TÜRK KÜLTÜRÜNÜ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ YAYINLARI



# YALIM KAYA BİTİGİ

## OSMAN FİKRİ SERTKAYA ARMAĞANI

Editörler
Doç. Dr. Hatice ŞİRİN USER - Doç. Dr. Bülent GÜL

Ankara / 2013

**TÜRK KÜLTÜRÜNÜ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ YAYINLARI**

© Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 2013.

Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü yayınlarının tamamının veya bir kısmının yayımcının yazılı izni olmadan herhangi bir yolla çoğaltılması yasaktır. Yayınların fikrî sorumluluğu ve imlâ tercihi yazarlarına aittir. Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü yayınlarında yer alan başka kaynaklardan alınmış tablo, resim ve benzeri şeylerin yasal kullanım sorumluluğu yazarlarına aittir.

User, Hatice Şirin –Bülent Gül (Ed.)
*Yalım Kaya Bitigi Osman Fikri Sertkaya Armağanı* / Hatice Şirin User - Bülent Gül
XII+684 s. 24 cm.
**ISBN 978-975-456-118-0**
1. Osman Fikri Sertkaya - Biyografi 2. Türkoloji 3. Türk Dili 4. Eski Türkçe

**TÜRK KÜLTÜRÜNÜ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ YAYINLARI**
**TÜRK KÜLTÜRÜ ARAŞTIRMALARI ARMAĞAN DİZİSİ 10**

**Genel Yayın Editörü**
Prof. Dr. Dursun YILDIRIM

**Editör**
Doç. Dr. Hatice Şirin User - Doç. Dr. Bülent GÜL

**Eser Hakem Kurulu**
Prof. Dr. Dursun YILDIRIM • Doç. Dr. Bülent GÜL • Doç. Dr. Ferruh AĞCA • Doç. Dr. Hatice Şirin USER • Yard. Doç. Dr. Faruk GÖKÇE •

**Kapak ve Sayfa Tasarımı**
SEMETEYHAN [B. GÜL]

**İletişim Adresi**
T ü r k K ü l t ü r ü n ü A r a ş t ı r m a E n s t i t ü s ü
Bahçelievler, 7. Cad. 17. Sok. Nu. 38, 06490 Ankara / TÜRKİYE
**Tel:** (00 90 312) 2133100 **Belgegeçer:** (00 90 312) 2134135
Genel ağ: **http://www.turkkulturu.org.tr**
e-posta: **tkaedernegi@hotmail.com**

*Yalım Kaya Bitigi Osman Fikri Sertkaya Armağanı*, Öncü Basımevi'nde 500 adet basılmıştır. (Kazımkarabekir Cad. 85/2 İskitler/ANKARA Tel: 3843120)

Ankara /2013

# İ Ç İ N D E K İ L E R

Sunuş / iii

Önsöz / v

**Prof. Dr. Osman Fikri Sertkaya**
(Özgeçmiş – Yayın Listesi) / **1-34**

**Ayşegül NİŞANCI-SERTKAYA**
Prof. Dr. Osman Fikri Sertkaya / **35-39**

**György HAZAI**
Osman Sertkaya İçin / **41-44**

**Ali AKAR**
Türkolojiye Adanmış Bir Ömür ... / **45-48**

**Osman Fikri SERTKAYA**
Bin Dokuz Yüz Altmış Sekiz'in Yazı.
Hocam Ahmet Caferoğlu İle İlgili Hatıralar / **49-60**

**Osman Fikri Sertkaya'nın Albümünden Seçmeler** / **61-96**

## M A K A L E L E R

**Ferruh AĞCA**
Tarihsel Türk Dili Alanlarında *dA* Edatı ve Edatın Kökeni Üzerine / **99-107**

**Şükrü Halûk AKALIN**
*Çaylak*'tan *Acemi Çaylak'a* Bir Sözün Kökeni ve Bir Deyimin Öyküsü / **109-114**

**Cengiz ALYILMAZ**
Turfan'da Bulunan Çince Tapınak Kitabesi Üzerindeki (Kök)Türk Harfli Kutlug Kunçuy ve Śāriputri Yazıtları / **115-136**

**Aysu ATA**
Harezm Türkçesi Eserlerinin Siyasî ve Kültürel Güçle İlişkisi / **137-145**

**Erhan AYDIN**
Hoyto–Tamır (Tayhar Çuluu) Yazıtlarının Türkçenin Söz Varlığına Katkıları / **147-152**

**Gaybulla BABAYAROV - Andrey KUBATIN**
Old Turkic Titles Used Before the Turkic Qaghanate / **153-165**

**Eyüp BACANLI**
Türk Dillerinde Topluluk ve Grup Çoğulu Bildiren Morfemler / **167-178**

**Tuncer BAYKARA**
Seymen = Zeybek Denebilir Mi? / **179-184**

**Nesrin BAYRAKTAR - Uwe BLÄSING**
Hoca İçin Çorba
İki Türk Bilimcisinin Mutfak Sohbetlerinden / **185-206**

**Mehmet Turgut BERBERCAN**
*Karatekin* İsmi Üzerine Etimolojik Tespitler / **207-213**

**Danuta CHMIELOWSKA**
Türk Mutfağının Polonya'ya Etkileri / **215-220**

**Murat ELMALI**
Eski Uygur Türkçesi İle Yazılmış Bir Hikâye: *Śarabha-Jātaka* / **221-234**

**Ahmet Bican ERCİLASUN**
Tarihi Metinlerin Transkripsiyonu Hakkında / **235-244**

**Bülent GÜL**
Moğolistan Dil Atlası Üzerine / **245-252**

**Hayriye GÜL**
Eski Uygur Türkçesinde Ağız Araştırmaları Üzerine / **253-266**

**Tuncer GÜLENSOY**
Moğolcada Pekiştirmeli Sıfat ve Zarf / **267-268**

**Gürer GÜLSEVİN**
Eski Türkçedekilerden Daha Eskicil Olan Çağdaş Şekiller Üzerine / **269-274**

**Figen GÜNER DİLEK**
Ağız Çalışmalarına Karşılaştırmalı Metotla Bakış:
(Kuzey) Altay Türkçesi Çalkandı Ağzı / **275-283**

**Abdurrahman GÜZEL**
Dini-Tasavvufi Türk Edebiyatında Hz. Muhammed (S.A.V) Hakkında Yazılan Nazım Türleri / **285-324**

**Tacida Zubçeviç HAFIZ - Nimetullah HAFIZ**
Şükrü Dilege'nin Balkan Şavaşlarıyla İlgili Yazma Eserinde Kosova / **325-333**

**Alimcan İNAYET**
Türklerde Köpek Kültü Var Mıydı? / **335-344**

**Henryk JANKOWSKI**
Turkic: Tūn ˷ tun, tunġuč, tuŋġut 'firstborn'; Kalmuk: tuŋg˷ū 'woman who bore only one child; mare after the first foal' – an attempt at etymology / **345-354**

**Үрімжібай ЖЕТІБАЙҰЛЫ**
Тониуқуқ жәйлі деректер және Тониуқуқ Обыразы / **355-362**

**Yaşar KALAFAT**
Ağrı ve Çevresi Efsanelerinin Mitolojik Şifreleri / **363-372**

**Ekrem KALAN**
Moğolların Gizli Tarihçesi'ne Göre Moğollar'da Kız İsteme ve Evliliğe Dair Bazı Deyimler ve Gelenekler / **373-382**

**Hülya KASAPOĞLU ÇENGEL**
Türkçe *Râhatü'l-Kulûb* Yazmaları Üzerine / **383-392**

**Ceval KAYA**
Bilgisayarla Kelime Yapımı / **393-395**

**Mehmet Levent KAYA**
Klâsik Türkçe Metinleri Çalışmada Günümüz Moğolcasının Önemi / **397-403**

**Zeki KAYMAZ**
İbni Mühennâ'da *-yUK* Eki / **405-408**

**Kadırali KONKOBAYEV - Nurdin USEYEV**
**Neğizbek ŞABDANALİYEV - Boris (Barsbek) KİNDİKOV**
Altay Cumhuriyetinde Yeni Bulunan Eski Türk Yazıtı
(A 91 Tumşuk-Kobı Yazıtı) / **409-412**

**Zeynep KORKMAZ**
Kültürel Değişimlerin Sosyal Yapı Üzerindeki Etkileri ve Dile Yansıması Üzerine / **413-420**

**İgor Valentinoviç KORMUŞIN**
Bir Kez Daha Y-152 (Şançı III) Kodlu Yenisey Yazıtı Üzerine / **421-426**

**Dai MATSUI**
Ürümçi ve Eski Uygurca Yürüngçin Üzerine / **427-432**

**Osman MERT**
Köl Tigin ve Bilge Kağan Yazıtlarında Boşluk Karakterinin (/ : / ≅ / · /) Kullanımıyla İlgili Karşılaşılan Farklılıklar / **433-461**

**Д. М. НАСИЛОВ**
Статив и Результатив у Махмуда Кашгарского / **463-470**

**Irina NEVSKAYA**
A recently discovered inscription on a stele in the place Qyzyl Qaya, Tyva Republic / **471-479**

**Takashi ŌSAWA**
Orhon Anıtlarının Moğol Dönemindeki Durumu ve Bununla İlgili İnançlar - Eski Çin Kaynaklarına ve Arkeolojik Verilere Göre- / **481-488**

**Özkan ÖZTEKTEN**
Osmanlı Türkçesindeki Arapça Alıntılarda Yapımlık Ses Değişiklikleri / **489-498**

**Simone-Christiane RASCHMANN**
Baumwoll-Nachlese (2)
Ein weiteres altuigurisches *böz*-Dokument aus dem ARAT-Nachlass (Istanbul) / **499-509**

**Volker RYBATZKI**
Some Mongolic words in Özbek (i) · words beginning with a-, å-, e-, b-, p-, d-, t- / **511-532**

**Hatice ŞAHİN**
Müyessiretü'l-Ulûm'da Küçültme Ekiyle İlgili İzahlar Üzerine / **533-539**

**Serkan ŞEN**
Bilge Kağan Yazıtındaki *ödinge küni tegdük üçün* İfadesi Üzerine / **541-547**

**Hatice ŞİRİN USER**
E-28, E-38, E-51, E-71, E-144, E-152 Yazıtlarındaki Bazı Sözcük ve İbareler Üzerine Yeni Öneriler / **549-557**

**Ahmet TAŞAĞIL**
Çin Başkentinde İdam Edilen 54 Türk Beyi / **559-562**

**İsenbike TOGAN**
Çin'de Yetişmiş Bir Kadim Türk Devlet Adamı / **563-577**

**Litip TOHTI**
A Study on the Word Family Derived from CA *ka- ~ *ko- / **579-588**

**Sultan TULU**
'Ali Asġar Camrasī'den Halaççа Bir Kaside:
"Anadan Ben Halaç Türkü Doğmuşum" / **589-599**

**Mustafa UĞURLU**
Türkçe Yer Adları: Sutüven / **601-605**

**Nurdin USEEV**
Köpçegen (A 49) Yazıtı / **607-612**

**Dmitri Dmitriyeviç VASILYEV**
Altay Dağlarındaki Runik Türk Yazıtlarına Bilimsel İlgi ve Araştırmalarının Perspektifi / **613-619**

**Alexander VOVIN**
Old Turkic loanwords in the Khitan Language / **621-625**

**Jens WILKENS**
Mäuse, Wolf und Rabe Von bedrohlichen und hilfreichen Tieren bei den Uiguren / **627-638**

**Abdürişid YAKUB**
An old Uyghur fragment from the Berlin Turfan Collection on the three unwholesome actions oft he body / **639-644**

**Paşa YAVUZARSLAN**
Tarihî Türk Dili Metinlerinde *keyik~keḍik~keḍik* Biçimleri Üzerine / **645-654**

**Dursun YILDIRIM**
Çağın ve Geleceğin Çok Yönlü Aydın Modeli / **655-663**

**ZHANG Tie-Shan**
Study of a recently discovered Runic epitaph from Xi'an / **665-671**

**Peter ZIEME**
Das Muschelhorn
Eine chinesisch-altuigurische Erklärung / **673-680**

**Hamza ZÜLFİKAR**
Dilde Zenginlik. Bir Anlama Üç Kelime / **681-684**

*Yalım Kaya Bitigi. Osman Fikri Sertkaya Armağanı, Ed. Hatice Şirin User – Bülent Gül, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, Ankara, 2013: 621-625.*

# OLD TURKIC LOANWORDS IN THE KHITAN LANGUAGE*

**Prof. Dr. Alexander VOVIN**
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa
[USA]

To the best of my knowledge, only one Khitan word has been identified so far as a loanword from Old Turkic (OT): Kh. *limŋa* 'scribe' (in Chinese script 林牙) < OT *alïmɣa* ~ *ïlïmɣa* 'secretary, scribe' (Franke 1969: 24, citing Karl Menges). The Khitan word is also attested in the Khitan script: Kh. <l.êm.a> ~ <l.êm.hu.a> (Kane 2009: 104). In spite of the fact that the Khitan script is only partially deciphered, and, consequently our reading of Khitan texts so far remains hypothetical and incomplete (see, e.g., Chinggeltei et al. 1985, Ji Shi 1996, Kane 2009, Wu & Janhunen 2010, Vovin 2011 among many others), and the fact that presently we know only about 400+ words and word forms in Khitan, which provides only very limited knowledge of the Khitan morphology and vocabulary, this is surprising and hardly makes any sense both historically and linguistically.

The contacts between Ancient Turks and Khitans must have been quite profound. First, it is very well known that Khitans have extensive diplomatic relations with Toba-wei[1] in fifth and sixth centuries, and then Khitans were incorporated into the First Turkic khaghanate for some time in the second part of the sixth century (Franke 1990: 402). During the Tang dynasty (618-906 AD) Khitans were conducting a shuttle diplomacy, allying themselves sometimes with Chinese, and sometimes with Turks (Franke 1990: 403). After the fall of Uighur khaghanate in 840 AD, Khitans filled the vacuum in the eastern part of Inner Asian steppe when they established the Liao state (907-1125 AD), being, therefore, the successors of Ancient Turks as a steppe power.

A historical anecdote from the *Liao shi* about the creation of small Khitan script clearly connects it with Uighur script:

> Uighur messengers came [to court], but there was no one who could understand their language. The empress said to Taizu: "Tiela is clever. He may be sent to welcome them." By being in their company for twenty days he was able to learn their spoken language and script. Then he created [a script of] smaller Khitan characters which, though fewer in number, covered everything (LS 64: 4b-6b, English translation (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 243).

* I am extremely grateful to Stefan Georg for his very useful and helpful comments on the first draft of this paper.

1 The elite of Toba-wei was in all probability para-Mongolic-speaking (Ligeti 1970, Doefer 1992, 1993, Janhunen 2003, Vovin 2007a), but this does not exclude the probability that Toba-Wei might have Turkic-speaking population as well.

Khitan small script represents a mix of logograms, syllabic signs, and alphabetic letters, e.g. the word 𘥦𘤸𘤟 <l.êm.a> ‘scribe’ cited above includes two alphabetic letters: 𘥦 <l> and 𘤟 <a> and a syllabic sign 𘤸 < êm >. The very presence of alphabetic signs, especially for consonants, strongly suggests Old Turkic or Tibetan influence. Moreover, the angular shape of letters and lack of vowel diacritics and lack of positionally defined letter forms suggests Old Turkic Runic rather than the Old Tibetan or Uighur influence, in spite of the above anecdote.

Therefore, we might suspect that there is previously unnoticed Old Turkic layer of loans in the Khitan language. The present article tries to establish several of those loanwords that, as I believe, were overlooked by my predecessors.

(1) Kh. 𘤸𘤟 <êm.a> ‘goat, mountain goat’ is usually compared with MM *ima’an*, WM *imaɣan* (Kane 2009: 99). However, the OT word *ïmɣa* ~ *yïmɣa*[2] ‘she-goat, mountain goat’ (DTS 218, 267), (Clauson 1972: 158) is usually overlooked. At the first glance, it might be difficult to decide whether it is a Mongolic loanword in Turkic, or Turkic loanword in Mongolic.[3] The fact that the word has wider distribution in Mongolic than in Turkic might suggest the Mongolic provenance. One feature, however, strongly suggest the direction of borrowing being from Turkic to Mongolic: namely, MM and WM words have final *-n*, absent in Turkic: should the directionality of borrowing be from Mongolic, we would expect the presence of *-n* in Turkic, unless Turkic speakers were at the time able to identify this *-n* as morphology and dispose of it. Kh. 𘤸𘤟 <êm.a> ‘goat, mountain goat’ must reflect OT *ïmɣa* without initial *y*-, and note also that it exhibits the same system of correspondences as the above mentioned Kh. 𘥦𘤸𘤟 <l.êm.a> ‘scribe, scholar’ < OT *alïmɣa* ~ *ïlïmɣa* ‘secretary, scribe’: Kh. *ê* : OT *ï,* Kh. *m* : OT *m*, Kh. *a* : OT *a*, and Kh *0* : OT *ɣ*. Incidentally, the correspondence Kh. *ê* : OT *ï* supports OT *ïmɣa* (QB$^{F}$), and not OT 𐰃𐰼𐰺 *(a)mɣa* (ÏB 49) (although the latter form is attested earlier) as an archetype form of this word, contrary to Bazin’s opinion (1957: 29-30).

(2) Kh. 𘤪𘤍 <te.gu> ~ 𘤸𘤍 <de.gu> ‘[it] says:’ introduces quotes, e.g.:

𘥈𘠧𘠷 𘤪𘤍
RECORD.g.én te.gu
RECORD.g-én te-gu
inscription-GEN say-PART
the inscription says: (YD 36)

𘤣𘤪 𘤪𘤍
TEXT.ú te.gu
TEXT te-gu
text say-PART
the text says: (XY 9)

[2] Clauson believes that initial *y*- is a misspelling (1972: 158). He is probably right, since the form with y- is found only in QB$^{V}$ manuscript.

[3] Clauson strongly believes that it is a Turkic loan in Mongolic (1972: 158), without much argumentation.

𘮩𘰾𘰺 𘰾𘰼
RECORD.g.én de.gu
RECORD.g-én de-gu
inscription-GEN say-PART
the inscription says:[4]

While the morpheme *-gu*[5] appears to be cognate with MM *-qui ~ -küi* and WM *-qu ~ -kü*, a verbal noun, the root *te- ~ de-* has nothing to do with MM *ke'e-* or WM *keme-* 'to say'. I believe that it can be safely identified with OT *te-* 'to say', which also can introduce quotes. Kh. 𘰼𘰺 <te.gu> ~ 𘰾𘰺 <de.gu> '[it] says:' has a syntactic peculiarity that needs to be mentioned: it is found not after a quote like OT *te-* or MM *ke'e-*, but before it, like Ch. 曰 *yuē* or WM *ogülerün*. This loanword is important for two reasons: first, it gives an additional evidence for the existence in OT of mid-high vowel /e/ (as opposed to mid-low /ä/); and second, it indicates that the linguistic influence of OT on Khitan must have been quite intensive: otherwise it is difficult to explain borrowing of a verbal root, which is also used in a specific syntactic construction.

(3) Kh. 𘮩𘰾 <RECORD.g>, <RECORD.gi> 'inscription, record, document' is unfortunately written mostly logographically with the logogram 𘮩 <RECORD>, but there is some evidence that this Khitan word should be read as *bitegi, which shows the phonetic shape close to OT *bitig*, and not to MM and WM *bičig*. This evidence comes from Jur. 必忒黑 *bitehe*[6] 'book' (Kiyose 1977: 109), 必忒额 *bite'e* 'document' (Kane 1989: 356), 必忒 *bite* 'writing' (Kane 1989: 357) and Ma. *bithe* 'writing, book, document', all reflecting the archetype *biteke. The lack of palatalization *t* > *č*/_*i* typical for Mongolian proper indicates that Jurchen and Manchu words were borrowed from Khitan, and not from Mongolian proper. OT *bitig* 'book, inscription, document' is a transparent Turkic formation from OT *biti-* 'to write' + OT *-Xg*, a deverbal nominal suffix. The ultimate source of the OT *biti-* 'to write' can be probably traced back to Ch. 筆 'brush' (EMC *pit), although presence of the second *-i-* is not quite clear.[7] However, given a rare parallel OT form *bit-* 'to write' (DTS 103), this etymology seems to be reasonable.

(4) Kh. 𘯿𘰽 <RAT.hu> 'rat (as the first cyclical sign (子) among twelve earthly branches (十二地支)). Although the reading of the first sign is unknown -- it is most likely a logogram, but the possibility that it is a phonogram with yet unknown reading cannot be completely ruled out. The reading of this Khitan word as *hus.hu and its identification as a loanword of OT *küskü* 'rat (as the first cyclical sign)' seem to be likely due to the last syllable <hu> and the fact that this is a specific calendar term, but not a habitual name for the animal 'rat' in both OT and possibly also in

4 This example is taken from Kane (2009: 112), who did not indicate the source.

5 Khitan /b/, /d/, /g/ were likely not the voiced stops but voiceless unaspirated stops, contrasting with aspirated /p/, /t/, /k/ by the feature [+/_ASP].

6 The Jurchen script for this word uses a logogram, so we have to rely on the Chinese transcription.

7 It may be an automatic insertion of an echo vowel [i] in order to avoid phonotactically inadmissible *bitg, with a subsequent reanalysis of the second *-i-* as belonging to the verb stem.

Khitan. Clearly, MM *quluqana* and WM *quluɣana* ‘rat, rat as a first cyclical sign’ have no connection with the Khitan form. Certainly, ultimately OT *küskü* ‘rat (as the first cyclical sign)’ is likely to be not a Turkic, but a Ruan-ruan word, as I have previously demonstrated (Vovin 2004: 125-28).

(5) Kh. 朱 <qatun> ‘wife of a khan, queen’[8] is written with the logogram 朱, but its reading was identified. Although OT *qatun* ‘wife of a khan, queen’ was borrowed into OT from the Ruan-ruan language (Vovin 2004: 129, 2007b: 177-78), the immediate source of the Kh. 朱 <qatun> ‘wife of a khan, queen’ is more likely to be OT than Ruan-ruan, as it is not quite clear whether Khitans were in contact with Ruan-ruan.

(6) Kh. 丙 <hor> ~ 丙永 <hor.u> ~ 丙为 <hor.a> ‘people’. Given the gap in distribution of /e/ in Khitan: there are no syllables *he or *her, only /ho/ and /hor/[9], this word may be a borrowing of pre-OT *här ~ *härä[10] ‘man’, cf. Khalaj *här* ‘id.’ (Doerfer 1971: 292-93), (Doerfer & Tezcan 1980: 129).

Although I was able to identify only six OT loanwords in Khitan, the very nature of these loanwords demonstrates that the Khitan must have borrowed from OT quite extensively. As our knowledge of Khitan will slowly increase in the future, it will be possible to identify other OT loanwords in Khitan.

**Language abbreviations:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Ch. | Chinese |
| EMC | Early Middle Chinese |
| Jur. | Jurchen |
| Kh. | Khitan |
| LMC | Late Middle Chinese |
| Ma. | Manchu |
| MM | Middle Mongolian |
| OT | Old Turkic |
| WM | Written Mongolian |

**References:**
**Primary sources**


| | |
|---|---|
| ÏB | Ïrq Bitig, 9th c. (?) AD |
| LS | Liao Shi (遼史), 1343-45 AD |
| $QB^F$ | Qutadɣu Bilig (Ferghana manuscript), 1069-70 AD |
| $QB^V$ | Qutadɣu Bilig (Vienna manuscript), 1069-70 AD |
| XY | Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi (宣懿皇后哀册), 1101 AD |
| YD | Yelü Dilie epitaph (耶律迪烈墓志銘), 1092 AD |


[8] Kh. *qa* ‘khan’ and *qaha* ‘khaghan’ show roots without *-n*, therefore they cannot be loans from Old Turkic, which consistently has *qan* and *qaɣan* only. On the origin of these words see Vovin (2007b).

[9] There is Kh. <heu>, but since it is used to transcribe LMC *xɦəu* (后) ‘imperial concubine’, apparently there was no [he] in Khitan, only [ho] and [hə].

[10] MM and WM *ere* ‘man, person’ (certainly a loan from Turkic) indicate that PT *härä ‘man’ was disyllabic.

## Secondary sources


BAZIN, Louis 1957. 'Noms de la « Chèvre » en Turc et en Mongol'. In: Julius von FARKAS und Omeljan PRITSAK (eds.). *Studia Altaica. Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe zum 60. Geburstag am 8. August 1957*. Ural-Altaische Bibliothek V. Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz, pp. 28-32

CHINGGELTEI; LIU, Fengzhu; CHEN, Naixiong; YU, Baolin; XING, Fuli 1985. *Qidan xiaozi yanjiu (A Research on the Khitan Small Script)*. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.

CLAUSON, Sir Gerard 1972. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

DOERFER, Gerhard 1971. *Khalaj Materials*. Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 115. Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies.

DOERFER, Gerhard 1992. 'Mongolica in Alttürkischen'. In: *Bruno Lewin zu Ehren* 3, Bochum, pp. 30-56.

DOERFER, Gerhard 1993. 'The Older Mongolian Layer in Ancient Turkic'. *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* 3: 79-86.

DOERFER, Gerhard & TEZCAN, Semih 1980. *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch (Dialekt von Charrab)*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó

DTS 1969. *Drevnetiurkskii slovar' (An Old Turkic Dictionary)*. V.M. NADELIAEV, D.M. NASILOV, E.R. TENISHEV, A.M.SHCHERBAL (eds.). Leningrad: Nauka.

FRANKE, Herbert 1969. 'Bemerkungen zu den sprachlichen Verhältnissen im Liao-Reich'. *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 3: 7-43.

FRANKE, Herbert 1990. 'The Forest Peoples of Manchuria: Kitans and Jurchens'. In: SINOR, Denis (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 400-23, 492-94.

JANHUNEN, Juha 2003. 'Para-Mongolic'. In: JANHUNEN, Juha (ed.) *The Mongolic Languages*, pp. 391-402. London: Routledge/Curzon.

JI, Shi 1996. *Milin wenjing – Qidan xiaozi jiedu xin cheng (Seeking a Path through the Forest of Riddles: a New Stage in the Decipherment of the Khitan Script)*. Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe.

KANE, Daniel 1989. *The Sino-Jurchen Vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters*. Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 153. Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies.

KANE, Daniel 2009. *The Khitan Language and Script*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

KIYOSE, Gisaburo N. 1997. *A Study of the Jurchen Language and Script: Reconstruction and Decipherment.* Kyōto: Hōritsubunkasha

LIGETI, Lajos 1970. 'Le tabghach, un dialect de la langue sien-pi'. In: LIGETI, Lajos (ed.), *Mongolian Studies*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, pp. 265-308.

VOVIN, Alexander 2004. 'Some Thoughts on the Origins of the Old Turkic 12-Year Animal Cycle'. *Central Asiatic Journal* 48.1: 118-32.

VOVIN, Alexander 2007a. 'Once Again on the Tabγač Language'. *Mongolian Studies* XXIX: 191-206.

VOVIN, Alexander 2007b. 'Once again on the etymology of the title *qaγan*'. *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 12: 177-87.

VOVIN, Alexander 2011. 'A modest proposal on the decipherment of the Khitan-Chinese bilinguial text of 1134 (the Langjun inscription)'. In: KNÜPPEL, Michael & van TONGERLOO, Aloïs (eds.), *Life and Afterlife & Apocalyptic Concepts in the Altaic World*. Tunguso-Sibirica 31. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 123-30.

WITTFOGEL, Karl A. & FÊNG, Chia-shêng 1949. *History of Chinese Society Liao (907-1125)*. Philadelphia: The Americam Philosophical Society.

WU, Yingzhe & JANHUNEN, Juha 2010. *New Materials on the Khitan Small Script: A Critical Edition of Xiao Dilu and Yelü Xiangwen*. Languages of Asia 9. Folkestone: Global Oriental.