Bāzār seem to depict the Ghaznavid palace guards with maces on their shoulders, although the heads of the weapons are unfortunately not discernible ...«. Wie dem auch sei, die Keule war eine charakteristische Waffe der Petschenegen.

Als ich vor sechzig Jahren meine Laufbahn in der Turkologie begann, da gab es auf diesem Gebiet einige große Männer, die sich meistens nebensächlich mit der Turkologie beschäftigt haben. Heute gibt es fünfzig begabte und geschulte Turkologen, hinter denen eine auf hunderte belaufende erfolgreich arbeitende junge Generation steht. Den einen Tag bekommt man das Alttürkische Wörterbuch aus Moskau, den anderen das Etymologische Wörterbuch aus Helsinki, den dritten den Index zu RADLOFFS Wörterbuch aus Wiesbaden usw.

In den zwanziger Jahren hatte ich es nicht gewagt, das oghusische Stammessystem auf Grund der Abhandlung von HOUTSMA zu bearbeiten. Heute habe ich das Werk von FARUK SÜMER, Oğuzlar, und die Oghusengeschichte von KARL JAHN in der Hand, besitze die Erfahrung meiner Arbeit in Budapest und Moskau : heute könnte ich es versuchen, die Aufgabe mit Aussicht auf Erfolg zu lösen.

Zuerst betone ich : die Lesungen der Fachleute sind unwichtig : bei JAHN [5] habe ich die schriftlichen Formen und den Text der Tradition, bei FARUK SÜMER [6] habe ich die Aussprache —, beide in gesicherter Form (das ist natürlich nicht alles, aber das ist eine solide Grundlage). Sehen wir auch hier ein Beispiel.

Vor sechzig Jahren habe ich mir gedacht : was für ein Wunderding ist der oghusische Name *Dudurga* 'Herrschaftsgründer', den ich bei VÁMBÉRY (Das Türkenvolk, S. 5) fand. Jetzt sehe ich es anders : JAHN gibt (S. 45) die schriftlichen Belege und FARUK SÜMER (S. 253) die Aussprache. Der Name lautet in Anatolien *Dodurga* und *Todurga*. Der unschätzbare Kāšġarī hat *Totïrqa* (nicht *Tutïrqa*). Lautgeschichtlich ist alles in der schönsten Ordnung. Und was ist dieser *Todurġa* ? Der von Rašīd ad-Dīn reproduzierte, in jämmerlichem Zustande befindliche alte Tradition unbekannter Herkunft, sagt bei der Erklärung des Volksnamens *Salur* : »Reiche erobern und Recht sprechen« (= 'mächtig'). Das ist natürlich ein Märchen. Die Bedeutung von *Salur* ist bekannt, das ist »angriffslustig«. Der Name *Tod-ur*[*-ġa*] ist ein Partizip vom Zeitwort alttürkisch *tod-*, — osmtürk. *doy-* (das *d* im anatolischen *Dodurġa* ist ein geschichtliches Überbleibsel), kiptsch. *toz-*, jak. *tot-*, tschuw. *tïr*(*an*)- 'satt werden' (es gibt auch *toq* 'gesättigt', s. RÄSÄNEN, EtWb, M. PALLÓ, UAJb 46.19), oder ein Imperativ des Faktitivs desselben Zeitwortes.

Und siehe : bei dem Stammesnamen *Qarqïn* (wohl zu *qarġï* 'Kraft, Macht') steht die Erklärung : »der große Gastmahle veranstaltet und (die Gäste) sättigt«. Das gehört nicht hierher, sondern zu *Todurġa* (und die Erklärung von *Todurġa* gehört zu *Qarqïn*).

Eine unerschöpfliche Fundgrube ist die neuere sowjetische Literatur über Namen aller Art. Hier muß ich aber abbrechen, ich wollte im zweiten Teile meiner Abhandlung nur auf einige fördernde und hindernde Momente in meiner Arbeit hinweisen.

[5] Die Gesch. der Oguzen des Rašīd ad-Dīn. Wien, Österr. Ak. d. Wissensch. 1969. Ph. Klasse, Denkschriften, 100. Bd.

[6] Oğuzlar. Ankara Univ. DTCFak. Yayinlari : 170. 1967.

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On Some Proper Names in the Secret History

By NICHOLAS POPPE (Seattle)

The *Secret History* contains a large number of proper names such as names of persons, clans, tribes, geographical names, etc. Their total number amounts to about 850, including variant forms of the same names. Mongolian proper names have been studied very little. One of the interesting problems of their investigation is the morphological structure of proper names. In this article, some suffixes will be examined which occur in names of clans and persons.

1. Suff. *-čar*/*-čer*

This suffix occurs in a few personal names: *qaračar* 120 [1] from SH [2] *qara* 'black', cf. Mo. [3] *qaračar* 'blackish', Kh. [4] *xarcar* 'id.'; *qoričar* 2 (see *qoričar mergen*) [5] from *qori* which is easily recognized in the name *qorilartai mergen* which is formed with the suff. *-tai*, the remaining portion of the name being the Turkic plural in *-lar* of *qori*, cf. Buriat *xori*, the name of the largest Buriat tribe; *toqučar* 257 ; *taičar* 128 from *tai*, cf. Turk. *tai* 'colt' ; *bodončar* 17 from Mo. *bodoŋ* 'boar', Kh. *bodoŋ* 'id.'.

The suffix *-čar* is well-known. It occurs as *-čar*/*-čer* in Mo. [6], *-car*/*-cer* in Kh. [7], *-sar*/*-ser* in Buriat [8], etc. It forms diminutive adjectives (such as 'blackish', 'yellowish', etc.) from adjectives, and pejorative forms of nouns, e.g., Mo. *boročar* 'greyish' from *boro* 'grey'; Mo. *noyačar* 'princeling' from *noyan* 'prince'. In Buriat, this suffix forms only pejorative forms [9], e.g., *noyosor* 'princeling' from *noyoŋ* 'prince'; *xunser* 'a contemptible and insignificant person' (Russian *čelovečiško*) from *xuŋ* 'man, person'; *basagasar* a contemptuous expression for a girl (= Russian *devčonka*) from *basagaŋ* 'girl', etc.

A variant form of the same suffix is Mo. *-nčar*/*-nčer*, Kh. *-ncar*/*-ncer* [10], which forms nouns from nouns. The nouns derived denote remote degrees of relationship and names of animals which resemble animals denoted by the primary nouns, e.g., Mo. *ǰigenčer* 'great-grandson, great-granddaughter (descendants of Ego's daughter)' from *ǰige* 'grandson, granddaughter (des-

[1] The numbers following the proper names refer to the respective sections of the *Secret History*, see PAUL PELLIOT: *Histoire Secrète des mongols*, Paris 1949.

[2] *Secret History*, see E. HAENISCH: *Wörterbuch zu Mangḫol un niuca tobca'an* (*Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi*), *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. Leipzig 1939.

[3] Script Mongolian (same as Written Mongolian).

[4] Khalkha.

[5] In HAENISCH's dictionary and in his reconstructed Mongolian text, this name is given incorrectly as *Horicar*, see E. HAENISCH: *Mangḫol un niuca tobca'an* (*Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi*), *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen aus dem chinesischen Wortlaut wiederhergestellt*. Wiesbaden 1962, p. 1.

[6] N. POPPE: *Grammar of Written Mongolian*. Wiesbaden 1954, p. 40.

[7] Only in a few words.

[8] *Grammatika burjatskogo jazyka, Fonetika i morfologija*. Moskva 1962, p. 70.

[9] N. POPPE: *Buriat Grammar*. Bloomington, Indiana 1960, p. 87.

[10] *Orčin cagijn mongol xėl züj*. Erönxij redaktor Akademič S. LUVSANVANDAN. Ulaanbaatar 1966, pp. 79-80.

cendants of Ego's daughter)'; Mo. *gučinčar* 'the son of Ego's great-great-grandson' from *guči* 'great-grandson'; Mo. *činončar* 'jackal' from *činua* 'wolf'. In Khalkha stems in *-ncar* are also diminutive forms and adjectives denoting fondness of or propensity towards the objects denoted by the primary stems, e.g., *zēncer* = Mo. *ǰigenčer* see *supra*; *atancar* 'a small castrated camel' from *ata* 'castrated camel'; *zūwancar* 'ellipsoid' from *zūwaŋ* 'oval'; *arxincar* 'fond of brandy' from *arxi* 'brandy'.

The suff. *-nsar/-nser* occurs also in Buriat. There it forms adjectives which denote the inclination to or love for something, e.g., *ugenser* 'talkative' from *uge* 'word'.

This suffix occurs only in one word in the SH, cf. *qo'olančar* 'gluttonous' = Mo. *qoγolančar* 'id.' from *qoγola* 'food', Kh. *xōloncor* 'gluttonous' from *xōl* 'food'. It functions exactly as the Buriat suff. *-nsar*, i.e., the words in question denote inclination to or love for something.

2. Suff. *-dai/-dei*

This suffix occurs in male personal names and in nouns which denote the affiliation with a particular clan.

A. Personal names:

dolo'adai 202, cf. Ord. [11] *DolōDō* n. pr., Kalm. [12] *dolādv* 'hill' from SH *dolo'an* 'seven' = Mo. *doloγan*, Kh. *dolō*, Kalm. *dolān* 'id.'; *alčidai* 170 from **alči*, cf. Uighurr *alčī* 'crafty, sly'; *ba'aridai* 41 from SH *ba'arin* name of a clan; *borǰigidai* (*mergen*) 3 from SH *borǰigin* name of the clan to which also Chingis Khan belonged; *doqoladai* 46 from Mo.*d ogolaŋ* 'lame', Kh. *dogloŋ*, Bur. *doxoloŋ* 'id.'; *iduqudai* 243 from SH *idu'ut* < Uigh. *idiqut* 'the ruler of the Uighurs'; *ǰaǰiradai/ǰadaradai* 40 from SH *ǰadaran* name of a clan, which is explained as 'foreign people' (*ǰat irgen*) which is but a folk etymology; *ǰewütedei* [13] 43; *ǰirqo'adai* 147 from SH *ǰirqo'an* 'six', cf. Mo. *ǰirguγadai* 'hexagonal; sixth finger on a hand', Kh. *zurgādai* 'id.' and name of a plant, Ord. *DZurgāDō* name of a plant from Mo. *ǰirguγan*, Kh. *zurgā* 'six'; *ǰürčedei* 130 from SH *ǰürčet* 'Ju-chen, name of a Manchu-Tungus nation'; *elǰigedei* 275 from Mo. *elǰigen* 'jackass', Kh. *ilǰig* 'id.'; *qoridai* 141, cf. Bur. *xoridoi mergen* the name of the legendary ancestor of the Khori Buriat [14] from *qori* [15]; Kh. *zalūdai mergeŋ* the name of the main character of an epic saga from *zalū* 'young'; Kh. *zāŋ zalūdai* the name of the hero of Rinchen's novel about a prehistoric man from *zāŋ* 'elephant' and *zalū* 'young'.

B. Nouns denoting affiliation with a clan:

baya'udai 15 a person of the *baya'ut* clan; cf. Mo. *bayan* 'rich'; *doluŋgirdai* 260 a person of the *doluŋgir* clan, cf. Mu. [16] *dolanqir* 'mange'; *adargidai* 46 a person belonging to the *adargin* clan, *vide infra*; *qadagidai* (*qatagidai* would

[11] Ordos.
[12] Kalmuck.
[13] Haenisch has *jao'uredai*; Pelliot gives the form *ǰäwürädäi* which is correct.
[14] *Letopisi xorinskix burjat. Xroniki Tuguldur Toboeva i Vandana Jumsunova.* Perevod N. N. Poppe. Moskva-Leningrad 1940, p. 15.
[15] *Vide supra.*
[16] N. N. Poppe: *Mongol'skij slovar' Mukaddimat al-Adab.* Čast' I-II. Moskva-Leningrad 1938, p. 144.

be correct) 131 a person belonging to the *qatagin* clan, *vide infra*; *merkidei* 54 a person belonging to the *merkit* tribe; *uriaŋqadai* 12 a person belonging to the *uriaŋqan* clan, etc.

The suffix *-dai* occurs in some words in Script Mongolian, Khalkha, Buriat, etc., e.g., Mo. *oboγadai*, Kh. *owōdoi* 'a cone-shaped cap worn by lamas, an honorific term for any hat' from Mo. *oboγa*, Kh. *owō* 'cairn, heap of stones'; Mo. *ǰaŋgudai* 'young antelope'; Mo. *amidai* 'namesake', Kh. *amidai* 'id.' from Mo. *amin* 'life, self'; Bur. *ulādai* 'the red flower of a lily' from *ulāŋ* 'red'; Bur. *dūdei*, Kh. *dūdī* 'dear little brother' from *dū* 'younger brother', Mo. *degüü* 'id.'; Bur. *abagadai* 'dear little uncle' from *abaga*, Kh. *awga* 'uncle (brother of Ego's father)', Mo. *abaga* 'id.'; Bur. *xuxedei* (*mergeŋ*) the name of a shamanistic god from *xuxe* 'blue', Mo. *köke* 'id.' = Turk. *kök* 'sky, blue'.

The basic function of the suffix *-dai/-dei* is that of forming diminutive and caressive expressions. It is, however, not a feminine suffix as Ligeti believes. The example given by him ends in *-tai* but not *-dai* [17].

3. Suff. *-ldai/-ldei*

This suffix is found in some male personal names: *qaraldai* 120 from SH *qara*, cf. Mo. *qara* 'black'; *boroldai* (*suyalbi*) 3 from SH *boro* 'grey', cf. Mo. *boroldai* 'grey' (said of birds and horses), Kh. *boroldoi* 'id.' and 'lark'.

In general, this suffix occurs in relatively few words, e.g., Mo. *abaγaldai* 'a shamanist idol, mask representing a shamanist deity', Kh. *awgaldai* 'id.' from Mo. *abaga* 'uncle (brother of the father)'; Bur. *bōzoldoi* 'devil' from *bōxo* Nom. futuri of *bō-* 'to bind, to make obstacles'; Kh. *xūxeldei* 'doll' from *xūxeŋ* 'child, girl', etc.

The suff. *-ldai* is still productive in Khalkha where it forms nouns from nouns [18]. Its function of a suffix of derivation of proper names has been noted by Diószegi [19].

It is interesting to note that in one known case a word ending in *-ldai* is the name of a female character, namely *šaraldai*, the name of the second wife of the legendary ancestor of the Khori Buriats [20], from *šara* 'yellow'.

4. Suff. *-dar/-der*

This suffix has been found in five proper names: *bolqadar* 279 or *bulqadar* 278 from SH *bolqa/bulqa* 'fight'; *qara'udar* 278 from Mo. *qaraγu* 'care, jealously guarding (one's own herd, etc.)', Kh. *xarū* 'parcimonious'; *temüder* 278 from SH, Mo. *temür* 'iron', Kh. *tömör* 'id.'; *qali'udar* 183 from SH *qali'un* 'brown horse with a black tail and black mane', Mo. *qaliγun* 'otter' and 'brown horse, etc.', Kh. *xalʲu* 'id.'; *yesüder* 274 from SH, Mo. *yesün* 'nine', Kh. *yös* 'id.', cf. Kalm. *yistŋ* personal name [21] from *yisn* 'nine'; Mo. *külčilder* 'anything sour' from *külčil* 'acid, sour'; etc.

[17] L. Ligeti: »À propos de la version mongole des 'Doux acts du Bouddha'«. *AOH* 20 (1967).65.
[18] *Orčin cagijn mongol xēl züj*, p. 80.
[19] V. Diószegi: »The Origins of the Evenki Shaman-Mask of Transbaikalia«. *AOH* 20 (1967). 196.
[20] *Letopisi xorinskix burjat*, p. 15.
[21] G. J. Ramstedt: *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch.* Helsinki 1935, p. 219.

In Buriat there is one clan name ending in *-dar*, namely *xoŋgōdor* from *xoŋgor*, Mo. *qongor* 'a brownish horse'.

5. Suff. *-ldar/-lder*

This suffix is found in the name *quyildar* 171 from Mo. *qui* 'whirlwind, tornado', cf. Kh. *xui*. It is possible, however, that the suffix is *-dar* and *l* belongs to the stem, i.e., *quyil-dar*, although no such stem is known.

The name of one of the West Buriat clans ends in *-lder*, namely *heŋgelder* from *heŋge* < **seŋge* (a Tibetan name) or *heŋgün* < **seŋgüm*, cf. SH *seŋgüm bilge* 47.

6. Suff. *-lun/-lün*

This suffix occurs in a few names of women of noble descent: *ö'elün/hö'elün* 55 the name of Chingis Khan's mother; *temülün* 60 the name of Chingis Khan's sister from SH *temür* 'iron', cf. *temüǰin* Chingis Khan's name; *nomolun* 46 the name of Qaidu's mother from *nom* 'book, doctrine (?)' or *nomon* 'mole (animal) (?)' or *nomoi* 'phlegmatic, slow (?)'.

The suffix *-lun* has been mentioned for the first time by Hambis [22]. It is also found in the names of Buriat epic characters, namely, those of the wives of the main heroes. The rule is that the wife of the main character has a name which is formed with the suffix *-laŋ/-leŋ* < *-*lun/-*lün* from the name of her husband. Thus, when the king's name is *altaŋ xāŋ* 'Golden Khan', his wife's name is *altalaŋ xataŋ*; when the king's name is *muŋgeŋ xāŋ* 'Silver Khan', the wife's name is *muŋgeleŋ xataŋ*, etc. Some female characters of the Buriat shamanist pantheon also have names ending in this suffix, e.g., *meŋgeleŋ xataŋ uxrui* 'Elder Sister Queen Mengelen' [23]. It is to be noted that the names of ordinary women, such as servants, do not end in *-laŋ/-leŋ* in Buriat epic sagas.

7. Suff. *-qčin/-kčin*

qo'aqčin emegen 98 'old woman Qoaqčin', the same also called *qo'aqčin eke* 103 'Mother Qoaqčin' when referred to in a speech in which she is praised for her vigilance, cf. SH *qo'aqčin (üniyen)* 'straw-colored (cow)' from *qo'a*, cf. Mo. *qua/quua* 'yellowish, pale', Bur. *xuā*, Kh. *uxā*, Kalm. *xō* 'id.'; *boroqčin qo'a* 3 lit. 'the Grey Beauty', cf. SH *boroqčin qarčiqai* 'grey hawk', Mo. *borogčin* 'grey' (fem.), Kh. *borogčiŋ* 'id.'.

The suffix *-qčin* occurs also in several adjectives which function as attributes of female beings or inanimate objects: SH *sartaqčin qonin* 'Turkestanian sheep' from **sart* < Turk. *sart* 'a Turk from Turkestan' [24]; SH *qulaqčin* 'a brownish mare' from SH *qula*, Mo. *qula*, Kh. *xul* 'brown (of horses)'; SH *qaraqči'ut tuqtan* 'those with black (plural) banners' from SH *qara* 'black'; SH *kibčaqčin ayan* 'the Kipcak campaign' from Turk. *qïpčaq* name of a large tribe in the XIIIth century.

[22] Louis Hambis: *Grammaire de la langue mongole écrite (Première partie)*. Paris 1945, p. 1.
[23] N. N. Poppe: *Burjat-mongol'skij fol'klornyj i dialektologičeskij sbornik*. Moskva-Leningrad 1936, p. 22.
[24] W. Radloff: *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*. Bd. IV, St. Petersburg 1911, p. 335.

The suffix *-qčin* is well-known. It forms feminine adjectives in Script Mongolian, Khalkha, Buriat, etc. [25], e.g., Mo. *siraqčin* 'yellow' from *sira* 'yellow', Kh. *šaraqčiŋ* from *šar* 'yellow', etc.

Names of female persons which end in *-gšan/-gšeŋ* < *-*gčin/-*gčin* are common among Buriats, e.g., *šaragšaŋ* from *šara* 'yellow'; *xaragšaŋ* from *xara* 'black', etc. They are no odder than Bianca in Italy. Family names such as *Šarakšinov* go back to femine forms in *-gšaŋ*. Although in shamanist incantations the wives of gods sometimes have names derived with this suffix, e.g., *zagal noyoŋ aba, zagagšaŋ xataŋ iži* 'Father Zagal Prince, Mother Zagagšan Princess' [26], in epic sagas of the Buriats only ordinary women (servants, milk maids, etc.) have names ending in *-gšaŋ/-gšeŋ*.

8. Suff. *-gin*

This suffix occurs in names of tribes and clans: *adargin* 46 from **adar*, cf. SH *adarda-/adarta-* 'to be bitten (by a snake) (?)'. The word *adar* is found as *adar* in Khalkha, cf. *adar zaŋ* 'stubborness' [27], cf. also Bur. *adar* 'clumsy, cumbersome, inconvenient'. A member of the clan *adargin* is SH *adarkidai* 46; *noyakin* (probably to be corrected as *noyagin*, cf. *noyagidai* 6) from SH *noyan* 'chieftain, commander', Mo. *noyan* 'lord, prince'; *borǰigin* 42 the clan to which Chingis Khan belonged, from Mo. *borǰin*, Kh. *borǰiŋ* 'female goose'; *qadagin* 141/*qatagin* 42 from SH *qatan* 'steel', Mo. *qatan* 'hard, strong', Kh. *xataŋ* 'id.', cf. the Buriat clan name *xatagiŋ* [28]. Cf. also the name of the Evenki clan *xatigin* [29]; *ǰirgin* 170 from **ǰir*, cf. the name of the Yakut clan *ǰer*, also Evenki *ǰer* [30]; *ǰürkin* (*ǰürgin* would probably be correct) 122 from Mo. *ǰür*, Kh. *zur* 'a species of antelope'.

The suffix *-gin* corresponds to Evenki *-gin* (plural *-gir*) in clan names, cf. *limāgir, samāgir, čapēgir*, etc. [31]. It is interesting to note that the singular forms in *-gin* denote women who belong to the Evenki clan concerned, e.g., *kimagin* 'woman of the Kima clan' [32].

9. Suff. *-'ut/-'üt*

The names of some clans end in *-'ut*: *baya'ut* 120, cf. *baiya'udai* 'man belonging to the clan Baya'ut' from SH *bayan* 'rich', Mo. *bayan* 'id.', cf. the name of an Oirat clan *bayid* 'Bayit'; *salǰi'ut* 42 from SH *salǰi* 42 n. pr.; *tayiči'ut* 47 from **tayiči* which may be the same as *tayiǰi* 'prince' < Chin. *t'ai-tzŭ*.

There are numerous other nouns, including proper names, which end in *'ut*. However, they are to be separated from the personal names given in this section because their ending *'ut* is of a different origin. The words in question can be grouped in two categories.

[25] *Orčin cagijn mongol xèl züj*, p. 80.
[26] Poppe: *op. cit.*, p. 31. Buriat *zagal* is a horse coat, namely dark with the tail and mane much darker than the body.
[27] Ja. Cévèl: *Mongol xèlnij tovč tajlbar tol'*. Ulaanbaatar 1966, p. 22.
[28] It is one of the clans of the Selenga Buriats, see *Letopisi zorinskix burjat*, p. 95, note 62.
[29] G. M. Vasilevič: *Evenki. Istoriko-ètnografičeskie očerki (XVIII—načalo XX v.)*. Leningrad 1969, p. 282.
[30] Vasilevič: *op. cit.*, p. 267.
[31] G. M. Vasilevič: *Evenkijsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1958, p. 751.
[32] Vasilevič: *loc. cit.*

A. *kibča'ut* 198 'the Kipchaks', plur. of Turk. *qïpčaq*, a tribal name; *bolda'ut* 136 'hills' plur. of *boldaq* 'hill', cf. Mo. *boldog* 'hill'; *turqa'ut* 191 'day guards, body guards' from *turqaq* 'guard' < Turk.; *miŋqali'ut* 228 plur. of *miŋqaliq* 'commander of one thousand'; *qarlu'ut* 198 plur. of *qarluq* 'Karluk, a Turkic tribe' < Turk. *qarluq*.

B. *toqura'ut* 213 plur. of *toqura'un* 120, cf. SH *toqura'un* 'crane', Mo. *toguriyun* 'id.', Kh. *togrū* 'id.', Bur. *tuxŕūŋ* 'id.'; *duta'ut tatar* 153 from SH *duta'u(n)* 'insufficient', cf. Mo. *dutaγu*, Kh. *dutū* 'id.'; *hüle'üt* 'superior' plur. of SH *hüle'ü* 'superior', Mo. *ilegü*, Kh. *ilū*, Bur. *ulūū* 'id.'.

The suffix *-'ut* in *baya'ut* goes back to *-*γut/-*güt* [33] and is an old plural suffix which is also found in the *Secret History* in the following words: *alaqči'ut qonit* 124 'motley sheep' from *alaqči(n)* 'motley' (fem.), Mo. *alagči(n)* 'id.', Kh. *alagči(ŋ)* 'id.', Bur. *alagšaŋ* 'id.'; *qoŋqoqči'ut qonit* 124 'brown sheep' from Mo. *qoŋgogči(n)* 'brownish' (fem.), Kh. *xoŋgogči(ŋ)* 'id.' from Mo. *qoŋgor* 'brownish'; *qaraqči'ut tuqtan* 'those having black flags' from Mo. *qaragči(n)* 'black' (fem.), Kh. *xaragči(ŋ)* 'id.', Bur. *xaragšaŋ* 'id.'.

The forms listed in category A have the plural suffix *-ut* = Mo. *-ud*, Kh. *-ūd* [34], and stems ending in *q/k* = Mo. *g/g*, e.g., *ina'ut* 266 'friends' from SH *inaq* 'friends', Mo. *inag* 'id.'. It is to be noted that the final *q(k)* disappears before the suffix. The same occurs in the language of the 'Phags-pa Script [35]. As for *miŋqali'ut* from *miŋqaliq* 'commander of one thousand', Buriat has the rare plural suffix *-lūd* < *-*lig-ud*, e.g., *xālūd* 'khans' < **qaγaliγ-ud*.

On the other hand, the words placed in category B contain the plural suffix *-t* = Mo. *-d* which is added, in this case, to stems formed with the suffix *-'un* or ending in the syllable *'ur*. The stem-final *n* and *r* are dropped before *-t*. Such examples are *quru'ut* 53 'fingers' from SH *quru'un* = Mo. *quruγun* 'id.', Kh. *xurū* 'id.'; *ui'ut* 152 'Uighurs' from SH *ui'ur*, Mo. *uyigur* < Turk. *uiγur* 'Uighur'.

Consequently, the forms ending in *'ut* are three different groups in origin.

10. Suff. *-t*

The suffix *-t* is found in the following names of tribes and clans: *kereyit* 96/*gereyit* 134 'the Kereit tribe', plur. of **kerei* [36]; *ǰewüreyit* [37] 44 from **ǰegürei*; *uduyit* (*merkit*) 102 from **udui*; *saqayit* 122 from *saqai*, cf. Turk. *saγai* 'the Saghai' [38]; *duŋqayit* 150 from **duŋqai*, cf. Evenki *doŋgo* (plur. *doŋgoil*, *doŋgot*) 'the Dongo clan of the Evenki' [39].

The suffix *-t* corresponds to Mo. *-d* which is taken by stems ending in *n*, *sun*, some stems ending in *r* and *l*, and a few stems ending in a vowel, e.g., Mo. *morid* 'horses' from *morin*; Mo. *nugud* 'ducks' from *nugusun*; Mo. *nökköd* 'friends, companions' from *nökör*; Mo. *tüsimed* 'officials' from *tüsimel*; Mo. *busud* 'others' from *busu*, etc. The final consonants and the suffix *-sun* are dropped before *-d*. In the *Secret History*, however, there are a few forms which preserve the stem-final *n*, e.g., *qonint* 'sheep' from *qonin*; *hont* 'years' from *hon*; *qant* 'khans' from *qan*; *sa'urint* 'stations' from *sa'urin*. Such forms are also found in the *Hua-yi yi-yü*, cf. *noyant* 'princes' [40].

Stems ending in a diphthong usually drop their final *i* in the plural. The plural suffix is *-s* in Script Mongolian (and *-n* in Pre-classical Script Mongolian), but in the *Secret History* there occur forms with the suffix *-t*, e.g., *noqot* 260 and *noqais* 195 from *noqai* 'dog'. With the exception of tribal names such as *saqayit* (= *saqait*) there occur no plural forms with the suffix *-t* derived from stems with a final diphthong.

The above discussion of suffixes of derivation of proper names does not exhaust the subject. Many other suffixes are found in proper names which occur in the text of the *Secret History*, such as *-ǰin* in *temüǰin* (male) from *temür* 'iron', *qoriǰin qatun* 132 (female) from *qori* = Bur. *xori* 'the Khori tribe'; *-lǰin* in *torqolǰin bayan* 3 'rich man Torqoljin' from *torqon/torqan* 'silk', cf. SH *torqat* 'silken textiles'; *-qa/-ge* in *čaraqa ebügen* 68 'old man Čaraqa' from Mo. *čara* 'bowl, cup', *temüge otčigin* 60 'the youngest son Temüge' from *temür* 'iron', etc. These and many other names will be examined on another occasion.

[33] N. POPPE: »Plural Suffixes in the Altaic Languages«. *UAJb* 24:3-4 (1952).67.

[34] *Orčin cagijn mongol xël*, p. 89.

[35] N. POPPE: *The Mongolian Monuments in ḥP'ags-pa Script*. Second Edition. Translated and edited by JOHN R. KRUEGER. Wiesbaden 1957, p. 37.

[36] Cf. Telengit *käräs* 'ruler of the hell' in tales (?). PELLIOT derived this tribal name from Mongolian *kerä* = Mo. *keriye* 'crow', see G. DOERFER: *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Bd. I: *Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Wiesbaden 1963, p. 464. PELLIOT's etymology is doubtful because this tribal name would have been **kere'eyit* in the *Secret History*, and *keriyeyid* in Script Mongolian if it had been derived from the word for 'crow', cf. SH *kere'e* and Mo. *keriye* 'crow'.

[37] HAENISCH has *jao'ureyit*. PELLIOT gives the correct form *ǰewüreyit*.

[38] N. A. BASKAKOV: *Vvedenie v izučenie tjurkskix jazykov*. Izd. vtoroe. Moskva 1969, p. 329.

[39] VASILEVIČ: *Évenki*, p. 267.

[40] M. LEWICKI: *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIVe siècle. Le Houa-yi yi-yu de* 1389. II: *Vocabulaire-Index*. Wrocław 1959, p. 65.