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TURKISMS IN UKRAINIAN ON THE BASIS OF BILINGUAL LEXICOGRAPHY: PART I

Keywords: Ukrainian, Turkic languages, lexical borrowing, bilingual lexicography

Abstract

Despite significant progress in the study of Turkisms in Russian and Polish, the Ukrainian language has yet to benefit from comprehensive and accessible research on the Turkic influences in its lexicon. This article seeks to address this gap by presenting a glossary of 280 Ukrainian words of Turkic or Turkish origin, compiled through an examination of three major bilingual dictionaries: Żelechowski (Ukrainian-German, 1886), Опаськyj (Ukrainian-Italian, 1941), and Andrusyshen, Krett (Ukrainian-English, 1955). The glossary entry for each word provides: (1) data from these dictionaries; (2) comparative information from Russian and/or Polish where applicable; (3) the Turkic or Turkish etymon, accompanied by brief commentary where necessary; and (4) selected references. The Turkisms identified span diverse semantic fields, underscoring their significance and highlighting the need for further systematic research into their role in Ukrainian.

In earlier work (RocchiPar.), I highlighted notable disparities in the study of Turkic or Turkish influences among Central and Eastern European languages. While substantial monographs are available for Russian, Polish, and Hungarian, languages such as Czech, Slovak, and Ukrainian remain underrepresented in this field. For Ukrainian in particular, research on Turkisms has been sparse and largely inaccessible; the earliest studies date to the late 19th century¹ and are neither extensive nor readily available online. Furthermore, to my knowledge, no studies on this topic have been

¹ Makaruška O. 1895. Slovar ukraïns'kykh vyraziv, perejnyatych z mov turks'kykh. – *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Ševčenko*, kn. 5, N. 2. L'viv (non vidi).

published outside Ukraine or in languages other than Ukrainian (or Russian). This study aims to address this gap by compiling a glossary of Turkic or Turkish elements in Ukrainian, using bilingual lexicographical sources as the primary criterion for inclusion (see Section 1.2 for details).

My research yielded 280 Ukrainian words of Turkic or Turkish origin, many of which are shared with Russian and/or Polish – evidence of extensive cross-linguistic borrowing. These loanwords belong to diverse semantic fields, including terminology related to Turkish culture (e.g., titles, military and religious terms, and social practices), as well as vocabulary pertaining to the natural environment, flora, fauna, material culture, and clothing. This lexical diversity underscores the significant influence of Turkic and Turkish on Ukrainian, warranting deeper investigation. I hope that this initial effort inspires further, more comprehensive research by future scholars.

Structure of the entries

The glossary is structured as follows:

1.1 Headword

The Ukrainian term, presented in bold, is drawn from the extensive etymological dictionary published by the Kyiv Academy of Sciences (ESUM), which covers the entire Ukrainian lexicon, including obsolete and dialectal terms. If ESUM provides information on the earliest recorded use of a word, this is noted in parentheses. Question marks (?) indicate uncertain Turkic/Turkish etymologies, and square brackets ([]) signify terms absent from ESUM.

1.2 Lexicographical data

This section lists information from three major bilingual dictionaries: E. Żelechowski (Ukrainian-German, 1886), E. Onacьkyj (Ukrainian-Italian, 1941), and C.H. Andrusyshen, J.N. Krett (Ukrainian-English 1955). Sub-headwords are recorded with any orthographic variations and meanings provided by these sources. If a lemma is absent from one or more dictionaries, this is explicitly noted. Additionally, relevant data from J. B. Rudnyцьkyj's etymological lexicon (1972–1982), which uses English as a metalanguage, are included where appropriate. Turkisms borrowed from Russian or Polish are incorporated, but those mediated through other languages (e.g., Romanian or Hungarian) are excluded.

1.3 Corresponding lemmas in Russian and Polish

Following the diamond symbol (◆), the entry notes whether the lemma has parallels in Russian or Polish – languages historically and geographically linked to Ukrainian. Words that appear solely as “exoticisms” in specific sources without genuine borrowing are excluded from this section.

1.4 Etymological information

Following the bullet symbol (●), the Turkic or Turkish source of the Ukrainian term is provided, with an indication of its ultimate origin if the root is non-Turkic (e.g., Arabic, Persian, Mongolic, or Greek).

1.5 Bibliographical note

A horizontal bar (–) introduces a concise, selective bibliography relevant to the lemma. References already cited in earlier sections are not repeated.

Corpus of Turkisms

1. ? **авряк**

авряк ‘montone di razza’ (On. 14).

- Possibly of Turkish origin, cf. T. *yavru* ‘the young (of an animal or bird)’ (NR 1247). The Ukr. word may result from the metathesis of an original **javrak* (-ak is a common Sl. suffixal morph).
- ESUM 1, 42; TMEN 4, 220–221; KEWT 355.

2. **ага** (18th c.)

ага ‘superior, chief officer’ (Rudn. 1, 7).

- ◆ R. *aga* ‘Vorgesetzter, Aufseher; Anrede für ältere Leute’ (Graffard 296); Pol. *aga* ‘ага’ (KFD 3), ‘Kommandant der Janitscharen-Infanterie’ (StachOTL 161).
- < Tk. *ага* ‘der Aelteste vom Aul’ (Radl. 1, 143); cf. T. *ağa* (Osm. *ağa*) ‘Agha (title formerly given to certain officers, esp. of the Janissaries); (rural) lord, master; local big landowner, Agha’ (NR 18).
- ESUM 1, 44; Vasmer 1, 60; TMEN 1, 133–140; StachTurc. 9–10; Anikin 74; SchwOr. 1, 44–46.

3. **агел**

агел ‘runde Hürde für Schafe’ (Žel. 2).

- < T. *ağıl* (Osm. *ağıl*) ‘sheep fold’ (NR 19), Az. *ağıl* ‘cattle shed, yard (for keeping cattle, sheep)’ (Musayev 8). Cf. → *аул*.
- ESUM 1, 45; TMEN 2, 82–84; Eren 3; KEWT 55.

4. **аїр**

аер, аер, аїр, ир ‘Kalmus (Acorus calamus)’ (Žel. 3, 324);

аер, аїр, гав’яр, гайр (cross- refers to *татарак*) ‘*colano [recte calamo] aromatico’ (On. 16, 17, 226, 1555);

аїр, ир, гав’яр [the meaning is missing] (AKr. 370).

- ◆ R. *аир, ир* ‘Acorus calamus’ (Graffard 43); Pol. *ajer* ‘sweet flag’ (KFD 3).
- < T. (< Gr.) *eğir* ‘sweet flag, Acorus calamus’ (NR 328). Kaz. *ajyr* ‘id.’ (Hauenschild 9) is likely to be a borrowing from Russian.
- ESUM 1, 53; Vasmer 1, 64; StachTurc. 11–12; VEWT 39.

5. айва

айва ‘Quitte (*Cydonia vulgaris*)’ (Žel. 3);

айва ‘cotogna (frutto); ‘cotogno (albero)’ (On. 17);

айва ‘quince tree’ (AKr. 4).

- ◆ R. *айва* ‘quince; quince-tree’ (Wheeler 4).
- < Tk., T. (< Pers.) *ayva* ‘quince’ (DTL 119; NR 107).
- ESUM 1, 53; Vasmer 1, 64; Eren 29; KEWT 70.

6. алажа (18th c.)

алача ‘silk material’ (Rudn. 1, 16).

- ◆ R. *алача* ‘motley textile’ (Poppe 32).
- < Tk. *alaca* ‘ein buntiges, streifiges Gewebe aus Mittelasien’ (Radl. 1, 361), T. *alaca* ‘striped stuff’ (NR 42), der. of *ala* ‘spotted, speckled’ (ibid.).
- ESUM 1, 59; Vasmer 1, 68; StachTurc. 211; TMEN 2, 102; Anikin 81; KEWT 58.

7. алмаз (1627)

алмаз ‘Diamant’ (Žel. 3);

алмаз ‘diamante’ (On. 19);

алмаз ‘diamond, brilliant’ (AKr. 5).

- ◆ R. *алмаз* ‘(uncut) diamond’ (Wheeler 6).
- < Tk. (< Ar.-Pers. < Gr.) *almas* ‘Diamant’ (Radl. 1, 438). The form *almaz* denoted by some Tk. languages (e.g., Azerbaijani, Turkmen) is reborrowed from Russian (Schermer 116–117).
- ESUM 1, 62; Vasmer 1, 71; KEWT 142; SchwOr. 1, 703.

8. алтин (17th c.)

алтин ‘Dreikopekenstück’ (Žel. 3)

◆ R. *алтын* ‘three-kopeck piece’ (Wheeler 6).

- < Tk. *altyn* ‘Gold; eine nicht mehr vorhandene Münze’ (Radl. 1, 405–407), T. *altın* ‘gold; gold coin’ (NR 53).
- ESUM 1, 62; Vasmer 1, 72–73; Eren 9–10; KEWT 60; SchwOr. 1, 137.

9. альтембас (*алтабас* 16th c.)

альтембас ‘gewisser mit Gold stark durchwebter Stoff’ (Žel. 3);

альтембас ‘sorta di broccato’ (On. 20).

- ◆ R. *алтабас* ‘persischer, mit Gold durchwirkter Stoff; Brokatstoff’ (Graffard 243); Pol. *altembas* ‘cloth of gold’ (KFD 6).
- < T. *altın bez*, formed by *altın* (→ *алтин*) and *bez* (→ *бязь*). The hypothesis that the R. word derives from It. *alto basso* is totally unacceptable.
- ESUM I, 65; Vasmer 1, 72; StachTurc. 17–18.

10. амбар (1766; *винбар* 1758)

амбар, анбар, винбар ‘Niederlage, Magazin’ (Žel. 4, 106);

амбар ‘granaio; magazzino’ (On. 21);

амбар ‘barn, granary; storehouse, warehouse’ (AKr. 6);

амбар, вимбар ‘granary, storehouse’ (Rudn. 1, 21).

♦ R. *амбар* ‘barn, granary; warehouse, storehouse’ (Wheeler 6).

• Tk., T. (< Pers.) *ambar* ‘Speicher, Kornboden, Getreidemagazin’ (Radl. 1, 652), ‘storehouse, store room, store; granary; grain bin, grain cellar’ (NR 55).

– ESUM 1, 66; Vasmer 1, 75; StachTurc. 21; Eren 11; SchwOr. 1, 165–166.

11. **аран** (17th c.)

аран ‘negro’ (On. 26);

аран ‘negro’ (AKr. 9).

♦ R. *аран* ‘id.’ (Wheeler 10).

• < T. *Arap* ‘Arab; Negro’ (NR 69).

– ESUM 1, 81 (Ukr. *араб* ‘Arab’ comes from French); Vasmer 1, 83; StachTurc. 24.

12. **араші pl.**

араші ‘Deichselstangen bei d. *Harba* [→ *зарба*]’ (Žel. 5);

араші ‘timone nel carro a due ruote per buoi’ (On. 26);

араші ‘beam, pole (of a two-wheeled ox-cart)’ (AKr. 9).

• < Tk. *aryš* ‘Femerstange’² (Radl. 1, 278) = T. *ariş* ‘pole (of an oxcart)’ (NR 71).

– ESUM 1, 82; TMEN 2, 40–42; KEWT 63.

13.? **аргат**

аргат, аргом ‘Arbeiter in der *Tafa* [→ *тафа*], bei dem Fischfange am unteren Dniepr; obdachloser Landstreicher’ (Žel. 5);

аргат ‘operaio; vagabondo derelitto’ (On. 26);

аргат ‘workman (especially fisherman in the lower reaches of the Dnieper); derelict, wandering laborer’ (AKr. 9).

• < T. (< Gr.) *irgat* ‘day-laborer, workman’ (NR 502), but the Ukr. word may also come from Rum. *argat* ‘criado, mozo de cuadra, mozo de labranza’ (Cioranescu 35–36), which is thought to be a direct Graecism.

– ESUM 1, 82; RocchiArg. 125; KEWT 177.

14. **[аргиш]**

аргиш ‘caravan’ (Rudn. 1, 30).

♦ R. *аргиш, аргыш* ‘reindeer caravan’ (Vasmer).

• < Tk. *aryuš* ‘Karawane’ (Radl. 1, 301).

– Vasmer 1, 84; VEWT 26; TMEN 2, 43–44; Anikin 95.

15. **аркан** (18th c.)

аркан ‘Schlinge, Strick (um Pferde zu fangen)’ (Žel. 5);

аркан ‘laccio; cappio’ (On. 27);

² “In Liefland [= Livland, Livonia] wird eine Deichsel auch eine Femerstange genannt” (Adelung’s dictionary).

аркан ‘lasso’ (AKr. 9);

аркан, гаркан ‘lasso, lariat’ (Rudn. 1, 32).

- ◆ R. *аркан* ‘lasso’ (Wheeler 10); Pol. *аркан* ‘Wurfschlinge zum Tierfang, Lasso’ (WSPN 1, 25).
- Tk. *аркан* ‘dicker Strick, Tau’ (Radl. 1, 288).
- ESUM 1, 85; Vasmer 1, 86; StachTurc. 27–28; KEWT 63.

16. арнаут

арнаут, арнавт ‘Arnaute’ (Žel. 6)

- ◆ R. *арнаут* ‘Albanian’ (Vasmer).
- < Osm. (< Gr.) *Arnaut* = T. *Arnavut* ‘id.’ (NR 74).
- ESUM I, 86; Vasmer 1, 88; RocchiErg. 114; KEWT 64.

17.? артіль

артіль, артель ‘Gesellschaft, Association der Arbeiter’ (Žel. 6);

артіль ‘artel; cooperativa’ (On. 27);

артіль ‘workmen’s association, *artel*, corporation of laborers; cooperative’ (AKr. 10).

- ◆ R. *артель* ‘artel (co-operative association of workmen or peasants)’ (Wheeler 11).
- The Ukr. word has been borrowed from Russian. Etymology controversial: Vasmer thinks of It. *artieri* ‘artisans, craftsmen’, while Trubačev, in an additional note to Vasmer’s entry, considers the Turkic origin more likely and compares Tatar-Bashkir *art il* ‘people (who are) behind’, that is ‘reserves, assistants’.
- ESUM 1, 88 (agrees with Trubačev); Vasmer 1, 89.

18. арчак

арчак, арчик ‘sella’ (On. 28);

арчак ‘saddle-frame’ (Rudn. 1, 35).

- ◆ R. *арчак* ‘hölzener Sattelbogen’ (Graffard 105); Pol. *jarczak* ‘Art leichter Sattel’ (StachOTL 164).
- Both Vasmer and ESUM maintain that this word comes from a Tat. *arčak* that is not recorded by ÈSTJa (see below) or any other Turkic dictionary. According to St. Stachowski its etymon is Tat. *angyrčak* [= *anyrčak*], form comparable to *уңурчак* ‘Packsattel’ (Radl. 1, 1358).
- ESUM 1, 90–91; Vasmer 1, 92; StachTurc. 249–250; TMEN 2, 128–129; ÈSTJa 1, 658–659; Anikin 88.

19. аршин (16th c.)

аршин ‘Arschine = 0,71142 Meter’ (Žel. 6);

аршин ‘arscina, vecchia misura = metri 0,71’ (On. 28);

аршин ‘arshin (old measure = yard and a quarter)’ (AKr. 10).

- ◆ R. *аршин* ‘id.’ (Wheeler 11); Pol. *arszyn* ‘id.’ (KFD 12).
- < Tk. *aršyn* ‘Arschine, Elle (Maass)’ (Radl. 1, 332).
- ESUM 1, 91; Vasmer 1, 92; StachTurc. 29–30; KEWT 65; SchwOr. 1, 198–199.

20. ар'ян

ар'ян 'sauere Ziegenmilch' (Žel. 6);

ар'ян 'latte acido di capre' (On. 28);

ар'ян 'goat's sour milk' (AKr. 10).

◆ R. *айран, ар'ян* 'Erfrischungsgetränk aus saurer (Kuh-)milch und Wasser mit einer Prise Salz' (Graffard 234).

● < Tk. *ajran* 'ein Getränk aus gegohrener Kuhmilch' (Radl. 1, 25).

– ESUM 1, 91; Vasmer 1, 65, 92; TMEN 2, 179–181; Anikin 78–79, 100; KEWT 70.

21. аул

аул 'tatarische Hütte' (Žel. 7);

аула 'folla rumorosa' (On. 30);

аул 'village (in the Caucasus)'; *аула* 'noisy crowd' (AKr. 11);

аул, авул 'settlement, village, hurdle of Asiatic and Cauc. peoples' (Rudn. 1, 41).

◆ R. *аул* 'aul (mountain village in Caucasus' (Wheeler 13).

● < Tk. *aul* 'Aul, Jurten die an einer Stelle zusammenstehen (der Aul bildet stets eine sociale Einheit)' (Radl. 1, 74), which goes back to the same root as T. *ağıl* (→ *агел*). The semantic development 'cabin, yurt' → 'group of yurts, village' → 'villagers' → 'crowd' does not require clarification. The feminine form *аула* is probably due to the analogical influence of its synonym *юрба* 'crowd'.

– ESUM 1, 98; Vasmer 1, 96; TMEN 2, 82–84; Anikin 77; KEWT 55.

22. бабай

бабай 'folletto' (On. 32);

бабай 'hobgoblin, sprite' (AKr. 12).

◆ R. *бабай* 'Großvater, alter Mann' (Graffard 298).

● < Tat., Bashkir *babaj*, vocative of *baba* 'grandfather' (Anikin).

– ESUM 1, 103; Vasmer 1, 99; Anikin 104–105; KEWT 73.

23. бабак

бабак, байбак 'Murmeltier (Mus marmota)' (Žel. 7, 9);

бабак, байбак 'marmotta; infingardo' (On. 32, 36);

бабак, байбак 'marmot, prairie dog; lazy (slothful, indolent) person' (AKr. 12, 14).

◆ R. *байбак* 'steppe marmot; lazybones' (Wheeler 14).

● < Tat. *байбак* 'marmot' (ESUM), provided this word (missing in ÈSTJa) is not a borrowing from Russian.

– ESUM 1, 103; Vasmer 1, 107 (suggests an unlikely Turkic-Persian etymon).

24. баган

баган 'Darrhaus' (Žel. 108).

◆ R. *баган* 'staff, pole, shaft; rod. perch' (Vasmer, Anikin).

● < Tk. *бауан, бауана* 'Stütze, Säule, Pfahl' (Radl. 4, 1447). The Ukr. meaning may be explained by metonymy, as a kiln ('Darrhaus') can be built using poles.

– ESUM I, 108; Vasmer 1, 101; VEWT 58; Anikin 106.

25. **базар** (18th c.)

базар 'Bazar, Marktplatz, Jahrmarkt, Messe' (Žel. 9);

базар 'mercato; giorno di mercato' (On. 36);

базар 'bazaar, market place' (AKr. 14).

◆ R. *базар* 'market; bazaar' (Wheeler 14); Pol. *bazar* 'bazaar; store' (KFD 21).

● < Tk. (< Pers.) *bazar* 'Markt, Jahrmarkt' (Radl. 4, 1542).

– ESUM 1, 114; Vasmer 1, 105–106; Eren 326–327; StachTurc. 64; KEWT 278; SchwOr. 1, 389–393.

26. **байбарак** (17th c.)

байбарак 'weibl. Oberkleid; kurzer Oberrock der Huzulen'³ (Žel. 9);

байбарак 'soprabito di drappo' (On. 36);

байбарак 'short overcoat (used by Ukrainian highlanders)' (AKr. 14).

◆ R. *байберек, бамберек, банберек* 'dicht gewebter Stoff aus gezwirnter Seide mit goldenen und silbernen Mustern' (Graffard 243).

● < Tk. phrase formed by *baj* 'reich' and *bäräk* (< Pers.) 'eine Art groben Tuches' (Radl. 4, 1422, 1595).

– ESUM 1, 115; Vasmer 1, 107; Anikin 109.

27. **байрак**

байрак 'Waldthal, Waldschlucht, Gehölz' (Žel. 10):

байрак 'bosco nel burrone' (On. 37);

байрак 'wooded valley, ravine' (AKr. 15).

◆ R. *буерак* 'gully; coombe' (Wheeler 45).

● Two different Turkic etyma have been suggested: 1) < *baj(i)r* 'Wüste, Bergabhang; Hügel' (Radl. 4, 1424); 2) < *büjräk* and varr. 'Niere' (id. 4, 1716), which seems less probable.

– ESUM 1, 117–118; Vasmer 1, 231; VEWT 57.

28. **бакалія**

бакалія 'Leckereien, Süßigkeiten' (Žel. 10);

бакалія 'derrate coloniali, droghe' (On. 37);

бакалія 'sweets; colonial produce; groceries' (AKr. 15).

◆ R. *бакалея* 'groceries' (Wheeler 14); Pol. *bakalie* 'southern fruits such as raisins, almonds, etc; confectionery' (KFD 17).

● < T. *bakkaliye* 'groceries' (NR 125), a der. of T. (< Ar.) *bakkal* 'grocer' (ibid.).

– ESUM 1, 119; Vasmer 1, 109; StachTurc. 49–50; KEWT 75.

29. **бакан**

бакан 'rothe Cochenillfarbe' (Žel. 10);

бакан 'carminio, colore rosso' (On. 37);

бакан 'carmine (colour)' (AKr. 10);

³ Ethnic group living mainly in western Ukraine.

- ◆ R. *бакан* ‘flammendrote Farbe’ (Graffard 26).
- < T. (< Ar.) *bakkam* ‘logwood, Haematoxylon campechianum’ (NR 125). Its heavy reddish-brown wood yields the dye haematoxylin.
- ESUM 1, 119; Vasmer 1, 109; VEWT 59; SchwOr. 1, 336–337.

30. **бакир**

бакир ‘caldaia’ (On. 37).

- ◆ R. *бакыр* ‘large metal bucket’ (Anikin).
- < Tk. *bakyr* (Radl. 4, 1439–1440) = T. *bakır* ‘copper; copper kitchen utensils’ (NR 125), probably of Persian origin (KEWT).
- ESUM 1, 120; VEWT 58; Anikin 111; KEWT 75.

31. **баклажан**

баклажани pl. (cross-refers to) *помідори* (pl. of) *помідор* ‘Liebes-, Paradiesapfel (Solanum lycopersicum)’ (Žel. 10, 696–697);

баклажан ‘pomodoro’; *синій баклажан* ‘melanzana’ (On. 37):

баклажан ‘eggplant’ (AKr. 15);

- ◆ R. *баклажан* ‘aubergine, egg-plant’ (Wheeler 14); Pol. *bakłażan* ‘Eierpflanze, Eierapfel’ (WSPN 1, 42).
- < T. (< Ar.-Pers. < Sanskrit) **batlaḡan* (KEWT) > *patlıcan* ‘eggplant, Solanum melongena’ (NR 921).
- ESUM 1, 120; Vasmer 1, 110; VEWT 381; KEWT 278; SchwOr. 1, 289–291.

32. **баклан**

баклан ‘Wasserrabe, Scharbe (Carbo cormoranus); Haliaeaus carbo’ (Žel. 10);

баклан ‘gabbiano’; *великий баклан* ‘marangone, cormorano’ (On. 37–38);

баклан ‘sea-mew, sea-gull’; *великий баклан* ‘diver, plungeon: cormorant’ (AKr. 15);

баклан ‘phalacrocorax, noddy’ (Rudn. 1, 58).

- ◆ R. *баклан* ‘cormorant’ (Wheeler 14); ‘kind of goose’ (Anikin 112).
- < T. *baklan* ‘ruddy sheldrake, Casarca ferruginea; great bustard, Otis tarda’ (Redh. 90). Cf. Chagh. *bağlan qaz* ‘wild goose’ (Bab. 3, 848).
- ESUM 1, 120; Vasmer 1, 110; TMEN 2, 298–299; KEWT 75.

33. **бакша**

бакша ‘Garten, wo Kürbisfrüchte, Melonen, Gurken angebaut werden’ (Žel. 10);

бакша ‘campo di cocomeri’ (On. 38);

бакша ‘ground planted with melons and cucumbers’ (AKr. 15).

- ◆ R. *бахча* ‘(water-)melon plantation; pumpkin (gourd) field’ (Wheeler 18).
- < Tk. (< Pers.) *bakča*, *bakša* ‘Gemüsegarten’ (Radl. 4, 1445) = T. *bahçe* ‘garden; park’ (NR 121).
- ESUM 1, 121; Vasmer 1, 111; Poppe 49; Eren 33; KEWT 75; SchwOr. 1, 299–300.

34. **бакшиш**

бакшиш ‘sottomano’ (On. 38);

бакшиш ‘gratuity, tip, baksheesh’ (AKr. 15).

- ◆ R. *бакшиши* ‘bakshish; tip; bribe’ (Wheeler 14); Pol. *bakszysz* ‘Bakschisch; Almosen; Trinkgeld’ (WSPN 1, 42).
- < T. (< Pers.) *bahşiş* ‘tip, baksheesh’ (NR 123).
- ESUM 1, 121; Vasmer 1, 111; StachTurc. 51; KEWT 75; SchwOr. 1, 305–307.

35. балабан (болобанъ 17th c.)

балабан ‘Art Jagdfalke (Falco lanarius [sic])’ (Žel. 11);

балабан ‘falco’ (On. 38);

балабан ‘falcon’ (AKr. 15).

- ◆ R. *балабан* ‘Art großer Falke für Hasenjagd, falco lanarius, falco nobilis’ (Graffard 92).
- < Tk., T. *balaban* ‘eine Sperberart’ (Radl. 4, 1494–1495), ‘goshawk’ (NR 126).
- ESUM 1, 121; Vasmer 1, 111; TMEN 2, 255–256; KEWT 76; SchwOr. 1, 311.

36.? балаган

балаган ‘Barake, Bude auf Jahrmärkten’ (Žel. 11);

балаган ‘baracca, baraccone; teatro di saltimbanchi’ (On. 38);

балаган ‘booth, show-booth (of theatre); farce; theatre of mountebanks’ (AKr. 15).

- ◆ R. *балаган* ‘booth (at fairs); low farce’ (Wheeler 14); Pol. *bałagan* ‘Marktbude, Bude eines Wandertheaters, Baracke’ (WSPN 1, 43).
- Possibly < Tk. (Kaz.) (< Pers.) *balayan* ‘building, house’ (Poppe 34). Anikin (see below) suggests a different etymology (< evenki < yakut).
- ESUM 1, 122–123; Vasmer 1, 112; Boryś 20; Anikin 113–114; SchwOr. 1, 315.

37. баламут

баламут ‘Makrele (Scomber scombrus)’ (Žel. 11);

баламут ‘pesce sgombro, maccarello’ (On. 38);

- < T. (< Gr.) *palamut* ‘bonito; short-finned tunny, Pelamys sarda’ (NR 915).
- ESUM 1, 124; Eren 322; RocchiErg. 135; KEWT 275.

38. балда (балта 1627)

балда, *балта* ‘Beil, Handbeil’ (Žel. 11);

балда ‘grande scure’; *балта* ‘scure’ (On. 39);

балта ‘axe, hatchet’ (AKr. 16).

- ◆ R. *балда* ‘heavy hammer, sledge-hammer’ (Wheeler 15); *балта* ‘schmales Beil’ (Graffard 166); Pol. *balta* ‘Kampfaxt, -beil’ (StachOTL 161).
- < Tk. *balta* ‘Beil, Axt’ (Radl 4, 1501–1502).
- ESUM 1, 126; Vasmer 1, 118; StachTurc. 52–53; TMEN 1, 199–200; Eren 36–38; Schönig 67; WOT 1, 87–89; KEWT 78., SchwOr. 1, 322.

39. балик (1759)

балик ‘dorso salato e affumicato di storione, o di altri pesci cartilaginosi’ (On. 39);

балик ‘cured back of sturgeon’ (AKr. 15).

- ◆ R. *балык* ‘balyk (cured fillet of sturgeon, etc.)’ (Wheeler 15); Pol. *bałyk* ‘geräucherter Störrücken’ (WSPN 1, 44).

- < Tk. *balyk* ‘Fisch’ (Radl. 4, 1496).
- ESUM 1, 127; Vasmer 1, 119; StachTurc. 54; Eren 36; KEWT 77.

40. бамія

бамія ‘Hibiscus esculentus: vervain’ (Rudn. 1, 70).

- ◆ R. *бамія* ‘id.’ (Vasmer)
- < T. (< Ar.) *бамуа* ‘gumbo, okra, Hibiscus esculentus’ (NR 129).
- ESUM 1, 132; Vasmer 1, 120; KEWT 78; SchwOr. 1, 325.

41. барабан (17th c.)

барабан ‘Trommel’ (Žel. 13);

барабан ‘tamburo’ (On. 42);

барабан ‘drum’ (AKr. 17).

- ◆ R. *барабан* ‘id.’ (Wheeler 16).
- Variation of → *тарабан*.
- ESUM 1, 137; Vasmer 1, 122–123.

42. бариш

бариш ‘Gewinn, (Agio), Mäklerlohn, Trinkgeld’ (Žel. 13);

бариш ‘profitto; lucro; guadagno’ (On. 43);

бариш ‘profit, gain’ (AKr. 17).

- ◆ R. *барыш* ‘Gewinn, Profit’ (Graffard 184); Pol. *barycza* ‘Tauschhandelsplatz’ (Stach-OTL 161), *borysz* ‘Leikauf, Leitkauf, Kauftrunk (zur Bestätigung eines Kaufes oder Vertragsabschlusses)’ (WSPN 1, 95).
- < Tk. *baryš* ‘Frieden, Eintracht’ (Radl 4, 1480), T. *barış* ‘reconciliation, peace’ (NR 131).
- ESUM 1, 143; Vasmer 1, 129; StachTurc. 54–55; Eren 40; KEWT 79.

43. барс (барсовым 1555)

барс ‘felis irbis: panther’ (Rudn. 1, 83).

- ◆ R. *барс* ‘ounce, snow leopard (Uncia uncia)’ (Wheeler 17).
- < Tk. *bars* ‘Panther, Tiger, Leopard’ (Radl. 4, 1487).
- ESUM 1, 146; Vasmer 1, 128; TMEN 2, 235–238; Anikin 119–120.

44. бархан

бархан ‘sand-hill’ (Rudn. 1, 84).

- ◆ R. *бархан* ‘(sand-)dune (in steppe or desert)’ (Wheeler 17).
- < Tk. (Kaz.) *бархан* ‘id.’ (Vasmer). “Es ist eigentlich ein aktives substantiviertes Partizip von dem Verb *bar-maq* ‘sich fortbewegen’ (...). Die Sanddünen sind ja beweglich und sind in den kasachischen Steppen eine häufige Erscheinung” (Graffard 26–27).
- ESUM 1, 146; Vasmer 1, 129; ÈSTJa 2, 65.

45. баскак

баскак ‘tartarischer Vorgesetzte, Steuereinnnehmer’ (Žel. 14);

баскак ‘T[a]t[arian] tax-collector; T[a]t[arian] official’ (Rudn. 1, 85).

- ◆ R. *баскак* ‘Steuereinnnehmer, unter den Tataren Vertreter des Chans, welche die Tribute einzuziehen und die Befehle auszuführen hatten’ (Graffard 184); Pol. *bas-kak* ‘tatarischer Würdenträger’ (StachOTL 162).
- < Tk. *baskak* ‘Polizeimeister, Steuereinnnehmer bei den unterworfenen Völkern’ (Radl. 4, 1533).
- ESUM 1, 148; Vasmer 1, 131; StachTurc. 56–57; TMEN 2, 241–243.

46. **басма**

- басма* ‘schwarzes seidenes Halstuch’ (Žel. 14);
басма ‘fazzoletto di seta per coprire il collo, sciarpa’ (On. 44–45);
басма ‘kerchief for the neck’ (AKr. 18).
- ◆ R. *басма* ‘print cotton’ (Poppe 32).
 - < Tk., T. *basma* ‘gedruckter Katun’ (Radl. 1, 1540), ‘printed cloth, calico’ (NR 134).
 - ESUM 1, 148; Vasmer 1, 131; TMEN 2, 244–245; KEWT 80; SchwOr. 1, 366–367.

47. ? **бахмат** (1542)

- бахмат* ‘Saum-, Lastpferd; Streitross’ (Žel. 15);
бахмат ‘cavallo da guerra, cavallo da sella’ (On. 46);
бахмат ‘war-horse; pack-horse’ (AKr. 18).
- ◆ R. *бахмат* ‘niedriges, schlecht gehaltenes Steppenpferdchen’ (Graffard 105); Pol. *bachmat* ‘Tartar horse’ (KFD 16).
 - Unclear. According to most scholars, the ending *-at* corresponds to Tk. *at* ‘horse’, but the origin of the initial part is controversial. The hypothesis that the word comes from the name *Mahmud* is most unlikely.
 - ESUM 1, 152–153; Vasmer 1, 136–137; StachTurc. 42–43.

48. **бахрома**

- бахрома* ‘Franse, Borte’; *бахрома шовкова* ‘Art seidener Kleiderstoff’ (Žel. 15);
бахрома ‘fringe, edge in tassels; silk material’ (AKr. 18);
бахрома ‘fringe thrum’ (Rudn. 1, 89).
- ◆ R. *бахрома* ‘fringe’ (Wheeler 18); Pol. *machrama* ‘Tuch’ (StachOTL 166).
 - < Tk. (< Ar.) *makrama*, *maḡrama* ‘Schleier der Frauen’ (Radl. 4, 1997, 2003) = T. *makrama*, *mahrāma* ‘handkerchief; kerchief; napkin; face towel’ (NR 722. 726).
 - ESUM 1, 153; Vasmer 1, 137; StachTurc. 376 (*machrana*); Eren 285; KEWT 250; SchwOr. 1, 1333–1334.

49. **баша** (1595), **паша**

- баша, паша* ‘türk. Pascha’ (Žel. 15, 606);
баша, паша ‘pascià’ (On. 46, 1068);
баша, паша ‘pasha (Turkish commander, governor)’ (AKr. 19, 667).
- ◆ R. *паша* ‘pasha’ (Wheeler 494); Pol. *basza, pasza* ‘id.’ (KFD 20, 357).
 - < Osm. *başa* (T. *paşa*) ‘pasha’ (NR 138, 920), contracted form of *padişah* (→ *падишах*) as a result of syncope.
 - ESUM 1, 155; Vasmer 3, 223 (the form *баша* is attested in the 16th c.); StachTurc. 60–61; TMEN 2, 420–424; KEWT 275; SchwOr. 1, 95–102.

50. **башибузук**

башибузук ‘basci-buzuk’ (On. 46);

башибузук ‘bashibazouk, irregular soldier; vagabond’ (Rudn. 1, 91).

- ◆ R. *башибузук* ‘bashi-bazouk; Turkish irregular (soldier)’ (Wheeler 18); Pol. *baszy-buzuk* ‘irregulärer türkischer Soldat’ (WSPN 1, 50).
- < T. *başıbozuk* ‘civilian; irregular (soldier)’ (NR 139), literally ‘(man) whose head is deranged’.
- ESUM 1, 155; Vasmer 1, 138; Poppe 52; TETTL 1, 608; SchwOr. 1, 364–365.

51. **башка**

башка ‘Kopf’ (Žel. 15);

башка ‘head’ (Rudn. 1, 91).

- ◆ R. *башка* ‘head; pate’ (Wheeler 18).
- < Tk. *baš* ‘Kopf’ (Radl. 4, 1546). As far as the Sl. loanwords are concerned, there is controversy over the origin of the ending *-ka*.
- ESUM 1, 155; Vasmer 1, 139; Eren 41–43; KEWT 80.

52. **башлик** (1749)

башлик ‘cappuccio caucasico’ (On. 46);

башлик ‘cowl, hood’ (AKr. 19).

- ◆ R. *башлык* ‘hood’ (Wheeler 18); Pol. *baszlyk* ‘Baschlik, Baschlyk (kaukasische Wollkarpuze)’ (WSPN 1, 42).
- < Tk. *bašlyk* ‘Kopfschmuck, Bashlyk’ (Radl. 4, 1558) = T. *başlık* ‘cowl, cap, headgear’ (NR 139).
- ESUM 1, 155; Vasmer 1, 139; StachTurc. 62; TMEN 2, 248–250; Anikin 124; SchwOr. 1, 366.

53. **башмак** (*бачмага* 1599)

башмак ‘Schuh’ (Žel. 15);

башмак ‘shoe’ (AKr. 19).

- ◆ R. *башмак* ‘id.’ (Wheeler 18); Pol. *baczmag* ‘Art Schuh(e)’ (StachOTL 161).
- < Tk. *bašmak* (Radl. 4, 1561) = T. *başmak* ‘shoe; slipper’ (NR 139).
- ESUM 1, 155–156; Vasmer 1, 139; StachTurc. 44; Eren 43–44; TMEN 2, 293–294; KEWT 80–81; SchwOr. 1, 367–368.

54. **баштан**

баштан ‘Garten, wo Kürbisfrüchte, Melonen, Gurken angebaut werden’ (Žel. 15);

баштан ‘campo di cocomeri’ (On. 46);

баштан ‘melon or cucumber garden (in the steppe)’ (AKr. 19).

- ◆ R. *баштан* = *бахча* (→ *бакша*) (Wheeler 18).
- < T. (< Pers.) *bostan* ‘vegetable garden, kitchen garden’ (NR 191).
- ESUM 1, 156; Vasmer 1, 139; KEWT 91; SchwOr. 1, 457–459.

55. **бей** (18th c.)

бей ‘bey’ (On. 58);

бей ‘bey’ (AKr. 26).

- ◆ R. *бей* 'bey (Turkish title)' (Wheeler 23); Pol. *bej* 'id.' (KFD 21).
- < T. *bey* 'prince, ruler, chieftain; chief, head, master' (NR 164).
- ESUM 1, 163; StachTurc. 65–66; TMEN 2, 377–379; KEWT 86; SchwOr. 1, 409–414.

56. бекмес

бекмес 'miele di anguria, di cocomero' (On. 58).

- ◆ R. *бекмес* 'eingekochter, mit Wasser vermischter Sirup aus Melonen, Äpfeln, Birnen' (Graffard 235).
- < Tk. (prob. < Pers.) *bekmes* 'syrup of fruit juice' (Clauson 327) = T. *bekmez, pekmez* 'grape juice boiled to a sugary solid or a heavy syrup' (NR 151, 924).
- ESUM 1, 164; Vasmer 1, 146; TMEN 2, 397–308; Eren 328; KEWT 278; SchwOr. 1, 108–109.

57. белъбас

белъбас, бейбас 'feistes, bausbackiges Kind; Bengel' (Žel. 23);

белъбас, белбас 'balordo; babbeo' (On. 58);

белъбас, белбас 'sluggard, drone, blockhead' (AKr. 26).

- ◆ R. *балбес* 'booby' (Wheeler 15).
- < Tk. (Kirgh.) *bilbes*⁴ 'he (who) does not know' (Rudn. 1, 102) = *bilmes* (see the next entry).
- ESUM 1, 165; Vasmer 1, 114; Poppe 3.

58. белъмес

белъмес 'ungeschlechter Mensch, Lümmel, Bauerklotz' (Žel. 23).

- ◆ R. *белъмес* 'Dummkopf, Ignorant' (Graffard 289).
- < Tk. (Tat.) *bilmes* = T. *bilmes* 'who does not know, ignorant' (NR 178), negative aorist participle of *bilmek* 'to know'.
- ESUM 1, 166; Vasmer 1, 149–150; Anikin 126.

59. беркут

беркут 'Steinadler (Aquila fulva)' (Žel. 25);

беркут 'aquila reale' (On. 60);

беркут 'royal (golden) eagle' (AKr. 27).

- ◆ R. *беркут* 'golden eagle' (Wheeler 25); Pol. *birkut* 'Seeadler, Flußadler' (WSPN 1, 78).
- < Tk. *bürküüt* 'der Berkut (aquila fulva, chrysactos)' (Radl. 4, 1891), 'eagle' (Bab. 3, 849).
- ESUM 1, 174–175; Vasmer 1, 157; StachTurc. 76–77; VEWT 92–93; TMEN 2, 331–333; Kincses-Nagy 72–73 (assumes that the Tk. word is a Mongolic copy).

60. бешмет

бешмет 'Art Oberkleid' (Žel. 25);

бешмет 'beshmet, Caucasian coat' (Rudn. 1, 119).

⁴ "Im Kirgisischen kommt (...) das Negativsuffix *-ma-* in dieser seiner ursprünglichen Form überhaupt nicht mehr vor. Nach Vokalen und Liquidae steht immer *-ba-*, (...) *bil-bäy-min* 'ich weiß nicht'" (Menges 462).

- ◆ R. *бешмет* ‘beshmet (kind of quilted coat)’ (Wheeler 29).
- < Tk. *bišmät* ‘ein wattirter Rock’ (Radl. 4, 1789).
- ESUM 1, 180; Vasmer 1, 163; Anikin 128.

61. бовван

балван, бовван, болван ‘Götzenbild’ (Žel. 11, 35, 38);

бовван ‘idolo; statua’ (On. 74);

бовван ‘idol, sculptured image of a god’ (AKr. 36).

- ◆ R. *болван* ‘idol’ (Wheeler 36); Pol. *bałwan* ‘id.’ (KFD 18).
- Sl. **bъlvantъ* is a word of debated Tk. origin. According to the most accepted theory, it derives from an unattested Tk. (< Iranian) **balvan*, which may be reconstructed on the basis of Old Tk. *balbal* ‘a stone pillar erected on a grave as a token of the enemy’ (WOT below).
- ESUM 1, 218; Vasmer 1, 186–187; Boryś 21; WOT 1, 89–93.

62. богатыр (15th c.)

богатыр, багатыр ‘Held, Ritter’ (Žel. 35);

багатыр ‘eroe’ (On. 33);

багатыр ‘hero, powerful man, giant’ (AKr. 13).

- ◆ R. *богатырь* ‘bogatyry (hero in Russian folklore)’ (Wheeler 34); Pol. *bohater* ‘hero’ (KFD 34).
- < Old Tk. *βαγατούρ* ‘Titel vornehmer Bulgaren, immer mit einem anderen Titel verbunden (IX Jh.)’ (Moravcsik 83), Middle Tk. *bayatur* ‘probus’ (Codex Cumanicus: Grønbech 47) = T. *bahadır, bahadur* ‘brave, gallant, valiant, champion, hero’ (NR 121).
- ESUM 1, 220; Vasmer 1, 183; StachTurc. 79–80; Boryś 35; TMEN 2, 366–377; Eren 33; WOT 1, 107 (“The word seems to be an old Eurasiatic cultural term, the origin of which is unclear”); KEWT 74–75.

63. бора

бора, борва ‘Nordwind, Sturmwind, Orkan’ (Žel. 39);

бора, борва, борвій ‘vento impetuoso, uragano’ (On. 80);

борвій ‘hurricane, tempest, storm’ (AKr. 39).

- ◆ R. *бора* ‘kalter, heftiger und stürmischer Wind (am Ufer des Schwarzen Meeres)’ (Graffard 28).
- < T. (< It.) *bora* ‘storm, squall, tempest’ (NR 190).
- ESUM 1, 229; Vasmer 1, 193; LFL 115; Eren 57.

64. борсук

борсук ‘Dachs (meles Taxus)’ (Žel. 40);

борсук ‘tasso’ (On. 81).

борсук ‘badger’ (AKr. 40).

- ◆ R. *барсук* ‘id.’ (Wheeler 17); Pol. *borsuk* ‘id.’ (KFD 35).
- < Tk. *borsuk* ‘Dachs’ (Radl. 4, 1668).

– ESUM 1, 235; Vasmer 1, 128; StachTurc. 83–84; Boryś 35; TMEN 2, 284–285; Eren 337–338; KEWT 282–283.

65. бpага

бpага ‘Maische zum Branntweinmachen, Branntweinspülicht, Schlempe; Branntwein; Art Dünnbier aus Hirse’ (Žel. 42);

бpага ‘bevanda dal malto di miglio’ (On. 83);

бpага ‘mash; brandy grounds’ (AKr. 41).

◆ R. *бpага* ‘home-brewed beer’ (Wheeler 40).

● Presumably < Chuv. *pərağa* ‘draff, brewer’s grain’, orig. ‘weak beer’ (Rudn. 1, 190).

– ESUM 1, 242–243; Vasmer 1, 205.

66. бyгай (18th c.)

бyгай, бyга, бyга ‘Stier, Zuchtstier, Stammochs’ (Žel. 47);

бyгай ‘toro di razza’ (On. 91);

бyгай ‘bull’ (AKr. 45).

◆ R. *бyгай* ‘id.’ (Wheeler 44); Pol. *buhaj* ‘id.’ (KFD 41).

● < Tk. *buva* ‘Bulle’ (Radl. 4, 1802).

– ESUM 1, 275; Vasmer 1, 228; StachTurc. 89; Boryś 45; TMEN 2, 299–301; WOT 1, 127–128; KEWT 89.

67. бyза

бyза ‘Getränk aus Wasser u. Mehl’ (Žel. 48).

бyза ‘bevanda tartara, specie di birra, fatta di miglio’ (On. 93);

бyза ‘Tartar beer (made of millet)’ (AKr. 45).

◆ R. *бyза* ‘bouza (fermented beverage made from millet, buckwheat or barley)’ (Wheeler 45).

● < Tk. *buza* ‘ein aus Hirse bereitetes Getränk’ (Radl. 4, 1867) = T. *boza* ‘boza (beverage made of fermented millet)’ (NR 194).

– ESUM 1, 281; Vasmer 1, 232; StachTurc. 86–87; TMEN 2, 337–341; KEWT 92; SchwOr. 1, 466 (“The ultimate origin of the word cannot be determined with certainty”).

68. бyздиган (1637)

бyздиган ‘Streitkolben’, *ождиган* ‘Schlägel, Keule’ (Žel. 48, 562);

**бyздичан* [recte *бyздиган*] ‘mazza ferrata’ (On. 93).

◆ R. *бyздыхан* ‘Keule des Vorstehers, Kommandostab, dessen Kugel mit spitzen Nägeln versehen war’ (Graffard 166); Pol. *buzdygan* ‘mace’ (KFD 43).

● < T. *bozdağan, bozdoğan* (Osm. *buzdiğan* and varr.) ‘iron war-mace’ (NR 194).

– ESUM 1, 281; Vasmer 1, 232; StachTurc. 98–99; VEWT 91; SchwOr. 1, 468–469.

69. бyзівок

бyзімок ‘junger einmal überwintertes Stier; noch nicht überwintertes Kalb’ (Žel. 48);

бyзівок, бyзімок ‘vitello d’un anno’ (On. 93);

бyзімок, бyзімок, бyзівок ‘young (one year old) calf’ (Rudn. 1, 242).

- ◆ R. *бузивок* ‘einjähriges Kalb’ (Graffard 73).
- < Middle Tk. *buzav*, *buzov* ‘vitellus’ (Codex Cumanicus: Grønbech 70) = T. *buzağı* ‘calf (not yet weaned)’ (NR 205).
- ESUM 1, 282; Vasmer 1, 232–233; Eren 65; WOT 1, 151–152; KEWT 97.

70. **бузувiр**

- бузовiр*, *бусовiр*, *музувiр* ‘Ungläubiger, Ketzer’ (Žel. 48, 457);
безувiр, *бузувiр* ‘infedele; malvagio, cattivo’ (On. 57, 93);
безувiр, *бузувiр* ‘faithless (untrue, wicked) person, heretic, infidel, apostate’ (AKr. 20, 25).
- ◆ R. *музавер*, *музовер* ‘gottloser Mensch, Betrüger, Missetäter’ (Graffard 293).
 - < T. (< Ar.) *müzevvir* ‘who falsifies; trickster; sneak; mischief-maker’ (NR 857), perhaps contaminated with → *бусурман*. The form with *без-* has originated by folk-etymology under the influence of *безвiрний* ‘irreligious’.
 - ESUM 1, 282; Vasmer 3, 5.

71. **буланий** (*буланых* 1717)

- буланий* ‘falb, fahl’ (Žel. 49);
буланий ‘sauro’ (On. 94);
буланий ‘fallow, pale, light-bay (horse)’ (AKr. 46).
- ◆ R. *буланий* ‘Isabel(la), dun (colour of horse)’ (Wheeler 45); Pol. *bułany* ‘dun’ (KFD 42).
 - < Tk. *bulan* ‘elk’ (Clouston 343).
 - ESUM 1, 289; Vasmer 1, 238; StachTurc. 92; VEWT 87–88; TMEN 2, 356–358; WOT 1, 172–175.

72. **булат** (*булатний* 18th c.)

- булат* ‘Stahl’ (Žel. 49);
булат ‘specie di acciaio’ (On. 94);
булат ‘Turkish sabre, sword, blade; Damascus steel’ (AKr. 46).
- ◆ R. *булат* ‘damask steel, sword’ (Wheeler 45); Pol. *bułat* ‘broad Oriental sword; scimitar; damask’ (KFD 42).
 - < Tk. (< Pers.) *bolat*, *bolot* (DTL 142), *bulat* (VEWT) = T. *pulat* (Osm. also *bulat*) ‘steel’ (NR 940).
 - ESUM 1, 289–290; Vasmer 1, 238; StachTurc. 93; VEWT 387; Poppe 34; KEWT 283.

73. **бунчук** (17th c.)

- бунчук* ‘der Rossschweif als Kriegsfahne’ (Žel. 49);
бунчук ‘bunciuc, uno degli attributi della dignità di Etmano⁵’ (On. 95);
бунчук ‘Cossack standard, *bunchuk*, hetman’s banner with horse-tail hanging from its top end’ (AKr. 46).
- ◆ R. *бунчук* ‘staff of Cossack hetman’ (Wheeler 46); Pol. *buńczuk* ‘Schaft mit Rossschweif als Fahne bei den Türken, Tataren und Kosaken und als Symbol militärischer Gewalt’ (WSPN 1, 115).

⁵ Ukr. (< Pol. < Germ.) *гетьман* ‘hetman, cossack commander-in-chief’.

- < Tk. (Chagh.) *bonğuk/bunğuk* ‘coquillages qui servent d’ornement ou de talisman; étendard’ (PavetC. 179) = T. *boncuk* ‘bead’ (NR 190).
- ESUM 1, 296–297; Vasmer 1, 242; StachTurc. 94–96; TMEN 2, 24–27; KEWT 90.

74. **буран**

буран ‘snow-storm’ (Rudn. 1, 258).

- ◆ R. *буран* ‘snow-storm (in steppes)’ (Wheeler 46).
- < Tk. (< Mong.) *burayan*, *buran* ‘der heftige Sturm, Wirbelwind, Wind mit Schnee und Regen’ (Radl. 4, 1818).
- ESUM 1, 298; Vasmer 1, 243–244; TMEN 1, 219–221; VEWT 80; Schöniög 75; Anikin 143.

75.? **бурдюк** (*бурдюгъ* 1669)

бордюг, бурдюг ‘Schlauch’ (Žel. 39, 50);

бордюг, бурдюг, бурдюк ‘otre di pelle’ (On. 80, 95);

бордюг, бурдюг, бурдюк ‘leather bottle, gourd’ (AKr. 39, 46).

- ◆ R. *бурдюк* ‘wineskin, water-skin’ (Wheeler 46); Pol. *burdziuk* ‘Schlauch’ (Linde 1, 196), ‘Lederbehälter zum Wein- oder Wassertransport’ (StachOTL 162).
- The derivation from an alleged Az. *burduk* ‘Weinschlauch’ (Radl. 4, 1832) is very doubtful, as this word does not seem to exist. According to Rudn. 1, 260 rather a Caucasian loanword.
- ESUM 1, 299–300; Vasmer 1, 244; StachTurc. 96.

76. **бусурман** (*бесурменство* 16th c.)

бусурман (cross-refers to *басурман*, but this lemma is missing) (On. 98);

бусурман, бусурмен ‘Mussulman, Mahommedan, infidel’ (AKr. 48).

- ◆ R. *басурман* ‘infidel (esp. Mohammedan)’ (Wheeler 18); Pol. *bisurman(in)* ‘Musulman; debauchee’ (KFD 29), ‘(vom Kind) Schelm, Streichemacher’ (KEWT).
- < Tk. *bisurman* ‘Mohammedaner’ (VEWT), a variation of *musulman* (→ *мусульманин*).
- ESUM 1, 307; Vasmer 1, 251–252; VEWT 90; StachTurc. 77–78; SchwOr. 1, 1527–1528 (“The term passed into Europe through earlier Turkic strata (Cuman or Pecheneg). (...) The type with initial *b-* (...) is old, but its origin cannot be precisely determined”).

77. **бязь** (*безъ* 17th c.)

бязь ‘stoffa di cotone’ (On. 100);

бязь ‘a cotton material’ (AKr. 49).

- ◆ R. *бязь* ‘coarse calico’ (Wheeler 49).
- < Tk. (< Ar.?) *bāz* ‘Hanfgewebe, Baumwollstoff, Leinwand’, *böz* ‘Baumwollenzeug’ (Radl. 4, 1630, 1706) = T. *bez* ‘linen or cotton material, cloth’ (NR 169). Cf. → *мусулбас*.
- ESUM 1, 316; Vasmer 1, 261; Eren 49–50; KEWT 86; SchwOr. 1, 429–431 (< Gr.).

78. **[везір]** (*вейзиръ* 17th c.: Rudn.)

везир ‘visir; ministro turco’, *визир* ‘ministro del sultano’ (On.108, 198);

везир, везір 'vizier' (AKr. 57);

везир, везір, візир, візір 'vizier' (Rudn. 1, 334).

◆ R. *визирь* 'id.' (Wheeler 68); Pol. *wezyr* 'id.' (KFD 625).

● < T. (< Pers.) *vezir* 'vizier; minister' (NR 1228).

– Vasmer 1, 313; StachTurc. 620–621; RocchiPar. 180; KEWT 344.

79. **війлок** (войлок 16th c.)

війлок 'Filz-, Satteldecke' (Žel. 105).

◆ R. *войлок* 'felt; strip of felt' (Wheeler 80); Pol. *wojłok* 'Filztuch; Filz, Grobfilz, Filzdecke' (WSPN 2, 745).

● Of probable Tk. origin, but the etymologies suggested are purely hypothetical (Tat. **ojluk*, **ojlyk* 'cover, blanket' or Kumyk *bojulluk* (*bojunluk*) 'something that is put under the head [more exactly 'neck', the meaning of *bojun*]', i.e. 'pillow (made of wool or felt)').

– ESUM 1, 397; Vasmer 1, 335; Anikin 158; StachTurc. 624–625.

80. **габа** (17th c.)

габа 'Art weisses grobes Tuch; weisse Decke' (Žel.133);

габа 'panno bianco grossolano' (On. 224);

габа 'a kind of white coarse (Turkish) cloth' (AKr. 133).

◆ R. *аба* 'grober, dicker, weißer Wollstoff' (Graffard 242); Pol. *haba* 'grobes weißes Tuch' (Linde 1, 813), 'Mantel aus dickem weißem Tuch' (StachOTL 164).

● < T. (< Ar.) *aba* (dial. *haba*) 'stout coarse woolen cloth' (NR 2; DS 2245).

– ESUM 1, 444; Vasmer 1, 55; StachTurc. 205; Anikin 72; RocchiPar. 174; KEWT 51; SchwOr. 1, 1–3.

81. **гайда**

гайда 'marsch! vorwärts!' (Žel. 134);

гайда 'avanti! e via!' (On. 226);

гайда 'forward! away! onward! march! cheer up!' (AKr. 134).

◆ R. *айда* 'come along! let's go!' (Wheeler 4); Pol. *hajda* 'heida! heidi! marsch! fort! weg!' (WSPN 1, 454).

● < Tk. *aida* 'Ausruf der Aufmunterung' (Radl. 1, 49), T. *haydi* (Osm. also *hayda*) 'Hurry up. Now then. Go on' (NR 466).

– ESUM 1, 452; Vasmer 1, 64; StachTurc. 208; Anikin 78, 161; KEWT 170 (< Gr.)

82. **гайдамака** (18th c.)

гайдамака 'Hajdemak, Krieger in den Steppen, Freubeiter (sic); Räuber, Strassenräuber' (Žel. 134);

гайдамака 'hajdamaca; rivoluzionario ucraino del XVIII s.' (On. 226);

гайдамака 'haydamak, steppe-fighter; robber' (AKr. 134).

◆ R. *гайдамак* 'haydamak (Ukrainian Cossack)' (Wheeler 124); Pol. *hajdamak*, *hajdamaka* 'Zaporeger Kosake; Räuber' (StachOTL 164).

● < T. *haydamak* 'cattle-rustler; marauder; vagabond' (NR 466).

– ESUM 1, 453; Vasmer 1, 383; StachTurc. 208–209.

83. гамалія

гамалія ‘schiavo; operaio’ (On. 229);

гамалія ‘slave; burden-carrier’ (AKr. 136).

◆ Pol. *hamał* ‘Träger, Lastenträger’ (Linde 1, 817).

● < T. (< Ar.) *ham(m)al* ‘porter, carrier; stevedore; unskilled laborer’ (NR 442). The Ukr. form may be due to the influence of the derivative *hammaliyye* ‘port, salaire qu’on donne au portefaix’ (Zenker 394).

– ESUM 1, 464; StachTurc. 213–214; KEWT 168; SchwOr. 1, 915–916.

84. ганджар

ганджар ‘broad Tartar dagger (knife)’ (AKr. 136).

◆ R. *ханджар* ‘Art Dolch’ (Graffard 179); Pol. *andzar, andziar, handziar, chandziar* ‘ein türkisches Messer, eine Art Dolch’ (Linde 1, 17).

● < Tk. (< Ar.-Pers.) *hanğär* ‘ein krummer Dolch, der am Gürtel getragen wird’ (Radl. 2, 1666) = T. *hancer/hançer* ‘short, curved dagger, khanjar’ (NR 445). Cf. → *кинджал*.

– ESUM 1, 467; Vasmer 4, 221; StachTurc. 214–215; RocchiPar. 174; KEWT 168; SchwOr. 1, 932–933.

85. [гарач] (17th c.: Rudn. 1, 567)

гарач ‘tributo; imposta’ (On. 231);

гарач ‘tribute, tax’ (AKr. 137).

◆ Pol. *haracz* ‘tribute; squeeze’ (KFD 143).

● < Tk. (< Ar.) *harağ* ‘Abgaben, Tribut, Landabgabe’ (Radl. 2, 1667) = T. *haraç* ‘tax, tribute’ (NR 449).

– VEWT 155; KEWT 169; SchwOr. 1, 938–942.

86. гарба

гарба ‘Fuhrwerk, Wagen’ (Žel. 137);

гарба ‘carro a due ruote; arba; veicolo tartaro; baroccio ucraino’ (On. 231);

гарба ‘bullock cart; two- or four-wheeled cart’ (AKr. 137).

◆ R. *арба* ‘bullock-cart’ (Wheeler 10).

● < Tk. *arba, hariba* ‘Wagen’ (Radl. 1, 335; 2, 1751) = T. *araba* ‘carriage, wagon, cart’ (NR 67).

– ESUM 1, 471; Vasmer 1, 83; TMEN 2, 19–23 (“Die Etymologie von *araba* bleibt unklar”); VEWT 23; Eren 14; Anikin 93; KEWT 62; SchwOr. 1, 179–180.

87. гарбачій

гарбачий ‘Verweser einer гарба bei d. nomad. Schafherde’ (Žel. 137);

гарбачий, гарбачій ‘coachman; cook’ (Rudn. 1, 569).

◆ R. *арбачей* ‘coachman’ (SchwOr. below).

● < Tk. *арбаçу* ‘Wagner’ (Radl. 1, 337) = T. *arabacı* ‘driver (of a cart, wagon, coach, etc.); maker of wheeled vehicles, cartwright’ (NR 67).

– ESUM 1, 472; SchwOr. 1, 180–181.

88. гарем

гарем 'Harem' (Žel. 137);

гарем 'serraglio; arem' (On.232).

гарем, харем 'harem, seraglio' (AKr. 137).

◆ R. *гарем* 'harem' (Wheeler 125); Pol. *harem* 'id.' (KFD 144).

● < T. (< Ar.) *harem* 'women's apartment, harem' (NR. 451).

– ESUM 1, 474; Vasmer 1, 393; StachTurc. 218–219; KEWT 169; SchwOr. 1, 952–955.

89. гарман

гарман 'aia' (On. 232);

гарман 'threshing floor' (AKr. 137).

● < Tk. (< Pers.) *harman* 'Tenne, Dreschtenne' (Radl. 2, 1673).

– ESUM 1, 474; Eren 173; KEWT 169.

90. дейнека (17th c.)

дейнек 'Art Fusssoldat' (Žel. 176);

дейнека 'soldato, male armato e poco disciplinato' (On. 307);

дейнека 'bar, stick; foot soldier (usually badly equipped and poorly trained)' (AKr. 173).

● < T. *değnek* (< Gr.?) 'stick, rod, cane, wand' (NR 279). The Ukrainian soldiers in question were so called because they were "usually equipped with sticks" (Rudn. 2, 28).

– ESUM 2, 25; StachTurc. 142; TMEN 4, 284; Eren 107–108; KEWT 122; SchwOr. 1, 627.

91. [делібаш]

делибаш 'capable, lucky, fortunate soldier; daredevil' (Rudn. 2, 36).

◆ R. *делибаш* 'tapferer Krieger, Reiter; Räuber' (Graffard 318).

● < Osm. *deli başı* 'leader of irregular cavalry' (NR 280).

– Vasmer 1, 496; StachTurc. 144; SchwOr. 1, 629–630.

92. делія (16th c.)

делия 'lunga pelliccia di orso o di lupo' (On. 309);

делия 'long bear (wolf) skin' (AKr. 174).

◆ R. *тегнляй* 'gesteppter, wattierter Kaftan mit kurzen Ärmeln' (Graffard 261); Pol. *delia* 'large cloak with long sleeves' (KFD 74); 'ehemaliger langer Mantel mit Pelzfutter' (WSPN 1, 226).

● < Tk. (Chagh.) (< Mong.) *degeläy, degelä, dägälä* 'short-sleeved garment' (Kincses-Nagy below).

– ESUM 2, 28; Vasmer 4, 35; StachTurc. 144–145; TMEN 1, 327–328; VEWT 135; Schönig 89; Kincses-Nagy 98.

93. демено

демен, демена 'Ruderbank; Nachen, Boot'; *демено* 'Steuerruder' (Žel. 176);

демено 'timone' (On. 309);

демен, демена 'skiff, bark, car of a balloon'; *демено* 'rudder, helm' (AKr. 174).

- < T. (< It.) *düimen* ‘rudder’ (NR 317).
- ESUM 2, 29–30; LFL 432–436; Eren 26; KEWT 136.

94. [дєрвіш]

дєрвіш ‘monaco turco, dervis, dervigio’ (On. 311);

дєрвіш ‘dervish, Mohammedan monk’ (AKr. 175).

◆ R. *дєрвіш* ‘dervish’ (Wheeler 157); Pol. *derwisz* ‘id.’ (KFD 76).

- < T. (< Pers., but see KEWT) *derviş* ‘dervish; one who has renounced the world’ (NR 287).
- Vasmer 1, 500; KEWT 124 (there is an alternative etymology that appears problematic, however); SchwOr. 1, 634–638.

95. [джавур] (*завур* 17th c.: Rudn. 1, 894) \

джавур ‘infedele (nome dato dai mussulmani a chiunque non sia tale)’ (On. 317–318);

джавур ‘infidel, Mussulman⁶’ (AKr. 178).

◆ R. *завур* ‘giaour’ (Wheeler 147); Pol. *giaur* ‘id.’ (KFD 126).

- < T. (< Pers. [< Ar.?.]) *gâvur* ‘giaour, infidel, unbeliever, non-Muslim; Christian’ (NR 386).
- Vasmer 1, 480; StachTurc. 198; KEWT 153; SchwOr. 1, 1111.

96. джаган

джаган ‘piccone; mazza ferrata’ (On. 318);

джаган ‘pick, pickaxe’ (AKr. 178).

• Variation of → *чекан*.

- ESUM 2, 47.

97. джамур

чамур ‘soluzione (di calce, di cemento ecc.)’ (On. 1680);

чамур ‘mixture of lime and cement’ (AKr. 1124).

◆ R. *чамур* ‘Schlamm, Lehm, Ton’ (Graffard 40).

- < T. *çatır* ‘mud, mire; muddy; mixture of clay, etc; mortar; plaster’ (NR 239).
- ESUM 2, 47; Vasmer 4, 313; Eren 78; KEWT 106.

98. джура (1571)

джура, чура ‘Waffenträger, Page; treuer Diener’ (Žel. 179, 1080);

джура, чура ‘scudiero cosacco’ (On. 319, 1697);

джура, чура ‘orderly of a cossack officer; cossack officer’s war companion’ (AKr. 179, 1135).

◆ Pol. *ciura* ‘male camp follower; blackguard’ (KFD 60).

- < Tk. (Chagh.) *ğura* (*çura*) ‘serviteur, page’ (PavetC. 294).
- ESUM 2, 54; StachTurc. 110–111; TMEN 3, 117–118.

⁶ Obviously, mistake for ‘non-Mussulman’.

99. **диван**

диван ‘Consiglio di Stato Turco’ (On. 322).

- ◆ R. *диван* ‘divan (Turkish Council of State)’ (Wheeler 160); Pol. *dywan* ‘Diwan, der ehemalige türkische Staatsrat’ (WSPN 1, 317).
- < T. (< Pers.) *divan* ‘Council of State’ (NR. 304). Cf. → *дуван*.
- ESUM 2, 65, 140; Vasmer 1, 512–513; StachTurc. 159–160; KEWT 129; SchwOr. 1, 655–660.

100. **дима**

дима ‘Canevas’ (Žel. 182);

дима ‘qualità di stoffa, molto fine, trasparente, a righe’ (On. 324);

дима ‘a kind of thin (transparent, striped) material’ (AKr. 182).

- ◆ R. *дымка* ‘gauze’ (Wheeler 179); Pol. *дыма* ‘ein Stoff aus Baumwolle und Leinen’ (StachOTL 163), *дымка* ‘dimity’ (KFD 101), ‘Diaper’ (WSPN 1, 311).
- < T. (< Gr.) *dimi* ‘fustian’ (NR 300).
- ESUM 2, 71; Vasmer 1, 558–559; StachTurc. 158–159; Eren 114; KEWT 127.

101. **дуван**

дуван ‘divisione, separazione [probable mistake for ‘spartizione’]’ (On. 388);

дуван ‘part of a catch (of fish)’ (Rudn. 2, 219).

- ◆ R. *дуван* ‘Beuteteilung, Versammlung der Kosaken zur Teilung der Beute’ (Graffard 185).
- < Tk. *divan* ‘Rath, Rathversammlung’, *duan* ‘Kreisgericht’ (Radl. 3, 1778, 1782). Same Pers. etymon as T. *divan* (→ *диван*).
- ESUM 2, 140; Vasmer 1, 549; VEWT 138; Anikin 190.

102. **душман**

душман ‘Würger, Bedrücker, Tyrann’ (Žel. 211);

душмак ‘oppressore; persecutore’ (On. 394);

душман ‘oppressor, persecutor, tyrant’ (AKr. 218).

- < Tk. (< Pers.) *dušman* ‘Feind’ (Radl. 3, 705) = T. *düşman* ‘enemy, foe, antagonist’ (NR 326).
- ESUM 2, 151; StachTurc. 157; Eren 126–127; KEWT 136.

103. **євшан**

*євшан-зілля*⁷ ‘wormwood (growing in the steppes); a magic herb supposed to restore one’s memory of one’s native land by its particular scent’ (AKr. 224).

◆ R. *євшан* ‘Wermutgras’ (Graffard 46).

- < Tk. *joṽšan*, *ju(v)šan* ‘Artemisia’ (Hauenschild 25–26), (Chagh.) *yaušan* ‘Ysop, eine wohlriechende Pflanze’ (Radl. 3, 20), ‘absinthe’ (PavetC. 540) = T. *yavšan* ‘wormwood’ (NR 1247).
- ESUM 2, 178; Vasmer 2, 7; TMEN 4, 223; Eren 444–445; KEWT 355.

⁷ Зілля ‘herb(s), weed’.

104. **жерделя**

жерделя ‘albicocca’ (On. 411);

жерделя ‘apricot’ (AKr. 229).

◆ R. *жерделя* ‘*Armeniaca vulgaris*, Aprikosenart’ (Graffard 61).

● < Tk. (< Pers.) *zārdalā* (Radl. 4, 891) = T. *zerdali* ‘wild apricot, *Prunus armeniaca*’ (NR 1280).

– ESUM 2, 193; Vasmer 2, 47; Eren 468; KEWT 370.

105. **имбрик**

имбричок ‘Kaffeekanne’ (Žel. 327);

имбрик ‘coffee pot, teapot’ (AKr. 366).

◆ Pol. *imbryk* ‘id.’ (KFD 150).

● < T. (< Ar.) *ibrik* ‘water ewer with handle and long spout, used for ablutions, etc.; ewer, teapot, kettle’ (NR 509).

– ESUM 2, 297; StachTurc. 238–239; KEWT 181; SchwOr. 1, 1056–1058.

106. **инжир**

инжир ‘fico secco’ (On. 623);

инжир ‘dry fig’ (AKr. 368).

◆ R. *инжир* ‘fig’ (Wheeler 256).

● < Tk. (< Pers.) *inğir* (Radl. 1, 1454) = T. *incir* ‘fig; fig tree’ (NR 537).

– ESUM 2, 304; Vasmer 2, 133; Eren 191; KEWT 185.

107. **ишак**

ишак ‘mule; donkey’ (Rudn. 2, 563).

◆ R. *ишак* ‘donkey, ass; hinny’ (Wheeler 265).

● < Tk. *äšäk*, *išäk* ‘Esel’ (Radl. 1, 905, 1552).

– ESUM 2, 321; Vasmer 2, 146; TMEN 2, 65–66; Eren 138–140; KEWT 146; SchwOr. 1, 711–712.

108. ? **йолом**

йолом ‘berretto alto con cupola rotonda’ (On. 632);

йолом ‘high felt hat with a round top’ (AKr. 373).

● Perhaps a variant of → *яломок*.

– ESUM 2, 327.

109. **кабак**

кабак ‘Kopf; Kürbis’ (Žel. 328);

кабак ‘zucca’ (On. 632);

кабак ‘pumpkin, gourd’ (AKr. 374).

◆ R. *кабак* ‘Kürbis, Melonenkürbis’ (Graffard 63), *кабачок* ‘vegetable marrow’ (Wheeler 266); Pol. *kabaczek* ‘Gärtenkürbis’ (WSPN 1, 490).

● < Tk. *kabak* ‘Kürbis’ (Radl. 2, 437).

– ESUM 2, 329; Vasmer 2, 148; StachTurc. 267; TMEN 3, 412–414; Eren 199; Anikin 229; KEWT 195.

110. кабан

кабан 'männliches (verschnittenes) Schwein' (Žel. 328);

кабан 'cinghiale' (On. 633);

кабан 'boar, wild boar; hog, swine' (AKr. 374).

- ◆ R. *кабан* 'wild boar; boar (male domestic pig)' (Wheeler 266); Pol. *kaban* 'boar' (KFD 163).
- < Tk. (< Mong.) *kaban* 'Eber, das wilde Schwein' (Radl. 2, 439).
- ESUM 2, 330; Vasmer 2, 149; StachTurc. 268; VEWT 216; Anikin 229; Kincses-Nagy 162–163.

111. кабарга

кабарга, кабарда 'tatarisches Bisamthier' (Žel. 328);

кабарда 'moschus moschiferus' (On. 633);

кабарда 'musk-deer' (AKr. 374);

- ◆ R. *кабарга* 'id.' (Wheeler 266).
- < Tk. *tabyrga* 'das turanische Moschusthier (moschus moschiferus)' (Radl. 3, 971).
- ESUM 2, 331; Vasmer 2, 149; VEWT 452; Anikin 230.

112. кава

кава 'Kaffee' (Žel. 328);

кава 'caffè' (On. 634);

кава 'coffee' (AKr. 374).

- ◆ Pol. *kawa* 'id.' (KFD 171).
- < T. (< Ar.) *kahve* 'coffee' (NR 582).
- ESUM 2, 331; StachTurc. 313–314; KEWT 197; SchwOr. 1, 143–146.

113. кавун

кавун 'Wassermelone (Cucumis citrullus)' (Žel. 329);

кавун 'cocomero; anguria' (On. 635);

кавун 'watermelon' (AKr. 375).

- ◆ R. *кавун* 'id.' (Wheeler 267); Pol. *kawon* 'id.' (KFD 171).
- < Tk. *kavun, kaun* 'Arbuse, Wassermelone' (Radl. 2, 51).
- ESUM 2, 336; Vasmer 2, 154; StachTurc. 315–316; TMEN 4, 294; Eren 220; Anikin 231; KEWT 210–211; SchwOr. 1, 1193.

114. казан

казан 'Kessel; Topf' (Žel. 329);

казан 'caldaia' (On. 636);

казан 'kettle, boiler, cauldron, pot' (AKr. 376).

- ◆ R. *казан* 'copper (vessel)' (Wheeler 267).
- < Tk. *kazan* 'Kessel' (Radl. 2, 367).
- ESUM 2, 340; Vasmer 2, 159; TMEN 3, 387–389; Eren 223–224; Anikin 234; KEWT 213; SchwOr. 1, 1205.

115. **казна**

казна 'Cassa, Aerar (des Staates)' (Žel. 330);

казна 'erario; tesoro' (On. 637);

казна 'public funds, Treasury, Exchequer' (AKr. 376).

- ◆ R. *казна* 'Exchequer, Treasury; public purse, public coffers' (Wheeler 268); Pol. *казна* 'id.' (StachTurc.).
- < Tk. (< Ar.) *qazna* 'scrinium thezauri' (Codex Cumanicus: Grønbech 197), *казна* 'Schatz, Krone; Schatzkammer' (Radl. 2, 385) = T. *hazine, hazne* 'treasure; public treasury, exchequer' (NR 470).
- ESUM 2, 342; Vasmer 2, 160; StachTurc. 318; TMEN 3, 472–474; Anikin 235; KEWT 171; SchwOr. 1, 995–998.

116. **кайма**

кайма 'zur Stickerei gehöriger Saum, Gebräme' (Žel. 330);

кайма 'embroidered hem (border)' (AKr. 377).

- ◆ R. *кайма* 'edging, border; hem, selvedge' (Wheeler 268).
- < Verbal noun of Tk. (Kaz.) *kaj-* 'to make a border (cloth)' (Poppe 32).
- ESUM 2, 344; Vasmer 2, 162; VEWT 221.

117. **калабалик**

калабалик 'Gezänk, Hader' (Žel. 330);

калабалик 'confusione, disordine' (On. 638);

калабалик 'confusion, disorder' (AKr. 377).

- ◆ R. *калабалык* 'Wirrwarr, Unordnung' (Graffard 328).
- < T. *kalabalık* 'crowd, confused mass, throng' (NR 584), a der. of *kalaba* (< Ar.) 'crowd' (ibid.).
- ESUM 2, 345; Vasmer 2, 163–164; KEWT 198.

118. **каліка**

каліка 'Krüppel' (Žel. 331);

каліка 'storpio; persona storpiata, mutilata' (On. 639);

каліка 'cripple' (AKr. 378).

- ◆ R. *калека* 'id.' (Wheeler 270); Pol. *kaleka* 'cripple, disabled person' (KFD 164).
- < T. *kalık* 'defective; incomplete' (NR 587). The hypothesis of derivation from an alleged T. **kalak* 'deformis', advocated by several etymological dictionaries, is unacceptable.
- ESUM 2, 352; Vasmer 2, 166; StachTurc. 282–283; Boryś 220; RocchiPar. 176; KEWT 199.

119. **кальян**

кальян 'narghilè' (On. 641);

кальян 'marghile (sic), hookah' (AKr. 378).

- ◆ R. *кальян* 'hookah' (Wheeler 270); Pol. *kalian* 'Kalian. Kalium, Wasserpfeife der Perser' (WSPN 1, 493).

- < T. (< Pers.) *kalyan* ‘hookah, waterpipe, narghile’ (NR 589).
- ESUM 2, 356; Vasmer 2, 171.

120. кантар (1408)

кантар ‘Art grosse Schnellwaage’ (Žel. 333);

кантар ‘stadera’ (On. 643);

кантар ‘steelyard, Roman balance’ (AKr. 380).

- ♦ R. *кантаръ* ‘große Schnellwaage’ (Graffard 198); Pol. *kantar* ‘Art Waage im alten Polen’ (StachOTL 165).
- < T. (< Ar. < Gr. < Lat.) *kantar* ‘steelyard for weighing’ (NR 595).
- ESUM 2, 366; Vasmer 2, 181; StachTurc. 291–292; Eren 207–208; KEWT 202.

121. канчук

канчук ‘Kantschu, Riemengeißel’ (Žel. 333);

канчук ‘staffile; sferza’ (On. 644);

канчук ‘whip, scourge (made of twisted leather straps)’ (AKr. 381).

- ♦ R. *камчук* ‘Peitsche, Knute’ (Graffard 107); Pol. *kańczug* ‘whip, cowhide’ (KFD 166).
- < Tk. *камѣу, камѣи* ‘Knute, Peitsche’ (Radl. 2, 493, 495).
- ESUM 2, 367; Vasmer 2, 176; StachTurc. 294; TMEN 3, 509–511; Eren 204; Anikin 252; KEWT 200–201; SchwOr. 1, 1143.

122. кафтан

каптан, кафтан ‘Kaftan, Jacke’ (Žel. 334, 337);

каптан ‘caffettano’ (On. 646);

каптан, кафтан ‘caftan, jacket, coat’ (AKr. 382, 387).

- ♦ R. *кафтан* ‘caftan’ (Wheeler 277); Pol. *kaftan* ‘id.’ (KFD 163).
- < Tk. (Chagh.) *kaptan* ‘Kaftan, Oberkleid’ (Radl. 2, 426–427) = T. *kaftan* ‘outer gown or robe wth long skirts and sleeves; robe of honour, caftan’ (NR 580).
- ESUM 2, 377; Vasmer 2, 212; StachTurc. 276–277; Boryś 219; TMEN 3, 185–190; KEWT 197; SchwOr. 1, 1112–1116.

123. караул

каравульня ‘Wachstube’ (Žel. 335);

караул ‘sentinella’ (On. 648);

караул ‘watch, guard, sentry’ (AKr. 383).

- ♦ R. *караул* ‘guard; watch’ (Wheeler 274).
- < Tk. (< Mong.) *karaul, karavul* ‘Wache’ (Radl. 2, 146, 165), *qaravul* ‘patrol’ (Bab. 3, 853).
- ESUM 2, 387; Vasmer 2, 194; StachTurc. 305–306; TMEN 1, 399–403; Anikin 265–266; Schönig 152–153; Kincses-Nagy 173–175; KEWT 204; SchwOr. 1, 162–163.

124. карбач

карбач ‘Karbatsche, Peitsche’; *корбач* ‘Knotenstock’ (Žel. 335, 365);

карбач ‘staffile; sferza’ (On. 648);

карбач ‘knout, whip, scourge’ (AKr. 383).

- ◆ R. *карбач* ‘Peitsche’ (Graffard 108); Pol. *karbacz, korbacz* ‘Karbatsche’ (WSPN 1, 500, 1109).
- < T. *kirbaç* ‘whip, scourge; riding whip, horsewhip’ (NR 653).
- ESUM 2, 388; Vasmer 2, 195; StachTurc. 350–351; Eren 237; KEWT 221.

125. кармак

- кармак* ‘strumento per la pesca sotto il ghiaccio’ (On. 650);
кармак ‘contraption for catching fish under the ice’ (AKr. 384).
- ◆ R. *кармак* ‘Angelhaken’ (Graffard 98).
 - < Tk. *karmak* ‘Haken, Angelhaken’ (Radl. 2, 216).
 - ESUM 2, 393; Vasmer 2, 201; TMEN 4, 293.

126. катлама

- катлама* ‘Art Speise der Schafhirte’ (Žel. 337).
- < Tk. (Uzb.) *qatlama* ‘dünner Blätterteigfladen’ (TMEN below) = T. *katlama* ‘unleavened bread baked in thin cakes on sheets of iron’ (NR 619).
 - ESUM 2, 405; TMEN 4, 295.

127. каюк

- каюк* ‘Flussboot’ (Žel. 339);
каюк ‘specie di barchetta’ (On. 655);
каюк ‘canoe, paddle boat’ (AKr. 388).
- ◆ R. *каюк* ‘caïque’ (Wheeler 277), ‘kleiner Kahn mit flachem Boden und zwei Rudern’ (Graffard 162); Pol. *kaik* ‘caïque’ (KFD 163).
 - < Tk. *kajyk* ‘Boot’ (Radl. 2, 93) = T. *kayık* ‘boat, rowboat, caique’ (NR 624).
 - ESUM 2, 412; Vasmer 2, 215; StachTurc. 278; Eren 221–222; Anikin 278; KEWT 211–212; SchwOr. 1, 1195–1197.

128. кейф

- кейф* ‘godimento’ (On. 659);
кейф ‘enjoyment’ (AKr. 390).
- ◆ R. *кейф* ‘(taking one’s) ease, putting one’s feet up’ (Wheeler 278); Pol. *kief* ‘comfort’ (StachTurc.).
 - < T. (< Ar.) *keyif* ‘pleasure, delight, joy, enjoyment, merriment’ (NR 647).
 - ESUM 2, 420–421; Vasmer 2, 221; StachTurc. 323; KEWT 219; SchwOr. 1, 1214–1216.

129. кеса

- кеса* ‘Stricksack; Geldsäckel, -beutel’ (Žel. 343);
кеса ‘borsa, sacco di corde’ (On. 663);
кеса ‘money bag (with strings), drawstring money bag, coin satchel’ (AKr. 393).
- ◆ R. *кеса* ‘Beutel; Sack aus Leder oder Tuch, der zugeschnürt wird; Ränzlein’ (Graffard 129); Pol. *kiesa* ‘purse’ (KFD 173).
 - < Tk. (< Pers.) *käsä, kisä, kisa* ‘Beutel, Tasche, Börse’ (Radl. 2, 1159, 1385) = T. *kese* ‘purse; small bag, case; pouch’ (NR 642).
 - ESUM 2, 426; Vasmer 2, 239; StachTurc. 325; Anikin 292; KEWT 219; SchwOr. 1, 1213–1214.

Abbreviations of languages

Ar.	= Arabic	Kaz.	= Kazakh	Rum.	= Romanian
Az.	= Azerbaijani	Kirgh.	= Kirghiz	Sl.	= Slavic
Chagh.	= Chaghatay	Kkalp.	= Karakalpak	T.	= Turkish
Chuv.	= Chuvash	Lat.	= Latin	Tat.	= Tatar
Germ.	= German	Mong.	= Mongolic	Tk.	= Turkic
Gr.	= Greek	Osm.	= Osmanlı	Ukr.	= Ukrainian
Hung.	= Hungarian	Pers.	= Persian	Uygh.	= Uyghur
Iran.	= Iranian	Pol.	= Polish	Uzb.	= Uzbek
It.	= Italian	R.	= Russian		

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