Khitan Studies

1. The graphs of the khitan small script
3. The consonants. 3.3 The oral velar and uvular consonants*

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Received: June 29, 2020 • Accepted: October 28, 2020
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ABSTRACT

In the fifth part of this series of papers the authors investigate the way how the Khitan Small Script (KSS) rendered the oral velar and uvular consonants stops in initial position.

KEY WORDS

Khitan, Khitan Small Script, Khitan velar and uvular consonants.

* This paper has been written within the framework of the Silk Road Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest and the University of Szeged. At the same time this is the third paper written under the special cooperation between the above Research Group and the Khitan Research Group of the People's Republic of China, lead by Professor Wu Yingzhe (Höhhot, PRC). It is supported by the key program of Philosophy and Social Science ‘Collation and Study of Handed-down Documents in Khitan and Jurchen’ (14JZD036) of China's Ministry of Education.
In this paper we continue our former investigations on the Khitan Small Script (KSS). As a point of departure we accept the readings of Chinggeltei, Wu Yingzhe and Jiruhe as they are given in their newly published three volumes monograph (CWJ, 2017), but give the most important earlier readings and make remarks in cases where the readings of CWJ are or may be problematic. Our procedure is the same as in our earlier papers. First we give examples of the Khitan transcription in KSS of Chinese words (titles, personal names, geographical names). This is followed, if extant, by Chinese loanwords in Khitan, and finally some examples are introduced from the Khitan original lexical stock. A discussion of the nasals will follow in one of the next papers.

VELAR AND UVULAR CONSONANTS IN INITIAL POSITION

In volume 64 (2011) of Acta Orientalia Hung., Yasunori Takeuchi published an important paper with the title ‘Kitan Transcriptions of Chinese Velar Initials’ (Takeuchi 2011), where he also summarized some of the earlier researches. Our approach is somewhat different and follows a system started in 2016 (see Róna-Tas 2016, 2017, Wu and Róna-Tas 2019, Wu and Róna-Tas 2020). Takeuchi only dealt with a restricted number of initials, we will treat all known ones and will try to place the oral velars and uvulars in the system of Khitan graphs and the sound system reflected by it. Our approach is also different from that of Shimunek (2017).

The system of Romanisation accepted by the Research Group in Höhhot includes the following Latin letters: <g>, <k>, <q> and <x>, <h>. We have, however, call the attention, to the fact that the Latin letters used in the process of Romanisation are not phonetic symbols. In the best case we have to use them as code letters. This is the reason why we put them into <angle brackets>

We distinguish glyphs, alloglyphs and heteroglyphs. An alloglyph is a variant, very similar to the basic glyph, which represents the same value as the basic glyph. A heteroglyph is a different symbol which represents the same value as the basic glyph. For instance ‘e’ is represented by <e> (348), <e> (109), <e> (264.1) all three are alloglyphs, while in case of ‘en’ the glyphs <en> (140) and <ên> (100) and <ên> (073) are all heteroglyphs.

Let us first have a look to all glyphs or graphs beginning with velars or uvulars:

G:

| <g> | 334,4 <ge> | 349,5 <ge> | 112,5 <go> | 319,6 <gor> | 166,167, THREE, earlier <gur>, <gu> | 165,7 <gu> | 165.1, earlier 451, <gü> | 297,8, 9 glyphs out of which three are alloglyphs, |

Earlier the following glyphs were read with an initial <g>- but corrected by CWJ: <gi> (146, CWJ: <es>), <gi> (336, CWJ: <ul>), <go> (304, CWJ: <du>), <giu> (160, CWJ has no reading).

1 See the papers cited in the References under Róna-Tas, as well as Wu and Róna-Tas.
2 The authors are grateful for the various useful suggestions of Marc Miyake.
3 Earlier Róna-Tas used the term graph, which he changed to glyph to be in accordance with the usage of other colleagues.
4 C read <k>.
5 A read <ba>, K read <ge>.
6 A read <go>, C read <k>.
7 C read <ol>.
8 WJ <pú>, C <po>, K <pú>, A <gui>, Sh17 <pu>.
The following changes were made: <ha> (066 CWJ no reading), <har> (287 CWJ: <xar>), <ho> (076, CWJ: <cor>), <hó> (309, CWJ: <bod>). Earlier Kane read <hoid> (009) as a contraction of <hoid> and the plural <d> (Kane 2009: 36), <hor> (328, CWJ: <kei>), <hont> (035.2 former number (381), CWJ new number, no reading), <hor> (046, CWJ no reading).

Earlier <kei> (039) was read by Kane as <kai>13, CWJ has no reading.

Earlier the following glyphs were read with <q>, but were changed by CWJ: <qi> (323 CWJ: <te>), <qú> (117 CWJ: no reading), <qur> (014 CWJ: <hu>).

The first interesting feature is the similarity of the glyphs <g> (334), <ku> (178), <ku> (178.1) and <ku> (233). Kane (2009: 56–57) wrote a small article on glyph <ku> (178), its identification and research history. The glyph is to be read /ku/ or /kü/ and has the meaning ‘man, person’ (Mo kümiün, MMo kü’üm). The glyph <ku> (178) has a dotted variant, earlier numbered (427) in WJ, and later as (178.1) by CWJ. This is important, because in case of the dotted pairs it is sure that the dot, in most cases, denotes masculine gender; however, in cases where the dot is absent it may denote feminine or masculine gender or may be due only to negligence. In other words the absence of the dot is ambiguous.14 The glyph (233) was earlier transcribed <kú>, later by CWJ <ku>. The glyph has on its right side the glyph <kú> (178), and on its left side the diacritic sign which we separated in the analysis of the labials. (Wu and Róna-Tas 2019: 49–50).

9 Kane gave <nen> as mnemonic.
10 WJ <hong>, K <oŋ>, Sh17 <yong>.
11 C <x, k>, A <chiae, kiae>.
12 A <map>.
13 No reading, K treated it as mnemonic.
14 In the overwhelming majority of the cases it can be shown, that the dot denotes grammatical gender. In a few cases the dot may have other functions.
The glyph avigate {334} <g> seems to have the same basic sign with a small dash above, and denotes the voiced or unaspirated pair of avigate {178}.

First we have to analyze a selection of Chinese words transcribed with <g> by the Khitan small script:

**<G> in word and syllable initial position**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Romanisation</th>
<th>Glyph</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>LMCh</th>
<th>EMCh</th>
<th>LMCh</th>
<th>Sources, occurrences, frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;g.m&gt;16</td>
<td>avigate {334.133}</td>
<td>jìng 金 ‘metal, gold’</td>
<td>kim</td>
<td>kim</td>
<td>kim</td>
<td>DiX19-13/15, +18x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;g.ün&gt;17</td>
<td>avigate {334.329}</td>
<td>jìng 军 ‘army’</td>
<td>kyn</td>
<td>kyn</td>
<td>kün</td>
<td>DiX19-13/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;g.ün&gt;</td>
<td>avigate {334.329}</td>
<td>jun 郡 ‘prefecture’</td>
<td>kʰ+yun</td>
<td>gun</td>
<td>gün</td>
<td>DiX10-14. The above and this together +137x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;g.ing&gt;18</td>
<td>avigate {334.303}</td>
<td>jìng 京 ‘capital’</td>
<td>kiaŋ</td>
<td>kiaŋ</td>
<td>king</td>
<td>Lang1-6, Dao 13-1, +18x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;g.u.on&gt;19</td>
<td>avigate {334.131.154}</td>
<td>guăn 管 ‘to be in charge of, manage’</td>
<td>kwan</td>
<td>kwan</td>
<td>kuon</td>
<td>Zhong33-3 only once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;g.n&gt;20</td>
<td>avigate {319.251}</td>
<td>guăn 觀 ‘to watch’</td>
<td>kuan</td>
<td>kwan</td>
<td>kon</td>
<td>Zhong8-13, + 12x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;g.ung2&gt;21</td>
<td>avigate {334.106}</td>
<td>gōng 公 ‘prince’</td>
<td>kʰʊŋ</td>
<td>kʰʊŋ</td>
<td>kɨŋ</td>
<td>Zhong4-6, +18x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;g.li.ung&gt;</td>
<td>avigate {334.019.345}</td>
<td>gōng 宫 ‘palace’</td>
<td>kʰ+iŋ</td>
<td>kʰ+iŋ</td>
<td>kɨŋ</td>
<td>Lang 2-9, +20x, K112,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;g.i&gt;22</td>
<td>avigate {334.262}</td>
<td>guo 国 ‘state’</td>
<td>kʰʊək</td>
<td>kʰək</td>
<td>kəj</td>
<td>Lang5-12, +131x, K89,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;g.ui.l&gt;22</td>
<td>avigate {334.262.339}</td>
<td>guì 貴 ‘noble’</td>
<td>kj</td>
<td>kj</td>
<td>kj</td>
<td>Gu21-1, Xiang32-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;g.ung2&gt;23</td>
<td>avigate {334.345}</td>
<td>gōng 功 ‘merit’</td>
<td>kʰʊŋ</td>
<td>kʰʊŋ</td>
<td>kɨŋ</td>
<td>Ling5-15 +113x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16 In: Jinsujun 金肅军, transcribed as avigate {334.133 244.019 334.329} <g.m:s:iu.g.ün> ‘Gimsiugüm, a placename’; Chin Jinsujun 金肅軍 a name of a settlement acc. to the Liaoshi (DiX19-14, WJ 97), mentioned under the year 1050 (WF: 590).
17 In the same geographical name as above, also in titles for ‘military’ as in ‘military governor’ tongjun shixiang 统军使相.
18 On <g.ing> ‘capital’, see Róna-Tas 2019.
19 In: Guanzhong 管仲 in the personal name of Xiao Zhonggong 蕭仲恭, transcribed as avigate {334.131.154 147.106 273} <g.u.on ju.ung, un>, genitive case CWJ 966.
20 In: guanchashi 觀察使 transcribed as avigate {319.261 375 180} <go.n.ca.šï>, also in: tai ci.eu.un go.n ca.an cu.n, Chin taizhou guancha yuan 泰州觀察院 ‘the supervising office of Taizhou Prefecture’ (DiX20-1/5), WJ 97.
21 In: gongzhu 公主 ‘princess’.
22 In: Guide Zhou 貴德州, avigate {334.262.339 247.020 162.067} <g.ui.t.ey ci.eu> ‘a place name, the name of the prefecture’.
23 In: gongchen 功臣 ‘meritorious official, a title’.
From the above we can conclude that Khitan <g> transcribed always contemporary Liao Chinese unaspirated strong velar stop, mostly /*k/, but in case of jun 郡 'prefecture', the Khitan <g> is reflecting either EMCh /g/ or LMCh /kɦ/.

Loanwords in Khitan with <g>:

**gu** 九 (334.131) <g.u> ‘jade’ (K:2, 103, occurs 21 times in Index), Liaoshi gu-wen 古穏, cf. Ju guwen, guwu, Ma gu ‘jade’ (Kane 1989: 351), Mo ogiu, giu, oyun, oyuu, Da guu ‘glass;’ see also Tib g-yu ‘turquoise,’ Chin yu 玉, MCh nywk, EMCh nyawk, Old Chin *ngjowk (*ng(r)jok, Baxter 1992: 806). This word is not a loanword in the narrow sense, rather a cultural Wanderwort borrowed several times. The Khitan word itself is in any case very old.

**gu taulia** 九 (334.097) <g.u tau-lí.a> ‘jade hare = moon’ (Xuan29-9, K20);

**ging** 九 (334.303) <g.ing> ‘capital’ ← Chin jing 京, LMCh, EMCh kiaŋ, the Khitan form reflects a LCh king;

**uur ging** 火 (092.236 334.303) <u.ur g.ing>, ‘Supreme capital’ , Chin shangjing 上京’ (K:119, 204, 208);

**udur ging** 火 (344.097 334.303) <ud.ur g.ing>, ‘Eastern Capital’ , Chin Dongjing 東京;

**tele ging** 火 (247.093 334.303) <te.le g.ing>, ‘Southern Capital’ , Chin Nanjing 南京;

**sei ging** 火 (244. 339 334.303) <s.i g.ing>, ‘Western Capital’ , Chin Xijing 西京. On the Khitan name of the five capitals, see Róna-Tas 2019.

Khitan words with <g>:

**gür** 九 (334.097) <g.ur> ‘state’(K3, 88, 118, DiX15-3, Xiang5-1, Index 53x), pl. güres 九 (334.097.244, Index 11x) <g.ur.s>, genitive case is güren 九 (334.097.140) <g.ur.én> Index 77x. [cf. MMo gür in: gürken ‘title of the Karakhitan Emperor’ (SH), Mo gür(e) ‘a crowd of people,’ Da gurun ‘country, nation,’ Khitan → Ma gürün.] Khitan gür is an old Mongolic word and not related to Chin guo 国, EMCh kwok as was supposed by Kane (K167) and WJ, who wrote: ‘Ultimately it cannot be ruled out that there is a connection with Chinese 国 guo <*kwok id.’ (WJ74).

**genir** 九 (334.140) <g.en.ir> ‘sad’ (K114, DiX38-13, Xiang34-1, Index 56x) [cf. Mo gunig ‘sadness’ < *guni- ‘to grieve’, guniira ‘to be or become sad, grieved;’ Khal guni-, gunig. CWJ read (144) as <g.en.ir>, and thus the word <g.en.ir> earlier <g.en.un>.]

**genir cawun** 九 (334.140) 162.197 070.273 <g.en.ir c.ah w.un> ‘eulogy, Chin aice 哀冊, ‘mourning tablet’, wen 文 ‘document’.

**jaw ay genir lešeu** 火 (015 122 334.140.144 261.315.131) <jau ai g.en.ir l.še.u > ‘hundred years sadness/mourning’ (DiX38-13).

The word genire occurs 24 times in the Index. In 8 cases it ends in <e> 輝 (109) and in 16 cases in <e> 輝 (348). The two glyphs are alleloglyphs and do not occur in the same inscription.

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24 In: Chin Guiyin 瑰引 ‘a nameʾ(DiX13-8).
25 In: Chin dujian 都監 ‘chief supervisorʾ (Xiang10-3).
genire todğa fdc 'ar ʃud ʃet mib ʃet (334.140.144.348 247.016.051.123) <g.en.ir.e t.od.ha.ar> 'participated at the funeral' (Xiang43-4).
genire huajua ʃud ʃet mib ʃet (344.140.144.109 151.082.1.189) <g.en.ie hu.aju.a> 'sadness and pain' (Xuan24-8).

<K> in word and syllable initial position

Table 2. Khitan <k> in transcriptions of Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Romanisation</th>
<th>Glyph</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>LMCh</th>
<th>EMCh</th>
<th>LCh</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;k.ai&gt;</td>
<td>打 (283.122)</td>
<td>kai 開 'open, begin'</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>Ling6-17 +9x (K17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ki.ên&gt;</td>
<td>良秀 (163.073)</td>
<td>xian 縣 'district, county'</td>
<td>xin</td>
<td>yen</td>
<td>yen</td>
<td>Lang2-6 +13x (K264, 7.057)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ki.ên&gt;</td>
<td>良秀 (163.073)</td>
<td>xuan 玄 'black, dark'</td>
<td>xin</td>
<td>yen</td>
<td>yen</td>
<td>Nan5-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ku.ung&gt;</td>
<td>几 (178.345)</td>
<td>kong 孔</td>
<td>kwa</td>
<td>kwa</td>
<td>kwa</td>
<td>Yu15-51, Di1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ku.ung&gt;</td>
<td>几 (178.345)</td>
<td>kong 控</td>
<td>kwa</td>
<td>kwa</td>
<td>kwa</td>
<td>Xiang52-38 K56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;k.ey&gt;</td>
<td>打 (283.020)</td>
<td>kai 開 'open, begin'</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>Nan1-34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we see the <k-> is rendering in most cases an aspired strong velar stop /k/, or an aspered strong velar fricative, the aspiration of which may be voiced /x/. From this we can learn that KSS <k> stood for a /k/.

26 In the title kaifu yitong sansi, Chin 開府儀同三司 <k.ai pu ngi.i tu.ng s.am.si> 'commander unequalled in honour', (Ling6-17, Zhong21-40) see K17, a variant: Zhong5-16, Pu4-16: <k.ai fu ngi.i t.ung s.am.si>. In Nan1 we find <k.ei> for kai 開 see below. According to K68-69 also in the title kaiguobai 開國伯 <k.ai g.ui b.ai>, but this title occurs only with 良秀 <h.ai> in Gu2-22 and Zhen22-30 as <h.ai g.ui.b.ai>, see below. See also in the title qishui xian kaiguo nan 漆水縣開國男 (K263, 7.037) <s.i š.oi ki.ēn k.ai g.ui na.am> (Hong8-17), in Xian1-17 a part of this title occurs as: <[a.an.ing] ki.ēn h.ai g.ui na.am>.

27 In such expressions as <s.in c.ing ki.ēn> Chin Xincheng xian 新城縣 'District of Xincheng' or <ta.ang.en ki.ēn> 'District of Tang' (Lang2-5), <u.ing k.ien> 'the district of Wuqin' (Yu14-33/34, see also K264 No7.055), etc.

28 In Xuanzu 玄祖 'name of an emperor' (Nan5-20, K193n, WF399).

29 In the Chinese name Kongning 孔寧 (K123) 几々 使 <ku.ung.i.in> (178.345.222) occurring in the following places: <xu.ur qid.un.i ku.ung.i.in mo.o s.in.in lbul.uh> (Yu15-51), <ya.deu.un s.in ong on go.er.en ku.ung.i.in t.ile tai.b.a.en n.r.a.de RECORD.ge.en>(Di1-6, also in Di2-7).

30 In the name Kongguli 控骨里 (178.345.097) <ku.ung.úr> occurs in Xu52-38, further in Yu10-39,12-49, 17-8, 19-27, 20-14, Guang22-5, Gao16-28, Di20-26, Chao7-13, Wu10-38, Hu4-28 as a name or as a part of a name, see also K56. The word which occurs 12 times, in some cases seems to be a personal name. If so, see Mong qonggur 'fallow, chestnut (of a horse)' or qonggur 'dear, darling, openhearted', DaE kɔŋgːr 'fallow', see also Turkic qongur (WOT: 560-562). The word for colour and for 'kind, nice, darling etc.' are of the same origin, they are the result of a semantic split.

31 In the title kaiguogong 開國公 'dynasty founding duke' transcribed as 打几 几几 几几 Nan1-34 (also K191, note16). The glyph ₇ (328), earlier read as <hong.>, is now read by CWJ as <kei>.
Khitan words with <k->

**kem** (283.257) <k.em> ‘imperial edict, Chin chi 勅 (K94-95, Sh3 267) | Mo. kem ‘measure, term’, to keme- ‘to speak’, MMo ke‘è, Mo ge- ‘to say’, Da no data, Index 67x;

**kem daiiri** (283.257 017.255) <k.em dai.ri5> ‘he heard [received] the imperial edict’ (Xing36-17, Ren32-11, Dao3-1, K95);

**kem tegü** (283.257 247.165)<k.em te.gu> ‘the edict says’ (Xu32-9, K69, 95).

**kiú** (283.289) <k.iú> ‘younger sister, younger daughter’ (Index 2x, both in Gu12-19, 17-5), also Xü (283.019), <h.iu>, Index 8x, and 兄 (340.289) h.iu in Xiang13-10 and Index 12x, but see kiü (283.289) <k.iú> ‘male child, son’ (K24-25, 116 in Gu 17) | Mo köbegün >keü, Da keku, most likely keü.

**kiú em.n** (283.289 021.251) ‘younger sister of the mother (gen.), xiao yi mu 小姨母’ (Gu12-19);

**keli-** (283.080) <k.li2> (Dao20-16, Zhi19-41) | Mo kele- ‘to utter words, speak, say’, Da hele-, DaE xəl-;

**keliuji** (283.080.372.152) <k.li2.ū.ji> ‘was said, is named’ Index 49x, with <u> (131), Index 19x. The suffix -ji is written also with <ji> (153) in Index 27x and with <ji> (337) in Index once;

**ku** (178) <ku> ‘man, person’ (occurs 328 times in the corpus), genitive 几 女 (178.372.273) <ku.u.un> (occurs 151 times in the corpus see also K56, WJ75) | Mo kümün > kiwün > kün, Da huu, dial kuu ‘person’, DaE xu:. The Dahur data show that the Khitan word has been shortened to “kiü. The glyph 几 (178.1, former 427) <ku> occurs only four times: Ren16-20, Chao3-27 in isolation, and in the word 几 女 <ku>.ol.ha.ai (Jue41-30) and 几 女 <ku>.ol-én, in Yu43-30. The function of the dot here is not clear.

In some cases one has the impression that 几 (178) <ku> has the function of an emphatic particle: Sui gui ong yadeu gor jieni dau.du ku (244.263 334.263 071 335 101 168 152.140.339 204 249 178) 

<su gui ong ia deu gor jieni dau.du ku> [he had the title] Wang of the Sui State, and he was the middle one of the three brothers’ (Xiang2-16/24).

**em ku** (021.178) <em ku> ‘wife’. Written separately, not in one box. E.g.: ɪ está<br> 雌<br> 几 <em ku> ‘his first wife was Lady Bi ge, his second wife was Lady Šelege’ (Xiang12-31/36, 13-1-6). By the way, the two ladies were sisters, <au hiu>, elder and younger sister.
Table 3. Khitan <h> in the transcriptions of Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Romanisation</th>
<th>Glyph</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>LMCh</th>
<th>EMCh</th>
<th>LCh</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;hor&gt;</td>
<td>㐲 (046)</td>
<td>helu 呉鲁</td>
<td>xhat lu</td>
<td>yat lɔ</td>
<td>ɣot</td>
<td>Xiang5-31, 7-30, K40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;hor&gt;</td>
<td>㐲 (047)</td>
<td>helu 呉鲁</td>
<td>xhat</td>
<td>yat lɔ</td>
<td>ɣot</td>
<td>Gu5-26, Zhen42-17, Nan8-41, 37-4, K40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;hong&gt;</td>
<td>הללו</td>
<td>huang 皇</td>
<td>xhuang</td>
<td>ywɑŋ</td>
<td>ɣoŋ</td>
<td>Xing2-10, DIX3-23/27 and 131 x, K95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;heu&gt;</td>
<td>介 (250)</td>
<td>hou 后</td>
<td>xhɔw</td>
<td>ywɔ</td>
<td>ɣwɔ</td>
<td>Ren4-5, 8-3, 14-4 and in 3 more places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;hu.un&gt;</td>
<td>ㄞ (151.273)</td>
<td>hun 混</td>
<td>xhun, ywɔn</td>
<td>ɣun</td>
<td>Xu2-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;h.ai&gt;</td>
<td>ㄞ (340.122)</td>
<td>kai 開</td>
<td>khaj</td>
<td>khaj</td>
<td>khaj</td>
<td>Gu2-22, Zhen22-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;h.ung&gt;</td>
<td>峃 (340.106)</td>
<td>kong 空</td>
<td>khɔwŋ</td>
<td>khɔwŋ</td>
<td>khung</td>
<td>Zhong5-38 K264, 7.042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;h.ui&gt;</td>
<td>峃 (340.263)</td>
<td>hui 徽</td>
<td>xyj, xj</td>
<td>xj</td>
<td>Cha8-26, K264, 7.058</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;h.u&gt;</td>
<td>爇 (340.019)</td>
<td>xiu 休</td>
<td>xiw</td>
<td>xuw</td>
<td>xju</td>
<td>Xiang16-33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we see the glyphs beginning with <h> are used to render contemporary Chinese /x̩/ < /γ/ and /kʰ/ and in special cases, before /i/ also /x̩/.

32 For the glyph 㐲 (046) CWJ gives no reading. It has to have a pronunciation similar to its dotted variant Евро (047).
33 In: Heluben 呉鲁本, a frequent name in Liaoshi, written in KSS as 㐲 㐲 (047.311.222) <hor.b. ǹ>, more precisely the Khitan name is transcribed by Chinese. It occurs also as <hor.u> Chin Helu 呉鲁 ‘a personal name in the Liaoshi’, see 㐲 (047.131) Xiang5-31 (WJ149).
34 In: huangdi 皇帝 ‘Emperor’, Khitan m.ch (075.037) <hong.dì>.
35 In: huang taihou 皇太后 ‘empress dowager’ (K96, W) 72 主介 <hong tai heu> (328.374.250), and in the title huanghou 皇后 ‘Empress’, 主介 <hong.heu>.
36 In the title shangfu huntong junwang 尚父混同郡王 transcribed as Artifact 尚父混同郡王 (028.199.241.151.274.202.345 334.329.071) <s.ang pu hui tu.ung g.ui ong> (Xu2-3).
37 In: the title qishui xian kaiguo nan 漆水縣開國男 (K264, 7.037) <s.i š.oi ki.ēn h.ai g.ui na.am> (Hong8-17), but in Xian1-17 a part of this title occurs as: <[l.a.an l.ing] ki.ēn h.ai g.ui na.am>. The part of titles with the meaning ‘founding’ occurs with <h> many times, also in the title Qishuixian kaiguobo which is in Gu2-22 <s.i š.ui ki.ēn h.ai g.ui b.ai>, where it is the equivalent of Chin kai 開 and in many other cases, where <h.ai.g.ui> has the meaning ‘founder of the state’開國 and similar.
38 In: xuanchuishi 宣徽使 transcribed as <[i.ri] š.eu si h.ung> in: Zhong5-38.
39 In: the name Xiù Ge 休哥 written as 休哥 (340.019.334.348) <h.iu g.e> (Xiang16-33), also glossed by CWJ with xiù 秀 (It should be 休, it is a printing mistake), but this only refers to the present pronunciation. Its earlier pronunciations were LCh siw, EMCh suw.
Chinese loanwords with <h>

**hongdi** 皇帝 (075.037) ‘Emperor’ (K 95, D3-23/27, Index 11 times) | ← Chin huangdi 皇帝, LMCh xiān tiān, EMCh yuǎn. The glyph 皇帝 (075) was earlier mixed up with the glyph 皇 (328), which is now read by CWJ as <kei>.

**hongdi-in/en** 皇帝 (075.037.018/140) genitive (Index 13x, K95).

**hongheu** 皇后 (075.250) ‘Empress’ (K96) (← LChin *hongheu), Chin huanghou 皇后, LMCh xiān, EMCh yuǎn, EMCh yuàng. See <hong tai heu> (Ren4-5, 8, Guang5-5, Jue23-51), <hong heu> (Ren 14-4).

Khitan words with h-:

**hewü** 春 (250.097) ‘spring’ (Xiang29-23, Index 29x, K46, 119, 211) | Mo qabur, Da haure ‘spring’, DaE xaur. The word is a strongly palatalized pair of Mo qabur. The first <u> ending <xu> has to represent a semivowel /u̯/.

**hu'u** 予 (014.245) ‘person in charge of, in control of’ (K24, 89, 102, 192, DiX10-10, Xiang1-25, 35-28). Sh3,267 read <qu.ru>, Index <hu'u> 74x, Wu Index read (014) <hu>.

**hur** 彼 (151.236) ‘THREE’, 彼 (151.236.100) ‘third (masculine)’, Index 30x, 彼 (151.236.100) ‘third (feminine)’, Index 1x, 彼 (151.236.361) ‘third (feminine)’, Index 8x.

**heči** 边 (340.162) ‘border, place’ (Index 18x, K86) 边 (340.162.222) ‘he-ci’ (DiX30-2, Index 2x) | Mo keče ‘the edge of a fishing net’, Dah keči ‘edge, bank, shore’, DaE kəč ‘side’, cf. Ju hečen(i), or Mo keče ‘slope’, HN keče ‘slope’ (perhaps the two Mo words are originally the same, with a semantical split, cf. Ord getši ‘la corde sur laquelle est enfilée le filet à prendre des lièvres et qui constitue le bord’).

**hedün** 水 (340.179.144) ‘horizontal’ | Mo köndelen, köndülen ‘across, horizontal’, cf. Da hedele- ‘cross (river), ferry, ford’, DaE xündul ‘horizontal, rafter’ (the -nd- cluster everywhere preserved, in SH once küdelen (SH 166, noted by Haenisch 1939: 105), but corrected by Ligeti 1971: 118, and in line 5117 by de Rachewiltz to köndelen, also köndelen in Altan Tobči (ed. Ligeti 1974: 123), to *kedü- ‘cross’, see Da, cf. kedür- ‘to wear a garment over one’s shoulder (i.e. across)’, kedürge ogosur ‘saddle strap (put across the saddle, later other ropes)’.

**hedün ger** 水 (340.179.144 319.341) ‘horizontal tents’ (K:102, X1-4/6, 6-28/29), WJ 137, in:

**qahan hedün ger daudu ayen** 水 (340.179.144 319.341) ‘of the khan’s middle uncles of the horizontal tents’ (Xiang1-1/5),

**qahan hedün ger zoqu ay** 水 (340.179.144 319.341) ‘of the younger uncles of the horizontal tents of the khan’ (K102)42.

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41 Earlier the glyph (259) was read as <hur>, but is now read by CWJ <hut>.

42 The graph (188) is treated by CWJ as a logograph for SMALL, Kane (102) mentioned it as mnemonic for Chinese zhou 州, it occurs in the word zoqu, see K58, Chinggeltai related the word to ba of boga, Aisin Gioro read *od and *adj. The reading of (188) is uncertain. The adjective form with –qu/qo is frequent. Index has SMALL.qó 64 times, SMALL.qu 12 times, see also WJ 316. One expect a word for 'young' here, rather than 'small' perhaps a word which may be connected to Mongol jalagu ‘young’. Anyhow, since we are not sure about the pronunciation of 州, it is difficult to give its precise meaning.
Table 4. Khitan X in Chinese transcriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Romanisation</th>
<th>Glyph</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>LMCh</th>
<th>MCh</th>
<th>LCh</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;xa&gt;/&lt;xa.ia&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>xia</td>
<td>xia:</td>
<td>yai/yi:</td>
<td>yia</td>
<td>Xu13-25, Nan1-25, 23-22, Song10-12, K284, 7.066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;xa.ia&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Xi夏</td>
<td>yia:</td>
<td>yai/yi:</td>
<td>yia</td>
<td>Dao24-20, Yu18-66, Zhen26-25, K50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;xua&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>hua華</td>
<td>xwa:</td>
<td>ywa/ya:</td>
<td>ywa</td>
<td>Gu7-17,K119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;xu&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>hu虎</td>
<td>xü</td>
<td>xo</td>
<td>xu</td>
<td>Xiang16-33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At present we have not enough material to make any definitive statement. It looks like that Khitan <x> is rendering a Chinese fricative.

Khitan words with initial x-

xomu 行 (057.220) <xo.mú> ‘coffin of an emperor’ (22 times in Index, K87.), <GREAT xo.mú> ‘the great catafal coffin’ (Xiang33-6, K205)| see Róna-Tas (forthcoming)45.

xomuen 行为 (057.220-140) <xo.mu.en> genitive case,

xomuer 行者 (057.220.341) <xo.mu.er> accusative case,

xomude 行德 (057.220.205) <xo.mu.de> locative case.

xuur 虎 (036) <xu.ur> ‘the Khitan name of the Liao river’. On the details see Róna-Tas (forthcoming).

43 In the title zhongshu menxia pingzhangshi 中書門下平章事 transcribed as [tu.ung ju.ung š.iú m.en xa.ia.p.ing c.ang šï] (Xu13-25). The same title occurs in [tu.ung ju.ung š.iú m.en xa.ia.p.ing c.ang šï] (Nan1-25, 23-22), and [tu.ung ju.ung š.iú m.en xa.ia.p.ing c.ang šï] (Song10-12). As we see <xa> and <xa.ia> are interchangeable.

44 In: Xi Xia 西夏 ‘the name of the Tangut state; transcribed as <Xa.ia g.ur> 不才九夷 (130.335 334.097) (Dao24-20, Yu18-66, also K50) where <g.ur> is ‘state’. In Zhen 26-25 the expression 不才 公行子生 childcare has to be an adverbial verbal phrase, but its meaning is unknown.

45 In: Huayan Nu 華嚴奴 ‘a name’ (K119) transcribed as [xua ng.ém n.u > (Gu7-17). CWJ gives as gloss hua华, Nu is a clan name.

46 In the expression long hu 龍虎, which is an abbreviation of longhu weishang jiangjun 龍虎衛上將軍 ‘supreme general of the dragon and tiger guards’ (see K99, WJ174), transcribed as <liú xu> 牛虎 (261.181 036) (Xiang16-33), [former in WJ173 read as <liú hu>].

47 The stem is xomu and xomur is the accusative case, so the former comparison with Mong qayrčag has to be abandoned.
### Table 5. Khitan Q in transcriptions of Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Romanisation</th>
<th>Glyph</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>LMCh</th>
<th>EMCh</th>
<th>LCh</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;qa.an&gt;</td>
<td>亜天 (053.011)</td>
<td>han 韓</td>
<td>xhan</td>
<td>yan</td>
<td>kan</td>
<td>Xiang15-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;qo&gt;</td>
<td>ㄊ (169)</td>
<td>ㄊ 古</td>
<td>ㄊ</td>
<td>ㄊ</td>
<td>ㄊ</td>
<td>Xu17-3, Yu51-50, 56-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;qo&gt;</td>
<td>ㄊ (169)</td>
<td>ㄊ 姑</td>
<td>ㄊ</td>
<td>ㄊ</td>
<td>ㄊ</td>
<td>see note 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;qu&gt;</td>
<td>ㄑ (246)</td>
<td>ㄑ 古</td>
<td>ㄑ</td>
<td>ㄑ</td>
<td>ㄑ</td>
<td>Guang35-14, Song11-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;qid&gt;</td>
<td>ㄪ (365)</td>
<td>ㄪ 契</td>
<td>ㄪ</td>
<td>ㄪ</td>
<td>ㄪ</td>
<td>see note 51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6. Q in Khitan words transcribed by Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Romanisation</th>
<th>Glyph</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>LMCh</th>
<th>EMCh</th>
<th>LCh</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;qo&gt;</td>
<td>ㄊ (168)</td>
<td>ㄊ 褐</td>
<td>ㄒha</td>
<td>ㄒat</td>
<td>ㄅ</td>
<td>Index 17x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;QATUN&gt;</td>
<td>ㄊ (333)</td>
<td>ㄊ 克</td>
<td>ㄊ</td>
<td>ㄊ</td>
<td>ㄊ</td>
<td>Index 13x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;qa&gt;</td>
<td>ㄊ (053)36</td>
<td>ㄊ 可</td>
<td>ㄊ</td>
<td>ㄊ</td>
<td>ㄊ</td>
<td>Index 46x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;QUDUG&gt;</td>
<td>ㄊ (277)</td>
<td>ㄊ 胡</td>
<td>ㄒhʊ</td>
<td>ㄅ</td>
<td>ㄍ</td>
<td>ㄍ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

48 As Marc Miyake correctly remarked, the second, third and fifth examples occur in Khitan names transcribed into Chinese, but just such examples show the system of the transcription.

49 In the name Han Jianu 韓家奴, which is attested also in the Liaoshi (WJ172). The unit <qa.an> fft/Etaiotasubasper.alt (053.011) occurs 26x in the Corpus, the short form <qa> 46x and the full form <qa.ha.an> 81x. The phrase in Xiang15-31/37 is 韓家奴 of 李家奴 李家 前 才 公 羅 今 女 丹 to <qa.ha.an go.o.en qa.an g.ia n.u s.eng.un b.qo> [she was the wife of the third son] the daughter of Field Marshal Qa.an Gia Nu of the house of the Qagan'; for <oi> read <or>. The Han clan of Chinese origin was one of the most powerful clans. They had also Khitan names, see WF240n21.

50 In the ethnic name Zhubugu 胬不古 transcribed as 本 (162.196.169) <ci.bu.qo>, also written as 本 (162.196.246) <ci.bu.qu> (Guan35-14, Song11-11), the plural of which is 本 (DiX27-26). Zhubugu 胬不古 is also written as 本不古, or Sho-bu 相不古 and Zhibu 相不古 (WF Index). The tribe appeared at the northwestern border of Liao. In 901 they presented with other countries ten thousand animals as tribute (WF127). In 912 they were attacked by the Khitans lead personally by the Emperor and subdued (WF757). In 940 three of their tribes presented tribute (WF95), in 933 and in 1042 they sent tribute (WF322). They had a leader who held the title great king (da wang 大王, WF 102). According to WJ108 this is the name of the Zubu 阻卜 the Liao appellation for the Tatar (Dada 軍靼) confederation.

51 In the transcription of Zhubugu 胬不古, see note 49 above.

52 In the ethnonym Qidan. Since the name is of non-Chinese (most probably of Turkic) origin, here the Chinese transcription may not be contemporary with the other transcriptions dealt with.

53 In niehe 捏褐 the Chinese transcription of Khitan 作业 (222.168) <nia.go> ‘dog’ in the Liaoshi (Index 17 times, K2, 19, 93).

54 In kedun 可敦 the transcription of Khitan qatun in the Liaoshi. The title is older than the Khitan texts, and so is the Chinese transcription.

55 In the various forms of the title qagan written as 作业 (053) <qa>, as 作业 (053.011) <qa.an>, and as 作业 (053.051.011) <qa.ha.an>. The title is usually transcribed in the Chinese sources as kehan 可汗. The title is much older than the Khitan texts and occurs in the Chinese sources since the 4th century.

56 In: hudugu 胡覩古, the Chinese transcription of Khitan qudug according to Kane (K68). The Chinese transcription according to Wu is hu dou/du gu 胡都 or 許古.
Khitan words with q-

qa, qa’an, qahan, qatun see note 49.

qabu  (053.196) <qa.bu> ‘ancestor?’ (Shimunek 2017: 267, in Xuan6-31). Index reads <qa-abu> and it occurs 3 times in: Xu31-14, Yu26-53 and Song23-15. The expression in Xuan6-31 is  (053.196.356) <qa.abu.te>, and occurs also in Nan29-42, Song7-23 Qing4-13 and 7-60. The meanings of qabu and qabute are uncertain.

qahas  (053.051.174) <qa.ha.as> ‘name of the heavenly branch (Index 9x), equated with Chin yin寅, ‘tiger’ in the expression ‘blue tiger year’, Chin jiayin 甲寅, where jia 甲 corresponds to Mo köke ‘blue’57.

The word occurs in the following places:

siauqu qahas ai ฅ .tx.s ฅ .tx.s ฅ .tx.s <s.iau.qú qa.ha.as ai> ‘blue tiger year’ (Lang5-2);

White qahas ai ฅ .tx.s ฅ .tx.s ฅ .tx.s <WHITE qa.ha.as ai> ‘white tiger year’ (Zhen38-14);


FOUR GOLD qa.ha.as ai TEN TWO MONTH FOUR GOLD qa.ha.as DAY> ‘fourth yellow tiger year twelfth month, fourth yellow tiger day’ (Nu3-14)

<WHITE qa.ha.as p.ul.uh EIGHT MONTH liau.qú t.qo.a or.l.bir> ‘white tiger intercalary eight month, red chicken first day of the lunar month’ (Tai4-8)

<WHITE qa.ha.as ńa.qó.ju tai pu.un XX.XX> ‘the black tiger dog…’ (Pu24-25).

There are two not clear cases in Jue44-24 and Pu9-36.

Before we summarize our results, some remarks on the glyphs with <q-> are in order.

The glyph <qa> (053) occurs in the various forms of the Khitan name for qagan: <qa> (46x), plural: <qa.as> only in genitive case <qa.as.en> 3x, <qa.an> (26x), <qa.ha.an> (1x), locative-directive <qa.ha.de>; once, its genitive case: <qa.ha.on> once, the plurals <qa.ha.ad> 7x, <qa.ha.as> 9x, its accusative <qa.ha.ad.er> 4x.

The glyph <qid>  (365) is used in the name Khitan: <qid> 1x, plural <qid.s> 6x, genitive case <qid.i> 24x. The form <qid.ir2> is a collective form with the suffix +r58, it occurs 6 times, its genitive case <qid.ir2.i> occurs 15 times and the accusative case <qid.ir2.er> occurs once.

The glyph <qo> ฅ (168) occurs only 9 times in the corpus as initial of a word, but in final position it is very frequent. The glyph <qó> ฅ (169) occurs only 3 times as independent item: Xing24-17, Yu35-71 and Wu51-8. Out of the three in the last two they are only orthographically independent, in fact part of other words or names.

The glyph <qú> ฅ (118) occurs 15 times as initial, but is also very frequent as suffix. The four glyphs: <qo> ฅ (168), <qó> ฅ (169), <qu> ฅ (246) and the above mentioned <qú> ฅ (118)

57 According to Kane (K41, 122) *qagan as 'king of the animals'. The word for 'tiger' is Mo bars (← OT bars ← Persian). In this place the year of tiger may be perhaps misplaced and used for the year of pig? In the Secret History of the Mongols we have gakai jil the year of the pig. Khitan 'pig' corresponding to the Chin cyclical period hai亥 is in Khitan ii ฅ <ui> ‘pig’. See Mo qaqaq, pl. qaqaqas, all QG languages have q-, also Mgr, Dgx have q- and none of them have a final nasal (see Nugteren 2011: 336). Thus a connection of Khitan qahas with Mo qaqaq has to be excluded. Also Mo qaqaqas 'half' has for the time being to be excluded because of the semantics.

58 The same suffix may be in nahamer <na.ha.an.er> ‘uncles’, but there are serious problems with the reading of <ir2> ฅ, Róna-Tas thinks now that it has to be rather read <un>. 

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form adjectives. They form ordinals (see Kane 2009: 143), occur with color names to form adjectives, e.g. <l.iau.qú> 'red' etc.

Summarizing our results we can state that there exists an asymmetry in the rendering of the velars and uvulars. We find <g>-<k-, h>-<x- and q->. The opposition <g>:<k> is clear; we have the same case as with the bilabials and dentals. <g> is frequent and renders an unaspirated stop while <k> is less frequent and used for an aspirated stop. Both /h/ and /x/ are most probably uvular fricatives and <h> may have been voiced or unvoiced lenis /ʁ/, while <x> unvoiced fortis fricative /χ/. While /k/ may have been used in originally front vocalic words and /q/ in back vocalic ones, this distinction seems to have been blurred.

Though our results are not very far from those of Takeuchi (2011), we claim that the basic difference in the opposition of the Khitan oral velar stops is the presence and absence of the post-consonantal aspiration. Of secondary importance may have been that the unaspirated unit was produced as a lenis or lax stop, while the aspirated as a fortis stop. In the case of the fricatives this second feature became relevant.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

A = Aisin Gioro 2012
Bur = Buriat
C = Chinggeltei 2002
Chin = Chinese
CWJ = Chinggeltei, Wu Yingzhe and Jiruhe 2017
Da = Dahur, according to Martin 1961
DaE = Dahur, according to Enkhbat 1984
Dgx = Dongxiang, according to H. Nugteren 2011
EMCh = Early Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank 1991
Index = The Index of CWJ
K = Kane 2009
Kalm = Kalmuck
KSS = Khitan Small Script
LCh = Liao Chinese
LMCh = Late Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank 1991
Ma = Manchu
Mgr = Mongguor according to Smedt—Mostaert (933
MMo = Middle Mongolian
Mo = Mongolian
Ord = Ordos
QG = Qinghai-Gansu languages, see H. Nugteren 2011
Sh17 = Shimunek 2017
SH = de Rachewiltz 2004
Tib = Tibetan
WF = Wittfogel – Chêng (1949)
WOT = Róna-Tas and Berta (2011)

For the abbreviations of the sigla of the inscriptions written in KSS see Apatóczky and Róna-Tas 2019: 266–268.

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Róna-Tas, András (forthcoming) ‘Hogyan lesz a perifériából centrum? A kitan állam nevének története [How did the Periphery Become the Centre? On the history of the name of the Khitan State].’


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