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## ADDENDA FROM PRE-MENINSKI TRANSCRIPTION TEXTS TO STANISŁAW STACHOWSKI'S "OSMANLI TÜRKÇESİNDE YENİ FARŞÇA ALINTILAR SÖZLÜĞÜ". PART I

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### Abstract

Stanisław Stachowski wrote a series of articles devoted to studies on the New Persian loanwords in Ottoman-Turkish, which were published in *Folia Orientalia* in the 1970s and later republished in 1998 as a single volume. Since then, however, a good number of editions of new Ottoman texts have appeared, especially transcription texts dating from before Meninski's *Thesaurus* (1680), which provide much new lexical material. Within this material there are many Persianisms – predictably enough where Ottoman-Turkish is concerned. This paper aims to supplement Stachowski's work with words of Persian origin taken from pre-Meninski transcription texts. It is divided into two parts, the first including data to be added to entries already recorded by Stachowski (eight articles), the second containing data that constitute new entries (three articles). A short historical-etymological note on the words dealt with also features at the end of each entry.

### Introduction

Stanisław Stachowski's "Studien über die neupersischen Lehnwörter im Osmanisch-Türkischen" were published in *Folia Orientalia* between 1972 and 1979. This series of articles was republished in 1998 as a single volume under the title *Osmanlı Türkçesinde Yeni Farşça Alıntılar Sözlüğü / Wörterbuch der neupersischen Lehnwörter im Osmanisch-Türkischen* (Simurg, İstanbul). In the foreword to this new edition Stachowski states:

Die „Studien“ umfaßten einen relativ kleinen Zeitraum (15. – 18. Jh.), und ihre Quellenbasis bildeten anschließend sog. Transkriptionstexte. Heute, nachdem ein Viertel Jahrhundert seit dem Erscheinen der ersten Folge meiner „Studien“ vergangen ist, ist die Sachlage in der Türkologie etwas anders. Die türkische historische Linguistik hat sich inzwischen um eine Reihe von neuen Sprachquellen bereichert, denen auch Wörterverzeichnisse beigefügt wurden, publiziert wurden mittlerweile auch zahlreiche Dialektwörterbücher sowie monographische Beschreibungen der Sprache von einzelnen Denkmälern. All diese Veröffentlichungen haben unsere Kenntnis der osm.-tü. Sprachgeschichte wesentlich vertieft. Bei dieser Sachlage könnte und sollte man neue Monographien zum pers. Lehngut im Osm.-Tü. schreiben. Es ist zwar noch nicht dazu gekommen, doch ich will weiter hoffen, daß sich die Erforschung der Geschichte des osm.-tü. Wortschatzes schon bald noch intensiver entwickelt wird.

I welcome the wish expressed by the great Polish scholar and, as a first step, in this paper will supplement Stachowski's work with addenda exclusively taken from pre-Meninski transcription texts.

Besides bilingual dictionaries and glossaries, I have included other texts such as literary works on the Turks, travel accounts, *Relazioni* of the Venetian ambassadors. Obviously, the list of these texts is selective, according to the sources I was able to consult.

The criteria used for presenting my addenda are as follows:

1. The material was divided into two parts: a) simple addenda to entries already recorded by Stachowski, b) addenda that provide new entries.
2. The entries are structured according to the rules adopted by Stachowski. In the first part, the number and headword of each entry are the original ones; the date put in parentheses after the headword refers to its oldest occurrence given by Stachowski; if this occurrence is formally different from the headword, the variant is cited in italics before the date. Those of my addenda that present forms not recorded in Stachowski's entry are entered after a semicolon with their respective dates. Variations of a word separated by a slash (/) were given by the source itself, whereas if separated by a double slash (//), they are possible alternative readings of a graphically ambiguous form. The addenda are listed in chronological order, preceded by the dates of their occurrences printed in bold; derivatives and phrases are put separately and listed in alphabetical order. Uncertain readings or meanings are marked with (?).

In the second part, if a word is only attested in forms different from the standard Ottoman-Turkish one, the latter is put in square brackets as headword of the entry.

3. Stachowski sometimes quotes Argenti's or Ferraguto's data (from Bombaci's works) in an incorrect or incomplete way. In these cases I insert the correct/complete data into my addenda by indicating that with the abbreviation [add.].
4. The Persian etymon is put at the end of each entry after the symbol • and its form and meaning are drawn, unless otherwise indicated, from Steingass' dictionary. I also add the dates (Roman numerals refer to centuries) of the first occurrence of the word in Ottoman-Turkish sources according to Nişanyan's (N.) and Pomorska's (P.) dictionaries. If the word is missing in these works the symbol (–)

is used. Occasionally, data from other lexicographical works such as TS and TETTL are also cited.

5. A number of Ottoman-Turkish words of Persian origin were recorded in Western sources in various formal (especially morphological) adaptations and sometimes turned into regular borrowings. As I have pointed out in each of the relative entries, words of this kind have not been taken into account.
6. Stachowski's following entries have been excluded because they are in all probability not of Persian origin: 6. *ahd* (< Ar.); 40. *biber* (< Gr.); 51. *cebe* (< Mong., see TMEN 1: 284–286); 63. *çanak* (for etymological proposals see TETTL 1: 472); 101. *dede* (a typical “Lallwort”); 297 *mercan* (probably < Ar.); 326. *nacak* (Pers. *nāčax/načak* very likely comes from Turkish: TMEN 4: 35–36); 432. *pezevenk* (< Arm., see DankoffArm. 29); 493. *sene* (< Ar.); 535. *sırdaş* (a der. with the T. suff. +*Daş*); 605. *tepsi* (see ErenTDES 403).

I have however kept two entries that are not proper Persian loanwords, but were coined in Ottoman with Persian lexemes: 91. *çohadar*, 223. *kahpezne*.

Entries whose etymology is uncertain are put in square brackets: [13. *armagan*], [174. *gülülü*], [534. *sirke*], [743. *çadır*], [797. *ferdaş*], [878. *küp*].

### Addenda to entries recorded by Stachowski

2. **abdes** (1591; *abdest* 1680); **aptas\*/abdās** (1481), **aptest** (1677) – **1481** “*tertia lotio vocatur \*anpatz vel abdas*” (GUnSt. 46); **1646** “*a to omycie [rytualne] zowię swym językiem Abdes*” (Sz. Starowski: StachSHET. 4); **1668** “*the Abdest or washing*” (RycautPSt. 121); **1672** *abdest* (abdeft) ‘*prima ablutionis species, quę praeparant se ad precandum vel ad Alcoranum legendum*’ (HarsColl. 484).  
Phr. – **1677** *aptest mahraması* (aptest mahramassi) ‘sciugamano’ (Masc-Voc. 189).  
• < Pers. *ab-dast* ‘the ablution or washing of the hands, face, and other parts, with certain ceremonies by the Mohammadans before prayer’. – N. 1 (XIV); P. 13 (1332).
3. **abhana** (1668); **apane** (1574), **apana** (1611) – **1574** *apane* (apane) ‘necessario’ (VNAd. 61); **1611** *abhana* (abhana) ‘necessario’ (RJT Majd. 166); **1611** *apana* (apanā) ‘*chiauica di bruttezza*’ (FerrR. 52).  
Phr. – **1611** *apana(y)a git-* (apanaa ghidérum) ‘andar del corpo’ (FerrR. 52).  
• < Pers. *ābxāna* ‘water-closet, cess-pool, or gutter’. – N. (–); P. (–).
4. **aferin** (1591) – **ca. 1630** *aferim* (afferim) ‘euge, macte’ (MontR. 44); **1672** *aferim* (aferim) ‘euge’ (HarsHaz. 66–67).  
Phr. – **1533** *aferum de-* (afferúm derum) ‘lodo’, (afferúm dederúrum) ‘fo lodare’ (ArgAd. 132, ArgR. 27).  
• < Pers. *āfirīn, āfrīn* ‘praise, glory, applause; well done!, bravo!’. – N. 6 (XV); P. 14 (1430).

5. **ah** (ca. 1450) – **1533 ah** (ahách, aach) ‘sospiro’ (ArgAd. 133, ArgR. 29); **ca. 1630 ah** (ah) ‘susprium’ (MontR. 45); **1650 ah** (ah, ach) ‘ah, *lamento*; haimè; sospiro’ (CarrR. 53); **1677 ah** (ah) ‘sospiro’ (MascVoc. 215).  
 Phr. – **1533 ah et-** (ah/aah edérum) ‘sospiro’, (ah etterúrum) ‘fo sospirare’ (ArgAd. 133, ArgR. 29); **1677 ah et-** (ah etmech) ‘sospirare’ (MascVoc. 215) – **1650 ah edici** (ah edigi) ‘sospirante’ (CarrR. 53).  
 • < Pers. *āh* ‘sigh’. – N. 8 (XIV); P. (–).
7. **ahd-i name** (*āhtname* 1680); **ahtename** // **ahtname** (1533), **ahdname** (1672) – **1533 ahtename** // **ahtname** (achtenamé) ‘capitolatione, capitulationi’ (ArgAd. 134, ArgR. 30); **1672 ahdname** (ahdname) ‘diplomata permutanda, id est literas juramenti seu foederis juramento interveniente initi’ (HarsColl. 263).  
 • < Pers. *āhd-nāma* ‘letters of agreement, articles of peace or capitulation’. – N. (–); P. (–).
9. **ahenk** (1680).  
 Phr. – → 484. *saz*.  
 • < Pers. *āhang* ‘concord, symphony, harmony’. – N. 9 (XV); P. 16 (1368).
10. **ahur** (1591); **agir\*** (1584) – **1533 ahur** (achér) ‘stalla’ (ArgAd. 133, ArgR. 29); **1574 ahur** (acher) ‘stalla’ (VNAd. 61); **1584 agir\*** (\*saguer) ‘equirie’ (PalPD. 524–525; [\*saguet (PalBern 320)]); **1587/88 ahor** (achor) ‘Stall’ (LubAd. 33); **1611 ahur** (achīr, akchir) ‘caualleriza’ (RJTMajd. 167); **ca. 1630 ahur** (achur) ‘stabulum’ (MontR. 46); **1650 ahur** (acher) ‘albiolo, truolo da porci, mangiatoia’ (CarrR. 53); **1672 ahur** (ahirim [+ poss.]) ‘meum stabulum’, (ahira [+ dat.]) ‘in stabulum’, (ahirda [+ loc.]) ‘in stabulo’ (HarsHaz. 66–67); **1677 ahur** (ahir) ‘stalla, stanza d’animali’ (MascVoc. 228).  
 Der. – **1641 ahorcı** (achorgi) ‘stalliere, \*stallato [*recte* stallaiio or stallaro]’ (MolDitt. 429); **1677 ahırcı** (achirgi) ‘stalliero, stallaiio’ (MascVoc. 228).  
 Phr. – → 496. *serāhor*, 791. *emir ahur*.  
 • < Pers. *āxwūr* ‘stable, stall’. – N. 9 (XI); P. 17 (1451).
11. **alemdar** (1791) – **1668** “Their (= of the Emirs) second Officer is called *Alemdar*, who carries the Green Flag of Mahomet” (RycautPSt. 111).  
 • < Pers. *‘alam-dār* ‘standard-bearer’. – N. 17 (XIV); P. (–).
12. **ambar** (1641); **amber** (1533), **hambar\*** (1668) – **1533 ambar/lamber** (ambár, ambér) ‘granaio; maghazino; ripostiglio di panni et simili cose; sentina’ (ArgAd. 136, ArgR. 33); **1611 ambar** (ambár) ‘sentina del vascello’ (FerrR. 55); **1646** “szpichlerzow (...) kilkaset, (...) zowią je po turecku *Ambar*” (Sz. Starowolski: StachSHET. 21).  
 Der. – **1668 hambarcı** (hambargy) ‘obsonarius’ (IllNém. 174).  
 Phr. – **1677 boğday hambarı** (boghdai hambari) ‘granaio’ (MascVoc. 59) – **1650 gemi amberi** (ghiem amberi) ‘corpo della naue’ (CarrR. 58).  
 • < Pers. *anbār* ‘pond, reservoir’. – N. 21 (XIV); P. 18 (1445).

[13. **armagan** (1603) – **1533** *armagan* (armaghán) ‘presente, dono’ (ArgAd. 138, ArgR. 35); **1611** *armagan* (armagan) ‘don, present’ (RJTMajd. 169); **1611** *arma[gan]* (arma[...]) ‘presente, dono’ (FerrR. 56); **ca. 1630** *armagan* (armagan) ‘donum’ (MontR. 50).

- Oghuz word of controversial etymology. ErenTDES 18 refutes its derivation from Pers. *armağān*, *armuğān* ‘a present brought from a journey, an offering’. Also Doerfer thinks that the Persian word was borrowed from some Turkic language (TMEN 2: 45). – N. 35 (XI); P. 19 (XIV)].

14. **armut** (1544/48); **armult** (1584) – **1533** *armut* (armútt) ‘pera, fructo’ (ArgAd. 138, ArgR. 35); **1574** *armut* (armut) ‘piro’ (VNAd. 61); **1575** *armut* (armut) ‘poire; pyrum’ (PostelInstr.); **1584** *armult* (armoult) ‘poires’ (PalBern. 323); **1587/88** *armud* (armud) ‘Birne’ (LubAd. 33); **1611** *armut* (armut) ‘pera’ (RJTMajd. 169); **1611** *armut* (armút) ‘pero, frutto’ (FerrR. 56); **ca. 1630** *armut* (armut) ‘pyrum’ (MontR. 50); **1672** *armut* (armut ([...] zemani gyeldi)) ‘pyrorum ([...] tempus adest)’ (HarsHaz. 72–73).

Phr. – **1533** *armut ağacı* (armútt aghaggi) ‘pero, albero’ (ArgAd. 138, ArgR. 35); **1611** *armut ağaç* (armút agácc) ‘pero, albero’ (FerrR. 56); **1677** *armud ağacı* (armud agagi) ‘pero albero’ (MascVoc. 123) – **1677** *armud meyve* (armud meiuè) ‘pero frutto’ (MascVoc. 123).

- < Pers. *amrūd*, *armūd* ‘pear’. – N. 35 (XI); P. 19 (1445).

15. **arşin** (1603); **arsin** ([1574]; 1587/88) – **1533** *arşin* (arscín) ‘picco da misurare’ (ArgAd. 138, ArgR. 36); **1574** *arsin* // *arşin*\* (\*arsiui [+ poss.]) ‘brazzo’ (VNAd. 48); **1587/88** *arsin* (arsin) ‘Elen’ (LubAd. 34); **1611** *arşin/larsin* (arschin, arsin) ‘caña’ (RJTMajd. 170); **ca. 1630** *arşin* (arsin) ‘vlna’ (MontR. 50); **1672** *arşin* (arsin) ‘ulna’ (HarsHaz. 94–95).

- Morphological variant of Osm. *arış/arş* ‘cubit’ (TETTL 1: 201) < Pers. *arāš* ‘cubit, fathom’. According to Nişanyan < Middle Pers. *arišn* ‘elbow, upper arm; a unit of length’. – N. 36 (XIII); P. (–).

16. **arzu** (1455/56) – **1641** *arzu* (arsu) ‘brama’ (MolDitt. 73); **1677** *arzu* (arzu) ‘brama’ (MascVoc. 22).

Phr. – **1641** *arzu et-* (arzu etmech) ‘bramare, desiderare’, (arsu eden) ‘voglioso, desideroso’ (MolDitt. 73, 486) – **1672** *arzu gel-* (arzum gyeldi) ‘desidero’ (HarsHaz. 152–153).

- < Pers. *ārzū* ‘desire, wish, will’. – N. 37 (XI); P. 19 (1430).

17. **aster**, **astar** (1680) – **1533** *astar* (astár) ‘rouescio, soppanno’ (ArgAd. 139, ArgR. 37); **1611** *astar* (astár) ‘in forra’ (FerrR. 55); **ca. 1630** *astar* (astar) ‘subductura uestis/ uestium’ (MontR. 51).

Der. – **1611** *astarla-* (astarlárum) ‘inforrare’ (FerrR. 55).

- < Pers. *āstar*, *astar* ‘kind of coarse thin stuff fit for lining garments; inside of anything, lining of a garment’. – N. 40 (XIV), P. 20 (2/XV).

18. **aşikâre** (1603); **eskere** (1533), **askâra** (1611), **aşkâre** (1641), **aşker/aşkere/eşker** (1677) – **1533 eskere** (eschieré) ‘jm palese; manifesto, palese, publico’ (ArgAd. 180, ArgR. 96); **1611 eşkere** (eschkere) ‘diuulgar’ (RJTMajd. 186); **1611 eskere/askâra** (escheré, aschiará) ‘alla scoperta, manifestamente’ (FerrR. 82); **1641 aşkâre** (asc=kiare, asc=kiarhe) ‘noto, manifesto; alla palese, alla scoperta’, (asc=kiarede [+ loc.]) ‘in publico’ (MolDitt. 33, 198, 273); **1650 eşkere** (eschiere) ‘certamente’ (CarrR. 147); **1672 aşikâre** (asikare) ‘palam, aperte’ (HarsHaz. 96–97, 190–191); **1677 eşkere/aşker/aşkere/eşker** (esc=chiere) ‘certo, euidente, publico, palese’, (asccher) ‘chiaro’, (asccherdur [+ copula]) ‘è manifesta’, (ascchiere) ‘illustre; in palese, noto, manifesto’, (esc-chier) ‘uulgarmente’ (MascVoc. 27 passim).

Der. – **1641 eşkerelik** (esc=kierelik) ‘publicamento, publicatione’ (MolDitt. 327); **1650 eşkerelik** (eschierelich) ‘euidenza’, (eschierelich ileh) ‘euidentemente’ (CarrR.147).

Phr. – **1641 ayan eşkere et-** (aian esc=kiere etmek) ‘publicare, palesare’ (MolDitt.,327); **1533 eskere et-** (eschieré edérum) ‘publico’, (eschieré etterúrum) ‘fo publicare’ (ArgAd. 180, ArgR. 96); **1677 aşkere et-** (asc-chiere etmech) ‘uulgare, palesare’ (MascVoc. 277) – **1641 eşkere edici** (esc=kiere edigi) ‘publicatore’ (MolDitt. 327) – **1641 eşkere ol-** (esc=kiere olmisc) ‘publicato, diuolgato’ (MolDitt. 327); **1677 eşkere ol-** (escchiere olunmisc) ‘publicato, diuolgato’ (MascVoc. 142).

• < Pers. *āškārā/āškāra* ‘clear, evident, manifest, open, public’. – N. 41 (XII); P. 21 (XIII/XIV).

19. **ateş** (1641) – **ca. 1630 ateş** (ates) ‘ignis’ (MontR. 51); **1650 ateş** (atesc) ‘fuoco’ (CarrR. 64); **1677 ateş** (atesc) ‘foco, fuoco’ (MascVoc. 51, 54).

Der. – **1650 ateşçik** (atescgich) ‘fuocarello’ (CarrR. 64) – **1650 ateşli** (atescli) ‘fuocososo’ (CarrR. 64); **1677 ateşili** (atescili) ‘focososo’ (MascVoc. 51) – **1650 ateşlik ile** (atesclich ile) ‘fuocosamente’ (CarrR. 65); **1677 ateşligile** (atesclighile) ‘focosamente’ (MascVoc. 51).

Phr. – **1650 ateş sineği** (atesc sineghi) ‘luciolia’ (CarrR. 64).

– **1650 ateşi çak-** (atesci ciacharum) ‘batter il fuoco’ (CarrR. 101) – **1641 ateşi yak-** (atesc=i iakmak) ‘accendere il fuoco’ (MolDitt. 7); **1650 ateş(i) yak-** (atesc/atesci iaqarum/iacharum) ‘accendere il fuoco, attizzar fuoco, raccender il fuoco’ (CarrR. 342).

• < Pers. *ātiš* ‘fire’. – N. 42 (XIV); P. 22 (2/XV).

22. **avaz** (1641) – **1533 avaz** (auás) ‘uocé’ (ArgAd. 140, ArgR. 38); **1587/88 avaz** (awas) ‘Stim’ (LubAd. 34); **1611 avaz** (auás, auás) ‘boz, voix; clamor’ (RJTMajd. 171); **1611 avaz** (aguás) ‘tono’ (FerrR. 57); **ca. 1630 avaz** (auas) ‘vox’ (MontR. 51); **1650 avaz** (auas) ‘melodia, canto soaue; rimbombo’ (CarrR. 65); **1677 avaz** (auas) ‘suono’ (MascVoc. 237).

Der. – **1611 avazla-** (auaslamak) ‘eco’ (RJTMajd. 171).

Phr. – **1641 ötücü avaz** (otugi auas) ‘ecco, voce che risponde’ (MolDitt. 65); **1650 ütücü avaz** (vtugi auas) ‘ecco, voce’ (CarrR. 65).

– **1650** *avazleri boz-* (auasileri bosmach) ‘melodia, canto soaue; rimbombo’ (CarrR. 65) – **1641** *avazı dut-* (auasi dutulmisc) ‘rauco’ (MolDitt. 338); **1677** *avazı tut-* (\*auassi tutulmisc) ‘rauco, roco’ (MascVoc. 151) – **1650** *avaz ver-* (auas verirum) ‘rimbombare, risonare’ (CarrR. 65) – **1650** *avaz verici* (auas verigi) ‘rimbombante, risuonante’ (CarrR. 65).

– **1641** *avazlı söz* (auasli sos) ‘vocabulo, che ha voce’ (MolDitt. 486).

• < Pers. *āwāz* ‘voice, sound, noise, clamour’. – N. 44 (XIV); P. 23 (XIII/XIV).

23. **ayna** (1603) – **1533** *ayna* (ainá) ‘specchio’ (ArgAd. 142, ArgR. 40): **1587/88** *ayna* (ayna, aijna) ‘Spigel’ (LubAd. 34); **1611** *ayna* (ainà) ‘specchio’ (RJT Majd. 172); **1611** *ayna* (ainá) ‘specchio’ (FerrR. 58); **1641** *ayna* (aina) ‘specchio’ (MolDitt. 418); **1677** *ayna* (ainà) ‘specchio, spera’ (MascVoc. 220, 221).

Der. – **1533** *aynacı* (ainaggi) ‘specchiaio’ (ArgAd. 142, ArgR. 40).

– **1641** *aynala-* (ainalanmach) ‘specchiarsi’ (MolDitt. 418).

Phr. – **1611** *aynaya bak-* (ainaiá baccárum) ‘specchiarsi’ (FerrR. 58).

• < Pers. *āyina* ‘mirror, looking-glass’. – N. 47 (XIV); P. 23 (XIII/XIV).

24. **azad** (ca. *azat* 1450) – **1533** *azat* (axátt) ‘libero’ (ArgAd. 143, ArgR. 41); **ca. 1630** *azad* (azad) ‘liber’ (MontR. 53); **1677** *azat* (aszat) ‘libero, non soggetto ad alcuno’ (MascVoc. 82).

Der. – **1611** *azatlı* (asatlı) ‘franco, libero’ (FerrR. 58); **1677** *azatlı* (aszat-li) ‘libertino, di seruo fatto libero’ (MascVoc. 82) – **1533** *azatluk* (asattlúch) ‘libertà’ (ArgAd. 143, ArgR. 41); **1611** *azatlík* (asatlíc) ‘franchezza, libertà’ (FerrR. 58); **ca. 1630** *azadaluk* (\*assadaluk) ‘licentia, libertas licentiosa’ (MontR. 53); **1677** *azatluk* (as(z)atluch) ‘liberazione, libertà, soluzione, assoluzione’ (MascVoc. 82, 211).

Phr. – **1533** *azat et-/eyle-* (axátt edérum/eilérum) ‘libero’, (axátt etterúrum) ‘fo liberare’ (ArgAd. 143, ArgR. 41); **1650** *azad et-* (aszad, asad ederum) ‘assoluere, liberare, dar libertà’; (aszad etmech) ‘liberazione’ (CarrR. 69); **1677** *azat et-* (as(z)at etmech) ‘liberare, mettere in libertà, soluere’, (aszat eden) ‘liberatore, quello che libera’ (MascVoc. 82, 211) – **1650** *azad edici* (aszad/asad edigi) ‘assolvente, liberatore’ (CarrR.); **1677** *azat edici* (aszat edigi) ‘liberatore, quello che libera’ (MascVoc. 82) – **1533** *azat ol-* (axátt olúrum) ‘liberomi, mi fo libero’ (ArgAd. 143, ArgR. 41); **1650** *azad ol-* (aszad olurum) ‘liberarsi’ (CarrR. 69); **1677** *azat ol-* (aszat olunmisc) ‘liberato’ (MascVoc. 82).

• < Pers. *āzād* ‘free, independent, liberated’. – N. 48 (XI); P. 24 (XIII/XIV).

25. **baç** (1591); **bay** (1678) – **1533** *bac* (bággi) ‘ghabella che si pagha’ (ArgAd. 143, ArgR. 43); **1611** *baç* (bácc) ‘gabella’ (FerrR. 59); **1673** *badj* [French spelling] (Capitulations Louis XIV: SchweickTurk. 4); **1677** “tutti li banduri e martolossi (...) prendono il loro *bagg*” (Doc.Ragusa: SchweickTurk. 4); **1678** “i banduri pigliano il *bay* da tutti li mercanti che passano” (Doc.Ragusa: SchweickTurk. 4).

• < Pers. *bāğ* ‘tribute, toll levied by the road-patrol’. – N. 49 (XIV); P. 25 (XIII/XIV).

27. **bağ** (1544/48) – *ca.* **1520 /1525/30** *bah* (bachda [+ loc., LupisON.]; bach [ITSprAd.]) ‘vigna’ (LupisON. 3a; ITSprAd. 236); **1533** *bağ* (bagh) ‘uigna’ (ArgAd. 143, ArgR. 43); **1575** *bağ* (bagh) ‘vigne; vitis’ (PostelInstr.); **1587/88** *bağ* (bag) ‘Weingarten’ (LubAd. 36); **1611** *bağ* (bág) ‘pergola, vigna, vite d’uua’ (FerrR. 59); **1650** *bağ* (bagh) ‘vigna’ (CarrR. 70); **1672** *bağ* (báglár [+ pl.]) ‘vineta’ (HarsHaz. 70–71); **1677** *bağ* (bagh) ‘vigna’ (MascVoc. 270).

Der. – **1650** *bağcı* (bagghi) ‘vignarolo’ (CarrR. 70).

Phr. – **1641** *bağ bozumı* (bagh bosumi) ‘vendemie’ (MolDitt. 476) – **1533** *bağ çibuğı* (bagh cibughí) ‘fascina di uermene; uite’ (ArgAd. 143, ArgR. 44) – **1677** *bağın pudacısı* (baghin pudagissi) ‘potatore di vigne’ (MascVoc. 130).

– **1533** *bağı boz-* (baghí bosárum) ‘uendemmio’, (baghí bosdurúrum) ‘fo uendemiare’ (ArgAd. 143, ArgR. 44); **1641** *bağları boz-* (baghlari boszmak/bosmak) ‘vendemiare, vindemiare’ (MolDitt. 476, 481); **1650** *bağ boz-* (bagh bosarum) ‘vendemiare’, (bagh bozmisc) ‘vendemiato’ (CarrR. 70); **1677** *bağileri boz-* (baghileri bosmach) ‘uendemiare, far la uendemmia’ (MascVoc. 265) – **1641** *bağ bozucu* (bagh bosigi) ‘vindemiato’ (MolDitt. 481); **1677** *bağı bozucu* (baghi bosugi) ‘uindemiato’ (MascVoc. 270).

• < Pers. *bāğ* ‘garden; vineyard’. – N. 50 (XI); P. 25–26 (XIII).

29. **bahçe** (*bahçı* 1603); **bahca\*** (1525/30), **bahça** (1587/88), **baça** (1611) – **1525/30** *bahca\** (*bağça* Adamović) (\*barchga) ‘orto’ (ITSprAd. 222; missing in LupisON.); **1533** *bağça* (baghcia) ‘giardino’ (ArgAd. 143, ArgR. 43); **1587/88** *bahça* (bachtszcha) ‘Garten’ (LubAd. 36); **1611** *baça* (baatschà, baatscha) ‘huerto’ (RJTMajd. 27, 172); *ca.* **1630** *bakça* (bakchia) ‘hortus’ (MontR. 55); **1672** *bakçe* (bakcsei [+ acc.]) ‘hortum’, (bakcseler [+ pl.]) ‘hortos’ (HarsHaz. 118–119, 92–93); **1677** *bakca/bağca* (bachgia) ‘giardino’, (baghgia) ‘orto’ (MascVoc. 56, 114).

Der. – **1533** *bağçacı* (baghcciaggi) ‘giardinere’ (ArgAd. 143, ArgR. 43); **1650** *bakçacı* (bachgiagi) ‘giardinere’ (CarrR. 72) – **1641** *bakçacık/bakçacuk* (bakgiagich, bakgiagiuch) ‘giardinetto, orticello’ (MolDitt. 163, 285); **1650** *bakçacık* (bachgiagich) ‘giardinetto’ (CarrR. 72); **1677** *bakçacık/bağçacık* (bachgiagich) ‘giardinetto’, (baghciagich) ‘orticello’ (MascVoc. 56, 114).

Phr. – **1679** *bahçe kapısı* (bachcze-capysi) ‘pałac wezyrski’ (J. Gniński: StachSHET. 42).

• < Pers. *bağça, baxča* ‘garden’. – N. 51 (XII); P. 27 (XIII).

30. **bahçevan** (*bakçıvan* 1641); **bakçavan** // **baççavan** (1611), **bakvan** (1611), **bakçevan** (1668) – **1611** *bakçavan* // *baççavan, bakvan* (bacciaguán, bacuán) ‘giardinero’ (FerrR. 59); **1668** *bakçevan* (bakcsevan) ‘hortulanus’ (IllNém. 154); **1672** *bakçevan* (bakcsevan) ‘qui hortos colunt’ (HarsColl. 146); **1677** *bağçavan* (baghciauan) ‘ortolano’ (MascVoc. 114).

• < Pers. *bāğčiwān* ‘gardener’. – N. 51 (XV); P. (–).

31. **bähşiş** (*bağşiş* 1641); **bakşis** (1611), **başis** (1611), **bahişiş** // **bakişiş** (1677) – **1533** *bahşiş* (bachscisc) ‘dono, presente’ (ArgAd. 144, ArgR. 44); **1555** ‘quello dovea esser



*bachsīs*” (A. Berengo: SchweickStrat. 12); **1611** *bakşis/başis* (backschis) ‘beneficio’, (baschis) ‘donacion’ (RJTMajd. 172, 174); **1677** *bahişiş // bakişiş* (bachiscisc) ‘dono’ (MascVoc. 42).

Phr. – **ca. 1630** *bağış et-* (b[a]ghşis etmek) ‘dono mittere, donare’ (MontR. 54) – **1641** *bağış ver-* (baghsc=isc vermek) ‘premiare’ (MolDitt. 316); **1650** *bahşış ver-* (bachscisc vermech) ‘dedicatione’, (bachscisc verilmisc) ‘dedicato’ (CarrR. 71).

• < Pers. *baxšiš* ‘gift, present’. – N. 51 (XII); P. 27 (1291–1312).

33. **bari** (1533); **mbari** (1611) – [add.] **1533** *bari* (bàri) ‘al mancho’ (ArgAd. 145, ArgR. 46); **1611** *mbari* (mbàre) ‘almeno, al manco’ (FerrR. 60).

• < Pers. *bāri* ‘once; a time, a turn; sometimes; at least’. – N. 57 (XIV); P. 29–30 (1332).

34. **bazargin** (1603); **bezaryen** (ca. 1520), **bezaryem** (1525/30), **bazirgen** (1533), **bezirgan** (1567), **bezergen** (1574), **bezeryen** (1580), **bezeryan** (1611), **barzığân** (1650), **pezirgân** (1677) – **ca. 1520** *bezaryen* (bezarien) ‘mercante’ (LupisON. 1b); **1525/30** *bezaryem* (bezariem) ‘merchadante’ (ITSprAd. 219); **1533** *bazirgen* (baserghiên) ‘mercante’ (ArgAd. 150 [*bezergen*], ArgR. 49); **1567** *bezirgan* (bezirgani [+ poss.]) ‘mercante’ (LettBomb. 138); **1574** *bezergen* (besergen) ‘mercante’ (VNAd. 62); **1580** *bezeryen* (bezerien) ‘mercante’ (BVenON. 2); **1611** (*dört*) *bazirgen* (dort basergan) ‘(cuatro) mercadores’ (RJTMajd. 34); **1611** *bezeryan* (bezeriân) ‘mercante’ (FerrR. 61); **ca. 1630** *bazirgân* (basirgian) ‘mercator’ (MontR. 57); **1650** *barzığân* (barzeghian) ‘arrichito’ (CarrR. 75); **1672** *bezirgân* (bezirgian) ‘mercator’ (HarsHaz. 164–165); **1677** *pezirgân* (peszirghian) ‘mercante’ (MascVoc. 93).

Der. – **1533** *bezergenlük* (beserghienlúch) ‘mercantia’ (ArgAd. 150, ArgR. 52); **1611** *bazirgalık* (basergalik) ‘contrato’ (RJTMajd. 175); **1611** *bezeryanlık* (bezerianlíc) ‘mercantia, trafico’ (FerrR. 61); **ca. 1630** *bazirgânlık* (basirgianlik) ‘mercimonium’ (MontR. 57); **1650** *bazirgânlık* (basarghianlich) ‘mercanzia’ (CarrR. 77).

Phr. – **1611** *bazirgalık et-* (basergalik etmek) ‘contratar, cōmuniquer’ (RJTMaid. 175); **1611** *bezeryanlık et-* (bezerianlíc edérum) ‘traficare, far mercantia’ (FerrR. 61); **1630 ca.** *bazirgânlık et-* (basirgianlic etmek) ‘mercari’ (MontR. 57); **1641** *bazirgânlık et-* (basirghianlich etmech) ‘traficare, mercantare’ (MolDitt. 462); **1677** *pezirkânlık et-* (peszirchianlich etmech) ‘traficare, mercantare’ (MascVoc. 252).

• < Pers. *bāzargān* ‘merchant, trader’. – N. 69 (XIII); P. 31 (XIII/XIV).

35. **beduva** (1641); **betdova** (1533), **betua** (1630 ca.), **bettua/bettuva** (1677) – **1630 ca.** *betua* (betua) ‘imprecatio mala’ (MontR. 59); **1677** *bettua* (bettua) ‘bestemmia’ (MascVoc. 21).

Der. – **1677** *bettuvacı* (bettuuagi) ‘maldicatore, quello che maldice’ (MascVoc. 87) – **1677** *bettuvalı* (bettuuali) ‘maledetto’ (MascVoc. 86) – **1677** *bettuvalık* (bettuualich) ‘maledizione’ (MascVoc. 86).

– **1677** *bettuvala-* (bettuualanmisc) ‘maledetto’ (MascVoc. 86).

- Phr. – **1533** *betdova et-* (bettdouá edérum) ‘oro, fo imprecatione che Dio ti mandi male’, (bettdouá etterúrurum) ‘fo orare in male’ (ArgAd. 149, ArgR. 52); **1677** *bettuva et-* (bettuua etmech) ‘maledire’ (MascVoc. 86).
- < Pers. *bad-duiā* ‘imprecation, malediction’. – N. 61 (XIV); P. (–).
36. **beli** (1680) – **1611** *beli* (belhi, bellhi) ‘si’ (RJT Majd. 175).
- Phr. – **1641** *beli sultanum* (beli sultanim) ‘si, signorsi’ (MolDitt. 403).  
 – **1641** *beli de-* (beli demek) ‘arendersi’ (sic) (MolDitt. 60).
- < Pers. *balī* ‘yes’. – N. (–); P. 34 (XIV).
37. **belki** (1455/56) – **1533** *belki* (bélcchi) ‘forse’ (ArgAd. 148, ArgR. 50); **1611** *belki* (bélchi) ‘forse’ (FerrR. 61); **ca. 1630** *belki* (belki) ‘forte, fortuna’ (MontR. 58); **1672** *belki* (belki) ‘forte’ (HarsHaz. 38–39); **1677** *belki* (belchi) ‘forse’ (MascVoc. 52).
- Phr. – **1650** *belkide* (belchide) ‘inforse’ (CarrR. 78).
- < Pers. *bal-ki* ‘but, however, perhaps’. – N. 64 (XIV); P. 34 (1291–1312).
38. **beraber** (1603); **barabar** (1533), **peraber** (1677) – **1533** *barabar* (barabár) ‘pari’ (ArgAd. 145, ArgR. 46); **ca. 1630** *barabar* (barabar) ‘similis, aequalis, simul’ (MontR. 55); **1641** *beraber* (beraber) ‘eguali, vguale, paro, vguale’ (MolDitt. 131, 292); **1650** *baraber/barabar* ‘bilancio, pari; vguale’ (CarrR. 79); **1672** *beraber* (beraber) ‘aequales’ (HarsHaz. 122–123); **1677** *beraber/peraber* (beraber) ‘eguale’, (peraber) ‘paro, vguale’ (MascVoc. 44, 118).
- Der. – **1641** *beraberlik/beraberlük* (beraberlik) ‘agguagliamento, agguaglianza, egualità’, (beraberluk) ‘vguaglianza’, (beraberlighile) ‘egualmente’ (MolDitt. 26, 132, 479); **1650** *beraberlik* (beraberlich) ‘equità; vguaglianza’, (beraberlich ileh) ‘vguagliatamente’ (CarrR. 79); **1677** *beraberlük/-lik\** (beraberluch) ‘vguaglianza’, (beraberlighile) ‘ugualmente’ (MascVoc. 268, 269) – **1611** *baraba[r]siz* (\*barabasis) ‘disigual’ (RJT Majd. 45).
- Phr. – **1641** *beraber degil* (beraber deghil) ‘disparo, disuguale’ (MolDitt. 124)  
 – **1650** *beraber/baraber et-* (beraber/barabar ederum) ‘agguagliare, equiparare, pareggiare, spianare, appianare, vguagliare’, (beraber/baraber etmech) ‘agguagliamento, equiparatione, pareggiamento’ (CarrR. 79) – **1650** *beraber/barabar edici* (beraber/baraber edigi) ‘agguagliatore, equiparatore, pareggiatore, vguagliatore’ (CarrR. 79) – **1641** *beraber ol-* (beraber olmak) ‘vguagliare’, (beraber olmisc) ‘agguagliato’ (MolDitt. 479, 26); **1650** *beraber/baraber ol-* (beraber olurum) ‘agguagliarsi, vguagliarsi’, (beraber olmaqleh) ‘agguagliatamente’, (beraber/baraber olmisc) ‘agguagliato, bilanciato, fatto del pari, equiparato, pareggiato, spianato, vguagliato’ (CarrR. 79).
- < Pers. *bar-ā-bar* ‘equal, alike, on a par’. – N. 65 (XII); P. 35–36 (1332).
39. **bezestan** (1591) – [This word has been documented in a very large number of variations and adaptations in Italian sources since 1453, in German sources since 1496 ca., in French sources since 1519; SchweickOsm. 235–239 gives a complete list of these records. Only some of them are here cited] – **1453** “in *baxestan* come fuori

del *baxestan*" (Doc.Venezia: SchweickOsm. 235); **1496** "in *besastan* a Costantinopoli" (M. Sanudo: SchweickOsm. 235); **1519** "les marcha[n]s q[ui] se tie[n]nent à *bisistan*" (Th. Spandouyn: SchweickOsm. 237); **1545** "Il mercato de Schiaui si fa in vn luogo nel mezzo della Città, detto *besestàn* (...): ha Botteghe de imbrocatti, velluti & altri drappi e le cose di preggio tutte si vendono quiui (...). In questo medesimo *Besestàn* si vendano i Caualli di valuta" (BassR. 62); **1557** *bezestan/ bezesten* [‘rynek przedny’] (E. Otwinowski: StachSHET. 74); **1568** "le lieu appelé *Bezestan* (...) est vne maison grande (...), ayant quatre portes, & autant des rues dedans, tout à l’entour garnies de boutiques bien fournies de toutes marchandises rares, & de grand pris" (NicQLivr. 75); **1587/88** "Es hatt sonderlich ausserhalb der Stadt zwei fornehmer, groser Kaufheuser, welche die Turcken *Besenstein* heisen" (LubAd. 37); **1608** "im *Besasten* /das ist das Kauffhaus" (SchwSt. 226); **1641** *bezestan* (besestan) ‘fondaco’ (MolDitt. 151); **1677** *bezesten* (besesten) ‘fondaco’ (MascVoc. 51).

• < Pers. *bazzāzistān* ‘market-place’. – N. 61 (XVII Meninski); P. (-).

42. **birader** (*bilader* 1641); **brader** (1672), **brazier** (1672) – **1672** *brader/brazier* (brader, brazer) ‘frater’ (HarsHaz. 42–43).

• < Pers. *birādar* ‘brother’. – N. 73 (XII); P. (-).

43. **bostan** (1612); **mostan\*** (1507), **musta(n)\*** (1513), **bustan** (1522), **bonstan\*** (1548), **(v)ustan\*** (1587/88), **vostan\*** (1622) – **ca. 1520** *bostan* (bostan) ‘orto’ (LupisON. 3a; missing in ITSprAd.); **1533** *bostan* (bostán) ‘orto; parco, giardino’ (ArgAd. 153, ArgR. 56); **1560** "Des autres Serrails, ou *Bostans* [Fr. pl.], ou jardins, il y en a quasi par toutes les bonnes villes" (PostelTPart. 22); **1611** *bostan* (bostán) ‘horto, orto di foglie, etc.’ (FerrR. 64); **ca. 1630** *bostan* (bostan) ‘pomarium’ (MontR. 60); **1650** *bustan* (bustan) ‘horto’ (CarrR. 92).

Der. – **1507** *mostanzi* [without translation] (M. Sanudo: MancT. 97); **1522** "*bustangi* giardinieri" (T. Contarini: RelPedF. 35); **1533** *bostanci* (bostangi) ‘ortolano, il giardinieri’ (ArgAd. 153; ArgR. 56); **1539** "giardinieri chiamati *bostangi*" (RambLibT. 15r); **1548** "*bonstangiler*, cioè giardinieri" (MenTratt. 128); **1560** "*Bostangi* jardinier" (PostelTPart. 23); **1611** *bostanci* (bostangi) ‘hortolano, ortolano’ (FerrR. 64); **ca. 1630** *bostanci* (bostangi) ‘qui ad hortos, hortulanus’ (MontR. 61); [From **1630** as *bustanci* and **1633** as *bostanci* the word appears variously morphologically adapted several times in Polish sources especially in the meaning ‘member of the corps of imperial guards’: StachSHET. 84]; **1650** *bustanci* (bustangi) ‘hortolano’ (CarrR.92); **1668** "*Bostangi*’s or Gardiners" (RycapPSt. 40); **1672** *bostanci* (boštangsi) ‘hortulanus; hortorum regionum incolae, horti incola’ (HarsHaz. 110–111, 186–187).

Phr. – **1501/1504/1510** *bostazibassa, bostanzibassa, bostangibassa* ‘zardiniero del Signor Turco’ (M. Sanudo: MancT. 97); **1507/1511/1513/1529** *mostanzibassi, mostazibassa, mustazibassi, mustazibassa* ‘l’ortolan del signor’ (id.); **1538** "*Bostanzibassi*, che vuol dire capo di giardinieri" (SpandSath. 205); **1539** "il *bostangibassi*, cioè capo de giardinieri" (RambLibT. 15r); **1545** "un Capitano che lo domandano

*Bostanci Basi*, cioè capo di giardinieri, il quale gouerna il timone della Fregata, doue passa il gran Turcho in Asia” (BassR. 63); **1548** “a questi [= gardeners] è ordinato el loro superiore chiamato *bostagibascia*” (MenTratt. 129); **1553** “questi giardini hanno un capo sopra gli altri capi, chiamato *bostangi-basci*, il quale è timoniero del brigantino del Gran-Signore” (B. Navagero: RelAlb.I 52); **1560** “*Bostangi başi*, maistre des jardiniers (...) qui seruent de labourer le jardin, & de mener la fuste du Seigneur & celle de sa suite, quant il va a l’esbat” (PostelT-Part. 11); **1568** “le \**Bostaugi Bassi* qui est le Capitaine des iardins & des iardiniers” (NicQLivr. 66); **1584** “Le grand Seigneur va souvent se promener en un beau jardin (...). [De] les fruicts duquel, & de tous ses autres jardins, (...) le *Bostangybassy* a charge, qu’est capitaine des jardins” (PalBern. 272); **1587/88** *bostanci/(v)ustanci başa* (bostangi bassa) ‘Obriste uber die Gertner und garten’, (\*uztanschi bassa) ‘Obrister Gertner’ (LubAd. 38); **1596** “seguivano i giardinieri co’l loro capo, chiamato *bustangibasi*” (CardonaVOr. 7); **1608** “etliche Atschamoglan/... welche die Arbeit im Garten müssen verrichten / die haben einen vorsteher *Bostansiwasha* genant /der sie anweiset” (SchwSt. 226); **1622** *vostancı başa* (Vostanzi Bascha) [‘Befehlshaber einer Garten- und Palastleibgarde’] (WennStach. 599); **ca. 1630** *bostancı başı* (bostangi bassi) ‘hortor(um) praefectus’ (MontR. 61); **1643** *bostancı paşı/başı* (bostandsi paszy, bostandzi basze) (St. Oświęcim: StachSHET. 85); **1646** *bustancı başa* (bustandzibasza) ‘ogrodnik starszy’ (Sz. Starowolsi: StachSHET. 85); **1672** *bostancı başa* (boštangsi basia) ‘purpuratum bostangiorum’ (HarsHaz. 120–121) – **1560** “*Bostangi Iazgisi* (= *bostancı yazıcısı*) (...) contrerolleur des jardiniers” (PostelTPart. 25).

• < Pers. *būstān*, *bustān* ‘garden, kitchen garden’. – N. 78 (XII); P. 48 (XIII).

44. **bulbul** (1590/91) – **1533** *bilbil* (bilbíl) ‘lusignolo, rusignuolo’ (ArgAd. 150, ArgR. 53); **1630 ca.** *bilbil*, *bulbul* // *bülbül* (bilbil, bulbul) ‘philomela’ (MontR. 59); **1650** *bilbil* (bilbil) ‘lusignolo, rosignolo’ (CarrR.82); **1672** *bülbül* (bülbül) ‘philomela’ (HarsColl. 425); **1677** *bulbul* // *bülbül* (bulbul) ‘lusignuolo, rosignuolo, vccello’ (MascVoc. 85, 169).

Der. – **1677** *bulbılcık* // *bülbülcık* (bulbulgich) ‘rosignuolo piccolo’ (MascVoc. 169).

Phr. – **1677** *çıplak bulbul* // *bülbül* (ciplach bulbul) ‘rosignuolo gniudo’ (MascVoc. 170).

• < Pers. *bulbul* ‘nightingale’. – N. 84 (XIII); P. 49 (1430).

## Abbreviations

abl. = ablative	com. = comitative
acc. = accusative	dat. = dative
add. = see Introduction, 3)	der. = derivative(s)
Ar. = Arabic	dial. = dialect(al)
Arm. = Armenian	Fr. = French
cf. = compare	Engl. = English

G. = German	phr. = phrase(s)
gen. = genitive	pl. = plural
Gr. = Greek	Pol. = Polish
It. = Italian	poss. = possessive
Lat. = Latin	prob. = probably
loc. = locative	Sp. = Spanish
Mong. = Mongolian	stand. = standard
Osm. = Osmanlı	suff. = suffix
Pers. = Persian	T. = Turkish

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