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The Hunnic Language of the Attila Clan

OMELJAN PRITSAK

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11. *Es Qām*; 12. *Blidä*; 13. *Attila*; 14. *Ata Qām*;

15. *Mamas*; 16. *Laudaricus*; 17. *Ēlläg*; 18. *Deñirčig*;

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Introduction

In about A.D. 370, a nomadic people called the Huns invaded Eastern Europe. Coming from the East, and having subjugated the Ostrogothic realm of Hermanarich, they established a nomadic empire which soon stretched to the Roman Danubian *limes*. The Hunnic empire reached its apex under the leadership of Attila (444-453). In 451, however, Attila was defeated in the "Catalaunian fields" in Gaul by the united forces of the Romans and the Visigoths. His sudden death two years later was followed by an internal power struggle among his sons during which the empire's subjugated peoples — mainly the Germanic Gepidae,

Ostrogoths, and Heruli—revolted successfully. A great battle fought in 455 on the still unidentified Pannonian river Nadao put an end to the Hunnic empire's unity and greatness.

But some time later, as we learn from Jordanes, groups of Huns returned to their "inner" territory on the river *Vär* (= Dnieper) in the Ukraine. There they reorganized on a smaller scale, and still held control over the Danubian Scythia Minor (modern Dobruža). Unfortunately, sources for that period are very taciturn about Hunnic developments, but the Huns continue to be mentioned, if sporadically, until at least the middle of the sixth century.

It was one of the originators of French sinology, Joseph Deguignes (1721-1800), who in 1748 first put the question of the ethnic origin of the Huns on a scholarly level.^a Since that time, historians, philologists, and, later, also archaeologists and ethnographers have continued the discussion. Nonetheless the question remains unresolved. Since the character of the Hunnic language has consistently held a central place in that debate, reexamination of the language is a requisite for any resolution of it.^b

The Hunnic problem is of importance in Ukrainian scholarship not just as an interesting academic topic. Not only did the Huns rule over the Ukraine for at least two hundred years (ca. 375-560), but also they apparently merged with successive nomadic waves in that area and had a part in Ukrainian ethnogenesis.

In 1829, a Carpatho-Ukrainian scholar working in Moscow, Jurij Huca-Venelin (1802-1839), developed a theory about the Hunnic origin of the Slavs.^c His theory found many supporters, including such eminent Russian scholars as the historian Dmitrij Ivanovič Ilovajskij (1832-1920)^d and the ethnographer Ivan Egorevič Zabelin (1820-1908). According to Zabelin, the Huns were the retinue (*družina*) of the northern Slavs who were invited by the southern Slavs to help fight against the Goths.^e In 1858, A. F. Vel'tman identified the name Huns (via the form *Kwäne*) with the name Kievans and proposed to call Attila "the autocrat of all Rus'."^f

^a *Mémoires sur l'origine des Huns et des Turcs* (Paris, 1748).

^b A recent bibliography is given in fn. 1, below.

^c *Drevnie i nyněšnie Bolgare*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1829).

^d Ilovajskij began publishing a series of his studies and polemical articles in 1881: "Vopros o narodnosti Russov, Bolgar i Gunnov," *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvěšćenija*, May 1881. Concerning the discussion, especially between Ilovajskij and the Byzantinist Vasilij Grigor'evič Vasil'evskij (1838-1899), see Konstantin Inostrancev, *Xunnu i Gunny* (Leningrad, 1926), pp. 105-109.

^e *Istorija ruskoj žizni*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1876), pp. 218-360.

^f This astounding identification was made in his *Attila i Rus' v IV-V vekax* (Moscow, 1858).

The reader will understand then, why, after having studied the Hunnic problem for over thirty years, I venture to present the results of my investigations in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*.

* * *

A. *The Sources*

The works of Greek writers (especially Priscus, d. ca. 472) and Latin writers (especially Jordanes, A. D. 551, based on the work of Cassiodorus, fl. ca. 530) contain the names of some twenty-five persons among Attila's immediate kin and eight names of their close associates—together thirty-three names over a period of some one hundred and eighty years (ca. 375-555). One can assume that all these persons spoke the same idiom. It is reasonable, then, to use this onomastic material to determine the language of the ruling clan of the so-called European Huns.¹

Although contemporaneous sources include many more names of "barbarians" than the thirty-three selected here, for the time being one can dismiss these as uncertain, in consideration of the multiethnic character of any steppe empire.²

¹ Special literature dealing with the language of the Huns includes: Gerhard Doerfer, "Zur Sprache des Hunnen," *CAJ* (Wiesbaden) 17 (1973): 1-50; Lajos (Louis) Ligeti, "Dengizikh és Bécs állítólagos kun megfelelői," *Magyar Nyelv* (Budapest), 58 (1962): 142-52 = L. L., *A Magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai és ami körülöttük van*, vol. 2 (Budapest, 1979), pp. 155-61; Otto Maenchen-Helfen, "Zu Moór's Thesen über die Hunnen," *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* (Heidelberg), 14 (1963): 273-78; idem, "Iranian names of the Huns," in *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume* (London, 1970), pp. 272-75; idem, *The World of the Huns* (Berkeley, 1973), especially chap. 9: "Language," pp. 376-443; Elemer Moór, "Zur Herkunft der Hunnen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres Namenmaterials," *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 14 (1963): 63-104; idem, "Noch einmal zum Hunnenproblem," *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 16 (1965): 14-22; Gyula (Julius) Németh, "A hunok nyelve," in *Attila és hunjai* (Budapest, 1940), pp. 217-26, 315-16 = [Turkish translation by János Eckmann], "Hunlartn dili," *Türk Dili Belleten*, ser. 3, nos. 12-13 (Ankara, 1949), pp. 106-114; Pavel Poucha, "Mongolische Miscellen. IV. Zum Hunnenproblem," *CAJ* 1 (1955): 287-71; Omeljan Pritsak, "Kultur und Sprache der Hunnen," in *Festschrift für Dmytro Čyžev's'kyj* (Berlin, 1954), pp. 238-49 = O. P., *Studies*, no. VII; idem, "Ein hunnisches Wort," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden), 104 (1954): 124-35 = O. P., *Studies*, no. IX; idem, "Der Titel Attila," *Festschrift für Max Vasmer* (Berlin, 1956), pp. 404-419, = O. P., *Studies*, no. VIII; Gottfried Schramm, "Eine hunnisch-germanische Namensbeziehung?," *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 20 (1960): 129-155. (Note the list of abbreviations, pp. 474-76.)

² On the ethnic problems of a steppe empire, see Pritsak, *OR*, 1: 10-20; and idem, "The Slavs and the Avars," in *Gli Slavi occidentali e meridionali nell'alto medioevo. Spoleto, 15-21 aprile 1982*, Trentesima Settimana di studio (Spoleto, in press).

The thirty-three names selected here are divided into two groups:

(1) names of actual members of the dynasty (nos. 1-25), which seem to be either personal names or titles;

(2) names of close associates of the dynasty (nos. 26-33), which frequently represent office titles, appellations, epithets, or even nicknames.

The Hunnic material to be analyzed here belongs to four periods: (1) ca. A.D. 375—the time of the first name, that of the epic Hunnic ruler who allegedly entered the East European Ostrogothic realm then, as recorded by *Jordanes* from the Hunnic epic tradition; (2) ca. 390-420—the time of names 2 to 6, which are historical, although the relationship of their bearers to Attila (and to each other) remains unknown; (3) ca. 420-480—the names in this subdivision, including 7-21 and 26-33, are taken from the surest historical and genealogical information; (4) ca. 536-555—the fully historical names, 22-25, are of actors in the Hunnic epilogue.

The Hunnic names that have come down to us are transmitted mostly in the works of fourteen contemporary (5th-6th century) Greek and Latin writers. Six Greek and two Roman writers lived in the fifth century, whereas three Greek and three Roman writers were from the sixth century. Also, four works (two Greek and two Roman) were written between the seventh and ninth century by authors who had at their disposal rich sources since then lost. We have no serious reason to question the accuracy of their data.

The majority of the Hunnic names (20 of the 33) were recorded by the intelligent politician and historian *Priscus of Panium in Thrace* (d. after 472), who spent some time at Attila's court (448-449) as the Byzantine ambassador to the Hunnic realm. In fact, thirteen, or more than one-third, of the names are known to us only from *Priscus's* notations: Ἀδάμει^{dat}, Ἀτακάμ, Βασίχ, Βέριχος, Ἐδέκων, Ἑσκάμ, Ζέρκων, Ἡσλαν^{acc}, Κουρσίχ, Κρέκαν, Μάμα^{gen}, Σκόττας, Ὠηβάρσιον^{acc}.

An earlier Byzantine ambassador to the Huns, *Olympiodorus of Thebae in Egypt*, visited the Hunnic rulers in 412. In his historical writings he mentions two names unknown in other sources: Δονάτος and Χαράτων. The history of Justinian I's reign by *Agathias* (fl. 556) mentions two more otherwise unrecorded names: Ἐλμίγγειρος and Ἐλμινζούρ.

A later but nonetheless reliable chronicler, *Theophanes Byzantius* (752-818), who incorporated materials from many lost sources in his work, also saved one Hunnic name: Γιέσμου^{gen}.

Three church historians of the first half of the fifth century transmitted several names: Socrates of Constantinople (d. 440), Sozomen of Ghazzah in Palestine (d. ca. 450), and Theodoret of Antioch (d. 451). Of the Greek authors, only Sozomen and the secular historian Zosimus (who wrote after 498) mentioned the name Οὔλδιν ~ Οὔλδης, and Socrates notes the name Οὔπταρος.

The “Chronicon paschale,” compiled by an unknown cleric during the reign of Heraclius I (610-641) sometime shortly after 628, contains variants of two names: Βλίδας and Δινζίριχος.³

First among the Latin authors is Jordanes, a pro-Roman Ostrogoth who in 551 (probably in Ravenna) wrote his “Getica,” or history of the Goths (and Huns). In composing the work he made use of a very important (now lost) Gothic history by the Roman senator Cassiodorus (ca. 490-585), as well as of Gothic and Hunnic popular traditions.

Jordanes includes thirteen Hunnic names in his work. Six of them also appear in the work of Priscus (*Attila* = Ἀττίλας, *Bleda* = Βλήδας, *Dintzic* = Δεγγιζίχ, *Hernac* = Ἡρνάχ, *Mundzuc*^{abl} = Μουνδίουχον^{acc}, *Roas* = Ρούα^{gen}), one in the work of Sozomen and Zosimus (*Huldin* = Οὔλδιν ~ Οὔλδης) and two in the work of Socrates (*Octar* = Οὔπταρος, *Roas* = Ρούγας). Jordanes himself preserved four Hunnic names for posterity: *Balamur*, *Ellac*, *Emmetzur*, and *Vltzindur*.

Several names already known from the Greek and other Latin sources occur in the historical apology for Christianity by the Spaniard Paulus Orosius (fl. 414-417), as well as in the “Gallic Chronicle of 452,” the “Gallic Chronicle of 511,” and, especially, in the Chronicle by Marcellinus Comes (534). The last work gives five Hunnic names: *Attila*, *Bleda*, *Denzic* = Δινζίχιρ-, *Huldin*, and *Mundo*.

Two Hunnic names survived in Latin works: *Laudaricus* in the “Gallic Chronicle of 511” (mentioned above), and *Hunigasio*^{abl} in the (older) “Vita Sancti Lupi” (probably compiled in the 5th c.; the saint [ca. 383-479] was bishop of Troyes in France).⁴

³ Editions of the Byzantine Greek sources are the following: Agathias, *Historiarum libri quinque*, ed. Ludwig Dindorf, *HGM* 2 (Leipzig, 1871), pp. 132-432; *Chronicon paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832); Joannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831); Olympiodorus, ed. René Henry, “Codices” 1-84, in *Photius, Bibliothèque* (Paris, 1959); Priscus, in *EL*, ed. Carolus de Boor, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1903); Procopius, *History of the Wars*, ed. H. B. Dewing, 6 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1914-35); Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. J. P. Migne, *PG*, vol. 67 (Paris, 1864), cols. 28-842; Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. J. P. Migne, *PG*, vol. 67 (1864), cols. 843-1630; Theodoret, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Felix Scheidweiler (Berlin, 1954); Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883); Zosimus, *Historia nova*, ed. Ludwig Mendelssohn (Leipzig, 1887).

⁴ Editions of the Latin sources are the following: “Anonymus Ravennas,” ed. O. Cuntz,

In order to facilitate use and comparison, the source data is presented on p. 434 in parallel Greek and Latin columns, arranged in two parts: (1) names of members of the dynasty, given chronologically (nos. 1-25); and (2) names of the leading Hunnic statesmen and officers from ca. 448-449, arranged alphabetically (nos. 26-33).

B. Analysis of the Onomastic Material (nos. 1-33)

I. Names of Members of the Dynasty

1. *Balamur, Balamber*. This name occurs three times in the work of Jordanes (551); it has come down to us in five variants, which can be systematized into three categories:⁵

<i>Balaber</i>	<i>Balamber</i>	<i>Balamur</i>
	<i>Balambyr</i>	<i>Balamir</i> .

The form *Balaber* is undoubtedly a corruption of *Balamber*, resulting from the omission of *-m-*. The forms with the second *-b-* (*Balamber*, *Balambyr*) seem to evolve from a dittography (*b-b*); *-mir*, in the variant *Balamir*, is certainly secondary and owes its existence to the Gothic onomastic “suffix”-*mir/-mer*.⁶ Therefore I regard *Balamur* as the only original Hunnic form of the name. The word recalls the appellative attested in Mongolian (*SH balamut*⁷ ~ *WMO balamud* ~ *balamad*),⁸ meaning “savage, wild, reckless, venturous, dashing, crazy.”

Danube-Bulgarian had the suffix /mA/, with the same meaning as the Middle Turkic suffix /mAt/ ‘the greatest among’: *DBulg dval+ma* ‘horse herdsman’ (originally, ‘the greatest among the horseherd’) = *MTü qoy+mat* ‘shepherd’ (originally, ‘the greatest among the shepherd’). This Turkic suffix consists of two elements: /mA/ and the plurative suffix

Itineraria Romana (Leipzig, 1929), see also the edition of Schnetz (listed on p. 475); “Gallic Chronicle of 452,” ed. Theodor Mommsen, “Chronica Gallica a. CCCCLII,” *Chronica Minora* 1 (= *MGH AA*, 9) (Berlin, 1892); “Gallic Chronicle of 511,” ed. T. Mommsen, “Chronica Gallica a. DXI,” *Chronica Minora* 1 (= *MGH AA*, 9) (Berlin, 1892); Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Elena C. Skržinskaja, *Jordan o proisxoždenii i dejanijax getov, Getica* (Moscow, 1960); Jordanes, *Romana*, ed. Th. Mommsen (= *MGH AA*, 5, 1) (Berlin, 1882); Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, ed. Th. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* 2 (= *MGH AA*, 11) (Berlin, 1894); Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*, ed. Karl Zangemeister (Vienna, 1882); “Vita Sancti Lupi,” *Bollandi, Acta Sanctorum, Julii*, Tomus VII, ed. Joannes Baptista Sullerius et al. (Venice, 1769); *Surius, Historiae seu vitae sanctorum*, ed. Laurentius Gastaldi (Turin, 1877), vol. VII: *Julius*.

⁵ *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaja, *Jordan*, p. 152, l. 3 (§130); p. 170, l. 40 (§248); p. 171, l. 2 (§249); and fn. 390 on p. 280.

⁶ See Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, 43 (s.v. *Ballomarius*) and “Etymologischer Index,” p. 304.

⁷ *SH*, ed. Haenisch, §§129, 248, 249. See also Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 12.

⁸ Lessing, *Dictionary*, pp. 78-79.

Number	Date in Hunnic History	Greek Source			Latin Source		
		Author/Title of Work	Provenence	Forms of the Hunnic Name	Author/Title of Work	Provenence	Forms of the Hunnic Name
a) Names of Members of the Dynasty							
1	375				Jordanes	551	<i>Balamur</i>
2	395	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Βασίχ			
3	395	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Κουρσίχ			
4	ca. 395-410	Sozomen Zosimus	ca. 450 after 498	Ούλδης, Ούλδιν Ούλδης	Orosius Marcellinus Comes Jordanes, "Romana"	<i>fl.</i> 414-417 534 551	<i>Uldin</i> <i>Huldin</i> <i>Huldin</i>
5	ca. 410-412	Olympiodorus	425	Δονάτος			
6	ca. 412-420	Olympiodorus	425	Χαράτων			
7	ca. 420-430	Priscus Theophanes	d. ca. 472 810-814	Μουνδίουχον ^{acc} Μουνδίου ^{gen}	Jordanes	551	<i>Mundzucobl</i>
8	d. 430	Socrates	d. 440	Ούπταρος	Jordanes	551	<i>Octar</i>
9	ca. 430-433	Socrates Priscus	d. 440 d. ca. 472	Ῥούγας Ῥούα ^{gen} , Ῥούαν ^{acc}	"Gallic Chron. 452" "Gallic Chron. 511"	ca. 452 6th century	<i>Rugila</i> <i>Ruga</i>
		Theodoret	d. ca. 451	Ῥούλας	Jordanes	551	<i>Roas</i>
10	d. 449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ῥηβάρσιον ^{acc}			
11	448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ῥεσάμ			
12	433-444	Priscus Marcellinus Comes "Chronicon paschale"	d. ca. 472 534 shortly after 628	Βλήδας Βλίδας Βλίδας	"Gallic Chron. 452" Marcellinus Comes Jordanes	452 534 551	<i>Bleda</i> <i>Bleda</i> <i>Bleda</i>
13	433-453	Priscus Procopius Malalas	d. ca. 472 545-551 d. 578	Ἄττιλας Ἄττιλας Ἄττιλας	"Gallic Chron. 452" "Gallic Chron. 511" Marcellinus Comes Jordanes	452 6th century 534 551	<i>Attila</i> <i>Attila</i> <i>Attila</i> <i>Attila</i>
		Malalas	d. 578	Ἄττιλας	"Anon. Ravennas"	ca. 700	<i>Attyla</i>
14	d. 433	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ἄτακάμ			
15	d. 433	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Μάμα ^{gen}			
16	d. 451				"Gallic Chron. 511"	6th century	<i>Laudaricus</i>
17	d. 455				Jordanes	551	<i>Ellac</i>
18	d. 469	Priscus Marcellinus Comes "Chronicon paschale"	d. ca. 472 534 shortly after 628	Δεγγιζίχ Δινζίριχος, Δινζίχ	Marcellinus Comes Jordanes	534 551	<i>Denzicis^{gen}</i>
19	<i>fl.</i> after 469	Priscus [cf. "The List of the Bulgar Kings"]	d. ca. 472 ca. 8th century	Ἡρνάχ Ирникъ]	Jordanes Jordanes	551 551	<i>Dintzic</i> <i>Hernac</i>
20	<i>fl.</i> after 469				Jordanes	551	<i>Emnetzur</i>
21	<i>fl.</i> after 469				Jordanes	551	<i>Vlizindur</i>
22	5th-6th century	Theophanes	810-814	Γιέσμου ^{gen}			
23	d. 536	Procopius Malalas Theophanes	545-551 d. 578 810-814	Μοῦνδος Μοῦνδος Μοῦνδος	Marcellinus Comes Jordanes	534 551	<i>Mundo</i> <i>Mundo</i>
24	<i>fl.</i> 556	Agathias	ca. 536-582	Ἐλμίγγειρος			
25	<i>fl.</i> 556	Agathias	ca. 536-582	Ἐλμινζούρ			
b) Names of Leading Hunnic Statesmen and Officers ca. 448-449							
26	ca. 448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ἄδάμει ^{dat}			
27	ca. 448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Βέρχορ			
28	ca. 448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ἐδέκων			
29	ca. 448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ζέρκων			
30	ca. 434-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ἡσλάν ^{acc}			
31	ca. 448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Κρόκαν			
32	ca. 448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ἵννηγίσιος	"Vita sancti Lupi" (d. 479)		<i>Hunigasio^{abl.}</i>
33	ca. 448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Σκόττας			

/t/.⁹ In Mongolian the suffix has two variants /mAd/ and /mUd/; cf. WMo *bala+mad* ~ *bala+mud*. As to usage, see WMo *aqā+mad* ‘senior, elder’ (originally, ‘the oldest among the brothers’), from *aqā* ‘older brother, senior, older’; *yeke+med* ‘the highest (official); the elder men, elders or seniors, important people’, from *yeke* ‘great, big, large’.¹⁰

Since in Hunnic the suffix /r/ appears in place of the Mongolian /d/ ~ /t/ (see *Emnetzur*, no. 20), one may assume that Hunnic /mUr/ = /mU/+r/ corresponds to the Turkic /mA/+t/ (~ /mA/+č/) and Mongolian /mA/+d/ ~ /mU/+d/.

The now obsolete noun *bala* had been preserved in WMo in a periphrastic rendition: *bala bol-* ‘to lose one’s memory from intoxication, senility, or illness; to become stupid’.¹¹

Hence the Hunnic *bala+mur* must have had the meaning “the greatest among the venturous, daring” — surely a reasonable designation for a conquerer and empire builder.

2-3. Βασίχ¹² and Κουρσίχ.¹³ Both names have the denominal nominal suffix /siG/ which in Turkic (e.g., OT) has the adjectival meaning “like something.”¹⁴

2. In the Hunno-Bulgarian languages /r/ within a consonantic cluster tends to disappear, e.g.: DBulg σεκτημ ~ шехтемь ‘the eighth’ < **sikartəm*; VBulg ات *äti* ~ اچ *ači* ‘he was’ < **är-di* > **ärti*;¹⁵ Čuv *idā* ‘added number’ < **artuq*.¹⁶ On the other hand, there is a tendency in Turkic¹⁷ (and also partly in Hunnic; see no. 26) to avoid geminatae. Therefore, I propose the following etymology: Βασίχ = **basig* < **bars+sig*¹⁸ ‘feline-like.’ The word *bars* ‘feline’ also occurs in another Hunnic name discussed here: Ὠβαρς *Ōy bārs* (see no. 10).

3. The root of Κουρσίχ is attested in both Hunnic and Turkic: Bulg Hun **kürä* (i.e., *kür+ä*) = Tü *kür*. In Hunnic the word occurs in the Danube-Bulgarian tribe name κυρτιηρ *kürə+gir* (< **kürä+gir*). Karl

⁹ Pritsak, “Proto-Bulgarian Etymologies IV-V,” in *Studies in honor of Horace G. Lunt* (= *Folia Slavica* 3, pt. 2) (Columbus, Ohio, 1979), pp. 203-205.

¹⁰ Ramstedt, *Einführung*, 1: 79. Cf. Lessing, *Dictionary*, pp. 60, 431.

¹¹ Lessing, *Dictionary*, p. 78.

¹² ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 141, l. 13.

¹³ ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 141, l. 13 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 169.

¹⁴ See von Gabain, *ATG*, p. 66, §80; Brockelmann, *OTG*, pp. 136-137, §89.

¹⁵ Pritsak, *Fürstenliste*, pp. 58, 74; Farid S. Xakimzjanov, *Jazyk èpitařij volžskix Bulgar* (Moscow, 1978), p. 125, pl. 12, l. 8 (ات), p. 105, pl. 2, l. 7 (اچ).

¹⁶ Egorov, *ÈSČJ*, p. 344.

¹⁷ Pritsak, “Das Alttürkische,” *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abt. Bd. 5, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1982), p. 33.

¹⁸ Cf. the change in New Uighur *rs* > *s*: *bars* > *bās* ‘feline,’ Sevortjan, *ÈSTJ*, 2: 68.

Menges established for the “Altaic” *kür* ~ *kür* + *ä* the meaning “brave, noble, powerful; universal”; cf. the Pečeneg ruler *s.a.* 972: *Куря Kürä* (*Kür* + *ä*).¹⁹

Because of Bang’s law (“Mittelsilbenschwund”)²⁰ the form **kür* + *ä* + *sig* (> **kuräsigg*) became *kürsig*. The name meant: “brave-like, noble-like, universal-like”; cf. Attila, no. 13. Incidentally, a dangerous expedition (to Iran) was headed by two Dioscuri-like members of the dynasty, *Basig* and *Kürsig*.²¹

4. Οὔλδης,²² *Uldin*²³ ~ *Huldin*.²⁴ As the Latin forms (already in Orosius, *fl.* 414-417) show, the name had /n/ and not /s/ in its Auslaut. Also see *Vltzin* + *dur*, no. 21.

The root of the etymons is the verb *öl-*, which survives in Mo (*SH*) *olje* ~ *ol-jei*²⁵ ~ WMo *öl-jei*²⁶ ‘auspice, favourable omen, happiness, good luck’.

The suffix /je/ ~ /jei/ < **/jē/* goes back to **/di/+/ge/*, since every Mongolian *j* is originally **di*.²⁷

This concept is supported by the Mongolian (*SH*) form *oljige* = **öl-jige* (< **öl-dige*; > **öljē* > *ölje*) with the meaning “front part.”²⁸ This word also appears in Mongolian (*SH*) as *oljigetai* (= *öl-jige* + *tei*) in the phrase *oljigetai tergen* ‘wagon with a front part, i.e., protected wagon’; the Chinese equivalent is 衛 wei ‘ce qui sert a protéger.’²⁹

In Hunno-Bulgarian there was also a tendency toward the development of *di* > *ti* > *či*, as the tribal name Οὔλτινζούρ (*öl-tin* + *čür*) and the personal name *Vltzindur* (*öl-čün* + *dür*; see no. 21) indicate.

¹⁹ Menges, “Altaic Elements in the Proto-Bulgarian Inscriptions,” *Byzantion* (Bruxelles), 21 (1951): 105-106. Cf. Doerfer, *TMEN*, 4: 633-37; Pritsak, *Studies*, no. X, p. 26.

²⁰ See Räsänen, *Lautgeschichte*, p. 45.

²¹ On this myth, see Pritsak, *OR*, 1: 141, 154, 163, 165, 169-70.

²² Sozomen, ed. Migne, *PG*, pp. 1605 (Οὔλδης), 1608 (Οὔλδιν); Zosimus, ed. Mendelssohn, p. 242, l. 27; p. 243, l. 5 (Οὔλδης) = *Byz Tur*, 2: 230. On the priority of the form in *-n*, see Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns*, p. 380.

²³ Orosius, ed. Zangemeister, book V, 37-2.

²⁴ Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, ed. Mommsen, p. 69 > Jordanes, *Romana*, ed. Mommsen, p. 321. The initial *h-*, which was not present in Orosius’s notation (see fn. 23), should be regarded as a sixth-century fashion; see, e.g., Jordanes, *Getica* (ed. Skržinskaja): *Alani* (pp. 156, 162-164, 173, etc.) ~ *Halani* (pp. 144, 151), *Alaricus* (pp. 156, 157) ~ *Halaricus* (pp. 155, 158), etc.

²⁵ Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 123. Cf. Marian Lewicki, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIV^e siècle: Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389*, vol. 2 (Wrocław, 1959), p. 69, s.v. *ölžäi*.

²⁶ Lessing, *Dictionary*, 635. Cf. Doerfer, *TMEN*, 1: 173-74.

²⁷ See Poppe, *MCS*, pp. 265-66.

²⁸ *SH*, ed. Haenisch, §55.

²⁹ *SH*, ed. Haenisch, §64. See the comments by Father Antoine Mostaert in his *Sur quelques passages de l’Histoire secrète des Mongols* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 11.

In place of the Mongolian suffix /ge/ ~ /ge+i/ the Hunnic has the suffix /n/. Hence *oǔλδην is *ǒl-di+n. In Mongolian the word *öljē+i* > *ölje+i* with the adjectival suffix /tu/ appears as the name of one Ilkhan, i.e., the Mongolian ruler in Iran (1304-1316): *Öljeitü* (= *öl-je+i+tü*), literally, “auspicious, happy, lucky, fortunate.”

The Hunnic *ǒl-din (= *öl-di+n*) apparently had a similar meaning.

5. Δονάτ-.³⁰ The word **donát* corresponds to the Turkic generic word for horse, *yonat* ~ *yont*, *yund*, etc.; see OT Inscr. *yont*, OT Brahmi *yunt* ~ *yund*, MTü Kāšg. *yond*,³¹ Qipčaq/Golden Horde (ca. 1342-1357) *yont* (ѣнтя лѣта ‘in the horse year’).³² Some Middle Turkic (Abū Haiyān, 1312)³³ and older Ottoman texts spelled the word dissyllabically, the latter with the vowels written plene: يونات *yonat*.³⁴ The initial consonant, in Greek spelled with δ, was probably *d*. The initial *d-* is attested in Danube-Bulgarian, e.g., δυγε- (*dügä-*) ‘to finish.’³⁵

Horses played (and still play) a central role in the life and cult of nomads. Horse sacrifice and eating of horsemeat were common expressions of that special role. Each Hunno-Turkic language had at least two terms for “horse,” one of which was used as a designation for the “horse year” in the twelve-cycle calendar.³⁶ Concerning other Hunnic designations for “horse,” see Χαράτων (no. 6) and Ἐλμίγγειρ-, etc. (nos. 24-25).

6. Χαράτων.³⁷ The first component of this name is surely the “Altaic” word *xarā* (= *qara*; phonetically with initial spirantization: *q* > [x-]), which had two meanings: (1) ‘black’ and (2) ‘great; northern’.³⁸ Spirantization in the initial position (*q*- > *x*-)—as well as in the final position (see no. 7)—seems to be a typical Hunnic phonemic feature.

The second element, *tōn* (cf. Turkmen *dōn*), is apparently the Śaka loanword in both Hunnic and Turkic: *thauna* > **taun* > *tōn* ‘garment, clothing’.³⁹ The compound name, *qarātōn*, therefore, had the meaning

³⁰ Olympiodorus, ed. Dindorf, *HGM*, 1: 457, lines 9, 11, 14 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 119.

³¹ See the data in Clauson, *EDT*, p. 846; Räsänen, *EWT*, 211; Doerfer, *TMEN*, 4: 199-200. It was Willy Bang-Kaup who had first established the etymological relation between Δονάτ- and Turkic *yont* (~ **yonat*), “Studien zur vergleichenden Grammatik der Türkssprachen,” *Sitzungsberichte der...Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin), 37 (1916): 924-25.

³² Pritsak, *Fürstenliste*, p. 67.

³³ Abu Haiyān, ed. Ahmet Caferoğlu (Istanbul, 1931), p. 97a, l. 10: يُونَدُ

³⁴ Radloff, *Wb*, vol. 3, col. 545.

³⁵ Pritsak, *Fürstenliste*, p. 88.

³⁶ Pritsak, *Fürstenliste*, pp. 65-68.

³⁷ Olympiodorus, ed. Dindorf, *HGM*, 1: 457, line 15 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 341.

³⁸ Pritsak, “Orientierung und Farbsymbolik,” *Saeculum* (Munich), 5 (1954): 376-83 = Pritsak, *Studies*, no. I.

³⁹ Clauson, *EDT*, pp. 512-13. Cf. Doerfer, *TMEN*, 2: 645-47.

“black-clad; with black coat.” It must have had some significance and currency among the Huns, since the name was popular among their progeny, the Old Chuvashians. Chuvash villages are usually named after their owner, and several villages still bear the name *Xaratum* (< *xaratōn*). Also, the Chuvash cult seems to include ancestral beings (*kiremet*) called *Xoratom kiremet*.⁴⁰

The word *qara-tōn* seems to have been an elliptical designation for “horse.”

In Anatolian dialects and in the Ottoman literary language the word *don* (< *tōn*) has still another meaning: “the coat of a horse” (“die Pferdefarbe”).⁴¹

Evlīyā Çelebī, the great Ottoman traveler (*fl.* 1640-1684), describes the funeral ceremony of Mürād IV (d. 9 February 1640) in the following way: *Cemī-i ümmet-i Muḥammad mātene düşüb. At-Meydānında siyāh dōnli atlarda mātem etdiler*,⁴² “All Muslims (lit. ‘the community of Muḥammad’), falling into the funeral procession, went into mourning at the At Meydān (Hippodrome) on horses having black coats.” The concept of a “horse with a black coat” is expressed here by *siyāh dōnli at*, where *siyāh* ‘black’ is an Arabic loanword used for “black par excellence” in opposition to *qara* which can mean “dark in general.” Like *siyāh dōn*, the compound *qara-tōn* (lit. ‘black coat’) may be used elliptically for **siyāh dōnli at = *qara tōnli at* ‘black-coated horse’.

In this connection I note that the Hunnic *Xara-Tōn* was the successor of *Donat*⁴³ (“Horse”). Apparently the elliptical use of the word for “horse” in the title of the successor of a ruler called “Horse” was intentional, especially if we take into account Hunnic totemism.

7. Μουυδιουχ.⁴⁴ / *Mundzuc*-⁴⁵ ~ Μουυδιο.⁴⁶ The name of Attila’s father has come down to us in two variants, one ending with -x and the

⁴⁰ Ašmarin, *Thesaurus*, 16:207. On the *kiremet*, see N. V. Nikol’skij, *Xristianstvo sredi čuvaš srednjago Povolžja v XVI-XVIII vekax* (Kazan’, 1912), pp. 19-22.

⁴¹ See Radloff, *Wb*, vol. 3, col. 1710 (*don* Osm. Krm. 2. “die Pferdefarbe”); Hamit Zübeyr [Koşay] and İshak Refet, *Anadilden derlemeler* (Ankara, 1932), p. 107: *don* (G. Antep, Maraş) ... 2. renk, atının donu kırdır (“coat; the coat of a horse is gray”). My friend Dr. Şinasi Tekin assured me that the word *don* has that particular meaning in different parts of Anatolia, especially the Bursa region. Under the item *don* in his etymological dictionary, È. V. Sevortjan only quotes Radloff, without any further discussion of the meaning “coat of the horse” (*ĖSTJ*, vol. 3 [1980], p. 263).

⁴² *Siyāhet-nāme*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1314/1896), p. 266. Cf. *Tarama sözlüğü*, 2nd ed. (Ankara, 1965), p. 1213.

⁴³ E. A. Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 34, 58.

⁴⁴ Priscus, ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 581, l. 84 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 194.

⁴⁵ Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skrzinska, p. 159, l. 41; p. 172, l. 26.

⁴⁶ Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 102, l. 15 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 194.

other lacking it. The majority of scholars connected this word with the Turkic *bunčuq*, *munčuq*, *munžuq*, *minžaŋq*, *bonžuq*, *mončuq*, etc.,⁴⁷ and with either of its two meanings, “jewel, pearl, bead” or “flag.”⁴⁸

The Turkic etymon has two variants of the initial affricate of the second syllable: voiced *ʒ* and unvoiced *č*.

But careful study of Greek and Latin usages makes it clear that these two languages distinguished between the two affricates. The voiceless *č* was rendered in Greek by *ζ* and in Latin by *tz*, e.g., *δευγυζιχ*: *dintzic*. On the other hand, precisely in our name Greek had *di* and Latin had *dz*: *μουνδιουχ*, *μουνδιουχ*; *mundzuc*; see also *μουνδο* = *munđo*, when the letter *ι* was omitted (probably erroneously) in the source in question; significantly enough, the voiced *δ*: *d* remained.

Based upon these considerations, I propose to read *μουνδιουχ*/*mundzuc* and *μουνδιου* ~ *μουνδο*/*munđo* as *munžuq* and *munžu* ~ *munžu*.⁴⁹

Aulis J. Joki suggested that the Turkic word was a borrowing from a Chinese synonym-compositum: *men* (Arch Chin **mwən*, *GSR* 183f) ‘red gem’ and *chu* (Arch Chin **tju*, *GSR* 128e) ‘pearl’. According to him, the second component was later falsely identified with the Turkic diminutive suffix /*ČA*/, and was then replaced by its Turkic synonym with the final *-K* (= *q*, *k*): /*ČUK*/ ~ /*ČAK*/.⁵⁰ The existence of two variants of the Hunnic ruler’s name, with and without *-K*, corroborates both Joki’s etymology and the connection of Hunnic *Μουνδιουχ* ~ *Μουνδο* with *munžuq* ~ *munžu*.

The word belongs to the sphere of “Altaic” religious and royal symbolism. The two meanings given above are interconnected. As in China, so also in the Altaic steppe (as confirmed by Kushan, Old Turkic,

⁴⁷ See Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns*, pp. 409-411, and G. Schramm in *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 20 (1960): 129-55.

⁴⁸ On *munžuq*, etc., see Clauson, *EDT*, p. 349; Räsänen, *EWT*, p. 340; Doerfer, *TMEN*, 4: 24-27.

⁴⁹ L. Ligetis’s observation (*apud* Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns*, p. 410) that there is a clearcut distribution in the Turkic languages: Oghuz *b-ž* (*bonžuq*) versus other Turkic languages: *m-č* (e.g., Özb. *munčoq*, Kirg. *mončoq*) has no validity, since Azeri (an Oghuz language) has *munžuq* and Turkman (also an Oghuz language) has *monžuq*; in both cases there is an initial *m-*.

In any case, the Turkic situation has no validity for Hunnic, which belonged to a separate Altaic group.

⁵⁰ *Die Lehnwörter des Sajansamojedischen* (Helsinki, 1952), pp. 242-43 (s.v. *munzo*). That word, with the meaning “flag,” penetrated into Ukrainian and from there to Polish and Russian (*bunčuk*); see Max Vasmer, *REW*, 1: 145.

and Old Uighur art forms) a pearl called *munčuq* represented the sun and the moon. In artistic representations it was put in the mouth of a dragon. The *munčuq* gem was usually surrounded by an aureole of flame, and one of its special uses was as a finial on the imperial flagpole.⁵¹ This term, having so much symbolic value, is also often attested as a personal name, e.g.: *Qizil Munčuq*, a Mongolian commander in Afghanistan (ca. 1223);⁵² *Munčuk Ilčikeep*, a Bashkir leader (ca. 1761);⁵³ *Mončak* ~ *Bunčak* ~ *Puncuk*, a Kalmuk (Torgaut) leader (first half of the seventeenth century).⁵⁴

I conclude that the Hunnic name should be reconstructed as *múnžu* ~ *munžúq* 'jewel, flagpole' (phonetically having a spirantization of the final stop: -q = [x]). Note also the name Moũvdo- (no. 23).

8. *Octar*. This name of an uncle (d. ca. 430) of Attila has been transmitted in two forms: by Socrates (ca. 380-440) as Oũπταρος,⁵⁵ and by Jordanes (A.D. 551), in the "Getica," as *Octar*.⁵⁶ The second form is undoubtedly the correct one. The form with -pt- has been rightly recognized by M. Schönfeld as Gothic,⁵⁷ and the change from -ct- to -pt- is one of the characteristic features of Balkan-Latin.⁵⁸

There occurs in Turkic (e.g., *QB*, A.D. 1069)⁵⁹ and Mongolian (e.g., Kalmuk)⁶⁰ the word *öktem* with two sets of meanings: (1) "strong, brave, imperious, impetuous," and (2) "proud, boastful; pride." The etymon is the verb *ökte-* (*oktä-*), in Turkic known until now only from Chagatai (*Wb*): "to encourage, put heart into (someone)," as was rightly stressed by Sir Gerard Clauson.⁶¹ In Mongolian, *ökte-* occurs in *MA* (fifteenth century): *hanisqayin üsüni ökte-be* = Čag qaših tüketi boldi

⁵¹ Details in Emel Esin, "Tös and *moncuk*: Notes on Turkish flagpole finials," *ČAJ* 16 (1972): 14-36, 9 pl.; and M. Fuad Köprülü, "Bayrak," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1949), pp. 401-420. Kāšgārī did not know (or ignored) the religious and symbolic meaning of the word, defining it simply as "bead, trinket.... Anything that is hung to a horse's neck, such as gems, lion's paws, or amulets" (Kāšgārī/Dankoff, 1: 354).

⁵² See John Andrew Boyle, *Islamic Studies*, 2:2 (Karachi, 1963), p. 241.

⁵³ *Materialy po istorii Baškirskoj ASSR*, vol. 4, pt. 1, ed. A. N. Usmanov (Moscow, 1956), p. 221.

⁵⁴ Gerhard Friedrich Müller (Miller), *Istorija Sibiri*, vol. 2 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1941), pp. 104, 584; *Materialy po istorii Baškirskoj ASSR*, vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1936), p. 173; *Kabardino-russkie otnošenija v XVI-XVIII vv.*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1957), pp. 338, 340.

⁵⁵ Socrates, ed. Migne, *PG*, p. 805 (VII, 30) = *Byz Tur*, 2: 237.

⁵⁶ Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaja, p. 159, l. 42.

⁵⁷ Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, p. 173. See also Schramm (fn. 1), p. 148.

⁵⁸ Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns*, p. 381.

⁵⁹ e.g., *QB F*, p. 59, l. 3; *QB H*, p. 157, l. 8.

⁶⁰ Ramstedt, *KWb*, p. 294.

⁶¹ Radloff, *Wb*, vol. 1, col. 1181.

'your eyelashes became compact (solid)'.⁶² The deverbal nominal suffix /m/ is known both in Turkic and Mongolian.⁶³ In the latter language, it alternates with the suffix /ri/,⁶⁴ e.g., Kalmuk *bō-* (< *bogu-*) 'zuschnüren' which has two synonyms (deverbal nouns), one with the suffix /m/ and the other with the suffix /ri/: *bō-m* and *bō-ri* 'Engpass.' The Turkic correspondence of Mongolian /ri/ is /z/, e.g., *bog-əz* 'throat', from *bog-* (Mongolian *bogu-*) 'to strangle, choke'.⁶⁵

Here we have the following correspondences:

Tü /m/ = Mo /m/;

Tü /z/ = Mo /ri/.

Typical of all Hunnic languages is their rhotacism. Therefore the corresponding Hunnic suffix must have been /r/.⁶⁶

Octar/οὔπταρ- simply transmits the Hunnic appellative *Öktär* (**öktä-r*),⁶⁷ most probably with the meaning "strong, brave, imperious" Of special importance to our investigation of the language of Attila's Huns is the very clearly documented rhotacism in this name.

9. *Ρούγα-/Roa-*. The name of Attila's second paternal uncle and predecessor (d. A. D. 433) is attested in three variants: Socrates (A.D. 439) *Ρούγας*⁶⁸ ("Gallic Chronicle 511," *Ruga*⁶⁹) = Priscus (A.D. 472) *Ρούα*⁷⁰ (= Jordanes *Roas*)⁷¹ = Theodoret (ca. 393-451) *Ρώϊλας*⁷² (Lat. variant in "Gallic Chronicle 452," *Rugila*).⁷³ The *Ρουα-* variant is secondary, reflecting the sound change *ουγα-* > *ουα*. The final *-ς* is a Byzantine masculine suffix; the forms in /ila/ are Gothic—or, better, Gothicized—variants.

I consider this name to be a composite form.

The second element, *ούγα* (~ *ουα*), renders the Altaic title *ögä*,⁷⁴ well known from Old Turkic. If it is a genuinely "Altaic" word, rather than a

⁶² *MA*, ed. Poppe, p. 181.

⁶³ For Turkic, see Räsänen, *Morphologie*, p. 133; for Mongolian, Szabó, *Szóképzés*, p. 45 (§109).

⁶⁴ On /ri/ see Szabó, *Szóképzés*, p. 46 (§113).

⁶⁵ See Ramstedt, *Einführung*, 2: 143.

⁶⁶ On Hunnic rhotacism, see Pritsak, "Ein hunnisches Wort" (fn. 1), pp. 124-35.

⁶⁷ On Hunnic *ä* in the non-first syllable, see below, fn. 198.

⁶⁸ Socrates, ed. Migne, *PG*, col. 833 (VII 43) = *Byz Tur*, 2: 260.

⁶⁹ "Gallic Chronicle 511," ed. Mommsen, p. 659, l. 587; p. 661, l. 589.

⁷⁰ Priscus, ed. Dindorf, *HGM*, 1: 276, ll. 6, 20, 23, 24 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 260.

⁷¹ *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaja, p. 159, l. 42 (§180).

⁷² ed. Scheidweiler, p. 340, l. 7.

⁷³ "Gallic Chronicle 452," ed. Mommsen, p. 658, l. 112; p. 660, l. 116.

⁷⁴ The circumflex in Priscus's rendering may reflect Hunnic vocalic length. See also p. 469.

borrowing, it probably derived from \bar{o} - (see OT \bar{o} - 'to think');⁷⁵ as to the suffix /GA/, see, e.g., OT *bil-gä* 'wise' (from OT *bil-* 'to know').⁷⁶

The Greek $\rho[rh]$ at the beginning of the name was used to render the Hunnic **hr-*. The latter goes back to **her*, which in an unstressed position lost its vowel. The process can be reconstructed as follows: **hēr* $\bar{o}g\bar{a}$ > **hər* $\bar{o}g\bar{a}$ > *hrōgā*; note the Greek accents: $\rho\acute{o}\upsilon\gamma\alpha-$, $\rho\acute{o}\upsilon\alpha-$.

The word *hēr* corresponds to the Old Turkic Brahmi *hār* ~ Runic *ār(er)*, etc., meaning "man,"⁷⁷ which often occurs as the first component of names or titles, e.g., *Er Böri*, *Er Buğa*, *Er Toņa*, *Er Toğmiš*.⁷⁸

In Danube Proto-Bulgarian, the second component, $\bar{o}g\bar{a}$, occurs as a tribal name with the collective suffix /in/: оугаинъ ($\bar{o}g\bar{a}$ -in).⁷⁹

10. $\acute{\omega}\eta\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma$.⁸⁰ This personal name of Attila's paternal uncle (d. 449) also has two components, distinguished in the manuscript of Priscus by having two accents: $\acute{\omega}\eta$ and $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma$. The second element is the "young Altaic" word *bars* (< Iranian *pārs*), the common name for a large feline, e.g., leopard.⁸¹ It often occurs as a personal name in the Bulgarian and Turkic worlds. As to the first element, Willy Bang-Kaup insisted that it should be connected with Turkic *oy* (< $\bar{o}y$), a word meaning "color of a horse's coat," rather than with the Turkic *ay* 'moon'.⁸² Now there is better documentation available with regard to $\bar{o}y$; although definitions vary, they point mainly to "dun," thereby corroborating Bang's thesis:⁸³ $\bar{o}y$ -*bārs* = "a dun feline."

11. $\epsilon\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\mu$.⁸⁴ The first element of this composite Hunnic word is *es/äs* 'great, old', which is discussed below (nos. 13 and 30).⁸⁵ The second

⁷⁵ On $\bar{o}g\bar{a}$ and its etymology, see Clauson, *EDT*, p. 101; Doerfer, *TMEN*, 2: 614.

⁷⁶ See also Brockelmann, *OTG*, pp. 102-103 (§30).

⁷⁷ See Clauson, *EDT*, p. 192; Sevortjan, *ĖSTJ*, 1: 321-22; Räsänen, *EWT*, p. 46. Cf. also G. Doerfer and Semih Tezcan, *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch* (Budapest, 1980), p. 129.

⁷⁸ See Nadeljaev, *DTS*, p. 175.

⁷⁹ See Pritsak, *Fürstenliste*, pp. 47-48.

⁸⁰ Priscus, ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 148, l. 18 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 350. The initial $\acute{\omega}$ - probably stands for $\acute{\omega}$ -, cf. fn. 24.

⁸¹ Clauson, *EDT*, p. 368. Cf. Doerfer, *TMEN*, 2: 235-38.

⁸² W. Bang, "Über die türkischen Namen einiger Grosskatzen," *Keleti Szemle* (Budapest), 17 (1917): 112-14.

⁸³ Clauson, *EDT*, p. 266. I do not share Maenchen-Helfen's doubt about $\acute{\omega}\eta$ = $\bar{o}y$; see his *Huns*, pp. 418-19. I can also add that Priscus had reason to use the letter *omega* / \bar{o} / with a circumflex in recording the Hunnic word with the vocalic length: $\bar{o}y$.

⁸⁴ Priscus, *EL*, ed. de Boor, p. 131, l. 2 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 126.

⁸⁵ On *es* 'great, old', see Pritsak, "Der Titel Attila" (fn. 1), pp. 414-15; G. J. Ramstedt, *Zur Frage nach der Stellung des Tschuwassischen* (Helsinki, 1922), p. 13, fn. 1; cf. Räsänen, *EWT*, p. 49.

part stands for the “Altaic” *qām* ‘sorcerer, pagan priest’;⁸⁶ the latter word also occurs in the name Ἀτακάμ (= *ata qām*, see no. 14). *Es qām* alone meant “the great priest.” Apparently, Attila’s father-in-law was a great priest among the Huns, as Teb Tenggri was among the Mongols of Chinggis qa’an (see *SH* §§244-246).

The initial *q-* in καμ *qām* had remained a stop (plosive); apparently, in Hunnic spirantization was limited to the absolute initial (see no. 6) and final (see no. 7) positions of the word. The initial consonant of the second component was treated just like a medial, i.e., [-s]+[x-] > *sq-*.

12. Βλήδα-. For this name Priscus gives the form Βλήδας⁸⁷ (= “Chronicon paschale,” 7th c.: Βλίδας),⁸⁸ whereas Marcellinus Comes and Jordanes, not surprisingly, use a form without the Greek suffix -ς, i.e., *Bleda*.⁸⁹ In 1916 Willy Bang-Kaup wrote: “Ein Verbalnomen auf -ta, -da kennen wir nun bisher nicht; ich glaube aber annehmen zu müssen, dass ein solches auch dem koib. Imperative auf -daq, -däk < -daq, -dä-k zugrunde liegt.”⁹⁰ With the publication of Carl Brockelmann’s “Glossary” to Kāšgārī in 1928, the deverbal nominal suffix /DA/ was well established, see e.g., *bük-* ‘to bend, bow’, and *bük-dä* (> *büg-dä*) ‘crooked, bent [knife], dagger’; *küy-* ‘burn’: *kuy-dä* ‘furnace’; *čaqir-* ‘to call’; *čaqir-ta* (< *čaqirda*) ‘envoy’.⁹¹

Hence we must interpret *Blida* as a deverbal noun in /dA/. In the root, *bli-*, it is easy to recognize the typical Hunno-Bulgarian vocalic metathesis *bli-* < **bil-*.⁹² The verb *bil-* is well attested in Old Turkic and in all Turkic languages with the meaning “to know.”⁹³ The Hunnic titlename **bildä* (> *blidä*) was apparently synonymous with the Old Turkic (already in the inscriptions) *bilgä* (*bil-gä*) ‘wise; sovereign’;⁹⁴ there the

⁸⁶ Clauson, *EDT*, p. 625; Räsänen, *EWT*, p. 228; Doerfer, *TMEN*, 3: 403-406. The Greek stress probably reflected the vocalic length; cf. also fn. 83.

⁸⁷ Priscus, *EL*, ed. de Boor, p. 121, l. 19; 122, l. 20, 131, l. 32, 132, l. 33, 133, l. 12, 145, l. 7 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 91-92.

⁸⁸ *Chronicon paschale*, ed. Dindorf, p. 583, l. 15.

⁸⁹ Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, ed. Mommsen, p. 81 (*s.a.* 442, ch. X, 2; *s.a.* 445, ch. XIII, 1); Cassiodorus, *Chronica*, ed. Mommsen, *MGH AA*, vol. 11, p. 156; Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skrzinskaja, p. 159, l. 44; p. 160, l. 2.

⁹⁰ “Studien zur vergleichenden Grammatik der Türksprachen,” *Sitzungsberichte der... Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 37 (Berlin, 1916), p. 919.

⁹¹ Brockelmann, *OTG*, p. 96 (§35), p. 140 (§118a); Räsänen, *Morphologie*, p. 119.

⁹² On vocalic metathesis in Danube Proto-Bulgarian, see Pritsak, “The Proto-Bulgarian Military Inventory Inscriptions,” in *Turkic-Bulgarian-Hungarian Relations* (Budapest, 1981), pp. 44, 48, 58.

⁹³ Clauson, *EDT*, pp. 330-31.

⁹⁴ See Pritsak, “Die 24 Ta-ch’ën,” *Oriens Extremus*, 1:1 (Hamburg, 1954), pp. 186-87 = O. P., *Studies*, no. III.

Hunnic (non-productive?) suffix /DA/ had the same meaning as the Old Turkic non-productive suffix /GA/.

13. Ἀττίλα/*Attila*.⁹⁵ In 1955 I showed that Ἀττίλας/*Attila* should be analyzed as a composite title consisting of **es* ‘great, old’, **t¹il¹* ‘sea, ocean’, and the suffix /a/. The stressed back syllabic *til* (= *t¹il¹*) assimilated the front member *es*, so it became **as*.⁹⁶ The consonantic sequence *s-t* (*as til-*) became, due to metathesis, *t-s*, which by assimilation resulted in *tt*.⁹⁷ In 1981 I was able to establish a Danube-Bulgarian nominative-suffix /A/ from the consonantic stems.⁹⁸ Recalling that Danube-Bulgarian was a Hunnic language, I can now add to the data in the article of 1955 the following: the Hunnic title *attila* is a nominative. (in /A/) form of *attil-* (< **etsil* < **es til*) with the meaning “the oceanic, universal [ruler];” cf. the title of the Pečeneg ruler Куря, i.e., *Kür + ä*, meaning “universal” (cf. no. 3).

14-15. Ἀτακάμ⁹⁹ and Μάμα.¹⁰⁰ These two members of the Hunnic royal dynasty had fled to the Romans in wartime.¹⁰¹ When a treaty was concluded in 435, the Romans handed over to the Huns the defectors’

⁹⁵ Ἀττίλας: Priscus, ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 121, l. 18; p. 127, ll. 20, 24, 29, 32 et passim; Procopius, ed. Dewing, vol. 2, p. 40, l. 17; p. 42, ll. 7, 12, etc.; Ἀττίλας: Joannes Malalas, ed. Dindorf, p. 358, ll. 8, 11, 15, etc. = *Byz. Tur*, 2: 79-80. *Attila*: Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, ed. Mommsen, p. 79, l. 5 et passim; see *MGH AA*, vol. 13, “Index nominum,” s.v. Attila. Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skrzinskaja, p. 159, ll. 25, 32, 39, 41, 42 et passim; *Attyla*: “Anonymus Ravennas,” ed. Schmetz, p. 67, l. 33; *Atala*^{abl} ~ *Atalum*^{acc}, “Historia Pseudoisidoriana” [ca. 1000], ed. Th. Mommsen, *MGH AA*, vol. 11, p. 384, ll. 5, 10.

⁹⁶ Pritsak, “Der Titel Attila” (see fn. 1), pp. 404-419.

⁹⁷ See, e.g., the sound change in Yakut: *st* > *ts* > *tt*: Yakut *sittiq* < **žatsiq* < **yastuq*; cf. Räsänen, *Lautgeschichte*, p. 225, and Clauson, *EDT*, p. 974.

⁹⁸ Pritsak, “Proto-Bulgarian Military Inventory Inscriptions” (see fn. 92), p. 60.

⁹⁹ Priscus, ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 122, l. 18 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 76.

¹⁰⁰ Priscus, ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 122, l. 18 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 180-81.

¹⁰¹ The text is ambiguous: ἐν οἷς καὶ παῖδες Μάμα καὶ Ἀτακάμ τοῦ Βασιλείου γένους. Therefore, two interpretations are found in the literature. C. D. Gordon translates it as: “Among them were the children Mama and Atakam, scions of the royal house” (*The Age of Attila* [Ann Arbor, 1966], p. 61), and this is also how E. A. Thompson understands the text (*A History of Attila and the Huns* [Oxford, 1948], p. 77: “two boys of Attila’s own family named Mama and Atakam”). I follow Moravcsik, who regards Μάμα as [an apparently vulgar—O.P.] genitive from Μάμας (*Byz Tur*, 2: 180); see also the German translation of the passage by Ernst Doblhofer, *Byzantinische Diplomaten und östliche Barbaren* (Graz, 1955), p. 16: “... darunter die Söhne des Mama und Atakam, die dem Königshaus entstammten”; cf. the German translation by H. Homeyer (*Attila* [Berlin, 1951], p. 66). The very fact that the unhappy scions of the royal house were punished by crucifixion (οἱ παρεληφότες ἐσταύρωσαν, δίκας αὐτοῦς πραττόμενοι τῆς φυγῆς) may indicate that a change in religion (i.e., Christianity replacing the steppe religion) did in fact occur.

sons. They were later crucified in Carsum, a Thracian fortress, for their fathers' transgression.

14. The first name, Atakam (= *ata qām*), is readily analyzed: *ata* is comparable to Old Turkic (and Common Turkic) *ata* 'father';¹⁰² about *qām* 'pagan priest', see no. 11.

15. *Mάμα* is apparently a popular version of the well-known Greek Christian name *Mάμας* (~ *Mάμα*?),¹⁰³ and suggests that its bearer was a Christian—a circumstance which would probably have facilitated his defection to the Romans. It is remarkable that the names of both fugitives relate to religious matters: *Ata-qām* may have been the former chief priest (also a proselyte?), whereas *Mάμας* was most probably a Christian convert.

16. *Laudaricus*. The "Gallic Chronicle of 511" noted under the year 451 the death of a relative (*cognatus*) of Attila named *Laudaricus*, who was killed in the battle at Lacus Mauriacus.¹⁰⁴ The second part of this name is certainly the Gothic word *-ric* 'king'. Assuming that the first part, *Lauda-*, has been transmitted properly, M. Schönfeld suggested a Gothic etymology for the entire name: *Lauda reiks*.¹⁰⁵

But it is possible, at least theoretically, that the source of the chronicle (or its compiler) "Gothicized" the name. He might have had before him **Valda-* ~ *Velda* (< **Belda* > *Bleda*), which he "corrected" into *Lauda*, or copied with a metathesis (*Lau-* for **ual-*); cf. no. 18: *χιρ* > *ριχ*.

17-19. *Ellac*, *Δεγγιζίχ*, and *Ἡρνάχ/Hernac*, the names of the three oldest sons of Attila, must have had symbolic meanings.

17. The term *ēl* > *il* (the etymon of *Ellac*)¹⁰⁶ was the designation for the nomadic steppe *pax* in the Old Turkic inscriptions of the first half of the eighth century found in Mongolia.¹⁰⁷ One can assume that the same term, with the same meaning, also existed in the Hunnic language.

Old Turkic has the (denominal) suffix /*LAG*/, going back to the

¹⁰² I do not agree with Doerfer (*CAJ* 17 [1973]: 21; cf. also his *TMEN*, 2: 5-7) when he states that there is no sure evidence of *ata* prior to the eleventh century. To the data from the Uighur Buddhist texts from the eighth century quoted by Clauson (*EDT*, p. 40), one can add several other appearances of *ata* in the eighth-century *Maitrisimit*; see Şinasi Tekin, *Maitrisimit nom bitig*, vol. 2 ([East] Berlin, 1980), p. 17.

¹⁰³ On St. Mamas, see, e.g., A. Maraba-Xatzenikolau, *Ἁγιος Μάμας* (Athens, 1953).

¹⁰⁴ ed. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* 1, p. 66, l. 615.

¹⁰⁵ Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, p. 277.

¹⁰⁶ Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skrzinskaja, p. 173, l. 28.

¹⁰⁷ Clauson, *EDT*, pp. 121-122. Cf. Doerfer, *TMEN*, 1: 142 and 2: 194-201, 210-13. On the Azeri form *ellik* 'narodnyj, obščestvennyj, etc.', see Doerfer, *TMEN*, 4: 266.

denominal verbal suffix /lA/, enlarged by the deverbal nominal ending /G/, e.g., OT *baš* ‘head’: *baš+la-* ‘to begin’: *baš+la-g* ‘beginning’.¹⁰⁸

One can assume a comparable situation for the Hunnic: **el* ‘realm’: **el+lä-* ‘to rule’: **el+lä-g* ‘the rule’. Also, in this word the final *c* in the Latin notation must represent the final Hunnic -g.

18. Δεγγιζιχ¹⁰⁹ has the abbreviated variant Διν[γι]ζιχ¹¹⁰ > *Den[git]zic-*,¹¹¹ *Din[gi]tzic*.¹¹² The word has the denominal suffix /čig/ (see OT /čig/ ~ /siG/ and Hunnic /siG/, no. 2), meaning “like.”¹¹³ Before this suffix (in Priscus’s notation) the final /r/ of the stem was dropped.¹¹⁴ But this /r/ was retained in the Greek notation of Marcellinus Comes (A.D. 534) and taken over (with some change) by the “Chronicon paschale” (ca. 628):

Marcellinus (p. 90 b, l. 5) Δινζιχιρος (cf. his Latin form *Denzic*; p. 90a, l. 7);

“Chronicon paschale”: Δινζιριχος (the χιρ of Marcellinus became ριχ).

As we can readily see, the order of syllables in Marcellinus was disturbed. I propose to treat his Greek -ζιχ in the same way as his Latin -zic-, i.e., as a suffix, and to transfer it to the end of the name (the Greek suffix -ος, must, of course, be disregarded). The result is the form *Δινιρζιχ. In Marcellinus’s Latin notation the middle syllable -gi- was missing (see above), whereas to the Greek notation only γ must be added. The restored form, then, is *Δινγιρζιχ. The name should be reconstructed as *denir+čig* > *deničig* (cf. OT *teŋəz* ‘sea’ and OMo [hP’ags-pa] *dəŋri* ‘heaven’),¹¹⁵ with the meaning “ocean-like.” Hence the name of the son belongs to the same semantic field as that of the father (Attila; see no. 13). The form **denir* is remarkable because of its rhotacism.

¹⁰⁸ von Gabain, *ATG*, p. 61 (§ 52).

¹⁰⁹ Priscus, ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 588, ll. 6, 24, 28 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 117.

¹¹⁰ *Chronicon paschale*, ed. Dindorf, p. 598, l. 3: Δινζιριχος. The text has two other variants (see *Byz Tur*, 2: 117): Δινζιχ and Δινζιχος.

¹¹¹ Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, ed. Mommsen, p. 90, a, b.

¹¹² Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skrzinskaja, p. 175, l. 28.

¹¹³ See von Gabain, *ATG*, p. 66 (§ 80); Räsänen, *Morphologie*, p. 111.

¹¹⁴ I see here a development parallel to that observed in Turkic Mongolian, where stems ending with -r, -l, -n drop their final consonant before some suffixes, e.g., Turkic: qar+daš ‘friend, fellow’ > qa+daš ‘id’; see W. Bang, “Schwund von -r-,” in *Keleti Szemle* 18 (1919): 18-19; Mongolian: *dabu-r > dabu+sun ‘salt’; see Pritsak, “Mongolisch *yisün* ‘neun’ und *yiren* ‘neunzig,’” *Ural-Altische Jahrbücher* (Wiesbaden), 26 (1954): 243-45.

¹¹⁵ Poppe, *The Mongolian Monuments in hP’ags-pa Script* (Wiesbaden, 1957), p. 122.

19. Attila's beloved youngest son was by his queen Krekän. It was this son that soothsayers prophesied would restore the Hunnic realm to greatness. Three variants of his name appear in the sources: Ἡρνάχ,¹¹⁶ Ирнихъ,¹¹⁷ and *Hernac*.¹¹⁸ It has been suggested that the name should be connected with the Turkic *erñäk* ~ *ernäk* 'finger, thumb'.¹¹⁹ Some time ago I expressed another opinion: the etymon here is *erän*, the "irregular" plural of *ēr* 'man', with the meaning "real man, a man squared, hero."¹²⁰ But there is actually no problem here, since *erñäk* ~ *ernäk* is a diminutive of *erän* (*er* + *än*): *erän* + diminutive suffix /G Ak/ or /AK/: *er* + *än* + *gäk* > *erñäk*: *ar* + *än* + *äk* > *ernäk*.¹²¹ The word *erän* must have had two oppositional meanings: "real man, hero" and "small man." The latter meaning is found in Kāšgārī's dictionary: through a denominal suffix the verb *erän* + *ge-* was created, in which the noun in /u/ *erän* + *gä-yü* had the meaning "a very small (short = Arab. *qaṣīr*) man, two cubits tall." But *erängäyü* also had the meaning "a man with six fingers (Arab. *lahu sitta aṣābi*),"¹²² which probably also meant "lucky man."

The "Altaic" etymology of the Turkic word *erñäk* (< *erän* + *gäk*) ~ *ernäk* (< *ērän* + diminutive suffix /AK/), as elaborated by N. Poppe, proves that the word in fact goes back to *ēr* 'man', since originally it had *h-* in the initial position (like *er* < *här*, *her*, etc.): MMo *heregai* 'thumb' (cf. Mo *ere* 'man' = tü. *ēr* id.), Manchu *ferxe* 'id', Orók *pero(n-)* 'id', etc.¹²³

Since Jordanes writes the name of Attila's third son with an initial *h-* (*Hernac*), the spiritus *lenis* of the Greek form should be corrected into a spiritus *asper*, i.e., ἦ into ἦ̄. The name *hērñäk*, having the oppositional meanings "hero" and "little [i.e., lucky?] man," was especially fitting for Attila's beloved son.

20. *Emnetzur*,¹²⁴ 24. Ἐλμίγγειρος,¹²⁵ 25. Ἐλμινζούρ.¹²⁶ These three

¹¹⁶ Priscus, ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 588, l. 8 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 132.

¹¹⁷ Pritsak, *Fürstenliste*, pp. 36-37.

¹¹⁸ Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skrzinskaja, p. 174, l. 20.

¹¹⁹ See, e.g., Franz Altheim, *Attila und die Hunnen* (Baden-Baden, 1951), p. 155. On *erñäk* ~ *ernäk*, see Clauson, *EDT*, p. 234; Räsänen, *EWT*, p. 46; Sevortjan, *ĖSTJ*, 1: 299.

¹²⁰ Pritsak, "Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der altaischen Völker," *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 24, nos. 1-2 (1952): 70-71, and my remark in Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns*, p. 415. Cf. Clauson, *EDT*, p. 232 (s.v. *eren*).

¹²¹ von Gabain, *ATG*, p. 62 (§§ 59 and 57).

¹²² Kāšgārī/Dankoff, 1: 157.

¹²³ Poppe, *Vgl Gr Alt*, pp. 11, 79. Concerning *hēr*, see Räsänen, *EWT*, p. 46; Sevortjan, *ĖSTJ*, 1: 321-22; Pritsak (fn. 92), p. 60; cf. Cincius, *Sravn Slov Tung*, 2: 354.

¹²⁴ Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skrzinskaja, p. 174, l. 21.

¹²⁵ Agathias, ed. Dindorf, p. 275, l. 8 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 123.

¹²⁶ Agathias, ed. Dindorf, p. 314, l. 31; p. 315, l. 7 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 123.

names belong together, although they refer to two different persons: *Emnetzur* (no. 20) and *Vltzindur* (no. 23) were *consanguinei*, or brothers, of Attila's son Hernac, i.e., sons of Attila; Ἐλμίγγειρ- (no. 24), also called Ἐλμινζούρ (no. 25), was a progeny of Attila's dynasty who was active in 556. Two suffixes in the three names can easily be determined: *-tzur* = -ζούρ [čür] and -γειρ [gir]. The latter is known in Danube-Bulgarian, where it appears as a suffix in tribal names: e.g., Κουριγηρ (= *küri + gir*).¹²⁷ The suffix /+čUr/ can be compared with the Mongolian collective suffix /+čUd/ (= /čU/+/d/),¹²⁸ where /d/ is the plural affix, in Hunno-Bulgarian having the correspondence /r/; see *Balamu + r* (no. 1).

The etymon is **elmin* (*elmin + čür*) with its variant **emnin* (< **emlin* > **emnin* > *emna[n]* [> *emna[n]* + *čür* > *emna + čür*) 'horse' (in the twelve animal cycle; also a tribal name), known from the Danube Proto-Bulgarian.¹²⁹ In Volga-Bulgarian and in Chuvash the cluster *-nč-* is often simplified into *š*, e.g., الطيش *altiši*¹³⁰ (< **altinči*). Therefore, the form *emnečür* goes back to **emnen + čür*; cf. *elmin + čür*.

The persons in question apparently also bore their clan name as a personal name: *Elmin + čür* > *Emnečür*, or the tribal name *Elmin + gir*. The nameforms were obviously interchangeable, since both the form Ἐλμίγγειρ (*elmin + gir*) and Ἐλμινζούρ (*Elmin + čür*) (occurring in A.D. 556) seem to relate to one and the same person, as the editors (Niebuhr and Stein) of Agathias's work—where the two forms appear—have suggested.¹³¹ See also the name Δονάτ-, above, no. 5.

21. *Vltzindur*.¹³² This name contains another clan (tribal) suffix, /DUr/, paralleling the suffix /čUr/; the latter is also attested in the name Οὐλτινζούρ (*öltin + čür*).¹³³

The etymon is the Hunnic ruler's name discussed above: *öldin* (see no. 4). In the notations under discussion, the change *ld* > *lt* > *lč* had already taken place; the parallel development is known from the Volga-

¹²⁷ See Karl H. Menges, "Altaic Elements in the Proto-Bulgarian Inscriptions," *Byzantion* 21 (1951): 102-106.

¹²⁸ See Poppe, *MCS*, pp. 181, 183. On the VBulg collective suffix *-č*, see Pritsak, "Tschuwassische Pluralsuffixe," in *Studia Altaica* (= *Festschrift N. Poppe*) (Wiesbaden, 1957), pp. 139-40, 144-46.

¹²⁹ Pritsak, *Fürstenliste*, pp. 67-68.

¹³⁰ F. S. Xakimzjanov, *Jazyk ėpitařij volžskix Bulgar* (Moscow, 1978), p. 124 (pl. 12), l. 7. Cf. the development in Yakut: OT *sanč* > *as*. On Yak. *as-* 'to pierce', see W. Bang, "Turkologische Briefe... V," *Ungarische Jahrbücher* (Berlin), 10 (1930): 18-19.

¹³¹ On this, see Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns*, p. 402.

¹³² Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaja, p. 174, l. 22.

¹³³ Agathias, ed. Dindorf, p. 365. Cf. *Byz Tur*, 2: 230.

Bulgarian inscriptions, e.g., بلج *bolči* (< *bolti* < *bol-di*),¹³⁴ الب *elti* > العلي *elči* 'lady'.¹³⁵ The name has to be interpreted, therefore, as *ölčindür*.

The very fact that the known tribal clan suffixes occur only with the names *Öldin* and *Elmín* may suggest that the European Huns designated themselves by the names of two ancestors, *Öldin* and *Elmín* (~ *Donát*). This brings to mind the two ancestors of the Türküt-Turks as they are styled in the Orkhon inscriptions: Bumən qağan and Istämi qağan.

22. Γιέσµ-.¹³⁶ According to Theophanes's chronicle (ca. 814), this person was the father of *Mundo* (no. 23), who in turn is characterized as a descendant of Attila.

There was initially a *g-* in the Hunno-Bulgarian languages: e.g., the Danube-Bulgarian ruler's name Γοστρον-/Gostun,¹³⁷ Old Bulgarian > Hungarian: *görény* 'polecat', etc.¹³⁸ Therefore, in my view the word γιέσµ- should be interpreted as having the initial Hunnic *g-*, that is, as **gésəm*.

My thesis here is that in this word the Hunnic *g-* corresponds to the Turkic-Chuvash-Mongolian *k-* in *kes/käs* (> Čuv *kas*), where, due to regressive dissimilation in the sequence **g-s* (**ges*), it was replaced by the voiceless *k-* (= *g-s* > *k-s*).¹³⁹

Mongolian has a term *kesig*, for which Ferdinand D. Lessing's dictionary gives the following meanings: [1*] "grace, favor, blessing"; [2] "good luck or good fortune"; [3] "turn (one's place, time, or opportunity in a scheduled or alternating order)."¹⁴⁰ To this one should add [as 4] "gift, present."¹⁴¹

The Yakuts borrowed this Mongolian word in the form *käsi* (< *kesig*) with the meaning [4] "small gift, present not requiring a gift in return,"¹⁴² and the word entered (via Yakut?) the majority of the

¹³⁴ Xakimzjanov (see fn. 130), p. 135 (pl. 17), l. 7.

¹³⁵ Xakimzjanov (see fn. 130), p. 91.

¹³⁶ Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 218, l. 32 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 113-14.

¹³⁷ Pritsak, *Fürstenliste*, pp. 15, 35.

¹³⁸ András Róna-Tas, "The Character of Hungarian-Bulgaro-Turkic Relations," in *Turkic-Bulgarian-Hungarian Relations* (Budapest, 1981), pp. 126, 127.

¹³⁹ On the sporadic disagreements between Volga-Bulgarian, Turkic, and Mongolian, such as voicing *versus* devoicing of consonants in the initial position, see Róna-Tas (fn. 138), pp. 126-27 and esp. fn. 24 (on p. 127).

* *The numeration is mine* — O.P.

¹⁴⁰ Lessing, *Dictionary*, p. 460.

¹⁴¹ See the derivation *kesig* + *le-* in Lessing's *Dictionary*, p. 460: "to give presents; to confer favors; to do in turns." Cf. also Poppe, *Vgl Gr Alt*, p. 65.

¹⁴² Piekarski, vol. 1, col. 1061.

Tunguz languages, e.g., Negidal *käsi*, Udihe, Ulcha, Orok, Manchu *käsi*, with the meanings: [1] “favor, blessing”; [2] “luck, good luck”; [4] “gift.”¹⁴³

The Mongolian word is a deverbal noun in /g/ from the Proto-Mongolian root **kesi-*,¹⁴⁴ which ultimately goes back to the noun *kes*, which (as will be shown below) also left traces in Turkic and Chuvash.

The “Altaic” verb **gesi-* > **kesi-* (= **kes + i-*)¹⁴⁵ can be established on the basis of Ottoman (dialectal) *kesimiş* (= *käs + i - miş*) [4] ‘wedding present (götürü iş)’.¹⁴⁶ The deverbal suffix /miş/ goes back to an expansion of the deverbal noun /m/, that is, /miş/ = /m/ + /iş/.¹⁴⁷

On this basis, we can accept — theoretically, at least — that from the verb *käsi-*, in addition to the derived form in /g/ there was also a derived form in /m/.

While there are no traces of the deverbal form in /g/ from *käsi-* in the Turkic languages or in Chuvash — the Bashkir (*Başk* 254) *kisî* (< **käsî*) in *kisilik* (semantically, a response to meanings [1, 2, 4]) ‘reverence’ is certainly a borrowing ultimately from Mongolian *kesig* — Ottoman (Old Ottoman and the dialects) does have the anticipated form *kesim* (= *käs + i - m*) with the meaning “deal; agreement (pazarlık; anlaşma).”¹⁴⁸ Apparently, agreement between two parties was originally based on the exchange of gifts (meaning [4]).

In Chuvash culture there is a ceremonial wedding soup — apparently bestowing “blessing” [1] and “good luck” [2] — called *kasmäk jaški*.¹⁴⁹ The first component of the Chuvash term corresponds exactly to the Ottoman ((dialectal) *kesme aşı/kesme çorbasi*¹⁵⁰ (*Çuv jaška*, and Ottoman *aş* and *çorba* mean “soup”). Both forms, Chuvash *kasmäk* (= *kas + mäk* < *käsi-mäk*) and Ottoman *kesme* (= *kes-me* < *kes-mek* < **kesi-mäk*), go back to the verb *kesi-*, augmented with the suffix /mAK/

¹⁴³ See Cincius, *Sravn Slov Tung*, 1: 455. I cannot dwell here on the Mongolian *kesig* = Turkic *käzig* ‘sentry, guard’, about which see Paul Pelliot, “Notes sur le ‘Turkestan’ de M. W. Barthold,” *T’oung Pao* (Leiden), 27 (1930): 28-31; Antoine Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages de l’Histoire Secrète des Mongols* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 374-80; Doerfer, *TMEN*, 1 (1963): 467-70.

¹⁴⁴ On the suffix /g/, see Szabó, *Szóképzés*, p. 43, § 105.

¹⁴⁵ On the denominal verbal suffix /i/, see Ramstedt, *Einführung*, 2 (1952): 201-202 (§11) and von Gabain, *ATG*, p. 66 (§85).

¹⁴⁶ *Derleme sözlüğü* (Ankara), 8 (1975): 2765.

¹⁴⁷ On the deverbal suffix /miş/ see Ramstedt, *Einführung*, 2: 106.

¹⁴⁸ *Tarama sözlüğü* (Ankara), 4 (1969): 2447-49; *Derleme sözlüğü* 8 (1975): 2764.

¹⁴⁹ Ašmarin, *Thesaurus* 6 (1934): 128, where the Chuvash word is treated as inexplicable.

¹⁵⁰ *Derleme sözlüğü*, 8: 2764.

~ /mA/;¹⁵¹ the originally three-syllable word (**kesimäk*) lost its middle syllable, which was unstressed (Bang's "Mittelsilbenschwund"), and became: *kesmäk* (> Čuv *kasmäk*).

Since the deverbal suffix /mAk/- like the suffix /miš/- consists of two elements: /m/ and /Ak/, the data presented here confirm further the occurrence of the deverbal suffix /m/ with the root **kesi-* in both Turkic and Chuvash.

The root *kes*, a term which — as its semantic fields indicate — derived from the religious and social life of the Eurasian steppe, has survived (if somewhat limited or transformed in semantics) in the Karakhanid language (11th century), Old Ottoman (and in Turkey in Turkish dialects), Yakut, Chuvash, and Written Mongolian.

The Karakhanid meanings encompass three groups, the semantics of which are clearly influenced by the Islamic religion and Bedouin customs. So, obligatory ablution has influenced the semantic change *käs* — [Arab] *an-nubla*, that is, "a piece of dried clay ([Arab] *al-madāra*) with which one cleans oneself [after passing water],"¹⁵² certainly in order to be ready to receive [1] "grace, favor, blessing."

Because of meanings [1] and [2] ("good luck and good fortune"), a person was *käs* 'quick-minded, expeditious',¹⁵³ and because of [4] ("gift, present"), one was full of *käsgü* (= *käs* + *gü*) 'praise';¹⁵⁴ cf. the Bashkir data above.

Two words in particular should be regarded as resulting from meaning [4]: *käs* 'a piece' (originally 'of a gift?')¹⁵⁵ and *kästäm* (*käs* + *täm*) 'an entertainment with drinks, other than a formal banquet, which a man gives to visitors at night'.¹⁵⁶

In Old Ottoman (15th century), probably due to the influence of despotic rule, semantics concentrate on the agent of the meanings [1-4]. There *kes* is "owner; protector, helper (*sahip*, *hamî*, *yardımcı*)"¹⁵⁷ and

¹⁵¹ On these suffixes see Ramstedt, *Einführung*, 2: 106, and Räsänen, *Morphologie*, pp. 133-35.

¹⁵² Kāšgārī/Dankoff, 1: 262.

¹⁵³ Radloff, *Wb*, vol. 2, col. 1154; Nadeljaev, *DTS*, p. 302.

¹⁵⁴ Semantic interpretation of this word is based on the meaning of the word اوكدى *ögdi* 'praise', with which the Ferghana manuscript of the *Quadğu Billig* (facsimile ed. [Istanbul, 1943], p. 30, l. 5) replaces *käsgü* of the Herat manuscript of *QB* (facs. [Istanbul, 1942], p. 18, l. 23).

Concerning the denominal suffix /GU/, see von Gabain, *ATG*, p. 62 (§60). There was still another word, *käsgü* 'piece', in the Karakhanid language, but it does not belong here, because it is a deverbal noun /GU/ from *käs-* 'to cut', as Kāšgārī correctly explains. Kāšgārī/Dankoff, 1: 75.

¹⁵⁵ Kāšgārī/Dankoff, 1: 262.

¹⁵⁶ Kāšgārī/facs., p. 244. Cf. Kāšgārī/Dankoff, 1: 360.

¹⁵⁷ *Tarama sözlüğü*, 4: 2443.

then he is “decisive.”¹⁵⁸ On the other hand, the object of this active element is *kes* as with the meaning “dumbfounded, confused”;¹⁵⁹ hence, also the abstraction *käs* ‘confusion’.¹⁶⁰ The Ottoman and Chuvash dialects have a depreciated meaning [4] already influenced by agricultural practices: *kes* or *kes+bik* (= Čuv *kas+pik*) ‘huge [pressed] straw and fire made of it’ [as a gift?—O.P.].¹⁶¹ The word occurs already in the Old Ottoman texts (15th-18th centuries), in the forms *kesmik* ~ *kesmük* (= *kesi-m* + /Uk/), with the following four meanings: “bounded huge straw (boğumlu iri saman)”; “ears of grain, remaining apart during the harvest because of insufficient threshing (harmanda fena dövülmekten taneli kalmış başak)”; “end of the threshing season (harman sonu)”; “dog collar made of wood (ağaçtan yapılan köpek haltası, tok, tasma).”¹⁶²

In Yakut the term was recorded in three instances: *käskil* (= *käs+kil*) [2] “good-luck, fate; commandment, rule”;¹⁶³ *käs*, as the result of [1] (“grace, favor, blessing”), means “sacred, intimate.” Meaning [4] (“gift”) is apparently responsible for *käs*, as an attribute to *inax* ‘cow’, acquiring the meaning “calved cow,” that is, “cow with a gift.”¹⁶⁴

The Mongolian and Chuvash meanings of *kes* (> *kas*) are semantically connected with *kesig*’s third meaning, “turn”: Written Mongolian *kes* ‘advance abruptly, in a decisive manner; suddenly; off (with verbs meaning breaking or tearing)’;¹⁶⁵ Chuvash *kas* ‘part, stripe, segment of time’.¹⁶⁶

In the “Altaic” languages deverbal nouns in /g/ usually designate the results of action, whereas in Turkic and Chuvash the suffix /m/¹⁶⁷ is used for abstracta or an agent of action, for instance, Turkic *öl-üg* ‘dead’ and *öl-üm* ‘death’, *al-ig* ‘duty’ and *al-im* ‘debt’.¹⁶⁸

The original meaning of the Hunnic **gesm* < **gésam* (< **ges+i-m*)

¹⁵⁸ Redhouse, 1545 > Radloff, *Wb*, vol. 2, col. 1154.

¹⁵⁹ Redhouse, 1545 > *New Redhouse* (1968), p. 642 (*kes* 4).

¹⁶⁰ Radloff, *Wb*, vol. 2, cols. 1153-54 [‘*käs*, 1].

¹⁶¹ *Derleme sözlüğü*, 8: 2759-60. See fn. 149.

¹⁶² *Tarama sözlüğü*, 4: 2453-54.

¹⁶³ Piekarski, vol. 1, col. 1063. On the denominal nominal suffix /Gil/, see Räsänen, *Morphologie*, p. 103.

¹⁶⁴ Piekarski, vol. 1, col. 1059.

¹⁶⁵ Lessing, *Dictionary*, p. 459.

¹⁶⁶ Ašmarin, *Thesaurus*, 6: 127.

¹⁶⁷ On the deverbal suffix /m/ in Chuvash, see N. A. Andreev in *Materialy po grammatike sovremennogo čuvaškogo jazyka*, vol. 1: *Morfologija* (Čeboksary, 1957), p. 50.

¹⁶⁸ See, e.g., Räsänen, *Morphology*, pp. 122-23 (/g/), and p. 133 (/m/). The examples quoted here are taken from Nadeljaev, *DTS*, p. 384 (*öl-*), and Brockelmann, *OTG*, p. 101 (*al-ig*) and p. 124 (*al-im*).

was probably “protector, bestower of favor, blessing, good-fortune, etc.” This was certainly a suitable name for a Hunnic prince still cognizant of his family’s high origin and exceptional historical role.

23. Μοῦνδο-¹⁶⁹/*Mundo*.¹⁷⁰ This name is, in my opinion, the “abbreviated” form of the designation of Attila’s father, discussed above (no. 7). While Μοῦνδιουχ **Munžúq* was already the “Hunnitized” version of the Chinese loanword, the form Μοῦνδο- (see also the variant Μοῦνδιο, no. 7) better reflects the original **múnžu* (see no. 7).

It is remarkable that one of the last known members of Attila’s clan bore the name of Attila’s father.

24. *Elmingir*, 25. *Elminčür*. See no. 20.

II. Names of Leading Hunnic Statesmen and Officers ca. A.D. 448-449.

26. Ἀδάμις.¹⁷¹ When the Roman embassy came to the court of Attila (ca. 449), its members were all also invited by Krekän, the Hunnic queen, to dine at the home of Ἀδάμει^{dat}, who was described by Priscus as the steward in charge of the queen’s affairs. Since in medieval Eurasian societies such a position was usually held by an eunuch, we can speculate that the “name” Ἀδάμ- was actually an appellative meaning “eunuch.”

A Turkic word already known from Kāšgari’s “Dictionary” (1077) occurs there without any other relatives: *atan*, meaning “a gelded camel.”¹⁷² The word and its meaning were later borrowed into Mongolian.¹⁷³

Since some Turkic languages use *atan* as an attribute to a word meaning “camel”—e.g., *Kirg* 79 *atan tō* (*tō* ‘camel’), *Nog* 52, *KKlp* 59 *atan tüyä* (*tüyä* ‘camel’)—*atan* only elliptically acquired the meaning “a gelded camel”: originally it was doubtlessly an adjective meaning “gelded.” This interpretation is also given by Èrvand V. Sevortjan in his Turkic etymological dictionary.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ Procopius, ed. Dewing, vol. 1, p. 232, ll. 15, 21, 30; Joannes Malalas, ed. Dindorf, p. 450, l. 19; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 218, ll. 31-32 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 194.

¹⁷⁰ Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, ed. Mommsen, p. 96, l. 23; p. 103, l. 5; Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaja, p. 180, ll. 8, 11, 12.

¹⁷¹ Priscus, ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 146, l. 8 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 56.

¹⁷² Kāšgari/Dankoff, 1: 114. On Turkic *atan* see Clauson, *EDT*, p. 60; Räsänen, *EWT*, p. 31; Sevortjan, *ÈSTJ*, 1: 202-203.

¹⁷³ Lessing, *Dictionary*, p. 58: *ata(n)* ‘castrated camel’; Ramstedt, *KWb*, p. 17; see Clauson, *EDT*, p. 60. Ramstedt’s etymology—Mo *ata(n)*: tü *at*—is certainly wrong; see his *Einführung*, 1: 153 and 2: 120.

¹⁷⁴ Sevortjan, *ÈSTJ*, 1: 202-203.

Only the manuscripts of Ibn Muḥannā (14th century) have two other forms, *atgān* and *atagān*, for “a gelded camel.”¹⁷⁵ Sevortjan explains all three forms — *atan*, *atgān*, and *atagān* — as derivations from the hypothetical verb *at-* ‘to geld, castrate’.¹⁷⁶ This etymology requires some elaboration and correction.

In Yakut there is a verb *attā-*, meaning “to put, lighten, castrate, geld.”¹⁷⁷ The word is a denominal verb in /DA/ (~ /LĀ/) from the unattested nominal stem **ad*.¹⁷⁸ The form *atan* had the following history, in my view.

Old Turkic developed a strong dislike for geminatae, for example, *dd*, presuming the first *d* was the ending of the stem and the second *d* was the initial letter of the suffix. In such a case, the following happened: *d-d* > **dt* > *t*, e.g., (IS12, I E7, II E7, II N14) *it¹i* ‘he sent’ (< **id-di*); (II E40, To 33, To 52 etc.) *it¹əm* ‘I sent’ (< **id-dəm*); the verbal root was *id¹-* ‘to send’.

Hence the form *atan* should be explained as a deverbal noun in /n/¹⁷⁹ from the verb **ad+da-*: **adda-n* > *atan*.

Later (in the 14th century) *atan* was interpreted (due to the popular etymology) as an “Oghuz Turkic” participial form in /An/, and two Qipčaq Turkic corresponding forms were created in which the given suffix had an initial gutural /GAn/ or /AGAN/. I interpret the forms in the manuscripts of Ibn Muḥannā’s work in the following way.

In Turkic the deverbal nominal suffixes /n/ and /m/ were often used interchangeably in the same function (verbal abstracta or adjectiva), e.g., *igr-in* = *igr-im* ‘act of twisting, whirlpool’.¹⁸⁰

Apart from the common Turkic denominal verbal suffix /dA/ ~ /lĀ/, there also existed, in the same function, the suffix /A/.

¹⁷⁵ ed. Platon Melioranskij, *Arab filolog o tureckom jazyke* (St. Petersburg, 1900), p. 048 (اطغان); Ibn Muḥannā, ed., *Kilisli Rifat* (Istanbul, 1340/1920-21), p. 172 = Aptullah Battal, *Ibnü-Mühennâ lügati* (Istanbul, 1934), p. 13.

¹⁷⁶ Sevortjan, *ĖSTJ*, 1: 202.

¹⁷⁷ Piekarski, vol. 1, col. 195. In Yakut the root final *-d* developed into *-t*, e.g., Old Turkic *ad-aq* ‘foot’ (= Ottoman etc. *ay-aq*, Yakut *at-ax*); see Räsänen, *Lautgeschichte*, pp. 162-64.

¹⁷⁸ On the suffix /DA/, see von Gabain, *ATG*, p. 69 (§102), Brockelmann, *OTG*, pp. 216-17, 223; Räsänen, *Morphologie*, p. 145; cf. /DA/ in Mongolian, Szabó, *Szóképzés*, pp. 36-37 (§77).

Yakut has only one denominal verbal suffix /LĀ/ ~ /TĀ/, i.e., the suffix /DA/ and LĀ/ merged; see L. N. Xaritonov, *Tipy glagol'noj osnovy v jakutskom jazyke* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1954), pp. 91-121. As an example of the merger, see Turkic *yol+da-š-* ‘to unify’ = Yakut *suollas* (< *suol+lā-š-*); also see Piekarski, vol. 3, col. 2344.

¹⁷⁹ On the deverbal suffix /n/, see Räsänen, *Morphologie*, p. 138.

¹⁸⁰ Brockelmann, *OTG*, p. 129 (*igri-n*), p. 124 (*igri-m*), from *egir-* ‘to surround, encircle, twist, spin’ (Clauson, *EDT*, p. 113). On /n/ and /m/ suffixes in Mongolian, see Szabó, *Szóképzés*, p. 45 (§§109, 110).

From these data I conclude that in both Turkic and Hunnic, there was a verb with the meaning “to castrate, geld” from the nominal base **ad*.

In Turkic the denominal verbal suffix /dA/ and the deverbal nominal suffix /n/ were used to convey the meaning “castrated; gelded” (**ad* + *da-n* > *atan*).

Hunnic used, for the same purpose, the denominal verbal suffix /A/ and the deverbal nominal suffix /m/. The result was **ad* + *a-m* = *adám*.

The Hunnic dignitary in charge of the queen’s household was, indeed, a eunuch, as his “name” — i.e., official title — corroborates. His position could be compared to that of the *qizlar ağasi* in the Ottoman empire.

Establishment of the Hunnic word *adám* with the medial -*d*- is of great significance, because this illustrates one of the basic distinctive features in Turkic and Altaic language classifications. It is apparent that the change -*d*- > -*r*- was late; hence it was not Hunnic, but Bulgarian (first attested in the 9th century). See also no. 28, Ἐδέκων.

27. Βέρυχος.¹⁸¹ He was an important *logas*, or minister (ca. 449), of Attila who was also of high Hunnic origin.

Since the Hunnic final -*q* and -*k* had a tendency toward spirantization (see nos. 6, 7), the name should be interpreted phonologically as **bérik*. This same form is suggested by È. V. Sevortjan as the original for the very popular Turkic adjective and name *berk* ‘fine, stable, solid, strong’.¹⁸² The form *berik* is also attested in the glossary of Ibn Muḥannā (14th century)¹⁸³ and in the legend of Oghuz Qağan (13th century).¹⁸⁴ The word was borrowed into Mongolian, where it became *berke*,¹⁸⁵ since in the final position of a stem Mongolian allows no voiceless stops.

The Mongolian loanword (which, incidentally, entered into Chuvash as *parka* < *berke*)¹⁸⁶ was also used as a personal name, e.g., Berke, the second khan of the Golden Horde (1257-1266), who converted to Islam.

The appellation *bérik* ‘strong’ is certainly a reasonable one for a responsible Hunnic leader.

¹⁸¹ Priscus, ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 143, l. 25; p. 147, ll. 10, 21; p. 147, l. 28; p. 148, ll. 1, 8 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 89-90.

¹⁸² Sevortjan, *ĖSTJ*, 2: 116-20, esp. 119.

¹⁸³ ed. Melioranskij, *Arab filolog* (see fn. 175), p. 80.

¹⁸⁴ W. Bang and G. R. Rahmeti [Arat], *Oğuz kağan destanı* (Istanbul, 1936), p. 20, l. 176.

¹⁸⁵ Already attested to in the *SH*: *berke* ‘difficult, severe’; see Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 15, and Clauson, *EDT*, pp. 361-62. On the structure of the Mongolian syllable, see Ramstedt, *Einführung*, 2: 18-19.

¹⁸⁶ See Egorov, *ĖSĖJ*, p. 143.

28. Ἐδέκων.¹⁸⁷ This Hun was one of “Attila’s most powerful lieutenants” and served as ambassador to the Roman emperor in 449.

The second part of his name, -κων, derives from the deverbal noun /GUN/ (like -κων of Ζεργκων); the initial -k of this suffix indicates that originally the stem ended in /r/ which is also responsible for the change of *g- into k- (as in ζεργκων): /r-g/ > /r-k/ ~ /k/.¹⁸⁸

In this way we arrive at the verbal root *edār-*, which is well known in Turkic from the eighth century on, usually with -d- already developed into -y- (> -g-, etc.). The verb’s basic meaning was “to pursue, to follow.”¹⁸⁹

Several Turkic languages use derivational forms of this verb. These are grouped below according to their suffixes:

- (a) /GUči/: *NUig* 76 *ägäs-küči*¹⁹⁰ ‘adherent’;
- (b) /GUč/: *Kzk* 143, *KKlp* 195 *yer-giš*¹⁹¹ ‘dependent, complaisant, unsteady’;
- (c) /iGči/: *Tkm* 777 *eyär-iži* ‘follower’; *Tat* 184 *iyär-üwčī* ‘follower, devotee’, *iyär-üwčīlik* ‘imitation’; *Bašk* 678 *eyär-ıwsı* ‘follower, imitator’;
- (d) /iGčAn/: *Tat* 184 *iyär-üwčän* ‘imitative’, *iyär-üwčänlik* ‘imitation’;
- (e) čAn/ ~ /čın/: *Tkm* 777 *eyär-žän* ‘fellow-traveler’; *Bašk* 679 *eyär-sın* ‘adherent, follower’; *Tat* 184 *iyär-čın* ‘fellow-traveler, follower, confederate’;
- (f) /inči/: *Tuv* 576 *edär-inči* ‘fellow traveler’;
- (g) /mA/: *Tat* 184 *iyär-mä* ‘retinue’; *NUig* 76 *ägäs-mä* ‘following’.

Interestingly enough, Chuvash has the same suffix /GUN/ (< -GU + n) as Hunnic does; but there the original stem was replaced by a Turkic one of the Kazakh type: *jer-kän* (/kän/ < /GUN/) ‘lover’.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ Priscus, ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 122, l. 28; p. 123, ll. 1, 20, 29, 31, 34; p. 124, ll. 2, 5, 6, 8, etc. = *Byz Tur*, 2: 121.

¹⁸⁸ Danube Proto-Bulgarian of the ninth century has documented the change *r-d* > *t*: *δυγε-τοϋγη dügä-tügi* < **düger-dügi*; see Pritsak, *Fürstenliste*, p. 88. To the Turkic change *r-g* > *rk*, see, e.g., *Käšg. tergi* ‘a portable table’: *CC tirki*, *Käšg. tergü* ‘saddle-straps’: Old Ottoman *terki* (data in Clauson, *EDT*, p. 544). To the Turkic change *rk* > *k*, see, e.g., *er-kän* > Ottoman *iken*, data in Clauson, *EDT*, pp. 224-25. On devoicing after *r*, *l*, *n*, see no. 31.

¹⁸⁹ See Clauson, *EDT*, p. 67; Räsänen, *EWT*, p. 36; Sevortjan, *ĖSTJ*, 1: 242-45.

¹⁹⁰ New Uighur special development: *edär-* > *eyär-* > *eyäs-* (cf. Lobnor *eyäs-* ‘to follow’; Sergej E. Malov, *Lobnorskij jazyk* [Frunze, 1956], p. 107). See also Kumandu *äš-* ‘to follow’ (Nikolaj A. Baskakov, *Dialekt Kumandincev* [Moscow, 1972], p. 276) < *egäs-*.

¹⁹¹ *Kzk*, *KKlp*. form *yer-* developed from *iyär-* < *edär-*.

¹⁹² Ašmarin, *Thesaurus*, 4: 285-86.

Our conclusion is that the Hunnic “name” was actually an appellative derived from the deverbal noun **edākün* (< **edār-kün*). The meaning of the word was very probably “follower, retainer.”

29. Ζέρκων.¹⁹³ The bearer of this name — or, better, title — was not a member of the dynasty of Attila, but a Moorish dwarf and buffoon of the king Blida. From Priscus’s stories it is clear that Ζέρκων was not his real name, but a sobriquet given to the clown by his capricious master. The final /n/ is the “plural of quantity,” comparable to Mongolian (e.g., Urdus) /n/ in tribal names.¹⁹⁴ Without the suffix /n/ the word occurs in a Danube-Bulgarian name list in Latin script from 869-870 as *zerco*.¹⁹⁵ It has long been recognized as an abbreviated variant of the Danube-Bulgarian title ἡτζιργου *ičirgü* ‘the inner [residence] official’, i.e.,¹⁹⁶ *ič + i-r-gü > čérkü (> čérkü + n)*:

In this way, Blida jokingly named his buffoon *čérkün*, or “the inner [residence] official.”

30. Ἡσλα.¹⁹⁷ This Hun was an experienced diplomat who served first Ruga (Hrögä) and later Attila. The first element of his name, or title, is *es* ‘great, old’ (see nos. 11, 13); the vowel *e* is rendered here by η; in the title *es qām* the same word was written with ε.

+λα is the denominal suffix /lA/;¹⁹⁸ in Old Chuvash another suffix /lǎ/ < /liG/, having a similar meaning, was added to the same stem: *as-lǎ* < **äs + lig* ‘old, great’.¹⁹⁹

The Hunnic appellation *éslä* apparently meant “the great, old (gentleman)”; this was probably the way the Huns referred to their elder statesmen.

31. Κρέκων.²⁰⁰ As shown by Otto Maenchen-Helfen, the name of Attila’s wife has a final /n/.²⁰¹ In 1916 Willy Bang-Kaup proposed a very

¹⁹³ Priscus, ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 145, l. 4 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 130.

¹⁹⁴ Poppe, *MCS*, p. 176.

¹⁹⁵ Ed. Moravcsik, in *Byz Tur*, 2: 355. See also *Zergo bula*, *ibid.*, p. 356; cf. *Cerbulae*, with /čer/ as the first element; Veselin Beševliev, *Die Protobulgarischen Inschriften* ([East] Berlin, 1963), p. 169.

¹⁹⁶ See Beševliev, *Die Protobulgarischen Inschriften*, pp. 169-70.

¹⁹⁷ Ἡσλαν^{acc}, see Priscus, ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 121, ll. 7, 14; p. 128, l. 21; p. 130, l. 28; p. 149, l. 15; = *Byz Tur*, 2: 133.

¹⁹⁸ On the denominal nominal suffix /lA/ see Brockelmann, *OTG*, p. 117 (§73); Räsänen, *Morphologie*, p. 104. The Greek letter α in Ἡσλα doubtlessly stands for /ä/, for which there was no letter in the alphabet.

¹⁹⁹ Ašmarin, *Thesaurus*, 2: 106-107; *aslä* ‘magnus, amplus, latus, spatiosus, maior natu, maximus, summus, illustris’. Egorov’s etymology of *aslä* is certainly wrong: Egorov, *ĖSČJ*, p. 35.

²⁰⁰ Priscus, ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 139, l. 22; p. 146, l. 7 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 173.

²⁰¹ Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns*, p. 408.

attractive Turkic etymology for it. According to him, the lady's name was *Αρεκαν, i.e., **ariqan* < **ariğ qan* 'the pure princess'.²⁰² However, his pretty proposition can no longer be defended, since κρε- (or, for that matter, ηρε-)²⁰³ cannot possibly stand for the Turkic *ariğ* 'pure'. In 1955 Pavel Poucha made another suggestion: he connected the Hunnic name with the Mongolian appellation for "wife," *gergei*, without giving any elaboration.²⁰⁴ I came to the same conclusion independently, and my reasons (presented here in print for the first time) are as follows.

In Mongolian there exist two variants of the word in question: *SH gergai*²⁰⁵ and *WMO gergen*.²⁰⁶ Regarding the form with the final +*n* Nicholas Poppe writes: "In Written Mongolian the form *gergen* 'wife' from *gergei* id. is still used. The form *gergen* was originally a plural, but it has become a singular semantically, in the same manner as Khalkha *exxənər* 'woman' morphologically is a plural form of *exxə* 'mother'."²⁰⁷

The Hunnic form also has a final /n/: κρέκαν = krékän like *WMO gergen*.

The Turkic word for "wife," already existing in the Karakhanid language, was *ebliğ*, that is, "possessing a house" = "living at home."²⁰⁸ *Eb* is the word for "house," whereas /lig/ is the suffix of the possessor.

The Mongolian word for house, which is the root *ger*, is augmented by the "class-suffix" /GA/, to which at an early time was added either the singular suffix /i/ or the collective suffix /n/, in the sense described in my "Stammesnamen."²⁰⁹ The connection between the semantic fields "house," "family," and "wife" can readily be illustrated in the Yakut language:

The word *kärgän* (the root *kär* is comparable to the Mongolian *ger*; +*gän* is also comparable to the Mongolian suffixes /GA/+ /n/) means "family; house; all persons living in one house; member of a family; member of household."²¹⁰ Accordingly, *kärgännä-* (= *kärgän* + /LÄ/)

²⁰² W. Bang, "Über die türkischen Namen einiger Grosskatzen," *Keleti Szemle* 17 (1917): 112, fn. 2.

²⁰³ See *Byz Tur*, 2: 173.

²⁰⁴ P. Poucha, *CAJ* 1 (1955): 291.

²⁰⁵ *SH*, ed. Haenisch, §§1, 3, 94.

²⁰⁶ Lessing, *Dictionary*, p. 379.

²⁰⁷ Poppe, *MCS*, p. 176.

²⁰⁸ Clauson, *EDT*, p. 10. In some Turkic languages the word for house means "wife": Kazakh, Oïrot (Altai), Baraba ü 'wife'; Teleut üy 'wife'; the data are given by Räsänen, *EWT*, p. 34, and Sevortjan, *ĖSTJ*, 1: 514.

²⁰⁹ Cf. my "Stammesnamen" (see fn. 120), pp. 65-75.

²¹⁰ Piekarski, vol. 1, col. 1047.

has the meaning “to marry,” and *kärgännäx* (*kärgän* + /LĀG/) that of “married.”²¹¹

The Hunno-Bulgarian vocalic metathesis mentioned above (no. 12) is responsible for the change of **ker* into *kre-*. The *k-* in the initial position of the suffix /GAN/ is the result of Hunno-Turkic (e.g., Chuvash, Old Turkic) devoicing after *r*, *l*, *n*. Apparently **kerkän* developed from the older **kergän*. It is impossible to say whether the older Hunnic also had *g-* in the initial position of the word (like Mongolian *ger* +).²¹²

The “name” of this primary wife of Attila, as noted in our sources, was not a personal name at all, but rather the Hunnic appellative *krékän* meaning “wife,” since she was the Hunnic ruler’s consort or “wife par excellence.”

32. Ὀνηγήσιος²¹³/*Hunigasius*.²¹⁴ The most powerful of Attila’s *logades*, or ministers, was Ὀνηγησι-/*Hunigasi-* (*-os/-us* are foreign suffixes), “who held power second only to Attila.”

The Mongolian word *ünen* ‘truth’²¹⁵ (today also the title of Mongolia’s official newspaper, namesake and imitator of the Russian *Pravda*) must be regarded as a deverbal noun from the unattested root **üne-*, which was of Mongolo-Turkic origin. That conclusion is based on the fact that in Mongolian the suffixes added to this reconstructed root **üne-*, are either of Mongolian or of Turkic origin:

- (a) Turkic /*msi*/:²¹⁶ *üne-msi-* ‘to believe, or accept as true, trust’;²¹⁷
- (b) Turkic /*nči*/:²¹⁸ *üne-nči* ‘honest, faithful, truthful, loyal’;²¹⁹
- (c) Mo /*GAr*/:²²⁰ *üne-ker* ‘truly, really, indeed; very much, extremely’.²²¹

The deverbal suffix /*mlA*/ can be either of Turkic or Mongolian origin, since it consists of the deverbal noun /*m*/, and the very productive

²¹¹ Piekarski, vol. 1, col. 1048.

²¹² See no. 22.

²¹³ Priscus, ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 123, l. 14; p. 127, ll. 11, 15, 18 etc. = *Byz Tur*, 2: 218.

²¹⁴ “De S. Lupo episcopo confessore” (Acta antiqua), *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Johannes Bollandus et al., *Julii*, Tomus VII (Venice, 1769), p. 70a, l. 17; cf. “S. Lupi Trecensis episcopi,” *Surius, Historiae seu vitae sanctorum*, ed. Laurentius Gastaldi, vol. VII: *Julius* (Turin, 1877), p. 556, l. 25. On the identity of Ὀνηγήσιος and *Hunigasius*^{abl}, see Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns* (Oxford, 1948), p. 223; Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns*, p. 389; and Kemp Malone, *Studies in Heroic Legend* (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 106.

²¹⁵ Lessing, *Dictionary*, p. 1009.

²¹⁶ von Gabain, *ATG*, p. 81 (§157).

²¹⁷ Lessing, *Dictionary*, p. 1008.

²¹⁸ von Gabain, *ATG*, pp. 73-74, §125; Brockelmann, *OTG*, pp. 130-32.

²¹⁹ Lessing, *Dictionary*, p. 1009.

²²⁰ Szabó, *Szóképzés*, p. 49 (§127).

²²¹ Lessing, *Dictionary*, p. 1008.

denominal verbal suffix /lA/. But the form with the root *üne-* occurs only in Mongolian: *ünemle-* ‘to certify, testify, attest’.²²²

According to Kāšgārī (ca. 1077) there was a Turkic Oghuz deverbil noun in /Āsi/, which corresponded to the Karakhanid suffix /Gu/, e.g., *bar-āsi yer* = *bar-ġu yer* ‘a place of going’.²²³

Judging by the available historical data, the forms /Āsi/ ~ /Ās/ and /GĀs/ must originally have been two variants of the suffix of *nomen futuri (necessitatis)*, e.g., Kāšgārī *bič-ġās* ‘a contract, or covenant’.²²⁴

In Hunnic the word apparently had a final *-i*, like the Oghuz form /Ās+i/, i.e., its form was */GĀsi/. The name or epithet of the Hunnic leader was, therefore, **üne-ġāsi*, meaning “honest, faithful, truthful, loyal.”

33. Σκόττας.²²⁵ According to Priscus, this person was a prominent noble of Hunnic origin and brother of Ὀνηγήσιος. In our source he is depicted as a hotspur and a blusterer.

One of the typical features of the Hunno-Bulgarian linguistic group is a cluster in the word initial position. Such clusters developed— as mentioned above— due to vocalic metathesis, e.g., *blidä* < **bildä* (see no. 12), *krékän* < **kerkän*. (see no. 31). In the same way *skö-* in σκοττα-*sköttä-* developed from the original **sökit-tä*.

The etymon *sök-* means “to tear apart, pull down, break through (an obstacle)”; *sök-it-* is formally the causative, attested as *hapax* in Old Turkic;²²⁶ *sök-it-* > **sokət-*; the vocalic metathesis in the stem resulted in *sköt-*.

The root *sök-* had special importance in Turkic military parlance. According to Kāšgārī (1074), *sökmän* (/mĀn/) is a deverbil nominal suffix was “a military title, meaning ‘he who breaks the battle line (Arab *kāsir šaff al-ħarb*)’.”²²⁷

In **sökättä* (> *sköttä*) there is the deverbil suffix /DA/, which was also recognized in the name *blida* (< **bil-dä*) (see no. 12).

One can assume that *sköttä* (< **sökättä* = **sök-it-*), apparently having the same meaning as *verbum simplex*, was used, like *sökmän*, as a title or nickname meaning “hotspur.”

²²² Lessing, *Dictionary*, p. 1008.

²²³ Kāšgārī/Dankoff, 1: 75, 86.

²²⁴ Kāšgārī/Dankoff, 1: 344. On the suffix /āsi/, see Pritsak, “Die Herkunft des tschuwaschischen Futurums,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 56 (1960): 150-51.

²²⁵ Priscus, ed. de Boor, *EL*, p. 125, ll. 25, 27; p. 127, ll. 11, 26, 34 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 279.

²²⁶ Clauson, *EDT*, pp. 819, 820.

²²⁷ Kāšgārī/Dankoff, 1: 334.

C. Linguistic and Philological Scrutiny

I. Orthography

α/a	= a: αδαμ, ατα-, αττιλα/attila; + βαρσ-, βασιχ, βαλαmur, δονατ, χαρα +,
α	= ā: καμ,
α/a	= A: αδαμ, αττιλα/attila, βληδα/bleda, ησλα, ellac, ηρναχ/hernac, κρεκαν, ουπταρ/octar, ρουγα, σκοττα,
β-/b-	= b: balamur, + βαρσ-, βασιχ, βληδα/bleda, βεριχ,
γ/g	= g: ρουγα, δεγγιζιχ, ονηγησι/hunigasi,
γι-	= g-: γιεσμ-,
γγ	= ng (ŋ): δεγγιζιχ, ελμιγγειρ,
δ/d	= d: δονατ-, δεγγιζιχ/dentzic; αδαμ, εδεκων; βληδα/bleda, ουλδην/uldin, vltzindur,
δι, δ/dz, d	= ž: μουνδιο-, μουνδιουχ/mundzuc-, μουνδο/mundo-,
ε/e	= e: εδεκων, εσκαμ, ελμιγγειρ, ελμινζουρ/emnetzur; βεριχ, δεγγιζιχ/denzic, γιεσμ, κρεκαν,
e-	= ē: ellac,
ε	= A: εδεκων,
ε/e	= I: ζερκων, emnetzur,
ει	= I: ελμιγγειρ,
ζ/tz, [+]z	= č: ζερκων; δεγγιζιχ/dintzic, ελμινζουρ/emnetzur, vltzindur,
ή[< ή]/he	= hē: ηρναχ/hernac
η/i	= e: ησλα; ονηγησι/hunigasi
η, ι/e	= i: βληδα, βλιδα-/bleda,
η/i	= I: ουλδην/uldin,
η/a	= Ā: ονηγησι/hunigasi,
η	= y: ωηβαρσ-,
ι/i	= e: δινζιχ/dintzic, δινζιριχ-,
ι/i	= i: αττιλα/attila, ελμιγγειρ, ελμινζουρ,
ι/i	= I: βασιχ, βεριχ, κουρσιχ, δεγγιζιχ/dintzic, vltzindur; ονηγησι/hunigasi,
κ/c	= k: κρεκαν, κουρσιχ; σκοττα, octar; εδεκων, ζερκων; hernac,
	= q: εσ + καμ,
c	= g: ellac,

λ/l	= l: eλλac, ελμιγγειρ, ελμινζουρ, ονλδην/huldin, vltzindur, balamur, βληδα/bleda; αττιλα/attila, ησλα,
μ/m	= m: μουνδιουχ, μουνδιο, μουνδο/mundo; emnetzur, ελμιγγειρ, ελμινζουρ, balamur; αδαμ, ατακαμ, εσκαμ, γιεσμ,
ν/n	= n: δογατ, ονηγησι/hunigasi, dintzic, emnetzur, μουγδιουχ, μουγδο-/mundo, vltzindur, ελμινζουρ; ηρναχ/hernac; εδεκων, ζερκων, κρεκαν, ουλδην/huldin, uldin, χαρατων,
ο	= o: δονατ-,
ο/ο	= ö: οctar; σκοττα,
ο-/hu-	= ü: ονηγησι/hunigasi,
-ο/-ο	= -U: μουνδο-/mundo,
ου/u	= u: μουνδιουχ, μουνδο/mundo,
ου-/hu-, v-	= ö-: ουλδην/huldin, uldin, vltzindur, ουπταρ,
ου/ο	= ö: ρουγα/roas, ουπταρ/octar,
ου	= ü: κουρσιχ,
ου/u	= U: ελμινζουρ/emnetzur, vltzindur,
[< ʾ] ρ-/ηρ-/her-	= hr-: ρουγα, ηρναχ [< ηρναχ]/hernac,
ρ/r	= r: βεριχ, ζερκων, κρεκαν, κουρσιχ, χαρατων, ηρναχ/hernac; ωηβαρσ-; balamur, ουπταρ/octar, emnetzur, ελμινζουρ, ελμιγγειρ, vltzindur,
σ/s	= s: σκοττα; εσκαμ, ησλα; βασιχ, κουρσιχ, ονηγησι/hunigasi; γιεσμ; ωηβαρσ,
τ/t	= t: χαρα+των; ατ+τιλα/attila, σκοττα, ατακαμ, ουπταρ/octar; δονατ-,
χ-	= q-: χαρατων,
-χ/-c	= -q: μουνδιουχ/mundzuc,
-χ/-c	= -k: βεριχ, ηρναχ/hernac,
-χ	= -g: βασιχ,
-χ/-c	= -g: δεγγιζιχ/dintzic, κουρσιχ,
ω	= ö: ωηβαρσ-; χαρα+των,
ω	= U: εδεκων, ζερκων.

II. Phonology

1. Consonantism in General

Seventeen consonantic phonemes are attested:

	kq	t	č	s
b	gǰ	d	ž	
m	ŋ	n		
l	r	y		
h				

There was, at the very least, a clear distinction between the front and back *k* and *q*, and the latter (*q*) was pronounced, in absolute initial and final positions, like a spirant *x*; see the Greek notations: $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ [xarátōn] and $\mu\omicron\nu\nu\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\chi\text{-}$ [munžúx] for *qarátōn* and *munžúq*, and $\epsilon\sigma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu$ *esqām*. Since *qām* was not in absolute initial position, its *q*- was not spirantized.

A tendency towards spirantization can also be observed with the final *-ǰ* and possibly *-k* and *-g*: $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\chi\text{-}$ /bérík/ and $\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\chi\text{-}$ /basíg/ and $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\sigma\acute{\iota}\chi\text{-}$ /kürsíg/.

One can regard the presence of the initial *h*- as a specific feature of Hunnic consonantism: $\hbar\epsilon\rho\nu\alpha\kappa\text{-}$ /hěrnäk/, $\rho\acute{\omicron}\delta\gamma\alpha\text{-}$ /hrögä/.

The compound *attila* (< **es* + *tila*), with initial *a* from original **e* but with middle front *i*, indicates that there was a consonantic palatal harmony in Hunnic, comparable to that in Old Turkic. Therefore I interpret *tila* as having the back consonantic phonemes *t* and *l*. Unfortunately, the limited material does not support any far-reaching conclusions.

As to their morphonemic occurrences, the Hunnic consonantic phonemes can be grouped according to their positions within the root (stem) and the suffixes. Here, it must be stressed, our data is very incomplete, but even so it can help us understand the operational structures:

<i>Stems</i> (first syllable)	<i>Initial position</i>	<i>Suffixes</i>
simple consonants		
kq t č s		č s
b gǰ d		G D
m		m
		l
h		

clusters
bl hr kr sk

Final position

simple consonants

	kq	t	s		k
		d			gġ
m	ŋ	n		m	n
l	r	y			r

clusters
rs sm(?)

2. *Consonantic medial clusters* (often at the morphonological juncture)

-kt- : óktär;
 -tt- : attíla (< *etsila < *es + t¹il¹a); sköttä
 -mn- : emnečür (< *-lm-);
 -ng-(ŋ) : elmingir (< elmin + gir);
 -nd- : ölcindür (< ölcin + dūr);
 -nč- : öltinčür (< öltin + čür), elminčür (= elmin + čür);
 -nž- : múnžu (< *mun + žu) > munžúq;
 -lč- : ölcindür (< *öl-čün < *öl-dün);
 -ld- : óldün (< öl-dün);
 -lm- : elmin, elminčür etc.;
 -ll- : elläg (< el + läg);
 -rk- : čérkün (< *ičir-gün); cf. krékän < *ker + gä + n (possibly < *ger + gän)
 -rs- : kürsig (< kür + sig < *kürə + sig < *kürä + sig);
 -rn- : hernäk (< *her + än + äk);
 -sl- : éslä.

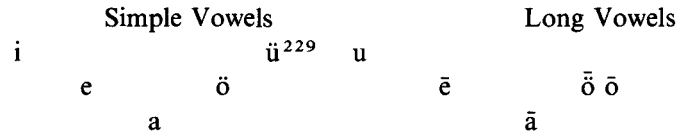
3. *Vocalism*

(a) First syllable

Seven vocalic phonemes are certainly attested: three back (*a*, *o*, *u*), three front (*e*, *ö*, *ü*), and the neutral (although phonetically front) *i*. The same system of vocalism is attested in Old Turkic. I may add that the phonemically neutral /i/ is also typical for Old Chuvash and Mongolian.

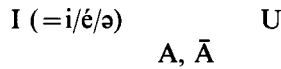
The quantity was phonemic, since of the total of seven vowels, four long vowels are reconstructable from the limited data available to us.²²⁸

The vocalic system can be presented graphically as follows:



(b) Second or Succeeding Syllable

In the suffixes appear the two archphonemes A (its realization was *a* or *ä*), U (= *u* or *ü*) and the neutral phoneme *i*, which in closed syllables has a tendency to become a *schwa* (ə) or to disappear (but under stress develops to *é*):



The attested realization of the suffixed vocalism is as follows:

- /i/ : +ə-, +ér- (< *+i-r-); +č*i*G, +s*i*G, -Din (> -tin), +Gir,
- /A/ : + \bar{A} , + \bar{A} K, +An; -DA, -GA, +GAn, +LA, +LA-, +LAG,
- / \bar{A} / : -G \bar{A} si,
- /U/ : +č*U*r, +D*U*r, -G*U*n, +m*U*r.

Here, as in Old Turkic, the vocalic phonemes appear singly, rather than in clusters.

There is a clear palatal harmony: *a, o, u; q, ġ* versus *e, ö, ü; k, g*, e.g., *munžúq* and *hěrnák*.

But no labial harmony or labial attraction can be detected, e.g., *donát*, *ögä*, *kürsig*.

²²⁸ Instead of assuming that writers in the first half of the fifth century had already disregarded the vocalic quantity, I believe that it was not accidental that Olympiodorus in A.D. 425 writes Χαρα-των by means of the omega (των)—this for a word which had a vocalic length (*tōn*). The same principle applies to the very exact notations of Priscus, who writes ῥῆ-βασ- (= *ōy*), Ἡρναχ (= *hēr-*), Ροῦα (= *hr-ō̄[g]ä*), etc.

²²⁹ The only pair of Hunnic phonemes that the Greek and Latin authors had difficulty distinguishing clearly and rendering systematically were the labial front vowels *ö* and *ü*:

ö	ü
Greek o/Latin o: οctar, σκoττα;	Greek ου: κουρσιχ;
Greek ου-: οϋπταρ;	Greek o-/Latin ηυ-: ονηγησι/ηunigasi.
Greek ου-/Latin ηυ- ~ υ- ~ υ-: ουλδην/	
ηuldin, uldin, yltzin-	
Greek ου-/Latin o: ῥογγα/ροas.	

On the other hand, the labiality of the suffix archphoneme is kept, regardless of the non-round stem, e.g., *balamur*, *elminčúr*, *öltinčúr*, *čérkün*.

III. Phonemic Changes

1. Vocalism

Vocalic metathesis

**bildä* > *blidä*;
 **sökittä* > **sökättä* > *skóttä*
 **kerkän* > *krékän*;

Mittelsilbenschwund

**kürä* + sig > *kürsig*; **sökitdä* > *skóttä*;
 **her* + *än* + *äk* > *hernák*;

Vocalic reduction in the word-initial position

**ičirgün* > *čérkün*;

Vocalic changes: transitions into stressed and non-stressed position

-*i*- > -*é*-: **ičirgün* > *čérkün*;
 -*i*- > -*ə*-: **elmín* + > *émnə[n]* +;

Assimilation

e > *a*: *es* + *t¹il¹a* > *attíla*.

2. Consonantism

Reduction of sonors being the first element of a cluster

nč > *č*: **emnenčür* > *emnečür*;
rč > *č*: *deņirčig* > *deņičig*;
rg > *k*: **edärgün* > *edákün*;
rss > *s*: **barssig* > *basig*.

3. Consonantic assimilations

Metathesis

**st* > **ts* > *tt*: **estíla* > **etsíla* > *attíla*;
 **ml* > *ím*: **emlín* > *elmin*;
 [**ml* >] *lm* > *mn*: **elmin* > *émnə[n]*;

Devoicing

**rg* > *rk*: **kergän* > **kerkän* > *krékän*; **ičirgün* > *čérkün*;

**ld* > *lt*: *öldän* > *öltin*;
 **td* > *tt*: **sökitdä* > *skóttä*;

Sporadic palatalization

lt (< *ld*) > *lč*: *ölrin-* (< *öldän*) > *ölrin-*.

IV. Materials to a Hunnic Grammar

1. *Stems*

Nouns

One-syllable

**ad*

bars

ēl

es

ges

hēr

**ker* (< **ger*?)

qām

ōy

**t¹il¹*

tōn

Two-syllable

ata

bala

bérik

**deŋir*

donát

elmín (< **emlin* > **emnan*)

éslä

krékän (< **kérkän*)

**kürä*

qará

múnžu

munžúq

Composite nouns

ata qām

qará tōn

es qām
ōy bārs
**es t¹il¹a*

Verbs

One-syllable

bli- (< **bil-*)
öl-
ō-
sköt- (< **sökīt-*)

Two-syllable

adā-
**edār-*
ēllä-
**gési-* (> **gésə-*)
**ič+i-r-* (> *čer-*)
óktä-
üne-

2. *Suffixes*

Denominal nominal

/A/: *attila, *kürä*
/An/+/AK/ > */nAK/*: *hērnāk*
/čiG/: *deŋi[r]čīg*
/čUr/: *elminčūr* (> *emnəčūr*), *öltinčūr*
/DUr/: *ölčindūr*
/GAn/: *krékän*
/Gir/: *elmingir*
/K/: *munžuq*
/lA/: *éslä*
/lAG/: *ēlläg*
/mUr/: *balamur*
/siG/: *ba[rs]sig, kürsig*

Denominal nominal affixes

/n/: *krékän, öldin, čerkün*
/r/: *balamur*

Deverbal nominal

/DA/: *blidä, skóttä*

/Din/ > -tin- > -čín-: *öldin*, *öltinčür*, *ölcindür*
 /G/: *elläg*
 /GA/: *ögä*
 /GĀsi/: *ünegāsi*
 /GUn/: *čérkün*, *edākün*
 /m/: *gēs̄m*, *adám*
 /r/: *óktär*

Denominal verbal

/lA/: *elläg*
 */i/ > /ə/: *gēs̄m*, *čérkün* (< *ič + i-r-)

Deverbal verbal

/lɾ/: *čérkün*
 /lt/: *sköt-* (< *sök-at < *sök-it)

3. Stress

My premise here is that the Middle Greek accentuation of foreign names can be treated seriously. Based on this hypothesis, one arrives at the following conclusions:

(a) Two-syllable words that were not clear etymologically to the speakers had the stress on the ultima: *adám*, *donát*, *qará*, *munžúq* (but, interestingly enough, *múnž̄u* ~ *munž̄ú*).

(b) Two-syllable words that were transparent, rightly or not, to the speaker had the stress on the penultima (stem): *ögä* (< *ö-*), *öldin* (< *öl-*), *bérik*, *óktär*, *gēs̄m* (or *gesm*?), *múnž̄u* (< Chinese loanword).

(c) Suffixes were divided into two groups: (1) stressed and (2) non-stressed.

(d) Stressed suffixes: (1) denominal nominal: /ÁK/: *hernák*; /číG/: *dejirčig*; /síG/: *basig*, *kürsig*; /čUɾ/: *elminčür*; (2) denominal verbal: /Á/: *adám*; (3) deverbal nominal: /GĀsi/: *ünegāsi*.

(e) Non-stressed suffixes: (1) denominal nominal: /lA/: *és̄la*, /Gir/: *elmíngir*; /GAN/: *krékän*; (2) deverbal nominal: /DA/: *blidä*, *skóttä*; /Din/: *öldin*; /GUn/: *čérkün*, *edékün*.

(f) Composite nouns had the stress placed either on each component, e.g., *öy bárs*, or on their second component; if the latter had two syllables, stress was placed on the penultima: *es qām*, *ata qām*; *hər-ögä*, *attila*.

The only exception to this rule was *qará tōn*, which had the stress on the ultima of the first component. Apparently *qará tōn* was not yet considered to be a true composite noun.

D. Concluding Remarks

Our detailed analysis of the Hunnic onomastic material, together with examination of it from the point of view of Altaistic linguistics, has yielded very positive results indeed. It has proved that it is possible to determine the character of the Hunnic language.²³⁰ It was not a Turkic language, but one between Turkic and Mongolian, probably closer to the former than the latter. The language had strong ties to Old Bulgarian and to modern Chuvash, but also had some important connections, especially lexical and morphological, to Ottoman and Yakut.

Hunnic vocalism, consisting of seven vowels with quantitative opposition (long: short) but with the singular high-front vowel *i*, is comparable to Old Turkic and Old Mongolian vocalism. However, it seems not to have included diphthongs.

Hunnic had a palatal harmony (probably syllabic), but neither labial harmony nor labial attraction.

As to consonantism, its initial position in Hunnic was in agreement with Old (and Middle) Mongolian rather than with Old Turkic: *h-*, as well as the voiced stops *d-* and *g-*, were allowed to occur. But like Proto-Bulgarian, Hunnic possessed clusters in the initial position. The medial *-d-* in the stem is of great significance, since it is different from the Proto-Bulgarian and Chuvash.

Also, Hunnic shared rhotacism with Mongolian, Old Bulgarian, and Chuvash.

It is highly probable, however, that Hunnic had a palatal correlation of its consonantism, of the Old Turkic type.

* * *

When I decided to experiment with the thirty-three Hunnic names in an effort to determine their linguistic relationship, I did not have any preconceptions about what the results would be, that is, whether the

²³⁰ The last contribution to deal with the language of the Huns was Gerhard Doerfer's article, "Zur Sprache der Hunnen," published in *CAJ* 17, no. 1 (1973): 1-50. Alas, it is a very disappointing and unproductive study. Contrary to the adage he himself there notes, "zuviel Skepsis ist unkritisch" (p. 32), the author overindulges his scepticism, and, naturally enough, arrives at a completely negative conclusion. Instead of examining the Hunnic onomastic material in a detailed structural analysis, based on knowledge of Old Bulgarian, Chuvash, Yakut, Old Turkic, and Old Ottoman material, Professor Doerfer wasted the greater part of his study on magisterial theorizing and on pun-etymologies.

reconstructed language would prove to be Altaic, Iranian, Ugric, or anything else. I simply wanted to ascertain definitely whether or not the existing onomastic material was adequate for such a quest, i.e., whether it would show the required structural uniformity. I did not treat each onomastic item in isolation, thereby creating “phonemic laws” *ad hoc*, but rather constantly checked to see whether or not any clear and convincing structural pattern of morphonemics for the entire body of data would emerge. Also, I carefully avoided changing a single letter in my sources so as to benefit my “ingenious” reconstructions and constructs.

The results have been more than satisfying. Not only did a clear structural pattern in the Hunnic language emerge, but also it was possible to reconstruct the language’s morphonemic system almost in its entirety, and even to establish its accentuation patterns.

The deciphering of meanings of the reconstructed words (which were not provided with translations) and forms (derivations) found corroboration in the realia of Hunnic history and culture. This was especially true with reference to the “names,” or, better still, the designations of offices/professions, epithets, and nicknames of the Hunnic leaders from a specific time, A.D. 448-449.

I hope that the experiment described and reproduced here will be judged successful by scholarship and that the mystery of the character of the Hunnic language will be regarded as solved.

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INDICES

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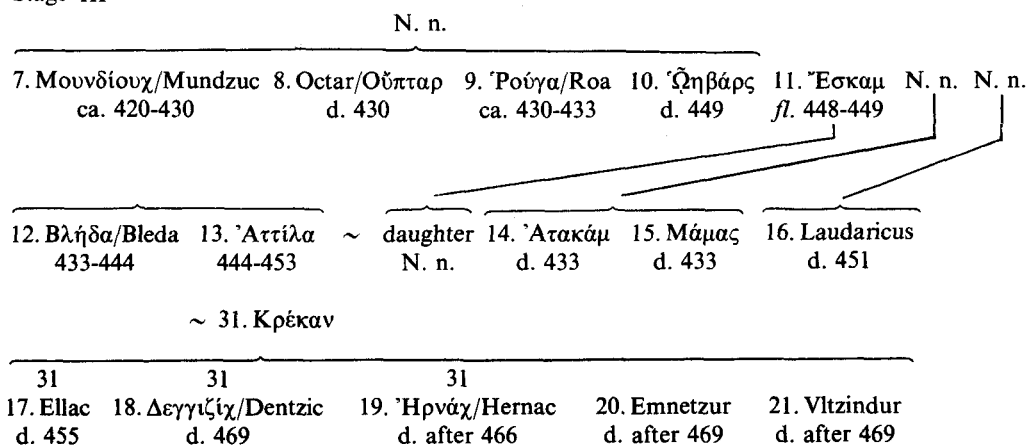
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* The numbers correspond to the paragraphs in section B, *The Analysis of the Onomastic Material*; + denotes denominal suffixes, and - denotes deverbial suffixes.

APPENDIX: *The Genealogy of Attila's Clan*

- Stage I 1. Balamur, *fl.* 375
- Stage II 2. Βάσιχ, *fl.* ca. 395
3. Κουρσίχ, *fl.* ca. 395
4. Οὔλδην/Uldin, *fl.* ca. 395-410
5. Δονάτ (successor of Οὔλδην), ca. 410-412
6. Χαράτων (successor of Δονάτ), ca. 412-420

Stage III



- Stage IV 22. Γιέσμ, *fl.* 5th-6th ct.
23. Μοῦνδο/Mundo, d. 536
24. Ἐλμίγγειρος, *fl.* 556 25. Ἐλμινζούρ, *fl.* 556

ABBREVIATIONS

(a) Publications

- Ašmarin, *Thesaurus* = Nikolaj Ivanovič Ašmarin, *Thesaurus Linguae Tschuvaschorum*, 17 vols. (Kazan and Čeboksary, 1928-1950).
- Bašk = K. Z. Axmerov et al., eds., *Baškirsko-russkij slovar'* (Moscow, 1958).
- Brockelman, *OTG* = Carl Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Litteratursprachen Mittelasiens* (Leiden, 1954).
- Byz Tur = Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Berlin, 1958).
- CAJ = *Central Asiatic Journal*.
- CC = *Codex Cumanicus*, in *Faksimile herausgegeben ...* von Kaare Grønbech (Copenhagen, 1936); K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch. Türkischer Wortindex zu Codex Cumanicus* (Copenhagen, 1942).
- Cincius, *Sravn Slov Tung* = Vera Ivanovna Cincius, *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tungusoman'čžurskix jazykov*, 2 vols. (Leningrad, 1975-1977).
- Clauson, *EDT* = Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972).
- Derleme sözlüğü = *Türkiye'de Halk Ağzından Derleme Sözlüğü*, ed. Türk Dil Kurumu, 2nd ser. (Ankara, 1963-).
- Doerfer, *TMEN* = Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1963-1975).
- Egorov, *ĖSČJ* = Vasilij Georgievič Egorov, *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' čuvasskogo jazyka* (Čeboksary, 1964).
- EL, ed. de Boor = Carolus de Boor, ed., *Excerpta de legationibus*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1903-1906).
- von Gabain, *ATG* = Annemarie von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1950).
- Getica, ed. Skržinskaja = Elena Česlavovna Skržinskaja, *Jordan, O proisxoždenii i dejanijax getov: Getica* (Moscow, 1960).
- GSR = Bernhard Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa* (Stockholm, 1957).
- Haenisch, *Wörterbuch* = Erich Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Manğhol un niuca tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi). Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* (Leipzig, 1939).
- HGM, ed. Dindorf = Ludwig Dindorf, *Historici graeci minores*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1870-1871).
- Kāšğari/Dankoff = Robert Dankoff, ed. and trans., *Maḥmūd al-Kāšğari, Compendium of the Turkish Dialects*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).
- Kāšğ(arī) facs. = *Divanü lûgat-it-türk tıpkıbasımı "faksimile,"* ed. Besim Atalay (Ankara, 1941).
- Kirg = Konstantin K. Judaxin, *Kirgizsko-russkij slovar'* (Moscow, 1965).
- KKI_p = Nikolaj Aleksandrovič Baskakov, ed., *Karakalpaksko-russkij slovar'* (Moscow, 1958).
- Kzk = G. Musabaev, *Kazaxsko-russkij slovar'* (Alma-Ata, 1954).
- Lessing, *Dictionary* = Ferdinand D. Lessing, ed., *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (Berkeley, 1960).
- MA, ed. Poppe = Nikolaj Nikolaevič Poppe, *Mongol'skij slovar' Mukaddimat al-adab*, 3 pts. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1938-1939).

- Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns* = Otto J. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns* (Berkeley, 1973).
- MGH AA* = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores Antiquissimi*, 15 vols. (Hanover and Berlin, 1877-1919).
- Migne, *PG* = J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina*, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857-1866).
- Nadeljaev, *DTS* = V. M. Nadeljaev et al., eds., *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'* (Leningrad, 1969).
- New Redhouse* = *New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary*, ed. by Redhouse Press (Istanbul, 1968).
- Nog* = N. A. Baskakov, ed., *Nogajsko-russkij slovar'* (Moscow, 1963).
- NUig* = Emir Nadžipovič Nadžip, *Ujgursko-russkij slovar'* (Moscow, 1968).
- Piekarski = Edward Piekarski (Éduard Karlovič Pekariskij), *Slovar' jakutskogo jazyka*, 3 vols. (reprinted [Budapest], 1958).
- Poppe, *MCS* = Nicholas Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies* (Helsinki, 1955).
- Poppe, *Vgl Gr Alt* = Nikolaus Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1960).
- Pritsak, *Fürstenliste* = Omeljan Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren* (Wiesbaden, 1955).
- Pritsak, *OR* = O. Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1981).
- Pritsak, *Studies* = O. Pritsak, *Studies in Medieval Eurasian History* (London, 1981).
- QB* = *Kutadgu Bilig I. Metin*, ed. Reşid Rahmeti Arat (Istanbul, 1947);
F = *Kutadgu Bilig tıpkıbasım II. Fergana nüshası* (Istanbul, 1943);
H = *id.*, *I. Viyana nüshası* (Istanbul, 1942).
- Radloff, *Wb* = Wilhelm Radloff (Vasilij Vasil'evič Radlov), *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte* (reprinted The Hague, 1960).
- Ramstedt, *Einführung* = Gustaf John Ramstedt, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft*, 3 vols. (Helsinki, 1952-1966).
- Ramstedt, *KWb* = G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch* (Helsinki, 1935).
- Räsänen, *EWT* = Martti Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkisprachen*, 2 vols. (Helsinki, 1969, 1971).
- Räsänen, *Lautgeschichte* = M. Räsänen, *Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen* (Helsinki, 1949).
- Räsänen, *Morphologie* = M. Räsänen, *Materialien zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen* (Helsinki, 1957).
- Redhouse = Sir James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople, 1890).
- Schnetz = J. Schnetz, *Itineraria Romana*, vol. 2: *Ravennatis anonymi cosmographia et Guidionis geographica* (Leipzig, 1940).
- Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch* = M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* (Heidelberg, 1911).
- Sevortjan, *ĖSTJ* = Ėrvand Vladimirovič Sevortjan, *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskix jazykov* (Moscow, 1974-).
- SH* = "Secret History of the Mongols," Erich Haenisch, *Monghol un niuca tobca'an (Yüan ch'ao pi-shi). I. Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen aus der chinesischen Transkription...wiederhergestellt von...*, vol. 1: *Text*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden, 1962).

- Szabó, *Szóképzés* = Szabó Teréz Mária, *A Kalmük szóképzés* (Budapest, 1943).
Tarama Sözlüğü = XIII yüzyıldan beri Türkiye Türkçesiyle yazılmış kitaplardan toplanan tanıklariyle *Tarama Sözlüğü*, ed. by Türk Dil Kurumu, 2nd ser. (Ankara, 1963-).
Tat = *Tatarsko-russkij slovar'* (Moscow, 1966).
Tkm = N. A. Baskakov et al., eds., *Turkmensko-russkij slovar'* (Moscow, 1968).
Tuv = Aleksandr Adol'fovič Pal'mbax, *Tuvinsko-russkij slovar'* (Moscow, 1955).
 Vasmer, *REW* = Max Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols. (Heidelberg, 1953-1958).

Note: The Old Turkic Inscriptions are quoted according to the established system: I = Kül Tigin, II = Bilgä Qağan (both after the Finnish Atlas: *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon* [Helsinki, 1892]); To = Tonyuquq (after the edition of G. J. Ramstedt—Pentti Aalto, *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, vol. 60 [Helsinki, 1958]). The appropriate abbreviation is followed by a specific designation (e.g., N = North, S = South, etc.) and the line number.

(b) *Languages*

Arab = Arabic	Mo = Mongolian
Arch Chin = Archaic Chinese	MMo = Middle Mongolian
Baş = Bashkir	MTü = Middle Turkic
Bulg = Proto-Bulgarian	OT = Old Turkic
Čuv = Chuvash	Özb = Özbek (Uzbek)
Čag = Chaghatai	Tü = Turkic
DBulg = Danube Proto-Bulgarian	VBulg = Volga Proto-Bulgarian
Hun = Hunnic	WMo = Written Mongolian
Kirg = (New) Kirgiz	