Yedikula. Die Festung «Sieben Türme» in Konstantinopel: «Adì 7 Oct. in der stadt ein altte burgkh auswendig gesehen ... Haist man auf turkisch *Giedicula*, das ist zu den siben thurnen» (S. 51); *Giedicula* (S. 52, 82, 83); *Gedicula* (S. 142).

Vgl. Ver.: in arce Septituri, quam Turcae *Gediculam* nuncupant (3: 359). Der Name kommt auch in den ungarischen Quellen oft vor, seine häufigste Form war *jedikula*. Auch die Angaben der balkanischen Sprachen weisen auf einen derartigen Vorläufer hin (Rech. 419). Zur Bezeichnung des anlautenden *y* durch die Buchstaben «g» und «gi» vgl. das unter *kodža d'ümiš* Gesagte.

Yenišer. Stadt südlich vom Izniker See; auch heute heißt sie Yenişehir: «Adì 16 Marzo von Nicea auszogen in ein turkischen margt, haist *Jenischer*» (S. 160); *Janischar* (ibid.); *Jenischar* (S. 161).

Die Benennung «Neue Stadt» finden wir oft unter den türkischen geographischen Namen. In den Belegen von Dernschwam kommt das Wort *šehir* in den kontrahierten Formen *šer* und *šar* vor. Eine ähnliche Form finden wir auch bei Busbeck: *Ienyfar* (I, 56). In den ungarischen Quellen sind die Formen *Jeniser* und *Janiser* ebenfalls nachweisbar (Rech. 423). — Vgl. *šeremin*, *Eskišer*, *Karïdžašar*.

Yermi. Ortschaft, wo sich der von Kangri nach Süden fließende Adžï Su nach Osten wendet und mit einem anderen Fluß vereinigt: «Adì primo Aprill von Sari Kurth von 6 vr bis vmb 3 vr in ein klain dorfflein, *Dgiermi* genant, seind gutter 5 vng. meill» (S. 195); s. noch S. 196.

Vgl. Busbeck: in *Zermeczii* (I, 63). Der Name kommt bei anderen Reisenden nicht vor, der Ortsname ist nicht identifizierbar. Babingers Meinung nach kann er mit dem Wort *yermi*, *yirmi* 'zwanzig' zusammenhängen (S. 297, Anm. 97).

Yokbüyek [sic]. Ortschaft in der Nähe von Harmanlï. Dernschwam erwähnt sie auf der Strecke zwischen Klokodnice und Harmanlï: «Seind auff dannen nur durch ain bulgarisch dorff gefaren, Wirowe genant vnd auff turkisch *Jokbwyek*, alda am meisten Bulgari wonen» (S. 22).

Babinger bezieht sich auf Kiepert (S. 281, Anm. 156), auf der Landkarte von Kiepert ist nämlich der türkische Name von Wirowo *Yunus-Böyük* angeführt.

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SOME TURKIC PERSONAL NAMES IN THE *SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS*

BY

LAJOS BESE

The *Secret History of the Mongols* is the most important Mongol source of the 13th century. The names of some 430 persons are registered in this historical work. Since these persons bear mainly Mongol and Turkic names, the *Secret History* can justifiably be regarded as a treasure-house of both Mongol and Turkic onomatology. In the present paper I shall treat some of these names.

Before proceeding to the object proper, some preliminary remarks. The personal names in the *Secret History* were dealt with in a comprehensive way only in Pavel Poucha's book (*Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen als Geschichtsquelle und Literaturdenkmal*, Prague 1956) in which a separate chapter (pp. 49—109) was devoted to this theme. Since then, several articles have touched upon this problem, but there was no constant interest. Mr. Poucha's work on the other hand, as will be pointed out later on, has rather weak scholarly merits. It was these circumstances that inspired this research into the appellatives of the *Secret History*. The original plan, which remained unchanged during the course of time, was to prepare a monograph on the personal names, and the tribal and clan names closely connected to them. This plan was outlined in the paper «On the Old Mongolian Personal Names» read in the XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists, in Paris.[1] In the beginning of 1976 an article was published by Professor Poppe (*On Some Proper Names in the Secret History*: *UAJ* 47, pp. 161—167). Earlier Mr. Poucha announced that «A new edition, (of his book treated above) in English, up to date and perfected, ..., is in preparation by its Author».[2] In the past five years various circumstances impeded me from completing my work, but now, I believe I can finish it very soon. The present article serves as a preliminary of my book under preparation.

[1] See L. Bese, *Sur les anciens noms de personne Mongols*: *Études Mongoles* V (1974), pp. 91—96. This article can be considered to be obsolete in many points. One of its shortcomings is that I tried to explain apparently Turkic names from Mongolian. My only excuse is that — as will be seen several times — even excellent Mongolists fell into this error.

[2] See *First International Congress of Turcology. 15—20. X. 1973.* Summary of communications. Istanbul 1973, p. 81.

Only single personal names are dealt with in this paper. The whole apparatus of data is not given and my opinion concerning minor details may change before the book is published. The investigated personal names are all of Turkic origin, and I would like to express my thanks to Professor L. Rásonyi and to my friend I. Mándoky-Kongur whom I consulted concerning questions of Turkic onomatology.

1. *Ačai qan*

SH, § 152 (twice). A Tatar khan. The name is transcribed by Sino-Mongolists as *Ǎǰai*.

Pelliot mentions him when speaking of Ong khan. He writes as follows (Pelliot—Hambis 1951 : 245) : «. . ., dans le § 152 de l'*Histoire secrète* où les princes et chefs Kerait hostiles à Ong-khan disent qu'il a «le foie puant», ils rapellent qu'à l'âge de treize ans il fut capturé avec sa mère par Aǰai-qan des Tatar, obligé par lui à faire paître ses chameaux, et délivré enfin par un berger d'Aǰai-qan (le nom «Ajai» existe, dans l'onomastique mongole ; cf. «Sanang setsen», ed. Schmidt, 145 ; aussi von Hammer, *Gesch. der Ilchane*, II, 385 ; *Gesch. Wassaf's*, 98). Que cet Aǰai-qan soit un chef des Alči Tatar résulte indirectement du récit de Rašīd ; tout comme ce fut le cas pour Börtä, la femme de Gengis-khan, lors de la capture par les Märkit, *Ilma était évidemment passée par le couche de son ravisseur ; or le récit de Rašīd donne à celui qui aima *Ilma le nom d'Alčitai, c'est-à-dire l'ethnique même tiré du nom des Ači ; il n'est pas exlu que Aǰai-qan et Alčitai soient un seul et même personnage (ma copie du mss. d'Urga, f° 75*a*, a les deux fois Ači-qaγan au lieu d'Aǰai-qan ; mais c'est une base trop fragile pour supposer que Aǰai est fautif au lieu de *A[l]či ou *A[l]čin).» At another place (*op. cit.*, p. 247) : «. . . Alči-tai (*alias* Aǰai-qan ?), . . .». It is well known that the *Altan tobči* (i.e. the manuscript of Urga) contains many corrupt forms compared to the *Secret History*. Here Pelliot either reads a name falsely or gives a bad reading. His supposed reading **A[l]či* or **A[l]čin* lacks any basis and is totally arbitrary. Because of this and other circumstances the names and persons Alčitai and Aǰai (read Ačai) resp. cannot be identical.

The name *Ačai* cannot be explained from Mongol. It can be connected to OT *ača* 'родственник', Alt. (Tuba-kiži) *ača* 'дядя', Alt. (Kum.-kiži) *ača* 'старший брат, дядя по отцу', Tuba *ača* 'отец', Khaq. *aǰa* S a g. '1. старший брат ; 2. 'дядя по отцу', Sarïg-jugur *ača* 'отец, отчим', Özbek *ača* d i a l. '1. бабушка, 2. прабабушка, 3. мать'. The well-known Turkic denominal diminutive suffix *.j* is added to the word. Derivatives with this *.j* are frequently met with in common nouns as well : e.g. Tuba *abaj* 'мама' : *aba* 'мать', *ačaj* 'папа' : *ača* 'отец' (Ischakov-Pal'mbach 1974 : 149), Qïrq. *ačaj* d i a l. 'так иногда называет свою мать ребёнок, воспитывавшийся у бабушки', Sarïg-jugur *ačai*

'отец-любезный' : *ača* 'отец', etc. As a personal name it is attested in Alt. and Karačai-Balqar. This name belongs to the group of Turkic personal names comprising kinship terms and their derivatives. E.g. OT *Apa tarqan* ~ *apa* '1. старшая родственница, старшая сестра; 2. мать', OT *Oγul tarqan* ~ *oγul* '1. ребёнок, мальчик ; 2. сын', OT *Inäčük* ~ *ïnal*, *inäl* '1. сын женщины из ханского рода и простолюдина ; лицо, имеющее знатное происхождение, высокородный ; 2. титул, должность', Khaq. *Aǰa* ~ *aǰa* '1. старший брат, 2. дядя по отцу', Qqalp. *Ataš* ~ *ata* 'отец' + *.š* den. nom., dimin., etc.

In the *Altan Tobči* Šastina (1973 : 131) reads *Aǰi*, but she remarks that it can be *Ači* as well. In the same text Kozin (1941 : 440—441) and Ligeti (1974 : 112) read *Aǰai*. It is well-known that Uigur ч in intervocalic position can be read both *-č-* and *-ǰ-*. When in the Ming period the text of the *Secret History* was transcribed from the Uigur-Mongol script to Chinese characters, the unknown name *Ačai* must have been arbitrarily transcribed as *Aǰai*. This false reading was accepted by the Sino-Mongolists. Consequently the data of the *Secret History* and the *Altan tobči* must be correctly read as *Ačai* which is — as I tried to prove — a Turkic personal name.

2. *Ačinai*

SH, § 202. Činggis khan's colonel.

The name *Ačinai* cannot be interpreted as Mongol. In search for an etymon it must be borne in mind that Činggis' colonels have preponderantly Turkic names. That is why I think that *Ačinai* can be compared with OT *ači* 'пожилая женщина', Alt. *ači* '1. младший брат отца ; 2. дочери, сыновья и внуки брата', Alt. (Kum.-k.) *ači* 'двоюродный брат', Khaq. *ači* in *ači xarïndas* 'двоюродный брат', Sarïg-jugur *ači* in *ači qïs* 'дочь моей сестры' + the diminutive *.nai*. This *.nai* suffix is very common in Turkic personal names, e.g. Khaq. *Xïzïnaj* n. pr. fem. ~ *xïs* 'девочка; дочь', Alt. *Kičinej* n. pr. m. ~ *kiči* 'немного, чуточку', Tuba *Ortunaj* n. pr. m. ~ *ortu* 'середина, половина', etc. Thus *Ačinai* is a personal noun of Turkic origin. As in the case of *Ačai*, here we have to do with a personal noun formed from a kinship term.

On the basis of the Chinese transcription of the Ming period the name was mechanically transcribed as *Aǰinai* by the Sino-Mongolists. The correct reading is *Ačinai*.

3. *Alaqa beki*

SH, § 239. A Mongol woman given as a wife to the Öngüts.

To my mind the name *Alaqa* is identical with Türkm. *alaka* 'суслик'. This word can be attested also as a male name in Türkmen. Animal names play a

prominent role in Turkic onomatology. Let us see a few examples from Alt.: *Saras* ~ *saras* zool. 'колонок', *Kamdu* ~ *kamdu* 'выдра', *Kojon* ~ *kojon* 'заяц', *Čičkan* ~ *čičkan* 'мышь', etc. These names are treated by Rásonyi (1976: 215) in the category of Fortious Names. So *Alaqa beki* of the *Secret History* bears a Turkic name.

Alaqa beki of the *Secret History* occurs in the *Yüan-shih* (Hambis 1954: 3, 25, 95) and at Rashid al-Din (I, 2: 70) as *Alaqai begi*. In this variant the *.i* is a well-known Turkic denominal diminutive suffix. Cf. *Ačai* above.

4. *Alčiq bawurči*

SH, § 208. The cook of J̌aqa-Gambu, Ong khan's younger brother.

The name *Alčiq* is connected by Poucha (1956: 93) to OT *alči* 'der Nehmende'. This explanation cannot be accepted. *Alčiq* may be a derivative of OT *al* 'низ, нижняя часть', but it is much more probable that it derives from OT *al* 'алый, ярко-красный, светло-красный; оранжевый; карый (?) (о глазах)', Türkm. *al* 'алый; розовый; румяный', Qar. *al* 'красный, румяный', etc. The suffix *.čïq* is an OT diminutive. In a similar way Alt. *Karačak* n. pr. m. is formed from a colour name (< *kara* 'чёрный, вороный"). These names can be put into the subgroup «Remarkable feature or colour of infant» of the Fortious Names (Omen-names) according to Rásonyi's (1976: 214—215) classification. So *Alčiq bawurči* bears a Turkic name. The Mo. *bawurči* 'cook' is an occasional apposition, it does not belong to the personal name.

5. *Adgiraq*

SH, § 238. Envoy of the Uigur Idu'ut. At Rashid al-Din (I, 2: 151) he is the envoy of the Kirghizs.

Poucha's (1956: 93) etymology (*«at* 'Pferd' und *kiraq* zu alttürk. *kir* 'Schmutz'») is totally unacceptable.

Adgiraq can be connected with OT *aδgïraq* 'горный баран, муфлон (?)', Qïrq. *ajgïraq* 'молодой жеребчик'. This word is a derivative of OT *aδgïr*, *ajgïr* 'жеребец', Qïrq. *ajgïr* 'жеребец', Alt. *ajgïr* 'id.', Khaq. *asxïr* 'id.', Tat. Kaz. *ajgïr* 'id.', Qar. *ajgïr* 'id.', Türkm. *ajgïr* 'самец (лошади, осла)', Osm. *aygır* 'stallion; violent man'. Denominal *.q* is a diminutive suffix. In the Turkic nomenclature *Adgiraq* belongs to the large group of personal names going back to animal names. (See *Alaqa beki*.)

6. *Bai Šingqor Doqšin*

SH, § 47. Qaidu's eldest son.

This name was interpreted by Professor Cleaves (1949b: 507) as follows: «The name means "As cruel as the Bai Singqor ('Rich Falcon')." In Poucha's opinion it is «türk. *bay* "reich", *šingqor* "Edelfalke", *doqšin* "wild" ("unbändig, grausam")». Concerning *Doqšin* Bese (1974: 94) writes: «. . ., équivalent de l'adjectif *doqšin*, "sauvage, féroce" . . .».

The first component of the personal name *Baj Šingqor Doqšin* is a Turkic word. Cf. OT *baj* '1. богатый; 2. *перен.* богатый, щедрый', Qïrq. *baj* '1. богач, бай; 2. богатый, изобилующий *чем-л.*; 3. *ист.* господин', Alt. *baj* '1. бай, богач; 2. богатый, обильный', Khaq. *paj* '1. бай, богач, богатый (в знач. сущ.); 2. богатый, обильный', Tuba *baj* '1. богатый, состоятельный, обеспеченный, зажиточный; богач, бай; 2. богатый, обильный *чем-л.*', Türkm. *baj* 'бай, богач; богатый', Qqalp. *baj* 'id.', Qar. *baj* 'богатый, зажиточный', Osm. *bay* '(*originally*) a rich man; (*now*) a gentleman'; Bay A., Mr. A., '1. Erkeklere saygı göstermiş olmak için öz veya soyadlarının başına getirilir: *Bay Turgut*, *Bay Demiralp*. 2. Erkeklere söz söylerken veya onların sözü edilirken adlar yerine kullanılır: *Bir bay sizi arıyor*.'

The second component is *Šingqor*. This word is the Mongol form of OT *šuŋqar* 'сокол, алтайский кречет (Falco gyrfalco altaicus)', Qïrq. *šumkar*, *šunkar* 'кречет', Alt. *šoŋkor* 'кречет', Türkm. *šuŋkar* 'кречет, сокол', 'The Shunkar Falcon, *Falco Hendersoni*' (Shaw), Qqalp. *suŋqar* 'сокол', etc. (cf. MMo. *šingqor* 'Edelfalke', Mo. Less. *singqur* 'falcon, gerfalcon' etc. This bird-name also occurs in Turkic languages as a personal name, cf. Bašq. *Šoŋkar*, and Kakuk 1974: 8).

The third component (*doqšin*) was identified with Mo. *doγsin* 'wild, ferocious' both by Cleaves and by Poucha (see above). Originally I was of the same opinion, but now this interpretation seems to me quite unacceptable. I think that *Doqšin* can be explained from OT *toγ-* 'рождаться; возникать, появляться', Türkm. *dog-* '2. рождаться', Sarïg-jugur *toγ-* 'родиться', Osm. *doğ-* 'be born; (of sun *or* stars) to rise; come to pass', etc. OT *-sïn*, optative suffix of the 3st person singular and plural is added to this verbal root. The meaning of the name is 'Let Him Be Born'. Analogous formations with Turkic **Toγsïn* are OT *Qutačun* (< OT *quta-* 'становиться счастливым'), *Sekičün* (< OT *sek-* 'прыгать, подпрыгивать; быстро идти'). Personal names in the optative occur in a large number in Turkic onomatology. (Cf. Rásonyi 1962.)

This OT **Toγsïn* became *Doqšin* in the *Secret History* quite regularly, as in Mongol only an *š* can be read before *i*.

Thus the name *Baj Šingqor Doqšin* is of Turkic origin. But the verbatim interpretation of this compound name requires further elucidation. It is conspicuous that certain elements of Turkic compound names have particular

functions. In compound names having two or three components the first element can rather be regarded as an epithet than a real component of the name. Thus e.g. OT *alp* '1. меткий стрелок; 2. герой, богатырь, витязь' in OT *Alp Aja*, *Alp Buryučan*, *Alp Qutluγ*, *Alp Toγrïl*, *Alp Turmïš*, *Alp Tutuq*, *Alp Uruŋu*; OT *beg* 'правитель, вождь, бек, князь' in OT *Beg Bars*, *Beg Buγa*, *Beg Čur*, *Beg Taš*, *Beg Temir*, *Beg Temir Quz*, *Beg Turmïš*; OT *er* 'муж, мужчина' in OT *Er Böri*, *Er Buγa*, *Er Sančmïš*, *Er Toγmïš*, *Er Toŋa*; OT *bögä* 'герой' in OT *Bögä Budrač*, *Bögä Javγusï*; OT *baj* in OT *Baj Apa*, *Baj Buγa*, *Baj Temür*. Here we have no possibility to analyze in detail the various epithets attached to Turkic personal names, but I think it would not be a grave mistake to suppose that these epithets were not elements without a function, but expressed certain social relations of a given historical and social environment. The validity of this statement is not diminished by the fact that some of these epithets (e.g. *Baj*, *Er*, *Beg*) became organic parts of personal names consisting of several elements (e.g. Qqalp. *Bajeke*, *Bajǰan*, *Bekǰan*, *Ereke*, *Erǰan*, *Allabaj*, *Baltabaj*, *Orïnbek*, *Qurbanbaj*, *Qurbanbek*, etc.). What is important in the given case, is that the Qïrq. bird-name *šumkar* 'gerfalcon' corresponding to *Šingqor* in the name *Baj Šingqor Doqšin*, may be the epithet of a young and valiant hero.

These epithets can be accumulated in certain cases, here are some OT examples: *alp er* in *alp er Toŋa* ~ *Toŋa alp er*, *küč bars külüg* ('power' + 'tiger + glorious') in *Tüz Baj küč bars külüg*, etc. All that has been said so far seems to be of sufficient proof value that the components *Baj Šingqor* ('Rich Falcon') in the personal name *Baj Šingqor Doqšin* can be regarded as epithets that had not originally belonged to the personal name *Doqšin* (i.e. **Toγsïn*).

7. *Bala čerbi*

SH, §§ 120, 202, 243, 257, 259, and 264. Son of the J̌alair Seče Domoq. The title *čerbi* does not belong to the personal name.

The correspondences of the personal name *Bala*: Qïrq. *bala* 'дитя, ребёнок; сын, мальчик (*в старом быту*)', Khaq. *pala* 'дитя, ребёнок', Alt. *bala* 'дитя, ребёнок', Türkm. *bala* 'дитя, младенец, ребёнок', Qqalp. *bala* 'дитя, ребёнок; мальчик', Osm. *bala* 'child; baby', Qar. *bala* 'ребёнок, дитя; молодяк', etc. So the name *Bala* is a Turkic personal name that belongs to the group of hypocoristic names.

In the chronicle «History of the Nation of the Archers» of the Armenian Grigor of Akanc' a certain person called *Balaxay*/*Balaxē* occurs. Professor Cleaves (1949a: 413—414) writes of this name as follows: «If, as I believe, Grigor's *Balaxay*/*Balaxē* is the Mongolian *Bulγai*, we must observe that the *-a-* in the first syllable represents the Mongolian *-u-* and the *-a-* in the second

syllable is an epenthetic vowel. For another example of epenthesis see the entry *Aradamur* above. The name *Bulγai* is, to the best of my knowledge, not found in a Mongolian source as such, etc. . . .». I think that this name of the Armenian source could be explained in a simpler way. The name *Balaxai*/*Balaxē* is a derivative of the Turkic common noun *bala* 'child'. *.qai*/*.kei* is a denominal diminutive suffix in Turkic also frequently occurring in personal names, e.g.: Tuba *Borakaj* (< *bora* '1. серый; 2. сивый (*о масти лошади*)'), *Oolakkaj* (< *oolak* 'малыш, мальчик, малчишка'), *Tavakkaj* (< *tavak* 'блюдо тарелка, миска'), Tat. Kaz. *Küzkej* (< *küz* 'глаз'), *Taškaj* (< *taš* 'камень'), etc. Cf. also Qïrq. *balakaj* 'дитятко' : *bala* 'дитя', Qqalp. *balaqaj* 'дитяко' : *bala* 'дитя'.

8. *Balaqači*

SH, §§ 53. Member of the Besüt clan, envoy of Ambaqai qahan.

In Poucha's opinion (1956: 88) it goes back to MMo. *balaqačin* 'Stadtverwalter' (Haeninsch 1939: 12). Consequently he considers *Balaqači* as a derivative of *balaqa*. (root of *balaqasun* 'Stadt', plur. *balaqat* in the *Secret History*) supplied with the denominal suffix *.či(n)*. Mainly due to difficulties of a semantic nature I cannot agree with this interpretation.

Balaqači of the *Secret History* may be a derivative of the Turkic word *bala* 'child' treated above, supplied with the denominal diminutive suffix *.qač*. This sort of personal name is the Tat. Kaz. *Tiŋkeč* (< *tiŋ* 'равный, ровный'). *.qač*/*.keč* must have been a compound suffix in Turkic, consisting of the denominal suffixes *.qa* and *.č*. Here are a few examples: Tat. Kaz. *karlïgač* 'ласточка' : *karlï* 'снежный', Bašq. *karluγas* 'id.', Tat. Kaz. *jalangač* 'голый' : *jalan* 'поле; голая местность', Tat. Kaz. *kajenigeč* 'старшая сестра мужа *или* жены' : *kajene* 'младший брат жены', etc. Since no final *-č* is present in Mongol, the *-i* in *Balaqači* can be explained as an unorganic addition typical of Mongol. (The same *-i* will be observed in the name *Qabiči*, see below.) So *Balaqači* is a Turkic personal name in the *Secret History*, registered in this corrupt form as compared to the original *Balaqač*.

This interpretation of the personal name *Balaqači* enables us to solve some problems in reading the text of the *Secret History*. I think that the Sino-Mongolists mechanically transcribed the syllables of the Chinese characters in the case of *balaqasun* 'Stadt', plur. *balaqat*, *balaqačin* 'Stadtverwalter'. No doubt, these readings must be corrected to *balqasun*, *balqat*, *balqačin* (or rather *balγasun*, *balγad*, *balγačin*) in the text of the *Secret History*.

The form *Balγaγči* of the *Altan Tobči* (Kozin 1941: 326; Ligeti 1974: 26) is a corrupt form of *Balaqači*.

9. *Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči ~ Qabiči ba'atur*

SH, §§ 43, 45. Son of Bodončar, Činggis khan's ancestor.

Concerning this name Professor Cleaves (1949b: 506) writes as follows: «The words *Barim Ši'iratu* mean «Having a Lower Leg Only as Long as the Breadth of a Fist.» Applied to Qabiči, the epithet *Barim Ši'iratu* is a nickname, which was given to him probably to make sport of his short legs.» Allow me to add some remarks to Cleaves' statement.

Barim corresponds to OT *barïm* '1. скот, 2. имущество'. Cf. also Hung. *barom* 'cattle', a Bulgaro-Turkic loan-word in which an old Turkic semantic feature is preserved. So *barïm* must be a Turkic word even if Professor Cleaves' equation with Mo. Less. *barim* 'grip, width of fist', Khal. *barim* 'мера в обхват пальцами руки (равная ширине ладони)', Bur. *barim* 'клок; пук, пучок; прядь', Ord. *barim* 'unité de mesure: un travers de point' seemed to be justifiable. Namely this Mo. *barim* 'width of fist' cannot occur in a compound with *ši'iratu* 'having shank'.

As for *Ši'iratu* the word *ši'ira* is well attested in Mongol. Cf. MMo. *ši'ira* 'Huf' (Haenisch 1939: 143), Mo. Less. *sigir-a* 'shank, leg (of animals)', Kal. *šiir*, Kalm. *šir^{e}*, Bur. *šiire* 'id.', Ord. *šīratu* 'ayant les parties inferieures des pattes'. But this word is a loanword in Mongol, cf. Alt. *šijrak* 'бабка (нижний сустав ноги скота, колено)', Qïrq. *šijrak* 'голень, большая берцовая кость', *šijraktuu* 'перен.' (о человеке) длинноногий'.

The component *Barim Ši'iratu* '(he who) has a shank like that of a cattle, (a man) of cattle shank' was no doubt a sobriquet referring to some peculiarity of *Qabiči ba'atur*'s leg. This is corroborated by the fact that *Qabiči* also occurs separately in the *Secret History*, without *Barim Ši'iratu*.

As for *Qabiči*, I think it could be connected with OT *qapïγ, qapuγ* 'ворота, врата; дверь', Türkm. *gapï* 'дверь; калитка', Qqalp. *qapï* 'дверь', Osm. *kapı, kapu* 'door, gate', etc. The denominal diminutive suffix *.č* is added to this word, cf. OT *atač уменьш. от ata* 'паленька': *ata* 'отец'. Consequently an OT **Qapïč* would mean 'Little Door'. A similar formation can be observed in the personal name OT *Saranuč* (~ OT *saran* 'скупой, скряга', Qïrq. *saran* 'id.'). In the Turkic onomatology the name *Qabïč* 'Little Door' belongs to the subgroup «First object caught sight of after birth» of the Fortious Names (Omen-names) according to Rásonyi's classification (1976: 214—215).

In the *Altan tobči* the same name *Qabiči* occurs (Kozin 1941: 352; Ligeti 1974: 23). As no final *-č* may occur in Mongol, the final *-i* in *Qabiči* can be regarded as a regular Mongol addition. In the Chinese sources, the name *Qabiči* crops up several times (Hambis 1954: 172, 174—175; Pelliot 1959: 782—783).

10. *Belgünütei*

SH, §§ 10, 18—20, 23, 42. Son of Dobun mergen, Chingis khan's ancestor, himself the ancestor of the oboq Belgünüt.

Concerning the oboq-name *Belgünüt* Pelliot (Pelliot—Hambis 1951: 398) writes as follows: «Mais le nom est incertain, un nom d'homme n'est pas un nom de tribu, et la restitution la plus normale serait **Biläktü.*» In this case it seems easy to refute Pelliot's view. The oboq-name *Belgünüd* also occurs in the *Altan tobči*, at the corresponding place of § 42 of the *Secret History*, and its reading leaves no doubt. At the corresponding places of §§ 10, 18, 23, and 42 of the *Secret History* the name *Belgünütei* also crops up in the *Altan tobči* (Kozin 1941: 322—323, 325; Ligeti 1974: 15—16, 18, 22). Both names, *Belgünüt* and *Belgünütei* can easily be segmented and explained.

The name *Belgünütei* goes back to OT *belgü* '(при)знак, примета', Qïrq. *belgi* '1. знак; метка; 2. признак; 3. помета, отметка; 4. примета', Tuba *belgi* 'гадание, ворожба', Alt. *belge* 'id.', Türkm. *belgi* '1. тавро, клеймо; метка; 2. знак, метка, значок; 3. отметка, помета, пометка; 4. оценка, отметка', Qqalp. *belgi* '1. знак; признак; метка; примета; 2. обозначение; 3. эмблема', Osm. *belgi* 's Zeichen; s Erkennungsmerkmal; s Erkennungszeichen; s Unterscheidungsmerkmal', etc. Then the denominal diminutive suffix *.nutai, .nütei* is added to the word. This *.nUtAi* is a compound suffix the first (*.nu./.nü.*) component of which is not attested to my knowledge. But its illabial variant *.na./.ne.* can be pointed out as a separate suffix in the OT personal name *Bekinä* (< *beki* 'hero'), Qïrq. *ǰakšïna* 'хорошенький, миловидный': *ǰakši* 'хороший', *tatïna* 'приятный, милый' (Oruzbaeva 1964: 296). The second component of *.nütei* is a well-known denominal diminutive suffix in Turkic. This *.nü.tej* also occurs in the name *Bügünütej*, see below. All in all the name *Belgünütei* is of Turkic origin in its entirety.

Now the interpretation of the oboq-name *Belgünüd* has become much easier. The diminutive suffix *.tai* is omitted from the personal name, and the root is supplied with the Mo. plural suffix *.d*, which serves as a designation of the clans and tribes. E.g. *Bügünütei* n. pr. m.: *Bügünüt* 'the name of an oboq', *J̌ewüredei* n. pr. m.: *J̌ewüred* 'the name of an oboq', etc.

11. *Botu*

SH, §§ 120, 202. Botu, or Botu güregen is a princely son-in-law and colonel, coming from the Ikires.

Mr. Poucha was the first to explain this name (Poucha 1956: 90), but his interpretation («*Bütü*, wohl zu MNT *bütü'egü, büte'egü* «erledigen»). is

unacceptable. The name *Botu* can be derived from OT *botu, butu* 'верблюжонок; *перен.* дитя, детка, любезный', Qïrq. *boto* '1. верблюжонок по первому году, верблюжонок-сосунок; 2. *слово служащее для выражения ласки или удивления*', Özb. *bota* '1. верблюжонок; 2. *перен.* дитя, дитятко', Qqalp. *bota* 'верблюжонок-первогодок'; *botam* 'мой верблюжонок' (ласковое обращение к ребенку), Qar. *bota* 'верблюжонок'. The meanings of the Qïrq., Özb., and Qqalp. data show that the Turkic *botu* 'foal of a camel', as a personal name, belongs to the group of pet names. In Rásonyi's classification (1976: 212) these names are called Desiderata Names.

The same name occurs in the *Yüan-shih* (Hambis 1945: 72; Hambis 1954: 29) as *Botu*, and at Rashid al-Din (I, 1: 132, 164, 165; I, 2: 131) as *Butu*. The name and its bearer crops up in the *Altan tobči* (Kozin 1941: 426; Ligeti 1974: 78), as *Butu*.

12. *Bügünütei*

SH, §§ 10, 18—20, 23, 42. Son of Dobun mergen, Chingis khan's ancestor.

Mr. Poucha's explanation (1956: 89) is unacceptable (*bügün* 'die Vorhandenen' cf. Haenisch 1939: 20). The basis of the name *Bügünütei* is OT *bögü, bügü* 'мудрый, мудрец' (cf. Boyle 1971: 63). It is supplied with the denominal diminutive suffix *.nütei* (for the suffix see under *Belgünütei*). So *Belgünütei* is a Turkic name in its entirety. In Rásonyi's classification it belongs to the «Desiderata Names» (1976: 210—211).

13. *Ča'adai*

SH, §§ 242—243, 254—255, 258, 260, 269—271, 276—277, 279—280. Second son of Chingis khan, later khan of the Mongols.

Concerning the name *Ča'adai* Professor Cleaves writes as follows (1949a: 418): «I suspect that *Čayadai* was the original Mongolian form of this name. ... *Čayadai* means «The White One», «He who Is White».»

Pelliot (1959: 251—252) dwelt on this name rather lengthily in his posthumous work «Notes on Marco Polo». He wrote as follows: ««Č a γ a t a i» i s a p u r e l y M o n g o l i a n n a m e. [Italics mine — Bese.] Ch'ien-lung's Commissioners (*Yüan shih yü chieh*, 1, 16 *b*) changed it to «Čaγantai», which they explained as *čayān*, «white», with the adjectival suffix *-tai*, «having» (cf. also *Bl.* II, 153; the «Čaγantai buqa» which BLOCHET adduces from the same work, 17, 9 *a*, is valueless, being an absurd restoration of a name the first part of which has nothing to do with Čaγatai or *Čaγantai). Although the correction to *Čaγantai is arbitrary and useless, I think that the derivation is correct:

Čaγātai, also read Čaγādai, must be *čayān* + *tai*, in the same way as Ulātai (see «Oulatai»), Ulādai, Hulātai or Hulādai is formed with *ula'an* > *ulān* or *hula'an* > *hulān*, «red», and *-tai*. This type of derivation is no longer alive in Mongolian, and our Mongol dictionaries give «Čaγadai», as KOWALEWSKI reads it, only as the name of Chinghiz-khan's second son.

«Čaγātai» and «Čaγādai» are indistinguishable in Mongolian script, since the same letter serves for *t* as for *d*. On the other hand, Mongolian *-γ-* can represent both a real *-γ-* or merely an intervocalic hiatus of the type *Ča'ādai or *Ča'ātai. Curiously enough, the latter value, which is suggested by Plan Carpine's Chiaaday, was also the one adopted by the transcribers of the *Secret History*, who always read «Ča'adai» (many mentions of the name occur in §§ 242—280). In the same way, they read «Ča'alun» the feminine name formed with *čayān* and the ancient feminine suffix *-lun* (§ 157). A still more contracted form is represented by 察帶 Ch'a-tai, *Čādai, in *YS*, 63, 15 *b*, if Čaγatai is meant as I believe him to be and if a character has not been dropped between *ch'a* and *tai*. At any rate, 察阿台 Ch'a-a-t'ai (=Ča'ātai) occurs twice under A. D. 1228—1229 in *YS*, 31, 1 *b*, 2 *b*.

All other Chinese transcriptions are based on Čaγatai and Čaγadai. We find 察合台 Ch'a-ha-t'ai, Čaγatai (in *YS*, 1, 7 *a*, [*s. a.* 1213]; 8 *b* [*s. a.* 1221]; 107, 5 *a*; and in *Shêng-wu ch'in-ch'êng lu* [WANG Kou-wei ed. 50 *b*]; 察哈台 Ch'a-ha-t'ai, Čaγatai (in *YS*, 120, 2 *a*; 124, 6 *b*); 察合帶 Ch'a-ha-tai, Čaγadai (in *YS*, 68, 3 *a*; 69, 5 *a*, 72, 1 *b*; 74, 1 *b*; 茶合觧 Ch'a-ha-tai, Čaγadai (in *YS*, 95, 2 *b*, and in *Hei-Ta shih-lio* [WANG Kou-wei ed. 18 *b*]; and 察哈歹 Ch'a-ha-tai, Čaγadai (in *YS*, 119, 8 *a*). In the *Secret History*, Čaγatai is often respectfully addressed as «Ča'adai *aqa*», «Elder brother Čaγatai»; the *YS* too, 124, 6 *b*, speaks of the grandsons of «Čaγatai *aqa*».»

Concerning Pelliot's very thorough interpretation, here are some remarks.

In interpreting the name *Ča'adai* Pelliot regards the name *Ulātai, Hulātai*, etc. as an important analogy. The word *(h)ula'an* 'red' is well attested in the text of the *Secret History* (cf. *hula'an* 'rot', *hula'ada-* 'rot sein, rot werden (von Blut)', *hulalu-* 'rotglühen' Haenisch 1939: 78), and in other Mongol texts as well. The word *hula'an* is transcribed in the *Secret History* with three syllables: *hu-la-'an*. This transcription corresponds to *ulaγan* in the Uigur-Mongol script, and *ulān* (< *ula'an* < *ulayan*) of the contemporary Mongol dialects. The syllable *la*, which seems to be important in explaining the word, is rendered by the Chinese character 剌 in the *Secret History*. The Sino-Mongolists interpreted this Chinese character as *la*, with a short *a* vowel. The same Chinese character occurs in the transcription of the personal names *Hulatai, Hulaǰin* (Hambis 1945: 79; Hambis 1954: 96, 131, t. 11) in the *Yüan-shi*. In this case this character is read as *lā*, with a long *ā* vowel, both by Pelliot and by Hambis (1945: 80): *Hulātai, Hulāǰin*. Their reading seems totally arbitrary, since both in the *Yüan-shi* and in the *Secret History* the

character 剌 was regularly used by the Chinese scribes to render the syllables *la, ra* (with a short *a* vowel). So there is no sufficient ground to suppose a long *ā* in the second syllable of the names *Oulatai* (in Marco Polo, cf. also Pelliot 1959: 798—799) and *Hulatai, Hulaǰin* (in the *Yüan-shi*), as Pelliot did in order to corroborate his supposition.

Perhaps it has some proof value that in the new editions of Rashid al-Din's chronicle (I, 2: 53, II: 14, 90; Boyle 1971: 137, 139, 197) the word is interpreted as *Uladai, Huladai*. The fact cannot be overlooked either that another name *Hulaču* occurs at Rashid al-Din (II, 127; Boyle 1971: 198, 311). So we are in the position to suppose that the Turkic diminutive suffix *.dai* and *.ču* was added to an unknown (Turkic?) noun **(h)ula*. (This supposition is, however, weakened by the existence of the form *Hulaǰin* where the suffix *.ǰin* is generally added to Mongol words.) It seems to be less important that a word going back to MMo. **ula'adai* is attested in some modern Mongol dialects: Bur. *ulādai* уменьш. от *ulān* '1. атр. красенький; 2. краснушка (о корове)'. Ord. *ulādā* 'nom qu'on donne a un chien roux foncé; n. pr. m.'. This word could have been transcribed in Chinese as *hu-la-'a-dai*, but this solution was consequently avoided in the case of *Hulatai* and *Hulaǰin*.

Pelliot's interpretation of the name *Čaγatai* is no more convincing than the former one. Mo. *čaγan* (Khal. *cagān*. Ord. *čāgān*, Bur. *sagān*, etc.) 'white' is transcribed in two ways in the *Secret History*: *čaqa'an* and *čaqān* (*cha-ka-an* and *cha-kan* in the Chinese transcription). The name *Čaγatai* is always written as *Ča-a-dai* in the *Secret History*, and as *Ča-ha-tai, Ča-ha-dai* in the source quoted by Pelliot (and not as **Ča-ka-a-dai*, which would be the normal transcription of a *Čaγādai*).

The Chinese characters 合 and 哈 respectively always render the syllables *'a* and *qa* respectively in the Chinese transcription of the *Secret History* and other Sino-Mongol documents. So the form *Ča'adai* of the *Secret History*, and the forms *Čaqatai, Čaqadai* of other Chinese sources cannot be interpreted as *Ča'ādai, Čaqādai, Čaqātai*, consequently the name itself cannot be derived from MMo. *čaqa'an* 'white' + the suffix *.tai*.

In my opinion *Ča'adai* can be derived from Qaz. dial. *čaqa* 'child', Tat. Kaz. *čaga* in *bala-čaga* 'детвора; дитя', Türkm. *čaga* '1. ребёнок, дитя', Qïrq. *čaka* in *bala-čaka* 'дети (по отношению к родителям), семья (по отношению к её главе)' + the well-known Turkic suffix *.dai/.tai*. As a common noun *čaqa* 'Kind' occurs twice in the text of the *Secret History* (Haenisch 1939: 25). Here it is a Turkic loan-word of MMo. Besides, *Čaqa* is the name of the Tangut prince's, Burqan's daughter in § 249 of the *Secret History*.

On the basis of the Chinese transcription two MMo. readings of the name *Čaγadai* are possible: *Ča'adai* (i.e. *a* + hiatus + *a*) and *Čaqadai* (i.e. *a* + *q* + *a*). An intervocalic *-q-* also often becomes voiced in OT, e.g. *joqad-* 'to dissappear' ~ *joγad-* 'id.', *ökä* 'wise' ~ *ögä* 'id.', *bökä* 'hero' ~ *bögä* 'id.', etc. (cf.

also Räsänen 1949: 153—154). MMo. *a'a* is a regular equivalent of OT **aγa* in *Ča'adai*.

In Turkic onomatology the name *Ča'adai* belongs to the group of hypocoristic names such as e.g. *Ačai, Ačinai, Bala, Balaqači*. So the name of *Ča'adai*, second son of Chingis khan is of Turkic origin.

The MMo. word *čaqa* 'child' later disappeared from the Mongol vocabulary. That is why «our Mongol dictionaries give «Čaγadai», as Kowalewski reads it, only as the name of Chingis-khan's second son», as Pelliot remarks in his work cited above.

14. *Ča'alun*

SH, § 157. Daughter of the Merkit Toqto'a beki.

The name was correctly interpreted by Mr. Poucha (1956: 83) as a derivative of Qaz. *čaqa*, Türkm. *čaga* 'child', etc. + the denominal diminutive suffix *.lUn*. The suffix *.lUn* occurs only in female names, e.g. *Hö'elün, Nomulun, Temülün*, etc. In Turkic onomatology the name *Ča'alun* belongs to the group of hypocoristic names.

15. *Čečeyiken*

SH, § 239. Chingis khan's daughter, The Oirat Inalči's wife.

Mr. Poucha's interpretation (1956: 83) is not good. He writes as follows: «wohl aus mong.-türk. *čäčä(k)* 'Blüte' mit angefügtem hypokoristischem Suffix *-i* (vgl. Ramstedt, Einführung, II, S. 61, ...) und dem Deminutivsuffix *-gän*; also etwa «Unser Blümlein».»

To my mind *Čečeyiken* can be explained from Qïrq. *čeče* 'мать', Qaz. *šeše* 'id.', Qqalp. *šeše* обращение к женщине 'бабушка' + denominal diminutive *.i* + *.qan/.ken*. Most probably the diminutive *.qan/.ken* was added to the Turkic derivative *čeče.i*. Personal names of the same formation are *Buqaiqan* in the *Yüan-shi* (Hambis 1954: t. 4, 31), (< OT *buqa* 'бык производитель') and *Qoluiqan* in the *Secret History*. *Čečeyiken* can be regarded as a name of the hypocoristic nature.

16. *Čimbai*

SH, §§ 84—85, 198, 219. Son of Sorqan Šira, member of the Süldüs clan.

Concerning the names *Čanai, Čimbai, Darbai, Dörbei* Mr. Poucha (1956: 87) writes as follows: «Bildungen mit dem Suffix der Hypokoristika *-i*, wobei die letzten drei Nomina einen weiteren Suffix *-ba* (mit *-i* verbunden *-bai*) aufweisen. ... Dann kann ... abgeleitet werden und *Čimbai* vielleicht von MNT, *čima* 'Seufzerlaut', ...». This view cannot be accepted.

The name *Čimbai* cannot be explained from Mongol. Radlov (III, 2158) mentions a name *Čïnbaj*, which corresponds to Qqalp. *Šïmbaj* n. pr. m. The first component of this name is OT *čïn* '1. правда, истина; 2. правдивый, содержащий истину, правду, правильный; 4. настоящий, подлинный', Qïrq. *čïn* 'истина, правда; истинный, настоящий, действительный', Türkm. *čïn* 'id.', Qqalp. *šïn* 'id.', Qaz. *šïn* 'id.', etc. The second component is OT *baj* '1. богатый; 2. *перен.* богатый, щедрый', Osm. *bay* 'a rich man; (*now*) a gentleman', etc. This common noun is one of the most frequently used elements in Turkic compound personal names. In these compound names it has lost its original meaning to a certain extent, and is used as a hypocoristic suffix. E.g. Qïrq. *Sarïbaj* (< *sarï* 'желтый'), *Tolubaj* (< *tolu* 'полный'), *Kazakbaj* (< *kazak* 'Qazaq'), Alt. *Akčabaj* (< *akča* 'копейка; деньги'), *Očumaj* (< *očυ* 'младший'), Qqalp. *Qalabaj* (< *qala* 'город'), *Oraqbaj* (< *oraq* 'серп'), etc.

The personal name *Čimbai* occurs at Rashid al-Din (II: 66, 76—77) as the name of one of J̌oči's sons. This name is read as *Čimtai* by Hambis (1945: 55) and Boyle (1971: 99).

Čimbai is a Turkic personal name.

17. *El Qutur*

SH, § 152. A Kereit chief.

Concerning this name Pelliot (Pelliot—Hambis 1951: 420) writes as follows: «Le nom est turc, et le premier élément est *el* 'peuple soumis'; 'paix' (turc *il*; mong. *el*); quant au second élément, le sens sera différent selon que nous le lirons *qotur* ou *qutur*, ce que je ne vois pas actuellement le moyen de décider.»

The first element of *El Qutur* is really identical with OT *el*, *il* '1. племенной союз, племенная организация; 2. народ', Qïrq. '1. племенной союз; род; народ; 4. страна, государство', Türkm. *il* '1. народ, люди; 2. страна, край', Osm. *el* 'one other than oneself; people outside one's own family; people *in general*; a people, tribe; the country of a people *or* tribe', etc.

As for the second element of the name two possibilities are given. It may be compared with OT *qutur* 'бешеный', or with OT *qutur* 'благородный олень, марал (?), як (?)'.

If we reckon with the latter possibility, the meaning of the name is 'Empire + Deer'. Analogous names having two components are: OT *El Buγa* 'Empire + Bull', *El Toγan* 'Empire + Falcon', *Il Arslan* 'Empire + Lion', *Il Bars* 'Empire + Tiger' (Rásonyi 1976: 212). In these names *el*, *il* 'empire' is always connected with an animal name. Obviously this interpretation is the proper one, since no analogy to a name like 'Empire + Raging' can be found. The name *El Qutur* 'Empire + Deer' belongs to the subgroup «Names decisive of a fate» of the Desiderata Names in Rásonyi's system (1976: 210—212).

So *El Qutur* of the *Secret History* bears a Turkic name.

18. *Iduqadai* ~ *Idoqudai*

SH, § 243. A colonel of Ča'adai.

Concerning this name Poucha (1956: 89) writes as follows: «*Iduqudai*, 'Mann von Iduqut (Stadtname)' (?).» Poppe's view is the following: «*iduqudai* 243 from SH *idu'ut* Uigh. *idiqut* 'the ruler of the Uighurs'.» So he thinks that the final *-t* is dropped in *idiqut*, and this mutilated root is supplied with the diminutive suffix *.dAi*. This interpretation seems quite acceptable, but another one is likewise imaginable. Perhaps the Turkic denominal diminutive suffix *.Aj* is added to *iduqut* 'титул верховных уйгурских правителей' (for *.Aj* see under *Ačai*). Be that as it may, *Iduqudai* belongs to the category of personal names that are formed from titles. Such personal names in OT are *Toyïnaq* (< *toyïn* 'Buddhist monk' + *.aq*), *Qančuq* (*qan* 'khan' + *.čuq*), *Bekinä* (*beki* 'hero' + *.nä*).

19. *Il Öge* ~ *Il Ögei*

SH, § 243. A chief in service of Ögödej. At Rashid al-Din (I, 1: 95, 121; I, 2: 275, 278) he is called *Iluke*, *Ilukaj*, a man of J̌alair descent.

In Poucha's opinion (1956: 90) *Ilüge* may be equated with *ilgä* 'Himmel' in the *Secret History*. To my knowledge no such word exists in Mongol or Turkic.

The Sino-Mongolists dealing with the *Secret History* regarded this name as one word. Their opinion may be justified by the forms *Ilüge* in the *Altan tobči* (Kozin 1941: 387; Ligeti 1974: 172) and *Ilügei* (Kozin 1941: 381; Ligeti 1974: 157). On the other hand, no plausible explanation can be given on a Mongol basis.

I think that *Ilüge*, *Ilügei* is a compound name having two elements, and can be derived from Turkic. The first component is OT *il*, *el* '1. племенной союз, племенная организация; 2. народ; 3. государство', Qïrq. *el* 'племенной союз; род; племя; народ', Osm. *el* 'one other than oneself; people outside one's own family; people *in general*; a people, tribe; the country of a people *or* tribe', etc. The second component is OT *ögä* 'мудрый; щедрый'. The name *Il Ögä* means 'Empire + Wise'. The same type of name can be observed in the name of Kül tegin's and Bilgä qagan's mother, *El Bilgä* ('Empire + Wise') *qatun*, or in the name of Melik Temür's daughter, *Il Qutluq* ('Empire + Blessed', 'Empire + Holy'). In Rásonyi's classification (1976: 210—

212) these names belong to the group of Desiderata Names. So the correct form of this name of the *Secret History* and the *Altan tobči* is *Il Öge* or *Ilöge*.

Ilügei, or more precisely *Il Ögei* is a variant of this *Il Öge*, supplied with the denominal diminutive suffix *.j*. The equivalent of this *Ögei* is the OT common noun *ögäj* in *ögäj aqa* 'старший сводный брат', *ögäj ata* 'отчим', *ögäj oγul* 'пасынок', *ögäj qïz* 'падчерица'.

20. *Itürgen*

SH, §§ 177, 184. Envoy of the Kereit Ong khan.

The name *Itürgen* has two components. The first element is identical with OT *ït*, Qïrq. *ït*, Alt. *ijt*, Tat. Kaz. *et*, Osm. it 'dog', etc. The second element *Ürgen* is a *nomen deverbale* formed from OT *ür-* 'лаять', Qïrq. *ür-*, Alt. *ür-*, Türkm. *üjr-*, Tat. Kaz. *örü-* 'id.; etc. + the suffix *.γan/.gän*. (Cf. Tat. Kaz. *örgen et* 'лающая собака'.) So the meaning of the name *It Ürgen* or *Itürgen* is 'bark of a dog, the dog is barking'. In Rásonyi's system (1976: 214–215) this type of name belongs to the subgroup «First animal or person caught sight of after birth» of the Fortious Names (Omen-names). I think that the reading *Idürgen* based on the Chinese transcription of the Ming period, can be corrected to *Itürgen* in the text of the *Secret History*.

So the name *Itürgen* is of Turkic origin, and it cannot be accidental that its bearer is of Kereit descent.

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Abbreviations

Alt. = Баскаков–Тощакова, *Ойротско-русский словарь*, Москва 1947.
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