎𠄎 ś.ian 相 *siang; 𠄎𠄎 z.ian ~ 𠄎𠄎 s.ian 將 *ziang; 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ś.ian s.ian g.ün> 上將軍 *shangzianggün. 將軍 ‘general’ is written both 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <s.ian g.ün> and 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <s.ian g.ün>. 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎

九亦 <gi.m ŋ.u ui s.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün> 金吾衛上將軍 **gim'nguwei shangzianggün*; 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 九亦 <l.iúŋ xu ui s.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün> 龍虎衛上將軍 **liunghuwei shangzianggün* ‘senior general of the dragon and tiger guards’

2.315 𠂇 <iáŋ>. Possibly an allograph of 314. 𠂇 120 may be a cursive form.

2.316 目 <mùh>. Mnemonic from 目.

2.317 月 <TEXT>. Used in the expression 月令 令句 <TEXT.ú te.gu>, which introduces rhymed sections in the inscriptions.

2.318 𠂇

2.319 曲 <go>. 曲 appears in Gu in 曲公 爾𠂇 <go.n ca sh> 觀察使 **gonchashi* ‘investigative official’ 曲𠂇 <go.er> is a Kitan word translated 帳 or 帳房 ‘tent’. It refers to a tribal unit, and by extension, a family, a lineage.

2.320 由 <yò>. Mnemonic from 由.

2.321 𠂇 <yô>. Mnemonic from 由. Most commonly found in the words 𠂇𠂇 <yô.u> and 𠂇𠂇 <yô.iú>, the cyclical terms 壬 and 癸 correspond to the colour black. Ji Shi 1996 quoted a passage from the *Mengqi bitan*: 昔人文章用北狄事多言黑山. 黑山在大漠之北, 今謂之姚家族 ...姚義為黑, 家族之義是山 “when discussing the northern barbarians, works of previous scholars often refer to ‘Black Mountain’. Black Mountain is to the north of the great desert. Now it is called 姚家族 Yaojiazu 姚 *yau* means ‘black’, 家族 *giazu* means ‘mountain’ ” On the basis of this, Ji Shi suggested **yô* for 𠂇.

2.322 𠂇 <ón>

2.323 𠂇 <qí>. In Langjun 𠂇 𠂇 corresponds to 該時 ‘that time’ Cf. 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 (Zhonggong) ‘that year that month that day that time (locative). In Zhong, ‘that’ is also written 𠂇𠂇 <qí.hu>; this is also found elsewhere. 𠂇 𠂇𠂇 <qí s.uni> ‘that night’ 𠂇 also appears in the word for the Xi 奚, an ethnic group apparently related to the Kitans, written 𠂇𠂇𠂇 <qí.ii.ń>. This word appears many times in the inscriptions.

2.324 𠂇 <iên>. Transcribes Chinese words with final [üen]: 𠂇𠂇𠂇 <ŋ.y.iên> 元 **ŋüen*; 𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 <s.y.iên i.i neu.e mo> 宣懿皇后 ‘empress

Xuanyi' 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <s.y.iên x.ui sh.ï> 宣徽使 'master of court ceremonies'; 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎 <ŋ.y.iên s.ô pu> 元帥府 *nguanshuai fu*.

2.325 𠄎 <dên>. Mnemonic from 电.

2.326 文 <iè>.

2.327 文 <ie>. In transcriptions of Chinese, 文 indicates medial -i-: 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <s.ie.iên> 宣 **süan*; 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <s.ie.ên> 前 **cien*; 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <d.ie.ên> 殿 **dien*; 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <s.ie.ên ei.iu.u t.ie.ên> 仙游殿 'Hall of the Wandering Immortals'; 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm> 殿前都點檢 **dien cien du diem giem* 'chief inspector of the palace command' At the end of a syllable transcribes Ch. *ie*: 𠄎𠄎 <z.ie> = 節 in 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <z.ie du sh> 節度使 **ziedushi* 'military commissioner' In Kitan words 文 appears with the following graphs: 𠄎 <ra> 𠄎 <ia> 𠄎 <ai> 𠄎 <a> and 𠄎 <ha>, which suggests its main vowel was [a].

2.328 主 <hoŋ>. In 主 𠄎 <hoŋ di> 'emperor'

2.329 𠄎 <ün>. In Chinese words 𠄎 corresponds to [ün] in Modern Mandarin, but it is not clear if [u] > [ü] / [i] in Liao Chinese. 𠄎𠄎 <g.ün> **gün* 軍 'army'

2.330 𠄎 <ž>. Derived from 𠄎 <š> to indicate [ž]. 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 主 介 <ž.in i.i hoŋ heu> 仁懿皇后 'empress Renyi'; 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ž.in s.ún> 仁宗 'emperor Renzong'

2.331 𠄎 <neu>. In Xuanyi 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <s.ie.iên i.i. neu.e mó> corresponds to 宣懿皇后 'empress Xuanyi', so clearly 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 means 'empress' The *Liaoshi* provides us with a number of Kitan words for 'empress': 皇后 **hongheu*; 𠄎里蹇 **teiligien*, 可敦 **kodun* and 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎(么) **neu-o-mo*. 皇后 is common in the inscriptions; it is written 主 介 <hoŋ heu>. 𠄎 is <e>, so it seems likely that 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <neu.e mo> must correspond to 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎(么) *neu-e-mo*. In the *Liaoshi* glossary we read: 𠄎𠄎, 后土稱. 𠄎(么), 母稱: 'neu-o, the name of *houtu* 'empress of the earth'; 𠄎(么) means 母 'mother' Cf. *Liaoshi* 71: 遼因突厥, 稱皇后曰可敦. 國語曰𠄎里蹇. 尊稱曰𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎, 蓋以配后土而母之云 "The Liao, following the Tujue, called the empress *kedun*. In their national language they say **teiligien*. The respectful term is *nou-o-mo*. It is said that *houtu* 'the female earth deity' is the same as *mu* 'mother'."

2.332 𠂔 <nai>. ‘first, head, official’ 𠂔 艾 <nai sáyir?> is ‘the first month of the lunar year 正月’ In the *Liaoshi* glossary we read 捏褐耐, 犬首也: **nieho nai* means ‘head of a dog’ The *Liaoshi* also tells us that 捏褐 **nieho* means ‘dog’ and 耐 *nai* means ‘head’, so 𠂔 should be pronounced *nai*. 𠂔 is common in the sense of ‘official, leader’ The plural form is 𠂔𠂔 <nai:d> and the genitive 𠂔和 <nai:en>.

2.333 𠂔 Possibly *qátun*. Ji Shi sought to identify the word 𠂔 又公 <qátun ún.n> in *Renyi* 5 as 臧俚蹇 **teligian*, one of the words for ‘queen, empress’ recorded in the *Liaoshi*. Liu Fengzhu agreed that 𠂔 又公 corresponded to ‘empress’, but this was neither of the two known words for empress, <hoŋ heu> and <neu.mo>. He suggested 𠂔 might have been *qatun*. Wang Hongli 86 noticed that 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <s.iau hur.ú qátun> in *Zhong* 14 referred to a Tangut tribal leader 小斛祿 ‘Xiaohulu’ Xuan 12 has the plural form with suffix 𠂔 <d>: 𠂔𠂔𠂔 <dá qatun:d> ‘several queens’

2.334 𠂔 <g>. Found in the following Chinese words: 𠂔 杰 <g.oŋ> 光 **gong* (note lack of medial -u- in this final in Liao Chinese) 𠂔 杰 <g.uŋ>, **gung* ‘duke’ 公; 𠂔 丙 杰 <g.iu.uŋ> 宮 **giung* ‘palace’ (note medial -i- in this final in Liao Chinese); 𠂔 𠂔 <g.iŋ> **ging* ‘capital 京’, 𠂔 𠂔 <g.aŋ> **gang* (one would expect **giang*) ‘river 江’; 𠂔 又 <g.i.m> 金 **gim* ‘metal, gold’; 𠂔 亦 <g.ün> ‘army 軍’ **gün* 郡 **gün* ‘prefecture’ 𠂔 杰 杰 火 <g.uŋ dz.iú> ~ 𠂔 杰 杰 火 <g.uŋ c.iú> **gungzhiu* ‘princess 公主’; 𠂔 和 又 月 𠂔 <g.en.ún TEXT.ú> 哀 銘 ‘obituary, eulogy, funerary inscription’; 𠂔 和 又 𠂔 和 又 𠂔 <g.en.ún g.en.ún e> 哀 哀 ‘sad, sad’, also written 𠂔 和 又 𠂔 𠂔 <g.en.ún g.en.ún e> ‘how said it it’ (𠂔 indicates repetition of a word); 𠂔 及 无 𠂔 𠂔 <g.u tau.lí.a> 玉 兔 ‘jade hare’

2.335 𠂔 <ia>. 𠂔 appears in 𠂔 𠂔 乃 <g.ia.am> 監 **giem*; 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 *g.ia.êm* 監 **giem*; 𠂔 𠂔 <ha.ia> 夏 **hia*; 𠂔 𠂔 <g.ia> 家 **gia*; 杰 𠂔 𠂔 公 及 <oŋ g.ia n.u> Wang Jianu (personal name) 王家奴; 𠂔 和 𠂔 𠂔 公 及 <c.en g.ia n.u> 陳家奴 Chen Jianu (personal name); 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <xa.ia g.úr> 夏 國 ‘the Xia state; the Xixia or Tangut state’; 𠂔 𠂔 <ia ai> 伯 父 *bó fū* ‘uncle’ (father’s elder brother). Liu Fengzhu interpreted 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 <t.ún.a ci.ci ia deu> 同 瓦 及 兩 兄 弟 ‘Tunua and others, his elder brother and his younger brother’ If this is so, the common word 𠂔 𠂔 <ci ci> must mean ‘together with, and others, et cetera’

2.336 𠂔. Perhaps a cursive form of 𠂔. Another suggestion is that it means ‘good’

2.337 𠂔 <ji>. An allograph of 𠂔 152 and 𠂔 153.

2.338 酒 ⟨i'i⟩ A rare graph, found only in the personal name 戈雨 酒 主 介 ⟨z.in i'i hoŋ heu⟩ 'empress Renyi' This name is also written 戈雨 关关 主 介 ⟨z.in i.i hoŋ heu⟩, from which it can be seen 酒 ⟨i'i⟩ = 关关 ⟨i.i⟩.

2.339 关 ⟨i⟩. 关关 ⟨ŋ.i⟩ 儀 *ŋi; 关关 ⟨i.i⟩ 懿 *yi; 关关 ⟨x.i⟩ 期 *ki; 关关 ⟨p.i⟩ 妃 *fuei; 关关 ⟨s.i⟩ 西 *si; 关关 ⟨z.i⟩ 祭 *zi; 关关 ⟨ui.i⟩ 尉 *wei; 关关 ⟨m.i⟩ 密 *mi; 关关用 ⟨s.i.iŋ⟩ 聖 *shieng, 关 关 关 ⟨tai s.i⟩ 太師 *taishī (not 关 关 tai sh); 关关关 ⟨si.m.i⟩ 審密 'Shenmi (name of clan)'; 关关 ⟨tir.i⟩ 鉄離 Tieli (personal name); 关关 关 关 ⟨bo.qo.i bo.qo⟩ 'grandson'; 关关 ⟨i.ri⟩ name; 关关 关 关 ⟨i.ri.s.er⟩ 'name' (plural accusative).

2.340 关 ⟨x⟩. Transcribes Chinese [x] and [kh]: 关关用 ⟨x.i.iŋ⟩ 興 *hing; 关关 ⟨x.uŋ⟩ 空 *kung; 关关 ⟨x.i⟩ 期 *ki; 关关 ⟨x.ai⟩ 開 *kai; 关关 ⟨x.ui⟩ 徽 *hui; 关关 ⟨x.ah⟩ 客 kei(?); 关关 ⟨x.iú⟩ 許 *hiu; 关关 关 关 关 关 ⟨s.eu ss x.uŋ⟩ 守司空 *sheusikung; 关关 关 关 关 关 ⟨x.ai g.ui b.ah⟩ 開國伯 *kaigüeibai; 关关 关 关 关 关 ⟨oŋ iŋ xi⟩ 黃應期 *ong ingki 'Huang Yingqi (name)'; 关关 关 关 关 关 ⟨xe.dú.ún go.er⟩ 'horizontal tents 横帳'

2.341 关 ⟨er⟩. This graph is very common in both verbal and nominal suffixes. Its pronunciation is hard to determine, as it does not appear in Chinese words. Chinggeltei 1992 notes that 关 may have a similar morphological function to 关 ⟨ar⟩, a perfective suffix. The main vowel in 关 is [a], so in 关 it may be [e]. Ji Shi 1988 equated 关 关 关 关 关 关 关 ⟨te.bu.ei.er tai oŋ⟩ with 撻不也大王 'great prince Tabuye' Aisin Gioro 2004 writes ⟨ar⟩ for 关, and ⟨er⟩ for 关. In a recent unpublished article, Chinggeltei has also made a convincing case for 关 and 关 being ⟨ar⟩ and ⟨er⟩. As a verbal suffix, it indicates a past tense. As a nominal suffix, it indicates the accusative, and perhaps the instrumental.

2.342 酒 Cf. 酒 关 关 关 ⟨342.bo êm.ci⟩ corresponds to 'to drink one's fill' (Langjun). It could possibly mean 'wine' and possibly be derived from 酒.

2.343 酒

2.344 火 ⟨ud⟩. Gao Lujia 1988 noted that clan name 耶律 Yelü corresponded in the texts to 关 关 关 关 关 关 ⟨ei.ra.u.ud⟩. 火 is a plural marker. Liu Fengzhu 95, Ji Shi 94 noticed that 关 关 关 关 关 关 ⟨cu.úŋ.ud⟩ corresponds to the name 崇古德 *chunggudei', confirming 火 as ⟨ud⟩. 关 关 关 关 关 关 ⟨ud.ur g.iŋ⟩ ~ ⟨dú.ur g.iŋ⟩ 'eastern capital'.

2.345 𠄎 ⟨uŋ⟩. 𠄎, 𠄎 and 𠄎 ⟨uŋ⟩ are allographs. 子𠄎 ⟨ju.uŋ⟩ 中 **zhung*; 𠄎𠄎 ⟨tu.uŋ⟩ 同 **tung*; 𠄎𠄎 ⟨g.uŋ⟩ 公 **gung*, 功 **gung*; 𠄎𠄎𠄎 ⟨g.iu.uŋ⟩ 宮 **gung*. 兩𠄎 公用 𠄎𠄎𠄎 ⟨ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ⟩ ‘the Changninggong palace 長寧宮’; 𠄎𠄎 𠄎 𠄎𠄎 ⟨ś.eu ss x.uŋ⟩ 守司空; 𠄎 𠄎𠄎 ⟨du tu.uŋ⟩ **dutung* 都統; 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 ⟨s.ián g.uŋ⟩ *sianggung* 相公.

2.346 𠄎 ⟨uŋ⟩. An allograph of 2.345.

2.347 𠄎 ⟨ói⟩. An allograph of 𠄎 2.107. Cf. 𠄎 ⟨er⟩ 2.341.

2.348 𠄎 ⟨e⟩. An allograph of 𠄎 ⟨e⟩ 2.109. 𠄎 𠄎 ⟨û e⟩ ‘*yu yue* 于越’ and 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 ⟨y.e g.ui oŋ⟩ ‘Yueguowang 越 國王 prince of the state of Yue’; 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 ⟨neu.e mó⟩ ‘empress’

2.349 𠄎 ⟨ge⟩. An allograph of 𠄎 2.112.

2.350 𠄎. An allograph of 𠄎 110 or 𠄎 ⟨d⟩. Cf. Zhong 23: 𠄎𠄎𠄎 ‘Tiande’ [a reign title] is usually written 𠄎𠄎𠄎 ⟨d.iu.rén⟩.

2.351 𠄎

2.352 𠄎 ⟨î⟩. This is rare. It is found in 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 ⟨w.u g.î ui.î⟩ for 武騎衛 **wugiwei*. An allograph is 𠄎 114.

2.353 𠄎 ⟨i̯⟩. Allograph of 𠄎. Used to transcribe Chinese retracted [i̯]: 𠄎𠄎 ⟨z.î̯⟩ 紫 **zī*; 𠄎𠄎 ⟨z.î̯⟩ 子 **zī*; 𠄎𠄎 ⟨sh.î̯⟩ 使 **shī* ‘messenger, ambassador’; 𠄎𠄎 ⟨sh.î̯⟩ 侍 **shī* ‘attendant’; 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 ⟨g.ui z.î̯ z.î̯ z.î̯⟩ 國子祭酒 **guizī ziziu*.

2.354 𠄎 ⟨dž⟩. Possibly an allograph of 𠄎 ⟨dz⟩ 2.104. 𠄎 𠄎𠄎 appears in an inscription on a mirror, where it seems to mean ‘four seasons 四時’

2.355 𠄎 ⟨ordu⟩. Ch. 鞞魯朵. Liu Fengzhu 1984 noticed that in Dilie the word for the 大安 Da’an reign period, normally written 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 ⟨ú.dû.ó.o.ón⟩ was written 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 ⟨ordu.ó.o.ón⟩. The 重熙 Chongxi reign period, generally written 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 ⟨ú.dû.l.ha.a.ar⟩, was written 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 ⟨ordu.le.ha.ar⟩. This suggests 𠄎 ⟨ordu⟩ = 𠄎𠄎 ⟨ú.dû⟩. Other forms are: 𠄎𠄎 ⟨ordu.u⟩ 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 ⟨o.ordu.u⟩ 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 ⟨o.ordu.ú⟩. In Yongning 41 we find 𠄎 by itself: 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 ⟨p.úr.u.ul p.úr.u.ul m.o ordu⟩ ‘great *ordu*’ (the meaning of 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 ⟨p.úr.u.ul⟩ is unknown). 𠄎 ⟨ordu⟩ often has inflected or varied forms: (1) 𠄎𠄎 ⟨ordu.u⟩, 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 ⟨ordu.u.ur⟩,

米及化 <ordu.u:dú>, (2) 米分 <ordu.ú>, 米分化 <ordu.ú.ur> (3) 及米及化 <o.ordu.u.ur>, 及米及化 <o.ordu.u.dú>, 及米及 <o.ordu.u> 及米及火 <o.ordu.u:un> (4) 及米分化 <o.ordu.ú.ur>. Cf. 米及化 重分 <ordu.u.ur hur.ú> ‘officer in charge of the *ordu*’

2.356 尘. cén. Mnemonic from 尘

2.357 崇 <ún>. 令崇 <z.ún> ~ 令崇 <s.ún> 宗 *zung; 崇 <p.ún> *fung 奉; 戈安 令崇 <si.η s.ún> ‘Shengzong 聖宗’; 丕 令崇 <tai z.ún> ‘Taizong 太宗’

2.358 牟 <mû>. 尖 令火 尤安 半令茶 引危 又雨 釜火 半 万交和 义用 包 凡丙水 化和 令 凡丙水 凡 刃万北 止及全 <HEAVEN t.ud yù.úr ai.se.er, ja.aη m.in d.un mû ei.ie:en x.iη THREE g.iu.uη ur:en fu g.iu.uη sh rên.ei.ii p.o.or> as ‘in the first year of the Xianyong reign period, he was promoted to the position of deputy palace commander of the Zhangmin, Dunmu and Yanqing palaces’ Shi and Yu 2001. The only palace in the Liao period which had a name of which the first word was *dun* was the 敦睦宮 Dunmu Palace. Cf. Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:513.

2.359 坐

2.360 燕 <poη>. A compound character, made from 止 <p> and 杰 <oη>. Langjun: 杂危 戈火 戈 燕 小危 子木 <ca.aη s.iú tz poη l.aη ju.uη> *shangshiu zhifang langzhung 尚書職方郎 中’

2.361 与 <én>. 与 is an allograph. In verbal suffixes 与 <én> corresponds to 出 <án>.

2.362 考 <ió>. Perhaps 考 125 <ió> is an allograph. 符考 <b.iau> 驃 *biau; 又考 <m.iau> 廟 *miau; 令考 <s.iau> 小 *siau, 又考及 <s.iau.u> 少 *shau; 中考及 <l.iau.u> 略 *liau. 中考文 ~ 中考余 <l.iau.qú> ~ <l.iau.qu> ‘bing, ding: third and fourth of the ten stems 丙丁’

2.363 清

2.364 𠄎 This graph only appears once in the corpus. It is probably based on an eroded or unclear inscription.

2.365 哭 <qid>. See 3.170.

凡火 杰 哭及火 又 令分升及雨 灰 禾 又化 半 无 艾 包 哭及 相茶

<g.ui oŋ qid.ún.i GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón SIX WHITE mo.ri ai tau saír THREE DAY.de BORN:er>

‘The king was born on the third day of the fifth month of the sixth year, white horse year in the Kitan reign period Da’an’

𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <qid.ún:i g.úr:en us.gi:de>

‘In the writing of the Kitan State’

2.366 𠄎 . 𠄎 <l> appears with unrounded vowels, 𠄎 with rounded vowels: 𠄎 <l>: 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <t.em.le.gi>, 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <s.ún.le.gi.ge.le.gi>, 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <x.ui.ri.ge.le.g.én>. 𠄎 : 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <eu.ul.gi>, 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <eu.ul.g.en> 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <eu.ul.ge.en>, 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <eu.ul.ge.ei>, 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <eu.ul.ge.ún>, 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <eu.ul.ge.er>, 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <eu.ul.ge.ii>, 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <ra.l.u.ul.ha.ai>, 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <ra.l.u.ul.ha.a.al>. Cf. 𠄎𠄎 <u.ul> ‘winter’, Mo. *ebül*, Da. *ugul*.

2.367 𠄎 <zuŋ>. Xu 2: 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ŋ.in s.iŋ zuŋ 𠄎𠄎𠄎>. 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ŋ.in s.iŋ> is 銀青 **ngincing* in the official title 銀青榮祿 *yingqing ronglu*. 𠄎 corresponds to 榮 and the last three spaces would be a transcription of 祿 **lu*. In Xu 50 we have the name 𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <zuŋ s.eu.u>. Xuwang had six sons: 彭壽 Pengshou, 長壽 Changshou, 福壽 Fushou, 德壽 Deshou, 榮壽 Rongshou and 慶壽 Qingshou. 榮壽 Rongshou must be 𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <zuŋ s.eu.u>. Chinggeltei and others write *zuŋ* or variants for 𠄎, but the development of initial *r* in the Mandarin second tone in such words is a later development. In Liao Chinese, 榮 was presumably read **iung*. 𠄎 is derived from 榮/榮 **yung* as 𠄎 is derived from 永.

2.368 𠄎 <FOUR>. Possibly [dur]. The word for ‘fourth’ is spelled out 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <d.ur.er>. 𠄎𠄎 <FOUR:de> is the locative form. Note also 𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <FOUR po.dz> ‘the four seasons 四時’

2.369 𠄎 An allograph of 𠄎, used with masculine nouns.

2.370 𠄎

2.371 𠄎 <REGION> This graph seems to mean ‘border, border area’

2.372 𠄎 <û>. Examples: 𠄎𠄎 <xu.û> 護 **hu*, 𠄎𠄎 <d.û> 度 **du*; 𠄎𠄎 <s.û> 蜀 **shiu*; 𠄎𠄎 <b.û> 部 **bu*. Its usage is similar to 𠄎 <ú>; vowel harmony would suggest that in Kitan it is a front vowel. In Chinese words it seems to have the same value as 𠄎 <ó> and 𠄎 <u>. 部 **bu* is written 𠄎𠄎 <b.û>, 𠄎𠄎 <pu.ó>, 𠄎𠄎 <p.u> or 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <p.u.u>. In Kitan words we can also see 𠄎 <û> and

爰 <u> exchange, as in the stem ‘to marry [of a woman] 嫁’, which is written 只平茶 <û.ul.ge> or 爰平茶 <u.ul.ge. 只 is the stem of ‘to give’, cf. Mo. ög-. 只 <û> is also found in 只芬 <û e>, *yuyue* 于越, a title also used by the Uighurs and possibly derived from Tu. *ögüt* ‘counsel’ Cf. Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:432. 只 <û>, 孚 <ú> and 火 <iú> all transcribe Chinese [u]. 中火 只 北 峇 中 火 <l.i b.û sh.ĩ l.aŋ>; 天 伏 中 只 茶 <HEAVEN ní.l.û.er> ‘reign title: Kaitai 開泰’ 只 火 <û.ui> ‘give 給與’; 只 平 茶 方 <û.ul.ge.al> ‘to marry (of a woman) 嫁’; also 只 平 茶 方 <û.ul.ge.al>; 只 平 茶 中 伏 <û.ul.ge.l.ín>; 只 平 茶 百 <û.ul.ge.ei> (suffixed forms of ‘marry’).

2.373 又 <GREAT>. 又 山 九 安 和 <GREAT GOLD gúr:en> ‘The Great Jin Dynasty 大金國’ (genitive) (Langjun); 又 令 丙 刃 <GREAT d.iu.rén> reign title: Dakang 大康 ‘Great Prosperity’; 又 令 分 升 及 南 <GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón>: reign title: Da’an 大安 ‘Great Peace’; 又 九 和 又 <GREAT g.en.ún> ‘great sadness’; 又 竹 力 出 <GREAT doró.a.án>: reign title: Dading 大定 ‘Great Settlement’; 又 无 茶 与 <GREAT zú.ge.er>: reign title: Tianfu 天輔 ‘Heavenly Assistance’ Note here 又 corresponds to 天 ‘heaven’ not 大 ‘great’ 又 令 和 <GREAT s.en>: reign title Changshou 長壽 ‘Great Longevity’; 又 百 文 年 及 <GREAT ei.ie.ra.u>: reign title: Taiping 太平 ‘Great Peace’

2.374 丕 <tai> 丕 崇 <tai ui> 太尉 **taiwei* ‘defender in chief’; 丕 杰 <tai oŋ> 大王 ‘great prince’; 丕 符 <tai.bo> ‘*tai bao* 太保 grand protector’; 丕 戈 用 <tai s.iŋ> ‘great sage 大聖’; 丕 令 令 <tai z.ú> **Taizu* 太祖: Taizu, name of emperor’; 丕 主 丕 介 <tai hoŋ tai heu> 太皇太后; 丕 死 <tai sh> 太師 ‘grand preceptor’; 丕 戈 火 <tai s.i> *taishi* is a more assimilated form of 太師 than 丕 死 <tai sh>; 丕 今 及 中 用 令 力 乃 戈 並 死 <tai pu.u l.iŋ s.a.am s.ián sh> 太傅領三省事 *tai fu ling san sheng shi* ‘grand mentor and concurrent controller of the three departments’

2.375 甬 <ca>. 甬 危 公 用 九 丙 水 今 死 <ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ pu sh> 長寧宮副使 *chang ning gong fu shi* ‘official title’; 曲 公 甬 死 <go.n ca sh> 觀察使 **gonchashi* ‘investigative official’; 甬 危 戈 去 及 <ca.aŋ s.eu.u> 長壽 *chang shou* ‘long life, longevity’. Note 甬 危 <ca.aŋ> 尚 *shang* **shang*.

2.376 寫

2.377 里 <oh>. 符 里 來 去 火 今 去 安 火 北 峇 <b.oh c.eu:un pu.oŋ ŋ.iu sh.ĩ> 博州防禦使 *Bozhou fangyushi* ‘defence commissioner of the Bozhou district’ Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995 noted that according to the geography section of the *Jinshi*, the only *zhou* during the Jin period which had officials with the title 防禦使 *fangyushi* and which began with 符 <bo> was 博州 Bozhou . It

is not known why and not one of the many other graphs for o/u was used in this word, unless it reflects the final stop in MC. *pak*. MC [a] > [ɔ] by this stage.

2.378 彡 Indicates repetition.

2.379 𠂔 〈TENT〉. This graph is very similar to 𠂔, and in *Research* was not distinguished from it. Ji Shi pointed out that 𠂔 and 𠂔 were quite different graphs. In the Xuwang inscription. 州欠 𠂔 𠂔 〈zò.qó TENT:en〉 is preceded by a modifier, 九 𠂔 𠂔 力 𠂔 出 𠂔 〈g.úr:en na.ha.án.er〉 ‘maternal uncles 國舅’; 九 𠂔 𠂔 力 𠂔 出 𠂔 州 欠 𠂔 𠂔 〈g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zò.ó TENT:en〉 國舅小翁帳 *guojiu xiaowengzhang* corresponds to ‘the younger (junior) branch of the (imperial) maternal uncles’

2.380 𠂔 〈qudug〉. Liu, Chinggeltei, Aisin Gioro and others identify 𠂔 with 胡觀古 *hudugu* ‘happiness, good fortune’ An examination of the inscriptions, however, suggests that 𠂔 is in fact one graph: 𠂔.

ENGLISH-KITAN GLOSSARY

Le k'i-tan auquel remonte la glose **qašu* est aujourd'hui une langue pratiquement inconnue. Il est bien vrai que nous ayons deux longues inscriptions de cette langue, découvertes en 1922 par le P. Kervyn, mais elles demeurent indéchiffrées par les textes chinois. Ce matériel n'est pas énorme, mais un dépouillement rapide nous permet de réunir, sans compter les noms propres, près d'une centaine de mots communs ce qui est déjà suffisant pour se rendre compte que nous sommes en présence d'une langue mongole. Cette première impression reçoit une confirmation de la part de Rašīdu'-d-Din qui, en parlant des Karakhitai, fait remarquer que la langue, la figure et les coutumes de ces derniers ont la plus grande conformité avec celles des Mongols. C'est donc à bon escient que Pelliot affirmait que "les K'i-tan parlaient une langue étroitement apparentée au mongol encore que fortement palatalisée" Pour ma part j'ajouterais que c'était une langue mongole archaïque où l'initiale *h-* des XIIIe – XIVe siècles était représentée par *p-* et qu'elle contenait bon nombre d'éléments étrangers, ignorés du reste du mongol et empruntés au jou-tchen, po-hai, coréen, voire même à des langues sibériennes. Malheureusement la langue k'i-tan s'est éclipsée au contact du mongol proprement dit et il est actuellement malaisé de déceler ses vestiges parmi les dialectes mongols d'aujourd'hui. Néanmoins d'aucuns ont cherché à rapprocher le k'i-tan du dahour, aussi les Dahours modernes se considèrent-ils comme les descendants des K'i-tan.... Je penche moi-même à admettre que le dahour est identique au k'i-tan ou plus exactement, à un de ses dialectes. Louis Ligeti, "Mots de civilisation de haute Asie en transcription chinoise" *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, Vol. 1, 1950, pp. 141-185, on pp. 166-167.

3.001 *again, then, after that*: 符冬 <b.as> cf. Mo. *basa*, Ma. *basa*

口列 丰 符冬 列圣用並为方 子太 又火 中用 及北

qi.hu ai b.as hu.jür.il.ha.a.al ju.uŋ s.iú l.iŋ o.ho

口列 丰 符冬 劣太 几才乃 今丙 几火 死 止及子中

qi.hu ai b.as tu.uŋ g.ia.am s.iu g.ui sh p.o.ju.bun

口列 丰交 符冬 万余及子 圣 今及 中用 今为乃 又並 死 友用 止 止及子中

qi.hu ai b.as ei.qu.o.ju tai pu.u l.iŋ s.a.am s.ián sh tz.iŋ oŋ p.u.ju.bun

'That year, he was then made [...] *zhongshuling* 中書令 (secretariat director).

That year, he was then appointed *tongjian xiuguoshi* 同監修国史 (deputy state historiographer). That year, he was then appointed [...] *taifu* 太傅

(grand mentor) *ling sanshengshi* 領三省事 (concurrent director of the three departments), and prince of Zheng.'

(Zhong 22-23)

3.002 *ancestor*: 夙化 𠄎 <u.ur ai> ‘preceding father; ancestor’

夙化 <u.ur> means ‘first, upper, previous’ 夙化 𠄎 <u.ur ai> is often written as one word: 夙化𠄎 <u.ur.ai>.

夙化伏 𠄎𠄎 <u.ur.in ai:d> ‘ancestors’

夙 凡安𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 任夙𠄎𠄎 夙化 𠄎

<10000 g.úr:se hur.ú qa dá mu.u.ji:d u.ur ai>

‘The khan ruling ten thousand states, [descendant] of many sacred ancestors’

夙化 𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 主𠄎 <u.ur.ai ki.ên s.ú hoŋ di>

‘His ancestor was emperor Xuanzu’

夙化𠄎 𠄎 𠄎𠄎 夙 山 主𠄎兩 𠄎

<u.ur.ai tai s.ú HEAVEN GOLD [nigu] hoŋ di:in deu>

‘His ancestor was the younger brother of the emperor of the Shence reign period, Taizu’. (Xu 5)

主𠄎 夙化伏 𠄎𠄎 夙及 𠄎𠄎 夙安夙亦

<hoŋ di u.ur.in ai:d m.o dorō:er ũ.úr.ũ.ad> (Renxian 4)

‘The emperor presented (gave) a great ceremony to his ancestors’

3.003 *appoint*: 𠄎及 <p.o> ‘to be appointed to, to be promoted to 除’, ‘to become 成爲’

3.004 *army*: 兩安 <cau.úr>. *Liaoshi* 炒伍倆 *chao-wu-er* ‘to fight’ MMo. *ča’ur*; Ju. *čaur-ha* 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 *čaur-ši* 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 ‘troops, army’; Ma. *cooha*. In the Chinese version of the biography of Yelü Renxian, we find several references to various armies 軍, which correspond to the Kitan graphs 兩安.

3.005 *autumn*: 公乃安 <n.am.úr> MMo. *namur*, Mo. *namur*

𠄎 𠄎 公乃安 <qī ai n.am.úr> ‘autumn of that year’ (Gao 17).

3.006 *benevolent*: 𠄎𠄎化𠄎 <hur.ú.ur.bun> ‘benevolent, benevolence 仁. Also written 𠄎升化𠄎 <hur.ó.ur.bun>. 𠄎𠄎 <hur.ú> means ‘to control’ and may perhaps mean ‘controlling, commanding’ and seems to have little connection with the meaning of Chinese 仁 *ren* ‘humane, humaneness’

𠄎𠄎化𠄎 任夙𠄎 夙及 夙𠄎夙𠄎夙伏 夙𠄎 主𠄎

<hur.ú.ur.bun mu.u.ji m.o c.i.is.d.bo.ń w.un hoŋ di>

‘Benevolent sacred great filial cultured emperor’ The posthumous title of the Daozong emperor 仁聖大孝文皇帝.

3.007 *biexu* 別胥 ‘a title of nobility for a woman; royal lady’: 𠄎𠄎𠄎火 <b.y.z.iú> ~ 𠄎𠄎𠄎火 <b.y.z.iú>

𠄎𠄎伏 𠄎 𠄎𠄎乃 𠄎𠄎欠 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 夙 𠄎 夙𠄎伏 𠄎𠄎伏 ... 夙化𠄎 兩 凡 凡火 凡𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎火

⟨l.iu.iń go s.a.am ja.ri.qó mó:t p.ar TWO BIG yi.l.iń pu.is.iń ...c.ur.én mó ku g.ui g.e p.y.z.iú⟩

‘Liunin Gosam, prime minister, had two wives. The senior wife was the *yilimian* (princess consort) lady... the second was royal lady Guige’ (Gao 9)

穴全 丙 几 毋 焚 伞 火

⟨nai:d mó ku b.ý.z.iú⟩ ‘officials, wives and royal ladies’ (Xu 54)

丙 交 考 伏 伞 有 引 化 欠 生 哭 为 哭 业 焚 伞 火 圣 有 毋 力

⟨ei.ie.ên.iń s.en ja.r.qó 287.an.a.an p.y.z.iú TWO:en bo.qo⟩ (Yong 14)

‘The son of the two people, prime minister *Yenin *Isin and royal lady [...]’

3.008 *big, elder, eldest*: 又及 ⟨m.o⟩ ‘big, great’ (masculine); 又 ‘big, great’ (feminine)

3.009 *black*: 虫及 ⟨yô.u⟩ ~ 虫火 ⟨yô.iú⟩. The reading of 虫 is unknown. See 2.321. Ji Shi suggested *yo. 虫及 represents the cyclical terms 壬 and 癸 and corresponds to the colour black. There does not seem to be any connection between the Mo. and Ma. words for ‘black’ and 虫及.

3.010 *blood*: 朶 关 黍 ⟨c.i.is⟩ ‘blood; blood relative, clansman, relative’ Cf. Ju. *senji* ‘blood, blood relations’

佗 及 药 朶 关 黍 矣 ⟨mu.u.ji c.i.is:de⟩

‘at (with) the associates of the blood relations (immediate family?) of the emperor’. (Zong 6)

朶 关 黍 釜 而 虫 本 公 到 矣 屋 令 丙 交 存 及 公 半 朶 与

⟨c.i.is d.ad.ha.ar n.iû.úr KNOW.t ei.ie.ra.u n.ai.c.én⟩

‘His relationships with his blood relations and his administration of the tribes... were harmonious’

3.011 *blue*: 伞 考 余 ⟨s.iau.qu⟩ ~ 伞 考 夫 ⟨s.iau.qú⟩. 伞 考 余 ⟨s.iau.qu⟩ corresponds to 甲 *jia* and 乙 *yi*: first and second of the ten stems. This corresponds to ‘wood’ in the five elements and ‘blue’ in the five colours.

3.012 *Book of Documents* (Shujing):

无 火 化 令 勺 又 及 矣 公 金 釜 有 与 平 釜 丙 斗 存 业 及 令 丙 刃 釜 本 升 中

⟨ś.iú:dú te.gu: m.o HEAVEN n.em.d.en eu.ul.ge.ei ia.ra p.u t.iu.rén.er ar.u.l⟩

The *Book of Documents* says: “Great Heaven has no affection, it helps only the virtuous” (Nu 33) From *The Charge to Zhong of Cai* 書經: 蔡仲之命. Translation from Legge. Identified by Aisin Gioro 2004.

3.013 *Book of Odes* (Shijing):

无 谷 令 勺 冬 本 公 半 朶 釜 巧 亦 北 丙 及 几 尺 女 半 丙

⟨sh.ĩ te.gu as.ar n.ai.c.er giũ.ün ss hor.u ku.ũ.un ai mó⟩ (Zongjiao 19)
 ‘The *Book of Poetry* says: “The peaceful and happy lord is the father and mother of his people” Kitan translation of 豈弟君子, 民之父母 *qi di jun zi, min zhi fu mu* “How much more should the happy and courteous sovereign be the parent of the people?” (Legge). Identified by Aisin Gioro 2004.

3.014 *border, place*: 又來 ⟨xe.ci⟩ possibly *jiang* ‘border area 疆’ or *jing* ‘territory 境’ Cf. Ju. 采亦 *hečen(i)* Ki. 033 城 *chéng* ‘city, city wall’
 毛 非爻和 中考年 又來泰和, 至 又來伏 死口九半
 ⟨FOUR po.dž:en l.iau.ra mo.ci.ge.en, EIGHT xe.ci.ń xu.[].193.ai⟩ (Daozong 17)
 This phrase cannot be understood, but seems to have the same pattern as the common Chinese expression 四時八方 *si shi ba fang* ‘the four seasons and the eight directions’

3.015 *born, to be born*: 相 ⟨BORN⟩ See 2. 238.

无 艾 包 天矢 相茶

⟨FIVE MONTH THREE DAY:de BORN.er⟩ (masculine suffix)

‘He was born on the third day of the fifth month’. (Zhonggong 6)

主 丕 介女 相与 天

⟨hoŋ tai heu:un BORN:én DAY⟩ (feminine suffix)

‘The day the empress dowager was born’ (Renyi 10)

九水 來芬和芬 又与夫 力並出茶 又及 艾和 丕用伏

⟨g.uŋ c.e.en.e ś.a.rí na.ha.án.er m.o TENT.en yi.il.ín

今母 九水女 得力

s.êŋ g.uŋ:un bo.qo

北中得伏 尔失 丕和 又冬欠 得力 矣 今分並与本

ho.le.bo.ń aú.ui TWO:en m.as.qó bo.qo HEAVEN ú.dũ.ha.a.ar

宅 采 笑 半 丕 艾 宅 天矢 相茶

TEN WHITE DRAGON YEAR TWO MONTH TEN DAY:de BORN.er⟩

‘The eldest son of her highness *Holbun, the daughter of the *yilimian* (princess consort) of the great tent of the maternal uncles, and lord *Chene, court attendant, was born on the tenth day of the second month of the year of the white dragon (*gengchen*), the tenth year of the Chongxi period’. (Nu 9)

丕与出 九失雨 引化余 相用又

⟨car.a.án g.ui.ń ja.ri.qó BORN.il.ún⟩

‘The prime minister 宰相, Chara Guiyin was born’ (Ren 5)

欠 百公 相与 天 曲茶 丕 只茶

⟨neu mó.n BORN.én DAY go.er qa û:er⟩

‘On the day of the the empress’ birth, the khan of the household gave [her this]’

3.016 *bureau of seals and tallies* (印牌司): 𠄎 止半北 <doro p.ai.ss>

𠄎 止半北和 𠄎为夫

<doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí> (Gao 2)

‘court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies 印牌司郎君’

𠄎安 丁 𠄎矢 几半 只安 及夫 𠄎 止半北和 𠄎为夫 仔夫

<eu.úr TWENTY FOUR de, ku.kâ û.úr o.oi, doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí lù.i

宅 半矢 𠄎 止半北和 𠄎为夫 为半 宅 宅 半矢 半杏 天兴 穴 及夫

TEN ai:de doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí a.ai TEN ONE ai:de de s.uni DAY.i nai o.oi

𠄎百北 半考 半将 几亦 兴化半 令金半茶茶

rén.ei.ii s.iau s.ián g.ün i.ri.s t.em.le.ge.er)

‘At the age of twenty four, he was a palace guard and a court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies; in the tenth year, he was a court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies; in the eleventh year, he was the head of night and day guards, and was granted the titles of and junior general’

3.017 *bury*: 𠄎 (061). <ké>.

𠄎𠄎𠄎 <ké.d.er> ‘buried’ - causative form: 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <ké.d.ha.ai> ‘having been placed in a coffin 殯’ 𠄎 <ai> is a converb suffix.

3.018 *caifang* 採訪 ‘investigation commissioner’ 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <s.ai poŋ>

𠄎𠄎𠄎伏 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 [= 止志] <hor.bo.ń x.eu s.ai poŋ (p.oŋ)>.

Liaoshi 77: Yelü Hou 吼 had the adult name Helu 曷魯 and held the office of *caifang* 採訪.

𠄎 及化 伏里药 𠄎为夫和 𠄎𠄎和 𠄎𠄎伏 𠄎𠄎 止志𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎

<SIX u.ur ní.oh.ji ś.a.rí:en go.er:en uh.ul.ín s.ai p.oŋ:on go.er xi.ún>

‘Ugulin 兀古鄰, investigation commissioner 采访, was a descendant (?) of the house of Niguji, court attendant, of the six divisions’

3.019 *coffin of an emperor*: 又 𠄎行𠄎 <GREAT xo.mú.er> ‘great catalpa’

又 𠄎行𠄎 及子𠄎𠄎 力冬𠄎出 𠄎 𠄎北只药

<GREAT xo.mú.er o.ju.ha.ai, na.as.ha.án doro k.ii.û.ji> (Di 28)

‘The great catalpa coffin was closed; this was called the ritual of causing-to-be at peace’ (Di 28). 大梓宫 ‘great catalpa palace’ refers to the coffin of an emperor or royal person.

3.020 *ceremony, ritual*: 𠄎 <doro>.

This graph seems to mean both ‘ceremony, ritual’ and ‘seal [symbol of authority]’. Its reading may have been **doro/n*.

𠄎 𠄎𠄎及北 尤安 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 丁 包 天 床 𠄎 列及𠄎 𠄎生𠄎 伏冬𠄎为出 𠄎 𠄎北只药

〈HEAVEN ar.u.o.ho yǔ.úr ai SIX MONTH TWENTY THREE DAY YONGFU hu.o.gǒ
qa.bu.cèn ní.as.ha.a.án doró k.ii.û.ji〉

‘On the twenty third day of the sixth month of the Qiantong period, she was laid to rest together [with the emperor Daozong] in the Yongfu 永福陵 tomb with (appropriate) rituals’ The Yongfu tomb was the joint tomb of Daozong and Xuanyi.

3.021 *chicken*: 令力力 〈te.qo.a〉 ‘chicken’

Mo. *takiy-a*, MMo. *tayaqu*, Ju. *tiko*, Ma *coho*. Zodiac animal, corresponds to the stem 酉.

3.022 *child, son*: 得力 〈bo.qo〉 ‘child’

又及 得力 〈m.o bo.qo〉 ‘eldest child’

得力关 得力 〈bo.qo.i bo.qo〉 ‘grandson’

3.023 *children*: 得力出 〈bo.hu.án〉. The plural form of 得力 〈bo.qo〉.

得力出 〈bo.hu.án〉 ‘children, sons’

得力出 二 〈bo.hu.án TWO〉 (Gu 48, Gu 16, Zhong 4, Zhong 29) ‘two children’

得力出 三 〈bo.hu.án THREE〉 (Renxian 2) ‘three children’

得力出 四 〈bo.hu.án FOUR〉 (Gu 18) ‘four children’

得力出 五 〈bo.hu.án FIVE〉 (Zhong 6) ‘five children’

丙令 得力出 〈mó:t bo.hu.án〉 ‘female children, daughters’

得力出 三子包 〈bo.hu.án ai:d THREE〉 (Di 34) ‘he had three sons’

Wang Hongli 1986 noted that 得力出 〈bo.hu.an〉 is similar to Mo. *bayaču*, *bayačuud* ‘children’ Toyoda adopted the reading *bayaču* for 得力出, the plural form of 得力 〈bo.qo〉, for which Toyoda wrote *baya*. The word is often followed by a numeral, as in the examples above.

3.024 *circuit, route* 路: 伏令北 〈ní.ô.ho〉. Cf. 伏令安 〈ní.ô.úr〉 部 *bu* ‘division’

伏令北和 午和 一 为 伏令北和 午和 令各女

〈ní.ô.ho:en ù.en NORTH EAST ní.ô.ho:en ù:en s.êj.un〉

dongbeilu xiangwen 東北路詳穩 ‘*xiangwen* of the north east circuit’

3.025 *clear*: 冬本 〈as.ar〉

穴秀 冬本 〈no.e as.ar〉 ‘the earth is clear’ 地清 (Xuanyi)

午得 午得 穴秀 冬本, 凡秀坐 凡秀坐 笑 北

〈ù.bo ù.bo neu.e as.ar, g.e.cèn g.e.cèn HEAVEN ho〉

[] [] earth clear, [] [] heaven turgid. (Xuanyi 28-29)

冬本 〈as.ar〉 ‘clear’ is also in the reign title 清寧 *Qingning* ‘Clear and Tranquil’. 北 〈ho〉 should mean 濁 *zhuo* ‘turgid’.

3.026 *close, cover*: 反子 <o.ju>

公年 伏中只火 反子立半 力冬立为 兮 叔北只弱

<ne.ra ní.l.û.ui o.ju.ha.ai na.as.ha.a doro k.ii.û.ji>

‘Then the tomb was closed. This was called the laying to rest ritual’ (Zhi 22)

久立半 反子列 天 夢及 今与卡 尔为出

<ta.ha.ar o.ju.hu DAY 292.u s.eu.kâ on.a.án>

‘On the day [the coffin] was closed, sweet dew fell’ (Xu)

3.027 *cloud*: 去平 <eu.ul>. Cf. Mo. *egüle ~ egülen*

天 去平 雨安 今各火

<HEAVEN eu.ul ca.úr s.êŋ.un>

Heaven cloud army *xiangwen*

‘Commander of the Heaven Cloud Army 天雲軍詳穩’. Ji Shi, 1996:282-284.

This is an inscription on a fish tally. 詳穩 *xiangwen* is a ‘chief of an army, a camp, a small tribe or a group of imperial followers’ (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:129 n.42)

3.028 *come, arrive*: 又火 <x.ui> ‘to come, to arrive’ Cf. Mo. *kür-* ‘to reach, to arrive’

3.029 *compose [the text of an inscription] 撰*: 罔 <COMPOSE> Cf. 2.308

罔为平 <COMPOSE.a.ar> (PAST)

今金与 罔为平 孰几 丹冬 引知 几才 公及 尔茶

<t.em.én COMPOSE.a.ar us.gi b.as ja.aŋ g.ia n.u ci:er>

‘Temian composed this, and then the characters were written by Zhang Jianu’ (Ren 1) (尔茶 <ci.er>: masculine form of past tense)

3.030 *control*: 重半 <hur.ú> (重2.014) ‘person in control, controller’

重半 盛 <hur.ú qa> ‘controlling khan’ (Daozong)

3.031 *country*: 几奕 <g.úr>

几奕和 <g.úr:en> (genitive) 几奕今 <g.úr:se> (plural).

There are two Kitan words corresponding to 國 ‘state’ The first is 几火 <g.ui> < *guei. The second is a native Kitan word, 几奕 <g.úr>. Cf. Ju. 國土 Ki. 274 *gur-un*, Ma. *gurun* ‘state’

几奕今 公半亥半立为出

<g.úr.se n.ai.dzi.le.ha.a.án>

‘to achieve friendly relations between states’ (Ren 12)

圣 几奕今 公半亥与 兀金 叔百

<TWO g.úr:se n.ai.dz.én ś.em k.ei>

‘This being called two states at peace...’

3.032 *court attendant*: 𠄎力夫 <ś.a.rí> *langjun*. In the *Liaoshi* glossary 沙里 *sha-li* is translated *langjun* 郎君 ‘court attendant’ 𠄎力夫 <ś.a.rí> is clearly the Kitan form of 沙里.

3.033 *crow*: 𠄎𠄎 <hu.ho>. In *Xuanyi*, 几爻 无爻力 <g.u tau.lí.a> ‘jade hare’ forms a pair with 山 𠄎𠄎 <GOLD³ hu.ho> in the set phrase 金烏西下, 玉兔東升 ‘the gold crow sets in the west, the jade hare rises in the east’ The gold crow represents the sun, the jade hare the moon. So 𠄎𠄎 <hu.ho> must mean ‘crow’, or perhaps simply ‘bird’ Cf. Ju. *gaha* (Ki. 157) Ma. *gaha*.

3.034 *daughter*: 𠄎 𠄎力 <mó bo.qo> ‘female child, daughter’

𠄎 𠄎列出 <mó bo.hu.án> ‘daughters’

𠄎令 𠄎列出 𠄎 𠄎冬夫 𠄎平升及𠄎 𠄎𠄎 力立出𠄎和 伏力 𠄎 𠄎和 𠄎力 𠄎九𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎平𠄎𠄎

<mó:t bo.hu.án TWO m.as.qú x.ul.ó.o.ón bú.d na.ha.án.er:en ní.qo tai sh:en bo.qo s.g.e ci.ŋ tz:de û.ul.ge.én>

‘He had two daughters. The elder, *Hulon [of the ‘external families’, the Xiao], married Sege, recipient of edicts 乘旨, the son of Nehe, *taishi*, of the tent of the maternal uncles’

The meaning of 𠄎 is unknown, but it might refer to the *biebu* 別部, non-Yelü clans, or what was known in Chinese as the Xiao. The name Xiao has not been identified in the inscriptions, the spouses of Yelü clan members being referred to by tribal names.

3.035 *day*: 𠄎 <DAY>. See 2.159.

3.036 *deceased*: 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <te.ge.er> (masculine) 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <te.ge.én> ~ 𠄎𠄎公 <te.ge.n> (feminine) ‘deceased’

3.037 *dew*: 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <ś.eu.ká> Cf. Mo. *sigüder* ~ *sigüderi*, Ju. *šileun* Ki. 010, Ma. *silenggi*.

𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎子𠄎 𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎出

ta.ha.ar o.ju.hu DAY 292.u ś.eu.ká on.a:án>

‘On the day [the coffin] was closed, sweet dew fell 甘露降’ (Xu wang)

3.038 *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* 起居注: 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎 <284.089 DAY.i ui>

𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎

<doro p.ai:ss:en ś.a.rí 284.089 DAY.i ui RECORD.gi.le.gi ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh COMPOSE.a.ar>

‘On the basis of the matters recorded in the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* 起居注, this was composed by Yelü Gu, court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies’ (Gao 2)

上充 must refer to the emperor, the throne, or affairs of state.

叔金 雨企 屏 住及药和 天关 火 令金万 网中列

〈k.em sỏ.or SEVEN[♂] mu.u.ji.en DAY.i ui t.em.ei COMPOSE.le.hu〉

灰 及化 圣用伏 只公 曲茶和 北 九斗 公及 网力本

SIX u.úr yí.il.ín ù.n go.er:en ss g.ia n.u COMPOSE.a.ar〉

‘Having received the imperial edict, [on the basis of] the *Daily Agenda of the Seven Sacred Persons* [seven former emperors], Si Jianu of the household of *yilimian* (princess consort⁰ [and] the *yuyue* (?) of the six divisions composed this’. (Nu 1)

3.039 *die - honorific* 薨: 劣奕- **tur-* Usually with the past suffix: 劣奕得伏

〈tu.úr.bo.ń~ 劣奕中 〈tu.úr.bun〉 ~ 劣奕得及 〈tu.úr.b.ún〉 ‘died, passed away’

住及药和 又及 与 今岁 岁寒关 杰尔 止关 止及网中伏 去奕 丁 灰矣 劣奕得伏

〈mu.u.ji:en m.o deu s.únŋ ŋ.úi.i oŋ:on p.i p.u.gỏ.l.ín eu.úr TWENTY SIX:de, tu.úr.bo.ń〉

‘She was made consort to the prince of Song and Wei, the eldest younger brother of the sacred one [emperor]. At the age of twenty six, she died.’ (Yong 17-18)

去奕 口 今 化劣奕中

〈eu.úr SEVENTY FOUR. tu.úr.bun〉

‘At the age of seventy four, he died’ (Di 9)

灾 艾 宅 毛 天矣 去奕 一 无矣 ... 劣奕得伏

〈nai MONTH TEN ONE DAY.de eu.úr THIRTY FIVE de tu.úr.bo.ń〉 (Gu 13)

‘On the eleventh day of the first month, at thirty five years of age ... he died’

矣 今生及北 尤奕 半 今雨 杰尔 劣奕今北

〈HEAVEN se.bu.o.ho yù.úr ai, s.in oŋ:on tu.úr:s.ii〉 (Han Dilie 5)

‘In the first year of the Tonghe 統和 reign, after the prince of Qin 秦王 died...’

3.040 *die - of an emperor* 崩: 中丙刃- 〈l.iu.rén-〉

天关网 今岁 天和 住及药 又及 来关委谷中 仍及

〈x.i.iŋ s.únŋ m.en mu.u.ji m.o c.i.is.d.bun tá.u

矣 今岁中並力本 主 至 又天和 公亦生亦关

HEAVEN ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar hoŋ di mo.rí:en n.ad.bu.ad.i

小 十 今住与 来及化 今力卡 中丙刃茶

SOUTH WEST se.mu.én, ordu.u.dú s.a.ká l.iu.rén:er〉

‘Xingzong, the sacred, great, filial eternal (尙丞 <tá.u>) Chongxi emperor, while in residence in a *miri* (?) of the *nabo* of the south west hunting *ordo*, passed away’

Note the form in 与 <én> when the verb refers to a woman:

余英虫 头头 穴秀 丙 与 尔 又...引比和...公亦生答头 中丙刃与

<s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó eu.ká.ún hu.ho:en n.ad.bu.d.i l.iu.rén.én>

‘Xuanyi, earth mother in the crow *nabo*, passed away’ (Xuanyi).

3.041 *die of an illness*: 余金比- <s.em.ii-> ‘contract a fatal illness, die of a fatal illness’

又 余和 无 半 宅 艾 歪 天矢 与 安 了 无矢 余金比茶

<GREAT s.en FIVE YEAR TEN MONTH EIGHT DAY.de eu.úr FORTY FIVE.de s.em.ii.er>

‘On the eighth day of the tenth month of the fifth year of the Shouchang period, he contracted a fatal illness’. (Ren 1)

歪 艾 圣 天矢 与 安 一 令化 余金比茶 令茶茶

<EIGHT MONTH TWO DAY eu.úr THIRTY FOUR.ur s.em.ii.er te.ge:er>

‘On the second day of the eighth month, at the age of 34, he contracted a fatal illness and died’. (Hong 11)

3.042 *die* - plain form: 丙 <iu> ‘not exist, die’ (亡, 無)

扎 中 中 丁 无 采 又 化 天 与 安 口 不 存 矢 丙

<ho.le.bun TWENTY FIVE WHITE[♂] mo.ri DAY eu.úr SEVENTY xa:iãŋ.de iu> (Jin 38)

‘*Holebun passed away on the twenty fifth day, the day of the white horse, at the age of seventy’ (不存矢 <xa:iãŋ.de> ‘exactly’ is used after thirty, forty etc. when there is no other numeral. It might mean ‘exactly’).

与 安 丁 圣 矢 口 余金比茶 丙

<eu.úr TWENTY TWO LOC THAT s.em.ii:er PAST iu> (Yong 35)

‘at the age of twenty two, he contracted that sickness and died’

3.043 *dilapidated*: 丙火尘 止升失关 <ei.iú.cè p.u.ui.i>

仍危和 业秀 中刚矢 义失水 凡丙水 令交秀 丙火尘 止升失关 仄伏 比中列茶

<ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên ei.iú.cèn p.u.ui.i dau.iń ho.le.hu.er>

‘After he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty; the palaces were dilapidated 坍塌; he felt very sad’ (Langjun 2-3)

3.044 *disaster, catastrophe*: 列秀方 <hu.as.al>

毛 相与 列秀方 撤

<ONE BORN/LIFE:én hu.as.al qudug>

'life is disaster and good fortune' (Nu 37).

无 黍伏 九用 弼 曲茶和 孰几矢 列冬方为 操 百央平列 百令列 育百当 义关 阿令比
 <FIVE.NINE.ń g.iŋ jau go.er:en us.gi:de h.as.al.a qudug ei.au.ul.hu mo.t.hu
 hor.ei.én x.i 307.s.ii>

'In the writings of the five classics 五經 and the nine classics 九經, and the hundred schools of thought 百家, disaster and good fortune [alternate?]' (Nu 35-36).

3.045 *division*: 爰化 <u.úr> 'administrative district' *Research* identified 爰化 <u.ur> with 院 *yuan*. Cf. 余恫 Ki. 197 **yule*, cf. *Jin Dict.* p. 247 **ou-le* 院 *yuan*.

3.046 *dog*: 伏力 <ńi.qo>. *Liaoshi* glossary: 捏褐 **nieho*; Mo. *noqai*, Ju. *niaha* Ka. 234, Ma. *niyahan* 'puppy' *Liaoshi* 116: 捏褐耐, 犬首也 *niehe nai* means 'head of a dog' The *Qidanguo zhi* gives the same word as 捏褐妳 [niehe ni]. 伏力 <ńi.qo> is interpreted in a variety of ways: *naxi* ~ *noxi*; *naxai*, *noxi*, *njaqa*, *ñaxa*, *ñaha*, *ñaqqa*. The modern forms of Mongol all have [no] in the first syllable. Luo Fucheng identified 伏力 as the cyclical sign 戌.

3.047 *dogs and falcons*: 伏力 爰央力 <ńi.qo ś.au.a>

志 中列久伏 几木安 罌 死 [...] 公央 仇及 伏力 爰央力 重令 屋茶

<deu le.bú.uh.iń ku.uŋ.úr tai sh [...] n.ui kú.u ńi.qo ś.au.a hur.ú KNOW:er>

'His younger brother *Lubugin 魯不堇 *Kunggur 控骨里, *taishi* 太師, was in charge of the palace storehouses 內庫 and control of dogs and falcons' (Han Dilie 20).

3.048 *dragon*: 爰 <lu> is the equivalent of the cyclical term 辰. The animal corresponding to 辰 is the dragon. 爰 transcribes 祿, so can be read <lu>. Cf. Mo. *luu*, Tu. *luu* 'dragon' from a dialect form of Ch. 龍 *long* 'dragon' In *Zhonggong* 24 there are two empty spaces before 爰 爰由 <lu ún.yó>. This may be the common word for the emperor, 龍顏 *long yan* 'dragon face, imperial countenance' (Liu Fengzhu 1983).

3.049 *drink*: 圣来 <êm.ci> - stem form is 圣 <êm>

金和 穴登 志央 酋丹 圣来 义关黍只火 止币中爰

<em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún>

'After he drank wine 酣飲 with the local officials, he returned happy' (Langjun).

3.050 *dutong* 都統 'campaign commander': 雨约 重令 <cau.ji hur.ú>. 重令 <hur.ú> means 'person in command of' Suggestions for 雨约 <cau.ji> have

been 楚古 *chugu* ‘an official in charge of the interrogation of prisoners in the northern administration’ and 旗鼓 *qigu* ‘banners and drums’ It is probably connected with 兩夾 <cau.úr> ‘war, battle’, so 兩鈞 軍令 <cau.ji hur.ú> means ‘commander of the army’ If 鈞 <ji> is a deverbal noun suffix, 兩鈞 <cau.ji> would mean ‘those who engage in battle’, that is, troops. 都統 is also transcribed 都統 勞冬 <du tu.un>.

3.051 *earth*: 大 <neu> or 大芬 <neu.e> Also written 大芬.

3.052 *earth mother*:

大芬 土凡公 矣 得力 主 至雨 中丙刃令北

<neu.e tù.gi.n HEAVEN bo.qo hon.di:in l.iu.rén.s.ii>

‘After the earth mother (empress) and the emperor (son of heaven) passed away... Cf. also 3.063.

3.053 *east* (1): 大化 <ud.ur>. Ji Shi thinks that 大化 should be read **doru*, reading 大 **do* rather than <ud>, cf. Mo. *doruna*. See also Wu Yingzhe 2004a. ‘East’ is written with the logogram 东 2.072. In the Yuan dynasty Mongol-Chinese glossary, the *Zhiyuan yiyu*, the equivalents of east, west, south and north in Middle Mongolian are *dorona*, *hörene*, *emüne* and *ümere*, so Toyoda 1992 suggests these readings for the Kitan logographs. Aisin Gioro 2004 suggests a simplified version: *doru*, *xoru*, *əmu* and *umə*. Another set of Mongol terms for the directions are *ǰegün*, *barayun*, *emüne* and *xoina*. The Kitan terms are 左凡右 <ci.g.en> ~ 亥凡右 <dzi.g.en> ‘left’ (3.114) and 得左才矣 <bo.ra.ia.an> ~ 得左才矣 <bo.ra.a.an> ‘right’ (3.172).

大化 凡用 中丙 又去 <ud.úr g.iŋ l.iú s.eu>

‘the *liushou* of the eastern capital 東京留守’

一 为 伏令北右 午右 令各女 止市兴及去

<NORTH EAST ní.ô.ho:en ù:en s.êŋ.un p.od.i o.oi> (Zongjiao 13).

‘having become the ... *xiangwen* 祥穩 of the Northeast route...

伏令北 <ní.ô.ho> has the same stem as 伏令矣 <ní.ô.úr> 部 *bu* ‘division’, and here corresponds to 路 *lu* ‘route’ 令各女 is 令各女 <s.êŋ.un> *xiangwen*, here corresponding to 將軍 *jiangjun* ‘general’ 及去 <o.oi> is the converb of the verb ‘become’ So 为 must be the equivalent of 東 *dong* ‘east’. The graph 为 is very similar to 为 ‘younger brother’

去平 今各只芬 辰右 为

<eu.ul pu.kà.û.er MOUNTAIN:en EAST>

雲慶山之東 ‘to the east of Yunqing mountain’ (?) (Daozong 6).

3.054 *edict*: 敕令 <k.em>. Ch. 敕 *chi*, Mo. *ǰarliy*, Ju. *alawa-(gi)* (-*gi* is instrumental). Ma. *hese*.

叔金 雨全 网力本 <k.em só:or COMPOSE.a.ar>

‘he composed [this] by the order of an imperial edict 奉敕撰’

叔金 今勺 <k.em te.gu> ‘the edict says 敕曰’

叔金 雨全 <k.em só:or> (Nu 2) ‘the edict was received 敕奉’

3.055 *eight*: 丕 (007) 丕 <EIGHT>. Masc. form: 丕 (008) There is no evidence from the ordinals for the reading of 丕. 丕化茶 is ‘eighth, ordinal form of 丕’
丕 住及药茶 <EIGHT mu.u.ji:d> ‘the eight sacred ones’ = ‘The eight emperors of the dynasty’

3.056 *eighty*: 𠃉 <EIGHTY> (300). Cf. 𠃉 301.

去奕𠃉 𠃉奕中

<eu.úr EIGHTY tu.úr.bun> (Xu 38)

‘He died at the age of eighty’

𠃉 八和 <EIGHTY bǎ.en> (Renxian 42) ‘eighty *li*’

3.057 *elder sister*: 𠃉 <au>. In 王易 Wang Yi, 燕北錄 *Yanbei lu*, we read 赤娘子者, 番語多呼謂之掠胡奧: the *chiniangzi* [red woman] in the barbarian language is generally called *lüehu ao*’ The word corresponding to 娘子 *niangzi* ‘royal lady’ in the inscriptions is 𠃉𠃉 <au.ui>. 掠胡 MC *liak-hu* must be 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 ~ 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 <l.iau.qú ~ l.iau.qu>. See 3.166.

3.058 *eldest child*: 𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉 <m.o bo.qo> ‘big child = eldest child, eldest son 長子’

𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 <m.as.qó> ‘eldest son 長子’

𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉

<m.as.qó uh.ul.in d.em.er pu m.a>

‘The eldest son, *Ugulin 兀古鄰 *Temer 特末, *fuma* [emperor’s son-in-law]...’

𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉

<ai:d bo.hu.án TWO^o m.as.qó g.ui.in> (Nu 26)

‘He had two male children; the eldest was Guoyin 國隱’

Note the feminine form 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 <m.as.qú>

𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉

<m.as.qú tu.uj s.ĩ n.iú m.o TENT:en x.iu g.uj tai bo:de u.ul.ge.ei>

‘The eldest was *Tongzinü 童子女, having married Xiugong *taibao* 秀功太保 of the great tent...’ (𠃉 -ei = converb).

𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉 <m.as.qu> ‘first’ corresponds to 𠃉𠃉 <m.o> ‘big, eldest, first’

3.059 *emperor*: 主 丕 <hoŋ di> <皇帝 **hongdi*.

主 丕 雨 ~ 主 丕 和 <hoŋ di:in> ~ <hoŋ di:en> ‘of the emperor’

3.060 *empress*: 主介 <hoŋ heu> <皇后 *hongheu; 宀芬 丙 <neu.e mo> ‘empress’ (earth mother). The *Liaoshi* provides us with a number of Kitan words for ‘empress’: 皇后, 忒里蹇, 可敦 and 耨斡麼(么). *Liaoshi* 116: 耨斡, 后土稱. 麼(么), 母稱: ‘neu-o, the name of *houtu* ‘empress of the earth’; 麼(么) means 母 ‘mother’. *Liaoshi* 71: 遼因突厥, 稱皇后曰可敦. 國語曰忒里蹇. 尊稱曰耨斡麼么, 蓋以配后土而母之云. ‘The Liao, following the Tujue, called the empress *kedun*. In their national language they say *telijian*. The respectful term is *nou-o-mo*, it seems to be equating the *houtu* ‘the female earth deity’ with *mu* ‘mother’ ” 宀芬 丙 <neu.e mo> corresponds to 耨斡麼(么) **neu-e-mo*.

今英虫 关关 宀芬 丙 <s.ý.yen i.i. neu.e mo> 宣懿皇后 ‘Empress Xuanyi’

3.061 *empress dowager*:

主 丕 介 <hoŋ tai heu> <皇太后 *hongtaiheu.

3.062 *epitaph* 公卒矢 立几与 月半

<ne.ra:de RECORD.g:én TEXT.ú>

muzhiming ‘epitaph, inscription on a tombstone 墓誌銘’

3.063 *establish*: 止及子 <p.o.ju-> The stem is **poju-* ‘establish’ probably from ‘to make, to be’

止及子立 <p.o.ju.ha-> ‘to cause or order to arise, to raise, to establish’

3.064 *estate*: 止为木 止雨 <p.a.ar p.in>

止为木 止雨 屏 羽 夫关

<p.a.ar p.in SEVEN HUNDRED rí.i>

‘estate of seven hundred households 邑食七百戶’ (夫关 rí:i ‘household 戶’)

3.065 *et cetera*: 来来 <ci.ci> ‘together with, *et cetera*, and others’

今关为 来来 才 奇 <t.ún.a ci.ci ia deu>

‘*Tunja and the others, his elder brothers and his younger brothers’

3.066 *eternal*: 康(063) <ETERNAL> <永‘eternal’

康 崇 列及雨 <ETERNAL qudug hu.o.gò>

yongfuling ‘Yongfu tomb 永福陵’

关 仔 宀芬 康 <HEAVEN ta neu.e ETERNAL>

‘Heaven and earth are eternal’ (Daozong)

今和 康 及 今芬 <s.en ETERNAL u t.oi>

‘long life, eternal, good fortune (?) virtue (?)’: 壽長福德: inscription on a bronze mirror.

The meaning of 令葵 is uncertain, 德 ‘virtue’ is usually written 登百 <d.ei> or 令百 <t.ei>.

3.067 *eulogy*: 九和爻 来余 去女 <g.en.ún c.ah w.un> 哀册文’

3.068 *falcon*: 爻夹力 <ś.au.a>. *Liaoshi* 稍瓦 **shauwa* ‘falcon’
伏力 爻夹力 <ní.qo ś.au.a> ‘dogs and falcons’, *q.v.* Cf. Da. *fowoo* ~ *foyoo* ‘falcon’

3.069 *fall, descend*: 不力出 <on.a.án> 降. See *dew*.

3.070 *father*: 丰 <ai>

百 九水 亥火 丰 今 爻力

<mó g.un dz.iú ai pu m.a> (Zhonggong)

‘his mother was a princess ... his father was the son in law of the emperor’

生 丰 <bu ai> ‘grandfather’

生 生 丰 <bu bu ai> ‘great grandfather’

爻及 丰 <m.o ai> ‘great father’ (eldest uncle)

来化与 丰 <c.ur.én ai> ‘second uncle 仲父’

爻化 丰 <u.ur ai> ‘ancestors’

丰登 <ai:d> ‘males’

丰登 得列出 <ai.d bo.hu.án> ‘male child, son’

Note: 丰 <ai> also means ‘year’ The plural of 丰 <ai> ‘father’ is 丰登 <ai:d>, which also means ‘males’ in a general sense; the plural of 丰 <ai> ‘year’ is 丰今 <ai:se>.

3.071 *female*: 百 <mó>, plural <mó:t> 百令.

百 <mó> means ‘mother’ and ‘wife’, and also refers to females generally, especially when followed by the plural suffix 令 <t>.

百令 业本 毛 力冬得伏 毛

<mó:t p.ar FOUR na.as.bo.ń ONE> (Zhi 13) (毛 should be 毛?)

‘He had four wives; one deceased’

百令 业本 毛 爻冬欠 力业出茶 州欠 艾和 伏本只伏 百公 曲和 伞和 登北和 得力
<mo.t ha.r FOUR m.as.qó na.ha.án.er zò.qó TENT:en ní.ar.û.iń mó.n go.en s.en tai.sh:en bo.qo> (Xu 45)

‘There were four daughters. The eldest [was married to] the son of *Isin *taishi*, of the great tent of *Narun of the junior tent of the maternal uncles’

3.072 *fifth*: 令尔及北 <t.ad.o.ho>. Also 令而及北 <t.od.o.ho>. The stem is 令尔 <tad->.

3.073 *fifty*: 乙 <FIFTY> (155)

乙亥 乙 至 止考尔

<eu.úr FIFTY EIGHT p.iáu:er>

‘at the age of fifty eight, he died (?)’ (Linggong 18)

3.074 *filial piety*: 尔尔尔尔尔 <c.i.is.d.bun>; 尔尔尔尔尔伏 <c.i.is.de.bo.ń>;
尔尔尔尔尔 <c.i.is.d.b.ún>. Cf. *Liaoshi* glossary: 赤是得本 *chishideben* ‘filial
piety’; 尔尔尔尔尔 尔力 <c.i.is.d.bun bo.qo> ‘filial son’

3.075 *first*: 尔及 <mo> or 尔尔欠 (尔) <m.as.qó ~ <m.as.qu> for masculine and 又
<BIG> or 尔尔尔 <m.as.qú> for feminine. The basic meaning of 尔尔欠 <m.as.qó>
is ‘big, great’, and is used for ‘first’ in enumerating members of a family.
Note that 尔及 <m.o> ‘big’ and 又 ‘great’, both corresponding to 大 *da*, are
used for masculine nouns and feminine nouns respectively. Some inanimate
nouns are modified by 尔及 <m.o>, others by 又 ‘great’

3.076 *first day of the lunar month* 朔: 尔尔尔伏 <ho.le.bo.ń>.

This word means ‘first’, ‘preface 序’. It is also a common name.

3.077 *five* 尔 <tau> ‘five’ Cf. Mo. *tabun*, Da. *tawu*. *Liaoshi* glossary: 討 *tao*
‘five’ 尔: dotted form of ‘five’

尔 尔尔 <tau di:d> ‘five emperors 五帝’

尔 尔 尔尔 <tau jau ai:de> ‘In [= for the duration of] five hundred years’

3.078 *forty*: 了 <FORTY> (145)

了 尔尔 尔尔 尔尔 尔尔 尔尔 尔尔 尔尔 尔尔 尔尔

<FORTY ONE:de ku.ká û.u o.oi [...] u.ur s.a.rí rên.i>

‘In the forty first year, for the first time he was appointed court attendant in
the same bureau’

3.079 *four*: 尔 <FOUR>. The dotted form is 尔. ‘Four’ is also written 尔 ~ 尔尔
~ 尔尔 <260.úr> 尔尔尔 <t.ur.uh>, 尔尔尔 <d.úr.u>. 尔 is only found in 尔尔. The
ordinal form, ‘fourth’ is written 尔尔尔 <t.ur.er> for masculine nouns and
尔尔尔 <t.ur.én> or 尔尔尔 for <d.ur.én> for feminine nouns. The stem form of
‘four’ is probably **dur*. Cf. Mo. *dürben*.

尔尔尔 <FOUR po.dz> ‘the four seasons 四時’. (Inscription on bronze mirror).

尔尔尔 尔尔 尔尔 尔尔 尔尔 尔尔 尔尔 尔尔 尔尔 尔尔

<t.ur.én ta.aŋ c.en g.ia n.u s.êŋ.un s.ï>

‘the fourth, mistress Tang was the wife (?) (尔尔 <s.ï>) of Chen Jianu 陳家
奴, *xiangwen* 詳穩 (Gu 18)

令化茶 义用伏 万央九券 令半兴 杂安 令券

<t.ur.er x.iŋ.iń ei.au.g.e t.ai.i ci.ŋ s.iaŋ>

'The fourth, *Hiŋin *Yauge was a *dai chengxiang* 大丞相'

Note the forms in 茶 *er* for men and 与 *én* for women.

3.080 *friendly*: 公半来 <n.ai.ci> ~ 公半友 <n.ai.dzi>.

3.081 *general*: 令券 九亦 <s.iaŋ g.ün> ~ 令莖 九亦 <s.iáŋ g.ün>. Ch.

**zianggün* 將軍.

The difference between 莖 <iáŋ> and 券 <iaŋ> is not known. They may be allographs, and are treated as such by most researchers.

九又 安及 杂 义知 令莖 九亦

<gi.m ŋ.u úi s.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün>

'general of the imperial insignia guard 金吾衛上將軍'

中胤 北 杂 义知 令券 九亦

<l.iúŋ xu ui s.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün>

'general of the dragon and tiger guards 龍虎衛上將軍'

3.082 *generation*: 公尔 <n.on>

公尔矢 杂冬女券 化九茶 业及雨坐券来

<n.on:de c.as.un.e ri.g.d p.o.gò.cén.e.ci> (Ren 2)

'For generations they were appointed to the position of *yilijin*'

3.083 *give, provide*: 只 <û->. Cf. Mo. *ög-* 'to give'

3.084 *goat*: 圣力 <êm.a> 'goat, mountain goat 山羊' Mo. *imaya* 'mountain goat' Corresponds to cyclical term 未.

3.085 *good fortune*: 𠄎 <qudug>. This graph is usually written as two graphs in modern Chinese transcriptions: 𠄎𠄎. An examination of the rubbings of the inscriptions shows that these characters are written very close to each other, and are probably a single graph, perhaps derived from the cursive form of the Chinese character 福 *fu* 'good fortune, happiness' The Kitan word is transcribed in the Chinese texts as 胡覩古 *hu-du-gu* and 胡都 *hu-du*. A number of scholars have compared the word to Mo. *qutuγ* 'bliss' and Ma. *hûturi* 'happiness' Cf. Ki. 343 英竿 **hukur*, Ka. 740 **huturi*. In the *Jinshi* we read, "there is a victory stele, in the national language it is called *hu-tu-ai ge-man*. It is the place Taizu rallied the troops' The *Jinshi* glossary notes 與人同受福曰忽都 'to enjoy good fortune with other people is called *hu-du*' On the Jin victory stele *hu-tu-ai ge-man* is written 英鬲并𠄎 **hutunai gaman*.

3.086 *good, goodness*: 乂才 <ś.ia> or 乂么条 <ś.iá.ah>. Also 乂考 <ś.ên>. Mo. *sain*, Ma. *sain*. 武珪 Wu Gui, 燕北雜記 *Yanbei zaji*: 七月十三日至十五日迎節, 送節, 哭節, 遼人呼為賽離捨 ‘On the thirteenth day of the seventh month they have welcoming festivals, sending-off festivals and weeping festivals. The Liao people call these 賽離捨 *saili she*. 賽離 *saili* means ‘moon, month’; 捨 *she* means ‘good’

乂么条 芳化本与 曲令 伴 万文 止住非 椽

<ś.iá.ah cu.ur.ge.én go:t ü ei.ie po.mu.fèi qudug> (Di 3)

‘A family which accumulates goodness is sure to have good fortune 積善之家, 必有餘慶’. Identified by Aisin Gioro 2004.

3.087 *grandchildren*: 得力关 得列出 <bo.qo.i bo.hu.án>

‘children of children’

得力关 得列出 包

<bo.qo.i bo.hu.án THREE>

‘three grandchildren’ (Xiao Zhonggong 30)

3.088 *grandson*: 得力关 得力 <bo.qo.i bo.qo>. Wang Hongli (1986) noticed this structure, but read 得力 as *bekj* and related it to Tu. *bək* ‘official’. In Dao 7 we read 得力关 得力 又雨 今生及扎 座, <bo.qo.i bo.qo m.in se.bu.o.ho qa> ‘son of a son [grandson] our (?) succeeding khan’ The meaning of 又雨 <m.in> is not known. Suggestions are ‘spirit, spiritual’ or ‘my, our’ The suffix 关 <i> must be a genitive.

3.089 *grandfather*: 生 丰 <bu ai>.

天 山 主至雨 生 丰

HEAVEN GOLD[♂] hoŋ di:in bu ai>

‘the grandfather of the Heaven Gold emperor (Abaoji)’

Toyoda interprets 生 as a logograph, read **ebüge*. 丰 is pronounced <ai> in Chinese transcriptions such as 叔丰 <k.ai> for 開 *kai*. As a logograph, Toyoda reads 丰 as **awi*, so 生 丰 is **ebüge awi*. There is no evidence for such transcriptions.

3.090 *great grandfather*: 生 生 丰 <bu bu ai>.

3.091 *grant title*: 令金 <t.em-> ‘to enfeoff, to bestow [land], to bestow a title 封’ Cf. Mo. *temdeg-*, Ma. *temgetu* ‘sign’ as in Ma. *temgetulembi* ‘to confer a mark of distinction on’ The reign title Tianjuan 天眷 ‘heaven favour’ is 天 金 万 茶 <HEAVEN d.em.ei.er>.

子 太 乂 火 中 用 茶 金 中 茶 茶 <ju.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ d.em.le.ge.er> (Xu 7) (passive form with the suffix 中茶 <lege>)

‘He was granted the title of secretariat director 中書令’

戈去 丕 今 丕金 中 丕 万

⟨ś.eu tai pu d.em.le.ge.ei⟩ (Xu 34)

‘Having been granted the title of ‘acting grand mentor 守太傅’

戈去 丕 兆 丕金 中 丕 万

⟨ś.eu tai sh d.em.le.ge.ei⟩ (Xu 35)

‘Having been granted the title of acting grand preceptor 守太師’

今 九 火 戈 知 今 毋 九 亦 丕金 中 丕 万

⟨pu g.ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün d.em.le.ge.ei⟩

‘Having been granted the title of bulwark generalissimo of the state 輔國上將軍’

3.092 *great, big*: 又 <GREAT> (feminine?) (373); 又及 <m.o> (masculine?) ‘big, great’

3.093 *great father*: 又及 丰 <m.o ai>. This expression might mean maternal grandfather, or perhaps eldest uncle.

3.094 *hare, rabbit*: 无 兔 力 <tau.lí.a>. Luo Fucheng identified this as 卯, the cyclical sign corresponding to ‘hare, rabbit’. *Liaoshi* glossary 陶里 **tauli*. Cf. Mo. *taulai* ‘hare’

3.095 *harmony*: The reign title Xianyong 咸雍 is 天 今 火 <HEAVEN t.ud>. The word 今 火 <t.ud> is common in the inscriptions; it may mean ‘harmony’

3.096 *head*: 突 <nai>. *Liaoshi glossary*: 捏 褐 耐, 犬 首 也 ‘**nieho nai* means ‘head of a dog’. 突 丕 <nai:d> ‘officials’. In the *Qidanguo zhi* we read ‘there is one leader, his name is Naihe: 有一主, 號曰乃呵’

3.097 *heaven, sky*: 天 <HEAVEN>. Readings such as **teŋri*, **dəŋri*, **təŋgər*, **tŋgri* and the like are sometimes suggested, but there is no evidence for these. Cf. 2. 243.

天 穴 旁 ‘heaven and earth’ (乾坤) (Xuanyi 10, Renxian 36, Zhixian 19)

天 穴 旁 万 与 化 只 弱 有

⟨HEAVEN no.e ei.eu.úr.û.ji.en⟩ (Renxian 36)

‘Heaven and earth revolve 乾坤旋轉’

天 仍 穴 旁 床 <HEAVEN ETERNAL EARTH FOREVER> (Daozong 37)

‘Heaven is eternal and earth lasts forever 天長地久’

今 丙 月 无 [= 无] 万 旁 天 穴 旁 义 与 平 爻 床 伏 天 艾

⟨t.iu.rèn REGION.ei.e HEAVEN neu.e x.eu.ul.ún ETERNAL.iń DAY/SUN MONTH/MOON⟩

‘Virtuous region, heaven earth, eternal sun [and] moon’ (Xuanyi 10)

3.098 *horizontal tents* 橫帳: 乂化又 曲𦵏 <xe.dú.ún go.er>. Cf. Mo. *köndelen* ‘across, transverse, horizontal, side, on the side’

𦵏𦵏𦵏 乂化又 曲𦵏 州余 半和 竹 止半北和 𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏

<qa.ha:an xe.dú.ún go.er zò.qu ai:en doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d c.as.a rěn:er>

孰几 𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏

us.gi hur.ú:un ui cu.n KNOW.i ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh COMPOSE.a.ar)

‘Composed by Yelü Gu 耶律固, Hanlin academician [in charge of writing matters], court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies 印牌司 of the household of the younger uncles 季父房 of the horizontal tents of the khan’

3.099 *horse*: 𦵏𦵏 <mo.ri> ‘horse’ Cf. Ju. *morin*, Mo. *mori* ~ *morin* ‘horse’. It corresponds to the cyclical sign 午.

3.100 *house, household*: 𦵏𦵏 <go.er>. 𦵏𦵏 <go.er> refers to a tribal unit, here translated ‘household’. It often corresponds to 帳房 ‘tent’. 𦵏 is presumably a larger unit.

3.101 *humaneness*: 𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏 <hur.ú.ur.bun>.

𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 <hur.ú.ur.bun mu.u.ji> ‘humane, sacred 仁聖’, a title of the Daozong emperor. 𦵏𦵏𦵏 <mu.u.ji> is ‘holy, sacred, pertaining to the emperor; 聖’ 𦵏𦵏 <hur.ú> means ‘ruler, person in control’ So 𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏 <hur.ú.ur.bun> may not mean the same as ‘humaneness 仁’

3.102 *hundred*: 𦵏𦵏 <jau> 2.015 ‘hundred’ *Liaoshi* 116: ‘爪, 百數也’ *zhao* means a hundred’. MMo. *ǰawu/n*, Mo. *ǰayu/n*, Da. *dzau* ‘hundred’ In Xu, 𦵏𦵏 <jau tau> transcribes the Chinese title 招討 **jautau* ‘bandit suppression commissioner’ In Zhong we find 𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏 <jau.tau.ss:en>, a genitive form of 招討司 ‘bureau of the bandit suppression commissioner’ 𦵏𦵏𦵏 <jau nai> ‘the hundred officials; officialdom’ (𦵏𦵏 <nai> ‘head, leader, magistrate, official’); 𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏 <jau nai:d> ‘hundred officials’ (plural form).

3.103 *hunt*: 𦵏𦵏𦵏 <m.án.ún> (PAST)

𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏
𦵏𦵏𦵏 <c.ar am.se REGION.a.an ui eu.in, liánǰ ś.a.án ja.cèn.i m.án.ún se.mu.i ta.aŋ:en ki.ên liŋ:de x.ui.ci> ‘some time ago because in his region there were no matters, he went hunting at the south side of Liang mountain. (Lang 1-2).
𦵏𦵏𦵏 𦵏𦵏𦵏 <m.án.ún se.mu.i> corresponds to ‘he set out to hunt’.

3.104 *husband*: 平几 <ai ku> ('male person')

平几 丕得矢 止平久药 公平化中並为出 去安 乙 丕矢 木本 丙

<ai ku tai.bo:de p.ul.271.ji n.ai.ri.le.ha.a.án eu.úr FIFTY TWO.de 054.ar iu>

'Her relations with her husband, the *taibao*, were harmonious. She died at the age of fifty two' (Han Dilie 16). The meaning of 木本 <054.ar> is unknown.

3.105 *in charge of*: 重今 <hur.ú> 'person in charge, person in control'

3.106 *initial, first*: 尤安 <yù.úr>. The reading of 尤 is unknown. Mnemonic from Ch. 尤.

尤安 平 <yù.úr ai> 'the first year of a reign period 元年'

3.107 *intercalary month* 閏: 止平久 <p.ul.uh> Ma. *fulu* 'surplus, excess, left over, extra'

3.108 *jade*: 九及 <g.u>

九及 无矢为 <g.u tau.lí.a> 玉兔 'jade hare' *Liaoshi* glossary: 孤穩 *gu-wen* 'jade' Ju. *guwen*; *guwu*; Ma. *gu*.

3.109 *jasá*: 闾撒 'tribal unit' 杂矢为 <c.as.a>

3.110 *jiayin*: 甲寅 (cyclical term): 今考夫 巫並冬 <s.iau.qú qa.ha.as> 'blue tiger' 口 非 矢 今丙茶 宅 丕 今考夫 巫並冬 平 尺安及 及平 吧 天 止及肉 <qi po HEAVEN t.iu.rén TEN TWO s.iau.qú qa.ha.as ai dau.úr.ún u.ul TEN DAY p.o.ón>

'The time was the fourteenth day of mid winter 仲冬 in the year *jiayin* 甲寅 of the Tianhui 天會 reign period' (Langjun 4-5). Note that <s.iau.qú> seems to be the feminine form, and so tiger would be grammatically feminine. This aspect requires further research.

3.111 *khan*: 巫 <qa> 'khan'

巫並矣 <qa.ha.an> 'khaghan' (genitive?) Ju. *ha'an* MMo. *qa'an* Mo. *qayan*.

令市 今水 九安和 巫 戈雨 今考 <t.[ai] s.uj g.úr:en qa.ín s.ún> (Renyi 8)

'Renzong, Khan of the Great Song State'. Renzong was the Song emperor at the time Xingzong was emperor of the Liao. Here we have the word 巫 <qa> 'khan' as distinct from 巫並 <qa.ha> 'khaghan' 巫矣 九火 九木 <qa.an g.ui g.uj> is a transcription of 韓國公 'lord of the state of Han' (Zhonggong 21).

3.112 *know*: 屮 <KNOW> 屮 corresponds to 知 'to know' in the official title 知事 'to know matters', i.e. 'administrator' It is often followed by 令 <t> as in 屮令; which is presumably a plural marker: 'officials, administrators'.

3.113 *lady*: 今柔伏 <pu.is.iń> <夫人 *fužin ‘lady’

巫哭 凡火 今柔伏和 关化

<qa.an g.ui pu.is.iń:en i.ri>

‘The title of lady of the state of Han’ (Zong 20)

中哭 中用 凡亦 今柔伏 <l.an l.iŋ g.ün pu.is.iń>

‘lady of Lanling prefecture’ (Xu 9)

3.114 *left*: 左凡和 <ci.g.en> ~ 亥凡和 <dzi.g.en>. Mo. *žegün*.

左凡和 及化 <ci.g.en u.ur> ‘left division’

亥凡和 及化 业当 左为和 关化 令金中及

<dzi.g.en u.ur p.úŋ c.a.en i.ri t.em.l.ún>

‘he was granted the title of *fangcha* of the left division 左院訪察’ (Nu 7)

3.115 *linya* (Kitan title) 林牙: 中圣为 <l.êm.a> ~ 中圣列为 <l.êm.hu.a> ‘scribe’

Franke, *Bermerkungen*, p. 24, notes that Menges suggested Tu. *alymyá* as the origin of *linya*. Cf. *Liaoshi* glossary: 林牙, 掌文翰官, 舊稱為學士: ‘*linya*, an official in charge of the academy, formerly known as *xueshi* [scholar]’. *Liaoshi*: Cf. *Biography of Tianzuo* 天祚紀 in the *Liaoshi*: 遼以翰林為林牙 ‘the Liao called the Hanlin *linya*.’

小 及化 仲公和 火 屋及药 中圣为 业及用中及

<SOUTH u.ur ü.n:en ui KNOW.u.ji l.êm.a p.o.gò.l.ún> (Ren 62)

‘He was appointed *linya* of the southern division 南院’

3.116 *live at, reside*: 今为 <sa-> Cf. Mo. *sayu-* ‘live, dwell, reside, stay’

3.117 *local officials*: 金和 灾圣 <em:en nai:d>

金和 灾圣 志安 亩得 圣来 义关柔凡火 业而中及

<em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún> (Langjun 4)

‘After he drank wine with the local officials he returned happy’

3.118 *long life*: 今和 <s.en>.

Often used as a name written in Chinese 義信 Yixin (and variants). This suggests the pronunciation *Isin.

又 今和 <GREAT s.en> the reign period Shouchang 壽昌 (1095)

Cf. 爾免 及去及 <ca.aŋ s.eu.u> transcription of 長壽 ‘long life, longevity’

3.119 *lower capital*: 圣为 凡用 <de.gè g.iŋ> ~ 今为 凡用 <te.gè g.iŋ>.

圣为 凡用 中丙 及去 <de.gè g.iŋ liu s.eu>

‘The *liushou* (regent, viceroy) of Yanjing 燕京留守’

圣为 今为 引化欠 <de.gè fu.un ja.ri.qó>

‘Prime minister of the southern administration 南府宰相’.

丕 今 引化欠 <UPPER/NORTH:d pu ja.ri.qó>

‘Prime minister of the northern administration 北府宰相’

丕 丕方 丕 几矣今 <UPPER:d de.gè TWO g.úr:se>

‘The two states, north and south’

今方 巫 <de.gè qa> ‘The southern khan’

3.120 *madame, née: 九*. The graph appears after women’s names and appears to refer to the family name before marriage. In Chinese this is 氏 *shi*, and the Kitan graph may be derived from it. Here it is transcribed <śi> and translated ‘Mme’

3.121 *male: 丰* <ai:d>. As well as meaning ‘father’, 丰 means ‘male’ in a generic sense. It is followed by the plural suffix 丕 <d>.

丰 丕 得列出 丕 <ai:de bo.hu.án TWO> ‘male children, two’

包 丰 丕 才 与 <THREE ai:d ia deu> ‘three male (elder and younger) brothers’

丰 丕 得列出 丕 <ai:d bo.hu.án TWO> ‘male children, two’

包 丰 丕 才 与 <THREE ai:d ia deu>

‘three male (elder and younger) brothers’

丰 丕 得列出 丕 又冬欠 几矣雨 与矣 丁 禾

<ai:d bo.hu.án TWO^o m.as.qó g.ui.in eu.úr TWENTY NINE

‘He had two sons. The elder was Guoyin, twenty nine years old.’

3.122 *man: 几* <ku> ~ 几及 <ku.u> ‘man’; 几只女 <ku.û.un> (*gen.*)

3.123 *marry (of a woman): 只平丕-* <û.ul.ge->. Cf. Mo. *uruyla* ‘to become related by marriage’, but may also be a derived form of 只 <û> ‘to give’ (as in ‘to give in marriage’); cf. Mo. *ög-* ‘to give’ This may be a passive form: to be married [to]. It is preceded by the dative/locative suffix 矢 <de>~ 朱 <do>.

獠伏 舟中 丕 死矢 只平丕中伏

<qudug.in dir.bun tai sh:de û.ul.ge.l.in> (Renxian 8)

‘She was married to *Qudugin 胡睹堇 *Dirbun 迪里本, *taishi*’

朱化与 仍危 九伏 丙央及 死 公及 又为夫矢 只平丕丙

<c.ur.én ta.ąj śi.ń ei.au.u sh n.u ś.a.rí:de û.ul.ge.ei> (Di 31)

‘The second, Mme. *Tang, having been married to *Yaoshinu, court attendant...’

丙今 老 又 义用 义秀 今秀伏 今丙才车 口北伏 巫立矣 曲不和 叔巫公及 丕 死矢
<mó.t FIVE eldest x.in x.e pu.is.in t.iú.ia.ra qi.ii.ń qa.ha:an go.er:en ke qa n.u tai sh:de

只平丕 朱化与 中关 今秀伏 □□□ 丕 死矢 只平丕与 矣与 竹太 义秀 尔矣

û.ul.ge c.ur.én l.i s.ie pu.is.in ... tai sh:de û.ul.ge.én THIRD.én du.uŋ x.e aú.ui

令丙才车 口比伏 虫虫天 曲茶和 令用 义去 公及 至仅凡矢 尺平茶与 令化与
 伏行欠伏 止笑争火 t.iù.ia.ra qi.ii.ń qa.ha:an go.er:en t.iŋ h.oŋ n.u di.jin.gi.de
 û.ul.ge.én t.ur.én ní.mú.qó.ń p.y.z.iú

州欠 丈和 又中又伏 马列秀 羽化欠朱 尺平茶与 令币止雨 万处 令交 令秀伏
 zò.qo TENT:en ší.le.x.iń ju.rá.e ja.ri.qo:do û.ul.ge.én t.od.p.ón ei.aŋ s.ie
 pu.is.iń

力虫出茶 用[?] 曲茶和 猴伏 舟中丞 死矢 尺平茶中伏

na.ha.án.er il(?) go.c.en qudug.iń tur.bun tai sh:de û.ul.ge.le.ń (Renxian 7-8).
 ‘There were five daughters. The eldest, lady *Xiŋxe, married *Kekanu, *taishi*, of the household of the khan of the Xi. The second was lady *Lijie, who married..., *taishi*. The third was her highness *Duŋxe, who married *Dingguangnu of the household of the khan of the Xi. The fourth was royal lady *Nimukun, who married prime minister. The fifth was lady *Yangjie, who married *Qudugin *Dirbun, *taishi*, of the household of the maternal uncles’

3.124 *maternal uncle*: 力虫出 <na.ha.án>

力虫出茶 <na.ha.án.er> (acc). 力虫出茶 <na.ha.án:d> (plur.)

力虫出茶 州欠 公和 <na.ha.án:er zò.qó n.en>

‘junior patriarchal household of the lineage of imperial maternal uncles 國舅小翁帳’

凡奕和 力虫出茶 州欠 丈和 <g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zò.qo TENT:en>

‘Of the tent of the maternal uncles 國舅帳’

力虫出茶 州欠 丰和 伏车余伏 <na.ha.án.er zò.qó ai:en ní.ra.qu.ń>

‘*Nirugun, of the younger lineage of the maternal uncles’ (Zong 21)

3.125 *matter, affair*: 火 <ui> 事. Mongol, Manchu *weile*, so perhaps *ul or *uil.

3.126 *mengan ~ mingan* ‘military unit’

美安 <miŋ.án> ‘military unit: Chinese 猛安 *meng’an*’

美安 穴茶 <miŋ.an nai:d> ‘leaders of a *meng’an*’

3.127 *meritorious official*: 凡水 来雨 <g.uŋ c.in> <功臣 *gungchien

凡水 来雨 毛 共凡茶 ~ 凡水 来雨 共凡茶 毛 ~ 毛 共凡茶 凡水 来雨

<g.uŋ c.in FOUR us.gi:d> ~ <g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d FOUR> ~ <FOUR us.gi:d g.uŋ c.in>

‘four character meritorious official 四字功臣’: an honorary title with four characters.

凡水 来雨和 共凡茶 灰 <g.uŋ c.in:en us.gi:d SIX> ‘six character meritorious official 六字功臣’

凡水 来伏 至 共凡茶

⟨g.uŋ c.in EIGHT us.gi:d⟩ ‘eight character meritorious official 八字功臣’
 毛 茂九和 杰 ⟨ONE us.gi:en oŋ⟩ ‘a prince with one character in his title 一字王’

3.128 *middle*: 尺安又 ⟨dau.úr.ún⟩ Cf. Mo. *dumda* ‘middle’; perhaps 令考分 ⟨t.iau.dû⟩. Cf. 4.58.

3.129 *mid-winter*: 尺安又 及平 ⟨dau.úr.ún u.ul⟩

‘Mid-winter; the second month of winter 仲冬. (Langjun)

口 非 矣 令丙谷 宅 圣 令考夫 虫虫冬 半 尺安又 及平 毛 天 止及肉

⟨qi po HEAVEN t.iu.rén TEN TWO s.iau.qú qa.ha.as ai dau.úr.ún u.ul TEN DAY p.o.ón⟩

‘The time was the fourteenth day of mid winter 仲冬 in the year *jiayin* 甲寅 of the Tianhui 天會 reign period’ (Langjun)

3.130 *miri* ‘small settlement’ 彌里 *mili*, 抹里 *moli* ~ **meili*: 又夫 ⟨mo.rí⟩.

又夫用 令考 又和 住及約 又及 未夫禾登中 仍及 矣 令分中虫和木 主 主

⟨x.i.in s.úŋ m.en mu.u.ji m.o c.i.is.d.bun ta.u HEAVEN ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar hoŋ di

又夫和 公夫生东夫 小 十 令住与 米及凡 令和卡 中丙丙谷

mo.rí:en n.ad.bu.ad.i SOUTH WEST se.mu.én ordu.u.dú s.a.ká l.iu.rén.er⟩

‘The Chongxi 重熙 emperor, the sacred great filial eternal Xingzong 興宗, while residing in the travelling *ordo* to the south west of the *nabo* 捺鉢 of the *miri* 彌里, passed away’ (Xingzong 2). This could mean ‘the horse *nabo*; cf. ‘the crow *nabo*’ in the *Eulogy for Xuanyi*.

3.131 *monkey*: 止及 ⟨p.o⟩~ 止及及 ⟨p.o.o⟩ (Liu 1997). The cyclical sign 申 *shen*. Mo. *bečín*, Ma. *bonio*, *monio*.

3.132 *month*: 艾. Reading unknown, suggestions include **sair*, **sær* **sarj* **sar* and the like, based on *Qidanguo zhi* 賽離 *sai-li*, *Yanbei zaji* 賽離 *sai-li*, *Liaoshi* 賽啣呢 *sai-yi-er*. Cf. MMo *sara*, WM *sara-n*. Cf Wu Gui 武珪, *Yanbei zaji* 燕北雜記 [Miscellaneous notes on Yanbei]: 七月十三日至十五日 迎節, 送節, 哭節, 遼人呼為賽離捨 ‘On the thirteenth day of the seventh month they have welcoming festivals, sending-off festivals and weeping festivals. The Liao people call these 賽離捨 *saili she*. 賽離 *saili* means ‘moon, month’; 捨 *she* means ‘good’ *Liaoshi*: 五月重五日 國語謂是日‘討賽啣兒’ 討五, 賽啣兒, 月也 ‘The fifth month, the *chongwu* festival in their language they call this day 討賽啣兒 *tao saiyier*. 討 *tao* means ‘five’, *saiyier* means ‘month’ 艾 should be distinguished from a slightly different graph, 艾, ‘tent, tribal lineage’ In many transcriptions 艾 is used for both 艾 and 艾. The two were not distinguished in *Research*.

3.133 *mother*: 丙 <mó>. Plural 丙令 <mó:t>. This was identified by Wang Jingru 1933 from the Xuanyi epitaph: 今英主 关关 穴券 丙公 九和又 本条 杰女 <s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó.n g.en.ún c.ah w.ún>. 穴券 丙 means ‘empress’, cf. *Liaoshi* glossary 耨斡麼 *neu-e mo* ‘earth mother (empress)’ so 丙 should correspond to 麼.

丙 九水 亥火 <mó g.uŋ tz.iú> ‘mother princess 母公主’

本化本 丙 丹力 <c.úr.er mó bo.qo> ‘son of a second mother 次母子’

牛 丙 <ai mó> ‘father and mother’

3.134 *mountain*: 丞 2.006. 丞 looks very similar to 康 2.063, ‘eternal’ It seems to mean ‘mountain’, or perhaps ‘tomb in a mountain’

3.135 *move, to be transferred*: 丙去药 <ei.eu.ji> 徙 *xi* ‘to move, to transfer, to be transferred’; causative: 丙去化本丙 <ei.eu.úr.ge.ei>

3.136 *nabo* 捺鉢 ‘travelling palace 行宫’ 公亦外 <n.ad.bú>.

介亦 公亦外 <heu.úr n.ad.bú> ‘spring *nabo*’

米及 介亦 公亦外 <ordu.u heu.úr n.ad.bú> ‘travelling palace (*ordo*), spring *nabo*’

公亦生亦 <n.ad.bu.ad> (plural?)

今英主 关关 穴券 丙 去米及 列比和 公亦生亦 中丙刃与

<s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó eu.ká.ún hu.ho:en n.ad.bu.i l.iu.rén.én>

‘The empress Xuanyi 宣懿, the earth mother, died in the crow (列比 <hu.ho> *nabo* ’. (Xuanyi 5)

3.137 *name*: 关化 <i.ri>; plural 关化令 <i.ri.se>. This term is also used for ‘official title’

3.138 *niangzi* 娘子: ‘term of respect for a woman of high status’:

尔火 <aú.ui>

尔火 戈文秀伏 器 戈关雨 丹力关 丹力 又 令丙刃 屏 无 艾 宅 歪 天矢 相当

<aú.ui s.ie.ên.in tai s.i:in bo.qo.i bo.qo GREAT t.iu.rén SEVEN, FIVE MONTH TEN EIGHT DAY:de BORN:én>

‘Her highness was the grandchild of *Shanning *taishi*. She was born on the 18th day of the 5th month of the seventh year of the Dakang 大康 reign period’ (Gu 6-7). Note the feminine ending 与 <én>.

3.139 *night*: 令香 <s.uni> Cf. MMo. **süni*, in Mo. *söni*.

令香和 非朱 <s.uni:en po:do> ‘during the night’

令香 天[关] <s.uni DAY:i> ‘night and day’

口 令香 <qi s.uni> ‘that night’

圣 天相 命春 旁奕中 <TWO DAY.en s.uni tu.úr.bun>
‘he died during the night of the second [next] day’

3.140 *nine*: 黍 <is>. Cf. Mo. *yisü* ~ *yisün* ‘nine’ 黍茶 <is.er> ‘ninth’

又公 住及沙相 黍 无矢 及炎北 无及 今 今及 无及 令金中茶百

<ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau.de o.dz.ii, ś.o pu fu.u ś.o t.em.le.ge.ei> (Gu 10-11)

‘On the occasion of the present emperor’s accession to the throne, having been given the title of *shuailfu fushuai* 率府副率...’ The term 黍 无矢 ‘nine five’ is from Ch. 九五 refers to the emperor’s accession to the throne. There is some doubt in the literature about the Kitan word for ‘nine’ but note the Chinese transcription of the Kitan clan name 黍九火 <is.g.i> 乙室己; **yishigi* K. **išigi*, which strongly suggests **is* (or **iš*) for 黍.

3.141 *north*: 一 <ABOVE, NORTH>. The reading of 一 is unknown. Several investigators have suggested readings based on Mongol, such as *umar-a*, *xoina*, *xoi*, or *aru* ‘back, rear’, but there is no evidence for such readings.

一 及化 <NORTH u.úr> ‘northern administration 北院’

一 小 及化 ‘northern [and] southern administrations 北南院’

一 及化 承旨 亥 <NORTH u.úr ci.ŋ dzi> ‘the recipient of edicts 承旨 of the northern administration’

一 登 令方 圣 九奕 <UPPER.d te.gě TWO g.úr> ‘upper and lower (or: north and south): the two states (Liao and Song)’

一 十 翦 无北 <NORTH WEST jau tau ss>

‘bandit suppression commission of the north west’ 招討司’. Note 一 十 is the reverse order of Ch. 西北 ‘west north’

一 十 伏令化关 <NORTH WEST n.ô.úr.i> ‘north west route 路’

一 及化 走 伴公 止及全 今太 志尔 关化 令金中茶中又

<NORTH u.ur tzi ü.n p.o.or s.úŋ oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún>

‘He was made director 知院 of the northern division [administration] and granted the title of prince of Song’

3.142 *now, present*: 又公 <ún.n>, also 又芬 <ún.e>

又公 住及药 <ún.n mu.u.ji> ‘the present sacred person [emperor] 今聖’

3.143 *official*: 出及 几 <p.u ku> ‘official 臣’ Cf. Ju. 佻 *buwe* ‘official 臣’ (Ki. 276). 幽 <pú> might be an allograph, or a variant.

3.144 *official*: 穴 <nai> (332) ‘head’; plural 穴登 <nai:d>; genitive 穴和 <nai:en>

中关 来去和 穴登茶 <l.i ceu:en nai:d:er>

‘The officials 官 of Lizhou 醴州’ (Langjun 3)

3.145 *older brother*: 才 <ia>

才 尙 <ia deu> ‘brothers’

才 尙女 <ia deu:un> ‘of the brothers’

才 丰 <ia ai> ‘father’s elder brother’; cf. 尙 丰 <deu ai> ‘father’s younger brother’

Toyoda read 才 as a phonetic graph [ia]. However, he also suggests that it is also a logograph, read **aqā*. This view has been accepted by some scholars, on the basis of Mo. *axa* and similar forms, but there is little evidence for it.

3.146 *one*: 乇 (026) <ONE> Reading unknown. 乇 is the dotted form. Chinggeltei suggests the reading **mas* from the ordinal form 又冬余 <m.as.qu> (and variants) ‘first’ This word however is likely to mean ‘eldest [in a family]’ rather than an ordinal, and perhaps related to 又及 <m.o> ‘large, great, 大 *da*. In the emended sections of the Dazong inscription, 佉金今九 <mu.em.se.gi> was rewritten as 乇今九 <ONE.se.gi>, suggesting that 乇 was pronounced the same as 佉金 <mu.em> or perhaps **mem*.

3.147 *order of years*: 今半符 <se.le.bo> ‘order of years in the hexagenary cycle 歲次’ 今半符 <se.le.bo> means ‘to follow’

3.148 *ordo* ‘administrative unit’: 米 <ordu>.

Liu Fengzhu 1984 noticed that in the Yelü Dilie inscription, the word for the Da’an 大安 reign period, generally written 今分升及肉 <ú.dû.u.o.ón>, was written 米升及肉 <ordu.ó.o.ón>, and that the Chongxi 重熙 period, generally written 今分半立为本 <ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar>, was written 米半立本 <ordu.le.ha.ar>. So he concluded 米 = 今分 <ú.dû>.

3.149 *ox*: 查 2.059. Possibly <uni>. It corresponds to the second of the twelve branches, 丑 *chou*. It is part of the Kitan word for ‘night’ 今查 <s.uni> *q.v.* Cf. Mo. *üniye* ‘cow’, which might be the basic meaning of 查, rather than ‘ox’ Cf. 查余女 雨兔 兆 <uni.gú.un ca.aŋ sh> ‘ox herd *changshi*’. In the *Liaoshi* biography of Xiao Dilie there is a reference to his first position as an ‘ox herd official 牛群敞史’ 敞史 *changshi* is a ‘minor official in northern and southern administrations’

3.150 *past, in the past*: 采本 <c.ar> cf. Ma. *cala* ‘previously, before’

采本 乃今 另为天 火 去伏 半立 戈为天 引坐关 又出又 今住关 仍兔和 丑考 中用矢
 义火采 <c.ar am.se REGION.a.án ui eu.iń, l.ián ś.a.án ja.cén.i m.án.ún se.mu.i>
 ‘Some time ago, because there were no matters [requiring his attention] in his region, he went hunting at the south side of Liang mountain’.

3.151 *peace, peaceful*: 冬本 <as.ar>

天冬本 <HEAVEN as.ar> Qingning 清寧 reign title ‘Clear Tranquility’

地清 冬本 <neu.e as.ar> 地清 *di qing* ‘The earth is clear’ (Xuanyi).

3.152 *people*: 商 <hor>~ 商及 <hor.u>, also 商为 <hor.a>; gen. form 商及女 <hor.u.un> (?)

3.153 *pig*: 豕 <ui> **uil* (?) ‘pig’ Cf. Ju. 亥 **uliyān* Ki. 162 **u[l]gia* 兀甲 Ka. 414. The graph for the cyclical period 亥, corresponding to ‘pig’ 豕 also means ‘matter, affair; to serve 事’ Cf. Jurchen Ki. 398 *weile-be* ‘affair (accusative). Mo. *weile*; the Ma. *weile* ‘matter, affair, deed’; *weilembi* ‘to work, to make, to serve’ 豕 was possibly **uil*~ **uile* or similar.

3.154 *place, local*: 金

金和 穴釜 为安 酋得 圣来 义关 禾只 火 止而 牛又

<em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún> (Langjun 4)

‘After he drank wine with the officials of that place (local officials) he returned happy’. (Langjun). (金 = place)

3.155 *preface* 序: 北牛得伏 <ho.le.bo.ń>. The word means ‘first, beginning’

北牛得伏 来杏北 <ho.le.bo.ń ci.ge.ho>: ‘together with preface 並序’ (a formula at the end of the title of inscriptions).

3.156 *present emperor* 今上: 又公 住及得和 禾 无 <ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau>

‘When the present emperor ascended the throne’. (Gu 10)

The expression 又公 住及得和 禾 无 <ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau> is preceded by four empty spaces.

住及得和 天冬本 主 至 <mu.u.ji HEAVEN as.ar hon di> (Renyi 5)

‘The present sacred one [emperor], the heavenly peace [Qingning] emperor’ Qingning was a reign period of Daozong, who was emperor when the *Eulogy for Renyi* was composed.

又公 住及得和 又雨 今生 今比 今半 今得 凡亦 今只 义关和 关化今 夫比

<ún.n mu.u.ji:en m.in se.bu.s.ii t.ai s.ian g.ün t.û s.i:en i.ri.se rí:ii>

‘The present emperor having awarded him the titles of senior general and director of the office...’ (Yong 16)

3.157 *prime minister*: 引化欠 <ja.ri.qó> Ch.宰相. Cf. Mo. *jerge* ‘rank, title’ (Wang Hongli 1986).

3.158 *prince*: 杰 <oŋ>. 杰 is read <oŋ> rather than **uang*, as it is followed by the genitive suffix 子 <on>, indicating a vowel [o] in the stem. It corresponds

to 王 ‘king’ but when referring to a Liao title it is conventionally translated ‘prince’

3.159 *princess*: 凡太 未火 <g.uŋ c.iú> ~ 凡太 亥火 <g.uŋ dz.iú> 公主.

又雨 丕 丕子 伏芬 丰和 伏考 劣太 火芬 凡太 亥火

<m.in tai oŋ:on ní.e ai:en ní.iau tu.uŋ xe.e g.uŋ tz.iú> (Zong 35)

‘Princess *Tunxe, younger sister of the father of our (?) grand prince’

3.160 *promote*: 止反- <p.o-). Probably the basic meaning is ‘to become’

3.161 *qatun* (wife of a khan): 怗.

𠂔怗𠂔 <dà qatun.d> ‘several queens’ (Xuanyi 12).

𠂔𠂔𠂔 符列𠂔 怗和 亥及化 <qa.ha:an bo.hu.án qatun:en úr.u.ur>

‘The son of the *khan*, the daughter-in-law of the *qatun*’. (Ren 5)

任关 出本符伏 主 丕 介 百存及火关 公亦列和 劣卡关 任及药 火关用 今𠂔𠂔
𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔𠂔 主 至和 怗𠂔 公

<mu.i án.ar.bo.n hoŋ tai heu ei.ra.u.ud.i n.ad.bú:en 201.ká.i mu.u.ji x.i.iŋ s.úŋ
HEAVEN ú.du.le.ha.ar.a hoŋ di:en qatun.ún n>

‘The empress dowager [mother of the emperor]..., *qatun* of the Chongxi emperor, the sacred Xingzong, of the of the *nabo* of the Yelü’. (Renyi 4-5)

3.162 *quote*: 今句 <te.gu> ‘said: 曰’. Introduces a quotation.

3.163 *rabbit, hare*: 无兔力 <tau.lí.a> ‘hare, rabbit, cyclical term 卯. *Liaoshi* 陶里 **taoli* ‘hare’. Cf. MMo. *taulai*, Mo. *taulai*.

3.164 *rat*: 𠂔列 Reading unknown. 𠂔 is 216. 𠂔 is <hu>. Ju. *šinge*, Ma. *singeri*, Mo. *xulu yan-a*. It corresponds to the cyclical sign 子.

3.165 *record*: 𠂔凡 <RECORD.gi>.

公存𠂔 𠂔凡只药 月𠂔 网𠂔𠂔𠂔

<ne.ra:de RECORD.g.ú.ji TEXT.ú COMPOSE.le.ha.ai>

‘He had the text of the tomb inscription composed’. (Ren 68)

𠂔凡𠂔凡 月𠂔 <RECORD.gi.le.gi TEXT.ú> 誌銘 ‘epitaph, tomb inscription’

𠂔凡𠂔 𠂔句 <RECORD.g.én de.gu> ‘the inscription says: 誌曰’

又反 百存及火关 未仔分 令用及伏 𠂔𠂔 凡亦有 无𠂔 令关 尔𠂔和 公存𠂔 𠂔凡𠂔
月𠂔 <m.o ei.ra.u.ud.i ci.lú.dû d.il.uh.in z.iaŋ g.ün:en ś.i t.ad.i aú.ui:en ne.ra:de
RECORD.g.én TEXT.ú>

‘Inscription on the tomb of her ladyship Tadi, of the family of general *Churud *Dirugin of the great Yelü’ (Gu 1)

公存𠂔 𠂔凡𠂔 <ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én> ‘tomb inscription, epitaph’.

‘He treated the people in his jurisdiction well; his relations with his brothers were harmonious and happy’ (Di 14)

3.169 *relatives, blood relations*: 朶关朶 <c.i.is>

朶关朶 厓令 公丰朶与 朶关与 朶及 朶力朶 朶本 公丰朶与朶

<c.i.is KNOW.t n.ai.c.én au.ui.én úr.u bo.qo.iú as.ar n.ai.ún.ha.as>

‘The relations between the family members and the administrators were harmonious, elder ladies, younger ladies by marriage and the children lived in peace and happiness’. (Bo 33)

3.170 *resident at*: 朶力- <s.a- >. Cf. Mo. *sayu-* ‘to sit, be seated, to live, dwell, reside, stay; to be (copula), to become’

3.171 *return*: 朶力- <p.od- >. Suffixed forms are 朶力关 <p.od.i>, 朶力朶 <p.od.l.ún> ‘return’ (PAST).

3.172 *right* (direction word): 朶力朶 bo.ra.ia.an ~ 朶力朶 bo.ra.a.an. Cf. Mo. *barayun* ‘west, right’

朶力朶 朶化 朶力朶朶 朶各朶

<bo.ra.ia.an u.ru s.a.rí.d s.êŋ.un>

‘*xiangwen* of the court attendant of the right division 右院郎君詳穩.’

3.173 *ritual, rite, ceremony*: 朶 <doro>. 朶 218 seems to have two meanings, ‘seal 印’ and ‘ceremony, ritual 禮’ 朶 may have been pronounced [doro].

3.174 *sacred, holy, refers to emperor*: 朶及朶 ~ 朶及朶 <mu.ú.ji>. 聖 ‘sacred’

朶及朶 介 <mu.u.ji heu> ‘sacred empress 聖后’

朶及朶 朶 <mu.u.ji qa> ‘sacred khan 聖汗’

3.175 *sad*: 朶朶 <g.en.ún>. Cf. Mo. *yuniy-* ‘sadness, grief, anguish, sorrow, affliction, despondency, low spirits’; *yuniyla-* ‘to grieve, be afflicted, sad, depressed, worried’ *yuniytai-* ‘sad, sorrowful’

朶朶 朶朶 <g.en.ún g.en.ún.e> ‘sad, sad’

朶朶 朶朶 <g.en.ún TEXT.ú> ‘eulogy 哀銘’

又 朶朶 朶朶 朶朶 <GREAT g.en.ún l.iãŋ.u k.ii.û.ji>

‘This is called ... great sadness 嗚呼哀哉’

3.176 *seal, imperial seal*: 朶 <SEAL>; perhaps [doro]. Ju. 朶 朶 *doro-n* ‘imperial seal’ (Ki.255) 朶; Ma. *doro* ‘rite, ritual’, *doron* ‘a seal, a stamp’

In the large Kitan script, 𠄎 corresponds to both 印 ‘seal’ and 禮 ‘ceremony’
 𠄎 also means ‘ritual, ceremony 禮’
 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 <SEAL p.ai.ss> ‘office of seals and tallies 印牌司’ (Di 2)
 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 <doro p.ai.ss:en s.a.rí:d>
 ‘court attendants of the office of seals and tallies’

3.177 *second (in a series)*: 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 <c.úr.er>~ 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 <dz.úr.er> (masc.) 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 <c.úr.én> (fem.). The stem <c.úr> ‘two’ may be [tʃur]. 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 <c.ur.én ai> ‘second uncle’

3.178 *section*: 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 <xe.se.ge> = 𠄎 𠄎 <xe.se> ‘region, area’ Cf. Mo. *keseg* ‘part, piece, portion, fragment, group, section, division, department’. *Liaoshi* glossary: 奚首 *xishou* ‘the name of a cantonment or tent’ (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:297, n. 209). Perhaps 𠄎 𠄎 <xe.se> = 奚首 *xishou*.

3.179 *servant*: 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 <pú.u ku> (出 297). 𠄎 𠄎 <pú.u> may be derived from 僕 ‘servant’

3.180 *serve, to serve*: 𠄎 𠄎 <o.ju>, found with suffixes: 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 <o.ju.in>; 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 <o.ju.ún> ‘to serve in an official position’ (PAST).

3.181 *seven*: 𠄎 <SEVEN> 141. The reading of 𠄎 is unknown, perhaps **daro* ~ *dalo*. The word ‘seven’ is spelled 𠄎 𠄎 possibly <da.lo>; ‘seventh’ is 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 <da.lo.er>. 𠄎 is an allograph of 𠄎 <da>, so ‘seven’ might begin with [da] rather than [do]. Cf. Ju. *darhon* ‘seventeen’ (Ki. 652); Mo. *doloqan* ‘seven’ 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 <da.lo n.on:en u.ur ai>

‘Seven generations of ancestors’. (Yongning 3)

𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎

<k.em só.or SEVEN[♂] mu.u.ji:en DAY.i ui t.em.ei COMPOSE.le.hu

𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎

SIX u.ur yi.il.in û.n go.er:en ss g.ia n.u COMPOSE.a.ar>

‘The imperial edict was received. This was composed on the records given in the *Daily Agenda of the Seven Sacred Persons*. Composed by Si Jianu of the *Yilin (*yilimian* ‘princess consort’) *yuyue* household of the six divisions’ (Nu 1)

𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎

<da.lo.er s.a.am.in d.i.ŋ g.e s.ián g.uŋ> (Han 7)

‘The seventh was Lord *Samyin 三隱 *Dingge 定哥’

3.182 *seventy*: 𠄎. <SEVENTY> Reading unknown.

去安 口 今化 劣安中 <eu.úr SEVENTY FOUR.ur tu.úr.bun>

‘At the age of seventy four, he died’ (Di 9)

北牛中 丁 无 采 又化 天 去安 口 不 森 矢 丙

<ho.le.bun TWENTY FIVE WHITE^o mo.ri DAY eu.úr SEVENTY xa.iãŋ:de iu>

‘Holbun died on the twenty fifth day, the day of the white horse, at the age of seventy (exactly?)’

3.183 *several, a few*: 𠄎 115. Reading unknown. Mnemonic: <dã> from Ch. 达.

3.184 *šari*: (title): 𠄎 力 夫 <ś.a.rí>. *Liaoshi* glossary: 沙里, 郎君也 ‘*šari* means *langjun* [court attendant]. 夫 should be [rí] rather than [li] as it does not appear in Chinese words.

3.185 *shumiyuan* 樞密院 ‘palace secretariat’: 𠄎 火 又 关 仲 公 <ś.iú m.i ü.n>

𠄎 火 又 关 今 化 <ś.iú m.i fu sh> ‘deputy chancellor 樞密副使’

口 非 矢 𠄎 火 又 刃 力 本

<qí pò:de ś.iú m.rèn a.ai>

‘At that time, being a member of the palace secretariat (military affairs commission) 樞密’

今 伏 𠄎 火 又 刃 力 本

<se.n ś.iú mō.rèn a.ai>

‘Yixin being a member of the palace secretariat (military affairs commission) 樞密...’

If 又 刃 is another way of writing 又 关, 刃 should be read something like *i. If this is an early loan from late Tang Chinese, 刃 could be *it or *ir.

3.186 *siblings, brother(s) and sister(s), brothers and sisters*: 伏 考 <ń.iau>, plural 伏 考 伏 茶 <ń.iau.ń.er> ~ 伏 考 伏 又 <ń.iau.ń.ún>.

伏 考 伏 又 毛 今 危 为 今 采 伏 丹 存 又 𠄎 当 北 今 又 为 关 丹 力 搦 圣 北 矢 及 平 泰 万 去 安 又 采 矢 今 茶 当

<ń.iau.ń.ún FOUR t.aŋ.a pu.is.iń bo.ra.ún ś.úŋ.ho pu m.a:an bo.qo qudug tai.sh:de u.ul.ge:ei; eu.úr SIXTY NINE:de te.ge:én>

‘There were four younger children. Madame *Tang’a was married to Qudug, grand preceptor, the son of the imperial son-in-law 駙馬 *Barin *Šunhe’ She died at the age of sixty nine’

毛 伏 考 伏 茶 包 叔 火 毛 又 公 夫

<FOUR ń.iau.ń.er THREE^o k.iú 1 m.ó.qú> (Gu 17)

‘There were four children, three boys and a elder sister (?)’

3.187 *sick, ill, contract disease*: 今 金 <s.em>.

今 金 北 <s.em.ii> ‘being ill’; 今 金 北 茶 <s.em.ii.er> ‘became ill’

3.188 *side*: 升尘关 <ja.cên.i> 陽 *yang* ‘south of a hill’ Cf. Mo. *ǰaqa* ‘border, frontier, side, outskirts’ <ja.cên.i>. Ming Ju. *ječi*, Ma. *jecen*. NB: 尘 <cen> is a mnemonic from Ch. 尘 *chen*; there is no evidence that it represents [čen]. In some transcriptions of Langjun, 升尘关 <ja.cên.i> is written 升当关 <ja.ún.i>.

3.189 *silver*: 又金 <m.em>. Cf. Mo. *mönggü*, Ma. *menggun*

3.190 *sister, elder*: 央 <au>.

3.191 *six*: 六 <SIX>. Reading unknown. 次 (masc.) Cf. Ju. **nilhun* ‘sixteen’ (Ki. 651) Ma. *niolhon* ‘the sixteenth day of the first month’, Mo. *ǰir yu ya/n* ‘six’ 六 might be read [nil] or [jir], but there is no independent evidence for this.

六次 <SIX:er> ‘sixth; ordinal form of six’

六 及化 <SIX u.úr> ‘the six divisions 六院’

六 及化 圣杰 <SIX u.úr tai oŋ> ‘grand prince of the six divisions’ 六院大王’

尔次 关化 令亦关 六 及化 小 列本关 圣田伏

<aú.ui i.ri t.ad.i SIX u.úr SOUTHERN [TRIBE] (小) hu.ar.i yi.il.iń>

尺公 曲茶和 万车及火 令本出 圣 杰尔 令亦及雨 得力

<eu.n go.er:en ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.án tai oŋ:on t.ad.o.ón bo.qo>

‘Her highness’ name was *Tadi. She was the fifth child of grand prince Yelü Sarhan of the household of the *yuyue* *Huari, *yilimian* (princess consort?) of the six divisions’

3.192 *six divisions*: 尔次 关化 令亦关 <aú.ui i.ri t.ad.i> ‘Her highness, name *Tadi’ in the above quote (Gu 3) is followed by 六 及化 小. 六 is ‘six’ The *Liaoshi* biographies often start by saying so and so is a member of such and such a 部 ‘group’. Among these the most common is 六院部人 ‘a member of the six groups’ Liu Fengzhu concluded that 六 及化 小 must mean ‘a tribesman of the six divisions’ The six divisions were also known as the southern administration. 小 means ‘south’, but also applies to a tribal group, perhaps ‘the southern tribes’ 及化 <u.ur> means 院 ‘division, administration’ Cf. Hucker 3826: “The *liu yuan* ‘six groups’: one of the categories into which the founding emperor A-pao-chi, divided his tribal followers; its civil affairs were administered by the Office of the Southern Grand Prince (*nan ta-wang yüan* 南大王院, its military affairs by the Office of the Northern Grand Prince *pei ta-wang yüan* 北大王院, both agencies of the Northern Administration (*pei-mien* 北面 through which the dynastic government managed the affairs of the Khitan tribes and allied northern nomads.”

3.193 *sixty*: 又 <SIXTY>. Reading unknown. 又 267 is a mistake for 又 266.

去矣 又 圣矢 中丙刃当 <eu.úr SIXTY TWO:de l.iu.rèn.én>

‘She died at the age of sixty two’ (Renyi 12)

又 毛 住及药 为生伏 <SIXTY FOUR mu.u.ji a.bu.in>

‘The sixty four sacred hexagrams 六十四聖卦’ (Toyoda 1992)

3.194 *small*: 州欠 <zò.qo> Reading of 州 unknown. Aisin Gioro suggests **od*. Chinggeltei suggests **ba*, cf. Mo. *baya* ‘small’ 州 <zò> is a mnemonic from Ch. 州.

九矣有 力出出矣 州欠 艾有 <g.úr:en na.ha.án:er zò.qó TENT:en>

‘The younger branch lineage of the imperial maternal uncles 國舅小翁帳’

The imperial uncle lineage of the Liao had two branches, 大翁帳 *da weng zhang* and 小翁帳 *xiao weng zhang*. 小 *xiao* corresponds to 州欠.

相芬来 得引出 圣 又及 虎口 丑 丑 得 州欠 来芬相芬 又为夫

<BORN.e.ci bo.hu.án TWO m.o tz.[...] giò tai bo zò.qó c.e.en.e s.a.rí>

‘She gave birth to two children. The elder was [...] *taibao* 太保. The younger was *Chene, court attendant’. (Nu 9)

3.195 *snake*: 住北及 <mu.ho.o>. Cf. Ju. *meihe* (Ki. 165), Mo. *moyai*. Ma. *mehei*. The zodiac animal corresponding to the branch 巳. Cf. Mo. *moyai*. Liu Fengzhu 1983 suggested **mehai* on the basis of the Jurchen and Mongol forms. Chinggeltei suggested **mogo*.

3.196 *son*: 得力 <bo.qo>. In the Chinese text of the *Eulogy for Shengzong* there is a reference to Xingzong, his son and successor. In the Kitan version of the *Eulogy for Xingzong* there is a reference Xingzong’s son and successor, Daozong. Liu Fengzhu 1985 noted that the *Eulogy for Daozong* contains a genealogy of Taizong, Shizong, Jingzong, Shengzong and Xingzong, which demonstrated that 得力 <bo.qo> means ‘son’ Cf. 及矣 得力 又雨 今生及北 巫 <u.oi bo.qo m.in se.bu.o.ho qa> ‘mourning son, succeeding khan’ The meaning of 又雨 <m.in> is not known. Suggestions are ‘spirit, spiritual’ or ‘my, our’

矣 得力 <HEAVEN bo.qo> ‘son of heaven 天子’

矣 得力 主至雨 非朱 丙笑考 杰尔 兴化 令金中茶中又

<HEAVEN bo.qo hoŋ di:in po.do ei.y.ên oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún>

‘At the time of Tianzi huangdi 天子皇帝 he was given the title of prince of Yan 燕王’ (Nu 5-6)

3.197 *Song state*: 今太女 九火 <s.uŋ.un g.ui> ~ 今太 九矣 <s.uŋ g.úr>

今太女 九火伏 友雨 九火 矣矣 雨矣

<s.uŋ:un g.ui.ń tz.in g.ui miŋ.an cau.úr>

‘The army of the *meng’an* 猛安 the defender generalissimo 鎮国 of the Song state 宋國’ (Bo 16)

3.198 *south*: 小. Reading unknown. This graph also seems to mean ‘tribe, ethnic group, kinship group’ Wang Hongli 1986 explained 小 及化 <siò u.ur> as ‘southern division 南院’ 小 <siò> is a mnemonic from Ch. 小.

3.199 *south, lower*: 令方~釜方~令文方 <te.gè ~ de.gè>
令方 凡用 <te.gè g.in> ‘southern capital, Yanjing 燕京’

3.200 *spouse*: 公余 <n.ó> ~ 公及 <n.o> ‘spouse’

公及 令用欠伏 天 安圣 公及 令用 凡亦

<n.o t.il.uh.in hua ŋ.êm n.u z.ian g.ün>

‘Her spouse was Dilgun, General Huayannu 華嚴奴’ (Gu 7)

公余兩 包 又 兩凡釜 尔火 ... 及化与 令生百与 尔火 ... 尔才丙 坊伏 凡亦 尔火

<n.ô.in THREE BIG in.gi.d aú.ui c.ur.én te.bu.ei.én aú.ui 063.ia.iù cu.ń g.e aú.ui> (Zhi 14)

‘He had three wives. The most senior was her highness *Ingid... the second was her highness *Tabuye 撻不也 the most junior (?) was her highness *Chunge.

3.201 *spring*: 介奕 <heu.úr> Cf. MMo. *qabur*, Mo. *qabur* Da. *xaur*.

介奕 公外 <heu.úr ne.bú> ‘spring *nabo*’

3.202 *summer*: 马火 <ju.un> Mo. *jun*.

3.203 *supreme capital*: 及化 凡用 <u.ur g.in> ‘*Shangjing* 上京’

3.204 *sweet dew*: On the canopy of the Xu inscription, 久立本 及子列 天 步及 及去卡 尔力出 <ta.ha.ar o.ju.hu DAY 292.u ś.eu.ká on.a.án>. On the side of the canopy of the inscription, there are six Chinese characters: 掩閉日, 甘露降 *yan bi ri, gan lu jiang* ‘on the day it was closed, sweet dew fell’ The reading of 步 is unknown.

3.205 *taizi*: 太子 ‘heir apparent’: 泰 北 <tai ss>

泰 北 及考及 北和 关化 令金牛泰丙

<tai ss ś.iau.u sh:en i.ri t.em.le.ge.ei>

‘Having been awarded the titles of *taizi* 太子 heir apparent and *shaoshi* 少師 junior preceptor... (Linggong 11)

3.206 *tejin* 特進 ‘title: specially advanced’ 叁万 伞雨 <d.ei z.in>.

叁金万叁 包 半矢 方叁 叁万 伞雨 叁金中叁比

<d.em.ei.er THREE ai:de al.194 d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii,

雨危 戈火 万土及 来安 巫哭 九火 九太 止及子中

ca.aŋ s.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ qa.an g.ui g.uj p.u.ju.bun>

‘In the third year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period, he was ‘specially advanced 特進’, awarded the title of *shangshu youcheng* 尚書右丞 and promoted to the position of duke of the state of Han 韓國公’ (Zhonggong 21)

3.207 *ten thousand*: 彗 <TEN THOUSAND> 2.187. See also 卅 2.312. Perhaps <tùmu>. 彗 appears in the present corpus 13 times, but never following another numeral. There is also evidence that 卅 312 means ‘ten thousand’ Toyoda 1992 gives the following examples:

彗彗 火 <TEN THOUSAND ui> ‘ten thousand matters 萬事’

彗 九安和 <TEN THOUSAND g.úr:en> ‘ten thousand states 萬國’

美 介彗 彗 公乃安 <THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.ur>

‘A thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋’ (Toyoda 1998)

彗 九安今 重今 巫 <TEN THOUSAND g.úr:se hur.ú qa>

‘The khan controlling ten thousand states’

卅彗 令基力 <tùmu.úr t.úŋ.a>, a name in the Kitan version of Renxian, seems to correspond to 圖木里同刮 **tumur tunggua*, a name in the Chinese version of Renxian. (Ji Shi 1996).

圣卅 <TWO 312> ‘twenty thousand’ (Renxian 49)

宅卅 只药和 <TEN TEN-THOUSAND û.ji:en> (Renxian 11)

‘provided a hundred thousand’ This refers to the Song increasing the amount of silver and silk to a hundred thousand taels to compensate for the land taxes of the ten counties of Chinese territory taken by the Liao. 只药和 <û.ji:en> may mean ‘provided’, derived from 只 <û-> ‘to give’ 彗 and 卅 might be allographs.

3.208 *tent* 帳 (tribal unit): 𠂔 (380) also written 𠂔. 𠂔 means ‘month’, but on many occasions clearly refers to a tribal unit, ‘tent’ *Research* did not distinguish 𠂔 from 𠂔, and many modern transcriptions of Kitan inscriptions do not distinguish them either. Ji Shi pointed out that 𠂔 and 𠂔 were quite different graphs. 𠂔 occurs in the sense of ‘tent’ in 州欠 𠂔和 <jǒ qó 𠂔 en> ‘of the tent of the younger uncles’ 九安和 力重出茶 <g.úr:en na.ha.án.er> is ‘maternal uncles 國舅’; 九安和 力重出茶 州欠 𠂔和 <g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zò.qó TENT:en> is ‘of the tent of the younger maternal uncles of the state’.

3.209 *tent of the junior maternal uncles* 小翁帳: 力立出茶 州欠 艾 <na.ha.án.er zò.qó TENT> is quite common. In Xu 3 this line there are several spaces before 凡奕和 力立出茶 州欠 艾 和 赏雨 伞用 <g.úr:en na.ha.án:er zò.qo TENT.en ŋ.in s.in>, followed by a suffix of unknown meaning. This should be the status and title of the composer of the inscription. 赏雨 伞用 <ŋ.in s.in> corresponds to 銀青 *yinqing*, part of the title of the composer *wengzhang yinqing* 翁帳銀青 on the right side of the Xu inscription. So 州欠 艾 和 should mean 翁帳 *weng zhang* ‘of the tent of the junior maternal uncles’. According to the *Chapter on Officials* in the *Liaoshi*, there were two categories of 翁帳 *wengzhang*: the 大翁帳 *da wengzhang* and the 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang*. 力立出茶 州欠 艾 和 <na.ha.án.er SMALL.qó TENT:en> can be translated 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang*. The reading of 艾 is unknown.

3.210 *that*: 口 <qi> ~ 口列 <qi.hu>

口 非 <qi po> ‘that time’ (Langjun)

口 非 口 艾 口 天 口 非 朱 <qi po qi MONTH qi DAY qi po:do> (Zhonggong)
‘That year, that month, that day, that time...’

口 伞查 <qi s.uni> ‘that night’

口 丰 戈 土 丕 火 伞 太 杰 丕 关 化 伞 金 伞 查 百 凡 太 和 和 圣 就 凡 茶 夫 中 艾
<qi ai s.eu tai ui s.unj on: on i.ri t.em.le.ge.ei g.un c.en TWO us.gi:id rí.l.ún>

‘That year, having been awarded the titles of *shou taiwei* 守太尉 and prince of Song 宋王, he was promoted to the rank of meritorious official with two characters in his title’

口 列 丰 符 冬 列 圣 用 伞 为 方 子 太 艾 火 伞 用 反 北

<qi.hu ai b.as hu.jur.il.ha.a.al ju.unj s.iú l.inj o.ho>

‘That year he was then appointed secretariat director (中書令).

口 also appears in 口 北 伏 <qi.ii.ń> Xi 奚, the name of a tribe or an ethnic group related to the Kitans.

3.211 *third*: 伞茶 ~ 列化茶 <hu.úr.er> (masc.); 列化与 <hu.ur.én> (fem). 列化茶 and 列化与 are also written 伞茶 ~ 伞与, indicating the word for ‘three’ (written 包) was possibly **yur*. Cf. Mo. *yurban* ‘three’

3.212 *thirty*: 𠂇 <THIRTY>. Reading unknown.

穴 艾 宅 毛 天 矢 去 奕 𠂇 无 矢 ... 劣 奕 符 伏

<nai MONTH TEN ONE DAY:de eu.úr THIRTY FIVE:de tu.úr.bo.ń>

‘On the eleventh day of the first month, at thirty five years of age she died’. (Gu 13)

又 及 ... 去 奕 𠂇 矢 为 丰 劣 奕 中 <m.o eu.úr THIRTY:de a.ai, tu.úr.bun>

‘The eldest... being thirty years of age, died’. (Han Dilie 6)

3.213 *thousand*: 𠬞 <THOUSAND> (207). Perhaps <miŋ>. Cf. Mo. *mingya* ~ *mingyan*, Ju. *mingan* ‘thousand’ (Ki 664).

𠬞 介安 及 公乃安 <miŋ heu.úr tumùn n.am.úr> (Xuan 30)

‘1000 springs, 10000 autumns 千春萬秋’

𠬞安 <miŋ.án>: *meng’an* 孟安 (title)

止力本 止兩 𠬞 𠬞 <p.a.ar p.in TWO THOUSAND> (食邑二千)

止力本 止兩 无 𠬞 <p.a.ar p.in FIVE THOUSAND> (食邑五千)

‘fiefdom of five thousand households’ 食邑 means ‘to feed off a fief: a general reference to land-grant nobles, who had broad political, military and fiscal control over tracts awarded to them’. (Hucker 5258).

3.214 *three*: 𠬞 <THREE> (166). Possibly **yur*, cf. Mo. *yurban* ‘three’ or **gor*, cf. Ju. *gorhon* ‘thirteen’

𠬞 𠬞 𠬞 <THREE ai:d> ‘three males’ 𠬞 is the masculine form of 𠬞.

3.215 *throne*: 𠬞及𠬞 <hu.o.gò> appears in 𠬞 及 𠬞及𠬞 <ETERNAL u hu.o.gò> in Daozong 6, which corresponds to 永福座 *Yongfuzuo* ‘Throne of Eternal Happiness’ in the Chinese epitaph. 𠬞 is ‘eternal’ 𠬞及𠬞 <hu.o.gò> must correspond to 座 ‘throne’ or similar.

3.216 *tiger*: 𠬞立𠬞 <qa.ha.as>. Corresponds to 寅 in the heavenly branches. A common Chinese word for the tiger is the ‘king of the beasts 獸王’ so <qa.ha> might be ‘king, khan’, and <as> ‘animal, beast’ 𠬞立𠬞 <qa.ha.as> is sometimes compared to Daur *gerees* ‘animal’ In the *Yanbeilu* 燕北錄 we read 番兵以萋珍思為號, 漢語熊虎二字也 “the barbarian soldiers use the term 萋珍思 *louzhensi* as their name; in Chinese this means 熊虎 bear and tiger”. In another edition of the *Yanbeilu*, we read “the barbarian soldiers use the term 蕃珂忍 *fankeren* as their name, in Chinese this means 龍虎 “dragon and tiger” Most researchers agree that “bear and tiger” should read “dragon and tiger” Chinggeltei 1991 suggests the characters 萋珍思 should be 萋珂思, so Kitan **lu xayas*. From other examples we know ‘dragon’ was 𠬞 <lu>.

3.217 *time*: 𠬞 <TIME> 2.279. Probably <po>. 𠬞 often appears with the locative suffix 𠬞 <do>, i.e. 𠬞𠬞 ‘at the time’ Cf Ju. 玫爰𠬞 **fu-on-do* (Jin *Dict.* p. 76), presumably reflecting Jin Ju. **po’on-do*. The correspondence between Kitan 𠬞 **po* and Jin Ju. 玫爰 **po-on* is indubitable. Ju. **po’on* may just be a transcription convention, but it is possible that here we have a case of a Jurchen nominal suffix (-*an*, -*in*, -*on*) attached to a Kitan word. The Kitan large script graph for ‘time’ is 𠬞, clearly similar to Ju. 玫. The *Liaoshi* glossary lists the word for ‘time’ as 𠬞, and notes that 𠬞 is pronounced like 頗 *po*. The *Qidanguo zhi* gives more detail: 瞎里𠬞, 漢人譯云 ‘瞎里’是

‘請’, 𠔁是‘時’: the Chinese translate *hiali po* like this: *hiali* means ‘to invite’, *po* is ‘time’. *Research* suggested the reading [po].

3.218 *title; to grant a title*: 𠔁金 <d.em> ~ 𠔁金 <t.em>. Chinese 封 ‘to enfeoff’ The word may be related to Mo. *temdeg* ‘mark, sign, signal’. It often appears with the causative/passive suffixes: 𠔁金𠔁𠔁𠔁 <d.em.le.ge.én>, with 𠔁𠔁 <le.ge> indicating the causative/passive and 𠔁 <én> the past tense.

丁 包 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁
<TWENTY THREE ai:de û.úr.le.ge.ń g.ie.êm sh ju.uŋ ŋ.u oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún>

‘In the twenty third year... He was granted the title of *jianshizhong* 檢侍中 and Prince of Wu 吳王’ (Ren 22)

3.219 *together with*: 𠔁𠔁 <deu.úr> (同)

𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 <em.en nai.d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci> (Langjun 4)

‘After he drank wine with the local officials...’

小 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 <siò u.ur deu.úr KNOW.u.ji:de o.or>

‘He became the associate administrator 同知 of the southern division’

𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 <ś.iú m.i ü.n deu.úr KNOW.u.ji:de o.ii>

‘Having been appointed to the position of associate administrator 同知 in the bureau of military affairs ’ (Di 20)

𠔁 <KNOW> corresponds to 知 ‘to be in charge of, to manage’ in official titles.

3.220 *tomb*: 公𠔁 <ne.ra>

𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 公𠔁 𠔁𠔁 <ku.uŋ.iń tai bo:en ne.ra p.u>

‘This is the tomb of Kongning *taibao* 孔寧太保’

𠔁𠔁 公 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁

<te.ge.n g.oŋ l.iŋ g.ün oŋ:on ne.ra:de g:en RECORD.g.én TEXT.ú>

‘Epitaph on the tomb of the late prince of Guangling prefecture’

3.221 *transfer to*: 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 <x.ui.ri.ge.ei> ‘having been transferred, having been moved to’ (徙). In the *Eulogy of Daozong*, 徙殯於仙游殿之西階 *xi bin yu Xianyoudian zhi xi jie* ‘it was transferred for burial to the steps at the west of the Xianyoudian’, 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 <x.ui.ri.ge.ei> corresponds to 徙 *xi* ‘to transfer, to move’ The stem of 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 <x.ui.ri.ge.ei> is 𠔁𠔁 <x.ui> ‘come’ 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 <x.ui.ri.ge.ei> is a causative form with the converb suffix 𠔁 <ei>. The word following 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 <x.ui.ri.ge.ei>, 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 <ké.d.ha.ai>, corresponds to 殯 *bin* ‘to put into a coffin; to bury’ This word also occurs in Renyi 13 where it corresponds to 殯 *bin* in the Chinese inscription. 𠔁 means ‘bury’. Its reading is unknown. 𠔁 <ké> is a mnemonic from 𠔁.

3.222 *travel*: 𠔁𠔁 𠔁𠔁 <se.m.én>

令天当 米令 <se.m.én ordu.ú> ‘travelling palace 行宮’

令住当 及米及凡 <se.mu.én o.ordu.u.dú> (LOC) (Daozong 5)

入天用 令当 又有 住及弱 及及 米天米登中 仍及 笑 令分中並力本 主 王

<x.i.in s.ún m.en mu.u.ji m.o c.i.is.d.bun tá.u HEAVEN ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar hon di

又夫和 公亦生亦 小 十 令住当 米及凡 令为长 中丙刃芬

mo.rí:en n.ad.bu.ad.i siò shí se.mu.én ordo.u.dú s.a.ká l.iu.rén.er>

‘The sacred great filial eternal Chongxi emperor Xingzong, when he was residing in the travelling *ordo* to the south west of the *nabo* of the *miri*, passed away’ 又夫和 公亦生亦 <mo.rí:en n.ad.bu.ad> might mean ‘horse nabo’

3.223 *tribe, clan* 部: 伏里夷 <ní.oh.úr> ~ 伏丹夷 <ní.ó.úr> ~ 伏余夷 <ní.ô.úr> ~ 公到夷 <n.iû.úr> ~ 公丹夷 <n.ó.úr> ~ 伏丹夷 <ní.ó.úr> ~ 伏余夷 <ní.ô.úr>.

3.224 *twenty*: 丁 <TWENTY> (002). Reading not known.

去夷 丁 圣矢 口 令金比芬 丙 <eu.úr TWENTY TWO:de qi s.em.ii.er iu>

‘At the age of twenty two, she became ill and died’. (Yong 35)

丁 包 半矢 只夷中套伏 凡文圣 凡 与木 赏及 杰示 关化 令金中套中又

<TWENTY THREE ai:de û.úr.le.ge.ń g.ie.êm sh ju.uŋ ŋ.u on:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún>

‘In the twenty third year [he was] granted the title of *jianshizhong* 檢侍中 and prince of Wu 吳王’. (Renxian 22)

3.225 *two*: 圣 <TWO> 2.134. The stem of the word for ‘second’ in the inscriptions is 来化 <c.ur>, so perhaps is 圣 <cur>; Chinggeltei suggests *jur*. MMo. *ĵir* ~ *ĵur* ‘two’; Ju. *ĵu* ~ *ĵue*; Ma. *juwe* ‘two’; *juru* ‘a pair’

圣 住及弱登 <TWO mu.u.ji:d> ‘two emperors’;

圣 盛並亦 <TWO^o qa.ha:ad> ‘two khans’

3.226 *uncle (maternal)*: 力並 <naha> ‘uncle’, cf. Mo. *nayaču* ‘maternal uncle; relatives on mother’s side’

3.227 *uncle (elder brother of father)*: 才 半 <ia ai>.

才 半 又比只 令並 凡亦 <ia ai m.ii.û s.ián g.ün>

‘His paternal uncle was general *Miiu’. (Xu 46)

才 半 天用 令当 主 王 <ia ai s.in s.ún hon di>

‘His uncle, emperor Xingzong’.

令万 令半 主王和 才 半 得勿 <t.ei z.û hon di:en ia ai bo.qo> ‘son of the uncle of Emperor Dezu’ (Gu 5)

2.228 *uncle (younger brother of father)*: 而 半 <deu ai>.

It is not clear if 十 means ‘west’ or ‘south’ The directions may have been expressed in terms of forward, backward, upper and lower. The terms for the directions in Ju. (*juleši*, *fulisi*, *fanti* and *uliti* Ki. 590-594) are also isolates, and may shed some light on the directions in Kitan. Final *ši* and *ti* may be suffixes.

3.236 *western capital*: 今关 九用 <s.i g.iŋ> < 西京.

3.237 *white*: 采 <WHITE> (004)- dotted form 采 <WHITE[♂]>. The reading is not known. Sometimes forms based on Mo. *cayan* ‘white’ *cayaycin*, Ma. *šanyan* ‘white’, *šahûn* ‘whitish, pale, dull white’ are proposed.

采 去干 <WHITE eu.ul> ‘white cloud’

采 又金 <WHITE[♂] m.em> ‘silver ice 銀冰’

采 今分並力本 宅 采 又 半 圣 艾 宅 天 采 相 采

<HEAVEN ú.dû.ha.a.ar ONE WHITE DRAGON YEAR TWO MONTH TEN DAY.de BORN.er> (Nu 9)

‘He was born on the tenth day of the second month of the year of the white dragon in the Chongxi reign’

3.238 *wife*: 丙几 <mó ku> ‘female person’.

丙 几 九 采 止 采 得 力 死 吞 牛 冠 <mó ku g.ui p.i bo.qo sh.ĩ l.aŋ>

‘His wife was titled state consort, his son vice director’

得 力 采 得 力 止 采 今 並 九 亦 有 丙 几 <bo.qo.i bo.qo p.u s.ián g.ün:en mó ku>

‘His grandchild was the wife of general Pu’

丙 几 牛 采 今 文 今 采 伏 <mó ku l.i s.ie pu.is.iń>

‘His wife was Lady Li Jie’

九 采 杰 尔 又 丙 几 <g.ui oŋ:on GREAT mó ku>

‘The senior wife of the prince’

Another term for wife, or perhaps wives and consorts, may have been 止本 <p.ar> or 丙今 止本 <mó.t p.ar>. Mo. *beri* ‘daughter-in-law, bride’; Ma. *berhu* ‘form of address used by a wife to her husband’s younger sister, or by an elder sister to her younger brother’s wife’

3.239 *wine*: 酋得 <342.bo> 金和 穴 答 志 采 酋 得 圣 采 又 采 采 采 止 采 牛 采

<em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.ad.l.ún> (Langjun 4)

place GEN official PLUR together wine drink PAST happy SUFF return PAST

‘after he drank wine with the local officials he returned happy’

3.240 *winter*: 及干 <u.ul>. Cf. Mo. *ebül*, Da. *uyul*.

口 非 采 今 丙 采 宅 圣 今 考 文 並 並 冬 半 尺 安 又 及 干 宅 天 止 及 丙

〈THAT TIME HEAVEN t.iu.er TEN TWO s.iau.qú qa.ha.as YEAR do.úr.ún u.ul
TEN DAY p.o.ón〉

‘The time was the tenth day of mid winter 仲冬 in the year of the blue tiger
甲寅, the twelfth year of the Tianhui 天會 reign period’ (Langjun)

冬本 丕 丰 及干 曲茶 座立尔 及安中茶万 未兴委和 杰而 又立冬 穴空和 丹列出茶
关化今 今金牛几 今存茶

〈as.ar TWO YEAR u.ul, go.er qa.ha.ad u.úr.le.ge.ei, c.i.is:en oŋ:od mo.ha.as
nai:d:en bo.hu.án:er i.ri:se t.em.le.gi se.ra.d〉 (Nu 7-8)

‘During the winter of the second year of the Qingning 清寧 period, having
gathered at the tent of the khan, the princes of the blood and the children of
the great officials were granted titles ’ The meaning of 今存茶 〈se.ra.d〉 is
unknown.

3.241 *write*: 未茶 〈ci:er〉 (PRET). 未茶 〈ci:er〉 is found at the end of inscriptions
immediately preceding the name of the writer of the inscription (題).

3.242 *writing, character, graph*: 几几 ~ 几几 〈us.gi〉. The proposed reading of
几几 as 〈us.gi〉 is based on Mo. *üsüg* ‘letter of alphabet’

几本 未雨 几几茶 毛 〈g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d FOUR〉

‘four character meritorious official 四字功臣’

几本 未雨 几几茶 灰 〈g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d SIX〉

‘six character meritorious official 六字功臣’

毛 几几和 杰 〈ONE us.gi:en oŋ〉

‘a prince with one character in his title 一字王’

吴兴 未考夫兴 几几 义兴 力 方和本 未考 夫兴 几 网又

〈qid.i c.iau qú.i us.gi x.an na al.a.ar c.iau qú.i qid.i sh COMPOSE.ún〉

‘He could write Kitan and Chinese well, and composed poems in Kitan and
Chinese’ (Zhong 7)

几几 丑字女 火 屋兴 〈us.gi hur.ú:un ui KNOW.i〉

‘person in charge of writing matters = Hanlin academician’ 翰林 ‘Hanlin
[academy] is also transcribed 北力天 中关雨 〈ho.a.an l.i.in〉.

That 几几 〈us.gi〉 means ‘writing, written word’ is known from the
expressions 毛 几几 几本 未雨 四字功臣 *si zi gongchen* ‘meritorious official
with title containing four characters’ and 吴又兴 几兴和 几几 〈qid.ún.i g.úr:en
us.gi〉 ‘the writing of the Kitan state’ The expression ‘four character
meritorious official’ refers to an official honorary title which contains four
characters, such as 守正保義 *shou zheng bao yi* ‘uphold justice protect
righteousness’ A ‘six character meritorious official’ had a title with six
characters, such as 輔忠保義奉国 *fu zhong bao yi feng guo* ‘support loyalty
protect righteousness, supporter of the country’ The expression *yi zi wang*
‘one character prince’ means a title which had only one character, such as 陳

國王 *Chenguo wang* ‘the prince of Chen’, 魏國王 *Weiguo wang* ‘the prince of Wei’ 王 is normally translated ‘king’, but in such titles is an abbreviation for 親王 ‘prince of the blood’ These titles were restricted to people of this status.

The *Eulogy for Daozong* was composed by Yelü Gu. Most of his official titles are transcriptions of Chinese titles, but the term 執九 重令火 火 屋火 <us.gi hur.ú:un ui KNOW.i> was not Chinese. In the *Chapter on Rituals* in the *Liao History*, we learn that Yelü Gu was, amongst other things, 總知翰林院事 *zongzi Hanlinyuan shi* ‘in overall charge of the Hanlin academy’ So Shen Hui concluded 執九 重令火 火 屋火 must be ‘controller of written matters’, that is, ‘Director of the Hanlin Academy’ Also written 執九和 火 重令 <us.gi.en ui hur.ú>.

3.243 *xianggong* 相公 令並 九水 <s.ián g.un> **sianggung* ‘lord’

3.244 *xiangwen* 詳穩: 令各火 <s.êŋ.un> ‘chief of an army, a camp, a small tribe or a group of imperial followers’

一 为 伏令北和 午和 令各火 <NORTHEAST ní.ô.ho:en ũ.en s.êŋ.un>

東北路詳穩 *dongbeilu xiangwen* ‘*Xiangwen* of the north east circuit’

伏令北和 <ní.ô.ho:en> has the stem <ní.ô> ‘tribe’ 令各火 <s.êŋ.un> sometimes corresponds to 將軍 ‘general’ in the inscriptions. The phonetic value of 各 is not known. Several suggestions have been made: *əŋ *kul *aŋu. If we transcribe 各 as <êŋ>, 令各火 would be <s.êŋ.un>. Chinggeltei has suggested 令各火 may not be *xiangwen* at all. In the texts he examined, 令各 <s.êŋ> appears once, 令各凡 <s.êŋ.dú> three times, 令各火 <s.êŋ.un> twenty one times. 令各火 does not appear with any suffixes, as one would expect from a noun.

3.245 *year*: 年 <ai>.

年年 <ai:se> (plural) 年矢 <ai:de> (locative) ‘in that year’

年和 令年得 <ai:en se.le.bo> ‘the order of the year 歲次 (the position of the year in the hexagenary cycle)’

3.246 *years of age*: 岁安 <eu.úr> ‘years of age’

岁安 口 令化 岁安中 <eu.úr SEVENTY FOUR.ur tu.úr.bun>

‘He died at the age of seventy four’

3.247 *yellow*: 山, 山. Reading unknown, but perhaps **nügü* ~ *nigu*. See 4.60.

3.248 *yilijin* 夷離堇 *tribal chief*: 儿九和 <ri.g.en> *yilijin*.

天 主至雨 生 年 得儿伏 □□□ 儿九和 夫火 年 令年並亦伏 令用久

<HEAVEN hoŋ.di:in bu ai bo.gi.ń □□□ ri.g.en rí.i ai se.ra.ha.ad.iń t.il.uh>

‘The grandfather of Heaven Emperor 天皇帝 was the tribal chief *yilijin* 夷離董 *Bogin (Abaoji < Abugin?). His ancestor (?) father was *Serahadiñ *Diluh 迪魯古’ It is possible that 毋九伏 <bo.gi.ń> may be a form of the name Abaoji < *Abugi, the founder of the Liao state. 今本主亦伏, *Serahadiñ, the father of Abaoji, was transcribed in Chinese as Salading 撒刺汀.

3.249 *yilimian* 乙林免, ~ 迤邐免 *or* 夷離畢 *yilibi* ‘tribal title’ 圣用伏 <yi.l.iń> = *yilimian* (Ji Shi 1988, Chinggeltei 1992). This is a common word in the inscriptions, and presumably a title. According to Liu Fengzhu, it is an honorary title granted to the wife of an imperial clan member when he is promoted to the position of prince (*wang*).

3.250 *young*: 今夫 <YOUNG.qú> ‘young’

今夫 <YOUNG.qú> is often combined with 古化 <eu.úr> ‘time, age, period’, and is sometimes contrasted with 又今夫 <m.ó.qú> ‘old, elder, eldest’ when listing elder and younger siblings.

今夫 古化 矣 <YOUNG.qú eu.úr.de> ‘at a young age’

今夫 今金百当 曲令 百文 <YOUNG.qú te.me.ei.én go.t ei.ie>

‘The youngest, Temian 特免, is still with her family (i.e. not yet married)’

3.251 *younger brother*: 尙 <deu>. younger brother. Haneda 1925 noticed that 尙 is similar to Jurchen, Ki. 287 **degun*, cf. Ka. 665 **deu*.

巫主矣 尙 <qa.ha:an deu> (Langjun) ‘younger brother of the khan’

尙伏又 否 又冬余 久半 戈兴 公及 州欠 今太 九秀 友雨 九火 今委伏相 巫由半主半 <deu.ń.ún TWO^o m.as.qu ta.ai ś.i n.u SMALL.qó pu.uŋ g.e tz.in g.ui pu.is.iń:en qa.yò.le.ha.ai>

‘There were two younger brothers. The elder was Taishinu. The younger the lady of the state of Feng and the state of Zhen 豊国鎮国夫人...’

尙伏矣 戈兴 戈相 公及 否 死 □□□□ 否 死

<deu.iń.er ś.i ś.en n.u tai sh ... tai sh> (Yong 21)

‘the younger brothers, *Shishennu *taishi* and ... *taishi*’

3.252 *younger maternal uncles*:

丙 毋力 毛 今卡义当 尔火 州欠 力主艾 = [出] 矣生余

<mó bo.qo ONE pu.ká.x.én aú.ui SMALL.qó na.ha.án dzi.bu.qu

戈有夫矣 尺平茶丙 古矣 宅 至矣 亦本 丙

ś.a.rí.de û.ul.ge.ei eu.úr TEN EIGHT c.ar iu>

‘There was one daughter... She married *Jibuqu, court attendant, of the younger maternal uncles 小舅帳. She died some time ago at the age of eighteen’ 亦本 <c.ar> ‘some time ago’ is in Langjun.

3.353 *yuyue* 于越 ‘tribal title’: 𠵽𠵽 <û.e>. A title used by the Uighurs and possibly derived from Tu. *ögüt* ‘counsel’ (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:432).

3.354 *zhaotao* 招討 ‘bandit suppression commissioner’: 𠵽𠵽 <jau tau>
 𠵽𠵽 𠵽𠵽 𠵽𠵽 𠵽𠵽 <jau tau l.in g.un> (招討令公)
 𠵽𠵽 𠵽𠵽 𠵽𠵽 <jau.tau.ss> ‘bureau of the bandit suppression commissioner 招討
 司’

MORPHOLOGY

When Kitan children first learn to read, they first invert the order of the words in accordance with their spoken language, and sometimes they need three words to express one. When I was serving as Ambassador to the Jin State, my companion was the Vice Commissioner and Vice Director Wang Pu. Every time he gave me an example of Kitan it made me laugh. For example, when they read 鳥宿池中樹, 僧敲月下門 *niao su chi zhong shu, seng qiao yue xia men* ‘a bird rests on a tree in the middle of a pond, a monk beats the door under the moon’, they say 月明裏和尚門子打, 水底裏樹上老鴉坐 *yue ming li heshang menzi da, shuidi li shushang laoya zuo* ‘moon bright in monk door hits, water bottom in tree on crow sits’, something like that. Wang Pu was a Kitan from Jinzhou. - Hong Mai (1123-1202), *Yijianzhi*. Quoted in Wittfogel and Fêng *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125)*, p. 244. ¹

The quotation from Hong Mai indicates that Kitan had postpositions, or perhaps case endings, and that the verb was at the end of the sentence. In this section, we shall look at the evidence for nominal and verbal morphology in the Kitan texts.

4.1 Accusative-instrumental in 𠬞 <er>

𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 <l.i c.eu:en nai.d.er bo.án.hu.ai>

[Lizhou GEN official PLUR ACC order PART]

‘He ordered the officials of Lizhou 醴州 prefecture’

𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 <RITUAL:er t.ar o.ju.ha.a:ai>

‘[The tomb] having been closed by means of a ritual...’

𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 <û:n i.ri RITUAL:er t.em.le.ge:er>

‘The title of *yuyue* 于越 was invested by means of a ritual’

𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞𠬞

<GREAT ho.mú:er o.ju.ha.ai na.as.ha.ai CEREMONY k.ii.û.ji>

¹ Chinggeltai 1997a gives a word for word transcription into Mongol: *Saran-du xooš ang egüde toy sixu-du nayur taxi modun-du xeriy-e say umui*. ‘While the moon is shining, a Buddhist monk beats a door, and a raven sat on the tree in the bottom of the water’ Jagchid 1979:206-277 gives another Mongol version: *Saran gegegen dur khuwuragh egiiden-i toghshiju; usun-u modun degere keriy-e saghumui*. Many of the examples of Kitan morphology in this chapter are from Aisin Gioro 2004a.

‘Having closed the great catalpa coffin, they were caused to rest in peace; this is called the [appropriate] ceremony’ (or: ‘this was in accordance with the [prescribed] ceremonies’)

來化茶 得力 尙得伏 又去 今半 止去 至 處並亦茶 刃中茶茶

⟨c.ur.er bo.qo, hor.bo.ń x.eu, s.ai p.oŋ TWO: qa.ha.ad.er rěn.le.ge.er⟩

‘The second son, *Horbun Heu = Heluben Hou 曷魯本吼, investigation commissioner 採訪, served two khans’

戈火化 今勺 又及 笑 公金空和 去平茶百 斗本 止及 今丙刃茶 本升中

⟨ś.iú:dú te.gu: m.o HEAVEN n.em.d:en eu.ul.e.ei, ia.lí p.u t.iu.rěn:er ar.ó.le⟩

‘In the Book [of Documents] it says: “Great Heaven has no favourites 親族; it assists only the virtuous”’

來考 夫火 关化 今太 孰凡茶 岡中並半 志 生 半 今力乃伏 今得 凡太女 曲茶
面中茶茶 ⟨c.iau qú.ui i.ri s.uŋ us.gi.er COMPOSE.ha.ai, deu bu ai sa.a.am.iń
s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un go.er xi.le.ge.er⟩

‘A Chinese name having been composed and written in the Song writing, the maternal grand uncle Lord *Samin inherited the lineage’

4.2 The genitive in 矣 ⟨an⟩

處並矣 又化矣 曲茶 ⟨qa.ha:an xe.dú.ún go.er⟩

‘the house (lineage) of the horizontal tents 橫帳 of the khan’

曲公 爾矣 关化 ⟨go.n ca:an i.ri⟩

‘the title of surveillance commissioner 觀察’

又來 尙力矣 矣 ⟨xe.ci hor.a:an ui⟩

‘the affairs of the people of the city’

余 又力矣 得力 ⟨pu m.a:an bo.qo⟩

‘the son of the emperor’s son-in-law 駙馬’

中圣力矣 得力

⟨l.êm.a:an bo.qo⟩

‘the son of the *linya* 林牙’

4.3 The genitive in 和 ⟨en⟩

This is the most frequent of the genitive endings. It mainly follows consonants (including the semivowel *ĩ*):

丕和 又冬欠 得力 <TWO:en m.as.qó bo.qo>
 ‘the eldest child of these two people’

几寅和 又火 又刃 <g.úr:en s.iú mo.rèn>
 ‘the military affairs commissioner of the nation 樞密’

令英虫 又火和 得力 <s.y.iên x.ui:en bo.qo>
 ‘the son of the director of the court ceremonial institute’

又为夫和 曲茶和 又平伏 令半 止杰尔 曲茶
 <ś.a.rí:en go.er:en uh.ul.in s.ai p.oŋ:on go.er...>
 ‘the house/tent/lineage 帳 of the investigation commissioner 采访 *Ugulin
 of the house of the court attendant... 郎君’

亥几和 及化 止崇 杂为和 关化 <dzi.g.en u.úr p.oŋ c.a:en i.ri>
 ‘the title of investigation commissioner 訪察 of the left administration’

杂关秀和 杰 <c.i.is:en oŋ>
 ‘prince of the blood’

兮 止半北和 又为夫登 <SEAL p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d>
 ‘the court attendants of the bureau of ceremonial seals 印牌司’

丕 死和 得力 <tai sh:en bo.qo>
 ‘the son of the grand preceptor 太師’

令半关 令毋 几亦和 关化 <t.ai.i z.ian gün:en i.ri>
 ‘the name (or title) of the senior general 大將軍’

及化 几用和 牛丙 又去 <u.ur g.iŋ:en l.iu ś.eu>
 ‘the regent of the supreme capital 上京’

穴毋 公尔和 及化 半 <da.lò n.on:en u.ur ai>
 ‘ancestors of seven generations’

4.4 The genitive in 雨 <in>

雨 <in> follows syllables with the main vowel *i*:

主至雨 <hoŋ.di:in>
 ‘of the emperor’

丕爻火雨 <tai.ś.i:in>

‘of the grand preceptor 太師 *taishi*’

天 主 至 雨 生 半 <HEAVEN hoŋ di:in bu ai>

‘the grandfather of the Heaven Emperor 天皇帝’

天 主 至 雨 才 为 <HEAVEN hoŋ di:in ia deu>

‘the brothers of the Heaven Emperor’

止 火 雨 得 为 <pi.i:in bo.qo>

‘son of the consort 妃’

丕 爻 火 雨 得 为 火 得 为 <tai ś.i:in bo.qo:i bo.qo>

‘the grandson of the grand preceptor’

4.5 The genitive in 丩 <on>

丕 杰 丩 公 卒 火 止 几 与 <tai oŋ:on ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én>

‘inscription on the tomb of the great prince 大王墓誌’

艾 芬 几 火 杰 丩 公 卒 火 止 几 与 <y.e g.ui oŋ:on ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én>

‘inscription on the tomb of the prince of the state of Yue 越國王墓誌’

又 冬 欠 丩 得 为 <m.as.qó:on bo.qo>

‘the son of the eldest [son]’

欠 子 伏 今 半 止 杰 丩 曲 芬 <uh.ul.in s.ai p.oŋ:on go.er>

‘the tent (lineage) of the investigation commissioner 採訪 *Ugulin.’

今 雨 今 雨 几 火 杰 丩 又 反 得 为 <s.in z.in g.ui oŋ:on m.o bo.qo>

‘the eldest son of the prince of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉’

4.6 The genitive in 女 <un>

女 <un> usually appears after stems with the main vowel [u] and the semivowel [ũ]:

几 只 女 <ku.û:un>

‘of.the.man’

主介女 几相及 月兮

⟨hoŋ heu:un g.en:ún TEXT.ú⟩

‘eulogy for the empress’

几丙水女 ⟨g.iu.uŋ:un⟩

‘of the palace’

尺及 季岩女 非朱 ⟨dau.u z.uŋ:un po:do⟩

‘at the time of Daozong’

令方 令女 引化余 ⟨te.gè fu:un ja.r.qó⟩

‘the prime minister of the southern prefecture 南府’

安天 令交方 主 丕 介女 ⟨ŋ.i t.ie.ên hoŋ tai heu:un⟩

‘of the empress dowager Yitian 儀天’

杰及 为天 杰去女 曲公 雨 ⟨w.u a.an c.eu:un go.n ca⟩

‘the surveillance commissioner 觀察 of Wu’an prefecture’

得笑 季火女 得力 ⟨b.y.z.iú:un bo.qo⟩

‘the son of the *biexu* 別婿’

几太 亥火女 得列出 ⟨g.uŋ dz.iú:un bo.hu.an⟩

‘the children of the princess’

4.7 The genitive in 公 ⟨n⟩

及芬 ⟨ún.e⟩ ‘now’

及公 ⟨ún.n⟩ ‘of the present’

尺芬 ⟨ú.e⟩ ‘yuyue’ 于越

尺公 ⟨ú.n⟩ ‘of the yuyue’

4.8 The genitive in 伏 ⟨in⟩

伏 ⟨in⟩ (used with plurals?)

及化伏 半釜 ⟨u.ur.in ai:d⟩

‘former fathers: ancestors’

及化伏 化九釜 ⟨u.ur.in ri.gi:d⟩

‘former tribal judges *yilijin* 夷離堇’

口北伏 毡毡天 曲芥和 <qi.ii:iń qa.ha:an go.er:en>
 ‘of the household/tent 帳 of the khan of the Xi 奚’

公会登伏 才 志女 <n.em:d:in ia deu:un>
 ‘of the brothers of the imperial clan’ (Xu 2)

4.9 The genitive in 关 <i>

天又关 几奕和 孰几 <qid.un:i g.úr:en us.gi>
 ‘the writing of the Kitan state’. (Zhong 6)

得为关 去化矢 <bo.qo:i eu.ur:de>
 ‘at the time when he was a child’

得为关 关化 <bo.qo:i i.ri>
 ‘childhood name’

得为关 得为 <bo.qo:i bo.qo>
 ‘son of a son = grandson’

4.10 The dative-locative in 矢 <de>

仍危和 业考 中用矢 义火来 <ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci>
 ‘After he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty’

今关 几用矢 义火来 <s.i g.iŋ:de x.ui.ci>
 ‘After he came to Xijing (the western capital)’

今交考 万丙及 今交考矢 义火化泰万 可登业平
 <s.ie.ên ei.iu.u t.ie.ên:de x.ui.r.ge.ei ké.d.ha.ai>
 ‘It was transferred for burial at the Xianyou dian palace’
 余分升及雨 宅 平矢 <û.d.u.o.ón TEN ai:de>
 ‘in the tenth year of the Da’an period’

禾 平矢 <NINE ai:de>
 ‘in the ninth year’

今考 几火矢 <s.ún g.ui:de>
 ‘in the Song state’

去矣了无矢 余金比 令茶与 <eu.ur FORTY FIVE:de s.em.ii te.ge:en>
 ‘At the age of forty five, having fallen ill, he died’

去矣义 圣矢 旁矣中 <eu.ur SIXTY TWO:de tu.úr:bun>
 ‘He passed away at the age of sixty two’

去矣丁 友矢 旁矣得伏 <eu.úr TWENTY SIX:de tu.úr.bo.ń>
 ‘He passed away at the age of twenty six’

娶 兆矢 只平茶与 <tai sh:de û.ul.ge:en>
 ‘She married the grand preceptor’

去矣丁 圣矢 口 余金比茶 丙
 <eu.úr TWENTY TWO de THAT s.em.ii.er iu>
 ‘At the age of twenty two, he fell ill and died’

宅 圣 艾 友 天矢 相茶 <TEN TWO MONTH SIX DAY:de BORN:er>
 ‘born on the sixth day of the twelfth month’

艾芬 几矢 杰尔 公存矢 孟几与 <y.e g.ui oŋ:on ne.ra:de ENGRAVE.g.en>
 ‘engraved on the tomb of the prince of the state of Yue’

4.11 The dative-locative in 朱 <do>

非朱 <po.do>
 ‘at that time’

引化欠朱 只平茶与 <ja.r.qó:do û.ul.ge:er>
 ‘She married the prime minister 宰相’

天 得为 主 至雨 非朱 丙交考杰尔 关化 余金中茶中又
 <HEAVEN bo.qo hoŋ di:in po:do, ei.ie.ên oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge:ún>
 ‘At the time of the emperor Son of Heaven, he was awarded the title of
 prince of Yan 燕王’

余雨 余雨 几矢 杰朱 只平茶中伏 <s.in z.in g.ui oŋ:do û.ul.ge:le.ń>
 ‘She was married to the prince of the States of Qin 秦 and Jin 晋’.

又雨 余考次 非朱 <ś.in s.ún:un po:do>
 ‘at the time of Shengzong 聖宗’

4.12 The dative-locative in 凡 <dú>

The dative-locative in 凡 <dú> follows stems with the main vowel [u].

又來和 凡尺凡 又么奈 又利中奈奈 <xe.ci:en ku.û:dú s.iá.ah sí.mù.le.ge.er>
 ‘[as] to the people in the city, he treated [them] well’

又火 凡 今勺 <s.iú:dú te.gu>
 ‘In the the *Book of Documents* it says...

今金与 米及凡 今为卡 中丙刃奈 <s.em.én ORDU.u.dú s.a.kà l.iu.rèn.er>
 ‘He fell ill; while he was staying in the *ordo*, he died’

今各凡 尺平奈与 <s.êŋ.dú û.ul.ge.er>
 ‘She married the *xiangwen*’

4.13 The dative-locative in 火 <iú>

屋为火 <car.a:iú> ‘to Cara (personal name)’

来冬为火 为立方 反米及化和 雨药 重今 穴奈 为安 屋奈
 c.as.a:iú a.ha.al, o.ORDU.u.ur:en cau.ji hur.ú nai:d deu.úr KNOW.er
 Having been assigned to the *jasa* 闡撒, he was made commander in chief of the army and general administrator of the armies of the *ordo*...

火 is clearly <iú> in transcriptions of Chinese, but such a reading is anomolous with its role as a dative/locative suffix after stems with [a], which would suppose a reading like **da*. The issue remains unsolved.

4.14 The prolicative (ablative) in 矢关 <de.i>

无黍 凡用 羽 曲和奈 孰凡矢关 <FIVE NINE g.iŋ HUNDRED go:en:er us.gi:de:i>
 ‘From the writings of the hundred schools, the nine classics and the five classics’ There are many examples of 矢关 <de.i> as a suffix in the texts (including the *Epitaph of Yelü Dilie* in Chapter Six), but the context does not enable us to translate these with accuracy. Cf. Ma. *deri* ‘prolicative (ablative) suffix’

4.15 The plural in 奈 <d>

奈 <d> is the most common plural suffix, and can be followed by other affixes:

𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <FIVE[♂] di:d:en nai:d.i>
 ‘of the officials of the five emperors’

𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <jau nai:d>
 ‘the hundred officials 百官’

𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <SEVERAL mu.u.ji:d>
 ‘several sacred ones [emperors]’

𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <EIGHT[♂] mu.u.ji:d>
 ‘eight sacred ones [emperors]’

𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <SEVEN[♂] ai:d>
 ‘seven fathers/males’

𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <THREE[♂] ai:d:en>
 ‘of the three paternal houses 三父房’

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <u.ur.iń ai:d>
 ‘male ancestors’

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <ri.gi:d>
 ‘plural of 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <ri.g.en> *yiligin*’

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <ś.a.rí:d>
 ‘plural of 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <ś.a.rí> court attendant’

𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <FOUR us.gi:d g.uŋ c.en>
 ‘meritorious official with a title of four characters 四字功臣’
 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <g.uŋ c.en EIGHT us.gi:d>
 ‘meritorious official with a title of eight characters 八字功臣’

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <aú.ui:d>
 ‘plural of 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <aú.ui> *niangzi* 娘子 ‘royal lady’

𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <THREE[♂] sh:d:er>
 ‘three preceptors 師 (accusative)’

𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 <NINE[♂] x.iŋ:d:en>
 ‘of the nine capitals’.

Note 又用 <x.iŋ> for 九用 <g.iŋ> 京.

毛 垂考茶 <TEN ki.ên:d>
‘ten counties 縣 *hien’

4.16 The plural in 令 <t>

令 follows 百 <mó> ‘mother, wife, female’ and some other nouns.

百令 得列出 <mo:t bo.hu.an>
‘girls, daughters’

口令 <qi:t>
‘those’ (plural of 口 <qi> ‘that’)

口令 年令茶 <qi:t ai:s:er>
‘those years (acc.)’

4.17 The plural in 亦 <ad>

六 巫亦亦 <SIX^o qa.ha.ad>
‘six khans’

二 巫亦亦 <TWO^o qa.ha:ad>
‘two khans’

天关 无亦亦茶 [=无亦亦茶] <qid.i REGION.a.ad:er>
‘the Kitan regions (accusative)’

毛 无亦亦亦 <FOUR REGION.a.ad:en>
‘of the four regions’

达 伏升策 亦亦亦亦 <SEVERAL n.ó.lí c.as.a:ad>
‘several tribal *java* 闌撒’

达 矣亦 <SEVERAL miŋa:ad>
‘several thousands’

无 公亦亦亦亦亦 <FIVE n.ai.d.le.ha.ad>
‘the five harmonies 五和’

4.18 The plural in 币 <od>

升化欠币 戈火 又刃叁 <ja.r.qó.od s.iú mo.rén:d>

‘prime ministers 宰相 and military affairs commissioners 樞密’

六 非币 <SIX po:od>

‘at the sixth hour’ or ‘six hours’

屏 非币 <SEVEN^δ po:od>

‘seven hours’ or ‘at the at seventh hour’

包 杰币和 商及火 <THREE^δ oŋ:od:en hor.u:un>

‘of the people of the three princes’

4.19 The plural in 火 <ud>

百卉及火 <ei.ra.u.ud>

‘Yelü’ is possibly a plural form.

4.20 The plural in 年 <se>

年 年 <ai:se>

‘years’ (cf. 年 年 <ai:d> ‘fathers’)

歪 禾 年 年 <EIGHT NINE ai:se>

‘eight or nine years’

丁 年 年 <TWENTY ai:se>

‘twenty years’

宅 火 年 <TEN ui:se>

‘ten matters 事’

天 年 <qid:se>

‘the Kitans’

及 九 火 年 <TEN THOUSAND g.úr:se>

‘ten thousand countries 萬國’

包 艾 年 <THREE^δ MONTH:se>

‘three months’

系 公尔尔和 <NINE[♂] n.on:se:en>
 ‘of nine generations’ (公尔 <n.on> ‘generation’)

公尔尔和 矣灵 穴 <n.on:se:en miŋa:an nai>
 ‘an official with the inherited title of *meng’an* 猛安’

公尔尔 尔生尔关 <n.on:se se.bu.ei.i>
 ‘continuing on from (previous) generations’

4.21 Other plurals

尔力 <bo.qo> ‘son, child’; 尔列出 <bo.hu.an> ‘children’

尔考 <n.iau> ‘sibling’; 尔考尔尔 <n.iau.n.er> ‘siblings’

尔 <ai> ‘father’; 尔尔 <ai:d> ‘father’s lineage 父房’

尔力尔 <ś.a.rí> ‘court attendants’ 尔力尔尔 <ś.a.rí:d> ‘bureau of court attendants
 郎君班’

尔 <bú> ‘external groups’ 别部; 尔尔 <bú:d> ‘the group of clans which married
 into the imperial Yelü clan, referred to in Chinese as Xiao’

4.22 Order of suffixes

The plural suffix comes before the case suffix:

尔 尔力尔尔 尔尔 <FOUR REGION.a:ad:en nai:d>
 ‘the officials of the four border areas’

尔 尔尔尔尔 尔尔尔 <THREE[♂] oŋ:od:en hor.u.un>
 ‘of the people of the three princes’

尔 尔尔尔尔 <TWO[♂] qa.ha:ad:er>
 ‘two khans (accusative)’

4.23 Summary table of genitive, dative and plural suffixes

	GEN	DAT	PLUR
[e]	尔en	尔de	尔 d 尔 t
[o]	尔on	尔do	尔od
[u]	尔un	尔dú	尔ud

[a]	矣 an	矣 ú	矣 ad
others	矣 in 伏 in 公 n		矣 se

4.24 Ordinal numbers used with masculine nouns

'first, eldest'	'second'	'third'
(1) 矣及 m.o	(1) 矣化矣 <c.úr.er>	(1) 矣矣 <hur.er>
(2) 矣及 m.o	(2) 矣化矣 <c.úr.er>	(2) 矣化矣 <hu.úr.er>
(3) 矣冬欠[余] m.as.qó[quí]	(3) 矣化矣 <c.úr.er>	(3) 矣化矣 <hu.úr.er>
(4) 矣及 m.o	(4) 矣化矣 <c.úr.er>	(4) 矣化矣 <hu.úr.er>
(5) 矣及 m.o	(5) 矣化矣 <dz.úr.er>	(5) 矣化矣 <hu.úr.er>
(6) 矣及 m.o	(6) 矣化矣 <c.ur.er>	(6) 矣矣 <hur.er>
(7) 矣冬余 m.as.qú	(7) 矣化矣 <c.ur.er>	(7) 矣化矣 <hu.úr.er>
(8) 矣及 m.o	(8) 矣化矣 <c.ur.er>	
'fourth'	'fifth'	'sixth'
(1) 矣化矣 <t.úr.er>	(1) 矣币及矣 <t.od.o.ho>	(1) 矣矣 <SIX.er>
(2) 矣化矣 <d.úr.er>	(2) 矣矣及矣 <t.ad.o.ho>	(2) 矣矣 <SIX.er>
(3) 矣化矣 <t.úr.er>	(3) 矣币及矣 <t.od.o.ho>	(3) 矣矣 <SIX.er>
(4) 矣化矣 <t.úr.er>	(4) 矣币及矣 <t.od.o.ho>	
(5) 矣化矣 <t.úr.er>	(5) 矣矣及矣 <t.ad.o.ho>	
(6) 矣化矣 <d.úr.er>	(6) 矣矣及矣 <t.ad.o.ho>	
(7) 矣化矣 <t.úr.er>		
'seventh'	'eighth'	
(1) 矣丹 <da.lò>	(1) 矣化矣 <EIGHT.ri.er>	
(2) 矣丹 <dá.lò>		

(1) Ren (2) Zhi (3) Zhong (4) Gao (5) Hong (6) Yong (7) Hai (8) Xu

4.25 Ordinal numbers used with feminine nouns

'first'	'second'	'third'
(1) 矣 <GREAT>	(1) 矣化矣 <c.úr.én>	(1) 矣化矣 <hu.úr.én>
(2) 矣 <GREAT>	(2) 矣化矣 <c.úr.én>	(2) 矣化矣 <hu.úr.én>
(3) 矣冬夫 <m.as.qú>	(3) 矣化矣 <c.úr.én>	(3) 矣矣 <hur.én>
(4) 矣 <GREAT>	(4) 矣化矣 <c.úr.én>	(4) 矣化矣 <x.úr.én>
(5) 矣冬夫 <m.as.qú>	(5) 矣	(5) 矣化矣 <hu.úr.én>
(6) 矣 <GREAT>	(6) 矣化矣 <c.úr.én>	(6) 矣化矣 <hu.úr.én>

'fourth'	'fifth'	
(1) 令化与 <t.úr.én>	(1) 令币及雨 <t.od.o.in>	
(2) 叁化与 <t.úr.én>	(2) 令币及雨 <t.od.o.in>	
(3) 令化与 <t.úr.én>	(3) 令币及雨 <t.od.o.in>	
(4) 叁化与 <d.úr.én>		

(1) Ren (2) Zhi (3) Gu (4) Di (5) Xu (6) Gao

4.26 Grammatical gender: past tense of verbs

In the past tense of verbs, one can also see this distinction between the suffix <er> for males and <én> for females. A clear example is:

次天用 令差 ... 中丙刃叁

<x.i.inj s.úŋ l.iu.rèn:er>

'[the emperor] Xingzong passed away'

令英叁 次天 中丙刃与

<s.y.iên i.i l.iu.rèn.én>

'[the empress] Xuanyi passed away'

4.27 Grammatical gender: the dotted forms

The question of the “dotted forms” is a vexed one. With the colours, there might be a correlation between the undotted form and the first of the pair of stems which corresponds to it and the dotted form with the second, but a clear pattern has not yet emerged. Some of the colours have different suffixes, which suggests the dotted form has some phonetic implication. With the numerals, Wu Yingzhe has noticed an important phenomenon: in most cases, the dotted form refers to a male, and the undotted form to a female, or is non-gender specific. Dotted and undotted forms also appear with inanimate objects, strongly suggesting grammatical gender in Kitan. The whole corpus needs to be reexamined with a view to pursuing these clues, but that research has not yet been done. See Wu Yingzhe 2005a.

4.28 Verbal morphology

Finite verbs are found at the end of a sentence; converbs within the sentence, indicating ‘after which’, ‘because of’ and so on. Finite verbs have three past

4.31 The past tense in 全 <or>

丁 灰矢 今矢 几丙水 兆吞 业及全

<TWENTY SIX:de pu.u g.iu.uŋ sh.ĩ p.o.or>

‘At twenty six he was a *fu gong shi*’

登交考 伞交考 仞 登登 几交登 业及全

<d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm p.o.or>

‘He was appointed *dianqian du dianjian*’

4.32 The past tense in <l.un>

屋力出 几火雨 引化余 徇用又

<car.a.án g.ui:in ja.r.qó BORN.il.ún>

‘The prime minister, *Cara *Guiyin, was born’

屋力本 万交考 杰 几火雨 徇中又

<car.a.ár ei.ie.ên g.ui:in BORN.l.ún>

‘Chara 查刺, Prince of Yan 燕王, Guiyin 國隱 was born’

丁 屏矢 曲公 雨 兆吞 登金中吞中又

<TWENTY SEVEN:de go.n ca sh.ĩ d.em.le.ge.le.ún>

‘At twenty seven he was awarded the title *guanchashi* (surveillance commissioner).

中关 来力和 灾登登 得业列中 戈矢及韵登 仅 伞欠州中壶方又

<l.i c.eu:en nai:d:er b.án.hu.ai sí.de.u.ji:d jin se.qó.zò.le.ha.al.ún>

‘He ordered the officials of Lizhou that artisans renovate [the Qianling tombs]’

亥几和 及化 业考 来力和 关化 伞金中又

<dzi.g.en u.ur p.oŋ c.a:en i.ri t.em.l.ún>

‘He was awarded the title of *fangcha* (examiner) of the left administration 左院’

笑 得力 主 至雨 非休 万交考 杰尔 关化 伞金中吞中又

<HEAVEN bo.qo hoŋ di:in po:do ei.ie.ên oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún>

‘At the time of emperor Tianzi, Son of Heaven, he was awarded the title of prince of Yan 燕王’

笑 冬本 尤安 半矢 伞旁 几用 劣水 戈 业及全 几交登 与水 戈火 中用雨 关化
伞金中吞中又

⟨HEAVEN as.ar yǔ.úr ai:de, te.gè g.inj tu.ujj tz p.o.or, g.ie.êm ju.ujj s.iu l.inj i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún⟩

‘In the first year of the Qingning 清寧 reign period, he was made the associate administrator 同知 of the southern capital 燕京, and concurrently was awarded the title of *jian zhongshuling* 兼中書令’

一 及化 友 伴公 止及全 今水 杰尔 关化 今金中委中又

⟨NORTH u.ur tz ú.n p.o.or s.ujj onj i.ri t.em.l.e.l.ún⟩

‘He was made the director 知院 of the northern administration, and given the title of the prince of Song 宋王’

4.33 The past tense in 得伏 ⟨bo.ń⟩ ~ 得又 ⟨b.ún⟩ ~ 中 ⟨bun⟩

丕 今春 戈考及 死 九子只火 中胤 死 來 戈危 今得九亦 止及子得又

⟨tai z.ĩ s.iau.u sh mú.ul.û.ui l.iújj xu ui s.anj g.ün p.o.ju:b.ún⟩

‘The crown prince *taizi* 太子, junior preceptor *shaoshi* 少師, was concurrently appointed senior general of the dragon and tiger brigade 龍虎衛上將軍’

丕金百谷 包 □方空 丕百 今雨 丕金中谷比 雨危 戈火 百去 來安 丕吳 九火 九太 止及子中

⟨d.em.ei.er THREE □ al.□ d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii ca.anj s.iú ei.eu ci.ij ka.an g.ui g.ujj p.o.ju:bun⟩

‘In the third year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period, he was given the title of ‘specially advanced’, and given the title of right assistant director of the imperial secretariat 尚書右丞, and was made lord of the state of Han 韓國公’

伏 伏又 及矣只与 止关 冬公 住及药和 又及 与 今当 安來关 杰尔 止关 止及用中伏 去矣 丁 大矣 旁矣得伏

⟨ní ní.ún u.úr.û.en p.i as.n mu.u.ji:en m.o deu s.újj ŋ.ui:i on:on p.i p.u.gò.le.ń eu.úr TWENTY SIX:de, tu.úr:bo.ń⟩

‘His sister was appointed consort of the imperial elder younger brother, the prince of Song 宋 and Wei 魏. She died at the age of twenty six’

丕 今及 中用 今为乃 戈並 死 友用 杰 止及子中

⟨d.ai f.u l.inj s.a.am s.iánj sh tz.inj onj p.o.ju:bun⟩

‘He was appointed *tai fu ling san sheng shi zheng wang* 太傅領三省事鄭王’

4.34 The causative/passive in 中_立 <le.ha> ~ 中_奈 <le.ge>

After back vowels, the causative/passive suffix is written 中_立 <le.ha> (<el.ha>?), 中_立 <al.ga> and 中_立 <ul.ha>. After stems with front vowels the suffix is written 中_奈 <le.ge> or 中_奈 <ul.ge>. In some cases, the [l] is omitted:

中_分 <ú.dû> ‘at peace’

中_分中_立 <ú.dû:le.ha-> ‘cause to be at peace, pacify’

中_相 <BORN> ‘born’

中_相中_立 <BORN.le.ha-> ‘cause to be born: give birth to’

中_尺 <û.úr-> ‘sit’

中_尺中_奈 <û.ur.le.ge-> ‘cause to sit, cause to be seated’

中_令 <t.em-> ‘award a title’

中_令中_奈 <t.em.le.ge-> ‘be awarded a title’

中_公 <n.ai.dzi> ‘be friendly’

中_公中_立 <n.ai.dzi.le.ha> ‘cause to be friendly, bring about peace’

中_出 <p.o.ju> ‘be [in an official position]’

中_出中_立 <p.o.ju.ha-> ‘to be appointed, to be promoted’

中_尺 <dau.ul-> ‘lead’

中_尺中_立 <dau.ul.ha-> ‘be lead, follow’

中_反 <o.ju> ‘close’

中_反中_立 <o.ju.ha> ‘cause to close, be closed’

中_又 <x.ui.r> ‘arrive’

中_又中_奈 <x.ui.r.ge> ‘cause to arrive, send’

中_全 <s.a.al> ‘live at, reside’

中_全中_立 <s.a.al.ha> ‘cause to reside, to settle’

中_几 <ku.û.ul> ‘grow up, become a man’

中_几中_奈 <ku.û.ul.ge> ‘cause to become an adult: to rear, nurture, educate’

4.35 Causatives and passives in context

又 米介及肉 尺安又 固中得伏 无卡中主半 尺公 关化 兮茶 令金中茶茶

<GREAT ORDU.ô.o.ón dau.ur.ún, hó.le.bo.ń tau.kâ.le.ha.ai, û.n i.ri doró:er t.em.le.g.er>

'In the middle of the Da'an 大安 reign period, he was summoned (?) and by means of a great ceremony, was given the honorary title of 于越 yuyue'

口 半 公乃安 穴主半关 无米升平主半 得存力矣 及化 无力夫茶 令各次...

<qí ai n.am.úr, da.ha.ar.i tau.ordu.ó.ul.ha.ai, bo.ra.a.an u.ur s.a.rí:d s.êŋ.un...>

'In that year in the autumn he was summoned, and [appointed] *xiangwen* 詳穩 of the bureau of court gentleman 郎君班 of the right chancellery 右院'

令关 无茶 立秀 叔半 几火 力乃 令金中茶百

<s.i s.ui ki.ên k.ai g.ui na.am t.em.le.ge.ei>

'Having been awarded the honorary title of dynasty founding baron *kaiguonan* 開國男 of Qishui county 漆水縣...'

伏 伏又 任及弱和 又及 与 令茶 安茶关 杰尔 止关 止及雨半伏

<ńi ń.ún mu.u.j:en m.o deu s.ún ŋ.ui:i oŋ:on p.i p.o.gó.le.ń>

'His younger sister ...was made the consort of the emperor's eldest younger brother, the prince of Song 宋 and 魏 Wei'

4.36 The converb in vowel + i

半 <ai> 火 <ui> 茶 <oi> 百 <ei> 比 <ii> 关 <i>. This converb indicates the order in which the action happened: 'then, after that' After back vowels it is 半 <ai>, after [u] it is 火 <ui>, after [o] it is 茶 <oi>. After other vowels it is 百 <ei>, 比 <ii> or 关 <i>.

半 <ai>:

可茶立半 <kè.d.ha.ai>

'having been buried, after he was buried'

百 <ei>:

今 几火 无茶 令茶 几亦 茶金中茶百

<pu g.ui s.aŋ z.iaŋ g.ün d.em.le.ge.ei>

'having been granted the honorary title of senior bulwark general of the state 輔國上將軍.

比 <ii>:

雨无 无火百去及 杂安 令茶 止及子比 令关 杰 茶金中茶茶

<ca.aŋ ś.iu ei.eu.u ci.ŋ s.iaŋ p.o.ju:ii, s.i oŋ dem.le.ge.er>

‘Having been promoted to [the position of] right assistant director of the imperial secretariat 尚書右丞相, he was granted the title of prince of Ji 濟王’

忝 <oi>

去矣 丁 毛矢 几卡尺矣 及忝 兮 业半北相 戈为夫 仔关 宅 半矢 兮 业半北相
戈为夫 为半 宅 毛 半矢 今春 天关 穴 及忝 刃百北 今考 今春 九亦 关化今
令金半春春

<eu.úr TWENTY FOUR:de ku.ká.û.ur o.oi doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí cú.i; TEN ai:de,
doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí a.ai, TEN ONE ai:de s.uni DAY.i nai o.oi, rên.ei.ii s.iau
s.iaŋ g.ün i.ri:se t.em.le.g.er>

‘At the age of twenty four, he became a palace attendant 近侍 and a court attendant in the bureau of ceremonies and seals 印牌司. In the tenth year, he was in the bureau of ceremonies and seals. In the eleventh year, he was given the titles of night and day guard 宿直官 and junior general 小將軍’

失 <ui>

丕 今春 戈考及 死 九平尺失 半胤 死 失 戈危 今春 九亦 止及子符及

<tai z.ĩ ś.iau.u sh mú.ul.û.ui l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ g.ün p.o.ju.b.ún>

‘[He was appointed] junior preceptor 少師 of the crown prince 太子 and concurrently appointed senior general of the dragon and tiger brigade 龍虎衛上將軍’

4.37 The converb in 冬北 <-s.ii>

口引 半 戈矣 兮 罔关 穴和 止及 百余矣 刃百半壶冬北 丕 今春 戈考及 死
九平尺失 半胤 死 失 戈危 今春 九亦 止及子符及

<qí.hu ai ś.an doro COMPOSE.i nai:en po.mo ei.qu.ui rên.ei.le.ha.as.ii, tai z.ĩ
ś.iau.u sh mú.ul.û.ui l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün p.o.ju.b.ún>

‘That year new regulations were composed determining official ranks, and as a result, he was appointed senior general of the dragon and tiger guard 龍虎衛上將軍 and junior preceptor of the crown prince 太子少師’

矣 今生及北 尤矣 半 今雨 杰尔 劣矣今北 小 十 勇 无 止及火子半春

<HEAVEN se.bu.o.ii yú.ur ai, s.in oŋ:on tu.ur:s.ii, SOUTH WEST jau tau
p.o.ju.l.er>

‘In the first year of the Tonghe 統和 reign period, as a result of the death of the prince of Qin 秦, (or: after the death of the prince of Qin), he was appointed the bandit suppression commissioner 招討 of the south west’.

爰券 丙余火 火火化余比 爰由 圣与 爰考 止及子比 中冠 曲来 几火只火 仍与券
火火坐 □爰

<ún.e ei.qú.ui x.ui.ri.s.ii, ún.yò TWO:en s.ian p.o.ju.ii, l.aŋ go.ci ku.ud.ú.ui
rəŋ.én.er x.i.cèn □.ún>

‘Now, as a result of his visit (?) [or: after he returned] the appearance was like new, the corridors and buildings were high like towers; he was very happy’

爰止 固中得伏 九奕 丰 爰及 考券 爰奕中余余比 重升火 可令 爰考 爰及 久丰
余将 爰金中券券

<de.po hó.le.bo.ń yù.úr ai m.o doro:er u.úr.l.e.s.ii, hur.ó.un kè.t, dz.iau w.u
da.ai s.iaŋ d.em.le.ge:er>

‘In the first year of the Huangtong 皇統 period, after a great ceremony [was conducted] he was awarded the title of senior general for the glorification of the army 昭武大將軍’

4.38 Converbs in context

伏考伏爰 火 爰及 比中得爰 爰为夫 止奕 乙 毛 得只奕 为丰
爰化券 令生丙券 今 爰为 爰 券本 主 令火火 火券 丙公 爰化与 得为 余火 几火
几火 爰火女 夫中爰
引化券 爰奕 只券 余将 几亦 止奕 了 屏 爰券 余将 几亦 止及固中爰 爰券
九平只火 为丰

令化券 余和 爰为夫 止奕 一 券 几卡 火火 孰几和 火矢 丑丰

令亦及比 令金券 爰为夫止奕 一 无 得只奕 为丰

火券 爰生余 爰为夫 止奕 一 圣 几卡 只火 引冠 孰几矢 丑丰

<ń.iau.ń.ún SIX m.o hó.le.b.ún s.a.rí eu.úr FIFTY ONE b.ú.úr a.ai,
dz.úr.er te.bu.ei.er pu m.a HEAVEN as.ar hoŋ t.i.i neu.e mo.n dz.úr.er bo.qo,
s.i g.ui g.uŋ dz.iú.un rí.l.ún.

Hu.ur.er u.úr û.er z.iaŋ g.ün eu.úr FORTY SEVEN, ún.e z.iaŋ g.ün p.o.gò.l.ún
ún.e mú.ul.ú.ui a.ai,

t.ur.er s.en s.a.rí eu.úr THIRTY NINE ku.ká x.ui us.g:en ui:de giò:ai,

t.ad.o.ii t.em.er s.a.lí eu.úr THIRTY FIVE b.ú.úr a.ai,

SIX:er dz.bu.qu s.a.lí eu.úr THIRTY TWO ku.ká û.ui ja.aŋ us.g:de giò:ai>...

‘There were six siblings; the eldest, *Olibun 訛里本, court attendant, age fifty one, was present [at the funeral],

The second, *Dabuye, son in law of the emperor 駙馬, the second son of the Qingning emperor and the earth mother (empress), accompanied by the princess of the state of Qi 齊国公主...

The third, *Uru, a general, age forty seven, promoted to general of the guards 衛將軍...

The fourth, *Asin 阿信, court attendant, age thirty nine, palace attendant 近侍, responsible for written matters (Hanlin academician) was present;
The fifth, *Temei 特每, court attendant, age thirty five, was present;
The sixth, *Jabu, court attendant, age thirty two, palace attendant 近侍, in charge of written matters (?) was present...'

天 登丙不 七 毛 半 得考 九关关 久半 今春 九亦 登金中泰百 得本为梁 及化
今英虫 义崇 万方立方 及子及

⟨HEAVEN d.iu.er TEN ONE ai b.iau g.i.i da.ai s.iãŋ g.ün d.em.le.ge.ei
bo.ra.a.an u.úr s.y.iên x.uŋ ei.al.ha.al o.ju.ún⟩

'In the eleventh year of the Tianhui 天會 reign period, he was awarded the title of senior general of the cavalry 驃騎大將軍, and appointed to the position of master of court ceremonial 宣徽 in the right administration 右院.'

天 登金百不 九奕 半矢 方空 登 今春 又考及 九 登金中泰百 登文考 今文考 竹
登登 九文登 止及子比 今英虫 义崇 为乃伏不 为本

⟨HEAVEN d.em.ei.er yù.ur ai:de al.194 tai z.ĩ s.iau.u sh d.em.le.ge.ei d.ie.ên
s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm p.o.ju.ii s.y.iên x.uŋ a.am.iń.er a.ar⟩

'In the first year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period 天眷, he was given the honorary title of *taizi shaoshi* 太子少師, was appointed chief inspector of the palace command 殿前都點檢 and had at the same time [the position of] master of court ceremonial 宣徽'

今金百不 登 半 方空 安雨 今用 九志 又 久半关 今 登金中泰比 屋中列亦 关化今
为乃伏不 为本

[HEAVEN] t.em.ei.er TWO YEAR al.194 ŋ.in s.in g.oŋ lu da.a.ai pu d.em.l.ii;
KNOW.le.hu.ad i.r:se a.am.iń.er a.ar⟩

'In the second year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period, he was awarded the honorary title of *yingqing guanglu daifu* 銀青光祿大夫. He had at the same time (?) the title of administrator'

登金百不 包 半矢 方空 登百 今雨 登金中泰比 雨矣 又火 万去及 未安 盛矣 九火
九水 止及子中

⟨d.em.ei.er THREE ai:de al.194 d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii, ca.aŋ s.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ
ka.an g.ui g.uŋ p.o.ju.bun⟩

'In the third year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period, he was 'specially advanced 特進' and was appointed right assistant director of the imperial secretariat 尚書右丞 and duke of the state of Han 韓國公'.

爰公 住爰沙和 禿 无矢 爰爰比 爰爰 今 今爰 爰爰 今金中爰万 得冬 中爰条 面爰
爰爰中爰伏 凶 穴和 爰化 今金中爰 爰雨矢 丑半 爰爰 今 爰爰 今金中爰比 比爰爰
爰化 爰爰中爰万 爰爰 今雨和 出雨 爰爰和 几爰爰 爰爰雨爰爰 九平只爰爰 爰爰

<ún.n mu.u.j:en NINE FIVE de o.dz.ii s.o pu pu.u s.o t.em.le.ge.ei b.as l.iá.ah
s.i.i u.úr.le.ge.ń dá nai:en i.ri t.em.le.gi m.in:de giò.ai pu s.o t.em.le.ge.ei
ii.a.an i.ri tir.mo.le.ge.ei w.u s.iŋ:en bi.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm p.o.gò.l.i mú.ul.û.ui
a.ai>...

‘The current emperor having acceded to the imperial throne 九五, he was granted the title of *shuai* *fu* *shuai* 率府副率. Several officials were granted the title *fu shuai*... He was promoted to the position of military commandant of Wuqing 武清兵馬 and director in chief 都監’

4.39 The converb in 方 <al>

宅 包 半爰 今爰 爰雨 今爰几丙水 死 爰爰全 口 半 中爰雨 几爰伏 几爰伏
爰爰爰爰 雨爰 爰比爰 爰爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰

<TEN THREE YEAR:de s.i x.iŋ pu.u g.iu.uŋ sh p.o.or. THAT YEAR l.i.in g.ui.iń
g.u.iń o.ORDU.u.un cau.úr c.ii.én c.as.a.iú a.ha.al, o.ORDU.u.ur:en cau.ji hur.ú
nai:d deu.úr KNOW.er>

‘In the thirteenth year, he became the deputy palace commander 副宮使 of the Jiqing 積慶 palace. In that year, having been appointed to the *jasa* 闡撒 of the armies of the jade *ordo* of [...], he was also chief official in control, associate administrator 同知 and campaign commander 都統 of the armies of the *ordo*’

爰 中爰爰爰 几爰爰 爰 死 几 几爰爰 死 爰爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰
几爰爰爰 爰爰 爰爰 爰爰 爰爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰

<deu le.bù.uh.iń ku.uŋ.úr tai sh du g.iu.uŋ sh a.ha.a.al, s.a.rí:d s.êŋ.un a.ai,
t.ie.êm:d g.ie.êm:d deu.er n.ui kú.u ni.qo s.au.a hur.ú KNOW.er>

‘The younger brother, Lubuh 魯不古 Kungur 控骨里, having been made senior preceptor 太師 and palace commissioner 宮使, was a member of the bureau of court attendants, and *xiangwen*. He was in overall control of managers 點 and supervisors 檢, and also the general administrator of the palace storehouses 內庫 of dogs and eagles 犬鷹’ Note the words 爰爰 <ńi.qo> ‘dog’ and 爰爰爰 <s.au.a> ‘eagle’, which are also in the *Liaoshi*.

4.40 The converbs in 爰 <ci> and 爰 <ji>

爰 <ci> and 爰 <ji> appear to mean ‘after’

仍爰爰 爰爰 中爰爰 爰爰爰 几爰爰 今爰爰 爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰 爰爰爰爰

⟨ta.aŋ ki.ên l.iŋ x.ui:ci g.iu.uŋ, t.ie.ên ei.iú.cèn p.u.ui.i dau.iń ho.le.hu:er⟩
 ‘After he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang, the halls were dilapidated...’

金和 穴登 为安 酒得 圣和 义兴委只失 止而中又

⟨em:en nai:d deu.úr WINE.bo êm.ci, x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún⟩

(金和 ⟨em:en⟩ ‘local’; 穴登 ⟨ai:d⟩ ‘officials’ 为安 ⟨deu.úr⟩ ‘together’)

‘After he drank wine with the local officials, he happily returned.’

(州之諸官，同酒飲高興地歸)

今兴 凡用失 义失和 ⟨s.i. g.iŋ.de x.ui.ci⟩

‘After he arrived at Xijing [the western capital]’

天 登丙月 圣 半 穴 艾矢 中半 杰示 及女 百去药 艾秀 凡失 杰 登金中委登

⟨HEAVEN d.iu.rén TWO ai nai MONTH:de l.û oŋ:on u.un ei.eu.ji, ý.e g.ui oŋ d.em.le.ge.er⟩

‘In the first month of the second year of the Tiande 天德 reign period, when he was the prince of Lu 魯王, he was given the honorary title of prince of Yue’

4.41 Finite verbs and converbs in context

天 今火 尤安 半今登 引危 又雨 登女 半 百交秀 义用 包 凡丙水化相 今 凡丙水
 化 月百北 止及全

⟨HEAVEN t.ud yù.úr ai.s:er ja.aŋ m.in d.un mu ei.ie.ên x.iŋ THREE g.iu.uŋ.ur:en fu g.iu.uŋ sh rěn.ei.ii p.o.or⟩

天 今火 屏 半失 □去药 百交秀 义兴用 凡丙水女 竹 凡丙火 化 止及全

⟨HEAVEN t.ud SEVEN ai:de □eu.j ei.ei.ên x.i.iŋ g.iu.uŋ:un du g.iu.ud sh p.o.or⟩

口 半 今及 凡才登 义和 失 艾得 凡亦和 关化 今金中委百

⟨qi ai s.o g.ia.iam m.en ui ś.iaŋ g.ün:en i.ri te.em.le.ge.ei⟩

禾 半失 得在才失 及化 艾为夫登 今各女 止及子北

NINE ai:de bo.ra.ia.an u.ur ś.a.rí:d s.êŋ.un p.o.ju.ii

天 昂为失□安 屋及药失 及北

⟨HEAVEN REGION.a.an □.ur KNOW.u.ji:de o.ho⟩

‘In the first year of the Xianyong 咸雍 reign period, he served as deputy palace commander 副宫使 of the Zhangming, Dunmu and Yanqing palaces. In the seventh year of the Xianyong reign period he was transferred to the position of chief palace commander 都宫使 of the Yanqing 延慶 Palace. He was appointed *bushisi* 部署司 [head of a superior prefecture] and associate administrator 同知. That year, he was awarded the title of general of the left guards 左監門衛. In the ninth year, he became a

court attendant in the right division 右院郎君 and *xiangwen* 詳穩. He was made general administrator of the border areas.’

4.42 Verbal nouns in vowel + [n]

Verbal nouns, which can also be used as adjectives, have the suffixes 出 <án> following stems with back vowels, 与 <én> following stems with front vowels, 甫 <ón> following stems with rounded vowels and 又 <ún> following stems ending in a consonant. 公 <n> and 伏 <ń> are also found.

相与 天 <BORN.ér DAY>

‘birthday’

宅 巫 天 矢 相与 <TEN EIGHT DAY.de BORN.ér>

‘she who was born on the eighteenth day’ (note: the suffix 与 <ér> indicates the subject is feminine)

毛 相与 列 冬 方 斗 象

<ONE BORN.én hu.as.al GOOD FORTUNE>

‘the disasters and good fortunes of life [what one is born into]’

又 夹 行 芥 及 子 巫 丰 力 冬 巫 出 兮 叔 北 只 药

<GREAT xo.mú.er o.ju.ha.ai, na.as.ha.án doró k.ii.û.ji>

‘the great catalpa palace 梓宫 [the coffin of an emperor] having been closed, this was called the ceremony of laying to rest’

公 存 矢 巫 凡 与 冈 为 本 巫 凡 与 令 勺

<ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én COMPOSE.a.ar, RECORD.g.én te.gu>

‘The inscription on the tomb was composed. The inscription says:’

4.43 Verbal nouns in 得伏 <bo.ń>

百 穴 和 芳 化 得 伏 药 和 义 化 得 伏 天 令 欠 北 止 用 引 危 北 和 义 化 令 金 百

<HUNDRED nai:en cu.ur.bo.ń ji:en x.ui.ri.bo.ń DAY t.uh.ii p.inj ja.aŋ sh:en i.ri t.em.ei>

‘The hundred officials (officialdom) assembled (?). On the day they arrived... he was awarded the title of manager of affairs 平章事’

4.44 Verbal nouns and adjectives in 刈 <hu> 几 <gi> 圮 <ho>

刈 <hu> follows back stems, 几 <gi> follows front stems, 圮 <ho> follows stems with back rounded vowels.

久 巫 本 及 子 刈 天 孝 及 伞 去 卡 尔 为 出

<da.ha.ar o.ju.hu DAY 292.u s.eu.ká on.a.án>

‘on the day [the tomb, the coffin] was closed, sweet dew fell’

掩閉日,甘露降

得勿关 得勿 又雨 今生及扎 虫

<bo.qo:i bo.qo min se.bu.o.ho qa>

‘his grandson, our succeeding khan ...’

4.45 Copula: 虫及 <p.u> ~ 得及 <b.u> ‘to be’ (是)

几木伏 丕得相 公年 虫及

<ku.uŋ.iŋ tai.bo:en ne.ra p.u>

‘This is the tomb of Kongning 孔寧 *taibao* 太保’

来化茶 得勿 今得 几木 得及

<c.ur.er bo.qo s.iaŋ g.uŋ b.u>

‘He was the second son, his excellency 相公’

令币及肉 尔火 得及

t.ód.u.ón aú.ui b.u>

‘She was the fifth royal lady 娘子’

4.46 Copula: 百 <ei> ‘to have, to exist’ (有)

丙令 得列出 丕 又今夫 又平升及雨 刈丕 力虫出茶和 伏力 丕 死和 得勿 今几芬
来化茶 又 及平茶与 今夫 今金百与 曲令 百文

<mó:t bo.hu.án TWO m.ó.qu x.ul.u.o.ón, bú:d na.ha.án:er:en ní.qo tai sh:en
bo.qo se.g.e ci.ŋ tzi:de u.ul.ge.én YOUNG.qú t.em.ei.én go:t ei:ie>

‘There were two daughters; the eldest was *Hulun, who married the recipient of edicts 乘旨 *Sege, who was the son of the preceptor 太師 *Niqo of the external (Xiao) maternal uncles; the youngest, *Temen 特免 is still at home (i.e. has not yet married)’

今得 几亦 丙令 虫本 包 ...包 丙令和 又夫 百文

s.iaŋ g.ün mó:t p.ar THREE THREE mo:t:en x.an ei:ie;

来化茶 芳木丕[=丕?] 北 旁 丙 几 去欠伏关 今虫及 尔火 虫安今 百文

c.ur.er cu.uŋ.□ ss tu mo ku eu.uh.ní.i t.iên.ún aú.ui p.úr.s ei:ie;

刈化茶 今黍秀 北 旁 丙 几 黍关 芍 药 尔火

hu.ur.er pu.is.ên ss tu mo ku is.i 091 ji aú.ui

令币及扎 今平伏 雨 虫夫 秀 无 丙 几 虫斗半 伏行欠伏 今黍伏 虫安今 百文

t.od.o.ho pu.ul.iŋ só qa.an jau tau mo ku iên.ia.ai ní.mú.qó.iŋ pu.is.iŋ p.úr.se
ei:ie;

夫茶 虫为 刈为 北及 得及 丙 几 去欠伏关 子余 今黍伏 虫安今 丙

SIX.er qa.a hu.a xu.u b.u mo ku eu.uh.ní.i ju.qu pu.is.ín p.úr.se iu;

六得茶 今为乃伏 丕关安 几芬 今得 几木 丙 几 力虫出茶和 不中 今黍伏 虫安今 丙

da.ló.er s.a.am.iń d.i.ŋ g.e s.iaŋ g.uŋ mo ku na.ha.án.er:en ha.le pu.is.iń
p.úr.se iu...

‘His excellency 相公 had three wives and secondary wives 妻室. The three wives were all present the second (son), □ *situ* 司徒, his wife was *Eugni, royal lady 娘子 were present; the third □ *situ* 司徒, his wife lady *Isi, royal lady 娘子 the fifth son, *Fulunhan (?), bandit suppression commissioner 招討, his wife Mme. □, were present; the sixth son, *Haga, of the *hubu* 戶部, his wife Mme. *Eugni *Jugu (?) was not present (no longer living); the seventh, his excellency 相公 *Sami *Dinge, his wife, lady *Hale [of the lineage of] the maternal uncles 國舅, was not present (no longer living)...’

4.47 The copula: 丙 <iú> ‘not to exist, to die (無)’

米化与 米中主为出 尔火 力主矣 今生主半 今得 凡亦矣 及平矣百 与矣 一 不矣矣
丙 余与 尔火 与矣 丁 毛矣 矣及 为本及 扎矣 丙

<c.úr.er ORDO.le.ha.a.án aú.ui na.ha.an se.bu.ha.ai s.aŋ g.ün:de u.ul.ge.ei
eu.ur THIRTY xa.is:de iu. hur.én aú.ui eu.ur TWENTY FOUR:de ur.u a.ar.ún
ho:de iu>.

‘The second, *Otelan, royal lady, married general *Sabali of the lineage of the maternal uncles. At the age of 30, she died. The third royal lady, aged twenty four ---- died.’

令余与 尔火 才 与女 公及矣矣 及为夫矣 只平矣百 与矣 丁 矣矣 丙
余分中主为本 丙 才 与女 只分 半和 凡火 及关 竹 凡才乃矣 只平矣百 与矣 一
令化 丙

<t.em.én aú.ui ia deu:un n.o.or:er ś.a.rí:de û.ul.ge.ei eu.ur TWENTY NINE iu.
ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar mo ia deu:úr û.dû ai:en g.uŋ ś.i du g.ia.am:de û.ul.ge.ei eu.úr
THIRTY FOUR.ur iu>

‘*Temen 特免, royal lady 娘子, was married to *No’or, court attendant 郎君 of the lineage of the elder younger brothers. She died at the age of twenty nine. Madame *Otela was married to *Udu (?) of the lineage of the *zhongfufang* 仲父房, who had the title of *gong shi du jian* 宫使都監. She died at the age of thirty four’

丙 得力 毛 今卡义与 尔火 州欠 力主矣 矣生余 及为夫矣 只平矣百 与矣 毛 矣矣
米本 丙

<mo bo.qo ONE pu.kâ.x.én aú.ui zò.qo na.ha.an dzi.bu.gu ś.a.rí:de û.ul.ge.ei
eu.ur TEN EIGHT:de c.ar iu>

‘There was one daughter, the royal lady *Pu..., who married *Jibugu, court attendant, of the lineage of the younger maternal uncles. She died some time ago, at the age of eighteen’

及及 令丙刃伏 及矣 余 今矣 矣 屋力 得力 毛 才矣伏 焉 无 中用 凡火 今生百矣
止矣余 丙 米化矣 伏行欠伏 至矣[矣]雨 凡亦 矣 列矣及 止矣余 丙

<m.o t.iu.rén.in s.án pu s.ún on car.a bo.qo ONE^o qudug.in jau tau l.in g.un
te.bu.ei.er p.úr.s iu. c.ur.ér ní.mú.qó.n di.î.in g.ün on hu.an.u p.úr.se iu>

'The eldest was *Diuren (Jiulin 糺林), *shangfu* 尚父, prince of 宋 Song [whose childhood name was] *Chara 查刺. One son, *Hudugin 胡睹董, bandit suppression commissioner 招討, lord 令公, *Tabuye 撻不也... died. The second, Nimugun 涅睹衰 *tiyin* 惕隱 (?) *junwang* 郡王, had died'

去矣 丁 丕 矢 口 今 金 比 不 丙

<eu.úr TWENTY TWO:de THAT s.em.ii.er iu>

'At the age of twenty-two, she fell ill and died'

4.48 The copula 为 <a>

为 <a>, often seen with the converb suffix 半 <ai>, also seems to be a copula: 'being'

4.49 Supplement: Reign titles

All of the Kitan reign titles begin with 天 'heaven' or 又 'great. Many appear to be verbal forms:

(1)	Tonghe	983	統和	government unity	天 今 生 及 比
(2)	Kaitai	1012	開泰	open prosperity	天 伏 牛 只 不
(3)	Taiping	1021	太平	great peace	又 万 交 不 及
(4)	Jingfu	1031	景福	bright happiness	
(5)	Chongxi	1032	重熙	repeated splendour	天 米 牛 立 本 天 今 分 牛 立 为 本
(6)	Qingning	1055	清寧	clear tranquility	天 冬 本
(7)	Xianyong	1065	咸雍	together harmony	天 今 火
(8)	Dakang	1075	大康	great prosperity	又 今 丙 刃
(9)	Da'an	1085	大安	great peace Da'an	又 今 分 升 及 雨 又 米 升 及 雨
(10)	Shouchang	1095	壽昌	longevity prosperity	又 今 和
(11)	Qiantong	1101	乾統	celestial government	天 本 升 及 比
(12)	Tianqing	1111	天慶	heaven blessings	天 今 米 牛 不 不
(13)	Tianfu	1118	天輔	heaven assistance	又 九 不 与
(14)	Tianhui	1123	天會	heaven meeting	天 丕 丙 不 天 今 丙 不
(15)	Tianjuan	1138	天眷	heaven favour	天 今 金 万 不 天 丕 金 万 不
(16)	Huangtong	1141	皇統	august government	今 止 固 牛 升 伏

(17)	Tiande	1149	天德	heaven virtue	天 德丙刃
(18)	Dading	1161	大定	great settlement	天 定立乃

4.50 Notes on Liao reign titles

(1) Tonghe (983) 統和 ‘United Peace’ 天 今生及北 <HEAVEN se.bu.o.ho>. 今生及北 means ‘inherit, succeed, follow’

(2) Kaitai (1012) 開泰 ‘Open Prosperity’: 天 伏中只茶 <HEAVEN ní.l.û.er>. The last two graphs in 伏中只茶 are clear, but the first two are damaged. The left side of 伏 is visible, as is the upper part of 中. The meaning of 伏中只茶 <ní.l.û.er> is unknown.

(3) Taiping (1021) 太平 ‘Great Peace’: 又 百交存及 <GREAT ei.ie.ra.u>.

(4) Jingfu. Not identified.

(5) Chongxi (1032) 重熙 ‘Repeated Splendour’: 天 今分中並力本 <HEAVEN ú.dû.le.ha.ar>. Also written 今分中並力本 <ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar>, 天 來中並本 <HEAVEN ordu.le.ha.ar> and 來中並本 <ordu.le.ha.ar>. The meaning of 今分中並力本 <ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar> is not known. It may be connected with the word 今分升及肉 <ú.dû.ó.o.ón>, which appears in the Kitan equivalent of the reign title Da’an, and so might mean ‘peace’ <ú.dû.le.ha.ar> might be related to the term in the *Liaoshi* glossary 窩篤盤 *o-du-on ‘nourishing (滋息)’ 息 by itself means ‘peace, rest’ So the verbal noun form would be ‘nourishment’ (perhaps ‘peace, rest’). 今分中並力本 丁 包 宅 圣 艾 灰 天 矢 相 茶 <ú.dû.le.ha.a.al TWENTY THREE, TEN TWO MONTH SIX DAY.de BORN.er> ‘He was born of the sixth day of the twelfth month of the twenty third year of the Chongxi period’. (Hong 6)

(6) Qingning (1055) 清寧 ‘Clear Tranquility’: 天 冬本 <HEAVEN as.ar>. 冬本 is found in Xuanyi, where the expression 地清 *di qing* ‘the earth is clear’ is translated 穴秀 冬本 <neu.e as.ar>. 穴秀 neu.e means ‘earth’, so 冬本 <as.ar> must mean ‘clear’

冬本 圣 丰 及平 曲茶 座立亦 及安中茶百 來关秀和 杰而 又立冬 穴茶和 得列出茶 关化今 今金中九 今存茶

<as.ar TWO ai u.ul go.er qa.ha.ad u.úr.le.ge.ei c.i.is:en on:od mo.ha.as nai:d:en bo.hu.án:er i.ri.se t.em.le.gi se.ra.d>

‘In the second year of the Qingning period, in winter, the khan having gathered in the tents, the children of his blood relations, the princes and the

great officials, were granted official titles' The meaning of 令本公 <se.ra.d> is unknown. (Nu 7-8)

(7) Xianyong (1065) 咸雍 'Together Harmony': 天 令火 <HEAVEN t.ud>. 令火 <t.ud> is common in the texts. It may mean 'harmony'

天 令火 允奕 半令公 引危 又雨 圣火 半 万交和 义用 包 九丙太化和 令 九丙太 允 刃百北 止及全

<HEAVEN t.ud yù.úr ai:s:er ja.aŋ m.in d.un mu ei.ie.en x.iŋ THREE g.iú.uŋ.ur:en fú g.iú.uŋ sh.rén.ei.ii p.o.or>

'In the first years of the Xianyong reign period, he was promoted to the position of deputy palace commander 副宫使 of the Zhangmin 彰愍, Dunmu 敦睦 and Yanqing 延庆 palaces' (Nu 12-14)

(8) Dakang (1075) 大康 'Great Prosperity': 又 令丙刃 <GREAT t.iu.rén>. 令丙刃 <t.iu.rén>, also written 圣丙刃 <d.iu.rén>, means 'virtue'

尔火 允交考伏 圣 允关雨 舟力关 舟力 又 令丙刃 屏 无 艾 宅 至 天矢 相与 (Gu 6-7)

<aú.ui ś.ie.ên.in tai ś.i:in bo.qo.i bo.qo GREAT t.iu.rén SEVEN, FIVE MONTH TEN EIGHT DAY:de BORN:én> (note feminine form in 与 <én>)

'Her highness, grandchild of *Shanning *taishi*, was born on the eighteenth day of the fifth month of the seventh year of the Dakang reign period'

(9) Da'an (1085) 大安 'Great Peace' 又 令分升及雨 <GREAT ú.dû.ó.o.ón>. Perhaps 令分升及雨 <ú.dû.ó.o.ón> means 'peace'. See (2) above.

又 令分升及雨 宅 令考夫 伏力 半 宅 宅 艾 宅 无 天 又 冬 余 舟力 令和 泉茶

<GREAT ú.dû.ó.o.ón TEN s.iau.qú ní.qo YEAR [ai] TEN ONE MONTH TEN FIVE [tau] DAY m.as.qu bo.qo s.en ci:er>

'On the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the tenth year, the year of the blue dog 甲戌 of the Da'an 大安 reign period, the eldest son Yixin wrote this' (Zhixian)

(10) Shouchang (1095) 壽昌 'Longevity Prosperity': 又 令和 <GREAT s.en>. 令和 <s.en> means 'longevity' The common personal name 義新 Yixin (also written 阿信 Axin) is written 令和 <s.en>; the common "second name" Yixining is written 令和伏 <s.en.in>. This suggests a prothetic [i] preceding <s.en>.

又 令和 无 半 宅 艾 至 天矢 去安 了 我矢 令金比茶

GREAT s.en FIVE YEAR <ai> TEN MONTH EIGHT DAY:de eu.úr FORTY NINE^δ:de s.em.ii.er>

'On the eighth day of the tenth month of the Shouchang period, at the age of 45, he contracted a fatal illness 病故'.

(11) Qiantong (1101) 乾統 ‘Celestial Government’: 天 本升及北 <HEAVEN ar.u.o.ho>. One of the meanings of 乾 *qian* is ‘heaven’, as in 乾坤 *qian kun* ‘heaven and earth’. The meaning of 本升及北 <ar.u.o.ho>, also written 本令及北 <ar.ú.o.ho>, is not known. It is possibly connected with the term in the *Liaoshi* glossary 阿魯盃 **alu'on* ‘support, assist’. 統 means ‘to gather into one, to unite’

天 本升及北 尤奕 丰 灰 艾 丁 包 天 床 梯 列及雨 虫生虫 伏冬立为出 兮
叔北只弱

<HEAVEN ar.u.o.ho yù.úr ai SIX MONTH TWENTY THREE DAY YONGFU hu.o.gò
qa.bu.cén ní.as.ha.a.án doró k.ii.ù.ji> (Xuanyi 5-6)

‘On the twentieth day of the sixth month of the first year of the Qiantong period, in a ritual they were laid to rest together in the Yongfu tomb’

(12) Tianqing (1111) 天慶 ‘Heaven Blessings’: 天 今卡中茶茶 <HEAVEN <pu.ká.le.ge.er>. 今卡中茶茶 <pu.ká.l.e.er> is common in the inscriptions. The phonetic value of 卡 is unknown. <ká> is a mnemonic from 卡.

(13) Tianfu (1118) 天輔 ‘Heavenly Assistance’: 又 尤茶与. <GREAT zù.ge.er>. The meaning of 尤茶与 <zù.ge.er> is not known. 輔 means ‘to help, to assist’

(14) Tianhui (1123) 天會 ‘Heaven Gathering’: 天 茶丙茶. <HEAVEN d.iu.er>. 茶丙茶 <d.iu.er> is also written 令丙茶 <d.iu.er>.

(15) Tianjuan (1138) 天眷 ‘Heavenly Favour’: 天 茶金丙茶 <HEAVEN d.em.ei.er>. 茶金丙茶 is also written 令金丙茶 <t.em.ii.er>. 令金丙茶 <t.em.ei.er> is very common in the inscriptions, it means ‘to grant [a title, an honour]’ The Kitan term means ‘heaven conferred, heaven bestowed, heaven awarded’. 天 *tian* is ‘heaven’, 眷 *juan* is ‘devotion, solicitude’

(16) Huangtong (1141) 皇統 ‘August Government’: 令止 国中得伏 <te.po hó.le.bo.ń>.

国中得伏 屏 丰矢 止用 引危 左用 死吞 止及子比 杂安 杰 茶金中茶茶

<hó.le.bo.ń SEVEN ai:de, p.in ja.ąj tz.in sh.ĩ p.u.ju.ii, ci.ŋ oŋ d.em.le.ge.er>

‘In the seventh year of the Huangtong reign period, he was made *pingzhang zhengshi* (manager of government affairs) and given the title Prince of Cheng’ 令止 国中得伏 <te.po hó.le.bo.ń> occurs in the Xiao Zhonggong inscription several times. 令止 <te.po>, also written 茶止 <de.po> is common in the inscriptions; cf. Mo. and Ma. *tob* ‘upright’ 国中得伏 <hó.le.bo.ń> is a common name. It is sometimes thought to refer to ‘imperial lineage’.

(17) Tiande (1149) 天德 ‘heaven virtue’: 天 德 天 德 天 德 <HEAVEN d.iu.rèn>. 天 德 means 德 *de* ‘virtue’ 天 德 is a literal translation of 天德.

(18) Dading (1161) 大定 ‘great settlement’: 大 定 大 定 大 定 <GREAT doro.ha.am>. 定 corresponds to 禮 *li* ‘ceremony, rites, seal’

4.51 Some comments on the word for Kitan

There is a voluminous literature on the origins and meanings of the dynastic names Liao and Jin. Liao is said to be named after the Liao River. Jin means gold, named after the Anchuhu river, **alčun* being the Jurchen word for ‘gold’ However, the matter is not so simple, as can be seen from Chan 1991 and Liu Pujiang 2001. Here we can just add a few comments based on the Kitan script.

The Liao changed their dynastic title four times. From 907 to 938 they called themselves, in Chinese at least, the Great Kitan State. After 938, following the incorporation of the Chinese speaking “sixteen counties”, they changed their name to the Great Liao State. Then in 983, they changed back to Great Kitan State. In 1066 they changed back to Great Liao State, which remained until the fall of the dynasty. For about a total of one hundred years the dynasty was called Kitan, for about one hundred years the dynasty was called Liao. The reasons for this no doubt have their political basis, and need not concern us here.

Liu Fengzhu 2006 compared the titles of the published Chinese inscriptions from the Liao. Sure enough, during the period the “transmitted texts” (the *Liaoshi* and the *Qidanguo zhi*) say the state was called Kitan, the Chinese inscriptions start 大契丹 Da Qidan. When the sources say the state was called Liao, the Chinese inscriptions start 大遼 Da Liao.

Turning to the Kitan inscriptions, Liu made an interesting discovery. When the state was called Kitan the inscriptions start 大 契 丹 天 德 <GREAT qid.ún hu.rà>. When the state was called Liao the inscriptions start 大 遼 天 德 <GREAT hu.rà qid.ún>.

The same applied with the large script. In the periods when the term Great Kitan was used, for example in the *Epitaph of the princess of Yongning prefecture*, the title is 大 早 弔 赤 英 宋 列 国. The first graph 大 is «GREAT» (small script 大), the last graph, 国 is «STATE». 早 弔 corresponds to 中央 *zhongyang* ‘central’ (今考分 <t.iau.dû>), 宋 列 to ‘Kitan’ and 赤 英 to ‘Liao’ (大 遼 <xu.rà>), that is Kitan Liao State. In the *Epitaph of Xiao Xiaozhong*, written after 1066, when the state was called Liao, we find the sequence 赤 英 宋 列 国, that is, Liao Kitan State. The first graphs in the title of the *Epitaph of Xinie* are simply 早 弔 宋 列 国 ‘Central Kitan State’. 宋 列 and

兩利 are apparently variants. On the translation 早弔 / 令考命 <t.iau.dû> as ‘central’, see below.

There are also other elements, discussed below. Liu came to the conclusion that the problematic 朶利 was in fact the Kitan word for Liao. The two reign titles could be translated Great Kitan Liao when the Chinese inscriptions refer to the Great Kitan, and Great Liao Kitan when the Chinese inscriptions refer to the Great Liao.

In the small script, Kitan is written 奚奚 <qid.ún>. Variants are 奚奚奚 <qid.ún.i> and 奚奚 <qid.i>, presumably genitives. 奚 2.365 is apparently a combination of 又 ‘great’ and 奚 ‘heaven’, which are perhaps derived from 大 ‘great’ and 天 ‘sky, heaven’. 又 or 奚 was used in all the Liao reign titles.

The sequence 又 尺奚奚 朶利 奚奚奚 <GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.rá qid.ún.i> appears on the canopy of the Daozong inscription. The first graph 又 means ‘great’ The second word, 尺奚奚 appears on the Langjun inscription in the expression 尺奚奚 及平 <dau.úr.ún u.ul> ‘mid-winter’, so 尺奚奚 <dau.úr.ún> seems to mean ‘middle, central’ Luo Fucheng suggested that 朶利 might mean ‘country’ There are four theories as to what 朶利 might be: *hulus ‘state’, *hala ~ *kara ‘black’, *hus ‘strong, strength’ and the actual Kitan word for Liao. *hulus is unlikely: there was no initial [h] in MMo. in this word. *hala ~ *kara ‘black’ is unlikely: there is no evidence in Liao Chinese inscriptions for any such usage. Liu Fengzhu 2006 suggests that Liao might not refer to the Liao river at all, but rather to the basic sense of the character, as in 遼闊 *liaokuo* ‘broad, wide’ Liu goes on to point out that the Western Liao did not refer to themselves as 西遼 Xi Liao: this was a Chinese term for them. In Yuan sources, they are called 和刺乞答 *hola kida. The Karakitai regarded themselves as the continuation of the legitimate dynasty “in exile”, and used the name in use at the time of the destruction of their state in the east, Liao Kitan. The word *hola/*hora/*hura was misinterpreted by Mongol and Turkic speakers as *qara* ‘black’ We still do not know what it actually meant. Perhaps it was the Kitan name for the Liao river. Perhaps it does mean ‘black’, if the Kitans called the Liao river the “black river” Biran 2005:216 has pointed out that the term Karakitai does not appear in Muslim sources before the Mongol invasion of 1218-1220. Biran has also pointed out the problems associated with identifying the term 哈喇 *hala with Mongol *qara* ‘black’ She suggests it is more likely a prestigious term, the original meaning of which had been forgotten, at least in Central Asia.

The Jurchens referred to the previous dynasty as ‘Kitan’, not Liao. In the Jurchen Victory stele of 1185, the Chinese expression 遼季失道，腥聞于天 *Liao ji shi dao, xing wen yu tian* ‘The Liao lost the Way, the stink was smelled by Heaven’ corresponds to Ju. 屮友 杀 屮 丈 血 函 屮 冬 屮 色 屮 屮 屮 屮 <hi.tan GEN □ ACC jugu BURU.we a TA EHE ACC HEAVEN HEAR

SUFF) ‘In the time of the Kitans the Way was lost; its evil was heard by Heaven’ We can see a similar phenomenon in the Kitan sources. The *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong* was written during the Jin. In the inscription we read 凡火 杰 奚奚关 又 令令升及南 灰 禾 又化 丰 无 艾 包 天矢 相谷 <g.ui oŋ qid.ún.i GREAT ú.dû.ó.o.ón (peace) SIX WHITE HORSE YEAR FIVE MONTH THREE DAY LOC BORN:er> ‘the prince was born on the third day of the fifth month of the sixth year, *gengwu*, in the Kitan reign period Da’an’ Clearly the Jin referred to the previous dynasty as “the Kitan state”, not “the Liao dynasty”

北 is certainly <xu>, as shown in 牛胤 北 奚 兀忽 凡亦 <l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ g.ün> 龍虎衛將軍 **liunghuwei zianggün* ‘general of the dragon tiger guard’ 𠂇 177 remains unknown. The presumption that 北𠂇 is related to Mo. *qara* ‘black’ led to the suggestion **la/ra*. The presumption that it is related to proto-Mongol **hulus* led to the suggested reading **lus*. 𠂇 is found in the second line of the Jin dynasty *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong*. In Chinese sources, Xiao Zhonggong’s name is given as 术(朮)里者 **julizhe*. His name in Kitan is given in line 2: 子𠂇𠂇 <ju.[]e>. (Ji Shi 1996:467). This leads to the suggestion that 𠂇 is read something like **lij*. This is the origin of the suggested reading **ris* (Aisin Gioro). For the present purposes I have adopted the transcription <râ>, more or less on the grounds that Kitan **hura qida/i* could have been interpreted as **hola kida* in the Yuan sources and **qara qita/i* in the Central Asian sources. The differences between **qid*, **qida*, **qidan*, **qidai*, **qidun*, **qiduni* and so on are also not known, or the reasons for transcriptions such as Marco Polo’s *Catai*, with [a] in the first syllable. For a discussion on the various forms of Kitai/Kitan, see Sinor 1997. The back *i* after the back *q* in the word <qid.ún> may account for the varying transcriptions. A back *i* could have been interpreted as [ɐ] or [æ], by speakers of languages which did not have this phoneme.

The other elements in the titles on the Kitan inscriptions are also not very clear. The Daozong inscription starts 又 尺奕又 北𠂇 奚奚关 <GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.râ qid.ún.i>, with the word 尺奕又 before 北𠂇 ‘Liao’ This word is generally taken to mean ‘central’, as it occurs in the Langjun inscription in the sense of ‘middle’ (mid-winter), and is regularly translated 中央 *zhongyang* by Chinese researchers. In other inscriptions, such as the Epitaph of Yelü Dilie, the title of the state is 又 令考分 北𠂇 奚奚 凡奕和 <GREAT t.iau.dû xu.râ qid.i g.úr:en> ‘Great Central Liao Kitan State (genitive). In the *Epitaph of Yelü Zongjiao*, the title is 又 令考分 奚奚 北𠂇 凡奕和 <GREAT t.iau.dû qid.i xu.râ gúr:en> ‘Great Central Kitan Liao State (genitive)’ 令考分 <t.iau.dû> replaces 尺奕又 <dau.úr.ún>. 令考分 <t.iau.dû> is also regularly glossed 中央 *zhongyang*, but it is not known what 令考分 <t.iau.dû> means, or why it was used instead of 尺奕又 <dau.úr.ún> in certain inscriptions.

The form of words at the beginning of a number of inscriptions is given below. They all have a genitive suffix:

Daozong:	又 尺安爻 朮利 奚爻关 <GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.rá qid.ún.i>
Yelü Dilie:	又 令考分 朮利 奚关 九安朮 <GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rá qid.i gúr:en>
Yelü Nu:	又 朮利 奚关 九安朮 <GREAT xu.rá qid.i gúr:en>
Yelü Zhixian:	又 令考分 朮利 奚关 九安朮 <GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rá qid.i gúr:en>
Yelü Zongjiao:	又 令考分 奚关 朮利 九安朮 <GREAT t.iau.dû qid.i xu.rá gúr:en>

4.52 Some comments on the word for Jurchen

Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995 noted that in the Langjun inscription, 又 山 九安朮 <GREAT 山 g.úr:en> corresponds to 大金國之 ‘of the great Jin state’ 山 clearly means 金 *jin*. In the Bozhou inscription, a Jin period inscription in Kitan, there is a blank space in front of 公关勺 九安朮 <n.i.gu g.úr:en> and 公关勺 九安爻 <n.i.gu g.úr:de>. The second word means ‘country, state 國’ Seeing this is a Jin inscription the only word 公关勺 could only refer to the Jin 金. We know that 大金 Da Jin is 又 山. So 公关勺 <n.i.gu> must be the Kitan word for Jurchen. Pelliot 1959:216-229 notes that the word *Nüzhen* in Chinese does not appear before the Liao, and it probably derives from the Kitan word for the Jurchens. The Jurchen name for their state was *alčun* ‘gold’ Jurchen *alčun*, Chinese 金 and Kitan 公关勺 <n.i.gu> all mean ‘gold’ The Kitan word for ‘gold’ is given in the *Liaoshi* as 女古 **nügu*, which must be the Chinese transcription of 公关勺 <n.i.gu> ‘gold’ So it seems that 公关勺 is 金 *jin*, Ju. *alčun* ‘gold’ read **nigü*, and is the Kitan word for both ‘gold’ and ‘Jurchen’

The *Qidanguo zhi* notes: 地有二水 曰裊羅個沒里, 復名女古沒里者, 又其一也 “there are two rivers... one called *niao-uo-ge-mo-li*, the other called the *nü-gu-mo-li*. In fact they are the same” The *niao-uo-ge* was the Kitan name for the river known in Chinese as the Huang river 黃河. So *niao-uo-ge* must mean ‘yellow’ (潢 = 黃). Liu Fengzhu 1983 thinks both 裊羅個 *niao-uo-ge* and 女古 *nü-gu* mean ‘yellow’ In the *Liaoshi* glossary, we read: 金曰女古: “金 *jin* ‘metal’ or ‘gold’ is called *nügu*” The river is now called the 西喇木倫 Xilamulun, Mo. *Sila mören* ‘yellow river’ In pre-Tang times, it was called 饒樂水 the Raoleshui river, 弱樂水 the Ruole river and the 如洛瑰水 the Ruluogui river. After the Tang it was called 裊羅個木里 *niao-*

luo-ge-mo-li, 女古木里 *nü-gu-mo-li*. These are different transcriptions of the same name. The first syllable should be something like **nyu*. The second syllable should be **lak* or **lo*, and the third syllable should be something like **gu* or **gui*. It is difficult to account for the **r/l* implied by the earlier inscriptions, and for the *-r-* in forms like *Jürčid*, unless we presume a form like **nirugu* and a reading like **urgu* for 勾 .

THE KITAN LARGE SCRIPT

Shence, fifth year: spring, first month, *yichou* day: work began on the creation of the Kitan large script. Ninth month, *renyin* day: the large script was completed. It was implemented by imperial edict. - *History of the Liao Dynasty, Annals of Taizu*.

By the reign of Abaoji, several smaller neighbouring states had been subdued and annexed. He employed many Chinese, who taught them how to write by altering characters in the clerical script, adding here and cutting there. They created a script of several thousand characters, replacing the contracts made by making notches on wood. - *New History of the Five Dynasties. Appendix on the Four Barbarians*.

5.1 The nature of the Kitan large script

Almost all research on Kitan has been done on the texts in the small script. The Kitan large script has been even more impenetrable. The underlying language is the same, and the general contents of the inscriptions are the same. Progress in reading inscriptions in the small script, and recent archaeological discoveries, have provided certain insights into the large script. The large script is often said to be “logographic”, but it appears to be much the same mixture of logographs and phonograms as the small script. The major difference is that the large script has a separate graph for every syllable in the language, whereas the small script analyses the syllables into two parts. So the graph 国, derived from 國 *guo* (also written 国), represents the Kitan syllable **gur* ‘country, state’ This is written with two separate graphs in the small script: 九 矣. Similarly, 入 «ceu» in the large script is written 矣 矣 «c.eu» in the small; 具 «gon» in the large script is written 九 不 «g.on» in the small. 午 «iri» ‘name’ in the large script is written 矣 化 «i.ri» in the small. Some graphs in the large script are similar to small script graphs, but have different meanings or readings. 午 «iri» ‘name’ in the large script resembles 午 (of unidentified sound and meaning) in the small; 矣 «pu» (perhaps [fu]) looks like the small script 矣 «ur». 冬 «u’ul» ‘winter’ is clearly from Chinese 冬 ‘winter’, and is written in the small script with two symbols: 矣 午 «u.ul». However, **u’ul* also meant ‘to marry [of a woman]’, and this word is also written with the large graph 冬. **namur* ‘autumn’ is written 矣 in the large script (derived from

Chinese 秋 ‘autumn’), and can be considered a logograph: the corresponding form in the small script was written with phonetic graphs: 𠂇乃奕 (n.am.úr). Some of the large graphs were used in the Jurchen script: 𠂇 «lu» ‘dragon’ and Jurchen 𠂇 𠂇 *mudur* ‘id.’; 𠂇 ‘year’ and Jurchen 𠂇 *aniya* ‘year’. Both ‘father’ and ‘year’ are written 𠂇 in the large script, as both are written 𠂇 in the small. It is probable that there are more logographs in the large script than the small. The inspiration for the more analytical nature of the small script may have come from Uighur “technologists of writing”, or from the Chinese rhyme tables.

5.2 Sources

According to *Liaoshi* 64, the large script was invented in 920 and the small script in 924 or 925. The earliest extant text in the large script is the *Epitaph of Yelü Yanning* 耶律延寧墓誌, dated 987. The inscriptions discovered so far are:

(1) Jing’ansi 靜安寺. The *Jing’an Temple Stele* 靜安寺碑 (1072). This stele has an inscription in Chinese on one side, and a damaged inscription in the Kitan large script on the other. The Chinese text was published in 1881, and edited in Yamashita 1935. Wittfogel and Fêng, 1949:243 noted, “No illumination can be gained from an inscription, *Ching-an Ssü Pei*, which seems to be composed in Ch’i-tan... The symbols used are simpler than those found in the Liao imperial mausoleums, but the epigraph as a whole is too seriously damaged to admit of any definite conclusions” Those comments are still valid.

(2) Gutaishi 故太師. The *Gu Taishi Inscription* 故太師銘石記 (1056). This was discovered in an antique shop in Shenyang (Inaba 1939).

(3) Xigushan 西孤山. The *Xigushan Inscription*, also known as the *Epitaph of Xiao Xiaozhong* 蕭孝忠墓誌 (1090). Liu Qian 1956; Yan Wanzhang 1957.

(4) Paolu 袍魯. *Xiao Paolu muzhiming* 蕭袍魯墓誌. *Epitaph of Xiao Paolu*. Feng Yongqian 1983; Feng Yongqian 1988; Liu Fengzhu 1998b.

(5) Beidawang 北大王. *Beidawang muzhi* 北大王墓誌 *Epitaph of the Great Prince of the North* (1041). Ma Junshan, Liu Fengzhu 1983; Liu Fengzhu 1998b.

- (6) Yanning 延寧. *Yelü Yanning muzhi* 耶律延寧墓誌 *Epitaph of Yelü Yanning*. Liu Fengzhu 1998b.
- (7) Xinie 習涅. *Yelü Xinie muzhi* 耶律習涅墓誌 *Epitaph of Yelü Xinie*. 37 lines, 1608 characters. Jin Yongtian 1991.
- (8) Yongning 永寧. *Yongningjun gongzhu muzhi* 永寧郡公主墓誌 *Epitaph of the Princess of Yongning Prefecture*. 36 lines, 1486 characters, of which 7 are illegible. Liu Fengzhu, 2003.
- (9) Qi 祺. *Yelü Qi muzhi* 耶律祺墓誌 *Epitaph of Yelü Qi*. 46 lines, 2845 characters, plus 88 illegible ones. Liu Fengzhu 2006.
- (10) Duoluoliben 多羅里本. *Duoluoliben langjun muzhiming* 多羅里本郎君墓誌銘 *Epitaph of *Duoluoliben*. Cong Yanshuang, Liu Fengzhu, Chu Jianxue, 2005.
- (11) Changyun 昌允. *Yelü Changyun muzhiming* 耶律昌允墓誌銘 *Epitaph of Yelü Changyun*. Liu Fengzhu 2004.
- (12) Tianchao 天朝. The *Tianchao wanxun* 天朝萬順 coin. Wang Qing and Liu Fengzhu 1981.
- (13) Yingli 應曆. The *Yingli Stele* 應曆碑. A rubbing of this inscription was found by Jia Jingyan in a Beijing antiquarian bookshop. The location and origin of the original inscription is unknown. The text was published in 1998. This stele was thought to date from the Yingli reign period (951-969), but is now considered to date from the Dading reign period of the Jin (1161-1190). Liu Fengzhu 1998.

5.3 Early research (until 2000)

The *Liaoshi* clearly states that the Kitans had two scripts. The first, the large script, was created on the basis of the Chinese “clerical script” with some modifications. The other, the small script, was said to have been invented in 926, and was created after contact with Uighurs. Both scripts were used throughout the Liao, and well into the Jin, but both were lost by the early Yuan. The only examples in Chinese sources were five characters recorded by the Song ambassador Wang Yi 王易 in his 燕北錄 *Yanbei lu* [A record of the lands north of Yan]. These were said to correspond to Chinese 朕 *zhen*, 敕 *zhi*, 走 *zou*, 馬 *ma* and 急 *ji*, and were later reproduced in the Yuan

compilation on the history of scripts, the *Shushi huiyao* 書史會要 by Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀.

After the discovery of the Liao tombs at Qingling, and the identification of the script as being identical with the Langjun inscription in Xi'an, there was a certain amount of discussion as to whether this was the large script or the small script, but there was no evidence one way or the other. In 1939, an inscription was discovered in an antique shop by Inaba Iwakichi. Inaba realised that the script was Kitan, but not of the type found in the Qingling inscriptions, nor was it Jurchen. Li Wenxin 1942 published photographs of the inscription, but they were very unclear. Li argued that the inscription was a forgery, made up of regular Chinese characters, distorted characters, and some Jurchen characters. In 1951, however, an inscription in a similar script was discovered at Xigushan. This is known as the *Gu taishi inscription*, also called the *Epitaph of Xiao Xiaozhong*. The back of the canopy had a twelve line inscription in Chinese, of which the first two characters in the date are 大安 Da'an, a Liao reign title (1085-1095).

Earlier photographs of the *Jing'an Temple Stele* and the *Gu taishi inscription* were very unclear. The numerals and some other words appeared to be the same as Chinese, as noted in Li Wenxin 1942. The graph for 'year' 𠂔 was the same as the Jurchen 𠂔 'year'; 日 'day', 月 'month' and 太后 'empress dowager' were the same as Chinese. Through comparing the dates in the Chinese and Kitan inscriptions, Yan Wanzhang 1957 identified 𠂔 𠂔 as 'year of the horse' and 𠂔 𠂔 as 'year of the wood dragon' Toyoda 1963 identified the graphs 冬 'winter' (冬), 𠂔 𠂔 'first year', 𠂔 'monkey' and 𠂔 'chicken' He also determined that 𠂔 must be a numeral, but it was not clear which one. Liu 1982 suggested that 𠂔 𠂔 must be 大康 Dakang 'reign title' In retrospect, we can see that because the inscriptions were so few, the rubbings so unclear and the script so unfamiliar, the findings of that time have generally been superseded.

Ma and Liu 1983 finally identified the date on the Xigushan inscription 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 as 重熙十蛇年十五木馬日 *chongxi shi she nian shiwu mu ma ri* 'the wood horse day, the fifteenth day of the second month of the tenth year of the [Heaven] Chongxi period' This article also concluded that "apart from non-phonetic graphs, there are also phonetic graphs in the Kitan large script" This was an important conceptual breakthrough: the general consensus had been that the large script was logographic.

A new inscription in the Kitan large script, the *Epitaph of Yelü Yanning*, was discovered in 1980. Liu Fengzhu and Yu Baolin, 1984 proposed that the Kitan graphs 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 in this inscription correspond to the Chinese title 金五大將軍 *Jinwu da jiang jun* 'senior general of the imperial insignia guard'. Toyoda 1984 identified 𠂔 'chicken', 𠂔 'snake', 𠂔 'rat' and 𠂔 'six'.

The *Epitaph of Xiao Paolu* was discovered in 1956, but not published until Yan Wanzhang 1988. Yan identified 赤 as ‘six’ and 𠃉 as ‘nine’

Jin Yongtian 1991 proposed that 道 𠃉 皇帝 in the *Epitaph of Yelü Xinnie* must correspond to 道宗皇帝 *Daozong huangdi*. Ruan Tingzhuo 1992 identified 光 𠃉 as ‘composed by, 撰’, found at the end of inscriptions. Liu Fengzhu 1993 started from the decipherment of the large graph 丑 (also written 𠃉) as 歲 *sui* ‘year of age’, and identified 𠃉 ‘thirty’, 𠃉 ‘forty’, 𠃉 ‘sixty’ and 𠃉 ‘seventy’ He also identified 𠃉 ‘seven’ The article also pointed out that the graphs for ‘twenty’, ‘thirty’ and so on were not basic numerals combined with the word for ‘ten’, as in the small script, but independent graphs. It also identified 𠃉 𠃉 𠃉 𠃉 as the reign title 乾統 Qiantong.

Toyoda 1995 identified 𠃉 𠃉 ‘*taishi* 太師’, 𠃉 𠃉 ‘*taiwei* 太尉’ and 𠃉 𠃉 ‘*taibao* 太保’ Liu Fengzhu 1996 identified 𠃉 *zhou* ‘prefecture 州’ and the title 𠃉 𠃉 𠃉 𠃉 𠃉 𠃉 𠃉 𠃉 as 金紫崇祿大夫檢校太尉 *Jinzi chonglu daifu jianjiao taiwei*. He also identified 𠃉 ‘enfeoff 封’; 𠃉 ‘name, title’, 𠃉 𠃉 ‘grandfather’, 𠃉 ‘father’ and 𠃉 𠃉 ‘wife’ Liu 1998 is a report on the progress made in the decipherment of the Kitan large script at a conference in Kyoto. He listed all the large graphs which could be determined at that stage. As he was to say later, these barely covered two pages.

5.4 Recent research (since 2000)

The situation was to change with the discovery in 2000 of the *Epitaph of Xiao Xingyan*, in Chinese, and that of his wife, the princess of Yongning prefecture, in the Kitan large script. There is a certain amount of information common to both inscriptions, which has provided a key to deciphering many more large Kitan graphs. In addition, both were relatives of the Shengzong emperor, and some information on them is available in the *Liaoshi*. The following account of the decipherment is based on Liu Fengzhu and Tang Cailan 2003.

From the Chinese epitaph of Xiao Xingyan, we learn that his grandfather was 烏咽里 Wuyanli, who had the title 駙馬大王 *fuma dawang* ‘great prince imperial son-in-law’, and the official position of 招討使 ‘punitive officer’ He had two wives, 賽哥公主 princess Saige and 鉢國娘子 royal lady Boguo. According to *Liaoshi* 65, the thirteenth daughter of Shengzong was named Saige. Her title was 金鄉郡主 mistress of Jinxiang prefecture, and she was later elevated to the title of princess 公主. She married Xiao Tuyu 蕭圖玉. Xiao Tuyu is mentioned in *Liaoshi* 93. He was also called 兀衍 Wuyan, and he was the son of 海瓌 Haili, the prime minister of the northern chancellery. In the year Tonghe 19 (1002), he married the princess

of Jinxiang, and was appointed 駙馬都尉 ‘commandant escort [emperor’s son-in-law]’ So Xingyan’s grandfather had three names: Wuyanli, Wuyan and Xiao Tuyu.

Xingyan himself had three wives. The first was the mistress of Yongning prefecture 永寧郡主, the daughter of the prince of Sanhan 三韓大王 and the consort of the state of Han 韓國妃. The *Liaoshi* refers to 合魯 Helu of 三韓郡 Sanhan prefecture. Helu was a nephew of Shengzong and the father in law of Xingyan. There is a short passage about Xingyan in his grandfather’s biography in the *Liaoshi*. He died in Da’an 3 (1088) at the age of 56, so he must have been born in Chongxi 1 (1032). He first became an official in Qingning 4 (1058) at the age of 27. He had one daughter but no sons, so he adopted his nephew Yindishi 贛底石 to continue the family line. His epitaph says he was buried in Xilou 西樓, 30 *li* north of the Huangshui 潢水 river, on the southern side of Songshan 嵩山 mountain, at Panlong Ridge 盤龍崗. Xilou was another name for Shangjing, the supreme capital. The Huangshui is the modern Shiramuren.

The epitaph of his wife, the princess of Yongning prefecture, is in the Kitan large script. It begins 天早弔赤英來列國. The first graph 天 is «GREAT» (small script 又), the last graph, 國 is «STATE», derived from Chinese 國 *guo* (also written 国). This is written 兀夾 <g.ur> in the small script. Based on inscriptions in the small script, 早弔 should be ‘middle, central’ (今考分 <t.iau.dû>), 來列 should be ‘Kitan’ (天夾) and 赤英 should be ‘Liao’ (北夾 <xu.rá>). The first graphs in the title of the *Epitaph of Yelü Xinie* are simply 早弔由列國 ‘Central Kitan State’ 來列 and 由列 are apparently variants. 國 ‘state’ is often followed by 眷, which judging by the small script inscriptions, must be the genitive suffix «en» (small script 尙).

The next line in the *Epitaph of Yelü Xinie* continues: 兄弟昇吳弔赤眷. 昇 is a genitive suffix following stems with the main vowel [i], so «in», small script 兩. 赤 means ‘father’ (also ‘year’) (small script 半 <ai>). So 赤眷 must mean «ai.en» ‘of the father’ (半尙) that is ‘father’s side of the family 父房’ 吳弔 seems to mean ‘central, middle’ 兄弟 clearly derives from Chinese 兄弟 ‘brothers’. So 兄弟昇吳弔赤眷 must correspond to Chinese 兄弟之仲父房 ‘brothers of the family of the second uncle’, a common expression in Liao inscriptions.

Most of the following graphs in the Yongning inscription cannot be understood, but 且 might be the equivalent of 曲谷 <go.er> ‘house, lineage’, so ‘of the lineage of’ and 坐土 probably means ‘deceased, former, late’ Next is 北西, Ch. 西北 ‘north west’, with the order reversed, as see in the small script inscriptions. Xiao Xingyan had the title 西北路招討使 *xibeilu zhaotaoshi* ‘punitive officer of the northwestern route’, so 西天 might mean ‘route, circuit’. 百五 means 招討 *zhaotao* (翽 秃). 羽尙, which follows *zhaotao*,

might be Xingyan's Kitan name, 訛篤斡 *Oduwo. It is followed by 太矣, Ch. *dafu* 大夫 'grand master' 斡 is a genitive ending. We then have the word 峯仁 'wife', in the small script 𠄎几. 矣 is «iŋ»; 矣矣休矣 is probably Yongning. 矣 corresponds to 𠄎 «ei». 休 must be «ń», small script 伏. So 伉 must be «gün», small script 九亦 «g.ün», which transcribes 郡 *gün 'prefecture' 公主 is from Ch. 公主 'princess' 坐寸木 must be 銘 *ming* 'text of an inscription'. It is preceded by 冢, which can only be 'tomb'

We would expect the last line of the title to conclude with the expression 'together with a preface 并序' In the small script, 序 *xu* is written 𠄎𠄎𠄎 «ho.le.bun» or 𠄎𠄎得伏 «ho.le.bo.ń». The equivalent of 𠄎𠄎𠄎 «ho.le.bun» in the large script is 𠄎𠄎沒 'preface' 𠄎 corresponds to 𠄎 «ho»; 𠄎 to 𠄎 «l». 𠄎 «bun» and 沒 «bo.ń» are the equivalents of 𠄎 «bun» and 得伏 «bo.ń». 𠄎峯木 must mean 'together with 并' In the small script 并 is written 𠄎峯𠄎. 𠄎 corresponds to 𠄎 «c».

The *Epitaph of Xingyan* records in Chinese that the couple were buried thirty *li* north of Xilou, that is Shangjing, the supreme capital. In Yongning 25 we find the sequence 王显京寺列北兀县. 京 is 京 *jing* 'capital' 寺 is a locative suffix. 列 is «i» (𠄎 «i»). 北 is «NORTH» and 兀 is «THIRTY». 县 appears in Xiaozhong 5, and means *li* 'Chinese mile' In the large script, 王 and 显 are often found together. 王显京 must mean 上京 *shangjing* 'supreme capital' In the small script, 上 *shang* 'upper, superior' is written 矣化 «u.ur». We find 王显 in Yongning 2. 将系 is 將軍 *jiangjun* 'general' 光云 must mean 'composed' (网有本). 太光史丹 is a transcription of 太原 Taiyuan. 王 «oŋ» is 'king, prince' (𠄎). 𠄎芝 means 'wrote', corresponding to the small script 𠄎峯 «c.er». 𠄎 corresponds to small script 𠄎 «c» and 芝 corresponds to 峯 «er». 公主 'princess' is from 公主 *gongzhu*.

This is followed by 𠄎 «iri» 'name' (small script 𠄎化 «i.ri») preceding her name, 臣. In *Liaoshi* 93, the name of Oduwo's wife is given as 骨浴 Guyu. 𠄎系 is 'grandfather', cf. 系 «ai» 'father' This is followed by his title, 𠄎峯木王 *Qiguo dawang* 'prince of the state of Qi' 𠄎 corresponds to the small script 九矣 «g.ui», from 國 **gui* 'state, country' This is a borrowing from Chinese, as distinct from the native word **gur*. The grandfather of the princess of Yongning prefecture was 耶律隆祐 Yelü Longyou, the third son of Jingzong. According to *Liaoshi* 64, he had the honorary title of prince of Qi.

This title is followed by a space, which is then followed by 𠄎平尺皇帝. The last two graphs 皇帝 are 皇帝 *huangdi* 'emperor' The prince of Qi was the third son of the Jingzong emperor, so 𠄎平尺 presumably means 景宗 Jingzong. So 平 is «zu» and 尺 is «uŋ».

The next 5 graphs 𠄎峯住卷田 cannot be understood, but they are followed by 𠄎 'son', cf. Jurchen 𠄎 'son'. Then we read 𠄎峯木王妃, that

is 齊國大王妃 *Qiguo dawang fei* ‘consort of the great prince of the state of Qi’ Next is 二脊, the genitive form of ‘two’ (small script: 圣相). The next graphs 化百内 are unknown, but are followed by 吳子胤 ‘the second of two brothers’ *Liaoshi* 64 tells us Yelü Longyou had three sons: Hudugu, Helu and Tiebu. Princess Yongning’s father was Helu 合祿, the second son. The next two graphs, 何至, may mean 韓 Han. 至 is known to be «an» from other transcriptions. Next are 木王, 大王 *dawang* ‘great prince’ So we can deduce that the word before Han, that is 侯, must be **sam*. 三韓大王 *Sanhan dawang* was the honorary title of the princess’ father. Her mother is referred to in the Xingyan Chinese epitaph as 韓國妃 Hanguofei. So 公主侯何至木王妃二脊 means ‘the princess was the daughter of the grand prince of Han and royal consort Wang’

The date 泰沆二乘五月三日亥亥 can be translated 重熙二年五月十三日辰時 *Chongxi ernian wuyue shisan ri chen shi* ‘at the dragon hour of the thirteenth day of the fifth month of the second year of the Chongxi reign period’ This must be the date of her birth. Chongxi 2 was 1033. The graph 亥 «lu» corresponds to small script 夔 «lu» ‘dragon’ 弄 is a locative suffix. The next words 天本 must mean ‘born, to be born’. In the small script, males and females have different suffixes. In referring to Yelü Renxian, Xiao Zhonggong, Yelü Nu, Han Gaoshi, Yelü Hongyong and Yelü Yongning, ‘born’ is 相茶 «BORN.er». For women, such as the Late Madame Yelü and the wife of Yelü Yongning, ‘born’ is written 相与 «BORN.én». We can see the same practice in the large script. The word used with Yelü Xinie and Yelü Changyun is 天芝, but with princess Yongning, born is written 天本. So 芝 corresponds to 茶 «er» and 本 corresponds to 与 «én». 五十亦寺 means ‘at the age of sixteen’ 寺 is a locative suffix. 丑 is 去安 «eu.ur» ‘years of age’ 又又休又仇丑公主可此 must mean ‘she was made princess of Yongning prefecture’ 可此 corresponds to 业及全 «p.o.or» ‘to be made, to become’ 可 «po» corresponds to 业及 «p.o» and 此 «or» to 全 «or».

In line 7 we read 光印杏岬公主. 杏 means ‘state’, so 光印 should be the name of one of the states used in Liao honorary titles, but it is not known which one. The emperor’s aunts (the sisters of his father) were called 大長公主 *dazhang gongzhu* ‘princess supreme’ (the standard designation of the paternal aunt of the emperor), so 岬公主 may be the Kitan equivalent of this term. This is followed by 二脊吳子胤, which means ‘the second son of the two people’ 胤非本 is unknown, perhaps a name or title. 弄率 corresponds to ‘prime minister’ 冬巾 must mean ‘married to’, that is that she married the prime minister. As in the small script inscriptions, the verb ‘marry’ is preceded by a name with a locative suffix, in this case 寺 In Yongning 8 we read 百五寺冬巾 ‘she married the 招討 *zhaotao*.’ Note that ‘winter’ 冬

«u'ul» is used phonetically in the word for 'to marry', written in the small script 𠄎𠄎 <ú.ul->.

Towards the end of the inscription there are several dates. 身月廿八日寺 'on the twenty eighth day of that month', and 身月廿九日寺 'on the twenty ninth day of that month' This is followed by 王五京寺列北十里 'ten *li* north of the supreme capital' This must refer to the date when her coffin was transferred to the place of burial. Then we have 天壽交南口赤三月茶𠄎𠄎赤州没二茶竟日无允二玟, which corresponds to 大安八壬申年三月甲申朔二乙酉戌亥二時 'at the second hour, *xuhai*, the second day of the new month, *yiyou*, the third month, *jiashen*, the eighth year, *renshen* of the Da'an period' This is the date and time of her burial. The date at the end of the inscription 天壽并月十日赤日 corresponds to 大安七年十月十六日 *Da'an qinian shiyue shiliu ri* 'the sixteenth day of the tenth month of the seventh year of the Da'an period (1091)'

Da'an 8 (1092) was a 壬申 *renshen* year. 𠄎𠄎 means 申, which corresponds to 'monkey'; 𠄎𠄎 <p.o.o> in the small script. The graph 𠄎 or 𠄎 means 巳 *si*, which corresponds to 'snake', 𠄎𠄎 <mu.ho.o> in the small script. So 𠄎 is 𠄎 <p.o> and 𠄎 (= 𠄎?) is 𠄎 <o>.

Liu also pointed out that identifying 申 *shen* enables us to understand the date on the Gu Taishi inscription: 圣汛廿五岁赤十月廿二日. The two first graphs 圣汛 are 重熙 Chongxi. 廿五 looks as if it means 'twenty five', but according to *Liaoshi* 31 there were only 24 years in the Chongxi period. So 五 should not be understood as meaning 'five', but rather its phonetic value [tau]. Chongxi 20 was a 辛卯 *xinmao* year, 卯 *mao* corresponding to 'rabbit' So 五岁 must correspond to the small script 𠄎𠄎𠄎 <tau.lí.a>, where 𠄎 <tau> 'five' is also used phonetically. In the *Epitaph of Xinie*, the year of the rabbit is written 五𠄎. Liu suggests 𠄎 is a contraction of 𠄎, and both correspond to 𠄎𠄎 <lí.a>.

Returning to the *Epitaph of the Princess of Yongning Prefecture*, 二玟 corresponds to Chinese 二時 *er shi* 'the second time period'. The graphs preceding it, 无 and 允 must be cyclical terms. The graph 允 is used to transcribe *wei* in 太尉 *taiwei*, so corresponds to the small script 𠄎 <ui>, which is also used to write the cyclical term 亥 *hai* 'pig' So 无 can only mean 戌, which corresponds to 'dog'

Several recent discoveries have added to the list of decipherable large graphs. The *Epitaph of Yelü Changyun* 耶律昌允墓誌銘, in the Kitan large script, was discovered together with an epitaph of his wife, 蘭陵郡夫人蕭氏 Madame Xiao, Lady of Lanling, which is in Chinese. Mme. Xiao was responsible for the construction of the Jing'an Temple in 1072, of which the memorial stele is still extant, in the Kitan large script and in Chinese. The

Kitan version is so eroded as to be illegible, but the Chinese text can be read. These three inscriptions are about the same people and events.

Other recently discovered inscriptions in the Kitan large script are the *Epitaph of *Duoluolibun* (Cong Yanshuang, Liu Fengzhu and Chi Jianxue 2005) and the *Epitaph of Yelü Qi* (Liu Fengzhu 2003). Other items in the Kitan large script include a number of coins, an official seal (Liu Fengzhu 2003) and two wooden strips with Kitan large graphs written in ink. (Liu Fengzhu, Ding Yong, Kong Qun, Bai Yu 2006).

5.5 The five elements / five colours

wood	blue	柰	𠂇𠂇𠂇	s.iau.qú
fire	red	𠂇	𠂇𠂇𠂇	l.iau.qú
earth	yellow	𠂇	山, 山	
metal	white	𠂇	𠂇, 𠂇	
water	black	𠂇	𠂇𠂇	yô.u

5.6 The four seasons

autumn	秋	𠂇	公乃𠂇	n.am.úr
summer	夏	夏	𠂇𠂇	ju.un
winter	冬	冬	𠂇𠂇	u.ul
spring	春		介𠂇	heu.úr

5.7 The four directions

east	東	東	𠂇
south	南	南	小
west	西	西	十
north	北	北	一

5.8 The twelve zodiac animals

rat	𠂇𠂇	柰	𠂇𠂇	
ox	𠂇𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	<uni>
tiger	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇𠂇𠂇	<qa.ha.as>
hare	𠂇𠂇	𠂇𠂇, 𠂇𠂇, 𠂇	𠂇𠂇𠂇	<tau.lí.a>
dragon	𠂇𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	<lu>
snake	𠂇𠂇	日𠂇, 𠂇	𠂇𠂇𠂇	<mu.ho.o>

horse	得列	馬, 𠂇, 𠂈	又化	<mo.ri>
sheep	𠂉	𠂊	𠂋	<iam.a>
monkey	𠂌	𠂍, 𠂎	𠂏 ~ 𠂐	<p.o> ~ <p.o.o>
chicken	𠂑	𠂒	𠂓	<te.qo.a>
dog	𠂔	𠂕	𠂖	<ni.qa>
pig	𠂗	𠂘	𠂙	<ui>

5.9 Numerals

	Large script	Small script	Jurchen	Chinese
1	一	𠂚	𠂛	一
2	二	𠂜	𠂝	二
3	三	𠂞	𠂟	三
4	𠂠, 𠂡	𠂢	𠂣	四
5	五	𠂤	𠂥	五
6	𠂦	𠂧	𠂨	六
7	𠂩	𠂪	𠂫	七
8	𠂬	𠂭	𠂮	八
9	𠂯	𠂰	𠂱	九
10	十	𠂲	𠂳	十
20	𠂴, 𠂵	𠂶	𠂷	二十
30	𠂸	𠂹	𠂺	三十
40	𠂻	𠂼	𠂽	四十
50~80	𠂾	𠂿	𠃀	五十
60	𠃁	𠃂	𠃃	六十
70	𠃄	𠃅	𠃆	七十
80	𠃇		𠃈	八十
9	𠃉		𠃊	九十
100	百	𠃋	𠃌	百
1,000			𠃍	千
	𠃎	𠃏	𠃐	萬, 万

5.10 List of graphs used to write Chinese titles in the large script

This list is based on Liu and Wang 2004:79-88.

- 5.001 𠃑 [g] ~ [gi] (建 initial) (九)
 5.002 𠃒 [an] ~ [ian] (建 final)
 5.003 𠃓 [hiu] (雄 initial)

- 5.004 文 [uŋ] ~ [iuŋ] (雄宗封農中 final) (太)
- 5.005 尋 [ün] (軍, 郡 final) (亦)
- 5.006 諱 (筠) [du] or [ziedu] (度 or 節度)
- 5.007 杲 [sh] (使師事史)(允)(杲)
- 5.008 序 [si] ~ [sin] (晉信習) (序)
- 5.009 罔 [sī] (慈刺七)(北)(罔)
- 5.010 犀 [si] ~ [tsi] (漆西齊)(犀)
- 5.011 束 [bun] ~ [pun] (汾)
- 5.012 坐 [de] ~ [d] (等 initial)(坐)(令)
- 5.013 光 [ŋ] (牛 initial, 等 final)(光)
- 5.014 入 [ceu] (州)(入)(入)
- 5.015 真 [gon] (觀)(凡不)(真)
- 5.016 司 [ca] (察)(司)
- 5.017 又 [cu] (處)
- 5.018 主 [ts] ~ [dz] (置知)(主)
- 5.019 厓 [cuŋ] (崇)(厓)
- 5.020 虫 [lu] (祿) 'dragon' (龍) (Jurchen 爰)(虫)
- 5.021 尚 [da] ~ [dai] ~ [tai] (大)
- 5.022 安 [pu] ~ [fu] (副夫傅府撫)(今)(安)
- 5.023 岑 [giam] (檢兼監)(凡考)
- 5.024 厓 [gio] (校)(凡考)
- 5.025 太 [tai] ~ [da] ~ [dai] (大太)(太)
- 5.026 乍 [so] ~ [zo] (左)(今反)
- 5.027 妻 [sen] ~ [tsien]
- 5.028 紕 [iu] ~ [io] (丙)
- 5.029 初 [ui] (衛, 尉)(初)(初)
- 5.030 兮(半) [śa] (上 initial) (丕)
- 5.031 当(主) [aŋ] (上 sh 江 final)(並, 当)
- 5.032 將 [siaŋ] (將, 相)(將)
- 5.033 持 [c] ~ [cī] (持)
- 5.034 丹 [sie] ~ [cie] (節)(丹)
- 5.035 及 [ju] - (諸, 柱)
- 5.036 仇(仇) [gün] (軍, 郡)(仇)
- 5.037 上 [ha] ~ [qa] - (行 initial)(上)(上)
- 5.038 市 [aŋ] (行 final)
- 5.039 秀(秀) [jo] (涿)
- 5.040 化 [nu] (奴); (initial of 内*nuei; final of 農(公爰))
- 5.041 允 [ui] (尉), 内 final) 'pig', 'affair' (允)(允)
- 5.042 早 [siu] ~ [sü] (巡 initial)
- 5.043 安 [un, iün, in] 雲, 尹, 巡 xun (final)(亦)
- 5.044 至 [an] (安) 韓(final): genitive suffix -an (矣)

5.045	屯	[dun] (屯)
5.046	天	[ten] (天, 田)
5.047	徠	[ki]~ [kiu] (勸 initial)
5.048	美	[ü] ~ [iu]
5.049	仲	[saj] (上)
5.050	杏	[gui] (國) (九火) (杏)
5.051	水	[sui] (水) (又火)
5.052	兮	[k] ~ [ka] ~ [ke] 開 (叔) (今)
5.053	采	[ai] (開 final): 'father', 'year' (半)
5.054	公	[gun] (公) (九半)
5.055	夫	[ši] (食, 實) (九)
5.056	申	[bau] (保) (丹火)
5.057	吾	[ŋu] (吾, 五) (火又)
5.058	高	[bai] (百) (丹火)
5.059	亦	[xu, xa] 戶, 哈
5.060	十	[shī] (十)
5.061	音	[im] (音) (火又)
5.062	脊	[un] (穩); 'genitive suffix' (火)
5.063	水	[mu] (墓) (又又)
5.064	之	[dzi] (誌)
5.065	天	'big, great' (大) (半半)
5.066	尔	used in the word 契丹 'Kitan'
5.067	列 (列)	used in the word 契丹 'Kitan'
5.068	英	[xa] ~ [xu] in (xu-rã 'state')
5.069	国	[gur] 'state, country' (國) (九火)
5.070	皇	[hoŋ] (皇)
5.071	帝	[di] (火火, 王)
5.072	儿	'son' (丹火) (behe) 儿
5.073	五	[tau] 'five' used in <i>zhaotao</i> 招討
5.074	鼻	[in] genitive suffix after stems with main vowel [i] (雨)
5.075	王	[u] in 王品 «u.ru» 'upper' (上, 院) = (上, 生, 上, 土)
5.076	品	[ru] in 王品 «u.ru» 'upper' (上, 院) (化)
5.077	京	[gin] (京) (九雨)
5.078	瓦	[liu] (留) (火雨)
5.079	守	[seu] (守) (火火)
5.080	王	[oŋ] (王)
5.081	午	[iri] 'name' (名, 號, 諱) (火化)
5.082	已	[s] 壽 (initial) (火)
5.083	之	[er] in the second syllable of the word 'born'
5.084	式	[gim] (九火) (金)
5.085	並	[deme-] 'bestow an honorary title' (封) (火火)

- 5.086 无 ‘dog’ (狗) (伏力)
- 5.087 未 ‘goat’ (羊) (考力); also stem 未 *wei*
- 5.088 五(丑) ‘years of age’ (歲) (去夾)
- 5.089 糸 [gün] (軍)(九亦)
- 5.090 黃 Ch. 黃 *huang* ‘yellow’
- 5.091 𪛗 [lu] (龍 initial)
- 5.092 𪛗 [tuŋ] (同)
- 5.093 𪛗 [du] (都)
- 5.094 其 [x] ~ [xi] (興 initial)
- 5.095 从 [iŋ] (乘, 興, 永, 寧 final) (用)
- 5.096 𪛗 [ju] (中 initial)
- 5.097 𪛗 The first syllable in the Kitan word for 東 ‘east’
- 5.098 𪛗 [so] ~ [zo] (左)(今反)
- 5.099 正 [asa-] in 清 (冬)
- 5.100 未 [ar] ~ [er] in 阿撒里
- 5.101 𪛗 ‘seven’; also in 迪烈 Dilie
- 5.102 𪛗 [ni] in K. ‘ox’ **uni* and ‘night’ **sunī*
- 5.103 未 [o] ~ [u] 序 ‘preface’ **olibun* (訛里本)
- 5.104 州 [li] ~ [lu] in **olibun* (序朔) (first)
- 5.105 𪛗(介) [bun] in **olibun*
- 5.106 仁 [ku] ‘man’ (几)
- 5.107 𪛗 [si] (私)
- 5.108 𪛗 [is] ~ [isu] ‘nine’ (𪛗)
- 5.109 𪛗(馬) [muri] ~ [mori] ‘horse’ (𪛗化)
- 5.110 𪛗 [po] ~ [pon] ‘time’ (Jurchen 𪛗) (𪛗不)
- 5.111 𪛗(𪛗) [li] ~ [la]: second syllable in 𪛗𪛗𪛗 (tau.lí.a) ‘hare’
- 5.112 𪛗 [de] ~ [te]: first syllable in 特里本 Telibun ‘a name’
- 5.113 𪛗 [li]: second syllable of 特里本 Telibun
- 5.114 𪛗 [de] ~ [te]: first syllable of 特里本 Telibun
- 5.115 𪛗 [bah]: in the names 八十五 Bashiwu and 杷八 Pabae (𪛗𪛗)
- 5.116 𪛗 [jau] ‘hundred’ (= 𪛗)
- 5.117 𪛗 [io] ~ [iu] 永 (initial)
- 5.118 𪛗 [ni] – (寧 initial) (伏)
- 5.119 𪛗 [c] ~ [ci] stem of ‘to write’ (𪛗)
- 5.120 𪛗 [gia]: in 王家奴. On Gianu. Also 𪛗, 𪛗 and 𪛗 (九𪛗)
- 5.121 𪛗 [ju] (主)
- 5.122 𪛗 [giŋ] (景)(九用)
- 5.123 𪛗 [su] ~ [zu] (宗 initial)
- 5.124 𪛗 [pi] (妃) (𪛗𪛗)
- 5.125 𪛗 [sam] (三)
- 5.126 𪛗 [ha] (韓 initial)

- 5.127 𠂇 [po]: ‘monkey’, ‘to become’, 申 *shen* ‘cyclical sign’ (𠂇反)
- 5.129 𠂈 [o]: the second syllable in ‘to become’ (成爲) (𠂇反)
- 5.130 𠂉 [o]: the second syllable in 申 *shen* ‘cyclical sign’
- 5.131 𠂊 in 巳 *si* ‘cyclical sign’ also 𠂋, 𠂌, 𠂍.
- 5.132 𠂎 [teha] 酉 *you* ‘cyclical sign’: 雞 ‘chicken’ (also 𠂏).
- 5.133 𠂐(𠂑) [śa] the first syllable in 沙里 *šari* 郎君 *langjun* (𠂑反)
- 5.134 𠂒 [ri]: the second syllable in *šari* ‘court gentleman’
- 5.135 𠂓 [so] ~ [zo] (左)
- 5.136 𠂔 [sên] the first syllable of 詳穩 *xiangwen*
- 5.137 𠂕 [in] (弓): genitive suffix after stems with vowel [i]
- 5.138 山 [śan] (山) (𠂖反)
- 5.139 𠂗(𠂘) [tsi] ~ [si] (靜 *jing* < *cing initial)
- 5.140 子 [zi] (子, 紫)
- 5.141 𠂙 [ar] suffix in ‘composed (撰)’. Past tense suffix.
- 5.142 𠂚 [pa] In name 杷八 *pabae*. Also transcribes 發.
- 5.143 𠂛 [ne] ~ [nie], in K. name 習涅 (𠂛)
- 5.144 𠂜 [in] ~ [en] (隱, 恩)
- 5.145 𠂝 [üe] the medial in 元 and 原 (𠂞)
- 5.146 夫 [ś] 帥(initial)(𠂟)
- 5.147 坐 [oi] 帥 (final)
- 5.148 𠂠 [zin] in 夫人. Also 𠂡, 𠂢
- 5.149 𠂣 [piŋ] (平)
- 5.150 𠂤 [śiŋ] in 聖宗
- 5.151 𠂥 [zuŋ] in 聖宗
- 5.152 道 [dau] - in 道宗
- 5.153 𠂦 [gui] (歸)
- 5.154 𠂧 [xua] (化)
- 5.155 面 [ni] ~ [nir] in the name 習尼里
- 5.156 可 [yi] in the name 拽刺
- 5.157 倉 [zaŋ] (葬)
- 5.158 𠂨 [go] (光 initial)(𠂩)
- 5.159 𠂪 [lu] (祿) lu (𠂫)
- 5.160 𠂬 [ai] (開 final) (𠂭)
- 5.161 𠂮 [bu] in ‘grandfather’ (𠂯)
- 5.162 𠂰 [an] ~ [ên] (元 final after medial iü)
- 5.163 𠂱 天 ‘heaven’ (Jurchen 𠂲)
- 5.164 下 ‘under’ (𠂳下=天下)
- 5.165 𠂴 [c] ~ [ci] the first graph in the first word for 都統 (𠂵)
- 5.166 𠂶 [u] the second graph in the second word in 都統
- 5.167 𠂷 元 *yuan*, 初 *chu* ‘beginning’
- 5.168 𠂸 [cu] (楚) (𠂹反)

5.169	办	[su] (書) (又又)
5.170	苒	[li] (理) also 令 (initial) (𠂇)
5.171	北	[saŋ] (尚)
5.172	左	[iü] in 于越 <i>yuyue</i>
5.173	苒	[üe] in 于越 <i>yuyue</i>
5.174	允	[an] genitive suffix after stems with [a] (𠂇)
5.175	苒	[ja] ~ [jo] 趙 (initial)
5.176	甲	[sin] ~ [tsin] (清) (今用)
5.177	正	[nai] 'head, first' (in 正月 <i>zhengyue</i> 'first month')
5.178	竟	jin (鄭)
5.179	万	[nü] ~ [nio] (女)
5.180	失	[go] (哥)
5.181	吞	[ioh] (藥)
5.182	且	[su] (蘇)
5.183	丹	[dan] in 東丹 'Dongdan'
5.184	年	[din] (鼎)
5.185	或	[her] (?) 海里, 解里
5.186	亮	印 'seal or 禮 'ceremony' (Jurchen 飛~飛) * <i>doro</i>
5.187	余	[ta] (塔)
5.188	父	[ś] ~ [śa] (少 initial) (又, 又)

5.11 Glossary of basic words in the Kitan large script

5.201	autumn	禾
5.202	award title	苒
5.203	born	允
5.204	chicken	竟
5.205	child	儿 (Jurchen 飛子) (飛)
5.206	Chongxi	圣沆
5.207	Da'an	天凡 (天凡, 天桑, 天沆, 天桑, 天桑)
5.208	Dakang	天巧
5.209	Daozong	道假皇帝
5.210	day	日 (Jurchen 日)
5.211	deceased	望谷芝
5.212	died	司芝
5.213	dog	无
5.214	dragon	安
5.215	<i>dushi</i>	帝果
5.216	east	東
5.217	eight	八

5.218	eighty	伶
5.219	father	赤
5.220	fifty	冬
5.221	first (son)	天 州
5.222	first year	夫 赤
5.223	five	五
5.224	forty	丕
5.225	four	廿, 卅
5.226	grandfather	爷 赤
5.227	<i>guan</i> cha	真 司
5.228	hare	五 卜, 五 岁, 赤
5.229	horse	马, 马, 马
5.230	hundred	百
5.231	<i>jiedu fushi</i>	答 序 夫 夫
5.232	<i>jinwu da jiangjun</i>	兀 伐 木 将 赤
5.233	<i>jinzi chonglu daifu</i>	兀 冈 压 虫 木 安
5.234	<i>langjun</i>	无 齿
5.235	Liao	赤 兴
5.236	married	冬 答 夫
5.237	monkey	口 牛, 申
5.238	month	月 (Jurchen 月)
5.239	name	午
5.240	nine	受
5.241	ninety	玖
5.242	Nirug	肖 田
5.243	north	北
5.244	one	一
5.245	ox	牛
5.246	pig	允
5.247	preface	未 州 行
5.248	prime minister	弄 卒
5.249	Qiantong	丕 未 没 几
5.250	Qingning	丕 正 未
5.251	Qudug	园 田
5.252	rat	杀
5.253	seal	尧
5.254	second	仲 夫
5.255	seven	莽
5.256	seventy	冬
5.257	sheep	母
5.258	Shengzong	尔 伐 皇 帝

5.259	<i>shixiang</i>	果 狩
5.260	<i>shou taiwei</i>	守 太 羽
5.261	<i>shou taizi taifu</i>	守 太 子 太 安
5.262	Shouchang	夬 巳 脊
5.263	six	永
5.264	sixty	於
5.265	snake	日 中, 旱
5.266	south	南
5.267	summer	夏
5.268	<i>taishi</i>	太 果
5.269	ten thousand	万
5.270	ten	十
5.271	that year	身 祿
5.272	third	竿 芝
5.273	thirty	兀
5.274	three	三
5.275	Tianzi (Taizong)	丕 罔 皇 帝
5.276	tiger	夷
5.277	time	玟
5.278	tomb	冢 (息)
5.279	twenty	廿, 世
5.280	two	二
5.281	west	西
5.282	wife	交 仁 (仁 = 仞, 仞, 仞 or 仞)
5.283	winter	冬
5.284	wrote, written	光 丕
5.285	<i>xiangwen</i>	将 昇
5.286	<i>xinan</i>	南 西
5.287	<i>yanei</i>	兕 侏 允
5.288	year	祿 (Jurchen 癸)
5.289	years of age	丑 (also written 五)
5.290	Yelü	攷 王 歹
5.291	<i>yuyue</i>	弄 卒
5.292	<i>yuyue</i>	在 击
5.293	<i>zaixiang</i>	弄 卒

CHAPTER SIX

TEXTS IN THE KITAN SMALL SCRIPT

To conclude: it is still a long way to the heart of the jungle of the Khitan writing system. The Khitan script remains one of the most fascinating problems in the history of writing in the Altaic world, and much hard work needs to be done before we shall be able to read, for instance, the Khitan rhymes in memory of Empress Xuanyi, the poetess who was put to death nine hundred and eleven years ago (1075).- Gy. Kara 1987.

The three texts presented here can represent the present state of decipherment of the Kitan small script. The first is a true bilingual, but it has taken the scholarly world half a century to agree on what corresponds to what, and about one third of the text is still somewhat uncertain. The second is a typical example of an epitaph of a Kitan noble, which lists his ancestors, official titles, family links, date of birth and death and occasionally other material. Much can be understood, much can not. The third is the *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi*, which can be barely understood at all.

6.1 The Langjun inscription

The Langjun inscription is the best known and the most studied of all the Kitan inscriptions. Inscribed on a stele in front of the tomb of the Tang empress Wu Zetian, it is easily accessible. Rubbings of it were reproduced in several Ming and Qing collections. As far as I know the first translation in English was provided by Wylie 1860. Like his predecessors, Wylie thought the script was Jurchen, being misled by the date and the first line. Soon after the discovery and publication of the Shengzong and Renyi inscriptions from the Liao imperial tombs at Qingling, Haneda noted that the scripts were the same, and consequently the Langjun inscription must have been in Kitan. The Langjun inscription is a bilingual, the only bilingual in the present corpus, and most attempts at decipherment of the script have started with a study of this text. The most recent studies or annotated translations are Ji Shi 1996:261-269; Chinggeltei 2002:8, and Liu Fengzhu 2006:8.

6.2 Chinese text of the Langjun inscription

1. 大金皇弟, 都統經略, 郎君, 嚮以疆場無事, 獵于梁山之陽.

The younger brother of the emperor of the Great Jin State, campaign commander, military commissioner, court attendant. For some time in the border areas there were no matters [to attend to] so he went hunting on the south side of Liangshan mountain.

2. 至唐乾陵, 殿廡頹然, 一無所睹. 爰命有司, 鳩工修飾.

When he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang, the halls and corridors were in a state of decay. There was nothing to be seen. He issued orders to the authorities to gather workmen to make repairs.

3. 今, 復謁陵下, 繪像一新. 回廊四起, 不勝欣懌. 與醴陽太守酣飲而歸.

Now, he returned to visit the tombs. The paintings were like new. Surrounding corridors were on all four sides. He was inexpressibly delighted. After he drank wine with the prefect of Liyang, he returned home.

4. 時天會十二年歲次, 甲寅, 仲冬, 十有四日.

The time was the twelfth year of the Tianhui period, *jiayin* [1134] mid-winter, the fourteenth day.

5. 尚書, 職方郎中, 黃應期. 宥州刺史, 王圭, 從行奉命題. 右譯前言.

The court minister and director of the bureau of operations, Huang Yingqi, and the prefect of Youzhou, Wang Gui, wrote this in accordance with the edict. On the right is a translation of this text.

6.3 Kitan text of the Langjun inscription

[1] 又 山 九夷和 庶主天 亦 兩約 重令 九用 中考及 爰力夫

GREAT GOLD g.úr:en qa.ha:an deu cau.ji hur.ú g.iŋ l.iau.u ś.a.rí²

² Wang Jingru identified 又 as 大 'big, great' and 山 as 金 'gold, Jin dynasty' *Research* identified 九夷和 <g.úr:en> 'of the country' and 庶主天 <qa.ha:an> 'of the khan' 亦 is 弟 *di* 'younger brother' 兩約 重令 <cau.ji hur.ú> corresponds to 都統 *dutong* 'military commissioner' 兩約 <cau.ji> is 'war', related to 兩夷 <cau.úr> 'war, battle, army' and 重令 <hur.ú> is 'controller' 九用 中考及 <g.iŋ l.iau.u> corresponds to 經略 *jinglüe* 'military commissioner' 爰力夫 <ś.a.rí> is 郎君 *langjun* 'court attendant' 又 山 clearly corresponds to 大金 *Da Jin* 'The Great Jin [State]'; in Jurchen the word for 'gold' was **alčun*. There has been considerable discussion on the graph 山 and its variant 𠂔. Wu Yingzhe has proposed that the 'dotted forms' indicate grammatical gender i.e. they are used with masculine nouns. 金 also means 'metal', which is one of the five elements, but 山 does not correspond to 'metal'. 九夷和 <g.úr:en>: 九夷和 <g.úr>

[2] 𠬞𠬞 乃𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞 𠬞𠬞
c.ar am.se REGION.a.an ui eu.ín³

[3] 𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞(𠬞?) 𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞
l.iánj s.a.an ja.cèn.i m.án.ún se.mu.i⁴

‘state’, 𠬞 <en> ‘genitive suffix after stems ending in consonants’ 𠬞𠬞 <g.úr> might be related to Chinese 國 *guo*. Cf. the term 𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞 <c.iau.qú.ui i.ri> ‘Chinese name’ and 𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞 <c.iau.qú.ui us.gi> ‘Chinese writing, Chinese text’ in lines 12 and 13. It could also be related to MMo. *gur* ‘*le tout entier*’, perhaps in the sense of *tianxia* ‘all under heaven’ The word was borrowed into Jurchen in the form **gurun*, which was inherited by Manchu. Cf. Kane 2006. 𠬞𠬞𠬞 <qa.ha:an> ‘of the khan’ 𠬞 <an> is a genitive form used with stems containing the vowel [a]. 𠬞 <qa> implies a ‘back k’: 𠬞 was not used in transcribing Ch. words, which suggests the sound did not exist in Chinese. Chinese [k] was transcribed 𠬞 <k>, a ‘front k’ Similarly, 𠬞 implies a ‘back g’, as it was not used to transcribe Chinese: Chinese [g] was transcribed 𠬞 <g>, a ‘front g’ These transcriptions suggest that <qa> and <ha> were phonetically quite different from [ka] and [ga] and not merely positional sub-phonemic variants. I have used <h> for [ɣ] throughout for the ‘back voiced g’, which may well have been a fricative. The word for ‘khan’ is usually written 𠬞𠬞 <qa.ha->, which implies ‘khaghan’ rather than ‘khan’, but 𠬞 <qa> by itself also occurs. 𠬞 <deu> ‘elder brother’ Similar forms are widely attested in related languages, but there seems to be no independent evidence from within Kitan itself to confirm this reading. 𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞: this corresponds to *dutong* ‘campaign commander’. From other contexts, 𠬞𠬞 <hur.ú> seems mean ‘in control of’ In line 2 of the Daozong inscription, 𠬞𠬞 <hur.ú> appears with the genitive suffix 𠬞 <un>, which shows that 𠬞𠬞 <hur.ú> is a noun, so ‘controller’ So this term would mean ‘the official in charge of the 𠬞𠬞 <cau.ji>’ The stem 𠬞 <cau> means ‘war, battle’ Chinggeltei has suggested 𠬞 (=𠬞) <ji> might be a suffix similar to Mo. *či*, so 𠬞𠬞 <cau.ji> would mean ‘those who fight, those who engage in battle’, so ‘troops, army’ The stem 𠬞 <cau> appears in **cau.ur* ‘war’ which appears in the *Liaoshi* glossary, and in Jurchen **čauha*, **cauši* ‘army, soldiers’; Ma. *cooha* ‘army’ 𠬞𠬞𠬞 <s.a.ri> is found in the *Liaoshi* glossary and elsewhere as the Kitan equivalent of Chinese 郎君 *langjun*, ‘court attendant’ Wylie translated this term ‘prince of the blood’

³ 𠬞𠬞 乃𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞 𠬞𠬞 <c.ar am.se REGION.a:an ui eu.ín> corresponds to 向以疆場無事 *xiang yi jiangchang wu shi* ‘because for some time there had been no matters within his territory’ Only 𠬞𠬞𠬞 has the genitive suffix <an>, so 𠬞𠬞 must correspond to ‘territory, region’ 𠬞𠬞 <c.ar> means ‘in the past, up to now’ 乃𠬞 <am.se> is ‘because of’ 𠬞 <ui> must mean ‘matters, affairs’ 𠬞𠬞 <eu.ín> ‘there were not’ On 𠬞𠬞 <c.ar>, cf. Ma. *cala* ‘previous, before’; on 𠬞 <ui>, cf. Ma./Mo. *weile* ‘affair, matter’ 𠬞 may be been read **uil*, but there is little evidence for this.

⁴ ‘He set out to hunt to the south of Liang mountain’. Between 𠬞𠬞𠬞 <ja.cèn.i> ‘south side of a hill or mountain’ (陽) and 𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞 <ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci> ‘after he came to the Qianling tombs of the Tang’ we find 𠬞𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞𠬞 <m.án.ún se.mu.i>, which corresponds to ‘he set out to hunt’ Chinggeltei 1999 suggests 𠬞𠬞𠬞 <m.án.ún> is ‘to hunt’ and 𠬞𠬞𠬞 <se.mu.i> is ‘to set out, to travel’ Other scholars have suggested the reverse, but 𠬞𠬞𠬞 <m.án.ún> is found in other contexts which suggest it means ‘to hunt’ 𠬞𠬞𠬞 <ja.cèn.i> is transcribed as such in *Research*; Chinggeltei 2002:128 transcribes 𠬞𠬞𠬞 <ja.únj.i>. The calligraphy on this inscription is rather cursive, and the graph in question not clear: it could be either 𠬞 or 𠬞.

[4] 仍尙相 並考 中用矣 又火來
ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci.⁵

[5] 几丙水 令交考 丙火坐 止升火关 尺伏 沙 比中列茶
g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên ei.iú.cèn p.u.ui.i dau.in 356 ho.le.hu.er⁶

[6] 中关 來去相 穴茶茶 得业列平 戈矢 及約茶 仅 今欠州中並考又
l.i c.eu:en nai:d:er b.aŋ.hu.ai sí.de u.ji:d jin se.qó.zò.le.ha.al.ún⁷

[7] 又芬 丙余火 又火化今比 又由 圣与 戈考 止及子比
ún.e mó.qu.ui x.ui.ri.s.ii ún.yò jür:én s.ên p.o.ju.ii⁸

[8] 中尙 曲來 几火尺火 仍与茶 又火坐 并又
l.aŋ go.ci ku.ud.û.ui rên.én.er x.i.cèn nèn.ún⁹

[9] 金相 穴茶 与交 論得 圣來 又火禾尺火 止而中又
em:en nai:d deu.úr WINE.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún¹⁰

⁵唐乾陵 *Tang Qianling* ‘the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty’ corresponds to 仍尙相 並考 中用矣 <ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de>. From the context, 相 <en> is a genitive ending, and 矣 <de> a locative. 又火 <x.ui> is the stem for ‘come’ 來 <ci> is a converb, expressing ‘after’ = ‘after he arrived’ 來 <ci> is seen also in 茶來 <êm.ci> ‘after he drank [wine with the local officials]’ in line 9.

⁶几丙水 令交考 <g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên> transcribes 宮殿 *gongdian* ‘palace’ The rest of the sentence is not understood. It is sometimes suggested 沙 might mean ‘good’ based on a similarity between 沙 and the cursive form of Chinese 好 *hao* ‘good’

⁷中关 來去 <l.i c.eu> is 醴陽 *Liyang* in the Chinese text but 中关 來去 transcribes a name like *醴州 **Lizhou*. Note the genitive suffix is 相 <en>, not 子 <on>, which suggests that the vowel in 來去 <c.eu> was [əu] rather than [ou], and that the final glide was considered a consonant: [li cew.en]. 穴 <nai> is ‘head, chief’ and appears in the *Liaoshi* glossary. 茶 <d> is a plural suffix. 今欠州中並考又 <se.qú.zò.le.ha.al.ún> is a verb. corresponding to 修飾 ‘to repair, to renovate’ It is preceded by 仅 <jin>, a very common word which is not understood. It may mean ‘shape, outward appearance’ In <se.qú.zò.le.ha.al.ún>, <le.ha> *-ly- is causative and <al.ún> [a]*-lun is a past tense.

⁸又由 <ún.yò> is common in the inscriptions. Here it seems to correspond to *hui* ‘painting, decoration’ in 繪像一新 *hui xiang yi xin* ‘the paintings appeared renewed’ Elsewhere 又又由 <lu ún.yò> corresponds to 龍顏 *longyan* ‘dragon face, the imperial countenance’ (又 is <lu> ‘dragon’). 又火化今比 <x.ui.r.s.ii> ‘came to, arrived’ is a form of 又火- <x.ui> ‘come’ 今比 <s.ii> is a type of converb. The words after 又由 are 圣与 戈考. 圣与 <jür.én> means ‘second, the second time, again’ 戈考 <s.ên> is 新 *xin* ‘new’, cf. Mo. *sine* ‘new’ Together they mean ‘renewed’

⁹This corresponds to 回廊四起, 不勝欣懌 ‘surrounding corridors were on all four sides. He was inexpressibly delighted.’ 中尙 <l.aŋ> is 廊 *lang* ‘corridor’ 曲來 <go.ci> may have the same stem as 曲茶 <go.er>, a common term in the epitaphs, ‘tent, lineage, household’. Here perhaps simply ‘houses, buildings’.

[10] 口非 矣 令丙茶 宅 圣 令考夫
qi po HEAVEN d.iu.er TEN TWO s.iau.qú¹¹

[11] 虫虫冬 半 尺安又 及干 宅 毛 天 止及雨
qa.ha.as ai dau.úr.ún u.ul TEN FOUR DAY p.o.ón¹²

[12] 百央 九亦 令卡义茶 来考夫矣 关化 杰 九矣 雨全
ei.au g.ün pu.ká.x.er c.iau.qú.ui i.ri oŋ g.ui sò.or¹³

[13] 来茶. 来考夫矣 关九 来矣 义火 友燕 半矣 子太 主用 义关 来茶
ci.er. c.iau.qú.ui us.gi¹⁴ c.aŋ ś.iú tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ hoŋ iŋ x.i ci.er.¹⁵

¹⁰ 金和 矣茶 焉矣 論得 茶来 = ‘local officials together-with wine drank’ 金 means ‘place’ so 金和 <em:en> ‘of that place: local’ 矣 <nai> is ‘head, chief’ 茶 <d> is a plural suffix. 焉矣 <deu.úr> is ‘together’, Ch. 同 *tong*. 来 <ci> is a converb suffix, meaning ‘after’ 止而中又 <p.od.l.ún> ‘he returned’ 中又 <l.ún> is a past tense suffix.

¹¹ [The time was] the fourteenth day of mid-winter, *jiayin* year, the twelfth year of the Tianhui 天會 reign period. In 1933, Wang Jingru proposed that 尺安又 <dau.úr.ún> was the Kitan equivalent of Chinese 仲冬 *zhongdong* ‘mid-winter’ Chinggeltei 1976 proposed that since 仲 *zhong* means ‘middle’, 尺安又 might be related to Mongol *dumda*, Daur *duanda* ‘middle’

¹² 口 <qi> ‘that’; 非 <po> ‘time’; 矣 令丙茶 <HEAVEN t.iu.er> = Tianhui; 宅 ‘ten’; 圣 ‘two’; 令考夫 <s.iau.qú> ‘blue’; 虫虫冬 ‘tiger’ <qa.ha.as>: ‘blue tiger’ corresponds to the cyclical term 甲寅 *jiayin*; 半 ‘year’; 尺安又 ‘middle’; 及干 ‘winter’; 宅 ‘ten’ 毛 ‘four’; 天 ‘day’; 止及雨 <p.o.ón>: past tense of the verb ‘to be’ 非 <po> is given in the *Liaoshi* as the word for ‘time’ 矣 令丙茶 corresponds to 天會 Tianhui, but the names of the reign periods in Kitan did not correspond exactly to the Chinese terms: 矣 令丙茶 <HEAVEN t.iu.er> means ‘heaven virtue’

¹³ It might be inferred that 来考夫茶 <c.iau.qú.ui> means ‘China’ and represents a local (or Kitan) pronunciation of the word *Zhongguo*. 关化 <i.ri> means ‘name’

¹⁴ 来考 夫矣 关九 <c.iau.qú.ui us.gi> ‘Chinese writing’: the Chinese text. Cf. line 12: 来考夫茶 关九 <c.iau.qú.er i.ri> ‘Chinese name’ The last word in the Kitan version of the Langjun inscription is 来茶; this is also the last word on the *Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü Gu Yelü* and the *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong*. The Chinese version of the Langjun inscription indicates these two graphs must mean ‘written by, 題’ 来 <ci> must be the stem for ‘write’; 茶 <er> is a past tense suffix. In the Chinese text, the official title of Huang Yingqi 黄應期 was 尚書職方郎中 *shangshu zhifang langzhong* ‘director of the bureau of military operations of the imperial secretariat’ 令卡义茶 <pu.ká.x.er> corresponds to 刺史 *cishi* ‘prefect’ in the Chinese text.

¹⁵ In the Chinese text, the official title of Wang Gui is 宥州刺史 *Youzhou cishi* ‘prefect of Youzhou’ In other inscriptions, 九亦 transcribes 郡 *jun* ‘commandery’ so 百央 九亦 <ei.au g.ün> must be 宥郡 *Youjun*; 州 *zhou* ‘prefecture’ and 郡 *jun* ‘commandery’ being similar in meaning. 杰 九矣 雨全 来茶 <oŋ g.ui ci.er> means ‘Wang Gui, wrote [this]’ 雨全 <sò.or> is usually found following 敕命 <k.em> ‘edict’, i.e. ‘he received the edict, having heard the contents of the edict’ The order came from the brother of the emperor, not the emperor himself, so perhaps this is the reason the word 敕命 <k.em> was not used.

6.4 The Epitaph of Yelü Dilie

The *Epitaph of Yelü Dilie* 耶律迪烈墓誌銘 is a typical example of the Kitan epitaphs. It is particularly useful as a sample text because it is relatively long, relatively legible and in a good state of preservation. There is a biography of Yelü Dilie in the *Liaoshi*, which provides basic information on dates, official positions and so on. The original inscription is on display at the Liao Jin City Wall Museum in Beijing, and is easily accessible. The text with commentary was published by Lu and Zhou 2000 in handwritten form and in Chinggeltei 2002:222-231 in printed form. The handwritten copy in Bao Lianqun 2002 has also been consulted. Aisin Gioro 2004:242-284 and 2004b:69-84 are comparative studies of the *Epitaph of Yelü Dilie* and the *Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü*, who were father and daughter, and share much material in common. ○ indicates empty spaces in the inscription, which preceding certain words to indicate respect, and to separate lines of rhymed verse.

6.5 Biography of Yelü Dilie from the *Liaoshi*

Yelü Dilie, styled Salan, was a fifth generation grandson of Yelü Hou, investigation commissioner. He was generous and good at study, and wrote prose and poetry. At the end of the Chongxi period, he was appointed to the position of court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies. He was responsible for the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor*. In the first year of the Qingning period, he was transferred to the position of associate administrator of Yongzhou. He showed merit in suppressing bandits, and was appointed *linyā* and recipient of edicts of the northern division. In the ninth year, the Chongyuan uprising occurred. Yelü Dilie participated in the battle, and succeeded in suppressing the rebels. Consequently he was granted the position of military commissioner of the Linhai army. In the tenth year, he was transferred to Wu'an, to the position of surveillance commissioner. In the fifth year of the Xianyong period, he was transferred to the position of director of the Changning palace. In the fourth year of the Dakang period, he became the great prince of the southern chancellery. When his period of appointment was completed, he was asked to remain there. He then served as regent of the southern capital. He fell ill, and the emperor sent the imperial physician to see him. He was transferred to the supreme capital as regent. In the Da'an period, he was appointed military commissioner of Tamu city. He was ill when he took office. He was given the concurrent position of palace attendant. His emolument was that of an official of the first degree. He died in the eighth year of the Da'an period.

6.6 Kitan text of the Epitaph of Yelü Dilie

[1] 又 令考分 兆列 天关 凡奕和 弟平立平 □□ 令用 凡亦 命交 竹兆
 GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rá qid.i g.úr:en jau.ul.ha.ai □□ s.iŋ g.ün z.ie du sh

雨考 爰欠 丕 今 凡交丕 凡考丕 火 □ 劣太 子太 戈火 又和 不才 止用 杂炗
 cau.úŋ lu.uh tai pu g.ie.êm g.iau tai ui □ tu.uŋ ju.uŋ s.iú m.en ha.ia p.iŋ
 c.aŋ

兆 亥火 凡火 令关 戈炗 凡亦 叔万 凡火 凡太 止为平 止雨 圣 矣
 sh dz.iú g.ui s.i s.úi g.ün k.ei g.ui g.uŋ p.a.ai p.in TWO THOUSAND

止北 止雨 圣 弟 刃炗 万存及火 令本立出 令拜 凡太炗 公存炗
 po.ho p.in TWO HUNDRED rén.er ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.án s.iaŋ g.uŋ:un ne.ra:de

立凡考 月令 北中得伏 杂炗北
 RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú ho.le.bo.ń ci.ge.ho¹⁶

[2] 立立天 义凡爰 曲炗 州余 平和 兮 止平北和 戈为夫丕 杂炗为 刃炗 共凡
 qa.ha.an xe.dú.ún go.er zò.qu ai:en doro p.ai.ss.en s.a.rí:d c.as.a rén.er us.gi

至令炗 火 坊公 屋关 万存及火 凡及久 冈为平
 hur.ú.un ui [yuan] KNOW.i ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh COMPOSE.a.ar¹⁷

¹⁶ Line 1: Inscription engraved on the tomb 公存炗 立凡考 月令 (ne.ra:de RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú) of Lord Yelü Salan (*Sarhan) 耶律撒懶 / 万存及火 令本立出 令拜 凡太 (ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.án s.iaŋ g.uŋ), noble granted two hundred households 止北 止雨 圣 弟 (po.ho p.in TWO HUNDRED), land grant noble granted two thousand households 止为平 止雨 圣 矣 (p.a.ai p.in TWO THOUSAND) *kaiguogong* 開國公 叔万 凡火 凡太 (k.ei g.ui g.uŋ) [dynasty founding duke], Qishui prefecture 漆水郡 令关 戈炗 凡亦 (s.i s.úi g.ün) *jiuguo* 亥火 凡火 (dz.iú g.ui) *menxia pingchangshi* 門下平章事 又和 不才 止用 杂炗 兆 (m.en xa.ia p.iŋ c.aŋ sh); *tongzhongshu* 同中書 劣太 子太 戈火 (tu.uŋ ju.uŋ s.iú), *jianjiao taiwei* 檢校太尉 凡交丕 凡考丕 火 (g.ie.êm g.iau tai ui), *chonglu daifu* 崇祿大夫 雨考 爰欠 丕 今 cau.úŋ lu.uh tai pu *jiedushi* 節度使 命交 竹兆 (z.ie du sh) of the [Linhai] army of the Great Central Liao Kitan State 又 令考分 兆列 天关 凡奕和 (GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rá qid.i g.úr:en). The meaning of 弟平立平 □□ 令用 凡亦 (jau.ul.ha.ai □□ s.iŋ g.ün) is unknown. The *Liaoshi* refers to the Linhai army. 亥火 凡火 (dz.iú g.ui) may be a version of *zhongguo* 'China' Cf. 杂考炗 (c.iau.qú.ui) 'China' in the Langjun inscription. Lu and Zhou annotate 亥火 凡火 as 魯國 *Luguo* 'state of Lu', but there seems little justification for this. By the context it seems to be an official title. The terms 'two thousand' 止为平 止雨 (p.a.ai p.in) and 'two hundred' 止北 止雨 (po.ho p.in) refer to landholdings. 刃 (rén:er) seems to mean 'to make, to do' perhaps 'to serve' (in an official post). 炗 (er) is a past tense suffix. 北中得伏 (ho.le.bo.ń) means 'first, first born, first period of the month, preface' 北中得伏 杂炗北 (ho.le.bo.ń ci.ge.ho) is a conventional phrase: together with preface'.

[3] 雨全床茶 戈么余 芳化茶与 曲令 仲 百交 止住非 才泰[襟] 茶车关
 sò.or.□.er ś.í.á.ah cu.ur.ge.er go:t ü ei.ie po.mu.fěi qudug êm.ra.i

虫坐茶 几 困列 列行比关 比力 小 升药和 四万 虫坐和 义全茶火
 yô.cên.er ku hó.hu hu.mú.ho.i ho.a siò u.ji:en 307.ei qa.ha:en xe.se.ge.ud

戈利伏 火火 几太女 来用关 弟为大 吧 义化茶和 去芬 及子及 安火和
 śi.mí.iń iú.iú g.uŋ:un c.il.i REGION.a.ud FOUR^o m.ri.d:en eu.ge o.ju.ún ŋ.ui:en

非朱 坐为生茶伏 安火 穴目女 得力关 得力 来 义用茶和 止与矢
 po.do cên.a.bu.d.iń ŋ.iú nai.múh.un bo.qo.i bo.qo NINE x.iŋ.d:en po.deu:de

义化茶半及 及 关天 来着[考] 共九矢
 x.ui.d.l.ún ún i.010 c.iau us.gi:de¹⁸

[4] 令□困 虫几半茶万 □关仲茶矢 尺平升药茶 止及子万 由及和 夫火
 te.□.hó RECORD.gi.le.ge.ei □.x.ü.er:de dau.ul.u.ji:d p.o.ju.tś yò.ún:en qú.ui

及芬矢 亦伏 及化半和 令冬坐乃 困中得伏茶 丸 止尔矢 丙茶茶
 ún.e:de ün.iń u.ur.ai:en t.as.ha.am hó.le.bo.ń.er mú p.on:de mo.d:er

¹⁷ Line 2: 虫坐和 <qa.ha.an> ‘of the khaghan’; 义化茶半 <xe.dú.ún go.er> ‘horizontal tents 横帳’; 州余 半和 <zò.qu ai:en> ‘younger paternal tent (lineage) 季父房 *jifufang*’; <doro pai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d> 兮 <doro> ‘seal’, 止半北 <p.ai.ss> ‘tallies’ (*paizi, paiza*): ‘bureau of seals and tallies 印牌司’; 戈力夫 <ś.a.rí> ‘langjun, 郎君 court attendant’; 茶 <d> ‘plural suffix’ 戈力夫茶 ś.a.rí:d corresponds to the Chinese term 郎君班 *langjunban*; 来冬力 <c.as.a> ‘*jasá*, tribal unit in the *ordo*’; 共九 <us.gi> ‘writing’, 亚余 <hur.ú> ‘person in charge of’; 火 <un> genitive suffix; 夫 <ui> ‘matters, affairs, business 事’; 芳会 [*yuan*] ‘division’ (芳 is elsewhere read *cu*). 屋关: corresponds to 知 *zhi* ‘administrator’ 丙茶及火 几及矢 <ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh> ‘Yelü Gu’ 耶律固 (name). 网力非 ‘composed 撰’; 非 <ar> indicates the past tense.

¹⁸ Line 3: 雨全床茶 <sò.or.121.er>: perhaps ‘I have heard, it is well known’; 戈么余 <ś.í.á.ah>: a common word; meaning unknown, perhaps ‘good’; 曲令 <go:t> (PLUR) ‘tent(s)’ in the sense of ‘lineage, family’; 止住非 <po.mu.fěi> another common word, meaning unknown. 才泰[襟] <qudug> ‘good fortune’ 几 <ku> ‘man, person’ This seems to be a translation of ‘families which accumulate goodness are sure to have an abundance of good fortune’ 積善之家, 必有餘福, as suggested by Aisin Giuro 2004. 虫坐和 <qa.ha:en> ‘of the khan’; 义全茶火 <xe.se.ge.ud> ‘areas, border regions’ (?); 吧 ‘four (masculine)’ Cf. Ch. 四方 *si fang* ‘four directions’ (?); 义化茶和 <m.ri.d:en> most likely refers to the *miri* (tribal unit) Ch: 彌里 *mili* rather than ‘horses’ 茶 <d> is plural, 和 <en> is genitive. 非朱 <po.do> ‘at the time of’: 朱 <do> is a locative suffix. 得力关 得力 <bo.qo.i bo.qo> ‘son of a son’ = ‘grandson’ 共九 <us.gi> ‘writing’; 矢 <de> locative; perhaps 来着 <c.299> is probably a mistranscription for 来考 **ciau* cf. 来考夫火 <c.iau.qú.ui> ‘Chinese’.

天于立方灵 地 今将 九水 将及 叔比及药 今将 九水 关化 屏公 杂化与和
 au.ul.ha.al.ún 079 s.iaŋ g.uŋ b.u k.ii.u.ji s.iaŋ g.uŋ i.ri dir.n c.ur.én:en

今本立出 相今九 灰 及化 小 列本关 业欠药 化九和 曲茶和 几
 s.ar.ha.án BORN.se.gi SIX u.ur siò hu.ar.i po.qó.ji ri.g.en go.er:en ku

至化茶 公尔和 及化半 义矢伏 弁才
 EIGHT.ur:én n.on:en u.ur.ai xe.d.ín tir.ia¹⁹

[5] 化九和 将化土与 公关勺 □□□ 小列 伏余奕 由[虫]立半 及化茶 万存及火 及化
 ri.g.en bo.ri.tù.én n.i.gu □□□ siò.hu ní.ô.ur yò.[yô].ha.ai sí.ri.ge ei.ra.u.ud
 mo.ri

及力夫茶 □火 生伏 今币立本和 ○ 关 主至雨 生 半 业考 今半 主 至雨
 ś.a.rí.d □.120 bu.ín t.od.ha.ar:en HEAVEN hoŋ.di:in bu ai ki.ên s.ú hoŋ.di:in

小和 才公半化立本 方半列茶 伏余奕 弁伏 关化矢 秀茶列 及子及 化雨北 ○
 siò:en ia n.ai.ri.ha.ar al.le.hu.er ní.ô.úr nèn.ín i.ri:de is.d.hu o.ju.ún ri sò.ho

关 主至 杂存用 伏余列 列冬土半茶万 夫关
 HEAVEN hoŋ.di ci.ra.il ní.ad.bú hu.as.tù.le.ge.ei rí.i²⁰

¹⁹ Line 4: 及化半和 <u.ur.ai:en> ‘of the ancestors [former fathers]’ hó.le.bo.ń.er ‘imperial clan, imperial line 皇統’ <s.iaŋ g.uŋ> ‘xianggong, lord, excellency’; 关化 <iri> ‘name’ 屏公 <dir.n>: perhaps the name Diren 迪鞏, 迪烈. 杂化与和 <c.ur.er:en> ‘second name, adult name’; 和 <en> is genitive, indicating an attributive. 今本立出 <s.ar.ha.án>: the name written Salan 撒懶 in the *Liaoshi*. 灰 及化 <SIX u.ur> ‘six divisions 六院’, 业欠药 <po.qo.ji> the name given in the *Liaoshi* as Puguji 蒲古只. 化九和 <ri.g.en> ‘a tribal title 夷離堇 *yilijin*’; 曲茶和 <go.er:en> ‘of the tent of’; 几 ku <man, male>; 至化茶 <EIGHT.ur.er> ‘ordinal of eight: eighth’ 公尔 <n.on> ‘generation’; 及化半 <u.ur.ai> ‘ancestors’; 义矢伏 弁才 <xe.de.ń tir.a> *Xedeń *Tira (Diela or Tiela). In the *Liaoshi*, *Sarhan’s ‘second name’ is written Dilie 敵烈, but the transcription 屏公 <dir.n>, suggests Dilian, written elsewhere in Chinese texts as 迪鞏. The ‘second names’ were usually followed by the suffix 伏 [ń].

²⁰ Line 5: 公关勺 <n.i.gu> ‘gold, golden’ also ‘Jurchen’ 小列 <siò.hu> ‘south; region, also tribe’, 伏余奕 <ń.ô.úr> and 及化 <si.ri> are tribal units. 伏余奕 <ń.ô.úr> sometimes corresponds to ‘circuit’. 及化 <si.ri> is transcribed 石烈 *shilie* ‘tribal unit’ or ‘sub-tribe’. 及化 <mo.ri> ‘*mili, miri* 彌里 tribal unit’; 及力夫茶 <ś.a.rí:d> 郎君 ‘*langjun*, court attendant’. 关 主至 <HEAVEN hoŋ.di> ‘Heaven Emperor’: honorific title (*zunhao*) of Abaoji, the founder of the Kitan state. 生半 <bu ai> ‘grandfather’ 业考 今半 <ki.ên s.ú> = Xuanzu 玄祖 (name of emperor); 才 <ia> elder brother, uncle’; 伏余列 <ń.ad.bú> (~ <bud>) ‘*nabo*, travelling camp’; 化九和 *yilijin*.

[6] 半 今万 半半 主 至雨 □和 才么伏芬 列艾列 来关秀 伏[伏]会化关
州中五半

ai t.ei s.ú hoŋ di:in □.en ia.iá.iń:er hu.sár(?).hu c.i.is ní.ô.ur.i zò.le.ha.ai

止为方 来秀为 止及子五方 小列 伏会奕 戈反本 矣亦刃戈 无女 大 及化
p.a.al c.as.a p.o.ju.ha.al siò.hu ní.ô.úr sí.bái.ar miŋ.ad.rén.tz tau.un SIX u.ur

圣 伏会矢 止及子五本 芬 义矢[矢]伏 化凡和 今币五本 大 及化 伏会化
TWO ní.ô:de p.o.ju.ha.ar ge xe.de.ń ri.g.en t.od.ha.ai SIX u.ur ní.ô.ur

生本五方及 口 不称 一全伏 才 志 仅
287.ar.ha.al.ún qi xa.ąŋ UPPER:d.iń ia deu jń²¹

[7] 引五方五为 化凡和 得会火 釜奕伏 九 圣和 得列出 及及 圣用伏 止欠弱
ja.ha.al.ha.a ri.g.en bo.ô.ui d.úr.iń sí TWO:en bo.hu.án m.o yi.il.iń po.qó.ji

化凡和 欠 五芬 商及 万存及火关 们芬 又 来会及雨 尺奕及 国中得伏
ri.g.en uh RECORD.e hor.u ei.ra.u.ud.i du.er GREAT ordu.ô.o.ón dau.úr.ún
hó.le.bo.ń

无卡 中五半 尺会 关化 兮芬 今会中芬万 曲芬 釜和芬 来么 国才 来化芬
tau.ká le.ha.ai û.n i.ri doro:er t.em.le.ge.ei go.er d.en.er c.iá hó.ia c.ur.er

商及 香 列圣列 化凡和 丙几 芬及 奕关 欠欠伏 九 今 圣和 来化芬
hor.u uni hu.êm.hu ri.g.en mo ku er.u úr.i dau.uh.iń sí te TWO:en c.ur.er²²

²¹ Line 6: 半 <ai> 'father' 今万 半半 <t.ei s.ú> De Zu 德祖 (name of emperor); <hoŋ.di:en> 'emperor (genitive)'; 才么伏芬 <ia.iá.iń.er> 'brothers, uncles (?) (accusative)'; 来关秀 <c.i.is> 'blood relations, members of the same tribe'; 小列 <siò.hu> 'southern'; 伏会奕 <ń.ô.úr> 'circuit, tribe, region' 来秀为 <c.as.a> *jasa* 關撒 tribal unit'; 止及子五本 <p.o.ju.ha.ar> 'was promoted'. 矣亦 <miŋa.ad> 'thousands ~ *meng'an* (?)' 无女 <tau.un> 'five'; 大 及化 <SIX u.ur> 'six divisions'; TWO: 'the two parts', i.e. the five divisions and the six divisions'; 止及子五方 <p.o.ju.ha.al> 'was promoted, was made' 化凡和 <ri.g.en> *yilijin* 夷離堇 'tribal title'; 无女 大 及化 'five divisions and six divisions' 口 <qi> 'that'; 一全伏 'upper ones, superior ones, those in the north'; 才 <ia> elder brothers, 而 <deu> 'younger brothers'

²² Line 7: 化凡和 <ri.g.en> '*yilijin* tribal title'; 釜奕伏 <d.úr.iń> [Kitan clan name?] 九 <sí> 'name before marriage, née, Mme. 圣和 <TWO:en> 'two (genitive/attributive)'; 得列出 <bo.hu.án> 'children'; 及及 <m.o> 'big, eldest'; 圣用伏 <yi.il.iń> 'Kitan name or official title: *yilimian/yilibi* (?)'; 止欠弱 <po.qó.ji> 'Kitan name: Puguji'; 商及 <hor.ú> 'people'; 万存及火关 <ei.ra.u.ud.i> 'Yelü' 关 <i> is a genitive suffix; 又 来会及雨 <GREAT ordu.ô.o.ón>; 尺奕及 <dau.úr.ún> 'middle, middle period' 国中得伏 <hó.le.bo.ń> 'imperial clan', also a personal name; 尺会 <û.n> '*yuyue* GEN (?)'; 兮芬 <doro.er> 'ceremony, ritual; seal'; 曲芬 <go.er> 'clan, family, tent, lineage'; 来化芬 <c.ur.er> 'second, second name'; 商及 <hor.ú> 'Kitan name: may mean 'people'; 香 <uni> 'ox'; 列圣列

[8] 得力 圣册伏 几欠干 无为夫 □.□.奕 丙 艾伏龙矢 公及业为亦 力冬半夏 令
bo.qo yi.il.in ku.uh.ul ś.a.rí □.□.úr mo sár.in.śi:de n.o.p.a.ad na.as.l ún te

圣和 杂化茶 得力 今本立出 中列[列]欠 今各女 住中凡和 尤奕 非朱 小
TWO:en c.ur.er bo.qo s.al.ha.án le.bú.uh s.êṅ.un mu.le.g:en yù.úr po:do siò

十 无 考中及药 圣 今各女 业及雨半关 义来 今火中茶当 雨奕
WEST FIVE doro:le.u.ji tai s.êṅ.un p.o.gò.l.i xe.ci t.ud.le.ge.er cau.úr

乃口立出 困中得伏 刃茶 丙 几 令 圣和 杂化茶 得力 商得伏 义去
am.qi.ha.án hó.le.bo.ń rěn.er mo ku te TWO:en c.ur.er bo.qo hor.bo.ń x.eu

今半 业去 圣
s.ai p.oṅ TWO^δ:²³

[9] 巫立亦茶 刃中 茶茶 屏 五茶茶 今奕茶 无利中茶丙 ○ 住中凡 主 至雨
qa.ha.ad:er rěn.le ge.er SEVEN RECORD.er.d s.úr.d śi.mi.l.er.ei mu.le.gi hoṅ
di:in

非朱 半和 乃 业及雨半伏 金和 杂又 业及子立半 仅 叔金 引方立半 小
po:do ai:en giù p.o.gò.l.in em:en ci.m p.o.ju.ha.ai jin k.em ja.al.ha.ai siò

列本 业及全 杂亦 列奕 夫伏 刃欠 杂住关 丸 今中丙 只与茶 今半
hu.ar p.o.or c.al hu.an rí.in rěn.uh ci.mu.i mú se.bun.ei û.én:er s.ai

<hu.êm.hu> 'Kitan name transcribed in Ch. 匣馬葛 *Hiamago; 凡凡和 <ri.g.en> 'yilijin' 丙几 <mo ku> 'wife'; 欠欠伏 <dau.uh.in> 'Kitan clan name'; 无 <śi> 'name before marriage, née, Mme'; 令 <te> plural suffix'; 杂化茶 <c.ur.er> 'second'

²³ Line 8: 得力 <bo.qo> 'son'; 圣册伏 几欠干 <yi.il.in ku.uh.ul> *Yilin *Kuhul 'Kitan name or title'; 无为夫 <ś.a.rí> 'langjun'; 丙 <mó> 'wife'; 龙矢 <śi>; 公及业为亦 <n.o.p.a.ad> *nabo* (捺鉢); 力冬半夏 <na.as.l ún> 'rest'; **lun* is a suffix indicating past tense; 圣和 <TWO:en> 'of these two'; 杂化茶 得力 <c.ur.er bo.qo> 'second son'; 今本立出 <s.al.ha.án>; 中列[列]欠 <le.bú.uh> *Sarhan Lubuh (Kitan name); 今各女 <s.êṅ.un> *xiangwen* (Kitan title); 住中凡和 <mu.le.g:en> 'venerable ancestor = Taizong 太宗'; 尤奕 <yù.úr> 'first [year]'; 非朱 <po:do> 'at the time'; 小 'south'; 十 'west'; 无 考中及药 <FIVE doro:le.u.ji> 'five seals' (= 'possessor of the five seals' (?)); 圣 今各女 <tai s.êṅ.un> 'great *xiangwen*'; 义来 <xe.ci> 'settlement, town'; 雨奕 <cau.úr> 'battle'; 困中得伏 <hó.le.bo.ń> 'imperial clan'; 刃茶 <rěn.er> 'served'; 丙几 <mó ku> 'wife'; 令 <te> (possibly: plural suffix for females); 圣和 <TWO:en> 'two'; 杂化茶 <c.ur.er> 'second'; 得力 <bo.qo> 'son'; 商得伏 <hor.bo.ń> *Horbun (Kitan name); 义去 <x.eu> *Heu 'Kitan name', written 吼 **heu* in the *Liaoshi*; 今半 业去 <s.ai p.oṅ> '*caifang*' *Hor.bo.ń 商得伏 is referred to in the *Liaoshi* as 曷魯 Helu. The term 无 考中及药 圣 今各女 <FIVE doro:l.ú.ji tai s.êṅ.un> corresponds to Ch. 五押大詳穩 'grand *xiangwen* of the five seals'. 考 <doro> means both 'seal' and 'ritual, ceremony'.

止杰示 关化 令金中峇峇 北为矣 矣 只峇 主 至雨 又雨 令生伏 半为出峇
 p.oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.er ho.a.an HEAVEN û.er hoŋ di:in m.in se.bu.iń
 nèn.a.án.er²⁴

[10] 央义与药 叔金 雨全 □为反峇为□ 药 儿几和 曲峇 舟才 儿几和 曲峇 艾伏
 au x.eu.ji k.em sỏ:or □.a.o.oi a.□ giủ ri.g.en go.er tir.ia ri.g.en go.er
 TENT.iń

生 又夫 虫才伏 又反 半和 又为夫峇 杂杂和 雨全 矣中虫半 伏全化
 bu mo.qú iên.ia.iń m.o ai:en ś.a.rí:d ci.ci:en sỏ:or an.le.ha.ai ní.ô.ur

杂半中峇中矣 丙 儿义欠药 九 黍儿关 令 圣和 又反 舟为 令考伏 丙舟
 ci.kả.le.ge.l.ún mó ku x.uh.ji śi is.g.i te TWO:en m.o bo.qo s.ên.iń hor.bo

丕 又关 又为夫 为半 与平伏 杂列 方和久矣关 与伏峇 曲峇
 tai ś.i ś.a.rí a.ai eu.157.iń ci.hu al.en.da.de.i deu.ní.er go.er²⁵

[11] 令丙北坐 九矣 □虫坐矣 义失峇中矣 儿 □北 令丙 令雨和 关化 令金中峇丙
 t.ei.ho.cèn yủ.úr □ yỏ.cèn.ún x.ui.d.l.ún ri.□.ho t.ei z.in:en i.ri t.em.le.ge.ei

小 列本 止反子及药 叔金 雨全 为半 劣化中矣 丙 儿 止本用 令黍伏 儿住九关
 siỏ hu.al p.o.ju.u.ji k.em sỏ.or a.ai du.ur.l.ún mó ku p.ar.il pu.is.iń gi.mu śi.i

伏考矣 舟为关 舟为 毛 屏与 义 儿半 只药矣 仍关 丙余 反子 小
 ní.iau.ui bo.qo.i bo.qo ONE^đ dolo.én bải ku.kả û.ji:de ta.i ei.qu o.ju siỏ

²⁴ Line 9: 矣 TWO^đ; 虫坐亦峇 <qa.ha.ad:er> 'khaghan PLUR ACC' 屏 <SEVEN>; 佳中儿 主 至 <mu.le.gi hoŋ di> 'venerable emperor'; 非峇 <po:do> 'time LOC' = 'at that time'; 半和 <ai:en> 'year (genitive)'; 金和 <em:en> 'place (genitive)' = 'of that place; local'; 叔金 <k.em> 'imperial edict'; 小 SOUTH 儿矣 <g.úr> 'nation, state'; 止及全 <p.o.or> COP PAST (= was); 令半 止杰 <s.ai p.oŋ> 'caifeng' (official title); 关化 <i.ri> 'name, title'; 令金中峇峇 <t.em.le.ge.er>; 'grant a title PASS CAUS PAST'; 矣 <HEAVEN>; 只峇 <û.er> 'give, given' 主 至 <hoŋ di> 'emperor' = the emperor 天授 Tianshou = 世宗 Shizong. Tianshou means 'given by heaven'

²⁵ Line 10: 叔金 雨全 <k.em sỏ:or> 'an edict was received; by imperial command, by imperial edict, 奉敕'; 儿几和 <ri.g.en> 'yilijin'; 曲峇 <go.er> 'tent'; 舟才 <tir.ia> Tielia; 儿几和 <ri.g.en> 'yilijin'; 曲峇 <go.er> 'family'; 艾伏 'tent, lineage' GEN; 生 <bu> 'grandfather'; 又反 <m.o> 'eldest'; 半和 <ai:en> 'father' GEN; 又为夫峇 <ś.a.rí:d> 'langjun' PLUR; 杂杂和 <ci.ci:en> 'others' GEN; 雨全 <sỏ:or> 'receive/hear' PAST; 伏全化 <ní.ô.ur> 'circuit'; 丙儿 <mó ku> 'wife'; 义欠药 <x.uh.ji> (Kitan tribe name) 九 <śi> 'née'; 黍儿关 <is.g.i> '*Isigi (name of a tribe: 乙室己); 令 <te> PLUR; 圣和 <TWO:en> 'two' GEN; 又反 舟为 <m.o bo.qo> 'eldest son'; 令考伏 丙舟 <s.ên.iń hor.bo> *Senin Horbu; 丕 又关 <tai ś.i> 'taishi'; 又为夫 <ś.a.rí> 'langjun'; 为半 <a.ai> 'be' CONV; 与伏峇 <deu.ní.er> 'brother' (accusative); 曲峇 <go.er> 'family'.

列本 止及子及弱 叔金 雨全 为半 令峇峇 丙几 屏峇 尔火 力立出峇
 hu.ar p.o.ju.u.ji k.em sò:or a.ai te.ge.er mó ku dolo.er aú.ui na.ha.án.er

又及 艾[=艾?]和 令
 m.o TENT:en te²⁶

[12] 圣和 得列出 圣 州余 戈交考伏 几杰 今 公及 圣 戈关 戈用 今峇火 非朱
 TWO:en bo.hu.án TWO⁶ zò.qu s̄.ie.ên.in̄ g.oŋ pu n.u tai s̄.i s̄.iŋ s.úŋ.un po:do

雨奕 火矢 半用立半 令只 戈关和 关化令峇 凶 及全峇 丙几 杂危 扎 今委伏
 cau.úr ui:de ai.il.ha.ai t.û s̄.i:en i.ri:s:er dǎ u.or.er mó ku c.aŋ ho pu.is.in̄

又夫 坐才东 中丙伏 中关要 圣 戈关和 得力 得列出 圣 又 杰 峇及 几峇
 mo.qú iên.ia.ah l.iu.in̄ l.i.319 tai s̄.i:en bo.qo bo.hu.án TWO⁶ BIG oŋ ŋ.u ku.kǎ

只奕 及及子 相与 曲峇和 雨危 戈关 止及用中又 杂化峇 得力
 û.ur o.o.ju BORN:én go.d:en ca.aŋ s̄.i p.o.gò.l.ún c.ur.er bo.qo²⁷

[13] 今得 几太 得及 雨危 戈关和 丙几 升火关 今和 尔火 圣和 得列出 圣 又及
 s.i.aŋ g.uŋ b.u ca.aŋ s̄.i:en mó ku ó.ui.i s.en aú.ui TWO:en bo.hu.án TWO⁶ m.o

²⁶ Line 11: 尤奕 <yù.úr> ‘initial, first’; 令百 余雨和 关化 令金中峇丙 <t.ei z.in:en i.ri t.em.le.ge.ei> ‘he was granted the title of *specialy advanced*’; 叔金 雨全 <k.em sò:or> ‘an edict was received [heard]’; 丙几 <mó ku> ‘wife’; 止在用 <p.ar.il> possibly Bali [name of Kitan clan]; 今委伏 <pu.is.in̄> ‘lady’; 几佳 <gi.mu> [possibly Kitan clan name]; 戈关 <s̄.i.i> ‘née, Mme.’ 伏考峇 <n̄.iau.ui> ‘children, siblings’; 得力关 得力 <bo.qo.i bo.qo> ‘grandson, grandchild’; 毛 <ONE⁶> ‘one’ (used with masculine nouns); 屏与 <dolo.én> [name]; 氏 ‘licentiate’ (?) (Ji Shi); 小 <siò> ‘tribe’ (?) in some contexts 小 means ‘south’; 叔金 雨全 <k.em sò:or> ‘edict received’; 令峇峇 <te.ge.er> ‘died, dead, deceased’; 丙几 <mó ku> ‘wife’; 屏峇 <dolo.er> [name]; 尔火 <aú.ui> ‘*niangzi*: form of address to a royal lady’; 力立出峇 <na.ha.án.er> ‘maternal uncle’; 又及 <m.o> ‘great, large, big’ 艾和 <TENT:en> (=lineage); 令 <te> (possibly plural suffix).

²⁷ Line 12: 圣和 <TWO:en> ‘two (GEN)’; 得列出 <bo.hu.án> ‘children’; 圣 <TWO⁶> ‘two’; 州余 <zò.qu> ‘young, younger’; 戈交考伏 <s̄.ie.ên.in̄> *Sianin ‘a Kitan name’; 几杰 今 公及 <g.oŋ pu n.u> ‘Guangfonu 光佛奴’ 圣 戈关 <tai s̄.i> *taishi*; 戈用 今峇 <s̄.iŋ s.úŋ> ‘Shengzong (name of an emperor)’; 非朱 <po:do> ‘at that time’; 雨奕 <cau.úr> ‘battle’; 火 <ui> ‘affair’ 令只 戈关和 <t.û s̄.i> 都事 *dushi* ‘manager’; 关化令峇 <i.ri:s:er> ‘title, name’ PLUR ACC; 凶 dǎ ‘several’; 丙几 <mó ku> ‘wife’; 杂危 扎 <c.aŋ ho> *Changho; 今委伏 <pu.is.in̄> *furen*; 中丙伏 <l.iu.in̄> *Liuyin (name); 圣 戈关 <tai s̄.i> *taishi*; 得力 <bo.qo> ‘child’; 得列出 <bo.hu.án> ‘children’; 圣 TWO⁶ ‘two’; 又 <BIG> ‘eldest’; 杰 峇及 <oŋ ŋ.u> Wang Yu ‘name’; 相与 <BORN:én> ‘born (past)’; 曲峇 <go.d> ‘tents’; 雨危 戈关 <ca.aŋ s̄.i> *changshi* 散史: ‘a minor official in both northern and southern bureaus of military affairs’; 止及用中又 <p.o.gò.l.ún> ‘promoted’; 杂化峇 <c.ur.er> ‘second’; 得力 <bo.qo> ‘child, son’.

今本为 今旁 旁太 凡亦和 竹 凡才圣 丑半 来化茶 今丙刃 竹太 九 凡火水
s.ar.a te.gè tu.unj g.ün:en du g.ia.êm 160.ai c.ur.er t.iu.rèn du.unj mú g.iu.unj

止水 曲公 今金中茶万 采 戈赏 北矢 子半 今得 凡水 又 百交半及 中考夫
p.unj go.n t.em.le.ge.ei zúnj sí.ŋ ss:de 160.ai s.ianj g.unj GREAT ei.ie.s.u
l.iau.qú

座坐冬 半穴 艾 丁 黍 天矢 困 相与 戈才 尖用 丙登和 中茶茶
qa.ha.as ai nai MONTH 20 9 DAY:de hó BORN:er sí.ia ui.il mo.d:en le.ge.er.²⁸

[14] 香余尼 去北本中列火 又充茶茶 去化 丙关 考矢 今余为 又本和
uni.qu.dú eu.ho.056.le.hu.iú xe.zù.ge.er eu.ur ei.i doro:de te.qu.a xe.s:en

凡尺凡 戈么东 戈利中茶茶 才 否 公半来与 又关火坐芬来 化 雨扎 曲公
g.ú.dú sí.ia.ah sí.mi.le.ge.er ia deu n.ai.c:én x.i.ud.cèn.e.ci ri só.ho go.n

金余及药 去化 又尖来 尖 来中坐本 宅 无 中丙夫 伏力 半 尤安
em.s.u.ji eu.ur x.ui.ci HEAVEN ordo.le.ha.ar TEN FIVE l.iau.qú ní.qo ai yù.úr

又用 今水 主 丑矢 几卡 尺安 及奔 半登 升久化 屋关 □去坐半尖
x.inj s.unj honj di:de ku.ká û.ur o.oi ai:d ó.uh.ur KNOW.i □.al.ha.ai.ui

止半及 列坐半关
p.ai.u hu.ha.ai.i²⁹

²⁸ Line 13: 今得 凡水 <s.ianj g.unj> 'jiangjun; general' 得及 雨凡 又关 <b.u ca.aj sí.i> 'fu changshi: official title'; 丙几 <mó ku> 'wife'; 今和 <s.en> 'long life; also used as a personal name: Yixin' 尔尖 <á.u.ui> 'niangzi: royal lady'; 圣和 <TWO> 'two'; 舟列出 <bo.hu.án> 'children' 丑 TWO[♂] (masculine form); 又及 <m.o> 'big, great, elder'; 今旁 <te.gè> 'south'; 竹 凡才圣 <du g.ia.êm> 'dujian' 竹太 九 凡火水 <du.unj mú g.iú.unj> 'Dunmugong 敦睦宫 Dunmu Palace'; 止水 曲公 <p.unj go.n> 'official title'; 今金中茶万 <t.em.le.ge.ei> 'having been awarded an honorary title'; (中茶 <le.ge> = CAUS-PASS, ei = CONV); 采 戈赏 北 <zúnj sí.ŋ ss> 'Rongsheng bureau'; 今得 凡水 <s.ianj g.unj> <xianggong>; 又 <GREAT>; 中考夫 l.iau.qú 'red'; 座坐冬 qa.ha.as 'tiger'; 半 ai 'year'; 穴 <nai> 'head, first'; 艾 MONTH; 丁 TWENTY 黍 NINE 天矢 DAY (locative) 相与 BORN:er 'was born'; 丙登和 mo.d:en 'of the wives' (?)

²⁹ Line 14: 考 <doro> 'ritual/ceremony'; 才 否 <ia deu> 'elder and younger brothers'; 公半来与 <n.ai.c:én> 'harmony (?)' 曲公 <go.n> 'tent' (genitive); 去化 <eu.ur> 'age'; 又尖来 <x.ui.ci> 'come CONV: after he arrived'; 尖 来中坐本 <HEAVEN ordo.le.ha.ar> 'Chongxi' (reign period); 宅 无 'fifteen'; 中丙夫 <l.iau.qú> 'red'; 伏力 <ní.qo> 'dog'; 尤安 <yù.úr> 'initial [year]'; 又用 今水 <x.inj s.unj> 'Xingzong' 興宗 (name of emperor); 主 丑 <honj di> 'emperor'.

[15] 尺 义 去 药 叔 金 引 冬 北 一 及 化 来 存 为 艾 冬 本 兮 止 半 北 相 无 为 六 仍 关
 dau. x.eu.ji k.em ja.as.ii UPPER u.ur ci.ra.qo.sâr(?) as.ar dorō p.ai.ss:en
 ś.a.rí rēŋ.i

上 无 天 关 火 业 列 止 万 中 相 火 又 卡 中 又 得 冬 采 无 安 北 相 止 只 化 伏
 284.zù DAY.i ui áŋ.hu p.ei.l.en ui mo.kâ.l.ún b.as žun śi.ŋ ss:en p.û.ur.iñ

商 令 茶 及 及 子 兮 止 为 北 相 吏 及 侵 相 本 吏 及 侵 业 矢 止 丙 存 茶
 hor.s:er o.o.ju dorō p.a.ss:en li.u.232.en.ar li.u.232.áŋ:de p.iù.ra.er

□ 方 列 雨 雨 中 列 火 公 半 化 茶 火 孟 凡 中 凡 药 相 由 又 相 万 方 孟 方
 □.al.hu sò.gò.le.hu.iù n.ai.ri:er ui RECORD.gi.le.gi ji:en yò.ún:en ei.al.ha.al

孟 凡 中 凡 义 火 化 茶 万
 RECORD.gi.le.gi x.ui.ri.ge.ei³⁰

[16] 叔 扎 茶 坐 茶 北 为 天 又 公 ○ 住 及 药 相 天 又 雨 令 生 令 北 列 冬 又 雨 茶
 ke.ho.ge.cèn.er ho.a.an ún.n mu.u.ji:en HEAVEN m.in se.bu s.ii hu.as m.in:er

火 安 来 去 女 劣 水 走 业 及 全 来 茶 及 药 义 至 万 及 药 止 住 非 叔 金 雨 全
 iú.ŋ c.eu.un tu.uŋ tz p.o.or ci.er u.ji xe.zài.ei.u.ji po.mu.fěi k.em sò.or

为 □ 令 金 秀 来 因 令 又 雨 茶 尔 化 升 火 又 与 令 无 令 □ 相 □ □ □ □ 升 药 药 相 关
 a.□ t.em e.ci rò.se m.in:er aú.ur.u.ui ún.er.ú tau.ô.□:en □ □ □ □ ó.ji ji.en.i

夹 杏 升 药 火 存 中 列 去 平 参 茶 令 茶 弄 平 孟 平 列 方 孟 半 扎 为 屋 关
 au.uni.ó.ji ui ra.le.hu eu.ul 278.er te.d jau.ul.ha.ul hu.al.ha.ai ho.a KNOW.i

□ 方 升 药
 □.al ó.ji³¹

[17] 义 去 药 叔 金 雨 雨 中 关 凡 化 义 火 化 茶 □ □ □ □ 北 矢 无 卡 升 火 夹 平 孟 平
 x.eu.ji k.em sò.gò l.i gi.ri x.ui.ri.ge □ □ □ □ ho:de tau.kâ.u.ui au.ul.ha.ul

³⁰ Line 15: 叔金 <k.em> 'edict'; 引冬北 <ja.as.ii> 'jasa SUFF' (?); 一 及化 <UPPER ú.úr> 'northern division'; 冬本 <as.ar> 'quiet?'; 兮 止半北相 <doro p.ai.ss:en> 'bureau of seals and tallies' GEN; 无 为 六 <ś.a.rí> *langjun*; 上 无 天 关 火 <284.zù DAY.i ui> *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* (火 <ui> 'matter, affair, business'); 得 冬 <b.as> 'again'; 采 无 安 北 相 *Rongshengsi* LOC; 兮 止半北 <doro p.ai.ss> 'bureau of seals and tallies'

³¹ Line 16: 又公 <ún.n> 'present, now'; 住及药相 <mu.ú.ji:en> 'sacred one' GEN; 天 又 雨 <HEAVEN m.in> (reign title of Daozong); 火 安 来 去 女 <iú.ŋ c.eu.un> *Yongzhou*; 劣 水 走 <tu.uŋ tz> 同知 'tongzhi official title'; 业 及 全 <p.o.or> 'become'; 叔 金 雨 全 <k.em sò.or> 'edict received'.

一 及化 来安 □[友] 矣矣虫 亦 刃百北 业及全 一 十 为矣女 令生万 为半
NORTH u.ur ci.ŋ [tz] au.y.iên ün rên.ei.ii p.o.or NORTH WEST a.an:un te.bu.ei
a.ai

主 丕 戈去 得九来相 矣水 药相 久土中茶与 □□□□ □□□□ 雨药 半中主半 药全伏
hoŋ tai s̄.eu bo.gi.ci:en y.uŋ ji.en da tú.le.ge.er □□□□ □□□□ cau.ji
nên.le.ha.ai ji.d:iń

商半 矣反子 义失来列夫 侵关 为半 几半 又坐 而茶火兴 ○ 久
hor.se au.o.ju x.ui.ci hu.rí 232.i a.ai ku.ká ún.cên èr.er.ui.i³² da

[18] 考半北 充茶与 来兴黍谷得伏 戈么坐半主半 圣化由 止考 安火 北村 兴化
doro.se.ho zú.ge.én c.i.is.d.bo.ń s̄.iá.án.le.ha.ai yí.ri.yỏ p.ún ŋ.iú sh:en i.ri

令金中茶万 主凡 几只药 面为方 赤及 为矣 来去女 曲公 雨 业及全 公半化-
t.em.le.ge.ei RECORD.gi ku.ũ.ji xi.a.al w.u a.an c.eu:un go.n ca p.o.or n.ai.ri-

主方列 义至得九相 万欠反子 令及 凡中茶茶 得冬 圣化由 曲公 雨矣 兴化
ha.al.hu xe.zài.il.g:en ei.qó.o.ju s.ún gi.le.ge.er b.as yí.ri.yỏ go.n ca.an i.ri

令金中茶万 子水 凡用相 劣水 戈 业及全 九 万去药 令雨子本兴 令安
t.em.le.ge.ei ju.uŋ g.iŋ:en tu.uŋ tz p.o.or mú ei.eu.ji te.cau.ju.ar.i t.ur

丕 来相
tai ui:en³³

[19] 芳公 及矣 药 本列火 相与 伏矣矣 竹 几才圣 丕主方 大化 凡用相
[yuan] o.oi giũ ar.hu.iú BORN:er ní.ô.úr du g.ia.êm 160.ha.al dú.ur g.iŋ:en

³² Line 17: 教令 <k.em> 'edict'; 雨陶 <sò.gò> 'receive'; 义失化茶 <x.ui.ri.ge> come CAUS(?); 一 及化 <NORTH u.ur> 'northern division'; 来安□[友] <ci.ŋ (dž)> *chengzhi* 承旨 'recipient of edicts'; 刃百北 <rên.ei.ii> 'served, after he served, having served'; 业及全 <p.o.or> 'became'; 一 NORTH 十 WEST 'north west'; 业及全 <p.o.or> 'became'; 主 丕 戈去 <hoŋ tai s̄.eu> Huangtaishu (personal name); 得九来相 <bo.gi.ci:en> Bogici (personal name) GEN; 雨药 <cau.ji> 'military, warfare'; 义失来 <x.ui.ci> 'after he came'

³³ Line 18: 来兴黍谷得伏 <c.i.is.d.bo.ń> 'filial piety'; 止考 安火 北 <p.ún ŋ.iú sh> '*fangniushi* official title'; 兴化 <i.ri> 'name, title'; 令金中茶万 <t.em.le.ge.ei> 'having been awarded'; 赤及 为矣 来去女 曲公 雨 <w.ú a.an c.eu:un go.n ca> '*guan cha* (official title) of Wu'an county'; 业及全 <p.o.or> 'became, was made'; 得冬 <b.as> 'again'; 曲公 雨矣 <go.n ca.an> '*guan cha*: official title' GEN; 兴化 <i.ri> 'name, title'; 令金中茶万 <t.em.le.ge.ei> 'having been awarded'; 子水 凡用 <ju.uŋ g.iŋ> 'the central capital' 中京 *Zhongjing*; 劣水 戈 <tu.uŋ tz> '*tongzhi*: official title'; 业及全 <p.o.or> 'become'; 丕 来 <tai ui> '*taiwei*: official title'.

北及 得及 中用和 今交考 止条 圣 北登和 止安和 仅灵 悉 止及子得伏
 xu.u b.u l.iŋ:en s.ie.ên p.ah TWO ss.d:en p.úr.s.en jìn.an 035 p.o.ju.bo.ń

又雨关 穴登方安 毛半 丑半 屋及药 父圣万及药 父去药 叔金
 m.in:i nai:d.al.úr ONE ai 160.ai KNOW.u.ji xe.zài.ei.u.ji x.eu.ji k.em

西关方本北 雨危 公用 几丙水 今 死 止及全 南及女 药 列坐条半 止方
 xi.i.a.ar.ii ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ pu sh p.o.or hor.u.un giù hu.iên.is.el ha.al

仅灵登 米半止半
 jìn.an:d ordo.le ha.ai³⁴

[20] 火关 雨平止半 引半 亦半得伏 父圣万与 戈才 叔北条关 小 及化 与安
 ui.i jau.ul.ha.ai ja.ai ün.le.bo.ń xe.zài.ei.er s.ia k.ii.ge.i siò u.ur deu.úr

屋及药矣 及条 杂存为艾 条方 万欠条 戈火 又关 仲公 与安
 KNOW.u.ji:de o.oi ci.ra.qo.sár 269.al ei.qó.oi s.iú m.i iên.n deu.úr

屋及药矣 及北 杂化与 半 子条 走用 几亦 今交 行 死 今 金半条万 今交条
 KNOW.u.ji:de o.ii c.ur.er ai ju.uŋ tz.iŋ g.ün z.ie du sh t.em.le.ge.ei s.ie.êm

仲公 一 及化 中条列和 止及全 丙万比 矣 弟为灵 几安和 用火
 ü.n NORTH u.ur l.êm.hu.a p.o.or rên.ei.ii HEAVEN REGION.a.an g.úr:en
 BORN:ui

屋及药矣 及子及 今 父化今条 为半
 KNOW.u.ji:de o.ju.ún te xe.ri.s:er a.ai³⁵

³⁴ Line 19: 相与 <BORN:er> 'born' PAST. '[He served as] 行 几才条 <du g.ia.êm> *dujian* 都監 'director in chief' in the 伏条安 <n.ô.úr> 'circuit' He was appointed 北及 得及 中用 <xu.ú b.ú l.iŋ> 戶部令 'director of the ministry of revenue' in the 大化 几用 <dú.úr g.iŋ> 'eastern capital' 東京 and was appointed to the 今交考 止条 (北) <s.ie.ên p.ah (ss)> 錢帛司 'bureau of coins and bureau of silk' 圣 北登和 <TWO ss.d:en> 'the two bureaus (genitive)' 止安和 <p.úr.se> is a common word; its meaning is not known. [He served for] 毛半 <ONE ai> 'one year' as 屋及药 KNOW.u.ji 'administrator' [of the] 穴登方安 <nai:d.al.ur> 'officials (bureaucracy)' (穴 <nai>: head, official; 登 <d> PLUR); 叔金 <k.em> 'edict'; [he became the] 今 死 <pu sh> *fushi* (副使) of the 雨危 公用 几丙水 <ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ> Changning palace 長寧宮...

³⁵ Line 20: 小 <siò> <SOUTH> 及化 <u.ur> 'division, administration'; 与安 屋及药矣 <deu.úr KNOW.ú.ji:de>: 与安 'together' 屋 'know, administer' 药 <ji> SUFF = actor (?) 'he who administers: an administrator' 矣 <de> DAT/LOC; =同知 *tongzhi*: official title); 今火 又关 仲公 <s.iú m.i ü.n> *shumiyuan*; 与安 屋及药矣 <deu.ur KNOW.ú.ji:de> [as above]; 杂化与 <c.ur.ér> 'second'; 半 <ai> 'year'; 子条 走用 几亦 <ju.uŋ tz.iŋ g.ün> 'Zhongjingjun' 今交 行 死 <z.ie du sh> *jiedushi* 'military commissioner'; 金半条万 <t.em.le.ge.ei> 'awarded title CONV'; 今交条 仲公

[21] 吏及火中九 公半化重方列 又 火矣 令生毋重出 引重半用重夫与
 lì.u.ud.le.gi n.ai.r.ha.al.hu GREAT ui:de te.bu.310.ha.án ja.ha.ai.il.ha.rí.er

又重□ 刃答比□ 令半尺比 坐毋九 令余为矣 弱 尺半中重半 火 公升矣
 mo.ha.□ rěn.ge.ii.□ t.ul.û.ii cèn.bo.gi te.qu.a.an giù dau.ul.le.ha.ai ui n.ó.úr

地 戈利坐答 口 比为矣 和与 夫卡 米及化 重半女 □□□□ 及矣
 078.ší.mí.cèn.er qi ho.a.an ci.er qú.ká ordo.u.ur hur.ú.un □□□□ o.oi

令生百比 几才答 又和 答 戈危 令毋 几亦 令金中答百 万方重方 止及全
 se.bu.ei.ii g.ia.êm m.en ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün t.em.le.ge.ei ei.al.ha.al p.o.or

本列 弱 答方
 ar.hu giù 269.al³⁶

[22] 列女[答?]列 半答 雨先伏 尺半答坐答 小 列本 止及子及弱 叔金 雨全 为半
 hu.sár.(êm) hu ai:d ca.zú.in xe.se.ge.cèn.er siò hu.ar p.o.ju.u.ji k.em sò.or
 a.ai

去答 伏全矣 几尺女 去安答又 乃半重本 方及弱 仅 叔金 引方重半 灰
 eu.e ní.ô.úr ku.û.un eu.ur.ge.ún am.ul.ha.ar al.u.ji jìn k.em ja.al.ha.ai SIX

及化 答 去 止及全 和冬为矣 穴 雨及女 公半□重 □列火 公行矣又 几化
 u.ur tai oŋ p.o.or c.as.a.an nai hor.u.un n.ai.□.ha □.hu.iú ne.mú.dz.ún g.ir

火化化答 令比列 万余矣 止灰 止及子重半 夫关 引方 升弱和
 x.ui.r.er se.ho.hu ei.qu.oi p.121 p.o.ju.ha.ai rí.i ja.al u.ji:en

半力 仅 雨子 令比
 nèn.a jìn sò.ju s.ii³⁷

s.ie.êm ü.n (?); 一 及化 <UPPER u.ur> 'northern division'; 中答列为 l.êm.hu.a '林牙 linya (official title)'; 止及全 <p.o.or> 'became'; 矣 <HEAVEN> 昂为矣 REGION.a.an 几矣和 g.ur:en (of the state?) 用矣 BORN:ui 屋及弱矣 KNOW.ú.ji:de 'administrator' (DAT/LOC).

³⁶ Line 21: 又 <GREAT> 矣 <ui> 'affair, business, achievement'; 口 <qi> 'that' 米及化 <ordo.u.ur> 'ordo'; 重半女 <hur.ú.un> 'person in charge of'; 几才答 又和 答 <g.ia.êm m.en ui> jianmenwei (official title); 戈危 令毋 几亦 <ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün> shang jiangjun: 'senior general' 令金中答百 <t.em.le.ge.ei> 'having been granted the title'; 止及全 <p.o.or> 'became'

³⁷ Line 22: 半答 'male PLUR: '[tent of] paternal uncles' (?); 叔金 <k.em> 'edict' [receive] PAST; 伏全矣 <ní.ô.úr> 'circuit'; 几尺女 <ku.û.un> 'men'; 叔金 <k.em> 'edict'; 灰 及化 <SIX u.ur> six yuan; 答 去 <tai oŋ> 'great prince'; 和冬为矣 <c.as.a.an> jasa GEN; 穴 <nai> 'chief, head, official', 雨及女 <hor.ú.un> 'people' GEN.

[23] 公半中及药 叔金 雨雨 中关 北为采 今金比 今生万 药和 为艾[半?] 又条余
n.ai.l.u.ji k.em só.gò l.i ho.a.an s.em.ii te.bu.ei ji:en a.sâr m.as.qu

今半 又和 几火 几夹火 夹卡登比 采和夫比 穴立本关 无卡半立半
s.ai m.en g.iú g.au.un ci.kâ.d.ii 121.en.rí.ii dá.ha.ar.i tau.kâ.le.ha.ai

旁太 子太 戈火 又和 不才 业雨 采冠 死 今金中采万 今旁 几雨和 中丙
tu.un ju.un s.iú m.en ha.ia p.in c.aj sh t.em.le.ge.ei te.gě g.in:en liu

戈去 □□ 曲公 今女 旁太 友业及全 尔夹 采 药和 今欠比 坐列与
s.eu □□ go.n fu.un tu.un tz p.o.or aú.ur DAY ji:en t.uh.ii cên.bú.er

月半 今考平立半 芳化中
TEXT.ú s.úŋ.ul.ha.ai cu.ur.bun³⁸

[24] □中□本 □□立半 采火 几太 业及子立本 仅 引冬比 戈才 叔金
□.le.□.ar □□ ha.ai ŋ.iú g.un p.o.ju.ha.ai jin ja.as.ii s.ia k.em

夫关□雨半及 包 艾今 业及子及比矢 采冬为采 有及火 丙交本及药
rí.i.□.gò.l.ún THREE^o MONTH.se p.o.ju.u.ho:de c.as a.an hor.u.un ei.ie.ra.u.ji

无本中采万 义采和 雨采 今圣友 乃平立本 口 今生万 得冬为乃伏
zù.ge.le.ge.ei xe.c.en cau.úr t.ian.tz am.ul.ha.ar qi te.bu.ei b.as a.am.iń
丙余采 列虫委升卡比 药和 引半 土采和 子为本 采□[及]比 义采采
ei.qu.oi hu.iên.is.u.kâ.ii ji.en ja.ai tú.ge.en ju.a.ar ordo.□.[u].dú x.ui.ci

关化矢关 采关 采为本 今生方升 药和
i.ri:de.i an.i au.a.ar te.bu.al.u ji:en³⁹

³⁸ Line 23: 叔金 <k.em> 'edict'; 又条余 <m.as.qu> 'elder' 今半 又和 <s.ai m.en> (?) 旁太 子太 戈火 又和 不才 业雨 采冠 死 <tu.un ju.un s.iú m.en x.ia p.in c.aj sh> *tongzhongshu menxia pingchangshi* 'jointly manager of affairs with the secretariat chancellery'; 今金中采万 <t.em.le.ge.ei> 'having been granted honorary title'; 今旁 几雨和 <te.gě g.in> 'southern capital'; 中丙 戈去 <liu s.eu> *liushou* 'viceroy, regent'; 曲公 今女 <go.n fu.un> '*guanfu*: official residence' GEN; 旁太 友 <tu.un tz> '*tongzhi*, official title'; 业及全 p.o.or 'was'; 采 DAY; 月半 TEXT.ú 'text on an inscription'

³⁹ Line 24: 叔金 <k.em> 'edict'; 包 艾今 THREE^o MONTH.se PLUR; 义采和 <xe.c.en> 'region, town, city, settlement'; 雨采 <cau.ur> 'military, war'; 口 <qi> 'that'; 得冬 <b.as> 'again'; 采升□比 <ordo.□.dú> □ = 及 or 升 'ordo' DAT/LOC; 义采采 <x.ui.ci> 'come, came' CONV = 'after he had come'; 关化矢 <i.ri:de> 'title, name' DAT/LOC.

[25] 井口 伙 雨全 药 哭关 力乃伏茶 业床 伙 叔金 雨雨半爻 得冬
 nèn □ jǐn sò.or giù an.i a.am.ní.er p.121 jǐn k.em sò.gò.l.ún b.as

百去药 爻化 几雨相 半丙 戈去 业及全 几化 爻化化茶百 令乃本 金相 令半
 ei.eu.ji u.ur g.ij:en l.iu s.eu p.o.or gi.ri x.ui.ri.ge.ei t.am.ar em:en t.ú

戈关相 火 屋及药矢 及本 爻平爻关 伞金比 列虫黍半立半 药相 引半
 s.i.en ui KNOW.u.ji:de o.oi x.ul.ún.i s.em.ii hu.iên.is.le.ha.ai ji:en ja.ai

爻冬余 □□□□ 伞半相 夫关 爻无茶百 爻圣毋茶比 力乃伏 尤 药 业及子爻
 m.as.qu □□□□ s.ai:en rí.i xe.zù.ge.ei xe.zài.il.ge.e a.am.ín yù giù p.o.ju.ún

叔金 雨全 十 药关子女 八茶茶 爻失本
 k.em sò.or WEST ji.i.ju.un bà:d:er x.ui.ci⁴⁰

[26] 去安 爻 圣矢 百余茶 业考 令茶半茶百 关化矢关 哭关 □□□□□□相
 eu.úr SIXTY TWO:de ei.qu.oi p.iau te.ge.le.ge.ei i.ri:de.i an.i □□□□□:en

药力乃伏茶 面及药 叔金 雨全 令丙分中 土茶茶 爽为本 业雨半爻
 299.a.am.ní.er xi.u.ji k.em sò.or t.iu.dû.bun tú.ge.er au.a.ar p.od.l.ún

雨半立半 灰 半伞 伞为半 又 米升及雨 至 虫火 业及及 半 穴
 jau.ul.h.ai SIX ai:se s.a.ai GREAT ORDO.ó.o.ón EIGHT yô.iú p.o.o ai nai
 艾 丁 包 爽矢 去安 爻 屏矢 □与□ 伞金公 乃矢关
 MONTH TWENTY THREE DAY:de eu.úr SIXTY SEVEN:de □.én.□ t.em.n
 âm:de.i

伞金比茶 劣安中 及火 雨全 爻茶 圣坐关
 s.em.ii.er tu.úr.bun u.un sò.or xe.d yi.cên.i⁴¹

⁴⁰ Line 25: 叔金 <k.em> 'edict'; 雨雨半爻 <sò.gò.l.ún> 'receive' PAST; 得冬 <b.as> 'again'; 爻化 几雨相 <u.ur g.ij:en> 'supreme capital' GEN; 半丙 戈去 <l.iu s.eu> 'liushou'; 业及全 <p.o.or> 'be, become' PAST; 爻化化茶百 <x.ui.ri.ge.ei> 'come CAUS CONV' 令乃本 <t.am.ar> Tamar (place name: Ch. 塌母 Tamu); 金相 em:en 'place' GEN; 令半 戈关相 <t.ú s.i.en> 'dujian' (?) 失 <ui> 'affairs, matters'; 屋及药矢 <KNOW.u.ji:de> 'administrator' DAT/LOC; 爻冬余 <m.as.qu> 'elder'; 叔金 雨全 <k.em sò.or> 'edict received'; 十 <WEST> 八茶茶 bà:d:er 'place' PLUR ACC; 爻失本 <x.ui.ci> 'came' CONV = 'after he arrived at the western places'

⁴¹ Line 26: 去安 <eu.úr> 'years of age 歲'; 爻 圣矢 'sixty two' LOC; 叔金 雨全 <k.em sò.or> 'edict received'; 灰 半伞 <SIX ai:se> 'six year' PLUR; 伞为半 <s.a.ai> 'be at' CONV 又 米升及雨 <GREAT ORDO.u.o.ón> 'Da'an (reign period)'; 至 'eight' 虫火 <yô.iú> 'black'; 业及及 <p.o.o> 'snake'; 半 <ai> 'year'; 穴 <nai> 'first (also: 'head, official)'; 艾 <MONTH> 丁 <TWENTY> 包 <THREE> 爽矢 DAY LOC 去安 <eu.úr> 'age'; 爻 <SIXTY> 屏矢 SEVEN LOC ... 伞金比茶 <s.em.ii.er> 'fell ill' PAST; 劣安中 <tu.úr.bun> 'died' PAST.

[27] 戈平关 仅梁茶 刘为 令平关 尺药 止及子立方 命关矣 □□ 百及药 止半
 ś.ul.i jìn.an.er bú.a t.ul.i û.ji p.o.ju.ha.al s.i.de □□ ei.u.ji p.ai

北 隔生 北 又雨 西及药 列虫 令令平又 又金和 空为 □禾 尺平茶茶 口 半 至
 ss ca.bu ss m.in xi.u.ji hu.iên s.ó.ul.ún m.em:en 194.a □.is û.ul.ge.er qi ai
 EIGHT

艾 禾 天矣 又茶 辰 令丙亥 丙及女 床 伏余用 九伏 丙令和
 MONTH NINE DAY:de ún.er TOMB? t.iu.dz xor.u.un ETERNAL ní.qu.il śi.ń
 mó:t:en

为乃伏 公存 伏中尺矣 药相关 为亦中 未考天矣 穴 未勉 未安 安交方 □金
 a.am.iń ne.ra ní.l.û.ui ji.en.i a.ad.bun c.iau.qú.ui nai c.aŋ ci.ŋ ŋ.ie.ên □.em⁴²

[28] 尔矣 戈才 屋茶 未去 为半 又 矣行茶 及子立半 力冬立出 兮
 aú.ui ś.ia KNOW.er c.eu a.ai GREAT ho.mú.er o.ju.ha.ai na.as.ha.án doró

叔北尺药 止方令止方 令半 止杰尔 丙为亦 戈为夫茶 梁半立出 火火 九水女
 k.ii.û.ji p.al.se.ha.343 s.ai p.oŋ:on hor.a.ad ś.a.rí:d an.le.ha.ar iú.iú g.uŋ:un

未本 固中得伏矣关 止住非 令得 九水女 小 列本关 关化矣 及子伏 □安 又用和
 c.ar hó.le.bo.ń:de.i po.mu.fěi s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un sió h.ar.i i.ri:de o.ju.iń □.ŋ x.iŋ:en

北为梁 央平立方伏矣关 火矣 丙令北 由又 几尺女 戈利中九茶 戈么条 □□□
 ho.a.an au.ul.ha.al.iń:de.i iú.li 307.s.ii yó.ún ku.û.un ś.mi.le.g.er ś.iá.ah □□⁴³

[29] 尚令 仲 丙交 止住非 才茶[捺] 圣存关 虫坐茶 几 固列列行 令关 北为 小
 go.t ü ei.ie po.mu.fěi qudug yi.ra.i yô.cèn.er ku hó.hu.hu.mú s.i ho.a sió

⁴² Line 27: 止半 北 <p.ai ss> 'bureau of tallies'; 隔生 北 <ca.bu ss> [bureau of finance](?); 口 <qi> 'that'; 半 <ai> 'year'; 至 EIGHT; 艾 MONTH; 禾 NINE; 天矣 DAY:de 'on the day'; 伏余用 <ní.qu.il> [clan name]; 九伏 <śi.ń> [name before marriage, née, Mme.] GEN; 丙令和 <mo:t:en> 'wife, female' PLUR GEN 公存 <ne.ra> 'tomb' 未考天矣 <c.iau.qú.ui> 'Chinese' 穴 <nai> 'official, head' 未勉 未安 安交方 <c.aŋ ci.ŋ ŋ.i.ên> [Chinese name: Chang Chengyan (?)].

⁴³ Line 28: 尔矣 <aú.ui> 'niangzi, royal lady'; 屋茶 未去 为半 <KNOW.er c.eu a.ai> 'as he was the local prefect (zhizhou)'; 又 矣行茶 <GREAT ho.mú.er> 'the great catalpa coffin 大辛宫 da zi gong' 及子立半 'caused to be closed'; 叔北尺药 <k.ii.û.ji> 'this is called'; 兮 <doro> 'ceremony' 禮; 力冬立出 <na.as.ha.án> 'laying to rest'. The people 丙为亦 <hor.a.ad> (relations, family members) of the 令半 止杰尔 <s.ai p.oŋ:on> 'caifang' 採訪 (= Yelü Dilie) and the 戈为夫茶 <ś.a.rí:d> 'court attendants' 郎君 未本 <c.ar> 'in the past' (?). 九水女 <g.uŋ:un> 'his excellency' GEN; 固中得伏矣关 <hó.le.bo.ń:de.i> 'from the imperial line...' (?). Note: 又 矣行茶 <GREAT ho.mú.er> = da zi gong, literally 'great catalpa palace': the coffin of an emperor (or noble).

升药和 叔比几 仅几 药 剂灵 地 剂火 又火化得伏 叔比尺药 令得 几水 几
 ó.ji.en ke.ho.gi jìn.gi giù á.an 079 á.iú x.ui.r.bo.ń k.ii.ù.ji s.ianj g.uŋ ku

相关 令丙刃 屋列冬和 刃茶 允奕 令去比 尺火用去本 共几几
 BORN:i t.iu.rèn KNOW.hu.as:en rěn.er yù.úr s.eu.ii dau.ui.il.ha.ar us.gi.dú

本万 网坐茶 爽及火中几 至令化 又去艾[冬?] 戈利中茶万
 nèn.ei COMPOSE.cèn.er lí.u.ud.le.gi hur.ú.ur mo.ha.sàr (=as?) ší.mi.le.ge.ei

网比 令冬国 去几与 坐生坐 庚得去出 去杏
 307.ho t.as.hó RECORD.g.én ha.bu.cèn ETERNAL.il.ha.ar eu.uni⁴⁴

[30] 药 曲茶 药和 几尺几 又刃友 屋伏 药 业用才 丙万 令圣茶茶 药
 giù go.er ji:en ku.ù.dú m.rèn.tz KNOW.in giù án.il.ia 307.ei t.ên.is.er giù

夫关 去几茶 令得 几水水 丙令 业本 包 又发及 令交 九 又夫 坐才东
 rí.i RECORD.g.er s.ianj g.uŋ.un mó.t p.ar THREE BIG ŋ.u s.í ší mo.qú iên.ia.ah

引化欠化 坐伏和 曲茶和 公用来芬 戈力夫和 得力 得列出 圣 又 戈亦方
 ja.ri.qó.ur bu.in:en go.er.en n.iŋ.c.e ś.a.rí:en bo.qo bo.ho.án TWO BIG ś.ün.al

今茶伏 力去出茶 令余发及 令各几 尺平茶与 来化与 夫□ 今茶伏
 pu.is.in na.ha.án:er te.qu.dz.ún s.êŋ.dú û.ul.ge.én c.ur.er rí.□ pu.is.in

来仔分 友用 丑
 ci.lú.dú tz.iŋ 160⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Line 29: 曲令 <go.t> 'tent' PLUR...才茶[繇] <qudu> 'good fortune' 几 <ku> 'man, men'; 小 <siò> 'south or tribe'. 又火化得伏 <x.ui.r.bo.ń> stem 又火 <x.ui-> 'come' SUFF; 叔比尺药 <k.ii.ù.ji> 'it is called'; 令得 几水 <s.ianj g.uŋ> 'xianggong (相公) lord, excellency'; 几 <ku> 'man'; 至令化 <hur.ú.ur> 'person in charge'; 共几几 <us.gi.dú> 'writing' LOC 网 <COMPOSE> [the text of the epitaph] 相关 <BORN:i>; 令丙刃 <t.iu.rèn> 'virtue'; 屋列冬和 <KNOW.hu.as:en> 'administrator' GEN; 刃茶 <rèn.er> 'to do, to make' PAST; 允奕 <yù.ur> 'initial, first' 去几与 <RECORD.g.er> 'record' PAST

⁴⁵ Line 30: 曲茶 <go.er> 'tent, lineage' ACC; 几尺几 <ku.ù.dú> 'man, men' DAT/LOC; 屋伏 <KNOW.ń> 令得 几水水 <s.ianj g.uŋ.un> 'xianggong 'lord, excellency' GEN; 丙令 业本 <mó.t p.ar> 'wives, spouses'; 包 <THREE>; 又 <BIG>; 发及 令交 <ŋ.ú s.ie> [personal name: Yujie]; 九 <sí> 'name before marriage, née, Mme'; 引化欠化 <ja.ri.qó.ur> 'prime minister' ACC; 曲茶和 <go.er.en> 'tent, lineage GEN'; 戈力夫和 <ś.a.rí:en> 'langjun, court attendant' GEN; 得力 <bo.qo> 'son, child'; 得列出 <bo.hu.án> 'children'; 圣 <TWO> 又 <BIG> 今茶伏 <pu.is.in> 'furen, lady'; 力去出茶 <na.ha.án:er> 'maternal uncle ACC'; 令各几 <s.êŋ.dú> (? related to *xiangwen*?); 尺平茶与 <û.ul.ge.én> 'married, to be given in marriage'; 来化与 <c.ur.én> 'second; 今茶伏 <pu.is.in> 'furen, lady' 来仔分 <ci.lú.dú> (perhaps: 'the Chulud tribe'?)

[31] 丕 丕关矢 尺平茶与 来化与 止奕刈伏 九 又介夫 □关□ □寒 得力 得列出
 tai śi:de û.ul.ge.én c.ur.én p.úr.bú.n śi m.ô.qú □.i.□ □ ui bo.qo bo.hu.án

包 又 今火 今黍伏 力出茶 扎 今各尼 尺平茶与 来化与 得九 九伏
 THREE BIG t.ud pu.is.ín na.ha.án:er ho s.êŋ.dú û.ul.ge.én c.ur.er ta.aŋ śi:ń

相与 曲茶和 百央及 九 公及 又为夫矢 尺平百 又芬 止用仍 百文 食与
 BORN:én go.er:en ei.au.u sh n.u ś.a.rí.de û.ul.ei ún.e p.il.rěŋ ei.ie dur:én

今亦关 秀 为平及 扎 九伏 百令 关奕 今得 几太女 小 列平关 关化矢
 t.ad.i ên a.ar.ún ho śi:ń mó:t i.an s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un siò hu.ar.i i.ri.de

及发扎
 o.dź.ho⁴⁶

[32] 本升平立平 丕 今秀 九 止及隔中关 来与 丕 平 止奕今 得 夫关 平今
 ar.ó.ul.h.ai UPPER te.gé [LOWER] śi p.o.gò.l.i c.eu TWO ai p.úr.se giù rí.i ai:se

刃百北 来平 与芬 相关 为平 公平来与 又和中茶 芬来 今茶百 为平 来关黍矢
 rěn.ei.ii c.ai eu.e BORN.i a.ai n.ai.c.er ś.en.le.ge e.ci te.ge.ei a.ar c.i.is.de

无卡中立为 今得 几太女 扎为□本 刃中茶与 文中立夫与 得和 与奕
 tau.ká.le.ha.a s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un ho.a.□.ar rěn.le.ge.er 326.le.ha.rí:én ji:en eu.úr

茶中几 公平化立方列 失矢关 止尺奕 今九 今余 为冬 升奕 夫中伏 比伏 百 令
 ge.le.gi n.ai.ri.ha.al.hu ui:de.i p.û.úr s.yù te.qu a.as tǔmu.úr rí.l.ín ii.ń mó
 te⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Line 31: 丕 丕关矢 <tai śi:de> 'taishi' LOC; 尺平茶与 <û.ul.ge.én> 'married'; 来化与 <c.ur.én> 'second'; 九 <śi> 'name before marriage, née, Mme.'; 又介夫 <m.ô.qú> 'big, eldest'; 得力 <bo.qo> 'son, child'; 得列出 <bo.hu.án> 'children'; 包 <THREE> 又 BIG 今火 <t.ud> (personal name); 今黍伏 <pu.is.ín> 'furen, lady'; 力出茶 <na.ha.án:er> 'maternal uncles' ACC; 今各尼 <s.êŋ.dú> 'xiangwen' (?) LOC; 尺平茶与 <û.ul.ge.én> 'married'; 来化与 <c.ur.én> 'second'; 得九 <ta.aŋ> 'Tang' (family name); 九伏 <śi:ń> 'name before marriage, Mme' GEN; 相与 <BORN:én>; 曲茶和 <go.er:en> 'tent' GEN; 百央及 九 公及 <ei.au.u sh n.u> 'Yao Shinu' (personal name); 又为夫矢 <ś.a.rí.de> 'court attendant' LOC; 尺平百 <û.ul.ei> 'given = married to' CONV; 食与 <dur:én> 'fourth'; 九伏 <śi:ń> 'name before marriage'; 百令 <mó:t> 'mother, wife, female' PLUR; 今得 几太女 <s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un> 'xianggong, lord'; 小 <siò> 'tribe, south'; 关化矢 <i.ri.de> 'name, title' LOC.

⁴⁷ Line 32: 丕 今秀 九 <UPPER te.gé> [LOWER] (north south) <śi> 来与 <c.eu> (州) 丕 <TWO>; 平 <ai> 'year' 平今 <ai:se> 'year (plural)'; 相关 <BORN.i>; 为平 <a.ai> COP CONV; 公平来与 <n.ai.c.er> 'harmony'; 来关黍 <c.i.is> 'blood relations'; 矢 <de> LOC; 今得 几太女 <s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un> 'xianggong, lord' GEN; 与奕 <eu.úr> 'years of age'; 百 <mó> 'wife, female'; 令 <te> 'plural ending for females'.

[33] ☒☒☒☒☒☒☒☒ 龙峇 今黍伏 令劣 龙关 伏考火 □力 及化 几用和 中丙
 [damaged] eu Ž.ĩ pu.is.ín te.gè sí:i n.iau.ui □.qo u.ur g.iŋ:en l.iu
 戈去 可伏 戈和 几火 今黍伏和 关化 夫与 得列出 半釜 包 又及 百雨欠北
 ś.eu kè.ín ś.en g.ui pu.is.ín:en i.ri rí.én bo.hu.án ai:d THREE^δ m.o ei.gò.qo.ho

令生及平 和化茶 死焉 令女 令茶 劣茶 令将 几火 龙关 令丹 百又 今黍伏
 te.bu.u.ul c.ur.er xu.ju t.un s.er cu.er s.iaŋ g.uŋ ś.i s.312 ei.ún pu.is.ín

上充 止考与 雨先 艾 药和 相茶 丙 毛
 284.zù p.iáu.er ca.zù MONTH ji:en BORN:er mó ONE⁴⁸

[34] ☒☒☒☒☒☒☒☒ 止安今 午列半北 令茶券来 公及升化 无卡升平列 令余为火
 [damaged] p.úr.se ù.h.ai.ho te.ge.e.ci n.o.ó.ur tau.ká.u.ul.hu te.qu.a.iú

和关黍 药和 又充茶万 央及雨 困关只北 几只火中几 考釜中列 亦与
 c.i.is ji:en xe.zù.ge.ei au.o.ón hó.i.û.ii ku.û.ud.le.gi doró.d.le.hu ün.én

又火化茶万 丙公 丙茶 几火又 考为出 仪 无文存支 用文 又券 又
 x.ui.ri.ge.ei mó:n mó:er g.ui.ún doró.a.án jǐn ś.í.ra.dz il.ie ún.e GREAT

令公平又 令生为出 不称 又火又 考及药
 s.ô.ul.ún te.bu.a.án xa.iǎŋ m.ui.ún al.u.ji⁴⁹

[35] ☒☒☒☒☒☒☒☒ 令公平又 令生为出 食茶 艾矢 止为夫中列 升丙中並方列 令生
 [damaged] s.ô.ul.ún te.bú.a.án hur.er MONTH:de p.a.rí.le.hu u.ju.le.ha.al.hu
 se.bu

⁴⁸ Line 33: 今黍伏 <pu.is.ín> 'furen, lady'; 令劣 <te.gè> 'south: here: clan name'; 龙关 <sí:i> 'née, Mme' GEN (?); 及化 几用和 <u.ur g.iŋ.en> 'supreme capital' GEN 中丙 戈去 <l.iu ś.eu> 'regent' 今黍伏和 <pu.is.ín:en> 'furen, lady' GEN 关化 <i.ri> 'name, title' 得列出 <bo.hu.án> 'children' 半釜 <ai:d> 'male' PLUR; 包 THREE^δ 'three (MASC.); 又及 <m.o> 'big, eldest'; 和化茶 <c.ur.er> 'second'; 死焉 <xu.ju> Huju (personal name); 令女 <t.un> 'youngest, last in a series' (?); 令将 几火 <s.iaŋ g.uŋ> 'xianggong, lord'; 今黍伏 <pu.is.ín> 'furen, lady'; 上充 <284.zù> 'referring to emperor' (?); 止考与 <p.iáu.én> 'died' (?); 艾 <TENT>; 相茶 <BORN:er>; 丙 <mó> 'female'; 毛 ONE 'one'

⁴⁹ Line 34: 公及升化 <n.o.ó.ur> 'circuit, tribe'; 和关黍 <c.i.is> 'blood relation' 几只火中几 <ku.û.ud.le.gi> 'educated, brought up' (?); 几 'man', 中几 <le.gi> is a causative suffix: <ku.û.ud.le.gi> 'caused to be an adult person' = 'brought up' (?); 考釜中列 <doró.d.le.hu>; 考为出 <doró.a.án>; 考 'ceremony ~ ritual ~ seal'; 釜 might be a plural suffix; 又火化茶万 <x.ui.ri.ge.ei> 'come CAUS CONV': 'caused to come, brought'; 丙公 <mó:n> 'female, mother, wife GEN'; 又 <GREAT> 令茶券来 <te.ge.e.ci> 'after he died' (?)

药相 令葬 几木 为半 伏又 令茶与 北为哭 又比又 曲茶又 几及欠 戈为夫矣
 ji:en s.iaŋ g.uŋ a.ai ní.m te.ge.er ho.a.an xe.dú.ún go.er.ún g.u.uh s.a.rí:de

公存矣 孟几与 网中为 仅 为出虫与 面为方 孟几百 力冬虫与又 口
 ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én COMPOSE.l.a jin a.án.p.er xi.a.al RECORD.g.ei
 na.as.hu.al.ún qi

引方伏 止乃 止及子虫出 药 方中升药 公存相 月令
 ja.al.iń p.am p.o.ji.ha.án giù al.l.u.ji ne.rá:en TEXT.ú⁵⁰

[36] ☒☒☒☒ 余□ 辰及 令余发又 令各比 文兴册茶与 几及欠
 [damaged] qu.□ WHITE.o te.qu.dz.ún s.êŋ.dú iě.i.310.ge.er g.u.uh

尖用虫与 止住非兴 去平几相 屋比 来兴秀为 丙茶 令引矣 丙百与茶
 ui.il.ha.én po.mu.fěi.i eu.ul.g:en KNOW.ii c.i.is.a mó.er se.bú:de hor.ei.én.er

令葬 几木女 刃百 列行 比与 比[=孰]几 尺矣 戈余 令金中茶百 戈余
 s.iaŋ g.uŋ:un rěn:ei hu.mú ho.én us.gi dau.ui sí.qu t.em.le.ge.ei sí.qu

止方兴 药 尔化升矣 药 令金百 为出 丙茶茶 丙方虫与 孟几茶
 p.al.i giù aú.ur.ó.ui giù t.em.ei a.án mó:er:er 046.al.ha.al RECORD.g:er

孟几与 令勺
 RECORD.g.én te.gu:⁵¹

[37] ☒☒ 尺药 困中中 孟芬 丙得伏 杰尔 秀令 令为本 令化茶 公尔矣
 [damaged] ü.ji hó.le.bun RECORD.e hor.bo.ń oŋ:on ên.se s.a.ar t.ur.er n.on:de

亦中茶百 相兴 公兴勺 公尔列 令生方又 丙本 丙矣 侯矣 来中
 ün.le.ge.ei BORN.i n.i.gu n.ad.bú se.bu.al.ún mó.ar deu.lí jin.an ordo.le

⁵⁰ Line 35: 余茶 <húr.er> ‘three’; 矣矣 TENT LOC; 止为夫中列 <p.a.rí.le.hu>: possibly related to Bali, a Kitan clan name; 令葬 几木 <s.iaŋ g.uŋ> ‘general (*jiangjun*)’ 为半 <a.ai> COP CONV ‘being’ 令茶与 <te.ge.én> ‘died, deceased’; 又比又 曲茶又 xe.dú.ún go.er.ún ‘horizontal tents’ GEN; 几及欠 <g.u.uh> Gu (personal name); 戈为夫矣 <s.a.rí:de> ‘court attendant, *langjun*’ LOC; 公存矣 <ne.ra:de> ‘tomb’ LOC; 孟几与 <RECORD.g.én> ‘inscribe’ PAST; 口 <qi> ‘that’; 公存相 <ne.ra:en> ‘tomb’ GEN; 月令 <TEXT.ú> ‘text’

⁵¹ Line 36: 辰及 ‘mountain/tomb’; 令各比 <s.êŋ.dú> *xiangwen*; 屋比 KNOW.ii ‘administer 知’; 来兴秀为 <c.i.is.a> ‘blood relations’; 丙茶 <mó.er> ‘mother/wife’; 令葬 几木女 <s.iaŋ g.uŋ:un> *xianggong* GEN; 刃百 <rěn:ei> ‘having served in the capacity of’; 比[=孰]几 <us.gi> ‘writing’ 令金中茶百 <t.em.le.ge.ei> ‘granted an honorary title PASS/CAUS.CONV’ 孟几茶 <RECORD.g:er>(誌) inscribe’ PAST 孟几与 令勺 <RECORD.g.én te.gu> ‘the inscription (誌) says (曰)’

壘半尺茶 ○ 上充 火安坐及尼 几卡 夏中夏 力本 秋冬为 夏关
 ha.ai.û.er 284.zù x.úr.cèn.u.dú ku.kǎ ún.l.ún na.ar c.as.a ún.i

夷及火中几和 伞夏 几茶 弟为方茶 文中壘半 地 丑半
 lì.u.ud.le.g:en s.ún g.er REGION.a.al.er 326.le.ha.ai 079 160.ai

火充茶与 伏中尺火 允奕 尺安 ○ 力冬得伏
 xe.zù.ge.er ní.l.û.ui yù.úr û.úr na.as.bo.ń⁵²

[38] ☒ 庚来欠本 火 困坐列发 止币夏 ○ 笑 丙令 夷火关 为半 ○
 [damaged] 063.ci.173.er ui hó.cèn.hu.dž p.od.ún HEAVEN mó:t au.ui.i a.ai

列行扎与 丙文 止尔 得安 ○ 来与 方为本 地[筑]几 秀本 ○ 为和 □奕奕 半生余
 hu.mú.ho.én mó.ie p.on tùmu.úr c.eu al.a.ar us.gi ts.ar a:en □.ur:de le.bu.qu

及茶 ○ 灰 半伞 夷为本 伞为本 ○ 止方箇 伞夫茶 令圣茶 火伞茶半 ○ □夏茶
 o.oi SIX ai.se au.a.ar s.a.ar p.al.343 YOUNG:qú:er t.ên.is xe.se.ge.l □.ún.e

火奕夫茶 亦公劣 ○ 戈么条 冈关 来介药 达 ○ 止刃充矢 充茶丙 尔化中壘半
 x.an.rí:er ün.n tu ś.iá.ah COMPOSE.i ordo.ó.ji dà po.rén.zù:de zù.er.ei
 aú.ur.le.hu.ai

得及 ○
 b.u⁵³

[39] 安及发壘本 屋伏 止欠火及药 ○ 丙 半化夏 方关 行予 及药 丙及 丑伞
 ŋ.u.dž.ha.ai KNOW.iń po.qo.ud.u.ji iu ai.ri.ún al.i mú.158 u.ji ei.u hur.ú

尚子壘半 方中夏 火火化得伏 来与平夏 丙丙 尺火 用壘本 叔北茶丙
 co.ju.ha.ai dorol.ún x.ui.ri.bo.ń c.eu.ul.ún 307.ei dau.ui il.ha.ar k.ii.ge.ei

⁵² Line 37: 丙得伏 <hor.bo.ń> Horbun (曷魯本) 'personal name'; 燕尔 <on:on> prince GEN; 伞化茶 <t.úr.er> 'fourth' (masc. form); 公尔矢 <n.on:de> 'generation' LOC; 相关 <BORN.i> 'born'; 公关句 <n.i.gu> 'gold' or 'Jurchen'; 公尔列 <n.ad.bú> (~<bud>) 'nabo'; 来 'ordo' 上充 <284.zù> 'imperial/emperor'; 秋冬为 <c.as.a> 'jasa'; 弟为方茶 <REGION.a.al.er> 弟为 'region' ACC; 力冬得伏 <na.as.bo.ń> 'peace, at peace'

⁵³ Line 38: 笑 <HEAVEN>; 丙令 <mó:t> 'mothers, wives, females'; 得安 来与 <tùmu.ur c.eu> 'ten thousand districts' (?) (or perhaps a place name); 灰 <SIX>; 半伞 <ai.se> 'years' 来介药 ordo.ó.ji 'ordo'; 达 dà 'several'; 地[筑]几 <us.gi> 'writing'; 伞夫茶 YOUNG:qú:er 'young'.

爰化化 芳药 商中升火 今尤 艾 药中关 矣 仍爰 天 口 雨比 得方列 固 仅九
u.ur.dú cu.ji hor.l.u.ui s.yù MONTH ji.l.i y ta.u DAY qi só.ho b.al.hu hó
jin.gi

与平 爰药 又欠 币爰药 虫 令丙火 商爰 行州 分茶 令金公 乃 雨行 止本
eu.ul u.ji mo.qó od.u.ji yô t.iu.i hor.u mú.zò dû.ui t.em.n am só.mú p.ar⁵⁴

[40] 矣 介矣 爰 公乃矣 仲 百与化伏茶 又伏爰 欠方 升药 今得 九水女
1000 heu.úr 10000 n.am.úr ü ei.eu.ur.in.er xe.n.ún bai.al ó.ji s.ianj g.uŋ:un

可泰 公年 又 米升及雨 至 虫火 止及反 年 至 艾
ké.is ne.ra GREAT ordo.ó.o.ón EIGHT yô.iú p.o.o ai EIGHT MONTH

屏 天 ○ 比[=孰]九 今得 九水 朱 商为 及泰 □方列 公□ 才 志女
SEVEN DAY us.gi s.ianj g.uŋ do hor.a o.oi □.al.hu n.□ ia deu.un

止考茶 中丙 九才 公爰 至 死和 得力 屋为 刃茶
p.iáu.er l.iu g.ia n.u tai sh:en bo.qo car.a rên:er⁵⁵

6.7 Partial translation of the Epitaph of Yelü Dilie

This is a partial and provisional translation. It aims at no more than giving the general gist of the text.

Inscription engraved on the tomb of Lord Yelü Saran (*Sarhan), noble granted two hundred households, land grant noble granted two thousand households, dynasty founding duke, Qishui prefecture chancellor manager of affairs, joint manager of affairs with the secretariat chancellor, acting defender in chief, minister of the court of palace entertainments,

⁵⁴ Line 39: 屋伏 <KNOW.ń> ‘administer’ GEN; 至今 <hur.ú> ‘person in charge’; 号中爰 <doro.l.ún> ‘seal ~ ritual’ (中爰 l.ún is a past tense suffix, so 号 must be a verb here); 矣 <MONTH>; 仍爰 <ta.ú> ‘long, eternal’; 天 <DAY>; 口 <qi> ‘that’

⁵⁵ Line 40: 矣 介矣 爰 公乃矣 <THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úr> ‘thousand springs ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋’; 今得 九水女 <s.ianj g.uŋ:un> *xianggong* (lord) GEN; 可泰 <ké.is> ‘bury’ SUFF?; 公年 <ne.ra> ‘tomb’; 又 米升及雨 <GREAT ordo.u.o.ón> ‘Da’an reign period’; 至 ‘eight’; 虫火 <yô.ú> ‘black’; 止及反 <p.o.o> ‘monkey’; 年 <ai> ‘year’; 至 ‘eight’; 艾 ‘month’; 屏 ‘seven’; 天 ‘day’; 比[=孰]九 <us.gi> ‘writing’ (?); 今得 九水 <s.ianj g.uŋ> *xianggong*; 朱 <do> LOC; 商为 <hor.a> ‘people’ (?); 才 志女 <ia deu.un> ‘elder brothers and younger brothers’ GEN; 中丙 九才 公爰 <l.iu g.ia n.ú> Liu Jianu (name); 至 死和 <tai sh:en> *taishi* GEN; 得力 <bo.qo> ‘son’; 屋为 <car.a> ‘Chara’ (name); 刃茶 <rên:er> ‘make’ PAST.

military commissioner of the [Linhai] army of the Great Central Liao Kitan State.

Composed by Yelü Gu, administrator in charge of the division of written matters, member of the of the ... *jasa* (tribal unit in the *ordo*), member of the board of court attendants of the bureau of seals and tallies of the younger paternal line of the horizontal tents of the khan.

I have heard it said that families which accumulate goodness are sure to have abundant good fortune.... in the border regions of the khan... the tribal units of the four regions at the time of nine grandsons... In the Chinese writing ...

The name of his excellency was *Diren, and his second name was *Sarhan. He was a man of the tent of the *yilijin* *Puguji of imperial descent of the six divisions, an eighth generation descendant of *Xedeñ Tira.

He was appointed to the position of member of the bureau of court attendants of the Yelü *miri* of the *shilie* of the tribes of the southern division... He was promoted to the *jasa* of the tribe of blood relations of the brothers of the emperor Dezu... He was promoted to *yilijin* of the second division of the five and six administrations of the northern branch of the brothers (of the emperor)... *yilijin* fifth six divisions tribe

They had two children. The eldest was *Puguji. In the middle period of the Da'an period, *Holebon *yuyue*, *Huamago *yilijin*... *Yilin *Kugul, *langjun*. His wife, Mme. was laid to rest at *nabo*. Of these two, the second son was *Sarhan Lebu, *xiangwen*. In the first year(s) of the reign of Taizong, he was the grand *xiangwen* of the five seals of the southwest. At a battle at settlement... he served the clan of the emperor. He had two wives. The second son was *Horbun *Heu. His official title was investigation commissioner.

He served two khans. At the time of Taizong he was made... in that place... he was awarded the title of investigation commissioner. In the time of the Emperor Tianshou (Shizong) An edict was received his grandfather of the tent of Tiela *yilijin* court attendant of the lineage of the elder brothers... [Heluben Hou's] wife was *Huguji, of the *Isigi clan ... He was granted the title of... His wife was *Doloer, granddaughter of Mme *Gimu, Lady *Paril (Bali) of the great tent of the maternal uncles...

The two of them had two children. The younger was Shanning Guangfonu, *taishi*. At the time of Shengzong battle... title of *dushi*... His wife was *Chang'e *furen*. The eldest, the child of *taishi*, they had two children (sons): the eldest was Wang Yu, born into the tent of *yuyue* He was promoted to the position of administrator... The second son... General, deputy chief administrator... His wife, the royal lady *Isin. They had two children. The eldest was ... He was granted the honorary title

of administrator in charge of the Dunmu Palace... the Rongsheng bureau... In the year of the red tiger, the first month, on the twenty ninth day, he was born...

His relations with his brothers were harmonious (?) In the fifteenth year of the Chongxi period, the year of the red dog, the beginning year, at [the court of] emperor Xingzong ...'

By edict he was appointed court attendant in charge of the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* in the bureau of seals and tallies. Later... in the *Rongshengsi* ... He was a court attendant in the bureau of seals and tallies ... At the time of the current emperor Daozong he was appointed the chief administrator of Yongzhou.... By imperial edict... he was sent to... receiver of edicts of the northern division The uncle of the emperor, *Bogici...

After he was awarded the title of ox-herding official, he was made the investigation officer of Wu'an county. Again, he was awarded the title of investigation officer and also made chief administrator of the central capital... He served as director in chief in the circuit. He was appointed director of the ministry of revenue in the eastern capital and was appointed to the bureau of coins and bureau of silk. He served for one year as administrator of officials. By imperial edict, he was made deputy commander of the Changning palace... In the second year he was given the title of military commissioner of the Army of the Central Capital. He became the *linyā* of the northern administration. He served as administrator in the land of the Heaven Region (?)...

Great achievements... he was granted the title of palace gate guard and senior general... He became a member of the personal guards of the tents of the paternal uncles. By edict he was made great prince of the six divisions the officials and the people of the *jasa*... By imperial edict he was granted the honorary title of joint manager of affairs with the secretariat chancellery and regent of the southern capital...

By imperial edict, for three months town, settlement ... military/war... he again came to the *ordo*... By imperial edict ... he again became the regent of the supreme capital and the local administrator of Tamar. By imperial edict, after he arrived in the western places...

At the age of sixty two by imperial edict... he was there for six years. On the 23rd day of the first month of the year of the black snake, in the eighth year of the Da'an period, he fell ill and died...

That year, on the ninth day of the eighth month, in a mountain tomb... his wife, Mme. *Niquil... the Chinese chief official Chang Chengyan...

The great catalpa coffin was closed. This is called the ceremony of laying to rest. The family members of Yelü Dilie and the court attendants...

His excellency Qudug... in control of writing, composed the text...

His excellency had three wives/consorts. The first was Yujie, of the lineage of the prime minister. They had two children... the second, a lady of the Chulud tribe. She married *taishi*. The eldest child had three children. The eldest married Lady *Tud... married *xiangwen* of the maternal uncles. The second Mme Tang was married to *Yaoshinu, court attendant....

In the upper and lower regions he spent two years. His relations with his blood relations were harmonious... He was appointed regent of the supreme capital. He had three male children. The eldest... the second was Huju, the youngest was He had one daughter... He educated his blood relations... after he died...

Yelü Gu, of the horizontal tents, court attendant, on the tomb, recorded this text on the tomb.

The inscription says: Born of the fourth generation of prince *Horbun... the Jurchen *nabo, ordo, jasa* and regions at peace... Heaven mother ten thousand districts six years The administrator, the person in charge... ritual... long eternal day... Thousand springs ten thousand autumns... buried ... tomb.

On the seventh day of the eighth month of the eighth year, *renshen*, the year of the black monkey, of the Da'an period... Chara, son of Liu Jianu, *taishi*, made this.

6.8 Kitan text of the Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi⁵⁶

Title: 余英幽 关关 穴券 丙公 九和又 余余[余] 余女⁵⁷

[1] 余英幽 关关 穴券 丙公 九和又 余余[余] 余女
s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó.n g.en.ún c.ai [ah] w.un⁵⁸

[2] ○ 余九和 及化 ○ 穴券 关关 令太 余雨 穴雨 余雨 雨考 中欠 久半 今 九考
ci.g.en u.ur ŋ.iú y.ên t.uŋ z.iŋ ŋ.in s.iŋ cau.ún l.uh da.ai pu g.êm

⁵⁶ The text is in *Research* and Chinggeltei 2002. See also Zhang and Schlepp, 1998; Wang Jingru 王静如 1933; Yan Wanzhang 阎万章 1982. ○ indicates several empty spaces in the inscription, preceding certain words to indicate respect. It also separates lines of rhymed verse.

⁵⁷ The title is in a type of seal script, in which the graphs are arranged in four groups of four. They correspond to 余英幽 关关 穴券 丙公 九和又 余余[余] 余女 in the cursive script. This repeated in line [1] of the epitaph which follows.

⁵⁸ Line 1: <s.y.iên ii> 余英幽 关关 'Xuanyi: name of the empress'; 穴券 <neu.e> 'earth'; 丙公 <mo.n> 'mother' (-n genitive); 九和又 <g.en.ún> 'sadness, grief'; 余余 <c.ai> (余=余) 余女 <w.un> Ch. 册文 *cewen* 'text' Translation: 'Eulogy for the Earth Mother (Kitan honorific term for 'empress') Xuanyi.' The graph 余 is probably 余; the rubbing of the original text could be read either way.

九考 九火 命峇 命关 命丙 ○ 上充 ○ 天关 ○ 火 火 丕百北 共九 重命火 火 屋关
g.iau g.ui z.î z.î z.iu 261.zù DAY.i ui xe.zâi.ei.ii us.gi hur.ú.un ui KNOW.i

赤及 九奉 冬关 出及 几 百奉及火 ○ 九及久
w.u g.î ui.i pú.u ku ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh⁵⁹

[3] 叔金 雨全 网为奉
k.em sò.or COMPOSE.a.ar⁶⁰

[4] 又 令丙月 九安 半 半和 令半符 令考夫 无策为 宅 毛 艾
GREAT t.iù.rèn yù.úr ai ai:en se.le.bo s.iau.qú tau.lí.a TEN ONE MONTH

山 圣为 北中中 包 天 采 令为为
YELLOW êm.a ho.le.bun THREE DAY WHITE te.qo.a⁶¹

[5] 令英虫 关关 穴秀 丙 去卡及 列北和 公亦生圣关 半丙月与 万土药
s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó eu.kâ.ún hu.ho:en n.ad.bu.d.i l.iu.rén.én ei.tù.ji

⁵⁹ Line 2: 来九和 及化 <ci.g.en u.ur> ‘left division’; 火火 炎秀 令水 命雨 命雨 命雨 <ŋ.iú y.ên t.un z.iŋ ŋ.in s.iŋ> *yuyuan* 御院 *tongjin* 通進 *yingqing* 銀青; 雨当 小久 久半 今 九圣 九考 九火 命峇 命关 命丙 <cau.ún l.uh da.ai fu g.êm g.iau g.ui z.î> *chonglu* 崇祿 *dafu* 大夫 *jianjiao* 檢校 *guozi* 國子 *jijiu* 祭酒: the titles of Yelü Gu: ‘memorial forwarding grand master for exalted happiness with silver seal and blue ribbon, acting chancellor of the national university of the imperial academy of the right administrative division, keeper of the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor*, director of the Hanlin academy, commandant of military cavalry of the imperial institute of the left division’ The expression 共九 重命火 火 屋关 <us.gi hur.ú.un ui KNOW.i> means ‘official in charge of writing matters’ The *Liaoshi* tells us that Yelü Gu was director of the Hanlin academy; this must be the Kitan equivalent. 上充 天关 火 <261.zù DAY.i ui> ‘imperial day GEN matters’ = *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* 起居注; 共九 重命火 火 屋关 <us.gi hur.ú.un ui> person in charge of written matters’ 赤及 九奉 冬关 <w.ú g.î ui.i> *wujiwei* 武騎尉 ‘commandant of military cavalry’ 出及 几 <pú.ú ku> ‘official 臣 *chen*’ 百奉及火 九及久 <ei.ra.ú.ud g.ú.uh> Yelü Gu 耶律固.

⁶⁰ Line 3: 叔金 <k.em> ‘edict’; 雨全 <sò.or> ‘receive, hear’ PAST; 网为奉 <COMPOSE.a.ar> Translation: ‘Composed by imperial edict’

⁶¹ Line 4: 又 <GREAT> 令丙[=丙]月 <t.iù.rèn> ‘大康 Da Kang (reign period)’; 九安 <yù.ur> ‘initial, first’ 半 <ai> ‘year’ 半和 <ai:en> ‘year’ GEN 令半符 <se.le.bo> ‘order of years in the hexagenary cycle’ 令考夫 <s.iau.qú> ‘blue’ 无策为 <tau.lí.a> ‘hare, rabbit’ 宅 TEN 毛 ONE 艾 MONTH 山 YELLOW 圣为 <êm.a> ‘goat’ 北中中 <ho.le.bun> ‘first [period of the month]’ 包 THREE 天 DAY 采 WHITE 令为为 <te.qo.a> ‘cock, chicken’ Translation: ‘On the day of the white cock of the third day of the first period of the month of the yellow goat, the eleventh month of the year of the blue hare of the first year of the Dakang period.’

瑟 全列穴 得关 矣 令矣及矣 承矣 兀矣 令生方伏
 UPPER/PLUR se.hu.nai ta.i HEAVEN t.ui.u.úr MOUNTAIN TOMB.de s.úr
 te.bu.al.in

矣 本升及北 尤矣 半 灰 艾 丁 包 天 床 才祭[葬]
 HEAVEN ar.u.o.ho yù.úr ai SIX MONTH TWENTY THREE DAY ETERNAL qudug

列及雨 庶生坐
 hu.o.gò qa.bu.cèn⁶²

[6] 力冬立为出 兮 叔北只弱 及安只与 令牛得 由及矣 央火与 矣化升平列
 na.as.ha.a.ar doro k.ii.ù.ji o.úr.ù.er se.le.bo yò.ún:de au.ui.en ô.ri.ó.ul.hu

兮 业币万与 辰[床] ○ 伏本立方列 毛令九 令本为本 土秀 ○ 方平列
 doro p.od.ei.en 006 ní.ar.ha.al.hu ONE.se.gi s.ar.a.ar tú.e 218.ul.hu

毛 令九 令冬立乃 辰及矣 得力关 得力 又雨
 ONE.se.gi t.as.ha.am MOUNTAIN TOMB.u.035 bo.qo.i bo.qo m.in⁶³

[7] 令生及北 庶 几只矣 万央平立半
 se.bu.o.ho qa ku.ù:de ei.au.ul.ha.ai⁶⁴

[8] 列行北与 叔金茶 令生万 又央化本万 令升平及 央 ○ 可茶 尚朱茶 刑
 hu.mú.ii.én k.em.er se.bu.ei x.ui.ri.ge.ei s.u.ul.o ui kě.er 298.do.er à

⁶² Line 5: 全矣坐 关关 <s.y.iên i.i> 'Xuanyi'; 穴秀 丙 <neu.e mó> 'earth mother'; 公亦生矣关 <n.ad.bu.d.i> 'nabo' PLUR; 牛丙月焉 <l.iu.rèn.er> 'die' (honorific) PAST; 得关 <ta.i> 'eternal'; 矣 <HEAVEN>; 承矣 'MOUNTAIN-TOMB' LOC 矣 本升及北 <HEAVEN ar.ó.o.ho> Qiantong 乾統 reign period; 尤矣 <yù.ur> 'initial, first'; 半 <ai> 'year'; 灰 <SIX> 艾 <MONTH> 丁 <TWENTY> 包 THREE 天 DAY 床 才祭[葬] 列及雨 庶生坐 <ETERNAL qudug hu.o.gò qa.bu.cè> 'eternal happiness throne' Translation: 'The earth mother (empress) Xuanyi died in the crow (?) nabo... in the eternal heaven mountain, on the twenty third day of the sixth month of the first year of the Qiantong period, in the Yongfu Tomb [the joint tomb of Daozong and Xuanyi]...'

⁶³ Line 6: 力冬立为出 <na.as.ha.a.ar> 'cause-to-be-at-rest PAST'; 兮 <doro> 'ritual ~ ceremony'; 叔北只弱 <k.ii.ù.ji> 'it-is-called'; 令牛得 <se.le.bo> 'order, in succession'; 兮 <doro> 'ritual ~ ceremony'; 辰 'mountain, mountain tomb'; 毛令九 <ONE.se.gi> 得力关 得力 <bo.qo.i bo.qo> 'grandson'; 又雨 <m.in> (perhaps) 'our, my' Translation: 'She was laid to rest with the appropriate rituals ritual, mountain tomb [her] grandson, our...'

⁶⁴ Line 7: 令生及北 <se.bu.o.ho> 'succeeding, following, next in succession' 庶 <qa> 'khan' 几只矣 <ku.ù:de> 'men. PLUR LOC. Translation: 'The succeeding khan, in the presence of the people ...'

去平凡相 ○ 戈么条 今夏凡中套中凡 列乃火 火火 公金茶 穴矢 夏关 引半
 eu.ul.g.en ś.iá.ah s.ún.gi.le.ge.le.gi hu.am.ui x.ui n.em.er nai:de ún.i ja.ai⁶⁵

[9] 火夷 令丙刃 五凡及药 止及子立半 令刃刈及 丹安 止芬 令金万 平
 iú.lí t.iu.rèn RECORD.g.u.ji p.o.ju.ha.ai te.rèn.bú.u ló.úr po.ge t.em.ei ul

公半化与 又化戈 及子立半 月令 令勾
 n.ai.ri.en m.ri.tz o.ju.ha.ai TEXT.ú te.gu⁶⁶

[[10] 令丙刃 弟万芬 矣 穴秀 火去平夏 康伏 天 艾
 t.iu.rèn REGION.ei.e HEAVEN neu.e x.eu.ul.ún ETERNAL.iń SUN MOON

庶 烁相 公半来与 丙茶 凡奕 公亦列 小升药 半夏 来去女 尤奕
 qa qatun:en n.ai.c.én mó.er g.úr n.ad.bú siò.ó.ji ai.ún c.eu.un yú.úr

今卡只平凡 今半得矢 今关 几只平中套与 来关秀相 丙茶 庶奕相 丙余火
 pu.kà.ú.ul.gi se.le.bo:de s.i ku.ú.ul.le.ge:én c.i.is.en mó.er qa.an:en ei.qu.ui

今分升药 天
 ú.dû.ó.ji DAY⁶⁷

[11] 可茶 令茶木中套为出 半得奕 曲茶 及化 叔比只药 又及 奚夏 圣 火中令
 kè.er t.êm.mù.le.ha.a.ar l.iaŋ.an go.er u.ur k.ii.ú.ji m.o qid.ún TWO
 xe.le.se

⁶⁵ Line 8: 叙金茶 <k.em.er> ‘edict’ ACC; 今生万 <se.bu.ei> ‘following (in accordance with); 火火凡套万 <x.ui.ri.ge.ei> ‘come’ CAUS CONV; 矣 <ui> ‘affair, matter’; 可茶 <kè.er> ‘bury PAST’ 穴矢 <nai:de> ‘head, official’ LOC. Translation: ‘issued an edict to the officials that that she be buried... the officials’

⁶⁶ Line 9: 月令 令勾 <TEXT.ú te.gu> ‘the text says’

⁶⁷ Line 10: 令丙刃 <t.iu.rèn> ‘virtue’; 弟万芬 <REGION.ei.e> cf. 弟万 ‘region’; 矣 <HEAVEN>; 穴秀 <neu.e> ‘earth’; or 康伏 ‘eternal’ (possibly 承 ‘mountain, tomb, mountain tomb’); 天 <SUN> 艾 <MOON>; 庶 <qa> ‘khan’; 烁相 <qatun:en> ‘khatun’ GEN; 公半来与 <n.ai.c.én> ‘harmony’ 丙茶 <mó.er> ‘mother’ ACC? 凡奕 <g.úr> ‘state’ 公亦列 <n.ad.bú> (~ <bud>) ‘nabo’; 小升药 <siò.ú.ji> ‘tribe(s)’ (?) 半夏 <ai.ún> ‘father’ (or ‘year’) 来去女 <c.eu.un> ‘district’ (zhou) GEN; 尤奕 <yú.ur> ‘initial, first’; 今卡只平凡 pu.kà.ú.ul.gi (cf. 今卡 <pu.kà-> ‘official title: prefect, magistrate’ PASS/CAUS 今半得矢 <se.le.bo:de> ‘order’ LOC 几只平中套与 <ku.ú.ul.le.ge:én> (几只 <ku.ú- ‘man, person, people; CAUS > ‘to cause to be a man = to educate, to bring up’ PAST; 来关秀相 <c.i.is.en> ‘blood relation’ GEN 丙茶 <mó.er> ‘mother, female’ 庶奕相 <qa.an:en> ‘khan’ GEN 今分升药 <ú.dû.ó.ji> 天 <DAY>. Translation: ‘The virtuous (?) regions, heaven and earth mountain, sun and moon (day and month?) the khan and the khatun were in harmony, [she] as mother to the nation, the nabos and the tribes, [he] as father to the regions. She educated her relatives and the other women of the khan, in peace she was buried (?)...’

北尺芥 毛 令芥 又又关和 丙芥 止尔 考 业才灵 由又 目 令州公芥芥芥 圣
 ii.û.er ONE t.oi ší.m.i:en mó:t p.on ên aŋ.ia.an yò.ún mǔh se.zò.ô.oi.e.ci yǐ

药芥伏 列芥 又么条 芳化芥百 才条[嫩]芥 力半

ji:d.iń bú.d ší.ía.ah cu.ur.ge.ei qudug.er a.ai⁶⁸

[12] 达 芥芥 半和 止子 〇 至 住及药芥 丙公 令力半 几尺矢 又利伏

dǎ qatun.d ai:en 042.ju EIGHT⁶⁹ mu.u.ji:d mó.n s.a:ai ku.û.de ší.mi.ń⁶⁹

[13] 住及药 介 令尤 令公为芥 止秀力 夹火与 〇 可芥 形为穴关 令丙刃

mu.u.ji heu s.yǔ te.n.a.as p.ên.qo au.ui.en ké.is REGION.a.nai.i t.iu.rén

去妾芥百 〇 又化伏 夹介伏令 丙芥 尺火与 来芥[考?] 又方半 义无芥百 侵又

eu.úr.ge.ei u.ur.ń xo.ô.ńi:t mó.er dau.ui.én ci.299 ší.al.se xe.zǔ.ge.ei 232.ún

由又 共几 冬由升火 尺及肉

yò.ún us.gi as.yò.ó.ui dau.o.ón⁷⁰

[14] 又平几令 又卡关 住中几和 止秀火芥百 又芥百与 尤妾坐 公半来与芥

ší.ul.g.s mo.kǎ.i mu.le.g:en p.e.ud.ge.ei ší.055.ei.én yǔ.úr.cèn n.ai.c.én:er

丙尺及肉 〇 毛 令丙友[刃?] 得业列半 方为出 无 公半芥中列尔 令又几与

eu.au.o.ón FOUR t.iu.dz(rén?) b.áŋ.hu.ai al.a.án FIVE n.ai.d.le.hu.ad s.ún.g.en

来去 〇 又么条 网为出 又几 又几 为方 义火化芥与 丸 丸

c.eu ší.ía.ah COMPOSE.a.án mo.gi mo.gi a.al x.ui.ri.ge.en mú mú⁷¹

⁶⁸ Line 11: 可芥 <kè.er> 'buried' PAST; 曲芥 <go.er> 'tents'; 又化 <u.ur> 'divisions, administrations' 叔北尺药 <k.ii.û.ji> 'it is called'; 又及 <m.o> 'great'; 又又 <qid.ún> 'Kitan'; 圣 <TWO> 义半令 <xe.le.se> 'areas, districts, sections'; 毛 <ONE>; 又又关和 <ší.m.i:en> 'Shenmi (clan name)' GEN; 丙芥 <mó:t> 'female' PLUR; 列芥 <bú.d> 'external clans' (萧 Xiao?); 又么条 <ší.ía.ah> 'good (?)'; 才条 [嫩]芥 <qudug.er> 'good fortune'; 力半 <a.ai> 'be' CONV. Translation: 'In the tents and divisions, in both districts of the Great Kitan State [North and South], with the women of the Shenmi clan and the external clans (Xiao?), she had good [relations] and good fortune...'

⁶⁹ Line 12: 达 <dǎ> 'several'; 芥芥 <qatun.d> 'qatun, queen' PLUR; 半和 <ai:en> 'father' GEN; 至 <EIGHT⁶⁹>; 住及药芥 <mu.u.ji:d> 'sacred ones' PLUR (= emperors); 丙公 <mó.n> 'mother' GEN; 令力半 <s.a:ai> 'to be, to be present at' CONV; 几尺矢 <ku.û.de> 'man' PLUR LOC. Translation: 'Descendant of several queens and their fathers, of the eight sacred emperors and their wives (mothers)...'

⁷⁰ Line 13: 住及药 <mu.u.ji> 'sacred' 介 <heu> 'empress' 形为穴关 <REGION.a.nai.i> 'regions' (?) 丙芥 <mó.er> 'women' 共几 <us.gi> 'writing' Translation: 'The sacred empress taught writing to the women of the regions (?)'

[15] 引方立为出 昂百中伏 杂在中 亥才丙[丙?] ○ 令中符 令生百与 令卡尺药 非
 ja.al.ha.a.án REGION.ei.l.in ci.ra.l dz.ia.iù se.le.bo te.bu.ei.én pu.kâ.û.ji po
 ○ 令不中立半为出 亥升火与 亥及 及亥中泰百 止及雨小伏 百方立方 公及 ○ 仍及和
 s.on.le.ha.ai a.án ú.r.ó.ui.én ú.r.u u.úr.le.ge.ei p.o.gò.l.in ei.al.ha.al n.o tá.u:en

令金百与 公火非 几丙水凡
 t.em.ei.én n.iú.fèi g.iu.uŋ:dú⁷²

[16] 杂在中 矢 为出 山 曲令 ○ 令丙刃 丙火 令中由 令中由 ○ 水卡 禾才
 ci.ra.l:de a.án GOLD go:t t.iù.rén mó.ui te.le.yò te.le.yò uŋ.ká 106.ia

止令 止令 ○ 亥火 兮登符伏 又立冬 及符坐茶 才和 令登北 中及 中及 雨北
 po.te po.te u.un dor.o.d.bo.ń mo.ha.as ún.bo.cèn.er ké:en te.d.ii bun.ún
 bun.ún sò.ho⁷³

[17] 雨金中立为出 上无 令币立半 又 兮夫 戈化及 戈化及 止尺奕 ○
 sò.or.le.ha.a.án 284.zù t.od.ha.ai GREAT YOUNG.qú sí.ri.ún sí.ri.ún p.ù.úr

夷及平及 尤奕 夷及平符伏 药和 仍立亦和 充泰中泰及 杂半
 lí.u.ul.ún yù.úr lí.ú.ul.bo.ń ji:en ta.ha.ad:en zù.ge.le.ge.ún c.ai

充泰中泰与 公会
 zù.ge.le.ge.en n.em⁷⁴

[18] 令奕列及女 央火中立为出 兮女 列业符 ○ 列平列及女 几尺平符伏 令任列
 s.úr.bú.u.un au.ui.le.ha.a.án ú.un hu.án.bo hu.ul.bú.u.un ku.ù.ul.bo.ń
 te.mu.bú

又金 ○ 奕北 开泰升及雨 禾 夷及平符和 ○ 可茶 伏奕百与 雨 又雨
 m.em xo.ho kái.is.u.o.ón NINE[♂] lí.u.ul.bo.ci ké.er ní.an.ei.én jau m.in

⁷¹ Line 14: 毛 FOUR 令丙亥[=刃] t.iu.[rén] 'virtues'; 无 <FIVE> 公半登中列亦 <n.ai.d.le.hu.ad> 'harmony' PLUR; 又么条 <ś.ía.ah> 'goodness' Translation: 'the four virtues and the five harmonies... goodness...' The alliteration 又几 又几 <mo.gi> <mo.gi> and 丸 丸 <mú> <mú> is reminiscent of lines from the *Book of Odes*, from which this might be a quotation.

⁷² Line 15: 令中符 <se.le.bo> 'order'; 非 <po> 'time'; 令金百与 <t.em.ei.én> 'granted a title'; 几丙水凡 <g.iu.uŋ:dú> 'palace' LOC. Translation: 'She was given honorary titles in the palace' (?)

⁷³ Line 16: 山 <GOLD>; 曲令 <go:t> 'tents' 令丙[=丙?]刃 <t.iu.rén> 'virtue' Translation: 'Golden tents...'

⁷⁴ Line 17: 上无 <284.zù> 'pertaining to emperor, imperial'; 又 <GREAT> 兮夫 <YOUNG.qú> 'young'

来仕中右 ○ 午圭方列灾 令仕登北 得丙车 孟泰和
ci.mu.bun:en 212.ha.al.hu.nai te.mu.d.ii b.iù.ra RECORD.ge:en⁷⁵

[19] 州半圭半 弱 火雨 丙丙 ○ 午圭安爻 兮 国半得伏 令冬得登 ○ 丙公 丙茶
zò.le.ha.ai giù x.in 307.ei s.eu.ur.ún doró hó.le.bo.ń t.as.bo.d mó.n mó.er

半分半圭为出 又 爻利及弱 丙 列冬方 伏[=伏?]丙当 雨子半升弱 达 丙交车爻
ú.dû.le.ha.a.án GREAT sí.mi.u.ji iu hu.as.al ní.ei.én sò.ju.le.u.ji dà ei.ie.ra.u

爻才 止为梁 死和 坳乃州 丙泰 丸 爻利芬 爻么条
ś.ia p.a.am sh:en 078.am.zò mó.ge mú sí.mi.e ś.iá.ah⁷⁶

[20] 本升反肉 爻为 介女[=妾] 令尤 令安列爻 才车 几尺平券 可茶 鬲平圭为出
ar.ó.o.ón m.a heu.ún s.yù s.úr.bú.u ia.ra ku.û.ul.ge kè.ui jau.ul.ha.a.án⁷⁷

[21] 穴券 丙 火伏 北尺火 爻平当 土北 丙仕交 令券得 血坐当 达矢
neu.e mó x.in ii.û.ui ś.ul.én tú.ii iu.mu.ie te.e.bo yô.cèn.én dá:de

尺平圭为出 竹欠 几爻 令火矢 爻安中泰丙 引化列冬 来安泰爻 为方 夫当
dau.ul.ha.a.án du.uh g.u s.ui:de u.úr.le.ge.ei ja.ri.hu.as ci.dz.ge.ún a.al ri.én

引危 令女 仍危火 令生丙关 爻卡中圭为出 令生方圭为出 公半化当
ja.aŋ s.un ta.aŋ.iú te.bu.ei.i śi.kà.le.ha.a.án te.bu.al.ha.a.án n.ai.ri.én

冈为出
COMPOSE.a.án⁷⁸

[22] 穴券 丙 屏 吏及火中几 火矢 令冬圭乃 来仕当 兮和 丙令关 沙
neu.e mó SEVEN li.u.ud.le.gi ui:de t.as.ha.am ci.mu.én doró:en mó.t.i 336

令爻为出 ○ 丙登茶 令生反肉 兮爻茶 令茶秀
te.dz.a.án mó.d:er te.bu.o.ón YOUNG.qú.er te.xi.is⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Line 18: 几尺平得伏 <ku.û.ul.bo.ń> 'adulthood (?) education (?)' 爻金 <m.em> 'silver'; 鬲 <NINE^δ> 可茶 <kè.er> 'bury' PAST; 鬲 <jau> 'hundred'

⁷⁶ Line 19: 兮 <doro> 'ritual ~ ceremony ~ seal'; 国半得伏 <hó.le.bo.ń> 'imperial clan'; 丙公 <mo.n>, 丙茶 <mó.er> (丙 = mother, female, wife); 半分半圭为出 <ú.dû.le.ha.a.án> 'peace' (?) 又 <GREAT>; 列冬方 <hu.as.al> 'misfortune, tragedy'; 达 dá 'several'; 爻么条 <ś.iá.ah> 'good'

⁷⁷ Line 20: 介女 <heu.un> 'empress' GEN; 可茶 <kè.er> 'bury' PAST; 几尺平券 <ku.û.ul.ge> = 'man, person' = CAUS/PASS 'to educate' (?)

⁷⁸ Line 21: 穴券 <neu.e> 丙 <mó> 'earth mother' 达矢 <dá:de> 'several' 几爻 <g.ú> 'jade' (?) 引危 令女 仍危火 <ja.aŋ s.un ta.aŋ> Zhang Suntang (?) 冈为出 <COMPOSE.a.án> 'compose' PAST

[23] 仕及药矢 酋令中火药 百及 公康 斗年 北万券来 才集[集] 令分升平列来
mu.u.ji:de 343.se.le.xe.ji ei.u n.063 ia.ra ho.ei.ge.ci qudug ú.dû.u.ul.hu.án

药 叔来 来相得券 康 出为出 ○ 戈去火中九 火充套当 令公为火 化釜中 火
giù ke.ci c.en.bo.e 291 043.a.án s.eu.ud.le.gi xe.zù.ge.én te.n.a.iú ur.d.bun
uh

为方引 戈奕 亦中得及 令相和 夫中列来 重令 文中出为出 火化矢 可及
a.al.hu s.úr ün.le.b.ún s.en:en rí.le.hu.án hur.ú 326.le.ha.a.án xe.ri:de kè.ún⁸⁰

[24] 酋得 火为刃与 去伏 令火北 火火化得伏 仍化中套万 羽药 九相及券
343.bo xe.deu.rén.én eu.in t.uh.ii x.ui.ei.b.in rên.ri.le.ge.ei jau.ji g.en.ún.e

列及为 火火乃及 令套当 非朱 得券列来 兮 引行北茶 北为来
hu.sár.a x.iú.am.ún te.ge.én po.do b.as.hu.án doro hu.mú.ho.er ho.a.an

百及药 又 九相及 中套及 叔北尺药 ○ 戈相 止币为出 矣 火令及
ei.au.ji GREAT g.en.ún li.âj.u k.ii.û.ji s.en p.od.a.án HEAVEN xe.se:de⁸¹

[25] 令升平及 与奕得伏 火令套中 小 火去平及 火方伏 艾 火化令 令奕奕令
s.ó.ul.ún deu.úr.b.in xe.se.ge.l siò x.eu.ul.ún bai.al.in sár x.ur.se s.au.úr.se

令本坐与 穴公 虫 介奕 戈去卡 天矢 仔康万火 公乃安
s.ar.cên.én neu.n yô heu.úr s.eu.kâ DAY:de lú.063.ei.iú n.am.úr

列述仍 令奕矢 车 毛 非发 九矢中九 又套券 令奕列及药 毛 去
hu.âj.rên s.oi:de ra FOUR po.dz mú.de.le.gi mo.ci.ge t.úr.bú.u.ji 044 dà

杂兴禾
c.i.is⁸²

⁷⁹ Line 22: 穴券 <neu.e> 'earth'; 丙 <mó> 'mother'; 屏 'seven'; 失矢 <ui:de> 'matter' LOC; 兮和 <doro:en> 'ritual' GEN; 丙令火 <mó.t.i> female PLUR GEN?; 丙套茶 <mó.d.er> 'female/wife' PLUR ACC; 兮及茶 <YOUNG.qú.er> 'young'

⁸⁰ Line 23: 仕及药矢 <mu.u.ji:de> 'sacred [one = emperor]' LOC; 才集[集] <qudug> 'good fortune'; 令分升平列来 <ú.dû.u.ul.hu.án> 'peace' SUFF; 令相和 <s.en:en> 'long life; also name Yixin' GEN; 重令 <hur.ú> 'person in charge of'; 可及 <kè.ún> 'bury' PAST.

⁸¹ Line 24: 酋得 <343.bo> 'wine' (?); 火火化得伏 <x.ui.ri.bo.án> 'come' SUFF; 羽药 <jau.ji> 'hundred' (?); 九相及券 <g.en.ún.e> 'sadness'; 非朱 'time' LOC 得券列来 <b.as.hu.án> 'again' (?); 兮 <doro> 'ceremony'; 又 <GREAT>; 九相及 <g.en.ún> 'sadness'; 叔北尺药 <k.ii.û.ji> 'it is called'; 止币为出 <p.od.a.án> 'be' SUFF; 矣 <HEAVEN>.

⁸² Line 25: 与奕得伏 <deu.úr.bo.án> 'together'(?); 火令套中 <xe.se.ge.le> 'parts' 小 <siò> 'tribes ~ south' 虫 <yô> 'black?' 介奕 <heu.úr> 'spring' 戈去卡 <s.eu.kâ> 'dew' (?); 天矢 'day' LOC 公乃安

[26] 公半中列 中合比 沙 得车 又 几相又 中称及 叔比尺药 今尤 今尤 虫及
n.ai.le.hu l.em.ii 336 bo.ra GREAT g.en.ún l.iàŋ.u k.ii.û.ji s.yù s.yù yô.u

爻 比水 ○ 今尤矢尺当 戈方今 百及 今得矣 矣陶 关杀 义化又当 列平 中相 主
lu ho.ci s.yù.de.û.én s.al.se ei.u s.iaŋ.an xo.gò i.is xe.dú.ún:én hu.ul l.en hon

焉 雨行 雨行 去平 今半尺水 戈乘水
ju sò.mú sò.mú eu.ul pu.ká.û.er s.an.ci⁸³

[27] 力冬中列 八 业及 由及 尺伏 亦化升平列 尺 及秀 戈相伏 兮 仇
na.as.le.hu bà p.u yò.ún dau.in oi.ri.ó.ul.hu dau ún.e si.mi.in doró kú

又 几相又 中称及 叔比尺药 ○ 山 仔床 今交车 力及伏 ○ 坐方 今火分
GREAT g.en.ún l.iàŋ.u k.ii.û.ji GOLD lú.063 t.í.ra a.o.in 287.al s.120.dú

太卡 戈考 ○ 又金 矢达升及比 水交奈和
uŋ.ká s.ên m.em 204.dá.u.o.ho c.ie.253.en⁸⁴

[28] 义去平又 ○ 网半 力冬得伏 几及女 考 尺火 力半升伏 亦当 么条 戈卡升及肉
x.eu.ul.ún COMPOSE.ai na.as.bo.n g.u.un ên dau.ui a.ai.ó.in ün.én iá.ah
s.ká.ó.o.ón

不称 伏乘生冬 虫 又力艾当 今圣杀 水去 业伏又 ○ 住当 戈方今 水 屋
xa.iàŋ ní.an.bu.as iên m.a.a.sár.én te.xi.is c.eu po.ni.ún mu.én s.al.se ci
KNOW

又 几相又 中称及 叔比尺药 午得 午得
GREAT g.en.ún l.iàŋ.u k.ii.û.ji ù.b ù.bo⁸⁵

[29] 穴秀 冬半 几秀坐 几秀坐 矣 比 比水 又雨杀 几及 戈矢和 [=今力和] 药
neu.e as.ar g.e.cèn g.e.cèn HEAVEN ho ho.ci m.in.is g.u [te.qo.a] giù

<n.am.úr> 'autumn'; 毛 <FOUR>; 非矣 <po.dz> 'seasons'; 达 <dà> 'several'; 水关杀 <c.i.is> 'blood relations'. 虫及爻 <yô.u lu> 'black dragon'

⁸³ Line 26: 又 <GREAT>; 几相又 <g.en.ún> 'sadness'; 叔比尺药 <k.ii.û.ji> 'it is called'; 虫及 <yô.u> 'black' 爻 <lu> 'dragon' 今半尺水 <pu.ká.û.er> 'official, prefect' (?)

⁸⁴ Line 27: 八 <bà> 'li, Chinese mile' (?); 业及 <p.ú> 'servant' 兮 <doro> 'ritual ~ ceremony; 仇 <kú> 'man, person' 又 <GREAT>; 几相又 <g.en.ún> 'sadness' 叔比尺药 <k.ii.û.ji> 'it is called' 山 <GOLD> 戈考 <s.ên> 'new' 又金 <m.em> 'silver'

⁸⁵ Line 28: 网半 <COMPOSE.ai> 'compose' CONV 几及女 <g.ú.un> 'jade' 屋 <KNOW> 'administrator' (?); 又 <GREAT>; 几相又 <g.en.ún> 'sadness' 叔比尺药 <k.ii.û.ji> 'it is called'.

考兴令 山 列扎 火余春中 丙佳交 令佳登比 非 ○ 丹安 来当 余夏九反药

doro.i te GOLD[♂] hu.ho xe.se.ge.l iu.mu.ie te.mu.d.ii po 312.úr c.en s.ún.g.o.ji

考 斗车 夏秀 屋为火 五九当

doro ia.ra ún.e car.a.iú RECORD.g.én⁸⁶

[30] 比[筑]九 来公 天 化安 是 公乃安 百扎余 百扎余 尺干升药 又比 又

us.gi ci.n àn ri.úr tumen n.am.úr ei.ho.se ei.ho.se dau.ul.u.ji mo.ho GREAT

九相夏 中春及 叔比尺药

g.en.ún l.iǎŋ.u k.ii.û.ji⁸⁷

6.9 Translation of Chinese text of the Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi⁸⁸

Composed by the official Zhang Lin, deputy military affairs commissioner, minister of the court of imperial ceremonies, deputy director of the state finance commission, state historiographer, senior military protector, dynasty founding duke, land grant noble granted two thousand households, noble granted two hundred households.

It was in the first year of the Dakang period, the order of the year was *yimou*. It was the eleventh month, *siwei*, the third day of the new month, *xinyou*.

The late Empress Yide died at Changqing river. She was buried with her ancestors at Zuling. In the first year of the Qiantong period, the year was *xinsi*, the sixth month, *gengyin*, the new moon, on the twenty third day, *renzi*, she was reburied in the Yongfu tomb with the appropriate rituals.

Along the route to the tomb, the wind was mournful, and clouds gathered in the open spaces around the city. The moon was in *wei*, the time was approaching *gui*. In accordance with the indications of the tortoise ink, an auspicious time was chosen.

⁸⁶ Line 29: 火秀 <neu.e> ‘earth’; 余春 <as.ar> ‘quietness, peace’; 天 <HEAVEN>; 九夏 <g.u> ‘jade’; 无矢力 [=令力力] <te.qo.a> ‘cock’; 考兴 <doro.i> seal ~ ritual GEN?; 令 <te> PLUR (?) 山 <GOLD[♂]> ‘gold’ (masculine); 列扎 <hu.ho> ‘bird ~ crow’; 非 <po> ‘time’; 火余春中 xe.se.ge.le ‘region’ (?); 考 <doro> ‘ceremony ~ ritual’ 屋为火 <car.a.iú> ‘Cara’ (personal name) DAT/LOC? (?); 五九当 <RECORD.g.én> ‘record, make a record, to carve an inscription on a stone’ PAST ‘Chara recorded this’

⁸⁷ Line 30: 比[筑]九 <us.gi> ‘writing’; 来公 <ci.n> ‘official’ (臣 *chen*); 是 <TEN THOUSAND> ‘ten thousand’; 公乃安 <n.am.úr> ‘autumn’; 又 <GREAT> 九相夏 <g.en.ún> ‘sadness’; 叔比尺药 <k.ii.û.ji> ‘it is called’

⁸⁸ Translated from the Chinese stele. Text available in *Research*, pp. 546-551. Also in Chinggeltei 2002:124-126.

The imperial mausoleum was opened, the six vestments were folded, the curtains and tents were put away, the three offerings were completed, and the sacrificial vessels were removed. The scene was so sad; the imperial insignia were fluttering in the air, the banners blown about by the wind.

The chariot of the immortals departed, never to return. On this day, the engraved carriage bearing the coffin also departed along the same tracks. The dew on the pine and the catalpa was like limitless tears. The sounds of the bamboo pan-pipes and the reed leaf whistles pervaded the emptiness. Yanxi, her filial grandson, having inherited the position of emperor, with sadness thought of restoring her position. His strong attachment for her, which he could not forget, made his wound even more painful. He gazed upwards, longing for the request in his heart. His respected father had left behind an edict, that they should be buried together.

The jade tablet with her posthumous name lit up the burial palace. Her pearl robes sparkled in the hall of darkness. The daytime had passed, the hour had moved on, the pure hanging lamps had frozen, the night had no sun. Her voice, her appearance, had disappeared forever. The night is so long. Because of the emperor's unprecedented favour, she will not be forgotten with the passing of time. According to the orders of the emperor, we praise her lasting fragrance. It is difficult to record all the events of her life, and her goodness cannot extolled by just a few examples.

Rhymed text:

In the past, only the sages were the equal of kindness and virtue.

From outside the corridors of the palace, she came from an external family.

After auspicious matching of stone characters, she received the appointment of Heaven.

Jade seals, emperor's gifts, ceremonial robes added to her ornament.

She helped the education of society; teaching the palace servants.

She never spread slander. Kind, beautiful, pure, humane, her nature was not ostentatious.

Deep, principled, demure and mature early in life, she was like the grasshopper in her freedom from jealousy, and kind to others like the trees in the south.

So rich she lived in rooms of gold, she still maintained a natural simplicity.

Respected by the Son of Heaven, she served all those around her.

Her piety unified the minds of the people; they rejoiced to be nourished as her children.

Making an example of herself to all under Heaven, they loved her as their exemplary mother.

She was noble but not arrogant, respectful and not conceited.

She was assiduous in the teaching of women, and an example for all women's activities.

In the rivers and islands, they praised her name.

They wrote of the lives of the women who lived in the pepper scented chambers and rode in vermilion carriages.

Her internal beauty, like the fragrance of orchids, manifested itself externally. Like a flash of lightning, as her brilliant light approached, it added brightness to the sun.

Like the sky at sunset, her softness matched the emperor's might.

Comparable to the Queen of Zhou in humaneness, to the Queen of Yin in wisdom.

Her robes, her head ornaments were in accordance with the regulations.

The wind and stringed instruments, the silk and bamboo, conformed to elegant and correct standards. Her writings were natural, not artificially learned.

She was born with an understanding of the Law of Buddha.

Quiet and refined as a water plant, she moved with grace.

Her deportment was inherited from her ancestors, and she naturally followed the rules of decorum.

She should have expected a long life. But suddenly she returned to the fragrance of the immortals. The sacred mother loved the crown prince so much. Like a dragon having to leave behind a foal, like a phoenix turning her head, worried about her chicks.

So sad, there are no words to express it. The way of the spirits is hard to fathom.

The sky is grey, the cries heart-rending.

Alas, alas. How sad it is.

The great earth is broken, the moon carriage has left the tracks.

The tomb is full of fog and darkness. The mountains bereft, the flowing springs exhausted.

The ten thousand things cry out, the hundred souls express their misery.

Alas, alas, how sad it is.

The silver sea is cold. The imperial robes reflect in the darkness. The tinkling of her belt ornaments is no longer to be heard. Where is the gauze of the cloud chariots? Although her voice cannot be heard in the six palaces, it can be heard in the ear. Although her image cannot be seen among the nine tribes, it can be seen in the heart. Her time has gone, and she is separated far from the world. Her life will never happen again. The city is empty forever.

Alas, alas. How sad it is.

The leaves have fallen from the tree. The trees of autumn, the grass of spring: these were places she used to love. In the places where she would hold banquets, her spirit still lingers. Her kind face is still in front of us.

Alas, alas. How sad it is.

We recall how the emperor's favour was destroyed by a treacherous official. The calumnies of the green flies will be forgotten. The purity of white jade shines so precious. Like the sound of metal and stone, although silenced, it can be struck again. Like the sound of a bell, although muffled, it can become like new. Silk and gauze spreads like fragrant dust. After a thousand years, we will see her spirit and beauty in the ancestral palaces, and hear her voice again.

Alas, alas, how sad it is.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LIAO CHINESE

The founding of the Song Dynasty in 960 ended a long period of disunion in China. The national capital, Dongjing, was established at Kaifengfu in the Central Plains. This area remained the political and cultural center of the dynasty for 166 years. The conventional view today is that the standard language of the period was a Central Plains-based lingua franca or koine, probably centered in the Kaifeng-Luoyang area... There is, however, one further point which requires notice here. North of the Song lay the Khitan empire (907-1119) [...] In 937, before the founding of Song, the short-lived Jin dynasty had ceded to the Khitans an area known as the Sixteen Prefectures, which correspond roughly to the northern part of modern Hebei Province. Despite a number of efforts, the Song were never able to retake this area, and it remained under Khitan control for approximately 200 years. The inhabitants of this territory were almost all Chinese [...] At the town of Youzhou they built a new administrative centre, called Nanjing, the southernmost of the five capitals of their state, to govern their new Chinese subjects. From this place, after many changes and vicissitudes, the modern city of Peking would eventually evolve. Now it is of some interest here that the large Chinese population of this region, which the Liao called the Southern Capital Circuit, was cut off from the Central Plains dialect area to the south for two centuries. Although we have no proof for it, we may speculate that in this linguistic rupture lie at least some of the beginnings of the distinctive type of north Chinese dialect which would later come to be associated with the Peking area and points to the northeast. – W, South Coblin 2007:15-16 (slightly modified).

7.1 The Chinese language beyond Hebei

We know very little of the type of Chinese spoken far north of Hebei during the Liao dynasty, or what type of Chinese was the basis of the many Chinese loanwords transcribed in the Kitan inscriptions. It *could* have been similar to the Chinese of the Tang capital, or its variants in the northwest of China during the late Tang and the post-Tang period. It *could* have been similar to the contemporary Song “prevalent speech of the central provinces” It *could* have been similar to the geographically closer dialects of the *Zhongyuan yinyun* or the *Menggu ziyun*. On *a priori* grounds, we have little evidence one way or the other. What we can do, however, is to look at the varieties of Chinese in the sources listed above, and some others of about the same time,

to set up a number of characteristics one might expect a dialect of Chinese at that time and place to have. After this has been done, we can compare these possible characteristics with the evidence of the Kitan script.

7.2 Northeastern China during the Late Tang

The Tang empire did not extend beyond the Great Wall in the east, and the southern bank of the Yellow River in the west. What sort of Chinese, if any, may have been spoken north of the Great Wall at that time is unknown. South of the Great Wall, and north of the Yellow River, lay the area broadly known as Hebei. Although part of the Tang empire, at least until the An Lushan rebellion, it was a remote and somewhat uncouth place, far from the cultural centres of the Tang. Even as early as 643, in the view of Chen Yinque, “north-eastern China, in particular Hebei province, was estranged from the Tang ruling house” (Wechsler 1979:200-201). He argued that “an influx of non-Chinese into Hebei from early in the eighth century had initiated a process by which, in the course of time, “barbarized society” in the northeast... The barbarian factor as seen by Chen Yinque, therefore, involves not merely An Lushan and the men under his command, but the population of a whole region”. An alternative view proposed by Gu Jiguang and adapted by Pulleyblank “explain[s] the rebellion in the context of the long-standing alienation of Hebei (in the north-east) from the Tang court (in the north-west)” (Peterson 1979:471). Both views suggest a considerable degree of difference between Hebei and the rest of Tang China. With the disintegration of Tang power after the rebellion, the military commanders in the north-east asserted their independence, so that by 785 Youzhou, the province in the area of present day Beijing, was regarded as an autonomous province. Various attempts over the next few decades to reassert power in the northeast failed, and after 822 the Tang court made no further attempt to recover control in these areas. Writing in 831, the minister Niu Sengru wrote “since the Rebellion of An Lushan, Fanyang [i.e. Youzhou] has not been part of the empire.” (Peterson 1979:548).

7.3 Possible altaic influence on Chinese

What all this means in linguistic terms is speculation. Norman 1982:243 noted “Northern China was controlled by dynasties of northern nomadic origin for a total of more than 800 years between the fourth and twentieth centuries. A majority of these northern rulers were of Altaic stock, generally speakers of either Mongolian or Tungusic. During this long period of contact between Chinese and Altaic, there was naturally a good deal of mutual

linguistic influence” Hashimoto 1980:160 suggested that “the basic typological features of the Chinese language stayed more or less intact until the end of the Tang period [...] this is the time the Chinese language underwent definite Altaicization in the northern part of its territory” According to Hashimoto 1986:95, “the way they developed this type of “pidgin Chinese” must be that these original Altaic residents accommodated into their mother tongue(s) the Chinese lexicon and morphology in their entirety, maintaining however their own syntax and perhaps most of their phonetics [...]”

In terms of dialect history and dialect geography, it seems reasonable to suggest that the type of Chinese spoken in Hebei even from the early Tang was likely to be subjected to the type of creolization described above, with subsequent differentiation from the “Tang standard” of Chang’an. This process must have increased as the north-eastern provinces became politically autonomous to the point where by 831, “Youzhou was no longer part of the empire” We can then hypothesize that the differentiation of the Chinese spoken north of the Yellow River was underway long before 937, when the Sixteen Prefectures were annexed. Northern Chinese had been developing at least semi-independently from “the dialect of the central plains” for at least 300 years before that date, and, as Coblin pointed out, for two centuries afterward. Against all this, perhaps educated Kitans did not speak the creole of the masses (if such a language existed) but something close to “standard Chinese”, which at that time meant the language of the Song capital, Kaifeng. This is a hypothesis we can check against the evidence of the Kitan script.

7.4 Middle Chinese

Middle Chinese is based on the initials and finals in the *Qieyun* 切韻, compiled between 581 and 601. All the evidence is that Tang Standard Chinese, roughly understood as the language spoken by the educated classes in the capital, differed from the *Qieyun* in various ways, but that it was very similar to it. Even if one argues that there were many varieties of Chinese spoken by educated people throughout the empire, it seems likely they were close to the *Qieyun*, even if they differed in some minor ways. It is common to discuss earlier stages of Chinese according to the traditional names of the initials, finals and rhyme groups and rhyme categories. However, as Coblin 2007:xii commented, Chinese historical phonology “is a curious and often vexatious discipline [...] It seems clear that the field of Chinese historical phonology as it is practiced today is so peculiar and exacting that it lies essentially beyond the reach both of sinologists who have not received

specialized training in it and of the broad range of historical linguists who might wish to familiarize themselves with it [...] Pre-modern Chinese phonology remains for most non-specialist readers a closed book.” It is simpler, and clearer, to list the initials and finals of Middle Chinese in transcription, without reference to the traditional terms for initials and finals. Phonetic values of the initials and finals were worked out by Karlgren and others over a period of decades, based mainly on reflexes in the modern dialects. It is now more common to employ transcriptions with digraphs instead of diacritics and special letters, and to regard the transcription as being “phonemic along phonetic lines” rather than narrowly phonetic. Recently Baxter 1992, Branner 1999 and others have suggested that a romanized form of the *Qieyun* be regarded as a *transcription* rather than a phonetic reconstruction. The transcription used here is similar to Baxter’s but it is easier to write and easier to remember, and helps to make the process of phonological change more evident.

7.5 Synoptic chart of transcription symbols for MC initials

1	見 k	溪 kh	群 g	疑 ŋ	日 ny
2	端 t	透 th	定 d	泥 n	來 l
3	幫 p	滂 ph	並 b	明 m	
4	非 f	敷 fh	奉 v	微 mv	
5	精 c	清 ch	從 j	心 s	邪 z
6	知 tr	徹 thr	澄 dr	娘 nr	
7	莊 tsr	初 tshr	崇 dzr	生 shr	俟 zhr
8	章 tsy	昌 tshy	船 dzy	書 sy	禪 zy
9	照 cr	穿 chr	牀 jr	審 sr	禪 zr
10	影 q	曉 x	匣 h	云 hi,以 øi	喻 y

This chart shows proposed transcription symbols for the Chinese terms used for the initials of both Early and Late Middle Chinese. Row 4, the labiodentals, emerged as a group distinct from the labial stops of line 3 in the late Tang, when *piu* > *fu*. This change did not occur in all cases; the details are complex and not relevant to the present discussion. On the other hand, the EMC initials in rows 7 and 8 merged to form a new series in LMC, line 9. In line 10, *hi-* and *øi-* merged to form *y-* by LMC.

7.6 Transcription of MC finals

哥 a	泰 ai	豪 au	寒 an	曷 at	譚 am	蓋 ap	鐸 ak	唐 aŋ
戈 ua	祭 iai	宵 iau	仙 ian	薛 iat	鹽 iam	葉 iap	藥 iak	陽 iaŋ
麻 ae	夬 aei	肴 aeu	刪 aen	鎋 aet	銜 aem	狎 aep	陌 aek	庚 aeŋ
佳 ea	皆 eai		山 ean	黠 eat	咸 eam	洽 eap	麥 eak	耕 eaŋ
灰 uei	哈 ei	侯 eu	痕 en	沒 et	覃 em	合 ep	德 ek	登 eŋ
之 ie	微 iei	尤 ieu	欣 ien	迄 iet	嚴 iam	業 iap	職 iek	蒸 ieŋ
支 i	脂 ii	虞 iu	真 in	質 it	侵 im	緝 ip	昔 ik	清 iŋ
		幽 iou	諄 uin	術 uit	臻 iin	櫛 iit		
	齊 eei	蕭 eeu	先 een	屑 eet	添 eem	帖 eep	錫 eek	青 eeŋ
			桓 uan	末 uat			沃 ok	冬 oŋ
	魚 io	廢 ioi	元 ion	月 iot			燭 iok	種 ioŋ
模 u	虞 iu	幽 iou	魂 uen	沒 uet			屋 uk	東 uŋ
			文 iun	物 iut	凡 iuom	乏 iuop	覺 aok	江 aoŋ

This chart shows the transcription symbols used for the rhymes of EMC, which were reproduced in the rhyme tables, but reorganised into rhyme groups.

7.7 The rhyme groups of LMC

果 a	止 i	曾 eng	山 an
假 ae	效 au	梗 ing	臻 en
遇 u	流 eu	江 aong	咸 am
蟹 ai	宕 ang	通 ung	深 em

These are merely tags to indicate a rhyme group: the rhyme group *-ang*, for example, includes the rhymes *-ang*, *-iang* and *-uang*. The phonetic interpretations of the arrangement of the rhymes into various rhyme groups is not certain. In the earlier period, the rhymes seem to have had different vowels; in the later period, they seem to be differentiated by different medials, or perhaps a combination of different vowels and different medials. The nasal endings incorporate the stop finals: *an* and *en* also contain rhymes in *at* and *et*, *am* and *em* contain rhymes in *ap* and *ep*, rhymes in *ang* and *eng* contain rhymes in *ak* and *ek*.

7.8 Late Tang North-western Chinese

Tibetan transcriptions of the Hexi dialect of the ninth and tenth centuries have been found at Dunhuang. They were first systematically studied by Luo Changpei 1933, and by many others since. Coblin 1994 is a thorough study of these transcriptions, incorporating a wide variety of related material. In his review of the related literature, Jiang Shaoyu 2005 summarised the characteristics of late Tang north-western Chinese:

- (1) there was some indication of the emergence of labiodentals
- (2) some voiced initials had become voiceless.
- (3) *m* and *n* were read 'b' 'd' in syllables with non-nasal finals
- (4) there was some simplification of the vowel system
- (5) in the *ing* and *ang* rhyme groups, the final *ŋ* was not pronounced
- (6) in words with voiced initials, the rising tone had become a departing tone

Jiang Shaoyu concluded that the language of Chang'an under the Tang was a variety of the Hexi dialect. Denasalization and the dropping of the final *ŋ* were restricted to the north-west, while other tendencies outlined above can be seen in texts from other parts of China. Zhou Zumo, in his study of the rhymes in the rhymed texts found in Dunhuang, distinguished 23 finals, slightly different from Luo Changpei's 23 finals based on the Tibetan transcriptions. He compared these 23 finals with the sixteen rhyme groups of the *Sisheng dengzi*, and found that, apart from the Dunhuang texts not distinguishing *aŋ* and *aon*, *ak* and *aok*, there was structurally no difference between them. Zhou concluded that the vowel system of modern northern dialects can be directly derived from the 23 rhyme groups of the Dunhuang texts and the *Sisheng dengzi*. This is of particular relevance to the type of northern Chinese spoken during the Liao period.

7.9 The *Sisheng dengzi*

Zhou Zumo pointed out the similarity of the finals of the late Tang north-western dialects and the 四聲等子 *Sisheng dengzi*. This rhyme table is of particular interest because of its possible origin in the Chinese speaking areas of the Liao empire. According to its (undated) preface, "Recently we have re-edited the *Longkan shoujian* 龍龕手鑑 [Hand Mirror of the Dragon Niche] and placed it in the last bound volumes of the *Tripitaka*. But considering that the dialects are not united, [varieties of] labials and [varieties of] sibilants and affricates are mixed. Some sounds which should be distinct are treated as if they were identical and some characters are

borrowed to write other characters. How can one know how to assign the initials and harmonise the tones? How can one know what is standard? So we have appended this [table] to the *Longkan shoujian*. Looking through the tables one can discern the structure, there will be no trepidation or confusion. Then one can pronounce the word accurately. We hope that all our readers will consult it.” The *Longkan shoujian*, more commonly known as the *Longkan shoujing* 龍龕手鏡, is a reference work on the Buddhist classics. According to its preface, dated 997, it was compiled by a Liao monk, Xing Jun. It contains many unusual characters, with *fanqie* annotations. The *fanqie* were taken from a variety of sources and reflect late Tang Chinese, and do not directly concern us here. Shen Gua, in his *Mengqi bitan* 夢溪筆談, wrote “books were strictly controlled. If anyone imported them into the central states the law was that they were punishable by death. In the Xining period (1068-1077) a copy [of the *Sisheng dengzi*] was obtained from someone who surrendered...” Li Xinkui 1983:180 noted that the *Sisheng dengzi* refers to 206 rhymes, which must date it after the *Guangyun* of 1008. He also noticed that it does not distinguish the later *Zhongyuan yinyun* finals *ie < ia*, or *i < i* after initial dental sibilants. In this it is similar to the rhymes in Liao poetry. Both geographically and chronologically, it falls within the Liao period.

In the *Sisheng dengzi* we still find a three way distinction between [k], [kh] and [g], and the other stops and affricates. Karlgren argued that the voiced initials in MC were aspirated, but later analyses treat them as unaspirated. On transcriptional evidence, Pulleyblank 1988 treated the initials of what he called Late Middle Chinese (the language of the Song rhyme tables) as being unvoiced but followed by voiced aspiration.

The *Sisheng dengzi* arranged the finals of MC into sixteen rhyme groups. Within the rhyme groups, finals are arranged in four grades. Other sources indicate that the “real language” of the time could not have been very different from the language implied in the initials, rhyme groups and grades of the *Sisheng dengzi*.

7.10 The *Qieyun zhizhangtu*

The *Qieyun zhizhangtu* 切韻指掌圖 is dated 1176-1203. It is similar to the *Sisheng dengzi*, but with an important difference: words with initial dental sibilants and final *i* were listed under Grade 1, not Grade 3 rhymes. This implies that the vowel was no longer [i], but a non-palatal vowel, the [i̯] of Mandarin. EMC *tsy* and *tsr* had merged to *cr* by the LMC of the *Sisheng dengzi*. The *Qieyun zhizhangtu* indicates that *tr* and *cr* (and the corresponding voiced and aspirated initials) had also merged. Final *t* and *k* had merged, but final *p* remained in a category of its own. At some time

between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries back [ɑ] became [ɔ], while front *ae* > *ia*. So 歌 *ka* > *ko*, but 家 *kae* > *kia*. The earlier rhyme tables kept the rhymes in their original *Qieyun* order. The *Sisheng dengzi* and the *Qieyun zhizhangtu* reorganised the categories in ways which could only have reflected changes in the actual language. For instance, the *Yunjing* and the *Qiyinlüe* list the final *-aong* after *-ong*, *-ung* and *-iong*. The *Sisheng dengzi* and the *Qieyun zhizhangtu* list it after *ang* and *iang*. This indicates that *aong* had become closer to *-ang* than *-ong*. Kitan transcriptions show that MC *aong* and MC *ang* were transcribed the same: ⟨aŋ⟩. The approximate date of the *Yunjing* is c. 1000. The *Qieyun zhizhangtu* preface is dated 1203. The *Sisheng dengzi* is dated between 1127 and 1279.

7.11 The *Huangji jingshi shu*

The *Huangji jingshi shu* is a numerological and cosmological text by Shao Yong (1011-1077). Among other things, phonological categories such as initials, finals and tones are related to various aspects of the universe. The relevant section is called *lülü shengyin* “matching the odd number pitch pipes and the even number pitch pipes, the rhymes and initials”, that is, how initials and finals are combined to form syllables. Its value is precisely in its unorthodox approach: Shao Yong did not copy his information from earlier charts, he relied on the way he pronounced the characters himself. It is generally regarded as providing reliable information about the pronunciation at the Northern Song capital of Kaifeng. However, Yakhontov 1980 made a case for it representing the language of Fanyang (Beijing), on the grounds that the treatment of MC final *k*, resulting in diphthongs, is characteristic of the *Zhongyuan yinyun*. It is also characteristic of the Kitan transcriptions. Fanyang was well within the Chinese speaking part of Liao territory.

Zhou Zumo 1966 concluded that by this stage the voiced stops and affricates had become voiceless. *Level tone* words beginning with MC *b d g j jr* (which may have been aspirated in LMC: [bh], [dh] [gh]) are listed with their aspirated voiceless equivalents. *Non-level tone* words beginning with MC voiced stops and affricates had become unaspirated voiceless stops and affricates. This is the same pattern as the *Zhongyuan yinyun* and Mandarin, but differs from the more or less contemporary Xixia transcriptions. This latter pattern also occurs in modern dialects, in particular Kejia (Hakka) and Gan.

In the earlier tables, *tr thr dr* are listed below *t th d*. In Shao Yong's charts, however, they are listed under *cr chr jr*. This suggests the earlier postdentals and the affricates had already merged, as other Song materials indicate. Words like 自 *jii*, 思 *si* and 寺 *zii* are in Grade 1, suggesting the

nonpalatal [i] after dental sibilants (but not affricates) already indicated in the *Qieyun zhizhangtu*. Characters such as 日 *nyit* 骨 *kuet* 德 *tek* 北 *pek* are listed in the same line as open syllables, but are kept separate from them. This is rather similar to the arrangement of such syllables in the *Zhongyuan yinyun*. Liao poetry also suggests the two series (open vowel and final glottal stop) were kept separate.

7.12 The *fanqie* spellings of Zhu Xi

The *Shijingzhuan* [Annotations to the *Book of Poetry*] was compiled by the philosopher Zhu Xi in 1177. The rhymes in the *Book of Poetry*, compiled about 700 BC, did not correspond to the rhymes of the *Qieyun*. It was not until the Qing that phonologists started the process of analysing the language of the *Book of Poetry* in its own terms. During the Song, if words did not rhyme, annotators would note “here pronounced such and such”, and give the changed reading in *fanqie* “reversed cutting”. This process was known as *xieyin* “harmonising the sounds”. For example, Zhu Xi gives the following *fanqie* spellings (using MC for convenience): 諸延 *cyo-yen* for 展 *trien*, 薄救 *bak-kiu* for 報 *pau*, 丁五 *teeng-ngu* for 圖 *du*, 此里 *chie-li* for 在 *jei*, 居亦 *kio-yeek* for 局 *giok*, 許例 *xio-liet* for 褐 *hat*. The confusion between the former voiced and voiceless initials indicates that voicing was no longer phonemic and the former voiced initials *b d g z dr j* were lost to the system.

In the finals, words with initial dental sibilants and final *i* were changed to rhyme with other finals in *i*. If they had rhymed in the first place, they would not have been changed. The implication is that the vowel in this position had become [i]. Final *t* and *k* are merged. There are no examples of final *p* merging with *t* or *k* in the annotations to the *Book of Poetry*, but elsewhere Zhu Xi rhymes 折 *cyet*, 白 *baek*, 客 *khaek*, 隔 *keak* and 蝶 *deep*. It is clear that by this stage *p t k* had coalesced.

7.13 Rhymes in Northern Song poetry

This summary is based on Zhu Jianing 1992: 436-442, Wang Li 1988:260-307 and Zhou Zumo 1966:656-662.

- (1) MC *a* > *o*; MC *ae* > *a*
- (2) MC *i ii ie, iei, iai, ioi eei* > *i*
- (3) MC *ei uei ai eai ea aei iai ioi* > *ai/uai*
- (4) MC *io, iu, ieu* > *u/iu*
- (5) MC *ieu, eu, iou* > *eu/ieu*
- (6) MC *eeu, iau, aeu, au* > *au/iau*

- (7) MC *aon*, *on*, *ion* > *an/ian*
 (8) MC *aen*, *ean*, *ien*, *een*, *ien*, *en* > *en* (Liao [ij])
 (9) MC *un*, *on*, *ion* > *un*
 (10) MC *an*, *uan*, *aen*, *ean*, *een*, *ian*, *ion* > *an*
 (11) MC *en*, *uen*, *in*, *uin*, *iin*, *ien*, *iun* > *en*
 (12) MC *em*, *am*, *iam*, *eem*, *eam*, *aem*, *iam*, *iuom* > *am*
 (13) MC *im* > *im*

Su Dongpo rhymed 客 *khaek*, 雪 *siuet*, 石 *jyek*, 隔 *keak*, 必 *byit*, 白 *baek*, 覓 *meek* and 睫 *jiep*. Qiang Baishi rhymed 答 *tep* and 襪 *myet*. Zhang Yutian rhymed 末 *mat*, 答 *tep*, 壓 *qaep*, 髮 *piet*, 沒 *muet* and 發 *piet*. Zhou Bangyan rhymed 軋 *qeat*, 閱 *yuet*, 葉 *yep* and 怯 *khiep*. Zhu Xizhen rhymed 日 *nyit*, 濕 *syip*, 客 *khaek* and 得 *tek*. None of these words, however, rhyme with open syllables.

7.14 Xixia transcriptions

Another source for northern Chinese of about the same time are the Xixia transcriptions. These have been analysed in detail in Gong Huangcheng 1995a and 1995b. Basing his study on the Xixia transcriptions of Chinese words in the *Fan-Han heshi zhangzhongzhu* (1190), Gong concluded that the dialect in question had the following initials and finals:

Initials

p	ph	m/mb	f	w
t	th	n/nd	l	
k	kh	ŋ/ŋg	x	
ts	tsh		s	
tś	tśh	ń/ńdź	ś	ź j

Note the characteristic *mb nd ŋg ńdź* initials, also seen in the earlier materials studied by Luo and Coblin, presumably limited geographically to the northwest. We also find *f* and *w* (not *v*), and palatal, not retroflex affricates.

Finals

i ĩ	u	ĩ	ũ
e ə	o	ẽ	
a		ã	

There is no sign of MC *p t k* even in the form of a glottal stop. MC *m n ŋ* had fallen, leaving a nasalised vowel. The vowel *i* appears after dental sibilants and affricates. However, after the palatal affricates [i] remains. There is no contrast between voiced and voiceless initials. Basing himself on much the same material, however, Li Fanwen 1994 still transcribed Chinese syllables with MC *p t k* with *ʔ*, because the Tibetan transcription of such characters either had an open vowel, or a final <h>. Li felt the occasional use of <h> was indicative of a final *ʔ*.

7.15 The *Zhongyuan yinyun*

The *Zhongyuan yinyun* was published in 1324. Zhou Deqing remarked that “despite the fact that the nation had been united for some time and the language of the central plains had spread throughout the nation, too many people were still relying on outdated books such as the *Guangyun*”. (Schlepp 1991:229). It contains more than 5000 characters, arranged according to the rhyming practice of the *beiqu* ‘northern songs’

The characters are divided into nineteen groups, which are named according to two characters of each rhyme group. Zhou Deqing noted, “of the four traditional tones - level, rising, departing, entering there is no entering tone in the *Zhongyuan yinyun*, which has been distributed amongst the other tones [...]”. However, later Zhou says, “Those who distribute the entering tones amongst the level, rising and departing tones broaden their rhymes, which is useful for writing *beiqu*. However, in the spoken language, the entering tone is still distinguished.” Zhou Deqing was from the south, and this is interpreted as meaning that in his own dialect, as distinct from the language of the *beiqu*, there was still an entering tone.

Zhongyuan yinyun

Mandarin (*pinyin* transcription)

p	ph	m	f	v	b	p	m	f
t	th	n	l		d	t	n	l
ts	tsh	s			z	c	s	
tš	tšh	š	ř		zh	ch	sh	r
					j	q	x	
k	kh	x	ŋ		g	k	h	ø
y	w				y	w		

The initials reconstructed by various investigators are much the same. Dong Tonghe considers there was no phonemic difference between *ø* and *ŋ*. The column on the right gives the equivalents in modern Mandarin, in *pinyin*.

The ZYYY lacks the Mandarin palatals *j q x*, which did not develop until much later. ZYYY *v* < MC *miu-* and ZYYY *w* < MC *hyu-*. ZYYY *tš tšh š* correspond to the modern Mandarin retroflexes *zh ch sh*. Some scholars are reluctant to consider these initials retroflexes in the ZYYY, because they also occur before *i*. The evolution from MC *ny* to Mandarin *r* is a complex one. In Kitan it was written $\text{ㄨ} \langle \text{z} \rangle$, a modified form of $\text{ㄨ} \langle \text{s} \rangle$, so we can presume it was pronounced [ʒ] in the Liao period.

The distribution of characters under the upper and lower level tones indicates a pattern similar to Mandarin. MC voiced initials *b d g* had become voiceless, joining the unaspirated MC initials *p t k* in the upper level tone, and the aspirated MC initials *ph th kh* in the lower level tone. There was not a three way contrast in initial stops and affricates in the ZYYY.

7.16 The *Menggu ziyun*

The *Menggu ziyun* has recently been exhaustively studied in Coblin 2007. The ‘Phags-pa script was completed in 1269, over 300 years after the creation of the Kitan small script in 925 and a century and a half after the fall of the Liao, so it is not so relevant to our discussion of Liao Chinese. However, we can briefly review its characteristics for comparative purposes.

Initials

p	ph	b	m	f	v	u	
t	th	d	n	ŋ	l		
ts	tsh	dz			s	z	
tʂ	tʂh	dzʂ					
k	kh	g	ŋ	ʔ	x	ɣ	fi
∅							

This list shows a three way contrast between *t th d*, *k kh g* and so on, as in MC, not as in the ZYYY. Song rhyme tables also show a three way contrast. Shao Yong and Zhu Xi indicate a two way contrast. Coblin interprets the ‘Phags-pa <w> as [v]. ‘Phags-pa indicates an initial *ŋ* and a marginal initial *∅*.

In Coblin’s transcription, the main vowels are *i u ɿ ʅ u ε ə ɔ a a*; medials are *y, j* and *w*, codas are *j w ɛ̃ n ŋ m*. The four grades are indicated as *kan kjan ken* and *kjen*, implying a difference in vowel quality between Grades 1/2 and Grades 3/4. Syllables in Mandarin *uan* such as *guan* ‘official’ are spelled <gon>. There is no indication of a final glottal stop in the

orthography, but Coblin suggests southern speakers may have “read” a syllable such as <baw> as /bawʔ/ [bɔʔ].

7.17 Uighur and Xixia transcriptions of Chinese

Nie Hongyin 1988 studied the Kitan transcription of Chinese words in the *Liaoshi* and elsewhere. He concludes that there are 21 finals in this variety of Chinese: *a e ue o io ɔ i ui ai am em an en in un iun aŋ iaŋ uaŋ iŋ oŋ*. He goes on to compare three types of related material: the Uighur translation of the *Biography of Xuanzang* (10th century), the Xixia-Chinese glossary *The Timely Pearl* (12th century) and Shao Yong’s *Huangji jingshi shu* (11th century Kaifeng-Luoyang). He concluded that the Xixia dialect mixes *f* and *xu*, but the Uighur and Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect and the Kitan dialect did not; the Xixia dialect mixes *n* and *l*, the Uighur and Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect and the Kitan dialect do not; the Uighur dialect shows the loss of final *ŋ*, and the Xixia materials also show such examples, but not the Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect and the Kitan dialect did not; in the Xixia dialect the final *p t k* have been entirely lost, in the Uighur dialect they were preserved quite well, in the Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect *k* and *t* have been lost, but *p* remained. In the Kitan dialect *t* and *k* have been lost; there are no examples of *p*.

7.18 Kitan and hP’agspa transcriptions of Liao-Yuan Chinese

Shen Zhongwei 2007 is a study on hP’ags-pa transcriptions and Kitan transcriptions. The hP’ags-pa script was devised in 1269; the *Menggu ziyun*, which provides the hP’ags-pa spellings for this study, is thought to date from 1308. This is almost 400 years after the creation of the Kitan scripts. It represents quite a different variety of Chinese from the *Zhongyuan yinyun*, dated 1324, which, as we have seen, is quite close to the language of the Kitan transcriptions. Nevertheless, the phonetic values Shen derives from his study are very similar to the transcriptions used for Kitan graphs in this book. The main difference is transcriptional: Shen uses IPA type transcriptions, so 𐰃 is [p] rather than , 𐰄 is [ph] rather than <p>. The other main difference is the notation for the transcription of Chinese medials: Shen writes <æ> for 𐰃 <y> and <æ: > for 𐰄 <ü>. He notes that 𐰃 <î> and 𐰄 <ú> may have been long vowels. A comparison of Shen’s readings with the transcriptions used in this book are as follows.

p	𐰃, 𐰄		ph	𐰄	<p>	m	𐰃	<m>	u	𐰃	<w>
t	𐰃	<d>	th	𐰄	<t>	n	𐰃	<n>	l	𐰃	<l>
ts	𐰃	<z>	s	𐰃	<s>						

tʃ	水	<c>	ʃ	戈	<ś>	j	万	<ei>	ɿ	戈	<ʒ>
k	几	<g>	kh	入	<k>	ŋ	安	<ŋ>	x	北	<ho>
a	力	<a>	i	关	<i>	u	天	<u>	ɛ	文	<ei>
ɔ	反	<o>	œ	茨,艾	<y>		火	<iú>	i:	奉	<î>
u:	伞	<ú>	i	答,吞	<ï>	œ:	伴	<ü>			
aŋ	危	<aŋ>	iŋ	用	<iŋ>	uŋ	太,太	<uŋ>	eŋ	並,井	<iáŋ>
oŋ	志	<oŋ>	yŋ	凡	<iúŋ>	əŋ	安	<ŋ>	u:ŋ	端	<úŋ>
aj	丰	<ai>	uj	火	<ui>	ej	余,余	<ah>	ɔj	秀	<oi>
œj	芬,芳	<e>	əj	万	<ei>						
aw	夬	<au>	iw	丙	<iu>	ɛw	考	<io>	əw	古	<eu>
am	乃	<am>	im	又	<m>	em	圣	<êm>	əm	金	
an	天	<an>	in	雨	<in>	un	女	<un>	ɛn	方	<ên>
on	不	<on>	œn	虫	<üen>	yn	亦	<ün>	ən	和	<en>
						yŋ	凡	<iúŋ>	əŋ	安	<ŋ>

7.19 Rhymes in Liao poetry

There are many studies of Song and Yuan rhymes, but few deal with the Liao and Jin periods. An exception is Lu Guoyao 1994, which compares the rhymes of 11 poets over a period of 300 years. Lu's conclusion was that the Chinese of the early Jin period was similar to that of the Song, and that considerable changes in northern Chinese began about 1200. Lu did not include any rhymes from the Liao. Of more relevance to our present concerns is Ding Zhimin 2006. His study of the rhymes in Liao poetry is based on the material in Chen Shu 1982. This collection includes 78 poems, 6 imperial epitaphs, 57 other epitaphs and other rhymes, with 421 characters in rhyming position. 109 authors are represented, but those for whom dates are available are the following thirteen:

Yelü Bei	909-946	Shangjing
Liao Shengzong	971-1031	Shangjing
Liao Xingzong	1014-1055	Shangjing
Liao Daozong	1032-1101	Shangjing
Yang Jie	fl. 1106	Nanjing
Wang Shiru	1039-1101	Fanyang
Wang Ding	d. 1106	Zhuozhou
Yelü Yan	d. 1113	Zhejin
Zhang Lin	d. 1122	Shenzhou
Yu Zhongwen	d. 1123	Wuzhou
Zhang Jian	963-1053	Nanjing

Zhang (Yelü) Xiaojie	fl. 1067	Jianzhou
Han Fang	1082-1149	Yanjing

While in itself this is a small sample, in the context of the rhymes in poetry of the Song and Jin periods, the rhyme groups of the rhyme tables and the rhyme categories of the ZYYY, it can provide a reasonable overview of the rhyming patterns during the Liao.

Supplementing Lu Guoyao's study, Ding Zhimin 2006:163 concluded that "from the seventh to the thirteenth century, the rhymes of "old style" poems written in the Beijing area can be divided into two stages: the Tang and Five Dynasties period (nearly 300 years), and the Liao Jin Yuan period (about 300 years). The changes in rhyming categories are greatest between the Tang and Five dynasties period on the one hand, and the Liao Jin Yuan period on the other. The 31 groups of the Tang and Five dynasties period evolved into 19 groups by the Liao and Song period. The 19 groups of the Liao and the 18 groups of the Jin basically do not show any changes. The general tendency of the "new style" poetry is much the same." That is to say, noticeable changes in rhyming patterns can be discerned about 1000-1100.

The table below is from Ding Zhimin 2006:163. The first column indicates the rhyme groups of the rhyme tables. The second lists the rhymes of the Late Tang and Post Tang periods of poets from the Beijing, or more generally, the Hebei area, given in MC. The third is based on the sources collected in Chen Shu 1982. From these Ding Zhimin extracted 19 rhyme groups: 14 with open syllables, compared to 19 in the ZYYY, and 5 extra groups with final ?. The fourth and fifth columns are based on analysis of Jin and Song poetry from the same area, and the sixth gives the nineteen groups of the ZYYY. The Liao sample itself may be relatively small, but it is clear that there is great similarity between the Liao, Jin and Song groups, but that the differences between the late Tang and post Tang rhymes and the Liao groups is considerable. Although relatively few, the structural similarity of the Liao rhyme groups to the finals of the *Zhongyuan yinyun* suggests the readings are likely to be at least approximately correct.

7.20 Development of rhyme groups from Late Tang to Yuan

Group (攝)	Post Tang	Liao	Jin	Song	Yuan
通	東種	東種	東種	東種	東種
止	支微	支微	支微	支微	支思
蟹	齊祭	支微	支微	支微	齊微
遇	魚模	魚模	魚模	魚模	魚模

蟹	皆來	皆來	皆來	皆來	皆來
臻	真諄	真文	真文	真文	真文
臻	文欣	真文	真文	真文	真文
臻	魂痕	真文	真文	真文	真文
山	寒桓	寒先	寒先	寒先	寒山
山	山刪	寒先	寒先	寒先	桓歡
山	仙先	寒先	寒先	寒先	先天
效	豪高	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪
效	交肴	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪
效	蕭宵	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪
果	歌戈	歌戈	歌戈	歌戈	歌戈
假	家麻	家麻	家麻	家麻	家麻
假	家麻	家麻	家麻	家麻	車遮
梗	庚青	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚清
梗	蒸登	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚蒸
江	江陽	江陽	陽唐	江陽	江陽
江	江陽	江陽	江雙	江陽	江陽
流	尤侯	尤侯	尤侯	尤侯	尤侯
深	侵尋	侵尋	侵尋	侵尋	侵尋
咸	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	監咸
咸	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	廉纖
山入	曷屑	月業	月業	月業	
深入	葉帖	月業	月業	月業	
曾入	德職	德昔	德質	德質	
曾入	陌昔	德昔	德質	德質	
曾入	緝邑	質沒	德質	德質	
深入	質沒	質沒	德質	德質	
通入	屋燭	屋燭	屋燭	屋燭	
通入	鐸藥	藥鐸	藥鐸	藥鐸	
江入	覺學	藥鐸	藥鐸	藥鐸	

What this table tells us is that there were 19 final groups in Liao poetry. The *approximate* values of these groups, and characters which represent a particular rhyme, were probably as follows:

7.21 Finals in Liao Chinese

On the basis of the rhymes set out above, we can set up a preliminary framework for the finals of Liao Chinese.

(1) a

Dazhang gongzhu epitaph: 華 *hua*, 家 *jia*, 嘉 *jia*

Shengzong epitaph: 夏 *xia*, 化 *hua*, 下 *xia*, 亞 *ya*

馬	<i>ma</i>	mae	𠂔𠂔	⟨ma⟩
察	<i>cha</i>	chreat	𠂔	⟨ca⟩
家	<i>jia</i>	kae	𠂔𠂔	⟨g.ia⟩
家	<i>jia</i>	kae	𠂔𠂔	⟨x.ia⟩
夏	<i>xia</i>	hae	𠂔𠂔	⟨xa.ia⟩
下	<i>xia</i>	hae	𠂔𠂔	⟨xa.ia⟩

(2) o

Daozong epitaph: 科 *ke* 莪 *e* 歌 *ge* 河 *he* (Liao [ɔ])

Yixingming epitaph: 訶 *he*, 它 *ta*, 可 *ke*

博	<i>bo</i>	pak	𠂔𠂔	⟨b.oh⟩
左	<i>zuo</i>	ca	𠂔𠂔	⟨s.o⟩
左	<i>zuo</i>	ca	𠂔𠂔	⟨z.o⟩
和	<i>he</i>	hua	𠂔	⟨xo⟩

(3) i

Dong Yang qi Zhang-shi epitaph: 閨 *gui* 儀 *yi* 彝 *yi* 詩 *shi* 慈 *ci* 移 *yi* 淒 *qi*

Wang Ze epitaph: 氣 *qi*, 邃 *sui*, 位 *wei*, 吏 *li* 使 *shi* 制 *zhi* 遂 *sui* 止 *zhi* 第 *di*
理 *li* 此 *ci* 利 *li* 吹 *chui* 悌 *ti* 弟 *di* 歲 *sui* 里 *li* 水 *shui* 墜 *zhui*

持	<i>chi</i>	dri	𠂔𠂔	⟨c.i⟩
齊	<i>qi</i>	jeei	𠂔𠂔	⟨s.i⟩
西	<i>xi</i>	seei	𠂔𠂔	⟨s.i⟩
妃	<i>fei</i>	phiei	𠂔𠂔	⟨p.i⟩
義	<i>yi</i>	ngie	𠂔𠂔	⟨ŋ.i⟩
宜	<i>yi</i>	ngie	𠂔𠂔	⟨ŋ.i⟩
李	<i>li</i>	li	𠂔𠂔	⟨l.i⟩

禮	<i>li</i>	leei	ㄌㄨㄟ	<l.i>
期	<i>qi</i>	gi	ㄑㄨㄟ	<x.i>
起	<i>qi</i>	khi	ㄑㄨㄟ	<x.i>
儀	<i>yi</i>	ngie	ㄩㄟ	<ŋ.i>
帝	<i>di</i>	teei	ㄉㄟ	<di>
帝	<i>di</i>	teei	ㄉㄟㄟ	<t.i.i>
齊	<i>qi</i>	jeei	ㄑㄨㄟ	<ts.i>
齊	<i>qi</i>	jeei	ㄑㄨㄟ	<s.i>
漆	<i>qi</i>	chit	ㄑㄨㄟ	<ts.i>
騎	<i>qi</i>	gie	ㄑㄨㄟㄟ	<g.i.i>
室	<i>shi</i>	syit	ㄕㄨㄟ	<ś.i>
持	<i>chi</i>	dri	ㄔㄨㄟ	<c.i>
師	<i>shi</i>	srii	ㄕㄨㄟ	<ś.i>

Words with the non-palatal, apical *ĩ* in MSC are usually transcribed ㄕ (sh) and ㄔ (tz), but occasionally as ㄕㄟ (<ś.i>), ㄔㄟ (<c.i>) as above. Cf. 職 ㄓㄨㄟ 旨 ㄓㄨㄟ 知 ㄓㄨㄟ 師 ㄕㄨㄟ. In the ZYYY, most words with *ĩ* in MSC are in a separate group, but some, such as 知 *zhi* 'know', 制 *zhi* 'system', 恥 *chi* 'shame' 失 *shi* 'lose', 世 *shi* 'world', 日 *ri* 'sun' are listed under final *i*, not *ĩ*. In the Liao rhymes, there is only *i*, there is no obvious emergence of *ĩ*. This, however, is clear in the Kitan transcriptions. Note that 內 *nei* 'inside', 雷 *lei* 'lightning' and 淚 *lei* 'tears' have a medial *u* in the Liao transcriptions, as in the ZYYY.

(3a) ui

尉	<i>wei</i>	qiuei	ㄨㄟ	<ui.i>
衛	<i>wei</i>	hiueei	ㄨㄟ	<ui.i>
國	<i>guo</i>	kuek	ㄑㄨㄟ	<g.ui>
隋	<i>sui</i>	ziue	ㄕㄨㄟ	<s.ui>
隋	<i>sui</i>	ziue	ㄕㄨㄟ	<z.ui>

(3b) ĩ (not attested in the rhymes)

紫	<i>zĩ</i>	cie	ㄗㄨㄟ	<z.ĩ>
子	<i>zĩ</i>	ci	ㄗㄨㄟ	<z.ĩ>
使	<i>shĩ</i>	sri	ㄕㄨㄟ	<sh.ĩ>
事	<i>shĩ</i>	jri	ㄕㄨㄟ	<sh>
司	<i>sĩ</i>	si	ㄕㄨㄟ	<ss>
刺	<i>cĩ</i>	chie	ㄕㄨㄟ	<ss>

(3c) ie

謝	<i>xie</i>	zyae	𠄎文	⟨s.ie⟩
射	<i>ye</i>	yae	𠄎文	⟨ei.ie⟩
節	<i>jie</i>	ceet	𠄎文	⟨z.ie⟩

The graph 𠄎 is used to indicate medial -i-. As a final, it was probably pronounced [ie].

(3d) ei

德	<i>de</i>	tek	𠄎𠄎	⟨t.ei⟩
德	<i>de</i>	tek	𠄎𠄎	⟨d.ei⟩
德	<i>de</i>	tek	𠄎𠄎	⟨d.i⟩
特	<i>te</i>	dek	𠄎𠄎	⟨d.ei⟩
特	<i>te</i>	dek	𠄎𠄎	⟨t.ei⟩

There is no sign of a final *k* in these words, which are written with 𠄎 ⟨ei⟩, which is also used to transcribe Chinese initial *y*. MSC 特 *tè* is irregular, the regular development would be **dé*.

(4) ai

Zhang Lian epitaph: 開 *kai* 才 *cai* 偕 *xie* 恢 *hui* 頹 *tui*

Daozong epitaph: 會 *hui* 碎 *sui* 霏 *pei* 晦 *hui*

開	<i>kai</i>	khei	𠄎𠄎	⟨x.ai⟩
開	<i>kai</i>	khei	𠄎𠄎	⟨k.ai⟩
大	<i>da</i>	dai	𠄎𠄎	⟨da.ai⟩
大	<i>da</i>	dai	𠄎𠄎	⟨ta.ai⟩
大	<i>da</i>	dai	𠄎𠄎𠄎	⟨ta.ai.i⟩
大	<i>da</i>	dai	𠄎𠄎𠄎	⟨d.ai.i⟩
冊	<i>ce</i>	chreak	𠄎𠄎	⟨c.ah⟩
伯	<i>bo</i>	paek	𠄎𠄎	⟨b.ah⟩
客	<i>ke</i>	khaek	𠄎𠄎	⟨x.ah⟩
帛	<i>bo</i>	paek	𠄎𠄎	⟨p.ah⟩
牌	<i>pai</i>	beaii	𠄎𠄎	⟨p.ah⟩
太	<i>tai</i>	thai	𠄎𠄎	⟨t.ai⟩
太	<i>tai</i>	thai	𠄎	⟨tai⟩
採	<i>cai</i>	chei	𠄎𠄎	⟨s.ai⟩

Many words in MC final stops which have final *e* in MSC are listed under *ai* in the ZYYY. These include 策 *chai* (Mand. *ce*) ‘policy’ and 客 *kai* ‘guest’ (MSC *ke*). The Kitan transcriptions are 册 𠬞 𠬞 𠬞 <c.ah> (MC *chreak*) and 客 ‘guest’ 𠬞 𠬞 <x.ah> (MC *kaek*). Note also 伯 ‘uncle’ <b.ah> (MC *paek*). There seems to be a correlation between 𠬞 <ah> and MC final *-k*. Note 牌 is written both 𠬞 𠬞 <p.ah> and 𠬞 𠬞 <p.ai>. Aisin Gioro noted the connection between 𠬞 <ah> and the MC Grade 2 vowels /ae/ and /ea/ rather than the final /k/, and suggested the vowel in 𠬞 <ah> might be [æ]. Shen Zhongwei 2007 suggests [ej].

(5) u

Zhang Jian epitaph 紆 *yu* 書 *shu* 謨 *mo* 孚 *fu*

Here and elsewhere Ding Zhimin includes rhymes from Shigong Dashi, *Zuiyi ge*. However, this was translated from Kitan into Chinese by Yelü Chucai during the Yuan, so the rhymes cannot be considered Liao Chinese.

吾	<i>wu</i>	ngu	𠬞 𠬞	<ŋ.u>
道	<i>dao</i>	dau	𠬞 𠬞	<dau.u>
保	<i>bao</i>	pau	𠬞 𠬞	<ŋ.u>
武	<i>wu</i>	miu	𠬞 𠬞	<w.u>
游	<i>you</i>	yeu	𠬞 𠬞 𠬞	<ei.iu.u>
右	<i>you</i>	hiu	𠬞 𠬞 𠬞	<ei.iu.u>
洛	<i>luo</i>	lak	𠬞 𠬞 𠬞	<l.au.u>
略	<i>lüe</i>	liak	𠬞 𠬞 𠬞	<l.iau.u>
副	<i>fu</i>	phieu	𠬞 𠬞	<pu.u>
許	<i>xu</i>	xio	𠬞 𠬞	<x.iú>
書	<i>shu</i>	syo	𠬞 𠬞	<ś.iú>
署	<i>shu</i>	dzyo	𠬞 𠬞	<ś.iú>
禦	<i>yu</i>	ngio	𠬞 𠬞	<ŋ.iú>
主	<i>zhu</i>	cyu	𠬞 𠬞	<tz.iú>
部	<i>bu</i>	bu	𠬞 𠬞	<b.û>
祖	<i>zu</i>	cu	𠬞 𠬞	<z.ú>
祖	<i>zu</i>	cu	𠬞 𠬞	<s.ú>
蜀	<i>shu</i>	jyok	𠬞 𠬞	<ś.ú>
蜀	<i>shu</i>	jyok	𠬞 𠬞	<ś.û>
祿	<i>lu</i>	luk	𠬞 𠬞	<l.uh>
吳	<i>wu</i>	ngu	𠬞 𠬞	<ŋ.u>

五	wu	ngu	𠄎及	<ŋ.u>
福	fu	piuk	𠄎	<pu>
僕	pu	buk	𠄎及	<p.u>
僕	pu	buk	𠄎及	<pú.ú>
僕	pu	buk	𠄎久	<b.uh>
副	fu	phieu	𠄎	<fu>
富	fu	pieu	𠄎	<fu>
部	bu	bu	𠄎及	<p.ú>
部	bu	bu	𠄎及	<b.ú>
部	bo	bu	𠄎及	<b.û.ú>
夫	fu	piu	𠄎	<pu>
駙	fu	biu	𠄎	<pu>
輔	fu	piuk	𠄎	<pu>
輔	fu	piuk	𠄎及	<fu.û>
輔	fu	piuk	𠄎及	<fu.u>
武	wu	miu	𠄎及	<w.u>
武	wu	miu	𠄎今	<w.ú>
武	wu	miu	𠄎久	<w.uh>
叔	shu	syuk	𠄎及	<ś.eu>
叔	shu	syuk	𠄎及	<ś.eu.iû>
叔	shu	syuk	𠄎及	<ś.iû>
淑	shu	jyuk	𠄎及	<ś.eu.ú>
六	liu	liuk	𠄎丙	<l.iu>
右	you	hieu	𠄎及	<ei.eu.ú>
守	shou	syeu	𠄎及	<ś.eu>
壽	shou	jyeu	𠄎及	<ś.eu.ú>
酒	jiu	cieu	𠄎丙	<s.iu>
牛	niu	ngieu	𠄎丙	<ŋ.iu>
九	jiu	kieu	𠄎丙	<g.iu>
休	xiu	xieu	𠄎丙	<x.iu>
留	liu	lieu	𠄎丙	<l.iu>
酒	jiu	cieu	𠄎丙	<z.iu>
酒	jiu	cieu	𠄎丙	<s.iu>
修	xiu	sieu	𠄎丙	<s.iu>

(6) eu

Guangjishi inscription: 流 liu 幽 you 猷 you 投 tou 求 qiu 優 you 抽 chou 休 xiu 游 you 儔 shou

Xiao Dewen epitaph: 遘 *gou* 授 *shou* 宥 *you* 副 *fu* 獸 *shou* 竇 *dou* 冑 *zhou*
有 *you* 陋 *lou* 后 *hou* 廐 *jiu* 富 *fu* 晝 *zhou* 壽 *shou* 岫 *xiu* 朽 *xiu*

守	<i>shou</i>	<i>syeu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ś.eu>
婁	<i>lou</i>	<i>leu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<l.eu>
州	<i>zhou</i>	<i>cyeu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<c.eu>
留	<i>liu</i>	<i>lieu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<l.iu>
游	<i>you</i>	<i>yeu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ei.iu.ú>

(7) au

Weiguowang Shagu epitaph: 高 *gao* 豪 *hao* 勞 *lao* 堯 *yao*
Qin Jinguo Dazhang gongzhu epitaph: 考 *kao* 耀 *yao* 導 *dao* 號 *hao*

洛	<i>luo</i>	<i>lak</i>	𠄎𠄎	<l.au.u>
藥	<i>yao</i>	<i>yak</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ei.au.u>
曹	<i>cao</i>	<i>jau</i>	𠄎𠄎	<s.au>
高	<i>gao</i>	<i>kau</i>	𠄎𠄎	<g.au>
誥	<i>gao</i>	<i>kau</i>	𠄎𠄎	<x.au>
驃	<i>biao</i>	<i>pieu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<b.iau>
廟	<i>miao</i>	<i>mieu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<m.iau>
小	<i>xiao</i>	<i>sieu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<s.iau>
少	<i>shao</i>	<i>syeu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ś.iau.u>
略	<i>lüe</i>	<i>liak</i>	𠄎𠄎	<l.iau.u>
趙	<i>zhao</i>	<i>drieu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<tz.iau.u>
堯	<i>yao</i>	<i>ngeeu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ŋ.iau.u>
少	<i>shao</i>	<i>syeeu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ś.iau.û>
昭	<i>zhao</i>	<i>cyeu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<c.iau>
昭	<i>zhao</i>	<i>cyeu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<tz.iau>
校	<i>jiao</i>	<i>kaeu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<g.iau>

(8) aŋ

Qin Jinguo Dazhang gongzhu epitaph: 章 *zhang* 疆 *jiang* 光 *guang* 邦 *bang*
Yide huanghou epitaph: 帳 *zhang* 上 *shang* 楊 *yang* 帳 *zhang* 貺 *kuang*

江	<i>jiang</i>	<i>kaong</i>	𠄎𠄎	<g.aŋ>
章	<i>zhang</i>	<i>cyang</i>	𠄎𠄎	<j.a.aŋ>
尚	<i>shang</i>	<i>jyang</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ca.aŋ>
上	<i>shang</i>	<i>jyang</i>	𠄎𠄎	<c.aŋ>

長	<i>chang</i>	driang	兩丸	<ca.aŋ>
唐	<i>tang</i>	dang	付丸	<ta.aŋ>
郎	<i>lang</i>	lang	牛丸	<l.aŋ>
敞	<i>chang</i>	chyang	兩丸	<ca.aŋ>
常	<i>chang</i>	jyang	兩丸	<ca.aŋ>
行	<i>xing</i>	haeng	不丩	<ha.aŋ>
相	<i>xiang</i>	siang	今非	<s.iaŋ>
將	<i>jiang</i>	ciang	今非	<s.iaŋ>
將	<i>jiang</i>	ciang	今非	<z.iaŋ>

(8a) oŋ

王	<i>wang</i>	hiuang	去	<oŋ>
光	<i>guang</i>	kuang	九去	<g.oŋ>

(9) iŋ (not eŋ)

Zhao Dejun qi zeng Qinguo daren Zhong-shi epitaph: 榮 rong, 膺 ying 聲 sheng 名 ming 清 qing 塋 ying 城 cheng 銘 ming
Jia Shixun epitaph: 應 ying 病 bing 定 ding

應	<i>ying</i>	qing	用	<iŋ>
平	<i>ping</i>	biaeng	止用	<p.iŋ>
兵	<i>bing</i>	piaeng	付用	<bi.iŋ>
經	<i>jing</i>	keeng	九用	<g.iŋ>

(10) uŋ

Xiao Yi epitaph: 公 gong 崇 chong 隆 long 忠 zhong 鴻 hong 終 zhong 重 zhong 豐 feng 窮 qiong
Daozong epitaph: 峰 feng 容 rong 蹤 zong 宗 zong

宗	<i>zong</i>	coŋ	今非	<s.úŋ>
宗	<i>zong</i>	coŋ	今非	<z.úŋ>
奉	<i>feng</i>	biuŋ	止非	<p.úŋ>
崇	<i>chong</i>	jriuŋ	兩非	<ca.úŋ>
宮	<i>gong</i>	kiuŋ	九丙水	<g.iu.uŋ>
統	<i>tong</i>	thoŋ	劣水	<tu.uŋ>
龍	<i>long</i>	liuŋ	牛凡	<l.iúŋ>

Syllables with initial labials such as MSC 崩 *beng*, 烹 *peng*, 夢 *meng*, 猛 *meng*, 風 *feng* and 馮 *feng* were included in the -uŋ group in the ZYYY: 崩 *bung*, 烹 *pung*, 夢 *mung*, 猛 *mung*, 風 *fung*, 馮 *fung*. This was also the case in Liao. Words such as 龍 *long* 'dragon' preserve the MC medial *i* in both the ZYYY (*liung*) and in Liao Chinese ⟨*l.iuŋ*⟩.

(11) an

Liu Haichan: 丹 *dan* 難 *nan* 山 *shan* 間 *jian* 般 *ban* 難 *nan* 田 *tian* 千 *qian*
Shengzong epitaph: 旦 *dan* 段 *duan* 諫 *jian*

蘭	<i>lan</i>	lan	𠂔力天	⟨ <i>l.a.an</i> ⟩
山	<i>shan</i>	srean	𠂔力天	⟨ <i>ś.a.an</i> ⟩
安	<i>an</i>	qan	力天	⟨ <i>a.an</i> ⟩

(11a) ên

乾	<i>qian</i>	gien	𠂔方	⟨ <i>ki.ên</i> ⟩
殿	<i>dian</i>	deen	𠂔文方	⟨ <i>t.ie.ên</i> ⟩
殿	<i>yuan</i>	deen	𠂔文方	⟨ <i>d.ie.ên</i> ⟩
院	<i>yuan</i>	hiuen	𠂔方	⟨ <i>y.ên</i> ⟩
院	<i>yuan</i>	hiuen	𠂔文虫	⟨ <i>ŋ.y.iên</i> ⟩
宣	<i>xuan</i>	siuen	𠂔文虫	⟨ <i>s.y.iên</i> ⟩
仙	<i>xian</i>	sien	𠂔文方	⟨ <i>s.ie.ên</i> ⟩
前	<i>qian</i>	jeen	𠂔文方	⟨ <i>s.ie.ên</i> ⟩

(11b) on

The ZYYY has a separate category not attested in the Liao rhymes, 桓歡 *on*. It includes 半 *bon* 'half' 滿 *mon*, 端 *don* 'carry', 團 *ton* 'group', 暖 *non* 'warm', 卵 *lon* 'egg', 算 *son* 'calculate' 官 *gon* 'official', 館 *gon* 'building', 寬 *kon* 'broad', 歡 *hon* 'happy'. The Liao rhymes indicate these words had the final *an*. The Kitan transcriptions indicate final *on*, as in the ZYYY.

團	<i>tuan</i>	duan	𠂔不	⟨ <i>to.on</i> ⟩
觀	<i>guan</i>	kuan	𠂔公	⟨ <i>go.n</i> ⟩

(12) en

Fuma zeng Weiguowang Shagu epitaph: 勛 *xun* 存 *cun* 人 *ren* 神 *shen* 春 *chun*

Ma Zhiwen qi Zhangguan epitaph: 文 *wen* 君 *jun* 薰 *xun* 云 *yun* 群 *qun* 軍 *jun* 勤 *qin* 芬 *fen* 紛 *fen* 忻 *xin* 壑 *gen* 焚 *fen* 聞 *wen* 裙 *qun* 分 *fen* 曛 *xun* 墳 *fen*

門	<i>men</i>	<i>muen</i>	𠂔𠂔	<m.en>
陳	<i>chen</i>	<i>drin</i>	𠂔𠂔	<c.en>
陳	<i>chen</i>	<i>drin</i>	𠂔𠂔	<c.in>
臣	<i>chen</i>	<i>jyin</i>	𠂔𠂔	<c.en>
臣	<i>chen</i>	<i>jyin</i>	𠂔𠂔	<c.in>

(13) am

This group corresponds to two groups in the ZYYY: *am* and *iam*.

Guyushan temple inscription: 岩 *yan* 藍 *lan* 瞻 *zhan*

Fayun dashi epitaph: 險 *xian*, 漸 *jian*, 焰 *yan*

三	<i>san</i>	<i>sam</i>	𠂔𠂔乃	<s.a.am>
監	<i>jian</i>	<i>kaem</i>	𠂔𠂔乃	<g.ia.am>

(13a) êm

監	<i>jian</i>	<i>kaem</i>	𠂔𠂔𠂔	<g.ia.êm>
點	<i>dian</i>	<i>teem</i>	𠂔𠂔	d.êm
檢	<i>jian</i>	<i>kiem</i>	𠂔𠂔𠂔	g.ie.êm

(14) im

Xuanyi epitaph: 沉 *chen* 尋 *xun* 心 *xin* 今 *jin*

Zhang Zhengsong epitaph: 金 *jin* 今 *jin* 深 *shen* 音 *yin*

金	<i>jin</i>	<i>kim</i>	𠂔𠂔	<gi.m>
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7.22 The question of the glottal stop

There are five separate rhyme groups in Liao poetry which had stop endings in MC. This indicates that the MC endings *-p -t -k* had all coalesced into a glottal stop, separate from open syllables. In Liao, *iʔ* is distinguished from *eʔ*, but these have coalesced by the Jin.

Post Tang	Liao	Jin	Song
曷屑	月 oʔ	月 oʔ	月 oʔ
葉帖	月 oʔ	月 oʔ	月 oʔ
德職	德 eʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
陌錫	昔 eʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
緝邑	質 iʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
質沒	質 iʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
屋燭	屋 uʔ	屋 uʔ	屋 uʔ
鐸藥	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ
覺學	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ

It is clear from the rhymes that Liao Chinese preserved a glottal stop. At least in poetry. We have a very important note, however, from the *Mengqi bitan* by Shen Gua. In commenting on the *Jingdian shiwen*, Shen Gua noted that “Xiong Ansheng was originally from Heshuo (Hebei) and his *fanqie* often reflect northern pronunciation. Lu Deming was from Wu, and mainly follows the Wu pronunciation. Zheng Kangsheng was from Qi, and mainly followed the eastern pronunciation. For example, in the expression 璧有肉好 *bi you rou hao* ‘a jade *bi* 璧 consists of a 肉 *rou* ‘outer section’ and a 好 *hao* ‘inner area’, 肉 sounds like 揉. This is northern pronunciation. Even now the Heshuo people pronounce 肉 as 揉, and 贖 as 樹.” (Ding Zhimin 2006:88). This expression is from the Erya: 肉倍好，謂之璧。Commentary: 璧亦玉器。子男所執者也。璧之制，肉，邊也，好，孔也。邊大倍於孔者，名璧。 “A *bi* is also a jade implement. It is held by viscounts and barons. The *bi* is made of a *rou*, the outer section, and a *hao*, the inner area. The outer [solid] area is twice the width of the inner [empty] area.”

It is possible to interpret this in a variety of ways, but it looks as if Shen Gua is saying that the people of Hebei pronounce words like 肉 ‘meat’ (MC *nyuk*) and 贖 ‘lose’ (MC *zyuk*) like 揉 (MC *nyeu*) and 樹 (MC *jyu*), which did not have a final *-k* in MC or a final *-ʔ* in Song Chinese. This would mean that the final stop categories were observed in writing poetry, but not in the everyday speech of people in Hebei.

7.23 Finals derived from MC final stops in Kitan transcription

There are 36 characters derived from words with MC final stops transcribed into Kitan graphs.

叔 <i>shu</i> MC <i>syuk</i>	淑 <i>shu</i> MC <i>jyuk</i>	蜀 <i>shu</i> MC <i>jyok</i>
睦 <i>mu</i> MC <i>miuk</i>	祿 <i>lu</i> MC <i>luk</i>	督 <i>du</i> MC <i>tok</i>
福 <i>fu</i> MC <i>piuk</i>	六 <i>liu</i> MC <i>liuk</i>	僕 <i>pu</i> MC <i>buk</i>
藥 <i>yao</i> MC <i>yak</i>	洛 <i>luo</i> MC <i>lak</i>	略 <i>lüe</i> MC <i>liak</i>
伯 <i>bo</i> MC <i>pak</i>	郭 <i>guo</i> MC <i>kuak</i>	涿 <i>zhuo</i> MC <i>traok</i>
職 <i>zhi</i> MC <i>cyik</i>	德 <i>de</i> MC <i>tek</i>	特 <i>te</i> MC <i>dek</i>
國 <i>guo</i> MC <i>kuek</i>	冊 <i>ce</i> MC <i>chaek</i>	帛 <i>bo</i> MC <i>baek</i>
伯 <i>bo</i> MC <i>paek</i>	客 <i>ke</i> MC <i>khaek</i>	易 <i>yi</i> MC <i>yek</i>
石 <i>shi</i> MC <i>jyek</i>	察 <i>cha</i> MC <i>crheat</i>	節 <i>jie</i> MC <i>cet</i>
滑 <i>hua</i> MC <i>hueat</i>	越 <i>yue</i> MC <i>hyuat</i>	室 <i>shi</i> MC <i>syit</i>
漆 <i>qi</i> MC <i>chit</i>	密 <i>mi</i> MC <i>mit</i>	十 <i>shi</i> MC <i>jiy</i>

7.24 Kitan transcriptions of characters with MC final stops

越	<i>yue</i>	hyuot	𠄎𠄎	<y.e>
節	<i>jie</i>	ceet	𠄎𠄎	<z.ie>
察	<i>cha</i>	chreat	𠄎	<ca>
漆	<i>qi</i>	chit	𠄎𠄎	<ts.i>
漆	<i>qi</i>	chit	𠄎𠄎	<z.i>
漆	<i>qi</i>	chit	𠄎𠄎	<s.i>
西	<i>xi</i>	seei	𠄎𠄎	<ś.i>
室	<i>shi</i>	siet	𠄎𠄎	<ś.i>
藥	<i>yao</i>	yak	𠄎𠄎𠄎	<ei.au.u>
壽	<i>shou</i>	jyeu	𠄎𠄎𠄎	<ś.eu.u>
右	<i>you</i>	hieu	𠄎𠄎𠄎	<ei.eu.u>
洛	<i>luo</i>	lak	𠄎𠄎𠄎	<l.au.u>
略	<i>lüe</i>	liak	𠄎𠄎𠄎	<l.iau.u>
博	<i>bo</i>	pak	𠄎𠄎	<b.oh>
郭	<i>guo</i>	kuak	𠄎	<go>
德	<i>de</i>	tek	𠄎𠄎	<t.ei>
德	<i>de</i>	tek	𠄎𠄎	<d.ei>
德	<i>de</i>	tek	𠄎𠄎	<t.i>
特	<i>te</i>	dek	𠄎𠄎	<t.ei>

特	<i>te</i>	dek	𠂔𠂔	<d.ei>
國	<i>guo</i>	kuek	𠂔𠂔	<g.ui>
水	<i>shui</i>	syuii	𠂔𠂔	<ś.ui>
內	<i>nei</i>	nuei	公𠂔	<n.ui>
職	<i>zhi</i>	cyik	𠂔	<tz>
知	<i>zhi</i>	trie	𠂔	<tz>
旨	<i>zhi</i>	cyii	𠂔	<tz>

There are three graphs which sometimes appear to be associated with MC stop finals: 𠂔 <ah> 𠂔 <oh> and 𠂔 <uh>:

冊	<i>ce</i>	chaek	𠂔𠂔	<c.ah>
客	<i>ke</i>	khaek	𠂔𠂔	<x.ah>
伯	<i>bo</i>	paek	𠂔𠂔	<p.ah>
牌	<i>pai</i>	beaii	𠂔𠂔	<p.ah>
牌	<i>pai</i>	beaii	𠂔𠂔	<p.ai>
博	<i>bo</i>	pak	𠂔𠂔	<b.oh>
祿	<i>lu</i>	luk	𠂔	<lu>
祿	<i>lu</i>	luk	𠂔𠂔	<lu.uh>
祿	<i>lu</i>	luk	𠂔𠂔	<l.uh>
武	<i>wu</i>	miu	𠂔𠂔	<w.ú>
武	<i>wu</i>	miu	𠂔𠂔	<w.uh>

It is quite possible that <ah> may have been [ai], but it is generally distinguished from 𠂔 <ai>. There may have been some difference in the vowel. 𠂔 <ah> 𠂔 <oh> and 𠂔 <uh> are also commonly used to transcribe open syllables. Generally speaking there is no consistency in the use of the graphs used to transcribe syllables which ended in stops in MC and probably a glottal stop in Song Chinese. This does not prove that Liao Chinese did not have a glottal stop in such words, just that the Kitan transcription does not indicate it.

蜀	<i>shu</i>	<i>jyok</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ś.ú>
蜀	<i>shu</i>	<i>jyok</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ś.û>
楚	<i>chu</i>	<i>chrio</i>	𠄎𠄎	<c.ú>
祖	<i>zu</i>	<i>cu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<s.ú>
武	<i>wu</i>	<i>miu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<w.ú>
魯	<i>lu</i>	<i>lu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<l.ú>
護	<i>hu</i>	<i>hu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<xu.û>
度	<i>du</i>	<i>du</i>	𠄎𠄎	<t.û>
諸	<i>zhu</i>	<i>cyo</i>	𠄎𠄎	<tz.û>
部	<i>bu</i>	<i>bu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<b.û>
福	<i>fu</i>	<i>piuk</i>	𠄎	<pu>
駙	<i>fu</i>	<i>biu</i>	𠄎	<pu>
父	<i>fu</i>	<i>piu</i>	𠄎	<pu>
府	<i>fu</i>	<i>piu</i>	𠄎	<pu>
六	<i>liu</i>	<i>liuk</i>	𠄎𠄎	<l.iu>
修	<i>xiu</i>	<i>sieu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<s.iu>
酒	<i>jiu</i>	<i>cieu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<s.iu>

7.25 Initials of Liao Chinese

Nie Hongyin 1988 made an interesting discovery in his study of the Chinese transcriptions of Kitan words in the *Liaoshi*. Many such words have a second syllable beginning with Chinese *l*: 暴里 *baoli*; 迭烈 *dielie*, 撻林 *dalin*; 梯里己 *tiliji*, 撻刺子 *dalazi*; 獨盧金 *dulujin*; 塔里捨 *talishe*, 敵烈麻都 *diliemadu*, 陶里本 *taoliben*, 奪里本 *duoliben*; 忒里蹇 *telijian*; 吐里 *tuli*; 題里 *tili*, 甲里叵 *jialipo*, 迭烈特 *dieliete*. Nie suggested Kitan may have had initial consonants clusters of the type **pl-*, **tr-*, or perhaps syllables like **pel*, **ter*. Apparently there were special graphs for syllables like **hor*, **dir* and others. Judging from the Kitan transcriptions of Chinese words in the inscriptions, it would seem that voicing and/or aspiration was not phonemic in Kitan, and that the basic Kitan phonemes were lax *b d g*, which may have had aspirated allophones.

Nie also suggests the first character in such words, however, is usually one which had a *voiced initial* in MC. This tends to suggest that the reflexes of the MC voiced initials were aspirated, as is the case in the Xixia transcriptions, the northwestern dialects studied in Coblin 1994 and in modern Gan and Hakka, in Sagart 1988. This is not the pattern of the *Zhongyuan yinyun* or modern Mandarin, where the reflexes of MC voiced initials are aspirated voiceless in the level tones, and unaspirated voiceless in the non-level tones. This is confirmed by Gong Huangcheng 2005:491:

“From an investigation of the [Xixia] transcriptions, the Middle Chinese voiced stops and voiced affricates, irrespective of the tones, become aspirated voiceless stops and affricates. As far as the place of articulation is concerned, the postdentals have coalesced with the retroflexes, and the situation is the same as with the stops $b > ph$, $d > th$, $g > kh$, $dz > tsh$, $z > s$, and were transcribed the same as the original MC *ph th kh tsh* and *s*.”

Labials and labiodentals

部	<i>bu</i>	bu	𠬞𠬞	<b.û>
伯	<i>bo</i>	paek	𠬞𠬞	<b.ah>
驃	<i>biao</i>	pieu	𠬞𠬞	<b.iau>
保	<i>bao</i>	pau	𠬞𠬞	<b.u>
僕	<i>pu</i>	phuk	𠬞𠬞	<b.uh>
妃	<i>fei</i>	phiei	𠬞𠬞	<p.i>
平	<i>ping</i>	biaeng	𠬞𠬞	<p.iŋ>
奉	<i>feng</i>	biong	𠬞𠬞	<p.úŋ>
府	<i>fu</i>	piu	𠬞	<pu>
密	<i>mi</i>	mit	𠬞𠬞	<m.i>
馬	<i>ma</i>	mae	𠬞𠬞	<m.a>
廟	<i>miao</i>	mieu	𠬞𠬞	<m.iau>
門	<i>men</i>	muen	𠬞𠬞	<m.en>
文	<i>wen</i>	miun	𠬞𠬞	<w.un>

Nie says the MC initials *piu-* *phiu-* *biu-* had all become *f-* and *miu-* had become *v-*. Moreover, in the *Liaoshi* glossary, there are no Chinese words beginning with *f*, indicating that in Kitan there was no *f* phoneme. 𠬞 <fu> occasionally appears in the transcription of Chinese words. From the transcription of Chinese, is not clear what difference there may have been between 𠬞 and 𠬞 <p>, or the dentals 𠬞 <d> and 𠬞 <t>. It may be that the first of each was associated with front vowels and the second with back vowels, or that different vowels are involved.

Dentals

LIAO CHINESE

唐	<i>tang</i>	dang	得丸	<ta.ɑŋ>
台	<i>tai</i>	thei	丕	<tai>
寧	<i>ning</i>	neeng	公用	<n.iŋ>
内	<i>nei</i>	nuei	公火	<n.ui>
禮	<i>li</i>	leei	小光	<l.i>
龍	<i>long</i>	liong	小風	<l.iuŋ>
陵	<i>ling</i>	ling	小用	<l.iŋ>
令	<i>ling</i>	lieng	小用	<l.iŋ>
梁	<i>liang</i>	liang	小並	<l.iáŋ>
郎	<i>lang</i>	lang	小丸	<l.ɑŋ>
蘭	<i>lan</i>	lan	小力天	<l.a.ɑn>
留	<i>liu</i>	lieu	小丙	<l.iu>
略	<i>lüe</i>	lak	小考及	<l.iau.u>

Affricates and sibilants

青	<i>qing</i>	cheeng	全用	<s.iŋ>
漆	<i>qi</i>	chit	全光	<s.i>
西	<i>xi</i>	seei	全光	<s.i>
前	<i>qian</i>	jeen	全文秀	<s.ie.êŋ>
三	<i>san</i>	sam	全力乃	<s.a.ɑm>

商	<i>shang</i>	<i>syang</i>	𠄎𠄎	<c.aŋ>
仁	<i>ren</i>	<i>nyin</i>	𠄎𠄎	<zin>
尚	<i>shang</i>	<i>jyang</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ś.aŋ>
省	<i>sheng</i>	<i>sraeng</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ś.iaŋ>
聖	<i>sheng</i>	<i>syeng</i>	𠄎𠄎, 𠄎𠄎	<ś.iŋ>, <ś.i.iŋ>
山	<i>shan</i>	<i>srean</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ś.a.an>
守	<i>shou</i>	<i>syeu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ś.eu>
書	<i>shu</i>	<i>syo</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ś.iú>
水	<i>shui</i>	<i>syuii</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ś.ui>
少	<i>shao</i>	<i>syeeu</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ś.iau.u>
室	<i>shi</i>	<i>syit</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ś.i>
署	<i>shu</i>	<i>jyo</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ś.iú>
職	<i>zhi</i>	<i>cyik</i>	𠄎	<tz>
政	<i>zheng</i>	<i>cyeng</i>	𠄎𠄎	<tz.iŋ>
鄭	<i>zheng</i>	<i>drieng</i>	𠄎𠄎	<tz.iŋ>
中	<i>zhong</i>	<i>triung</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ju.uŋ>
章	<i>zhang</i>	<i>cyang</i>	𠄎𠄎	<ja.aŋ>
事	<i>shi</i>	<i>jri</i>	𠄎	<sh>
詩	<i>shi</i>	<i>syi</i>	𠄎	<sh>
師	<i>shi</i>	<i>srii</i>	𠄎	<sh>
使	<i>shi</i>	<i>sri</i>	𠄎	<sh>
侍	<i>shi</i>	<i>jyi</i>	𠄎	<sh>
司	<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>	𠄎	<ss>
賜	<i>ci</i>	<i>sie</i>	𠄎	<ss>

Mandarin 賜 *ci* is irregular; regular development would be *si*. The important thing is clear indication of *i* in such words. Nie notes that the Chinese transcriptions of Kitan words in the *Liaoshi* all have initial *s*; none have affricates. The characters used are: 蕭速選思撒蘇莎珊辛先斯新賽.

Velars/laryngeals

開	<i>kai</i>	<i>khei</i>	𠄎𠄎	<k.ai>
興	<i>xing</i>	<i>xing</i>	𠄎𠄎	<x.i.iŋ>
期	<i>qi</i>	<i>gi</i>	𠄎𠄎	<x.i>
開	<i>kai</i>	<i>khei</i>	𠄎𠄎	<x.ai>
客	<i>ke</i>	<i>khaek</i>	𠄎𠄎	<x.ah>

元	<i>yuan</i>	ngiuon	安仲公	<ŋ.ü.n>
元	<i>yuan</i>	ngiuon	安英公	<ŋ.y.n>
乾	<i>qian</i>	gien	业考	<ki.ên>
銀	<i>yin</i>	ngin	安雨	<ŋ.in>
吾	<i>wu</i>	ngu	安及	<ŋ.ú>

Initial y-

右	<i>you</i>	hiu	万与及	<ei.eu.u>
射	<i>ye</i>	yep	万文	<ei.ie>
游	<i>you</i>	yu	万丙及	<ei.iu.u>

Initial w-

文	<i>wen</i>	miun	未火	w.un
武	<i>wu</i>	miu	未及	w.u

Medial -ie- [i]

仙	<i>xian</i>	sien	今文考	<s.ie.ên>
前	<i>qian</i>	jeen	今文考	<s.ie.ên>
殿	<i>dian</i>	deen	今文考	<t.ie.ên>
殿	<i>dian</i>	deen	谷文考	<d.ie.ên>

Medial -y- [ü]

元	<i>yuan</i>	ngiuon	安英虫	<ŋ.y.iên>
元	<i>yuan</i>	ngiuon	安英公	<ŋ.y.n>
元	<i>yuan</i>	ngiuon	安仲公	<ŋ.ü.n>

7.26 Conclusions

Putting this heterogeneous, incomplete and inconsistent material together, we can conclude that the Chinese dialect transcribed in the Kitan inscriptions had the following characteristics:

- (1) It was of the Early Mandarin variety rather than the late Tang/Five dynasties type.
- (2) The palatalisation of velars and sibilants before *i* had not occurred, so we have Liao *ging* for Mandarin *jing* 京, Liao *si* for Mandarin *xi* 西 and so on.
- (3) Liao Chinese had initial *ŋ* and final *m*. Mandarin *r* was transcribed ⟨z⟩, probably [ʒ]. There is no evidence for [v]. The reflex of MC *miu-* was [w].
- (4) The Mandarin finals *uan* and *uang* were Liao *on* and *ong*, as in the ZYYY. It is not clear if the Mandarin final *ün* was *iun* or *ün* in Liao; I have written *ün*.
- (5) The apical vowel [i] occurred after 𠬞 ⟨sh⟩, 𠬞 ⟨tz⟩ and 𠬞 ⟨ss⟩. It was sometimes unwritten, sometimes written 𠬞 (𠬞) ⟨i⟩. Some words of this type were written 𠬞𠬞 ⟨s.i⟩ rather than 𠬞𠬞 ⟨sh.i⟩, probably indicating the Kitan pronunciation of such words.
- (6) Entering tone words were observed as a separate class in the rhymes, but not in the Kitan transcriptions. The script has three graphs, 𠬞 ⟨ah⟩, 𠬞 ⟨oh⟩ and 𠬞 ⟨uh⟩, which might indicate a final stop. It is not impossible that when the Kitan script was devised, graphs were devised for these sounds because they actually existed in the type of Chinese used in the early Liao, but by the time of the inscriptions, this distinction had become blurred.
- (7) The irregular way Kitan transcribed words with MC *p ph b; k, kh, g* etc. and Mandarin initials *b p; g k* etc. makes comparisons difficult. The Kitan script, however, shows a two way contrast, not a three way contrast. The irregularities may derive from the phonological incongruity of the Kitan and Chinese stops. The Kitan stops were probably voiced, and aspiration was not distinctive, or perhaps conditioned. The Chinese stops were unvoiced, with aspiration being phonemically distinctive.
- (8) Medial *i* was preserved in such words as 宮 **giung* ‘palace’ 龍 **liung* ‘dragon’, cf. 公 **gung* ‘lord’. Note also 牛 **ŋiu* and 尚 **chang*.

7.27 The phonological system of Liao Chinese

IPA-based transcription

p	ph	m	f	w
t	th	n	l	
ts	tsh	s		
tʃ	tʃh	ʃ	ʒ	
k	kh	x	ŋ	
aŋ	oŋ	iŋ	uŋ	
a	o	i	u	
ai		ɿ	ui	
au	eu	iu		
ei		ie		
an	on	in	un	
am		im		
en			yn	

Pinyin based transcription

b	p	m	f	w
d	t	n	l	
z	c	s		
zh	ch	sh	ř	
g	k	x	ŋ	
ang	ong	ing	ung	
a	o	i	u	
au	eu	iu		
ai		ĩ	ui	
ei		ie		
an	on	in	un	
am		im		
ên			ün	

The transcription system used in this book for Liao Chinese, the type of Chinese reflected in the Kitan transcriptions, is a modification of *pinyin* rather than an IPA based system. Transcribing 兵馬都監 舟用 又为 竹 九才圣

⟨b.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm⟩ as **bingma dugiem* reveals a clear correspondence with ⟨b.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm⟩. To write it **piŋ ma tu kiæm* makes the correspondence less clear, unless we adopt a Chinese style type of IPA for Kitan as well, and write **p.iŋ ma tu k.i.æm* for 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹. Some Chinese researchers do this. But then we would have to write **p.as* for 𠵹𠵹 ⟨b.as⟩ ‘again’, cf. Mo. *basa* or **toro* for 𠵹𠵹 ⟨doro⟩ cf. Ma. *doron* ‘seal’ The transcription used here for Kitan is based on the same general principles used in Western scholarship to transcribe Mongol or Manchu.

7.28 Suggested Liao Chinese readings

- 7.001 *anguojun* 安國軍 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨a.an g.ui g.ün⟩ **angui gün*
 7.002 *Anzhou* 安州 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨a.an c.eu⟩ **an zheu*
 7.003 *biaoji da jiangjun* 驃騎大將軍 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨b.iau g.i.i ta.ai s.iaŋ g.ün⟩ **biaugi dai zianggün*
 7.004 *bingma dujian* 兵馬都監 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨b.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm⟩ **bingma dugiem*
 7.005 *bushusi* 部署司 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨p.u.u ś.iú ss⟩ **bushiusi*
 7.006 *chengzhi* 承旨 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨ci.ŋ dz⟩ **chengzi*
 7.007 *chonglu daifu* 崇祿大夫 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨ca.ún l.uh da.ai pu⟩ **chunglu daifu*
 7.008 *cishi* 刺史 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨s.i sh⟩ ~ 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨ss sh⟩ **cishi*
 7.009 *dianqian du dianjian* 殿前都點檢 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm⟩ **diensien du diemgiem*
 7.010 *dianzhongshi* 殿中使 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨d.ie.ên ju.uŋ sh.i⟩ **dienzhungshi*
 7.011 *du dianjian* 都點檢 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨dud.êm g.ie.êm⟩ **du diemgiem*
 7.012 *fangyushi* 防禦使 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨fú.ŋ ŋ.iú sh⟩ **fongŋushi*
 7.013 *Fengsheng zhou* 奉聖州 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨p.ún śi.ŋ c.eu⟩ **pungshing zheu*
 7.014 *fubushu* 副部署 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨pu b.û ś.iú⟩ ~ 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨pu b.u ś.iú⟩ **fubushiu*
 7.015 *fugongshi* 副宮使 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨pu.u g.iu.uŋ sh⟩ ~ 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨fu g.iu.uŋ sh⟩ **fugiungshi*
 7.016 *fuguo shangjiangjun* 輔國上將軍 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨pu g.ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün⟩ **fugui shang zianggün*
 7.017 *gongdian* 宮殿 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên⟩ **giungdien*
 7.018 *gongshi* 宮使 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨g.iu.uŋ sh.i⟩ ~ 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨g.iu.ún sh⟩ **giungshi*
 7.019 *guanchashi* 觀察使 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 𠵹𠵹 ⟨go.n ca sh⟩ **gonchashi*

- 7.020 *Guanglingjun wang* 廣陵郡王 九杰 中用 九亦 杰示 <g.oŋ l.iŋ g.ün oŋ>
**gonglinggün ong*
- 7.021 *guanglu daifu* 光祿大夫 九杰 变 久丰关 今 <g.oŋ lu da.ai.i pu>
**gonglu daifu*
- 7.022 *guofei* 國妃 九火 止关 <g.ui p.i> **guifi*
- 7.023 *guoshi* 國師 九火 兆 <g.ui sh> **guishi*
- 7.024 *guozi jijiu* 國子祭酒 九火 令谷 令关 令丙 <g.ui z.i z.i z.iu> **guizi zizieu*
- 7.025 *jiedushi* 節度使 令交 付 兆 <z.ie dush> **ziedushi*
- 7.026 *Jin wang* 晉王 令雨 杰 <s.in oŋ> **Zin oŋ*
- 7.027 *Jingzonghuangdi* 景宗皇帝 九用 令考 主 王 <g.iŋ s.úŋ hoŋ di>
**Gingzung hongdi*
- 7.028 *jinwuwei shangjiangjun* 金吾衛上將軍 九火 安及 米 又危 令並 九亦
金吾衛上將軍 <gi.m ŋ.u ui s.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün> **gimŋu'ui shang zianggün*
- 7.029 *kaifu yitong sansi* 開府義同三司 叔丰 今 安关 劣太 令力乃 北 <k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.uŋ s.a.am ss> **kaifu ŋitung samsi*
- 7.030 *kaiguobo* 開國伯 叔丰 九火 符东 <k.ai g.ui b.ah> ~ 又丰 九火 符东
<x.ai g.ui b.ah> **kaiguibai*
- 7.031 *libu shilang* 禮部侍郎 令关 付只 兆谷 令危 <l.i b.û sh.ïl.aŋ> **Libu shilang*
- 7.032 *ling san sheng shi* 領三省事 中用 令力乃 又並 兆 <l.iŋ s.a.am s.iaŋ sh> **ling sam siang shi*
- 7.033 *Luojing liushou* 洛京留守 中央及 九用和 中丙 又去 <l.au.u g.iŋ l.iu s.eu> **lauding liusheu*
- 7.034 *pingluan gongchen* 平亂功臣 止用 令力不 九火 米和 <p.iŋ l.a.on g.uŋ c.en> **pinglon gungchen*
- 7.035 *pingzhang zhengshi* 平章政事 止用 又危 友用 兆谷 <p.iŋ tz.aŋ tz.iŋ sh.ï> **pingzhang zhingshi*
- 7.036 *qianniu weijiangjun* 千牛衛將軍 令交考 安丙 火关 令考 九亦 <s.ie.ên ŋ.iu ui.i z.iaŋ g.ün> **cie ŋiu'ui zianggün*
- 7.037 *Qishui xian kaiguo nan* 漆水縣開國男 令关 又米 亚考 叔丰 九火 乃
<s.i s.oi ki.ên k.ai g.ui na.am> **cishuihien kaiguinam*
- 7.038 *shang shu you cheng xiang* 尚書右丞相 雨危 又火 百去及 米安 令考
<ca.aŋ s.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ s.iaŋ> **changshiu yeu chengsiang*
- 7.039 *shangjiangjun* 上將軍 又危 令考 九亦 <s.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün>
**shangzianggün*
- 7.040 *shangshu youbuye* 尚書右仆射 雨危 又火 百去及 付欠 百交 ca.aŋ s.iú ei.eu.u b.uh ei.ie> **changshiu yeubuye*
- 7.041 *shangshu zhifanglangzhong* 尚書職方郎中 米危 又火 友黑 中危
子米 <c.aŋ s.iú tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ> **changshiu zhifang langzhung*

- 7.042 *shou sikong* 守司空 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ś.eu ss x.uj> **sheu sikung*
- 7.043 *shou situ* 守司徒 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ś.eu ss tu> **sheu situ*
- 7.044 *shou taibao* 守太保 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ś.eu tai b.u> **sheu taibu*
- 7.045 *shou taishi* 守太師 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ś.eu tai sh> **sheu taishī*
- 7.046 *shuai fu shuai* 率府率 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ś.o fu ś.o> **shofu sho*
- 7.047 *Shuguo wang* 蜀國王 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ś.ú g.ui on> **shugui ong*
- 7.048 *Si Jianu* 司家奴 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ss g.ia n.u> **sī gianu*
- 7.049 *tai fu ling san sheng shi* 太傅領三省事 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <tai pu.u l.in s.a.am ś.ian sh> **taifu lingsam shangshī*
- 7.050 *Tai Miao* 太廟 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <tai m.iau> **tai miau*
- 7.051 *taishi* 太師 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <tai sh> ~ 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <tai ś.i> **taishī ~ taishi*
- 7.052 *taiwei* 太尉 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <tai ui> **tai 'ui*
- 7.053 *Wu wang* 吳王 'Prince of the State of Wu' 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ŋ.u on> **ŋu on*
- 7.054 *Wuding* 武定 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <w.u t.in> **wuding*
- 7.055 *Wuqing xian* 武清縣 'Wuqing prefecture': 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ú s.in ki.en> **Wucing hien*
- 7.056 *xiaojiangjun* 小將軍 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <s.iau s.ian g.ün> **siauzianggün*
- 7.057 *Xincheng xian* 新城縣 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <s.in c.in ki.ên> **Sincing hien*
- 7.058 *xuanhuishi* 宣徽使 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <s.y.iên x.ui sh.ï> **süanhuishī*
- 7.059 *yingqing chonglu daifu* 銀青崇祿大夫 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ŋ.in si.ŋ ca.ún l.uh da.ai pu> **ŋincing chunglu daifu*
- 7.060 *yuanshuai fu* 元帥府 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ŋ.y.iên ś.ô pu> **ŋüenshofu*
- 7.061 *yuyuan tongjin* 御院通進 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ŋ.ú y.ên tu.uj z.in> **ŋiuyüen tungzin*
- 7.062 *zhaowu dajiangjun* 昭武大將軍 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <c.iau w.u d.ai.i s.ian g.ün> *zhiauwu daizianggün*
- 7.063 *zhengshiling* 政事令 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <tz.in sh l.in> **zhing shī ling*
- 7.064 *zhenguo shangjiangjun* 鎮國上將軍 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <tz.in g.ui ś.an z.ian g.ün> **zhin gui shang zianggün*
- 7.065 *zhongjing* 中京 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ju.uj g.in> **zhung ging*
- 7.066 *zhongshu menxia pingzhangshi* 中書門下平章事 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ju.uj ś.iú m.en ha p.in ja.an sh> **zhungshiu menhia pingzhangshī*
- 7.067 *zhongshuling* 中書令 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <ju.uj ś.iú l.in> 中書令 **zhungshiuling*
- 7.068 *zuo chengxiang* 左丞相 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <z.o ci.ŋ s.ian> **zochingsiang*
- 7.069 *zuo jianmenwei shangjiangjun* 左監門衛上將軍 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 <s.o g.ia.êm m.en ui ś.an s.ian g.ün> **zo gienmen 'ui shang zianggün*.

POSTSCRIPT

It is unfortunate that this book which is “a social history of the Liao empire” does not devote a section, if not a chapter, to the Ch’i-tan language. Although, with the aid of the excellent “Analytical Index” it is possible to locate quickly and easily references to the Ch’i-tan words, which are discussed in the book, it is, nevertheless, rather difficult to form an impression of just what is known about the language... These “first tentative results of what may eventually be a more comprehensive investigation of the Ch’i-tan language” demonstrate how much can be done to salvage some of this extinct language for posterity. - Notes from Francis Cleaves included in a review by L. S. Yang on the section on the Kitan language by Karl Menges in Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125)*.

This book has presented what is currently generally accepted about the Kitan language and scripts amongst the community of researchers in this field. Over the years, many interpretations, suggestions, comparisons with other languages and so on have been generally accepted, many have not. Generally speaking, only the former have been included in this book, with some exceptions noted in passing.

The fact is that most of what we know about Kitan is through the prism of Chinese transcriptions. Nevertheless, patterns are beginning to emerge, in phonology, morphology and syntax. There is clear evidence for vowel harmony in Kitan, but the details are not clear. There is clear evidence for grammatical gender in Kitan, as revealed in different suffixes in the past tense of some verbs, the ordinal numbers and the dotted forms, but the evidence is not consistent. There are clear patterns of several types of converbs and finite verbs, but the differences between them are not known. There is clear evidence for connections between Kitan and Mongol, but those connections remain obscure.

New epitaphs continue to be discovered, at the rate of one or two a year, and each of them sheds new light on a particular graph or a grammatical feature. Most of the published versions have annotations and references to the *Liaoshi*, but few have been transcribed or even partially translated. There is always the hope, of course, that some manuscript will be discovered, or a translation of a *sutra*, or a word list. For the moment, however, we can only work with the texts at our disposal. Each of these texts merits far closer study.

New research promises to shed much light on some of the problems. Wen-chao Li 2006 is a study of the structure of the Song rhyme tables from the perspective of contacts between Chinese and Altaic languages; An-king Lim 2006 is on the influence of Old Turkic consonants and vowels on the transition from Late Old Chinese to Early Middle Chinese. These studies give some insight as to how speakers of Altaic languages, with front-back consonantal and vocalic oppositions, interpreted and modified the Chinese they adopted as their second language. Despite what we might know of Liao Chinese from Chinese sources, we lack a theoretical framework for a more realistic understanding of the relationship between the phonological structure of Liao Chinese and the phonological structure of Kitan, and how this influenced the way the Kitans wrote Chinese words in their script, or Chinese represented Kitan words in theirs.

Liu Fengzhu's *Collected Inscriptions in the Kitan Script*, the culmination of a lifetime's study of Kitan, is due to be published in late 2008. This will contain all the epitaphs currently available, in both the small and large script, with Liu's annotations. With this in hand, researchers will be able to study these texts in greater detail, and more insights can be expected.

At the University of Inner Mongolia, a research team under the direction of Professor Chinggeltei has been working on an updated version of *Research*. It will contain the texts in *Research*, together with a number of texts published since then, in a computer generated form, together with an updated concordance and a number of new studies on individual words and graphs. Wu Yingzhe, a member of this research team, has devised a computerised Kitan font and has produced a digitalised database of all available inscriptions in the small script, which is not yet published. The new publication will also contain an expanded list of Kitan small characters, incorporating a number of small graphs which occur in inscriptions discovered since *Research*.

Andrew Shimunek's recent MA thesis is on the Chinese transcriptions of Kitan words, comparing those words to possible cognates in number of Mongolian languages. Nie Hongyin is also working on a new study of the Kitan words in Chinese texts; his research will be published in the near future. The epitaphs are also historical documents, and much of the commentaries on the published texts is concerned with identifying the subject of the epitaph, and what information is available in Chinese sources such as the *Liaoshi* and inscriptions in Chinese from the Liao dynasty. Aisin Gioro 2006 is a major study using the Kitan texts as historical materials. In this book and in earlier articles, Aisin Gioro has been able to reconstruct the genealogies of certain members of the Kitan aristocracy, and shed important light on Kitan titles and Kitan clan names. The Kitan epitaphs are a major

new source of information on the Kitans as seen through their own language and sources.

Many published texts, both handwritten and printed in various Kitan fonts, contain numerous transcriptional errors. Ji Shi, who has also been working on the Kitan inscriptions for more than thirty years, is currently compiling a *variorum* edition of a number of key inscriptions.

One of the many important issues about the Kitans is what happened to them. A powerful state, of several million people, of whom a sizeable proportion must have been ethnically Kitan, was defeated by the Jurchens, absorbed by the Mongols and disappeared without a trace. In the late 1980s, reports from Yunnan indicated that a minority group known as the 本人 *benren* “original people” claimed to be descended from Kitans, presumably part of the Mongol army stationed there. They had genealogical records, and some of the non-Chinese characters on their ancestral tombstones looked like Kitan, in particular 穴冬 <nai.d> ‘officials, leaders’. The Daur have also a long standing myth of their origins, which suggests they are descended at least partially from the Kitans. The discovery of a well preserved body of a female shaman provided DNA which indicates that the claims of both the *benren* of Yunnan and the Daur have some substance. There is some doubt about the authenticity of the “Kitan” graphs on the tombstones, and the language of the *benren* does not seem to shed much light on the Kitan of the inscriptions. The question of the linguistic relationship between Kitan and Daur is a fruitful field for further research.

Due to the efforts of past and present researchers, the Kitan inscriptions are less inscrutable than they have been since the discovery of the imperial eulogies in 1924. We can look forward to the day when the language of the inscriptions as well known as any other extinct language.

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