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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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.

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In this paper we continue our former investigations¹ 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 stock². 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> 𐰽 (348), <e₂> 𐰽 (109), <e₃> 𐰽 (264.1) all three are alloglyphs, while in case of ‘en’ the glyphs <en> 𐰽 (140) and <én₂> 𐰽 (100) and <ēn> 𐰽 (073) are all heteroglyphs.

Let us first have a look to all glyphs or graphs³ beginning with velars or uvulars:

G:

<g> 𐰽 (334)⁴, <ge> 𐰽 (349), <ge₂> 𐰽 (112),⁵ <go> 𐰽 (319)⁶, <gor> 𐰽, <gor^o> 𐰽 (166, 167, THREE, earlier <gur>), <gu> 𐰽 (165)⁷, <gu₂> 𐰽 (165.1, earlier 451), <gú> 𐰽 (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> 𐰽 (146, CWJ: <es>), <gi₂> 𐰽 (336, CWJ: <ul₂>), <go₂> 𐰽 (304, CWJ: <du₂>), <giu> 𐰽 (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 <g^{wo}>, C read <k>.

⁷ C read .

⁸ WJ <pú>, C <po>, K <pú>, A <gui>, Sh17 <pu>.

H:

<h> 𠂇 (340, former <x>), <ha> 𠂇 (051), <har₃> 𠂇 (006, earlier MOUNTAIN and <har₂>), <har> 𠂇 (321), <har₂> 𠂇 (321.1), <heu> 介 (250), <hoi> 一 (001 earlier NORTH), <hoii> 𠂇 (010), <hong> 主 (075), <hor> 𠂇 (047), <hu> 𠂇 (151), <hu₂> 𠂇 (014, former <húr>), <hul> 𠂇 (048⁹), <hut> 𠂇 (259, former <hur>), 14 glyphs.

The following changes were made: <ha> 𠂇 (066 CWJ no reading), <har₄> 𠂇 (287 CWJ: <xar>), <ho> 𠂇 (076, CWJ: <or>), <hó> 𠂇 (309, CWJ: <bod>). Earlier Kane read <hoid> 𠂇 (009) as a contraction of <hoi> and the plural <d> (Kane 2009: 36), <hon₂> 𠂇 (328, CWJ: <kei>), <hon* > 𠂇 (035.2 former number (381), CWJ new number, no reading), <hor> 𠂇 (046, CWJ no reading).

K:

<k> 𠂇 (283), <kei> 主 (328)¹⁰, <ki> 𠂇 (163)¹¹, <ku> 𠂇 (178), 𠂇 <ku^o> (178.1, earlier 419), <kú₂> 𠂇 (233), <kus> 𠂇 (042)¹². 7 glyphs, out of which one is an alloglyph. Interesting is 𠂇 (233), where the right side is the same as 𠂇 (178), and the left occurs in other glyphs.

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

Q:

<qa> 𠂇 (053), <qid> 𠂇 (365), <qo> 𠂇 (168), <qó> 欠 (169), <qu> 余 (246), <qú> 𠂇 (118), 6 glyphs.

Earlier the following glyphs were read with <q>, but were changed by CWJ: <qí> 𠂇 (323 CWJ: <te>), <qú> 𠂇 (117 CWJ: no reading), <qur> 𠂇 (014 CWJ: <hu₂>).

X:

<xa> 𠂇 (130, former reading: <ha>), <xar> 𠂇 (287, former reading: <har₄>), <xe> 𠂇 (268, former readings: <el, il, xi, hai>), <xo> 8 (057 former readings: <xuo, ho>), <xu> # (036, former reading: <hu>), <xua> 𠂇 (143, former reading: <hua>), 6 glyphs.

The first interesting feature is the similarity of the glyphs <g> 𠂇 (334), <ku> 𠂇 (178), <ku> 𠂇 (178.1) and <ku₃> 𠂇 (233). Kane (2009: 56–57) wrote a small article on glyph 𠂇 (178), its identification and research history. The glyph is to be read /ku/ or /kü/ and has the meaning ‘man, person’ (Mo *kūmūn*, MMo *kū’ūn*). The glyph 𠂇 (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 𠂇 (233) was earlier transcribed <kú>, later by CWJ <ku₂>. The glyph has on its right side the glyph 𠂇 (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 <on>, Sh17 <yon>.

¹¹ C <x, k>, A <hae, kiae>.

¹² A <man>.

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 𐰚 (334) <g> seems to have the same basic sign with a small dash above, and denotes the voiced or unaspirated pair of 𐰚 (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 1. Khitan <g> in transcriptions of Chinese

Romanisation	Glyph	Chinese	LMCh	EMCh	LMCh	Sources, occurrences, frequency
<g.m> ¹⁶	𐰚 𐰚 (334.133)	<i>jīn</i> 金 ‘metal, gold’	<i>kim</i>	<i>kim</i>	<i>kim</i>	DiX19-13/15, +18x
<g.ün> ¹⁷	𐰚 𐰚 (334.329)	<i>jūn</i> 軍 ‘army’	<i>kyn</i>	<i>kyn</i>	<i>kün</i>	DiX19-13/15
<g.ün>	𐰚 𐰚 (334.329)	<i>jūn</i> 郡 ‘prefecture’	<i>khyn</i>	<i>gun</i>	<i>gün</i>	DiX10-14. The above and this together +137x
<g.ing> ¹⁸	𐰚 𐰚 (334.303)	<i>jīng</i> 京 ‘capital’	<i>kiājŋ</i>	<i>kiājŋ</i>	<i>king</i>	Lang1-6, Dao 13-1, +18x
<g.u.on> ¹⁹	𐰚 𐰚 𐰚 (334.131.154)	<i>guān</i> 管 ‘to be in charge of, manage’	<i>kuan</i>	<i>kwan</i>	<i>kuon</i>	Zhong33-3 only once
<go.n> ²⁰	𐰚 𐰚 (319.251)	<i>guān</i> 觀 ‘to watch’	<i>kuan</i>	<i>kwan</i>	<i>kon</i>	Zhong8-13, + 12x
<g.ung> ²¹	𐰚 𐰚 (334.106)	<i>gōng</i> 公 ‘prince’	<i>kəwŋ</i>	<i>kəwŋ</i>	<i>küŋ</i>	Zhong4-6, +18x
<g.iu.ung>	𐰚 𐰚 𐰚 (334.019.345)	<i>gōng</i> 宮 ‘palace’	<i>kiwŋ</i>	<i>kuwŋ</i>	<i>kiüŋ</i>	Lang 2-9, +20x, K112,
<g.ui>	𐰚 𐰚 (334.262)	<i>guó</i> 國 ‘state’	<i>kuǎk</i>	<i>kwək</i>	<i>kuj</i>	Lang5-12, +131x, K89,
<g.ui.i> ²²	𐰚 𐰚 𐰚 (334.262.339)	<i>guì</i> 貴 ‘noble’	<i>kyj</i>	<i>kuj</i>	<i>kuj</i>	Gu21-1, Xiang32-8
<g.ung> ²³	𐰚 𐰚 (334.345)	<i>gōng</i> 功 ‘merit’	<i>kəwŋ</i>	<i>kəwŋ</i>	<i>küŋ</i>	Ling5-15 +113x

¹⁶ In: *Jinsujun* 金肅軍, transcribed as 𐰚 𐰚 𐰚 𐰚 (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* 統軍使相.

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 𐰚 𐰚 𐰚 [𐰚 𐰚 𐰚] (344.131.154 147.106 273) <g.u.on ju.ung₂ un>, genitive case CWJ 966.

²⁰ In: *guanchashi* 觀察使 transcribed as 𐰚 𐰚 𐰚 (319.261 375 180) <go.n.ca.šī>, 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, 𐰚 𐰚 𐰚 𐰚 (334.262.339 247.020 162.067) <g.ui.i t.e.y ci.eu> ‘a place name, the name of the prefecture’.

²³ In: *gongchen* 功臣 ‘meritorious official, a title’.

<g.ui.in> ²⁴	九火兩 (334.262.018)	Guiyin 瑰引	kuaj jin	kwaj jin	kuj jin	DiX13-8
<g.ia.ém> ²⁵	九才全 (344.335.270)	jian 監 'supervise'	kja:m	kaim/ kɛ:m	kjam	Xiang10-3

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 /kʰ/.

Loanwords in Khitan with <g>:

gu 九𪛗 (334.131) <g.u> 'jade' (K:2, 103, occurs 21 times in Index), *Liaoshi gu-wen* 古穩, cf. *Ju guwen*, *guwu*, *Ma gu* 'jade' (Kane 1989: 351), *Mo ogiu*, *giu*, *oyun*, *oyuu*, *Da guu* 'glass', see also Tib *g-yu* 'turkoi', Chin *yu* 玉, MCh *nywk*, EMCh *nuawk*, 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 九𪛗 无𪛗力 <g.u tau-lí.a> 'jade hare = moon' (Xuan29-9, K20);

ging 九𪛗 (334.303) <g.ing> 'capital' ← Chin *jing* 京, LMCh, EMCh *kiajn*, the Khitan form reflects a LCh *king*;

uur ging 𪛗𪛗 九𪛗 (092.236 334.303) <u.ur g.ing>, 'Supreme capital', Chin *shangjing* 上京' (K:119, 204, 208);

udur ging 火𪛗 九𪛗 (344.097 334.303) <ud.úr g.ing>, 'Eastern Capital', Chin *Dongjing* 東京;

tele ging 令𪛗 九𪛗 (247.093 334.303) <te.le g.ing>, 'Southern Capital', Chin *Nanjing* 南京;

sei ging 全𪛗 九𪛗 (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 九𪛗 (334.097) <g.úr> 'state' (K3, 88, 118, DiX15-3, Xiang5-1, Index 53x), pl. **güres** 九𪛗全 (334.097.244, Index 11x) <g.úr.s>, genitive case is **güren** 九𪛗𪛗 (334.097.140) <g.úr.én> Index 77x. [cf. MMo *gür* in: *gürkan* 'title of the Karakhitan Emperor' (SH), *Mo güre* 'a crowd of people', *Da gurun* 'country, nation', Khitan → *Ma gürün*.] Khitan *gür* is an old Mongolic word and not related to Chin *guo* 國, EMCh *kwək* as was supposed by Kane (K167) and WJ, who wrote: 'Ultimately it cannot be ruled out that there is a connection with Chinese 國 *guo* <*kwək id.' (WJ74).'

genir 九𪛗𪛗 (334.140.144) <g.en.ir> 'sad' (K114, DiX38-13, Xiang34-1, Index 56x) [cf. *Mo gunig* 'sadness' <*guni- 'to grieve', *gunira*- 'to be or become sad, grieved', Khal *guni*-, *gunig*. CWJ read (144) as <ir₂>, and thus the word <g.en.ir> earlier <g.en.un>-.

genir cawun 九𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗 (334.140.144 162.197 070.273) <g.en.ir₂ c.ah w.un> 'eulogy, Chin *aice* 哀冊, 'mourning tablet', *wen* 文 'document'.

jaw ay genir leše 𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗 九𪛗𪛗 𪛗𪛗𪛗 (015 122 334.140.144 261.315.131) <jau ai g.en.ir₂ l.še.u> 'hundred years sadness/mournig' (DiX38-13).

The word **genire** occurs 24 times in the Index. In 8 cases it ends in <e₂> 𪛗 (109) and in 16 cases in <e> 𪛗 (348). The two glyphs are alloglyphs and do not occur in the same inscription.

²⁴ In: Chin *Guiyin* 瑰引 'a name' (DiX13-8).

²⁵ In: Chin *dujian* 都監 'chief supervisor' (Xiang10-3).

genire todga’ar 九和叉旁 今市並本 (334.140.144.348 247.016.051.123) <g.en.ir.₂e t.od.ha.ar> ‘participated at the funeral’ (Xiang43-4).
genire huajua 九和叉旁 列艾力 (344.140.144.109 151.082.1.189) <g.en.ir.e hu.aju.a> ‘sadness and pain’ (Xuan24-8).

<K> in word and syllable initial position

Table 2. Khitan <k> in transcriptions of Chinese

Romanisation	Glyph	Chinese	LMCh	EMCh	LCh	Sources
<k.ai>	𐰚𐰆 (283.122)	kai 開 ‘open, begin’ ²⁶	khaj	khaj	khaj	Ling6-17 +9x (K17)
<ki.ën>	𐰚𐰆 (163.073)	xian 縣 ‘district, county’ ²⁷	xhijyan	ɣwen	kyen	Lang2-6 +13x (K264, 7.057)
<ki.ën>	𐰚𐰆 (163.073)	xuan 玄 ‘black, dark’ ²⁸	xhijyan	ɣwen	kyen	Nan5-20
<ku.ung>	𐰚𐰆 (178.345)	kong 孔 ²⁹	khəwŋ	khəwŋ	khūng	Yu15-51, Di1-6
<ku.ung>	𐰚𐰆 (178.345.)	kong 控 ³⁰	khəwŋ	khəwŋ	khung	Xiang52-38 K56
<k.ey>	𐰚𐰆 (283.020)	kai 開 ‘open, begin’ ³¹	khaj	khaj	khaj	Nan1-34

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

²⁶ In the title *kaifu yitong sansi*, *Chin* 開府儀同三司 <k.ai pu ŋgi.i tu.ŋg s.am.si> ‘commander unequalled in honour’ (Ling6-17, Zhong21-40) see K17, a variant: Zhong5-16, Pu4-16: <k.ai fu ŋgi.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 𐰚𐰆 <h.ai> in Gu2-22 and Zhen22-30 as <h.ai g.ui. b.ai>, see below. See also in the title *qishui xian* 漆水縣開國男 (K263, 7.037) <s.i š.oi ki.ën k.ai g.ui na am> (Hong8-17), in Xian1-17 a part of this title occurs as: <[l.a.an l.ing] ki.ën h.ai g.ui na.am>.

²⁷ In such expressions as <s.in c.ing ki.ën> *Chin Xincheng xian* 新城縣 ‘District of Xincheng’ or <ta.ang.en ki.ën> ‘District of Tang’ (Lang2-5), <ú s.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) 𐰚𐰆𐰚𐰆 <ku.ung.iŋ> (178.345.222) occurring in the following places: <xu.ur qid.un.i ku.ung.iŋ mo.u s.in.iŋ l.bul.uh> (Yu15-51), <ya deu.un s.in ong on go.er.en ku.ung.iŋ t.ile tai.ba.en n.ra.de RECORD.ge.en>(Di1-6, also in Di2-7).

³⁰ In the name *Kongguli* 控骨里 transcribed as 𐰚𐰆𐰚𐰆 (178.345.097) <ku.ŋj.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, chesnut (of a horse)’ or *qonggur* ‘dear, darling, openhearted’, DaE *kong*:r ‘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 𐰚𐰆𐰚𐰆 𐰚𐰆𐰚𐰆 Nan1-34 (also K191, note16). The glyph 𐰚𐰆 (328), earlier read as <hong₂> is now read by CWJ as <kei>.

kem 収 金 (283.257) <k.em> ‘imperial edict, Chin *chi* 勅 (K94-95, Sh3 267) | Mo. *kem* ‘measure, term’, to *keme*- ‘to speak’, MMo *ke*-, Mo *ge*- ‘to say’, Da no data, Index 67x;
kem dairi 収 金 兩 全 (283.257 017.255) <k.em dai.ri> ‘he heard [received] the imperial edict’ (Xing36-17, Ren32-11, Dao3-1, K95);
kem tegü 収 金 令 句 (283.257 247.165) <k.em te.gu> ‘the edict says’ (Xu32-9, K69, 95).
kiú 収 火 (283.289) <k.iú> ‘younger sister, younger daughter’ (Index 2x, both in Gu12-19, 17-5) also 火 丙 (283.019), <h.iu>, Index 8x, and 火 火 (340.289) <h.iú> in Xiang13-10 and Index 12x, but see **kiü** 収 火 (283.289) <k.iú> ‘male child, son’ (K24-25, 116 in Gu 17) | Mo *köbegün* >*keü*, Da *keku*, most likely **keü**.
kiú em.n 収 火 丙 公 (283.289 021.251) ‘younger sister of the mother (?), *xiao yi mu* 小姨母 (gen.)’ (Gu12-19);
keli- 収 北 (283.080) <k.li> (Dao20-16, Zhi19-41) | Mo *kele*- ‘to utter words, speak, say’, Da *hele-*, DaE *xəl-*;
keliuji 収 北 只 弱 (283.080.372.152) <k.li2.ü.ji> ‘was said, is named’ Index 49x, with 爻 <u> (131), Index 19x. The suffix **-ji** is written also with <j_{i2}> (153) in Index 27x and with <j_{i3}> 訖 (337) in Index once;
ku 几 (178) <ku> ‘man, person’ (occurs 328 times in the corpus), genitive 几 只 女 (178.372.273) <ku.u.un> (occurs 151 times in the corpus see also K56, WJ75) | Mo *kümin* > *küwün* > *kün*, Da *huu*, dial *kuu* ‘person’, DaE *xu*-. The Dahur data show that the Khitan word has been shortened to **kü*. The glyph 凡 (178.1, former 427) <ku°> occurs only four times: Ren16-20, Chao3-27 in isolation, and in the word 凡 込 虫 丰 <ku°.ol.ha.ai> (Jue41-30) and 凡 込 与 <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 daudu ku 全 凡 崇 杰 才 为 包 弱 相 关 凡 (244.263 334.263 071 335 101 168 152.140.339 204 249 178)
<s.ui gu.i 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 丙 几 (021.178) <em ku> ‘wife’. Written separately, not in one box. E.g.:
又 丙 几 虫 关 几 券 今 委 伏 虫 化 当 丙 几 又 虫 几 券 今 委 伏 >GREAT em ku p.i.g.e pu.ši.ń ci.ur.én em ku š.l g.e pu.iši> ‘[his] first wife was Lady Bige, 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.

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<Q> in word and syllable initial position

Table 5. Khitan Q in transcriptions of Chinese⁴⁸

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 /ɸ/, 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 = Monguor 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

WJ = Wu Yingzhe – Juha Janhunen (2010)

WF = Wittfogel – Chêng (1949)

WOT = Róna-Tas and Berta (2011)

WJ = Wu – Janhunen (2010)

For the abbreviations of the sigla of the inscriptions written in KSS see APATÓCZKY and RÓNA-TAS 2019: 266–268.

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