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A NEW DECIPHERMENT AND LINGUISTIC RECONSTRUCTION OF THE KITAN–CHINESE BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION OF 1134 A.D.

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This paper presents a new decipherment of the Langjun Inscription of 1134 A.D., including a significantly revised phonological reconstruction of the text, new readings of several graphemes, paleographical notes on certain Kitan and Chinese graphemes encountered in the text, and a glossary of words contained in the text including identifiable etyma. In terms of methodology, the Kitan and corresponding Chinese texts of this bilingual inscription are juxtaposed to facilitate decipherment and reconstruction. Although several important philological studies of this text exist, this article presents the first *linguistic* reconstruction of the inscription.

Key words: Middle Kitan (ca. 907–1125), Kitan language, Kitan Assembled Script, Mongolic languages, historical linguistics, script decipherment, philology, Langjun Inscription.

1. Introduction

This article presents a new annotated decipherment and linguistic reconstruction of the best-known Middle Kitan[1] inscription, the Langjun Inscription of 1134 A.D.[2]

* I would like to thank Christopher I. Beckwith, György Kara, and Daniel Kane for their corrections and advice, and Wu Yingzhe for his Kitan font, which I have employed in this paper. I also thank Daniel Kane for generously giving me two important books which I used in preparing this article, Alexander Vovin for sending me a copy of his paper, and the anonymous *AOH* reviewers for helpful comments. Any remaining errors are entirely my own.

[1] In my periodisation, 'Old Kitan' (ca. 386–907) refers to Kitan as spoken before the Kitan Empire; 'Middle Kitan' (ca. 920–1134) refers to the language of the Kitan Empire and the literary Kitan used in the early part of the Jurchen Empire; and 'Late Kitan' (ca. 13th century) refers to the Kitan language as spoken after the Kitan Empire, transcribed in Late Old Mandarin.

[2] Known in Chinese as *Da Jin huangdi dutong jinglüe langjun xingji* 大金皇弟都統經略郎君行記 'The Record of the Journey of the Younger Brother of the Emperor of the Great Jin Dynasty'. For a rubbing of the original text, see Chinggeltei (2002).

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Previous studies of the inscription include Wylie (1860), Haneda (1925), Jin Yufu (1934), Chinggeltei et al. (1985), Chinggeltei (2002), Kane (2009), and Vovin (2011). My analyses build in particular on the most recent studies of this text – Chinggeltei (2002), Kane (2009), and Vovin (2011). I have studied this text primarily from the point of view of a linguist, rather than an East Asianist or philologist. As a result, this study offers a significantly new look at this important Kitan text, and provides a glimpse of Kitan grammar as we currently know it.

2. The Text

I have juxtaposed clauses and sentences from the Kitan text and their corresponding lines in the Chinese text to aid in semantic reconstruction of the Kitan forms. For a rubbing of the original text, see Chinggeltei et al. (1985) and Chinggeltei (2002). See Liu (1999), Kara (2005), Kane (2009), and Wu – Janhunen (2010) for the historical background of the text. Note that 'K' denotes lines in the Middle Kitan text, while 'C' denotes the corresponding lines in the Chinese text. In my treatment of the Kitan lines, I first present a printed version of the original line in Kitan Assembled Script, followed by a philological transcription of the graphemic blocks, then a morphophonological reconstruction of the Kitan words, followed by an interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, and an English translation of the text, when possible.

My analyses of the text are thus organised as follows:

1. sentence in Kitan Assembled Script
2. orthographic transcription
3. morphological and phonological transcription
4. interlinear morpheme gloss
5. translation

[K1:1–10]

𘮋	𘮌	𘮍𘮎𘮏	𘮐𘮑𘮒	𘮓
‹GREAT›	‹GOLD›	‹g.ur.en›	‹qa.γa.an›	‹deu›
…	…	*gur-ən	*qaʁa-n	*dəw
great	gold	state-GEN	emperor-GEN	brother

𘮔𘮕	𘮖𘮗	𘮘𘮙 𘮚𘮛𘮜	𘮝𘮞𘮟𘮠
‹čau.ǰ›	‹qUr.U›	‹g.iŋ› ‹l.iau.uw›	‹š.a.ri›
*čaw-ǰ	*qʊrʊ	*giŋlyaw	*šari
battle-OCP	commander	military.commissioner	court.attendant

'The younger brother of the Emperor of the Great Golden State, Campaign Commander, Military Commissioner, Court Attendant.'

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[C1:1–10]

大金皇弟, 都統經略, 郎君.

'The younger brother of the Great Jin Emperor, Campaign Commander, Military Commissioner, Court Attendant.'[3]

This line has many identifiable elements. The characters 𘍞 'great' and 𘍿 'gold' are semantically well-known logograms which have not yet been phonologically deciphered. Other elements include *gur 'state' with *-ən 'genitive suffix', as well as *qaʁa 'emperor (皇)' with *-(a)n 'genitive' and *dəw 'younger brother (弟)'. The noun phrase *čaw-ǰ *qʊrʊ corresponds to 'campaign commander (都統)'[4] and *giŋlyaw is a Kitan transcription of Liao Chinese 'military commissioner (經略)'. Kitan *šari corresponds to 'court attendant (郎君)'.

[K1:11–15]

𘏰𘏲	𘍽𘍾	𘍻𘍼𘍺	𘍹	𘍷𘍸
‹čar›	‹am.s›	‹REGION.a.an›	‹ui›	‹eu.ñ›
*čar	*ams	*…a-n	*uy	*əw-ñ
long.time	?	region-GEN	matters	not.exist-SBRD.CNJC

'For a long time… there were no regional matters, so…'

[C1:11–16]

嚮已疆場無事

'For some time in the border areas there were no matters to attend to, so…'[5]

Identifiable elements in this clause include 𘏰𘏲 *čar, also known from other Kitan texts to mean 'for a long time, formerly'.[6] The precise meaning of 𘍽𘍾 *ams is unclear, but it must be an adverbial element of some kind.[7] The word 𘍻𘍼𘍺 *…a-n

[3] This is my revision of Kane's (2009) translation.

[4] György Kara (p.c., August 21, 2013) proposes that the Kitan title 𘍴𘍵 𘍶𘍽 'campaign commander' may be connected with the Middle Mongol title *čautquri* given to Temüjin, attested in the *Secret History of the Mongols*. According to Prof. Kara, this Middle Mongol title was "certainly a compound; its first member may be a plural of the morpheme *čawur*, attested in Kitan and in Middle Mongol, as well as in Jurchen, and it is the source of the Manchu word *cooha* and its Daur descendant *cwag*". See Ligeti (1964, pp. 287–288) for discussion of Middle Mongol *čawur ~ čaur* and its cognates. I thank Prof. Kara for drawing my attention to Ligeti's paper.

[5] Translation from Kane (2009).

[6] Wu–Janhunen (2010, p. 172) discuss this *čar 'formerly, a long time ago' in the clause *čar *iw 'she died a long time ago'. The phonological reconstructions presented here are my own revision.

[7] This wordform is *dis legomenon*, appearing only in the Langjun Inscription and the Epitaph of Prince Xu, effectively ruling out the possibility that it is a high-frequency case marker. Kane proposes that 𘍽𘍾 denotes 'because of' (2009, p. 187, note 3), but this is highly unlikely given that this meaning is denoted by the subordinate conjunction suffix 𘍷 *-ñ in the sentence above.

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is composed of 𐲰𐲱 *… a (the phonological value of the first grapheme is unknown), corresponding to 'border area (疆)', with 𐲪 *-(a)n 'genitive suffix'. Kitan 𐲫 *uy has been identified with 'matters (事)' in the Chinese text, and is cognate to Middle Mongol *üile* 'deed, matter'. The last block in the Kitan line is composed of the copula 𐲬 *əw 'not existing (無)' and a subordinate conjunction-forming suffix *-ñ 𐲭 equivalent to 'because (已)' in the Chinese text.[8]

[K1:16–K2:4]

𐲮𐲯	𐲰𐲱𐲪	𐲲▒𐲫	𐲳𐲴𐲵	𐲶𐲷𐲸
‹l.iang›	‹š.a.an›	‹ǰa.▒.i›	‹m.an.eñ›[9]	‹s.mw.i›
*lyaŋšan		*ǰa…i	*man-əñ	*smw-i
Mt.Liang		south.slope?	go.along?-CVB	hunt?-CVB

'he went(?) hunting along(?) the southern slopes of Mount Liang and…'

[C1:17–22]

獵于梁山之陽

'he went hunting on the south side of Mount Liang.'[10]

The first word in the Kitan text is 𐲮𐲯 𐲰𐲱𐲪 *lyaŋšan, a transcription of Chinese 'Liang Mountain (梁山)'. Kitan 𐲲▒𐲫 *ǰa…i corresponds to 'south side (陽)' in the Chinese text. The second grapheme in this word is problematic. In the Kitan original, this graphemic compound appears as in Column A below. I have enlarged the problematic grapheme in Column B.[11]

Table 1. A problematic grapheme in the Langjun Inscription

A	B	C	D	E
				

Kane (2009, p. 187) proposes reading the grapheme as 𐲱 ‹■$_{356}$›. However, the problematic grapheme appears to be quite different from attestations of 𐲱 in other

[8] Note that the character in the Chinese text (C1:12) is a common pre-modern variant of Modern Standard Chinese 以 (Mathews #2932).

[9] See Shimunek (2011, p. 103*a*) for my reasoning behind the reading ‹eñ› for 𐲳.

[10] My revision of Kane's (2009) translation.

[11] The images I present here were taken from the rubbing of the original presented in Chinggeltei (2002). I have reproduced them with permission from the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA), Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

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lines of the Langjun Inscription. In Column C above I give an image of the grapheme 𘟙 in line K2, block 11. Column D shows 𘟙 in line K4, block 5. The downward stroke in the upper right portion of 𘟙 is characteristically different from that of the problematic character. The slight downward brush stroke on the bottom of the problematic grapheme (somewhat resembling Chinese 冖) led Chinggeltei (2002) and Kane (2009, p. 187) to propose that the grapheme is instead 𘟥 ‹ung$_{357}$›. However, the hook in the upper right stroke of the problematic grapheme (resembling Chinese 乙), as well as the fact that the vertical stroke down the middle of the grapheme crosses through what appears to be a faint upper horizontal stroke, makes the problematic grapheme resemble a variant of 𘟙 ‹ki$_{163}$› in which the two *dian* 點 ‘dots’ (丶) are simplified to a single *heng* 橫 ‘horizontal stroke’ (一). Column E above gives an image of this grapheme as it appears later in the Langjun Inscription, in line K2, block 8. I thus propose reading the graphemic compound as 𘤪𘟙𘥑 ‹ǰa.ki.i›, reconstructible as *ǰaki and probably denoting ‘south side of a mountain’.

Kitan 𘠽𘡊𘦂 𘣼𘥑 *manəñ *smwi is a verb phrase corresponding to ‘went hunting along… (獵于)’ in the Chinese text. The first word in the phrase, *manəñ, is probably a converb form *man-əñ (or less likely *manə-ñ), the verbal root of which probably denotes something like ‘along’ or ‘move along’, roughly corresponding to ‘along (于)’ in the Chinese text. This verb may be cognate to Written Mongol *mana-* ‘to watch guard over’, although this is semantically problematic. The verb *smw- appears to correspond to ‘hunting (獵)’.

[K2:5–8]

𘠽𘡊𘦂	𘟙𘦃 𘦂𘦃	𘦂𘥑𘦃
‹ta.ang.en›	‹ki.ên› ‹l.ing.de›	‹k.ui.č›
*taŋ-ən	*kyɛnliŋ-də	*kuy-č
Tang-GEN	Qianling-DL	arrive-CVB

‘He arrived at the Qianling Tombs of the Tang and…’

[C1:23–C2:3]

至唐乾陵

‘When he arrived at the Qianling Tombs of the Tang…’

This clause is fully decipherable, and semantically closely corresponds to the Chinese equivalent. Sentential components include *taŋ ‘Tang (唐)’ with *-ən ‘genitive suffix’; *kyɛnliŋ, a transcription of Liao Chinese ‘The Qianling Tombs (乾陵)’ with *-də ‘dative-locative suffix’; and *kuy-č ‘arrived and…’ (imperfective converb), which corresponds to ‘arrive at (至)’ in the Chinese text. When translated into Middle Mongol, the Kitan text has a nearly exact morphemic correspondence in phonological form and function:[12]

[12] Note that *tang* is not actually attested in Middle Mongol texts, but if it were, it would take the phonologically conditioned genitive case suffix allomorph *-un*.

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Middle Kitan:	*taŋ-**ən**	*kyɛnliŋ-**də**	*kuy-**č**
Middle Mongol:	*tang-**un***	…-***dür***	***kür-čü***

[K2:9–K3:1]

几丙爻	令交方	百爿尘	业廾火关	尺伏	氵	扎屮列爻
‹g.iu.ung›	‹t.iê.ên›	‹y.u.■›	‹p.u.ui.i›	‹dau.ñ›	‹gi›	‹γo.l.γ.er›
*giwŋtyɛn		*yu…	*puyidaw-ñ		*gi	*ɢɔl-ʁ-ər.
palace.halls		collapse-?	bandits-SBRD.CNJC		NEG	see-CP-PST.VN♂

‘The palace halls collapsed(?) and… because of bandits and robbers, they were not seen.’

[C2:4–11]

殿廡頹然, 一無所睹.

‘the halls and corridors had collapsed, and there was nothing to be seen.’[13]

Kitan *giwŋtyɛn 几丙爻 令交方 is a transcription of the Liao Chinese pronunciation of 宮殿 MSC *gongdian* ‘palace halls’, approximately corresponding to ‘the halls and corridors (殿廡)’ in the Chinese text. The phonologically partially decipherable wordform *yu… 百爿尘 must correspond to ‘collapse (頹)’ in the Chinese text. The sequence *puyi *daw 业廾火关 尺 (probably a monomorphemic word in Kitan, i.e. *puyidaw) has no corresponding Chinese text and is probably a loanword from a conservative Chinese frontier dialect pronunciation of 匪盜 MSC *fei dao* ‘bandits and robbers’ (cf. LMC ✩puydaw, Pul. 93, 73). The segment that follows is the subordinate conjunction-forming suffix *-ñ 伏 ‘because of…’ (see K1:15 above). The phrase thus must mean ‘because of bandits and robbers’. The word 氵 *gi_{336} has been identified by Wu–Janhunen (2010, pp. 263, 269) as an allograph of 犭 *gi_{146} ‘not’, a preverbal marker of negation. The last element is a verb which I analyse as *ɢɔl-ʁ-ər 扎屮列爻 where the root, *ɢɔl-, must correspond to ‘see, observe (睹)’ in the Chinese text, with a passive-causative suffix *-ʁ- and the past tense suffix *-ər. The whole Kitan sentence thus must mean ‘The palace halls had collapsed, and because of bandits and robbers, they were not seen.’ Given the context and the corresponding Chinese text, it seems likely that past perfect is among the temporal-aspectual distinctions denoted by the Kitan ‘past’ suffix *-ər.

[K3:2–8]

屮关	朮土木	穴夂爻	舟业列丰
‹l.i›	‹č.eu.en›	‹nai.d.er›	‹b.ang.γ.ai›
*li	*čəw-ən	*nay-d-ər	*baŋɢa-y
Li	province-GEN	official-PL-AIC	issue.orders-CVB

[13] My revision of Kane’s (2009) translation.

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𘮫𘮬	𘮭𘮮𘮯	𘮰	𘮱𘮲𘮳𘮴𘮵𘮶𘮷
‹š.de›	‹uw.ǰ.d›	‹■›	‹s.qo.■.l.ɣa.al.eñ›
*šdə	*ʊǰ-d	*…	*sqɔ…-lʁa-ləñ.
?	craftsman-PL	?	repair-CP-PST

‘He issued orders to the officials of Li province, and had craftsmen … repair…’

[C2:12–19]

爰命有司, 鳩工修飾.

‘Therefore he issued orders to the authorities to gather craftsmen to make repairs.’[14]

This sentence is largely decipherable, although some elements are unclear. The first word is *li *čəw 𘮴𘮵 𘮶𘮷 ‘Li province’ with *-ən 𘮸 ‘genitive suffix’. The next is *nay-d-ər 𘮹𘮺𘮻 ‘the authorities’ with *nay ‘head, authority, official’, the plural suffix *-d, and *-ər ‘definite accusative-instrumental-comitative suffix’. The verb of this phrase is composed of *baŋɢa- ‘issue orders (命)’[15] and *-y ‘converb suffix ’ (note that the morphemes do not correspond exactly to the graphemes). The meaning of the next word, *šdə 𘮫𘮬, is unclear, but it may be composed of a noun in *š with *-də ‘dative-locative suffix’ if it is not a monomorphemic adverb denoting something like ‘together’ or an adjective modifying ‘craftsmen’. The word *ʊǰd clearly corresponds to ‘craftsmen (工)’, and may be a loanword directly borrowed from OTrk *uz* ‘skilled craftsman’ with MKit *-d ‘plural suffix’.[16] The next word, 𘮰, which is not phonologically decipherable, possibly corresponds to ‘gather’ in the Chinese text ‘gather craftsmen (鳩工)’. The main verb of the clause is clearly *sqɔ…-lʁa-ləñ 𘮱𘮲𘮳𘮴𘮵𘮶𘮷, composed of the phonologically partially decipherable root *sqɔ…- ‘repair (修飾)’, *-lʁa- ‘passive-causative suffix’, and *-ləñ ‘past tense suffix’.

[K3:9–15]

𘮾𘮿	𘯀𘯁𘯂	𘯃𘯄𘯅𘯆𘯇	𘯈𘯉	𘯊𘯋	𘯌𘯍	𘯎𘯏𘯐𘯑
‹eñ.e›	‹omo.qu$^{?}$.ui›	‹k.ui.ir.s.■›	‹eñ.yo$^{?}$›	‹ǰur.en›	‹š.ên›	‹p.o.ǰu.■›
*əñə	*ɔməqʊ-y	*kuyr-s…	*əñyɔ	*ǰur-ən	*šɛn	*pɔǰʊ-…
now	return-CVB	arrive-CVB	?	painting-PL	new	become-CVB

‘Now, he returned, and … the paintings had become new, and…’

[14] My revision of Kane’s (2009) translation.

[15] One may suppose a connection between this word and Modern Khalkha **банга** /paŋɢ/ [pãq] ‘reprimand’ (Written Mongol *bangɣ-a*), although the Mongol word is not attested in Pre-Classical sources as far as I can tell. The history of the Mongol form should be carefully investigated before accepting this proposal.

[16] Alternatively, this word could be a reflex of a PSM form, cf. MMgl *uran* ‘skilled, craftsman’, *urad* ‘skilled ones, craftsmen (plural)’, or *ura-* ‘skilled craftsman’ + *-čid* ‘plural suffix’. Note that MKit phonemic /r/ disappears before /č/ ~ /ǰ/ in certain contexts, e.g. in the imperfective converb form of */kuyr-/ ‘arrive’, i.e. *kuy-č ~ *kuy-ǰ. It is thus possible that the MKit word above is phonemically */ʊr-ǰ-d/, cognate to unattested MMgl *uračid* ‘craftsmen’.

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[C2:20–C3:6]

今復謁陵下繪像一新

‘Now, he returned to visit the tombs. The paintings were like new.’[17]

The first element in the Kitan compound clause is clearly *əñə 𘮞𘮜 corresponding to ‘now (今)’ in the Chinese text and cognate to Middle Mongol *ene* ‘this’. Given the phrase ‘return and pay respects to (復謁)’ in the Chinese text, the next sequence in the Kitan text, *ɔməqʊ-y *kuyr-s… 𘮈𘰾𘰚 𘱃𘰚𘮬𘰾𘱇, appears to be parallel to Middle Mongol *qarijŭ ire-* (return-CVB come) ‘come back’. The verb *ɔməqʊ-y is a converb form in *-y of a verbal root *ɔməqʊ- which corresponds to ‘return, come back (復)’ in the Chinese text.[18] The main verb of the clause is clearly *kuyr-s…, composed of the well-known root *kuyr- ‘arrive’ with *-s… ‘converb suffix’. The word *əñyɔ 𘮞𘮜 would appear to be related to the Kitan proximal demonstrative root *ə 𘮜 ‘this, these’ and to *əñə 𘮞𘮜 ‘now’ in the preceding clause but the precise meaning is not clear from context. Following this, *ǰur-ən 𘰾𘮈 corresponds to ‘paintings (繪)’, and is probably cognate to Pre-Classical Written Mongol *ǰiruqai* ‘drawing, writing’ (later denoting ‘mathematics, astrology’).[19] Cf. Modern Khalkha **зур-** [tsʊr-] (WMgl *ǰiru-*) ‘draw, sketch’,[20] **зураг** [ˈtsʊrəɮk] (WMgl *ǰiruγ*) ‘picture, sketch, painting, photograph’, and **зурхай** [tsʊrˈχæ] (WMgl *ǰiruqai*) ‘astrology’. The *-ən is an allomorph of */-An/ ‘plural suffix’, cf. Middle Kitan *baq 𘰚𘮇 ‹b.aq› ‘child’ and *bʁ-an 𘰚𘮆𘰴 ‹b.γ.an› ‘children’.[21] Middle Kitan is known for ‘breaking’ PSM initial syllable *i (i.e. regressive assimilation of initial syllable *i to the vowel of the second syllable). The word *šɛn 𘰾𘮁 corresponds to ‘new (新)’ in the Chinese text and is cognate to Middle Mongol *šini* ~ *sini* and Pre-Classical Written Mongol *sine* ‘new’. The last element is *pɔǰʊ-… 𘱇𘮬𘮆𘰾 ‘had become, and…’ a converb form in 𘰾 (reading unknown).[22]

[K4:1–6]

𘱃𘮊	𘮋𘮌	𘮬𘱃𘮬𘱃	𘮆𘮈𘮞
‹l.ang›	‹go.č›	‹ku.ud.uw.ui›	‹■.en.er›
*laŋ	*gɔ-č	*kuduw-I	*…ən-ər.
corridor	?-CVB	?-CVB	?-PST.

‘The corridors were … and…’

[17] Kane’s (2009) translation.

[18] I follow Tang’s (2011, p. 197) reading of the grapheme 𘮈 as ‹omo›.

[19] See Kara (2009, p. 136) for this Pre-Classical Written Mongol form.

[20] Cf. also Modern Daur [ɲür-] ‘paint’ ← Manchu *niru-* ‘draw, paint’ (Engkebatu 1984, p. 65; Rozycki 1994, p. 163; Kara 2009, p. 136).

[21] See Kane (2009, p. 53, §2.151) for the Kitan forms. The reconstructions given here are my own.

[22] This grapheme is tentatively read by Kane as ‹ii› (2009, p. 44, §2.080), and it is surely a converb suffix as he demonstrates following Chinggeltei (1992), but the phonological value remains to be determined.

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‹k.i.■›	‹■l$^{?}$.eñ›
*ki…	*…-(l$^{?}$)əñ.
inexpressibly$^{?}$	be.delighted$^{?}$-PST

‘He was inexpressibly(?) delighted(?).’

[C3:7–14]

回廊四起 不勝欣懌

‘Surrounding corridors were on all four sides. He was inexpressibly delighted.’[23]

Kitan *laŋ 𘱃𘰾 ‘corridors’ is a borrowing from Liao Chinese 廊 *lang* ‘corridors’ and corresponds to the same in the Chinese text. The word *gɔč 𘲢𘳿 is probably either an adverb or a converb *gɔ-č, possibly with a verbal root in *gɔr- (note the Middle Kitan phonological rule deleting */r/ before palatal affricates). The wordform *kuduwi 𘲦𘲤𘲥𘲤 appears to be a verbal root *kuduw- with the converb suffix *-i although the meaning of the root is not clear. It must mean something like ‘to surround’. The final wordform in this first sentence, 𘰇𘲢𘲣, is a verbal root ending in *…ən- 𘰇𘲢 with the past tense suffix *-ər 𘲣.[24] The verbal phrase must generally mean ‘surrounding on all four sides’ as suggested by the Chinese text, but it is difficult to assign glosses to the constituent words in the phrase. The second sentence, *ki… *…əñ 𘲤𘲥𘲦 𘱇𘲡, corresponds to ‘he was inexpressibly delighted (不勝欣懌)’ in the Chinese text and is composed of two phonologically partially decipherable words: *ki… 𘲤𘲥𘲦 ‘deeply, inexpressibly (不勝)’ and *…əñ 𘱇𘲡 ‘was delighted (欣懌)’. Given this, it seems possible that the last phonological segment in the first grapheme of the compound rendering *…əñ 𘱇𘲡 is probably a lateral *l, which together with the grapheme *əñ 𘲡 would denote the past tense suffix *-ləñ. I thus tentatively read the grapheme 𘱇 as ‹…l›.

[K4:7–13]

𘳠𘲧	𘴈𘳟	𘲪𘳓	𘲭𘲮	𘳟𘳿
‹em.en›	‹nai.d›	‹deu.Ur›	‹WINE$_{342}$.b›	‹êm.č›
*əm-ən	*nay-d	*dəw-ur	*…b	*ɛm-č
city-GEN	official-PL	brother-AIC	wine	drink-CVB

[23] Kane’s (2009) translation.

[24] Kitan Assembled Script graphemes which superficially resemble Chinese characters rarely have any semantic or phonological connection with their look-alikes, but Kitan 𘰇 may be an exception. This Kitan grapheme resembles Chinese 仍 ‘continue as before’, a semantic value which could fit the Kitan verb 𘰇𘲢𘲣 when the corresponding Chinese text above is taken into consideration. This deserves further study. Wu – Janhunen (2010, p. 234) propose reading 𘰇 as ‹ta›. This proposal also deserves careful consideration.

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𘍞𘍿𘍼𘍽𘍾	𘍟𘍠𘍻𘍺
‹k.i.ši.uw.ui›	‹p.od.l.eñ›
*kišyuw-i	*pɔd-ləñ.
be.merry-CVB	return-PST

‘He drank wine and made merry with his younger brothers the local officials, and then returned.’

[C3:15–23]

與醴陽太守酣飲而歸.

‘After he drank and made merry with the prefect of Liyang, he returned home.’[25]

This sentence has been the subject of several studies, including Kane (2009), Vovin (2011), and many before them. The Kitan and Chinese texts largely correspond to each other, but differ on certain details. The first word in the Kitan sentence is *əm 𘍀 ‘city’ with *-ən 𘍇 ‘genitive suffix’, modifying the noun phrase *nay-d *dəw 𘍽 𘍼 𘍺 ‘[his] younger brothers the officials’, composed of *nay-d ‘officials’ and *dəw ‘younger brother/s’ (unmarked for number). It is common in many East Asian languages, and East Eurasian languages in general, to use kinship terms to denote age-based differences in social status. In Mongolia today, for example, many people use the word дүү [tuː] ‘younger sibling’ (cognate to Middle Kitan *dəw), to refer to people younger than themselves, quite often strangers, regardless of familial relations. The next grapheme renders *-ur 𘍸 ‘accusative-instrumental-comitative case suffix’, corresponding to ‘with (與)’, and cognate to Middle Mongol *-bAr ~ -iyAr* ‘instrumental case suffix’.[26] The phonologically partially deciphered word *…b 𘍁𘍂 has been identified as ‘wine’, and *ɛm- denotes ‘drink (飲)’ with *-č ‘converb suffix’. The word *kišyuw-i is a verb composed of *kišyuw-, corresponding to ‘be merry from drinking wine (酣)’ in the Chinese text, and *-i ‘converb suffix’, corresponding to ‘…and then (而)’ in the Chinese text.[27] The final wordform is composed of *pɔd- ‘return home (歸)’,[28] possibly cognate to Written Mongol *buča-* ‘return’,[29] and *-ləñ ‘past tense suffix’, cognate to Middle Mongol *-lU’Ai*.

[25] My revision of Kane (2009), based on considerations in Vovin (2011).

[26] Vovin gives an alternative analysis of Kitan 𘍺𘍸 as a loanword from Middle Korean, cf. attested 15th century Late Middle Korean 더·브러 *tepu̯re* *[tə́bɨ́rə̀] ‘with’, from the verbal root 더·블 *tepu̯r-* *[tə́bɨ́r-] ‘share, accompany’ (Vovin 2011, p. 127; cf. Nam 2002, ff. 391b–392a for the LMK forms).

[27] Vovin (2011, p. 128) correctly identifies this word as corresponding to Chinese ‘to be merry from wine (酣)’, but his phonological reconstruction is highly unlikely given the known values of the Kitan graphemes rendering this word. His proposal connecting this word with Manchu *hisala-* ‘to make a libation’ is thus also untenable. See Shimunek (2011, p. 102*b*) for a discussion of the phonological value of the grapheme 𘍾.

[28] Vovin (2011, p. 125) correctly identifies this Kitan word as corresponding to ‘return’ in the Chinese text, although his treatment of the phonological values of the graphemes rendering this word require revision.

[29] This correspondence was proposed by Vovin (2011), although his treatment of the phonological values of the constituent graphemes of the Kitan wordform must be revised. The correspondence poses phonological problems.

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[K4:14–K5:9]

口	丱	父	今丙爻	乇	圣	仝丐丈	丕丑冬	丰
‹qai›	‹po›	‹HEAVEN›	‹t.iu.er›	‹TEN›	‹ǰur›	‹s.iau.qu›	‹qa.ɣa.as›	‹ai›
*qay	*pɔ	*…	*tiw-ər	*…	*ǰur	*syawqʊ	*qaʁas	*ay
that	time	heaven	gather-PST	ten	two	blue	tiger	year

尺安叉	夬平	乇	罕	尹	业反冉
‹dau.Ur.eñ›	‹uw.wl›	‹TEN›	‹dur›	‹DAY›	‹p.o.on›
*dawr-əñ	*uwl	*…	*dur	*…	*pɔ-n.
middle-GEN	winter	ten	four	day	be-PST.

‘That time was the twelfth Blue Tiger year of the Celestial Gathering reign period, in mid-winter, on the fourteenth day.’

[C4:1–16]

時天會十二年歲次甲寅仲冬十有四日

‘The time was the twelfth year of the Celestial Gathering period, *jiayin* [1134 A.D.], in mid-winter, on the fourteenth day.’[30]

The Kitan and Chinese texts correspond closely. The first word is *qay ‘that very same’, a discourse deictic demonstrative modifying *pɔ ‘time’, cognate to Middle Mongol *hon* ‘calendrical year’. The Chinese reign period Tianhui, or ‘Celestial Gathering (天會)’[31] is composed of the semantically deciphered logogram 父 ‘heaven (天)’[32] and *tiwər 今丙爻 ‘gather/gathering (會)’. Kitan *tiwər ‘gathering’ is also attested as *diwər 仝丙爻 ‹d.iu.er›.[33] This wordform is clearly a verbal noun formed from *tiw- ~ *diw- ‘gather’ and *-ər ‘past tense suffix’, cognate to Middle Mongol *tü-* ‘gather, collect’ and Written Mongol *tegü-* ‘gather, collect’. The numeral logograms 乇 ‘ten’, 圣 ‘two’, and 罕 ‘four’ are well known. As shown by Kane (2009, p. 8), the Ten Stems and the Twelve Branches of the Chinese calendrical tradition often correspond to colours and zoonyms in Kitan. The sequence 甲寅 *jiayin* corresponds to ‘Blue Tiger year’ in Kitan, composed of *syawqʊ 仝丐丈 ‘blue’, *qaʁas 丕丑冬 ‘tiger’, and *ay 丰 ‘year’. The phrase *dawr-əñ *uwl 尺安叉 夬平 has been identified with

[30] My revision of Kane’s (2009) translation.

[31] See Kane (2009) for translation. Note that Chinese 歲 is rendered here by the common non-standard variant 歲. See the image in Chinggeltei (2002, p. 45). Instead of a 止 radical as it is written in Modern Standard Chinese orthography (i.e. 歲), the grapheme in line C4:7 of the Langjun Inscription is written with a 山 ‘mountain’ radical (i.e. 歲), as in the modern standard Simplified Chinese form 岁 (Mathews #5538).

[32] A number of different readings have been proposed for the grapheme 父 ‘heaven’, but as Kane notes, “there is no evidence” (Kane 2009, p. 63). While it is tempting to connect this word with Old Turkic *täŋri* and Middle Mongol *tenggeri* ‘heaven, sky’, as some have done, it is worth noting the clearly unrelated early Serbi word [宇] ‘heaven (天)’ transcribed and glossed in the 周書 *Zhou shu*.

[33] See Kane (2009, p. 161) for these variants. The phonological reconstructions I provide here are my own revision.

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'mid-winter (仲冬)'. The first word in this phrase, *dawr-əñ 𐲰𐲋𐲤, appears to be a genitive-attributive case form of *dawr 'middle', attested elsewhere in dative-locative case as *dawr-dʊ 𐲰𐲍 ‹dau.rdU›.[34] The logogram 𐲤 'day' is semantically well known, but is not yet phonologically deciphered for Middle Kitan, although a Late Kitan word for 'day' is transcribed in Chinese as *ñayr [捏咿唲] ~ [捏離] and glossed as 'daybreak (旦); day, sun (日)'. The Middle Kitan form must have been pronounced similarly to this, but since the phonological differences between Middle Kitan and Late Kitan are only partially known, I do not reconstruct a Middle Kitan form. The final element in the sentence, 𐲥𐲬𐲢, consists of a verb composed of *pɔ- 'exist, be' and *-n 'feminine past tense suffix'.

[K5:10–18]

𐲊𐲠	𐲁𐲣	𐲍𐲖𐲰𐲍	𐲡𐲭𐲤𐲤	𐲤𐲘	𐲵𐲁𐲤	𐲢𐲁𐲤	𐲡𐲍
‹y.au›	‹g.ün›	‹pu.ru.k.er›	‹č.iau.qu.ui›	‹i.ir›	‹ong›‹g.ui›	‹■$_{017}$.or›	‹č.er›.
*yaw	*gün	*purukər	*čyawqʊy	*ir	*ɔŋguy	*…ɔ-r	*č-ər.
You	prefecture	prefect	Chinese	name	pers.name	present-PST	write-PST.

'Written by the prefect of You prefecture, [a man with the] Chinese name Wang Gui.'

[K5:19–30]

𐲡𐲭𐲤𐲤	𐲎𐲁	𐲡𐲀	𐲡𐲀𐲦𐲰	𐲦𐲱	𐲣𐲀𐲦𐲰	𐲡𐲍
‹č.iau.qu.ui›	‹■$_{068}$.g›	‹č.ang›	‹š.ü›	‹ǰï›‹pong›‹l.ang›	‹ju.ung›	‹γong›‹ing›‹k.i›	‹č.er›.
*čyawqʊy	*…g	*čaŋšu	*ǰɨpɔŋlaŋǰuŋ		*ʁɔŋiŋki		*č-ər.
Chinese	writing	official.title	official.title		pers.name		write-PST.

'Written in Chinese writing by Court Minister and Director of the Bureau of Operations, Huang Yingqi.'

The two Kitan sentences above correspond to the following sentences in the Chinese text:

[C4:17–C5:11]

尙書職方郎中黃應期, 宥州刺史王圭, 從行奉命題.

'The Court Minister and Director of the Bureau of Operations, Huang Yingqi, and the Prefect of You-zhou, Wang Gui, wrote this in accordance with the edict.'[35]

[34] See Wu – Janhunen (2010, p. 87) for discussion. The phonological reconstructions presented here are my own, but Wu and Janhunen (2010) are to be credited with the reading of grapheme 𐲍 (249) as ‹rdu›, which I revise to ‹rdU› with an archiphoneme /U/, realised as *[u] in [+ATR] words and *[ʊ] in [-ATR] words.

[35] My revision of Kane's (2009) translation.

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[C6:1–4]

右譯前言.

'On the right is a translation of this text.'[36]

The word 𘍿𘏨 ‹y.au› transcribes Liao Chinese 宥 *yaw (MSC *you*) and 𘆏𘌽 ‹g.ün› transcribes Liao Chinese 郡 *kün (MSC *jun*) 'prefecture, administrative region, commandery', corresponding to 'You prefecture (宥州)' in the Chinese text. The word 𘐇𘍞𘇼𘐛 has been identified by Kane (2009, p. 189) as corresponding to 'prefect (刺史)'. Kane (2009, p. 189, note 13) identified 𘍠𘎘𘍤𘏢 as the Kitan word for 'Chinese' and suggested that it is a loanword from a dialectal variant of Chinese 中國 *Zhongguo* 'China' assimilated to Kitan phonology. The reconstruction above is my own. The predicate consists of two verbs with past tense marking. The first is *…ɔ-r 𘍿𘐛, corresponding to 'present to a superior or receive from a superior (奉)' in the Chinese text, here in the meaning 'to present to a superior'. The predicate of the sentence is the verb *č-ər 𘍠𘐛 composed of *č- 'write' with *-ər 'past tense suffix', corresponding to 'write an inscription (題)' in the Chinese text. The word 𘇼𘆏 ‹■$_{068}$.g› denotes 'writing'. Many Kitanists assume the first grapheme was read 𘇼 ‹us› (Chinggeltei 2002, pp. 39–40; Kane 2009; Wu – Janhunen 2010), based on Written Mongol *üsüg* 'letter, grapheme', but so far this reading is not supported by other data in the extant Kitan texts. Mongol *üsüg* 'letter, grapheme' and its doublet *üjüg* 'pen, calamus' are loanwords from Old Uygur. Given the known contact between the Kitans and Uygurs, an Old Uygur etymology is possible, although the precise value of the grapheme 𘇼 remains to be demonstrated with additional data.

3. Discussion

My readings of several Kitan Assembled Script graphemes in this text differ significantly from the currently dominant proposals. See below for discussion:

On the grapheme 𘍞 [041]

My reading of the grapheme 𘍞 in 𘐇𘍞𘇼𘐛 'prefect' (K5: 12) deserves discussion, since it differs from all previous proposals: Chinggeltei et al. (1985) and Chinggeltei (2002) proposed ‹dər›, Kane (2009) regarded the grapheme as problematic and undeciphered, assigning it a mnemonic designation ‹kå› based on its graphic resemblance to Chinese 卡, and Wu (2007) and Wu – Janhunen (2010) proposed reading the grapheme as ‹su›. This grapheme appears in several otherwise phonologically decipherable words and phrases with identifiable semantics, and one with a proposed Mongolic cognate:

[36] My revision of Kane's (2009) translation.

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Table 2. Semantically decipherable Kitan words with 卡 and Mongolic comparanda

Kitan	Meaning	Mongolic comparanda
𘍿 𘍠卡𘏲𘎫𘍢	‘Heavenly Blessings (天慶)’	
𘍤𘆳卡	‘dew’ (?)	MMgl *ši’üder ~ ši’üderi* ‘dew’ (?)
𘍠卡只当 尔火	‘Royal Lady *Pu…uwən’	
𘍠卡𘍣𘍢	‘prefect’	

Given the pattern observed with many other reign period names of the Kitan Empire,[37] the Kitan form of the reign period name ‘Heavenly Blessings (天慶)’ most likely closely corresponds to the Chinese equivalent. The first element in the Kitan phrase is the well-known and well-attested word 𘍿 ‘heaven’ corresponding to Chinese ‘heaven (天)’. The second element, 𘍠卡𘏲𘎫𘍢, should thus correspond to Chinese ‘blessings (慶)’. Most of the graphemes in this Kitan wordform are widely accepted as deciphered and are of high frequency: 𘍠 ‹pu›, 𘏲 ‹l›, 𘎫 ‹ge›, and 𘍢 ‹er›. Ignoring the value of the grapheme 卡 for the time being, the wordform is partially reconstructible as *pu…lgər, clearly a past tense verbal noun with *-lgə- ‘passive-causative suffix’ (cognate to MMgl *-lge ~ -lγa* ‘causative suffix’) and *-(ə)r ‘past tense verbal noun suffix’. The root for ‘bless’ would thus seem to be *pu…- 𘍠卡. This form is likely cognate to the MMgl verb *hirü’e-* ‘bless’, given the fact that MKit *p- regularly corresponds to Middle Mongol *h-* (e.g. MKit *pɔ 𘍜 ‘time, season’ : MMgl *hon* ‘calendrical year’ and MKit *puləw 𘍞平𘍝 ~ *puluw 𘍞平𘍤 ‘intercalary’ : MMgl *hüle’ü* ‘surplus, extra’)[38] and the fact that Middle Kitan was characterised by ‘breaking’ of first syllable *i (e.g. MKit *šawa 𘍤𘍦𘍡 ‘eagle, hawk’ : MMgl *šiba’u-n* ‘bird, eagle, hawk’ and MKit *εma 𘍠𘍡 ‘goat’ : MMgl *ima’a-n* ‘goat’). I thus propose that the grapheme 卡 is read ‹ru›. The phrase 𘍿 𘍠卡𘏲𘎫𘍢 thus probably means ‘blessing(s) caused by heaven’, the verbal root of which is MKit *puru- ‘bless’, cognate to MMgl *hirü’e-* ‘bless’.[39]

See Table 3 below for my revised readings of some words with 卡 ‹ru›.

With this revised reading, MKit 𘍤𘆳卡 ‹š.eu.ru›, which is usually seen as corresponding to ‘dew (露)’ in the Prince Xu inscription, looks significantly different from its assumed Middle Mongol comparand *ši’üder ~ ši’üderi* ‘dew’. The Kitan equivalent of 甘露降 ‘sweet dew fell’ on the canopy of the Prince Xu Inscription (許王墓志 *Xu Wang Muzhi*), may be more idiomatic and not a simple word-for-word equivalent to the Chinese. See below for the Chinese text and my treatment of its Kitan equivalent:

[37] See Kane (2009, pp. 158–162) for an important and informative study of Kitan reign titles and their Chinese equivalents.

[38] See Janhunen (2003, p. 396), Kara (2005, p. 8), and Wu (2007, p. 47) for additional discussion of this Kitan–Mongol sound correspondence.

[39] Manchu *firu-* ‘curse, implore, pray’, classified as an “Early Mongol” loanword in Manchu by Rozycki (1994, p. 77) is clearly related but is probably a loanword from an earlier variety of Kitan or a closely related language, given the ‘breaking’ of *i characteristic of Middle Kitan.

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Table 3. My readings of Kitan words with 卡

Kitan	My reading	Meaning
父 分卡屮岔爻	‹HEAVEN› ‹pu.ru.l.ge.er›	‘Heavenly Blessings (天慶)’ (reign period)
兄土卡	‹š.eu.ru›	‘dew’ (?)
分卡只当	‹pu.ru.uw.en›	‘*Puruwən’ (pers. name)
分卡乂爻	‹pu.ru.k.er›	‘prefect’

掩閉日, 甘露降.

‘On the day it was closed, sweet dew fell.’[40]

久丑木	反子列	尹	岁及	兄土卡	尔为出
‹da.ɣa.ar›	‹o.ǰu.ɣ›	‹DAY›	‹■.uw›	‹š.eu.ru?›	‹on.a.an›
*daʁar	*ɔǰʊ-ʁ	*…	*…uw	*šəwru	*ɔna-n
coffin?	close-VN	day	?	?	fall-PST♀

‘The day the coffin? was closed, … … fell.’

Kane (2009, p. 20) has shown that 久丑木 反子列 corresponds to Chinese 掩閉 denoting ‘cover the coffin’ or ‘cover the tomb’[41] and that 岁及 兄土卡 corresponds to ‘sweet dew (甘露)’ in the Chinese text. However, the latter is not necessarily an exact correspondence. It can be inferred from Kane’s work on the Kitan inscriptions that in other texts, the grapheme 卡 appears to render a verbal suffix meaning ‘while …ing’ (e.g. Kane 2009, p. 91). It is possible that the traditional ‘dew’ analysis for Middle Kitan 兄土卡 is wrong, and that this is actually a verbal form *šəwru ‘while …ing’. Given the Khalkha Mongolian verb *šiwr-* (WMgl *sibere-*) ‘drizzle, sprinkle, fall lightly (of rain)’, perhaps MKit *šəwru denotes a converb form of ‘sprinkling (of precipitation)’.[42] The precise meaning of 岁及 remains elusive, although we cannot at present rule out the possibility that it, too, may be a verbal adverb or converb form.

[40] Translation of the Chinese by Kane (2009, p. 119, §3.204).

[41] Since a word for ‘tomb’ has been identified in Kitan, i.e. *nar 公布 ‹n.ar›, it seems likely that *daʁar 久丑木 ‹da.ɣa.ar› denotes ‘coffin’.

[42] Wu (2007, p. 100) proposes reading 兄土卡 as *[ʃu:su], which he connects with Written Mongol *sigüsü* and Modern Mongolian [ʃu:s] ‘juice’. His reading of the grapheme 卡 as *[su] is based on Liu Fengzhu’s assumption that a name appearing in Chinese transcription as 蒲速里 Pusuli corresponds to 分卡只爻 in the Yongqing Inscription (蕭太山和永清公主墓志 *Xiao Taishan he Yongqing Gongzhu Muzhi*, line 12). See also Liu et al. (2009, p. 88, line 12). However, the Mongol word in question is a derived noun from the verb [ʃu:-] ‘to strain, filter’ (WMgl *sigü-*) and there is significant evidence showing that Kitan lacked a cognate to the Mongol suffix *-sü* ~ *-su* (e.g. LKit *ʊ [烏] ‘water (水)’ : MMgl *usu-n* ‘water’). Given this fact and the semantics of the above-mentioned verbal root, a connection with ‘dew’ seems highly unlikely, since dew is not strained or filtered out.

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On the grapheme 仳 *[235]*

Chinggeltei et al. (1985, p. 153) proposed reading this grapheme as ‹ri›. This reading is upheld in Chinggeltei (2002, p. 71) and Wu – Janhunen (2010). Kane (2009) entertained the possibility that this grapheme is read ‹ir› in certain contexts and ‹ri› in others. However, I have found no context unequivocally suggesting the ‹ri› reading. Note the following examples:

Table 4. Some words with the grapheme 仳

Kitan	My transcription	Meaning
仳九礻	‹ir.g.en›	‘official title’
乂火仳舟伏	‹k.ui.ir.beñ›	‘arrived’
公丰仳屮立礻出	‹n.ai.ir.l.ɣa.a.an›	‘was made to be harmonious’
又仳	‹m.ir›	‘horse’

Assuming the ‹ir› reading provides explanatory power and accounts for sound correspondences with identifiable cognates. The title *irgən 仳九礻 is a Central Eurasian Kulturwort, with comparanda attested in numerous languages including Taghbach, Old Turkic, Old Kirghiz, Joujan, etc. The verbal root *kuyr- 乂火仳- ‘arrive’ has a clear cognate in Pre-Classical Written Mongol *kür-* ‘arrive, reach’. The root of the verbal construction *nayr-lʁa-n 公丰仳屮立礻出 (be.harmonious-CP-PST♀) is clearly cognate to Pre-Classical Written Mongol *nayira-* ‘be harmonious, live in harmony’.[43] The word ‹m.ir› ‘horse’, despite its MMgl cognate *mori* ‘horse’, does not necessarily provide evidence of a ‹ri› reading; cf. Old Koguryo *merʊ ‘colt’.[44]

4. Middle Kitan – English Glossary

Below I present a glossary of Middle Kitan words, phrases, and grammatical morphemes contained in the *Langjun* text. I have distinguished five categories: (1) semantically and phonologically deciphered grammatical morphemes, (2) semantically and phonologically deciphered words and phrases, (3) phonologically (fully or partially) deciphered words or morphemes of uncertain semantic value, (4) semantically deciphered words of unknown or only partially known phonological value, and (5) fully undeciphered words and morphemes. The purpose of this categorisation is to aid in identifying problematic areas in the reconstruction of Middle Kitan and promote further work on the decipherment of the Kitan Assembled Script.

[43] See Kane (2009, p. 103, §3.104) for the context of this verb and Kara (2009, p. 192) for the Pre-Classical Written Mongol word. The phonological reconstruction, morphological analysis, and etymology proposed here are my own.

[44] See Beckwith (2007, p. 252) for this Old Koguryo word.

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As to the organisation of glossary entries, first I present a phonological reconstruction of the wordform or morpheme at hand, then the Kitan Assembled Script grapheme or graphemes rendering it followed by a philological transcription of the grapheme or graphemes and the grapheme number as it appears in the philological literature (e.g. Chinggeltei 2002, Kane 2009, Wu – Janhunen 2010), an English gloss with the corresponding Chinese word or phrase in the Chinese half of the inscription (if any), and, for words with currently identifiable comparanda, I provide an etymology or possible etymology.

SEMANTICALLY AND PHONOLOGICALLY DECIPHERED GRAMMATICAL MORPHEMES

*-č 朱 ‹.č› [162] ~ *-ǰ 汐 ‹.ǰ› [337] ‘imperfective converb suffix’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *-ču ~ -čü ~ -ǰu ~ -ǰü* ‘imperfective converb suffix’).

*-d 公 ‹.d› [254] ‘plural suffix’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *-t* ‘plural suffix’).

*-də 矢 ‹.de› [205] ‘dative-locative case suffix’ (< PSM, cf. Pcl. *-dur ~ -dür ~ -tur ~ -tür* ‘dative-locative case suffix’).

*-ən 礼 ‹.en› [140] ~ *-n 买 ‹.an› [011] ~ *-añ 及 ‹.eñ› [144] ‘genitive case suffix’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *-yin ~ -un ~ -ün* ‘genitive case suffix’).

*-əñ 及 ‹.eñ› ‘converb suffix’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *-n* ‘modal converb suffix’).

*-ər 谷 ‹.er› [341] ~ *-ur 安 ‹.Ur› [097] ‘accusative-instrumental-comitative case suffix’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *-bar ~ -ber ~ -iyar ~ -iyer* ‘instrumental case suffix’).

*-ər 谷 ‹.er› [341] ‘masculine past tense suffix’ (< PSM, cf. PMgl *-r ‘deverbal noun suffix’).

*gi 沙 ‹gi› [336] ‘negative marker’ (< ? PSM, cf. MMgl *ügei* ‘not existing’).

*-i 关 ‹.i› [339] ~ *-y 丰 ‹.ai› [122] ~ 火 ‹.ui› [262] ‘converb suffix (而)’ (< ? PSM, cf. MMgl *-yu ~ -yü* ‘deductive suffix’; see Poppe (1954, p. 92) and Rybatzki (2003, p. 76) for this MMgl suffix).

*-ləñ 方及 ‹.al.eñ› [.098.144] ~ 屮及 ‹.l.eñ› [.261.144] ‘past tense suffix’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *-lu’ai ~ -lü’ei ~ -lu’a ~ -lü’e* ‘confirmative suffix’; see Rybatzki (2003, p. 75) for this MMgl suffix).

*-lʁa- 屮立 ‹.l.γa.› [.261.051] ~ *-ʁ(a)- 列 ‹.γ› [.151] ‘causative-passive suffix’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *-lγa ~ -lge ~ -γa ~ -ge* ‘causative suffix’).

*-n 内 ‹.on› [.322] ‘feminine past tense suffix’.

*-ñ 伏 ‹ñ› [.222] ‘subordinate conjunction-forming suffix (已)’.

SEMANTICALLY AND PHONOLOGICALLY DECIPHERED WORDS AND PHRASES

*ay 丰 ‹ai› [122] ‘year’ (年歲).

*baŋɢa- 付业列 ‹b.ang.γ.› [311.280.151.] ‘issue orders (爰命)’ (< ? PSM, cf. WMgl *bangγ-a* ‘reprimand’).

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*č- 朮 ‹č.› [162.] ‘write (題)’ (< PSer ← ? OChi dial. 書).
*čaŋšu 朮𠂤 𠂇屮 ‹č.ang› ‹š.ü› [162.199] [028.289] ‘Court Minister (尙書)’ (← OMan.).
*čar *ams 朮木 乃今 ‹čar› ‹am.s› [162.123] [184.244] ‘for a long time (嚮)’.
*čawǰ *qʊrʊ 丙𠂢 亜𠂤 ‹čau.ǰ› ‹qUr.U› [022.337] [014.245] ‘Campaign Commander (都統)’.
*čyawqʊy 朮𠂉犬火 ‹č.iau.qu.ui› [162.362.118.262] ‘Chinese’ (← ? OMan. dial. 中國).
*dawr- 尺𡈽 ‹dau.Ur.› [119.097] ‘middle (仲)’.
*dəw 为 ‹deu› [101] ‘younger brother (弟)’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *dewü* ‘id.’).
*dur 罒 ‹dur› [368] ‘four (四)’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *dörbe-n* ‘four’).
*əm 企 ‹em› [257] ‘city’.
*ɛm- 𠫓 ‹êm.› [270.] ‘drink (飮)’ (← ? OMan. dial. 飮 ‘drink’ or Tibeto-Burman, e.g. Ben. 481 *am- ~ *əm- ‘drink’).
*əñə 叉爫 ‹eñ.e› [144.348] ‘now (今)’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *ene* ‘this’).
*əw 土 ‹eu› [067] ‘not existing (無)’ (cf. Korean 없 *eps-* < LMK : 업 *ẹp-* *[ǎp-] ~ : 업ㅅ *ẹps-* *[ǎps-] ‘not exist’; see Nam 2002, p. 1068 for the LMK form).
*giŋlyaw 凡同 屮𠂉汲 ‹g.iŋ› ‹l.iau.uw› [334.303] [261.362.131] ‘Military Commissioner (經略)’ (← OMan.).
*giwŋtyɛn 凡丙𡈽 今文方 ‹g.iu.ung› ‹t.iê.ên› [334.019.345] [247.327.073] ‘palace halls (殿)’ (← OMan. 宮殿).
*gur 凡𡈽 ‹g.ur› [334.097] ‘state’ (cf. Manchu *gurun* ‘state’ ← Kitan).
*ɢɔl- 扎屮 ‹γo.l.› [076.261.] ‘see (賭)’.
*ir 关化 ‹i.ir› [339.235] ‘name, title’.
*ǰaki 刃亞关 ‹ǰa.ki.i› [150.163.339] ‘south side of a mountain (陽)’.
*ǰɨpɔŋlaŋǰuŋ 友 黑 屮𠂤 子𡈽 ‹ǰï› ‹pong› ‹l.ang› ‹ǰu.ung› [087] [360] [261.199] [149.345] ‘Director of the Bureau of Operations (職方郎中)’ (← OMan.).
*ǰur 圣 ‹ǰur› [134] ‘two (二)’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *ǰirin* [只舌鄰] ‘two (兩箇)’; see Kuribayashi (2009, p. 236) for this MMgl form).
*ǰur-ən 圣当 ‹ǰur.en› [134.361] ‘paintings (繪)’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *ǰiruq* ‘drawing, painting’).
*kišyuw- 𠂉关禾尺 ‹k.i.ši.uw.› [340.339.033.372.] ‘be merry from drinking wine (酣)’.
*kuyr- 𠂉火化 ‹k.ui.ir.› [340.262.235.] ‘arrive (至)’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *kür-* ‘reach, arrive’).
*kuy- 𠂉火 ‹k.ui.› [340.262.] (allophonic variant of *kuyr- ‘arrive’).
*kyɛnliŋ 亞方 屮同 ‹ki.ên› ‹l.ing› [163.073] [261.303] ‘Qianling Tombs (乾陵)’ (← OMan.).
*laŋ 屮𠂤 ‹l.ang› [261.199] ‘corridor (廊)’ (← OMan.).
*li *čəw 屮关 朮土 ‹l.i› ‹č.eu› [261.339] [162.067] ‘Li prefecture (醴州)’ (← OMan.).
*lyaŋšan 屮並 𠂇为灭 ‹l.iang› ‹š.a.an› [261.062] [028.189.011] ‘Liang Mountain (梁山)’ (← OMan.).
*nay 穴 ‹nai› [332] ‘head; official’.
*ɔmɔqʊ- 丙余 ‹omo.qu.› [021.246.] ‘return (復)’.

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*ɔŋguy 杰 几火 ‹ong› ‹g.ui› [071] [334.262] ‘Wang Gui (王圭)’ (Chinese personal name).
*pɔ 非 ‹po› [279] ‘time, season (時)’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *hon* ‘calendrical year’).
*pɔ- 业及 ‹p.o.› [295.186.] ‘be’ (< ? PSM, cf. MMgl *bü-* ‘be’).
*pɔd- 业币 ‹p.od.› [295.016.] ‘return (歸)’ (< ? PSM, cf. MMgl *bača-* ‘return’).
*pɔǰʊ- 业及子 ‹p.o.ǰu.› [295.186.149.] ‘become’ (< ? PSM, cf. MMgl *bol-* ‘become’).
*purukər 分卡乂公 ‹pu.ru.k.er› [241.041.340.341] ‘prefect’ (< ? *puruk(ə)- ‘govern, control (?)’ + *-r ‘past tense verbal noun suffix’).
*puyidaw 业廾火关 尺 ‹p.u.ui.i›‹dau› [295.090.262.339] [119] ‘bandits and robbers’ (← 匪盜 LMC: Pul. 93, 73 ☆puy daw).
*qaʁa-n *dəw 巫业买 方 ‹qa.ɣa.an›‹deu› [053.051.011] [101] ‘younger brother of the emperor (皇弟)’.
*qaʁas 巫业冬 ‹qa.ɣa.as› [053.051.174] ‘tiger’.
*qay 口 ‹qai› [323] ‘that very same, the previously mentioned’ (← OMan. 該).
*ʁɔŋiŋki 主 同 乂关 ‹ɣong›‹ing›‹k.i› [075] [303] [340.339] ‘Huang Yingqi (黃應期)’ (personal name).
*šari 又为六 ‹š.a.ri› [028.189.069] ‘court attendant (郎君)’.
*šɛn 又方 ‹š.ên› [028.073] ‘new’ (< PSM *sine ← ? OChi 新 ‘new’).
*syawqʊ 今业犬 ‹s.iau.qu› [244.362.118] ‘blue’.
*taŋ 仍勿 ‹ta.ang› [229.199] ‘Tang dynasty (唐)’ (← OMan.).
*tiw- 今丙 ‹t.iu.› [247.019.] ‘gather (會)’ (< PSM, cf. WMgl *tegü-* ‘collect, gather’).
*ʊǰd 及礽公 ‹uw.ǰ.d› [131.337.254] ‘craftsmen (工)’ (← ? OTrk *uz* ‘craftsman’ + PSM plural suffix).
*uwl 及平 ‹uw.wl› [131.366] ‘winter (冬)’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *übül* ‘winter’).
*uy 火 ‹ui› [262] ‘matter (事)’ (< PSM, cf. MMgl *üile* ‘deed, matter’).
*yaw *gün 万犬 几亦 ‹y.au›‹g.ün› [020.161] [334.329] ‘You prefecture (宥州)’.

PHONOLOGICALLY (FULLY OR PARTIALLY) DECIPHERED WORDS OR MORPHEMES OF UNCERTAIN SEMANTIC VALUE

*əñyɔ 又由 ‹eñ.yo?› [144.320] (?).
*man- 及出 ‹m.an.› [133.290.] ‘go along (于)’ (?).
*šdə 又矢 ‹š.de› [028.205] (?).
*smw- 今仕 ‹s.mw.› [244.224.] ‘hunt (獵)’ (?).
*yu… 万六生 ‹y.u.■› [020.289.356] ‘collapse (頹)’ (?).

SEMANTICALLY DECIPHERED WORDS AND MORPHEMES OF UNKNOWN (OR ONLY PARTIALLY KNOWN) PHONOLOGICAL VALUE

*-… 北 ‹.■› [.080] ‘converb suffix’.
*… 尹 ‹DAY› [159] ‘day (日)’ (cf. LKit *ñayr ‘day, sun’).
*… 乞 ‹TEN› [240] ‘ten (十)’.

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*… 父 ‹HEAVEN› [243] ‘heaven’.
*… 山 ‹GOLD› [285] ‘gold, golden (金)’.
*… 又 ‹GREAT› [373] ‘great (大)’.
*…a-n 邦 为 灭 ‹REGION.a.an› [371.189.011] ‘of the region’.
*…b 酋 舟 ‹WINE.b› [342.311] ‘wine’ (cf. Persian شراب *šarāb* ‘wine’?).
*…ɔ-r 雨 仝 ‹■.or› [017.255] ‘presented sth. (奉)’ (with masculine past tense suffix *-r).
*…g 兆 几 ‹■.g› [068.334] ‘writing’ (cf. WMgl *üsüg* ‘letter, grapheme’).
*gɔ-č *kuduw-i *…ən- 曲 永 几 火 只 尖 仍 当 ‹go.č› ‹ku.ud.uw.ui› ‹■.en.› [319.162] [178.344.372.262] [234.361.] ‘surround on all four sides (回…四起)’.
*ki… *…-(l[?])əñ 兴 关 坐 丰 及 ‹k.i.■› ‹■l[?].eñ› [340.339.356] [048.144] ‘he was inexpressibly delighted (不勝欣懌)’.
*-s… 仝 比 ‹.s.■› [.244.080] ‘converb suffix’ (cf. MMgl *-qsa’ar ~ -kse’er ~ -qsabar ~ -kseber* ‘abtemporal converb suffix’).
*sqɔ…- 仝 欠 州 ‹s.qo.■.› [244.169.188.] ‘make repairs (修飾)’.

FULLY UNDECIPHERED WORDS OR MORPHEMES

*… 仅 ‹■› [227] (?).

Abbreviations and Transcription Conventions

-	morpheme boundary
###	grapheme number in Chinggeltei (2002)
*	linguistic reconstruction
☆	tradition-based reconstruction from *fanqie* or rhymes (cf. Beckwith 2007)
.	grapheme boundary
‹ ›	transcription of orthographic form
<	language-internal change
■	undeciphered grapheme (in transcriptions of orthographic forms)
▒	legible but erroneous or otherwise difficult to identify (of graphemes)
←	borrowing or loanword between different languages
♂	masculine gender
♀	feminine gender
AIC	accusative-instrumental-comitative case
Ben.	Benedict (1972)
CP	causative-passive
CVB	converb
DL	dative-locative case
GEN	genitive case
LKit	Late Kitan
LMC	Late Middle Chinese
LMK	Late Middle Korean
Mathews	Mathews (1975 [1931])

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MKit	Middle Kitan
MMgl	Middle Mongol
MSC	Modern Standard Chinese
NEG	negative marker
OCP	occupation-marking suffix
OMan.	Old Mandarin
OTrk	Old Turkic
Pcl.	Pre-Classical Written Mongol
pers.name	personal name
PL	plural
PMgl	Proto-Mongolic
PSer	Proto-Serbi
PSM	Proto-Serbi-Mongolic
Pul.	Pulleyblank (1991)
PST	past tense
SBRD.CNJC	subordinate conjunction
VN	verbal noun
WMgl	Written Mongol
x[?]	uncertain reading

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