The President and Fellows of Harvard College

The Hunnic Language of the Attila Clan

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CONTENTS

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 Dobrudža). 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] *Mémoirs sur l'origine des Huns et des Turcs* (Paris, 1748).

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

[c] *Drevnie i nynešnie 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 prosveščenija*, 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 russkoj 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], "Hunların 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 Čyževs'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, Ἐσκάμ, Ζέρκων, Ἧσλαν[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, *Mundzuco*[abl] = Μουνδίουχον[acc], *Roas* = Ῥούα[gen]), one in the work of Sozomen and Zosimus (*Huldin* = Οὔλδιν ∼ Οὔλδης) and two in the work of Socrates (*Octar* = Οὔπταρος, *Roas* = Ῥούγας). Jordanes himself preserved four Hunnic names for posterity: *Balamur, Ellac, Emnetzur,* 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]

Balaber	*Balamber*	*Balamur*
	Balambyr	*Balamir.*

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 sheepherd'). This Turkic suffix consists of two elements: /mA/ and the plurative suffix

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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, *Historiorum 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	Provence	Forms of the Hunnic Name	Author/Title of Work	Provence	Forms of the Hunnic Name
		a) Names of Members of the Dynasty					
1	375	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Βασίχ	Jordanes	551	Balamur
2	395	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Κουρσίχ			
3	395	Sozomen	ca. 450	Οὐλδις, Οὐλδιν	Orosius	fl. 414-417	Uldin
4	ca. 395-410	Zosimus	after 498	Οὐλδης	Marcellinus Comes	534	Huldin
					Jordanes, "Romana"	551	Huldin
5	ca. 410-412	Olympiodorus	425	Δονάτος			
6	ca. 412-420	Olympiodorus	425	Χαράτων			
7	ca. 420-430	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Μουνδίουχου acc	Jordanes	551	Mundzuco abl
		Theophanes	810-814	Μουνδίου gen			
8	d. 430	Socrates	d. 440	Οὔπταρος	Jordanes	551	Octar
9	ca. 430-433	Socrates	d. 440	Ῥούγας	"Gallic Chron. 452"	ca. 452	Rugila
		Priscus	d. ca. 451	Ῥούγα gen, Ῥούγαν acc	"Gallic Chron. 511"	6th century	Ruga
		Theodoret	d. ca. 451	Ῥοίλας	Jordanes	551	Roas
10	d. 449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ῥηβάρσιου gen			
11	448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ἐσκάμ			
12	433-444	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Βλήδας	"Gallic Chron. 452"	452	Bleda
		Marcellinus Comes	534	Βλίδας	Marcellinus Comes	534	Bleda
		"Chronicon paschale"	shortly after 628	Βλίδας	Jordanes	551	Bleda
13	433-453	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ἀττίλας	"Gallic Chron. 452"	452	Attila
		Procopius	545-551	Ἀττίλας	"Gallic Chron. 511"	6th century	Attila
		Malalas	d. 578	Ἀττιλᾶς	Marcellinus Comes	534	Attila
					Jordanes	551	Attila
					"Anon. Ravennas"	ca. 700	Attyla
14	d. 433	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ἀτακάμ			
15	d. 433	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Μάμαγεν			
16	d. 451				"Gallic Chron. 511"	6th century	Laudaricus
17	d. 455				Jordanes	551	Ellac
18	d. 469	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Δεγγιζίχ	Marcellinus Comes	534	Denzicis gen
		Marcellinus Comes	534	Δινζίχιρος, Δινζίχ	Jordanes	551	Dintzic
19	fl. after 469	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ἠρνάχ	Jordanes	551	Hernac
		[cf. "The List of the Bulgar Kings"]	ca. 8th century	Ирникъ			
20	fl. after 469				Jordanes	551	Emnetzur
21	fl. after 469				Jordanes	551	Vltzindur
22	5th-6th century						
23	d. 536	Theophanes	810-814	Γίεσμουθ gen	Marcellinus Comes	534	Mundo
		Procopius	545-551	Μοῦνδος	Jordanes	551	Mundo
		Malalas	d. 578	Μοῦνδος			
		Theophanes	810-814	Μοῦνδος			
24	fl. 556	Agathias	ca. 536-582	Ἐλμίγγειρος			
25	fl. 556	Agathias	ca. 536-582	Ἐλμιγζοῦρ			
		b) Names of Leading Hunnic Statesmen and Officers ca. 448-449					
26	ca. 448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ἀδάμεις dat			
27	ca. 448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Βέριχος			
28	ca. 448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ἐδέκων			
29	ca. 448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ζέρκων acc			
30	ca. 434-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ἠσλαν acc			
31	ca. 448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Κρέκαν			
32	ca. 448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Ὀνηγήσιος	"Vita sancti Lupi" (d. 479)		Hunigasio abl.
33	ca. 448-449	Priscus	d. ca. 472	Σκόττας acc			

/t/.[9] In Mongolian the suffix has two variants /mAd/ and /mUd/; cf. WMo *bala+mad* ∼ *bala+mud*. As to usage, see WMo *aqa+mad* 'senior, elder' (originally, 'the oldest among the brothers'), from *aqa* '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 perephrastic 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. Βασίχ[12] 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 σεκτεμ ∼ шехтемь 'the eighth' < **sikərtəm*; VBulg ات‎ *äti* ∼ اچ‎ *ači* 'he was' < * *är-di* > **ärti*;[15] Čuv *ĭdă* 'added number' < **artuq*.[16] On the other hand, there is a tendency in Turkic[17] (and also partly in Hunnic; see no. 26) to avoid geminatae. Therefore, I propose the following etymology: βασίχ = **basiġ* < **bars+siġ*[18] 'feline-like.' The word *bars* 'feline' also occurs in another Hunnic name discussed here: Ὦηβαρς *Ōy bárs* (see no. 10).

3. The root of κουρσιχ 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 κυριγηρ *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 èpitafij 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: Κυρя *Kürä* (*Kür+ä*).[19]

Because of Bang's law ("Mittelsilbenschwund")[20] the form **kür+ä+ sig* (> **kurəsig*) 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, Basiġ and *Kürsig*.[21]

4. Οὐλδης,[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 Οὐλτινζούρ (*öl-tin+čür*) and the personal name *Vltzindur* (*öl-čin+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 (Οὐλδις), 1608 (Οὐλδιν); Zosimus, ed. Mendelssohn, p. 242, l. 27; p. 243, l. 5 (Οὐλδης) = *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 XIVᵉ siècle: Le Houa-yiˈyi-yu de 1389*, vol. 2 (Wrocław, 1959), p. 69, s.v. *ölǰäi̯*.
[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/ $\sim$ /ge+i/ the Hunnic has the suffix /n/. Hence *οὐλδην is *ȫl-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 *ȫl-din (= öl-di+n) apparently had a similar meaning.

5. Δονάτ-.[30] The word *donát corresponds to the Turkic generic word for horse, yonat $\sim$ yont, yund, etc.; see OT Inscr. yoṇt, OT Brahmi yunt $\sim$ yund, MTü Kāšġ. yond,[31] Qipčaq/Golden Horde (ca. 1342-1357) yont (ёнтя лѣта 'in the horse year').[32] Some Middle Turkic (Abū Ḥaiyān, 1312)[33] and older Ottoman texts spelled the word dissyllabically, the latter with the vowels written plene: ينات 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 xará (= 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 Šaka loanword in both Hunnic and Turkic: thauna > *taun > tōn 'garment, clothing'.[39] The compound name, qarátōn, 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; Räsanen, EWT, 211; Doerfer, TMEN, 4: 199-200. It was Willy Bang-Kaup who had first established the etymological relation between Δονατ- and Turkic yont ($\sim$ *yonat), "Studien zur vergleichenden Grammatik der Türksprachen," Sitzungsberichte der...Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin), 37 (1916): 924-25.
[32] Pritsak, Fürstenliste, p. 67.
[33] Abu Ḥaiyān, ed. Ahmet Caferoğlu (Istanbul, 1931), p. 97a, l. 10: يُونَاْ
[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]

Evliyā Çelebī, the great Ottoman traveler (*fl.* 1640-1684), describes the funeral ceremony of Mürād IV (d. 9 February 1640) in the following way: *Cemīʿ-i ümmet-i Muḥammad mātene düşüb. At-Meydāninda siyāh dönli 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 dönli 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 dönli 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. Μουνδίουχ-[44]/ *Mundzuc-*[45] ~ Μουνδίο-[46]. The name of Attila's father has come down to us in two variants, one ending with -*x* and the

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[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" (*ÈSTJ*, 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. Skržinskaja, 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, munǯuq, minǯaq, bonǯuq, 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 *ǯ* 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., δεγγιζιχ: *dintzic*. On the other hand, precisely in our name Greek had *di* and Latin had *dz*: μουνδίου, μουνδίουχ; *mundzuc*; see also μουνδο = *mundo*, 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 μουνδίουχ/ *mundzuc* and μουνδίου ∼ μοῦνδο/*mundo* as *munǯuq* and *munǯú* ∼ *múnǯu*.[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 **t̯iu*, 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 ∼ Μουνδιο with *munǯuq* ∼ *munǯu*.

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,

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

[48] On *munǯuq*, 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-ǯ* (*bonǯuq*) versus other Turkic languages: *m-č* (e.g., Özb. *munčoq*, Kirg. *moncoq*) has no validity, since Azeri (an Oghuz language) has *munǯuq* and Turkman (also an Oghuz language) has *monǯuq*; 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. *nunzo'*). 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 Ilčikeev*, 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 *munžu* ~ *munžuq* 'jewel, flagpole' (phonetically having a spirantization of the final stop: *-q* = [x]). Note also the name Μοῦνδο- (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 Οὖπταρος,[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 *qašiŋ tüketi boldi*

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[51]   Details in Emel Esin, "*Tös* and *moncuk*: Notes on Turkish flagpole finials," *CAJ* 16 (1972): 14-36, 9 pl.; and M. Fuad Köprülü, "Bayrak," *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1949), pp. 401-420. Kāšǧarī 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" (Kāšǧarī/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-* (< *boġu-*) '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., *boġ-əz* 'throat', from *boġ-* (Mongolian *boġu-*) '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/οὖπταρ- 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. Ῥούγα-/*Roa-*. The name of Attila's second paternal uncle and predecessor (d. A. D. 433) is attested in three variants: Socrates (A.D. 439) Ῥούγας[68] ("Gallic Chronicle 511," *Ruga*[69]) = Priscus (A.D. 472) Ῥούα-[70] (= Jordanes *Roas*)[71] = Theodoret (ca. 393-451) Ῥωΐλας[72] (Lat. variant in "Gallic Chronicle 452," *Rugila*).[73] The Ῥούα- 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, ουγα(~ουα), renders the Altaic title *ōgä*,[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 $\bar{\bar{o}}$- 'to think');[75] as to the suffix /GA/, see, e.g., OT *bil-gä* 'wise' (from OT *bil-* 'to know').[76]

The Greek ῥ[*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 ögä* > ** hər ögä* > *hrögä*; note the Greek accents: ῾ρούγα-, ρούα-.

The word *hēr* corresponds to the Old Turkic Brahmi *hār* ~ Runic *är(er)*, etc., meaning "man,"[77] which often occurs as the first component of names or titles, .e.g., *Er Böri*, *Er Buga*, *Er Toŋa*, *Er Toġmiš*.[78]

In Danube Proto-Bulgarian, the second component, *ögä*, occurs as a tribal name with the collective suffix /in/: оугаинъ (*ögä-in*).[79]

10. ῾Ὦηβάρσ-.[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: ῾ὦη and βάρς. 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* (< *ōy*), 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 *ōy*; although definitions vary, they point mainly to "dun," thereby corroborating Bang's thesis:[83] *ōy-bárs* = "a dun feline."

11. Ἐσκάμ.[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

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[75]   On *ögä* 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, *ÈSTJ*, 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 ῾ῷ- probably stands for ῾ῷ-, 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 ὦη = *ōy*; see his *Huns*, pp. 418-19. I can also add that Priscus had reason to use the letter *omega* /ō/ with a circumflex in recording the Hunnic word with the vocalic length: *ōy*.

[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 qā̆m*, see no. 14). *Es qā̆m* 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 Βλήδας[87] (= "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* < *-da-q*, *-dä-k* zugrunde liegt."[90] With the publication of Carl Brockelmann's "Glossary" to Kāšgarī 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

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[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. Skržinskaja, 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'ên," *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', *t^1il^1* 'sea, ocean', and the suffix /a/. The stressed back syllabic *til* (= t^1il^1) 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-* (< *etsíl* < *es tíl*) with the meaning "the oceanic, universal [ruler];" cf. the title of the Pečeneg ruler Κυρя, i.e., *Kür+ä*, meaning "universal" (cf. no. 3).

14-15. Ἀτακάμ[99] 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'

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[95] Αττίλας: 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.; Ἀττιλᾶς: 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. Skržinskaja, p. 159, ll. 25, 32, 39, 41, 42 et passim; *Attyla*: "Anonymus Ravennas," ed. Schnetz, 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 *sïttïq* < *ǯatsïq* < *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 παρειληφότες ἐσταύρωσαν, δίκας αὐτοὺς 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 qā̆m*), is readily analyzed: *ata* is comparable to Old Turkic (and Common Turkic) *ata* 'father';[102] about *qām* 'pagan priest', see no. 11.

15. Μάμα is apparently a popular version of the well-known Greek Christian name Μάμας (~ Μάμα?),[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-qā̆m may have been the former chief priest (also a proselyte?), whereas Μάμας 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

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[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, Ὁ ἅγιος Μάμας (Athens, 1953).

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

[105] Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, p. 277.

[106] Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaja, 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-ġ* '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. Δεγγιζίχ[109] has the abbreviated variant Διν[γι]ζίχ[110] > *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) Δινζίχιρος (cf. his Latin form *Denzic*; p. 90a, l. 7);

"Chronicon paschale": Δινζίριχος (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 -ζίχ 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 -oς, must, of course, be disregarded). The result is the form *Δινιρζίχ. 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 *Δινγιρζίχ. The name should be reconstructed as *deŋir+čig* > *deŋičig* (cf. OT *teŋəz* 'sea' and OMo [ḫP'ags-pa] *dèŋri* '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 **deŋir* 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: Δινζίριχος. The text has two other variants (see *Byz Tur*, 2: 117): Δινζίχ and Δινζίχος.
[111] Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, ed. Mommsen, p. 90, a, b.
[112] Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaja, 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-Altaische Jahrbücher* (Wiesbaden), 26 (1954): 243-45.
[115] Poppe, *The Mongolian Monuments in ḫP'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 *erŋäk* ~ *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 *erŋäk* ~ *ernäk* is a diminutive of *erän* (*er+än*): *erän* + diminutive suffix /G Ak/ or /AK/: *er+än+gäk* > *erŋäk*: *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 Kāšgarī'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 *erŋäk* (< *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* < *hăr*, *her*, etc.): MMo *heregai* 'thumb' (cf. Mo *ere* 'man' = tü. *ēr* id.), Manchu *ferxe* 'id', Orok *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., ἠ into ἡ. The name *hērnăk*, 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, 1. 8 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 132.
[117]   Pritsak, *Fürstenliste*, pp. 36-37.
[118]   Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaja, p. 174, 1. 20.
[119]   See, e.g., Franz Altheim, *Attila und die Hunnen* (Baden-Baden, 1951), p. 155. On *erŋäk* ~ *ernäk*, see Clauson, *EDT*, p. 234; Räsänen, *EWT*, p. 46; Sevortjan, *ÈSTJ*, 1: 299.
[120]   Pritsak, "Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der altaischen Völker," *Ural-Altaische 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]   Kāšgarī/Dankoff, 1: 157.
[123]   Poppe, *Vgl Gr Alt*, pp. 11, 79. Concerning *hēr*, see Räsänen, *EWT*, p. 46; Sevortjan, *ÈSTJ*, 1: 321-22; Pritsak (fn. 92), p. 60; cf. Cincius, *Sravn Slov Tung*, 2: 354.
[124]   Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaja, p. 174, 1. 21.
[125]   Agathias, ed. Dindorf, p. 275, 1. 8 = *Byz Tur*, 2: 123.
[126]   Agathias, ed. Dindorf, p. 314, 1. 31; p. 315, 1. 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* = -ζουρ [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* > *emnə*[n] [> *emnə*[n]+*čür* > *emnə+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., الطش *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) sseem 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/, parallelling 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,
"Tschuwaschische 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 èpitafij 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., بَلِج *bolči* (< *bolti* < *bol-di*),[134] الت *elti* > الجى *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 qaġan and Istämi qaġan.

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 Гостоун-/*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

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[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 *käsī*, 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−miš*) [4] 'wedding present (götürü iş)'.[146] The deverbal suffix /miš/ goes back to an expansion of the deverbal noun /m/, that is, /miš/ = /m/+/iš/.[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 (*Bašk* 254) *kĭsĭ* (< *käsi*) in *kĭsĭlĭk* (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 *kasmăk jaški*.[149] The first component of the Chuvash term corresponds exactly to the Ottoman ((dialectal) *kesme aşı/kesme çorbası*[150] (Čuv *jaška*, and Ottoman *aş* and *çorba* mean "soup"). Both forms, Chuvash *kasmăk* (= *kas+măk* < *käsi-mäk*) and Ottoman *kesme* (= *kes-me* < *kes-mek* < *kesi-mäk*), go back to the verb *kesi-*, augmented with the suffix /mAK/

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[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 /miš/ 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 kasmăk).

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] Kāšġarī/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 اوكدی ögdi 'praise', with which the Ferghana manuscript of the Qutadġu Bilig (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 Kāšġarī correctly explains. Kāšġarī/Dankoff, 1: 75.
[155] Kāšġarī/Dankoff, 1: 262.
[156] Kāšġarī/facs., p. 244. Cf. Kāšġarī/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 *ïnax* '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* < **gésəm* (< **ges+i−m*)

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[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 [¹käs, 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 čuvasskogo 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-iġ*) 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 Μουνδίουχ *Munǯúq* was already the "Hunnicized" version of the Chinese loanword, the form Μοῦνδο- (see also the variant Μουνδίο, no. 7) better reflects the original *münǯu* (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 Kāšgarī'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 tȫ* (*tȫ* '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]

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[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] Kāšgarī/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 Muhannā (14th century) have two other forms, *atġān* and *ataġān*, for "a gelded camel."[175] Sevortjan explains all three forms — *atan*, *atġān*, and *ataġān* — 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/ ($\sim$ /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 Muhannā'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/ $\sim$ /lĀ/, there also existed, in the same function, the suffix /A/.

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

[176]   Sevortjan, *ÈSTJ*, 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/ $\sim$ /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 aġasi 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, ᾽Εδέκων.

27. Βέριχος.[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 Muhannā (14th century)[183] and in the legend of Oghuz Qaġan (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.

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[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, ÈSTJ, 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, ÈSČJ, 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 Ζερ-κων); 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 ζερ̲-κων): /r-g/ > /r-k/ ~ /k/.[188]

In this way we arrive at the verbal root edär-, 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 ägäš-küči[190] 'adherent';
   (b) /GUč/: Kzk 143, KKlp 195 yer-gïš[191] 'dependent, com-
       plaisant, unsteady';
   (c) /iGči/: Tkm 777 eyär-iži 'follower'; Tat 184 iyär-üwči 'fol-
       lower, devotee', iyär-üwčïlïk 'imitation'; Bašk 678 eyär-ïwsï
       'follower, imitator';
   (d) /iGčAn/: Tat 184 iyär-üwčän 'imitative', iyär-üwčänlïk 'imita-
       tion';
   (e) čAŋ/ ~ /čin/: Tkm 777 eyär–žäŋ 'fellow-traveler'; Bašk 679
       eyär–sïn 'adherent, follower'; Tat 184 iyär–čïn 'fellow-
       traveler, follower, confederate';
   (f) /inči/: Tuv 576 edär-inči 'fellow traveler';
   (g) /mA/: Tat 184 iyär–mä 'retinue'; NUig 76 ägäš–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]

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[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-τοιγη dügä-tügi < *düger-dügi; see Pritsak, Fürstenliste, p. 88. To the Turkic change
r-g > rk, see, e.g., Kāšǧ. tergi 'a portable table': CC tirki, Kāšǧ. 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, ÈSTJ, 1: 242-45.
[190]   New Uighur special development: edär- > eyär- > eyäš- (cf. Lobnor eyäš- '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) < egäš-.
[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 *edäkün (< *edär-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 Blída. 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 ἠτζιργου ičirgü 'the inner [residence] official', i.e.,[196] ič+i-r-gü > čerkü (> čerkü+n):

In this way, Blída jokingly named his buffoon čerkün, or "the inner [residence] official."

30. Ἧσλα.[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 qåm the same word was written with ε.

+λα is the denominal suffix /lA/;[198] in Old Chuvash another suffix /lĂ/ < /liG/, having a similar meaning, was added to the same stem: as-lă < *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. Κρέκαν.[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

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[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] Ἧσλαν[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 /1A/ see Brockelmann, OTG, p. 117 (§73); Räsänen, Morphologie, p. 104. The Greek letter α in Ἧσλα doubtlessly stands for /ä/, for which there was no letter in the alphabet.

[199] Ašmarin, Thesaurus, 2: 106-107; aslă 'magnus, amplus, latus, spatiosus, maior natu, maximus, summus, illustris'. Egorov's etymology of aslă is certainly wrong: Egorov, ÈSČJ, 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 < *ariġ 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 ariġ '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 = krékạn like WMo
gergẹn.

The Turkic word for "wife," already existing in the Karakhanid
language, was *eblig*, 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
singulative 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* +/LĀ/)

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[202]   W. Bang, "Uber 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, Oirot (Altai), Baraba *ü* 'wife'; Teleut *üy* 'wife'; the data are given by Räsänen,
EWT, p. 34, and Sevortjan, *ÈSTJ*, 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 *krekän* meaning "wife," since she was the Hunnic ruler's consort or "wife par excellence."

32. Ὀνηγήσιος[213]/*Hunigasius*.[214] The most powerful of Attila's *logades*, or ministers, was Ονηγησι-/*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 Hunigasio[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 Kāšġarī (ca. 1077) there was a Turkic Oghuz deverbal 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., Kāšġarī *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-g̈ǟsi*, 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-*skótta-* 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 Kāšġarī (1074), *sökmän* (/mAn/ is a deverbal nominal suffix) was "a military title, meaning 'he who breaks the battle line (Arab *kāsir ṣaff al-ḥarb*)'."[227]

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

One can assume that *skóttä* (< **sökəttä* = **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]   Kāšġarī/Dankoff, 1: 75, 86.
[224]   Kāšġarī/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]   Kāšġarī/Dankoff, 1: 334.

C. *Linguistic and Philological Scrutiny*

I. Orthography

α/a	=	*a*: αδαμ, ατα-, αττιλα/attila; +βαρσ-, βασιχ, balamur, δονατ, χαρα+,
α	=	*ā*: καμ,
α/a	=	*A*: αδαμ, αττιλα/attila, βληδα/bleda, ησλα, ellac, ἡρναχ/hernac, κρεκαν, ουπταρ/octar, ῥουγα, σκοττα,
β-/b-	=	*b*: balamur, +βαρσ-, βασιχ, βληδα/bleda, βεριχ,
γ/g	=	*g*: ῥουγα, 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,
ἡ[< ἡ]/he	=	*hē*: ἡρναχ/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*: eḻḻac, ελμιγγειρ, ελμινζουρ, ονλδην/huḻdin, vḻtzindur, baḻamur, βληδα/bḻeda; αττιλα/attiḻa, ησλα,

μ/m   = *m*: μουνδιουχ, μουνδιο, μουνδο/m̠undo; em̠netzur, ελμιγγειρ, ελμινζουρ, balam̠ur; αδαμ, ατακαμ, εσκαμ, γιεσμ,

ν/n   = *n*: δοṉατ, οṉηγησι/huṉigasi, diṉtzic, em̠netzur, μουṉδιουχ, μουṉδο-/mun̠do, vltziṉdur, ελμιṉζουρ; ηρṉαχ/herṉac; εδεκωṉ, ζερκωṉ, κρεκαṉ, ουλδηṉ/ huldiṉ, uldiṉ, χαρατωṉ,

o   = *o*: δοṉατ-,

o/o   = *ö*: o̱ctar; σκο̱ττα,

o-/hu-   = *ü*-: o̱νηγησι/h̠unigasi,

-o/-o   = *-U*: μουνδο̱-/mund̠o,

ου/u   = *u*: μο̱υνδιουχ, μο̱υνδο/m̠undo,

ου-/hu-, v-   = *ö*-: o̱υλδην/h̠uldin, u̱ldin, v̱ltzindur, o̱υπταρ,

ου/o   = *ō*: ρ̣o̱υγα/ro̱as, o̱υπταρ/o̱ctar,

ου   = *ü*: κο̱υρσιχ,

ου/u   = *U*: ελμινζο̱υρ/emnetzu̱r, vltzindu̱r,

᾿[<᾿] ῥ-/ηρ-/her- = *hr*-: ῥο̱υγα, ἠρṉαχ [< ἠρṉαχ]/h̠erṉac,

ρ/r   = *r*: βερ̣ιχ, ζερ̣κων, κρ̣εκαν, κουρ̣σιχ, χαρατων, ἠρṉαχ/herṉac; ωηβαρ̱σ-; balamu̱r, ουπταρ/octa̱r, emnetzu̱r, ελμινζου̱ρ, ελμιγγειρ̣, vltzindu̱r,

σ/s   = *s*: σ̱κοττα; εσ̱καμ, ησ̱λα; βασ̱ιχ, κουρσ̱ιχ, ονηγησ̱ι/hunigas̱i; γιεσ̱μ; ωηβαρσ̱,

τ/t   = *t*: χαρα+τ̱ων; ατ̱+τ̱ιλα/aṯṯila, σκοτ̱τ̱α, ατ̱ακαμ, ουπτ̱αρ/ocṯar; δοναṯ-,

χ-   = *q*-: χαρατων,

-χ/-c   = *-q*: μουνδιουχ̱/mundzuc̱,

-χ/-c   = *-k*: βεριχ̱, ἠρναχ̱/hernac̱,

-χ   = *-ġ*: βασιχ̱,

-χ/-c   = *-g*: δεγγιζιχ̱/dintzic̱, κουρσιχ̱,

ω   = *ō*: ω̱ηβαρσ-; χαρα+τ̱ων,

ω   = *U*: εδεκω̱ν, ζερκω̱ν.

II. Phonology

1. *Consonantism in General*

Seventeen consonantic phonemes are attested:

	kq	t	č	s
b	gġ	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: χαράτων [xarátōn] and μουνδίουχ- [munžúx] for *qarátōn* and *munžúq*, and εσκάμ *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 *-ġ* and possibly *-k* and *-g*: βέριχ-/bériḵ/and βασίχ /basíġ/ and κουρσίχ /kürsíġ/.

One can regard the presence of the initial *h-* as a specific feature of Hunnic consonantism: ḥernac/ḥērnäk/, ῥοῦγα /ḥrȫgä/.

The compound *attíla* (< *es* + *tíla*), 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 *tíla* 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:

		Stems (first syllable)					*Suffixes*
		Initial position					
simple consonants							
kq	t	č	s				č	s
b	gġ	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-   : ȯktär;
-tt-   : attíla (< *etsila < *es+t¹il¹a); skötta
-mn-   : emnečür (< *-lm-);
-ng-(ŋ) : elmingir (< elmin+gir);
-nd-   : ölčindür (< ölčin+dür);
-nč-   : öltinčür (< öltin+čür), elminčür (= elmin+čür);
-nǯ-   : múnǯu (< *mun+ǯu) > munǯúq;
-lč-   : ölčindür (< *öl-čin < *öl-din);
-ld-   : ȯldin (< öl-din);
-lm-   : elmin, elminčür etc.;
-ll-   : elläg (< el+läg);
-rk-   : čérkün (< *ičir-gün); cf. krékän < *ker+gä+n (possibly <
          *ger+gän)
-rs-   : kürsíg (< 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:

Simple Vowels			Long Vowels	
i		ü[229] u		
e	ö		ē	ȫ ō
	a			ā

(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*):

I (= i/é/ə)   U
        A, Ā

The attested realization of the suffixed vocalism is as follows:

/i/ : +*ə*-, +*ér*- (< *+*i-r*-); +*číG*, +*síG*, -*Din* (> -*tin*), +*Gir*,
/A/ : +*A*, +*ÁK*, +*An*; -*DA*, -*GA*, +*GAn*, +*lA*, +*lA*-, +*lAG*,
/Ā/ : -*GĀsi*,
/U/ : +*čÚr*, +*DUr*, -*GUn*, +*mUr*.

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 *hērnák*.

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

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[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-τῳν by means of the omega (τῳν) — this for a word which had a vocalic length (*tōn*). The same principle applies to the very exact notations of Priscus, who writes Ὧη-βαρσ- (= *ōy*), Ἡρναχ (= *hēr*-), Ῥοῦα (= *hr-ō̇[g]ä*), etc.
[229] The only pair of Hunnic phonemes that the Greek and Latin autors had difficulty distinguishing clearly and rendering systematically were the labial front vowels *ö* and *ü*:

ö   ü

Greek o/Latin o̩: o̩ctar, σκο̩ττα;
Greek ου-: ο̩ὖπταρ;   Greek ου: κο̩υρσιχ;
Greek ου-/Latin hu̩- ~ u̩- ~ v̩-: ο̩υλδην/   Greek o-/Latin hu̩-: ο̩νηγησι/hu̩nigasi.
    hu̩ldin, u̩ldin, v̩ltzin-
Greek ου-/Latin o̩: ῥο̩υγα/ro̩as.

On the other hand, the labiality of the suffix archphoneme is kept, regardless of the non-round stem, e.g., b*a*lam*u*r, *e*lm*i*nču̇r, *ö*ltınču̇r, čérkün.

III. Phonemic Changes

1. *Vocalism*

Vocalic metathesis
**bild*ä > *blid*ä;
**sök*ittä > **sök*əttä > sk*ő*ttä
**kerk*än > *krék*än;

Mittelsilbenschwund
*kürä+sig > *kürs*íg; **sök*itdä > sk*ő*ttä;
*her+*än*+*äk* > her*n*ä̈k;

Vocalic reduction in the word-initial position
**ič*irgün > čérkün;

Vocalic changes: transitions into stressed and non-stressed position
-*i*- > -*é*-: **ič*irgün > čérkün;
-*i*- > -*ə*-: **elm*í*n*+ > émnə[n]+;

Assimilation
e > *a*: *e*s+t¹il¹a > *a*ttíla.

2. *Consonantism*

Reduction of sonors being the first element of a cluster
nč > *č*: **emmen*ču̇r > emme*č*ür;
rč > *č*: de*ŋir*čig > de*ŋi*čig;
rg > *k*: **edär*gün > edä̈*k*ün;
rss > *s*: **bar*ssi*ġ* > ba*s*íġ.

3. *Consonantic assimilations*

Metathesis
*st > **ts* > *tt*: **e*stila > **e*tsíla > a*tt*íla;
*ml > *lm*: **em*lín > e*lm*in;
[**ml* >] *lm* > *mn*: **e*lmin > e*mn*ə[n];

Devoicing
*rg > *rk*: **ker*gän > **ker*kän > krékän; **ič*irgün > čérkün;

*ld > lt: öld̈in > öltin;
*td > tt: *sökitdä > skótẗä;

Sporadic palatalization
lt (< ld) > lč: öltin- (< öld̈in) > ölčin-.

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
elmin (< *emlin > *emnən)
éslä
krékän (< *kérkän)
*kürä
qará
múnǯu
munǯúq

Composite nouns
ata qā̇m
qará tōn

es qȧ́m
ȫy bárs
**es t¹il¹a*

Verbs

One-syllable
bli- (< **bil-*)
öl-
ȫ̄-
sköt- (< **sökit-*)

Two-syllable
adá-
**edȧ́r-*
ēllä-
**gési-* (> **gésə-*)
**ič+i-r-* (> *čér-*)
ȫktä-
üne-

2. *Suffixes*

Denominal nominal
/A/: attíl*a*, *kür*ä*
/An/+/AK/ > /nAK/: hȇr*nȧ́k*
/čiG/: deŋi[r]*číg*
/čUr/: elmin*čúr* (> emnə*čür*), öltin*čür*
/DUr/: ölčin*dür*
/GAn/: kré*kän*
/Gir/: elmín*gir*
/K/: munǯu*q*
/lA/: és*lä*
/lAG/: ēl*läg*
/mUr/: bala*mur*
/siG/: ba[rs]*síġ*, kür*síg*

Denominal nominal affixes
/n/: krékä*n*, ȫldi*n*, čérkü*n*
/r/: balamu*r*

Deverbal nominal
/DA/: blí*dä*, skȫt*ɩä*

/Din/ > -tin- > -čin-: ṓldin, öltinčür, ölčindür
/G/: elläg
/GA/: ȫgä
/GÃsi/: ünegȁsi
/GUn/: čérkün, edä́kün
/m/: gésm, adám
/r/: ȫktär

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

Deverbal verbal
/Ir/: čérkün
/It/: sköt- (< *sök-ət < *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, múnžu ~ munžú).

(b) Two-syllable words that were transparent, rightly or not, to the speaker had the stress on the penultima (stem): ȫgä (< ȫ-), ṓldin (< öl-), bérik, ȫktär, gésəm (or gesm?), múnžu (< Chinese loanword).

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

(d) Stressed suffixes: (1) denominal nominal: /ÁK/: hernȁk; /číG/: deŋirčíg; /siG/: basíg, kürsíg; /čUr̥/: elminčúr; (2) denominal verbal: /Á/: adám; (3) deverbal nominal: /GÃsi/: ünegȁsi;.

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

(f) Composite nouns had the stress placed either on each component, e.g., ȫy bárs, or on their second component; if the latter had two syllables, stress was placed on the penultima: es qȁm, ata qȁm; hər-ȫgä, attíla.

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

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

N. n.

7. Μουνδίουχ/Mundzuc   8. Octar/Οὔπταρ   9. Ῥούγα/Roa   10. Ὠηβάρς   11. Ἔσκαμ   N. n.   N. n.
    ca. 420-430   d. 430   ca. 430-433   d. 449   *fl.* 448-449

12. Βλήδα/Bleda   13. Ἀττίλα   ~   daughter   14. Ἀτακάμ   15. Μάμας   16. Laudaricus
    433-444   444-453   N. n.   d. 433   d. 433   d. 451

~ 31. Κρέκαν

   31   31   31
17. Ellac   18. Δεγγιζίχ/Dentzic   19. Ἡρνάχ/Hernac   20. Emnetzur   21. Vltzindur
d. 455   d. 469   d. after 466   d. after 469   d. after 469

Stage IV   22. Γιέσμ, *fl.* 5th-6th ct.

23. Μοῦνδο/Mundo, d. 536

24. Ἐλμίγγειρος, *fl.* 556   25. Ἐλμινζούρ, *fl.* 556

Abbreviations

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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
Arch Chin = Archaic Chinese
Baš = Bashkir
Bulg = Proto-Bulgarian
Čuv = Chuvash
Čag = Chaghatai
DBulg = Danube Proto-Bulgarian
Hun = Hunnic
Kirg = (New) Kirgiz

Mo = Mongolian
MMo = Middle Mongolian
MTü = Middle Turkic
OT = Old Turkic
Özb = Özbek (Uzbek)
Tü = Turkic
VBulg = Volga Proto-Bulgarian
WMo = Written Mongolian