CENTRAL ASIATIC JOURNAL

Edited by Giovanni Stary

54 (2010) 1

Harrassowitz Verlag

Some Qidan Words in Chinese Poems

By

LODE TALPE

(Leuven)

Introduction*

The *Qidan Guozhi* (= QDGZH) 契丹國志 by Ye Long-li 葉隆禮 of the Song 宋 dynasty contains some glossed Qidan[1] words registered by Yu-jing 余靖

* I would like to thank the entire staff of the Central University Library of the K. U. Leuven, as well as the S. M. L (Scheut Memorial Library) Kessel-Lo, the Staatsbibliothek Berlin for their kind services. Special thanks also go to Mrs B. Vaerman of the Sino-Japanese Library (BIBC) of the K. U. Leuven for providing me with the article of Gim Sheongi (1988), to Professor Dr. Kiyose Gisaburo for his kind advice and comments (his letter of April 25, 2000), and to Dr. Á. Molnár (Szeged, Hungary), for sending me a copy of L. Ligeti's "A kitaj nép és nyelv".

Spelling: Chinese, pinyin. However when articles with other transliterations are cited, the original transcription is preserved. Korean: The Revised Romanization of Korean. National Academy of The Korean Language. Ministery of Culture and Tourism. Seoul 2000. Mongol: Poppe N., Grammar of Written Mongolian. (3th printing), Wiesbaden 1974. In other cases, the transcription of the works cited has been preserved. Words like Jurcen etc. have their normalised forms.

1 For studies about the Qidan: Cinggeltei e. a., "Qidan xiao zi jiedu tan" [A New Approach to the Deciphering of the Ch'i-tan Script], Kaogu Xuebao 3, (1978), 353–387; Inner Mongolian Archeological Team of IA, CASS and Inner Mongolian Institute of Cultural Relics and Archeology, "Mural Tombs of the Liao Period at Haotehua in Jarud Banner, Inner Mongolia", *Kaogu (Archeology)*, nr. 1, 2003, 3–15. Perlee Kh., *Kitan-teden-ü monγolcud-tai qolbuγduγsan anu* (The Study of Kidan History), Ulan Batar.1959. Jagchid S., "The Kitans and their cities", *CAJ* 25 (1981), 70–89. One may add that Zhou Hui (1127–1198), author of the *Qing-bo zazhi*,12 ch. (1192 AD) also visited the Qidan in 1177 AD as a member of the embassy. His biography is somewhat vague and perplexed some authors (*Sung Bibliography*, 337). His work, as far as I know, has not yet been studied in the light of the research of the Qidan. Another work is the *He-dong-xiansheng-ji*, 15 ch., by Liu Kai (947 AD–1000 AD) (*ibidem*, 378). For a recent publication see Daniel Kane, "A Note on *Čisleben", *CAJ* 48 (2004), 223–225. The author concludes that this [word *Čisleben] is another piece of evidence that Qidan was a type of Mongolic language, but quite different from Mongolian (*ibidem*, 225). Roná-Tas András, "A Khitan Word for Marmot", *AOH* 57/1 (2004), 27–29.

(1000–1064 AD)[2] when he was sent as an ambassador to the Qidan. A poem by Diao-yue 刁约 (died 1082 AD)[3] is found in the *Meng qi bi tan* 夢溪筆談 by Shen Kuo 沈括 (1029–1093 AD).[4] Both poems are also incorporated in the *Gai yu cong kao* 陔餘叢考 (= GYCK) by Zhao-yi 趙翼 (1727–1814 AD).[5] Cognate words to those studied appear also in the *Yan bei lu* 燕北錄 (= YBL) and the *Yan bei za ji* 燕北雜記 (= YBZJ) by Wu Gui 武珪 and are part of the *Shuo-fu* 說郛 of Tao Song-yi 陶宗儀 and other texts like the History of the Liao.

It is our objective to identify words with the same morphological and semantical identity with the lexicon of related languages e.g. Manchu, Mongolian, Jurcen, Turkish and basing ourselves on already published materials. The below given identifications are mere suggestions.

First, I will describe the Chinese sources more elaborately. Then I will discuss the methodology which I have followed. After that, the words will be described.

1. Chinese Sources:

1.1. *Yan Bei Lu* (= YBL) by Wang-I in *Shuo-fu*, ch. 38. Commercial Press.1927 (ref. 4.18681-19: Staatsbibliothek Berlin), 16a–19a. This is in fact a reedition. For a biography of Tao Song-yi, author of the *Shuo-fu*, see Carrington Goodrich & Chaoying Fang (eds.), *Diction-*

Nakajima Motoki, "The First International Conference on Manchu Language and Culture & The Second International Conference on Tungus Languages and Culture (2004. 8. 16–20, Hai-la-êrh), *Tôhôgaku*, 109, jan. 2005, 139–146 mentioning the study of Sun Baijun [or Sun Bojun] on Vowel Compounds in Kitan. Vovin Alexander, "Once again on Kitan Words in Chinese-Khitan Mixed Verses", *AOH* 56/2–4, 2003, 237–244. In this article, many words which have been studied here by me, are discussed. The proposed etymologies are different from mine. Moreover, I do use more sources. My paper had already been sent to some journals, when I came across Professor Vovin's article and the one of Professor Róna-Tas. Cinggeltei, "On the problem of Reading Kitan Characters", *AOH* 55/1–3,99-114. A bronze mirror with Kitan characters has recently been discovered according to *Renmin Ribao*, Chinese Overseas Edition, 24/03/2006).

2 Yu-jing (1000–1064 AD) was an ambassador to the Qidan as mentioned in the Chinese poem. He is also the author of the *Wu Xi Ji* , 20 ch. The *Qidan Guan-Yi* is the record of Qidad official's system and is based on the personal experiences of the author (Balasz, Hervouet, *A Sung Bibliography*. Hongkong 1978. China University Press, p. 382).

3 Diao-yue (died 1082 AD).

4 *Meng Qi Bi Tan* by Shen Kua (1029/1031–1093 AD). In 1075 AD he wrote a report of his visit to the Qidan, "Illustrated transcript of an Embassy to the Qidan" (Franke, H., *Sung Biographies*, 861).

5 *Yan-Bei-Lu*, for which see below "Chinese Sources (2)".

ary of Ming Biography 1368–1644, II, Columbia University Press, 1976, 1268–1272. Pelliot P., *T.P.*, XXIII (1924), 163. *Zi Hai* 1246a. It should be noted that the *Yan Bei Za Ji* (YBZJ) is a part of chapter 4 of the *Shuo-fu* with some Qidan words.

1.2. *Gai Yu Cong Kao* (43 ch.) (= GYCK or *Gai*) by Zhao-yi (1727–1814 AD), see Hummel A., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period.* Taipei 1975 (reprint by Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company), 75–76 and Giles A., *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*. London-Shanghai. 1898 & China, s.l., 1939, page 64, 66. The GYCK (43 ch.) Commercial Press, 1957. This edition is based on the Qianlong edition of 1790 AD (preface).

1.3. Tao Song-yi, *Shuo-fu*. Wolfgang Franke, *An Introduction to the Sources of Ming History*. Kuala Lumpur. Univ. of Malaya Press, Singapore.1968. Idem. *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368–1644*. Columbia University Press. N. Y., London, 1976, 1268–1272. Pelliot P., "Quelques remarques sur les Chouo-fou", *T. P.*, 23 (1924), 163–220. Jiao Tsung-Yi, "Un inédit du Chouo-fou: le manuscrit de Chen Han de la période kia-tsing (1522–1566)", *Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demiéville*, Paris.1966, 87–104.

1.4. *Qi Dan Guo Zhi* by Ye Long-li (13th century). Hambis L., "A propos de K'i-tan kuou-tche", *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyûsho*, Kyoto University 1954, 175–177. Balazs-Hervourt, *A Sung Bibliography*. Chinese University Press. Hongkong. 1978, p. 90 (= QDGZH)

Methodology

A first draft was made relying on the meanings, glosses, found in the text. The transcription relied mainly on the ancient Chinese pronounciation. This proved not to be very successful. Later on, I sent a draft to Prof. Dr. Kiyose Gisaburo who suggested to use the Late Middle Chinese (LMC) forms. He also kindly pointed out some mistakes which I have corrected afterwards. Taking into account his observations and remarks, I could identify more words which would have remained unexplained otherwise. In the vocabulary which follows hereafter, first the pinyin pronounciation is given and immediately afterwards the reconstructed form. I have left out the LMC-forms for practical reasons. Namely for typographical reasons, since the typing of the reconstructed forms with diacritics is complicated, time consuming and costly. These forms can easily be found in Pulleyblank's *Lexicon of reconstructed Pronounciation in early Middle Chinese, late Middle Chinese and*

early Mandarin, Vancouver 1991. Karlgren's Sino-Japanese (SJ) and his *Grammata Serica* (GSR) are cited in the same way, with reference to page (SJ) or the number of the character (GSR).

List of Abbreviations

AT	Old Turkish/Alt Türkisch.
EKD	*The New World comprehensive English-Korean Dictionary. Si-sa-yong-o-sa.* Seoul. 1973.
Gai	*Gai Yu Cong Kao*, ch. 24, page 201.
GSR	Karlgren, B., *Grammata Serica*. Taipei 1966.
GYCK	*Gai Yu Cong Kao*, ch. 24, page 201.
Hu	Hungarian.
KED	*The New World comprehensive Korean-English Dictionary. Si-sa-yong-o-sa.* Seoul. 1979.
Ko	Korean.
LMC	Late Middle Chinese.
MQBT	*Meng Qi Bi Tan*, page 445.
Mt	Mathews' *Chinese-English Dictionary.* 1975
QDGZh	*Qi Dan Guo Zhi*, ch. 25, page 203–207.
SF	*Shuo-fu*, ch. 38.
SJ	Karlgren B., *Analytical Dictionary of Chinese And Sino-Japanese*, New York 1974 (1st ed.).
SKE	*Studies in Korean Etymologies* (Ramstedt).
Sogd.	Sogdian.
Tu	Turkish.
UMKS	*Uri mal k'un sajon*. Seoul 1991–1992.
YBL	*Yan Bei Lu.*
YBZJ	*Yan Bei Za Ji.*

Hereafter follows the vocabulary and the reconstructed forms.

Vocabulary

1. mi ci 密賜, mutun, "cat".
   shi-pi-li 十貔貍, singgeri, "rat".

"mi ci shi pi li" through LMC yields Jurcen "mutun singgeri", "rat". The gloss in the *Gai*, 201, and MQBT, 446 reads: "[This animal] has the shape of a rat and is big". As Prof. Dr. K. Gisaburo remarked in his letter to me (dated April 25th, 2000), that just mu[k]tun singgeri means "mole". The first syllables of the LMC-form remind of old Turkish maçı, the standard word for

"cat" (Clauson, 765). Other cognate forms are NW Turkish Kar. Maçı. Compare also with Kazakh meçe/meçi (Clauson, *ibidem*).

Recently Professor Dr. Róna-Tas (2004) suggested that pi-li could be reconstructed as North East Tibetan *phyi-li marmot, which on its turn is surely identical with qidan byili marmot. Professor Vovin (2003) suggests that *bili or *biri is only attested in Qidan. Its etymology, according to him, remains obscure.

2. ya-yan 押宴, amban, "state official"/ (Mongol) ünen: "value".
Ya-yan (QDGZH, 201)/ ya-en (Gai, 477)/ a(n)-dian: "valuable" (Liao, 1535). Through LMC a(n)-dian > altun? (cf. Menges, 1983), cf. Khalkha Mongol: ünen, value or ünetei(?), valuable. With another radical, as in the *Liao-shi*, ch. 116, 1535, the word could also be read or reconstructed as "amban". Pierre Marsonne (2004, 135) quotes the word *nügu* 女古 from a poem related with the intronisation of the Empress Yide (1055 AD), being the word for "gold" in Qidan.

3. yi-li-bi 移離畢, ilibi, "chieftain".
yi-li-bi (Grube, 108): "stehen, aufrecht, senkrecht" (604); ili- < ilimbi, cf Jurcen Kiyose, page 131 nr. 604: ilibun: "vertically"; Tu: ilän- "sich anhängen, regieren" (AT) and ilä-: "to found a state, independent"; ilig: "having a state" (Tekin. Orkhon, 335).

The word, as a whole, is according to a gloss in *Gai*, 201 and the MQBT, 445 the name of a kind of state official. See also *Jin-shi*, ch. 135, 2892, for the gloss of I-li-jin (see infra) as well as *Liao-shi*, ch.116, 1535. In one of the known Jurcen inscriptions, the text reads as follows: (line 6): ni bua du uñgi bie du sï i xa fan *ili gin* bei sa bithe (Jin, 1980, page 360) [transcription according to Jin]. "In the province nurxan oen the Du-si-wei-men (idem, p. 376 line 2) of the Yong-ning-si inscription has been established (dated the 22nd day of the 11th year of Yung-lo)". A possible translation of *ili gin* is: the (title/function of) amban has been established. Within the context of Koreanology also interesting observations were made by R. A. Miller in his article about "Some Old Paekche Fragments", *The Journal of Korean Studies*, I, 1979, 3–69. According to him *ilibi, a tribal title, cannot be isolated from Qidan ilijin 夷離堇 representing an early single chieftain (p35). On its turn, this word would be semantically closer to Old Paeckche [Baekje] *nilimu. This word also occurs in a later Korean work, namely the *Balhae-go* or "Thoughts about Balhae", written by Yo Duk-gong in 1749 AD[6] The pas-

6 Yo Duk-Gong (Yu T'uk-kong (1749–1807). A sketch of his life in An Chong-bok *oe/Hanguk-ui yoksa sasang*, Seoul 1987 (13th ed.) (Sam Seong Publ. Co. Ltd), p. 487:

sage, never quoted before in this context, can be translated as follows: (p. 459): "Since (the existence of) the castle Heulhan[7] in the province (bu) of Janglyeong, the castle has not been surrendered [voiceferously (?)[8]]. In that year, (namely) the third year of chonhyonwon (muo [= which is the year of the animal cycle]) the Gang Mukgi, the Joebogya, the Hanyonhoe of the *iripil* took charge of the military affairs and attacked" (my tentative translation).

Yi-li-bi therefore in my opinion refers to "chieftain".

4. Kan-fang-he-ba-zhi 看房賀跋支, (Mongol) qabaγčin, "keeper of the clothes"

Kan (GSR, 142a) and fang GSR, 740a–f) through LMC may yield the word which has been glossed in *Gai* 201 and MQBT, 445 as "keeper of the clothes". The second part of the word, he-ba-zhi might be compared with the Toba word p'u-ta-chên < p'ak-d'ai-tsien, title of the officer in charge of (the ruler's) clothes, a term which is semantically close to the Qidan word (Clauson, 313); boxto:y, a denominative from bo:g, is very rare and its signif-icance is obscure, boxto:y a bale of clothing; Kashgari III 239, also referring to clothing. Cf. Menges, *Igor*, 74 (jap- and japyg, overcoat). Cf. Boodberg (1963) 228. Semantically different are Pelliot, *JA* (1925), I, 222 *k'o-po-tchen > ? qabaγčin "gardien de porte" (Lig, p. 26). Pürtükcin (p. 306) = *bütükcin (p. 293, note 52). A. Boodberg, *HJAS*, I, (1936), 167–185, *Pelliot*, JA (1925), I, 255. Also in Byzantine sources: Moravscik, *BT*, II, 150 καπητζηδς a proper name derived from Osman Turkish qapïjï- "Torwache, Torwärter". (Menges, *Tungusen und Ljao*, p. 32, idem).

In the 5th year of Yeongjo (1749 AD) he was born as the son of the jinsa [Master] Yeuheun. Together with I Deomeu, Bak Chega, he probably published the *I-seo-geu* and a collection of poems (*Sijip*) [*Keonyeonjip*] in 1776 AD at the age of 26. The Balhae-go was completed (Korean: *talgo*) on the 25th day of the third month of the 8th year of Cheongjo (1784 AD). He was then 36 years old (my translation, which is tentative). On the *Balhae-go* see also Tai-jin Kim (ed. and translator), *A Bibliographical Guide to traditional Korean Sources*. Asiatic Research Center, Korea University.1976, 392–3. The *Balhae-go* contains also other references to the Qidan. Besides there is information about the Jurchen. On An Chong-bok, author of the *Deongsa Gangmok*, see *idem*, 394 sq.

7 *Heulhan-seong*: the castle of Heulhan. See An Cheong-Beok (1987), 437. The names Gang Muk-gi etc. probably refer to military functions. These remain to be confirmed.

8 *Jikki-go*: the meaning is unclear. The *Uri mal kun sajon*. Hangeul hakkoe, Seoul, 4 vols., 1991, p. 2292 explains: *jikki-da as jikkori-da*: "talk garrulously, chatter". My translation is only a suggestion.

5. ye-yan 夜筵, jaluha "full", and
mo-luo 沒羅, mertala "to hold a banquet".
ye-yan-mo-luo is glossed in *Gai*, 201, with the meanings posterity and abundance. Through LMC could be reconstructed as e.g. yayan < bayan richness + boluca ripeness, maturity (?) (Lessing, 118) e.g. nägin: seine Habe (Kashgari, Brockelmann 128) + bolus: Nutzen, Hilfe (idem 40). Yayan may be Jurcen jaluha: full (Kiyose, 726). Another explanation might be according to Kane's suggestion (Kane, 165) barabi < barambi durcheinandermengen (Hauer, 77). I suggest to read mertala (Kiyose, 766). Kiyose reads mertala: to hold a banquet.

6. Chen-bai-xian 臣拜洗, juwemušin: "borrowing".
Chen-bai-xian is glossed in the *Gai*, 201, with "shou ci (or si)": to receive and give/to bestow (cf. GSR, 377a): slave, servant (Shï); subject, officer, and (GSR, 328a) to bow in obeisance (Shï), to bow one's thanks (Tso) + suffix: xian (?) [xian > -sin ?]. Thus maybe Manchu juwemušin: borrowing (compare with Kiyose, 443). Another possibility is that it is cognate with Korean *jibul-hada*: to give (EKD, p. 947, to give, nr. 2) and may render the first two syllables, chen bai.

7. liang-chao-jue-he 兩朝厥荷, (Ma) jancuhûn: "sweet, pleasant, agreeable";
(Kor) u-ryang-han/hul-lyung-han "good".
"liang-chao-jue-he" is glossed in *Gai*, 201 with "tong hao": getting through well (may be to be compared with Mandarin: tong de hao) or thoroughly good; liang-chao probably to be connected with Korean "u-ryang-han" good [l- is transcribed as r- before a vowel] (EKD, p. 966), wherein -han is a processive modifier of hay yo, meaning is/to be. It is used after descriptive verbal nouns, and has the meaning: who is [e.g. yûmyeng han sâram: a man who is famous] (Samuel Martin and Young-Sook Clee, *Beginning Korean*, Yale University Press. New Haven and London, .1969, 12.2: p. 203). U-ryang: superiority, excellence (KED, 1619). The Korean UMKS, p. 3146, gives derivatives like "uryang-a", being an abbreviation of "geongang uryang-a" meaning: healthy; "uryang jong": a kind of good seed.

Supposing that ul- stands for l- , with prothetic u-, I can surmise that l- was pronounced -n. The consonant change l- > n- occurs in Chinese and is also a regular formation in Korean transcriptions. Later n > n(j). These steps are described hereafter:

In Chinese initial l- is in some dialects pronounced n-. May be there is a link with Manchu jancuhûn through l > (n)j ? Examples of consonant change

(J. Norman, *Chinese*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, p. 233, Min dialects).

On the other hand examples of Chinese l- > Korean n- are as follows:

(Chinese) luo ti 裸體	(Korean) nache: naked body, nudity
(Chinese) le 樂	(Korean) nak: pleasure, delight
(Chinese) luo kuan 落款	(Korean) nakguan: sign and seal
(Chinese) lan 欄	(Korean) nan: column

etc.

The third step is described in Gim Sheon-gi (1968), 36–37: the present day Korean word for good, i≈oh > Japanese njoki from [djok] > [njok] > [jok].

In conclusion, I do suggest that Chinese liang is cognate with Korean u-riang. Further also with Proto Mongol (h)olig: good quality. Western Mong: oliγ Buryat: olig; Kalmuck: oliG (Starostin, Dict. 2003, 291). Jue is transcribed as gol-da, nr. 1069 (Bruce K. Grant, *A Guide to Korean Characters*, New Jersey, Seoul 1982 (2nd revised edition), p. 207; and he, nr. 1014, as Korean: ha (p. 197). Gol-da means: (be) rich, fertile. In sum, que-he may be a transcription of gol-han (for -han see supra).

8. jian-xing-san 餞行三, jebele, "millet", and
pi-lie 匹裂, pijala, "cup".

pi-lie is glossed in *Gai*, 201 having the meaning to resemble a small tree. (A jar)? Translated in Mathews' *Mt.* 7470, ying, made from this tree is supposed to be lacquered with yellow paint or lacquer (*Mt.* 578). May be this is related with the opium poppy? (*Mt.* 7470, first entry). As there is the meaning of be-le (Kane, 359), uncooked rice, cf. jebele millet (Kane, 393), bule (Kiyose, 530; Kane, 359), rice. Compare also with finnish paina- press, weigh, dye, colour (Collinder, *Finno-Ugric*, p. 105) or finnish, pellava, flax/vg polna, hemp/os nettle, hemp (Collinder, 107). Hu. hemp = kinder; flax = len < ** + len ?; Mongol: ols hemp (Khalkha); Manchu: bila ilha, an exotic flower that blooms in autumn (Norman, 29).

9. pi-lie匹裂, pijala "cup".

The word pi-lie in the above combination[9] would mean a kind of vessel, cup. (There is also a reading p'o-lo [pinyin: puolo]: winecup (Chavannes, *Docu-*

9 piala/po-lo: "le p'o-lo serait un arbre de l'intérieur duquel les gens des gens d'Occident extrayaient une sorte de filasse qu'on pouvait filer et tisser (l'arbre p'o-lo est cité dans la notice sur le Magadha, T'ang chou, chap. CCXXI, p. 11v)". (Chavannes E., *Documents sur les Tou-kioue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, Paris 1969 (repr. Taipei), p. 119 note 2. This passage seems to describe the cup with lacquer which we find in the poem.

ments, 119n, 139n, 310), Boodberg, *Selected*, p. 133, note 7) with a Qidan parallel *piälä: wooden pitcher (Boodberg, *ibidem*). Grønbeg, *Kumanisches*, pijala cf. Becher, p. 187).

9b. qing-gan-le 情幹勒, (Mongol) jingne-/jingle- "to weigh"
(Korean) jin-ha-ge, jin-han.
The QDGZH, 1101, glosses qing-gan-le with thick and heavy. Could be reconstructed as Jurchen diramei (Kiyose, 692), Manchu jiramin (Grube, 692), Mongolian has jigne-/jingle v. t. to weigh (Lessing, *Mongolian English Dictionary*, 1058) [palatalisation is here represented by an inverted circum-flex], which is far much closer to the Qidan word. Compare also with Modern Turkish cansiz, heavy, thick. Grønbech, *Kumanisches*, p. 124: jiv- dick, grob, dikke. Also compare with Korean chin-han thick, (dense) (B. J. Jones-Gene, S. Rhie, *NTC's Compact Korean and English Dictionary*, Illinois, USA, 1995, 347, with Reischauer spelling) and jin-ha-ge deep, thick, strong (KED, 2048).

10. ju-ke-te俱可忒, seg-deme, "back" [Ewenki] (border?).
The GDQZH, 101, glosses with "unlimited". May be Jurchen jece frontier (Kiyose, 044) + negation (?); Mongolian jüg direction (?) Manchu jece boundary (Kiyose, 612; Chin, p. 156, 193). Turkish tügen- zu Ende gehen, aufhören + suffix (?). Grønbech, *Kumanisches*, p. 259) with palatalisation. It then would be a palatalised form of Turkish (Clauson, 463) ? to:g, the basic meaning seems to be something like obstructed, obstruction, barrier. Another possibility might be the reading ke idu (?) (Jin, 1980, 252). Here again we want to refer to the suggestions made by R. A. Miller. *Some Old Paekche fragments*, I, 1979, p. 40, in which he studied the few language fragments of the Old Paekche language, an old Korean language. In order to explain kudira (Japanese: whale), he quotes the *Nihon Shoki* 日本書記 c. q. poem 7, wherein this enigmatic word occurs. The text runs as follows:

Uda nö / takakï ni / sigi wana Faru / wa ga matu ya / sigi Fa
Sayarazu / isukaFasi / **kudira** sayaru.

At the high forest / of Uda we set out our snipe nets and / we waited but / we caught no snipe /../ we caught **kudira** (Miller, *ibidem*).

In his privately published book, *Etymological Vocabulary of Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Ainu*, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, USA, 1962, p. 11, Rahder mentions among others e. g. Gr. Eskimo I-teg rectum,

anus, Ewenki keny-a-kân tail, without hair and further on, Jurcen soi, Old Japanese sö, se back, Goldi due, end, dui, backside, and whose first member koc corresponds to Turkish köt posteriors. Compare also with some Austronesian languages: Timor kot-if behind Australian li-kud back (Rahder *ibidem*, 40–41). I therefore suggest that the meaning of this phrase could be "we caught its tail". R. A. Miller linked kudira 鯨 (Japanese for whale) with Korean in order to explain the Japanese fragment. If one accepts **kudira** as a cognate of the above mentioned forms, then it could also be reconstructed as a cognate of the Korean verb gujida: to stop, to cease, end. Korean does also have a word for end, namely gutt. If one would interprete this verse as representing Korean **gutt irasô** "since we caught (its) tail", so, **gutt irasô / kudira** (Japanese), this could make sense. Irasô is used in Korean to express a concession of meaning. At the same time, it could explain the –ra of kudira. Consequently this would fit well into the Japanese verse. Of course further research will bring more clarity.

11.wei-chen 微臣, (Manchu) moco/modo: "clumsy" (Korean) mudin, "dull", and
ya-lu > (LMC) nei-lu 雅魯, (Manchu) muriku "stubborn",
(Korean) narun hada "languid, weary, dull".
wei-chen: "slow-witted, dull, lacking agility" through LMC may be reconstructed as Manchu: moco, clumsy (Kiyose, 36). Manchu modo: unanstellig, ungeschickt, schwerfällig (Hauer, 662). The second part remains obscure. One may suggest a connexion with modo murikû: störrisch und hartnäckig (Hauer, 662), if the form neil- could be traced back to murikû.

Noteworthy is that Korean has mudin: dull (EKD, 663) and narun hada, with the same meaning.

12. Zhu-jun-tong 祝君統, (Mongol) zolga "to meet (?)".
zhu-jun-tong is glossed in *Gai*, 201, as happiness and protection and could be reconstructed through LMC as Mongolian jol good luck, fortune (Lessing, 1069) + suffix -tun (?). The suffix -tun is identical with -tai (N. Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, 1974, nr. 140); compare with joltai lucky, fortunate (Lessing, 1070). Chinese jo represents probably a retroflex. Cf. GSR, 777, has to agree, conform to, accord with. N. Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, 99 zol Glück; Middle Mongolian zolga, treffen, begegnen, Kalmuck zolg, *idem*. Turkmen jol, Weg, Jakut suol < *jol *idem*, Old Turkish jol Weg, Schicksal.

13. sheng-shou-tie-bai 聖壽鐵擺, (Manchu) gugdu, "a hill" and ba "place" (Korean) kkoktagi: "peak, summit".

sheng-shou-tie-bai is glossed in *Gai*, 201, as very lofty. Through LMC may be reconstructed as Turkish sekü, a loanword from Persian sakû, bench, platform, Kirghiz seki a small flat ledge in the foothills (Clauson. *Etymological Dictionary*, 818). Also Japanese, seki: seat. Besides, Manchu gukdu: a hill, hillock (Ki Moon Lee, *UAJb* (1958), 105–120). Compare with Korean kkoktagi: the peak, summit, the top (SKE, 120 and Lee, *ibidem*). Ba (< *pai) could be explained as Manchu for place.

Conclusion

Of the vocabulary which I have investigated, a great part could be identified. Of the 16 words, about 5 (nrs 6, 7, 10, 12, 13) remain doubtful. Some identifications could be done through Korean (7, 9b, 10, 11). In sum, these seem to point to Tungusic origins, or Manchu and Korean, rather than to Mongol or Turkish. Of course these are only suggestions.

Moreover, I could propose a solution for the enigmatic verse in the Nihon Shoki, where I identified kudira in isukaFasi/**kudira** sayaru and translated it as being related to gutt irasô: "since we caught its tail".

Bibliography

An Chong-Bok oe / *Hankuk-ui yoksa sasang*. Seoul 1987 (13th impression) (Sam Seong Publ. Co. Ltd).

Bazin Louis: "Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde Turc Ancien". *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* 34, Paris 1974. Akademiai Kiádo (ed.) CNRS, Paris 1991.

Balazs E. & Hervouet Y. (eds.): *A Sung Bibliography (Bibliographie des Sung)*. The Chinese University Press, Hongkong 1978.

Benko Roland: *A Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimologiai Szotara,* Budapest 1967.

Chao Hung, P'eng Ta-ya, Su T'ing, Olbricht Peter, Pinks Elisabeth (eds.): *Meng-ta Pei-lu und Hei-ta Shih-lüeh. Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237.* Wiesbaden.1980.

Cinggeltei e.a.: "Qidan xiao zi jiedu tan [A New Approach to the Deciphering of the Ch'i-tan Small Script]", *Kaogu Xuebao* 3 (1978), 353–387.

— "On the Problem of Reading Kitan Characters", AOH 55/1–3, 2002, 99–114.

Clauson Gerard: *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972.

Cohen Alvin P. (ed.): *Selected Works of Peter Boodberg*. Univ. of California Press, 1979.

Franke H.: "Randbemerkungen zu den sprachlichen Verhältnissen im Liao-Reich", *ZAS* 3 (1969), 36–40.
— "Etymologische Bemerkungen zu den Vokabularen der Jurčen-Sprache", *Florilegia Manjurica in Memoriam Walter Fuchs*, Wiesbaden 1982, 7–18.
— "Randnotizen zu einigen Worten zu den Vokabularen der Khitansprache im Licht neuerer Arbeiten", *AOH* 36/1–3, (1982), 173–182.
— *Sung Biographies*. Münchener Ostasiatische Studien,Wiesbaden 1976.
Franke Wolfgang: *An Introduction to the Sources of the Ming History*. Singapore & Kuala Lumpur 1968.
Gim Sheon-gi: "Han il mong dan-o bikyo", *Hangeul* 1988, nr.142, 7–51.
Grousset R.: *L'empire des steppes*, Paris 1969.
Grube W.: *Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen*, Berlin 1896.
— *Goldisch-Deutsches Wörterverzeichnis*, St. Petersburg 1900.
Hambis Louis: "A propos du K'i-tan kuo tche", *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun Kagaku kenkyûsho*, Kyoto University, Kyoto 1954, 175–177.
Holzman D.: "Shen Kua and his Meng-ch'i pi-t'an", *TP* 46/3–5 (1958), 260–290.
Hummel A. W.: *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*. Taipei 1975 (reprint).
Inner Mongolian Archeological team IA, CASS and Inner Mongolian Institute of Cultural Relics and Archeology: "Mural Tombs of the Liao Period at Haotehua in Jarud Banner, Inner Mongolia", *Kaogu (Archeology)*, nr.1, 2003, 3–15.
Jiao Tsung-yi: "Un inédit du Chouo-fou: Le manuscrit de Chen han de la période kia-tsing (1522–1566 AD)", *Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demiéville*, Paris 1966, 87–104.
Jin Guangping & Jin Qizong: *Nüzhen yuyan wenzi yanjiu*, Beijing 1980.
Kane D.: The *Sino-Jurchen Vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters*, Indiana University, Indiana Bloomington 1989.
Lewicki Marian: *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIV siècle. Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389*, I-II, Wroclaw 1949, 1959.
Liao-shih. Po-na edition.
Ligeti Lajos: "Le tabghatch, un dialecte de la langue sien-pei", *Mongolian Studies*, Budapest 1970, 265–308.
— "A kitaj nép és nyelv", *Magyar nyelv*, XXIII (1920), 293–310.
Menges K.: *Tungusen und Liao*, Wiesbaden 1968.
— "Problemata Etymologica", *Studia Sino-Altaica. Festschrift für Erich Haenisch zum 80. Geburtstag*. Hsg. H. Franke, Wiesbaden 1961, 130–140.
— "Etymologika zu den altajischen Bezeichnungen von Metallen, Haustieren und Gewächsen", *UAJb* 3 (1983), 102–166.
Miller R. A.: "Some Old Paekche Fragments", *The Journal of Korean Studies*, I, 1979, 3–69.
Morsonne Pierre: "La dynastie Khitan (Liao): une double identité", *Études chinoises*, XXIII (2004), 123–140.
Mote F. M.: "Notes on the Life of T'ao Tsung-I", *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun Kagaku kenkyûsho*, Kyoto University, Kyoto 1954, 279–294.

Mullie J.: "Les anciennes villes de l'empire des grands Leao de Bârin", *TP*, XXI (1922), 105–231.

— "Les sépultures des K'ing des Leao", *TP*, XXX (1933), 1–25.

Nakajima Motoki: "The First International Conference on Tungus Languages and Culture (2004. 8. 16–20, Hai-la-erh)", *Tôhôgaku* 109, jan. 2005, 146–154.

Perlee Kh.: *Kitan-Teden-ü mongγolcud-tai qolbuγduγsan anu* (The Study of the Qidan History), Ulan Batar 1959.

Poppe N.: *Vergleichende Grammatik der Altaischen Sprachen*, Wiesbaden 1960.

Pritsak Omeljan: "Die sogenannte Bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren", *UAJb* XXVI/1–2, 61–77; XXVI/3–4, 184–239, Wiesbaden 1954.

Pulleyblank E. G.: *Lexicon of early reconstructed pronounciation in early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese and early Mandarin*, Vancouver 1991.

Ramstedt G. J.: *Studies in Korean Etymologies (SKE)*, Helsinki 1949.

Ratchnevsky Paul: "Les Che-wei étaient-ils des Mongols?", *Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demiéville*, Paris 1966, 225–253.

Róna-Tas A.: "A Khitan Word for Marmot", *AOH* 57/1, 2004, 27–29.

Uri mal k'un sajon. Hangul Hakhoe. Seoul.1991–1992.

Vovin Alexander: "Once again on Khitan Words in Chinese-Khitan Mixed Verses", *AOH* 56/2–4, 237–244.

Wittfogel Karl & Feng Chia-shêng: *History of Chinese Society. Liao (907–1125)*, Philadelphia 1949.