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By
Daniel Kane



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PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thanks and acknowledgments

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Transcription conventions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

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

1.1 Background

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

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

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

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

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

1.2 Kitan words in Chinese works

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

1.3 Creation of the Kitan scripts

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

1.4 Use of the Kitan script under the Jin

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

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

1.5 The Kitan inscriptions

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

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

1.6 Name of the Liao State

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

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

1.7 The Yelü clan and the Xiao clan

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

1.8 Names of Liao emperors

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

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

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

1.9 Reign titles of Liao emperors

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

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

1.10 Reign titles of Jin emperors

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

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

1.11 The ten stems and twelve branches

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

1.12 The five colours or the five elements

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

1.13 Cyclical stems; the five elements; the five colours

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

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

1.14 The twelve animals

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

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

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

1.15 Sources

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(21) Hanshi 韓氏. *Xiao Temei - Guoge fuma di'er furen Han shi muzhiming.* 蕭特每-闊哥駙馬第二夫人韓氏墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Mme. Han, second wife of the imperial son-in-law Xiao Temei-Kuoge.* 1078. Date and place of excavation not known. 35 lines, 814 words. Unpublished.

(22) Tuguci 圖古辭. *Xiao Tuguci muzhiming.* 蕭圖古辭墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Xiao Tuguci.* Dated 1068. Discovered 2000, Fuxin, Liaoning. 26 lines, 739 words.

(23) Xingzong 興宗. *Xingzong huangdi aice.* 興宗皇帝哀冊. *Eulogy for Emperor Xingzong.* Dated 1055. Only a handwritten copy is available. 36 lines, 861 words. The original stele is still in the Yongxing tomb.

(24) Xu 許. *Xuwang muzhi.* 許王墓誌. *Epitaph of Prince Xu.* Dated 1109. Discovered 1975 in Fuxin, Liaoning. Published 1977. 64 lines, 2157 words. 5 lines of Chinese text.

(25) Xuanyi 宣懿. *Xuanyi huanghou aice.* 宣懿皇后哀冊. *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi*. Dated 1101. Excavated 1930 from the Yongfu tomb. 30 lines, 620 words.

(26) Yelü Langjun 耶律郎君. *Yelü Langjun canshi.* 耶律郎君殘石. *Damaged epitaph of Prince Yelü.* Dated 1085-1087. Discovered 1995. The upper right corner with the owner's name has been broken. 26 lines.

(27) Yongning 永寧. *Yelü Yongning langjun muzhiming* 耶律永寧郎君墓誌銘殘石. *Epitaph of Prince Yelü Yongning.* Dated 1088. Discovered 1995. 43 lines, 1041 words.

(28) Yongqing 永清. *Yongqing gongzhu muzhi.* 永清公主墓誌. *Epitaph of Princess Yongqing.* Also known as 蕭大山和永清公主墓誌 *Xiao Dashan he Yongning gongzhu muzhi*. *Epitaph of Xiao Dashan and Princess Yongqing.* Discovered 2003. 32 lines, 1373 words.

(29) Zezhou 澤州. *Zezhou cishi muzhi.* 澤州刺史墓誌. *Epitaph of the Prefect of Zezhou.* Also known as 涿州刺史墓誌 *Zhuozhou cishi muzhi*. Dated 1108. Discovered 1994.

(30) Zhixian 智先. *Yelü Zhixian muzhiming.* 耶律智先墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü Zhixian*. Dated 1094. 27 lines, 1081 graphs.

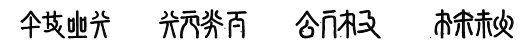
(31) Zhonggong 仲公. *Xiao Zhonggong muzhi.* 蕭仲公墓志. *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong.* Dated 1150. Discovered 1942, published 1973. 50 lines, 2492 words.

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

1.16 Early Chinese research

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

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



Here we have sixteen graphs set in a square in groups of four. These corresponded to the "running script" forms **仝芠咄 关关 穴劵 丙公 几礽叉 朮余 𠂤灾**. In the main text, these elements were linked together. This suggested that Kitan words, written *en bloc*, were made up of discrete graphs. This led to the insight that the script was phonetic, or at least partially phonetic.



1.17 Arrangement of the small graphs to form words

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



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

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

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

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

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

Tianfu, Huangtong and Tianjuan. He concluded that 𘮩𘮆𘰾 and 𘰾𘮆𘰾 are variants; both mean the reign title Tianhui; 𘮩𘰾𘮆𘰾 and 𘰾𘰾𘮆𘰾 are the same; both mean the reign title Tianjuan. He thought that perhaps 𘮩 was a cursive form of 𘰾.

1.18 Japanese research

Japanese scholars such as Shiratori Kurakichi and Haneda Toru showed an interest in Kitan quite early, but the first to deal with the Kitan script as such were Yamaji Hiroaki, Murayama Shichirō, Osada Natsuki and Otagi Matsuo. Yamaji 1956 argued that the Kitan characters, large and small, as well as the Jurchen script, could all be derived from Chinese characters through a series of stages. He distinguished ten ways of deriving characters: 𘮈 'year' is derived from Chinese 年 'year'; 𘮇 'heaven, sky' is from Chinese 天 'heaven, sky'. These are possibly correct. But he extended the principle to derive 𘮉 from Chinese 安 'peace', which is not correct. Yamaji suggested readings for about 70 Kitan graphs, of which about 10 are correct. Murayama Shichirō worked on the basis that the Kitan script was derived from the Old Turkic runiform script. 𘮁, for example, looks like the Old Turkic letter 𐰇, which is Turkic ‹d[1]›. On the basis of such perceived similarities, 𘮂𘮃𘮁 ‹mu.u.ji› 'sacred, holy, pertaining to the emperor 聖' was read **bogda*, cf. Mo. *bogda* 'sacred'. Murayama assumed the underlying language was Mongol, and that the script was derived from Turkic runiform.

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

Otagi 1956 also presumed that the language underlying the Kitan script was some sort of Mongol. From an analysis of twelve dates in Kitan and Chinese, he identified the basic numerals, the stems and branches, some official titles and some other words. He identified the numerals 𘮏 'one' 𘮐 'two' 𘮑 'three' 𘮒 'four' 𘮓 'five' 𘮔 'six' 𘮕 'seven' 𘮖 'eight' 𘮗 (=𘮘) 'nine' 𘮙 'ten' and 𘮚 'twenty', but his suggested readings were based on Mongol

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

1.19 Russian and other research

Rudov 1963 was also a study of the Kitan words in the *Liaoshi*. He found about 30, from more than 200, words similar to Mongol. He thought the Kitan script was a "special syllabic script", in which sometimes a graph could sometimes represent a syllable, sometimes a whole word. He thought that the first words of the Langjun inscription 𘮩 𘰾 𘱇𘲦𘰚 𘲦𘳿𘲦 ‹GREAT GOLD g.úr:en qa.ha:an› 'of the khan of the Great Jin State' corresponded to 大金皇弟 *Da Jin huang di* 'younger brother of the emperor of the Great Jin dynasty'. So he concluded 𘱇𘲦𘰚 ‹g.úr:en› 'of the state' meant 'emperor', and 𘲦𘳿𘲦 ‹qa.ha:an› 'of the khan' meant 'younger brother'. Proceeding from this, he suggested readings for a dozen or so graphs, with little success. Šavkunov 1963 compared several texts in Kitan with the Jurchen inscription at Nurgan, and concluded that the Langjun inscription was possibly in Jurchen, written in the Kitan script. Taskin 1963 also presumed that Kitan is a branch of Mongolic, and that the Kitan script is syllabic. He noticed that 𘮩 𘴈𘲤𘲈 𘱴𘰇 𘲈𘲈𘲦 ‹GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.rå qid.ún.i› on the canopy of the Daozong inscription, and 𘴈𘲤𘲈 𘲈平 ‹dau.úr.ún u.ul› 'mid winter' in the Langjun inscription both contain the word 𘴈𘲤𘲈 ‹dau.úr.ún›. He translated 𘮩 𘴈𘲤𘲈 𘱴𘰇 𘲈 [=𘲈]𘲈𘲦 'Great Central Liao Kitan [State]' as 'The Great Kitan State Son of Heaven'.

Hambis 1963 is a report on the research findings of Luo Fucheng, with some comments on possible cognates. Starikov and Nadelyaev 1964 was a statistical analysis of the graphs. The Kitan texts were coded, each graph being given a number, and the corpus transcribed in an attempt to perceive underlying morphological patterns. So line 4 of the *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi* 𘮩 𘰾𘳿刃 𘴈𘲤𘲈 平 平𘰚 𘰾𘵘𘳿 𘰾𘶩𘲦 𘲈饭𘰚 𘲈 𘳿 𘳿 山 𘲈𘰚 𘱇𘵘𘶩 包 𘲈 𘲈 𘰾𘰚𘰚 is transcribed 222 090-142-156 256-310 080 080-119 074-066-144 074-066-144 074-166-223 237-191-177 350 248 228 087 003-177 242-066-084 240 184 204 090-178-177. Starikov 1982, Arapov 1982 and Probst et al. 1986 are along the same lines.

1.20 The Kitan Small Script Research Group

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

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

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

Determination of these graphs led to others. 𘰽𘰺 𘰖𘰽 ‹l.iŋ g.uŋ›, in Xu 7 and Xu 8, is a common title: 令公 *linggong* 'lord'. 𘰖𘰱 𘰲𘰽 ‹g.uŋ dz.iú› is Chinese 公主 *gongzhu* 'princess'. A place name in the Langjun inscription, 唐乾陵 *Tang Qianling* 'the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty' could then identified in the Kitan version. 𘰁 ‹aŋ›, 𘰽 ‹l› and 𘰺 ‹iŋ› were known, so Tang Qianling was written 𘰋𘰁𘰀 𘰨𘰆 𘰽𘰺 ‹ta.aŋ ki.ên l.iŋ›. 𘰀 ‹en› is a genitive ending.

𘥈𘤪 𘠽𘤟 ‹g.iŋ l.iau› must be a transcription of 經略 *jinglüe*. Wang Jingru had shown that **𘟙𘤪 𘍞𘤟** ‹x.iŋ s.úŋ› was the Kitan transcription of the name of the emperor Xingzong, and **𘁢𘓜 𘍞𘤟** ‹dau.u s.úŋ› the emperor Daozong. So **𘥈𘤪 𘍞𘤟 𘤽 𘤾** ‹g.iŋ s.úŋ hoŋ di› must have been a transcription of *Jingzong huangdi* ‘the emperor Jingzong’.

On the right hand side of Xu there are five lines of Chinese, which contain the word 留守 *liushou* ‘regent, viceroy’. In the Kitan text we find **𘠽丙 𘦂𘣼** ‹l.iu ś.eu›, giving **丙** ‹iu› and **𘣼** ‹eu›. Xu also contains an official title: 開府儀同三司 *kaifu yitong sansi* ‘commander unequalled in honour’. This corresponds to **𘇼𘠆 𘍠 𘟤𘟙 𘃡𘁢 𘍞𘀉乃 𘀛** ‹k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.úŋ s.a.am ss› in the Kitan inscription. **𘟤 𘟙** ‹ŋ.i› is the transcription 儀 *yi*, from which we may presume an initial [ŋ] in Liao Chinese. **𘍞𘀉乃** ‹s.a.am› is a transcription of 三 *san*, indicating a final *-m* in Liao Chinese. We also find the term 尚父 混 corresponding to Kitan **𘦂𘁌 𘍠 𘥈𘟤** ‹ś.aŋ pu hu.un›. So we can deduce that **𘥈𘟤 𘃡𘁢 𘁢亦 𘣽** ‹hu.un tu.uŋ g.ün oŋ› transcribes 混同郡王 *hun tong jun wang*.

Similarly, **𘃡𘁢 𘀍𘁢 𘦂𘟪 𘟤𘁣 𘁢 𘁢𘤽 𘥈𘁌 𘀛** ‹tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en xa p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh› occurs in Xu 13. **𘃡𘁢 𘀍𘁢 𘦂𘟪** ‹tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú› is a transcription of 同中書 *tongzhongshu*. The chapter on official titles in the *Liaoshi* lists the title 同中書門下平章事 *tongzhongshu menxia pingzhangshi*, which must correspond to this.

𘦂𘟪 𘟤𘟙 𘠆 𘀛 ‹ś.iú m.i pu sh› in Xu 12 must be a transcription of 樞密副使 *shumi fushi* ‘deputy military affairs commissioner’. Ling 3 **𘁢𘍠 𘀛** ‹tai sh› must be a transcription of 太師 *taishi* ‘grand preceptor’. In Dao 2, **𘟙𘤽 𘍞𘤪 𘤽𘤟 𘠽𘁢 𘇼𘤟 𘠆** ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ cau.uŋ l.uh da.ai pu› is a transcription of 銀青崇祿大夫 *yinqing chonglu dafu* ‘grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon’. **𘦂𘟙 𘍞𘁢 𘍞𘟤 𘍞𘤽** ‹g.ui z.ï z.i s.iu› must be 國子祭酒 *guozi jijiu* ‘chancellor of the directorate of education’.

𘍞 is used to transcribe [s] in **𘍞𘀉乃** ‹s.a.am› 三 **sam* ‘three’, [ts] in **𘍞𘤟** ‹z.úŋ› 宗 **zung* ‘ancestor’ and [tsh] in **𘍞𘤪** ‹s.iŋ› 青**cing* ‘blue’, suggesting that Kitan phonology did not distinguish [s], [ts] and [tsh].

In Gu 2, 大 in 崇祿大夫 *chonglu daifu* is written **𘁌𘇼** rather than **𘁢𘇼** ‹da.ai›, suggesting that **𘁌** and **𘁢** ‹da› are probably allographs. In the same inscription 金紫 is transcribed **𘁢𘁣 𘍞𘁢** ‹gi.m z.ï›, showing 金 ‘gold’ had a final *m* in Liao Chinese.

The Kitan transcription of the Jin title 銀青光祿大夫 *yinqing guanglu daifu* appears in Zhong 21: **𘟙𘤽 𘍞𘤪 𘁢𘣽 𘁣 𘁢𘇼𘟤 𘍠** ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ g.oŋ lu da.ai.i pu›. **𘣽** is ‹oŋ› rather than **uaŋ* because it is followed by the genitive suffix **𘀝** ‹on›, not **𘁌** ‹an›. **𘁣** ‹lu› is the equivalent of the cyclical term 辰 *chen*, which corresponds to the zodiac animal ‘dragon’, MMo. *luu*. Both the

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

𘍞𘐪 𘐪𘐾 𘐇𘐴𘐼 𘐾𘐽 𘐇𘐼 ‹ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u b.uh ei.ie› in Gu 2 must be a transcription of 尚書右僕射 *shangshu you puye* ‘left vice director of the department of state affairs’. The word 僕 was *buk* in Middle Chinese, the Mandarin initial *p* is irregular. In Langjun 尚 *shang* is transcribed **𘐾𘐪** ‹c.aŋ›, in Xu it is written **𘐪𘐪** ‹ś.aŋ› and in Gu it is written **𘍞𘐪** ‹ca.aŋ›.

In Zhong 27, **𘐽𘐾 𘐾𘐯 𘐸𘐺 𘐽𘐪** ‹l.i b.û sh.ï l.aŋ› should be a transcription of 禮部侍郎 *libu shilang* ‘vice director of the ministry of rites’. Xu 11 **𘐼𘐶 𘐇𘐪 𘐇𘐺 𘐼𘐽 𘐸𘐸** ‹z.iŋ g.aŋ g.ün z.ie du sh› is a transcription of 靜江軍節度使 *Jingjiangjun jiedushi* ‘military commissioner of the Jingjiang army’. Zhong 20 **𘐹𘐼𘐴 𘐼𘐼𘐴 𘐽 𘐹𘐹 𘐇𘐼𘐹** ‹d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm› transcribes 殿前都點檢 *dianqian du dianjian* ‘chief inspector of the palace command’. In Langjun 2, **𘐇𘐸𘐷 𘐼𘐼𘐴** ‹g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên› transcribes 宮殿 *gongdian* ‘palace’. In Dao 6, **𘐼𘐼𘐴 𘐸𘐸𘐾 𘐼𘐼𘐴** ‹s.ie.ên ei.iu.u t.ie.ên› transcribes 仙游殿 *Xianyoudian* ‘Hall of the Wandering Immortals’. In many words, **𘐹** ‹d› and **𘐼** ‹t› appear to be interchangeable. The difference between **𘐹** ‹d› and **𘐼** ‹t› is not known. Wang Jingru thought they might be allographs, but this seems unlikely.

The “temple names” of emperors contain either 祖 *zu* or 宗 *zong*. Gu 4 **𘐹𘐺 𘐶𘐼 𘐇𘐿 𘐿𘐽公 𘐽 𘐺** ‹tai z.ú śi.ŋ ŋ.y.n hoŋ di› is a transcription of *tai zu sheng yuan huang di* 太祖聖元皇帝, the temple name of Abaoji. In Gu 4, **𘐾𘐾 𘐶𘐼 𘐽 𘐺** ‹i.i z.ú hoŋ di› is a transcription of 懿祖皇帝 Yizu huangdi, the temple name of Abaoji’s great grandfather. In Gu 5, **𘐹𘐷 𘐶𘐼 𘐽 𘐺** ‹d.ei z.ú hoŋ di› transcribes 德祖皇帝 Dezu huangdi, the temple name of Abaoji’s father.

𘐇 ‹pu› transcribes *fu* in 父, 府, 副, 夫 and 傅. It seems likely that **𘐇** was meant to write Kitan [pu] but also used to write Chinese [fu]. The modified **𘐈** was presumably devised for Chinese, but the distinction became blurred, especially if the Kitans pronounced Chinese [fu] as [pu]. Zhong 8 **𘐇 𘐪𘐿 𘐇𘐪 𘐶𘐻 𘐪𘐺** ‹pu g.ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› must be a transcription of 輔國上將軍 *fuguo shang jiang jun* ‘bulwark generalissimo of the state’. In Langjun 1, **𘐽𘐼 𘐇𘐸𘐲 𘐽𘐸** ‹l.iáŋ ś.a.an› transcribes 梁山 Liangshan. Xu 12 **𘐪𘐾 𘐿𘐼 𘐽𘐽 𘐇𘐪 𘐶𘐼 𘐪𘐺** ‹gi.m ŋ.u ui ś.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün› is 金吾衛上將軍 *jinwuwei shang jiangjun* ‘generalissimo of the imperial insignia guard’. Zhonggong 21 **𘐽𘐸𘐲 𘐽𘐼 𘐪𘐺 𘐽** ‹l.a.an l.iŋ g.ün oŋ› transcribes 蘭陵郡王 *Lanlingjun wang* ‘prince of Lanling prefecture’. In Xu 9, Lanlingjun is written **𘐽𘐸𘐲 𘐽𘐼 𘐪𘐺 𘐽** ‹l.a.an l.iŋ g.ün›, confirming **𘐲** is an allograph of **𘐿** ‹an›.

Xu 6 **𘐸𘐲 𘐪𘐽 𘐪𘐺** ‹a.an g.ui g.ün› is 安國軍 *anguojun* ‘pacification army’. Zhong 19 **𘐶𘐻 𘐪𘐾𘐾 𘐿𘐼 𘐪𘐺** ‹b.iau g.i.i da.ai s.iaŋ g.ün› is 驃騎大將軍 *biaoji da jiangjun* ‘cavalry general’. Zhonggong 20 **𘐼𘐾 𘐪𘐿 𘐽𘐿**

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

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

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

Xu 12 𘰾𘰀 𘰁𘰽 𘰀𘰽 ‹ś.iú m.i ü.n› is a transcription of 樞蜜院 *shumiyuan* ‘bureau of military affairs’. Xu 49 𘰉𘰀 𘰀𘰓 𘰃𘰾𘰀𘰋 𘰽 𘰽𘰁 𘰾𘰀 ‹ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ:un pu b.u ś.iú› transcribes 長寧宮副部署 *Changninggong fu bushu* ‘deputy administrator of the Changning palace’. 𘰀𘰋𘰋 𘰾𘰋 𘰽𘰋 ‹ŋ.y.iên ś.oi pu› in Zhong 18 is 元帥府 *yuan shuai fu* ‘headquarters of a marshal’. Dao 2 𘰋𘰁 𘰃𘰏 𘰀𘰽 ‹w.u g.î úi.i› is a transcription of 武騎尉 *wujiwei* ‘commandant of military cavalry’. 騎 is transcribed 𘰃𘰽𘰽 ‹g.i.i› above but 𘰃𘰏 ‹g.î› here, showing 𘰏 ‹î› = 𘰽𘰽 ‹i.i›.

1.21 Research on Kitan words in Chinese sources

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

1.22 Research since *Research*

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

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

𘍽𘆏 𘍽𘆏 𘟙𘠏 𘊴𘠸	ů.bo ů.bo neu.e as.ar
𘁢𘠏𘇒 𘁢𘠏𘇒 𘣱 𘇼	g.e.cẻn g.e.cẻn ỏ ho
𘇼𘠸 𘖵𘓐𘊴 𘁢𘅍 𘍞𘋒𘃡	ho.ci m.in.is g.u tau.lí.a
𘆏 𘍽 𘍞 𘊛 𘆏𘇼	giů doro.i nigu hu.ho

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

On the canopy of the *Epitaph of the Prince of Xu*, we read: 𘁢𘇼𘊴 𘅍子𘆏 𘟙 𘓐𘅍 𘍞𘇼卡 𘀛为出 ‹da.ha.ai o.ju.hu DAY 292.o ś.eu.kå on.a.án› corresponding to 掩閉日甘露絳 *yanbi ri gan lu jiang* ‘on the day of the covering, sweet dew descended’. From which we can deduce 𘁢𘇼𘊴 𘅍子𘆏 ‹da.ha.ar o.ju.hu› means ‘to cover [the coffin]’, 𘓐𘅍 𘍞𘇼卡 ‹292.o ś.eu.kå› means ‘sweet dew’ and 𘀛为出 ‹on.a.án› is a past tense: ‘descended, came down, fell’.

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

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

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

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

'meritorious official designated by six characters 六字功臣 *liu zi gongchen*'. In Ling 6 we have 九尕 本雨 丕 兆九公 ‹g.uŋ c.in EIGHT us.gi:d› 'meritorious official designated by eight characters 八字功臣 *ba zi gongchen*'. The reading ‹us› for 兆 is based on a possible connection with Mo. *üsüg* 'writing'.

In Ren 8 we read 今市 伞火 九交村 巫 戈雨 伞当 ‹t.ai s.uŋ g.úr en qa ź.in s.úŋ› 'Renzong, Khan of the Great Song State'. 市 must be an allograph of 半 ‹ai›. Renzong was the Song emperor at the time Xingzong was emperor of the Liao. Here we have the word 巫 ‹qa› 'khan' as distinct from 巫並 ‹qa.ha› 'khaghan'. Zhong 21 巫采 九火 九太 ‹qa.an g.ui g.uŋ› is a transcription of 韓國公 *Hanguo gong* 'lord of the state of Han', suggesting that 巫 ‹qa› was a fricative.

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

Zhong 6 contains the phrase 采叉关 九交村 犰九矢 ‹qid.ún:i g.úr:en us.gi:de›. 九交村 ‹g.úr:en› is 'country, state' (genitive) and 犰九矢 ‹us.gi:de› means 'writing, script' (locative). So 九交村 犰九矢 ‹g.úr:en us.gi:de› must mean 'in the national script'. The first word must be the name of a state. So 采叉关 ‹qid.ún.i› must be the Kitan word for Kitan.

Zhong 6 can be read as: 九火 杰 采叉关 又 伞分卄及内 灰 求 又化 半 乇 丈 包尺矢 佃公 ‹g.ui oŋ qid.ún:i GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón SIX WHITE mo.ri ai, FIVE MONTH THREE DAY:de BORN:er› 'the prince was born on the third day of the fifth month of the white horse year, the sixth year of the Kitan Da'an reign period'. 矢 ‹de› is a locative suffix, 公 ‹er› a past tense suffix. Xiao Zhonggong was a Liao noble taken prisoner by the Jin. In the inscription, the early events of his life are referred to in terms of how old he was at that particular time. It was not until the sixth year of the Tianfu 天輔 reign period of the Jin dynasty, when he was taken prisoner, that the years are referred to according to the Jin system. The Jin always referred to the Liao as Kitans, never as Liao.

In Renyi 4, 伏关 出本舟伏 主 丕 介 丙쿡及火关 公东刈村 㔾卡关 伏及羽 㐅关同 伞当 关 伞分牛並本为 主 王村 尓叉公 ‹mu.i án.ar.bo.ń hoŋ tai heu ei.ra.u.ud.i n.ad.bú:en 201.kả.i mu.u.ji x.i.iŋ s.úŋ HEAVEN ú.dû.l.ha.ar.a hoŋ di:en qad.ún:n›. 主 丕 介 ‹hoŋ tai heu› is 皇太后 *huang tai hou* 'empress'. 丙쿡及火 ‹ei.ra.u.ud› is 'Yelü'. 㐅关同 伞当 ‹x.i.iŋ s.úŋ› is Xingzong. 关 伞分牛並本(为) ‹HEAVEN ú.dû.l.ha.ar.(a)› is the reign title Chongxi. 主 王 means 'emperor'. According to the *Liaoshi*, the Kitans followed the Turks in

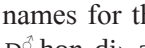
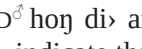
calling the empress *kedun*, so Liu Fengzhu suggested 𘲇𘲉 ‹qad.ún› is *qatun*, ‘wife of the khan’. 𘲈 ‹n› is perhaps a genitive ending.

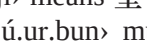
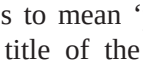
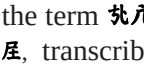
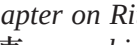
Gu 1 reads: 𘲋𘲌 𘲍𘲎𘲏𘲐 𘲑𘲒𘲓 𘲔𘲕𘲖𘲗 𘲘𘲙𘲚 𘲛𘲜𘲝 𘲞𘲟𘲠 𘲡𘲢𘲣 𘲤𘲥𘲦 ‹m.o ei.ra.u.ud.i ci.lú.dû t.il.uh.iń z.iaŋ g.ün ś.ï t.ad.i áu.ui:en ne.ra:de RECORD.g:én TEXT.ú c.eu û.ún ci.ge.ho›. 𘲋𘲌 ‹m.o› is ‘great’. 𘲍𘲎𘲏𘲐 ‹ei.ra.u.ud:i› is Yelü with a suffix, probably genitive. 𘲡𘲢𘲣 𘲤𘲥𘲦 𘲍𘲎𘲏𘲐 ‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú› means ‘epitaph, inscription on a tombstone’.𘲔𘲕𘲖𘲗 𘲞𘲟𘲠 ‹z.iaŋ g.ün› is 將軍 *jiangjun* ‘general’. 𘲘𘲙𘲚 ‹t.il.uh.iń› should be the name of the general, perhaps *Dilgun. His clan name may have been Churud 𘲛𘲜𘲝 ‹ci.lú.dû›. In Gu 4 we have 𘲍𘲎𘲏𘲐 𘲔𘲕𘲖𘲗𘲘 𘲧 𘲨 ‹ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.an tai oŋ›. 𘲍𘲎𘲏𘲐 ‹ei.ra.u.ud› means Yelü. 𘲔𘲕𘲖𘲗𘲘 ‹s.ar.ha.an› must correspond to the personal name Salan found in Chinese texts. 𘲧 𘲨𘲩 ‹tai oŋ:on› is the genitive form of 大王 ‘great king’. Note the genitive ending 𘲩 ‹on›, indicating the vowel in 王 was [o].

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

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

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

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

The Confucian virtue ‘humaneness 仁’ appears in the name  ‹hur.ú.ur.bun mu.u.ji›, corresponding to Chinese 仁聖 Rensheng.  ‹mu.u.ji› means 聖 *sheng* ‘holy, sacred, pertaining to the emperor’, so  ‹hur.ú.ur.bun› must be 仁 *ren*. The connection is not clear:  ‹hur.ú› seems to mean ‘person in control, person in charge of’. The name and official title of the composer of the text, Yelü Gu, is given in the Daozong inscription. Most of his official titles are transcriptions from Chinese, but the term  ‹us.gi hur.ú:un ui KNOW.i› is Kitan. The graph  , transcribed here ‹KNOW›, corresponds to Chinese 知 *zhi*, which is used in official titles in the sense of ‘to administer, to be in charge of’. In the *Chapter on Rituals* in the *Liaoshi*, we learn that Yelü Gu was the 總知翰林院事 *zongzhi Hanlinyuan shi* ‘in overall charge of the Hanlin academy’. So Shen Hui concluded that  must mean ‘in charge of the Hanlin academy’. So  ‹hur.ú› should mean ‘to be in charge of’. The officials in charge of the 翰林 *hanlin* ‘forest of pens’ [written matters] were the Hanlin academicians. The *Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü* (Gu) was dated the fifth year of the Tianqing period of the emperor 天祚 Tianzuo (1115). There are four empty spaces in line 10, followed by  ‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau›. The last two graphs are ‘nine’ and ‘five’. 九五 *jiu wu* ‘nine five’ is from the *Book of Changes* and refers to the accession to the imperial throne. The first word  ‹ún.n› is ‘now, present’.  ‹mu.u.ji:en› is the genitive of 聖 *sheng* ‘holy, sacred, pertaining to the emperor’. So  ‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau› means ‘when the present emperor ascended the throne’. We find a similar expression in Renyi 5:  ‹mu.u.ji HEAVEN as.ar hoŋ di› ‘the present sacred one [emperor], the heavenly peace [Qingning] emperor’. Qingning was a reign period of Daozong, who was emperor when the Renyi epitaph was composed.

In Gu 17 we read:  ‹FOUR ń.iau.ń.er THREE♂ k.iú ONE m.ô.qú›. We would expect this to mean ‘four children, three male,

one female' (Wang Hongli 1998). The second word is 𐰴𐰃𐰴𐰍 ‹ń.iau.ń.er›, cf. Da. *noon* 'boy, son'. The word after 𐰉 ‹THREE♂› is 𐰇𐰺 ‹k.iú›, cf. Da. *keuke ~keku* 'child' (Liu Fengzhu 1987:153-161).

Toyoda Gorō suggested that the common word 𐰋𐰉 might mean 'night', which he compared to MMo. *süni*, Mo. *söni* (Liu Fengzhu 1995). If so, Zhong 9 𐰋𐰉𐰚 𐰢𐰆 ‹s.uni:en po:do› would mean 'at night time'. In Xu 10 and Renxian 41, 𐰋𐰉 𐰴𐰍 ‹s.uni DAY.i› is 'night and day'. In Renxian we find 𐰃 𐰋𐰉 ‹qi s.uni› 'that night' and 𐰢 𐰋𐰉𐰴 ‹ONE s.uni:de› 'on one night'. So 𐰉 'ox' and its corresponding cyclical branch 丑 *chou* should be read ‹uni›, cf. Mo. *üniye* 'cow' (Liu Fengzhu 1995). Toyoda 1998b also suggested 𐰾 𐰣 𐰀𐰍 𐰇𐰴𐰖 ‹SIXTY FOUR mu.u.ji a.bu.ń› means 'the sixty four sacred hexagrams 六十四聖卦'.

In Xing 31, we read 𐰓 𐰢 𐰇𐰃𐰺 𐰴𐰍𐰖 𐰀𐰖𐰓 𐰀𐰖 𐰃𐰍 𐰾𐰃 𐰀𐰖𐰴 𐰇𐰃𐰍𐰴 𐰇 𐰾𐰃 ‹EIGHTY ONE ci.ra.l n.o, bo.qo qa eu.úr zỏ.qó b.as ên.is.ha.ai m.o›. In several inscriptions, 𐰾𐰃 ‹m.o› 'big, great [older]', is contrasted with 𐰀𐰴 ‹zỏ.qó›, which in this context must mean 'younger'. The expression 𐰇𐰃𐰍 𐰀𐰴 ‹eu.úr zỏ.qó› can also be found in Zhong 34: 𐰇𐰃𐰍 𐰀𐰴𐰚 ‹eu.úr zỏ.qó:do› 'when he was young' with the locative suffix 𐰚 ‹do›. If 𐰀𐰴 ‹zỏ.qó› means 'young', we can understand the common expression 𐰃𐰇𐰺𐰴𐰍 𐰀𐰴 𐰀 𐰇 ‹na.ha.án.er zỏ.qó TENT:en›. In Xu 3, there are a few spaces before 𐰀𐰍𐰃𐰇 𐰃𐰇𐰺𐰴𐰍 𐰀𐰴 𐰀 𐰇 𐰋𐰍 𐰋𐰉 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zỏ.qó ŋ.in s.iŋ›, followed by a suffix of unknown meaning. This should be the status and title of the composer of the inscription. In the Chinese part of the Xu inscription we find the expression 翁帳銀青 *wengzhang yinqing*. 𐰋𐰍 𐰋𐰉 ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ› is 銀青 *yinqing*. So 𐰀𐰴 𐰀 𐰇 must be 翁帳 *weng zhang*. The graph 𐰀 ‹TENT› looks like 𐰁 ‹MONTH›; in many transcriptions they are confused. Wang Hongli translated 𐰀𐰍𐰃𐰇 𐰃𐰇𐰺𐰴𐰍 𐰀𐰴 𐰀 𐰇 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.an.er zỏ.qó TENT:en› as 'the tent of the junior maternal uncles'. According to the *Chapter on Officials* in the *Liaoshi*, there were two categories of 翁帳 *wengzhang:* the 大翁帳 *da wengzhang* and the 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang*. So 𐰃𐰇𐰺𐰴𐰍 𐰀𐰴 𐰀 𐰇 ‹na.ha.án.er zỏ.qó TENT:en› can be translated 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang* 'of the lineage of the junior maternal uncles'.

1.23 Other research

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

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

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

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

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

1.24 Transcription of the small Kitan script

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

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

1.25 Transcription of logographs

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

1.26 The dotted forms

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

𒌋[026]	𒌋♂[027]	𒄑[134]	𒄑♂[135]	𒅆[166]	𒅆♂[167]	𒌨[029]	𒌨♂[030]
𒀀[085]	𒀀♂[086]	𒁍[368]	𒁍♂[369]	𒁲[007]	𒁲♂[008]	𒄭[033]	𒄭♂[034]
𒄴[004]	𒄴♂[005]	𒌦[285]	𒌦♂[286]	𒀭[081]	𒀭♂[082]	𒌓[326]	𒌓♂[327]

1.27 Similar and probably identical graphs

𒄷[132]	𒄷♂[133]	𒄿[344]	𒀝[105]	𒁕[061]	𒁕♂[060]	𒄬[208]	𒄬♂[209]	𒄩[064]
𒁾[221]	𒁾♂[222]	𒄭𒄭[348]	𒁀[109]	𒁓[011]	𒁓♂[127]	𒁍[171]	𒁍♂[214]	𒁍𒁍[215]
𒄭𒄭[349]	𒁀𒁀[112]	𒁹[146]	𒁹♂[336]	𒁺[370]	𒁺♂[371]	𒁾[230]	𒁾♂[231]	𒁾[227]
𒁓[254]	𒁀𒁀[110]	𒁲[361]	𒁲♂[100]	𒁲[072]	𒁲♂[101]	𒄭[347]	𒁀[107]	𒁀𒁀[108]
𒁍[241]	𒁍♂[242]	𒁕[352]	𒁕♂[114]	𒁺[068]	𒁺♂[103]	𒁹[146]	𒁹♂[153]	𒁹𒁹[337]
𒁾[223]	𒁾♂[224]	𒁕𒁕[353]	𒁕𒁕[113]	𒁺𒁺[262]	𒁺𒁺[263]	𒁹𒁹[149]	𒁹𒁹♂[147]	𒁹𒁹♂[148]
𒁹[003]	𒁹♂[031]	𒁹𒁹[200]	𒁹𒁹♂[201]	𒁹𒁹[362]	𒁹𒁹♂[125]	𒁹𒁹𒁹[049]	𒁹𒁹𒁹♂[354]	𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹[104]
𒁹𒁹[172]	𒁹𒁹♂[173]	𒁹𒁹𒁹[306]	𒁹𒁹𒁹♂[307]	𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹[117]	𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹♂[118]	𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹[271]	𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹♂[272]	

1.28 Probably miswritten graphs

𒁹𒁹[301]	=𒁹[300]	𒁹𒁹[267]	𒁹𒁹[266]	=𒄬[209]	𒄬[208]	=𒄩[275]	=𒄩[276]	=𒄩[277]	=𒄩[278]

1.29 Similar but different graphs

𘍿	‹x›	𘍾	‹i›	𘍽	‹ér›		
𘍼	‹oi›	𘍻		𘍺			
𘍹	‹ô›	𘍸					
𘍷		𘍶		𘍵		𘍴	
𘍳	‹in›	𘍲	‹on›				
𘍱	312	𘍰	‹ló›	𘍯‹iaŋ›		𘍮‹iåŋ›	
𘍭	‹rí›	𘍬	‹w›	𘍫‹oŋ›			
𘍪	‹BORN›	𘍩	310				
𘍨	‹un›	𘍧	‹úr›	𘍦		𘍥	
𘍤	‹ud›	𘍣	‹ud›	𘍢	‹uŋ›	𘍡	‹uŋ›
𘍠	‹g›	𘍟	‹dú›	𘍞	‹sh›		
𘍝	‹dó›	𘍜	‹rẻn›	𘍛	‹na›	𘍚	‹qo›
𘍙	‹mú›	𘍘	‹śï›	𘍗	193	𘍖	194
𘍕	200	𘍔	201	𘍓	‹tu›	𘍒	‹zủ›
𘍑	‹o›	𘍐	‹u›	𘍏	‹dau›	𘍎	‹nai›

1.30 Phonograms

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

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

𘍍	𘍌	𘍋	𘍊	𘍉	𘍈	𘍇	𘍆
b	p	d	t	m	mu	ń	n

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

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

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

1.31 Graphs only used to write Chinese

兆	壮	万	丙	尤	乂	𠂤	𠂆	伞	戈
sh	ss	ts	tś	tz	tź	w	ŋ	z	ź

勿	业	爿	丵	同	火	岁	爪	亦	吞	谷
aŋ	áŋ	iaŋ	iáŋ	iŋ	uŋ	úŋ	iúŋ	ün	ï	ï

1.32 Symbols used for the Kitan vowels

为‹a›	爻‹e›	乂‹i›	反 ‹o›	及 ‹u›
			廾 ‹ó›	𠂉 ‹ú›
			𠂇 ‹ô›	只 ‹û›

Kitan was exceptionally rich in rounded vowels. I have transcribed them as above, but it is not clear at the moment which graph corresponds to which particular phoneme. One would expect vowels like [ü] and [ö], but it is not clear which graphs might represent these phonemes. Graphs used to transcribe Chinese medials are 交 ‹ie› 𡈼 ‹y› and 仲 ‹ü›. 谷 ‹ï› transcribes the Chinese 'retracted *i*' [ɿ, ʅ]'. 爷‹î› is rare. 𠂤 ‹êm› is probably [iam] ~ [iæm] ~ [iɛm] and 𠂆 ‹ên› is probably [ian] ~ [iæn] ~ [iɛn]. 各 ‹êŋ› is possibly [iæŋ] ~ [iɛŋ].

1.33 Syllables of the VV type

𠂢	𠬜	尔	刁	丐	𠂢	习
ai	au	áu	ia	ei	eu	iû
圮	丙	火	𠂤	火	劳	号
ii	iu	iú	oi	ui	iau	iáu

1.34 Syllables of the VC type

𐑓al		𐑖il		𐑮ul	
𐑯ar	𐑒er	𐑙or	𐑚úr	𐑤ur	
𐑠as		𐑟is		𐑦us	
𐑔ad		𐑥od	𐑣ud		
𐑹an	𐑱en	𐑥in	𐑔on	𐑣un	
𐑐án	𐑷én	𐑓iń	𐑯ón	𐑜ún	
	𐑝ên	𐑧 iên	𐑔ün		
𐑁aŋ	𐑧áŋ	𐑖iŋ	𐑟oŋ	𐑒uŋ	𐑷úŋ
	𐑞iaŋ	𐑦iáŋ	𐑤iúŋ	𐑛êŋ	
𐑙am	𐑡êm	𐑥in	𐑖iŋ		
𐑕 ah			𐑳oh	𐑣uh	

1.35 Syllables of the C and CV type

𐑨	c,ci	𐑓	ca	𐑥	cau	𐑝	cu	𐑞	co
𐑡	d, de	𐑣	da	𐑒	dau	𐑙	du	𐑜	dû
𐑛	t, te	𐑤	ta	𐑢	tau	𐑔	tu	𐑤	dú
𐑚	j,ji	𐑞	ja	𐑖	jau	𐑟	ju		
𐑙	n	𐑤	na	𐑫	neu	𐑓	ńi		
𐑞	b, bo	𐑦	bi	𐑞	bo	𐑠	bu		
𐑣	m, mo	𐑦	mú	𐑣	m	𐑓	mu		
𐑨	l, le	𐑧	lí	𐑕	lu				
𐑛	s, se	𐑢	ś						
𐑖	hu	𐑦	ha	𐑨	ho				
𐑩	g, gi	𐑛	ge	𐑥	go	𐑳	gu	𐑤	qo
𐑤	q, qo	𐑦	qa	𐑒	qi	𐑣	qó	𐑙	qu
𐑕	k, ke	𐑦	ki	𐑩	ku	𐑓	kú	𐑣	qú
𐑭	x, xe	𐑯	xa			𐑛	xo	𐑨	xu
𐑛	ŋ	𐑛	z	𐑢	ź	𐑦	sh	𐑑	ss
𐑣	tz, tzi	𐑛	dz	𐑕	dź	𐑝	ts	𐑯	tś

1.36 Vowel harmony

Vowels fall into two groups: 𐑭 ‹a› 𐑐 ‹án› 𐑱 ‹ai› 𐑯 ‹ar› 𐑔 ‹al› 𐑓 ‹ó› often appear in the same words, while 𐑯 ‹ei› 𐑷 ‹én› 𐑒 ‹er› 𐑑 ‹ii› 𐑤 ‹û› appear in other words. Some graphs occur mainly in one group (such as 𐑒 ‹er›), but occasionally occur in another group. Some graphs, such as 𐑜 ‹ún› 𐑚 ‹ji› and 𐑓 ‹ń› appear in both groups. *Research* listed the following:

Suffixes based on ‹a›

丰业丰业木业为木
a a.ai ha.ar ha.a.ar
业出业为出业为出朽业为出爻
ha.an ha.a.an ha.a.an.én ha.a.an.er
业亏业亏刘业亏刘买业亏叉 业为亏
ha.al ha.al.hu ha.al.hu.an ha.al.un ha.a.al
刘刘爻刘买刘东
hu hu.er hu.an hu.ad

Suffixes based on ‹e›

万当爻朽
ei én er en
态万态当态爻态当爻
ge.ei ge.én ge.er ge.én.er
比伞比反比态比
ii s.ii o.ii ge.ii
几爻几朽几矢
g.er g.en gi.de

Suffixes based on ‹o›/‹ó›

反闲
o on
廾反闲廾反比
ó.o.on ó.o.ii
廾火廾火关
ó.ui ó.ui.i
廾变廾豹廾豹爻廾豹朽
ó.úr ó.ji ó.ji.er ó.ji.en
及豹及豹爻及豹朽
ó.ji ó.ji.er ó.ji.én
亏豹亏豹爻亏豹爻
al.ji al.ji.er al.ji.er

Suffixes based on ‹û›



1.37 Inherent vowels

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

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

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

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

1.38 Possible multiple readings of Kitan graphs

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

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

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

CHAPTER TWO

ANALYSIS OF THE KITAN SMALL GRAPHS

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

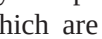
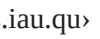
The Kitan small graphs were each allocated a number in *Research*, which has become a standard list, and the numbers a recognised way of referring to them. The expression 該貫 in the above quotation, translated 'covered everything', is usually understood by Chinese scholars to mean 'linked together', contrasting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

*

2.001  ‹ABOVE, NORTH›.  ‹NORTH u.ur› 北院 'northern administration'. See also 009. Reading unknown. Suggested readings based on Mo. such as *umar-a, xoina, xoi*, or Mo. *aru* 'back, rear' lack evidence.

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

2.003  ‹tś›. Probably an allograph of  031.

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

2.005 Dotted form of ‘white’.

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

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

2.008 Dotted form of ‘eight’.

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

2.010 

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

2.012

2.013

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

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

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

2.017 ‹sȯ›. The reading of is not known. ‹sȯ.or› is common in ‹k.em sȯ.or› ‘an imperial edict was issued; in accordance with the imperial edict 奏奉’. Aisin Gioro suggests **so*.

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

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

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

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

2.022 𗼻 ‹cau›. 𗼻 appears in 𗦳𗼃 𗪘𗐱 𗼻𗵘 𗍊𗗚 𗗚𗹦 𗍫 ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ cau.úŋ l.uh da.ai pu› 銀青崇祿大夫*ŋin cing chung lu dai fu; 𘝞𘟙 𗪘𗴂 𗼻𗵘 𗍊𗗚 𗗚𗹦 𗍫 ‹gi.m z.ï cau.úŋ l.uh dá.ai pu›. 金紫崇祿大夫 *gim zï chung lu dai fu*. 𗼻 also appears in the name 𗼻𗦳 ‹cau.iń› 嘲隱 *chauyin*, 𗼻𗴑 ‹cau.úr› ‘army’ = *Liaoshi* glossary 炒伍倆 **chauwur* ‘warfare, to fight’.

2.023 𗼃 ‹iů›. Possibly an allograph of 𗼄 ‹iu›.

2.024 𗼅 ‹ẻr›. Mnemonic from 而.

2.025 𗼆 xỉ. Mnemonic from 西.

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

2.027 𗹧 Dotted form of ‘one’.

2.028 𗼭 ‹ś›. Examples: 𗼭𗼃 ‹ś.iŋ› ~ 𗼭𗴲𗼃 ‹ś.i.iŋ› ~ 𗼭𗦳 ‹śi.ŋ› 聖 **shing*; 𗼭𗰜𗥃 ‹ś.a.an› 山 **shan*; 𗼭𗰜𗴑 ‹ś.a.rí›: a Kitan title transcribed 沙里 *sha-li* and translated 郎君 *langjun* ‘court attendant’; 𗼭𗼭𗴲 ‹śi.m.i›: Kitan name written in Chinese 審密 Shenmi; 𗼭𗰜 ‹ś.ên› ‘new’.

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

2.030 **戈**. Dotted form of ‘five’.

2.031 **𘍿** ‹ts›. **𘍿关 𘍿𘊴𘈩** ‹ts.i g.úr:un› ‘belonging to the state of Qi’. **𘍿关 𘍿𘈬 𘍿亦** ‹ts.i ś.ui g.ün› ~ **𘊴关 𘍿𘈬 𘍿亦** ‹z.i ś.ui g.ün› 齊水郡 **cishueigün* ‘Qishui prefecture’. Used in a narrow transcription of the Chinese initial [ts].

2.032 **天** ‹tẻn›. Mnemonic from 天.

2.033 **𘍿** ‹NINE› [is]. **𘍿** is part of the word **𘌽关𘍿公𘐇伏** ‹c.is.de.bo.ń› ‘filial piety’, so **𘍿** is probably [is] or perhaps [isu], cf. Mo. *yisü* ~ *yisün* ‘nine’. Liu Fengzhu 1983b noticed that **𘈦𘍿伏** ‹pu.is.iń› is the Kitan transcription of 夫人 *IXåIQ* ‘lady’. Wang Hongli 1986 suggested **𘍿𘍿爻** ‹is.g.ún› is the Kitan word transcribed in Chinese as 乙室堇 **yishïgin*. Note the Chinese transcription of the Kitan clan name **𘍿𘍿关** ‹is.g.i› 乙室己; *yi-shi-ji *išigi*, which strongly suggests *is (or iš) for **𘍿**. It also occurs in **𘌽𘍿** ‹ci.is› ‘blood relation’, cf, Mo. *cisu* ‘blood’.

2.034 **𘍿** Dotted form of ‘nine’.

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

2.036 **𘐇** ‹xu›. *Research* explained **𘈦𘈩 𘐇 𘍿 𘍿𘍾 𘍿𘈬 亦** ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ ś.iaŋ g.ün› as 龍虎衛上將軍 **lunghu wei shang gianggün* ‘senior general of the dragon and tiger guards’. Cf. **𘐇尺 亦** ‹xu.û g.ün› 護軍 **hu gün* ‘military protector’; **𘐇尺 𘐇尺** ‹xu.û b.û› 戶部 **hubu* ‘ministry of revenue’.

2.037 **王** ‹di›. In **主王** 皇帝 **hongdi* ‘emperor’.

2.038 **𘍾**

2.039 **𘍾** ‹kåi›. Mnemonic from 开.

2.040 **十** ‹WEST›. Reading unknown. Suggestions include *ör*, *hörene* or *uru*. There is no evidence for any of these readings, except similarity to Mongol. **一 十 𘈩 𘍿 𘈬** as ‘‹NORTH WEST jau tau ss› ‘the bureau of punishments 招討司 *zhaotaosi* of the north west’. Wang Hongli 1986, Toyoda 1991, 1992. The ‘western capital’ is **𘊴关 𘍿同** ‹s.i g.iŋ› < 西京 **si ging*. However, **一 十**

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

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

2.042

2.043

2.044

2.045

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

2.048 ‹nẻn›. Mnemonic from 年 .

2.049 Research noted that 大同郡 *datongjun* **datunggün* is written ‹t.039 tu.uŋ g.ün›, so is probably an allograph of ‹ai›.

2.050 ‹li›. Mnemonic from 吏 .

2.051 ‹ha›. appears in ‹qa.ha:an› ‘of the khan, khaghan’. The animal corresponding to 寅 *yin* in the heavenly branches is ‘tiger’, in Kitan ‹qa.ha.as›. This may be related to the Chinese term 獸王 *shouwang* ‘king of the beasts, tiger’.

2.052  ‹RECORD›. is only found in the word ‹RECORD.gi› ‘record’, with various suffixes. ‹RECORD.g.u.ji› is perhaps a *nomen actoris*: ‘the person who recorded, the recorder’. ‹RECORD.gi› is commonly seen in the expression ‹RECORD.gi.le.gi TEXT.ú› 誌銘 ‘epitaph, tomb inscription’ and ‹RECORD.g.én te.gu› ‘the inscription says’ (誌曰).

2.053  ‹qa›. appears in the word for *khan/khaghan* ‹qa.ha:an› ‘of the khan’. Cf.   ‹qa.an g.ia n.u› 韓家奴 Han Jianu, a personal name. 韓家奴 is also transcribed   ‹qa.an g.ia ni.u›. This suggests that *q* ‘back k’ and *h* ‘back g’ were fricatives.

2.054 ‹mů›. Mnemonic from 木 .

2.055 

2.056 

2.057  ‹xo›. The Kitan title of the Taishuzu inscription 義和仁壽皇太叔哀冊文 is: () ‹m.o ei.ra.u.ud te.ge.er ŋ.i hó ź.in ś.eu.u hoŋ tai ś.iú z.ú.úr g.en:ún c.ah (w.un)› ‘Eulogy for the Late Great Yelü Yi He Ren Shou Huangtaishuzu’. corresponds to 和. One would expect 和 MC **hua* to have shifted to **xuo* or **xo* in Liao Chinese. ‹te.ge.er› means ‘deceased’.

2.058 ‹mỉ›

2.059 ‹uni›. corresponds to the cyclical term 丑 *chou* and the zodiac animal ‘ox’. Toyoda 1991, 1992 suggested that ‹TWO DAY:en s.uni tu.úr.bun› means ‘he died on the night of the second day’. Liu Zhou Zhao and Zhu 1995 agreed with Toyoda, giving the examples ‹s.uni po:do› ‘at night time’ and ‹qi s.uni› ‘that night’. Cf. Mo. **söni* ‘night’. ‹uni› is the Kitan word for ‘ox’, cf. Mo. *üniye* ‘cow’.

2.060  . Allograph of 061.

2.061 **𘰾** ‹kė›. Mnemonic from 可. **𘰾𘰀𘰽𘱇** ‹kė.d.ha.ai› 殯 ‘to be placed in a coffin, to be buried’; **𘰾𘰀𘰓** ‹kė.d:er› ‘buried’.

2.062 **𘰽** ‹iáŋ›. **𘰽** often appears in transcriptions from Chinese: **𘰇𘰚 𘰓𘰔 𘰋 𘰚𘰃 𘰉𘰽** ‹gi.m ŋ.u ui s.iáŋ g.ün› 金吾衛上將軍 *jinwu wei jiangjun* **gim ŋu wei zianggün* ‘general of the imperial insignia guard’.

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

2.064 **𘰀** ‹lu›. Allograph of **𘰆** ‹lu›. Wu Yingzhe 2005a notes that **𘰋** with a dot is probably a mistranscription.

2.065 **𘰌** Perhaps an allograph of **𘰌**116.

2.066 **𘰁** ‹tů›. Mnemonic from 土.

2.067 **𘰄** ‹eu›. **𘰓𘰄** ‹ś.eu› 守 **sheu;* **𘰏𘰄** ‹c.eu› 州 **zheu* ‘prefecture’, **𘰈𘰄** ‹l.eu› 婁 **leu* ‘a surname’. **𘰄** is more likely [əu] than [ou] because it is followed by the genitive **𘰉** ‹en› rather than **𘰋** ‹on›. It is also common in Kitan words: **𘰄𘰅** ‹eu.ul› ‘cloud’, cf. Mo. *egüle* ~ *egülen*; **𘰄𘰌** ‹eu.úr› ‘years of age 歲’.

2.068 **𘰂** ‹us›. **𘰂** appears in the expressions **𘰇𘰌 𘰏𘰐 𘰂𘰇𘰃 𘰑** ‹g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d FOUR› 四字功臣‘four character meritorious official’ and similar expressions. **𘰂𘰇** ‹us.gi› must mean ‘characters, graphs, writing’; the proposed reading of ‹us.gi› is based on Mongol *üsüg* ‘*id.*’ Ji Shi 1990 suggested **𘰂𘰇 𘰖𘰋** ‹us.gi hur.ú› ‘controller of writing’ refers to the Hanlin academy. **𘰂𘰇 𘰖𘰌𘰌 𘰍 𘰕𘰀** ‹us.gi hur.iú:un ui KNOW.i› corresponds to 總知翰林院事 ‘official in general control of the matters of the Hanlin academy’. **𘰃** 103 is an allograph of **𘰂** 068.

2.069 **𘰅** ‹rí›. **𘰅** appears in the word **𘰓𘰍𘰅** ‹ś.a.rí› in the Langjun inscription. Cf. *Liaoshi* glossary: 沙里，郎君也 ‘*sha-li* means *langjun* [court

attendant]'. 𘰾 should be ‹rí› rather than **li* as it does not appear in Chinese words.

2.070 𘰴 ‹w›. 𘰴 appears in Chinese words such as 𘰴𘰺 ‹wu.un› 文 **wun*, 𘰴𘰼 ~ 𘰴𘰽 ‹w.u ~ w.uh› 武 **wu*, 𘰻𘰿 𘰴𘰺 ‹c.ah w.un› 冊文 **chaiwun* 'text of inscription'. 𘰴 is more likely to be [w] rather than [v] or [ʊ]. There is no evidence for [v] in either Kitan or Chinese at the time.

2.071 𘰵 ‹oŋ›. *Research* suggested **uaŋ* for 𘰵, but its genitive suffix is 𘰷 ‹on›, not 𘰸 ‹an›, suggesting the main vowel is [o], not [ua].

2.072 𘰶 . Allograph of 𘰶 101. ‹EAST›. 𘰹 𘰶 𘰽𘰾𘰿𘱀 𘱁𘱂 𘱃𘰺 ‹NORTH EAST ni.ó.ho:en ů:en s.êŋ.un› '*xiangwen* of the of the north east route' = 東北路詳穩 (Zong 13). 𘰽𘰾𘰿 ‹ńi.ó.ho› is a form of the word for 'division, tribal division, route, circuit'.

2.073 𘰷 ‹ên›. 𘰼𘰷 ‹ki.ên› 乾 **kien*, 𘰼𘰷 ‹ki.ên› 縣 **hien* 'county'; 𘱄𘰾𘰷 ‹s.ie.ên› 仙 **sien* 'immortal'. In Chinese the vowel was probably fronted by the medial -i-, so [iɛn].

2.074 𘰻 ‹tir›. 𘰻𘰲 ‹tir.a› or 𘰻𘰸 ‹tir.i›, a Kitan name written in Chinese 帖剌 *Tiela* (Ji Shi 1996) or 鐵離 *Tieli* (Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995). Cf. 𘰻𘰲 𘰾𘰀𘰽 ‹tir.a ri.g.ińˀ› 帖剌夷離堇 'the tribal chief (*yilijin*) Tiela'. Also: 𘰻𘰼 ‹tir.bun› a Kitan name written in Chinese 迪里鉢 Dilibo. (Zhao and Bao 2001).

2.075 𘰼 ‹hoŋ›. 𘰼 mainly appears in 𘰼𘰽 ‹hoŋ di› 'emperor' from Chinese 皇帝 **hongdi*, and characters such as 黃. Note 𘰼 𘰽𘰺 ‹hoŋ di:in› 'of the emperor'; 𘰼 𘰽𘰲 ‹hoŋ di:en› 'of the emperor', with different genitive suffixes 𘰲 ‹en› and 𘰺 ‹in›.

2.076 𘰿 ‹ho›. 𘰿 appears in 𘰱 𘰾𘰿 ‹GOLD♂ hu.ho› 'gold crow', as *Research* pointed out. Liu Fengzhu 1983b suggested the reading **haha* ~ **hehe* for 𘰾𘰿, noting the Jurchen word *gaha*, Ki. 157 'crow'. Ji Shi 1982a suggested 𘰿 be read *gə*. As a verbal ending, it follows stems with the vowel [o]. Note 𘰿𘱅𘰼𘰻 ‹ho.le.bo.ń› 'first day(s) of the lunar month 朔' and 𘰿𘱅𘰼𘰻 𘰻𘰴𘰿 ‹ho.le.bo.ń ci.ge.ho›, a formula at the end of the title of inscriptions 'together with preface 並序'. 𘰻𘰴𘰿 ‹ci.ge.ho› may be related to 𘰻 ‹ci› 'write'. The semantic field of 𘰿𘱅𘰼𘰻 ‹ho.le.bo.ń› is 'first, in front of'. The name 𘰿𘱅𘰼𘰻 ‹ho.le.bo.ń› probably means 'the first [son, child]'.

2.077

2.078

2.079

2.080 ‹ii›. looks similar to  ‹ho› 076, but the horizontal stroke is extended through the downstroke. Chinggeltei 1992 discovered that is a suffix, similar in use to  ‹ai› and  ‹ei›. For example,                  ‹THREE YEAR:de al.194 d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii, ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ, qa.an g.ui g.uŋ p.o.ju:bun› ‘in the third year [of the Tianjuan period], by special advancement, having been granted the title of *shangshu youcheng* 尚書右丞, he was promoted to the position of duke of the state of Han’. The suffix ‹bun› is one of a series indicating the past tense, used at the end of sentences. ‹ii› is one of a series of converb suffixes used in subordinate clauses.

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

2.082  ‹y›: used to transcribe Chinese medial -ü-.    ‹s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó› ‘Empress Xuanyi 宣懿皇后’. ‹y.e› transcribes 越 *yue* and similar syllables. See also ‹û› 2.226.

2.083 ‹ss›. Transcribes Chinese characters such as 司 **sï* and 刺 **cï*, clearly indicating the vowel in such words was [ï] rather than [i], and that Kitan had no affricate [tsh]. ‹ś.eu ss x.uŋ› 守司空 **sheusïkung*

'minister of works'; 𗼻𗼾 𗼿 𗽀𗽁 𗾟𗾠 𗼿𗼾乃 𗼾 ‹k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.uŋ s.a.am ss› 開府義同三司 **kaifu ngitung samcï* 'commander unequalled in honour'; 𗼾 𗼽 ‹ss sh› 刺史 **cïshï* 'regional chief'.

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

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

2.086 𗾿 Dotted form of 𗾟.

2.087 𗾻 ‹tz›. Only used in Chinese words; transcribes the retroflex affricate [tʂ]. 𗾻 ‹tz› 職 **zhï*, 𗾻𗼭 ‹tz.iŋ› 政 **zhing*, 𗾻 𗿋 𗿌𗿍 𗿎 ‹tz paŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ› 職方郎中 **zhïfang langzhung* 'director of the bureau of operations'.

2.088 𗿏

2.089 𗿐 ‹zů›. 𗿐 appears in the reign title 𗿐𗿑𗿒 ‹zů.ge.én› 'Tianfu'. Aisin Gioro 2004:51 notes that the title for a lady of high rank, 別胥 *biexu*, was normally written 𗿓𗿔𗿕𗿖 ‹b.y.z.iú› ~ 𗿗𗿔𗿕𗿖 ‹p.y.z.iú›, but in Gu it is written 𗿗𗿔𗿐𗿖 ‹p.y.zů.iú›, suggesting that 𗿐 is similar to 𗿕 ‹z›. 𗿐 is only found in Kitan words. In the rhymed sections of the Xingzong inscription, 𗿐 rhymes with 𗽀 ‹u›.

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

2.091 𗿒

2.092 𗿓 ‹yů›. 𗿓𗿔 𗿗 ‹yů.úr ai› 'the first year [of a reign period] 元年'. The reading ‹yů› is common, based on the presumption that 𗿓𗿔 is a transcription of 元 *yuan*, but this seems unlikely. Mnemonic from 尤.

2.093 𘰾 ‹gė›. *Research* identified 𘰾𘰾 𘱈𘱉 𘲦𘲧 𘳿𘴇 ‹de.gė g.iŋ l.iu ś.eu› as 燕京留守 **Yenging liushieu* ‘the viceroy of Yanjing’ so 𘰾𘰾 = 燕 ‘swallow’, the name of the ancient state around modern Beijing, the southern capital of the Liao. Ji Shi pointed out that 𘰾𘰾 is also written 𘰾𘱇 and suggested it means ‘down, under, lower, below’. So 𘰾𘰾 𘱈𘱉 ‹de.gė g.iŋ› is the lower capital, Yanjing, as opposed to the upper capital Shangjing. Chinggeltei thinks that 𘰾𘰾 should be translated ‘south’, but there are no words for ‘south’ like 𘰾𘰾 ‹de.gė› in other Altaic languages.

2.094 𘰾

2.095 𘰿

2.096 𘱀

2.097 𘱀 ‹úr›. The name 控骨里**kungguli* is transcribed 𘱁𘱂𘱀 ‹ku.uŋ.úr› in Zongjiao. Toyoda 1998: 𘱃 𘱀𘱀 𘰾𘰾𘱀 ‹THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úr› ‘thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋’. 𘱀𘱀 ‹heu.úr› and 𘰾𘰾𘱀 ‹n.am.úr› are clearly related to Mo. *qabur* ‘spring’ and *namur* ‘autumn’.

2.098 𘰽 ‹al›. Cf the following verbal endings:

𘲦𘲧𘰽𘳿	‹siỏ.ha.al.hu›	𘱈𘱉𘲤𘳿	‹te.ge.le.gi›
𘰾𘰾𘲧𘰽𘳿	‹kė.d.ha.al.hu›	𘱆𘱉𘲤𘳿	‹zủ.ge.le.gi›
𘱁𘱃𘲧𘰽𘳿	‹dau.ul.ha.al.hu›	𘱈𘱉𘲤𘱉𘲤𘳿	‹te.ge.le.ge.le.gi›
𘲤𘲧𘰽𘳿𘴈	‹le.ha.al.hu:an›	𘱋𘱈𘱉𘲤𘳿𘰼	‹me.se.ge.le.g:en›

In these examples from Chinggeltei 1992, 𘲧 ‹ha› corresponds to 𘱉 ‹ge›; 𘳿 ‹hu› corresponds to 𘳿 ‹gi›; 𘴈 ‹an› corresponds to 𘰼 ‹en› and 𘰽 ‹al› corresponds to 𘲤 ‹l› [el~le]. We can also see that 𘰽 generally appears after 𘲧 ‹ha›; it also appears in front of 𘳿 ‹hu›. Cf. the Mo. causative suffixes *alɣa* and *elge*.

2.099 𘰻 ‹ad›. In 𘰾𘰻𘲥𘰻 ‹n.ad.bu.ad›, the Kitan word for 捺鉢 *nabo*, also written 納鉢, 納撥, 納跋, 剌鉢, 納寶. (Wang Hongli 1990). Chinggeltei suggests *nabo* is related to Mo. *negü-* ‘to nomadise’ and *baɣu-* ‘to settle down, to encamp’. Cf. Toyoda 1998: 𘱀𘱀 𘰾𘰻𘲨 ‹heu.úr n.ad.bú› = 春捺鉢 ‘spring *nabo*’. 𘰾𘰻𘲨 ‹n.ad.bú› may be a plural form.

2.100 𘰺 ‹én›. Allograph of 𘰹 ‹én›.

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

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

2.103  Allograph of  068 above.

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

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

2.106 ‹uŋ›. An allograph of ‹uŋ›. ‹g.uŋ› 公 **gung* ‘duke’ but ‹g.iu.uŋ› 宮 **giung* ‘palace’; ‹x. uŋ› 空 **kung* ‘empty’.

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

converb suffix, in the series *ai, ei, ii, ui,* so ‹oi› seems reasonable. 𗴲 has an allograph 𗴳 347.

2.108 𗴴 Perhaps an allograph of 𗴵 035.

2.109 𗴶 ‹e› 𗴶 is found in the word 𗵘𗴶 ‹û e› 于越 *yuyue* ‘a tribal title, the highest position of honour’ and 𗹦𗴶 𘝞𗯿 𗰜 ‹y.e g.ui oŋ› 越國王 ‘prince of the state of Yue’. 𗴶 is an allograph of 𗴷 2.348.

2.110 𗴸

2.111 𗴹

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

2.113 𗴻 ‹ï›. Used in Chinese words after 𗍫 ‹s› and 𗍬 ‹z›, and optionally after 𗎘 ‹sh› and 𗎙 ‹ss›, to denote the retracted ‹ï› vowel: 𗎘𗴻 ‹sh.ï› 侍 **shï* ‘to wait on’; 𗎘𗴻 ‹sh.ï› 事 **shï* ‘matter’, 𗍫𗴻 ‹s.ï› 子 **zï* ‘son’, 𗹦𗯿 𗍬𗴼 𗍬𗵘 𗍬𗵆 ‹g.ui z.ï z.i z.iu› 國子祭酒 **gueizï zizieu* ‘chancellor of the national university’. 𗴼 353 is an allograph.

2.114 𗴽 ‹î› occurs in 騎 **gi* with apparently the value [i:]. See 2.352.

2.115 𗴾 ‹då›. Mnemonic from 达. This seems to be a sort of numeral; perhaps ‘two, a couple’ or ‘some, several’.

2.116 𗴿 Perhaps an allograph of 𗵀 065.

2.117 𗵁 Perhaps an allograph of 𗵂118.

2.118 𗵂 ‹qú›. Cf. 𗵃 ‹qu› 246. 𗍫𗵄𗵃 ‹s.iau.qu› and 𗍫𗵄𗵂 ‹s.iau.qú› are both used to spell 甲 *jiă* 乙 *yĭ,* corresponding to ‘blue’; 𗵆𗵇𗵃 ‹m.as.qu› and 𗵆𗵇𗵂 ‹m.as.qú› both mean ‘first’. The two endings *may* indicate the grammatical gender of the modified noun. *Research* suggested *ai* for 𗵃 as 𗹬𗵃 transcribes 冊 **chai* in 冊文 **chaiwun.* In this case 𗵃 may be a misreading of 𗵈. 𗵈 is also used in 冊 MC *chreak* and 伯 MC *paek,* both of which ended in [k]. Wang Hongli 86 suggests 𗹬𗵃 and 𗹭𗵃 are read *čeɣ* and *beɣ.* 𗵈 is transcribed in this book as ‹ah›.

2.119 ‹dau›. appears in the sequence    ‹dau.u s.úŋ hoŋ di› 道宗 皇帝 ‘Emperor Daozong’. This graph also appears on the canopy of the epitaph of Daozong, the first two words of which are  . The first graph means ‘great’; there is a general consensus that   ‹dau.úr.ún› means ‘middle, central’. In Langjun, we find this word in the sequence   ‹dau.úr.ún u.ul› corresponding to 仲冬 ‘mid-winter’.

2.120 Possibly an allograph of ‹iåŋ› 2.315.

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

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

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

2.124

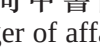
2.125 ‹iáu›. Possibly an allograph of ‹iau›. Ji Shi interpreted   ‹a.án c.iáu.un ss sh› as 安州之刺史 ‘prefect of Anzhou’ (Xu 49). 州 *zhou* is normally written   ‹c.eu›, so if this identification is correct we have   ‹c.iáu› ~   ‹c.eu›. The stem   ‹p.iáu-›, which seems to mean ‘die’, is only found spelled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

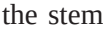
2.126

2.127 ‹an›. Allograph of ‹an› 011. Cf.   ‹l.a.an l.iŋ g.ün› (Zhong) ~   ‹l.an l.iŋ g.ün› (Xu) ‘Lanlingjun (Lanling prefecture)蘭陵郡’.

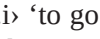
2.128 ‹zåi›. Mnemonic from 在.

2.129

2.130  ‹xa›. occurs in      ‹tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en xa ja.aŋ sh› 同中書門下平章事 **tungzhungshiu munhia pingzhangshï* ‘joint manager of affairs with the secretariat-chancellery’ and   ‹xa.ia g.úr› ‘name of a state: Xixia 西夏’ (Toyoda 1989).

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

2.132 Possibly an allograph of 133.

2.133 ‹m›. occurs both in Chinese and Kitan: ‹m.i› 密 **mi* ‘secret’  ‹m.a› 馬 **ma* ‘horse’, ‹gi.m› ‘gold’ 金 **gim.* Kitan words:  ‹mo.ri› ‘horse’, ‹m.as.qu› ‘first’, ‹m.o› ‘big, great’  ‹śi.m.i› ‘Shenmi: name of a tribe 審密’;  ‹m.o mu.u.ji› ‘Kitan term corresponding to Chinese ‘sacred, holy 神聖’.   ‹m.án.ún se.m.i› ‘to go hunting’ (Langjun), ‹m.án.ún ku› ‘hunter’;   ‹m.o bo.qo› ‘eldest child, eldest son 長子’;  ‹m.ó.qu› ‘first [son], eldest [son] 長子’.

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

2.135 ‹TWO♂›. Dotted form of : ‹TWO qa.ha:ad› ‘two khans’.

2.136 ‹dở›. Mnemonic from 刀 .

2.137 ‹rển› appears in the Renxian inscription, in ‹t.iu.rển.iń oŋ› ‘the prince t.iu.rển.iń’. Ji Shi noted that 糺鄰 Jiulin was the Kitan name of 仁先 Renxian, according to his *Liaoshi* biography. ‹t.iu.rển› is also in the reign titles 大康 Dakang ‘Great Prosperity’ and 天德 Tiande ‘Heavenly Virtue’, so should be some auspicious word like ‘prosperity, health, virtue’. One of the more puzzling aspects of this graph is that it also appears in the Kitan transcription of the Chinese word 樞密 **shiumi*, written both   ‹ś.iú m.i› and   ‹ś.iú mo.rển›. 密 was

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

2.138 **刃** ‹iû›. The title of the Taishuzu inscription is **丙东及火关 令公公 发关 夹 戈雨 戊土及 主 丕 戊刃 伞伞火 几村艾 本东** ‹ei.ra.u.ud:i t.e.er ŋ.i xo ź.in ś.eu.u oŋ tai ś.iû z.ú.un g.en.ún c.ah›, corresponding to 義和仁壽皇太叔祖哀冊文 **ŋLKR ålQMKIHK KRQJ WDMKIX]X DIFKDIZXQ* **戊刃** must be 叔 and **刃** ‹iû› similar to **火** ‹iú›. 叔 is written both **戊刃** ‹ś.iû› and **戊土刃** ‹ś.eu.iû›. The Kitan word for ‘tribe, division 部’ has the following forms: **公刃灰** ‹n.iû.úr› ~ **公廾灰** ‹n.ó.úr› ~ **伏廾灰** ‹ńi.ó.úr› ~ **伏仌灰** ‹ńi.ô.úr›. 叔 was *syuk* in MC, and the use of **刃** in this word might reflect a final *k*.

2.139 **力** ‹na›. This occurs in **力业出公** ‹na.ha.án.er› ‘maternal uncle’, which Ji Shi 82 related to Mo. *naɣaču* ‘relatives on mother’s side’. **力乃** ‹na.am› transcribes 男 *nan *nam* ‘male, man, rank of nobility, baron’.

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

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

2.142 **戾** ‹KNOW›. **戾** corresponds to 知 ‘know’ in official titles such as 知事 ‘to know matters’, i.e. ‘administrator’. It is often followed by **令** ‹t› as in **戾令** ‘administrators’.

2.143 **乃** ‹xua›. The expression **乃 发灰圣** ‹xua ŋ.y.êm› occurs in Ling 13 and 20. Toyoda 1991 suggested **发灰圣** ‹ŋ.y.êm› might be 嚴 **ŋiam*, and so **乃 发灰圣** ‹hua ŋ.y.êm› would be 華嚴 Huayan. 華 is MC **xuae*, so presumably Liao **xua*. **乃 发圣 公及 伞非 几亦** ‹xua ŋ.y.êm n.u s.iaŋ g.ün› would be 華嚴奴將軍 General Huayannu (Gu 7).

2.144 **及** ‹ún›. This is one of the most enigmatic graphs. Suggestions include *u, da, in* and *en*. **及** appears in **尺灰及 及平** ‹dau.úr.ún u.ul› in *Langjun*, where it corresponds to 仲冬 ‘mid-winter’. *Research* 1977 suggested **u*, *Research* 1985 suggested **da*. Ji Shi 1982 suggested **in*. Liu Fengzhu 1983b read **及** *da, and **尺灰及** as **duanda*, **买及关** ‹qid.ún.i› as

**kiday*, and 东艾公 ‹qatun.ún.n› as **kadan*. Wang Hongli 1986 analyzed 买艾关 ‹qid.ún.i› as **xit-en-i*. From the changes made to the Daozong inscription, we can see that 国业母艾 ‹hó.le.b.ún› is the equivalent of 国业业 ‹hó.le.bun› and 方业母艾 ‹al.le.b.ún› is the equivalent of 方业业 ‹al.le.bun›. On the canopy of the Daozong inscription we read 又及 本关禾公母艾 ‹m.o c.i.is.de.b.ún›, but in the main part of the inscription 又及 本关禾公业 ‹m.o c.i.is.de.bun›. Clearly 母艾 = 业 ‹bun›, so 艾 must be [un]. Here it is written 艾 ‹ún› to distinguish it from 火 ‹un›, the genitive suffix. 艾公 ‹ún.n› ‘now’; 艾夯 ~ 艾劣 ‹ún.e› ‘now’; 艾公 仕及犭 ‹ún.n mu.u.ji› ‘the present sacred one [monarch, ruler] 今聖’.

2.145 了 ‹FORTY›. 了 毛矢 几卡 爪及 及夯□ 及化 戈为六 仍关 ‹FORTY ONE:de ku.kå û.u o.oi□ u.ur ś.a.rí rẻŋ.i› (Xu 7) seems to correspond to the entry in the *Liaoshi* biography of Yelü Wotela: 年四十一, 始補本班郎君 ‘in the forty first year, for the first time he was appointed court gentleman in the same bureau’ (Ji Shi 1996). If that is so, 了 must mean ‘forty’. Its reading is unknown.

2.146 犭 ‹giů›. 犭亦 ‹giů.ün› transcribes 君 *jun* **gün*, so perhaps 犭 is ‹giů›. Its meaning is unknown.

2.147 马 ‹jú› Allograph of 149.

2.148 丐 ‹jú› Allograph of 149.

2.149 子 ‹ju›. 友 黑 业勾 子水 ‹tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ› 職方郎中 **zhïfong langgün;* 子水 几同 ‹ju.uŋ g.iŋ› 中京 **zhungging* ‘the central capital’. It often appears also in Kitan words: 久业半 反子刘 ‹ta.ha.ai o.ju.hu› ‘covered, closed 掩閉’; 业反子业- ‹p.o.ju.ha-› base form of ‘became, promoted to the position of’ (passive/causative).

2.150 刘 ‹ja›. 业同 刘勾 友同 儿杏 ‹p.iŋ ja.aŋ tz.iŋ sh.ï› 平章政事 **pingzhang zhingshï;* 子水 戈火 又右 不 业同 刘勾 儿 ‹ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en xa p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh› 中書門下平章事 **zhiung shiu mun hia pingzhangshï.* 刘 often appears in Kitan words. Wang Hongli 1986 suggested 刘化欠 ‹ja.ri.qó› is related to Mo. *jerge* ‘rank, title’. Ji Shi translated 刘化欠 ‹ja.ri.qo› as ‘prime minister 宰相’.

2.151 刘 ‹hu›. *Research* noted that 刘 appeared in: 戈勾 今 刘火 为水 几亦 杰 ‹ś.aŋ pu hu.un tu.uŋ g.ün oŋ› 尚父混同郡王. 刘火 ‹hu.un› corresponds to 混 **huen*. 刘 ‹hu› is also very frequent in Kitan words. 刘扎 ‹hu.ho› ‘crow’

 ‹hu.ur.er› ‘third’,  ‹bo.hu.án› ‘children’. It often appears in verbal morphology, where it is in opposition to ‹gi› as suffix.

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

2.153 Allograph of 152.

2.154 ‹on›. Genitive suffix. follows words such as  ‹g.ui oŋ:on› ‘of the king of the country 國王’. This word also appears initially in the word ‹on.a.án› ‘descended’.

2.155 ‹FIFTY›. Based on context, Ji Shi translated Ling 18  ‹eu.úr EIGHT p.iáu.er› as ‘he died (?) at the age of fifty eight’. ‹eu.úr› means ‘years of age’.

2.156

2.157

2.158

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

2.160 . Transcribes 九 *jiu *gieu* ‘nine’, so may be ‹giů› (Aisin Gioro 2004:2).

2.161 ‹au›. Used in both Chinese and Kitan:  ‹l.au.u g.iŋ:en l.iu ś.eu› 洛京之留守 **lauging leushieu* ‘the *liushou* [regent,

viceroy] of Luojing'. In Kitan words it occurs in 𘮩𘮫𘮬 ‹s.au.qu› 'blue'. The 奥 *ao* in 略胡奥 *lüehu ao* 'the red woman' is presumably 𘮫 ‹au›. See Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:275, n.191. In the inscriptions 𘮫 ‹au› means 'elder sister'. A similar word, 𘮭 ‹aú› occurs in 𘮭𘮯 ‹aú.ui› '娘子 *niangzi*: a term of respect for a lady of high status'. 𘮫 and 𘮭 sometimes alternate, e.g. 𘮲𘮳𘮴𘮵𘮶 𘮩𘮭𘮴𘮵 ‹oi.ri.u.ul.hu s.aú.ul.hu› in Zhong 33 and Dao 23 is written 𘮲𘮳𘮴𘮵𘮶 𘮩𘮫𘮴𘮵𘮷𘮸 ‹oi.ri.u.ul.hu s.au.ul.hu.an› in Zhixian 16. Note also 𘮫𘮴𘮯𘮯 ‹au.ul.û.ui›, 𘮫𘮴𘮵𘮷 ‹au.ul.ha.ai›, 𘮫𘮴𘮵𘮶𘮷𘮸 ‹au.ul.ha.al.ún›, all forms of 𘮫𘮴 ‹au.ul›- 'to appoint'.

2.162 𘮲 ‹c› ~ ‹ci› 𘮲𘮹 ‹ci.ŋ› 承, 成 **chieng*, 𘮲𘮺 ~ 𘮲𘮻 ‹c.in› ~ ‹c.en› 臣 **chien* 'official', 𘮲𘮼 ‹c.aŋ› 上 *shang*; 𘮲𘮩 [= 𘮲𘮾]‹c.ah› 冊 **chai;* 𘮲 𘮲 ‹ci ci› 'together with, *et cetera*, and others 等, 以及'; 𘮲𘮽 ‹ci.er› 'written, written by': used at the end of inscriptions immediately preceding the name of the writer of the inscription: 題'; 𘮲𘮿𘮲𘮀𘮁𘮂𘮃 ‹c.i.is.de.bo.ń›, 𘮲𘮿𘮲𘮀𘮁 ‹c.i.is.de.bun› 𘮲𘮿𘮲𘮀𘮂𘮄 ‹c.i.is.de.b.ún› 'filial piety'; 𘮲𘮿𘮲𘮀𘮁 𘮂𘮅 ‹c.i.is.de.bun bo.qo› 'filial son'; 𘮲𘮿𘮲 ‹ci.i.is› 'blood; blood relative, clansman, relative' (Ji Shi 1988).

2.163 𘮆 ‹ki› 𘮆𘮇 ‹ki.ên› transcribes 乾 **kien*, 縣 **hien* and 玄 **hüen*, suggesting there was no phonemic difference between [kh] and [x].

2.164 𘮈

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

2.166 𘮐 ‹THREE›. Possibly [hur]. 'Third' is written 𘮑𘮒𘮓𘮽 ‹hu.ur.er›, 𘮑𘮒𘮓𘮔 ‹hu.ur.én›, 𘮕𘮽 ‹hur.er› or 𘮕𘮔 ‹hur.en› (Ji Shi 1983, Wang Hongli 1986). In Haitangshan, the ordinal numerals from first to eighth are spelt out.

These showed that the ordinal suffix is 𘮬 ‹er› ~ 𘮭 ‹én› which directly follows a numeral. 𘮬 ‹er› is used with masculine nouns and 𘮭 ‹én› with feminine nouns. 𘮮 ‹hur› and 𘮯𘮰 ‹hu.ur› are both used as the basic stem in ‘third’. Cf. Mo. *ɣurba/n*.

2.167 𘮱. Dotted form of 𘮱 166: 𘮱 𘮲𘮬 ‹3♂ ai:d› ‘three males, three fathers’.

2.168 𘮳 ‹qo›. 𘮳 appears in 𘮴𘮳 ‹ńi.qo› ‘dog’ and 𘮵𘮳𘮶 ‹te.qo.a› ‘hare’. In the *Liaoshi* glossary ‘dog’ is 捏褐 **nieho*, cf. Mo. *noqai*. *Research* read 𘮴𘮳 as **nə-xəi* and 𘮵𘮳𘮶 as **t’-xəi-ɑ.* Liu Fengzhu 1983b read 𘮵𘮳𘮶 as **dɑhɑ.*. Chinggeltei 1992 writes 𘮴𘮳 as *nəxi* ~ *noxi*, and 𘮵𘮳𘮶 as *t’ɑxiɑ.* As Chinggeltei 1997 notes, reconstructions such as *dɑhɑ, noxi, t’ɑxiɑ* show less reliance on the transcription values, and greater reliance on Mo. forms.

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

2.170 𘮽 ‹båi›. Mnemonic from 派. Aisin Gioro 2004:53 notes that a title written 𘮽 in Zhixian 7 is written 𘮾𘮿 ‹bå.i› in Renxian 4, which suggests its reading is **bai*. Ji Shi suggests it means ‘licentiate, graduate of the imperial examination system’.

2.171 𘯀 ‹da›. 𘯀𘮭 ‹da.ai› ~ 𘯀𘮭𘮿 ‹da.ai.i› transcribes 大 **dai*. In Kitan it appears in 𘯁𘯂𘮭 𘯃𘯄𘯅 𘯆 ‹da.ha.ai o.ju.hu DAY› ‘the day the coffin was covered’.

2.172 𘯇 ‹uh›. 𘯈𘯇 ‹w.uh› 武 *wu* ‘martial, military’, 𘯉𘯇 僕 ‹b.uh› **pu* ‘servant’, 𘯊𘯇 ‹l.uh› 祿 *lu* ‘salary. 𘯇 ‹uh› is sometimes used in words which ended in *k* in MC.

2.173 𘯋

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

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

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

2.176 𘲦 ‹bú›. Probably a allograph of 𘲧. In Renyi we read 𘲦 𘲤𘲥𘳾𘳿𘳾 𘍼𘍿𘲦 ‹ei.ra.u.ud:i n.ad.bú›. 𘲤𘲥𘳾𘳿𘳾 ‹ei.ra.u.ud:i› is the genitive form of 𘲤𘲥𘳾𘳿 ‹ei.ra.u.ud› 'Yelü'. 𘲦 occurs in the expression 𘲟𘳾 𘐀𘍼 𘍼𘍿𘲦 ‹ORDO.u heu.úr n.ad.bú› 行宮春捺鉢 'travelling palace, *ordo*, spring *nabo*'. 𘍼𘍿𘲦 ‹n.ad.bú› is *nabo.* Under 𘍿 ‹ad› 099, it was suggested that 𘍼𘍿 𘍾𘍿 ‹n.ad bu.ad› means *nabo*. If 𘍼𘍿𘲦 ‹n.ad.bú› is similar to 𘍼𘍿 𘍾𘍿 ‹n.ad bu.ad›, then 𘲦 = 𘍾𘍿 ‹bu.ad›, written here ‹bú›, but perhaps **bad.* Sometimes the suggestion is made that 𘲦 refers to the Xiao clan, the imperial maternal clan. The term Xiao has not been identified in the Kitan inscriptions. It seems to be a Chinese word to include a number of Kitan families who married into the Yelü clan.

2.177 𘲧 ‹rå›. Other suggestions: *lus, la, ris.* This graph is usually discussed in the context of 𘊴𘊵 ‹qid.i› and 𘋾𘲧 ‹xu.rå›. See 4.58.

2.178 𘍽 ‹ku›. Toyoda 1991 recognised that 𘍽 means 'man, person', and that 𘍾𘳾 𘍽 ‹p.u ku› corresponds to 臣 *chén* 'official'. Liu 1995 noticed that 𘍽𘳽𘳿 ‹ku.uŋ.úr› corresponded to the name 控骨里 *kungguli*, confirming the value of 𘍽 as ‹ku›. Toyoda suggested the reading *kü'ün* cf. Mo. *kümün*. Chinggeltei noted that in the rhymes in the inscriptions, 𘍽 seems to have a [u] type vowel. The genitive form of 𘍽 ‹ku› is 𘍽𘍻𘍽 ‹ku.û.un›. Zongjiao 19

contains a quote from the *Book of Odes:* 兆矢 令勺 爻丰 公半永爻 犭亦 廿 冉攴 几尺火 丰 丙 ‹sh:de te.gu: as.ar n.ai.ci.er giů.ün ss hor.u ku.û.un ai mó› 兆 ‹sh› is 詩 *shi*, referring to the *Book of Odes*. 令勺 ‹te.gu› introduces direct speech (曰). 爻丰 ‹as.ar› is ‘peaceful, quiet’. 公半永爻 ‹n.ai.c.er› is ‘harmonious’. 冉攴 ‹hor.u› is ‘people’. 几尺火 ‹ku.û.un› is ‘man’ (genitive). 丰 ‹ai› is ‘father’, 丙 ‹mó› is ‘mother’. 兆矢 令勺 ‹sh:de te.gu› ‘in the *Book of Odes*’. Aisin Gioro identified this as Ode 251: 岂弟君 子, 民之父母 “How much more then should the happy and courteous sovereign be the parent of his people?” The Kitan version can be translated “the peaceful harmonious gentleman (*junzi*) is the father and mother of the people”.

2.179 尸 ‹dú›: a locative suffix corresponding to 朱 ‹do› and 矢 ‹de›, used after words with the main vowel [u]: 亢 九丙爻尸 ‹SIX g.iu.uŋ.dú› ‘in the six palaces 六宫’. Cf. 米攴尸 ‹ORDO.u.dú› ‘in the ordo’ 几尺尸 ‹ku.û.dú› ‘among the men, among the people’; 戈火 尸 令勺 ‹ś.iú:dú te.gu› ‘in the *Book of Documents* it says’ (Nu 34).

2.180 兆 ‹sh›. Transcribes the Chinese syllable **shï* and clearly shows the existence of [ï] in Liao Chinese. Examples: 兆, 兆谷 ‹sh, sh.ï› 事 *shï* ‘affair, matter, to serve’; 兆, 兆谷 ‹sh, sh.ï› 使 *shï* ‘envoy’ 兆 ‹sh› 史 *shï* ‘history, historian’ 兆谷 ~ 兆谷 ‹sh.ï› 侍 *shï* ‘to wait on’, 兆 ‹sh› 師 *shï* ‘teacher, army’. However, there are many other examples in which 使 and similar words are written 戈关 ‹ś.i›. There were no retroflexes in Kitan, so we can say that transcriptions of the 戈关 ‹ś.i› type were broad, reflecting Kitan pronunciation, and transcriptions of the 兆谷 ‹sh.ï› type narrow, reflecting more closely the Chinese pronunciation.

2.181 爪 ‹iúŋ›. 屮爪 北 炎 戈勿 仝非 九亦 ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **liung hu wei shang giang gün* ‘senior general of the dragon and tiger guard’ *(Research).*

2.182 凤

2.183 圣 ‹car›. Ji Shi translated 令丙刃伏 𠂢 业扎 关仉 圣为 ‹t.iu.rẻn.iń oŋ po.ho i.ri car.a› in the Renxian inscription as “the childhood name of Prince Jiuling was Chara”. This is based on Yelü Renxian’s biography in the *Liaoshi*.

2.184 乃 ‹am›. 乃 is in 仝为乃 ‹s.a.am› 三 **sam* and 九习乃 ‹g.ia.am› 監 **giem.*

2.185 乃 ‹åm›

2.186 𗍫 ‹o›. This graph appears in 𗹦𗍫 ‹s.o› 左 *zo* and 𗼻𗍫 ‹ś.o› 率 *sho*. It also occurs in Kitan words, such as 𘝞𗍫 ‹m.o› ‘big’ 𗾞𘓐𗍫 ‹mu.ho.o› ‘snake’, 𘓐𗍫 ‹po.o› ~ 𘓐𗍫𗍫 ‹p.o.o› ‘*shen*, monkey’. Chinggeltei suggests 𗾞𘓐𗍫 ‹mu.ho.o› should be read **mogo*. Also: 𗍫𘜶 ‹o.ordu› ‘ordo’; 𗍫𘜶𘝞 ‹o.ordu.u› ‘ordo’; 𗍫𘜶𘝞𗼇 ‹o.ordu.u.dú› ‘ordo’ (locative); 𗍫子伏 ‹o.ju.ińˊ› ~ 𗍫子𗏁 ‹o.ju.únˊ› ‘to appoint 任 ~ 除’.

2.187 𗥃 ‹TEN THOUSAND›. Perhaps ‹tůmu›. Wang Hongli 1986 suggested 𗥃 might mean ‘ten thousand’. 𗥃 appears in the present corpus 13 times, but never following another numeral. Examples: 𗥃 𗴢 ten thousand matters 萬事’ 𗥃 𠬜𗦳𗼃 ‹TEN THOUSAND g.úr:enˊ› ‘of ten thousand countries 萬國’ (Toyoda 1992); 𗥃 𠬜𗦳𗹦 亜𗹦 𘓐 ‹TEN THOUSAND g.úr:se hur.ú qaˊ› ‘khan in control of ten thousand countries’; 𗵘 𠂤𗦳 𗥃 公乃𗦳 ‹THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úrˊ› ‘a thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋’ (Toyoda 1998).

2.188 𗾞 ‹zỏ›.Mnemonic from 州. 𗾞𗍮 means ‘small, young’, as in 𠬜𗦳𗼃 力𘓐出𗹦 𗾞𗍮 𗏁 𗼃 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zỏ.qó TENT:enˊ› ‘the younger (junior) branch of the imperial maternal uncles 國舅小翁帳’. The *Liaoshi* informs us that the maternal uncle lineage of the Liao had two branches, 大翁帳 *da weng zhang* and 小翁帳 *xiao weng zhang*. Amongst these, 小 *xiao* corresponds to 𗾞𗍮. Chinggeltei relates 𗾞𗍮 to Mo. *baɣa* ‘small’, and suggests 𗾞 may be read **ba*. Aisin Gioro suggests **od*.

2.189 𗼃 ‹a›: 𗍮𗼃 ‹m.a› 馬 **ma*; 𗠇𗼃𗴂 ‹l.a.an› **lan* 蘭 𗠇𗼃𗴂. Kitan 𗹦𗼃 ‹êm.a› ‘goat; cyclical term 未’, 𗰜𗊴𗼃 ‹te.qo.a› ‘chicken, cyclical term 酉’, 𗶠𗾔𗼃 ‹tau.lí.a› ‘hare, rabbit, cyclical term 卯’; 𗼃 ‹a› ‘to be at, to be present at 在’.

2.190 𗾔 ‹å›.

2.191 𗽙

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

2.193 𗽙

2.194 𗽙

2.195 𘥥 ‹ů›. Mnemonic from 午.
2.196 𘥦 ‹bu›. Wang Hongli 1986 recognized 𘥦𘤽𘦚𘠽 ‹te.bu.ei.er› as 撻不也 Tabuye, a common name in the *Liaoshi*. Tabuye is said to mean ‘a tiller of fields’. *Jinshi* glossary: 答不也, 耕田者. In the *Liaoshi* the name appears as 撻不也 Tabuye and 撻不衍 Tabuyan. This is probably not a Jurchen word, as there is no equivalent in Manchu. Also in 𘥦 ‹bu› ‘grandfather’ 𘥦𘥣 ‹bu ai› ‘grandfather’; 𘥦𘥦𘥣 ‹bu bu ai› ‘great grandfather’.

2.197 𘥧 ‹ah›. 𘥧 transcribes Chinese [ai] in 𘤿𘥣 𘠧𘥪 𘦚𘥧 ‹x.ai g.ui b.ah› ~ 𘠽𘥣 𘠧𘥪 𘦚𘥧 ‹k.ai g.ui b.ah› 開國伯 **kaigueibai* ‘elder who assisted in founding the state’. In some transcriptions, there seems to be some confusion between 𘥧 ‹ah› and 𘥨 ‹qu›. 伯 may have had a glottal stop in Liao Chinese, and it is not clear if the use of 𘥧 ‹ah› instead of 𘥣 ‹ai› in such words reflects this.

2.198 𘥩

2.199 𘥪 ‹aŋ›. 𘥫𘥬 𘠧𘥪 𘠧𘥭 ‹z.iŋ g.aŋ g.ün› 靜江軍 **cinggiang gün* ‘the Jingjiang army’; 𘦚𘥬 𘦛𘥪 𘥮 ‹p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh› 平章事 **pingzhangshï* ‘official title’. Cf. 𘦚 ‹iáŋ›.

2.200 𘥯 Possibly an allograph of 𘥰202 or𘥱168.

2.201 𘥲 Possibly an allograph of 𘥳 ‹ên›. Cf. Gu 25: 𘤿𘤾𘥲 ‹x.ie.201› 賢 **hien* ‘virtuous’.

2.202 𘥴 ‹tu›. 𘥴𘤻 ‹tu.uŋ› transcribes 同 **tung* and 統 **tung*. In Kitan it appears in 𘥴𘤾𘥵 ‹tu.úr.bun› ~ 𘥴𘤾𘥶𘥷 ‹tu.úr.b.ún› ‘died, passed away (honorific: 薨).’

2.203 𘥸 Possibly ‹lå›. 𘥹𘥸 might mean ‘previous, past’. 𘥹 is ‹ca›. If this word is related to Ma. *cala* ‘previously, before’, 𘥸 might be ‹lå›.

2.204 𘥺 ‹shỉ›. Mnemonic from 矢.

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

[o], and 𘰾 ‹dú›, used after [u]. If the Kitan prolative (ablative) suffix ‘from’ 𘰾𘰼 ‹de.i› is related to Ma. *deri*, this might be evidence for a final [r] in 𘰾 ‹de›.

2.206 𘰿 ‹lí›. 𘰿 appears in the word 𘱁𘰿𘰽 ‹tau.lí.a› ‘hare’ cf. *Liaoshi* glossary 陶里 *taoli* ‘hare’. Cf. Mo. *taulai* ‘hare’.

2.207 𘱀 ‹THOUSAND›. Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995 give the following examples: 𘱂𘰽𘰻 𘱂𘱃 𘱄 𘱀 ‹p.a.ar p.in TWO THOUSAND› 食邑二千 (Linggong). 食邑 means “lit. to feed off a fief: a general reference to land-grant nobles, who had broad political, military and fiscal control over tracts awarded to them” (Hucker 5258). Also: 𘱂𘰽𘰻 𘱂𘱃 𘱁 𘱀 ‹p.a.ar p.in FIVE THOUSAND› ‘fiefdom of five thousand households’ (Renxian). Toyoda 98 pointed out that if 𘱀 means ‘thousand’, 𘱀 𘰼𘱇 𘱅 𘰼乃𘱇 ‹THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úr› in Xuan 30 means ‘a thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋’. 𘱀 may be ‹miŋ›: cf. 𘱀𘱆 is *meng’an* 孟安. Cf. Ming Jurchen 皿干 *min’gan* ‘thousand’ (Ki. 664); Mo. *mingɣa* ~ *mingɣan* ‘thousand’. Also: 𘱀𘱆 𘰻𘱄 ‹miŋ.an nai:d› ‘the leaders of a *meng’an*’.

2.208 𘱃 ‹lu›. 𘱃 corresponds to the cyclical sign 辰 *chen*, i.e. 龍 *long*, ‘dragon’. Cf. Mo. *luu* , Tu. *luu* ‘dragon’. In 𘱇𘰾 𘰺𘰾 𘰴𘰽 𘱃 𘰽𘰼𘱁 𘰹 ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ g.oŋ lu da.ai.i pu› 銀青光祿大夫 **yinqing guanglu daifu* **ngincing gunglu daifu*, 祿 *lu* is transcribed 𘰴𘰽 ‹l.uh›. 𘰽 is an allograph. The form with a dot (𘱈 209) seems to be a mistranscription.

2.209 𘱈 See 208 𘱃.

2.210 𘰹 ‹aú›. In 𘰹𘰻 ‘‹aú.ui› 娘子 *niangzi:* title of a woman of noble rank’.

2.211 𘰺 ‹THIRTY›. Reading unknown.

2.212 𘰾

2.213 𘰿 ‹to›. *Research* noticed that 𘰿𘰸 𘰴𘱉𘰷 ‹to.on l.ie.ên› transcribes 團練 **tonlien* ‘trainband prefect’ Seeing 𘰿 precedes 𘰸 ‹on›, it can be transcribed ‹to›.

2.214 𘰽 ‹dá›. Allograph of 𘰼 ‹da› 171 and 𘰼 ‹da› 215.

2.215 𘰼 ‹da›. Allograph of 𘰽 ‹dá› 214 and 𘰼 ‹da› 171.

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

2.217 𗤕 ‹do›. 𗤕 regularly appears with 𗤖 ‹po› ‘time’. It seems to be a locative suffix following stems with the main vowel [o].

2.218 𗤘 ‹doro› ~ ‹SEAL› ~ ‹RITUAL›. 𗤘 regularly corresponds to 禮 ‘ritual, rite, ceremony’. It also appears in the Jin reign title 大定 Dading 𗥃 𗤘𗥤乃 ‹HEAVEN doro.ha.am›. In Di 2, 𗤘 𗥤丰廿村 𠬜为𠂢公 ‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d› means ‘court attendants of the bureau of seals and tallies’.

2.219 𗤙 Possibly an allograph of 𗤘.

2.220 𗤚 ‹mú›. Ji Shi recognised in 𗤛𗤚欠𗤛 ‹ńi.mú.qú.ń› the Kitan name written 粘木衰 *Niemugun* in the *Liaoshi*. It is followed by 𗥤𗤜伞𗤝 ‹p.y.z.iú› 别胥 ‘*biexu*, a title of nobility for a woman’. A similar name appears in the form 𗤛𗤚欠 ‹ńi.mú.qó›, corresponding to 涅木古 *Niemugu* in the *Liaoshi*. The form with *n* indicates a ‘second name’.

2.221 𗤛 Possibly an allograph of 𗤛 222.

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

2.223 𗤜 Possibly an allograph of 𗤜 224.

2.224 𗤜 ‹mu›. 𗤜𗤟及 ‹mu.ho.o› means ‘snake’, the zodiac animal corresponding to the branch 巳, cf. Mo. *moɣai* ‘snake’. 𗤜𗤙𠂤 ‹mu.le.gi› is the temple name of Emperor Taizong. 𗤜𗤔𗤞 ‹mu.u.ji› corresponds to ‘聖 holy, sacred, referring to the emperor’, cf. 𗤜𗤔𗤞 𠂢 ‹mu.u.ji heu› ‘聖后 sacred empress’; 𗤜𗤔𗤞 𗤠 ‹mu.u.ji qa› 聖汗 ‘sacred khan’. Evidently a variety of [m], it seems to be used with rounded or back vowels, while 𗤡 ‹m› is used with unrounded or front vowels.

2.225 𘍽 ‹bi›. Only used in Chinese 𘍽𘐤 𘊴𘐪 𘐪 𘋢𘌽𘍿 ‹bi.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm› **bingma dugiem* 兵馬都監.

2.226 𘍿 ‹ü›. In 𘋢𘌽 𘊴𘍿 𘍿公 ‹ś.iú m.i ü.n› 樞密院 **shiumi'nguan* and 𘌽𘍿公 𘌽𘍿 ‹ŋ.ü.n p.i› 元妃 *Yuan Fei.*

2.227 𘐪 ‹jǐn›. Mnemonic from 仅. Possibly an allograph of 𘐪 230 and 𘐫 231. Langjun 3 𘐪 𘍾𘊴州𘍽𘍿𘋢 ‹jǐn se.qo.zǒ.l.ha.al.ún› corresponds to 修飾 *xiushi* 'repair, ornament, embellish'. 𘐪 might mean 'appearance, external appearance'. Its pronunciation is unknown. Aisin Gioro suggests *jisu*, cf. Mo. *jisü* 'appearance, shape, face, feature'.

2.228 𘐬 ‹lú›. Aisin Gioro 2004:22 equates 𘍾𘐬𘌽 with the tribal name 初魯德 [chu-lu-de], *Chulud, so ‹ci.lú.dû›.

2.229 𘐬 ‹ta›. 𘐬 appears in Langjun: 𘐬𘌽𘍾 𘍿𘋢 𘍽同𘌽 ‹ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ› 'at the Tang Qianling [tomb]'. This word also appears in the phrase 𘌽 𘐬 𘊴𘋢 𘐤 in the Daozong inscription. 𘌽 'sky, heaven', 𘊴𘋢 'earth' and 𘐤 'eternal, forever'. *Research* concluded that the phrase means 天長地永 'heaven is forever and earth is eternal'. This would suggest the Kitan word for 'long ~ long time' is 𘐬 ‹ta›.

2.230 𘐫 Allograph of 𘐪.

2.231 𘐫 Allograph of 𘐪.

2.232 𘐭

2.233 𘐮 ‹kú›. Possibly an allograph of 𘍾 ‹ku› 'man'. Renxian 7: 𘐮𘍽 ‹kú.kå› is written elsewhere 𘍾𘍽 ‹ku.kå›.

2.234 𘐯‹rěŋ›. Mnemonic from 仍.

2.235 𘐰 ‹ri›. 𘐰 appears in 𘊴𘐰 ‹mo.ri› 'horse', cf. Mo. *mori* ~ *morin* 'horse' and 𘌽𘐰 ‹i.ri› 'name'. 𘐰𘍾𘍾 ‹ri.g.en› is a Kitan title, *yilijin*. 𘐰 ‹ri› might be [ri] or [ir].

2.236 𘐱 ‹ur›. 𘐱 often appears in ordinal numbers: 𘍾𘐱𘌽 ‹c.ur.er› 'second', 𘋢𘐱𘌽 ‹hu.ur.er›, 'third' 𘍿𘐱𘌽 ‹d.ur.er› 'fourth'. Chinggeltei 1999

suggested 𘮩𘮬𘮪 𘮭𘮫 ‹ci.g.en u.ur› ‘left division’ and 𘮭𘮫 𘮨 ‹u.ur ai› ‘former fathers = ancestors’.
2.237 𘮪 ‹du›: 𘮧𘮯 𘮪 𘮦 ‹z.ie du sh› **ziedushï* ‘military commissioner 節度使’. 𘮪 𘮤𘮱 ‹du tu.uŋ› **dutung* ‘campaign commander 都統 ’.

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

2.239 𘮦 ‹bå›. Mnemonic from 八. 𘮦 also means 里 *li* ‘a Chinese mile’.

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

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

2.242 𘮥 ‹fu›. See 2.241.

2.243 𘮧 ‹HEAVEN›. Readings such as *teŋri, dəŋri, təŋgər, tŋgri* and the like are sometimes suggested, but there is no evidence. Ji Shi noticed that the word written 𘮲𘮳𘮴𘮵 ‹se.bu.o.ho› ‘inherited the throne, succeeded to the throne’ in the imperial epitaphs was written 𘮲𘮳𘮧𘮵 ‹se.bu.243.ho› in the Renxian inscription. In that case, the reading of 𘮧 should be close to 𘮴‹o›,

but this is more likely to be a mistranscription. 𘲉 𘲇 𘲍𘲏 𘲋 ‹HEAVEN ta, neu.e ETERNAL› ‘heaven is long, earth is eternal 天長地久’ (Dao 37); 𘲉 𘲍𘲏 ‘heaven and earth’ corresponding to 乾坤, which is a literary term for ‘heaven and earth’. (Xuanyi 10, Renxian 36, Zhixian 19); 𘲉 𘲍𘲏 𘲇𘲋𘲆𘲈𘲁 ‹HEAVEN.neu.e ei.eu.ur.û.ji:en› ‘乾坤旋轉 heaven and earth revolve’ (Renxian 36).

2.244 𘲏 ‹s›. Used in Kitan words and Chinese words. 𘲏 is used to transcribe Chinese [s], [ts] and [ts’]. 𘲏𘲁 ‹s.i› ‘west’ **si;* 𘲏𘲍𘲇 s.ie.ên› ‘immortal’ 仙 **sien;* 𘲏𘲎𘲐 ‹s.y.iên› 宣 **süen;* 𘲏𘲇𘲆 ‹s.a.am› 三 **sam;* 𘲏𘲓 ‹s.iau› 小**siau*. In the following words, 𘲏 transcribes [tsh]: 𘲏𘲉 ‹s.iŋ› 青 **cing* ‘green’; 𘲏𘲁 ‹s.i› ‘lacquer’ 漆 **ci;* 𘲏𘲍𘲇 ‹s.ie.ên› ‘before’ 前 **cien.* In the following words, 𘲏 transcribes Chinese [ts]: 𘲏𘲈 ‹s.iu› 酒 **ziu* ‘wine’; 𘲏𘲑 ‹s.iaŋ› ‘general’ 將 **ziang* 𘲏𘲕 ‹s.úŋ› 宗 **zong;* 𘲏𘲏 ‹s.ú› 祖 **zu* ‘ancestor’; 𘲏𘲌 ‹s.ï› 子 **zï* ‘son’. 𘲏 also appears in the reign title 𘲊 𘲏𘲆 ‹GREAT s.en› ‹s.en› = [isin] ‘great longevity 壽昌’ (壽: ‘longevity’); 𘲏𘲓𘲎 ‹s.iau.qu› ‘甲, 乙; blue’; 𘲏𘲃 ‹s.uni› ‘night’. Other examples: 𘲏𘲑𘲕 𘲀𘲅𘲌𘲂 ‹se.mu.én o.ORDU.u.dú› ‘in the travelling palaces’ (Dao 5), 𘲏𘲋𘲕 𘲅𘲏 ‹se.m.én ORDU.ú› ‘travelling palace’.

2.245 𘲏 ‹ú›. 𘲏 often appears in the word 祖 **zu* ‘ancestor’: 𘲏𘲍 𘲏𘲏 ‹t.ei z.ú› 德祖 Dezu, 𘲁𘲁 𘲏𘲏 ‹i.i z.ú› 懿祖 Yizu; 𘲌 𘲏𘲏 ‹tai s.ú› 太祖 Taizu; 𘲏 𘲏𘲉 𘲑𘲆 ‹ú s.iŋ ki.en› 武清縣 Wuqing county. In other inscriptions, 武**wu* is written 𘲀𘲂 ‹w.u›. So 𘲏 ‹ú› and 𘲀𘲂 ‹w.u› must be similar in pronunciation. 𘲏 ‹ú› alternates with 𘲂 ‹u› and 𘲃 ‹ó› in the word *ordu*, written 𘲅𘲏 ‹ORDU.ú› 𘲅𘲂 ‹ORDU.u› or 𘲅𘲃 ‹ORDU.ó›. The name 斡特拉 Wotela is written 𘲏𘲉𘲒𘲑𘲇𘲆 ‹ú.dû.l.ha.a.ar›.

2.246 𘲎 ‹qu›. 𘲎 appears in 𘲏𘲓𘲎 ‹s.iau.qu› ‘blue’, 𘲒𘲓𘲎 ‹l.iau.qu› ‘red’ and 𘲋𘲌𘲎 ‹m.as.qu› ‘first’. Sometimes it seems to be confused with 𘲍 ‹ah›, as in the word 𘲇𘲎(𘲍) 𘲀𘲉 ‹c.ah w.un› 冊文 **chaiwun* ‘text of an inscription’.

2.247 𘲐 ‹t›. 𘲐 appears to transcribe both [d] and [t]. 𘲐𘲑 ‹t.uŋ› 通 **tung*; 𘲐𘲍𘲇 ‹t.ie.ên› **dien* ‘palace’; 𘲐𘲍 ‹t.ei› 德 **dei* ‘virtue’, 𘲐𘲆𘲇 ‹te.qo.a› ‘chicken’, 𘲐𘲌𘲌 ‹te.ge.er› ‘deceased’, 𘲐𘲒𘲒𘲌𘲌 ‹t.em.l.ge.er› ‘enfeoffed 封’; 𘲐𘲄 ‹te.gu› ‘said 曰’; 𘲐𘲓𘲅 ‹te.bu.ei.en› ‘撻不衍 Tabuyan’. Cf. 𘲐𘲓𘲌𘲌 ‹te.bu.ei.er› or 𘲐𘲓𘲁 ‹te.bu.ei.i›: ‘ Tabuye 撻不也’.

2.248 𘮩 ‹YOUNG›. 𘮩𘰾 ‹YOUNG.qú› is often followed by 𘱖𘰚 ‹eu.ur› ‘time, age, period’, and is sometimes contrasted with 𘰚𘮫𘰾 ‹m.ó.qú› ‘old, elder, eldest’ when listing elder and younger siblings.

2.249 𘮫 ‹dû›. The name 斡特拉 Wotela is spelled in two ways, 𘰴𘰺𘱇𘰽𘰼 ‹ORDO.le.ha.a.án› and 𘮫𘮫𘰺𘱇𘰽𘰴 ‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar›, so it can be seen that 𘰴 ‹ORDO› = 𘮫𘮫 ‹ú.dû›. Chinggeltei 1999 compared 𘰚 𘮫𘮫𘰾𘰚𘰴 ‹GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón›, the reign title Da’an 大安 ‘Great Peace’ with the word 窝篤碗 *wodu’on* in the *Liaoshi* glossary.

2.250 𘮪 ‹heu›. 𘮪 appears in 𘰱 𘮪 ‹hoŋ heu› 皇后 **hongheu* ‘empress’.

2.251 𘰼 ‹n›. 𘰼𘰻 ‹n.iŋ› 寧 **ning;* 𘰼𘰹 ‹n.ui› 内 **nuei* (note medial -u- in the Liao Chinese form); 𘰽𘰼 𘰻 𘱈 ‹go.n ca sh› **gonchashï* ‘investigative official 觀察使’ (note lack of medial -u- in the Liao Chinese form); 𘰹𘰾𘰼 𘱖𘰹 ‹ŋ.ü.n p.i› ‘Yuan Fei 元妃’; 𘰼𘰚𘰺 𘱇𘰚𘰽 𘰻𘰹 ‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú› ‘epitaph, inscription written on a tomb 墓誌銘’ (𘰼𘰚 ‹ne.ra› = tomb); 𘰼𘰽𘰚 ‹n.am.úr› ‘autumn’; 𘰼𘰛 ‹n.on› ‘generation’; 𘰼𘰹𘰽 ‹n.i.gu› ‘Jurchen, gold’; 𘰼𘰹𘰽 𘰚𘰚𘰴 ‹n.i.gu g.úr:en› ‘of the Jurchen state’.

2.252 𘰚 ‹ó›. 𘰚 alternates with 𘮫, as in 𘰚𘮫 ‹m.o› ~ 𘰚𘰚 ‹m.ó› ‘big’, 𘰼𘰚 ‹n.ó› ~ 𘰼𘮫 ‹n.o› ‘spouse’. (Aisin Gioro 2004:11).

2.253 𘰼. Possibly an allograph of 𘰚252.

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

2.255 𘰛 ‹or›. 𘰛 occurs in 𘱖𘮫𘰛 ‹p.o.or› ‘made, caused to be [promoted to a position]’. This is a past suffix in the series 𘰲‹ar› 𘰚‹er› and 𘰛 ‹or›.

2.256 𘮩

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

2.258 𘰾 ‹z›. Appears mainly in Chinese words: 𘰾𘰾 ‹z.iu› 酒 **ziu* ‘wine’, 𘰾𘰾 ‹z.i› 濟 **zi* ‘name of a place’; 𘰾𘰾 ‹z.ie› 節 **zie* ‘branch’; 𘰾𘰾 ‹z.iŋ› 靜 **zing* ‘quiet’; 𘰾𘰾 ‹z.úŋ› 宗 **zung* ‘ancestor; used in emperors’ temple names’; 𘰾𘰾 ‹z.ï› 紫 **zï* ‘purple’; 𘰾𘰾 ‹z.iaŋ› 將 **ziang;* 𘰾𘰾 ‹z.i› 祭 **zi* ‘sacrifice’, 𘰾𘰾 ‹z.in› 進 **zin* enter, 𘰾𘰾 ‹z.ú› 祖 **zu* ‘ancestor’ 𘰾𘰾 ‹z.ï›, 子 **zï*; 𘰾𘰾 ‹z.o› 左 **zo* ‘left [side]’.

2.259 𘰾 ‹THIRD›. Possibly ‹hur›. The word for ‘third’ is 𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹hu.ur.er›, sometimes also written 𘰾𘰾, so 𘰾𘰾 ‹hu.ur› =𘰾 ‹hur›. See 包 166.

2.260 𘰾 ‹FOURTH›. This graph is only found in 𘰾𘰾 ‘fourth’.

2.261 𘰾 ‹l›. 𘰾𘰾 ‹l.iúŋ› 龍 **liung* (note the medial -i- in the Liao form); 𘰾𘰾 ‹l.iáŋ› 梁 **liang;* 𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹l.a.an› 蘭 **lan* ‘orchid’; 𘰾𘰾 ‹l.uh› 祿 **lu* MC luk*;* 𘰾𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹û.ul.ge.l.ún› ‘married [of a woman] 嫁，適’; 𘰾𘮩𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹d.em.l.ge.ei› ‘enfeoffed 封’ 𘰾𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹l.iu.rẻn.er› ‘died [of an emperor]崩’; 𘰾𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹p.od.l.ún› ‘returned’; 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹l.iáŋ ś.a.an› Liangshan, Mount Liang 梁山’; 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹l.i c.eu› ‘Lizhou, Li prefecture 醴州’; 𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹l.êm.a› *‘linya* 林牙’; 𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹l.êm.hu.a› *‘linya* 林牙’; 𘰾𘰾 ‹l.iŋ g.uŋ› ‘Linggong 令公’; 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 ‹l.eu ś.i tai oŋ› Loushi dawang 婁室大王 (Jurchen general who defeated the Liao); 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **lunghuwei shangzianggün* 龍虎衛上將軍 ‘senior general of the dragon and tiger guard’; 𘰾𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹l.iu.rẻn.er› ‘died (honorific term:崩)’; 𘰾𘰾𘰾 ‹l.iau.qu› ‘red’.

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

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

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

2.264  ‹ŋ›. This is used in Chinese words to transcribe initial or final [ŋ]. Examples: ‹ŋ.i› 儀 **ngi;*  ‹ŋ.u› 吾 **ngu;*  ‹śi.ŋ› 聖 **shing;*  ‹ŋ.in› 銀 **ngin;*  ‹ŋ.iú› 御 **ngiu;*  ‹ŋ.y.n› ~  ‹ŋ.y.iên› ~  ‹ŋ.ü.n› 元 **ngüen.*

2.265

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

2.267 See 2.266

2.268  ‹yi›.

2.269  =  341 (?)

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

2.271

2.272 𗼻 ‹bú›. Ji Shi 1996 suggested that 𘓐𗼻𗅋 𗍫𗂧𘜶 ‹le.bů.uh s.êŋ.un› stands for 魯不古 詳穩 *Lubugu xiangwen*, Lubugu being a name found in the *Liaoshi*. 𗼻 is presumably an allograph of 𗹦 ‹bú›. See 2.176.
2.273 𘜶 ‹un›. A genitive ending following stems with the main vowel [u]: 𘓐同 𘝦𘜶𘜶 ‹l.iŋ g.uŋ:un› ‘of the 令公 *linggong* [lord] ’; 𘝦𘜶 𗏁𘓐𘜶 ‹g.uŋ tz.iú:un› ‘of the 公主 **gungzhiu* [princess]’. Used in transcriptions of Chinese loan words, as in 𗥃𘜶 ‹w.un› 文 **wun*.

2.274 𗣼 ‹iá›. Gao Lujia 1991 suggests that 𗣼 is an allograph of 𗗙 ‹ie›. Aisin Gioro suggests it is pronounced the same as 𗀔 ‹ia›.

2.275 𗾔 Probably an allograph of 𗴲 277.

2.276 𗾕 Probably an allograph of 𗴲 277.

2.277 𗴲 ‹qudug›. A logogram: ‘good fortune, happiness’. Commonly used as a name, transcribed 胡覩古 **hudugu*. This graph always occurs with 𗀔, so 𗀔𗴲. From an examination of the rubbings, it seems 𗀔𗴲 is really a single graph, 𗾖, derived from a cursive form of Chinese 福 *fu* ‘good fortune, happiness’. See also 𗾔, 𗾕, 𗾘. 𗾖. Cf. 2.380.

2.278 𗾘 Probably an allograph of 277: 𗀔𗾘 = 𗀔𗴲 = 𗾖.

2.279 𗽙 ‹po›. The *Liaoshi* glossary lists the word for ‘time’ as 𨄽, and notes that 𨄽 is pronounced 頗 *po*. The *Qidanguo zhi* gives more detail: 瞎里𨄽, 漢人譯云 :瞎里是請, 𨄽是時: “the Chinese translate *hiali po* like this: *hiali* means ‘to invite’, *po* is ‘time’.” *Research* suggested the reading *po* for 𗽙. Shen Zhong 80 noted that 𘐯 𗽙𗏁 means ‘four seasons 四時’. 𗽙 is often followed by 𗢳 ‹do›: 𗽙 𗢳 ‹po:do› ‘at the time, at that time’.

2.280 𗾛 ‹áŋ›. occurs in 𗍫𗾛 𗍪 𗐱𗅆 𗖵𗁅 𗖵𗾛 ‹xa.áŋ tai ca.aŋ ś.iú ś.iáŋ›, the transcription of 行台尚书省 **hang tai shang shiu shieng*’. This suggests which suggests 𗾛 must be similar to 𗅆‹aŋ›.

2.281 𗽚

2.282 𗽛 ‹fẻi›. Mnemonic from 非.

2.283 𗾜 ‹k›. 𗾜 appears in: 𗾜𗹭 𗀀 𗊴𗂸 𗋒𗍪 𗀀𗂧𗊴 𗍫 ‹k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.uŋ s.a.am ss› 開府儀同三司 **kaifu ngitung samsï;* 𗾜𗹭 𗖵𗁅 𗍮𗢳 ‹k.ai g.ui

b.ah› 開國 伯 **kaigueibai* 開國伯; also written 𘰾𘲢 𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢𘲢 ‹x.ai g.ui b.ah›, 𘲢𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 ‹k.em sȯ.or› ‘he heard [received] the imperial edict 敕’; 𘲢𘲢𘲢 𘲢𘲢 ‹k.em te.gu› ‘the edict says 敕曰’.

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

2.285 𘲢 ‘yellow, gold’. See 4.59.

2.286 𘲢. A form of 𘲢 used with masculine nouns. 𘲢 𘲢𘲢 ‹GOLD♂ hu.ho› ‘golden bird 金鳥’.

2.287 𘲢

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

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

2.290 𘲢 ‹án›. *Research* concluded that the main vowel in 𘲢 was [u]. It resembles the Chinese character 出 *chu*, so *Research* suggested it might be read *tʃu*. It later became clear that the main vowel was not [u], but more

likely [a]. In Zhong 38, 𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄 ‹ar.u.ul.ha.én› was changed to 𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼅 ‹ar.u.ul.ha.án›, suggesting 𐼄 and 𐼅 must have been close, morphologically and/or phonetically. Both of them were used in verbal inflections, and could modify nouns. They could both be followed by case endings, e.g. 𐼆 𐼇 𐼈 𐼉 𐼊 ‘the day on which the empress dowager was born’, 𐼋 𐼌 𐼍 𐼎 ‘born on the eighteenth day’. 𐼅 often follows 𐼃 ‹ha›, and 𐼄 mostly follows 𐼀 ‹ge›. Chinggeltei has now come to the conclusion that 𐼅 is *an* and 𐼄 is *en*. They are transcribed here 𐼅 ‹án› and 𐼄 ‹én› to distinguish them from the genitive endings 𐼏 ‹an› and 𐼐 ‹en›.

2.291 𐼑

2.292 𐼒. 𐼒 appears in the phrase 𐼒𐼓 𐼔𐼕𐼖 𐼗𐼘𐼅 ‹292.u ś.eu.kå on.a.án› ‘sweet dew descended’ 甘露降 [on the day the coffin was interred]. Whether or not it is a logogram meaning ‘sweet’ is not known, but [u] seems to be a nominal/adjectival suffix.

2.293 𐼙

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

2.295 𐼢 ‹p›. 𐼢 appears in the following words: 𐼢𐼣 ‹p.iŋ› 平 **ping;* 𐼢𐼤 ‹p.i› 妃 **fuei* (?), 𐼢𐼥 ‹p.oŋ› 奉 **fung.* 𐼢𐼣 𐼦𐼧 𐼨𐼣𐼩 ‹p.iŋ ja.aŋ tz.iŋ sh› **pingzhang zhing shï* 平章政事; 𐼪𐼫𐼬 𐼢𐼤𐼭 ‹ŋ.y.n p.i.in› Yuan Fei ‘principal consort 元妃 (genitive); 𐼢𐼣 𐼟𐼯𐼰 𐼱𐼲 𐼳𐼴 ‹p.iŋ l.a.on g.uŋ c.en› **pinglon gungchen* ‘meritiorious official suppressing disorder 平亂功臣’; 𐼢𐼵 ‹po.o› ‘*shen*, cyclical sign, monkey, 申’; 𐼢𐼵𐼵 ‹p.o.o› *id.*; 𐼢𐼶𐼤 ‹p.od.i› ‘return’; 𐼢𐼶𐼟𐼷 ‹p.od.l.ún› ‘returned’ 𐼢𐼶𐼟𐼢𐼷 ‹p.od.le.ha.al.ún› (causative) ‘sent back’; 𐼢𐼰𐼸 𐼹 𐼺 ‹p.ul.uh NINE MONTH› ‘intercalary ninth month 閏九月’ 𐼢𐼓𐼓 𐼻𐼼 𐼽 ‹p.u.u ś.iú ss› ‘office of the administrator 部署司’.

2.296 𐼾

2.297  ‹pú›. In Xuanyi,  ‹pú.u ku› corresponds to 僕 *pu* ‘servant’. ‹ku› is ‘man’.

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

2.299 

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

2.301 This seems to be a mistranscription of 300.

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

2.303  ‹iŋ›. is only found in Chinese words. ‹iŋ› 應 **ying*  ‹p.iŋ› 兵; ‹bi.iŋ› 平 **ping;*  ‹g.iŋ› 景 , 經 **ging*.

2.304 ‹gở›.  ‹ETERNAL u hu.o.gở› in Daozong 6 corresponds to 永福座 *Yongfuzuo* ‘throne of eternal happiness’. ‹hu.o.gở› must mean ‘throne’ or something similar.

2.305  ‹rở›. Mnemonic from 肉.

2.306

2.307 𗼇

2.308 𗼇 ‹COMPOSE›. 𗼇𘓐 ‹COMPOSE.i› ‘to compose [the text of an inscription], 撰’.

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

2.310 𗰗 A similar graph is 𗰗 302.

2.311 𗰗 ‹b› ~ ‹bo›. 𗰗𗤓 ‹b.ah› 伯 **bai* ; 𗰗𗵆 ‹b.iau› 驃 **biau*; 𗰗𗥃 ‹b.u› 保 **bau* 𗰗𗍫 ‹b.û› 部 **bu.* 𗰗𘜶 𘍞𗢳 𗏁𗦳 𗴼𗊴 𗾞𗥤 ‹b.oh c.eu fu.oŋ ŋ.iú sh.ï› 博州防禦使 **bozheu fong ngushï;* ‘defense commissioner of Bozhou’. 𘜶 ‹oh› could be [oʔ]. 𗰗𗢳 ‹bo.qo› ‘child’; 𗍫𗏵 𗰗𗢳 ‹m.o bo.qo› ‘eldest child’; 𗰗𗢳𗴲 𗰗𗢳 ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› ‘grandson’; 𗰗𗹦𗊴 ‹bo.hu.án› ‘children, sons’; 𗥤𗏁 𗰗𗹦𗊴 ‹mó:t bo.hu.án› ‘daughters’; 𗰗𗍊 ‹b.as› ‘again’; 𗰗𗿳𗾞𗊴 ‹b.y.z.iú› a Kitan title transcribed 別胥 *biexu*; 𗰗𗤶𗼻𗴼 ‹bo.ra.ia.án› ~ 𗰗𗤶𗢳𗴼 ‹bo.ra.a.án› ‘right side’.

2.312 𗴓 ‹tůmu›. Ji Shi 1996 noted that a name in the Kitan version of Renxian, 𗴓𗿳 𗏁𗼻𗢳 ‹tůmu.úr t.úŋ.a›, may correspond to a name in the Chinese inscription, 圖木里同刮 **tumulituŋgua*. This strongly suggests that 𗴓 is [tůmu]. In Renxian 49, 𗍫 𗴓 corresponds to 兩萬 ‘twenty thousand’, suggesting that 𗴓 means ‘ten thousand’. In Renxian 11 we read 𗲈 𗴓 𗍫𗢳𗤓 ‹TEN TEN-THOUSAND û.ji:en› ‘gave a hundred thousand’. This refers to the Song increasing the amount of silver and silk to a hundred thousand taels to compensate for the land taxes of the ten Chinese counties in Liao territory.

2.313 𗴲 ‹ló›. 𗴲 appears in 𗍫𗴲𗍊 ‘seventh’, which is presumed to be read ‹dau.ló.er›, so 𗴲 could be ‹ló›.

2.314 𗾞 ‹iaŋ›. 𗹦𗾞 ś.iaŋ 相 **siang;* 𗿳𗾞 z.iaŋ ~ 𗏁𗾞 s.iaŋ 將 **ziang;* 𗹦𗲒 𗏁𗾞 𗤶𗍫 ‹ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün›上將軍 **shangzianggün.* 將軍 ‘general’ is written both 𗏁𗾞 𗤶𗍫 ‹s.iaŋ g.ün› and 𗏁𗼻 𗤶𗍫 ‹s.iáŋ g.ün›. 𗤶𗤓 𗿳𗥃 𗍊 𗹦𗲒 𗏁𗼻

𘮩𘮪 ‹gi.m ŋ.u ui ś.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün› 金吾衛上將軍 **gim'nguwei shangzianggün*; **𘮫𘮬 𘮭 𘮮 𘮯𘮰 𘮱𘮲 𘮩𘮪** ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün› 龍虎衛上將軍 **liunghuwei shangzianggün* 'senior general of the dragon and tiger guards'.

2.315 **𘮳** ‹iåŋ›. Possibly an allograph of 314. **𘮴**120 may be a cursive form.

2.316 **𘮵** ‹můh›. Mnemonic from 目.

2.317 **𘮶** ‹TEXT›. Used in the expression **𘮶𘮷 𘮸𘮹** ‹TEXT.ú te.gu›, which introduces rhymed sections in the inscriptions.

2.318 **𘮺**

2.319 **𘮻** ‹go›. **𘮻** appears in Gu in **𘮻𘮼 𘮽𘮾 𘮿** ‹go.n ca sh› 觀察使 **gonchashï* 'investigative official'. **𘮻𘮽** ‹go.er› is a Kitan word translated 帳 or 帳房 'tent'. It refers to a tribal unit, and by extension, a family, a lineage.

2.320 **𘯀** ‹yǒ›. Mnemonic from 由.

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

2.322 **𘯄** ‹ón›

2.323 **𘯅** ‹qi›. In Langjun **𘯅 𘯆** corresponds to 該時 'that time'. Cf. **𘯅 𘯆 𘯅 𘯇 𘯅 𘯈 𘯅 𘯆𘯉** (Zhonggong) 'that year that month that day that time (locative). In Zhong, 'that' is also written **𘯅𘯊** ‹qi.hu›; this is also found elsewhere. **𘯅 𘯋𘯌** ‹qi s.uni› 'that night'. **𘯅** also appears in the word for the Xi 奚, an ethnic group apparently related to the Kitans, written **𘯅𘯍𘯎** ‹qi.ii.ń›. This word appears many times in the inscriptions.

2.324 **𘯏** ‹iên›. Transcribes Chinese words with final [üɛn]: **𘯐𘯑𘯏** ‹ŋ.y.iên› 元 **ŋüen;* **𘯋𘯑𘯏 𘯒𘯓 𘯔𘯕 𘯖** ‹s.y.iên i.i neu.e mo› 宣懿皇后 'empress

Xuanyi' 𘤀𘥂𘠽 𘆏𘇯 𘝦𘃡 ‹s.y.iên x.ui sh.ï› 宣徽使 'master of court ceremonies'; 𘍞𘥂𘠽 𘟙𘣶 𘐜 ‹ŋ.y.iên ś.ô pu› 元帥府 *nguanshuai fu*.
2.325 𘍺 ‹dẻn›. Mnemonic from 电.

2.326 𘍻 ‹iẻ›.

2.327 𘥂 ‹ie›. In transcriptions of Chinese, 𘥂 indicates medial -i-: 𘤀𘥂𘠽 ‹s.ie.iên› 宣*süan; 𘤀𘥂𘃡 ‹s.ie.ên› 前 *cien; 𘃡𘥂𘃡 ‹d.ie.ên› 殿 *dien; 𘤀𘥂𘃡 𘜶𘜷𘜸 𘐜𘥂𘃡 ‹s.ie.ên ei.iu.u t.ie.ên› 仙游殿 'Hall of the Wandering Immortals'; 𘃡𘥂𘃡 𘤀𘥂𘃡 𘇯 𘃡𘃡 𘆏𘥂𘃡 ‹d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm› 殿前都點檢 *dien cien du diem giem 'chief inspector of the palace command'. At the end of a syllable transcribes Ch. *ie*: 𘤀𘥂 ‹z.ie› = 節 in 𘤀𘥂 𘇯 𘝦 ‹z.ie du sh› 節度使 *ziedushï 'military commissioner'. In Kitan words 𘥂 appears with the following graphs: 𘠆 ‹ra› 𘟝 ‹ia› 𘟞 ‹ai› 𘍼 ‹a› and 𘍽 ‹ha›, which suggests its main vowel was [a].

2.328 𘍾 ‹hoŋ›. In 𘍾 𘍿 ‹hoŋ di› 'emperor'.

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

2.330 𘟙 ‹ź›. Derived from 𘟙 ‹ś¾WKLQQIFDW>å@𘟙𘍁 𘆐𘆐 𘍾 𘍂 ‹ź.in i.i hoŋ heu› 仁懿皇后 'empress Renyi'; 𘟙𘍁 𘤀𘟘 ‹ź.in s.úŋ› 仁宗 'emperor Renzong'.

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

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

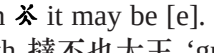
2.333 Possibly *qåtun*. Ji Shi sought to identify the word ‹qåtun ún.n› in *Renyi* 5 as 腻俚寨 **teligian*, one of the words for ‘queen, empress’ recorded in the *Liaoshi*. Liu Fengzhu agreed that corresponded to ‘empress’, but this was neither of the two known words for empress, ‹hoŋ heu› and ‹neu.mo›.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

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

2.335 ‹ia›. appears in ‹g.ia.am› 監 **giem;* g.ia.êm 監 **giem*; ‹ha.ia› 夏 **hia;* ‹g.ia› 家 **gia;*   ‹oŋ g.ia n.u› Wang Jianu (personal name)王家奴; ‹c.en g.ia n.u› 陳家奴 Chen Jianu (personal name); ‹xa.ia g.úr› 夏國 ‘the Xia state; the Xixia or Tangut state’; ‹ia ai› 伯父 *bó fù* ‘uncle’ (father’s elder brother). Liu Fengzhu interpreted ‹t.úŋ.a ci.ci ia deu› 同瓦及兩兄弟 ‘Tuŋua and others, his elder brother and his younger brother’. If this is so, the common word ‹ci ci› must mean ‘together with, and others, et cetera’.

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

2.337 ‹ji›. An allograph of 152 and 153.

2.338  ‹i'i› A rare graph, found only in the personal name ‹ź.in i'i hoŋ heu› 'empress Renyi'. This name is also written  ‹ź.in i.i hoŋ heu›, from which it can be seen ‹i'i› =  ‹i.i›.

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

2.340 ‹x›. Transcribes Chinese [x] and [kh]: ‹x.i.iŋ› 興 **hing*; ‹x.uŋ› 空 **kung;* ‹x.i› 期 **ki;* ‹x.ai› 開 **kai;* ‹x.ui› 徽 **hui;* ‹x.ah› 客 *kei(?)*; ‹x.iú› 許 **hiu;* ‹ś.eu ss x.uŋ› 守司空 **sheusïkung;*   ‹oŋ iŋ xi› 黃應期 **ong ingki* 'Huang Yingqi (name)'; ‹xe.dú.ún go.er› 'horizontal tents 橫帳'.

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

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

2.343

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

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

2.346 ‹uŋ›. An allograph of 2.345.

2.347 ‹ói›. An allograph of 2.107. Cf. ‹er› 2.341.

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

2.349 ‹ge›. An allograph of 2.112.

2.350 . An allograph of 110 or ‹d›. Cf. Zhong 23: ‘Tiande’ [a reign title] is usually written ‹d.iu.rẻn›.

2.351

2.352 ‹î›. This is rare. It is found in   ‹w.u g.î ui.i› for 武騎衛 **wugiwei*. An allograph is 114.

2.353 ‹ï›. Allograph of . Used to transcribe Chinese retracted [ï]: ‹z.ï› 紫 **zï* ; ‹z.ï› 子**zï* ; ‹sh.ï› 使 **shï* ‘messenger, ambassador’; ‹sh.ï› 侍 **shï* ‘attendant’;   ‹g.ui z.ï z.i z.iu› 國子祭酒 **guizï ziziu.*

2.354 ‹dź›. Possibly an allograph of ‹dz› 2.104.   appears in an inscription on a mirror, where it seems to mean ‘four seasons 四時’.

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

𗼇𗹦𘓐 ‹ordu.u:dú›, (2) 𗼇𗰜 ‹ordu.ú›, 𗼇𗰜𘓱 ‹ordu.ú.ur› (3) 𘜶𗼇𗹦𘓱 ‹o.ordu.u.ur›, 𘜶𗼇𗹦𘓐 ‹o.ordu.u.dú›, 𘜶𗼇𗹦 ‹o.ordu.u› 𘜶𗼇𗹦𗴲 ‹o.ordu.u:un› (4) 𘜶𗼇𗰜𘓱 ‹o.ordu.ú.ur›. Cf. 𗼇𗹦𘓱 亜𗰜 ‹ordu.u.ur hur.ú› ‘officer in charge of the *ordu*’.

2.356 𘝦. cẻn. Mnemonic from 尘 .

2.357 𗍫 ‹úŋ›. 𗰜𗍫 ‹z.úŋ› ~ 𗰜𗍫 ‹s.úŋ› 宗 **zung* ; 𘟙𗍫 ‹p.úŋ› **fung* 奉; 𘓱𗴲 𗰜𗍫 ‹śi.ŋ s.úŋ› ‘Shengzong 聖宗’; 𗴲 𗰜𗍫 ‹tai z.úŋ› ‘Taizong 太宗’.

2.358 𗰴 ‹mû›. 𗴲 𗰜𗴴 𗈪𗴲 𗹦𗰜𗹦 𗥃𘓱 𗼇𗱠 𗴲𗴴 𗰴 𗢳𗴲𗴴 𗴴𗱠 𗴲 𗢳𗴲𗹦𗱠 𗴲𗰜𗴴 𗈪 𗢳𗴲𗴴𗱠 𗴲 𗥃𗢳𗹦 𗟻𗢳𗴲 ‹HEAVEN t.ud yủ.úr ai.se.er, ja.aŋ m.in d.un mû ei.ie:en x.iŋ THREE g.iu.uŋ ur:en fu g.iu.uŋ sh rẻn.ei.ii p.o.or› as ‘in the first year of the Xianyong reign period, he was promoted to the position of deputy palace commander of the Zhangmin, Dunmu and Yanqing palaces’. Shi and Yu 2001. The only palace in the Liao period which had a name of which the first word was *dun* was the 敦睦宮 Dunmu Palace. Cf. Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:513.

2.359 𘝦

2.360 𗾞 ‹poŋ›. A compound character, made from 𘟙 ‹p› and 𗴲 ‹oŋ›. Langjun: 𗹦𗥃 𗈪𗴲 𗈪 𗾞 𗰜𗥃 𗥃𗴲 ‹ca.aŋ ś.iú tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ› **shangshiu zhïfang langzhung* 尚書職方郎 中’.

2.361 𗼻 ‹én›. 𗼻 is an allograph. In verbal suffixes 𗼻 ‹én› corresponds to 𗵘 ‹án›.

2.362 𗿳 ‹io›. Perhaps 𗿳 125 ‹ió› is an allograph. 𗹦𗿳 ‹b.iau› 驃 **biau;* 𗈪𗿳 ‹m.iau› 廟 **miau;* 𗰜𗿳 ‹s.iau› 小 **siau,* 𗈪𗿳𗴲 ‹ś.iau.u› 少 **shau;* 𗰜𗿳𗴲 ‹l.iau.u› 略 **liau.* 𗰜𗿳𗴴 ~ 𗰜𗿳𗰴 ‹l.iau.qú› ~ ‹l.iau.qu› ‘*bing, ding:* third and fourth of the ten stems 丙丁’.

2.363 𗾔

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

2.365 𗵘 ‹qid›. See 3.170.

𗼻𗰜 𗵆 𗵘𗴲𗵘 𗴲 𗰜𗰴𗹦𗥃𗾞 𗴲 𗵘 𗴲𗱠 𗹦𗱠 𗰴 𗈪 𗏁 𘟙 𗹦𗰜 𗵘𗰜 𗵆𗰜

‹g.ui oŋ qid.ún.i GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón SIX WHITE mo.ri ai tau saɨr THREE DAY.de BORN:er›
‘The king was born on the third day of the fifth month of the sixth year, white horse year in the Kitan reign period Da’an’.
夬爻关 八交礻 北八矢 ‹qid.ún:i g.úr:en us.gi:de›
‘In the writing of the Kitan State’.

2.366 **平** ‹ul›. **屮** ‹l› appears with unrounded vowels, **平** ‹ul› with rounded vowels: **屮** ‹l›: **今金屮八** ‹t.em.le.gi›, **伞爻屮八杰屮八** ‹s.ún.le.gi.ge.le.gi›, **乂火仉杰屮八礻** ‹x.ui.ri.ge.le.g.én›. **平** ‹ul›: **㐄平八** ‹eu.ul.gi›, **㐄平八礻** ‹eu.ul.g.en› **㐄平杰礻** ‹eu.ul.ge.en›, **㐄平杰万** ‹eu.ul.ge.ei›, **㐄平杰爻** ‹eu.ul.ge.ún›, **㐄平杰当** ‹eu.ul.ge.er›, **㐄平杰比** ‹eu.ul.ge.ii›, **东屮廾平业丰** ‹ra.l.u.ul.ha.ai›, **东屮廾平业为方** ‹ra.l.u.ul.ha.a.al›. Cf. **爻平** ‹u.ul› ‘winter’, Mo. *ebül*, Da. *ugul*.

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

2.368 **罒** ‹FOUR›. Possibly [dur]. The word for ‘fourth’ is spelled out **公化爻** ‹d.ur.er›. **罒矢** ‹FOUR:de› is the locative form. Note also **罒 非㚘** ‹FOUR po.dź› ‘the four seasons 四時’.

2.369 **罒** An allograph of **罒**, used with masculine nouns.

2.370 **礻**

2.371 **丞** ‹REGION› This graph seems to mean ‘border, border area’.

2.372 **爪** ‹û›. Examples: **兓爪** ‹xu.û› 護 **hu*, **令爪** ‹d.û› 度 **du;* **兀爪** ‹ś.û› 蜀 **shiu;* **舟爪** ‹b.û› 部 **bu*. Its usage is similar to **伞** ‹ú›; vowel harmony would suggest that in Kitan it is a front vowel. In Chinese words it seems to have the same value as **廾** ‹ó› and **爻** ‹u›. 部 **bu* is written **舟爪** ‹b.û›, **分廾** ‹pu.ó›, **业爻** ‹p.u› or **业爻爻** ‹p.u.u›. In Kitan words we can also see **爪** ‹û› and

𗼇 ‹u› exchange, as in the stem ‘to marry [of a woman] 嫁’, which is written 𗹦𗴲𗼇 ‹û.ul.ge› or 𗼇𗴲𗼈 ‹u.ul.ge. 𗹦 is the stem of ‘to give’, cf. Mo. *ög-* . 𗹦 ‹û› is also found in 𗹦 𗼇 ‹û e›, *yuyue* 于越, a title also used by the Uighurs and possibly derived from Tu. *ögüt* ‘counsel’. Cf. Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:432. 𗹦 ‹û›, 𗽾 ‹ú› and 𗿹 ‹iú› all transcribe Chinese [u]. 𗵘𗰜 𗱕𗹦 𗿼𗼈 ‹l.i b.û sh.ï l.aŋ›; 𗰜 𗿼𗵘𗹦𗼇 ‹HEAVEN ńi.l.û.er› ‘reign title: Kaitai 開泰’ 𗹦𗿹 ‹û.ui› ‘give 給與’; 𗹦𗴲𗼈𗽻 ‹û.ul.ge.al› ‘to marry (of a woman) 嫁’; also 𗹦𗴲𗼈𗽻 ‹û.ul.ge.al›; 𗹦𗴲𗼈𗵘𗿼 ‹û.ul.ge.l.ińˊ›; 𗹦𗴲𗼈𗰗 ‹û.ul.ge.ei› (suffixed forms of ‘marry’).

2.373 𗹦 ‹GREAT›. 𗹦 𗰣 𗾔𗊛𗫂 ‹GREAT GOLD gúr:en› ‘The Great Jin Dynasty 大金國’ (genitive) (Langjun); 𗹦 𗍫𗶭𗊏 ‹GREAT d.iu.rėn› reign title: Dakang 大康 ‘Great Prosperity’; 𗹦 𗽾𗼻𗊏𗁅𗶭 ‹GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón›: reign title: Da’an 大安 ‘Great Peace’; 𗹦 𗾔𗫂𗹭 ‹GREAT g.en.ún› ‘great sadness’; 𗹦 𗐯𗅋𗡶 ‹GREAT doro.a.án›: reign title: Dading 大定 ‘Great Settlement’; 𗹦 𗱕𗼻𗵘 ‹GREAT zů.ge.er›: reign title: Tianfu 天輔 ‘Heavenly Assistance’. Note here 𗹦 corresponds to 天 ‘heaven’ not 大 ‘great’. 𗹦 𗽾𗫂 ‹GREAT s.en›: reign title Changshou 長壽 ‘Great Longevity’; 𗹦 𗶭𗹬𗐱𗹭 ‹GREAT ei.ie.ra.u›: reign title: Taiping 太平 ‘Great Peace’.

2.374 𗼻 ‹tai› 𗼻 𗿹 ‹tai ui› 太尉 **taiwei* ‘defender in chief’; 𗼻 𗴑 ‹tai oŋ› 大王 ‘great prince’; 𗼻𗵘 ‹tai.bo› *‘tai bao* 太保 grand protector’; 𗼻 𗱕𗍫 ‹tai ś.iŋ› ‘great sage 大聖’; 𗼻 𗾔𗽾 ‹tai z.ú› **Taizu* 太祖: Taizu, name of emperor’; 𗼻 𗴑 𗼻 𗥃 ‹tai hoŋ tai heu› 太皇太后 ; 𗼻 𗰜 ‹tai sh›太師 ‘grand preceptor’; 𗼻 𗱕𗹦 ‹tai ś.i› *taishi* is a more assimilated form of 太師 than 𗼻 𗰜 ‹tai sh›; 𗼻 𗽾𗹭 𗵘𗍫 𗾔𗐱𗐯 𗱕𗴲 𗰜 ‹tai pu.u l.iŋ s.a.am ś.iáŋ sh› 太傅領三省事 *tai fu ling san sheng shi* ‘grand mentor and concurrent controller of the three departments’.

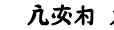
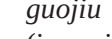
2.375 𗈪 ‹ca›. 𗈪𗱕 𗤶𗍫 𗍫𗖵𗵘 𗽾 𗰜 ‹ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ pu sh› 長寧宮副使 *chang ning gong fu shi* ‘official title’; 𗊛𗤶 𗈪 𗰜 ‹go.n ca sh› 觀察使 **gonchashï* ‘investigative official’; 𗈪𗱕 𗱕𗴑𗹭 ‹ca.aŋ ś.eu.u› 長壽 *chang shou* ‘long life, longevity’. Note 𗈪𗱕 ‹ca.aŋ› 尚 *shang *shang.*

2.376 𗵆

2.377 𗏁 ‹oh›. 𗵘𗏁 𗿵𗴑𗿹 𗽾𗴲 𗱕𗹦 𗿹𗿼 𗰜𗵘 ‹b.oh c.eu:un pu.oŋ ŋ.iu sh.ï› 博州防御使 *Bozhou fangyushi* ‘defence commissioner of the Bozhou district’. Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995 noted that according to the geography section of the *Jinshi*, the only *zhou* during the Jin period which had officials with the title 防御使 *fangyushi* and which began with 𗵘 ‹bo› was 博州 Bozhou . It

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

2.378 Indicates repetition.

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

2.380 ‹qudug›. Liu, Chinggeltei, Aisin Gioro and others identify with 胡覩古 *hudugu* ‘happiness, good fortune’. An examination of the inscriptions, however, suggests that is in fact one graph: .

CHAPTER THREE

ENGLISH-KITAN GLOSSARY

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

3.001 *again, then, after that:* 𘈩𘓐 ‹b.as› cf. Mo. *basa*, Ma. *basa*

𘐛𘐪 𘐾 𘈩𘓐 𘐪𘓐用𘐫为𘐗 𘑿太 𘐭𘐯 𘐽同 𘐗扎

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

𘐛𘐪 𘐾 𘈩𘓐 𘐗太 𘐯才乃 𘐽丙 𘐯𘐭 𘐫 业𘐗子𘐽

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

𘐛𘐪 𘐾文 𘈩𘓐 𘐯余𘐗子 𘐓 𘐽𘐗 𘐽同 𘐽为乃 𘐭並 𘐫 𘐗同 𘐵 业𘐗子𘐽

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

'That year, he was then made […] *zhongshuling* 中書令 (secretariat director). That year, he was then appointed *tongjian xiuguoshi* 同監修国史 (deputy state historiographer). That year, he was then appointed […] *taifu* 太傅 (grand mentor) *ling sanshengshi* 領三省事 (concurrent director of the three departments), and prince of Zheng.' (Zhong 22-23)

3.002 *ancestor:* 𘤀𘤽 𘥂 ‹u.ur ai› ‘preceding father; ancestor’
𘤀𘤽 ‹u.ur› means ‘first, upper, previous’. 𘤀𘤽 𘥂 ‹u.ur ai› is often written as one word: 𘤀𘤽𘥂 ‹u.ur.ai›.
𘤀𘤽伏 𘥂𘠈 ‹u.ur.iń ai:d› ‘ancestors’.
𘟙 𘠋𘠏𘠈 𘣪𘠈 𘢆 𘠄 𘠈𘤀豹𘠈 𘤀𘤽 𘥂
‹10000 g.úr:se hur.ú qa dả mu.u.ji:d u.ur ai›
‘The khan ruling ten thousand states, [descendant] of many sacred ancestors’.
𘤀𘤽 𘥂 𘠇𘠅 𘠈𘠈 𘠇王 ‹u.ur.ai ki.ên s.ú hoŋ di›
‘His ancestor was emperor Xuanzu’.
𘤀𘤽𘥂 𘠆 𘠈𘠈 𘠏 山 𘠇王雨 𘠅
‹u.ur.ai tai s.ú HEAVEN GOLD [nigu] hoŋ di:in deu
‘His ancestor was the younger brother of the emperor of the Shence reign period, Taizu’. (Xu 5)
𘠇王 𘤀𘤽伏 𘥂𘠈 𘠃𘟙 𘣪𘠈 𘠏𘠏𘠈𘠏
‹hoŋ di u.ur.iń ai:d m.o doro:er û.úr.û.ad› (Renxian 4)
‘The emperor presented (gave) a great ceremony to his ancestors’.

3.003 *appoint:* 𘠋𘟙 ‹p.o› ‘to be appointed to, to be promoted to 除’, ‘to become 成爲’.

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

3.005 *autumn:*𘠈乃𘠏 ‹n.am.úr› MMo. *namur*, Mo. *namur*
𘠄 𘥂 𘠈乃𘠏 ‹qi ai n.am.úr› ‘autumn of that year’ (Gao 17).

3.006 *benevolent:* 𘠇𘠋𘠄𘠀 ‹hur.ú.ur.bun› ‘benevolent, benevolence 仁. Also written 𘠇𘠊𘠄𘠀 ‹hur.ó.ur.bun›. 𘠇𘠋 ‹hur.ú› means ‘to control’ and may perhaps mean ‘controlling, commanding’ and seems to have little connection with the meaning of Chinese 仁 *ren* ‘humane, humaneness’.
𘠇𘠋𘠄𘠀 𘠈𘤀豹 𘟙𘟙 𘠁𘠂𘠁𘠈𘠈伏 𘠁𘠏 𘠅王
‹hur.ú.ur.bun mu.u.ji m.o c.i.is.d.bo.ń w.un hoŋ di›
‘Benevolent sacred great filial cultured emperor’. The posthumous title of the Daozong emperor 仁聖大孝文皇帝.

3.007 *biexu* 別胥 ‘a title of nobility for a woman; royal lady’: 𘠋𘠁𘠋𘠏 ‹b.y.z.iú› ~ 𘠊𘠁𘠋𘠏 ‹b.y.z.iú›
𘠀丙伏 𘠃 𘠋为乃 𘠂仉欠 丙𘠋 𘠋𘠀 𘠈 𘟙𘠀伏 𘠋𘠁伏 … 𘠀化当 丙 几 九火 九爻 𘠋𘠁𘠋𘠏

‹l.iu.iń go s.a.am ja.ri.qó mó:t p.ar TWO BIG yi̯.l.iń pu.is.iń …c.ur.én mó ku g.ui g.e p.y.z.iú›
‘Liunin Gosam, prime minister, had two wives. The senior wife was the *yilimian* (princess consort) lady… the second was royal lady Guige’ (Gao 9)
穴公 百 几 母坎伞火
‹nai:d mó ku b.ý.z.iú› ‘officials, wives and royal ladies’. (Xu 54)
百文方伏 伞村 刃化欠 业买为买 业坎伞火 圣村 母勿
‹ei.ie.ên.iń s.en ja.r.qó 287.an.a.an p.y.z.iú TWO:en bo.qo› (Yong 14)
‘The son of the two people, prime minister *Yenin *Isin and royal lady […]’.

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

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

3.010 *blood:* **本关禾** ‹c.i.is› ‘blood; blood relative, clansman, relative’. Cf. Ju. *seŋgi* ‘blood, blood relations’.
仕爻犭 本关禾矢 ‹mu.u.ji c.i.is:de›
‘at (with) the associates of the blood relations (immediate family?) of the emperor’. (Zong 6)
本关禾公币业本 公到交 屋令 百文乍爻 公半本与
‹c.i.is d.ad.ha.ar n.iû.úr KNOW.t ei.ie.ra.u n.ai.c.én›
‘His relationships with his blood relations and his administration of the tribes… were harmonious’.

3.011 *blue:* **伞考余** ‹s.iau.qu› ~ **伞考丈** ‹s.iau.qú›. **伞考余** ‹s.iau.qu› corresponds to 甲 *jia* and 乙 *yi*: first and second of the ten stems. This corresponds to ‘wood’ in the five elements and ‘blue’ in the five colours.

3.012 *Book of Documents* (Shujing)*:*
戈火尺 令勺 又及 关 公金公村 土平公百 习乍 业及 令丙刃爻 本廾业
‹ś.iú:dú te.gu: m.o HEAVEN n.em.d.en eu.ul.ge.ei ia.ra p.u t.iu.rẻn.er ar.u.l›
The *Book of Documents* says: “Great Heaven has no affection, it helps only the virtuous”. (Nu 33) From *The Charge to Zhong of Cai* 書經：蔡仲之命. Translation from Legge. Identified by Aisin Gioro 2004.

3.013 *Book of Odes* (Shijing)*:*
兆谷 令勺 冬本 公半本爻 犭亦 廿 市爻 几只业 半 百

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

3.014 *border, place*: 𗼇𘓐 ‹xe.ci› possibly *jiang* ‘border area 疆’ or *jing* ‘territory 境’. Cf. Ju. 采亦 *hečen(i)* Ki. 033 城 *chéng* ‘city, city wall’.
𗹦 𗴲𗼻𘓐 𗤶𗍫𘜶 𗼻𘓐𘜶𘓐, 𗍫 𗼇𘓐伏 𘝦□九丰
‹FOUR po.dź:en l.iau.ra mo.ci.ge.en, EIGHT xe.ci.ń xu.[ ].193.ai› (Daozong 17)
This phrase cannot be understood, but seems to have the same pattern as the common Chinese expression 四時八方 *si shi ba fang* ‘the four seasons and the eight directions’.

3.015 *born, to be born:* 𗰜 ‹BORN› See 2. 238.
𗾞 艾 包 𗥃𗣼 𗰜𗍊
‹FIVE MONTH THREE DAY:de BORN.er› (masculine suffix)
‘He was born on the third day of the fifth month’. (Zhonggong 6)
主 𗍫 介𘟙 𗰜当 𗥃
‹hoŋ tai heu:un BORN:én DAY› (feminine suffix)
‘The day the empress dowager was born’. (Renyi 10)
𠬠𘟙 𗼻𗍊𗼻𗍊 𗦳为𗀋 力业出𗍊 𗥃及 艾 𗼻 圣𗰜伏
‹g.uŋ c.e.en.e ś.a.rí na.ha.án.er m.o TENT.en yỉ.il.iń
伞𘝦 𠬠𘟙𘟙 𗏁勿
s.êŋ g.uŋ:un bo.qo
扎𘜶𗏁伏 尔𗴲 圣𗼻 𗥃𗤶欠 𗏁勿 𗍊 伞分业为𗼻
ho.le.bo.ń aú.ui TWO:en m.as.qó bo.qo HEAVEN ú.dû.ha.a.ar
乞 釆 发 丰 圣 艾 乞 𗥃𗣼 𗰜𗍊
TEN WHITE DRAGON YEAR TWO MONTH TEN DAY:de BORN.er›
‘The eldest son of her highness *Holbun, the daughter of the *yilimian* (princess consort) of the great tent of the maternal uncles, and lord *Chene, court attendant, was born on the tenth day of the second month of the year of the white dragon (*gengchen*), the tenth year of the Chongxi period’. (Nu 9)
𡰥为出 𠬠𗴲雨 𗏵化余 𗰜𗐱及
‹car.a.án g.ui.ń ja.ri.qó BORN.il.ún›
‘The prime minister 宰相, Chara Guiyin was born’. (Ren 5)
六 丙公 𗰜当 𗥃 曲𗍊 巫 𗍫𗍊
‹neu mó.n BORN.én DAY go.er qa û:er›
‘On the day of the the empress’ birth, the khan of the household gave [her this]’.

3.016 *bureau of seals and tallies* (印牌司): 𘮫 𘮬𘮭𘮪 ‹doro p.ai.ss›
𘮫 𘮬𘮭𘮪𘮩 𘮧𘮨𘮦
‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí› (Gao 2)
‘court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies 印牌司郎君’.
𘮤𘮯 𘮱 𘮲𘮳 𘮴𘮵 𘮶𘮷 𘮫 𘮬𘮭𘮪𘮩 𘮧𘮨𘮦 𘮸𘮹
‹eu.úr TWENTY FOUR de, ku.kå û.úr o.oi, doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí lú.i
𘮺 𘮭𘮳 𘮫 𘮬𘮭𘮪𘮩 𘮧𘮨𘮦 𘮨𘮭 𘮺 𘮲 𘮻𘮼 𘮽𘮾 𘮿𘮾 𘯀𘯁
TEN ai:de doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.ri a.ai TEN ONE ai:de de s.uni DAY.i nai o.oi
𘯂𘯃𘯄 𘯅𘯆 𘯇𘯈 𘯉𘯊 𘯋𘯌𘯅 𘯍𘯎𘯏𘯐𘯑
rẻn.ei.ii s.iau s.iáŋ g.ün i.ri.s t.em.le.ge.er›
‘At the age of twenty four, he was a palace guard … and a court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies; in the tenth year, he was a court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies; in the eleventh year, he was the head of night and day guards, and was granted the titles of … and junior general’.

3.017 *bury:* 𘮒 (061). ‹kẻ›.
𘮒𘮓𘮔 ‹kẻ.d.er› ‘buried’ - causative form: 𘮒𘮓𘮕𘮭 ‹kẻ.d.ha.ai› ‘having been placed in a coffin 殯’. 𘮭 ‹ai› is a converb suffix.

3.018 *caifang* 採訪 ‘investigation commissioner’ 𘮅𘮭 𘮆 ‹s.ai poŋ›
𘮇𘮈𘮉 𘮊𘮋 𘮅𘮭 𘮆 [= 𘮕𘮖] ‹hor.bo.ń x.eu s.ai poŋ (p.oŋ)›.
Liaoshi 77: Yelü Hou 吼 had the adult name Helu 曷魯 and held the office of *caifang* 採訪.
𘮗 𘮘𘮙 𘮚𘮛𘮜 𘮝𘮞𘮟𘮠 𘮡𘮢𘮟 𘮣𘮤𘮚𘮥 𘮅𘮭 𘮆 𘮕𘮖𘮦 𘮡𘮢 𘮧𘮨
‹SIX u.ur ńi.oh.ji ś.a.rí:en go.er:en uh.ul.iń s.ai p.oŋ:on go.er xỉ.ún›
‘Ugulin 兀古鄰, investigation commissioner 采訪, was a descendant (?) of the house of Niguji, court attendant, of the six divisions’.

3.019 *coffin of an emperor:* 𘮧 𘮩𘮪𘮫 ‹GREAT xo.mú.er› ‘great catalpa’
𘮧 𘮩𘮪𘮫 𘮬𘮭𘮕𘮭 𘮮𘮯𘮕𘮖 𘮰𘮱𘮲𘮳 𘮫 𘮴𘮵𘮶𘮷𘮸
‹GREAT xo.mú.er o.ju.ha.ai, na.as.ha.án doro k.ii.û.ji› (Di 28)
‘The great catalpa coffin was closed; this was called the ritual of causing-to-be at peace’. (Di 28). 大梓宮 ‘great catalpa palace’ refers to the coffin of an emperor or royal person.

3.020 *ceremony, ritual:* 𘮫 ‹doro›.
This graph seems to mean both ‘ceremony, ritual’ and ‘seal [symbol of authority]’. Its reading may have been **doro/n*.
𘮹 𘮺𘮻𘮬𘮼𘮽 𘮾𘮿𘯀 𘯁 𘯂 𘯃 𘯄 𘯅 𘯆 𘯇 𘯈 𘯉𘯊𘯋𘯌 𘯍𘯎𘯏 𘯐𘯑𘯒𘯓𘯔 𘮫 𘮴𘮵𘮶𘮷𘮸

‹HEAVEN ar.u.o.ho yủ.úr ai SIX MONTH TWENTY THREE DAY YONGFU hu.o.gỏ qa.bu.cẻn ńi.as.ha.a.án doro k.ii.û.ji›
‘On the twenty third day of the sixth month of the Qiantong period, she was laid to rest together [with the emperor Daozong] in the Yongfu 永福陵 tomb with (appropriate) rituals’. The Yongfu tomb was the joint tomb of Daozong and Xuanyi.

3.021 *chicken:* 𗼇𗍁𗹦 ‹te.qo.a› ‘chicken’
Mo. *takiy-a*, MMo. *taɣaqu*, Ju. *tiko*, Ma *coho*. Zodiac animal, corresponds to the stem 酉.

3.022 *child, son:* 𗰜𗍁 ‹bo.qo› ‘child’
𗹠𗴲 𗰜𗍁 ‹m.o bo.qo› ‘eldest child’
𗰜𗍁𗴦 𗰜𗍁 ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› ‘grandson’

3.023 *children:* 𗰜𗲟𗵘 ‹bo.hu.án›. The plural form of 𗰜𗍁 ‹bo.qo›.
𗰜𗲟𗵘 ‹bo.hu.án› ‘children, sons’
𗰜𗲟𗵘 𗼻 ‹bo.hu.án TWO› (Gu 48, Gu 16, Zhong 4, Zhong 29) ‘two children’
𗰜𗲟𗵘 𗰣 ‹bo.hu.án THREE› (Renxian 2) ‘three children’
𗰜𗲟𗵘 𗾞 ‹bo.hu.án FOUR› (Gu 18) ‘four children’
𗰜𗲟𗵘 𗹭 ‹bo.hu.án FIVE› (Zhong 6) ‘five children’
𗱕𗤁 𗰜𗲟𗵘 ‹mó:t bo.hu.án› ‘female children, daughters’
𗰜𗲟𗵘 𗹦𗴑 𗰣‹bo.hu.án ai:d THREE› (Di 34) ‘he had three sons’
Wang Hongli 1986 noted that 𗰜𗲟𗵘 ‹bo.hu.an› is similar to Mo. *baɣaču, baɣačuud* ‘children’. Toyoda adopted the reading *baɣaču* for 𗰜𗲟𗵘, the plural form of 𗰜𗍁 ‹bo.qo›, for which Toyoda wrote *baɣa*. The word is often followed by a numeral, as in the examples above.

3.024 *circuit, route* 路: 𗴑𗹠𗴲 ‹ńi.ô.ho›. Cf. 𗴑𗹠𗹬 ‹ńi.ô.úr› 部 *bu* ‘division’.
𗴑𗹠𗴲𗹦 𗹯𗹦 𗰗 𗱩 𗴑𗹠𗴲𗹦 𗹯𗹦 𗵆𗈪𗴑
‹ńi.ô.ho:en ủ.en NORTH EAST ńi.ô.ho:en ủ:en s.êŋ.un›
dongbeilu xiangwen 東北路詳穩 ‘*xiangwen* of the north east circuit’

3.025 *clear:* 𗹠𗹦 ‹as.ar›
𗹬𗱩 𗹠𗹦 ‹no.e as.ar› ‘the earth is clear’ 地清 (Xuanyi)
𗹯𗰜 𗹯𗰜 𗹬𗱩 𗹠𗹦, 𗰗𗱩𗹠 𗰗𗱩𗹠 𗴑 𗴲
‹ủ.bo ủ.bo neu.e as.ar, g.e.cẻn g.e.cẻn HEAVEN ho›
[ ] [ ] earth clear, [ ] [ ] heaven turgid. (Xuanyi 28-29)
𗹠𗹦 ‹as.ar› ‘clear’ is also in the reign title 清寧 *Qingning* ‘Clear and Tranquil’. 𗴲 ‹ho› should mean 濁 *zhuo* ‘turgid’.

3.026 *close, cover:* 反子‹o.ju›
公布 伏屮尺火 反子业丰 力冬业为 勺 叔北尺豹
‹ne.ra ńi.l.û.ui o.ju.ha.ai na.as.ha.a doro k.ii.û.ji›
'Then the tomb was closed. This was called the laying to rest ritual'. (Zhi 22)
久业木 反子刘 尺 岁及 仝土卡 尔为出
‹ta.ha.ar o.ju.hu DAY 292.u s.eu.kå on.a.án›
'On the day [the coffin] was closed, sweet dew fell'. (Xu)

3.027 *cloud:* 土平‹eu.ul›. Cf. Mo. *egüle ~ egülen*
父 土平 雨交 仝各火
‹HEAVEN eu.ul ca.úr s.êŋ.un›
Heaven cloud army *xiangwen*
'Commander of the Heaven Cloud Army 天雲軍詳穩'. Ji Shi, 1996:282-284. This is an inscription on a fish tally. 詳穩 *xiangwen* is a 'chief of an army, a camp, a small tribe or a group of imperial followers' (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:129 n.42)

3.028 *come, arrive:* 乂火 ‹x.ui› 'to come, to arrive'. Cf. Mo. *kür-* 'to reach, to arrive'.

3.029 *compose* [*the text of an inscription*] 撰': 冈 ‹COMPOSE› Cf. 2.308
冈为本‹COMPOSE.a.ar› (PAST)
仝金当 冈为本 犬八 爿冬 刘勿 八斗 公及 本父
‹t.em.én COMPOSE.a.ar us.gi b.as ja.aŋ g.ia n.u ci:er›
'Temian composed this, and then the characters were written by Zhang Jianu'. (Ren 1) (本父 ‹ci.er›: masculine form of past tense)

3.030 *control:* 重仝 ‹hur.ú› (重2.014) 'person in control, controller'
重仝 巫 ‹hur.ú qa› 'controlling khan' (Daozong)

3.031 *country:* 八交 ‹g.úr›
八交村 ‹g.úr:en› (genitive) 八交仝 ‹g.úr:se› (plural).
There are two Kitan words corresponding to 國 'state'. The first is 八火 ‹g.ui› < **guei*. The second is a native Kitan word, 八交 ‹g.úr›. Cf. Ju. 囡土 Ki. 274 *gur-un*, Ma. *gurun* 'state'.

八交仝 公丰友屮业为出
‹g.úr.se n.ai.dzi.le.ha.a.án›
'to achieve friendly relations between states' (Ren 12)
圣 八交仝 公丰友当 戈金 叔万
‹TWO g.úr:se n.ai.dz.én ś.em k.ei›

‘This being called two states at peace…’

3.032 *court attendant:* 𗼇𗰜𗴲 ‹ś.a.rí› *langjun.* In the *Liaoshi* glossary 沙里 *sha-li* is translated *langjun* 郎君 ‘court attendant’. 𗼇𗰜𗴲 ‹ś.a.rí› is clearly the Kitan form of 沙里.

3.033 *crow:* 𗲒 𗲟 ‹hu.ho›. In *Xuanyi,* 𘟙𗹦 𗼇𗾞𗰜 ‹g.u tau.lí.a› ‘jade hare’ forms a pair with 𗵘 𗲒𗲟 ‹GOLD♂ hu.ho› in the set phrase 金烏西下, 玉兔東升 ‘the gold crow sets in the west, the jade hare rises in the east’. The gold crow represents the sun, the jade hare the moon. So 𗲒𗲟 ‹hu.ho› must mean ‘crow’, or perhaps simply ‘bird’. Cf. Ju. *gaha* (Ki. 157) Ma. *gaha*.

3.034 *daughter:*𗽙 𗿳𗰗 ‹mó bo.qo› ‘female child, daughter’
𗽙 𗿳𗲒𗵘 ‹mó bo.hu.án› ‘daughters’
𗽙令 𗿳𗲒𗵘 𗼰 𗹦𗹠夫 𗴢平廾反闲 𗲊𗾔 力业出𗾔𗰜 伏𗰗 𗾔 兆𗰜 𗿳𗰗 𗍊几𗾔 𗰜𗾞 𘜶矢 穴平𗍊当
‹mó:t bo.hu.án TWO m.as.qú x.ul.ó.o.ón bú.d na.ha.án.er:en ńi.qo tai sh:en bo.qo s.g.e ci.ŋ tz:de û.ul.ge.én›
‘He had two daughters. The elder, *Hulon [of the ‘external families’, the Xiao], married Sege, recipient of edicts 乘旨, the son of Nehe, *taishi,* of the tent of the maternal uncles’.
The meaning of 𗲊 is unknown, but it might refer to the *biebu* 別部, non-Yelü clans, or what was known in Chinese as the Xiao. The name Xiao has not been identified in the inscriptions, the spouses of Yelü clan members being referred to by tribal names.

3.035 *day:* 𗹦 ‹DAY›. See 2.159.

3.036 *deceased:*𗍊𗾔𗾞 ‹te.ge.er› (masculine) 𗍊𗾔𗰗 ‹te.ge.én› ~ 𗍊𗾔公 ‹te.ge.n› (feminine) ‘deceased’.

3.037 *dew:* 𗼇𗵆𗴢 ‹ś.eu.kå› Cf. Mo. *sigüder* ~ *sigüderi,* Ju. *šileun* Ki. 010, Ma. *silenggi*.
𗂧业𗍫 反子𗲊 𗹦 𗿹𗹦 𗼇𗵆𗴢 𗰜为出
ta.ha.ar o.ju.hu DAY 292.u ś.eu.kå on.a:án›
‘On the day [the coffin] was closed, sweet dew fell 甘露降’. (Xu wang)
3.038 *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* 起居注: 𗤶𘜶 𗹦𗹍 𗵘 ‹284.089 DAY.i ui›
𗵆 业𘝦廿𗍊 𗼇为𗴲 𗤶𘜶 𗹦𗹍 𗵘 𗱕几𗍫几 𗿳𗹦火 𘜶𗹦𗂧 冈为𗍫
‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí 284.089 DAY.i ui RECORD.gi.le.gi ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh COMPOSE.a.ar›

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

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

叔金 雨仝 斥 伀攴豹朽 尺关 火 今金百 冈屮列

‹k.em sȯ.or SEVEN♂ mu.u.ji.en DAY.i ui t.em.ei COMPOSE.le.hu›

亢 攴化 圣用伏 尺公 曲爻朽 廿 几寸 公攴 冈为本

SIX u.úr yi̯.il.iń û.n go.er:en ss g.ia n.u COMPOSE.a.ar›

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

3.039 *die - honorific* 薨*:* **歹交**- **tur*- Usually with the past suffix: **歹交舟伏** ‹tu.úr.bo.ń›~ **歹交屮** ‹tu.úr.bun› ~ **歹交舟攴** ‹tu.úr.b.ún› ‘died, passed away’

伀攴豹朽 又反 丐 仐当 安炎关 杰尕 业关 业攴闲屮伏 土交 丁 亢矢 歹交舟伏

‹mu.u.ji:en m.o deu s.úŋ ŋ.úi.i oŋ:on p.i p.u.gȯ.l.iń eu.úr TWENTY SIX:de, tu.úr.bo.ń›

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

土交 冂 今 化歹交屮

‹eu.úr SEVENTY FOUR. tu.úr.bun›

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

穴 廿 乞 毛 尺矢 土交 𠂉 无矢 … 歹交舟伏

‹nai MONTH TEN ONE DAY.de eu.úr THIRTY FIVE de … tu.úr.bo.ń› (Gu 13)

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

父 仐生反扎 尢交 羊 仐雨 杰尕 歹交仐北

‹HEAVEN se.bu.o.ho yủ.úr ai, s.in oŋ:on tu.úr:s.ii› (Han Dilie 5)

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

3.040 *die - of an emperor* 崩: **屮丙刃**- ‹l.iu.rẻn-›

乂关闭 仐当 又朽 伀攴豹 又反 本关禾釜屮 仍攴

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

父 仐分屮业为本 主 王 又卉朽 公亦生亦关

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

小 十 仐伀当 米攴几 仐为卡 屮丙刃爻

SOUTH WEST se.mu.én, ordu.u.dú s.a.kå l.iu.rẻn:er›

‘Xingzong, the sacred, great, filial eternal (仍汲 ‹tá.u›) Chongxi emperor, while in residence in a *miri* (?) of the *nabo* of the south west hunting *ordo*, passed away’.
Note the form in 当 ‹én› when the verb refers to a woman:
伞奴虫 关关 穴夯 丙 与卡灵…列扎朴…公亦生签关 仆丙刃当
‹s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó eu.kå.ún hu.ho:en n.ad.bu.d.i l.iu.rẻn.én›
‘Xuanyi, earth mother … in the crow *nabo*, passed away’ (Xuanyi).

3.041 *die of an illness:* 伞金北- ‹s.em.ii-› ‘contract a fatal illness, die of a fatal illness’.
又 伞朴 无 半 乞 廿 巫 尺矢 与奕 了 戈矢 伞金北矣
‹GREAT s.en FIVE YEAR TEN MONTH EIGHT DAY.de eu.úr FORTY FIVE.de s.em.ii.er›
‘On the eighth day of the tenth month of the fifth year of the Shouchang period, he contracted a fatal illness’. (Ren 1)
巫 廿 圣 尺矢 与奕 亠 令化 伞金北矣 令岔矣
‹EIGHT MONTH TWO DAY eu.úr THIRTY FOUR.ur s.em.ii.er te.ge:er›
‘On the second day of the eighth month, at the age of 34, he contracted a fatal illness and died’. (Hong 11)

3.042 *die* - plain form*:* 丙‹iu› ‘not exist, die’ (亡, 無)
扎仆中 丁 无 求 又化 尺 与奕 冂 不非矢 丙
‹ho.le.bun TWENTY FIVE WHITE♂ mo.ri DAY eu.úr SEVENTY xa:iåŋ.de iu› (Jin 38)
‘*Holebun passed away on the twenty fifth day, the day of the white horse, at the age of seventy’. (不非矢 ‹xa:iåŋ.de› ‘exactly’ is used after thirty, forty etc. when there is no other numeral. It might mean ‘exactly’).
与奕 丁 圣矢 口 伞金北矣丙
‹eu.úr TWENTY TWO LOC THAT s.em.ii:er PAST iu› (Yong 35)
‘at the age of twenty two, he contracted that sickness and died’

3.043 *dilapidated:* 丙火尘 业廾火关‹ei.iú.cẻ p.u.ui.i›
仍勾朴 亚方 仆同矢 乂火朴 几丙爻 令交方 丙火尘 业廾火关 尺伏 扎仆列矣
‹ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên ei.iú.cẻn p.u.ui.i dau.iń ho.le.hu.er›
‘After he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty; the palaces were dilapidated 坍塌; he felt very sad’. (Langjun 2-3)

3.044 *disaster, catastrophe:* 列冬方 ‹hu.as.al›
乞 伯与 列冬方 搽
‹ONE BORN/LIFE:én hu.as.al qudug›

‘life is disaster and good fortune’ (Nu 37).
戈 丞伏 几同 弟 曲爻礻 犹几矣 刘冬方为 捺 百央平刘 百令刘 向百当 乂关 冏令北
‹FIVE.NINE.ń g.iŋ jau go.er:en us.gi:de h.as.al.a qudug ei.au.ul.hu mo.t.hu hor.ei.én x.i 307.s.ii›
‘In the writings of the five classics 五經 and the nine classics 九經, and the hundred schools of thought 百家, disaster and good fortune [alternate?] …’ (Nu 35-36).

3.045 *division:* **爻化** ‹u.úr› ‘administrative district’. *Research* identified **爻化** ‹u.ur› with 院 *yuan*. Cf. 余忤 Ki. 197 **yule*, cf. Jin *Dict.* p. 247 **ou-le* 院 *yuan*.

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

3.047 *dogs and falcons:* **伏为 戈夬为** ‹ńi.qo ś.au.a›
为 屮刘久伏 几丬奕 丞 兆 [….] 公火 仉爻 伏为 戈夬为 亚今 尼爻
‹deu le.bú.uh.iń ku.uŋ.úr tai sh […] n.ui kú.u ńi.qo ś.au.a hur.ú KNOW:er›
‘His younger brother *Lubugin 魯不堇 *Kunggur 控骨里, *taishi* 太師, was in charge of the palace storehouses 内庫 and control of dogs and falcons’. (Han Dilie 20).

3.048 *dragon:* **戈** ‹lu› is the equivalent of the cyclical term 辰. The animal corresponding to 辰 is the dragon. **戈** transcribes 祿 , so can be read ‹lu›. Cf. Mo. *luu*, Tu. *luu* ‘dragon’ from a dialect form of Ch. 龍 *long* ‘dragon’. In Zhonggong 24 there are two empty spaces before **戈 爻由** ‹lu ún.yǒ›. This may be the common word for the emperor, 龍顔 *long yan* ‘dragon face, imperial counternance’ (Liu Fengzhu 1983).

3.049 *drink:* **丞礻** ‹êm.ci› - stem form is **丞** ‹êm›
金礻 穴丞 为奕 由爿 丞礻 乂关乔只火 业币屮爻
‹em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm:ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún›
‘After he drank wine 酣飲 with the local officials, he returned happy’. (Langjun).

3.050 *dutong* 都統 ‘campaign commander’: **而讨 亚今** ‹cau.ji hur.ú›. **亚今** ‹hur.ú› means ‘person in command of’. Suggestions for **而讨** ‹cau.ji› have

been 楚古 *chugu* ‘an official in charge of the interrogation of prisoners in the northern adminstration’ and 旗鼓 *qigu* ‘banners and drums’. It is probably connected with 𘮞𘰾 ‹cau.úr› ‘war, battle’, so 𘮞𘰾 𘰾𘰀 𘰾𘰀 ‹cau.ji hur.ú› means ‘commander of the army’. If 𘰀 ‹ji› is a deverbal noun suffix, 𘮞𘰾 ‹cau.ji› would mean ‘those who engage in battle’, that is, troops. 都統 is also transcribed 𘰀 𘰾𘰀 ‹du tu.uŋ›.

3.051 *earth:* 𘰾 ‹neu› or 𘰾𘰾 ‹neu.e› Also written 𘰾𘰾.

3.052 *earth mother:*
𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰀 𘰾 𘰾𘰀 𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰀 𘰾𘰀
‹neu.e tů.gi.n HEAVEN bo.qo hoŋ.di:in l.iu.rẻn.s.ii›
‘After the earth mother (empress) … and the emperor (son of heaven) passed away… Cf. also 3.063.

3.053 *east* (1): 𘰾𘰀 ‹ud.ur›. Ji Shi thinks that 𘰾𘰀 should be read **doru*, reading 𘰾 **do* rather than ‹ud›, cf. Mo. *doruna*. See also Wu Yingzhe 2004a. ‘East’ is written with the logogram 𘰾 2.072. In the Yuan dynasty Mongol-Chinese glossary, the *Zhiyuan yiyu*, the equivalents of east, west, south and north in Middle Mongolian are *dorona, hörene, emüne and ümere*, so Toyoda 1992 suggests these readings for the Kitan logographs. Aisin Gioro 2004 suggests a simplified version: *doru, xoru, əmu* and *umə*. Another set of Mongol terms for the directions are *ǰegün, baraɣun, emüne* and *xoina*. The Kitan terms are 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 ‹ci.g.en› ~ 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 ‹dzi.g.en› ‘left’ (3.114) and 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 ‹bo.ra.ia.an› ~ 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 ‹bo.ra.a.an› ‘right’ (3.172).
𘰾𘰀 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 ‹ud.úr g.iŋ l.iú ś.eu›
‘the *liushou* of the eastern capital 東京留守’.
𘰾 𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾
‹NORTH EAST ńi.ô.ho:en ů:en s.êŋ.un p.od.i o.oi› (Zongjiao 13).
‘having become the … *xiangwen* 祥穩 of the Northeast route…’.
𘰾𘰾 ‹ńi.ô.ho› has the same stem as 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 ‹ńi.ô.úr› 部 *bu* ‘division’, and here corresponds to 路 *lu* ‘route’. 𘰾𘰾 is 𘰾𘰾 ‹s.êŋ.un› *xiangwen*, here corresponding to 將軍 *jiangjun* ‘general’. 𘰾𘰾 ‹o.oi› is the converb of the verb ‘become’. So 𘰾 must be the equivalent of 東 *dong* ‘east’. The graph 𘰾 is very similar to 𘰾 ‘younger brother’.
𘰾𘰀 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾
‹eu.ul pu.kå.û.er MOUNTAIN:en EAST›
雲慶山之東 ‘to the east of Yunqing mountain’ (?) (Daozong 6).

3.054 *edict:* 𘰾𘰾 ‹k.em›. Ch. 敕 *chi*, Mo. *ǰarliɣ*, Ju. *alawa-(gi)* (*-gi* is instrumental). Ma. *hese.*

𐲀𐲋𐲍 𐲘𐲎 𐲑𐲌𐲁𐲉 ‹k.em sở:or COMPOSE.a.ar›
‘he composed [this] by the order of an imperial edict 奉敕撰’
𐲀𐲋𐲍 𐲒𐲆 ‹k.em te.gu› ‘the edict says 敕曰’
𐲀𐲋𐲍 𐲘𐲎 ‹k.em sở:or› (Nu 2) ‘the edict was received 敕奉’

3.055 *eight:* **𐲎** (007) **𐲎** ‹EIGHT›. Masc. form: **𐲏** (008) There is no evidence from the ordinals for the reading of **𐲎**. **𐲎𐲅𐲍** is ‘eighth, ordinal form of **𐲎**’.
𐲎 𐲁𐲍𐲔𐲏 ‹EIGHT mu.u.ji:d› ‘the eight sacred ones’ = ‘The eight emperors of the dynasty’

3.056 *eighty:* **𐲑** ‹EIGHTY› (300). Cf. **𐲑** 301.
𐲓𐲙𐲑 … 𐲔𐲙𐲊
‹eu.úr EIGHTY ... tu.úr.bun› (Xu 38)
‘He died at the age of eighty’.
𐲑 𐲈𐲊 ‹EIGHTY bå.en› (Renxian 42) ‘eighty *li*’

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

3.058 *eldest child:* **𐲘𐲁** **𐲐𐲇** ‹m.o bo.qo› ‘big child = eldest child, eldest son 長子’
𐲘𐲏𐲙 ‹m.as.qó› ‘eldest son 長子’
𐲘𐲏𐲙 𐲙𐲑𐲃 𐲎𐲀𐲍 𐲋 𐲘𐲇 ‹m.as.qó uh.ul.iń d.em.er pu m.a›
‘The eldest son, *Ugulin 兀古鄰 *Temer 特末, *fuma* [emperor’s son-in-law]…’
𐲑𐲎 𐲐𐲉𐲀 𐲏 𐲘𐲏𐲙 𐲆𐲙𐲘 ‹ai:d bo.hu.án TWO♂ m.as.qó g.ui.in› (Nu 26)
‘He had two male children; the eldest was Guoyin 國隱’.
Note the feminine form **𐲘𐲏𐲚** ‹m.as.qú›
𐲘𐲋𐲚 𐲊𐲒 𐲌𐲍 𐲀𐲙 𐲘𐲁 𐲓 𐲈 𐲆𐲉 𐲏𐲔 𐲐𐲃 𐲙𐲙 𐲁𐲙𐲋𐲍𐲗
‹m.as.qú tu.uŋ s.ï n.iú m.o TENT:en x.iu g.uŋ tai bo:de u.ul.ge.ei›
‘The eldest was *Tongzinü 童子女, having married Xiugong *taibao* 秀功太保 of the great tent…” (**𐲗** -ei = converb).
𐲘𐲏𐲋 ‹m.as.qu› ‘first’ corresponds to **𐲘𐲁** ‹m.o› ‘big, eldest, first’.

3.059 *emperor:* **𐲑 𐲒** ‹hoŋ di› < 皇帝 **hongdi*.
𐲑𐲒𐲈 ~ **𐲑𐲒𐲓** ‹hoŋ di:in› ~‹hoŋ di:en› ‘of the emperor’

3.060 *empress:* 主 介 ‹hoŋ heu› < 皇后 **hongheu*; 穴爷 丙 ‹neu.e mo› ‘empress’ (earth mother). The *Liaoshi* provides us with a number of Kitan words for ‘empress’: 皇后, 忒里蹇, 可敦 and 耨斡麽(么). *Liaoshi* 116: 耨斡，后土稱. 麽(么), 母稱: ‘*neu-o*, the name of *houtu* ‘empress of the earth’; 麽(么) means 母 ‘mother’. *Liaoshi* 71: 遼因突厥, 稱皇后曰可敦. 國語曰忒里蹇. 尊稱曰耨斡麽么, 蓋以配后土而母之云. ‘The Liao, following the Tujue, called the empress *kedun*. In their national language they say *telijian*. The respectful term is *nou-o-mo*, it seems to be equating the *houtu* ‘the female earth deity’ with *mu* ‘mother’.” 穴夯 丙 ‹neu.e mo› corresponds to 耨斡麽(么) **neu-e-mo*.
伞艾虫 关关 穴夯 丙 ‹s.ý.yen i.i. neu.e mo› 宣懿皇后 ‘Empress Xuanyi’.

3.061 *empress dowager:*
主 丞 介 ‹hoŋ tai heu› < 皇太后 **hongtaiheu.*

3.062 *epitaph* 公东矢 丑九当 月伞
‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g:én TEXT.ú›
muzhiming ‘epitaph, inscription on a tombstone 墓誌銘’

3.063 *establish:* 业及子 ‹p.o.ju-› The stem is **poju-* ‘establish’ probably from ‘to make, to be’.
业及子丑 ‹p.o.ju.ha-› ‘to cause or order to arise, to raise, to establish’.

3.064 *estate:* 业为本 业雨‹p.a.ar p.in›
业为本 业雨 斤 弟 六关
‹p.a.ar p.in SEVEN HUNDRED rí.i›
‘estate of seven hundred households 邑食七百戶’ (六关rí:i ‘household 戶’)

3.065 *et cetera:* 衣衣 ‹ci.ci› ‘together with, *et cetera*, and others’.
令当为 衣衣 习 为 ‹t.úŋ.a ci.ci ia deu›
‘*Tuŋa and the others, his elder brothers and his younger brothers’.

3.066 *eternal:* 朱(063) ‹ETERNAL› < 永‘eternal’
朱捺 列及闲 ‹ETERNAL qudug hu.o.gǒ›
yongfuling ‘Yongfu tomb 永福陵’
父 仍穴夯 朱 ‹HEAVEN ta neu.e ETERNAL›
‘Heaven and earth are eternal’. (Daozong)
伞礼 朱 及 令岑 ‹s.en ETERNAL u t.oi›
‘long life, eternal, good fortune (?) virtue (?)’: 壽長福德: inscription on a bronze mirror.

The meaning of 𘮩𘮪 is uncertain, 德 ‘virtue’ is usually written 𘮫𘮬 ‹d.ei› or 𘮩𘮬‹t.ei›.

3.067 *eulogy :*𘮬𘮭𘮯 𘮰𘮱 𘮲𘮳 ‹g.en.ún c.ah w.un› 哀冊文’

3.068 *falcon:* 𘮯𘮴𘮭 ‹ś.au.a›. *Liaoshi* 稍瓦 **shauwa* ‘falcon’.
𘮳𘮵 𘮯𘮴𘮭 ‹ńi.qo ś.au.a› ‘dogs and falcons’, *q.v.* Cf. Da. *ʃowoo* ~ *ʃoɣoo* ‘falcon’.

3.069 *fall, descend:* 𘮷𘮭𘮲 ‹on.a.án› 降. See *dew*.

3.070 *father:* 𘮭 ‹ai›
𘮬 𘮬𘮸 𘮺𘮻 … 𘮭 𘮹 𘮯𘮭
‹mó g.uŋ dz.iú … ai pu m.a› (Zhonggong)
‘his mother was a princess … his father was the son in law of the emperor’
𘮼 𘮭 ‹bu ai› ‘grandfather’
𘮼 𘮼 𘮭 ‹bu bu ai› ‘great grandfather’
𘮯𘮽 𘮭 ‹m.o ai› ‘great father’ (eldest uncle)
𘮰𘮾𘮿 𘮭 ‹c.ur.én ai› ‘second uncle 仲父’
𘮺𘮾 𘮭 ‹u.ur ai› ‘ancestors’
𘮭𘮫 ‹ai:d› ‘males’
𘮭𘮫 𘮷𘮀𘮲 ‹ai.d bo.hu.án› ‘male child, son’
Note: 𘮭 ‹ai› also means ‘year’. The plural of 𘮭 ‹ai› ‘father’ is 𘮭𘮫 ‹ai:d›, which also means ‘males’ in a general sense; the plural of 𘮭 ‹ai› ‘year’ is 𘮭𘮹 ‹ai:se›.

3.071 *female:* 𘮬 ‹mó›, plural ‹mó:t› 𘮬𘮹.
𘮬 ‹mó› means ‘mother’ and ‘wife’, and also refers to females generally, especially when followed by the plural suffix 𘮹 ‹t›.
𘮬𘮹 𘮶𘮱 𘮸 𘮻𘮼𘮷𘮳 𘮁
‹mó:t p.ar FOUR na.as.bo.ń ONE› (Zhi 13) (𘮸should be 𘮸 ?)
‘He had four wives; one deceased’.
𘮬𘮹 𘮶𘮱 𘮸 𘮯𘮼𘮽 𘮻𘮶𘮲𘮫𘮼 𘮀𘮽 𘮂 𘮳𘮱 𘮽𘮱𘮼𘮀𘮳 𘮬𘮸 𘮳𘮱 𘮹𘮱 𘮷𘮱 𘮷𘮱 𘮷𘮳
‹mo.t ha.r FOUR m.as.qó na.ha.án.er zỏ.qó TENT:en ńi.ar.û.iń mó.n go.en s.en tai.sh:en bo.qo› (Xu 45)
‘There were four daughters. The eldest [was married to] the son of *Isin *taishi*, of the great tent of *Narun of the junior tent of the maternal uncles’.

3.072 *fifth:* 𘮹𘮲𘮯𘮶 ‹t.ad.o.ho›. Also 𘮹𘮸𘮯𘮶 ‹t.od.o.ho›. The stem is 𘮹𘮲 ‹tad-›.

3.073 *fifty:* 乙 ‹FIFTY› (155)
𐰚𐰃𐰴 𐰇 𐰉 𐰞𐰍𐰀
‹eu.úr FIFTY EIGHT p.iáu:er›
‘at the age of fifty eight, he died (?)’ (Linggong 18)

3.074 *filial piety:* 𐰀𐰉𐰴𐰞𐰃𐰺 ‹c.i.is.d.bun›; 𐰀𐰉𐰴𐰞𐰃𐰋𐰴 ‹c.i.is.de.bo.ń›; 𐰀𐰉𐰴𐰞𐰃𐰋𐰍 ‹c.i.is.d.b.ún›. Cf. *Liaoshi* glossary: 赤是得本 *chishideben* ‘filial piety’; 𐰀𐰉𐰴𐰞𐰃𐰺 𐰋𐰆 ‹c.i.is.d.bun bo.qo› ‘filial son’.

3.075 *first:* 𐰴𐰍 ‹mo› or 𐰴𐰓𐰴 (余) ‹m.as.qó ~ ‹m.as.qu› for masculine and 𐰴 ‹BIG› or 𐰴𐰞𐰴 ‹m.as.qú› for feminine. The basic meaning of 𐰴𐰓𐰴 ‹m.as.qó› is ‘big, great’, and is used for ‘first’ in enumerating members of a family. Note that 𐰴𐰍 ‹m.o› ‘big’ and 𐰴 ‘great’, both corresponding to 大 *da*, are used for masculine nouns and feminine nouns respectively. Some inanimate nouns are modified by 𐰴𐰍 ‹m.o›, others by 𐰴 ‘great’.

3.076 *first day of the lunar month* 朔: 𐰋𐰺𐰋𐰆 ‹ho.le.bo.ń›.
This word means ‘first’, ‘preface 序’. It is also a common name.

3.077 *five* 𐰚 ‹tau› ‘five’ Cf. Mo. *tabun*, Da. *tawu*. *Liaoshi* glossary: 討 *tao* ‘five’. 𐰚: dotted form of ‘five’.
𐰚 𐰖𐰞 ‹tau di:d› ‘five emperors 五帝’
𐰚 𐰃 𐰉𐰴 ‹tau jau ai:de› ‘In [= for the duration of] five hundred years’.

3.078 *forty:* 𐰽 ‹FORTY› (145)
𐰽 𐰚𐰴 𐰀𐰇 𐰴𐰃 □ 𐰃𐰏 𐰚𐰍𐰃 𐰴𐰃 𐰞𐰍
‹FORTY ONE:de ku.kå û.u o.oi […] u.ur ś.a.rí rẻŋ.i›
‘In the forty first year, for the first time he was appointed court attendant in the same bureau’.

3.079 *four:* 𐰚 ‹FOUR›. The dotted form is 𐰚. ‘Four’ is also written 𐰚 ~ 𐰇𐰍 ~ 𐰇𐰍 ‹260.úr› 𐰇𐰍𐰴 ‹t.ur.uh›, 𐰖𐰞𐰃 ‹d.úr.u›. 𐰇 is only found in 𐰇𐰍. The ordinal form, ‘fourth’ is written 𐰇𐰍𐰀 ‹t.ur.er› for masculine nouns and 𐰇𐰍𐰃 ‹t.ur.én› or 𐰖𐰍𐰃 for ‹d.ur.én› for feminine nouns. The stem form of ‘four’ is probably **dur*. Cf. Mo. *dürben.*
𐰚𐰋𐰞 ‹FOUR po.dz› ‘the four seasons 四時’. (Inscription on bronze mirror).
𐰇𐰍𐰃 𐰓𐰏 𐰞𐰞𐰞 … 𐰀𐰲 𐰽𐰀 𐰖𐰃 𐰇𐰋 𐰇𐰓
‹t.ur.én ta.aŋ … c.en g.ia n.u s.êŋ.un ś.ï›
‘the fourth, mistress Tang … was the wife (?) (𐰇𐰓 ‹ś.ï›) of Chen Jianu 陳家奴, *xiangwen* 詳穩 (Gu 18)

𘮩𘮬𘰾 𘰾𘰺𘰴 𘰼𘰽𘰿𘰾 𘮩𘰿𘰾 𘰾𘰿
‹t.ur.er x.iŋ.iń ei.au.g.e t.ai.i ci.ŋ s.iaŋ›
‘The fourth, *Hiŋin *Yauge was a *dai chengxiang* 大丞相’.
Note the forms in **𘰾** *er* for men and **𘮬***én* for women.

3.080 *friendly:* **𘮩𘰿𘰾** ‹n.ai.ci› ~ **𘮩𘰿𘰾**‹n.ai.dzi›.

3.081 *general*:**𘮩𘰿 𘰼亦** ‹s.iaŋ g.ün› ~ **𘮩𘰿 𘰼亦**‹s.iáŋ g.ün›. Ch. **zianggün* 將軍.
The difference between **𘰿** ‹iáŋ› and **𘰿** ‹iaŋ› is not known. They may be allographs, and are treated as such by most researchers.
𘰼𘰽 𘰾𘰻 𘰾 𘰽𘰼 𘮩𘰿 𘰼亦
‹gi.m ŋ.u úi ś.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün›
‘general of the imperial insignia guard 金吾衛上將軍’
𘰾𘰼 𘰽 𘰾 𘰽𘰼 𘮩𘰿 𘰼亦
‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün›
‘general of the dragon and tiger guards 龍虎衛上將軍’

3.082 *generation:* **𘰾**‹n.on›
𘰾𘰽𘰻 𘰾𘰾𘰾𘰾 𘰼𘰼𘰾 𘰿𘰻𘰾𘰾𘰾
‹n.on:de c.as.un.e ri.g.d p.o.gȯ.cėn.e.ci› (Ren 2)
‘For generations they were appointed to the position of *yilijin*’.

3.083 *give, provide:* **𘰽** ‹û-›. Cf. Mo. *ög-* ‘to give’

3.084 *goat:* **𘰾𘰾** ‹êm.a› ‘goat, mountain goat 山羊’. Mo. *imaɣa* ‘mountain goat’. Corresponds to cyclical term 未.

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

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

𗹭𘜶𗥃 𗐯𗏁𗴲𗍋 𗏵𗤁 𗼻𗤶 𗥤𗅋 𗴲𗏁非 𗍊

‹ś.iá.ah cu.ur.ge.én go:t ü ei.ie po.mu.fěi qudug› (Di 3)

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

3.087 *grandchildren:* 𗰜𗊴𗣼 𗰜𗍌出 ‹bo.qo.i bo.hu.án›

‘children of children’

𗰜𗊴𗣼 𗰜𗍌出 包

‹bo.qo.i bo.hu.án THREE›

‘three grandchildren’ (Xiao Zhonggong 30)

3.088 *grandson:* 𗰜𗊴𗣼 𗰜𗊴 ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo›. Wang Hongli (1986) noticed this structure, but read 𗰜𗊴 as *bekj* and related it to Tu. *bək* ‘official’. In Dao 7 we read 𗰜𗊴𗣼 𗰜𗊴 𗥤雨 𗍊生及扎 巫, ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo m.in se.bu.o.ho qa› ‘son of a son [grandson] our (?) succeeding khan’. The meaning of 𗥤雨 ‹m.in› is not known. Suggestions are ‘spirit, spiritual’ or ‘my, our’. The suffix 𗣼 ‹i› must be a genitive.

3.089 *grandfather:* 𗍊 𗹦 ‹bu ai›.

𗤓 山 主王雨 𗍊 𗹦

HEAVEN GOLD♂ hoŋ di:in bu ai›

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

Toyoda interprets 𗍊 as a logograph, read **ebüge*. 𗹦 is pronounced ‹ai› in Chinese transcriptions such as 𘝞𗹦 ‹k.ai› for 開 *kai*. As a logograph, Toyoda reads 𗹦 as **awi*, so 𗍊 𗹦 is **ebüge awi.* There is no evidence for such transcriptions.

3.090 *great grandfather:* 𗍊 𗍊 𗹦 ‹bu bu ai›.

3.091 *grant title:* 令𗅋 ‹t.em-› ‘to enfeoff, to bestow [land], to bestow a title 封’. Cf. Mo. *temdeg-*, Ma. *temgetu* ‘sign’ as in Ma. *temgetulembi* ‘to confer a mark of distinction on’. The reign title Tianjuan 天眷 ‘heaven favour’ is 𗤓𗍫𗅋百𗴲 ‹HEAVEN d.em.ei.er›.

𗢳𗴲 𗹭𗏁 𗠁同 𗍫𗅋𗠁𗴲𗴲 ‹ju.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ d.em.le.ge.er› (Xu 7) (passive form with the suffix 𗠁𗴲 ‹lege›)

‘He was granted the title of secretariat director 中書令’
𐲤𐳆 𐲰 𐲻 𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿
‹ś.eu tai pu d.em.le.ge.ei› (Xu 34)
‘Having been granted the title of ‘acting grand mentor 守太傅’
𐲤𐳆 𐲰 𐲹 𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿
‹ś.eu tai sh d.em.le.ge.ei› (Xu 35)
‘Having been granted the title of acting grand preceptor 守太師’
𐲻 𐲷𐲺 𐲤𐳀 𐲸𐳁 𐲷𐲵 𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿
‹pu g.ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün d.em.le.ge.ei›
‘Having been granted the title of bulwark generalissimo of the state 輔國上將軍’

3.092 *great, big:* **𐲰** ‹GREAT› (feminine?) (373); **𐲰𐲱** ‹m.o› (masculine?) ‘big, great’.

3.093 *great father:* **𐲰𐲱 𐲴** ‹m.o ai›. This expression might mean maternal grandfather, or perhaps eldest uncle.

3.094 *hare, rabbit:* **𐲦𐲧𐲯** ‹tau.lí.a›. Luo Fucheng identified this as 卯, the cyclical sign corresponding to ‘hare, rabbit’. *Liaoshi* glossary 陶里 *****tauli*. Cf. Mo. *taulai* ‘hare’.

3.095 *harmony:* The reign title Xianyong 咸雍 is **𐲺 𐲻𐲷** ‹HEAVEN t.ud›. The word **𐲻𐲷** ‹t.ud› is common in the inscriptions; it may mean ‘harmony’.

3.096 *head:* **𐲵** ‹nai›. *Liaoshi glossary*: 捏褐耐, 犬首也 ‘*****nieho nai* means ‘head of a dog’. **𐲵𐲼** ‹nai:d› ‘officials’. In the *Qidanguo zhi* we read ‘there is one leader, his name is Naihe: 有一主, 號曰乃呵’.

3.097 *heaven, sky:* **𐲺** ‹HEAVEN›. Readings such as *******teŋri*, ******dəŋri*, ******təŋgər*, ******tŋgri* and the like are sometimes suggested, but there is no evidence for these. Cf. 2. 243.
𐲺 𐲶𐲽 ‘heaven and earth’ (乾坤) (Xuanyi 10, Renxian 36, Zhixian 19)
𐲺 𐲶𐲽 𐲣𐳆𐲧𐲬𐲭𐲦𐲪
‹HEAVEN no.e ei.eu.úr.û.ji.en› (Renxian 36)
‘Heaven and earth revolve 乾坤旋轉’
𐲺 𐲫 𐲶𐲽 𐲸 ‹HEAVEN ETERNAL EARTH FOREVER› (Daozong 37)
‘Heaven is eternal and earth lasts forever 天長地久’.
𐲻𐲣𐲱 𐲮[=𐲯]𐲣𐲼 𐲺 𐲶𐲽 𐲬𐳆𐲧𐲰 𐲸𐲮 𐲷𐲹
‹t.iu.rẻn REGION.ei.e HEAVEN neu.e x.eu.ul.ún ETERNAL.iń DAY/SUN MONTH/MOON›

'Virtuous region, heaven earth, … eternal sun [and] moon'. (Xuanyi 10)

3.098 *horizontal tents* 橫帳: [illegible] ‹xe.dú.ún go.er›. Cf. Mo. *köndelen* 'across, transverse, horizontal, side, on the side'.
[illegible]
‹qa.ha:an xe.dú.ún go.er zǒ.qu ai:en doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d c.as.a rẻn:er›
[illegible]
us.gi hur.ú:un ui cu.n KNOW.i ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh COMPOSE.a.ar›
'Composed by Yelü Gu 耶律固, Hanlin academician [in charge of writing matters], court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies 印牌司 of the household of the younger uncles 季父房 of the horizontal tents of the khan'.

3.099 *horse:* [illegible] ‹mo.ri› 'horse'. Cf. Ju. *morin,* Mo. *mori* ~ *morin* 'horse'. It corresponds to the cyclical sign 午.

3.100 *house, household:* [illegible] ‹go.er›. [illegible] ‹go.er› refers to a tribal unit, here translated 'household'. It often corresponds to 帳房'tent'. [illegible] is presumably a larger unit.

3.101 *humaneness:* [illegible] ‹hur.ú.ur.bun›.
[illegible] ‹hur.ú.ur.bun mu.u.ji› 'humane, sacred 仁聖', a title of the Daozong emperor. [illegible] ‹mu.u.ji› is 'holy, sacred, pertaining to the emperor; 聖'. [illegible] ‹hur.ú› means 'ruler, person in control'. So [illegible] ‹hur.ú.ur.bun› may not mean the same as 'humaneness 仁'.

3.102 *hundred:* [illegible] ‹jau› 2.015 'hundred'. *Liaoshi* 116: '爪, 百數也' *zhao* means a hundred'. MMo. *ǰawu/n,* Mo. *ǰaɣu/n,* Da. *dʒau* 'hundred'. In Xu, [illegible] ‹jau tau› transcribes the Chinese title 招討 **jautau* 'bandit suppression commissioner'. In Zhong we find [illegible] ‹jau.tau.ss:en›, a genitive form of 招討司 'bureau of the bandit suppression commissioner'. [illegible] ‹jau nai› 'the hundred officials; officialdom' ([illegible] ‹nai› 'head, leader, magistrate, official'); [illegible] ‹jau nai:d› 'hundred officials' (plural form).

3.103 *hunt:* [illegible] ‹m.án.ún› (PAST)
[illegible] ‹c.ar am.se REGION.a.an ui eu.iń, l.iáŋ ś.a.án ja.cẻn.i m.án.ún se.mu.i ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci› 'some time ago because in his region there were no matters, he went hunting at the south side of Liang mountain. (Lang 1-2). [illegible] ‹m.án.ún se.mu.i› corresponds to 'he set out to hunt'.

3.104 *husband:* 𘮿 𘮈 ‹ai ku› (‘male person’)
𘮿 𘮈 𘰾𘰀𘰇 𘰴𘮿𘰇𘰉 𘰾𘮿𘰀𘰴𘰴𘰀出 𘰴𘰇 乙 𘰾𘰇 𘰴𘰴 丙
‹ai ku tai.bo:de p.ul.271.ji n.ai.ri.le.ha.a.án eu.úr FIFTY TWO.de 054.ar iu›
‘Her relations with her husband, the *taibao*, were harmonious. She died at the age of fifty two’ (Han Dilie 16). The meaning of 𘰴𘰴 ‹054.ar› is unknown.

3.105 *in charge of:* 𘰇𘰾 ‹hur.ú› ‘person in charge, person in control’.

3.106 *initial, first:* 𘰉𘰇 ‹yů.úr›. The reading of 𘰉 is unknown. Mnemonic from Ch. 尤.
𘰉𘰇 𘮿 ‹yů.úr ai› ‘the first year of a reign period 元年’

3.107 *intercalary month* 閏: 𘰴𘮿𘰉 ‹p.ul.uh› Ma. *fulu* ‘surplus, excess, left over, extra’.

3.108 *jade:* 𘰈𘰋 ‹g.u›
𘰈𘰋 𘰍𘰏𘰀 ‹g.u tau.lí.a› 玉兔 ‘jade hare’. *Liaoshi* glossary: 孤穩 *gu-wen* ‘jade’. Ju. *guwen; guwu;* Ma. *gu*.

3.109 *jasa:* 閘撒 ‘tribal unit’ 𘰴𘰆𘰀 ‹c.as.a›

3.110 *jiayin:* 甲寅 (cyclical term): 𘰾𘮈𘰇 𘰴𘰴𘰆 ‹s.iau.qú qa.ha.as› ‘blue tiger’ 𘰃 𘰴 𘰁 𘰾丙𘰁 𘰍 𘰆 𘰾𘮈𘰇 𘰴𘰴𘰆 𘮿 𘰇𘰉𘰋 𘰋平 𘰎 𘰁 𘰴反𘰉 ‹qi po HEAVEN t.iu.rẻn TEN TWO s.iau.qú qa.ha.as ai dau.úr.ún u.ul TEN DAY p.o.ón›
‘The time was the fourteenth day of mid winter 仲冬 in the year *jiayin* 甲寅 of the Tianhui 天會 reign period ’ (Langjun 4-5). Note that ‹s.iau.qú› seems to be the feminine form, and so tiger would be grammatically feminine. This aspect requires further research.

3.111 *khan:* 𘰴 ‹qa› ‘khan’
𘰴𘰴𘰁 ‹qa.ha.an› ‘khaghan’ (genitive?) Ju. *ha’an* MMo. *qa’an* Mo. *qaɣan*.
𘰾市 𘰾𘰇 𘰇𘰉𘰋 𘰴 𘰈雨 𘰾𘰆 ‹t.[ai] s.uŋ g.úr:en qa ź.in s.úŋ› (Renyi 8)
‘Renzong, Khan of the Great Song State’. Renzong was the Song emperor at the time Xingzong was emperor of the Liao. Here we have the word 𘰴 ‹qa› ‘khan’ as distinct from 𘰴𘰴 ‹qa.ha› ‘khaghan’. 𘰴𘰁 𘰇𘰁 𘰇𘰇 ‹qa.an g.ui g.uŋ› is a transcription of 韓國公 ‘lord of the state of Han’ (Zhonggong 21).
3.112 *know:* 𘰍 ‹KNOW› 𘰍 corresponds to 知 ‘to know’ in the official title 知事 ‘to know matters’, i.e. ‘administrator’. It is often followed by 𘰾 ‹t› as in 𘰍𘰾; which is presumably a plural marker: ‘officials, administrators’.

3.113 *lady:* 𐲤𐲰𐲴𐲼 ‹pu.is.iń› < 夫人 * *IXåIQ*‘lady’.
𐲦𐲽𐲱 𐲁𐲤𐲼 𐲤𐲰𐲴𐲼𐲠𐲱 𐲱𐲁
‹qa.an g.ui pu.is.iń:en i.ri›
‘The title of lady of the state of Han’ (Zong 20)
𐲠𐲱𐲱 𐲠𐲱𐲃 𐲁𐲦𐲽 𐲤𐲰𐲴𐲼 ‹l.an l.iŋ g.ün pu.is.iń›
‘lady of Lanling prefecture’ (Xu 9)

3.114 *left:* 𐲧𐲰𐲠𐲱 ‹ci.g.en› ~ 𐲱𐲰𐲠𐲱 ‹dzi.g.en›. Mo. *ǰegün.*
𐲧𐲰𐲠𐲱 𐲱𐲁𐲅 ‹ci.g.en u.ur› ‘left division’
𐲱𐲰𐲠𐲱 𐲱𐲁𐲅 𐲦𐲱𐲽 𐲧𐲰𐲠𐲱𐲠𐲱 𐲱𐲁 𐲁𐲤𐲠𐲠𐲱
‹dzi.g.en u.ur p.úŋ c.a.en i.ri t.em.l.ún›
‘he was granted the title of *fangcha* of the left division 左院訪察’ (Nu 7)

3.115 *linya* (Kitan title) 林牙: 𐲠𐲱𐲱𐲠𐲱 ‹l.êm.a› ~ 𐲠𐲱𐲱𐲤𐲱𐲠𐲱 ‹l.êm.hu.a› ‘scribe’. Franke, *Bermerkungen*, p. 24, notes that Menges suggested Tu. *alymɣá* as the origin of *linya*. Cf. *Liaoshi* glossary: 林牙, 掌文翰官, 舊稱爲學士: ‘*linya*, an official in charge of the academy, formerly known as *xueshi* [scholar]’. *Liaoshi:* Cf. *Biography of Tianzuo* 天祚紀 in the *Liaoshi:* 遼以翰林為林牙 ‘the Liao called the Hanlin *linya*.’
𐲃 𐲅𐲁 𐲠𐲱𐲱𐲠𐲱 𐲁 𐲁𐲅𐲁 𐲠𐲱𐲱𐲠𐲱𐲠𐲱 𐲦𐲅𐲅𐲁𐲁
‹SOUTH u.ur ü.n:en ui KNOW.u.ji l.êm.a p.o.gỏ.l.ún› (Ren 62)
“He was appointed *linya* of the southern division 南院’.

3.116 *live at, reside:* 𐲤𐲠𐲱 ‹sa-› Cf. Mo. *saɣu-* ‘live, dwell, reside, stay’

3.117 *local officials:* 𐲁𐲦𐲽 𐲁𐲱𐲤𐲱‹em:en nai:d›
𐲁𐲦𐲽 𐲁𐲱𐲤𐲱 𐲃𐲅𐲁 𐲁𐲁𐲠𐲱 𐲱𐲰𐲧 𐲁𐲁𐲤𐲱𐲱𐲁 𐲦𐲱𐲽𐲠𐲱
‹em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún› (Langjun 4)
‘After he drank wine with the local officials he returned happy’.

3.118 *long life:* 𐲤𐲽𐲱 ‹s.en›.
Often used as a name written in Chinese 義信 Yixin (and variants). This suggests the pronunciation *Isin.
𐲁𐲁 𐲤𐲽𐲱 ‹GREAT s.en› the reign period Shouchang 壽昌 (1095)
Cf. 𐲁𐲁𐲃𐲁 𐲁𐲁𐲃𐲱𐲱𐲁 ‹ca.aŋ ś.eu.u› transcription of 長壽 ‘long life, longevity’

3.119 *lower capital:* 𐲱𐲰𐲃𐲃 𐲅𐲁𐲃𐲁 ‹de.gẻ g.iŋ› ~ 𐲤𐲃𐲃 𐲅𐲁𐲃𐲁 ‹te.gẻ g.iŋ›.
𐲱𐲰𐲃𐲃 𐲅𐲁𐲃𐲁 𐲠𐲱𐲃𐲁 𐲁𐲁𐲃𐲱𐲱 ‹de.gẻ g.iŋ l.iu ś.eu›
‘The *liushou* (regent, viceroy) of Yanjing 燕京留守’.
𐲱𐲰𐲃𐲃 𐲁𐲁𐲃𐲃 𐲁𐲁𐲃𐲁𐲁𐲁 ‹de.gẻ fu.un ja.ri.qó›
‘Prime minister of the southern administation 南府宰相’.

丞 今 刃化欠 ‹UPPER/NORTH:d pu ja.ri.qó›
‘Prime minister of the northern administration 北府宰相’.
丞 公劣 圣 几灰伞 ‹UPPER:d de.gė TWO g.úr:se›
‘The two states, north and south’.
今劣 巫 ‹de.gė qa› ‘The southern khan’.

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

3.121 *male:* **丰公** ‹ai:d›. As well as meaning ‘father’, **丰** means ‘male’ in a generic sense. It is followed by the plural suffix **公** ‹d›.
丰公 舟列出 圣 ‹ai:de bo.hu.án TWO› ‘male children, two’
包 丰公 刁 与 ‹THREE ai:d ia deu› ‘three male (elder and younger) brothers’.
丰公 舟列出 圣 ‹ai:d bo.hu.án TWO› ‘male children, two’
包 丰公 刁 与 ‹THREE ai:d ia deu›
‘three male (elder and younger) brothers’
丰公 舟列出 丞 又冬欠 几火雨 土灰 丁 丞
‹ai:d bo.hu.án TWO♂ m.as.qó g.ui.in eu.úr TWENTY NINE
‘He had two sons. The elder was Guoyin, twenty nine years old.

3.122 *man:* **几** ‹ku› ~ **几攴** ‹ku.u› ‘man’; **几尺火**‹ku.û.un› *(gen.)*

3.123 *marry (of a woman):* **尺平公-** ‹û.ul.ge-›. Cf. Mo. *uruɣla-* ‘to become related by marriage’, but may also be a derived form of **尺** ‹û› ‘to give’ (as in ‘to give in marriage’); cf. Mo. *ög-* ‘to give’. This may be a passive form: to be married [to]. It is preceded by the dative/locative suffix **矢** ‹de›~ **朱** ‹do›.
捺伏 卉屮 丞 兆矢 尺平公屮伏
‹qudug.iń dir.bun tai sh:de û.ul.ge.l.iń› (Renxian 8)
‘She was married to *Qudugin 胡睹堇 *Dirbun 迪里本, *taishi*’
本化当 仍刍 九伏 … 百夬攴 兆 公攴 戊为去矢 尺平公百
‹c.ur.én ta.aŋ śi.ń … ei.au.u sh n.u ś.a.rí:de û.ul.ge.ei› (Di 31)
‘The second, Mme. *Tang, having been married to *Yaoshinu, court attendant…’
百今 戈 又 乂同 乂夯 今丞伏 今丙刁斥 口圮伏 巫业买 曲公利 叔巫公攴 丞 兆矢
‹mó.t FIVE eldest x.iŋ x.e pu.is.iń t.iủ.ia.ra qi.ii.ń qa.ha:an go.er:en ke qa n.u tai sh:de
尺平夯 本化当 屮关 伞文 今丞伏 □□□ 丞 兆矢 尺平夯当 会当 们水 乂夯 尔火
û.ul.ge c.ur.én l.i s.ie pu.is.iń … tai sh:de û.ul.ge.én THIRD.én du.uŋ x.e aú.ui

今丙刘斥　口北伏　巫业买　曲爻村　今闭　乂杰　公爻　王仪几矢 只平本与 今化当
伏行欠伏　业坎伞光 t.iů.ia.ra qi.ii.ń qa.ha:an go.er:en t.iŋ h.oŋ n.u di.jǐn.gi.de û.ul.ge.én t.ur.én ńi.mú.qó.ń p.y.z.iú
州欠　艾 村　戈屮乂伏　马刘夯　刘化欠朱　只平爻当　今币业闲　丙气　伞文　分乔伏
zỏ.qo TENT:en śi.le.x.iń ju.rå.e ja.ri.qo:do û.ul.ge.én t.od.p.ón ei.aŋ s.ie pu.is.iń
力业出爻 闭[?]　曲本村 捺伏　卉屮丞　兆矢　只平爻屮伏
na.ha.án.er il(?) go.c.en qudug.iń tur.bun tai sh:de û.ul.ge.le.ń› (Renxian 7-8). ‘There were five daughters. The eldest, lady *Xiŋxe, married *Kekanu, *taishi*, of the household of the khan of the Xi. The second was lady *Lijie, who married…, *taishi*. The third was her highness *Duŋxe, who married *Dingguangnu of the household of the … khan of the Xi. The fourth was royal lady *Nimukun, who married … prime minister. The fifth was lady *Yangjie, who married *Qudugin *Dirbun, *taishi*, of the household of the maternal uncles’.

3.124 *maternal uncle:* **力业出** ‹na.ha.án›
力业出爻 ‹na.ha.án.er› (acc). **力业出丞** ‹na.ha.án:d› (plur.)
力业出爻　州欠　公村 ‹na.ha.án:er zỏ.qó n.en›
‘junior patriarchal household of the lineage of imperial maternal uncles 國舅小翁帳’.
几灰村　力业出爻　州欠　艾 村 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zỏ.qo TENT:en›
‘Of the tent of the maternal uncles 國舅帳’.
力业出爻　州欠　半村　伏斥余伏 ‹na.ha.án.er zỏ.qó ai:en ńi.ra.qu.ń›
‘*Nirugun, of the younger lineage of the maternal uncles’ (Zong 21)

3.125 *matter, affair:* **火**　‹ui› 事. Mongol, Manchu *weile*, so perhaps **ul* or **uil*.

3.126 *mengan ~ mingan* ‘*military unit*’
矣买 ‹miŋ.án› ‘military unit: Chinese 猛安 *meng’an*’
矣买　穴丞 ‹miŋ.an nai:d› ‘leaders of a *meng’an*’

3.127 *meritorious official:* **几水 本雨**‹g.uŋ c.in› < 功臣 **gungchien*
几水　本雨　巴　兆几丞~ **几水　本雨　兆几丞　巴** ~ **巴　兆几丞　几水　本雨**
‹g.uŋ c.in FOUR us.gi:d› ~ ‹g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d FOUR› ~ ‹FOUR us.gi.d g.úŋ c.in›
‘four character meritorious official 四字功臣’: an honorary title with four characters.
几水　本雨村　兆几丞　亦 ‹g.uŋ c.in:en us.gi:d SIX› ‘six character meritorious official 六字功臣’
几坐　本伏　巫　兆几丞

‹g.uŋ c.in EIGHT us.gi:d› ‘eight character meritorious official 八字功臣’
𘮬 𘮭𘮪𘮫 𘮯 ‹ONE us.gi:en oŋ› ‘a prince with one character in his title 一字王’.

3.128 *middle:* **𘮪𘮰𘮱** ‹dau.úr.ún› Cf. Mo. *dumda* ‘middle’; perhaps **𘮲𘮳𘮴** ‹t.iau.dû›. Cf. 4.58.

3.129 *mid-winter:* **𘮪𘮰𘮱 𘮱𘮵** ‹dau.úr.ún u.ul›
‘Mid-winter; the second month of winter 仲冬. (Langjun)
𘮶 𘮷 𘮸 𘮹𘮺𘮻 𘮼 𘮽 𘮾𘮳𘮿 𘯀𘯁𘯂 𘯃 𘮪𘮰𘮱 𘮱𘮵 𘯄 𘯅 𘯆𘯇
‹qi po HEAVEN t.iu.rẻn TEN TWO s.iau.qú qa.ha.as ai dau.úr.ún u.ul TEN DAY p.o.ón›
‘The time was the fourteenth day of mid winter 仲冬 in the year *jiayin* 甲寅 of the Tianhui 天會 reign period’. (Langjun)

3.130 *miri* ‘small settlement’ 彌里 *mili*, 抹里 *moli* ~ ******meili*: **𘮱𘮲** ‹mo.rí›.
𘮪𘮫𘮬 𘮾𘮿 𘮱𘮲 𘮼𘮱𘮵𘮺 𘮱𘮵 𘮻𘮫𘮼𘮽𘮾𘮿 𘮺𘮱 𘮫 𘮾𘮿𘯀𘯁𘯂 𘯃𘮱 𘯄 𘯅
‹x.i.iŋ s.úŋ m.en mu.u.ji m.o c.i.is.d.bun ta.u HEAVEN ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar hoŋ di
𘮱𘮲𘮳 𘮰𘮻𘮬𘮫 𘮴 𘮵 𘮾𘮼𘮿 𘮷𘮱𘮻 𘮾𘮳𘮽 𘯀𘯁𘯂𘮫 𘮾𘮿𘯄 𘯅𘯆𘯇
mo.rí:en n.ad.bu.ad.i SOUTH WEST se.mu.én ordu.u.dú s.a.kå l.iu.rẻn.er›
‘The Chongxi 重熙 emperor, the sacred great filial eternal Xingzong 興宗, while residing in the travelling *ordo* to the south west of the *nabo* 捺鉢 of the *miri* 彌里, passed away’ (Xingzong 2). This could mean ‘the horse *nabo*; cf. ‘the crow *nabo*’ in the *Eulogy for Xuanyi*.

3.131 *monkey:* **𘯃𘮱** ‹p.o›~ **𘯃𘮱𘮱** ‹p.o.o› (Liu 1997). The cyclical sign 申 *shen*. Mo. *bečin*, Ma. *bonio*, *monio*.

3.132 *month:* **𘮲**. Reading unknown, suggestions include ******sair*, ******sær* ******sarj* ******sar* and the like, based on *Qidanguo zhi* 賽離 *sai-li* , *Yanbei zaji* 賽離 *sai-li*, *Liaoshi* 賽咿唲 *sai-yi-er*. Cf. MMo *sara* , WM *sara-n*. Cf Wu Gui 武珪, *Yanbei zaji* 燕北雜記 [Miscellaneous notes on Yanbei]: 七月十三日至十五日 迎節，送節，哭節，遼人呼為賽離捨 ‘On the thirteenth day of the seventh month they have welcoming festivals, sending-off festivals and weeping festivals. The Liao people call these 賽離捨 *saili she*. 賽離 *saili* means ‘moon, month’; 捨 *she* means ‘good’. *Liaoshi*: 五月重五日 … 國語謂是日‘討賽咿兒’. 討五, 賽咿兒, 月也 ‘The fifth month, the *chongwu* festival … in their language they call this day 討賽咿兒 *tao saiyier*. 討 *tao* means ‘five’, *saiyier* means ‘month’. **𘮲** should be distinguished from a slighly different graph, **𘮳** , ‘tent, tribal lineage’. In many transcriptions **𘮲** is used for both **𘮲**and **𘮳** . The two were not distinguished in *Research*.

3.133 *mother:* 丙 ‹mó›. Plural 丙今 ‹mó:t›. This was identified by Wang Jingru 1933 from the Xuanyi epitaph: 令艾虫 关关 穴芬 丙公 几村爻 朱东 点火 ‹s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó.n g.en.ún c.ah w.ún›. 穴芬 丙 means ‘empress’, cf. *Liaoshi* glossary 耨斡麽 *neu-e mo* ‘earth mother (empress)’ so 丙 should correspond to 麽.
丙 几冬 玄火 ‹mó g.uŋ tz.iú› ‘mother princess 母公主’
朱化爻 丙 母为‹c.úr.er mó bo.qo› ‘son of a second mother 次母子’
丰 丙 ‹ai mó› ‘father and mother’

3.134 *mountain:* 尿 2.006. 尿 looks very similar to 庐 2.063, ‘eternal’. It seems to mean ‘mountain’, or perhaps ‘tomb in a mountain’.

3.135 *move, to be transferred:* 丙土孙 ‹ei.eu.ji› 徙 *xi* ‘to move, to transfer, to be transferred’; causative: 丙土化爻丙 ‹ei.eu.úr.ge.ei›

3.136 *nabo* 捺钵 *‘travelling palace* 行宫’ 公尔刘 ‹n.ad.bú›.
介交 公尔刘 ‹heu.úr n.ad.bú› ‘spring *nabo*’
米及 介交 公尔刘 ‹ordu.u heu.úr n.ad.bú› ‘travelling palace (*ordo*), spring *nabo*’
公尔生尔 ‹n.ad.bu.ad› (plural?)
令艾虫 关关 穴芬 丙 土卡及 刘扎村 公尔生关 仆丙刃当
‹s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó eu.kả.ún hu.ho:en n.ad.bu.i l.iu.rẻn.én›
‘The empress Xuanyi 宣懿, the earth mother, died in the crow (刘扎 ‹hu.ho›) *nabo* …’. (Xuanyi 5)

3.137 *name:* 关化 ‹i.ri›; plural 关化令 ‹i.ri.se›. This term is also used for ‘official title’.

3.138 *niangzi* 娘子*:* ‘term of respect for a woman of high status’:
尔火 ‹aú.ui›
尔火 戈交方伏 丞 戈关雨 母为关 母为 又 令丙刃 斥 戎 艾 乞 巫 尺矢 伯当
‹aú.ui ś.ie.ên.iń tai ś.i:in bo.qo.i bo.qo GREAT t.iu.rẻn SEVEN, FIVE MONTH TEN EIGHT DAY:de BORN:én›
‘Her highness was the grandchild of *Shanning *taishi*. She was born on the 18th day of the 5th month of the seventh year of the Dakang 大康 reign period’ (Gu 6-7). Note the feminine ending 当 ‹én›.

3.139 *night:* 令杏 ‹s.uni› Cf. MMo. **süni*, in Mo. *söni*.
令杏村 非朱 ‹s.uni:en po:do› ‘during the night’
令杏 尺[关] ‹s.uni DAY:i› ‘night and day’
口 令杏 ‹qi s.uni› ‘that night’

圣 夭村 仐杏 为亦屮 ‹TWO DAY.en s.uni tu.úr.bun›
‘he died during the night of the second [next] day’

3.140 *nine:* 秃 ‹is›. Cf. Mo. *yisü* ~ *yisün* ‘nine’. 秃茶 ‹is.er› ‘ninth’.
叐公 伏叐氵村 秃 乇矢 及岁北 兀及 兮 兮叐 兀及 令金屮劣丙
‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau.de o.dz.ii, ś.o pu fu.u ś.o t.em.le.ge.ei› (Gu 10-11)
‘On the occasion of the present emperor’s accession to the throne, having been given the title of *shuaifu fushuai* 率府副率… ’ . The term 秃 乇矢 *‘nine five’* is from Ch. 九五 refers to the emperor’s accession to the throne. There is some doubt in the literature about the Kitan word for ‘nine’ but note the Chinese transcription of the Kitan clan name 秃九关 ‹is.g.i› 乙室己’; **yishïgi* K. **išigi*, which strongly suggests **is* (or **iš*) for 秃.

3.141 *north:* 亍 ‹ABOVE, NORTH›. The reading of 亍 is unknown. Several investigators have suggested readings based on Mongol, such as *umar-a*, *xoina*, *xoi*, or *aru* ‘back, rear’, but there is no evidence for such readings.
亍 叐化 ‹NORTH u.úr› ‘northern administration 北院’
亍 小 叐化 ‘northern [and] southern administrations 北南院’
亍 叐化 木劣 攴 ‹NORTH u.úr ci.ŋ dzi› ‘the recipient of edicts 承旨 of the northern administration’.
亍 谷 今为 圣 九亦 ‹UPPER.d te.gė TWO g.úr› ‘upper and lower (or: north and south): the two states (Liao and Song)’
亍 十 兂 乇廿 ‹NORTH WEST jau tau ss›
‘bandit suppression commission of the north west’ 招討司’. Note 亍 十 is the reverse order of Ch. 西北 ‘west north’.
亍 十 伏仌化关 ‹NORTH WEST n.ô.úr.i› ‘north west route 路’.
亍 叐化 攴 仲公 业及仐 仐冰 杰不 关化 令金屮劣屮叐
‹NORTH u.ur tzi ü.n p.o.or s.úŋ oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›
‘He was made director 知院 of the northern division [administration] and granted the title of prince of Song’

3.142 *now*, *present:* 叐公 ‹ún.n›, also 叐劣 ‹ún.e›
叐公 伏叐犸 ‹ún.n mu.u.ji› ‘the present sacred person [emperor] 今聖’.
3.143 *official:* 业叐 几 ‹p.u ku› ‘official 臣’ Cf. Ju. 伌 *buwe* ‘official 臣’ (Ki. 276). 出 ‹pú› might be an allograph, or a variant.

3.144 *official:* 穴 ‹nai› (332) ‘head’; plural 穴谷 ‹nai:d›; genitive 穴村 ‹nai:en›
屮关 木与村 穴谷茶 ‹l.i ceu:en nai:d:er›
‘The officials 官 of Lizhou 醴州’. (Langjun 3)

3.145 *older brother:* 𘲌 ‹ia›
𘲌 𘲍 ‹ia deu› ‘brothers’
𘲌 𘲍𘲗 ‹ia deu:un› ‘of the brothers’
𘲌 𘲎 ‹ia ai› ‘father’s elder brother’; cf. 𘲍 𘲎‹deu ai› ‘father’s younger brother’.
Toyoda read 𘲌 as a phonetic graph [ia]. However, he also suggests that it is also a logograph, read **aqa*. This view has been accepted by some scholars, on the basis of Mo. *axa* and similar forms, but there is little evidence for it.

3.146 *one:* 𘲏 (026) ‹ONE› Reading unknown. 𘲏 is the dotted form. Chinggeltei suggests the reading **mas* from the ordinal form 𘲑𘲒𘲓 ‹m.as.qu› (and variants) ‘first’. This word however is likely to mean ‘eldest [in a family]’ rather than an ordinal, and perhaps related to 𘲑𘲔 ‹m.o› ‘large, great, 大 *da*. In the emended sections of the Dazong inscription, 𘲐𘲘𘲎𘲁 ‹mu.em.se.gi› was rewritten as 𘲏𘲎𘲁 ‹ONE.se.gi›, suggesting that 𘲏 was pronounced the same as 𘲐𘲘 ‹mu.em› or perhaps **mem*.

3.147 *order of years:* 𘲎𘲕𘲖 ‹se.le.bo› ‘order of years in the hexagenary cycle 歲次’. 𘲎𘲕𘲖 ‹se.le.bo› means ‘to follow’.

3.148 *ordo* ‘administrative unit’: 𘲉 ‹ordu›.
Liu Fengzhu 1984 noticed that in the Yelü Dilie inscription, the word for the Da’an 大安 reign period, generally written 𘲎𘲒𘲖𘲔𘲑 ‹ú.dû.u.o.ón›, was written 𘲉𘲖𘲔𘲑 ‹ordu.ó.o.ón›, and that the Chongxi 重熙 period, generally written 𘲎𘲒𘲕𘲙𘲋 ‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar›, was written 𘲉𘲕𘲙𘲋 ‹ordu.le.ha.ar›. So he concluded 𘲉 = 𘲎𘲒 ‹ú.dû›.

3.149 *ox:* 𘲍 2.059. Possibly ‹uni›. It corresponds to the second of the twelve branches, 丑 *chou*. It is part of the Kitan word for ‘night’ 𘲎𘲍 ‹s.uni› *q.v.* Cf. Mo. *üniye* ‘cow’, which might be the basic meaning of 𘲍, rather than ‘ox’. Cf. 𘲍𘲒𘲗 𘲓𘲚 𘲘 ‹uni.gú.un ca.aŋ sh› ‘ox herd *changshi’*.In the *Liaoshi* biography of Xiao Dilie there is a reference to his first position as an ‘ox herd official 牛群敞史’. 敞史 *changshi* is a ‘minor official in northern and southern administrations’.

3.150 *past, in the past:*𘲋𘲋‹c.ar› cf. Ma. *cala* ‘previously, before’.
𘲋𘲋 𘲆𘲎 𘲙𘲑𘲏 𘲗 𘲊𘲁 𘲕𘲛 𘲜𘲑𘲏 𘲇𘲒𘲓 𘲑𘲒𘲓 𘲎𘲍 𘲑𘲒𘲏 𘲁𘲚𘲑 𘲛𘲑 𘲕𘲓𘲏𘲗 𘲗𘲏
𘲗𘲗𘲋 ‹c.ar am.se REGION.a.án ui eu.iń, l.iáŋ ś.a.án ja.cẻn.i m.án.ún se.mu.i›
‘Some time ago, because there were no matters [requiring his attention] in his region, he went hunting at the south side of Liang mountain’.

3.151 *peace, peaceful:* 𘍞𘍼 ‹as.ar›
𘊛 𘍞𘍼 ‹HEAVEN as.ar› Qingning 清寧 reign title ‘Clear Tranquility’.
𘐷𘐪 𘍞𘍼 ‹neu.e as.ar› 地清 *di qing* ‘The earth is clear’ (Xuanyi).

3.152 *people:* 𘐪 ‹hor›~ 𘐪𘐼 ‹hor.u›, also 𘐪𘐾 ‹hor.a›; gen. form 𘐪𘐼𘐴 ‹hor.u.un› (?)

3.153 *pig:* 𘐴 ‹ui› **uil* (?) ‘pig’. Cf. Ju. 𘀍 **uliyan* Ki. 162 **u[l]gia* 兀甲 Ka. 414. The graph for the cyclical period 亥, corresponding to ‘pig’. 𘐴 also means ‘matter, affair; to serve 事’. Cf. Jurchen Ki. 398 *weile-be* ‘affair (accusative). Mo. *weile;* the Ma. *weile* ‘matter, affair, deed’; *weilembi* ‘to work, to make, to serve’. 𘐴 was possibly **uil*~ **uile* or similar.

3.154 *place, local:* 𘐵 ‹em›
𘐵𘐾 𘐷𘐯 𘐸𘐹 𘐻𘐽 𘐯𘐾 𘐿𘐸𘐹𘐼𘐴 𘑀𘐺𘐸𘐼
‹em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún› (Langjun 4)
‘After he drank wine with the officials of that place (local officials) he returned happy’.(Langjun). (𘐵 = place)

3.155 *preface* 序: 𘑀𘐸𘐽𘐻 ‹ho.le.bo.ń›. The word means ‘first, beginning’.
𘑀𘐸𘐽𘐻 𘐾𘐯𘐹 ‹ho.le.bo.ń ci.ge.ho›: ‘together with preface 並序’ (a formula at the end of the title of inscriptions).

3.156 *present emperor* 今上: 𘐼𘐵 𘐽𘐼𘐸𘐾 𘐹 𘐺 ‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau›
‘When the present emperor ascended the throne’. (Gu 10)
The expression 𘐼𘐵 𘐽𘐼𘐸𘐾 𘐹 𘐺 ‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau› is preceded by four empty spaces.
𘐽𘐼𘐸𘐻 𘐼 𘍞𘍼 𘐲 𘐱 ‹mu.u.ji HEAVEN as.ar hoŋ di› (Renyi 5)
‘The present sacred one [emperor], the heavenly peace [Qingning] emperor’.
Qingning was a reign period of Daozong, who was emperor when the *Eulogy for Renyi* was composed.
𘐼𘐵 𘐽𘐼𘐸𘐻𘐾 𘐻𘐶 𘐵𘐿𘐵𘐽 𘐵𘐲 𘐵𘐾 𘐵𘐿 𘐷𘐵 𘐵𘐼 𘐼𘐴𘐾 𘐼𘐸𘐵 𘐹𘐽
‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en m.in se.bu.s.ii t.ai s.iaŋ g.ün t.û ś.i:en i.ri.se rí:ii›
‘The present emperor having awarded him the titles of senior general and director of the office…’ (Yong 16)
3.157 *prime minister:* 𘑁𘐸𘐼 ‹ja.ri.qó› Ch.宰相. Cf. Mo. *jerge* ‘rank, title’ (Wang Hongli 1986).

3.158 *prince:* 𘐱 ‹oŋ›. 𘐱 is read ‹oŋ› rather than **uang*, as it is followed by the genitive suffix 𘐳 ‹on›, indicating a vowel [o] in the stem. It corresponds

to 王 ‘king’ but when referring to a Liao title it is conventionally translated ‘prince’.

3.159 *princess:* 𘍽𘈩 𘊴𘋢 ‹g.uŋ c.iú› ~ 𘍽𘈦 𘍿𘋢 ‹g.uŋ dz.iú› 公主.
𘓱𘖵 𘐢 𘁢𘅍 𘋒𘏴 𘟙𘓐 𘋒𘍞 𘏴𘈩 𘍽𘈩 𘋒𘏴 𘍽𘈩 𘋒𘏴
‹m.in tai oŋ:on ńi.e ai:en ń.iau tu.uŋ xe.e g.uŋ tz.iú› (Zong 35)
‘Princess *Tuŋxe, younger sister of the … father of our (?) grand prince’.

3.160 *promote:* 𘜶𘍠- ‹p.o-›. Probably the basic meaning is ‘to become’.

3.161 *qatun* (wife of a khan): 𘍿.
𘋜𘍿𘐢 ‹då qatun.d› ‘several queens’ (Xuanyi 12).
𘈦𘜘𘋗 𘊝𘇒𘐷 𘍿𘓐 𘍿𘍠𘃡 ‹qa.ha:an bo.hu.án qatun:en úr.u.ur›
‘The son of the *khan*, the daughter-in-law of the *qatun*’. (Ren 5)
𘋒𘏴 𘐷𘓵𘊝𘋒 𘟙 𘐢 𘍠 𘓱𘋜𘍠𘈩 𘍽𘍿𘇒𘓐 𘏴𘍿𘋒 𘋒𘍠𘊴 𘈩𘏴𘍫 𘊴𘐢.𘐢𘊴
𘊴𘐢𘜶𘈦𘓵𘓐 𘟙 𘟤𘓐 𘍿𘍽 𘐢
‹mu.i án.ar.bo.ń hoŋ tai heu ei.ra.u.ud.i n.ad.bú:en 201.kå.i mu.u.ji x.i.iŋ s.úŋ HEAVEN ú.du.le.ha.ar.a hoŋ di:en qatun.ún n›
‘The empress dowager [mother of the emperor]…, *qatun* of the Chongxi emperor, the sacred Xingzong, of the … of the *nabo* of the Yelü’. (Renyi 4-5)

3.162 *quote:* 𘊴𘍫 ‹te.gu› ‘said: 曰’. Introduces a quotation.

3.163 *rabbit, hare:* 𘋢𘍿𘓐 ‹tau.lí.a› ‘hare, rabbit, cyclical term 卯. *Liaoshi* 陶里 **taoli* ‘hare’. Cf. MMo. *taulai*, Mo. *taulai*.

3.164 *rat:* 𘐷𘍽 Reading unknown. 𘐷 is 216. 𘍽 is ‹hu›. Ju. *šiŋge*, Ma. *singgeri*, Mo. *xuluɣan-a*. It corresponds to the cyclical sign 子.

3.165 *record:* 𘜶𘍽 ‹RECORD.gi›.
𘈦𘍠𘋒 𘜶𘍽𘁢𘍞 𘓱𘊴 𘊝𘏴𘜶𘏴
‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.û.ji TEXT.ú COMPOSE.le.ha.ai›
‘He had the text of the tomb inscription composed’. (Ren 68)
𘜶𘍽𘏴𘍽 𘓱𘊴 ‹RECORD.gi.le.gi TEXT.ú› 誌銘 ‘epitaph, tomb inscription’
𘜶𘍽𘍫 𘜘𘍫 ‹RECORD.g.én de.gu› ‘the inscription says: 誌曰’
𘁢𘍞 𘍠𘍠𘋢𘈩𘋒 𘊴𘓱𘋢𘐷 𘊴𘍽𘍞 𘍽𘍿𘍫 𘍽𘍿𘍠 𘍽𘍠𘈩 𘈩𘍠𘋒 𘈩𘍠𘋒𘍫 𘜶𘍽𘍫
𘓱𘊴 ‹m.o ei.ra.u.ud.i ci.lú.dû d.il.uh.iń z.iaŋ g.ün:en ś.ï t.ad.i aú.ui:en ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én TEXT.ú›
‘Inscription on the tomb of her ladyship Tadi, of the family of general *Churud *Dirugin of the great Yelü’ (Gu 1)
𘈦𘍠𘋒 𘜶𘍽𘍫 ‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én› ‘tomb inscription, epitaph’.

‹RECORD.g.én COMPOSE.le.hu.án iė.ún il.ge.e.ci, ss g.ia n.u› (Nu 40)
‘engraved and composed by Si Jianu’.

3.166 *red:* ~ ‹l.iau.qú~l.iau.qu›. Corresponds to 丙 *bing* in the ten stems; 丁 has not been found. MMo. *hulaqan*, Mo. *ulaɣan* ‘red’ 丙, *ulaqčin* ‘reddish’ 丁. The variants ‹s.iau.qu› and ‹s.iau.qú› ‘blue’ and ‹l.iau.qu› and ‹l.iau.qú› ‘red’ might be connected with grammatical gender. Cf. MMo. *hulaqan,* Mo. *ulaɣan* ‘red’ *ulaɣaɣčin* ‘red (of a female animal). In the *Yanbeilu* 燕北錄 by Wang Yi 王易, we read 赤娘子者，番語多呼之掠胡奧 ‘the red woman, in the barbarian language is generally called *lüe-hu-ao*’. Cf. Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:275. 奧 *ao* is presumably ‹au› ‘elder sister’ or ‹aú›. 娘子 *niangzi*: ‘a term of respect for a lady of high status.’ 掠胡 is MC **liak-hu*; Liao Chinese **liau-hu*. Either could correspond to ~ ‹l.iau.qu› ~ ‹l.iau.qú›, but the Liao form is more likely because of the diphthong in 掠 **liau*.

3.167 *region, area:* ‹REGION› (perhaps ‘border, border region’)

‹c.ar am.se REGION.a:an ui eu.iń, l.iáŋ ś.a.an ja.cėn.i m.án.ún se.mu.i ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui:ci›
‘For quite some time there had been no matters [requiring his attention] in his region, he set off to hunt in the area of Liang mountain, and came to the Qianlong tombs of the Tang dynasty’.

3.168 *region, area, side:* ‹xe.se›

‹GREAT s.en FOUR YEAR TEN MONTH FOUR DAY:de ún.én te.ge.er u MOUNTAIN:en xe.se:de s.a.ai, s.em.ii.er te.ge.er eu.úr FIFTY NINE b.iáu:er›
‘On the fourth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of the Shouchang period, the present deceased (?) while residing in the area of eternal (?) mountain, fell sick and died at the age of fifty nine’. The name of the mountain, ‹u›, appears on a coin in which it corresponds to ‘eternal’. It also appears in ‹ETERNAL u hu.o.gỏ› in Daozong 6, which corresponds to 永福座 *Yongfuzuo* ‘Throne of Eternal Happiness’ in the Chinese epitaph. Cf. 3.215

‹xe.se:en ku.û.úd ś.iá.ah śi.mỉ.le.ge.er, ia deu n.ai.ci x.i.ud.cėn.e.ci›

‘He treated the people in his jurisdiction well; his relations with his brothers were harmonious and happy’. (Di 14)

3.169 *relatives, blood relations:* 杰关秃 ‹c.i.is›
杰关秃 压令 公平杰当 丸火当 亦及 舟为火 冬本 公平及盂冬
‹c.i.is KNOW.t n.ai.c.én au.ui.én úr.u bo.qo.iú as.ar n.ai.ún.ha.as›
‘The relations between the family members and the administrators were harmonious, elder ladies, younger ladies by marriage and the children lived in peace and happiness’. (Bo 33)

3.170 *resident at:* 伞为- ‹s.a-›. Cf. Mo. *saɣu-* ‘to sit, be seated, to live, dwell, reside, stay; to be (copula), to become’.

3.171 *return:* 业币- ‹p.od-›. Suffixed forms are 业币关 ‹p.od.i›, 业币小及 ‹p.od.l.ún› ‘return’ (PAST).

3.172 *right* (direction word): 舟车才买 bo.ra.ia.an ~ 舟车为买 bo.ra.a.an. Cf. Mo. *baraɣun* ‘west, right’.
舟车才买 及化 叉为六公 伞各火
‹bo.ra.ia.an u.ru ś.a.rí.d s.êŋ.un›
‘*xiangwen* of the court attendant of the right division 右院郎君詳穩.’

3.173 *ritual, rite, ceremony*: 弓 ‹doro›. 弓 218 seems to have two meanings, ‘seal 印’ and ‘ceremony, ritual 禮’. 弓 may have been pronounced [doro].

3.174 *sacred, holy, refers to emperor:* 伏及犸 ~ 伏及犳 ‹mu.ú.ji›. 聖 ‘sacred’
伏及犸 介 ‹mu.u.ji heu› ‘sacred empress 聖后’
伏及犸 巫 ‹mu.u.ji qa› ‘sacred khan 聖汗’

3.175 *sad:* 九村及 ‹g.en.ún›. Cf. Mo. *ɣuniɣ-* ‘sadness, grief, anguish, sorrow, affliction, despondency, low spirits’; *ɣuniɣla-* ‘to grieve, be afflicted, sad, depressed, worried’ *ɣuniɣtai-* ‘sad, sorrowful’.
九村及 九村及夯 ‹g.en.ún g.en.ún.e› ‘sad, sad’.
九村及 月伞 ‹g.en.ún TEXT.ú› ‘eulogy 哀銘’.

叉 九村及 小雨及 淑比冈犳 ‹GREAT g.en.ún l.iảŋ.u k.ii.û.ji›
‘This is called … great sadness 嗚呼哀哉’.

3.176 *seal, imperial seal:* 弓 ‹SEAL›; perhaps [doro]. Ju. 乖 , 舟 *doro-n* ‘imperial seal’ (Ki.255) 璽; Ma. *doro* ‘rite, ritual’, *doron* ‘a seal, a stamp’.

In the large Kitan script, 𘮭 corresponds to both 印‘seal’ and 禮 ‘ceremony’. 𘮭 also means ‘ritual, ceremony 禮’.
𘮭 𘰾𘱈 𘲌 ‹SEAL p.ai.ss› ‘office of seals and tallies 印牌司’ (Di 2)
𘮭 𘰾𘱈𘲌𘰚 𘳿𘰇𘴰𘲈 ‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d›
‘court attendants of the office of seals and tallies’

3.177 *second (in a series):* 𘴷𘲆𘲈 ‹c.úr.er›~ 𘴰𘲆𘲈 ‹dz.úr.er› (masc.) 𘴷𘲆𘲉 ‹c.úr.én› (fem.). The stem ‹c.úr› ‘two’ may be [tʃur]. 𘴷𘲆𘲉 𘱈 ‹c.ur.én ai› ‘second uncle’.

3.178 *section:* 𘲍𘳿𘴰 ‹xe.se.ge› = 𘲍𘳿 ‹xe.se› ‘region, area’. Cf. Mo. *keseg* ‘part, piece, portion, fragment, group, section, division, department’. *Liaoshi* glossary: 奚首 *xishou* ‘the name of a cantonment or tent’ (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:297, n. 209). Perhaps 𘲍𘳿 ‹xe.se› = 奚首 *xishou.*

3.179 *servant:* 𘮞𘰇 𘲗 ‹pú.u ku› (𘮞 297). 𘮞𘰇 ‹pú.u› may be derived from 僕 ‘servant’.

3.180 *serve, to serve:* 𘰇𘲎 ‹o.ju›, found with suffixes: 𘰇𘲎𘲏 ‹o.ju.ińˀ›; 𘰇𘲎𘲇 ‹o.ju.únˀ› ‘to serve in an official position’ (PAST).

3.181 *seven:* 𘲏 ‹SEVEN› 141. The reading of 𘲏 is unknown, perhaps **daro* ~ *dalo.* The word ‘seven’ is spelled 𘲗𘲏 possibly ‹da.lo›; ‘seventh’ is 𘲗𘲏𘴰 ‹da.lo.er›. 𘲗 is an allograph of 𘲋 ‹da›, so ‘seven’ might begin with [da] rather than [do]. Cf. Ju. *darhon* ‘seventeen’ (Ki. 652); Mo. *doloqan* ‘seven’.
𘲗𘲏 𘮝𘳒𘲉 𘰇𘰚 𘱈 ‹da.lo n.on:en u.ur ai›
‘Seven generations of ancestors’. (Yongning 3)
𘲉𘮝 𘲉𘮝 𘲏 𘴈𘰇𘵆𘲉 𘵆𘴦 𘴦 𘳿𘮝𘲅 𘳒𘳿𘲋
‹k.em sȯ.or SEVEN♂ mu.u.ji:en DAY.i ui t.em.ei COMPOSE.le.hu
𘲒 𘰇𘰚 𘴷𘲍𘲈 𘵆𘮝 𘳒𘴰𘲉 𘴈 𘲋𘳿 𘮝𘰇 𘳒𘲉𘲊
SIX u.ur yi̯.il.ińˀ û.n go.er:en ss g.ia n.u COMPOSE.a.ar›
‘The imperial edict was received. This was composed on the records given in the *Daily Agenda of the Seven Sacred Persons.* Composed by Si Jianu of the *Yilin (*yilimian* ‘princess consort’?) *yuyue* household of the six divisions’. (Nu 1)

𘲗𘲏𘴰 𘳿𘲉𘲆𘲈 𘴷𘵆𘴦𘲋𘴰 𘳿𘲏 𘲋𘵆
‹da.lo.er s.a.am.ińˀ d.i.ŋ g.e s.iáŋ g.uŋ› (Han 7)
‘The seventh was Lord *Samyin 三隱 *Dingge 定哥’.

3.182 *seventy:* 𘲊. ‹SEVENTY› Reading unknown.

𐰃𐰚 𐰴 𐰺𐰇 𐰉𐰚𐰋 ‹eu.úr SEVENTY FOUR.ur tu.úr.bun›
‘At the age of seventy four, he died’. (Di 9)
𐰚𐰇𐰋 𐰽 𐰆 𐰋 𐰃𐰇 𐰋 𐰃𐰚 𐰴 𐰉𐰆
‹ho.le.bun TWENTY FIVE WHITE♂ mo.ri DAY eu.úr SEVENTY xa.iåŋ:de iu›
‘Holbun died on the twenty fifth day, the day of the white horse, at the age of seventy (exactly?)’.

3.183 *several, a few:* **𐰃** 115. Reading unknown. Mnemonic: ‹då› from Ch.达.

3.184 *šari:* (title): **𐰆𐰉𐰃** ‹ś.a.rí›. *Liaoshi* glossary: 沙里, 郎君也 ‘*šari* means *langjun* [court attendant]. **𐰃** should be [rí] rather than [li] as it does not appear in Chinese words.

3.185 *shumiyuan* 樞密院 ‘palace secretariat’: **𐰆𐰋 𐰃𐰉 𐰺𐰇** ‹ś.iú m.i ü.n›
𐰆𐰋 𐰃𐰉 𐰺 𐰇 ‹ś.iú m.i fu sh› ‘deputy chancellor 樞密副使’
𐰴 𐰇𐰉 𐰆𐰋 𐰃𐰍 𐰉𐰖
‹qi po:de ś.iú m.rẻn a.ai›
‘At that time, being a member of the palace secretariat (military affairs commission) 樞密 …’
𐰺𐰆 𐰆𐰋 𐰃𐰍 𐰉𐰖
‹se.ń ś.iú mo.rẻn a.ai›
‘Yixin being a member of the palace secretariat (military affairs commission) 樞密…’.
If **𐰃𐰍** is another way of writing **𐰃𐰉**, **𐰍** should be read something like **i*. If this is an early loan from late Tang Chinese, **𐰍** could be **it* or **ir*.

3.186 *siblings, brother(s) and sister(s), brothers and sisters:* **𐰆𐰓** ‹ń.iau›, plural **𐰆𐰓𐰆𐰺** ‹ń.iau.ń.er› ~ **𐰆𐰓𐰆𐰍** ‹ń.iau.ń.ún›.
𐰆𐰓𐰆𐰍 𐰇 𐰺𐰴 𐰉 𐰺𐰇𐰆 𐰺𐰖𐰍 𐰆𐰺 𐰃𐰍 𐰉 𐰃𐰉 𐰺𐰇 𐰃𐰇 𐰆𐰉 𐰃𐰚 𐰴 𐰉 𐰃𐰚 𐰴 𐰇𐰚 𐰺𐰴
‹ń.iau.ń.ún FOUR t.aŋ.a pu.is.iń bo.ra.ún ś.úŋ.ho pu m.a:an bo.qo qudug tai.sh:de u.ul.ge:ei; eu.úr SIXTY NINE:de te.ge:én›
‘There were four younger children. Madame *Tang’a was married to Qudug, grand preceptor, the son of the imperial son-in-law 駙馬 *Barin *Šuŋhe’. She died at the age of sixty nine’.
𐰇 𐰆𐰓𐰆𐰺 𐰋 𐰃𐰇 𐰇 𐰃𐰚 𐰴
‹FOUR ń.iau.ń.er THREE♂ k.iú 1 m.ó.qú› (Gu 17)
‘There were four children, three boys and a elder sister (?)

3.187 *sick, ill, contract disease:* **𐰺𐰃** ‹s.em›.
𐰺𐰃𐰇 ‹s.em.ii› ‘being ill’; **𐰺𐰃𐰇𐰺** ‹s.em.ii.er› ‘became ill’

3.188 *side:* 𘮩𘰾𘲟 ‹ja.cẻn.i› 陽 *yang* ‘south of a hill’. Cf. Mo. *ǰaqa* ‘border, frontier, side, outskirts’ ‹ja.cẻn.i›. Ming Ju. *ječi*, Ma. *jecen*. NB: 𘰾 ‹cen› is a mnemonic from Ch. 尘 *chen;* there is no evidence that it represents [čen]. In some transcriptions of Langjun, 𘮩𘰾𘲟 ‹ja.cẻn.i› is written 𘮩𘱱𘲟 ‹ja.úŋ.i›.

3.189 *silver:* 𘲦𘰀 ‹m.em›. Cf. Mo. *mönggü*, Ma. *menggun*

3.190 *sister, elder:* 𘳿 ‹au›.

3.191 *six:* 𘴈 ‹SIX›. Reading unknown. 𘴉 (masc.) Cf. Ju. **nilhun* ‘sixteen’ (Ki. 651) Ma. *niolhon* ‘the sixteenth day of the first month’, Mo. *ǰirɣuɣa/n* ‘six’. 𘴈 might be read [nil] or [jir], but there is no independent evidence for this.

𘴈𘴊 ‹SIX:er› ‘sixth; ordinal form of six’

𘴈 𘴫𘵘 ‹SIX u.úr› ‘the six divisions 六院’

𘴈 𘴫𘵘 𘰾𘴈 ‹SIX u.úr tai oŋ› ‘grand prince of the six divisions’ 六院大王’.

𘲭𘲟 𘲟𘲡 𘵿𘲭𘲟 𘴈 𘴫𘵘 𘲟 𘲭𘲦𘲟

‹aú.ui i.ri t.ad.i SIX u.úr SOUTHERN [TRIBE] (𘲟) hu.ar.i yi̯.il.iń›

𘲞𘲦 𘲭𘲊𘲦 𘲭𘲦𘲟𘲦 𘲭𘲦𘲟𘲦 𘰾𘴈 𘲟𘲦𘲦 𘲭𘲦𘲟𘲦 𘲭𘲦𘲟𘲦

‹eu.n go.er:en ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.án tai oŋ:on t.ad.o.ón bo.qo›

‘Her highness’ name was *Tadi. She was the fifth child of grand prince Yelü Sarhan of the household of the *yuyue* *Huari, *yilimian* (princess consort?) of the six divisions’.

3.192 *six divisions:* 𘲭𘲟 𘲟𘲡 𘵿𘲭𘲟 ‹aú.ui i.ri t.ad.i› ‘Her highness, name *Tadi’ in the above quote (Gu 3) is followed by 𘴈 𘴫𘵘 𘲟. 𘴈 is ‘six’. The *Liaoshi* biographies often start by saying so and so is a member of such and such a 部 ‘group’. Among these the most common is 六院部人‘a member of the six groups’. Liu Fengzhu concluded that 𘴈 𘴫𘵘 𘲟 must mean ‘a tribesman of the six divisions’. The six divisions were also known as the southern administration. 𘲟 means ‘south’, but also applies to a tribal group, perhaps ‘the southern tribes’. 𘴫𘵘 ‹u.ur› means 院 ‘division, administration’. Cf. Hucker 3826: “The *liu yuan* ‘six groups’: one of the categories into which the founding emperor A-pao-chi, divided his tribal followers; its civil affairs were administered by the Office of the Southern Grand Prince (*nan ta-wang yüan* 南大王院, its military affairs by the Office of the Northern Grand Prince *pei ta-wang yüan* 北大王院, both agencies of the Northern Administration (*pei-mien* 北面 through which the dynastic government managed the affairs of the Khitan tribes and allied northern nomads.”

3.193 *sixty:* 𘍞 ‹SIXTY›. Reading unknown. 𘍟 267 is a mistake for 𘍞 266.
𘇼𘈬𘈬 𘍞 𘊴𘍠 𘈦𘈪𘌽𘋒 ‹eu.úr SIXTY TWO:de l.iu.rẻn.én›
‘She died at the age of sixty two’. (Renyi 12)
𘍞 𘍜 𘊰𘍤𘌽 𘋒𘇼𘍠 ‹SIXTY FOUR mu.u.ji a.bu.iń›
‘The sixty four sacred hexagrams 六十四聖卦’. (Toyoda 1992)

3.194 *small:* 𘈦𘍟 ‹zỏ.qo› Reading of 𘈦 unknown. Aisin Gioro suggests **od.* Chinggeltei suggests **ba*, cf. Mo. *baɣa* ‘small’. 𘈦 ‹zỏ› is a mnemonic from Ch. 州.
𘌽𘈬𘋒 𘌽𘇼出𘍤 𘈦𘍟 𘍣 𘋒 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án:er zỏ.qó TENT:en›
‘The younger branch lineage of the imperial maternal uncles 國舅小翁帳’. The imperial uncle lineage of the Liao had two branches, 大翁帳 *da weng zhang* and 小翁帳 *xiao weng zhang.* 小 *xiao* corresponds to 𘈦𘍟.
𘍠𘍤𘋒 𘍣𘍞出 𘍠 𘍢及 𘇼□ 𘍡 𘍤 𘍣 𘈦𘍟 𘋒𘍤𘋒𘍤 𘍥为𘍧
‹BORN.e.ci bo.hu.án TWO m.o tz.[…] giỏ tai bo zỏ.qó c.e.en.e ś.a.rí›
‘She gave birth to two children. The elder was […] *taibao* 太保. The younger was *Chene, court attendant’. (Nu 9)

3.195 *snake:* 𘇼𘌽及 ‹mu.ho.o›. Cf. Ju. *meihe* (Ki. 165), Mo. *moɣai.* Ma. *mehei*. The zodiac animal corresponding to the branch 巳. Cf. Mo. *moɣai*. Liu Fengzhu 1983 suggested **mehai* on the basis of the Jurchen and Mongol forms. Chinggeltei suggested **mogo*.

3.196 *son:* 𘍣𘍢 ‹bo.qo›. In the Chinese text of the *Eulogy for Shengzong* there is a reference to Xingzong, his son and successor. In the Kitan verson of the *Eulogy for Xingzong* there is a reference Xingzong’s son and successor, Daozong. Liu Fengzhu 1985 noted that the *Eulogy for Daozong* contains a geneology of Taizong, Shizong, Jingzong, Shengzong and Xingzong, which demonstrated that 𘍣𘍢 ‹bo.qo› means ‘son’. Cf. 𘌽𘍧 𘍣𘍢 𘍤𘍠 𘍡𘊴及𘌽 𘍡 ‹u.oi bo.qo m.in se.bu.o.ho qa› ‘mourning son, succeeding khan’. The meaning of 𘍤𘍠 ‹m.in› is not known. Suggestions are ‘spirit, spiritual’ or ‘my, our’.
𘍟 𘍣𘍢 ‹HEAVEN bo.qo› ‘son of heaven 天子’.
𘍟 𘍣𘍢 𘍥王𘍠 𘊴朱 𘍠𘍧方 𘍥尒 𘍟化 𘍡𘍦𘊴𘍧𘍤
‹HEAVEN bo.qo hoŋ di:in po.do ei.ý.ên oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›
‘At the time of Tianzi huangdi 天子皇帝 he was given the title of prince of Yan 燕王’. (Nu 5-6)

3.197 *Song state:* 𘍡𘊴𘍦 𘌽𘍟 ‹s.uŋ.un g.ui› ~ 𘍡𘊴 𘌽𘍧 ‹s.uŋ g.úr›
𘍡𘊴𘍦 𘌽𘍟𘍤 𘇼𘍠 𘌽𘍟 𘍟𘍟 𘍠𘍧
‹s.uŋ:un g.ui.ń tz.in g.ui miŋ.an cau.úr›

‘The army of the *meng’an* 猛安 , the defender generalissimo 鎮国 of the Song state 宋國’. (Bo 16)

3.198 *south:* 𘮩. Reading unknown. This graph also seems to mean ‘tribe, ethnic group, kinship group’. Wang Hongli 1986 explained 𘮩 𘮭𘰾 ‹siỏ u.ur› as ‘southern division 南院’. 𘮩 ‹siỏ› is a mnemonic from Ch. 小.

3.199 *south, lower:* 𘰾𘰇~𘰾𘰇~𘰾𘰇 ‹te.gẻ ~ de.gẻ›
𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 ‹te.gẻ g.iŋ› ‘southern capital, Yanjing 燕京’

3.200 *spouse:* 𘰾𘰇 ‹n.ó› ~ 𘰾𘰇 ‹n.o› ‘spouse’
𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇
‹n.o t.il.uh.iń hua ŋ.êm n.u z.iaŋ g.ün›
‘Her spouse was Dilgun, General Huayannu 華嚴奴’. (Gu 7)
𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 … 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 … 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇
‹n.ô.in THREE BIG in.gi.d aú.ui … c.ur.én te.bu.ei.én aú.ui … 063.ia.iủ cu.ń g.e aú.ui› (Zhi 14)
‘He had three wives. The most senior was her highness *Ingid… the second was her highness *Tabuye 撻不也 … the most junior (?) was her highness *Chunge.

3.201 *spring:* 𘰾𘰇 ‹heu.úr› Cf. MMo. *qabur*, Mo. *qabur* Da. *xaur*.
𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 ‹heu.úr ne.bú› ‘spring *nabo*’ .

3.202 *summer:* 𘰾𘰇 ‹ju.un› Mo. *ǰun.*

3.203 *supreme capital:* 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 ‹u.ur g.iŋ› ‘*Shangjing* 上京’.
3.204 *sweet dew:* On the canopy of the Xu inscription, 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 ‹ta.ha.ar o.ju.hu DAY 292.u ś.eu.kả on.a.án›. On the side of the canopy of the inscription, there are six Chinese characters: 掩閉日, 甘露降 *yan bi ri, gan lu jiang* ‘on the day it was closed, sweet dew fell’. The reading of 𘰾𘰇 is unknown.

3.205 *taizi:* 太子 ‘heir apparent’: 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 ‹tai ss›
𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇
‹tai ss ś.iau.u sh:en i.ri t.em.le.ge.ei›
‘Having been awarded the titles of *taizi* 太子 heir apparent and *shaoshi* 少師 junior preceptor… (Linggong 11)

3.206 *tejin* 特進 ‘title: specially advanced’ 𘰾𘲌 𘱖𘲍 ‹d.ei z.in›.
𘰾𘱕𘲌𘰾 包 𘲍𘲎 𘲌𘲏 𘰾𘲌 𘱖𘲍 𘰾𘱕𘲍𘰾𘲏
‹d.em.ei.er THREE ai:de al.194 d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii,
𘲍𘲋 𘲎𘲍 𘲌𘲏𘲎 𘲏𘰾 𘲑𘲓 𘲎𘲓 𘲎𘲏 𘱕𘲎子𘲍
ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ qa.an g.ui g.uŋ p.u.ju.bun›
‘In the third year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period, he was ‘specially advanced 特進’, awarded the title of *shangshu youcheng* 尚書右丞 and promoted to the position of duke of the state of Han 韓國公’. (Zhonggong 21)

3.207 *ten thousand:* 𘲎 ‹TEN THOUSAND› 2.187. See also 𘲏 2.312. Perhaps ‹tůmu›. 𘲎 appears in the present corpus 13 times, but never following another numeral. There is also evidence that 𘲏 312 means ‘ten thousand’. Toyoda 1992 gives the following examples:
𘲎𘲎 𘲓 ‹TEN THOUSAND ui› ‘ten thousand matters 萬事’.
𘲎 𘲌𘲑𘲍 ‹TEN THOUSAND g.úr:en› ‘ten thousand states 萬國’.
𘲓 𘲍𘲑 𘲎 𘲑乃𘲑 ‹THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.ur›
‘A thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋’ (Toyoda 1998)
𘲎 𘲌𘲑𘲋 𘲐𘲋 𘲐 ‹TEN THOUSAND g.úr:se hur.ú qa›
‘The khan controlling ten thousand states’.
𘲏𘲑 𘲍当为 ‹tůmu.úr t.úŋ.a›, a name in the Kitan version of Renxian, seems to correspond to 圖木里同刮 **tumur tunggua*, a name in the Chinese version of Renxian. (Ji Shi 1996).
𘲉𘲏‹TWO 312› ‘twenty thousand’ (Renxian 49)
𘲊𘲏 𘲋𘲋𘲍 ‹TEN TEN-THOUSAND û.ji:en› (Renxian 11)
‘provided a hundred thousand’. This refers to the Song increasing the amount of silver and silk to a hundred thousand taels to compensate for the land taxes of the ten counties of Chinese territory taken by the Liao. 𘲋𘲋𘲍 ‹û.ji:en› may mean ‘provided’, derived from 𘲋 ‹û-› ‘to give’. 𘲎 and 𘲏 might be allographs.

3.208 *tent* 帳 (tribal unit)*:* 𘲒 (380) also written 𘲔. 𘲔 means ‘month’, but on many occasions clearly refers to a tribal unit, ‘tent’. *Research* did not distinguish 𘲒 from 𘲔, and many modern transcriptions of Kitan inscriptions do not distinguish them either. Ji Shi pointed out that 𘲒 and 𘲔 were quite different graphs. 𘲒 occurs in the sense of ‘tent’ in 𘲇𘲈 𘲒 𘲍 ‹jỏ qó 𘲒 en› ‘of the tent of the younger uncles’. 𘲑𘲍 𘲍 𘲆𘲍出𘲔 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er› is ‘maternal uncles 國舅’; 𘲑𘲍 𘲍 𘲆𘲍出𘲔 𘲇𘲈 𘲒 𘲍 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zỏ.qó TENT:en› is ‘of the tent of the younger maternal uncles of the state’.

3.209 *tent of the junior maternal uncles* 小翁帳: 𘮩𘰾𘰚𘰴 𘮆𘰜 𘲌 ‹na.ha.án.er zỏ.qó TENT› is quite common. In Xu 3 this line there are several spaces before 𘰇𘰾𘰓 𘮩𘰾𘰚𘰴 𘮆𘰜 𘲌 𘰓 𘰴𘰋 𘰴𘰽 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án:er zỏ.qo TENT.en ŋ.in s.iŋ›, followed by a suffix of unknown meaning. This should be the status and title of the composer of the inscription. 𘰴𘰋 𘰴𘰽 ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ› corresponds to 銀青 *yinqing*, part of the title of the composer *wengzhang yinqing* 翁帳銀青 on the right side of the Xu inscription. So 𘮆𘰜 𘲌 𘰓 should mean 翁帳 *weng zhang* ‘of the tent of the junior maternal uncles’. According to the *Chapter on Officials* in the *Liaoshi*, there were two categories of 翁帳 *wengzhang:* the 大翁帳 *da wengzhang* and the 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang.* 𘮩𘰾𘰚𘰴 𘮆𘰜 𘲌 𘰓 ‹na.ha.án.er SMALL.qo TENT:en› can be translated 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang*. The reading of 𘲌 is unknown.

3.210 *that:* 𘰚 ‹qi› ~ 𘰚𘰪 ‹qi.hu›
𘰚 𘰯 ‹qi po› ‘that time’ (Langjun)
𘰚 𘰯 𘰚 𘲌 𘰚 𘲍 𘰚 𘰯𘰼 ‹qi po qi MONTH qi DAY qi po:do› (Zhonggong)
‘That year, that month, that day, that time…’
𘰚 𘰽𘰀 ‹qi s.uni› ‘that night’
𘰚 𘰾 … 𘰇𘰶 𘰴 𘰽 𘰋𘰜 𘰵𘰲 𘰾𘰜 𘰽𘰀𘰴𘰁 𘰇𘰜 𘰯𘰓 𘰴 𘰋𘰇𘰴𘰁 𘰵𘰋𘰇𘰇
‹qi ai … ś.eu tai ui s.uŋ oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.ei g.uŋ c.en TWO us.gi:id rí.l.ún›
‘That year, having been awarded the titles of *shou taiwei* 守太尉 and prince of Song 宋王, he was promoted to the rank of meritorious official with two characters in his title’.
𘰚𘰪 𘰾 𘰋𘰴 𘰪𘰴𘰴𘰴𘰁 𘰪𘰴𘰴𘰴𘰁 𘰴𘰴 𘰇𘰶 𘰋𘰪 𘰇𘰇
‹qi.hu ai b.as hu.jur.il.ha.a.al ju.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ o.ho›
‘That year he was then appointed secretariat director (中書令).
𘰚𘰪 also appears in 𘰚𘰪𘰇𘰜 ‹qi.ii.ń› Xi 奚, the name of a tribe or an ethnic group related to the Kitans.

3.211 *third:* 𘰴𘰋 ~ 𘰪𘰇𘰋 ‹hu.úr.er› (masc.); 𘰪𘰇𘰴 ‹hu.ur.én› (fem). 𘰪𘰇𘰋 and 𘰪𘰇𘰴 are also written 𘰴𘰋 ~ 𘰴𘰴, indicating the word for ‘three’ (written 𘰇) was possibly **ɣur*. Cf. Mo. *ɣurban* ‘three’.

3.212 *thirty:* 𘰽 ‹THIRTY›. Reading unknown.
𘰶 𘰴 𘰾 𘰓 𘰵𘰲 𘰪𘰲 𘰽 𘰓𘰲 …. 𘰋𘰲𘰁𘰜
‹nai MONTH TEN ONE DAY:de eu.úr THIRTY FIVE:de … tu.úr.bo.ń›
‘On the eleventh day of the first month, at thirty five years of age … she died’. (Gu 13)
𘰸𘰇 …. 𘰪𘰲 𘰽𘰲 𘰋𘰚 𘰋𘰲𘰁𘰽 ‹m.o … eu.úr THIRTY:de a.ai, tu.úr.bun›
‘The eldest… being thirty years of age, died’. (Han Dilie 6)

3.213 *thousand:* 矣 ‹THOUSAND› (207). Perhaps ‹miŋ›. Cf. Mo. *mingɣa* ~ *mingɣan*, Ju. *mingan* ‘thousand’ (Ki 664).
矣 介交 及 公乃交 ‹miŋ heu.úr tumůn n.am.úr› (Xuan 30)
‘1000 springs, 10000 autumns 千春萬秋’
矣买 ‹miŋ.án›: *meng’an* 孟安 (title)
业为本 业雨 圣 矣 ‹p.a.ar p.in TWO THOUSAND› (食邑二千)
业为本 业雨 戈 矣 ‹p.a.ar p.in FIVE THOUSAND› (食邑五千)
‘fiefdom of five thousand households’. 食邑 means ‘to feed off a fief: a general reference to land-grant nobles, who had broad political, military and fiscal control over tracts awarded to them’. (Hucker 5258).

3.214 *three:*包 ‹THREE› (166). Possibly **ɣur*, cf. Mo. *ɣurban* ‘three’ or **gor*, cf. Ju. *gorhon* ‘thirteen’.
包 丰公 ‹THREE ai:d›‘three males’. 包 is the masculine form of 包.

3.215 *throne:* 列及闲 ‹hu.o.gǒ› appears in 东 及 列及闲 ‹ETERNAL u hu.o.gǒ› in Daozong 6, which corresponds to 永福座 *Yongfuzuo* ‘Throne of Eternal Happiness’ in the Chinese epitaph. 东 is ‘eternal’. 列及闲 ‹hu.o.gǒ› must correspond to 座 ‘throne’ or similar.

3.216 *tiger:*巫业冬 ‹qa.ha.as›. Corresponds to 寅 in the heavenly branches. A common Chinese word for the tiger is the ‘king of the beasts 獸王’ so ‹qa.ha› might be ‘king, khan’, and ‹as› ‘animal, beast’. 巫业冬 ‹qa.ha.as› is sometimes compared to Daur *gerees* ‘animal’. In the *Yanbeilu* 燕北錄 we read 番兵以蔞珍思為號, 漢語熊虎二字也 “the barbarian soldiers use the term 蔞珍思 *louzhensi* as their name; in Chinese this means 熊虎 bear and tiger”. In another edition of the *Yanbeilu*, we read “the barbarian soldiers use the term 蕃珂忍 *fankeren* as their name, in Chinese this means 龍虎 “dragon and tiger”. Most researchers agree that “bear and tiger” should read “dragon and tiger”. Chinggeltei 1991 suggests the characters 蔞珍思 should be 蔞珂思, so Kitan **lu xaɣas*. From other examples we know ‘dragon’ was 戈 ‹lu›.

3.217 *time:* 非 ‹TIME› 2.279. Probably ‹po›. 非 often appears with the locative suffix 朱 ‹do›, i.e. 非朱 ‘at the time’. Cf Ju. 玫爻举 **fu-on-do* (Jin *Dict.* p. 76), presumably reflecting Jin Ju. **po’on-do*. The correspondence between Kitan 非 **po* and Jin Ju. 玫爻 **po-on* is indubitable. Ju. **po’on* may just be a transcription convention, but it is possible that here we have a case of a Jurchen nominal suffix (*-an, -in, -on*) attached to a Kitan word. The Kitan large script graph for ‘time’ is 玫, clearly similar to Ju. 玫. The *Liaoshi* glossary lists the word for ‘time’ as 岥, and notes that 岥 is pronounced like 頗 *po*. The *Qidanguo zhi* gives more detail: 瞎里岥, 漢人譯云：‘瞎里’是

‘請’, 厎是‘時’: the Chinese translate *hiali po* like this: *hiali* means ‘to invite’, *po* is ‘time’. *Research* suggested the reading [po].

3.218 *title; to grant a title:* 𘮫𘰾 ‹d.em› ~ 𘰾𘰾 ‹t.em›. Chinese 封 ‘to enfeoff’. The word may be related to Mo. *temdeg* ‘mark, sign, signal’. It often appears with the causative/passive suffixes: 𘮫𘰾𘰾𘮫𘰇 ‹d.em.le.ge.én›, with 𘰾𘮫 ‹le.ge› indicating the causative/passive and 𘰇 ‹én› the past tense.

𘰀 𘰁 𘰂𘰃 𘰄𘰅𘰾𘮫𘰆 𘰇𘰈𘮫 𘰉 𘰊𘰋 𘰌𘰍 𘰎𘰏 𘰐𘰑 𘰒𘰾𘰾𘮫𘰓𘰆 𘰔𘰈𘰾𘰾𘰾𘰅

‹TWENTY THREE ai:de û.úr.le.ge.ń g.ie.êm sh ju.uŋ ŋ.u oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›

‘In the twenty third year… He was granted the title of *jianshizhong* 檢侍中 and Prince of Wu 吳王’. (Ren 22)

3.219 *together with:* 𘰋𘰌 ‹deu.úr› (同)

𘰐𘰓 𘰍𘮫 𘰋𘰌 𘰏𘰔 𘮫𘰆 ‹em.en nai.d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci› (Langjun 4)

‘After he drank wine with the local officials…’

𘰀 𘰍𘰇 𘰋𘰌 𘰎𘰍𘰈 𘰑𘰋 ‹siỏ u.ur deu.úr KNOW.u.ji:de o.or›

‘He became the associate administrator 同知 of the southern division’.

𘰒𘰕 𘰖𘰗 𘰘𘰐 𘰋𘰌 𘰎𘰍𘰈 𘰑𘰙 ‹ś.iú m.i ü.n deu.úr KNOW.u.ji:de o.ii›

‘Having been appointed to the position of associate administrator 同知 in the bureau of military affairs …’ (Di 20)

𘰎 ‹KNOW› corresponds to 知 ‘to be in charge of, to manage’ in official titles.

3.220 *tomb:* 𘰐𘰚 ‹ne.ra›

𘰛𘰜𘰝 𘰞 𘰔𘰓 𘰐𘰚 𘰟𘰍 ‹ku.uŋ.iń tai bo:en ne.ra p.u›

‘This is the tomb of Kongning *taibao* 孔寧太保’.

𘰠𘰡𘰐 𘰢𘰣 𘰤𘰥 𘰢𘰦 𘰣𘰧 𘰐𘰚𘰑 𘰨𘰢𘰩 𘰪𘰫.

‹te.ge.n g.oŋ l.iŋ g.ün oŋ:on ne.ra:de g:en RECORD.g.én TEXT.ú›

‘Epitaph on the tomb of the late prince of Guangling prefecture’.

3.221 *transfer to:* 𘰬𘰭𘰛𘮫𘰮 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› ‘having been transferred, having been moved to’ (徙). In the *Eulogy of Daozong*, 徙殯於仙游殿之西階 *xi bin yu Xianyoudian zhi xi jie* ‘it was transferred for burial to the steps at the west of the Xianyoudian’, 𘰬𘰭𘰛𘮫𘰮 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› corresponds to 徙 *xi* ‘to transfer, to move’. The stem of 𘰬𘰭𘰛𘮫𘰮 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› is 𘰬𘰭 - ‹x.ui› ‘come’. 𘰬𘰭𘰛𘮫𘰮 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› is a causative form with the converb suffix 𘰮 ‹ei›. The word following 𘰬𘰭𘰛𘮫𘰮 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei›, 𘰯𘮫𘰰𘰱𘰲 ‹kẻ.d.ha.ai›, corresponds to 殯 *bin* ‘to put into a coffin; to bury’. This word also occurs in Renyi 13 where it corresponds to 殯 *bin* in the Chinese inscription. 𘰯 means ‘bury’. Its reading is unknown. 𘰯 ‹kẻ› is a mnemonic from 可.

3.222 *travel:* 𘰳𘰴𘰇 ‹se.m.én›

𗼇𘓐𗴲 𗥤𗼇 ‹se.m.én ordu.ú› ‘travelling palace 行宮’
𗼇𗾔𗴲 𘜶𗥤𘝦𘟣 ‹se.mu.én o.ordu.u.dú› (LOC) (Daozong 5)
𗍊𗦳𗐱 𗼇𗵘 𘓐𘝦 𗾔𘝦𗫂 𗾔𘜶 𗣼𗦳𗤁𗫔𗏁 𗫂𘝦 𗤶 𗼇𗂧𗏁𗾔𗅆𗣼 𗴲 𘕕
‹x.i.iŋ s.úŋ m.en mu.u.ji m.o c.i.is.d.bun tá.u HEAVEN ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar hoŋ di
𗓐𗤁𗣼 𗫔𗍫𘜶𗦳 𗰗 十 𗼇𗾔𗴲 𗥤𘝦𘟣 𗼇𗅆𗪘 𗏁𘜶𗹦𗤶
mo.rí:en n.ad.bu.ad.i siȯ shǐ se.mu.én ordo.u.dú s.a.kå l.iu.rền.er›
‘The sacred great filial eternal Chongxi emperor Xingzong, when he was residing *in* the travelling *ordo* to the south west of the *nabo* of the *miri*, passed away’. 𗓐𗤁𗣼 𗫔𗍫𘜶𗦳 ‹mo.rí:en n.ad.bu.ad› might mean ‘horse nabo’.

3.223 *tribe, clan* 部: 𗾔𗴂𗥤 ‹ńi.oh.úr› ~ 𗾔𗏁𗥤 ‹ńi.ó.úr› ~ 𗾔𗍫𗥤 ‹ńi.ô.úr› ~ 𗫔𗐱𗥤 ‹n.iû.úr› ~ 𗫔𗏁𗥤 ‹n.ó.úr› ~ 𗾔𗏁𗥤 ‹ńi.ó.úr› ~ 𗾔𗍫𗥤 ‹ńi.ô.úr›.

3.224 *twenty:* 𗰗 ‹TWENTY› (002). Reading not known.
𗦳𗥤 𗰗 𗴂𘝦 𗁅 𗼇𗫔𗦳𗤶 𗤁 ‹eu.úr TWENTY TWO:de qi s.em.ii.er iu›
‘At the age of twenty two, she became ill and died’. (Yong 35)
𗰗 𗅆 𗹦𘝦 𗍫𗥤𗏁𗍊𗾔 𗢳𗥤𗴂 𗲟 𗣼𗤶 𗍊𘝦 𗦳𗰗 𗫔𗫔𗏁𗍊𗏁𗘂
‹TWENTY THREE ai:de û.úr.le.ge.ń g.ie.êm sh ju.uŋ ŋ.u oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›
‘In the twenty third year [he was] … granted the title of *jianshizhong* 檢侍中 and prince of Wu 吳王’. (Renxian 22)

3.225 *two:* 𗴂 ‹TWO› 2.134. The stem of the word for ‘second’ in the inscriptions is 𘓐𗢳 ‹c.ur›, so perhaps is 𗴂 ‹cur›; Chinggeltei suggests *ǰur*. MMo. *ǰir ~ǰur* ‘two’; Ju. *ǰu ~ǰue;* Ma. *juwe* ‘two’; *juru* ‘a pair’.
𗴂 𗼇𘝦𗫂𗫔 ‹TWO mu.u.ji:d› ‘two emperors’;
𗴂 𗥃𗦳𗫔 ‹TWO♂ qa.ha:ad› ‘two khans’

3.226 *uncle (maternal):* 𗍫𗦳 ‹naha› ‘uncle’, cf. Mo. *naɣaču* ‘maternal uncle; relatives on mother’s side’

3.227 *uncle (elder brother of father):*𗍊 𗏁 ‹ia ai›.
𗍊 𗏁 𗤶𗢳𗤁 𗼇𗧓 𗍫𗦳 ‹ia ai m.ii.û s.iáŋ g.ün›
‘His paternal uncle was general *Miiu’. (Xu 46)

𗍊 𗏁 𗤁𗍫 𗼇𗵘 𗴲 𗦳 ‹ia ai ś.iŋ s.úŋ hoŋ di›
‘His uncle, emperor Xingzong’.
𗼇𗐱 𗼇𗼇 𗴲 𗦳𗓐 𗍊 𗏁 𗊛𗍫 ‹t.ei z.û hoŋ di:en ia ai bo.qo› ‘son of the uncle of Emperor Dezu’. (Gu 5)

2.228 *uncle (younger brother of father):* 𗍮 𗏁 ‹deu ai›.

主 忿 戊ㄴ 爿九ホ ‹hoŋ tai ś.eu bo.gi.ci› ‘The imperial uncle *huangtaishu* 皇太叔, *Bogici. **ㄎ 半 爿九ホ** ‹deu ai bo.gi.ci› ‘father’s younger brother, Bojizhi’.Bojizhi 孛吉只 was the younger brother of Xingzong. When Xingzong died, Daozong, not Bojizhi, inherited the throne. Bojizhi’s son, Nielugu 涅魯古 was involved in the Chongyuan 重元 rebellion against Daozong.

ㄎ 半 主 忿 戊ㄴ 爿ㄉ ホ𠂉 八火 ㄴ 伏ホ尺 ‹deu ai hoŋ tai ś.eu bo.qo c.ú g.ui oŋ ńi.ar.û›

‘The son of the father’s younger brother, the imperial uncle, prince of the state of Chu, *Niaru’.

We also find the term **ホ化当 半** ‹c.ur.én ai› ‘second father’ translating 仲父 *zhongfu* ‘second in a series of brothers’, as in Xu 12: **ホ化当 半 一 ㄡ化 ㄐ圣ㄉ** ‹c.ur.én ai NORTH u.ur l.êm.a› ‘second father, *linya* of the northern division’.

3.229 *upper and lower states (or: North and South states) Liao and Song:*
一忿 令ㄉ 圣 八灰 ‹UPPER.d te.gẻ TWO g.úr›
‘Upper and lower (or: north and south), the two states (Liao and Song)’.

3.230 *upper, superior:* **忿** (009). This seems to be a contraction of **一** (001) ‘above, upper’ and the plural ending **忿**‹d›, so ‘the upper ones, the superiors’.

3.231 *upright:* **令业 ~ 忿业** ‹te.po› ‹de.po› 正 *zheng* ‘upright’ (?)
Cf. Ma. *tob* ‘straight, upright, serious, right, just’.

3.232 *venerable:* **仕ㄐ八** ‹mu.le.gi›
仕ㄐ八 主 王雨 公平化业ㄉ出 八矢 久业ホ 反子爻
‹mu.le.gi hoŋ.di.in n.ul.ri.ha.a.án PLACE.de ta.ha.ar o.ju.ún›
‘The final resting place of the venerable emperor was closed’. (Zhixian 7)

3.233 *virtue:* **令丙刃** ‹t.iu.rẻn› (德).

3.234 *war, battle:* **雨灰** ‹cau.úr› cf. *Liaoshi* 炒伍倆 *chao-wu-er*; MMo. *ča’ur* ‘war’.

3.235 *west:* **十** ‹WEST› (040). Reading unknown. Suggestions include **ör* (Chinggeltei), *hörene* (Toyoda); **uru* (Ji Shi); *xoru* (Aisin Gioro).
一 十 弼 戈 丈 ‹NORTH WEST jau tau ss›
‘The bureau of punishments 招討司 of the north west’.
一 十 ㄡ化 ‹NORTH ~ UPPER SOUTH/LOWER u.ur› ‘the northern and southern divisions’.

It is not clear if 十 means ‘west’ or ‘south’. The directions may have been expressed in terms of forward, backward, upper and lower. The terms for the directions in Ju. (*juleši, fulisi, fanti* and *uliti* Ki. 590-594) are also isolates, and may shed some light on the directions in Kitan. Final *ši* and *ti* may be suffixes.

3.236 *western capital:* 伞关 几闲‹s.i g.iŋ› < 西京.

3.237 *white:* 永 ‹WHITE› (004)- dotted form 永̇ ‹WHITE♂›. The reading is not known. Sometimes forms based on Mo. *caɣan* ‘white’ *caɣaɣcin*, Ma. *šanyan* ‘white’, *šahûn* ‘whitish, pale, dull white’ are proposed.
永 ㄓ平 ‹WHITE eu.ul› ‘white cloud’.
永̇ 又金 ‹WHITE ♂ m.em›‘silver ice 銀冰’.
父 伞分ㄓ为ホ 乞 永 发 ㄔ 圣 廿 乞 尺矢 佃爻
‹HEAVEN ú.dû.ha.a.ar ONE WHITE DRAGON YEAR TWO MONTH TEN DAY.de BORN.er› (Nu 9)
‘He was born on the tenth day of the second month of the year of the white dragon in the Chongxi reign’.

3.238 *wife:* 丙几 ‹mó ku› ‘female person’.
丙 几 几火 ㄓ关 舟勿 兆吞 ㄐ危 ‹mó ku g.ui p.i bo.qo sh.ï l.aŋ›
‘His wife was titled state consort, his son vice director’.
舟勿关 舟勿 ㄓ攴 伞韭 几亦村 丙 几 ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo p.u s.iáŋ g.ün:en mó ku›
‘His grandchild was the wife of general Pu’.
丙 几 ㄐ关 伞交 分禾伏 ‹mó ku l.i s.ie pu.is.iń›
‘His wife was Lady Li Jie’.
几火 杰尔 又 丙 几 ‹g.ui oŋ:on GREAT mó ku›
‘The senior wife of the prince’.
Another term for wife, or perhaps wives and consorts, may have been ㄓ木 ‹p.ar› or 丙今 ㄓ木 ‹mó.t p.ar›. Mo. *beri* ‘daughter-in-law, bride’; Ma. *berhu* ‘form of address used by a wife to her husband’s younger sister, or by an elder sister to her younger brother’s wife’.

3.239 *wine:* 曲舟 ‹342.bo› 金村 穴公 为交 曲舟 圣本 尺关禾尺火 ㄓ币ㄐ攴
‹em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.ad.l.ún› (Langjun 4)
place GEN official PLUR together wine drink PAST happy SUFF return PAST
‘after he drank wine with the local officials he returned happy’

3.240 *winter:* 攴平 ‹u.ul›. Cf. Mo. *ebül*, Da. *uɣul*.
口 非 父 今丙爻 乞 圣 伞劳大 巫ㄓ冬 ㄔ 尺交又 攴平 巴 尺 ㄓ反闲

‹THAT TIME HEAVEN t.iu.er TEN TWO s.iau.qú qa.ha.as YEAR do.úr.ún u.ul TEN DAY p.o.ón›
‘The time was the tenth day of mid winter 仲冬 in the year of the blue tiger 甲寅, the twelfth year of the Tianhui 天會 reign period’ (Langjun)
𐲎𐲤 𐲍 𐲧 𐲘𐲪 𐲢𐲴 𐲙𐲢𐲷 𐲘𐲚𐲢𐲴𐲓 𐲤𐲴𐲎𐲤 𐲠𐲓 𐲘𐲢𐲎 𐲚𐲴𐲤 𐲘𐲚𐲢𐲴𐲤 𐲧𐲢𐲴𐲤𐲓 𐲠𐲴𐲢𐲴𐲓𐲢𐲴 𐲠𐲴𐲢𐲴𐲓𐲢𐲴𐲓𐲢𐲴
‹as.ar TWO YEAR u.ul, go.er qa.ha.ad u.úr.le.ge.ei, c.i.is:en oŋ:od mo.ha.as nai:d:en bo.hu.án:er i.ri:se t.em.le.gi se.ra.d› (Nu 7-8)
‘During the winter of the second year of the Qingning 清寧 period, having gathered at the tent of the khan, the princes of the blood and the children of the great officials were granted titles …’. The meaning of **𐲎𐲤 𐲍 𐲢𐲴** ‹se.ra.d› is unknown.

3.241 *write:* **𐲤𐲴** ‹ci:er› (PRET). **𐲤𐲴** ‹ci:er› is found at the end of inscriptions immediately preceding the name of the writer of the inscription (題).

3.242 *writing, character, graph:* **𐲢𐲘** ~ **𐲢𐲘** ‹us.gi›. The proposed reading of **𐲢𐲘** as ‹us.gi› is based on Mo. *üsüg* ‘letter of alphabet’
𐲘𐲴 𐲤𐲓 𐲢𐲘𐲍 𐲏 ‹g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d FOUR›
‘four character meritorious official 四字功臣’
𐲘𐲴 𐲤𐲓 𐲢𐲘𐲍 𐲙 ‹g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d SIX›
‘six character meritorious official 六字功臣’
𐲎 𐲢𐲘𐲤 𐲧 ‹ONE us.gi:en oŋ›
‘a prince with one character in his title 一字王’
𐲑𐲪 𐲤𐲯𐲙𐲪 𐲢𐲘 𐲒𐲫 力 𐲓𐲯𐲤 𐲤𐲯𐲙𐲪 𐲙𐲪 𐲁 𐲑𐲬
‹qid.i c.iau qú.i us.gi x.an na al.a.ar c.iau qú.i qid.i sh COMPOSE.ún›
‘He could write Kitan and Chinese well, and composed poems in Kitan and Chinese’. (Zhong 7)
𐲢𐲘 𐲅𐲰𐲫 𐲫 𐲍𐲪 ‹us.gi hur.ú:un ui KNOW.i›
‘person in charge of writing matters = Hanlin academician’. 翰林 ‘Hanlin [academy] is also transcribed **𐲟𐲯𐲒 𐲫𐲪𐲓𐲓** ‹ho.a.an l.i.in›.
That **𐲢𐲘** ‹us.gi› means ‘writing, written word’ is known from the expressions **𐲏 𐲢𐲘 𐲘𐲴 𐲤𐲓** 四字功臣 *si zi gongchen* ‘meritorious official with title containing four characters’ and **𐲑𐲁𐲪 𐲘𐲴𐲢𐲘** ‹qid.ún.i g.úr:en us.gi› ‘the writing of the Kitan state’. The expression ‘four character meritorious official’ refers to an official honorary title which contains four characters, such as 守正保義 *shou zheng bao yi* ‘uphold justice protect righteousness’. A ‘six character meritorious official’ had a title with six characters, such as 輔忠保義奉国 *fu zhong bao yi feng guo* ‘support loyalty protect righteousness, supporter of the country’. The expression *yi zi wang* ‘one character prince’ means a title which had only one character, such as 陳

國王 *Chenguo wang* ‘the prince of Chen’, 魏國王 *Weiguo wang* ‘the prince of Wei’. 王 is normally translated ‘king’, but in such titles is an abbreviation for 親王 ‘prince of the blood’. These titles were restricted to people of this status.

The *Eulogy for Daozong* was composed by Yelü Gu. Most of his official titles are transcriptions of Chinese titles, but the term 𘍏𘍏𘍐 𘍐𘍏𘍐𘍐 𘍐𘍐 𘍐𘍐𘍐𘍐 ‹us.gi hur.ú:un ui KNOW.i› was not Chinese. In the *Chapter on Rituals* in the *Liao History*, we learn that Yelü Gu was, amongst other things, 總知翰林院事 *zongzi Hanlinyuan shi* ‘in overall charge of the Hanlin academy’. So Shen Hui concluded 𘍏𘍏𘍐 𘍐𘍏𘍐𘍐 𘍐𘍐 𘍐𘍐𘍐𘍐 must be ‘controller of written matters’, that is, ‘Director of the Hanlin Academy’. Also written 𘍏𘍏𘍐𘍐 𘍐𘍐 𘍐𘍏𘍐 ‹us.gi.en ui hur.ú›.

3.243 *xianggong* 相公 : 𘍐𘍏𘍐 𘍏𘍐𘍐 ‹s.iáŋ g.uŋ› **sianggung* ‘lord’.

3.244 *xiangwen* 詳穩: 𘍐𘍏𘍐𘍐 ‹s.êŋ.un› ‘chief of an army, a camp, a small tribe or a group of imperial followers’.
𘍐 𘍐 𘍐𘍐𘍐𘍐 𘍐𘍐 𘍐𘍏𘍐𘍐 ‹NORTH EAST ńi.ô.ho:en ů.en s.êŋ.un›
東北路詳穩 *dongbeilu xiangwen* ‘*Xiangwen* of the north east circuit’.
𘍐𘍐𘍐𘍐 ‹ńi.ô.ho:en› has the stem ‹ńi.ô› ‘tribe’. 𘍐𘍏𘍐𘍐 ‹s.êŋ.un› sometimes corresponds to 將軍 ‘general’ in the inscriptions. The phonetic value of 𘍐 is not known. Several suggestions have been made: **əŋ *kul *aŋu*. If we transcribe 𘍐 as ‹êŋ›, 𘍐𘍏𘍐𘍐 would be ‹s.êŋ.un›. Chinggeltei has suggested 𘍐𘍏𘍐𘍐 may not be *xiangwen* at all. In the texts he examined, 𘍐𘍏𘍐 ‹s.êŋ› appears once, 𘍐𘍏𘍐𘍏 ‹s.êŋ.dú› three times, 𘍐𘍏𘍐𘍐 ‹s.êŋ.un› twenty one times. 𘍐𘍏𘍐𘍐 does not appear with any suffixes, as one would expect from a noun.

3.245 *year*:𘍐 ‹ai›.
𘍐𘍐 ‹ai:se› (plural) 𘍐𘍐 ‹ai:de› (locative) ‘in that year’
𘍐𘍐 𘍐𘍐𘍐 ‹ai:en se.le.bo› ‘the order of the year 歲次 (the position of the year in the hexagenary cycle)’.

3.246 *years of age*: 𘍐𘍐 ‹eu.úr› ‘years of age’
𘍐𘍐 𘍐 𘍐𘍐 𘍐𘍐𘍐 ‹eu.úr SEVENTY FOUR.ur tu.úr.bun›
‘He died at the age of seventy four’

3.247 *yellow*: 𘍐, 𘍐. Reading unknown, but perhaps **nügü ~ nigu*. See 4.60.

3.248 *yilijin* 夷離堇 *tribal chief:* 𘍏𘍏𘍐 ‹ri.g.en› *yilijin*.
𘍐 𘍐𘍐 𘍐 𘍐 𘍐𘍐𘍏𘍐 □□□ 𘍏𘍏𘍐 𘍐 𘍐 𘍐 𘍐𘍐𘍐𘍐 𘍐𘍐𘍐
‹HEAVEN hoŋ.di:in bu ai bo.gi.ń □□□ ri.g.en rí.i ai se.ra.ha.ad.iń t.il.uh›

‘The grandfather of Heaven Emperor 天皇帝 was the tribal chief *yilijin* 夷離堇 *Bogin (Abaoji < Abugin?). His ancestor (?) father was *Serahadiń *Diluh 迪魯古’. It is possible that ‹bo.gi.ń› may be a form of the name Abaoji < *Abugi, the founder of the Liao state. , *Serahadiń, the father of Abaoji, was transcribed in Chinese as Salading 撒剌汀.

3.249 *yilimian* 乙林免, ~ 迤逦免 *or* 夷離畢 *yilibi* ‘tribal title’ ‹yỉ.l.iń› = *yilimian* (Ji Shi 1988, Chinggeltei 1992). This is a common word in the inscriptions, and presumably a title. According to Liu Fengzhu, it is an honorary title granted to the wife of an imperial clan member when he is promoted to the position of prince (*wang*).

3.250 *young*: ‹YOUNG.qú› ‘young’.
‹YOUNG.qú› is often combined with ‹eu.úr› ‘time, age, period’, and is sometimes contrasted with ‹m.ó.qú› ‘old, elder, eldest’ when listing elder and younger siblings.
‹YOUNG.qú eu.úr.de› ‘at a young age’
‹YOUNG.qú te.me.ei.én go.t ei.ie›
‘The youngest, Temian 特免, is still with her family (i.e. not yet married)’

3.251 *younger brother:* ‹deu›. younger brother. Haneda 1925 noticed that is similar to Jurchen, Ki. 287 **degun*, cf. Ka. 665 **deu*.
‹qa.ha:an deu› (Langjun) ‘younger brother of the khan’
‹deu.ń.ún TWO♂ m.as.qu ta.ai ś.i n.u SMALL.qó pu.uŋ g.e tz.in g.ui pu.is.iń:en qa.yỏ.le.ha.ai›
‘There were two younger brothers. The elder was Taishinu. The younger … the lady of the state of Feng and the state of Zhen 豐国鎮国夫人…’
□□□□
‹deu.iń.er ś.i ś.en n.u tai sh … tai sh› (Yong 21)
‘the younger brothers, *Shishennu *taishi* and … *taishi*’

3.252 *younger maternal uncles:*
=[出]
‹mó bo.qo ONE pu.kả.x.én aú.ui SMALL.qó na.ha.án dzi.bu.qu
ś.a.rí.de û.ul.ge.ei eu.úr TEN EIGHT c.ar iu›
‘There was one daughter… She married *Jibuqu, court attendant, of the younger maternal uncles 小舅帳. She died some time ago at the age of eighteen’. ‹c.ar› ‘some time ago’ is in Langjun.

3.353 *yuyue* 于越 ‘tribal title’: 𐲍𐲰𐲢 ‹û.e›. A title used by the Uighurs and possibly derived from Tu. *ögüt* ‘counsel’ (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:432).

3.354 *zhaotao* 招討 ‘bandit suppression commissioner’*:* 𐲢𐲣 𐲤𐲣 ‹jau tau›
𐲢𐲣 𐲤𐲣 𐲥𐲦𐲧 𐲨𐲩𐲪 ‹jau tau l.iŋ g.uŋ› (招討令公)
𐲢𐲣 𐲤𐲣 𐲫𐲫 ‹jau.tau.ss› ‘bureau of the bandit suppression commissioner 招討司’.

CHAPTER FOUR

MORPHOLOGY

> When Kitan children first learn to read, they first invert the order of the words in accordance with their spoken language, and sometimes they need three words to express one. When I was serving as Ambassador to the Jin State, my companion was the Vice Commissioner and Vice Director Wang Pu. Every time he gave me an example of Kitan it made me laugh. For example, when they read 鳥宿池中樹, 僧敲月下門*niao su chi zhong shu, seng qiao yue xia men* 'a bird rests on a tree in the middle of a pond, a monk beats the door under the moon', they say 月明裏和尚門子打, 水底裏樹上老鴉坐*yue ming li heshang menzi da, shuidi li shushang laoya zuo* 'moon bright in monk door hits, water bottom in tree on crow sits', something like that. Wang Pu was a Kitan from Jinzhou. - Hong Mai (1123-1202), *Yijianzhi.* Quoted in Wittfogel and Fêng *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125)*, p. 244. [1]

The quotation from Hong Mai indicates that Kitan had postpositions, or perhaps case endings, and that the verb was at the end of the sentence. In this section, we shall look at the evidence for nominal and verbal morphology in the Kitan texts.

4.1 Accusative-instrumental in 𘮋 ‹er›

𘮌𘮊 𘮐𘮍𘮎 𘮏𘮋𘮋 𘮑𘮒𘮋 𘮓𘮔𘮐 ‹l.i c.eu:en nai.d.*er* bo.áŋ.hu.ai›
[Lizhou GEN official PLUR ACC order PART]
'He ordered the officials of Lizhou 醴州 prefecture'.
𘮒𘮋 𘮀𘮐 𘮊子𘮔𘮎𘮐 ‹RITUAL:*er* t.ar o.ju.ha.a:ai›
'[The tomb] having been closed by means of a ritual…'
𘮊公 𘮊𘮁 𘮒𘮋 𘮀𘮏𘮋𘮋 ‹û:n i.ri RITUAL:*er* t.em.le.ge:er›
'The title of *yuyue* 于越 was invested by means of a ritual'.
𘮋 𘮍行𘮋 𘮊子𘮔𘮐 𘮁𘮍𘮔 𘮒 𘮕比𘮊𘮃
‹GREAT ho.mú:*er* o.ju.ha.ai na.as.ha.ai CEREMONY k.ii.û.ji›

[1] Chinggeltei 1997a gives a word for word transcription into Mongol: *Saran-du xooš ang egüde toɣ sixu-du naɣur taxi modun-du xeriy-e saɣ umui.* 'While the moon is shining, a Buddhist monk beats a door, and a raven sat on the tree in the bottom of the water'. Jagchid 1979:206-277 gives another Mongol version: *Saran gegegen dur khuwuragh egüden-i toghshiju; usun-u modun degere keriye saghumui.* Many of the examples of Kitan morphology in this chapter are from Aisin Gioro 2004a.

‘Having closed the great catalpa coffin, they were caused to rest in peace; this is called the [appropriate] ceremony’ (or: ‘this was in accordance with the [prescribed] ceremonies’.

ᠮᠣᡤᠣᠨ ᡥᠣᡵᡤᠣ ᡥᡡᠸᡝᡳ ᡳᠯᡠᠨ ᡩᡝᡵᡝ ᡤᡝᡵᡤᡝᠨ ᡥᠣᡵᡤᠣᠨ ᡥᡡᠸᡝᡳ ᡳᠯᡠᠨ ᡩᡝᡵᡝ ᡤᡝᡵᡤᡝᠨ
‹c.ur.er bo.qo, hor.bo.ń x.eu, s.ai p.oŋ TWO: qa.ha.ad.*er* rẻn.le.ge.er›
‘The second son, *Horbun Heu = Heluben Hou 曷魯本吼, investigation commissioner 採訪, served two khans’.

ᡶᡠᡵᡤᡠᡩᡠ ᡤᡡᠸᡝᡳ ᠈ ᡳᡠᡶᡠ ᡩᡝ ᡤᡡᡵᡤᡠᠨ ᡳᡠᡵᡤᡝᠨ ᡳᡠᡶᡠ ᡩᡝ ᡤᡡᡵᡤᡠᠨ ᡳᡠᡵᡤᡝᠨ
‹ś.iú:dú te.gu: m.o HEAVEN n.em.d:en eu.ul.e.ei, ia.lí p.u t.iu.rẻn:*er* ar.ó.le›
‘In the Book [of Documents] it says: “Great Heaven has no favourites 親族; it assists only the virtuous”.

ᠮᠣᡧᡠᠸᠠ ᡩᡝᡵᡝᡠ ᡥᡝᡵᡤᡳ ᡤᡡᡵᡤᡠ ᡮᡠᡳᠸᡝᡳ ᡤᡡᡵᡤᡠᠨ ᡤᡳᡵᡤᡳᠶᠠᠨ ᡳᡠᡵᡤᡝᠨ ᡤᡠ ᡮᡝ ᡤᡡᡵᡤᡠᠨ ᡤᡳᡵᡤᡳᠶᠠᠨ ᡳᡠᡵᡤᡝᠨ ᡤᡡᡵᡤᡠᠨ ᡤᡳᡵᡤᡳᠶᠠᠨ ᡳᡠᡵᡤᡝᠨ
‹c.iau qú.ui i.ri s.uŋ us.gi.er COMPOSE.ha.ai, deu bu ai sa.a.am.ińs.iaŋ g.uŋ.un go.*er* xỉ.le.ge.er›
‘A Chinese name having been composed and written in the Song writing, the maternal grand uncle Lord *Samin inherited the lineage’.

4.2 The genitive in **ᡮᡝ** ‹an›

ᡮᠠᡥᠠᡮᡝ ᡮᡠᡵᡠᡳ ᡤᡡᡵᡤᡠᠨ ‹qa.ha:*an* xe.dú.ún go.er›
‘the house (lineage) of the horizontal tents 橫帳 of the khan’

ᡤᡡᡵᡤᡠᠨ ᡤᠠᡮᡝ ᡮᡳᡵᡳ ‹go.n ca:*an* i.ri›
‘the title of surveillance commissioner 觀察’

ᡮᡠᡵᡠᡳ ᡥᠣᡵᠠᡮᡝ ᡤᡡᡳ ‹xe.ci hor.a:*an* ui›
‘the affairs of the people of the city’

ᡤᡠ ᡩᡠᡳᡮᡝ ᡳᡠᡶᡠ ‹pu m.a:*an* bo.qo›
‘the son of the emperor’s son-in-law 駙馬’

ᠯᡳᠨᠶᠠᡮᡝ ᡳᡠᡶᡠ
‹l.êm.a:*an* bo.qo›
‘the son of the *linya* 林牙’

4.3 The genitive in **ᡥᡳ** ‹en›
This is the most frequent of the genitive endings. It mainly follows consonants (including the semivowel *ĭ*):

𐼀𐼍𐼇 𐼈𐼉𐼈 𐼏𐼃 ‹TWO:*en* m.as.qó bo.qo›
‘the eldest child of these two people’.

𐼆𐼊𐼇 𐼅𐼌 𐼈𐼋 ‹g.úr:*en* ś.iú mo.rẻn›
‘the military affairs commissioner of the nation 樞密’.

𐼁𐼎𐼌 𐼄𐼌𐼇 𐼏𐼃 ‹s.y.iên x.ui:*en* bo.qo›
‘the son of the director of the court ceremonial institute’

𐼅𐼋𐼌𐼇 𐼌𐼀𐼇 𐼉𐼆𐼎 𐼁𐼍 𐼍𐼎𐼀 𐼌𐼀
‹ś.a.rí:*en* go.er:en uh.ul.iń s.ai p.oŋ:on go.er…›
‘the house/tent/lineage 帳 of the investigation commissioner 采訪 *Ugulin of the house of the court attendant…郎君’

𐼊𐼆𐼇 𐼉𐼅 𐼍𐼓 𐼇𐼋𐼇 𐼄𐼅 ‹dzi.g.en u.úr p.oŋ c.a:*en* i.ri›
‘the title of investigation commissioner 訪察 of the left administration’

𐼇𐼄𐼎𐼇 𐼌 ‹c.i.is:*en* oŋ›
‘prince of the blood’

𐼂 𐼍𐼍𐼈𐼇 𐼅𐼋𐼌𐼀 ‹SEAL p.ai.ss:*en* ś.a.rí:d›
‘the court attendants of the bureau of ceremonial seals 印牌司’

𐼀𐼈 𐼆𐼇 𐼏𐼃 ‹tai sh:*en* bo.qo›
‘the son of the grand preceptor 太師’

𐼁𐼍𐼄 𐼁𐼏 𐼆𐼎𐼇 𐼄𐼅 ‹t.ai.i z.iaŋ gün:*en* i.ri›
‘the name (or title) of the senior general 大將軍’

𐼉𐼅 𐼆𐼋𐼇 𐼍𐼐 𐼅𐼌 ‹u.ur g.iŋ:*en* l.iu ś.eu›
‘the regent of the supreme capital 上 京’

𐼌𐼏 𐼀𐼎𐼇 𐼉𐼅 𐼍 ‹da.lỏ n.on:*en* u.ur ai›
‘ancestors of seven generations’.

4.4 The genitive in 𐼋 ‹in›

𐼋 ‹in› follows syllables with the main vowel *i*:
𐼇𐼈𐼋 ‹hoŋ.di:*in*›
‘of the emperor’

丞戈关雨 ‹tai.ś.i:*in*›
‘of the grand preceptor 太師 *taishi*’

父 主 王雨 生 羊 ‹HEAVEN hoŋ di:*in* bu ai›
‘the grandfather of the Heaven Emperor 天皇帝’

父 主 王雨 习 为 ‹HEAVEN hoŋ di:*in* ia deu›
‘the brothers of the Heaven Emperor’

业关雨 母勿 ‹pi.i:*in* bo.qo›
‘son of the consort 妃’

丞 戈关雨 母勿关 母勿 ‹tai ś.i:*in* bo.qo:i bo.qo›
‘the grandson of the grand preceptor’

4.5 The genitive in **ふ** ‹on›

丞 杰ふ 公东矢 丑几当 ‹tai oŋ:*on* ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én›
‘inscription on the tomb of the great prince 大王墓誌’

女爻 几火 杰ふ 公东矢 丑几当 ‹y.e g.ui oŋ:*on* ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én›
‘inscription on the tomb of the prince of the state of Yue 越國王墓誌’

又冬欠ふ 母勿 ‹m.as.qó:*on* bo.qo›
‘the son of the eldest [son]’

欠平伏 令羊 业杰ふ 曲爻 ‹uh.ul.*iń* s.ai p.oŋ*:on* go.er›
‘the tent (lineage) of the investigation commissioner 採訪 *Ugulin.’

令雨 伞雨 几火 杰ふ 又反 母勿 ‹s.in z.in g.ui oŋ:*on* m.o bo.qo›
‘the eldest son of the prince of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉’.

4.6 The genitive in **火** ‹un›

火 ‹un› usually appears after stems with the main vowel [u] and the semivowel [ŭ]:

几只火 ‹ku.û:*un*›
‘of.the.man’

主 介尖 几村爻 月伞
‹hoŋ heu:*un* g.en:ún TEXT.ú›
‘eulogy for the empress’

几丙尗尖 ‹g.iu.uŋ:*un*›
‘of the palace’

尺爻 伞当尖 非朱 ‹dau.u z.uŋ:*un* po:do›
‘at the time of Daozong’.

令劦 伞尖 孙仉余 ‹te.gẻ fu:*un* ja.r.qó›
‘the prime minister of the southern prefecture 南府’

发关 令文劦 主 丞 介尖 ‹ŋ.i t.ie.ên hoŋ tai heu:*un*›
‘of the empress dowager Yitian 儀天’

夫爻 为买 本土尖 曲公 吊 ‹w.u a.an c.eu:*un* go.n ca›
‘the surveillance commissioner 觀察 of Wu’an prefecture’

爿交 伞兴尖 爿勿 ‹b.ý.z.iú:*un* bo.qo›
‘the son of the *biexu* 別婿’

几太 亥兴尖 爿列出 ‹g.uŋ dz.iú:*un* bo.hu.an›
‘the children of the princess’

4.7 The genitive in **公** ‹n›

爻劵 ‹ún.e› ‘now’
爻公 ‹ún.n› ‘of the present’
尺劵 ‹û.e› ‘*yuyue*’ 于越
尺公 ‹û.n› ‘of the *yuyue*’

4.8 The genitive in **伏** ‹iń›

伏 ‹iń› (used with plurals?)

爻化伏 丰岔 ‹u.ur.*iń* ai:d›
‘former fathers: ancestors’.

爻化伏 仉几岔 ‹u.ur.*iń* ri.gi:d›
‘former tribal judges *yilijin* 夷離堇’

口北伏 巫圭买 曲爻村 ‹qi.ii:*iń* qa.ha:an go.er:en›
‘of the household/tent 帳 of the khan of the Xi 奚’

公金公伏 刁 与火 ‹n.em:d:*iń* ia deu:un›
‘of the brothers of the imperial clan’ (Xu 2)

4.9 The genitive in **关** ‹i›

买叉关 八交村 犮八 ‹qid.un:*i* g.úr:en us.gi›
‘the writing of the Kitan state’. (Zhong 6)

母勿关 与化矢 ‹bo.qo:*i* eu.ur:de›
‘at the time when he was a child’

母勿关 关仉 ‹bo.qo:*i* i.ri›
‘childhood name’

母勿关 母勿 ‹bo.qo:*i* bo.qo›
‘son of a son = grandson’

4.10 The dative-locative in **矢** ‹de›

仍勺村 业方 屮闲矢 乂火本 ‹ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:*de* x.ui.ci›
‘After he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty’.

伞关 八闲矢 乂火本 ‹s.i g.iŋ:*de* x.ui.ci›
‘After he came to Xijing (the western capital)’.

伞交方 丙丙攴 令交方矢 乂火仉谷百 可坐业半
‹s.ie.ên ei.iu.u t.ie.ên:*de* x.ui.r.ge.ei kẻ.d.ha.ai›
‘It was transferred for burial at the Xianyoudian palace’.
伞分廾及冉 乞 半矢 ‹û.d.u.o.ón TEN ai:*de*›
‘in the tenth year of the Da’an period’

禾 半矢 ‹NINE ai:*de*›
‘in the ninth year’

伞当 八火矢 ‹s.úŋ g.ui:*de*›
‘in the Song state’

𐰚𐰆 𐰃 𐰋𐰆 𐰀𐰉𐰚 𐰀𐰉𐰴 ‹eu.ur FORTY FIVE:*de* s.em.ii te.ge:en›
‘At the age of forty five, having fallen ill, he died’.

𐰚𐰆 𐰇 𐰉𐰆 𐰚𐰆𐰴 ‹eu.ur SIXTY TWO:*de* … tu.úr:bun›
‘He passed away at the age of sixty two’.

𐰚𐰆 𐰃 𐰚𐰆 𐰚𐰆𐰋𐰍 ‹eu.úr TWENTY SIX:*de* tu.úr.bo.ń›
‘He passed away at the age of twenty six’.

𐰉𐰃 𐰋𐰆 𐰃𐰏𐰀𐰴 ‹tai sh:*de* û.ul.ge:en›
‘She married the grand preceptor’.

𐰚𐰆 𐰃 𐰉𐰆 𐰓 𐰀𐰉𐰚𐰀 𐰋
‹eu.úr TWENTY TWO *de* THAT s.em.ii.er iu›
‘At the age of twenty two, he fell ill and died’.

𐰏 𐰉 𐰺 𐰚 𐰴𐰆 𐰇𐰀 ‹TEN TWO MONTH SIX DAY:*de* BORN:er›
‘born on the sixth day of the twelfth month’

𐰺𐰀 𐰖𐰍 𐰸𐰃 𐰃𐰃𐰆 𐰓𐰖𐰆 ‹y.e g.ui oŋ:on ne.ra:*de* ENGRAVE.g.en›
‘engraved on the tomb of the prince of the state of Yue’

4.11 The dative-locative in **𐰸** ‹do›

𐰢𐰸 ‹po.*do*›
‘at that time’

𐰇𐰖𐰆𐰸 𐰃𐰏𐰀𐰴 ‹ja.r.qó:*do* û.ul.ge:er›
‘She married the prime minister 宰相’.

𐰴 𐰋𐰃 𐰼 𐰽𐰍 𐰢𐰸 𐰋𐰓𐰃𐰸𐰃 𐰴𐰖 𐰀𐰉𐰚𐰀𐰴𐰺
‹HEAVEN bo.qo hoŋ di:in po:*do*, ei.ie.ên oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge:ún›
‘At the time of the emperor Son of Heaven, he was awarded the title of prince of Yan 燕王’.

𐰀𐰍 𐰀𐰍 𐰖𐰍 𐰸𐰃 𐰃𐰏𐰀𐰴𐰺 ‹s.in z.in g.ui oŋ:*do* û.ul.ge:le.ń›
‘She was married to the prince of the States of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉’.

𐰘𐰍 𐰀𐰼𐰴 𐰢𐰸 ‹ś.iŋ s.úŋ:un po:*do*›
‘at the time of Shengzong 聖宗’

4.12 The dative-locative in 𗹦 ‹dú›

The dative-locative in 𗹦 ‹dú› follows stems with the main vowel [u].

𗼻𘓐𗴲 𘜶𗥃𗹦 𗹇𘝦𘓁 𗹇𗴲𗍫𗥤𗥃 ‹xe.ci:en ku.û:dú ś.iá.ah śi.mů.le.ge.er›
‘[as] to the people in the city, he treated [them] well’

𗹇𗍊 𗹦 𗤶𗧓 ‹ś.iú:*dú* te.gu›
‘In the the *Book of Documents* it says…’

𗤶𗥤𗦳 𗍫𘜶𗹦 𗤶𗰜𗴲 𗍫丙刃𗥃 ‹s.em.én ORDU.u.*dú* s.a.kå l.iu.rẻn.er›
‘He fell ill; while he was staying in the *ordo*, he died’.

𗤶𗵘𗹦 𗥃平𗥤𗦳 ‹s.êŋ.*dú* û.ul.ge.er›
‘She married the *xiangwen*’.

4.13 The dative-locative in 𗍊 ‹iú›

𗊴𗰜𗍊‹car.a:*iú*› ‘to Cara (personal name)’

𗴲冬𗰜𗍊 𗰜亩方 反𗍫𘜶化𗴲 雨豸 亜𗤶 穴𗥤 𗦳奕 屋𗥃
c.as.a:*iú* a.ha.al, o.ORDU.u.ur:en cau.ji hur.ú nai:d deu.úr KNOW.er
Having been assigned *to* the *jasa* 閘撒, he was made commander in chief of the army and general administrator of the armies of the *ordo*…

𗍊 is clearly ‹iú› in transcriptions of Chinese, but such a reading is anomolous with its role as a dative/locative suffix after stems with [a], which would suppose a reading like **da*. The issue remains unsolved.

4.14 The prolative (ablative) in 𘝦𗢳‹de.i›

𗿇𗍮 𠃩同 𗋕 曲𗴲𗥃 𗏁𠃩𘝦𗢳 ‹FIVE NINE g.iŋ HUNDRED go:en:er us.gi:de:i›
‘From the writings of the hundred schools, the nine classics and the five classics’. There are many examples of 𘝦𗢳 ‹de.i› as a suffix in the texts (including the *Epitaph of Yelü Dilie* in Chapter Six), but the context does not enable us to translate these with accuracy. Cf. Ma. *deri* ‘prolative (ablative) suffix’.

4.15 The plural in 𗥃 ‹d›

𗥃‹d› is the most common plural suffix, and can be followed by other affixes:

戈 王父村 穴父父关 ‹FIVE♂ di:*d*:en nai:d.i›
‘of the officials of the five emperors’

弼 穴父 ‹jau nai:*d*›
‘the hundred officials 百官’

亾 仕攴豹父 ‹SEVERAL mu.u.ji:*d*›
‘several sacred ones [emperors]’

巫 仕攴豹父 ‹EIGHT♂ mu.u.ji:*d*›
‘eight sacred ones [emperors]’

斥· 丰父 ‹SEVEN♂ ai:*d*›
‘seven fathers/males’

包 丰父村 ‹THREE♂ ai:*d*:en›
‘of the three paternal houses 三父房’

攴化伏 丰父 ‹u.ur.iń ai:*d*›
‘male ancestors’

仳九父 ‹ri.gi.*d*›
‘plural of **仳九村** ‹ri.g.en› *yiligin*’

戊为卉父 ‹ś.a.rí:*d*›
‘plural of **戊为卉** ‹ś.a.rí› court attendant’.

罒 饥九父 九爻 朴村 ‹FOUR us.gi:*d* g.uŋ c.en›
‘meritorious official with a title of four characters 四字功臣’
九爻 朴村 巫 饥九父 ‹g.uŋ c.en EIGHT us.gi:*d*›
‘meritorious official with a title of eight characters 八字功臣’

尔火父 ‹aú.ui:*d*›
‘plural of **尔火** ‹aú.ui› *niangzi* 娘子 ‘royal lady’.

包 儿父父 ‹THREE♂ sh:*d*:er›
‘three preceptors 師 (accusative)’

爻 乂闭父村 ‹NINE♂ x.iŋ:*d*:en›
‘of the nine capitals’.

Note 𐰴𐰇 ‹x.iŋ› for 𐰏𐰇 ‹g.iŋ› 京.

𐰉 𐰚𐰃𐰍 ‹TEN ki.ên:*d*›
‘ten counties 縣 **hien*’

4.16 The plural in 𐰓 ‹t›

𐰓 follows 𐰆 ‹mó› ‘mother, wife, female’ and some other nouns.

𐰆𐰓 𐰋𐰺𐰀 ‹mo:*t* bo.hu.an›
‘girls, daughters’

𐰀𐰓 ‹qi:*t*›
‘those’ (plural of 𐰀 ‹qi›‘that’)

𐰀𐰓 𐰃𐰓𐰍 ‹qi:*t* ai:s:er›
‘those years (acc.)’

4.17 The plural in 𐰴 ‹ad›

𐰴 𐰚𐰢𐰴 ‹SIX♂ qa.ha.*ad*›
‘six khans’.

𐰍 𐰚𐰢𐰴 ‹TWO♂ qa.ha:*ad*›
‘two khans’.

𐰴𐰇 𐰋𐰃𐰴𐰍 [=𐰋𐰃𐰴𐰍] ‹qid.i REGION.a.*ad*:er›
‘the Kitan regions (accusative)’

𐰋𐰃𐰴𐰤 ‹FOUR REGION.a.*ad*:en›
‘of the four regions’

𐰚 𐰉𐰣𐰏 𐰘𐰍𐰴 ‹SEVERAL ń.ó.lí c.as.a:*ad*›
‘several tribal *jasa* 閘撒’

𐰚 𐰴 ‹SEVERAL miŋa:*ad*›
‘several thousands’

𐰖 𐰍𐰃𐰍𐰣𐰴 ‹FIVE n.ai.d.le.ha.*ad*›
‘the five harmonies 五和’

4.18 The plural in 币 ‹od›

犭仉欠币 戊火 又刃爫 ‹ja.r.qó.*od* ś.iú mo.rẻn:*d*›
‘prime ministers 宰相 and military affairs commissioners 樞密’.

亣 非币 ‹SIX po:*od*›
‘at the sixth hour’ *or* ‘six hours’

尸˙ 非币 ‹SEVEN♂ po:*od*›
‘seven hours’ *or* ‘at the at seventh hour’

包 𠂢币礻 冇攴火 ‹THREE♂ oŋ:*od*:en hor.u:un›
‘of the people of the three princes’

4.19 The plural in 火‹ud›

丙𠂤攴火 ‹ei.ra.u.*ud*›
‘Yelü’ is possibly a plural form.

4.20 The plural in 仐 ‹se›

丰仐 ‹ai:*se*›
‘years’ (cf. **丰爫** ‹ai:*d*› ‘fathers’)

巫 禾 丰仐 ‹EIGHT NINE ai:*se*›
‘eight or nine years’
丁 丰仐 ‹TWENTY ai:*se*›
‘twenty years’

乞 火仐 ‹TEN ui:*se*›
‘ten matters 事’

买仐 ‹qid:*se*›
‘the Kitans’.

及 几交仐 ‹TEN THOUSAND g.úr:*se*›
‘ten thousand countries 萬國’

包 艾仐 ‹THREE♂ MONTH:*se*›
‘three months’

禾 公ふ伞村 ‹NINE♂ n.on:*se*:en›
‘of nine generations’ (**公ふ** ‹n.on› ‘generation’)

公ふ伞村 矣买 穴 ‹n.on:*se*:en miŋa:an nai›
‘an official with the inherited title of *meng’an* 猛安’

公ふ伞 伞生万关 ‹n.on:*se* se.bu.ei.i›
‘continuing on from (previous) generations’

4.21 Other plurals

舟勿 ‹bo.qo› ‘son, child’; **舟列出** ‹bo.hu.an› ‘children’.

伏岑 ‹ń.iau› ‘sibling’; **伏岑伏爻** ‹ń.iau.ń.er› ‘siblings’.

丰 ‹ai› ‘father’; **丰爻** ‹ai:d› ‘father’s lineage 父房’.

戈为六 ‹ś.a.rí› ‘court attendants’ **戈为六爻** ‹ś.a.rí:d› ‘bureau of court attendants 郎君班’.

刈 ‹bú› ‘external groups’ 别部; **刈爻** ‹bú:d› ‘the group of clans which married into the imperial Yelü clan, referred to in Chinese as Xiao’.

4.22 Order of suffixes

The plural suffix comes before the case suffix:
乇 开为东村 穴爻 ‹FOUR REGION.a:*ad*:en nai:d›
‘the officials of the four border areas’

包 杰币村 肉及火 ‹THREE♂ oŋ:*od*:en hor.u.un›
‘of the people of the three princes’

丞 巫业东爻 ‹TWO♂ qa.ha:*ad*:er›
‘two khans (accusative)’.

4.23 Summary table of genitive, dative and plural suffixes

	GEN	DAT	PLUR
[e]	**村**en	**矢**de	**爻** d **令** t
[o]	**ふ**on	**朱**do	**币**od
[u]	**火**un	**尺**dú	**大**ud

[a]	买an	火iú	东ad
others	关i 雨in 伏iń 公n		伞se

4.24 Ordinal numbers used with masculine nouns

‘first, eldest’	‘second’	‘third’
(1) 又反m.o (2) 又反m.o (3)又冬欠[余] m.as.qó[qú] (4) 又反m.o (5) 又反m.o (6) 又反 m.o (7) 又冬余m.as.qú (8) 又反m.o	(1) 衣化爻‹c.úr.er› (2) 衣化爻‹c.úr.er› (3) 衣化爻 ‹c.úr.er› (4) 衣化爻 ‹c.úr.er› (5) 亥化爻 ‹dz.úr.er› (6) 衣化爻 ‹c.ur.er› (7) 衣化爻 ‹c.ur.er› (8) 衣化爻 ‹c.ur.er›	(1) 余爻‹hur.er› (2) 刘化爻‹hu.úr.er› (3) 刘化爻‹hu.úr.er› (4) 刘化爻‹hu.úr.er› (5) 刘化爻‹hu.úr.er› (6) 余爻‹hur.er› (7) 刘化爻 ‹hu.úr.er›
‘fourth’	‘fifth’	‘sixth’
(1) 令化爻‹t.úr.er› (2) 坐化爻‹d.úr.er› (3) 令化爻‹t.úr.er› (4) 令化爻 ‹t.úr.er› (5) 坐化爻 ‹t.úr.er› (6) 令化爻‹d.úr.er› (7) 令化爻‹t.úr.er›	(1) 令币反扎‹t.od.o.ho› (2) 令东反扎‹t.ad.o.ho› (3) 令币反扎‹t.od.o.ho› (4) 令币反扎‹t.od.o.ho› (5) 令东反扎‹t.ad.o.ho› (6) 令东反扎‹t.ad.o.ho›	(1)东爻‹SIX.er› (2)东爻‹SIX.er› (3)东爻‹SIX.er›
‘seventh’	‘eighth’	
(1)六丹‹da.lǒ› (2)六丹‹dá.lǒ›	(1) 巫化爻 ‹EIGHT.ri.er›	

(1) Ren (2) Zhi (3) Zhong (4) Gao (5) Hong (6) Yong (7) Hai (8) Xu

4.25 Ordinal numbers used with feminine nouns

‘first’	‘second’	‘third’
(1) 又‹GREAT›	(1)衣化当 ‹c.úr.én›	(1) 刘化当‹hu.úr.én›
(2) 又‹GREAT›	(2)衣化当‹c.úr.én›	(2) 刘化当‹hu.úr.én›
(3) 又冬丈‹m.as.qú›	(3)衣化当 ‹c.úr.én›	(3) 余当‹hur.én›
(4) 又‹GREAT›	(4)衣化当 ‹c.úr.én›	(4) 乂化当‹x.úr.én›
(5) 又冬丈‹m.as.qú›	(5)岔	(5) 刘化当‹hu.úr.én›
(6) 又‹GREAT›	(6)衣化当‹c.úr.én›	(6) 刘化当‹hu.úr.én›

‘fourth’	‘fifth’	
(1) 𘮩𘰾𘰚‹t.úr.én›	(1) 𘮩𘰾𘰾‹t.od.o.in›	
(2) 𘮩𘰾𘰚‹t.úr.én›	(2) 𘮩𘰾𘰾‹t.od.o.in›	
(3) 𘮩𘰾𘰚 ‹t.úr.én›	(3) 𘮩𘰾𘰾‹t.od.o.in›	
(4) 𘮩𘰾𘰚‹d.úr.én›		

(1) Ren (2) Zhi (3) Gu (4) Di (5) Xu (6) Gao

4.26 Grammatical gender: past tense of verbs

In the past tense of verbs, one can also see this distinction between the suffix ‹er› for males and ‹én› for females. A clear example is:

𘰾𘰾𘰽 𘮩𘰚 … 𘰚𘰽𘰾
‹x.i.iŋ s.úŋ … l.iu.rẻn:*er*›
‘[the emperor] Xingzong … passed away’.

𘮩𘰾𘰚 𘰾𘰾 … 𘰚𘰽𘰾
‹s.y.iên i.i l.iu.rẻn.*én*›
‘[the empress] Xuanyi … passed away’

4.27 Grammatical gender: the dotted forms

The question of the “dotted forms” is a vexed one. With the colours, there might be a correlation between the undotted form and the first of the pair of stems which corresponds to it and the dotted form with the second, but a clear pattern has not yet emerged. Some of the colours have different suffixes, which suggests the dotted form has some phonetic implication. With the numerals, Wu Yingzhe has noticed an important phenomenon: in most cases, the dotted form refers to a male, and the undotted form to a female, or is non-gender specific. Dotted and undotted forms also appear with inanimate objects, strongly suggesting grammatical gender in Kitan. The whole corpus needs to be reexamined with a view to pursuing these clues, but that research has not yet been done. See Wu Yingzhe 2005a.

4.28 Verbal morphology

Finite verbs are found at the end of a sentence; converbs within the sentence, indicating ‘after which’, ‘because of’ and so on. Finite verbs have three past

tenses: the past tense in 𗼇 ‹ar› ~ 𗼻 ‹er› ~ 𗽙 ‹or›; the past tense in 𗾞𗼪‹l.ún› (with variants) and the past tense in 𗿋伏 ‹bo.ń› ~ 𗿋𗼪 ~ ‹b.ún› ~ 𗾞 ‹bun›.

4.29 The past tense in 𗼇 ‹ar›

𗹦𗹧𗴲 𗵆𘝯𗼪𗼻 𗾞余 𗼇𗼎 𗼘 𗹨𗼇𗹧𗼎 𘝯为𗴦𗽙 𗼇𗵘为 𗼎𗼻 𗿣八 𗹧𗴲必 𗴲𗼘公 𘜶关 百𗼇𗼪火 八𗼪久 冈为𗼇

‹qa.ha:an xe.dú.ún go.er SMALL.qu ai:en | doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d | c.as.a rẻn.er, us.gi hur.ú:un ui □.n KNOW.i | ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh | COMPOSE.a.*ar*›

‘Yelü Gu 耶律固, official in charge of writing matters, court attendant of the bureau of seals and passes, on service in the *jasa*, of the younger paternal lineage 季父房 of the horizontal tents of the khan 横帳, *composed* 撰 [this] ’.

𗼎𗽙 雨𗽙 𠂢· 𘜶𗼪豹𗼇 𗴲关 𗴲 令𗽙百 冈𗾞列 圣用伏 𗵆公 曲𗼻𗼇 𗹨 八寸 公𗼪 冈为𗼇

‹k.em sở:or SEVEN♂ mu.u.ji:en DAY.i ui t.em.ei COMPOSE.le.hu yi.il.iń û.n go.er:en ss g.ia n.u COMPOSE.a.*ar*›

‘By imperial edict 敕奉, on the basis of *Daily Agenda of Seven Emperors* … Si Jianu 司家奴 of the house of the *yilimian? yuyue*, composed 撰 [this]’.

4.30 The past tense in 𗼻 ‹er›

𗼎𗾞 𗍫 𗴲关 𗹦太 令为乃 𗹨 𗽙𗽙𗾞𗽙𗼻

‹k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.uŋ s.a.am ss d.em.le.ge.*er*›

‘He was awarded the title of commander unequalled in honour’.

𗾞为买 𗾞同 八亦 𠂤 𗽙𗽙𗾞𗽙𗼻

‹l.a.an l.iŋ g.ün oŋ d.em.le.ge.*er*›

‘He was awarded the title of Prince of Lanling’.

又 令分廾反 乞 令考丈 伏为 𗾞 乞 乇 廿 乞 无 关 又 𗼘余 𗿋为 令𗼇 𗵘𗼻

‹GREAT ú.dû.u.o TEN s.iau.qú ni.qo ai ONE MONTH TEN FIVE DAY m.as.qu bo.qo s.en ci:*er*›

‘On the fifth day of the eleventh month of the blue dog year, the tenth year of the Da’an 大安 reign period, the eldest son Asin 阿信 wrote this’.

𗽙 𗼘𗼇 乞 𗾞矢 𗼪𗽙𗾞伏 𗿣反 𗍫 𗿣反 令𗽙𗾞𗽙𗼻

‹HEAVEN as.ar TEN YEAR:de û.úr.le.ge.ń ś.o fu śo t.em.le.ge:*er*›

‘In the tenth year of the Qingning reign period 清寧, *Urlegen was awarded the honorary title of *shuai fu shuai*’.

4.31 The past tense in 𗴲 ‹or›

𗍫 𗢭𗹦 𗏁𗗙 𗅁丙𗴂 𗖵𗍊 𗯿及𗴲
‹TWENTY SIX:de pu.u g.iu.uŋ sh.ï p.o.*or*›
‘At twenty six he was a *fu gong shi*’.

𗴲𗥃方 𗏁𗥃方 𗍫 𗴲𗵘 𗅁𗥃𗵘 𗯿及𗴲
‹d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm p.o.or›
‘He was appointed *dianqian du dianjian*’.

4.32 The past tense in ‹l.un›

𗵘为出 𗅁𗂧雨 𗃵化余 佃用叉
‹car.a.án g.ui:in ja.r.qó BORN.*il.ún*›
‘The prime minister, *Cara *Guiyin, was born’.

𗵘为木 丙𗥃方 𠂤 𗅁𗂧雨 佃𗍫叉
‹car.a.ár ei.ie.ên g.ui:in BORN.*l.ún*›
‘Chara 查剌, Prince of Yan 燕王, Guiyin 國隱 was born’.

𗍫 𠂢𗢭 曲公 𠂆 𗖵𗍊 𗴲金𗍫𗤶𗍫叉
‹TWENTY SEVEN:de go.n ca sh.ï d.em.le.ge.*le.ún*›
‘At twenty seven he was awarded the title *guanchashi* (surveillance commissioner).

𗍫关 𠂤土村 穴𗴲𗴂 𗍊业𗃵羊 戊𗢭及𧰼𗴲 仅 𗍊欠州𗍫业亏叉
‹l.i c.eu:en nai:d:er b.áŋ.hu.ai śi.de.u.ji:d jǐn se.qó.zǒ.le.ha.*al.ún*›
‘He ordered the officials of Lizhou that artisans renovate [the Qianling tombs]’

𗐤几村 及化 业当 𠂤为村 关化 令金𗍫叉
‹dzi.g.en u.ur p.oŋ c.a:en i.ri t.em.*l.ún*›
‘He was awarded the title of *fangcha* (examiner) of the left administration 左院’.
𡎚 𗍊勿 主 王雨 非朱 丙文方 𠂤尔 关化 令金𗍫𗴲𗍫叉
‹HEAVEN bo.qo hoŋ di:in po:do ei.ie.ên oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›
‘At the time of emperor Tianzi, Son of Heaven, he was awarded the title of prince of Yan 燕王’.

𡎚 𡊛𠂤 尤𗐱 丰𗢭 令劳 几同 劳𗴂 𠂇 业及𗴲 几文𗴲 马𗴂 戊𗂧 𗍫同雨 关化 令金𗍫𗴲𗍫叉

‹HEAVEN as.ar yủ.úr ai:de, te.gė g.iŋ tu.uŋ tz p.o.or, g.ie.êm ju.uŋ ś.iu l.iŋ i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›
‘In the first year of the Qingning 清寧 reign period, he was made the associate administrator 同知 of the southern capital 燕京, and concurrently was awarded the title of *jian zhongshuling* 兼中書令’.

一 及化 友 仲公 业反仝 伞次 杰尔 关仇 令金屮本屮爻
‹NORTH u.ur tz ű.n p.o.or s.uŋ oŋ i.ri t.em.l.e.l.ún›
‘He was made the director 知院 of the northern administration, and given the title of the prince of Song 宋王’.

4.33 The past tense in **将伏** ‹bo.ń› ~ **将爻** ‹b.ún› ~ **屮** ‹bun›

坓 伞杏 爻考及 兆 丸平只火 屮爪 北 次 爻勻 伞将九亦 业反子将爻
‹tai z.ï ś.iau.u sh mú.ul.û.ui l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ g.ün p.o.ju:*b.ún*›
‘The crown prince *taizi* 太子, junior preceptor *shaoshi* 少師, was concurrently appointed senior general of the dragon and tiger brigade 龍虎衛上將軍’.

坓金万爻 包 □亏垄 坓万 伞雨 坓金屮爻圮 闲勻 爻火 万与 朱安 巫买 九火 八太 业反子屮
‹d.em.ei.er THREE □ al.□ d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu ci.ŋ ka.an g.ui g.uŋ p.o.ju:*bun*›
‘In the third year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period , he was given the title of ‘specially advanced’, and given the title of right assistant director of the imperial secretariat 尚書右丞, and was made lord of the state of Han 韓國公’.

伏 伏爻 及次只当 业关 冬公 住及豹村 又反 与 伞当 安次关 杰尔 业关 业及闲屮伏 与次 丁 灰矢 劣次将伏
‹ńi ńi.ún u.úr.û.en p.i as.n mu.u.ji:en m.o deu s.úŋ ŋ.ui:i oŋ:on p.i p.u.gỏ.le.ń eu.úr TWENTY SIX:de, tu.úr:*bo.ń*›
‘His sister … was appointed consort of the imperial elder younger brother, the prince of Song 宋 and Wei 魏. She died at the age of twenty six’.
坓 今及 屮同 伞为乃 爻韭 兆 友同 杰 业及子屮
‹d.ai f.u l.iŋ s.a.am ś.iáŋ sh tz.iŋ oŋ p.o.ju:*bun*›
‘He was appointed *tai fu ling san sheng shi zheng wang* 太傅領三省事鄭王’.

4.34 The causative/passive in 𒀀𒄩 ‹le.ha› ~ 𒀀𒂵 ‹le.ge›

After back vowels, the causative/passive suffix is written 𒀀𒄩 ‹le.ha› (‹el.ha›?), 𒃻𒄩 ‹al.ga› and 𒇽𒄩 ‹ul.ha›. After stems with front vowels the suffix is written 𒀀𒂵 ‹le.ge› or 𒇽𒂵 ‹ul.ge›. In some cases, the [l] is omitted:
𒋫𒆠 ‹ú.dû› ‘at peace’
𒋫𒆠𒀀𒄩 ‹ú.dû:*le.ha*-› ‘cause to be at peace, pacify’

𒁍 ‹BORN› ‘born’
𒁍𒀀𒄩 ‹BORN.*le.ha*-› ‘cause to be born: give birth to’

𒌦𒍪 ‹û.úr-› ‘sit’
𒌦𒍪𒀀𒂵 ‹û.ur.*le.ge*-› ‘cause to sit, cause to be seated’

𒀭𒂗 ‹t.em-› ‘award a title’
𒀭𒂗𒀀𒂵 ‹t.em.*le.ge*-› ‘be awarded a title’

𒀠𒇽𒅖 ‹n.ai.dzi› ‘be friendly’
𒀠𒇽𒅖𒀀𒄩 ‹n.ai.dzi.*le.ha*› ‘cause to be friendly, bring about peace’

𒁕𒊏𒆤 ‹p.o.ju› ‘be [in an official position]’
𒁕𒊏𒆤𒄩 ‹p.o.ju.*ha*-› ‘to be appointed, to be promoted’

𒌦𒇽 ‹dau.ul-› ‘lead’
𒌦𒇽𒄩 ‹dau.*ul.ha*-› ‘be lead, follow’

𒊏𒆤 ‹o.ju› ‘close’
𒊏𒆤𒄩 ‹o.ju.*ha*› ‘cause to close, be closed’

𒅀𒄿𒅔 ‹x.ui.r› ‘arrive’
𒅀𒄿𒅔𒂵 ‹x.ui.r.*ge*› ‘cause to arrive, send’.

𒋛𒀀𒃻 ‹s.a.al› ‘live at, reside’
𒋛𒀀𒃻𒄩 ‹s.a.*al.ha*› ‘cause to reside, to settle’

𒆥𒌦𒇽 ‹ku.û.ul› ‘grow up, become a man’
𒆥𒌦𒇽𒂵– ‹ku.û.*ul.ge*› ‘cause to become an adult: to rear, nuture, educate’

4.35 Causatives and passives in context

又 米公反肉 尺奕爻 国屮母伏 无卡屮业卡 尺公 关化 句爻 令金屮爻爻
‹GREAT ORDU.ô.o.ón dau.ur.ún, hó.le.bo.ń tau.kå.*le.ha*.ai, û.n i.ri doro:er t.em.le.g.er›
‘In the middle of the Da’an 大安 reign period, he was summoned (?) and by means of a great ceremony, was given the honorary title of 于越 *yuyue*’.

口 卡 公乃奕 穴业本关 无米廾平业卡 母斥为买 及化 戊为去公 令各火…
‹qi ai n.am.úr, da.ha.ar.i tau.ordu.ó.*ul*.*ha*.ai, bo.ra.a.an u.ur ś.a.rí:d s.êŋ.un…›
‘In that year in the autumn he was … summoned, and [appointed] *xiangwen* 詳穩 of the bureau of court gentleman 郎君班 of the right chancellery 右院’.

令关 戊爻 业方 叔卡 几火 力乃 令金屮爻百
‹s.i ś.ui ki.ên k.ai g.ui na.am t.em.*le*.*ge*.ei›
‘Having been awarded the honorary title of dynasty founding baron *kaiguonan* 開國男 of Qishui county 漆水縣… ’.

伏 伏爻 … 仕及豹村 又反 方 令当 发爻关 杰尔 业关 业反闲屮伏
‹ńi ń.ún … mu.u.j:en m.o deu s.úŋ ŋ.ui:i oŋ:on p.i p.o.*gó*.*le*.ń›
‘His younger sister …was made the consort of the emperor’s eldest younger brother, the prince of Song 宋 and 魏 Wei’.

4.36 The converb in vowel + i

卡 ‹ai› **火** ‹ui› **爻** ‹oi› **百** ‹ei› **北** ‹ii› **关** ‹i›. This converb indicates the order in which the action happened: ‘then, after that’. After back vowels it is **卡** ‹ai›, after [u] it is **火** ‹ui›, after [o] it is **爻** ‹oi›. After other vowels it is **百** ‹ei›, **北** ‹ii› or **关** ‹i›.

卡 ‹ai›:
可公业卡 ‹kẻ.d.ha.*ai*›
‘having been buried, after he was buried’

百 ‹ei›:
今 几火 戊勾 伞母 几亦 公金屮爻百
‹pu g.ui ś.aŋ z.iaŋ g.ün d.em.le.ge.*ei*›
‘having been granted the honorary title of senior bulwark general of the state 輔國上將軍.
北 ‹ii›:
闲勾 戊火百土及 朱发 伞母 业及子北 令关 杰 公金屮爻爻

‹ca.aŋ ś.iu ei.eu.u ci.ŋ s.iaŋ p.o.ju:*ii*, s.i oŋ dem.le.ge.er›
‘Having been promoted to [the position of] right assistant director of the imperial secretariat 尚書右丞相, he was granted the title of prince of Ji 濟王’.

𗴲 ‹oi›
𗱕𗥃 𗥤 𗍫𗣼 𘝯卡只𗥃 反𗴲 𗍊 业羊廿村 𘜶为𠂤 仍关 𗍏 羊𗣼 𗍊 业羊廿村 𘜶为𠂤 为羊 𗍏 毛 羊𗣼 𗧓杏 关关 穴 反𗴲 刃万比 𗧓岑 𗧓𥫱 八亦 关化𗧓 令金𠙵谷
‹eu.úr TWENTY FOUR:de ku.kå.û.ur o.*oi* doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí cú.i; TEN ai:de, doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí a.*ai*, TEN ONE ai:de s.uni DAY.i nai o.*oi*, rẻn.ei.ii s.iau s.iaŋ g.ün i.ri:se t.em.le.g.er›
‘At the age of twenty four, he became a palace attendant 近侍 and a court attendant in the bureau of ceremonies and seals 印牌司. In the tenth year, he was in the bureau of ceremonies and seals. In the eleventh year, he was given the titles of night and day guard 宿直官 and junior general 小將軍’.

𗣫 ‹ui›
𘓐 𗧓杏 𘜶岑及 𠯿 丸平只𗣫 𠙵𠀧 北 𗍫 𘜶𠲖 𗧓𥫱八亦 业及子𥫱叉
‹tai z.ï ś.iau.u sh mú.ul.û.*ui* l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ g.ün p.o.ju.b.ún›
‘[He was appointed] junior preceptor 少師 of the crown prince 太子 and concurrently appointed senior general of the dragon and tiger brigade 龍虎衛上將軍’.

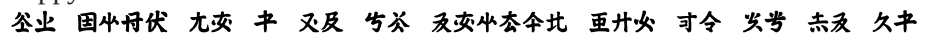
4.37 The converb in **冬比** ‹-s.ii›

口刘 羊 𘜶买 𗍊 冈关 穴村 业又 万余𣲗 刃万𠙵业冬比 𘓐 𗧓谷 𘜶岑及 𠯿 丸平只𗣫 𠙵𠀧 北 𗍫 𘜶𠲖 𗧓𥫱 八亦 业及子𥫱叉
‹qi.hu ai ś.an doro COMPOSE.i nai:en po.mo ei.qu.ui rẻn.ei.le.ha.*as.ii*, tai z.ï ś.iau.u sh mú.ul.û.ui l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün p.o.ju.b.ún›
‘That year new regulations were composed determining official ranks, and as a result, he was appointed senior general of the dragon and tiger guard 龍虎衛上將軍 and junior preceptor of the crown prince 太子少師’.

𡥈 𗧓生反扎 尤奕 羊 𗧓雨 𠂤尔 劣奕𗧓比 小 十 弼 无 业及火子𠙵谷
‹HEAVEN se.bu.o.ii yů.ur ai, s.in oŋ:on tu.ur:*s.ii*, SOUTH WEST jau tau p.o.ju.l.er›
‘In the first year of the Tonghe 統和 reign period, as a result of the death of the prince of Qin 秦, (or: after the death of the prince of Qin), he was appointed the bandit suppression commissioner 招討 of the south west’.

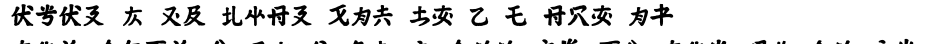


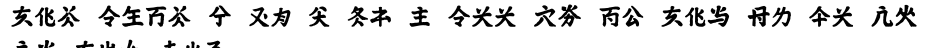
‹ún.e ei.qú.ui x.ui.ri.s.ii, ún.yǒ TWO:en ś.ian p.o.ju.ii, l.aŋ go.ci ku.ud.û.ui rěŋ.én.er x.i.cěn □.ún›
‘Now, as a result of his visit (?) [or: after he returned] the appearance was like new, the corridors and buildings were high like towers; he was very happy’.

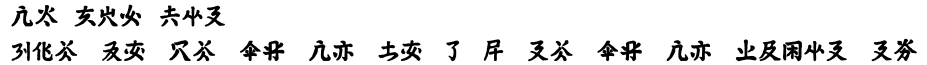


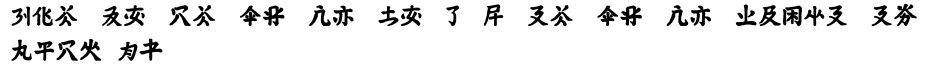
‹de.po hó.le.bo.ń yů.úr ai m.o doro:er u.úr.l.e.*s.ii*, hur.ó.un kě.t, dź.iau w.u da.ai s.iaŋ d.em.le.ge:er›
‘In the first year of the Huangtong 皇統 period, after a great ceremony [was conducted] … he was awarded the title of senior general for the glorification of the army 昭武大將軍’.

4.38 Converbs in context









‹ń.iau.ń.ún SIX m.o hó.le.b.ún ś.a.rí eu.úr FIFTY ONE b.û.úr *a.ai*,
dz.úr.er te.bu.ei.er pu m.a HEAVEN as.ar hoŋ t.i.i neu.e mo.n dz.úr.er bo.qo, s.i g.ui g.uŋ dz.iú.un rí.l.ún.
Hu.ur.er u.úr û.er z.iaŋ g.ün eu.úr FORTY SEVEN, ún.e z.iaŋ g.ün p.o.gǒ.l.ún ún.e mú.ul.û.ui *a.ai*,
t.ur.er s.en ś.a.rí eu.úr THIRTY NINE ku.kå x.ui us.g:en ui:de *giở:ai*,
t.ad.o.ii t.em.er ś.a.lí eu.úr THIRTY FIVE b.û.úr *a.ai*,
SIX:er dz.bu.qu ś.a.lí eu.úr THIRTY TWO ku.kå û.ui ja.aŋ us.g:de *giở:ai*›…
‘There were six siblings; the eldest, *Olibun 訛里本, court attendant, age fifty one, was present [at the funeral],
The second, *Dabuye, son in law of the emperor 駙馬, the second son of the Qingning emperor and the earth mother (empress), accompanied by the princess of the state of Qi 齊国公主…
The third, *Uru, a general, age forty seven, promoted to general of the guards 衛將軍…

The fourth, *Asin 阿信, court attendant, age thirty nine, palace attendant 近侍, responsible for written matters (Hanlin academician) was present;
The fifth, *Temei 特每, court attendant, age thirty five, was present;
The sixth, *Jabu, court attendant, age thirty two, palace attendant 近侍, in charge of written matters (?) was present…'

𗴂 𗴢丙𗵘 𗰜 𗹦 𗼻 𗾞𗵆 𘉐𗴂𗴂 𗵆𗼻 𗼵𗵒 𘉐亦 𗴢金𗹭𗴦万 𗾞𗴓为买 𗴮化 𗼵𗵓𗺰 𗵍𗵘 百亏𗺰亏 反子𗴮

‹HEAVEN d.iu.er TEN ONE ai b.iau g.i.i da.ai s.iåŋ g.ün d.em.le.ge.*ei* bo.ra.a.an u.úr s.y.iên x.uŋ ei.al.ha.al o.ju.ún›

'In the eleventh year of the Tianhui 天會 reign period, he was awarded the title of senior general of the cavalry 驃騎大將軍, and appointed to the position of master of court ceremonial 宣徽 in the right administration 右院.'

𗴂 𗴢金百𗵘 九𗵓 𗼻𗴂 亏𗺰 𗴢 𗼵𗴦 𘝦𗹦𗴮 兆 𗴢金𗹭𗴦万 𗴢𗴮方 𗼵𗴮方 们 𗴢𗴢 𘉐𗴮𗴢 业反子北 𗼵𗵓𗺰 𗵍𗵘 为乃伏𗵘 为𗼻

‹HEAVEN d.em.ei.er yủ.ur ai:de al.194 tai z.ï ś.iau.u sh d.em.le.ge.*ei* d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm p.o.ju.ii s.y.iên x.uŋ a.am.iń.er a.ar›

'In the first year of the Tianjuan reign period 天眷, he was given the honourary title of *taizi shaoshi* 太子少師, was appointed chief inspector of the palace command 殿前都點檢 and had at the same time [the position of] master of court ceremonial 宣徽'.

𗼵金百𗵘 𗴢 𗼻 亏𗺰 𗾞雨 𗼵闭 𘉐𗴓 𗴮 久𗼻关 𗼵 𗴢金𗹭𗴦北 𗴢𗹭𘓐𗴓 关仉𗼵 为乃伏𗵘 为𗼻

[HEAVEN] t.em.ei.er TWO YEAR al.194 ŋ.in s.in g.oŋ lu da.a.ai pu d.em.l.*ii*; KNOW.le.hu.ad i.r:se a.am.iń.er a.ar›

'In the second year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period , he was awarded the honorary title of *yinqing guanglu daifu* 銀青光祿大夫. He had at the same time (?) the title of administrator'.

𗴢金百𗵘 包 𗼻𗴂 亏𗺰 𗴢百 𗼵雨 𗴢金𗹭𗴦北 闲𘜶 𗴮𗵍 百𘓐𗴮 𗹦𗾞 𗵘买 𘉐𗵍 𘉐𗵘 业反子𗵍

‹d.em.ei.er THREE ai:de al.194 d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii, ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ ka.an g.ui g.uŋ p.o.ju.bun›

'In the third year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period, he was 'specially advanced 特進' and was appointed right assistant director of the imperial secretariat 尚書右丞 and duke of the state of Han 韓國公'.

又公 仕汲沙朴 禾 乏矢 反发北 戊反 个 个汲 戊反 令金仆谷百 舟冬 仆幺朱 西关 汲交仆谷伏 占 穴朴 关仉 令金仆八 又雨矢 丑羊 戊反 个 戊反 令金仆谷北 北为买 关仉 卉又仆谷百 点汲 伞闭朴 出闭 又为们 八斗圣 业反困仆关 丸平穴火 为羊

‹ún.n mu.u.j:en NINE FIVE de o.dź.*ii* ś.o pu pu.u ś.o t.em.le.ge.*ei* b.as l.iá.ah sỉ.i u.úr.le.ge.ń då nai:en i.ri t.em.le.gi m.in:de giỏ.*ai* pu ś.o t.em.le.ge.*ei* ii.a.an i.ri tir.mo.le.ge.*ei* w.u s.iŋ:en bi.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm p.o.gỏ.l.i mú.ul.û.ui a.*ai*›…

‘The current emperor having acceeded to the imperial throne 九五, he was granted the title of *shuaifu fushuai* 率府副率. Several officials were granted the title *fu shuai*… He was promoted to the position of military commandant of Wuqing 武清兵馬 and director in chief 都監’

4.39 The converb in **亏** ‹al›

乞 包 羊矢 伞关 乂同 个汲几丙冬 兆 业反仝 口 羊 仆关雨 几火伏 几汲伏 反米汲火 百交 本北当 本冬为火 为业亏 反米汲化朴 百豹 亚伞 穴笠 污交 屋谷

‹TEN THREE YEAR:de s.i x.iŋ pu.u g.iu.uŋ sh p.o.or. THAT YEAR l.i.in g.ui.iń g.u.iń o.ORDU.u.un cau.úr c.ii.én c.as.a.iú a.ha.*al*, o.ORDU.u.ur:en cau.ji hur.ú nai:d deu.úr KNOW.er›

‘In the thirteenth year, he became the deputy palace commander 副宫使 of the Jiqing 積慶 palace. In that year, having been appointed to the *jasa* 閘撒 of the armies of the jade *ordo* of […], he was also chief official in control, associate administrator 同知 and campaign commander 都統 of the armies of the *ordo*’.

污 仆刘久伏 几冬交 笠 兆 们 几火冬 兆 为业为亏 戊为车笠 伞各火 为羊 令文圣笠 几文圣笠 污交 公火 仉汲 伏勿 戊灸为 亚伞 屋谷

‹deu le.bủ.uh.iń ku.uŋ.úr tai sh du g.iu.uŋ sh a.ha.a.*al*, ś.a.rí:d s.êŋ.un a.ai, t.ie.êm:d g.ie.êm:d deu.er n.ui kú.u ni.qo ś.au.a hur.ú KNOW.er›

‘The younger brother, Lubuh 魯不古 Kungur 控骨里, having been made senior preceptor 太師 and palace commissioner 宫使, was a member of the bureau of court attendants, and *xiangwen*. He was in overall control of managers 點 and supervisors 檢, and also the general administrator of the palace storehouses 内庫 of dogs and eagles 犬鷹’. Note the words **伏勿** ‹ńi.qo› ‘dog’ and **戊灸为** ‹ś.au.a› ‘eagle’, which are also in the *Liaoshi*.

4.40 The converbs in **本** ‹ci› and **豹** ‹ji›

本‹ci› and **豹** ‹ji› appear to mean ‘after’

仍勾朴 业方 仆同矢 乂火本 几丙冬 令文方 百火尘 业廾火关 尺伏 扎仆刘笠

‹ta.aŋ ki.ên l.iŋ x.ui:*ci* g.iu.uŋ, t.ie.ên ei.iú.cẻn p.u.ui.i dau.iń ho.le.hu:er›
‘After he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang, the halls were dilapidated…’

𗼇𗴲 𗥃𗵘 𗰜𘓐 𗅁𗍫 𗵘𗹦 𗏵𗴂𗂧𗀍𗢳 𘜶𗴺𗀛𘝦
‹em:en nai:d deu.úr WINE.bo êm.*ci*, x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún›
(**𗼇𗴲** ‹em:en› ‘local’; **𗥃𗵘** ‹ai:d› ‘officials’ **𗰜𘓐** ‹deu.úr› ‘together’)
‘After he drank wine with the local officials, he happily returned.’
(州之諸官，同酒飲高興地歸)
𗍊𗴂 𗏵𗹦𗂧 𗴂𗢳𗹭 ‹s.i. g.iŋ.de x.ui.*ci*›
‘After he arrived at Xijing [the western capital]’.

𗢳 𗵘丙刃 𗵘 𗹭 𗥃 𗤓 𗍊𗍫 𗀛𗍊 𗢳𗏵 𗤓𗍫 𗏵𗍫 𗀛 𗵘𗼇𗀛𗦳𗵘
‹HEAVEN d.iu.rẻn TWO ai nai MONTH:de l.û oŋ:on u.un ei.eu.*ji*, ý.e g.ui oŋ d.em.le.ge.er›
‘In the first month of the second year of the Tiande 天德 reign period, when he was the prince of Lu 魯王, he was given the honorary title of prince of Yue’.

4.41 Finite verbs and converbs in context

𗢳 𗍊火 𘝦𗰜 𗹭𗍊𗵘 𗏵𗐯 𗂧𗖵 𗵘𗰜 𗤓𗼻方 𗏵𗇋 𗉘 𗏵丙𗢳化𗲟 𗍊 𗏵丙𗢳 𗀛 刃𗤓北 业反𗵘
‹HEAVEN t.ud yủ.úr ai.s:er ja.aŋ m.in d.un mu ei.ie.ên x.iŋ THREE g.iu.uŋ.ur:en fu g.iu.uŋ sh rẻn.ei.ii p.o.or›
𗢳 𗍊火 𗏵 𗹭𗍫 □𗴺𗤓 𗤓𗼻方 𗏵𗂧𗇋 𗏵丙𗢳𗰜 𗁅 𗏵丙火 𗀛 业反𗵘
‹HEAVEN t.ud SEVEN ai:de □eu.j ei.ei.ên x.i.iŋ g.iu.uŋ:un du g.iu.ud sh p.o.or›
口 𗹭 𗍊反 𗏵刁𗵘 𗂧𗲟 火 𗂧𗊴 𗏵亦𗲟 𗂧化 𗍊𗼇𗢳𗵘𗤓
‹qi ai s.o g.ia.iam m.en ui ś.iaŋ g.ün:en i.ri te.em.le.ge.ei›
𗍫 𗹭𗍫 𗰜𘜶刁买 𗂧化 𗂧为六𗵘 𗍊各𗰜 业反子北
NINE ai:de bo.ra.ia.an u.ur ś.a.rí:d s.ên.un p.o.ju.ii
𗢳 𗀛为买□𗰜 𗒘𗂧𗤓𗍫 反北
‹HEAVEN REGION.a.an □.ur KNOW.u.ji:de o.ho›
‘In the first year of the Xianyong 咸雍 reign period, he served as deputy palace commander 副宮使 of the Zhangming, Dunmu and Yanqing palaces. In the seventh year of the Xianyong reign period period … he was transferred to the position of chief palace commander 都宮使 of the Yanqing 延慶 Palace. He was appointed *bushisi* 部署司 [head of a superior prefecture] and associate administrator 同知. That year, he was awarded the title of general of the left guards 左監門衛. In the ninth year, he became a

court attendant in the right division 右院郎君 and *xiangwen* 詳穩. He was made general administrator of the border areas.'

4.42 Verbal nouns in vowel + [n]

Verbal nouns, which can also be used as adjectives, have the suffixes 出 ‹án› following stems with back vowels, 当 ‹én› following stems with front vowels, 肉 ‹ón› following stems with rounded vowels and 及 ‹ún› following stems ending in a consonant. 公 ‹n› and 伏 ‹ń› are also found.

伯当 尺 ‹BORN.ér DAY›
'birthday'

乞 巫 尺矢 伯当 ‹TEN EIGHT DAY.de BORN.ér›
'she who was born on the eighteenth day' (note: the suffix 当 ‹ér› indicates the subject is feminine)

乇 伯与 刘冬方 寸祭

‹ONE BORN.*én* hu.as.al GOOD FORTUNE›
'the disasters and good fortunes of life [what one is born into]'

又 夷行爻 反子业半 力冬业出 勺 叔北尺豹

‹GREAT xo.mú.er o.ju.ha.ai, *na.as.ha.án* doro k.ii.û.ji›
'the great catalpa palace 梓宮 [the coffin of an emperor] having been closed, this was called the ceremony of laying to rest'.

公东矢 业九当 冈为本 业九当 令勺

‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én COMPOSE.a.ar, RECORD.g.én te.gu›
'The incription on the tomb was composed. The inscription says:'

4.43 Verbal nouns in 舟伏 ‹bo.ń›

丙 穴有 劳化舟伏 豹有 乂火化舟伏 尺 令久比 业同 刘勿 兆有 乂化 令金百

‹HUNDRED nai:en cu.ur.bo.ń ji:en x.ui.ri.bo.ń DAY t.uh.ii p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh:en i.ri t.em.ei›
'The hundred officials (officialdom) … assembled (?). On the day they arrived… he was awarded the title of manager of affairs 平章事'.

4.44 Verbal nouns and adjectives in 刘 ‹hu› 九 ‹gi› 扎 ‹ho›

刘 ‹hu› follows back stems, 九 ‹gi› follows front stems, 扎 ‹ho› follows stems with back rounded vowels.

久业本反子刘 尺 岁灸 仑土卡 尔为出

‹da.ha.ar o.ju.*hu* DAY 292.u s.eu.kå on.a.án›
'on the day [the tomb, the coffin] was closed, sweet dew fell'

掩閉日,甘露降
舟为关 舟为 又雨 令生及扎 杰
‹bo.qo:i bo.qo min se.bu.o.*ho* qa›
‘his grandson, our succeeding khan …’

4.45 Copula: 业及 ‹p.u› ~ 舟及 ‹b.u› ‘to be’ (是)

几火伏 丞舟杓 公仐 业及
‹ku.uŋ.iń tai.bo:en ne.ra p.u›
‘This is the tomb of Kongning 孔寧 *taibao* 太保’.
杰化尒 舟为 仐爿 几火 舟及
‹c.ur.er bo.qo s.iaŋ g.uŋ b.u›
‘He was the second son, his excellency 相公’.
令币及肉 尔火 舟及
t.ód.u.ón aú.ui b.u›
‘She was the fifth royal lady 娘子’.

4.46 Copula: 丙 ‹ei› ‘to have, to exist’ (有)

丙令 舟列出 丞 又仒夫 火平廾及肉 夊尒 力圡出尒杓 伏为 丞 兆杓 舟为 仐几劵 杰尖 友矢 及平杏当 兮夫 令金丙当 曲令 丙文
‹mó:t bo.hu.án TWO m.ó.qu x.ul.u.o.ón, bú:d na.ha.án:er:en ńi.qo tai sh:en bo.qo se.g.e ci.ŋ tzi:de u.ul.ge.én YOUNG.qú t.em.ei.én go:t ei:ie›
‘There were two daughters; the eldest was *Hulun, who married the recipient of edicts 乘旨 *Sege, who was the son of the preceptor 太師 *Niqo of the external (Xiao) maternal uncles; the youngest, *Temen 特免 is still at home (i.e. has not yet married)’.

仐爿 几亦 丙令 业本 包 …包 丙令杓 火买 丙文
s.iaŋ g.ün mó:t p.ar THREE … THREE mo:t:en x.an ei.ie;
杰化尒 艻火丞[=丞?] 廿 务 丙 几 圡久伏关 令虫叉 尔火 业交仐 丙文
c.ur.er cu.uŋ.□ ss tu mo ku eu.uh.ńi.i t.iên.ún aú.ui p.úr.s ei.ie;
列化尒 兮秀夯 廿 务 丙 几 秀关 艻 犭 尔火 …
hu.ur.er pu.is.ên ss tu mo ku is.i 091 ji aú.ui …
令币及扎 兮平伏 雨 杰买 朋 乇 丙 几 虫才半 伏行欠伏 兮秀伏 业交仐 丙文
t.od.o.ho pu.ul.iń sỏ qa.an jau tau mo ku iên.ia.ai ńi.mú.qó.iń pu.is.iń p.úr.se ei.ie;
灰尒 杰为 列为 兆及 舟及 丙 几 圡久伏关 子余 兮秀伏 业交仐 丙
SIX.er qa.a hu.a xu.u b.u mo ku eu.uh.ńi.i ju.qu pu.is.ń p.úr.se iu;
穴丹尒 仐为乃伏 公关尖 几劵 仐爿 几火 丙 几 力圡出尒杓 不半 兮秀伏 业交仐 丙

da.ló.er s.a.am.iń d.i.ŋ g.e s.iaŋ g.uŋ mo ku na.ha.án.er:en ha.le pu.is.iń p.úr.se iu…
‘His excellency 相公 had three wives and secondary wives 妻室. The three wives were all present … the second (son), □ *situ* 司徒, his wife was *Eugni, royal lady 娘子 were present; the third □ *situ* 司徒, his wife lady *Isi, royal lady 娘子 … the fifth son, *Fulunhan (?), bandit suppression commissioner 招討, his wife Mme. □, were present; the sixth son, *Haga, of the *hubu* 戶部, his wife Mme. *Eugni *Jugu (?) was not present (no longer living); the seventh, his excellency 相公 *Sami *Dinge, his wife, lady *Hale [of the lineage of] the maternal uncles 國舅, was not present (no longer living)…’.

4.47 The copula: 丙 ‹iú› ‘not to exist, to die (無)’

𠂤化当 米𠂉业为出 尔火 力业买 今生业半 今𠂤 几亦矢 攴平𠂆万 土交 𠂉 不禾矢 丙 佘当 尔火 土交 丁 𠂢矢 交攴 为本爻 扎矢 丙

‹c.úr.er ORDO.le.ha.a.án aú.ui na.ha.an se.bu.ha.ai s.aŋ g.ün:de u.ul.ge.ei eu.ur THIRTY xa.is:de *iu*. hur.én aú.ui eu.ur TWENTY FOUR:de ur.u a.ar.ún ho:de *iu*›.
‘The second, *Otelan, royal lady, married general *Sabali of the lineage of the maternal uncles. At the age of 30, she died. The third royal lady, aged twenty four ---- died.’

今金当 尔火 才 为女 公反𠂆𠂆 爻为六矢 只平𠂆万 土交 丁 禾矢 丙
今分𠂉业为本 丙 才 为女 只分 𠂢村 几𠂆 爻关 们 几才乃矢 只平𠂆万 土交 𠂉 今化 丙

‹t.em.én aú.ui ia deu:un n.o.or:er ś.a.rí:de û.ul.ge.ei eu.ur TWENTY NINE *iu*.
ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar mo ia deu:úr û.dû ai:en g.uŋ ś.i du g.ia.am:de û.ul.ge.ei eu.úr THIRTY FOUR.ur *iu*›
‘*Temen 特免, royal lady 娘子, was married to *No’or, court attendant 郎君 of the lineage of the elder younger brothers. She died at the age of twenty nine. Madame *Otela was married to *Udu (?) of the lineage of the *zhongfufang* 仲父房, who had the title of *gong shi du jian* 宮使都監. She died at the age of thirty four’.

丙 𠂤勿 乇 今卡乂当 尔火 州欠 力业买 亥生余 爻为六矢 只平𠂆万 土交 乞 巫矢 𠂆本 丙

‹mo bo.qo ONE pu.kå.x.én aú.ui zǒ.qo na.ha.an dzi.bu.gu ś.a.rí:de û.ul.ge.ei eu.ur TEN EIGHT:de c.ar *iu*›
‘There was one daughter, the royal lady *Pu…, who married *Jibugu, court attendant, of the lineage of the younger maternal uncles. She died some time ago, at the age of eighteen’.

又反 今丙刃伏 爻勾 今 今当 𠂢 坐为 𠂤勿 乇 才𠂢伏 弟 戋 𠂉同 几𠂆 今生万𠂆 业交今 丙 𠂠化𠂆 伏行欠伏 王𠂆[𠂢]雨 几亦 𢀛 列买攴 业交今 丙

‹m.o t.iu.rẻn.iń ś.áŋ pu s.úŋ oŋ car.a bo.qo ONE♂ qudug.iń jau tau l.iŋ g.uŋ te.bu.ei.er p.úr.s iu. c.ur.ér ńi.mú.qó.ń di.î.in g.ün oŋ hu.an.u p.úr.se *iu*›
‘The eldest was *Diuren (Jiulin 糺林), *shangfu* 尚父, prince of 宋 Song [whose childhood name was] *Chara 查剌. One son, *Hudugin 胡睹堇, bandit suppression commissioner 招討, lord 令公, *Tabuye 撻不也… died. The second, Nimugun 涅睹衮 *tiyin* 惕隱 (?) *junwang* 郡王, had died’.
𘍞𘊴 𗍫 𗼇𗴢 𗏁 𗹦𗴼𘍞𗴢 𗍊
‹eu.úr TWENTY TWO:de THAT s.em.ii.er *iu*›
‘At the age of twenty-two, she fell ill and died’.

4.48 The copula 𗍊 ‹a›

𗍊 ‹a›, often seen with the converb suffix 𗼻 ‹ai›, also seems to be a copula: ‘being’.

4.49 Supplement: Reign titles

All of the Kitan reign titles begin with 𗴢 ‘heaven’ or 𗏁 ‘great. Many appear to be verbal forms:

(1)	Tonghe	983	統和	government unity	𗴢 𗹦𘓐反扎
(2)	Kaitai	1012	開泰	open prosperity	𗴢 伏𗼇尺𗴼
(3)	Taiping	1021	太平	great peace	𗏁 丙交𘜶及
(4)	Jingfu	1031	景福	bright happiness	
(5)	Chongxi	1032	重熙	repeated splendour	𗴢 米𗼇丑𘍞
					𗴢 𗹦𗴼𗼇丑𗍊𘍞
(6)	Qingning	1055	清寧	clear tranquility	𗴢 冬𘍞
(7)	Xianyong	1065	咸雍	together harmony	𗴢 令火
(8)	Dakang	1075	大康	great prosperity	𗏁 令丙刃
(9)	Da’an	1085	大安	great peace Da’an	𗏁 𗹦𗴼廾反南
					𗏁 米廾反雨
(10)	Shouchang	1095	壽昌	longevity prosperity	𗏁 令𘍞
(11)	Qiantong	1101	乾統	celestial government	𗴢 𘍞廾反扎
(12)	Tianqing	1111	天慶	heaven blessings	𗴢 𗹦卡𗼇𗴼𗴼
(13)	Tianfu	1118	天輔	heaven assistance	𗏁 元𗴼当
(14)	Tianhui	1123	天會	heaven meeting	𗴢 𗴼丙𗴼
					𗴢 令丙𗴼
(15)	Tianjuan	1138	天眷	heaven favour	𗴢 令𗹦百𗴼
					𗴢 𗴼𗹦百𗴼
(16)	Huangtong	1141	皇統	august government	令业 国𗼇𗾔伏

(17)	Tiande	1149	天德	heaven virtue	
(18)	Dading	1161	大定	great settlement	

4.50 Notes on Liao reign titles

(1) Tonghe (983) 統和 ‘United Peace’. ‹HEAVEN se.bu.o.ho›. means ‘inherit, succeed, follow’.

(2) Kaitai (1012) 開泰 ‘Open Prosperity’: ‹HEAVEN ńi.l.û.er›. The last two graphs in are clear, but the first two are damaged. The left side of is visible, as is the upper part of .The meaning of ‹ńi.l.û.er› is unknown.

(3) Taiping (1021) 太平 ‘Great Peace’: ‹GREAT ei.ie.ra.u›.

(4) Jingfu. Not identified.

(5) Chongxi (1032) 重熙 ‘Repeated Splendour’: ‹HEAVEN ú.dû.le.ha.ar›. Also written ‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar›, ‹HEAVEN ordu.le.ha.ar› and ‹ordu.le.ha.ar›. The meaning of ‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar› is not known. It may be connected with the word ‹û.dû.ó.o.ón›, which appears in the Kitan equivalent of the reign title Da’an, and so might mean ‘peace’. ‹ú.dû.le.ha.ar› might be related to the term in the *Liaoshi* glossary 窩篤盌 **o-du-on* ‘nourishing (滋息)’. 息 by itself means ‘peace, rest’. So the verbal noun form would be ‘nourishment’ (perhaps ‘peace, rest’).

‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.al TWENTY THREE, TEN TWO MONTH SIX DAY.de BORN.er›

‘He was born of the sixth day of the twelfth month of the twenty third year of the Chongxi period’.(Hong 6)

(6) Qingning (1055) 清寧 ‘Clear Tranquility’: ‹HEAVEN as.ar›. is found in Xuanyi, where the expression 地清 *di qing* ‘the earth is clear’ is translated ‹neu.e as.ar›. neu.e means ‘earth’, so ‹as.ar› must mean ‘clear’.

‹as.ar TWO ai u.ul go.er qa.ha.ad u.úr.le.ge.ei c.i.is:en oŋ:od mo.ha.as nai:d:en bo.hu.án:er i.ri.se t.em.le.gi se.ra.d›

‘In the second year of the Qingning period, in winter, the khan having gathered in the tents, the children of his blood relations, the princes and the

great officials, were granted official titles' The meaning of 𗍫𗥃𗴲 ‹se.ra.d› is unknown. (Nu 7-8)

(7) Xianyong (1065) 咸雍 'Together Harmony': 𗴲 𗍫𗅋 ‹HEAVEN t.ud›. 𗍫𗅋 ‹t.ud› is common in the texts. It may mean 'harmony'.

𗴲 𗍫𗅋 𗈪𗟲 𗹦𗍫𗴲 𗏁𗰜 𗘂𗖵 𗴲𗅋 𗑠 𗀍𗟲𗅋 𗅆𗏵 𗉘 𗈪丙𗅋化𗢳 𗍫 𗈪丙𗅋 𗀛 𗔇𗀍北 𗥃反𗴲

‹HEAVEN t.ud yủ.úr ai:s:er ja.aŋ m.in d.un mu ei.ie.en x.iŋ THREE g.iú.uŋ.ur:en fú g.iú.uŋ sh rển.ei.ii p.o.or›

'In the first years of the Xianyong reign period, he was promoted to the position of deputy palace commander 副宮使 of the Zhangmin 彰慜, Dunmu 敦睦 and Yanqing 延慶 palaces' (Nu 12-14)

(8) Dakang (1075) 大康 'Great Prosperity': 𗘂 𗍫丙𗔇 ‹GREAT t.iu.rển›. 𗍫丙𗔇 ‹t.iu.rển›, also written 𗴲丙𗔇 ‹d.iu.rển›, means 'virtue'.

𗢳𗅇 𗦳文方伏 𗴲 𗦳关雨 𗊴勿关 𗊴勿 𗘂 𗍫丙𗔇 𗂧 𗣼 𗂸 𗍊 𗅆 𗵘𗖵 𗁅当 (Gu 6-7)

‹aú.ui ś.ie.ên.iń tai ś.i:in bo.qo.i bo.qo GREAT t.iu.rển SEVEN, FIVE MONTH TEN EIGHT DAY:de BORN:én› (note feminine form in 当 ‹én›)

'Her highness, grandchild of *Shanning *taishi*, was born on the eighteenth day of the fifth month of the seventh year of the Dakang reign period'.

(9) Da'an (1085) 大安 'Great Peace'. 𗘂 𗍫分廾反雨 ‹GREAT ú.dû.ó.o.ón›. Perhaps 𗍫分廾反雨 ‹ú.dû.ó.o.ón› means 'peace'. See (2) above.

𗘂 𗍫分廾反雨 𗍊 𗍫学丈 伏勿 𗹦 𗍊 毛 𗂸 𗍊 𗣼 𗵘 又冬余 𗊴勿 𗍫𗢳 𗹦𗴲

‹GREAT ú.dû.ó.o.ón TEN s.iau.qú ńi.qo YEAR [ai] TEN ONE MONTH TEN FIVE [tau] DAY m.as.qu bo.qo s.en ci:er›

'On the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the tenth year, the year of the blue dog 甲戌 of the Da'an 大安 reign period, the eldest son Yixin wrote this'. (Zhixian)

(10) Shouchang (1095) 壽昌 'Longevity Prosperity': 𗘂 𗍫𗢳 ‹GREAT s.en›. 𗍫𗢳 ‹s.en› means 'longevity'. The common personal name 義新 Yixin (also written 阿信 Axin) is written 𗍫𗢳 ‹s.en›; the common "second name" Yixining is written 𗍫𗢳伏 ‹s.en.iń›. This suggests a prothetic [i] preceding ‹s.en›.

𗘂 𗍫𗢳 𗣼 𗹦 𗍊 𗂸 𗍊 𗵘 𗵘 𗈪𗟲 了戈 𗍫金北𗴲

GREAT s.en FIVE YEAR ‹ai› TEN MONTH EIGHT DAY:de eu.úr FORTY NINE♂:de s.em.ii.er›

'On the eighth day of the tenth month of the Shouchang period, at the age of 45, he contracted a fatal illness 病故'.

(11) Qiantong (1101) 乾統 ‘Celestial Government’: 关 本廾及北 ‹HEAVEN ar.u.o.ho›. One of the meanings of 乾 *qian* is ‘heaven’, as in 乾坤 *qian kun* ‘heaven and earth’. The meaning of 本廾及北 ‹ar.u.o.ho›, also written 本仐及北 ‹ar.ú.o.ho›, is not known. It is possibly connected with the term in the *Liaoshi* glossary 阿魯盌 **alu’on* ‘support, assist’. 統 means ‘to gather into one, to unite’.

关 本廾及北 九夾 屮 灰 艾 丁 包 尺 朿 猕 列及闲 坐生尘 伏冬圭为出 亏 叔北穴药

‹HEAVEN ar.u.o.ho yủ.úr ai SIX MONTH TWENTY THREE DAY YONGFU hu.o.gỏ qa.bu.cẻn ńi.as.ha.a.án doro k.ii.û.ji› (Xuanyi 5-6)

‘On the twentieth day of the sixth month of the first year of the Qiantong period, in a ritual they were laid to rest together in the Yongfu tomb’.

(12) Tianqing (1111) 天慶 ‘Heaven Blessings’: 关 分卡业炎关 ‹HEAVEN ‹pu.kả.le.ge.er›. 分卡业炎关 ‹pu.kả.l.e.er› is common in the inscriptions. The phonetic value of 卡 is unknown. ‹kả› is a mnemonic from 卡.

(13) Tianfu (1118) 天輔 ‘Heavenly Assistance’: 又 九炎当. ‹GREAT zủ.ge.er›. The meaning of 九炎当 ‹zủ.ge.er› is not known. 輔 means ‘to help, to assist’.

(14) Tianhui (1123) 天會 ‘Heaven Gathering’: 关 公丙关. ‹HEAVEN d.iu.er›. 公丙关 ‹d.iu.er› is also written 令丙关 ‹d.iu.er›.

(15) Tianjuan (1138) 天眷 ‘Heavenly Favour’: 关 公金万关 ‹HEAVEN d.em.ei.er›. 公金万关 is also written 令金万关 ‹t.em.ii.er›. 令金万关 ‹t.em.ei.er› is very common in the inscriptions, it means ‘to grant [a title, an honour]’. The Kitan term means ‘heaven conferred, heaven bestowed, heaven awarded’. 天 *tian* is ‘heaven’, 眷 *juan* is ‘devotion, solicitude’.

(16) Huangtong (1141) 皇統 ‘August Government’: 令业 国业丹伏 ‹te.po hó.le.bo.ń›.

国业丹伏 尸 屮矢 业闩 孑气 友闩 兆杏 业及子北 杰关 杰 公金业炎关

‹hó.le.bo.ń SEVEN ai:de, p.iŋ ja.aŋ tz.iŋ sh.ï p.u.ju.ii, ci.ŋ oŋ d.em.le.ge.er›

‘In the seventh year of the Huangtong reign period, he was made *pingzhang zhengshi* (manager of government affairs) and given the title Prince of Cheng’. 令业 国业丹伏 ‹te.po hó.le.bo.ń› occurs in the Xiao Zhonggong inscription several times. 令业 ‹te.po›, also written 公业 ‹de.po› is common in the inscriptions; cf. Mo. and Ma. *tob* ‘upright’. 国业丹伏 ‹hó.le.bo.ń› is a common name. It is sometimes thought to refer to ‘imperial lineage’.

(17) Tiande (1149) 天德 'heaven virtue':  ‹HEAVEN d.iu.rẻn›.  means 德 *de* 'virtue'. is a literal translation of 天德.

(18) Dading (1161) 大定 'great settlement': ‹GREAT doro.ha.am›.  corresponds to 禮 *li* 'ceremony, rites, seal'.

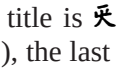
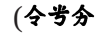
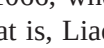
4.51 Some comments on the word for Kitan

There is a voluminous literature on the origins and meanings of the dynastic names Liao and Jin. Liao is said to be named after the Liao River. Jin means gold, named after the Anchuhu river, **alčun* being the Jurchen word for 'gold'. However, the matter is not so simple, as can be seen from Chan 1991 and Liu Pujiang 2001. Here we can just add a few comments based on the Kitan script.

The Liao changed their dynastic title four times. From 907 to 938 they called themselves, in Chinese at least, the Great Kitan State. After 938, following the incorporation of the Chinese speaking "sixteen counties", they changed their name to the Great Liao State. Then in 983, they changed back to Great Kitan State. In 1066 they changed back to Great Liao State, which remained until the fall of the dynasty. For about a total of one hundred years the dynasty was called Kitan, for about one hundred years the dynasty was called Liao. The reasons for this no doubt have their political basis, and need not concern us here.

Liu Fengzhu 2006 compared the titles of the published Chinese inscriptions from the Liao. Sure enough, during the period the "transmitted texts" (the *Liaoshi* and the *Qidanguo zhi*) say the state was called Kitan, the Chinese inscriptions start 大契丹 Da Qidan. When the sources say the state was called Liao, the Chinese inscriptions start 大遼 Da Liao.

Turning to the Kitan inscriptions, Liu made an interesting discovery. When the state was called Kitan the inscriptions start  ‹GREAT qid.ún hu.rå›. When the state was called Liao the inscriptions start  ‹GREAT hu.rå qid.ún›.

The same applied with the large script. In the periods when the term Great Kitan was used, for example in the *Epitaph of the princess of Yongning prefecture*, the title is  . The first graph is «GREAT» (small script ), the last graph,  is «STATE». corresponds to 中央 *zhongyang* 'central' ( ‹t.iau.dû›),  to 'Kitan' and  to 'Liao' (‹xu.rå›), that is Kitan Liao State. In the *Epitaph of Xiao Xiaozhong*, written after 1066, when the state was called Liao, we find the sequence , that is, Liao Kitan State. The first graphs in the title of the *Epitaph of Xinie* are simply 'Central Kitan State'. and

𐲋𐲤 𐲰 are apparently variants. On the translation 𐲑𐲒 / 𐲓𐲔𐲕 ‹t.iau.dû› as ‘central’, see below.

There are also other elements, discussed below. Liu came to the conclusion that the problematic 𐲖𐲗 was in fact the Kitan word for Liao. The two reign titles could be translated Great Kitan Liao when the Chinese inscriptions refer the the Great Kitan, and Great Liao Kitan when the Chinese inscriptions refer to the Great Liao.

In the small script, Kitan is written 𐲍𐲘 ‹qid.ún›. Variants are 𐲍𐲘𐲙 ‹qid.ún.i› and 𐲍𐲙 ‹qid.i›, presumably genitives. 𐲍 2.365 is apparently a combination of 𐲑 ‘great’ and 𐲓 ‘heaven’, which are perhaps derived from 大 ‘great’ and 天 ‘sky, heaven’. 𐲑 or 𐲓 was used in all the Liao reign titles.

The sequence 𐲑 𐲁𐲚𐲘 𐲖𐲗 𐲍𐲘𐲙 ‹GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.rå qid.ún.i› appears on the canopy of the Daozong inscription. The first graph 𐲑 means ‘great’. The second word, 𐲁𐲚𐲘 appears on the Langjun inscription in the expression 𐲁𐲚𐲘 𐲜𐲠 ‹dau.úr.ún u.ul› ‘mid-winter’, so 𐲁𐲚𐲘 ‹dau.úr.ún› seems to mean ‘middle, central’. Luo Fucheng suggested that 𐲖𐲗 might mean ‘country’. There are four theories as to what 𐲖𐲗 might be: **hulus* ‘state’, **hala ~ *kara* ‘black’, **hus* ‘strong, strength’ and the actual Kitan word for Liao. **hulus* is unlikely: there was no initial [h] in MMo. in this word. **hala ~ *kara* ‘black’ is unlikely: there is no evidence in Liao Chinese inscriptions for any such usage. Liu Fengzhu 2006 suggests that Liao might not refer to the Liao river at all, but rather to the basic sense of the character, as in 遼闊 *liaokuo* ‘broad, wide’. Liu goes on to point out that the Western Liao did not refer to themselves as 西遼 Xi Liao: this was a Chinese term for them. In Yuan sources, they are called 和剌乞答 **hola kida.* The Karakitai regarded themselves as the continuation of the legitimate dynasty “in exile”, and used the name in use at the time of the destruction of their state in the east, Liao Kitan. The word **hola/*hora/*hura* was misinterpreted by Mongol and Turkic speakers as *qara* ‘black’. We still do not know what it actually meant. Perhaps it was the Kitan name for the Liao river. Perhaps it does mean ‘black’, if the Kitans called the Liao river the “black river”. Biran 2005:216 has pointed out that the term Karakitai does not appear in Muslim sources before the Mongol invasion of 1218-1220. Biran has also pointed out the problems associated with identifying the term 哈喇 **hala* with Mongol *qara* ‘black’. She suggests it is more likely a prestigious term, the original meaning of which had been forgotten, at least in Central Asia.

The Jurchens referred to the previous dynasty as ‘Kitan’, not Liao. In the Jurchen Victory stele of 1185, the Chinese expression 遼季失道, 腥聞于天 *Liao ji shi dao, xing wen yu tian* ‘The Liao lost the Way, the stink was smelled by Heaven’ corresponds to Ju. 𑿰𑿱𑿲 𑿳 𑿴𑿵 𑿶𑿷𑿸 𑿹𑿺𑿻𑿼 𑿽 𑿾𑿿𑿴 𑿵 𑿶𑿷𑿸 𑿹𑿺𑿻𑿼 ‹hi.tan GEN □ ACC jugu BURU.we a TA EHE ACC HEAVEN HEAR

SUFF› ‘In the time of the Kitans the Way was lost; its evil was heard by Heaven’. We can see a similar phenomenon in the Kitan sources. The *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong* was written during the Jin. In the inscription we read 𐲉𐲋 𐲍 𐲎𐲏𐲐 𐲑 𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗 𐲘 𐲙 𐲚𐲛 𐲜 𐲝 𐲞 𐲟𐲠 𐲡𐲢 ‹g.ui oŋ qid.ún.i GREAT ú.dû.ó.o.ón (peace) SIX WHITE HORSE YEAR FIVE MONTH THREE DAY LOC BORN:er› ‘the prince was born on the third day of the fifth month of the sixth year, *gengwu*, in the Kitan reign period Da’an’. Clearly the Jin referred to the previous dynasty as “the Kitan state”, not “the Liao dynasty”.

𐲣 is certainly ‹xu›, as shown in 𐲤𐲥 𐲣 𐲦 𐲧𐲨 𐲩𐲪 ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ g.ün› 龍虎衛將軍 **liunghuwei zianggün* ‘general of the dragon tiger guard’. 𐲫 177 remains unknown. The presumption that 𐲣𐲫 is related to Mo. *qara* ‘black’ led to the suggestion **la/ra*. The presumption that it is related to proto-Mongol **hulus* led to the suggested reading **lus*. 𐲫 is found in the second line of the Jin dynasty *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong*. In Chinese sources, Xiao Zhonggong’s name is given as 术(朮)里者 **julizhe*. His name in Kitan is given in line 2: 𐲬𐲫𐲭 ‹ju.[ ].e›. (Ji Shi 1996:467). This leads to the suggestion that 𐲫 is read something like **lij*. This is the origin of the suggested reading **ris* (Aisin Gioro). For the present purposes I have adopted the transcription ‹rå›, more or less on the grounds that Kitan **hura qida/i* could have been interpreted as **hola kida* in the Yuan sources and **qara qita/i* in the Central Asian sources. The differences between **qid, *qida, *qidan, *qidai, *qidun, *qiduni* and so on are also not known, or the reasons for transcriptions such as Marco Polo’s *Catai*, with [a] in the first syllable. For a discussion on the various forms of Kitai/Kitan, see Sinor 1997. The back *ï* after the back *q* in the word ‹qid.ún› may account for the varying transcriptions. A back *ï* could have been interpreted as [ɐ] or [æ], by speakers of languages which did not have this phoneme.

The other elements in the titles on the Kitan inscriptions are also not very clear. The Daozong inscription starts 𐲉 𐲁𐲂𐲃 𐲣𐲫 𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕 ‹GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.rå qid.ún.i›, with the word 𐲁𐲂𐲃 before 𐲣𐲫 ‘Liao’. This word is generally taken to mean ‘central’, as it occurs in the Langjun inscription in the sense of ‘middle’ (mid-winter), and is regularly translated 中央 *zhongyang* by Chinese researchers. In other inscriptions, such as the Epitaph of Yelü Dilie, the title of the state is 𐲉 𐲊𐲋𐲌 𐲣𐲫 𐲒𐲕 𐲍𐲂𐲁 ‹GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rå qid.i g.úr:en› ‘Great Central Liao Kitan State (genitive). In the *Epitaph of Yelü Zongjiao*, the title is 𐲉 𐲊𐲋𐲌 𐲒𐲕 𐲣𐲫 𐲍𐲂𐲁 ‹GREAT t.iau.dû qid.i xu.rå gúr:en› ‘Great Central Kitan Liao State (genitive)’. 𐲊𐲋𐲌 ‹t.iau.dû› replaces 𐲁𐲂𐲃 ‹dau.úr.ún›. 𐲊𐲋𐲌 ‹t.iau.dû› is also regularly glossed 中央 *zhongyang*, but it is not known what 𐲊𐲋𐲌 ‹t.iau.dû› means, or why it was used instead of 𐲁𐲂𐲃 ‹dau.úr.ún› in certain inscriptions.

The form of words at the beginning of a number of inscriptions is given below. They all have a genitive suffix:

Daozong:	𘍞 𘟂𘕕𘓱 𘱇𘲌 𘍠𘓱𘍠
	‹GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.rå qid.ún.i›
Yelü Dilie:	𘍞 𘐷𘓐𘐣 𘱇𘲌 𘍠𘍠 𘁢𘕕𘐼
	‹GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rå qid.i gúr:en›
Yelü Nu:	𘍞 𘱇𘲌 𘍠𘍠 𘁢𘕕𘐼
	‹GREAT xu.rå qid.i gúr:en›
Yelü Zhixian:	𘍞 𘐷𘓐𘐣 𘱇𘲌 𘍠𘍠 𘁢𘕕𘐼
	‹GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rå qid.i gúr:en›
Yelü Zongjiao:	𘍞 𘐷𘓐𘐣 𘍠𘍠 𘱇𘲌 𘁢𘕕𘐼
	‹GREAT t.iau.dû qid.i xu.rå gúr.en›

4.52 Some comments on the word for Jurchen

Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995 noted that in the Langjun inscription, 𘍞 𘐷 𘁢𘕕𘐼 ‹GREAT 𘐷 g.úr.en› corresponds to 大金國之 ‘of the great Jin state’. 𘐷 clearly means 金 *jin*. In the Bozhou inscription, a Jin period inscription in Kitan, there is a blank space in front of 𘍠𘍠𘓐 𘁢𘕕𘐼 ‹n.i.gu g.úr:en› and 𘍠𘍠𘓐 𘁢𘕕𘐽 ‹n.i.gu g.úr:de›. The second word means ‘country, state 國’. Seeing this is a Jin inscription the only word 𘍠𘍠𘓐 could only refer to the Jin 金. We know that 大金 Da Jin is 𘍞 𘐷. So 𘍠𘍠𘓐 ‹n.i.gu› must be the Kitan word for Jurchen. Pelliot 1959:216-229 notes that the word *Nüzhen* in Chinese does not appear before the Liao, and it probably derives from the Kitan word for the Jurchens. The Jurchen name for their state was *alčun* ‘gold’. Jurchen *alčun*, Chinese 金 and Kitan 𘍠𘍠𘓐 ‹n.i.gu› all mean ‘gold’. The Kitan word for ‘gold’ is given in the *Liaoshi* as 女古 **nügu*, which must be the Chinese transcription of 𘍠𘍠𘓐 ‹n.i.gu› ‘gold’. So it seems that 𘍠𘍠𘓐 is 金 *jin*, Ju. *alčun* ‘gold’ read **nigü*, and is the Kitan word for both ‘gold’ and ‘Jurchen’.

The *Qidanguo zhi* notes: 地有二水 … 曰裊羅個沒里, 復名女古沒里者, 又其一也 “there are two rivers… one called *niao-luo-ge-mo-li*, the other called the *nü-gu-mo-li*. In fact they are the same”. The *niao-luo-ge* was the Kitan name for the river known in Chinese as the Huang river 潢河. So *niao-luo-ge* must mean ‘yellow’ (潢 = 黃). Liu Fengzhu 1983 thinks both 裊羅個 *niao-luo-ge* and 女古 *nü-gu* mean ‘yellow’. In the *Liaoshi* glossary, we read: 金曰女古: “金 *jin* ‘metal’ or ‘gold’ is called *nügu*”. The river is now called the 西喇木倫 Xilamulun, Mo. *Sila mören* ‘yellow river’. In pre-Tang times, it was called 饒樂水 the Raoleshui river, 弱樂水 the Ruole river and the 如洛瑰水 the Ruluogui river. After the Tang it was called 裊羅個木里 *niao-*

luo-ge-mo-li, 女古木里 *nü-gu-mo-li.* These are different transcriptions of the same name. The first syllable should be something like **nyu*. The second syllable should be **lak* or **lo*, and the third syllable should be something like **gu* or **gui*. It is difficult to account for the *r/l implied by the earlier inscriptions, and for the -r- in forms like *Jürčid,* unless we presume a form like**nirugu* and a reading like **urgu* for 勺 .

CHAPTER FIVE

THE KITAN LARGE SCRIPT

> Shence, fifth year: spring, first month, *yichou* day: work began on the creation of the Kitan large script. Ninth month, *renyin* day: the large script was completed. It was implemented by imperial edict. - *History of the Liao Dynasty, Annals of Taizu.*
>
> By the reign of Abaoji, several smaller neighbouring states had been subdued and annexed. He employed many Chinese, who taught them how to write by altering characters in the clerical script, adding here and cutting there. They created a script of several thousand characters, replacing the contracts made by making notches on wood. - *New History of the Five Dynasties. Appendix on the Four Barbarians.*

5.1 The nature of the Kitan large script

Almost all research on Kitan has been done on the texts in the small script. The Kitan large script has been even more impenetrable. The underlying language is the same, and the general contents of the inscriptions are the same. Progress in reading inscriptions in the small script, and recent archaeological discoveries, have provided certain insights into the large script. The large script is often said to be "logographic", but it appears to be much the same mixture of logographs and phonograms as the small script. The major difference is that the large script has a separate graph for every syllable in the language, whereas the small script analyses the syllables into two parts. So the graph 𘮩, derived from 國 *guo* (also written 国), represents the Kitan syllable **gur* 'country, state'. This is written with two separate graphs in the small script: 𘮩𘮪. Similarly, 𘮫 «ceu» in the large script is written 𘮬𘮭 ‹c.eu› in the small; 𘮮 «gon» in the large script is written 𘮩𘮯 ‹g.on› in the small. 𘮰 «iri» 'name' in the large script is written 𘮱𘮲 ‹i.ri› in the small. Some graphs in the large script are similar to small script graphs, but have different meanings or readings. 𘮰 «iri» 'name' in the large script resembles 𘮰 (of unidentified sound and meaning) in the small; 𘮳 «pu» (perhaps [fu]) looks like the small script 𘮴 ‹ur›. 𘮵 «u'ul» 'winter' is clearly from Chinese 冬 'winter', and is written in the small script with two symbols: 𘮶𘮷 ‹u.ul›. However, **u'ul* also meant 'to marry [of a woman]', and this word is also written with the large graph 𘮵. **namur* 'autumn' is written 𘮸 in the large script (derived from

Chinese 秋‘autumn’), and can be considered a logograph: the corresponding form in the small script was written with phonetic graphs: 𘮩𘮪𘮫 ‹n.am.úr›. Some of the large graphs were used in the Jurchen script: 𘮬 «lu» ‘dragon’ and Jurchen 𘮭𘮮 *mudur* ‘id.’; 𘮯 ‘year’ and Jurchen 𘮰 *aniya* ‘year’. Both ‘father’ and ‘year’ are written 𘮯 in the large script, as both are written 𘮱 in the small. It is probable that there are more logographs in the large script than the small. The inspiration for the more analytical nature of the small script may have come from Uighur “technologists of writing”, or from the Chinese rhyme tables.

5.2 Sources

According to *Liaoshi* 64, the large script was invented in 920 and the small script in 924 or 925. The earliest extant text in the large script is the *Epitaph of Yelü Yanning* 耶律延寧墓誌, dated 987. The inscriptions discovered so far are:

(1) Jing’ansi 靜安寺. The *Jing’an Temple Stele* 靜安寺碑 (1072). This stele has an inscription in Chinese on one side, and a damaged inscription in the Kitan large script on the other. The Chinese text was published in 1881, and edited in Yamashita 1935. Wittfogel and Fêng, 1949:243 noted, “No illumination can be gained from an inscription, *Ching-an Ssŭ Pei*, which seems to be composed in Ch’i-tan… The symbols used are simpler than those found in the Liao imperial mausoleums, but the epigraph as a whole is too seriously damaged to admit of any definite conclusions”. Those comments are still valid.

(2) Gutaishi 故太師. The *Gu Taishi Inscription* 故太師銘石記 (1056). This was discovered in an antique shop in Shenyang (Inaba 1939).

(3) Xigushan 西孤山. The *Xigushan Inscription*, also known as the *Epitaph of Xiao Xiaozhong* 蕭孝忠墓誌 (1090). Liu Qian 1956; Yan Wanzhang 1957.

(4) Paolu 袍魯. *Xiao Paolu muzhiming* 蕭袍魯墓誌. *Epitaph of Xiao Paolu*. Feng Yongqian 1983; Feng Yongqian 1988; Liu Fengzhu 1998b.

(5) Beidawang 北大王. *Beidawang muzhi* 北大王墓誌 *Epitaph of the Great Prince of the North* (1041). Ma Junshan, Liu Fengzhu 1983; Liu Fengzhu 1998b.

(6) Yanning 延寧. *Yelü Yanning muzhi* 耶律延寧墓誌 *Epitaph of Yelü Yanning.* Liu Fengzhu 1998b.

(7) Xinie 習涅. *Yelü Xinie muzhi* 耶律習涅墓誌 *Epitaph of Yelü Xinie.* 37 lines, 1608 characters. Jin Yongtian 1991.

(8) Yongning 永寧. *Yongningjun gongzhu muzhi* 永寧郡公主墓誌 *Epitaph of the Princess of Yongning Prefecture.* 36 lines, 1486 characters, of which 7 are illegible. Liu Fengzhu, 2003.

(9) Qi 祺. *Yelü Qi muzhi* 耶律祺墓誌 *Epitaph of Yelü Qi*. 46 lines, 2845 characters, plus 88 illegible ones. Liu Fengzhu 2006.

(10) Duoluoliben 多羅里本. *Duoluoliben langjun muzhiming* 多羅里本郎君墓誌銘 *Epitaph of *Duoluoliben.* Cong Yanshuang, Liu Fengzhu, Chu Jianxue, 2005.

(11) Changyun 昌允. *Yelü Changyun muzhiming* 耶律昌允墓誌銘 *Epitaph of Yelü Changyun.* Liu Fengzhu 2004.

(12) Tianchao 天朝. The *Tianchao wanxun* 天朝萬順 coin. Wang Qing and Liu Fengzhu 1981.

(13) Yingli 應曆. The *Yingli Stele* 應曆碑. A rubbing of this inscription was found by Jia Jingyan in a Beijing antiquarian bookshop. The location and origin of the original inscription is unknown. The text was published in 1998. This stele was thought to date from the Yingli reign period (951-969), but is now considered to date from the Dading reign period of the Jin (1161-1190). Liu Fengzhu 1998.

5.3 Early research (until 2000)

The *Liaoshi* clearly states that the Kitans had two scripts. The first, the large script, was created on the basis of the Chinese "clerical script" with some modifications. The other, the small script, was said to have been invented in 926, and was created after contact with Uighurs. Both scripts were used throughout the Liao, and well into the Jin, but both were lost by the early Yuan. The only examples in Chinese sources were five characters recorded by the Song ambassador Wang Yi 王易 in his 燕北錄 *Yanbei lu* [A record of the lands north of Yan]. These were said to correspond to Chinese 朕 *zhen*, 敕 *zhi*, 走 *zou*, 馬 *ma* and 急 *ji*, and were later reproduced in the Yuan

compilation on the history of scripts, the *Shushi huiyao* 書史會要 by Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀.

After the discovery of the Liao tombs at Qingling, and the identification of the script as being identical with the Langjun inscription in Xi'an, there was a certain amount of discussion as to whether this was the large script or the small script, but there was no evidence one way or the other. In 1939, an inscription was discovered in an antique shop by Inaba Iwakichi. Inaba realised that the script was Kitan, but not of the type found in the Qingling inscriptions, nor was it Jurchen. Li Wenxin 1942 published photographs of the inscription, but they were very unclear. Li argued that the inscription was a forgery, made up of regular Chinese characters, distorted characters, and some Jurchen characters. In 1951, however, an inscription in a similar script was discovered at Xigushan. This is known as the *Gu taishi inscription*, also called the *Epitaph of Xiao Xiaozhong.* The back of the canopy had a twelve line inscription in Chinese, of which the first two characters in the date are 大安 Da'an, a Liao reign title (1085-1095).

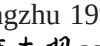
Earlier photographs of the *Jing'an Temple Stele* and the *Gu taishi inscription* were very unclear. The numerals and some other words appeared to be the same as Chinese, as noted in Li Wenxin 1942. The graph for 'year' 𘍽 was the same as the Jurchen 𘍽 'year'; 日 'day', 月 'month' and 太后 'empress dowager' were the same as Chinese. Through comparing the dates in the Chinese and Kitan inscriptions, Yan Wanzhang 1957 identified 𘍽 as 'year of the horse' and 𘍽 as 'year of the wood dragon'. Toyoda 1963 identified the graphs 𘍽 'winter' (冬), 𘍽 'first year', 𘍽 'monkey' and 𘍽 'chicken'. He also determined that 𘍽 must be a numeral, but it was not clear which one. Liu 1982 suggested that 𘍽 must be 大康 Dakang 'reign title'. In retrospect, we can see that because the inscriptions were so few, the rubbings so unclear and the script so unfamiliar, the findings of that time have generally been superseded.

Ma and Liu 1983 finally identified the date on the Xigushan inscription 𘍽 as 重熙十蛇年十五木馬日 *chongxi shi she nian shiwu mu ma ri* 'the wood horse day, the fifteenth day of the second month of the tenth year of the [Heaven] Chongxi period'. This article also concluded that "apart from non-phonetic graphs, there are also phonetic graphs in the Kitan large script". This was an important conceptual breakthrough: the general consensus had been that the large script was logographic.

A new inscription in the Kitan large script, the *Epitaph of Yelü Yanning*, was discovered in 1980. Liu Fengzhu and Yu Baolin, 1984 proposed that the Kitan graphs 𘍽 in this inscription correspond to the Chinese title 金五大將軍 *Jinwu da jiang jun* 'senior general of the imperial insignia guard'. Toyoda 1984 identified 𘍽 'chicken', 𘍽 'snake', 𘍽 'rat' and 𘍽 'six'.

The *Epitaph of Xiao Paolu* was discovered in 1956, but not published until Yan Wanzhang 1988. Yan identified  as 'six' and  as 'nine'.

Jin Yongtian 1991 proposed that  in the *Epitaph of Yelü Xinie* must correspond to 道宗皇帝 *Daozong huangdi*. Ruan Tingzhuo 1992 identified as 'composed by, 撰', found at the end of inscriptions. Liu Fengzhu 1993 started from the decipherment of the large graph  (also written ) as 歲 *sui* 'year of age', and identified  'thirty',  'forty',  'sixty' and  'seventy'. He also identified  'seven'. The article also pointed out that the graphs for 'twenty', 'thirty' and so on were not basic numerals combined with the word for 'ten', as in the small script, but independent graphs. It also identified as the reign title 乾統 Qiantong.

Toyoda 1995 identified  '*taishi* 太師', '*taiwei* 太尉' and  '*taibao* 太保'. Liu Fengzhu 1996 identified  *zhou* 'prefecture 州' and the title  as 金紫崇祿大夫檢校太尉 *Jinzi chonglu daifu jianjiao taiwei*. He also identifed  'enfeoff 封';  'name, title',  'grandfather',  'father' and  'wife'. Liu 1998 is a report on the progress made in the decipherment of the Kitan large script at a conference in Kyoto. He listed all the large graphs which could be determined at that stage. As he was to say later, these barely covered two pages.

5.4 Recent research (since 2000)

The situation was to change with the discovery in 2000 of the *Epitaph of Xiao Xingyan*, in Chinese, and that of his wife, the princess of Yongning prefecture, in the Kitan large script. There is a certain amount of information common to both inscriptions, which has provided a key to deciphering many more large Kitan graphs. In addition, both were relatives of the Shengzong emperor, and some information on them is available in the *Liaoshi*. The following account of the decipherment is based on Liu Fengzhu and Tang Cailan 2003.

From the Chinese epitaph of Xiao Xingyan, we learn that his grandfather was 烏哂里 Wuyanli, who had the title 駙馬大王 *fuma dawang* 'great prince imperial son-in-law', and the official position of 招討使'punitive officer'. He had two wives, 賽哥公主 princess Saige and 鉢國娘子 royal lady Boguo. According to *Liaoshi* 65, the thirteenth daughter of Shengzong was named Saige. Her title was 金鄉郡主 mistress of Jinxiang prefecture, and she was later elevated to the title of princess 公主. She married Xiao Tuyu 蕭圖玉. Xiao Tuyu is mentioned in *Liaoshi* 93. He was also called 兀衍 Wuyan, and he was the son of 海璪 Haili, the prime minister of the northern chancellery. In the year Tonghe 19 (1002), he married the princess

of Jinxiang, and was appointed 駙馬都尉 ‘commandant escort [emperor’s son-in-law]’. So Xingyan’s grandfather had three names: Wuyanli, Wuyan and Xiao Tuyu.

Xingyan himself had three wives. The first was the mistress of Yongning prefecture 永寧郡主, the daughter of the prince of Sanhan 三韓大王 and the consort of the state of Han 韓國妃. The *Liaoshi* refers to 合魯 Helu of 三韓郡 Sanhan prefecture. Helu was a nephew of Shengzong and the father in law of Xingyan. There is a short passage about Xingyan in his grandfather’s biography in the *Liaoshi*. He died in Da’an 3 (1088) at the age of 56, so he must have been born in Chongxi 1 (1032). He first became an official in Qingning 4 (1058) at the age of 27. He had one daughter but no sons, so he adopted his nephew Yindishi 夤底石 to continue the family line. His epitaph says he was buried in Xilou 西樓, 30 *li* north of the Huangshui 潢水 river, on the southern side of Songshan 嵩山 mountain, at Panlong Ridge 盤龍崗. Xilou was another name for Shangjing, the supreme capital. The Huangshui is the modern Shiramuren.

The epitaph of his wife, the princess of Yongning prefecture, is in the Kitan large script. It begins 𘍽 𘍿 𘍾 𘍼 𘍺 𘍻 𘍹 𘍸. The first graph 𘍽 is «GREAT» (small script 𘍽), the last graph, 𘍸 is «STATE», derived from Chinese 國 *guo* (also written 国). This is written 𘍷𘍶 ‹g.ur› in the small script. Based on inscriptions in the small script, 𘍿 𘍾 should be ‘middle, central’ (𘍶𘍵𘍴‹t.iau.dû›), 𘍻 𘍹 should be ‘Kitan’ (𘍻𘍽) and 𘍼 𘍺 should be ‘Liao’ (𘍰𘍱 ‹xu.rå›). The first graphs in the title of the *Epitaph of Yelü Xinie* are simply 𘍿 𘍾 𘍲 𘍳 𘍸 ‘Central Kitan State’. 𘍻 𘍹 and 𘍲 𘍳 are apparently variants. 𘍸 ‘state’ is often followed by 𘍴, which judging by the small script inscriptions, must be the genitive suffix «en» (small script 𘍵).

The next line in the *Epitaph of Yelü Xinie* continues: 𘍰 𘍱 𘍯 𘍬 𘍾 𘍼 𘍴. 𘍯 is a genitive suffix following stems with the main vowel [i], so «in», small script 𘍭. 𘍼 means ‘father’ (also ‘year’) (small script 𘍮 ‹ai›). So 𘍼 𘍴 must mean «ai.en» ‘of the father’ (𘍮𘍵) that is ‘father’s side of the family 父房’. 𘍬 𘍾 seems to mean ‘central, middle’. 𘍰 𘍱 clearly derives from Chinese 兄弟 ‘brothers’. So 𘍰 𘍱 𘍯 𘍬 𘍾 𘍼 𘍴 must correspond to Chinese 兄弟之仲父房 ‘brothers of the family of the second uncle’, a common expression in Liao inscriptions.

Most of the following graphs in the Yongning inscription cannot be understood, but 𘍫 might be the equivalent of 𘍩𘍪 ‹go.er› ‘house, lineage’, so ‘of the lineage of’ and 𘍧 𘍨 probably means ‘deceased, former, late’. Next is 𘍥 𘍦, Ch. 西北 ‘north west’, with the order reversed, as see in the small script inscriptions. Xiao Xingyan had the title 西北路招討使 *xibeilu zhaotaoshi* ‘punitive officer of the northwestern route’, so 𘍦 𘍲 might mean ‘route, circuit’. 𘍓 𘍔 means 招討 *zhaotao* (𘍜 𘍝). 𘍞𘍟, which follows *zhaotao*,

might be Xingyan's Kitan name, 訛篤斡 *Oduwo. It is followed by 太 实, Ch. *dafu* 大夫 'grand master'. 昇 is a genitive ending. We then have the word 昏 仁 'wife', in the small script 丙 几. 攴 is «iŋ»; 攵 攴 休 攴 is probably Yongning. 攵 corresponds to 丙 ‹ei›. 休 must be «ń», small script 伏. So 伉 must be «gün», small script 九亦 ‹g.ün›, which transcribes 郡 *gün 'prefecture'. 公 主 is from Ch. 公主'princess'. 坐 寸 礻 must be 銘 *ming* 'text of an inscription'. It is preceded by 宂, which can only be 'tomb'.

We would expect the last line of the title to conclude with the expression 'together with a preface 并序'. In the small script, 序 *xu* is written 扎 屮 屮 ‹ho.le.bun› or 扎 屮 爿 伏 ‹ho.le.bo.ń›. The equivalent of 扎 屮 屮 ‹ho.le.bun› in the large script is 赤 爿 没 'preface'. 赤 corresponds to 扎 ‹ho›; 爿 to 屮 ‹l›. 仃 «bun» and 没 «bo.ń» are the equivalents of 屮 ‹bun› and 爿 伏 ‹bo.ń›. 爪 吝 礻 must mean 'together with 并'. In the small script 并 is written 礻 公 比. 爪 corresponds to 礻 ‹c›.

The *Epitaph of Xingyan* records in Chinese that the couple were buried thirty *li* north of Xilou, that is Shangjing, the supreme capital. In Yongning 25 we find the sequence 王 囟 京 寸 刘 比 尤 县. 京 is 京 *jing* 'capital'. 寸 is a locative suffix. 刘 is ‹i› (关 ‹i›). 比 is «NORTH» and 尤 is «THIRTY». 县 appears in Xiaozhong 5, and means *li* 'Chinese mile'. In the large script, 王 and 囟 are often found together. 王 囟 京 must mean 上京 *shangjing* 'supreme capital'. In the small script, 上 *shang* 'upper, superior' is written 及 化 ‹u.ur›. We find 王 囟 in Yongning 2. 将 吴 is 將軍 *jiangjun* 'general'. 光 云 must mean 'composed' (冈 为 本). 太 光 史 丹 is a transcription of 太原 Taiyuan. 王 «oŋ» is 'king, prince' (杰). 爪 芝 means 'wrote', corresponding to the small script 礻 爻 ‹c.er›. 爪 corresponds to small script 礻 ‹c› and 芝 corresponds to 爻 ‹er›. 公 主'princess' is from 公主 *gongzhu*.

This is followed by 午 «iri» 'name' (small script 关 化 ‹i.ri›) preceding her name, 臣. In *Liaoshi* 93, the name of Oduwo's wife is given as 骨浴 Guyu. 爷 亲 is 'grandfather', cf. 亲 «ai» 'father'. This is followed by his title, 犀 杏 太 王 *Qiguo dawang* 'prince of the state of Qi'. 杏 corresponds to the small script 九 火 ‹g.ui›, from 國 **gui* 'state, country'. This is a borrowing from Chinese, as distinct from the native word **gur*. The grandfather of the princess of Yongning prefecture was 耶律隆祐 Yelü Longyou, the third son of Jingzong. According to *Liaoshi* 64, he had the honorary title of prince of Qi.

This title is followed by a space, which is then followed by 永 平 尺 皇 帝. The last two graphs 皇 帝 are 皇帝 *huangdi* 'emperor'. The prince of Qi was the third son of the Jingzong emperor, so 永 平 尺 presumably means 景宗 Jingzong. So 平 is «zu» and 尺 is «uŋ».

The next 5 graphs 灭 爷 住 爸 田 cannot be understood, but they are followed by 儿 'son', cf. Jurchen 兀 'son'. Then we read 犀 杏 太 王 妃, that

is 齊國大王妃 *Qiguo dawang fei* ‘consort of the great prince of the state of Qi’. Next is 二爷, the genitive form of ‘two’ (small script: 圣村). The next graphs 代百由 are unknown, but are followed by 昊弔爪 ‘the second of two brothers’. *Liaoshi* 64 tells us Yelü Longyou had three sons: Hudugu, Helu and Tiebu. Princess Yongning’s father was Helu 合祿, the second son. The next two graphs, 何至, may mean 韓 Han. 至 is known to be «an» from other transcriptions. Next are 太王, 大王 *dawang* ‘great prince’. So we can deduce that the word before Han, that is 俣, must be **sam*. 三韓大王 *Sanhan dawang* was the honorary title of the princess’ father. Her mother is referred to in the Xingyan Chinese epitaph as 韓國妃 Hanguofei. So 公主俣何至太王妃二爷 means ‘the princess was the daughter of the grand prince of Han and royal consort Wang’.

The date 垂汎二非五月三日炎玫 can be translated 重熙二年五月十三日辰時 *Chongxi ernian wuyue shisan ri chen shi* ‘at the dragon hour of the thirteenth day of the fifth month of the second year of the Chongxi reign period’. This must be the date of her birth. Chongxi 2 was 1033. The graph 炎 «lu» corresponds to small script 戈 ‹lu› ‘dragon’. 弃 is a locative suffix. The next words 灾礻 must mean ‘born, to be born’. In the small script, males and females have different suffixes. In referring to Yelü Renxian, Xiao Zhonggong, Yelü Nu, Han Gaoshi, Yelü Hongyong and Yelü Yongning, ‘born’ is 佃爻 ‹BORN.er›. For women, such as the Late Madame Yelü and the wife of Yelü Yongning, ‘born’ is written 佃当 ‹BORN.én›. We can see the same practice in the large script. The word used with Yelü Xinie and Yelü Changyun is 灾芝, but with princess Yongning, born is written 灾礻. So 芝 corresponds to 爻 ‹er› and 礻 corresponds to 当 ‹én›. 丑十非寸 means ‘at the age of sixteen’. 寸 is a locative suffix. 丑 is 土交 ‹eu.ur› ‘years of age’. 久戈你戈伉丑公主曰爪 must mean ‘she was made princess of Yongning prefecture’. 曰爪 corresponds to 业及仝 ‹p.o.or› ‘to be made, to become’. 曰 «po» corresponds to 业及‹p.o› and 爪 «or» to 仝 ‹or›.

In line 7 we read 宪印杏呼公主. 杏 means ‘state’, so 宪印 should be the name of one of the states used in Liao honorary titles, but it is not known which one. The emperor’s aunts (the sisters of his father) were called 大長公主 *dazhang gongzhu* ‘princess supreme’ (the standard designation of the paternal aunt of the emperor), so 呼公主 may be the Kitan equivalent of this term. This is followed by 二爷昊予爪, which means ‘the second son of the two people’. 友牡礻 is unknown, perhaps a name or title. 弄卒 corresponds to ‘prime minister’. 冬巾 must mean ‘married to’, that is that she married the prime minister. As in the small script inscriptions, the verb ‘marry’ is preceded by a name with a locative suffix, in this case 寸. In Yongning 8 we read 百五寸冬巾 ‘she married the 招討 *zhaotao*.’ Note that ‘winter’ 冬

«u'ul» is used phonetically in the word for 'to marry', written in the small script ‹ú.ul-›.

Towards the end of the inscription there are several dates. 身月廿癸日寺 'on the twenty eighth day of that month', and 身月廿癸日寺 'on the twenty ninth day of that month'. This is followed by 王盈京寺列北十昇 'ten *li* north of the supreme capital'. This must refer to the date when her coffin was transferred to the place of burial. Then we have 灭祟癸而曰祟三月祭曰卉赤至沒二祭党日元允二歧, which corresponds to 大安八壬申年三月甲申朔二乙酉戌亥二時 'at the second hour, *xuhai*, the second day of the new month, *yiyou*, the third month, *jiashen*, the eighth year, *renshen* of the Da'an period'. This is the date and time of her burial. The date at the end of the inscription 灭祟券月十祟日 corresponds to 大安七年十月十六日 *Da'an qinian shiyue shiliu ri* 'the sixteenth day of the tenth month of the seventh year of the Da'an period (1091)'.

Da'an 8 (1092) was a 壬申 *renshen* year. 曰卉 means 申, which corresponds to 'monkey'; 业反反 ‹p.o.o› in the small script. The graph 皋 or 夆 means 巳 *si*, which corresponds to 'snake', 仕扎反 ‹mu.ho.o› in the small script. So 曰 is 业反 ‹p.o› and 中 (= 卉?) is 反‹o›.

Liu also pointed out that identifying 申 *shen* enables us to understand the date on the Gu Taishi inscription: 圣汎廿五岁祟十月廿二日. The two first graphs 圣汎 are 重熙 Chongxi. 廿五 looks as if it means 'twenty five', but according to *Liaoshi* 31 there were only 24 years in the Chongxi period. So 五 should not be understood as meaning 'five', but rather its phonetic value [tau]. Chongxi 20 was a 辛卯 *xinmao* year, 卯 *mao* corresponding to 'rabbit'. So 五岁 must correspond to the small script 无饭为 ‹tau.lí.a›, where 无 ‹tau› 'five' is also used phonetically. In the *Epitaph of Xinie*, the year of the rabbit is written 五𠂉. Liu suggests 𠂉 is a contraction of 岁, and both correspond to 饭为 ‹lí.a›.

Returning to the *Epitaph of the Princess of Yongning Prefecture*, 二 歧 corresponds to Chinese 二時 *er shi* 'the second time period'. The graphs preceding it, 元 and 允 must be cyclical terms. The graph 允 is used to transcribe *wei* in 太尉 *taiwei*, so corresponds to the small script 火 ‹ui›, which is also used to write the cyclical term 亥 *hai* 'pig'. So 元 can only mean 戌, which corresponds to 'dog'.

Several recent discoveries have added to the list of decipherable large graphs. The *Epitaph of Yelü Changyun* 耶律昌允墓誌銘, in the Kitan large script, was discovered together with an epitaph of his wife, 蘭陵郡夫人蕭氏 Madame Xiao, Lady of Lanling, which is in Chinese. Mme. Xiao was responsible for the construction of the Jing'an Temple in 1072, of which the memorial stele is still extant, in the Kitan large script and in Chinese. The

Kitan version is so eroded as to be illegible, but the Chinese text can be read. These three inscriptions are about the same people and events.

Other recently discovered inscriptions in the Kitan large script are the *Epitaph of *Duoluolibun* (Cong Yanshuang, Liu Fengzhu and Chi Jianxue 2005) and the *Epitaph of Yelü Qi* (Liu Fengzhu 2003). Other items in the Kitan large script include a number of coins, an official seal (Liu Fengzhu 2003) and two wooden strips with Kitan large graphs written in ink. (Liu Fengzhu, Ding Yong, Kong Qun, Bai Yu 2006).

5.5 The five elements / five colours

wood	blue			s.iau.qú
fire	red			l.iau.qú
earth	yellow			
metal	white			
water	black			yô.u

5.6 The four seasons

autumn	秋			n.am.úr
summer	夏			ju.un
winter	冬			u.ul
spring	春			heu.úr

5.7 The four directions

east	東		
south	南		
west	西		
north	北		

5.8 The twelve zodiac animals

rat				
ox				‹uni›
tiger				‹qa.ha.as›
hare				‹tau.lí.a›
dragon				‹lu›
snake				‹mu.ho.o›

horse	𘍽𘌽	𘍿, 𘍾, 𘍽	𘊴𘋢	‹mo.ri›
sheep	𘌋	𘌦	𘍠𘍼	‹iam.a›
monkey	𘌐	𘌑𘍻, 𘍻	𘍠反 ~ 𘍠反反	‹p.o› ~ ‹p.o.o›
chicken	𘍷	𘍹	𘍤𘍢𘍼	‹te.qo.a›
dog	𘍾	𘍷	𘍥𘍢	‹ńi.qa›
pig	𘍰	𘍶	𘍯	‹ui›

5.9 Numerals

	Large script	Small script	Jurchen	Chinese
1	𘍿	𘍿	𘊰	一
2	𘍾	𘍾	𘊱	二
3	𘍽	𘍽	𘊲	三
4	𘍼, 𘍼	𘍼	𘊳	四
5	𘍻	𘍻	𘊴	五
6	𘍺	𘍺	𘊵	六
7	𘍹	𘍹	𘊶	七
8	𘍸	𘍸	𘊷	八
9	𘍷	𘍷	𘊸	九
10	𘍶	𘍶	𘊹	十
20	𘍵, 𘍵	𘍵	𘊺	二十
30	𘍴	𘍴	𘊻	三十
40	𘍳	𘍳	𘊼	四十
50~80	𘍲	𘍲	𘊽	五十
60	𘍱	𘍱	𘊾	六十
70	𘍰	𘍰	𘊿	七十
80	𘍯		𘋀	八十
9	𘍮		𘋁	九十
100	𘍬	𘍬	𘋂	百
1,000			𘋃	千
	𘍫	𘍫	𘋄	萬，万

5.10 List of graphs used to write Chinese titles in the large script

This list is based on Liu and Wang 2004:79-88.

5.001 𘍿 [g] ~ [gi] (建 initial) (**𘍿**)
5.002 𘍾 [an] ~ [ian] (建 final)
5.003 𘍽 [hiu] (雄 initial)

5.004 𠂤 [uŋ] ~ [iuŋ] (雄 宗 封 農 中 final) (𠂤)
5.005 𠂤 [ün] (軍, 郡 final) (亦)
5.006 𠂤 (𠂤) [du] or [ziedu] (度 or 節度)
5.007 𠂤 [sh] (使師事史)(𠂤)(𠂤)
5.008 𠂤 [si] ~ [sin] (晉信習) (𠂤)
5.009 𠂤 [sï] (慈刺七)(𠂤)(𠂤)
5.010 𠂤 [si] ~ [tsi] (漆西齊)(𠂤)
5.011 𠂤 [bun] ~ [pun] (汾)
5.012 𠂤 [de] ~ [d] (等 initial)(𠂤)(𠂤)
5.013 𠂤 [ŋ] (牛 initial, 等 final)(𠂤)
5.014 𠂤 [ceu] (州) (𠂤) (𠂤)
5.015 𠂤 [gon] (觀) (𠂤) (𠂤)
5.016 𠂤 [ca] (察) (𠂤)
5.017 𠂤 [cu] (處)
5.018 𠂤 [ts] ~ [dz] (置知)(𠂤)
5.019 𠂤 [cuŋ] (崇)(𠂤)
5.020 𠂤 [lu] (祿) ‘dragon’ (龍) (Jurchen 𡳞)(𠂤)
5.021 𠂤 [da] ~ [dai] ~ [tai] (大)
5.022 𠂤 [pu] ~ [fu] (副夫傅府撫)(𠂤)(𠂤)
5.023 𠂤 [giam] (檢兼監)(𠂤)
5.024 𠂤 [gio] (校)(𠂤)
5.025 𠂤 [tai] ~ [da] ~ [dai] (大太)(𠂤)
5.026 𠂤 [so] ~ [zo] (左)(𠂤)
5.027 𠂤 [sen] ~ [tsien]
5.028 𠂤 [iu] ~ [io](𠂤)
5.029 𠂤 [ui] (衛,尉)(𠂤) (𠂤)
5.030 𠂤(𠂤) [śa] (上 initial) (𠂤)
5.031 𠂤(𠂤) [aŋ] (上 sh 江 final)(𠂤, 𠂤)
5.032 𠂤 [siaŋ] (將, 相) (𠂤)
5.033 𠂤 [c] ~ [cï] (持)
5.034 𠂤 [sie] ~ [cie] (節) (𠂤)
5.035 𠂤 [ju] – (諸, 柱)
5.036 𠂤 (𠂤) [gün] (軍,郡) (𠂤)
5.037 𠂤 [ha] ~ [qa] – (行 initial)(𠂤) (𠂤)
5.038 𠂤 [aŋ] (行 final)
5.039 𠂤 (𠂤) [jo] (涿)
5.040 𠂤 [nu] (奴); (initial of 內*nuei; final of 農(𠂤)
5.041 𠂤 [ui] (尉),內 final) ‘pig’, ‘affair’ (𠂤) (𠂤)
5.042 𠂤 [siu] ~ [sü] (巡 initial)
5.043 𠂤 [un, iün, in] 雲 , 尹, 巡 xun (final)(亦)
5.044 𠂤 [an] (安) 韓(final): genitive suffix –*an* (𠂤)

5.045  [dun] (屯)
5.046  [ten] (天,田)
5.047  [ki]~ [kiu] (勸 initial)
5.048  [ü] ~ [iu]
5.049  [śaŋ] (上)
5.050  [gui] (國) () (杏)
5.051  [śui] (水) ()
5.052  [k] ~ [ka] ~ [ke]開 () ()
5.053  [ai] (開 final): ‘father’, ‘year’ ()
5.054  [guŋ] (公) ()
5.055  [šï] (食, 實) ()
5.056  [bau] (保) ()
5.057  [ŋu] (吾, 五) ()
5.058 [bai] (百)()
5.059  [xu, xa] 戶, 哈
5.060  [shï] (十)
5.061  [im] (音)()
5.062 [un] (穩); ‘genitive suffix’ ()
5.063  [mu] (墓)()
5.064  [dzï] (誌)
5.065  ‘big, great’ (大)()
5.066  used in the word 契丹 ‘Kitan’
5.067 () used in the word 契丹 ‘Kitan’
5.068  [xa] ~ [xu] in (xu-rå ‘state’)
5.069  [gur] ‘state, country’ (國)()
5.070 [hoŋ] (皇)
5.071 [di] (,)
5.072 ‘son’ ()(behe)
5.073 [tau] ‘five’ used in *zhaotao* 招討
5.074 [in] genitive suffix after stems with main vowel [i] ()
5.075 [u] in «u.ru» ‘upper’ (上, 院) = (, , ,)
5.076 [ru] in «u.ru» ‘upper’ (上, 院) ()
5.077 [giŋ] (京) ()
5.078 [liu] (留)()
5.079 [śeu] (守) ()
5.080 [oŋ] (王)
5.081 [iri] ‘name’ (名,號,諱) ()
5.082 [ś] 壽 (initial) ()
5.083 [er] in the second syllable of the word ‘born’
5.084 [gim] () (金)
5.085 [deme-] ‘bestow an honorary title’ (封)()

5.086 ‘dog’ (狗) ()
5.087 ‘goat’ (羊) (); also stem 未 *wei*
5.088 () ‘years of age’ (歲) ()
5.089 [gün] (軍)()
5.090 Ch. 黃 *huang* ‘yellow’
5.091 [lu] (龍 initial)
5.092 [tuŋ] (同)
5.093 [du] (都)
5.094 [x] ~ [xi] (興 initial)
5.095 [iŋ] (乘, 興, 永, 寧 final) ()
5.096 [ju] (中 initial)
5.097 The first syllable in the Kitan word for 東 ‘east’
5.098 [so] ~ [zo] (左)()
5.099  [asa-] in 清 ()
5.100 [ar] ~ [er] in 阿撒里
5.101  ‘seven’; also in 迪烈 Dilie
5.102  [ni] in K. ‘ox’ **uni* and ‘night’ **suni*
5.103 [o] ~ [u] 序 ‘preface’ *olibun (訛里本)
5.104 [li] ~ [lu] in **olibun* (序朔) (first)
5.105 () [bun] in **olibun*
5.106 [ku] ‘man’ ()
5.107 [sï] (私)
5.108 [is] ~ [isu] ‘nine’ ()
5.109 () [muri] ~ [mori] ‘horse’ ()
5.110 [po] ~ [pon] ‘time’ (Jurchen 玖) ()
5.111 () [li] ~ [la]: second syllable in ‹tau.lí.a› ‘hare’
5.112 [de] ~ [te]: first syllable in 特里本 Telibun ‘a name’
5.113 [li]: second syllable of 特里本 Telibun
5.114 [de] ~ [te]: first syllable of 特里本 Telibun
5.115 [bah]: in the names 八十五 Bashiwu and 杷八 Pabae ()
5.116 [jau] ‘hundred’ (=)
5.117 [io] ~ [iu] 永 (initial)
5.118 [ni] – (寧 initial) ()
5.119 [c] ~ [ci] stem of ‘to write’ ()
5.120 [gia]: in 王家奴. Oŋ Gianu. Also , and ()
5.121 [ju] (主)
5.122 [giŋ] (景)()
5.123 [su] ~ [zu] (宗 initial)
5.124 [pi] (妃) ()
5.125 [sam] (三)
5.126 [ha] (韓 initial)

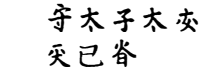
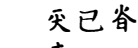
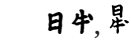
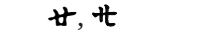
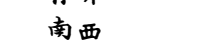
5.127 [po]: ‘monkey’, ‘to become’, 申 *shen* ‘cyclical sign’ (**丄反**)
5.129 [o]: the second syllable in ‘to become’ (成爲) (**丄反**)
5.130 [o]: the second syllable in 申 *shen* ‘cyclical sign’
5.131 in 巳 *si* ‘cyclical sign’ also , , .
5.132 [teha] 酉 *you* ‘cyclical sign’: 雞 ‘chicken’ (also).
5.133 (**无**) [śa] the first syllable in 沙里 *šari* 郎君 *langjun* (**无为**)
5.134 [ri]: the second syllable in *šari* ‘court gentleman’
5.135 [so] ~ [zo] (左)
5.136 [sêŋ] the first syllable of 詳穩 *xiangwen*
5.137 [in] (引): genitive suffix after stems with vowel [i]
5.138 [śan] (山) (**无夬**)
5.139 (**火**) [tsi] ~ [si] (靜 jing < *cing initial)
5.140 [zï] (子, 紫)
5.141 [ar] suffix in ‘composed (撰)’. Past tense suffix.
5.142 [pa] In name 杷八 *pabae*. Also transcribes 發.
5.143 [ne] ~ [nie] , in K. name 習涅 (**伏**)
5.144 [in] ~ [en] (隱, 恩)
5.145 [üe] the medial in 元 and 原 (**坎**)
5.146 [ś] 帥(initial)(**戊**)
5.147 [oi] 帥 (final)
5.148 [zin] in 夫人. Also ,
5.149 [piŋ] (平)
5.150 [śiŋ] *in* 聖宗
5.151 [zuŋ] *in* 聖宗
5.152 [dau] - in 道宗
5.153 [gui] (歸)
5.154 [xua] (化)
5.155 [ni] ~ [nir] *in the name* 習尼里
5.156 [yi] *in the name* 拽剌
5.157 [zaŋ] (葬)
5.158 [go] (光 initial)(**九**)
5.159 [lu] (祿) lu (**戈**)
5.160 [ai] (開 final) (**丰**)
5.161 [bu] *in* ‘grandfather’ (**生**)
5.162 [an] ~ [ên] (元 final after medial iü)
5.163 □ 天 ‘heaven’ (Jurchen 禾)
5.164 下 ‘under’ (□**仁**=天下)
5.165 [c] ~ [ci] the first graph in the first word for 都統 (**犮**)
5.166 [u] the second graph in the second word in 都統
5.167 元 *yuan*, 初 *chu* ‘beginning’
5.168 [cu] (楚) (**犮攴**)

5.169 [śu] (書) ()
5.170 [li] (理) also 令 (initial) ()
5.171 [śaŋ] (尚)
5.172 [iü] *in* 于越 *yuyue*
5.173 [üe] *in* 于越 *yuyue*
5.174 [an] genitive suffix after stems with [a] ()
5.175 [ja] ~ [jo] 趙 (initial)
5.176  [siŋ] ~ [tsiŋ] (清) ()
5.177 [nai] ‘head, first’ (in 正月 *zhengyue* ‘first month’)
5.178 jiŋ (鄭)
5.179 [nü] ~ [nio] (女)
5.180 [go] (哥)
5.181 [ioh] (藥)
5.182 [su] (蘇)
5.183 [dan] in 東丹 ‘Dongdan’
5.184 [diŋ] (鼎)
5.185 [her] (?) 海里，解里
5.186 印 ‘seal or 禮 ‘ceremony’ (Jurchen 兎~飛) **doro*
5.187 [ta] (塔)
5.188  [ś] ~ [śa] (少 initial) ( ,)

5.11 Glossary of basic words in the Kitan large script

5.201	autumn	
5.202	award title	
5.203	born	
5.204	chicken	
5.205	child	(Jurchen 飛孑) ()
5.206	Chongxi	
5.207	Da’an	(, , , ,)
5.208	Dakang	
5.209	Daozong	
5.210	day	(Jurchen 日)
5.211	deceased	
5.212	died	
5.213	dog	
5.214	dragon	
5.215	*dushi*	
5.216	east	
5.217	eight	

5.218	eighty	
5.219	father	
5.220	fifty	
5.221	first (son)	
5.222	first year	
5.223	five	
5.224	forty	
5.225	four	
5.226	grandfather	
5.227	*guancha*	
5.228	hare	
5.229	horse	
5.230	hundred	
5.231	*jiedu fushi*	
5.232	*jinwu da jiangjun*	
5.233	*jinzi chonglu daifu*	
5.234	*langjun*	
5.235	Liao	
5.236	married	
5.237	monkey	
5.238	month	月 (Jurchen )
5.239	name	
5.240	nine	
5.241	ninety	
5.242	Nirug	
5.243	north	
5.244	one	
5.245	ox	
5.246	pig	
5.247	preface	
5.248	prime minister	
5.249	Qiantong	
5.250	Qingning	
5.251	Qudug	
5.252	rat	
5.253	seal	
5.254	second	
5.255	seven	
5.256	seventy	
5.257	sheep	
5.258	Shengzong	

5.259	*shixiang*	
5.260	*shou taiwei*	
5.261	*shou taizi taifu*	
5.262	Shouchang	
5.263	six	
5.264	sixty	
5.265	snake	
5.266	south	
5.267	summer	
5.268	*taishi*	
5.269	ten thousand	
5.270	ten	
5.271	that year	
5.272	third	
5.273	thirty	
5.274	three	
5.275	Tianzi (Taizong)	
5.276	tiger	
5.277	time	
5.278	tomb	
5.279	twenty	
5.280	two	
5.281	west	
5.282	wife	
5.283	winter	
5.284	wrote, written	
5.285	*xiangwen*	
5.286	*xinan*	
5.287	*yanei*	
5.288	year	
5.289	years of age	
5.290	Yelü	
5.291	*yuyue*	
5.292	*yuyue*	
5.293	*zaixiang*	

CHAPTER SIX

TEXTS IN THE KITAN SMALL SCRIPT

> To conclude: it is still a long way to the heart of the jungle of the Khitan writing system. The Khitan script remains one of the most fascinating problems in the history of writing in the Altaic world, and much hard work needs to be done before we shall be able to read, for instance, the Khitan rhymes in memory of Empress Xuanyi, the poetess who was put to death nine hundred and eleven years ago (1075).- Gy. Kara 1987.

The three texts presented here can represent the present state of decipherment of the Kitan small script. The first is a true bilingual, but it has taken the scholarly world half a century to agree on what corresponds to what, and about one third of the text is still somewhat uncertain. The second is a typical example of an epitaph of a Kitan noble, which lists his ancestors, official titles, family links, date of birth and death and occasionally other material. Much can be understood, much can not. The third is the *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi*, which can be barely understood at all.

6.1 The Langjun inscription

The Langjun inscription is the best known and the most studied of all the Kitan inscriptions. Inscribed on a stele in front of the tomb of the Tang empress Wu Zetian, it is easily accessible. Rubbings of it were reproduced in several Ming and Qing collections. As far as I know the first translation in English was provided by Wylie 1860. Like his predecessors, Wylie thought the script was Jurchen, being misled by the date and the first line. Soon after the discovery and publication of the Shengzong and Renyi inscriptions from the Liao imperial tombs at Qingling, Haneda noted that the scripts were the same, and consequently the Langjun inscription must have been in Kitan. The Langjun inscription is a bilingual, the only bilingual in the present corpus, and most attempts at decipherment of the script have started with a study of this text. The most recent studies or annotated translations are Ji Shi 1996:261-269; Chinggeltei 2002:8, and Liu Fengzhu 2006:8.

6.2 Chinese text of the Langjun inscription

1. 大金皇弟, 都統經略, 郎君, 嚮以疆場無事, 獵于梁山之陽.
The younger brother of the emperor of the Great Jin State, campaign commander, military commissioner, court attendant. For some time in the border areas there were no matters [to attend to] so he went hunting on the south side of Liangshan mountain.

2. 至唐乾陵, 殿廡頹然, 一無所睹. 爰命有司, 鳩工修飾.
When he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang, the halls and corridors were in a state of decay. There was nothing to be seen. He issued orders to the authorities to gather workmen to make repairs.

3. 今, 復謁陵下, 繪像一新. 回廊四起, 不勝欣懌. 與醴陽太守酣飲而歸.
Now, he returned to visit the tombs. The paintings were like new. Surrounding corridors were on all four sides. He was inexpressibly delighted. After he drank wine with the prefect of Liyang, he returned home.

4. 時天會十二年歲次, 甲寅, 仲冬, 十有四日.
The time was the twelfth year of the Tianhui period, *jiayin* [1134] mid-winter, the fourteenth day.

5. 尚書, 職方郎中, 黃應期. 宥州刺史, 王圭, 從行奉命題. 右譯前言.
The court minister and director of the bureau of operations, Huang Yingqi, and the prefect of Youzhou, Wang Gui, wrote this in accordance with the edict. On the right is a translation of this text.

6.3 Kitan text of the Langjun inscription

[1] 𘰾 𘰺 𘰾𘰼𘰽 𘰾𘰿𘱀 𘱁 𘱂𘱃 𘱄𘱅 𘱆𘱇𘱈 𘱉𘱊𘱋
GREAT GOLD g.úr:en qa.ha:an deu cau.ji hur.ú g.iŋ l.iau.u ś.a.rí[2]

[2] Wang Jingru identified 𘰾 as 大 'big, great' and 𘰺 as 金 'gold, Jin dynasty'. *Research* identified 𘰾𘰼𘰽 ‹g.úr:en› 'of the country' and 𘰾𘰿𘱀 ‹qa.ha:an› 'of the khan'. 𘱁 is 弟 *di* 'younger brother'. 𘱂𘱃 ‹cau.ji hur.ú› corresponds to 都統 *dutong* 'military commissioner'. 𘱂𘱃 ‹cau.ji› is 'war', related to 𘱂𘱄 ‹cau.úr› 'war, battle, army ' and 𘱄𘱅 ‹hur.ú› is 'controller'. 𘱆𘱇𘱈 ‹g.iŋ l.iau.u› corresponds to 經略 *jinglüe* 'military commissioner'. 𘱉𘱊𘱋 ‹ś.a.rí› is 郎君 *langjun* 'court attendant'. 𘰾 𘰺 clearly corresponds to 大金 Da Jin 'The Great Jin [State]'; in Jurchen the word for 'gold' was **alčun.* There has been considerable discussion on the graph 𘰺 and its variant 𘰻. Wu Yingzhe has proposed that the 'dotted forms' indicate grammatical gender i.e. they are used with masculine nouns. 金 also means 'metal', which is one of the five elements, but 𘰺 does not correspond to 'metal'. 𘰾𘰼𘰽 ‹g.úr:en›: 𘰾𘰽𘰽 ‹g.úr›

[2] 𘮩𘮈 𘮃𘰾 𘲭𘲌𘲏 𘲏 𘲍𘲓

c.ar am.se REGION.a.an ui eu.iń[3]

[3] 𘮆𘮇 𘲬𘲌𘲏 𘲋𘲍(𘲎?) 𘲏 𘲬𘲓𘲭 𘲃𘲍𘲏

l.iáŋ ś.a.an ja.cẻn.i m.án.ún se.mu.i[4]

'state', 𘲌 ‹en› 'genitive suffix after stems ending in consonants'. 𘲭𘲐 ‹g.úr› might be related to Chinese 國 *guo*. Cf. the term 𘮩𘮈 𘲍𘲎 𘲏𘲭 ‹c.iau.qú.ui i.ri› 'Chinese name' and 𘮩𘮈 𘲍𘲎 𘲏𘲭 𘲓𘲭 ‹c.iau.qú.ui us.gi› 'Chinese writing, Chinese text' in lines 12 and 13. It could also be related to MMo. *gur* '*le tout entier*', perhaps in the sense of *tianxia* 'all under heaven'. The word was borrowed into Jurchen in the form **gurun*, which was inherited by Manchu. Cf. Kane 2006. 𘲍𘲎𘲏 ‹qa.ha:an› 'of the khan'. 𘲏 ‹an› is a genitive form used with stems containing the vowel [a]. 𘲍 ‹qa› implies a 'back k': 𘲍 was not used in transcribing Ch. words, which suggests the sound did not exist in Chinese. Chinese [k] was transcribed 𘲈 ‹k›, a 'front k'. Similarly, 𘲎 implies a 'back g', as it was not used to transcribe Chinese: Chinese [g] was transcribed 𘲓 ‹g›, a 'front g'. These transcriptions suggest that ‹qa› and ‹ha› were phonetically quite different from [ka] and [ga] and not merely positional sub-phonemic variants. I have used ‹h› for [ɣ] throughout for the 'back voiced g', which may well have been a fricative. The word for 'khan' is usually written 𘲍𘲎 ‹qa.ha-›, which implies 'khaghan' rather than 'khan', but 𘲍 ‹qa› by itself also occurs. 𘲆 ‹deu› 'elder brother'. Similar forms are widely attested in related languages, but there seems to be no independent evidence from within Kitan itself to confirm this reading. 𘲑𘲋 𘲎𘲉: this corresponds to *dutong* 'campaign commander'. From other contexts, 𘲎𘲉 ‹hur.ú› seems mean 'in control of'. In line 2 of the Daozong inscription, 𘲎𘲉 ‹hur.ú› appears with the genitive suffix 𘲊 ‹un›, which shows that 𘲎𘲉 ‹hur.ú› is a noun, so 'controller'. So this term would mean 'the official in charge of the 𘲑𘲋 ‹cau.ji›'. The stem 𘲑 ‹cau› means 'war, battle'. Chinggeltei has suggested 𘲋 (=𘲉) ‹ji› might be a suffix similar to Mo. *či*, so 𘲑𘲋 ‹cau.ji› would mean 'those who fight, those who engage in battle', so 'troops, army'. The stem 𘲑 ‹cau› appears in **cau.ur* 'war' which appears in the *Liaoshi* glossary, and in Jurchen **čauha*, **cauši* 'army, soldiers'; Ma. *cooha* 'army'. 𘲬𘲌𘲆 ‹ś.a.rí› is found in the *Liaoshi* glossary and elsewhere as the Kitan equivalent of Chinese 郎君 *langjun*, 'court attendant'. Wylie translated this term 'prince of the blood'.

[3] 𘮩𘮈 𘮃𘰾 𘲭𘲌𘲏 𘲏 𘲍𘲓 ‹c.ar am.se REGION.a:an ui eu.ń› corresponds to 向以疆場無事 *xiang yi jiangchang wu shi* 'because for some time there had been no matters within his territory'. Only 𘲭𘲌𘲏 has the genitive suffix ‹an›, so 𘲭𘲌 must correspond to 'territory, region'. 𘮩𘮈 ‹c.ar› means 'in the past, up to now'. 𘲌𘰾 ‹am.se› is 'because of'. 𘲏 ‹ui› must mean 'matters, affairs'. 𘲍𘲓 ‹eu.ń› 'there were not'. On 𘮩𘮈 ‹c.ar›, cf. Ma. *cala* 'previous, before'; on 𘲏 ‹ui›, cf. Ma./Mo. *weile* 'affair, matter'. 𘲏 may be been read **uil*, but there is little evidence for this.

[4] 'He set out to hunt to the south of Liang mountain'. Between 𘲬𘲋𘲏 ‹ja.cẻn.i› 'south side of a hill or mountain' (陽) and 𘲆𘲁𘲌 𘲎𘲆 𘲆𘲍𘲓𘲁 ‹ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci› 'after he came to the Qianling tombs of the Tang' we find 𘲋𘲍𘲏 𘲃𘲍𘲏 ‹m.án.ún se.mu.i›, which corresponds to 'he set out to hunt'. Chinggeltei 1999 suggests 𘲋𘲍𘲏 ‹m.án.ún› is 'to hunt' and 𘲃𘲍𘲏 ‹se.mu.i› is 'to set out, to travel'. Other scholars have suggested the reverse, but 𘲋𘲍𘲏 ‹m.án.ún› is found in other contexts which suggest it means 'to hunt'. 𘲬𘲋𘲏 ‹ja.cẻn.i› is transcribed as such in *Research*; Chinggeltei 2002:128 transcribes 𘲬𘲎𘲏 ‹ja.úŋ.i›. The calligraphy on this inscription is rather cursive, and the graph in question not clear: it could be either 𘲋 or 𘲎.

[4] 仍勿村 亚方 州同矢 乂火本
ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci.[5]

[5] 九丙水 令文方 丙火尘 业廾火关 尺伏 讣 扎州列爻
g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên ei.iú.cẻn p.u.ui.i dau.iń 356 ho.le.hu.er[6]

[6] 州关 本土村 穴爻爻 母业列羊 戊矢 及讨爻 仅 令欠州州亚方叉
l.i c.eu:en nai:d:er b.áŋ.hu.ai śi.de u.ji:d jỉn se.qó.zỏ.le.ha.al.ún[7]

[7] 叉爻 丙余火 乂火化令比 叉由 圣当 戊方 业反子比
ún.e mó.qu.ui x.ui.ri.s.ii ún.yỏ jủr:én ś.ên p.o.ju.ii[8]

[8] 州勿 曲本 几火尺火 仍当爻 乂关尘 丰叉
l.aŋ go.ci ku.ud.û.ui rẻŋ.én.er x.i.cẻn nẻn.ún[9]

[9] 金村 穴爻 为实 由母 圣本 乂关禾尺火 业币州叉
em:en nai:d deu.úr WINE.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún[10]

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[5]唐乾陵 *Tang Qianling* ‘the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty’ corresponds to 仍勿村 亚方 州同矢 ‹ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de›. From the context, 村 ‹en› is a genitive ending, and 矢 ‹de› a locative. 乂火 ‹x.ui› is the stem for ‘come’. 本 ‹ci› is a converb, expressing ‘after’ = ‘after he arrived’. 本 ‹ci› is seen also in 圣本 ‹êm.ci› ‘after he drank [wine with the local officials]’ in line 9.

[6] 九丙水 令文方 ‹g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên› transcribes 宫殿 *gongdian* ‘palace’. The rest of the sentence is not understood. It is sometimes suggested 讣 might mean ‘good’ based on a similarity between 讣 and the cursive form of Chinese 好 *hao* ‘good’.

[7]州关 本土 ‹l.i c.eu› is 醴陽 Liyang in the Chinese text but 州关 本土 transcribes a name like * 醴州 *Lizhou. Note the genitive suffix is 村 ‹en›, not 尔 ‹on›, which suggests that the vowel in 本土 ‹c.eu› was [əu] rather than [ou], and that the final glide was considered a consonant: [li cew.en]. 穴 ‹nai› is ‘head, chief’ and appears in the *Liaoshi* glossary. 爻 ‹d› is a plural suffix. 令欠州州亚方叉 ‹se.qú.zỏ.le.ha.al.ún› is a verb. corresponding to 修飾 ‘to repair, to renovate’. It is preceded by 仅 ‹jỉn›, a very common word which is not understood. It may mean ‘shape, outward appearance’. In ‹se.qú.zỏ.le.ha.al.ún›, ‹le.ha› *-*l*y-* is causative and ‹al.ún› [a]*-*lun* is a past tense.

[8] 叉由 ‹ún.yỏ› is common in the inscriptions. Here it seems to correspond to *hui* ‘painting, decoration’ in 繪像一新 *hui xiang yi xin* ‘the paintings appeared renewed’. Elsewhere 戈 叉由 ‹lu ún.yỏ› corresponds to 龍顔 *lóngyán* ‘dragon face, the imperial countenance’ (戈 is ‹lu› ‘dragon’). 乂火化令比 ‹x.ui.r.s.ii› ‘came to, arrived’ is a form of 乂火- ‹x.ui› ‘come’. 令比 ‹s.ii› is a type of converb. The words after 叉由 are 圣当 戊方. 圣当 ‹jủr.én› means ‘second, the second time, again’. 戊方 ‹ś.ên› is 新 *xin* ‘new’, cf. Mo. *sine* ‘new’. Together they mean ‘renewed’.

[9] This corresponds to 回廊四起, 不勝欣懌 ‘surrounding corridors were on all four sides. He was inexpressibly delighted.’ 州勿 ‹l.aŋ› is 廊 *lang* ‘corridor’. 曲本 ‹go.ci› may have the same stem as 曲爻 ‹go.er›, a common term in the epitaphs, ‘tent, lineage, household’. Here perhaps simply ‘houses, buildings’.

[10] 口 丰 父 今丙爻 乞 圣 伞考丈
qi po HEAVEN d.iu.er TEN TWO s.iau.qú[11]

[11] 巫业冬 半 尺交叉 及平 乞 罒 尺 业反肉
qa.ha.as ai dau.úr.ún u.ul TEN FOUR DAY p.o.ón[12]

[12] 百夬 八亦 今卡乂爻 永考丈火 关仉 𠂢 八火 雨仝
ei.au g.ün pu.kå.x.er c.iau.qú.ui i.ri oŋ g.ui sȯ.or[13]

[13] 永爻. 永考丈火 圴八 永勿 戊火 友 黑 仆勿 子爻 主 闭 乂关 永爻
ci.er. c.iau.qú.ui us.gi[14] c.aŋ ś.iú tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ hoŋ iŋ x.i ci.er.[15]

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[10] 仝村 穴公 为交 凿舟 圣永 = 'local officials together-with wine drank'. 仝 ‹em› means 'place' so 仝村 ‹em:en› 'of that place: local'. 穴 ‹nai› is 'head, chief'. 公 ‹d› is a plural suffix. 为交 ‹deu.úr› is 'together', Ch. 同 *tong*. 永 ‹ci› is a converb suffix, meaning 'after'. 业币仆叉 ‹p.od.l.ún› 'he returned'. 仆叉 ‹l.ún› is a past tense suffix.

[11] [The time was] the fourteenth day of mid-winter, *jiayin* year, the twelfth year of the Tianhui 天會 reign period. In 1933, Wang Jingru proposed that 尺交叉 ‹dau.úr.ún› was the Kitan equivalent of Chinese 仲冬 *zhongdong* 'mid-winter'. Chinggeltei 1976 proposed that since 仲 *zhong* means 'middle', 尺交叉 might be related to Mongol *dumda*, Daur *duanda* 'middle'.

[12] 口 ‹qi› 'that'; 丰 ‹po› 'time'; 父 今丙爻 ‹HEAVEN t.iu.er› = Tianhui; 乞 'ten'; 圣 'two'; 伞考丈 ‹s.iau.qú› 'blue'; 巫业冬 'tiger' ‹qa.ha.as›: 'blue tiger' corresponds to the cyclical term 甲寅 *jiayin*; 半 'year'; 尺交叉 'middle'; 及平 'winter'; 乞 'ten' 罒 'four'; 尺 'day'; 业及肉 ‹p.o.ón›: past tense of the verb 'to be'. 丰 ‹po› is given in the *Liaoshi* as the word for 'time'. 父 今丙爻 corresponds to 天會 Tianhui, but the names of the reign periods in Kitan did not correspond exactly to the Chinese terms: 父 今丙爻 ‹HEAVEN t.iu.er› means 'heaven virtue'.

[13] It might be inferred that 永考丈爻 ‹c.iau.qú.ui› means 'China' and represents a local (or Kitan) pronunciation of the word *Zhongguo*. 关仉 ‹i.ri› means 'name'.

[14] 永考 丈火 圴八 ‹c.iau.qú.ui us.gi› 'Chinese writing': the Chinese text. Cf. line 12: 永考丈爻 关仉 ‹c.iau.qú.er i.ri› 'Chinese name'. The last word in the Kitan version of the Langjun inscription is 永爻; this is also the last word on the *Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü Gu Yelü* and the *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong.* The Chinese version of the Langjun inscription indicates these two graphs must mean 'written by, 題'. 永 ‹ci› must be the stem for 'write'; 爻 ‹er› is a past tense suffix. In the Chinese text, the official title of Huang Yingqi 黃應期 was 尚書職方郎中 *shangshu zhifang langzhong* 'director of the bureau of military operations of the imperial secretariat'. 今卡乂爻 ‹pu.kå.x.er› corresponds to 刺史 *cishi* 'prefect' in the Chinese text.

[15] In the Chinese text, the official title of Wang Gui is 宥州刺史 *Youzhou cishi* 'prefect of Youzhou'. In other inscriptions, 八亦 transcribes 郡 *jun* 'commandery' so 百夬 八亦 ‹ei.au g.ün› must be 宥郡 Youjun; 州 *zhou* 'prefecture' and 郡 *jun* 'commandery' being similar in meaning. 𠂢 八火 雨仝 永爻 ‹oŋ g.ui ci.er› means 'Wang Gui, wrote [this]'. 雨仝 ‹sȯ.or› is usually found following 奴仝 ‹k.em› 'edict', i.e. 'he received the edict, having heard the contents of the edict'. The order came from the brother of the emperor, not the emperor himself, so perhaps this is the reason the word 奴仝 ‹k.em› was not used.

6.4 The Epitaph of Yelü Dilie

The *Epitaph of Yelü Dilie* 耶律迪烈墓誌銘 is a typical example of the Kitan epitaphs. It is particularly useful as a sample text because it is relatively long, relatively legible and in a good state of preservation. There is a biography of Yelü Dilie in the *Liaoshi*, which provides basic information on dates, official positions and so on. The original inscription is on display at the Liao Jin City Wall Museum in Beijing, and is easily accessible. The text with commentary was published by Lu and Zhou 2000 in handwritten form and in Chinggeltei 2002:222-231 in printed form. The handwritten copy in Bao Lianqun 2002 has also been consulted. Aisin Gioro 2004:242-284 and 2004b:69-84 are comparative studies of the *Epitaph of Yelü Dilie* and the *Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü,* who were father and daughter, and share much material in common. ○ indicates empty spaces in the inscription, which preceding certain words to indicate respect, and to separate lines of rhymed verse.

6.5 Biography of Yelü Dilie from the *Liaoshi*

Yelü Dilie, styled Salan, was a fifth generation grandson of Yelü Hou, investigation commissioner. He was generous and good at study, and wrote prose and poetry. At the end of the Chongxi period, he was appointed to the position of court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies. He was responsible for the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor*. In the first year of the Qingning period, he was transferred to the position of associate administrator of Yongzhou. He showed merit in suppressing bandits, and was appointed *linya* and recipient of edicts of the northern division. In the ninth year, the Chongyuan uprising occurred. Yelü Dilie participated in the battle, and succeeded in suppressing the rebels. Consequently he was granted the position of military commissioner of the Linhai army. In the tenth year, he was transferred to Wu'an, to the position of surveillance commissioner. In the fifth year of the Xianyong period, he was transferred to the position of director of the Changning palace. In the fourth year of the Dakang period, he became the great prince of the southern chancellery. When his period of appointment was completed, he was asked to remain there. He then served as regent of the southern capital. He fell ill, and the emperor sent the imperial physician to see him. He was transferred to the supreme capital as regent. In the Da'an period, he was appointed military commissioner of Tamu city. He was ill when he took office. He was given the concurrent position of palace attendant. His emolument was that of an official of the first degree. He died in the eighth year of the Da'an period.

6.6 Kitan text of the Epitaph of Yelü Dilie

[1] 又 令考分 北刘 买关 几灰礻 丙平业羊 □□ 伞同 几亦 伞交 们 兆
GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rå qid.i g.úr:en jau.ul.ha.ai □□ s.iŋ g.ün z.ie du sh

而当 发久 丞 今 几文圣 几考 丞 火□ 劣犬 子犬 戈火 又礻 不才 业同 礻气
cau.úŋ lu.uh tai pu g.ie.êm g.iau tai ui □ tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en ha.ia p.iŋ c.aŋ

兆 亥火 几火 伞关 戈丞 几亦 叔万 几火 几犬 业为羊 业雨 圣 矢
sh dz.iú g.ui s.i ś.ui g.ün k.ei g.ui g.uŋ p.a.ai p.in TWO THOUSAND

业扎 业雨 圣 丙 刃爻 万乍及火 伞礻业出 伞爿 几犬尖 公乍矢
po.ho p.in TWO HUNDRED rẻn.er ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.án s.iaŋ g.uŋ:un ne.ra:de

业几当 同伞 扎屮爿伏 礻爻扎
RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú ho.le.bo.ń ci.ge.ho[16]

[2] 巫业买 乂厄及 曲爻 州余 羊礻 兮 业羊壮礻 戈为卉丞 礻冬为 刃爻 扒几
qa.ha.an xe.dú.ún go.er zỏ.qu ai:en doro p.ai.ss.en ś.a.rí:d c.as.a rẻn.er us.gi

亚伞尖 火 劝公 屋关 万乍及火 几及久 冈为礻
hur.ú.un ui [yuan] KNOW.i ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh COMPOSE.a.ar[17]

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[16] Line 1: Inscription engraved on the tomb 公乍矢 业几当 同伞 ‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú› of Lord Yelü Salan (*Sarhan) 耶律撒懒 / 万乍及火 伞礻业出 伞爿 几犬 ‹ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.án s.iaŋ g.uŋ›, noble granted two hundred households 业扎 业雨 圣 丙 ‹po.ho p.in TWO HUNDRED›, land grant noble granted two thousand households 业为羊 业雨 圣 矢 ‹p.a.ai p.in TWO THOUSAND› *kaiguogong* 開國公 叔万 几火 几犬 ‹k.ei g.ui g.uŋ› [dynasty founding duke], Qishui prefecture 漆水郡 伞关 戈丞 几亦 ‹s.i ś.úi g.ün› *jiuguo* 亥火 几火 ‹dz.iú g.ui› *menxia pingchangshi* 門下平章事 又礻 不才 业同 礻气 ‹m.en xa.ia p.iŋ c.aŋ sh›; *tongzhongshu* 同中書 劣犬 子犬 戈火 ‹tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú›, *jianjiao taiwei* 檢校太尉 几文圣 几考 丞 火 ‹g.ie.êm g.iau tai ui›, *chonglu daifu* 崇祿大夫 而当 发久 丞 今 cau.úŋ lu.uh tai pu *jiedushi* 節度使 伞交 们 兆 ‹z.ie du sh› of the [Linhai] army of the Great Central Liao Kitan State 又 令考分 北刘 买关 几灰礻 ‹GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rå qid.i g.úr:en›. The meaning of 丙平业羊 □□ 伞同 几亦 ‹jau.ul.ha.ai □□ s.iŋ g.ün› is unknown. The *Liaoshi* refers to the Linhai army. 亥火 几火 ‹dz.iú g.ui› may be a version of *zhongguo* ‘China’. Cf. 礻考太火 ‹c.iau.qú.ui› ‘China’ in the Langjun inscription. Lu and Zhou annotate 亥火 几火 as 魯國 Luguo ‘state of Lu’, but there seems little justification for this. By the context it seems to be an official title. The terms ‘two thousand’ 业为羊 业雨 ‹p.a.ai p.in› and ‘two hundred’ 业扎 业雨 ‹po.ho p.in› refer to landholdings. 刃 ‹rẻn:er› seems to mean ‘to make, to do’ perhaps ‘to serve’ (in an official post). 爻 ‹er› is a past tense suffix. 扎屮爿伏 ‹ho.le.bo.ń› means ‘first, first born, first period of the month, preface’. 扎屮爿伏 礻爻扎 ‹ho.le.bo.ń ci.ge.ho› is a conventional phrase: together with preface’.

[3] 雨尘求苏 戈幺东 劳化父当 曲令 仲 万文 业仕非 习条[捺] 圣车关
sỏ.or.□.er ś.iá.ah cu.ur.ge.er go:t ü ei.ie po.mu.fẻi qudug êm.ra.i

虫尘苏 几 国刘 刘行扎关 扎为 小 廾豹村 冈万 巫虫村 乂伞父火
yô.cẻn.er ku hó.hu hu.mú.ho.i ho.a siỏ u.ji:en 307.ei qa.ha:en xe.se.ge.ud

戈村伏 火火 九尔尖 本用关 尧为大 罕 又化尘村 土劳 及子叉 父火村
śi.mỉ.iń iú.iú g.uŋ:un c.il.i REGION.a.ud FOUR♂ m.ri.d:en eu.ge o.ju.ún ŋ.ui:en

非朱 尘为生尘伏 父火 穴目尖 奶勿关 奶勿 矛 乂闲尘村 业与矢
po.do cẻn.a.bu.d.ińŋ.iú nai.mủh.un bo.qo.i bo.qo NINE x.iŋ.d:en po.deu:de

乂火尘业叉 叉 关买 本肯[劳] 兆九矢
x.ui.d.l.ún ún i.010 c.iau us.gi:de[18]

[4] 令□国 虫九业父百 □关仲苏矢 尺平廾豹尘 业及子万 由叉村 夫火
te.□.hó RECORD.gi.le.ge.ei □.x.ü.er:de dau.ul.u.ji:d p.o.ju.tś yỏ.ún:en qú.ui

叉劳矢 亦伏 及化平村 令冬虫乃 国业奶伏苏 丸 业尔矢 百尘苏
ún.e:de ün.iń u.ur.ai:en t.as.ha.am hó.le.bo.ń.er mú p.on:de mo.d:er

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[17] Line 2: 巫虫买 ‹qa.ha.an› ‘of the khaghan’; 乂几叉曲苏 ‹xe.dú.ún go.er› ‘horizontal tents 橫帳’; 州余 平村 ‹zỏ.qu ai:en› ‘younger paternal tent (lineage)’ 季父房 *jifufang*’; ‹doro pai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d›: 劳 ‹doro› ‘seal’, 业平廿 ‹p.ai.ss› ‘tallies’ (*paizi*, *paiza*): ‘bureau of seals and tallies 印牌司’; 戈为去 ‹ś.a.rí› ‘*langjun*, 郎君 court attendant’; 尘 ‹d› ‘plural suffix’ 戈为去尘 ś.a.rí:d corresponds to the Chinese term 郎君班 *langjunban*; 本冬为 ‹c.as.a› ‘*jasa*, tribal unit in the *ordo*’; 兆九 ‹us.gi› ‘writing’, 亚今 ‹hur.ú› ‘person in charge of’; 尖 ‹un› genitive suffix; 火 ‹ui› ‘matters, affairs, business 事’; 劳公 [*yuan*] ‘division’ (劳 is elsewhere read *cu*). 屋关: corresponds to 知 *zhi* ‘administrator’ 万车及火 九及久 ‹ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh› ‘Yelü Gu’ 耶律固 (name). 冈为本‘composed 撰’; 本 ‹ar› indicates the past tense.

[18]Line 3: 雨尘求苏 ‹sỏ.or.121.er›: perhaps ‘I have heard, it is well known’; 戈幺东 ‹ś.iá.ah›: a common word; meaning unknown, perhaps ‘good’; 曲令 ‹go:t› (PLUR) ‘tent(s)’ in the sense of ‘lineage, family’; 业仕非 ‹po.mu.fẻi› another common word, meaning unknown. 习条[捺] ‹qudug› ‘good fortune’. 几 ‹ku› ‘man, person’. This seems to be a translation of ‘families which accumulate goodness are sure to have an abundance of good fortune’ 積善之家, 必有餘福, as suggested by Aisin Gioro 2004. 巫虫村 ‹qa.ha:en› ‘of the khan’; 乂伞父火 ‹xe.se.ge.ud› ‘areas, border regions’ (?); 罕 ‘four (masculine)’. Cf. Ch. 四方 *si fang* ‘four directions’ (?); 又化尘村 ‹m.ri.d.en› most likely refers to the *miri* (tribal unit) Ch: 彌里 *mili* rather than ‘horses’. 尘 ‹d› is plural, 村 ‹en› is genitive. 非朱 ‹po.do› ‘at the time of’: 朱 ‹do› is a locative suffix. 奶勿关 奶勿 ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› ‘son of a son’ = ‘grandson’. 兆九 ‹us.gi› ‘writing’; 矢 ‹de› locative; perhaps 本肯 ‹c.299› is probably a mistranscription for 本劳 **ciau* cf. 本劳太火 ‹c.iau.qú.ui› ‘Chinese’.

夭平业方爻　　地　今爿　几水　爿爻　叔比爻豸　今爿　几水　关仉　斤公　朱化当朴
au.ul.ha.al.ún 079 s.iaŋ g.uŋ　b.u　k.ii.u.ji　s.iaŋ　g.uŋ　i.ri　dǐr.n c.ur.én:en

今木业出　　饵今九　　亦　　爻化　小　列木关　业欠豸　　仉九朴　　曲爻朴　　几
s.ar.ha.án BORN.se.gi SIX u.ur siỏ hu.ar.i　po.qó.ji　ri.g.en　go.er:en　ku

巫化爻　　公尔朴　　爻化丰　乂矢伏　卉习
EIGHT.ur:én n.on:en　u.ur.ai　xe.d.iń tir.ia[19]

[5] **仉九朴　爿仉土当　公关勺　□□□　小列　伏介奕　由[虫]业丰　戈仉爻　万东爻火　又仉**
ri.g.en　bo.ri.tủ.én　n.i.gu　□□□　siỏ.hu　ńi.ô.ur　yỏ.[yô].ha.ai　śi.ri.ge　ei.ra.u.ud　mo.ri

戈为兵爻　□大　生伏　令币业木朴　○　关　　主王雨　生　丰　业方　今爷　主　王雨
ś.a.rí.d □.120　bu.iń　t.od.ha.ar:en HEAVEN hoŋ.di:in　bu　ai　ki.ên　s.ú　hoŋ.di:in

小朴　习公丰仉业木　　亏仆列爻　　伏介奕　丰伏　　关仉矢　　丞爻列　反子爻　仉雨扎　○
siỏ:en　ia　n.ai.ri.ha.ar　al.le.hu.er　ńi.ô.úr　nẻn.iń　i.ri:de　is.d.hu　o.ju.ún　ri　sỏ.ho

关　　主王　　朱东用　　伏尔刘　　列冬土仆爻万　　兵关
HEAVEN hoŋ.di　ci.ra.il　ńi.ad.bú　hu.as.tủ.le.ge.ei　rí.i[20]

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[19] Line 4: **爻化丰朴** ‹ú.ur.ai:en› ‘of the ancestors [former fathers]’ ‹hó.le.bo.ń.er› ‘imperial clan, imperial line 皇統’ … ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› *‘xianggong*, lord, excellency’; **关仉** ‹iri› ‘name’ **斤公** ‹dǐr.n›: perhaps the name Diren 迪輦,迪烈. **朱化当朴** ‹c.ur.er.en› ‘second name, adult name’; **朴** ‹en› is genitive, indicating an attributive. **今木业出** ‹s.ar.ha.án›: the name written Salan 撒懶 in the *Liaoshi*. **亦　爻化** ‹SIX u.ur› ‘six divisions 六院’, **业欠豸** ‹po.qo.ji› the name given in the *Liaoshi* as Puguji 蒲古只. **仉九朴** ‹ri.g.en› ‘a tribal title 夷離堇 *yilijin*’; **曲爻朴** ‹go.er:en› ‘of the tent of’; **几** ku ‹man, male›; **巫化爻** ‹EIGHT.ur.er› ‘ordinal of eight: eighth’ **公尔** ‹n.on› ‘generation’; **爻化丰** ‹u.ur.ai› ‘ancestors’; **乂矢伏　卉习** ‹xe.de.ń tir.a› *Xedeń *Tira (Diela or Tiela). In the *Liaoshi*, *Sarhan’s ‘second name’ is written Dilie 敵烈, but the transcription **斤公** ‹dǐr.n›, suggests Dilian, written elsewhere in Chinese texts as 迪輦. The ‘second names’ were usually followed by the suffix **伏** [ń].

[20] Line 5: **公关勺** ‹n.i.gu› ‘gold, golden’ also ‘Jurchen’. **小列** ‹siỏ.hu› ‘south; region, also tribe’, **伏介奕** ‹ń.ô.úr› and **戈仉** ‹śi.ri› are tribal units. **伏介奕** ‹ń.ô.úr› sometimes corresponds to ‘circuit’. **戈仉** ‹śi.ri› is transcribed 石烈 *shilie* ‘tribal unit’ or ‘sub-tribe’. **又仉** ‹mo.ri› ‘*mili, miri* 彌里 tribal unit’; **戈为兵爻** ‹ś.a.rí:d› 郎君 ‘*langjun*, court attendant’. **关　主　王** ‹HEAVEN hoŋ.di› ‘Heaven Emperor’: honorific title (*zunhao*) of Abaoji, the founder of the Kitan state. **生　丰** ‹bu ai› ‘grandfather’ **业方　今爷** ‹ki.ên s.ú› = Xuanzu 玄祖 (name of emperor); **习**‹ia› elder brother, uncle’; **伏东刘** ‹ń.ad.bú› (~ ‹bud›) ‘*nabo*, travelling camp’; **仉九朴** *yilijin*.

[6] 丰 今万 今今 主 玉雨 □村 刁幺伏爻 列女列 本关丞 伙[伏]介化关 州小业丰

ai t.ei s.ú hoŋ di:in □.en ia.iá.iń:er hu.sår(?).hu c.i.is ńi.ô.ur.i zỏ.le.ha.ai

业为方 本冬为 业及子业方 小列 伏介交 戈氏本 矣亦刃友 无火 六 及化

p.a.al c.as.a p.o.ju.ha.al siỏ.hu ńi.ô.úr śi.bải.ar miŋ.ad.rẻn.tz tau.un SIX u.ur

圣 伏介矣 业及子业本 爻 乂矢[矣]伏 化九村 今币业本 六 及化 伏介化

TWO ń.ô:de p.o.ju.ha.ar ge xe.de.ń ri.g.en t.od.ha.ai SIX u.ur ńi.ô.ur

业本业方及 口 不非 一⁻公伏 刁 与 仪

287.ar.ha.al.ún qi xa.åŋ UPPER:d.iń ia deu jỉn[21]

[7] 犴业方业为 化九村 爿介火 公交伏 九 圣村 爿列出 又反 圣用伏 业欠豹

ja.ha.al.ha.a ri.g.en bo.ô.ui d.úr.iń śỉ TWO:en bo.hu.án m.o yỉ.il.iń po.qó.ji

化九村 久 业爻 市及 百东及火关 们爻 又 米介反肉 尺交及 国小爿伏

ri.g.en uh RECORD.e hor.u ei.ra.u.ud.i du.er GREAT ordu.ô.o.ón dau.úr.ún hó.le.bo.ń

无卡 小业丰 尺公 关仉 勺爻 今金小爻百 曲爻 公村爻 本幺 国刁 本化爻

tau.kå le.ha.ai û.n i.ri doro:er t.em.le.ge.ei go.er d.en.er c.iá hó.ia c.ur.er

市及 杏 列圣列 化九村 百 几 爻及 交关 穴欠伏 九 今 圣村 本化爻

hor.u uni hu.êm.hu ri.g.en mo ku er.u úr.i dau.uh.iń śỉ te TWO:en c.ur.er[22]

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[21] Line 6: 丰 ‹ai› ‘father’ 今万 今今 ‹t.ei s.ú› De Zu 德祖 (name of emperor); ‹hoŋ.di:en› ‘emperor (genitive)’; 刁幺伏爻 ‹ia.iá.ń.er› ‘brothers, uncles (?) (accusative)’; 本关丞 ‹c.i.is› ‘blood relations, members of the same tribe’; 小列 ‹siỏ.hu› ‘southern’; 伏介交 ‹ń.ô.úr› ‘circuit, tribe, region’ 本冬为 ‹c.as.a› *jasa* 閘撒 tribal unit’; 业及子业本 ‹p.o.ju.ha.ar› ‘was promoted’.矣亦 ‹miŋa.ad› ‘thousands ~ *meng’an* (?)’ 无火 ‹tau.un› ‘five’; 六 及化 ‹SIX u.ur› ‘six divisions’; TWO: ‘the two parts’, i.e. the five divisions and the six divisions’; 业及子业方 ‹p.o.ju.ha.al› ‘was promoted, was made’ … 化九村 ‹ri.g.en› *yilijin* 夷離堇 ‘tribal title’; 无火 六 及化 ‘five divisions and six divisions’ 口 ‹qi› ‘that’; … 一⁻公伏 ‘upper ones, superior ones, those in the north’; 刁 ‹ia› elder brothers, 与‹deu› ‘younger brothers’.

[22] Line 7: 化九村 ‹ri.g.en› ‘*yilijin* tribal title’; 公交伏 ‹d.úr.iń› [Kitan clan name?] 九 ‹śỉ› ‘name before marriage, née, Mme. 圣村 ‹TWO:en› ‘two (genitive/attributive)’; 爿列出 ‹bo.hu.án› ‘children’; 又反 ‹m.o› ‘big, eldest’; 圣用伏 ‹yỉ.il.iń› ‘Kitan name or official title: *yilimian/yilibi* (?)’; 业欠豹 ‹po.qó.ji ‘Kitan name: Puguji’; 市及 ‹hor.ú› ‘people’; 百东及火关 ‹ei.ra.u.ud.i› ‘Yelü’. 关 ‹i› is a genitive suffix; 又 米介反肉 ‹GREAT ordu.ô.o.ón›; 尺交及 ‹dau.úr.ún› ‘middle, middle period’ 国小爿伏 ‹hó.le.bo.ń› ‘imperial clan’, also a personal name; 尺公 ‹û.n› ‘*yuyue* GEN (?)’; 勺爻 ‹doro.er› ‘ceremony, ritual; seal›; 曲爻 ‹go.er› ‘clan, family, tent, lineage’; 本化爻 ‹c.ur.er› ‘second, second name’; 市及 ‹hor.ú› ‘Kitan name: may mean ‘people’; 杏 ‹uni› ’ox’; 列圣列

[8]
bo.qo yỉ.il.iń ku.uh.ul ś.a.rí □.□.úr mo sẻr.iń.śỉ:de n.o.p.a.ad na.as.l.ún te

TWO:en c.ur.er bo.qo s.al.ha.án le.bú.uh s.êŋ.un mu.le.g:en yủ.úr po:do siỏ

WEST FIVE doro:le.u.ji tai s.êŋ.un p.o.gỏ.l.i xe.ci t.ud.le.ge.er cau.úr

am.qi.ha.án hó.le.bo.ń rẻn.er mo ku te TWO:en c.ur.er bo.qo hor.bo.ń x.eu

s.ai p.oŋ TWO♂:[23]

[9]
qa.ha.ad:er rẻn.le ge.er SEVEN RECORD.er.d s.úr.d śi.mỉ.l.er.ei mu.le.gi hoŋ di:in

po:do ai:en giủ p.o.gỏ.l.iń em:en ci.m p.o.ju.ha.ai jỉn k.em ja.al.ha.ai siỏ

hu.ar p.o.or c.al hu.an rí.iń rẻn.uh ci.mu.i mú se.bun.ei û.én:er s.ai

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‹hu.êm.hu› 'Kitan name transcribed in Ch. 匣馬葛 *Hiamago; ‹ri.g.en› '*yilijin*' ‹mo ku› 'wife'; ‹dau.uh.iń› 'Kitan clan name'; ‹śỉ› 'name before marriage, née, Mme'; ‹te› plural suffix '; ‹c.ur.er› 'second'.

[23] Line 8: ‹bo.qo› 'son'; ‹yỉ.il.iń ku.uh.ul› *Yilin *Kuhul 'Kitan name or title'; ‹ś.a.rí› '*langjun*'; ‹mó› 'wife'; ‹śỉ›; ‹n.o.p.a.ad› *nabo* (捺鉢); ‹na.as.l.ún› 'rest'; *lun* is a suffix indicating past tense; ‹TWO:en› 'of these two'; ‹c.ur.er bo.qo› 'second son'; ‹s.al.ha.án›; ‹le.bú.uh› *Sarhan Lubuh (Kitan name); ‹s.êŋ.un› *xiangwen* (Kitan title); ‹mu.le.g:en› 'venerable ancestor = Taizong 太宗'; ‹yủ.úr› 'first [year]'; ‹po:do› 'at the time'; 'south'; 'west'; ‹FIVE doro:le.u.ji› 'five seals' (= 'possessor of the five seals' (?)); ‹tai s.êŋ.un› 'great *xiangwen*'; ‹xe.ci› 'settlement, town'; ‹cau.úr› 'battle'; ‹hó.le.bo.ń› 'imperial clan'; ‹rẻn.er› 'served'; ‹mó ku› 'wife'; ‹te› (possibly: plural suffix for females); ‹TWO:en› 'two'; ‹c.úr.er› 'second'; ‹bo.qo› 'son'; ‹hor.bo.ń› *Horbun (Kitan name); ‹x.eu› *Heu 'Kitan name', written 吼 **heu* in the *Liaoshi*; ‹s.ai p.oŋ› '*caifang*'. *Hor.bo.ń is referred to in the *Liaoshi* as 曷魯 Helu. The term ‹FIVE doro:l.ú.ji tai s.êŋ.un› corresponds to Ch. 五押大詳穩 'grand *xiangwen* of the five seals'. ‹doro› means both 'seal' and 'ritual, ceremony'.

业杰尕 关仉 令金屮公爻 扎为买 父 只爻 主 王雨 又雨 伞生伏 丰为出爻
p.oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.er ho.a.an HEAVEN û.er hoŋ di:in m.in se.bu.iń nėn.a.án.er[24]

[10] **夬 乂土豸 叔金 雨尘 □为反夯 为□ 豸 仉九村 曲爻 卉习 仉九村 曲爻 艾伏**
au x.eu.ji k.em sȯ:or □.a.o.oi a.□ giủ ri.g.en go.er tir.ia ri.g.en go.er TENT.iń

生 又丈 虫习伏 又反 丰村 戈为夫公 尔尔村 雨尘 买屮业丰 伏父化
bu mo.qú iên.ia.iń m.o ai:en ś.a.rí:d ci.ci:en sȯ:or an.le.ha.ai ńi.ô.ur

尔卡屮公屮爻 丙 几 乂久豸 尤 禾九关 令 圣村 又反 舟勿 伞方伏 冇舟
ci.kả.le.ge.l.ún mó ku x.uh.ji śí is.g.i te TWO:en m.o bo.qo s.ên.iń hor.bo

忍 戈关 戈为夫 为丰 土平伏 尔列 亏村久矢关 为伏爻 曲爻
tai ś.i ś.a.rí a.ai eu.157.iń ci.hu al.en.da.de.i deu.ńi.er go.er[25]

[11] **令万扎尘 尤奕 □ 虫尘爻 乂火公屮爻 仉 □扎 令万 伞雨村 关仉 令金屮公万**
t.ei.ho.cėn yủ.úr □ yô.cėn.ún x.ui.d.l.ún ri.□.ho t.ei z.in:en i.ri t.em.le.ge.ei

小 列木 业反子及豸 叔金 雨尘 为丰 劣化屮爻 丙 几 业车田 分禾伏 九仕尤关
siȯ hu.al p.o.ju.u.ji k.em sȯ.or a.ai du.ur.l.ún mó ku p.ar.il pu.is.iń gi.mu śi.i

伏岑岔 舟勿关 舟勿 乇 斥当 仄 几卡 只豸矢 仍关 万余 反子 小
ń.iau.ui bo.qo.i bo.qo ONE♂ dolo.én bải ku.kả û.ji:de ta.i ei.qu o.ju siȯ

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[24] Line 9: **忍** TWO♂; **巫业尔爻** ‹qa.ha.ad:er› ‘khaghan PLUR ACC’ **斥** ‹SEVEN›; **仕屮九 主 王** ‹mu.le.gi hoŋ di› ‘venerable emperor’; **非朱** ‹po:do› ‘time LOC’ = ‘at that time’; **丰村** ‹ai:en› ‘year (genitive)’; **金村** ‹em:en› ‘place (genitive)’ = ‘of that place; local’; **叔金** ‹k.em› ‘imperial edict’; **小** SOUTH **九奕** ‹g.úr› ‘nation, state’; **业反尘** ‹p.o.or› COP PAST (= was); **伞丰 业杰** ‹s.ai p.oŋ› ‘*caifeng*’ (official title); **关仉** ‹i.ri› ‘name, title’; **令金屮公爻** ‹t.em.le.ge.er› ‘grant a title PASS CAUS PAST’; **父** ‹HEAVEN›; **只爻** ‹û.er› ‘give, given’ **主 王** ‹hoŋ di› ‘emperor’ = the emperor 天授 Tianshou = 世宗 Shizong. Tianshou means ‘given by heaven’.

[25] Line 10: **叔金 雨尘** ‹k.em sȯ:or› ‘an edict was received; by imperial command, by imperial edict, 奉敕’; **仉九村** ‹ri.g.en› ‘*yilijin*’; **曲爻** ‹go.er› ‘tent’; **卉习** ‹tir.ia› Tiela; **仉九村** ‹ri.g.en› ‘*yilijin*’; **曲爻** ‹go.er› ‘family’; **艾伏** ‘tent, lineage’ GEN; **生** ‹bu› ‘grandfather’; **又反** ‹m.o› ‘eldest’; **丰村** ‹ai:en› ‘father’ GEN; **戈为夫公** ‹ś.a.rí:d› ‘*langjun*’ PLUR; **尔尔村** ‹ci.ci:en› ‘others’ GEN; **雨尘** ‹sȯ:or› ‘receive/hear’ PAST; **伏父化** ‹ń.ô.ur› ‘circuit’; **丙 几** ‹mó ku› ‘wife’; **乂久豸** ‹x.uh.ji› (Kitan tribe name) **尤** ‹śi› ‘*née*’; **禾九关** ‹is.g.i› ‘*Isigi (name of a tribe: 乙室己); **令** ‹te› PLUR; **圣村** ‹TWO:en› ‘two’ GEN; **又反 舟勿** ‹m.o bo.qo› ‘eldest son’; **伞方伏 冇舟** ‹s.ên.iń hor.bo› *Senin Horbu; **忍 戈关** ‹tai ś.i› ‘*taishi*’; **戈为夫** ‹ś.a.rí› ‘*langjun*’; **为丰** ‹a.ai› ‘be’ CONV; **为伏爻** ‹deu.ń.er› ‘brother’ (accusative)’; **曲爻** ‹go.er› ‘family’.

刘丰 业及子攴犴 叔金 雨尘 为羊 令岔爻 丙 几 斥爻 尔火 力亚出爻
hu.ar p.o.ju.u.ji k.em sȯ:or a.ai te.ge.er mó ku dolo.er aú.ui na.ha.án.er

又及 廿[=艾 ?]朳 令
m.o TENT:en te[26]

[12] **圣朳 舟刘出 丞 州余 戊交方伏 几杰 今 公攴 丞 戊关 戊同 伞当火 非朱**
TWO:en bo.hu.án TWO♂ zȯ.qu ś.ie.ên.iń g.oŋ pu n.u tai ś.i ś.iŋ s.úŋ.un po:do

雨灰 火矢 羊用亚羊 令只 戊关朳 关仉伞爻 达 攴尘爻 丙 几 朴勿 扎 今乔伏
cau.úr ui:de ai.il.ha.ai t.û ś.i:en i.ri:s:er då u.or.er mó ku c.aŋ ho pu.is.iń

又丈 虫刁东 仆丙伏 仆关哭 丞 戊关朳 舟勿 舟刘出 丞 又 杰 发攴 几卡
mo.qú iên.ia.ah l.iu.iń l.i.319 tai ś.i:en bo.qo bo.hu.án TWO♂ BIG oŋ ŋ.u ku.kå

只灰 反及子 佃当 曲爻朳 闲勿 戊关 业及闲仆爻 朴化爻 舟勿
û.ur o.o.ju BORN:én go.d:en ca.aŋ ś.i p.o.gȯ.l.ún c.ur.er bo.qo[27]

[13]**伞爿 几爻 舟攴 闲勿 戊关朳 丙 几 廾火关 伞朳 尔火 圣朳 舟刘出 丞 又及**
s.iaŋ g.uŋ b.u ca.aŋ ś.i:en mó ku ó.ui.i s.en aú.ui TWO:en bo.hu.án TWO♂ m.o

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[26] Line 11: **九灰** ‹yȕ.úr› ‘initial, first’; **令万 伞雨朳 关仉 令金仆爻万** ‹t.ei z.in:en i.ri t.em.le.ge.ei› ‘he was granted the title of *specially advanced*’; **叔金 雨尘** ‹k.em sȯ.or› ‘an edict was received [heard]’; **丙 几** ‹mó ku› ‘wife’; **业东用** ‹p.ar.il› possibly Bali [name of Kitan clan]’; **今乔伏** ‹pu.is.iń› ‘lady’; **九仕** ‹gi.mu› [possibly Kitan clan name]’; **九关** ‹śĭ.i› ‘née, Mme.’ **伏岑岔** ‹ń.iau.ui› ‘children, siblings’; **舟勿关 舟勿** ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› ‘grandson, grandchild’; **乇** ‹ONE♂› ‘one’ (used with masculine nouns); **斥当** ‹dolo.én› [name]; **仄** ‘licentiate’ (?) (Ji Shi); **小** ‹siȯ› ‘tribe’ (? in some contexts **小** means ‘south’); **叔金 雨尘** ‹k.em sȯ.or› ‘edict received’; **令岔爻** ‹te.ge.er› ‘died, dead, deceased’; **丙 几** ‹mó ku› ‘wife’; **斥爻** ‹dolo.er› [name]’; **尔火** ‹aú.ui› ‘*niangzi:* form of address to a royal lady’; **力亚出爻** ‹na.ha.án.er› ‘maternal uncle’; **又及** ‹m.o› ‘great, large, big’ **廿朳** ‹TENT:en› (=lineage); **令**‹te› (possibly plural suffix).

[27] Line 12: **圣朳** ‹TWO:en› ‘two (GEN)’; **舟刘出** ‹bo.hu.án› ‘children’; **丞** ‹TWO♂› ‘two’; **州余** ‹zȯ.qu› ‘young, younger’; **戊交方伏** ‹ś.ie.ên.iń› *Sianin ‘a Kitan name’; **九杰 今 公攴** ‹g.oŋ pu n.u› ‘Guangfonu 光佛奴’ **丞 戊关** ‹tai ś.i› *taishi*; **戊同 伞当** ‹ś.iŋ s.úŋ› ‘Shengzong (name of an emperor)’; **非朱** ‹po:do› ‘at that time’; **雨灰** ‹cau.úr› ‘battle’; **火** ‹ui› ‘affair’ **令只 戊关朳** ‹t.û ś.i› 都事 *dushi* ‘manager’; **关仉伞爻** ‹i.ri:s:er› ‘title, name’ PLUR ACC; **达** då ‘several’; **丙 几** ‹mó ku› ‘wife’; **朴勿 扎** ‹c.aŋ ho› *Changho; **今乔伏** ‹pu.is.iń› *furen*; **仆丙伏** ‹l.iu.iń› *Liuyin (name); **丞 戊关** ‹tai ś.i› *taishi*; **舟勿** ‹bo.qo› ‘child’; **舟刘出** ‹bo.hu.án›; ‘children’; **丞** TWO♂ ‘two’; **又** ‹BIG› ‘eldest’; **杰 发攴** ‹oŋ ŋ.u› Wang Yu ‘name’; **佃当** ‹BORN:én› ‘born (past)’; **曲爻** ‹go.d› ‘tents’; **闲勿 戊关** ‹ca.aŋ ś.i› *changshi* 敞史: ‘a minor official in both northern and southern bureaus of military affairs’; **业及闲仆爻** ‹p.o.gȯ.l.ún› ‘promoted’; **朴化爻** ‹c.ur.er› ‘second’; **舟勿** ‹bo.qo› ‘child, son’.

𐦀𐦂𐦃 𐦄𐦅𐦆 𐦇𐦈 𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌 𐦍𐦎 𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒 𐦓𐦔𐦕 𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙 𐦚𐦛𐦜 𐦝𐦞𐦟 𐦠𐦡𐦢 𐦣𐦤𐦥 𐦦𐦧𐦨
s.ar.a te.gẻ tu.uŋ g.ün:en du g.ia.êm 160.ai c.ur.er t.iu.rẻn du.uŋ mú g.iu.uŋ

𐦩𐦪𐦫 𐦬𐦭 𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲 𐦳𐦴 𐦵𐦶 𐦷𐦸 𐦹𐦺 𐦻𐦼𐦽 𐦾𐦿 𐦀𐦁𐦂 𐦃𐦄 𐦅𐦆𐦇 𐦈𐦉𐦊
p.uŋ go.n t.em.le.ge.ei źuŋ śi.ŋ ss:de 160.ai s.iaŋ g.uŋ GREAT ei.ie.s.u l.iau.qú

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[14] 𐦪𐦫𐦬 𐦭𐦮𐦯 𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳 𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷 𐦸𐦹𐦺 𐦻𐦼𐦽 𐦾𐦿𐦀 𐦁𐦂𐦃 𐦄𐦅𐦆 𐦇𐦈𐦉
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[28] Line 13: 𐦚𐦛 𐦜𐦝 ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› ‘*jiangjun*; general’ 𐦞𐦟 𐦠𐦡 𐦢𐦣 ‹b.u ca.aŋ ś.i› ‘*fu changshi*: official title’; 𐦤𐦥 𐦦 ‹mó ku› ‘wife’; 𐦧𐦨 ‹s.en› ‘long life; also used as a personal name: Yixin’ 𐦩𐦪 ‹aú.ui› ‘*niangzi:* royal lady’; 𐦫𐦬 ‹TWO› ‘two’; 𐦞𐦟𐦠 ‹bo.hu.án› ‘children’’ 𐦫 TWO♂ (masculine form); 𐦭𐦮 ‹m.o› ‘big, great, elder’; 𐦯𐦰 ‹te.gẻ› ‘south’; 𐦱 𐦲𐦳𐦴 ‹du g.ia.êm› ‘*dujian*’ 𐦵𐦶 𐦷 𐦸𐦹𐦺 ‹du.uŋ mú g.iú.uŋ› ‘*Dunmugong* 敦睦宮 Dunmu Palace’; 𐦻𐦼 𐦽𐦾 ‹p.uŋ go.n› ‘official title’; 𐦿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃 ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› ‘having been awarded an honorary title’; (𐦁𐦂 ‹le.ge› = CAUS-PASS, ei = CONV); 𐦄𐦅 𐦆𐦇 𐦈 ‹źuŋ śi.ŋ ss› ‘Rongsheng bureau’; 𐦉𐦊 𐦋𐦌 ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› ‹*xianggong*›; 𐦭𐦮 ‹GREAT›; 𐦍𐦎𐦏 l.iau.qú ‘red’; 𐦐𐦑𐦒 qa.ha.as ‘tiger’; 𐦓 ai ‘year’; 𐦔𐦕 ‹nai› ‘head, first’; 𐦖 MONTH; 𐦗 TWENTY 𐦘 NINE 𐦙𐦚 DAY (locative) 𐦛𐦜 BORN:er ‘was born’; 𐦝𐦞𐦟 mo.d:en ‘of the wives’ (?)

[29] Line 14: 𐦃𐦄 ‹doro› ‘ritual/ceremony’; 𐦅𐦆 𐦇𐦈 ‹ia deu› ‘elder and younger brothers’; 𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍 ‹n.ai.c:én› ‘harmony (?)’ 𐦎𐦏 ‹go.n› ‘tent’ (genitive)’; 𐦐𐦑𐦒 ‹eu.ur› ‘age’; 𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗 ‹x.ui.ci› ‘come CONV: after he arrived’; 𐦘 𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜 ‹HEAVEN ordo.le.ha.ar› ‘Chongxi’ (reign period); 𐦝𐦞 𐦟 ‘fifteen’; 𐦠𐦡𐦢 ‹l.iau.qú› ‘red’; 𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦 ‹ńi.qo› ‘dog’; 𐦧𐦨𐦩 ‹yủ.úr› ‘initial [year]’; 𐦪𐦫 𐦬𐦭 ‹x.iŋ s.uŋ› ‘Xingzong’ 興宗 (name of emperor); 𐦮𐦯 𐦰 ‹hoŋ di› ‘emperor’.

[15] 𘰀 𘰁𘱃𘰂 𘰄𘰇 𘰃𘰋𘰆 𘰈 𘰅𘰉 𘰊𘰓𘰌 𘰍𘰓𘰌𘰄 𘰎𘰏𘰐 𘰑𘰒𘰓 𘰔𘰕𘰖𘰗𘰘 𘰙𘰚𘰛
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[16] 𘰡𘰢𘰣𘰤𘰥 𘰦𘰧𘰨𘰩 𘰪𘰫𘰬𘰭 𘰮𘰯 ○ 𘰰𘰱𘰲𘰳𘰴 𘰵 𘰶𘰷 𘰸𘰹 𘰺𘰻 𘰼𘰽 𘰾𘰿 𘱀𘱁 𘱂𘱃
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[17] 𘲔𘲕𘲖𘲗 𘲘𘲙 𘲚𘲛 𘲜𘲝 𘲞𘲟 𘲠𘲡𘲢𘲣 □□□□ 𘲤𘲥 𘲦𘲧𘲨𘲩 𘲪𘲫𘲬
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[30] Line 15: 𘰄𘰇 ‹k.em› ‘edict’; 𘰁𘱃𘰂 ‹ja.as.ii› ‘*jasa* SUFF’ (?); 𘰅𘰉 𘰊𘰓𘰌 ‹UPPER ú.úr› ‘northern division’; 𘰍𘰓𘰌𘰄 ‹as.ar› quiet ?; 𘰎𘰏𘰐 𘰑𘰒𘰓𘰌 ‹doro p.ai.ss:en› ‘bureau of seals and tallies’ GEN; 𘰀 𘰁𘱃𘰂 ‹ś.a.rí› *langjun*; 𘰜𘰝𘰞 𘰟𘰠 𘰡 ‹284.zů DAY.i ui› *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* (𘰡 ‹ui› ‘matter, affair, business’); 𘰧𘰋 ‹b.as› ‘again’; 𘰨𘰩𘰪𘰫 𘰬𘰭𘰮𘰯 𘰵 ‹doro p.ai.ss› ‘bureau of seals and tallies’.

[31] Line 16: 𘰶𘰷 ‹ún.n› ‘present, now’; 𘰰𘰱𘰲𘰳𘰴 ‹mu.ú.ji:en› ‘sacred one’ GEN; 𘰸𘰹 𘰺𘰻 ‹HEAVEN m.in› (reign title of Daozong); 𘱄𘱅 𘱆𘱇𘱈 ‹iú.ŋ c.eu.un› Yongzhou; 𘱉𘱊 𘱋 ‹tu.uŋ tz› 同知 ‘*tongzhi* official title’; 𘱌𘱍 𘱎𘱏𘱐 ‹p.o.or› ‘become’; 𘱑𘱒𘱓𘱔 𘱕 𘱖𘱗𘱘𘱙 ‹k.em sỏ.or› ‘edict received’.

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[18] 𐓱𐓲𐓳 𐓴𐓵 𐓶𐓷𐓸 𐓹𐓺 𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐓺 𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮 𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳 𐓴𐓵 𐓶𐓷𐓸 𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼 𐓽𐓾𐓿𐓺
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[19] 𐓵𐓶 𐓷𐓸 𐓹𐓺 𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾 𐓿𐓺 𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮 𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳 𐓴𐓵 𐓶𐓷𐓸 𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼 𐓽𐓾𐓿𐓺
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[32] Line 17: 𐓪𐓫 ‹k.em› ‘edict’; 𐓬𐓭 ‹sỏ.gỏ› ‘receive’; 𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱 ‹x.ui.ri.ge› come CAUS(?); 𐓲 𐓳𐓴 ‹NORTH u.ur› ‘northern division’; 𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾□[𐓿] ‹ci.ŋ (dź)› *chengzhi* 承旨 ‘recipient of edicts’; 𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸 ‹rẻn.ei.ii› ‘served, after he served, having served’; 𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼 ‹p.o.or› ‘became’; 𐓲 NORTH 十 WEST ‘north west’; 𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼 ‹p.o.or› ‘became’; 𐓫 𐓬 𐓭𐓮 ‹hoŋ tai ś.eu› Huangtaishu (personal name); 𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳 ‹bo.gi.ci:en› Bogici (personal name) GEN; 𐓴𐓵 ‹cau.ji› ‘military, warfare’; 𐓮𐓯𐓻𐓼 ‹x.ui.ci› ‘after he came’.

[33] Line 18: 𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐓺 ‹c.i.is.d.bo.ń› ‘filial piety’; 𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼 𐓽𐓾𐓿𐓺 𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮 ‹p.oŋ ŋ.iú sh› ‘*fangniushi*’ official title’; 𐓽𐓾𐓿𐓺 ‹i.ri› ‘name, title’; 𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮 𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳 ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› ‘having been awarded’; 𐓫𐓬 𐓭𐓮 𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳 𐓴𐓵 𐓶𐓷𐓸 𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼 𐓽𐓾𐓿𐓺 ‹w.ú a.an c.eu:un go.n ca› ‘*guancha* (official title) of Wu’an county’; 𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼 ‹p.o.or› ‘became, was made’; 𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳 ‹b.as› ‘again’; 𐓴𐓵 𐓶𐓷𐓸 𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼 ‹go.n ca.an› ‘*guancha*: official title’ GEN; 𐓽𐓾𐓿𐓺 ‹i.ri› ‘name, title’; 𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮 𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳 ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› ‘having been awarded’; 𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳 𐓴𐓵 𐓶𐓷𐓸 ‹ju.uŋ g.iŋ› ‘the central capital’ 中京 Zhongjing; 𐓵𐓶 𐓷𐓸 𐓹𐓺 ‹tu.uŋ tz› ‘*tongzhi:* official title’; 𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼 ‹p.o.or› ‘become; 𐓫 𐓬 𐓭𐓮 ‹tai ui› ‘*taiwei:* official title’.

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[20] **火关 弼平业丰 刃丰 亦𠂤母伏 乂圣百当 戈寸 叔比公关 小 及化 方交**
ui.i jau.ul.ha.ai ja.ai ün.le.bo.ń xe.zải.ei.er ś.ia k.ii.ge.i siỏ u.ur deu.úr

屋及豹矣 反衣 本东勿廿 爻方 百欠衣 戈火 又关 仲公 方交
KNOW.u.ji:de o.oi ci.ra.qo.sår 269.al ei.qó.oi ś.iú m.i iên.n deu.úr

屋及豹矣 反比 本化当 丰 子爻 友同 几亦 伞交 们 兆 令 金𠂤公百 伞交仝
KNOW.u.ji:de o.ii c.ur.er ai ju.uŋ tz.iŋ g.ün z.ie du sh t.em.le.ge.ei s.ie.êm

仲公 一 及化 𠂤仝刘为 业反仝 刃百比 矢 乐为买 几交村 用火
ü.n NORTH u.ur l.êm.hu.a p.o.or rển.ei.ii HEAVEN REGION.a.an g.úr:en BORN:ui

屋及豹矣 反子叉 令 乂化伞爻 为丰
KNOW.u.ji:de o.ju.ún te xe.ri.s:er a.ai[35]

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[34] Line 19: **伯当** ‹BORN:er› ‘born’ PAST. ‘[He served as] **们 几寸仝** ‹du g.ia.êm› *dujian* 都監 ‘director in chief’ in the **伏仑交** ‹ń.ô.úr› ‘circuit’. He was appointed **兆及 母及 𠂤同** ‹xu.ú b.ú l.iŋ› 戶部令 ‘director of the ministry of revenue’ in the **大化 几同** ‹dú.úr g.iŋ› ‘eastern capital’ 東京 and was appointed to the **伞交方 业东 (廿)** ‹s.ie.ên p.ah (ss)› 錢帛司 ‘bureau of coins and bureau of silk’. **圣 廿公村** ‹TWO ss.d:en› ‘the two bureaus (genitive)’. **业交伞** ‹p.úr.se› is a common word; its meaning is not known. [He served for] **乇 丰** ‹ONE ai› ‘one year’ as **屋及豹** KNOW.u.ji ‘administrator’ [of the] **穴公方交** ‹nai:d.al.ur› ‘officials (bureaucracy)’ (**穴** ‹nai›: head, official; **公** ‹d› PLUR)’; **叔金** ‹k.em› ‘edict’; [he became the] **今 兆** ‹pu sh› *fushi* (副使) of the **帛勿 公同 几丙爻** ‹ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ› Changning palace 長寧宮…

[35] Line 20: **小** ‹siỏ› ‹SOUTH› **及化** ‹u.ur› ‘division, administration’; **方交 屋及豹矣** ‹deu.úr KNOW.ú.ji:de›: **方交** ‘together’ **屋** ‘know, administer’ **豹** ‹ji› SUFF = actor (?) ‘he who administers: an administrator) **矣** ‹de› DAT/LOC; =同知 *tongzhi:* official title); **伞火 又关 仲公** ‹s.iú m.i ü.n› *shumiyuan*; **方交 屋及豹矣** ‹deu.ur KNOW.ú.ji:de› [as above]; **本化当** ‹c.ur.ér› ‘second’; **丰** ‹ai› ‘year’; **子爻 友同 几亦** ‹ju.uŋ tz.iŋ g.ün› ‘Zhongjingjun’ **伞交 们 兆** ‹z.ie du sh› *jiedushi* ‘military commissioner’; **金𠂤公百** ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› ‘awarded title CONV’; **伞交仝 仲公**

[21] [Khitan script]
lǐ.u.ud.le.gi n.ai.r.ha.al.hu GREAT ui:de te.bu.310.ha.án ja.ha.ai.il.ha.rí.er

[Khitan script]
mo.ha.□ rẻn.ge.ii.□ t.ul.û.ii cẻn.bo.gi te.qu.a.an giủ dau.ul.le.ha.ai ui n.ó.úr

[Khitan script]
078.śi.mỉ.cẻn.er qi ho.a.an ci.er qú.kả ordo.u.ur hur.ú.un □□□□ o.oi

[Khitan script]
se.bu.ei.ii g.ia.êm m.en ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün t.em.le.ge.ei ei.al.ha.al p.o.or

[Khitan script]
ar.hu giủ 269.al[36]

[22] [Khitan script]
hu.sår.(êm) hu ai:d ca.zủ.iń xe.se.ge.cẻn.er siỏ hu.ar p.o.ju.u.ji k.em sỏ.or a.ai

[Khitan script]
eu.e ńi.ô.úr ku.û.un eu.ur.ge.ún am.ul.ha.ar al.u.ji jỉn k.em ja.al.ha.ai SIX

[Khitan script]
u.ur tai oŋ p.o.or c.as.a.an nai hor.u.un n.ai.□.ha □.hu.iú ne.mú.dz.ún g.ir

[Khitan script]
x.ui.r.er se.ho.hu ei.qu.oi p.121 p.o.ju.ha.ai rí.i ja.al u.ji:en

[Khitan script]
nẻn.a jỉn sỏ.ju s.ii[37]

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s.ie.êm ü.n (?); [Khitan script] ‹UPPER u.ur› ‘northern division’; [Khitan script] l.êm.hu.a ‘林牙 *linya* (official title)’; [Khitan script] ‹p.o.or› ‘became’; [Khitan script] ‹HEAVEN› [Khitan script] REGION.a.an [Khitan script] g.ur:en (of the state?) [Khitan script] BORN:ui [Khitan script] KNOW.ú.ji:de ‘administrator’ (DAT/LOC).

[36] Line 21: [Khitan script] ‹GREAT› [Khitan script] ‹ui› ‘affair, business, achievement’; [Khitan script] ‹qi› ‘that’ [Khitan script] ‹ordo.u.ur› ‘ordo’; [Khitan script] ‹hur.ú.un› ‘person in charge of’; [Khitan script] ‹g.ia.êm m.en ui› *jianmenwei* (official title)’; [Khitan script] ‹ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› *shang jiangjun*: ‘senior general’ [Khitan script] ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› ‘having been granted the title’; [Khitan script] ‹p.o.or› ‘became’.

[37] Line 22: [Khitan script] ‘male PLUR: ‘[tent of] paternal uncles’ (?); [Khitan script] ‹k.em› ‘edict’ [receive] PAST; [Khitan script] ‹ń.ô.úr› ‘circuit’; [Khitan script] ‹ku.û.un› ‘men’; [Khitan script] ‹k.em› ‘edict’; [Khitan script] ‹SIX u.ur› six *yuan*; [Khitan script] ‹tai oŋ› ‘great prince’; [Khitan script]‹c.as.a.an› *jasa* GEN; [Khitan script] ‹nai› ‘chief, head, official’, [Khitan script] ‹hor.ú.un› ‘people’ GEN.

[23] 𘮩𘮫𘮬𘮭𘮮 𘮯𘮰 𘮱𘮲 𘮬𘮳 𘮴𘮵𘮶𘮷 𘮸𘮹 𘮺𘮻𘮼 𘮽𘮾𘮿 𘯀𘯁𘯂 𘯃𘯄𘯅𘯆 𘯇𘯈𘯉𘯊
n.ai.l.u.ji k.em sȯ.gȯ l.i ho.a.an s.em.ii te.bu.ei ji:en a.sår m.as.qu

𘮸𘮹 𘮺𘮻 𘮽𘮾 𘮿𘯀𘯁 𘯂𘯃𘯄𘯅 𘯆𘯇𘯈𘯉 𘯊𘯋𘯌𘯍 𘯎𘯏𘯐𘯑 𘯒𘯓𘯔𘯕 𘯖𘯗𘯘𘯙
s.ai m.en g.iú g.au.un ci.kå.d.ii 121.en.rí.ii dá.ha.ar.i tau.kå.le.ha.ai

𘯚𘯛 𘯜𘯝 𘯞𘯟 𘯠𘯡 𘯢𘯣 𘯤𘯥 𘯦𘯧 𘯨𘯩𘯪𘯫𘯬 𘯭𘯮 𘯯𘯰 𘯱𘯲
tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en ha.ia p.iŋ c.aŋ sh t.em.le.ge.ei te.gȯ g.iŋ:en l.iu

𘯳𘯴 𘯵𘯶 𘯷𘯸𘯹 𘯺𘯻 𘯼𘯽 𘯾𘯿 𘰀𘰁𘰂 𘰃𘰄 𘰅𘰆 𘰇𘰈𘰉𘰊 𘰋𘰌 𘰍𘰎𘰏
ś.eu □□ go.n fu.un tu.uŋ tz p.o.or aú.ur DAY ji:en t.uh.ii cȩn.bú.er

𘰐𘰑 𘰒𘰓𘰔𘰕𘰖 𘰗𘰘𘰙
TEXT.ú s.úŋ.ul.ha.ai cu.ur.bun[38]

[24] 𘰚𘰛□𘰜 □□𘰝𘰞 𘰟𘰠 𘰡𘰢 𘰣𘰤𘰥𘰦 𘰧𘰨 𘰩𘰪𘰫 𘰬𘰭 𘰮𘰯 𘰰𘰱
□.le.□.ar □□ ha.ai ŋ.iú g.uŋ p.o.ju.ha.ai jȋn ja.as.ii ś.ia k.em

𘰲𘰳□𘰴𘰵𘰶 𘰷 𘰸𘰹 𘰺𘰻𘰼𘰽𘰾 𘰿𘱀𘱁 𘱂𘱃 𘱄𘱅𘱆 𘱇𘱈𘱉𘱊
rí.i.□.gȯ.l.ún THREE♂ MONTH.se p.o.ju.u.ho:de c.as a.an hor.u.un ei.ie.ra.u.ji

𘱋𘱌𘱍𘱎𘱏 𘱐𘱑𘱒 𘱓𘱔 𘱕𘱖 𘱗𘱘𘱙𘱚 𘱛 𘱜𘱝 𘱞𘱟 𘱠𘱡
zủ.ge.le.ge.ei xe.c.en cau.úr t.ian.tz am.ul.ha.ar qi te.bu.ei b.as a.am.ińi
𘱢𘱣𘱤 𘱥𘱦𘱧𘱨𘱩𘱪 𘱫𘱬 𘱭𘱮 𘱯𘱰 𘱱𘱲 𘱳𘱴 𘱵𘱶 𘱷𘱸 𘱹𘱺
ei.qu.oi hu.iên.is.u.kå.ii ji.en ja.ai tủ.ge.en ju.a.ar ordo.□.[u].dú x.ui.ci

𘱻𘱼𘱽𘱾 𘱿𘲀 𘲁𘲂𘲃 𘲄𘲅𘲆 𘲇𘲈
i.ri:de.i an.i au.a.ar te.bu.al.u ji:en[39]

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[38] Line 23: 𘮩𘮫𘮬𘮭𘮮 ‹k.em› ‘edict; 𘯀𘯁𘯂 ‹m.as.qu› ‘elder’ 𘮸𘮹 𘮺𘮻𘮼 ‹s.ai m.en› (?) 𘯚𘯛 𘯜𘯝 𘯞𘯟 𘯠𘯡 𘯢𘯣 𘯤𘯥 𘯦𘯧 𘯨𘯩𘯪𘯫𘯬 𘯭𘯮 𘯯𘯰 𘯱𘯲 ‹tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en xa.ia p.iŋ c.aŋ sh› *tongzhongshu menxia pingchangshi* ‘jointly manager of affairs with the secretariat chancellery’;𘮿𘯀𘯁 ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› ‘having been granted honorary title’; 𘯳𘯴 𘯷𘯸𘯹 ‹te.gȯ g.iŋ› ‘southern capital›; 𘯺𘯻 𘯾𘯿 ‹l.iu ś.eu› *liushou* ‘viceroy, regent’; 𘰃𘰄 𘰅𘰆 ‹go.n fú.un› ‘*guanfu:* official residence’ GEN; 𘯚𘯛 𘯜𘯝 ‹tu.uŋ tz› ‘*tongzhi*, official title’; 𘯵𘯶 𘯷𘯸𘯹 p.o.or ‘was’; 𘯾𘯿 DAY; 𘰐𘰑 TEXT.ú ‘text on an inscription’.

[39] Line 24: 𘰡𘰢 ‹k.em› ‘edict’; 𘰧𘰨 𘰩𘰪𘰫 THREE♂ MONTH.se PLUR; 𘰷𘰸𘰹 ‹xe.c.en› ‘region, town, city, settlement’; 𘰺𘰻 ‹cau.ur› ‘military, war’; 𘰰𘰱 ‹qi› ‘that’; 𘰲𘰳 ‹b.as› ‘again’; 𘰚𘰛□𘰜 ‹ordo.□.dú› □ = 𘰝 or 𘰜 ‘*ordo*’ DAT/LOC; 𘰿𘱀𘱁 ‹x.ui.ci› ‘come, came’ CONV = ‘after he had come’; 𘰐𘰑 ‹i.ri:de› ‘title, name’ DAT/LOC.

[25] 𐰴□ 𐰇 𐰃𐰣 𐰓 𐰘𐰉 𐰋乃伏𐰚 𐰃𐰽 𐰇 𐰋𐰀 𐰃𐰣𐰔𐰘 𐰴𐰤
nėn □ jǐn sȯ.or giů an.i a.am.ńi.er p.121 jǐn k.em sȯ.gȯ.l.ún b.as

𐰓𐰃𐰓 𐰘𐰆 𐰀𐰔𐰋 𐰔𐰘 𐰘𐰃 𐰀𐰣𐰃 𐰀𐰆 𐰇𐰉𐰆𐰆𐰓 𐰤乃𐰽 𐰀𐰋 𐰤𐰉
ei.eu.ji u.ur g.iŋ:en l.iu ś.eu p.o.or gi.ri x.ui.ri.ge.ei t.am.ar em:en t.ú

𐰘𐰉𐰋 𐰉 𐰃𐰘𐰓𐰚 𐰣𐰘 𐰇𐰉平𐰘𐰉 𐰤𐰀𐰃 𐰓𐰉𐰇𐰃 𐰔𐰘 𐰓𐰔𐰘 𐰴𐰤
ś.i.en ui KNOW.u.ji:de o.oi x.ul.ún.i s.em.ii hu.iên.is.le.ha.ai ji:en ja.ai

𐰇𐰤𐰤 □□□□ 𐰤𐰽𐰔 𐰓𐰉 𐰇𐰉𐰆𐰓 𐰇𐰉𐰃𐰓𐰀 𐰋乃伏 𐰀 𐰓 𐰃𐰣𐰘𐰃𐰤
m.as.qu □□□□ s.ai:en rí.i xe.zů.ge.ei xe.zải.il.ge.e a.am.ińˊ yů giů p.o.ju.ún

𐰔𐰀 𐰋𐰀 十 𐰓𐰉𐰃𐰤 𐰇𐰃𐰤 𐰇𐰉𐰃𐰓
k.em sȯ.or WEST ji.i.ju.un bå:d:er x.ui.ci[40]

[26] 𐰓𐰇 𐰇 𐰃𐰉 𐰓𐰀𐰤𐰓 𐰃𐰽 𐰤𐰓 𐰤𐰓𐰔𐰓𐰓 𐰉𐰀𐰉𐰉 𐰉𐰀 □□□□□□𐰔
eu.úr SIXTY TWO:de ei.qu.oi p.iau te.ge.le.ge.ei i.ri:de.i an.i □□□□□□:en

𐰤𐰋乃伏𐰚 𐰀𐰋 𐰓𐰘𐰓 𐰔𐰔 𐰃𐰽 𐰋𐰤𐰓𐰔𐰓 𐰃𐰽 𐰓𐰔𐰘 𐰴𐰤
299.a.am.ń.er xỉ.u.ji k.em sȯ.or t.iu.dû.bun tů.ge.er au.a.ar p.od.l.ún

𐰓平𐰃𐰣 𐰇 𐰣𐰤 𐰤𐰋 𐰣 𐰴 𐰇𐰀𐰋 𐰃𐰽 𐰓 𐰴
jau.ul.h.ai SIX ai:se s.a.ai GREAT ORDO.ó.o.ón EIGHT yô.iú p.o.o ai nai
𐰴 丁 包 𐰘𐰉 𐰓𐰇 𐰇 𐰀𐰉 □当□ 𐰤𐰽公 乃𐰉𐰉
MONTH TWENTY THREE DAY:de eu.úr SIXTY SEVEN:de □.én.□ t.em.n
åm:de.i

𐰤𐰽𐰃𐰚 𐰓𐰇𐰤 𐰘𐰆 𐰔𐰘 𐰇𐰉 𐰃𐰣 𐰣𐰃𐰉
s.em.ii.er tu.úr.bun u.un sȯ.or xe.d yỉ.cėn.i[41]

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[40] Line 25: 𐰔𐰀 ‹k.em› ‘edict’; 𐰔𐰘𐰓𐰤 ‹sȯ.gȯ.l.ún› ‘receive’ PAST; 𐰤𐰓 ‹b.as› ‘again’; 𐰘𐰆 𐰇𐰉𐰔 ‹u.ur g.iŋ:en› ‘supreme capital’ GEN; 𐰤𐰆 𐰣𐰇 ‹l.iu ś.eu› ‘*liushou*’; 𐰃𐰽 ‹p.o.or› ‘be, become’ PAST; 𐰇𐰉𐰃𐰓𐰀 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› ‘come CAUS CONV’ 𐰋乃𐰔 ‹t.am.ar› Tamar (place name: Ch. 塌母 Tamu); 𐰀𐰋 em:en ‘place’ GEN; 𐰤𐰽 𐰣𐰇𐰔 ‹t.û ś.i.en› ‘*dujian*’ (?) 𐰉 ‹ui› ‘affairs, matters’; 𐰃𐰘𐰓𐰚 ‹KNOW.u.ji:de› ‘administrator’ DAT/LOC; 𐰇𐰤𐰓 ‹m.as.qu› ‘elder’; 𐰔𐰀 𐰋𐰀 ‹k.em sȯ.or› ‘edict received’: 十 ‹WEST› 𐰇𐰃𐰤 bå:d:er ‘place’ PLUR ACC; 𐰇𐰉𐰃𐰔 ‹x.ui.ci› ‘came’ CONV. = ‘after he arrived at the western places’.

[41] Line 26: 𐰓𐰇 ‹eu.úr› ‘years of age 歲’; 𐰇 𐰃𐰣 ‘sixty two’ LOC; 𐰔𐰀 𐰋𐰀 ‹k.em sȯ.or› ‘edict received’; 𐰓 𐰴𐰽 ‹SIX ai:se› ‘six year’ PLUR; 𐰽𐰋𐰴 ‹s.a.ai› ‘be at’ CONV… 𐰇 𐰴𐰤𐰃𐰋 ‹GREAT ORDO.u.o.ón› ‘Da’an (reign period)’; 𐰃𐰣 ‘eight’ 𐰤𐰉 ‹yô.ú› ‘black’; 𐰃𐰃𐰃 ‹p.o.o› ‘snake’; 𐰴 ‹ai› ‘year’; 𐰉 ‹nai› ‘first (also: ‘head, official’); 𐰴 ‹MONTH› 丁 ‹TWENTY› 包 ‹THREE› 𐰘𐰉 DAY LOC 𐰓𐰇 ‹eu.úr› ‘age’; 𐰇 ‹SIXTY› 𐰀𐰉 SEVEN LOC … 𐰽𐰋𐰤𐰚 ‹s.em.ii.er› ‘fell ill’ PAST; 𐰘𐰆𐰔 ‹tu.úr.bun› ‘died’ PAST.

[27] 戊平关 仅买爻 刘为 令平关 尺豹 业及子业方 伞关矢 □□ 百汲豹 业羊
ś.ul.i jǐn.an.er bú.a t.ul.i û.ji p.o.ju.ha.al s.i.de □□ ei.u.ji p.ai

廿 闲生 廿 又雨 西汲豹 列虫 伞仝平叉 又金村 垄为 □禾 尺平爻爻 口 羊 巫
ss ca.bu ss m.in xi̯.u.ji hu.iên s.ó.ul.ún m.em:en 194.a □.is û.ul.ge.er qi ai
EIGHT

廿 禾 买矢 叉爻 尿 令丙友 百汲火 尿 伏余用 九伏 百令村
MONTH NINE DAY:de ún.er TOMB? t.iu.dz xor.u.un ETERNAL ńi.qu.il śi̯.ń
mó:t:en

为乃伏 公东 伏仆尺火 豹村关 为尔中 朴考夫火 穴 朴勿 朴安 安文方 □金
a.am.iń ne.ra ńi.l.û.ui ji.en.i a.ad.bun c.iau.qú.ui nai c.aŋ ci.ŋ ŋ.ie.ên □.em[42]

[28] 尔火 戊寸 屋爻 朴土 为羊 又 夹行爻 及子业羊 力冬业出 兮
aú.ui ś.ia KNOW.er c.eu a.ai GREAT ho.mú.er o.ju.ha.ai na.as.ha.án doro

叔北尺豹 业方伞业方笛 伞羊 业点尕 百为尔 戊为六公 买仆业出 火火 几水火
k.ii.û.ji p.al.se.ha.343 s.ai p.oŋ:on hor.a.ad ś.a.rí:d an.le.ha.ar iú.iú g.uŋ:un

朴本 国仆母伏矢关 业仕非 伞羽 几水火 小 列本关 关仉矢 及子伏 □安 乂闲村
c.ar hó.le.bo.ń:de.i po.mu.fêi s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un siỏ h.ar.i i.ri:de o.ju.iń □.ŋ x.iŋ:en

扎为买 戎平业方伏矢关 火吏 闪伞北 由叉 几尺火 戊村仆几爻 戊幺东 □□□
ho.a.an au.ul.ha.al.iń:de.i iú.lỉ 307.s.ii yỏ.ún ku.û.un ś.mỉ.le.g.er ś.iá.ah □□[43]

[29] 曲令 仲 百交 业仕非 寸条[捺] 丞东关 虫尘爻 几 国列列行 伞关 扎为 小
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[42] Line 27: 业羊 廿 ‹p.ai ss› ‘bureau of tallies’; 闲生 廿 ‹ca.bu ss› [bureau of finance](?); 口 ‹qi› ‘that’; 羊 ‹ai› ‘year’; 巫 EIGHT; 廿 MONTH; 禾 NINE; 尺矢 DAY:de ‘on the day’; 伏余用 ‹ńi.qu.il› [clan name]; 九伏 ‹śi.ń› [name before marriage, née, Mme.] GEN; 百令村 ‹mo:t:en› ‘wife, female’ PLUR GEN 公东 ‹ne.ra› ‘tomb’ 朴考夫火 ‹c.iau.qú.ui› ‘Chinese’ 穴 ‹nai› ‘official, head’ 朴勿 朴安 安文方 ‹c.aŋ ci.ŋ ŋ.í.ên› [Chinese name: Chang Chengyan (?)].

[43] Line 28: 尔火 ‹aú.ui› ‘*niangzi*, royal lady’; 屋爻 朴土 为羊 ‹KNOW.er c.eu a.ai› ‘ as he was the local prefect (*zhizhou*)’; 又 夹行爻 ‹GREAT ho.mú.er› ‘the great catalpa coffin 大辛宫 *da zi gong*’ 及子业羊 ‘caused to be closed’; 叔北尺豹 ‹k.ii.ü.ji› ‘this is called’; 兮 ‹doro› ‘ceremony’ 禮; 力冬业出 ‹na.as.ha.án› ‘laying to rest’.The people 百为尔 ‹hor.a.ad› (relations, family members) of the 伞羊 业点尕 ‹s.ai p.oŋ:on› ‘*caifang*’ 採訪 (= Yelü Dilie) and the 戊为六公 ‹ś.a.rí:d› ‘court attendants’ 郎君 朴本 ‹c.ar› ‘in the past’ (?). 九水火 ‹g.uŋ:un› ‘his excellency’ GEN; 国仆母伏矢关 ‹hó.le.bo.ń:de.i› ‘from the imperial line…’ (?). Note: 又 夹行爻 ‹GREAT ho.mú.er› = *da zi gong*, literally ‘great catalpa palace’: the coffin of an emperor (or noble).

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[30] 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 𐎭𐎫 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 𐎭𐎫 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 𐎭𐎫 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 𐎭𐎫 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 𐎭𐎫 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 𐎭𐎫 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 𐎭𐎫
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ci.lú.dû tz.iŋ 160[45]

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[44] Line 29: 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹go.t› ‘tent’ PLUR…𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫[𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫] ‹qudug› ‘good fortune’ 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹ku› ‘man, men’; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹siò› ‘south *or* tribe›. 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹x.ui.r.bo.ń› stem 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹x.ui-› ‘come’ SUFF; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹k.ii.û.ji› ‘it is called’; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› ‘*xianggong* (相公) lord, excellency’; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹ku› ‘man’; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹hur.ú.ur› ‘person in charge’; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹us.gi.dú› ‘writing’ LOC 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹COMPOSE› [the text of the epitaph] 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹BORN:i›; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹t.iu.rẻn› ‘virtue’; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹KNOW.hu.as:en› ‘administrator’ GEN; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹rẻn.er› ‘to do, to make’ PAST; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹yů.ur› ‘initial, first’ 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹RECORD.g.er› ‘record’ PAST

[45] Line 30: 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹go.er› ‘tent, lineage’ ACC; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹ku.û.dú› ‘man, men’ DAT/LOC; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹KNOW.ń› 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un› *xianggong* ‘lord, excellency’ GEN; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹mó.t p.ar› ‘wives, spouses’; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹THREE›; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹BIG›; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹ŋ.ú s.ie› [personal name: Yujie]; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹śỉ› ‘name before marriage, née, Mme’; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹ja.ri.qó.ur› ‘prime minister’ ACC; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹go.er.en› ‘tent, lineage GEN’; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹ś.a.rí:en› ‘*langjun*, court attendant’ GEN; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹bo.qo› ‘son, child’; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹bo.hu.án› ‘children’; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹TWO› 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹BIG› 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹pu.is.iń› ‘*furen*, lady’; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹na.ha.án:er› ‘maternal uncle ACC’; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹s.êŋ.dú› (? related to *xiangwen*?); 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹û.ul.ge.én› ‘married, to be given in marriage’; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹c.ur.én› ‘second; 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹pu.is.iń› ‘*furen*, lady’ 𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎫 ‹ci.lú.dú› (perhaps: ‘the Chulud tribe’?)

[31] 𘮭 𘮬𘮫𘮪 𘮩𘮨𘮧𘮦 𘮥𘮤𘮣𘮦 𘮢𘮡𘮠𘮟 𘮞 𘮝𘮜𘮛 □𘮫□ □𘮚 𘮙𘮘 𘮗𘮖𘮕𘮔
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[32] 𘮼𘮻𘮺𘮹𘮸 𘮷𘮶 𘮵𘮴𘮳 𘮲 𘮱𘮰𘮯𘮮 𘮭 𘮬𘮫𘮪 𘮩𘮨𘮧𘮦 𘮥𘮤𘮣𘮦 𘮢𘮡𘮠𘮟
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[46] Line 31:𘮭 𘮬𘮫𘮪 ‹tai ś.i:de› *‘taishi’* LOC; 𘮞𘮝𘮜𘮛 ‹û.ul.ge.én› ‘married’; 𘮼𘮻𘮺𘮹 ‹c.úr.én› ‘second’; 𘮸𘮷𘮶 ‹śǐ› ‘name before marriage, née, Mme.’; 𘮵𘮴𘮳𘮲 ‹m.ó.qú› ‘big, eldest’; 𘮱𘮰𘮯𘮮 ‹bo.qo› ‘son, child’; 𘮱𘮰𘮯𘮮𘮭 ‹bo.hu.án› ‘children’; 𘮓 ‹THREE› 𘮒 BIG 𘮑𘮐 ‹t.ud› (personal name); 𘮏𘮎𘮍𘮌 ‹pu.is.iń› *‘furen,* lady’; 𘮋𘮊𘮉𘮈 𘮇 𘮆𘮅𘮄 ‹na.ha.án:er› ‘maternal uncles’ ACC; 𘮂𘮁𘮀𘮿 ‹s.êŋ.dú› *‘xiangwen’* (?) LOC; 𘮞𘮝𘮜𘮛 ‹û.ul.ge.én› ‘married’; 𘮼𘮻𘮺𘮹 ‹c.ur.én› ‘second’; 𘮃𘮁𘮀 ‹ta.aŋ› ‘Tang’ (family name); 𘮸𘮷𘮶 ‹śǐ:ń› ‘name before marriage, Mme’ GEN; 𘮭 ‹BORN:én›; 𘮸𘮷𘮶𘮭 ‹go.er:en› ‘tent’ GEN; 𘮸𘮷𘮶𘮭 𘮸𘮷𘮶 ‹ei.au.u sh n.u› ‘Yao Shinu’ (personal name); 𘮞𘮝𘮜𘮛 ‹ś.a.rí.de› ‘court attendant’ LOC; 𘮞𘮝𘮜𘮛 ‹û.ul.ei› ‘given = married to’ CONV; 𘮞𘮝𘮜𘮛 ‹dur:én› ‘fourth’; 𘮸𘮷𘮶 ‹śǐ:ń› ‘name before marriage’; 𘮸𘮷𘮶 ‹mó:t› ‘mother, wife, female’ PLUR; 𘮂𘮁𘮀𘮿 𘮾𘮽𘮼 ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un› *‘xianggong,* lord’; 𘮋𘮊𘮉𘮈 ‹siỏ› ‘tribe, south’; 𘮸𘮷𘮶 ‹i.ri.de› ‘name, title’ LOC.

[47] Line 32: 𘮭 𘮬𘮫𘮪 𘮩𘮨𘮧𘮦 ‹UPPER te.gẻ› [LOWER] (north south) ‹śǐ› 𘮼𘮻𘮺𘮹 ‹c.eu› (州) 𘮲 ‹TWO›; 𘮱 ‹ai› ‘year’ 𘮱𘮰 ‹ai:se› ‘year (plural)’; 𘮼𘮻𘮺𘮹 ‹BORN.i›; 𘮞𘮝𘮜𘮛 ‹a.ai› COP CONV; 𘮜𘮛𘮚 𘮙𘮘𘮗 ‹n.ai.c.er› ‘harmony’; 𘮙𘮘𘮗 ‹c.i.is› ‘blood relations’; 𘮯 ‹de› LOC ; 𘮂𘮁𘮀𘮿 𘮾𘮽𘮼 ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un› ‘*xianggong,* lord’ GEN: 𘮋𘮊𘮉𘮈 ‹eu.úr› ‘years of age’; 𘮃 ‹mó› ‘wife, female’; 𘮬 ‹te› ‘plural ending for females’.

[33] ☒☒☒☒☒☒☒𗴺 𗹦𗼻 𗤶𗰜𗴲 𗤓𗺉 𗾞𗼃 𗴲𗺉𗿋 □𗼑 𗼃𗿹 𗾞𗴲𗹨 𗤶
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[34] ☒☒☒☒☒☒ 𗾞𗿋𗤓 𗼑𗼻𗼻𗾞 𗤓𗿋𗼻𗼻 𗤶𗰜𗼻𗴲 𗹨𗴲𗼻𗼻 𗼃𗿹𗼻𗴲 𗼑𗼻𗼻𗾞 𗤓𗼻𗼻𗾞
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[35] ☒☒☒☒☒ 𗤓𗴲𗼃𗹦 𗤶𗰜𗼻𗼻 𗾞𗴲 𗼻𗹦 𗼻𗼻𗴺𗼻𗹨 𗼃𗼑𗼻𗼻𗼻𗹨 𗤓𗴲
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[48] Line 33: 𗴲𗴺𗿋 ‹pu.is.ińʼ› ‘*furen*, lady’; 𗤶𗰜 ‹te.gẻ› ‘south: here: clan name’; 𗹨𗹦 ‹śi̊:i› ‘née, Mme’ GEN (?); 𗹦𗹨 𗹨𗼑 ‹u.ur g.iŋ.en› ‘supreme capital’ GEN 𗼻𗼃 𗹦𗴺 ‹l.iu ś.eu› ‘regent’ 𗴲𗴺𗿋𗼻 ‹pu.is.ińʼ:en› ‘*furen*, lady’ GEN 𗹨𗼻 ‹i.ri› ‘name, title’ 𗼑𗼻𗼻 ‹bo.hu.án› ‘children’ 𗾞𗴲 ‹ai:d› ‘male’ PLUR; 𗼃 THREE♂ ‘three (MASC.); 𗹦𗹨 ‹m.o› ‘big, eldest’; 𗼻𗼻𗹨𗴲 ‹c.ur.er› ‘second’; 𗼃𗹨 ‹xu.ju› Huju (personal name); 𗤶𗰜 ‹t.un› ‘youngest, last in a series’ (?); 𗤶𗾞 𗹨𗼻 ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› ‘*xianggong*, lord’; 𗴲𗴺𗿋 ‹pu.is.ińʼ› ‘*furen*, lady’; 𗼻𗹨 ‹284.zů› ‘referring to emperor’ (?); 𗾞𗼑𗹦 ‹p.iáu.én› ‘died’ (?); 𗹦 ‹TENT›; 𗼻𗴲 ‹BORN:er›; 𗼃 ‹mó› ‘female’; 𗼃 ONE ‘one’.

[49] Line 34: 𗹨𗼻𗼻𗾞 ‹n.o.ó.ur› ‘circuit, tribe’; 𗼻𗼻𗴺𗴺 ‹c.i.is› ‘blood relation’ 𗹨𗴺𗹦𗼻𗹨 ‹ku.û.ud.le.gi› ‘educated, brought up’ (?); 𗹨 ‘man’, 𗼻𗹨 ‹le.gi› is a causative suffix: ‹ku.û.ud.le.gi› ‘caused to be an adult person’ = ‘brought up’ (?); 𗼑𗴲𗼻𗼑 ‹doro.d.le.hu›; 𗼑𗼻𗼻𗾞 doro.a.án; 𗼑 ‘ceremony ~ ritual ~ seal’; 𗴲 might be a plural suffix; 𗹦𗴺𗹨𗴲𗼑 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› ‘come CAUS CONV’: ‘caused to come, brought’; 𗼃𗹨 ‹mó:n› ‘female, mother, wife GEN’; 𗹦 ‹GREAT› 𗤶𗰜𗼻𗼻 ‹te.ge.e.ci› ‘after he died (?)’

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[36] ☒☒☒☒ **余□ 尿反 令余当攴 伞各厄 文关冊爻当 几永久**
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[37] ☒☒ **尺犭 国爿屮 虫爻 百冊伏 杰尕 方伞 伞为本 令化爻 公尕矢**
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[50] Line 35: **灸爻** ‹húr.er› ‘three’; **廿 矢** TENT LOC; **业为六爿刘** ‹p.a.rí.le.hu›: possibly related to Bali, a Kitan clan name; **伞丼 几丬** ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› ‘general (*jiangjun*)’ **为羊** ‹a.ai› COP CONV ‘being’ **令爻当** ‹te.ge.én› ‘died, deceased’; **乂厄攴 曲爻攴** xe.dú.ún go.er.ún ‘horizontal tents’ GEN; **几永久** ‹g.u.uh› Gu (personal name); **戊为六矢** ‹ś.a.rí:de› ‘court attendant, *langjun*’ LOC; **公东矢** ‹ne.ra:de› ‘tomb’ LOC; **虫几当** ‹RECORD.g.én› ‘inscribe’ PAST; **口** ‹qi› ‘that’; **公东礻** ‹ne.ra:en› ‘tomb’ GEN ; **月伞** ‹TEXT.ú› ‘text’.

[51]Line 36: **尿反** ‘mountain/tomb’; **伞各厄** ‹s.êŋ.dú› *xiangwen*; **屋北** KNOW.ii ‘administer 知’; **本关禾为** ‹c.i.is.a› ‘blood relations’; **百爻** ‹mó.er› ‘mother/wife’; **伞丼 几丬火** ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ:un› *xianggong* GEN; **刃百** ‹rển:ei› ‘having served in the capacity of’; **北[=犰]几** ‹us.gi› ‘writing’ **令金爿爻百** ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› ‘granted an honorary title PASS/CAUS.CONV’ **虫几爻** ‹RECORD.g:er›(誌) inscribe’ PAST **虫几当 令勺** ‹RECORD.g.én te.gu› ‘the inscription (誌) says (曰)’

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[38] ☒ 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 ○ 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 ○
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[39] 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 ○ 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴
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[52] Line 37: 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 ‹hor.bo.ń› Horbun (曷魯本) ‘personal name’; 𐰇𐰴 ‹oŋ:on› prince GEN; 𐰇𐰴 ‹t.úr.er› ‘fourth’ (masc. form); 𐰇𐰴 ‹n.on:de› ‘generation’ LOC; 𐰇𐰴 ‹BORN.i› ‘born’; 𐰇𐰴 ‹n.i.gu› ‘gold’ or ‘Jurchen’; 𐰇𐰴 ‹n.ad.bú› (~‹bud›) ‘*nabo*’; 𐰇𐰴 ‘*ordo*’ 𐰇𐰴 ‹284.zủ› ‘imperial/emperor’; 𐰇𐰴 ‹c.as.a› ‘*jasa*’; 𐰇𐰴 ‹REGION.a.al.er› 𐰇𐰴 ‘region’ ACC; 𐰇𐰴 ‹na.as.bo.ń› ‘peace, at peace’.

[53] Line 38: 𐰇𐰴 ‹HEAVEN›; 𐰇𐰴 ‹mó:t› ‘mothers, wives, females’; 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 ‹tủmu.ur c.eu› ‘ten thousand districts’ (?) (or perhaps a place name); 𐰇𐰴 ‹SIX›; 𐰇𐰴 ‹ai.se› ‘years’ 𐰇𐰴 ordo.ó.ji ‘*ordo*’; 𐰇𐰴 dả ‘several’; 𐰇𐰴[𐰇𐰴]𐰇𐰴 ‹us.gi› ‘writing’; 𐰇𐰴 𐰇𐰴 YOUNG:qú:er ‘young’.

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[40] **𘦍 𘢆𘤷 𘥂 公乃𘤷 仲 𘢆𘥣𘤪𘦳𘦍 𘦍𘦳𘥂 𘥑方 𘦳𘠼 𘠽𘦳 𘤪𘦍𘤷**
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6.7 Partial translation of the Epitaph of Yelü Dilie

This is a partial and provisional translation. It aims at no more than giving the general gist of the text.

Inscription engraved on the tomb of Lord Yelü Saran (*Sarhan), noble granted two hundred households, land grant noble granted two thousand households, dynasty founding duke, Qishui prefecture … chancellery manager of affairs, joint manager of affairs with the secretariat chancellery, acting defender in chief, minister of the court of palace entertainments,

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[54] Line 39: **𘦍伏** ‹KNOW.ń› ‘administer’ GEN; **𘠇𘥣** ‹hur.ú› ‘person in charge’; **𘥑𘠼𘥂** ‹doro.l.ún› ‘seal ~ ritual’ (**𘠼𘥂** l.ún is a past tense suffix, so **𘥑** must be a verb here); **𘥣** ‹MONTH›; **𘥂𘥣** ‹ta.ú› ‘long, eternal’; **𘥂** ‹DAY›; **𘤀** ‹qi› ‘that’

[55] Line 40: **𘦍 𘢆𘤷 𘥂 公乃𘤷** ‹THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úr› ‘thousand springs ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋’; **𘥣𘦍 𘤪𘦍𘤷** ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ:un› *xianggong* (lord) GEN; **𘥇𘥍** ‹kẻ.is› ‘bury’ SUFF?; **公𘥣** ‹ne.ra› ‘tomb’; **𘥂 𘠽𘦳𘥑** ‹GREAT ordo.u.o.ón› ‘Da’an reign period’; **𘥣** ‘eight’; **𘤷** ‘black’; **业𘥂𘥣** ‹p.o.o› ‘monkey’; **𘦳** ‹ai› ‘year’; **𘥣** ‘eight’; **𘥑** ‘month’; **𘦳** ‘seven’; **𘥂** ‘day’; **𘥑[=𘦳]𘤪** ‹us.gi› ‘writing’ (?); **𘥣𘦍 𘤪𘦍𘤷** ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› *xianggong*; **𘤷** ‹do› LOC; **𘥑方** ‹hor.a› ‘people’ (?); **𘥋 𘥣𘤷** ‹ia deu.un› ‘elder brothers and younger brothers’ GEN; **𘥑丙 𘤪𘥋 公𘥂** ‹l.iu g.ia n.ú› Liu Jianu (name); **𘠇 𘥡𘦳** ‹tai sh:en› *taishi* GEN; **𘥂𘥍** ‹bo.qo› ‘son’; **𘥡方**‹car.a› ‘Chara’ (name); **𘥋𘥣** ‹rẻn:er› ‘make’ PAST.

military commissioner of the [Linhai] army of the Great Central Liao Kitan State.

Composed by Yelü Gu, administrator in charge of the division of written matters, member of the of the … *jasa* (tribal unit in the *ordo*), member of the board of court attendants of the bureau of seals and tallies of the younger paternal line of the horizontal tents of the khan.

I have heard it said that families which accumulate goodness are sure to have abundant good fortune…. in the border regions of the khan… the tribal units of the four regions … at the time of … nine grandsons… In the Chinese writing …

The name of his excellency was *Diren, and his second name was *Sarhan. He was a man of the tent of the *yilijin* *Puguji of imperial descent of the six divisions, an eighth generation descendant of *Xedeń Tira.

He was appointed to the position of member of the bureau of court attendants of the Yelü *miri* of the *shilie* of the tribes of the southern division…He was promoted to the *jasa* of the tribe of blood relations of the brothers of the emperor Dezu… He was promoted to *yilijin* of the … second division of the five and six administrations … of the northern branch of the brothers (of the emperor)… *yilijin* fifth six divisions tribe …

They had two children. The eldest was … *Puguji. In the middle period of the Da'an period, *Holebon *yuyue*, *Huamago *yilijin*… *Yilin *Kugul, *langjun.* His wife, Mme. … was laid to rest at … *nabo*. Of these two, the second son was *Sarhan Lebuh, *xiangwen*. In the first year(s) of the reign of Taizong, he was the grand *xiangwen* of the five seals of the southwest. At a battle at … settlement… he served the clan of the emperor. He had two wives. The second son was *Horbun *Heu. His official title was investigation commissioner.

He served two khans. At the time of Taizong he was made… in that place… he was awarded the title of investigation commissioner. In the time of the Emperor Tianshou (Shizong) … An edict was received … his grandfather … of the tent of Tiela *yilijin* … court attendant of the lineage of the elder brothers… [Heluben Hou's] wife was *Huguji, of the *Isigi clan … He was granted the title of… His wife was *Doloer, granddaughter of Mme *Gimu, Lady *Paril (Bali) … of the great tent of the maternal uncles…

The two of them had two children. The younger was Shanning Guangfonu, *taishi*. At the time of Shengzong … battle… title of *dushi*… His wife was *Chang'e *furen.* The eldest, the child of … *taishi*, they had two children (sons): the eldest was Wang Yu, born into the tent of … *yuyue* .... He was promoted to the position of administrator… The second son…General, deputy chief administrator… His wife, the royal lady *Isin. They had two children. The eldest was … He was granted the honorary title

of administrator in charge of the Dunmu Palace… the Rongsheng bureau… In the year of the red tiger, the first month, on the twenty ninth day, he was born…

His relations with his brothers were harmonious (?) … In the fifteenth year of the Chongxi period, the year of the red dog, the beginning year, at [the court of] emperor Xingzong …'

By edict he was appointed court attendant in charge of the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* in the bureau of seals and tallies. Later… in the *Rongshengsi* … He was a court attendant in the bureau of seals and tallies … At the time of the current emperor Daozong he was appointed the chief administrator of Yongzhou…. By imperial edict… he was sent to… receiver of edicts of the northern division … The uncle of the emperor, *Bogici…

After he was awarded the title of ox-herding official, he was made the investigation officer of Wu'an county. Again, he was awarded the title of investigation officer and also made chief administrator of the central capital… He served as director in chief in the circuit. He was appointed director of the ministry of revenue in the eastern capital and was appointed to the bureau of coins and bureau of silk. He served for one year as administrator of officials. By imperial edict, he was made deputy commander of the Changning palace… In the second year he was given the title of military commissioner of the Army of the Central Capital. He became the *linya* of the northern administration. He served as administrator in the land of the Heaven Region (?)…

Great achievements… he was granted the title of palace gate guard and senior general… He became a member of the personal guards of the tents of the paternal uncles. By edict … he was made great prince of the six divisions … the officials and the people of the *jasa.*.. By imperial edict he was granted the honorary title of joint manager of affairs with the secretariat chancellery and regent of the southern capital…

By imperial edict, for three months … town, settlement … military/war… he again came to the *ordo.*.. By imperial edict … he again became the regent of the supreme capital and the local administrator of Tamar. By imperial edict, after he arrived in the western places…

At the age of sixty two … by imperial edict… he was there for six years. On the 23rd day of the first month of the year of the black snake, in the eighth year of the Da'an period, he fell ill and died…

That year, on the ninth day of the eighth month, in a mountain tomb… his wife, Mme. *Niquil… the Chinese chief official Chang Chengyan…

The great catalpa coffin was closed. This is called the ceremony of laying to rest. The family members of Yelü Dilie and the court attendants…

His excellency Qudug… in control of writing, composed the text…

His excellency had three wives/consorts. The first was Yujie, of the lineage of the prime minister. They had two children… the second, a lady of the Chulud tribe. She married … *taishi*. The eldest child had three children. The eldest married Lady *Tud… married … *xiangwen* of the maternal uncles. The second Mme Tang was married to *Yaoshinu, court attendant….

In the upper and lower regions he spent two years. His relations with his blood relations were harmonious… He was appointed regent of the supreme capital. He had three male children. The eldest… the second was Huju, the youngest was … He had one daughter… He educated his blood relations… after he died…

Yelü Gu, of the horizontal tents, court attendant, on the tomb, recorded this text on the tomb.

The inscription says: Born of the fourth generation of prince *Horbun… the Jurchen *nabo, ordo, jasa* and regions at peace… Heaven mother … ten thousand districts … six years … The administrator, the person in charge… ritual… long eternal day… Thousand springs ten thousand autumns… buried … tomb.

On the seventh day of the eighth month of the eighth year, *renshen*, the year of the black monkey, of the Da'an period… Chara, son of Liu Jianu, *taishi*, made this.

6.8 Kitan text of the Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi[56]

Title: 𘮩𘰾𘱃𘲌　𘲌𘳿𘴰𘵆　𘶶𘶷𘸗𘸘　𘹌𘹍𘹎𘹏[57]

[1] **𘮩𘰾𘱃 𘲌𘲌 𘳿𘴰 𘵆𘶶 𘶷𘸗 𘸘𘹌[东] 𘹍𘹎**
s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó.n g.en.ûn c.ai [ah] w.un[58]

[2] ○ **𘹌𘶷𘸗 𘸘化** ○ **𘹏𘹐 𘰾𘳿 令𘴰 𘮩雨 𘹏雨 𘮩闰 雨当 𘴰久 久𘹌 今 𘶷𘸙**
ci.g.en u.ur ŋ.iú y.ên t.uŋ z.iŋ ŋ.in s.iŋ cau.úŋ l.uh da.ai pu g.êm

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[56] The text is in *Research* and Chinggeltei 2002. See also Zhang and Schlepp, 1998; Wang Jingru 王靜如 1933; Yan Wanzhang 閻萬章 1982. ○ indicates several empty spaces in the inscription, preceding certain words to indicate respect. It also separates lines of rhymed verse.

[57] The title is in a type of seal script, in which the graphs are arranged in four groups of four. They correspond to **𘮩𘰾𘱃 𘲌𘲌 𘳿𘴰𘵆 𘶶𘶷𘸗𘸘 𘹌𘹍𘹎𘹏** in the cursive script. This repeated in line [1] of the epitaph which follows.

[58] Line 1: ‹s.y.iên ii› **𘮩𘰾𘱃 𘲌𘲌** 'Xuanyi: name of the empress'; **𘳿𘴰** ‹neu.e› 'earth'; **𘶶𘶷𘸗** ‹mo.n› 'mother' (-n genitive); **𘸘𘹌** ‹g.en.ún› 'sadness, grief'; **𘹌𘹍** ‹c.ah› (**𘹍**=**𘹏**) **𘹎𘹏** ‹w.un› Ch.冊文 *cewen* 'text'. Translation: 'Eulogy for the Earth Mother (Kitan honorific term for 'empress') Xuanyi.' The graph **𘹍** is probably **𘹏** ; the rubbing of the original text could be read either way.

𘮩𘮪 𘮩𘮫 𘮬𘮭 𘮬𘮯 𘮬𘮰 ○ 𘮱𘮲 ○ 𘮳𘮯 ○ 𘮫 𘮴𘮵𘮶𘮷 𘮸𘮹 𘮺𘮻𘮼 𘮽 𘮾𘮯
g.iau g.ui z.ï z.i z.iu 261.zů DAY.i ui xe.zải.ei.ii us.gi hur.ú.un ui KNOW.i

𘮿𘮀 𘮩𘮁 𘮂𘮯 𘮃𘮀 𘮄 𘮅𘮆𘮀𘮫 ○ 𘮩𘮀𘮇
w.u g.î ui.i pú.u ku ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh[59]

[3] **𘮈𘮉 𘮊𘮋 𘮌𘮍𘮎**
k.em sǒ.or COMPOSE.a.ar[60]

[4] **𘮏 𘮐𘮑𘮒 𘮓𘮔 𘮕 𘮖𘮗 𘮘𘮙𘮚 𘮛𘮜𘮝 𘮞 𘮟 𘮠**
GREAT t.iů.rển yů.úr ai ai:en se.le.bo s.iau.qú tau.lí.a TEN ONE MONTH

𘮡 𘮢𘮍 𘮣𘮙𘮤 𘮥 𘮦 𘮧 𘮨𘮩𘮍
YELLOW êm.a ho.le.bun THREE DAY WHITE te.qo.a[61]

[5] **𘮪𘮫𘮬 𘮭𘮮 𘮯𘮰 𘮱 𘮲𘮳 𘮴 𘮵𘮶 𘮷𘮸𘮹𘮺 𘮻𘮼𘮽 𘮾𘮿𘮀 𘮁𘮂 𘮃𘮄𘮅**
s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó eu.kả.ún hu.ho:en n.ad.bu.d.i l.iu.rển.én ei.tủ.ji

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[59] Line 2:**𘮖𘮗𘮘 𘮙𘮚 ‹ci.g.en u.ur›** ‘left division’; **𘮛𘮜 𘮝𘮞 𘮟𘮠 𘮡𘮢 𘮣𘮤 𘮥𘮦 ‹ŋ.iú y.ên t.uŋ z.iŋ ŋ.in s.iŋ›** *yuyuan* 御院 *tongjin* 通進 *yinqing* 銀青; **𘮧𘮨 𘮩𘮪 𘮫𘮬 𘮭 𘮮𘮯 𘮰𘮱 𘮲𘮳 𘮴𘮵 𘮶𘮷 𘮸𘮹 ‹cau.úŋ l.uh da.ai fu g.êm g.iau g.ui z.ï›** *chonglu* 崇祿 *dafu* 大夫 *jianjiao* 檢校 *guozi* 國子 *jijiu* 祭酒: the titles of Yelü Gu: ‘memorial forwarding grand master for exaulted happiness with silver seal and blue ribbon, acting chancellor of the national university of the imperial academy of the right administrative division, keeper of the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor*, director of the Hanlin academy, commandant of military cavalry of the imperial institute of the left division’. The expression **𘮺𘮻𘮼 𘮽 𘮾𘮿𘮀 𘮁 ‹us.gi hur.ú.un ui KNOW.i›** means ‘official in charge of writing matters’. The *Liaoshi* tells us that Yelü Gu was director of the Hanlin academy; this must be the Kitan equivalent. **𘮱𘮲 𘮳𘮯 𘮫 ‹261.zů DAY.i ui›** ‘imperial day GEN matters’ = *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* 起居注; **𘮺𘮻𘮼 𘮽 𘮾𘮿𘮀 𘮁 ‹us.gi hur.ú.un ui›** person in charge of written matters’ **𘮃𘮄 𘮅𘮆𘮀 𘮇 ‹w.ú g.î ui.i›** *wujiwei* 武騎尉 ‘commandant of military cavalry’ **𘮂𘮄 𘮅 ‹pú.ú ku›** ‘official 臣 *chen*’ **𘮅𘮆𘮀𘮫 𘮩𘮀𘮇 ‹ei.ra.ú.ud g.ú.uh›** Yelü Gu 耶律固.

[60] Line 3: **𘮈𘮉 ‹k.em›** ‘edict’; **𘮊𘮋 ‹sǒ.or›** ‘receive, hear’ PAST; **𘮌𘮍𘮎 ‹COMPOSE.a.ar›** Translation: ‘Composed by imperial edict’.

[61] Line 4: **𘮏 ‹GREAT›** **𘮐𘮑[=𘮒]𘮓 ‹t.iů.rển›** ‘大康 Da Kang (reign period)’; **𘮔𘮕 ‹yů.ur›** ‘initial, first’ **𘮖 ‹ai›** ‘year’ **𘮗𘮘 ‹ai:en›** ‘year’ GEN **𘮙𘮚𘮛 ‹se.le.bo›** ‘order of years in the hexagenary cycle’ **𘮜𘮝𘮞 ‹s.iau.qú›** ‘blue’ **𘮟𘮠𘮡 ‹tau.lí.a›** ‘hare, rabbit’ **𘮢** TEN **𘮣** ONE **𘮤** MONTH **𘮥** YELLOW **𘮦𘮧 ‹êm.a›** ‘goat’ **𘮨𘮩𘮪𘮫 ‹ho.le.bun›** ‘first [period of the month’ **𘮬** THREE **𘮭** DAY **𘮮** WHITE **𘮯𘮰𘮱 ‹te.qo.a›** ‘cock, chicken’. Translation: ‘On the day of the white cock of the third day of the first period of the month of the yellow goat, the eleventh month of the year of the blue hare of the first year of the Dakang period.’

𗴂 𗹦𗴲𗰜 𗰗𗵆 𗵆 𗹦𗥃𗦳𗖵 𗱕𗵘 𗢛𗖵 𗹦𗤁𗰣𗧓
UPPER/PLUR se.hu.nai ta.i HEAVEN t.ui.u.úr MOUNTAIN TOMB.de ś.úr te.bu.al.ińˊ

𗵆 𗴺𗍫𗦳𗴲 𗅋𗖵 𗹦 𗁅 𗏵 𗴺[𗴺] 𗍫𗧓[𗴺]
HEAVEN ar.u.o.ho yủ.úr ai SIX MONTH TWENTY THREE DAY ETERNAL qudug

𗴲𗦳𗉘 𗥃𗤁𗥤
hu.o.gở qa.bu.cẻn[62]

[6] 𗍫𗂧𗥃𗱕𗰜 𗹦 𗏴𗎭𗵆𗍉 𗦳𗖵𗵆𗱕 𗹦𗹨𗍫 𗍊𗦳𗖵 𗹦𗹨𗱕 𗂧𗆮𗍫𗴲𗴲
na.as.ha.a.ar doro k.ii.û.ji o.úr.û.er se.le.bo yở.ún:de au.ui.en ô.ri.ó.ul.hu

𗹦 𗥃𗊴𗍉𗱕 𗱕[𗱕] ○ 𗦳𗴺𗥃𗍫𗴲 𗽙𗹨𗅋 𗹨𗴺𗍫𗴺 𗤁𗂧 ○ 𗍫𗴲𗴲
doro p.od.ei.en 006 ńi.ar.ha.al.hu ONE.se.gi s.ar.a.ar tủ.e 218.ul.hu

𗽙 𗹨𗅋 𗹨𗂧𗍊 𗱕 𗍫𗍊 𗍫𗍉 𗍫𗍉𗖵 𗍊𗏵
ONE.se.gi t.as.ha.am MOUNTAIN TOMB.u.035 bo.qo.i bo.qo m.in[63]

[7] 𗹨𗥃𗦳𗴺𗍫 𗥃 𗅋𗍊𗖵 𗍉𗍊𗴲𗴲
se.bu.o.ho qa ku.û:de ei.au.ul.ha.ai[64]

[8] 𗴲𗵘𗎭𗱕 𗏴𗤶𗍊 𗹨𗥃𗍉 𗍊𗖵𗽙𗤶𗍉 𗹨𗴲𗴲𗦳 𗖵 𗏵𗍊 𗰜𗣼𗍊 𗍫𗴲
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[62] Line 5: 𗹨𗍊𗥤 𗖵𗖵 ‹s.y.iên i.i› ‘Xuanyi’; 𗍊𗍉 𗍉 ‹neu.e mó› ‘earth mother’; 𗤁𗍊𗥃𗍊𗖵 ‹n.ad.bu.d.i› *‘nabo’* PLUR; 𗴲𗍉𗍫𗱕 ‹l.iu.rẻn.er› ‘die’ (honorific) PAST; 𗽙𗖵 ‹ta.i› ‘eternal’; 𗍊 ‹HEAVEN›; 𗍉𗍊 ‘MOUNTAIN-TOMB’ LOC 𗍊 𗴺𗍫𗦳𗴲 ‹HEAVEN ar.ó.o.ho› Qiantong 乾統 reign period; 𗱕𗍊 ‹yủ.ur› ‘initial, first’; 𗴺 ‹ai› ‘year’; 𗍊 ‹SIX› 𗍊 ‹MONTH› 𗏵 ‹TWENTY› 𗹦 THREE 𗴺 DAY 𗴺 𗴺[𗴺] 𗴲𗦳𗉘 𗥃𗤁𗥤 ‹ETERNAL qudug hu.o.gở qa.bu.cẻ› ‘eternal happiness throne’. Translation: ‘The earth mother (empress) Xuanyi died in the crow (?) *nabo*… in the eternal heaven mountain, on the twenty third day of the sixth month of the first year of the Qiantong period, in the Yongfu Tomb [the joint tomb of Daozong and Xuanyi]…’

[63] Line 6: 𗂧𗍊𗥃𗍉𗱕 ‹na.as.ha.a.ar› ‘cause-to-be-at-rest PAST’; 𗹦 ‹doro› ‘ritual ~ ceremony’; 𗏴𗎭𗵆𗍉 ‹k.ii.û.ji› ‘it-is-called’; 𗹨𗥃𗍉 ‹se.le.bo› ‘order, in succession’; 𗹦 ‹doro› ‘ritual ~ ceremony’; 𗴺 ‘mountain, mountain tomb’; 𗹨𗹨𗅋 ‹ONE.se.gi› 𗍉𗍊𗱕 𗍉𗍊 ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› ‘grandson’; 𗍫𗏵 ‹m.in› (perhaps) ‘our, my’. Translation: ‘She was laid to rest with the appropriate rituals … ritual, mountain tomb … [her] grandson, our…’

[64] Line 7: 𗹨𗥃𗦳𗴺𗍫 ‹se.bu.o.ho› ‘succeeding, following, next in succession’ 𗥃 ‹qa› ‘khan’ 𗅋𗍊𗴲𗴲 ‹ku.û:de› ‘men. PLUR LOC. Translation: ‘The succeeding khan, in the presence of the people … ’

𘲢𘰾𘲦𘰚 ○ 𘳿𘲭𘱴 𘴴𘳿𘲦𘱽𘱽𘲦 𘲦𘰚𘲦 𘲦𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲦 𘲦𘲢𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢𘲢
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[9] **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢**
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|[10] **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢**
t.iu.rẻn REGION.ei.e HEAVEN neu.e x.eu.ul.ún ETERNAL.iń SUN MOON

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qa qatun:en n.ai.c.én mó.er g.úr n.ad.bú siȯ.ó.ji ai.ún c.eu.un yȕ.úr

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pu.kả.û.ul.gi se.le.bo:de s.i ku.û.ul.le.ge:én c.i.is.en mó.er qa.an:en ei.qu.ui

𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢
ú.dû.ó.ji DAY[67]

[11] **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢**
kẻ.er t.êm.mủ.le.ha.a.ar l.iaŋ.an go.er u.ur k.ii.û.ji m.o qid.ún TWO xe.le.se

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[65] Line 8: **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** ‹k.em.er› ‘edict’ ACC; **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** ‹se.bu.ei› ‘following (in accordance with); **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› ‘come’ CAUS CONV; **𘲦𘲢** ‹ui› ‘affair, matter’; **𘲦𘲢** ‹kẻ.er› ‘bury PAST’ **𘲦𘲢** ‹nai:de› ‘head, official’ LOC. Translation: ‘issued an edict to the officials that that she be buried… the officials …’

[66] Line 9: **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** ‹TEXT.ú te.gu› ‘the text says’

[67] Line 10: **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** ‹t.iu.rẻn› ‘virtue’; **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** ‹REGION.ei.e› cf. **𘲦𘲢** ‘region’; **𘲦𘲢** ‹HEAVEN›; **𘲦𘲢** ‹neu.e› ‘earth’; or **𘲦𘲢**‘eternal’ (possibly **𘲦𘲢** ‘mountain, tomb, mountain tomb); **𘲦𘲢** ‹SUN› **𘲦𘲢** ‹MOON›; **𘲦𘲢** ‹qa› *‘khan’*; **𘲦𘲢** ‹qatun:en› *‘khatun’* GEN; **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** ‹n.ai.c.én› ‘harmony’ **𘲦𘲢** ‹mó.er› ‘mother’ ACC? **𘲦𘲢** ‹g.úr› ‘state’ **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** ‹n.ad.bú› (~ ‹bud›) *‘nabo’*; **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** ‹siȯ.ú.ji› ‘tribe(s)’ (?) **𘲦𘲢** ‹ai.ún› ‘father’ (or ‘year’) **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** ‹c.eu.un› ‘district’ *(zhou)* GEN; **𘲦𘲢** ‹yȕ.ur› ‘initial, first’; **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** pu.kả.ü.ul.gi (cf. **𘲦𘲢** ‹pu.kả-› ‘official title: prefect, magistrate’ PASS/CAUS **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** ‹se.le.bo:de› ‘order’ LOC **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** ‹ku.ü.ul.le.ge:én (**𘲦𘲢** ‹ku.ü- ‘man, person, people; CAUS > ‘to cause to be a man = to educate, to bring up’ PAST; **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** ‹c.i.is.en› ‘blood relation’ GEN **𘲦𘲢** ‹mó.er› ‘mother, female’ **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** ‹qa.an:en› ‘khan’ GEN **𘲦𘲢 𘲦𘲢** ‹ú.dû.ó.ji› **𘲦𘲢** ‹DAY›. Translation: ‘The virtuous (?) regions, heaven and earth … mountain, sun and month?) the *khan* and the *khatun* were in harmony, [she] as mother to the nation, the *nabos* and the tribes, [he] as father to the regions. She educated her relatives and the other women of the khan, in peace … she was buried (?)…’

北尺爻 毛 今交 戊又关礻 丙公 业尕 方 业习买 由爻 目 今州仝交夯犮 圣
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羽公伏 刘公 戊幺朱 劳化交万 习祭[擦]爻 为丰
ji:d.iń bú.d ś.iá.ah cu.ur.ge.ei qudug.er a.ai[68]
[12] **达 乐公 丰礻 丈子 ○ 歪 伎攴羽公 丙公 今为丰 几尺矢 戊礻伏**
dả qatun.d ai:en 042.ju EIGHT♂ mu.u.ji:d mó.n s.a:ai ku.û.de śi.mỉ.ińˊ[69]

[13] **伎攴羽 介 伞尤 令公为冬 业方勿 处火当 ○ 可交 乐为穴关 令丙刃**
mu.u.ji heu s.yủ te.n.a.as p.ên.qo au.ui.en kẻ.is REGION.a.nai.i t.iu.rẻn

土交交万 ○ 攴化伏 夹仝伏令 丙爻 尺火当 犮肯[考?] 戊方伞 兴元交万 役爻
eu.úr.ge.ei u.ur.ińˊ xo.ô.ńi:t mó.er dau.ui.én ci.299 ś.al.se xe.zủ.ge.ei 232.ún

由爻 兆几 冬由廾火 尺反闲
yỏ.ún us.gi as.yỏ.ó.ui dau.o.ónˊ[70]

[14]**戊平几伞 又卡关 伎屮几礻 业夯火交万 戊本万当 尤交尘 公丰犮与爻**
ś.ul.g.s mo.kả.i mu.le.g:en p.e.ud.ge.ei ś.055.ei.én yủ.úr.cẻn n.ai.c.én:er

万夬反闲 ○ 乒 令丙攴[刃?] 肘业刘丰 方为出 戎 公丰爸屮刘尔 伞爻几当
eu.au.o.ón FOUR t.iu.dz(rẻn?) b.áŋ.hu.ai al.a.án FIVE n.ai.d.le.hu.ad s.ún.g.en

犮土 ○ 戊幺朱 冈为出 又几 又几 为方 兴火化交当 丸 丸
c.eu ś.iá.ah COMPOSE.a.án mo.gi mo.gi a.al x.ui.ri.ge.en mú mú[71]

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[68] Line 11: **可爻** ‹kẻ.er› ‘buried’ PAST; **曲爻** ‹go.er› ‘tents’; **攴化** ‹u.ur› ‘divisions, administrations’ **叔北尺羽** ‹k.ii.û.ji› ‘it is called’; **又反** ‹m.o› ‘great’; **买攴** ‹qid.ún› ‘Kitan’; **圣** ‹TWO› ’ **兴屮伞** ‹xe.le.se› ‘areas, districts, sections’; **毛** ‹ONE›; **戊又关礻** ‹śi.m.i:en› ‘Shenmi (clan name)’ GEN; **丙公** ‹mó:t› ‘female’ PLUR; **刘公** ‹bú.d› ‘external clans’ (蕭 Xiao?); **戊幺朱** ‹ś.iá.ah› ‘good (?)’; **习祭[擦]爻** ‹qudug.er› ‘good fortune’; **为丰** ‹a.ai› ‘be’ CONV. Translation: ‘In the tents and divisions, in both districts of the Great Kitan State [North and South], with the women of the Shenmi clan and the external clans (Xiao?), she had good [relations] and good fortune…’

[69] Line 12: **达** ‹dả› ‘several’; **乐公** ‹qatun.d› ‘qatun, queen’ PLUR; **丰礻** ‹ai:en› ‘father’ GEN; **歪** ‹EIGHT♂›; **伎攴羽公** ‹mu.u.ji:d› ‘sacred ones’ PLUR (= emperors); **丙公** ‹mó.n› ‘mother’ GEN; **今为丰** ‹s.a:ai› ‘to be, to be present at’ CONV; **几尺矢** ‹ku.û.de› ‘man’ PLUR LOC. Translation: ‘Descendant of several queens and their fathers, of the eight sacred emperors and their wives (mothers)…’

[70] Line 13: **伎攴羽** ‹mu.u.ji› ‘sacred’ **介** ‹heu› ‘empress’ **乐为穴关** ‹REGION.a.nai.i› ‘regions’ (?) **丙爻** ‹mó.er› ‘women’ **兆几** ‹us.gi› ‘writing’. Translation: ‘The sacred empress … taught writing to the women of the regions (?)’

[15] 犭丂业为出 乐百𠂤伏 　𠂆𠂇𠂤 亥习丙[丙?] ○ 𠆢𠂤𠂉 今生百当 　今卡只豹 非
ja.al.ha.a.án REGION.ei.l.iń ci.ra.l dz.ia.iủ se.le.bo te.bu.ei.én pu.kå.û.ji po
○ 𠆢尔𠂤业为出 交廾火当 交及 及交𠂤𠂆百 业及困𠂤伏 百丂业丂 公及 ○ 仍及村
s.on.le.ha.ai a.án úr.ó.ui.én úr.u u.úr.le.ge.ei p.o.gỏ.l.iń ei.al.ha.al n.o tá.u:en

今金百当 　公火非 　几丙𠂆𠀉
t.em.ei.én n.iú.fẻi g.iu.uŋ:dú[72]

[16] 𠂆𠂇𠂤矢 为出 山 　𠃌今 ○ 今丙刃 　百火 　今𠂤由 　今𠂤由 ○ 𠂆卡 　丞习
ci.ra.l:de a.án GOLD go:t t.iủ.rẻn mó.ui te.le.yỏ te.le.yỏ uŋ.kả 106.ia

业今 业今 ○ 及火 　丐𠆢𠂉伏 　又业𠂆 　叉𠂉坐𠂆 　寸村 今𠆢北 　屮叉 屮叉 雨扎
po.te po.te u.un doro.d.bo.ń mo.ha.as ún.bo.cẻn.er kẻ:en te.d.ii bun.ún
bun.ún sỏ.ho[73]

[17] 雨𠆢𠂤业为出 上元 　今币业丰 　又 　𠂇丈 　戊仇叉 戊仇叉 业只夾 ○
sỏ.or.le.ha.a.án 284.zủ t.od.ha.ai GREAT YOUNG.qú śi.ri.ún śi.ri.ún p.û.úr

夾及平叉 　尤夾 夾及平𠂉伏 　豹村 　仍业尔村 　元𠂆𠂤𠂆叉 　𠂆丰
lỉ.u.ul.ún yủ.úr lỉ.ú.ul.bo.ń ji:en ta.ha.ad:en zủ.ge.le.ge.ún c.ai

元𠂆𠂤𠂆当 　公金
zủ.ge.le.ge.en n.em[74]

[18]𠆢夾刈及火 　夬火𠂤业为出 𠆢火 刁业𠂉 ○ 刁平刈及火 几只平𠂉伏 今住刈
s.úr.bú.u.un au.ui.le.ha.a.án ú.un hu.áŋ.bo hu.ul.bú.u.un ku.û.ul.bo.ń
te.mu.bú

又金 ○ 奕扎 　开𠂆廾反南 　𠂆 　夾及平𠂉𠂆 ○ 可𠂆 　伏买百当 　弼 又雨
m.em xo.ho kải.is.u.o.ón NINE♂ lỉ.u.ul.bo.ci kẻ.er ńi.an.ei.én jau m.in

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[71] Line 14: 𠆢 FOUR 今丙亥[=刃] t.iu.[rẻn] ‘virtues’; 戈 ‹FIVE› 公丰𠆢𠂤刁冗 ‹n.ai.d.le.hu.ad› ‘harmony’ PLUR; 戊幺东 ‹ś.iá.ah› ‘goodness’. Translation: ‘… the four virtues and the five harmonies… goodness…’ . The alliteration 又九 又九 ‹mo.gi› ‹mo.gi› and 丸 丸 ‹mú› ‹mú› is reminiscent of lines from the *Book of Odes*, from which this might be a quotation.

[72] Line 15: 𠆢𠂤𠂉 ‹se.le.bo› ‘order’; 非 ‹po› ‘time’; 今金百当 ‹t.em.ei.én› ‘granted a title’; 几丙𠂆𠀉 ‹g.iu.uŋ:dú› ‘palace’ LOC. Translation: ‘She was given honorary titles in the palace’ (?)

[73] Line 16: 山 ‹GOLD›; 𠃌今 ‹go:t› ‘tents’ 今丙[=丙?]刃 ‹t.iu.rẻn› ‘virtue’ Translation: ‘Golden tents…’

[74] Line 17: 上元 ‹284.zủ› ‘pertaining to emperor, imperial’; 又 ‹GREAT› 𠂇丈 ‹YOUNG.qú› ‘young’

𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃 ○ 𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈 𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌 𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐 𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔
ci.mu.bun:en 212.ha.al.hu.nai te.mu.d.ii b.iů.ra RECORD.ge:en[75]

[19] 𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙 𐦚𐦛 𐦜𐦝 𐦞𐦟𐦠 ○ 𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤 𐦥 𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩 𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭 𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱 ○ 𐦲𐦳 𐦴𐦵
zỏ.le.ha.ai giů x.in 307.ei s.eu.ur.ún doro hó.le.bo.ń t.as.bo.d mó.n mó.er

𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻 𐦼 𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁 𐧂 𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆 𐧇𐧈𐧉[=伏?]𐧊𐧋 𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐 𐧑 𐧒𐧓 𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗
ú.dû.le.ha.a.án GREAT śi.mỉ.u.ji iu hu.as.al ńi.ei.én sỏ.ju.le.u.ji dả ei.ie.ra.u

𐧘𐧙 𐧚𐧛𐧜 𐧝𐧞 𐧟𐧠𐧡 𐧢𐧣 𐧤𐧥 𐧦𐧧𐧨 𐧩𐧪𐧫 𐧬𐧭𐧮
ś.ia p.a.am sh:en 078.am.zỏ mó.ge mú śi.mỉ.e ś.iá.ah[76]

[20] 𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳 𐧴𐧵 𐧶𐧷𐧸[=交] 𐧹𐧺 𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾 𐧿𐨀𐨁 𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅 𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉 𐨊𐨋 𐨌𐨍
ar.ó.o.ón m.a heu.ún s.yủ s.úr.bú.u ia.ra ku.û.ul.ge kẻ.ui jau.ul.ha.a.án[77]

[21] 𐨎𐨏 𐨐 𐨑𐨒 𐨓𐨔𐨕 𐨖𐨗𐨘 𐨙𐨚 𐨛𐨜𐨝 𐨞𐨟 𐨠𐨡
neu.e mó x.iń ii.û.ui ś.ul.én tủ.ii iu.mu.ie te.e.bo yô.cẻn.én dả:de

𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦 𐨧𐨨 𐨩𐨪 𐨫𐨬𐨭 𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱 𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵 𐨶𐨷𐨸 𐨹𐨺𐨻
dau.ul.ha.a.án du.uh g.u s.ui:de u.úr.le.ge.ei ja.ri.hu.as ci.dz.ge.ún a.al rí.én

𐨼𐨽 𐨾𐨿 𐩀𐩁𐩂 𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆 𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊 𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏 𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓 𐩔𐩕𐩖
ja.aŋ s.un ta.aŋ.iú te.bu.ei.i śi.kả.le.ha.a.án te.bu.al.ha.a.án n.ai.ri.én

𐩗𐩘𐩙
COMPOSE.a.án[78]

[22] 𐩚𐩛 𐩜 𐩝 𐩞𐩟 𐩠𐩡𐩢 𐩣𐩤 𐩥𐩦𐩧 𐩨𐩩 𐩪𐩫
neu.e mó SEVEN lỉ.u.ud.le.gi ui:de t.as.ha.am ci.mu.én doro:en mó.t.i 336

𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯 ○ 𐩰𐩱𐩲 𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶 𐩷𐩸𐩹 𐩺𐩻𐩼 𐩽𐩾𐩿
te.dź.a.án mó.d:er te.bu.o.ón YOUNG.qú.er te.xỉ.is[79]

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[75] Line 18: 𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐 ‹ku.ü.ul.bo.ń› ‘adulthood (?) education (?)’ 𐦑𐦒 ‹m.em› ‘silver’; 𐦓𐦔 ‹NINE♂› 𐦕𐦖 ‹kẻ.er› ‘bury’ PAST; 𐦗 ‹jau› ‘hundred’.

[76] Line 19: 𐦘 ‹doro› ‘ritual ~ ceremony ~ seal’; 𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜 hó.le.bo.ń ‘imperial clan’; 𐦝𐦞 ‹mo.n›, 𐦟𐦠 ‹mó.er› (𐦝 = mother, female, wife); 𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥 ‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.án› ‘peace’ (?) 𐦦 ‹GREAT›; 𐦧𐦨𐦩 ‹hu.as.al› ‘misfortune, tragedy’; 𐦪 dả ‘several’; 𐦫𐦬𐦭 ‹ś.iá.ah› ‘good’.

[77] Line 20: 𐦮𐦯 ‹heu.un› ‘empress’ GEN; 𐦰𐦱 ‹kẻ.er› ‘bury’ PAST; 𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵 ‹ku.ü.ul.ge› = ‘man, person’ = CAUS/PASS ‘to educate’ (?)’

[78] Line 21: 𐦶𐦷 ‹neu.e› 𐦸 ‹mó› ‘earth mother’ 𐦹𐦺 ‹dả:de› ‘several’ 𐦻𐦼 ‹g.ú› ‘jade’ (?) 𐦽𐦾 𐦿𐧀 ‹ja.aŋ s.un ta.aŋ› Zhang Suntang (?) 𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄 ‹COMPOSE.a.án› ‘compose’ PAST

[23] [Kitan small script]
mu.u.ji:de 343.se.le.xe.ji ei.u n.063 ia.ra ho.ei.ge.ci qudug ú.dû.u.ul.hu.án

[Kitan small script]
giů ke.ci c.en.bo.e 291 043.a.án ś.eu.ud.le.gi xe.zů.ge.én te.n.a.iú ur.d.bun uh

[Kitan small script]
a.al.hu ś.úr ün.le.b.ún s.en:en rí.le.hu.án hur.ú 326.le.ha.a.án xe.ri:de kė.ún[80]

[24] [Kitan small script]
343.bo xe.deu.rẻn.én eu.iń t.uh.ii x.ui.ei.b.iń rẻŋ.ri.le.ge.ei jau.ji g.en.ún.e

[Kitan small script]
hu.sår.a x.iû.am.ûn te.ge.én po.do b.as.hu.án doro hu.mú.ho.er ho.a.an

[Kitan small script]
ei.au.ji GREAT g.en.ún l.iảŋ.u k.ii.û.ji ś.en p.od.a.án HEAVEN xe.se:de[81]

[25] [Kitan small script]
s.ó.ul.ún deu.úr.b.iń xe.se.ge.l siỏ x.eu.ul.ún bải.al.iń sår x.ur.se s.au.úr.se

[Kitan small script]
s.ar.cẻn.én neu.n yô heu.úr ś.eu.kả DAY:de lú.063.ei.iú n.am.úr

[Kitan small script]
hu.áŋ.rẻŋ s.oi:de ra FOUR po.dź mú.de.le.gi mo.ci.ge t.úr.bú.u.ji 044 dả

[Kitan small script]
c.i.is[82]

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[79] Line 22: [Kitan] ‹neu.e› ‘earth’; [Kitan] ‹mó› ‘mother’; [Kitan] ‘seven’; [Kitan] ‹ui:de› ‘matter’ LOC; [Kitan] ‹doro:en› ‘ritual’ GEN; [Kitan] ‹mó.t.i› female PLUR GEN?; [Kitan] ‹mó.d:er› ‘female/wife’ PLUR ACC; [Kitan] ‹YOUNG.qú.er› ‘young’.

[80] Line 23: [Kitan] ‹mu.u.ji:de› ‘sacred [one = emperor]’ LOC; [Kitan] ‹qudug› ‘good fortune’; [Kitan] ‹ú.dû.u.ul.hu.án› ‘peace’ SUFF; [Kitan] ‹s.en:en› ‘long life; also name Yixin’ GEN; [Kitan] ‹hur.ú› ‘person in charge of’; [Kitan] ‹kė.ún› ‘bury’ PAST.

[81] Line 24: [Kitan] ‹343.bo› ‘wine’ ? (?); [Kitan] ‹x.ui.ri.bo.ń› ‘come’ SUFF; [Kitan] ‹jau.ji› ‘hundred’ (?); [Kitan] ‹g.en.ún.e› ‘sadness’; [Kitan] ‘time’ LOC [Kitan] ‹b.as.hu.án› ‘again’ (?); [Kitan] ‹doro› ‘ceremony’; [Kitan] ‹GREAT›; [Kitan] ‹g.en.ún› ‘sadness’; [Kitan] ‹k.ii.û.ji› ‘it is called’; [Kitan] ‹p.od.a.án› ‘be’ SUFF; [Kitan] ‹HEAVEN›.

[82] Line 25: [Kitan] ‹deu.úr.bo.ń› ‘together’(?) [Kitan] ‹xe.se.ge.le› ‘parts’ [Kitan] ‹siỏ› ‘tribes ~ south’ [Kitan] ‹yô› ‘black?’ [Kitan] ‹heu.úr› ‘spring’ [Kitan] ‹ś.eu.kả› ‘dew’ (?); [Kitan] ‘day’ LOC [Kitan]

[26] 公半业列 业金北 讠 爿斥 又 几村爻 业非爻 叔北尺豹 伞尤 伞尤 由爻
n.ai.le.hu l.em.ii 336 bo.ra GREAT g.en.ún l.iảŋ.u k.ii.û.ji s.yủ s.yủ yô.u

戈 北术 ○ 伞尤矢尺当 戊亏伞 百爻 伞非买 卖困 关丞 乂几爻当 列平 业村 主
lu ho.ci s.yủ.de.û.én ś.al.se ei.u s.iaŋ.an xo.gỏ i.is xe.dú.ún:én hu.ul l.en hoŋ

马 雨行 雨行 土平 分卡尺爷 戊奕术
ju sỏ.mú sỏ.mú eu.ul pu.kả.û.er ś.an.ci[83]

[27] 力冬业列 八 业爻 由爻 尺伏 衣仉廾平列 尺 爻夯 戊村伏 竹 仉
na.as.le.hu bả p.u yỏ.ún dau.iń oi.ri.ó.ul.hu dau ún.e śi.mỉ.iń doro kú

又 几村爻 业非爻 叔北尺豹 ○ 山 仔庐 令文斥 为反伏 ○ 业亏 伞犬分
GREAT g.en.ún l.iảŋ.u k.ii.û.ji GOLD lú.063 t.í.ra a.o.iń 287.al s.120.dû

爻卡 戊夯 ○ 又金 矢达廾反北 术交爻村
uŋ.kả ś.ên m.em 204.dả.u.o.ho c.ie.253.en[84]

[28] 乂土平爻 ○ 冈半 力冬爿伏 几爻业 夯 尺光 为半廾伏 亦当 幺东 戊卡廾反雨
x.eu.ul.ún COMPOSE.ai na.as.bo.ń g.u.un ên dau.ui a.ai.ó.iń ün.én iá.ah ś.kả.ó.o.ón

不非 伏奕生冬 业 又为女当 令圣丞 术土 业伏爻 ○ 住当 戊亏伞 术 戾
xa.iảŋ ńi.an.bu.as iên m.a.a.sảr.én te.xỉ.is c.eu po.ńi.ún mu.én ś.al.se ci KNOW

又 几村爻 业非爻 叔北尺豹 午爿 午爿
GREAT g.en.ún l.iảŋ.u k.ii.û.ji ủ.b ủ.bo[85]

[29] 文夯 冬木 几夯尘 几夯尘 父 北 北术 又雨丞 几爻 戊矢为[=令勿为] 豹
neu.e as.ar g.e.cẻn g.e.cẻn HEAVEN ho ho.ci m.in.is g.u [te.qo.a] giủ

‹n.am.úr› ‘autumn’; 罒 ‹FOUR›; 非奖 ‹po.dź› ‘seasons’; 达 ‹dả› ‘several’; 术关丞 ‹c.i.is› ‘blood relations’. 由爻 戈‹yô.u lu› ‘black dragon’.

[83] Line 26: 又 ‹GREAT›; 几村爻‹g.en.ún› ‘sadness’; 叔北尺豹 ‹k.ii.ü.ji› ‘it is called’; 由爻 ‹yô.u› ‘black’ 戈 ‹lu› ‘dragon’. 分卡尺爷‹pu.kả.û.er› ‘official, prefect’ (?)

[84] Line 27: 八 ‹bả› ‘*li*, Chinese mile’ (?); 业爻 ‹p.ú› ‘servant’ 竹 ‹doro› ‘ritual ~ ceremony; 仉 ‹kú› ‘man, person’ 又 ‹GREAT›; 几村爻 ‹g.en.ún› ‘sadness’ 叔北尺豹 ‹k.ii.ü.ji› ‘it is called’ 山 ‹GOLD› 戊夯‹ś.ên› ‘new’ 又金 ‹m.em› ‘silver’

[85] Line 28: 冈半 ‹COMPOSE.ai› ‘compose’ CONV 几爻业 ‹g.ú.un› ‘jade’ 戾 ‹KNOW› ‘administrator’ (?); 又 ‹GREAT›; 几村爻 ‹g.en.ún› ‘sadness’ 叔北尺豹 ‹k.ii.ü.ji› ‘it is called’.

丐关今 山 刘扎 乂伞杰业 丙伎文 今伎坐比 非 ○ 乔奕 本当 伞叉几及豹
doro.i te GOLD♂ hu.ho xe.se.ge.l iu.mu.ie te.mu.d.ii po 312.úr c.en s.ún.g.o.ji

丐 习东 叉夯 圣为火 盅几当
doro ia.ra ún.e car.a.iú RECORD.g.én[86]

[30] **比[犹]几 本公 夹 化奕 及 公乃奕 百扎伞 百扎伞 尺平廾豹 又扎 又**
us.gi ci.n ån ri.úr tumen n.am.úr ei.ho.se ei.ho.se dau.ul.u.ji mo.ho GREAT

几和叉 业乔及 叔比只豹
g.en.ún l.iåŋ.u k.ii.û.ji[87]

6.9 Translation of Chinese text of the Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi[88]

Composed by the official Zhang Lin, deputy military affairs commissioner, minister of the court of imperial ceremonies, deputy director of the state finance commission, state historiographer, senior military protector, dynasty founding duke, land grant noble granted two thousand households, noble granted two hundred households.

It was in the first year of the Dakang period, the order of the year was *yimou*. It was the eleventh month, *siwei*, the third day of the new month, *xinyou*.

The late Empress Yide died at Changqing river. She was buried with her ancestors at Zuling. In the first year of the Qiantong period, the year was *xinsi*, the sixth month, *gengyin*, the new moon, on the twenty third day, *renzi*, she was reburied in the Yongfu tomb with the appropriate rituals.

Along the route to the tomb, the wind was mournful, and clouds gathered in the open spaces around the city. The moon was in *wei*, the time was approaching *gui*. In accordance with the indications of the tortoise ink, an auspicious time was chosen.

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[86] Line 29: **穴夯** ‹neu.e› ‘earth’; **冬本** ‹as.ar› ‘quietness, peace’; **关** ‹HEAVEN›; **几及** ‹g.u› ‘jade’; **戈矢为【=今勿为】** ‹te.qo.a› ‘cock’; **丐关** ‹doro.i› seal ~ ritual GEN?; **今** ‹te› PLUR (?) **山** ‹GOLD♂› ‘gold’ (masculine); **刘扎** ‹hu.ho› ‘bird ~ crow’; **非** ‹po› ‘time’; **乂伞杰业** xe.se.ge.le ‘region’ (?); **丐** ‹doro› ‘ceremony ~ ritual’ **圣为火** ‹car.a.iú› ‘Cara’ (personal name) DAT/LOC? (?); **盅几当** ‹RECORD.g.én› ‘record, make a record, to carve an inscription on a stone’ PAST ‘Chara recorded this’.

[87] Line 30: **比[犹]几** ‹us.gi› ‘writing’; **本公** ‹ci.n› ‘official’ (臣 *chen*); **及** ‹TEN THOUSAND› ‘ten thousand’; **公乃奕** ‹n.am.úr› ‘autumn’; **又** ‹GREAT› **几和叉** ‹g.en.ún› ‘sadness’; **叔比只豹** ‹k.ii.û.ji› ‘it is called’.

[88] Translated from the Chinese stele. Text available in *Research*, pp. 546-551. Also in Chinggeltei 2002:124-126.

The imperial mausoleum was opened, the six vestments were folded, the curtains and tents were put away, the three offerings were completed, and the sacrificial vessels were removed. The scene was so sad; the imperial insignia were fluttering in the air, the banners blown about by the wind.

The chariot of the immortals departed, never to return. On this day, the engraved carriage bearing the coffin also departed along the same tracks. The dew on the pine and the catalpa was like limitless tears. The sounds of the bamboo pan-pipes and the reed leaf whistles pervaded the emptiness.

Yanxi, her filial grandson, having inherited the position of emperor, with sadness thought of restoring her position. His strong attachment for her, which he could not forget, made his wound even more painful. He gazed upwards, longing for the request in his heart. His respected father had left behind an edict, that they should be buried together.

The jade tablet with her posthumous name lit up the burial palace. Her pearl robes sparkled in the hall of darkness. The daytime had passed, the hour had moved on, the pure hanging lamps had frozen, the night had no sun. Her voice, her appearance, had disappeared forever. The night is so long. Because of the emperor's unprecedented favour, she will not be forgotten with the passing of time. According to the orders of the emperor, we praise her lasting fragrance. It is difficult to record all the events of her life, and her goodness cannot extolled by just a few examples.

Rhymed text:

In the past, only the sages were the equal of kindness and virtue.
From outside the corridors of the palace, she came from an external family.
After auspicious matching of stone characters, she received the appointment of Heaven.
Jade seals, emperor's gifts, ceremonial robes added to her ornament.
She helped the education of society; teaching the palace servants.
She never spread slander. Kind, beautiful, pure, humane, her nature was not ostentatious.
Deep, principled, demure and mature early in life, she was like the grasshopper in her freedom from jealousy, and kind to others like the trees in the south.
So rich she lived in rooms of gold, she still maintained a natural simplicity.
Respected by the Son of Heaven, she served all those around her.
Her piety unified the minds of the people; they rejoiced to be nourished as her children.
Making an example of herself to all under Heaven, they loved her as their exemplary mother.
She was noble but not arrogant, respectful and not conceited.

She was assiduous in the teaching of women, and an example for all women's activities.
In the rivers and islands, they praised her name.
They wrote of the lives of the women who lived in the pepper scented chambers and rode in vermillion carriages.
Her internal beauty, like the fragrance of orchids, manifested itself externally.
Like a flash of lightning, as her brilliant light approached, it added brightness to the sun.
Like the sky at sunset, her softness matched the emperor's might.
Comparable to the Queen of Zhou in humaneness, to the Queen of Yin in wisdom.
Her robes, her head ornaments were in accordance with the regulations.
The wind and stringed instruments, the silk and bamboo, conformed to elegant and correct standards. Her writings were natural, not artificially learned.
She was born with an understanding of the Law of Buddha.
Quiet and refined as a water plant, she moved with grace.
Her deportment was inherited from her ancestors, and she naturally followed the rules of decorum.
She should have expected a long life. But suddenly she returned to the fragrance of the immortals. The sacred mother loved the crown prince so much. Like a dragon having to leave behind a foal, like a phoenix turning her head, worried about her chicks.
So sad, there are no words to express it. The way of the spirits is hard to fathom.
The sky is grey, the cries heart-rending.
Alas, alas. How sad it is.
The great earth is broken, the moon carriage has left the tracks.
The tomb is full of fog and darkness. The mountains bereft, the flowing springs exhausted.
The ten thousand things cry out, the hundred souls express their misery.
Alas, alas, how sad it is.
The silver sea is cold. The imperial robes reflect in the darkness. The tinkling of her belt ornaments is no longer to be heard. Where is the gauze of the cloud chariots? Although her voice cannot be heard in the six palaces, it can be heard in the ear. Although her image cannot be seen among the nine tribes, it can be seen in the heart. Her time has gone, and she is separated far from the world. Her life will never happen again. The city is empty forever.
Alas, alas. How sad it is.

The leaves have fallen from the tree. The trees of autumn, the grass of spring: these were places she used to love. In the places where she would hold banquets, her spirit still lingers. Her kind face is still in front of us.
Alas, alas. How sad it is.
We recall how the emperor's favour was destroyed by a treacherous official. The calumnies of the green flies will be forgotten. The purity of white jade shines so precious. Like the sound of metal and stone, although silenced, it can be struck again. Like the sound of a bell, although muffled, it can become like new. Silk and gauze spreads like fragrant dust. After a thousand years, we will see her spirit and beauty in the ancestral palaces, and hear her voice again.
Alas, alas, how sad it is.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LIAO CHINESE

> The founding of the Song Dynasty in 960 ended a long period of disunion in China. The national capital, Dongjing, was established at Kaifengfu in the Central Plains. This area remained the political and cultural center of the dynasty for 166 years. The conventional view today is that the standard language of the period was a Central Plains-based lingua franca or koine, probably centered in the Kaifeng-Luoyang area… There is, however, one further point with requires notice here. North of the Song lay the Khitan empire (907-1119) […] In 937, before the founding of Song, the short-lived Jìn dynasty had ceded to the Khitans an area known as the Sixteen Prefectures, which correspond roughly to the northern part of modern Hebei Province. Despite a number of efforts, the Song were never able to retake this area, and it remained under Khitan control for approximately 200 years. The inhabitants of this territory were almost all Chinese […] At the town of Youzhou they built a new administrative centre, called Nanjing, the southernmost of the five capitals of their state, to govern their new Chinese subjects. From this place, after many changes and vicissitudes, the modern city of Peking would eventually evolve. Now it is of some interest here that the large Chinese population of this region, which the Liao called the Southern Capital Circuit, was cut off from the Central Plains dialect area to the south for two centuries. Although we have no proof for it, we may speculate that in this linguistic rupture lie at least some of the beginnings of the distinctive type of north Chinese dialect which would later come to be associated with the Peking area and points to the northeast. – W, South Coblin 2007:15-16 (slightly modified).

7.1 The Chinese language beyond Hebei

We know very little of the type of Chinese spoken far north of Hebei during the Liao dynasty, or what type of Chinese was the basis of the many Chinese loanwords transcribed in the Kitan inscriptions. It *could* have been similar to the Chinese of the Tang capital, or its variants in the northwest of China during the late Tang and the post-Tang period. It *could* have been similar to the contemporary Song "prevalent speech of the central provinces". It *could* have been similar to the geographically closer dialects of the *Zhongyuan yinyun* or the *Menggu ziyun*. On *a priori* grounds, we have little evidence one way or the other. What we can do, however, is to look at the varieties of Chinese in the sources listed above, and some others of about the same time,

to set up a number of characteristics one might expect a dialect of Chinese at that time and place to have. After this is has been done, we can compare these possible characteristics with the evidence of the Kitan script.

7.2 Northeastern China during the Late Tang

The Tang empire did not extend beyond the Great Wall in the east, and the southern bank of the Yellow River in the west. What sort of Chinese, if any, may have been spoken north of the Great Wall at that time is unknown. South of the Great Wall, and north of the Yellow River, lay the area broadly known as Hebei. Although part of the Tang empire, at least until the An Lushan rebellion, it was a remote and somewhat uncouth place, far from the cultural centres of the Tang. Even as early as 643, in the view of Chen Yinque, "north-eastern China, in particular Hebei province, was estranged from the Tang ruling house" (Wechsler 1979:200-201). He argued that "an influx of non-Chinese into Hebei from early in the eighth century had initiated a process by which, in the course of time, "barbarized society" in the northeast… The barbarian factor as seen by Chen Yinque, therefore, involves not merely An Lushan and the men under his command, but the population of a whole region". An alternative view proposed by Gu Jiguang and adapted by Pulleyblank "explain[s] the rebellion in the context of the long-standing alienation of Hebei (in the north-east) from the Tang court (in the north-west)". (Peterson 1979:471). Both views suggest a considerable degree of difference between Hebei and the rest of Tang China. With the disintegration of Tang power after the rebellion, the military commanders in the north-east asserted their independence, so that by 785 Youzhou, the province in the area of present day Beijing, was regarded as an autonomous province. Various attempts over the next few decades to reassert power in the northeast failed, and after 822 the Tang court made no further attempt to recover control in these areas. Writing in 831, the minister Niu Sengru wrote "since the Rebellion of An Lushan, Fanyang [i.e. Youzhou] has not been part of the empire." (Peterson 1979:548).

7.3 Possible altaic influence on Chinese

What all this means in linguistic terms is speculation. Norman 1982:243 noted "Northern China was controlled by dynasties of northern nomadic origin for a total of more than 800 years between the fourth and twentieth centuries. A majority of these northern rulers were of Altaic stock, generally speakers of either Mongolian or Tungusic. During this long period of contact between Chinese and Altaic, there was naturally a good deal of mutual

linguistic influence". Hashimoto 1980:160 suggested that "the basic typological features of the Chinese language stayed more or less intact until the end of the Tang period […] this is the time the Chinese language underwent definite Altaicization in the northern part of its territory". According to Hashimoto 1986:95, "the way they developed this type of "pidgin Chinese" must be that these original Altaic residents accommodated into their mother tongue(s) the Chinese lexicon and morphology in their entirety, maintaining however their own syntax and perhaps most of their phonetics […]."

In terms of dialect history and dialect geography, it seems reasonable to suggest that the type of Chinese spoken in Hebei even from the early Tang was likely to be subjected to the type of creolization described above, with subsequent differentiation from the "Tang standard" of Chang'an. This process must have increased as the north-eastern provinces became politically autonomous to the point where by 831, "Youzhou was no longer part of the empire". We can then hypothesize that the differentiation of the Chinese spoken north of the Yellow River was underway long before 937, when the Sixteen Prefectures were annexed. Northern Chinese had been developing at least semi-independently from "the dialect of the central plains" for at least 300 years before that date, and, as Coblin pointed out, for two centuries afterward. Against all this, perhaps educated Kitans did not speak the creole of the masses (if such a language existed) but something close to "standard Chinese", which at that time meant the language of the Song capital, Kaifeng. This is a hypothesis we can check against the evidence of the Kitan script.

7.4 Middle Chinese

Middle Chinese is based on the initials and finals in the *Qieyun* 切韻, compiled between 581 and 601. All the evidence is that Tang Standard Chinese, roughly understood as the language spoken by the educated classes in the capital, differed from the *Qieyun* in various ways, but that it was very similar to it. Even if one argues that there were many varieties of Chinese spoken by educated people throughout the empire, it seems likely they were close to the *Qieyun*, even if they differed in some minor ways. It is common to discuss earlier stages of Chinese according to the traditional names of the initials, finals and rhyme groups and rhyme categories. However, as Coblin 2007:xii commented, Chinese historical phonology "is a curious and often vexatious discipline […] It seems clear that the field of Chinese historical phonology as it is practiced today is so peculiar and exacting that it lies essentially beyond the reach both of sinologists who have not received

specialized training in it and of the broad range of historical linguists who might wish to familiarize themselves with it […] Pre-modern Chinese phonology remains for most non-specialist readers a closed book." It is simpler, and clearer, to list the initials and finals of Middle Chinese in transcription, without reference to the traditional terms for initials and finals. Phonetic values of the initials and finals were worked out by Karlgren and others over a period of decades, based mainly on reflexes in the modern dialects. It is now more common to employ transcriptions with digraphs instead of diacritics and special letters, and to regard the transcription as being "phonemic along phonetic lines" rather than narrowly phonetic. Recently Baxter 1992, Branner 1999 and others have suggested that a romanized form of the *Qieyun* be regarded as a *transcription* rather than a phonetic reconstruction. The transcription used here is similar to Baxter's but it is easier to write and easier to remember, and helps to make the process of phonological change more evident.

7.5 Synoptic chart of transcription symbols for MC initials

1	見 k	溪 kh	群 g	疑 ŋ	日 ny
2	端 t	透 th	定 d	泥 n	來 l
3	幫 p	滂 ph	並 b	明 m	
4	非 f	敷 fh	奉 v	微 mv	
5	精 c	清 ch	從 j	心 s	邪 z
6	知 tr	徹 thr	澄 dr	娘 nr	
7	莊 tsr	初 tshr	崇 dzr	生 shr	俟 zhr
8	章 tsy	昌 tshy	船 dzy	書 sy	禪 zy
9	照 cr	穿 chr	牀 jr	審 sr	禪 zr
10	影 q	曉 x	匣 h	云 hi,以 øi	喻 y

This chart shows proposed transcription symbols for the Chinese terms used for the initials of both Early and Late Middle Chinese. Row 4, the labiodentals, emerged as a group distinct from the labial stops of line 3 in the late Tang, when piu > fu. This change did not occur in all cases; the details are complex and not relevant to the present discussion. On the other hand, the EMC initials in rows 7 and 8 merged to form a new series in LMC, line 9. In line 10, hi- and øi- merged to form y- by LMC.

7.6 Transcription of MC finals

哥 a	泰 ai	豪 au	寒 an	曷 at	譚 am	蓋 ap	鐸 ak	唐 aŋ
戈 ua	祭 iai	宵 iau	仙 ian	薛 iat	鹽 iam	葉 iap	藥 iak	陽 iaŋ
麻 ae	夬 aei	肴 aeu	刪 aen	鎩 aet	銜 aem	狎 aep	陌 aek	庚 aeŋ
佳 ea	皆 eai		山 ean	黠 eat	咸 eam	洽 eap	麥 eak	耕 eaŋ
灰 uei	咍 ei	侯 eu	痕 en	沒 et	覃 em	合 ep	德 ek	登 eŋ
之 ie	微 iei	尤 ieu	欣 ien	迄 iet	嚴 iam	業 iap	職 iek	蒸 ieŋ
支 i	脂 ii	虞 iu	真 in	質 it	侵 im	緝 ip	昔 ik	清 iŋ
		幽 iou	諄 uin	術 uit	臻 iin	櫛 iit		
	齊 eei	蕭 eeu	先 een	屑 eet	添 eem	帖 eep	錫 eek	青 eeŋ
			桓 uan	末 uat			沃 ok	冬 oŋ
	魚 io	廢 ioi	元 ion	月 iot			燭 iok	種 ioŋ
模 u	虞 iu	幽 iou	魂 uen	沒 uet			屋 uk	東 uŋ
			文 iun	物 iut	凡 iuom	乏 iuop	覺 aok	江 aoŋ

This chart shows the transcription symbols used for the rhymes of EMC, which were reproduced in the rhyme tables, but reorganised into rhyme groups.

7.7 The rhyme groups of LMC

果 a	止 i	曾 eng	山 an
假 ae	效 au	梗 ing	臻 en
遇 u	流 eu	江 aong	咸 am
蟹 ai	宕 ang	通 ung	深 em

These are merely tags to indicate a rhyme group: the rhyme group *-ang*, for example, includes the rhymes *-ang*, *-iang* and *-uang*. The phonetic interpretations of the arrangement of the rhymes into various rhyme groups is not certain. In the earlier period, the rhymes seem to have had different vowels; in the later period, they seem to be differentiated by different medials, or perhaps a combination of different vowels and different medials. The nasal endings incorporate the stop finals: *an* and *en* also contain rhymes in *at* and *et*, *am* and *em* contain rhymes in *ap* and *em*, rhymes in *ang* and *eng* contain rhymes in *ak* and *ek*.

7.8 Late Tang North-western Chinese

Tibetan transcriptions of the Hexi dialect of the ninth and tenth centuries have been found at Dunhuang. They were first systematically studied by Luo Changpei 1933, and by many others since. Coblin 1994 is a thorough study of these transcriptions, incorporating a wide variety of related material. In his review of the related literature, Jiang Shaoyu 2005 summarised the characteristics of late Tang north-western Chinese:

(1) there was some indication of the emergence of labiodentals
(2) some voiced initials had become voiceless.
(3) *m* and *n* were read *'b 'd* in syllables with non-nasal finals
(4) there was some simplification of the vowel system
(5) in the *ing* and *ang* rhyme groups, the final *ŋ* was not pronounced
(6) in words with voiced initials, the rising tone had become a departing tone

Jiang Shaoyu concluded that the language of Chang'an under the Tang was a variety of the Hexi dialect. Denasalization and the dropping of the final *ŋ* were restricted to the north-west, while other tendencies outlined above can be seen in texts from other parts of China. Zhou Zumo, in his study of the rhymes in the rhymed texts found in Dunhuang, distinguished 23 finals, slightly different from Luo Changpei's 23 finals based on the Tibetan transcriptions. He compared these 23 finals with the sixteen rhyme groups of the *Sisheng dengzi*, and found that, apart from the Dunhuang texts not distinguishing *aŋ* and *aoŋ*, *ak* and *aok*, there was structurally no difference between them. Zhou concluded that the vowel system of modern northern dialects can be directly derived from the 23 rhyme groups of the Dunhuang texts and the *Sisheng dengzi*. This is of particular relevance to the type of northern Chinese spoken during the Liao period.

7.9 The *Sisheng dengzi*

Zhou Zumo pointed out the similarity of the finals of the late Tang north-western dialects and the 四聲等子 *Sisheng dengzi*. This rhyme table is of particular interest because of its possible origin in the Chinese speaking areas of the Liao empire. According to its (undated) preface, "Recently we have re-edited the *Longkan shoujian* 龍龕手鑑 [Hand Mirror of the Dragon Niche] and placed it in the last bound volumes of the *Tripitaka*. But considering that the dialects are not united, [varieties of] labials and [varieties of] sibilants and affricates are mixed. Some sounds which should be distinct are treated as if they were identical and some characters are

borrowed to write other characters. How can one know how to assign the initials and harmonise the tones? How can one know what is standard? So we have appended this [table] to the *Longkan shoujian.* Looking through the tables one can discern the structure, there will be no trepidation or confusion. Then one can pronounce the word accurately. We hope that all our readers will consult it." The *Longkan shoujian*, more commonly known as the *Longkan shoujing* 龍龕手鏡, is a reference work on the Buddhist classics. According to its preface, dated 997, it was compiled by a Liao monk, Xing Jun. It contains many unusual characters, with *fanqie* annotations. The *fanqie* were taken from a variety of sources and reflect late Tang Chinese, and do not directly concern us here. Shen Gua, in his *Mengqi bitan* 夢溪筆談, wrote "books were strictly controlled. If anyone imported them into the central states the law was that they were punishable by death. In the Xining period (1068-1077) a copy [of the *Sisheng dengzi*] was obtained from someone who surrendered…". Li Xinkui 1983:180 noted that the *Sisheng dengzi* refers to 206 rhymes, which must date it after the *Guangyun* of 1008. He also noticed that it does not distinguish the later *Zhongyuan yinyun* finals *ie* < *ia,* or *ï* < *i* after initial dental sibilants. In this it is similar to the rhymes in Liao poetry. Both geographically and chronologically, it falls within the Liao period.

In the *Sisheng dengzi* we still find a three way distinction between [k], [kh] and [g], and the other stops and affricates. Karlgren argued that the voiced initials in MC were aspirated, but later analyses treat them as unaspirated. On transcriptional evidence, Pulleyblank 1988 treated the initials of what he called Late Middle Chinese (the language of the Song rhyme tables) as being unvoiced but followed by voiced aspiration.

The *Sisheng dengzi* arranged the finals of MC into sixteen rhyme groups. Within the rhyme groups, finals are arranged in four grades. Other sources indicate that the "real language" of the time could not have been very different from the language implied in the initials, rhyme groups and grades of the *Sisheng dengzi.*

7.10 The *Qieyun zhizhangtu*

The *Qieyun zhizhangtu* 切韻指掌圖 is dated 1176-1203. It is similar to the *Sisheng dengzi*, but with an important difference: words with initial dental sibilants and final *i* were listed under Grade 1, not Grade 3 rhymes. This implies that the vowel was no longer [i], but a non-palatal vowel, the [ï] of Mandarin. EMC *tsy* and *tsr* had merged to *cr* by the LMC of the *Sisheng dengzi*. The *Qieyun zhizhangtu* indicates that *tr* and *cr* (and the corresponding voiced and aspirated initials) had also merged. Final *t* and *k* had merged, but final *p* remained in a category of its own. At some time

between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries back [ɑ] became [ɔ], while front *ae* > *ia*. So 歌 *ka* > *ko*, but 家 *kae* > *kia*. The earlier rhyme tables kept the rhymes in their original *Qieyun* order. The *Sisheng dengzi* and the *Qieyun zhizhangtu* reorganised the categories in ways which could only have reflected changes in the actual language. For instance, the *Yunjing* and the *Qiyinlüe* list the final *-aong* after *-ong*, *-ung* and *-iong*. The *Sisheng dengzi* and the *Qieyun zhizhangtu* list it after *ang* and *iang*. This indicates that *aong* had become closer to *-ang* than *-ong*. Kitan transcriptions show that MC *aong* and MC *ang* were transcribed the same: ‹aŋ›. The approximate date of the *Yunjing* is c. 1000. The *Qieyun zhizhangtu* preface is dated 1203. The *Sisheng dengzi* is dated between 1127 and 1279.

7.11 The *Huangji jingshi shu*

The *Huangji jingshi shu* is a numerological and cosmological text by Shao Yong (1011-1077). Among other things, phonological categories such as initials, finals and tones are related to various aspects of the universe. The relevant section is called *lülü shengyin* “matching the odd number pitch pipes and the even number pitch pipes, the rhymes and initials”, that is, how initials and finals are combined to form syllables. Its value is precisely in its unorthodox approach: Shao Yong did not copy his information from earlier charts, he relied on the way he pronounced the characters himself. It is generally regarded as providing reliable information about the pronunciation at the Northern Song capital of Kaifeng. However, Yakhontov 1980 made a case for it representing the language of Fanyang (Beijing), on the grounds that the treatment of MC final *k*, resulting in diphthongs, is characteristic of the *Zhongyuan yinyun.* It is also characteristic of the Kitan transcriptions. Fanyang was well within the Chinese speaking part of Liao territory.

Zhou Zumo 1966 concluded that by this stage the voiced stops and affricates had become voiceless. *Level tone* words beginning with MC *b d g j jr* (which may have been aspirated in LMC: [bh], [dh] [gh]) are listed with their aspirated voiceless equivalents. *Non-level tone* words beginning with MC voiced stops and affricates had become unaspirated voiceless stops and affricates. This is the same pattern as the *Zhongyuan yinyun* and Mandarin, but differs from the more or less contemporary Xixia transcriptions. This latter pattern also occurs in modern dialects, in particular Kejia (Hakka) and Gan.

In the earlier tables, *tr thr dr* are listed below *t th d.* In Shao Yong’s charts, however, they are listed under *cr chr jr.* This suggests the earlier postdentals and the affricates had already merged, as other Song materials indicate. Words like 自 *jii*, 思 *si* and 寺 *zii* are in Grade 1, suggesting the

nonpalatal [ï] after dental sibilants (but not affricates) already indicated in the *Qieyun zhizhangtu*. Characters such as 日 *nyit* 骨 *kuet* 德 *tek* 北 *pek* are listed in the same line as open syllables, but are kept separate from them. This is rather similar to the arrangement of such syllables in the *Zhongyuan yinyun.* Liao poetry also suggests the two series (open vowel and final glottal stop) were kept separate.

7.12 The *fanqie* spellings of Zhu Xi

The *Shijingzhuan* [Annotations to the *Book of Poetry*] was compiled by the philosopher Zhu Xi in 1177. The rhymes in the *Book of Poetry,* compiled about 700 BC, did not correspond to the rhymes of the *Qieyun.* It was not until the Qing that phonologists started the process of analysing the language of the *Book of Poetry* in its own terms. During the Song, if words did not rhyme, annotators would note "here pronounced such and such", and give the changed reading in *fanqie* "reversed cutting". This process was known as *xieyin* "harmonising the sounds". For example, Zhu Xi gives the following *fanqie* spellings (using MC for convenience): 諸延 *cyo-yen* for 展 *trien,* 薄救 *bak-kiu* for 報 *pau,* 丁五 *teeng-ngu* for 圖 *du,* 此里 *chie-li* for 在 *jei,* 居亦 *kio-yeek* for 局 *giok,* 許例 *xio-liet* for 褐 *hat.* The confusion between the former voiced and voiceless initials indicates that voicing was no longer phonemic and the former voiced initials *b d g z dr j* were lost to the system.

In the finals, words with initial dental sibilants and final *i* were changed to rhyme with other finals in *i*. If they had rhymed in the first place, they would not have been changed. The implication is that the vowel in this position had become [ï]. Final *t* and *k* are merged. There are no examples of final *p* merging with *t* or *k* in the annotations to the *Book of Poetry,* but elsewhere Zhu Xi rhymes 折 *cyet,* 白 *baek,* 客 *khaek,* 隔 *keak* and 蝶 *deep*. It is clear that by this stage *p t k* had coalesced.

7.13 Rhymes in Northern Song poetry

This summary is based on Zhu Jianing 1992: 436-442, Wang Li 1988:260-307 and Zhou Zumo 1966:656-662.

(1) MC *a* > o; MC *ae* > a
(2) MC *i ii ie, iei, iai, ioi eei* > i
(3) MC *ei uei ai eai ea aei iai ioi* > ai/uai
(4) MC *io, iu, ieu* > u/iu
(5) MC *ieu, eu, iou* > eu/ieu
(6) MC *eeu, iau, aeu, au* > au/iau

(7) MC *aoŋ, aŋ, iaŋ* > aŋ/iaŋ
(8) MC *aeŋ, eaŋ, iŋ, eeŋ, ieŋ, eŋ* > eŋ (Liao [iŋ])
(9) MC *uŋ , oŋ, ioŋ* > uŋ
(10) MC *an, uan, aen, ean, een, ian, ion* > an
(11) MC *en, uen, in, uin, iin, ien, iun* > en
(12) MC *em, am, iam, eem, eam, aem, iam, iuom* > am
(13) MC im >im

Su Dongpo rhymed 客 *khaek,* 雪 *siuet,* 石 *jyek,* 隔 *keak,* 必 *byit,* 白 *baek,* 覓 *meek* and 睫 *jiep.* Qiang Baishi rhymed 答 *tep* and 襪 *myet.* Zhang Yutian rhymed 末 *mat,* 答 *tep,* 壓 *qaep,* 髮 *piet,* 沒 *muet* and 發 *piet.* Zhou Bangyan rhymed 軋 *qeat,* 閱 *yuet,* 葉 *yep* and 怯 *khiep*. Zhu Xizhen rhymed 日 *nyit,* 湿 *syip,* 客 *khaek* and 得 *tek.* None of these words, however, rhyme with open syllables.

7.14 Xixia transcriptions

Another source for northern Chinese of about the same time are the Xixia transcriptions. These have been analysed in detail in Gong Huangcheng 1995a and 1995b. Basing his study on the Xixia transcriptions of Chinese words in the *Fan-Han heshi zhangzhongzhu* (1190), Gong concluded that the dialect in question had the following initials and finals:

Initials

p	ph	m/mb	f		w
t	th	n/nd	l		
k	kh	ŋ/ŋg	x		
ts	tsh		s		
tś	tśh	ń/ńdź	ś	ź	j

Note the characteristic *mb nd ŋg ńdź* initials, also seen in the earlier materials studied by Luo and Coblin, presumably limited geographically to the north-west. We also find *f* and *w* (not *v*), and palatal, not retroflex affricates.

Finals

i ɨ	u	ĩ	ũ
e ə	o	ə̃	
a		ã	

There is no sign of MC *p t k* even in the form of a glottal stop. MC *m n ŋ* had fallen, leaving a nasalised vowel. The vowel *ɨ* appears after dental sibilants and affricates. However, after the palatal affricates [i] remains. There is no contrast between voiced and voiceless initials. Basing himself on much the same material, however, Li Fanwen 1994 still transcribed Chinese syllables with MC *p t k* with ʔ, because the Tibetan transcription of such characters either had an open vowel, or a final <h̲>. Li felt the occasional use of <h̲> was indicative of a final ʔ.

7.15 The *Zhongyuan yinyun*

The *Zhongyuan yinyun* was published in 1324. Zhou Deqing remarked that "despite the fact that the nation had been united for some time and the language of the central plains had spread throughout the nation, too many people were still relying on outdated books such as the *Guangyun*". (Schlepp 1991:229). It contains more than 5000 characters, arranged according to the rhyming practice of the *beiqu* 'northern songs'.

The characters are divided into nineteen groups, which are named according to two characters of each rhyme group. Zhou Deqing noted, "of the four traditional tones - level, rising, departing, entering - there is no entering tone in the *Zhongyuan yinyun*, which has been distributed amongst the other tones […]." However, later Zhou says, "Those who distribute the entering tones amongst the level, rising and departing tones broaden their rhymes, which is useful for writing *beiqu.* However, in the spoken language, the entering tone is still distinguished." Zhou Deqing was from the south, and this is interpreted as meaning that in his own dialect, as distinct from the language of the *beiqu*, there was still an entering tone.

Zhongyuan yinyun					Mandarin (*pinyin transcription)*			
p	ph	m	f	v	b	p	m	f
t	th	n	l		d	t	n	l
ts	tsh	s			z	c	s	
tš	tšh	š	ř		zh	ch	sh	r
					j	q	x	
k	kh	x	ŋ		g	k	h	ø
y	w				y	w		

The initials reconstructed by various investigators are much the same. Dong Tonghe considers there was no phonemic difference between *ø* and *ŋ*. The column on the right gives the equivalents in modern Mandarin, in *pinyin*.

The ZYYY lacks the Mandarin palatals *j q x*, which did not develop until much later. ZYYY *v* < MC *miu-* and ZYYY *w* < MC *hyu-*. ZYYY *tš tšh š* correspond to the modern Mandarin retroflexes *zh ch sh*. Some scholars are reluctant to consider these initials retroflexes in the ZYYY, because they also occur before *i*. The evolution from MC *ny* to Mandarin *r* is a complex one. In Kitan it was written 𘮞 ‹ź›, a modified form of 𘮜 ‹ś›, so we can SUHVXP HILWZ DVSURQRXQFHG >å@ QWKH/ ILDR SHULRG

The distribution of characters under the upper and lower level tones indicates a pattern similar to Mandarin. MC voiced initials *b d g* had become voiceless, joining the unaspirated MC initials *p t k* in the upper level tone, and the aspirated MC initials *ph th kh* in the lower level tone. There was not a three way contrast in initial stops and affricates in the ZYYY.

7.16 The *Menggu ziyun*

The *Menggu ziyun* has recently been exhaustively studied in Coblin 2007. The ‘Phags-pa script was completed in 1269, over 300 years after the creation of the Kitan small script in 925 and a century and a half after the fall of the Liao, so it is not so relevant to our discussion of Liao Chinese. However, we can briefly review its characteristics for comparative purposes.

Initials

p	ph	b	m	f	v	ʋ	
t	th	d	n	ɳ	l		
ts	tsh	dz			s	z	
tʂ	tʂ	dʐ					
k	kh	g	ŋ	ʔ	x	ɣ	ɦ
ø							

This list shows a three way contrast between *t th d, k kh g* and so on, as in MC, not as in the ZYYY. Song rhyme tables also show a three way contrast. Shao Yong and Zhu Xi indicate a two way contrast. Coblin interprets the ‘Phags-pa <w> as [v]. ‘Phags-pa indicates an initial *ŋ* and a marginal initial ø.

In Coblin’s transcription, the main vowels are *i u ɿ ɻ u ɛ ə ɔ a ɑ;* medials are *y, j* and *w*, codas are *j w ĕ n ŋ m.* The four grades are indicated as *kan kjan kɛn* and *kjɛn*, implying a difference in vowel quality between Grades 1/2 and Grades 3/4. Syllables in Mandarin *uan* such as *guan* ‘official’ are spelled <gon>. There is no indication of a final glottal stop in the

orthography, but Coblin suggests southern speakers may have “read” a syllable such as <baw> as /baw?/ [bɔʔ].

7.17 Uighur and Xixia transcriptions of Chinese

Nie Hongyin 1988 studied the Kitan transcription of Chinese words in the *Liaoshi* and elsewhere. He concludes that there are 21 finals in this variety of Chinese: *a e ue o io ɔ i ui ai am em an en in un iun aŋ iaŋ uaŋ iŋ oŋ*. He goes on to compare three types of related material: the Uighur translation of the *Biography of Xuanzang* (10th century), the Xixia-Chinese glossary *The Timely Pearl* (12th century) and Shao Yong’s *Huangji jingshi shu* (11th century Kaifeng-Luoyang). He concluded that the Xixia dialect mixes *f* and *xu*, but the Uighur and Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect and the Kitan dialect did not; the Xixia dialect mixes *n* and *l*, the Uighur and Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect and the Kitan dialect do not; the Uighur dialect shows the loss of final *ŋ*, and the Xixia materials also show such examples, but not the Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect and the Kitan dialect did not; in the Xixia dialect the final *p t k* have been entirely lost, in the Uighur dialect they were preserved quite well, in the Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect *k* and *t* have been lost, but *p* remained. In the Kitan dialect *t* and *k* have been lost; there are no examples of *p*.

7.18 Kitan and hP’agspa transcriptions of Liao-Yuan Chinese

Shen Zhongwei 2007 is a study on hP’ags-pa transcriptions and Kitan transcriptions. The hP’ags-pa script was devised in 1269; the *Menggu ziyun*, which provides the hP’ags-pa spellings for this study, is thought to date from 1308. This is almost 400 years after the creation of the Kitan scripts. It represents quite a different variety of Chinese from the *Zhongyuan yinyun*, dated 1324, which, as we have seen, is quite close to the language of the Kitan transcriptions. Nevertheless, the phonetic values Shen derives from his study are very similar to the transcriptions used for Kitan graphs in this book. The main difference is transcriptional: Shen uses IPA type transcriptions, so 𐡁 is [p] rather than ‹b›, 𐡀 is [ph] rather than ‹p›. The other main difference is the notation for the transcription of Chinese medials: Shen writes ‹œ› for 𐡊 ‹y› and ‹œ:› for 𐡋 ‹ü›. He notes that 𐡌‹î› and 𐡍 ‹ú› may have been long vowels. A comparison of Shen’s readings with the transcriptions used in this book are as follows.

p	𐡁,付	‹b›	ph	𐡀	‹p›	m	𐡃	‹m›	ʋ	𐡄	‹w›
t	𐡅	‹d›	th	令	‹t›	n	公	‹n›	l	𐡆	‹l›
ts	𐡇	‹z›	s	𐡈	‹s›						

tʃ	术	‹c›	ʃ	戈	‹ś›	j	丐	‹ei›	ɻ	戈	‹ź›
k	几	‹g›	kh	乂	‹k›	ŋ	发	‹ŋ›	x	扎	‹ho›
a	为	‹a›	i	关	‹i›	u	及	‹u›	ɛ	交	‹ei›
ɔ	反	‹o›	œ	奂,廾	‹y›		火	‹iú›	i:	爷	‹î›
u:	分	‹ú›	ɨ	谷,杏	‹ï›	œ:	仲	‹ü›			
aŋ	勾	‹aŋ›	iŋ	同	‹iŋ›	uŋ	术,太	‹uŋ›	ɛŋ	韭,毋	‹iáŋ›
ɔŋ	杰	‹oŋ›	yŋ	凧	‹iúŋ›	əŋ	发	‹ŋ›	u:ŋ	当	‹úŋ›
aj	丰	‹ai›	uj	火	‹ui›	ɛj	余,东	‹ah›	ɔj	太	‹oi›
œj	劵,夯	‹e›	əj	丐	‹ei›						
aw	欠	‹au›	iw	丙	‹iu›	ɛw	考	‹io›	əw	土	‹eu›
am	乃	‹am›	im	又	‹m›	ɛm	圣	‹êm›	əm	金	‹em›
an	买	‹an›	in	甭	‹in›	un	火	‹un›	ɛn	方	‹ên›
ɔn	尕	‹on›	œn	虫	‹üen›	yn	亦	‹ün›	ən	木	‹en›
						yŋ	凧	‹iúŋ›	əŋ	发	‹ŋ›

7.19 Rhymes in Liao poetry

There are many studies of Song and Yuan rhymes, but few deal with the Liao and Jin periods. An exception is Lu Guoyao 1994, which compares the rhymes of 11 poets over a period of 300 years. Lu's conclusion was that the Chinese of the early Jin period was similar to that of the Song, and that considerable changes in northern Chinese began about 1200. Lu did not include any rhymes from the Liao. Of more relevance to our present concerns is Ding Zhimin 2006. His study of the rhymes in Liao poetry is based on the material in Chen Shu 1982. This collection includes 78 poems, 6 imperial epitaphs, 57 other epitaphs and other rhymes, with 421 characters in rhyming position. 109 authors are represented, but those for whom dates are available are the following thirteen:

Yelü Bei	909-946	Shangjing
Liao Shengzong	971-1031	Shangjing
Liao Xingzong	1014-1055	Shangjing
Liao Daozong	1032-1101	Shangjing
Yang Jie	fl. 1106	Nanjing
Wang Shiru	1039-1101	Fanyang
Wang Ding	d. 1106	Zhuozhou
Yelü Yan	d. 1113	Zhejin
Zhang Lin	d. 1122	Shenzhou
Yu Zhongwen	d. 1123	Wuzhou
Zhang Jian	963-1053	Nanjing

Zhang (Yelü) Xiaojie	fl. 1067	Jianzhou
Han Fang	1082-1149	Yanjing

While in itself this is a small sample, in the context of the rhymes in poetry of the Song and Jin periods, the rhyme groups of the rhyme tables and the rhyme categories of the ZYYY, it can provide a reasonable overview of the rhyming patterns during the Liao.

Supplementing Lu Guoyao's study, Ding Zhimin 2006:163 concluded that "from the seventh to the thirteenth century, the rhymes of "old style" poems written in the Beijing area can be divided into two stages: the Tang and Five Dynasties period (nearly 300 years), and the Liao Jin Yuan period (about 300 years). The changes in rhyming categories are greatest between the Tang and Five dynasties period on the one hand, and the Liao Jin Yuan period on the other. The 31 groups of the Tang and Five dynasties period evolved into 19 groups by the Liao and Song period. The 19 groups of the Liao and the 18 groups of the Jin basically do not show any changes. The general tendency of the "new style" poetry is much the same." That is to say, noticeable changes in rhyming patterns can be discerned about 1000-1100.

The table below is from Ding Zhimin 2006:163. The first column indicates the rhyme groups of the rhyme tables. The second lists the rhymes of the Late Tang and Post Tang periods of poets from the Beijing, or more generally, the Hebei area, given in MC. The third is based on the sources collected in Chen Shu 1982. From these Ding Zhimin extracted 19 rhyme groups: 14 with open syllables, compared to 19 in the ZYYY, and 5 extra groups with final ʔ. The fourth and fifth columns are based on analysis of Jin and Song poetry from the same area, and the sixth gives the nineteen groups of the ZYYY. The Liao sample itself may be relatively small, but it is clear that there is great similarity between the Liao, Jin and Song groups, but that the differences between the late Tang and post Tang rhymes and the Liao groups is considerable. Although relatively few, the structural similarity of the Liao rhyme groups to the finals of the *Zhongyuan yinyun* suggests the readings are likely to be at least approximately correct.

7.20 Development of rhyme groups from Late Tang to Yuan

Group (攝)	Post Tang	Liao	Jin	Song	Yuan
通	東種	東種	東種	東種	東種
止	支微	支微	支微	支微	支思
蟹	齊祭	支微	支微	支微	齊微
遇	魚模	魚模	魚模	魚模	魚模

蟹	皆來	皆來	皆來	皆來	皆來
臻	真諄	真文	真文	真文	真文
臻	文欣	真文	真文	真文	真文
臻	魂痕	真文	真文	真文	真文
山	寒桓	寒先	寒先	寒先	寒山
山	山刪	寒先	寒先	寒先	桓歡
山	仙先	寒先	寒先	寒先	先天
效	豪高	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪
效	交肴	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪
效	蕭宵	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪
果	歌戈	歌戈	歌戈	歌戈	歌戈
假	家麻	家麻	家麻	家麻	家麻
假	家麻	家麻	家麻	家麻	車遮
梗	庚青	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚清
梗	蒸登	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚蒸
江	江陽	江陽	陽唐	江陽	江陽
江	江陽	江陽	江雙	江陽	江陽
流	尤侯	尤侯	尤侯	尤侯	尤侯
深	侵尋	侵尋	侵尋	侵尋	侵尋
咸	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	監咸
咸	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	廉纖
山入	曷屑	月業	月業	月業	
深入	葉帖	月業	月業	月業	
曾入	德職	德昔	德質	德質	
曾入	陌昔	德昔	德質	德質	
曾入	緝邑	質沒	德質	德質	
深入	質沒	質沒	德質	德質	
通入	屋燭	屋燭	屋燭	屋燭	
通入	鐸藥	藥鐸	藥鐸	藥鐸	
江入	覺學	藥鐸	藥鐸	藥鐸	

What this table tells us is that there were 19 final groups in Liao poetry. The *approximate* values of these groups, and characters which represent a particular rhyme, were probably as follows:

1 家麻 a	2 歌戈 o	3 支微 i	4 皆來 ai	5 魚模 u
6 尤侯 eu	7 蕭豪 au	8 江陽 aŋ	9 庚蒸 iŋ	10 東種 uŋ
11 寒先 an	12 真文 e	13 談鹽 am	14 侵尋 im	
15 月業 aʔ	16 德昔 iʔ	17 質沒 eʔ	18 藥鐸 oʔ	19 屋燭 uʔ

7.21 Finals in Liao Chinese

On the basis of the rhymes set out above, we can set up a preliminary framework for the finals of Liao Chinese.

(1) a

Dazhang gongzhu epitaph: 華 *hua,* 家 *jia,* 嘉 *jia*
Shengzong epitaph: 夏 *xia,* 化 *hua,* 下 *xia,* 亞 *ya*

馬	*ma*	mae	又为	‹ma›
察	*cha*	chreat	帛	‹ca›
家	*jia*	kae	几寸	‹g.ia›
家	*jia*	kae	乂寸	‹x.ia›
夏	*xia*	hae	不寸	‹xa.ia›
下	*xia*	hae	不寸	‹xa.ia›

(2) o

Daozong epitaph: 科 *ke* 莪 *e* 歌 *ge* 河 *he* (Liao [ɔ])
Yixingming epitaph: 訶 *he,* 它 *ta,* 可 *ke*

博	*bo*	pak	礻卑	‹b.oh›
左	*zuo*	ca	𠂇反	‹s.o›
左	*zuo*	ca	𠂇反	‹z.o›
和	*he*	hua	夰	‹xo›

(3) i

Dong Yang qi Zhang-shi epitaph: 閨 *gui* 儀 *yi* 彝 *yi* 詩 *shi* 慈 *ci* 移 *yi* 淒 *qi*
Wang Ze epitaph: 氣 *qi,* 邃 *sui,* 位 *wei,* 吏 *li* 使 *shi* 制 *zhi* 遂 *sui* 止 *zhi* 第 *di* 理 *li* 此 *ci* 利 *li* 吹 *chui* 悌 *ti* 弟 *di* 歲 *sui* 里 *li* 水 *shui* 墜 *zhui*

持	chi	dri	朩关	‹c.i›
齊	*qi*	jeei	𠂇关	‹s.i›
西	*xi*	seei	𠂇关	‹s.i›
妃	*fei*	phiei	业关	‹p.i›
義	*yi*	ngie	𠂤关	‹ŋ.i›
宜	*yi*	ngie	𠂤关	‹ŋ.i›
李	*li*	li	业关	‹l.i›

禮	*li*	leei	𗼻𗴲	‹l.i›
期	*qi*	gi	𗵘𗴲	‹x.i›
起	*qi*	khi	𗵘𗴲	‹x.i›
儀	*yi*	ngie	𗿼𗴲	‹ŋ.i›
帝	*di*	teei	𗹦	‹di›
帝	*di*	teei	𗰗𗴲𗴲	‹t.i.i›
齊	*qi*	jeei	𗍑𗴲	‹ts.i›
齊	*qi*	jeei	𗰗𗴲	‹s.i›
漆	*qi*	chit	𗍑𗴲	‹ts.i›
騎	*qi*	gie	𗢭𗴲𗴲	‹g.i.i›
室	*shi*	syit	𗹏𗴲	‹ś.i›
持	*chi*	dri	𗼵𗴲	‹c.i›
師	*shi*	srii	𗹏𗴲	‹ś.i›

Words with the non-palatal, apical *ï* in MSC are usually transcribed 𗼳 ‹sh› and 𗰜 ‹tz›, but occasionally as 𗹏𗴲 ‹ś.i›, 𗼵𗴲 ‹c.i› as above. Cf. 職 𗰜 旨 𗰜 ‹tz› 知 𗰜 ‹tz› 師 𗼳 ‹sh›. In the ZYYY, most words with *ï* in MSC are in a separate group, but some, such as 知 *zhi* ‘know’, 制 *zhi* ‘system’, 恥 *chi* ‘shame’ 失 *shi* ‘lose’, 世 *shi* ‘world’, 日 *ri* ‘sun’ are listed under final *i*, not *ï*. In the Liao rhymes, there is only *i*, there is no obvious emergence of *ï.* This, however, is clear in the Kitan transcriptions. Note that 内 *nei* ‘inside’, 雷 *lei* ‘lightning’ and 淚 *lei* ‘tears’ have a medial *u* in the Liao transcriptions, as in the ZYYY.

(3a) ui

尉	*wei*	qiuei	𗴼𗴲	‹ui.i›
衛	*wei*	hiueei	𗵆𗴲	‹ui.i›
國	*guo*	kuek	𗢭𗵆	‹g.ui›
隋	*sui*	ziue	𗰗𗵆	‹s.ui›
隋	*sui*	ziue	𗰗𗴼	‹z.ui›

(3b) ï (not attested in the rhymes)

紫	*zï*	cie	𗰗𗾔	‹z.ï›
子	*zï*	ci	𗰗𗾔	‹z.ï›
使	*shï*	sri	𗼳𗾔	‹sh.ï›
事	*shï*	jri	𗼳	‹sh›
司	*sï*	si	𗼹	‹ss›
刺	*cï*	chie	𗼹	‹ss›

(3c) ie

謝	*xie*	zyae	𘍽𗼻	‹s.ie›
射	*ye*	yae	𗍫𗼻	‹ei.ie›
節	*jie*	ceet	𘍽𗼻	‹z.ie›

The graph 𗼻 is used to indicate medial -i-. As a final, it was probably pronounced [ie].

(3d) ei

德	*de*	tek	𘍽𗍫	‹t.ei›
德	*de*	tek	𘍿𗍫	‹d.ei›
德	*de*	tek	𘍽𗽞	‹d.i›
特	*te*	dek	𘍿𗍫	‹d.ei›
特	*te*	dek	𘍽𗍫	‹t.ei›

There is no sign of a final *k* in these words, which are written with 𗍫 ‹ei›, which is also used to transcribe Chinese initial *y*. MSC 特 *tè* is irregular, the regular development would be **dé*.

(4) ai

Zhang Lian epitaph: 開 *kai* 才 *cai* 偕 *xie* 恢 *hui* 頹 *tui*
Daozong epitaph: 會 *hui* 碎 *sui* 霈 *pei* 晦 *hui*

開	*kai*	khei	𗼇𘓐	‹x.ai›
開	*kai*	khei	𗏁𘓐	‹k.ai›
大	*da*	dai	𗲟𘓐	‹da.ai›
大	*da*	dai	𗍊𘓐	‹ta.ai›
大	*da*	dai	𗍊𘓐𗽞	‹ta.ai.i›
大	*da*	dai	𘍿𘓐𗽞	‹d.ai.i›
冊	*ce*	chreak	𘝦𗱕	‹c.ah›
伯	*bo*	paek	𗥃𗱕	‹b.ah›
客	*ke*	khaek	𗼇𗱕	‹x.ah›
帛	*bo*	paek	𘜶𗱕	‹p.ah›
牌	*pai*	beaii	𘜶𗱕	‹p.ah›
太	*tai*	thai	𗍊𘓐	‹t.ai›
太	*tai*	thai	𘍿	‹tai›
採	*cai*	chei	𘍽𘓐	‹s.ai›

Many words in MC final stops which have final *e* in MSC are listed under *ai* in the ZYYY. These include 策 *chai* (Mand. *ce*) 'policy' and 客 *kai* 'guest' (MSC *ke*). The Kitan transcriptions are 冊 𘰾𘰇 ‹c.ah› (MC chreak) and 客'guest' 𘲢𘰇 ‹x.ah› (MC *kaek*). Note also 伯 'uncle' ‹b.ah› (MC *paek*). There seems to be a correlation between 𘰇 ‹ah› and MC final *-k*. Note 牌 is written both 𘰶𘰇 ‹p.ah› and 𘰶𘰽 ‹p.ai›. Aisin Gioro noted the connection between 𘰇 ‹ah› and the MC Grade 2 vowels /ae/ and /ea/ rather than the final /k/, and suggested the vowel in 𘰇 ‹ah› might be [æ]. Shen Zhongwei 2007 suggests [ɛj].

(5) u

Zhang Jian epitaph 紆 *yu* 書 *shu* 謨 *mo* 孚 *fu*

Here and elsewhere Ding Zhimin includes rhymes from Shigong Dashi, *Zuiyi ge*. However, this was translated from Kitan into Chinese by Yelü Chucai during the Yuan, so the rhymes cannot be considered Liao Chinese.

吾	*wu*	ngu	𘲦𘳿	‹ŋ.u›
道	*dao*	dau	𘲤𘳿	‹dau.u›
保	*bao*	pau	𘱱𘳿	‹ŋ.u›
武	*wu*	miu	𘲵𘳿	‹w.u›
游	*you*	yeu	𘲤𘲥𘳿	‹ei.iu.u›
右	*you*	hiu	𘲤𘲥𘳿	‹ei.iu.u›
洛	*luo*	lak	𘲧𘲷𘳿	‹l.au.u›
略	*lüe*	liak	𘲧𘲶𘳿	‹l.iau.u›
副	*fu*	phieu	𘲱𘳿	‹pu.u›
許	*xu*	xio	𘲢𘳾	‹x.iú›
書	*shu*	syo	𘲣𘳾	‹ś.iú›
署	*shu*	dzyo	𘲣𘳾	‹ś.iú›
禦	*yu*	ngio	𘲦𘳾	‹ŋ.iú›
主	*zhu*	cyu	𘲠𘳾	‹tz.iú›
部	*bu*	bu	𘱱𘲫	‹b.û›
祖	*zu*	cu	𘲭𘲱	‹z.ú›
祖	*zu*	cu	𘲭𘲱	‹s.ú›
蜀	*shu*	jyok	𘲣𘲱	‹ś.ú›
蜀	*shu*	jyok	𘲣𘲫	‹ś.û›
祿	*lu*	luk	𘲧𘲬	‹l.uh›
吳	*wu*	ngu	𘲦𘳿	‹ŋ.u›

五	*wu*	ngu	𘍏𘐪	‹ŋ.u›
福	*fu*	piuk	𘐧	‹pu›
僕	*pu*	buk	𘍐𘐪	‹p.u›
僕	*pu*	buk	𘍐𘐪	‹pú.ú›
僕	*pu*	buk	𘍐𘐫	‹b.uh›
副	*fu*	phieu	𘐧	‹fu›
富	*fu*	pieu	𘐧	‹fu›
部	*bu*	bu	𘍐𘐪	‹p.ú›
部	*bu*	bu	𘍐𘐪	‹b.ú›
部	*bo*	bu	𘍐𘐭𘐪	‹b.û.ú›
夫	*fu*	piu	𘐧	‹pu›
駙	*fu*	biu	𘐧	‹pu›
輔	*fu*	piuk	𘐧	‹pu›
輔	*fu*	piuk	𘐨𘐭	‹fu.û›
輔	*fu*	piuk	𘐨𘐪	‹fu.u›
武	*wu*	miu	𘐩𘐪	‹w.u›
武	*wu*	miu	𘐩𘐨	‹w.ú›
武	*wu*	miu	𘐩𘐫	‹w.uh›
叔	*shu*	syuk	𘐬𘐩	‹ś.eu›
叔	*shu*	syuk	𘐬𘐩𘐯	‹ś.eu.iû›
叔	*shu*	syuk	𘐬𘐯	‹ś.iû›
淑	*shu*	jyuk	𘐬𘐩𘐪	‹ś.eu.ú›
六	*liu*	liuk	𘐮𘐰	‹l.iu›
右	*you*	hieu	𘐱𘐩𘐪	‹ei.eu.ú›
守	*shou*	syeu	𘐬𘐩	‹ś.eu›
壽	*shou*	jyeu	𘐬𘐩𘐪	‹ś.eu.ú›
酒	*jiu*	cieu	𘐭𘐰	‹s.iu›
牛	*niu*	ngieu	𘍏𘐰	‹ŋ.iu›
九	*jiu*	kieu	𘐲𘐰	‹g.iu›
休	*xiu*	xieu	𘐵𘐰	‹x.iu›
留	*liu*	lieu	𘐮𘐰	‹l.iu›
酒	*jiu*	cieu	𘐯𘐰	‹z.iu›
酒	*jiu*	cieu	𘐭𘐰	‹s.iu›
修	*xiu*	sieu	𘐭𘐰	‹s.iu›

(6) eu

Guangjishi inscription: 流 *liu* 幽 *you* 猷 *you* 投 *tou* 求 *qiu* 優 *you* 抽 *chou* 休 *xiu* 游 *you* 儔 *shou*

Xiao Dewen epitaph: 遘 *gou* 授 *shou* 宥 *you* 副 *fu* 獸 *shou* 竇 *dou* 胄 *zhou* 有 *you* 陋 *lou* 后 *hou* 廄 *jiu* 富 *fu* 晝 *zhou* 壽 *shou* 岫 *xiu* 朽 *xiu*

守	*shou*	syeu	𠂇土	‹ś.eu›
婁	*lou*	leu	屮土	‹l.eu›
州	*zhou*	cyeu	朩土	‹c.eu›
留	*liu*	lieu	屮丙	‹l.iu›
游	*you*	yeu	丆丙夂	‹ei.iu.ú›

(7) au

Weiguowang Shagu epitaph: 高 *gao* 豪 *hao* 勞 *lao* 堯 *yao*
Qin Jinguo Dazhang gongzhu epitaph: 考 *kao* 耀 *yao* 導 *dao* 號 *hao*

洛	*luo*	lak	屮夾夂	‹l.au.u›
藥	*yao*	yak	丆夾夂	‹ei.au.u›
曹	*cao*	jau	𠆢夾	‹s.au›
高	*gao*	kau	几夾	‹g.au›
誥	*gao*	kau	𠂆夾	‹x.au›
驃	*biao*	pieu	阡号	‹b.iau›
廟	*miao*	mieu	又号	‹m.iau›
小	*xiao*	sieu	𠆢号	‹s.iau›
少	*shao*	syeu	𠂇号夂	‹ś.iau.u›
略	*lüe*	liak	屮号夂	‹l.iau.u›
趙	*zhao*	drieu	攴号夂	‹tz.iau.u›
堯	*yao*	ngeeu	𡍮号夂	‹ŋ.iau.u›
少	*shao*	syeeu	𠂇号尺	‹ś.iau.û›
昭	*zhao*	cyeu	朩号	‹c.iau›
昭	*zhao*	cyeu	攴号	‹tz.iau›
校	*jiao*	kaeu	几号	‹g.iau›

(8) aŋ

Qin Jinguo Dazhang gongzhu epitaph: 章 *zhang* 疆 *jiang* 光 *guang* 邦 *bang*
Yide huanghou epitaph: 帳 *zhang* 上 *shang* 楊 *yang* 帳 *zhang* 貺 *kuang*

江	*jiang*	kaong	几𠂤	‹g.aŋ›
章	*zhang*	cyang	刃𠂤	‹ja.aŋ›
尚	*shang*	jyang	冏𠂤	‹ca.aŋ›
上	*shang*	jyang	朩𠂤	‹c.aŋ›

長	*chang*	driang	𘍏𘈬	‹ca.aŋ›
唐	*tang*	dang	𘈫𘈬	‹ta.aŋ›
郎	*lang*	lang	𘍤𘈬	‹l.aŋ›
敞	*chang*	chyang	𘍏𘈬	‹ca.aŋ›
常	*chang*	jyang	𘍏𘈬	‹ca.aŋ›
行	*xing*	haeng	𘍿𘍥	‹ha.áŋ›
相	*xiang*	siang	𘍠𘍾	‹s.iaŋ›
將	*jiang*	ciang	𘍠𘍾	‹s.iaŋ›
將	*jiang*	ciang	𘍡𘍾	‹z.iaŋ›

(8a) oŋ

王	*wang*	hiuang	𘍦	‹oŋ›
光	*guang*	kuang	𘈭𘍦	‹g.oŋ›

(9) iŋ (*not* eŋ)

Zhao Dejun qi zeng Qinguo daren Zhong-shi epitaph: 榮 *rong*, 膺 *ying* 聲 *sheng* 名 *ming* 清 *qing* 塋 *ying* 城 *cheng* 銘 *ming*
Jia Shixun epitaph: 應 *ying* 病 *bing* 定 *ding*

應	*ying*	qing	𘍒	‹iŋ›
平	*ping*	biaeng	𘍣𘍒	‹p.iŋ›
兵	*bing*	piaeng	𘈪𘍒	‹bi.iŋ›
經	*jing*	keeng	𘈭𘍒	‹g.iŋ›

(10) uŋ

Xiao Yi epitaph: 公 *gong* 崇 *chong* 隆 *long* 忠 *zhong* 鴻 *hong* 終 *zhong* 重 *zhong* 豐 *feng* 窮 *qiong*
Daozong epitaph: 峰 *feng* 容 *rong* 蹤 *zong* 宗 *zong*

宗	*zong*	coŋ	𘍾𘍲	‹s.úŋ›
宗	*zong*	coŋ	𘍡𘍲	‹z.úŋ›
奉	*feng*	biuŋ	𘍣𘍲	‹p.úŋ›
崇	*chong*	jriuŋ	𘍏𘍲	‹ca.úŋ›
宮	*gong*	kiuŋ	𘈭𘍏𘍱	‹g.iu.uŋ›
統	*tong*	thoŋ	𘍧𘍱	‹tu.uŋ›
龍	*long*	lioŋ	𘍤𘍬	‹l.iúŋ›

Syllables with initial labials such as MSC 崩 *beng*, 烹 *peng*, 夢 *meng*, 猛 *meng*, 風 *feng* and 馮 *feng* were included in the -uŋ group in the ZYYY: 崩 *bung*, 烹 *pung*, 夢 *mung*, 猛 *mung*, 風 *fung*, 馮 *fung*. This was also the case in Liao. Words such as 龍 *long* 'dragon' preserve the MC medial i in both the ZYYY (*liung*) and in Liao Chinese ‹l.iúŋ›.

(11) an

Liu Haichan: 丹 *dan* 難 *nan* 山 *shan* 間 *jian* 般 *ban* 難 nan 田 *tian* 千 *qian*
Shengzong epitaph: 旦 *dan* 段 *duan* 諫 *jian*

蘭	*lan*	lan	𗼇为𘓐	‹l.a.an›
山	*shan*	srean	𘝦为𗴲	‹ś.a.an›
安	*an*	qan	为𗴲	‹a.an›

(11a) ên

乾	*qian*	gien	𘜶方	‹ki.ên›
殿	*dian*	deen	令文方	‹t.ie.ên›
殿	*yuan*	deen	𘖵文方	‹d.ie.ên›
院	*yuan*	hiuen	𘕕方	‹y.ên›
院	*yuan*	hiuen	𗋕𘕕𘝯	‹ŋ.y.iên›
宣	*xuan*	siuen	𘐤𘕕𘝯	‹s.y.iên›
仙	*xian*	sien	𘐤文方	‹s.ie.ên›
前	*qian*	jeen	𘐤文方	‹s.ie.ên›

(11b) on

The ZYYY has a separate category not attested in the Liao rhymes, 桓歡 *on*. It includes 半 *bon* 'half' 滿 *mon*, 端 *don* 'carry', 團 *ton* 'group', 暖 *non* 'warm', 卵 *lon* 'egg', 算 *son* 'calculate' 官 *gon* 'official', 館 *gon* 'building', 寬 *kon* 'broad', 歡 *hon* 'happy'. The Liao rhymes indicate these words had the final *an*. The Kitan transcriptions indicate final *on*, as in the ZYYY.

團	*tuan*	duan	𗰣尒	‹to.on›
觀	*guan*	kuan	𗼻公	‹go.n›

(12) en

Fuma zeng Weiguowang Shagu epitaph: 勛 *xun* 存 *cun* 人 *ren* 神 *shen* 春 *chun*
Ma Zhiwen qi Zhangguan epitaph: 文 *wen* 君 *jun* 薰 *xun* 云 *yun* 群 *qun* 軍 *jun* 勤 *qin* 芬 *fen* 紛 *fen* 忻 *xin* 墾 *gen* 焚 *fen* 聞 *wen* 裙 *qun* 分 *fen* 曛 *xun* 墳 *fen*

門	*men*	muen	又朷	‹m.en›
陳	*chen*	drin	朱朷	‹c.en›
陳	*chen*	drin	朱雨	‹c.in›
臣	*chen*	jyin	朱朷	‹c.en›
臣	*chen*	jyin	朱雨	‹c.in›

(13) am

This group corresponds to two groups in the ZYYY: *am* and *iam.*

Guyushan temple inscription: 岩 *yan* 藍 *lan* 瞻 *zhan*
Fayun dashi epitaph: 險 *xian,* 漸 *jian,* 焰 *yan*

三	*san*	sam	仐为乃	‹s.a.am›
監	*jian*	kaem	几斗乃	‹g.ia.am›

(13a) êm

監	*jian*	kaem	几斗丞	‹g.ia.êm›
點	*dian*	teem	丞丞	d.êm
檢	*jian*	kiem	几交丞	g.ie.êm

(14) im

Xuanyi epitaph: 沉 *chen* 尋 *xun* 心 *xin* 今 *jin*
Zhang Zhengsong epitaph: 金 *jin* 今 *jin* 深 *shen* 音 *yin*

金	*jin*	kim	几又	‹gi.m›

7.22 The question of the glottal stop

There are five separate rhyme groups in Liao poetry which had stop endings in MC. This indicates that the MC endings *-p -t -k* had all coalesced into a glottal stop, separate from open syllables. In Liao, iʔ is distinguished from eʔ, but these have coalesced by the Jin.

Post Tang	Liao	Jin	Song
曷屑	月 oʔ	月 oʔ	月 oʔ
葉帖	月 oʔ	月 oʔ	月 oʔ
德職	德 eʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
陌錫	昔 eʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
緝邑	質 iʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
質沒	質 iʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
屋燭	屋 uʔ	屋 uʔ	屋 uʔ
鐸藥	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ
覺學	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ

It is clear from the rhymes that Liao Chinese preserved a glottal stop. At least in poetry. We have a very important note, however, from the *Mengqi bitan* by Shen Gua. In commenting on the *Jingdian shiwen*, Shen Gua noted that "Xiong Ansheng was originally from Heshuo (Hebei) and his *fanqie* often reflect northern pronunciation. Lu Deming was from Wu, and mainly follows the Wu pronunciation. Zheng Kangsheng was from Qi, and mainly followed the eastern pronunciation. For example, in the expression 璧有肉好 *bi you rou hao* 'a jade *bi* 璧 consists of a 肉 *rou* 'outer section' and a 好 *hao* 'inner area', 肉 sounds like 揉. This is northern pronunciation. Even now the Heshuo people pronounce 肉 as 揉, and 贖 as 樹." (Ding Zhimin 2006:88). This expression is from the Erya: 肉倍好，謂之璧. Commentary: 璧亦玉器。子男所執者也。璧之制，肉，邊也，好，孔也。邊大倍於孔者，名璧. "A *bi* is also a jade implement. It is held by viscounts and barons. The *bi* is made of a *rou*, the outer section, and a *hao*, the inner area. The outer [solid] area is twice the width of the inner [empty] area."

It is possible to interpret this in a variety of ways, but it looks as if Shen Gua is saying that the people of Hebei pronounce words like 肉 'meat' (MC *nyuk*) and 贖 'lose' (MC *zyuk*) like 揉 (MC *nyeu*) and 樹 (MC *jyu*), which did not have a final *-k* in MC or a final -ʔ in Song Chinese. This would mean that the final stop categories were observed in writing poetry, but not in the everyday speech of people in Hebei.

7.23 Finals derived from MC final stops in Kitan transcription

There are 36 characters derived from words with MC final stops transcribed into Kitan graphs.

叔 *shu* MC *syuk*	淑 *shu* MC *jyuk*	蜀 *shu* MC *jyok*
睦 *mu* MC *miuk*	祿 *lu* MC *luk*	督 *du* MC *tok*
福 *fu* MC *piuk*	六 *liu* MC *liuk*	僕 *pu* MC *buk*
藥 *yao* MC *yak*	洛 *luo* MC *lak*	略 *lüe* MC *liak*
伯 *bo* MC *pak*	郭 *guo* MC *kuak*	涿 *zhuo* MC *traok*
職 *zhi* MC *cyik*	德 *de* MC *tek*	特 *te* MC *dek*
國 *guo* MC *kuek*	冊 *ce* MC *chaek*	帛 *bo* MC *baek*
伯 *bo* MC *paek*	客 *ke* MC *khaek*	易 *yi* MC *yek*
石 *shi* MC *jyek*	察 *cha* MC *crheat*	節 *jie* MC *cet*
滑 *hua* MC *hueat*	越 *yue* MC *hyuat*	室 *shi* MC *syit*
漆 *qi* MC *chit*	密 *mi* MC *mit*	十 *shi* MC *jyip*

7.24 Kitan transcriptions of characters with MC final stops

越	*yue*	hyuot	𐘀𐘂𐘓	‹y.e›
節	*jie*	ceet	𐘄𐘀	‹z.ie›
察	*cha*	chreat	𐘅	‹ca›
漆	*qi*	chit	𐘃𐘁	‹ts.i›
漆	*qi*	chit	𐘄𐘁	‹z.i›
漆	*qi*	chit	𐘆𐘁	‹s.i›
西	*xi*	seei	𐘇𐘁	‹ś.i›
室	*shi*	siet	𐘇𐘁	‹ś.i›
藥	*yao*	yak	𐘍𐘀𐘓	‹ei.au.u›
壽	*shou*	jyeu	𐘇𐘉𐘓	‹ś.eu.u›
右	*you*	hieu	𐘍𐘉𐘓	‹ei.eu.u›
洛	*luo*	lak	𐘋𐘀𐘓	‹l.au.u›
略	*lüe*	liak	𐘋𐘊𐘓	‹l.iau.u›
博	*bo*	pak	𐘌𐘏	‹b.oh›
郭	*guo*	kuak	𐘐	‹go›
德	*de*	tek	𐘎𐘍	‹t.ei
德	*de*	tek	𐘏𐘍	‹d.ei›
德	*de*	tek	𐘎𐘁	‹t.i›
特	*te*	dek	𐘎𐘍	‹t.ei›

特	*te*	dek	𘍽𘐪	‹d.ei›
國	*guo*	kuek	𘐪𘐾	‹g.ui›
水	*shui*	syuii	𘐪𘐾	‹ś.ui›
内	*nei*	nuei	𘍽𘐾	‹n.ui›
職	*zhi*	cyik	𘐪	‹tz›
知	*zhi*	trie	𘐪	‹tz›
旨	*zhi*	cyii	𘐪	‹tz›

There are three graphs which sometimes appear to be associated with MC stop finals: 𘐪 ‹ah› 𘐫 ‹oh› and 𘐬 ‹uh›:

冊	*ce*	chaek	𘐩𘐪	‹c.ah›
客	*ke*	khaek	𘐿𘐪	‹x.ah›
伯	*bo*	paek	𘐽𘐪	‹p.ah›
牌	*pai*	beaii	𘐽𘐪	‹p.ah›
牌	*pai*	beaii	𘐽𘐫	‹p.ai›
博	*bo*	pak	𘐭𘐫	‹b.oh›
祿	*lu*	luk	𘐯	‹lu›
祿	*lu*	luk	𘐯𘐬	‹lu.uh›
祿	*lu*	luk	𘐰𘐬	‹l.uh›
武	*wu*	miu	𘐱𘐵	‹w.ú›
武	*wu*	miu	𘐱𘐬	‹w.uh›

It is quite possible that ‹ah› may have been [ai], but it is generally distinguished from 𘐫 ‹ai›. There may have been some difference in the vowel. 𘐪 ‹ah› 𘐫 ‹oh› and 𘐬 ‹uh› are also commonly used to transcribe open syllables. Generally speaking there is no consistency in the use of the graphs used to transcribe syllables which ended in stops in MC and probably a glottal stop in Song Chinese. This does not prove that Liao Chinese did not have a glottal stop in such words, just that the Kitan transcription does not indicate it.

叔	*shu*	syuk	𘐾𘐲	‹ś.eu›
叔	*shu*	syuk	𘐾𘐲𘐳	‹ś.eu.iû›
叔	*shu*	syuk	𘐾𘐳	‹ś.iû›
守	*shou*	syeu	𘐾𘐲	‹ś.eu›
州	*zhou*	cyeu	𘐪𘐲	‹c.eu›
淑	*shu*	jyuk	𘐾𘐲𘐴	‹ś.eu.u›
壽	*shou*	jyeu	𘐾𘐲𘐴	‹ś.eu.u›

蜀	*shu*	jyok	𘍞𘜶	‹ś.ú›
蜀	*shu*	jyok	𘍞𘜑	‹ś.û›
楚	*chu*	chrio	𘍠𘜶	‹c.ú›
祖	*zu*	cu	𘜶𘜶	‹s.ú›
武	*wu*	miu	𘜓𘜶	‹w.ú›
魯	*lu*	lu	𘜒𘜶	‹l.ú›
護	*hu*	hu	𘜘𘜑	‹xu.û›
度	*du*	du	𘜷𘜑	‹t.û›
諸	*zhu*	cyo	𘜻𘜑	‹tz.û›
部	*bu*	bu	𘜿𘜑	‹bû›
福	*fu*	piuk	𘜶	‹pu›
駙	*fu*	biu	𘜶	‹pu›
父	*fu*	piu	𘜶	‹pu›
府	*fu*	piu	𘜶	‹pu›
六	*liu*	liuk	𘜒丙	‹l.iu›
修	*xiu*	sieu	𘜶丙	‹s.iu›
酒	*jiu*	cieu	𘜶丙	‹s.iu›

7.25 Initials of Liao Chinese

Nie Hongyin 1988 made an interesting discovery in his study of the Chinese transcriptions of Kitan words in the *Liaoshi*. Many such words have a second syllable beginning with Chinese *l:* 暴里 *baoli;* 迭烈 *dielie*, 撻林 *dalin*; 梯里己 *tiliji*, 撻剌子 *dalazi*; 獨盧金 *dulujin*; 塔里捨 *talishe*, 敵烈麻都 *diliemadu*, 陶里本 *taoliben*, 奪里本 *duoliben*; 忒里蹇 *telijian*; 吐里 *tuli*; 題里 *tili*, 甲里叵 *jialipo*, 迭烈特 *dieliete*. Nie suggested Kitan may have had initial consonants clusters of the type **pl-*, **tr-*, or perhaps syllables like **pel*, **ter*. Apparently there were special graphs for syllables like **hor*, **dir* and others. Judging from the Kitan transcriptions of Chinese words in the inscriptions, it would seem that voicing and/or aspiration was not phonemic in Kitan, and that the basic Kitan phonemes were lax *b d g*, which may have had aspirated allophones.

Nie also suggests the first character in such words, however, is usually one which had a *voiced initial* in MC. This tends to suggest that the reflexes of the MC voiced initials were aspirated, as is the case in the Xixia transcriptions, the northwestern dialects studied in Coblin 1994 and in modern Gan and Hakka, in Sagart 1988. This is not the pattern of the *Zhongyuan yinyun* or modern Mandarin, where the reflexes of MC voiced initials are aspirated voiceless in the level tones, and unaspirated voiceless in the non-level tones. This is confirmed by Gong Huangcheng 2005:491:

"From an investigation of the [Xixia] transcriptions, the Middle Chinese voiced stops and voiced affricates, irrespective of the tones, become aspirated voiceless stops and affricates. As far as the place of articulation is concerned, the postdentals have coalesced with the retroflexes, and the situation is the same as with the stops … *b* > *ph*, *d* > *th*, *g* > *kh*, *dz* > *tsh*, *z* > *s*, and were transcribed the same as the original MC *ph th kh tsh* and *s*."

Labials and labiodentals

部	*bu*	bu	𘜶𘝦	‹b.û›
伯	*bo*	paek	𘜶𘜍	‹b.ah›
驃	*biao*	pieu	𘜶𘜐	‹b.iau›
保	*bao*	pau	𘜶𘜑	‹b.u›
僕	*pu*	phuk	𘜶𘜓	‹b.uh›
妃	*fei*	phiei	𘜷𘜔	‹p.i›
平	*ping*	biaeng	𘜷𘜕	‹p.iŋ›
奉	*feng*	biong	𘜷𘜖	‹p.úŋ›
府	*fu*	piu	𘜸	‹pu›
密	*mi*	mit	𘜹𘜔	‹m.i›
馬	*ma*	mae	𘜹𘜎	‹m.a›
廟	*miao*	mieu	𘜹𘜐	‹m.iau›
門	*men*	muen	𘜹𘜋	‹m.en›
文	*wen*	miun	𘜺𘜗	‹w.un›

Nie says the MC initials *piu- phiu- biu-* had all become *f-* and *miu-* had become *v-*. Moreover, in the *Liaoshi* glossary, there are no Chinese words beginning with *f*, indicating that in Kitan there was no *f* phoneme. 𘜸 ‹fu› occasionally appears in the transcription of Chinese words. From the transcription of Chinese, is not clear what difference there may have been between 𘜶 ‹b› and 𘜷 ‹p›, or the dentals 𘜻 ‹d› and 𘜼 ‹t›. It may be that the first of each was associated with front vowels and the second with back vowels, or that different vowels are involved.

Dentals

殿	*dian*	deen	𘜻𘜙𘜋	‹d.ie.en›
大	*da*	dai	𘜻𘜽𘜔	‹d.ai.i›
特	*te*	dek	𘜻𘜓	‹d.ei›
德	*de*	tek	𘜻𘜓	‹d.ei›

唐	*tang*	dang	仍勺	‹ta.aŋ›
台	*tai*	thei	丞	‹tai›
寧	*ning*	neeng	公同	‹n.iŋ›
内	*nei*	nuei	公火	‹n.ui›
禮	*li*	leei	丬关	‹l.i›
龍	*long*	liong	丬爪	‹l.iúŋ›
陵	*ling*	ling	丬同	‹l.iŋ›
令	*ling*	lieng	丬同	‹l.iŋ›
梁	*liang*	liang	丬並	‹l.iáŋ›
郎	*lang*	lang	丬勺	‹l.aŋ›
蘭	*lan*	lan	丬为买	‹l.a.an›
留	*liu*	lieu	丬丙	‹l.iu›
略	*lüe*	lak	丬考攴	‹l.iau.u›

Affricates and sibilants

青	*qing*	cheeng	伞同	‹s.iŋ›
漆	*qi*	chit	伞关	‹s.i›
西	*xi*	seei	伞关	‹s.i›
前	*qian*	jeen	伞交方	‹s.ie.ên›
三	*san*	sam	伞为乃	‹s.a.am›
修	*xiu*	sieu	伞丙	‹s.iu›
祖	*zu*	cu	傘夲	‹z.ú›
祭	*ji*	ciei	傘关	‹z.i›
靜	*jing*	jieng	傘同	‹z.iŋ›
濟	*ji*	ceei	傘关	‹z.i›
進	*jin*	cin	傘雨	‹z.iŋ›
節	*jie*	ceet	傘交	‹z.ie›
左	*zuo*	ca	傘反	‹z.o›
宗	*zong*	cong	傘当	‹z.úŋ›
酒	*jiu*	cieu	傘丙	‹z.iu›
紫	*zi*	cie	傘谷	‹z.ï›
子	*zi*	ji	傘谷	‹z.ï›
州	*zhou*	cyeu	朮土	‹c.eu›
冊	*ce*	chreak	朮东	‹c.ah›
丞	*cheng*	jying	朮发	‹ci.ŋ›
臣	*chen*	jyin	朮雨	‹c.in›
察	*cha*	chreat	帛	‹ca›

商	*shang*	syang	𘓱𘐪	‹c.aŋ›
仁	*ren*	nyin	𘐪𘓓	‹źin›
尚	*shang*	jyang	𘐪𘐪	‹ś.aŋ›
省	*sheng*	sraeng	𘐪𘓐	‹ś.iaŋ›
聖	*sheng*	syeng	𘐪同, 𘐪关同	‹ś.iŋ›,‹ś.i.iŋ›
山	*shan*	srean	𘐪为买	‹ś.a.an›
守	*shou*	syeu	𘐪𘓕	‹ś.eu›
書	*shu*	syo	𘐪𘓖	‹ś.iú›
水	*shui*	syuii	𘐪𘓖	‹ś.ui›
少	*shao*	syeeu	𘐪𘓗𘓘	‹ś.iau.u›
室	*shi*	syit	𘐪关	‹ś.i›
署	*shu*	jyo	𘐪𘓖	‹ś.iú›
職	*zhi*	cyik	𘓘	‹tz›
政	*zheng*	cyeng	𘓘同	‹tz.iŋ›
鄭	*zheng*	drieng	𘓘同	‹tz.iŋ›
中	*zhong*	triung	子𘓖	‹ju.uŋ›
章	*zhang*	cyang	𘓙𘐪	‹ja.aŋ›
事	*shi*	jri	𘓚	‹sh›
詩	*shi*	syi	𘓚	‹sh›
師	*shi*	srii	𘓚	‹sh›
使	*shi*	sri	𘓚	‹sh›
侍	*shi*	jyi	𘓚	‹sh›
司	*si*	si	𘓛	‹ss›
賜	*ci*	sie	𘓛	‹ss›

Mandarin 賜 *ci* is irregular; regular development would be *si*. The important thing is clear indication of *ï* in such words. Nie notes that the Chinese transcriptions of Kitan words in the *Liaoshi* all have initial *s*; none have affricates. The characters used are: 蕭速選思撒蘇莎珊辛先斯新賽.

Velars/laryngeals

開	*kai*	khei	𘓜𘓪	‹k.ai›
興	*xing*	xing	𘓝关同	‹x.i.iŋ›
期	*qi*	gi	𘓝关	‹x.i›
開	*kai*	khei	𘓝𘓪	‹x.ai›
客	*ke*	khaek	𘓝东	‹x.ah›
空	*kong*	khung	𘓝太	‹x.uŋ›
元	*yuan*	ngiuon	𘓞𘓟𘓠	‹ŋ.y.iên›

元	*yuan*	ngiuon	𠂇仲公	‹ŋ.ü.n›
元	*yuan*	ngiuon	𠂇奴公	‹ŋ.y.n›
乾	*qian*	gien	亚方	‹ki.ên›
銀	*yin*	ngin	𠂇雨	‹ŋ.in›
吾	*wu*	ngu	𠂇夂	‹ŋ.ú›

Initial y-

右	*you*	hiu	丆土夂	‹ei.eu.u›
射	*ye*	yep	丆文	‹ei.ie›
游	*you*	yu	丆丙夂	‹ei.iu.u›

Initial w-

文	*wen*	miun	𠂤𠂆	w.un
武	*wu*	miu	𠂤夂	w.u

Medial -ie- [i̯]

仙	*xian*	sien	𠆢文方	‹s.ie.ên›
前	*qian*	jeen	𠆢文方	‹s.ie.ên›
殿	*dian*	deen	令文方	‹t.ie.ên›
殿	*dian*	deen	𡈼文方	‹d.ie.ên›

Medial -y- [ü̯]

元	*yuan*	ngiuon	𠂇奴虫	‹ŋ.y.iên›
元	*yuan*	ngiuon	𠂇奴公	‹ŋ.y.n›
元	*yuan*	ngiuon	𠂇仲公	‹ŋ.ü.n›

7.26 Conclusions

Putting this heterogeneous, incomplete and inconsistent material together, we can conclude that the Chinese dialect transcribed in the Kitan inscriptions had the following characteristics:

(1) It was of the Early Mandarin variety rather than the late Tang/Five dynasties type.
(2) The palatalisation of velars and sibilants before *i* had not occurred, so we have Liao *ging* for Mandarin *jing* 京, Liao *si* for Mandarin *xi* 西 and so on.
(3) Liao Chinese had initial *ŋ* and final *m*. Mandarin *r* was transcribed ‹ź›, probably [ʒ]. There is no evidence for [v]. The reflex of MC *miu-* was [w].
(4) The Mandarin finals *uan* and *uang* were Liao *on* and *ong*, as in the ZYYY. It is not clear if the Mandarin final *ün* was *iun* or *ün* in Liao; I have written *ün*.
(5) The apical vowel [ï] occured after 𘍿 ‹sh›, 𘍾 ‹tz› and 𘍽 ‹ss›. It was sometimes unwritten, sometimes written 𘌽 (𘍼) ‹ï›. Some words of this type were written 𘍿𘌇 ‹ś.i› rather than 𘍿𘌽 ‹sh.ï›, probably indicating the Kitan pronunciation of such words.
(6) Entering tone words were observed as a separate class in the rhymes, but not in the Kitan transcriptions. The script has three graphs, 𘌆 ‹ah›, 𘍏 ‹oh› and 𘍐 ‹uh›, which might indicate a final stop. It is not impossible that when the Kitan script was devised, graphs were devised for these sounds because they actually existed in the type of Chinese used in the early Liao, but by the time of the inscriptions, this distinction had become blurred.
(7) The irregular way Kitan transcribed words with MC *p ph b*; *k, kh, g* etc. and Mandarin initials *b p*; *g k* etc. makes comparisons difficult. The Kitan script, however, shows a two way contrast, not a three way contrast. The irregularities may derive from the phonological incongruity of the Kitan and Chinese stops. The Kitan stops were probably voiced, and aspiration was not distinctive, or perhaps conditioned. The Chinese stops were unvoiced, with aspiration being phonemically distinctive.
(8) Medial i was preserved in such words as 宮 **giung* ‘palace’ 龍 **liung* ‘dragon’, cf. 公 **gung* ‘lord’. Note also 牛 **ŋiu* and 尚 **chang.*

7.27 The phonological system of Liao Chinese

IPA-based transcription

p	ph	m	f	w
t	th	n	l	
ts	tsh	s		
tʃ	tʃh	ʃ	ʒ	
k	kh	x	ŋ	
aŋ	oŋ	iŋ	uŋ	
a	o	i	u	
ai		ɿ	ui	
au	eu	iu		
ei		ie		
an	on	in	un	
am		im		
ɛn			yn	

Pinyin based transcription

b	p	m	f	w
d	t	n	l	
z	c	s		
zh	ch	sh	ř	
g	k	x	ŋ	
ang	ong	ing	ung	
a	o	i	u	
au	eu	iu		
ai		ï	ui	
ei		ie		
an	on	in	un	
am		im		
ên			ün	

The transcription system used in this book for Liao Chinese, the type of Chinese reflected in the Kitan transcriptions, is a modification of *pinyin* rather than an IPA based system. Transcribing 兵馬都監 𘓱𘓐 𘓄𘓂 𘓀 𘓅𘓁𘓆

‹b.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm› as **bingma dugiem* reveals a clear correspondence with ‹b.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm›. To write it **piŋ ma tu kiæm* makes the correspondence less clear, unless we adopt a Chinese style type of IPA for Kitan as well, and write **p.iŋ ma tu k.ǐ.æm* for 𘮩𘰾 𘲭𘰚 𘮩 𘴦𘵘𘲤. Some Chinese researchers do this. But then we would have to write **p.as* for 𘮩𘲤 ‹b.as› ‘again’, cf. Mo. *basa* or **toro* for 𘵣 ‹doro› cf. Ma. *doron* ‘seal’. The transcription used here for Kitan is based on the same general principles used in Western scholarship to transcribe Mongol or Manchu.

7.28 Suggested Liao Chinese readings

7.001 *anguojun* 安國軍 𘰚𘳿 𘴦𘵘 𘴦𘲭 ‹a.an g.ui g.ün› **angui gün*
7.002 *Anzhou* 安州 𘰚𘳿 𘲤𘵪 ‹a.an c.eu› **an zheu*
7.003 *biaoji da jiangjun* 驃騎大將軍 𘮩𘵣 𘴦𘵘𘵘 𘲤𘲦 𘲭𘰾 𘴦𘲭 ‹b.iau g.i.i ta.ai s.iaŋ g.ün› **biaugi dai zianggün*
7.004 *bingma dujian* 兵馬都監 𘮩𘰾 𘲭𘰚 𘴦 𘴦𘲤𘲤 ‹b.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm› **bingma dugiem*
7.005 *bushusi* 部署司 𘵪𘲭𘲭 𘲦𘵘 𘵪 ‹p.u.u ś.iú ss› **bushiusï*
7.006 *chengzhi* 承旨 𘲤𘳿 𘲭 ‹ci.ŋ dz› **chengzï*
7.007 *chonglu daifu* 崇祿大夫 𘵇𘲦 𘲤𘲦 𘲤𘲦 𘳿 ‹ca.úŋ l.uh da.ai pu› **chunglu daifu*
7.008 *cishi* 刺史 𘰾𘲤 𘵘 ‹s.ï sh› ~ 𘵪 𘵘 ‹ss sh› **cïshï*
7.009 *dianqian du dianjian* 殿前都點檢 𘲤𘲭𘲦 𘰾𘲭𘲦 𘴦 𘲤𘲤 𘴦𘲭𘲤 ‹d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm› **diensien du diemgiem*
7.010 *dianzhongshi* 殿中使 𘲤𘲭𘲦 𘲥𘲭 𘵘𘲤 ‹d.ie.ên ju.uŋ sh.ï› **dienzhungshï*
7.011 *du dianjian* 都點檢 𘴦 𘲤𘲤 𘴦𘲭𘲤 ‹du d.êm g.ie.êm› **du diemgiem*
7.012 *fangyushi* 防禦使 𘰾𘲦 𘳿𘲦 𘵘 ‹fú.oŋ ŋ.iú sh› **fongŋushï*
7.013 *Fengsheng zhou* 奉聖州 𘵪𘲦 𘲭𘳿 𘲤𘵪 ‹p.úŋ śi.ŋ c.eu› **pungshing zheu*
7.014 *fubushu* 副部署 𘰾 𘮩𘲥 𘲭𘲦 ‹pu b.û ś.iú› ~ 𘰾 𘮩𘲭 𘲭𘲦 ‹pu b.u ś.iú› **fubushiu*
7.015 *fugongshi* 副宮使 𘰾𘲭 𘴦𘲤𘲦 𘵘 ‹pu.u g.iu.uŋ sh› ~ 𘰾 𘴦𘲤𘲦 𘵘 ‹fu g.iu.uŋ sh› **fugiungshï*
7.016 *fuguo shangjiangjun* 輔國上將軍 𘰾 𘴦𘲦 𘲭𘲪 𘲤𘲦 𘴦𘲭 ‹pu g.ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **fugui shang zianggün*
7.017 *gongdian* 宮殿 𘴦𘲤𘲦 𘲤𘲦𘲭 ‹g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên› **giungdien*
7.018 *gongshi* 宮使 𘴦𘲤𘲦 𘵘 ‹g.iu.uŋ sh.ï› ~ 𘴦𘲤𘲦 𘵘 ‹g.iu.úŋ sh› **giungshï*
7.019 *guanchashi* 觀察使 𘵣𘲦 𘵇 𘵘 ‹go.n ca sh› **gonchashï*

7.020 *Guanglingjun wang* 廣陵郡王 𐗇𐗆 𐗅𐗉 𐗇𐗃 𐗆𐗀 ‹g.oŋ l.iŋ g.ün oŋ› **gonglinggün ong*
7.021 *guanglu daifu* 光祿大夫 𐗇𐗆 𐗈 𐗀𐗅𐗂 𐗁 ‹g.oŋ lu da.ai.i pu› **gonglu daifu*
7.022 *guofei* 國妃 𐗇𐗃 𐗄𐗂 ‹g.ui p.i› **guifi*
7.023 *guoshi* 國師 𐗇𐗃 𐗋 ‹g.ui sh› **guishï*
7.024 *guozi jijiu* 國子祭酒 𐗇𐗃 𐗁𐗀 𐗁𐗂 𐗁𐗋 ‹g.ui z.ï z.i z.iu› **guizï zizieu*
7.025 *jiedushi* 節度使 𐗁𐗀 𐗀 𐗋 ‹z.ie du sh› **ziedushï*
7.026 *Jin wang* 晉王 𐗁𐗅 𐗆 ‹s.in oŋ› **Zin oŋ*
7.027 *Jingzong huangdi* 景宗皇帝 𐗇𐗉 𐗁𐗌 𐗄 𐗆 ‹g.iŋ s.úŋ hoŋ di› **Gingzung hongdi*
7.028 *jinwuwei shangjiangjun* 金吾衛上將軍 𐗇𐗃 𐗀𐗈 𐗁𐗈 𐗄 𐗇𐗃 𐗁𐗁 𐗇𐗉 𐗁𐗀𐗆 金吾衛上將軍‹gi.m ŋ.u ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **gimŋu'ui shang zianggün*
7.029 *kaifu yitong sansi* 開府義同三司 𐗂𐗌 𐗁 𐗁𐗂 𐗈𐗀 𐗁𐗌𐗀 𐗁𐗄 𐗀 ‹k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.uŋ s.a.am ss› **kaifu ŋitung samsï*
7.030 *kaiguobo* 開國伯 𐗂𐗌 𐗇𐗃 𐗁𐗀 ‹k.ai g.ui b.ah› ~ 𐗀𐗌 𐗇𐗃 𐗁𐗀 ‹x.ai g.ui b.ah› **kaiguibai*
7.031 *libu shilang* 禮部侍郎 𐗉𐗂 𐗁𐗀 𐗋𐗁 𐗉𐗆 ‹l.i b.û sh.ïl.aŋ› **Libu shïlang*
7.032 *ling san sheng shi* 領三省事 𐗉𐗅 𐗁𐗄 𐗀𐗈𐗀 𐗇𐗃 𐗋 ‹l.iŋ s.a.am ś.iaŋ sh› **ling sam siang shï*
7.033 *Luojing liushou* 洛京留守 𐗉𐗌 𐗁𐗈 𐗇𐗅 𐗀𐗁𐗂 𐗉𐗅 𐗇𐗃 𐗁𐗏 ‹l.au.u g.iŋ l.iu ś.eu› **lauging liusheu*
7.034 *pingluan gongchen* 平亂功臣 𐗁𐗅 𐗉𐗅 𐗁𐗀𐗆 𐗇𐗃 𐗁𐗂 ‹p.iŋ l.a.on g.uŋ c.en› **pinglon gungchen*
7.035 *pingzhang zhengshi* 平章政事 𐗁𐗅 𐗀𐗃 𐗀𐗅 𐗋𐗆 ‹p.iŋ tz.aŋ tz.iŋ sh.ï› **pingzhang zhingshï*
7.036 *qianniu weijiangjun* 千牛衛將軍 𐗆𐗈𐗇 𐗈𐗇 𐗉𐗌 𐗆𐗁 𐗇𐗃 ‹s.ie.ên ŋ.iu ui.i z.iaŋ g.ün› **cie ŋiu'ui zianggün*
7.037 *Qishui xian kaiguo nan* 漆水縣開國男 𐗆𐗌 𐗇𐗃 𐗁𐗈 𐗁𐗇 𐗂𐗌 𐗇𐗃 𐗆 ‹s.i ś.oi ki.ên k.ai g.ui na.am› **cishuihien kaiguinam*
7.038 *shang shu you cheng xiang* 尚書右丞相 𐗅𐗀 𐗇𐗉 𐗅𐗃𐗏 𐗁𐗀 𐗁𐗆 ‹ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ s.iaŋ› **changshiu yeu chengsiang*
7.039 *shangjiangjun* 上將軍 𐗇𐗀 𐗆𐗁 𐗇𐗃 ‹ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **shangzianggün*
7.040 *shangshu youbuye* 尚書右仆射 𐗅𐗀 𐗇𐗉 𐗅𐗃𐗏 𐗁𐗈 𐗅𐗆 ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u b.uh ei.ie› **changshiu yeubuye*
7.041 *shangshu zhifang langzhong* 尚書職方郎中 𐗅𐗀 𐗇𐗉 𐗀 𐗎 𐗉𐗀 𐗁𐗂 ‹c.aŋ ś.iú tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ› **changshiu zhïfang langzhung*

7.042 *shou sikong* 守司空 ‹ś.eu ss x.uŋ› **sheu sïkung*
7.043 *shou situ* 守司徒  ‹ś.eu ss tu› **sheu sïtu*
7.044 *shou taibao* 守太保  ‹ś.eu tai b.u› **sheu taibu*
7.045 *shou taishi* 守太師  ‹ś.eu tai sh› **sheu taishï*
7.046 *shuaifu shuai* 率府率  ‹ś.o fu ś.o› **shofu sho*
7.047 *Shuguo wang* 蜀國王  ‹ś.ú g.ui oŋ› **shugui ong*
7.048 *Si Jianu* 司家奴  ‹ss g.ia n.u› **sï gianu*
7.049 *tai fu ling san sheng shi* 太傅領三省事  ‹tai pu.u l.iŋ s.a.am ś.iaŋ sh› **taifu lingsam shangshï*
7.050 *Tai Miao* 太廟  ‹tai m.iau› **tai miau*
7.051 *taishi* 太師  ‹tai sh› ~ ‹tai ś.i› **taishï ~ taishi*
7.052 *taiwei* 太尉 ‹tai ui› **tai'ui*
7.053 *Wu wang* 吳王 'Prince of the State of Wu'  ‹ŋ.u oŋ › **ŋu oŋ*
7.054 *Wuding* 武定  ‹w.u t.iŋ› **wuding*
7.055 *Wuqing xian* 武清縣 'Wuqing prefecture':  ‹ú s.iŋ ki.en› **Wucing hien*
7.056 *xiaojiangjun* 小將軍  ‹s.iau s.iáŋ g.ün› **siauzianggün*
7.057 *Xincheng xian* 新城縣  ‹s.in c.iŋ ki.ên› **Sincing hien*
7.058 *xuanhuishi* 宣徽使 ‹s.y.iên x.ui sh.ï› **süanhuishï*
7.059 *yinqing chonglu daifu* 銀青崇祿大夫  ‹ŋ.in si.ŋ ca.úŋ l.uh da.ai pu **ŋincing chunglu daifu*
7.060 *yuanshuaifu* 元帥府  ‹ŋ.y.iên ś.ô pu› **ŋüenshofu*
7.061 *yuyuan tongjin* 御院通進  ‹ŋ.ú y.ên tu.uŋ z.in› **ŋiuyüen tungzin*
7.062 *zhaowu dajiangjun* 昭武大將軍  ‹c.iau w.u d.ai.i s.iaŋ g.ün› *zhiauwu daizianggün*
7.063 *zhengshiling* 政事令  ‹tz.iŋ sh l.iŋ› **zhing shï ling*
7.064 *zhenguo shangjiangjun* 鎮國上將軍  ‹tz.in g.ui ś.aŋ z.iaŋ g.ün› **zhin gui shang zianggün*
7.065 *zhongjing* 中京  ‹ju.uŋ g.iŋ› **zhung ging*
7.066 *zhongshu menxia pingzhangshi* 中書門下平章事  ‹ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en ha p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh› **zhungshiu menhia pingzhangshï*
7.067 *zhongshuling* 中書令  ‹ju.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ› 中書令 **zhungshiuling*
7.068 *zuo chengxiang* 左丞相  ‹z.o ci.ŋ s.iaŋ› **zochingsiang*
7.069 *zuo jianmenwei shangjiangjun* 左監門衛上將軍  ‹s.o g.ia.êm m.en ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **zo gienmen'ui shang zianggün*.

POSTSCRIPT

> It is unfortunate that this book which is "a social history of the Liao empire" does not devote a section, if not a chapter, to the Ch'i-tan language. Although, with the aid of the excellent "Analytical Index" it is possible to locate quickly and easily references to the Ch'i-tan words, which are discussed in the book, it is, nevertheless, rather difficult to form an impression of just what is known about the language… These "first tentative results of what may eventually be a more comprehensive investigation of the Ch'i-tan language" demonstrate how much can be done to salvage some of this extinct language for posterity. - Notes from Francis Cleaves included in a review by L. S. Yang on the section on the Kitan language by Karl Menges in Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125).*

This book has presented what is currently generally accepted about the Kitan language and scripts amongst the community of researchers in this field. Over the years, many interpretations, suggestions, comparisons with other languages and so on have been generally accepted, many have not. Generally speaking, only the former have been included in this book, with some exceptions noted in passing.

The fact is that most of what we know about Kitan is through the prism of Chinese transcriptions. Nevertheless, patterns are beginning to emerge, in phonology, morphology and syntax. There is clear evidence for vowel harmony in Kitan, but the details are not clear. There is clear evidence for grammatical gender in Kitan, as revealed in different suffixes in the past tense of some verbs, the ordinal numbers and the dotted forms, but the evidence is not consistent. There are clear patterns of several types of converbs and finite verbs, but the differences between them are not known. There is clear evidence for connections between Kitan and Mongol, but those connections remain obscure.

New epitaphs continue to be discovered, at the rate of one or two a year, and each of them sheds new light on a particular graph or a grammatical feature. Most of the published versions have annotations and references to the *Liaoshi*, but few have been transcribed or even partially translated. There is always the hope, of course, that some manuscript will be discovered, or a translation of a *sutra*, or a word list. For the moment, however, we can only work with the texts at our disposal. Each of these texts merits far closer study.

New research promises to shed much light on some of the problems. Wen-chao Li 2006 is a study of the structure of the Song rhyme tables from the perspective of contacts between Chinese and Altaic languages; An-king Lim 2006 is on the influence of Old Turkic consonants and vowels on the transition from Late Old Chinese to Early Middle Chinese. These studies give some insight as to how speakers of Altaic languages, with front-back consonantal and vocalic oppositions, interpreted and modified the Chinese they adopted as their second language. Despite what we might know of Liao Chinese from Chinese sources, we lack a theoretical framework for a more realistic understanding of the relationship between the phonological structure of Liao Chinese and the phonological structure of Kitan, and how this influenced the way the Kitans wrote Chinese words in their script, or Chinese represented Kitan words in theirs.

Liu Fengzhu's *Collected Inscriptions in the Kitan Script*, the culmination of a lifetime's study of Kitan, is due to be published in late 2008. This will contain all the epitaphs currently available, in both the small and large script, with Liu's annotations. With this in hand, researchers will be able to study these texts in greater detail, and more insights can be expected.

At the University of Inner Mongolia, a research team under the direction of Professor Chinggeltei has been working on an updated version of *Research*. It will contain the texts in *Research,* together with a number of texts published since then, in a computer generated form, together with an updated concordance and a number of new studies on individual words and graphs. Wu Yingzhe, a member of this research team, has devised a computerised Kitan font and has produced a digitalised database of all available inscriptions in the small script, which is not yet published. The new publication will also contain an expanded list of Kitan small characters, incorporating a number of small graphs which occur in inscriptions discovered since *Research*.

Andrew Shimunek's recent MA thesis is on the Chinese transcriptions of Kitan words, comparing those words to possible cognates in number of Mongolian languages. Nie Hongyin is also working on a new study of the Kitan words in Chinese texts; his research will be published in the near future. The epitaphs are also historical documents, and much of the commentaries on the published texts is concerned with identifying the subject of the epitaph, and what information is available in Chinese sources such as the *Liaoshi* and inscriptions in Chinese from the Liao dynasty. Aisin Gioro 2006 is a major study using the Kitan texts as historical materials. In this book and in earlier articles, Aisin Gioro has been able to reconstruct the genealogies of certain members of the Kitan aristocracy, and shed important light on Kitan titles and Kitan clan names. The Kitan epitaphs are a major

new source of information on the Kitans as seen through their own language and sources.

Many published texts, both handwritten and printed in various Kitan fonts, contain numerous transcriptional errors. Ji Shi, who has also been working on the Kitan inscriptions for more than thirty years, is currently compiling a *variorum* edition of a number of key inscriptions.

One of the many important issues about the Kitans is what happened to them. A powerful state, of several million people, of whom a sizeable proportion must have been ethnically Kitan, was defeated by the Jurchens, absorbed by the Mongols and disappeared without a trace. In the late 1980s, reports from Yunnan indicated that a minority group known as the 本人 *benren* "original people" claimed to be descended from Kitans, presumably part of the Mongol army stationed there. They had genealogical records, and some of the non-Chinese characters on their ancestral tombstones looked like Kitan, in particular 𘍽𘍿 ‹nai.d› 'officials, leaders'. The Daurs have also a long standing myth of their origins, which suggests they are descended at least partially from the Kitans. The discovery of a well preserved body of a female shaman provided DNA which indicates that the claims of both the *benren* of Yunnan and the Daurs have some substance. There is some doubt about the authenticity of the "Kitan" graphs on the tombstones, and the language of the *benren* does not seem to shed much light on the Kitan of the inscriptions. The question of the linguistic relationship between Kitan and Daur is a fruitful field for further research.

Due to the efforts of past and present researchers, the Kitan inscriptions are less inscrutable than they have been since the discovery of the imperial eulogies in 1924. We can look forward to the day when the language of the inscriptions as well known as any other extinct language.

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