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Andrew Shimunek

Languages of Ancient Southern Mongolia and North China

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Andrew Shimunek

Languages of Ancient Southern Mongolia and North China

A Historical-Comparative Study of the Serbi or Xianbei Branch of the Serbi-Mongolic Language Family, with an Analysis of Northeastern Frontier Chinese and Old Tibetan Phonology

2017

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Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

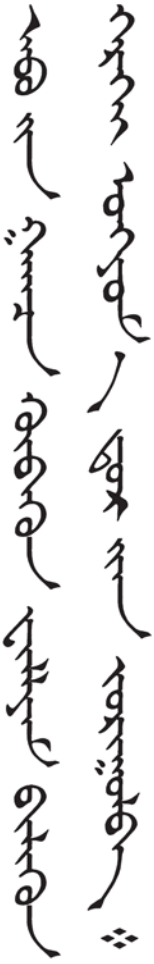
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http://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de

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Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier.
Druck und Verarbeitung: Hubert & Co., Göttingen
Printed in Germany

ISSN 0946-0349
ISBN 978-3-447-10855-3
e-ISBN PDF 978-3-447-19656-7

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Dedicated to my wife Oyumaa and my son William Bilgun.



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Contents

Front Matter....xiii
Figures....xiii
Tables....xv
Acknowledgements....xix
Fonts Used in this Book....xxi
General Abbreviations and Symbols....xxiii
General Sigla....xxix
Sigla for Chinese Primary Sources....xxxi
Sigla for Old Tibetan Texts....xxxiii
Kitan Assembled Script Sigla....xxxv
Sigla for Mongol Texts....xxxvii
Apparatus Criticus....xli
Transcription and Transliteration Conventions....xliii

1. Previous Theories on the Origins of the Mongolic Languages....1

2. A Brief Ethnolinguistic History of the Serbi-Mongolic Peoples....37
2.1. The early Serbi-Mongolic peoples....37
2.2. Rise of the Serbi peoples and conquest of North China....46
2.3. The Awar during the Serbi expansion....55
2.4. The Kitan (or 'Kitanic') Peoples....57
2.4.1. Qay....61
2.4.1.1. Early Qay....61
2.4.1.2. Late Qay....63
2.4.2. Shirwi....64
2.4.3. The Kitan after the Kitan Empire....66
2.5. The early Mongolic peoples and their languages....68

3. Early Northern Frontier Varieties of Chinese....79
3.1. Introduction....79
3.2. Brief notes on Northeastern Late Old Chinese phonology....79

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:46:10 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

3.3. Northeastern Early Middle Chinese phonology 81
3.3.1. Syllable-initial segments (syllable onsets and #V) 81
3.3.2. Syllable nuclei 84
3.3.3. Syllable codas 85
3.3.4. Revisions of tradition-based reconstructions 91
3.4. The Phonology of Late Middle Chinese 93
3.5. The Phonology of Early Old Mandarin 99
3.5.1. Syllable Onsets 100
3.5.2. Syllable Nuclei 104
3.5.3. Syllable Codas 105

4. Notes on the Phonology of Old Tibetan 109
4.1. Introduction 109
4.2. Syllable Onsets 110
4.3. Syllable Nuclei 114
4.4. Syllable Codas 117

5. Taghbach and other Middle Serbi Dialects of the Northern Wei 121
5.1. Introduction 121
5.2. The Taghbach onomasticon in the *Wei Shu* 125
5.2.1. Glossed transcriptions 125
5.2.2. Problematic transcriptions 143
5.2.3. Unglossed (abbreviated) transcriptions 147
5.2.4. Transcriptions elsewhere in the *Wei Shu* 147
5.3. Taghbach Titles and Names in the *Nan Ch'i Shu* 148
5.3.1. Resolved transcriptions 149
5.3.2. Problematic transcriptions (unresolved) 158
5.4. Transcriptions in the Serbi Cave Inscription 162
5.5. Taghbach Phonology 163
5.6. Taghbach lexicon 165
5.6.1. Taghbach functional morphemes 165
5.6.2. Taghbach words 165

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:46:10 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

6. The T'u-yü-hun ('Azha) Language 169
6.1. Historical background 169
6.2. Sources on the T'u-yü-hun language 172
6.2.1. Old Tibetan sources on the T'u-yü-hun language 173
6.2.1.1. T'u-yü-hun toponyms in Old Tibetan transcription 175
6.2.1.2. T'u-yü-hun onomastica in Old Tibetan transcription 182
6.2.2. Chinese sources on the T'u-yü-hun language 184
6.2.2.1. Glossed Chinese transcriptions of T'u-yü-hun 185
6.2.2.2. Unglossed Chinese transcriptions of T'u-yü-hun 189
6.2.3. Possible T'u-yü-hun elements in Amdo Tibetan 191
6.3. Notes on T'u-yü-hun phonology 192
6.3.1. Phoneme inventory 192
6.3.2. Salient consonant clusters 193
6.3.3. Glide + vowel sequences 193
6.3.4. Other phonological points of interest 193
6.4. Concluding remarks 194
6.5. The T'u-yü-hun lexicon 194
6.5.1. T'u-yü-hun functional morphemes 195
6.5.2. T'u-yü-hun words 195
6.5.2.1. Glossed or semantically known T'u-yü-hun words 195
6.5.2.2. Unglossed T'u-yü-hun words 195

7. The Kitan Language 197
7.1. Introduction 197
7.2. Old Kitan 198
7.2.1. Glossed (and semantically discernable) Old Kitan words 199
7.2.2. Unglossed Old Kitan names in Early MChi transcription 204
7.2.3. Unglossed Old Kitan names in Late MChi transcription 206
7.3. Middle Kitan 209
7.3.1. Notes on Middle Kitan Phonology 212
7.3.2. Middle Kitan Morphology 221
7.3.2.1. Word Classes 222

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:46:10 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

7.3.2.1.1. Nouns 222
7.3.2.1.2. Demonstratives 222
7.3.2.1.3. Adjectives 226
7.3.2.1.4. Adverbs 227
7.3.2.1.5. Numerals 228
7.3.2.1.5.1. Ordinal Numerals 228
7.3.2.1.5.2. Cardinal Numerals 232
7.3.2.1.6. Verbs 241
7.3.2.2. Case 247
7.3.2.3. Number 264
7.3.3. Middle Kitan syntax 266
7.3.3.1. Clausal Order 266
7.3.3.2. Phrasal Order 268
7.3.3.3. Pro-Drop 270
7.3.3.4. Relative Clauses 270
7.3.3.5. Subordination and Conjunctions 272
7.3.3.6. Negation 272
7.3.4. A Middle Kitan text: The Lang-chün Inscription 274
7.4. Late Kitan 278
7.5. The Kitan Lexicon 281

8. Toward a Reconstruction of Common Serbi-Mongolic 283
8.1. Shared Functional Morphophonology 283
8.2. Common Serbi-Mongolic Phonology 288
8.2.1. Serbi-Mongolic Sound Correspondences 288
8.2.2. Common Serbi-Mongolic Phoneme Inventory 292
8.3. Common Serbi-Mongolic Morphosyntax 295
8.3.1. Verbal suffixal morphosyntax 295
8.3.2. Case suffixal morphosyntax 296
8.3.3. Number in Common Serbi-Mongolic 298
8.4. Common Serbi-Mongolic Syntax 301
8.4.1 Common Serbi-Mongolic word order 302

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:46:10 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

8.4.1.1. Common Serbi-Mongolic clausal order 302
8.4.1.2. Common Serbi-Mongolic phrasal order 306
8.4.3. Null subjects ('Pro-Drop') in Common Serbi-Mongolic 312
8.5. The Common Serbi-Mongolic Lexicon 313
8.5.1. Common Serbi suffixes and grammatical morphemes 315
8.5.2. Common Serbi words 315
8.5.3. Common Serbi-Mongolic grammatical morphemes 317
8.5.4. Common Serbi-Mongolic words 326
8.6. Reconstructed Sentences in Common Serbi-Mongolic 380

9. The Proto-Serbi-Mongolic Homeland 383
9.1. Introduction 383
9.2. Vocabulary 384
9.2.1. Cultural Vocabulary 385
9.2.2. Primary Vocabulary 397
9.3. A Possible Homeland 412

10. Conclusion 415

Appendix A: Revised Analylsis of the Kitan Assembled Script 419
Appendix B: Kitan Assembled Script Common Typographical Errors 445
Appendix C: Gloss Formulae 447
Appendix D: Pre-Proto-Mongolic Morphological Innovations 449
Bibliography 461
Language Index 491
General Index 495

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Front Matter

Figures

Figure 1. The Pelliot-Ligeti-Kara ‘Ancient Mongol’ Theory 12
Figure 2. Poppe’s ‘Ancient Mongol’ Theory 12
Figure 3. The logical implications of the term ‘Para-Mongolic’ 14
Figure 4. The ‘Para-Mongolic’ Theory 15
Figure 5. Classification of the Serbi-Mongolic Languages.....35
Figure 6. The Middle Kitan Vowel Shift 215
Figure 7. Reflexes of Common Serbi-Mongolic *uni ‘cow’ 450
Figure 8. Reflexes of Common-Serbi-Mongolic *ɪma ‘goat’ 451
Figure 9. Reflexes of Common-Serbi-Mongolic *əbu ‘ancestor’.....452
Figure 10. Reflexes of Common Serbi-Mongolic *dalʊ ‘seven’ 453

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Tables

Table 1. Mongol-Greek-Latin “resemblances” according to Edkins 3
Table 2. Preclassical and spoken MMgl ‘winter’ and ‘day’ 8
Table 3. Preclassical WMgl and spoken MMgl wordforms.....9
Table 4. Attested Preclassical, Early, and Late MMgl wordforms 10
Table 5. Mongol-Korean correspondences proposed by Hong Kimun.....17
Table 6. Hong Kimun’s Mongol-Korean proposals with additional data.....18
Table 7. Early Middle Korean data added for comparison 19
Table 8. Serbi names of ‘Yellow River’ (潢河).....58
Table 9. Periodization of the Serbi-Mongolic languages and speakers 76
Table 10. Northeastern Early Middle Chinese Codas 85
Table 11. Preliminary analysis of attested LMC onsets.....94
Table 12. Old Tibetan transcriptions of LMC prenasalized onsets.....95
Table 13. Old Uygur transcriptions of LMC prenasalized onsets.....95
Table 14. Late Middle Chinese Codas 96
Table 15. Old Tibetan transcriptions of LMC coda consonants 97
Table 16. Old Uygur transcriptions of LMC coda consonants 97
Table 17. The T’u-yü-hun consonant inventory (phonemic) 192
Table 18. The T’u-yü-hun vowel inventory.....192
Table 19. The Middle Kitan consonant inventory (phonemic) 213
Table 20. The Middle Kitan vowel inventory.....213
Table 21. Allophonic origins of Kitan dorsal consonant phonemes 214
Table 22. Rounding vowel harmony in the Kitan genitive-attributive 217
Table 23. Word-initial free variation between voiced and voiceless 217
Table 24. Word-final free variation between voiced and voiceless 218
Table 25. Orthographic consonant clusters in Middle Kitan 218
Table 26. The Middle Kitan demonstratives.....223
Table 27. Middle Kitan ordinal numerals 2-5 229
Table 28. Kitan ordinal numerals 6-10.....230
Table 29. Middle Kitan cardinal numerals.....233
Table 30. Attested Middle Kitan numerals 11-19 237
Table 31. Middle Kitan cardinal numerals 20-10,000 238

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:46:21 UTC
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Table 32. Some attested Middle Kitan numerals 21-99 239
Table 33. Morphological paradigm of Middle Kitan *kuyr- ‘arrive’ 242
Table 34. Morphological paradigm of Middle Kitan *pɔǰ- ‘become’ 245
Table 35. Morphological paradigm of Middle Kitan *sa- ‘reside, live’ 246
Table 36. Middle Kitan case affixes (reconstructed forms) 248
Table 37. Middle Kitan case affixes (orthographic forms) 248
Table 38. Case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns ending in vowels 249
Table 39. Case paradigm of Middle Kitan *ɔrdu 250
Table 40. Case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns ending in /w/ 251
Table 41. Case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns ending in /m/ and /n/ 252
Table 42. Case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns ending in /m/ and /n/ 253
Table 43. Case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns ending in velar nasals 254
Table 44. Case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns ending in /r/ 255
Table 45. Case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns ending in /r/ 255
Table 46. Case paradigms of MKit nouns ending in other consonants 256
Table 47. Middle Kitan irregular (lexicalized) case forms 257
Table 48. Partially suppletive paradigm of Middle Kitan *mir ‘horse’ 258
Table 49. Paradigm of MKit *kuyr- with MMgl *gür-* ‘arrive’ 285
Table 50. Paradigm of MKit *sa- with MMgl *sa’u-* ‘sit, live, reside’ 286
Table 51. Paradigm of MKit *pɔǰ- ‘become’ with MMgl *bol-* ‘become’ 286
Table 52. Cognate functional morphology between MKit and MMgl 287
Table 53. The Common Serbi-Mongolic consonant inventory 293
Table 54. The Common Serbi-Mongolic vowel inventory 293
Table 55. SM diphthong and vocoid sequences with *y in roots 294
Table 56. SM diphthong and vocoid sequences with *y in affixes 294
Table 57. MKit and MMgl cognate verbal suffixal morphosyntax 295
Table 58. Taghbach, Late Kitan, and Middle Mongol cognate affix 296
Table 59. Attested Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol case forms 297
Table 60. Partial reconstruction of the CSM case system 298
Table 61. MKit and MMgl cognate number affixal morphosyntax 299
Table 62. MKit and MMgl cognate number affixal morphosyntax 299
Table 63. MKit and MMgl cognate number affixal morphosyntax 299

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:46:21 UTC
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Table 64. MKit and MMgl cognate number affixal morphosyntax 300
Table 65. MKit and MMgl cognate number affixal morphosyntax 300
Table 66. MKit and MMgl plural marking mismatch.....300
Table 67. Common Serbi-Mongolic nominal number system 301
Table 68. Comparison of MKit and MMgl clausal order.....302
Table 69. SM syntactic correspondences for [OV] clausal order 303
Table 70. SM syntactic correspondences for [SV] clausal order 303
Table 71. SM syntactic correspondences for [SOV] clausal order 304
Table 72. SM syntactic correspondences for [S_{NP} $Pred_{NP}$] clausal order.....305
Table 73. SM syntactic correspondences for [S_{NP} $Pred_{Num}$] clausal order...306
Table 74. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [Adj N] phrasal order.....307
Table 75. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [Dem N] phrasal order 307
Table 76. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [G N] phrasal order.....308
Table 77. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [Num N] phrasal order.....308
Table 78. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [Rel N] phrasal order 309
Table 79. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [Adv V] phrasal order.....309
Table 80. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [Neg V] phrasal order 310
Table 81. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [N Post] phrasal order.....310
Table 82. Comparison of MKit and MMgl phrasal order 311
Table 83. Common Serbi-Mongolic phrasal order.....311
Table 84. Pro-drop in Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol 312
Table 85. Some attested Kitan-Taghbach-Mongol cognates 313
Table 86. Evidence of a *-sU ~ *-l alternation in Pre-Proto-Mongolic 393
Table 87. Early Serbi-Mongolic words for ‘pig, boar’ 410
Table 88. Words for ‘pig’ in the modern Mongolic daughter languages.....411
Table 89. Phonological innovations distinguishing Mongolic and Serbi.....415
Table 90. Mongolic morphological innovations 416
Table 91. Phonologically conditioned readings of the grapheme 父 419
Table 92. Phonologically conditioned readings of the grapheme 叉 420
Table 93. Phonologically conditioned readings of the grapheme 禾 420
Table 94. Phonologically conditioned readings of the grapheme 示 420
Table 95. Phonologically conditioned readings of the grapheme 生 421

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Table 96. Phonologically conditioned readings of the grapheme 扎 421
Table 97. Previously identified common KAS typographical errors 445
Table 98. Common KAS typographical errors.....445
Table 99. Late Old Chinese glossed transcriptions of SM words 447
Table 100. Early Middle Chinese glossed transcriptions of SM words 447
Table 101. Late Middle Chinese glossed transcription of SM words 448
Table 102. Old Mandarin glossed transcriptions of SM words.....448
Table 103. Old Tibetan glossed transcription of SM 448
Table 104. Latin glossed transcriptions of SM words.....448
Table 105. Persian transcriptions of Mongolic languages and dialects 448
Table 106. SM correspondences indicating *-sU as Mongolic.....454
Table 107. Tungusic evidence of *-sU as a Mongolic innovation.....455
Table 108. Turkic evidence of *-sU as a Mongolic innovation 456
Table 109. Tungusic and Turkic evidence of *-sU as Mongolic 458
Table 110. Late Old Chinese evidence of pre-Proto-Mongolic *-sU 458
Table 111. Japanese-Koguryoic evidence of pre-Proto-Mongolic *-sU.....458
Table 112. Serbi and Mongolic evidence of pre-Proto-Mongolic *-ɣU 459
Table 113. Serbi-Mongolic evidence of pre-Proto-Mongolic *-bA.....459

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Acknowledgements

In support of the research and writing which allowed me to significantly revise and expand my doctoral dissertation into this book, I was awarded a Postdoctoral Fellowship in Mongolian Studies by the Dipartimento Asia Africa e Mediterraneo of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale". I am grateful to my fellowship advisor Donatella Guida and to Michele Bernardini, who have helped me immensely in many ways during my stays in Naples to undertake research to complete this book. Thanks to their many kindnesses and sincere desire to help me succeed, I have been able to bring this book to fruition.

I thank my teachers György Kara and Christopher I. Beckwith, for sharing with me their vast knowledge and passion for Central Eurasian Studies, linguistics, philology, and history. They have inspired me academically and encouraged me like no other teachers before them. I am greatly fortunate to have had the opportunity to study with such great mentors. I am also grateful to the other members of my doctoral committee—Robert Botne, Ken de Jong, and Stuart Davis. Without their honest advice and helpful input, this book would have been greatly inferior to its present form.

I also thank everyone who wrote recommendation letters for grant and fellowship applications which supported the writing of this book, especially Christopher I. Beckwith, György Kara, Lim Seungcheol, and Jang Deokjin. I am grateful to Professor Lim for being so understanding and accommodating of my research. Without his kindness and flexibility, this book would have taken much longer to finish.

I thank numerous people who have sent me articles, books, fonts, and other resources which I have used for research leading up to this book, including Kurban Niyaz, Yoshio Saitô, Takeuchi Yasunori, Daniel Kane, Oyuunch (Wu Yingzhe), Michal Biran, Gertraude Roth Li, Kiyose N. Gisaburō, Michele Bernardini, Jerry Norman,† Valerie Hansen, Yümjiriin Mönkh-Amgalan, Anya King, Seongyeon Ko, Otgon Borjigin, Jonathan North Washington, Sun Bojun, Viacheslav Zaytsev, Ko Dongho, Engkebatu, Kim Juwon, Guillaume Jacques, Alexander Vovin, D. Tömörtogoo, and Ts.

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Shagdarsüren. For permission to reproduce part of my *Acta Orientalia* article, I thank István Vásáry. In general, I would also like to thank Jennifer Li-Chia Liu, Yu Wonsoo, Mikael Thompson, Yangbum Gyal, Rabsal Gedun, Niko Kontovas, and Tang Li. I also thank Michael Weiers for reviewing my manuscript and accepting it for publication in his series.

The Khamnigan Mongol data in this book is from my 2006 and 2009 fieldwork in Khentii funded by the American Center for Mongolian Studies (ACMS), the Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC), the Institute of International Education (IIE), and the U.S. State Department. I am grateful to the many kind Khamnigan people I met, who generously shared with me their knowledge of their language and culture.

My family has been very supportive of my education and research. I thank my grandparents Royal† and Alice Marsh, my parents Rick and Jean, my brother Thomas, my parents-in-law Yümjiriin Mönkh-Amgalan and Khaidawiin Suwdaa, and my grandfather-in-law Academician Tsendiin Khaidaw† for encouraging me in Mongolian Studies.

I also thank my son, William Bilgun, for understanding all the times I was busy writing, and for encouraging me in his own way—every night before bed he made sure I was working on my book. Most of all, I thank my wife, Oyumaa, for constantly supporting me and my research, even when it meant increasing responsibilities for herself as I wrote this book. Without her love, support, and patience, this book would have been both impossible and meaningless.

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Fonts Used in this Book

I have used a number of special fonts in preparing this book: For words in Kitan Assembled Script, Preclassical Written Mongol, and ‘Phagspa Script, I have used the Menksoft font set. For Chinese, I have used PMingLiu; for Japanese, MS Mincho; for modern Written Mongol, Mongolian Baiti; for phonetic and phonological transcriptions, Doulos SIL; for Korean, Haansoft Batang; and for Tangut, Mojikyo M202. For Jurchen, I have used Jason Glavy’s freeware Jurchen font. Tibetan words are given in the free true-type font Jomolhari, developed and distributed by Chris Fynn. Runiform Old Turkic words are given in the font Turik, developed by the Abai National Pedagogical University of Kazakhstan (Абай атындағы Қазақ Ұлттық педагогикалық университет) and the Republic of Kazakhstan Ministry of Culture and Information (Қазақстан Республикасы Мәдениет және ақпарат министрлігі). 17th century Dutch transcriptions of Early Modern Korean appear in the Caslon font Wyld, created by David Manthey. The main text is in Times New Roman. The morphemic, phrasal, and clausal structures of reconstructed sentences (e.g. in §8.6) are given in Cambria Math. The symbols ✘ and ☆ are given in Arial Unicode MS. The Mongolian text of the dedication is in Menksoft Hawang.

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General Abbreviations and Symbols

AKog	Archaic Koguryo (Archaic Koguryŏ)[1]
ATR	advanced tongue root vowel harmony
ATrk	Archaic Turkic (ca. 4th c. A.D.)
C	consonant
c.	century
ca.	circa
CChi	Chin Chinese (i.e. Old Mandarin as spoken in the Chin Jurchen Empire)
Ch.	Chinese
chap.	chapter
Chuv.	Chuvash
CJK	Common Japanese-Koguryoic (Common Japanese-Koguryŏic)[2]
CSer	Common Serbi
CSM	Common Serbi-Mongolic
Dem	demonstrative
EMC	Early Middle Chinese (ca. 4th to 6th c.)
EMK	Early Middle Korean (ca. 918-1392)
EMMgl	Early Middle Mongol
EOM	Early Old Mandarin (ca. 10th -12th c.)
Ewk	Ewenki
G	genitive
H	high pitch
IDP	International Dunhuang Project <idp.bl.uk>
IE	Indo-European
intr.	intransitive
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
JK	Japanese-Koguryoic (Japanese-Koguryŏic)
JM	Jurchen-Manchu
Jur.	Jurchen
KAS	Kitan Assembled Script (often assumed to be the 'Small Script')[3]
KDKE	Khentii-Dornod Khamnigan Ewenki (Rinchen 1969)

[1] Beckwith (2007a).

[2] Beckwith (2007a).

[3] See Kara (2005) for discussion.

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KLS	Kitan Linear Script (often assumed to be the 'Large Script')[4]
KPEMC	Korean Peninsular Early Middle Chinese (Beckwith 2007a)
L	low pitch
LC	Liao Chinese (i.e. Early Old Mandarin as spoken in the Kitan Empire)
LJur	Late Jurchen (ca. 1550)[5]
LKit.	Late Kitan (ca. 13th c.)
LMC	Late Middle Chinese (Sui-T'ang, ca. 7th to 9th c.)
LMK	Late Middle Korean (ca. 1445 - ca. 16th c.)
LMMgl	Late Middle Mongol
LOC	Late Old Chinese (Ch'in-Han, ca. 221 B.C. – 220 A.D.)
LOM	Late Old Mandarin (ca. 13th to late 14th c.)
LOM.Ph	Late Old Mandarin in 'Phagspa script
Ma.	Manchu
MChi.	Middle Chinese (ca. 4th -9th c.)
MCR	McCune-Reischauer romanization
MJur	Middle Jurchen (ca. 1450)[6]
MKit.	Middle Kitan (ca. 10th -12th c.)
MMgl	Middle Mongol (ca. 13th – 15th c.)
MN	Möllendorff-Norman Romanization of Manchu
MOC	Middle Old Chinese (Beckwith 2007a)
morph.	morpheme, morphological
ms.	manuscript
MSC	Modern Standard Chinese
MSer	Middle Serbi (ca. mid-3rd c. A.D. to ca. 9th c. A.D.)
MSJ	Modern Standard Japanese
MSK	Modern Standard Korean
MTrk	Middle Turkic (ca. 11th – 14th c. A.D.)
n	numeral
n.	footnote (in bibliographical references)
N	noun
Nan.	Nanai

[4] See Kara (2005) for discussion.

[5] See Kane (2006) for the periodization of Jurchen. The primary source of data on Late Jurchen is the *Nü-chen-kuan i-yü* 女真館夷語, studied by Kane (1989).

[6] Kane (2006).

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NLOC	Northeastern Late Old Chinese
NP	noun phrase
NTung	Northern Tungusic[7]
NWei	Northern Wei Chinese
O	object
OChi.	Old Chinese (unperiodized)
OJpn	Old Japanese (ca. 8th c. A.D.)
OJur	Old Jurchen (ca. 1115-1234)[8]
OKit.	Old Kitan (pre-10th c.)
OKog.	Old Koguryo (Old Koguryŏ)[9]
OM	Old Mandarin
OTDO	Old Tibetan Documents Online <http://otdo.aa.tufs.ac.jp/>.
OTib.	Old Tibetan
OTrk	Old Turkic (ca. 8th – 10th c. A.D.)
OUyg	Old Uygur
P	phrase
p.c.	personal communication
Pcl	Preclassical Written Mongol
phon.	phonological
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PJpn	Proto-Japanese
PMgl	Proto-Mongolic
Possm	possessum
Possr	possessor
Post	postposition
Pred	predicate
PSer	Proto-Serbi
PSM	Proto-Serbi-Mongolic

[7] I follow Georg's classification of Northern Tungusic as comprised of Ewenki, Ewen, Negidal, Solon, Orochen, Udihe, and Oroch (Georg 2004b: 55).

[8] Kane (2006). Old Jurchen is the spoken language underlying the Jurchen Script. The only solid phonological data on Old Jurchen comes from Chinese transcriptions in the *Chin Shih* 金史, although there are some clues on spoken Old Jurchen in the Jurchen Script and from internal reconstruction applied to attested Late Jurchen and Manchu.

[9] Beckwith (2007a).

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PTrk	Proto-Turkic
PTung	Proto-Tungusic
q.v.	*quod vide* (which see)
R:	'revised to …'
reconst.	reconstruction
Rel	relative clause
S	subject
Sent	sentence
SH	Solar Hijri date
SM	Serbi-Mongolic
STung	Southern Tungusic[10]
Tagh	Taghbach[11]
TMA	tense, mood, and aspect
trans.	transitive
transcr.	transcription
Tung.	Tungusic
V	vowel / verb
WMgl	Written Mongol (unperiodized)
YR	Yale romanization
‹ ›	transliteration or transcription of an orthographic form
[ ]	phonetic transcription, including those in Chinese and other foreign scripts
σ	syllable
$_{\sigma}$[…	denotes a syllable-initial segment (onset)
…]$_{\sigma}$	denotes a syllable-final segment (coda)
/ /	phonemic transcription
*	reconstruction from mainstream historical-comparative linguistic methods
☆	reconstruction from traditional Chinese *fan-ch'ieh* spellings or rhymes[12]
✘	incorrect or untenable reconstruction[13]

[10] I follow Georg's classification of Southern Tungusic as comprising Manchu, Nanai, Ulcha, and Uilta (Georg 2004b: 55).

[11] Also known in English as Tabghatch ~ Tabgatch ~ T'o-pa (Tuoba). The form *tabγač* 𐱅𐰚𐰉𐰇 ‹$t_1b_1γč$› 'China' (specifically denoting T'ang China) is a metathesized innovation in Old Turkic satisfying phonotactic constraints in that language (Shimunek 2007: 14).

[12] Following Beckwith (2007a, 2009, etc.)

[13] Following Campbell (1999).

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▒	problematic or illegible grapheme in a text
■	orthographic segment whose phonological value is not currently decipherable
…	in phonological reconstructions, a segment or morpheme that is not reconstructible due to the fact that the grapheme or graphemes representing it have not been fully deciphered yet
<	language-internal change
>	language-internal change
→	(same as below)
←	loanword or borrowing between languages (directionality known)
↔	loanword or borrowing between languages (directionality unknown)
/	separates two or more equally plausible forms (in reconstructions)
~	variation between two or more forms (free or conditioned variation)
( )	indicates an uncertain or problematic segment (in reconstructions)
♂	masculine gender
♀	feminine gender
ɔ	unmarked (unspecified) for gender
?	uncertain or problematic reading of a grapheme
≈	approximation (e.g. approximations of foreign phonological segments)
↑	pulmonic ingressive
ʰC	preaspirated consonant
V̥	full devoicing
V̀	low pitch/tone
V́	high pitch/tone
V̌	rising pitch/tone
V̄	long vowel (e.g. in philological transcriptions of Late Middle Mongol)

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General Sigla

AHD	Watkins, Calvert. *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots*. Second edition. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.
Ben.	Benedict, Paul K. *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus*. Cambridge, 1972.
Cob.	Coblin, W. South. *A Handbook of 'Phagspa Chinese*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.
Cs.1952	Csongor, B. Chinese in the Uighur script of the T'ang period. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1952, 2: 73-121.
Cs.1954	Csongor, B. Some more Chinese glossed in Uighur script. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1954, 4: 251-257.
DTS	Наделяев, В. М., Д. М. Насилов, Е. Р. Тенишев, А. М. Щербак. *Древнетюркский словарь*. Ленинград: Наука, 1969.
EDT	Clauson, Sir Gerard. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972.
GOrkT	*Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (Tekin 1968)
HM	*Historia Mongalorum*, 13th c. (Carpini 1989).
JT_{RM}	Rashīdu'd-dīn Faḍlul'lāh. *Jāmi'u't-tawārīkh*. early 14th c. (ed., Muḥammad Rawshan & Muṣṭafá Mūsavī, 4 vols. Tehran: Nashr-i Alburz, 1373 SH [1994]).
JT_{Th}	Rashīdu'd-dīn Faḍlul'lāh. *Jāmi'u't-tawārīkh*. early 14th c. (trans. Thackston 2012).
Kow.	Kowalewski (1964, originally published 1844-1849)
KYS	*Kyerim Yusa* 鷄林類事 (Sasse 1976)
Mat.	Mathews, R. H. *Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.
NT	Chin Ch'i-tsung. *Nü-chen-wen tzu-tien* 女真文字典. 1984.
PED	Davids & Stede. *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*. London: The Pali Text Society, 1921-1925.
Pok.	Pokorny, Julius. *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1959.
Pul.	Edwin G. Pulleyblank. *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991.
Roz.	Rozycki, William. *Mongol Elements in Manchu*. 1994.
Sch.	Schuessler, Axel. *A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese*. 3 vols. Honolulu. 1987.

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Sta.	Sergei A. Starostin. *Реконструкция древнекитайской фонологической системы*. Moscow: Nauka, 1989.
Tak.	Takata Tokio. 敦煌資料による中国語史の研究. (*A Historical Study of the Chinese Language Based on Dunhuang Materials*). Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1988.
Tak.LS	Takata Tokio. チベット文字書寫「長巻」の研究(本文編), 1993.
T&C	Tumurtogoo, D. & Cecegdari, G. *Mongolian Monuments in Uighur-Mongolian Script*. Taipei: Academia Sinica, 2006.

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Sigla for Chinese Primary Sources

ALSSC$_R$	*An Lu-shan Shih Chi* 安祿山事迹, edited by Robert des Rotours as *Histoire de Ngan Lou-chan (Ngan Lou-chan Che Tsi)*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962.
Chin Shih	T'o-t'o [Toqto'a]. *Chin Shih* 金史. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975.
Chin Shu	Fang Hsüan-ling. *Chin Shu* 晉書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974.
Chou Shu	Ling-hu Te-fen. *Chou Shu* 周書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1971.
CTKC	Yeh Lung-li. *Ch'i-tan kuo chih* 契丹國志. Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1985.
CPYPL	*Ch'ung-pien Yen Pei Lu* 重編燕北錄 (*SF*$_{1927}$, *SF*$_{1986}$ 38: 16a-19a)
CTS	Liu Hsü. *Chiu T'ang Shu* 舊唐書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975.
CTW	Tung Kao. *Ch'üan T'ang Wen* 全唐文. Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1990.
HHS	Fan Yeh. *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965.
HS	Pan Ku. *Han Shu* 漢書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1964.
HTS	Ou-yang Hsiu. *Hsin T'ang Shu* 新唐書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975.
HTT	Lan Yen et al. *Han-yü Ta Tzu-tien* 汉语大字典. Hu-pei, 1988.
Liang Shu	Yao Ssu-lien. *Liang Shu* 梁書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1973.
LS	T'o-t'o [Toqto'a]. *Liao Shih* 遼史. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974.
MTPL$_{1986}$	*Meng Ta Pei Lu* 蒙韃備錄. In: *Shuo Fu* 說郛 (*SF*$_{1986}$ 54: 15b-22b).
NCS	Hsiao Tzu-hsien. *Nan Ch'i Shu* 南齊書. Peking, 1972.
NS	Li Yen-shou. *Nan Shih* 南史. Peking, 1975.
PS	Li Yen-shou. *Pei Shih* 北史. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974.
SC	Ssu-ma Ch'ien. *Shih Chi* 史記. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1963.
SCI	*Serbi Cave Inscription* = *Hsien-pei Shih-shih* 鮮卑石室 inscription of 443 A.D., found in Ka-hsien Cave (嘎仙洞) in Orochen Banner, Inner Mongolia (Mi 1981; Liu 1989).
SF$_{1927}$	T'ao Tsung-i. *Shuo Fu* 說郛. Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1927.
SF$_{1986}$	T'ao Tsung-i. *Shuo Fu* 說郛. Peking: Hsin-hua shu-tien, 1986.
SKC	Ch'en Shou. *San Kuo Chih* 三國志. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1971.
Sui Shu	Wei Cheng. *Sui Shu* 隋書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1973.
Sung Shih	T'o-t'o (Toqto'a). *Sung Shih* 宋史. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1977.
Sung Shu	Liang Shen-yüeh. *Sung Shu* 宋書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974.
SWCT	Hsü Shen. *Shuo wen chieh tzu* 說文解字. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 2002.
TCH	Chang Chiu-ling. *T'ang ch'eng-hsiang ch'ü-chiang Chang hsien-sheng wen-chi* 唐丞相洮江張先生文集, 1922.

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TCTC	Ssu-ma Kuang. *Tzu Chih T'ung Chien* 資治通鑑. Peking: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1956.
T'ung-tien	Tu Yu. *T'ung-tien* 通典. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1984.
WCTY	Tseng Kung-liang. *Wu Ching Tsung Yao* 武經總要. Peking: Pei-ching Ai ju sheng shu-tzu hua chi-shu yen-chiu chung-hsin, 2009.
WS	Wei Shou. *Wei Shu* 魏書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974.
YPTC	*Yen Pei Tsa Chi* 燕北雜記 (*SF*$_{1927}$, *SF*$_{1986}$ 4: 9a-9b).
YS	Sung Lien 宋濂. *Yüan Shih* 元史. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1976.

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Sigla for Old Tibetan Texts

Abbr.	Full name of text	Source
AAP	*Annals of the 'Azha Principality* (ITJ 1368)	IDP; OTDO; Uray 1978
OTA$_1$	*Old Tibetan Annals*, I (PT 1288 and ITJ 750)	Dotson & Hazod 2009; OTDO
OTA$_2$	*Old Tibetan Annals*, II (Or. 8212 (187))	Dotson & Hazod 2009; OTDO
PT 1283	*The 'Bacot Document'*	IDP; OTDO; Bacot 1956; Clauson 1957; Venturi 2008
Zhol	*Zhol Inscription*	OTDO; Iwao et al. 2009

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Kitan Assembled Script Sigla

For a complete list of Kitan Assembled Script texts as of 2010, and for the dates of these inscriptions, see Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 25-29, 32). Below I have only listed texts which are cited in this book. Publications containing photographic reproductions of the original texts which I consulted in writing this book are given in the 'Source' column. Following Oyuunch (2012), I use '.C' after the text abbreviation to indicate text from the canopy (in Chinese, *kai* 蓋) of the inscription, e.g. *HsHui* denotes the main text of the *Hsiao Hui-lien* inscription and *HsHui.C* denotes text from the canopy of this inscription.

Abbrev.	Date	Full name of text	Source
Chen	1170	*Chin-tai Chen-kuo shang-chiang-chün mu-chih-ming* 金代鎮國上將軍墓誌銘	Chu Chih-min 1995, Liu P'u-chiang 1999
Chiao	1053	*Yeh-lü Tsung-chiao mu-chih-ming* 耶律宗教墓誌銘	Liu et al. 2009
Chung	1150	*Hsiao Chung-kung mu-chih* 蕭仲恭墓誌	Chinggeltei 2002; Kara 1975
Hai	Ø	*Hai-t'ang-shan mu-chih ts'an-shih* 海棠山墓誌殘石	Chinggeltei 2002
HsHu	1091	*Hsiao Hu-tu-chin mu-chih-ming* 蕭胡睹堇墓誌銘	Oyuunch 2012
HsHui	1080	*Hsiao Hui-lien mu-chih-ming* 蕭回璉墓誌銘	Oyuunch 2012
Hsing	1055	*Hsing-tsung huang-ti ai-ts'e* 興宗皇帝哀冊	Chinggeltei 2002
HsTi	1114	*Hsiao Ti-lu fu-shih mu-chih* 蕭敵魯副使墓誌	Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010
Hsü	1105	*Hsü-wang mu-chih* 許王墓誌	Chinggeltei 2002
Hsüan	1101	*Hsüan-i huang-hou ai-ts'e* 宣懿皇后哀冊	Chinggeltei 2002
Hti	1101	*Han Ti-lieh mu-chih-ming* 韓敵烈墓誌銘	Liu et al. 2009: 14
Jen-hsien	1072	*Yeh-lü Jen-hsien mu-chih-ming* 耶律仁先墓	Chinggeltei 2002

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Jen-i	1076	*Jen-i huang-hou ai-ts'e* 仁懿皇后哀冊	Chinggeltei 2002
Kao	Ø	*Yeh-lü (Han) Kao-shih mu-chih-ming* 耶律(韓)高十墓誌銘	Liu et al. 2009: 18
Ku	1115	*Ku Yeh-lü shih ming-shih* 故耶律氏銘石	Chinggeltei 2002
Kuei	1102	*Yeh-lü Kuei-an Ti-li-ku mu-chih-ming* 耶律貴安迪里姑墓誌銘	Liu et al. 2009: 37
Lang	1134	*Ta Chin huang-ti tu-t'ung ching-lüeh lang-chün hsing-chi* 大金皇弟都統經略郎君行記 'The Lang-chün Inscription'	Chinggeltei 2002
Sung	1110	*Sung Wei kuo fei mu-chih-ming* 宋魏國妃墓誌銘	Liu et al. 2009
T'ai	1110	*Huang t'ai shu-tsu ai-ts'e* 皇太叔祖哀冊	Chinggel & Liu 2003
Tao	1101	*Tao-tsung huang-ti ai-ts'e* 道宗皇帝哀冊	Chinggeltei 2002
YChüeh	1071	*Yeh-lü Chüeh mu-chih-ming* 耶律玦墓誌銘	Oyuunch 2012
YFu	1102	*Yeh-lü Fu-pu-shu mu-chih-ming* 耶律副部署墓誌銘	Gai et al. 2008
YHsiang	1091	*Yeh-lü Hsiang-wen mu-chih* 耶律詳稳墓誌	Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010
YP'u	1105	*Yeh-lü P'u-su-li mu-chih pei-ming* 耶律蒲速里墓誌碑銘	Oyuunch 2012
YTi	1092	*Yeh-lü Ti-lieh mu-chih-ming* 耶律迪烈墓誌銘	Chinggeltei 2002: 80
Yung	1100	*Yeh-lü Hung-yung mu-chih-ming* 耶律弘用墓誌銘	Liu et al. 2009
Yü$_1$	Ø	Undated fish tally	Chinggeltei 2002: 89

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Sigla for Mongol Texts

Middle Mongol forms in this book are cited from four kinds of texts: 1) Middle Mongol texts in Preclassical Written Mongol orthography, i.e. texts dating from the Middle Mongol period (13th c. to 15th c. A.D.) in Preclassical Written Mongol, but excluding later, post-15th c. texts in 'Preclassical' *orthography*;[14] 2) Middle Mongol texts in Old Mandarin transcription; 3) Middle Mongol texts in Arabic and Persian transcription (these texts largely represent western dialects of late Middle Mongol); and 4) Middle Mongol texts in 'Phagspa Script (also known as 'Square Script').

I also discuss one word from a Classical Written Mongol text.

Middle Mongol Texts in Preclassical Written Mongol Orthography

Abbr.	Full name of text	Date	Source
Yis.	*Stele of Yisüngge ('The Stone of Chinggis')*	1224/1225	Kara 2005; T&C 2006
Tör.	*Edict of Töregene*	1240	T&C 2006
Güy.	*Seal Letter of Güyük Khan*	1246	Ligeti 1970b
Mön. I	*Edict I of Möngke Khan*	1254	T&C 2006
Mön. II	*Edict II of Möngke Khan*	1257	T&C 2006
Qub. I	*Edict I of Qubilai Khan*	1261	T&C 2006
Abaγa II	*Letter II of Il-khan Abaγa*	1267	T&C 2006
Qub. II	*Edict II of Qubilai Khan*	1268	T&C 2006
BcaT	*Choskyi 'Odzer's Commentary on the Bodhicaryāvatāra*	1312	T&C 2006
Chang.	*Inscription in Memory of Chang Ying-jui*	1335	T&C 2006
Jig.	*Inscription in Memory of Jigüntei*	1338	T&C 2006
Aruγ	*Inscription of Aruγ, Prince of Yün-nan*	1340	T&C 2006
Qqor I	*Inscription I from Qara Qorum*	1346	T&C 2006
Jun.	*Inscription from Chung-wei*	1348	T&C 2006
Hin.	*Inscription in Memory of Prince Hindu*	1362	T&C 2006

[14] Texts written after the 15th century correspond chronologically with spoken Early Modern Mongolian. See Shimunek (2014b) for a study of Early Modern Mongolian in Chinese transcription.

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Abbr.	Full name of text	Date	Source
ES	*Erdeni-yin sang Subašida* (Sonom Gara's translation of *Saskya Legsbshad*)	late 13th or early 14th c.	Kara 2009
Bur.	*Twelve Deeds of the Buddha* (Shesrab Sengge's translation of *Lalitavistara*)	17th c. ms., from an early 14th c. original	T&C 2006; Poppe 1967

Middle Mongol Texts in Late Old Mandarin Transcription

Abbr.	Full name of text	Date	Source
SHM	*Mongqol-un niuča to[b]ča'an / Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 元朝秘史 *(Secret History of the Mongols)*	13th c.	Kuribayashi 2009; Ozawa 1984, 1985, 1986; de Rachewiltz 2006; Cleaves 1982; Street 2013
HIIY	*Hua-I i-yü* 華夷譯語	1389	Kuribayashi 2003
CYIY	*Chih Yüan i-yü* 至元譯語	1325/1326	Ligeti & Kara 1990; Kara 1990

Middle Mongol Texts in 'Phagspa Script ('Square Script')

Abbr.	Poppe #	Full name of text	Date	Source
Mang.	I	Edict of Mangala	1276	Poppe 1957
BuyK$_1$	II	Edict of Buyantu Khan (1)	1314	Poppe 1957
BuyK$_2$	III	Edict of Buyantu Khan (2)	1314	Poppe 1957
Dagi	IV	Edict of Empress Dowager Dagi ('Edict of Dharmapala's Widow')	1321	Poppe 1957
Mann.	XI	'The Mannerheim Fragment'	Ø	Poppe 1957
CYK$_1$	XII	'The Lesser Chü-yung-kuan Inscription'	1345	Poppe 1957
CYK$_2$	XIII	'The Great Chü-yung-kuan Inscription'	1345	Poppe 1957

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Middle Mongol Texts in Arabic and Persian Transcription

Abbr.	Full name of text	Date	Source
Leid.	*Kitâb Majmû' Turjumân Turkî wa-'ajamî wa-Muğalî* ('The Leiden Manuscript')	1343	Saitô 2006; Poppe 1927a, 1927b, 1928
MAA	*Muqaddimat al-Adab*	14th c.	JSPS 2008; Poppe 1938
IM	*Ibn Muhannâ*	14th c.	Poppe 1938
Yem.	'The Yemen Tetraglot' (Arabic-Persian-Turk-Mongol)	14th c.	Ligeti & Kara 2012
Ist.	'The Istanbul Vocabulary' (Arabic-Persian-Turk-Mongol)	Ø	Saitô 2013

Classical Written Mongol Texts

Abbr.	Full name of text	Date	Source
Geser	*Mongolian Geser Epic* (Peking xylograph)	1716	Sechinmönkh 2002

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Apparatus Criticus

add.	added
ante	before
l.	line (in text)
om.	omitted
p.	page
post	after
pro	for

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Transcription and Transliteration Conventions

General Conventions

In philological transcriptions, transliterations, and phonological reconstructions, "y" is used to denote a palatal glide or palatal approximant. In phonetic transcriptions in brackets (including reconstructed phonetic surface forms), IPA [j] is used to distinguish this segment from front-rounded IPA [y] (i.e. *ü* in philological transcription). IPA transcriptions appear in brackets [ ]. IPA gamma (ɣ) is used for the transcription of voiced dorsal fricatives. Greek gamma (γ) is used in philological transcriptions and transliterations of Written Mongol. My usage of the IPA gamma [ɣ] in reconstructed forms differs from the Mongolic philological usage of Greek gamma ‹γ› to render the grapheme 𐽂 (← Old Uygur ← Sogdian ‹γ› ← Aramaic *ḥēth* and *gāmal*) and its allographs in romanized transliterations and transcriptions of Classical Mongol and Middle Mongol. IPA gamma [ɣ] here is used to indicate a phonemic voiced fricative (with velar and uvular allophones) which in most instances lenited to a glide or was lost in Middle Mongol, but which is preserved in pre-Proto-Mongolic loanwords in Tungusic and other neighboring languages.[15] Capital letters in phonological reconstructions indicate archiphonemes.

Mongol

Written Mongol and Middle Mongol data in this book are transcribed following the Vladimirtsov-Mostaert system (cf. Vladimirtsov 1929 and Mostaert 1944). This is the standard transcription system for Written Mongol (and for Middle Mongol, with slight modification) in the field of Mongolic philology.

[15] See Appendix D for examples.

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The received view is that *ö* and *ü* were front rounded vowels in Middle Mongol and Proto-Mongolic. However, the only modern Mongolic languages with primary front rounded vowels, i.e. those that are not the result of umlaut and other secondary sound change processes, are Oirat and Shira Yoghor, two languages which are spoken in areas with a heavy Turkic presence. More likely, the front rounded vowels of Oirat and Shira Yoghor are not inherited from Proto-Mongolic, but instead represent contact-induced vowel shifts. The Turkic languages neighboring Shira Yoghor and Oirat all have primary rounded front vowels, as did Old Turkic and Proto-Turkic. The comparative evidence on other varieties of Middle Mongol, as well as all other modern Mongolic languages, suggests that the central dialects of Middle Mongol, as well as Proto-Mongolic, instead had a vowel inventory similar to Modern Mongolian.[16] For this reason, I assume the following phonetic values for the traditional Mongolistic philological transcriptions of the Middle Mongol and Written Mongol rounded vowels: *o* *[ɔ], *ö* *[o ~ ɵ], *u* *[ʊ], *ü* *[u]. For transcription purposes, however, I retain the traditional philological romanization system, with the caveat that it probably did not accurately represent the phonology of Middle Mongol or Proto-Mongolic, at least not in the common interpretation of the umlauted *ö* as IPA front rounded [ø ~ œ] and umlauted *ü* as IPA [y ~ ʏ].[17]

Transliterations of Written Mongol follow Vladimirtsov's system (1929: 69),[18] which is likewise the standard transliteration system for Mongolic philology.

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[16] Essentially the same system has been independently proposed by Seongyeon Ko (2011, 2013) for Old Mongol. Note also the free variation between *ü* ~ *u* in Middle Mongol in 'Phagspa Script.

[17] I thank Jonathan North Washington (Indiana University) for our stimulating and thought-provoking conversations on Turkic and Mongolic linguistics. These conversations in part fueled my thinking on the vowel systems of Middle Mongol and Proto-Mongolic.

[18] See Kara (1996b) for the transcription and transliteration of a passage from a Written Mongol text. Note also de Rachewiltz & Rybatzki (2010: fig. 12) for an English summary of Vladimirtsov's transliteration and transcription systems for Preclassical Mongol.

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Transcriptions of Middle Mongol in ‘Phagspa Script (‘Square Script’) largely follow Poppe (1957), with the exception of the grapheme 𗥓 (from Tibetan ཉ), which I reconstruct phonologically as *[ɲ]; see Hill (2009b). Reconstructions of ‘Phagspa Middle Mongol surface forms are my own.

Due to typographical restrictions, text in Written Mongol and ‘Phagspa Script in this book is written horizontally, rotated 90 degrees to the left.

Middle Chinese

Attested Late Middle Chinese forms in Old Tibetan, Old Uygur, and Khotanese Brahmi transcription are quoted from Csongor (1952, 1954, 1960, 1962), Takata (1988, 1993), and Coblin (1995) when possible. When relevant, I provide an IPA rendering of the phonological forms represented by these transcriptions.

Reconstructed Middle Chinese forms are presented in the philological transcription system, as exemplified in Beckwith (2007a). Following Beckwith (2007a), when citing wordforms and phonological segments originally transcribed in other transcription systems, e.g. the forms presented in Pulleyblank (1991), I have converted them to this uniform system. Note the following symbols (in italics), with Pulleyblank’s (1991) IPA equivalents: *ś* [ɕ], *ź* [ʑ], *tś* [tɕ], *tśʰ* [tɕʰ], *ü* [y], *y* [j], and *ñ* [ɲ]. Likewise, Pulleyblank’s “tr” and “dr” onsets are transcribed here as *ṭ* and *ḍ* although I retain Pulleyblank’s “nr” unless otherwise noted. I also remove the “ă” and “ə̆” when citing Middle Chinese data from Pulleyblank.

Not all Middle Chinese forms cited in this book are presented with their respective tones. Whenever I have chosen to include the tones of Middle Chinese wordforms, I follow the conventions of Beckwith (2007a: xx), with slight modifications. Thus, Middle Chinese “level tone” (Ch. *p’ing-sheng* 平聲) is indicated here with a subscript “$_1$”. “Rising tone” (Ch. *shang-sheng* 上聲), indicated by Pulleyblank (1991) with a superscript closing quotation mark (’) is indicated here with a subscript “$_2$”. “Falling tone” (Ch. *ch’ü-sheng* 去聲),

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indicated by Pulleyblank (1991) with a superscript "^{h}", is indicated with a subscript "$_{3}$". The traditional Middle Chinese "entering tone" (Ch. *ju-sheng* 入聲) is linguistically speaking not a tone, but a category including all syllables with non-nasal codas, i.e. the coda obstruents *-p*, *-r*, and *-k*.

Modern Mandarin

The Wade-Giles system is used for transcribing Modern Mandarin forms, but the Pinyin system is used for transcribing word forms used as linguistic data. Tones are given only if they are relevant to the analysis. The bibliography employs Wade-Giles, which is also used for the transcription of names and sources in the main text. When Chinese characters are given in bibliographic entries, they appear as in the original source: If the original work was written in Simplified Characters (简体字), it is given in Simplified Characters; if the original is in Traditional Characters (繁體字), this is retained as such.

Kitan

There is no standard transcription system for Kitan. The Kitan transcription conventions used in this book roughly follow Kara (1996a, 2005), and Kane (2006, 2009), with some modifications and synthesis, as will be obvious to the informed reader. See Appendix A for my readings of Kitan Assembled Script graphemes appearing in this book. Due to typographical restrictions, text in Kitan is reproduced in a horizontal line, following Kane (2009) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010).

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Turkic

Runiform Old Turkic forms are transliterated following the system employed by Annamarie von Gabain in her *Alttürkische Grammatik* (1974), with slight modification: Those consonant graphemes not specified for vowel harmony (e.g. 𐰉 ‹p›, 𐰾 ‹m›, 𐰋 ‹ŋ›, 𐰚 ‹č› etc.) are not indicated with a superscript "^{0}" as von Gabain represented them, but instead are left unmarked. The numbers "1", indicating consonants specified for back vowel environments, and "2", indicating consonants specified for front vowel environments, are superscripted by von Gabain, but are subscripted in my transliteration, in order to avoid confusion with footnotes. Thus, Old Turkic *tabʁač* 𐰚𐰆𐰃𐰇 'China' is transliterated ‹t^{1}b^{1}g^{1}č^{0}› by von Gabain but as ‹t$_{1}$b$_{1}$g$_{1}$č› by me.

In Old Turkic and Middle Turkic linguistic data, the back-vowel harmonic dorsal consonant traditionally transcribed γ (Greek gamma) is transcribed by me with the IPA uvular [ʁ].

In reconstructions of Proto-Turkic, the grapheme ‹ř› denotes the phoneme which split into /z/ in 'Oguz' dialects and /r/ in 'Ogur' dialects. The precise phonological value of this phoneme in Proto-Turkic is difficult to determine, but as a productive hypothesis, it could have been a voiced retroflex fricative /z̢/, a voiced alveopalatal fricative /ʑ/, or a trilled raised rhotic as in the Czech value of this grapheme as /r̝/. I use the grapheme ‹ð› to denote the Proto-Turkic phoneme which corresponds to /y/ in attested Old Turkic and /d/ in certain early Serbi-Mongolic–Turkic borrowings. The precise value of this phoneme is also uncertain; most likely it was a fricative [ð] or a palatalized [dʲ].

Others

Manchu is romanized in the Mongolist system, as employed by György Kara (e.g. Kara 2005, 2009) and Lajos Ligeti (e.g. Ligeti 1986). This transcription system is phonologically and paleographically more accurate than the commonly used Möllendorff-Norman Romanization employed by

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Möllendorff (1892) and Norman (1978). Salient differences between this romanization system and the Möllendorff-Norman (MN) system include the following: *χ* for MN *h* in orthographic back-vowel words (e.g. *χaχa* 'man, male' for MN *haha*), *x* for MN *h* in orthographic front-vowel words (e.g. *xexe* 'woman' for MN *hehe*), *γ* for MN *g* in orthographic back-vowel words (e.g. *γala* 'hand, arm' for MN *gala*), *q* for MN *k* in orthographic back-vowel words (e.g. *abqa* 'heaven, sky' for MN *abka*), *ǰ* for MN *j* (e.g. *ǰembi* 'to eat' for MN *jembi*), *č* for MN *c* (e.g. *čai* 'tea' for MN *cai*), and *û* for MN *ū* (e.g. *χûlχa* 'thief' for MN *hūlha*).[19]

Korean data is transcribed in the McCune-Reischauer (MCR) system, unless otherwise noted, with the exception of ㄹ which I transcribe as *r* except when it is one of a compound of graphemes rendering the lateral geminate [lˑ] ~ [lˑ] ~ [l̪], e.g. 물 [mùl̪] ~ [ᵐbùl̪] 'water' is transcribed *mul* in standard MCR, but I render it *mur*.[20] Likewise, the earliest linguistically known Koreanic-speaking state, the Silla or Shilla kingdom, in Korean, 신라 [ɕʰílˑa], is transcribed by me as *Silla*.[21]

Late Middle Korean linguistic data is reconstructed phonologically, and/or transcribed in the Yale Romanization (YR) system, with the exception of ㄹ which I transcribe as *r* as above.

Japanese forms are given in the Hepburn romanization system.

Tibetan transcriptions largely follow the simplified romanization system employed by *Old Tibetan Documents Online*,[22] with several exceptions: The Old Tibetan digraph ཧ (Classical Tibetan ཝ) is transcribed ‹w›, the Old Tibetan diacritic ◌ྋ is transcribed ‹ï›, syllable-final ཀ is transcribed as an acute

[19] Kara (2005) uses *ô* for MN *ū* as in *tangγô* (MN *tanggū*) 'hundred'. I prefer to use *û* for MN *ū* since this closely approximates *[ʊ], the reconstructible phonological value of this digraph in spoken imperial Manchu as demonstrated by Li Bing (1996).

[20] On pitch-accent in Modern Standard Korean, see Kim & Duanmu (2004).

[21] I use the term 'Koreanic' to refer to the language family to which Korean and its now extinct sister branches belong, sometimes also called the Han 韓 language family. See Kiyose & Beckwith (2006) for more on the past internal diversity of the Koreanic language family.

[22] http://otdo.aa.tufs.ac.jp/

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diacritic (´), e.g. the Old Tibetan place name རྫི་མདའ་ is transcribed Zrïdmdá. Following Beckwith (1987), words are transcribed without hyphens.[23]

Reconstructed Forms

Following accepted historical-comparative linguistic conventions, an asterisk (*) before a wordform indicates a form reconstructed by means of the comparative method and other mainstream historical linguistic methods.

Since there is a need to distinguish these linguistic reconstructions from certain reconstructions abounding in the dominant Sinological linguistic literature which are determined not via accepted historical-comparative linguistic methods but by other means, I follow Beckwith in using a superscript star (☆) to indicate wordforms reconstructed according to the Chinese *fan-ch'ieh* 反切 spellings and/or rhymes of the traditional Chinese philological tradition (Beckwith 2007a: xx; Beckwith 2009: xviii).

I also follow Campbell's usage of ✘ to indicate untenable reconstructions and "ungrammatical or non-occurring forms" (Campbell 1999).

Morpheme Glosses

When morpheme glosses are provided for wordforms, they follow the standardized abbreviations established by the Leipzig Glossing Rules for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses,[24] with several additions for abbreviations not included in their standard list. The following morpheme glosses are employed in this book:

[23] Hyphens are traditionally used in Tibetological works to transcribe the syllable-delimiting marker *tsheg* (་), but only when it occurs word-medially. As shown by Beckwith (1987), these hyphens are phonologically misleading and should be abandoned.

[24] http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/LGR08.02.05.pdf

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1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
1H	firsthand
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
AIC	acc.-instrumental-comitative
ATMP	abtemporal
ATTR	attributive
CAUS	causative
CNJC	conjunction
COLL	collective
COM	comitative-sociative
COMM	communal[25]
CP	causative-passive
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DISC	discourse deictic
DIST	distal
DL	dative-locative
DVN	deverbal noun
EMPH	emphatic
FIN	finite
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GNR	generic
HUM	human
INDF	indefinite
INS	instrumental
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
N-A	nominative-accusative
NEG	negation, negative
NOM	nominative
NUM	numeral
NZR	nominalizer
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
OCCUP	occupational suffix
PASS	passive
PERS.N	personal name
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
P.N	proper noun
POSS	possessive
PREP	preparative
PRF	perfect
PRON	pronoun
PROX	proximal
PST	past
REFL	reflexive
SBJ	subject
SBRD	subordinate
SG	singular
T	*tu* form (“thou”)
V	*vous* form (“ye”)
VN	verbal noun

[25] See Shimunek (forthcoming, b).

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CHAPTER ONE:
PREVIOUS THEORIES ON THE ORIGINS OF THE MONGOLIC LANGUAGES

Western theories on the origins of the Mongolic languages date back nearly three centuries to the precursors of the 'Altaic' theories (i.e. the 'Tartar', 'Scythian', and 'Turanian' theories).[1] Since the 'Altaic' divergence and convergence theories have been thoroughly disproven on scientific grounds,[2] I will not discuss them in detail in this book.

Outside the sphere of 'Altaic' divergence and convergence theories, a number of hypotheses have been put forth on the immediate origins of the Mongolic languages. The majority of these theories are methodologically flawed, with the notable exception of the 'Ancient Mongol' Theory and the

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[1] For a history of the 'Altaic' theories, see de Rachewiltz & Rybatzki (2010: 348-355).

[2] For important studies disproving the various 'Altaic' theories, see Clauson (1956), Beckwith (2007a), Georg (2004a), Vovin (2005, 2009), and others. Probably the earliest critic was Abel-Rémusat, writing in the early 19th century, who seriously questioned the hypothesis which would later become known as the 'Altaic' theory:

> "…La ressemblance de quelques expressions Turkes, Mongoles et Mandchoues entre elles, ne doit pas faire penser qu'il existe entre les trois langues une analogie essentielle et fondamentale. Il est au contraire facile de se convaincre qu'à l'exception d'un très-petit nombre de mots communs, et d'une légère conformité dans quelques règles grammaticales, il y a entre elles plus de différences qu'il n'y en a entre le russe, l'italien et l'allemand, et qu'ainsi, loin d'être des dialectes d'une même langue, elles sont au fond des idioms tout-à-fait distincts" (Abel-Rémusat 1820: 138).

According to Abel-Rémusat, the similarities between the Turkic, Mongolic, and Tungusic languages are not comparable to the differences between Indo-European languages like Russian, Italian, and German—'dialects' (i.e. daughter languages) of Proto-Indo-European. Instead, these languages are so vastly different from each other that they should be considered distinct, unrelated languages in their own right.

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'Para-Mongolic' Theory. As will be demonstrated, a careful historical-comparative linguistic and philological study of the Serbi languages is necessary to elucidate the origins of the Mongolic languages. We must follow the scientific methods established for the historical-comparative study of languages, as done for Indo-European, Uralic, Semitic, Japanese-Koguryoic, and other language families, before a scientific understanding of the origins of the Mongolic and Serbi languages can be reached.

The Indo-European–Mongolic Hypothesis

After the various 'Altaic' theories, another early proposal on the ethnolinguistic origins of the Mongols is what may be termed the 'Indo-European–Mongolic Hypothesis', proposed by Edkins (1871), who states that "The special interest of the Mongolian type consists in the fact that it comes nearest of all the three Turanian branches to the Indo-European" (1871: 205). Edkins proposed what he believed to be "many remarkable resemblances in words between the Tartar languages and the Greek and Latin", including the following, which I have arranged in table format for easy comparison:[3]

[3] Edkins (1871: 208-209, 211). Note that Edkins' 'Tartar' and 'Turanian' are synonyms denoting what was later traditionally termed 'Altaic', i.e. Mongolic, Turkic, and Tungusic, although the data he presents here is Mongolic.

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Table 1. Mongol-Greek-Latin "resemblances" according to Edkins (1871)

Written Mongol	Greek	Latin
nom 'sacred book' [sic]	νόμος (*nómos*) 'law'	
sara 'moon'	σελήνη (*seléne*) 'moon'	
dalai 'sea'	θάλασσα (*tʰálassa*) 'sea'	
γar 'hand, arm'	χείρ (*kʰeír*) 'hand, arm'	
nege- 'to open'	ἀνοίγω (*anoígo*) 'to open'	
či 'thou'	σύ (*sý*) 'you'	
ere 'male'	ἄῤῥην (*arrhen*) 'male'	*vir* 'man, male person'
kümün 'human'		*homo* 'man, human'
ta 'ye'		*tu* 'you'
ebür [!] 'horn'[4]		*ebur* 'ivory'

Although the majority of the comparanda proposed by Edkins are unwarranted for phonological or semantic reasons (i.e. 'open', 'hand', 'sea', 'horn', and 'moon'), several of his comparisons are reasonable when additional evidence is taken into consideration:

- Middle English *were* 'man' < Old English *wer* < Common Germanic (cf. Gothic *wair*, Old High German *wer*, Old Norse *verr*) : Latin *vir* : Old Irish *fer*, Welsh *gŵr* : Lithuanian *vyras* : Sanskrit *vīrá* 'man, hero'.[5] Proto-Indo-European *wĭ̄-ro- 'male, man' (*AHD* 101).[6] There may be some connection among this IE word, Old Turkic *är* 'man, men, people',[7] and Middle Mongol *ere* 'man, male'. Given the apparent western origins of the Türk people,[8] one cannot rule out the possibility of an IE

[4] Edkins quotes an erroneous Mongol form here. Attested Middle Mongol has *eber* [額別児] 'horn (角)' as distinct from *ebür* [額不児] 'south part of a mountain range (嶺南)'. The Middle Mongol forms I cite here are from *HIIY*.

[5] *Oxford English Dictionary* <www.oed.com> accessed September 5, 2012.

[6] See also Pok. 1177-1178 *u̯ĭ̆ro-s 'Mann', i.e. *u̯ĭ̆r-o-s.

[7] The word is attested in 8th c. Old Turkic (*GOrkT* 325).

[8] Beckwith (2011b).

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dialect reflex of this word for 'man, male'[9] as the origin of the attested Old Turkic and Mongolic words.[10]

- Middle Mongol *nom* 'law, dharma' and later 'book' (not merely "sacred book" as Edkins glossed it) is a well-known Indo-European element in Old Uygur and Mongolic, ultimately from Greek.[11]

In addition to connecting Written Mongol *či* "thou" and *ta* "ye" with Indo-European, quoting Greek *σύ (sý)* and Latin *tu*, Edkins also proposed a connection among the Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, and Indo-European first-person personal pronouns.[12] Based on this comparanda, he concluded that "It is probable… that at some distant epoch a strong Turanian influence was exerted specially upon the Greek and Latin sections of the Indo-European family…" (209). Beckwith (2006b, 2011a) has provided modern support for some of Edkins' personal pronoun etymologies, but within the context of interfamily convergence.

There clearly has been some degree of convergence and borrowing among Serbi-Mongolic, Turkic, Tungusic, Uralic, and Indo-European at various points in the past, but they are demonstrably separate language families that do not descend from a common proto-language.

[9] Note attested Scythian *wior [οιορ] 'man' (cf. Beckwith 2009: 70 n. 43).

[10] For a list of possible Indo-European–Turkic lexical correspondences, see Jonathan North Washington, <wiki.firespeaker.org/Similarities_to_Turkic>, accessed December 31, 2012.

[11] See discussion below in the section 'The Lexical Immunity Theory'.

[12] Edkins (1871: 211, 214-215).

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The Mongolic-Turkic Hypothesis

The French sinologist Paul Pelliot, on at least one occasion, implied a belief in a common Mongolic-Turkic protolanguage. This is evident in his treatment of *h-* in Mongolic, where he mentions "Common Mongol-Turk (*mongolo-turc commun*)".[13] Although he never formalized a theory, his proposal may be termed 'The Mongolic-Turkic Hypothesis'.

The efforts of many Altaicists over the past century or so have identified a small set of regular sound correspondences between Mongolic and Turkic. Some important, apparently early, regular sound correspondences between Old Turkic, Middle Turkic and Middle Mongol are identified below:[14]

Mgl *d* : Trk *y*
MMgl *düri* 'form, shape, complexion' (*HIIY*)[15] : OTrk, MTrk *yüz* 'face' (*GOrkT*)
MMgl *deresün* 'feather grass' (*SHM*) : MTrk *yiz* 'reed' (*DTS*)
MMgl *dayin* 'enemy, war' (*SHM*) : OTrk, MTrk *yaʁɨ* 'enemy' (*GOrkT, DTS*)
MMgl *dayir* 'brownish' (*SHM*) : OTrk *yaʁɨz* 'brown, reddish brown' (*GOrkT*)

Mgl *l* : Trk *s* ~ *š*
MMgl *taulai* ~ *ta'ulai* 'hare' (*SHM*) : OTrk *tabɨsʁan* (*GOrkT*) ~ MTrk *tabɨšʁan* 'id.' (*DTS*)[16]

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[13] Pelliot (1925: 262).

[14] The majority of these correspondences are summarized by Kara (2004), who does not argue for or against this relationship theory—Kara (2004) is a list of lexical correspondences that have been proposed in the literature over the years by scholars to support various 'Altaic' theories. See also Ligeti (1986). I have revised the comparanda to only include lexical correspondences with attested Middle Mongol, and have excluded correspondences with modern Written Mongol.

[15] Note also the later, modern Written Mongol variant *dürsün* 'form, figure'.

[16] Note also the correspondence of modern Written Mongol *gölüge* ~ *gölige* 'puppy' : Modern Turkish *köšek* 'young camel'. This word is written *köşek* in Turkish orthography. However, the Mongol form is not attested in Middle Mongol, and is possibly a modern innovation; therefore, I have excluded it from the comparanda above.

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Mgl *r* : Trk *z*
MMgl *ikir* 'twins' (*MAA*) : MTrk *ikkiz* 'id.' (*DTS*)
(cf. Chuvash *yĕkĕr*, Hungarian *iker*)[17]
MMgl *bora* ~ *boro* 'gray' (*MAA*, *SHM*) : OTrk, MTrk *boz* 'id.' (*GOrkT*, *DTS*)
MMgl *bura'u* 'calf in second year' (*SHM*) : MTrk *buzaʁu* 'calf' (*DTS*)
(cf. Chuvash *păru* and Hungarian *borjú*)[18]
MMgl *deresün* 'feathergrass' : MTrk *yiz* 'reed' (see above)
MMgl *düri* 'form, shape, complexion' : OTrk *yüz* 'face' (see above)

Mgl *-y-* : Trk *-g(-)*
MMgl *sayin* 'good' (*SHM*) : MTrk *saʁ* 'id.' (*DTS*)
MMgl *dayin* : OTrk, MTrk *yaʁɨ* (see above)
MMgl *dayir* : OTrk *yaʁɨz* (see above)

These words are sometimes taken as evidence of an early Turkic-Mongolic divergent relationship, but this is highly unlikely because these regular sound correspondences are limited to a very small set of vocabulary, we do not have regular sound correspondences for more than an extremely limited portion of the lexicon, and even more importantly, there is no system of regular correspondences in the functional morphologies of the languages.

Some of these words are more widespread Kulturwörter, e.g. 'rabbit' ~ 'hare', which has suitable comparanda in Old Chinese, Nivkh (Gilyak), Japanese-Koguryoic, Turkic, Serbi-Mongolic, and many other neighboring language families,[19] but the majority of these words are likely to be borrowings between early Turkic and Serbi-Mongolic languages (see Appendix D for examples), and the regular sound correspondences indicate nothing more than the fact that these words were borrowed as a set, at approximately the same time.

[17] See also Ligeti (1986: 311-312).

[18] See also Ligeti (1986: 68-69).

[19] As Christopher I. Beckwith notes, the Phoenicians acquired rabbits around 1,000 B.C. and words for 'rabbit' ~ 'bunny' spread around the world with the animal (p.c., April 14, 2011).

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The 'Ancient Mongol' Theory

The orthodox theory on the ethnolinguistic origins of the Mongolic language family is what can be termed the 'Ancient Mongol' or 'Archaic Mongol' Theory.[20] This theory began with the work of Paul Pelliot (1925, 1928), Boris Vladimirtsov (1929), Garma D. Sanzheev (1930a, 1930b), and Lajos 'Louis' Ligeti (1970a etc.), and was in some ways standardized by Nicholas Poppe (1955; 1970: 14; 1976).[21]

The theory is strongly grounded in Mongolic philology, a unique strength distinguishing it from other, less informed proposals on the ethnolinguistic origins of the Mongols. A major contribution of Vladimirtsov is his proposal, generally supported by historians and philologists after him, that the medieval Mongols acquired a "ready-made literary language (*уже готовый литературный язык*)" from the Naimans after defeating them in 1204 A.D. and capturing their Uygur scribe Tata[r]-Toŋa.[22] Poppe further connected this 'Ancient Mongol' dialect with the Kereyit, and the theory became known as the Naiman-Kereyit Theory.[23]

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[20] Note that Pelliot, writing in French, often used the term *mongol ancien* (i.e. 'Ancient Mongol') to refer to what is now known as Middle Mongol, but many of his observations on Mongolic historical linguistics were later taken up as part of the 'Ancient Mongol' framework.

[21] Other adherents of the 'Ancient Mongol' Theory, in one form or other, include Rinchen (1966 etc.), Tömörtogoo (1992), Krippes (1992), Shagdarsüren (1999), and Kara (2005, 2006, etc.). Rinchen's equivalent to 'Ancient Mongol' is his term "уугал монгол хэл", translatable into English as 'the original Mongol language'; his basic assumptions about this language make it clear that he adhered to the Ancient Mongol Theory. Tömörtogoo (1992) and Shagdarsüren term this "эртний монгол хэл", i.e. 'the Ancient Mongol language' (Shagdarsüren 1999: 80 et seq.).

[22] Vladimirtsov (1929: 20-21), Viktorova (1961: 138-139), Kara (2005: 28-29, 63-67).

[23] Poppe (1937: 12-13), Viktorova (1961: 139). Murayama (1957) connected the advent of Uygur writing among the medieval Mongols with the Kereyit and the Merkit, whom he demonstrated spoke "Mongolian" (1957: 39) or, in my revision of his analysis, dialects of

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Vladimirtsov, Poppe, and others have noted that as early as the 13th century—the period of the earliest solidly attested Mongolic language, i.e. Middle Mongol—spoken Mongol differed in certain respects from early Preclassical Written Mongol (i.e. the Uygur-derived contemporaneous written language), suggesting that Preclassical Written Mongol orthography (i.e. the earliest Middle Mongol orthography) retained features of a sister language to Middle Mongol, i.e. a conservative dialect of 'Ancient Mongol' in the terminology employed by adherents to this theory.[24]

As György Kara notes:

> "The main discrepancy between the forms in Uygur script and ... their equivalents in the rather accurate Chinese transcription of the "spoken" language of the *Secret History* is the lack of the intervocalic guttural spirant in the latter versus its presence in the former (e.g. SH *sa'u-* vs. *saɣu-* 'to sit'). Minor differences appear in the vowels (rounded vs. unrounded, high vs. mid/low, e.g. SH *üdür* vs. *edür* 'day'), but such alternations are also found in the Uygur script monuments of the Middle Mongolian period" (Kara 2005: 29, *n.* 33).

Note the Preclassical Written Mongol and spoken Middle Mongol forms for 'day' and 'winter':

Table 2. Comparison of Preclassical and spoken MMgl wordforms for 'winter' and 'day'

	Preclassical Written Mongol	Spoken Middle Mongol	Gloss
e ~ ü : ü	***e**bül ~ **ü**dür*	***ü**bül*	'winter'[25]
	***e**dür ~ **ü**dür*	***ü**dür*	'day'[26]

Old Mongol or closely related Mongolic languages. Murayama (1958-1959: 198) suggests that it was probably the Kereyit from whom the Mongols acquired Uygur writing.

[24] See Kara (2005: 63-67) for discussion.

[25] See Chapter Eight entry for MKit *uwl 'winter' for attestations of this Middle Mongol form and the Preclassical forms.

[26] See Chapter Eight entry for MKit *udur 'east' for attestations of this Middle Mongol form and the Preclassical forms.

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See below for additional examples of dissimilarities between Preclassical Written Mongol and contemporary spoken Middle Mongol known from foreign transcriptions:

Table 3. Comparison of Preclassical Written Mongol and spoken Middle Mongol wordforms

	Preclassical Written Mongol[27]	Spoken Middle Mongol	Gloss
m : ’	*ke**m**e-* [28]	*ke**’**e-* [29]	‘say’
γ : ’	*ǰa**γ**un*	*ǰa**’**un*	‘hundred’[30]
	*a**γ**ula* [31]	*a**’**ula* [32]	‘mountain’
g : ’	*de**g**ere* [33]	*de**’**ere* [34]	‘above’

Although the initial *e-* and intervocalic *m* as presented in the table above may indeed be early dialectal features retained in Preclassical Written Mongol orthography, the comparison of Preclassical Written Mongol medial *γ* and *g* to Middle Mongol intervocalic *’* is in fact unproblematic. As discussed in Chapter Three, northeastern Early Old Mandarin phonology was characterized by a voiced glottal transition *ɦ. The Middle Mongol phonological segment often transcribed *’* in the Mongolist philological tradition usually corresponds to this Old Mandarin *ɦ, which must have been retained in certain conservative northeastern frontier dialects of Late Old Mandarin, such as the Chinese language in which Early Middle Mongol was transcribed. Thus we have Preclassical Written Mongol *γ* ~ *g* corresponding to spoken Early Middle Mongol *[ɦ], which lenited in Late Middle Mongol to

[27] The Preclassical Written Mongol forms given here are from Ligeti (1970a) and Kara (2009).

[28] E.g. *Mön. II*, *l.* 4.

[29] E.g. attested MMgl *ke’e-* [客額] (*HIIY* 2.27b2).

[30] See Chapter Eight entry for MKit *ǰaw ‘hundred’ for attestations of these Middle Mongol and Preclassical forms.

[31] E.g. *Qqor I*, *l.* 26.

[32] E.g. attested early MMgl *a’ula* [阿屹剌] (*SHM* §118).

[33] E.g. *BcaT* 160b1.

[34] E.g. attested early MMgl *de’ere* [迭額𠊎列] (*SHM* §1).

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[w] or null (Ø), as seen from the 14th century transcriptions of western Late Middle Mongol in Arabic script. See below:

Table 4. Comparison of attested Preclassical, Early, and Late Middle Mongol wordforms

Preclassical WMgl		Spoken EMMgl		Spoken LMMgl		Gloss
γ	*ǰaɣun*	*ɦ	EMMgl *ǰa'un* *[ʧaɦʊn]	*w*	LMMgl *ǰawun* [35]	'hundred'
γ	*aɣula*	*ɦ	EMMgl *a'ula* *[aɦʊla]	*Ø*	LMMgl *aula* [36]	'mountain'
g	*deg**e**re*	*ɦ	EMMgl *de'ere* *[təɦərə]	*Ø*	LMMgl *dēre* [37]	'above'

Preclassical Written Mongol was written in a foreign-derived script, i.e. the Old Uygur Script, which was itself a borrowing from the Sogdian, ultimately from Aramaic.[38] It is well known that Old Uygur phonological segments which were not part of Sogdian phonology were not rendered in Old Uygur orthography, e.g. Old Uygur has a word-initial *[h], a segment attested in Old Tibetan and Late Middle Chinese transcriptions. When the Sogdian-derived Old Uygur Script was borrowed by the medieval Mongols, it likewise offered no suitable grapheme for rendering Middle Mongol word-initial *[h], e.g. Middle Mongol in Preclassical Written Mongol orthography *on* ‹'wn› 'calendrical year'[39] corresponds contemporaneously to Spoken Early Middle Mongol *hon* *[hɔn] 'id.'[40] The closest grapheme which this script offered to render the Spoken Early Middle Mongol intervocalic voiced glottal transition *[ɦ] in [-ATR] vowel-harmonic words was gamma, i.e. ‹γ›, and in [+ATR] vowel-harmonic words, ‹g› was the closest approximation.

[35] E.g. attested late MMgl *ǰawun* [جاوون] (Poppe 1927b: 1271).

[36] E.g. attested late MMgl *aula* [آولا] ~ [آولا] (Poppe 1927b: 1260).

[37] E.g. attested late MMgl *dēre* [دِيْر] ~ [دِيرَه] (Poppe 1928: 57).

[38] See Kara (2005: 25-32) for a history of the Uygur-Mongolian Script.

[39] E.g. as attested in *Aruγ* (*l.* 20).

[40] See Kara (2009: 208) and Kuribayashi (2003, 2009) for Preclassical and spoken Middle Mongol forms. See also Kara (2005) for discussion of other phonological segments which were not rendered in Old Uygur or Preclassical Written Mongol orthography. See Chapter Four for the Old Tibetan transcriptions of the ethnonym Uygur.

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Additional considerations from early Mongolic elements in Tungusic, as well as Chinese transcriptions of the Serbi languages, especially Taghbach and Kitan, have allowed scholars working in the 'Ancient Mongol' framework to add further details to what they term 'Ancient Mongol' phonology, including evidence of *p^{h} (> MMgl *h*), *t^{h}i (> MMgl *či*), *di and *gi (which later merged to MMgl *ǰi*),[41] *ñ (> MMgl *n*), and others.[42] These are major contributions to our understanding of Proto-Serbi-Mongolic phonology.

Another major contribution to the theory was made by Paul Pelliot, who demonstrated that the Meng-wu [蒙兀][43] ~ Meng-wa [蒙瓦][44] group of the 室韋 Shih-wei (hereafter Shirwi) are ethnolinguistic ancestors of the Mongols.[45] He also considered Kitan to be a "highly palatalized (*très palatalisée*)" Mongolic language,[46] which is in some ways accurate in that Kitan (and other Serbi languages) retained Common Serbi-Mongolic *ñ, *sy, and *ly, which in Proto-Mongolic depalatalized and merged with *n, *s, and *l, respectively.[47]

The theory has been further developed by Ligeti (1970a) and Kara (2005). The tree below can be inferred from their proposals:

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[41] For examples of these sound changes, see §8.5.4 entries for Taghbach *gir 'sandal cord' and *mʊdɪ 'prefect'.

[42] Poppe (1954, 1970, etc.).

[43] I have verified this form in *CTS* (199: 5358).

[44] I have verified this form in *HTS* (219: 6177).

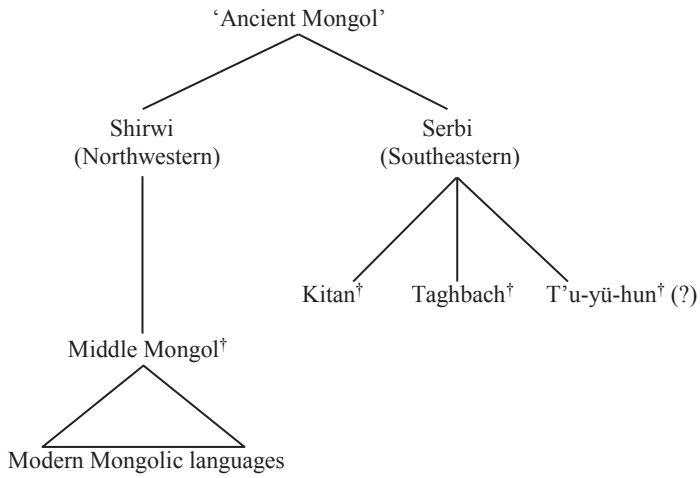
[45] See Chapter Two for discussion of this ethnonym and its phonological reconstruction.

[46] Pelliot (1928: 126-127). Pelliot expressed this opinion again in at least one other article: "les Khitan parlaient une langue mongole fortement palatalisée" (1943: 37) and in his *Notes on Marco Polo*, where he described Kitan as "a Mongol language, with some archaic features and much palatalization" (1959: 219).

[47] For details, see entries in §8.5.3 for MKit *-bəñ 'past or perfective verbal noun suffix', *-ləñ 'past tense suffix', *əñə 'now', *ñaw 'sibling', *šya ~ *šyay 'good', *tawlya 'hare, rabbit', LKit *ñayr 'sun, day', *ñaw 'lake', Taghbach *ñaqañ 'dog', *čirqañ 'a kind of artemisia', and T'u-yü-hun *aqañ 'elder brother'.

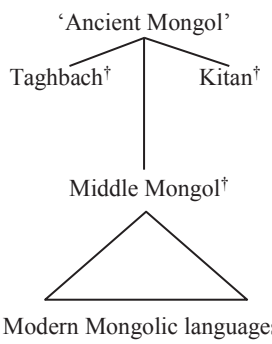
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Figure 1. Origins of Mongolic according to the Pelliot-Ligeti-Kara 'Ancient Mongol' Theory



The 'Ancient Mongol' Theory is articulated differently by Poppe (1954, 1955, 1970, 1976). In his version of the theory, 'Ancient Mongol' is in a direct linear relationship with Middle Mongol, with Taghbach and Kitan as 'dialects' of 'Ancient Mongol' and not specifically representing a separate daughter branch. See below:

Figure 2. The origins of Mongolic according to Poppe's 'Ancient Mongol' Theory



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This direct lineage hypothesis is untenable; as I will demonstrate, the Mongolic branch (including the modern Mongolic languages, Middle Mongol, and its immediate ancestors) and the Serbi branch (including Kitan, Taghbach, T'u-yü-hun, and others) are sister branches of a common proto-language, i.e. Proto-Serbi-Mongolic.

A major methodological strength of the 'Ancient Mongol' theory is that it is for the most part based on accepted historical-comparative linguistic methods and careful philology. It also is the first theory to provide a systematic periodization of the Mongol language, and put forth well-grounded theories on the historical origins of the Mongolic peoples. Scholars working in the 'Ancient Mongol' theoretical framework are among the first to provide important linguistic data suggesting that Kitan, Taghbach,[48] and T'u-yü-hun are related to Mongolic.[49]

A shortcoming of the theory is that it only takes into account a very small percentage of the available data. Now that significant corpora of additional evidence have surfaced with the discovery of the Kitan scripts and the T'u-yü-hun words transcribed in Old Tibetan sources, and now that additional work has been undertaken on Taghbach, we must take into account all the available data relevant to determining the origins of the Mongolic language family, and revise the theory as needed. In its treatment of Serbi data transcribed in Chinese, the 'Ancient Mongol' Theory largely follows old, flawed theories on the phonology of Middle Chinese and Old Chinese (e.g. Karlgren 1957) which have since been revised by the works of Pulleyblank (1962a, 1962b, 1984, 1991), Schuessler (1987), Baxter (1992), Sagart (1999), and Starostin (1989), and in many ways completely redone by Beckwith (2002a, 2002b, 2006d, 2007a, 2008a, 2008b, 2010b). For these reasons the 'Ancient Mongol' Theory does not acknowledge the dendritic diversity of the Mongolic branch's parent family.

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[48] Although Shiratori (1911a, 1911b) was the first to suggest that Taghbach was Mongolic.

[49] Pelliot (1921), Ligeti (1970a), Kara (1975, 1977, 1987, 1988, 1996a, 2004, 2005, 2006), Doerfer (1992, 1993), etc.

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The 'Para-Mongolic' Theory

A recent theory which has been gaining credence is the 'Para-Mongolic' Theory, put forth by Janhunen (1996, 2003) and followed by Vovin (2007) and Shimunek (2007). Although many of Janhunen's proposals are basically correct, some aspects of his theory deserve careful reconsideration, including the terminology and the logic behind this terminology. [50] The English construction 'para-X' implies a language family *parallel* to language family X, and not a language family which is *divergently related* to language family X.[51] Thus, the term 'Para-Mongolic' is in need of revision, since it does not imply branches from a common source node.

Figure 3. The logical implications of the term 'Para-Mongolic'



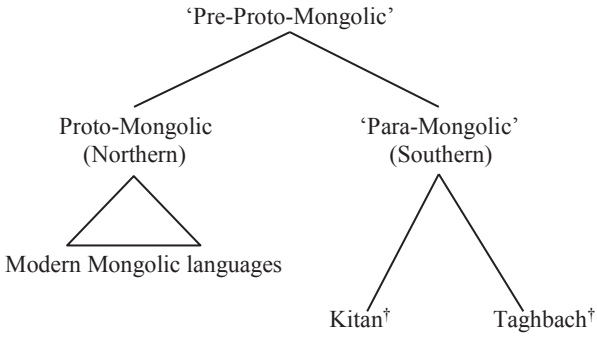
Despite this terminological shortcoming, from the prose discussion in Janhunen (2003), the tree branching he proposes in the theory is easily determined. One may schematize the 'Para-Mongolic' Theoretical classification of the Mongolic and 'Para-Mongolic' branches as follows:

[50] See also Beckwith (2009: 414, n. 80).

[51] The English prefix *para-* in the sense of 'parallel to something' is from Ancient Greek **παρά** 'alongside, beside, by the side of' (Lusching 2007: 29, 346).

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Figure 4. The origins of Mongolic according to the 'Para-Mongolic' Theory



Although Janhunen is certainly correct that Kitan and Taghbach are from a language branch related to but independent from Mongolic—an idea hinted at in the works of Pelliot, Ligeti, and Kara—and Janhunen's explicit assertion of this idea in and of itself is an important contribution to the ethnolinguistic history of the Mongols, much of the data he uses to support his theory in Janhunen (2003) consists of 'Para-Mongolic' loanwords in Tungusic, some of which are significantly divergent from philologically attested Kitan and Taghbach. For example, his discussion of the "spirantization of the palatal stop **c* to *sh*"[52] does not hold true for the Serbi languages known from philological records. Early Middle Chinese transcriptions of Taghbach, Late Middle Chinese transcriptions of T'u-yü-hun, Old Mandarin transcriptions of Late Kitan, as well as Middle Kitan data in the Kitan Assembled Script show that all the known Serbi languages had a palatal affricate **č*^{h} corresponding to attested Middle Mongol *č* *[ʧ^{h}]. There are no indications of spirantization of **č*^{h} > **š* in attested Serbi.[53] The spirantization of **č*^{h} > *š* observed in such Manchu forms as *šanggiyan* *[ʃaŋgjan] 'white' ~ *šanyan* *[ʃanjan] 'white, smoke' < Jurchen *šaŋgyan 'white, smoke'[54] (← early Serbi-Mongolic >

[52] Janhunen (2003: 397-398).

[53] See Chapter Eight entries for Middle Kitan *čawr 'army', Taghbach *č^{h}ırqañ 'a kind of artemisia', *č^{h}ırnɔ 'wolf", and T'u-yü-hun *č^{h}ı 'you'

[54] Attested Jurchen *šaŋgyan 兀介 [上江] 'white (白)' ~ 'smoke (煙)' (*NT* 98, 246).

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MMgl *čaqa'an* 'white'[55]) was probably a Jurchen-Manchu innovation having nothing to do with the early Serbi-Mongolic donor dialect.[56]

Several of Janhunen's observations, however, do hold true for the common ancestor of Mongolic, Kitan, and Taghbach, e.g. he notes that 'Para-Mongolic' is characterized by "preservation of a palatal nasal **ny* as a separate phoneme".[57] This is supported by data on the philologically attested Serbi languages, including Kitan and Taghbach.[58]

The 'Para-Mongolic' Theory as presented in Janhunen (2003) is primarily lexical in nature, based on the comparison of individual words, and largely does not take into consideration the rich functional morphology shared between Mongolic and Serbi languages like Kitan, Taghbach, and T'u-yü-hun. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010) uncover additional important details on Kitan functional morphology cognate to Mongolic, but a theory is only hinted at, without presenting systematic arguments or morphological paradigms. Janhunen's model likewise does not address the attested philological data on the three identifiable periods of Kitan which I will present in this book, nor does it incorporate the solid linguistic data from Taghbach or T'u-yü-hun—the two other best known Serbi languages aside from Kitan. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010) state:

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[55] E.g. attested early MMgl *čaqa'an* [察[中]合安] 'white (白)' (*SHM* §83) and attested MMgl in 'Phagspa Script *č[h]aqaɲan 𐡎𐡑𐡓𐡍 ‹č.q.ɲn› 'white' (*CYK*$_1$ *l.* 6).

[56] Janhunen notes that "the same development is also observed in native Manchu items" (2003: 397). Since there is no Serbi-Mongolic-internal evidence for spirantization of *č[h] at this early date, and given the fact that Manchu spirantized *č[h] > *š* in native lexical items, there is thus no reason to consider spirantization as an innovation in the early Serbi-Mongolic donor dialect. See also Kara (2006).

[57] Janhunen (2003: 397). Note that "*ny*" is Janhunen's (2003) transcriptional equivalent to my ñ (palatal nasal). The correspondence of Manchu *ñ* [ɲ] to Written Mongol *n* was noted at least as early as Sanzheev (1930a: 612).

[58] See Chapter Eight entries for Late Kitan *ñayr 'sun, day', Taghbach *ñaqañ 'dog', and Middle Kitan *ñaw 'sibling'.

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> "It is possible that Khitan was only one of several Para-Mongolic, or Khitanic, languages, but even in that case, it was certainly the most important member of its branch, and the only one on which we have direct information" (Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 15).

In fact, we have sufficient data, in the form of Early Middle Chinese, Old Tibetan, and Late Middle Chinese transcriptions of Taghbach and T'u-yü-hun words and even one sentence in T'u-yü-hun. Based on the data, these languages are divergently related to Kitan, as I will demonstrate in this book. The 'Para-Mongolic' Theory does not deal with Taghbach or T'u-yü-hun linguistic data at all and thus does not present sufficient data to support a unified theory accounting for all attested data on the Serbi languages.

The Mongolic-Korean Theory

Ramstedt famously included Korean in his 'Altaic' comparative studies,[59] as did Poppe (1965) and many other Altaicists after him, but outside of the 'Altaic' theories, several proposals have been put forth for a more immediate divergent Mongolic-Korean Theory.

Hong Kimun (1961) presents data hinting at a Mongolic-Korean theory—superficial similarities among a handful of individual wordforms, which I present below in table form:

Table 5. Mongol-Korean correspondences proposed by Hong Kimun (1961)

Modern Korean		Modern Written Mongol	
agi	'child'	*agi*	'son'
mur	'water'	*mören*	'river'
muri	'hail'	*möndür*	'hail'
nar	'day'	*naran*	'sun'
tar	'month'	*sara* ~ *saran*	'month' ~ 'moon'

[59] E.g. Ramstedt (1951 [1939]).

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One problem with these comparisons is that they are Modern Korean to modern Written Mongol. For the most accurate comparanda, the earliest attested Middle Korean and Middle Mongol forms should be consulted. Despite Hong's claim that these are not loanwords, there is a high probability that some of these are loanwords from Middle Mongol into Middle Korean, especially given the historical fact that Korea was under heavy Mongol influence from the mid-13th century to the late 14th century.[60] I present the attested Late Middle Korean and Middle Mongol forms for his comparisons below (I have included attested Late Kitan forms for a maximally diverse comparison):

Table 6. Hong Kimun's Mongol-Korean proposals with data added for comparison

Modern Korean	Late Middle Korean	Middle Mongol	Late Kitan
agi 아기 'child'	*ɦágí ·아·기 'id.'	(not attested)	
mur 물 'water'	*mɨ́r ·믈 'id.'	MMgl *müren* 'river'	*mur 'river'
muri 무리 'hail'	*nùrùy 누뤼 ~ *múrùy ·무뤼	MMgl *mündür* 'hail'	
nar 날 'day'	*nár ·날 'sun, day'	MMgl *nara-n* 'sun'	*ñayr 'day'
tar 달 'month'	*tɔ̀r ᄃᆞᆯ 'id.'	MMgl *sara* 'month' ~ *saran* 'moon'	*sayr 'month'

The first word, *agi* 'child' (LMK *ɦágí), is probably a loanword from unattested Middle Mongol **agi* (cf. Written Mongol *agi* 'respectful term of address for a boy or son'[61]). Including Middle Korean forms in Hong Kimun's list makes it clear that Modern Korean *muri* [muɾi] 'hail', attested as Late Middle Korean *nùrùy and *múrùy in the earliest datable sources,[62] bears little resemblance to Middle Mongol *mündür* 'hail'. These words are probably not

[60] See Henthorn (1963).

[61] See Bold et al. (2008) for the Modern Khalkha form **агь** [æk] and its Written Mongol equivalent (ᠠᠭᠤ). The IPA transcription presented here is my own addition.

[62] *Samganghaengsildo* 三綱行實圖 (15th century) has *nùrùy 누뤼 and *Hunminjŏng'ŭm Haeryebon* 訓民正音 解例本 (1448) has *múrùy ·무뤼 (Nam 2002: 310, 583).

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related. Modern Korean *mur* [mu˩ ~ ᵐbu˩], from Late Middle Korean *mɨ́r 'water', probably is related to Middle Mongol *müren* and Late Kitan *mur 'river' (the latter two from CSM *murə); this is either a Kitan loanword in Early Middle Korean or an areal word.

For the most accuracy, Early Middle Korean forms in the 12th century *Kyerim Yusa* 鷄林類事 should be consulted as well.[63] *Kyerim Yusa* attests only one cognate to the Late Middle Korean wordforms in Table 6 above. See Table 7 below:

Table 7. Early Middle Korean data added for comparison

Early Middle Korean[64]	LMK	MMgl	LKit
(unattested)	*ɲágí	(unattested)	
☆mur [沒] 'water (水)'[65]	*mɨ́r	MMgl *müren*	*mur
☆xɔk [霍] 'hail (雹)'[66]	*nùrùy ~ *múrùy	MMgl *mündür*	
☆xɔn [姮] 'sun, day (日)'[67]	*nár	MMgl *nara-n*	*ñayr
☆xəyk [黑隘]切 'moon, month (月)'[68]	*tɔ̀r	MMgl *sara ~ saran*	*sayr

Considering the lexical gaps between Early Middle Korean and Late Middle Korean in the table above, the Late Middle Korean wordforms *nár 'day' and *tɔ̀r 'moon, month' are probably reflexes of 13th century borrowings from an

[63] Despite Sasse's (1976) study of the Early Middle Korean forms in *Kyerim Yusa*, a critical edition and a thorough linguistic study of this important 12th century text have yet to be undertaken.

[64] See Shimunek (forthcoming, a) for these transcriptions and my phonological reconstructions.

[65] *KYS* #58 (Sasse 1976); the phonological reconstruction presented above is my own.

[66] *KYS* #10 (Sasse 1976); the phonological reconstruction presented above is my own.

[67] *KYS* #2 (Sasse 1976); the phonological reconstruction presented above is my own. I assume that the character 姮 *heng* here is an error for 亘 *hsüan* (cf. 咺 LMC ☆xuan, revised from Pul. 350).

[68] *KYS* #3 (Sasse 1976); the phonological reconstruction presented above is my own.

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unattested progressive border dialect of Middle Mongol.[69] In any case, as the above discussion makes clear, they are certainly not inherited vocabulary shared with Mongolic.[70]

The above discussion effectively disproves Hong Kimun's Mongolic-Korean proposal.

Another proponent of a Mongolic-Korean theory is Song Ŭimin (2000), who compares the Mongolian and Korean words for several body parts—'eye', 'nose', 'mouth', and 'ear'—and concludes that they "correspond phonetically, phonologically, and semantically (авиа, авиалбар, утгын талаар хоорондоо тохирч буй)".[71] Despite Song's claims, the majority of these words, with one possible exception, are demonstrably unrelated, and are not even loanwords, let alone divergently related cognates. Song compares modern Written Mongol *nidün* 'eye', *qamar* ~ *qabar* 'nose', *ama* 'mouth', and *čiki* 'ear' with Late Middle Korean forms he quotes as "눈" *nun* 'eye', "고히" *kohi* ~ "고비" *kobi*

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[69] The LMK wordforms phonologically closely resemble Modern Mongolian, e.g. Khalkha **нар** [nar] 'sun' and **сар** [sar] 'moon, month'. The sound change of **s* > **t* is not unexpected—Jalait-Durbet, a dialect of Modern Mongolian spoken in approximately the vicinity of what was once Kitan territory, not very far from what was once the Kitan-Koryŏ border, is characterized by regular fortition of Middle Mongol *s* > *t* [t^h], e.g. the Jalait-Durbet reflex of Middle Mongol *sara* 'month' ~ *saran* 'moon' is transcribed by Todaeva in Cyrillic as "**тар**" (i.e. [t^har] in IPA) 'moon, month (луна, месяц)' (Todaeva 1985: 64; see also Rudnev 1911: 119b). The semantics of LMK *nár 'day' resemble attested Late Kitan *ñayr 'sun, day'. Late Middle Korean *nár 'day' also semantically, and partially phonologically, resembles LMK *náts (·낫) 'daytime (晝)'. See Nam (2002: 274a) for the attested LMK form ·낫.

[70] Tradition-based reconstructions of Silla Korean treat 日尸 as a transcription of *nal (asterisk added by me) 'day' (Lee Ki-Moon 2008: 85; see also Lee Ki-Moon & Ramsey 2011: 61-62), but in fact, this mixed semantic-phonological transcription of Old Korean only provides phonological information on the last segment of the word. This Silla Korean word is thus reconstructible as *…r 'day (日)'. A single phonological segment is hardly sufficient to allow one to conclude that this word is cognate to Late Middle Korean *nár 'day'.

[71] Song (2000: 105).

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'nose', "입" *ip* 'mouth', and "귀" *kwi* 'ear', respectively. The attested Late Middle Korean forms of these words (not given by Song) are *nún ·눈 'eye (目, 眼)',[72] *kúh-í ·고·히 'nose' (i.e. *kúh 'nose' + *-í 'nominative case suffix'),[73] *ɦíp ·입 'mouth (口)',[74] and *kwí ·귀 'ear (耳)'.[75] A loanword connection or other areal relationship between Middle Korean *nun* 'eye' and Middle Mongol *nidü-n* 'eye' cannot be ruled out, but other examples with these sound correspondences would need to be identified to justify the comparison of Middle Mongol *nidü-n* (Modern Khalkha **нүд** [nut]) to this Korean form.[76] The Mongolian and Korean words for 'nose', 'mouth', and 'ear' are phonologically very far from each other, and many otherwise unwarranted sound changes would need to be justified for these proposed correspondences to hold. As shown by Indo-Europeanists early on in the development of historical-comparative linguistics, sound change is regular, with few exceptions. Identifying superficial similarities between individual words, especially if the similarities imply many irregular sound changes which have not been justified elsewhere with ample data, is a fundamentally flawed methodology and cannot successfully demonstrate a language relationship theory. A scientifically constructed divergent language relationship theory cannot be based on a handful of individual words without regular sound

[72] Nam (2002: 313b); Yu Ch'angton (2000: 163b-164a). The attested EMK form is ☆nun [嫩] (LMC ☆nwən$_3$, Pul. 223) 'eye (眼)' (*KYS* #167; Sasse 1976: 117); the phonological reconstruction of this EMK form is my own.

[73] Nam (2002: 105b); Yu Ch'angton (2000: 60b). This word is not attested in EMK in *KYS*.

[74] Nam (2002: 1181b); Yu Ch'angton (2000: 626a). The attested EMK form is ☆ɦip [邑] (LMC , ☆ʔip, Pul. 371) 'mouth (口)' (*KYS* #169; Sasse 1976: 117); the phonological reconstruction of this EMK form is my own.

[75] Nam (2002: 161b); Yu Ch'angton (2000: 92b). The attested EMK form is ☆kwi [愧] (☆kwi$_3$, Pul. 178) 'ear (耳)' (*KYS* #168; Sasse 1976: 117); the phonological reconstruction of this EMK form is my own.

[76] Apparently based on Korean-internal evidence, Sŏ (1989: 45-46) proposes a proto-form *nut (the asterisk is my addition) for attested modern Korean *nun* 눈 'eye' and 'snow'. If this form can be verified with future advances in the field of Korean historical linguistics, a possible loanword connection with Middle Mongol *nidü-n* 'eye' cannot be ruled out.

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correspondences or evidence of shared functional morphology. The Mongolic-Korean Theory is thus scientifically inadequate and must be abandoned.

The 'Lexical Immunity' Theory

Among the most prevalent theories in Mongolia today on the ethnolinguistic origins of the Mongols is what may be termed the 'Lexical Immunity' theory. Scholars who follow this theory, inherently or explicitly, include Bazarragchaa (1992, 1995, 2008), Tüdew (1996), Badamdorj (2007), and to a lesser extent, Bertagaev (1974) and others. Their methodology includes forcing Mongolic-internal etymologies for numerous known loanwords from foreign languages and attempting to reverse the directionality of demonstrable foreign loanwords in Mongolic. Badamdorj summarizes the basic assumption of this approach, claiming that "compared to many other languages of the world, loanwords constitute only a small portion of the Mongolian lexicon"[77] and coins a term for this approach, claiming that Mongolian is characterized by "lexical immunity (үгийн сангийн дархлаа)" and is thus comparatively free of foreign influence (Badamdorj 2007).

Tüdew (1996) attempts to reverse the well-established Indo-European etymology of Mongolian **ном** [nɔm][78] 'book, dharma, Buddhist teaching', claiming that this Mongolian word is the ultimate source of Greek **νόμος** (*nómos*) 'law',[79] despite the fact that the word is not attested in Mongol before the thirteenth century, and the fact that the Middle Mongol form has been demonstrated numerous times to be a medieval borrowing from Old Uygur, i.e. Middle Mongol *nom* 'law, teaching, dharma' ← Old Uygur *nom* ← Sogdian

[77] "Дэлхийн олон хэлнээс монгол хэлний үгийн санд орж ирсэн ормол үгс нь манай хэлний үгийн сангийн багахан бүрэлдэхүүн хэсэг болно" (Badamdorj 2007: 17).

[78] The phonetic transcription given here is my own.

[79] Tüdew (1996: 112).

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nwm [num ~ nom] 'law, canon'[80] ← Syriac *nōm* ← Greek **νόμος** (*nómos*) 'law'.[81] The word is attested in Greek many centuries before the earliest historical attestation of any of the Serbi-Mongolic peoples, and there is no historical motivation for Tüdew's claim.[82] The Mongol word is thus demonstrably a borrowing ultimately from Greek, via other Central Eurasian languages, and reached Middle Mongol with the transmission of Buddhist texts.

Bazarragchaa's approach likewise assumes there are only a handful of loanwords in Mongolian.[83] In his attempt to maintain this hypothesis in light of numerous known loanwords in Mongolian, Bazarragchaa (1992, 1995) relies on superficial, unsystematic, rough phonological resemblances and ghost morphemes to force Mongolian-internal etymologies, sometimes even for very recent loanwords from Chinese (see below). No system of scientifically falsifiable regular sound correspondences results from such manipulation of the data. Any careful, unbiased scientific study of the Mongolian lexicon quickly reveals a myriad of loanwords in all known periods and dialects of Mongolic throughout history and prehistory, including loanwords from at least Turkic, Tungusic, Iranic, Indic, several periods of Chinese (Old Chinese, Middle Chinese, and Mandarin), Tibetic, and Japanese-Koguryoic.[84] Foreign loanwords in Mongolian which are denied in the 'Lexical Immunity' Theory include borrowings from Sanskrit, Chinese, Old Turkic, and other languages known to have historically exerted lexical influence on Mongolian in well-known contexts and specific spheres of Mongolian society. Bazarragchaa (1995) proposes untenable Mongolian-internal etymologies, often

[80] The Sogdian form presented here is from Gharib (1995: 246, §6138).

[81] See Poppe (1954: 3), Sinor (1978: 322), and Kara (2009: 197) for the etymology of this word.

[82] See Sophocles (1900: 785) for early attestations of the Greek word.

[83] He admits that the Mongolian words for 'hammer' and 'apple' are loanwords (Bazarragchaa 1995: 503).

[84] Not to mention the vast number of recent loanwords from Russian, Chinese, English, Korean, and other languages into Modern Khalkha.

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semantically, phonologically, and morphologically flawed folk etymologies for numerous well-known foreign loanwords, including the following:[85]

Modern Khalkha **ажнай** [atʃˈnæ] ‘fast, strong horse’. For this demonstrably monomorphemic Khalkha word, Bazarragchaa (1995: 465 §63) proposes a proto-form *a-ǰi-nā-y with four unjustifiable morphemes (the asterisk is my addition), which he compares with Written Mongol *adara-* ‘to be willful, difficult’, *aduγusu* ‘beast, animal’, *adasqa* ‘the hide of a horse or ox which has starved to death’, and *aǰirγa* ‘stallion’, and concludes that these words come from the same root, given by him as *a-da- ~ *a-ǰi- (the asterisks are added by me). This analysis poses irresolvable morphological, phonological, and semantic problems. In fact, the Khalkha word comes from attested Preclassical Written Mongol *aǰinai* ‘of noble race, excellent, the best of the horses’, a borrowing from Sanskrit आजानेय *ājāneya* ‘of noble origin, of good breed (of horses)’.[86]

Modern Khalkha **авъяас** [avˈjas] ‘skill, talent’. Although this word, too, is monomorphemic, Bazarragchaa (1995: 80, 81, 427) insists on a polymorphemic analysis, and ultimately suggests that the word has *ab- ‘take’ as its root. Despite Bazarragchaa’s proposal, the Khalkha word, from attested Preclassical Written Mongol *abiyas* ‘inclination, propensity’, is a loanword from Old Uygur *abiyaz* ← Sanskrit अभ्यास *abhyāsa* ‘reaching to, pervading, prospect, any expected result or consequence’.[87]

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[85] The phonetic transcriptions of the Modern Khalkha forms and their translations are my own, unless otherwise noted. They are primarily based on educated, urban Khalkha pronunciation.

[86] Kara (2009: 7) and Sükhbaatar (1997: 15); see Monier-Williams (1964 [1899]: 132) for the Sanskrit word and its definition.

[87] See Kara (2009: 2) for the Middle Mongol form and the etymology. The Sanskrit form is from Monier-Williams (1964).

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Modern Khalkha **ад** [at] ‘evil spirit’. This is also a monomorphemic word, despite Bazarragchaa (1995: 480), who proposes a proto-form *a-da (the asterisk is my addition) which he attempts to connect with such unrelated Written Mongol forms as *aǰa* ‘luck, fortune’, *eǰi* ‘mother’, and others. His proposal is highly unlikely for semantic and phonological reasons. In fact, the Khalkha word **ад** [at] ‘evil spirit’, first attested in Preclassical Written Mongol as *ada* ‘obstacle, hindrance, harmful demon’, is a loanword from Old Uygur *ada* ‘hindrance, obstacle’.[88]

Modern Khalkha **эрдэнэ** [ˈɪrtʔn̩ ~ ˈɛrtʔn̩] ‘jewel’. Bazarragchaa (1992: 126) reconstructs a proto-form *er-de-ni (the asterisk is my addition) for this monomorphemic word, and follows Bertagaev (1974: 165) who attempts to connect the word with modern Written Mongol *erkes* ‘celestial body’, *erüdesü* ‘mineral’, *erü-* ‘to dig’, *ele-* ‘to grate, make a hole in, chop’, and *elü-* ‘shave down thinly (of animal skins and hides)’. Despite Bazarragchaa and Bertagaev, Modern Khalkha **эрдэнэ** [ˈɪrtʔn̩ ~ ˈɛrtʔn̩] ‘jewel’ comes from attested Middle Mongol *erdini* (Pcl. *erdeni ~ erdini*) ‘jewel’, which is a well-known loanword from Old Uygur *erdini* ← Sogdian *ratn* ‘jewel’ ← Sanskrit रत्न *ratna* ‘jewel, gem, treasure, gift, present, etc.’[89]

Not only for phonological reasons, but even simply taking general historical reasoning into account, one may deduce that the above-mentioned words are loanwords in Mongolian—in their earliest attestations in Middle Mongol, these Indic and Old Uygur loanwords are known only in Buddhist contexts, and since Buddhism is in origin a foreign religion which the Mongols

[88] See Kara (2009: 5) for the Preclassical Middle Mongol form and its etymology.

[89] See Kara (2009: 101-102) for the etymology and the Preclassical Written Mongol forms. The Middle Mongol form I give here is from *HIIY* (1.13b3). The Sanskrit form is from Monier-Williams (1964) and the Sogdian form is from Gharib (1995: 343, §8526).

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embraced, these can be reasonably assumed to be loanwords. The phonology and semantics of the identifiable etyma further support this conclusion.

Old Turkic loanwords outside of the sphere of Buddhist terminology are overlooked (or denied) by Bazarragchaa as well. See below for an example:

Modern Khalkha **алт** [ałt] 'gold'. Bazarragchaa (1995: 443) reconstructs a proto-form *a-l-ta-n ~ *a-l-tu-n (the asterisks are my addition) and connects this word with Written Mongol *al* 'red'. This proposal is highly problematic for semantic and phonological reasons. In fact, Khalkha 'gold', from attested Preclassical Written Mongol *altan* 'gold',[90] is a borrowing from Old Turkic *altun* 'gold'. The fact that Bazarragchaa gives a variant in *a-l-tu-n with a vowel *-u- suggests that he was aware of the Old Turkic form and chose to overlook it. There is no reason for reconstructing an *-u- from Mongolic-internal data alone.

A number of demonstrable Chinese loanwords in Mongolian which are overlooked or denied by Bazarragchaa include the following:

Modern Khalkha **бэх** [pɪx ~ pɛx] 'ink'. Bazarragchaa (1995: ix) claims this word is related to the Written Mongol verb *bekeyi-* 'to be hunchbacked or bent' and *beki* 'strong, solid'. This proposal is impossible for semantic reasons, and highly unlikely for phonological and historical reasons. Attested Middle Mongol *beke* 'ink'[91] is a loanword from Late Middle Chinese 墨 *^{m}bək 'ink' with partial convergence with Middle Turkic *mäkkä* 'ink'.[92]

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[90] Kara (2009: 10).

[91] MMgl *beke* [别客] 'ink (墨)' (*HIIY* 1.11a1).

[92] This Middle Turkic form, cited from *DTS*, is the earliest attestation of this word in Turkic. As for the etymology of Middle Mongol *beke* 'ink', I identified this as a LMC → MMgl loanword, and later learned that Sims-Williams (1996: 62) proposed the following

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Modern Khalkha **цонх** [tsʰɔ̃χ] ‘window’. Bazarragchaa (1995: 492) proposes a connection with the verb **цонхой-** [tsʰɔ̃ˈχɔ̯œ-] (modern Written Mongol *čongqoyi-*) ‘to become hollow, dented, concave, sunken in’.[93] Neither word is attested until modern times. Modern Khalkha [tsʰɔ̃χ] ‘window’ is attested in modern Written Mongol as *čongqu*, probably representing an Early Modern Mongolian form, borrowed from Modern Mandarin 窗戶 *ch’uang-hu* (MSC *chuanghu*) [t͡ʂʰu̯áŋxu] ‘window’.[94]

The above-mentioned Chinese words refer to material items that were directly imported from China and which were generally foreign to traditional or pre-medieval Mongolian lifestyle, effectively excluding the possibility of these words being of native Mongolian stock. Some of the Chinese loanwords are very recent borrowings from Mandarin, within the past century or two (e.g. ‘window’) and do not have a very long history in Mongolian.

Surprisingly, despite its many inherent flaws, this idea of a ‘lexically immune’ Mongolian language has gained credence among many language researchers (in Mongolian, **хэл судлаачид**) in Mongolia, with the notable exceptions of Shagdarsüren, Tömörtogoo, and a few others.

The ‘Lexical Immunity’ Theory does not offer a credible theory on the origins of the Mongolic languages, and is thus diametrically opposed to

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etymology: Middle Chinese 墨 ‘ink’ → Sogdian *mk’* ‘ink’ → Trk “*mäkä*” (attested MTrk *mäkkä*) and WMgl *beke* ‘ink’. The Sogdian intermediary explains the CVCV structure of the Mongol word, but the word-initial *b* of the Mongol form is more easily explained as an attempt to render Late Middle Chinese *[ᵐb]. Middle Mongol *beke* may be the result of later Turkic influence. The following etymology thus seems likely: LMC 墨 *[ᵐbək] ‘ink’ → unattested Old Mongol *bək ‘ink’ > attested Middle Mongol *beke* [bəkʰə] (CVCV structure as a result of MMgl convergence with MTrk *mäkkä* ‘ink’ ← Sogdian *mk’* ‘ink’ ← EMC 墨 *mək ‘ink’). Note also Daur [bəɣ] ‘ink’ (Engkebatu 1984: 75).

[93] This is my translation of Bold et al.’s (2008) Mongolian definition: “хонхор, хотгор болох”.

[94] See Sechinchogt (1988: 2260a) and Kara (2002: 67) for the Chinese etymology of this modern Mongol word.

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mainstream historical-comparative linguistics. Below I provide a systematic list of the fundamental flaws of the 'Lexical Immunity' Theory (see the disproven etymologies above for examples):

1. Phonological: Sound change is predominantly regular,[95] but it must be assumed to be largely *irregular* for the vast majority of the 'Lexical Immunity' Theory proposals to work. The theory abounds with scientifically unjustifiable folk etymologies and superficial comparisons between unrelated words, disregarding their philologically attested history and semantic value.

2. Historical: Neighboring peoples rarely do not exert linguistic influence of some kind on each other. A major anachronism in many 'Lexical Immunity' Theory proposals is that it is logically impossible to have early Mongolic origins for cultural borrowings and borrowed technology which are not part of early or even medieval Mongol material culture, e.g. 'window' discussed above.

3. Semantic: Semantic change has limits and exhibits striking regularity, i.e. "there are predictable paths for semantic change across different conceptual structures and domains of language function,"[96] but for many of Bazarragchaa's proposals to work, we must assume that nearly any semantic change is possible, e.g. Bazarragchaa's proposal on 'ink' (see above) claims that a single protoform underlies modern words for 'ink', 'strong, solid', and 'to be hunchbacked or bent'.

[95] See Campbell (1999) for examples of the regularity hypothesis.

[96] Traugott & Dasher (2004: 1). See also Wilkins (1996) for a study of natural tendencies in semantic change.

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4. Morphological: A basic principle in the discipline of morphology is that one cannot segment out morphemes at random. There must be careful justification for the segmentation of *each* independent morpheme. Not all words are polymorphemic; in fact a significant percentage of the lexicon of any language consists of monomorphemic words. The 'Lexical Immunity' approach denies the existence of a great many demonstrably monomorphemic words, and proposes what must be hundreds of *ad hoc* ghost morphemes with little purpose other than to support a flawed theory.

5. Philological: The data used in the 'Lexical Immunity' approach is predominantly based on modern Written Mongol, and not on philologically attested early varieties of Mongolic. Wordforms from the earliest substantially attested variety of Mongolic—Middle Mongol—are rarely, if ever, consulted. This methodological flaw leads scholars working within this framework to a significant number of misanalyses—some Written Mongol words which are philologically attested only in the *modern* period are assumed to be very old because they are included in Written Mongol dictionaries. For example, the word for 'window' (see above) is only attested in the early modern period, and does not even appear in Middle Mongol, let alone earlier times, not to mention the historical fact that the concept of 'window' is very new for Mongols: The traditional Mongolian dwelling—the yurt—has no windows. The concept of 'window' came with Chinese immigrants and Tibetan Buddhist architecture. The word is demonstrably from Modern Mandarin 窗戶 *ch'uang-hu* (MSC *chuanghu*) 'window' and cannot be more than a century or two old in Mongolian.

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Despite the popularity of the 'Lexical Immunity' Theory in Mongolia, it must be abandoned due to the above-mentioned methodological shortcomings.

The 'Nomadic Languages' Hypothesis

Another proposal, which may be termed the 'Nomadic Languages' Hypothesis, claims that Mongolic and certain other 'nomadic' Central Eurasian language families are somehow fundamentally different from all other human languages. Proponents of this implicitly or explicitly express the belief that not only does science not work for these languages, but that it *should not* work, e.g. Max Müller (1855) claimed that the 'Turanian' languages, including Mongolic, are so different from the 'Aryan' languages (i.e. Indo-European) that the historical-comparative method *cannot* work for elucidating their diachronic development:

> "If languages were all of one and the same texture, they might be unravelled, no doubt, with the same tools. But as they are not, — and this is admitted by all, — it is surely mere waste of valuable time to test the relationship of Tungusic, Mongolic, Turkic, Samoyedic, and Finnic dialects by the same criteria on which the common descent of Greek and Latin is established; or to try to discover Sanskrit in the Malay dialects, or Greek in the idioms of the Caucasian mountaineers. The whole crust of the earth is not made of lias, swarming with Ammonites and Plesiosauri, nor is all language made of Sanskrit… Up to a certain point the method by which so great results have been achieved in classifying the Aryan languages may be applicable to other clusters of speech" (Müller 1855: 25-26).

In short, Müller's remarks are an attempt to justify his scientifically impossible 'Turanian' language family, a predecessor of the 'Altaic' language family theory, which has long since been disproven. Established, mainstream historical-comparative linguistic methods did not support his language

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relationship theory, so in lieu of abandoning the unjustifiable 'Turanian' Theory, he abandoned appropriate scientific methods. Contrary to Müller's claim, this book, a study of Serbi-Mongolic historical-comparative linguistics using the same valid, scientifically falsifiable methods employed for the diachronic study of the Indo-European languages, is far from a "waste of valuable time". In fact, modern historical-comparative linguistics is the only way to conduct scientific work on the history of any language, and it does not involve *ad hoc* solutions to maintain preconceived theories.

Along the same vein as Müller (1855), and over a century later, Binnick (1987) argued that 'nomadic' languages are somehow fundamentally different from 'sedentary' languages and that traditional historical-comparative linguistic methods as employed for the diachronic study of the Indo-European languages are inadequate for the study of Mongolic:

> "Given the nature of nomadic society, it is not surprising that the sharp, discrete dichotomies of the Stammbaum model, designed for sedentary populations living within communities with sharply defined boundaries, might prove less adequate to an understanding of Mongolian linguistic history than some kind of reticulated model. The search for the latter, rather than the former, type of model of genetic relationship is more likely ultimately to prove fruitful" (Binnick 1987: 194).

While it is certainly true that intrafamily convergence has happened throughout Serbi-Mongolic history, this kind of convergence has happened in all language families continually throughout human history, including what Binnick considers more 'sedentary' language families like Indo-European, and this is no reason to abandon a theory that basically works. There is no reason to think that language change happens any differently for nomadic peoples than it does for sedentary peoples: Language change is basically the same around the world for all humans. It is also important to remember documented history: As noted by Pulleyblank (1983), the earliest Serbi-Mongolic speakers engaged in agriculture, and were in that sense markedly less 'nomadic' than the medieval Mongols. It is also widely held that the early Indo-European

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speakers included 'nomadic' peoples,[97] not to mention the numerous Indo-European-speaking nomads and 'peripatetic' populations of our time (e.g. the Romani,[98] the Kuchi people of Afghanistan, etc.). The dichotomy between 'nomadic' and 'sedentary' is not diachronically stable, and peoples can shift between the two. These are not valid scientific categories for language types. Proposed language families around the world are demonstrable and falsifiable by the same methods, regardless of the social structure of their speakers at any given point in their histories. Thus the basic assumption of the 'Nomadic' Language Hypothesis is flawed and does not reflect a scientific approach to the historical-comparative study of language.

Toward a New Theory on the Ethnolinguistic Origins of the Mongols

Considering the problems and limitations of the above-mentioned theories and hypotheses, it is clear that a comprehensive theory on the ethnolinguistic origins of the Mongols must meet the following criteria:

1. The theory must be firmly based on mainstream historical-comparative linguistic theory as employed for the Indo-European, Semitic, Japanese-Koguryoic, Algonquian, Uto-Aztecan, Eskimo-Aleut, and Uralic languages, and must not employ *ad hoc* analyses, must not ignore the historical-comparative method, and must not ignore the thoroughly demonstrated methods of elucidating divergent language theories, including the following:

[97] Clackson (2007: 18, 201, 214).

[98] Mainstream historical linguistic work on Romani has allowed for important and very detailed work to be undertaken on their ethnolinguistic history, with fruitful results, e.g. the careful study of loanwords in Romani has allowed for a chronologically detailed account of their homeland and their migration into Europe (Campbell 1999: 363-365).

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2. It must be based on the fundamental phonological principle underlying mainstream historical-comparative linguistics—the notion of regular sound correspondence and regular sound change with few exceptions.[99]

3. It must take early history and prehistory into careful consideration, including historically documented ethnolinguistic contacts with neighboring peoples and linguistic evidence of undocumented, pre-historical contacts. This involves meticulously reading Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, and other sources.

4. Semantic changes must be explained within reason.

5. Morphemes must be carefully justified, and monomorphemic words should be acknowledged when they exist. The morphemic structure of a word must not be analyzed into unjustifiable *ad hoc* ghost morphemes.

6. The philologically attested histories of the languages involved must be carefully consulted and thoroughly read before proposing etymologies and formulating theories, and the philological data must be treated meticulously without bias.

7. The theory must account for periodization in all the languages involved. Languages do not exist in a vacuum—they are constantly changing over time. Periodization must also be taken into consideration for the *foreign* languages in which the Serbi-Mongolic data is transcribed, i.e. a good understanding of Old Chinese, Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, Early Old Mandarin, Late Old Mandarin, and Old Tibetan phonology is absolutely necessary for a careful treatment of the linguistic data on the early Serbi languages.

[99] See Campbell (1999: 17-18 et seq.), Trask (1996: 224-228), and Ringe & Eska (2013: 3 et seq.) for information on this 'regularity principle' and its history.

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8. The theory must account for why Kitan and Taghbach are obviously related to Mongolic, as many scholars have hinted at for well over a century, and also why they are clearly not direct ancestors of Mongol.

9. The theory likewise must not pursue disproven hypotheses on language types (e.g. 'nomadic languages' and 'sedentary languages' are not empirically valid categories), and it must take language universals and linguistic typological considerations into account. It must not pursue disproven language family theories or hypotheses, e.g. 'Altaic' and its predecessors and daughter theories (e.g. 'Dravidian-Altaic', 'Eskimo-Aleut–Altaic', 'Eurasiatic', 'Nostratic', etc.) must be abandoned, together with the Indo-European–Mongolic Theory, the Mongolic-Turkic Hypothesis, the Mongolic-Korean Theory, and the 'Lexical Immunity' Theory.

10. In order to meet the basic Popperian criterion of the scientific method, the theory must be precise enough to be testable and potentially falsifiable.[100]

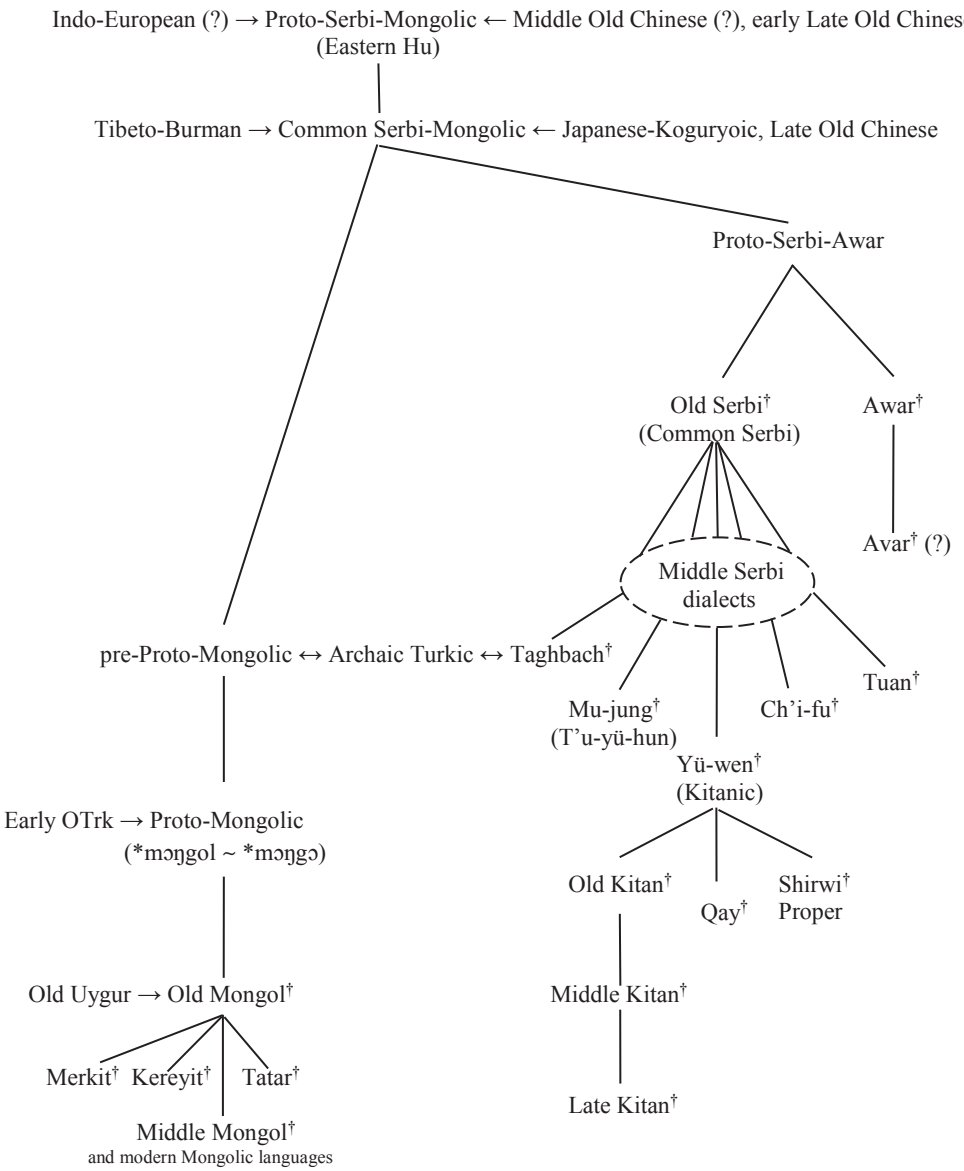
This book is the first attempt to provide systematic, linguistic sketches of the phonology, morphology, and lexicon of Taghbach, T'u-yü-hun, and Kitan, and thoroughly argue for their common divergent relationship with Mongolic using accepted historical-comparative linguistic methods.

Below I present the classification of the Serbi-Mongolic languages, to be discussed in detail throughout this book:

[100] Popper (2002 [1935]).

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Figure 5. Classification of the Serbi-Mongolic Languages



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CHAPTER TWO:
A BRIEF ETHNOLINGUISTIC HISTORY OF THE SERBI-MONGOLIC PEOPLES

2.1. THE EARLY SERBI-MONGOLIC PEOPLES

As with many ethnolinguistic groups of Asia and elsewhere in the world, the earliest history of the Serbi-Mongolic peoples is shrouded in uncertainty. Nevertheless, there are important sources mentioning bits of information on these early peoples, their way of life, their languages, and their interactions with their neighbors.

In the Chinese tradition, Serbi-Mongolic history begins with the Eastern Hu (Tung Hu 東胡).[1] As Kessler et al. state, "By the time of the Warring States (403-221 B.C.), the Eastern Hu were a thriving bronze-age culture and a powerful political force along China's frontier to the north and east of modern-day Hebei province."[2] Although the Chinese historical sources do not offer as much information as one would like on this early people, archaeological research provides additional details: "In the last several decades,

[1] As argued by Pulleyblank (1983: 452-454) the ethnonym 'Hu' probably originally only denoted early Serbi-Mongolic peoples ('proto-Mongolian' in his terminology). In later times, the ethnonym 胡 Hu became much more generalized, referring to many neighboring non-Sinitic peoples:

> "Although in T'ang contexts the word 胡 Hu is most frequently used for 'Indo-Europeans'—not merely 'Iranians from Central Asia', as usually believed…, but even Indians in India—it also refers to Uighurs, Mongols, and others on the northern frontier (and in earlier times to the Hsiung-nu and their neighbors as far east as Manchuria); the expression 'the language of the Hu' can thus refer to Khitan, Old Turkic, Sogdian, or another language spoken in the area at that time" (Beckwith 2009: 393).

[2] Kessler et al. (1995: 37).

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a great variety of remains believed to be of the Eastern Hu have been uncovered in southeastern Inner Mongolia and in western Liaoning and northern Hebei provinces. These remains have been termed Xiajiadian Upper Period culture."[3] From this archeological evidence, some important details on Eastern Hu life have emerged. Of interest is the fact that "most of the Xiajiadian Upper Period cities faced south and were on elevated flat areas next to the banks of rivers."[4] Archaeological evidence also indicates that dogs played an important role in Eastern Hu hunting[5] and that their animal husbandry consisted of sheep, goats, horses, and to a lesser extent, pigs.[6] In addition, according to Shelach:

> "The ubiquitous animal motifs in the decoration of Upper Xiajiadian bronzes have prompted the suggestion that the bearers of this culture were pastoral nomads… Results of our regional surveys in this area show a more complex picture. Large Upper Xiajiadian sites, some of them located on or near Lower Xiajiadian sites and in close proximity to water sources and arable land, suggest that agriculture was still an important economic source… the types of stone artifacts found at Upper Xiajiadian sites support the above reconstruction. Many large land-clearing and cultivating tools such as hoes and axes were found by our surveys and during previous excavations of Upper Xiajiadian sites. The same is true of reaping tools and grinding implements… Storage pits excavated at many Upper Xiajiadian sites are the clearest indications of the high productivity achieved by Upper Xiajiadian agriculture… The fact that many more storage pits than houses were excavated at Upper Xiajiadian sites… suggests that a decreasing investment in permanent structures does not necessarily reflect a decrease in the importance of agriculture" (Shelach 2005: 29).

[3] Kessler et al. (1995: 37).

[4] Kessler et al. (1995: 37).

[5] Kessler et al. (1995: 42).

[6] Shelach (2005: 29-30).

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Chronologically and geographically, the Upper Xiajiadian sites correspond to the Eastern Hu, and probably their neighbors. Although it would probably be too simplistic to conclude that all Upper Xiajiadian sites are Eastern Hu, the Eastern Hu certainly were included in the Upper Xiajiadian sites, if they were not the primary culture represented by these sites. The archaeological evidence provided by the Upper Xiajiadian sites for increasing pastoralism side-by-side with agriculture accords with the Chinese historical accounts of the Eastern Hu as pastoral nomads who engaged in agriculture.[7]

Most of what is *historically* known about the Eastern Hu comes from the *Shih Chi* 史記 and *Han Shu* 漢書 accounts of the Hsiung-nu.[8] The Eastern Hu appear in records as early as the mid-seventh century B.C.,[9] where they are described as living north of Yen 燕,[10] a country located around present-day Peking. They later appear around the third century B.C., when they were defeated in battle by the Yen general 秦開 Ch'in K'ai.[11] Shortly after, they recovered and enjoyed a brief period of political power,[12] after which they suffered a profound defeat by the Hsiung-nu around the second century B.C.[13] The Eastern Hu subsequently split into two main peoples—the Hsien-pei 鮮卑 (*serbi)[14] in the north and the Wu-huan 烏桓 or Wu-wan 烏丸 (*awar) in the south.[15] Archaeological studies also confirm that the Serbi are descendants of the Eastern Hu.[16]

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[7] E.g. Pulleyblank (1983).

[8] *SC* (110: 2879-2920), *HS* (94a, 94b).

[9] Lin (1995: 9-10).

[10] *SC* (110: 2883), *HS* (94a: 3747), Lin (1995: 10), and Watson (2010: 45).

[11] *SC* (110: 2885-2886), *HS* (94a: 3748). Lin (1995: 9-10), Watson (2010: 45).

[12] Watson (2010: 46); *HS* (94a: 3748).

[13] Lin (1995: 54); *SC* (110: 2889).

[14] Hereafter 'Serbi' (without asterisk). See Pelliot (1928: 142, *n.* 6) and Pulleyblank (1983: 452-453) for the reconstruction of this ethnonym.

[15] Hereafter 'Awar' (without asterisk). See Pulleyblank (1983: 453) for the reconstruction.

[16] Kessler (1995: 76-79).

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The Hsiung-nu employed their Serbi and Awar subjects in several historically documented battles against the Han Empire, one during the early part of the Kuang-wu 光武 reign period (6 B.C. to 57 A.D.) and again in 45 A.D., i.e. the 21st year of the Chien-wu 建武 reign period. After the Hsiung-nu submitted to the Han, in the 30th year of the Chien-wu reign period (i.e. 54 A.D.) the Serbi leaders Yü-ch'iu-pen 於仇賁 (*agupər or *yagupər),[17] Man-t'ou 滿頭 (*bardʊ),[18] and others led their people to the Han imperial capital, Loyang, and submitted to the Han Empire.[19] The Awar, under Hsin-chih-pen 欣志賁 (NLOC *həmtəhpər)[20] and other leaders, resisted a while longer, but Hsin-chih-pen was eventually defeated and beheaded in 58 A.D. by Han forces. Subsequently, all remaining Serbi leaders submitted to the Han Empire.[21]

Not long after, around the first century A.D., Hsiung-nu power was waning, and in 87 A.D., the Serbi inflicted a crushing defeat on the Northern Hsiung-nu, killing their ruler.[22] The remaining Hsiung-nu, still numbering

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[17] Unperiodized 'Old Chinese' reconstructions include: 於 Sch. 775 *ʔya (given as *ʔa in Schuessler 2007: 584; cf. also cf. Pul. 380 ☆ʔɨa); 仇 Bax. 783 *g(r)ju, revised to *gu, Sch. 84 *gjəw, revised to *gəw (cf. Pul. 258 ☆guw); and 賁 Sch. 20 *pər, Sag. 195 *^{b}bɨr (cf. Pul. 32 ☆pən).

[18] Unperiodized 'Old Chinese' reconstructions include: 滿 (cf. Pul. 207 ☆man$_2$ revised to ☆^{m}ban$_2$; as demonstrated by Beckwith, one regular source of Middle Chinese second tone is a Late Old Chinese voiced uvular or velar fricative coda *-ʁ/*-ɣ); and 頭 Sag. 155 *^{a}do (cf. Pul. 311 ☆dəw). As Beckwith (2009, etc.) has shown, certain northern frontier varieties of Late Old Chinese were characterized by partial denasalization of nasal onsets. It is well known that Ch'in-Han Old Chinese was characterized by coda *-r > later *n (cf. Sagart 1999: 50).

[19] According to the *T'ung-tien*, the Han emperor conferred the title of *wang* 王 'king' to Yü-chih-pen (*T'ung-tien* 196: 1061).

[20] Unperiodized 'Old Chinese' 欣 Bax. 798 *x(r)jɨm (revised to *xɨm) and Sch. 684 *hjəm (revised to *həm); 志 Sch. 841 *tjəh (revised to *təh); and 賁 Sag. 195 *^{b}bɨr and Sch. 20 *pər.

[21] *HHS* (90: 2985-2998).

[22] Beckwith (2009: 89-90).

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over 10,000 people, all adopted the Serbi ethnonym, thereby effectively becoming Serbi.[23]

The Serbi and Awar are consistently identified in the sources as ethnolinguistic descendants of the Eastern Hu:

> 烏丸鮮卑即古所謂東胡也.
> The Awar and the Serbi are the so-called Eastern Hu of ancient times (*SKC* 30: 832).

> 烏桓者本東胡也漢初匈奴冒頓滅其國餘類保烏桓山因以爲號焉[24]
> The Awar are Eastern Hu in origin. In the early Han, Mo-tun (*baʁtur)[25] of the Hsiung-nu annihilated their country; those remaining kept to Awar Mountain, from whence they are named (*HHS* 90: 2979).

The *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書 explicitly states that the Serbi and Awar have the same language and customs:

> 鮮卑者亦東胡之支也別依鮮卑山故因號焉其言語習俗與烏桓同[26]
> The Serbi are a branch of the Eastern Hu. They broke off and were near to Serbi Mountain, from whence they are named. Their language and customs are the same as those of the Awar (*HHS* 90: 2985).

There are very few transcriptions of non-onomastic early Serbi and Awar words. The third-century *Wei Shu* 魏書,[27] a lost book partially preserved

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[23] *HHS* (90: 2985-2998).

[24] 焉 *om.* (*T'ung-tien* 196: 1061).

[25] See Beckwith for the reconstruction of this Hsiung-nu title, cognate to Written Mongol *baγatur* 'hero' (2009: 387, n. 8); cf. also Middle Mongol *ba'atur* [把阿禿𠯿児] 'hero (勇士)' (*SHM* §120).

[26] 者 *om.*, 故 *om.* (*T'ung-tien* 196: 1061).

[27] This 3rd century *Wei Shu* is much earlier than, and distinct from, the 6th century *Wei Shu* by the Taghbach historian Wei Shou.

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in the *San Kuo Chih* 三國志, contains a transcription of an Awar word for a type of headdress:

> 婦人至嫁時乃養髮分爲髻著句決飾以金碧猶中國有冠步搖也[28]
> When a woman reaches the time of marriage, she grows her hair out, ties it into knots, and adjoins these into a *chü-chüeh* (NEMC *kukor) adorned with gold and green jade, like the headdresses of China (*SKC* 30: 832).

Following a Northeastern Early Middle Chinese reading of the characters, I reconstruct *kukol (or more likely, *kokol) as the Awar name for this type of headdress. As noted by Pulleyblank (1983: 453-454), Shagdarsüren (1999), and others, this word is cognate to modern Written Mongol *kököl* 'long hair, braid'.[29] The earliest attested cognate in a *spoken* Mongolic language is early Middle Mongol *kögül* 'tuft of hair'.[30]

The *Chou Shu* 周書 provides two glossed Serbi words in a folk etymology of a Serbi clan name:

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[28] 簂 *pro* 冠 (*HHS* 90: 2979).

[29] The definition of this Written Mongol word is from Lessing et al. (1995). The modern Khalkha reflex of this word, **хөхөл** [ˈхөхɵ̆ɮ], denotes 'the two tufts of hair left when a girl's hair is cut for the first time' and 'forelock (of a horse)' (Bawden 1997: 464b).

[30] This word is attested in its reflexive form *kögül-iyen* [客古里顏] and is glossed as 'tuft of hair (鬟拳)' (*SHM* §56). Kuribayashi transcribes this as "*kegül-iyen*" (2009: 261) but the Chinese character 客 was read *k^{h}ɔ ᠺᠣᠨ ‹k^{h}o› in Late Old Mandarin in 'Phagspa orthography (Cob. 168 #731), and thus could render the Middle Mongol sequence *kö*. Given the modern Khalkha reflex, the Middle Mongol form should probably be read *kögül*.

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太祖文皇帝姓宇文氏諱泰字黑獺代武川人也其先出自炎帝神農氏爲黃帝所滅子孫遯居朔野有葛烏菟者雄武多算略鮮卑慕之奉以爲主遂總十二部落世爲大人其後曰普回因狩得玉璽三紐有文曰皇帝璽普回心異之以爲天授其俗謂天曰宇謂君曰文因號宇文國幷以爲氏焉 (*Chou Shu* 1: 1).

T'ai-tsu Emperor Wen was surnamed Yü-wen (NLOC *waʁ^{m}bər). His taboo name was T'ai (NEMC ☆t^{h}ay), and his personal name was Hei-t'a (NEMC ☆xəkt^{h}ar). His ancestors came from the clan of the Yen Emperor and Shen-nung. When they were destroyed by the Yellow Emperor, their descendants fled and [began] dwelling in the northern wilderness. Among them was one Ko-wu-t'u (NEMC *karâdʊ) who was powerful, martial, and always calculating attacks. The Serbi admired him and respected him as their ruler, so all twelve tribes and generations made him their leader. Later on, there was someone named P'u-hui (NEMC *p^{h}ʊʁɣway) who had obtained a jade royal seal with three knots while game hunting. Although it had writing on it stating it was the emperor's seal, P'u-hui thought of it differently, and believed it had been given to him by heaven. According to their custom, since 'heaven (天)' is called *yü* (NLOC *waʁ) and 'ruler (君)' is *wen* (NLOC *^{m}bər), they called their land the Yü-wen Country, and also made this their surname'.

From this passage we learn the Yü-wen Serbi words *waʁ (or possibly *ɔʁ) [宇] 'heaven (天)' and *^{m}bər [文] 'ruler (君)'. Neither word has obvious cognates in neighboring languages.[31]

[31] The Middle Kitan word for 'heaven', known in Kitan Assembled Script as 𘍞, has not yet been phonologically deciphered. Some scholars have proposed a connection between this word and the *Chou Shu* transcription of the Serbi word above. Namely, John Tang reconstructs "*o" for the Serbi word (2014: 144), apparently based on Pulleyblank's theoretical 'Middle Chinese' reading of 宇 as "wuă" (Pul. 382). Although the *Chou Shu* text was completed in the seventh century A.D., i.e. the Late Middle Chinese period, these transcriptions are mentioned in connection with events relating to several centuries earlier, and the ethnonym Yü-wen is first attested in connection with events dating to the mid-3rd century A.D., i.e. the Late Old Chinese period. These transcriptions are thus in a northeastern dialect of Late Old Chinese. Pulleyblank's 'Middle Chinese' reconstructions largely represent Sui-T'ang Late Middle Chinese, which is four centuries later.

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The *Hou Han Shu* says that Awar territory is southwest of the Ting-ling and northeast of the Wu-sun (*ašwin),[32] i.e. approximately the territory of present-day independent Mongolia. They also lived in the historical region of Liao-hsi,[33] and they believed that the spirits of their dead 'returned' to 赤山 Ch'ih Shan 'Red Mountain' in northwestern Liao-tung.[34] The same source places the Serbi in Liao-tung,[35] i.e. somewhat to the east of the Awar.

The sources provide evidence on the lifestyle and culture of the early Serbi and Awar. We know that they excelled at mounted archery, that they engaged in hunting and nomadism, and they lived in round tents (yurts) much like the Mongols of today. Their diet consisted primarily of meat and fermented dairy products and for clothing they wore animal furs. They apparently had no writing.[36] Although much of the early accounts of the Serbi and Awar are generic in nature, and are largely copied from the *Shih Chi* and *Han Shu* accounts of the Hsiung-nu, they do provide some specific details as well, such as the fact that the doors of Awar tents faced east, unlike most

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[32] 其土多蝮蛇在丁令西南烏孫東北焉 'Their land abounds in snakes, and is located southwest of the Ting-ling. They are to the northeast of the Wu-sun 烏孫 (*ašwin)' (*HHS* 90: 2980; for the reconstruction of this ethnonym, see Beckwith 2009: 376-377). Pulleyblank (1983: 454-456) reconstructs *Tägräg and notes the variant transcriptions 丁令 Ting-ling (☆tɛyŋ-liayŋ, revised from Pul.) and 鐵勒 T'ieh-le (☆tʰɛr-lək, revised from Pul.). As Beckwith shows, the Late Old Chinese form of *t'ieh* 鐵 was *tʰêk (2007a: 104-105). This is surely the same ethnonym as that in the hydronym *Tegreg [敕勒] (NEMC ☆ʈʰiklək, revised from Pul.) in the famous Serbi (?) song *Ch'ih-le Ko* 敕勒歌 (*Tegreg Song). The three variant transcriptions of this ethnonym—*Ting-ling* [丁令], *T'ieh-le* [鐵勒] and *Ch'ih-le* [敕勒]—are further evidence in support of Beckwith's observation (2007a) of dialectal variation between coda *g and *ŋ in northern frontier varieties of Old Chinese and Early Middle Chinese.

[33] *HHS* (90: 2982).

[34] 死者神靈歸赤山. 赤山在遼東西北 (*HHS* 90:2980).

[35] *HHS* (90: 2986).

[36] There are indications that the later Serbi, e.g. the Taghbach, had writing (see §5.1 for discussion).

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Mongolic peoples today.[37] Apparently they distinguished the four seasons by observing birds and whether game animals were pregnant or nursing.[38]

Chinese sources mention one salient cultural difference distinguishing the Serbi from the Awar. According to the *Hou Han Shu*, the Serbi, unlike the Awar, shaved their heads before marriage, and in the last month of spring they met along the *ñawlag [饒樂] Jao-le River[39] and after feasting and drinking, then went off in pairs to consummate their marriage.[40]

Unlike the previously dominant steppe people—the Hsiung-nu—the Serbi and Awar engaged in agriculture and fishing.[41] The fauna of Serbi-Awar territory included wild horses, steppe sheep, cattle species not present in China, and numerous fur-bearing animals. The Serbi are described as 'world-famous' for their furs.[42]

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[37] The yurts of the Khalkha Mongols, for example, face south.

[38] 見鳥獸孕乳, 以別四節 (*HHS* 90: 2980).

[39] Jao-le [饒樂] (LMC *ñžiawlak; cf. 饒 Tak. Ø, Pul. 264 ☆ŋiaw and 樂 Tak. 386-387 *lag* [lak] ~ *lahä:* [lah], Pul. 185 ☆lak). I reconstruct Serbi *ñawlag. This river is the same as the Kitan hydronym Niao-lo-ko [裊羅箇] (OM *niawlaka) (Kane 2009: 165-166), which I reconstruct as *ñawlag following an Old Mandarin reading of the characters (note that non-rhotic coda obstruents are not permitted by Old Mandarin phonotactics). Despite arguments to the effect by several scholars, this hydronym has no connection with the Kitan word for 'gold' (i.e. MKit *nigu 公 乐 勺 ‹n.i.gu› > LKit *nügu [女古] 'gold') and there is also no connection with the ethnonym Jurchen, known in Middle Kitan as *ǰuljin 弓 礼 公 ‹ǰu.ulǰi.n› 'Jurchen' (see Kane 2013b for 礼 ‹ulǰi›). There is possibly a connection between Serbi *ñawlag and Late Kitan *ñaw 'lake'.

[40] *HHS* (90: 2985) and *T'ung-tien* (196: 1061)..

[41] Pulleyblank (1983: 454) mentions agriculture among the Serbi-Awar. Lin discusses archaeological evidence of agriculture and fishing (1995: 19). For linguistic evidence of agriculture among the speakers of Proto-Serbi-Mongolic, see Chapter Nine.

[42] 天下以爲名裘 (*HHS* 90: 2985; *T'ung-tien* 196: 1061).

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The Serbi lived primarily in southeastern Inner Mongolia and the surrounding area. They were neighbors of the Wa people who lived east of the Wu-hou-ch'in River (present-day Lao-ha River) in 178 A.D.[43]

We know from the Chinese histories that the early Serbi-Mongolic peoples had documented contact with Old Chinese speakers, Japanese-Koguryoic peoples, and later, Turkic peoples. There are also peoples whose contact with the early Serbi-Mongolic peoples is not described in the extant histories, but which is evident from linguistic data. Historical-comparative linguistics indicates early contact between Serbi-Mongolic, Tungusic, Tibeto-Burman, Indo-European, etc.[44] See Chapter Nine for discussion.

Archaeological research also provides hints of other early cultural influence from Indo-European peoples to the west.[45] This may be cultural evidence of Serbi east-west movement, although there is still much work to be done on Serbi history.

2.2. Rise of the Serbi peoples and conquest of North China

After defeating the Hsiung-nu in 87 A.D., the Serbi effectively became the dominant power in the Eastern Steppe.[46] Serbi power was consolidated under T'an-shih-huai [檀石槐] (NLOC *dařdaggway),[47] son of the earlier Serbi

[43] See Kiyose (2001) and Beckwith (2007a: 34-35) for evidence of the Serbi and Wa as neighboring peoples at this time.

[44] Campbell (1999) and many other historical linguists have noted the valuable contributions of historical-comparative linguistics to elucidating the cultural history of a given people.

[45] As Psarras notes, Serbi art has evidence of "Bactrian contact… through still unascertainable channels" (2003: 104).

[46] Beckwith (2009: 89-90).

[47] Unperiodized 'Old Chinese' reconstructions include 檀 Sch. 598, Bax. 791 *dan (cf. Pul. 300 ☆dan); 石 Bax. 787 *djAk and Sch. 546 *djak, revised to *dak; and 槐 (cf. Pul. 129 ☆ɣwəɨy).

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leader T'ou-lu-hou [投鹿侯] (NLOC *dʊrʊggʊ).[48] T'an-shih-huai is credited with establishing laws and regulations among the early Serbi people, and is generally considered by historians to have been the first significant leader of the Serbi.[49] He reigned from 136-180 A.D.[50] His name is reconstructible as *dardaʁay or *daldaʁay.[51]

The *San Kuo Chih* 三國志 gives the following account of Serbi leaders subordinate to T'an-shih-huai, and the internal administrative divisions of the Serbi country:

[48] Unperiodized 'Old Chinese' reconstructions: 投 Sch. 615 *du (cf. Pul. 311 ☆dəw); 鹿 Sag. 161 *ᵃrok, Bax. 775 *C-rok, Sch. 394 *ruk (cf. Pul. 201 ☆ləwk); and 侯 Sch. 235 *gu, Bax. 763 *g(r)o, revised to *go (cf. Pul. 125 ☆ɣəw).

[49] See Xu (2005: 122) for a translation of the relevant passage.

[50] Laursen (2011: 19); Kradin (2011: 201).

[51] Boodberg reconstructed *daldaγai (i.e. *daldaʁay in my transcription system), and proposed a connection with WMgl *dalda* 'invisible, etc.' (Boodberg 1936: 168, *n.* 2). Note attested Middle Mongol *dalda* [荅靼荅] 'protected, shielded away from something (遮護)' (*SHM* §208). However, Boodberg's proposal is morphologically problematic: Although Written Mongol has a suffix *-γai ~ -gei*, this suffix is concatenated only to verbal roots to form deverbal adjectival nouns (cf. Poppe 1954: 45 §148). Attested Middle Mongol *dalda* is adjectival, and is not attested as a verbal root. We can entertain the possibility of zero derivation, but without additional examples, that remains at the level of speculation. Phonologically, the form *daldaʁay has an exact match in modern WMgl *daldaγai* and modern Khalkha **далдгай** [taɮtˈʁæ] 'flared, flapping, big and flat' (cf. Bold et al. 2008 for these semantic values and the WMgl form; the IPA transcription of the Khalkha form is my own), but since the semantic value of the Old Serbi name is not given, and since the WMgl form *daldaγai* is only attested in *modern* Written Mongol, this too remains a speculative etymology.

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> 檀石槐…分其地爲中東西三部從右北平以東至遼接夫餘貊爲東部二十餘邑其大人曰彌加闕機素利槐頭從右北平以西至上谷爲中部十餘邑其大人曰柯最闕居慕容等爲大帥從上谷以西至燉煌西接烏孫爲西部二十餘邑其大人曰置鞬落羅日律推演宴荔遊等皆爲大帥而制屬檀石槐 [52]
>
> T'an-shih-huai… divided his territory into three parts: From Right Pei-p'ing to the Liao in the east, bordering the Puyŏ and Maek, is the Eastern Division, with over twenty cities and whose leaders (*ta-jen*) are called Mi-chia, Ch'üeh-chi, Su-li, [53] and Huai-t'ou. From Right Pei-p'ing westward to Shang-ku is the Central Division, with over ten cities, and whose leaders (*ta-jen*) include K'o-tsui, Ch'üeh-chü, Mu-jung, and others, holding the title of *ta-shuai*. From Shang-ku westward to Tun-huang, bordering the *Ašwin to the west is the Western Division, with over twenty cities, and whose leaders (*ta-jen*) include Chih-chien Lo-lo, Jih-lü T'ui-yen, Yen-li-yu, and others, all who are Grand Marshals,[54] and are under the rule of T'an-shih-huai (*SKC* 30: 837-838).

From this passage we learn the main ethnolinguistic neighbors of the Serbi peoples in the second century A.D.—on the east they bordered Puyo-Koguryoic peoples (the 夫餘 Puyŏ[55] and the 貊 Maek[56]); in the west, the *Ašwin, an Indo-European people;[57] and in the south, they shared borders with speakers of Late Old Chinese dialects.

---

[52] 東西 *ante* 三部 *om.*; 濊貊 *pro* 貊; 東部 *post* 貊爲 *om.*; 爲東部 *pro* 其大人曰彌加闕機素利槐頭; 爲中部 *post* 上谷 *om.*, 爲中部 *post* 十餘邑 *add.*; 其大人曰柯最闕居慕容等爲大帥 *om.*; 敦 *pro* 燉; 西接 *ante* 烏孫 *om.*; 爲西部 *post* 烏孫 *om.*, *post* 二十餘邑 *add.*; 各置大人主領之皆 *pro* 其大人曰置鞬落羅日律推演宴荔遊等皆爲大帥而制 (*HHS* 90: 2989-2990). Compare with *T'ung-tien* (196: 1061-1062).

[53] Cf. also Kradin (2011: 198) and Xu (2005: 126) for this person's role in early Serbi history.

[54] Hucker translates 大帥 *ta-shuai* as "Grand Marshal" and describes the term as "the ad hoc designation of a major military commander" (Hucker 1985: 470).

[55] Korean 부여. Hereafter Puyo.

[56] 'Maek' here refers to the Ye-Maek 濊貊 (예맥).

[57] See Beckwith (2009: 376) for the reconstruction of this ethnonym and a discussion of their Indo-European affinity.

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The passage also provides important onomastic data on the Serbi peoples, including the following names:

Ch'üeh-chi [闕機] (NLOC *k^{h}ɔrkɨy ?),[58] reconstructible as *q^{h}ɔrqɨ/*q^{h}ɔrqɪ.

Ch'üeh-chü [闕居] (NLOC *k^{h}ɔrkɨ ?),[59] reconstructible as *q^{h}ɔrqɨ/*q^{h}ɔrqɪ. This is apparently the same name as Ch'üeh-chi above.

Chih-chien Lo-lo [置鞬落羅] (NLOC *trɨ(s)kaȓrakra).[60] Considering the likely possibility that the redundant *-rr- in the transcription is for a coda *r followed by a new syllable beginning with a vowel,[61] his name may be reconstructed as *trɨskarakra, *trɪskarakra, *trɨkarakra, or *trɪkarakra.

Huai-t'ou [槐頭] (NLOC *gwaydʊ),[62] reconstructible as *qaydʊ or *ɢaydʊ. This is probably the same name as that of the ca. 11th century Mongol ruler Qaidu.

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[58] Unperiodized 'Old Chinese' 闕 Sch. 501 *khjuat, Bax. 784 *k^{w}hjat (cf. Pul. 263 ☆k^{h}uat, revised to ☆k^{h}uar); and 機 (cf. 幾 Sch. 264 *kjəj), also compare 機 Pul. 137 ☆kɨy.

[59] Unperiodized 'Old Chinese' 闕 (see footnote above); and 居 Sch. 330 *kja, Bax. 769 *k(r)ja, revised to *kja (cf. Pul. 162 ☆kɨ).

[60] Unperiodized 'Old Chinese' 置 Sch. 839 *trjəkh, revised to *trəkh (cf. Pul. 408 ☆trɨ$_{3}$/☆tri$_{3}$, i.e. ☆ṭɨ$_{3}$/☆ṭi$_{3}$, hypothetically from earlier *trɨh/*trih or *trɨs/*tris); 鞬 (cf. Pul. 145 ☆kɨan, cf. 建 Sch. 297 *kjans, revised to *kans); 落 Sch. 401 *grak (cf. Pul. 204 ☆lak); and 羅 Sch. 401 *raj (cf. Pul. 203 ☆la, Tak. 304 *la ~ ra*).

[61] This kind of transcription is observed in Early Middle Chinese transcriptions of the Archaic Turkic language *Kɨr (Chieh), cf. Shimunek et al. (2015).

[62] 槐 (cf. Pul. 129 ☆ɣwəɨy) and unperiodized 'Old Chinese' 頭 Sag. 155 *^{a}do (cf. Pul. 311 ☆dəw).

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Jih-lü T'ui-yen [日律推演] (NLOC *m/nyir/črurt^{h}uylyər),[63] reconstructible as *mič(r)urt^{h}uylər or any number of other possibilities.[64]

K'o-tsui [柯最] (NLOC *kaitsɔć).[65] This name attests the existence of an alveolar affricate onset *ts in early Serbi dialects, as well as word-final palatal affricate *č or *ts. The name may be reconstructed *qaytsɔč or even *qaytsɔts.

Mi-chia [彌加] (NLOC *^{m}byik(r)ai),[66] reconstructible as *bikay or *bikray.

Mu-jung [慕容] (NLOC *^{m}baglʊ),[67] reconstructible as *baglʊ.[68] His name later formed an eponymous clan name—the Mu-jung clan, one of the most influential clans in Serbi history (see below).

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[63] 日 (cf. Pul. 266 ☆ȵit, revised to ☆^{n}dʑir) late MOC *myič < *myik^{y} (Beckwith 2007a: 94-95, 158); 律 (cf. Pul. 205 ☆lwit, revised to ☆lwir; Sch. 398 *ryuat revised to *ruar/t, Bax. 774 *b-ryut, revised to *b-rut, Sag. 127 *^{B}Cə-lut); 推 (cf. Pul. 312 ☆t^{h}wəy; Sch. 618 *hluəy; Bax. 793 *t^{h}uy); and 演 (cf. Pul. 357 ☆yian$_{2}$; according to *SWCT* (11: 730) this character was pronounced the same as 寅 MSC *yín*, reconstructed for unperiodized 'Old Chinese' as Sch. 753 *lyər).

[64] Laursen considers him to be the progenitor of the Taghbach (2011: 21).

[65] 柯 Sch. 349 *kaj (cf. Pul. 172 ☆ka); and 最 *tsots (Schuessler 2007: 325), cf. 最 Pul. 423 ☆tsuay$_{3}$.

[66] 彌 (cf. Pul. 212 ☆myi, revised to ☆^{m}byi; Sch. 413 *myiay); and 加 Sch. *kəraj, Bax. 766 *kraj (cf. Pul. 143 ☆kaɨ, Tak. 306 *ka*).

[67] Unperiodized 'Old Chinese' reconstructions include: 慕 Sch. 432-433 *makh (revised to *mag); and 容 Sch. 510 *ljung and Bax. 785 *(l)jong (revised to *lʊng). Note that LOC /m/ was partially denasalized to *[^{m}b]. Cf. also 慕 Pul. 220 ☆mɔ$_{3}$ and 容 Pul. 267 ☆yuawŋ. The NLOC reading of 容 has no coda *ŋ – note the variant transcription of the ethnonym Mu-jung discussed in Chapter Three.

[68] Note the variant transcription Pu-yao [步搖] (*Chin Shu* 108: 2803) discussed in Chapter Three.

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Su-li [素利] (NLOC *sâhris/ć),[69] reconstructible as *saris or *sarić.

Yen-li-yu [宴荔遊] (NLOC *ɦeřhreyləw),[70] reconstructible as *ɦereylu.

After the disintegration of T'an-shih-huai's unified Serbi state, another Serbi leader, K'o-pi-neng [軻比能] (NLOC *k^{h}aypyiyʁ^{n}dəʁ),[71] succeeded in uniting several Serbi clans around 225 A.D., but his Serbi confederation was short-lived, and he did not achieve the wholly unified Serbi state which had existed under T'an-shih-huai.[72]

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[69] 素 Sch. 588 *sah (revised to *sâh) < ? earlier OChi Bax. 790 *saks (revised to *sâks); and 利 Sch. 376 *Crjəs (revised to *Cris), Bax. 773 *C-rjits (revised to *C-rits), Sag. 41 *r….

[70] 宴 (Sch. 714, 716 *ʔians, Bax. 800 *ʔens (revised to LOC *ɦeřh) (see Beckwith 2007a for the correspondence of theoretical *ʔ to northeastern *ɦ); 荔 (*SWCT* (1: 55) says it is pronounced the same as 劦 MSC *xié*, cf. 協 MSC *xié*, reconstructed for 'Old Chinese' as Sch. 680-681 *giap; however, Late Old Chinese transcriptions of Indic indicate that 荔 transcribes an Indic phoneme sequence read *re in Sanskrit (see Coblin 1983: 246, §129); I thus reconstruct 荔 LOC *rey); and 遊 Sag. 767 *lyəw (revised to *ləw).

[71] 軻 (cf. Pul. 172 ☆k^{h}a; the phonetic is 可 Bax. 771 and Sch. 349 *khayʔ, revised to *khayʁ); 比 (cf. Pul. 33 ☆pyi$_{2}$, ☆pyi$_{3}$/byi$_{3}$; Bax. 747 *byiys, Sch. 23 *Gpyəyʔ revised to *pyəyʁ/*pyiyʁ); and 能 (cf. Pul. 223 ☆nəŋ; Sch. 438 *nəʔ, revised to *nəʁ). The Old Serbi form of this name or epithet is reconstructible as ☆q^{h}aypirdəʁ or, more likely, ☆q^{h}aypırdaʁ. This word is analyzable in Mongolic: The ☆-daʁ element resembles Middle Mongol *-dAG* 'habitual verbal noun suffix' and the ☆q^{h}aypır- element resembles modern Written Mongol *qabir-* 'grind (e.g. one's teeth), strike (e.g. a match or flint), argue and quarrel with others'; note the regular correspondence of attested Serbi *Vy to Middle Mongol *V* (see Table 55 in §8.2.2 for examples). If this etymology is correct, then the epithet ☆q^{h}aypırdaʁ [軻比能] denotes 'one who grinds (their teeth)' or, more likely, 'one who quarrels'; however, since the Old Serbi wordform is not glossed, and since *qabir-* is only attested in *modern* Written Mongol, this etymology remains at the level of speculation.

[72] *SKC* (30: 838 et seq.). Boodberg (1936: 168), Kradin (2011: 198-199, 201, 203-204, 206).

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Around a century later, shortly after the fall of the Eastern Han, various Serbi peoples began expanding across North China and forming states, some ephemeral, some relatively long lasting. The most influential of these Serbi peoples were the T'o-pa 拓跋 or *Taghbach,[73] who founded the states of Tai 代 (310-376) and the Northern Wei 北魏 (386-ca. 550), the latter of which famously unified northern China in 439 A.D.[74] The Taghbach are also known in certain Chinese sources as 'Wrapped Heads (索頭)', a folk etymology based on *So* 索 'Saka' ~ 'Scythian'.[75]

A people of the same immediate origin as the Taghbach, and who were known by a variant of the same name, transcribed T'u-fa 禿髮,[76] founded the

[73] Hereafter Taghbach. See Beckwith (2005, 2006e) on the reconstruction of this ethnonym.

[74] On the identification of the Taghbach as ethnolinguistic descendants of the Serbi, see Ligeti (1970a: 278). Based on archaeological evidence, Wei Zheng (2009) argues that the Taghbach (T'o-pa Hsien-pei) originated in the northern Greater Khinggan Range. The *Nan Ch'i Shu* states of the Taghbach: 'They are also called Serbi (亦謂鮮卑)' (*NCS* 57: 983). The *T'ung-tien* states: 'The Taghbach clan are Serbi, a separate group of the descendants of the Eastern Hu (拓跋氏亦東胡之後別部鮮卑)' (*T'ung-tien* 196: 1063).

[75] The *Nan Ch'i Shu* provides a folk etymology for this name: "被髮左衽故呼爲索頭" [They cover their hair and have a lapel on the left, so they are called 'Wrapped Heads'] (*NCS* 57: 983), a folk etymology based on *So* 索 'Saka' ~ 'Scythian'. The T'u-fa are also known by a different transcription of the same epithet: "索虜禿髮" [The Scythian/Saka Miscreant T'u-fa] (*Chin Shu* 125: 3118). For discussion of the early Chinese transcriptions of the ethnonym 'Saka' ~ 'Scythian' ~ 'Sogdian', see Beckwith (2009: 377-380).

[76] The T'u-fa were also known as 'The Serbi west of the Yellow River (河西鮮卑)' (*Chin Shu* 126: 3141).

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Southern Liang 南涼 (397-414 A.D.).[77] Much later descendants of the Taghbach also founded the Tangut Empire (1038-1227 A.D.).[78]

The Tuan 段 clan (NEMC *dɔr̃)[79] were politically active in the late 3rd to mid-4th centuries, although they never formed a state.[80] The Yü-wen 宇文 (NLOC *waʁ^{m}bər)[81] Serbi enjoyed a short-lived rule over parts of northeastern China, from the mid-3rd to the late 4th century,[82] and the Northern Chou 北周 (557-581) was founded by Yü-wen T'ai 宇文泰, a descendant of the Yü-wen. The Kitan, *Qay (hereafter Qay), and *Shirwi Proper (hereafter Shirwi) descend from the Yü-wen Serbi.[83]

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[77] T'u-fa is is a variant transcription of the ethnonym *Taghbach as demonstrated by Beckwith (2005: 6). As for their common immediate origin with the Taghbach, the *Chin Shu* states: "其先與後魏同出" [Their ancestors emerged together with the Taghbach] (*Chin Shu* 126: 3141).

[78] As Beckwith notes, the T'o-pa clan name was common among the Tanguts (1987: 170, n. 174), including the first Tangut emperor, T'o-pa Yüan-hao 拓跋元昊. This suggests that the ruling class of the Tanguts, or a definite part of the Tangut nobility, was Taghbach in *ethnic* origin. The Tangut *language*, however, is demonstrably a Tibeto-Burman language, and is unrelated to the Serbi-Mongolic languages.

[79] 段 (cf. Pul. 83 ☆dwan$_3$). See Chapter Three for a discussion of Northeastern Early Middle Chinese phonology. The ethnonym is attested in *WS* (103: 2305-2306).

[80] For information on the Tuan, see the description of the Tuan leader P'i-ti 匹磾 in the *Chin Shu* (63: 1710-1712). Other Tuan Serbi leaders and their interactions with the Chieh 羯 people are described in *WS* (103: 2305-2306) and *Chin Shu* (95: 2486).

[81] Unperiodized 'Old Chinese': 宇 Sch. 780 *wjaʔ and Bax. 805 *w(r)jaʔ (revised to LOC *waʁ) (cf. Pul. 382 ☆wu$_2$); and 文 Sag. 210-211 *^{B}mɨn and Sch. 641 *mjən (revised to LOC *^{m}bər), (cf. Pul. 323 ☆mun).

[82] See the *Chou Shu* for an account of the early 'Yü-wen State (宇文國)' (*Chou Shu* 1).

[83] *WS* (100: 2222); *LS* (63: 949, 951); Lee (1996: 59); Xu (2005: 27); Lin (1995: 21). The descent of the Qay is explicitly asserted in the *Wei Shu*: "東部宇文之別種也" [They are a separate clan of the Eastern Yü-wen] (*WS* 100: 2222). For studies demonstrating the Kitan, Qay, and Shirwi as descendants of the Yü-wen Serbi, see Xu (2005: 99 etc.), Gai Zhiyong (2001: 41-42), Twitchett & Tietze (2008), and Marsone (2011: 35, 39). The early Yü-wen dialect must have been significantly different from the central dialects of Middle Serbi, since the *Wei Shu* and *T'ung-tien* state: "其語與鮮卑頗異" [Their speech is rather different

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Another lineage of Serbi people, the 乞伏 Ch'i-fu (NEMC *k^{h}ɨrbuwk),[84] first appear in 265 A.D. during the 西晉 Western Chin[85] and later founded the state of 西秦 Western Ch'in (385-431) in southern Kansu.[86]

The Mu-jung 慕容 clan of the Serbi,[87] headed by descendants of the 2nd c. A.D. Serbi ruler Mu-jung, founded numerous short-lived states, including Former Yen 前燕 (337-370), Western Yen 西燕 (384-394) and Later Yen 後燕 (384-409) in northeastern China, Southern Yen 南燕 (398-410) in what is now Shandong, and the long-lasting 'Azha འཇགཿ or T'u-yü-hun 吐谷渾 Kingdom (3rd c. to at least as late as the 8th c. A.D.).[88] There is a significant amount of onomastic data on the Mu-jung, Ch'i-fu, T'u-fa, and Tuan in the *Chin Shu*, *Chou Shu*, and other Chinese sources that has not yet been analyzed

from the Serbi] (*WS* 103: 2304; *T'ung-tien* 196: 1062). Despite this statement, however, it is clear from data on the daughter dialects of Yü-wen (especially Kitan), that this language was clearly divergently related to Taghbach and other Serbi dialects, that is, unless we entertain the possibility of language shift, whereby the early Yü-wen may have shifted from a 'different' language to Serbi. The attested transcriptions of early Yü-wen are not sufficient to rule out this possibility, but the dominant, later Yü-wen dialect spoken by the Kitans is demonstrably a Serbi language. Also, at least in terms of ethnicity, the *Wei Shu* includes the Yü-wen together with the Mu-jung among the eastern Serbi (*WS* 113: 3012).

[84] *Kɨrbuk / *Kɨlbuk / *Kerbuk / *Kelbuk / *Kɪrbʊk / *Kɪlbʊk (乞 Pul. 247 ☆k^{h}ɨt, revised to ☆k^{h}ɨr, and Sino-Korean 걸 *kŏr*; 伏 Pul. 98 ☆buwk and Sino-Korean 복 *pok*).

[85] *Chin Shu* (125).

[86] The *Chin Shu* provides glossed transcriptions of several Ch'i-fu Serbi words, including *t^{h}akdak [託鐸], an epithet of a Ch'i-fu Serbi ruler, glossed as 'not god, not human (非神非人)' (*Chin Shu* 125: 3113).

[87] See Laursen (2011: 20 et seq) for a history of the Mu-jung Serbi. The *T'ung-tien* states: 'The Mu-jung clan are also Serbi, a different group of the descendants of the Eastern Hu (慕容氏亦東胡之後別部鮮卑也)' (*T'ung-tien* 196: 1062).

[88] The *Old Tibetan Annals* mention T'u-yü-hun ('Azha) rulers at least as late as the 8th c. A.D. See Chapter Six for details.

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from a linguistic perspective. The Serbi language was undoubtedly used in the administration of these and numerous other states in North China.[89]

2.3. The Awar during the Serbi expansion

During the Serbi expansion, i.e. in the centuries after the Serbi-Awar submission to the Han Empire, the Awar continued to be documented as an independent people at least as late as the third century A.D. The *Hou Han Shu*, *San Kuo Chih*, *Tzu Chih T'ung Chien*, and other sources provide accounts of battles they engaged in, internal conflicts or civil wars,[90] and transcriptions of the names of leaders, including the following onomastic data, which provides important clues on Awar phonology:

Ch'iu-li-chü [丘力居] (NLOC *k^{h}urɨkka)[91] was an Awar ruler who died in the Ch'u-p'ing 初平 reign period, i.e. around 190-193 A.D. He ruled the Awar territory in Liao-hsi.[92] His name may be reconstructed *k^{h}urɨqa/*k^{h}urıqa or *q^{h}urɨqa/*q^{h}urıqa, closely resembling and possibly cognate to Middle Mongol *quriqa-n* 'lamb'.[93]

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[89] As a concrete example from the period of Northern and Southern Division, Kao Huan 高歡, progenitor of the 6th century Northern Ch'i 北齊 state, used both the "Serbi language (鮮卑語)" and "Chinese (華言)" to address his soldiers (*TCTC* 157: 4882; cf. also Dien 2007: 9).

[90] See *Hou Han Shu* (90: 2984) for an account of internal conflicts among the Awar rulers.

[91] 丘 Sch. 493 *khwjə revised to *khwə, Bax. 783 *kwhjɨ revised to *khwɨ, Sag. 57-58 *^{b}K^{w}u (cf. Pul. 257 ☆k^{h}uw); 力 Sch. 377 *Crjək revised to *Crək, Bax. 773 *C-rjɨk revised to *C-rɨk (cf. Pul. 189 ☆lik); 居 Sch. 329 *kyah revisd to *kah, Bax. 769 *k(r)ja revised to *ka (cf. Pul. 162 ☆kɨ).

[92] *HHS* (90: 2984); *SKC* (30: 834); *TCTC* (63: 2013). See also Xu (2005: 124-125) for a translation of the relevant passage.

[93] MMgl *quriqan* [^{中}忽^{舌}里罕] 'lamb (羔)' (*HIIY* 1:06.a8).

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Lou-pan [樓班] (NLOC *rʊpař)[94] was son of Ch'iu-li-chü.[95] His name is reconstructible as *rʊpar. This suggests that, unlike most Mongolic languages of today and the medieval period, Awar phonology apparently permitted *r in word-initial position.

T'a-tun [蹋頓] (NLOC *daptoř̃s),[96] nephew of Ch'iu-li-chü. He succeeded Ch'iu-li-chü as ruler of the Liao-hsi Awar.[97]

Nan-lou [難樓] (NLOC *^{n}dař̃rʊ),[98] a late second to early third-century Awar leader of 上谷 Shang-ku (approximately modern-day Zhangjiakou).[99] The transcription renders an Awar form *darʊ, *narʊ, or even *andarʊ.

Su-p'u-yen [蘇僕延] (NLOC *šâbʊglař̃),[100] ruler of Awar territory in Liao-tung.[101]

Wu-yen [烏延] (NLOC *âlař̃),[102] the Awar leader of Right Pei-p'ing.[103]

The Awar under T'a-tun were decisively defeated by the Han in 206 A.D., and the Awar soldiers were incorporated into the Han army, where they

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[94] 樓 Pul. 199 ☆ləw (cf. 婁 Sch. 392 *ru, Bax. 775 *C-rjo revised to *C-ro); 班 Sag. 114 *^{a}pran revised to LOC *pař̃ (cf. Pul. 28 ☆paɨn/pɛ:n).

[95] *SKC* (30: 834); *HHS* (90: 2984); *TCTC* (63: 2013).

[96] 蹋 (cf. Pul. 299 ☆dap); 頓 (cf. Pul. 84 ☆twən$_{3}$ < LOC *toř̃s).

[97] *SKC* (30: 834); *HHS* (90: 2984); *TCTC* (63: 2013).

[98] 難 Sag. 109 *^{a}nar; Sch. 437 *nan; Bax. 778 *nan (all revised to *^{n}dař̃ for northeastern frontier dialectal LOC); 樓 Pul. 199 ☆ləw (cf. 婁 Sch. 392 *ru, Bax. 775 *C-rjo revised to *C-ro).

[99] *TCTC* (63: 2013); *SKC* (30: 834); *HHS* (90: 2984).

[100] 蘇 Sch. 585, Bax. 790, Sag. 72; 僕 Sch. 465, Bax. 781; 延 Sch. 710.

[101] *SKC* (30: 834); *HHS* (90: 2984); *TCTC* (63: 2013).

[102] 烏 Sch. 645 and Bax. 795 *ʔa (revised to *â); 延 Sch. 710 *ljan (revised to *lař̃); the transcription renders an Awar form *alar, *alan, or *alañ. Superficially, this looks comparable to the Buryat ethnonym *Alar ~ Alair*.

[103] *TCTC* (63: 2013); *SKC* (30: 834); *HHS* (90: 2984).

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became known as 'world-famous horsemen (天下名騎)'.[104] After the third century A.D., the Awar cease to be mentioned by this name in historical records, although at least some of the people seem to have been absorbed by the Serbi, since their ethnonym later appears as a Serbi clan name transcribed as Wu-wan [烏丸] in the *Wei Shu*.[105]

2.4. The Kitan (or 'Kitanic'[106]) Peoples

The Kitan and their close relatives, the Shirwi and Qay, are descendants of the Yü-wen Serbi.[107] The Kitan and Qay are generally believed to have been a single people until they split off from each other in ca. 386-395, when the first independent Kitan polity was founded and the ethnonym 'Kitan' (Ch'i-tan 契丹) is used for the first time.[108]

Although the Kitan-Qay existed as early as the late Han, they did not grow to prosperity until the Sui-T'ang period.[109] The Kitan began rising to power in the T'ang dynasty, and established the powerful Kitan Empire (907-1125) and its successor state, the Qara Khitai (1124-1218), known as 西遼 Hsi Liao 'the Western Liao' in Chinese sources.

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[104] *SKC* (30: 835).

[105] *WS* (113: 3008). Bernardini & Guida note that, in part, the Avars of Europe and the Hephthalites spoke early languages related to Mongolic (2012: 5). The elite of the Avars of Europe probably spoke an early Serbi-Mongolic language, as did a portion of the Hua 滑 (NEMC *ɣwar) member state of the Hephthalite Empire. These peoples were probably ethnolinguistic descendants of the Wu-huan 烏桓 (*Awar).

[106] Janhunen (1996) coined the term 'Khitanic' (which I revise to Kitanic), although his term denotes something different from my usage here. Here I am referring specifically only to Kitan, Qay, Shirwi, and possibly Tou-mo-lou. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 15) use the term 'Khitanic' to denote a vague sub-branch or language group, apparently synonymous with their 'Para-Mongolic' (see Chapter One for the 'Para-Mongolic' Theory).

[107] Twitchett & Tietze (2008: 44); Marsone (2011: 35, 39).

[108] Xu (2005: 28), Sneath (2010: 6), Twitchett & Tietze (2008: 44).

[109] Xu (2005: 25).

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The Kitan and Qay are first documented as living south of a river known in Late Kitan as *ñawlag *mur [裊羅箇沒里][110] and in Qay as *ñaglag [弱洛].[111] The Kitan hydronym is glossed in the *Ch'i-tan Kuo Chih* 契丹國志 as 潢河 *Huang ho* 'Huang River',[112] the first character of which many scholars have taken to be equivalent to 黃 *huang* 'yellow'. Late Kitan *mur [沒里] means 'river (河)'. The river is believed to be the same as that known in modern Written Mongolian as *Sir-a mören* 'Yellow River'[113] in southeastern Inner Mongolia,[114] which together with the Lao-ha River, forms the western branch of the Liao River.

The earliest account mentioning the geographic location of the Shirwi places them northwest of the Kitan,[115] although still along the Jao-le River, i.e. *ñawlag [饒樂] river.[116] There are multiple transcriptions of the same river name which is documented for early Serbi as *ñawlag (see §2.1 above). The table below provides the attested Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Old Mandarin transcriptions of Serbi names for this river.

Table 8. Serbi names of 'Yellow River' (潢河)

LANGUAGE	RECONSTRUCTION	TRANSCRIPTION
early Serbi	*ñawlag	[饒樂] (NEMC *ñiawlag)
Qay	*ñaglag	[弱洛] (NEMC *ñɨaglag)
Shirwi	*ñawlag	[饒樂] (LMC *ñiawlag)
Late Kitan	*ñawlag	[裊羅箇] (EOM *niawlaka)

[110] *CTKC* (0:1).

[111] *WS* (100: 2222-2223). (Tak. 392-393 *zhag* [$^{(n)}$ʒak]; Pul. 270 ☆ɲɨak); (Tak. 386-387 *lag* [lak] ~ *lahä:* [lah]; Pul. 185 ☆lak). This correspondence indicates that Qay had *g (probably a fricative *ɣ or *ʁ) corresponding to Kitan *w. Given the old Serbi name of the river, one may conclude that Late Kitan was characterized by lenition of *aɣ > *aw.

[112] See also *CTS* (199b: 5349).

[113] Not *the* Yellow River (黃河).

[114] Kane (2009: 166).

[115] *CTS* (199b: 5349, 5354).

[116] *CTS* (199b: 5354).

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A connection between this hydronym and Middle Kitan *nigu ‘gold’ (Late Kitan *nügu [女古] ‘id.’) is highly unlikely for phonological reasons, despite several attempts in previous studies to connect the words.[117]

Contemporary Chinese sources attest that the Kitan, Qay,[118] and Shirwi were particularly close to each other ethnolinguistically:

> 遼之初興與奚室韋密邇土俗言語大概近俚
> Since the first flourishing of the Liao, [the Kitan] were intimately related to the Qay and Shirwi; their customs and languages were largely close (*LS* 116: 1533).

> 室韋者契丹之別類也
> The Shirwi are a separate group of the Kitan (*CTS* 199: 5356).

> 室韋 … 契丹之類也
> The Shirwi … are a group of the Kitan (*T’ung-tien* 200: 1083).

> 室韋契丹之類也其南者爲契丹在北者號室韋[119]
> The Shirwi are a group of the Kitan; the southern group is known as the Kitan and the northern group is known as the Shirwi (*Sui Shu* 84: 1882).

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[117] As suggested by Kane (2009: 166), this river name is possibly related to the hydronym Ju-lo-kuei [如洛瑰] which appears in the *Wei Shu* account of the 勿吉 Wu-chi (*WS* 100). In Northeastern Early Middle Chinese the transcription is ˣ*ñɨlakkwəy* [如洛瑰]. For the attested LMC forms of the transcriptional characters see: Tak. 312-313 *zhe* ~ *zhi* ~ *zhu* ~ *‘zhi* [ⁿʒɨ ~ ʲʒu] (cf. Pul. 268 ˣ*ɲɨð*), Tak. 386-387 *lag* [lak] (cf. Pul. 203 ˣ*lak*), and Tak. Ø (Pul. 115 ˣ*kwəy*).

[118] The Qay are known in Chinese as 奚 Hsi, and according to the Bacot Document, they are known in Middle Old Tibetan as *He* (རྔེ), clearly an Old Tibetan transcription of a Late Middle Chinese pronunciation of Chinese 奚, and as *Dadpyi* (དད་ཕྱི) to the Türks, identified by Clauson (1957) and Ligeti (1971) with attested Old Turkic *Tatabï*; see *GOrkT* (377) for this 8th century runiform Old Turkic form. See also Venturi (2008: 22).

[119] 爲 *post* 號 *add.* (*PS* 94: 3129).

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契丹與奚言語相通實一國也
Kitan and Qay speech are mutually intelligible; in reality they are one country (*LS* 73: 1220).

契丹之先與庫莫奚異種而同類
The ancestors of the Kitan and the K'u-mo-hsi are different groups but are of the same ethnos (*T'ung-tien* 200: 1083).

失韋... 語與庫莫奚契丹豆莫婁國同
The Shirwi… language is the same as those of the K'u-mo Qay, Kitan, and Tou-mo-lou[120] countries (*WS* 100: 2221; *PS* 94: 3129).

All of these secondary accounts suggest that Kitan, Shirwi, and Qay were either dialects of one language or very closely related languages, and that the Kitan, Shirwi, and Qay peoples were ethnically very close.[121]

Although Kitan is the best documented Serbi language (see Chapter Seven for details), Qay and Shirwi are only fragmentarily attested.

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[120] The 豆莫婁 Tou-mo-lou, also transcribed 達末婁 Ta-mo-lou, were apparently a Puyo-Koguryoic people who had linguistically assimilated to their Kitanic-speaking neighbors. Beckwith (2007a: 38) notes that they are described as the "old North Puyo" in ethnicity (*WS* 100: 2222; *PS* 94: 3131; *HTS* 220: 6210).

[121] Another people who were probably ethnolinguistically related to the Kitans were the 霫 Hsi (LMC ☆zip, Pul. 331), who are described as living north of the Huang River 潢水 in 'former Serbi territory' (居於潢水北亦鮮卑之故地), and whose customs were largely the same as the Kitans (風俗略與契丹同) (*CTS* 199b: 5363). Considering the fact that Late Middle Chinese phonology did not allow coda *CC clusters, the transcription [霫] (LMC ☆zip; cf. Pul. 331) could hypothetically render a foreign ethnonym like *zirp or *zirb, possibly a dialectal variant of the old ethnonym *serbi [鮮卑] 'Serbi'. According to the *T'ung-tien*, the 霫 Hsi were a tribe of 'Hsiung-nu (匈奴)', a term undoubtedly used in the generic sense as denoting 'non-Chinese northern people', who became known during Sui times occupying the former lands of the Serbi north of the 'Yellow River' and neighboring the Mo-chieh, i.e. Mo-ho: 隋時通焉與靺羯爲鄰理黃水北亦鮮卑故地 (*T'ung-tien* 200: 1084). They are described as having customs similar to the Türk: 習俗與突厥略同 (*T'ung-tien* 200: 1084).

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2.4.1. Qay

The Qay ethnonym is attested in Early Middle Chinese transcription as *Hsi* [奚] (NEMC *ɣay), and in Middle Turkic as *Qāy* [قاىْ].[122] Given the Sino-Korean reading of Chinese 奚 as 해 *hay*, we should revise Pulleyblank's Middle Chinese reconstruction to *ɣay. The earliest accounts of the Qay label them as K'u-mo Hsi [庫莫奚], reconstructible as *Qʰʊm(ʊ) *Qay or *Qʰʊmaq *Qay. They are explicitly described as descendants of the Yü-wen Serbi:

> 奚本曰庫莫奚其先東部胡宇文之別種也[123] (*PS* 94: 3126).
> The Hsi (Qay) were originally called the K'u-mo Hsi. Their ancestors are a separate clan of the Yü-wen of the Eastern Hu.

Data on Qay comes from several different periods – early linguistic data on Qay consists of onomastic material and one title transcribed in Early Middle Chinese in the *Wei Shu*, the *Chou Shu*, the *Pei Shih*, and the *Sui Shu*. Late data on Qay consists of several titles transcribed in Old Mandarin in the *Liao Shih*.

2.4.1.1. Early Qay

The *Wei Shu* account of the Qay (*WS* 88: 2222-2223) provides an unglossed transcription of the Qay hydronym *ñaglag [弱洛] (see above for discussion).

The *Chou Shu* account of the Qay provides Northeastern Early Middle Chinese transcriptions of five clan names (*Chou Shu* 49: 899). Variants of the same passage are attested in *Pei Shih* (94: 3127), *T'ung-tien* (200: 1083), and *Sui Shu* (84: 1881). Although none of these transcriptions are glossed, they

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[122] Shimunek (2007: 12, n. 19)

[123] 奚本曰 *ante* 庫 *om.*, 其先 *ante* 東 *om.*, 鮮卑 *pro* 東部胡宇文 (*Chou Shu* 49: 899); 其先 *ante* 東 *om.*, 宇文 *ante* 之 *om.*, 別 *ante* 種 *om.* (*Sui Shu* 84: 1881). 奚本曰庫莫奚 *om.*, 鮮卑 *pro* 胡 (*T'ung-tien* 200: 1083).

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provide important information on Qay phonology. The five clan names are presented below.

Ju-ho-chu [辱紇主] (NEMC ✯ñuawgɣʊrtśu),[124] reconstructible as *ñɔʁʊrču. The *Hsin T'ang Shu* (vol. 43 and vol. 219) records the name of a person from this clan,[125] Ch'ü-chü [曲據] (NEMC ✯kʰuawkkɨ).[126]

Mo-ho-fu [莫賀弗] (NEMC ✯magɣabur),[127] reconstructible as *maʁabur. This name is cognate to an Old Kitan title (see §7.2.1 for discussion).

Ch'i-ko [契箇] (NEMC ✯kʰɨrka),[128] reconstructible as *qʰɪrqa. No known cognates.

Mu-k'un [木昆] (NEMC ✯mʊkkoɾ̃),[129] reconstructible as *mʊqʊr. This clan name is probably cognate to the Taghbach word ✯mʊqʊrlɪ 'bald' (see §5.2.4 for discussion of this Taghbach word).

Shih-te [室得] (NEMC ✯śirtək),[130] reconstructible as *širtək or *širtəg. No known cognates.

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[124] 辱紇主 *Ju-ho-chu* (Pul. 269 ✯ñuawk; Pul. 122 ✯ɣət, revised to *ɣʊr; and Pul. 414 ✯tśu$_2$). The *Sui Shu* (84: 1881) gives the erroneous form Ju-ho-wang 辱紇王.

[125] The *HTS* has records his clan name as 紇主 Ho-chu, which is clearly an error for 辱紇主 Ju-ho-chu, as shown by Xu (2005: 40).

[126] Pul. 260, 164.

[127] 莫賀弗 *Mo/mu-ho-fu* (✯mak/✯mʊ$_3$, ✯ɣa$_3$, ✯pur, revised from Pul. 218, 220, 123 and 99).

[128] 契箇 *Ch'i-ko* (✯kʰɨr/✯kʰɛy$_3$, ✯ka$_3$, revised from Pul. 248, 106).

[129] 木昆 *Mu-k'un* (Pul. 220 ✯məwk, 179 ✯kwən)

[130] 室得 *Shih-te* (✯śir, ✯tək, revised from Pul. 285, 74).

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According to the *Chou Shu*, *Pei Shih* and *Sui Shu* accounts, the leading lineage of the Qay was the A-hui [阿會] (NEMC ˣʔaɣway)[131] family, reconstructible as *aʁay or *ʔaʁay.

The *Pei Shih*, *Sui Shu*, and *Chou Shu* accounts also provide a transcription of a Qay title:

> 每部俟斤一人爲其帥 (*Sui Shu* 84: 1881; *PS* 94: 3127).[132]
> Each tribe has an *i-chin* as its leader.[133]

From this this we may reconstruct *ɨrkɨn/*ɪrkɪn [俟斤] (NEMC ˣɨʁkɨĩ). This is a widespread title, with cognates in Taghbach, Middle Kitan, Old Turkic, Jou-jan, Old Uygur, and Old Kirghiz (see §5.3.1 entry for I-ch'in-ti-ho for discussion).[134]

Another Early Qay title is transcribed in *An Lu-shan Shih Chi* as *i-lo-ho* [曳落河] (*ALSSC*$_R$ 102). This has an exact cognate in early Shirwi and Old Kitan (see §7.2.1 for discussion).

An Early Qay hydronym is attested in *Hsin T'ang Shu* and *An Lu-shan Shih Chi* (see footnote in §8.5.4 entry for Taghbach *tʰaʁ for discussion).

2.4.1.2. Late Qay

The *Liao Shih* provides an Old Mandarin transcription of a Qay official title shared with Late Kitan:

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[131] 阿會 *A-hui* (Pul. 23 ˣʔa and Pul. 134 ˣɣway).

[132] The *Chou Shu* gives the erroneous transcription *i-ch'ih* 俟斥 (*Chou Shu* 49: 899). The character 斥 is clearly a copyist's error for 斤. The *T'ung-tien* states: 每部置俟斤 (*T'ung-tien* 200: 1083).

[133] See §5.3.1 entry for I-ch'in-ti-ho for the use of 俟 for 矣.

[134] According to the *T'ung-tien*, this title, transcribed with the same characters, was also used among the Hsi 霫 (*T'ung-tien* 200: 1084).

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吐里　官名. 與奚六部禿里同. (*LS* 116: 1549).
T'u-li　Official title. Same as the *t'u-li* of the six tribes of the Qay.

Although Late Qay [禿里] (OM ☆t^huli) and Late Kitan [吐里] (OM ☆t^huli) are clearly cognates, it is difficult to reconstruct the precise form given the phonological constraints of Old Mandarin. Any of the following reconstructions are possible: *t^huli, *t^huri, *t^holi, *t^hori, *t^hul, *t^hur, *t^hol, *t^hor.

2.4.2. Shirwi

As for the Shirwi (Shih-wei), their endonym, reconstructible as *širwi or *širβi [室韋], is ultimately a reflex of the early ethnonym *serbi [鮮卑] (Hsien-pei).[135] Late Kitan *širbi [十里鼻] 'slaves (奴婢)' is in turn a pejoration of the endonym *širβi.[136]

The Shirwi are attested from the early 6th century to the early 9th century A.D., in such sources as the *Wei Shu* (100: 2221), the *Pei Shih* (94: 3129-3131), the *Sui Shu* (84: 1882-1883), the *Chiu T'ang Shu* (199b: 5356-5358), and the *Hsin T'ang Shu* (219: 6176-6177).[137]

As demonstrated by Ratchnevsky (1966), the Shirwi were a heterogeneous multi-lingual, multi-ethnic confederation.[138] Although the *Wei Shu* makes clear that the dominant populations among the Shirwi, Qay, and Kitan spoke closely related languages, or dialects of the same language (*WS* 100: 2221), i.e. Late Serbi dialects or 'Kitanic' languages, Ratchnevsky has convincingly shown that the southern and eastern Shirwi were Tungusic—their

[135] Pelliot (1928:142, *n.* 6) and Pulleyblank (1983:453).

[136] Shimunek (2007).

[137] Ratchnevsky (1966: 228).

[138] My usage of the phrase "multi-lingual, multi-ethnic" here is adapted from Christopher I. Beckwith's description of the Hephthalite Empire and other empires of Central Eurasia (Beckwith 2011b).

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language is described in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* as the same as that of the Mo-ho,[139] who are known to have been ancestors of the Jurchen.[140] The Meng-wu [蒙兀][141] ~ Meng-wa [蒙瓦][142] group of the Shirwi confederation, who nomadized along the Ergune River, were the ethnolinguistic ancestors of the Mongols, as demonstrated by Pelliot (1928: 126-127) and supported by Rinchen (1964: 230), Ratchnevsky (1966: 251), Bernardini & Guida (2012: 11), and numerous others.[143] There were undoubtedly other ethnolinguistic groups included in the confederacy as well.[144]

Given the ambiguity of the word 'Shirwi', I propose the following terms to disambiguate these three very different groups:

> *Shirwi Proper* – the dominant, Serbi-speaking group among the Shirwi confederacy, who were Shirwi (i.e. Serbi) by ethnolinguistic heritage.

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[139] "其語言, 靺鞨也" [Their language is Mo-ho] (*HTS* 219: 6176); see also Ratchnevsky (1966: 231).

[140] The *Chin Shih* describes Jurchen as descendants of the Mo-ho: "金之先, 出靺鞨氏. 靺鞨本號勿吉." [As for the ancestors of the Jurchen, they came from the Mo-ho. The Mo-ho were originally called Wu-chi.] (*Chin Shih* 1: 1); see also Ratchnevksy (1966: 231, n. 4).

[141] *CTS* (199b: 5358).

[142] *HTS* (144: 6177).

[143] See §2.5 for discussion of the Late Middle Chinese transcriptions Meng-wu [蒙兀] and Meng-wa [蒙瓦].

[144] As pointed out by Ratchnevsky, the Chinese sources mention a considerable number of groups among the Shirwi at different points in time (Ratchnevsky 1966: 234-238). Ratchnevsky also points out that the *Pei Shih* describes the language of one group, the 大室韋 Ta Shih-wei or 'Great Shirwi', as 'unintelligible (不通)' (Ratchnevsky 1966: 231). Specifically, the text states: "又西北數千里至大室韋徑路險阻言語不通" [Several thousand *li* northwest, one reaches the Great Shirwi. The road is narrow and obstructed, and their language is unintelligible.] (*PS* 82: 3131). See also Xu (2005: 173, etc.) for information on the known history of these and other Shirwi groups.

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Mongol Shirwi – ethnolinguistic ancestors of the Mongols, who probably spoke a dialect of Proto-Mongolic. They were probably subjects of the Shirwi Proper.

Tungusic Shirwi – the eastern and southern Shirwi, who spoke an early Tungusic language. In all likelihood, they were ethnolinguistically Mo-ho people (ancestors of the Jurchen) who were politically ruled by the Shirwi Proper.[145]

In addition to the Shirwi name of the Jao-le [饒樂] River (discussed above), there is at least one early Shirwi title cognate to Early Qay and Old Kitan.[146] There are also many Shirwi clan names and a few other toponyms transcribed in several different time periods. However, since it is, for the time being, difficult to distinguish the clan names of the Shirwi Proper from those of the Mongol Shirwi, the Tungusic Shirwi, and other groups which must have been included in the Shirwi confederacy, I have left this important corpus of Shirwi onomastic data to future research.

2.4.3. The Kitan after the Kitan Empire

After the Kitan Empire, the Kitan remained an influential people up through the Mongol Empire, contributing important officials to the Mongol government such as Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材 and others. Even as late as the Mongol Empire, knowledge of the Kitan language and its affinity to Mongol remained:

[145] The existence of Proto-Jurchen people among the Shirwi confederacy provides a likely historical context for the early Serbi-Mongolic loanwords in Southern Tungusic, many of which are probably loanwords from Shirwi Proper into the Mo-ho language, from which Jurchen developed.

[146] See §7.2.1 entry for I-lo-ho for discussion.

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> … و حد دیگربا ولایت و صحرای قَراخِتٰائ است، و آن اقوام تمامت صحرانشین اند و به صحرانشینان مُغول پیوسته ؛ و لغت و شکل و عادت ایشان نیک بهم مانند است. و به زبان ختایی اهل خِتٰائ را چیدن یار می گویند (*JT*$_{RM}$ 441-442).

> "… Another frontier is with the territory and plain of the Qara Khitai. Those tribes are all nomads. They are adjacent to the Mongol nomads, and their language, physiognomy, and customs exceedingly resemble them. In the Chinese language the people of [Qara] Khitai are called Chīdan Yār" (*JT*$_{Th}$ 441-442; my revision of Thackston's translation).[147]

It is clear from this passage that knowledge of the Kitan language existed as late as the time of Rashīdu'd-dīn, and that for the medieval Mongols, the Kitan language "exceedingly resembled" Middle Mongol. This statement closely matches the linguistic data linking Kitan with Mongolic (see Chapter Eight for details).

The Kitan cease to be mentioned in Chinese historical records after the fall of the Yüan in 1368.[148] They are believed to have been absorbed by, or

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[147] Thackston considers this "Chīdan" [چیدن] to be a transcription of Chinese Ch'i-tan 契丹 and states that "the *yār* part has not been explained" (2012: 151 n. 6). This Yār [یار] is in fact the attested imperial clan name of the Kitans, transcribed in Old Mandarin as Yeh-lü [耶律] and in Kitan Assembled Script in the plural form *yar-ud 丙斗夭火 ‹y.ar.u^{w}.ud› (e.g. *YTi* 2:16). At the time Rashīdu'd-dīn was writing, the dominant late Old Mandarin dialects of Daidu still retained [k^{h}ji] for 契 (note LOM in 'Phagspa Script 𡈼𡗶 *k^{h}ji, Cob. #199). It is thus highly likely that Persian *Khatāy* (ختایی) 'Chinese' in this passage is a copyist's error for the near-homograph *Khitāi* (خِتٰائ) 'Kitan' and that Chīdan is a transcription of an innovative western dialect of Kitan which was characterized by palatalization of */k^{h}ɪ/ to *[ʧ^{h}ɪ] and intervocalic voicing of */t/ to *[d]. Note also attested Tangut *ʦɕ^{h}jɨtã 薪蘘 'Kitan', which Guillaume Jacques proposes is from an innovative Kitan dialect (2010: 163-164); I am grateful to G. Jacques (p.c., July 2016) for providing the Tangut script form.

[148] Interestingly, as shown by Sinor, descendants of Kitans, or people bearing the same name, are attested as late as the mid-14th century near the Caspian Sea, in such Latin transcriptions as **Kytan** and **Kitanopa**, the **opa** element of which Sinor treats as a cognate to Written Mongol *obuγ* 'clan name, family name' (Sinor 1995: 266).

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otherwise contributed ethnolinguistically to, the Mongolic peoples, especially the Daurs and the Mongols of what is now southeastern Inner Mongolia.

2.5. The early Mongolic peoples and their languages

For the period immediately after the Serbi expansion in the second to third centuries A.D., the ethnolinguistic demographics of the Mongolian Plateau are very fragmentarily attested. Serbi-Mongolic languages undoubtedly continued to be spoken there throughout the Jou-jan Empire (ca. 4th to 6th c.), the two Türk empires (552-630, 682-742) including the intervening Hsüeh-yen-t'o, the Uygur Empire (744-840), and the Kirghiz capture of Ordu Balɨq (840) and brief domination of the Mongolian Plateau.[149]

Middle Mongol is first attested at approximately the same time as Late Kitan, i.e. the 13th century.[150] The comparative method applied to data on the Middle Mongol dialects allows us to reconstruct its immediate ancestor—Old Mongol. We may suppose that Mongolic speakers must have been only a minor people during this period on the Mongolian Plateau, while their Serbi relatives dominated North China in the lands surrounding the southern periphery of the Mongolian Plateau beginning around the first century A.D.

Although linguistic evidence indicates that Mongolic and Serbi are separate branches of a single language family,[151] it is unclear precisely when Serbi and Mongolic branched off from each other. Without historical evidence, we may only speculate on the ethnic identity of the earliest historical speakers of the Mongolic branch. The speakers of Proto-Mongolic, however, have been decisively identified with a historical people—the Meng-wa ~ Meng-wu. Pelliot's theory on the ethnolinguistic origins of the Mongols, which I refer to

[149] See Drompp (2005).

[150] See Chapter Seven for my periodization of Kitan.

[151] See Chapter Eight and Chapter Nine for discussions of morphological and phonological innovations indicating the two branches of the Serbi-Mongolic language family.

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as the 'Mongol Shirwi Theory', is now widely accepted in the historical literature.[152] Phonological problems, however, lead me to refine the theory, i.e. the Serbi branch is characterized by a phonological innovation palatalizing the sequences *se and *ze to *ši and *ži, respectively, a sound change which did not take place in the Mongolic branch. This suggests that the Meng-wu 蒙兀 (LMC ☆məwŋᵑgwər)[153] ~ Meng-wa 蒙瓦 (LMC ☆məwŋᵑgwaɨ)[154] people were Mongolic *subjects* of the Shirwi, i.e. that they must have been a *separate people* from the Shirwi Proper, who are known to have been a Serbi people. I thus distinguish the Meng-wu (*mɔŋgɔl/*mɔŋgɔr) or Meng-wa (*mɔŋgɔ) 'Shirwi' (蒙兀室韋 ~ 蒙瓦室韋), who were probably speakers of Proto-Mongolic, from the Shirwi Proper, who spoke a Serbi language closely related to Kitan and Qay. These Proto-Mongolic people are described as living along the southern banks of the Wang-chien River 望建河 (present-day Ergune River).[155]

The Mongols appear again in 1084 as a frontier people paying friendly visits (Ch. 聘 *p'in*) to the Kitan court.[156] This instance of the ethnonym is transcribed in Early Old Mandarin as Meng-ku [萌古] (EOM *muŋku).[157] I provide the relevant passage below:

[152] E.g. Lin (1995: 23).

[153] *CTS* (199b).

[154] *HTS* (219).

[155] Lin (1995: 22).

[156] Specifically, these visits were probably for seeking marriage: 聘 *p'in* usually denotes 'to betroth' (Mat. 5313) and 'to seek a marriage' (Pul. 240).

[157] Wittfogel & Fêng (1946: 362, n. 72).

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> [十年] 二月庚午朔萌古國遣使來聘
> 三月戊甲遠萌古國遣使來聘
> On *keng-wu*, the first day of the new moon of the second month [of the tenth year of the Ta-k'ang reign period, i.e. 1084 A.D.], the country of Meng-ku sent an envoy to pay a visit of friendly inquiry.
> On the *wu-chia* day of the third month, the distant country of Meng-ku sent an envoy to pay a visit of friendly inquiry (*LS* 24: 289).

The *Liao Shih* provides no additional information on the Meng-ku, although from the passage above it is clear that they maintained friendly relations with the Kitan court.

The *Ch'i-tan Kuo Chih* identifies the country of the Meng-ku-li 蒙古里 (EOM *muŋkuli), i.e. the pre-conquest Mongols, as a 'neighboring country (鄰國)' to the Kitan Empire and gives the following description:

> 正北至蒙古里國無君長所管亦無耕種以弋獵爲業不常其居每四季出行惟逐水草所食惟肉酪而已不與契丹爭戰惟以牛羊駝馬皮毳之物與契丹爲交易南至上京四千餘里
> Directly north is the Meng-ku-li (*mɔŋgɔl) country. They have no lords or chiefs governing over them. They have no agriculture, and rely on hunting for a living. They do not reside long in a given place, moving every season in pursuit of water and pastures. They only eat meat and fermented dairy products. They do not make war with the Kitans; they trade cattle, sheep, camels, horses, skins, and fine fur products with the Kitans. The Supreme Capital[158] is over four thousand *li* to their south (*CTKC* 22: 162).

This Meng-ku-li ~ Meng-ku people are undoubtedly the ethnolinguistic continuation of the Proto-Mongolic Meng-wu ~ Meng-wa, and were speakers of what I term 'Old Mongol' (ca. 10th to 12th centuries A.D.), the dominant Mongolic language immediately preceding Middle Mongol, the first well-documented Mongolic language (ca. 13th century to ca. 15th century).

[158] i.e. Shang-ching 上京, the northernmost capital of the Kitan Empire.

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Another early source on the medieval Mongols, the *Meng Ta Pei Lu* 蒙韃備錄 (early 13th c.), describes the 'Meng Tatars (蒙韃)' (i.e. the Mongols) as living near the Kitans:

> 韃靼始起地處起丹之西北
> When the Tatars [i.e. Mongols] first appeared, their land was northwest of the Kitans (*MTPL*$_{1986}$ 15b).[159]

Mongol oral tradition, as documented in the early 14th century by Rashīdu'd-dīn Faḍlul'lāh, offers an origin myth for the early Mongolic peoples (presented here in abbreviated form):

> "…The tribe that has been called Mongol since ancient times developed a dispute and rivalry with the other [Turk] [[160]] tribes that turned into outright hostility and war two thousand years ago… [T]he other tribes overcame the Mongol tribes and so slaughtered them that no more than two men and two women survived. Fleeing from their enemies, those two households went to a harsh place surrounded by mountains and forests, with only one narrow, rugged road leading in on every side, which made access very difficult. In the midst of those mountains was a grassy plain called [Ergene Qun]… The two men were named Nüküz and Qiyan… Since Dobun Bayan, Alan Qo'a's husband, was descended from Qiyan, and Alan Qo'a was of the Qorolas tribe, [and] Chinggis Khan's lineage goes back to them…" (*JT*$_{Th}$ 147-150).

Ergene Qun [ارْگَنَه قُون] (*JT*$_{RM}$ 149), i.e. 'Ergene Mountain-Valley' or 'Ergene Cliff', in this myth is probably a variant of Ergüne, the river along which the Mongol Shirwi are described as living (see discussion in §2.4.2.

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[159] This passage provides an interesting Old Mandarin transcription of the ethnonym 'Kitan' as [起丹] (OM *k^{h}itan). In most other Chinese sources this ethnonym is written in the Early Middle Chinese transcription [契丹].

[160] For Rashīdu'd-dīn, *Atrāk* (اتراك) 'Turks' (e.g. *JT*$_{RM}$ 147) is a generic term for not merely the Turkic-speaking peoples, but also for Mongolic-speaking peoples and numerous other non-Chinese, non-Turkic-speaking peoples of the Mongolian Plateau.

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above).[161] It is thus reasonable to suppose that these legendary early Mongols, the progenitors of the Dürlükin,[162] are to be equated with the historically known early Mongols.

The earliest solidly attested Mongolic language is Middle Mongol, spoken by the medieval Mongols. The medieval Mongol endonym is attested in several dialectal forms in early accounts, e.g. *Moal*[163] ~ *Mongal*[164] and *Mongqol*,[165] suggesting the dialectal diversity of the Old Mongol language, the dialects of which gave rise to Middle Mongol.[166] Important clues on the internal diversity of the Mongolic language family in medieval times are given by Iohannes de Plano Carpini in Chapter Five of his 13th century *Historia Mongalorum* [*History of the Mongals*]:

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[161] The confusion between 'mountain valley' ~ 'cliff' and the historically documented river name is reasonable in the context of an orally transmitted text. See also de Rachewiltz (2006: 232-233).

[162] On Dürlükin [دُرْلُكِين] and Niru'un [نِيرْوُن] clans of the early medieval Mongols, see JT_{RM} and JT_{Th} (145-146, 182 et seq.).

[163] This is from Iohannes de Plano Carpini's 13th century Latin transcription of a contemporary Middle Mongol dialectal form *mɔal (*Moal*) 'Mongol' (Clark 1973: 188). The reconstruction presented here is my own. See also Rockhill (1900: 112, n. 1).

[164] P. Daffinà et al. discuss the variants *Mongal ~ Moal* (Carpini 1989: 420-421).

[165] Attested in the title of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, i.e. *mɔɴqɔl [忙^{中}豁$_{勒}$] 'Mongol' (*SHM* §108).

[166] We may thus conclude that the Old Mongol ethnonym had the following attested dialectal forms: *mɔal ~ *mɔŋgal ~ *mɔŋgɔl. The imperial dialect of Middle Mongol spoken at the Yüan court was characterized by *ɢ > *q. The form *mɔal is from a dialect which had lost medial *ŋg.

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> "Terra quedam est in partibus orientis, de qua dictum est supra, que Mongal nominatur. Hec terra quondam populos quatuor habuit: unus Yeka Mongal, id est magni Mongali, vocabulatur; secundus Sumongal, id est aquatici Mongali; ipsi autem se ipsos Tartaros appellabant, a quodam fluvio qui currit per terram eorum qui Tartar nominatur; alius appellabatur Merkit; quartus Mecrit. Hi populi omnes unam formam personarum et unam linguam habebant, quanivis inter se per provincias et principes essent divisi." (*HM*, Chap. 5, *l.* 6-13).

> "In the east there is a land, of which we have spoken above, which is called Mongal. At one time there were in this land four peoples, one the [Yeka Mongal], [i.e.] the Great Mongals; the second [was called] the [Sumongal], that is, the [Mongals] of the Water; but [they] called themselves Tartars from a certain river named the [Tartar], which flows through their territory; another was called the Merkit; [and] the fourth was the Mecrit. All these tribes were alike in appearance and had the same language, although they were separate from each other, having their own provinces and rulers."[167]

From this contemporary account, we learn that the "Mongal" (i.e. *mɔŋgal 'Mongols'), the "Tartar"[168] (i.e. the Tatars), the Merkit, and the "Mecrit" (probably a transcription of a variant form of the Merkit ethnonym)[169]

[167] The English translation given here is largely based on Dawson (1998: 19), although I have revised and corrected the forms of ethnonyms to those appearing in the critical edition of Daffinà et al. (Carpini 1989).

[168] *Tartar*, the Latin name of the Tatar people, is the result of reanalysis, whereby the name became associated with the unrelated Greek word **Τάρταρος** (*Tártaros*), denoting the hell of Ancient Greek mythology (Latham 1958: 10). Daffinà et al. arrive at the same conclusion: "Quanto al passaggio da *Tatar* al latino *Tartari* e alle forme affini che si trovano nelle altre lingue europee, esso si spiega certo benissimo (come sempre si è fatto) per la rassomiglianza che *Tatar* aveva con il nome della regioni infere della mitologia classica (Τάρταρος, *Tartarus*)" (Carpini 1989: 422).

[169] Daffinà et al. acknowledge the existence of the ethnonym Mekrit, but still prefer to analyze Carpini's "Mecrit" as an error for Kereyit: "Per Mecrit Giovanni intende i Kerait… L'esistenza di un popolo chiamato Mekrit (o Mäkrit) è certamente attestata, ma i Mecrit di Giovanni non hanno nulla da vedere con esso" (Carpini 1989: 423). According to

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spoke the same language, or more likely, *dialects* of the same language. This complements the linguistic hints we have on the internal diversity of Old Mongol.

From Rashīdu'd-dīn's *Jāmi'u't-tawārīkh* one may conclude that there were many different Mongolic languages and Old Mongol dialects spoken on the Mongolian Plateau in the centuries before the rise of Chinggis Khan, and many different, previously linguistically non-Mongolic peoples who had assimilated to the Mongols as a direct result of Chinggis Khan's empire building and the concomitant prestige that became attached to being Mongol. Rashīdu'd-dīn Faḍlul'lāh writes:

> "…because of the great fortune of Genghis Khan and his [lineal descendants], because they are Mongols, other tribes of Turks[170] like the Jalayir, Tatar, Oirat, Öng'üt, Kerayit, Naiman, Tangqut, each of which has its own special name and sobriquet, all are proud to call themselves Mongol. Whereas before they used to deride this name, now their sons imagine that they have been known as Mongols from long ago, although it is not so. In ancient times, the Mongols were but one of all the tribes of nomadic Turks, but divine favor shone upon them, meaning that Genghis Khan and his [lineal descendants] were to be of the Mongol race and many branches of them would come into existence. Particularly from the time of Alan Qo'a on, which has been three hundred years more or less, many branches have appeared that are called the Niru'un clans, and they have acquired

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Rashīdu'd-dīn, Mergit [مِرْگیت] and Megrit [مِگْریت] are free variants of the same ethnonym, i.e. they denote one and the same people (*JT*$_{RM}$ 93). In other variants of the text, these appear as *Merkit* ~ *Mekrit* (*JT*$_{Th}$ 93). It would appear that Carpini mistook these two variant forms to denote two distinct peoples; thus, Carpini's "Merkit" and "Mecrit" both denote the same people, i.e. the Merkit ~ Mekrit. This ethnonym appears exclusively as *Merkit* in the *SHM* and most other sources, but Carpini, Rashīdu'd-dīn, Polo, and Juvayni attest the variant Mekrit ~ Mecrit. For Marco Polo's "Mecrit", see Moule & Pelliot (1938: 177); in the 14th c. Tuscan edition this appears as "Mecricci" (Polo 1975: 665), an affricated form of /mekrit/ with Italian *-i* 'plural suffix'. For Juvayni's "Mekrit", see Boyle (1958: 63).

[170] See footnote 160 above.

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> prominence and glory. They have all become known as the Mongol nation. At that time the other tribes were not called Mongol, but since they were close to one another in terms of shape, form, vocabulary, accent, customs, and manners, regardless of the difference in dialect and customs that had existed in ancient times, now it has come about that peoples of Cathay, Jurcha, Nankiyas, Uyghur, Qipchaq, Turcoman, Qarluq, Qalach, and all the prisoners and Tajik races that have been brought up among the Mongols are also called Mongols. All that assemblage takes pride in calling itself Mongol" (*JT*$_{Th}$ 78).

Due to the prestige of being Mongol, and due to the rapid expansion of the Mongol Empire, a great deal of linguistic assimilation took place, especially after the enthronement of Chinggis Khan, after which much of the previous linguistic and dialectal diversity of the Mongolian Plateau must have been leveled out due to the prestige of the central dialects of the Mongol language. There is a rich corpus of onomastic data providing linguistic clues on these peripheral Mongolic languages and late Old Mongol dialects which should be the subject of future studies.[171]

Toward a periodization of the Serbi-Mongolic languages

Given the above-mentioned historical and linguistic considerations, I thus propose the following periodization:

[171] For one such study, note Rybatzki (2006).

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Table 9. Periodization of the Serbi-Mongolic languages and their speakers

LANGUAGE	TIMEFRAME	HISTORICAL SPEAKERS
Proto-Serbi-Mongolic	ca. 7th c. B.C. to ca. 2nd c. B.C.	Eastern Hu
Old Serbi ('Proto-Serbi')	ca. 2nd c. B.C. to 2nd c. A.D.	The early Serbi people
Middle Serbi dialects	ca. mid-3rd to ca. 9th c. A.D.	Taghbach, T'u-fa, Yü-wen, Ta-ho and Yao-nien Kitans, T'u-yü-hun, Ch'i-fu, Tuan
pre-Proto-Mongolic	ca. 2nd c. B.C. to ca. 7th c. A.D.	(not yet identified)
Proto-Mongolic	ca. 7th to early 10th c. A.D.	Meng-wa ~ Meng-wu
Old Mongol dialects	ca. late 10th to 12th c.	Meng-ku ~ Meng-ku-li
Late Serbi languages	ca. 10th c. to 13th c. A.D.	Kitans, Qay, Shirwi
Middle Mongol	13th to 15th c.	medieval Mongols

In this book, I distinguish the following terms:

Proto-Serbi-Mongolic (ca. 7th c. B.C. to ca. 2nd c. B.C.), the language of the Eastern Hu, reconstructible from internal reconstruction methods applied to Common Serbi-Mongolic, and through the study of early loanwords.

Common Serbi-Mongolic, the common language reconstructible via the comparative method applied to comparanda in attested Serbi and attested Mongolic.

Common Serbi refers to the common language reconstructible via the comparative method applied to comparanda in attested Serbi daughter languages.

Proto-Serbi denotes the unattested, but reconstructible, Serbi language from which the later Serbi dialects descend.

Old Serbi (ca. 2nd c. B.C. to 2nd c. A.D.) denotes the philologically attested language of the Serbi people from the time they branched off from the Eastern Hu in the 2nd century B.C. until the disintegration of T'an-shih-huai's confederacy and the short-lived confederacy of K'o-pi-neng (ca. 2nd c. B.C.).

Middle Serbi (ca. mid-3rd c. A.D. to ca. 9th c. A.D.) denotes the dialects of Serbi spoken in the numerous Serbi states founded after T'an-shih-huai and K'o-pi-neng. Solidly attested dialects of Middle Serbi include Taghbach (and closely related T'u-fa), Yü-wen (including Old Kitan), T'u-yü-hun, and more scantily attested Ch'i-fu and Tuan. It was probably a dialect continuum,

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since the sources on Middle Serbi often do not distinguish dialects, simply stating 'Serbi (鮮卑)', which seems to suggest mutual intelligibility.

Late Serbi (ca. 10th c. to 13th c. A.D.) refers to the Serbi languages after the disintegration of the Middle Serbi states. Attested Late Serbi languages include Middle Kitan, Late Kitan, Qay, and Shirwi. These languages are attested contemporaneous with Old Mongol dialects and later, with Middle Mongol.

Pre-Proto-Mongolic (ca. 2nd c. B.C. to ca. 6th c. A.D.) denotes the stage immediately before Proto-Mongolic, reconstructible via internal reconstruction methods applied to Proto-Mongolic, and through the study of early loanwords.[172]

Proto-Mongolic (ca. 6th c. A.D. to early 10th c. A.D.), the language of the Meng-wa ~ Meng-wu of the Shirwi confederacy.

Old Mongol (ca. late 10th c. to 12th c.), the language of the Meng-ku ~ Meng-ku-li, i.e. Mongol as spoken during the Kitan Empire.

Middle Mongol (13th c. to 15th c.), the language of the medieval Mongols.

[172] My usage of the term 'Pre-Proto-Mongolic' differs fundamentally from Janhunen's (2003) usage.

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CHAPTER THREE:
EARLY NORTHERN FRONTIER VARIETIES OF CHINESE

3.1. INTRODUCTION

A careful analysis of the early northern frontier varieties of Chinese in which the data in this book are transcribed is a *sine qua non* to any study of the early Serbi-Mongolic languages. In this chapter I present brief notes of the phonologies of Northeastern Late Old Chinese, Northeastern Early Middle Chinese (especially Northern Wei Chinese), Late Middle Chinese, and Early Old Mandarin (especially Liao Chinese), basing my analyses as much as possible on foreign segmental transcriptions of Chinese, Chinese transcriptions of foreign words, and loanwords.

3.2. BRIEF NOTES ON NORTHEASTERN LATE OLD CHINESE PHONOLOGY

'Late Old Chinese' denotes the Chinese language as spoken in the Ch'in Empire and the Han Empire, ca. 221 B.C. to 220 A.D.[1] The earliest linguistic data on the Serbi-Mongolic languages consists of onomastic material transcribed in northeastern dialects of Late Old Chinese, which I label as 'Northeastern Late Old Chinese' (NLOC). The majority of the Old Chinese reconstructions utilized in this book are from Beckwith (1996, 2002a, 2002b, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d, 2007a, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c) and Kiyose & Beckwith (2006, 2008), with additional considerations from Haudricourt (1954a, 1954b), Pulleyblank (1962a, 1962b, 1983, 1984), Schuessler (1987), Starostin (1989), Baxter (1992), and Sagart (1999). Since a comprehensive linguistic study of Late Old Chinese phonology has yet to be undertaken, I will not attempt to summarize all that is known about it. Details

[1] Beckwith (2002a: 209); Beckwith (2007a: xiii-xiv).

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on Late Old Chinese phonology relevant to analyses presented in this book are included in footnotes throughout.

I have identified the following piece of evidence on Northeastern Late Old Chinese phonology from variant transcriptions of a Serbi ethnonym:

NLOC *Ø : LMC ☆ŋ

Northeastern Late Old Chinese transcriptions of Serbi onomastica provide good evidence of the lack of a nasal coda corresponding to LMC ☆ŋ – note the variant transcriptions of the name of the Mu-jung Serbi, transcribed as Mu-jung [慕容] and Pu-yao [步搖] (*Chin Shu* 108: 2803; *T'ung-tien* 196: 1062). Schuessler reconstructs 慕 *makh (Sch. 432) for tradition-based unperiodized 'Old Chinese'. Note also the Late Middle Chinese form of 慕 attested in Old Tibetan transcription as བུ *'bu* (Tak.LS), reconstructible as *[^{m}bʊ]. Given the fact that Late Old Chinese as spoken in Ch'in-Han was characterized by denasalization of nasal onsets, I thus revise the value of this to 慕 NLOC *^{m}bâg. Schuessler reconstructs the 'Old Chinese' form of 步 as *mbagh (Sch. 48), but the nasal "m" in his reconstruction appears to be spurious: The Late Middle Chinese form of 步 is *bʊ$_2$ (Pul., Tak.),[2] and since one regular source of Late Middle Chinese rising tone is Late Old Chinese *ʁ,[3] I thus reconstruct 步 NLOC *bâʁ. The characters 慕 (NLOC *^{m}bâg) and 步 (NLOC *bâʁ) are thus phonologically close. Dominant tradition-based unperiodized 'Old Chinese' reconstructions for 容 include *ljong (Bax. 785) and *ljuŋ (Sch. 510), which I revise to *lʊŋ.[4] The character 搖 is reconstructed as *ljaw (Bax. 801, Sch. 721)

[2] Theoretical Late Middle Chinese ☆bɔ$_2$ (Pul. 43), revised by me based on the attested LMC form in Old Tibetan transcription, བུ *bu* (Tak. 310-311). See §3.3.1 below for the reconstruction of LMC *ʊ.

[3] On the reconstruction of Late Old Chinese coda *ʁ, see Beckwith (2007a; 2008b: 168-172; 2010b: 15, n. 32).

[4] As shown by Pulleyblank (1962a: 70, 76 et seq.) and Pulleyblank (1992), the "vocalic i" originally proposed by Karlgren (i.e. "i̯" in his transcription, equivalent to *j in Baxter's

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and *ʒ̂aw (Sta. 557); these should be revised to Old Chinese *law. The correspondence of 容 to 搖 clearly indicates that in the Northeastern Late Old Chinese dialect in which these transcriptions were made, the nasal coda of 容 had lenited, either to a nasalized vowel, or, more likely, had disappeared altogether, resulting in 容 and 搖 as near homophones, i.e. 容 NLOC *lʊ and 搖 NLOC *law.

3.3. Northeastern Early Middle Chinese phonology

Taghbach, early Old Kitan, and early Qay are transcribed in Northern Wei Chinese, a northeastern dialect of Early Middle Chinese. As these transcriptions make clear, Northern Wei Chinese was phonologically very close to Korean Peninsular Early Middle Chinese as reconstructed by Beckwith (2007a), with certain differences.

Below I present some of the identifiable phonological characteristics of Northeastern Early Middle Chinese:

3.3.1. Syllable-initial segments (syllable onsets and #V)

NEMC *ɦ > LMC ☆ʔ ~ ☆Ø

As demonstrated by Beckwith (2007a: 96) for Korean Peninsular Early Middle Chinese, it is clear from the *Wei Shu* transcriptions of Taghbach that Northern Wei Chinese was characterized by the same sound correspondence.

There are at least two possible sporadic retentions of this segment in attested Late Middle Chinese in Old Tibetan and Khotanese Brahmi transcription: 意 (Pul. 368 ☆ʔyɨ$_3$) in attested LMC in Khotanese Brahmi

and Schuessler's reconstructions) is spurious and thus should be removed from Old Chinese reconstructions.

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transcription as *ɦīī* (Tak. 339) and 云 (Pul. 389 ☆wun) in attested LMC in Old Tibetan script as ཧུན་ *hun* [hun] ~ ཧྷུན་ *ɦun* [ɦun] (Tak. 384-385), suggesting EMC *ɦyɨ and *ɦun, respectively.

OChi *mī > Middle MOC *myi > NEMC *mi > LMC ☆nyi

Late Middle Chinese syllable-initial ₙ[☆ny is the result of a merger of at least three Old Chinese onsets, i.e. OChi *n, *ŋ, and *m.[5] This is supported by evidence in Korean Peninsular Early Middle Chinese.[6]

LOC *#â > NWei *#â ~ KPEMC *#ʊ > LMC ☆#ɔ ~ [ʊ]

One regular source of Late Middle Chinese ☆ɔ ~ *[ʊ] is Late Old Chinese *â (Beckwith 2005, 2006a, 2006b, etc.; Coblin 1983; Pulleyblank 1983; Starostin 1989; Baxter 1992; etc.), e.g. the place name 'Alexandria' is transcribed in Late Old Chinese in the 漢書 *Han Shu* as 烏弋山離 Wu-i-shan-li, clearly indicating *â for the first syllable (Beckwith 2006a: 181). There is at least one transcription of Taghbach that makes it clear that Late Old Chinese *â was retained word-initially in the Northern Wei dialect of northeastern Early Middle Chinese, e.g. the Taghbach clan name *Awar [烏丸] (NWei ☆âɣɔr̃) is clearly the same ethnonym as that of the earlier Wu-huan 烏桓 (NLOC *âɣwar̃).

[5] Christopher I. Beckwith (p.c.).

[6] Beckwith (2007a: 94-95).

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Foreign onsets

The following onsets are common in attested early varieties of Serbi-Mongolic, Turkic, and other northern frontier languages but were not present in Northeastern Early Middle Chinese. The Northeastern Early Middle Chinese approximations of these foreign segments are indicated with the wavy equals sign (≈).

Foreign ₒ[q ≈ NEMC ₒ[☆ɣ ~ ☆k]ₒ[k ~ₒ[☆k

Taghbach *qɔw/*qəw ‘pig, boar’ is transcribed as [侯] (NWei ☆ɣəw); *ñaqañ ‘dog’, transcribed as [若干] (NWei ☆ɲɨakkaɾ̃). Note also ☆mʊqʊrlɪ ‘bald’, transcribed as [木骨閭] (NWei ☆mʊkkorlɨ), and *čʰirqañ ‘a kind of artemisia’, transcribed [叱干] (NWei ☆tɕʰirkaɾ̃). All four of these words have good cognates in Mongolic.[7]

Foreign ₒ[qʰ ≈ NEMC ₒ[☆kʰ ~ ☆k]ₒ[kʰ

Taghbach *qʰaʁsʊn ‘imperial consort’ is transcribed [可孫] (NEMC ☆kʰaʁsoɾ̃). Note also the Old Kitan form of the Kitan endonym, *qʰɪtañ/*qʰɪrtañ, transcribed in Northern Wei records as [契丹] (NEMC ☆kʰɛytaɾ̃/☆kʰɨrtaɾ̃).

Foreign ₒ[ʁ ≈ NEMC ₒ[☆ɣ

Taghbach ☆diʁa/☆dɪʁa ‘writing, document’ is transcribed [地何] (NEMC ☆diɣa), *čarʁʊyčin ‘people who send out and receive accusations on behalf of the ruler’ is transcribed [折潰眞] (NEMC ☆tɕiarɣwəytɕiɾ̃), and ☆kʰɪrʁayčɪn ‘assassins’ is transcribed [契害眞] (NEMC ☆kʰɨrɣaytɕiɾ̃).

[7] See Chapter Five and Chapter Eight for discussion.

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Foreign ɷ[ɦ ≈ NEMC ɷ[*ɦ ~ ɷ[☆ɣ

Taghbach *ɦʊrʁ-ay ‘cultivating (稽)’ is transcribed [紇奚] (NEMC *ɣʊrɣay). Note also Taghbach *ɦorbə-l ‘warmth (溫)’, transcribed [嗢盆] (NEMC ☆ɦorbər̃); and Taghbach *ɦɔr-ay ‘going (就)’, transcribed as [冤賴] (NEMC ☆ɦɔr̃lay). Compare the Late Middle Chinese transcription of Old Uygur *h* onsets with Late Middle Chinese ☆ɣ as in OUyg *huyɣur or *ɦʊyʁʊr ‘Uygur’, transcribed as Hui-ho [回紇] (LMC *ɣwəyɣʊr).[8]

3.3.2. Syllable nuclei

LOC *â > NEMC *ɔ ~ *ʊ > LMC ☆ɔ ~ *[ʊ]

Although Late Old Chinese *â was retained word-initially in Northern Wei Chinese as shown above, other transcriptions clearly indicate that this segment regularly became *ɔ ~ *ʊ elsewhere. The transcription of Taghbach *čʰirnɔ [叱奴] (NWei ☆tśʰirnɔ) ‘wolf (狼)’ shows that Late Old Chinese *â changed to *ʊ ~ *ɔ in non-word-initial environments, since 奴 had an *â nucleus in Late Old Chinese. Note also *pʰɔr [普] (NWei ☆pʰɔʁ) ‘surround (周)’, with good cognates in Mongolic.[9]

Monophthongization of rounded vowel diphthongs

Beckwith (2007a) demonstrates the following monophthongizations of rounded diphthongs in Korean Peninsular Early Middle Chinese:

[8] See also the Middle Old Tibetan transcription of this ethnonym discussed in §4.2 and §4.3.

[9] See Chapter Five and Chapter Eight for discussion of this word and its Mongolic cognates.

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NEMC *ɔ : LMC ☆ua ~ ☆wa
NEMC *ʊ : LMC ☆əw ~ ☆aw
NEMC *o : LMC ☆wə ~ ☆uə

Northern Wei Chinese was characterized by these same sound changes.

3.3.3. SYLLABLE CODAS

Below I present a tentative analysis of Northeastern Early Middle Chinese coda consonants:

Table 10. Northeastern Early Middle Chinese Codas

	bilabial	*alveolar*	*palatal*	*velar*	*uvular*
obstruents	b [p]		ć	g [k]	ʁ
nasals	m				
approximants	w	r r̃	y		

Several of these segments call for discussion. See below:

NEMC *ć, *r > LMC *r

As demonstrated by Beckwith (2005), Northern Wei Chinese and certain other northern frontier varieties of Early Middle Chinese had coda *ć as well as *r, which merged to Late Middle Chinese *r. Note the transcriptions of the Taghbach ethnonym as *tʰaʁbač [拓跋] (NWei *tʰagbać) and the Türk ethnonym as *türk-wač [突厥] (NEMC dial. *tʰwərkwać ~ *tʰorkɔć).[10]

[10] Beckwith (2005).

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NEMC *Ø : LMC ☆ŋ

Like Korean Peninsular Early Middle Chinese (Beckwith 2007a), Northern Wei Chinese was characterized by the loss of the velar nasal coda. Northeastern Early Middle Chinese loanwords in Serbi-Mongolic and Turkic can be taken as further evidence of this. Note, for example, 龍 MSC *lóng* (Pul. 198 ☆luawŋ) 'dragon' in Serbi-Mongolic, e.g. Middle Kitan *lu and Middle Mongol *lu* 'dragon' (*HIIY*), and Old Turkic *lu* ~ *ulu* 'dragon', as well as 薑 MSC *jiāng* (Pul. 149 ☆kɨaŋ) 'ginger' in modern Khalkha Mongolian as **гаа** /ɢaa/ 'mint, menthol' (and **цагаан гаа** /cʰaɢaŋ ɢaa/ 'ginger').[11]

LOC *r̃ > NEMC *r̃ > LMC ☆n

It is well known that Late Old Chinese had a rhotic coda *r corresponding to attested Late Middle Chinese *n* [n].[12] The Northern Wei transcriptions of Taghbach clan names show that in Northern Wei Chinese, a frontier variety of Early Middle Chinese, the reflex of this Old Chinese phoneme is a rhotic *r or nasalization and rhotacization of the preceding vowel, i.e. *[Ṽˠ]. For purposes of indicating this ambiguity, I have chosen to transcribe this segment as *r̃. Northeastern Early Middle Chinese ☆r̃ was capable of transcribing foreign *r, *l, *ñ, *n, and *ŋ codas. Note the transcriptions *ɦorbəl [嗢盆] (NWei ☆ɦorbər̃) 'warmth', *agɪl ~ *agyɪl [屋引] (NWei ☆âgyir̃ ~ ☆âgir̃) 'house', *ñaqañ [若干] (NWei ☆ɲɨakkar̃) 'dog', *čʰirqañ [叱干] (NWei ☆tśʰirkar̃) 'a kind of artemisia', and the transcriptions in the paragraph below.

---

[11] Alternatively, this may be a Tibetan loanword in Mongolian, cf. Written Tibetan *sga* 'ginger' as pointed out by György Kara (p.c., 2013), although the Tibetan word itself must be from a northern frontier dialect of Old Chinese which had lost the nasal coda, i.e. WTib *sga* ← ? 薑 OChi dial. *sga < *sgaŋ 'ginger'.

[12] Pulleyblank (1983), Beckwith (2007a, etc.).

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Additionally, there are indications that the character 連 MSC *lián*, read ˣlɛr̃ in Northern Wei Chinese, was used to transcribe Taghbach coda *r and *l. This is similar to the usage of Korean Peninsular Early Middle Chinese *lir [尸] to transcribe Koguryo coda *r (Beckwith 2007a).[13] As evidence of this, we may note Taghbach *gir [其連] 'sandal cord (綦)', *čʰur/*čʰʊr [出連] 'hand net (畢)', and *uwl [宥連] 'cloud (雲)', cognate to Middle Mongol *ǰirim* 'girth strap (for tying a saddle down on a horse)' (*MAA*), *tor* 'net' (*IM*), and *e'üle-n* *[əɦulən] 'cloud' (*SHM*) and Middle Kitan *əwl 'cloud', respectively.

$$LOC\ *ʁ > NWei\ *ʁ \sim KPEMC\ *Ø > LMC\ ˣ(V)_2$$

The *Wei Shu* transcriptions of Taghbach indicate that Northern Wei Chinese retained the Late Old Chinese coda *ʁ.[14] For loanword evidence of Late Old Chinese coda *ʁ, note Tokharian B *ṣitsok* 'millet alcohol' ← 黍酒 LOC dial. *śɨɣtsuɣ ~ *śɨʁtsuʁ.[15] In addition to transcribing foreign uvular *ʁ, NEMC *ʁ was also used for transcribing foreign *r codas; note the transcriptions of Taghbach *pʰɔr [普] 'surrounding (周)' and *žirpəŋ [是賁] 'raised earth, embankment (封)'.

[13] Korean Peninsular Early Middle Chinese 尸 was also used in Silla Korean writing for transcribing the phoneme *r (cf. Lee Ki-Moon 2008: 85). This further fortifies Beckwith's reconstruction of NEMC 尸 as *lir (Beckwith 2007a).

[14] I.e. the segment reconstructed by Mei (1980), Baxter (1992), Sagart (1999), and others as a glottal stop *-ʔ for unperiodized 'Old Chinese'. It has been demonstrated by Beckwith (2007a; 2008b: 168-172; 2010b: 15, n. 32) that this was in fact a velar or uvular fricative in Late Old Chinese, and not a glottal stop.

[15] Identified by Lubotsky & Starostin (2003: 263), although their reconstruction of the Old Chinese requires much revision. The LOC reconstruction provided above is my own, based on considerations in Beckwith (2008a, etc.).

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LOC *s# > NEMC *Ø : LMC ☆$(V)_3$#

There is no evidence for the retention of Late Old Chinese sibilant coda *s in Northern Wei Chinese or Korean Peninsular Early Middle Chinese (Beckwith 2007a). Variant transcriptions show that LOC *s had disappeared entirely.[16] Note the Taghbach deverbal noun suffix *-Ay in such words as *ɦɔray [冤賴] 'going (就)' (< */ɦɔr-/ or, more likely, */ɦɔt-/, 'go' + */-Ay/) and *ɦʊrʁay [紇奚] 'cultivation (穅 for 稽)' (< */ɦʊrg-/ + */-Ay/). In theoretical Late Old Chinese, 賴 has a coda *s or *ts.[17]

Phonemically voiced coda obstruents

It is quite likely that coda obstruents in many varieties of Middle and Old Chinese were intervocalically voiced, i.e. phonemically voiced, realized as voiced in intervocalic environments (and probably between other sonorants as well) and voiceless in word-final position (Zhengzhang 1991: 161; Beckwith 2008b: 173-174). Thus, we may assume the phonemic form to be voiced. For

[16] It is interesting to note, however, that this coda *s was retained in certain other northern frontier varieties of Early Middle Chinese. Note the dialect which transcribed the Türk royal clan name *Arsilas, transcribed in Chinese as A-shih-na 阿史那 and in Byzantine Greek as 'Αρσιλας or Arsilas, clearly indicating a final *s for this northern frontier Early Middle Chinese dialect's pronunciation of 那 (Beckwith 2009: 410-411, n. 71). This is clear evidence that this specific dialect of northern EMC had word-final *s. Other evidence however, suggests that this */s/ was lost medially, or at least before velar stops, e.g. the name of the last Jou-jan khaghan is transcribed in Chinese as A-na-kuei 阿那瓌 and the same name, this time in reference to a local Türk ruler in the Pontic Steppe, is transcribed in Byzantine Greek as 'Ανάγαιος or Anagai (Beckwith 2009: 406-407, n. 58). Since the Chinese transcription has the same 那 as the transcription of *Arsilas, and since the two transcriptions are contemporaneous, we must assume that in this dialect phonemic */s/ surfaced word-finally, but not word-medially before other consonants.

[17] See Schuessler (1987, 2007).

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example, note the transcription of Taghbach *agyıl/*agıl as [屋弓] (NWei ☆âgyiř ~ ☆âgiř) ‘house (房)’.

Foreign codas

The following codas are common in attested early varieties of Serbi-Mongolic, Turkic, Sogdian, and other northern and western frontier languages but were not present in Northeastern Early Middle Chinese.

Foreign r]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ NEMC ☆r]$_{\sigma}$ ~ ☆r̃]$_{\sigma}$ ~ ☆ʁ]$_{\sigma}$ ~ ☆lɛr]$_{\sigma}$

Northeastern Early Middle Chinese employed one of three rhotic segments (☆r ~ ☆r̃ ~ ☆ʁ) or the syllable ☆lɛr to transcribe Taghbach coda *r. This suggests that NEMC ☆r was phonetically somewhat different from Taghbach *r. The Taghbach segment was probably a trill, based on considerations from the modern Mongolic daughter languages. Perhaps NEMC ☆r was a rhotic approximant like *[ɹ], ☆r̃ was nasalization and rhotacization of the vowel it preceded, i.e. *[Ṽ˞], and ☆ʁ was probably often phonetically realized as a trill, as often happens with uvulars at the phonetic level, leading to its use as a transcription of Taghbach trilled *r. We may only speculate on the phonetic details of these segments, but we can state for certain that Taghbach *r was transcribed by these three different NEMC rhotic segments. See the Chapter Five entries for Ch’ih-nu clan, P’u clan, and Shih-pen clan for examples of these transcriptions.

Foreign ñ]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ NEMC ☆r̃]$_{\sigma}$

For example, the Kitan ethnonym *q^{h}ıtañ is transcribed ca. 5th c. A.D. as Ch’i-tan [契丹] (NEMC ☆k^{h}ɛytař/☆k^{h}ɨrtař). The coda *ñ is solidly attested in Old Turkic transcription and in Kitan

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Assembled Script. See §7.2.1 for detailed discussion of the Kitan ethnonym and its attested transcriptions.

Foreign n]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ NEMC ☆r̃]$_{\sigma}$

For example, Old Koguryo *tan ‘valley’ is transcribed in Chinese as [旦] (NEMC ☆tar̃).[18] Note also Old Koguryo *nan ‘seven’, transcribed as [難] (NEMC ☆nar̃).[19]

Foreign ŋ]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ NEMC ☆r̃]$_{\sigma}$

For example, Taghbach *žirpəŋ [是賁] (☆źiʁpər̃) ‘embankment’ is cognate to Written Mongol *serbeng* ‘id.’

Foreign l]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ NEMC ☆r̃]$_{\sigma}$ ~ ☆r]$_{\sigma}$ ~ ☆lɛr]$_{\sigma}$

Northeastern Early Middle Chinese employed one of two rhotic segments (☆r ~ ☆r̃) or the syllable ☆lɛr to transcribe the Taghbach lateral coda *l. Note Taghbach *agyıl ~ *agıl ‘house’, transcribed as [屋弓] (NWei ☆âgyiĩ ~ ☆âgiĩ); *paryal ‘bridge’, transcribed as [拔列] (NWei ☆parliar); *ɦorbəl ‘warmth’, transcribed as [嗢盆] (NWei ☆ ɦorbər̃); *k^{h}ılmərčın ‘interpreters’, transcribed as [乞萬眞] (NEMC ☆k^{h}ɨrmərt̃śiĩr̃); and *uwl ‘cloud’, transcribed as [宥連] (NWei ☆uwlɛr̃). Note also that the Silla Korean accusative suffix, believed by some Koreanists to have ended in a lateral *l,[20] is transcribed with Chinese [乙] (NEMC ☆ʔir). This suffix is cognate to Modern Standard Korean 을 *-ŭr* [ɨɭ] ~ 를 *-rŭr* [ɾɨɭ].

[18] Beckwith (2007a: 253).

[19] Beckwith (2007a: 252).

[20] See Lee Iksop & Ramsey (2000: 351, n. 7).

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Foreign č]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ NEMC *ć]$_{\sigma}$ ~ late northwestern EMC $_{\sigma}$[☆tś

Although foreign coda č]$_{\sigma}$ could easily be transcribed with earlier NEMC *ć]$_{\sigma}$ (see §2.3 above), there exist late northwestern EMC transcriptions transcribing foreign coda č]$_{\sigma}$ with a $_{\sigma}$[☆tś onset. The Sogdian personal name Wātč, in connection with historical events dating to 490 A.D., is transcribed as Yüeh-che [越者][21] (EMC ☆wuartśa).[22]

Foreign rt]$_{\sigma}$C ≈ NEMC ☆r]$_{\sigma}$C

For example, the Sogdian word *sārtpāw* 'caravan leader'[23] is transcribed as sa-pao [薩保] (EMC ☆sarpawʁ).[24]

3.3.4. Revisions of tradition-based reconstructions

I have identified at least two Early Middle Chinese syllables whose attested forms differ greatly from tradition-based theoretical 'Middle Chinese' reconstructions previously proposed in the literature. See below for discussion:

紇 Tradition-based MChi ☆ɣər : attested LMC and NEMC *ɣʊr

Although this syllable is traditionally reconstructed as ☆ɣət (Pul. 122), revised to ☆ɣər, transcriptional evidence shows that in EMC and even in LMC, it was read *ɣʊr. Note the Late Middle Chinese transcription of the Turkic ethnonym

[21] de la Vaissière (2005: 205).

[22] Cf. Pul. 388, 400, and Tak. 308 for the MChi readings.

[23] See Gharib for the Sogdian form *sārt* <s'rth> 'caravan' (1995: 351, §8726) and Sims-Williams for the word *sārtpāw* <s'rtp'w> 'caravaneer' (1996: 51).

[24] The Chinese transcription of this Sogdian word was identified by Étienne de la Vaissière (2003: 25) and Grenet et al. (2004: 247). The EMC readings are derived from Pul. 271 and 30.

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'Uygur' as Hui-ho [回紇] (LMC *ɣwəyɣʊr) for *huyɣur or *hʊyʁʊr. The same reading is valid for Northeastern Early Middle Chinese as well. Note the Taghbach clan name Ho-hsi *shih* [紇奚氏] NWei *ɣʊrɣay *shih*, glossed as Chi *shih* (嵇氏) 'Chi clan' (see Chapter Five, §5.2.1, entry for 'Ho-hsi *shih*'). The Sino-Korean reading of this character, 紇 *hŭr* (흘), also supports the revised Middle Chinese reading I propose.

奚 Tradition-based MChi ☆ɣɛy : attested LMC and NEMC *ɣay

This syllable is traditionally reconstructed as ☆ɣɛy (Pul. 329), but evidence in Kitan Assembled Script, Middle Turkic in Arabic Script, and Northern Wei Chinese transcriptions of Taghbach shows that this syllable was actually pronounced *ɣay in northern varieties of both Late Middle Chinese and Early Middle Chinese. The character 奚 has been used to transcribe the foreign syllable *qay as in the ethnonym unambiguously transcribed in Middle Turkic in Arabic script as *Qāy* [قاى].[25] Note also the Sino-Korean reading of the character 奚 as *hay* (해). Middle Korean could unambiguously distinguish *ay* (ㅐ) and *ey* (ㅖ).[26] Thus, we can confidently reconstruct Middle Chinese 奚 *ɣay.

[25] Shimunek (2007: 12, n. 19)

[26] Note that with these examples, I have diverged from the McCune-Reischauer romanization which I have regularly applied throughout the rest of this book, and here transcribe these Middle Korean forms in the Yale romanization system, in order to accurately represent Middle Korean phonology. In McCune-Reischauer romanization, 해 is *hae*, ㅐ is *ae* and ㅖ is *e*.

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3.4. THE PHONOLOGY OF LATE MIDDLE CHINESE

I use the term 'Late Middle Chinese' to refer to Middle Chinese as spoken during the Sui-T'ang period.[27] Late Middle Chinese is important for this book because it is a language in which T'u-yü-hun, Old Kitan, Shirwi, Qay, and several other languages are transcribed.

Owing in part to the international prestige and cultural flourishing of the T'ang dynasty, Sui-T'ang Late Middle Chinese is the best attested variety of Middle Chinese, with transcriptions in segmental foreign scripts including Old Uygur, Old Tibetan, Khotanese Brahmi, loanwords from Late Middle Chinese into numerous other languages, and additional data from the Late Middle Chinese transcriptions of foreign languages such as Sogdian, Syriac, Old Tibetan, Old Uygur, and numerous others. Despite this wealth of data on Late Middle Chinese phonology, many Sinologists working on Late Middle Chinese (or their terminological equivalent) have persisted in following tradition-based 'readings' of characters,[28] and ignore the abundant, unambiguous foreign segmental transcriptional data, a problem noted by Beckwith (2002a, 2007a, 2008a, etc.). This section aims to present a historical-comparative linguistic reconstruction of Late Middle Chinese phonology.

The strongest reliable sources for the reconstruction of Late Middle Chinese are the transcriptions of the language in segmental foreign scripts such as Old Tibetan, Khotanese Brahmi, and Old Uygur. These sources have been studied in detail, or utilized for phonological reconstruction purposes, by Csongor (1952, 1954, 1960, 1962), Takata (1988, 1993), Coblin (1995), Beckwith (2007a etc.), Takeuchi (2008, 2011), and others. The data presented below are preliminary analyses based on observations in the above-mentioned

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[27] My usage follows Beckwith (2002a: 209). Miyake likewise defines 'Late Middle Chinese' as the language of the T'ang Dynasty (618-907) and the Five Dynasties period (907-960) (Miyake 2003: 91).

[28] As noted by Miyake and others, the primary text on which the tradition-based 'reconstructions' of Middle Chinese are based—the *Ch'ieh-yün* 切韻—represents not a natural language but "an artificial construct" (Miyake 2003: 93).

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sources. A complete and definitive analysis of Late Middle Chinese phonology is not possible without a rigorous study of the data in Takata (1988, 1993) and other foreign segmental scripts. A comprehensive, modern study of the known Late Middle Chinese transcriptions of foreign languages, such as Syriac in the 781 A.D. Nestorian Stele, is also needed. The tentative sketch presented below will suffice for the purposes of this book.

Late Middle Chinese Onsets

One of the most notable characteristics of Sui-T'ang Late Middle Chinese consonantal phonology is its prenasalized obstruent onsets [^{m}b], [^{n}d], [^{ñ}dź], [^{ñ}ź], and [^{ŋ}g], the existence of which was noted at least as early as Maspero (1920). The tables below give the Late Middle Chinese onset inventory and exemplary Old Tibetan and Old Uygur transcriptions of Late Middle Chinese prenasalized onset stops, compared with Pulleyblank's theoretical 'Early Middle Chinese' (the tradition-based approach's theoretical equivalent to Late Middle Chinese).[29]

Table 11. Preliminary analysis of attested LMC onsets

	bilabial	*labiodental*	*alveolar*	*palatal*	*velar*
prenasalized obstruents	^{m}b		^{n}d	^{ñ}dź ^{ñ}ź	^{ŋ}g
nasals	m				
stops	b p p^{h}		d t t^{h}		g k k^{h}
affricates			ʣ ts ts^{h}	dź tś tś^{h}	
fricatives		f	s	ź ś	ɣ x
laterals			l		
glides	w			y	

[29] E.g. Pulleyblank (1991).

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Table 12. Exemplary Old Tibetan transcriptions of LMC prenasalized obstruent onsets

		OTib transcription		Source	LMC	Traditional LMC
ᵐb	美	འབི་	*ɦbi* [ᵐbi]	(Tak. 332-333)	*ᵐbi	(Pul. 210 ☆mi)
ⁿd	努	འདུ་	*ɦdu* [ⁿdu]	(Tak. 418-419)	*ⁿdʊ	(Pul. 228 ☆nɔ)
ⁿ̃dź	女	འཇི་	*ɦji* [ⁿ̃ʤi]	(Tak. 312-313)	*ⁿ̃dźü	(Pul. 228 ☆nrɨ)
ⁿ̃ź	若	འཞག་	*ɦžag* [ⁿ̃ʒak]	(Tak. 390-391	*ⁿ̃źak	(Pul. 270 ☆ȵiak)
		~ ཞག་	~ *žag* [ʒak]		~ *źak	
ᵑg	元	འགྭན་	*ɦgwan* [ᵑgwan]	(Tak. 370-371)	*ᵑgwan	(Pul. 386 ☆ŋuan)

Table 13. Exemplary Old Uygur transcriptions of LMC prenasalized obstruent onsets

Segment	Character	OUyg transcr.	Source	LMC	Traditional LMC
ᵐb	萬	*ban*	(Cs.$_{1952}$ 113)	*ᵐban	(Pul. 318 ☆muan)
ⁿ̃ź	任	*zim*	(Cs.$_{1954}$ 253)	*ⁿ̃źim	(Pul. 266 ☆ȵim)
ᵑg	元	*gön*	(Cs.$_{1952}$ 113)	*ᵑgwan	(Pul. 386 ☆ŋuan)

Foreign onsets and word-initial vowels

The following onsets are common in attested early varieties of Serbi-Mongolic, Turkic, and other northern frontier languages but were not present in Late Early Middle Chinese:

Foreign ₒ[q^{h} ≈ LMC ₒ[☆k^{h}

The Old Turkic title *qatun* is transcribed in Late Middle Chinese as k'o-tun [可敦][30] (LMC ☆k^{h}atwən)[31] and in Old Tibetan as *gatun* [ག་དུན་].

[30] *HTS* (215b: 6068); Beckwith (1987: 120, n. 70).

[31] Pul. 173, 84.

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Foreign ɑ[q ≈ LMC ɑ[☆k

The Old Turkic ethnonym *Qarluq* is transcribed in Late Middle Chinese as Ko-lu-lu [葛邏祿][32] (LMC ☆karlaləwk).[33]

Foreign ɑ[ʁ ≈ LMC ɑ[☆ɣ

The Old Turkic title *yabʁu* is transcribed in Late Middle Chinese as Yeh-hu [葉護][34] (LMC ☆yiapɣʊ).[35] Note also Old Turkic *qaʁan* 'emperor', transcribed in Late Middle Chinese as K'o-han [可汗][36] (LMC ☆k^haɣan).

Foreign ɑ[ə ≈ LMC ɑ[☆ɨ

Serbi *əbun/*əbən 'grass' is transcribed in Late Middle Chinese as *i-fen* [俟汾] (LMC ☆ɨbun).[37]

Late Middle Chinese Codas

The table below summarizes the Late Middle Chinese coda inventory:

Table 14. Late Middle Chinese Codas

	bilabial	*alveolar*	*palatal*	*velar*
stops	p			k
nasals	m	n		ŋ
rhotics		r		
glides	w		y	

[32] *TCTC* (209: 6629); Beckwith (1987: 75, n. 117).

[33] Pul. 106, 203.

[34] *CTS* (194b: 5179). This Old Turkic title is probably a loanword from Tokharian [葉護] (LMC ☆yiapɣʊ), glossed as 'king (王)' (*HTS* 221b: 6252).

[35] Pul. 364, 128.

[36] *HTS* (215b: 6051 et seq.).

[37] 俟 for 矣 (Pul. 367, LMC ☆ɨ$_2$); 汾 (Pul. 94, LMC ☆bun). See Chapter Eight for discussion.

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Another very important feature of attested Late Middle Chinese which is widely misunderstood by the tradition-based approach is the rhotic *r, understood as ☆t in the traditional approach. Foreign transcriptional evidence irrefutably shows that in attested Late Middle Chinese this segment was rhotic. See Tables 15 and 16 below for attested Old Tibetan and Old Uygur transcriptions of Late Middle Chinese coda consonants:

Table 15. Exemplary Old Tibetan transcriptions of LMC coda consonants

Segment	Character	OTib transcription		Source	LMC	Traditional LMC
p	甲	ཀབ་	*kab* [kap]	(Tak. 354-355)	*kap	(Pul. 144 ☆kɨap)
r	筆	ཕྱིར་	*pyir* [pjir]	(Tak.LS §124)	*pir	(Pul. 33 ☆pit)
k	落	ལག་	*lag* [lak]	(Tak. 386-387)	*lak	(Pul. 204 ☆lak)

Table 16. Exemplary Old Uygur transcriptions of LMC coda consonants

Segment	Character	OUyg transcription	Source	LMC	Traditional LMC
p	甲	*qab*	(Cs.$_{1952}$ 117)	*kap	(Pul. 144 ☆kɨap)
r	筆	*pir*	(Cs.$_{1952}$ 118)	*pir	(Pul. 33 ☆pit)
k	洛	*layγ*	(Cs.$_{1952}$ 118)	*lak	(Pul. 203 ☆lak)

Foreign codas

The following codas are common in attested early varieties of Serbi-Mongolic, Old Turkic, Old Tibetan, and other northern frontier languages but were not present in Late Middle Chinese. This list is far from comprehensive, and is intended only to give a glimpse of some of the known LMC renderings of foreign segments and phoneme sequences which were not permitted by LMC phonotactics.

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Foreign l]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ LMC ☆r]$_{\sigma}$ ~ Ø

For example, Old Turkic *kül* is transcribed in LMC as *ch'üeh* [闕][38] (LMC ☆k^{h}uar). In foreign medial clusters such as [lg], foreign [l]$_{\sigma}$ is sometimes given as null in Late Middle Chinese transcription, e.g. the name of the Türk ruler Bilge Qaγan is transcribed in Chinese as P'i-ch'ieh K'o-han [毗伽可汗] (LMC ☆byigɨa ☆k^{h}aɣan).[39]

Foreign s]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ LMC $_{\sigma}$[☆s

The Old Turkic name Barsqan is transcribed in LMC as Pa-sai-kan [拔塞幹] (LMC ☆barsəkkan).[40] Note also the Old Tibetan word *rtsis-pa* appearing in LMC transcription as Tzu-ssu-po [資思波] (LMC ☆tsisɨpa).[41]

Foreign š]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ LMC $_{\sigma}$[☆ś(V)

Note the LMC transcription of the Old Turkic title Išbara as Sha-po-lo [沙鉢羅] (LMC ☆śaparla).[42]

Foreign z]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ LMC $_{\sigma}$[☆s

Note the Late Middle Chinese transcription of the name of Özmiš Qaγan, an eighth century ruler of the Türk, given in Chinese as Wu-su-mi-shih [烏蘇米施][43] (LMC ☆ʊsʊmɛyśi).

Foreign t]$_{\sigma}$ ~ d]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ LMC ☆r]$_{\sigma}$ ~ Ø

As transcriptional evidence indicates, LMC had no coda *t or *d, despite the widespread tradition-based belief to the contrary.

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[38] Beckwith (1987: 210).

[39] *HTS* (215b: 6051 et seq.).

[40] See Beckwith (1987: 210) for the identification of this Old Turkic name.

[41] Pelliot (1915: 14). The LMC forms are from Pul. 421, 291, 40.

[42] Beckwith (1987: 210). For the LMC forms see Tak. 306 and Pul. 273, 40, 203.

[43] *HTS* (215b: 6054).

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Foreign codas in t]$_{\sigma}$ or d]$_{\sigma}$ are transcribed in LMC with ☆r]$_{\sigma}$ or null (Ø). For example, the Old Turkic title *šad* appears in Late Middle Chinese transcription as [設] (LMC ☆śiar).[44] Note also Old Tibetan *rgyud* in Late Middle Chinese transcription as [結][45] (LMC ☆kɛr). But also note the Old Tibetan title ཁྲི་འོད་ *Khri 'Od*, i.e. *[kr͡^{h}iɣʊt], in Late Middle Chinese transcription as Ch'i-li-hu [乞離胡][46] (LMC ☆k^{h}ɨrliɣʊ).

3.5. THE PHONOLOGY OF EARLY OLD MANDARIN

It has been recognized that Mandarin originated in the Kitan and Jurchen empires, i.e. ca. 10th to 12th centuries (cf. Shen 2011). It is clear, however, that this early variety of Mandarin differed in certain respects from later varieties, such as the well-attested Late Old Mandarin of the Yüan dynasty. This section presents an analysis of what can be gleaned of Early Old Mandarin phonology from Liao Chinese loanwords in Kitan Assembled Script, Jurchen words transcribed in Chinese in the 金史 *Chin Shih* and other sources, and Jurchen transcriptions of Chinese words in the Jurchen Script.

While considerable contributions have been made to the study of Liao Chinese phonology (e.g. Kane 2009; Shen 2006; Liu 2008: 226-228; Shen 2011; and Takeuchi 2011), and important observations have been made on Chin Chinese phonology (e.g. Sun 2004; Shen 2011), very little work has been done on the Early Old Mandarin loans in Jurchen Script, and little has been done to present a general sketch of what is known of Early Old Mandarin phonology and the sound changes which characterized its development, with the exception of Kane's (2009) sketch of Liao Chinese phonology and

[44] As in the name of Bagha Shad [莫賀設] (LMC ☆^{m}bagɣaśiar), appearing in such texts as *HTS* (215b: 6058) and *CTS* (194b: 5183).

[45] Pelliot (1915: 15).

[46] See Beckwith (1987: 169, n. 167) for the Chinese transcription.

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Takeuchi's (2011) work on Liao Chinese velar onsets. While I do not attempt to present a comprehensive overview of all that can be known about Early Old Mandarin phonology, I do aim to present a detailed analysis of some of the important phonological innovations of Early Old Mandarin distinguishing it from Late Middle Chinese, and some of the features distinguishing it from Late Old Mandarin.[47] Although Early Old Mandarin was not radically different from Late Old Mandarin, Kitan transcriptions of Liao Chinese (i.e. Early Old Mandarin as spoken in the Kitan Empire) show that at least this northern frontier variety of Early Old Mandarin had some important features which were lost in Late Old Mandarin (i.e. Yüan Chinese). Jurchen transcriptions of Early Old Mandarin provide hints of later innovations distinguishing Chin Chinese from earlier Liao Chinese.

3.5.1. Syllable Onsets

MChi ☆kaɨwŋ > *LC* *kaŋ ~ *LOM* *kjaŋ

Liao Chinese loanwords in Kitan Assembled Script show that, like Sino-Middle Korean, certain later palatalization processes had not taken place in Liao Chinese. Note 江 MSC *jiāng* 'river; Yangtze' (Pul. 149 ☆kaɨwŋ)[48] in Kitan as 𐗀𐗁 ‹g.ang› and Middle Korean 강 *kang*.[49] Clearly in northeastern Early Old Mandarin and northeastern Middle Chinese, the onset of this word was not palatalized. By the Late Old Mandarin period, however, the onset had become palatalized to *ky-. Note that in Yüan Late Old Mandarin in 'Phagspa Script, the word is transcribed ‹gÿang› ~ ‹gyang›.[50]

[47] For a study of northern frontier Old Mandarin morphosyntax and lexicon, see Shin (2009).

[48] 江 is not attested in Takata (1988).

[49] See Nam (2002) for the Sino-Middle Korean form.

[50] See Coblin (2007: 118) for the 'Phagspa forms.

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LMC ☆ŋ [ᵑg], ☆ʔ (*NEMC* *ɦ) > *LC* *ŋ (and probably *ɦ) > CChi *ɦ

The Chinese transcriptions of Jurchen show that the Middle Chinese onsets ☆ŋ (attested [ᵑg])[51] and ☆ʔ (NEMC *ɦ)[52] merged to *ɦ in Chin Chinese. This onset is often transcribed with 𘟙 ‹ng› in Kitan Assembled Script. Although the Late Old Mandarin dialect which formed the basis of ‘Phagspa Chinese retains this onset (see Coblin 2007), apparently the dialect on which the *Chung-yüan yin-yün* 中原音韻 is based had lost it (see Pulleyblank 1991).

See below for Middle Kitan transcriptions of the velar nasal onset:[53]

銀 MSC *yín* : KAS 𘟙𘠽 ‹ng.in› (LC *ŋin) : LMC ☆ŋin (Pul. 373).
御 MSC *yù* : KAS 𘟙𘠾 ‹ng.ü› (LC *ŋü) : LMC ☆ŋɨ$_3$ (Pul. 383).
元 MSC *yuán* : KAS 𘟙𘡊𘡏 ‹ng.ÿ.ên› (LC *ŋɥɛn) : LMC ☆ŋuan (Pul. 386).

Variant transcriptions in the *Chin Shih* provide evidence of this *ɦ onset. Note the following transcriptions:

延 (CChi *ɦyɛn) ~ 顏 (CChi *ɦyan):
OJur *(ɦ)ulgyan [烏延] (CChi *ɦuɦyɛn) ~ [兀顏] (CChi *ɦuɦyan)
‘pig, boar (豬)’ > Ma. *ulgiyan* ‘id.’[54]

兀 (CChi *ɦu) ~ 悟 (CChi *ɦu):
OJur *ɢʊši [兀室] ~ [悟室] (CChi *ɦuši) ~ [谷神] (CChi *kušĭ)
‘thirty (三十)’ > Ma. *γûsin* ‘id.’[55]

[51] This onset is attested as ཀྒ- *‘g-* [ᵑg] in Old Tibetan transcriptions of Middle Chinese (Takata 1988, 1993).

[52] Beckwith (2007a).

[53] The Kitan orthographic forms and their Liao Chinese equivalents are from Kane (2009: 264 §7.059, §7.060, §7.061). I have added LMC forms for comparison. My KAS readings and Liao Chinese reconstructions are my revisions of Kane’s.

[54] Norman (1978: 294b).

[55] Norman (1978: 118b).

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It has been shown elsewhere that medieval northeastern Chinese elements in Middle Korean and Early Modern Korean retained *ɣ or *ɦ (Shimunek 2011b).[56]

Chinese transcriptions of later Jurchen provide further evidence of this segment. Beckwith (2007a) discovered that northeastern Early Middle Chinese had *ɦ corresponding to the central Middle Chinese glottal stop ☆ʔ reconstructed by Pulleyblank (1991). Clearly the Early Old Mandarin dialect in which Jurchen was transcribed had this segment as well, or a phonologically similar reflex of it. Note the following later Early Old Mandarin transcriptions of Jurchen:[57]

Jur. *dilʁa [的魯阿] (late EOM *tilɔɦa) 'voice'[58] > Ma. *ǰilɣan* 'voice'.[59]
Jur. *tarʁu [塔魯兀] (late EOM *t^{h}alɔɦu) 'fat'[60] > Ma. *tarχûn* 'fat'.[61]

These transcriptions provide further evidence of Chin Chinese 阿 *ɦa and 兀 *ɦu. Since the Middle Kitan phonological inventory apparently lacked the segment *ɦ, this Early Old Mandarin *ɦ was regularly transcribed with null (Ø) in the Kitan Assembled Script transcriptions of Liao Chinese.

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[56] Note 銀 MSC *yín* 'silver' and 一百 MSC *yibai* 'one hundred', transcribed in Witsen's 1692 notes as [*Gun*] 'silver (Silver)' and [*Hirpee*] ~ [*jyrpeik*] 'hundred (honderd)', respectively, representing 17th century Early Modern Korean 은 *ɣɯn and *ɦiyir-peyk ~ *yir-peyk (Shimunek 2011b: 3). Note Late Middle Korean (ca. 15th century) 은 *ɣɯn (Nam 2002). These Sino-Korean forms must be from a northeastern variety of Middle Chinese.

[57] Although these transcriptions date to around 1550 A.D., they are clearly transcribed in a very archaic variety of Old Mandarin, as noted by Kane (1989). This suggests that many of these transcriptions were probably copied from much earlier sources, and probably were originally written in Early Old Mandarin.

[58] Kane (1989: 327).

[59] See Norman (1978: 160a) for Manchu *ǰilɣan* 'sound, noise, voice'.

[60] Kane (1989: 278).

[61] Manchu *tarχûn* 'fat' (Norman 1978: 273a).

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MSC jiu 糺 ~ 糾 ~ 糺 : *LMC* ✰kyiw : *LC* ✰tiw : *central OM* ✰kiw

There are transcriptions providing evidence of Liao Chinese ✰ tiw corresponding to Late Middle Chinese ✰kyiw. The Middle Kitan verb *tiw- 'gather (*intr.*)', cognate to Middle Mongol *tū̄-* 'gather, collect (*trans.*)', is attested in Kitan Assembled Script in the Kitan-Chinese bilingual *Lang-chün hsing-chi* 郎君行記 inscription of 1134 in a past verbal noun form in 𘮩𘮓𘰾 ‹t.iu.er›, reconstructible as *tiw-ər (gather-PST.VN) 'gathering', corresponding to *hui* 會 in the reign period name *T'ien-hui* 天會 'Celestial Gathering'. The same verbal root is found in the Kitan name of Yeh-lü Jen-hsien, i.e. 𘮩𘮓刃伏 ‹t.iu.r.ñ› *tiw-r-ñ. As shown by Batu (Ji Shi), cited by Kane, this name is transcribed in Chinese as 糺鄰 *Chiu-lin*.[62] This suggests that the Chinese character 糺 as well as its variants 糾 and 糺 must have been read *tiw in Liao Chinese.[63]

The Sung rhyming dictionary *Kuang-yün* 廣韻 provides a *fan-ch'ieh* indicating that these characters are read ✰kyiw or ✰kiw, but as Liu P'u-chiang demonstrates, P'eng Ta-ya's 彭大雅 *Hei Ta Shih-lüeh* 黑韃事略 (*A Brief Account of the Black Tatars*), provides another *fan-ch'ieh* spelling of this character as 都由切 (LOM *tu-yiw *ch'ieh*),[64] which clearly indicates that the character was read with the syllable onset of 都 (LOM *t) and the nucleus of 由 (LOM *iw).[65] We should thus reconstruct ✰tiw for northern Old Mandarin.

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[62] Kane (2009: 50).

[63] In Shimunek (2011a: 103a), I erroneously criticized Daniel Kane (2009) for his transcription of the Modern Standard Chinese reading of this character as *jiu* (i.e. Wade-Giles *chiu*); his transcription for the standard modern reading in fact was correct. The discrepancy between the Kitan word and its Chinese transcription nevertheless suggests that Liao Chinese had *tiw for 糾 MSC *jiu*, which is read *[kjiw] in 'Phagspa Late Old Mandarin (Coblin 2007: 162, §646). I am thankful to Daniel Kane for pointing out my error and for our fruitful discussion of the problem (p.c., March 2012), which led us to Liu P'u-chiang's solution.

[64] The Late Old Mandarin (LOM) forms presented here are from Coblin (2007: §241, §620).

[65] Liu P'u-chiang (2008: 226-228). Liu provides the *fan-ch'ieh* in his discussion, but the phonological analysis and the addition of the reconstructed Old Mandarin forms presented

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Given this *fan-ch'ieh* spelling and the Kitan script evidence, ☆tiw must be the correct reading of the character for Liao Chinese and probably other northern frontier varieties of Old Mandarin. It is not clear whether this is an innovation in northern dialects or if it is a retention of a much older feature which has yet to be identified in the extant Middle Chinese and Old Chinese data.[66]

3.5.2. Syllable Nuclei

LMC ☆ua, ☆wa, ☆wi_3, ☆wir, ☆wai_3, ☆a_2 > *EOM* *ɔ

Important data on Liao Chinese, a frontier variety of Early Old Mandarin, is found in Liao Chinese loanwords in Kitan Assembled Script. Kitan Assembled Script transcriptions of Liao Chinese show that Early Old Mandarin had merged Late Middle Chinese ☆ua, ☆wa, ☆wi_3, ☆wir, and ☆a_2 to *ɔ. Note the following transcriptions:[67]

防 MSC *fáng* : KAS 𘍿𘊕 ‹fu.ong› (LC *fɔŋ) : LMC ☆buaŋ (Pul. 91).
觀 MSC *guān* : KAS 𘊰𘍿 ‹go.n› (LC *kɔn) : LMC *kwan* [kwan] ~ *gwan* [gwan] (Tak. 364-365), ☆kwan (Pul. 113).
光 MSC *guāng* : KAS 𘌅𘊕 ‹g.ong› (LC *kɔŋ) : LMC *kwang* [kwaŋ] (Tak. 388-389), ☆kwaŋ (Pul. 114).

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here is my own. See also Erdenibagatur (2008), who proposes the same reconstruction for these characters, and additionally provides arguments for considering the form 𘓐 as a Kitan 'Large Script' (i.e. Kitan Linear Script) character borrowed into Chinese.

[66] For the tradition-based reconstructions of OChi forms of 糾 MSC *jiu*, note Bax. 769 *gyiwʔ ~ *kyiwʔ, but given the fact that these reconstructions are based on a problematic medieval tradition rather than solid transcriptional data or loanword evidence, they are by no means certain, and should be carefully reinvestigated.

[67] The Kitan Assembled Script forms presented here are mostly from Kane (2009), although the transcriptions and reconstructions are my own revisions. I have also compared the Liao Chinese forms with their Middle Chinese equivalents.

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廣 MSC *guǎng* : KAS 𘓱𘓴 ‹g.ong› (LC *kɔŋ): *kwang* [kwaŋ] ~ *kwong* [kwɔŋ] (Tak. 388-389), LMC ☆kwaŋ$_3$ (Pul. 114).

皇 MSC *huáng* : KAS 𘓴 ‹ɣong› (LC *ɣɔŋ): LMC *hwang* [ɣwaŋ] (Tak. 388-389), ☆ɣwaŋ (Pul. 132).

帥 MSC *shuài* : KAS 𘓵𘓶 ‹š.o› (LC *ʃɔ) : LMC ☆ṣwi$_3$ ~ ☆ṣwir (Pul. 289, 291) : LOM [ṣu], [ṣway] (Cob. 259, 313).

率 MSC *shuài* : KAS 𘓵𘓷‹š.o› (LC *ʃɔ) : LMC ☆ṣwi$_3$ ~ ☆ṣwir (Pul. 289, 291) : LOM [ṣu], [ṣway] (Cob. 259, 313).

王 MSC *wáng* : KAS 𘓴 ‹ong› (LC *ɔŋ) : LMC *wang* [waŋ] (Tak. 392-393), ☆wuaŋ (Pul. 318).

左 MSC *zuǒ* : KAS 𘓸𘓷 ‹s.o› (LC *tsɔ) : LMC *dza* [dza] (Tak. 304-305), ☆tsa$_2$ (Pul. 424) : LOM [tsɔ] (Cob. 737).

Early Old Mandarin loanwords in Jurchen likewise provide evidence of this innovative *ɔ vowel. Part of this evidence comes from word forms in Jurchen script. Note the Jurchen grapheme 𘓹 which transcribes 和 MSC *hé* and 化 MSC *huà*.[68] Taking into consideration the Middle Chinese readings of 和 LMC ☆ɣwa (Pul. 122) and 化 LMC ☆ɣwai$_3$ (Pul. 128), the Jurchen graph should be read ‹xɔ›, transcribing Chin Chinese *xɔ in both of these characters.

Note also Jurchen 𘓺 which transcribes 果 MSC *guǒ* and also renders the phoneme sequence *gɔ in native Jurchen words.[69] This suggests Chin Chinese 果 *gɔ.

3.5.3. Syllable Codas

Liao Chinese coda *ñ

As noted by Kane (2009) and Shimunek (2011a), 夫人 MSC *furen* ‘lady’ is transcribed in Kitan Assembled Script as 𘓻𘓼𘓽 ‹pu.ši.ñ›, suggesting a Liao Chinese form *fu-žiñ *[fuʒiɲ]. This is an important piece of evidence on Liao

[68] *NT* 131.

[69] *NT* 111.

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Chinese phonology, although the fact that it is currently the only known example of Liao Chinese coda *ñ prevents us from making generalizations.

LMC ☆ŋ, ☆n, ☆m > *LC* *ŋ, *n, *m > *CChi* *Ṽ (or less likely *N)

Variant transcriptions of Chin Jurchen in the *Chin Shih* show that the Middle Chinese codas ☆ŋ, ☆n, and ☆m had merged to *Ṽ (or less likely *N) in Chin Chinese. There are hints of this in the Jurchen script transcriptions of Chin Chinese as well. However, this merger of nasal codas was not a characteristic of all varieties of Early Old Mandarin. The Kitan Assembled Script transcriptions of Liao Chinese clearly and consistently distinguish all three codas. Note the following Kitan Assembled Script transcriptions of Liao Chinese:

江 MSC *jiāng* : KAS 𘞃𘟥 ‹g.ang› (LC *kaŋ).
金 MSC *jīn* : KAS 𘞃𘟪 ‹g.m› (LC *kim).
文 MSC *wén* : KAS 𘝦𘟣 ‹w.un› (LC *wun).

Chin Chinese is attested later than Liao Chinese, and it appears to be representative of a somewhat more progressive stage of Early Old Mandarin than Liao Chinese. We may conclude that the coda nasal merger in Chin Chinese was a phonological innovation distinguishing Chin Chinese from Liao Chinese.

As noted by Sun (2004), Jurchen word-final *m# is transcribed with 母 *mu* in the *Chin Shih* transcription of the Chin Jurchen word *šim [闇母] ‘wok, pot (鍋)’,[70] cognate to Manchu *simtu* ‘a large iron pot or wok (大鐵鍋)’.[71] This suggests that Chin Chinese had lost coda *m, and the onset of 母 *mu* was

[70] Sun (2004: 254, 333).

[71] The Manchu form I quote here is from Kuribayashi & Hurelbator (2008: 441).

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apparently the best means Chin Chinese phonology could provide to unambiguously transcribe word-final m#.

Other indications of the loss of coda *m include the transcriptions *niqan [粘罕] ~ *niqan [尼堪] ~ [粘汗], glossed 'Chinese person (漢人)' and 'term of contempt used by northerners to refer to southerners (蠻子)'. Sun (2004) reconstructs *nimqan ~ *nikam, but this is highly unlikely, given the phonological incongruity of the variant transcriptions. Later Jurchen has *niqa *ña(l)ma [泥哈捏麻] 'Chinese person (漢人)'.[72] The word is cognate to Written Manchu *niqan* and modern spoken Manchu [niˈkʰan] 'Han Chinese'.[73] Although the word is not attested in Jurchen Script, the variant transcriptions of this word, and its Manchu cognate, shows that coda *m had been lost in Chin Chinese (or more likely, had lenited to nasalization of the preceding vowel). Clearly, 粘 MSC *nián* (LMC ☆niam, Pul. 224) was pronounced similarly to 尼 MSC *ní* (LMC ☆ni, Pul. 223) in Chin Chinese. It would be motivated to reconstruct Chin Chinese 粘 *nyɛ̃ and 尼 *ni. The variant transcriptions of the second syllable of this Jurchen word likewise show that 罕 MSC *hǎn* (LMC ☆xan_2, Pul. 119), 堪 MSC *kān* (LMC ☆kʰam, Pul. 170), and 汗 MSC *hàn* (LMC ☆ɣan, Pul. 118) were similar in pronunciation in Chin Chinese. This suggests that Chin Chinese had 罕 *xã, 堪 *kʰã, and 汗 *ɣã.

As evidence of the loss (or lenition) of the velar nasal coda *ŋ#, we may note the transcription *šaŋgyan [上江] 'white (白)',[74] cognate to Manchu *šanyan* *[ʃanjan] 'white' and *šanggiyan* *[ʃaŋgjan] 'white; smoke'. The character 江 MSC *jiāng* had a velar nasal in Middle Chinese (LMC ☆kaɨwŋ, Pul. 149) as well as Late Old Mandarin *[kjaŋ] (Cob. 118: #127). In Jurchen Script we have 兄𠂤 ‹šan.gyan› 'white (白); smoke (煙)',[75] which clearly shows the alveolar nasal coda in the second syllable. Later Jurchen has *šaŋgya

[72] Kane (1989: 281).

[73] Kim et al. (2008).

[74] *NT* 98.

[75] *NT* 98, 246.

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[尚加] ‘white (白)’.[76] Sanjiazi Manchu has [ɕaŋˈŋən] ‘white; smoke’.[77] The variation in the medial cluster is not of importance—*šanyan ~ *šaŋgya ~ *šaŋgyan are clearly variants of the same word. Thus we may posit Chin Chinese 江 *gyã (or less likely *gyaN).

Note also Jurchen *sayi ‘good (好)’ transcribed as [散亦] MSC *sanyi*, and Jurchen *šaman ~ *sama ‘shamaness (巫媼)’, transcribed as [珊蠻] MSC *shanman* ~ [撒卯] MSC *samao*, etc.

The following Early Old Mandarin loanwords in Jurchen script also show the loss or lenition of final coda *ŋ in Chin Chinese:

高昌 MSC *gāochāng* : Jurchen 𑿱𑿦𑿪 ‹gau.ča.an› (CChi *kaw *tʃʰã).

堂 MSC *táng* : Jurchen 𑿰𑿪 ‹ta.an› (CChi *tã).

張 MSC *zhāng* : Jurchen 𑿵𑿪 ‹ǰa.an› (CChi *tʃã).

The Jurchen grapheme 𑿪 and its allograph 𑿫 are transcribed [安] *an* in Chinese.[78]

Note also the Jurchen grapheme 𑿬 which transcribes a Chin Chinese cognate to 王 MSC *wáng*.[79] Chinese transcriptions of Jurchen words written with this grapheme correspond variously to 安 *an* and 王 *wang* in their Chinese transcription, suggesting that the nasal coda of both Chin Chinese 安 and 王 was *n# or more likely, that both of these nasal codas had lenited to nasalization on the preceding vowel, i.e. *Ṽ for Chin Chinese 安 *ã and 王 *ɔ̃.

[76] Kane (1989: 225, 359).

[77] Kim et al. (2008: 94).

[78] *NT* 158.

[79] *NT* 72.

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CHAPTER FOUR:
NOTES ON THE PHONOLOGY OF OLD TIBETAN

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Despite the relatively long history of Tibetan studies as a field, and the great importance of Old Tibetan to the study of Central Eurasian linguistics, careful linguistic study of this period of the Tibetan language and basic issues relating to its phonology have only been undertaken in detail in very recent years.[1]

Since there exists important data on T'u-yü-hun and Kitan transcribed in Old Tibetan, a discussion of Old Tibetan phonology is a necessary prerequisite to a careful treatment of the data. This chapter thus presents a brief overview of Old Tibetan phonology as relevant to this book.

Beckwith & Walter (2015) divide Old Tibetan into three periods, defined as follows:

> *Early Old Tibetan*, or *Imperial Old Tibetan*, is the Tibetan language spoken and written during the Tibetan Empire (ca. 618-842).[2]
>
> *Middle Old Tibetan* refers to the language of the early *Bardar* (བར་དར་) 'intermediate promulgation (of the faith)' period, immediately following the fall of the Tibetan Empire, in which most Tun-huang (Dunhuang) texts were written, including the 'Bacot Document' (*PT 1283*).

[1] See Beckwith (1996, 2007a, 2006e, 2008a, etc.). It is important to realize that so-called 'Written Tibetan' is not Imperial Old Tibetan. Unperiodized Written Tibetan often represents post-imperial innovations, Classical Tibetan, and even modern loanwords from languages such as Hindi and English. Old Tibetan data should thus be based on texts from the Tibetan Empire. See Walter & Beckwith (2010) and Beckwith & Walter (2015) for the solidly datable Old Tibetan texts.

[2] See Beckwith (1977, 1987, 2009) for the dates of the Tibetan Empire.

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Late Old Tibetan refers to the language of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and other very late Tun-huang (Dunhuang) texts.

4.2. Syllable Onsets

Voicing

As shown by Beckwith (2007a), Imperial Old Tibetan had a voiced-voiceless opposition in its onset obstruent inventory. The voiceless aspirated and voiceless unaspirated obstruents of Old Tibetan orthography are in complementary distribution, and are thus allophones of voiceless phonemes.[3]

Onset clusters

Foreign transcriptions of Old Tibetan, as well as Old Tibetan loanwords in foreign languages, show that Old Tibetan orthography was largely faithful to the phonology of spoken Early Old Tibetan, especially with regard to onset clusters. Transcriptional evidence of these clusters is found in Late Middle Chinese, Old Turkic, and Arabic sources, e.g. Old Tibetan *blon* (བློན་) was borrowed into runiform Old Turkic as *bölön* 𐰚𐰼𐰴𐰸 ‹$b_2w_2l_2n_2$› in the Kül Tegin Inscription of 732 A.D. (North Face, line 12), representing an Imperial Old Tibetan donor form *blön.[4] Note also the Arabic transcriptions of the Old

[3] Beckwith (2007a: xxi).

[4] Tekin (1968: 320) proposes this etymology, and glosses the word as ‘minister, high official’. The relevant line in the inscription reads as follows: 𐰉𐰃𐰽𐰇:𐰚𐰼𐰴𐰸:𐰋𐰾𐰉:𐰃𐰼𐰇𐰃 *tüpüt qayanta bölön kälti* ‘From the Tibetan emperor a *blön* [minister] came’ (Tekin 1968: 237, 270-271). This Old Turkic form suggests that Imperial Old Tibetan had already begun the process of umlauting vowels which characterizes many later varieties of Tibetan. This is also known from the fact that there is a special Old Tibetan vowel diacritic (*o* ◌ོ + *e* ◌ེ) for

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Tibetan word for the northeastern province of the Tibetan Empire known as Mdosmad (མདོས་སྨད་), i.e. Arabic *Dhū sm.t* (ذوسمت) and *Tūsm.t* (توسمت).[5] These transcriptions clearly are attempts to represent the onset cluster *sm* of *smad* (སྨད་). At the time these transcriptions were made, the donor Old Tibetan dialect must have had *[^{m}dʊsmat] / *[^{m}dosmat], *[dʊsmat] / *[dosmat], or *[tʊsmat] / *[tosmat].

As late as the 9th century, as attested in the Chinese transcriptions of Old Tibetan words and titles in the Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 823, many of the complex onsets of Early Old Tibetan were still pronounced faithfully to their orthographic forms, i.e. they retained Early Old Tibetan phonotactics. A cursory glance through the Late Middle Chinese transcriptions of Old Tibetan in this inscription shows that at least the following complex onsets retained their Early Old Tibetan values: བླ *bl-* [bl], བཟ *bz-* [bz], བཞ *bzh-* [bʒ], ཁྲ *khr-* [k^{h}r], མཐ *mth-* [^{m}t^{h}], སྣ *sn-* [sn], སྲ *sr-* [sr], and སྟ *st-* [st].[6]

The fricative *ɣ

Csoma de Kőrös (1834), Beckwith (1996: 814, n. 3; 2006*e*, etc.), Hill (2009a), and numerous others have demonstrated that Old Tibetan འ is a voiced velar fricative *[ɣ] or a voiced glottal transition *[ɦ] when this grapheme is used as a simple onset.[7] Note also the Old Tibetan title *Khri 'Od* (ཁྲི་འོད་), transcribed in Late Middle Chinese as Ch'i-li-hu [乞離胡][8] (LMC ☆k^{h}ɨrliɣʊ), where *'od* (འོད་)

---

indicating front rounded *ö* which appears in Imperial Old Tibetan texts (Christopher I. Beckwith, p.c., fall 2010).

[5] King (2010: 150).

[6] For a complete table of attested Old Tibetan onset clusters, see Beckwith (2006e: 9-10).

[7] When used as the first segment in an onset cluster, this grapheme denotes a different phoneme, /^{N}/, i.e. homorganic prenasalization of the phoneme it precedes, e.g. འབ [^{m}b], འག [^{ŋ}g], and འད [^{n}d]. See Beckwith (1996).

[8] *HTS* (216b: 6105); *TCTC* (246: 7969-7970); Beckwith (1987: 169, n. 167).

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corresponds to *hu* [胡] (LMC ☆ɣʊ), clearly indicating a voiced velar fricative onset, i.e. Old Tibetan *[ɣʊt].[9]

Foreign onsets

The following onsets are common in attested early varieties of Serbi-Mongolic, Turkic, and other northern frontier languages but are not present in Old Tibetan. The Old Tibetan approximations of these foreign segments are indicated with the wavy equals sign (≈).

Foreign ɷ[q ≈ OTib ɷ[*k* ~ ɷ[*g*

Old Tibetan transcriptions of Turkic and Serbi-Mongolic languages provide evidence of these sound correspondences. The Old Turkic city name Baqɨr Balɨq 'Copper City' is transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan as *baker palig* (བ་གེར་པ་ལིག་).[10] The medieval Uygur royal clan name Yaʁlaqar appears in Middle Old Tibetan transcription as *yagleker* (ཡག་ལེ་གེར་).[11] The Kitan ethnonym *q^{h}ɪtaŋ (attested in Old Turkic as *qɨtañ*) is transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan as *getaŋ* (གེ་ཏང་) ~ *getan* (གེ་ཏན་).[12] The Turkic ethnonym Qarluq appears in Middle Old Tibetan as *garlog* (གར་ལོག་).[13] Old Turkic *qɨzɨl* 'red' appears in

[9] Pelliot (1915: 11) gives additional Late Middle Chinese transcriptions of the Old Tibetan voiced velar fricative, although the original sources need to be checked carefully to verify the forms he cites.

[10] *PT 1283* (*l.* 7); Bacot (1956: 151); Venturi (2008: 20).

[11] *PT 1283* (*l.* 25-26); Clauson (1957: 20); Golden (1992: 156); Ligeti (1971: 180); Venturi (2008: 24).

[12] *PT 1283* (*l.* 27); Clauson (1957: 22); Moriyasu (1980: 176); Venturi (2008: 24).

[13] *PT 1283* (*l.* 85); Ligeti (1971: 186); Venturi (2008: 30).

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Old Tibetan transcription as *gezir* (གེ་ཟིར་).[14] T'u-yü-hun *qɔl 'river' is transcribed in Early Old Tibetan as *kol* (ཀོལ་).[15]

Foreign ʊ[q^h ≈ OTib ʊ[*k^h*

T'u-yü-hun *q^{h}ɔl 'river' (in free variation with unaspirated *qɔl above) is transcribed in Early Old Tibetan as *khol* (ཁོལ་).[16] Note also Old Kitan *q^{h}aʁan 'emperor, king', transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan as *khagan* (ཁ་ག་ན་).[17]

Foreign ʊ[ɢ ≈ OTib ʊ[*g* ~ ʊ[*ɣ* ~ ʊ[*h*

T'u-yü-hun *ɢɔ, probably meaning 'straight' or 'beautiful', is transcribed in Early Old Tibetan as *ɣo* (འོ་).[18] Hypothetically, foreign syllable initial ʊ[ɢ] could also be rendered with Old Tibetan *g* (ག) or *h* (ཧ), although I have not found transcriptions attesting such correspondences.

Foreign ʊ[ɣ ≈ OTib ʊ[*g* ~ ʊ[*ɣ* ~ ʊ[*h*

The earliest attestation of the Kereyit ethnonym, *k^{h}ereɣit (later attested as *k^{h}ereyit [客^{舌}列亦^{悌}] in the *Secret History of the Mongols*),[19] is transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan as *kherged* (ཁེ་རྒེད་).[20] Foreign syllable initial ʊ[ɣ] could also be transcribed with Old Tibetan *ɣ* (འ) or *h* (ཧ). For examples, see *hoyoɣor* and *ɣuyikor* in the next paragraph.

[14] *PT 1283* (*l.* 81); Bacot (1956: 152); Venturi (2008: 30).

[15] *OTA$_1$* (*l.* 123).

[16] *OTA$_1$* (*l.* 195).

[17] *PT 1283* (*l.* 27).

[18] *OTA$_1$* (*l.* 123, 195).

[19] Kuribayashi (2009: 266).

[20] *PT 1283* (*l.* 36); Moriyasu (1980: 178-179); Venturi (2008: 25).

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Foreign ⁽[ʁ ≈ OTib ⁽[*g* ~ ⁽[*k* ~ ⁽[ɣ ~ ⁽[*h*

The ethnonym of the medieval Uygur (*huyʁur in spoken Old Uygur) is transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan variously as *ɣuyikor* (ཡུ་ཡི་ཀོར་), *hoyohor* (ཧོ་ཡོ་ཧོར་), and *hoyoɣor* (ཧོ་ཡོ་འོར་).[21] Old Kitan *q^{h}aʁan 'emperor, king' is transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan as *khagan* (ཁ་གན་).[22] Note also the Old Turkic title *yabʁu*, transcribed in Early Old Tibetan as *yabgo* (ཡ་བགོ་) in the *Old Tibetan Annals*.[23]

4.3. Syllable Nuclei

Notable vowel values

In transcriptions of Middle Chinese, the Old Tibetan vowel ོ (commonly transcribed *o*), represents [ɔ ~ ʊ]. This is clear from the Old Tibetan transcriptions of Late Middle Chinese as studied by Takata (1988). Also, as demonstrated by Ligeti (1971), Tibetan *o* in the *Bacot Document* transcribes Old Turkic /u/. On the basis of this and other analyses, it is thought that Old Tibetan *o* at that time, and even Early Old Tibetan *o*, represented [ʊ] or the like.

Foreign vowel segments

One notable foreign vowel segment found in early Serbi-Mongolic and Turkic languages but not present in the Old Tibetan inventory is the following:

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[21] *PT 1283* (*l.* 25, 26, 29); Bacot (1956: 153); Clauson (1957: 15); Ligeti (1971: 180); Venturi (2008: 24, 25).

[22] *PT 1283* (*l.* 27).

[23] *ITJ* 750 (*l.* 117, 131, 133).

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Foreign [ɨ] ≈ OTib *e* ~ *i*

This correspondence is supported by a number of Old Tibetan transcriptions of Turkic and Serbi-Mongolic words. The Old Turkic city name Baqɨr Balɨq 'Copper City' is transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan as *baker palig* (བ་ཀེར་པ་ལིག་).[24] The medieval Turkic ethnonym Basmɨl appears in Middle Old Tibetan transcription as *Basmel* (བ་སྦལ་).[25] Old Turkic *qɨzɨl* (or dialectal **qɨzɨr*)[26] 'red' appears in Old Tibetan transcription as *gezir* (གེ་ཟིར་).[27] Spoken Old Turkic *ud hadaqlɨq* 'those having ox feet' is transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan as *ud hadagleg* (ཨུད་ཧ་དག་ལེག་).[28]

Foreign [ɪ] ≈ OTib *e*

The Kitan ethnonym *qɪtaŋ (attested in Old Turkic as *Qɨtañ*, i.e. *qɨtaŋ) is transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan as *getaŋ* (གེ་ཏང་) ~ *getan* (གེ་ཏན་).[29]

[24] *PT 1283* (*l.* 7); Bacot (1956: 151); Venturi (2008: 20).

[25] *PT 1283* (*l.* 62); Venturi (2008: 28).

[26] Ligeti (1971: 183) considers the Old Turkic form transcribed in the Bacot Document as *gezir* to be a "Turkic dialect form (forme turque dialectale)".

[27] *PT 1283* (*l.* 81); Bacot (1956: 152); Venturi (2008: 30).

[28] *PT 1283* (*l.* 92-93); Ligeti (1971: 182); Venturi (2008: 31).

[29] *PT 1283* (*l.* 27); Clauson (1957: 22); Moriyasu (1980: 176); Venturi (2008: 24). The phonological reconstruction given above is my own.

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Foreign vocoid sequences

Although pre-Old Tibetan had certain vowel and vocoid sequences which later merged to single vowels,[30] Old Tibetan had no diphthongs and also did not allow V+y or V+w sequences. These foreign vocoid sequences appear to have been repaired in Old Tibetan phonology via two methods—deletion or vowel epenthesis.

Foreign [Vy] ≈ OTib *V ~ VyV ~ Vyi*

The ethnonym of the medieval Uygur (spoken *huyʁur) is transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan variously as *yuyikor* (ཡུ་ཡི་ཀོར་), *hoyohor* (ཧོ་ཡོ་ཧོར་), and *hoyoɣor* (ཧོ་ཡོ་འོར་).[31]

Foreign [Vw] ≈ OTib *Vɣu ~ Vɣo*

Late Middle Chinese [Vw] is regularly transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan as ‹*Vɣu*› and sometimes as ‹*Vɣo*›. For example, Chinese 好 *hao* (Pul. 121 ☆xaw) is transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan as ‹*haɣu*› (ཧཱུ),[32] 飽 *pao* (Pul. 30 ☆paɬw) is transcribed as *baɣo* (བའོ་),[33] 手 *shou* (Pul. 286 ☆śuw) is transcribed ‹*śeɣu*› (ཤཱེུ),[34] 修 *hsiu* (Pul. 346 ☆suw) is transcribed ‹*seɣu*› (སཱེུ),[35] and 九 *chiu* (Pul. 161 ☆kuw) is transcribed ‹*guɣu*› (གཱུུ).[36] Early Old Tibetan intervocalic /ɣ/ had lenited to zero by the Middle Old

[30] Beckwith (2008b: 168, etc.) and Hill (2011) mention diphthong mergers in the origin of Old Tibetan *o. This vowel could transcribe foreign *aw ~ *wa sequences as well as foreign *ʊ ~ *ɔ. Jacques (2009) discusses the merger of pre-Old Tibetan *ya and *e.

[31] *PT 1283* (*l.* 25, 26, 29); Bacot (1956: 153); Clauson (1957: 15); Ligeti (1971: 180); Venturi (2008: 24, 25).

[32] Tak. 342.

[33] Tak. 342.

[34] Tak. 348.

[35] Tak. 348.

[36] Tak. 348.

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Tibetan period, so these transcriptions probably represent Middle Old Tibetan *haw for 好, *baw for 飽, *śew for 手, *sew for 修, and *guw for 九 at the phonological level.

4.4. Syllable Codas

Coda clusters

Early Old Tibetan phonology permits the coda clusters *gs*, *bs*, *ms*, *ŋs*, *nd*, *rd*, and *ld*.[37] Later Old Tibetan transcriptions of foreign words indicate that *nd* had lenited to *n* by the time of the Bacot Document (see the Middle Old Tibetan transcription of Old Turkic *yund* 'horse' below). The clusters *rd* and *ld* had probably also lenited to single segments by this time.

Foreign codas

The following codas are attested in early varieties of Serbi-Mongolic and Turkic but are not present in Old Tibetan.

Foreign ɲ]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ OTib *n*]$_{\sigma}$ ~ *ŋ*]$_{\sigma}$ ~ $_{\sigma}$[*ñ*

The Kitan ethnonym *qɪtaɲ (attested in Old Turkic as *qɨtañ*) is transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan as *getaŋ* (གེ་ཏངཿ) ~ *getan* (གེ་ཏན་).[38]

[37] Beckwith (2006e: 10).

[38] *PT 1283* (*l.* 27); Clauson (1957: 22); Moriyasu (1980: 176); Venturi (2008: 24). The phonological reconstruction given above is my own.

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Foreign ʁ]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ OTib *g*]$_{\sigma}$

The medieval Uygur royal clan name Yaʁlaqar appears in Middle Old Tibetan transcription as *yagleker* (ཡག་ལེ་ཀེར་).[39] The Turkic ethnonym Oʁraq appears in Middle Old Tibetan as *Ograg* (ཨོ་ར་རག་).[40]

Foreign q]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ OTib *g*]$_{\sigma}$

Spoken Old Turkic *ud hadaqlɨq* 'having ox feet' is transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan as *ud hadagleg* (ཨུད་ཧ་དག་ལེག་).[41] The Old Turkic city name Baqɨr Balɨq 'Copper City' is transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan as *baker palig* (བ་ཀེར་པ་ལིག་).[42] The Turkic ethnonym Qarluq appears in Middle Old Tibetan as *garlog* (ཀར་ལོག་).[43] The Turkic ethnonym Oʁraq appears in Middle Old Tibetan as *Ograg* (ཨོ་ར་རག་).[44] Note also spoken Old Turkic **hala* **yundluq* 'those having piebald horses', transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan as *hala yunlog* (ཧ་ལ་ཡུན་ལོག་).[45]

Foreign ɣ]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ OTib *g*]$_{\sigma}$

Hypothetically, foreign voiced velar fricative codas would be transcribed by Old Tibetan *g* (ག), although I have not yet found any transcriptions providing philological evidence of this.

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[39] *PT 1283* (*l.* 25-26); Clauson (1957: 20); Golden (1992: 156); Ligeti (1971: 180); Venturi (2008: 24).

[40] *PT 1283* (*l.* 86); Clauson (1957: 15); Venturi (2008: 30).

[41] *PT 1283* (*l.* 92-93); Ligeti (1971: 182); Venturi (2008: 31).

[42] *PT 1283* (*l.* 7); Bacot (1956: 151); Venturi (2008: 20).

[43] *PT 1283* (*l.* 85); Ligeti (1971: 186); Venturi (2008: 30).

[44] *PT 1283* (*l.* 86); Clauson (1957: 15); Venturi (2008: 30).

[45] *PT 1283* (*l.*); Ligeti (1971: 181-182); Venturi (2008: 31).

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Foreign nd]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ OTib *n*]$_{\sigma}$

Old Turkic *yund* ‘horse’ appears in Middle Old Tibetan transcription as *yun* (ཡུན་) in the phrase transcribed *hala yunlog* (ཧ་ལ་ཡུན་ལོག་) for spoken Old Turkic **hala* **yundluq* ‘those having piebald horses’.[46]

Foreign š]$_{\sigma}$ ≈ OTib *s*]$_{\sigma}$

The Turkic ethnonym Türgiš is transcribed in Middle Old Tibetan as *durgyus* (དུར་རྒྱས་).[47]

[46] *PT 1283* (*l.* 91); Ligeti (1971: 181-182); Venturi (2008: 31).

[47] *IT 1283* (*l.* 85); cf. Clauson (1957: 15). Venturi transcribes this as “Du rgyas” (2008: 30), but the original text clearly has དུ་རྒྱས་ with *u* as the nucleus in both the first and second syllables, i.e. Durgyus.

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CHAPTER FIVE:
TAGHBACH (T'O-PA) AND OTHER MIDDLE SERBI DIALECTS OF THE NORTHERN WEI

5.1. INTRODUCTION

At least as early as the Northern Wei 北魏 (386-534 A.D.), there are indications that the Serbi peoples had their own script, and books written in this script, as mentioned in the 隋書 *Sui Shu* (32: 945) as noted by Ligeti (1970a), including 12 lost texts on Middle Serbi or written in the Serbi script:

1. 《國語》十五卷 (*The National Language*, 15 vols.).
2. 《國語》十卷 (*The National Language*, 10 vols.).
3. 《鮮卑語》五卷 (*The Serbi Language*, five vols.).
4. 《國語物名》四卷後魏侯伏侯可悉陵撰 (*Names of Material Phenomena in the National Language*, 4 vols., by Hou-fu-hou K'o-hsi-ling[1] of the Later Wei[2]).
5. 《國語真歌》十卷 (*True Songs in the National Language*, 10 vols.).
6. 《國語雜物名》三卷侯伏侯可悉陵撰 (*Names of Various Material Phenomena in the National Language*, three vols., by Hou-fu-hou K'o-hsi-ling).
7. 《國語十八傳》一卷 (*Eighteen Tales in the National Language*, one volume).
8. 《國語御歌》十一卷 (*Charioteering Songs in the National Language*, 11 vols.).
9. 《鮮卑語》十卷 (*The Serbi Language*, 10 vols.).
10. 《國語號令》四卷 (*Titles in the National Language*, 4 vols.).
11. 《國語雜文》十五卷 (*Various Writings in the National Language*, 15 vols.).
12. 《鮮卑號令》一卷周武帝撰 (*Serbi Titles*, one vol., by Chou Wu-ti[3]).

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[1] This name may be reconstructed as ☆qʊbʊʁʊ/☆ɢʊbʊʁʊ [侯伏侯] (NEMC ☆ɣʊbuwgɣʊ; cf. Pul. 125, 99, 125) ☆qʰarsiri/☆qʰaʁsiri [可悉陵] (NEMC ☆kʰaʁsirli; cf. Pul. 173, 330, 195).

[2] I.e. the Northern Wei.

[3] I.e. Emperor Wu of Northern Chou. The Northern Chou (557-581 A.D.) was founded by the Yü-wen branch of the Serbi. One may entertain the possibility that the later Kitan scripts were based on, or inspired by, this early unattested Serbi script.

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Unfortunately, none of these texts have been discovered, if they have indeed survived the test of time. Until texts in this script come to light, we must rely solely on the Chinese transcriptions of the Middle Serbi dialects to learn what their speech was like.

The most important source for the study of the Chinese transcriptions of Taghbach and other Middle Serbi dialects whose speakers had been incorporated into the Taghbach state of Northern Wei is the sixth century *Wei Shu* 魏書, compiled by Wei Shou 魏收 (506-572 A.D.) of the Northern Ch'i 北齊 (550-577 A.D.), a rich source of material for both historical and linguistic purposes alike. In particular, it provides the majority of the known Chinese transcriptions of the T'o-pa 拓跋 ~ 托跋 or Taghbach[4] language—the language of the founders of the Northern Wei 北魏 (386-534 A.D.) and data on other Middle Serbi dialects. Since it is currently impossible to distinguish the Taghbach onomastic data from other mutually intelligible Middle Serbi dialects spoken in the Northern Wei, I have termed all the Middle Serbi data in these sources as 'Taghbach'. Although these clan names are not all Taghbach clan names—many are clans of other Serbi clans who were subjects of the Northern Wei—they are treated as Taghbach words in the sources. That is, the glossed clan names were Middle Serbi words present in the Taghbach dialect, i.e. these words made sense to Taghbach speakers as common nouns in the Taghbach dialect of Middle Serbi.

These Chinese transcriptions have been partially treated by such scholars as Shiratori Kurakichi (1902, 1911a, 1911b), Paul Pelliot (1925), Fang Chuang-yu 方壯猷 (1930), Peter Boodberg (1936), Louis Bazin (1950), Sir Gerard Clauson (1960), Lajos Ligeti (1970a), György Kara (1972, 2005), Luwsandendew (1980, 1997), Shagdarsüren (1999), Nieh Hung-yin (2001), Christopher I. Beckwith (2005), and Alexander Vovin (2007). Their work has hinted, explicitly or implicitly, at an affinity between Taghbach and the Mongolic languages.

[4] On the reconstruction of the Taghbach ethnonym, see Beckwith (2005, 2006a, 2010).

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Aside from a few glossed common nouns, the Chinese transcriptions of Taghbach words in the *Wei Shu* largely consist of onomastic materials. In particular, Chapter 113 has a section describing the sinicization of native Serbi clan names (*shih* 氏). Although previous scholarship has devoted little attention to the exact nature of the sinification of these names, it is clear that at least three different methods were employed: **1)** some Serbi clan names were glossed in Chinese, i.e. translated or approximated, preserving the semantic value of the original Taghbach words, e.g. Ch'ih-nu *shih* (叱奴氏) NWei ☆tśʰirnɔ *shih* was changed to Lang *shih* (狼氏) 'Wolf clan', a gloss of the Serbi word *čʰɪrnɔ 'wolf'; **2)** some clan names were abbreviated into Chinese using one (or rarely, two or more) characters of the Chinese transcription (or a character homophonous to a character in the Chinese transcription) of the Taghbach form, e.g. Fu-lü *shih* (副呂氏) NWei ☆puwlɨʁ *shih* became Fu *shih* (副氏) 'Fu clan'; or **3)** other means were employed, e.g. T'o-pa *shih* (拓跋氏) NWei ☆tʰagbać *shih* became Yüan *shih* (元氏) 'Yüan clan'.[5]

The first method of sinicization is of great importance for our understanding of Taghbach, and can be treated, though with caution, as *glosses* of Taghbach words. In such cases we are supplied with both the Chinese transcription—a doorway to the phonological form of the word—and a Chinese gloss—the semantic value of the word. This allows for an accurate reconstruction of the phonological form at hand, and because we have a gloss, permits the identification of cognates and comparanda in other languages. Although the Middle Serbi names abbreviated in Chinese generally provide little to no information on the Taghbach lexicon, they, too, are important for increasing our understanding of Middle Serbi phonology.

As for the Chinese translations of Northern Wei Middle Serbi names, the majority of the reconstructible words only have cognates in Mongolic, despite some incautious or methodologically flawed attempts by previous

[5] See Beckwith (2005, 2006a, 2010) for the Northern Wei transcription and the reconstruction of the Taghbach form.

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scholars to demonstrate that Taghbach was a Turkic language (e.g. Boodberg 1936, Bazin 1950, Clauson 1960, and Chen 2005). Although Taghbach does indeed have several words relatable to Archaic Turkic,[6] the identifiable functional morphology of the language, and the majority of the reconstructible words, have cognates only in Serbi-Mongolic.

Regarding the conferral of these new Chinese clan names, the *Wei Shu* states the following:

> 自古天子立德因生以賜姓胙之土而命之氏
> Since time immemorial, the Son of Heaven achieved virtue, and therefore, he took it upon himself to bestow surnames upon his subjects; having bestowed land upon them, he decreed clan names[7] for them.
>
> 諸侯則以家與謚官有世功則有宦族邑亦如之
> As for the feudal lords, they were named by means of their families and posthumous titles, and if an official possessed achievements or merits within their generation, then they would possess an official lineage; the clan names of whole cities were [Sinicized] in this manner.
>
> 姓則表其所由生氏則記族所由出其大略然也
> The surnames, then, expressed one's birth, and the clan names, then, recorded a lineage's provenance; this was generally the case.
>
> 至於或自所居或以國號或用官爵或用事物雖緣時不同俱其義矣
> It was such that some were named for their own place of residence, some for the name of their nation, some employed their rank or title, and some employed worldly phenomena; though the reasons and times were different, all of these clan names possessed righteousness (*WS* 113: 3005).

---

[6] See Chapter Eight entries for Taghbach ☆ɣyamčın 'people who ride along the relay route' (in §8.5.4) and *q^{h}aʁbagčın 'door guards' (in §8.5.2).

[7] Throughout this text I have largely followed Pulleyblank's (1991) definitions of words, as his lexicographical work is largely devoted to medieval forms of Sinitic, precisely the language in which the *Wei Shu* was written. Pulleyblank explains that *shih* 氏 denotes 'lineage, clan, surname' (1991: 284).

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The passage above describes how clan names were assigned to the Northern Wei Serbi families. We learn from this passage that some clan names were common nouns in the Taghbach language (or in other Middle Serbi dialects mutually intelligible to Taghbach speakers), some were titles, some were toponyms, and ethnonyms. Despite widespread belief to the contrary, historically in many societies surnames and clan names were often originally *assigned* and are formed of common nouns.[8] Note European surnames like *Smith*, from the common noun *smith* as in *blacksmith*.

The Northern Wei Middle Serbi onomasticon is thus of great importance for understanding the Taghbach lexicon, and provides us with the majority of the reconstructible Taghbach common nouns as well as proper nouns.

5.2. The Taghbach onomasticon in the *Wei Shu*

5.2.1. Glossed transcriptions

The *Wei Shu* contains 30 or so relatively unproblematic glossed transcriptions of Taghbach and other Middle Serbi clan names. These are not the only transcriptions of Taghbach—there are also important glossed transcriptions of Taghbach in the *Nan Ch'i Shu* 南齊書 and in the Serbi Cave Inscription of 443. I present a treatment of the *Wei Shu* glossed transcriptions of Taghbach below:

Ch'i-lien *shih* (其連氏) NWei ☆gilɛr̃ *shih* is glossed Ch'i *shih* (綦氏) 'Sandal Cord clan' (*WS* 113: 3013). Taghbach *gir 'sandal cord' is cognate to Middle Mongol *jirim* [جيريم] 'girth strap (saddle strap which wraps around a horse's barrel to keep the saddle in place)' (*MAA*). Regarding

[8] As pointed out by Christopher I. Beckwith (p.c., 2011). It is well known that most Old Turkic clan names are not Turkic in origin, and many Mongol clan names are not etymologizable within Mongolic, cf. Beckwith (2007b).

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the *gi- to Mongolic *ǰi-* correspondence, note the early Serbi-Mongolic elements in Tungusic, e.g. Manchu *gida* 'spear, lance' ← early Serbi-Mongolic *gida > Middle Mongol *ǰida* 'spear' (*HIIY*) and Manchu *gio* /gyu/ 'roe deer' ← early Serbi-Mongolic *gyur > modern Written Mongol *ǰür* 'roe deer'.[9] The loss of the coda *r is due to a phonotactic constraint in Manchu prohibiting word-final *r except in mimetics. Later Mongolic loans in Manchu with word-final *r in the donor form were often repaired by means of paragoge, e.g. modern Written Mongol *asar* 'tower' → Manchu *asari* 'id.', although deletion is often observed as well, e.g. modern Written Mongol *bögtör* 'hunchbacked' → Manchu *boqto* 'hunchback'.[10]

This transcription is challenged by the *Wei Shu* text-critical notes, which suggest that it may be an abbreviation and not a true gloss (*WS* 113: 3022, n. 39). However, given the good Mongolic cognate, we may assume the transcription and gloss are correct.

Ch'ih-kan *shih* (叱干氏) NWei ☆tś^{h}irkaɾ̃ *shih* is glossed Hsüeh *shih* (薛氏) 'Artemisia clan'[11] (*WS* 113: 3012). On the basis of Written Mongol *čirγai* 'tall, straight, and densely growing (e.g. of grasses)', and the fact that Serbi *Vñ# often corresponds to Middle Mongol Vi#, this word should be reconstructed *č^{h}ırqañ. Taghbach *č^{h}ırqañ thus means

[9] Rozycki considers these to be "pre-loan correspondence[s]" between Manchu and Mongolic (1994: 89). Since most Northern Tungusic languages permit word-final r#, the lack of a final /r/ in the Northern Tungusic cognates of this word indicates that they are not inherited from Proto-Tungusic, but rather are the result of intrafamily convergence. The following etymology thus seems likely: early Serbi-Mongolic dial. *gyur → Jurchen-Manchu *gyu (attested Manchu *gio* /gyu/) → Northern Tungusic *giw (e.g. Ewenki *giw-cəən* 'wild goat') ~ other Southern Tungusic *giu (e.g. Uilta *giu*, Nanai *gibu* ~ *giu* → Udihe **giu-* as in *giu-sə* 'wild goat').

[10] See Rozycki (1994) and Sanzheev (1930a: 609) for these and other examples.

[11] The *Han-yü Ta Tzu-tien* defines 薛 as "賴蒿" (*HTT* 3303), a type of artemisia.

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'artemisia'.[12] This word is cognate to modern Khalkha **чаргай** [ʧʰarˈʁæ] 'Cotoneaster',[13] from an unattested Middle Mongol form **čirqai*.

For more evidence of the Serbi *Vñ# to Middle Mongol *Vi# sound correspondence, see the entry for Jo-kan *shih* 'Kou clan' below. Although the Chinese syllable coda of the second character, 干 *kan*, seems generally to have been articulated as rhoticism and nasalization of the preceding vowel, as a transcription it is equally clear that it could transcribe a palatal *ñ as well as a rhotic *r, alveolar *n, or even a velar nasal *ŋ. I have reconstructed the transcriptional form here as *ñ. Note the Chinese transcription of the ethnonym Kitan as 契丹 *Ch'i-tan*, corresponding to the Old Turkic rendering of the name as *Qɨtañ*, clearly indicating a palatal or palatalized nasal coda. Since Old Turkic could easily distinguish *n* and *ñ* in coda position, it is certain that the Kitan endonym ended in *ñ*. Evidence from the Kitan Assembled Script form of the ethnonym confirms this with *qɪtañ 𘮩𘮍 ‹qɪta.ᵉñ›.[14]

Ch'ih-lu *shih* (叱盧氏) NWei ☆tśʰirlʊ *shih* is glossed Chu *shih* (祝氏) 'Invoker clan' or 'Praying clan' (*WS* 113: 3013). Taghbach ☆ʧʰirʊ superficially resembles the root of Written Mongol *ǰiruqai* 'astrology' < Middle Mongol *ǰiru-* 'draw, paint' (*MAA*), although they are unlikely to be cognates, especially given the fact that this Middle Mongol word has a

[12] Bazin proposes a connection with the Turkish word for 'cicada' (1950: 243) but this is impossible given the Chinese gloss and the Mongolic cognate, which closely corresponds both phonologically and semantically to the Taghbach word.

[13] For a description of several types of Cotoneaster used in traditional Mongolian medicine, see Khaidaw & Choijamts (2013: 22 #152, #153; 133). The variety *Cotoneaster melanocarpus* is also known in modern Mongolian by the name **царбурам** [ˈtsʰarpʊrəm], a loanword from Tibetan *tshar'brum* ཚར་འབྲུམ་ (Khaidaw & Choijamts 2013: 133).

[14] See Chapter Seven entry for Ch'i-tan.

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semantically close cognate in Middle Kitan *ǰur 'painting', attested in the plural as *ǰur-ən 𐲘𐲢𐲓 ‹ǰur.en› 'paintings'.[15]

Ch'ih-nu *shih* (叱奴氏) NWei ☆tɕ́ʰirnʊ / ☆tɕ́ʰirnɔ *shih* is glossed Lang *shih* (狼氏) 'Wolf clan' (*WS* 113: 3013). An untenable reconstruction of the Taghbach word for 'wolf' which many scholars (including myself) have copied from each other over the years with little or no modification is ✘čino. This reconstruction is in conflict with the Middle Chinese phonological values of the transcriptional characters.

The first syllable clearly had a final *-r* in Middle Chinese: Pulleyblank reconstructs 叱 as "tɕʰit" (Pul. 57), i.e. ☆ tɕ́ʰit in philological transcription, but in attested Late Middle Chinese in Old Tibetan transcription, the phonetic of this character, 七, is transcribed *tshir* ཙྷིར་ *[tsʰir] (Tak. 380), clearly indicating that we should reconstruct Late Middle Chinese ☆tɕ́ʰir. Note also the Sino-Korean reading of 叱 as 질 *chir* [tɕìl̚]. There is a large corpus of transcriptional evidence attesting Early Middle Chinese coda *r (Beckwith 2007a, 2005, etc.). Independent evidence from northeastern Middle Chinese transcriptions of other foreign languages shows that this variety of Sinitic retained *-p, *-r, and *-k, the obstruent codas characteristic of the central dialects of Sui-T'ang Middle Chinese.

Previous attempts to reconstruct this Taghbach word and its Middle Chinese transcription follow the thoroughly disproven view that the central dialects of Middle Chinese had a ☆-t coda, ultimately following Karlgren's (1957) reconstruction of Middle Chinese ("Ancient Chinese" in his terminology) with only minor revisions. Contrary to the widespread misconception that the central dialects of Middle Chinese had coda *-t*, there is an abundance of solid, unambiguous, reliable evidence in the numerous transcriptions of Middle Chinese in many foreign segmental scripts which were capable

[15] See Chapter Eight for this Kitan-Mongol lexical correspondence.

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of distinguishing coda *-r* and *-t* showing that the central and northern dialects of Middle Chinese instead had *-r* (cf. Csongor 1952, 1954, 1960, 1962; Takata 1988, 1993; Coblin 1995; Beckwith 2007a, etc.; Takeuchi 2008). The *-r* coda was not a dialectal peculiarity restricted to northwestern Middle Chinese; rather, it was a feature of the central dialect as well—the prestige dialect of Sui-T'ang Middle Chinese, which is undoubtedly what Tibetans, Uygurs, and others were trying to capture in their transcriptions. The coda *-t* we find in many southern Sinitic languages today comes from southern dialects of Middle and Old Chinese. The sources are replete with evidence that the central and northern dialects of Middle Chinese had *-r* and not the ✘-t proposed by Karlgren (1957) and his followers, including Pulleyblank (1984, 1991).

The Taghbach word should be reconstructed *ǰʰɪrnɔ as the Chinese transcription indicates. Northern Wei Chinese was a northeastern variety of Early Middle Chinese and preserved *-r* codas.[16]

Ligeti (1970a) quotes the erroneous form *ch'ih-ju* [叱如] (LMC ☆tśʰirɲɨ), which Shimunek (2007) and Vovin (2007) followed. In fact, the transcription should be *ch'ih-nu* [叱奴] (LMC ☆tśʰirnɔ), as it appears in the Chung-hua Shu-chü 中華書局 edition of the *Wei Shu* 魏書.

Ch'u-lien *shih* (出連氏) NWei ☆tśʰurlɛr̃ *shih* is glossed Pi *shih* (畢氏) 'Hand Net clan' (*WS* 113: 3009). This Taghbach word is cognate to late Middle Mongol *tor* [تُر] 'net' (*IM*) > modern Khalkha **тор** /tʰɔr/ 'net', i.e. Taghbach *ǰʰur/*ǰʰʊr 'hand net' : Proto-Mongolic *tʰɔr 'net'. Although no attested Mongolic daughter languages have reflexes of the *ʊ variant, there are indications that Common Serbi-Mongolic had

[16] See Seongyeon Ko (2013) on the reconstruction of */ɪ/ for early Mongolic. On a pattern basis, this segment is also reconstructible for Taghbach, which seems to have been characterized by ATR vowel harmony. See §5.5 for discussion.

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dialectal variation between *ɔ and *ʊ.[17] It is clear from this Serbi-Mongolic correspondence that Taghbach affricated Common Serbi-Mongolic *tʰ- to *čʰ- before *u ~ *ʊ. Also note *tʊ > *tsʊ in T'u-yü-hun, another Serbi language, e.g. the T'u-yü-hun word for 'empress' or 'imperial consort' is ☆kʰagtsʊn [恪尊] (LMC ☆kʰaktswən) (*Chou Shu* 50: 913), cf. Old Turkic *qatun* 'empress' (attested 8th c. A.D., *GOrkT* 342-343), i.e. attested T'u-yü-hun ☆kʰagtsʊn 'empress' < ? early Serbi-Mongolic *kʰagtʊn → unattested ATrk > attested OTrk *qatun* 'empress'. Note a similar affrication process in Japanese (whereby Old Japanese *tu > MSJ *tsu*) and also in Koguryo.[18]

Ch'ü-chin *shih* (去斤氏)[19] NWei ☆kʰɨʁkɨr̃ *shih* is glossed Ai *shih* (艾) 'Mugwort clan' (*WS* 113: 3013). No known cognates.[20]

Ho-ch'i/chi *shih* (和稽氏) NWei ☆ɣɔkʰɛyʁ ~ ☆ɣɔkɛy *shih* is glossed as Huan *shih* (緩氏) 'Sluggish clan' (*WS* 113: 3013). No known cognates.

Ho-hsi *shih* (紇奚氏)[21] NWei *ɣʊrɣay *shih* is glossed as Chi *shih* (嵇氏) 'Chi clan' (*WS* 113: 3013). The character 嵇 *chi* is the name of a mountain

[17] See Chapter Eight entries for Middle Kitan *ɔn- 𘟙 'ride' and *ɔn- 𘟙 'fall, descend'.

[18] E.g. Old Koguryo *tsʊ [祖] 'owlet' < earlier *tʊ (Beckwith 2007a: 139).

[19] Pul. 261, 156.

[20] Boodberg assumed that 艾 *ai* denotes 'old man', and proposed a connection with Written Mongol *kögsin* 'old man' and *köke* 'blue' (Boodberg 1936: 177). Since the most common meaning of 艾 *ai* is 'mugwort', this must be the Taghbach word for mugwort. A connection with the above-mentioned Mongol words is impossible for semantic and phonological reasons. Note also that Middle Mongol *köke* is a relatively late, i.e. post-Proto-Serbi-Mongolic, loanword from Turkic. The attested Middle Kitan word for 'blue' is *syawqu 𘮩𘮿𘮬 ‹s.iau.qu› (e.g. *Lang* 5: 1).

[21] Pul. 122, 329. I have significantly revised Pulleyblank's reconstructions of these two characters based on Sino-Korean evidence as well as evidence in the use of these characters

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in Henan (Mathews 1975: 56). This transcription probably represents a Taghbach form *ɦʊrʁay. Considering that the gloss is probably a copyist's error for 稽 *chi* 'cultivate', the Taghbach word appears to be cognate to Middle Mongol *urqu-* (*SHM*) ~ *hurʁu-* [هورغو] ~ *urʁu-* [اورغو] 'grow' (*MAA*). As shown in other transcriptions, Taghbach *-ay is a deverbal noun suffix cognate to Middle Mongol *-'A ~ -'Ai* 'resultative perfective verbal noun suffix'[22] (see the discussion of Yüan-lai *shih* below).[23] Taghbach *ɦʊrʁay (probably phonemically */ɦʊrg-ay/) thus means 'cultivation'. The Middle Mongol equivalent would be *urgu'ai* 'growing' (perfective verbal noun form).[24]

Ho-ku *shih* (紇骨氏)[25] NWei ☆ɣʊrkor *shih* is glossed Hu *shih* (胡氏) 'Foreigner clan' (*WS* 113: 3006). This is probably not a true gloss, but an approximation. The Taghbach form probably transcribes the same name, though not necessarily the same people, as the Uygur, an ethnonym known from several different Chinese and Old Tibetan transcriptions and reconstructible as *huyʁur/*hʊyʁʊr.[26] This possibility deserves further consideration.

Ho-tou-ling *shih* (紇豆陵氏) NWei ☆ɣʊrdʊli *shih* is glossed as Tou *shih* (竇氏) 'Hole/drain clan' (*WS* 113: 3012). Bazin discusses this transcription, although his proposed etymologies are all semantically impossible since he ignores the gloss (Bazin 1950: 254-255). The

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to regularly transcribe foreign words with these sequences of sounds. See §3.3.4 for discussion.

[22] See Brosig's (2014) careful analysis of Middle Mongol tense, mood, aspect, and evidentiality.

[23] See §8.5.3 entry for Taghbach *-Ay ~ *-ɣAy ~ *-ɣA 'verbal noun suffix'.

[24] On Middle Mongol *-'Ai* as a 'resultative perfective' see Brosig (2014).

[25] Pul. 122, 111.

[26] E.g. *'uyikor* [འུ་ཡི་ཀོར་] OTib *ɣuyikʊr ~ *hoyo'or* [ཧོ་ཡོ་འོར་] OTib *hʊyʊɣʊr (*PT* 1283, *l.* 26) ~ *hoyohor* [ཧོ་ཡོ་ཧོར་] OTib *hʊyʊhʊr (*PT* 1283, *l.* 29).

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transcription can represent Taghbach forms such as ☆qʊrdʊli / ☆ɢʊrdʊli or ☆qʊldʊli/☆ɢʊldʊli. Middle Mongol *quduʁ* [قدوغ] (*IM*) ~ *quduq* [قودوق] (*MAA*) 'well' and modern Written Mongol *quduɣ* ~ *qudduɣ* 'id.' partially resemble the Taghbach word, but this correspondence poses phonological problems (cf. also, Daur *kodir*, and Khalkha **худаг** /xʊtɢ/ 'well').[27]

Hou *shih* (侯氏) NWei ☆ɣəw/☆ɣʊ *shih* is glossed Kai *shih* (亥氏) (*WS* 113: 3006). Since the character *kai* (亥) corresponds to 'pig' in the Chinese zodiac, Taghbach *qɔw [侯] must be a word for 'pig' or 'boar'.[28] Based on the modern Written Mongol cognate *qobosu-n* 'two-year-old boar' (< unattested MMgl **qobosu* < < pre-PMgl *k^hɔb(ɔ)-sU), the vowel must have been *ɔ. Note also Khalkha **ховс** /xɔws/ [χɔ̯ws ~ hɔ̯ws] 'two-year old boar'. The *-su* element in the Written Mongol form is a Mongolic innovation not present in Serbi languages (see Appendix D for discussion of pre-Proto-Mongolic *-sU).

Hsi-tou-lu *shih* (奚斗盧氏) NWei ☆ɣaytʊʁlʊ *shih* is glossed So-lu *shih* (索盧氏) 'a Saka clan' or 'a Scythian clan' (*WS* 113: 3010). Taghbach *qaydʊʁlʊ/*qaydʊrʊ. No known cognates.[29]

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[27] Clauson treats the Mongol word as an "early" loanword from Turkic (*EDT* 599). Given the phonological complexity of the Taghbach form, this proposal should be carefully reexamined; we cannot rule out the possibility of an early Serbi-Mongolic → Turkic loanword.

[28] Bazin (1950: 255-256) ignores the Chinese gloss and proposes several impossible etymologies based on the phonological form alone, even going as far as to suggest a connection with the ethnonym *Hun*.

[29] The first element of this Taghbach word resembles Qaidu, the name of the ca. late 11th century ruler of the Mongols. A connection, if any, between this Mongol name and the Taghbach word remains to be determined.

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I-li-fa *shih* (俟力伐氏) NWei ☆ɦiʁləgbɔr *shih* is glossed Pao *shih* (鮑氏) 'Abalone clan' (*WS* 113: 3008). Reconstructible as Taghbach ☆ɦiʁləgbɔr or ☆ɦirləgbɔr.[30] Although no word for 'abalone' is attested in Mongolic, Taghbach ☆ɦirləgbɔr 'abalone' resembles several Mongol words, i.e. ☆ɦir resembles Written Mongol *ir* 'blade', the ☆-ləg element resembles the Written Mongol possessive attributive suffix *-lig* 'having N' (usually treated as an Old Turkic loanword into Mongol, cf. Poppe 1955: 159), and the ☆bɔr element closely resembles Middle Mongol *boro ~ bora* 'gray'; cf. the loss of other non-initial short vowels in such Taghbach words as ☆ɣyam 'relay route' (< CSM *ɣyamʊ), ☆qʊrag 'weapon of war' (< CSM *k^{h}ɪt^{h}ʊga), and ☆k^{h}ɪr- 'kill' (< CSM *k^{h}ɪdʊ-). Thus, we might propose that the Taghbach word was a then-recent neologism in that language, given the fact that Serbi speakers did not historically live near areas with abalone. The Taghbach word probably literally means 'the bladed gray one', a description of the iridescent surface inside the abalone's shell and the dull color of the outer shell.

I-tou-chüan *shih* (壹斗眷氏) NWei ☆yirtʊʁkwiaɾ̃ *shih* is glossed Ming *shih* (明氏) 'Bright clan' (*WS* 113: 3011). The character 眷 is read *'gywan* in attested Late Middle Chinese in Old Tibetan transcription (Takata 1993: 335). The Taghbach form must be *yırtʊqañ or *yırtʊqan 'bright'. No known cognates.

Jo-kan *shih* (若干氏) NWei ☆ɲiakkaɾ̃ *shih* is glossed Kou *shih* (苟氏) 'Kou clan' (*WS* 113: 3007). As demonstrated by Chen & Kwok (1996: 88) and Chen (2005: 164), the gloss Kou (苟) 'careless, negligent' is a homophonous euphemism for Kou (狗) 'dog'. The Taghbach word thus means 'dog'.[31]

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[30] On Northern Wei coda ☆ʁ transcribing Taghbach coda *r, see the entry for P'u *shih* below.

[31] Bazin proposes a connection with Ordos *nayan* and Written Mongol *nayaču* 'maternal side of the family' (Bazin 1950: 265), but this is impossible given the gloss 'dog'.

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As demonstrated by Vovin, Chinese intervocalic ☆-kk- (star added by me) can transcribe foreign -q- (Vovin 2007: 201). Early Middle Chinese coda ☆ř could transcribe foreign coda *n, *ñ, *r, *ɹ, and a number of other possibilities. Comparative data from other Serbi languages suggests that this Taghbach word should be reconstructed as *ñaqañ.[32] Namely, we have evidence of Serbi Vñ# corresponding to Middle Mongol word-final *Vi#*, e.g. the Middle Kitan past or perfective verbal noun suffix *-bəñ,[33] written in Kitan Assembled Script as 𘍼𘈩 ‹b.ñ›, cognate to Middle Mongol *-bAi* 'past firsthand'.[34] Note also the discussion of Ch'ih-kan *shih* 'Artemisia clan' above and the entry for T'u-yü-hun *aqañ in §8.5.4.

This Taghbach word is cognate to Middle Mongol *noqai* *[nɔq^{h}aj] 'dog' and Middle Kitan *ñaq 𘈩𘉋 ‹ñ.aq› 'dog'. Late Jurchen *ñaxa [捏哈] 'small dog (小狗)'[35] and Manchu *ñaχan* ‹niyaχan› 'puppy, small dog' very likely represent a loanword into Jurchen-Manchu from Kitan[36] or Taghbach,[37] or from another unattested Serbi form.

Jo-k'ou-yin *shih* (若口弓氏) NWei ☆ɲiakk^{h}ʊʁyiř *shih* is glossed K'ou *shih* (寇氏) 'Bandit clan' (*WS* 113: 3007). There are no obvious cognates in Mongolic or comparanda in other neighboring languages.

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[32] See §3.3.3 for foreign segments transcribed by Northeastern Early Middle Chinese *ř codas.

[33] Menges (1968: 50) and Kara (2005: 9) identify the morphological function of the Late Kitan reflex of this suffix.

[34] I follow Brosig's (2014) analysis of Middle Mongol tense, mood, aspect, and evidentiality.

[35] Kane (1989: 234).

[36] Shimunek (2007).

[37] Vovin (2007: 203, *n.* 9).

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Pa-lieh *shih* (拔列氏)[38] NWei ☆parliar *shih* is glossed Liang *shih* (梁氏) 'Bridge clan' (*WS* 113: 3007).[39] The Taghbach form represented by this transcription is probably *pary-al,[40] the root of which is *pary-, cognate to Middle Mongol *bari-* 'grasp, grab, etc.' (modern Khalkha **бари-** [pær-] 'id.'). Note that in modern Khalkha this root also denotes 'construct', e.g. **байшин бари-** [ˈpæˑʃɪŋ pær-] 'build a cabin/house', **барилга** [ˈpærɮɪq] /parʲ-ɮG/ (build-DVN) 'building' etc. The *-al element in the Taghbach form is probably a deverbal noun suffix cognate to the Middle Mongol deverbal noun suffix *-l* > modern Khalkha **-л** [ɮ]. The Taghbach word for 'bridge' thus must literally mean 'something that is constructed'.

P'o-to-lo *shih* (破多羅氏) NWei ☆p^{h}atala *shih* is glossed Fan *shih* (潘氏) 'Rice Water clan' (*WS* 113: 3012). I reconstruct Taghbach ☆p^{h}atala or *p^{h}atara. This word phonogically partially resembles, and is possibly related to Late Middle Korean 밭 *pàt^{h} ~ 받 *pàt 'rice field'.[41]

P'u *shih* (普氏) NWei ☆p^{h}ʊʁ ~ ☆p^{h}ɔʁ *shih* is glossed Chou *shih* (周氏) 'Surrounding clan' (*WS* 113: 3006). The character 周 *chou* can mean 'circuit, go around, all around'. In Late Old Chinese the character 普 *p'u* would theoretically have been read *p^{h}âʁ with a voiced uvular fricative coda *ʁ. Late Old Chinese *â regularly became a rounded ☆ʊ

[38] Note attested Late Middle Chinese 拔 transcribed in Old Tibetan Script as 𖾏 *phar* [par] (Tak. 366; Pul. 27 ☆bəɨt) and Pul. 193 ☆liat. Taking into consideration attested Late Middle Chinese wordforms in foreign transcription, the actual Early Middle Chinese form should have been close to *par-liar.

[39] Although the text-critical notes state that the transcription is an error for Pa-lieh-lan *shih* 拔列蘭氏 (*WS* 113: 3019, n. 25), i.e. NWei ☆parliarlaɾ̃, the original transcription must be correct, because it has greater explanatory power—it provides additional evidence of *-l ~ *-Al 'deverbal noun suffix' cognate to Mongolic.

[40] Since Middle Chinese had no lateral codas, *-r* could easily transcribe foreign *-l*.

[41] The LMK forms here are from Nam (2002: 665).

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~ ☆ɔ in Middle Chinese.[42] Considering the fact that Early Middle Chinese made no distinction between [ʊ] and [ɔ],[43] Northern Wei ☆pʰʊʁ ~ ☆pʰɔʁ could render a Taghbach form *pʰɔr 'surrounding', cognate to the common root of early Middle Mongol *horči-* [豁舌児赤] 'surround' (*SHM*), reconstructible as *[hɔrʧʰi-],[44] and unattested Middle Mongol **horiya-* *[hɔrija-] 'wrap' < < pre-Proto-Mongolic *hɔr 'surrounding, around'.[45]

This transcription is an instance of Northern Wei *ʁ used to transcribe a foreign coda *r. The reason for this less than exact transcription of the coda *r is not entirely clear—it was possible for Northern Wei Chinese to more closely transcribe foreign *pʰɔr with characters like 番 (Pul. 89 ☆pʰuan, NWei ☆pʰɔr̃). This may suggest that Northern Wei ☆r̃ was phonetically somewhat different from Taghbach *r (see also the entry for the Shih-pen clan below).[46]

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[42] Beckwith (2006d: 181).

[43] Beckwith (2007a).

[44] Cf. also attested late Middle Mongol *horči-* attested in the past factual form *horči-ba* [هُرجِبا] and glossed as 'to turn (دَارْ)' (*Leid*. 72b.13.3). On the value of *-bA* see Brosig (2014).

[45] On the reconstruction of Middle Mongol "**horiya-*" (i.e. *hɔriya- in my transcription system), note Shira Yoghor *horo:-*, 'Monguor' (probably Mongghul) *furo:-*, Santa *xoro-*, and 'Bonan' (probably Booŋan) *horə-* (Krippes 1992: 155, §106). Santa *horo-* [χoro-] 'bind, twine, wind around, entwine, roll up (缠绕，卷)' (Ma & Ch'en 2001: 163b). See Sun et al. (1990: 531) for the Shira Yoghor, 'Monguor', Santa, and 'Bonan' forms.

[46] Another possibility is that Taghbach exhibited variation (free or conditional) between *ʁ and *r in word-final position. The best attested sister language to Taghbach, Middle Kitan, is characterized by free variation between coda *r and *ʁ in certain lexical items, e.g. *ñɔʁ 伏仌扎 ‹ñ.o.oγ› (*HsHu* 4:2, 4:17), glossed as 'clan, tribe (部)' by Oyuunch (2012: 59 (214)) is in free variation with the forms *ñɔ(w)r 伏公安 ‹ñ.o.wr› (*HsHu* 6:29) ~ 伏仌安 ‹ñ.o.wr› (*YP'u* 3:30, 4:13, 2:25; *YCh* 2:21) ~ *ñuwr 伏只安 ‹ñ.uw.wr› (*HsHu* 2:11), all of which Oyuunch glosses as 'tribe, clan (部)' (2012: 58 (215), 61 (212), 86 (187), 87 (186)). There is also at least one example of Middle Kitan *ʁ corresponding to Middle Mongol *r*, e.g. MKit *ɢɔʁ 刘扎 ‹γ.°γ› 'river (川)' : MMgl *qoroqan* 'rivulet' (see §8.5.4 entry for MKit *ɢɔʁ).

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Note also Manchu *foro-* [fɔrɔ-] 'spin, turn, turn around', which must ultimately be a borrowing from Taghbach or another early Serbi-Mongolic language.[47]

Pelliot (1925) proposed a connection between the Tungusic forms and Middle Mongol *horči-*.[48] This Taghbach form supports his conclusion.

Shih-lou *shih* (是樓氏) NWei ☆źiʁlʊ *shih* is glossed Kao *shih* (高氏) 'Tall clan' (*WS* 113: 3010). The first character in the transcription, 是 *shih*, was read in theoretical Late Middle Chinese as ☆dźi$_2$ (Pul. 284) and attested Late Middle Chinese in Tibetan script as ཞི་ *zhi* [źi] (Takata 1993: 355). No known cognates.[49]

Shih-pen *shih* (是賁氏) NWei ☆źiʁpəɾ̃ *shih* is glossed as Feng *shih* (封氏) 'Raised Earth clan' or 'Embankment clan' (*WS* 113: 3007). Considering the fact that Northeastern Early Middle Chinese had no velar nasal codas, this Taghbach word is reconstructible as *žirpəŋ [是賁] 'raised earth, embankment (封)'. The word must be cognate to Written Mongol *serbeng* > modern Khalkha **сэрвэн** [ˈsɪrwə̆ŋ ~ ˈsɛrwə̆ŋ] 'projecting, overhanging, jutting out'.[50] In modern Khalkha Mongolian

[47] Doerfer (1985) considered this an early Mongolic loan in Manchu, but Rozycki (1994: 79) rejected this proposal on grounds that 'the donor form is not attested'. The Taghbach form above is the previously unidentified donor form, or a close cognate to it.

[48] Pelliot (1925: 195, 220).

[49] Doerfer proposes a connection between this Taghbach word, which he treats as "*šilu*" following a modern Mandarin reading, and Written Mongol *sili* "Hügel" (1993: 46), but this proposal is difficult to accept given the semantic and phonological difference between the forms. These two words are highly unlikely to be cognates.

[50] This suggests CSM *ze > Taghbach *ži. Note also CSM *se > Serbi *ši as in Late Kitan *širbi [十里鼻] 'slaves (奴婢)', a pejoration of the name of the *Širwi/*Širβi 室韋 (Shih-wei) people, which in turn ultimately comes from the name of the *Serbi 鮮卑 (Hsien-pei) people.

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the word is used for describing landscape features and commonly occurs in toponyms for places with formations that are projecting, overhanging, or jutting out.

Tu-ku *shih* (獨孤氏)[51] NWei ˣdʊkkʊ *shih* is glossed Liu *shih* (劉氏) 'Battle-axe clan' (*WS* 113: 3013). I reconstruct Taghbach *dʊqʊ 'battle-axe'.

T'u-hsi *shih* (吐奚氏) NWei ˣtʰʊʁɣay *shih* is glossed Ku *shih* (古氏) 'Ancient clan' (*WS* 113: 3009). The transcription renders the Taghbach word *tʰʊʁay 'ancient'. This Taghbach word partially resembles, and is possibly cognate to, Middle Mongol *tuqar* [禿[中]合[舌]児] 'just a moment ago (恰纔)' (*SHM*) and its Mongolian Khamnigan Mongol reflex [tʰʊʁaːr] 'id.'

T'u-nan *shih* (土難氏) NWei ˣtʰʊʁnaɾ̃ *shih* is glossed Shan *shih* (山氏) 'Mountain clan' (*WS* 113: 3011). Taghbach *tʰʊʁnar. No known cognates.

Wa-p'en *shih* (嗢盆氏)[52] NWei ˣɦorbəɾ̃ *shih* was changed to Wen *shih* (溫氏) 'Warmth clan' (*WS* 113: 3013). Since the characters *wa* 嗢 (Pul. 316: ˣʔwət, revised to ˣʔwər) and *wen* 溫 (Pul. 322: ˣʔwən) have the same phonetic (i.e. 昷) and are nearly homophonous in Northern Wei Chinese—嗢 ˣɦor and 溫 ˣɦoɾ̃, respectively[53]—it is possible that the Chinese equivalent of the clan name is not a gloss but a phonetic imitation of the first syllable of the Taghbach original. If we assume the Chinese equivalent is a gloss, however, we have a plausible cognate in modern Written Mongol *örbid-* ~ *örbis-* (Kow. 587) 'catch fire,

[51] Pul. 82, 110.

[52] Pul. 316, 234.

[53] See Chapter Three discussion of Northern Wei and Northeastern Early Middle Chinese phonology.

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ignite, flare up', a word which is retained in Kalmyk *örwd- ~ örws-* 'id.'[54] The Khalkha reflex **өрөвд-** /orwt-/ [ɵrə̆wt-] 'feel sorry for someone' is a metaphorical extension implying an association of 'warmth' > 'heart' > 'sympathy' and is also the result of lexical interference from Khalkha **овд-** /owt-/ [ɵwt-] 'to hurt, feel pain'.

This Taghbach word is probably a deverbal noun *ɦiorbə-l 'warmth' with the root *ɦiorbə- 'be warm' cognate to the above Written Mongol forms. This may be taken as additional evidence of the Taghbach onset *ɦi-, presumably going back to Common Serbi-Mongolic *ɦi-, a segment which was lost in Proto-Mongolic.

Wu-yin *shih* (屋弓氏) NWei ☆âgyiĕ ~ ☆âgiĕ *shih* is glossed Fang *shih* (房氏) 'House clan' (*WS* 113: 3011).[55] The first character of this transcription, 屋 *wu*, is read in theoretical Late Middle Chinese as ☆ʔəwk (Pul. 325).[56] The 'standard' Old Chinese reconstructions for 屋 include *ʔok (Bax. 795), *ʔōk (Sta. 560), and *ʔuk (Sch. 645). It is also worth noting that *wu* 屋 is the phonetic in *wo* 幄 'tent' (Pul. 324 ☆ʔaɨwk), suggesting that these two characters were very close in pronunciation at some point in Old Chinese.[57] The character 幄 is read *aku* in Japanese Go-on and Kan-on (possibly representing a nativized pronunciation of an Early Middle Chinese dialectal form), and [ɐk$_1$] in Modern Cantonese. An earlier Old Chinese form of 屋 must have been pronounced similarly

[54] In Ramstedt's transcription, "*örw^{ö}d^{o}χə*" and "*örw^{ö}sχə*" which I interpret as [ørwə̆də̆xə̆] and [ørwə̆sxə̆]. He glosses the words as 'plötzlich auflodern; heftig aufgeregt werden' and 'plötzlich aufflammen (das feuer)' respectively (Ramstedt 1935: 301) and proposes a connection between this word and Kalmyk *ört* 'mimetic for something ablaze' ← Turkic *ört* (Ramstedt 1935: 300). Although Kalmyk *ört* is probably a loanword from Turkic, as proposed by Ramstedt, the verbs above are probably not derived from this word.

[55] Simonov (1996) discusses this transcription and proposes an untenable Tungusic etymology.

[56] This word is not found in Takata (1988) or Takata (1993).

[57] Schuessler (2007: 517) mentions Wang Li's proposal to connect these two words (Wang 1982: 293).

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to *ak. Schuessler reconstructs unperiodized Old Chinese 幄 "*ʔåk" 'tent' (2007: 517). Taking into account the fact that Northern Wei Chinese is a conservative frontier dialect of Early Middle Chinese, it must have retained this older pronunciation. Thus, I reconstruct Northern Wei 屋 *âk, phonemically and intervocalically voiced, i.e. */âg/. I reconstruct *â and not a different *a-like vowel because this segment clearly had the same fate as Late Old Chinese *â in later northeastern varieties of Middle Chinese, i.e. Late Old Chinese *â > *ʊ (note that 屋 is read in modern Sino-Korean as 옥 *ok* [ʊkˀ]).

The second character of the transcription, 引 *yin* (Pul. 373 ☆yin_2), is found in attested Late Middle Chinese in Old Tibetan script variously as ཡིན་ *yin* [yin] and unpalatalized ཨིན་ *ʔin* [ʔin] (Tak. 378-379). Assuming the Early Middle Chinese pronunciation of the character differed little from this, the Taghbach word transcribed above could be read as ☆âgyiȓ or ☆âgiȓ in Northern Wei Chinese.

The transcription thus suggests a Taghbach form *agyır/*agyıl or *agır/*agıl 'house'. See Chapter 8 for Mongolic cognates.

Yu-lien *shih* (宥連氏) NWei ☆uwleȓ ~ ☆ʊwleȓ *shih* is glossed as Yün *shih* (雲氏) 'Cloud clan' (*WS* 113: 3012). From other transcriptions, it is clear that the character [連] *lien* was used for redundantly transcribing liquid codas, i.e. foreign *r ~ *l. See the discussion of Ch'i-lien *shih* and Ch'u-lien *shih*.

Several different proposals have been put forth for this Taghbach word. The first reconstruction, put forth by Ligeti (1970a), is *üglen.[58] Vovin (2007), assuming the transcription is in Old Chinese,

[58] Ligeti (1970a: 304-305); Rybatzki (2006: 72).

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follows Baxter's (1992) unperiodized 'Old Chinese' reading of 有 as "*hjuwX"[59] and reconstructs Taghbach "*gülen" ~ "*ɣülen".[60]

Both of these reconstructions are inaccurate: Ligeti's reconstruction is flawed because although EMC had coda *-ʁ from LOC *-ʁ (erroneously reconstructed as a glottal stop *ʔ in the dominant reconstructions of unperiodized 'Old Chinese'),[61] the character 宥 is reconstructed by Pulleyblank for MChi as "wuw^{h}" (Pul. 379, i.e. ☆wuw$_3$ in revised transcription), the tone of which is a regular outcome of Late Old Chinese *-s.[62] A Late Old Chinese reading of the character 宥 would have had coda *-s, but this segment was regularly lost in Northern Wei Chinese, as shown elsewhere in this chapter. Vovin's reconstruction is problematic because Baxter's Middle Chinese "*hj-" (i.e. *hy-) is not supported by the foreign transcriptional evidence on attested Late Middle Chinese. If there were a laryngeal onset in this word in Middle Chinese, the Old Tibetan transcriptions could have easily rendered it with ཧ [ɦ ~ ɣ] or ཧྥ [h].[63] Thus, the Northern Wei reading of this character must be *uw or *ʊw.

Following this reading of the characters provides us with the Taghbach form *uwl or *ʊwl.[64] This form closely resembles Middle

[59] The normal, philological transcription of this MChi reconstruction would be *hyuw$_2$. See also Sch. 774 *wjəʔh (revised to *wəh).

[60] Vovin (2007: 198).

[61] Representatives of the dominant reconstruction include Mei (1970), Baxter (1992), Schuessler (1988), and Sagart (1999: 133-134). See Beckwith (2008b, etc.) for his emendation of this reconstruction.

[62] As shown by Haudricourt (1954a, 1954b), Pulleyblank (1962a, 1962b; 1984: 155, 175), Sagart (1999: 131-133) Beckwith (2008b: 179), and others.

[63] See §3.3.1 'Syllable-initial segments' for attested Old Tibetan and Khotanese Brahmi transcriptions of Middle Chinese *ɦ.

[64] Note the attested Late Middle Chinese forms of *yu* 有 (Pul. 379 ☆wuw$_2$) in Old Tibetan transcription: ཡེའུ *ʔeɣu* *[ʔəw] and ཡིའུ *ʔiɣu* *[ʔiw] (Tak. 350-351). The character *yu* 宥 (Pul. 379 ☆wuw$_3$) must have been pronounced very similar to its phonetic, *yu* 有.

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Kitan *əwl 𘞙𘞤 ‹eu.wl› ‘cloud (雲)’ and Middle Mongol *e'üle-n* *[əɦulən] ‘cloud’ (*HIIY*), and also indicates that Taghbach had lenited earlier *əɣu sequences to *uw/*ʊw.[65]

Yüan-lai *shih* (冤賴氏)[66] NWei ˣʔɦɔr̃lay *shih* is glossed Chiu *shih* (就氏) ‘Going clan’ (*WS* 113: 3013).[67] Considering the fact that the Early Middle Chinese syllable onset ˣʔl could render foreign *r (and the fact that MChi ˣʔl often comes from Old Chinese *r), the ˣʔr̃l sequence in the EMC transcription is clearly a redundant rendering of a foreign medial *r, i.e. Taghbach *ɦɔray [冤賴]. This must be a deverbal noun. The Taghbach root *ɦɔr- ‘go’ is cognate to Middle Mongol *od-* *[ɔt-] ‘go’ (*HIIY*), and the deverbal noun suffix *-ay is cognate to Middle Mongol *-'A ~ -'Ai* ‘perfective verbal noun suffix’.[68] The Middle Mongol cognate, morpheme by morpheme, to the Taghbach word *ɦɔr-ay ‘going’ is **odu'ai*, phonemically */ɔt-ʊ-ɦAj/ (with an epenthetic vowel */-U-/ to satisfy phonotactic constraints).[69] Since we do not have any other word forms to reconstruct the verbal paradigm of Taghbach ‘go’, the synchronic phonemic status of *-r- in Taghbach *ɦɔr-ay is

[65] See entry for the *Nan Ch'i Shu* transcription Fu-chen below for another example of this lenition.

[66] Pul. 181, 385

[67] The text-critical notes suggest that the first character is an error for 菟 *t'u* (*WS* 113: 3023, #40). Given the highly plausible Mongolic cognates, however, this is clearly the antithesis—菟 *t'u* in the text-critical notes is an error for 冤 *yüan*, the form occurring in the main text.

[68] See §8.5.3 entry for Taghbach *-Ay ~ *-ɣAy ~ *-ɣA ‘verbal noun suffix’. See Brosig (2014) for a careful analysis of Middle Mongol tense, mood, aspect, and evidentiality.

[69] Although Middle Mongol ***odu'ai*** is not attested, it is fully reconstructible, given the attested Middle Mongol verbal root *od-* ‘go’, the suffix *-'Ai* ‘perfective verbal noun’, and the epenthetic vowel *-u-*. Cf. attested Middle Mongol forms such as *od-u-qsan* ‘go-PRF’, *od-u-lu'a* ‘go-PST.1H’ (*SHM*) as well as attested Middle Mongol *ire-'ei* ‘come-PFV’, *bari-qda-'a* ‘catch-PASS-PFV’, *ana-'ai* ‘heal-PFV’ (*SHM*). See Brosig (2014) for a careful analysis of Middle Mongol tense, mood, aspect, and evidentiality.

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uncertain. However, other transcriptions (see discussion of Ch'i-hai-chen and Hu-lo-chen below) indicate that one regular source of Taghbach intervocalic *r is Common Serbi-Mongolic */t/. In other words, the *r is an intervocalic allophone of a Common Serbi-Mongolic voiceless unaspirated */t/ phoneme.

5.2.2. Problematic transcriptions

In addition to the clearly transcribed and clearly glossed clan names above, there are around ten or so Taghbach clan names transcribed in the *Wei Shu* which are problematic for various reasons. Some of these clan names seem to have partial phonetic imitations as their Chinese equivalents, some of them have disputable transcriptions or have incongruous transcriptional variants, and others are clearly transcribed but have Chinese equivalents consisting of a Chinese character that is homophonous or near-homophonous to one of the characters used to transcribe the Taghbach original.

Chan-ch'ih *shih* (輾遲氏)[70] NWei ☆tśiaɾ̃tśi is glossed as Chan *shih* (展氏) 'Display clan' (*WS* 113: 3012). This is possibly not a gloss, but a phonetic imitation of the Taghbach original. Note that *chan* 輾 and *chan* 展 are both read in LMC as ☆ṭian$_2$ (Pul. 397). The onset ☆ṭ- corresponds to *c-* [tś-] in attested Late Middle Chinese (cf. Takata 1988, 1993, etc.), e.g. *ch'ih* 遲 is attested 𗼈 *ci* [tśi] (Tak. 330-331). Given the Chinese transcription, the Taghbach original must be *čarči (or *čarčı). No known cognates.

Ch'u-tai-han *shih* (出大汗氏) NWei ☆tś^{h}urdayɣaɾ̃ *shih* is glossed Han *shih* (韓氏) 'Fence clan' (*WS* 113: 3010). The text-critical notes consider this

[70] Pul. 54, 397.

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transcription an error for Pu-tai-han *shih* (步大汗氏) (*WS* 113: 3021, n. 31), i.e. NWei ☆bʊdayɣař. No known cognates.[71]

Hu-ku-k'ou-yin *shih* (胡古口弓氏) NWei ☆ɣʊkʊʁkʰʊʁyiř *shih* is glossed Hou *shih* (侯氏) 'Feudal Lord clan' (*WS* 113: 3008). The text-critical notes provide several other variants of the transcription and demonstrate the problematic nature of the transcription (*WS* 113: 3019).

K'o-chu-hun *shih* (渴燭渾氏)[72] NWei ☆kʰartśuwkɣoř *shih* is glossed Wei *shih* (味氏) 'Taste clan' (*WS* 113: 3014). According to the text-critical notes, the *Hou Wei Shu* 後魏書 glossed this clan name as Chu *shih* (朱氏) 'Vermillion clan' or 'Cinnabar clan' and the text 疏證 *Shu Cheng* considers 味 *wei* to be an error (訛) for 朱 *chu* 'vermillion; cinnabar' or 咮 *chou* 'bird's beak' (*WS* 113: 3023). No known cognates.

K'o-hou *shih* (渴侯氏) NWei ☆kʰarɣʊ *shih* is glossed Kou *shih* (緱氏) 'Hilt Binding clan' (*WS* 113: 3013). The word *kou* 緱 denotes 'the cord-binding on the hilt of a sword' (Mat. 510b, #3424). This may be a gloss, if it is not a phonetic imitation of the second syllable of the Taghbach word. No known cognates.[73]

Pu-liu-ku *shih* (步六孤氏) NWei ☆bʊluwkkʊ is glossed as Lu *shih* (陸氏) 'Plateau clan' (*WS* 113: 3007). No known cognates. This gloss may in fact be an abbreviation—the character 陸 *lu*, read as *liu*, is also used for 六 *liu* 'six' (Pul. 198) in Chinese texts.[74]

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[71] Bazin proposes a connection with Mongol *čuqtai* (1950: 246-247), but this is semantically impossible and phonologically problematic.

[72] Pul. 173, 414, 135.

[73] Bazin proposes connections with several Turkic words (1950: 265-266). If the gloss is a true gloss, all of these proposals are impossible for semantic reasons.

[74] Bazin proposes a connection with Middle Mongol *buru'u* (Bazin 1950: 274).

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Shih-t'u *shih* (尸突氏) NWei ☆lirthor ~ ☆lirdor *shih* is glossed Ch'ü *shih* (屈氏) 'Bend clan' (*WS* 113: 3010). The character 尸 is read འཞི་ *'shi* in attested Late Middle Chinese,[75] but was read *lir in Korean Peninsular Early Middle Chinese.[76] The *Wei Shu* text-critical notes mention sources which claim that 尸 is an error for 屈 (*WS* 113: 3021, n. 34). If this is correct, which seems possible given the graphic similarity of the two characters, then the Northern Wei reading of the Taghbach word is ☆khurthor or ☆khurdor, and the Chinese equivalent is not a gloss but an abbreviation of this clan name.

Ta-mo-kan *shih* (大莫干氏) NWei ☆daymakkaɾ̃ *shih* is glossed as Ho *shih* (郃氏) 'Ho clan' (*WS* 113: 3011). The Chinese gloss could be a euphemistic replacement of a taboo character, but I have not yet been unable to resolve this.

Ta-po *shih* (達勃氏)[77] NWei ☆darbər *shih* is glossed as Pao *shih* (褒氏) 'Robe clan' (*WS* 113: 3013). The gloss, 褒 *pao*, denotes a 'gown' or 'long robe conferred by the emperor upon deserving officials', and by extension, also denotes 'praise' (Pulleyblank 1991: 29; Mathews 1975: 685). Considering the fact that Middle Chinese coda *r could represent both foreign lateral and rhotic segments, the Taghbach form can be reconstructed as ☆darbər, ☆darbəl, ☆dalbəl, or ☆dalbər. A connection with Early Middle Mongol *de'el* [迭額勒] 'clothing (衣服)' (*SHM*) and *de'el* [迭丁延] 'clothing, garment (衣); padded coat (襖)' (*HIIY*), i.e. *[dəɦəl], Late Middle Mongol *dēl* [ديل] (*MAA*, *Leid.*), and Written Mongol *debel* ~ *degel* 'robe' is likely, although phonologically problematic given the medial cluster *-rb-/*-lb- of the Taghbach form and the difference in vocalism. Given this probable cognate, a

[75] Takata (1993: 322).

[76] Beckwith (2007a).

[77] Pul. 69, 40; Tak. 362-363, etc.

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Taghbach form ☆dalbəl/☆darbəl ‘robe’ is reconstructible. Considering the possibility that Early Middle Chinese 達 ☆dar could hypothetically transcribe foreign *dər/*dəl, it is equally possible to reconstruct Taghbach *dəlbəl/*dərbəl ‘robe’. If *dəlbəl is the correct form, then the Written Mongol cognate *debel* may be explainable as the result of haplology, i.e. CSM *dəlbəl > *dəbəl > *dəβəl > WMgl *debel*. Another, more complicated possibility, which potentially explains the WMgl variants *degel* ~ *debel* and the *-rb- of the Taghbach form, involves positing CSM intervocalic clusters *-ʁ͡β- ~ *-ɣ͡β-, allophonic variants of phonemic */-G͡B-/ (with *-ʁ͡β- in [-ATR] words and *-ɣ͡β- in [+ATR] words). In Taghbach,*-ɣ͡β- became *-rb- in [+ATR] words and *-ʁb- in [-ATR] words, e.g. Taghbach *dərbəl ‘robe’ and *q^{h}aʁba- ‘to close’ as in *q^{h}aʁbagčin ‘door guards’ (the root of which is cognate to MMgl *qa’a-* ‘to close, enclose’). In Proto-Mongolic, CSM *-ʁ͡β- ~ *-ɣ͡β- lenited to *-ʁ- ~ *-ɣ- (except for some sporadic instances where it became *-β- in certain dialects, e.g. *debel*), which further lenited to *-ɦ- in Early Middle Mongol and null in Late Middle Mongol. This proposal has more explanatory power, but deserves further consideration because of the large number of hypotheses on which it is based. For the time being, I consider this unresolved.[78]

Wu-wan *shih* (烏丸氏) NWei ☆âɣɔr̃ *shih* is glossed Huan *shih* (桓氏) ‘Martial-looking clan’ (*WS* 113: 3008). The gloss Huan (桓) is probably not a true gloss but an abbreviation of a variant transcription of Wu-huan (烏桓), an early Serbi-Mongolic ethnonym reconstructible as *awar (Pulleyblank 1983).[79]

[78] Christopher I. Beckwith (p.c., February, 2013) suggests that “this might well be a word independently borrowed by Proto-Serbi and Proto-Mongolic from another language, in view of the semantics and the close but irregular phonology.”

[79] See Chapter Two for a brief overview of Awar (Wu-huan) ethnolinguistic history.

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5.2.3. UNGLOSSED (ABBREVIATED) TRANSCRIPTIONS

In addition to the glossed transcriptions and problematic transcriptions above, there are 57 unglossed clan names whose Chinese equivalents are very clearly monosyllabic abbreviations of the Taghbach original. Although these words can rarely provide any information on the Taghbach lexicon, they offer important data on Taghbach phonology, especially phonotactic constraints. A careful study of these transcriptions should be undertaken in the future.

5.2.4. TRANSCRIPTIONS ELSEWHERE IN THE *WEI SHU*

Mu-ku-lü [木骨閭] (NWei ☆mʊkkorlɨ) is mentioned in the *Wei Shu* account of the Jou-jan as a clan name of the Taghbach, and is glossed 'bald (首禿)'.[80] The gloss was first studied by Shiratori (1902),[81] and most recently by Vovin (2007).[82] Vovin has demonstrated that the ☆kk of the Chinese transcription indicates a foreign *q and reconstructs "*muqolo ~ *moqolo" 'bald', which he suggests is the donor form for Manchu *moχolo* 'hornless', citing additional Tungusic evidence for the semantic range of the word (2007: 201-203). Based on the Early Middle Chinese values of the transcriptional characters and the Middle Mongol cognate *muqular* *[mʊqʰʊlar] 'hornless' (*SHM*),[83] I reconstruct Taghbach ☆mʊqʊlɪ 'bald'.[84] This is probably indeed the

[80] *WS* (103: 2289).

[81] Shiratori (1902: 18).

[82] Vovin (2007: 200-203).

[83] The *Secret History* gives the Middle Mongol form *muqular* [木中忽剌舌児] 'hornless (無角), hornless (禿角)' (Kuribayashi 2009: 304).

[84] Early Middle Chinese could not distinguish [ɪ] from [ɨ] in transcriptions of foreign words. Since Taghbach seems to have retained the ATR vowel harmony system reconstructible for Common Serbi-Mongolic, I thus reconstruct the vowel in question as *[ɪ]. See also Seongyeon Ko (2013) on the reconstruction of */ɪ/ for early Mongolic.

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ultimate donor form to Manchu *moχolo* ‘hornless’ as Vovin proposed. Apparently Taghbach phonotactics did not permit word-final *r under certain conditions which are not currently known.[85] Note also the loss of *r before palatal segments (see the entry for Taghbach ‘cook’). I thus reconstruct Common Serbi-Mongolic *mʊkʰʊlɪr ~ *mʊkʰʊlar ‘bald, hornless’.

The following etymology accounts for the above-mentioned forms:

Manchu *moχolo* ‘hornless’ ← Taghbach ☆mʊqʊlɪ < CSM *mʊkʰʊlɪr ~ *mʊkʰʊlar ‘bald, hornless’ > MMgl *muqular* *[mʊqʰʊlar] > Modern Khalkha **мухар** [ˈmʊχər] ‘bald, hornless; dull (of a blade or the tip of something)’.[86]

5.3. Taghbach Titles and Names in the *Nan Ch’i Shu*

The Taghbach data preserved in the 南齊書 *Nan Ch’i Shu (NCS)* are significantly less in number than the onomastic transcriptions provided in the *Wei Shu*. The *NCS* account of the Taghbach provides some unglossed onomastic data, i.e. the names of several early Taghbach people, but most important are the 19 Taghbach titles transcribed and glossed in Chinese. Some of the glosses are enigmatic, due to our poor understanding of the original meaning of the terms in the context of Chinese government administration of the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, but a number of the more easily identifiable titles have good cognates in Mongolic.

[85] Note the possible counter-example in Taghbach *pʰɔr ‘surrounding, around’ (see entry for P’u clan above). Perhaps there was a constraint against *lVr sequences or something more general than this. This question remains for future study.

[86] The Modern Khalkha gloss is from Bold et al. (2008).

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5.3.1. Resolved transcriptions

Ch'i-hai-chen [契害眞] (NEMC ☆k^{h}ɨrɣaytśiř)[87] is glossed 'assassins (殺人者)' (*NCS* 57: 985).[88] I reconstruct Taghbach ☆k^{h}ɪrʁayčɪn. The word is cognate morpheme by morpheme to Middle Mongol *kidu'ači* 'killer' (*SHM*), phonologically reconstructible as *[k^{h}itʊñatʃ^{h}i], and modern Written Mongol *kiduɣači* 'killer',[89] i.e. *kidu-* 'kill' + *-'A-* (perfective verbal noun[90]) + *-či* (occupational suffix). This correspondence is further evidence of Common Serbi-Mongolic */t/ rhotacizing to *[r] intervocalically in Taghbach. Note also Taghbach *ñɔray 'going', from Common Serbi-Mongolic *ñɔt- 'go' + *-Ay 'verbal noun suffix'.

Vovin (2007) analyzes the *-ʁay element[91] as a causative suffix,[92] but the occupational suffix *-č^{h}i (and its plural *-č^{h}i-n) is never added directly to a verbal root in attested medieval and modern Mongolic languages. It is affixed only to nouns (including deverbal nouns). As seen from other comparanda presented in this chapter, attested Taghbach derivational morphology is largely cognate to Mongolic. Thus, we should expect a morphological concatenation mirroring the Middle Mongol cognate, *kidu-* 'kill' + *-'a* (perfective

[87] Pul. 248, 118, 401. There is a variant pronunciation of 契 as ☆k^{h}ɛy, but given the clear Mongolic cognate, the ☆k^{h}ɨr reading is probably correct.

[88] Doerfer (1988; 1993) follows the dominant tradition-based reconstruction of theoretical 'Middle Chinese' and reconstructs a medial *-t- in this word where I reconstruct *-r-. His proposal is phonologically highly unlikely given the NEMC values of the Chinese characters.

[89] Attested MMgl *kidu'ači* [乞都阿赤] 'one who is fond of killing (好殺的)' (Kuribayashi 2009: 270). Cleaves translates this as 'killer' (1982: 110). Ligeti (1970a: 303-304) identified this Middle Mongol cognate, although the phonological reconstructions of the Taghbach and Middle Mongol forms presented here are my own.

[90] See Brosig (2014) for the identification of this Middle Mongol suffix as perfective.

[91] Reconstructed as "*-*ye*-" by him (Vovin 2007: 197).

[92] Vovin (2007: 197).

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verbal noun suffix) + *-či* (occupational suffix). My morphological analysis of the Taghbach word is ☆kʰɪr- 'kill' + ☆-ʁay 'lexicalized deverbal noun suffix' + ☆-čɪ 'occupational suffix' + ☆-n 'plural suffix'. Further evidence for the verbal noun suffix ☆-ʁay is found in the Taghbach word for 'going' (see the entry for Yüan-lai clan above).

I thus propose the following etymologies:

Taghbach *kʰɪrʁayčɪ-n [契害眞] 'assassins (殺人者)' < *kʰɪrŭ-ʁay-čɪ-n < CSM *kʰɪtʊ-ɣay-čʰɪ-n > PMgl *kʰɪtʊ-ɦa-čʰi-n > attested MMgl *kidu-'a-či* [kʰitʊɦatʃʰi] > bookish Modern Khalkha **хядаач** /xʲat-A-čʰ/ [ça^{l}tatʃʰ] 'killer'.

Taghbach *kʰɪr- [契] 'assassinate, murder (殺人)' < *kʰɪrŭ- < CSM *kʰɪtʊ- 'kill' > PMgl *kʰɪtʊ- > MMgl *kidu-* [kʰitʊ-] 'kill' > Modern Khalkha **хяд-** [çat-] 'murder, assassinate'.

Ch'i-wan-chen [乞萬眞] (NEMC ☆kʰɨrmɔr̃tśiř ~ ☆kʰɨymɔr̃tśiř)[93] is glossed as 'interpreters (通事人)' (*NCS* 57: 985). This word is reconstructible as ☆kʰɪlmɔrčɪ-n or ☆kʰɪlmʊrčɪ-n. See Chapter Eight for discussion and cognates.

Che-hui-chen [折潰眞] (NEMC ☆tśiarɣwəytśiř)[94] is glossed as 'people who send out and receive accusations on behalf of the ruler (爲主出受辭人)' (*NCS* 57: 985). I reconstruct Taghbach *čarʁʊyčɪ-n.[95] See Chapter Eight for Mongolic cognates.

[93] Pul. 247, 318, 401.

[94] Pul. 400, 134, 401.

[95] The Mongolic cognate was identified by Boodberg (1936: 174), although the Taghbach reconstruction presented here is my own.

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Fu-chen [附眞] (NEMC ☆butśiĕ)[96] is glossed as 'nobles who prepare food (貴人作食人)' (*NCS* 57: 985). The word is cognate to Middle Mongol *bawurči* [保兀𠯿児赤] 'cook (廚子)' ~ *bawurčin* [保兀𠯿児臣] 'cooks (廚子每)' (*SHM*).[97] As I have shown elsewhere in this book, Middle Kitan—the best known Serbi language—had the phonologically conditioned sound change of */r/ > Ø before palatal affricates, e.g. *kuy-č < */kuyr-č/ 'arrive-CVB'. I thus reconstruct Taghbach */burčɪ-n/ or */bʊrčɪ-n/, phonetically realized as *[buʧɪn] or *[bʊʧɪn], and CSM *baɣʊrčʰɪ-n 'cooks'. As for the monophthongization of Common Serbi-Mongolic *aɣʊ ~ *əɣu to *ʊw ~ *uw, see the entry for Taghbach 'cloud' (Yu-lien *shih*) above.

Hsien-chen [鹹眞] (NEMC ☆ɣiamtśiĕ)[98] is glossed as 'people who ride along the relay route through all provinces (諸州乘驛人)' (*NCS* 57: 985). I reconstruct Taghbach ☆ɣyamčɪn, composed of ☆ɣyam 'road, relay route', ☆-čɪ 'occupational suffix', and ☆-n 'plural suffix'.[99]

Hu-lo-chen [胡洛眞] (NEMC ☆ɣʊlagtśiĕ)[100] is glossed as 'people who carry weapons (帶仗人)' (*NCS* 57: 985). This word is reconstructible as ☆qʊragčɪn, composed of the occupational suffix ☆-čɪ, the plural suffix ☆-n and the root ☆qʊrag, which must denote 'weapon of war (仗)'. Taghbach ☆qʊrag 'weapon' is cognate to Early Middle Mongol *kituqai*

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[96] Pul. 101, 401.

[97] For a study of MMgl *bawurči*, see Rybatzki (2006: 217). As a result of the Mongol Conquests of the 13th century and the resulting empires, the Middle Mongol word spread to other languages, e.g. Hindi बावरची (*bāvarcī*) 'cook'. See also Ganbaatar (1997: 32).

[98] Pul. 335, 401. Pulleyblank's reading ☆ɣəɨm (Pul. 335) probably does not reflect northeastern EMC. I reconstruct NEMC ☆ɣyam. Note also Thai เค็ม (*khem*) 'salt, salty', a loanword from a southern Early Middle Chinese dialect pronunciation of 鹹 (Manomaivibool 1975: 319).

[99] See Chapter Eight for Mongolic cognates.

[100] Pul. 126, 203, 401.

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[乞禿[中]孩] ‘knife (刀子)’ (*SHM*), Late Middle Mongol *qituʁa* [قيتوغه] ‘knife’ (*MAA*) ~ *kituʁa* [كيْتوغَا] ‘knife’ (*Leid.*), and Modern Khalkha **хутга** [ˈχʊ̯tə̆q] ‘knife’.[101] I propose the following etymology:

Taghbach ☆qʊrag ‘weapon of war’ < CSM *$k^hʊt^hʊga$ ~ *$k^hɪt^hʊga$ ‘knife, weapon of war’ > PMgl > MMgl *qituγa* > Modern Khalkha [ˈχʊ̯tə̆q] ‘knife’.

This comparanda provides additional evidence that Taghbach rhotacized Common Serbi-Mongolic medial */d/ and */t^h/ to *[r] intervocalically in inherited lexical items (i.e. ‘native’, non-loanwords). See §5.5 for discussion.

I-ch’in-ti-ho [侇懃地何] (NEMC ☆ɨʁgɨr̆diɣa)[102] is glossed as ‘imperial secretary (尚書)’ (*NCS* 57: 985).[103] The Taghbach word appears to be a calque of the Chinese title in the gloss.

For the first element, I reconstruct Taghbach *ɪrgɪn [侇懃], which corresponds to ‘above, superior (尚)’. This is a widespread culture word with cognates in Middle Kitan, Old Turkic, Jou-jan, Old Uygur, and Old Kirghiz official titles.[104]

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[101] Boodberg (1936: 173) connects this with what he believed to be a Hsiung-nu word, but his claim requires careful reconsideration.

[102] Pul. 367 (侇 for 矣), 255, 76, 122.

[103] Bazin (1950: 306-307) erroneously included Chinese *pi* 比 in his analysis of the transcription. This is in fact a Chinese word denoting ‘compare’ or ‘is comparable to’, a verb preceding the Chinese gloss of this Taghbach word in the *Nan Ch’i Shu* account of the Taghbach.

[104] Aisin Gioro Ulhicun (2009: 17-18) correctly connects the first part of this title with cognate titles attested for Middle Kitan as *irgən 仡九𘜶, Old Turkic *ɨrkɨn [侇斤], and Old Uygur and Old Kirghiz as *hɨrkɨn/*ɣɨrkɨn [頡斤]. The reconstructions presented here are my own, and are based on northern Early Middle Chinese readings of the transcriptions. Note also the attested Orkhon Old Turkic title *irkin* (*GOrkT* 336) and a cognate title among

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The second element, Taghbach ☆dɪʁa [地何], corresponds to, and probably means 'writing, book, document (書)'. Compare with the Middle Kitan verbal root *č- 朮 ‹č.› 'write'. The root of the Taghbach word appears to be a borrowing from a northeastern Late Old Chinese dialect, as discussed below.

There are certain Min Chinese forms which appear to be reflexes of a conservative northern dialect of Old Chinese, e.g. Teochew 書 *chù* [tsɤ] 'book',[105] Amoy 書 *tsu* 'book',[106] and Foochow 書 *chü* [tsy$_{55}$] 'book, volume, record, letter, writing'.[107] These Min forms appear to go back to a conservative late Old Chinese dialect form *tɨ from earlier Old Chinese 書 *ta 'write, writing, book, document' (Cf. 書 Sag. 210 *s-ta).[108] This conservative dialect retained the *t which later spirantized to ☆ś in central dialects of Middle Chinese, e.g. Late Middle Chinese 書 ☆śɨ (Pul. 287).[109] The resulting *tɨ sequence was later affricated to *tsɨ. I thus propose the following etymologies for Common Serbi 'write' and the above-mentioned Min forms:

書 MSC *shū* 'book' < LMC ☆śɨ < OChi *(s)ta 'write, writing, book, document' > northern LOC dial. *tɨ → CSer *tɪ- ~ *dɪ- 'write' > Taghbach *dɪ- (as in *dɪ-ʁa 'writing, book'), MKit *č- 'write'.

another early Turkic people, transcribed in Old Tibetan as *hirkin* [ཧིར་ཀིན་] (*PT 1283*, *l.* 64-65; Venturi 2008: 29, n. 87).

[105] Goddard (1883: 26).

[106] Douglas (1873: 590, 264). The "Hokkien" form 書 *se* 'book' given by Medhurst (1832) must be an intrafamily borrowing from a non-Min language, since it reflects the later innovation of *t (~ *ts) > *s.

[107] Maclay & Baldwin (1870: 109); Nakajima (1979: 223, 224).

[108] Putian Min 書 [ts^{h}a$_{21}$] 'book' (Nakajima 1979: 223-224) appears to be from a central dialect of Late Old Chinese (*sta or *ta), later influenced by the other Min forms.

[109] Note also Middle Old Chinese 山 *tar 'mountain' (Beckwith 2007a: 137, n. 49) > attested LMC *shan* (Takata 1993: 340).

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OChi 書 *(s)ta ‘write, writing, book, document’ > LOC dial. *tɨ > *tsɨ > Teochew *chù* [tsɤ], Amoy *tsu*, Foochow *chü* [tsy$_{55}$].

As shown elsewhere in this book, the Serbi languages exhibited free variation between voiced and voiceless obstruents at word peripheries. Thus, Common Serbi *dɪ- ~ *tɪ- could easily be a loan from 書 dialectal Old Chinese *tɨ- < *(s)ta ‘write’. The Taghbach form ☆dɪʁa must be a deverbal noun composed of two morphemes, ☆dɪ-ʁa, the suffix ☆-ʁa of which is a verbal noun suffix cognate to Middle Mongol -*’A ~ -’Ai* ‘perfective verbal noun’.[110]

As demonstrated by Sagart, there are unique morphological and phonological retentions and innovations shared by Jin Chinese (a Sinitic language spoken in north central China) and the Min languages (spoken in far southern China).[111] Thus, Proto-Min or one of its contributing superstrates must have been spoken in northern China around the Late Old Chinese period. One may hypothesize that this superstrate was brought from northern China to the Min area by the Han conquest of the state of Min-yüeh 閩越 in the 2nd century B.C., i.e. the Late Old Chinese period.[112]

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[110] See Chapter Eight. See Brosig (2014) on the semantic value of this Middle Mongol suffix.

[111] Sagart (1999: 99, 101-102, 105-106) presents evidence for some of these shared morphological and phonological retentions and innovations in his discussion of the Min prefix /ka-/ and its Jin cognate /kəʔ-/ ~ /kʌʔ-/.

[112] For another Min example with obvious northern Late Old Chinese connections, note Teochew *ch‘ù* ‘mouse, rat’ (Goddard 1883: 27), Amoy *chhú* ‘rat, mouse, squirrel’ (Douglas 1873: 95), Foochow *ch‘ü* [ts^{h}y] ‘rat, mouse, rodent’ (Maclay 1870: 178), “Hokkien” *ch’hé* ‘mouse’ (Medhurst 1832: 99), and Late Middle Korean *[tswì] 쥐 ‘rat’, implying the following etymology: Modern Korean *chwi* 쥐 < LMK *tswi (tone/pitch uncertain) ‘rat’ < EMK ☆tswi [觜] ‘rat (鼠)’ < OKor *tswiɣ (Old Korean *ɣ was regularly lost in Middle Korean) ← 鼠 northern LOC dial. *ts^{h}ɨʁ < earlier OChi *ĉhâɣ ‘mouse, rat’. The earlier Old Chinese form is from Kiyose and Beckwith (2008: 3). The Chinese transcription and gloss of the EMK form are from *KYS* #98 (Sasse 1976); the phonological reconstruction given above is my own. The pitch/tone of the LMK form is unclear—Yu

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K'o-po-chen [可薄眞] (NEMC ☆k^{h}aʁbagtśiř)[113] is glossed as 'door guards (守門人)' (*NCS* 57: 985). Studied by Shiratori (1911b: 1400-1401), Pelliot (1925: 254-255, n. 4), Boodberg (1936: 170), Ligeti (1970a), and Vovin (2007). Following a northeastern Early Middle Chinese reading of the transcription, I reconstruct Taghbach ☆q^{h}aʁbagčɪ-n, i.e. ☆q^{h}aʁbagčɪ 'door guard' with ☆-n 'plural suffix'. This word is cognate to Late Kitan *qaba(q)čɪ [賀跋支] (OM *xapatśɨ) 'person who guards the chambers of the chancellor'.[114] Both the Taghbach and Kitan forms have cognates in Turkic as shown by Franke (1976: 179) and Vovin (2003: 242) for Kitan, and most recently by Vovin (2007: 195) for Taghbach.[115] Given the historical dominance of Serbi speakers at the time when Archaic Turkic is first attested in the 4th century A.D. spoken by the Chieh ethnic group,[116] this is very likely a Serbi loanword into Archaic Turkic.[117]

K'o-sun [可孫] (NEMC ☆k^{h}aʁsoř)[118] is glossed as 'imperial consort (皇后)' (*NCS* 57: 984).[119] I reconstruct Taghbach *q^{h}aʁsun, which is clearly

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Ch'angton (2000: 673a) gives ∶쥐 (i.e. *tswǐ), but Nam (2002: 1255) gives ·쥐 (i.e. *tswí). The original manuscript of the *Yongbi Ŏch'ŏn'ga* 龍飛御天歌, held in the Kyujanggak Royal Library collection at Seoul National University's Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, must be carefully checked to determine the tone/pitch marking in the original text.

[113] Pul. 173, 41, 401.

[114] The Late Kitan reconstruction presented here is my own. See Vovin (2003: 242), Franke (1976: 179), and Kuz'menkov (1997: 88) for alternative analyses of the Kitan form.

[115] Shiratori (1911b: 1400-1401), Boodberg (1936: 170), and Ligeti (1970a) previously identified Turkic comparanda for the Taghbach word. See discussion in §8.5.4. for my revisions of these proposals.

[116] Cf. Shimunek et al. (2015).

[117] See §8.5.2 for discussion.

[118] Pul. 173, 297.

[119] See also the entry for Taghbach *k'o-tun* [可敦] (NEMC ☆k^{h}aʁtoř) 'the imperial ancestral mothers (皇妣先)' in §5.4.

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cognate to T'u-yü-hun *qʰaʁtsʊn. Note Old Turkic *qatun* 'imperial consort, empress'[120] and Middle Mongol *qatun* 'lady of high rank'.[121]

Mu-t'i [莫堤] (NEMC ☆mʊdɛy)[122] is glossed as 'prefect (刺史)' (*NCS* 57: 985). I reconstruct Taghbach *mʊdɪ. The *Nan Ch'i Shu* gives the following explanation of the word:

> 又有. . . 莫堤比刺史. . . 受別官比諸侯諸曹府有倉庫悉置比官皆使通虜漢語以爲傳驛
> They also have...*mʊdɪ, comparable to prefects (*tz'u-shih*)… and ☆dźuwʁbiarkɔ̃, comparable to feudal lords (*chu-hou*). The government has storehouses, and each have corresponding offices, all which are made to understand the miscreant language (i.e. Taghbach) and Chinese, for use in the postal relay system (*NCS* 57: 985, *l.* 11-12).

Previous attempts at this word (Bazin 1950; Ligeti 1970a; Vovin 2007: 197) have copied Boodberg's (1936) misreading of the Chinese gloss, resulting in the partial ghost transcription *mu-ti pi* [莫堤比]. In fact, the Chinese verb *pi* 比 'compare' or 'be comparable to' is part of the Chinese gloss formulation ***X*** 比 ***Y*** (where *X* is a transcription of the foreign word and *Y* is its Chinese semantic equivalent) found throughout the *Nan Ch'i Shu* 南齊書 account of the Taghbach. The Taghbach word is simply *mʊdɪ 'prefect'.[123]

Pi-te-chen [比德眞] (NEMC ☆pyitəgtśiĩ ~ ☆byitəgtśiĩ)[124] is glossed as 'bureaucratic clerks (曹局文書吏)' (*NCS* 57: 985). I reconstruct

[120] This Old Turkic form is first attested in the 8th century (*GOrkT* 342-343; *DTS* 436a). Shiratori first compared this word with Turkic and T'u-yü-hun (1902: 18).

[121] E.g. attested early MMgl *qatun* [ᵑ合屯] 'lady (娘子)' (*SHM* §64); de Rachewiltz translates this title as '*qan*'s wife, lady of high rank' (2006: 236).

[122] Pul. 220 ☆mʊ; Tak. 324-325 ཏེ་ *deɣi* *[dej] ~ ཏེ *de* [de] ~ ཏི་ *ti* [ti] (Pul. 304 ☆dɛy)

[123] See Chapter Eight for Mongolic cognates.

[124] Pul. 33, 74, 401.

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Taghbach ☆pitəgči-n/☆bitəgči-n. Pelliot (1925: 254, n. 4), Ligeti (1970a), and others suggest a connection among this Taghbach word, Late Middle Mongol *bičēči* [بچاچي] 'scribe' (*IM*), and Old Turkic *bitigči* 'scribe'. However, given the Taghbach word for 'writing' discussed above, this title must have been borrowed as a whole (i.e. a monomorphemic word) from a Turkic language, probably Archaic Turkic as spoken by the fourth-century A.D. *Kɨr (羯) state of Later Chao (後趙).[125] Middle Mongol *bičі-* 'write' is a reflex of a Proto-Mongolic form independently borrowed from Old Turkic *biti-* 'write'. I thus propose the following etymology:

Taghbach ☆bitəgči-n 'bureaucratic clerks' ← unattested ATrk *bitigči < *bitig 'writing' > attested OTrk *bitig* → pre-PMgl *bit^{h}ig > PMgl *bič^{h}ig > MMgl *bičig* [pitʃ^{h}ik] > Modern Khalkha **бичиг** /pič^{h}g/ [pi^{h}tʃĭk] 'id.'

The Turkic word is probably ultimately from Indo-European, as shown by Sinor,[126] and the Old Turkic verb *biti-* 'to write', borrowed into Middle Mongol as *bičі-* 'id.', is probably the result of back-formation.[127]

The Taghbach and Middle Kitan words for 'writing' are borrowings from a northern frontier dialect of Old Chinese 書 'write, writing, document', as demonstrated in the entry for I-ch'in-ti-ho above.

[125] For more on *Kɨr, an Archaic Turkic language attested in the fourth century A.D., see Shimunek et al. (2015).

[126] Sinor (1978: 321-322).

[127] This was proposed by Sinor (1978: 321-322) based on the wide geographic distribution of forms for 'writing' resembling *bitig* etc.

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5.3.2. Problematic transcriptions (unresolved)

A-chen-chu [阿眞廚] (NEMC ˣʔatśiřḍu)[128] is glossed 'food kitchen (飲食廚)' (*NCS* 57: 984). Given the redundant gloss, it is likely that the third character of the transcription, *ch'u* 廚 'kitchen' is superfluous.[129] The transcription and gloss should thus be revised to A-chen [阿眞] (NEMC ˣʔatśiř) 'food (飲食)'. We may reconstruct Taghbach *ʔačır, *ʔačım, *ʔačıñ, or even *ʔačıŋ 'food'. No known cognates.

Chih-chen [直眞] (NEMC ˣḍigtśiř)[130] is glossed as 'Internal Attendants (内左右)' (*NCS* 57: 985). This title phonologically resembles, and is possibly cognate to, part of the 'Azha (i.e. T'u-yü-hun) name or title ʔAlyebangdïgzhing in the *Annals of the 'Azha Principality*. See §6.2.1.2 for details.[131]

Fu-chu-chen [拂竹眞] (NEMC ˣpʰurṭuwgtśiř)[132] is pejoratively glossed as 'lowly people who ride along the bogus relay route (偽臺乘驛賤人)'

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[128] Pul. 23, 401, 59. Although there is no foreign segmental transcription of *ch'u* 廚, a word with this same phonetic, *ch'u* 躕, in the phrase *ch'ih-ch'u* 踟躕, was borrowed into Thai as **รีรอ** /riirɔɔ/ 'walk hesitatingly' (Manomaivibol 1975: No. 407).

[129] Boodberg (1936: 174-175) and Shiratori (1902) propose different analyses to deal with the problematic gloss. Shiratori (1902) assumes a scribal error for a different attested Taghbach transcription in the *Wei Shu*, i.e. Fu-chen [附真]. Boodberg assumes the gloss is [阿眞].

[130] Pul. 405, 401.

[131] Despite Boodberg (1936: 172), who proposes a Turkic etymology.

[132] Pul. 99, 414, 401. The tradition-based theoretical Middle Chinese reconstruction of 竹 is ˣtruwk (Pul.), i.e. ˣṭuwk, and loanword evidence indicates that this character was read *tuk or *tuwk in Early Middle Chinese—an Early Middle Chinese (or very late Old Chinese) form of Chinese 竹 was borrowed into Thai as **ตอก** /ˈtɔ̀ɔk/ 'bamboo strips' (Manomaivibool 1975: 345 #322) and Lao **ຕອກ** /tɔ̀ːk/ 'bamboo strips'. This Lao form and the IPA transcription of the Thai form are from <sealang.net/thai/dictionary.htm> and <sealang.net/lao/dictionary.htm>, both accessed June 6, 2012. Note also the Late Old

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(*NCS* 57: 985). The Taghbach word was first studied by Shiratori (1902: 17), reconstructed by Pelliot (1925: 255, n. 4), and its Mongolic cognate identified by Ligeti (1970a: 293-294). See also Kara (2006: 104), Shimunek (2007: 12, n. 18), and Vovin (2007: 194-195). I reconstruct Taghbach *p^{h}urtugči-n.[133]

The pejorative Chinese gloss is not primary to the meaning of the Taghbach word—the compiler of the *Nan Ch'i Shu* was denouncing the Northern Wei government as 'bogus (偽)'. There are many examples of disparaging overtones infused into the *Nan Ch'i Shu* account of the Taghbach. Removing the infused insult from the original gloss, we arrive at 'people who ride along the relay route (臺乘驛人)'.

Ligeti (1970a) identified modern Written Mongol *örtegečin*[134] as a Mongolic cognate of this word. This proposal implies an unattested Middle Mongol form **hörte'ečin*, which I reconstruct *[hort^{h}əɦətʃ^{h}in]. Unfortunately, all of the 'peripheral' Mongolic daughter languages which regularly retain Middle Mongol *h*, and which could thus provide evidence of the hypothetical *h in this word, do not retain reflexes of this hypothetical Middle Mongol form.[135] In its place, they have recent Chinese and Manchu loanwords.[136] No relevant loanwords in Tungusic or other neighboring languages which could support this proposal have been identified either. Although Ligeti is undoubtedly correct that this

Chinese transcription of the name *Hinduka* as T'ien-chu 天竺 (LOC dial. *hinduk) in the *Chin Shu* and other sources (Pelliot 1914: 412; Pulleyblank 1962a: 108).

[133] Note that my reconstruction differs significantly from that of Pelliot (1925), Ligeti (1970a), and others.

[134] This word is defined by Kowalewski as "celui qui entretient les chevaux de postes; postillon, valet de poste" (Kow. 588).

[135] I thank György Kara for introducing me to this correspondence and its philological problems.

[136] The Daur equivalent is from Manchu *giyamun*, and the Shira Yoghor, Mongghul, Santa, and 'Bonan' (probably Booŋan) words are very recent loans from Mandarin 站 *zhan* (Sun et al. 1990: 549).

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is a Taghbach-Mongol lexical correspondence, we lack the necessary comparative linguistic and philological evidence to resolve the phonological problem.

P'u-ta-chen [樸大眞] (NEMC ☆pʰaɨwgdaytśiř)[137] is glossed as 'people responsible for clothing (檐衣人)' (*NCS* 57: 985). Boodberg (1936: 174) translates the Chinese gloss as 'officer in charge of (the ruler's) clothes'. I reconstruct Taghbach ☆pʰɔgdayčɪn. Considering the well-established occupational suffix ☆-čɪ and plural suffix ☆-n, the root of this Taghbach word must be ☆pʰɔgday, a noun probably meaning something related to 'clothing' or denoting a specific item of clothing.

Boodberg (1936: 174) and Bazin (1950: 301) proposed Turkic and Mongolic connections with this Taghbach word. If we refine their proposals using the earliest philologically attested data, this Taghbach word resembles early Middle Mongol *boqta* [孛黑塔] 'headdress worn by married Mongol women (姑冠)' (*SHM*), also attested as the root of the denominal verb *boqtala-* [孛黑塔剌] 'to wear women's headdress (固姑冠帶)' ~ *boqtola-* [孛黑脫剌] 'comb one's hair (梳頭)' (*SHM*), Late Middle Mongol *boqtaq* [بقطاق] 'crown' (*IM*), and Middle Turkic *boχtay* ~ *boχtuy* 'clothes bag' (*DTS*).[138] Despite their superficial phonological similarity, the Middle Turkic and Middle Mongol forms are unlikely to be related. Middle Turkic *boχtay* 'clothes bag' is undoubtedly ultimately from an Early Middle Chinese form of 服袋 'clothing bag', probably via the above-mentioned Taghbach form. I thus propose the following etymology:

[137] Pul. 243, 69, 401.

[138] See also Clark (1973: 183-184) for the Middle Mongol word. For a study on the origin and development of the *boqta*, see Kim & Erdenebat (2011).

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服袋 NEMC ☆buwgday ‘clothing bag’ → Taghbach ☆pʰɔgday [樸大] → unattested ATrk > unattested OTrk > attested MTrk *boχtay* ~ *boχtuy* ‘clothes bag’.

Middle Mongol *boqta* ~ *boqto* ~ *boqtaq* is probably unrelated to the Chinese, Taghbach, and Turkic forms above.

Shou-pieh-kuan [受別官] (NEMC ☆dźuwʁbiarkɔr̃)[139] is glossed as ‘feudal lords (諸侯)’ (*NCS* 57: 985). No known cognates.

Wu-ai-chen [烏矮眞] (NEMC ☆âɦaɨyʁtśiĕ)[140] is glossed as ‘External Attendants (外左右)’ (*NCS* 57: 985). No known cognates.[141]

Yang-chen [羊眞] (NEMC ☆yɨatśiĕ)[142] is glossed as ‘The Three Dukes (三公貴人)’ (*NCS* 57: 985). The Chinese gloss denotes an administrative title which collectively refers to ‘dignitaries who were officially considered the [three] paramount aides to the ruler and held the highest possible ranks in the officialdom’ (Hucker 1985: 399). No known cognates.[143]

Yü-jo [郁若] (NEMC ☆ɦuwgɲɨak)[144] is glossed as ‘Two Thousand Bushel Official (二千石)’ (*NCS* 57: 985). According to Hucker, from the Han Dynasty up through the period of Northern and Southern Division (i.e.

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[139] Pul. 286, 38, 113.

[140] Pul. 325, 23, 401.

[141] Boodberg (1936: 172) proposes a connection with Turkic *uq* ‘family relations on the mother’s or wife’s side’, which is impossible for phonological reasons and highly unlikely for semantic reasons.

[142] Pul. 360, 401.

[143] A connection with Middle Kitan *ya 夫 ‹ia› ‘elder brother’ is phonologically plausible, but semantically problematic.

[144] Pul. 384, 270.

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the time of the Northern Wei and this Taghbach transcription), the Chinese official title Erh Ch'ien Shih was a "generic reference to the highest-ranking officials of government below the Three Dukes (*san kung*), notably including Commandery Governors (*chün-shou*, *t'ai-shou*)…" (Hucker 1985: 205).

I reconstruct Taghbach ☆ɦʊgñag. No known cognates.

In addition to the forms discussed above, there are a handful of unglossed Taghbach personal names in the *Nan Ch'i Shu* which provide additional evidence of Taghbach phonology. I have reserved these transcriptions for future study.

5.4. Transcriptions in the Serbi Cave Inscription

Another important source with two Early Middle Chinese transcriptions of Taghbach titles is the 443 A.D. Serbi Cave Inscription, known in Chinese as the *Hsien-pei Shih-shih* 鮮卑石室 inscription, discovered in 1980 by Mi Wen-p'ing 米文平 (Mi 1981) in Orochen Banner, Inner Mongolia. The text has been studied by Liu (1989), and includes solidly dated Chinese transcriptions of the titles *khaghan* and *khaghtun* (later *khatun*).

I provide these transcriptions below:

K'o-han [可寒] (NEMC ☆k^{h}aʁɣan) is preceded by an appositive gloss 'the imperial ancestors (皇祖先)' (*SCI*, *l.* 16). This is probably the earliest inscriptional attestation of this title, although the earliest transcription in a transmitted text is in Ch'i-fu Serbi in the early 3rd c. A.D.[145]

K'o-tun [可敦] (NEMC ☆k^{h}aʁtoɾ̃) is preceded by an appositive gloss 'the imperial ancestral mothers (皇妣先)' (*SCI*, *l.* 17), reconstructible as

[145] See the footnote in the §8.5.4 entry for MSer *q^{h}aʁan 'emperor'.

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Taghbach ☆qʰaʁtʊn. This is the earliest attestation of this title in any language. A variant of this title in Taghbach is attested in the *Nan Ch'i Shu* in the form ☆qʰaʁsʊn [可孫] (see §5.3.1 above).

5.5. Taghbach Phonology

The transcriptions show that Taghbach had an eight-vowel inventory. Many transcriptions suggest that Taghbach had ATR vowel harmony, although a handful of words do not conform to these vowel harmony classes. The vowel *i was probably [+ATR] with *ɪ as the [-ATR] equivalent; however, the phonotactic limitations of Early Middle Chinese sometimes make it difficult to distinguish foreign *i and *ɪ.

Although it is essentially impossible to determine the existence of a productive vowel harmony system in a language without morphological paradigms, something we unfortunately do not have for Taghbach, we may tentatively conclude that Taghbach had some form of ATR harmony, the productivity of which remains unclear.

Below I present a tentative analysis of the vowel harmony classes of Taghbach:

[+ATR]:	*u, *e [e ~ ə], *i, *o
[-ATR]:	*ʊ, *a, *ɪ, *ɔ

Possible evidence of vowel harmony in Taghbach suffixal morphology is the deverbal noun suffix */-Al/, apparently realized as *[al] in [+ATR] words and *[əl] in [-ATR] words. See below:

*paryal 'bridge' < ? */pary-/ 'build' + */-Al/
*ɦorbəl 'warmth' < ? */ɦorb-/ 'be warm' + */-Al/

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However, more examples are needed to solidly determine the morphological segmentation of these words. For now this remains a possibility, although it is also possible that *ɦorbəl ‘warmth’ is from a root */ɦorbə-/ ‘be warm’ + */-Al/, realized as *[-l] following verbal stems ending in vowels.

Taghbach was also characterized by monophthongization of Common Serbi-Mongolic */AGU/ (i.e. *[aʁʊ] ~ *[əɣu]) to */Uw/ (i.e. *[ʊw] ~ *[uw]) as in ‘cloud’ (i.e. Taghbach *uwl < CSM *əɣulə)[146] and ‘cook’ (i.e. Taghbach *bʊčin < CSM *baɣʊrčʰɪ-n). This was an innovation in Taghbach distinguishing it from Mongolic, Kitan, and possibly other Serbi languages as well. However, Common Serbi-Mongolic *ɣ ~ *ʁ was apparently retained in morpheme-initial position (see Taghbach ‘writing’ above).

For evidence of intervocalic rhotacization of */d/ and */t/, note the words for ‘go’ (see the entry for Yüan-lai *shih*) and ‘kill’ (see the entry for Ch’i-hai-chen).[147]

There are also indications that Taghbach lenited Common Serbi-Mongolic intervocalic (or word-final) *b to *w, e.g. CSM *kʰɔb or *kʰɔbɔ ‘two-year-old boar’ > Taghbach *qɔw [侯] ‘pig, boar’,[148] cognate to Written Mongol *qobosu-n* ‘two-year-old boar’.

The sequence ☆-gñ- in Taghbach ☆ɦʊgñag [郁若] ‘Two Thousand Bushel Official’ provides an important piece of evidence on Taghbach phonotactics. Likewise, Taghbach *ɦ and *ź provide important clues on the phonological inventory of the language. This same sequence is attested in T’u-yü-hun, e.g. the T’u-yü-hun place name *gñiǰigən [གཉིཇི་གེན].[149]

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[146] Note Middle Mongol *e’üle-n* ‘cloud’ (*HIIY*) and Middle Kitan *əwl ‘cloud’. See Chapter Eight for discussion.

[147] Modern Korean *kŏran* 거란 ‘Kitan’ may provide additional evidence of this, if it is a reflex of a loanword from Taghbach or another rhotacized dialect of Serbi. Note attested Middle Kitan *qɪtañ ‘Kitan’ and Old Kitan *qɪrtañ/*qɪtañ. The historical context and earliest attestation of the Korean form need to be solidly identified before this can be taken as evidence of rhotacization.

[148] *WS* (113: 3006).

[149] See Chapter Six for this T’u-yü-hun form.

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The phonological sequences ☆-ʁn-, ☆-ʁb-, and ☆-rn- are also of salience, since they do not occur in early Middle Mongol. The Taghbach sequence ☆-rn- is a retention of Common Serbi-Mongolic *-rn-, which lenited to *-n- in Proto-Mongolic (see the entry for Ch'ih-nu in §5.2.1 above).

Taghbach was characterized by intervocalic rhotacization of Common Serbi-Mongolic */t^h/ and */d/ to *[r].[150]

5.6. TAGHBACH LEXICON

From the above analyses, we can determine the following lexical items for the Taghbach language. See Chapter Eight, §8.3 for etymologies and Common Serbi-Mongolic forms.

5.6.1. TAGHBACH FUNCTIONAL MORPHEMES

*-Ay ~ *-ʁay ~ *-A ~ *-ʁa 'verbal noun suffix' (< CSM).
*-Al ~ *-l 'deverbal noun suffix' (< CSM).
☆-čɪ ~ ☆-či 'suffix denoting occupations' (< CSM).
☆-mɔr/☆-mʊr [萬] 'deverbal noun suffix' (< CSM).
☆-n 'plural suffix' (< CSM).

5.6.2. TAGHBACH WORDS

*agyɪl ~ *agɪl [屋弓] 'house (房)' (< CSM).
☆âñaɨyʁčɪn [烏矮眞] 'External Attendants (外左右)'.

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[150] See entries for Ch'i-hai-chen, Yüan-lai, and Hu-lo-chen above. See also Chapter Eight entries for Taghbach ☆k^hɪrʁayčɪn 'assassins', *ɦɔr- 'go', and ☆qʊragčɪn 'people who carry weapons'.

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*/bʊrčɪn/, phonetically realized as *bʊčɪn [附眞] ‘nobles who prepare food (貴人作食人)’ (< CSM).
*čarʁʊyčɪn [折潰眞] ‘people who send out and receive accusations on behalf of the ruler (爲主出受辭人)’ (< CSM).
*čʰɪrqañ [叱干] ‘a kind of artemisia (薛)’ (< CSM).
*čʰɪrnɔ [叱奴] ‘wolf (狼)’ (< CSM).
☆čʰɪrʊ [叱盧] ‘invoke, praying (祝)’.
*čʰur ~ *čʰʊr [出連] ‘hand net (畢)’ (< CSM)
☆darbəl/☆dalbəl/☆dərbəl/☆dəlbəl (?) [達勃] ‘robe (褒)’ (cf. WMgl *debel* ~ *degel* ‘robe’).
☆dɪʁa [地何] ‘writing, book, document (書)’ < ☆dɪ- [地] ‘to write’ (< CSer *dɪ- ~ *tɪ- ‘write’ ← 書 LOC dial. *tɨ- ‘to write’).
☆digčin [直眞] ‘Internal Attendants (內左右)’.
*dʊqʊ [獨孤] ‘battle-axe (劉)’.
☆dźuwʁbiarkɔ̃ [受別官] ‘feudal lords (諸侯)’.
*gir [其連] ‘sandal cord (綦)’ (< CSM).
☆ɣʊr/ldʊli ~ ☆ɣʊr/ldʊlig [紇豆陵] ‘hole, drain (竇)’ (cf. MMgl *quduq* ‘well’)
☆ɣyam [鹹] ‘relay route (驛)’ (< CSM).
☆ɣyamčɪn [鹹眞] ‘people who ride along the relay route through all provinces (諸州乘驛人)’ (< CSM).
☆ɦatśiɾ̃ [阿眞] ‘food (飲食)’.
☆ɦirləgbɔr [俟力伐] ‘abalone (鮑)’.
*ɦorbəl [嗢盆] ‘warmth (溫)’ < *ɦorb-əl/*ɦorbə-l < *ɦorb-/*ɦorbə- ‘be warm’ (< CSM).
*ɦɔray [冤賴] ‘going (就)’ (i.e. *ɦɔr-ay < *ɦɔr- ‘go’ < CSM).
☆ɦʊgñag [郁若] ‘Two Thousand Bushel Official (二千石)’.
*ɦʊrʁay [紇奚] ‘cultivation (稓 for 稽)’ (i.e. *ɦʊrg-ay < *ɦʊrg- ‘cultivate’ < CSM).
*ɪrgɪn [俟懃] ‘above, superior (尚)’ (← Central Eurasian Kulturwort).
*ɪrgɪn ☆dɪʁa/☆dɪʁa [俟懃地何] ‘imperial secretary (尚書)’.

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☆kʰɪl- ‘speak’ (?), as in ☆kʰɪlmɔrčɪn ‘interpreters’ (see below).[151]
☆kʰɪlmɔrčɪn/☆kʰɪlmʊrčɪn [乞萬眞] ‘interpreters (通事人)’ (< CSM).
☆kʰɪr- [契] ‘to kill someone (殺人)’ (< CSM).
☆kʰɪʁkɪr̃ [去斤] ‘mugwort (艾)’.
☆kʰɪrʁayčɪn [契害眞] ‘assassins (殺人者)’ (< CSM).
*mʊdɪ [莫堤] ‘prefect (刺史)’ (< CSM).
*ñaqañ [若干] ‘dog (苟 for 狗)’ (< CSM).
☆ñakkʰʊʁyɪr̃ [若口引] ‘bandit (寇)’.
*pary-al [拔列] ‘bridge (梁)’ (< CSM).
☆pitəgčin/☆bitəgčin [比德眞] ‘bureaucratic clerks (曹局文書吏)’ (cf. OTrk).
☆pʰatala [破多羅] ‘rice water (潘)’ (cf. LMK *path* L ~ *pat* L ‘rice field’).
☆pʰɔgdayčɪn [樸大眞] ‘people responsible for clothing (檐衣人)’.
*pʰɔr- [普] ‘surround (周)’ (< CSM).
*pʰurtugčin [拂竹眞] ‘people who ride along the relay route’ (cf. WMgl *örtegečin*).
*qaydʊlʊ [奚斗盧] ‘Saka, Scythian (索盧)’.
☆qɔkʰɛyʁ ~ ☆qɔkɛy [和稽] ‘sluggish (緩)’.
*qɔw/*qəw [侯] ‘pig, boar (亥)’ (< CSM).
☆qʊrag [胡洛] ‘weapons of war (仗)’ (< CSM).
☆qʊragčɪn [胡洛眞] ‘people who carry weapons (帶仗人)’.
☆qʰaʁan [可寒] ‘the imperial ancestors (皇祖先)’.
☆qʰaʁbagčɪn [可薄眞] ‘door guards (守門人)’ (cf. OTrk).
*qʰaʁsʊn [可孫] ‘imperial consort (皇后)’ ~ *qʰaʁtʊn [可敦] ‘the imperial ancestral mothers (皇妣先)’.
☆tʰaʁ [托] ‘dirt, soil, earth (土)’.[152]
*tʰʊʁnar [土難] ‘mountain (山)’.
☆tʰʊʁay [吐奚] ‘ancient (古)’.
*uwl/*ʊwl [宥連] ‘cloud (雲)’ (< CSM).
☆yɨačin [羊眞] ‘The Three Dukes (三公貴人)’.

[151] See also the Chapter Eight entry for Taghbach ☆kʰɪlmɔrčɪn/☆kʰɪlmʊrčɪn.
[152] See entry in §8.5.4.

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*yirtʊqañ/*yirtʊqan [壹斗眷] ‘bright (明)’.
*žirpəŋ [是賁] ‘raised earth, embankment (封)’ (< CSM).
☆žiʁlʊ [是樓] ‘high, tall (高)’.

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CHAPTER SIX:
THE T'U-YÜ-HUN ('AZHA) LANGUAGE

6.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Another early Serbi language is T'u-yü-hun, or 'Azha, the language of the T'u-yü-hun (or 'Azha) people.[1] The 'Azha Kingdom, also known in Chinese sources as 河南國 Ho-nan Kuo (i.e. 'The Country South of the Yellow River')[2] and in Old Tibetan sources as 'Azha yul འ་ཞ་ཡུལ་ (i.e. ''Azha Land' or ''Azha territory'),[3] began around the 3rd century A.D. when T'u-yü-hun 吐谷渾 of the Mu-jung 慕容 clan[4] of the Serbi in Liao-tung split off from his agnate half-brother Jo-lo-kuei 若洛廆 and moved west into the Kokonor region.[5] The T'u-yü-hun language is a variety of the Mu-jung dialect of Middle Serbi.

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[1] The ethnonym T'u-yü-hun 吐谷渾 is an eponymous extension of the name of their first ruler, as explicitly mentioned in the Chinese sources (*PS* 96: 3181). This title is also transcribed in Old Tibetan as *Thogon* [ཐོ་ག་ོན་] (OTib. *t^{h}ʊgʊn) in the *Annals of the 'Azha Principality* (cf. Uray 1978). 'Azha འ་ཞ་ is the Old Tibetan name for the T'u-yü-hun people. This same ethnonym is also transcribed in Northern Early Middle Chinese as ☆ɦadẓaɨy [阿柴] (revised from Pul. 47) in *Sung Shu* (96: 2369), *WS* (101: 2234), and *PS* (96: 3181). See Beckwith (forthcoming) for the etymology of the word 'Azha [འ་ཞ་], the 'Azha toponyms Rgyamshïgar [རྒྱ་མ་ཤི་གར་] ~ Ryamshïgar [རྱ་མ་ཤི་གར་] ~ 'Aryamshïgar [འརྱ་མ་ཤི་གར་], and their connection with Old Chinese and other languages across Central Eurasia. Note other eponymous country names such as America (← Amerigo Vespucci), Bolivia (← Simón Bolívar), Colombia (← Cristoforo Colombo, i.e. Christopher Columbus), the Czech Republic (← Čech, a legendary figure), and Georgia (← Saint George).

[2] *Liang Shu* (54: 810); *NS* (79: 1977). Certain T'u-yü-hun rulers were known in Chinese as Ho-nan wang 河南王 'Prince of the [Country] South of the Yellow River', e.g. *TCTC* (90: 2852).

[3] Attested in *OTA$_1$*, *OTA$_2$*, and *AAP* (e.g. *OTA$_1$*: 123).

[4] Mu-jung is an eponymous clan name from the personal name of an early Serbi ruler. See Chapter Two for discussion.

[5] *Liang Shu* (54: 810), *Tung-tien* (190: 1021-1022), *Sung Shu* (96: 2369-2370), *WS* (101: 2233), *PS* (96: 3178), *TCTC* (90: 2852).

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The T'u-yü-hun were a dominant frontier people throughout much of the early part of the Tibetan Empire. Tibetan relations with China in fact begin with the T'u-yü-hun—in the early Sui dynasty (6th c.), when the Chinese, seeking a route to the rich states of Central Asia, invaded the T'u-yü-hun, the pre-imperial Tibetan state of Spu (OTib. སྤུ) responded by sending an embassy to the Sui.[6]

Again, in 634 A.D., during the reign of Khri Srong Rtsan—the first great ruler of the Tibetan Empire known from solid historical sources—the T'ang sent a huge expeditionary force, including Tanguts and Türks, against the T'u-yü-hun. Khri Srong Rtsan responded by sending an embassy to the T'ang court.[7]

The T'u-yü-hun were decisively defeated in 663 A.D. by the Tibetan general Mgar Stong Rtsan the Conqueror (Yul-zung), who was responsible for Tibetanizing the northern part of the Tibetan Empire. After this defeat, T'u-yü-hun territory was incorporated into the Tibetan Empire, and the T'u-yü-hun khaghan, his Chinese princess, and several thousand T'u-yü-hun families fled to China.[8]

We know from the Zhol Inscription of ca. 764 A.D.—the earliest datable authentic Old Tibetan inscription[9]—that the Tibetan general Nganlam Stag Sgra Klu Khong, who in 763 led the Tibetan campaign to Ch'ang-an, employed many T'u-yü-hun people in his army. The relevant passage is provided below:

[6] Beckwith (1977: 83-84), Beckwith (1987), and Beckwith (2009: 128).

[7] Beckwith (1987) and p.c., 2011.

[8] Beckwith (1987) and p.c., 2011.

[9] The Zhol Inscription was erected sometime between 764 and 767 A.D., as demonstrated by Walter & Beckwith (2010: 292-293, 301).

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the Old Tibetan name for the T'u-yü-hun.[14] The *gambu* element is a rendering of the Tangut title *ga *^{m}bu 嶲嶺 'general (將軍)'.[15] This name suggests that 'Azha ethnic identity survived, at least in name, among the undoubtedly diverse subject peoples of the Tangut Empire.

Other important sources on T'u-yü-hun history and culture include the *Chou Shu* 周書, the *Nan Ch'i Shu* 南齊書, the *Chin Shu* 晉書, the *Sung Shu* 宋書, the *Pei Shih* 北史, the *Tzu-chih T'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, the *Wei Shu* 魏書, the *Liang Shu* 梁書, the *T'ung-tien* 通典, the *Old Tibetan Annals* (*PT 1288*, *ITJ 750*, and *Or. 8212*), the 'Bacot Document' (*PT 1283*), and the *Annals of the 'Azha Principality* (*ITJ 1368*), among others.[16]

6.2. Sources on the T'u-yü-hun language

The T'u-yü-hun, despite their importance throughout the early part of the Tibetan Empire,[17] and despite the fact that they apparently had their own writing system,[18] left no records of their own in their language. The extant

[14] This etymology is from de Rachewiltz (2006: 938). Cf. also Rybatzki (2006: 556).

[15] This Tangut title is composed of 嶲 [遏] 'army' and 嶺 [暮] 'command' (Li Fanwen 1997: 256 §1531, 460-461 §2805). Li Fanwen reads 嶺 as "bj<u>u</u>" (1997: 460-461 §2805), which I revise to *^{m}bu based on its Old Mandarin transcription [暮], which in northwestern Early Old Mandarin would be read *^{m}bu (on the onset *[^{m}b] in this word, see also Rybatzki 2006: 556).

[16] See also Wittfogel & Fêng (1946: 105) for a brief account of the T'u-yü-hun, explaining their Serbi origins and early history. Other important studies on T'u-yü-hun history include Hambis (1948), Carroll (1953), Molè (1970), Beckwith (1977, 1987), Chou Wei-chou (2006), and Hsüeh Sheng-hai (2008).

[17] See Chapter Two.

[18] Kara (2005) mentions that the T'u-yü-hun had their own script, and wrote books in this script. Carroll states that the T'u-yü-hun "were quite cognizant of letters" (1953: 4) and they apparently had writing similar to that of the Taghbach of the Northern Wei (1953: 22, n. 29). According to the *Liang Shu* 'they used writing and tally sticks (用書契)' (*Liang Shu* 54: 810).

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information on the T'u-yü-hun language is found in two foreign sources—Old Tibetan records and Chinese historical chronicles.

Previous studies of the T'u-yü-hun language include Pelliot (1921), some brief notes in Shiratori (1902), Fang Chuang-yu (1930), some comments by Hambis (1948),[19] and several important footnotes in Beckwith (1987).

6.2.1. Old Tibetan sources on the T'u-yü-hun language

The most important early Tibetan sources that provide information on the T'u-yü-hun language are the 'Bacot Document' (*PT 1283*),[20] the *Old Tibetan Annals* (*PT 1288*, *ITJ 750*, and *Or. 8212*), and the *Annals of the 'Azha Principality* (*ITJ 1368*).

The Bacot Document (*PT 1283*), a well-known Middle Old Tibetan source, explains the ethnolinguistic affinity between T'u-yü-hun and Kitan:[21]

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[19] "Le document de Touen-houang nous permet donc maintenant de considérer d'une façon certaine les *Tuyuγun comme des Protomongols, formant un rameau distinct issu des Sien-pei, ancêtres des K'i-tan et des Che-wei d'où sortirent les Mongols historiques" (Hambis 1948: 241).

[20] The actual title of the text in the original Old Tibetan is *Byang phyogs na rgyalpo du bzhugs pa'ï rabs gyï yïge* བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ན་རྒྱལ་པོ་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་རབས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ ' An Account of However Many Kings Live in the North'. See Venturi (2008: 14, 19, n. 29) for a discussion of this title and the translation of *rabs*. My translation of the title is a revision of Venturi's. According to Christopher I. Beckwith, "The [Bacot Document] manuscript is definitely post-imperial in date, a late copy and probably partly a late reworking of a document the information in which goes back to the late 8th century, suggesting a late imperial text underlying the present" (C.I. Beckwith, p.c., June 21, 2015).

[21] The original text is in a *dbu med* 'headless' cursive orthography and additionally has certain Old Tibetan orthographic conventions which were lost in Classical Tibetan. In retyping this passage, I have retained as many of the original orthographical conventions as possible, including the Old Tibetan convention of writing the subordinate conjunctive converb suffix /-ste/ and its allomorphs without a preceding *tsheg* (syllable marker). I have consulted photographs of the original text in the IDP database: <http://idp.bl.uk/> (accessed October

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།། འདིའི་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ལྟར། གེ་ཏ་ན་ཞེས་བགྱི་བ་མཆིམ་སྟེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་གེ་ཏ་གྱི་ཁ་གནས་རུང་ཆོས་གྱང་། འ་ཞ་དང་འདྲིལ། སྲུགས་ཡང་། ཟེན་ལུགཀ་དང་རྟ་ཕལ་ཆེ། སྐད་གྱང་འ་ཞ་དང་ཕལ་ཆེར་འཕྲོ།། རྔ་ཡོ་རྔོར་དང་ཆེད་ཀྱི་འཐབ། ཆེད་ཀྱི་གཉེན།། ‘…Looking north of this, there are those called the Kitan (OTib. *Getan* ~ *Getang*). Their king (OTib. *rgyalpo*) is the *khagan* (*q^{h}aʁan) of the Kitan. Their food and their customs[22] are similar to those of the ‘Azha, and their livestock, too, are mainly calves, sheep, and horses. Their language, too, generally agrees with that of the ‘Azha. At times they fight with the Uygurs (OTib. *hoyohor*)[23]; at times they get along.’[24] (*PT 1283*, *l.* 27-29).

From this brief but informative account we learn that the T’u-yü-hun and Kitans spoke a related language and shared a common culture. This accords well with the Chinese records, and with the scanty but invaluable data on T’u-yü-hun and other Serbi languages.

14, 2015). The term ‘subordinate conjunctive converb suffix’ is C. I. Beckwith’s coinage (p.c., 2010).

[22] Venturi (2008: 24) translates Old Tibetan *chos* ཆོས་ as ‘religion’, following the Classical Tibetan sense of the word. In Old Tibetan, however, the meaning of the word was much broader, including ‘traditions’ and ‘customs’ in general (Christopher I. Beckwith, p.c., spring 2010). The religious-philosophical senses of Old Tibetan *chos* included ‘religious norm’ and ‘correct ritual method/practice’ (Walter 2009:124).

[23] The underlying Turkic form was *huyʁur ‘Uygur’. Old Tibetan transcriptions of Turkic provide solid evidence of an [h] ~ [ɦ] onset in spoken Old Turkic; the segment is not represented in Old Turkic orthography—both the runiform script and the Old Uygur script were foreign scripts adapted to Old Turkic and as such could not accurately represent Old Turkic phonology in its entirety. See Chapter Four ‘The Phonology of Old Tibetan’ for the Old Tibetan transcriptions of this and other foreign segments.

[24] I thank C. I. Beckwith for advice on this passage (p.c., 2010). See Venturi (2008: 24-25) for an alternative translation of this passage. See also Hambis (1948: 240) and Krippes (1992: 107) for brief discussion of this passage.

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6.2.1.1. T'U-YÜ-HUN TOPONYMS IN OLD TIBETAN TRANSCRIPTION

The *Old Tibetan Annals* provide important transcriptions of T'u-yü-hun place names. These Old Tibetan transcriptions of T'u-yü-hun toponyms, few though they may be, provide invaluable evidence on the T'u-yü-hun language and its Serbi-Mongolic affinity. I address some of these transcriptions below:

Jïma Khol [རྗི་མ་ཁོལ་][25] (*OTA1*: 49, 51). In 668/669 A.D., Tibet constructed defensive fortifications along this river in anticipation of a T'ang attack.

> ༦ཁ། འབྲུག་ལོ་ལ། བཙན་པོ་སཧྤགས་ཀྱི་ཤ་ན་བཞུགས་ཏེ། རྗི་མ་ཁོལ་དུ་དབྱ་བཞེར་བསྒོགས་པར་ཚོགས །
> "In the year of the dragon, the Btsanpo[26] stayed in Shara in Sprags, and constructed defensive fortifications at Jïma Khol" (*OTA1*: 49).[27]

Later, in 670/671 A.D., Jïma Khol was the site of a Tibetan victory over the Chinese:

> ༧ཁ། རྟ་ལོ་ལའ། བཙན་པོ་འོ་དང་ན་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། རྗི་མ་ཁོལ་དུ་རྒྱ་མང་པོ་བཏུངས་ཐར་པོ་གཅིག །
> "In the year of the horse, the Btsanpo stayed in 'Odang, and they massacred many Chinese at Jïma Khol" (*OTA1*: 51).[28]

As demonstrated by Beckwith (1987), the Tibetan transcription of this T'u-yü-hun toponym was reanalyzed as a Tibetan phrase which was then translated word-for-word into Chinese as *Ta-fei Ch'uan* 大非川 'Big Not River'. The first syllable of the T'u-yü-hun word as

[25] Dotson (2009: 293) also gives the form "Dzi-ma-gol", but this appears to be spurious—I have been unable to find this sequence of graphemes in the original text of the *Old Tibetan Annals*.

[26] *Btsanpo* (བཙན་པོ་) is the Old Tibetan word for 'emperor' and is also his title.

[27] Jäschke (1881) does not have a reflex of Old Tibetan བཞེར་ *bzher*, but from context, OTib. དགྲ་བཞེར་ *dgra bzher* must mean 'defensive fortifications' (Beckwith 1987: 33). Cf. OTib. *dgra* 'enemy, etc.'

[28] Translation adapted from Dotson (2009: 89).

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transcribed in Old Tibetan, *ji*, was reanalyzed, probably by a Chinese person with limited knowledge of Tibetan, as a variant of Old Tibetan *che* 'big' and the second syllable, *ma*, as Old Tibetan *ma* 'not'. The sequence was then calqued into Chinese as *ta* 大 'big' + *fei* 非 'not'. Based on this folk-etymologized Chinese gloss equivalent of this toponym, we can infer that T'u-yü-hun *khol* ~ *kol* (*q^{h}ɔl ~ *qɔl) means 'river (川)' and is cognate to Middle Mongol *qol* 'brook, mountain stream'.[29] The first element of the T'u-yü-hun phrase, reconstructible as *ǰima (or *ǰıma), is probably cognate to Written Mongol *čim-a* 'small carp (?)'[30] and modern Khalkha **чам** [ʧ^{h}am] 'a species of fish, silvery white in color'. [31] The voicing difference between the

[29] Beckwith (1987: 33, n. 109) identifies the T'u-yü-hun word and its Mongolic cognate and explains the Chinese name for the river as a translation of a Tibetan folk etymology of the T'u-yü-hun word. Although the Old Tibetan transcription *khol* ~ *kol* could hypothetically render Old Turkic *köl* 'lake', the semantics point in favor of Mongolic. For the attested early Middle Mongol form, see footnote in Chapter Eight entry for T'u-yü-hun *q^{h}ɔl.

[30] The specific meaning of this fish name in Mongol is unclear. The earliest attestation I have found so far of this Written Mongol word is in the Manchu-Mongol-Chinese dictionary of 1780, i.e. *χan-i araχa manǰu mongγo niqan xergen ilan χačin-i mudan ačaχa buleku bitxe*, retyped by Kuribayashi & Hurelbator (2008), which gives Manchu *čime*, corresponding to Mongol *čim-a* and Chinese 鱴鮞魚 MSC *qiweiyu*, which is described as a type of "river fish (河魚)" (Kuribayashi & Hurelbator 2008: 83). According to Zakharov, Manchu *čime* is a loanword from Chinese "ци-мо" (i.e., Pinyin *qimo*), which appears to be his interpretation of the second character of the 1780 gloss not as 鮞 MSC *wei* as Kuribayashi & Hurelbator (2008) give, but instead as a rare Chinese character with the fish radical 魚 and the phonetic 末 MSC *mo* (cf. *HTT*, Vol. 7: 4679); Zakharov glosses Manchu *čime* as "the name of a sea fish which enters rivers from the East Sea (назв. морской рыбы заходящей въ рѣки изъ восточнаго моря)" (1875: 939a). Images of the original text of the 1780 dictionary need to be carefully checked to determine if Zakharov is correct. Lessing et al. gloss the Mongol word as 'small carp' (1995: 184). If their definition is correct, then the Mongol word must be much older than the 18th century, given the fact that there are carp endemic to Mongolia.

[31] Modern Khalkha Mongolian **чам** is glossed as 'a species of fish, silvery white in color (мөнгөлөг цагаан өнгөтэй нэг зүйл загас)' (Bold et al. 2008). This is very likely an

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consonants poses no problem for this correspondence, since T'u-yü-hun, Kitan, and probably Serbi languages in general, neutralized voiced and voiceless stops at word peripheries; this is a phonological characteristic typical of the Manchurian Sprachbund of late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.[32] Note also the variant *kol* below (see the entry for 'O Kol ~ 'O Khol); Old Tibetan had no phonemic aspiration in its obstruents—the phonemic opposition among obstruents was voiced vs. voiceless, i.e. /k/ realized as [k ~ k^h] vs. /g/, etc.[33] The toponym thus must have meant 'Carp (?) River' in the T'u-yü-hun language.

Silgucïn [སིལ་གུ་ཅིན་] ~ Sïlgucïn [སིལ་གུ་ཅིན་] (*OTA1*: 123, 195). This is the name of a place in T'u-yü-hun territory where levies of the T'u-yü-hun were held in 696/697 A.D. by Mgar Khri 'Bring and in 714/715 by 'Bon Dargyal and Zhang Btsantore Lhasbyin.[34] The relevant passages are provided below with translation:[35]

obsolete word in Khalkha, i.e. a bookish word revived from Classical Mongolian by modern Mongolian lexicographers, as modern zoological dictionaries of Mongolian vertebrates such as *A Dictionary of Vertebrate Animals of Mongolia* (Ulaanbaatar, 2009) do not list this word. The word is not attested in Middle Mongol.

[32] The majority of languages in Manchuria and surrounding areas exhibit this typological feature, e.g. Nivkh, Korean, Japanese-Koguryoic, Mongolic (except for **g*), etc.

[33] Beckwith (2007a: xxi).

[34] Beckwith (1987: 80, n. 143); Dotson (2009: 99, 108-109).

[35] Note that my translations of these passages differ significantly from Dotson (2009), Thomas (1927), and others. I thank Christopher I. Beckwith for reading through these texts with me and helping me understand them.

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།།ཞེས་བྱ་བ་སྤྲེའུའི་ལོ་ལ་བཙན་པོ་བྱིད་མདའ་ན་བཞུགས་ཤིང་ ཁྲིན་ཅེ་ཁྲི་འབྲིང་གིས་ཀ་ཅོལ་དུ་འཛའི་མགོར་བཏྱོས།

"In the year of the monkey, the Btsanpo stayed in Zrïdmdá, and Minister Khri 'Bring held a levy of 'Azha at 'O Kol in Silgucïn, 'Azha territory" (*OTA1*: 123-124).[36]

།།ཤྭ་གྱི་ལོ་ལ་བབ་སྟེ། ……འབོན་དར་རྒྱལ་དྲ་ཛད་བཙན་ཁྲ་རེ་ལྷས་བྱིན་གྱིས།སོལ་གྱེན་གྱི་འོག་ལ་དུ་འཛའི་མགོར་བཏྱོས།

"In the year of the tiger, …'Bon Dargyal and Zhang Btsantore Lhasbyin held a levy of 'Azha at 'O Khol in Sïlgucïn, 'Azha territory" (*OTA1*: 193-195).

The first element of this toponym is *silgu (or *silɣu), probably cognate to attested Middle Mongol *sile'ü$^{(n/l)}$sü-n* [失列温孫] 'lynx' (*HIIY*), i.e. *[ʃiləɦulsun], *[ʃiləɦunsun], or, more likely, *[ʃiləɦusun]; **sili'üsü-n* *[昔里兀孫] 'lynx' (*CYIY*),[37] i.e. *[siliɦusun]; and (Modern Khalkha **шилүүс** *šilüüs* [ʃiˈɮus] 'id.'). The Middle Mongol form comes from Pre-Proto-Mongolic *siliɣu ~ *siləɣu 'lynx' with *-sU, a suffix found in nouns denoting animals, plants, and certain substances (e.g. 'water', 'blood', 'grass', 'milk', etc.),[38] which was later reanalyzed as part of the root.[39]

Considering the fact that Old Tibetan did not allow palatal nasal codas, the last syllable of this toponym can be reconstructed as *-čiñ or *-čin, a suffix meaning 'having X', and which is probably cognate to the Qay suffix *-čiñ/*-čin in the Qay hydronym *T'u-hu-chen* [土護眞]

[36] Thomas (1927: 54-55) gives an erroneous translation of this passage, but correctly states that "…it seems likely that Ho-kol implies a district by a river", although he erroneously states that this word "is perhaps a simple equivalent of *Sil.gu.(cin)*… in which *cin* most probably means 'town' and *sil* may mean 'river'" (Thomas 1927: 55).

[37] This is Kara's redaction of the erroneous original transcription in the *CYIY* (Kara 1990: 322). The phonetic reconstruction given above in brackets is my own.

[38] See Janhunen (2003: 13) for related discussion.

[39] See Appendix D for more on this *-sU suffix.

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(*tʰɔʁʊ-čiñ), which must have meant ‘muddy’ (lit. ‘having mud’) in Qay since the same river is later known in Kitan as *T’ao-wei-ssu Mo-li* [陶猥思沒里], glossed as Muddy River (土河)’ (*CTKC*).[40]

The T’u-yü-hun toponym is thus reconstructible as *silgu-čiñ/n (or *silɣu-čiñ/n) ‘Having Lynx’ (lynx-HAVING), comparable to present-day Šilüüst[41] (lit. ‘having lynx’) county in Zawkhan[42] province, Mongolia.[43] The Common Serbi suffix *-čiñ/*-čin is semantically parallel, and probably cognate to, the Ewenki suffix *-cii*, meaning ‘having X’ or ‘possessing X’.[44] There are no identifiable cognates in Mongolic. This Serbi-Ewenki morphological correspondence provides an important clue of potential use in identifying ethnolinguistic contact in pre-modern Ewenki.

Note also Modern Mandarin *she-li* (MSC *sheli*) 猞猁 ‘lynx’ < earlier Modern Mandarin *she-li-sun* (MSC *shelisun*) 猞猁猻 ‘id.’, first attested in Chinese ca. 18th c. A.D., e.g. in *Hung Lou Meng* 紅樓夢 (*Dream of the Red Chamber*). This is a loanword from Mongolian.[45] Specifically, this is probably an Early Modern Mongolian loanword into Modern Mandarin:

Modern Mandarin *she-li* (MSC *sheli*) 猞猁 ‘lynx’ < earlier Modern Mandarin *she-li-sun* (MSC *shelisun*) 猞猁猻 ‘id.’ ← Early Modern

[40] Common Serbi-Mongolic *tʰaɣ ‘dirt, earth, mud’ is a borrowing from Late Old Chinese 土 *tʰâʁ ‘dirt, earth, mud’ (Beckwith 2010: 8). See Chapter Eight entry for Taghbach *tʰaʁ for discussion.

[41] In Cyrillic, **Шилүүст**.

[42] In Cyrillic, **Завхан**.

[43] A more idiomatic English equivalent of these T’u-yü-hun and Mongolian toponyms could be ‘Lynxville’, such as the village of Lynxville in Crawford County, Wisconsin.

[44] See §8.5.1 for discussion.

[45] See also Kara for the Mongolian etymology of Modern Mandarin *she-li ~ she-li-sun* (MSC *sheli ~ shelisun*) ‘lynx’ (Kara 1990: 323).

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Mongolian < MMgl **šili'üsün* ~ **šile'üsün* 'lynx'[46] < CSM **siliɣu* ~ **siləɣu* 'lynx' > T'u-yü-hun **silgu* 'lynx (?)'

Rozycki considers Manchu *silun* 'lynx' to be an early Mongolic element in Manchu (1994: 182). Given the T'u-yü-hun form, Manchu *silun* 'lynx' is probably a borrowing from a Serbi language. One may postulate Jurchen-Manchu *silun* ← unattested Kitan or other late Serbi **silu* < **silɣu* < Common Serbi-Mongolic **siliɣu* ~ **siləɣu* 'lynx'.

'O Kol [འོ་ཀོལ་] ~ 'O Khol [འོ་ཁོལ་] (*OTA1*: 123, 195). The context of this word in the *Old Tibetan Annals* makes it clear that this was a river located in Sïlgucïn (**silɣu-čiñ*), since it only appears in the following phrase: འ་ཞོ་ཡུལ་གྱི་སོལ་གྱ་ཚན་གྱི་འོ་ཀོལ་ (or ཁོལ་) 'O Kol in **silɣu-čiñ*, 'Azha territory' (see entry for Silgucïn above). It was along this river that the above-mentioned levies were held. Since T'u-yü-hun *kol* ~ *khol* (**qɔl* ~ **q^{h}ɔl*) 'river' occurs in a different toponym which happens to have a Chinese gloss, albeit folk-etymologized (see Jïma Kol above), we can be sure that 'O Kol is a river name.

As for the T'u-yü-hun word transcribed in Old Tibetan as *'o* [འོ་], it is well known that in simple onsets Old Tibetan འ denoted [ɦ] or [ʁ ~ ɣ], and in transcriptions of Middle Chinese, the Old Tibetan vowel ོ (commonly transcribed *o*), represents [ɔ ~ ʊ].[47] The transcription *'o* [འོ་] thus denotes a T'u-yü-hun form like **ʁɔ*, **ʁʊ*, **ɢɔ*, **ɢʊ* or less likely **ɣɔ* or **ɣʊ*. This T'u-yü-hun word may be cognate to Kalmyk [ɢoː]

[46] The Modern Khalkha reflex is **шилүүс** ‹šilüüs› [ʃiˈɮus] 'lynx'.

[47] de Kőrös (1834), Beckwith (1996: 814, n. 3), Hill (2009a). See Chapter Four 'The Phonology of Old Tibetan.'

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'straight (not curved)'[48] or Middle Mongol *qo'a* 'beautiful'[49] in which case 'O Kol (probably *ᴳɔ *qɔl) would mean 'Straight River' or 'Beautiful River'. Alternatively, this T'u-yü-hun word could be cognate to Middle Mongol *qun* 'mountain valley, mountain flank, cliff, steep bank, slope' [50] as in the legendary toponym Ergene Qun, transcribed in Rashīdu'd-dīn Faḍlul'lāh's *Jāmi'u't-tawārīkh* (*JT*$_{Th}$ §148), in which case the T'u-yü-hun word would denote 'Mountain Valley River'.

Gñïjïgen [གཉིཇིགེན] (*OTA*$_1$: 204).[51] This is the name of a place in Mdosmad where the Mdosmad council was held in 717/718 A.D. Although not explicitly mentioned as a T'u-yü-hun place name, this toponym does not look Tibetan, and since Mdosmad included T'u-yü-hun territory, this is very likely a T'u-yü-hun word.

> ༧། སྤྲལ་ཀྱི་ལོ་ལ་བཙན་པོ་དབྱར་དུངས་ན་བཞུགས།ཨོ་སྨད་ཀྱི་འདུན་མ་བློན་ཆེན་པོ་ཁྲི་གཟིགས་ཀྱིས།གཉིཇིགེན་དུ་བསྡུས།
>
> "In the year of the snake, the Emperor stayed in his summer residence. The Mdosmad council was convened at Gñïjïgen by Chief Minister Khrigzigs. *OTA*$_1$, *l.* 203-204).

---

[48] Ramstedt gives Kalmyk "*g̱ō* gerade, schnurgerade (nicht krumm)" and examples such as "*g̱ō sāχan modn̥* ein hübscher, gerader baum [a nice straight tree]" and "*g̱ō ūl ᵇ* ein steiler, gerade aufsteigender berg [a steep, straight ascending mountain]" (1935: 152b).

[49] E.g. attested early MMgl *qo'a* [中豁阿] 'beautiful (美)' (*SHM* §7). Cf. Modern Khalkha **гоо** [qɔː] 'beauty (in compounds)' and **гоё** [qɔj] 'beautiful; nice; great'.

[50] On the semantic values of this Middle Mongol word, see de Rachewiltz (2006: 844 §237), and Thackston (2012: 57a). Early Middle Mongol word **qun* is attested in dative-locative case as *qun-a* (*SHM* §237) ~ *qun-tur* (*SHM* §26) and genitive case as *qun-u* (*SHM* §123) ~ *qun-nu* (*SHM* §179).

[51] I thank Christopher I. Beckwith (p.c., July 2014) for bringing this toponym to my attention.

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Khunyemon [ཁུ་ཉེ་མོན་] (*OTA1*: 291). This is the name of a glacier (OTib. གངས་ *gangs*) at which Minister Mangporje held a levy of the T'u-yü-hun in 742/743 A.D.[52] The relevant passage is given below:

> ཁུ་ཉེ་མོན་གངས་ཀློན་མང་པོ་རྗེས་འཛའ་ཞེའི་མཁོས་བགྱིས །
> "…Minister Mangporje held a levy of 'Azha at Khunyemon Glacier" (*OTA1*: 291).

Dotson assumes the name is "Khu-nye Mon-gangs".[53] To my knowledge, there is no reason to segment the word like this. Old Tibetan *gangs* means 'glacier', but I have been unable to find a word resembling the sequence *mon-gangs*. The *mon* element appears to be the last syllable of the T'u-yü-hun word. The Old Tibetan rendering of the toponym as *khu nye mon gangs* thus should be segmented as *khunyemon gangs* 'Khunyemon Glacier'.

Given the phonotactic constraints of Old Tibetan, which does not allow palatal nasal codas, a segment that does occur in Middle Kitan—the best documented Serbi language—and probably other Serbi languages as well, the Old Tibetan transcription could be an attempt to represent foreign *k^{h}uñmʊn (if not *k^{h}uñemʊn). The meaning of this T'u-yü-hun word is unknown.

6.2.1.2. T'U-YÜ-HUN ONOMASTICA IN OLD TIBETAN TRANSCRIPTION

A handful of T'u-yü-hun titles and clan names appear in the *Old Tibetan Annals* and the *Annals of the 'Azha Principality*, such as *khagan* [ཁ་གན་] (T'u-yü-hun *q^{h}aʁan), the T'u-yü-hun title for 'king (རྒྱལ་པོ་)' or 'emperor', e.g. *maga*

[52] Beckwith (1987: 128, n. 121). Dotson (2009: 122).

[53] Dotson & Hazod (2009: 122, 289).

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thogon khagan [མ་གཽ་ཁ་གན་གཱན་], [54] corresponding to 'feudal lord of the 'Azha (འ་ཞ་རྫི)' in the *Annals of the 'Azha Principality*. [55] The *maga* element is probably an Indic loanword, cf. Sanskrit *mahā* महा 'great'. [56] The title thus means 'Great Khaghan Tʰogon', the founding ruler of the T'u-yü-hun kingdom. The Old Tibetan transcription of his name, *Thogon* [ཐོ་གོན་] (OTib. *tʰʊgʊn), corresponds to T'u-yü-hun [吐谷渾] (NEMC ☆tʰɔʁyuawgɣoɾ̃) in sources from the period of Northern and Southern division and T'ui-hun [退渾] (LMC ☆tʰwəyɣwən) in Sui-T'ang sources, reconstructible as *tʰɔʏʁɔn in the T'u-yü-hun language, [57] and is probably cognate to Written Mongol *toyiɣun* 'gyrfalcon'. [58]

Note also the following unglossed T'u-yü-hun onomastic data in the *Annals of the 'Azha Principality*:

Dared [དཱ་རེད] (OTib *daret), a T'u-yü-hun clan name (*AAP* 26, 34, 52). [59] Reconstructible as *darət. No known cognates.

Dwonsod [དྭོན་སོད] (OTib *dwʊnsʊt), a T'u-yü-hun man of the Muglden clan (*AAP* 26). Reconstructible as T'u-yü-hun *dwʊnsʊt. No known

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[54] Old Tibetan Documents Online (OTDO) reads this as "ma ga tho gon kha gang" (<http://otdo.aa.tufs.ac.jp/archives.cgi?p=ITJ_1368#>, accessed October 15, 2015), but the original text clearly has *n* (ན) and not *ng* (ང).

[55] Uray (1978: 553).

[56] Christopher I. Beckwith (p.c., 2007). Note also this same Indic element in Old Kitan and Qay titles (see Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight).

[57] See Chapter Four 'The Phonology of Old Tibetan' for Old Tibetan transcriptions of foreign diphthongs.

[58] Note also modern Khalkha **тойхон** [ˈtʰœˑχɤ̆ɴ] 'a white bird of the falcon genus (Шонхорын төрлийн цагаан шувуу)' (Tsewel 1966: 537; Bold et al. 2008), which is probably a dead word recently revived by modern lexicographers. The IPA transcription is my own. The Mongol word was borrowed into Early Middle Korean: note the attested Late Middle Korean reflex *tʰùygʊ́n (튀·곤) 'white gyrfalcon (白黃鷹)' (Lee 1964: 192; Nam 2002: 1354b).

[59] See Uray (1978: 544) for discussion. The Old Tibetan reconstruction here is my own.

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cognates, but the name is phonologically interesting, since it attests C+[w] sequences in the T'u-yü-hun language.

Dwenswen [དྭེན་སྭེན] (OTib *dwenswen), a T'u-yü-hun man of the Muglden clan (*AAP* 52). Reconstructible as *dwənswən. No known cognates. This name attests the existence of C+[wə] sequences in T'u-yü-hun.

Muglden [སྨུག་ལྡེན] (OTib *muglden), a T'u-yü-hun clan name (*AAP* 26, 39, 52).[60] Reconstructible as *mugldən. No known cognates.

Harodpar [ཧོ་རོད་པར] (OTib *harʊtpar), a T'u-yü-hun of the Muglden clan whose daughter was married to the Maga Thogon Khagan (*AAP* 39).[61] This name is reconstructible as *harʊtpar. No known cognates.

ʔAlyebangdïgzhing [ཨ་ལྱེ་བང་དིག་ཞིང] (OTib *ʔalyebaŋdigźiŋ), a T'u-yü-hun name or title (*AAP* 40),[62] reconstructible as *alyəbaŋdigźiŋ. The *digźiŋ [དིག་ཞིང] element closely resembles, and is possibly cognate to, the Taghbach title ☆digtśin [直眞] 'Internal Attendants'.[63]

6.2.2. Chinese sources on the T'u-yü-hun language

While the Chinese sources do not mention much about the T'u-yü-hun language in detail, the *Liang Shu* 梁書 and the *Nan Shih* 南史 accounts of the Hua 滑 (NEMC *ɣwar, i.e. Avar) people of the Hephthalite confederacy provides an important piece of information:[64]

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[60] See Uray (1978: 553) for discussion. The Old Tibetan reconstruction here is my own.

[61] See Uray (1978: 553) for discussion. The Old Tibetan reconstruction is my own.

[62] See Uray (1978: 553) for discussion. The Old Tibetan reconstruction is my own.

[63] See Chapter Five for discussion of this Taghbach title.

[64] These Hua (Avar) people are undoubtedly the ethnolinguistic descendants of the early Serbi-Mongolic-speaking Wu-huan 烏桓 (*Awar).

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其言語待河南人譯然後通
'As for their [i.e. the Avar] language, it is comprehensible after T'u-yü-hun people interpret it.' (*Liang Shu* 54: 812; *NS* 79: 1984).[65]

Chinese transcriptions of T'u-yü-hun words are datable to the Early Middle Chinese period, and largely consist of titles, personal names, one kinship term, and one sentence including a personal pronoun. These transcriptions also provide some indications of T'u-yü-hun functional morphology. The most important Chinese sources with T'u-yü-hun lexical data are the *Chin Shu* 晉書, the *Sung Shu* 宋書, the *Wei Shu* 魏書, the *Chou Shu* 周書, the *Pei Shih* 北史, and the *Tzu-chih T'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, although a few other transcriptions are found elsewhere. The earliest modern scholarship on these transcriptions includes Shiratori (1902) and Pelliot (1921), although neither worked on all of the Chinese transcriptions of T'u-yü-hun.

6.2.2.1. Glossed Chinese transcriptions of T'u-yü-hun words

There are very few T'u-yü-hun words transcribed in Chinese with accompanying glosses. Note the following glossed Early Middle Chinese transcriptions:

A-kan [阿干] (NEMC ☆ɦakaň) 'elder brother (兄)' (*Chin Shu* 97: 2537; *Sung Shu* 96: 2370; *TCTC* 90: 2853; *WS* 101: 2233).[66] Pelliot (1921: 329)

[65] Sinor notes this same passage but does not mention the source: "[Chinese] sources speak of the necessity of using T'u-yü-hun interpreters when negotiating with the (A)var" (Sinor 1990: 300). Pulleyblank (1962b: 260) also discusses this passage. The *T'ung-tien* states: 'Their language is comprehensible after [people] interpret it (其言語待譯然後通)' (*T'ung-tien* 193: 1040).

[66] The *Pei Shih* transcription a-yü [阿于] (*PS* 96: 3181) is clearly copyist's error for a-kan [阿干] (*Chin Shu* 97: 2537; *Sung Shu* 96: 2370; *WS* 101: 2233; *TCTC* 90: 2853).

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discusses this word and mentions its cognates in Turkic, Mongol, and Manchu. Clauson also treats the word and claims that:

> "If 'elder brother' really was *aγa* in T'u-yü-hun then indisputably they talked Mongolian, for *aγa* is a pure Mongolian word and did not replace **éçi:** in the sense of 'elder brother' in any Turkish language until after the 12th century" (Clauson 1960: 118).

Clauson is correct that this is probably a Mongolic loanword in post-12th century Turkic, probably from late Old Mongol or early Middle Mongol. Languages of former T'u-yü-hun territory today still use this word (e.g. Wutun *aga* 'elder brother'[67]). The word is in fact geographically widespread, with good comparanda in such demonstrably unrelated languages as Mongolic, Tungusic, Turkic, Nivkh, Finno-Ugric, Chukotko-Kamchatkan, Inuit, Persian, Syriac, Koreanic, Late Old Chinese, and probably others.[68] For practical purposes, this word is thus non-distinctive and cannot be used for determining divergent relationship theories; however, it remains a likely possibility, and a fact in some instances, that the word was spread by the early Serbi-Mongolic peoples to at least some of these peoples

[67] The Wutun form here is quoted from Janhunen et al. (2008).

[68] See Fortescue (1998: 152) for Finno-Ugric *ekä* 'paternal uncle', Chukotko-Kamchatkan *ækək ~ ækəkæ* 'son' and Inuit *akkak* 'paternal uncle'. Note also Nivkh *akn ~ akən* 'first son' (Tangiku et al. 2008: 123, #1176). See Doerfer (1963: 133-140, §22) for New Persian *āqā* (آقا) ~ *āġā* (آغا) 'elder brother' (← MMgl *aqa* 'elder brother' (*SHM*, *HIIY*)); and Doerfer (1963: 131-133, §21) for New Persian *āġā* (آغا) 'Prinzessin, Titel vornehmer Damen', a loanword from western Middle Mongol *aʁa* as in *aʁa eke* [اغا اچا] 'maternal uncle' (*IM*). Note also Korean *aga-ssi* 아가씨 'young lady, girl, Miss' (with a reanalyzed honorific suffix *-ssi* 씨 ← MChi 氏). One may also entertain the possibility of a connection with Late Middle Korean *àzɔ̀/*ɦàzɔ̀ (아ᄉᆞ) 'younger brother' (see Nam 2002: 1010a for this LMK form). Late Old Chinese 哥 *ka 'elder brother' is believed to be a loanword from early Serbi-Mongolic (Sagart 1999: 169-170).

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during one or more of the periods of Serbi-Mongolic rule in Eastern Eurasia.

The Chinese transcription suggests a T'u-yü-hun form *aqan or even *aqañ. Note also Taghbach *ñaqañ [若干] 'dog', transcribed with the same character (干).[69] Positing a palatal *ñ also provides an explanation for later attested Mongolic forms such as Khamnigan [aˈqʰaa̯ ~ aˈχaa̯] < PMgl *akʰai < CSM *akʰañ 'elder male relative' via a regular rule whereby Common Serbi-Mongolic word-final *Vñ# became *Vi# in Proto-Mongolic. Attested Middle Mongol *aqa* 'elder brother' (*SHM*, *HIIY*) ~ *aqai* as in *aqai egeči* 'elder aunt' (*HIIY*) and their modern reflexes, such as Khalkha **ax** [aχ], must be from a dialectal variant of Proto-Mongolic *akʰai ~ *akʰa 'elder male relative'. Note also Khalkha **araa** [aˈʁa] 'elder brother (affectionate)', from a different Proto-Mongolic dialect form, *aɢa 'elder brother'.

Mo-ho [莫賀] (NEMC ☆magɣa) glossed as 'father (父)' (*Sung Shu* 96: 2371).[70] This word is mentioned in the *Sung Shu* as a T'u-yü-hun title (Ch. *hao* 號), and given the Chinese transcription, the T'u-yü-hun word should be reconstructed *maʁa or *amaʁa.[71]

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[69] See Shimunek (2011a: 105a) and Chapter Eight for the sound correspondence Common Serbi *ñ# to Proto-Mongolic *Vi#.

[70] The *Wei Shu* and *Pei Shih* have *mo-ho lang* 莫賀郎 (*WS* 101: 2234; *PS* 96: 3181). As the *Sung Shu* gloss makes clear, the *lang* 郎 element is a Chinese title (*Sung Shu* 96: 2371), i.e. *lang* 郎 'official title' (Pul. 183).

[71] Assuming the transcription was in a Middle Chinese dialect characterized by partially denasalized *[ᵐb], Pelliot suggested a connection between the T'u-yü-hun word and Written Mongol *abaɣa* 'paternal uncle' (1921: 329); cf. attested early MMgl *abaqa* [阿巴中合], glossed as 'father's younger brother (叔)' (*SHM* §242), and late MMgl *abaqa* [اباقا] 'maternal uncle (الخال)' (*Leid.* 70a-01-7). Anther possibility is that this T'u-yü-hun word is cognate to the *bag* ~ *baga* element occurring in various titles throughout Central Eurasia, ultimately from Old Persian *baga-* 'god'. Note the first element in the title of the second ruler of the Hsiung-nu, *baʁtur [冒頓], related to the later Central Eurasian Kulturwort *baɣatur* 'hero'. See Beckwith (2009: 387, n. 8) for the reconstruction of this Hsiung-nu

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Ch'u k'o-han [處可寒] (NEMC *tśʰɨkʰaɣaɾ̃)[72] 'you are the emperor (爾官家)' (*Sung Shu* 96: 2369). This is the only documented sentence in the T'u-yü-hun language, from the *Sung Shu* account of the T'u-yü-hun national origin myth. This T'u-yü-hun sentence is reconstructible as *čʰɪ *qʰaʁan 'you are the emperor' (lit. 'you emperor'), a verbless syntactic structure with an exact parallel in Mongolic: Compare the T'u-yü-hun sentence with Middle Mongol *či qahan* (2SG emperor) 'you are the emperor'.[73] The second word in the T'u-yü-hun sentence, *qʰaʁan 'emperor', is a well-known, widespread culture word found in many languages throughout Central Eurasia, but first attested among the Serbi peoples. Pelliot (1921) proposed that the *čʰɪ element is the T'u-yü-hun second person singular pronoun, and related it to Written Mongol *či*, the nominative case form of the Middle Mongol second person singular pronoun.[74] This is the only evidence we have so far on personal pronouns in any Serbi language. Since this is functional morphology shared with Mongolic, it provides additional evidence toward a divergent relationship between the T'u-yü-hun and Mongolic languages, although ultimately the personal pronouns of Serbi-Mongolic, Tungusic, Turkic, Finno-Ugric, East Germanic, and other Eurasian languages come from Indo-European, possibly via Hunnic.[75]

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title and its relation to Iranic. A third possibility, suggested by C. I. Beckwith (p.c., February 2016), is that this is an epithet (號) for 'father' and that it might refer to the very same Sanskrit word, *mahā* 'great', as in the royal title of the T'u-yü-hun khaghan, i.e. *maga thogon khagan* (མ་ག་ཐོ་གོན་ཁ་ག་ན་) 'Great Khaghan Thogon' (see §6.2.1.2 above).

[72] Tak. 312-313, 304-305, 362-363; Pul.60, 173, 119.

[73] Although this sentence is not attested in Middle Mongol, the individual words *či* 'you' (*SHM*) and *qahan* 'emperor' (*SHM*) are well attested, as is the clausal order [S_{NP} $Pred_{NP}$]. See Chapter Eight for a comparative study of Mongolic and Serbi clausal order.

[74] Pelliot (1921: 327-328).

[75] Beckwith (2005: 11; 2010: 8; 2011a).

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K'o-tsun [恪尊] (NEMC ☆k^{h}agtsoȓ) 'wife (妻) of the khaghan (可汗)' (*Chou Shu* 50: 912-913). This word is cognate to Taghbach *q^{h}aʁsʊn 'imperial consort' and attested early Middle Mongol *qatun* [^{中}合屯] 'lady (娘子)' (*SHM*).[76] The T'u-yü-hun word should be reconstructed *q^{h}aʁtsʊn (or, less likely, *k^{h}aɣtsʊn), and provides evidence of palatalization of */t/ > *[ts] before */u ~ ʊ/ in T'u-yü-hun.

6.2.2.2. Unglossed Chinese transcriptions of T'u-yü-hun onomastica

Below I provide reconstructions of a few particularly informative or otherwise interesting unglossed Late Middle Chinese transcriptions of T'u-yü-hun names, titles, and toponyms. Unlike the Chinese transcriptions above, the Chinese transcriptions here are mostly connected with historical events in the Sui-T'ang period. As such, they are Late Middle Chinese transcriptions of T'u-yü-hun.

No-ho-po [諾賀鉢] (LMC ☆^{n}dakɣarpar) ~ [諾曷鉢] (LMC ☆^{n}dakɣarpar) ~ [諾曷鉢] (LMC ☆^{n}dakɣarpar),[77] the name of the last T'u-yü-hun khaghan (*HTS* 216a: 6075; *HTS* 221a: 6226; *CTS* 198: 5300 et seq.; *TCTC* 194: 6117 et seq.; *T'ung-tien* 190: 1021). This name is reconstructible as *daʁarpar. The *par element is possibly a suffix. Note also the *par in the T'u-yü-hun name Harodpar attested in Old Tibetan transcription (see above).

[76] Note also Old Turkic *qatun*, first attested in the 8th century. See discussion in Chapter Five entry for K'o-sun.

[77] Revised from Pul. 228, 123, 40. Also note the Khotanese Brahmi transcription of 鉢 as *parä* (Tak. 364-365).

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Su-ho-kuei [素和貴] (LMC ☆sɔɣwakuy),[78] the name of a T'u-yü-hun minister who defected to the Tibetan Empire shortly before the fall of the T'u-yü-hun Kingdom in 663 (*HTS* 216a: 6075; *TCTC* 201: 6336; *T'ung-tien* 190: 1021).[79] This T'u-yü-hun name is reconstructible as *sɔʁɔqay.

Wan-t'ou [曼頭] (LMC ☆mandəw),[80] the name of a T'u-yü-hun city (*TCTC* 181: 5641).[81]

Wu-yin k'o-han [戊寅可汗] (LMC ☆^{m}buyink^{h}aɣan) (*Chin Shu* 97: 2541).[82] This is a title of the T'u-yü-hun ruler Mu-jung Shu-lo-kan 慕容樹洛干. Another regal name he held was Wu Wang 武王 'Militant King',[83] which seems to be a Chinese translation of the T'u-yü-hun title *Wu-yin K'o-han* 戊寅可汗. The character *wu* 戊 (LMC ☆^{m}bəw)[84] is phonologically close to *wu* 武 (LMC ☆^{m}bu)[85] and is probably a Chinese loanword in T'u-yü-hun, i.e. Middle Chinese 武 ☆^{m}bu$_2$ borrowed into T'u-yü-hun as *$^{(m)}$bu [戊]. The *-yin (or *-yiñ) [寅] element (LMC ☆yin)[86] is probably a T'u-yü-hun genitive-attributive suffix cognate to the Middle Mongol genitive suffix *-yin* (the allomorph affixed to stems ending in vowels), and as such, provides evidence of shared functional

[78] Revised from Pul. 295, 122, 115. 素 is transcribed in Old Tibetan as *so* *[sʊ] (Tak. 312-313); 和 is transcribed in Old Tibetan as *hwa* [hwa] (Tak. 306-307); 貴 is transcribed in Old Tibetan as *ku* *[ku] ~ *kwi* *[kwi] (Tak. 338-339).

[79] See also Beckwith (1987: 31, 49).

[80] Revised from Pul. 318, 311. 曼 is transcribed in Old Tibetan as *man* (Tak. 362-363) and 頭 is transcribed as *'de'u ~ thi'u* (Tak. 346-347).

[81] See also Beckwith (1987: 18, *n.* 24).

[82] This word has been previously studied by Simonov (1996), who proposes several untenable cognates with Tungusic. His proposal has been disproven by Vovin (2007: 192-193).

[83] *TCTC* (118: 3700).

[84] Cf. Pul. 219, 327 ☆məw$_3$

[85] Cf. Pul. 326 ☆mu$_2$

[86] Pul. 372 ☆yin

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morphology between T'u-yü-hun and Mongolic. Note also Middle Kitan *-n ~ *-ñ, allomorphs of the genitive suffix.[87]

6.2.3. Possible T'u-yü-hun elements in Amdo Tibetan

Since Amdo Tibetan is spoken in the region formerly dominated by the T'u-yü-hun people, one would expect to find T'u-yü-hun substratal elements in this language. One possible T'u-yü-hun element in modern Amdo, i.e. the *-la xamdə* construction, meaning 'have' in Amdo, is Serbi-Mongolic in origin.[88] Considering the fact that Amdo regularly centralized and reduced the vowel *u* to *ə*, we may propose that the *xamdə* element in the above construction comes from *qamdu < ? *qamtu (cf. Middle Mongol *qamtu* 'together'[89]). If this is not a Middle Mongol element in Amdo, it may be a T'u-yü-hun substratal element.

There is also a possibility of T'u-yü-hun elements in the Tibetan epic of King Gesar,[90] which is believed to have been established before the Mongol Conquest around the area of T'u-yü-hun territory. Specifically, Joru [རྫོ་རུ] (*ʤʊru), the childhood name of Gesar in the Tibetan versions, is probably a word of T'u-yü-hun origin. In the earliest printed version of the epic—the 1716 Mongolian xylograph commissioned by the Manchu Emperor Elxe Taifin (K'ang-hsi)—this name appears as *J̌oru* (*Geser* §1.12.2, *l.* 24). This is a Mongolian transcription of a Tibetan form which is probably in turn a

[87] See Kane (2009: 133-135) for the Kitan genitive suffixes *-in ~ *-iñ.

[88] Dwyer (1992: 175, n. 11) proposes that this is a Middle Mongol element in Amdo, but it could just as likely be from T'u-yü-hun. Gedun Rabsal (Indiana University) and Yangbum Gyal (Madison), native speakers of Amdo Tibetan, explained that most dialects of Amdo Tibetan express 'have' with *yod* (ཡོད) but remarked that there are many divergent dialects of Amdo and surmised that this specific construction cited by Dwyer is possibly from a rural dialect spoken in the ethnolinguistically diverse Rebgong county (e-mail, April 15-17, 2012).

[89] E.g. attested early MMgl *qamtu* [中含禿] 'together (一同)' (*SHM* §76).

[90] *Geser* in Mongolian.

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rendering of a name of T'u-yü-hun origin in early Amdo Tibetan. This name, which has no identifiable etymology in Tibetan, is possibly cognate to Written Mongol *ǰur* 'ability, skill (in hunting)'. It is probably a late T'u-yü-hun element in Amdo Tibetan.[91]

6.3. NOTES ON T'U-YÜ-HUN PHONOLOGY

6.3.1. PHONEME INVENTORY

The T'u-yü-hun consonant inventory includes at least the following segments:

Table 17. The T'u-yü-hun consonant inventory (phonemic)

	labial	dental/alveolar	palatal	dorsal	glottal
stop	*p *b	*t^{h} *d		*k^{h} *[q^{h}] *g	
affricate			*č *ǰ		
fricative		*s (*z ?)	*[ź]	*[ʁ]	*h
nasal	*m	*n	*ñ	*ŋ	
lateral		*l			
rhotic		*r			
glide	*w		*y		

Table 18. The T'u-yü-hun vowel inventory

[+ATR]	[-ATR]
*i	*ɪ
*u	*ʊ
*o	*ɔ
*e *[ə]	*a

[91] I am grateful to Christopher I. Beckwith for mentioning the possibility of the Tibetan form as a T'u-yü-hun element in *Gesar* and for clarifying the dating and geographic origin of the epic in Tibet (p.c., June 6, 2012). The identification of the possible Mongolic cognate is my own.

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6.3.2. Salient consonant clusters

T'u-yü-hun, like attested Middle Kitan (see Chapter Seven for details), is characterized by complex consonant clusters:

*gld	:	*mu**gld**ən	[སུག་ལྡན] 'clan name'
*gñ	:	*g**ñ**ijǐgən	[གཉིང་ཅིག་གེན] 'place name'
*tp	:	*harʊ**tp**ar	[ཧ་རོད་པར] 'personal name'

The cluster *gñ is also attested in Taghbach, although intervocalically, i.e. Taghbach ☆ɦʊgñag [郁若] 'Two Thousand Bushel Official'.

6.3.3. Glide + vowel sequences

Old Tibetan transcriptions of T'u-yü-hun attest the following glide + vowel sequences:

*wʊ	:	*d**wʊ**nsʊt	[དུན་སོད]	'personal name'
*wə	:	*d**wə**nswən	[དེན་སྭེན]	'personal name'

The sequence *wə is significant in that it is reconstructible for Common Serbi-Mongolic, e.g. CSM *gwər 'yurt' and *wəmwə 'woman'.

6.3.4. Other phonological points of interest

Old Tibetan transcriptions of T'u-yü-hun show that the sequence *[si] did not palatalize to *[ʃi] as in later attested Mongolic. Note the T'u-yü-hun toponym *silgučin/*silgučiñ [སིལ་གུ་ཅིན]. However, it appears that */z/ palatalized to *[ź] before */i/, e.g. *alyəbaŋdigźiŋ [ཨ་ལྱེ་བང་དིག་ཞིང], a T'u-yü-hun name or title.

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6.4. Concluding remarks

Although the extant materials are too limited to gain a thorough understanding of the T'u-yü-hun language, the data is sufficient to demonstrate that T'u-yü-hun was a Serbi-Mongolic language, with both lexical and functional morphological affinities to the other Serbi languages and Mongolic.[92]

No one has collected all the available data on T'u-yü-hun in one place and consistently argued for a divergent relationship with Mongolic. I have not collected all possible data on the language, either, but I hope to have uncovered some additional lexical, morphological, phonological, and syntactic features of the T'u-yü-hun language. The *Old Tibetan Annals*, the *Annals of the 'Azha Principality*, and the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and other early Tibetan sources are likely to contain additional data on the T'u-yü-hun people and their language.

6.5. The T'u-yü-hun lexicon

In this section I present a lexicon of T'u-yü-hun words and morphemes discussed in this chapter. It is noteworthy that all of the distinctly T'u-yü-hun words—those which are not widespread Kulturwörter—and all the attested T'u-yü-hun functional morphemes—have close cognates in Mongolic to the exclusion of other languages.

[92] Dotson claims that the T'u-yü-hun kingdom "was ethnically Turkic" (2009: 36), but provides no data to support this claim. The linguistic data I discuss in this chapter, together with the historical considerations in Chapter Two demonstrates that the T'u-yü-hun in fact spoke a Serbi-Mongolic language, unrelated to Turkic.

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6.5.1. T'U-YÜ-HUN FUNCTIONAL MORPHEMES

-čin/-čiñ [ཅིན་] (OTib *ʧin) 'having X' < CSer *-čin/*-čiñ (cf. Ewk -*cii*) 'id.'
*$\check{c}^{h}$ɪ [處] (NEMC ☆tś^{h}ɨ) 'second person singular pronoun (爾)' < CSM *$\check{c}^{h}$ɪ > PMgl *$\check{c}^{h}$i 'id.'
-yin/-yiñ [寅] (NEMC ☆yiř) 'genitive-attributive suffix' < CSM *-yin 'id.'

6.5.2. T'U-YÜ-HUN WORDS

6.5.2.1. GLOSSED OR OTHERWISE SEMANTICALLY KNOWN T'U-YÜ-HUN WORDS

*aqañ [阿干] (NEMC ☆ɦakař) 'elder brother (兄)' < CSM *akañ ~ *ak^{h}añ > PMgl *ak^{h}ai ~ *ak^{h}a ~ *aga 'elder brother'.
*maʁa/*amaʁa [莫賀] (NEMC *magɣa) 'father (父)' or 'great' (see *maʁa below).
*bu [戊] (LMC *^{m}bu) 'militant (武)' ← MChi.
*q^{h}aʁan [ཁ་གན་] (OTib *k^{h}agan) ~ [可汗] (NEMC ☆k^{h}aʁɣař) ~ [可寒] (NEMC ☆k^{h}aʁɣař) 'emperor, king' < early Serbi ← Kulturwort (?).
*maʁa [མ་ག] (OTib *maga) 'great' ← Indic.
*q^{h}aʁtsʊn [恪尊] (NEMC ☆k^{h}agtsoř) 'wife (妻) of the khaghan (可汗)'.
*qɔl [ཧོལ་] (OTib *k^{h}ol) ~ [ཀོལ་] (OTib *kol) 'river (川)' < CSM *gɔl ~ *kɔl 'id.'

6.5.2.2. UNGLOSSED T'U-YÜ-HUN WORDS

*ǰima [ཇི་མ་] (OTib *ʤima) 'carp' (?) < CSM *ǰima ~ *čima 'small carp' (?).
*ɢɔ [ར་] (OTib *ɦo) 'straight/beautiful (?)' or 'mountain valley' (?) < ? CSM.
*silɣu [སིལ་གུ་] (OTib *silgu) ~ [སིལ་གུ་] (OTib *silgu) 'lynx' (?) < CSM *siliɣu 'id.'

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*tʰɔyʁɔn [ཐོན་མོན་] (OTib *tʰogon) ~ [吐谷渾] (NEMC ☆tʰɔʁyuawgɣoɾ̃) ~ [退渾] (LMC ☆tʰwəyɣwən) ‘white falcon (?)’ < CSM *tʰɔygɔn ‘id.’

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CHAPTER SEVEN:
THE KITAN LANGUAGE

7.1. INTRODUCTION

The Kitan language is documented from the period of Northern and Southern division (4th to 6th centuries A.D.) continuing up through the Sui-T'ang (589-907), the Kitan Empire (907-1125), the Qara Khitai or 'Western Liao' (1124-1218), the Jurchen Empire (1115-1234), and with speakers remaining in the earlier part of the Yüan (1206/1271-1368). There are three identifiable periods of the Kitan language, defined as follows:

Old Kitan (ca. 386-907 A.D.): a daughter variety of the Yü-wen dialect of Middle Serbi, i.e. Kitan as spoken before the Kitan Empire. Old Kitan is transcribed in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, Old Turkic, and Old Tibetan, mostly from the Northern Wei and the Sui-T'ang period.

Middle Kitan (ca. 920 – ca. 11th c. A.D.): the spoken Kitan language on which the two Kitan scripts were based, spoken at the time these two scripts were created, i.e. 920 and 925. Presumably all or most Literary Kitan data represents, or is heavily based on, Early Middle Kitan (i.e. Early Imperial Kitan), including texts dating much later than the 11th century, when the spoken language seems to have begun diverging. Literary Kitan data is attested in epitaphs and other texts in the two Kitan scripts.

Late Kitan (ca. 11th c. – ca. 13th c. A.D.): the Kitan language as spoken during the late Kitan Empire, attested in Early Old Mandarin transcriptions from Sung envoys to the Kitan Empire, in such sources as *Ch'i-tan Kuo Chih* 契丹國志, *Yen Pei Lu* 燕北錄, and *Yen Pei Tsa-chi* 燕北雜記; as spoken during the Qara Khitai

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(1124-1218);[1] and as spoken after the fall of the Kitan Empire, transcribed in Late Old Mandarin, preserved in Chinese transcription in the *Liao Shih* 遼史 and possibly other Yüan sources on the Kitans.

The best documented Serbi-Mongolic language before the 13th century A.D. is Middle Kitan, followed by Late Kitan.

7.2. Old Kitan

Old Kitan is primarily attested in Chinese transcriptions, the majority of which date to the period of Northern and Southern division (4th to 6th centuries A.D.), i.e. the Early Middle Chinese period, and the Sui-T'ang period (589-907 A.D.), i.e. the Late Middle Chinese period. Most of the data is connected with the two main pre-imperial Kitan polities—the Ta-ho 大賀 (LMC ☆dayɣa) Kitan confederation, ca. 628-730 A.D., and the Yao-nien 遙輦 (LMC ☆yiawlyan)[2] confederation, ca. 730-907 A.D.[3] There are also several Old Tibetan and Old Turkic transcriptions of Old Kitan.

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[1] Kitan remained an important language of administration during the Western Liao, i.e. Qara Khitai (Biran 2005: 127).

[2] This Late Middle Chinese transcription (Pul. 362, 225) probably renders an Old Kitan form *yawr-ən or *yɔr-ən, a genitive-attributive case form (cf. MKit *-ən) of OKit *yawr or *yɔr, a variant of the Kitan imperial clan name attested in Kitan Assembled Script as *yar-ud 𘬱𘬼𘬽𘬲 ‹y.ar.u^{w}.ud› (*YTi* 2:16), composed of *yar 'Kitan clan name' (耶律) + *-ud 'plural suffix'. The clan name is also transcribed in Persian as Yār [یار] (*JT$_{RM}$* 442). See §2.4.3 for discussion. Although the Yao-nien and Yeh-lü are different lineages, as pointed out by Pierre Marsone (p.c., May 2016), the names are clearly different inflections of dialectal variants of the same word, i.e. *yar ~ *yawr/*yɔr.

[3] See Yi Jae-sung (1996: 39) for the dates of the Ta-ho and Yao-nien confederations. The reconstructions of the clan names presented above are my own. See also Marsone (2011) on the history of the Ta-ho and Yao-nien Kitans.

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7.2.1. Glossed (and semantically discernable) Old Kitan words

Only a handful of Middle Chinese, Old Turkic, and Old Tibetan transcriptions of Old Kitan have accompanying glosses or have meanings easily discernible from context. I provide three of these below:

Ch'i-tan [契丹] (NEMC ☆k^{h}ɛytaɾ̃/☆k^{h}ɨrtaɾ̃/☆k^{h}ɛrtaɾ̃)[4] (*WS* 100: 2223). The Kitan ethnonym first appears in Chinese transcription in the *Wei Shu* 魏書, in connection with events dating to the Hsien-tsu 顯祖 reign period of the Northern Wei, i.e. 460-475 A.D., as Ch'i-tan [契丹].[5] This is thus a Northeastern Early Middle Chinese transcription. Northeastern Early Middle Chinese coda ☆r̃ could transcribe foreign coda *r, *n, or *ñ, among other possibilities. However, the ethnonym is also attested in runiform Old Turkic in the Orkhon inscriptions as *Qɨtañ* 𐰴𐰆𐰞𐰃 ‹^{i}qit$_{ı}$ñ›,[6] clearly indicating a palatal nasal coda, since Old Turkic was capable of distinguishing palatal *ñ* and alveolar *n* codas.[7]

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[4] The character 契 has at least three readings in Middle Chinese: ☆k^{h}ɛy ~ ☆k^{h}ɨr ~ ☆k^{h}ɛr (revised from Pul. 248, 254). Given the Middle Kitan form of the Kitan autonym and the foreign segmental transcriptions of the ethnonym discussed above, the reading ☆k^{h}ɛy seems most likely, but we cannot rule out the possibility that this Chinese transcription is of a different regional dialectal variant than the imperial Middle Kitan form.

[5] *WS* (100: 2223).

[6] This word is attested in 8th century runiform Old Turkic in the Toñuquq Inscription of ca. 720 A.D., the Bilge Qaγan Inscription of 735 A.D., the Kül Tegin Inscription of 732 A.D., and the Küli Čor Inscription of ca. 719-723 A.D. (*GOrkT* 345). See *GOrkT* (9-12) for the dates of these inscriptions.

[7] The ethnonym is also attested in Jurchen as 𡨴次 ‹hi.tan› [希彈] (*NT* 54; Kane 2009: 163). Anya King has identified Persian and Arabic transcriptions of the Kitan ethnonym, including the 10th c. transcription **al-kh.ṭā'ī* *[الخطائي], the 11th c. transcriptions *al-kh.tā'ī* [الخطائي] ~ **al-kh.ṭāniyyah* *[الخطانية] ~ *q.tā'ī* [قتائي] ~ *qutāy* [قتاى] ~ *q.tā* [قتا] ~ *q.tāy* [قتاى] ~ *khuṭā* [خطا] ~ *kh.tāy* [ختاى], and the 12th c. transcription *kh.ṭā* [خطا] (King 2013: 271). Attested Middle Mongol *kitat* 'northern Chinese' is the plural form of unattested Middle Mongol **kitan* 'Kitan' (although this form is not present in the Middle Mongol corpus, it is attested later in at least one Early Modern Mongolian text: cf. Manduqu (1995). Middle

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The Old Turkic transcription also provides evidence that the vowel of the first syllable is not a [+ATR] vowel *[i], but something closer to central *[ɨ], or more likely *[ɪ]. The Middle Old Tibetan transcriptions *Getan* [གེ་ཏན་] ~ *Getang* [གེ་ཏང་] (*PT 1283*, ca. 8th c.) provide further indications of this, where the vowel in question is transcribed with Tibetan *e* [ེ]. Foreign *ɨ is regularly transcribed in Old Tibetan as *e* [ེ] or *i* [ི] (see §4.3 for discussion). Since Old Kitan seems to have retained the ATR vowel harmony system reconstructible for Common Serbi-Mongolic, on phonological grounds it is highly likely that this ambiguous [i]-like vowel is the [-ATR] vowel *[ɪ].[8] I reconstruct the Old Kitan form of this ethnonym as ☆qʰɪrtañ or, more likely, ☆qʰɪtañ (depending on the reading of the first character in Middle Chinese). The Middle Kitan reflex of this Old Kitan ethnonym is attested in Kitan Assembled Script as 𘮩𘮆, 𘮩𘮆𘮘, and 𘮩𘮘, which I reconstruct as *qɪtañ 𘮩𘮆 ‹qɪta.ᵉñ› and genitive *qɪtañ-i 𘮩𘮆𘮘 ‹qɪta.ᵉñ.i› ~ *qɪta-i 𘮩𘮘 ‹qɪta.i›, respectively.[9]

Mongol plural *kitat* was later reanalyzed as monomorphemic, and its modern reflex in Khalkha Mongolian, **хятад** [ˈçaˌʰtət], now denotes ‘China’ and ‘Chinese’. The variant transcriptions in Old Tibetan suggest a foreign nasal coda which was not permitted by Old Tibetan phonotactic constraints. Old Tibetan phonology did not permit palatal nasal codas. Middle Mongol and Jurchen phonotactics likewise did not permit word-final palatal nasals. Thus, the Middle Mongol, Jurchen, and Old Tibetan transcriptions would seem to suggest a word-final *ñ in the Kitan form, especially given the unambiguous Old Turkic transcription. The Mongol form is probably a borrowing directly from Kitan into Mongol, because Common Serbi-Mongolic word-final *ñ# regularly becomes *i# in Mongolic. See Chapter Eight entries for MKit *-bəñ and *-ləñ (§8.5.3), T’u-yü-hun *aqañ, and Taghbach *čırqañ and *ñaqañ (§8.5.4).

[8] See Seongyeon Ko (2013) on the reconstruction of */ɪ/ for early Mongolic.

[9] Kane analyzes 𘮩𘮆𘮘 and 𘮩𘮘 as genitive case forms of the Kitan ethnonym in the phrases 𘮬 𘰾𘰀𘮆 𘮫𘮙 𘮩𘮆𘮘 in *Tao-tsung* and 𘮬 𘮭𘮯𘮃 𘮫𘮙 𘮩𘮘 𘰾𘰀𘮙 in *Yeh-lü Ti-lieh* (Kane 2009: 163-164); on 𘮙 as ‹ulǰi›, and on the semantic correspondence of 𘮫𘮙 to ‘Liao (遼)’, see Kane (2013b). I reconstruct these phrases as the following:

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I-lo-ho [曳落河] (LMC ☆yelak ☆ɣa)[10] ‘comitatus warrior (壯士)’ (*TCTC* 216: 6905; *ALSSC*$_R$ 102, 167). I reconstruct ☆yerlək *qa, cognate to Preclassical Written Mongol *Erlig Qaγan* ‘Lord of the Underworld’.[11] There exists a good comparand in Middle Turkic *erklig qan* ‘mighty lord’, an epithet for the lord of the underworld.[12] Exact cognates of this

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又	尺𢀛夭	玉刘	买夭关
‹GREAT›	‹dau.ur.^{e}ñ›	‹qu.ulǰi›	‹qıta.^{e}ñ.i›
*…	*dawrəñ	*qulǰi	*qıtañ-i
great	middle[?]	Liao	Kitan-GEN

‘of the Great Middle[?] Liao Kitan’ (*Tao.C* 1-6).

又	令㫐分	玉刘	买关	几𢀛朴
‹GREAT›	‹t.iau.rdu›	‹qu.ulǰi›	‹qıta.i›	‹gur.en›
*…	*tyawrdu	*qulǰi	*qıta-i	*gur-ən
great	central[?]	Liao	Kitan-GEN	state-GEN

‘of the Great Central Liao Kitan State’ (*YTi* 1:1-5).

There is also a *hapax legomenon* wordform 买令 attested in *YChüeh* (24:14); although the sentence in which this wordform occurs is only partially decipherable, the Middle Kitan plural suffix *-s 令 is well known, and 买令 thus appears to be a plural of the Kitan ethnonym, i.e. *qıta-s 买令 ‹qıta.s› ‘Kitan-PL’. The attested Middle Turkic word *χıtay* ‘China, Chinese’ (*DTS* 637), New Persian *Khatāy* (ختایی), and later variants (e.g. modern Kazak **қытай** *qətay* ‘id.’), as well as Russian **китай** [kʲɪˈtaj], Marco Polo’s *Catai*, early modern English *Cathay* ‘China’, and variants in other European languages ultimately derive from Middle Kitan *qıta-i 买关 ‹qıta.i›, the genitive case form of the Kitan autonym. See Kane (2009: 164), de Rachewiltz (2004: 302), and Pelliot (1959: 216-229) for related discussion. The form *qıta-s 买令 also has a close comparand in Mongolian Khamnigan Mongol (Ker dialect) [kʰitʰasʊːt] ‘Chinese’ (documented by me in my 2009 fieldwork with native speakers in Dadal, Khentii); this Khamnigan wordform is from an earlier, unattested form *kʰitʰas with the plural suffix [-ʊːt].

[10] Cf. Pul. 369, 204, 122.

[11] See Kara (2009: 104) for this Preclassical Written Mongol form.

[12] Beckwith proposes this Kitan word and its Turkic etymology (Beckwith 2007a; 2009: 392-393, n. 25). The Middle Turkic form is cited from *EDT* 224 and *DTS* 180.

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title are attested in the same Chinese transcription in Early Qay and early Shirwi (*ALSSC*$_R$ 102, 167).

I-t'u-kan [伊吐干] (LMC *yidʊkan/*yidʊgan)[13] 'female shaman' (*TCH* 14: 5b *l.* 8).[14] I reconstruct Old Kitan *idʊgan. Given the [-ATR] vowel harmony unambiguously indicated in the last two syllables of this word (ʊ : a), this is probably best reconstructed as *ɪdʊgan with the [-ATR] vowel [ɪ]. See Chapter Eight for Mongolic cognates.

Khagan [ཁ་གན་] (OTib. *k^{h}agan) 'king (རྒྱལ་པོ་)' (*PT 1283*, *l.* 27). This is the only known glossed Old Tibetan transcription of Kitan. It is attested in the following passage:

།། འདི་ནས་བྱང་ལྷོར་ཟླར་ ། གེ་ཏན་ཞེས་བགྱི་བ་མཆིའོ་ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་གེ་ཏན་གྱི་ཁ་གན་

'…Looking north of this, there are those called the *Getang* [i.e. Kitan]. Their king is the *khagan* of the *Getan* [i.e. Kitan].' (*PT 1283*, *l.* 27).

[13] ཡི་ *ʔyi* *[ʔji] (Tak. 332-333), and དོ་ ~ དུ་ *du* *[dʊ ~ du] for 土 (Tak. 310-311). See also Pul. 365, 312, 102. Cf. also attested LMC 杆 transcribed in Old Tibetan Script as གན་ *gan* ~ ཀན་ *kan* (Tak.LS *l.* 124, 158)

[14] This transcription, its semantic value, and its Mongolic cognate were identified by Dien (1956). The phonological reconstruction I present here is my own. This text gives two variant transcriptions— *i-t'u-kan* [伊吐干] (*TCH* 14: 5b *l.* 8) and *i-t'u-yü* [伊吐于] (*l.* 5). The form *i-t'u-yü* [伊吐于] also appears in *CTW* (289: 1296b *l.* 5, 7). The transcription with *yü* 于 is erroneous. This is a common typographical error, especially in Chinese transcriptions of foreign words—note the typographical error of *yü* 于 for *kan* 干 in the Chinese transcription of T'u-yü-hun *a-kan* [阿干] 'elder brother' (see Chapter Six for discussion).

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This Old Kitan title is also attested in Late Middle Chinese transcription as [可汗] (LMC ☆k^{h}aɣan),[15] reconstructible as *q^{h}aʁan. This is a widespread title throughout Central Eurasia.[16]

Mo-ho-fu [莫賀弗][17] (NEMC *magɣabur)[18] ~ mo-fu [莫弗] (NEMC *magbur) (*WS* 100: 2223; *Sui shu* 84: 1881; *LS* 32: 378). Although not glossed, it is clearly a title, and has been long recognized as such by historians, although their segmentation of the word has not always been correct.

The term first appears in the *Wei Shu*, in an account of Taghbach-Kitan political relations. The earliest attestation in Old Kitan is in reference to a Kitan *mo-fu* named Ho-ho-ch'en 紇何辰 who was sent as an envoy to the Northern Wei in the 顯祖 Hsien-tsu reign period, i.e. 460-475 A.D. (see entry for Ho-ho-ch'en below).

This Old Kitan title is reconstructible as *maʁabur ~ *magbur and is cognate to the Qay clan name Mo-ho-fu 莫賀弗 (*maʁabur)[19] and the Shirwi title *maʁabur [莫何弗] ~ *magbur [莫弗].[20] As demonstrated by Chen Sanping, this is a loanword from Sogdian *βγpwr* (*βaγapūr*) 'son of God'.[21]

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[15] For the Chinese transcription of this Old Kitan title, read the discussion of Su K'o-han in §7.2.3 below.

[16] In Middle Kitan, this Old Kitan word was reanalyzed as a genitive case form; see discussion in §8.5.4 entry for OKit *q^{h}aʁan 'emperor'.

[17] The variant Mo-fu-ho [莫弗賀] (NEMC *magburɣa) occurring in the *Wei Shu* is clearly a typographical error for Mo-ho-fu [莫賀弗].

[18] Cf. Tak. 382-383, 388-389; Pul. 218, 123, 99.

[19] *Chou Shu* (41: 899).

[20] *Sui Shu* (84: 1883).

[21] Chen (2002: 294). The Sogdian word is apparently almost exclusively used in reference to Chinese rulers. Gharib gives *βγpwr* (1995: 102 §2587) as a variant of *βγp'wr* (*βaγpūr*) 'prince, god's son' (§2582). Interestingly, *βγpwr stny* (*βaγpūr-stanē*) is a Sogdian word for 'China' (Gharib 1995, §2590). Chen's proposal is problematic for phonological reasons—the Serbi title is transcribed in Northeastern Early Middle Chinese, which had *m, and not denasalized *[^{m}b]. This is evident from numerous other transcriptions (see Chapter Five

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7.2.2. Unglossed Old Kitan names in Early Middle Chinese transcription

Most Old Kitan data consists of unglossed Early Middle Chinese and Late Middle Chinese transcriptions of onomastic material, including personal names, clan names, and titles. To the best of my knowledge, these transcriptions have never been studied before as linguistic data. Although the transcriptions are not glossed, they are a source of important evidence on Old Kitan phonology, and provide clues on the Old Kitan phoneme inventory and phonotactic constraints. Certain transcriptions indicate that at least some dialects of Old Kitan were characterized by dental-alveolar affricates such as *[ts], e.g. the personal name of a Kitan envoy to the Northern Wei:

Tsu-chen [祖真] (NEMC *tsuʁtśiĕ̃)[22] transcribes an Old Kitan form *tsuʁčin, *tsuʁčiñ, *tsuʁčir, or even *tsuʁčiŋ. This is the name of a Kitan envoy to the Northern Wei in the 6th century A.D. (*WS* 100: 2224).[23] The prestige dialect of Middle Kitan spoken several centuries later by the court of the Kitan Empire and attested in the extant Kitan epitaphs did not have the alveolar affricate *ts.[24] As such, this transcription provides evidence of the internal diversity of early Kitan dialects that was not reflected in Middle Kitan or Late Kitan records.

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for NEMC transcriptions of Taghbach). Only in Late Middle Chinese and Northern Late Old Chinese was the onset */m/ regularly denasalized to *[ᵐb]. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that this transcription is in a *different* dialect of Early Middle Chinese characterized by denasalization.

[22] Cf. Pul. 423, 401.

[23] See Xu (2005: 31) for a translation of the relevant passage.

[24] This is evident because Liao Chinese *[ts] is often transcribed in Middle Kitan in Kitan Assembled Script with 𘤟 ‹s›. See Kane (2009) for examples. The Kitan Assembled Script grapheme 𘤠 ‹ts› is used only for transcribing Liao Chinese, and is not used to render native Kitan words.

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Other Early Middle Chinese transcriptions of Old Kitan names include the following unglossed names of early Kitan tribes in the *Wei Shu* (100: 2223),[25] presumably transcribed in Northern Wei Chinese (Northeastern Early Middle Chinese). These transcriptions provide important clues on the Old Kitan phoneme inventory and phonotactic constraints:

Hsi-wan-tan [悉萬丹][26] (NEMC ☆sirmaɾ̃taɾ̃).[27] This transcription shows that Old Kitan permitted the sequence ☆si without palatalization to [ʃi]. Note also T'u-yü-hun *silgu 'lynx' (see Chapter Six).

Jih-lien [日連] (NEMC ☆ñirlɛɾ̃).[28] This is given as the name of an administrative region (州 *chou* 'prefecture') in *HTS* (219: 6168).

The following are some Old Kitan personal names attested in the period of Northern and Southern division, transcribed in Northeastern Early Middle Chinese:

Ho-ho-ch'en [紇何辰] (NEMC ☆ɣʊrɣadźiɾ̃),[29] a Kitan ruler (*mo-fu*, see above), who was sent to the Northern Wei in the 顯祖 Hsien-tsu reign period, i.e. 460-475 A.D. (*WS* 100: 2223).

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[25] See Xu (2005: 29) for a translation of the passage. There are other Old Kitan names transcribed elsewhere in the *Wei Shu*, *Pei Shih*, and *T'ung-tien*, but as shown by Marsone (2011: 194), there are many variants and copyist's errors making it difficult to determine which transcriptions are erroneous.

[26] The prefecture transcribed as Wan-tan *chou* 萬丹州 in *HTS* (219: 6168) is a later error for this old clan name.

[27] Revised from Pul. 330, 318, 70.

[28] Revised from Pul. 266, 190.

[29] Revised from Pul. 122, 52.

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Ho-wu-yü [賀勿于] (NEMC ☆ɣamurwu),[30] a Kitan ruler (*mo-fu*, see above), whose name first appears in connection with events dated to the third year of the 太和 T'ai-ho reign period of the Northern Wei, i.e. 479 A.D. (*WS* 100: 2223; *LS* 32: 378).

7.2.3. Unglossed Old Kitan names in Late Middle Chinese transcription

Old Kitan clan names mentioned in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* (219: 6168, 6173) include the following, transcribed in Sui-T'ang Late Middle Chinese:[31]

Chui-chin [墜斤] (LMC ☆dźwikɨn),[32] reconstructible as ☆ǰuykɨn/☆ǰuykɪn.

Fen-wen [芬問] (LMC ☆p^{h}un^{m}bun),[33] reconstructible as ☆p^{h}unmun. This clan name provides evidence of a ☆nm cluster as well as a ☆p^{h} onset.

Ho-pien [紇便] (LMC ☆ɣʊrbyian),[34] reconstructible as *ɢʊrbyan. This clan name superficially resembles Middle Mongol *qurban* 'three'[35] (cf. WMgl *γurban*), but is probably a different word, since the *-bA- element in MMgl 'three' is a Mongolic innovation (cf. Middle Kitan *ɢur 'three').

[30] Revised from Pul. 123, 327, 381.

[31] Xu (2005: 47).

[32] Revised from Pul. 417, 156; cf. Sino-Korean 추 *ch'u* (墜) and 근 *kŭn* (斤).

[33] Revised from Pul. 94; Tak. 382-383 gives བསྟན་ *'bun* [^{m}bun] for 問.

[34] Revised from Pul. 122, 37. See Chapter Three for the reconstruction of the first syllable.

[35] E.g. attested early Middle Mongol *qurban* [^{中}忽児班] 'three (三)' (*SHM* §4) ~ late Middle Mongol *qurban* [قربان] 'id.' (*MAA*).

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Jui-hsi [芮奚] (LMC ☆ñdźwiayɣay),[36] reconstructible as *(an)ǰuyʁay or *(an)ǰuy *qay if the clan name is to be connected with the Qay ethnic group.

Ta-ho [大賀] (LMC ☆dayɣa), reconstructible as *dayʁa.

T(ʾ)a-ch(ʾ)i [達稽] (LMC ☆t(h)ark(h)ɛy),[37] reconstructible as ☆tarki, ☆tʰarkʰi, ☆tarkʰi, or ☆tʰarki.

T'u-pien [突便] (LMC ☆dwərbyian),[38] reconstructible as *dʊrbyan. This name superficially resembles Middle Mongol *dörben* 'four',[39] but is probably not related (cf. Middle Kitan *dur 'four').

Tu-huo [獨活] (LMC ☆dəwgɣwar),[40] reconstructible as *dʊʁar.

More Old Kitan personal names are attested in Sui-T'ang times, mostly in the seventh and eighth centuries, transcribed in Late Middle Chinese, including the following:[41]

A-pu-ku [阿卜固] (LMC ☆ʔabəwkgʊ)[42] is mentioned as the Kitan governor-general of Sung-mo (*HTS* 219: 6168).[43] His name is reconstructible as ☆abʊʁʊ.

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[36] Revised from Pul. 269, 329. See Chapter Three for the reconstruction of the second syllable.

[37] Revised from Pul. 69, 299, 138, 247.

[38] Revised from Pul. 311, 37.

[39] E.g. attested early Middle Mongol *dörben* [朶児邊] 'four (四)' (*SHM* §11).

[40] Tak. 412-413; Pul. 82, 135.

[41] This list is incomplete. I have primarily included names from the Ta-ho (*dayʁa) confederation. There are around 15 or so more attested personal names which could be listed here, mostly dating to the Yao-nien confederation.

[42] Revised from Pul. 23, 42, 111; Tak. 310-311, 412-413.

[43] Xu (2005: 48).

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K'u-ko [窟哥] (LMC ☆kʰwərka),[44] a seventh-century Kitan leader (*HTS* 219: 6168).[45] Reconstructible as ☆qʰʊrqa. Possibly cognate to Middle Mongol *quriqa-n* 'lamb' (*SHM*).[46]

K'u-mo-li [枯莫離] (LMC ☆kʰʊᵐbagli),[47] grandson of K'u-ko (*HTS* 219: 6168). Reconstructible as ☆qʰʊmbagli, ☆qʰʊmagli, or ☆qʰʊbagli.

Shao-ku [邵固] (LMC ☆dźiawgʊ),[48] an early Kitan khan (*HTS* 219: 6170; *LS* 63: 956), reconstructible as ☆ǰawgʊ/☆ǰawʁʊ.

So-ku [娑固] (LMC ☆sagʊ),[49] a Kitan military leader (*HTS* 219: 6170).

Su k'o-han [蘇可汗] (LMC ☆sʊkʰaɣan).[50] I reconstruct Old Kitan *sʊ *qʰaʁan. The *sʊ element is probably cognate to Middle Mongol *su* 'majesty, splendor',[51] exclusively used in reference to rulers.

From these scanty transcriptions, we may tentatively conclude that Old Kitan had *ɪ, an alveolar affricate *ʦ (not attested in native words in Middle

[44] Revised from Pul. 175, 105.

[45] Xu (2005: 46).

[46] E.g. attested early MMgl *quriqan* [ᵖʸ忽ᵗᵒ里ᵖʸ罕] 'lamb (羔児)' (*SHM* §87).

[47] Revised from Tak. 388-389; Pul. 175, 218, 187.

[48] Revised from Pul. 278, 111; Tak. 310-311.

[49] Revised from Pul. 297, 111; Tak. 310-311.

[50] Although this transcription is attested in the *Liao Shih* (*LS* 63: 950), a late source, given the historical events it refers to, it must be a T'ang (i.e. Late Middle Chinese) transcription of Old Kitan.

[51] E.g. attested early MMgl *su* [速] 'majesty, splendor (福蔭)' (*SHM* §275); cf. also Preclassical Written Mongol *suu* 'majesty' (Kara 2009: 268).

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Kitan),[52] the sequence *[si] (which appears to have palatalized in attested Middle Kitan),[53] and uvulars (*q ~ *ɢ ~ *ʁ).[54]

7.3. Middle Kitan

Middle Kitan is the best-attested Serbi language and provides some of the most important Serbi data for the reconstruction of Common Serbi-Mongolic. The corpus of data on Middle Kitan is, comparatively speaking, quite large and continues to expand as new inscriptions and manuscripts are uncovered in Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, independent Mongolia, and East Turkistan (Xinjiang). Thus, it is impossible to present it here in its entirety. To do so would require many separate monographs. I refer the reader to several such monographs: Liu (2014), Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010), Kane (2009), Oyuunch (2007), Liu et al. (2009), Oyuunch (2012), Chinggeltei (2002), and Chinggeltei et al. (1985), among others.[55]

Although Middle Kitan is solidly attested, with around 50 or so texts in two different scripts,[56] including epitaphs, commemorative stelae, texts on tiles, mirrors, and one book,[57] the difficulty arises in the decipherment of these

[52] See entry for Tsu-chen above.

[53] See entry for Hsi-wan-tan above.

[54] See entries for Tsu-chen and Ho-ho-ch'en above.

[55] See also the bibliographies in Kane (2009) and Shimunek (2007).

[56] See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 25-29, 32) for a listing of the extant Kitan Assembled Script texts, Kane (2009: 168-169) for the extant Kitan Linear Script texts found in northeastern China, and Perlee (1959a, 1959b, 1978) or Shimunek (2011a: 105b) for the Kitan Linear Script texts and fragments discovered in Mongolia, and Wang Ding (2004) for a Linear Script fragment found in East Turkistan (Xinjiang).

[57] See Zaytsev (2011) for an important study of the only known Kitan book, a manuscript written in cursive Kitan Linear Script (i.e. 'Large Script').

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two writing systems. Currently, the Kitan Assembled Script[58] is the best understood of the Kitan scripts, with a large percentage of the 459 or so graphemes now semantically and/or phonologically reconstructible. The Kitan Linear Script (or 'Large Script') is less well understood, although gradual progress is being made in deciphering this script, too. Anya King has identified Arabic and Persian transcriptions of Kitan dating as early as the 10th century A.D. (King 2013). These transcriptions provide additional clues on the phonology and lexicon of Middle Kitan.[59]

The Middle Kitan scripts are a great asset to Serbi-Mongolic linguistics, since all of the other Serbi languages—and the other known periods of Kitan for that matter—are attested only in transcriptions of individual words and some phrases, in foreign writing systems. The Middle Kitan corpus thus offers the richest data on Serbi phonology, lexicon, syntax, and most importantly, the functional morphology of the language. Although there apparently were

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[58] I.e. the script often assumed to be the 'Small Script' (in Chinese, 小字 *hsiao-tzu*) mentioned in Chinese sources. Although there are two attested Kitan scripts, both of which are mentioned in the Chinese sources, i.e. the 'Large Script' (大字 *ta-tzu*) and the 'Small Script' (小字 *hsiao-tzu*), the sources provide insufficient descriptions of the structures of these two scripts, making it difficult to determine which of the two attested scripts is the 'Large Script' and which is the 'Small Script'. In light of this problem, Kara (1977, 1987, 2005) proposed English and Mongolian descriptive designations for the two attested Kitan scripts based simply on what we know about their organization of graphemic elements. His 'Assembled Script' or 'Composite Script' (and in Mongolian, **бүлэглэмэл үсэг**) denotes the script often assumed *a priori* to be the 'Small Script', and his 'Linear Script' (in Mongolian, **цувраа үсэг**) refers to the assumed 'Large Script'.

[59] Anya King discusses an Arabic word of Kitan origin, i.e. *khutū* ختو 'walrus or narwhal ivory', corresponding to the *Liao Shih* transcription of Kitan [榾柮犀] and the Chinese word *ku-to* 骨咄 (MSC *guduo*) 'id.' (King 2013: 254, 263, 264). The Chinese transcription is attested in *LS* (116: 1549). Following a Late Old Mandarin reading of the transcription [榾柮犀] (LOM *kutusi), I reconstruct Late Kitan *kutus, which is probably a plural form, i.e. *kutu-s composed of *kutu 'walrus or narwhal ivory' + *-s, a well known Kitan plural suffix. For 10th-12th c. Arabic and Persian transcriptions of the Kitan ethnonym identified by Anya King (2013: 271), see the entry for Ch'i-tan [契丹] in §7.2.1 above.

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writing systems for the other Serbi languages, none have yet been attested.[60] Middle Kitan is thus the only Serbi language attested in its own writing system.

In this section, I have attempted to emphasize areas of potential value to general linguists interested in Middle Kitan. In other words, this section is a general, brief skeleton sketch of Middle Kitan grammar. As the best documented Serbi language, Middle Kitan is the only Serbi language for which this is possible. For early languages which have been extensively studied by historical linguists, a general grammatical sketch is usually not a prerequisite to a historical-comparative linguistic study involving data from such languages, but very few general linguists have studied Kitan. To date, with few exceptions, Kitan has mostly been studied by philologists and historians who have not necessarily been particularly interested in describing the grammatical structure of Kitan in such a way as to compare Kitan with other languages at both synchronic and diachronic levels. This preliminary work is necessary before comparing Kitan with other languages and demonstrating its divergent relationship with Mongolic.

Kane (2009) has accomplished a great pioneering feat in producing the first philological account of Kitan morphology. I have approached the Middle Kitan data from a linguistic point of view, and as a result, I have refined many previous analyses and have described many areas of Middle Kitan grammar which have been overlooked or only cursorily addressed in the literature so far. My study here is an attempt to provide a brief, general historical-comparative linguistic grammar of Kitan morphology, with notes on phonology and syntax. Many holes remain, and future work in Kitan studies is sure to increase our knowledge of the expanding corpus of the language of the Middle Kitan texts.

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[60] Although the Kitan scripts are each assigned an official date of creation in the *Liao Shih*, one cannot help but doubt the veracity of this. There remains the possibility that one or both of the Kitan scripts are the result of a longer tradition of sinoform writing for non-Sinitic languages of Manchuria; see Janhunen (1994) for a productive hypothesis on the origins of the Kitan scripts. It is highly likely that the Kitan scripts are child systems of the earlier, unattested Serbi Script mentioned in the *Sui Shu* (see Chapter Five).

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7.3.1. Notes on Middle Kitan Phonology

My reconstruction of Middle Kitan is the result of identifying phonological patterns and regularities in the Assembled Script orthography, normalizing its transcription, and reconciling differences among the known Chinese transcriptions of Late Kitan, known Mongolic cognates to Kitan words, Middle Kitan transcriptions of Chinese words, and erroneous and misleading romanizations of Kitan graphemes appearing in the Kitanological literature up to the present. My reconstruction is thus also a revision of the romanization of Kitan Assembled Script graphemes.[61] The currently dominant romanization of the Kitan Assembled Script is a piecemeal collection of various proposals by many different scholars working with many different phonological assumptions and varying notations. My revision of this system is aimed at identifying phonological patterns and producing something more like a natural language.

Much more can, and should, be written on Kitan phonology. I have only touched on some particularly salient issues relating to Middle Kitan phonology as relevant to this book.

The Middle Kitan Consonant Inventory

Below I present my reconstruction of the Middle Kitan phoneme inventories (I have excluded marginal phonemes which are attested only in Chinese loanwords):[62]

[61] See Appendix A for my revised analyses of the KAS graphemes appearing in this book.

[62] E.g. the graphemes *i 𘍿 ‹ī›, *ši 𘍾 ‹šī›, *si 𘍽 ‹sī›, *ts 𘍼 ‹ts›, *fu 𘍻 ‹fu›, and *ų 𘍺 ‹ÿ› are used only to render Chinese words.

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Table 19. The Middle Kitan consonant inventory (phonemic)

	labial	dental/alveolar	palatal	dorsal
stop	*p *b	*t *d		*k *g *q *ɢ
affricate			*č *ǰ	
fricative		*s	*š	
nasal	*m	*n	*ñ	*ŋ
lateral		*l		
rhotic		*r		
glide	*w		*y	

Table 20. The Middle Kitan vowel inventory

*i	*ɪ	*u
*ɛ	*ə	*ɔ
		*a

Velar and uvular phonemes

At the synchronic level, */g/ and */ɢ/ are analyzable as distinct phonemes in attested Middle Kitan, as exemplified by the following near-minimal pairs:

𘮩𘮪	𘮫𘮬	𘮭𘮮	𘮫𘮯
*gɔr	*ɢɔʁ	*gur	*ɢur
‘tent’	‘river’	‘state’	‘three’
(*HsHu* 23:14)	(*Hsüan* 5:6)	(*YHsiang* 5:1)	(*HsTi* 9:5)

Likewise, */k/ and */q/ show indications of phonemic contrast:

𘮰𘮱	𘮲𘮳𘮴	𘮵𘮶𘮷	𘮸𘮹
*ku	*mɔqu	*kuyr-	*quru
‘boy’	‘elder sister’	‘arrive’	‘commander’
(*Ku* 17:5)	(*Ku* 17:7)	(*Tao* 21:10)	(*Lang* 1:7)

Diachronically, the uvular phonemes */q/, */k/, */ɢ/, and */g/ were allophonic variants of Common Serbi-Mongolic */k/ and */g/, with the uvular

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allophones *[q] and *[ɢ] surfacing in [-ATR] words and the velar allophones *[k] and *[g] surfacing in [+ATR] words. A remnant of this past allophony is the partial complementary distribution of */ə/ and */a/, i.e. Middle Kitan uvular */ɢ/ and */q/ are not attested before */ə/,[63] and velar */g/ and */k/ are not attested before */a/. The following table illustrates the allophonic origins of these dorsal segments in Common Serbi-Mongolic:

Table 21. Allophonic origins of Middle Kitan dorsal consonant phonemes

	*/ɢ/	*/g/	*/q/	*/k/
Middle Kitan	刘北 *ɢɔʁ 'river'	曲公 *gɔr 'tent'	介安 *qawr 'spring'	叔金 *kəm 'edict'
Common Serbi-Mongolic	*/gɔrɔ/ 'river' [-ATR]	*/gwər/ 'yurt' [+ATR]	*/kʰabʊr/ 'spring' [-ATR]	*/kʰəm/ 'limit, measure' [+ATR]

Rounded vowel mergers

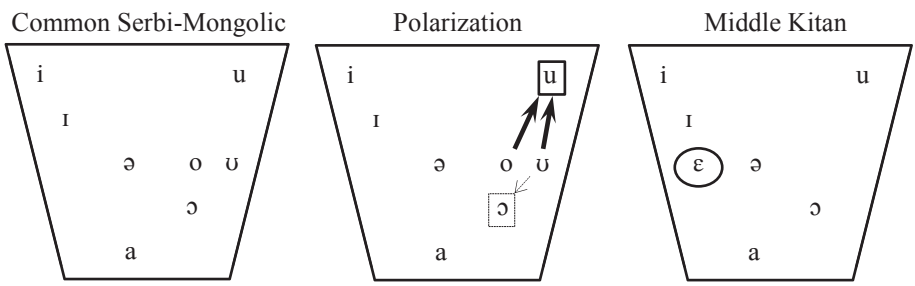
Middle Kitan is characterized by several mergers of rounded vowels and vocoid sequences. Namely, Common Serbi-Mongolic */u/, */o/, and */ʊ/ merged to Middle Kitan */u/ (e.g. MKit *dur- ~ *tur- 'four', cognate to MMgl *dörbe-n* 'four' < CSM *dor 'four'; MKit *ku 'person, human' and MMgl *kümü-n* 'id.' < CSM *kʰu 'person'; and MKit *ɢur 'three', cognate to MMgl *qurba-n* 'three' < CSM *gʊr 'three'); and Common Serbi-Mongolic */ɔ/ and */wə/ merged to Middle Kitan */ɔ/ (e.g. MKit *ɢɔʁ 'river', cognate to MMgl *qoroqan* 'small river' < CSM *gɔrɔ 'river'; MKit *gɔr 'tent', cognate to MMgl *ger* 'tent, yurt' < CSM *gwər 'tent, yurt'; and MKit *ɔmɔ 'woman', cognate

[63] I have been unable to find counterevidence in word-initial position. One possible exception is in non-initial syllables, e.g. 扎卡列公 ‹γo.l.γ.ᵉr› 'see-CP-PST' (*Lang* 3: 1), probably *ɢɔlʁər, although we cannot rule out the possibility of *ɢɔlɣər as the phonetic surface form of this word.

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to MMgl *eme* ‘woman’ < CSM *wəmwə ‘woman’). Common Serbi-Mongolic */ʊ/ in non-initial syllables also merged to Middle Kitan */u/, e.g. MKit *namur ‘autumn’, cognate to MMgl *namur* (< CSM *namʊr).[64] Since there are indications of *ʊ in Old Kitan as transcribed in Middle Chinese,[65] it is reasonable to propose that this merger occurred in the late Old Kitan dialect (or dialects) which gave rise to attested Middle Kitan.[66] The following schema account for what may be termed the Middle Kitan Vowel Shift.[67]

Figure 6. The Middle Kitan Vowel Shift



[64] There is one instance of CSM *ʊ merging with *ɔ in Middle Kitan, i.e. MKit *ɔn- ‘ride’ ~ ‘fall’ < CSM *ʊnʊ- ‘ride’ and CSM *ʊna- ‘fall’, but this appears to have been a sporadic change. Note also LKit *u ‘water’ < CSM *ʊ ‘water’ as evidence of the regular change of CSM *ʊ > Kitan *u in word-initial position.

[65] See entries for I-t’u-kan in §7.2.1, Tsu-chen and Ho-ho-ch’en in §7.2.2, and Su K’o-han in §7.2.3.

[66] Attested Old Kitan and attested Middle Kitan are obviously different regional varieties of Kitan. In other words, attested imperial Middle Kitan is unlikely to be a direct linear descendant of attested Old Kitan.

[67] Asterisks have been removed to improve readability. My usage of the term ‘polarization’ is adapted from Svantesson et al.’s description of Mongolic vowel shifts (Svantesson et al. 2005). Although I agree with their otherwise solid methodology, I do not agree with their reconstruction of the Old Mongol vowel inventory. As demonstrated by Seongyeon Ko (2011, 2013), Old Mongol was not characterized by a front-back vowel harmony system, but rather by an ATR system. See Chapter Eight for my reconstruction of Common Serbi-Mongolic phonology.

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Middle Kitan */ɛ/

At the synchronic level, Middle Kitan */ɛ/ is analyzable as an independent phoneme, e.g. *ɛm- 丕 'to drink' as in *ɛm-č 丕夫 'drink-CVB' (*Lang* 4:11), *šɛn 又方 'new' (*Lang* 3:14), and *ñɛm 巫 ~ 伏文丕 'eight'.[68]

One regular historical source of the vowel */ɛ/ is the regressive assimilation of Common Serbi-Mongolic */i/ or */ɪ/ in word-initial syllables when the nucleus of the following syllable is */a/ or */ə/, e.g. Middle Kitan *ɛma 'goat' (< CSM *ɪma 'id.') and *šɛn 'new' (< CSM *sinə 'id.'). Another source of Middle Kitan */ɛ/ is Common Serbi-Mongolic *ayɪ, e.g. Middle Kitan *ñɛm 'eight' (< CSM *ñayɪma 'id.').

Evidence for Middle Kitan *[ɪ]

Evidence for Middle Kitan *[ɪ] comes from foreign segmental transcriptions of Old Kitan in Old Turkic, Old Tibetan, and Chinese. See entry for Ch'i-tan in §7.2.1 above.

Middle Kitan Vowel Harmony

Attested Middle Kitan exhibits remnants of rounding vowel harmony and ATR vowel harmony. Vowel harmonic alternations are evident in suffixal morphology, e.g. the genitive-attributive suffix */-Vn/ has different allomorphs depending on the vowel-harmonic class of the stem to which it is appended, as exemplified below:[69]

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[68] See Oyuunch (2014: 132-133) for the reconstruction of Middle Kitan 'eight'. The phonological reconstruction above is my own revision of his proposal.

[69] This is not a comprehensive listing of the genitive-attributive case allomorphs.

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Table 22. Remnants of rounding vowel-harmonic allomorphy in the Middle Kitan genitive-attributive case

	root	genitive form	gloss
a : ə	*nar	*nar-ən	‘tomb’
ə : ə	*əm	*əm-ən	‘city’
ɔ : ɔ	*ɔŋ	*ɔŋ-ɔn	‘prince’
u : u	*kuw	*kuw-un	‘human’
iw : u	*giwŋ	*giwŋ-un	‘palace’

There are numerous irregular forms which do not conform to this system, e.g. the genitive-attributive of *nɔn ‘generation’ is *nɔn-ən not the expected ✘nɔn-ɔn) and *gur ‘country’ becomes *gur-ən instead of expected ✘gur-un. This suggests that attested Middle Kitan was in the process of losing an earlier vowel harmony system.

Neutralization of Obstruent Voicing Distinctions

One of the most salient phonological characteristics of Middle Kitan distinguishing it from Mongolic is its free variation between voiced and voiceless obstruents at word peripheries, i.e. neutralization of voicing distinctions word-initially and word-finally.[70] Note the examples below:

Table 23. Word-initial free variation between voiced and voiceless obstruents

	Surface forms	Orthographic forms	Gloss
p ~ b	*pɔ ~ *bɔ	业反 ‹p.o.› ~ 丹反 ‹b.o.›	‘be, become’
t ~ d	*tur-ər ~ *dur-ər	令伦父 ‹t.ur.^{e}r› ~ 父伦父 ‹d.ur.^{e}r›	‘fourth (masc.)’
	*tgə- ~ *dgə-	令父 ‹t.ge.› ~ 父父 ‹d.ge.›	‘die’
č ~ ǰ	*čur-ər ~ *ǰur-ər	朱伦父 ‹č.ur.^{e}r› ~ 支伦父 ‹ǰ.ur.^{e}r›	‘second (masc.’)
	*čgən ~ *ǰgən	朱九和 ‹č.g.en› ~ 支九和 ‹ǰ.g.en›	‘left’

[70] Shimunek (2011a: 106b).

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Table 24. Word-final free variation between voiced and voiceless obstruents

	Surface forms	Orthographic forms	Gloss
t ~ d	*ɔmɔ-t ~ *ɔmɔ-d	丙令 ‹omo.t›[71] ~ 丙仝 ‹omo.d›[72]	‘women, females’
č ~ ǰ	*kuy-č ~ *kuy-ǰ	爪火赤 ‹k.ui.č› ~ 爪火支 ‹k.ui.ǰ›	‘arrive (CVB)’

Middle Kitan Consonant Clusters

At the orthographic level, Middle Kitan appears to have many consonant clusters, some probably genuine clusters at the phonological level, others only orthographic and/or phonemic, with epenthetic vowels inserted at the phonetic level. Below are some of these problematic orthographic consonant clusters and their phonological equivalents:

Table 25. Orthographic consonant clusters in Middle Kitan (not exhausative)

	Orthographic forms	Probable surface forms	Gloss
‹CC›	赤赤 ‹č.č›	*[ʧʰʧʰ]	‘et cetera’
	爪赤 ‹k.č›	*[kʰʧʰ]	‘border region’ *(nom.)*
	令业 ‹t.p› ~ 仝业 ‹d.p›	*[tʰpʰ] ~ *[dpʰ]	‘upright’
‹CCV›	令岑 ‹t.ge› ~ 仝岑 ‹d.ge›	*[tʰgə-] ~ *[dgə-]	‘die’
‹CCVC›	舟列出 ‹b.γ.an›	*[bʁan]	‘children’
‹VCC›	叉公 ‹eñ.n›	*[əɲən] (?)	‘now, of the present’
‹CCC›	仝业舟 ‹s.l.b›	*[sḷb]	‘order, in succession’
‹CCCVC›	刃业 岑岔 ‹r.l› ‹ge.ᵉr›	*[ṛlgər]	‘was caused to serve’

For areal typological reasons (and if we assume *a priori* that Kitan followed similar phonological constraints as attested modern and medieval Mongolic daughter languages) one might be inclined to assume that wordforms whose orthographic representation consist of CC or CCC orthographic onsets or codas have epenthetic vowels inserted at the phonetic level; however, we cannot rule out the possibility that some (or many) of these could be genuine clusters at

[71] *HsTi* (18:9) etc. and Kane (2009: 140 §4.16).

[72] *HsTi* (12:12) etc.

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the phonological level, since there are a few known languages to have such phonologically marked wordforms, e.g. the Salish language Nuxalk ('Bella Coola')[73] and the Ryukyuan languages Miyako and Ōgami, which have a significant number of words with no sonorants.[74] Any account of Kitan phonology should accurately represent the sound system of the language as we currently know it. The attested philological data in Kitan Assembled Script undeniably gives indications of consonant clusters. Given the philological data, and the existence of cluster-rich languages elsewhere in the world, we thus cannot rule out the possibility of Middle Kitan surface forms like *[ʧʰʧʰ] 'et cetera', *[kʰʧʰ] 'border region', *[tʰpʰ] ~ *[dpʰ] 'upright', and others. Likewise, given the fact that quite a few languages of the world allow vowelless words at the surface level with syllabic sonorants like [r̩], [ɹ̩], or [l̩],[75] we also cannot rule out the possibility of Middle Kitan words like *[sl̩b] 'order'.[76]

Some Middle Kitan orthographic clusters are unlikely to exist as clusters at the phonological level for articulatory reasons, e.g. word-final nasal clusters like *[ɲn]. Other orthographic clusters are known from Chinese transcriptions and variant orthographic forms to have vowels at the phonological level, e.g. the Late Kitan reflex of Middle Kitan 𘮩𘮬𘮭𘮪𘮫𘮦 ‹č.i.ši.d.b.ñ› 'filial-PST' is transcribed in Chinese as [赤寔得本][77] (LOM *ʈʂiʂitəypun)[78] and the Middle Kitan form is also attested in the orthographic variants 𘮩𘮬𘮭𘮪𘮫𘮧 ‹č.i.ši.d.b.ᵉñ› and 𘮩𘮬𘮭𘮪𘮰 ‹č.i.ši.d.beñ›. Thus,

[73] E.g. Urbanczyk (2001: 70).

[74] See Pellard's (2009) description of Ōgami with notes on Miyako.

[75] E.g. Serbian and some dialects of American English, to name just two of many.

[76] This Kitan word superficially resembles the unrelated vowelless endonym of the Slavic Serbs, i.e. [sr̩b] 'Serb'. Note also the numerous American English words with syllabic [ɹ̩] or [l̩], e.g. [ˈtɻ.ɾl̩] 'turtle'.

[77] See Shimunek (2007: 71) for this and other Chinese transcriptions of the word.

[78] Pul. 57, 282, 74, 32.

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despite the word-final CCC cluster 𗼻𗼇𗼧 ‹d.b.ñ› at the orthographic level, this word clearly should be phonologically reconstructed as MKit *čišidbəñ.[79]

Unless there is a compelling phonological reason against it, I assume that all orthographic clusters are present at the phonetic level.[80] The existence of these clusters makes Middle Kitan phonologically significantly different from most known Mongolic languages, except for Booŋan, Mongghul, and Mongghuor, which have undergone heavy Amdo Tibetan influence and have complex onsets.[81] The existence of complex consonant clusters in Kitan typologically aligns the language with other cluster-rich languages like Miyako, Nuxalk, Old Tibetan, Amdo, Georgian, Polish, and Russian.

Middle Kitan Phonological Innovations[82]

Middle Kitan is characterized by the 'breaking' of Common Serbi-Mongolic *i and *ɪ in initial syllables, i.e. regressive assimilation to the vowel of the syllable it precedes, e.g. MKit *ɛma 'goat' (< CSM *ɪma), MKit *šawa 'hawk, eagle' (< CSM *sɪba), MKit *šɛn 'new' (< CSM *sinə), and MKit *ǰur 'painting' (< CSM *ǰɪrʊ- 'to paint, draw'), attested in the plural form *ǰur-ən 'paintings'.

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[79] For a reconstruction of the Late Kitan form of this word, see §7.4. and the §8.5.3 entry for MKit *-bəñ.

[80] Another possibility is that Kitan Assembled Script orthography regularly indicates stressed vowels and occasionally omits unstressed vowels, i.e. *[baq] 𗼧𗼌 ‹b.aq› 'child' and *[baˈʁan] 𗼧𗼎𗼩 ‹b.γ.an› 'children'. This possibility also deserves further consideration and study.

[81] See Wu Hugjiltu (2003), Fried (2010), Todaeva (1964), and Buhe & Liu (1982) for grammatical sketches of Baonang and Booŋan. See Georg (2003) for a sketch of Mongghul, and de Smedt & Mostaert (1933) for Mongghuor data.

[82] See Chapter Eight lexicon entries for Middle Kitan orthographic forms and their Mongolic cognates.

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Likewise, in native Kitan words (not in newer Chinese loanwords) *y triggers progressive raising of vowels, e.g. *yəw- ‘move’ (< CSM *yabʊ- ‘go’).

In monomorphemic roots, intervocalic CSM *-b- lenited to MKit *w, e.g. MKit *taw ‘five’ (< CSM *t^{h}abʊ), *yəw- ‘move’ (< CSM *yabʊ-), *šawa ‘falcon’ (< CSM *sıba), and *uwl ‘winter’ (< CSM *ubul).

Common Serbi-Mongolic *əɣə and *aɣa sequences were regularly retained in Middle Kitan (e.g. MKit *qaʁa- ‘emperor’ < CSM *k^{h}aɣan ‘emperor’), with *ɣ sometimes undergoing fortition to *g (e.g. MKit *ǰgən ‘left’ < CSM *ǰəɣən ~ *ǰəɣun), while CSM *UɣA (*ʊɣa ~ *uɣə) lenited to MKit *ə (e.g. MKit *-dər ‘ordinal numeral suffix’ < CSM *-DUɣAr), CSM *ɔɣʊ > MKit *aw (e.g. MKit *ñaw ‘sibling’ < CSM *ñɔɣʊ), CSM *aɣʊ > MKit *aw (e.g. MKit *ǰaw ‘hundred’ < CSM *ǰaɣʊ), and CSM *əɣu > MKit *əw ~ *iw ~ *u (e.g. MKit *əwl ‘cloud’ < CSM *əɣulə; MKit *tiw- ‘gather (*intr.*)’ < CSM *t^{h}əɣu- ‘gather (*trans.*, *intr.*)’; and MKit *pulu ‘intercalary’ < CSM *p^{h}uləɣu ‘id.’).

7.3.2. Middle Kitan Morphology

Middle Kitan morphology is largely agglutinative. Most word forms consist of affixes concatenated to a root. The attested language as we currently understand it is exclusively suffixing.

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7.3.2.1. Word Classes

Middle Kitan word classes include at least nouns, demonstratives, adjectives, adverbs, numerals, and verbs. There are also indications of mimetics[83] and quotatives.[84]

7.3.2.1.1. Nouns

Nouns in Middle Kitan inflect for case and number. See §7.3.2.2 'Case' and §7.3.2.3 'Number' below.

7.3.2.1.2. Demonstratives

Probably owing to the epigraphical nature of the Middle Kitan texts, personal pronouns have yet to be identified.[85] However, the inscriptions indicate that

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[83] In the last line of the Eulogy to Empress Hsüan-i, *yɔʁs *yɔʁs 丙扎令 丙扎令 ‹y.oγ.s› ‹y.oγ.s› (*Hsüan* 30: 7-8) seems to be a reduplicative mimetic (as in Modern Mongolian) modifying the converb form *dawlu-ǰ 尺屮廾豸 ‹dau.l.u.ǰ› (*Hsüan* 30: 9), the root of which is probably cognate to Middle Mongol *daula-* 'sing' (*HIIY*) and modern Written Mongol *daγula-* 'sing' or 'hear' (perhaps the MKit form denotes 'wail' or 'cry out' here). The *Hsüan-i* text also has the following reduplicative, probably mimetic words, but their precise meanings are not clear at present, and they are not all fully phonologically decipherable: *p(ə)t *p(ə)t 业令 业令 ‹p.t› ‹p.t› (*Hsüan* 16: 11-12), *…b *…b 午舟 午舟 ‹■195.b› ‹■195.b› (*Hsüan* 28: 27-28), and *gə… *gə… 九夯尘 九夯尘 ‹g.e.■356› ‹g.e.■356› (*Hsüan* 29: 3-4).

[84] Kane (2009) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 69) note a Middle Kitan quotative particle in the form 叔北尺豸 which I read as ‹k.Awr.uw.ǰ› and reconstruct *kəwruwǰ. Oyuunch & Janhunen propose that the root of this word is a verb cognate to *keme-* 'to say' and identify the converb suffix 豸 as cognate to Mongolic (Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 69). The full construction is probably cognate to WMgl *kemegdeǰü* (*keme-* 'say' + *-gde-* 'passive suffix' + *-ǰü* 'perfective converb suffix'). See Brosig (2014: 90) on MMgl *-ǰü* 'perfective converb'.

[85] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010) propose that 田 is a third-person personal pronoun, but the evidence is inconclusive.

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Middle Kitan had demonstrative adjectives which simultaneously functioned as demonstrative pronouns.[86] The epitaphs provide evidence of a proximal-distal distinction, as in the table below:

Table 26. The Middle Kitan demonstratives

		KAS	Transcription	Reconst.	Gloss
PROX	DEM.ADJ	𘍿[87] ~ 𘍾[88]	‹e›$_{348}$ ~ ‹e›$_{109}$	*ə	‘this’ ~ ‘these’
	DEM.PRON	𘍿 𘍻[89]	‹e.γ›	*ə-ɣ	‘they’[90]
DIST	DEM.ADJ	𘍺	‹t›	*t	‘that’ ~ ‘those’
	DEM.PRON	(unattested)[91]			‘they’
DISC	DEM.ADJ	𘍼	‹qai›$_{323}$	*qay	‘the aforementioned’
	DEM-EMPH	𘍼 𘍻[92]	‹qai.γ›	*qay-ʁ	‘the very same, aforementioned’[93]
	DEM-PL	𘍼 𘍺[94]	‹qai.t›	*qay-t	‘the aforementioned’

[86] See Oyuunch (2011) for pioneering work on Kitan demonstratives. I have significantly revised his analysis of the Middle Kitan demonstrative system, including revision of the semantic values and phonological reconstructions, and I have included some additional examples to supplement those provided in his article. I have checked all the examples in the published photographs of the original Kitan Assembled Script texts.

[87] *Ku* (9: 17), *Kao* (3: 1).

[88] *Chung* (49: 13, 49: 21).

[89] *YHsiang* (13: 11).

[90] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 167) propose the semantic value ‘they’. This must be a proximal demonstrative pronoun ‘they’ in the sense of ‘these people’, like MMgl *ede* [額迭] ‘they’ (*HIIY*). See Oyuunch (2011) for an etymology of the 𘍻 ‹γ› element.

[91] Oyuunch (2011: 76) proposes a demonstrative pronoun in the form 𘍺 𘍻 (‹t.γ› in my transcription), which he tentatively glosses as “that (?)”. However, he provides no attestations of this wordform. I have been unable to locate this sequence of graphemes in the available Kitan corpora, i.e. the wordform lists in Chinggeltei et al. (1985), Liu et al. (2009), Chinggeltei (2002), Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010), Oyuunch (2012) etc.

[92] *Chung* (20:33, 22:41, 22:52, 22:60, 23:9, 23:34, 23:41).

[93] Oyuunch proposes a connection between the final element of this form and WMgl *kü* ‘emphatic particle’; e.g. *tere kü* ‘that very’ and *ene kü* ‘this very’ (2011: 76). Note also MMgl *kü* as in *mün kü* [門 窟] ‘the very same’ (*SHM* §84).

[94] *Chung* (8:17, 10:23).

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See below for example sentences with demonstratives:

𐲀	𐲁𐲂𐲃 𐲄𐲅𐲆	𐲇	𐲈	𐲉
‹e›	‹l.ing› ‹g.ung.un›	‹ebu›	‹REPEAT›	‹ai›
*ə	*liŋguŋ-un	*əbu	*əbu	*ay
DEM$_{\textbf{PROX}}$	PERS.N-GEN	ancestor	ancestor	father

‘**this** 令公 Ling Kung’s great-grandfather’ (*Kao* 3: 1-6).[95]

𐲀	𐲋𐲌𐲍	𐲎𐲏𐲐
‹**e**›	‹i.ir.de›	‹s.a.ai›
***ə**	*ir-də	*sa-y
DEM$_{\textbf{PROX}}$	name-DAT	reside-PFV.CNV

‘while being in **this** position’ (*HsTi* 21: 17-19).[96]

𐲀	𐲑	𐲒𐲓𐲔	𐲕𐲖
‹e›	‹omo›	‹ku.uw.un›	‹b.aq›
*ə	*ɔmɔ	*kuw-un	*baq
this	female	human-GEN	child

‘**this** woman’s child’ (*Hai* 5: 24-27).[97]

An example of the proximal demonstrative pronoun *əɣ 𐲀𐲗 ‘they’ is given below. The fact that the predicate of this verbless sentence is a noun in the plural, i.e. ‘children’, may suggest that the pronoun was marked for plurality.

[95] Oyuunch (2011: 70) provides this sentence, but does not give the source.

[96] See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 100) for the Kitan sentence. The phonological reconstruction and morpheme gloss are my own.

[97] This example is from Oyuunch (2011: 71), although the transcription, reconstruction, and gloss presented here are my own. I have checked the photograph of the original text in Chinggeltei (2002) and the handwritten copy of the text in Lü & Yuan (1992).

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𘍀𘌽𘍂	𘍀𘍂𘍀𘍂	𘍀𘍂𘍀𘍂	𘍀𘍂𘍀𘍂	𘍀𘍂𘍀𘍂
‹e.ɣ›	‹■091.o.on›	‹il302.beñ.en›	‹b.aq.i›	‹b.ɣ.an›
*əɣ	*…ɔn	*ilbəñ-ən	*baq-i	*bʁ-an
PRONPROX	PERS.N	judge-GEN	child-GEN	child-PL

‘**they** were grandchildren of Judge *…ɔn’ (*YHsiang* 13: 11).

A phrase with the distal demonstrative adjective *t is given below:

𘍀	𘌽𘍀𘍂	𘍂𘍀𘍂
‹t›	‹ir.s.ᵉr›[98]	‹o.ǰ.ᵉñ›
*t	*ir-s-ər	*ɔǰ-əñ
DIST	name-PL-AIC	reward-PST

‘he was rewarded with those titles’ (*YHsiang* 12: 2).[99]

Despite Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 147) and Oyuunch (2011), 𘍂 ‹qai› is not a “distal pronoun” but a discourse deictic demonstrative referring to previous parts of the discourse, much like Literary Chinese 是 *shih* or 該 *kai*.[100] In fact, this Kitan word is a loan from Old Mandarin 該 *kai* (MSC *gāi*), its translation equivalent in the Kitan-Chinese bilingual Lang-chün Inscription.

Note the examples below:

[98] The original has 𘌽 which is an error for 𘍀 as shown by Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 164).

[99] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 164) translate the demonstrative as “these”, but it should instead be distal “those”.

[100] As a discourse deictic demonstrative Middle Kitan *qay 𘍂 is semantically comparable (although not cognate) to the Modern Khalkha discourse deictic demonstrative **өнөө** [ɵˈnɵ] ~ **өнөөх** [ɵˈnɵx] ‘the aforementioned, that very same’.

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口	北	父	令丙爻	它	圣
‹qai›	‹po›	‹HEAVEN›	‹t.iu.^{e}r›	‹TEN›	‹ǰur›
*qay	*pɔ	*…	*tiw-r	*par	*ǰur
DISC.DEM	time	heaven	gather-PST	ten	two

伞丐丈	虫虫冬	卉	尺安叉	灵平	它	乜	尹	业反肉
‹s.iau.qu›	‹qa.ɣa.as›	‹ai›	‹dau.ur.^{e}ñ›	‹u^{w}.wl›	‹TEN›	‹dur›	‹DAY›	‹p.o.on›
*syawqu	*qaʁas	*ay	*dawrəñ	*uwl	*par	*dur	*ñayr$^{?}$	*pɔ-n.
blue	tiger	year	middle	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’ (*Lang* 4:14-5:9).

口刘	卉
‹qai.ɣ›	‹ai›
*qay-ʁ	*ay
DISC.DEM-EMPH	year

‘that very same year’ (*Chung* 20: 33-34).

口令	卉伞爻
‹qai.t›	‹ai.s.^{e}r›
*qay-t	ay-s-ər
DISC.DEM-PL	year-PL-INS

‘over the aforementioned years’ (*Ku* 8:17-18, 10:23-24)

The last example above shows number agreement between the demonstrative *qay and the noun it modifies.

7.3.2.1.3. Adjectives

Adjectives in Middle Kitan precede the nouns they modify (i.e. Adj N). Note the examples below:

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𗼻𗴢𗹦	伏𗸓
‹l.iau.qu›	‹ñ.aq›
*lyawqu	*ñaq
red	dog

‘red dog’ (*YTi* 14: 27-28).[101]

𘝦𘟙𗰜	𗼇𘓐
‹č.g.en›	‹u^{w}.ur›
*čgən	*uwr
left	division

‘the left division’ (*Hsüan* 2: 1-2).[102]

𗾞𘓐𗹦	𗰜
‹m.u^{w}.ǰ›	‹qau›
*muǰ	*qaw
sacred	empress

‘the sacred empress’ (*Hsüan* 13: 1-2).[103]

Middle Kitan relative clauses are often translatable into English as adjectives. See §7.3.3.2 ‘Relative Clauses’ below for examples.

7.3.2.1.4. Adverbs

Attested Middle Kitan adverbs include *bas 𗹦𗴲 ‘again, also’, *čar 𗰜𗼻 ‘formerly, a long time ago, for a long time’, and *əñə 𗴲𗾞 ‘now’. Middle Kitan adverbs precede the verbs they modify. Most attestations of adverbs are clause-initial:

𗹦𗴲	𗼻𗴢𗹦	𗴲𗴢	𗼇𗼈	𗴲𗴷	[R: 𗴲𗴢]	𗴢𗴷	𗴢𗼈
‹b.as›	‹y.eu.ǰ›	‹m.o›	‹nigu^{ʔ}.un›	‹t.qo›	[R: ‹t.uw›]	‹š.i›	‹o.on›
***bas**	*yəw-ǰ	*mɔ	*nigun^{ʔ}		*tuwši		*ɔ-n
again	move-CVB	senior	?		governor.general		become-PST

‘[He] moved **again** and became a senior … Governor General.’ (*HsTi* 21: 6-12; Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 99).

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[101] Chinggeltei (2002: 226) erroneously gives 𗼻𗼇𗹦 ‹l.iu.qu›, which Kane follows (2009: 198, n. 28), but the photograph of the rubbing of the original text in Chinggeltei (2002: 81) clearly shows it is 𗼻𗴢𗹦 ‹l.iau.qu›.

[102] See also Kane (2009: 215, n. 59).

[103] See also Kane (2009: 218, n. 70).

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𘲢𘲢	丙
‹čar›	‹iu›
***čar**	*iw
long.time	not.exist

‘[She] died **a long time ago**’
(*YHsiang* 15: 18-19, 21-22; Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 171-173).

𘲢𘲢	乃仝	𘍞为夬	火	𘓐伏
‹čar›	‹am.s›	‹REGION.a.an›	‹ui›	‹eu.ñ›
***čar**	*ams	*…-an	*uy	*əw-ñ
long.time	?	region-GEN	matters	not.exist-SBRD.CNJC

‘**For a long time**… there were no regional matters, so…’ (*Lang* 1: 11-15).

𘍿𘍿	丙余火	𘍿火仉仝北	𘍿由	圣当	𘍿夯	业反子北
‹eñ.e›	‹omo.qu.ui›	‹k.ui.ir.s.Awr›	‹eñ.■›	‹ǰur.en›	‹š.ên›	‹p.o.ǰ.Awr›
***əñə**	*ɔmɔqu-y	*kuyr-səwr	*əñ…	*ǰur-ən	*šɛn	*pɔǰ-awr
now	return-CVB	arrive-ATMP.CVB	?	painting-PL	new	become-CVB

‘**Now**, he returned, and … the paintings had become new, and…’ (*Lang* 3: 9-15).

7.3.2.1.5. Numerals[104]

7.3.2.1.5.1. Ordinal Numerals

Below I present a table of Kitan ordinal numerals with sources, transcriptions, and phonological reconstructions.[105] The sources I list are not exhaustive—in many cases I have simply listed one of many attestations. They are meant simply to confirm the authenticity of the Kitan wordforms I quote here—it is not unusual to find a handful of non-existent ghost forms even in published

[104] See Kane (2009: 143-144) and Oyuunch (2011) for previous studies of the Kitan numerals.

[105] Middle Kitan *udur 尢安 ‹ud.ur› ‘first’ (*HsTi* 4:1 etc.), *nay 穴 ‹nai› ‘head; first’ and other words denoting ‘first’ do not appear to have a gender distinction, and as Kane (2009: 38) argues, are probably not derived from the numeral ‘one’.

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studies on Kitan. Therefore, I have carefully checked the published photographs and rubbings of the original texts to verify all forms presented here.

Table 27. Middle Kitan ordinal numerals 2-5

	Masculine			Feminine		
	KAS	*Transcr.*	*Reconst.*	*KAS*	*Transcr.*	*Reconst.*
2	𘥥𘦳𘠽[106]	‹č.ur.^{e}r›	*čur-ər	𘥥𘦳𘠷[108]	‹č.ur.en›	*čur-ən
	𘤟𘦳𘠽[107]	‹ǰ.ur.^{e}r›	*ǰur-ər	𘤟𘦳𘠷[109]	‹ǰ.ur.en›	*ǰur-ən
3	𘠽[110]	‹γur.^{e}r›	*ɢur-ər	𘠷[112]	‹γur.en›	*ɢur-ən
	𘠁𘦳𘠽[111]	‹γ.ur.^{e}r›	*ɢur-ər	𘠁𘦳𘠷[113]	‹γ.ur.en›	*ɢur-ən
4	𘠇𘦳𘠽[114]	‹t.ur.^{e}r›	*tur-ər	𘠇𘦳𘠷[116]	‹t.ur.en›	*tur-ən
	𘠈𘦳𘠽[115]	‹d.ur.^{e}r›	*dur-ər	𘠈𘦳𘠷[117]	‹d.ur.en›	*dur-ən
5	𘠇𘦳𘠽[118]	‹t.od.o.oγ›	*tɔ-dɔʁ	𘠇𘦳𘠷[120]	‹t.od.o.on›	*tɔ-dɔn
	𘠇𘦳𘠽[119]	‹t.ad.o.oγ›	*ta-dɔʁ	𘠇𘦳𘠷[121]	‹t.ad.o.on›[122]	*ta-dɔn

[106] E.g. *Chiao* (21:4); *Kao* (5:3); *HsTi* (16:12, 24:20).

[107] E.g. *Yung* (15:6).

[108] E.g. *Chiao* (21:29); *Ku* (17:22); *Hai* (5:9); *HsTi* (6:16, 9:1, 12:28); *YHsiang* (1:19, 7:28).

[109] E.g. *Yung* (15:13).

[110] E.g. *Kuei* (5:34), but the text is somewhat damaged and it is difficult to make out the 𘠽.

[111] E.g. *Kao* (5:14); *Yung* (15:20); *HsTi* (9:5, 10:3).

[112] E.g. *HTi* (13:33).

[113] E.g. *Kao* (4:21); *Ku* (18:3, 16:25); *HsTi* (24:22). Note also 𘠁𘦳𘠷 ‹k.ur.en› (*Hsü* 52:16), which is possibly a variant of this numeral, although the semantic value is unclear.

[114] E.g. *Kao* (5:25); *HsTi* (9:10, 25:12); and erroneously as 𘠇𘦳𘠻 in *YHsiang* (2:7, 16:1).

[115] E.g. *Hai* (4:13); possibly also *Hsü* (52:31), although the *Hsü* inscription is badly damaged.

[116] E.g. *Ku* (18:13, 19:11).

[117] E.g. *Hsü* (52:31).

[118] E.g. *HsTi* (3:15, 25:15); *Hai* (4:17); *Kao* (6:22).

[119] E.g. *Chung* (6:55); *Sung* (11:5); *Chiao* (3:5).

[120] E.g. *Ku* (18:22). This modifies *awuy (*awi ?) ‘lady’, a noun with feminine natural gender.

[121] E.g. *Chiao* (20:8); *Ku* (3:14).

[122] Oyuunch (2007) reads 𘠷 as ‹oγ› but it should be ‹on›. Note 𘠉𘦳𘠷 (*Lang* 5:9).

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Table 28. Kitan ordinal numerals 6-10

	Masculine			Feminine		
	KAS	*Transcr.*	*Reconst.*	*KAS*	*Transcr.*	*Reconst.*
6	𘞥𘞴𘞵[123]	‹SIX.ᵉr›	*…-ər	(not attested)		
	𘞥𘞴𘞵[124]	‹SIX♂.ᵉr›	*…-ər			
7	𘞦𘞵𘞴𘞵[125]	‹da.lu.ᵉr›	*dalu-r			
8	𘞶𘞷𘞴𘞵[126]	‹EIGHT.ir.ᵉr›	*ñɛm-irər			
	𘞶𘞸𘞴𘞵[127]	‹EIGHT.d.ᵉr›	*ñɛm-dər			
9	𘞹𘞸𘞴𘞵[128]	‹iši.d.ᵉr›	*iši-dər			
	𘞹𘞸𘞴𘞺[129]	‹iši.d.ɣ›	*iši-dəɣ			
10	𘞻𘞸𘞴𘞵[130]	‹TEN♂.d.ᵉr›	*par-dər			

As noted many times before in the literature, the Kitan numeral system is clearly cognate to Mongolic.[131]

For numerals 2-4, the masculine ordinal numerals take the suffix *-ər and feminine ordinal numerals take the suffix *-ən. The ordinal forms of 'fifth' take a partially suppletive root *tɔ- ~ *ta- 'five' (compare with cardinal *taw 'five' below). The ordinal suffix for masculine 'fifth', i.e. *-dɔʁ, appears to be a rounded allomorph of the same morpheme as *-dəɣ in *iši-dəɣ 'ninth'. The feminine ordinal suffix for 'fifth' appears to be the result of syncretism, a blend of the *-ən suffix for feminine 2-4 and the gender-neutral ordinal numeral suffix *-dVɣ attested in masculine 'fifth'. Numerals 6-10 are attested only in their masculine forms, and it is likely that there were no feminine forms.

[123] E.g. *Hsing* (10:1); *Hai* (4:20).

[124] E.g. *HsTi* (3:9); Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 60).

[125] E.g. *HsTi* (3:3); *Kao* (7:19) has 𘞦𘞷𘞴𘞵 ‹da.tum.ᵉr›, a mistake for 𘞦𘞵𘞴𘞵 ‹da.lu.ᵉr›.

[126] E.g. *Kao* (13:6); *YTi* (4:37).

[127] Oyuunch et al. (2009: 142); *HsTi* (2: 25).

[128] E.g. *HsTi* (2:15); Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 57).

[129] E.g. *YTi* (5:30); Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 60, §3-15/18).

[130] *HsTi* 2:9 (Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 56-57). See entry for MKit *par 𘞻 'ten' in §8.5.4.

[131] Kara (1977, 1996), Chinggeltei (2002), Oyuunch (2007), Janhunen (2003), Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010), and Kane (2009).

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Typologically, languages of the world tend to have the most distinctions, morphological complexity, and fusion in the lowest numerals, progressively decreasing in complexity and irregularity as the numeral value increases.[132]

In addition to satisfying morphosyntactic constraints in the language, the gender distinction also contributed semantic content, sometimes distinguishing different senses of otherwise gender-ambiguous nouns. Note the following examples, in which the noun *baq 𐰀𐰃𐰍 'child' denotes 'son' or 'daughter' depending on the gender of the numeral modifying it.

𐰋𐰉𐰼𐰍	𐰀𐰃𐰍
‹č.ur.ᵉr›	‹b.aq›
*čur-ər	*baq
two-ORD♂	child
'second child (son)'	
(*Chiao* 21: 4-5).	

𐰋𐰉𐰼𐰣	𐰀𐰃𐰍
‹č.ur.en›	‹b.aq›
*čur-ən	*baq
two-ORD♀	child
'second child (daughter)'	
(*Chiao* 21: 29-30).	

The examples below for masculine and feminine 'fifth' likewise illustrate the natural gender denoted by the gender affixes:

𐰓𐰇𐰴𐰍	𐰇𐰀	𐰆𐰃	𐰓𐰇	𐰇𐰉
‹t.ad.o.oγ›	‹qa›	‹g.ing›	‹s.ung›	‹γong.di›
*ta-dɔʁ	*qa	*giŋsuŋ		*ʁɔŋdi
five-ORD♂	khan	PERS.N		emperor

'the fifth khan, Emperor Ching-tsung' (*Chiao* 3: 5-9).

𐰓𐰇𐰴𐰃	𐰀𐰃𐰍	𐰇𐰀𐰆	𐰴𐰆	𐰓𐰇𐰴𐰍	𐰴𐰉
‹t.ad.o.on›	‹b.aq›	‹qa.an›	‹k.ui›	‹pu.ⁱši.ñ.en›	‹i.ir›
*ta-dɔn	*baq	*qankuy		*pušiñ-ən	*ir
five-ORD♀	child	PERS.N		lady-GEN	name

'the name of the fifth child, Lady Han Kuei' (*Chiao* 20: 8-12).

---

[132] See also Universal #545 in Frans Plank et al.'s *The Universals Archive* for a similar claim which states that "The degree of morphological fusion varies inversely with the size of the numerical value" (http://typo.uni-konstanz.de/archive/), accessed January 2, 2013.

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As demonstrated by Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010), Middle Kitan ordinal numerals can function as zero-derived nominals:

𘞀𘜘𘜶	𘜘𘜿	𘜶𘜼	𘜶𘜷
‹č.ur.en›	‹ng.ing›	‹^{i}ši.ï›	‹au.ui›
*čur-ən	*ŋiŋiši		*awi
three-ORD$^{♀}$	PERS.N		lady

‘The **second one** was Lady *ŋiŋiši.’ (*YHsiang* 21:9-12).

𘜘𘜶	𘜿𘜑	𘜘𘜶𘜼
‹γur.en›	‹pu.u^{w}›	‹pu.^{i}ši.ñ›
*ɢur-ən	*pu	*pušiñ
three-ORD$^{♀}$	PERS.N	lady

‘The **third one** (i.e. the third daughter) was Lady *pu.’ (*YHsiang* 18:32-34).

7.3.2.1.5.2. Cardinal Numerals

The Middle Kitan cardinal numerals exhibit two ‘genders’, as demonstrated by Oyuunch (2007) and further supported by Kane (2009: 27), Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010), and other subsequent research. I term these genders ‘unmarked’ and ‘masculine’. Only the lower order cardinal numerals, i.e. 1 through 10, exhibit this gender distinction. They appear to be distinct from the ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ genders attested for the ordinal numerals. See below:

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Table 29. Middle Kitan cardinal numerals

Value	*Unmarked*	*Masculine*
1	𘮬 *mas (?)	𘮭
2	𘮮 *ǰur ~ *čur	𘮯
3	𘮰 *ɢur	𘮱
4	𘮲 *dur ~ *tur	𘮳
5	𘮴 *taw	𘮵
6	𘮶	𘮷
7	𘮸 *dalu	𘮹
8	𘮺 *ñɛm [133]	𘮻
9	𘮼 *iši	𘮽
10	𘮾 *par [134]	𘮿

The majority of the Middle Kitan cardinal numeral graphemes appear to be logograms, most of which were only used as numerals, with the exception of the graphemes for 'five', 'nine', 'ten', 'thousand', and 'ten thousand', which were used for their phonetic values in transcribing Liao Chinese words or for writing other Kitan words and names attested elsewhere in Chinese transcription, or which were transcribed in Old Mandarin, and which are consequently reconstructible.[135] On a typological basis, one may hypothesize that the majority of the ordinal numerals, which are phonologically well-attested, have cardinal numerals as their roots, as is the case with most of the ordinal numerals in modern Khalkha Mongolian.[136] Following this assumption, I propose reconstructing the cardinal numerals 2-4 and 7 as 𘮯 *čur ~ *ǰur

[133] Oyuunch has discovered solid philological evidence that 𘮻 is pronounced 伏文𘮯 (Oyuunch 2014: 132-133), which I read as ‹ñ.iê.êm› and reconstruct phonologically as MKit *ñɛm 'eight'.

[134] On the reading of this grapheme see entry for MKit *par 𘮿 'ten' in §8.5.4.

[135] Kane (2009: 98, 102, 109, 120, 122).

[136] It should not be forgotten, however, that the majority of the Middle Mongol ordinal numerals are formed from partially suppletive, irregular roots, as noted by Rybatzki (2003: 70), and the Middle Kitan cardinal numerals may have been phonologically significantly different in form from the ordinal numerals.

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'two', 包 *Gur 'three', 𘰾 *tur ~ *dur 'four', and 𘰿 *dalu 'seven'.[137] The graphemes for '5' and '9' are well attested in Middle Kitan transcriptions of Liao Chinese and in other native Kitan words, and their phonological values are solidly known. The grapheme for '2' is also used in rendering a Kitan word with a Mongolic cognate, and is thus phonologically decipherable as *ǰur.[138]

It is not clear whether the dotted masculine forms of the cardinal numerals differed phonologically from the unmarked forms, although it is highly likely that the dotted graphemes differ from the non-dotted forms only superficially, at the orthographic level.

The reconstruction of the cardinal numeral 'one' is somewhat controversial, so I have excluded it from my discussion here. See Chinggeltei (2002), Kane (2009), and Shimunek (forthcoming, c) for discussion. Middle Kitan 'ninety' has not yet been identified in the available corpora.

The cardinal numeral system is unique in that the marked forms are exclusively for nouns with masculine natural gender, while the unmarked forms are not specified for gender and are attested modifying words with masculine, feminine, and neutral natural gender. Note the examples below:

𘰾	伏 𘰽 伏 𘰼	包	叔 𘰻	𘰺	又 𘰹 𘰸
‹FOUR♀›	‹ñ.iau.ñ.ᵉr›	‹THREE♂›	‹k.u›	‹ONE♀›	‹m.o.qu›
*dur	*ñaw-ñər	*Gur (?)	*ku	*….	*mɔqu
four	sibling-PL	three♂	boy	one	elder.sister

'with four siblings—three boys and an elder sister' (*Ku* 17: 2-7).

𘰵	𘰴 𘰷 𘰶
‹TWO♂›	‹qa.γa.ad›
*ǰur (?)	*qaʁa-d
two♂	khan-PL

'two khans' (*Jen-i* 20: 2-3).[139]

[137] See Chinggeltei (2013 [1999]: 12) for a similar reconstruction of the cardinal numerals.

[138] See §8.5.4 entry for MKit *ǰur-ən 𘰵 𘰲 ‹ǰur.en›, corresponding to 'paintings (繪)' in the Lang-chün Inscription.

[139] See also Kane (2009: 50). The phonological reconstruction presented above is my own.

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丙公	业未	圣
‹omo.d›	‹p.ar›	‹TWO$^{\circ}$›
*ɔmɔ-d	*par	*ǰur
female-PL	person$_{[CLF?]}$	two$^{\circ}$

‘two wives’ (*HsTi* 12: 12-14).

包	介央
‹THREE$^{\circ}$›	‹qau.ur›
*ɢur	*qawr
three$^{\circ}$	spring

‘three springs’ (*YP’u* 23: 3-4).

Many details of Middle Kitan morphosyntax remain to be analyzed, but as the examples above illustrate, cardinal numerals can come before or after the nouns they modify, under certain morphosyntactic constraints which are not yet fully understood. The example 丙公 业未 圣 ‘two wives’ above may suggest that cardinal numerals could follow the nouns they modify in classifier constructions; perhaps the phrase can be analyzed as [NOUN CLF NUM], but more examples are necessary to determine this with certainty.[140]

Middle Kitan is characterized by number agreement, as demonstrated by Oyuunch (2007, 2011). Note the following examples from Oyuunch (2011: 72):[141]

伏兮	乇
‹ñ.iau›	‹ONE›
*ñaw	*…
sibling	one

‘one sibling’ (*Yung* 11: 28-29).[142]

伏兮伏公	灰
‹ñ.iau.ñ.$^{\circ}$r›	‹SIX$^{\male}$›
*ñaw-ñər	*…
sibling-PL	six$^{\male}$

‘six siblings’ (*Sung* 7: 28-29).[143]

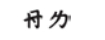
[140] See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 84-85) for the Middle Mongol cognate of 业未 and an alternative analysis of 业未 as a suppletive plural.

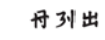
[141] The transcriptions, morpheme glosses, and phonological reconstructions here are my own.

[142] See Liu et al. (2009: 56) for a photograph of a rubbing of the original text.

[143] See Liu et al. (2009: 81, 269) for a rubbing of the original text and an analysis of it. Oyuunch (2011) erroneously cites this as line 18 of the text.

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‹b.aq› ‹ONE♂›
*baq *…
child one♂
‘one son’ (*Kao* 3: 18-19).[144]


‹b.γ.an› ‹γur›
*bʁ-an *ɢur
child-PL three
‘six children’ (*Ku* 16: 15-16).[145]

Middle Kitan cardinal numerals 11-19

The Middle Kitan numerals 11-19 are formed the same as Mongolian, Manchu, Chinese, Tibetan, Korean, Turkish, Nivkh, and many other neighboring languages, in the form [10 + *n*]. Thus, Middle Kitan   ‘thirteen’[146] is composed of ‘ten’ + ‘three’, cf. Middle Mongol *harban qurban* ‘thirteen’, Manchu *ǰuwan ilan* ‘thirteen’, modern Mandarin /ʂʅ́ sán/ (Pinyin *shí sān*) ‘thirteen’, modern Written Tibetan *bcu gsum* ‘thirteen’, modern Korean *yŏr set* ‘thirteen’, Turkish *on üç* ‘thirteen’, and Sakhalin Nivkh /mχokᵚ caqruᵚk/ ‘thirteen’,[147] which all literally mean ‘ten three’.

[144] Oyuunch (2011) cites the source as *Han Kao-shih* line 2, but I have checked the photograph of the rubbing in Liu et al. (2009) and this phrase actually appears not in line 2, but in line 3, blocks 18-19.

[145] See Chinggeltei (2002) for a photograph of a rubbing of the original text.

[146] *YChüeh* (35:31).

[147] This Nivkh form is from Tangiku et al. (2008: 81, #669).

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Table 30. Attested Middle Kitan numerals 11-19

Value	*KAS orthography*	*Transcription*	*Reconstruction*
11	𘍽 𘌕[148]	‹par› ‹mas?›	*par *mas (?)
12	𘍽 𘍿[149]	‹par› ‹ǰur›	*par *ǰur
13	𘍽 𘌞[150]	‹par› ‹ɣur›	*par *ɢur
14	𘍽 𘍾[151]	‹par› ‹dur›	*par *dur
15	𘍽 𘍼[152]	‹par› ‹tau›	*par *taw
16	𘍽 𘍻[153]	‹par› ‹■›	*par *…
17	(not attested)		
18	𘍽 𘍺[154]	‹par› ‹ñêm›	*par *ñɛm
19	𘍽 𘍹[155]	‹par› ‹iši›	*par *iši

Middle Kitan cardinal numerals 20-10,000

As demonstrated by Oyuunch et al. (2009: 143), the Kitan cardinal numerals have no gender distinctions for ‘20’ on up. Oyuunch et al. (2009) have also identified the grapheme for ‘80’.

[148] *YHsiang* (2:3-4); Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 139).
[149] *Lang* (4:19-20).
[150] *YChüeh* (35:31).
[151] *Lang* (5:6-7).
[152] *Hsü* (49:22-23); *Chung* (20:4-5).
[153] *Chung* (10:44-45).
[154] *Ku* (7:10-11).
[155] *Chung* (50:14-15).

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Table 31. Middle Kitan cardinal numerals 20-10,000

Value	*Grapheme*	*Transcription*	*Reconstruction*
20	丁	‹ǰuri?›	(cf. LKit *ǰuri)[156]
30	𠂉	‹■›	(cf. MSer dial. *qʊrčin)[157]
40	了	‹■›	
50	乙	‹■›	
60	乂 ~ 爻 ~ 爻	‹■›	
70	冂 ~ 冏	‹■›	
80	𠂆	‹■›	
90	(unattested)		
100	丣	‹ǰau›	*ǰaw[158]
1,000	奠	‹ming›	*mɪŋ[159]
10,000	𠂤 ~ 𠂤	‹tum›	*tum[160]

Higher order numerals follow the same pattern as the numerals 11-19, i.e. [20 + *n*], [30 + *n*], [40 + *n*], [50 + *n*], etc. The following table presents some relevant attested examples (not exhaustive):

[156] See LKit *ǰuri ‘twenty’ in the §8.5.4 entry for MKit *čur- ~ *ǰur- ~ *ǰur ‘two’. The reconstruction *ǰuri ‘twenty’ is my revision of Róna-Tas (2016: 133-134).

[157] See §8.5.4 entry for the Middle Serbi word *qʊrčin ‘thirty’. Cf. also Róna-Tas (2016).

[158] See Kara (2005: 17) and other sources for the reconstruction of this grapheme. Late Kitan ‘hundred’ is transcribed in Chinese as [爪] *chao* and the Middle Kitan grapheme is also used to transcribe Liao Chinese syllables such as 招 *chao* (Kane 2009: 102).

[159] See Kane (2009: 122) for the phonological reconstruction of this grapheme.

[160] See Kane (2009: 58, 72) for the phonological reconstruction of this grapheme.

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Table 32. Some attested Middle Kitan numerals 21-99 (not exhaustive)

Value	*Grapheme*	*Transcription*	*Reconstruction*
28	丁 巫[161]	‹ǰuri?› ‹ñêm›	*ǰuri (?) *ñɛm
43	了 包[162]	‹■› ‹ɣur›	*… *ɢur
53	乙 包[163]	‹■› ‹ɣur›	*… *ɢur
58	乙 巫[164]	‹■› ‹ñêm›	*… *ñɛm
65	乂 戉[165]	‹■› ‹tau›	*… *taw
67	乂 屏[166]	‹■› ‹dalu›	*… *dalu
74	冂 乇[167]	‹■› ‹dur›	*… *dur
75	冂 戉[168]	‹■› ‹tau›	*… *taw

Attested functions of cardinal numerals

In addition to denoting quantities, Middle Kitan cardinal numerals are also attested in dates, months, years, ages, and measurements:

包	尧
‹**ɣur**›	‹DAY›
***ɢur**	*ñayr?
three	day

‘the **third** day’
(*Hsüan* 4: 15-16).

戉	艾
‹**tau**›	‹MONTH›
***taw**	*sayr?
five	month

‘the **fifth** month’
(*Chung* 6: 36-37).

乇	丰
‹**dur**›	‹ai›
***dur**	*ay
four	year

‘the **fourth** year’
(*HsTi* 51: 3-4).

[161] *YHsiang* (1: 26-27); Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 139).
[162] *YHsiang* (23: 25-26); Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 185).
[163] *HsTi* (35:4-5); Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 114).
[164] *HsTi* (15: 9-10); Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 91).
[165] *HsTi* (21: 21-22); Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 100).
[166] *YHsiang* (12: 14-15); Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 165).
[167] *HsTi* (22: 16-17); Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 101).
[168] *YHsiang* (28: 14-15); Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 195).

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[𠂤]	𠂤𠬜丙𠂤	包	𠂉矢
‹HEAVEN›	‹d.em.y.ᵉr›	‹THREE$^{\bigcirc}$›	‹ai.de›
*….	*dəmyər	***ɢur**	*ay-də
heaven	favor	**three**$^{\bigcirc}$	year-DL

‘in the **third** year of the ‘Heaven Favor’ reign period’ (*Chung* 21: 12-14).[169]

𠀤安	乙	丞	邪平虫𠂉	令𠂢殳
‹eu.ur›	‹FIFTY›	‹**ñêm**›	‹ǰau.wl.ɣa.ai›	‹t.l.ᵉñ›
*əwr	*…	***ñɛm**-də	*ǰawlʁa-y	*t-ləñ
age	**fifty**	**eight**-DL	reach.age-CVB	die-PST

‘He died at the age of **58**.’[170] (*HsTi* 15: 8-12).

几	佃关	邪村	𠀤安
‹ku›	‹BORN.i›	‹**ǰau**.en›	‹eu.ur›
*ku	*…i	***ǰaw**-ən	*əwr
human	life?	**hundred**-ATTR	age

‘human life is equal to a **hundred** years (人生百歲)’[171] (*YHsiang* 35: 7-10).

丞	𠂉刃勿
‹**ñêm**›	‹č.ia.aq›
***ñɛm**	*čyaq
eight	*ch’ih*

‘**eight** *ch’ih* (八尺)’[172] (*YP’u* 2: 21-22).

---

[169] See also Kane (2009: 152). On the identification of the reign period, see Kane (2009: 158). The original does not have 𠂤 ‘heaven’, but this appears to be either an abbreviated form or an error for the well-attested reign period name 𠂤 𠂤𠬜丙𠂤 ‘Heaven Favor (天眷 T’ien-chüan)’. The word *dəmyər 𠂤𠬜丙𠂤 ‘favor’ is probably a past verbal noun in *-ər. The verbal root *dəmy- probably denotes something like ‘to show favor’ and is possibly cognate to modern Written Mongol *demǰi-* ‘to support’ and *dem* ‘support’ (as in modern WMgl *amin dem* ‘vitamin’). See section on ‘Relative clauses’ below for additional examples of relative clauses formed from past verbal nouns.

[170] See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 15: 8-12) for the semantic decipherment of this phrase. The phonological reconstruction presented above is my own.

[171] See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 204-205) for the semantic identification of this phrase. The phonological reconstruction above is my own.

[172] See Oyuunch (2014: 132) for the semantic decipherment of this phrase and the phonological reconstruction of the numeral ‘eight’. The phonological reconstruction presented above is my own revision. *Ch’ih* 尺 is a Chinese unit of length, the precise value of which has historically varied depending on the time and place. Given the obstruent coda in the MKit form 𠂉刃勿 *čyaq, this is clearly a loanword from MChi, cf. Pul. 56: 尺 ☆tśʰiayk.

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Cardinal numerals and suffixation

Middle Kitan cardinal numerals can take the dative-locative case suffix:

土夾	乂	斤矢	…	又化	尔伞北	田	劣夾中
‹eu.ur›	‹sixty›	‹dalu.de›	…	‹m.ir›	‹on.s.Awr›	‹■309›	‹tu.ur.beñ›
*əwr	*…	***dalu-də**	…	*mir	*ɔn-sawr	*…	*tur-bəñ
age	sixty	**seven-DL**	…	horse	ride-CVB	…	pass.away-PST.VN

‘**At** the age of **sixty-seven**, …[he] died while riding horseback.’ (*YHsiang* 12:13-22).

Certain numerals also take a genitive-attributive suffix (see §7.3.2.2).

7.3.2.1.6. Verbs

One of the earliest systematic studies of Kitan verbal affixal morphology is Chinggeltei (1992). See also Kane (2009). My book is the first attempt to present paradigms of verbs by their roots and give phonemic analyses. This has allowed for systematic identification of Mongolic cognates. See Chapter Eight for discussion.

Below I present attested partial paradigms of three Middle Kitan verbs, illustrating the agglutinative structure of Kitan affixal morphology. As shown below, Middle Kitan verbs inflect at least for tense, aspect, gender, and voice.

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Table 33. Attested morphological paradigm of Middle Kitan *kuyr- ‘arrive (至)’

PHONEMIC LEVEL		SURFACE LEVEL	
Wordform	Morph. gloss	Orthographic representation	Phon. reconst.
*/kuyr-č/	arrive-CVB	𘍞𘎘𘐲 ‹k.ui.č›[173]	*kuyč ~
~ */kuyr-ǰ/		~ 𘍞𘎘𘐪 ‹k.ui.ǰ›[174]	*kuyǰ
*/kuyr-bəñ/	arrive-PST	𘍞𘎘𘍿𘐴 ‹k.ui.ir.beñ›[175]	*kuyrbəñ
*/kuyr-ləñ/	arrive-PST	𘍞𘎘𘐽𘐴𘐫 ‹k.ui.d.l.^{e}ñ›[176]	*kuydləñ
		~ 𘍞𘎘𘐽𘐴𘐬 ‹k.ui.d.l.ñ›[177]	
*/kuyr-i/	arrive-CVB	𘍞𘎘𘍿𘐭 ‹k.ui.ir.i›[178]	*kuyri
*/kuyr-GA-y/	arrive-CP-CVB	𘍞𘎘𘍿𘐯𘐱 ‹k.ui.ir.ge.y›[179]	*kuyrgəy
*/kuyr-GA-r/	arrive-CP-PST	𘍞𘎘𘍿𘐯𘐽 ‹k.ui.ir.ge.^{e}r›[180]	*kuyrgər
*/kuyr-GA-ñ/	arrive-CP-PST?	𘍞𘎘𘍿𘐽𘐫 ‹k.ui.ir.ge.^{e}ñ›[181]	*kuyrgəñ
*/kuyr-bč?/	arrive-CVB?	𘍞𘎘𘍿𘐸𘎘𘐲 ‹k.ui.ir.b.č›[182]	*kuyrbč
*/kuyr-gə-č?/	arrive-CP?-CVB?	𘍞𘎘𘍿𘐽𘎘𘐲 ‹k.ui.ir.ge.č›[183]	*kuyrgəč
*/kuyd-l?…ər/	arrive-?-PST?	𘍞𘎘𘐽𘐴𘐽 ‹k.ui.d.l?…^{e}r›[184]	*kuydl…ər
*/kuyr-səwr/	arrive-ATMP.CVB	𘍞𘎘𘍿𘐾𘐷 ‹k.ui.ir.s.Awr›[185]	*kuyrsəwr
*/kuyr-əwr/	arrive-CVB	𘍞𘎘𘍿𘐷 ‹k.ui.ir.Awr›[186]	*kuyrəwr

[173] *Lang* (2:8).

[174] *Jen-hsien* (11:61).

[175] *Tao* (21:10); *Jen-hsien* (42:55).

[176] *YChüeh* (14:26, 45:26).

[177] *YChüeh* (39:41); *YP’u* (18:30, 20:13). This form is also attested in the dative-locative case, i.e. 𘍞𘎘𘐽𘐴𘐬𘐹 (*YChüeh* 40:13-14), which is probably a temporal clause denoting ‘when SUBJ reached/arrived …’

[178] *Hsing* (14:2).

[179] *Tao* (6:15), *Jen-hsien* (13:7).

[180] *Tao* (17:20).

[181] *Hsing* (14:18); *YHsiang* (26:31).

[182] *HsTi* (49:12).

[183] *YHsiang* (17:15).

[184] *YHsiang* (3:13). Considering that *[d] is an allophone of */r/ before */l/, it is likely that the grapheme 𘐽 denotes a phonological sequence beginning with */l/.

[185] *Lang* (3:12).

[186] *YChüeh* (28:8).

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Despite previous analyses of the verbal root as 𗼇𗴲 ‹k.ui› , e.g. Shimunek (2007), Kane (2009: 89), and Takeuchi (2011: 21), the attested morphological paradigm of the verb as presented above makes it clear that *kuy- is in fact a phonologically-conditioned allomorph of phonemic */kuyr-/. The allomorph *kuy- is of limited distribution, occurring only with the converb suffix *-č ~ *-ǰ. This indicates that Middle Kitan phonotactics did not allow the clusters *rč or *rǰ, or perhaps more specifically did not allow these clusters word-finally or across morpheme boundaries.[187] The allomorph *[kujd-] suggests that */r/ was realized as *[d] before */l/ under certain morphophonological conditions which are not yet fully understood.[188]

Since it is not uncommon to find non-existent ghost forms quoted in the Kitanological literature, I provide example sentences and phrases from the extant inscriptions demonstrating the semantic values of some of the above-mentioned forms as inflections of the verbal root ‘arrive’. I have checked all of these sentences in the published rubbings. The examples below are not exhaustive—I have simply chosen the most illustrative or easily comprehensible sentences and phrases from the inscriptions:

---

[187] Note also the Middle Kitan noun *čawǰ 𘓐𗍫 ‹čau.ǰ› ‘one who does battle’ or ‘those who engage in battle’ (Kane 2009: 187, n. 2), which I analyze phonemically as */čaw-r/ (attested elsewhere as 𘓐𘖵 ‹čau.ur›) ‘battle’ (a deverbal noun from *čaw- ‘to do battle’; cf. Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 69) + */-ǰ/ 𗍫 ‘occupational suffix’, cognate to Middle Mongol *-*či* > Khalkha **-ч** [ʧʰ] ‘occupational suffix’. Middle Kitan *čawǰ */čaw-r-ǰ/ (do.battle-DVN-OCCUP) ‘one who does battle’ should not be confused with the superficially homophonous 𘓐𗐓 ‹čau.ǰ› ‘fighting’ (*HsTi* 6: 5), identified by Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 69), which I analyze as *čaw-ǰ */čaw-ǰ/ ‘doing battle’ (do.battle-CVB).

[188] Considering the wordform 𗍊𗥃 𗴢𗴳 ‘was caused to serve’ (e.g. *YTi* 9: 2-3), which I reconstruct as *r-lgə-r, it seems that *coda* */r/ was realized as *[d] before */l/ (as in *kuydləñ 𗼇𗴲𗴳𗥃𗹦 ‘arrived’ above) but that word-initial */r/ did not undergo this allophonic process (as in *rlgər above). Additional evidence is needed to confirm this.

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仍㐬刋	业夯	屮同矢	乂火卉
‹ta.ang.en›	‹ki.ên›	‹l.ing.de›	‹k.ui.č›
*taŋ-ən	*kyɛnliŋ-də		*kuy-č
T’ang-GEN	Ch’ien.ling-DL		**arrive-CVB**

‘He **arrived** at the Ch’ien-ling Tombs of the T’ang and…’ (*Lang* 2: 5-8).[189]

乂火化屮	又	丙安
‹k.ui.ir.beñ›	‹GREAT›	‹čau.ur›
*kuyr-bəñ	*…	*čawr
arrive-PST.VN	great	army

‘the great army that had **arrived** (?)’ (*Jen-hsien* 42: 55).

米廾尺	乂火夂屮叉
‹ordu.u.du›	‹k.ui.d.l.ᵉñ›
*ɔrdu-du	*kuyd-ləñ
tent.palace-DL	**arrive-PST**

‘He **arrived** at the tent palace.’ (*YChüeh* 14: 25-26).

仝文夯	丙丙攴	今文夯矢	乂火化夂丙	可夂业卉
‹s.iê.ên›	‹y.iu.u^{w}›	‹t.iê.ên.de›	‹k.ui.ir.ge.y›	‹■.d.ɣa.ai›
*syɛnyiwtyɛn-də			*kuyr-gə-y	*…d-ʁa-y
Hall.of.the.Wandering.Immortals-DL			**reach-CP-CVB**	place.in.coffin-CP-CVB

‘… was **taken** to the Hall of the Wandering Immortals, was placed in a coffin, and…’[190] (*Tao* 6: 12-16).

又夯	丙余火	乂火化仝北	又由	圣当	兄夯	业及子北
‹eñ.e›	‹omo.qu.ui›	‹k.ui.ir.s.Awr›	‹eñ.■›	‹ǰur.en›	‹š.ên›	‹p.o.ǰ.Awr›
*əñə	*ɔməqu-y	*kuyr-səwr	*əñ…	*ǰur-ən	*šɛn	*pɔǰ-awr
now	return-CVB	**arrive-ATMP.CVB**	?	painting-PL	new	become-CVB

‘Now, he **returned**, and … the paintings had become new, and…’ (*Lang* 3: 9-15).

---

[189] See Shimunek (2014a: 101-102) for detailed discussion of this sentence and its context in the inscription.

[190] For the identification of 仝文夯 丙丙攴 今文夯 as a Kitan transcription of Chinese *Hsien-yu-tien* 仙遊殿 ‘Hall of the Wandering Immortals’, see Kane (2009: 18).

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The morphological paradigms of several other Middle Kitan verbs can be partially reconstructed:

Table 34. Attested morphological paradigm of Middle Kitan *pɔǰ- 'become (成為)'

PHONEMIC LEVEL		SURFACE LEVEL	
Wordform	Morpheme gloss	Orthographic representation	Phonetic transcription
*/pɔǰ-bəñ/	become-PST	业及子舟叉 ‹p.ɔ.ǰ.b.^{e}ñ›[191]	*pɔǰbəñ
*/pɔǰ-ǰ/	become-CVB	业及子永羽 ‹p.ɔ.ǰ.u^{w}.ǰ›[192]	*pɔǰuǰ[193]
*/pɔǰ-GA-y/	become-CP-CVB	业及子业丰 ‹p.ɔ.ǰ.ɣa.ai ›[194]	*pɔǰʁay
*/pɔǰ-GA-l/	become-CP-CVB	业及子业方 ‹p.ɔ.ǰ.ɣa.Al›[195]	*pɔǰʁal
*/pɔǰ-GA-n/	become-CP-PST.VN♂?	业及子业出 ‹p.ɔ.ǰ.ɣa.an›[196]	*pɔǰʁan
*/pɔǰ-ləñ/	become-PST	业及子业伏 ‹p.ɔ.ǰ.l.ñ›[197]	*pɔǰləñ
*/pɔǰ-awr/	become-CVB	业及子北 ‹p.ɔ.ǰ.Awr›[198]	*pɔǰawr

[191] *YTi* (19:22).

[192] *YTi* (22:7).

[193] This suggests that Middle Kitan had a constraint banning geminates across morpheme boundaries (or perhaps more specifically banning -ǰǰ- geminates), which were repaired with epenthesis.

[194] *YTi* (22:37), *Hsüan* (9:4).

[195] *YTi* (27:6).

[196] *YTi* (35:31).

[197] *YHsiang* (14:27).

[198] *Lang* (3:16).

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Table 35. Attested morphological paradigm of Middle Kitan *sa- ‘reside, live’

PHONEMIC LEVEL		**SURFACE LEVEL**	
Wordform	Morpheme gloss	Orthographic representation	Phonetic transcription
*/sa-l/	reside-CVB	仝为方 ‹s.a.Al› [199]	*sal
*/sa-lGA-y/	reside-CP-CVB	仝为方丑丰 ‹s.a.Al.γa.ai› [200]	*salʁay
*/sa-r/	reside-PST	仝为禾 ‹s.a.ar› [201]	*sar
*/sa-y/	reside-CVB	仝为丰 ‹s.a.ai› [202]	*say

As noted by Oyuunch (2007), Kane (2009), and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010), the past tense distinguishes genders. I analyze these as the following: masculine */-Vr/ (realized as *-r after vowels) and feminine */-Vn/ (realized as *-n after vowels). Note the gender declension of the honorific verb *liwr- 屮丙刃 ‘to pass away (of an emperor or empress)’:

主　王　屮丙刃尒

‹γong› ‹di› ‹l.iu.r.^{e}**r**›

*ʁɔŋdi *liwr-**ər**

emperor pass-**PST.VN**♂

‘The emperor… passed away.’

(*Hsing* 2: 10-19).

主　王　及米及厄　仝为丰　屮丙刃尒

‹γong› ‹di› ‹o.ordu.u^{w}.du› ‹s.a.ai› ‹l.iu.r.^{e}**r**›

*ʁɔŋdi *ɔrdu-du *sa-y *liwr-**ər**

emperor palace-DL stay-CVB pass-**PST.VN**♂

‘The emperor… passed away in the palace.’

(*Tao* 5: 8-22).

[199] *HsTi* (23:4).

[200] *HsTi* (29:6).

[201] *YHsiang* (16:39, 18:4, 19:25).

[202] *HsTi* (11:4).

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𘍞𘌽𘊴	𘍿𘍿	𘈬𘈭	𘈦	𘊴𘈦𘌋𘋢
‹s.ÿ.ên›	‹i.i›	‹neu.e›	‹omo›	‹l.iu.r.**en**›
*sqɛni		*nəwə	*ɔmɔ	*liwr-ən
PERS.N		earth	mother	pass.away-**PST.VN**♀

‘The Mother of Earth, Empress Hsüan-i… passed away’ (*Hsüan* 5: 1-8).

7.3.2.2. Case

Middle Kitan nouns inflect for case. There are at least five indentifiable cases in Middle Kitan: nominative and indefinite accusative (*-Ø); genitive-attributive (*-n ~ *-an$^{?}$ ~ *-ən ~ *-ɔn ~ *-un ~ *-ñ ~ *-i), dative-locative (*-də ~ *-dɔ ~ *-du ~ *-t ~ *-u); definite accusative-instrumental-comitative (*-r ~ *-ər ~ *-ur); and ablative (*-dəi ~ *-dɔi ~ *-dui ~ *-dur ~ *-dər). The genitive-attributive, dative-locative, and definite accusative-instrumental-comitative case suffixes are partially phonologically conditioned, but lexicalized allomorphs are not uncommon; compare *pɔ-dɔ ‘at the time’ but *ɔmɔ-də ‘to the woman’ in the table below, and nominative *gər ‘tent, home, family’ but *gɔt for its dative-locative form. The ablative case suffixes appear to be lexicalized. There is also at least one lexicalized genitive case suffix in *-i, e.g. *baq ‘child’ (nominative) but *baq-i ‘of the child’ (genitive). The table below summarizes the attested case affixes:[203]

[203] There sometimes does not exist a one-to-one correspondence between morphemes and their orthographic representations in Kitan Assembled Script. The Middle Kitan genitive allomorph *-n is represented orthographically as 𘍿 ‹.n› as in *ɔmɔ-n 𘈦𘍿 ‹omo.n› ‘mother-GEN’ (*Hsüan* 1:4), 𘌽 ‹.an› as in *lɛma-n 𘊴𘍠𘉐𘌽 ‹l.êm.a.an› ‘scribe-GEN’ (*YFu* 24: 15), 𘈦 ‹.in› as in *gɔŋdi-n 𘊴𘋢𘈦 ‹γong.di.in› ‘emperor-GEN’ (*YHsiang* 3:23), 𘍠 ‹.on› as in *pɔ-n 𘉐𘍠 ‹po.on› ‘time-GEN’ (*HsTi* 47:9), and 𘌋 ‹.un› as in *čaŋšu-n 𘈦𘍞 𘋢𘌋𘌋 ‹ča.ang› ‹š.u.un› ‘imperial.secretary-GEN’ (*Kao* 22: 11-12).

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Table 36. Attested Middle Kitan case affixes (reconstructed phonological forms)

case	reconstructed phonological forms
NOM-ACC$_{INDF}$	*-Ø
GEN	*-an (?) ~ *-ən ~ *-ɔn ~ *-un ~ *-n ~ *-ñ ~ *-i
DL	*-də ~ *-dɔ ~ *-du ~ *-u
AIC	*-r ~ *-ər ~ *-ur
ABL	*-dəi ~ *-dɔi ~ *-dui ~ *-dər ~ *-dur

Table 37. Attested Middle Kitan case affixes (Assembled Script orthographic forms)

case	Kitan Assembled Script orthographic representation
NOM-ACC$_{INDF}$	Ø
GEN	𘍿 ‹.an› ~ 𘍻 ‹.en› ~ 𘍼 ‹.in› ~ 𘍽 ‹.on› ~ 𘍾 ‹.un› ~ 𘍺 ‹.n› ~ 𘍹 ‹.ñ› ~ 𘍸 ‹.i›
DL	𘍷 ‹.de› ~ 𘍵 ‹.do› ~ 𘍳 ‹.du› ~ 𘍴 ‹.u›
AIC	𘍲 ‹.^{e}r› ~ 𘍱 ‹.ur› ~ 𘍰 ‹.ur›
ABL	𘍷𘍸 ‹.de.i› ~ 𘍵𘍸 ‹.do.i› ~ 𘍳𘍸 ‹.du.i› ~ 𘍲𘍲 ‹.d.^{e}r› ~ 𘍳𘍲 ‹.du.^{e}r›

See the tables below for some attested case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns. Note that gaps in the tables below indicate unattested forms.

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Table 38. Case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns ending in vowels

	‘female, mother, woman’		‘time, season’	
N-A$_{INDF}$	*ɔmɔ	丙 ‹omo›[204]	*pɔ	非 ‹po›[205]
GEN	*ɔmɔ-n	丙公 ‹omo.n›[206]	*pɔ-n	非尒 ‹po.on›[207]
DL	*ɔmɔ-də	丙矢 ‹omo.de›[208]	*pɔ-dɔ	非朱 ‹po.do›[209]
AIC	*ɔmɔ-r	丙谷 ‹omo.^{e}r›[210]		
ABL	*ɔmɔ-dəi	丙矢天 ‹omo.de.i›[211] (?)		

[204] For example: 又 丙 几只必 舟勿 毛 ‘His elder wife had one son’ (*HsTi* 15: 17-21; Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 91). See Nieh & Sun (2008: 88-89) and Tang (2011: 197) on the reading of the grapheme 丙 as “omo”, which I revise to *ɔmɔ.

[205] For example: 口 非 父 今丙谷 屯 圣 仝号史 巫业冬 斗 又安及 承平 屯 乇 灵 业及肉 ‘That time was the twelfth Blue Tiger year of the Celestial Gathering reign period, in mid-winter, on the fourteenth day’ (*Lang* 4:14-5:9).

[206] For example: 今奴虫 关关 六夯 丙公 几和及 赤[糸] 去必 ‘Funerary inscription of Hsüan-i, Earth Mother’ (*Hsüan* 1:4). See Kane (2009) on the revision to 糸.

[207] For example: 今杏 非尒 ‘night time-GEN’ (*HsHui* 11: 8-9).

[208] For example: 丙矢 尒关秀仝舟伏 才幺火 ... 赤谷 ‘[SUBJ] wrote … for the mother [and] the filial elder brother’ (*YChüeh* 8: 1-9). This sentence indicates that one strategy for coordination in Middle Kitan is simple juxtaposition of inflected nouns.

[209] For example: 今杰当 非朱 ‘at the time when she died’ (*Hsüan* 24: 12).

[210] For example: 丙谷 … 可谷 ‘[SUBJ] buried the Mother …’ (*Hsüan* 10:24-11:1).

[211] At least superficially, this appears to be an ablative case form; however, the sentential context in which it occurs (*Tao* 33: 26) is largely undecipherable. As such, we cannot determine with certainty whether this is an ablative case form or something else.

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Table 39. Case paradigm of Middle Kitan *ɔrdu

	‘palace, court’	
N-A_{INDEF}	*ɔrdu	米 ‹ordu›[212]
GEN	*ɔrdu-n	米及央 ‹ordu.u^{w}.un›[213]
DL	*ɔrdu-du	反米及厄 ‹o.ordu.u^{w}.du›[214]
AIC	*ɔrdu-r	米及伦 ‹ordu.u^{w}.ur›[215]
ABL	*ɔrdu-dui	米爭 厄关 ‹ordu.u› ‹du.i›[216]

[212] *Hsü* (11:18). Note also the variants *ɔrdu 反米及 ‹o.ordu.u^{w}› (*Ku* 13:7), *ɔrdu 米及 ‹ordu.u^{w}› (*Hsü* 25:21), and *ɔrdu 米廾 ‹ordu.u› (*YP’u* 11: 13). For example: 公乃安 米廾 ‘autumn court’ (*YP’u* 11: 12-13).

[213] For example: 米及央 忍付 ‘Grand Protector of the Court’ (*Ling* 17:3). Note also the form 米尒 ‹ordu.on›, attested in *Hsü* (58:13) according to Chinggeltei et al. (1985).

[214] *Tao* (5:20). Note also 米及厄 in *Hsing* (2:17) and 米廾厄 (*YChüeh* 14: 25). For example: 米廾厄 爪央公屮及 ‘He arrived at the tent palace’ (*YChüeh* 14: 25-26).

[215] For example: 米及伦 亚爭 ‘court commander’ (*HsTi* 10:9; Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 80), literally probably ‘court-AIC command-DVN’.

[216] For example: 米爭 厄关 小 为 今屮岔万 仍公 ‘He …$_{V.CVB}$ and …$_{V.PST♂}$ to the southeast of the tent palace (lit. ‘from the tent palace’) and…’ (*Jen-hsien* 33: 28-32); see also Oyuunch 2007: 81). The fact that this suffix is written in a separate block is unremarkable, since several other case suffixes are commonly attested in separate graphemic blocks, as shown by Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010).

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Table 40. Case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns ending in /w/

	‘younger brother’	
N-A_{INDEF}	*dəw	𘮜 ‹deu›[217]
GEN	*dəw-un	𘮜𘮞 ‹deu.un›[218]
	*dəw-ən	𘮜𘮟 ‹deu.en›[219]
DL	*dəw-də	𘮜𘮠 ‹deu.de›[220]
	*dəw-du	𘮜𘮡 ‹deu.du›[221]
AIC	*dəw-ur	𘮜𘮢 ‹deu.ur›[222]
ABL	*dəw-dui	𘮜𘮡𘮣 ‹deu.du.i›[223] (?)

[217] For example: 𘮤 𘮥 𘮦𘮧𘮟 𘮨𘮩𘮪 𘮜 𘮫𘮬 𘮭𘮯 𘮦𘮰 𘮱𘮲𘮳 𘮴𘮵𘮶 ‘The younger brother of the Emperor of the Great Golden State, Campaign Commander, Military Commissioner, Court Attendant’ (*Lang* 1:1-10).

[218] For example: 𘮷 𘮜𘮞 𘮸𘮹 𘮺𘮻 𘮼𘮽 𘮾 𘮿 𘯀𘯁𘯂 𘯃 𘯄𘯅 𘯆 𘯇𘯈 𘯉𘯊 𘯋𘯌𘯍 𘯎𘯏 𘯐𘯑 𘯒𘯓 𘯔𘯕 𘯖𘯗𘯘 ‘[She] was given in marriage to the house of Grand Preceptor *Tu *Nu of the house of Prince *Sin of the junior uncles (lit. ‘of the younger fathers/men of the brothers’)’ (*HsTi* 24: 7-19; for the semantic decipherment of this passage, see Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 102-103).

[219] For example: 𘯙𘯚 𘯛𘯜𘯝𘯞𘯟 𘯠𘯡𘯢𘯣 𘯤 𘮜𘯂 𘯥𘯦𘯧𘯨𘯩𘯪 𘯫𘯬𘯭 𘯮𘯯𘯰 𘯱𘯲 𘯳𘯴𘯵 ‘The funerary inscription of *Kuyrgən *Šm of the brothers of the prime minister of the maternal uncles of the external clans’ (*HsHui.C* 2:1-3:4; for the semantic decipherment of this passage, see Oyuunch 2012: 32).

[220] For example: 𘯶𘯜𘯝 𘯤 𘮜𘯷 ‘to the brothers of the emperor’ (*YChüeh* 3: 21-23).

[221] For example: 𘯤 𘮜𘮡 𘯸𘯹𘯺𘯻𘯼 ‘SUBJ was[?] friendly to [his] brothers’ (*HsHu* 22:41-23:1). Oyuunch (2012: 203) translates 𘯸𘯹𘯺𘯻𘯼 as ‘harmonious (和睦)’.

[222] For example: 𘯽𘯂 𘯾𘯿 𘮜𘯀 𘯁𘯁 𘯂𘯃 𘯄𘯅 𘯆𘯇𘯈𘯉𘯊 𘯋𘯌𘯍𘯎 ‘He drank wine and made merry with [his] younger brothers the local officials, and then returned’ (*Lang* 4:7-13).

[223] For example: 𘮜𘮡𘮣 𘯏𘯐 𘯋𘯒 𘯓𘯔𘯕𘯖 𘯋𘯌 𘯁𘯁 𘯆𘯇𘯈 ‘From [his] younger brother … was given as … by the concubine’s household’ (?) (*HsHu* 23:10).

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Table 41. Case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns ending in /m/ and /n/

	‘city, fortified settlement, region’[224]	
NOM-ACC$_{INDEF}$	*əm	𘮩 ‹em›[225]
GEN	*əm-ən	𘮩 𘮞 ‹em.en›[226]
DL		
AIC	*əm-s-ər *(pl.)*	𘮩 𘮜 𘮃 ‹em.s.^{e}r›[227] (?)
ABL	*əm-dər	𘮩 𘮆 𘮃 ‹em.d.^{e}r›[228] (?)

[224] See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 89) for the semantic value of this word.

[225] For example: 𘮇 𘮁𘮈 𘮩 𘮜 𘮀𘮆 𘮩 𘮞 𘮜 𘮁𘮈 [R: 𘮜 𘮁] 𘮁𘮈 𘮀𘮈 𘮜 𘮇 𘮁𘮈 𘮀𘮈 𘮜 𘮩 𘮜 𘮇 𘮞 𘮁𘮈 𘮀𘮈 𘮜 𘮩 𘮜 𘮇 𘮃 𘮁𘮈 𘮀𘮈 ‘He was conferred the title of … Supreme General (上將軍) and Governor General (度使) of the region of *Dɔu and the region of *Tam, and …’ (*HsTi* 14:13-24; Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 89-90).

[226] For example: 𘮇 𘮞 𘮩 𘮞 𘮀𘮈 𘮜 𘮩 𘮇 𘮃 𘮁𘮈 ‘He was awarded an official title of his father’s region’ (*YChüeh* 32: 45-48) and 𘮩 𘮞 𘮀𘮈 𘮜 𘮃 ‘local officials’ (*Lang* 4: 8-9). See also *HsTi* (14:16).

[227] *Hsü* (23:28) according to Chinggeltei et al. (1985) and Chinggeltei (2002: 157).

[228] Attested in *Tao* (20: 7) but the meaning is unclear from the context. This sequence of graphemes is also attested in *HsHui* (15: 17), which Oyuunch (2012: 43) glosses interlinearly as ‘city (城)’. Tentatively I translate 𘮁𘮜 𘮇𘮈 𘮩 𘮞 𘮀𘮈 𘮜 𘮃 as ‘from the city where the commander was born …’ (*HsHui* 15: 15-17).

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Table 42. Case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns ending in /m/ and /n/

	‘generation’	
NOM-ACC$_{INDEF}$	*nɔn	公尒 ‹n.on›[229]
GEN	*nɔn-ən	公尒朷 ‹n.on.en›[230]
	*nɔn-s-ən *(pl.)*	公尒仝朷 ‹n.on.s.en›[231]
DL	*nɔn-də	公尒矣 ‹n.on.de›[232]
AIC	*nɔn-ər	公尒爻[233] ‹n.on.ᵉr› (?)
	*nɔn-s-ər *(pl.)*	公尒仝爻 ‹n.on.s.er›[234] (?)
ABL		

[229] For example: 令帀及扎 公尒 ‘fifth generation’ (*Kao* 13: 2-3).

[230] For example: 令尒及扎 公尒朷 生 ᡯ ‘forefather of the fifth generation’ (*YChüeh* 3: 50-53).

[231] For example: 罕 公尒仝朷 ᡯ ‘emperor of four generations’ (*YChüeh* 2: 29-31).

[232] For example: 及 公尒矣 ‘for ten thousand generations’ (*HsHu* 17: 14-15).

[233] Attested in *HsHui* (26: 26) but the meaning is unclear from context. This wordform is also identified by Oyuunch & Janhunen in *YHsiang* (37:14), who propose that it is an instrumental case form (Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 208). They are probably correct.

[234] This wordform is attested in *YChüeh* (44:37). Although the context provides no clues on its meaning, it must be a plural form of 公尒 ‘generation’ with the accusative-instrumental-comitative case suffix.

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Table 43. Case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns ending in velar nasals

	‘palace’		‘prince’	
NOM-ACC$_{INDF}$	*giwŋ	𐲁𐲘𐲤 ‹g.iu.ung›[235]	*ɔŋ	𐲤 ‹ong›[236]
GEN	*giwŋ-un	𐲁𐲘𐲤𐲦 ‹g.iu.ung.un›[237]	*ɔŋ-ɔn	𐲤𐲠 ‹ong.on›[238]
			*ɔŋ-ən	𐲤𐲡 ‹ong.en›[239]
DL	*giwŋ-du	𐲁𐲘𐲤𐲢 ‹g.iu.ung.du›[240]	*ɔŋ-du	𐲤𐲢 ‹ong.du›[241]
AIC				
ABL	*giwŋ-dur	𐲁𐲘𐲤𐲢𐲣 ‹g.iu.ung.du.ᵉr›[242]		

[235] For example: 𐲁𐲘𐲤 𐲥𐲘𐲧 ‘the palace halls’ (*Lang* 2: 9-10).

[236] For example: 𐲥𐲘 𐲁𐲦 𐲩 𐲤 ‘The Great Prince of the State of Ch’in’ (*YChüeh* 19: 40-43).

[237] For example: 𐲂𐲝 𐲁𐲘𐲤𐲦 𐲫𐲧 𐲁𐲦 𐲂𐲣 𐲥𐲘 ‘Military Governor (統軍使相) of the Eastern Palace’ (*HsTi* 10:11-16; Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 80-81) and 𐲥 𐲫 [R: 𐲥𐲫] 𐲁𐲘𐲤𐲦 𐲫𐲧 𐲁𐲦 𐲂𐲣 ‘Military Governor of the Southern Palace’ (*HsTi* 10:23-11:3; Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 81).

[238] For example: 𐲤𐲠 𐲥𐲙 𐲁𐲘𐲤𐲦 𐲬𐲘 𐲅𐲣 ‘regent (*liu-shou* 留守) of the … prince’s western palace’ (*YChüeh* 20: 53-57). This genitive case form is also written in separate graphemic blocks as 𐲤 𐲠 (e.g. *YChüeh* 45: 11; *HsTi* 8: 16).

[239] For example: 𐲥𐲘 𐲤𐲡 𐲇𐲠𐲡 𐲥𐲠𐲅 𐲁𐲦 𐲂𐲣 ‘General *Tadəñ of the family of the Prince of Ch’in’ (*HsHui* 7: 18-23).

[240] For example: 𐲁𐲘𐲤𐲢 ‘in/at/for/to the palace’, attested in *YChüeh* (16: 13), although the precise meaning is not clear from the context. This wordform appears as 𐲁𐲘𐲜𐲢 ‹g.iu.ge.du› in *Hsing* (33:10) and 𐲁𐲘𐲬𐲢 ‹g.iu.ud.du› in *Hsing* (3:8) and *Hsüan* (15:20). These are obviously typographical errors for 𐲁𐲘𐲤𐲢 ‹g.iu.ung.du› resulting from the superficial resemblance among the graphemes 𐲜 ‹ge›, 𐲬 ‹ud›, and 𐲤 ‹ung›.

[241] For example: 𐲥 𐲤𐲢 ‘to the Great Prince’ (*YChüeh* 26: 35-36).

[242] For example: 𐲁𐲘𐲤𐲢𐲣 𐲪𐲫𐲨 𐲭𐲯 𐲘𐲪 ‘From the palace [the emperor?] issued a … edict’ (*Hsü* 11:25-28).

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Table 44. Case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns ending in /r/

	‘tomb’	
NOM-ACC$_{INDF}$	*nar	公𘬀 ‹n.ar›[243]
GEN	*nar-ən	公𘬀𘬁 ‹n.ar.en›[244]
DL	*nar-də	公𘬀矢 ‹n.ar.de›[245]
AIC		
ABL		

Table 45. Case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns ending in /r/

	‘country’	
NOM-ACC$_{INDF}$	*gur	𠃌𘓐 ‹g.ur›[246]
GEN	*gur-ən	𠃌𘓐𘬁 ‹g.ur.en›[247]
DL	*gur-də	𠃌𘓐矢 ‹g.ur.de›[248]
AIC		
ABL		

[243] For example: 公及 𘐀𘐪𘐀𘬁 为乃伏 公𘬀 ‘the … tomb of [his] spouse, the Lady’ (*YHsiang* 45: 7-10; Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 218). See also Kane (2009: 123 §3.220). Note that my reading of the graphemes differs considerably from Kane (2009), who gives the reading ‹ne.ra›. It is clear that the grapheme 公 denotes a single consonant ‹n› (see its use as a genitive suffix for *ɔmɔ 丙 ‘female, mother, woman’ above) and that 𘬀 denotes ‹ar› as in the Kitan word for ‘right’ (see Chapter Eight entry for MKit *baran). See also Shimunek (2011a: 102b).

[244] Attested in *HsTi* (39: 9), although the meaning of this wordform is not clear from context.

[245] For example: 𘐀𘐪 方伏 𘐀各火 公𘬀矢 𘐪𠃌为 𘐀𘐪只平及 𘐀𘐪比 ‘together with an epitaph and preface for the tomb of Field Marshal (詳稳) *Lyɛnñ’ (*YHsiang* 1: 6-11; Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 137-138).

[246] For example: 𠃌𘓐 𘐀卡只平𘐪及 ‘the country celebrated’ (*YHsiang* (5:1-2; Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 147).

[247] For example: 又 𘐀𘐫分 北𘐪 买关 𠃌𘓐𘬁 𘐪𘐪𘐪 𘐀及 𘐀𘐪𘐪 北 𠃌亦 𘐪𘐪 𘐀𘐪𠃌亦… ‘The late …, Supreme General of the Left Dragon Tiger Army of the Great Central Liao Kitan State’ (*YChüeh* 1: 1-17; Oyuunch 2012: 270).

[248] For example: 𘐀 𠃌𘓐矢 ‘for/to/in the state of Wu (吳國)’ (*HsTi* 32: 12-13; Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 112). The precise meaning is not clear from the context.

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Table 46. Case paradigms of Middle Kitan nouns ending in other consonants

	‘writing, script, scripture’	
NOM-ACC$_{INDF}$	*…g	𘥈𘤪 ‹■.g›[249]
	*…g-d *(pl.)*	𘥈𘤪𘠽 ‹■.g.d›[250]
GEN	*…g-ən	𘥈𘤪𘠋 ‹■.g.en›[251]
DL	*…g-də	𘥈𘤪𘠻 ‹■.g.de›[252]
AIC	*…g-ər	𘥈𘤪𘠹 ‹■.g.^{e}r›[253]
ABL		

[249] For example: 𘠻𘠽 𘠾𘠿𘠼 𘥈𘤪 𘠁𘠂𘠄 𘠽𘠿 𘠻𘠼𘠄𘠽𘠾 ‘…was composed … in the Kitan and Chinese scripts’ (*YHsiang* 9: 20-25; Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 158). *Hsüan* (30:1) etc.

[250] For example: 𘠽 𘥈𘤪𘠽 ‘the two scripts’ (*YChüeh* 20:15).

[251] This wordform is attested in such texts as *YHsiang* (46:19), *HsHu* (12:45), and *Jen-i* (32:4), but the precise meaning is not clear from context.

[252] For example: 𘠾𘠿 𘥈𘤪𘠻 𘠿𘠾 ‘it is also said in the scripture’ (*YHsiang* 37: 26-28; Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 208).

[253] For example: 𘠿𘠹 𘥈𘤪𘠹 𘠻𘠼𘠄𘠽 ‘composed in Sung writing [i.e. Chinese] and …’ (*HTi* 7: 34-36). See Aisin Gioro Ulhicun (2004: 137) for the identification of this passage.

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Table 47. Middle Kitan irregular (lexicalized) case forms

	‘tent’		‘child’	
NOM-ACC$_{INDF}$	*gɔr	𘮩𘰾 ‹go.^{e}r›[254]	*baq	𘰾𘰇 ‹b.aq›[255]
GEN	*gɔr-ən	𘮩𘰾𘰀 ‹go.^{e}r.en›[256]	*baq-i	𘰾𘰇𘰽 ‹b.aq.i›[257]
DL	*gɔt	𘮩 𘰿 ‹go› ‹t›[258]	*baq-də	𘰾𘰇𘰺 ‹b.aq.de›[259]
AIC				
ABL				

As the table above shows, Kitan has a fusional dative-locative case form for ‘tent’ and a lexicalized genitive for ‘child’.

[254] For example: 𘲡𘲢 𘮩𘰾 𘳿𘴰𘲇𘰾 ‘… was given by the concubine’s household’ (*HsHu* 23: 13-15). Occasionally this case form is written in two separate graphemic blocks, i.e. 𘮩 𘰾 ‹go› ‹^{e}r›, e.g. *HTi* (7: 43; Liu et al. 2009: 28, 493).

[255] For example: 𘱴𘳒𘰚𘰸 𘰾𘰇 ‘the child of the prime minister’ (*HsTi* 13:10-11). This case form is occasionally written vertically, e.g. *HsTi* (12: 27).

[256] For example: 𘰿𘲢 𘴈 𘰸 𘮩𘰾𘰀 𘲍 𘰚𘲇 𘳒 𘳒𘰀 𘮩 𘰿 𘲇𘴰𘰚𘲍 ‘[She] was given in marriage to the house of Grand Preceptor *Tu *Nu of the house of Prince *Sin’ (*HsTi* 24: 7-19). For the semantic decipherment of this passage, see Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 102-103).

[257] For example: 𘰾𘰇𘰽 𘰾𘰇 ‘grandchild (lit. child of child)’ (*Tao* 7: 26).

[258] For example: 𘳒 𘳒𘰀 𘮩 𘰿 𘲇𘴰𘰚𘲍 ‘She was given in marriage to the house of the Grand Preceptor’ (*HsTi* 24: 15-19). This case form is usually written with two separate graphemes, i.e. 𘮩 𘰿 ‹go› ‹t›, although occasionally it is written in a single graphemic block, i.e. 𘮩𘰿 ‹go.t›.

[259] For example: 𘰾𘰇𘰽 𘰾𘰀𘲇𘲍 𘳑𘳿𘰚 ‘said … to the child’ (?) (*YChüeh* 9: 41-43).

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Table 48. Partially suppletive paradigm of Middle Kitan *mir 'horse'

	'horse'	
NOM-ACC$_{INDF}$	*mir	又仇 ‹m.ir›[260]
	*mir-d *(plural?)*	又仇父 ‹m.ir.d›[261] (?)
GEN	*mir-ən	又仇利 ‹m.ir.en›[262] (?)
DL		
AIC	*mir-ər ~ *mir-ɔr	又仇父 ‹m.ir.^{e}r›[263] (?) ~ 又仇仝 ‹m.ir.or›[264] (?)
ABL	*mir-dəi	又仇矢关 ‹m.ir.de.i›[265]

Nominative-Indefinite Accusative Case (NOM)

Like Modern Mongolian, Middle Kitan conflated nominative and indefinite accusative.[266] Neither of these cases is denoted with affixes (or, alternatively, both are denoted with a null affix -Ø).

Examples of the nominative include the following:

凡丙尗	令交夯	...	沙	扎屮列父
‹g.iu.ung›	‹t.iê.ên›	…	‹gi›	‹γo.l.γ.^{e}r›
*giwŋtyɛn-**Ø**		…	*gi	*ɢɔl-ʁə-r (or *ɢəl-ɣə-r ?)
palace.halls-**NOM**		…	NEG	see-CP-PST

'The **palace halls** … were not seen.' (*Lang* 2: 9-3:1).

[260] For example: 又仇 不令北 囲 劣交屮 'He passed away while riding a horse' (*YHsiang* 12: 19-22).

[261] Attested in *Chung* (11:28). This is probably a plural form with the plural suffix *-d, but the precise meaning of this wordform is not clear from context..

[262] Attested in *YChüeh* (22: 23) and *Hsing* (11:23), but the meaning is not clear from context.

[263] Attested in *YChüeh* (29: 33) and *Chung* (11:19), but the meaning is not clear from context.

[264] Attested in *Chung* (12:23), but the meaning is not clear from context.

[265] For example: 又仇矢关 不关 劣交屮 '[he] fell from a horse and passed away' (*HsHu* 16: 15-17).

[266] See Thompson (2008) for notes on Modern Khalkha cases.

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‹eñ.■› ‹ǰur.en› ‹š.ên› ‹p.o.ǰ.Awr›
*əñ… *ǰur-ən-**Ø** *šɛn *pɔǰ-awr
? painting-PL-**NOM** new become-CVB
‘the **paintings** had become new [again], and…’ (*Lang* 3: 13-16).

See below for examples of the indefinite accusative:


‹m.ir› ‹on.s.Awr› ‹■309› ‹tu.ur.beñ›
*mir-**Ø** *ɔn-sawr *… *tur-bəñ
horse-**ACC$_{INDF}$** ride-ATMP.CVB … die-PST.VN
‘He died … while riding **a horse**’ (*YHsiang* 12:19-22).[267]


‹l.i› ‹č.eu.en› ‹nai.d.ᵉr› ‹b.ang.ɣ.ai›
*li *čəw-ən *nay-d-ər *baŋɢa-y
Li province-GEN official-PL-AIC issue.orders-CVB


‹š.de› ‹uʷ.ǰ.d› ‹■› ‹s.qo.■.l.ɣa.Al.ᵉñ›
*šdə *uǰd-**Ø** *… *sqɔ…-lʁa-ləñ.
? craftsmen-**ACC$_{INDF}$** ? repair-CP-PST
‘He ordered the officials of Li province to **have some craftsmen**… repair [the palace]…’ (*Lang* 3: 2-9).

[267] See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 166) for the decipherment of this sentence. Note that I have revised their translation. The phonological reconstruction here is my own.

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Genitive-Attributive Case (GEN)

Examples of the genitive case include the following:

仿㠯朷	亚考	屮冏矢	𠂢火朮
‹ta.ang.**en**›	‹ki.ên›	‹l.ing.de›	‹k.ui.č›
*taŋ-**ən**	*kyɛnliŋ-də		*kuy-č
T’ang-**GEN**	Ch’ien.ling-DL		arrive-CVB

‘He arrived at the Ch’ien-ling Tombs **of** the T’ang and…’ (*Lang* 2: 5-8).

𠂤尒	今㠯反冉	𢀛勿
‹ong.on›	‹t.ad.o.on›	‹b.aq›
*ɔŋ-**ɔn**	*ta-dɔn	*baq
prince-**GEN**	five-ORD♀	child

‘the prince**’s** fifth daughter’ (*Ku* 3: 13-15).

The suffix also has an attributive usage, appearing on certain cardinal numerals modifying nouns, similar to the ‘hidden *-n*’ of Modern Mongolian.[268] Note the following:

丣朷	土𡆥
‹ǰau.**en**›	‹eu.ur›
*ǰaw-**ən**	*əwr
hundred-**ATTR**	age

‘one hundred years of age’
(*YHsiang* 35: 3-4)[269]

𠬜火	𣏌化
‹tau.**un**›	‹u^{w}.ur›
*taw-**un**	*uwr
five-**ATTR**	division

‘the Five Divisions’
(*YHsiang* 7: 15-16).[270]

[268] See Thompson (2008) for a study of the ‘hidden *-n*’ in modern Khalkha Mongolian.

[269] See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 205) for discussion. The phonological reconstruction and morpheme glosses above are my own.

[270] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 152) treat 火 as a genitive suffix.

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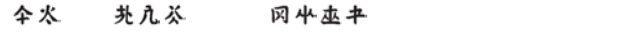
Accusative-Instrumental-Comitative Case (AIC)

This case denotes definite accusative, instrumental, and comitative.


‹č.ur.ᵉr› ‹b.aq› … ‹two♂› ‹qa.γa.ad.ᵉr› ‹r.l› ‹ge.ᵉr›
*čur-ər *baq … *ǰur[ʔ] *qaʁad-**ər** *r-lgə-r
two-ORD♂ child … two khan.PL-**AIC** serve-CP-PST.VN♂
'the second son… was caused to **serve the two khans**.'[271] *(definite accusative).*


‹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


‹š.de› ‹uʷ.ǰ.d› ‹■› ‹s.qo.■.l.γa.Al.ᵉñ›
*šdə *uǰd-Ø *… *sqɔ…-lʁa-ləñ.
? craftsmen-ACC$_{INDF}$? repair-CP-PST
'He ordered **the** officials of Li province to have some craftsmen… repair…' [272] (*definite accusative*).


‹s.ung› ‹■.g.ᵉr› ‹COMPOSE.l.γa.ai›
*suŋ *…g-**ər** *…lʁa-y
Sung writing-**AIC** compose-CP-PFV.CNV
'composed **in** Sung writing [i.e. Chinese] and…'[273] (*instrumental*).

---

[271] *YTi* (8:37-9:3). See also Aisin Gioro (2004: 136) and Kane (2009: 132). In the original text, the verb *r-lgə-r 'he was caused to serve' appears to be written as ‹r.l› ‹ge.ᵉr› in two graphemic compounds (*YTi* 9: 2-3). See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010) for numerous examples of inflected Middle Kitan words written in separate graphemic blocks which do not correspond to syllable or morpheme boundaries.

[272] *Lang* (3: 2-9).

[273] *HTi* (7: 34-36). See also Aisin Gioro (2004: 137) and Kane (2009: 132).

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𠂤𠂉	𠂆	𠂤𠂢	𠂤𠂤𠂢𠂉	𠂤𠂉𠂉
‹eu.ur›	‹■›	‹t.ur›	‹s.em.Awr.ᵉr›	‹t.ge.ᵉr›
*əwr	*…	*tur	*səməwr-**ər**	*tgə-r
age	thirty	four	illness-**AIC**	die-PST.VN♂

‘He passed away [at] the age of 34 **due to** illness.’[274] (*instrumental* denoting cause).

𠂤	𠂤	𠂤𠂤	𠂤[𠂉?]𠂉	𠂤𠂢𠂤	𠂤𠂤	𠂤𠂉𠂉
‹ǰur›	‹tum›	‹𠂤𠂤›	‹čau.ur?.ᵉr›	‹š.Al.𠂤›	‹𠂤.de›	‹k.ui.ǰ›
*ǰur	*tum	*…	*čawr?-**ər**	*šal…	*…-də	*kuy-ǰ
two	ten.thousand	?	troops(?)-**AIC**	P.N	mountain-DL	arrive-CVB

‘[They] arrived at *šal… Mountain **with** 20,000 … troops, and ....’[275] (*comitative*).

𠂤𠂇	𠂤𠂉	𠂢𠂉	𠂤𠂤	𠂤𠂉	𠂤𠂉𠂉𠂤𠂉	𠂤𠂢𠂉
‹em.en›	‹nai.d›	‹deu.**ur**›	‹WINE342.b›	‹êm.č›	‹k.i.ši.uw.ui›	‹p.od.l.ᵉñ›
*əm-ən	*nay-d	*dəw-**ur**	*…b	*ɛm-č	*kišyuw-i	*pɔd-ləñ.
city-GEN	official-PL	younger.brother-**AIC**	wine	drink-CVB	be.merry-CVB	return-PST

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

Dative-Locative Case (DL)

Examples of the dative-locative case include the following:

𠂤𠂤𠂇	𠂢𠂉	𠂆𠂤𠂉	𠂉𠂉𠂉
‹ta.ang.en›	‹ki.ên›	‹l.ing.**de**›	‹k.ui.č›
*taŋ-ən	*kyɛnliŋ-**də**		*kuy-č
T’ang-GEN	Ch’ien.ling-**DL**		arrive-CVB

‘He arrived **at** the Ch’ien-ling Tombs of the T’ang and…’ (*Lang* 2: 5-8).

---

[274] *Hung* (11: 22-26). See also Oyuunch (2007: 76), but note that Oyuunch gives the erroneous form 𠂤𠂆 ‹tir› instead of 𠂤𠂢 ‹tur›. In the rubbing of the original text published in Liu et al. (2009: 56, plate 54), the text clearly has 𠂢 ‹ur› and not 𠂆 ‹ir›.

[275] *Jen-hsien* (41:73-42:2). Oyuunch’s reading of this sentence (Oyuunch 2007: 75) requires revision. See the rubbing of the original text as published in Chinggeltei (2002).

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今太当	北朱
‹t.ge.en›	‹po.**do**›
*tgə-n	*pɔ-**dɔ**
die-PST.VN♀	time-**DL**

‘**at** the time she died’ (*Hsüan* 24: 12).[276]

There are also instances of lexicalized dative-locatives, e.g. *gɔt ‘to the tent/house’ in the sentence below:[277]

忒	兀利	曲	今	及平太与
‹tai›	‹šï.en›	‹go›	‹t›	‹u^{w}.wl.ge.en›
*tayši-ən		*gɔt		*uw-lgə-n
grand.preceptor-GEN		tent.**DL**		give-CP-PST.VN♀

‘She was given in marriage **to** the house of the Grand Preceptor.’ (*HsTi* 24: 15-19).

Ablative Case (ABL)

The ablative case is less well attested than the other Middle Kitan cases. Nevertheless, there are still good examples, such as the following:

九丙太尺忒	业本伏	叔金	雨仝
‹g.iu.ung.du.^{e}r›	‹p.ar.ñ›	‹k.em›	‹■.or›
*giwŋ-**dur**	*parñ	*kəm	*…ɔ-r.
palace-**ABL**	?	edict	issue-PST.VN♂

‘**from** the palace [the emperor] issued a … edict.’ (*Hsü* 11: 25-28).[278]

---

[276] See also Kane (2009: 221). The phonological reconstruction and morpheme glosses given above are my own.

[277] As shown by Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 102). The phonological reconstruction presented here is my own. See also Kane (2009: 138 §4.13) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 94) for other lexicalized dative-locatives.

[278] See Kane (2009: 37 §2.017) on the semantic value of the verbal root 雨 ‹■$_{017}$› as corresponding to 奉 MSC *feng* ‘to present to a superior or receive from a superior’. Here it is attested in the meaning ‘receive from a superior’, although elsewhere (e.g. the Lang-

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7.3.2.3. Number

Middle Kitan nouns and certain demonstratives inflect for number. Plural suffixes appear to be largely lexicalized (i.e. not phonologically conditioned). For example, *ay-d 𘮞𘰾 'fathers' vs. *ay-s 𘮞𘰿 'years', where the otherwise homophonous *ay 𘮞 'father' and *ay 𘮞 'year' are distinguished by lexicalized plural suffixes.[279]

There is also a lexicalized plural suffix for certain nouns denoting humans, i.e. MKit *-ñər 伏𘰾 ‹.ñ.ᵉr› (and its free variant *-ñəñ 伏𘰿 ‹.ñ.ᵉñ›).[280] Note the examples below:

伏𘰽伏𘰾	包
‹ñ.iau.ñ.ᵉr›	‹THREE○›
*ñaw-**ñər**	*Gur
sibling-**PL**	three○

'There were three siblings.'
(*Ku* 17: 3-4).

伏𘰽伏𘰿	亦
‹ñ.iau.ñ.ᵉñ›	‹SIX♂›
*ñaw-**ñəñ**	*…
sibling-**PL**	six♂

'There were six siblings.'
(*Yung* 14: 26-27).

尔伏𘰾	弔
‹au.ñ.ᵉr›	‹FOUR○›
*aw-**ñər**	*dur
lady-**PL**	four○

'There were four ladies.'
(*Ku* 17: 1-2).

为伏𘰿	丞
‹deu.ñ.ᵉñ›	‹TWO♂›
*dəw-**ñəñ**	*ǰur?
younger.brother-**PL**	two♂

'SUBJ had two younger brothers.'
(*Chen* 46: 7-8).

---

chün Inscription), it is also attested in the sense of 'to present to a superior'. Although the phonetic value of this grapheme is not fully known, the fact that its past tense form takes 𘰾 ‹.or› indicates that 𘮞 probably includes the vowel *ɔ, i.e. the grapheme 𘮞 should be read ‹…o› or, less likely, ‹…o…›.

[279] See Chinggeltei (2002) and Kane (2009: 49) for the identification of 𘮞𘰾 as 'fathers' and 𘮞𘰿 as 'years'.

[280] See Chapter Eight for Mongolic cognates.

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丞	𠂤生欠孓	...	𠂤刘出	𠂇伏爻
‹ñêm›	‹č.ᵉbu.qo.on›	…	‹b.γ.an›	‹deu.ñ.ᵉr›
*ñɛm	*čəbuqɔ-n	…	*bʁan	*dəw-**ñər**
eight	Tsupu	…	children	younger.brother-**PL**

‘The … children and younger brother**s** of the eight Tsu-pu …’ (*Jen-hsien* 46: 57-63).

There is also a phonologically conditioned allomorph of this suffix, *-ər 爻 ‹.ᵉr› ~ *-əñ 叉 ‹.ᵉñ› (in free variation with each other), attested after noun stems ending in */n/.[281] Note the examples below:

刘爻	力丵出爻
‹bu.d›	‹na.γa.an.ᵉr›
*bud	*naʁan-**ər**
external.clans	maternal.uncle-**PL**

‘maternal uncle**s** of the external clans’ (*YP’u* 7: 18-19).

刘爻	力丵出爻叉	刘化欠孓	刁	𠂇朩	刁祭伏
‹bu.d›	‹na.γa.an.ᵉr.en›	‹ǰa.ir.qo.on›	‹ia›	‹deu.un›	‹qutuq.ñ›[282]
*bud	*naʁan-**ər**-ən	*ǰayrqɔ-n	*ya	*dəw-un	*qutuqñ
external.clans	uncle-**PL**-GEN	minister-GEN	elder.brother	younger.brother-GEN	pers.n

‘*Qutuqñ, of the brothers of the prime minister of the maternal uncle**s** of the external clans’ (*YChüeh* 31:55-32:11).

刘爻	力丵出叉	刘化欠孓	刁	𠂇朩	𠂆夬化𠂤𠂉
‹bu.d›	‹na.γa.an.ᵉñ›	‹ǰa.ir.qo.on›	‹ia›	‹deu.en›	‹k.ui.ir.ge.en›
*bud	*naʁan-**əñ**	*ǰayrqɔ-n	*ya	*dəw-ən	*kuyrgən
external.clans	uncle-**PL**	minister-GEN	elder.brother	younger.brother-GEN	pers.n

‘*Kuyrgən of the brothers of the prime minister of the maternal uncle**s** of the external clans’ (*HsHui.C* 2: 1-6).

---

[281] It is very likely that this allomorph was attached to noun stems ending in consonants in general, but I have currently only been able to identify instances of this allomorph after noun stems ending in */n/.

[282] Previous scholarship has read 刁祭 (two separate graphemes) but in the original texts this is a single grapheme 𠂇祭 as demonstrated by Kane (2009).

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又	今艹今	买关	几安村	刘公	力业出叉村	今小本当
‹GREAT›	‹t.iau.rdu›	‹qɪta.i›	‹gur.en›	‹bu.d›	‹na.γa.an.^{e}ñ.en›	‹t.l.ge.en›
*…	*tyawrdu	*qɪta-i	*gur-ən	*bud	*naʁan-**əñ**-ən	*tlgən
great	central	Kitan-GEN	state-GEN	external.clans	uncle-**PL**-GEN	pers.n

‘*Tlgən of the maternal uncle**s** of the external clans of the Great Central Kitan State’ (*HsHu* 1: 6).

Certain Middle Kitan nouns are attested with the lexicalized plural suffix *-an ~ *-ən, cognate to the Middle Mongol lexicalized plural suffix *-n, e.g. MKit *ǰur-ən 丞当 ‹ǰur.en› ‘paintings’[283] and *bʁan 舟列出 ‹b.γ.an› ‘children’[284] vs. *baq 舟力 ‹b.aq› ‘child’ (unmarked for number).[285]

See §7.3.2.1.2 ‘Demonstratives’ and §7.3.2.1.5 ‘Numerals’ above for more examples of overt plural marking in Middle Kitan.

7.3.3. Middle Kitan syntax

7.3.3.1. Clausal Order

Middle Kitan is characterized by SV and OV basic clausal order. See the sentences in §7.3.4 ‘A Middle Kitan Text’ below for examples.

Like Mongolic, Turkic, Tungusic, Chinese, Russian, Classical Tibetan, informal spoken Korean, and many other Eastern Eurasian languages,[286] Middle Kitan syntax permits fully grammatical sentences formed purely of nouns, with nominal subjects and nominal predicates, completely lacking verbs, i.e. [N_{Subj} N_{Pred}]. Note the following examples:

[283] For example, *Lang* (3: 13).

[284] For example, *YHsiang* (18: 6).

[285] *HsTi* (13: 11).

[286] Aramaic also permits predicative sentences with no explicit predicative verb (Christopher I. Beckwith, p.c., June 21, 2015).

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刃	伏行余	化九礽
‹ia›	‹ñ.mu.qu›	‹ir.g.en›
*ya	*ñmuqu	*irgən
elder.brother	PERS.N	chief

‘His elder brother was Chief *ñmuqu.’ (*YHsiang* 3: 7-9).

丙	几	令文夯券	兮丞伏
‹omo›	‹ku›	‹t.iê.ên.e›	‹pu.^{i}ši.ñ›
*ɔmɔ	*ku	*tyɛnə	*pušiñ
woman	person	PERS.N	lady

‘His wife was Lady *tyɛnə.’ (*YHsiang* 13: 28-31).

及化	丰	几尺卡	刘行仝
‹u^{w}.ur›	‹ai›	‹ku.uw.r›	‹γ.mu.or›
*uwr	*ay	*kuwr	*ɢmur
forefather	father	PERS.N	PERS.N

‘His forefather was *kuwr *ɢmur.’ (*HsTi* 2: 11-14).

令币及北	公尔礽	及化	丰	生尔伏	午金	巫	杰
‹t.od.o.oγ›	‹n.on.en›	‹u^{w}.ur›	‹ai›	‹to.on.ñ›	‹■$_{195}$.em›	‹tai›	‹ong›
*tɔdɔʁ	*nɔn-ən	*uwr	*ay	*tɔnñ	*…əm	*taycŋ	
five.ORD	generation-GEN	forefather	father	PERS.N	PERS.N	grand.prince	

‘His forefather of the fifth generation was Grand Prince *tɔnñ *…əm.’ (*HsTi* 3: 15-22).

Middle Kitan syntax also permits verbless sentences of the form [N_{Subj} NUM_{Pred}]. Note the following example:

九太	友兴央	舟列出	无
‹g.ung›	‹ǰ.u.un›	‹b.γ.an›	‹FIVE$^{♂}$›
*guŋǰu-n		*bʁan	*taw$^{?}$
princess-GEN		children	five$^{♂}$

‘The princess had five sons’ (*Chung* 6: 18-21).

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丙令	丹列出	包
‹omo.t›	‹b.γ.an›	‹γur›
*ɔmɔ-t	*bʁan	*Gur
female-PL	children	three

‘She/he had three daughters.’ (lit. ‘the daughters [were] three’) (*YHsiang* 18: 5-7).

7.3.3.2. Phrasal Order

Middle Kitan phrasal order is characterized by postposed case suffixes, i.e. **[N Post]**:

仍忽朴	业夯	屮同矢	乂火赤
‹ta.ang.en›	‹ki.ên›	‹l.ing.de›	‹k.ui.č›
*taŋ-ən	*kyɛnliŋ-də		*kuy-č
T’ang-GEN	**Ch’ien.ling-DL**		arrive-CVB

‘He arrived at the Ch’ien-ling Tombs of the T’ang and…’ (*Lang* 2: 5-8).

Relative clauses precede the noun phrases they modify, i.e. **[Rel N]**, as exemplified below:

公必马	今杏
‹d.ge.en›	‹s.uñ›
*dgə-n	*suñ
die-PST.VN♀	night

‘the night on which she died’ (*HsTi* 50: 1-2).

See §7.3.3.4 below for more discussion on relative clauses.

Adjectives, numerals, and demonstratives precede the nouns they modify, i.e. **[Adj N]**, **[Num N]**, and **[Dem N]**, as in the examples below:

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令兮丈	虫虫冬
‹s.iau.qu›	‹qa.γa.as›
*syawqu	*qaʁas
blue	tiger

‘blue tiger’ (*Lang* 5: 2).

乇	伏兮伏公
‹FOUR○›	‹ñ.iau.ñ.ᵉr›
*dur	*ñaw-ñər
four	siblings-PL

‘four siblings’ (*Ku* 17: 2-3).

爻	丙
‹e›	‹omo›
*ə	*ɔmɔ
this	female

‘this woman’ (*Hai* 5: 24-25).

Adverbs precede the verbs they modify, i.e. **[Adv V]**:

舟冬	丙土豸	爻反	山火	令欠	[R: 令只]	兀关	反肉
‹b.as›	‹y.eu.ǰ›	‹m.o›	‹nigu^{ʔ}.un›	‹t.qo›	[R: ‹t.uw›]	‹š.i›	‹o.on›
***bas**	*yəw-ǰ	*mɔ	*nigun^{ʔ}		*tuwši		*ɔ-n
again	move-CVB	senior	?		governor.general		become-PST

‘[He] moved **again** and became a senior … Governor General.’ (*HsTi* 21: 6-12; Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 99).

Possessive constructions are formed with the possessor in genitive case preceding the possessum, i.e. **[Possr-GEN Possm]**, as in the following example:

杰尔	令市反肉	舟勿
‹ong.on›	‹t.ad.o.on›	‹b.aq›
*ɔŋ-**ɔn**	*ta-dɔn	*baq
prince-**GEN**	five-ORD$^{♀}$	child

‘the prince**’s** fifth daughter’ (*Ku* 3: 13-15).

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7.3.3.3. Pro-Drop

Like many languages of the world, Middle Kitan is characterized by pro-drop. Unlike languages such as English and French, where an overt subject is obligatory for a grammatical sentence, Middle Kitan, Old Turkic, Manchu, Tibetan, Japanese, Korean, Italian, Russian, and numerous other null subject languages do not require that a subject be expressed in the surface form. In the attested Middle Kitan corpus, as much as can be currently understood, subjects are rarely expressed. Below are some examples of sentences with null subjects (i.e. pro-drop):

仝利	穴公	方交	酋舟	丕赤	乂关禾只火	业币仆叉
‹em.en›	‹nai.d›	‹deu.ur›	‹WINE$_{342}$.b›	‹êm.č›	‹k.i.ši.uw.ui›	‹p.od.l.^{e}ñ›
*əm-ən	*nay-d	*dəw-ur	*…b	*ɛm-č	*kišyuw-i	*pɔd-ləñ.
city-GEN	official-PL	brother-AIC	wine	drink-CVB	be.merry-CVB	return-PST

‘[He] drank wine and made merry with his younger brothers the local officials, and then returned.’ (*Lang* 4: 7-13).

令	仉仝公	反子叉
‹t›	‹ir.s.^{e}r›[287]	‹o.ǰ.^{e}ñ›
*t	*ir-s-ər	*ɔǰ-əñ
DIST	name-PL-AIC	reward-PST

‘[He] was rewarded with those titles’ (*YHsiang* 12: 2).[288]

7.3.3.4. Relative Clauses

The Middle Kitan corpus offers no evidence that Kitan employed relative pronouns to relate relative clauses to their antecedents. As in Mongolian, the relative clause directly modifies the noun phrase, with no complementizer, and

[287] The original has 夾 ‹oi› which is clearly a mistake for 公 ‹er›.

[288] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 164) translate the demonstrative as “these”, but it should be distal “those”.

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like in Mongolian, Middle Kitan relative clauses end in verbal nouns (or 'participles'). Middle Kitan verbal noun suffixes capable of forming relative clauses include (at least) the past or perfective verbal noun suffix *-bəñ, the 'masculine' past verbal noun *-Vr ~ *-r, and the 'feminine' past verbal noun suffix *-Vn ~ *-n.[289] Note the examples below:

‹č.i.ši.d.beñ›	‹w.un›	‹γong.di›
*čišid-bəñ	*wun	*ʁɔŋdi
be.filial-PST.VN	literary	emperor

'the literary emperor who was filial' or 'the filial, literary emperor' (*Tao* 1: 4-7).

Note also the two examples below with the verb *tgə- ~ *dgə- 'die, pass away':

‹t.ge.ᵉr›	‹tai›	‹š.eu›	‹ts.u›
*tgə-r	*tay	*šəwtsu	
die-PST.VN♂	official.title		

'the late Grand Uncle (故太叔祖)'; literally, 'the Grand Uncle who died' (*T'ai.C*, 1: 1-10).[290]

‹d.ge.en›	‹s.uñ›
*dgə-n	*suñ
die-PST.VN♀	night

'the night on which she died' (*HsTi* 50: 1-2).[291]

[289] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010) frequently term the past tense suffixes which I reconstruct *-Vr ~ *-r and *-Vn ~ *-n as "finite" past tense suffixes. In fact, however, these are not "finite" since they can modify nouns to form relative clauses.

[290] See Chinggel & Liu (2003: 17). The phonological reconstruction above is my own.

[291] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 126) translate the subject as "he", but it should probably be "she", given the feminine past verbal noun suffix *-n.

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7.3.3.5. Subordination and Conjunctions

Our current understanding of Middle Kitan offers only a few hints on subordination and conjunctions in the language. In Shimunek (2014a), I identified a subordinative conjunction-forming suffix *-ñ in the Lang-chün Inscription which is attested in that text in two clauses: in one clause it is affixed to a copular noun *əw 丈 'not existing' and in the other attested clause it is affixed to a common noun *puyidaw 业廾火关 尺 'bandits and robbers'.[292] In both sentences the suffix exhibits the semantic value 'because of X', 'since X', or 'due to X'.

永本	乃仝	弗为受	火	丈伏
‹čar›	‹am.s›	‹REGION.a.an›	‹ui›	‹eu.ñ›
*čar	*ams	*…-an	*uy	*əw-**ñ**
long.time	?	region-GEN	matters	not.exist-**SBRD.CNJC**

'For a long time… there were no regional matters, **so**…' (*Lang* 1: 11-15).

凡丙水	令交夯	万火尘	业廾火关	尺伏	沙	扎华列公
‹g.iu.ung›	‹t.iê.ên›	‹y.u.■›	‹p.u.ui.i›	‹dau.ñ›	‹gi›	‹γo.l.γ.ᵉr›
*giwŋtyɛn		*yu…	*puyidaw-**ñ**		*gi	*ɢəl-ʁə-r (or *ɢəl-ɣə-r ?).
palace.halls		collapse-?	bandits-**SBRD.CNJC**		NEG	see-CP-PST.VN♂

'The palace halls had collapsed(?) and **because of** bandits and robbers, they were not seen.' (*Lang* 2:9-3:1).

7.3.3.6. Negation

At least one verbal negation construction in Middle Kitan employs a negative marker 犯 ‹gi›$_{146}$ ~ 沙 ‹gi›$_{336}$ which precedes the verb it modifies.[293] This is cognate to the Middle Mongol negative noun *ügei* 'not existing', although

[292] Middle Kitan 业廾火关 尺 is a loanword from Chinese 匪盜 'bandits and robbers' (cf. Late Middle Chinese ☆puydaw; Shimunek 2014a: 115).

[293] This has been demonstrated by Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010).

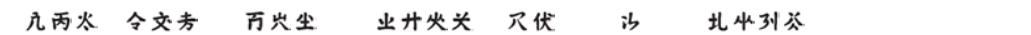
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phonologically reduced[294] and morphosyntactically closer to the unrelated Middle Mongol pre-verbal negative particles *ülü* and *ese*.

Note the following examples:


‹ai› ‹p.ur.s› ‹gi› ‹č.ᵉr›
*ay *pur-s ***gi*** *č-ər
male descendant-PL **NEG** write-PST.VN♂
'As for [his] male descendants, [they] did **not** write [about them]' (*HsTi* 26: 17-20).[295]


‹g.ir› ‹gi› ‹k.ui.ir.ge.y›
*gir ***gi*** *kuyr-gə-y
? **NEG** arrive-CP-CVB
'[They] did **not** give [him] a *gir, and…' (*YHsiang* 25: 1-3).[296]


‹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-ʁə-r (or *ɢɔl-ɣə-r ?).
palace.halls collapse-? bandits-SBRD.CNJC **NEG** see-CP-PST.VN♂
'The palace halls had collapsed(?) and because of bandits and robbers, they were **not** seen.' (*Lang* 2:9-3:1).

[294] See Chapter Eight for cognates.

[295] See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 106). The phonological reconstruction and gloss given above are my own.

[296] See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 188). The phonological reconstruction and gloss given above are my own. This is possibly a Koguryoic loanword in Kitan, cf. Old Koguryo *kɨr [斤尸] 'writing (文)' (Beckwith 2007a: 126). The Koguryo form was later borrowed into Koreanic as well, cf. Modern Korean *kŭr* (글) 'writing'. In Kitan it may be a type of document or possibly a title, although the semantics remain unclear.

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𘍏𘌽𘋒	[**R:** 𘍏𘍐𘋒]	𘍞𘌉	𘍠	𘍏𘌰
✗‹š.γa.ri›	[**R:** ‹š.a.ri›]	‹ku.r›	‹**gi**›	‹uw.ᵉr›
	[**R:** *šari]	*kur	***gi**	*uw-ər
	court.attendant	official.position	**NEG**	give- PST.VN♂

‘[They] did **not** give [him] the official position of Court Attendant.’ (*YP’u* 7: 2-5).[297]

𘍀	𘍐𘍔𘍓	𘍑	𘌽𘍞𘍒	[**R:** 𘌽𘍞𘍏𘍒]
‹■›	‹p.ur.s›	‹**gi**›	✗‹■.g.oi›	[**R:** ‹■.g.ᵉr›]
*…	*pur-s	***gi**		[**R:** *…g-ər]
grandson	descendant-PL	**NEG**		make.records-PST.VN♂

‘[They] did **not** make records [about] [his] grandsons and [other] descendants.’ (*YHsiang* 9: 29-32).

7.3.4. A Middle Kitan text: The Lang-chün Inscription

As previously mentioned, Middle Kitan is the only Serbi language with an extant body of literature—there is an increasing corpus of texts written in Middle Kitan. Here I present a new annotated decipherment of the best-known Middle Kitan inscription, the Lang-chün Inscription of 1134 A.D. (*Lang.*), applying my phonological reconstruction and morphological analyses of Middle Kitan to the only truly bilingual Kitan-Chinese text. See Shimunek (2014a) for a detailed study of this Kitan text and its Chinese translation.

[297] See Oyuunch (2012) for the identification of 𘍏𘌽𘋒 as a typographical error for 𘍏𘍐𘋒 ‘Court Attendant (郎君)’ and for the identification of 𘍞𘌉 as ‘official position (官職)’.

[298] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010) identify numerous examples of 𘌽 as a typographical error for 𘍏.

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[1:1-10]

又	山	几安村	丕丑灭	方
‹GREAT›	‹GOLD›	‹g.ur.en›	‹qa.γa.an›	‹deu›
*…	*nigu	*gur-ən	*qaʁa-n	*dəw
great	gold	state-GEN	emperor-GEN	brother

丙礽	亚伞	几闭	业岁及	攴为去
‹čau.ǰ›	‹qur.u›	‹g.iŋ›	‹l.iau.u^{w}›	‹š.a.ri›
*čaw-ǰ	*quru	*giŋlyaw		*šari
battle-OCCUP	commander	military.commissioner		court.attendant

‘The younger brother of Emperor of the Great Golden State,[299] Campaign Commander, Military Commissioner, Court Attendant.’

[1:11-15]

永本	乃伞	邦为灭	火	与伏
‹čar›	‹am.s›	‹REGION.a.an›	‹ui›	‹eu.ñ›
*čar	*ams	*…-an	*uy	*əw-ñ
long.time	?	region-GEN	matters	not.exist-SBRD.CNJC

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

[1:16-2:4]

业並	攴为灭	犴业关	又出攴	伞仕关
‹l.iang›	‹š.a.an›	‹ǰa.ki.i›	‹m.an.^{e}ñ›	‹s.m.i›
*lyaŋšan		*ǰaki	*man-əñ	*sm-i
Liang.Mt		south.slope(?)	hunt-CVB	go.along-CVB

‘he went hunting along the southern slopes of Liang Mountain and…’[300]

---

[299] I.e. the Jurchen Empire (Chin 金 Dynasty).

[300] In Shimunek (2014a: 100), I erroneously glossed *man- 又出 as ‘go along’ and *sm- 伞仕 as ‘hunt’. In fact, these glosses should be switched, i.e. *man- 又出 denotes ‘hunt’ and *sm- 伞仕 denotes ‘go’ or ‘go along’. The verb *man- ‘hunt’ is possibly cognate to WMgl *mana-* ‘watch guard over, keep watch’. Although no Middle Mongol forms of this word are attested, reflexes of this word are attested in Daur [mana-] and Shira Yoghor [mana:-] ‘id.’; the Daur and Shira Yoghor forms here are from Sun et al. (1990: 479).

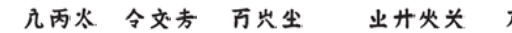
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[2:5-8]



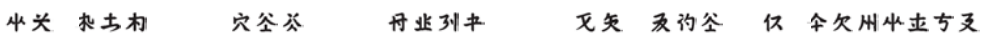
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*taŋ-ən *kyɛnliŋ-də *kuy-č
T'ang-GEN Ch'ien.ling-DL arrive-CVB
'He arrived at the Ch'ien-ling Tombs of the T'ang and…'

[2:9-3:1]



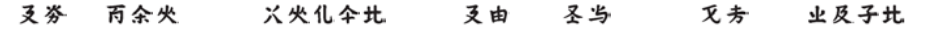
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*giwŋtyɛn *yu… *puyidaw-ñ *gi *ɢɔl-ʁə-r (or *ɢɔl-ɣə-r ?)
palace.halls collapse-? bandits-SBRD.CNJC NEG see-CP-PST.VN♂
'The palace halls had collapsed(?) and because of bandits and robbers, they were not seen.'

[3:2-8]



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*li *čəw-ən *nay-d-ər *baŋɢa-y *šdə *uǰd *… *sqɔ…-lʁa-ləñ.
Li province-GEN official-PL-AIC issue.orders-CVB ? craftsmen ? repair-CP-PST
'He issued orders to the officials of Li province, and had craftsmen … repair…'

[3:9-15]



‹eñ.e› ‹omo.qu.ui› ‹k.ui.ir.s.Awr› ‹eñ.■› ‹ǰur.en› ‹š.ên› ‹p.oǰ.Awr›
*əñə *ɔməqu-y *kuyr-səwr *əñ… *ǰur-ən *šɛn *pɔǰ-awr
now return-CVB arrive-ATMP.CVB ? painting-PL new become-CVB
'Now, he returned, and … the paintings had become new, and…'

[4:1-4]



‹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…'

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[4:5-6]

𠂤 𠂇 𠂆	𠂉 𠂈
‹k.i.■›	‹■.^{e}ñ›
*ki…	*…-(l$^{?}$)əñ.
inexpressibly(?)	be.delighted(?)-PST

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

[4:7-13]

𠂤 𠂊	𠂇 𠂆	𠂉 𠂇	𠂇 𠂉	𠂆 𠂉	𠂇 𠂇 𠂉 𠂇 𠂇	𠂉 𠂊 𠂉 𠂈
‹em.en›	‹nai.d›	‹deu.ur›	‹WINE$_{342}$.b›	‹êm.č›	‹k.i.ši.uw.ui›	‹p.od.l.^{e}ñ›
*əm-ən	*nay-d	*dəw-ur	*…b	*ɛm-č	*kišyuw-i	*pɔd-ləñ.
city-GEN	official-PL	brother-AIC	wine	drink-CVB	be.merry-CVB	return-PST

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

[4:14-5:9]

𠂊	𠂉	𠂇	𠂇 𠂉 𠂆	𠂊	𠂆
‹qai›	‹po›	‹HEAVEN›	‹t.iu.^{e}r›	‹par›	‹ǰur›
*qay	*pɔ	*…	*tiw-r	*par	*ǰur
DISC.DEM	time	heaven	gather-PST	ten	two

𠂇 𠂉 𠂇	𠂇 𠂇 𠂇	𠂉	𠂇 𠂇 𠂇	𠂇 𠂉	𠂊	𠂊	𠂇	𠂇 𠂉 𠂊
‹s.iau.qu›	‹qa.ɣa.as›	‹ai›	‹dau.ur.^{e}ñ›	‹u^{w}.wl›	‹TEN›	‹dur›	‹DAY›	‹p.o.on›
*syawqu	*qaʁas	*ay	*dawrəñ	*uwl	*par	*dur	*ñayr$^{?}$	*pɔ-n.
blue	tiger	year	middle	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’ (*Lang* 4:14-5:9).

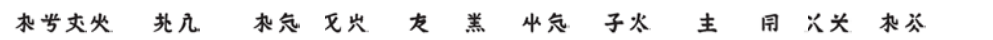
[5:10-18]

𠂇 𠂇	𠂇 𠂇	𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇	𠂇 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇	𠂇 𠂇	𠂇	𠂇 𠂇	𠂇 𠂇	𠂇 𠂇
‹y.au›	‹g.ün›	‹pu.r.k.^{e}r›	‹č.iau.qu.ui›	‹i.ir›	‹ong›	‹g.ui›	‹■$_{017}$.or›	‹č.^{e}r›.
*yaw	*gün	*purk-ər	*čyawquy	*ir	*ɔŋguy	*…ɔ-r	*č-ər.	
Yu	prefecture	control(?)-PST	Chinese	name	Wang.Kuei	present-PST	write-PST	

‘Written by [a man with the] Chinese name [of] Wang Kuei, in charge of Yu prefecture.’

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[5:19-30]



‹č.iau.qu.ui› ‹■$_{068}$.g› ‹č.ang› ‹š.u› ‹jï› ‹pong› ‹l.ang› ‹j.ung› ‹γong› ‹ing› ‹k.i› ‹č.^{e}r›.

*čyawquy *…g *čaŋšu *ǰɨpɔŋlaŋǰuŋ *ʁɔŋiŋki *č-ər.

Chinese writing official.title official.title PERS.N write-PST

‘Written in Chinese writing by court minister and director of the bureau of operations, Huang Ying-ch’i.’

7.4. Late Kitan

The main contribution of Late Kitan to our understanding of the Kitan language is in the area of the lexicon, and in the reconstruction of Kitan phonology, although the Late Kitan corpus does offer scanty data on a few affixes. There are well over a hundred Late Kitan words transcribed in Chinese, the majority of which have not yet been identified in the extant Middle Kitan sources. Late Kitan thus offers a significant contribution to the reconstruction of the Kitan lexicon. On the other hand, since only two dozen or so Middle Kitan words have attested reflexes in Late Kitan, we know very little about the precise phonological differences between Middle Kitan and Late Kitan. Among the few Middle Kitan words with attested Late Kitan reflexes, note the following correspondences:

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MKit *nigu 𘍞𘊢𘌦 ‹n.i.gu› ‘gold’[301] > LKit *nügu [女古] ‘id.’[302]
MKit *taulya 𘍿𘋢𘍠 ‹tau.li.a› ‘hare’ > LKit *taul^{y} [陶里] ‘id.’[303]
MKit *šya 𘊢𘍠 ‹š.ia› ~ *šyay 𘊢𘊐𘍿 ‹š.ia.ai› > LKit *šɛ [奢] ‘good (好)’.[304]
MKit *lɛmʁa 𘍠𘌽𘍥𘍠 ‹l.êm.ɣ.a› ‘scribe’[305] > LKit *limya [林牙] ‘id.’[306]

Many Late Kitan words closely retain Middle Kitan forms, for example:

MKit *irgən 𘌌𘌦𘍠 ‹ir.g.en› > LKit *irgin [夷離堇] ‘official (官)’.[307]
MKit *lyawqu 𘍠𘍐𘍤 ‹l.iau.qu› > LKit *lyawqu/*lyawχu [掠胡] ‘red’.[308]
MKit *aw 𘍿 ‹au› ‘lady’ > LKit *aw [奥] ‘lady’.[309]
MKit *pɔ 𘊱 ‹po› ‘time’ > LKit *pɔ [叵] ‘time’.[310]
MKit *nay 𘍝 ‹nai› ‘head’ > LKit *nay [耐] ‘head’.[311]
MKit *šawa 𘊢𘍥𘍠 ‹š.au.a› > LKit *šawa [杓窊] ‘bird of prey’.[312]
MKit *čawr 𘌽𘍥 ‹čau.ur› ‘battle’ > LKit *čawr [炒伍侕] ‘battle’.[313]
MKit *taw 𘍿 ‹tau› ‘five’ > LKit *taw [討] ‘five’.[314]

---

[301] This reading is confirmed by the *Hsiao Chü-shih* 蕭居士 inscription, where 𘌦 transcribes EOM 居 (cf. LOM *kü, Pul. 162). See Kuo et al. (2009) and Liu et al. (2009: 490) for 𘌦 and the OM syllable it transcribes. See also Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 237-238).

[302] This LKit form is from *LS* (116: 1544).

[303] This LKit form is from *LS* (53: 878). Cf. Daur [taul^{j}] ‘rabbit, hare’ (Engkebatu 1984: 244).

[304] This Late Kitan form is from *LS* (116: 1543).

[305] This is a Middle Turkic loanword in Kitan, from MTrk *alïmʁa* ~ *ilïmʁa* ‘secretary, scribe’ (Vovin 2013: 621). The Middle Turkic transcription here is my revision.

[306] This Late Kitan form is transcribed and glossed in *LS* (116: 1537).

[307] This Late Kitan form is from *LS* (116: 1549).

[308] This Late Kitan form is from *YPL* (cf. Kane 2009: 95, 113). The phonological reconstruction presented here is my own.

[309] This LKit form is from *YPL* (cf. Kane 2009: 95). The reconstruction above is my own.

[310] This LKit form is from *LS* (53: 878).

[311] This LKit form is from *LS* (53: 879; 116: 1543).

[312] This LKit form is from *LS* (116: 1539).

[313] The LKit form is from *LS* (53: 879; 116: 1543).

[314] This LKit form is from *LS* (53: 878).

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There is also one official title attested in Old Kitan and Late Kitan:

OKit *maʁabur [莫賀弗] ~ *magbur [莫弗] >> LKit *ma(g)bu(r) [馬步].[315]

The transcriptions above suggest that Late Kitan was characterized by further loss of certain non-syllable-initial vowels and breaking of Middle Kitan *i in certain environments. It also seems that MKit *yay sequences monophthongized to *ɛ in Late Kitan (see the forms for 'good' above) and that MKit *mʁ sequences lenited to *my (see the forms for 'scribe' above).

Late Kitan was also characterized by regressive labial assimilation of Common Serbi-Mongolic *aLʊ to *waL (where L denotes a liquid), a change apparently distinguishing it from Middle Kitan, e.g. CSM *dalʊ- 'seven' > MKit *dalu- 'seven' but CSM *darʊ- 'press, oppress' > unattested MKit *daru- (?) > attested LKit *dwar- [奪里] 'pacify (討)'.[316]

Transcriptions of bound morphemes also provide clues on other phonological innovations in Late Kitan: The Middle Kitan past or perfective verbal noun suffix *-bəñ (attested in KAS as 𘮩𘮪 ‹.b.ñ› ~ 𘮩𘮫 ‹.b.ᵉñ› ~ 𘮭 ‹.beñ›) has a Late Kitan reflex transcribed in Old Mandarin as [盌] *wan* (MSC *wan*) and [本] *pen* (MSC *ben*), suggesting a Late Kitan form *-βən or *-βəñ, and implying the intervocalic lenition of Middle Kitan *b > LKit *β across morpheme boundaries.[317]

See Kara (1975, 1987, 2005), Franke (1976), Vovin (2003), Kane (2006), Shimunek (2007), Sun & Nieh (2008), and others for studies of the Late Kitan lexicon. Hasbagan (2013) provides a brief study of late Kitan personal names and clan names in the *Yüan Shih*. Late Kitan lexical items

[315] The LKit form is transcribed and glossed in *LS* (116: 1537).

[316] See Chapter Eight for discussion of this Late Kitan word and its etymology.

[317] Common Serbi-Mongolic *-b- in monomorphemic roots regularly lenited to *w in Middle Kitan (see entries for MKit *qawr 'spring', *šawa 'falcon', *taw 'five', *uwl 'winter', and *yəw- 'move' in Chapter Eight), with few exceptions (e.g. MKit *əbu 'grandfather'), but not across morpheme boundaries. The example above shows that Middle Kitan intervocalic *-b- lenited to *w across morpheme boundaries in Late Kitan.

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relevant to the reconstruction of Common Serbi-Mongolic will be mentioned individually in Chapter Eight.

7.5. The Kitan Lexicon

Due to the large size of the Middle Kitan corpus, with at least 50 texts in the two Kitan scripts, and the fact that there are well over a hundred Kitan words in Chinese transcription, I will not present a lexicon here. To do so in any comprehensive sense would require a separate, collaborative lexicographical project. I have included relevant Old Kitan, Middle Kitan, and Late Kitan words and grammatical morphemes in Chapter Eight. For the first English-Kitan lexicon, I refer the reader to Kane (2009). Shimunek (2007) and Sun & Nieh (2008) discuss many of the Chinese transcriptions of Late Kitan.

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CHAPTER EIGHT:
TOWARD A RECONSTRUCTION OF COMMON SERBI-MONGOLIC

8.1. Shared Functional Morphophonology

The fundamental feature of language that is accepted to be solid ground for establishing linguistic relationships is shared morphophonology.[1] This is the traditional view of comparative-historical linguistics,[2] and no one has ever disproved it—no comparative-historical linguists contest it. This assumption is formalized in the Law of Frequency and Retention, whereby "the very highest frequency [morphemes][3] in any language have heavy functional load and light semantic load, and are inherited from the proto-language".[4] This law has been tested on a number of different language families, with results

[1] Based on lexical frequency data for a number of both modern and ancient languages from many different language families, it has been demonstrated that "…the very highest frequency words [are] exclusively semantically light, functionally heavy, and inherited from the proto-language. By contrast the semantically heavier, functionally light words—particularly nouns, as well as adjectives and adverbs—are borrowed often enough that heritability is unpredictable" (Beckwith 2007a: 208). Nearly anything can be borrowed, but morphology is comparatively stable diachronically. Shared morphology is thus strong evidence of common origins. Note also Tadmor et al. (2010), who provide good evidence that content words are more borrowable than function words; however, this does not validate their untenable claim that words for *specific* concepts are resistant to change—an attempt to save Swadesh's disproven theory of lexicostatistics. See Beckwith (2008a) on attempts to save disproven theories.

[2] E.g. Meillet (1967 [1925]), Newman (1980); Szemerényi (1996); Campbell (1997); Beckwith (2007a, 2008a).

[3] The original law in Beckwith (2008a: 19) has "words"; he later revised this to "morphemes" (p.c., October 2010).

[4] Beckwith (2008a: 19).

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accurately predicting widely agreed upon language relationships, e.g. Germanic, Sinitic, and Romance.[5]

Very little work has been done on identifying the common morphology of Mongolic and the attested Serbi languages. In fact, even within the relatively small corpus of currently deciphered Kitan words and the even smaller corpora of attested Taghbach and T'u-yü-hun words, it is evident that these languages shared a significant number of identifiable cognate functional morphemes with Mongolic, including both derivational and inflectional affixes.

On morphophonological grounds, and based on their shared anomalous innovations, Kitan, Taghbach, T'u-yü-hun, and Mongolic should be seen as daughter languages of a common proto-language, Proto-Serbi-Mongolic.

As the best attested Serbi language, Kitan offers us a glimpse at morphological paradigms of a Serbi language. Below I present the attested morphological paradigms of the Middle Kitan verbs *kuyr- 'come, arrive', *sa- 'reside, live', and *pɔǰ- 'become', compared with their Middle Mongol cognates. Note that Middle Mongol forms are from Kuribayashi (2003, 2009) unless otherwise noted, and Preclassical Written Mongol forms are from Kara (2009) and Tumurtogoo & Cecegdari (2006), unless otherwise noted. In several instances I have reconstructed unattested Middle Mongol and Preclassical Written Mongol forms. These are indicated with asterisks. Middle Kitan forms below are given in phonemic transcription.[6]

[5] Beckwith (2007a, 2008a).

[6] See Chapter Seven for discussion of these Middle Kitan verbal paradigms, including their orthographic forms and reconstructed surface forms.

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Table 49. Attested morphological paradigm of Kitan *kuyr- with Middle Mongol *gür-* (Pcl. *kür-*) 'arrive'

Middle Kitan forms (phonemic)		**Middle Mongol cognates**	
Middle Kitan	Morpheme gloss	Orthography	Phonemic transcr.
*/kuyr-č/ ~ */-ǰ/	arrive-PFV.CVB	*gürčü* (Pcl. *kürčü*)	/k^{h}ur-ǰU/
*/kuyr-bəñ/	arrive-PST	*gürbei* (Pcl. *kürbei*)	/k^{h}ur-bAi/
*/kuyr-ləñ/	arrive-PST	**gürülü'e* (Pcl **kürülügei*)[7]	/k^{h}ur-lUɦA/
*/kuyr-i/	arrive-CVB	**gürüyü* (Pcl. *kürüyü*)	/k^{h}ur-yU/
*/kuyr-GA-y/	arrive-CP-CVB	**gürgeyü* (Pcl. *kürgeyü*)	/k^{h}ur-GA-yU/ or /k^{h}ur-GA-i/
*/kuyr-GA-r/	arrive-CP-PST	**gürgerün* (Pcl. *kürger-ün*)	/k^{h}ur-GA-rUn/ (< *k^{h}ur-GA-r + *-Un 'GEN')
		gürgere[8] (Pcl. **kürger-e*)	/k^{h}ur-GA-rA/ (< *k^{h}ur-GA-r + *-A 'DL')
*/kuyr-GA-ñ/	arrive-CP-?	*gürgen* (Pcl. *kürgen*) ?	/k^{h}ur-GA-n/
*/kuyr-sAwr$^{?}$/	arrive-ATMP.CVB	**gürügse'er* ~ **gürügseber* (Pcl. **kürügseger*)	/k^{h}ur-GsAɦAr/ ~ /-GsAbAr/

[7] This specific declension is not attested in spoken Middle Mongol or Preclassical Written Mongol, but it is attested in Preclassical in the causative voice as *kürgelügei* (*ES*: Kara 2009: 167). The active voice equivalent would be **kürülügei*, with an epenthetic **-ü-* inserted to avoid the **-rl-* cluster. Note the related attested Middle Mongol wordform *gürülčeǰü* [古^{舌}侖^{動}徹周] (*SHM* §108), i.e. *gür-* 'arrive' + *-ü-* 'cluster-avoiding epenthetic vowel' + *-lče-* 'reciprocal suffix' + *-ǰü* 'perfective converb suffix'. I thus reconstruct spoken MMgl **gürülü'e* and written Pcl. **kürülügei*.

[8] Attested MMgl *gürgere* 'in order to bring' (*SHM* §169), morphologically composed of *gür-* 'reach' + *-ge-* 'causative voice suffix' + *-re* 'in order to V'.

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Table 50. Attested morphological paradigm of Kitan *sa- with Middle Mongol *sa'u-* 'sit, live, reside'

Middle Kitan (phonemic)		**Middle Mongol cognates**	
MKit	Morpheme gloss	Orthography	Phonemic transcription
*/sa-lGA-y/	reside-CP-PFV.CVB	**sa'ulqayu* (Pcl. **sayulɣayu*)	*/saʃʊ-lGA-yU/
*/sa-r/	reside-PST	*sa'urun* (Pcl. *sayur-un*)	/saʃʊ-rUn/ < *saʃʊ-r-Un
*/sa-y/	reside-PFV.CVB	**sa'uyu* (Pcl. **sayuyu*)	*/saʃʊ-yU/

Table 51. Attested morphological paradigm of Kitan *pɔǰ- 'become' with Middle Mongol *bol-* 'become'

Middle Kitan phonemic)		**Middle Mongol cognates**	
MKit	Morpheme gloss	Orthography	Phonemic transcription
*/pɔǰ-bəñ/	become-PST	*bolbai*	/bɔl-bAi/
*/pɔǰ-ǰ/	become-PFV.CVB	*bolǰu*	/bɔl-ǰU/
*/pɔǰ-GA-y/	become-CP-CVB	*bolqayu* (Pcl. *bolɣayu*)	/bɔl-GA-yU/
*/pɔǰ-GA-n/	become-CP-?	*bolqan* (Pcl. *bolɣan*)	/bɔl-GA-n/
*/pɔǰ-ləñ/	become-PST	**bolulu'ai* (Pcl. **boluluɣai*)	/bɔl-lUɦAi/

Among the most striking functional morpheme correspondences above, note the following:[9]

[9] I follow Brosig's analysis of Middle Mongol TMA (2014).

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Table 52. Some cognate functional morphology between Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol

MIDDLE KITAN		MIDDLE MONGOL	
*/-č/ ~ */-ǰ/	converb	/-ǰU/	perfective converb
*/-bəñ/	past	/-bAy/	past factual
*/-i/ ~ */-y/	converb	/-yU/	generic finite
*/-GA-/ ~ */-lGA-/	causative-passive	/-GA-/ ~ /-lGA-/	causative
*/-r/	past verbal noun	/-rUn/ (< *r-Un)	preparative converb (< *-r 'deverbal noun suffix')
*/-ləñ/	past	/-lUɲAy/	past firsthand

These suffixes are some of the most common verbal affixes in the Middle Kitan corpus, and they all have close cognates in Mongolic. Given the close correspondences between the above-mentioned Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol wordforms, in phonological form, semantic values, morphemic structure, and even more significantly, the correspondence between the paradigms as a whole, it is clear that Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol have substantial shared functional morphology, and thus are, according to scientific historical-comparative linguistic theory, divergently related languages. Although the extant Taghbach and T'u-yü-hun data does not allow us to determine morphological paradigms, we have evidence of both languages' functional morphology with good cognates in Mongolic (see §8.3 'The Common Serbi-Mongolic Lexicon' below).

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8.2. Common Serbi-Mongolic Phonology

8.2.1. Serbi-Mongolic Sound Correspondences

Shared phonological innovations and retentions in Kitan and Taghbach suggest a common immediate ancestor for these two languages. This accords well with the Chinese accounts of their ethnolinguistic identity as Serbi peoples.[10]

The great comparative-historical linguist Antoine Meillet argued that shared, systematic, divergent innovations are among the most important criteria for classifying languages.[11] The majority of historical linguists follow this principle in classifying languages. Among the shared innovations between Kitan and Taghbach, we may note *se > *ši and *ze > *ži in such forms as Late Kitan *širbi [十里鼻] 'slaves (奴婢)',[12] a pejoration of the name of the *Širβi/*Širwi 室韋 people, which in turn ultimately comes from the ethnonym Serbi 鮮卑.[13] As evidence of the innovation in Taghbach, we may note the form *žirpəŋ [是賁] 'raised earth, embankment (封)',[14] cognate to modern Written Mongol *serbeng* (from unattested MMgl **serbeng* ?) > modern Khalkha **сэрвэн** ‹serwen› [ˈsɪrwə̆ŋ ~ ˈsɛrwə̆ŋ] 'projecting, overhanging, jutting out'.[15] In Kitan, there is evidence of the raising of *e > *i after other coronal obstruents as well, e.g. Middle Kitan *tiw- 令丙 ‹t.iu.› 'gather (會)', cognate to early Middle Mongol *temgü-* 'collect, gather' and late Middle Mongol *tū-* 'collect' (cf. WMgl *tegü-* 'id.') < CSM *t^{h}əɣu- 'gather, collect'.

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[10] See Chapter Two for an ethnolinguistic history of the early Serbi-Mongolic peoples.

[11] Meillet (1967 [1925]: 29, 41-43).

[12] *YPTC* (*SF*$_{1927}$, *SF*$_{1986}$ 4: 9b).

[13] Pelliot (1928: 142, *n.* 6) and Pulleyblank (1983: 453) on the reconstruction of these ethnonyms.

[14] See Chapter Five entry for Shih-pen.

[15] In modern Khalkha Mongolian the word is used for describing landscape features and commonly occurs in toponyms for places with formations that are projecting, overhanging, or jutting out, e.g. Serwen Khaalga (**Сэрвэн Хаалга**) 'Jutting Gate' in Bayankhutag county, Khentii province.

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Another innovation attested in both Kitan and Taghbach is the lowering of *ɔ to *a before dorsals, e.g. Middle Mongol *noqai* ‘dog’ but Taghbach *ñaqañ *[ɲaqaŋ] and Middle Kitan *ñaq *[ɲaq] ‘id.’ There are no doubt many more shared innovations between Kitan and Taghbach, and it is quite likely that future progress in the decipherment of the Kitan scripts and Chinese transcriptions of the language will uncover more cognates to the Taghbach words we have available in our small extant corpus.

Divergent innovations characterizing the Mongolic branch to the exclusion of Serbi include the depalatalization of syllable-initial *ñ > *n (e.g. Kitan *ñaq and Tabgach *ñaqañ ‘dog’ but Middle Mongol *noqai* ‘id.’)[16]; the vocalization of word-final *Vñ# > *Vi (e.g. Middle Kitan *-bəñ ‘past tense verbal noun suffix’ : Middle Mongol *-bai ~ -bei* ‘past factual suffix’[17]); the lenition of *p- > *h- (e.g. Kitan *pɔ ‘season, time’, *par ‘ten’,[18] *par ‘people’,[19] and *pulu ‘intercalary’ but Middle Mongol *hon* ‘year’, *harba-n* ‘ten’, *hara* ‘person’, and *hüle’ü* ‘surplus, extra, intercalary’); the lenition and eventual loss of *-ɣ- where this segment was retained in Serbi in certain environments (e.g. Kitan *ǰgən 𘍞𘊱𘈩 ‹ǰ.g.en› ‘left’ but Middle Mongol *je’ün* ‘left’ > Modern Khalkha **зүүн** [tsuːŋ] ‘left; east’;[20] and Taghbach *p^{h}urtugčin

[16] In this sense, Pelliot was basically right when he claimed that the Kitans spoke “une langue très palatalisée” [a highly palatalized language] (Pelliot 1928: 127) and that “…les Khitan parlaient une langue mongole fortement palatalisée” [the Kitans spoke a strongly palatalized Mongolic language] (Pelliot 1943: 37).

[17] See Brosig (2014: 54 et seq.) for the precise value of this TMA suffix in Middle Mongol.

[18] This *par ‘ten’ is my revision of Róna-Tas (2016). See §8.5.4 entry for MKit *par 𘊴𘍿 ‹p.ar› ~ 𘎭 ‹par› ‘ten’ for discussion.

[19] Middle Kitan 𘊴𘊝 ‹p.ar›, identified by Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 84-85, 153). See §8.5.4 entry for MKit *par 𘊴𘊝 ‘person, people’ for discussion.

[20] Early Serbi-Mongolic loanwords in Tungusic provide further evidence of this intervocalic dorsal fricative. Note Ewenki *ǰəgin* ‘left’ (Poppe 1959: 270; Poppe 1966: 190). This is probably an instance of fortition whereby CSM *ɣ became MKit *g, i.e. MKit *ǰgən ‘left’ < CSM > PMgl *ǰəɣun > MMgl *je’ün* *[ʧəɦun] ‘left’. Common Serbi-Mongolic intervocalic *ɣ was regularly lost in Kitan and Taghbach in most other attested environments: Common Serbi-Mongolic *UɣA (*ʊɣa ~ *uɣə) regularly lenited to MKit *ə

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[拂竹真] ‘people who ride the postal relay route’ but modern Khalkha **өртөөчин** [ɵɾˌˈtɵʧʰĭŋ], presumably from an unattested Middle Mongol form **hörtö’ečin*);[21] and the delabialization of *wə > *e* *[ə] (e.g. CSM *gwər ‘tent, yurt’ > MKit *gɔr and MMgl *ger* ‘id.’).

Regular sound correspondences can be established for these cognates and regular sound changes can be identified. Among some of the most informative sound correspondences, we may note the following:[22]

Serbi *p$^{(h)}$: Middle Mongol *h* (> Khalkha Ø)
LKit *pʰɔ ‘season, time’ : MMgl *hon* [hɔn] ‘calendrical year’
MKit *p$^{(h)}$ulu ‘intercalary’ : MMgl *hüle’ü* > Khalkha **илүү** [iˈɮu] ‘id.’
MKit *p$^{(h)}$ar ‘ten’ : MMgl *harba-n* > Khalkha **арав** [ˈaɾəw] ‘id.’
Tagh *pʰɔr ‘surrounding’ : PMgl *hɔr- as in MMgl *horči-* ‘surround’ etc.

(e.g. MKit *-ləñ ‘past tense suffix’ < CSM *-lUɣAñ ‘past tense suffix’); CSM *ɔɣʊ > MKit and LKit *aw (e.g. MKit *ñaw ‘sibling, child’ < CSM *ñɔɣʊ ‘child, son, sibling’ and LKit *bawl ‘villain’ < CSM *bɔɣʊl ‘slave’); CSM *aɣʊ > MKit *aw (e.g. MKit *čawr ‘army, battle’ < CSM *čʰaɣʊr ‘id.’) and Tagh *ʊ (e.g. Tagh *bʊčɪn ‘nobles who prepare food’ < CSM *baɣʊrčʰɪ-n ‘cooks, chefs’); and CSM *əɣu > MKit *u ~ *iw (e.g. MKit *pulu ‘intercalary’ < CSM *pʰuləɣu ‘extra, surplus’ and MKit *tiw- ‘gather’ < CSM *tʰəɣu- ‘gather, collect’) and Tagh *uw (e.g. Tagh *uwl ‘cloud’ < CSM *əɣulə ‘cloud’).

[21] Pelliot (1925: 255, *n.* 4) was the first to propose this Taghbach-Mongol cognate. Note also Ligeti (1970a) and Ligeti (1986: 429). The reconstruction presented here is my own revision of Pelliot and Ligeti’s proposals.

[22] Note that all of these words have modern Khalkha cognates, but I only provide these cognates if they are particularly divergent, or are otherwise noteworthy.

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Serbi *Vñ# : Middle Mongol *Vi#*
MKit *-bəñ ‘past verbal noun suffix’ : MMgl *-bAi* ‘past factual suffix’[23]
MKit *-ləñ ‘past suffix’ : MMgl *-lU’Ai* ‘past firsthand suffix’[24]
Tagh *ñaqañ ‘dog’ : MMgl *noqai* ‘id.’
Tagh *čirqañ ‘artemisia’ : WMgl *čirγai* ~ MMgl **čirqai* ‘Cotoneaster’
T’u-yü-hun *aqañ ‘elder brother’ : MMgl *aqa* ~ *aqai* ‘id.’

Serbi *ñ : Middle Mongol *n*
MKit *əñə ‘now’ : MMgl *ene* ‘this’
MKit *ñaq ‘dog’ : Tagh *ñaqañ : MMgl *noqai* ‘id.’
LKit *ñayr ‘sun/day’ : MMgl *naran* ‘sun’.
MKit *ñaw ‘sibling, child’ : MMgl *nu’un* *[nʊɦʊn] ‘son’.
MKit *-ñər ‘lexicalized plural suffix for humans’ : MMgl *-nAr* ‘id.’

Serbi *Vw(V) (in monomorphemic stems) : Middle Mongol *VbV*
MKit *šawa ‘eagle, hawk’ : MMgl *šiba’u-n* *[ʃibaɦʊn] ‘bird’.
MKit *taw ‘five’ : MMgl *tabu-n* ‘id.’
MKit *yəw- ‘go’ : MMgl *yabu-* ‘id.’
Tagh *qɔw ‘pig, boar’ : WMgl *qobosu-n* ‘wild boar in its second year’

Common Serbi-Mongolic *ɔ/_C$_{[dorsal]}$: Serbi *a : Middle Mongol *o (~ u)*
CSM *ñɔɣʊ : MKit *ñaw ‘sibling, child’ : MMgl *nu’un* ‘son’
CSM *bɔɣʊl : LKit *bawl ‘villain’ : MMgl *bo’ol* *[bɔɦɔl] ‘slave’
CSM *ñɔk^{h}añ : MKit *ñaq ‘dog’ : Tagh *ñaqañ : MMgl *noqai* *[nɔq^{h}aj] ‘id.’

[23] See Brosig (2014: 54) for the semantic value of this Middle Mongol suffix.
[24] See Brosig (2014: 54) for the semantic value of this Middle Mongol suffix.

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Kitan *Vyr : Middle Mongol *Vr*
LKit *sayr ‘moon/month’ : MMgl *sara ~ zara* ‘month’ ~ *zaran* ‘moon’
LKit *ñayr ‘sun/day’ : MMgl *naran* ‘sun’
MKit *kuyr- ‘reach, arrive’ : MMgl *gür- ~ kür-* ‘reach, arrive’

Kitan *ɔ : Middle Mongol *e* *[ə]
MKit *ɔmɔ ‘female, woman, mother’ : MMgl *eme* ‘id.’ (< CSM *wəmwə)
MKit *gɔr ‘tent’ : MMgl *ger* ‘tent, yurt’ (< CSM *gwər)

Kitan *s : Middle Mongol *z ~ s* : Taghbach */z/
LKit *sayr ‘moon/month’ : MMgl *sara ~ zara* ‘month’ ~ *zaran* ‘moon’
WMgl *serbeng* (unattested MMgl **serbeng* ?) : Tagh *žirpəŋ ‘embankment’

8.2.2. Common Serbi-Mongolic Phoneme Inventory

The reconstruction of Common Serbi-Mongolic phonology presented here is largely the result of applying the historical-comparative method to the currently available Kitan, Taghbach, T’u-yü-hun, Middle Mongol, and other Mongolic data, taking into consideration the regular sound correspondences among the currently identifiable cognates.

I present the Common Serbi-Mongolic consonant and vowel inventories below:

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Table 53. The Common Serbi-Mongolic consonant inventory (phonemic)

	labial	dental/alveolar	palatal	dorsal	glottal
stop	*p^h	*t^h *d		*k^h	
	*b			*g	
affricate			*$č^h$ *ǰ		
fricative	(*β ?)	*s *z		*ɣ	*ɦ
nasal	*m	*n	*ñ	*ŋ	
lateral		*l			
rhotic		*r			
glide	*w		*y		

Table 54. The Common Serbi-Mongolic vowel inventory

[+ATR]	[-ATR]
*i	*ɪ
*u	*ʊ
*o	*ɔ
*e [ə]	*a

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Vowels and vocoid sequences

Diphthongs are reconstructible for Common Serbi-Mongolic, as demonstrated in the table below:[25]

Table 55. SM correspondences in diphthong and vocoid sequences with *y in monomorphemic roots

SERBI		MONGOLIC		CSM	
*Vy	LKit *ñayr	*V	MMgl *naran*	*Vy	*ñayra
	LKit *sayr		MMgl *zara ~ zaran*		*zayra
	MKit *kuyr-		MMgl *kür-*		*k^{h}uyr-
	Tagh *čarʁʊy-čı		MMgl **ǰarqu-či*		*ǰargʊy-č^{h}ı
*Vy	MKit *nayč- ~ *nayǰ-	*Vyi	WMgl *nayiǰa*	*VyI	*nayıǰ-
	MKit *ñɛm (< */ñaym/)		MMgl *nayima*		*ñayıma
	MKit *uy		MMgl *üyile*		*uyi
	MKit *šyay (~ *šya)		MMgl *sayin*		*syayı
*V	MKit *udur	*V	MMgl *üdür*	*V	*udur
	Tagh *mʊdı		MMgl *muǰi*		*mʊdı

The correspondences in the table above are for monomorphemic roots. There is also limited data on a different correspondence in suffixes, i.e. Serbi *Vy : Mongolic *Vy. See the table below:[26]

Table 56. SM correspondences in diphthong and vocoid sequences with *y in affixes

SERBI		MONGOLIC		CSM	
*Vy	Tagh *-Ay ~ *-ɣAy	*Vy	MMgl *-*Ai* ~ -*'Ai*	*Vy	*-Ay ~ *-ɣAy
*V	MKit *-ñər	*V	WMgl -*nAr*	*V	*-ñAr

[25] For the semantic values of the words in this table, see the relevant entries in §8.5.4.
[26] For the semantic values of the morphemes in this table, see the relevant entries in §8.5.3.

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8.3. Common Serbi-Mongolic Morphosyntax

8.3.1. Verbal suffixal morphosyntax

Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol share cognate tense, mood, aspect, and voice suffixes.[27]

Table 57. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol cognate verbal suffixal morphosyntax

Middle Kitan		Middle Mongol	
*[V.ROOT]-č ~ *-ǰ	converb	[V.ROOT]-*ǰU*	perfective converb
*[V.ROOT]-bəñ	past	[V.ROOT]-*bAi*	past factual
*[V.ROOT]-i ~ *-y	converb	[V.ROOT]-*yU*	generic finite
*[V.ROOT]-r	past verbal noun	[V.ROOT]-*rUn* *(< *r-Un)*	preparative converb (< *-r 'DVN suffix')
*[V.ROOT]-ləñ	past	[V.ROOT]-*lU'Ai*	past firsthand
*[V.ROOT]-GA- ~ *-lGA-	causative-passive	[V.ROOT]-*GA-* ~ *-lGA-*	causative

From these correspondences I reconstruct the following Common Serbi-Mongolic verbal suffixes:

CSM *-J̌(V) 'perfective converb suffix'
CSM *-bAñ 'past (factual?) verbal noun suffix'
CSM *-y(V) 'generic converb or finite verb suffix'
CSM *-r 'deverbal noun suffix' or 'past tense deverbal noun suffix'
CSM *-lUɣAñ 'past tense suffix'
CSM *-GA- ~ *-lGA- 'passive voice suffix'

There is also at least one identifiable cognate deverbal suffix shared by Taghbach, Late Kitan, and Middle Mongol: Taghbach and Late Kitan share

[27] I follow Brosig's careful analysis of the Middle Mongol TMA system (2014: 52-104).

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cognates to the Middle Mongol perfective verbal noun suffix, as shown in the table below:

Table 58. Taghbach, Late Kitan, and Middle Mongol cognate verbal noun affix

	TAGHBACH	LATE KITAN	MIDDLE MONGOL	
[V.ROOT] ending in V	*-ʁa ~ *-ʁay	(not attested)	*-'A ~ -'Ay*	perfective verbal noun[28]
[V.ROOT] ending in C	*-ay	*-a	*-A ~ -Ay*	

I reconstruct CSM *-ɣAy ~ *-ɣA (after stems ending in vowels) and *-Ay ~ *-A (after stems ending in consonants) 'perfective verbal noun suffix'.

8.3.2. Case suffixal morphosyntax

As demonstrated in §8.1 above, Middle Kitan case suffixal morphology is sufficiently attested to allow for establishing correspondences with Middle Mongol. It is also possible to establish correspondences between the morphosyntactic constructions in which these affixes occur.

[28] As demonstrated by Brosig (2014), this Middle Mongol suffix denotes resultative perfective.

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Table 59. Comparison of attested Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol case forms

MIDDLE KITAN		MIDDLE MONGOL	
NOM	*[NOUN]-Ø	[NOUN]-*Ø*	NOM
INDF ACC			INDEF ACC
DL	*[NOUN]-də ~ *-dɔ ~ *-du ~ *-t	[NOUN]-*DA ~ -DU*	DL
	*[NOUN]-u		
ABL	*[NOUN]-dər ~ *-dur	[NOUN]-*DUr*	
		[NOUN]-*A*	
	*[NOUN]-dəi ~ *-dɔi ~ *-dui		
DEF ACC	*[NOUN]-r ~ *-ər ~ *-ur	[NOUN]-*'Ar ~ -i'Ar*	INS
INS			
COM			
GEN ATTR	*[NOUN]-n ~ *-Vn ~ *-ñ	[NOUN]-*Un ~ -U ~ -yin*	GEN ATTR
	*[NOUN]-i		
		[NOUN]-*čA ~ -AčA*	ABL
		[NOUN]-*yi ~ -i*	DEF ACC
		[NOUN]-*lU'A*	COM

In the table above, the majority of the attested Middle Kitan cases have cognates in Mongolic, but three Middle Mongol cases—namely, the Middle Mongol ablative, definite accusative, and comitative case suffixes—have no cognates in Kitan. It is clear from the above comparison of the Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol case systems that case mergers and innovations took place in both Serbi and Mongolic, but the precise mergers that took place and their directionality remain to be determined. The Middle Mongol comitative suffix *-lU'A* (< PMgl *-lUɣA) is known to correspond with the Old Turkic comitative suffix *-lVgU* (cf. Erdal 2004: 180), and is probably an Old Turkic loanword into the Mongolic branch, borrowed long after Serbi and Mongolic had branched off from their common ancestor.[29] The origins of the Mongolic

[29] A possible historical context for this loan is with the Meng-wa ~ Meng-wu (i.e. speakers of Proto-Mongolic), who are known to have neighbored Old Turkic speakers in about the 7th

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definite accusative and ablative case suffixes remain obscure, but it is possible that they, too, are innovations in Mongolic.[30]

For now, it is possible to partially reconstruct the Common Serbi-Mongolic case system as follows;

Table 60. Partial reconstruction of the CSM case system

COMMON SERBI-MONGOLIC	VALUE
*[NOUN]-Ø	nominative
	indefinite accusative
*[NOUN]-DV	dative-locative
*[NOUN]-ɣVr	instrumental
*[NOUN]-n ~ *-Vn ~ *-ñ	genitive-attributive

8.3.3. Number in Common Serbi-Mongolic

Both attested Serbi and Mongolic are characterized by two-term number systems, in which two categories are distinguished, i.e. [UNMARKED FOR NUMBER] and [MARKED PLURAL]. In this type of system, which is common across many languages of Eastern Eurasia, bare noun stems are unmarked for number, and can be interpreted as singular or plural depending on context or when number is specified with a modifying numeral or demonstrative. Overt plural suffixes are used to unambiguously indicate plural number.

---

c. A.D. (cf. Ratchnevsky 1966: 232). Poppe claims that the Written Mongol comitative suffix *-luɣ-a ~ -lüge* is a fusion of earlier *-l 'deverbal noun suffix' + "*-gāi" (i.e. *-GAy in my transcription) 'denominal noun suffix' (Poppe 1976: 472); however, this proposal is highly problematic both semantically and phonologically, and it does not explain the vowel *u ~ ü*. More likely, the Mongol comitative suffix is an early grammatical borrowing from Old Turkic.

[30] The Middle Mongol ablative case suffix phonologically resembles the Old Turkic equative suffix *-čA*, and is possibly related, although the semantic divergence is difficult to explain (Schönig 2003: 416).

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Table 61. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol cognate number affixal morphosyntax

MIDDLE KITAN		MIDDLE MONGOL	
*-Ø	unmarked for number	*-Ø*	unmarked for number
*-s	plural (lexicalized)	*-s*	plural (after V)
*-d ~ *-t	plural (lexicalized)	*-t*	plural (nouns ending in C)
*-an ~ *-ən	plural (lexicalized)	*-n*	plural (lexicalized)
*-ñər ~ *-ñəñ	plural for humans (lexicalized)	*-nAr*	plural for humans (lexicalized)

For example, note the attested number paradigms for Middle Kitan *ay 'father', *ay 'year', *baq 'child' and Middle Mongol *noyan* 'nobleman', *noqai* 'dog', and *elči* 'envoy', respectively:

Table 62. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol cognate number affixal morphosyntax

MIDDLE KITAN			MIDDLE MONGOL	
丰	*ay-Ø	'father' (*YHsiang* 3)	*noyan-Ø*	'nobleman' (*SHM* §8)
丰 公	*ay-d	'fathers' (*YHsiang* 3)	*noya-t*	'noblemen' (*SHM* §146)

Table 63. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol cognate number affixal morphosyntax

MIDDLE KITAN			MIDDLE MONGOL	
丰	*ay-Ø	'year' (*YTi* 40)	*noqai-Ø*	'dog' (*SHM* §78)
丰 仝	*ay-s	'years' (*YTi* 38)	*noqai-s*	'dogs' (*SHM* §195)[31]

[31] Although many scholars analyze this Middle Mongol form as "*noqas*" (e.g. de Rachewiltz 2006: 706; Kuribayashi 2009: 320), undoubtedly based on the Written Mongol form *noqas* 'dogs', the Early Middle Mongol form is unambiguously transcribed in Chinese as *noqais* [那中孩思] (*SHM* §195), clearly indicating *ai* as the nucleus of the second syllable.

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Table 64. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol cognate number affixal morphosyntax

MIDDLE KITAN			MIDDLE MONGOL	
丹力	*baq-Ø	'child' (*HsTi* 15)	*elči-Ø*	'envoy' (*SHM* §126)
丹列出	*bʁ-an	'children' (*HsTi* 15)	*elči-n*	'envoys' (*SHM* §133, *Mang.* 15)

Table 65. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol cognate number affixal morphosyntax

MIDDLE KITAN			MIDDLE MONGOL	
方	*dəw-Ø	'younger brother' (*Lang* 1: 5)	*de'ü-Ø*	'younger brother' (*SHM* §18)
方伏公	*dəw-ñər	'younger brothers' (*Jen-hsien* 46: 63)	*de'ü-ner*	'younger brothers' (*SHM* §23)

There is not always a one-to-one correspondence between the attested paradigms; for example, although MKit *-ñər is clearly cognate to MMgl *-nAr*, they sometimes do not appear on cognate roots in both languages:

Table 66. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol plural marking mismatch for cognate root 'sibling'

MIDDLE KITAN			MIDDLE MONGOL	
伏兮	*ñaw-Ø	'sibling' (*Yung* 11:28)	*nu'un-Ø*	'son' (*SHM* §65)
伏兮伏公	*ñaw-ñər	'siblings' (*Ku* 17:3)	*nu'ut* (and not ✗*nu'un-nar*)	'sons' (*SHM* §267)

From a cross-linguistic typological perspective, however, divergences such as these are unremarkable, since Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol, although divergently related as daughter languages of Common Serbi-Mongolic at the diachronic level, are separate languages at the synchronic level.

Taking into account all the correspondences discussed above, I reconstruct the Common Serbi-Mongolic nominal number system as follows:

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Table 67. Common Serbi-Mongolic nominal number system

COMMON SERBI-MONGOLIC	NUMBER CATEGORY
*[NOUN]-Ø	unmarked for number
*[NOUN]-s	plural (after stems ending in vowels)
*[NOUN]-d	plural (after stems ending in consonants)
*[NOUN]-Vn ~ *-n	plural (lexicalized)
*[NOUN]-ñAr	plural for humans (lexicalized)

8.4. COMMON SERBI-MONGOLIC SYNTAX

Although there are some well-known obstacles to syntactic reconstruction, most notably analogy and borrowing, these are also obstacles that one must address in phonological reconstruction (Harris & Campbell 1995: 367-374), and it has been demonstrated that syntactic reconstruction is possible using the same comparative method employed in other areas of historical-comparative linguistic reconstruction.[32] Owing to the increasingly large corpus of Middle Kitan texts, we now possess potentially very informative syntactic data on the best understood Serbi language. Clues on the syntax of other Serbi languages is lacking due to the absence of attested texts in T'u-yü-hun or Taghbach, but one T'u-yü-hun sentence is transcribed in Chinese, and there is scanty evidence of compound nouns in Taghbach.[33]

As demonstrated by Harris & Campbell (1995), "when there are responses to identical or essentially identical stimuli in two stages of a language, we may be justified in saying that those responses correspond" (1995: 350). The ideal syntactic correspondences are achieved when "a single version of a text is translated at two stages of a language, or into two languages that can be independently shown to be relatively closely related" (1995: 350). Although we are not fortunate enough to have translational correspondences

[32] Campbell (1999: 226-253), Harris & Campbell (1995), Trask (1996: 133-164).

[33] See Chapter Five entry for I-ch'in Ti-ho

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for early Serbi-Mongolic languages, the closest alternative source of data are sentences and other syntactic constructions of similar or parallel semantic value containing cognate lexical items and morphemes. As much as possible, I have attempted to find such sentences or otherwise lexically and morphologically parallel constructions in comparing Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol syntax.

8.4.1 Common Serbi-Mongolic word order

8.4.1.1. Common Serbi-Mongolic clausal order

Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol share the same basic, unmarked order of clausal constituents within a clause. Common Serbi-Mongolic clausal order is thus reconstructible as the same. Gaps in the table below indicate unattested comparanda.

Table 68. Comparison of Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol clausal order

Middle Kitan	Middle Mongol	T'u-yü-hun	Common Serbi-Mongolic
OV	OV		*[OV]
SV	SV		*[SV]
SOV	SOV		*[SOV]
S_{NP} $Pred_{NP/Num}$	S_{NP} $Pred_{NP}$	S_{NP} $Pred_{NP}$	*[S_{NP} $Pred_{NP}$]
	(also Khalkha [S_{NP} $Pred_{Num}$])		

Note the following examples:

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Table 69. Serbi-Mongolic syntactic correspondences for [OV] clausal order

Middle Kitan	Middle Mongol
米廾𠂉 父火𠂤屮叉	[格児圖[香]里顏] [古児罷]
‹ordu.u.du› ‹k.ui.d.l.eñ›	*ger-tür-iyen* *gürbe*
*ɔrdu-du *kuyd-ləñ	*gər-t^{h}ur-iyən *gur-bə
tent.palace-DL arrive-PST	tent-DL-REFL arrive-PST
‘[He] arrived at the tent palace.’	‘[He] arrived at his tent.’
(*YChüeh* 14: 25-26)	(*SHM* §93)[34]

Table 70. Serbi-Mongolic syntactic correspondences for [SV] clausal order

Middle Kitan		
圣当	戈夯	业及子北
‹ǰur.en›	‹š.ên›	‹p.o.ǰ.Awr›
*ǰur-ən-Ø	*šɛn	*pɔǰ-Awr
painting-PL-NOM	new	become-CVB
‘The paintings had become new, and…’		
(*Lang* 3: 13-15)		

Middle Mongol			
[孛端察児]	[孛児只斤]	[斡孛[黑]壇]	[孛魯罷]
Bodončar	*Borǰigin*	*oboqtan*	*bolba*
*bɔtɔntʃ^{h}ar-Ø	*bɔrtʃigin	*ɔbɔq-t^{h}an	*bɔl-ba
PERS.N-NOM	P.N	clan.name-SUFF.PL	become-PST
‘Bodonchar became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name Borjigin.’			
(*SHM* §42; Cleaves 1982: 9)[35]			

[34] de Rachewiltz (2006: 29).

[35] de Rachewiltz translates this as ‘from Bodončar [stemmed the] Borǰigin [clan]’ (2006: 8).

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Table 71. Serbi-Mongolic syntactic correspondences for [SOV] clausal order

Middle Kitan		
丰	仝各必	仝为本
‹ai›	‹s.êng.un›	‹s.a.ar›
*ay-Ø	*sɛŋun-Ø	*sa-r
father-NOM	title-ACC_{INDF}	serve-PST.VN♂
'[His] father served as Field Marshal.'		
(*YHsiang* 16: 37-39).[36]		

Middle Mongol				
[蒙力克]	[額赤格]	[帖木只泥]	[阿(卜)抽]	[亦舌列罷]
Münglik	*ečige*	*Temüǰin-i*	*a(b)ču*	*irebe.*
*muŋlik	*ətʃʰigə	*tʰəmuǰin-i	*ab-tʃʰʊ	*irə-bə
PERS.N	father-NOM	PERS.N-ACC	take-PFV.CVB	come-PST
'Father Münglik came with (lit. 'bringing') Temüjin.'				
(*SHM* §69)[37]				

These clausal orders are very common cross-linguistically, and are thus unremarkable from a typological perspective.

In addition to the above, there is also the verbless copular clause [S_{NP} $Pred_{NP}$], i.e. [Sent = NP + NP], attested in Middle Kitan, Middle Mongol, and in the only known T'u-yü-hun sentence.

[36] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 174) translate this as '[the] father held the rank of Field Marshal'.

[37] '…Father Mönglik brought Temüǰin back with him' (de Rachewiltz (2006: 17).

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Table 72. Serbi-Mongolic syntactic correspondences for [S_{NP} $Pred_{NP}$] clausal order

Middle Kitan				
朮化当	丙	几	乏屮凡芬	分禾伏
‹č.ur.en›	‹omo›	‹ku›	‹š.l› ‹g.e›	‹pu.ⁱši.ñ›
*čur-ən	*ɔmɔ	*ku	*šlgə	*pušiñ
second-ORD♀	woman	person	PERS.N	lady
‘[His] second wife [was] Lady *Šlgə.’				
(*YHsiang* 13: 1-6).[38]				

Middle Mongol		
[必]	[馬阿里黑]	[伯牙兀歹]
bi	*Ma’aliq*	*Baya’udai*
*bi	*mafialiq	*bayafiʊt-ay
1SG.NOM	clan.name-NZR	
‘I am a Ma’aliq Baya’ut.’		
(*SHM* §15)[39]		

T’u-yü-hun	
[處]	[可寒]
*tś^{h}ɨ	*k^{h}aɣan (LMC)
*č^{h}ɪ	*q^{h}aʁan
you	emperor
‘You are the emperor.’	
(*Sung Shu* 96: 2369)	

[38] See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 167) for translation.

[39] de Rachewiltz translates this as ‘I am a man of the Ma’aliq Baya’ut’ (2006: 3).

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Table 73. Serbi-Mongolic syntactic correspondences for [S_{NP} $Pred_{Num}$] clausal order

Middle Kitan

凡太	支兴必	舟列出	戈
‹g.ung›	‹ǰ.u.un›	‹b.γ.an›	‹FIVE♂›
*guŋǰu-n		*bʁan	*taw$^{?}$
$\begin{bmatrix} princess-\text{GEN} & son-\text{PL} \\ {}_{NP}[\text{N}-\text{Gen N}] \\ \boldsymbol{S} \end{bmatrix}$			$\begin{bmatrix} five \\ [\text{Num}] \\ \boldsymbol{Pred} \end{bmatrix}$

‘The princess had five sons.’
(*Chung* 6: 18-21)

Modern Khalkha

Манайхан	**гурвуулаа.**
[maˈnæχɨ̆N	qʊrˈwʊɮa].
manai-xŋ-Ø	ɢʊrw-UɮA
$\begin{bmatrix} 1\text{COMM}-\text{NZR.HUM}-\text{NOM} \\ {}_{NP}[\text{N}] \\ \boldsymbol{S} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} three.\text{OBL}-\text{COLL} \\ [\text{Num}] \\ \boldsymbol{Pred} \end{bmatrix}$

‘There are three people in our family.’
(lit. ‘Ours three’).

This clausal order is common in languages of Eastern Eurasia, e.g. Russian, Manchu, informal spoken Modern Korean, and others.

8.4.1.2. Common Serbi-Mongolic phrasal order

The Kitan Assembled Script corpus provides substantial evidence of Middle Kitan phrasal order, including the following, which I have compared with attested Middle Mongol:

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[Adj N]

In both attested Middle Kitan and attested Middle Mongol, adjectives precede the nouns they modify:

Table 74. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [Adj N] phrasal order

Middle Kitan	Middle Mongol
𘮬𘮭𘮪 𘮫𘮩	[忽剌安] [迭額勒]
‹l.iau.qu› ‹ñ.aq›	*hula'an de'el*
*lyawqu *ñaq	*hʊlaɦan *təɦəl
red dog	red garment
'red dog'	'red garment'
(*YTi* 14: 27-28)	(*SHM* §146; Ozawa 1986: 164; Cleaves 1982: 73)[40]

[Dem N]

Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol demonstratives precede the nouns they modify:

Table 75. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [Dem N] phrasal order

Middle Kitan	Middle Mongol
𘮯 𘮰	[帖𠯿列] [額篾]
‹e› ‹omo›	*tere eme*
*ə *ɔmɔ	*t^{h}ərə *əmə
PROX woman	DIST woman
'this woman' (*Hai* 5: 24-27	'that woman' (*SHM* §38; Ozawa 1984: 180)

[G N]

In both Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol, the possessor precedes the possessum:

[40] de Rachewiltz translates this as 'a red coat' (2006: 67).

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Table 76. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [G N] phrasal order

Middle Kitan	Middle Mongol
𐲀𐲉𐲍 𐲎𐲖𐲘 𐲁𐲊𐲓	[中海都因] [可兀惕]
‹g.ung› ‹ǰ.u.un› ‹b.γ.an›	*Qaidu-yin* *ke'üt*
*guŋǰu-n *bʁ-an	*qaydʊ-yin *kəɦut
princess-GEN child-PL	pers.n-GEN son.PL
'children of the princess'	'sons of Qaidu'
(*Chung* 6: 18-20)	(*SHM* §47)

[Num N]

In both Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol, numerals precede the nouns they modify:

Table 77. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [Num N] phrasal order

Middle Kitan	Middle Mongol
𐲀 𐲔𐲖	[中忽児班] [可兀惕]
‹THREE♂› ‹k.u›	*qurban* *ke'üt*
*ɢur *ku	*qʊrba-n *k^{h}əɦu-t
three♂ boy	three-ATTR son-PL
'three boys' (*Ku* 17: 4-5)	'three sons' (*SHM* §17: de Rachewiltz 2006: 3)

[Rel N]

Relative clauses precede the nouns they modify:

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Table 78. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [Rel N] phrasal order

Middle Kitan	Middle Mongol
𘮩𘮪𘮫 𘮬𘮭	[亦𘮫列古] [察黑]
‹d.ge.en› ‹s.uñ›	*iregü* *čaq*
*dgə-n *suñ	*irə-gu *ʧʰaq
die-PST.VN♀ night	come-FUT.VN time
‘the night on which she died’	‘the time [when he] will come’
(*HsTi* 50: 1-2)	(*SHM* §31; Cleaves 1982: 7; Ozawa 1984: 162)[41]

[Adv V]

In both Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol, adverbs precede the verbs they modify:

Table 79. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [Adv V] phrasal order

Middle Kitan	Middle Mongol
𘮨𘮩 𘮧𘮪𘮦	[必] [巴撒] [斡惕抽]
‹b.as› ‹y.eu.ǰ›	*bi* *basa* *odču* …
*bas *yəw-ǰ	*bi *basa *ɔtʰ-čʰʊ …
again move-CVB	1SG also go-CVB …
‘[he] moved **again** and…’	‘I **too** shall go and…’
(*HsTi* 21: 6-7)	(*SHM* §169; cf. Ozawa 1986: 340)[42]

[Neg V]

Both Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol are characterized by preverbal negative marking. In Middle Mongol, *ese* negates perfective verbs, *ülü* negates imperfective verbs, and there is a prohibitive marker *bü*. All of these precede the verb they modify. In attested Middle Kitan, *gi is a preverbal negative

[41] de Rachewiltz translates this as ‘the time of his coming’ (2006: 6).

[42] de Rachewiltz translates this as ‘I too shall go and…’ (2006: 87).

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marker. Although this word is not etymologically related to Middle Mongol *ese* or *ülü*, its syntactic patterning is identical.[43]

Table 80. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [Neg V] phrasal order

Middle Kitan	Middle Mongol
𘍏 𘍠𘍡𘍢𘍣𘍤	[額薛] [完勒荅來]
‹gi› ‹k.ui.d.l.ñ›	*ese* *oldalai*
*gi *kuyd-ləñ	*əsə *ɔl-ta-lay
NEG arrive-PST	NEG find-PASS-PST.1H
'[Subject] did **not** arrive.'	'[She] was **not** found.'
(*YP'u* 20: 12-13).	(*SHM* §112; Ozawa 1985: 305; Cleaves 1982: 47)[44]

[N Post]

Like Middle Mongol, and most OV languages for that matter, Middle Kitan grammar is characterized by postpositional affixes, e.g. case suffixes.

Table 81. Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol [N Post] phrasal order

Middle Kitan	Middle Mongol
𘍦𘍧	[桓突舌児]
‹po.do›	*hon-tur*
*pɔ-dɔ	*hɔn-t^{h}ʊr
time-DL	year-DL
'at the time'	'in/by the year'
(*HsTi* 3:27)	(*SHM* §204)[45]

[43] Middle Kitan *gi 'preverbal negative marker' is cognate to Middle Mongol *ügei* 'not existing, absence'. See §8.5.3 for details.

[44] de Rachewiltz translates this as '[he] could not find her' (2006: 42), but in the original text the verb is in the passive voice.

[45] In this specific passage in the *SHM*, this construction is functioning as an adverb, which de Rachewiltz translates as 'yearly' (2006: 136).

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The above-mentioned Serbi-Mongolic phrasal order correspondences are summarized in the table below:

Table 82. Comparison of Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol phrasal order

Middle Kitan	Middle Mongol
Adj N	Adj N
Dem N	Dem N
G N	G N
Num N	Num N
Adv V	Adv V
Rel N	Rel N
Neg V	Neg V
N Post	N Post

From this, it is clear that attested Middle Kitan phrasal order, as we currently understand it, was basically identical to attested Middle Mongol phrasal order. I thus reconstruct Common Serbi-Mongolic phrasal order as follows:

Table 83. Common Serbi-Mongolic phrasal order

Common Serbi-Mongolic
*[Adj N]
*[Dem N]
*[G N]
*[Num N]
*[Rel N]
*[N Post]
*[Adv V]
*[Neg V]

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8.4.3. Null subjects (‘Pro-Drop’) in Common Serbi-Mongolic

Middle Kitan and Mongolic are null subject (or ‘pro-drop’) languages, i.e. a sentence does not need to have a subject in its surface representation to be grammatical. Note the following examples:

Table 84. Pro-drop in Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol

Middle Kitan		
丣	戾	舟反仝
‹ǰau›	‹tau›	‹b.o.or›
*ǰawtaw		*bɔ-r
punitive.commissioner		become-PST
‘[He] became a Punitive Commissioner.’ (*HsTi* 5:4-6; Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010:67).		

Middle Mongol		
[那牙勤]	[斡孛黑壇]	[孛魯罷]
Noyakin	*oboqtan*	*bolba*
*nɔyak^{h}in	*ɔbɔqt^{h}an	*bɔl-ba
P.N	clan.name-SUFF.PL	become-PST
‘[He] became [ancestor of] those with the clan name Noyakin.’ (*SHM* §46; Ozawa 1984:198).		

Pro-drop is a cross-linguistically very widespread phenomenon, well known in such unrelated language families as Indo-European (e.g. Russian and Italian), Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Turkic, Tibetan, and many others. Given the fact that both Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol are pro-drop languages, it is highly likely that Common Serbi-Mongolic was also characterized by pro-drop.

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8.5. The Common Serbi-Mongolic Lexicon

There are a significant number of cognates between the Serbi and Mongolic languages, enough to strongly suggest, and with the additional morphological evidence discussed above, *support* a claim of genetic affinity, but the majority of the cognates are different enough in phonological form, and sometimes also semantically, from what we can reconstruct of Old Mongol and Proto-Mongolic that it is clear that Kitan, Taghbach, and T'u-yü-hun were not direct *ancestors* of Mongolic, i.e. Poppe's (1976) "Ancient Mongolian", but that they represented a sister branch to Mongolic—the Serbi branch, constituent languages of which were spoken at least by the ruling elite of the Serbi peoples.

Note the following Kitan-Taghbach-Mongol cognates:

Table 85. Some attested Kitan-Taghbach-Mongol cognates

gloss	MKit	Taghbach	Middle Mongol	Pcl WMgl	Common Serbi-Mongolic
'dog'	*ñaq	*ñaqañ	*noqai* *[nɔq^{h}aj]	*noqai*	*ñɔk^{h}añ
'cloud'	*əwl	*uwl	*e'üle-n* *[əɦulən]	*egülen*	*əɣulə

A large component of the Kitan lexicon has Mongolic cognates: Numerous grammatical suffixes, all of the deciphered numerals (with the possible exception of 'one'), most of the zoonyms ('ox/cow', 'dog', 'bird of prey', 'goat', 'horse', 'snake', 'chicken, hen', 'rabbit, hare'), directions (e.g. 'left', 'right', 'east'), kinship terms (e.g. 'maternal uncle', 'siblings', 'grandfather', 'child', and 'younger brother'), time and cosmology-related words (e.g. 'sun/day', 'moon/month', 'season/time', 'autumn', 'winter', 'spring',[46] 'summer', 'night', 'intercalary'), certain adjectives (e.g. 'good', 'new'), verbs (e.g. 'be, become', 'die', 'reach, arrive', 'move, transfer', 'ride', 'fall', 'give', 'reside', 'gather/collect', 'pacify', 'be friendly', 'return, come back'), words relating to military ('army'), demonstratives ('this', 'that'), words for dwellings ('tent'), natural phenomena ('river', 'water', 'lake',

[46] Kara (1996a).

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‘cloud’, ‘salt’), culture (‘shoot, archery’, ‘tilling land, farming’, ‘female shaman’), the word for ‘person’, and numerous other lexical items have good cognates in Mongolic. This is just within the limited corpus of currently deciphered words. Further progress in the decipherment of the Kitan scripts, and work on the Chinese transcriptions of the language, is sure to uncover more and more words cognate to Mongolic. The Taghbach and T’u-yü-hun corpora likewise offer good Mongolic cognates. Taghbach words with Mongolic cognates include nouns: ‘house’, ‘cook, chef’, ‘judge’, ‘wolf’, ‘artemisia’, ‘net’, ‘cord, strap’, ‘relay route’, ‘assassin’, ‘interpreter’, ‘prefect’, ‘dog’, ‘bridge’, ‘weapon’, ‘dirt, soil, earth’, ‘cloud’, and ‘raised earth, embankment’; the verbs ‘be warm’, ‘go’, ‘cultivate’, and ‘surround’; and the adjective ‘bald’. Solidly attested T’u-yü-hun words with Mongolic cognates include words for ‘elder brother’, ‘you’, and ‘river’. There are also at least two other Middle Serbi words with Mongolic cognates: the Yü-wen dialect word ‘grass’ and an unspecified Middle Serbi dialect word for ‘thirty’.

Below I provide a lexicon of reconstructed Common Serbi-Mongolic forms and a few Common Serbi forms with comparanda within the Serbi branch but not Mongolic. All of these forms are arranged alphabetically by attested Serbi reflexes. For discussion of individual reflexes in Taghbach and T’u-yü-hun, see Chapter Five and Chapter Six. This lexicon presents 19 reconstructed Common Serbi-Mongolic suffixes and grammatical morphemes, 106 reconstructed Common Serbi-Mongolic words, one reconstructed Common Serbi suffix, and two reconstructed Common Serbi words.

In identifying cognates I have focused primarily on data from early and medieval languages. I have included data from modern languages only when particularly relevant or informative.

See below for the alphabetical order employed in this lexicon:

a b č $č^{h}$ d ɛ ə g ɢ ɣ h ɦ i ɪ ǰ k k^{h} l m n ñ ŋ
o ɔ p p^{h} q q^{h} r ʁ s š t t^{h} u ʊ V w x y ž

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8.5.1. Common Serbi suffixes and grammatical morphemes

T'u-yü-hun *-čin/*-čiñ [ཅིན] 'having X', cognate to Qay *-čin/*-čiñ [眞][47] < CSer *-čin / *-čiñ 'id.'[48]

8.5.2. Common Serbi words

Tagh *dɪ- [地] 'write', attested as a verbal noun ☆dɪ-ʁa [地何] 'writing (書)'.[49] Cognate to Middle Kitan *č- 𘮬 ‹č.› 'write an inscription (題)'.[50] CSer *tɪ- ~ *dɪ- 'to write' (← 書 LOC dial. *tɨ 'to write').[51]

Tagh *q^{h}aʁbagčɪn [可薄眞] 'door guards (守門人)'.[52] The *-n is a plural suffix (see entry for MKit *-an 𘮭 ~ *-ən 𘮮 'lexicalized plural suffix' below). Taghbach *q^{h}aʁbagčɪ 'door guard' is cognate to LKit *qaba(q)čɪ [賀跋支] 'person who guards the chambers of the chancellor'.[53] CSer *k^{h}aɣbaGčɪ 'door guard'.[54]

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[47] As in the Qay hydronym *t^{h}ɔʁʊ-čiñ/*t^{h}ɔʁʊ-čin [土護眞] (*HTS* 219: 6173). See §6.2.1.1 entry for T'u-yü-hun Silgucïn for discussion.

[48] Cf. also Ewenki *-cii* 'suffix denoting the holder or owner of something' (Vasilevich 1958: 682). This suffix is possibly related to the CSM occupational suffix (see entry for Tagh *-čɪ-n ~ *-či-n [眞] 'plural occupational suffix' below).

[49] See Chapter Five entry for I-ch'in-ti-ho.

[50] This Middle Kitan verb is attested in the masculine past tense form *č-ər 𘮬𘮪 ‹č.^{e}r› 'write-PST$^{♂}$', e.g. *Lang* (5: 30).

[51] See Chapter Five for discussion.

[52] *NCS* (57: 985).

[53] *CTKC:* See Vovin (2003) for the Chinese transcription and translation of this Kitan word and Chapter Five entry for K'o-po-chen for discussion. The phonological reconstruction given above is my own, based on an Old Mandarin reading of the characters.

[54] As noted several times before in the literature, this word is clearly related to Turkic, cf. Vovin (2003, 2007) and Franke (1976). Previous studies have generally assumed that this

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Tagh *q^{h}aʁsʊn [可孫] ‘imperial consort (皇后)’ ~ *q^{h}aʁtʊn [可敦] ‘the imperial ancestral mothers (皇妣先)’. Cognate to T’u-yü-hun *q^{h}aʁtsʊn [恪尊] ‘wife (妻) of the khaghan (可汗)’. CSer *k^{h}agtʊn ‘wife of the khaghan’.[55]

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is a Turkic loanword into Taghbach, an assumption which is historically problematic since Turkic-speaking peoples of the Mongolian Plateau and North China did not rise to prestige until the 6th century, several centuries after the Taghbach, who are known to have founded an influential state which dominated North China for several centuries. On historical grounds, this is likely to be a Serbi-Mongolic loanword into Turkic. See Shimunek et al. (2015) for linguistic and historical considerations on the Archaic Turkic-speaking Chieh. On the sound change of ATrk *VqCV̆ > attested OTrk *VC*, e.g. attested ATrk *tuqtă- ‘capture (捉得)’ > attested OTrk *tut-* ‘capture, grab, catch’, see Shimunek et al. (2015) for discussion. I thus propose CSer *k^{h}aɣbaGčɪ ‘door guard’ < *k^{h}aɣbaG ‘door’ (composed of a verbal root *k^{h}aɣba- with *-G ‘deverbal noun suffix’) < CSM *k^{h}a$\widehat{\gamma\beta}$a- ‘to close (e.g. a door)’ > PMgl *k^{h}aɣa- > attested early MMgl *qa’a-* [^{中}合阿], i.e. *[qaɦa-], glossed as ‘to enclose (圍)’ (*SHM* §245) and ‘to close (閉)’ (*HIIY* 1.09a6) > Khalkha **хаа-** [χaː-] ‘id.’ > /xaa-/ + /-ʁG/ ‘deverbal noun suffix’ > **хаалга** /xaa-ʁG/ [ˈχaːʁəq] ‘door’. On CSM *-ʁ$\widehat{\beta}$- ~ *-$\widehat{\gamma\beta}$- see also §5.2.2 entry for Ta-po *shih*. Attested Old Turkic *qapɨʁ* ‘gate’ (8th c., *GOrkT* 341) and the attested Middle Turkic words *qapʁa* ‘gate’ (11th c.) ~ *qapɨʁ* ‘gate, door’ (11th c.) ~ *qapaʁ* ‘gate, door’ (presumably 10th c.) and *qapaʁčɨ* ~ *qapɨʁčɨ* ‘doorman, gatekeeper, guard, standing at the gate’ (presumably 10th c.) ~ *qapɨʁčɨ* ‘id.’ (ca. 14th c. edition of 11th c. text) are not based on an attested Turkic verbal root, and are thus probably reflexes of unattested Archaic Turkic words borrowed from Common Serbi *k^{h}aɣbaGčɪ ‘door guard’ and *k^{h}aɣbaG ‘door’. The Middle Turkic forms and their earliest attestations which I quote above are from *DTS* 420-421. Given the lack of a *ɣ reflex in the Late Kitan form, the possibility remains that it is a loanword from Middle Turkic (i.e. Taghbach *q^{h}aʁbaGčɪ */*k^{h}aɣbaGčɪ/ ‘door guard’ → unattested ATrk > OTrk > MTrk *qapaʁčɨ* ‘door guard’ → MKit > LKit *qaba(q)čɪ ‘id.’), but we know too little about the phonological differences between Middle Kitan and Late Kitan to determine this with certainty.

[55] This word is first attested ca. 4th-5th c. in Taghbach and T’u-yü-hun, i.e. Middle Serbi dialects. The word subsequently spread to other languages of Central Eurasia. In Turkic, it is first attested in early Old Turkic in a Chinese transcription dating to ca. 6th c. as *qaʁatun [可賀頓] (e.g. *Chou Shu* 50: 909); the first inscriptional attestation in Turkic is 8th c. OTrk *qatun* ‘empress’ (*GOrkT* 342-343). Early Middle Mongol *qatun* [^{中}合屯] ‘lady (娘子)’

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8.5.3. Common Serbi-Mongolic suffixes and grammatical morphemes

Tagh *-Ay ~ *-ɣAy ~ *-ɣA and LKit *-A ‘verbal noun suffix’.[56] Cognate to Middle Mongol *-Ai* *[-aj ~ -əj] ~ *-’Ai* *[-ɦaj ~ -ɦəj] ~ *-A* *[-a ~ -ə] ~ *-’A* *[-ɦa ~ -ɦə] ‘resultative perfective verbal noun suffix’.[57] CSM *-Ay ~ *-ɣAy ~ *-A ~ *-ɣA ‘perfective verbal noun suffix’.

Tagh *-Al ~ *-l ‘deverbal noun suffix’.[58] Cognate to Middle Mongol *-l* as in MMgl *belči-l* ‘pasture’,[59] *törö-l* ‘birth, existence’,[60] *ükü-l* ‘death’,[61] *taqi-l*

(*SHM* §64) is probably a late borrowing from Turkic, or is otherwise phonologically influenced by Turkic, since it does not retain the */gt/ sequence of the earlier Serbi forms. Note also late Middle Mongol *qatun* [قاتُون] ‘lady’ (*Leid.* 75a-08-1-2) ~ *χatun* [خَاتون] ‘id.’ (*Leid.* 75a-06-3-2). Modern Persian *khātūn* (خَاتُون) ‘lady, noble lady, matron’ (Aryanpur-Kashani 1986: 95) is a loanword from a Middle Turkic reflex of Old Turkic *qatun* < unattested ATrk *qaqtun ← Taghbach *q^{h}aʁtʊn ‘id.’; on the phonological change of ATrk *VqC > OTrk *VC*, see Shimunek et al. (2015) and the entry for Taghbach *q^{h}aʁbagčɪn ‘door guards’ above. Moghol [xɔˈtun] ‘Frau’ (Weiers 1972: 167a) and Āzragī (Hazāragī) [χɒˈto] (خاتو) ‘wife’ (Mālistānī 1993) are loanwords from Persian or Middle Turkic, i.e. Moghol ~ Āzragī ← (Persian ←) MTrk < OTrk < ATrk ← Taghbach. CSer *k^{h}agtʊn is undoubtedly connected with the masculine CSM titles *k^{h}aɣan ‘emperor’ and *k^{h}a ‘ruler’ (see entries in §8.5.4 below), but the details remain to be conclusively determined.

[56] See entries for Taghbach *dɪ-ʁa ‘writing’, *ɦɔr- ‘go’ as in *ɦɔr-ay ‘going’, *ɦʊrʁ-ay ‘cultivation’, *k^{h}ɪr-ʁay ‘killing’ in *k^{h}ɪr-ʁay-čɪ-n ‘assassin’ and Late Kitan *qary-a ‘returning’ below.

[57] E.g. attested Middle Mongol *ayis-ai* (*SHM* §129), *ire-’ei* (*SHM* §67), *ana-’ai* (*SHM* §175), *bari-qda-’a* (*SHM* §53) etc. In his careful analysis of Middle Mongol tense, mood, aspect, and evidentiality, Brosig concludes that this Middle Mongol suffix denotes a perfective, and in most instances, a resultative perfective (2014: 97-99).

[58] See entries for Taghbach *ɦorbə-l ‘warmth’ and *pary-al ‘bridge’ below.

[59] MMgl *belčil* [بيلجل] ‘pasture’ (*MAA:* Poppe 1938: 116a).

[60] E.g. *ES:* Kara (2009: 287).

[61] E.g. *ES:* Kara (2009: 316).

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'worship, sacrifice, offering',[62] *abura-l* 'redemption, saving',[63] *soyurqa-l* 'bestowal, show of grace'.[64] CSM *-Al ~ *-l 'deverbal noun suffix'.

MKit *-an 出 ‹.an› ~ *-ən 当 ‹.en› 'lexicalized plural suffix', e.g. MKit *bʁ-an 扑列出 ‹b.γ.an› 'children' and *ǰur-ən 圣当 ‹ǰur.en› 'paintings'.[65] Cognate to Middle Mongol *-n* 'lexicalized plural suffix'[66] and Taghbach *-n 'plural suffix'.[67] CSM *-Vn ~ *-n 'plural suffix'.

MKit *-bəñ 扑伏 ‹.b.ñ› ~ 扑叉 ‹.b.eñ› ~ 屮 ‹.beñ›[68] 'past or perfective verbal noun suffix'. Cognate to Middle Mongol *-bAi* *[-baj ~ -bəj] 'past factual suffix'.[69] The Late Kitan reflex seems to be *-βəñ/*-βən [盌] ~ [本], attested in Old Mandarin transcription in the *Liao Shih*, e.g. *p^{h}usu-βəñ/*p^{h}usu-βən [蒲速盌] 'flourishing (興旺、興隆)',[70] *yaru-βəñ/*yaru-βən [耶魯盌] 'thriving (興旺、興盛)',[71] *dwar-βəñ/*dwar-βən [奪里本]

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[62] E.g. *ES:* Kara (2009: 274).

[63] E.g. *ES:* Kara (2009: 3).

[64] E.g. attested early MMgl *soyurqal* [莎余舌児中合勒] 'bestowal, show of grace (恩賜)' (*SHM* §202).

[65] See also §7.3.2.3.

[66] In Middle Mongol this suffix is attested on nouns as well as adjectival nouns, e.g. MMgl *elči* [額勒赤] 'envoy' (*SHM* §126) vs. *elči-n* [額勒臣] 'envoys' (*SHM* §133; although not glossed as plural) and *mawu* [卯兀] 'bad (unmarked for number)' (*SHM* §111) vs. *mawu-n* [卯溫] 'bad (plural)' (*SHM* §245; de Rachewiltz (2006: 882) translates this *mawun* as 'naughty ones'). See Poppe (1954: 72 §270, §271, §272) for discussion of this plural suffix in Written Mongol.

[67] See entries for Taghbach *-čı-n, *bʊčın, *čarʁʊyčın, *ɣyamčın, *k^{h}ırʁaychın, and *k^{h}ılmərčın in §8.5.4 below.

[68] See §7.3.2.1.6, §7.3.3.4, and Kane (2009: 147) for examples of this well-attested Middle Kitan suffix.

[69] E.g. MMgl *ǰirqa-bai* [只児中合伯] 'rejoiced' (*HIIY* 2.25b3) and *kör-bei* [可児伯] 'became cold' (*HIIY* 1.03b2). Brosig analyzes Middle Mongol *-bAi* as 'past factual' (2014: 54, 100).

[70] *LS* (31: 365).

[71] *LS* (31: 364).

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‘pacification (討平)’,[72] and *čišid-βəñ/*čišid-βən [赤寔得本] ‘filial piety (孝)’.[73] CSM *-bAñ ‘past (factual?) verbal noun suffix’.

Tagh ☆-čɪ-n ~ ☆-či-n [眞] ‘plural occupational suffix’.[74] Cognate to Middle Mongol *-či* *[-tʃʰi] ~ plural *-či-n* *[-tʃʰin] ‘id.’ and Middle Kitan */-ǰ/ 礻 ‘occupational suffix’ as in *čawǰ 兩礻 ‹čau.ǰ› ‘one who does battle’, phonemically probably */čawr/ 兩灾 ‹čau.ur› ‘battle’ + */-ǰ/.[75] Given the Middle Mongol lexicalized plural suffix *-n* (see entry for MKit *-an ~ *-ən ‘plural suffix’ above), the Taghbach form is likely to be a plural, i.e. *-či-n, composed of *-či ‘occupational suffix’ + *-n ‘plural suffix’. Note also the Late Kitan reflex *-ǰʰɪ [支] ‘occupational suffix’.[76] CSM *-ǰʰI ‘occupational suffix’.[77]

MKit *-d 公 ‹.d› ~ *-t 今 ‹.t› and *-s 仐 ‹.s› ‘lexicalized non-obligatory plural suffix’. [78] Cognate to the phonologically-conditioned Middle Mongol plural suffixes *-s* (on stems ending in vowels) and *-t* (replacing the final consonant of stems ending in consonants). CSM *-d ~ *-s ‘non-obligatory plural suffix’.

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[72] *LS* (31: 365).

[73] *LS* (31: 370).

[74] See entries for Taghbach *bʊčɪn, *čarʁʊyčɪn, *ɣyamčɪn, *kʰɪrʁayčɪn, and ☆kʰɪlmɔrčɪn / ☆kʰɪlmʊrčɪn below.

[75] See Kane (2009: 187, n. 2) for the Kitan form. See also Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 69-70). The reconstructions and phonological analyses presented here are my own. On the deletion of phonemic */r/ before */ǰ/ and */č/, see the discussion of MKit */kuyr-/ ‘reach, arrive’ in §7.3.2.1.6.

[76] E.g. attested LKit *qaba(q)čɪ [賀跋支] (OM *xapatśɨ) ‘person who guards the chambers of the chancellor’. See Chapter Five entry for K’o-po-chen for discussion.

[77] See entry for MKit *-an ‘plural suffix’ above for CSM *-n ‘plural suffix allomorph’.

[78] E.g. Middle Kitan *ay-d 丰公 ‹ai.d› ‘fathers’ but *ay-s 丰仐 ‹ai.s› ‘years’ (Kane 2009: 49). Note also Kitan *qʰɪta-s 奴仐 ‹qɪta.s› ‘Kitans’ and *gur-s 几灾仐 ‹g.ur.s› ‘countries’. These examples clearly show that these plural suffixes were lexicalized, i.e. they were not phonologically conditioned in Middle Kitan.

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MKit *-də 矢 ‹.de› ~ *-dɔ 朱 ‹.do› ~ *-du 凡 ‹.du› ‘dative-locative case suffix’. Cognate to the Middle Mongol dative-locative *-DU ~ -DA*. Middle Mongol *-DUr* ‘dative-locative case suffix’[79] is probably the result of a morpheme merger with an older ablative *-DUr (cf. MKit ablative *-dur). CSM *-DV ‘dative-locative case’.

MKit *-dɔʁ[80] ~ *-dəɣ 公 刘 ‹.d.ɣ› ~ *-dər 公 父 ‹.d.ᵉr› ~ *-ər ~ *-r 父 ‹.ᵉr› ~ *-irər 仇 父 ‹.ir.ᵉr› ‘masculine ordinal numeral suffix’.[81] Cognate to spoken the Middle Mongol ordinal numeral suffix *-DA’Ar ~ -DU’Ar* *[-taɦar ~ -təɦər ~ -tʰaɦar ~ -tʰəɦər ~ -tʊɦar ~ -tuɦər ~ -tʰʊɦar ~ -tʰuɦər],[82] as in *quta’ar ~ qutu’ar* ‘third’, *dötü’er* ‘fourth’, *tabtu’ar* ‘fifth’, *dolodu’ar* ‘seventh’, etc.[83] and Preclassical Written Mongol *-DAGAr ~ -DUGAr* as in *ɣutaɣar* ‘third’, *dötöger* ‘fourth’, *tabtaɣar* ‘fifth’, *ǰirɣuduɣar* ‘sixth’, *doloduɣar* ‘seventh’, *naimaduɣar* ‘eighth’, *yisüdüger* ‘ninth’, etc.[84] The modern Daur reflex is *-dAAr* as in *nək-dəər* ‘first’, *xoir-daar* ‘second’, *gʷarəb-daar* ‘third’, *durub-dəər* ‘fourth’, *taawu-daar* ‘fifth’, *ʤirɣoo-daar* ‘sixth’, *doloo-daar* ‘seventh’, *naim-daar* ‘eighth’, *is-dəər* ‘ninth’, *xarəb-daar* ‘tenth’, etc.[85] The modern Khalkha reflexes are the ordinal numeral suffix /-tŬGAr/, realized as **-дугаар** [-tŭˈʁar] ~ **-дүгээр** [-tŭˈɣɛr], and the

[79] E.g. MMgl in Preclassical orthography *-dur* as in *Qara Qorum-dur* ‘in Qara Qorum’ (*Mön. I*, *l.* 9-10), *-dür* as in *ibegen-dür* (*Qub. II*, *l.* 2), *-tur* as in *ǰrlγ-tur* (*Qub. I*, *l.* 8), and *-tür* as in *sümes-tür* (*Qub. I*, *l.* 17).

[80] The allomorph *-dɔʁ does not have a one-to-one match in Kitan Assembled Script orthography, i.e. *tɔ-dɔʁ 令币反扎 ‹t.od.o.oγ› ~ *ta-dɔʁ 令亦反扎 ‹t.ad.o.oγ› ‘fifth (masculine)’.

[81] See §7.3.2.1.5.1 for Middle Kitan *tɔ-dɔʁ ~ *ta-dɔʁ ‘fifth (masculine)’, *iši-dər ~ *iši-dəɣ ‘ninth’, *…-dər ‘tenth’, etc.

[82] The phonological reconstructions presented here are my own, based on Old Mandarin transcriptions.

[83] See Rybatzki (2003: 70) for a discussion of the Middle Mongol ordinal numerals.

[84] See Kara (2009: 82, 85, 112, 135, 189, 270, 331).

[85] Tsumagari (2003: 139-140) and Engkebatu (1984: 52, 57, 116, 243, 284, 288).

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noun /tʊɢar/ **дугаар** [tʊˈʁar] ‘number (e.g. phone number, journal issue number, etc.)’. CSM *-DUɣAr ‘masculine ordinal numeral suffix’.[86]

MKit *-ən 木 ‹.en› ~ *-ɔn 尒 ‹.on› ~ *-un 火 ‹.un› ~ *-n 公 ‹.n› ~ *-ñ 伏 ‹.ñ› ‘genitive suffix’[87] and T’u-yü-hun *-yin/*-yiñ [寅] ‘genitive-attributive suffix’. Cognate to Middle Mongol *-Un* *[-ʊn ~ -un] ~ *-U* *[-ʊ ~ -u] ~ *-yin* ‘genitive-attributive suffix’. CSM *-Vn ~ *-n ~ *-yin ~ *-ñ ‘genitive-attributive suffix’.

MKit *-ər ~ *-r 父 ‹.ᵉr› ~ *-ur 安 ‹.ur› ~ 化 ‹.ur› ‘accusative-instrumental-comitative case suffix’.[88] Cognate to Middle Mongol instrumental *-’Ar ~ -i’Ar* ‘instrumental case’[89] < PMgl *-ɣAr/*-βAr ~ *-IɣAr/*-IβAr ‘instrumental case suffix’. CSM *-ɣVr ‘instrumental case suffix’.

MKit *-ər 父 ‹.ᵉr› ~ *-r 父 ‹.ᵉr› ~ 木 ‹.ar› ~ 尘 ‹.or› ~ 安 ‹.ur› ‘masculine past tense suffix’.[90] Probably cognate to Proto-Mongolic *-r ‘verbal noun suffix’,[91] also attested in Middle Mongol reanalyzed as the first element in the converb suffixes *-rA* ‘in order to’ (< PMgl *-r + dative-locative *-A)

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[86] The Proto-Serbi-Mongolic feminine ordinal numeral suffix may have been something like *-DV(ɣ)Vn, as suggested by the Middle Kitan feminine ordinal numeral suffixes, i.e. *-ən ~ *-dɔn. However, since Middle Mongol lost many of the gender distinctions of Proto-Serbi-Mongolic, I have been unable to identify comparative evidence in Mongolic to support this reconstruction. On remnants of gender in Middle Mongol and Proto-Mongolic, see Janhunen (2003: 21-22), Rybatzki (2003: 75-78), and Brosig (2014: 54).

[87] This list of orthographic forms is not exhaustive. See Chapter Seven for attested examples and for details on the orthographic forms.

[88] See Chapter Seven for attested orthographic forms and discussion.

[89] The Written Mongol instrumental case suffixes *-bar ~ -ber ~ -iyar ~ -iyer* must represent early dialectal variants of Old Mongol or Middle Mongol.

[90] See Chapter Seven.

[91] Poppe (1954: 49 §178; 1955: 198). Note Middle Mongol *hirü’er* ‘benediction, blessing’ (< *hirü’e-* ‘to bless’ + *-r) and *amur* ‘rest’ (< *amu-* ‘to rest’ + *-r).

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and *-rUn* ‘preparative converb’[92] denoting ‘in consequence of doing…’ (< PMgl *-r + genitive *-Un).[93] CSM *-r ‘deverbal noun or past tense suffix’.

MKit *gi 犭 ‹gi› ~ 氵 ‹gi› ‘preverbal negative marker’.[94] Cognate to Middle Mongol *ügei* ‘not existing, absence’[95] and Booŋan and Baonang *gi* [ki] ‘negative copula’[96] < PMgl *ugəi ‘not existing, absence’. CSM *ugəi ‘not existing, absence’.[97]

MKit *-ǰ 犭 ‹.ǰ› ~ 攴 ‹.ǰ› ~ 攵 ‹.ǰʲ› ~ *-č 朴 ‹.č› ‘converb suffix’.[98] Cognate to Middle Mongol *-J̌U* *[-ʧʊ ~ -ʧu ~ -ʧʰʊ ~ -ʧʰu] ‘perfective converb suffix’[99] and its modern Khalkha reflex **-ж** [ʧ] ~ **-ч** [ʧʰ] ‘imperfective

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[92] “Converbum praeparativum” in Poppe’s terminology (1954).

[93] Poppe (1954: 98 §379, §380); Poppe (1955: 198, 279, 285). The orthographic forms of these suffixes in Preclassical Written Mongol are faithful to their etymology: note Pcl. *-r-un* ~ *-r-ün* ‹r-wn› ‘preparative converb suffix’ and *-r-a* ~ *-r-e* ‹r-’› ‘in order to’.

[94] See §7.3.3.6 for discussion.

[95] E.g. attested early Middle Mongol *ügei* [兀該] ‘not existing, absence (無)’ (*SHM* §11). The modern Khalkha reflex, **үгүй** [ugui], means ‘no’ In spoken Khalkha this negative exclamation is regularly reduced to [ku] ‘nope’ or even pulmonic ingressive [↑kᵚ] ~ [↑kʷ] ‘nope’, although the standard form is **үгүй** [uˈkui] ‘no’. The Middle Mongol word has also developed into a negative-abessive suffix in modern Khalkha **-гүй** [gui ~ kui], which negates verbal participles and denotes abessive ‘without’ when affixed to nouns.

[96] Fried (2010: 95-96, 226-232); Todaeva (1964: 136); Sun et al. (1990: 689); Buhe & Liu (1982: 84).

[97] Note also Sakhalin Nivkh /uige/ ‘no’, which Fortescue compares to Chukotko-Kamchatkan /ujŋæ/ ‘no, not any’ (1998: 150). These words are probably related as early areal borrowings.

[98] Cf. Kane (2009: 153) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 197). See Chapter Seven for attestations.

[99] E.g. Middle Mongol *yabu-ǰu* *[jabʊʧʊ] ‘went’ (*SHM* §118), *ire-ǰü* *[irətʃu] ‘had come’ (*SHM* §10), *qar-ču* *[qarʧʰʊ] ‘went out’ (*SHM* §73), and *emüs-ču* *[əmusʧʰu] ‘wearing’ (*SHM* §195). As shown by Brosig, Middle Mongol *-J̌U* is a perfective converb suffix (2014: 89-90).

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converb suffix'.[100] In Kitan the voiced and voiceless allomorphs were in free variation, e.g. the verb *kuyr- 'arrive' is attested with both the voiced and voiceless forms, i.e. *kuy-ǰ and *kuy-č.[101] CSM *-J̌(V) 'converb suffix'.

MKit *-ləñ 丱爻 ‹.l.ᵉñ› ~ 丱伏 ‹.l.ñ› 'past tense suffix'.[102] This is cognate to the Middle Mongol firsthand past tense suffix *-lU'Ai* *[-laɦaj ~ -ləɦəj ~ -lʊɦaj ~ -luɦəj] ~ *-lU'A* *[-laɦa ~ -ləɦə ~ -lʊɦa ~ -luɦə],[103] and is further evidence of the sound correspondence of Middle Kitan word-final *Vñ# to Middle Mongol *Vi#*. The modern Khalkha reflex of the Middle Mongol form is **-лаа ~ -лээ ~ -лоо ~ -лөө** [-ɮa ~ -ɮe ~ -ɮɔ ~ -ɮɵ], which marks immediate past or eminent future.[104] CSM *-lUɣAñ 'past tense suffix'.

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[100] Although these allomorphs were phonologically conditioned in Middle Mongol, their modern Khalkha reflexes have lost this phonological conditioning, and are now lexically assigned. For the modern Khalkha semantic value of this suffix as an imperfective converb, see Svantesson (2003: 173).

[101] See Chapter Seven for examples.

[102] See Kane (2009: 146) for examples. The phonological reconstructions presented above are my own.

[103] I follow Brosig (2014: 54), who analyzes this Middle Mongol suffix as 'past firsthand'. The phonological reconstructions I present above are my own, and are based on Old Mandarin transcriptions of Middle Mongol. For attested examples of this suffix, note Middle Mongol *ab-u-la'ai* [阿不剌埃] 'took' (*SHM* §133), *ke'e-le'ei* [客額列埃] 'said' (*SHM* §179), *ügüleldü-lü'ei* [鳴詁列勒都魯埃] 'said to each other' (*SHM* §177), *yabu-lu'a* [迓步魯阿] 'went' (*SHM* §170) ~ *yabu-la'a* [迓步剌阿] 'id.' (*SHM* §149), *ire-le'e* [亦𠯿列列額] 'came' (*SHM* §90), and *nököče-lü'e* [那可扯魯額] 'became companions' (*SHM* §223). This suffix is attested in Middle Mongol in Preclassical orthography as *-layɣ-a ~ -luɣai ~ -legei ~ -lügei*, e.g. Pcl. *ontu̲tu̲layɣ-a* (*Yis.*, *l.* 5), *aryadaluɣai* (*ES:* Kara 2009: 37), *kürgegdelegei* (*ES:* Kara 2009: 167), and *kürgelügei* (*ES:* Kara 2009: 167).

[104] See Song (1997: 160-218) for a detailed study of the pragmatically rich past tense suffixes of modern Khalkha Mongolian.

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MKit */-lGA-/ ~ */-GA-/ realized as *-lʁa- 𘍏𘊴 ‹.l.γa› ~ *-ʁa- 𘊴 ‹.γa› ~ *-lgə- 𘍏𘉻 ‹.l.ge› ~ *-gə- 𘉻 ‹.ge› causative-passive suffix'.[105] Cognate to Middle Mongol *-lGA-* *[-lʁa- ~ -lgə-] ~ *-GA-* [-ʁa- ~ -gə-] 'causative suffix'.[106] Note Middle Kitan *kuyr-gə- 𘐷𘐾𘋼𘉻 ‹k.ui.ir.ge.› 'cause to arrive', cognate to Middle Mongol *gür-ge-* 'cause to arrive'.[107] CSM *-lGA- ~ *-GA- 'causative suffix'.

Tagh ☆-mɔr/☆-mʊr [萬] 'deverbal noun suffix'.[108] Cognate to Written Mongol *-mur ~ -mür ~ -mer ~ -mar* 'deverbal adjectival noun suffix'.[109] CSM *-mʊr ~ *-mur 'deverbal noun suffix'.

MKit *-ñər 𘋼𘉽 ‹.ñ.ᵉr› ~ *-ñəñ 𘋼𘊰 ‹.ñ.ᵉñ› ~ *-ər 𘉽 ‹.ᵉr› ~ *-əñ 𘊰 ‹.ᵉñ› 'lexicalized plural suffix for nouns denoting humans'.[110] Cognate to Middle Mongol *-nar ~ -ner* 'id.' CSM *-ñAr 'id.'

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[105] See Kane (2009: 148-149) for examples. The phonological reconstructions presented here are my own.

[106] The reconstructed forms presented here are my own. For examples, note MMgl *sa'u-lqa-* 'cause to sit' (*HIIY* 2.28a1), *düli-lge-* 'cause to march' (*SHM* §185), *bol-qa-* 'cause to become' (*SHM* §121), *e'üs-ge-* 'cause to originate' (*SHM* §54). The Middle Mongol causative voice allomorph *-'Ul-* *[-ɦʊl- ~ -ɦul-] (i.e. WMgl *-γul- ~ -gül-*), as in MMgl *oro-'ul-* *[ɔrɔɦʊl-] 'cause to enter' (*SHM* §66) and *ire-'ül-* *[irəɦul-] 'cause to come' (*SHM* §68), has no identified cognates in Kitan or other Serbi languages.

[107] Note the correspondence of attested MKit *kuyrgər 𘐷𘐾𘋼𘉻𘉽 ‹k.ui.ir.ge.ᵉr› (*Tao* 17: 20), which probably means 'caused to arrive (masculine past tense)', to attested Middle Mongol *gürgere* [古舌児格舌列] 'in order to bring' (*SHM* §169), lit. 'in order to cause to arrive', from *gür-* 'arrive' + *-ge-* 'causative suffix' + *-re* 'in order to'.

[108] See entry for Taghbach ☆kʰɪlmɔrčɪn/☆kʰɪlmʊrčɪn 'interpreters' below.

[109] Cf. Ligeti (1970a) and Vovin (2007).

[110] See §7.3.2.3 for examples. See also Aisin Gioro (2004: 143) for a similar proposal. My phonological reconstruction differs significantly from hers.

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MKit *-sAwr 𘓐𘓺 ‹.s.Awr› ‘abtemporal converb’.[111] Cognate to Middle Mongol *-qsabar ~ -qsa’ar ~ -kseber ~ -kse’er* ‘abtemporal converb’.[112] CSM *-(G)sAbAr ‘abtemporal converb’.[113]

MKit *-y 𘓷 ‹y› ~ *-i 𘓵 ‹i› ‘converb suffix’.[114] This suffix is probably cognate to the Middle Mongol *-yU* ‘generic finite verb suffix’[115] (WMgl *-yu ~ -uyu ~ -yü ~ -üyü*). A particularly illustrative example of this suffix in Middle Kitan is the wordform *kuyr-gə-y 𘓶𘓽𘓸𘓻𘓷 ‹k.ui.ir.ge.y›[116] (arrive-CAUS-CVB), which is cognate morpheme by morpheme to Preclassical Written Mongol *kürgeyü*,[117] morphologically *kür-ge-yü* (arrive-CAUS-FIN.GNR) ‘SUBJ caused OBJ to arrive’. Note also Middle Kitan *kuyr-i 𘓶𘓽𘓸𘓵 ‹k.ui.ir.i›,[118] the perfective converb form of *kuyr- ‘arrive’. CSM *-y(V) ‘generic converb or finite verb suffix’.

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[111] E.g. *YHsiang* (12: 20). See §7.3.2.1.6 for my reading of the grapheme 𘓺 ‹Awr›. Note also the MKit converb suffix *-Awr 𘓺 ‹.Awr› (e.g. 𘓻𘓼𘓽𘓺 attested in *Lang* 3: 15), the precise semantic value of which remains to be determined.

[112] E.g. attested MMgl *-qsabar* ‘abtemporal converb’ as in *učira-qsabar* [兀赤𐲤剌黑撒巴児] ‘meet-ATMP.CVB’ (*HIIY* 3.13a2) and *-kseber* ‘abtemporal converb’ as in *önggere-kseber* [汪格𐲤列𐲥薛別児] ‘pass-ATMP.CVB’ (*HIIY* 2.11b2). Note also MMgl in ‘Phagspa Script *-gsəfiər as in *dəlgərə-gsəfiər 𗱓𗱠𗱇𗱋𗱠𗱓𗱇𗱋𗱠 ‹del.ge.reg.se.fier› ‘unfold-ATMP.CVB’ (*CYK*$_2$ *l.* 11) and MMgl in Preclassical orthography *-γsaγar ~ -gseger*, e.g. Pcl. *oroγsaγar* (*ES:* Kara 2009: 137) and Pcl. *küsegseger* (*ES:* Kara 2009: 114).

[113] Janhunen proposes Proto-Mongolic “*-gsA-xAr” ‘abtemporal converb’ (2003: 26).

[114] Cf. Kane (2009: 149) for examples. The phonological reconstructions presented here are my own.

[115] I follow Brosig’s treatment of this as a generic finite verbal suffix (Brosig 2014: 11-12). According to Poppe, this suffix “expresses actions considered a logical result of previous actions” (1954: 92, §349). Rybatzki explains the suffix as meaning “it can be [inferred] that” or “obviously…” (2003: 76).

[116] See Kane (2009: 208, *n.* 49) for the sentential context of this wordform in the *Epitaph of Yeh-lü Ti-lieh* 耶律迪烈墓誌銘.

[117] This Preclassical form is attested in Kara (2009: 167).

[118] Attested in *Hsing* (14: 2).

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8.5.4. Common Serbi-Mongolic words

MKit *a- 扜 ‹a.› ‘be’.[119] Cognate to Middle Mongol *a-* ‘be, exist’.[120] CSM *a- ‘be, exist’.

Tagh *agyıl / *agıl [屋弓] ‘house (房)’.[121] Cognate to Middle Mongol *ayil* ‘camp’ [122] and Written Mongol *ayil* ‘encampment, family, household, group of tents’. CSM *aɣıl ‘encampment, family, household, group of tents’.[123]

T’u-yü-hun *aqañ [阿干] ‘elder brother’.[124] Cognate to Middle Mongol *aqa* ‘elder brother, elder male relative’[125] and Mongolian Khamnigan Mongol [aχaæ̯] ‘id.’[126] Cf. also MMgl *aqai* in the compound *aqai egeči* ‘elder aunt’.[127] CSM *ak^{h}añ ‘elder male relative’.[128]

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[119] See Kane (2009: 158; 196, n. 25; 218, n. 68) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 71, 73 et seq.) for examples.

[120] E.g. attested early MMgl *a-* [阿] ‘be, exist (存)’ (*SHM* §209).

[121] See §5.2.1 entry for Wu-yin *shih* for discussion.

[122] E.g. attested early MMgl *ayil* [阿因勒] ‘camp (營)’ (*SHM* §84), which de Rachewiltz translates as ‘a small nomadic camp consisting of only one or a few tents (yurts, mo. *ger*), with carts and animals, belonging to one family’ (de Rachewiltz 2006: 375).

[123] Attested 11th c. MTrk *aʁıl* ‘corral, pen, cattle-pen’ (*DTS* 18a) phonologically resembles this CSM word, but the semantic value is quite different.

[124] See Chapter Six for discussion.

[125] E.g. attested early MMgl *aqa* [阿^{中}合] ‘elder brother (兄)’ (*SHM* §18).

[126] This Khamnigan form is from my 2009 fieldwork in Binder county and Dadal county, Khentii province, Mongolia.

[127] E.g. MMgl *aqai egeči* [阿孩額格赤] ‘elder aunt (姑姑)’ (*HIIY* 1.14b4).

[128] See entries for MKit *-bəñ, *-ləñ, Tagh *č^{h}ırqañ, and *ñaqañ for more evidence of CSM word-final *Vñ# > PMgl *Vi#. CSM *ak^{h}añ ‘elder male relative’ has close comparanda in Nivkh, Turkic, Tungusic, Inuit, Persian, Syriac, Koreanic, Finno-Ugric, Chukotko-Kamchatkan, and Late Old Chinese; see discussion in §6.2.2.1 entry for A-kan.

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MKit *baq 𗍫𗆲 ‹b.aq› ‘child’[129] (lexicalized plural *bʁ-an 𗍫𗇋𗆮 ‹b.γ.an› ‘children’[130]). Cognate to reconstructed western Middle Mongol *baqa ‘small’.[131] CSM *baga ‘small, young’.[132]

MKit *bas 𗍫𗊴 ‹b.as› ‘again’.[133] Cognate to Middle Mongol *basa* ‘again’.[134] CSM *basa ‘again, also’.[135]

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[129] E.g. *Chiao* (21: 5).

[130] E.g. *Chung* (6: 20).

[131] Although this word is not attested in any Middle Mongol text, it is known as a western Middle Mongol loanword in New Persian *baqa* بقه ‘small’, as identified by Doerfer (1963: 213 §91). Reflexes of the Proto-Mongolic form of this word include Shira Yoghor [baʁa] ‘little, small’ (Tenishev & Todaeva 1966: 49; Juunast 1981: 97), and other cognates in Buryat, Oirat, and Ordos, as well as Khalkha and other dialects of Mongolian Proper (cf. Sun et al. 1990: 130). Martin gives “*bage*” as a Daur word for ‘little, young’, but remarks that this word is “apparently not common” (1961: 117); most likely this wordform, which is not attested in other accounts of Daur, is probably a loanword from Mongolian Proper, or is the result of interference from Mongolian Proper in the idiolect of his consultant.

[132] Starostin et al. connect WMgl “*baγa*” ‘young, small’ (in fact, *baγ-a* at the orthographic level) with OJpn ☆waka- ‘young’ (the superscript star ☆ is my addition), which they claim goes back to PJpn *baka- ‘young’ (2003: 336). Although there is possibly a loanword relationship between the Serbi-Mongolic word and OJpn ☆waka- ‘young’, Starostin et al.’s PJpn reconstruction “*baka-” seems unlikely—as demonstrated by Beckwith (2007a), OJpn word-initial *w regularly goes back to *w or *u, e.g. OJpn ☆wata- [和多] ‘to ford (渡)’ < PJpn *u ‘crossing’ + *ata- ‘to reach, attain’, OJpn ☆wi [為] ‘well (井)’ < CJK *wir ‘spring, well’, and OJpn ☆wi [為] ‘pig, boar (豬)’ < CJK *wi ‘id.’ (Beckwith 2007a: 141, 142). Most likely OJpn ☆waka- ‘young’ is a reflex of a Serbi-Mongolic loanword into early continental Japanese-Koguryoic. On the early continental speakers of Japanese-Koguryoic, see Kiyose (2001: 136-137).

[133] E.g. *HsTi* (21: 6).

[134] E.g. early Middle Mongol: ***Basa*** *Tayang Qan J̌amuqa-dača asaqurun te’ün-ü qoyina-ča ayisuqun ken buyu ke’eǰü’üi* “**Again** Tayang Qan asked J̌amuqa, ‘Who is approaching after him?”’ (*SHM* §195; translation from de Rachewiltz 2006: 121).

[135] According to Kara, Middle Mongol *basa* ‘then, again’ is a loanword from Middle Turkic *basa*, a verbal adverb form of *bas-* ‘to press, follow’ (Kara 2001: 83). Cf. MTrk *basa*

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MKit *baran 𗼇𗴲𗰜𗵘 ‹b.ar.a.an› ‘right (direction)’.[136] Cognate to early Middle Mongol *bara'un* *[barafʊn] ‘right (direction)’,[137] late Middle Mongol *barawun ~ baran* ‘id.’,[138] and Preclassical Written Mongol *barayun* ‘id.’[139] The Middle Mongol form *bara'un* is probably the result of morphological syncretism with *ǰe'ün* *[ʧəfun] ‘left (direction)’. In Modern Mongolian and other ‘central’ dialects of Mongolic, the word also denotes ‘west’, a post-medieval semantic innovation. Note also Daur [barən][140] and Baarin [ˈparə̆n][141] ‘right (side); west’. CSM *baran ‘right (direction)’.

LKit *bawl [暴里] ‘vile person, villain (惡人)’.[142] Perlee (1959a) first suggested that this Kitan word is cognate to Written Mongol *boγol* ‘slave’[143] and modern Khalkha **боол** [pɔːɮ] ‘id.’[144] Although his proposal is correct, he did not reconstruct the Kitan form. Following an Old Mandarin reading of the characters, I reconstruct Late Kitan *bawl [暴里][145] ‘vile person, villain’, cognate to Middle Mongol *bo'ol* *[bɔfɔl]

‘after’, attested no earlier than the 11th c. A.D. (*DTS* 85). Middle Kitan 𗼇𗵘 is attested as early as the *Hsing-tsung Huang-ti Ai-ts'e* inscription of 1055 A.D., roughly contemporaneous with the Middle Turkic word. It is thus difficult to determine in which language the word has chronological precedence. The ultimate relationship among the Middle Kitan, Middle Mongol, and Middle Turkic forms requires further study. Starostin et al. (2003: 906) connect MTrk *basa* with MMgl *maši* ‘very’ and with a Tungusic word for ‘hard’, but their proposal is semantically and phonologically implausible.

[136] *Chung* (19:12; 19:39); *Yung* (9:3); Liu et al. (2009: 493).

[137] E.g. MMgl *bara'un* [巴𠯿剌温] ‘right (右)’ (*HIIY* 1.25b7).

[138] E.g. late MMgl *barawun* [براوون] ~ *baran* [بَران] ‘right’ (*MAA:* Poppe 1938: 112a, 433b).

[139] E.g. Pcl. *barayun* (*Hin*., *l.* 6, 11).

[140] Engkebatu (1984: 72).

[141] This is my own transcription. I thank Dr. Otgon Borjigin of Lanzhou University (a native speaker from Baarin Left Banner) for allowing me to interview him several times and learn Baarin phonology from him in May 2006 in Bloomington, Indiana.

[142] *LS* (116: 1535).

[143] Note also Pcl. *boγol* (*Qqor I*, *l.* 21) ~ *boγal* (*Aruγ*, *l.* 18).

[144] Perlee (1959a: 15). The IPA transcription presented here is my own.

[145] LOM.Ph [baw], [li] (Cob. 532, 187); note that Old Mandarin had no lateral codas.

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'slave'[146] and its modern Khalkha reflex. This correspondence provides evidence of CSM *bɔɣʊl > *baɣʊl > *bawʊl > Late Kitan *bawl. CSM *bɔɣʊl 'slave'[147] (← 僕 LOC or EMC *bɔg 'slave' + SM *-Ul 'plural suffix'[148]).

[146] E.g. attested early MMgl [孛斡勒] 'slaves (奴婢)' (*SHM* §137), MMgl *bo'ol* [孛丁斡] 'slaves (奴婢)' (*HIIY* 1.14b1), and late MMgl *bōl* [بول] (*MAA*: JSPS).

[147] Note also Manchu *bolγosu* ~ *bolχosu* 'a slave of the third generation', which Rozycki considers to be an early Mongolic loanword into Manchu (Roz. 34). I propose the following etymology: CSM *bɔɣʊl 'slave' > pre-PMgl *bɔɣʊl ~ *bɔɣʊl-sU → early Jurchen-Manchu > attested Manchu *bolγosu* *[bɔlʁɔsu] ~ *bolχosu* *[bɔlχɔsu] 'a slave of the third generation'. The Manchu form is probably the result of metathesis to satisfy phonotactic constraints in early Jurchen-Manchu. See Appendix D for additional examples of pre-Proto-Mongolic *-sU. Norman glosses *bolγosu* ~ *bolχosu* as 'a slave of the third generation' (1978: 34a). Zakharov glosses *bolχosu* (i.e. **болхосу** in his transcription) as "рабъ третьяго колѣна въ домъ родившійся" (1875: 518a) but glosses *bolγosu* (i.e. **болгосу**) as "чистый, чистякъ" (1875: 517b). The Manchu-Chinese-Mongolian Triglot Dictionary of 1780 glosses *bolχosu* as 'slave of the third generation (三輩奴)' (Kuribayashi & Hurelbator 2008: 61).

[148] See Shimunek et al. (2015) for the Chinese etymology of this Serbi-Mongolic word and Zhengzhang (1991) on voiced codas in Old Chinese.

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MKit *bu- 𗼇𗴢 ‹b.u^{w}.› [149] ~ *bɔ 𗼇𗴩 ‹b.o.› [150] ~ *pɔ- 𘝞𗴩 ‹p.o.› ‘be, become’.[151] Cognate to Middle Mongol *bü-* *[bu-] ‘be, exist’.[152] CSM *bU- ‘be, become’.

Tagh *bʊčɪn [附眞] ‘nobles who prepare food (貴人作食人)’.[153] The final *-n is a plural suffix (see entry for MKit *-an above). Cognate to Middle Mongol *bawurči* ‘chef, cook’ ~ *bawurčin* ‘chefs, cooks’.[154] CSM *baɣʊrč^{h}ɪ ‘cook, chef’.[155]

Tagh *čarʁʊyčɪn [折潰眞] ‘people who send out and receive accusations on behalf of the ruler (爲主出受辭人)’,[156] i.e. a position equivalent to a judge. The final *-n is a plural suffix (see entry for MKit *-an above). This Taghbach title is cognate to Preclassical Written Mongol *ǰarɣučin* ‘judges’,[157] formed from Middle Mongol *ǰarqu* ~ *ǰarɣu* ‘judgement,

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[149] E.g. MKit *bu-r 𗼇𗴢𗴲 ‹b.u^{w}.ur› ‘was (masculine past)’ in the sentence 𘜶𗴲 𗥃𗏁𘟣𗼇𗴢𗴲 𘓐 𗹦𗤶 ‘At the … time when [he] was at a young age’ (*YHsiang* 22: 9-13).

[150] E.g. MKit *bɔ-r 𗼇𗴩𘟣 ‹b.o.or› ‘was (masculine past)’ as in the sentence 𗥤 𗍫 𗼇𗴩𘟣 ‘[He] became a Punitive Commissioner’ (*HsTi* 5: 4-6).

[151] E.g. MKit *pɔ-r 𘝞𗴩𘟣 ‹p.o.or› ‘was (masculine past)’ as in the sentence 𗍊 𗠇 𗥃𗏁𗤋𘟣 𗏴𗹦𗼻𗴩 𘝞𗴩𘟣 ‘[He] became Field Marshal of the Northern Jurchen’ (*YHsiang* 26: 5-9) and *pɔ-n 𘝞𗴩𗴺 ‹p.o.on› ‘was (feminine past tense)’ as in the sentence 𗏁 𗹦 𗢳 𗏴𗥤𗤋 𗠇 𗦳 𗏴𗥤𗤶𗴲 𗼻𗼻𗤶 𗹦 𗥃𗴲𗴲 𗴢𗹙 𗠇 𗥤 𗢳 𘝞𗴩𗴺 ‘That time was the twelfth Blue Tiger year of the Celestial Gathering reign period, in mid-winter, on the fourteenth day’ (*Lang* 4:14-5:9; cf. Shimunek 2014a: 107).

[152] This is a well-attested verb in Middle Mongol, e.g. note the numerous inflected forms in the *Secret History*: *bü-gü* [不古] ‘exist-FUT.VN’ (§128), *bü-ǰü* [不周] ‘exist-PFV.CVB’ (§189), *bü-ksen* [卜^{克}先] ‘exist-PRF.VN’ (§155), *bü-rün* [不^{舌}侖] ‘exist-PREP.CVB’ (§106) etc.

[153] *NCS* (57: 985).

[154] E.g. attested early MMgl *bawurči* [保兀^{舌}児赤] ‘chef, cook (廚子)’ (*SHM* §130) ~ *bawurčin* [保兀^{舌}児臣] ‘chefs, cooks (廚子每)’ (*SHM* §192).

[155] For an explanation of the sound changes here, see Chapter Five entry for Fu-chen [附眞].

[156] *NCS* (57: 985).

[157] Attested in an undated Turfan document (Tumurtogoo & Cecegdari 2006: 424).

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sentence' [158] and the plural occupational suffix *-čin* *[-tʃʰin] (i.e. *-či* 'occupational suffix' + *-n* 'plural suffix'). CSM *ǰargʊy-čʰɪ 'judge' < *ǰargʊy 'judgement, sentence' + *-čʰɪ 'occupational suffix'.[159]

MKit *čawr 而安 ‹čau.ur› 'army' ~ 'war, battle'[160] > LKit *čʰawr [籾離] ~ [炒伍倆] 'war, battle (戰)'.[161] Cognate to the Middle Mongol noun *ča'ur* *[tʃʰaɦʊr] 'military campaign'[162] and the derived verb *ča'ura-* *[tʃʰaɦʊra-] 'battle, go on a military campaign'.[163] The meaning of 'army' is also retained in the Modern Mongolian compound noun **цэрэг цуур** [ˈtsʰɪrək tsʰʊːr ~ ˈtsʰɛrək tsʰʊːr] 'army'. [164] CSM *čʰaɣʊr 'battle, military

[158] See Kara (2009: 130) for this Middle Mongol word.

[159] Kane (2009: §2.169) mentions a form 刋仉欠 'prime minister (宰相)' which I read as ‹ǰa.ir.qo› and reconstruct as MKit *ǰayrqɔ. This may be cognate to the above Taghbach and Mongol terms, although this correspondence poses phonological and semantic problems.

[160] E.g. *Jen-hsien* (42: 55). See Kane (2009: 84 §3.004, 125 §3.234) for this Middle Kitan form. The phonological reconstruction presented above is my own.

[161] *LS* (53: 879); see Shimunek (2007) for the *CTKC* transcription [籾離].

[162] E.g. attested early MMgl *ča'ur* [察兀児] 'military campaign (征)' (*SHM* §254) ~ [察兀舌児] 'military campaign (征進)' (*SHM* §255). According to Oyuunch & Janhunen, "it is difficult to determine whether the Mongolic noun is an inherited lexical item or a [Kitan] loanword" (2010: 70). Given the existence of other Mongol deverbal nouns ending in *-r* (e.g. *amur* 'rest' < *amu-* 'to rest' + *-r* 'deverbal noun suffix'), this is likely to be a shared lexical retention in Mongolic and Serbi, despite the fact that the verbal root of this particular word is not retained in Mongolic. The verbal root was probably lost in Mongolic but retained in Middle Kitan.

[163] E.g. MMgl *ča'ura-* [察兀舌剌] 'go on a military campaign, to battle (出征)' (*SHM* §236); cf. also somewhat later MMgl *čawura-* [炒兀剌] 'id.' (*HIIY* 3.19b2).

[164] See Kara (2005: 8) for this modern Khalkha form. The phonetic transcription given above is my own.

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campaign'[165] < *č^{h}aɣʊ- 'to do battle'[166] + *-r 'masculine past tense deverbal noun suffix' (see above).

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[165] Starostin et al. are correct to connect MMgl *ča'ur* 'army' with Tungusic forms such as Negidal *čauχa*, Written Manchu "*čōχa*" (which should be corrected to *čooχa*, spoken **čauχa*), Jurchen *čauχa*, Ulcha *čauχa*, Uilta *čauχa*, Nanai *čaoχa*, Oroch *čauχa*, Udihe *čawaha* ~ *čauha*, and Solon *čoya* (2003: 406-407); however, despite their claim of genetic affinity, these correspondences are evidence of a Serbi-Mongolic → Tungusic loanword. Aisin Gioro also connects Jurchen *čauχa 𘘿𘘀 (reconstructed by her as "*tʃauka") with the Kitan word (2004: 98 #54). Oyuunch & Janhunen claim that Tungusic borrowed the verbal root of this word from Kitan (Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 70). Although they are undoubtedly correct that the directionality of this loan is from Kitan to Tungusic, the verbal root was not borrowed as a full-fledged root—in other words, this root does not function as a full verb in Tungusic languages—it is attested only in this single lexical item. The following scenario seems more likely: The Kitan deverbal noun construction *čaw-r 'battle, war' (from *čaw- 'fight in a war' + *-r 'masculine past tense deverbal noun suffix') was calqued into Jurchen as *čauχa 𘘿𘘀 ‹čau.χa› 'army (軍); martial, military (武)' (cf. *NT* 127, 248 for this Jurchen form), composed of *čau- (borrowed directly from Kitan *čaw-) with Jurchen *-χa 'perfective verbal noun suffix', i.e. the native Jurchen approximate equivalent to Middle Kitan *-r 'masculine past tense deverbal noun suffix'. The Jurchens are known to have employed Kitan writing in the early part of their empire, and many Jurchens undoubtedly had functional knowledge of spoken Kitan. Attested forms of this word in other Tungusic languages are phonologically so close to the Jurchen form that they are very likely to be intrafamily loanwords from Jurchen. The Manchu reflex of the Jurchen word was later borrowed into the Mongolic daughter language Daur, in the form [tʃʷɑɣ] 'soldiers, army, troops'; cf. Engkebatu (1984: 307) for this Daur form and its Manchu etymology. Jurchen *čauši 𘘿𘘁 ‹čau.šï› 'troops, army' is probably a further reanalysis with the *-ši 𘘁 element from Chinese *shih* 士 (MSC *shi*) 'soldier' (note the fact that the Jurchen grapheme 𘘁 is otherwise attested only in transcriptions of the Mandarin syllable *shih* (MSC *shi*), e.g. 士, 史, 師 etc. Cf. *NT* 93 for attestations of Jurchen 𘘁 ‹šï›.

[166] As shown by Oyuunch & Janhunen, Kitan 𘘀 is a verbal root denoting 'to fight a war' (e.g. *HsTi* 6: 5), and Kitan 𘘀𘘂 'war, army' is a deverbal noun based on this root (Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 69-70). I reconstruct this verbal root as MKit *čaw- 𘘀 ‹čau.› 'to battle, to fight a war'. As further evidence of this verbal root, note attested MKit *čawlʁay

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T'u-yü-hun *čʰɪ [處] 'you (爾)'.[167] Cognate to Middle Mongol *či* *[ʧʰi] 'you' (singular).[168] CSM *čʰɪ 'you (singular)'.[169]

Tagh *čʰɪrnɔ [叱奴] 'wolf (狼)'.[170] The fact that Middle Mongol had no attested instances of *[r + n] clusters in monomorphemic roots[171] may suggest that Common Serbi-Mongolic *r was lost in Proto-Mongolic

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丙平立卡 ‹čau.wl.γa.ai› (*HsHui* 18:2), which is clearly formed from the verbal root *čaw- 'to fight a war' + *-lʁa- 'causative-passive suffix' + *-y 'converb suffix'.

[167] See Chapter Six.

[168] E.g. early MMgl *či* [赤] 'you (你)' (*SHM* §15) and late MMgl *či* [چی] 'you' (*Leid.*).

[169] Ultimately this word and other personal pronouns of Serbi-Mongolic, Tungusic, Turkic, Finno-Ugric, East Germanic, and other Eurasian languages come from Indo-European, possibly via Hunnic (Beckwith 2005: 11; 2010: 8; 2011a). Note also Sakhalin Nivkh **чи** [cʰi] 2T 'you (ты)' (Tangiku et al. 2008: 44), which undoubtedly has the same origin.

[170] *WS* (113: 3013). The Mongolic cognate of this Taghbach word was first identified by Shiratori (1911a: 1283), although he did not reconstruct the Taghbach form or deal with the phonological problems entailed.

[171] There is scanty evidence that *-rn-* clusters were permitted *across* morpheme boundaries in late Middle Mongol wordforms such as *γar-ni* [غارنی] 'hand/arm-3POSS' as attested in the *Muqaddimat al-Adab* (JSPS 2008: 191a), but these are all clearly secondary developments—earlier dialects of Middle Mongol have postposed third-person possessive markers, i.e. *inu* for singular and *anu* for plural (ultimately genitive forms of the third person pronoun stems, i.e. Proto-Mongolic *ɪn-ʊ and *an-ʊ). Moreover, the consonant cluster *-rn-* is not attested for Middle Mongol in monomorphemic roots. A search through the available Middle Mongol glossaries and the most reliable dictionaries of Written Mongol—Kowalewski's *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français* (1844-1849) and Lessing et al.'s *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (1995)—reveals that *-rn-* clusters appear only in loanwords. The only identifiable instances of *-rn-* in monomorphemic words that are not loanwords are WMgl *örni-* 'grow, increase, develop' and *sarni-* 'scatter, disperse', but since these words are, to the best of my knowledge, not attested in Middle Mongol, they are probably post-Middle Mongol innovations in Modern Mongolian. We may thus conclude that *-rn-* clusters were not a part of normal, inherited Middle Mongol phonology. Comparative data on the modern Mongolic languages and dialects of Middle Mongol likewise provide no evidence of such a cluster for Proto-Mongolic. Common Serbi-Mongolic *-rn- clusters must have regularly simplified to *-n- in Proto-Mongolic.

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before nasals, or perhaps only before the homorganic nasal *n. Thus, Common Serbi-Mongolic *[čʰɪrnɔ *[ʧʰɪrnɔ] > Middle Mongol *čino* *[ʧʰinɔ] 'wolf'[172] > modern Khalkha **чоно** [ʧʰɔn] 'id.' The Kitan word for 'wolf' has not yet been identified. The *-a* in Written Mongol *čino-a* 'wolf' (often erroneously transcribed *činu-a*) is simply an orthographic convention to distinguish the otherwise homographic *čino* 'wolf' from *činu* 'your (2T)',[173] although there are Middle Mongol dialectal variants with a secondary unrounded vowel *a, e.g. *čina* 'wolf'.[174] CSM *čʰɪrnɔ 'wolf'.

Tagh *čʰɪrqañ [叱干] 'a type of artemisia (薛)'.[175] Cognate to modern Written Mongol *čirγai* 'tall, straight, and densely growing (e.g. of grasses)' < unattested MMgl **čirqai* 'Cotoneaster' (cf. modern Khalkha **чаргай** [ʧʰarˈʁæ] 'Cotoneaster'). CSM *čʰɪrgañ 'flowering plant of the eudicot clade'.[176]

Tagh *čʰur/*čʰʊr [出連] 'hand net (畢)'.[177] Cognate to Written Mongol *toor* 'net' and Middle Mongol *tor* [tʰɔr] 'net'.[178] CSM *tʰʊr ~ *tʰɔr 'net'.[179]

MKit *čur- 朮化 ‹č.ur.› ~ 朮安 ‹č.ur.› ~ *ǰur- 支化 ‹ǰ.ur.› ~ *ǰur 孟 ‹ǰur› 'two'.[180] This numeral is the base of attested Late Kitan *ǰuri [晝里]

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[172] E.g. MMgl *čino* [赤那] 'wolf (狼)' (*SHM* §78).

[173] György Kara, p.c.

[174] Cf. attested late western Middle Mongol *čina* [جينا] (*MAA:* JSPS).

[175] *WS* (113: 3012).

[176] Since artemisia and cotoneaster share a common eudicot ancestor in the distant past, the Common Serbi-Mongolic form probably denotes some kind of eudicot plant possessing common traits of plants of both the artemisia and cotoneaster genera.

[177] *WS* (113: 3009).

[178] MMgl *tor* [تُر] 'net' (*MAA:* Poppe 1938: 448).

[179] Cf. Middle Turkic *tor* 'net, mesh', first solidly attested in the 11th c. (*DTS:* 578; *EDT* 528). This word is not attested in runiform Old Turkic, and is likely to be a Serbi-Mongolic loanword into Turkic. New Persian *tōr* (تور) 'net, fishing net' is a loanword from Turkic, as demonstrated by Doerfer (1965: 606 §954).

[180] See §7.3.2.1.5 'Numerals'.

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'twenty (二十)'.[181] Cognate to Middle Mongol *ǰirin* 'two (feminine)',[182] Daur [ʤuːr] ~ [ʤuːruː] 'pair',[183] and Mongghul *jur* 'pair'.[184] CSM *ǰur- ~ *ǰir- 'two' (→ PTung 'two'[185]).

MKit *dalu- 𘍞𘏼 ‹da.lu.› ~ *dalu 𘍞 ‹dalu²› 'seven'.[186] Cognate to Middle Mongol *dolo'a-n* 'seven' [187] and *dala-n* 'seventy'. [188] CSM *dalʊ 'seven'.[189]

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[181] The Late Kitan reconstruction above is my revision of Róna-Tas (2016: 133). Róna-Tas connects this Late Kitan form with Kitan Assembled Script 𘍠 'twenty', and identifies attested MKit 'two' as the root of LKit 'twenty' (2016: 133). The Late Kitan form is transcribed and glossed in *CTKC*.

[182] E.g. early MMgl *ǰirin* [只𠂤鄰] 'two (兩箇)' (*SHM* §70).

[183] Engkebatu (1984: 321).

[184] Mongghul *jur* 'pair (双)' (Ch'ün et al. 2007: 228b).

[185] Rozycki (1994: 128) considers this a 'pre-loan correspondence' between Middle Mongol and Manchu *ǰuru* 'pair', but given the Tungusic forms for 'two' and their congruency with Middle Kitan 'two', as well as the prestige that must have been attached to the historically dominant Serbi-Mongolic peoples, it seems likely to be a Serbi or early Serbi-Mongolic dialectal word borrowed into Proto-Tungusic. Compare Late Jurchen *ǰuwə [拙] 'two (二)', written 𘍿 in Jurchen Script (*NT* 2), Manchu *ǰuwə* 'two', Ewenki, Ewen, and Solon *ǰuur*, Negidal *ǰuul*, Oroch and Udihe *ǰuu*, Uilta *duu*, Ulcha *ǰuəl*, and Nanai *ǰuər* 'two' (Tsintsius 1975-1977), and Khentii-Dornod Khamnigan Ewenki [ʤuːr] 'two' (Rinchen 1969: 50; written "джу́р" in his transcription system). Jurchen *ǰirχɔn 𘍢 [只兒歡] 'twelve' (*NT* 204) is another early loanword from a Serbi-Mongolic language, with the root *ǰir- cognate to MMgl *ǰirin* 'two (feminine)' (cf. Kane 2009, Janhunen 2003, Poppe 1979, Ligeti 1986, and Laufer 1921). See Shimunek (forthcoming, c) for the precise details of this etymology and its historical context.

[186] See §7.3.2.1.5 'Numerals'.

[187] E.g. MMgl *dolo'an* [朶羅安] 'seven (七箇)' (*SHM* §45).

[188] E.g. MMgl *dalan* [荅蘭] 'seventy (七十)' (*SHM* §129). Note also the Kojia reflex [danlɔ] ~ [dɔlɔ] 'seven' (Sechinchogt 1999: 298a).

[189] Poppe reconstructs "Ancient Mongolian *dalubān" 'seven' (1962: 468), but the *-bA- suffix is not attested in Serbi languages and instead seems to be a later innovation distinguishing the Mongolic branch from the Serbi branch. See the footnote in the entry

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LKit *daws [到斯] ‘salt (鹽)’.[190] Cognate to Middle Mongol *dabusu* ‘salt’.[191] CSM *dabʊsʊ ‘salt’.[192]

MKit *dur- 𘍿𘈬 ‹d.ur.› ~ *tur- 𘍾𘈬 ‹t.ur.› ~ *dur 𘍽 ‹dur› ‘four’.[193] Cognate to Middle Mongol *dörben* ‘four’ and *dö- as in *dötü’er* ‘fourth’ (< **dör-tü’er*).[194] CSM *dor- ‘four’.[195]

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for MKit *ɢur ‘three’ below. Jurchen *dalχɔn 𘍿 [答兒歡] ‘seventeen’ (*NT* 83) is an early borrowing from a Serbi-Mongolic language, with the root *dal- undoubtedly cognate to MMgl *dolo’an* ‘seven’ (cf. Kane 2009, Janhunen 2003, Poppe 1979, Ligeti 1986, and Laufer 1921). See Shimunek (forthcoming, c) for the precise details of this loanword and its historical context.

[190] Franke identified this transcription in the 1044 A.D. military handbook *Wu-ching tsung-yao* 武經總要 in the Kitan phrase *Mi-tao-ssu Niao* [麋到斯裊], corresponding to Chinese *Ta Yen P’o* 大鹽泊 (*WCTY* 16b: 148), which Franke translates as “Grosse Salzsee” [Great Salt Sea] (1969: 38). In fact, *p’o* 泊 here probably denotes ‘lake’ and not ‘sea’. These are thus glossed transcriptions of Late Kitan *mi [麋] ‘great (大)’, *daws [到斯] ‘salt (鹽)’, and *ñaw [裊] ‘lake (泊)’. Although *mi ‘great’ has no currently identifiable cognates, *daws ‘salt’ is cognate to Middle Mongol *dabusu* ‘salt’ as shown by Franke (1969: 38), and *ñaw ‘lake’ is cognate to Middle Mongol *na’ur* ‘lake’. See entry for LKit *ñaw below.

[191] E.g. MMgl *dabusun* [荅不孫] ‘salt (鹽)’ (*HIIY* 1.12b5). Manchu dabsun ‘salt’ < Jurchen *dabsun 𘍿𘈬 [荅卜孫] ‘salt (鹽)’ (*NT* 150), Ewenki *dawusun*, Solon *doosoŋ*, Ulcha and Uilta *dawsun*, and Nanai *daosũ* ‘salt’ are loanwords from Middle Mongol or Proto-Mongolic. Negidal *daksun*, Oroch *daksu* ‘salt’, and Udihe *daugu* ‘salt box’ are probably borrowings from an earlier Serbi-Mongolic dialect. See Roz. 52-53 for these Tungusic forms, and for an alternative etymology.

[192] This Serbi-Mongolic word is probably related to modern Sakhalin Nivkh **тафтьиӈ** [tafciŋ] ‘salt’, although the history of the word in Nivkh remains to be examined, making it difficult to determine the directionality of this loanword. The Nivkh form I cite here is from Tangiku et al. (2008: 29 #53). On geographical grounds, it seems likely that this is an early Nivkh loanword in Serbi-Mongolic, perhaps via an intermediary donor language.

[193] See §7.3.2.1.5 ‘Numerals’.

[194] E.g. MMgl *dötü’er* [多禿額児] ‘fourth (第四)’ (*HIIY* 2.27b3).

[195] Jurchen *durχɔn 𘍾 ~ 𘍽 [獨兒歡] ‘fourteen’ (*NT* 83) is undoubtedly a loanword from an early Serbi-Mongolic language, with the root *dur- cognate to Middle Mongol *dörben*

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LKit *dwar- [奪里] ‘put down a revolt, pacify (討平)’.[196] Cognate to Middle Mongol *daru-* *[tarʊ-] ‘press down, crush, conquer’.[197] CSM *darʊ- ‘press down, conquer, pacify’.

MKit *ə 券 ‹e› ‘this’.[198] Cognate to Middle Mongol **e-* as in *ene* ‘this’,[199] *e’ün-* ‘this (oblique stem)’,[200] *ede* ‘these’,[201] *eyimü* ‘like this, this kind of’,[202] *eyimün* (plural of *eyimü*),[203] *eyin* ‘in this manner’.[204] CSM *ə ‘proximal demonstrative’.

‘four’ (cf. Kane 2009, Janhunen 2003, Poppe 1979, Ligeti 1986, and Laufer 1921). See Shimunek (forthcoming, c) for the precise details of this loanword and its historical context. CSM *dor- ‘four’ also superficially resembles Old Turkic *tört* ‘four’ and Tokharian B (Kuchean) *śtwerä ~ śtwāra ~ śwer* ‘four’. The Tokharian forms here are cited from Peyrot (2013: 665, 677, 684, 696, 715).

[196] This Late Kitan verb is attested in the past or perfective verbal noun form *dwar-βəñ/*dwar-βən [奪里本] ‘pacification (討平)’ (*LS* 31: 365, 116: 1544).

[197] E.g. attested early MMgl *daru-* [荅𠯿魯] ‘conquer, defeat (勝)’ (*SHM* §153) ~ ‘press down, crush (壓)’ (*SHM* §209).

[198] See §7.3.2.1.2 for discussion and attestations.

[199] E.g. MMgl *ene* [額捏] ‘this (這)’ (*SHM* §15).

[200] E.g. MMgl *e’ü-ber* [額兀別児] ‘PROX.DEM-INS’ (*SHM* §90), *e’ün-eče* [額兀捏徹] ‘PROX.DEM-ABL’ (*SHM* §134), *e’ün-i* [額兀泥] ‘PROX.DEM-ACC’ (*SHM* §152), and *e’ün-ü* [額兀訥] ‘PROX.DEM-GEN’ (*SHM* §154).

[201] E.g. MMgl *ede* [額迭] ‘these’ (*SHM* §18).

[202] E.g. MMgl *eyimü* [額亦木] ‘like this, this kind of (這般)’ (*SHM* §86).

[203] E.g. MMgl *eyimün* [額亦門], plural of *eyimü*, as in the phrase *eyimün üges* [額亦門] [兀格思] ‘such words’ (*SHM* §255).

[204] E.g. MMgl *eyin* [額因] ‘like this (這般)’ (*SHM* §71), where it modifies a verb in the phrase *eyin ke’egdeküi* [額因] [客額克迭恢], translated by Cleaves as ‘[we have been] so spoken against’ (1982: 20) and by de Rachewiltz as ‘we are being spoken to in this way’ (2006: 17).

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MKit *əbu 生 ‹ebu› ‘grandfather, old man, ancestor’.[205] Cognate to Middle Mongol *ebüge* ‘ancestor’[206] and *ebügen* ‘old man’.[207] CSM *əbu ‘old man, grandfather, ancestor’[208] (→ PTung *əpu ‘grandfather’[209]).

MSer (Yü-wen dialect) *əbun/*əbən [俟汾] (LMC ☆ɨbun)[210] ‘grass (草)’.[211] Cognate to Middle Mongol *ebesü* ~ *ebesün* ‘grass’.[212] CSM *əbə-n ‘grass’.[213]

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[205] E.g. *YHsiang* (7: 33). Oyuunch & Janhunen propose the reading ‹ebu› and identify the Mongolic cognate (2010: 154).

[206] E.g. MMgl *ebüge* [額不格] ‘ancestor (祖)’ (*SHM* §40).

[207] E.g. MMgl *ebügen* [額不干] ‘old man (老人)’ (*SHM* §72). Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010) identified the Kitan form and its Mongolic cognate.

[208] CSM *əbu > pre-PMgl *əbu-ɣə(-n) > PMgl *əbuɣə-n > > Khalkha **өвөө** [ɵˈwɵ] ‘grandfather, grandpa’ ~ **өвөг** [ˈɵwɵ̆k] ‘ancestor’ ~ **өвгөн** [ˈɵwɣɵ̆ŋ] ‘old man’. See Appendix D ‘Pre-Proto-Mongolic Morphological Innovations’ for additional examples of pre-PMgl *-ɣA.

[209] Rozycki (1994: 66) considers the correspondence of Written Mongol *ebügen* ‘old man’ to Manchu *efu* ‘husband of one’s elder sister’ to be “problematic”, but given the Middle Kitan form above, and the Tungusic forms Rozycki cites, this is clearly a Kitan or earlier Serbi-Mongolic loanword in Tungusic. As shown by Rozycki, Manchu *efu* in the sense of ‘husband of an imperial princess’ was later borrowed into early Modern Mongolian as *efu* ‘son-in-law of an emperor or king’ (Rozycki 1994: 66), i.e. CSM *əbu → PTung *əpu > Manchu *efu* → early Modern Mongolian *efu*.

[210] 俟 for 矣 (Pul. 367, LMC ☆ɨ$_2$); 汾 (Pul. 94, LMC ☆bun).

[211] *TCTC* (81: 2590).

[212] E.g. MMgl *ebesü* [額別速] ‘grass (草)’ (*HIIY* 3.13a3) ~ *ebesün* [額別孫] ‘grass (草)’ (*SHM* §24) and late Middle Mongol *ebesün* [ابَسُنْ] ‘grass (عَلَفْ)’ (*Leid.* 64a.3.6).

[213] See Appendix D for a discussion of *-sU, a morphological innovation in Pre-Proto-Mongolic distinguishing the Mongolic branch from Serbi. This transcription is significant in that it gives evidence of a post-nominal *-n suffix which is otherwise not attested in Serbi. Alternatively, the CSM form may be monomorphemic *əbən ‘grass’, which was later reanalyzed in pre-Proto-Mongolic as dimorphemic *əbə-n > *əbə-sU-n.

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MKit *ɛma 丞为 ‹êm.a› ‘goat’.[214] Cognate to Middle Mongol *ima’an* ‘ram, goat’.[215] CSM *ɪma ‘goat’.[216]

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[214] E.g. *Hsüan* (4: 13). Cf. Kane (2009: 67, 99). This Kitan word is probably the origin of the Korean word for ‘goat’; I propose the following etymology: attested MKit *ɛma ‘goat’ > unattested LKit *ɛm (?) ‘id.’ → unattested EMK > attested LMK *yem-* H *[jə́m-] as in *yem-syo* HH ·염·쇼 *[jə́m-sjó] ‘goat (山羊)’ (a compound with LMK *syo* H ·쇼 ‘cattle’) > MSK *yemso* 염소 [jə̹msʊ] ‘goat’. The LMK forms cited here are from Nam (2002: 873a-b, 1088b) and Yu Ch’angton (2000: 471a, 568a). Early Middle Korean did not have the vowels *ɛ or *e; the sequence *yə was thus the closest possible approximation to foreign *ɛ. See Seongyeon Ko (2011) for an analysis of the Early Middle Korean vowel inventory.

[215] E.g. MMgl *ima’an* [亦馬安] ‘ram (羖攊)’ (*HIIY* 1.06a7). Note also the MMgl plural form *ima’at* [亦馬阿𣰰] ‘goats’ (*SHM* §151) and Preclassical Written Mongol *imaɣa ~ imaɣan* ‘goat’ (*ES:* Kara 2009: 124). Khentii-Dornod Khamnigan Ewenki [imagaːn] ‘goat’ (Rinchen 1969: 63; written “имага́н” in Rinchen’s transcription system) is a borrowing from Proto-Mongolic or another early variety of Mongolic. See Appendix D for pre-PMgl *-ɣA.

[216] Starostin et al. connect the Mongol word with Turkic “ɨmɣa” (i.e. ɨmʁa) ‘wild mountain she-goat’, Middle Korean *yem-syo* HH ‘goat’, and such Tungusic forms as Ewenki *ñamii*, Ewen *ñami*, Negidal *ñamii*, and Uilta *namį* ‘female deer’ (2003: 1003-1004); see also Tsintsius (1975-1977: 312). The proposed connection with the Tungusic forms seems unlikely for semantic reasons, and the Middle Korean form is likely to be a loanword from Late Kitan, as I demonstrate in the footnote above. Clauson considered this Turkic word to be among the “first layer” of Turkic loanwords in Mongolic (1962: 235). Vovin proposes that the attested Kitan word for ‘goat’ is a loanword from Turkic *ɨmʁa ~ yɨmʁa* ‘she-goat, mountain goat’, and claims that the fact that MMgl has an *-n* suffix which is absent in the Turkic form “strongly suggest[s] the direction of borrowing being from Turkic to Mongolic” (Vovin 2013: 622); however, MMgl *-n* appears to be a later innovation distinguishing the Mongolic branch from the Serbi branch of the Serbi-Mongolic language family. Note such correspondences as MKit *pɔ ‘time, season’ to MMgl *hon* ‘calendrical year’, and MKit *šawa ‘eagle, hawk, bird of prey’ to MMgl *siba’u-n* ‘bird, eagle, hawk’. The Turkic word in question is first solidly attested in Middle Turkic, i.e. approximately contemporaneously with the Middle Kitan word: MTrk *yɨmʁa* ‘female wild mountain goat’ ~ *ɨmʁa* ‘goat’, both attested in the 12th-13th c. edition of the 11th c. *Qutadyu Bilig*: *DTS* 267a, 218b). This is probably an early Serbi-Mongolic

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MKit *əñə 𐵅𐵯𐵰 ‹eñ.e› ‘now, at present’.[217] Cognate to Middle Mongol *ene* *[ənə] ‘this’.[218] CSM *əñə ‘proximal ad-word (temporal or spatial)’.[219]

MKit *əwr 𐵱𐵲 ‹eu.r› ‘long time (長)’.[220] Cognate to Middle Mongol *e’üre* *[əɦurə] ~ *e’üri* *[əɦuri] ‘a long time, eternity’[221] and Preclassical Written Mongol *egüri* ‘id.’[222] CSM *əɣurV for a long time, eternity’.

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loanword into Archaic Turkic. See Shimunek et al. (2015) for a possible historical context in which such a loan could have occurred. Clauson claims this word is attested in early 8th c. Old Turkic in the Kül Tegin Inscription of 732 A.D. and the Bilge Qaγan Inscription of 735 A.D. (*EDT* 158; see *GOrkT* 9-12 for the dates of these inscriptions), but both occurrences he cites are treated as place names by Tekin, who reads these as *amγï ~ amγa* (*GOrkT* 301, 302); i.e., *amʁɨ ~ amʁa* in my transcription system. The Common Serbi-Mongolic form *ɪma ‘goat’, or an early Serbi reflex of it, is the source of Nanai, Udihe, Ulcha, and Oroch *ima ~ iman* ‘goat’ (these Tungusic forms are from Roz. 116 and Tsintsius 1975-1977: 312). Jurchen *imala/*imara 𘘚𘝦𘜶 [一馬剌] ‘goat (山羊)’ (*NT* 10, 34, 155) is also clearly related; the *-ra/*-la element is probably a suffix – as shown by Gorelova, Manchu *-rA ~ -lA* is a reanalyzed suffix of unknown semantic value appearing in certain noun roots (Gorelova 2002: 114). Manchu *imaχû* ‘goral (*Naemorhedus goral*)’ (Norman 1978: 148a) is the same word as the attested Jurchen word, with a different suffix: The *-χû* element closely resembles Manchu *-χon ~ -xun ~ -χûn* ‘noun-forming suffix’ (Gorelova 2002: 148-150). Manchu *niman* ‘goat’ is a “recent” borrowing from Mongolian (Roz. 162).

[217] See §7.3.2.1.4 for discussion.

[218] E.g. MMgl *ene* [額捏] ‘this (這)’ (*SHM* §15).

[219] This word is probably related to CSM *ə ‘this’; see entry for MKit *ə ‘this’ above.

[220] This is attested with the genitive-attributive suffix *-ñ in the phrase *əwrəñ *ɢɔʁ 𐵱𐵲𐵯 𐵹𐵺 ‹eu.r.ᵉñ› ‹γ.ᵒγ› (*Hsüan* 5: 5-6), corresponding to Ch’ang ch’ing ch’uan 長慶川, i.e. ‘Eternal Blessings River’, in the Chinese parallel text (*Hsüan.Ch* 4: 8-10). On the reading of the grapheme 𐵲 as ‹r›, see Shimunek (forthcoming, d).

[221] E.g. *e’üre* [額兀𠙵剌] ‘for a long time (久)’ (*SHM* §201) and *e’üri* [額兀𠙵里] ‘for a long time (从)’ ~ ‘eternity (从遠)’ (*HIIY* 2.05b2, 2.10b2). Note also MMgl in ‘Phagspa Script *ɛɦuri 𘿳𘿴𘿵𘿶 ‹ė.ɦu.ri› ‘long-lasting, enduring’ (*CYK*$_2$ *l.* 7).

[222] E.g. Pcl. *egüri* (*Chang*, *l.* 40, 48; *Jïg.*, *l.* 35; *Hin.*, *l.* 7, 41).

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Tagh *gir [其連] ‘sandal cord (綦)’.[223] Cognate to attested late Middle Mongol *ǰirim* and Written Mongol *ǰirim* ‘saddle strap which wraps around a horse’s belly’.[224] Cf. also reflexes in modern Mongolic daughter languages, e.g. Daur [ʤilim], Shira Yoghor [ʤərəm], and Santa *zhirin* [ʤi̯irin] ~ *zhirun* [ʤi̯irun] ‘id.’[225] CSM *gir ‘cord, strap’.

MKit *gɔr 巾父 ‹go.ᵉr› ‘tent’.[226] Middle Mongol *ger* *[gər] ‘yurt, home’.[227] CSM *gwər ‘yurt, home’.[228]

MKit *ɢɔʁ 列扎 ‹γ.ᵒγ› ‘river (川)’.[229] Cognate to Middle Mongol *qoroqan* ‘small river, rivulet’.[230] CSM *gɔrɔ ‘river’.[231]

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[223] *WS* (113: 3013). See §5.2.1 entry for Ch’i-lien *shih*.

[224] Attested late Middle Mongol *ǰirim* [جيريم] (*MAA:* JSPS, 248b).

[225] Sun et al. (1990: 446); Ma & Ch’en (2001: 461a);

[226] E.g. *HsHu* (23: 14). See Kane (2009) for the semantic identification of this word. The phonological reconstruction is my own.

[227] E.g. MMgl *ger* [格児] ‘tent, home’ (*SHM* §16). Jacques (2010: 162) also proposed this Mongolic cognate.

[228] There is probably an areal or loanword relationship between this Serbi-Mongolic word and Tibetan *gur* (གུར) ‘tent’ (cf. Jacques 2010 for a similar proposal). These forms also superficially resemble Hindi *ghar* घर [gʱər] ‘house, home’ (from Sanskrit *gṛha* गृह ‘house, home’ < PIE) and Pashto *kor* (کور) ‘house’, but a connection, if any, remains to be demonstrated.

[229] This is attested in *Hsüan* (5: 6). For the identification of this word, see Shimunek (forthcoming, d). See also the entry for MKit *əwr above.

[230] E.g. MMgl *qoroqan* [中豁舌羅中罕] ‘small river (小河)’ (*SHM* §5) ~ ‘rivulet, brook (溪)’ (*HIIY* 1.02a1). This MMgl word is clearly formed with *-qan* ‘diminutive suffix’. The Middle Mongol form thus must go back to an earlier form such as **qoro* ‘river’ + *-qan* ‘diminutive suffix’. Modern Daur [xʷarəɣ] ‘creek (小溪)’ (Engkebatu 1984: 135) ~ ‘river (河)’ (Nashundalai 2001: 128) is a regular reflex of the attested Middle Mongol form. Modern Khalkha Mongolian **горхи** [qɞrx] ‘creek’ is a somewhat phonologically divergent reflex.

[231] The MKit form is probably the result of a sporadic change of CSM intervocalic *r > MKit *ʁ. This change was not regular: note MKit *pur- ‘bless’ < CSM *pʰiru- and not MKit

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MKit *ɢur- 夆 ‹ɣur.› ~ 列化 ‹ɣ.ur.› ~ *ɢur 包 ‹ɣur› ‘three’.[232] Cognate to Middle Mongol *qurban ~ ɣurban* ‘three’.[233] CSM *gʊr- ‘three’.[234]

Tagh ☆ɣyamčın [鹹眞] ‘people who ride along the relay route through all provinces (諸州乘驛人)’.[235] The final ☆-n is a plural suffix (see entry for MKit *-an above) and ☆-čı is a suffix denoting the names of occupations (see entry for Tagh ☆-čı-n in §8.5.3 above). This title is cognate morpheme by morpheme to Middle Mongol *ǰamučin* ‘post-station masters’,[236] i.e. *ǰamu-či-n*. Taghbach ☆ɣyam ‘road, relay route’ is cognate to Middle

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✗puʁ (see entry for MKit *pur- below). CSM *gɔrɔ ‘river’ phonologically resembles, and is probably related to, CSM *gɔl ‘river’ (see entry for T’u-yü-hun *kɔl ‘river’ below). Alternatively, MKit *ɢɔʁ could be an instance of the free variation between *ʁ ~ *r attested in certain MKit words; see footnote in Chapter Five entry for Taghbach P’u *shih* for details.

[232] See §7.3.2.1.5 ‘Numerals’.

[233] E.g. MMgl *qurban* [中忽児班] ‘three (三)’ (*SHM* §4) and *ɣurban* [غُربَان] ‘three’ (*Leid.* 67a).

[234] Given the Middle Kitan words *ɢur ‘three’ and *dur ~ *tur ‘four’ and their Middle Mongol cognates *qurba-n* ‘three’ and *dörbe-n* ‘four’, the *-bA- element in the Mongolic forms is a morphological innovation distinguishing Mongolic from Serbi (note also the innovative *-sU suffix in Mongolic, see Appendix D for discussion). Jurchen *gɔrχɔn 𛅰 [戈兒歡] ‘thirteen’ (*NT* 93-94) is undoubtedly an early loanword from Serbi-Mongolic, with the root *gɔr- cognate to MMgl *qurban* ‘three’ (cf. Kane 2009, Janhunen 2003, Poppe 1979, Ligeti 1986, and Laufer 1921). See Shimunek (forthcoming, c) for the precise details of this loanword and its historical context.

[235] *NCS* (57: 985). See §5.3.1 entry for Hsien-chen.

[236] Attested early MMgl *ǰamučin* [札木臣] ‘post-station masters (站戶)’ (*SHM* §279; English translation from de Rachewiltz 2006: 215); Cleaves translates this as ‘keepers of post stations’ (1982: 225).

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Mongol *ǰam* ‘id.’[237] Modern Khalkha **зам** [tsam] ‘road’ < MMgl *ǰam* ~ *ǰamu* ‘road, relay route’ < < CSM *ɣyamʊ ~ *ɣyam ‘road, route’.[238]

Tagh *ɦorbə-l [嗢盆] ‘warmth (溫)’. Cognate to modern Written Mongol *örbid-* ~ *örbis-* (Kow. 587) ‘catch fire, ignite, flare up’ < ? unattested Middle Mongol **örbit-* ‘id.’. CSM *ɦorbi- ‘be warm, hot, or flaming’.[239]

Tagh *ɦɔr- [冤] ‘go (就)’ attested as a verbal noun *ɦɔr-ay [冤賴] ‘going (就)’.[240] Cognate to Middle Mongol *ot-* *[ɔt^{h}-] ‘go’.[241] CSM *ɦɔd- ‘go’.[242]

Tagh *ɦʊrʁ-ay [紇奚] ‘cultivation (稽)’, phonemically */ɦʊrg-/ ‘cultivate’ + deverbal noun suffix */-Ay/.[243] Cognate to Middle Mongol *urgu-* *[ʊrʁʊ-]

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[237] This cognate was identified by Ligeti (1970a). Cf. attested early MMgl *ǰam* [站] ‘post station (站)’ (*SHM* §279) and in the wordform *ǰamud-iyan* [札木的顏], i.e. *ǰam* ‘post station (站)’ + *-ud* ‘plural suffix (每)’ + *-iyan* ‘reflexive suffix (自的行)’ (*SHM* §279). Shiratori was the first to compare this word with Turkic *yam* ‘road, etc.’ (1902: 17). Boodberg connects this with Turkic “*yamčin*” → Russian **ямщик** ‘rider of the post’ (1936: 170). Turkic *yamčï* ‘post-rider’ is first attested very late, in the Chagatai-Persian dictionary *Sanglakh* of 1759 A.D. (*EDT* 933, xxi).

[238] Despite the widespread belief that the Middle Mongol word is a loanword from Turkic (e.g. Rozycki 1994: 90; Clauson 1962: 242), the chronology instead favors treating this as an early Serbi-Mongolic loanword in Archaic Turkic (see Shimunek et al. 2015 on Archaic Turkic; see also Clauson, who states that the Turkic word “prob[ably] reached Turki[c] via Mongol[ic]”, *EDT* 933), i.e. CSM *ɣyamʊ ~ *ɣyam → unattested ATrk > unattested OTrk > attested MTrk *yam* ‘a posting station’. The Turkic word is first attested in Middle Turkic in a 14th century Chinese-Uygur Dictionary (*EDT* 933, xix), nearly a millennium after the Taghbach attestation. Note also Manchu *giyamun* ‘relay station, relay post, military post station’ (Norman 1978: 109), i.e. [gjamun], which is a reanalysis of CSM *ɣyamʊ-n, i.e. CSM *ɣyamʊ ‘road, route’ + *-n ‘genitive-attributive suffix’.

[239] See §5.2.1 entry for Wa-p’en *shih* for a discussion of the morphology and phonology.

[240] *WS* (113: 3013). See §5.2.1 entry for Yüan-lai *shih* for discussion.

[241] E.g. MMgl *ot-* [斡惕] ‘go (去)’ (*SHM* §83).

[242] See §5.2.1 entry for Yüan-lai *shih* for the morphological analysis and sound changes.

[243] *WS* (113: 3013). See §5.2.1 entry for Ho-hsi *shih* for discussion.

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'grow'[244] and resultative perfective verbal noun suffix *-'A ~ -'Ai*.[245] CSM *ɦʊrg- 'grow *(intr.)*; cultivate *(trans.)*'.

OKit *idʊgan (probably: *ɪdʊgan) [伊吐干] 'female shaman'.[246] Cognate to Daur *yadɣən* 'female shaman'[247] and Middle Mongol *iduqan* 'female shaman'[248] > Modern Khalkha **удган** [ˈʊtʁəɴ] 'female shaman'. CSM *ɪdʊgan 'female shaman'.[249]

MKit *iši 禾 ‹ⁱši› 'nine'.[250] Cognate to Middle Mongol *yisü-n* 'nine'.[251] CSM *yiswi 'nine'.[252]

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[244] Attested in late Middle Mongol in Arabic transcription as *urʁu-* [اورغو] ~ *hurʁu-* [هورغو] (*MAA:* JSPS).

[245] See entry above for Tagh *-Ay ~ *-ɣAy ~ *-ɣA and LKit *-A. I follow Brosig's careful treatment of the Middle Mongol tense-mood-aspect-evidentiality system (Brosig 2014).

[246] *TCH* (14: 5b *l.* 8). This transcription, its semantic value, and its Written Mongol cognate were identified by Dien (1956). The phonological reconstruction above is my own.

[247] Engkebatu (1984: 328).

[248] E.g. MMgl *iduqan* [亦都罕] 'female shaman (師婆)' (*HIIY* 1.16a2).

[249] This Serbi-Mongolic word is undoubtedly related to OTrk *iduq* 'sacred' (attested 8th c., *GOrkT* 332), as suggested by Starostin et al. (2003: 611), but not as reflexes of a common proto-form. The directionality of this loan remains to be determined. Clauson claims OTrk *iduq* is a deverbal noun from *id-* 'send' (*EDT* 46a), but this etymology is unlikely given that OTrk *iduq* is only attested with the meaning 'sacred, holy'. The Old Kitan word is attested ca. 8th c. A.D. in the collected works of the T'ang statesman Chang Chiu-ling 張九齡 (Dien 1956: 13), roughly contemporaneously with the earliest Turkic attestation. This Serbi-Mongolic word was also borrowed into Tungusic, e.g. KDKE [idakɔn] 'female shaman' (Rinchen 1969: 53; "идакон" in Rinchen's transcription).

[250] See footnote in Appendix A, section §3 entry for grapheme #033 for the reconstruction of this numeral.

[251] E.g. MMgl *yisün* [也孫] 'nine (九)' (*HIIY* 1.22.a3) ~ *yisün* [ییسون] (*MAA:* Poppe 1938: 450).

[252] One regular source of MMgl *ü* [u] and *u* [ʊ] is CSM *uy and *ʊy. See entries for MKit *kuyr- 'arrive', Tagh *čarʁʊyčɪn 'judge' etc. Kitan phonology does not seem to have permitted *swi sequences, and it seems likely that such a sequence would have palatalized, i.e. CSM *swi > *šwi > *ši (cf. LMK *suy* > Modern Korean *swi* 쉬 [ɕ$^{(h)w}$i ~ ɕ$^{(h)}$i] for a

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MKit *ǰaw 乛 ‹ǰau› ‘hundred’[253] > LKit *ǰaw [爪] ‘hundred (百)’.[254] Cognate to Middle Mongol *ǰa'u-n* *[ʧaɦʊn] ‘hundred’[255] and Preclassical Written Mongol *ǰaɣun* ‘id.’[256] CSM *ǰaɣʊ ‘hundred’.

MKit *ǰgən 攴几村 ‹ǰ.g.en› ~ *čgən 朮几村 ‹č.g.en› ‘left (side)’.[257] Cognate to Middle Mongol *ǰe'ün* *[ʧəɦun] ‘left (side)’[258] and Preclassical Written Mongol *ǰegün* ‘left (side)’.[259] The secondary meaning of ‘east’ or ‘eastern’ is a recent innovation restricted to the ‘central’ dialects of modern Mongolic, e.g. Khalkha, Kalmyk, Buryat, Khamnigan, etc.[260] CSM *ǰəɣun ~ *ǰəɣən ‘left (side)’.[261]

MKit *ǰun 马必 ‹ǰu.un› ‘summer’.[262] Cognate to Middle Mongol *ǰun* *[ʧʊn] ‘summer’[263] and Modern Khalkha **зун** /tsʊŋ/ ‘id.’ CSM *ǰʊn ‘summer’.

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similar development). The non-existence of *yi sequences in Middle Kitan suggests that earlier *yi lenited to MKit *i.

[253] E.g. *HsTi* (38: 11).

[254] *LS* (116: 1547). See also Shimunek (2007: 77).

[255] E.g. MMgl *ǰa'un* [札溫] ‘hundred (百)’ (*HIIY* 1.22.a8).

[256] Pcl. *ǰaɣun* (*Chang*, *l.* 25; *Aruɣ*, *l.* 12; *BcaT* 156b11). The earliest attestation of this numeral in Preclassical Written Mongol is in the plural form *ǰaɣud* (*Yis.*, *l.* 4).

[257] E.g. *Yung* (7:10), *YP'u* (13:5; 5:30), *YChüeh* (13:33), *HsHu* (1:16). See also Kane (2009: 94 §3.053, 104 §3.114). The phonological reconstructions presented above are my own.

[258] MMgl *ǰe'ün* [者溫] ‘left side (左)’ (*HIIY* 1.25.b6). The reconstruction presented above is my own.

[259] E.g. Pcl. *ǰegün* (*Chang*, l. 32).

[260] See entry for MKit *udur ‘east’ below for the CSM word for ‘east’.

[261] Early reflexes of this CSM form were borrowed into Tungusic, e.g. Ewenki *ǰəgin* ‘left’, Ewen *ǰəgəŋgidə ~ ǰigəngidəə* ‘left’, and Solon *dziɣun* ‘east, left’ (Tsintsius 1975-1977: 282; the meaning ‘east’ in the Solon form is probably due to recent interference from Modern Mongolian) and Hailar Ewenki [ʤəgin] ‘left’ (Hu & Chog 1986: 171a).

[262] E.g. *YHsiang* (28:12, 30:36); Kane (2009: 119 §3.202); Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 194-195, 198).

[263] E.g. MMgl *ǰun* [諄] ‘summer (夏)’ (*HIIY* 1.03a2).

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MKit *ǰur-ən 𘰾𘰚𘰀 ‹ǰur.en› ‘paintings (繪)’.[264] Cognate to Middle Mongol *ǰiru-* ‘draw, paint’.[265] CSM *ǰɪrʊ- ‘draw, paint’.[266]

MKit *kč 𘰇𘰚 ‹k.č› ‘border region (疆); territory (境)’.[267] Cognate to Daur [kəʧ] ‘side’ ~ ‘edge, margin, border, shore, beach, riverside’,[268] Middle

[264] E.g. *Lang* (3: 13): See Shimunek (2014a: 103-104) for discussion.

[265] E.g. MMgl *ǰiru-* [جيرو] ‘draw, paint’ (*MAA*).

[266] This Serbi-Mongolic word is probably somehow related to Manchu *niru-* ‘draw, paint’ and its cognates in other Tungusic languages, but the precise relationship remains to be determined. Rozycki considers the correspondence to be “problematic phonologically” (1994: 163).

[267] E.g. *Tao* (10:13, 25:8, 34:30), *YTi* (8:27), and possibly *Hsü* (25:34). Jurchen *hečen(i)* 𘾎𘾏 ‘city, city wall’ is a borrowing from this Kitan word (Aisin Gioro 2004: 89 #27; Kane 2009: 86). Given the final *-en* in the Jurchen form, it is probably a reanalysis of MKit *kč-ən 𘰇𘰚𘰀 ‹k.č.en› ‘border.region-GEN’. There seems to have been a widespread reanalysis of genitive noun forms as uninflected nouns in Jurchen-Manchu words of early Serbi-Mongolic origin, e.g. Ma. *gurun* ‘country’ (< Jurchen *gurun 𘾡𘾩 ‹guru.un› *NT* 62 ← early SM, cf. MKit *gur-ən 𘰃𘰾𘰀 ‹g.ur.en› ‘country-GEN’), Ma. *giyamun* *[gjamun] ‘relay station’ (< unattested OJur. ← CSM *ɣyamʊ-n ‘road-GEN’), and Ma. *fon* [fɔn] ‘time, season’ (< LJur *fɔn < *pɔn 𘾚𘾽 ‹po.on› *NT* 76 ← early SM, cf. MKit *pɔ-n 𘰉𘰠 ‹po.on› ‘time-GEN’).

[268] See Engkebatu (1984) and Yu Wonsoo et al. (2008: 126) for this Daur form. In Manchu Script for Daur (presumably representing the orthographic form in Ch’ing Daur), this word is written ‹keči› (Nashundalai 2001: 13), but this is due to an orthographic convention – wordforms cannot end with ‹č› in Manchu Script orthography. Thus, at the phonological level the Ch’ing Daur form is probably *k^{h}əč^{h} despite its misleading orthographic representation. This is probably a Kitan substratal element in Daur. A loanword relationship between the Kitan word and attested Late Middle Korean *kyech* H *[kjə́ts^{h}] ·겻 ‘side’ (attested in *Wŏrin Sŏkpo* 月印釋譜, 1459 A.D.) ~ *kyeth* L *[kjə̀t^{h}] 곁 ‘side (傍)’ (attested in *Yongbi Ŏch’ŏn’ga*, 1447 A.D.) cannot be ruled out; see Nam (2002: 87b-88a) and Yu Ch’angton (2000: 59a) for these Late Middle Korean forms.

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Mongol *kiǰa'ar* 'side, margin, edge, border'[269] and Preclassical Written Mongol *kiǰaɣar* 'id.'[270] CSM *k^{h}ɪǰa 'border, margin, side'.[271]

MKit *kəm 叔金 ‹k.em› 'edict'.[272] Cognate to Middle Mongol *kem* 'limit'.[273] CSM *k^{h}əm 'limit, measure'.

T'u-yü-hun *kɔl [𐰴𐰺] ~ *k^{h}ɔl [𐰚𐰺] 'river (川)'.[274] Cognate to Middle Mongol *qol* 'brook, mountain stream'.[275] CSM *gɔl 'river, brook, mountain stream'.[276]

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[269] Jacques proposed this Kitan-Mongol lexical correspondence (2010: 162). This Middle Mongol form, e.g. attested MMgl *kiǰa'ar* [乞札阿児] 'side, margin, edge, border (邊)' (*HIIY* 1.25.b8), is probably from a reanalyzed instrumental case form, i.e. CSM *k^{h}ɪǰa 'border' + *-ɣVr 'instrumental case suffix'.

[270] Pcl. *kiǰaɣar* (*Bur.* 51b).

[271] An early Serbi reflex of this word is probably the loan source, or is otherwise connected with, attested 8th c. OTrk *käč-* 'to pass, cross over', i.e. CSM *k^{h}ɪǰa 'border, margin, side' > PSer (cf. MKit *kč) → ? unattested ATrk > OTrk *käč-* 'cross over, pass'. This Old Turkic verb is attested in the Kül Tegin Inscription of 732 A.D., the Toñuquq Inscription, and other early 8th century inscriptions (*GOrkT* 348).

[272] E.g. *Hsü* (11: 25-28). See Kane (2009: 66 §2.257, 68-69 §2.283, 94-95 §3.054) for discussion. The phonological reconstruction is my own.

[273] E.g. MMgl *kem* [客木] 'limit (限)' (*SHM* §199).

[274] *OTA$_{I}$*: 123, 195. See §6.2.1 entries for Jïma Khol and 'O Kol ~ 'O Khol for discussion.

[275] E.g. MMgl *qol* [中豁勒] 'brook, mountain stream (澗)' (*SHM* §118). Cf. Modern Khalkha **гол** /ɢɔɮ/ [qɔɮ] 'river'.

[276] This word is probably related to CSM *gɔrɔ 'river'; see entry for MKit *ɢɔʁ 'river' above.

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MKit *ku 𘍞𘜘 ‹k.u› ‘younger daughter’[277] ~ 𘈩𘜘 ‹k.u› ‘boy, son’.[278] Cognate to Middle Mongol *ke’ü ~ ke’ü-n* ‘son, boy’[279] and *kübe’ün* ‘son’.[280] Note

[277] For example: 𘍿𘒣𘋢 𘊴𘍠 𘏚 𘍞 𘍿 𘌭 𘊴𘍞 𘌭𘏢 𘋢𘏢𘍔𘍿 𘋢𘏢𘍔𘍿 𘍠 𘐪 𘍿 𘍞𘜘 ‘[He had] two wives. [His] elder wife [was] Lady *Pigə. [His] second wife [was] Lady *Šlgə. [They were] the elder daughter [and] younger daughter of the same parents’ (*YHsiang* 12:28-13:10; revised from Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 167).

[278] Kane (2009: 116) and Oyuunch (2011: 72) show that 𘈩𘜘 ‹k.u› denotes ‘boy’, since it is modified with the masculine numeral 𘐪 ‘three (masculine)’ in the *Ku Yeh-lü Shih Ming-shih* 故耶律氏銘石 inscription: 𘍠 𘍿𘍔𘍿 𘏢𘏚 𘐪 𘈩𘜘 𘍠 𘍞 𘋢 ‘… four siblings—three sons and one daughter’ (*Ku* 17: 2-7). The identification of 𘍞𘜘 and 𘈩𘜘 as orthographic variants of one word and the phonological reconstructions above are my own. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010), Kane (2009), and others treat the grapheme 𘜘 as ‹iu›, and it is known to transcribe the Old Mandarin front rounded vowel [y], but there is no evidence of a front rounded vowel in native Middle Kitan words; Late Kitan *ü *[y] is a secondary development resulting from umlaut, i.e. LKit *nügu ‘gold’ < MKit *nigu (see also §7.4). When used to render native Kitan words, the grapheme 𘜘 probably denoted *[u].

[279] For example: early MMgl *ke’ü* [可兀] ‘son (児 ~ 児子 ~ 子)’ (*SHM* §66, §68, §109) ~ *ke’ü-n* [可温] ‘son (子 ~ 児子)’ (*SHM* §2, §40) and MMgl in ‘Phagspa Script *k^{h}əɦun ‘son’, attested in the larger Chü-yung-kuan Inscription in the genitive case as *k^{h}əɦun-u 𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃 ‹k^{h}e.ɦu.nu› ‘son-GEN’ (*CYK$_2$ l.* 13). Note also late MMgl *kün* [كون] ‘son’ (*Yem.*). The Modern Khalkha reflex **хүү** [xuː ~ huː] ‘son, boy’ is also frequently used as an affectionate term for addressing one’s child, without regard to gender, especially in the phrase **миний хүү** [minixuː], literally ‘my son’, frequently used to affectionately address one’s own daughter as well. Early MMgl *ke’üken* [口刊] ‘young son (小児)’ (*HIIY* 1.15b2) is a diminutive form derived from MMgl *ke’ü* ‘son’ + *-ken* ‘diminutive suffix’. The Modern Khalkha Mongolian reflex of this diminutive form, **хүүхэн** [ˈxuːxəŋ ~ ˈhuːxəŋ], has taken on a new meaning and now denotes ‘young lady’. Modern Mongolian **хүүхэд** [ˈxuːxət ~ ˈhuːxət] ‘child’ is a reanalysis of the Middle Mongol plural diminutive *ke’üket* [可兀客惕] ‘children (孩児每)’ (*HIIY* 3.18a3), i.e. MMgl *ke’ü* ‘son’ + *-ke(n)* ‘diminutive suffix’ + *-t* ‘plural suffix’. Daur [kək^{w}] ‘son’ (Engkebatu 1984: 145) ~ *kəwk* ‘child, young of an animal’ (Yu Wonsoo et al. 2008: 126) is a reflex of MMgl *ke’üken* ‘young son’.

[280] E.g. attested in Middle Mongol in ‘Phagspa Script in the larger Chü-yung-kuan Inscription as *k^{h}ubəɦun 𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃 ‹k^{h}eu.be.ɦun› ‘son’ (*CYK$_2$ l.* 4). This Middle Mongol word is probably from pre-Proto-Mongolic *k^{h}uβə ~ *k^{h}uɣə, a metathesized variant of *k^{h}əɣu. It is well known that in pre-Proto-Mongolic the phones *β and *ɣ were in free variation

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also Kojia [kʉgɔ] ‘son, boy’[281] and Mongolian Khamnigan Mongol [kʰuɣɵː] ‘affectionate term of address to a child or younger person’.[282] CSM *kʰəβ͡ɣu ~ *kʰuβ͡ɣə ‘boy, son, daughter, child’.

MKit *ku 𐲢 ‹ku›[283] ~ *kuw 𐲢𐲡 ‹ku.uw› (e.g. genitive *kuw-un 𐲢𐲡𐲣 ‹ku.uw.un›[284]) ‘human, person’.[285] Cognate to Daur *xuu* ~ *kuu* ‘person, people, human’[286] and Middle Mongol *kü’ün* ~ *gü’ü* ~ *gü’ün* ~ *kümü* ~ *kümün* ‘person, human’[287] > modern Khalkha **хүн** [xuŋ ~ huŋ] ~ plural **хүмүүс** [xuˈmus ~ huˈmus] ‘people’, Oirat *küm* [kʰym], oblique *kümn-* [kʰymn-].[288] CSM *kʰu ‘human, person’.

(see Poppe 1955: 98 §47 for discussion). The *-ɦun element (< *-ɣU-n) is Mongolic innovation, the precise semantic value of which is not yet known. Note the phonologically identical *-ɣU-n element in Middle Mongol *šiba’un* ‘bird, bird of prey’ < *sıba-ɣU-n < CSM *sıba ‘bird, bird of prey’ > MKit *šawa ‘bird of prey’. See Appendix D ‘Pre-Proto-Mongolic Morphological Innovations’ for pre-Proto-Mongolic *-ɣU.

[281] Sechinchogt (1999: 287a).

[282] This Mongolian Khamnigan Mongol form is from my 2009 fieldwork in Binder county and Dadal county, Khentii province.

[283] E.g. *YHsiang* (7: 24); see Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 153) for discussion.

[284] E.g. *HsTi* (11: 16).

[285] Kane (2009: 56-57 §2.178, 105 §3.122). The phonological reconstructions are my own.

[286] See Engkebatu (1984: 123) and Yu Wonsoo et al. (2008: 128) for these Daur forms.

[287] E.g. attested Middle Mongol in ‘Phagspa Script *kʰuɦun 𐡂𐡅 𐡂𐡅𐡍 ‹kʰu.ɦun› ‘human, person’ (*CYK*$_1$ *l.* 6), early Middle Mongol *gü’ü* [古兀] ‘person, human (人)’ (*SHM* §83) ~ *gü’ün* [古温] ‘person, human (人)’ (*SHM* §12), and late Middle Mongol *kümün* [كمُن] ‘man’ (*IM*) ~ *kümü* [كمو] (*Ist.* 162a.5-2) ~ *kün̄* [كوون] ~ [كون] ‘person’ (*MAA:* JSPS).

[288] The earliest attested spoken Middle Mongol forms of this word have no medial *-m-. In other words, late Middle Mongol *kümü* ‘human, person’ is a late innovation, probably due to regressive nasal assimilation triggered by the final *-n suffix, i.e. attested early MMgl *kʰuɦu-n > *kʰuñu-n > attested late MMgl *kʰumun ~ *kʰumu ~ Pcl. *kümün* ~ modern WMgl *kümün* ‘person, human’. Cf. Saitô (2003: 109) for a similar proposal. Chronologically, the Preclassical WMgl form *kümün* is attested earlier, in 1240 A.D. in *Tör*. (*l.* 1), but, as discussed in Chapter One (see Table 3), this *m* is an orthographic feature

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MKit *kuyr- 𠯿𡎴𠂤 ‹k.ui.ir.› ‘reach, arrive (至)’ (converb stem *kuy- 𠯿𡎴 ‹k.ui.›).[289] Cognate to Middle Mongol *kür-* *[k^{h}ur-] ‘reach, arrive’.[290] CSM *k^{h}uyr- ‘reach, arrive’.

Tagh ☆k^{h}ɪlmɔrčɪn or ☆k^{h}ɪlmʊrčɪn [乞萬眞] ‘interpreters (通事人)’.[291] The final *-n is a plural suffix (see entry for MKit *-an above) and *-čɪ is a suffix denoting the names of occupations (see entry for Tagh *-či-n in §8.5.3 above). The word was first connected with Mongolic by Shiratori (1902: 17) and Pelliot (1925: 255, *n.* 4).[292] Cognate to attested late Middle Mongol *kelemeči* ‘interpreter’.[293] I reconstruct Taghbach ☆k^{h}ɪlmɔrčɪn or

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of Pcl. WMgl orthography which probably reflects the phonology of an innovative peripheral dialect of Old Mongol, since the spoken forms of the central varieties of early Middle Mongol do not give evidence of this *m*, which only appears in western *late* Middle Mongol and in later-attested Mongolic daughter languages. Middle Mongol *k^{h}uɦu-n ‘human, person’ is a regular reflex of Proto-Mongolic *k^{h}uɣu-n ‘id.’, which, given the Middle Kitan cognate, must be from pre-Proto-Mongolic *k^{h}u-ɣU-n ‘id.’ The same *-ɣU- suffix is found in other Mongolic words with Kitan cognates, e.g. MMgl *šiba'u-n* ‘bird, bird of prey’ << pre-PMgl *sɪba-ɣU-n < CSM *sɪba (see entry for MKit *šawa ‘eagle, hawk’), and MMgl *kübe'ün* ‘son’ << pre-PMgl *k^{h}uβə-ɣU-n < *k^{h}uβ͡ɣə (see entry for MKit *ku ‘son, younger daughter’ above). This *-ɣU- suffix is thus clearly a pre-Proto-Mongolic morphological innovation distinguishing the Mongolic branch from Kitan and probably other Serbi languages in general. See Appendix D for pre-PMgl *-ɣU.

[289] See §7.3.2.1.6 for the attested paradigm of this Middle Kitan verb.

[290] E.g. attested late Middle Mongol *kür-* [كور] (*MAA:* JSPS) and attested eastern Early Middle Mongol *gür-* [古児] ‘arrive (到)’ (*SHM* §24). The *Hua-I i-yü* attests both variants: *kür-* [窟児] ‘arrive (到)’ as in *kür-tele* [窟児帖列] ‘until’ (*HIIY* 1.28a6) and *gür-* [古児] ‘arrive (到)’ as in *gür-tele* [古児帖列] ‘until’ (*HIIY* 2.01b5).

[291] *NCS* (57: 985).

[292] Cf. also Ligeti (1970a) and Vovin (2007: 194).

[293] I.e. attested late MMgl *kelemeči* ‘interpreter’ (*Yem.*: Ligeti & Kara 2012: 143).

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☆kʰɪlmʊrčɪn ‘interpreters’. The Taghbach and Middle Mongol forms go back to CSM *kʰɪlmʊrčʰɪ ~ *kʰəlmurčʰi ‘interpreter’.[294]

Tagh ☆kʰɪrʁayčɪn [契害眞] ‘assassins (殺人者)’.[295] Cognate to Middle Mongol *kidu’ači* *[kʰitʊɦatʃʰi] ‘killer’[296] and Written Mongol *kiduɣači* ‘killer’. The final ☆-n is a plural suffix (see entry for MKit *-an above) and ☆-čɪ is a suffix denoting the names of occupations (see entry for Tagh ☆-či-n in §8.5.3 above). CSM *kʰɪdʊ-ɣAy-čʰɪ ‘killer’ < CSM *kʰɪdʊ- ‘kill’.

[294] See also entry for Tagh ☆-mɔr/☆-mʊr in §8.5.3 above. CSM *-mʊr ~ *-mur (> Taghbach ☆-mɔr/☆-mʊr) is a deverbal suffix cognate to WMgl *-mür ~ -mur ~ -mar ~ -mer* ‘deverbal adjectival noun suffix’; see Ligeti (1970a) and Vovin (2007: 194) for discussion, and Poppe (1954: 48 §169) for the Written Mongol suffix. The root of the Taghbach word is thus ☆kʰɪl-, cognate to attested early Middle Mongol *kele-* ‘speak’ (e.g. *SHM* §85) ~ *kelele-* ‘speak’ (e.g. *SHM* §83) and *kele* ‘speech’ (e.g. *SHM* §141) ~ *kelen* ‘speech, tongue, spoken language’ (e.g. *SHM* §104). Oyuunch identifies Middle Kitan 𘍏𘎺 (which I read as ‹k.l›) as ‘language (言葉)’ (Oyuunch 2012: 16), attested in the plural form 𘍏𘎺𘎾 ‹k.l.s› (*Hsüan* 11: 7-10), the dative-locative case form 𘍏𘎺𘎽 ‹k.l.de› (*YChüeh* 9: 37), and in the accusative-instrumental-comitative case as 𘍏𘎺𘎿 ‹k.l.ᵉr› (*HsHu* 25: 8). Assuming Oyuunch’s semantic decipherment of this Kitan word is correct, I reconstruct MKit *kl (probably *[kl̩] at the phonetic level) ‘language’, cognate to these Taghbach and Middle Mongol words, and CSM *kʰɪl-/*kʰəl- ‘speak, speech, tongue, language’.

[295] *NCS* 57: 985; see §5.3.1 for discussion.

[296] E.g. early MMgl *kidu’ači* [乞都阿赤] ‘killer (好殺的)’ (*SHM* §181).

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MKit *miŋ (*mɪŋ ?) 矣 ‹miŋ› ‘thousand’.[297] Cognate to Middle Mongol *minqan* ‘thousand’[298] and Preclassical Written Mongol *mingγan* ‘id.’[299] CSM *mɪŋ ‘thousand’.[300]

MKit *mir 又仉 ‹m.ir› ‘horse’.[301] Note also the Middle Kitan accusative-instrumental-comitative variants *mir-ɔr and *mir-ər,[302] the former suggesting an earlier root with a rounded vowel *ɔ. Cognate to Middle

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[297] E.g. *Hsüan* (30: 3).

[298] E.g. early MMgl *minqan* [敏[中]罕] ‘thousand (千)’ (*SHM* §170) and late MMgl *minγan* [مينغان] ‘thousand’ (*MAA:* Poppe 1938: 441b). The early Middle Mongol form appears to have the diminutive suffix *-qan* reanalyzed as part of the root; the fact that this suffix appears in the [-ATR] variant *-qan* and not the [+ATR] variant *-ken* suggests that the vowel *i* in attested Middle Mongol *minqan* must be a [-ATR] vowel *[ɪ], i.e. early MMgl *[mɪɴqan] ‘thousand’ < *mɪŋ ‘thousand’. In most phonological environments, Old Mandarin could not distinguish [i] ~ [ɪ] ~ [ɨ] in transcriptions of foreign words. In Modern Mongolian, the final *n* element has been reanalyzed as the attributive suffix *-n*, resulting in the modern Khalkha form **мянга** [mjaɴq] /myaŋg/ ‘thousand’ and its attributive form **мянган** [ˈmjaɴgə̆ɴ] /myaŋg-ŋ/ as in **мянган жил** [ˈmjaɴgə̆ɴ ʧiɮ] /myaŋg-ŋ čiɮ/ ‘one thousand years’. Middle Mongol *minqan* ‘thousand’ was borrowed into Jurchen-Manchu, e.g. Ming Jurchen *mingan 丟 [皿干] ‘thousand’ (*NT* 61) > Manchu *mingγan* ‘thousand’. Note also modern Sakhalin Nivkh **нямӷаӈ** [ɲamqaŋ] ‘thousand’, which is probably a metathesized reflex of an earlier, unattested Nivkh form borrowed from Jurchen-Manchu. The Nivkh wordform is from Tangiku et al. (2008: 82, #683). On the reconstruction of */ɪ/ for early Mongolic, see Seongyeon Ko (2013).

[299] Pcl. *mingγan* (*Ǐig.*, *l.* 30).

[300] Note also 8th-century Old Turkic *biŋ ~ bɨŋ* ‘thousand’ (*GOrkT* 313, 314) and 11th-century Middle Turkic *miŋ* ‘thousand’ (*DTS* 344-345). The Turkic forms are undoubtedly related to the Common Serbi-Mongolic word above.

[301] E.g. *YHsiang* (12: 19). See Shimunek (2014a: 112). As shown by Kane (2009), the grapheme 仉 should be read ‹ir›. This reading has good explanatory power, and resolves phonological problems with the previously proposed reading ‹ri›. Thus, the Kitan word for ‘horse’ must be read *mir and not “*mori” or “*mVri” as others have proposed.

[302] See Chapter Seven for attestations.

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Mongol *morin* *[mɔrin] ‘horse’.[303] Cf. also Old Koguryo *merʊ ‘colt’.[304] CSM *mɔrɪ ‘horse’ (↔ ? Kulturwort).[305]

MKit *mɔʁɔ 𘾡𘿪𘾔 ‹m.oγ.o› ‘snake’.[306] Cognate to Middle Mongol *moqai* ~ *moqoi* ‘snake’.[307] The *ai* /Ay/ element in the Middle Mongol form is probably the result of analogical change, cf. MMgl *noqai* ‘dog’, *qaqai* ‘pig’, *taulai* ‘hare’, etc. Note also Daur [moɣʷ] ‘snake’.[308] CSM *mɔga ~ *mɔgɔ ‘snake’.

[303] E.g. attested early MMgl *mori* [秣舌驪] ‘horse (馬)’ (*SHM* §99) ~ *morin* [秣舌驎] ‘horse (馬)’ (*SHM* §31) and attested late MMgl *mori* [مُوري] ‘horse (اسْب)’ (*Leid.* 66a-13-1) ~ *morin* [مُورِيْن] ‘horse (الفَرس)’ (*Leid.* 75a-10-3-1).

[304] Beckwith (2007a: 252).

[305] This is a widespread Kulturwort, with cognates in Old Chinese, Koreanic, Tungusic, Japanese-Koguryoic, Old Tibetan, Nivkh, and other languages, e.g. Sakhalin Nivkh **мурӈ** [murŋ] ‘horse’, Late Middle Korean *mɔ̀r 물 ‘horse’ (> MSK *mar* 말 [maɭ] ‘id.’), Middle Mongol *morin* ‘horse’, Jurchen *murin 𘾡列 ‹muri.in› [母里因] ‘horse’, Late Old Chinese 馬 *mraʁ ‘horse’, Indo-European (e.g. English *mare*), Old Tibetan *rmaŋ* ‘horse’, and Old Koguryo *merʊ ‘colt’. The Nivkh form is from Tangiku et al. (2008: 33 #98), the LMK form from Yu Ch’angton (2000: 288b-289a), and the Jurchen form is from *NT* (90, 215, 244). See Beckwith for the Indo-European, Old Chinese, and Old Tibetan comparanda, and for discussion of this Kulturwort (2002b; 2007a: 55; 2009: 402 *n.* 45). On the connection between the Kitan and Jurchen words, see Aisin Gioro (2004: 93 #38) and Kane (2009: 102). Note also 12th c. Koryŏ Early Middle Korean [末] ‘horse (馬)’ (*KYS* #100: Sasse 1976), which I reconstruct as ☆mar (cf. Pul. 218) or, more likely, *mɔr.

[306] E.g. *Tao* (4: 8). See discussion in Appendix A ‘Toward a Revised Analysis of the Kitan Assembled Script’ for the reading of grapheme #224 as 𘾡 ‹m›.

[307] E.g. attested MMgl *moqai* [抹孩] ‘snake (蛇)’ (*HIIY* 1.06b4). Note also late Middle Mongol in Arabic script as *moʁay* [موغاي] ‘snake’ (*MAA:* JSPS, 24b).

[308] Engkebatu (1984: 202).

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LKit *mur [沒里] ‘river (河)’.[309] Cognate to Middle Mongol *müren* ‘river’,[310] Kojia [mʉrɔ] ‘large river, the Yellow River’,[311] and Daur [mur] ‘large river’[312]. CSM *murə ‘large river’.[313]

Tagh *mʊdɪ [莫堤] ‘prefect (刺史)’.[314] This Taghbach word is cognate to Middle Mongol *muǰi* ‘province, position’[315] and modern Khalkha **муж** [mʊʧ] ‘province’.[316] CSM *mʊdɪ ‘position’.

Tagh ☆mʊqʊlɪ [木骨閭] ‘bald (首禿)’.[317] Cognate to Middle Mongol *muqular* *[mʊqʰʊlar] ‘hornless’.[318] CSM *mʊkʰʊlɪr ~ *mʊkʰʊlar ‘bald, hornless’.[319]

[309] *CTKC* (see Shimunek 2007).

[310] E.g. attested early MMgl *müren* [沐舌漣] ‘river (河)’ (*SHM* §24) and late MMgl *mören/müren* [موران] ‘great river’ (*MAA:* JSPS, 24a).

[311] This Kojia form is from Sechinchogt (1999: 293a).

[312] This Daur form is from Engkebatu (1984: 206). Cf. also Yu Wonsoo et al. (2008: 132).

[313] The Late Kitan word appears to have been borrowed into Early Middle Korean, i.e. LKit *mur ‘river’ → EMK ☆mur [沒] ‘water (水)’ > LMK *mɨr ·믈 ‘water’ > MSK [muɻ] 물 ‘id.’ See Chapter One discussion of the Mongolic-Korean Theory.

[314] *NCS* (57: 985). See §5.3.1 for discussion.

[315] Ligeti (1970a), Vovin (2007: 197). The Middle Mongol form is attested in *Muqaddimat al-Adab* in the ablative case as *muǰi-āsa* [موجياسه] (*MAA:* JSPS, 195a).

[316] Early Serbi-Mongolic loanwords in Tungusic provide more evidence of *di ~ *dɪ > MMgl *ǰi* (cf. Poppe 1966: 192-193).

[317] *WS* (103: 2289).

[318] E.g. attested early MMgl *muqular* [木中忽剌舌児] ‘hornless (無角)’ (*SHM* §121) ~ ‘hornless (禿角)’ (*SHM* §214).

[319] See §5.2.4 entry for Mu-ku-lü.

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MKit *naʁan 力丑出 ‹na.ɣa.an› ‘maternal uncle’.[320] Cognate to Middle Mongol *naqaču* ‘maternal uncle’,[321] Mongghul [nɑɢɑi] ‘maternal uncle’,[322] and Ordos *naɣan* ‘id.’[323] CSM *nagan ‘maternal uncle’.

MKit *namur 公乃灾 ‹n.am.ur› ‘fall, autumn’.[324] Cognate to Middle Mongol *namur* *[namʊr] ‘id.’[325] CSM *namʊr ‘fall, autumn’.

MKit *nayč- 公丰犮 ‹n.ai.č.› ~ *nayǰ- 公丰攴 ‹n.ai.ǰ.› ‘be friendly’.[326] This word is cognate to Modern Khalkha **найз** [næˑts] ‘friend’ and modern Written Mongol *nayiǰa* ‘friend’.[327] CSM *nayɪǰ- ‘be friends’.[328]

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[320] E.g. *YP’u* (7: 18-19). See also Kane (2009: 106 §3.124). The phonological reconstruction presented above is my own.

[321] E.g. MMgl *naqaču* [納哈出] ‘maternal uncle (舅)’ (*HIIY* 1.14b5). This MMgl form is the donor of Khentii-Dornod Khamnigan Ewenki [nagatʃu] ‘maternal uncle’ (Rinchen 1969: 54, 56). See Doerfer (1963: 516-517 §383) for other comparanda. The *-ču* element in the Middle Mongol form is difficult to explain, but one could imagine a scenario where early Mongolic speakers with reading knowledge of Kitan and Chinese reanalyzed the Kitan grapheme 出 ‹an› as Chinese 出 *ch’u*.

[322] Sun et al. (1990: 497).

[323] This Ordos form is from Mostaert (1944: 480a).

[324] E.g. *YP’u* (11: 12).

[325] E.g. MMgl *namur* [納木児] ‘autumn (秋)’ (*SHM* §153). The phonological reconstruction above is my own.

[326] The Kitan forms here are from Kane (2009: 89, 99, 148). The phonological reconstruction is my own. Note the sentence: *gur-s *nayǰ-lʁa-n 九灾今 公丰攴屮丑力出 ‹g.ur.s› ‹n.ai.ǰ.l.ɣa.a.an› (country-PL be.friendly-CP-PST♀) ‘achieved friendly relations between states’ (lit. ‘countries were caused to become friendly’) (*Jen-hsien* 12).

[327] Close cognates of this word in the modern Mongolic daughter languages are only found in the ‘central’ dialects and languages, e.g. Khalkha, Chakhar, Baarin, Bargu, Buryat, Muumingan (Darkhan), Kharachin, East Sönid, and Oirat, e.g. Kokonor Khoshuud (Dulan) and the Bayanghol dialect of East Turkistan (Xinjiang). See Sun et al. (1990: 497) for these forms.

[328] See also Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 74) for a similar proposal. See entry for MKit *kuyr- above for a discussion of the vowel correpondences.

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Tagh *ñaqañ [若干] ‘dog (苟 for 狗)’.[329] Cognate to Middle Mongol *noqai* *[nɔqʰaj] ‘dog’[330] and Middle Kitan *ñaq 伏乃 ‹ñ.aq› ‘dog’[331] > LKit *ñaq/*ñaχ [捏褐] ‘dog (犬)’.[332] CSM *ñɔkʰañ ‘dog’.[333]

MKit *ñaw 伏兮 ‹ñ.iau› ‘sibling, child’ [334] (plural *ñaw-ñər 伏兮伏父 ‹ñ.iau.ñ.ᵉr›[335] ~ *ñaw-ñəñ 伏兮伏叉 ‹ñ.iau.ñ.ᵉñ› ‘siblings’[336]). Cognate to Daur [ɲoːɲo] ‘children’, [ɲoːn] ~ [noːn] ‘son’,[337] and early Middle Mongol *nu'un* *[nʊɦʊn] ‘son, boy’[338] (WMgl *nuγun* ‹nwγwn›).[339] From the Written Mongol form, we have a bookish modern Khalkha reading **нуган** [ˈnʊʁə̆ɴ] ‘son’.[340] Classical Manchu *nionio* [ɲɔɲɔ] ‘an expression of affection used by adults to children’[341] is a borrowing from Kitan or a related Serbi language. Since Kitan regularly lenited Common Serbi-Mongolic *ɣʊ to *w,[342] and because of the lowering of Common Serbi-Mongolic *ɔ > Common Serbi *a before dorsal obstruents (see the Taghbach and Kitan

[329] *WS* (113: 3007). See §5.2.1 for discussion.

[330] E.g. early MMgl *noqai* [那中孩] ‘dog (狗)’ (*SHM* §78) and late Middle Mongol in Arabic script as *noqay* [نوقاي] ‘dog’ (*MAA:* JSPS 146b). Note also Daur [noɣʷ] ‘dog’ (Engkebatu 1984) ~ *nox* ‘dog’ (Yu Wonsoo et al. 2008: 136).

[331] E.g. *YTi* (14: 28).

[332] *LS* (53: 879).

[333] See §5.2.1 entry for Jo-kan *shih* for sound changes and loanwords into Tungusic.

[334] E.g. *Yung* (11: 28).

[335] E.g. *Ku* (17: 3).

[336] E.g. *Yung* (14: 26).

[337] See Engkebatu (1984: 65, 61) for these Daur forms.

[338] E.g. MMgl *nu'un* [訥温] ‘son, boy (児)’ (*SHM* §65).

[339] Poppe notes the Preclassical Written Mongol variant *niγun* ‹nyγwn› ‘son, boy’ (Poppe 1955: 66).

[340] Tsewel (1966: 387a); the default modern Khalkha word for ‘son, boy’ in everyday speech and writing is **хүү** [xuː ~ huː], with a bookish, literary variant in **хөвгүүн** [xɵwˈɣuŋ ~ hɵwˈɣuŋ]. For some Khalkha speakers, the phrase **нуган хүү** [ˈnʊʁə̆ɴ xuː] denotes ‘eldest son’.

[341] Norman (1978: 215a).

[342] E.g. LKit *bawl < CSM *bɔɣʊl ‘slave’.

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examples in §8.2.1 ‘Serbi-Mongolic Sound Correspondences’ above), we may reasonably posit a Pre-Kitan or Common Serbi form *ñaɣʊ < Common Serbi-Mongolic *ñɔɣʊ.[343] CSM *ñɔɣʊ ‘child, son, sibling’.[344]

[343] For other examples of this vowel lowering rule, see also the entries for LKit *bawl ‘villain, vile person’ and MKit *ñaq ‘dog’. Middle Kitan *mɔʁɔ ‘snake’ is an exception to this rule, probably due to the vowel of the second syllable..

[344] There are also good comparanda to Kitan *ñaw ‘sibling, child’ in Samoyedic, e.g. Nenets *ñu* ‘child, baby’ and Nganasan *ñuː* ‘child’ (Janhunen reconstructs Proto-Samoyedic *ńuə̑ ‘child; cub’, 1977: 111), as well as Proto-Tibeto-Burman *na·w, reconstructed on the basis of Tibetan རྣུ་བོ *nu-bo* ‘a man’s younger brother’ (Jäschke 1881: 305), རྣུ་མོ *nu-mo* ‘the younger sister of a female’ (Jäschke 1881: 305), Jingpho (“Kachin”) *nau* ‘younger sibling’, Mizo (“Lushei”) *nau* ‘id.’, Garo *no* ‘younger sister’, and several other possible cognates (Benedict 1972: 63). Note also Proto-Tungusic *nəkuːn, reconstructed on the basis of Ewenki *nəku* ‘younger sister’, Solon *nəxu* ‘younger sibling’, Ewen *nəː ~ nəːŋil ~ nəːnul* ‘id.’, Negidal *nuxu ~ nəxu* ‘id.’, Oroch *nokko ~ noːk* ‘id.’, Udihe *nəŋu ~ ɲəŋu* ‘brother or sister’, Ulcha *nəku* ‘younger sibling’, Uilta *noɣoŋeː ~ nokonoː ~ noːk ~ nuːggu ~ nuːkku ~ nuku ~ nəw ~ nəu* ‘younger sibling’, Nanai *nəil ~ nəgil* ‘younger siblings’, *nəku ~ nəkũ* ‘younger sibling, child’, Manchu *non* ‘younger sister’ and other cognates (Tsintsius 1975: 617-618). Note also Wu Chinese, e.g. Shanghainese 囡囡 [ŋyŋy] ‘affectionate term of address for one’s daughter’,[344] and Korean 누나 [nuna ~ ⁿduna] ‘affectionate term of address used by male speakers to a female older than them’. I thank Christopher I. Beckwith for bringing the Shanghainese word to my attention and suggesting the connection. I also thank Shanghainese native speakers 潘方 Pan Fang and 顧曉琴 Gu Xiaoqin (Indiana University, Bloomington) for confirming the phonological form and its orthographic representation (p.c., June 2011). I have not included the tones, since they are not relevant to the analysis. The existence of good comparanda in such demonstrably unrelated language families as (at least) Samoyedic, Tibeto-Burman, Tungusic, Serbi-Mongolic, Sinitic, and Koreanic strongly suggests that we are dealing with a Kulturwort, spread over a large geographic area among genetically unrelated languages; this word may therefore be deemed non-distinctive for historical-comparative reconstruction purposes. However, the fact that we have phonologically closer cognates between Mongolic and Serbi as opposed to the Tibeto-Burman, Tungusic, Samoyedic, Wu, and Korean forms, and the regular sound changes which can be identified in the development of the attested Serbi and Mongolic forms from a common proto-form justifies reconstructing the Common Serbi-Mongolic form. The ultimate origins of the

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LKit *ñaw [袌] ‘lake (泊)’.[345] Cognate to Middle Mongol *na’ur* *[naɦʊr] ‘lake’.[346] CSM *ñaɣʊr ‘lake’.

LKit *ñayr [捏咿唲] ‘day, dawn, daybreak (旦)’.[347] Cognate to Middle Mongol *nara-n* ‘sun’.[348] CSM *ñayra ‘sun’.[349]

MKit *ñɛm 伏文丕 ‹ñ.iê.êm› ~ 丕 ‹EIGHT› ‘eight’.[350] Cognate to Middle Mongol *naiman* ‘eight’[351] and Preclassical Written Mongol *naiman* ‘id.’[352] CSM *ñayıma ‘eight’.[353]

word beyond Proto-Serbi-Mongolic, however, are surely the result of language contact, and cannot be taken as evidence to support a macro-family. Cf. Campbell’s thorough criticism of Greenberg’s method of multilateral (or mass) comparison as a means of determining lexical inheritance (2003: 35-39).

[345] See the footnote in the entry for LKit *daws ‘salt’ above for discussion.

[346] E.g. early MMgl *na’ur* [納浯児] ‘lake (海子)’ (*SHM* §53).

[347] *LS* (53: 877).

[348] E.g. attested early Middle Mongol *naran* [納𠯿闌] ‘sun (日)’ (*SHM* §21).

[349] Late Middle Korean *nár ·날 ‘sun, day, weather’ is probably a reflex of an unattested 13th c. EMK borrowing from an unattested progressive dialect of Middle Mongol. See Chapter One discussion of the Mongolic-Korean Theory for details.

[350] E.g. *YHsiang* (3: 11). Oyuunch (2014: 132-133) identified the word 伏文丕 as a variant rendering of 丕 ‘eight’. The phonological reconstruction above is my own revision of his proposal.

[351] E.g. early MMgl *naiman* [乃蠻] ‘eight (八箇)’ (*SHM* §90).

[352] Pcl. *naiman* (*J̌un.*, *l.* 2; *BcaT* 156b7).

[353] Jurchen *ñuxun 方 [女渾] ‘eighteen’ (*NT* 200) is probably an early borrowing from a Serbi-Mongolic language, with the root *ñu- cognate to MMgl *naiman* ‘eight’ (cf. Kane 2009, Janhunen 2003, Poppe 1979, and Ligeti 1986). See Shimunek (forthcoming, c) for the precise details of this loanword and its historical context.

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MKit *ɔmɔ 丐 ‹omo› ‘female, woman, wife, mother’.[354] Cognate to Middle Mongol *eme* ‘female, woman, wife’.[355] CSM *wəmwə ‘woman, female, wife’.

MKit *ɔn- 尒 ‹on.› ‘ride’.[356] Cognate to Middle Mongol *unu-* *[ʊnʊ-] ‘ride’[357] and Daur [onu-] ‘ride’[358] ~ *on-* ‘ride’.[359] CSM *ɔnʊ- ~ *ʊnʊ- ‘ride’.

MKit *ɔn- 尒 ‹on.› ‘fall, drop, descend (降)’.[360] Cognate to Middle Mongol *una-* *[ʊna-] ‘fall’[361] and Daur [wanə-] ‘fall, fall down’[362] ~ [waːn-] ‘fall, set (of the sun), collapse, fall down, slip’.[363] CSM *ɔna- ~ *ʊna- ‘fall’.

MKit *ɔrdu 米 ‹ordu›[364] ~ 米廾 ‹ordu.u›[365] ~ 反米夃 ‹o.ordu.u^{w}›[366] ~ 米夃 ‹ordu.u^{w}› [367] ~ 米夨 ‹ordu.u› [368] (dative-locative *ɔrdu-du 反米夃几

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[354] E.g. *YHsiang* (13: 2).

[355] E.g. early MMgl *eme* [額篾] ‘woman (婦人)’ (*SHM* §38) ~ ‘wife (妻)’ (*SHM* §109) and late MMgl *eme* [امه] ‘id.’ (*Yem.*).

[356] E.g. *YHsiang* (12:20); Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 166) identify this word and its Mongolic cognate.

[357] E.g. early MMgl *unu-* [兀訥] ‘ride (騎)’ (*SHM* §90). The phonological reconstruction above is my own.

[358] Engkebatu (1984: 37).

[359] Yu Wonsoo et al. (2008: 138).

[360] E.g. *Hsü.C* (4: 6).

[361] E.g. early MMgl *una-* [兀納] ‘fall (落)’ (*SHM* §245). The phonological reconstruction presented above is my own.

[362] Engkebatu (1984: 333).

[363] Yu Wonsoo et al. (2008: 156).

[364] E.g. *Hsü* (11: 18).

[365] E.g. *YP’u* (11: 32).

[366] E.g. *Ku* (13: 7).

[367] E.g. *Chung* (10: 48, 16: 30).

[368] E.g. *Jen-hsien* (27: 19).

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‹o.ordu.u^{w}.du› [369] ~ 米及𠂤 ‹ordu.u^{w}.du› [370] ~ 米廾𠂤 ‹ordu.u.du› [371] ~ 米𠂉𠂤 ‹ordu.u.du›,[372] genitive *ɔrdu-n 米及火 ‹ordu.u^{w}.un›[373] ~ *ɔrdu-n 米丕 ‹ordu.on›, [374] accusative-instrumental-comitative *ɔrdu-r 米及化 ‹ordu.u^{w}.ur›[375] ~ 米𠂉化 ‹ordu.u.ur›[376] ~ 反米 𠂉化 ‹o.ordu› ‹u.ur›,[377] and ablative *ɔrdu-dui 米及 𠂤关 ‹ordu.u^{w}› ‹du.i› [378] ~ 米𠂉 𠂤关 ‹ordu.u› ‹du.i›[379]) ‘ordo, palace, court’[380] > LKit *ɔrdɔ [斡魯朵] ‘tent palace (宮帳)’.[381] Cognate to Middle Mongol *ordo* ‘palace’.[382] CSM *ɔrdʊ ‘ordo, tent palace’ (← Central Eurasian Kulturwort).[383]

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[369] E.g. *Tao* (5: 20).

[370] E.g. *Hsing* (2: 17).

[371] E.g. *YChüeh* (14: 25).

[372] E.g. *YChüeh* (22: 33).

[373] E.g. *Ling* (17: 3).

[374] E.g. *Hsü* (58: 13).

[375] E.g. *HsTi* (10: 9).

[376] E.g. *Jen-hsien* (15: 10). Chinggeltei reads this as 米余化 (2002: 170) but the rubbing of the original text clearly has 米𠂉化.

[377] E.g. *Hsü* (25: 21-22) – this is one word written in two graphemic blocks. See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010) for other examples of single words written in separate graphemic blocks.

[378] *Chung* (13: 46-47).

[379] E.g. *Chung* (13: 46-47).

[380] See Kane (2009: 58, 77-78) for the Kitan orthographic forms. The phonological reconstructions are my own.

[381] *LS* (116: 1541).

[382] E.g. attested early MMgl *ordo* [斡^{舌}児朶] ‘palace (宮)’ (*SHM* §177).

[383] This is possibly an early Puyo-Koguryoic loanword in Serbi-Mongolic and Turkic, first attested in Archaic Koguryo as *ortu [紇斗] ~ *ortʊ [丸都] ‘capital city (都)’ (Beckwith 2007a: 52, 96-97, 250). See Beckwith (2007a: 37) for discussion of this etymology. The earliest Turkic attestation is 8th c. Old Turkic *ordu* ‘capital, khaghan’s residence’ (*GOrkT* 360).

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MKit *par 𗼇𗤶 ‹p.ar› ~ 𗹏 ‹par› ‘ten’.[384] Cognate to Middle Mongol *harba-n* ‘ten’.[385] CSM *p^{h}ar ‘ten’.

MKit *par 𗼇𗹦 ‹p.ar› ‘person, people’ (or a classifier for people).[386] Cognate to Middle Mongol *hara* ‘person’ and its plural forms *haran* ~ *harat* ‘people’.[387] CSM *p^{h}ara ‘person’.[388]

Tagh *pary-al [拔列] ‘bridge (梁)’.[389] Cognate to Middle Mongol *bari-* ‘hold, grasp’ and the deverbal noun suffix *-Al*, cf. modern Khalkha **бари-** [pær-] which also denotes ‘build’, and [ˈpærɮəq] ‘building’, a deverbal noun based on this root. CSM *barı- ‘grasp, hold, build’.

MKit *pɔ 𘜶 ‹po› ‘time, season’[390] > LKit *p^{h}ɔ [𨖅] ~ [頗] ‘time, season (時)’.[391] Cognate to Middle Mongol *hon* ‘calendrical year’.[392] CSM *p^{h}ɔ ‘time, season’.[393]

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[384] Róna-Tas has identified 𗼇𗤶 as an orthographic variant of 𗹏 ‘ten’ (2016).

[385] E.g. early MMgl *harban* [哈児班] ‘ten (十箇)’ (*SHM* §53), ‘Phagspa Script *harban* 𘩁𘨴𘩟𘨵 ‹hr.bn› ‘ten’ (*Dagi*, *l.* 18), and late MMgl *harban* [هَربَان] ‘ten (دَهْ)’ (*Leid.* 67a-11-2).

[386] See §7.3.2.1.5.2 ‘Cardinal Numerals’ for discussion.

[387] E.g. early MMgl *hara* [哈^{舌}剌] ‘person (人)’ (*SHM* §246), *haran* [哈^{舌}闌] ‘people (人口)’ (*SHM* §39), and **harat* ‘people’, attested in the accusative case as *harad-i* [哈^{舌}剌的] ‘the people (人每)’ (*HIIY* 2.27a4). Note also MMgl in ‘Phagspa Script *haran* 𘩁𘨴𘨵 ‹h.rn› ‘people’ (*BuyK$_{1}$ l.* 18). See also Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 84-85).

[388] See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 84-85) for a similar proposal.

[389] *WS* (113: 3007). See §5.2.1 entry for Pa-lieh *shih* for discussion.

[390] E.g. *Lang* (4: 16).

[391] *LS* (53: 878). See Shimunek (2007: 88-89) for these MKit and LKit forms.

[392] E.g. attested early MMgl *hon* [桓] ‘year (年)’ (*SHM* §26) and attested late MMgl *hon* [هُوْن] ‘year (سَال)’ (*Leid.* 63b-13-1).

[393] The Kitan form or another early Serbi-Mongolic cognate is the donor form to Jurchen *pon* ‘time, spring’ > Manchu *fon* ‘time, season’. See Ligeti (1986: 439) and Kara (2005: 8) for this Kitan-Mongol cognate, with discussion of the Jurchen-Manchu forms. See also Rozycki (1994: 78-79). The Jurchen form *fɔn < OJur *pɔn 玫岌 ‹po.on› ‘time’ (*NT* 76) is a reanalysis of MKit *pɔ-n 𘜶𗪁 ‹po.on› ‘time-GEN’ (e.g. *HsHui* 11: 9).

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MKit *pulu 𘓐𘕕𘜶 ‹p.wl.u› ~ *pulu 𘓐𘕕𘜘 ‹p.wl.u^{w}› ‘intercalary (閏)’.[394] Cognate to Middle Mongol *hüle’ü* *[huləɦu] ‘more’[395] and Preclassical Written Mongol *ülegü* ‘id.’[396] CSM *p^{h}uləɣu ‘extra, surplus’.[397]

MKit *pur- 𘜶𘜓 ‹pu.r.› ‘to bless’.[398] Cognate to MMgl *hirü’e-* *[hiruɦə-] ‘to bless’.[399] CSM *p^{h}iru- ‘to bless’.[400]

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[394] E.g. 𘜓 𘜔 𘓐𘕕𘜶 𘜷 𘜂 𘜑 𘜘𘜶 ‘That same year, on the first day of the intercalary eighth month…’ (*HsHui* 20: 16-22).

[395] E.g. early MMgl *hüle’ü* [許列兀] ‘more (多餘)’ (*SHM* §201). The modern Khalkha reflex of this word is **илүү** [i^{l}ʉ] ‘extra, surplus, intercalary’.

[396] Pcl. *ülegü* (*Jǐg.*, *l.* 8; *BcaT* 160b14).

[397] Early Serbi-Mongolic reflexes of this word were borrowed into Tungusic, and provide additional evidence of Proto-Serbi-Mongolic *p^{h}. Cf. Rinchen (1966: 154-155), Ligeti (1986: 439), and Rozycki (1994: 82).

[398] See Shimunek (2014a: 110) for the phonological reconstruction of this word and the identification of its Middle Mongol cognate.

[399] E.g. MMgl ***hirü’e-*** ‘to bless’ as in attested early MMgl *hirü’er* [希^{舌}魯額^{舌}児], a deverbal noun glossed as ‘wishing someone a long life (祝壽)’ (*SHM* §201), from ***hirü’e-*** ‘to bless’ + ***-r*** ‘deverbal noun suffix’. Note also Middle Mongol in ‘Phagspa Script *hiruɦər 𘿪𘿳𘿨𘿫𘿬 ‹hi.ru.ɦer› ‘benediction’ (*Mang. l.* 8). The modern Khalkha reflex of the verbal root is **ерөө-** [jə^{l}rə-] ‘to bless, to say a benediction’ and the Khalkha reflex of the Middle Mongol noun *hirü’er* is **ерөөл** [jə^{l}rəɮ] ‘benediction’.

[400] Poppe compares MMgl *hirü’e-* and WMgl *irüge-* “einen Segenspruch hersagen, segnen”, Ewenki “hirugḛ-” (i.e. *hirugəə-*) “segnen, beten”, Manchu *firu-* “beten”, and Korean *pil-* “beten” (Poppe 1960: 60, 127), i.e. 빌-, *pir-* in my romanization. See also Lee Ki-Moon & Ramsey (2011: 18). Clearly these are related words, but the history of the word in Koreanic remains to be elucidated. The Ewenki word is a loanword from early Middle Mongol or late Old Mongol. Manchu *firu-* ‘curse, implore, beg’ is an early Serbi-Mongolic loanword in Jurchen-Manchu: cf. Ligeti (1986: 439) and Rozycki (1994: 77). Note also Jurchen *firur [非如兒] ‘spirit (神)’, attested in Jurchen Script as **𘾡𘾢** probably representing an Old Jurchen form *pirur ‹piru.r› (*NT* 237), which is probably formed from a verbal root *piru- **𘾡** ‹piru.› and *-r **𘾢** ‹.r› ‘deverbal noun suffix’

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MKit *pur-s 𘩐𘨏𘩿 ‹p.ur.s› ‘descendants’.[401] The *-s is a plural suffix (see entry for MKit *-d ~ *-t ~ *-s ‘plural suffix’ above). Middle Kitan *pur *𘩐𘨏 ‘descendant’ is cognate to Middle Mongol *hüre* *[hurə] ‘seed’[402] and Written Mongol *üre* ‘seed, offspring, descendant’ (and its plural *üres*).[403] CSM *p^{h}urə ‘seed, offspring, descendant’.[404]

Tagh *p^{h}ɔr [普] ‘surround (周)’.[405] Cognate to the common root of Middle Mongol *horči-* *[hɔrʧ^{h}i-] ‘surround, turn around’[406] and unattested Middle Mongol **horiya-* *[hɔrija-] ‘wrap’ [407] < < pre-Proto-Mongolic *hɔr- ‘surround, wrap’.[408] CSM *p^{h}ɔr ‘surround, wrap’.

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[401] E.g. *YHsiang* (37: 11). Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 208) identified this word and its semantic value.

[402] Cf. attested MMgl *hüre* [許^{舌}列] ‘seed (種子)’ (*HIIY* 1.04a8) and attested MMgl *-s* ‘plural suffix’. Note also attested late Middle Mongol *hüre-n* [بورلن] ‘seed’ (*MAA:* JSPS 37a) and Middle Mongol in ‘Phagspa Script *hurə 𘡂𘡛𘡈𘡁 ‹heu.re› ‘fruit, merit’ (*CYK$_{1}$ l.* 3).

[403] Note also Kojia [f~~u~~re] ~ [f~~u~~ri] ‘seed, sperm’ (Sechinchogt 1999: 285a).

[404] Manchu *fursun* ‘shoots, sprouts’ is a borrowing from an early Serbi-Mongolic dialectal variant of this word. Rozycki (1994: 83) considers it an ‘Early Mongol’ to Manchu loan. The *-su-* element in the Manchu form indicates that it is probably from an early Mongolic language; *-sU is a morphological innovation distinguishing Mongolic from the Serbi languages (see Appendix D).

[405] *WS* (113: 3006). See §5.2.1 entry for P’u *shih*.

[406] E.g. early MMgl *horči-* [豁^{舌}児赤] ‘surround, move around (繞)’ (*SHM* §121) ~ ‘turn around (轉)’ (*SHM* §254) and late MMgl **horči-* attested in the past factual form *horči-ba* [هُرجِبَا] and glossed in Arabic as ‘turn (دَارْ)’ (*Leid.* 72b-13-3). On *-bA* see Brosig (2014).

[407] Cf. WMgl *oriya-* and reflexes of the Middle Mongol or Proto-Mongolic form of the word in modern Mongolic daughter languages, e.g. Shira Yoghor *horo:-* ~ Mongghul *furo:-* ~ Santa *xoro-* ~ ‘Bonan’ (probably Booŋan) *horə-* ‘to tie around, to bandage, to wind, reel, roll around’ (Sun et al. 1990: 531), Mongghuor *furo-* “envelopper, bander, plier en rouleau” (de Smedt & Mostaert 1933: 111), and Santa *horo-* [χoro-] ‘wrap around, wind around, roll up (缠绕, 卷)’ (Ma & Ch’en 2001: 163b).

[408] See Chapter Five for discussion.

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MKit *qa 𗅋 ‹qa› ‘emperor, khan’[409] > LKit *qa [呵] ‘emperor (皇帝); ruler (主)’.[410] Cognate to Pcl. *qan* ‘king, khan, sovereign, ruler’, as distinct from Pcl. *qaɣan* ‘monarch, emperor, khaghan’.[411] CSM *k^{h}a (← Central Eurasian Kulturwort).[412]

LKit *qa [仳] ~ [樺] ‘shoot, archery (射)’.[413] Cognate to Middle Mongol *qabu* ‘archery’,[414] *qarbu-* ‘shoot arrows’,[415] Kalmyk *xa-* ‘shoot’ etc.[416] CSM *k^{h}a ‘shoot, archery’.[417]

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[409] E.g. *YChüeh* (2: 31).

[410] *CTKC*: Shimunek (2007: 99).

[411] See Kara (2009: 225, 228-229) for these Preclassical forms and their meanings. In the *Secret History of the Mongols*, the Middle Mongol forms *qa* [^{中}合] (e.g. §57), *qan* [^{中}罕] (e.g. §123), and *qahan* [^{中}合罕] (e.g. §53) are attested, but all of these forms are inaccurately glossed as ‘emperor (皇帝)’. Note also plural early Middle Mongol *qat* [^{中}合^{惕}], glossed as ‘monarchs (帝王)’ (*SHM* §21) ~ ‘princes (王子每)’ (*SHM* §112) ~ ‘emperors (皇帝每)’ (*SHM* §74).

[412] This is probably an early Japanese-Koguryoic loanword into Serbi-Mongolic: Archaic Koguryo *ka [加] ‘tribal chief, official, minister (官, 相)’ < OKog *kan ‘head’, cognate to OJpn *ka- ‘head’ (Beckwith 2007a: 122). Cf. also 8th-century OTrk *qan* ‘king, khan’ (*GOrkT* 341). Modern Persian *khān* (خان) ‘Mr.’ (Aryanpur-Kashani 1986: 96) is a borrowing from a Middle Turkic reflex of OTrk *qan* ‘khan’. Cf. 11th c. MTrk *χan* ‘khan, ruler’ (*DTS* 636a). In Modern Mongolian, Middle Mongol *qan* ‘ruler, king, khan’ and *qa’an* ~ *qahan* ‘emperor, khaghan’, have merged to a single lexeme, in Khalkha, **хаан** [χaːɴ] ‘king, ruler, khan, emperor, khaghan’. Jurchen *χaʁan 風宂 ‘emperor, khan’ (*NT* 9) is undoubtedly a loanword from Serbi-Mongolic, and Manchu *χan* ‘emperor, khan’ is a loanword from Early Modern Mongolian, borrowed after Middle Mongol *qan* and *qa’an* ~ *qahan* had merged to a single lexeme.

[413] *LS* (53: 878). See Shimunek (2007: 103) for the *CTKC* transcription [仳].

[414] E.g. early MMgl *qabu* [^{中}合鏷] ‘archery (射箭)’ (*SHM* §244).

[415] E.g. early MMgl *qarbu-* [^{中}合^{舌}児鏷] ‘shoot arrows (射)’ (*SHM* §26).

[416] See Kara (2005: 9) and Shimunek (2007: 102-103) for discussion.

[417] Note also modern Sakhalin Nivkh **ӷa-** [qa-] ~ **ха-** [χa-] ‘shoot’, which is undoubtedly a loanword from Serbi-Mongolic, perhaps via an intermediate donor language. The Nivkh

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LKit *qary-a [匣列] ‘returning, coming back (復來)’.[418] This is a deverbal noun with *-a ‘verbal noun suffix’.[419] The verbal root, LKit *qary- ‘return, come back’, is cognate to Middle Mongol *qari-* ‘return’.[420] CSM *k^{h}arɪ- ‘return, come back, go back’.

MKit *qawr 介安 ‹qau.ur› ‘spring (春)’.[421] Cognate to Middle Mongol *qabur* *[q^{h}abʊr] ‘spring’.[422] CSM *k^{h}abʊr ‘spring’.

LKit *qɔñ [昏] ‘sheep (羊)’.[423] Cognate to Middle Mongol *qoni ~ qonin* ‘sheep’.[424] CSM *k^{h}ɔnɪ ‘sheep’.[425]

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form is cited from Tangiku et al. (2008: 50, #299). See §9.2.1 ‘Cultural Vocabulary’ above for discussion of comparanda in Tibeto-Burman and Tungusic.

[418] *LS* (74: 1231).

[419] See entry for CSM *-Ay ~ *-ɣAy ~ *-A ~ *-ɣA ‘verbal noun suffix’ above.

[420] Cf. attested early MMgl *qari-* [^{中}合^{舌}里] ‘return (回)’ (*SHM* §149).

[421] E.g. *Ku* (13: 6).

[422] E.g. attested early MMgl *qabur* [^{中}合卜児] ‘spring (春)’ (*SHM* §19).

[423] This transcription and its gloss were identified by Nieh & Sun (2008: 71-72) in the *CTKC* preface. The phonological reconstruction I present above is my own revision of their proposal.

[424] E.g. attested early MMgl *qonin* [^{中}豁紉] ‘sheep (羊)’ (*SHM* §19) and attested late MMgl *qoni* [قُنِيْ] ‘sheep (كُوسفَنْد)’ (*Leid.* 66b-03-3).

[425] Old Turkic *qoñ* ‘sheep’ (732 A.D., Kül Tegin Inscription: *DTS* 453b, *GOrkT* 347) is undoubtedly related as a loanword, the directionality of which remains to be determined with certainty. Clauson considered this to be among the “first layer” of Turkic loanwords in Mongolic (1962: 235), but since the Turkic-speaking peoples were probably originally a western people who moved east into North China and the Mongolian Plateau (cf. Beckwith 2009: 115; Beckwith 2011b; and Shimunek et al. 2015), it seems likely that this is an early Serbi-Mongolic loanword into Archaic Turkic. This is unlikely to be an Old Turkic loanword borrowed independently into Serbi and Mongolic, since the Serbi-Mongolic peoples have a long history of pastoral nomadism. We also cannot entertain the possibility that this is a Turkic loanword into Common Serbi-Mongolic, since that would need to have taken place before ca. 7th c. B.C. (i.e. the earliest known date of the appearance of the Serbi-Mongolic Eastern Hu in Chinese records), while the earliest

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Tagh *qɔw [侯] ‘pig or boar (亥)’.[426] Cognate to Written Mongol *qobosu-n* ‘two-year-old boar’ (< pre-PMgl *k^{h}ɔb(ɔ)-sU) > modern Khalkha **ховс** /xɔws/ [χɔo̯s ~ hɔo̯s] ‘two-year old boar’. CSM *k^{h}ɔb/*k^{h}ɔbɔ ‘two-year-old boar’.

MSer (dialect unspecified) *qʊrčɪn [紇眞] ‘thirty (三十)’.[427] Cognate to Middle Mongol *qučin* *[qʊʧ^{h}in] ‘thirty’[428] and Pcl. *γučin* ‘thirty’.[429] CSM *gʊrč^{h}ɪ-n ‘thirty’.[430]

Tagh ☆qʊragčɪn [胡洛眞] ‘people who carry weapons (帶仗人)’, composed of ☆qʊrag ‘weapon of war (仗)’, ☆-čɪ ‘occupational suffix’, and ☆-n ‘plural suffix’.[431] Taghbach ☆qʊrag [胡洛] ‘weapon of war’ is cognate to Middle

known historical documentation on the Turkic peoples comes many centuries later, in the 2nd c. A.D., with the *Turcae* along the Sea of Azov, far to the west (cf. Beckwith 2009 on the *Turcae* and their identification with the later Türk). Jurchen *χɔni 忝 [和你] ‘sheep (羊)’ (*NT* 11; the phonological reconstruction is my revision), Manchu *χonin* ‘sheep’, and their cognates in other Tungusic languages are reflexes of an early Mongolic loanword in Tungusic, as shown by Rozycki (1994: 108).

[426] *WS* (113: 3006). See §5.2.1 entry for Hou *shih* for justification of this semantic analysis.

[427] This transcription was noted by Pelliot (1929: 251-252), although the reconstruction presented above is my own. See Franke (1969: 13-14) for other variants of the transcription. As suggested by Róna-Tas, this is possibly an early Kitan word for ‘thirty’ (Róna-Tas 2016: 133-134).

[428] E.g. attested early MMgl *qučin* [^{中}忽臣] ‘thirty (三十)’ (*SHM* §121) and attested late MMgl *γučin* [غُوجِيْن] ‘thirty (ثلثون)’ (*Leid.* 70a-13-4) ~ *qučin* [قُوجِنْ] ‘thirty (سِيْ)’ (*Leid.* 67b-03-3).

[429] See Kara (2009: 111) for this Preclassical form.

[430] This CSM numeral is clearly based on the root *gʊr ‘three’. See entry for MKit *ɢur ‘three’ above.

[431] See section §5.3.1 entry for Hu-lo-chen for discussion.

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Mongol *kituqai* ~ *kituγa* ~ *qituγa* ‘knife’.[432] CSM *k^{h}ɪt^{h}ʊga ‘knife, weapon’.[433]

MSer (Ch’i-fu dial.) *q^{h}aʁan [可汗] ‘khaghan’ ~ Taghbach *q^{h}aʁan [可寒] ‘khaghan, imperial ancestor’ ~ T’u-yü-hun *q^{h}aʁan [可寒] ‘sovereign (官家)’[434] ~ OKit *qaʁan [ཁ་ཁན་] ‘king (རྒྱལ་པོ་)’[435] ~ MKit *qaʁan 丞 丑 夬 ‹qa.γa.an› ‘of the emperor’ (genitive)[436] ~ *qaʁa-u 丞 丑 屮 ‹qa.γa.u› ‘to/for the emperor’ (dative-locative)[437] ~ *qaʁad 丞 丑 丆 ‹qa.γa.ad› ‘emperors’ (plural nominative)[438] ~ *qaʁad-ən 丞 丑 丆 木 ‹qa.γa.ad.en› ‘of the emperors’ (plural genitive)[439] ~ *qaʁad-ər 丞 丑 丆 父 ‹qa.γa.ad.er› ‘emperors’ (plural accusative-instrumental-comitative).[440] Cognate to

[432] E.g. attested early MMgl *kituqai* [乞禿^{中}孩] ‘knife (刀子)’ (*SHM* §149). Note also attested late MMgl *qituγa* [قيتوغه] ‘knife’ (*MAA:* JSPS, 135a) and *kituγa* [كيتُوغَا] ‘knife’ (*Leid.* 67a). At the phonological level, these transcriptions probably transcribe *[q^{h}ɪt^{h}ʊʁa] ~ *[k^{h}it^{h}ʊʁa]. See Seongyeon Ko (2013) on *[ɪ] in early Mongol. This Middle Mongol form is the donor of Khentii-Dornod Khamnigan Ewenki [kituga] ‘knife’ (Rinchen 1969: 58) and Manchu *kituqan* ‘scissors for making models from feathers’ (Roz. 140).

[433] On the rhoticism of intervocalic */t/ and */d/ in Taghbach, see §5.5 ‘Taghbach Phonology’. Rozycki identifies Ewenki, Solon, Nanai, and Negidal *koto* [kɔtɔ] ‘knife’ as “an earlier, perhaps substrata borrowing” from Mongolic (Roz. 140). These Tungusic forms are probably borrowed from a Proto-Serbi form—the Taghbach form ✩qʊrag ‘weapon of war’ (probably with the basic meaning of ‘knife’) is from earlier (Proto-Serbi?) */k^{h}ʊt^{h}Vg/ ‘knife’.

[434] *Sung Shu* (96: 2369).

[435] *PT 1283* (*l.* 27).

[436] E.g. *Lang* (1: 4).

[437] E.g. *YChüeh* (43: 42).

[438] E.g. *Tao* (14: 2).

[439] E.g. *YHsiang* (3: 1).

[440] E.g. *YChüeh* (4: 46).

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Middle Mongol *qahan ~ qa'an* 'emperor'.[441] CSM *k^{h}aɣan 'emperor'[442] (← Central Eurasian Kulturwort).[443]

MKit *sa- 𐰯𐰀 ‹s.a.› 'reside, stay'.[444] Cognate to Middle Mongol *sa'u-* *[safiʊ-] 'sit, reside'[445] and Preclassical Written Mongol *sayu-* 'id.'[446] CSM *sa- 'sit, reside, dwell'.

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[441] E.g. early MMgl *qahan* [中合罕] 'emperor (皇帝)' (*SHM* §53). See also Kara (2009).

[442] Note also MKit *qa 'emperor' above. Synchronically, MKit *qa 'emperor' is the same lexeme as MKit *qaʁan 'of the emperor'—MKit *qa is attested only in the nominative case, and there is no attested nominative case equivalent of MKit *qaʁan 'of the emperor'. Middle Kitan *qa ~ *qaʁa- 'emperor' is thus a lexical merger of two distinct, earlier words—CSM *k^{h}a 'sovereign, ruler' and CSM *k^{h}aɣan 'emperor'. Note attested OKit *qaʁan 'king' (or, more likely, 'emperor').

[443] This word is first attested among the Ch'i-fu Serbi ca. early 3rd c. A.D. (before 265 A.D.), transcribed *k'o-han* [可汗] (*Chin Shu* 125: 3113; see also Liu 1989: 98). The earliest *inscriptional* attestation is in Taghbach in the 443 A.D. Serbi Cave Inscription, in the form *k'o-han* [可寒] with the appositive gloss 'the imperial ancestors (皇祖先)' (*SCI*, *l.* 16). The next earliest attestations in transmitted texts are in Jou-jan and T'u-yü-hun, transcribed *k'o-han* [可汗] ~ [可寒] (*WS* 113: 2291; *Sung Shu* 96: 2369). The word is attested later, ca. 6th-10th c., in Europe among the Avar, Bulgar, and Khazar ruling elite, transcribed in Byzantine Greek as [χαγάν] (Moravcsik 1958: 332-334), i.e. *xaɣan in Byzantine Greek. Given the earlier-attested Koguryoic form (see entry for MKit *qa above), I am inclined to analyze CSM *k^{h}aɣan as a Puyo-Koguryoic loanword into early Serbi-Mongolic (the *-ɣa- element, of unknown meaning, is an addition in Serbi-Mongolic), with later borrowings into Turkic, i.e. PJK *ka- 'head' > AKog *ka 'tribal chief' → CSM *k^{h}a 'king, sovereign, ruler' (cf. Beckwith 2007a: 122) > *k^{h}a-ɣa-n 'emperor' → unattested ATrk > ca. 6th c. early OTrk *qaʁan [可汗] (e.g. *Chou Shu* 50: 909) > attested 8th-century inscriptional OTrk *qaʁan* 'emperor' (*GOrkT* 338). The words for 'empress' and 'queen' are also related.

[444] E.g. *Tao* (5: 11). See discussion above and in Chapter Seven for the attested paradigm of this verb.

[445] E.g. attested early MMgl *sa'u-* [撒兀] 'sit (坐)' (*SHM* §214).

[446] Pcl. *sayu-* (*BcaT* 157b2).

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LKit *sayr [賽籬] ~ [賽離] ~ [賽咿唲] ‘moon, month (月)’.[447] Cognate to Middle Mongol *sara ~ zara* ‘month’ and *zaran* ‘moon’ (Pcl. *sara* ‘month’ and *saran* ‘moon’).[448] CSM *zayra ‘moon, month’.

MKit *suñ 수 촌 ‹s.uñ› ‘night’.[449] Cognate to Middle Mongol *söni* ‘night’.[450] CSM *soni ‘night’.

[447] *LS* (53: 878) and *CTKC:* Shimunek (2007: 90).

[448] E.g. attested early MMgl *sara* [撒[丐]剌] ‘month (月)’ (*SHM* §63). Cf. Kara (2009: 248) for the Preclassical Written Mongol forms. Middle Mongol in ‘Phagspa Script has *zara ‘month’, attested in the genitive case as *zara-yin 𐡀𐡇𐡉𐡍 ‹z.r.yin› ‘month-GEN’ (*Mang. l.* 21; *BuyK₂ l.* 23) and *zaran ‘moon’, attested in the plural as *zaran-ʊɦʊd 𐡀𐡇𐡍𐡏 𐡋𐡏𐡌 ‹z.r.nu.ɦud› ‘moons’ (*CYK₂ l.* 9). These are the only attested words in ‘Phagspa Script Middle Mongol with word-initial *[z], which suggests that this phoneme was marginal in Middle Mongol phonology, and in its earliest attestation in the *Edict of Mangala* (1276 A.D.) was already in the process of merging with /s/. Late Middle Mongol in Arabic Script provides no evidence of word-initial *[z] in reflexes of this word or in other inherited lexical items; cf. attested late MMgl *sara* [سَرَا] ‘month (الشهر)’ (*Leid.* 71a-03-5). Note also the modern Kojia reflex [sara] ~ [tsara] ‘moon, month’ (Sechinchogt 1999: 293a). Late Middle Korean *tɔ̀r 들 ‘moon, month’ (> MSK *tar* 달) is probably a loanword from a progressive dialect of Middle Mongol; see Chapter One discussion of the Mongolic-Korean Theory for details.

[449] E.g. *HsTi* (4: 4). See Kane (2009: 25) for a brief overview of previous studies on this word and its Mongolic cognate. The phonological reconstruction given above is my own.

[450] E.g. early MMgl *söni* [雪你] ‘night (夜)’ (*SHM* §28) and late MMgl *söni* [سُوْنِيْ] ‘night (شَبْ)’ (*Leid.* 64a-05-5). See Kara (2009: 266) for Preclassical Written Mongol *söni* ‘night’.

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MKit *šawa 𘮩𘭼𘀛 ‹š.au.a›[451] > LKit *šawa [杓窊] ‘bird of prey (鷙鳥)’.[452] Cognate to Middle Mongol *šibawun* ‘bird, eagle, hawk’[453] and Daur [ʃoɣoː] ~ [ʃowoː] ‘falcon’.[454] CSM *sıba ‘bird, eagle, hawk’.[455]

MKit *šɛn 𘮩𘈩 ‹š.ên› ‘new (新)’.[456] Cognate to Middle Mongol *šini* ~ *sini* ~ *šine* ‘new’[457] and Preclassical Written Mongol *sine* ‘new’.[458] CSM *sinə ‘new’ (← ? 新 LOC dial. *sinĕ ‘new’).[459]

[451] E.g. *YP'u* (19: 1).

[452] *LS* (116: 1539). See Kara (2005: 8), Shimunek (2007: 92), and Kane (2009: 93, 97) for discussion.

[453] E.g. attested early MMgl *šibawun* [失鴙温] ‘bird (鳥)’ (*SHM* §111) ~ ‘eagle, hawk (鷹)’ (*SHM* §195).

[454] These Daur forms are from Engkebatu (1984: 238-239, 240).

[455] See Jacques (2010: 159) for a similar proposal. See Appendix D for pre-Proto-Mongolic *-ɣu.

[456] Kane claims that 𘮩𘈩 denotes ‘good’ (2009: 100 §3.086), but I have been unable to verify this meaning in the published Kitan Assembled Script texts. In *Lang* (7:6), 𘮩𘈩 unambiguously corresponds to ‘new (新)’.

[457] E.g. MMgl in ‘Phagspa Script *šinə ‘new’, attested in dative-locative case as *šinə-də 𗱈𗰜𗹰𗱈 ‹ši.ne.de› ‘new-DL’ (*Dagi l.* 18).

[458] See Kara (2009: 261) for these Middle Mongol and Preclassical Written Mongol forms. Note also Kojia [ʃini] ‘new’ (Sechinchogt 1999: 295a).

[459] For tradition-based ‘Old Chinese’ reconstructions note Bax. 798 *syin and Sag. 52 *^{b}sin. On disyllabic monomorphemic words in Late Old Chinese, see Kiyose & Beckwith (forthcoming).

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MKit *šya 𘮩𘮪 ‹š.ia›[460] ~ *šyay 𘮩𘰾𘮫 ‹š.ia.ai› ‘good, goodness’[461] > LKit *šɛ [奢] ‘good (好)’.[462] Cognate to Middle Mongol *sayin* ‘good’.[463] CSM *syayı ‘good’ (< ? *syaɣı).[464]

MKit *t 𘮬 ‹t› ‘that’.[465] Cognate to Proto-Mongolic *t^{h}ə- ‘distal demonstrative root’ as in Middle Mongol *tere* *[t^{h}ərə] ‘that’, *tede* ‘they’, *tedüi* ‘in such a manner’, *teyimü* ‘like that’, and *tende* ‘there’, and *te’ü- ~ te’ün-* ‘distal demonstrative oblique stem’,[466] Kojia [te] ‘that, he, she, it’[467] and Moghol [tɛ] ‘he, this’.[468] CSM *t^{h}(ə) ‘distal demonstrative’.

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[460] E.g. *YChüeh* (40: 42).

[461] E.g. *YTi* (3: 2). See Kane (2009: 100 §3.086) for discussion. The phonological reconstructions given above are my own. On the reading of grapheme 𘰾 see Kane (2009: 68 §2.274). Kane reads 𘮫 as ‹ah› (2009: 59 §2.197), but this grapheme clearly transcribes Chinese [ai], as he notes. It must denote ‹ai›.

[462] *LS* (116: 1543). See Shimunek (2007: 93) for discussion of this Late Kitan form, its Mongolic cognates, and loanforms in Manchu. See also Rozycki (1994: 173) for more on this Serbi-Mongolic → Jurchen-Manchu loan.

[463] E.g. attested early MMgl *sayin* [撒因] ‘good (好)’ (*SHM* §6) and MMgl in ‘Phagspa Script *sayin* 𘡂𘡛𘡏 ‹s.yin› ‘good’ (*CYK$_2$ l.* 4). Jurchen *sain 𘓐𘓻 ‹sai.in› [塞因] ‘good’ (*NT* 90, 295) is a loanword from late Old Mongol or early Middle Mongol.

[464] A connection between MMgl *sayin* ‘good’ and MTrk /sag/ [saʁ] ‘good’ (first attested ca. 11th c., *DTS* 480b) has long been assumed, but remains to be fully explained. Probably, early SM *syayı ‘good’ → unattested ATrk *sagɨ > > attested MTrk /sag/ [saʁ] ‘good’.

[465] See §7.3.2.1.2 ‘Demonstratives’ for attestations and discussion.

[466] E.g. attested early MMgl *tere* [帖^{舌}列] ‘that (那)’ (*SHM* §14), *tede* [帖迭] ‘they (那的每)’ (*SHM* §6), *tedüi* [帖堆] ‘in such a manner’ (*SHM* §56), *teyimü* [帖亦木] ‘like that’ (*SHM* §9), *tende* [田迭] ‘there (那裏)’ (*SHM* §9), and *te’ü- ~ te’ün-* ‘distal demonstrative oblique stem’ as in *te’ü-ber* [帖兀别^{舌}児] ‘DIST.DEM-INS’ (*SHM* §244), *te’ün-i* [帖兀泥] ‘DIST.DEM-ACC’ (*SHM* §111), *te’ün-eče* [帖兀捏徹] ‘DIST.DEM-ABL’ (*SHM* §205), *te’ün-tür* [帖温突^{舌}児] ‘DIST.DEM-DL’ (*SHM* §73), and *te’ün-ü* [帖兀訥] ‘DIST.DEM-GEN’ (*SHM* §12).

[467] Sechinchogt (1999: 297a).

[468] Weiers (1972: 181).

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MKit *taqa 令力月 ‹t.aq.a› ‘chicken, hen (酉 corresponding to 雞)’.[469] Cognate to Middle Mongol *takiya ~ taqiya ~ taɣa* ‘chicken, hen’.[470] Note also Kojia [taχa] ~ [tɯχa] ~ [tχa] ‘chicken’.[471] CSM *t^{h}ak^{h}ɪɣa ‘chicken, hen’.[472]

MKit *taw 攴 ‹tau› ‘five’[473] > LKit *t^{h}aw [討] ‘five (五)’.[474] Cognate to Middle Mongol *tabu-n* ‘five’.[475] CSM *t^{h}abʊ ‘five.’[476]

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[469] E.g. *Hsüan* (4: 81). See Kane (2009) for discussion of the semantic value. The phonological reconstruction presented above is my own.

[470] E.g. attested early MMgl *takiya* [塔乞牙] ‘chicken (雞児)’ (*SHM* §141), MMgl in ‘Phagspa Script *t^{h}ak^{h}iya 𐡗𐡏𐡆𐡎 ‹t^{h}.k^{h}i.y› ‘chicken’ (*Dagi*, *l.* 18), and late MMgl *taqiya* [تَاقِيَا] ‘domestic fowl’ (*Leid.* 66b-11-1; see Saitô 2006: 7) ~ **taɣa* ‘hen/rooster’, attested in the plural form *taɣa-wut* [تَغَاوُتْ] ‘hen (الدُجَاج)’ ~ ‘rooster (الدّيك)’ (*Leid.* 68b-12-5, 68b-13-2-2). See also Shimunek (2007: 96) for discussion and Jurchen-Manchu loanforms.

[471] Sechinchogt (1999: 296b).

[472] This Serbi-Mongolic word is undoubtedly related to Middle Turkic *takagu* [taqaʁu] ‘hen’, first solidly attested ca. 11th c. (*DTS* 536a), but the directionality of the loan remains to be determined with certainty. Clauson considered this to be among the “first layer” of Turkic loanwords in Mongolic (1962: 235), but the Turkic form is first attested at roughly the same time as the earliest Serbi-Mongolic attestation – Middle Kitan 令力月 first appears in 1076 A.D. in *Jen-i* (11: 23) and in 1080 A.D. in *HsHui* (28: 12). Early loanword relationships between these forms, Korean *tark* 닭 [tàkˀ] ‘chicken’, Hungarian *tyúk* ‘hen’, and Manchu *čoqo* ‘chicken’ < attested Jurchen *tiqɔ 禿 [替和] ‘chicken (鷄)’ (*NT* 225) are also highly likely; cf. Ligeti (1986: 43), Kara (2005: 13-14), Kane (2009: 88), and Aisin Gioro (2004: 96 #50).

[473] E.g. *Chung* (6: 36).

[474] *LS* (53: 878).

[475] E.g. early MMgl *tabun* [塔奔] ‘five (五)’ (*SHM* §19).

[476] Jurchen *tɔbɔχɔn 五 [脫卜歡] ‘fifteen’ (*NT* 27) is an early borrowing from a Serbi-Mongolic language, with the root *tɔbɔ undoubtedly cognate to MMgl *tabun* ‘five’ (cf. Kane 2009, Janhunen 2003, Poppe 1979, Ligeti 1986, and Laufer 1921). See Shimunek (forthcoming, c) for the precise details of this loanword and its historical context.

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MKit *tawlya 兎夫力 ‹tau.li.a› ‘rabbit, hare’[477] > LKit *t^{h}awl^{y} [淘裏] ~ [陶里] ‘rabbit, hare (兔)’[478] (→ Daur [taul^{j}] ‘rabbit, hare’[479]). Cognate to Middle Mongol *taulai ~ ta’ulai* ‘rabbit, hare’.[480] The final *ai* in the Middle Mongol form is probably the result of syncretism with *noqai* ‘dog’ or metathesis of the *-ya- sequence. CSM *t^{h}awlya ‘rabbit, hare’.[481]

MKit *tiw- 令丙 ‹t.iu› ~ *diw- 忪丙 ‹d.iu› ‘gather (會)’.[482] Cognate to Written Mongol *tegü-* ‘collect’, attested late western Middle Mongol *tū̄-* ‘collect’,[483] attested early eastern Middle Mongol *temgü-* ‘pick up, gather’,[484] and numerous reflexes of these words in the modern Mongolic daughter languages.[485] PMgl *t^{h}əmgu- ~ *t^{h}əɣu- ‘gather, collect, pick up’. CSM *t^{h}əɣu- ‘gather (transitive or intransitive)’.

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[477] E.g. *Hsüan* (4: 8).

[478] *LS* (53: 878). See Shimunek (2007) for the *CTKC* transcription [淘裏]. Note that the phonological reconstruction I provide here is a significant revision of my 2007 proposal.

[479] See Engkebatu (1984) for the Daur form.

[480] E.g. attested early MMgl *taulai* [討來] ‘rabbit, hare (兔)’ (*SHM* §257) ~ *ta’ulai* [塔兀來] ‘rabbit, hare (兔児)’ (*SHM* §239).

[481] There is probably an areal connection with the Japanese-Koguryoic, Koreanic, Chinese, Nivkh, and Turkic words for ‘rabbit, hare’ (Christopher I. Beckwith, p.c., 2011).

[482] See Shimunek (2014a: 107) for discussion.

[483] This verb is attested in late Middle Mongol in the past factual form *tū̄-be* [تۇبە] ‘collected’ (*MAA:* JSPS). On the value of *-bA* in Middle Mongol, see Brosig (2014).

[484] Early eastern MMgl *temgü-* [添古] ‘gather, pick up (拾)’ (*SHM* §74).

[485] E.g. Daur [tuŋkəː-] (Engkebatu 1984: 262), Santa *qiangu-* [ʨiaŋgu-] (Ma & Ch’en 2001: 326), ‘Bonan’ (probably Booŋan) [toŋgə-] (Sun et al. 1990: 656), Baonang [tuŋgə-] (Buhe & Liu 1982: 91) and “ʏuɲɔ-” (Todaeva 1964: 148), i.e. probably [t^{h}uɣə-] or [t^{h}uʁə-], Mangghuer *chuangmu-* [ʈʂ^{h}wɑ̃ŋˈmu-] (Slater 2003: 56, 105, 241, 368), Mongghuor [t^{h}uŋgu-] (de Smedt & Mostaert 1933: 432), Mongghul *tuŋgu-* (Faehndrich 2007: 340), Kojia [tʉŋgi-] (Sechinchogt 1999: 298a), Moghol [tɔmu-] (Weiers 1972: 181b), Shira Yoghor [tyːˑ-] (Sun et al. 1990: 656), Khalkha **түү-** [t^{h}uːˑ-], Buryat **түү-** [t^{h}uːˑ-], Oirat [t^{h}yːˑ-] etc., all denoting ‘gather (*trans.*), pick up, collect’.

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MKit *tur- 𘍏𘊢 ‹tu.ur.› ‘die, pass away (薨)’ (honorific).[486] Cognate to Middle Mongol *töre- ~ törö- ~ törü-* ‘be born’[487] ~ ‘be reborn’[488] and Preclassical Written Mongol *törö-* ‘be born’.[489] CSM *t^{h}orV- ‘be born’.[490]

[486] E.g. *YHsiang* (12: 22). See also Kane (2009: 59 §2.202; 91 §3.039) for the Kitan orthographic form and its semantic value. The Middle Kitan phonological reconstruction presented above is my own. See Shimunek (2011a: 104a) for the identification of the Mongolic cognates.

[487] E.g. attested early MMgl *töre-* [脫^{舌}列] ‘be born (生)’ (*SHM* §22) ~ *törö-* [脫^{舌}劣] ‘be born (生)’ (*SHM* §281) ~ *törü-* as in *törü-n* [脫^{舌}侖] ‘being born (生)’ (*SHM* §174).

[488] E.g. attested Middle Mongol in ‘Phagspa Script *t^{h}oro- ‘be born’ or ‘be reborn’ (in the Buddhist sense of reincarnation), attested in the deverbal noun form *t^{h}oro-l ‘rebirth’ (be.born-DVN) in the dative-locative case as *t^{h}orol-dur 𘡀𘡊𘡂 𘡈𘡊𘡂𘡎 𘡈𘡏𘡈 ‹t^{h}eo.reol.dur› ‘rebirth-DL’ (*Mann.*, *l.* 7).

[489] See Kara (2009: 287) for this Pcl form.

[490] This Serbi-Mongolic word is undoubtedly connected with Old Turkic *törü-* ‘be born’ (first attested 8th c., *GOrkT* 386), which Clauson considers to be an “early” Turkic → Mongol loanword (*EDT* 533a), but the directionality of this loanword remains to be determined. See Tekin (1968: 386) for the Old Turkic form.

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Tagh *t^{h}aʁ [托] ‘dirt, soil, earth (土)’.[491] Cognate to Middle Mongol *to’osu-n* ‘dust’[492] and Qay *t^{h}ɔʁʊ [土護] ‘mud, dirt’.[493] CSM *t^{h}aɣ ‘dirt, dust, soil, earth’ (← 土 LOC *t^{h}âʁ).[494]

LKit *t^{h}irya (or *t^{h}ırya ?) [提烈] ‘tilling land, farming (種田)’.[495] Cognate to Middle Mongol *tariyan ~ tariyat* ‘crops, grains’[496] and Written Mongol

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[491] *WS* (1: 1). On the reconstruction of this word and the Taghbach ethnonym, see Beckwith (2005, 2006a, 2010).

[492] E.g. attested early MMgl *to’osun* [脫斡孫] ‘dust (塵)’ (*SHM* §170). Also attested in MMgl in ‘Phagspa Script as *t^{h}ɔɦɔsʊn 𨈇𨈤𨈟𨈠 ‹t^{h}o.ɦo.sun› in the phrase *t^{h}ariyan *t^{h}ɔɦɔsʊn ‘crops’ (*CYK$_2$ l.* 12).

[493] Attested as the root of the Early Qay hydronym *t^{h}ɔʁʊ-čiñ/*t^{h}ɔʁʊ-čin [土護眞] (*HTS* 219: 6173; *ALSSC$_R$* 111) < *t^{h}ɔʁʊ ‘mud, dirt, soil’ + *-čiñ/*-čin ‘suffix denoting possession’ < PSer *-čin/*-čiñ ‘having X’ (see entry for T’u-yü-hun *-čin/*-čiñ above). Late Kitan *t^{h}awuys/*t^{h}awis [陶猥思] (*CTKC*) is clearly related to the Taghbach, Qay, and Mongol forms above, but poses a morphological problem. Since Middle Kitan morphology is only partially known, and Late Kitan morphology even less known, we cannot rule out the possibility that this is a polymorphemic form composed of *t^{h}aw ‘dirt, soil’ with a suffix *-uys or *-is, possibly denoting attributive, since it occurs in the phrase *t^{h}awuys/*t^{h}awis *mur [陶猥思沒里], glossed ‘Muddy River (土河)’. Note that the regular phonological outcome of CSM *aɣ is *aw in Middle Kitan and Late Kitan (see entries for LKit *bawl, MKit and LKit *ǰaw, and MKit *ñaw). My discussion of this Late Kitan word in Shimunek (2007: 97-98) is now obsolete. Another, more likely possibility, is that 思 in the Old Mandarin transcription of this LKit word is a typographical error for 恩 (OM *ən); if this is correct, the transcription should be corrected to *[陶猥恩沒里] (OM *t^{h}awuyən/*t^{h}awiən) for LKit *t^{h}aw-ın, the *-ın element of which is probably a genitive-attributive suffix cognate to attested MMgl *-yin ~ -Un ~ -U* ‘genitive case suffix’.

[494] This LOC → Taghbach loanword was identified by Beckwith (2010a). See Chapter §9.2.3 for discussion and for the etymology of the Middle Mongol reflex. See Appendix D for pre-PMgl *-sU.

[495] *YPTC*: cf. Shimunek (2007: 95) for this transcription. My 2007 phonological reconstruction is now obsolete.

[496] E.g. attested early MMgl *tariyat* [塔^{舌}里牙^{揚}] ‘grains (田禾)’ (*SHM* §177) and MMgl in ‘Phagspa Script *t^{h}ariyan 𨈇𨈞𨈡𨈠 ‹t^{h}.ri.yn› ‘crop’ (*CYK$_2$ l.* 12).

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tariy-a ‘grain, crop, field’.[497] CSM *t^{h}arıɣa ‘grain, crop, field, growing, tilling land’.[498]

LKit *u [烏] ‘water (水)’.[499] Cognate to Middle Mongol *usu-n* *[ʊsʊn] ‘water’[500] (< PMgl *ʊsʊ-n < pre-PMgl *ʊ-sU-n). CSM *ʊ ‘water’.[501]

MKit *udur 大仳 ‹ud.ur› ‘east, eastern’[502] ~ 尢仳 ‹ud.ur› ‘eastern’.[503] Cognate to Middle Mongol *üdür* *[utur] ‘day, daytime’ and Preclassical Written Mongol *edür ~ üdür* ‘id.’[504] The sun rises in the east, the direction from

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[497] See Shimunek (2007: 95) for sources and modern Mongolic cognates.

[498] This is probably a deverbal noun from a verbal root *t^{h}arı- ‘to plant’; cf. WMgl *tari-* ‘to plant’ and late MMgl *tar-* ‘to plant’, attested in the past factual as *tar-ba* [تربا] and glossed as ‘to sow (زرع)’ (*Leid.* 73a-07-5-2); on the value of *-bA* in Middle Mongol, see Brosig (2014). See Seongyeon Ko (2013) on the reconstruction of *ı for early Mongolic. CSM *t^{h}arıɣa < *t^{h}arı- ‘to plant, sow’ is related to MTrk *tarı-* ‘to sow’ (first attested ca. 13th c., *DTS* 537a, *EDT* 532) and the deverbal noun /tarı-g/ [tarıʁ] ‘grain, cereals, bread, millet, agriculture, tilling land’ (first attested ca. 11th c., *DTS* 537a, *EDT* 532). This is probably an early Serbi-Mongolic → ATrk loan, i.e. early SM *t^{h}arıɣa → unattested ATrk *tarıʁă > unattested OTrk > attested MTrk *tarıʁ* ‘grain, cereals, bread, millet, agriculture, tilling land’. On agriculture among the Eastern Hu (i.e. speakers of Proto-Serbi-Mongolic), see Pulleyblank (1983). Note also Hailar Ewenki [taragan] ‘field, paddy’ (Hu & Chog 1986: 170), which is probably a borrowing from Proto-Mongolic. Note also Ewenki *taragay* “плешивый, теленок” ← Sakha ← early Mongolic (Tsintsius 1975-1977: 167).

[499] *CTKC*: Shimunek (2007: 98).

[500] E.g. early MMgl *usu* [兀速] ‘water (水)’ (*SHM* §272) ~ *usun* [兀孫] ‘water (水)’ (*SHM* §72).

[501] See Appendix D for pre-PMgl *-sU.

[502] E.g. *Jen-hsien* (21: 49). See Kane (2009: 94) for the semantic and phonological identification of this word. The reconstruction presented here is my own modification of his proposal.

[503] E.g. *HsTi* (10: 11), identified by Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010).

[504] Pcl. *edür* (*Bur*. 7a) ~ *üdür* (*Chang*, *l.* 17; *Hin*., *l.* 52). Tumurtogoo & Cecegdari read the latter as “*ödür*” (2006: 505), but since there is no orthographic difference between *ö* and *ü* in Written Mongol, and given the Middle Mongol forms transcribed in Chinese script, this Preclassical form is certainly *üdür*.

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which daylight comes. Thus, I propose that the Mongolic form is a semantic innovation, and that the primary meaning of the word is ‘east’. A historical reason suggesting that ‘east’ is the original semantic value of the word is the fact that the early Eastern Hu peoples are described as having the doors of their yurts face east.[505] CSM *udur ‘east’.

MKit *uñ 杏 ‹uñ› ‘cow’.[506] Cognate to Middle Mongol *üniyen ~ üneyen* ‘cow’,[507] Daur [uɲeː] ‘cow’,[508] etc. CSM *uni ‘cow’.[509]

MKit *uw- 只 ‹uw.› ‘give’.[510] Cognate to Middle Mongol *ök- ~ ög-* ‘give’[511] > Modern Khalkha **өг-** [ɵk ~ ɵɣ-] ‘give’. CSM *og- ‘give’.

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[505] See §2.1 ‘The Early Serbi-Mongolic Peoples’.

[506] E.g. *HsHui* (28: 23). See Kane (2009: 110 §3.149) for the Kitan orthographic form and discussion. The phonological reconstruction presented above is my own.

[507] E.g. attested early MMgl *üniyen* [兀你延] ‘cow (乳牛)’ (*SHM* §121) ~ *üneyen* [兀捏延] ‘cow (乳牛)’ (*HIIY* 1.06a6). The romanizations given here are my own, and are based on the Old Mandarin transcriptions. Kuribayashi gives “*üni’en*” and “*üne’en*” (Kuribayashi 2009: 516; 2003: 18-19), but the Old Mandarin transcriptions clearly indicate a palatal glide *-y-* with the transcriptional character *yen* (MSC *yan*) 延 (Pul. 356: LOM yɛn).

[508] Engkebatu (1984: 44).

[509] CSM *uni ‘cow’ > pre-PMgl *uni-ɣə(-n) > PMgl *uniɣən ~ *unəɣən → Ewk, e.g. Hailar Ewenki [unəgən] ‘cow’ and Solon [unigə̃] ~ [unigəə] ‘cow’. See Appendix D ‘Pre-Proto-Mongolic Morphological Innovations’ for other examples of pre-PMgl *-ɣA. See Hu & Chog (1986: 172a) for the Hailar Ewenki form and Tsintsius (1975-1977: 274a) for the Solon form. Manchu *uniyen* ‘female of certain animals, milk cow’ is a recent loan from Mongol (Roz. 218).

[510] E.g. *YP’u* (7: 5). See also Kane (2009: 99 §3.083). The reconstruction given above is my own.

[511] E.g. attested early MMgl *ök-* [斡克] ‘give (與)’ (*SHM* §15) ~ *ög-* as in *ög-ü-ksen* [斡古克先] ‘give-PRF.VN’ and MMgl in ‘Phagspa Script *og- as in *og-bəę ‹ʔeog.beė› ‘go-PST’ (*BuyK₂ l.* 19).

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MKit *uwl 𘓐𘓪 ‹u^{w}.wl› ‘winter’.[512] Cognate to Middle Mongol *übül* ‘winter’[513] and Preclassical Written Mongol *ebül* ‘winter’.[514] CSM *ubul ‘winter’.[515]

Tagh *uwl [宥連] ‘cloud (雲)’.[516] Cognate to Middle Kitan *əwl 𘮩𘓪 ‹eu.wl› ‘cloud (雲)’[517] and Middle Mongol *e’üle-n* *[əɦulən] ‘cloud’.[518] CSM *əɣulə ‘cloud’.

MKit *uy 𘓱 ‹ui› ‘matter, affair, deed (事)’.[519] Cognate to Middle Mongol *üyile* *[ujilə] ~ *uḛlə ‘deed, matter, affair’.[520] CSM *uyi ‘matter, deed, affair’ (← 爲 LOC ‘to do’).[521]

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[512] E.g. *Lang* (5: 5).

[513] E.g. attested MMgl *übül* [兀不勒] ‘winter (冬)’ (*SHM* §151).

[514] Tumurtogoo & Cecegdari (2006: 377-378); Kara (2009: 89).

[515] Despite Starostin et al. (2003: 589), this word is not related to Ewenki *iwaksa* ‘winter’ and its cognates in Negidal, Ulcha, Oroch, and Udihe.

[516] *WS* (113: 3012). See §5.2.1 entry for Yu-lien *shih*.

[517] E.g. 𘮩𘓪 ‘cloud’ as in 𘍞 𘮩𘓪 𘐊𘓷 𘓷𘓱 𘓷𘍿 𘍞 ‘Commander of the Heaven Cloud Army’ (*Yü$_{1}$*), corresponding to 天雲軍詳穩 ‘id.’ in the *Liao Shih* 遼史. See Kane (2009: 89).

[518] E.g. attested early MMgl *e’ülen* [額兀連] ‘cloud (雲)’ (*SHM* §238).

[519] E.g. *Lang* (1: 14).

[520] E.g. attested early MMgl *üyile* [委亦列] ‘matter, deed, affair (事)’ (*SHM* §277) and MMgl in ‘Phagspa Script *uḛlə ‘matter, deed, affair’, attested in the plural as *uḛlə-s 𘋗𘋢𘋙 𘋖𘋢𘋐 ‹ʔeuė.les› ‘deed-PL’ (*CYK$_{2}$ l.* 9). The Modern Khalkha reflex is **үйл** [uiɮ̰] ‘matter, deed, affair, action’. Note also the following modern reflexes: Baarin [yːl], Daur [uil], Shira Yoghor [ulø], Mongghul [uile], Santa [uiliə] (Sun et al. 1990: 690), Baonang [le] ‘work, job’ (Buhe & Liu 1982: 82) and as the root of the verb “лэгэ-”, i.e. [lege-], ‘to do, work’ (Todaeva 1964: 142), Booŋan [wilə] ~ [welə] ‘work, job’ (Fried 2010: 43, 59, 99), and Kojia [ile] ‘labor, activity’ (Sechinchogt 1999: 280). Juunast gives Shira Yoghor [uleː] (1997: 96).

[521] See §9.2.3 for this etymology, and for comparanda in Tungusic and Sakha.

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MKit *yəw- 丙步 ‹y.eu› ‘move, transfer (徙)’.[522] This Kitan verbal root is retained as a substratal element in modern Mongolian dialects of eastern Inner Mongolia, such as Baarin and Aru Khorchin; note the Baarin form [jɛw-] ‘go’. The word is cognate to Middle Mongol *yabu-* ‘go, move, travel’ > modern Khalkha **яв-** [jaw-] ‘id.’ CSM *yabʊ- ‘go, move’.

Tagh *žirpəŋ (phonemically probably */zirpəŋ/) [是賁] ‘raised earth, embankment (封)’.[523] Cognate to Written Mongol *serbeng* > modern Khalkha **сэрвэн** [ˈsɪrwə̆ŋ ~ ˈsɛrwə̆ŋ] ‘land formation that is projecting, overhanging, or jutting out’. CSM *zerpəŋ ‘raised earth or a projecting, overhanging land formation’ (> PMgl *serbəŋ).

[522] E.g. *HsTi* (21: 7). See Kane (2009) for the semantic identification of this word. The phonological reconstruction presented above is my own.

[523] *WS* (113: 3007). See §5.2.1 entry for Shih-pen *shih*.

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8.6. Reconstructed Sentences in Common Serbi-Mongolic

Utilizing the reconstructed phonology, morphophonology, morphosyntax, syntax, and lexicon presented above, it is possible to reconstruct a limited number of sentences in Common Serbi-Mongolic. These are hypothetically grammatical sentences in Common Serbi-Mongolic—in other words, whether or not these specific sentences were ever actually uttered by Common Serbi-Mongolic speakers, they would have been both possible and grammatical according to the currently reconstructible grammar of the language.

The reconstructed sentences are organized as follows:

a. Phonological reconstruction, with inflectional morphemes segmented out.
b. Interlinear morpheme glosses.
c. Phrasal structure.
d. Clausal structure.
e. Translation.

1.

*k^{h}aɣan-Vn	*gʊr	*ǰargʊyč^{h}ɪ-n-Ø
emperor − GEN	*three*	*judge* − PL − NOM
NP[[N − GEN]	NP[Num	N]]
	S	

*syayɪ	*mɔrɪ-ɣVr	*yabʊ-bAñ.
good	*horse* − INS	*go* − PST
VP[NP[Adj	N]	V]
	O	***V***

‘The emperor’s three judges went on good horses.’

2.

*ak^{h}añ-Ø	*gʊrč^{h}ɪn	*k^{h}ɔnɪ-Ø	*og-lUɣAñ.
elder.brother − NOM	*thirty*	*sheep* − ACC$_{\text{indef}}$	*give* − PST
NP[N]	VP[NP[Num	N]	V]
S		***O***	***V***

‘Elder brother gave thirty sheep.’

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3.

*baran	*ñaɣʊr-DV	*dabʊsʊ-Ø	*a-bAñ.
$[right.side$	$lake-\text{DL}$	$[salt-\text{NOM}]$	$[exist-\text{PST}]$
$_{\text{PostP}}[_{\text{NP}}[\text{Adj}$	$\text{N}]\ \text{Post}]$	$_{\text{NP}}[\text{N}]$	$_{\text{VP}}[\text{V}]$
	Adv	***S***	***V***

‘The lake on the right side had salt.’

4.

*bɔɣʊl-Ø	*nagan-Vn	*gwər-DV	*ɦɔd-lUɣAñ.
$[slave-\text{NOM}]$	$[maternal.uncle-\text{GEN}$	$yurt-\text{DL}$	$go-\text{PST}$
$_{\text{NP}}[\text{N}]$	$_{\text{VP}}[_{\text{NP}}[\text{N}-\text{Gen}$	$\text{N}]$	$_{\text{VP}}[\text{V}]]$
S		***O***	***V***

‘The/a slave went to (the) maternal uncle’s yurt/home.’

5.

*ak^{h}añ-Vn	*wəmwə-Ø	*ɪdʊgan.
$[elder.brother-\text{GEN}$	$woman-\text{NOM}]$	$[female.shaman]$
$_{\text{NP}}[\text{N}-\text{Gen}$	$\text{N}]$	$_{\text{NP}}[\text{N}]$
	S	***Pred***

‘Elder brother’s wife is a shamaness.’

6.

*ə	*gɔl-Vn	*sɪba-s-Ø	*namʊr	*k^{h}arɪ-bAñ.
$[\text{PROX.DEM}$	$river-\text{GEN}$	$bird-\text{PL}-\text{NOM}]$	$[autumn$	$go.back-\text{PST}]$
$_{\text{NP}}[_{\text{NP}}[\text{Dem}$	$\text{N}]-\text{Gen}$	$\text{N}]$	$_{\text{AdvP}}[\text{N}]$	$_{\text{VP}}[\text{V}]$
		S		***V***

‘The birds of this river went back in autumn.’

7.

*ə	*aɣɪl-Ø	*ubul	*yabʊ-lUɣAñ.
$[\text{PROX.DEM}$	$household-\text{NOM}]$	$[\text{winter}$	$go-\text{PST}]$
$_{\text{NP}}[\text{Dem}$	$\text{N}]$	$_{\text{AdvP}}[\text{N}]$	$_{\text{VP}}[\text{V}]$
	S		***V***

‘This family left in winter.’[524]

[524] Bare nouns denoting seasons (i.e. ‘spring’, ‘summer’, ‘fall’, and ‘winter’) and noun phrases headed by these and other bare nouns denoting time words (i.e. ‘year’) can function as

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8.

*k^{h}abʊr *sinə *əbə(n)-Ø *ɦʊrg(V)-bAñ.

$\begin{bmatrix} spring \\ _{\text{AdvP}}[\text{N}] \\ \boldsymbol{Adv} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} new & grass-\text{NOM} \\ [_{\text{NP}}[\text{Adj} & \text{N}] \\ & \boldsymbol{S} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} grow-\text{PST} \\ _{\text{VP}}[\text{V}] \\ \boldsymbol{V} \end{bmatrix}$

'In spring, new grass grew.'

adverb phrases in attested Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol, e.g. MKit 又 令丙刃 丞 丰 马必 马安 口 戎矢 弼平立丰 '[In] the summer [of] the ninth year of the Ta-k'ang 大康 reign period, having reached the age of seventy-five, [he] …' (*YHsiang* 28: 12; see Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 194-195 for translation) and early MMgl *Tere übül ǰerge'er ne'üǰü Činggis Qahan Quba Qaya-yi übüljebe* (*SHM* §151), translated by Cleaves as 'That winter they journeyed in [parallel] ranks and Činggis Qahan wintered at Quba Qaya' (1982: 80) and by de Rachewiltz as 'That winter, in an orderly way they moved to new pastures and Činggis Qa'an wintered at Quba Qaya' (2006: 74).

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CHAPTER NINE:
THE PROTO-SERBI-MONGOLIC HOMELAND

9.1. INTRODUCTION

The Serbi (Hsien-pei), together with the Awar (Wu-huan), were descendants of the Eastern Hu,[1] and are known to have been neighbors of the Hsiung-nu, with whom they shared a common artistic tradition and material culture.[2] Nevertheless, the Hsiung-nu and Eastern Hu languages were undoubtedly unrelated.

Although Hsiung-nu elements have yet to be identified in the earliest Serbi-Mongolic languages, partly due to the mysterious linguistic identity of the early Hsiung-nu language itself,[3] mainstream historical-comparative linguistic methods provide us with the tools to identify other languages spoken by peoples neighboring the Proto-Serbi-Mongolic speakers (probably the Eastern Hu) in the formative early history of the Serbi-Mongolic family.

In modern historical-comparative linguistics, early loanwords, isoglosses, and culture words (*Kulturwörter*) are used as evidence to reconstruct the linguistic prehistory and 'homeland' (*Urheimat*) of a given

[1] See §2.1 'The Early Serbi-Mongolic Peoples' for the reconstruction of these ethnonyms and their history.

[2] "Much of [Serbi] art is based on [Hsiung-nu] iconography and ornamental forms, but… evidence of other cultures is nonetheless evident, as in the depiction of winged animals and the great goddess…, both of which appear to stem from Bactrian contact transmitted through still unascertainable channels" (Psarras 2003: 104).

[3] The Hsiung-nu language remains unidentified, despite many attempts to connect it with one or another language of Eastern Eurasia, including the popular Yeniseic proposal by Pulleyblank (1962b: 264-265) and Vovin (2000), based on considerations in Ligeti (1950). The glossed Old Chinese transcriptions of the Hsiung-nu language require further study before we can elucidate the ethnolinguistic identity of the Hsiung-nu.

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ethnolinguistic group.[4] This has been done for the diachronically best-studied language families, i.e. Indo-European, Uralic, Semitic, as well as several others, such as Japanese-Koguryoic.[5]

This chapter is an attempt to determine information about the early history and homeland of the Proto-Serbi-Mongolic speakers and their neighbors implementing this methodology. Namely, there is evidence of Late Old Chinese, Japanese-Koguryoic, Tibeto-Burman, and possibly Indo-European contact with Proto-Serbi-Mongolic. The Mongolic branch additionally exhibits early lexical correspondences with an Archaic Turkic dialect which has yet to be conclusively identified with a historically known ethnolinguistic group.[6] There also exists evidence of early Serbi-Mongolic contact with Southern Tungusic and possibly Samoyedic.[7]

9.2. VOCABULARY

Historical-comparative linguistics traditionally distinguishes between 'cultural vocabulary' and 'primary vocabulary' (or 'basic vocabulary'). 'Cultural vocabulary' refers to words borrowed as part of a technological or cultural innovation, the spread of knowledge or skills, or similar developments. On the other hand, 'primary vocabulary' encompasses numerals, body parts, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, animal names, words for natural phenomena like 'sun', 'moon', certain adjectives like 'good', 'new', and many other words which are traditionally assumed to be 'basic' or resistant to

[4] See Campbell (1999: 339-373) for an introduction to the study of linguistic prehistory and ethnolinguistic homelands.

[5] See Beckwith (2007a) for the reconstruction of Common Japanese-Koguryoic.

[6] It is probably to be connected with the Chieh 羯 or *Kɨr people. See Shimunek et al. (2015) for the earliest attested data on the Archaic Turkic dialect of the Chieh.

[7] Cf. Rozycki (1994), Krippes (1992: 112-121, 126-128), Poppe (1955, 1960, 1966, 1972, 1976), Khabtagaeva (2010), Ramstedt (1916), Pelliot (1925), etc. Certain early Serbi-Mongolic loanwords into Tungusic and Archaic Turkic are discussed in Appendix D.

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borrowing. This is also referred to as 'core vocabulary' in the literature.[8] The 'basic vocabulary' theory has been disproven numerous times (Beckwith 2007a, 2008a), and Swadesh's theories of lexicostatistics and glottochronology are now considered pseudoscience. Instead, the real loan-resistant core of the lexicon is its semantically light functional morphology, as discussed in §8.1. In this chapter I have retained the traditional distinction between 'cultural vocabulary' and 'primary vocabulary' primarily to demonstrate that a significant number of borrowings have occurred in both, and hopefully thereby dispel the myth of their validity which still persists, especially among scholars working on East Eurasian historical linguistics.

9.2.1. Cultural Vocabulary

While numerous foreign loanwords in the Middle Mongol lexicon have been studied, mostly borrowings from Old Turkic, Middle Turkic, Old Mandarin, Middle Chinese, Persian, and Tibetan,[9] loanwords from Old Chinese have not been identified by previous scholarship, despite the documented historical fact that the early Serbi-Mongolic peoples lived in close proximity to the Chinese. Neighboring peoples very rarely do not exert linguistic influence on each other. We should thus expect to find Old Chinese loanwords in Serbi-Mongolic, and early Serbi-Mongolic borrowings in Chinese as well. Although a handful of tenable proposals have been put forth for Serbi-Mongolic loanwords in Chinese, e.g. 'elder brother'[10] and 'mushroom'[11], the important task of

[8] Cf. Campbell (1999: 177-186 et seq.) for a discussion of 'basic vocabulary'.

[9] Cf. Kara (2001, 2002, 2009, etc.), Doerfer (1963, 1965, 1967, etc.), and numerous others.

[10] Sagart (1999: 169-170).

[11] Schmidt (1898: 36), Laufer (1916: 408), and Bazarragchaa (1984: 48) consider this a Mongolic element in Chinese. Sechinchogt (1988: 1423b-1424a), Rozycki (1994: 156), and others assume it is a Chinese element in Mongolic, but the word in question, 蘑菇 MSC *mógu* 'mushroom', is attested very late in Chinese, ca. 16th century A.D., and as Laufer notes, at least at the time he was writing, "the best mushrooms are still supplied to

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identifying Old Chinese elements in Serbi-Mongolic, and additional early Serbi-Mongolic elements in Old Chinese, remains to be undertaken. This chapter aims to address this problem, and offers a number of etymologies explaining the early intercultural relations of the Serbi-Mongolic peoples and determining the approximate location of the Proto-Serbi-Mongolic homeland.

Middle Mongol aruγ *'basket, cage'*

In Middle Mongol, the word *aruγ* (phonemically /arʊg/) denotes 'basket, cage'.[12] The Modern Khalkha Mongolian reflex /arg/ [ˈarə̆k][13] is the result of semantic narrowing, and refers only to a specific type of basket used for collecting the dung of livestock.[14] No tenable etymologies have been put forth for this word.[15]

China from Mongolia" (Laufer 1916: 408). Moreover, the Chinese form is non-compositional, i.e. the characters 蘑 *mó* and 菇 *gu* do not represent individual morphemes, but together represent the monomorphemic noun 'mushroom'. The word is thus very likely not a native Chinese word, but a borrowing from Mongolic.

[12] This form is attested in Sonom Gara's late 13th or early 14th century Middle Mongol translation of the Tibetan scholar Saskya Paṇḍita's *Saskya Legs bshad* (Kara 2009: 19). A late western Middle Mongol form appears in the *Muqaddimat al-Adab* as *aruq* [آروق] 'basket' (*MAA*; Poppe 1938).

[13] The Modern Mongolian form is written **apar** ‹arag› in Cyrillic orthography and 𐨀𐨪𐨟𐨗 ‹aruγ› in Classical Mongolian orthography.

[14] Note also cognates in other modern Mongolic daughter languages, including Santa *arou* [arəu] 'wicker basket made of twigs' (Ma & Ch'en 2000: 15; Todaeva 1961: 111), Mongghul [arɑɢ] and 'Bonan' (probably Booŋan) [arɢoŋ] (Sun et al. 1990: 115), Baonang "apoŋ" 'basket' (Todaeva 1964: 134), i.e. probably [aroʁ], Mangghuer *aruoghuo* [azʲwoˈqwo] 'basket carried on the back' (Slater 2003: 238, 286), Kojia [ɑruʁ ~ arʁu] (Sechinchogt 1999: 279a), and others.

[15] Starostin et al. (http://starling.rinet.ru/) connect the word with Written Mongol *arγamǰi* 'rope, tether', a proposal which is in and of itself problematic for phonological and semantic reasons, not to mention the implausible 'Proto-Altaic' etymology they abstract from these

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Note 簍 MSC *lǒu* ‘basket’. The word is not attested in foreign transcriptions of Late Middle Chinese, although the tradition-based reconstruction of the theoretical Late Middle Chinese form is ☆ləw$_2$ (Pul. 199), for which Starostin reconstructs ‘Old Chinese’ 簍 *rōʔ ~ *roʔ.[16] Given the fact that LMC rising tone regularly comes from Late Old Chinese *ʁ codas,[17] and the fact that one regular source of LMC *l-* is Old Chinese *r-, it is well motivated to reconstruct 簍 LOC dial. *rʊʁ ‘basket’.[18]

MMgl *aruγ* /arʊg/ ‘basket, cage’ < PSM *arʊg ← 簍 LOC *rʊʁ ~ 籠 *rʊŋ ~ *rʊg ‘basket, cage’ > LMC ☆ləw$_2$ (Pul. 199) ~ ☆ləwŋ (Pul. 198) > MSC *lǒu ~ lóng* ‘id.’

Although the character 簍 is not attested until the Ch’in-Han period, when the Chinese are first known to have had heavy contact with Serbi-Mongolic peoples, given the long history of basket making in China[19] and the

two words and other unlikely comparanda in different unrelated languages. Bazarragchaa attempts to explain Written Mongol *aruγ* ‘basket’ as coming from the same Mongolic-internal origin as such unrelated words as Written Mongol *aru* ‘back; north’, *aruu* ‘the back side of a sheep talus bone’, and even *aral* ‘shaft of a cart’ (Bazarragchaa 1995: 482), which is untenable for both semantic, phonological, and general methodological reasons.

[16] From the “Chinese Characters” database compiled by Sergei Starostin and uploaded on January 13, 2006. http://starling.rinet.ru/. Accessed February 12, 2012. Starostin further conjectures that this Old Chinese word is ultimately an early loan from Mon-Khmer. However, this is more likely to be a Late Old Chinese element in Mon-Khmer, probably via other languages, rather than a Mon-Khmer word borrowed into Chinese.

[17] Beckwith (2007a, etc.).

[18] For 婁 MSC *lóu* ‘mound’, the phonetic component of the character 簍 MSC *lǒu*, Baxter reconstructs unperiodized ‘Old Chinese’ *C-rjo, which should be corrected to *C-ro after removing the spurious “j”, and Schuessler (2007) gives *rôʔ for ‘Old Chinese’. On the ‘spurious yod’ in tradition-based reconstructions of Old Chinese, see also Chapter Three, footnote 4.

[19] As Laufer notes, “since [the] earliest times, baskets have occupied a prominent position in Chinese civilization, although naturally, owing to climatic and soil conditions, no ancient

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fact that the character 籠 MSC *lóng* 'basket', a dialectal variant of the same Old Chinese word as 簍 MSC *lǒu*, is attested in Middle Old Chinese[20] texts predating the earliest solidly documented period of Chinese contact with Serbi-Mongolic peoples (e.g. *Chuang Tzu*, *Hsün-Tzu*, etc.), the directionality of the loan must be Late Old Chinese to Proto-Serbi-Mongolic.[21]

The prosthetic *a of the Serbi-Mongolic form is due to a phonotactic constraint banning rhotic initials. This constraint is still characteristic of most Mongolic daughter languages today. Note recent loanwords in modern Khalkha such as: **радио** [aˈɾaʧʊ] 'radio' and **рак** [aˈɾak] 'cancer', from Russian **радио** [ˈɾadʲɪo] 'radio' and **рак** [rak] 'cancer'. Note also Middle Mongol *erdini* 'jewel'[22] (← OUyg ← Sanskrit *ratna* 'jewel'), Buryat *Araaxa* (< Prelassical WMgl *Raqu* 'personification of the eclipse, a mythic planet that devours the Sun and the Moon'[23] ← Sanskrit *Rahu*) and Kalmyk *Araaš* (< *Raši* ← Tibetan *bkra-shis*).[24]

baskets have survived. In the ancient Book of Songs [*Shih Ching*] and in the ancient Rituals occur many terms for various kinds of baskets…" (Laufer 1925: 3).

[20] 'Middle Old Chinese' refers to the language of the Bronze Inscriptions and the earliest literary texts. See Beckwith (2002) for the periodization of Old Chinese.

[21] Although there are some possible indications of weaving weights among the Hsiung-nu (Psarras 1994: 18), the evidence is ambiguous and inconclusive. It is also relevant to note that the earliest Serbi people described in relatively rich historical accounts, the Kitan, apparently did not have widespread knowledge of weaving until ca. 900 A.D. (Wittfogel & Fêng 1946: 135). The early Serbi, however, are known to have practiced agriculture (Pulleyblank 1983), and possibly had weaving as well.

[22] E.g. attested MMgl *erdini* [額児的泥] 'jewel (寶)' (*HIIY* 1.13b3).

[23] Gloss from Kara (2009: 244).

[24] I thank György Kara for pointing out these Middle Mongol, Buryat, and Kalmyk examples (p.c.).

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Middle Mongol mindasu-n *'floss silk'*

Modern Khalkha **мяндас** [ˈmʲandəs] 'silk thread', Buryat *mindahaŋ* 'silk ribbon', and Ordos *mindasu* 'silk thread',[25] and Kalmyk [mindəsn̩] 'wadding, stuffing',[26] from Middle Mongol *mindasu-n* 'floss silk'[27] denotes a textile uniquely Chinese in origin. In medieval times, as far as we know, Mongolia imported silk from China, the first country to develop silk fabric. This fact alone is grounds for considering the word a borrowing.

Chinese 緜 MSC *mián*, a variant of 綿 *mián* 'floss silk, soft, downy' (Pul. 214) is reconstructed in tradition-based, unperiodized Old Chinese as *myian (Sch. 417), revised to *mian ~ *men. Given the existence of northeastern frontier dialects of Late Old Chinese with partly oralized codas[28] and the existence of disyllabic words in Late Old Chinese,[29] this character would have been pronounced *mend in such dialects. The Middle Mongol form provides clear evidence of this donor form, with reanalysis of the Pre-Proto-Mongolic suffix *-sU as part of the root.[30] Note also 棉 MSC *mián*

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[25] I thank György Kara for the Buryat and Ordos forms. Cheremisov gives the Buryat form **миндаһа(н)** "шёлковая тесьма" (1951: 314a).

[26] This is my interpretation of Ramstedt's transcription *mind^{n}sn̩* "watte, ausstopfung" (1935: 263).

[27] E.g. attested MMgl *mindasun* [閔達孫] 'floss silk (綿)'(*HIIY* 1:12b1).

[28] See Beckwith (2010b) for evidence of coda denasalization in northeastern Late Old Chinese. Sagart (1999: 203) and Rybatzki (1994: 214-215) discuss further evidence of prenasalized stops in what I consider a Late Old Chinese frontier dialectal loanword in Tokharian, i.e. Tokharian A *nkiñc* and Tokharian B *ñkante* 'silver' ← 銀 LOC dial. (cf. attested MChi [^{ŋ}gin], Tak. 380). The Tokharian forms suggest a Chinese donor form with not only a prenasalized onset, but also a denasalized coda. I reconstruct *[^{ŋ}gində] or *[^{ŋ}kintə] as the LOC frontier dialectal donor form to the Tokharian words. See Kiyose & Beckwith (forthcoming) on disyllabic words in Late Old Chinese.

[29] See Kiyose & Beckwith (forthcoming) for a study of disyllabic words in Late Old Chinese.

[30] See entry for 'boots' and 'plough' below and the §2.3 'Primary Vocabulary' entries for 'soil', 'Chinese chives' etc. See also Appendix D.

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'cotton', which is clearly the same word as 緜 ~ 綿 (LMC 棉 ✫myian, Pul. 214). I propose the following etymology:[31]

> Khalkha [ˈmʲandəs] 'silk thread' < MMgl *mindasu-n* 'floss silk' < < pre-PMgl *mɪnda-sU-n < PSM *mɪnda ← 緜 ~ 綿 ~ 棉 LOC northeastern dial. *mendă ~ central dial. *menă > > LMC ✫myian (Pul. 214) > MSC *mián* 'id.'

The semantic change in the word's meaning in Mongolic is undoubtedly due to the borrowed syllable's association with 絲綿 MSC *sīmián* 'silk wadding', a phrase attested at least as early as the Late Old Chinese text *Lun Heng* 論衡 (ca. 80 A.D.).[32]

This appears to be a northeastern Late Old Chinese dialect similar to (or the same as) the one that contributed a number of loanwords to Korean. This dialect had denasalization of codas, but had full nasal onsets, e.g. Middle Korean 미르 *miru* (MCR *mirŭ*) 'dragon' < Old Korean *miruɣ ← 龍 LOC northeastern dial. *mrug ~ *mruŋg ~ LOC central dial. *mruŋ 'id.'[33]

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[31] Sechinchogt (1988: 1397b) independently speculates that Written Mongol *mindasu* is somehow connected with this Chinese word, but he does not provide a detailed etymology, simply stating that the word "seems to be of the same origin as Chinese 棉 *mián* 'cotton' (ᠬᠢᠲᠠᠳ ᠪᠦ 棉 *mián* ᠶᠢᠨ ᠢᠯᠡᠳᠬᠡᠯ ᠬᠥᠪᠦᠰ ᠪᠠᠢᠨ᠎ᠠ)."

[32] According to an online edition of *Lun Heng*, "内中所有枰匱所贏縑布絲綿也" (accessed November 15, 2012, at <www.zdic.net/cd/ci/5/ZdicE4ZdicB8Zdic9D38006.htm>). It is necessary to check a printed and carefully studied edition of *Lun Heng* before this attestation can be fully verified. I did not have access to such an edition when writing this chapter.

[33] See Beckwith (2010b) for this Late Old Chinese frontier dialect word in Korean.

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Middle Mongol qudusu-n ~ ɢutusu-n *: Japanese* kutsu *'boots, shoes'*

Poppe (1960) noted the correspondence of Korean *kwutwu* (MCR *kudu*), which he glossed as 'shoes (Schuhe)', to Written Mongol *γutusun* 'boots'.[34] He used this correspondence as evidence to support an 'Altaic' theory. As György Kara notes, however, "using dictionaries alone is not sufficient to determine the meaning of a word and its related senses."[35] Modern Korean *kudu* 구두 specifically denotes 'Western-style leather dress shoes'.[36] The word is not attested even in Late Middle Korean,[37] let alone earlier,[38] and does not appear until very recently in the Korean lexicon as a colonial-period loanword from Modern Japanese *kutsu* くつ (靴) 'shoes, footwear, boots'.[39] The Japanese word, on the other hand, has a long history, and is attested in Old Japanese as *kutu 'boots, shoes'.[40] Reflexes of the Middle Mongol form[41] include Written Mongol *γutul,* Written Oirat *γodosun*, Oirat dial. *ɢosn̥*,[42] Western Buryat

[34] Poppe (1960: 24, 101, 130, 158).

[35] Kara (2007: 98).

[36] Lee Iksop & Ramsey (2000: 133). I have confirmed this with many native speakers of Korean.

[37] The attested Late Middle Korean word denoting the concept of footwear is the verb *sĭn- (∶신) 'to wear shoes' (Nam 2002: 925a; Vovin 2010: 16), with the modern reflex *sinpar* (MCR *sinbar*) 신발 /sínpar/ [ɕʰímbaɭ] 'shoes, footwear', a folk etymologization of LMK *sĭn- 'to wear shoes' and LMK *pár (·발) 'foot'. See Nam (2002: 653b) and Yu Ch'angton (2000: 367b) for LMK ·발 'foot'.

[38] The earliest attested Koreanic word for 'shoes' is Silla Old Korean ☆sɛy [洗] 'boots (靴)' (*Liang Shu* 54: 806). Note also 12th century northern Early Middle Korean [盛] (LMC ☆dźiayŋ) 'shoes (鞋)' (*Kyerim Yusa*, Sasse 1976: 124, #232).

[39] See Lee Iksop & Ramsey (2000: 133) for the identification of this modern Japanese loanword in Korean. See also Martin (1987: 467).

[40] See Martin (1987: 467) for the Old Japanese form.

[41] E.g. attested early MMgl *qudusun* [中忽都孫] 'boots (靴)' (*SHM* §145) and late MMgl *γutusun* [غوتوسون] 'id.' (*MAA*; Poppe 1938: 180-181).

[42] Kara (1958: 140).

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gɔdəhəŋ [ɢɔdɔhɔŋ] ~ Eastern Buryat *gʊtəhəŋ* [ɢʊtəhəŋ] ~ *gʊtəl* [ɢʊtəl],[43] Khalkha **гутал** [qʊʰtɬ ~ ˈqʊ̥tə̆ɮ],[44] Santa *ghudusun* [ɢudusuŋ] 'boots, leather boots',[45] Kojia [ɢudər ~ gudər] 'boots',[46] and others,[47] indicating free variation in Proto-Mongolic between *gʊtʰʊ-l ~ *gʊtʰʊ-sU-n. There are numerous other lexemes which provide evidence of this free variation between PMgl *-l and *-sU. Note early, attested free variants such as MMgl *kimul* ~ *kimusu* 'fingernails, toenails', which appear in the same text—the *Secret History of the Mongols*—with no variation in meaning,[48] and MMgl *horɣal* (*IM*)[49] ~ *harɣal* (*MAA*)[50] and its modern cognates, e.g. Khalkha **аргал** [ˈarʁə̆ɮ] 'cattle dung', Daur [xarɣəl] 'dried cow manure',[51] Shira Yoghor [hɑrʁɑl],[52] Santa *hhangva* [haŋʁa] ~ *hhanggha* [haŋɢa],[53] Kojia [halʁa],[54] Khamnigan [arʁal], and the following Oirat forms from unattested MMgl **harɣasu-n* : Kalmyk [arʁə̆sn̥] 'dried cattle manure (used for fuel)'[55] and Alshaa [ɑrgɑs].[56]

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[43] See Rassadin (1982: 155) for the Buryat forms. The IPA forms given here are my interpretations of his Cyrillic transcriptions.

[44] In Cyrillic orthography, **гутал**.

[45] Ma & Ch'en (2001: 125).

[46] Sechinchogt (1999: 288).

[47] See Kara (2009: 113) for additional comparanda.

[48] E.g. attested early MMgl *kimul* [乞木勒] 'fingernail, toenail (指甲)' (*SHM* §276) and *kimusu*, attested in instrumental reflexive form as *kimusu-'ar-iyan* [乞木速阿𠯿里顏] 'fingernail-INS-REFL' (*SHM* §199).

[49] *Ibn Muhannâ* gives MMgl *horɣal* [هُرغل], which Poppe (1938: 438) considers to be an error for **harɣal*.

[50] MMgl *harɣal* [هرغل] (*MAA*; Poppe 1938: 182).

[51] Engkebatu (1984: 106).

[52] Sun et al. (1990: 118).

[53] Ma & Ch'en (2000: 152-153).

[54] Sechinchogt (1999: 286a).

[55] The IPA transcription given here is my interpretation of *arɣⁿsn̥* 'trockner Rindermist (als Brennmaterial)' in Ramstedt's transcription system (Ramstedt 1935: 14).

[56] Sun et al. (1990: 118).

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Table 86. Evidence of a *-sU ~ *-l alternation in Pre-Proto-Mongolic

MMgl *-sU	MMgl *-l	Proto-Mongolic	Pre-Proto-Mongolic
**harqasun*[57]	*harγal*[58]	*hargasʊ-n ~ *hargal	*harga + ***-sU**-n ~ * **-l**
kimusun[59] ~ *qimusun*[60]	*kimul*[61]	*kʰɪmʊsʊ-n ~ *kʰɪmʊl	*kʰɪmʊ + ***-sU**-n ~ ***-l**
qudusun[62] ~ *γutusun*[63]	**γutul*[64]	*gʊtʰʊsʊ-n ~ *gʊtʰʊl	*gʊtʰʊ + ***-sU**-n ~ ***-l**

Given the identification of a *-sU suffix for Pre-Proto-Mongolic,[65] and the historical documentation of Japanese-Koguryoic people neighboring the Serbi in Late Antiquity northeastern China,[66] 'boot ~ footwear' comparanda is clearly evidence of early linguistic contact between Serbi-Mongolic and Japanese-Koguryoic.[67] The following etymology summarizes this lexical contact:

[57] Although this form is not attested as a common noun, it is reconstructible from the above-mentioned reflexes in modern Mongolic daughter languages, and is attested as a personal name, *Harqasun* [哈[舌]児[中]哈孫], in *SHM* §276.

[58] E.g. attested late MMgl *harγal* [هرغل] (*MAA*; Poppe 1938: 182).

[59] E.g. attested MMgl *kimusun* [乞木孫] 'fingernail, toenail (指甲)' (*HIIY* 1.23b8).

[60] E.g. attested late MMgl *qimusun* [قيموسون] ~ *qimusu* [قيموسو] (*MAA*; Poppe 1938: 298b).

[61] E.g. attested early MMgl *kimul* [乞門[勒]] 'fingernail, toenail (指甲)' (*SHM* §276).

[62] E.g. attested early MMgl *qudusun* [[中]忽都孫] 'boots (靴)' (*SHM* §145).

[63] E.g. attested late MMgl *γutusun* [غوتوسون] 'boots' (*MAA*; Poppe 1938: 180).

[64] Although this form is not attested in Middle Mongol, it is reconstructible based on reflexes in the modern Mongolic daughter languages; see the Eastern Buryat, Kojia, and Khalkha forms above. Note also modern Written Mongol *γutul*.

[65] See the entry for Taghbach *tʰaʁ 'earth, dirt, soil' in §2.3 'Primary Vocabulary' below and Appendix D.

[66] As shown by Kiyose (2001: 136-137) and Beckwith (2007a: 34-35).

[67] Kara (2007: 97) mentions other "thought-provoking resemblances" between certain Japanese and Mongolic lexemes. Many of these are probably early loanwords between early mainland Japanese-Koguryoic and Serbi-Mongolic. They remain to be investigated in this light.

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Attested MMgl *gutusun* ~ *qudusun* ~ unattested MMgl **γutul* (cf. WMgl *γutul*) 'shoes, boots' < pre-PMgl *gʊtʰʊ-sU-n ~ *gʊtʊ-sU-n ~ *gʊtʰʊ-l < PSM *gʊtʰʊ ~ *gʊdʊ ↔ Japanese-Koguryoic > OJpn *kutu > MSJ *kutsu* 'boots, footwear', shoes' → Korean *kudu* 'Western-style leather dress shoes'.

The directionality is difficult to determine with certainty, but given the fact that the early Japanese-Koguryoic peoples were subjects of the Serbi, it seems likely that this was an early Serbi-Mongolic to Japanese-Koguryoic borrowing.

Proto-Serbi-Mongolic *anǰa ~ *anda *'plough'*

The Proto-Serbi-Mongolic word for 'plough' is reconstructible based on Middle Mongol *anǰasu-n* [安札孫] 'plough (犁)'[68] < Proto-Mongolic *anǰasʊ-n 'plough' (<*anǰa-sU), as well as early Serbi-Mongolic cognates of the same word which were borrowed into Southern Tungusic, i.e. Manchu, Ulcha, and Nanai *anǰa* 'plough'.[69]

The fact that a word for 'plough' can be reconstructed for Proto-Serbi-Mongolic is significant for the cultural history of the early Serbi-Mongolic peoples in that it indicates that they practiced agriculture early in their history, a fact confirmed in the Chinese accounts of the Serbi and Awar.[70]

At present we cannot say for certain when the Serbi-Mongolic peoples obtained the plough, or at what point they first began practicing agriculture. In their earliest attested history, however, they are recorded as practicing

[68] *HIIY* (1:10a4).

[69] Rozycki (1994: 19) explains the Manchu, Ulcha, and Nanai forms as 'Early Mongol' elements in Southern Tungusic. Solon *anǰasũ* 'plough' is a borrowing from a later Mongolic language, probably Middle Mongol. Despite Bazarragchaa (1995: 417), there is unlikely to be any connection with Written Mongol *ang* 'beasts, wild animals, game'.

[70] See Pulleyblank (1983: 454) on agriculture among the Serbi-Awar.

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agriculture. Given the fact that cultural innovations, such as the plough, are often borrowed with the words denoting them, we should expect this to be a foreign cultural loanword in Serbi-Mongolic, although it is not clear from what language. The word is possibly the same as the first element in Old Japanese *adi-suki 'good plough' < Proto-Japanese *anti 'good plough'.[71]

MMgl *anǰasu-n* < PMgl *anǰasʊ-n < pre-PMgl *anǰa-sU < PSM *anǰa ← ?
→ PJK > PJpn *anti > OJpn *adi-suki 'a good plough'.

The donor form is likely to be a frontier dialect of Old Chinese.[72]

Serbi-Mongolic 'shoot arrows' ~ 'archery'

The Serbi-Mongolic peoples are known to have practiced archery since early times. The *Hou Han Shu* records the Serbi people as making bows (弓) from cattle horns:

...禽獸異於中國者野馬原羊角端牛以角爲弓俗謂之角端弓者
"…Their fowl and beasts are different from those of China—they have wild horses, steppe sheep, and long-horn cattle,[73] the horns of which they use to make bows, so they are commonly called 'people of the longhorn bows'." (*HHS* 90: 2985).

The known Serbi-Mongolic words for 'archery' and 'shooting arrows' share close resemblance to Tibeto-Burman and Tungusic forms. Note Middle Mongol *qabu* 'archery' (*SHM*), Late Kitan *qa 'archery, shooting (arrows)', Oirat *xa-* 'shoot', Middle Mongol *qarbu-* 'shoot with a bow' (*SHM*), Proto-

[71] Starostin (http://starling.rinet.ru/), accessed March 8, 2012.

[72] Christopher I. Beckwith (p.c., February 26, 2013).

[73] Christopher I. Beckwith suggested 'longhorn cattle' as the meaning of this word (p.c., February 25, 2010).

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Tibeto-Burman *ga·p ‘shoot’ (Ben. 73), and such Tungusic forms as Manchu *ɣabta-* ‘shoot an arrow’, Ewenki *garpa-*, etc.[74]

MMgl *qabu* ‘archery’ ~ *qarbu-* ‘shoot’ ~ LKit *qa ‘archery’ : PTB *ga·p ‘shoot’ : Manchu *ɣabta-* ‘shoot’, Ewk *garpa-* ~ *garpu-* ‘shoot’.[75]

Although it is difficult to determine the directionality of the loans with certainty, the striking phonological and semantic similarity of these forms indicates that they are culture words, borrowed with archery itself or certain archery-related technological innovations. Given the known and documented importance of archery among the early Serbi-Mongolic peoples, and for phonological reasons, it seems likely that these forms are Serbi-Mongolic loans into Tibeto-Burman and Tungusic.[76]

Another archery-related word, borrowed from Serbi-Mongolic to Tungusic, is known from Written Manchu *niyamniya-* [ŋamŋa-] ‘shoot arrows from horseback’ and Written Mongol *namna-* ‘shoot arrows from horseback.[77]

WMgl *namna-* < PMgl < PSM *ñamña- ‘shoot arrows from horseback’ → unattested Archaic Jurchen > attested Manchu *niyamniya-* [ŋamŋa-] ‘shoot arrows from horseback’.

[74] Bazarragchaa (1995: 233) treats the monomorphemic Written Mongol verb *qarbu-* ‘to shoot arrows’ as coming from a polymorphemic form *ka-r-bu- (asterisk added by me), which is unjustifiable in itself, and he further proposes a semantically and morphologically problematic Mongol-internal etymology connecting the word with Written Mongol *ɣar-* ‘to emerge, go out’.

[75] The connection among Late Kitan *qa ‘archery, shooting’, the Mongolic forms, and Tungusic was first noted by Shiratori (1913: 39). For the Tungusic forms, see Tsintsius (1975-1977), Vasilevich (1958), and Doerfer (2004).

[76] Note also comparanda in Nivkh. See entry for LKit *qa ‘shoot, archery’ in §8.5.4 above.

[77] Doerfer (1985: 56) identifies this as an early Mongol loan in Manchu. Rozycki considers the correspondence ‘problematic’ (1994: 164).

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Reflexes of the Proto-Tungusic form also occur in Ewenki, Negidal, Ulcha, Uilta, and Nanai.[78] Solon *nanna-* is a recent borrowing directly from Mongolic, probably from (unattested) Middle Mongol *namna- 'id.'

The sound correspondence of Tungusic *ñ to Proto-Mongolic *n in Serbi-Mongolic loanwords in Tungusic is further supported by the following lexical comparanda:

> MMgl *noqai* 'dog' < PMgl < PSM *ñɔkʰañ 'dog' > PSer *ñakʰañ → unattested Archaic Jurchen > attested Jurchen *ñaχa 'puppy' ~ Manchu *niyaχan* [ɲaχan] 'puppy'.[79]

9.2.2. Primary Vocabulary

Taghbach *tʰaʁ *'earth, dirt, soil' ~ Middle Mongol* to'osu-n *'dust'*

As demonstrated by Beckwith (2010a), the Taghbach word for 'earth, dirt, soil' is a borrowing from Late Old Chinese:[80]

> Taghbach *tʰaʁ 'earth, dirt, soil' < PSM *tʰaɣ ← 土 LOC *tʰâʁ > > MSC *tǔ* 'id.'

The Taghbach word is cognate to Middle Mongol *to'osu-n* 'dust'.

> PSM *tʰaɣ 'dirt' > pre-PMgl *tʰɔɣ + *-sU > PMgl *tʰɔɣɔsʊ-n (with epenthetic *ɔ to satisfy phonotactic constraints) > MMgl *to'osu-n* 'dust' > Khalkha **тооc** [tʰɔːs] 'id.'

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[78] Rozycki (1994: 163).

[79] See Shimunek (2011a: 103b-104a) for further discussion of the Serbi and Proto-Serbi-Mongolic forms.

[80] The reconstruction of the Taghbach form is my revision of Beckwith's proposal (Beckwith 2010: 8), and the Proto-Serbi-Mongolic form presented here is my own reconstruction.

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The semantic value of Middle Mongol ‘dust’ may be due to later folk etymologization of the word relating it to Middle Turkic *toz* ‘dust’[81] during one of the several known periods of widespread Turkic bilingualism in the history of the Mongolic branch of Serbi-Mongolic.[82] This must have occurred around the Proto-Mongolic period, after the Mongolic reflex acquired a *-sU suffix.[83] The rounded *[ɔ] in the Proto-Mongolic form is due to sporadic regressive rounding assimilation.

The Mongolic words for ‘dust’ have been compared to Middle Turkic *toz* ‘dust’, but the Turkic word is probably a reflex of an early loanword from Tokharian.[84] See below:

MTrk *toz* ‘dust’ < unattested OTrk < PTrk *toř ← Tokharian A *tor* ~ Tokharian B *taur* ‘dust’.

Regarding the ultimate history of the Old Chinese word, the character 土 is attested as early as the Oracle Bone Inscriptions, implying that the word has a very long history in Chinese. Earlier phonological forms of the word in Chinese have yet to be carefully reconstructed.

[81] Middle Turkic *toz* is first attested ca. 11th c. (*DTS* 578b-579a).

[82] There are believed to have been at least two main periods of early Turkic-Mongolic bilingualism (György Kara, p.c.). See Beckwith (2011b) for the historical contexts of these contact events.

[83] See Appendix D for pre-Proto-Mongolic *-sU.

[84] Lubotsky and Starostin consider this a Turkic loanword in Tokharian (2003: 259-260), but this is more likely to be a Tokharian loanword in Turkic. The precise historical context of this borrowing remains to be elucidated in detail, but it likely suggests the spread of Turkic from the west eastward; cf. Shimunek et al. (2015) for indications of the eastern spread of Turkic. See Róna-Tas (1974) for more Tokharian elements in Turkic.

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Middle Mongol qoqosu-n *'Chinese chives'*

Middle Mongol *qoqosu-n* 'Chinese chives' is first attested in *The Secret History of the Mongols* and the *Hua-I i-yü*.[85] The word is also attested in Middle Mongol in the *Chih-yüan i-yü* as *qoqo* 'Chinese chives'.[86] Reflexes of this word in the modern Mongolic daughter languages include Modern Khalkha **гогод** [ˈqɔʁɤ̆t] 'Chinese chives', Kalmyk [ɢoʁə̆sn̥] 'wild leek',[87] Mongghul *ghughu* 'Chinese chives',[88] and others.

MSC 韭 *jiǔ* 'Chinese chives' is reconstructed for tradition-based, unperiodized Old Chinese as *kjəwʔ (Sch. 325) and *k(r)juʔ (Bax. 769), revised to *kəwʁ or *kuʁ for Late Old Chinese, or possibly a disyllabic form *kugV̆/*kəwgV̆.[89] We may reasonably assume that certain frontier dialects may have had slightly different vowels, and the specific donor form which was the ultimate source of Middle Mongol *qoqosu-n* may have been something like *kɔgV̆ ~ *kɔʁV̆.

MMgl *qoqosu-n* 'Chinese chives' < < pre-PMgl *kɔgɔ-sU-n < PSM *kɔgV
← 韭 LOC northeastern dial. *kɔgV̆ ~ *kɔʁV̆ ~ central dial. *kuʁ/*kəwʁ > > LMC ☆kuw$_2$ (Pul. 161) > MSC *jiǔ* 'id.'

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[85] E.g. attested early MMgl *qoqosu-n* [中豁中豁孫] 'Chinese chives (韭)' (*SHM* §75). The Modern Khalkha reflex of this MMgl word, **гогод** [ˈqɔʁɤ̆t] 'id.', although still a productive word in rural Khalkha, is now essentially obsolete or highly bookish in urban varieties of Khalkha, where it has been largely replaced by **жууцай** [ˈʧʊːtsʰæ], a recent loanword from Modern Mandarin 韭菜 *jiǔcài* 'Chinese chives'.

[86] MMgl *qoqo* [和和] 'Chinese chives (韮)' (*CYIY*; Ligeti & Kara 1990: §57b). Kara (1990: 318) considers this a mistake for *qoqo(sun)* or *qoqo(t)*, but the transcription clearly gives *qoqo* with no additional syllable. Given the Mongghul form (see above), it seems likely that *qoqo* is a dialectal variant of Middle Mongol *qoqosun*.

[87] The IPA transcription given here is my interpretation of Ramstedt's transcription *g꞉oγ^{n}sn̥* (Ramstedt 1935: 149b).

[88] The Mongghul form is from Ch'ün (2007: 121).

[89] See Beckwith (2007a etc.) for the phonology of Late Old Chinese and Kiyose & Beckwith (forthcoming) on disyllabic words in Late Old Chinese.

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For discussion of the innovative pre-Proto-Mongolic suffix *-sU, see Appendix D.

Chinese chives (韭) are known from the earliest Chinese literary texts, dating back nearly three millennia, and are probably native to China. This fact gives further historical grounding to the phonological evidence presented above, confirming the directionality of the loan.

Serbi-Mongolic 'monkey'

Written Mongol *sarmaγčin* 'monkey' is attested in Middle Mongol in *Ibn Muhannâ* as *sormeči* [سُرمجی],[90] i.e. *[sɔrməʧʰi]. Starostin et al. connect the word with Japanese 猿 (さる) *saru* 'monkey' and consider this a Mongolian-Japanese isogloss within their 'Altaic' construct.[91] Although numerous critical flaws have been identified in Starostin et al.'s methodology, and despite the fact that the 'Altaic' language family has been disproven many times,[92] Starostin et al. are correct to link this Mongol word with Old Japanese *saru* 'monkey',[93] but they are not cognates as they claim—instead, the Mongol and Japanese words in question share a common loanword origin in Old Chinese, i.e. 猿 OChi *zuar 'monkey'[94] was borrowed into both Serbi-Mongolic and Japanese-Koguryoic. The similarity in form implies that Proto-Japanese-Koguryoic and Serbi-Mongolic speakers were located near the same Old Chinese dialect at approximately the same point in time. This accords well with

[90] Poppe (1938: 446) considered this to be an error for *sarmači, but the Arabic transcription has a superscript *ḍammah* (◌ُ) clearly indicating a rounded vowel. Considering the Japanese evidence, the original transcription of the Middle Mongol form as *sormeči* has more explanatory power than Poppe's proposal.

[91] Starostin et al. (2003: 1213).

[92] Clauson (1956), Doerfer (1963, 1965, 1967), Clark (1977), Janhunen (1996), Beckwith (2007a, 2008), and Vovin (2005, 2007).

[93] Starostin et al. (2003: 1213).

[94] OChi 猿 is reconstructed *zuar by Kiyose & Beckwith (2008: 11-12).

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the known history of the Serbi and Japanese-Koguryoic peoples—it is known that some Wa (early Japanese) were still located in Liao-hsi, near Serbi speakers, around the 2nd century A.D.,[95] i.e. the Late Old Chinese period (see §9.3 'A Possible Homeland' below). From this we may reconstruct 猿 LOC *zuar.

Starostin et al. (2003) further explain the Written Mongol forms *sarmaγčin ~ sarbačin* 'monkey' as reanalyzed variants of *mečin ~ bečin* 'monkey' with "Proto-Altaic" *sara 'monkey'. Although they are correct about the second element of the word, and its "restructuring",[96] their proposal on 'Proto-Altaic' "*sara" is vacuous given the fact that the Altaic hypothesis has been thoroughly disproven. In fact, Middle Mongol *sormečin* 'monkey' is a blend of a loanword from Old Chinese 猿 *zuar 'monkey' and Middle Mongol *bečin* 'monkey',[97] a loanword from Old Turkic *bičin* 'monkey'.[98] Pre-Proto-Mongolic (possibly even Proto-Serbi-Mongolic) *sɔr ~ *sar must be the old word for 'monkey', borrowed from Old Chinese (possibly via Japanese-Koguryoic) before the Old Turkic word *bičin* was borrowed into the early languages of the Mongolic branch. Since there are no monkeys in Mongolia today, and probably were none in late Antiquity, people must have been forgetting the meaning of the old word, which they blended with *bečin ~ mečin*, the new word for 'monkey', and the word later underwent analogical change, ultimately resulting in modern Written Mongol *sarmaγčin* 'monkey'. The following etymologies thus seem likely:

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[95] Kiyose (2001) and Beckwith (2007a). As demonstrated by Kiyose & Beckwith on the basis of dated excavated texts, the Japanese animal cycle, including the Old Chinese loanword for 'monkey', must have been borrowed in the period from just before to slightly after the Ch'in unification in 221 B.C. The traditional scholarly dating of the Wa (Yayoi) migration to Japan puts it in about the 3rd century B.C., approximately the same time (Kiyose & Beckwith 2008).

[96] Starostin et al. (2003: 1213).

[97] E.g. attested MMgl *bečin* [別嗔] 'monkey (猴)' (*HIIY* 1.05b5).

[98] E.g. attested 8th c. OTrk *bičin* 'monkey' (*DTS* 98a, *GOrkT* 313).

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PSM *sɔr ~ *sar ‘monkey’ ← early JK (cf. OJpn *saru* ‘monkey’) ← 猿 OChi *zuar ‘monkey, ape’ > > MSC *yuán* ‘ape’.

WMgl *sarmaγčin ~ sarbačin* < MMgl *sormeči* (blend with OTrk *bičin*) < PSM *sɔr ~ *sar ‘monkey’ ← early JK (cf. OJpn *saru* ‘monkey’) ← 猿 OChi *zuar ‘monkey’.

In Kitan, the Chinese loanword seems to have been replaced by another word for ‘monkey’, borrowed from Tangut, i.e. Middle Kitan *pɔ 𘍂反 ‹p.o› ~ 𘍂反反 ‹p.o.o› ‘monkey’.

MKit *pɔ 𘍂反 ~ 𘍂反反 ‘monkey’ ← Tangut dial. *[pɒ] ~ attested Tangut 𗋕 ☆ba ‘ape’.[99]

This is evidence of relatively late Tibeto-Burman influence on a Serbi language. The attested Tangut word 𗋕 ‘ape’ is usually reconstructed as ☆ba based on its Tangut *fan-ch’ieh* spelling, but its Old Mandarin transcription, *pɔ [跋][100] (MSC *bá*), suggests a different reading. See the ‘Phagspa Chinese transcription of this syllable in Late Old Mandarin.[101]

[99] The attested Tangut form is from Li Fanwen (1997: 360, §2174). The Tangut → Kitan etymology and the variant reading are my own proposals. Guillaume Jacques (p.c., July 2016) upholds Li Fanwen’s ☆ba reading, but agrees with the possibility of a Tangut dialect form *[pɒ] for this word. I originally proposed *[pɔ], which G. Jacques revised to *[pɒ].

[100] See Li Fanwen (1997: 360 §2174) for this Mandarin transcription.

[101] Coblin (2007).

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Middle Mongol ke'ü-n *'child, son, boy'*

The Middle Mongol word *ke'ü-n* 'child, son, boy' (plural *ke'ü-t*)[102] and its diminutive *ke'üken* 'small child' (with the diminutive suffix *-KAn*)[103] is cognate to Middle Kitan *ku 'boy, son, younger daughter',[104] from Proto-Serbi-Mongolic *k^{h}əβ͡ɣu ~ *k^{h}uβ͡ɣə 'child'. As such, this word is both semantically and phonologically comparable to Old Koguryo *ku 'child'[105] and MSJ 子 (こ *ko*) 'child'. Considering the documented historical contact between early Serbi-Mongolic and Japanese-Koguryoic peoples[106] and the relative phonological complexity of the reconstructible Serbi-Mongolic form, this seems to be an early Serbi-Mongolic loanword in Japanese-Koguryoic.

OKog *ku, MSJ *ko* < PJK ← PSM *k^{h}əβ͡ɣu ~ *k^{h}uβ͡ɣə 'son, child' > > MMgl *ke'ü ~ ke'ü-n* 'child, son'[107] > Khalkha **хүү** [huː ~ xuː] 'son, boy'.

Written Mongol *köbegün*, Khamnigan [k^{h}uˈβoːŋ],[108] Buryat [xubuːŋ], Oirat *köwüün ~ küwüün* (Written Oirat *küböün*)[109] 'son, boy' and the bookish literary Khalkha variant **хөвгүүн** [hөwˈɣuŋ ~ xөwˈɣuŋ] 'son, boy' are reflexes

[102] For attestations of this word and its cognates, see entry for MKit *ku in Chapter Eight.

[103] See Poppe (1954: 42, §124) for this etymology.

[104] MKit 𘍞𘐪 ‹k.u› 'younger daughter' ~ 𘐀𘐪 ‹k.u› 'son, boy'. See Chapter Seven §7.3.2.1.5.2 'Cardinal Numerals' and Chapter Eight entry for MKit *ku for sources and discussion.

[105] See Beckwith (2007a) for the reconstruction of this Old Koguryo form.

[106] See §9.3 'A Possible Homeland' below.

[107] This eastern MMgl dialect form was in variation with western MMgl *ke'ü-n*. See Poppe (1927a: 1022) for the western dialectal variant.

[108] This Khamnigan form was provided by Khamnigan speaker †Bazarsadiin Tsendjaw (p.c., in Dadal county, Khentii province, Mongolia, summer 2006).

[109] See Kara (1958: 149) for the Oirat forms.

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of the Middle Mongol dialect form *kübe'ün* 'son',[110] from a Pre-Proto-Mongolic variant form *k^{h}uβə-ɣU-n 'son, boy' (< *k^{h}uβə).

Khamnigan [k^{h}u^{l}βoːŋ], Buryat [xubuːŋ], Oirat *köwüün* ~ *küwüün* 'son, boy' < MMgl dial. *kübü'ü-n* < PMgl *k^{h}ubəɣun < pre-PMgl *k^{h}uβə-ɣU-n < PSM *k^{h}ə$\widehat{\beta\gamma}$u ~ *k^{h}u$\widehat{\beta\gamma}$ə → PJK > OKog *ku, MSJ *ko* 'child'.

Middle Mongol čisu *: Old Japanese* *ti *'blood'*

Modern Khalkha **цус** [ts^{h}ʊs] 'blood' and its modern cognates are reflexes of attested Middle Mongol *čisu* 'blood'.[111] Internal reconstruction methods applied to Mongolic comparanda allow us to analyze the Middle Mongol word as a reflex of Pre-Proto-Mongolic *t^{h}ɪ-sU, which must be from Proto-Serbi-Mongolic *t^{h}ɪ 'blood', closely resembling Old Japanese *ti 'blood, milk, etc.' > MSJ *chi* ち 'blood'.[112] There are also good comparanda in Tibeto-Burman, e.g. Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ti 'water' (Ben. 26). All these forms may ultimately be loanwords from Early Old Chinese.[113]

MMgl *čisu-n* 'blood' < PMgl *č^{h}ɪsʊ < pre-PMgl *t^{h}ɪ-sU < PSM *t^{h}ɪ : OJpn *ti 'blood, milk, etc.' : PTB *ti 'water' : EOC *tî 'water'.

See Appendix D for discussion of the pre-Proto-Mongolic suffix *-sU.

[110] I.e. MMgl in 'Phagspa Script *k^{h}ubəɦun 'son'; see Chapter Eight entry for MKit *ku for attestations and the orthographic form..

[111] E.g. attested early MMgl *čisu* [赤速] 'blood (血)' (*SHM* §201) ~ *čisun* [赤孫] 'blood (血)' (*SHM* §131) and attested late MMgl *čisu* [جيسو] ~ *čisun* [جيسون] ~ [جيصُون] (*MAA*, *IM*; Poppe 1938: 135, 435a).

[112] This connection was suggested by Christopher I. Beckwith (p.c., March 23, 2011).

[113] See Beckwith (2007a) for the Early Old Chinese reconstruction and for the comparison with Japanese-Koguryoic.

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Written Mongol and Middle Mongol *čisu-n* ‘blood’ have been compared to Middle Kitan *čiši 𘮩𘮿𘮬 ‹č.i.ši›, which Kane (2009), Shimunek (2007), and others have interpreted as denoting ‘blood, blood relatives’, ultimately following Shiratori (1913).[114] However, attestations of this Kitan word in the extant Kitan texts provide no clear indication of these meanings. This Kitan wordform, whose semantic value is not yet known, is possibly an unrelated word with no connection to Middle Mongol ‘blood’ or to the Middle Kitan verbal noun *čišid-bəñ attested in Kitan Assembled Script variously as 𘮩𘮿𘮬𘯀𘰾𘲦 ‹č.i.ši.d.b.ñ› ~ 𘮩𘮿𘮬𘯀𘰾𘲦 ‹č.i.ši.d.b.əñ› ~ 𘮩𘮿𘮬𘯀𘰾 ‹č.i.ši.d.bəñ› and glossed as ‘filial piety, filial (孝)’ in the *Liao Shih* 遼史 and other Chinese sources.

Middle Mongol döyi *‘younger sister’* ~ de’ü *‘younger brother’*

The attested Middle Mongol words *döyi* ‘younger sister’[115] and *de’ü* ‘younger brother’[116] share remarkable phonological and semantic resemblance to Proto-Tibeto-Burman *doy ‘younger sibling’ (Ben. 67, §309) as well as to Old Chinese. Baxter reconstructs Chinese 弟 ‘younger brother’ as *dɨyʔ (Bax. 754) for unperiodized ‘Old Chinese’. Following Beckwith (2007a), the glottal stop in this reconstruction should be revised to a voiced uvular fricative. We thus

[114] Kane (2009) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010) employ this meaning. Shiratori originally proposed a connection between the Kitan (precisely ‘Late Kitan’ in my terminology) word form *čišid-bəñ [赤寔得本] ‘filial piety (孝)’ (my reconstruction) and WMgl *čisu* ‘blood’ (Shiratori 1913: 28-30). Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 116) further claim that the *-sU suffix (or *-s- as they propose) “was already present in the common Pre-Proto-Mongolic lineage ancestor of the Proto-Mongolic and Para-Mongolic lineages.” This claim is based on their interpretation of the semantically unidentified word 𘮩𘮿𘮬 discussed above. In fact, there is significant counterevidence demonstrating that *-sU is a morphological innovation unique to the Mongolic branch (see Appendix D for details).

[115] E.g. attested early MMgl *döyi* [朶宜] ‘younger sister (妹子)’ (*SHM* §165).

[116] E.g. attested early MMgl *de’ü* [迭兀] ‘younger brother (弟)’ (*SHM* §18).

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arrive at *dɨyʁ as the partially periodized, approximately Late Old Chinese form of the word. Middle Mongol *de'ü* 'younger brother' is cognate to Middle Kitan *dəw 'younger brother'.[117] The following etymology seems likely:

> MMgl *döyi* 'younger sister' < < PSM ← PTB *doy 'younger sibling' ← 弟 LOC *dɨyʁ 'younger brother' → ? PSM *dəɣu > PMgl > MMgl *de'ü* 'younger brother'.

Clearly this is a shared lexical item between Serbi-Mongolic, Tibeto-Burman, and Old Chinese, most likely a Late Old Chinese loanword into Serbi-Mongolic and Tibeto-Burman, with a doublet in Serbi-Mongolic borrowed through Tibeto-Burman.

Written Mongol kiru- ~ kira- *: Japanese* kir- *: Manchu* giri- *: Turkic* qɨr- ~ kert-

Kara (2007) notes "remarkable phonetic and semantic uniformity" among Japanese *kir-* 'to cut',[118] Manchu *giri-* 'to cut, trim', Written Mongol *kiru-* ~ *kira-* 'to mince', and Middle Turkic *qɨr-* 'to scrape'.[119] Note also modern Khalkha **хэрч-** /xɛrčʰ-/ [hɛr̥ʧ- ~ hɪr̥ʧ-] 'to mince, chop', Early Middle Korean ☆kartsɨ- 'cut',[120] and Middle Turkic *kert-* 'to make an incision'. Given the documented historical fact that the ancestors of the Japanese lived in Liao-hsi near the early Serbi-Mongolic peoples,[121] these must be loanwords among

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[117] Chinggeltei (2002), Kara (2005), Kane (2009), etc.

[118] I.e. 切る (きる) in modern Japanese orthography, morphemically *kir-u*.

[119] Kara (2007: 96), commenting on Robbeets (2005: 383).

[120] As in the deverbal noun ☆kartsɨ-kay [割子蓋] 'scissors (剪刀)' < ☆kartsɨ- 'to cut' + ☆-kay 'deverbal noun suffix' in *Kyerim Yusa*; see Shimunek (forthcoming, a). On the morphological structure of this word and its MSK reflex *kawi* 가위 'scissors', see Lee Ki-Moon & Ramsey (2011: 91, 146).

[121] Beckwith (2007a).

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Japanese-Koguryoic, Serbi-Mongolic, Tungusic, and Turkic, and suggest ethnolinguistic contact, or more likely, multiple contact events. The phonological complexity of the Mongol form, and the fact that Serbi-Mongolic speakers were politically dominant in North China and Mongolia at numerous points throughout Antiquity, may suggest that an early Serbi-Mongolic dialect or dialects are the donors to the Japanese, Tungusic, and Turkic forms.

Given attested Tokharian B *kärst-* ~ *karst-* 'to cut', *kertte* 'sword', and Tokharian A *kärst-* 'to cut' < < PIE *(s)ker- 'to cut', ultimately an Indo-European etymology seems likely for the Mongolic, Japanese, Koreanic, and Tungusic forms.[122]

Tibeto-Burman gar- *'leave' : Middle Mongol* qar- *'emerge, leave'*

This is another shared lexical item between Tibeto-Burman and Serbi-Mongolic. The Serbi-Mongolic form is not attested before Middle Mongol, although it can be reconstructed for Proto-Mongolic as *gar- 'emerge, leave' on the basis of reflexes in the modern Mongolic daughter languages.[123] This correspondence probably suggests an early Tibeto-Burman—Serbi-Mongolic contact event. I propose the following etymology:

> PTB *gar 'leave' (Ben. 19) ↔ PMgl *gar- 'emerge, 'leave' > MMgl *qar-* 'emerge, go out'[124] > Khalkha **гар-** [qar-] ~ Buryat [ɢar-] ~ Khamnigan [ɢar-] 'id.'

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[122] Róna-Tas (1974: 503) proposes that Old Turkic *kert-* 'to make an incision' (a verb possibly related to *qır-* 'to scrape'), is a borrowing from Tokharian. The Tokharian and PIE forms I provide above are from his article. The phonological similarity to 契 LMC ☆k^{h}ɛr 'carve, cut a notch' (revised from Pul. 254) is also remarkable.

[123] See Sun et al. (1990: 285) for reflexes of this word in the modern Mongolic daughter languages.

[124] E.g. attested early MMgl *qar-* [中合舌而] ~ [中合児] (*HIIY* 1:18b3; *SHM* §26) and late MMgl *qar-*, attested in the past as *qar-ba* [قَربا] (*Leid.* 75a-02-1-2).

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The directionality of this borrowing is not clear, but given the homeland of the Tibeto-Burman peoples in Amdo (Ch'inghai-Kansu),[125] very near to the Serbi-Mongolic homeland, this is probably a borrowing between these two independent language families.

MKit *uy ~ *MMgl* üyile *'deed, matter, affair' : OChi* 爲 *'do'*

Kane notes the phonological and semantic correspondence between Kitan 火 ‹ui› 'matter, affair (事)' and "Mongol [and] Manchu *weile*" (2009: 106). This spurious Mongol form "*weile*" should be corrected to attested Middle Mongol *üyile* 'deed, matter, affair, action'.[126] Relevant comparanda exists in many Tungusic languages. Tsintsius gives the following forms and etymologies:[127]

> Ewenki *uləhit* 'worker' ← Sakha *ülesit* 'worker' < *üle* 'work, job'.[128]
> Ewen *ulə* 'work, job' ← Sakha *üle* 'work, job'.
> Ulcha *uylə-* 'to work' ← Manchu ← Mgl.
> Uilta *uilə* ~ *uylə* 'work, job, labor' and *uilə-* ~ *uylə-* 'to work, labor, toil, work on, dress (an animal pelt), create, make' ← Manchu ← Mgl.
> Nanai *uylə-* 'to work, labor, toil, work on, dress (an animal pelt), create, make' ← Manchu ← Mgl.
> Manchu *wəilə-* 'to work, engage in a handicraft, build, create' ~ *wəilən* 'work, job, handicraft, craftsmanship, construction, building, creation, labor' ~ *uylə-* 'to serve, look after, care for' ~ *uylən* 'service, service (to one's parents)' ← Mgl.

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[125] See footnote in §9.3 'A Possible Homeland' below.

[126] See entry for MKit *uy 'matter, deed, affair' in Chapter Eight for attestations of this MMgl form.

[127] Tsintsius (1975-1977: 266a-266b).

[128] Clearly, the Sakha form *üle* 'work' is a loanword from Middle Mongol *üyile* 'matter, deed, affair'. Otto Böhtlingk, in his *Wörterbuch* (1851: 50), compared Sakha "ÿlä" (i.e. *üle*) with WMgl *üile*. Böhtlingk (1851) identified many Sakha-Mongol lexical correspondences.

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Note also Jurchen *wəilə 支 ‹weile› [委勒] ‘matter, deed, affair (事)’ (*NT* 27, 95).

Literary Chinese 爲 MSC *wéi* ‘to do, make’ is attested in Late Middle Chinese in Old Tibetan Script as *’u* ཝ *[ɣu ~ ɦu] ~ *yu* ཡུ *[ju] ~ *’yu* འཡུ *[ɣju ~ ɦju] and in Khotanese Brahmi transcription as *uvi* (Tak. 330-331 #0298). Assuming these variant transcriptions represent a single phonological form, I reconstruct attested LMC 爲 *ɦyuy *[ɦjuj] ‘to do, make’. The tradition-based Middle Chinese reading is ☆wi (Pul. 320). Tradition-based unperiodized ‘Old Chinese’ reconstructions include *w(r)jaj (Bax. 794) and *wjaj (Sch. 635b), which I revise to *wyay. There are also attested Late Old Chinese transcriptions of Indic Buddhist terms which provide clues on the LOC value of this grapheme, e.g. the Gāndhārī Prakrit word equivalent to the city name known in Sanskrit as *uruvilvā* and Pali *uruvelā* (*PED*) is transcribed in LOC as [優爲羅]; Coblin reconstructs 爲 as “*ɣjwei” (Coblin 1983: 254), i.e. *ɣywei in my transcription system. To the best of my knowledge, there is no foreign transcriptional evidence supporting the proposed initial “*ɣ” for this word in Late Old Chinese. Thus, I revise Coblin’s reconstruction to *ywey.

Given the phonological and semantic resemblance between the Serbi-Mongolic forms and the Chinese forms, it is highly likely that this is an Early Middle Chinese or Late Old Chinese loanword in Serbi-Mongolic. Given the existence of numerous other Late Old Chinese loanwords in Serbi-Mongolic, this is probably best analyzed as a LOC → SM loan. I thus propose the following etymology:

> 爲 LOC *wyay/*ywey ‘do, make’ → PSM *uyi ‘deed, matter, affair’ (cf. MKit *uy ‘id.’) > *uyi + *-lA- ‘denominal verb suffix’ > *uyi-lə- ‘to do’ (cf. STung *uylə-* ‘to work’) > *uyilə ‘deed, matter, affair’ ~ *uyilə-n (cf. Jurchen *wəilə* ~ Manchu *wəilən*) > MMgl *üyile* ‘id.’ (cf. Sakha *üle*) > Modern Khalkha **үйл** [uiɮ] ‘action’.

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The early Serbi-Mongolic peoples are known to have engaged in agriculture.[129] It is thus no surprise that there are words for suids in the earliest attested Serbi-Mongolic languages:

Table 87. Early Serbi-Mongolic words for 'pig, boar'

Taghbach	Middle Kitan	Middle Mongol
*qɔw 'pig, boar'	*uy/*wi 'pig, boar'	*qaqai* 'pig' ~ *qaban* 'wild boar'

Middle Kitan *uy/*wi 火 ‹ui› 'pig, boar'[130] is a lexeme shared with Japanese-Koguryoic: note Old Japanese *wi and Old Koguryo *ʊ 'id.'[131] As shown elsewhere in this chapter, it is historically well attested that the Japanese-Koguryoic peoples once had extensive contact with the Serbi. This is thus a loanword between Kitan and Japanese-Koguryoic.

The attested Taghbach word for 'pig, boar', *qɔw [侯],[132] is cognate to Written Mongol *qobosu-n* > Modern Khalkha **ховс** [χɔu̯s ~ hɔu̯s] 'two-year-old boar'. This may be taken as further evidence of a *-sU suffix in pre-Proto-Mongolic. I thus reconstruct Proto-Serbi-Mongolic *k^{h}ɔb or *k^{h}ɔbʊ 'two-year-old boar'.

Middle Mongol *qaqai* 'pig'[133] has the following cognates in modern Mongolic daughter languages:[134]

[129] Pulleyblank (1983).

[130] E.g. *YChüeh* (34: 16). See also Kane (2009: 8, 66-67, 176-177).

[131] See Beckwith (2007a) for these Old Japanese and Old Koguryo forms.

[132] *WS* (113: 3006).

[133] E.g. attested early MMgl *qaqai* [中合中孩] 'pig (豬児)' (*SHM* §166).

[134] Most of the forms here are from Sun et al. (1990: 289) unless noted otherwise. The Khalkha form is my own transcription. See also Ma & Ch'en (2001: 210b) for the Santa form, written in Santa orthography as *khighei*. The Kalmyk forms are my interpretations of Ramstedt's transcriptions (1935: 141b). The Khamnigan form is from my 2006 and 2009 fieldwork in Binder county and Dadal county, Khentii province, Mongolia.

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Table 88. Words for ‘pig’ in the modern Mongolic daughter languages

Language	Form
Daur	[gɑgɑ]
Shira Yoghor	[qəɢɑi]
Mongghul	[xɢɑi]
Santa	[qɯɢəi]
Baonang	[ɢai][135] ~ [ɢəi][136]
Booŋan	[ɢari][137]
Kojia	[ɢaʁai] ~ [ɢəʁai][138]
Khalkha	[qɑˈχæ]
Chakhar	[kɑˈxɛ]
Kharachin	[kɛˈxɛ]
Buryat	[ɢɑχɑi]
Khamnigan	[ɢaχaæ̯]
Kalmyk	[ɢɑχɑ] ~ [ɢɑˈχæ]

The phonological differences between Middle Mongol *qaqai* ‘pig’, *qaban* ‘wild boar’,[139] and Written Mongol *qobosun* ‘two-year-old boar’ are very likely due to dialectal variation. One may suppose there were at least three early Serbi-Mongolic dialectal variants, *gak^{h}a-/*gaga- ~ *k^{h}aba- ~ *k^{h}ɔbɔ-, all denoting suids.[140]

[135] Buhe & Liu (1982: 88).

[136] This is my interpretation of Todaeva’s Cyrillic transcription “ҕэi” (1964: 138).

[137] Fried (2010: 139).

[138] Sechinchogt (1999: 288a).

[139] E.g. attested MMgl *qaban* [中合班] ‘wild boar (野豬)’ (*HIIY* 1.05b3).

[140] Bertagaev (1969) gives evidence of an early *g ~ *b alternation in Mongolic (1969: 139-140) and an *ɔ ~ *a alternation (1969: 157-159). Other indications of free variation between *-g- ~ *-b- in early Mongolic (or early Serbi-Mongolic) were advanced by Poppe (1955, 1976, etc.), e.g. *debel* ~ *degel* ‘robe’. The word *kaban* ~ *qaban* is widely attested in Turkic, and was borrowed into Russian (cf. modern Russian **кабан** ‘boar’), probably from Turkic. To the best of my knowledge the word is not attested in Old Turkic;

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Thus, the fact that we can reconstruct a specific word for a 'wild boar in the second year' provides linguistic evidence that suids played an important role in the early formative history of the Serbi-Mongolic peoples, contrary to popular belief.

9.3. A Possible Homeland

Although the sources do not provide a great deal of information on the Eastern Hu (東胡), we have important clues on their two main constituent peoples—the Serbi (鮮卑) and the Awar (烏桓). Regarding their geographic location, the *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書 account of the Serbi crucially mentions that the Serbi were not originally from Mongolia, but in fact *moved* there after the Northern Hsiung-nu fled sometime around 100 A.D., during or shortly after the Yung-yüan reign period (89-105 A.D.).[141]

> 和帝永元中大將軍竇憲遣右校尉耿夔擊破匈奴北單于逃走鮮卑因此轉徙據其地
> "In the Yung-yüan reign period of Emperor Ho-ti (89-105), the great general Tou-hsien dispatched Commander of the Right, Keng-k'uei, to attack and defeat the Hsiung-nu; the northern *ch'an-yü* (*darɣa)[142] fled, and the Hsien-pei (Serbi) thereupon turned around and moved, occupying their land" (*HHS* 90: 2986).

Thus, despite common belief, the Serbi-Mongolic peoples were not originally from the Mongolian plateau; as this passage clearly indicates, the early Serbi-Mongolic peoples were originally from somewhere around southeastern Inner Mongolia and the Liao-hsi region.

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it is probably a loanword from Middle Mongol or an earlier Mongolic language, i.e. Mongolic → Turkic → Russian.

[141] I thank C. I. Beckwith for advice on this passage (p.c., 2010).

[142] See Beckwith (2009: 387, n. 7) for the reconstruction of this important Hsiung-nu title.

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Early sources also mention the Serbi living in close proximity to early Japanese-Koguryoic peoples. As early as the time of T'an-shih-huai (136-181 A.D), the Serbi people are documented as sharing borders with Puyo-Koguryoic peoples such as the 夫餘 Puyŏ and the 貊 Maek (probably an abbreviation for the 濊貊 Ye-Maek).[143]

The *Hou Han Shu* discusses the fact that the Wa people (倭人), ancestors of the Japanese, lived in Liao-hsi near the Serbi, who made them their subjects and had them fish for them to help alleviate their food supply problems.[144]

> 光和元年... 種衆日多田畜射獵不足給食檀石槐乃自徇行見烏侯秦水廣從數百里水停不流其中有魚不能得之聞倭人善網捕於是東擊倭人國得千餘家徙置秦水上令捕魚以助糧食
>
> "In the first year of the Kuang-ho reign period [178 A.D.]… The tribe's [i.e. the Serbi's] population was increasing daily, and their crops, livestock, and wild game were not enough to provide sustenance. T'an-shih-huai thereupon personally travelled all around, and saw the wide Wu-hou-ch'in River [i.e. Lao-ha River]. He followed the river for 100 *li* to a place where the river water did not flow. In the river were fish, but he was unable to catch them. He heard that the Wa people were skilled at net fishing, so they went east and attacked the Country of the Wa People, obtaining over 1,000 families and moving them to the Ch'in [Wu-hou-ch'in] River, ordering them to fish as a means of helping supplement their [i.e. the Serbi's] grain and other food supplies" (*HHS* 90: 2994).

These sources provide a historical context for the identifiable shared lexical items between Serbi-Mongolic and Japanese-Koguryoic, i.e. 'blood', 'monkey', 'child', possibly 'plough', and the Middle Kitan word for 'pig'. It is quite clear that the Proto-Serbi-Mongolic people lived in close proximity to the Japanese-Koguryoic peoples in their formative early history.

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[143] *SKC* (30: 837-838).

[144] Kiyose (2001: 136-137) and Beckwith (2007a).

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The historical-comparative data on the Proto-Serbi-Mongolic language confirms that its speakers lived in close proximity to the Chinese in the Late Old Chinese period, i.e. Ch'in-Han. This accords well with the documented history of the earliest known Serbi-Mongolic peoples, the Eastern Hu, who lived north of Ch'in. Some words in the Old Chinese layer have good comparanda in Tibeto-Burman (e.g. 'blood', 'younger sibling'), indicating that early Tibeto-Burman peoples, early Serbi-Mongolic peoples, early Japanese-Koguryoic peoples, and Chinese lived in generally the same area at the times of these borrowings. In other words, the linguistic evidence suggests that the speakers of Proto-Serbi-Mongolic lived approximately in what is now eastern and southern Inner Mongolia, possibly extending into Amdo,[145] northeastern Inner Mongolia, and the territory of present-day northeastern China, given the identifiable early Serbi-Mongolic loanwords in Tungusic and the assumed (although not yet demonstrated) Tungusic homeland in northeastern China.

The correspondences and loanwords discussed in this chapter provide important clues on the culture and lifestyle of the Proto-Serbi-Mongolic speakers, supplementing the documented history of the Serbi-Mongolic peoples and their neighbors. From these lexical correspondences, we may conclude that the speakers of Proto-Serbi-Mongolic engaged in agriculture (e.g. PSM *anǰa ~ *anda 'plough') and swine husbandry or boar hunting (e.g. PSM *k^{h}ɔb or *k^{h}ɔbɔ 'boar in the second year' and MKit *uy/*wi 'pig, boar'), made use of silk textiles from China (e.g. PSM *mında 'silk thread'), used basket weaving techniques borrowed from Ch'in-Han China (e.g. PSM *arʊg 'basket'), and engaged in archery and shot arrows from horseback (e.g. PSM *ñamña- 'shoot arrows from horseback'). Most of these cultural and technological developments occurred as a result of ethnolinguistic contact among the early Serbi-Mongolic peoples, early Japanese-Koguryoic peoples, Old Chinese speakers, Tibeto-Burman peoples, and Tungusic peoples. We thus have a good preliminary understanding of the cultural inventory of the Proto-Serbi-Mongolic speakers.

[145] The Tibeto-Burman homeland is believed to be Amdo (Beckwith 1987: 5).

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CHAPTER TEN:
CONCLUSION

In this book, I have given an account of the Serbi languages and their divergent relationship with the Mongolic languages. Throughout the book I have illustrated that standard historical-comparative linguistic methods, in addition to careful philology with considerations from attested history, are the best methods to elucidate the origins of a given language, demonstrate language family theories, and identify evidence of early ethnolinguistic contact events.

Prompted by the shortcomings and inadequacies of the existing theories on the origins of the Mongolic and Serbi languages, this monograph set out to construct a scientific, potentially falsifiable Serbi-Mongolic language family theory. Returning to the hypothesis posed at the beginning of this study, it is now possible to state that Serbi-Mongolic is a valid, demonstrable language family, with numerous identifiable contact events with neighboring ethnolinguistic groups at various points in its formative early history.

Specifically, I have shown that systematic, regular sound correspondences exist among the Taghbach, Kitan, T'u-yü-hun, and Mongolic languages and that a rich system of shared functional morphology exists among the Serbi and Mongolic branches. I have also shown that the Mongolic branch is characterized by anomalous morphological and phonological innovations distinguishing it from the Serbi languages, and that although Mongolic and Serbi are demonstrably divergently related, they represent two different daughter branches of Proto-Serbi-Mongolic, with mutually exclusive innovations in phonology and functional morphology. Some of these innovations are given in Table 89 and Table 90 below:

Table 89. Phonological innovations distinguishing Mongolic and Serbi

Mongolic innovations (CSM > PMgl)	Serbi innovations (CSM > PSer)
*p > *h	*ɔ > *a / _$C_{[dorsal]}$
*#ñ > *#n	*ze > *ži
*Vñ# > *Vi#	*se > *ši
*z > *s	*VbV > *Vw(V)
*wə > *ə	*wə > *ɔ

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Table 90. Mongolic morphological innovations

Pre-Proto-Mongolic	Proto-Serbi
*-sU	Ø
*-ɣA	Ø
*-ɣU	Ø
*-bA	Ø

The results of the investigation also indicate that there have been numerous ethnolinguistic contact events in the attested history and inferable prehistory of the Serbi-Mongolic language family, including contact with several periods of Chinese, Japanese-Koguryoic, Tibeto-Burman, Tungusic, Indo-European, and later, Turkic. Careful study of these early contacts has allowed for a tentative identification of the Serbi-Mongolic homeland and important clues on the culture and lifestyle of the Proto-Serbi-Mongolic speakers.

The current findings—the first rigorous and systematic, unified theory on the origins of the Mongolic and Serbi languages—add substantially to our understanding of the linguistic geography of early Eastern Eurasia, and to the ethnolinguistic history of the Mongolic peoples. This book has also gone some way towards enhancing our understanding of attested Late Middle Chinese phonology, Northern Wei Chinese phonology, and northeastern Early Old Mandarin. Moreover, it is the first study to present linguistic sketches of Taghbach, T'u-yü-hun, and Kitan, the first systematic comparison of Middle Kitan and Middle Mongol functional morphological paradigms, and the first reconstruction of Common Serbi-Mongolic phonology, morphology, and lexicon. In addition, this book offers a revised approach to the Kitan Assembled Script and Kitan phonology, including the first periodization of the Kitan language, into Old Kitan, Middle Kitan, and Late Kitan.

The methods used in demonstrating the Serbi-Mongolic family, and in addressing the Chinese and Tibetan transcriptions of linguistic data, modeled in part on Beckwith's (2007a) approach to the Chinese transcriptions of the Japanese-Koguryoic languages, may be applied to other early languages transcribed in Chinese and Tibetan. We may successfully apply many of the same methods utilized in this book to the reconstruction of other important early Eastern Eurasian languages, such as Silla Korean (the earliest attested

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Koreanic language), Jou-jan (Rouran), Archaic Turkic, Hsiung-nu (Xiongnu), and numerous others.

The greatest limitation of this study is the fact that no frequency counts, and no computational corpora in general, exist for Middle Mongol or Kitan. Owing to the lack of such frequency counts, and the lack of substantial computational linguistic work on the Serbi-Mongolic languages, this shortcoming has been unavoidable. It is recommended that further research be undertaken toward producing computational, frequency-based corpora of Middle Mongol and Middle Kitan morphemes. Frequency counts of Modern Khalkha Mongolian morphemes are likewise necessary. Corpus linguistics has much to contribute to the field of historical-comparative linguistics, and research should be undertaken in this area to further elucidate the Serbi-Mongolic theory.

More work on the reconstruction of Old Chinese and Middle Chinese would help us to establish a greater degree of accuracy in the treatment of Chinese transcriptional data. Considerably more work needs to be done on the foreign transcriptions of Middle Chinese, such as the Nestorian Inscription, Old Tibetan, Old Uygur, and Khotanese Brahmi transcriptions of Middle Chinese, and additional work on Old Chinese reconstruction and foreign words transcribed in Old Chinese is absolutely necessary to arrive at a more accurate treatment of the earliest Serbi-Mongolic onomastic data.

Further research might explore Kitan syntax, a largely untouched and potentially fruitful area of study. Work in this vein is likely to shed light on comparative Serbi-Mongolic sentence structure, and allow for a more complete reconstruction of Common Serbi-Mongolic syntax.

Despite these shortcomings and limitations, this monograph—an interdisciplinary endeavor spanning the fields of linguistics, Central Eurasian Studies, Chinese, and history—rigorously and systematically demonstrates the Serbi-Mongolic divergent language family theory using accepted scientific methods.

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APPENDIX A

TOWARD A REVISED ANALYSIS OF THE KITAN ASSEMBLED SCRIPT

This appendix presents my readings of Kitan Assembled Script graphemes appearing in this book. For the currently most complete list of Kitan Assembled Script graphemes, see Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010). See also Kane (2009).

My readings of certain graphemes deserve special attention. See below for discussion:

1. Phonologically Conditioned Readings

Graphemes with Default Vowels

I agree with Kane (2009) that certain Kitan Assembled Script graphemes have default (or 'inherent') vowels; however, my analysis differs with regard to the specific graphemes, the vowels, and the phonological conditions that determine the variant readings. Specifically, the graphemes , , , ,  and  have different readings depending on the phonological environments in which they occur—word-initial, post-consonantal, and post-vocalic. See the tables below for details:

Table 91. Phonologically conditioned readings of the grapheme 

Grapheme	My reading	Word-initially	After C		After V	
	‹^{e}r›	?	*[ər]	 ‹d.ur.^{e}r› *durər 'fourth (*masc.*)'	*[r]	 ‹go.^{e}r› *gɔr 'tent'

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Table 92. Phonologically conditioned readings of the grapheme 叉

Grapheme	My reading	Word-initially	After C	After V
叉	‹^{e}ñ›	*[əñ] 叉岑 ‹^{e}ñ.e› *əñə ‘now’	*[əñ] 屮叉 ‹l.^{e}ñ› *-ləñ ‘past tense suffix’	*[ñ] 买叉 ‹qɪta.^{e}ñ› *qɪtañ ‘Kitan’

Table 93. Phonologically conditioned readings of the grapheme 禾

Grapheme	My reading	Word-initially	After C	After V
禾	‹^{i}ši›	*[iši] 禾 ‹^{i}ši› *iši ‘nine’	*[iši] 朴关禾公舟伏 ‹č.i.^{i}ši.d.b.ñ› *čišid-bəñ ‘filial-PST’	*[ši] 分禾伏 ‹pu.^{i}ši.ñ› *pušiñ ‘lady’

Table 94. Phonologically conditioned readings of the grapheme 丐

Grapheme	My reading	Word-initially	After C	After V
丐	‹^{a}d›	?	*[ad] 今丐反扎 ‹t.^{a}d.o.oγ› *ta-dɔʁ ‘fifth’	*[d] 公丐生丐 ‹n.^{a}d› ‹^{e}bu.^{a}d›[1] *nadbud ‘tent palace (捺鉢)’

The variant readings of the grapheme 生 appear to be lexically determined, with the post-consonantal reading *[bu] in certain words but *[əbu] in other words. See below for examples:

[1] See Kane (2009: 56 §2.176) for this wordform. The reading presented above is my own.

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Table 95. Phonologically conditioned readings of the grapheme 𐲉

Grapheme	My reading	Word-initially	After C	After V
𐲉	‹ᵉbu›	*[əbu] 𐲉 ‹ᵉbu› *əbu ‘forefather’	*[bu] 𐲀𐲍𐲉𐲍 ‹n.ᵃd› ‹ᵉbu.ᵃd› *nadbud ‘tent palace (捺鉢)’	?
			*[əbu] 𐲁𐲉𐲊 ‹č·ᵉbu.ɣ› *čəbuʁ ‘Tsu-pu (阻卜)’[2]	

Graphemes with Non-Linearly Associated Vowels

At least one grapheme has an associated vowel which is not linearly fixed. The variant readings are phonologically conditioned, with CV appearing word-initally, but VC after consonants. See the table below for examples:

Table 96. Phonologically conditioned readings of the grapheme 𐲋

	My reading	Word-initially	After C	After V
𐲋	‹ɣo› ~ ‹oɣ›	*[ɢɔ] 𐲋𐲌𐲊𐲎 ‹ɣo.l.ɣ.ᵉr› *ɢəlʁər ‘seen’	*[ɔʁ] 𐲅𐲋𐲏 ‹m.oɣ.o› *mɔʁɔ ‘snake’ 𐲊𐲋𐲁 ‹ɣ.oɣ.en› *ɢɔʁən ‘river-G’	*[ʁ] 𐲁𐲌𐲏𐲋 ‹ar.u.o.oɣ› *aruʁ ‘assistance’[3]

[2] The Tsu-pu 阻卜 ~ 阻鞬 ~ Chu-pu-ku 朮不姑 were a confederacy including the Tatar, Kereyit, and certain other peoples of the Mongolian Plateau in the centuries before the rise of Temüjin and the Mongol Empire. Their name is attested in Middle Kitan as *čəbuqu 𐲁𐲉𐲎 ‹č.ebu.qu› (*HsHu* 4: 14), *čəbuqɔ 𐲁𐲉𐲇 ‹č.ebu.qo› (*Jen-hsien* 39: 40; 51: 52), *čəbuʁ 𐲁𐲉𐲊 ‹č.ebu.ɣ› (*HsTi* 27: 26), and in the compound *čəbuqɔ *tadar 𐲁𐲉𐲇 𐲀𐲍𐲁 ‹č.ebu.qo› ‹t.ad.ar› ‘Tsu-pu Tatar’ (*Hsü* 17: 3; *Jen-hsien* 39: 40; 51: 52; 56: 14). Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010) identify *tadar 𐲀𐲍𐲁 as the Kitan form of the ethnonym ‘Tatar’.

[3] This word is attested in *Tao* (5: 32) in the Kitan reign period name 𐲈 𐲁𐲋𐲏𐲍𐲋 which, as shown by Kane, corresponds to Chinese Ch’ien-t’ung 乾統 ‘Celestial Government’ (2009:

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In runiform Old Turkic, a literary language which possibly influenced Kitan writing at some level, there exist certain graphemes which indicate a consonant and a vowel associated with it, but which are unspecified as to the order of these two segments, i.e. in certain contexts the grapheme denotes CV while in others it denotes VC or even C only. For example, the Old Turkic runiform grapheme 𐰴 denotes ‹ɨq› in some words, but ‹qɨ› in others. Other similar CV/VC/C runiform graphemes include 𐰚 (*ök ~ ük ~ kö ~ kü ~ k*) and 𐰾 (*oq ~ uq ~ qo ~ qu ~ q*).

2. Previously Undeciphered Graphemes

The grapheme 𘬱

This grapheme often renders part of a verbal suffix, e.g. *kuyr-s… 𘬰𘬲𘬳𘬴𘬱 (*Lang* 3:12) with the verbal root *kuyr- ‘arrive’, and *ɔn-s… 𘬯𘬴𘬱 (*YHsiang* 12: 20) with the verbal root *ɔn- ‘ride’. This suffix, i.e. *-s… 𘬴𘬱, denotes a meaning similar to Preclassical Written Mongol *-γsaγar ~ -gseger* ‘abtemporal converb suffix’ (‘converbum abtemporale’ in Poppe’s Latin terminology). Note the following sentence:

161). 𘬲 denotes ‘heaven’, and as suggested by Kane, the word 𘬲𘬳𘬵𘬶 is probably formed of the same verbal root as attested Late Kitan [阿魯盌], glossed as ‘support, assist (輔佑)’ (Kane 2009: 161; *LS* 116: 1545). I reconstruct Late Kitan *aru-βəñ/*aru-βən. The *-βəñ / *-βən suffix of the LKit form is cognate to MKit (see §8.5.3 entry for MKit *-bəñ ‘past or perfective verbal noun suffix’); thus, the verbal root of the attested LKit form is *aru- ‘assist, support’ and the MKit form *aruʁ 𘬲𘬳𘬵𘬶 ‹ar.u.o.oγ› is a deverbal noun *aru-ʁ < *aru- ‘assist’ + *-ʁ ‘deverbal noun suffix’. Middle Kitan *-ʁ ‘deverbal noun suffix’ is probably cognate to MMgl /-G/ ‘deverbal noun suffix’ (WMgl *-γ ~ -g*). The Kitan reign period name thus means ‘Heavenly Assistance’.

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又化	尒今北	田	劣交中
*mir-Ø	*ɔn-**s…**	*…	*tur-bəñ
horse-ACC_{INDF}	ride-**ATMP.CVB**	…	pass.away-PST.VN

‘He died … **while** rid**ing** a horse.’ (*YHsiang* 12:19-22).[4]

Ignoring the 田 element, which is of unknown semantic and phonological value, this sentence is parallel to Written Mongol *mori unuγsaγar ükübei* ‘he died while riding a horse’, which suggests that the Middle Kitan suffix 今北 *-s… is cognate to Middle Mongol *-qsa’ar ~ -kse’er ~ -qsabar ~ -kseber* (*HIIY*) and modern Preclassical Written Mongol *-γsaγar ~ -gseger* ‘abtemporal converb suffix’. It is thus motivated to reconstruct Middle Kitan *-sawr ‘abtemporal converb suffix’, implying that the grapheme 北 should be read something like ‹awr›, possibly with archiphonemic /A/, i.e. /Awr/, realized phonetically as *[awr] in [-ATR] words and *[əwr] in [+ATR] words. Reading the grapheme 北 as ‹Awr› also offers a potential solution to the Middle Kitan name of the Qay people, i.e. 口北伏 ‹qai.Awr.ñ›,[5] possibly a compound form with the ethnonym *qay 口 ‘Qay’ and the early Serbi-Mongolic ethnonym Wu-huan 烏桓 (*awar).[6] Thus I tentatively read the grapheme 北 as ‹Awr›.

3. Kitan Assembled Script Graphemes Appearing in this Book

Unless otherwise mentioned in footnotes, the semantic and phonological readings given here are from Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010) and Kane (2009). My study is the first to identify phonologically conditioned readings of graphemes and organize them into table format.

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[4] See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 166) for the decipherment of this sentence. Note that I have revised their translation. The phonological reconstruction here is my own.

[5] See Kane (2009: 73 §2.323) for the identification of 口北伏 as the Kitan name for the Hsi 奚 (i.e. Qay) people, attested in *YP’u* (14:23, 15:24). The phonological reading given above is my own.

[6] See Chapter Two for the reconstruction of this early ethnonym.

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The graphemes are organized according to the standard numbering system in Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010).

The phonologically conditioned readings presented here are not exhaustive—they are merely a start. More work is needed to determine the variant readings of all graphemes in their attested contexts.

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	**V_**	
002	丁	‹ǰuri$^{?}$›[7]			twenty
007	丕	‹ñêm›[8]			eight
008	丕	‹ñêm$^{?}$›			eight
011	夬			‹an›	
014	亚	‹qur›[9]			
015	禿	‹ǰau›[10]			hundred
016	币		‹od›		
017	甫				
018	甫		‹in›	‹in›	
019	丙		‹iu›		
020	万	‹y›			
021	丙	‹omo›[11]			
022	甬	‹čau›[12]			
023	丙				
026	乇				one

[7] This reading is based on a Late Kitan word in Chinese transcription and Róna-Tas' reconstruction of it (2016). See §7.3.2.1.5.2 'Cardinal Numerals' and LKit *ǰuri 'twenty' in the §8.5.4 entry MKit *čur- ~ *ǰur- ~ *ǰur 'two' for discussion.

[8] Oyuunch (2014: 132-133) identified the word 伏文丕 as a variant rendering of 丕 'eight'. The reading above is my revision of his proposal.

[9] Kane (2009: 37) reads this grapheme as ‹hur›. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 259) read this as ‹húr›.

[10] Kane (2009: 37) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 259) read this as ‹jau›.

[11] As shown by Nieh & Sun (2008: 88-89) and Tang (2011: 197), this grapheme should be read not as ‹mo› (a reading which dominates the Kitanological literature), but rather ‹omo›, which I reconstruct as *ɔmɔ. See Kane (2009) and Shimunek (2007) for attestations and for the Chinese transcription of the Late Kitan form attested in *LS* (116: 1548).

[12] Kane (2009: 38) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 260) read this as ‹cau›.

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	V_	
027	𘤀				one (masculine)
028	𘤁	‹š›[13]	‹š›	‹š›	
029	𘤂	‹tau›			five
030	𘤃	‹tau$^{?}$›			five (masculine)
033	𘤄	‹iši›[14]	‹iši	‹ši›	nine
034	𘤅	‹iši$^{?}$›	‹iši$^{?}$›	‹ši$^{?}$›	nine (masculine)
036	𘤆	‹qu›[15]			
037	𘤇	‹di›			
041	𘤈			‹r›[16]	
048	𘤉				

[13] Kane (2009: 38) transcribes it as ‹ś›. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 260) transcribe this as ‹sh›.

[14] Chinggeltei proposed reading this grapheme as ‹is› partly based on "spoken Mongolian (蒙古语…口语)" [is] 'nine' (Chinggeltei 2002: 33). The specific "spoken Mongolian" dialect on which this is based was not specified by Chinggeltei. One may speculate it was his native Kharachin dialect; Sun et al. give the Kharachin form [jis] 'nine' (1990: 738). Note also Daur [is] 'nine' (Engkebatu 1984: 34). Many other Kitanologists have followed Chinggeltei's [is] reading, e.g. Kane (2009: 39) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 260). Kara (1996) proposed reading the grapheme ‹ši›. In Shimunek (2011a: 102b) I demonstrated that the reading ‹is› contradicts Chinese transcriptions of Kitan, and proposed reading the grapheme as ‹iši› word-initially and ‹ši› medially. The phonological sequence which this grapheme represents is transcribed in Old Mandarin word-initially as *i-shih* (MSC *yishi*) [乙室] (Old Mandarin *yiṣi, Pul. 367, 285) and medially as *shih* (MSC *shi*) [寔] ~ [實] (Old Mandarin *ṣi, Pul. 282-283).

[15] Kane (2009: 39) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 260) read this as ‹xu›.

[16] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010) read this grapheme as ‹su›, but as shown by Shimunek (2014a), this reading is unlikely. In Shimunek (2014a: 110), I proposed ‹ru›, and in Shimunek (forthcoming, d), I refined this reading to ‹r›.

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	V_	
051	丑		‹γa›[17]	‹γa›	
052	丒				record
053	丞	‹qa›			emperor
058	朷				
059	杏	‹uñ›[18]	‹uñ›		cow
060	寸				
061	可				
062	並		‹iang›[19]		
067	土	‹eu›	‹eu›		
068	兆[20]				
069	六			‹ri›	
070	亦	‹w›			
071	亦	‹ong›	‹ong›		prince
072	为	‹udur›[21]		east	
073	方		‹ên›		
075	主	‹γong›[22]			

[17] Kane (2009: 41) reads this grapheme as ‹ha›, which Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 260) follow.

[18] Chinggeltei read this grapheme as ‹un› ~ ‹unj› (2002: 59-60), which Kane (2009: 41) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 261) read as ‹uni›.

[19] Chinggeltei (2002: 39) read this as ‹iɑŋ› which Kane (2009: 42) reads as ‹iáŋ› and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 261) as ‹iáng›.

[20] Chinggeltei (2002: 39-40) read this grapheme as ‹us›, which Kane (2009: 42) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 261) follow, but the evidence is not convincing.

[21] One Middle Kitan word for 'east, eastern' is written 大化 ‹ud.ur›, as identified by Kane (2009: 94). I propose that the grapheme 为, known to mean 'east', is probably the same word, and thus propose reading 为 as ‹udur›.

[22] Chinggeltei (2002: 41) read this as ‹ɣuaŋ›, which Kane (2009: 43) revises to ‹hoŋ›, and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 261) to ‹hong›.

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	V_	
076	扎	‹γo›[23]	‹oγ›	‹γ›	
080	北		‹Awr›[24]	‹Awr›	
081	艾	‹sayr$^{?}$›[25]			month
082	炔		‹ÿ›[26]		
083	廿	‹sï›[27]			
084	斥		‹ar›[28]		
085	六				six
086	尐				six (masculine)
087	龙	‹ǰ^{ï}›[29]	‹ǰ›	‹ǰ›	

[23] Kane (2009: 43) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 261) read this grapheme as ‹ho›.

[24] Chinggeltei (2002: 42) read this grapheme as ‹i›. Kane (2009: 44) transcribes this ‹ii› and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 261) follow. However, the data presented to support this reading is not convincing. See discussion in Appendix A §2 'Previously Undeciphered Graphemes' above for data supporting my reading.

[25] Chinggeltei (2002: 42) read this grapheme as ‹sær›. Kane (2009: 44) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 261) treat it as phonologically undeciphered. Although the exact Middle Kitan reading of this grapheme is currently unknown, it corresponds to the well-known Late Kitan word *sayr [賽咿唲] ~ [賽籬] 'moon, month (月). See §8.5.4 entry for MKit *sayr.

[26] Chinggeltei (2002: 42-43) read this as ‹ue›. Kane (2009: 44) reads it as ‹y› and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 261) read it as ‹üe›.

[27] This reading is from Chinggeltei (2002: 43) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 261). Kane (2009: 44-45) renders this as ‹ss›.

[28] Kane (2009: 45) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 261) read this as ‹ra›, but it must have been ‹ar› (Shimunek 2011e: 102b).

[29] Chinggeltei (2002: 44) read this as ‹tşï›, which Kane (2009: 45) transcribes ‹tz› and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 261) transcribe ‹jï›. My reading is essentially the same as Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010), with the exceptions of the háček (ˇ) and my identification of the phonologically conditioned variant ‹ǰ›.

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	V_	
090	廾	‹u›[30]	‹u›	‹u›	
091	仿				
092	尢	‹ud›[31]	‹ud› ?		
093	劣				
097	奕		‹ur›[32]		
098	亏		‹Al›	‹Al›[33]	
099	亦		‹ad›	‹d›	
100	与			‹en›	
101	兂	‹deu›			younger brother
104	亥	‹ǰ›[34]		‹ǰ›	
105	大	‹ud›			
106	太		‹ung›		
107	态		‹oi›		
109	夯	‹e›	‹e›		
112	态		‹ge›		
113	吞		‹ï›		
118	犬			‹qu›[35]	
119	尺	‹dau›			
122	丰	‹ai›	‹ai›	‹ᵃi›	year, father

[30] Chinggeltei (2002: 44) read this as ‹ʊ›, which Kane (2009: 45) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 262) read as ‹ó›.

[31] This reading is from Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 262).

[32] I follow Kara (1988: 58), who reads this grapheme as ‹ur›. This same reading was, apparently independently, proposed by Toyoda (1998: 79). Kane (2009: 46) renders this ‹úr›, which Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 262) follow.

[33] On this archiphonemic reading see Shimunek (forthcoming, d).

[34] Shimunek (2011e: 130).

[35] Kane (2009: 48) reads this as ‹qú› and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 262) follow.

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	V_	
123	𘩐	‹ar›[36]	‹ar›	‹^{a}r›	
131	𘩑	‹u^{w}›[37]	‹u^{w}›	‹u^{w}›	
133	𘩒	‹m›			
134	𘩓	‹ǰur›[38]			two
135	𘩔	‹ǰur$^{?}$›			two (masculine).
137	𘩕	‹r›[39]	‹r›	‹r›	
139	𘩖	‹na›			
140	𘩗	‹en›	‹en›		
141	𘩘	‹dalu›[40]			seven
144	𘩙	‹^{e}ñ›[41]	‹eñ›	‹ñ›	

[36] Kane (2009: 49) reads ‹ár›. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 263) read this as ‹ar›.

[37] Chinggeltei (2002: 52) reads 𘩑 as ‹u›, which Kane (2009: 50) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 263) follow. I propose reading this grapheme as ‹u^{w}› because there are indications of an approximant *[w] element in certain words written with this grapheme. Namely, the Middle Kitan word for 'winter' is written 𘩑𘩟. Since Middle Kitan preserved Common Serbi-Mongolic medial *b as *w in other words (e.g. MKit *šawa 𘩛𘩜𘩝 ‹š.au.a› 'bird of prey' < CSM *sıba 'bird, eagle, hawk'; MKit *taw 𘩞 ‹tau› 'five' < CSM *t^{h}abʊ 'id.'; and *qawr 𘩠𘩡 ‹qau.ur› 'spring' < CSM *k^{h}abʊr 'id.'), this segment was probably also preserved in this word, which is cognate to attested Middle Mongol *übül* 'winter'. Thus, I propose the reading 𘩑𘩟 ‹u^{w}.wl›, rendering MKit *uwl 'winter' < CSM *ubul 'id.'

[38] Chinggeltei (2002: 52-53) proposed the reading ‹ʧur›, which I read as ‹ǰur› (Shimunek 2014a: 103-104, 114). See also discussion in §7.3.2.1.5.2 'Cardinal Numerals' above.

[39] Shimunek (2011e: 131).

[40] Chinggeltei (2002: 54) read this as ‹dol›. I propose the reading ‹dalu› based on the root of the ordinal numeral form 'seventh'. See discussion in §7.3.2.1.5.2 'Cardinal Numerals' above.

[41] Chinggeltei (2002: 54-55) read this as ‹ən›. Kane (2009: 51-52) reads this as ‹ún›, which Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 263) follow. As noted by Shimunek (2011e: 131), 𘩣𘩙 'Kitan' corresponds to the Old Turkic transcription *Qitañ* 𐰴𐰃𐰆𐰇𐰺 ‹^{i}qit$_{1}$ñ›, clearly indicating a palatal nasal coda. See discussion in the entry for Ch'i-tan in §7.2.1 above.

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	V_	
145	了				forty
146	犯	‹gi›[42]			not
147	马	‹ǰu›[43]			
149	子	‹ǰ›[44]			
150	刘	‹ǰa›			
151	刘	‹ɣ›[45]	‹ɣ›	‹ɣ›	
152	犯			‹ǰ›[46]	
154	尔	‹on›	‹on›		
155	乙				fifty
159	尹	‹ñayr$^{?}$›[47]			day
161	央	‹au›	‹au›		
162	朱	‹č›[48]			
163	业	‹ki›			
165	勺	‹gu›	‹gu›	‹gu›	

[42] This is the reading proposed by Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 263).

[43] Kane (2009: 52) proposes ‹jú›. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 263) read ‹ju$_3$›.

[44] Chinggeltei (2002: 56) reads this as ‹ʧ›. Kane (2009: 52) proposes ‹ju›, which Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 263) follow.

[45] Chinggeltei (2002: 56-57) reads this as ‹ɣ› ~ ‹γ›. See also Shimunek (2011e: 131).

[46] Shimunek (2011e: 131).

[47] Chinggeltei (2002: 58) read this as ‹nær›. Kane (2009: 53) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 264) prefer to treat this as phonologically undeciphered. Although the precise phonological value of this word in *Middle* Kitan is unknown, I tentatively propose the reading ‹ñayr$^{?}$› based on attested *Late* Kitan *ñayr 'day' (see entry for LKit *ñayr in Chapter Eight).

[48] Chinggeltei (2002: 59) proposes ‹ʧ›. Kane (2009: 54) reads ‹c› ~ ‹ci› and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 264) read ‹ci›. For my reading, see Shimunek (2011e: 102b) and Shimunek (2014a: 113, 114).

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	V_	
166	包	‹γur›[49]			three
167	包	‹γur$^{?}$›			three (masculine)
168	勿		‹aq›[50]		
169	欠		‹qo›[51]		
172	夂		‹u›[52]		
174	冬	‹as›	‹as›	‹s› ?	
175	各		‹iang›[53]		
176	刈	‹bu›[54]	‹bu›		
177	刈			‹uljï›[55]	
178	几	‹ku›			
179	凡		‹du›[56]	‹du›	
180	凡	‹šï›[57]			
184	乃	‹am›	‹am›		
186	反	‹o›	‹o›	‹o›	

[49] I follow the reading proposed by Chinggeltei (2002: 60). See also Shimunek (2011e: 131) and §7.3.2.1.5.2 'Cardinal Numerals' above.

[50] Shimunek (2011e: 103).

[51] Kane (2009: 55) reads this grapheme as ‹qó›, which Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 264) follow.

[52] I follow Chinggeltei's (2002: 61) reading of this grapheme as ‹u›.

[53] Shimunek (2011e: 103).

[54] Kane (2009: 56) reads this as ‹bú› and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 264) follow.

[55] This reading is from Kane (2013b). Aisin Gioro reads this grapheme as ‹lʤi› (Aisin Gioro, undated, p. 2). Note the words 北刈 'Liao (遼)' (Kane 2013b: 42-43) and 乃刈公 'Jurchen' (cf. Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 164), which I read as *qulǰi ‹qu.uljï› and *ǰuljïn ‹ǰu.uljï.n›, respectively. Middle Kitan *qulǰi 'Liao' is probably the origin of the Mongolian clan name and hydronym **Хулж** [χʊɮʧ], q.v. Shimunek & Mönkh-Amgalan (forthcoming).

[56] Kane (2009: 57) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 264) read this grapheme as ‹dú›.

[57] Chinggeltei (2002: 64) read this grapheme as ‹ş̈ï›. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 264) read ‹shï›.

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	V_	
187	𗰗	‹tum›[58]			ten thousand
188	𗰘				
189	𗰙	‹a›	‹a›		
191	𗰛				grandson[59]
195	𗰜				
196	𗰝	‹ebu›[60]	‹^{e}bu› ~ ‹bu›		ancestor, grandfather
197	𗰞		‹ai›[61]		
199	𗰟		‹ang›		
202	𗰠	‹tu›			
205	𗰡		‹de›	‹de›	
206	𗰢			‹li›[62]	
207	𗰣	‹ming›[63]			thousand
208	𗰤	‹lu›[64]			dragon
210	𗰥	‹au›[65]			lady
211	𗰦				thirty
213	𗰧	‹to›			
214	𗰨	‹da›[66]			
217	𗰩	‹do›		‹do›	

[58] Chinggeltei (2002: 65) read this grapheme as ‹t‘um›.

[59] See Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 159) for the semantic decipherment of 丸 as ‘grandson’.

[60] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 183) propose reading the graph as ‹ebu›.

[61] Chinggeltei (2002: 67) proposes the reading ‹ɑi›.

[62] Chinggeltei (2002: 68).

[63] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 265).

[64] Chinggeltei (2002: 68).

[65] Kane (2009: 60) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 265) read this as ‹aú›.

[66] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 265) read this as ‹da$_2$›.

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	V_	
220	行	‹mu›[67]	‹mu›		
222	伏	‹ñ›[68]		‹ñ›	
224	仕	‹m›[69]			
227	仅				
229	仍	‹ta›			
234	仍				
235	仳	‹ir›[70]	‹ir›	‹ir›	
236	仳		‹ur›	‹ur›	
238	佃				born
240	佗	‹par›[71]			ten
241	分	‹pu›			
242	分	‹fu›			
243	父				heaven
244	余	‹s›	‹s›	‹s›	
245	余	‹u›[72]	‹u›	‹u›	

[67] Kane (2009: 61) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 265) read this as ‹mú›.

[68] Shimunek (2011e: 131); Shimunek (2007).

[69] Chinggeltei (2002: 70) reads this grapheme as ‹m›. Kane claims that the grapheme 仕 "seems to be used with rounded or back vowels", and gives the reading ‹mu› (2009: 61 §2.224). Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 61) also follow the reading ‹mu›. However, there is direct evidence of this grapheme with wordforms that do not have rounded vowels or back vowels, e.g. 仕牛九村 ‹m$^{?}$.l.g.en› (*Hsüan* 14:3), 仕关 ‹m$^{?}$.i› (*Jen-i* 4:1), and 仕当 ‹m$^{?}$.en› (*Hsüan* 28:18). Although none of these wordforms have been semantically deciphered, they provide *phonological* evidence that the grapheme 仕 is not associated exclusively with rounded vowels or back vowels. Thus, I follow Chinggeltei's reading of 仕 as ‹m›.

[70] Shimunek (2014a: 112).

[71] This is my revision of Róna-Tas (2016). See §8.5.4 entry for MKit *par 'ten' for discussion.

[72] Chinggeltei (2002: 74) reads this grapheme as ‹u›.

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	V_	
246	余		‹qu›[73]	‹qu›	
247	令	‹t›		‹t›	
249	分			‹rdu›[74]	
250	介	‹qau›[75]			
251	公	‹n›	‹^{e}n› ?	‹n›	
252	𠂤		‹o›[76]		
253	公		‹o›[77]		
254	𠂤	‹d›	‹d›	‹d›	
255	𠂤		‹or›	‹or› ?	
257	金	‹em›	‹em›		
258	伞	‹ts›[78]			
259	𠂤	‹γur›[79]			three
260	令	‹t›[80]			
261	半	‹l›	‹l›	‹l›	
262	𠂤	‹ui›	‹ui›	‹ui›	deed, matter; pig
264	𠂤	‹ng›[81]			
266	乂				sixty
267	爻				sixty

[73] Kane (2009: 64).

[74] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 87). See also Shimunek (2014a: 108).

[75] Shimunek (2011e: 131).

[76] Kane reads this grapheme as ‹ó› (2009: 65) and ‹ô› (2009: 304). Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 266) read this as ‹ô›.

[77] Kane reads this grapheme as ‹ô› (2009: 304). Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 266) read this as ‹ô$_2$›.

[78] Chinggeltei (2002: 77).

[79] Chinggeltei (2002: 77).

[80] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 266) read this as ‹t$_2$›.

[81] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 267).

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	V_	
270		‹êm›	‹êm›	‹êm›	
273			‹un›[82]	‹un›	
274			‹ia›[83]		
279		‹po›			season, time
280			‹ang›[84]		
283		‹k›			
285		‹nigu›[85]			gold, golden, yellow
286		‹nigu?›			gold, golden, yellow (?)
288		‹beñ›[86]	‹beñ›		
289			‹u›[87]	‹u›	
290			‹an›[88]	‹an›	
294					south
295		‹p›	‹p›		
297		‹pu›[89]			

[82] Chinggeltei (2002: 80-81).

[83] Chinggeltei (2002: 81) reads this as ‹ɪɑ›.

[84] Chinggeltei (2002: 81) reads this as ‹ɑŋ›. Kane (2009: 68) reads this as ‹áŋ› and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 267) read ‹áng›.

[85] In the Lang-chün Inscription, the grapheme  corresponds to Chinese *Chin* 金 'golden' in the sequence 'Great Golden State (大金國)', i.e. the Jurchen Empire. This state name also appears in the *Chin-tai Chen-kuo shang-chiang-chün mu-chih-ming* 金代鎮國上將軍墓誌銘 inscription—another Jurchen-period Kitan text—in the form  'the Golden State' (*Chen*, *l.* 11), identified by Liu et al. as corresponding to 'Golden State (金國)' (2009: 462). Since the grapheme  corresponds to *nigu ‹n.i.gu›, the grapheme undoubtedly should be read ‹nigu›.

[86] Shimunek (2011e: 131).

[87] This is my revision of previous proposals. Chinggeltei (2002: 83) reads this as ‹iu›. Kane (2009: 69) reads ‹iú› and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 267) follow.

[88] Kane (2009: 69-70) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 267) read this as ‹án›.

[89] Kane (2009: 71) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 267) read this as ‹pú›.

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	V_	
300	𘍿				seventy[90]
301	𘍾				seventy[91]
302	𘍽	‹il[?]›			
303	𘍼	‹ing›[92]	‹ing›		
308	𘍻				compose
309	𘍺[93]				
311	𘍹	‹b›	‹b›	‹b›	
312	𘍸	‹tum›[94]			ten thousand
313	𘍷			‹lu›[95]	
314	𘍶		‹iang›[96]		
319	𘍱	‹go›			
320	𘍰[97]				
322	𘍮	‹on›[98]			
323	𘍭	‹qai›[99]			aforementioned

[90] Kane (2009: 71) reads this as ‘eighty’. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 268) and Kane (2013a: 19) read this as ‘seventy’. See also discussion in §7.3.2.1.5.2 ‘Cardinal Numerals’.

[91] Kane (2009: 71) reads this as ‘eighty’. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 268) read it as ‘seventy’.

[92] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 268).

[93] Kane (2009: 72) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 268) read this as ‹hó›.

[94] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 268).

[95] I follow Chinggeltei’s reading of this grapheme as ‹lu› (2002: 87). Kane (2009: 72) reads this as ‹ló›. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 268) read this as ‹lo›.

[96] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 268).

[97] Kane (2009: 73) treats this grapheme as undeciphered, but offers the mnemonic reading ‹yǒ›. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 268) treat this grapheme as undeciphered.

[98] Kane (2009: 73) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 268) read this as ‹ón›.

[99] Kane (2009: 73) reads this as ‹qi› and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 268) follow. Chinggeltei (2002: 88) reads ‹mun›. Despite the divergent proposals existing in the literature on the reading of this grapheme, we can be certain of its value as ‹qai› since it also transcribes the first syllable of the Kitan name of the Qay ethnic group, known from Middle Turkic and

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	V_	
324	𗼈			‹ên›[100]	
327	𗼉		‹iê›[101]		
328	𗼊	‹γong›[102]			
329	𗼋		‹ün›		
331	𗼌	‹neu›			
332	𗼍	‹nai›			head, government official
334	𗼎	‹g›	‹g›	‹g›	
335	𗼏	‹ia›	‹ia›		elder brother
336	𗼐	‹gi›[103]			
337	𗼑			‹ǰ›[104]	
339	𗼒	‹i›	‹i›	‹i›	
340	𗼓	‹k›[105]	‹k›		
341	𗼔		‹er›	‹r›[106]	
342	𗼕				wine
344	𗼖		‹ud›	‹ud›	

Middle Chinese transcriptions to have been *Qay. The Middle Kitan demonstrative *qay 𘈩 ‹qai› 'the aforementioned' is undoubtedly a loanword from Old Mandarin 該 *kai* (MSC *gāi*) 'id.' See Chapter Three for discussion. See also §7.3.2.1.2 'Demonstratives'.

[100] Chinggeltei (2002: 88) reads this grapheme as ‹en›. Kane (2009: 73-74) reads this as ‹iên›. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 268) ‹üen›.

[101] Chinggeltei (2002: 88) reads this as ‹ie›.

[102] Kane (2009: 74) reads this as ‹hoŋ›. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 268) read ‹hong$_2$›.

[103] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 269) read this as ‹gi$_2$›.

[104] Shimunek (2014a: 301 *n.* 16). See also Chapter Eight entry for Tagh ☆-čɪ-n ~ ☆-či-n [眞] 'plural occupational suffix'.

[105] Chinggeltei (2002: 92) reads this as ‹x› ~ ‹k'›. Kane (2009) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010) read ‹x›.

[106] The phonologically conditioned reading ‹r› is my proposal. See discussion in Appendix A §1 'Phonologically Conditioned Readings' above.

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	V_	
345	𐤀		‹ung›[107]	‹ung›	
347	𐤁		‹oi›[108]		
348	𐤂	‹e›	‹e›		
349	𐤃	‹ge›	‹ge›		
353	𐤇		‹ï›	‹ï›	
355	𐤉	‹ordu›[109]		‹ordu›	palace
356	𐤊				
357	𐤋		‹ung›[110]		
360	𐤎	‹pong›[111]			
361	𐤏		‹en›[112]	‹en›	
362	𐤐		‹iau›[113]		
365	𐤔	‹qɪta›[114]			
366	𐤓			‹wl›[115]	
368	𐤒	‹dur›[116]			four
369	𐤒	‹dur?›			four

[107] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 269).

[108] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 269).

[109] Kane (2009: 77-78).

[110] Chinggeltei (2002: 95) read this as ‹uŋ›. Kane (2009: 78) reads ‹úŋ› and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 269) read ‹úng›.

[111] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 269).

[112] Kane (2009: 78) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 269) read this as ‹én›.

[113] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 269).

[114] This reading is my revision of previous proposals. See §7.2.1 entry for Ch'i-tan for attestations.

[115] This is my revision of previous proposals; see discussion in the footnote for grapheme #131 𐤗 above. Chinggeltei (2002: 102) read this as ‹ul›, and Kane (2009: 79) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 269) follow.

[116] Chinggeltei (2002: 102). See also discussion in §7.3.2.1.5.2 'Cardinal Numerals' above.

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#	Graph	Readings			Logographic meaning (if any)
		initial/isolated	*medial/final*		
			C_	V_	
371					region
372		‹uw›[117]	‹uw›	‹uw›	
373					great
374		‹tai›			
375		‹ča›[118]			
378					(repeats a grapheme preceding it)
379		‹qutuq›[119]			good fortune
424					sixty[120]
449					eighty[121]

[117] Shimunek (2011e: 129, 131).

[118] Kane (2009: 80) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 270) read this as ‹ca›.

[119] Identified as a single grapheme by Kane (2009: 81). Kane (2009: 81) reads this as ‹qudug›. Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 270) treat this grapheme as phonologically undeciphered.

[120] Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 271).

[121] See Table 31. Middle Kitan cardinal numerals 20-10,000 in §7.3.2.1.5.2 ‘Cardinal Numerals’ above.

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Alphabetical List of Phonologically Deciphered Graphemes in this Book

Below I give an alphabetical listing of phonologically deciphered Kitan Assembled Script graphemes appearing in this book. The following alphabetical order is employed:

a b č d e ê f g γ i ı ï ǰ k l m n ñ o p q r s š t u ü w y ÿ

Reading	Graph	#
‹a›		189
‹ad›		099
‹ai›		122
‹ai›		197
‹Al›		098
‹am›		184
‹an›		011
‹an›		290
‹ang›		199
‹ang›		280
‹aq›		168
‹ar›		084
‹ar›		123
‹as›		174
‹au›		161
‹au›		210
‹Awr›		080
‹b›		311
‹beñ›		288
‹bu›		176
‹bu›		196

Reading	Graph	#
‹č›		162
‹ča›		375
‹čau›		022
‹d›		254
‹d›		099
‹da›		214
‹dalu›		141
‹dau›		119
‹de›		205
‹deu›		101
‹di›		037
‹do›		217
‹du›		179
‹dur›		368
‹dur?›		369
‹e›		109
‹e›		348
‹ebu›		196
‹em›		257
‹en›		100
‹en›		140

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Reading	Graph	#
‹en›		361
‹eñ›		144
‹er›		341
‹eu›		067
‹êm›		270
‹ên›		073
‹ên›		324
‹fu›		242
‹g›		334
‹ge›		112
‹ge›		349
‹gi›		146
‹gi›		336
‹go›		319
‹gu›		165
‹γ›		151
‹γa›		051
‹γo›		076
‹γo›		076
‹γong›		075
‹γong›		328
‹γur›		166
‹γur›		259
‹γur$^{?}$›		167
‹i›		339
‹ia›		335
‹ia›		274
‹iang›		062
‹iang›		175
‹iang›		314

Reading	Graph	#
‹iau›		362
‹iê›		327
‹il$^{?}$›		302
‹in›		018
‹ing›		303
‹ir›		235
‹išši›		033
‹išši$^{?}$›		034
‹iu›		019
‹ï›		113
‹ï›		353
‹ǰ›		087
‹ǰ›		104
‹ǰ›		149
‹ǰ›		152
‹ǰ›		337
‹ǰa›		150
‹ǰau›		015
‹ǰ^{ï}›		087
‹ǰu›		147
‹ǰur›		134
‹ǰur$^{?}$›		135
‹ǰuri$^{?}$›		002
‹k›		283
‹k›		340
‹ki›		163
‹ku›		178
‹l›		261
‹li›		206

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Reading	Graph	#
‹lu›		208
‹lu›		313
‹m›		133
‹m›		224
‹ming›		207
‹mu›		220
‹n›		251
‹na›		139
‹nai›		332
‹neu›		331
‹ng›		264
‹ñ›		144
‹ñ›		222
‹ñayr[?]›		159
‹ñêm[?]›		008
‹ñêm›		007
‹o›		107
‹o›		186
‹o›		252
‹o›		253
‹od›		016
‹oγ›		076
‹oi›		347
‹omo›		021
‹on›		154
‹on›		322
‹ong›		071
‹or›		255
‹ordu›		355
‹p›		295

Reading	Graph	#
‹par›		240
‹po›		279
‹pong›		360
‹pu›		241
‹pu›		297
‹qa›		053
‹qai›		323
‹qau›		250
‹qɪta›		365
‹qo›		169
‹qu›		036
‹qu›		118
‹qu›		246
‹qur›		014
‹qutuq›		379
‹r›		137
‹r›		341
‹r›		041
‹rdu›		249
‹ri›		069
‹s›		244
‹sayr[?]›		081
‹sï›		083
‹š›		028
‹ši›		033
‹ši[?]›		034
‹šï›		180
‹t›		247
‹t›		260
‹ta›		229

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‹tau$^{?}$›		030
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‹ts›		258
‹tu›		202
‹tum›		187
‹tum›		312
‹u›		090
‹u›		245
‹u›		289
‹u›		172
‹ud›		092
‹ud›		105
‹ud›		344
‹udur›		072
‹ui›		262
‹ulǰi›		177

Reading	Graph	#
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‹ung›		106
‹ung›		345
‹ung›		357
‹uñ›		059
‹ur›		097
‹ur›		236
‹u^{w}›		131
‹uw›		372
‹ün›		329
‹w›		070
‹wl›		366
‹y›		020
‹ÿ›		082

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APPENDIX B

KITAN ASSEMBLED SCRIPT: COMMON TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS

In this section I offer a listing of common typographical errors in Kitan Assembled Script. The following typographical errors have been identified by Kane (2009), Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010), and Oyuunch (2012):

Table 97. Previously identified common KAS typographical errors

ERROR	INTENDED	EXAMPLE	IDENTIFIED BY
余 ‹qu›	朱 ‹ai›	*Hsüan* (1: 6)	Kane (2009: 59, 64)
炎 ‹oi›	爻 ‹^{e}r›	*YHsiang* (9: 29-32)	Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010)
欠 ‹qo›	只 ‹uw›	*HsTi* (14: 13-24)	Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 89-90)
丑 ‹γa›	为 ‹a›	*YP'u* (7: 2-5)	Oyuunch (2012)

Additional typographical errors include the following:

Table 98. Common KAS typographical errors

ERROR	INTENDED	EXAMPLE
岑 ‹ge›	尗 ‹ung›	*Hsing* (33: 10)
火 ‹ud›	尗 ‹ung›	*Hsing* (3: 8), *Hsüan* (15: 20)

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APPENDIX C
GLOSS FORMULAE

This appendix presents a non-exhaustive list of gloss formulae, i.e. syntactic constructions for glossed transcriptions of foreign words. Gloss formulae presented here include Late Old Chinese transcriptions of Middle Serbi dialects; Early Middle Chinese transcriptions of Taghbach, T'u-yü-hun, and Old Kitan; Late Middle Chinese transcriptions of Old Kitan; Early Old Mandarin transcriptions of Kitan; Late Old Mandarin transcriptions of Middle Mongol; an Old Tibetan transcription of Kitan; Latin transcriptions of Middle Mongol; and New Persian transcriptions of medieval Mongolic languages and dialects. I have excluded Georgian and Armenian transcriptions of Late Middle Mongol because at the time of writing I did not have access to the original manuscripts in which these transcriptions are attested. In the tables below 'T' denotes a transcription of a foreign word or phrase, and 'G' denotes a gloss.

Table 99. Late Old Chinese glossed transcriptions of Serbi-Mongolic words

GLOSS FORMULAE	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT	SOURCES
T 者，夏言 G 也	As for *T*, in Chinese it is called *G*.	*Chin Shu*
鮮卑謂 G 爲 T	The Serbi call *G T*.	*Chin Shu*
T 者，言 G 之稱也	As for *T*, it is the designation for *G*.	*Chin Shu*

Table 100. Early Middle Chinese glossed transcriptions of Serbi-Mongolic words

GLOSS FORMULAE	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT	SOURCES
謂 G 曰 T	They call *G T*.	*Chou Shu*
呼 G 爲 T	They call *G T*.	*Sung Shu*, *NCS*
號 G 爲 T	They call *G T*.	*Chou Shu*
G 爲 T	They call *G T*.	*NCS*
虜言 T，宋言 G 也	The word *T* in the Miscreant language is *G* in Chinese.	*Sung Shu*
T，宋言 G 也	*T* is *G* in Chinese.	*Sung Shu*
T 比 G	*T* is comparable to *G*.	*WS*
G，通謂之 T	*G* is translated as *T*.	*NCS*
T 魏言 G 也	*T* is the Wei (i.e., Taghbach) word for *G*.	*WS*
T 氏後改爲 G 氏	The *T* clan was later changed to the *G* clan.	*WS*
G T…	The *G*, the *T*…	*SCI*

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Table 101. Late Middle Chinese glossed transcription of Serbi-Mongolic words

GLOSS FORMULA	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT	SOURCES
T 者，胡言 G 也	As for *T*, it is the Hu word for *G*.	*TCTC*

Table 102. Old Mandarin glossed transcriptions of Serbi-Mongolic words

GLOSS FORMULAE	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT	SOURCES
以 T 號漢語 G 也	They say *T* for what is called *G* in Chinese.	*CPYPL*
T 漢語 G 也	*T* is *G* in Chinese.	*CPYPL*
G 者番語謂之 T	As for *G*, in the foreigners' language they call it *T*.	*CPYPL*
G 番呼 T	As for *G*, the foreigners call it *T*.	*CPYPL*
T，G 稱	*T* denotes *G*.	*LS*
T，G 名也	*T* is a name for *G*.	*LS*
T，G 也	*T* is *G*.	*LS*, *YPTC*
呼 G 爲 T	They say *T* for *G*.	*YPTC*
T 華言所謂 G 也	*T* is that which is known as *G* in Chinese.	*CTKC*
T 謂 G 也	*T* denotes *G*.	*SWCCL*
T 者乃譯語 G 也	As for *T*, it is a translation of the word *G*.	*MTPL*

Table 103. Old Tibetan glossed transcription of Serbi-Mongolic

GLOSS FORMULA	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT	SOURCES
G གི་ཀྱད་ཀྱི་ T	*G* is the Kitan *T*.	*PT*$_{1283}$

Table 104. Latin glossed transcriptions of Serbi-Mongolic words

GLOSS FORMULA	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT	SOURCE
… T, id est G …	… *T*, that is, *G* …	*HM*

Table 105. Persian glossed transcriptions of medieval Mongolic languages and dialects

GLOSS FORMULAE	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT	SOURCES
او را [T] به جهت آن گفته اند که [G] بوده.	He was called *T* because he was *G*.	*JT* 202
[G] را دیگران [T_1] گویند و ایشان [T_2].	The others call *G* T_1, but they [call it] T_2.	*JT* 99
او را [T] گفته اند، و [G] [T] باشد.	She was called *T*, and *T* means *G*.	*JT* 115
معنی [T] یعنی [G] است.	The meaning of *T* is *G*.	*JT* 115
معنی [T] [G] است.	The meaning of *T* is *G*.	*JT* 248
معنی [T] [G] باشد.	*T* means *G*.	*JT* 189
[T] یعنی [G].	The meaning of *T* [is] *G*.	*JT* 211
[T] [G] بوده.	*T* means *G*.	*JT* 178
[T] [G] باشد.	*T* means *G*.	*JT* 219

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APPENDIX D
PRE-PROTO-MONGOLIC MORPHOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS

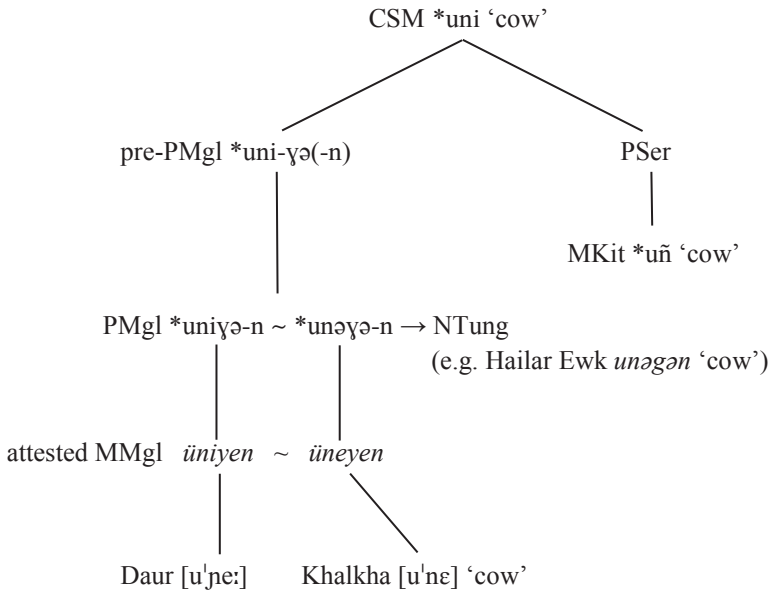
The Mongolic branch is characterized by several identifiable morphological innovations distinguishing it from the Serbi branch. Namely, the pre-Proto-Mongolic suffixes *-ɣA, *-sU-, and *-ɣU appear on certain nouns, and the suffix *-bA appears on certain numerals. These suffixes, precise semantic values of which have yet to be determined, were later reanalyzed in Proto-Mongolic as part of the root. See below for examples:

Pre-Proto-Mongolic *-ɣA

This pre-Proto-Mongolic suffix is attested with certain livestock terms (e.g. ‘cow’, goat’) certain kinship terms (e.g. ‘grandfather’), and the numeral ‘seven’. The precise meaning is unclear, but comparanda in Mongolic, Serbi, Tungusic, and Turkic, as well as clues in Preclassical Written Mongol orthography, provide evidence of this suffix.

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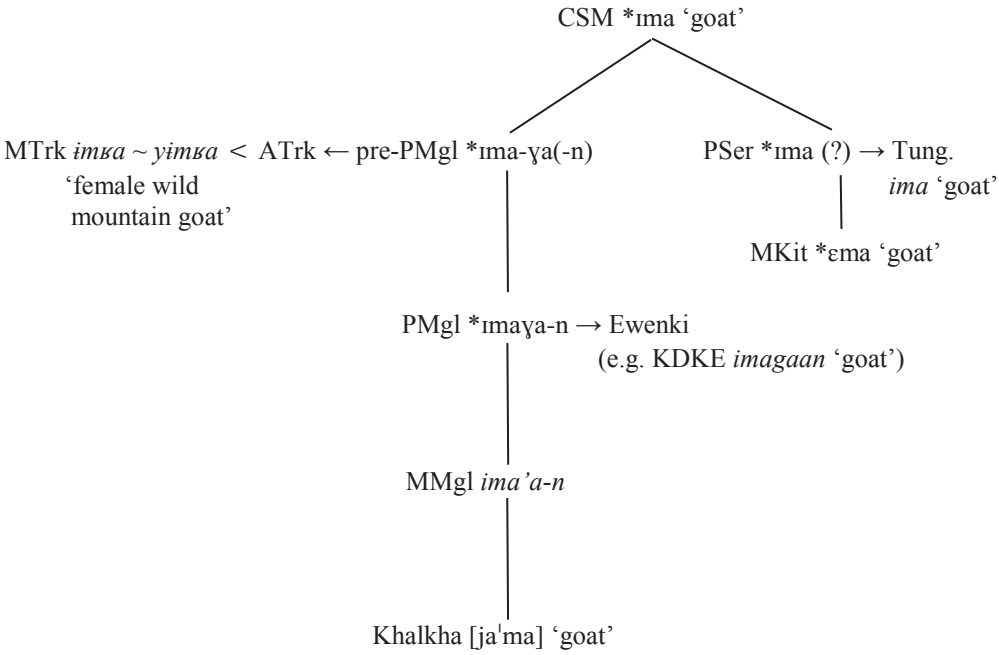
Figure 7. Reflexes of Common Serbi-Mongolic *uni 'cow'



See entry for MKit *uñ ‘cow’ in Chapter Eight for discussion and attestations of these wordforms.

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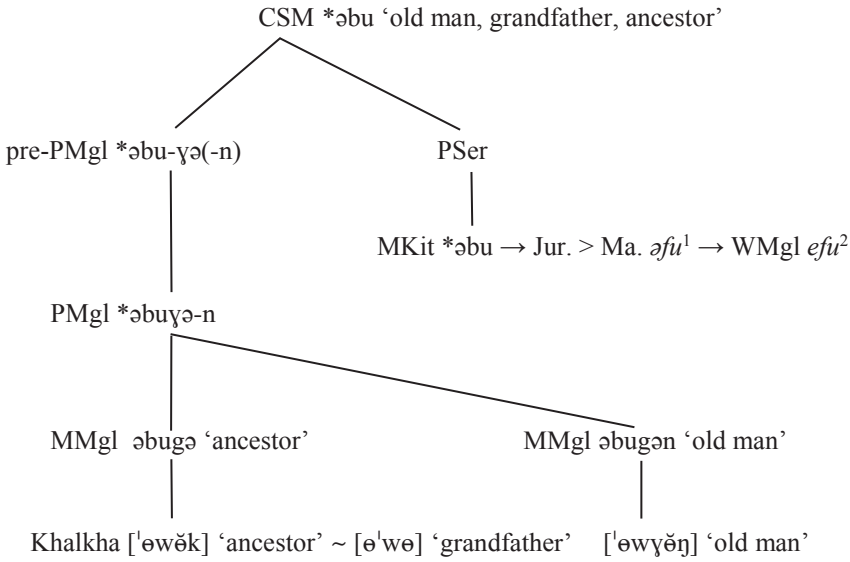
Figure 8. Reflexes of Common-Serbi-Mongolic *ɪma ‘goat’



See entry for MKit *ɛma ‘goat’ in Chapter Eight for discussion and attestations of these wordforms.

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Figure 9. Reflexes of Common-Serbi-Mongolic *əbu ‘old man, grandfather, ancestor’



See the entry for MKit *əbu ‘grandfather, old man, ancestor’ in Chapter Eight for discussion and attestations of these wordforms.

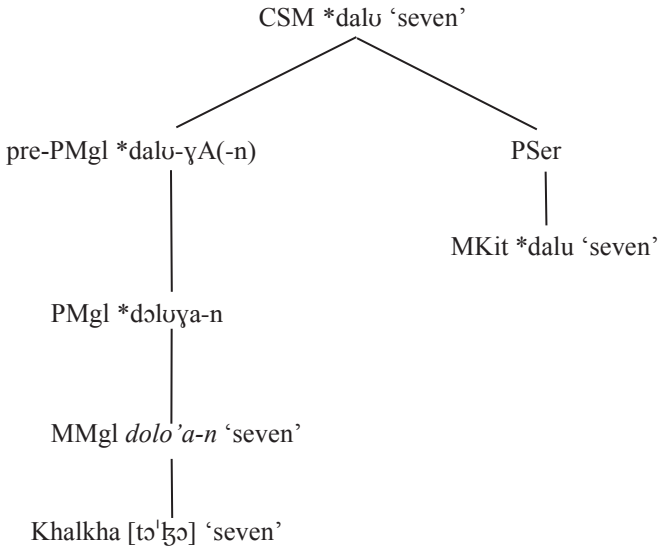
The same suffix, or a homophonous suffix, appears in the numeral ‘seven’:

[1] Manchu *efu* [əfu] denotes ‘husband of one’s elder sister’ (Norman 1978: 70-71).

[2] Written Mongol *efu* ‘son-in-law of an emperor or king’ (Roz. 66).

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Figure 10. Reflexes of Common Serbi-Mongolic *dalʊ ‘seven’



Pre-Proto-Mongolic *-sU

Serbi-Mongolic cognates, Late Old Chinese loanwords into early Serbi-Mongolic, shared lexemes between Archaic Turkic and Mongolic (i.e. the earliest identifiable layer of words in Mongolic with obvious Turkic connections), early Serbi-Mongolic loanwords in Tungusic, and at least two early Serbi-Mongolic lexical correspondences with Japanese-Koguryoic provide a substantial body of evidence for *-sU as a divergent morphological innovation in pre-Proto-Mongolic distinguishing the Mongolic branch from the Serbi branch.[3] This suffix was appended to nominal roots and was subsequently regularly reanalyzed as part of the root in Proto-Mongolic, losing its semantic distinctions. Its precise meaning can no longer be determined with certainty. The table below presents cognates between Serbi and Mongolic

[3] See Janhunen (2003: 12-13), Rybatzki (2003: 64-66), Choimaa (1990), and Poppe (1981: 387-388) for Mongolic-internal evidence of this suffix.

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languages exhibiting a *-sU suffix in Mongolic and lacking this suffix in Serbi:[4]

Table 106. Serbi-Mongolic correspondences indicating *-sU as a Mongolic innovation

Serbi	Mongolic (pre-PMgl > PMgl > MMgl (WMgl))	PSM
*əbən (MSer)	*əbə-sU-n > *əbəsu-n > *ebesü-n*	*əbə-n
*t^haʁ (Tagh)	*t^hɔɣ-sU-n > *t^hɔɦɔsʊ-n > *to'osu-n*	*t^haɣ
*u (LKit)	*ʊ-sU-n > *ʊsʊ-n > *usu-n* [ʊsʊn]	*ʊ
*qɔw (Tagh)	*k^hɔb(ɔ)-sU-n > *k^hɔbɔsʊ-n > (*qobosun*)	*k^hɔb(ɔ)
*silɣu (T'u-yü-hun)[5]	*siliɣu-sU-n > *sili'üsü-n* [ʃiliwusun]	*siliɣu

Significant work has been undertaken on the early Serbi-Mongolic elements in Tungusic, although under the label 'Early Mongol' or 'Ancient Mongol', e.g. Poppe (1960), Rozycki (1994), etc. To the best of my knowledge, however, no previous studies have made note of the striking regularity of a *-sU suffix in attested Mongolic and the absence of this suffix in the known Serbi-Mongolic elements in Tungusic.[6] Below I present a table providing some particularly illustrative examples:

[4] For the semantic values of the words in this table, see the relevant entries in §8.5.4.

[5] See §6.2.1.1 entry for Silgucïn ~ Sïlgucïn.

[6] Doerfer made a similar observation, noting that "The suffix *-sUn* [i.e. *-sU-n], characteristic of [Middle Mongol], is frequently lacking in [Manchu and Daur]. Since these languages are close to pre-Yüan [Mongol], it is likely that *-sUn* often lacked in [Taghbach and Kitan], too" (1993: 81).

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Table 107. Tungusic evidence of *-sU as a Mongolic innovation[7]

Middle Mongol	SM Loanwords in Tungusic	PSM
burqasun ‘elm’[8]	Ma. *buǰan* ~ Ewk. *burgan* ‘id.’[9]	*bʊrga-n
anǰasun ‘plough’[10]	Ma., Ulcha, Nan. *anǰa* ‘plough’[11]	*anǰa ~ *anda
ne’üresün ‘coal’[12]	Ma. *nemu* ~ *nemuri* ‘mine’[13]	*nəɣ͡βur ~ *nəɣ͡βurə
huliyasun ‘poplar’[14]	Ma. *fulχa* ‘aspen, poplar’[15]	*pʰʊlɪɣa[16]
hutasun ~ *hudasun* ‘string’[17]	Ma. *futa* ‘rope, line, string’[18]	*pʰʊtʰa
görö’esün ‘game animal’[19]	Ma. *gurgu* ‘wild animal’[20]	*goroɣə
**sili’üsü-n* ‘lynx’[21]	Ma. *silun* ‘lynx’[22]	*siliɣu ~ *siləɣu

[7] Several of these are noted by Doerfer (1993: 81). I independently noticed these correspondences and later found Doerfer’s study.

[8] E.g. attested early MMgl *burqasun* [不児[中]合孫], glossed as ‘elm twig (榆條)’ (*SHM* §103).

[9] This correspondence was identified by Tsintsius (1974-1975: 111). See also Roz. 37.

[10] E.g. attested MMgl *anǰasun* [安札孫] ‘plough (犁)’ (*HIIY* 1.10a4).

[11] See Roz. 19 for this Manchu-Mongol correspondence.

[12] E.g. attested MMgl *ne’üresün* [捏兀[舌]列孫] ‘charcoal (炭)’ (*HIIY* 1.11b3). Note also Khalkha **нүүрс** [nuːrs] and Kharachin [niːrəs] (Sun et al. 1990: 520).

[13] Norman glosses Manchu *nemu* as ‘mine, mine shaft’ (1978: 211a). See also Tsintsius (1974-1975: 621) for this Manchu word. Foreign coda *r is regularly lost in Mongol loanwords in Manchu (Rozycki 1994). The variant *nemuri* ‘coal mine’ (Zakharov 1875: 220a) is a paragogic repair of the same SM donor form to conform to JM phonotactics.

[14] Poppe (1974: 130). Attested MMgl *huli(y)asun* (Kara 1990: 299). Note also Santa *xulasuŋ* ‘aspen’ (Todaeva 1961: 139).

[15] Sanzheev (1930b: 702), Doerfer (1985: 23 §37), Krippes (1992: 128, 144), Roz. 81.

[16] Krippes (1992: 144) reconstructs ‘proto-Mongolian’ *puliyasun (equivalent to *pʰʊliyasʊn in my transcription system), but the Manchu form clearly shows that its early Serbi-Mongolic donor form had a dorsal fricative *ɣ which lenited to *-y-* in attested Mongolic.

[17] MMgl *hudasun* [忽荅孫] ‘string (線)’ (*HIIY* 1.12a8). Cf. also Ligeti & Kara (2012: 176).

[18] Krippes (1992: 128); Roz. 84.

[19] E.g. attested early MMgl *görö’esün* [戈[舌]劣額孫] ‘wild animals (野獸)’ (*SHM* §123) ~ *görö’esü* [戈[舌]劣額速] ‘game animal (獸)’ (*SHM* §179).

[20] Despite Rozycki (1994: 93), this is an early SM element in JM, as it lacks *-sU and preserves the early SM intervocalic fricative *-ɣ- which was regularly lost in Modern Mongolian.

[21] See discussion in §6.2.1.1 entry for Silgucïn ~ Sïlgucïn.

[22] Rozycki considers this an “early” Mongolic loanword in Manchu (Roz. 182).

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Further evidence is found in the early Archaic Turkic lexical correspondences with Mongolic. Here we have a number of nouns which were borrowed between pre-Proto-Mongolic and an Archaic Turkic dialect,[23] which later acquired a *-sU suffix in Mongolic.

Mongolic-Turkic correspondences indicating this *-sU suffix are summarized below:

Table 108. Turkic evidence of *-sU as a Mongolic innovation

Mongolic	Turkic	Proto-Serbi-Mongolic
MMgl *balaqasu ~ balaqasun*	OTrk *baliq* < *balɨqă	*balaga ~ *balaka
MMgl *kilqasun ~ qilγasun*	MTrk *qɨl* < *qɨlqă > Chuv. xələx	*k^{h}ılga ~ *k^{h}ılka
MMgl *deresü-n*	MTrk *yiz* < *ðeřě/*ðiřě	*dərə

Specifically, Middle Mongol *balaqasu ~ balaqasun* 'walled city'[24] corresponds to attested Old Turkic *balɨq* 'city';[25] Middle Mongol *kilqasun ~ qilγasun* 'hairs'[26] corresponds to attested Middle Turkic *qɨl* 'hair'[27] and

[23] Despite the dominant view that these are Turkic → Mongolic loanwords, they are likely to be early Serbi-Mongolic loanwords into Archaic Turkic.

[24] E.g. attested early MMgl *balaqasu* [巴剌^{中}合速] 'walled city (城)' (*SHM* §247) ~ *balaqasun* [巴剌^{中}合孫] 'walled city (城)' (*SHM* §247). See also de Rachewiltz (2006: 905).

[25] E.g. attested 8th c. Old Turkic *balɨq* 'city' (*GOrkT* 307).

[26] Attested early MMgl *kilqasun* [乞$_{勒}^{中}$合孫] 'tail hair (尾上毛)' (*SHM* §25) and attested late MMgl *qilγasun* [قيلغاسون] 'hair' (*MAA*; Poppe 1938: 298a). De Rachewiltz translates MMgl *kilqasun* as 'hair from the mane and tail of a horse, horse hair' (de Rachewiltz 2006: 270).

[27] Attested in MTrk as *qɨl* 'hair' in a 12th-13th c. edition of the 11th c. *Qutadγu Bilig* (*DTS* 442a).

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Chuvash [xələx] ‘horse hair’;[28] and Middle Mongol *deresün* ‘feather grass’[29] corresponds to attested Middle Turkic *yiz* ‘reed’.[30] These correspondences provide evidence of Archaic Turkic *balɨqă ‘walled city’,[31] *qɨlqă ‘hairs’,[32] and *ðeřě/*ðiřě ‘reed, feather grass’ as well as Proto-Serbi-Mongolic *balaga ~ *balaka ‘walled city’,[33] *k^{h}ılga ~ *k^{h}ılka ‘hairs’, and *dərə ‘feather grass’.

There are also at least two lexical correspondences with both Tungusic and Turkic comparanda:

[28] Chuvash **хĕлĕх** [xələx] specifically denotes ‘horse hair (коньский волос)’ according to the online Chuvash-Russian dictionary *Электронлă сăмахсар* (<samah.chv.su/cgi-bin/s.cgi>, accessed October 24, 2015). Zolotnitskii transcribes the Chuvash word in the Russian Phonetic Alphabet as [**хилих**] and glosses this as ‘string, cord (струна)’ (1875: 92). Fedotov glosses Chuvash **хĕлĕх** as “волос конский; рыболовная леска; струна” and notes Turkic cognates, Mongolic cognates, Ewenki *kil* (← Sakha), Solon *xilgaas* (← Mgl.), and Hill Mari **йылыык** ‘horse hair’ ← Chuv. (Fedotov 1996, v. 2: 342).

[29] E.g. early MMgl *deresün*, attested in the genitive case form *deresün-ü* [迭^{舌}列速訥] ‘of feather grass’ (*SHM* §249; cf. de Rachewiltz 2006: 178, 905).

[30] The earliest attestation in Turkic is 11th c. Middle Turkic *yiz* ‘reed’ (*DTS* 264b). Numerous Old Turkic lexical items exhibit free variation between *i ~ e*, e.g. attested 8th c. OTrk *il ~ el* ‘people, state’ (*GOrkT* 334), *yegirmi ~ yigirmi* ‘twenty’ (*GOrkT* 401), *yer ~ yir* ‘earth, place, land, soil’ (*GOrkT* 401), *ye- ~ yi-* ‘eat’ (*GOrkT* 401), and *yeti ~ yiti* ‘seven’ (*GOrkT* 401-402).

[31] Kara (2006: 104). The word is possibly also related to Manchu *falya* ‘clan, tribe, all the people living on one street’, as discussed by Rozycki (1994: 73-74) and Sinor (1981: 97-100).

[32] This is essentially the “Bulghar Turkic” reconstruction proposed by Schönig (2003: 407).

[33] Note also modern Daur [balәɣ] ‘earth, soil, dirt’ (Engkebatu 1984: 70). This Daur-Mongol correspondence was identified by Ceberhas (2015: 96).

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Table 109. Tungusic and Turkic evidence of *-sU as a Mongolic innovation

Middle Mongol	Manchu	Turkic	Proto-Serbi-Mongolic
düri (~ WMgl *dürsü-n*)	*durun*	OTrk *yüz* [34] < *ðüř	*dur ~ *duri ‘form, face’
harqasun [35]	*faǰan* [36]	MTrk *arq* < *harqă [37]	*pʰarga ~ *pʰarka ‘dung’

Northeastern Late Old Chinese loanwords in early Serbi-Mongolic provide additional evidence of pre-Proto-Mongolic *-sU. See the table below:

Table 110. Late Old Chinese evidence of pre-Proto-Mongolic *-sU

Mongolic	Serbi	Late Old Chinese (northeastern dial.)	Proto-Serbi-Mongolic
qoqosun		韭 *kɔgV̌ ~ *kɔʁV̌	*kɔgV
to’osun	*tʰaʁ ‘earth’	土 *tʰâʁ	*tʰaɣ
mindasun		綿 *mendă	*mɪnda

The following Mongolic and Japanese-Koguryoic lexical correspondences provide further evidence of pre-Proto-Mongolic *-sU (see §9.2.1 for discussion):

Table 111. Japanese-Koguryoic evidence of pre-Proto-Mongolic *-sU

Mongolic	Japanese-Koguryoic	Proto-Serbi-Mongolic
qudusun	OJpn *kutu > MSJ *kutsu*	*gʊtʰʊ ~ *gʊdʊ
čisun	OJpn *ti > MSJ *chi*	*tʰɪ

[34] The earliest attestation in Turkic is 8th c. Old Turkic *yüz* ‘face’ (*GOrkT* 408).

[35] See Table 84 in Chapter Nine for this Middle Mongol form and its attestation.

[36] Norman translates this Manchu word as “feces (of animals and birds), dung” (1978: 81b). Rozycki treats this word as an “early” Mongol-Manchu correspondence (Roz. 72-73). Manchu is characterized by a regular sound change of earlier *rg > *ǰ* (see Rozycki 1994 for examples).

[37] E.g. MTrk *arq* ‘excrement’ (*EDT* 213a). For the initial **h*, cf. Khalaj *harq* ‘feces’ (Doerfer 1971: 43, 291).

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Pre-Proto-Mongolic *-ɣU

The following correspondences attest a *-ɣU suffix in Mongolic lacking in Serbi:

Table 112. Serbi and Mongolic evidence of pre-Proto-Mongolic *-ɣU

Mongolic	Serbi	Common Serbi-Mongolic
MMgl *šiba'u-n*	MKit *šawa	*sɪba
MMgl *gü'ü-n ~ kü'ü-n*	MKit *ku	*k^{h}u
MMgl *ke'ü-n ~ kübe'ün*	MKit *ku	*k^{h}ə$\widehat{\beta ɣ}$u ~ *k^{h}u$\widehat{\beta ɣ}$ə

See §8.5.4 entries for MKit *šawa 'bird of prey', *ku 'human, person', and *ku 'younger daughter, boy, son'. See also the Chapter Nine discussion of Middle Mongol *ke'ü-n* 'child, son, boy'.

Pre-Proto-Mongolic *-bA

I have identified three Serbi-Mongolic correspondences providing evidence of pre-Proto-Mongolic *-bA in certain numerals:

Table 113. Serbi-Mongolic evidence of pre-Proto-Mongolic *-bA

Mongolic	Serbi	Common Serbi-Mongolic
MMgl *qurba-n* 'three'	MKit *ɢur 'three'	*gʊr
MMgl *dörbe-n* 'four'	MKit *dur ~ *tur 'four'	*dor
MMgl *harba-n* 'ten'	MKit *par 'ten'	*p^{h}ar

See §8.5.4 entries for MKit *ɢur 'three', MKit *dur 'four', and MKit *par 'ten' for discussion and attestations of these forms.

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LANGUAGE INDEX

This index includes the names of languages, dialects, and language families occurring in this book, with a few exceptions: The words 'Serbi', 'Mongolic', 'Mongol', 'Mongolian', 'Chinese', 'Tibetan', 'Taghbach', 'Turkic', 'T'u-yü-hun', and 'Kitan' occur on nearly every page, and as such are not included in this index.

Agnean *see* Tokharian
Alashan *see* Alshaa
Algonquian, 32
Alshaa, 392
Altaic, 5, 17, 30, 34, 386, 391, 400, 401
Amdo, 191, 192, 220
Amoy, 153, 154
Arabic, xxxvii, xxxix, 10, 92, 110, 111, 199, 210, 344, 353, 356, 363, 369, 400
Aramaic, xliii, 10, 266
Aru Khorchin, 379
Avar, 57, 185
Awar, 35, 41, 42, 55, 56, 57, 184
Āzragī (Hazāragī), 317
Baarin, 328, 355, 378, 379
'Baoan' *see* 'Bonan', Baonang, *and* Booŋan.
Baonang, 220, 322, 373, 378, 386, 411
Bargu, 355
Bayanghol, 355
Bella Coola *see* Nuxalk
'Bonan' (Baonang or Booŋan, unspecified), 136, 159, 363, 373, 386; *see* Booŋan *and* Baonang.
Booŋan, 136, 159, 220, 322, 363, 373, 378, 386, 411
Buryat, 56, 327, 345, 355, 373, 388, 389, 391, 392, 393, 403, 404, 407, 411
Cantonese, 139
Chakhar, 355, 411
Chaozhou *see* Teochew
Ch'i-fu, 35, 54, 76, 162, 367, 368
Chieh 羯語, 49, 155, 316, 384
Chukotko-Kamchatkan, 186, 322, 326
Chuvash, 6, 457
Darkhan *see* Muumingan
Daur, 68, 132, 159, 275, 279, 320, 327, 328, 332, 335, 341, 344, 346, 348, 349, 353, 354, 356, 359, 370, 373, 377, 378, 392, 411, 426, 450, 454, 457
Dongxiang *see* Santa
Dravidian, 34
Duan *see* Tuan
English, xxvi, 3, 14, 23, 109, 201, 219, 270, 353
Eskimo-Aleut, 32, 34
Ewen, xxv, 335, 339, 345, 357, 408
Ewenki, xxv, 126, 179, 195, 289, 315, 335, 336, 339, 344, 345, 355, 357, 362, 367, 376, 377, 378, 396, 397, 408, 450, 451, 455, 457
Finno-Ugric, 186, 188, 326, 333
Foochow, 153, 154
French, 270
Fuzhou *see* Foochow
Gāndhārī Prakrit, 409
Garo, 357
Georgian, 220, 447
German, 1, 3
Germanic, 3, 188, 284, 333
Gilyak *see* Nivkh
Gothic, 3

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:06 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Greek, xliii, xlvii, 2, 3, 4, 14, 22, 23, 30, 73, 88, 368
Hazāragī *see* Āzragī
Hindi, 109, 151, 341
Hokkien, 153, 154
Hsi 奚 *see* Qay
Hsi 霫, 60
Hsiung-nu 匈奴, 41, 152, 187, 383, 412, 417
Hua 滑, 57, 184
Hungarian, 6, 372
Hunnic, 188, 333
Indic, 23, 25, 51, 183, 195, 409
Indo-European, 1, 2, 3, 4, 22, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 46, 48, 157, 188, 312, 333, 353, 384, 407, 416
Inuit, 186, 326
Iranic, 23, 188
Irish, 3
Italian, 1, 74, 270, 312
Jalait-Durbet, 20
Japanese, xlviii, 130, 139, 270, 312, 327, 364, 391, 393, 394, 395, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 406, 407, 410, 458
Japanese-Koguryoic, 2, 6, 32, 35, 177, 327, 353, 364, 373, 384, 393, 394, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 407, 410, 413, 414, 416, 453, 458
Jin Chinese 晉, 154
Jingpho, 357
Jou-jan 柔然, 63, 88, 152, 368, 417
Jurchen, 15, 45, 66, 99, 100, 101, 102, 105, 106, 107, 108, 134, 199, 200, 332, 335, 336, 340, 342, 346, 352, 353, 358, 361, 362, 364, 366, 371, 372, 396, 397, 409
Jurchen-Manchu, 16, 126, 180, 329, 352, 361, 362, 371, 372
Kachin *see* Jingpho
Kalmyk, 139, 180, 181, 345, 364, 388, 389, 392, 399, 410, 411
Kangjia *see* Kojia
Kazak, 201
Kazakh *see* Kazak
Kerait *see* Kereyit
Kereyit, 7, 8, 35
Khalaj, 458
Khamnigan Ewenki, 335, 339, 344, 355, 367, 451
Khamnigan Mongol ~ 'Khamnigan', 138, 187, 201, 326, 345, 349, 392, 403, 404, 407, 410, 411
Kharachin, 411, 426, 455
Khoshuud, 355
Khotanese, xlv, 81, 93, 141, 189, 409, 417
Kirghiz, 63, 152
Koguryo, 87, 90, 130, 273, 353, 360, 364, 368, 403, 404, 410
Kojia, 335, 349, 354, 363, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 378, 386, 392, 393, 411
Korean, xlviii, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 34, 48, 54, 61, 87, 90, 92, 100, 102, 135, 140, 154, 164, 177, 183, 186, 206, 236, 266, 270, 273, 306, 312, 339, 344, 346, 353, 354, 357, 358, 362, 369, 372, 390, 391, 394, 406, 416
Koreanic, xlviii, 186, 273, 326, 353, 357, 362, 373, 391, 407, 417
Kuchean see Tokharian
Kyrgyz *see* Kirghiz
Lamut *see* Ewen
Lao, 158

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:06 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Latin, 2, 3, 4, 30, 67, 72, 73, 422, 447, 448
Lituanian, 3
Lushei *see* Mizo
Manchu, xlvii, xlviii, 15, 16, 102, 106, 107, 108, 126, 134, 137, 147, 148, 159, 176, 180, 186, 236, 270, 306, 329, 332, 335, 336, 338, 340, 343, 346, 352, 356, 357, 361, 362, 363, 364, 366, 367, 371, 372, 377, 394, 396, 397, 406, 408, 409, 452, 454, 455, 457, 458
Mangghuer, 373, 386
Mari, 457
Merkit, 7, 35, 73
Min Chinese 閩, 153, 154
Miyako, 219, 220
Mizo, 357
Moghol, 317, 371, 373
Mongghul, 136, 159, 220, 335, 355, 363, 373, 378, 386, 399, 411
Mongghuor, 220, 363, 373
'Monguor' *see* Mangghuer, Mongghul, Mongghuor
Mon-Khmer, 387
Mu-jung, 35, 80, 169
Murong *see* Mu-jung
Muumingan, 355
Nanai, xxvi, 126, 332, 335, 336, 340, 357, 367, 394, 408, 455
Negidal, xxv, 332, 335, 336, 339, 357, 367, 378, 397
Nenets, 357
Nganasan, 357
Nivkh, 6, 177, 186, 236, 322, 326, 333, 336, 352, 353, 364, 373, 396
Norse, 3
Nuxalk, 219, 220
Ōgami, 219
Oirat, xliv, 327, 349, 355, 373, 391, 392, 395, 403, 404
Ordos, 133, 327, 355, 389
Oroch, xxv, 332, 335, 336, 340, 357, 378
Orok *see* Uilta
Pali, 409
Pashto, 341
Persian, xxxvii, xxxix, 67, 186, 187, 198, 199, 201, 210, 317, 326, 327, 334, 343, 364, 385, 447, 448
Polish, 220
Puyo-Koguryoic, 360, 368
Qay, 35, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 69, 77, 81, 93, 178, 179, 183, 202, 203, 315, 375
Qifu *see* Ch'i-fu
Romani, 32
Rouran *see* Jou-jan
Russian, 1, 23, 201, 220, 266, 270, 306, 312, 343, 388, 411, 412, 457
Ryukyuan, 219
Sakha, 376, 378, 408, 409, 457
Salish, 219
Samoyedic, 30, 357, 384
Sanskrit, 3, 23, 24, 25, 30, 51, 183, 188, 341, 388, 409
Santa, 136, 159, 341, 363, 373, 378, 386, 392, 410, 411, 455
Scythian, 4
Semitic, 2, 32, 384
Shanghainese, 357
Shih-wei *see* Shirwi

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:06 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Shira Yoghor, xliv, 136, 159, 275, 327, 341, 363, 373, 378, 392, 411
Shirwi, 12, 35, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 66, 69, 77, 93, 202, 203
Shiwei *see* Shirwi
Silla, 20, 87, 90, 391, 416
Sinitic, 124, 128, 129, 154, 211, 284, 357
Sino-Korean, 54, 61, 92, 102, 128, 130, 140, 206
Sogdian, xliii, 22, 23, 25, 27, 37, 52, 89, 91, 93, 203
Solon, xxv, 332, 335, 336, 345, 357, 367, 377, 394, 397, 457
Sönid, 355
Syriac, 23, 93, 94, 186, 326
Tangut, 53, 67, 171, 172, 402
Tatar, 35, 74
Teochew, 153, 154
Thai, 151, 158
Tibetic, 23
Tibeto-Burman, 35, 53, 357, 365, 384, 395, 396, 402, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 414, 416
Tocharian *see* Tokharian
Tokharian, 87, 96, 337, 389, 398, 407
Tuan 段, 35, 54, 76
Tungusic, xliii, 2, 4, 11, 15, 23, 30, 46, 64, 66, 126, 137, 139, 147, 159, 186, 188, 190, 266, 289, 326, 328, 332, 333, 335, 336, 338, 339, 340, 344, 345, 346, 353, 354, 356, 357, 362, 365, 366, 367, 378, 384, 394, 395, 396, 397, 407, 408, 414, 416, 449, 453, 454, 455, 457, 458
Turkish, 5, 127, 186, 236
Udihe, xxv, 126, 332, 335, 336, 340, 357, 378
Uilta, xxvi, 126, 332, 335, 336, 339, 357, 397, 408
Ulcha, xxvi, 332, 335, 336, 340, 357, 378, 394, 396, 408, 455
Uralic, 2, 4, 32, 384
Uto-Aztecan, 32
Uygur, xxv, xliii, xlv, 4, 7, 8, 10, 22, 24, 25, 35, 63, 68, 84, 93, 94, 95, 97, 116, 152, 174, 343, 417
Welsh, 3
Wu Chinese 吳, 357
Wu-huan *see* Awar
Wutun, 186
Xi *see* Hsi 奚 *and* Hsi 霫
Xiongnu *see* Hsiung-nu
Yakut *see* Sakha
Yeniseic, 383
Yü-wen, 35, 43, 53, 54, 76, 197, 314, 338

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All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

GENERAL INDEX

I have excluded most occurrences of the words ‘Kitan’, ‘Mongol’, ‘Taghbach’ (T’o-pa), ‘T’u-yü-hun’ (‘Azha), ‘Serbi’ (Hsien-pei), ‘Awar’ (Wu-huan, Wu-wan), ‘Chinese’, ‘China’, ‘Mongolia’, and derived words. The names of primary sources are only included if they are mentioned in full in the main text, i.e. abbreviated sigla of primary sources are not included in this index. The names of modern scholars and authors have also been largely excluded from this index, with a few exceptions. Words occurring in glosses, translations, example sentences, other linguistic data, and most words occurring in the Serbi-Mongolic comparative lexicon (§8.5. ‘The Common Serbi-Mongolic Lexicon’) are likewise not included here, with few exceptions; the few glosses that do appear in this index are indicated with single quotes, e.g. ‘river’. Other words which occur throughout the text with high frequency are excluded.

abalone, 133, 166
Abel-Rémusat, Jean-Pierre, 1
abessive, 322
ablative, l, 247, 249, 263, 297, 298, 320, 354, 360
abtemporal converb, 325, 422, 423
accusative, l, 90, 247, 253, 258, 259, 261, 297, 298, 321, 351, 352, 360, 361, 367
A-chen-chu 阿眞廚, 158
[Adj N], 226, 268, 307, 311
adjectival, 47, 318, 324, 351
adjectival noun, 47, 324, 351
adjective, 222, 223, 225, 226, 227, 268, 283, 307, 313, 314, 384
administration, 55, 148, 198
administrative division, 47
administrative region, 205
[Adv V], 269, 309, 311
Advanced Tongue Root (ATR), xxiii, 129, 146, 147, 163, 192, 200, 202, 214, 215, 216, 293, 352, 423
adverb, 222, 227, 269, 283, 309, 310, 327, 382
ad-word, 340
affection ~ affectionate, 187, 348, 349, 356, 357
affix ~ affixed, 149, 190, 221, 231, 241, 247, 248, 258, 272, 278, 284, 287, 294, 296, 299, 300, 310, 322
affricate, 15, 50, 74, 94, 130, 151, 153, 192, 204, 208, 213, 293
affrication, 130
Afghanistan, 32
agglutinative, 221, 241
agreement, 226, 235
agriculture, 31, 38, 39, 45, 70, 376, 388, 394, 395, 410, 414
A-hui 阿會, 63
Ai clan 艾氏, 130
A-kan 阿干, 185, 202, 326
Alan Qo’a, 71, 74
alcohol *see* millet alcohol
Alexandria, 82
allograph, xliii, 108
allomorph, 173, 190, 191, 216, 217, 230, 243, 247, 265, 319, 320, 323, 324
allophone, xliii, 110, 143, 214, 242
allophonic, 146, 213, 214, 243

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:09 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

allophony, 214
Altaic, 1, 2, 5, 17, 30, 34, 386, 391, 400, 401
alternation, 8, 216, 393, 411
A-lu-wan 阿魯盌, 422
alveolar, 50, 85, 94, 96, 107, 127, 192, 199, 204, 208, 213, 293
Alyebangdïgzhing (ཨལ་ཡེ་བང་དྷི་གཞིང་), 158, 184
Amdo, 408, 414
America, 169
Amerigo Vespucci, 169
An Lu-shan Shih Chi 安祿山事迹, 63
anachronism, 28
Anagai, 88
A-na-kuei *see* Anagai
analogy ~ analogical, 301, 353, 401
ancestor ~ ancestral, 11, 13, 16, 34, 43, 53, 60, 61, 65, 66, 68, 155, 162, 167, 224, 288, 297, 303, 312, 313, 316, 334, 338, 367, 368, 405, 406, 413, 433, 452
Ancient Mongol Theory, 1, 2, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 454
animal husbandry, 38
animals, 44, 45, 178, 326, 348, 377, 383, 384, 394, 401, 408, 455, 458
Annals of the 'Azha Principality, 158, 169, 172, 173, 182, 183, 194
antecedent, 270
Antiquity, 177, 393, 401, 407
ape, 402
approximant, xliii, 85, 89, 430
approximation, xxvii, 10, 83, 112, 131, 339
A-pu-ku 阿卜固, 207
Arabic script, xxxvii, xxxix, 10, 92, 110, 111, 199, 210, 344, 353, 356, 369, 400
Aramaic script, xliii, 10
archaeological, 37, 38, 39, 45, 46, 52
Archaic Mongol Theory, 7
archery, 44, 314, 364, 395, 396, 414
architecture, 29
areal, 19, 21, 218, 322, 341, 373
army, 15, 56, 170, 171, 172, 244, 255, 290, 313, 331, 332, 378
Arsilas, 88
art, 46, 383
artemisia, 11, 15, 83, 86, 126, 127, 134, 166, 291, 314, 334
articulate ~ articulatory, 12, 127, 219
Aša Gambu, 171
A-shih-na *see* Arsilas
aspect, xxvi, 131, 134, 142, 241, 295, 317, 344
aspirated, 110, 113
aspiration, 177
assassin, 83, 149, 150, 165, 167, 314, 317, 351
Assembled Script, definition, 210
assimilation, 280, 349; ethnolinguistic, 60, 74, 75; progressive, 221; regressive, 216, 220, 398
asterisk, xlix, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 39, 215, 284, 396
astrology, 127
ATR *see* Advanced Tongue Root
Atrāk (اتراك) 'Turks', 71
attributive, l, 133, 190, 195, 198, 216, 217, 241, 247, 260, 298, 321, 340, 343, 352, 375
autumn, 215, 250, 313, 355, 381
Avar, 57, 184, 368
Baarin Left Banner, 328

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:09 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

back vowel, xlvii, 215
back-formation, 157
Bacot Document, 59, 109, 114, 115, 117, 172, 173
Bactria, 46, 383
bayatur, 41, 187
bald, 62, 83, 147, 148, 314, 354
bandit, 134, 167, 272, 273, 276
Baqir Baliq, 112, 115, 118
Bardar (བར་དར་), 109
Barsqan, 98
basic vocabulary *see* primary vocabulary
basket, 386, 387, 388, 414
Basmil, 115
battle, 39, 40, 55, 138, 166, 171, 243, 275, 279, 290, 319, 331, 332
Bayankhutag county (Баянхутаг сум), 288
Bazin, Louis, 122, 124, 127, 131, 132, 133, 144, 152, 156, 160
bilabial, 85, 94, 96
Bilge Qayan, 98, 199, 340
Bilge Qayan Inscription, 199, 340
bilingualism, 398
Binder county (Биндэр сум), 326, 349, 410
bird, 45, 144, 183, 279, 291, 313, 339, 349, 350, 370, 381, 430, 458, 459
blacksmith, 125
blade, 133, 148
blend, 230, 401, 402
blon (བློན་), 110
blood, 178, 404, 405, 413, 414
boar, 83, 101, 132, 164, 167, 291, 327, 366, 410, 411, 412, 414
Bodončar, 303
body part, 20, 384
Böhtlingk, Otto, 408
Bolívar, Simón, 169
Bolivia, 169
'Bon Dargyal (འབོན་དར་རྒྱལ་), 177, 178
Boodberg, Peter, 47, 51, 122, 124, 130, 150, 152, 155, 156, 158, 160, 161, 343
bookish, 150, 177, 356, 399
boot, 391, 392, 393, 394
boqta ~ *boqto* ~ *boqtaq*, 160, 161
Borǰigin, 303
boy, 18, 213, 234, 308, 348, 349, 356, 403, 404, 459
braid, 42
bread, 376
bridge, 90, 135, 163, 167, 314, 317, 361
Bronze Age, 37
Bronze Inscriptions 金文, 388
brother, 11, 161, 169, 185, 186, 187, 195, 202, 249, 251, 262, 264, 265, 267, 270, 275, 277, 291, 300, 313, 314, 326, 357, 380, 381, 385, 405, 406, 429, 438
btsanpo (བཙན་པོ་), 175, 178
Buddhism ~ Buddhist, 22, 23, 25, 26, 29, 374, 409
Bulgar, 368
cage, 386, 387
calque, 152, 176, 332
carp, 176, 177, 195
Carpini, Iohannes de Plano, 72, 73, 74
Caspian Sea, 67
Cathay, 75, 201
cattle ~ cow, 45, 70, 313, 326, 339, 377, 392, 395, 427, 449, 450

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:09 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

causative, 149, 285, 287, 295, 324, 333
CC, 60, 218
CCC, 218, 220
CCCVC, 218
CCV, 218
CCVC, 218
Čech, 169
Central Asia, 37, 170
Central Eurasia, 64, 169, 187, 188, 316
centralization ~ centralized, 191
cereal, 376
Chan clan 展氏, 143
Chan-ch'ih clan 輾遲氏, 143
Ch'ang-an, 170
Ch'ang ch'ing ch'uan 長慶川, 340
Chang Chiu-ling 張九齡, 344
chef, 290, 314, 330
Che-hui-chen 折潰眞, 150
Chi clan 嵇氏, 92, 130
chicken, 313, 372
Chīdan Yār (چیدن یار), 67
Ch'ieh Yün 切韻, 93
Ch'ien-t'ung 乾統 reign period, 421
Ch'i-fu 乞伏, 54, 76, 368
Ch'i-hai-chen 契害眞, 149, 164, 165
Chih-chen 直眞, 158
Chih-chien Lo-lo 置鞬落羅, 48, 49
Ch'ih-kan clan 叱干氏, 126, 134
Ch'ih-le 敕勒, 44
Ch'ih-lu clan 叱盧氏, 127
Ch'ih-nu clan 叱奴氏, 89, 123, 128
Ch'ih Shan 赤山, 44
Chih Yüan i-yü 至元譯語, xxxviii, 399
Ch'i-ko 契箇, 62
Ch'i-lien clan 其連氏, 125, 140, 341
Ch'in Empire 秦, 79, 401, 414
Chinggeltei, 209, 223, 224, 227, 230, 234, 236, 241, 250, 252, 262, 264, 360, 406, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439
Chinggis Khan, 71, 74, 75
Ch'in-Han 秦漢, 40, 80, 387, 414
Ch'in K'ai 秦開, 39
Chin Shih 金史, xxv, 65, 99, 101, 106
Chin Shu 晉書, 53, 54, 159, 172, 185
Ch'i-tan Kuo Chih 契丹國志, 58, 70, 197
Chiu clan 就氏, 142
Ch'iu-li-chü 丘力居, 55, 56
Chiu T'ang Shu 舊唐書, 64
chives, 389, 399, 400
Ch'i-wan-chen 乞萬眞, 150
chos (ཆོས་), 174
Chou clan 周氏, 135
Chou Shu 周書, 42, 43, 53, 54, 61, 63, 172, 185
Chu clan 祝氏, 127
Ch'ü clan 屈氏, 145
Ch'ü-chin clan 去斤氏, 130
Ch'ü-chü 曲據, 62
Ch'üeh-chi 闕機, 48, 49
Ch'üeh-chü 闕居, 48, 49
Chui-chin 墜斤, 206
Ch'u k'o-han 處可寒, 188
Ch'u-lien clan 出連氏, 129, 140
Chung-yüan yin-yün 中原音韻, 101
Chu-pu-ku 朮不姑, 421
Ch'u-tai-han clan 出大汗氏, 143
Chü-yung-kuan inscriptions, xxxviii, 348
Činggis Khan, 382
classification ~ classify, xxv, xxvi, 14, 34, 35, 288
classifier, 235, 361

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:09 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

clause, 227, 240, 242, 268, 270, 271, 272, 302, 304, 308
clausal, 302, 380; clausal order, 188, 266, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306
Clauson, Sir Gerard, 1, 59, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 122, 124, 132, 186, 339, 340, 343, 344, 365, 372, 374, 400
clerk, 156, 157, 167
cliff, 71, 72, 181
clothing, 44, 145, 160, 161, 167
'cloud', 87, 90, 140, 142, 151, 164, 167, 221, 290, 313, 314, 378
cluster, 60, 98, 108, 110, 111, 117, 145, 146, 193, 206, 218, 219, 220, 243, 285, 333
'collect', 103, 288, 290, 313, 373
Colombia, 169
Colombo, Cristoforo, 169
colt, 353
comitative, 247, 253, 261, 262, 297, 298, 321, 351, 352, 360, 367
comitatus, 201
comparative method, xlix, 30, 32, 68, 76, 292, 301
complementary distribution, 110, 214
complementizer, 270
complex ~ complexity, 111, 132, 193, 220, 231, 403, 407
Composite Script *see* Assembled Script
compositionality ~ compositional ~ non-compositional, 386
compound, xlviii, 181, 261, 301, 326, 331, 339, 421, 423
concatenation ~ concatenated, 47, 149, 221
confederacy ~ confederation, 51, 64, 65, 66, 76, 77, 184, 198, 207, 421
conjunction, 272
conservative, 8, 9, 140, 153
consonant cluster *see* cluster
consort, 83, 130, 155, 156, 167, 189, 316
constituent, 302, 313, 412
consummation ~ consummate, 45
contact, xliv, 33, 46, 179, 358, 383, 384, 387, 388, 393, 398, 403, 407, 410, 414, 415, 416
converb, 173, 174, 222, 243, 285, 287, 295, 321, 322, 323, 325, 333, 350, 422, 423
convergence, 1, 4, 26, 27, 31, 126
cook, 148, 151, 164, 290, 314, 330
coordination, 249
copula, 322
copular clause, 304
copular noun, 272
core vocabulary *see* primary vocabulary
coronal, 288
cosmology, 313
Cotoneaster, 127, 291, 334
cotton, 390
cow *see* cattle
critical edition, 19, 73
crop, 375, 376, 413
cultivate, 38, 84, 88, 131, 166, 314, 317, 343, 344
cultural vocabulary, 384, 385
culture word *see* Kulturwörter
cursive, 173, 209
customs, 41, 59, 60, 67, 75, 174
CVCV, 27
Cyrillic, 20, 179, 386, 392, 411

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:09 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Czech Republic, 169
Dadal county, 201, 326, 349, 403, 410
Dadpyi (དད་ཕྱི་) *see* Qay
dairy, 44, 70
ḍammah, 400
Dared (དེར་དད), 183
dative-locative, 181, 241, 242, 247, 257, 262, 298, 320, 321, 351, 359, 367, 370, 374
daughter, 185, 231, 232, 260, 268, 269, 348, 349, 350, 357, 403, 459
daughter language, 1, 76, 89, 129, 159, 218, 284, 300, 332, 341, 350, 355, 363, 386, 388, 393, 399, 407, 410, 411
Daur (people), 68
day, 8, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 37, 291, 292, 313, 358, 376, 431
dbu med (དབུ་མེད་), 173
debel see robe
declension, 246, 285
de'el see robe
deer, 126, 339
definite, 247, 261, 297
degel see robe
delabialization, 290
deletion (sound loss), xliii, 72, 86, 88, 100, 101, 106, 107, 108, 116, 126, 133, 139, 141, 148, 154, 280, 289, 319, 323, 333, 455
[Dem N], 268, 307, 311
demonstrative, 222-226, 264, 266, 268, 270, 298, 307, 313, 337, 371, 438; demonstrative adjective, 223, 225; demonstrative pronoun, 223, 224, 384; discourse deictic demonstrative, 225
denasalization ~ denasalized, 40, 50, 80, 187, 203, 204, 389, 390
denominal verb, 160, 409
dental, 94, 192, 204, 213, 293
depalatalization ~ depalatalized, 11, 289
derivational morphology, 149, 228, 232, 284, 331, 348
derived *see* derivational morphology
deverbal noun, 47, 88, 131, 135, 139, 142, 149, 150, 154, 163, 165, 243, 287, 295, 298, 316, 317, 318, 322, 324, 331, 332, 343, 344, 351, 361, 362, 365, 374, 376, 406, 422
dharma, 4, 22
diacritic, xlix, 110
Dien, Albert, 55, 202, 344
diet, 44
digraph, xlviii
diminutive, 341, 348, 352, 403
diphthong, 84, 116, 183, 294
directions, 313, 328, 376
dirt, 167, 179, 314, 375, 393, 397, 457
discourse, 225
distal, 223, 225, 270, 371
disyllabic, 370, 389, 399
divergence ~ divergent ~ divergently, 1, 6, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 32, 34, 54, 186, 188, 191, 194, 197, 211, 287, 288, 289, 290, 298, 300, 341, 415, 417, 437, 453
diverse ~ diversity, xlviii, 13, 18, 72, 74, 75, 172, 191, 204
Dobun Bayan, 71
Doerfer, Gerhard, 13, 137, 149, 186, 327, 334, 355, 385, 396, 400, 454, 455, 458

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dogs, 16, 38, 83, 86, 133, 134, 167, 187, 227, 289, 291, 299, 307, 313, 314, 353, 356, 357, 373, 397
door, 44, 316, 377
door guard, 124, 146, 155, 167, 315, 316, 317
Dornod province (Дорнод аймаг), 335, 339, 355, 367
dorsal, xliii, xlvii, 192, 213, 214, 289, 291, 293, 356, 415, 455
doublet, 406
dragon, 86, 175, 255, 390, 433
Dream of the Red Chamber, 179
drinking, 45, 216, 262, 270, 277
duke, 161, 162, 167
dung, 386, 392, 458
Dürlükin, 72
dust, 375, 397, 398
dwelling, 29, 313
Dwenswen (དྭེན་སྭེན་), 184
Dwonsod (དྭོན་སོད་), 183
eagle, 220, 291, 339, 350, 370, 430
earth, 87, 137, 167, 168, 179, 247, 249, 288, 314, 375, 379, 393, 397, 457, 458
'east', 8, 289, 313, 345, 376, 377, 427
Eastern Hu 東胡, 37, 38, 39, 41, 52, 54, 61, 76, 365, 376, 377, 383, 412, 414
Eastern Steppe, 46
Edict of Mangala, 369
Elunchun *see* Orochen Banner
Elxe Taifin (K'ang-hsi), 191
embankment, 87, 90, 137, 168, 288, 292, 314, 379
emphatic, 223
epenthesis ~ epenthetic, 116, 142, 218, 245, 285, 397
epic, 191, 192
epigraph, 222
epitaph, 197, 204, 209, 223, 255, 325
eponymous, 50, 169
equative, 298
Ergene Qun, 71, 181
Ergune (Ergüne) River, 65, 69, 71
Erh Ch'ien Shih 二千石, 162
Erklig Qan *see* Erlig Qaγan
Erlig Qaγan, 201
euphemism, 133, 145
euphemistic replacement, 145
Europe, 32, 57, 368
evidentiality, 131, 134, 142, 317, 344
exclamation, 322
expansion, 55, 68, 75
fabric, 389
factual, 136, 287, 289, 291, 295, 318, 319, 363, 373, 376
falcon, 183, 196, 221, 280, 370
fall (n.) *see* autumn
fall (v.), 130, 215, 313, 359
falsifiability ~ falsifiable, 23, 31, 32, 34, 415
Fan clan 潘氏, 135
fan-ch'ieh 反切, xxvi, 103, 104, 402
Fang clan 房氏, 139
Fang Chuang-yu 方壯猷, 122, 173
farming, 314, 375; *see* agriculture
father, 187, 188, 195, 264, 299, 319, 429
fauna, 45
feasting, 45

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:09 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

feminine, xxvii, 229, 230, 231, 232, 234, 246, 271, 321, 330, 335
Feng clan 封氏, 137
Fen-wen 芬問, 206
fermentation ~ fermented, 44, 70
field, 135, 167, 376; *see* agriculture
filial, 249, 271, 319, 405, 420
fingernail, 392, 393
finite, 271, 287, 295, 325
firsthand, l, 134, 287, 291, 295, 323
fish, 45, 176, 413
fishing, 45, 334, 413
folk etymology ~ folk etymologization, 24, 28, 42, 52, 176, 180, 391, 398
food, 151, 158, 166, 174, 290, 330, 413
forced etymologies, 22
Former Yen 前燕, 54
fortition, 20, 221, 289
Franke, Herbert, 155, 280, 315, 336, 366
free variation, xliv, 113, 136, 154, 217, 218, 265, 323, 342, 348, 392, 411, 457
frequency, 283, 417
fricative, xliii, xlvii, 40, 58, 87, 94, 111, 112, 118, 135, 192, 213, 289, 293, 405, 455
front rounded vowel, xliv, 110, 348
front vowel, xlvii
frontier, 9, 37, 40, 44, 56, 67, 69, 79, 83, 85, 86, 88, 89, 95, 97, 100, 104, 112, 140, 157, 170, 389, 390, 395, 399
Fu clan 副氏, 123
Fu-chen 附眞, 142, 151, 158, 330
Fu-chu-chen 拂竹眞, 158
Fu-lü clan 副呂氏, 123
functional morphology, 6, 16, 22, 124, 165, 185, 188, 190-191, 194, 195, 210, 283, 284, 286, 287, 385, 415, 416
furs, 44, 45
fusion, 231, 257, 298
future, l, 323
[G N], 307, 308
gambu 羆羻 (Tangut title), 171, 172
gamma, xliii, xlvii, 10
Gansu *see* Kansu
geminate, xlviii, 245
gender, xxvii, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 234, 237, 241, 246, 321, 348
genitive, 181, 190, 191, 195, 198, 200, 201, 203, 216, 217, 241, 247, 254, 255, 257, 260, 269, 298, 321, 322, 333, 340, 343, 346, 348, 349, 360, 367, 369, 375, 457
Georgia, 169
ger *see* yurt
Gesar, 191, 192
Geser *see* Gesar
Getan (གེ་དན་) ~ *Getang* (གེ་དང་), 112, 115, 117, 174, 200, 202
ghost form, 228, 243
ghost morpheme, 23, 29, 33
ghost transcription, 156
ginger, 86
girl, 42, 186
girth strap, 87, 125
glacier, 182
glide, xliii, 94, 96, 192, 193, 213, 293, 377
glottal, 192, 293; glottal stop [ʔ], 87, 102, 141, 405; glottal transition [ɦ], 9, 10, 111
Gñïjïgen (གཉིཥ་གེན་), 181

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All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

goat, 38, 126, 216, 220, 313, 339, 340, 449, 451
god ~ goddess, 54, 187, 203, 383
gold, 26, 42, 45, 59, 251, 275, 279, 348, 436
good, 6, 11, 108, 279, 280, 313, 370, 371, 380, 384, 395, 440
Go-on 呉音, 139
gown, 145
grain, 375, 376, 413; *see* agriculture
grandfather, 224, 280, 313, 338, 449, 452
grandson, 208, 274, 433
grass, 5, 6, 71, 96, 126, 178, 314, 334, 338, 382, 457
gyrfalcon, 183
[ɦ] *see* glottal transition
háček, 428
hair, 42, 52, 160, 456, 457
Hambis, Louis, 172, 173, 174
Han clan 韓氏, 143
Han Empire 漢朝, 40, 41, 55, 56, 79, 154, 161
Han Kao-shih mu-chih-ming 韓高十墓誌銘, 236
Han Shu 漢書, 39, 44, 82
hapax legomenon, 201
haplology, 146
hare, 5, 6, 11, 279, 313, 353, 373
Harodpar (ཧོད་པར), 184, 189
hawk, 220, 291, 339, 350, 370, 430
He (ཧེ) *see* Qay
headdress, 42, 160
heaven, xlviii, 43, 124, 226, 240, 277, 378, 422, 434
Hebei 河北, 37
Hei-t'a 黑獺, 43
Hei Ta Shih-lüeh 黑韃事略, 103
Henan 河南, 131
Hepburn romanization, xlviii
Hephthalite Empire, 57, 64, 184
hero, 3, 41, 187
'hidden *-n*', 260; *see* post-nominal *-n* suffix
high vowel, 8
Historia Mongalorum, xxix, 72, 73, 448
Ho clan 郃氏, 145
Ho-ch'i ~ Ho-chi clan 和稽氏, 130
Ho-ho-ch'en 紇何辰, 203, 205, 209, 215
Ho-hsi clan 紇奚氏, 92, 130, 343
Ho-ku clan 紇骨氏, 131
homeland, 6, 32, 383, 384, 386, 401, 403, 408, 412, 414, 416
homograph, 67, 334
homophone ~ homophonous, 81, 123, 133, 138, 143, 243, 264, 452
homorganic, 111, 334
Ho-nan *see* Henan
Ho-nan Kuo 河南國, 169
Ho-nan wang 河南王, 169
honorific, 186, 246, 374
Ho-pei *see* Hebei
Ho-pien 紇便, 206
horse ~ horses ~ horseback, 24, 38, 42, 45, 57, 70, 87, 117, 118, 119, 125, 174, 175, 241, 258, 259, 313, 341, 352, 353, 380, 395, 396, 414, 423, 456, 457
Ho-tou-ling clan 紇豆陵氏, 131
Hou clan 侯氏, 132, 144, 366
Hou Han Shu 後漢書, 41, 44, 45, 55, 395, 412, 413

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All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

houses, 38, 86, 89, 90, 135, 139, 140, 165, 251, 257, 263, 314, 326, 341
Ho-wu-yü 賀勿于, 206
Hsi 奚 *see* Qay
Hsi 霫, 60, 63
Hsien-chen 鹹眞, 151, 342
Hsin-chih-pen 歆志賁, 40
Hsing-tsung huang-ti ai-ts'e 興宗皇帝哀冊, 328
Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書, 62, 63, 64, 65, 206
Hsi-tou-lu clan 奚斗盧氏, 132
Hsiung-nu 匈奴, 37, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 46, 60, 152, 187, 383, 388, 412, 417
Hsi-wan-tan 悉萬丹, 205
Hsüan-i huang-hou ai-ts'e 宣懿皇后哀冊, 222
Hsüeh clan 薛氏, 126
Hsüeh-yen-t'o 薛延陀, 68
Hu 胡, 37, 38, 39, 41, 52, 54, 61, 76, 112, 131, 365, 376, 377, 383, 412, 414, 448
Hua 滑, 57, 184
Hua-I i-yü 華夷譯語, 350, 399
Huai-t'ou 槐頭, 48, 49
Huan clan 緩氏, 130
Huan clan 桓氏, 146
Hu-ku-k'ou-yin clan 胡古口引氏, 144
Hu-lo-chen 胡洛眞, 143, 151, 165, 366
Hung Lou Meng 紅樓夢, 179
Hunminjŏng'ŭm Haeryebon 訓民正音 解例本, 18
hunt ~ hunting, 38, 43, 44, 70, 192, 275, 414
hydronym, 44, 45, 58, 59, 61, 63, 178, 315, 375, 432
hyphen, xlix
Ibn Muhannâ, xxxix, 392, 400
I-ch'in-ti-ho 俟懃地何, 63, 152, 157, 315
idiolect, 327
I-li-fa clan 俟力伐氏, 133
I-lo-ho 曳落河, 66, 201
imitation *see* phonetic imitation
imperfective, 309, 322, 323
indefinite, 247, 258, 259, 298
India, 37
Indo-European peoples, 46, 48
inflectional morphology ~ inflect ~ inflected ~ uninflected, 198, 222, 241, 243, 247, 249, 261, 264, 284, 330, 346, 380
ink, 26, 27, 28
Inner Mongolia, 38, 46, 68, 162, 209, 379, 412, 414
insertion *see* epenthesis
instrumental, 247, 253, 261, 262, 298, 321, 347, 351, 352, 360, 367, 392
intercalary, 221, 289, 290, 313, 362
interference, 139, 327, 345
internal reconstruction, xxv, 76, 77, 404
interpreter, 90, 150, 167, 185, 314, 324, 350, 351
intervocalic, 8, 9, 10, 67, 88, 116, 134, 140, 143, 146, 149, 152, 164, 165, 193, 221, 280, 289, 341, 367, 455
intrafamily borrowing, 153
intrafamily convergence, 31, 126
intrafamily loanword, 332
intransitive, 373
IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet), xliii, xliv, xlv, xlvii, 18, 20, 47, 158, 183, 328, 392, 399

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irregularity ~ irregular, 21, 28, 146, 217, 231, 233, 257
Išbara, 98
isogloss, 383, 400
I-tou-chüan clan 壹斗眷氏, 133
I-t'u-kan 伊吐干, 202, 215
ivory, 3, 210
jade, 42, 43
Jalayir, 74
Jāmi'u't-tawārīkh (جامع التواريخ), 74, 181
Jao-le 饒樂, 45, 58, 66
jewel, 25, 388
Jih-lien 日連, 205
Jih-lü T'ui-yen 日律推演, 48, 50
Jïma Khol (རྗེ་མ་ཁོལ་), 175, 347
Jo-kan clan 若干氏, 127, 133, 356
Jo-k'ou-yin clan 若口引氏, 134
Jo-lo-kuei 若洛廆, 169
Joru (རྩོ་རུ), 191
Jou-jan Empire 柔然, 68
judge, 225, 314, 330, 331, 344, 380
Ju-ho-chu 辱紇主, 62
Jui-hsi 芮奚, 207
Ju-lo-kuei 如洛瑰, 59
Jurcha *see* Jurchen people
Jurchen Empire, 99, 197, 275, 436
Jurchen people, 45, 65, 66, 330, 332, 335, 432
Jurchen script, xxv, 99, 105, 106, 107, 108, 362
Juvayni, 74
Kai clan 亥氏, 132
K'ang-hsi 康熙 *see* Elxe Taifin
Kan-on 漢音, 139
Kansu 甘肅, 54, 408
Kao clan 高氏, 137
Karlgren, Bernhard, 13, 80, 128, 129
Kerait *see* Kereyit
Kereyit, 7, 8, 73, 113, 421
Khagan (ཁ་གན་), 113, 114, 174, 182, 183, 184, 188, 195, 202; *see also* khaghan
khaghan, 88, 162, 170, 183, 188, 189, 195, 316, 360, 364, 367
khaghtun, 162; *see also* khatun *and* qatun
khan, 364
khān (خان), 364
Khar Tsan (ཁར་ཙན་), 171
Khatāy (ختايى), 67, 201
khatun, 162; *see also* khaghtun *and* qatun
khātūn (خَاتُن), 317
Khazar, 368
Khentii province (Хэнтий аймаг), 201, 288, 326, 335, 339, 344, 349, 355, 367, 403, 410
Khinggan Range, 52
Khitāi (خِتَاىْ), 67
Khri 'Od (ཁྲི་འོད་), 99, 111
Khri Srong Lde Brtsan (ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་བཙན་), 171
Khri Srong Rtsan (ཁྲི་སྲོང་ཙན་), 170
Khrigzigs (ཁྲི་གཟིགས་), 181
Khunyemon (ཁུ་ཉེ་མོན་), 182
Kirghiz, 63, 68, 152
Kitan Empire, 57, 66, 70, 77, 100, 171, 197, 198, 204
knife, 152, 367
K'o-chu-hun clan 渴燭渾氏, 144
k'o-han 可汗, 96, 98, 162, 188, 190, 203, 208, 215, 368
K'o-hou clan 渴侯氏, 144
Kokonor, 169, 355

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:09 UTC
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K'o-pi-neng 軻比能, 51, 76
K'o-po-chen 可薄眞, 155, 315, 319
Korea, 18
Koryŏ 高麗, 20, 353
K'o-sun 可孫, 155, 189
K'o-tsui 柯最, 48, 50
K'o-tsun 恪尊, 189
Kou clan 苟氏, 133
Kou clan 緱氏, 144
K'ou clan 寇氏, 134
Kowalewski, Józef, xxix, 138, 159, 333, 343
Ko-wu-t'u 葛烏菟, 43
Ku clan 古氏, 138
Ku Yeh-lü shih ming-shih 故耶律氏銘石, 348
Kuang-yün 廣韻, 103
Kuchi, 32
K'u-ko 窟哥, 208
Kül Tegin Inscription, 110, 119, 340, 347, 365
Küli Čor Inscription, 199
Kulturwort ~ Kulturwörter, 6, 152, 166, 187, 188, 194, 195, 353, 357, 360, 364, 368, 383, 396
K'u-mo Hsi 庫莫奚, 60, 61; *see also* Qay
K'u-mo-li 枯莫離, 208
Kyerim Yusa 鷄林類事, 19, 391, 406
labial, 85, 94, 96, 192, 213, 280, 290, 293
labiodental, 94
lady, 105, 156, 186, 189, 229, 231, 232, 255, 264, 267, 279, 305, 316, 317, 348, 420, 433
lake, 11, 45, 176, 313, 336, 358, 381
Lang clan 狼氏, 123, 128
Lang-chün hsing-chi 郎君行記, xxxvi, 103, 225, 234, 263, 272, 274, 436
language shift, 54
language universals, 34
Lao-ha River 老哈河, 46, 58, 413
lapel, 52
Large Script *see* Linear Script
laryngeal, 141
Later Chao 後趙, 157
Later Yen 後燕, 54
lateral, xlviii, 90, 94, 135, 145, 192, 213, 293, 328, 358
Laufer, Berthold, 335, 336, 337, 342, 372, 385, 386, 387, 388
leek, 399
lenition ~ lenited, xliii, 9, 58, 81, 107, 108, 116, 117, 142, 146, 164, 165, 221, 280, 289, 345, 356, 455
lexical interference, 139
lexicalization ~ lexicalized ~ lexically assigned, 150, 247, 257, 263, 264, 266, 291, 299, 301, 315, 318, 319, 323, 324, 327
Liang clan 梁氏, 135
Liang Shu 梁書, 172, 184
Liao 遼, 59, 200, 201, 432
Liao River 遼河, 48, 58
Liao Shih 遼史, 61, 63, 70, 171, 198, 208, 210, 211, 318, 378, 405
Liao-hsi 遼西, 55, 56, 401, 406, 412, 413
Liaoning 遼寧, 38
Liao-tung 遼東, 169
Ligeti, Lajos (Louis), xlvii, 7, 11, 12, 15, 59, 114, 115, 121, 122, 129, 140, 155, 156, 157, 159, 335, 336, 337, 342, 343, 351, 358, 361, 383

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:09 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Linear Script, definition, 210
liquid (consonant), 140, 280
Liu clan 劉氏, 138
livestock, 174, 386, 413, 449
logogram ~ logograph ~ logographic, 233, 425-440
Lou-pan 樓班, 56
low vowel, 8
lowering *see* vowel lowering
Loyang 洛陽, 40
Lu clan 陸氏, 144
Lun Heng 論衡, 390
lynx, 178, 179, 180, 195, 205, 455
Maek 貊, 48, 413
Maga Thogon Khagan (མ་ག་ཐོ་གོན་ཁ་ག་ན་), 182, 184, 188
Malgal ~ Margar 말갈 (靺鞨) *see* Mo-ho
Manchu Script, 346
Manchuria, 37, 177, 209, 211
Manchurian Sprachbund, 177
Mangala *see* Edict of Mangala
Mangporje (མང་པོ་རྗེ), 182
Man-t'ou 滿頭, 40
manure, 392
mare, 353
marriage, 42, 45, 69, 251, 257, 263
masculine, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 246, 271, 315, 317, 320, 321, 324, 330, 332, 348, 426, 428, 430, 432
Maspero, Henri, 94
Mdosmad (མདོ་སྨད་), 111, 181
meat, 44, 70
medial, xlix, 9, 72, 88, 98, 108, 142, 145, 149, 152, 349
medicine, 127
Megrit *see* Mekrit
Meillet, Antoine, 283, 288
Mekrit, 73, 74
Meng-ku 萌古, 69, 70, 76, 77
Meng-ku-li 蒙古里, 70, 76, 77
Meng Ta Pei Lu 蒙韃備錄, 71
Meng-wa 蒙瓦 ~ Meng-wu 蒙兀, 11, 65, 68, 69, 70, 76, 77, 297
merger ~ merge ~ merged ~ merging, 11, 82, 85, 101, 104, 106, 116, 214, 215, 297, 320, 364, 368, 369, 396, 407
Mergit *see* Merkit
Merkit, 7, 73, 74
metaphorical extension, 139
metathesis ~ metathesized, xxvi, 329, 348, 352, 373
Mgar Stong Rtsan (མགར་སྟོང་བཙན་), 170
Mi-chia 彌加, 48, 50
mid vowel, 8
military, 48, 208, 251, 254, 275, 313, 331, 332, 336, 343
milk, 178, 377, 404
millet, 87, 376; millet alcohol, 87
mimetics, 126, 139, 222
Ming clan 明氏, 133
minimal pairs, 213
Min-yüeh 閩越, 154
Mi-tao-ssu Niao 麋到斯裊, 336
Mo-chieh 靺羯, 60
modification ~ modify ~ modifying, 222, 226, 227, 229, 231, 234, 235, 260, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 298, 307, 308, 309, 337, 348
Mo-fu 莫弗, 203, 205, 206
Mo-fu-ho 莫弗賀, 203

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:09 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Mo-ho 靺鞨, 60, 65, 66
Mo-ho 莫賀, 187
Mo-ho-fu 莫賀弗, 62, 203
Mo-ho-fu 莫何弗, 203
Möllendorff-Norman romanization, xlvii
monarch, 364
Mongol Conquests, 70, 151, 191
Mongol Empire, 66, 75, 421
monkey, 400, 401, 402, 413
monomorphemic, 24, 25, 29, 33, 157, 200, 221, 280, 291, 294, 333, 338, 370, 386, 396
monophthongization ~ monophthongized, 84, 151, 164, 280
monosyllabic, 147
'month', 17, 18, 19, 20, 239, 292, 313, 369, 428
mood, xxvi, 131, 134, 142, 295, 317, 344
moon, 3, 17, 18, 19, 20, 70, 87, 292, 313, 362, 369, 384, 388, 406, 428
morpheme-initial, 164
morphophonology ~ morphophonological, 243, 283, 284, 380
morphosyntax ~ morphosyntactic, 100, 231, 235, 273, 295, 296, 299, 300, 380
Mostaert, Antoine, xliii, 220, 355, 363, 373
'mother', 25, 247, 249, 255, 293, 359
Mo-tun 冒頓, 41, 187
mountain valley, 72, 181, 195
mouse, 154
mud ~ muddy, 179, 375
Muglden (སྨག་ལྡེན་), 183, 184
mugwort, 130, 167
Mu-jung (person) 慕容, 48, 50
Mu-jung (eponymous clan name) 慕容, 50, 54, 80, 169, 190
Mu-jung Shu-lo-kan 慕容樹洛干, 190
Mu-ku-lü 木骨閭, 147, 354
Mu-k'un 木昆, 62
Mulgil ~ Murgir 물길 (勿吉) *see* Wu-chi
Müller, Max, 30, 31
Muqaddimat al-Adab, xxxix, 333, 354, 386
Murayama, Shichirō 村山七郎, 7, 8
mushroom, 385, 386
Mu-t'i 莫堤, 156
mutual intelligibility ~ mutually intelligible, 60, 77, 122, 125
myth ~ mythology, 71, 73, 188, 385
-n see post-nominal *-n* suffix
[N Post], 310
Naiman, 7, 74
Naiman-Kereyit Theory, 7
Nan Ch'i Shu 南齊書, 52, 125, 142, 148, 152, 156, 159, 162, 163, 172
Nankiyas, 75
Nan-lou 難樓, 56
na-po 捺鉢, 420, 421
narrowing *see* semantic narrowing
narwhal, 210
nasal, xlvi, 16, 40, 80, 81, 85, 86, 94, 96, 101, 106, 107, 108, 127, 137, 178, 182, 192, 199, 200, 213, 219, 254, 293, 334, 349, 390, 430; *see also* denasalization *and* prenasalization
nasalization ~ nasalized, 81, 86, 89, 107, 108, 127
[Neg V], 309, 310
negation ~ negative, 272, 273, 309, 310, 322

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neologism, 133
Nestorian Stele, 94, 417
net, 87, 129, 166, 314, 334, 413
neutralization ~ neutralized, 177, 217
Nganlam Klu Khong (ངན་ལམ་ཀླུ་ཁོང་), 171
Nganlam Stag Sgra Klu Khong *see* Nganlam Klu Khong
Niao-lo-ko 裊羅箇, 45
Niru'un, 72, 74
No-ho-po 諾賀鉢, 189
nomad ~ nomadic ~ nomadism, 30, 31, 32, 34, 38, 39, 44, 65, 67, 74, 326, 365
nominal, 232, 266, 300, 301, 338, 453
nominative case, 21, 188, 247, 258, 298, 367, 368
non-distinctive, 186, 357
non-initial, 133, 214, 215
Northern and Southern Dynasties period 南北朝, 55, 148, 161, 183, 197, 198, 205
Northern Ch'i 北齊, 55, 122
Northern Chou 北周, 53, 121
Northern Wei 北魏, 52, 79, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 121, 122, 123, 125, 129, 136, 140, 141, 159, 162, 172, 197, 199, 203, 204, 205, 206, 416
Nü-chen-kuan i-yü 女真館夷語, xxiv
Nüküz, 71
null (Ø), 10, 98, 99, 102, 146, 258, 270, 312
[Num N], 308, 380
number , 222, 226, 235, 264, 266, 298, 299, 300, 301, 318
numeral, 222, 228, 229, 230, 231, 233, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 266, 268, 298, 308, 313, 334, 335, 336, 342, 344, 345, 348, 366, 384, 449, 452, 459; cardinal numeral, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 260, 361, 403, 425, 430, 432, 437, 439, 440; ordinal numeral, 221, 228, 229, 230, 232, 233, 320, 321, 430
oblique, 337, 349, 371
obsolete, 177, 399
obstruent, xlvi, 45, 85, 88, 94, 95, 110, 128, 154, 177, 217, 218, 240, 288, 356
occupational suffix, 149, 150, 151, 160, 165, 243, 315, 319, 331, 342, 350, 351, 366, 438
'Odang (འོད་དང་), 175
Oirat (people), 74
'O Khol (འོ་ཁོལ་) ~ 'O Kol (འོ་ཀོལ་), 177, 178, 180, 181, 347
Old Tibetan Annals, 54, 172, 173, 175, 180, 182, 194
Old Tibetan Chronicle, 110, 194
Öng'üt (Önggüt) people, 74
onomastica ~ onomastic ~ onomasticon ~ non-onomastic, 41, 49, 54, 55, 61, 66, 75, 79, 80, 122, 123, 125, 148, 182, 183, 189, 204, 417
onset (syllable or morpheme onset), xxvi, xlv, 40, 50, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 91, 94, 95, 100, 101, 103, 106, 110, 111, 112, 139, 141, 142, 143, 172, 174, 180, 204, 206, 218, 220, 389, 390
Oracle Bone Inscriptions 甲骨文, 398
oral tradition, 71
oralized, 389

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ordo ~ ordu, 244, 246, 250, 303, 359, 360, 439
Ordu Baliq, 68
origin myth, 71, 188
Orkhon inscriptions, 152, 199
Orochen Banner, xxxi, 162
Oroqen *see* Orochen Banner
orthographic convention, 334, 346
Oʁraq, 118
OV, 266, 302, 303, 310
overt, 266, 270, 298
Özmiš Qaɣan, 98
palatal ~ palatalization ~ palatalized ~ palatalizing, xliii, xlvii, 11, 15, 16, 50, 67, 69, 85, 94, 96, 100, 127, 148, 151, 178, 182, 187, 189, 192, 193, 199, 200, 205, 209, 213, 289, 293, 344, 377, 430; *see* depalatalized *and* unpalatalized
Pa-lieh clan 拔列氏, 135, 361
Pao clan 鮑氏, 133
Pao clan 褒氏, 145
'Para-Mongolic', 2, 14, 15, 16, 17, 57, 405
paradigm, 16, 142, 163, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 258, 284, 285, 286, 287, 299, 300, 350, 368, 416
paragoge ~ paragogic, 126, 455
participle, 271, 322
particle, 222, 223, 273
passive, 222, 287, 295, 310, 324, 333
past tense, 11, 103, 134, 136, 240, 246, 264, 271, 280, 287, 289, 290, 291, 295, 315, 318, 319, 321, 322, 323, 324, 337, 407, 420, 422; feminine past, 330; immediate past, 323; masculine past, 324, 330, 332; past factual, 136, 287, 289, 291, 295, 318, 319, 363, 373, 376; past firsthand, 134, 287, 291, 295, 323
pastoral ~ pastoralism, 38, 39, 365
Pei shih 北史, 61, 63, 64, 65, 172, 185, 187, 205
pejoration (semantic change), 64, 137, 288
Pelliot, Paul, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15, 39, 64, 65, 68, 74, 98, 99, 112, 122, 137, 155, 157, 159, 173, 185, 187, 188, 201, 288, 289, 290, 350, 366, 384
P'eng Ta-ya 彭大雅, 103
perfective, 11, 131, 134, 142, 149, 154, 222, 271, 280, 285, 287, 295, 296, 309, 317, 318, 322, 323, 325, 332, 337, 344, 422
periodization, xxiv, 13, 33, 68, 75, 76, 388, 406, 416
Perlee, Kh. (Пэрлээ, Х.), 209, 328
person (grammatical category), l, 188, 195, 222
personal name *see* onomastica
personal pronouns, 4, 185, 222
'Phagspa Script, xxiv, xxxvii, xxxviii, xliv, xlv, 16, 42, 67, 100, 101, 103, 325, 340, 348, 349, 361, 362, 363, 369, 370, 371, 372, 374, 375, 377, 378, 402, 404
phonetic imitation, 138, 143, 144
phonological conditioning ~ phonologically conditioned ~ conditional ~ conditioned, xxvii, 136, 151, 243, 247, 264, 265, 319, 323, 419, 420, 421, 423, 424, 428, 438
phonotactics, xxvi, 45, 97, 111, 126, 142, 147, 148, 163, 164, 182, 200, 204, 205, 243, 329, 388, 397, 455

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phrase ~ phrasal, xxv, 64, 119, 158, 175, 176, 180, 200, 210, 225, 235, 236, 240, 243, 336, 337, 340, 348, 356, 375, 390, 447; adverb phrase, 382; noun phrase, 270, 381; phrasal order, 268, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311; phrasal structure, 380
Pi clan 畢氏, 129
pig, 38, 83, 101, 132, 164, 167, 291, 327, 353, 366, 410, 411, 413, 414
Pinyin, xlvi, 176, 236
pitch, xxiii, xxiv, xxvii, xlviii, 154, 155
Pi-te-chen 比德眞, 156
P'i-ti 匹磾 (Tuan Serbi leader), 53
plosive *see* stop
plough, 389, 394, 395, 413, 414, 455
plural, 67, 128, 149, 150, 151, 155, 160, 165, 198, 199, 200, 201, 210, 220, 224, 235, 253, 258, 264, 266, 291, 298, 299, 300, 301, 315, 318, 319, 324, 327, 329, 330, 331, 333, 337, 339, 342, 343, 345, 348, 349, 350, 351, 356, 361, 363, 364, 366, 367, 369, 372, 378, 403, 438
polarization, 215
Polo, Marco, 11, 74
polymorphemic, 24, 29, 375, 396
Pontic Steppe, 88
Poppe, Nicholas, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 17, 23, 47, 133, 289, 298, 313, 317, 318, 321, 322, 325, 328, 334, 335, 336, 337, 342, 344, 349, 351, 352, 354, 356, 358, 362, 372, 384, 386, 391, 392, 393, 400, 403, 404, 411, 422, 453, 454, 455, 456
Popper, Karl, 34
possessive, 133, 269, 333
possessive attributive suffix, 133
possessor, xxv, 269, 307
possessum, xxv, 269, 307
post-nominal *-n* suffix, 338; *see* 'hidden *-n*'
postposition ~ postposed ~ postpositional, xxv, 268, 310, 333
P'o-to-lo clan 破多羅氏, 135
pragmatics ~ pragmatically, 323
predicate ~ predicative, 224; nominal predicate, 266; predicative sentence, 266; predicative verb, 266
prefect, 11, 156, 167, 314, 354
prefecture, 205, 277
prefix, 14, 154
prehistory, 23, 33, 383, 384, 416
prenasalization ~ prenasalized, 94, 95, 111, 389
preparative converb, l, 287, 295, 322
primary, xliv, 159, 377; primary vocabulary, 384, 385, 389, 393, 397
pro-drop, 270, 312
progressive (language), 20, 106, 358, 369
progressive raising, 221
prohibitive, 309
proper noun *see* onomastica
prosthesis ~ prosthetic (sound change), 388
proximal, l, 223, 224; proximal ad-word, 340; proximal demonstrative, 337; proximal demonstrative pronoun, 224
P'u clan 普氏, 133, 135, 342
P'u-hui 普回, 43
Pu-liu-ku clan 步六孤氏, 144
pulmonic ingressive, xxvii, 322

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:09 UTC
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P'u-ta-chen 樸大眞, 160
Pu-yao 步搖, 50, 80
Puyo (Puyŏ 부여) 夫餘 people, 48, 60, 360, 368, 413
Puyo-Koguryoic peoples (Puyŏ-Koguryŏ 부여고구려) 夫餘高句麗, 48, 60, 360, 368, 413
qa (title), 201, 231, 364, 368, 427
qa'an (title), 364, 368
qaγan (title), 98, 110, 199, 201, 340, 364
qahan (title), 188, 364, 368, 382
Qaidu (11th c. Mongol ruler), 49, 132
Qalach, 75
qan (title), 201, 327, 364
Qara Khitai, 57, 67, 197, 198
Qarluq, 75, 96, 112, 118
qat (plural title), 364
qatun (title), 95, 130, 156, 189, 316, 317; *see also* khaghtun *and* khatun
Qay people, 53, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 76, 92, 178, 183, 203, 207, 315, 423, 437
Qiyan, 71
Qorolas, 71
quotatives, 222
Qutadγu Bilig, 339, 456
rabbit, 6, 11, 279, 313, 373
raising *see* vowel raising
Ramstedt, G.J., 17, 139, 181, 384, 389, 392, 399, 410
Raole *see* Jao-le
Rashīdu'd-dīn Faḍlul'lāh, 67, 71, 74, 181
rat, 154
Ratchnevsky, Paul, 64, 65, 298
reanalysis ~ reanalyzed (language change), 73, 175, 176, 178, 186, 200, 203, 321, 332, 338, 340, 343, 346, 347, 348, 352, 355, 361, 389, 401, 449, 453
reaping, 38
Rebgong, 191
reciprocal, 285
reduction *see* vowel reduction
reduplication ~ reduplicative, 222
reflexive, 42, 343, 392
regularity ~ regular ~ regularly, 5, 6, 20, 21, 23, 28, 33, 40, 51, 80, 82, 84, 102, 116, 135, 141, 143, 154, 159, 187, 191, 200, 204, 215, 216, 221, 280, 289, 290, 292, 322, 327, 333, 341, 344, 350, 356, 357, 375, 387, 415, 453, 454, 455, 458
reincarnation, 374
[Rel N], 268, 308, 309, 311
relative clause, 227, 240, 268, 270, 271, 308
relay route ~ relay system ~ relay station, 124, 133, 151, 156, 158, 159, 166, 167, 290, 314, 342, 343, 346
religion, 25, 174
resultative, 131, 296, 317, 344
rgyalpo (རྒྱལ་པོ), 173, 174
rhotacism ~ rhotacization ~ rhotacizing ~ rhotacized ~ rhotic ~ non-rhotic, 31, 38, 58, 60, 61, 66, 86, 89, 98, 130, 145, 149, 164, 165, 201, 267
rhymes, xxvi, xlix
'ride', 130, 215, 241, 259, 313, 359, 422, 423
'right' (side), 255, 313, 328, 381
Right Pei-p'ing 右北平, 48, 56
Rinchen, B. (Ринчен, Б.), 7, 65, 335, 339, 344, 355, 362, 367

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rivers, 38, 45, 46, 52, 58, 59, 60, 65, 66, 69, 71, 72, 73, 169, 175, 176, 179, 180, 413
'river' (word for ~), 17, 18, 19, 58, 100, 113, 136, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 195, 213, 214, 313, 314, 340, 341, 342, 347, 354, 375, 381, 421
'road', 151, 342, 343, 346
'robe', 145, 146, 166, 411
'roe deer', 126
Romani people, 32
romanization ~ romanized, xxiv, xxvi, xliii, xliv, xlvii, xlviii, 92, 212, 362, 377
rounded vowel, xliii, xliv, 8, 84, 111, 135, 214, 230, 348, 352, 398, 400, 434; *see also* unrounded vowels
royal seal, 43
Rudnev, A. (Рудневъ, А.), 20
runiform, xlvii, 59, 110, 174, 199, 334, 422
šad (title), 99
saddle strap *see* girth strap
Saint George, 169
Saka, 52, 132, 167
salt, 151, 314, 336, 358, 381
Samganghaengsildo 三綱行實圖, 18
San Kuo Chih 三國志, 42, 47, 55
sandal cord, 11, 87, 125, 166, 341
Sanglakh, 343
Sanzheev, Garma D. (Санжеев, Гарма Д.), 7, 16, 126, 455
Saskya Legs bshad, 386
Saskya Paṇḍita, 386
scissors, 367, 406
scribe, 7, 157, 247, 279, 280
script *see* writing
Scythian people, 52, 132, 167
'sea', 3, 336
Sea of Azov, 366
seal *see* royal seal
season, 45, 70, 249, 289, 290, 313, 339, 346, 361, 381, 436
secondary (language change), xliv, 333, 334, 345, 348
Secret History of the Mongols, 8, 72, 113, 147, 171, 330, 364, 392, 399
secretary, 152, 166, 247, 279
sedentary, 31, 32, 34
'seed', 363
semantic change, 28, 390
semantic narrowing, 386
Serwen Khaalga (Сэрвэн Хаалга), 288
shaman ~ shamaness, 108, 202, 314, 344, 381
Shan clan 山氏, 138
Shan-tung *see* Shandong
Shandong 山東, 54
Shang-ching 上京, 70
Shang-ku 上谷, 48, 56
Shao-ku 邵固, 208
Shara (ཤཱ་ར), 175
shared: functional morphology, 22, 188, 190-191, 283, 284, 287, 295, 415; innovations, 154, 284, 288, 289; lexicon, 63, 331, 406, 407, 410, 413, 453; phonological innovations, 288, 289
shaving ~ shaved, 45
sheep, 38, 45, 70, 174, 365, 366, 380, 387, 395

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:09 UTC
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shift *see* language shift
Shih Chi 史記, 39, 44
Shih-lou clan 是樓氏, 137
Shih-pen clan 是賁氏, 89, 136, 137, 288, 379
Shih-te 室得, 62
Shih-t'u clan 尸突氏, 145
Shih-wei 室韋 *see* Shirwi
Shiratori, Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, 13, 122, 147, 155, 156, 158, 159, 173, 185, 333, 343, 350, 396, 405
Shirwi, 11, 53, 57, 58, 59, 60, 64, 65, 66, 69, 71, 76, 77, 203
shoe ~ shoes, 391, 394
Shou-pieh-kuan 受別官, 161
Shu-lo-kan *see* Mu-jung Shu-lo-kan
sibilant, 88
sibling, 11, 16, 221, 234, 235, 264, 269, 290, 291, 300, 313, 348, 356, 357, 405, 406, 414
Silgucïn (སིལ་གུ་ཅིན་) ~ Sïlgucïn (སིལ་གུ་ཅིན་), 177, 178, 180, 193, 315, 454, 455
silk, 389, 390, 414
Silla 新羅 (state), xlviii, 87
'silver', 389
simplified ~ simplification (phonological change), 333
singular, 188, 195, 298, 333
Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription, 111
Sinor, Denis, 23, 67, 157, 185, 457
sister, 213, 234, 338, 357, 405, 406, 452
sister language ~ sister branch, xlviii, 8, 13, 136, 313
Small Script *see* Assembled Script
smith, 125
smoke, 15, 107, 108
snakes, 44, 181, 313, 353, 357, 421
[S_{NP} $Pred_{NP}$], 305
society ~ social structure, 23, 31, 32
Sogdian people, 52, 91
Sogdian script, xliii, 10
'soil', 167, 314, 375, 389, 393, 397, 457
So-ku 娑固, 208
So-lu clan 索盧氏, 132
'son', 17, 18, 186, 203, 231, 236, 249, 261, 290, 291, 300, 307, 308, 338, 348, 349, 350, 356, 357, 403, 404, 452, 459
Sonom Gara, 386
sonorant, 88, 219
sound correspondence ~ correspond, 5, 6, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 33, 51, 58, 80, 81, 86, 102, 103, 112, 113, 115, 126, 127, 134, 136, 143, 187, 288, 290, 292, 294, 323, 357, 397, 415
Southern Liang 南涼, 53
Southern Yen 南燕, 54
SOV, 302, 304, 380
sovereign, 364, 367, 368
spatial, 340
spear, 126
speech, 30, 53, 60, 122, 351, 356
spirant *see* fricative
spirantization, 15, 16, 153
spirit, 25, 44, 362
sporadic, 81, 146, 215, 341, 398
Sprags (སྦྲགས་), 175
Spu (སྤུ་), 170
Square Script *see* 'Phagspa Script
Stammbaum *see* tree
Starostin, Sergei (Старостин, Сергей), 13, 79, 82, 87, 327, 328, 332, 339, 344, 378, 386, 387, 395, 398, 400, 401

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stop ~ plosive, 15, 87, 88, 94, 96, 102, 141, 177, 192, 213, 293, 389, 405
stress, 220
Subašida see *Saskya Legs bshad*
subject (grammatical subject), xxvi, l, 266, 270, 271, 310, 312
subjects (social division), 40, 66, 69, 122, 124, 172, 394, 413
subordinate conjunctive converb suffix, 173, 174
subordination, 272
subordinative conjunction, 272
substratal elements ~ substrata, 191, 346, 367, 379
Su-ho-kuei 素和貴, 190
Sui dynasty 隋朝, 60, 170; *see also* Sui-T'ang
Sui Shu 隋書, 61, 62, 63, 64, 121, 211
Sui-T'ang 隋唐, xxiv, 43, 57, 93, 94, 128, 129, 183, 189, 197, 198, 206, 207
Su K'o-han 蘇可汗, 203, 208, 215
Su-li 素利, 51
summer, 181, 313, 345, 381, 382
sun, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 291, 292, 313, 358, 359, 376, 384, 388
Sung dynasty 宋朝, 103, 197, 256, 261
Sung-mo 松漠, 207
Sung Shu 宋書, 169, 172, 185, 187, 188
superstrate, 154
suppletion ~ suppletive, 230, 233, 235, 258
Su-p'u-yen 蘇僕延, 56
surname, 43, 124, 125
SV, 266, 302, 303, 381
Swadesh, Morris, 283, 385
syllable nuclei, 84, 104, 114
syllable-final, xxvi, xlviii
syllable-initial, xxvi, 81, 82, 113, 141, 280, 289
syncretism, 230, 328, 373
syntax ~ syntactic, 188, 194, 210, 211, 266, 267, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 310, 380, 417, 447
Szemerényi, Oswald, 283
taboo, 43, 145
Ta-chi ~ Ta-ch'i ~ T'a-chi ~ T'a-ch'i 達稽, 207
Ta-fei Ch'uan 大非川, 175
Ta-ho 大賀, 76, 198, 207
Tai 代 (state), 52
T'ai-tsu Emperor Wen 太祖文皇帝, 43
ta-jen 大人, 48
Tajik, 75
tally sticks, 172
Ta-mo-kan clan 大莫干氏, 145
Ta-mo-lou 達末婁, 60
T'ang dynasty 唐朝, xxvi, xxix, 37, 57, 93, 170, 175, 208, 244, 260, 262, 276; *see also* Sui-T'ang
Tangqut *see* Tangut people
Tangut people, 53, 170, 171
Tangut Empire, 53, 172
Tangut Script, 67, 172, 402
T'an-shih-huai 檀石槐, 47, 48, 51, 76, 413
Tao-tsung huang-ti ai-ts'e 道宗皇帝哀冊, 200
T'ao-wei-ssu Mo-li 陶猥思沒里, 179, 375
Ta-po clan 達勃氏, 145, 316
Tartar, 73
Tártaros (Τάρταρος), 73

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ta-shuai 大帥, 48
Tatabɨ *see* Qay
Tatar, 71, 73, 74, 103, 421
Tata[r]-Toŋa, 7
T'a-tun 蹋頓, 56
technology ~ technological, 28, 384, 396, 414
temporal, 242, 340
Temüǰin, 304, 421
tense, xxvi, 11, 131, 134, 136, 142, 241, 246, 264, 271, 289, 290, 295, 315, 317, 321, 322, 323, 324, 330, 332, 344, 373, 420; *see also* past tense, future, *and* TMA
tent *see* yurt
text-critical notes, 126, 135, 142, 143, 144, 145
textile, 389, 414
Thogon (ཐོག་ཅོན), 169, 183, 184, 188, 196
Tibet, 175, 192
Tibetan Empire, 109, 111, 170, 171, 172, 190
Tibetan people, 110, 129, 170, 386
Tibetan script, 82, 111, 114, 135, 137, 140, 173, 180, 202, 409
T'ieh-le 鐵勒, 44
T'ien-chüan 天眷 reign period, 240
T'ien-hui 天會 reign period, 103
till ~ tilling, 314, 375, 376; *see* agriculture
'time', 226, 247, 249, 263, 277, 279, 289, 290, 309, 310, 313, 330, 339, 346, 361, 436
Ting-ling 丁令, 44
TMA, xxvi, 286, 289, 295; *see* tense, mood, *and* aspect
Todaeva, B. Kh. (Тодаева, Б. Х.), 20, 220, 322, 327, 373, 378, 386, 411, 455
toenail, 392, 393
tone, xxvii, xlv, xlvi, 40, 80, 141, 154, 155, 357, 387
Toñuquq Inscription, 199, 347
T'o-pa clan 拓跋氏, xxvi, 52, 53, 121, 122, 123
T'o-pa Yüan-hao 拓跋元昊 (Tangut emperor), 53
toponyms, 66, 125, 138, 169, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 189, 193, 288
Tou clan 竇氏, 131
T'ou-lu-hou 投鹿侯, 47
Tou-mo-lou 豆莫婁, 57, 61
transitive, 373
tree (language family tree) ~ Stammbaum, 11, 14, 31
trill, xlvii, 89
tsheg, xlix, 173
Tsintsius, V. I. (Цинциус, В. И.), 335, 339, 340, 345, 357, 376, 377, 396, 408, 455
Tsu-chen 祖真, 204, 209, 215
Tsu-pu 阻卜 ~ 阻鞣, 265, 421
Tuan clan 段, 53, 54, 76
T'u-fa 禿髮 (state), 52, 53, 54, 76
T'u-hsi clan 吐奚氏, 138
Tu-huo 獨活, 207
Tu-ku clan 獨孤氏, 138
t'u-li 吐里 (Late Kitan title), 64
t'u-li 禿里 (Qay title), 64
T'u-nan clan 土難氏, 138
Tung Hu 東胡 *see* Eastern Hu
Tungusic peoples, 414
Tun-huang 燉煌, 48, 109, 110

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T’u-pien 突便, 207
Turcae, 366
Turfan, 330
Türgiš, 119
Türk, 3, 60, 68, 85, 88, 98, 366
‘Turk’ (Rashīdu’d-dīn’s generic usage), 71; *see also Atrāk*
typology ~ typological, 34, 177, 218, 220, 231, 233, 300, 304
Tzu Chih T’ung Chien 資治通鑑, 55
umlaut, xliv, 110, 348
unaspirated *see* aspiration
uncle, 186, 187, 266, 271, 313, 355
unification, 401
unintelligibility, 65
universals *see* language universals
unpalatalized, 140
unrounded vowel, 8, 334
Urheimat *see* homeland
uvular, xliii, xlvii, 40, 85, 87, 89, 135, 209, 213, 214, 405
Uyghur *see* Uygur people
Uygur people, 7, 10, 68, 84, 92, 112, 114, 116, 118, 129, 131, 174
Uygur script, xliii, 7, 8, 10, 174
Vasilevich, G. M. (Василевич, Г. М.), 315, 396
VCC, 218
velar, xliii, 40, 85, 86, 87, 88, 94, 96, 100, 101, 107, 111, 112, 118, 127, 137, 213, 214, 254
Vladimirtsov, Boris Yakovlevich (Владимирцов, Борис Яковлевич), xliii, xliv, 7, 8
Vladimirtsov-Mostaert romanization, xliii
vocalization, 289
vocoid sequences, 116, 214, 294
voice (grammatical category), 241, 285, 295, 310, 324
voiced ~ voicing, xliii, xlvii, 9, 10, 40, 67, 88, 110, 111, 112, 118, 135, 140, 154, 176, 177, 217, 218, 323, 329, 405
voiceless, 88, 110, 143, 154, 177, 217, 218, 323
vowel harmony ~ vowel harmonic, xlvii, 129, 147, 163, 200, 202, 215, 216, 217
vowel lowering, 289, 356, 357
vowel raising, 221, 288
vowel reduction ~ reduced, 191
vowel shift, 215
Wa people 倭人, 46, 401, 413
Wade-Giles, xlvi, 103
walrus, 210
Wang-chien River 望建河 *see* Ergune River
Wan-t’ou 曼頭, 190
Wa-p’en clan 嗢盆氏, 138, 343
Warring States 戰國時代, 37
warrior, 201
weapon, 133, 151, 152, 165, 167, 314, 366, 367
weaving, 388, 414
Wei clan 味氏, 144
Wei Shou 魏收, 41, 122
Wei Shu 魏書 (3rd c., lost book), 41
Wei Shu 魏書 (6th c.), 41, 53, 54, 59, 61, 64, 81, 87, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 129, 143, 147, 148, 158, 172, 185, 187, 199, 203, 205
Wen clan 溫氏, 138

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:09 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Western Chin 西晉, 54
Western Ch'in 西秦, 54
Western Liao 西遼 *see* Qara Khitai
Western Yen 西燕, 54
'white', 15, 16, 107, 108
wife ~ wives, 156, 161, 189, 195, 235, 249, 267, 305, 316, 317, 348, 359, 381
window, 27, 28, 29
Witsen, Nicolaes, 102
wolf, 15, 84, 123, 128, 166, 314, 333, 334
'woman' ~ 'women', 193, 214, 224, 247, 249, 255, 267, 269, 292, 305, 307, 359, 381
word order, 302
word-final, 50, 88, 106, 107, 126, 134, 136, 148, 164, 187, 200, 218, 219, 220, 243, 289, 323, 326
word-initial, 10, 27, 56, 82, 84, 95, 214, 215, 216, 217, 243, 327, 369, 419, 420, 421, 426
word-medial, xlix, 88
Wŏrin Sŏkpo 月印釋譜, 346
writing (*n.*), 8, 43, 44, 83, 87, 121, 153, 154, 157, 164, 166, 172, 210, 211, 256, 261, 273, 278, 315, 317, 332, 356, 422
Wu-ai-chen 烏矮眞, 161
Wu-chi 勿吉, 59, 65
Wu-ching tsung-yao 武經總要, 336
Wu-hou-ch'in River 烏侯秦水, 46, 416
Wu-i-shan-li 烏弋山離, 82
Wu-sun 烏孫, 44
Wu Wang 武王 *see* Mu-jung Shu-lo-kan
Wu-yen 烏延, 56
Wu-yin clan 屋引氏, 139, 326
Wu-yin K'o-han 戊寅可汗, 190
Xiajiadian, 38, 39
Xiongnu *see* Hsiung-nu
xylograph, 191
Yale Romanization, xxvi, xlviii, 92
Yang-chen 羊眞, 161
Yao-nien 遙輦, 76, 198, 207
Yār (یار), 67, 198; *see also* Chīdan Yār
Yaʁlaqar clan, 112, 118
Ye-Maek 濊貊 *see* Maek
Yeh-lü 耶律 (clan name), 67, 198
Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材, 66
Yeh-lü Jen-hsien 耶律仁先, 103
Yeh-lü Ti-lieh mu-chih-ming inscription 耶律迪烈墓誌銘, 200, 325
Yellow River 黃河, 52, 58, 60, 169, 354
Yellow River 潢河 (in southeastern Inner Mongolia), 58, 60
Yen 燕 (state), 39, 43
Yen-li-yu 宴荔遊, 48, 51
Yen Pei Lu 燕北錄, 197
Yen Pei Tsa-chi 燕北雜記, 197
Yongbi Ŏch'ŏn'ga 龍飛御天歌, 155, 346
'you', 3, 15, 188, 305, 314, 333
Yüan clan 元氏, 123
Yüan dynasty 元, 67, 72, 99, 100, 197, 198, 454
Yüan-lai clan 冤賴氏, 131, 142, 150, 164, 165, 343
Yüan Shih 元史, 280
Yü-ch'iu-pen 於仇賁, 40
Yü-jo 郁若, 161
Yu-lien clan 宥連氏, 140, 151, 378
Yün clan 雲氏, 140
yurt, 29, 44, 45, 193, 214, 290, 292, 326, 341, 377, 381
Yü-wen 宇文 (clan), 43, 53, 54, 57, 61, 76, 121

This content downloaded from 130.237.165.40 on Wed, 15 Sep 2021 14:49:09 UTC
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Yü-wen T'ai 宇文泰, 43, 53
Zakharov, Ivan (Захаровъ, Иванъ), 176, 329, 455
Zawkhan province (Завхан аймаг), 179
zero derivation ~ zero-derived, 47, 232
Zhang Btsantore Lhasbyin (ཞང་བཙན་ཏོར་ལྷ་སྦྱིན་), 177, 178
Zhangjiakou 張家口, 56
Zhol Inscription, 170, 171
Zhubugu *see* Chu-pu-ku
zodiac, 132
zoonym, 313
Zrïdmdá (རྫིད་མདའ་), xlix, 178
Zubu *see* Tsu-pu

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