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

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ABSTRACT

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

KEYWORDS

Khitan Small Script, Khitan glyphs, Khitan lexicon

PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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1. The KLS has antecedents, such are the scripts used by the Tabgach-Wei and the Tuyuhun, see Ligeti 1970 and Shimunek 2017: 121–122, 172. An inscription found in Gansu province in 2019 and mentioned first in 2021, turned out to be written with a sinitic type of Tuyuhun script. We hope this important monument will be published soon.
2. This script was called Khitan Assembled Script by György Kara (1996), because the morphological units are assembled in boxes.
3. A **morphological unit** may include one or more morphemes, unsuffixed or suffixed forms. In the Index all suffixed forms are distinguished; however, the homographs, i.e. different words written with the same glyphs, are not. Orthographical variants are dealt with as different items.
This Basic List of about 840 Khitan word stems has been complemented by a few other lists. To them we added all cases where the suffixed form of a stem is identifiable, using the Index of CWJ (pp. 1619–2314).

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

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

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

4 This work was dealt with by Herbert Franke (1978: 175–188), Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt (1997) and Isaac Yue (2019: 139).
5 The text was dealt with by Herbert Franke (1976: 178–180) and Isaac Yue (2019: 144).
6 The history of the Liaoshi is summarized in WF, pp. 610–614. For a long time, the work was not finished because the debate on the orthodoxy of the Liao dynasty. In 1343, a Mongol officer urged that the debate should be closed, the work should be done, otherwise all the sources will be slowly lost. The emperor agreed, and the Prime Minister Tuo-to (Chinese Tuotuo 脫脫) was appointed to supervise the work of 23 specially designated historians. They decided that the Liao was an orthodox dynasty and its history should be written using their own calendar. The work has been finished in 1344. The first edition was printed in 1345 in 100 copies.
7 The term Para-Mongolic is debated, see Shimunek 2017: 14, because it identifies Khitan as a language which is beside Mongolic and not as a language linguistically related. Nevertheless the term got wide acceptance.
8 Manchu and some southern Tungusic languages are of importance for deciphering Khitan so far that they contain Khitan loanwords, some of which were earlier considered to be of Mongolic origin.
Abbreviations:

A-I = Accusative-Instrumental  
B = remarks by Bai Yuanming  
C = CWJ  
CE = compound expressions  
CWJ = Chinggeltei–Wu–Jiruhe 2017  
Dag M = Dagur in Martin 1961  
Dag M-K = Dagur in Muromski–Kaluzhinski 1970 (Cicikar)  
D-L = Dative-Locative  
E = Etymology  
Ex = Examples  
Gen = Genitive  
In-x = CWJ Index  
K = Kane 2009  
Mong = Lessing 1960  
N = Nugteren 2011  
O = related Onomastic material  
P = Poppe 1930 (Dagur, Hailar)  
Pr-A = Prolative-Ablative  
R = remarks by Róna-Tas  
S = Suffixed form(s)  
Ts = Tsumagari 1986 (Dagur, Hailar)  
U = glyph unknown reading and pronunciation  
W = error, misprint, wrong  
WF = Wittfogel and Feng 1949  
WOT = Róna-Tas and Berta 2011  
YCh = Yuan Chinese according to Pulleyblank 1991, there Y

Technical remarks

The Khitan inscriptions are cited according to their Sigla (see at the end of this paper). Glyph is a drawing used by the Khitan Small Script.

The KSS is written in so-called boxes, the glyphs pertaining to one morphological unit are written in pairs under each other so that, though the lines run from right to left, within the boxes the paired glyphs follow from left to right each other. For technical reasons the system is changed to a linear one, and the glyphs of the same box are connected by a hyphen.

Written:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
  \text{a} & \text{b} \\
  \text{c} & \text{d} \\
  \text{e} & \text{f} \\
  \text{g} \\
  \text{h} & \text{i} \\
  \text{j} & \text{k}
\end{array}
\]

transposed as <a-b-c-d-e-f-g h-i-j-k>.

xxxx* one asterisk after the unattested base/stem of the word,  
xxxx** two asterisks: incorrect data

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

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

A BASIC ALPHABETIC LIST OF KHED

LETTER A

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

Table 1. Glyphs with initial a-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INITIAL</th>
<th>Romanization12</th>
<th>Glyph</th>
<th>Number in the Höhhot List</th>
<th>Frequency as initial</th>
<th>Uigur- Mongol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>&lt;a&gt;</td>
<td>ㄅ</td>
<td>(189)</td>
<td>very frequent</td>
<td>גר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>&lt;a&gt;,13</td>
<td>ㄅ</td>
<td>(190)</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>.grey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;ab&gt;</td>
<td>ㄅ</td>
<td>(240)</td>
<td>corrected to &lt;par&gt;14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;ab&gt;&quot;</td>
<td>ㄅ</td>
<td>(240.1)</td>
<td>corrected to &lt;par&quot;&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>&lt;abu&gt;15</td>
<td>ㄥ</td>
<td>(196)</td>
<td>61 base+13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4</td>
<td>&lt;ad&gt;</td>
<td>ㄅ</td>
<td>(099)</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A5</td>
<td>&lt;ai&gt;</td>
<td>ㄅ</td>
<td>(122)</td>
<td>very frequent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6</td>
<td>&lt;ai&gt;,</td>
<td>ㄅ</td>
<td>(197)</td>
<td>2 cases</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A7</td>
<td>&lt;aju&gt;</td>
<td>ㄅ</td>
<td>(082.1)</td>
<td>frequent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 The List, which we call the Höhhot List of the glyphs of the Khitan Small Script, has been many times revised. We follow the list given by CWJ on pp. 92–104 and on 341–353 and dealt with in details on pp. 150–338. Further the Index (volume III of CWJ) is ordered according to the List, and is of help in some cases. We remark cases where we differ from the Romanization of CWJ. In technical cases, we tacitly give the new reading: e.g. glyph (189) is written <a> which we changed to <a> without reference. The term Romanization means that the possible pronunciation is rendered on the base of the transcription of Chinese words. We would stress here that it is more a code than a phonetical reality. The glyphs denoting the same or similar sounds are distinguished in the system by diacritic signs and index numerals. The diacritics have no own value, they only denote another glyph with the temporary same Romanization, as e.g. <a> and <a>, or <au>, <a>, <au>, <a>. Same is the case with the low indexes as <a>, <a>, etc.

13 CWJ gives no Romanization.

14 The numeral ‘10’ and its dotted variant was read by CWJ as <ab>, but it is correctly <par>. The Middle Mongolian form is harban. We will deal with the word under P <par>.

15 The glyph may be a logoglyph with two readings: <abu> and <bu>. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INITIAL</th>
<th>Romanization</th>
<th>Glyph</th>
<th>Number in the Höhhot List</th>
<th>Frequency as initial</th>
<th>Uigur-Mongol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A8</td>
<td>&lt;al&gt;</td>
<td>ㄘ</td>
<td>(098)</td>
<td>frequent</td>
<td>钹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A9</td>
<td>&lt;am&gt;</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>(184)</td>
<td>frequent</td>
<td>乃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A10</td>
<td>&lt;an&gt;</td>
<td>丆</td>
<td>(011)</td>
<td>frequent¹⁶</td>
<td>丆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A11</td>
<td>&lt;án&gt;</td>
<td>出</td>
<td>(290)</td>
<td>rare¹⁷</td>
<td>陳</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A12</td>
<td>&lt;áng&gt;</td>
<td>出</td>
<td>(199)</td>
<td>not as initial</td>
<td>陳</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A13</td>
<td>&lt;ar&gt;</td>
<td>本</td>
<td>(123)</td>
<td>frequent</td>
<td>本</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A14</td>
<td>&lt;as&gt;</td>
<td>冬</td>
<td>(174)</td>
<td>frequent</td>
<td>冬</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A15</td>
<td>&lt;au&gt;</td>
<td>ㄐ</td>
<td>(161)</td>
<td>very frequent</td>
<td>ㄐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A16</td>
<td>&lt;aú&gt;</td>
<td>ㄎ</td>
<td>(125)</td>
<td>4 cases</td>
<td>ㄎ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A17</td>
<td>&lt;aú&gt;</td>
<td>ㄍ</td>
<td>(210)¹⁸</td>
<td>frequent</td>
<td>ㄌ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks on Table 1.

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

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

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

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¹⁶ Frequent also as suffix.
¹⁷ Frequent as suffix.
¹⁸ CWJ has no reading.
Remarks on the glyphs beginning with a-

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

<a2> (190) is the glyph (189) extended by a vertical dash on its right side. CWJ does not give a Romanization, but its occurrence points to a reading near to <a>. It occurs as intial ten times isolated, in 5 cases as <a2-an> (Song14-3, Zhong34-44, Nan29-16, Tai14-5, Jue35-11) in the same or similar function as <a-an>, see below. Similar graphic extensions are:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number in the Höhhot List</th>
<th>Glyph</th>
<th>Romanization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>予</td>
<td>bu20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td>予</td>
<td>bu21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>予</td>
<td>ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>予</td>
<td>ur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>058</td>
<td>予</td>
<td>05822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278.1</td>
<td>予</td>
<td>278.123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<abu> 生 (196) This glyph seems to be a logoglyph with the reading abu. As a glyph representing the word abu it occurs 61 times in the Corpus. The word abu may have different suffixes (see below). Its reading as abu is secured by the transcription of names (see below). It may have also a reading abu in non initial position, as we can see in the name T-abu-y 今生百 (247-196-020), which occurs as ta bu ye 排不 (Liaoshi, also ta bu yan 排不, see Kane 2009: 59). The Khitan name of the moving imperial palace, the nabo is written in KSS as n-ad-bu-ad 公生百 (251-099-196-099) etc. (see there), and is transcribed by Chinese nabo 排钵, see also below. The only word that may be different from the basic meaning of abu is <abu-il-ha-a-án> 生面也出 (196-302-051-189-290) (Pu19-27), which looks like a participial form in -án of a verb abu-il-ha.25

19 The 'highlighting mode' is present if the words are not written in boxes.
20 CWJ <bot>.
21 CWJ <búl>.
22 Yet undeciphered.
23 Yet undeciphered.
24 Shimunek 2017: 433: <ebu>, see below.
25 Not abu ilhan.
The glyph occurs in initial position, where it is relatively rare. Khitan bases as ad-y- (099-020) with several further suffixes are occurring once each, the base ad-ha-, seemingly a verbal stem (ad-ha-ai, ad-ha-a-án), is also occurring only once each. The base ad-a (ad-a, ad-a-an) is represented by six cases. The glyph frequently occurs in word middle and in final positions, e.g. n-ad-bu-ad 公仏 生 (251-099-196-099).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<au> (125), and <au> (210), see below.
WORDS WITH INITIAL A-

Introduction

In this sample we present the words that begin with a- and have a meaning suggested by the former research and fixed by CWJ or identified by us. In case when the word and its meaning is occurring in CWJ, we give the page number in the form C000. In many cases, if a word has a meaning, its suffixed forms are added under S also when the meaning of the latter was not identified. In cases where we think that the Khitan word may have parallels in the Mongolic languages, we give the literary form of the Mongolian word from Lessing (1960), and add the Dagur data.26

The Chinese meanings are in most cases from CWJ. In clear cases, we add some compounds under C. If a similar syllable does exist in a Khitan name and it is transcribed in the contemporary Chinese sources, we cite it under O. In this case, we give the place where the name occurs. Later we will quote the Khitan Onomasticon, which is now a work in progress. We consider the frequency of a word in the Corpus of great importance, therefore we give it where it is reasonable in the form XXx. In some cases we added a short remark, hint for possible further research under the abbreviation R for Róna-Tas or B for Bai Yuanming. Errors, misprints are mentioned under W.

- a- arou (189) ‘to exist, to be at, to be present (somewhere), also an auxiliary verb’
  E: Mong a-‘to be, verb of existence’, see also ajugu, aji past tense of a- ‘it was, there was, or were’, Dag aa- ‘to live, be, stay, auxiliary verb’ (M109), a- ‘sein’ (M-K107), ā- ‘byt’ (P67)
  R: the length is present in some Dag dialects (see also Poppe 1930)
  S: a-ai ん (189-122) ‘converbal form of a-, being, having been, was’
  a-aju ん (189-082.1) ‘to exist’, Chin zai 在 C416, see also aju
  a-ad ん (189-099) ‘past participle of a- formed with the suffix -d
  a-an ん (189-011) ‘deverbal noun (participle) in an of a-’
  a-ám ん (189-290) ‘deverbal noun (participle) in án of a-
  a-al- ん (189-098) passive stem of a-, ‘having been conferred, given (a title)’
  a-ar ん (189-123) past tense of a- ‘was there’

- abu 生 (196), ‘father, honorific’ 61x, C416, see also a-bu-28
  E: Mong abu, aba ‘father, old father’, abugai (>guai) ‘a title of respect used in addressing one’s seniors, Dag aišė ‘muž sestry’ (P69)
  R: see au-a, Mong abaga ‘paternal uncle’, see below
  S: A-I abu-ar 生 (196-123) 1x
  Gen ? see a-abu-2
  D-L abu-iù 生 (196-289) In-x1948

26 There is an ongoing debate on the relationship between Khitan and Dagur. Ligeti (1950: 167) was inclined to suppose that Dagur is identical with Khitan or more precisely with one of its dialects. Some authors claim that Dagur is a heavily Mongolized Khitan language, other think that Dagur is a Mongolic dialect that was under Khitan influence. At present, we will not take part in this discussion, only quote the Dagur data. In this sample we are quoting the Dagur wordlist given by Martin (1961), Muromskij and Kaluzinsky (1969–1970) and Poppe (1930). Later other important sources of Dagur, as e.g. of Enkhbat, will be added.

27 In most cases 生 (011) is the suffix of the genitive.

28 Shimunek follows a former reading <ebu> and connects it with Mong ebüge(n) ‘old man, ancestor’, but read Abu in his paper (2017a: 265).
Pr-Ab abu-iú-i 生父 (196-289-339) In-x1948
Ex: abu ai 生父 (196 122) 'grandfather', Chin 祖父 C416
O: Abu-de 生父 (196-205) 'a person's name, D-L 'Xian27-5, Abu L-i 生父 (196 261-339) 'a person's name', Chin Abaoli 阿保礼 Qing5 C416, Cha5, C416, Abu L-i-en 生父 (196-261-339-140) 'a person's name, Gen, Chin Abaoli zhi 阿保礼之 Xian3 C416, see also T-em-én Abu 今金阿生 (247-257-361 196) 'a person's name', Chin Temianábú 特免阿不 Hui7, C441.

• a-abu-ñ 生父 (189-196-222) 'father' In-x 1948, also abu-ñ 生父 (196-222) 3x, In-x 1948, Chin 父 C416.

E: The extended form in -ñ of abu, written in most cases as a-abu-ñ
S: Pl a-abu-ñ-d 生父 (189-196-222-254) In-x 1939
Gen abu-ñ-en 生父 (196-222-140) In-x 1748
D-L a-abu-ñ-de 生父 (189-196-222-205) In-x 1939

• a1i (122) 'year', Chin nian 年
E: perhaps to Mo yil 'calendric year', cf. MMong hon, Mong on, Dag hoon (M164), χon 'Jahr' (M-L141), which is in Khitan po 年 'time', Chin shì 时
R: in some cases it is difficult to separate <ai1> and <ai2>
S: Pl ai-s 生父 (122-244) 'years', 49x, Chin nian 年 C391
Gen ai-en 生父 (122-140) 'father's', Chin fu zhi 父之 C391
Pl A-I ai-s-er 生父 (122-244-341) 'during a certain era, lit. 'with years', Chin nian jian 年间 C391
Pl Gen? ai-s-en 生父 (122-244-140) 'fathers', plural, genitive', Chin zhu fu zhi 诸父之 C391
quoted from Hu19 is uncertain.

• a2i (122) 'father, ancestor', Chin fu 父 C391
E: ?
S: Pl a2i-d 生父 (122-254) 'men, plural', Chin nan 男 C391
Gen ai-en 生父 (122-140) 'father's', Chin fu zhi 父之 C391
Ex: ai ku 生父 (122-178) 'husband', Chin zhang fu 丈夫 C391
ai-mo u-úr 生父 (122-021 131-097) 'parental donation, inheritance', Gao22
W: a-s-en 生父 (122-244-140) 'fathers', plural, genitive', Chin zhu fu zhi 诸父之 C391
quoted from Hu19 is uncertain.

• a3i (122) converbal form of the verb a-, see a-ai.

• aju1 生父 (082.1) 'father, old man, ? father-in-law', (Gao9,10), Chin weng 翁 C384
E: 赖 (082.1) 'father, old man, ? father-in-law', (Gao9,10), Chin weng 翁 C384
R: change of function: husband's father → father, old man
S: Pl aju-s 生父 (082.1-244) In-x1755, 2x
Gen aju-en 生父 (082.1-140), Chin weng zhi 翁之 C384

29 In the transcription: <sh-ri-s a-s-en n-ai-ci-én a-ab> (Hu19). On the photo the glyph before <s> of <ai-s>- is almost unreadable, but surely not 什.
30 See the Chinese origin already in De Smedt et Mostaert (1933: 2) and recently in Erhan Tašbaş's (2021: 513) paper.
De-Loc aju-de 艾矢 (082.1-205), In-x1755 4x
Pr-Abl aju-de-i 艾矢矣 (082.1-205-339), In-x1755 1x
• aju2 a suffixed form of a-, see above
• aju-uh 艾久 (082.1-172) ‘father, old man’, In-x1754 2x
E: to aju, -uh is a frequent suffix or perhaps more suffixes are written in the same way.
• al-a ㄘ (098.189) ‘to kill’ , In-x 1768
E: Mong ala- ‘to kill’ , Dag ale- ‘to kill’ (M122), ala- ‘töten’ (M-K108)
S: al-a-ai ㄘ (098-189-122) 1x, In-x 1768
al-a-aju ㄘ (098-189-082.1) 4x, In-x 1768
al-a-ar ㄘ (089-189-123), 31x, In-x 1768
• al-qó ㄘ (098-169) ‘step’, In-x 1768, 1x
E: Mong alqu- ‘to step, to walk’ , alqu, alquga ‘gait, walk, pace, step’, Dag aleku- ‘walk’ (M112), alxŭ ‘šagat’ (P68), see further data N 268 s.v. alku
• am-d ㄉ (184-254) ‘sweetness’, 1x, Chin ganmei 甘美 C414 (Zhi8-40)
E: Mong amta ‘taste’ , amtatu, amtatai ‘sweet’ , Dag ame.te/tei ‘tasty’ (M114)
• am-s* ㄉ (184-244) in the expression am-s ja-2-a ㄉ (184-244 371-189) ‘frontier, border’, Chin bianjiang 边疆
E: perhaps to Mong ama(n) ‘mouth, opening (usually of vessels)’, see also amasar ‘opening, (lid)’. Dag ame ‘mouth, opening’, ame sare ‘small opening (into anything empty), a hole’ (M114), ama ‘Mund’ (M-K109). The second part is comparable with Mong jagag ‘border, boundary, joint, junction’, see also jaqa ‘brim, border etc.’, see under ja-2-a-an ‘border area’ (below), Chin jiangyi 疆埸
R: Is -s a plural? Perhaps ‘gates of the border’
Ex: am-s ja-2-a ㄉ (184-244 371-189) ‘border area’, Chin bianjiang 边疆 C414
• ar-ó* ‘? command, govern’
31 occurs in the name of the reign period Qiantong 乾统 (1101-1111)
S: ar-ó-o-or ㄉ (123-090-186-076) 20x, also ar-ú-o-or ㄉ (123-245-186-076) 1x,
ar-ú-ó-o-or ㄉ (123-245-090-186-076) 1x, past time participle?
E: ?

31 Kane (2009: 161) tentatively identified this word with a term found in the Liaoshi as Aluwan 阿鲁磐 and glossed there by fuyou 辅右 ‘to assist, support’. Following Kane, Shimunek (2017: 421–422, n. 39) reconstructed a Khitan verb *aru ‘assist, support’. The question here is how freely the Chinese expression tong was translated into Khitan. The meaning of tong, as it was mentioned by Kane, was ‘gather into one, unite’. We claim that the Khitan reign name was rather ‘Governed by the Heaven’ than ‘Heavenly Assistance’. The proper meaning of the Khitan verb has to be fixed yet.
32 qian = ‘one of the eight trigrams representing heaven’, tong = command.
Ex: HEAVEN ar-ó-o-or 王 享及札 (243 123-090-186-076) ‘a reign title, celestial government (1101-1111); Chin qiantong 乾统 C428, 20x
HEAVEN ar-ú-o-o-or 王 享及札 (243 123-245-090-186-076) ‘a reign title, celestial government,’ 1x, also HEAVEN ar-ú-o-or 王 享及札 (243 123-245-186-076) Chin qiantong 乾统 C428, 1x

- as-ar 冬 (174-123) ’clear, peace, peaceful’ (K56), occurs also in the name of the Qingning 清宁 reign period (1055–1065) ‘clear tranquility’ period

E: ?
S: Gen: as-ar-en 冬 享 (174-123-140) 2x (both in Ren26-9, 27-11), also as-ar-ń 冬 及冬
(174-232-21x) (Yong32-24)
C: HEAVEN as-ar 王 享 (243-174-123) ‘a reign title, clear tranquility’ (1055-1065)’, Chin Qingning 清宁 C428
O: As-ar 冬 (174-123) ‘a person’s name’ , Chin Asali 阿撒里 Zhi1 C412

- au 夏 (161) ‘elder sister, honorific,’ 10x, Chin jie 姐 C404, see also au 乃 (210) ‘elder sister’, CWJ no reading, Chin jie 姐 C418, see below.

E: ← Chin ao 媼 ‘old woman’. See Liaoshi in WF 275 and 275n, where we read: ‘According to the old Qidan custom, during the ceremony of wedding banquet a woman deserving of respect was chosen to sit in the position of honor. She was called the ao woman’ (WF275), there also about the ‘red woman’ (WF275n). It is possible, that au 乃 (210) is also used as short form for au-ui see below.

R: ? convergence of originally two words Chinese x Khitan
S: Pl au-ń-er 尔 享 (210-222-341) ‘elder sister, plural,’ also au-a-án-er 夫 享 (210-189-290-341), In-x1872, Chin zhu jie 诸姐 C418
Gen au-ń 尔 享 (161-222) In-x1872
Ex: au-er-iu 夫 (161-341-289) ‘siblings, sisters and brothers, D-L’, Chin jiemei 姐妹 C404
au eme 夫 娘 (161 221) honorific, Aunt’, (Chao12), Chin yimu 姨母

- au-a 夏 (161-189) ‘male honorific title, Uncle’ 11x, In-x 1871

E: Mong abaga ’paternal uncle’, Dag awše ’älterer Bruder der Frau’
S: A-I au-a-er 夫 享 (161-189-341) 1x, also au-a-án (161-189-123) 6x
Gen au-a-an 夫 享 (161-189-011) 6x, In-x1871
D-L au-a-iu 夫 享 (161-189-289) 10x, In-x1872

- au-a-* 夏 (161-189) perhaps a verbal stem

E: Mong ab- ‘to take, get hold of, receive, obtain’, extended stem abu-, Dag au- ‘take, buy’, (M116), au-, āu- ‘nehmen’ (M-K110)
S: au-a-án 夫 享 (161-189-290) 2x, In-x 1872
au-a-án-er 夫 享 (161-189-290-341) 1x, In-x1872
au-ui-er 夫 享 (161-262-341) 7x
au-ui-er-en (161-262-341-140) (a genitive) and au-ui-én (161-262-361) etc., see In-x 1874, they have to be treated separately.
Ex: au-a-án eme ku 夫 享 (161-189-290 021 178) (Qing10)
Chin Tianzuo huangdi 天祚 皇帝 C404
R: Khitan <au-ui-er> is here rendering the Chinese expression zuo 祚 ‘blessed.’
The two tribes of the Ao-yin Turks, Chin Aoyan Tujue er bu 奥衍 突厥 二部 C404, WF 90, Aoyan, are like the Weiyen 亦衍 Turks. There existed also an Aoyan Jurchen tribe, ibid. The ethnonym Tujue 突厥 was YCh tu-küe. The glyph 兀 (089) has to be read as <du₃>, see also Kane (K45), who gives first <zú> based on a suggestion of Aisin Gioro.

W: au-ui-o₂ 突厥夕 (161-262-107) a frequent miswriting or misreading of 兀 (107) instead of 部 (341)

- aú-ui 尻央 (210-262) ‘milady, term of respect of noble women’, 142x. It was read so by Kane (K60), with the same meaning. CWJ has 210-ui 尻央 (210-262) for which on p. 418 CWJ gives Chin niangzi 娘子. According to Kane (K54) au 尻 (161) (see K61) is similar to the first part of aú-ui niangzi 娘子. In fact there does exist a form au-ui 尻央 (161-262), but this pertains to a verb au₃33.

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

R: change of semantics in Dag
Gen aú-ui-en 尻央 尻 (210-262-140)
D-L aú-ui-de 尻央 央 (210-262-205)
not clear is the form aú-ui-iši 尻央夕 (210-262-033) (Nan28-1)

- au-ur-o₃, 夷化升
E: ?Mong abura ‘to save, help’ occurs in:
S: au-ur-ó-ui 夷化升 央 (161-236-090-262) ‘getting better, to improve’, 2x, Chin hao zhuan 好转 C404
au-ur-ó-ón 夷化升 及 (161-236-090-186-322) In-x1873
E:?

- au-ul-ha*- 夷干 (161-366) ‘change (position)’
E: cf. Mong abugul- ‘to let have get’, factitive or agul- ‘to place, put into, to store’, Dag auleji- ‘to meet, introduce, mix’ (M116), auld’i- ‘zusammentreffen, sich begegnen’ (M-K110), aulji- ‘vstrečat’ (P)

- au-ul-o*- 夷升 (161-366) ‘change position to’
S: au-ul-ha-ai 夷升 央 (161-366-051-122) ‘change position to’, Chin gai 改 C404
au-ul-ha-ai-un 夷升 央 (161-366-051-122-144) 1x, In-x 1875
au-ul-ha-ar 夷升 央 (161-366-051-123) 1x, In-x 1875
au-ul-ha-a-al 夷升 央 (161-366-051-189-098) 1x, In-x 1875
au-ul-ha-a-ar 夷升 央 (161-366-051-189-123) 5x, In-x 1875
au-ul-ha-án 夷升 央 (161-366-051-290) 3x, In-x 1875
au-ul-ha-a-án 夷升 央 (161-366-051-189-290) 3x, In-x 1875
au-ul-ó*- 夷升 央 (161-366-090-152) 1x, In-x 1876
au-ul-ó-o-ón หาแผนี อง (161-366-090-186-322) 3x, In-x 1876
au-ul-ó-ui หาแผนี (161-366-090-262) 2x, In-x 1876
au-ul-ó-*
au-ul-ó-ui หาแผนี (161-366-372-262) ‘change position to, Chin gai 改 C404
aul-ul-u-*
au-ul-u-ui หาแผนี (161-366-131-262) 1x, In-x1876
au-ul-u-ul-g หาแผนี (161-366-131-366-334) 1x, In-x1876
au-ul-un หาแผนี (161-366-144) 6x, In-x1876
au-ul-hu หาแผนี (161-366-151) 1x, In-x1876
au-ul-n-er หาแผนี (161-366-222-341) 1x, In-x1876
au-ul-l-ha-a-ar หาแผนี (161-366-261-051-189-123) 1x, In-x1876

LETTER B

Table 3. The glyphs with initial b-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INITIAL</th>
<th>Romanization</th>
<th>Glyph</th>
<th>Number in the Höhhot List</th>
<th>Frequency as initial</th>
<th>Uigur Mongol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B1</td>
<td>&lt;b&gt;</td>
<td>ｷ</td>
<td>(311)</td>
<td>very frequent</td>
<td>ｶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2</td>
<td>&lt;bai&gt;</td>
<td>ｷ</td>
<td>(061)</td>
<td>frequent</td>
<td>ｶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3</td>
<td>&lt;bai,&gt;</td>
<td>ｷ</td>
<td>(060)</td>
<td>not as initial</td>
<td>ｶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B4</td>
<td>&lt;bi&gt;</td>
<td>ｷ</td>
<td>(225)</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>ｶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B5</td>
<td>&lt;bun&gt;</td>
<td>ｷ</td>
<td>(288)</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>ｶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B6</td>
<td>&lt;bod&gt;</td>
<td>ｷ</td>
<td>(309)</td>
<td>frequent</td>
<td>ｶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B7</td>
<td>&lt;bot&gt;</td>
<td>ｷ</td>
<td>(176)</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>ｶ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<b> ｷ (311) as also the other glyphs with initial b- are used in the transcription for Chinese not aspirated bilabial stops /p/. The glyph (311) is perhaps also used in some cases for the initial <ab>-.

<bai,> ｷ (060) may be an alloglyph of <bai> ｷ and is not occurring as initial.
<bai> ｷ (061) is frequent and occurs as initial syllable of nouns and verbs as well.
<bi> ｷ (225) is occurring only in four morphological items and alone it is occurring 10 times. It pertains to a group of glyphs with the same element on their left side (see Wu and Róna-Tas 2019: 49).

34 For a detailed discussion on the bilabials in initial position, see Wu Yingzhe and Róna-Tas András 2019, earlier readings of glyphs beginning with b- are cited on p. 48.
<bun> (288) has been Romanized by CWJ as <bir> and the reasons are given on CWJ 290. They identified ɣ (144) as <ir> and hence ɣɣ as <b-ir>. This is alternating with ɣ (288). This is true, but the correct reading of (144) is <un>, and thus ɣ (288) has to be written as <bun>.35

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

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

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

Words with initial b-

- b-as ɣɣ (311-174) ‘again’, 103x, Chin you ɣɣ C466

- b-aû-er ɣɣ (311-125-341) ‘existed, was’, Chin zai ɣɣ C466
  E: Mong bayi ‘to be (copula), stay, exist’ (?<** bagi- ???, cf. bagu ‘to come or go down, to settle’)
  R: past tense
  S: b-aû-én ɣɣ (311-125-361) 5x, In-x2189, participle?? feminine??
  b-aû-é, ɣɣ (311-125-100) 1x, In-x 2189
  b-aû-lí, ɣɣ (311-125-080)36 2x, In-x 2189
  b-aû-oi, ɣɣ (311-125-107) 1x, In-x 2189
  b-aû-un ɣɣ (311-125-144) 1x, In-x 2189
  b-aû-ci ɣɣ (311-125-162) 1x, In-x 2189

  E: according to Shimunek (2014: 113) ‘to Mong bangar ‘reprimand’, but there is only bangar kürtege ‘to confer upon somebody bangar, to reprimand’ (see Wu and Róna-Tas 2019: 53)
  S: b-áng-hu-ai ɣɣ (311-280-151-122) 2x, In-x2200
  b-áng-hu-al-hu ɣɣ (311-280-151-098-151) 1x, In-x 2199
  b-áng-hu-al-hu-ú ɣɣ (311-280-151-098-151-289) 1x, In-x2200

35 Shimunek (2017: 430, 436) read glyph (144) as <eñ> and (288) as <beñ>. The vocalism has to be <u>, the final is alternating n~ñ. The Chinese syllable ben 本, which is used for the transcription of Khitan ɣɣ ɿɣ, ɣɣ <b-un>, ɣɣ <bun> and ɣɣ ɿɣ has to be reconstructed as /pun/, see Pulleyblank 1999: 32, and letter C.

36 Shimunek (2017: 422–423) suggested to tentatively read the glyph (080) as <Awr>. We are not convinced by his arguments, but the question is not finally settled.
b-áng-hu-ar 丹业列丰 (311-280-151-123) 2x, In-x2200
b-áng-hu-u-ji 丹业列夹骑 (311-280-151-131-152) 2x, In-x2200

- b-hu-án 丹列出 (311-151-290) 'offsprings', Chin *zinü* 子女, *hai zi* 子 C466
E: to b-qo see there
S: *Gen* b-hu-án-en 丹列出内 (311-151-290-140) 1x, In-x2192
A-I b-hu-án-er 丹列出者 (311-151-290-341) 3x, In-x2192
Pl *Gen?* b-hu-án-er-i 丹列出者内 (311-151-290-341-339) 3x, In-x2192

• b-hu-án 丹元 (311-151-290) 'offsprings', Chin *zhi* 之

- b-iau g-i-i da-ai s-iang g-ün 骠骑大将军 (311-362 334-339-339 171-122 244-314 334-269) 'title', Chin *piaoqi da jiangjun* 骠骑大将军 C467
E: ← Chin, Hucker 1985: 380 (in *pinyin*): 'Cavalry General-in-chief, prestige title (*sanguan*) for military officers of rank lb.'
R: Chin 大 is transcribed as <da-ai>

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

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

• b-o 猴 (311-186) 'monkey', Chin *shen* 申 C466, see po-o, po C466

- b-oh ci-eu-un fu-ong ng-iú shï-ï 防州之防御使 (311-377 162-067-273 242-071 264-289 180-353) 'a title', Chin *Bozhou zhi fangyushi* 博州之防御使 C467
E: ← Chin, hybrid with Khitan genitive suffix -un translating Chinese *zhi*. The Defence Prefect (*fangyushi*) of the Prefecture Bo 博

- b-o-l₂-ha-ai 除(成为) (311-173-258-289) 'to become', Chin *chu* (cheng wei) 除成为 C466

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

37 This name is found in Zhen23, which was written in 1170 during the Jin dynasty. In the *Jinshi* 金史 (*juan* 25, *zhi* 6), it said that Bozhou belongs to the Shandong west road (Shandong xilu 山东西路).
W: Errors: \textit{b-al-ha-a-ar}** 丹支力仇 311-098-051-189-123) 'become', Chin \textit{chu} (cheng wei) 除 (成为) C465 is noted from Yu16 where there is no \textit{b-al-ha-a-ar} only \textit{a-al-ha-a-ar} (Yu16-67)
\textit{b-u-l₂-ha-ai}** 丹支力仇 311-131-149-051-122) 'become', Chin \textit{chu} (cheng wei) 除 (成为) C466 noted from Xu27, in the transcript correctly \textit{b-o-l₂-ha-ai} 丹支力仇.

- \textit{b-qo} 丹为 (311-168) 'child, son and daughter', Chin \textit{zi} 子 、\textit{nü} 女 C466\textsuperscript{39}, plural \textit{b-hu-án} 丹列 (311-151-290), see above.

E: to Mong \textit{baga} 'small', Dag deest
S: \textit{Gen b-qo-i} 丹ㄌ (311-168-339) 64x, In-x 2195
\textit{Pr-Abl b-qo-de-i} 丹ㄌ (311-168-205-339) 4x, In-x 2195
\textit{b-qo-iú} 丹ㄌ (311-168-289) 2x, In-x 2195 'son', Chin \textit{zi} 子 C466\textsuperscript{40}
\textit{b-qo-iú-i} 丹ㄌ (311-168-289-339) 1x, In-x 2195 'son' , Chin \textit{zi} 子

C: \textit{b-qo-i qa} 丹ㄌ (311-168-339 053) 'son khan, the infant khan, prince', Chin \textit{zihan} 子汗 C466, a genitive construction.

- \textit{b-ra-a-an} 丹ㄌ (311-084-189-011) 'right', 6x, Chin \textit{you} 右 C465, also \textit{b-ra-a-an} 丹ㄌ (311-084-335-011) 1x (Nu14-4)\textsuperscript{41}
E: Mong \textit{baragun} 'right-hand/side', Dag \textit{baren} 'right (direction)' (M119), \textit{baran}, \textit{barun} 'recht' (M-K113), Shimunek 2017: 328
S: \textit{b-U-ra-én} 丹ㄌ (311-023-084-361) 'west' , Chin \textit{xi} 西 C465
C: \textit{b-ra-a-an u-ru} 丹ㄌ (311-084-335-011 131-236) 'right division' , Chin \textit{you yuan} 右院 C465
W: \textit{b-U-ra-un} 丹ㄌ (311-023-084-144) 'west' , Chin \textit{xi} 西 C465 and \textit{b-U-ra-en} 丹ㄌ (311-023-084-140) \textit{xi} 西 'west' , C465, The two data, occurring in DiX 20 and DiX32 respectively are denoting 'right (side)' as part of a military title , and not west as given in C465.

- \textit{b-u} 丹为 (311-131) 'to be', Chin \textit{shi} 是 C466\textsuperscript{42}
E: to Mong \textit{bayi} - see - \textit{b-âu-}
S: \textit{b-u-úr} 丹ㄌ (311-131-097) 'to be, past tense, was', Chin \textit{shi} 是 C466
\textit{b-u-ur} 丹ㄌ (311-131-236) 1x, In-x2189
\textit{b-u-ji} 丹ㄌ (311-131-152) 1x, In-x2189

- \textit{b-üe-z-iú} 丹ㄌ (311-082-258-289) 'a title' , Chin \textit{biexu} 别胥 C465
E: \textit{Chin}

- \textit{b-u-u g-ün} 丹ㄌ (311-131-131 334-329) 'infantry' , Chin \textit{bujun} 步军 C466
E: \textit{Chin}

- \textit{b-u-u sh-iú ü-n} 丹ㄌ (311-131-131 028-289 226-251) 'office of the administrator', Chin \textit{busuyuan} 部署院 C466
E: \textit{Chin}\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{39} Shimunek 2017: 327: <b.aq>.
\textsuperscript{40} The grammatical function of <b-qo-iú> occurring twice (Zhen31-23 (not 33-23)) and Hu26-12 is not clear to us.
\textsuperscript{41} Shimunek (2017: 328) reconstructed ‘baran < b.ar.a.an> and he read the glyph (084) on p. 428 as <ar>. This is possible, but has to be tested on the Corpus. If the reading <ar> will turn out to be the correct reading, words and names which begin with (048) have to be treated under the initial letter A and not R.
\textsuperscript{42} Shimunek 2017: 330: <b.uw>.
\textsuperscript{43} See Hucker 1985: 393 (in pinyin): 'bùshŭ 部署 (1) From Han on, may be encountered as a term meaning “to divide up and assign matters (to the appropriate offices).” (2) Also from Han on, may be encountered as a term
• **bai-d-ha-** 亀谷 (061-254-051) ‘to make’

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

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

S: bai-d-ha-a-ar 亀谷 (061-254-051-189-123) 5x, In·x1723, ‘made’, Chin *li* 立 C380
bai-d-ha-ai 亀谷 (061-254-051-122) ‘funeral’, Chin *bin* 殡 C380 (which was made, perfected?)

• **bai-en1** 亀参 (061-140) ‘morning’, Chin *zhao* 朝

E? ?

Pl: bai-en-s 亀參 (061-140-244) 1x, In·x1722
Gen bai-en-en 亀參 (061-140-140) 3x, In·x1722

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

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

s-unii bai-en-en po-or 亀參 (244-059 061-140-140 279-076) ‘through night and morning time’ (DiX50-3), on s-unii see under S

• **bai-en2** 亀參 (061-140) ‘dynasty’

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

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

• **bi-ing m-a du g-ia-ém** 付用 為門 九曲 亀 (225-303 133-189 237 334-335-270) ‘title’, Chin *bingma dujian* 兵马都监 C422

E: ← Chin

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

44 See Hucker 1985: 384 (in pinyin): ‘SONG: Military Director-in-chief, a duty assignment, or a nominally concurrent (*jian*) appointment, for officials of units of territorial administration from District Magistrates (*xianling*, *zhixian*) up to Circuit Supervisors (*jiansi*) giving them authority over military forces in their jurisdictions for
• bir 布 (288) ‘?’ see bun

• bod 身 (309) ‘body, oneself’, Chin shen 身 C464
E: Mong boda ‘1. body, substance, 2. also bodu ‘large cattle (unit of livestock) [to boda- ‘count’],
Dag bod e think, figure out’ (M124), bodo ‘erwegen, bedenken’ (M-K115)]’
D-L bod-de 身 (309-205) 11x, In-x 2181
P/? bod-s 身 (309-244) 1x, In-x 2181
P/? bod-d 身 (309-254) 2x, In-x 2181
A-I bod-er 身 (309-341) ‘body, oneself, instrumental case’, 10x, In-x2180 Chin shen yi 身以 C464
Gen bod-én 身 (309-361) ‘body, oneself, genitive’, 14x, In-x2183, Chin shen 身 C465
Pr-AbI bod-de-i 身 (309-205-339) 2x, In-x 2181 ‘body, oneself, ablative’, Chin shen cong 身从 C464
Gen? bod-i 身 (309-339) 2x, In-x 2183

• bod-l- the meaning is not yet clear, the base is surely a verb
bod-l-ge, l-ñ 身 (309-261-112-261-222) 1x, In-x 2181
bod-l-ge, er 身 (309-261-112-341) 1x, In-x 2182
bod-l-lı 身 (309-261-080) 1x, In-x 2181
bod-l-ge, y 身 (309-261-112-200) 1x, In-x 2181
bod-l-uji 身 (309-261-131-152) 1x, In-x 2181
bod-l-u-ta 身 (309-261-131-229) 1x, In-x 2181
bod-l-un 身 (309-261-144) ‘body, oneself’, 5x, In-x2181 Chin shen 身 C464
bod-l-bun 身 (309-261-288) 7x, In-x2182
bod-l-bu-n 身 (309-261-311-144) 6x, In-x 2182
bod-l-b-ñ 身 (309-261-311-222) 73x, In-x 2182 ‘imperial lineage’, Chin huangtong 皇统, see also t-p bod-l-b-ñ 身 (247-295 309-261-311-222)

• bot 布 (176) reading uncertain, earlier <bú> (Kane 2009, Wu and Janhunen 2010). Frequent in bot-d 身 na-ha-án-er 身 (the other, the Maternal Uncles), and as the second part of 公, 公-bot the nabo, the movable camp, travelling palace’. Another transcription of this latter word is: 公-生 f n-ad-bot 身 (occurs twice), which may be read as <n-ad-bu-ad>, and in this case perhaps bud = 身 (176) (see also Kane 2009: 56).
E: see Mong busu ‘other (precedes the qualified word)’, busud ‘others (plural of busu)’, Dag bisin ‘other, other person’ (also a negative particle) (M124), bisi, bisin ‘nicht; anderer’ (M-L 114) <*buni, see Nugteren 2011: 292.
R: Mong busi may go back to the demonstrative pronoun bo/bu which was preserved in Old Turkic, -s- may be a petrified plural in Mongolic, which is followed by a second plural in case of busud.
S: bot-ó-ñ 剌丹伏 (176-090-222) 3x, In-x 1911
bot-u-ñ 剌泵伏 (176-131-222) 2x, In-x 1911
bot-en 剌あ (176-140) 1x, In-x 1911
bot-un 剌亜 (176-144) 1x, In-x 1911
bot-d 剌差 (176-254) 1x, In-x 1911, 26x, In 1912
bot-i 剌曳 (176-339) 13x, In-x 1912

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REFERENCES


Muromskij and Kałużyński, see Kałużyński.


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

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46 Chinese Simplified.
47 Gai 盖 ‘canopy’.
48 The earliest known and dated inscription.
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49 é = 額 'front piece'.
50 The last known dated inscription.
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