

Magnús SNÆDAL (Reykjavík)

## *ATTILA*\*

**Abstract.** The present paper deals with *Attila*, the name of the famous king of the Huns. For a long while it has been considered Gothic, meaning ‘little father’. This paper will cast doubt upon this explanation and will suggest a Hunnic origin of *Attila* with the content ‘horseman’.

**Keywords:** *Attila*, onomastics, etymology

### Introduction

In Latin sources, *Attila* is the form of the name<sup>1</sup> of the most famous king of the Huns. This appears to be the prevailing form but variants can be seen in Schönfeld (1911:274) and Moravcsik (1983:79–80), cf. also Pritsak (1956:404). Generally, the form *Attila* is claimed to be Gothic. The word is said to be derived from the Gothic noun *atta* ‘father’, with the diminutive suffix *-il-* (e.g. Lehmann 1986:46 [A218], Maenchen-Helfen 1973:386), the resulting content being ‘little father’. Schönfeld (1911:275) traces this idea back to Jacob Grimm (1848:271, 475) but in the referred locations J. Grimm simply states that *Attila* is Gothic, not Hunnic, and derived from *atta*. He does not mention a diminutive meaning of the suffix. Earlier, J. Grimm (1831:666, 672) indicated that meaning but earlier still he (Grimm 1826:113) thought that the suffix in question did not have a diminutive function in proper nouns. J. Grimm does not use the German translation ‘Väterchen’ which is commonly used to describe the content of the name; he does not give any translation.

---

\* An earlier Icelandic version of this paper was read at a conference, ‘Hugvísindapíng’, held at the University of Iceland in Reykjavík on 15 March 2013. I wish to thank the editor, M. Stachowski, and the two anonymous peer-reviewers of the present journal for their valuable comments on an earlier English version.

<sup>1</sup> As there is just a single name bearer *Attila* could also have been a nickname. Less likely it was a title as it was, apparently, not carried by Attila’s predecessors and successors.

If the Goths were somehow responsible for the name, it is more likely that we are dealing with a Gothic adaptation of a Hunnic name (cf. Althof 1902:371). By a coincidence, the aforementioned meaning ‘little father’ could be read from it; consequently, this meaning is a kind of folk etymology (cf. Poucha 1955:290). In any case, it is possible that the first part of *Attila* sounded unfamiliar to the Goths but was sufficiently like *atta* to take the pronunciation there from.

### The Little Father

It was most likely Wilhelm Grimm (1813:201–206) who launched the idea of *Attila* as ‘little father’. He refers to the Bavarian Chronicle written by Johannes Turmair (1477–1534), who in Latin was called Aventinus. W. Grimm refers to the second edition in German from 1580. It contains a section with the following title (Aventinus 1580a:4b–7):

Die alten Teutschen Namen vnd jr Außlegung, so allenthalben bey den Lateinern, Griechen vnd Teutschen, in den Historien gelesen werden. Auch die recht art vnd kunst Teutscher Sprach, wie man dieselbigen recht jhrem grunde nach schreiben möchte.

To give an idea of these ‘explanations of names’, a small fragment follows (Aventinus 1580a:5a):<sup>2</sup>

Angili / kommen viel namen davon / Engelmeyer / Engelprecht / Engellandt /  
Engelburg / Ingelheym / Engelhart / Ingelstatt / Engerszell / ein R für das L.

Anten / Antar / der ein ding ant / nicht hin lest seyn.

Atle / Vatter / Vatterle / Ater.

Wilhelm Grimm refers to the last short paragraph, although the context is somewhat shortened here (Grimm 1813:201–203):<sup>3</sup>

*Etzel*, König der *Hunen* [...] ist mit *Attila* ein und dasselbe Wort. [...] *Ethela*, im [Asega-buch] S. 5. *Ethele* b[ei] ungr[ische(n)] Schriftst[eller(n)] s[ehe] Nr. 31. [...] *Atli* in der nordischen Sage ist gleichfalls dasselbe, entweder auch

<sup>2</sup> This section is also present in the first German edition (Aventinus 1566:IIIb–IXa). Also, a comparable section is found in the first (Aventinus 1554:6–24) and second (Aventinus 1580b:33–42) editions in Latin. The text of the latest edition (Aventinus 1880–1908, IV.1:14–32) appears to be more like the Latin version. In these versions of the name section, the short paragraph beginning with *Atle* is missing. So it is probably not the work of Aventinus. See also M. von Lexer’s (Aventinus 1880–1908, V:X–XII) criticism of the early German editions.

<sup>3</sup> By ‘s[ehe] Nr. 31’ W. Grimm is referring to section 31 (p. 261) of his present paper.

die diminut. Form (wie Aventin bair. Chronik. ed. 1580. S. 5<sup>a</sup>. *Atle*, Vater, Vaterle, anführt) oder was damit zusammenfallen kann, in einem andern Dialekt ausgesprochen.

[...] *Atta*, *Atti*, *Aetti*, V(ate)r, ist fast in allen [Sprachen], besonders auch den asiatischen, noch lebendig [...], oder da gewesen, und *Attila*, Ethele, sagt nichts anders aus.

W. Grimm (1813:203 fn. 4) mentions that *Attila* is derived from *Atta*, just as *Rugila* (*Attila*'s uncle) from *Rova* or *Roas*,<sup>4</sup> or *Swintila* from *Swind* and *Chintila* from *Kind* (names of Visigoth kings). Here, for the first time, the Goths are introduced to this story but it is never explicitly stated that *Attila* is a Gothic diminutive of *atta*. That conclusion is, nevertheless, not far away as the diminutive form, the meaning 'father' and similar names of Gothic kings are mentioned.<sup>5</sup>

If *Atle* in Aventinus' section on names is Norse, it is the only Norse name found there. Also, neither *Atzel* nor *Attila* is found. On the other hand, it is stated several times in Aventinus' works that the king of the Huns was named *Atzel* or *Aetzel* in German but *Attila* in Latin (e.g. 1880–1908, I:122, 336; VI:120). It should also be stressed that Aventinus does not explain the name *Atle* as containing the meaning 'father' and a diminutive suffix. Rather, W. Grimm (cf. above) appears to have concluded so because of the form *Vatterle*.<sup>6</sup> Probably, Aventinus' text is to be interpreted so that the element *at* with the meaning 'father' is found in all the words mentioned. This appears to be W. Grimm's (1813) interpretation and explains why he writes *V(ate)r*, i.e. *at* in *Attila* etc. is also found in *Vater*, but here a different material is added (i.e. *v* and *r*). Thus *ater*, which W. Grimm drops from the quotation, is most likely taken to be the Irish noun *atair*, *athair* 'father' (see also J. Grimm 1848:271). Now, W. Grimm's etymologizing does not meet modern standards but with the aid of Aventinus he introduced the meaning 'father' into the discussion on the content of the name *Attila*.

We have no direct evidence for the assumption that the Goths created the name *Attila* or that for them the name carried the meaning 'little father' – or even 'little dad'. Jordanes (2011), for example, appears to be unaware of this meaning as

<sup>4</sup> For more variants see Maenchen-Helfen (1973:389), *Ruga*, *Ρούγας*, *Ροῦνας*, *Ρωίλας*.

<sup>5</sup> At the referred location in the *Asega-buch* (Old Frisian book of law) it is said that Ethela the king of the Huns, and Thiodric the king of the Veronese were both living in the days of Cesar Valentinianus (III, 419–455). *Attila* died in 453 but Theodoric lived from 454–526, so their lifetimes did not overlap.

<sup>6</sup> Neither of the two forms, *Vatterle* or *Vaterle*, is easily found in German dictionaries – e.g. it is not found in the great dictionary of the brothers Grimm. Google found *Vaterle* as a surname in Austria and as a common noun in the following four publications (and a few more): Bäuerle (1821:41), Mauthner (1880:49), Drucker & Schüler (1920), Lenz (2002:54).

he does not mention it in his work *Getica* even though he writes at length about the relations between the Goths and the Huns, and does not fail to mention that Attila was of low stature (§182). This of course is not decisive, but as Jordanes is writing in Latin we cannot conclude from his use of the form *Attila* that the Goths used the same form when speaking their native language. So, we cannot claim for certain that the Goths created the form *Attila* and distributed it to others, even though this course of events cannot be excluded. All we can say is that the Goths could have taken *Attila* to mean ‘little father’ but it is uncertain if they did.<sup>7</sup> The form *attila* surely looks like it is transliterated from Gothic which means that one has to be careful. The complete match is almost too good to be true.

The suffix *-il-* appears to be relatively frequent in Gothic personal names for males found in Latin and Greek sources (cf. Wrede 1891); the most famous is *Wulfila*. On the other hand, the suffix is infrequent in the Gothic corpus proper. There we find the name *Merila* (in the deed from Naples) but no other weak masculine noun containing *-il-*. What comes closest is *magula* (2×) ‘boy; παιδάριον’ derived from the *u*-stem *magus* ‘boy, child; παῖς, τέκνον’. Here the Greek word translated also has a diminutive suffix. The suffix *-il-* is also found in the weak neuter noun *barnilo* (5×; pl. *barnilona* 3×) ‘child; τεκνίον, παιδίον, τέκνον’ and in the weak feminine nouns *mawilo* (1×) ‘girl; κοράσιον’, *wairilo*\* (2×) ‘lib; χεῖλος’ and probably also in the strong feminine noun *iusila* (3×) ‘relief; ἄνεσις’. It is questionable if *inilo*\* (4×) ‘excuse, opportunity; πρόφασις, ἀφορμή’ also has this suffix. It should be pointed out that the words *barnilo* and *mawilo* are only attested in the vocative and, to an extent, used independently of the Greek as *παιδίον* and *τέκνον* are also rendered with *barn* and *κοράσιον* with *mawi* when not in an address. Therefore, it is probable that the diminutive meaning of the suffix has given way for its pet function.<sup>8</sup>

If it is assumed that *Attila* sufficiently reflects the pronunciation of the name in the language of the Huns it is hardly so exotic that the Romans and the Greeks could not adapt it to their native language without an aid from the Goths. Latin has words like *aquila* ‘eagle’ (also as a proper noun). Greek has, for example, the name *Ἀγησίλας* and therefore *Ἀττίλας* was, presumably, not difficult to pronounce.

<sup>7</sup> As the sound change *a > e* is absent in Hungarian, Bleyer (1906:453–458) assumes that *Attila* is from early Gothic but in late Gothic it changed to *Ettila*, a name still found in *Ethela*, *Ethele*. However, again we have no evidence for such a sound change (umlaut?) in Gothic. The absence of the sound change *a > e* does not exclude the adaptation of *Attila* into Hungarian as *Ethela*, *Ethele*. Bleyer maintains that these were the vernacular forms while *Attila* was the learned one. *Attila* survives as a proper noun in Hungarian and Turkish.

<sup>8</sup> It is not excluded that *Wulfila* was a pet name, derived from a name that had *wulfs*\* as its second component, cf. *Atawulf*. The same could apply to *Merila*, cf. *Sigismer*.

It should be mentioned that Latin had the salutation word *atta* ‘father’ used to address old men. Also, in Greek (Homer) the word *ἄττα* ‘father’ has a similar function. These words are said to be taken from child language, and this is often said of Gothic *atta* too, for example Krause (1968:126, 168) states *atta* is a ‘Lallwort’ and ‘Kinderwort’. Apparently he assumes that the original meaning of Gothic *atta* was ‘dad’ but it took over the meaning ‘father’ so *fadar* became marginalised. In that case it should be mentioned that Ebbinghaus (1974 [2003]) found that Gothic *atta* simply means ‘father’. Turkish has *ata* ‘father, forefather’. A similar form is found in other Turkic languages and in fact in many other languages too (see Beck 1973; Ebbinghaus 1974:97–98 [2003:30–31]). Therefore, Casaretto (2004:234) is likely correct when she states that *atta* is a migratory word whatever its origin. In Gothic, *-tt-* is absent from the inherited vocabulary (cf. Feist 1939:429 [*skatts*]) so it is less likely to be found in a baby word. And even though such words tend to be similar across languages – as one of the peer-reviewers pointed out – one can ask if it is likely that the same/similar baby word was in use in Gothic, Latin, Greek, the Turkic Languages, etc., and then, independently, it everywhere developed the meaning ‘father’ and abandoned the meaning ‘dad’. This is a bit hard to swallow.

The possibility exists that the king of the Huns was titled, or addressed, with a word that sounded similar to Gothic *atta* but the Goths turned it into a pet name by adding *-il-*, deriving *Attila*. But then it would be expected to be applicable to his successors too.

To explain the form of the name in Germanic languages other than Gothic, OE *Ætla*, OHG *Ezzilo*, MHG *Aetzel*, *Atzel*, ON *Atli*, it is not necessary to suppose a mediation of the Goths. A direct contact between Scandinavian people and the Huns is not excluded. It is assumed that in Old Norse there was a name *Atli* (derived from the adjective *atall* ‘energetic’) and that the name of Attila the Hun coalesced with this old name (cf. Magnússon 1989:29 [*Atli*]). The name is not attested in Proto-Norse runic inscriptions and, interestingly, it was not used in the East-Nordic languages, Swedish and Danish, until relatively recently; however, the adaptation of the name in West and North Germanic is not the issue of the present paper.

### The Horseman

If *Attila* is not Gothic, where does it come from? Several other proposals have in fact been made to explain the ultimate meaning of Attila’s name. None of these proposals has gained general acceptance so most of them will just be listed here (see more references in Moravcsik 1983:80; cf. also Maenchen-Helfen 1973:386–390).

Althof (1902:371–372) hints at the hypothesis that if the name *Attila* was not an adaption of Hunnic name it was possibly related to the Turkish word *atlı* ‘horseman, rider, cavalier’.<sup>9</sup> Apparently, though, Althof found the meaning ‘horse-tongue’ more probable, cf. Turkish *at* ‘horse’ and *dil* ‘tongue’. Mikkola (1913–1918:24)<sup>10</sup> tried to connect it with Turkish *āt* ‘name, fame’, meaning it would be of the same origin as Chagatai *atliy* ‘famous’ that has a match in modern Turkish *adlı* ‘named, famous’. Rásonyi (1953:349) tried to revive old ideas, probably first hinted at by Wilhelm Grimm (1813:205), connecting *Attila* to the Turkish name of the Volga, *Ātil* (cf. Pritsak 1956:405; Thierry 1856:54; Vámbéry 1882:41). Poucha (1955:291) wanted to connect the name to Tocharian A *atär* ‘hero’. Pritsak’s (1956, 1982:444) proposal, on the other hand, is similar to Rásonyi although he does not want to connect the name to the Volga but rather to the original meaning of *Volga* that may have been ‘big water’. He tried to explain the name *Attila* by deriving it from a little known Turkic dialect, the so called Danube-Bulgarian: *\*es* ‘great, old’, *\*t’il’* ‘sea, ocean’ and the suffix */a/*. This gives the meaning ‘the oceanic, universal [ruler]’. It is involved that *\*es* changed to *\*as*, the *s* and the *t* metathesized but ultimately assimilated into *-tt-*. The root is solely attested in Chuvash, *as-* (Pritsak 1956:414).

Maenchen-Helfen (1973:390) rejects Mikkola’s (1913) and Poucha’s (1955) ideas with the following verdict: “The first etymology is too farfetched to be taken seriously, the second is nonsense”. Maenchen-Helfen (1973:387) also blows away Rásonyi’s (1953) and Pritsak’s (1956) proposals with Benzing’s (1959:687 fn.4, 1944) authority.

Truly, our knowledge of the Hunnic language is almost zero. One can only guess a solution to this riddle of *Attila*’s name, so, in the following paragraphs I will try to restrain my speculations. I just wish to point to some Mongolian words or morphemes (most of them found in Hangin (1986) and the online *Bolor Dictionary*) whose Hunnic cognates may be hidden in the name *Attila*.

In Mongolian we find the word *aɣm* (older *agta*) ‘gelding, steed, warhorse’ coming from the proto-form *\*agta* ‘horse’ (*\*akta* in Poppe 1960:89, 95, 121). Many of the Turkic languages have a cognate word as a loan from Mongolian. In Kazak (Krippes 1994:10), for example, we find *aɣma* ‘gelding’ along with the common Turkic expression for ‘horse’, corresponding to Turkish *at* ‘horse’. According to Räsänen (1969:9b) *\*agta* is originally a loan from Persian *āhta*. The derived Mongolian word *aɣmɫax* ‘gelding; to castrate, geld’ (Hangin 1986:8) and phrases like *aɣm myyx* ‘to herd horses’ should also be noticed. And *aɣm* could be combined with *myyɫax* ‘to conquer, have, master’ gelding(s) or warhorse(s).

<sup>9</sup> A similar idea exists in Cahun (1880:865) but the exposition is somewhat defect.

<sup>10</sup> I wish to thank Jussi Ylikoski, associate professor at Sámi University College, Guovdageaidnu, Norway, for providing me with a copy of Mikkola’s paper.

Perhaps these elements had their cognates in the Hunnic language. I suggest that *Attila* was ultimately made of elements giving the meaning ‘owner of gelding/warhorse, horseman, cavalier’ so the content was somewhat similar to Modern Turkish *atlı* mentioned above. Also, the Hunnic cognate of Mongolian *aᠳᠢᠶᠢ* ‘horse, herd of horses’ and Turkish *at* < *\*at(a)* cannot be excluded as a starting point. Notice also, the word *адыулаx* ‘to tend horses or cattle; to nurse or take care of children’ (Hangin 1986:10). But *\*agta* is to be preferred as it refers to the gelding as a riding horse and a warhorse, not to horse in general.

Of course we do not know how the name sounded in the language of the Huns. Sometime, somewhere, somehow a proto-form like *\*agtala-* changed to *\*attila*. We cannot tell if the assimilation of *gt* to *tt*, and/or if loss of a final consonant took place in Hunnic or if these changes were part of the adaptation process into Latin, Gothic and Greek. The latter possibility is at least as likely to be true. There is no reason to worry about the medial vowel. Variants exist with an *a* or an *e*, as shown by *Athela* and *Attala* (cf. also the Hungarian adaptation *Ethele*) but in the long run *i* was established for this vowel. The final vowel is always *a*. Variants are also found with *t*, *th*, and *tth* for *tt*, and with *ll* for *l*, cf. Schönfeld (1911:274) and Moravcsik (1983:79–80).

### Conclusion

The Gothic origin of the name *Attila* is questionable. It is at least as likely to be of Hunnic origin. *Attila* with the meaning ‘horseman, cavalier’ may sound as banality in a society where everybody had horses. Possibly, it originally denoted the possessor of unusually many horses or horses of a special type or kind. *Attila* as the ‘possessor of geldings, provider of warhorses’ appears to be a suitable name (of a war lord). The chief must have been able to provide his warriors with horses even though they may have brought some of their own. *Attila* could also be an epithet given in the Hunnic Army. It is even possible that the original content was something like ‘groom’. Then it has taken a semantic shift comparable to *marshal*.

Magnús Snædal  
 University of Iceland, School of Humanities  
 Faculty of Icelandic and Comparative Cultural Studies  
 Sæmundargötu 2  
 IS-101 Reykjavík  
 [hreinn@hi.is]

## References

- Althof H. 1902: Über einige Namen im Waltharius. – *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 34:365–374.
- Asega-Buch*. Ein Alt-friesisches Gesetzbuch der Rühringer. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert von T. D. Wiarda. Berlin und Stettin 1805.
- Aventinus. 1554: *Annalivm Boiorvm Libri Septem Ioanne Auentino Autore*. [...] Ingolstadij.
- . 1566: *Johannis Aventini, Des Hochgelerten weitberumbten Beyerischen Geschichtschreibers Chronica*, [...] Anfänglich durch den Authorem in Latein verfertigt, nachmals aber den Teutschen zu gutem, von jm selber mit höchstem fleiß in gut gemein hoch Teutsch gebracht [...] Frankfurt am Mayn.
- . 1580a: *Johannis Aventini, Des Hochgelerten weitberumbten Beyerischen Geschichtschreibers Chronica*, [...] Anfänglich durch den Authorem in Latein verfertigt, nachmals aber den Teutschen zu gutem, von ihm selber in gut gemein Hochdeutsch gebracht: [...] Frankfurt am Mayn.
- . 1580b: *Io. Aventini Annalivm Boiorvm Libri VII Ex autenticis manuscriptis codicib. recogniti, restituti, aucti*. [...] Basileae.
- . 1880–1908: *Johannes Turmair's genannt Aventinus Sämmtliche Werke I–VI*. München.
- Bäuerle A. 1821: *Komisches Theater* 2. Pesth.
- Beck H. 1973: Attila. §8. – *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*. Zweite [...] Auflage [...]. Erster Band, p. 470. Berlin / New York.
- Benzing J. 1944: Die angeblichen bolgartürkischen Lehnwörter im Ungarischen. – *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 98:24–27.
- . 1959: Das Hunnische, Donaubolgarische und Wolgabolgarische, Das Tschuwaschische. – Deny J. / Grönbech K. / Scheel H. & Togan Z. V. (eds.): *Philologiae turcaicae fundamenta* I:685–695, 695–753. Wiesbaden.
- Bleyer J. 1906: Die germanischen Elemente der ungarischen Hunnensage. – *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 31:429–599. *Bolor Dictionary*. <http://www.bolor-toli.com>.
- Cahun L. 1880: Le véritable Attila. – *La nouvelle revue* 2,3:864–882.
- Casaretto A. 2004: *Nominale Wortbildung der gotischen Sprache*. Heidelberg.
- Drucker A. & Schüler L. 1920: *Das Vaterle und's Mutterle*. Nürnberg.
- Ebbinghaus E. A. 1974: Gotica IX. – *General Linguistics* 14,2:97–101. (Ebbinghaus 2003:30–34.)
- . 2003: *Gotica*. Kleine Schriften zur gotischen Philologie. Innsbruck.
- Feist S. 1939: *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* [...]. Dritte neu bearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. Leiden.
- Grimm J. 1826: *Deutsche Grammatik* II. Göttingen. [Neuer vermehrter Abdruck 1878.]

- Grimm J. 1831: *Deutsche Grammatik* III. Göttingen. [Neuer vermehrter Abdruck 1890.]
- . 1848: *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* I. Leipzig [Zweite Auflage 1853, Dritte Auflage 1868, Vierte Auflage 1880.]
- Grimm W. 1813: Zeugnisse über die deutsche Heldensage. – *Altdeutsche Wälder* herausgegeben durch die Brüder Grimm 1:195–323.
- Hangin G. 1986: *A Modern Mongolian-English Dictionary*. Bloomington, IN.
- Jordanes 2011: *Getica sive De Origine Actibusque Gothorum*. Second half. <http://www.harbornet.com/folks/theedrich/Goths/Goths2.htm>. [Checked 09.04.13]
- Krause W. 1968: *Handbuch des Gotischen*. Dritte, neubearbeitete Auflage. München.
- Krippes K. A. 1994: *Kazak (Qazaq)-English Dictionary*. Kensington, Md.
- Lehmann W. P. 1986: *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden.
- Lenz H. 2002: *Mehr Glück als Verstand*. Erinnerungen von Hanfried Lenz. Norderstedt.
- Maenchen-Helfen O. 1973: *The World of the Huns*. Berkeley.
- Magnússon Á. Bl. 1989: *Íslensk orðsifjabók*. Reykjavík.
- Mauthner F. 1880: *Vom armen Franischko*. Dritte Auflage. Bern & Leipzig.
- Mikkola J. J. 1913–1918: Die Chronologie der türkischen Donaubulgaren. – *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* XXX, 33. (Pp. 1–25.)
- Moravcsik G. 1983: *Byzantinoturcica* II. Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen. 3., unveränd. Aufl. Leiden.
- Poppe N. 1960: *Vergleichende Grammatik der Altaischen Sprachen* 1. Vergleichende Lautlehre. Wiesbaden.
- Poucha P. 1955: Mongolische Miscellen: IV. Zum Hunnenproblem. – *Central Asiatic Studies* 1,1:287–291.
- Pritsak O. 1956: Der Titel Attila. – Woltner M. & Bräuer H. (eds.): *Festschrift für Max Vasmer* zum 70. Geburtstag am 28. Februar 1956, pp. 404–419. Berlin.
- . 1982: The Hunnic Language of the Attila Clan. – *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 6,4:428–478.
- Räsänen M. 1969: *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*. Helsinki.
- Rásonyi L. 1953: Sur quelques catégories des noms des personnes en turc. – *Acta Linguistica* 3:323–350.
- Schönfeld M. 1911: *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen*. Heidelberg.
- Thierry M. A. 1856: *Histoire d'Attila et de ses successeurs* 1. Paris.
- Vámbery H. 1882: *Der Ursprung der Magyaren*. Leipzig.
- Wrede F. 1891: *Über die Sprache der Ostgoten in Italien*. Strassburg.