A CRIMEAN TURKIC-TATAR GLOSSARY
FROM THE 17th CENTURY
IMRE BASKI

Until the most recent decades, little attention had been paid by Turkic studies to the 17th century glossaries surviving in a variety of works by West European scholars and travellers. As a rule, the linguistic monuments in question represent a now extinct stage of linguistic development, thus the recorded words are highly valuable for both the culture historian and the historian of language.\(^1\) One such extant example is the Crimean Turkic-Tatar glossary by the Dutch geographer and lawyer Nicolaes Witsen (1641—1717),\(^2\) actually one of the very oldest recorded monuments of the Crimean Tatar language.

I. The life and work of Witsen

Born on May 8, 1641 in Amsterdam, Nicolaes Witsen studied mathematics and law in his native town and in Leiden, and became a master shipbuilder as well. Being endowed with artistic talent, he distinguished himself at copper-plate engraving. Later he turned his dexterity at drawing to good use as a map maker.

Witsen’s biography was written and published in 1882 by J. F. Gebhard, but his book was not available to the present author at the time of writing. Adelung,\(^3\) however, wrote extensively about the life and work of Witsen. From among the accessible and popular encyclopaedias and dictionaries, only few give any information about Witsen.

\(^1\) This recognition must have motivated Gerhard Doerfer, who was scrutinizing the old Western sources for data on the history of the Kalmuk language (see Doerfer, Ältere). Georg Kara underlined the historical value of Witsen’s Yakut glossary for linguists (see Kara). An indication of growing scientific interest is the launching in 1976 of the Linguarum minorum documenta historiographica by H. Haarmann. (My heartfelt gratitude is due to Professor Georg Kara, who kindly drew my attention to the topic discussed in this paper.)

\(^2\) For the title of the work including the glossary, see under Witsen in the Bibliography.

\(^3\) J. C. Adelung, Mithridates I. 660—662.
At the age of 23, Witsen joined ambassador Jacob Boreel bound for Russia and worked in the Dutch embassy in Moscow between 1664 and 1667. He made good use of this sojourn, collecting material for his principal work, the description of Northern and Eastern Asia. In 1666—1667 he undertook several journeys, in the course of which his interest was captured by Asian peoples and languages virtually unknown in the Europe of his days.

From 1670 practically up to his death, he was involved in the public administration of Amsterdam. Between 1682 and 1705, he was chosen mayor three times. In the meantime, he earnestly continued his scientific endeavours. Witsen's social contacts in Russia were of the highest order. One instance is sufficient to bear this out: When staying in Holland (in 1697), Tsar Peter I (the Great) sought out Witsen, who instructed him in natural sciences and introduced him to the prominent figures of Dutch intellectual life. Indeed, it was Witsen who transmitted to the tsar most of the knowledge he acquired during his visit to Holland. Peter I and Witsen remained in communication by letter later too.

The fruit of 25 years of untiring collecting work, the “Noord en Oost Tartarye” was published in 1692, to become the basic source on the Orient for 18th century Europe. Having been given to Melchisedech Thévenot as a present by the author, the manuscript of the book came into the possession of the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris.

The book, an impressive venture both for its size and influence, is actually a compilation with the seams showing quite distinctly. Naturally, this can in no way lessen the value of Witsen’s book; on the contrary, researchers of later times are often only too grateful to him for making available to them at least in ‘compilation’ one work or another now lost.

The unique significance of “Noord en Oost Tartarye” consists in containing all the knowledge on the ‘Tatar’ areas of Russia available at the turn of the 17th—18th centuries and in summarizing all the results of science achieved during the 200 years since the discovery of the ‘Moscowite’ empire.

According to Bartens, the first edition (1692) testifies to a considerable rise in knowledge as compared to the preceding works. This meant that Witsen also included in his book the findings of his own field research. The second edition (1705) was further enlarged. The studious politician must have carried on elaborating the material he had collected, adding new information he ac-

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4 Doerfer, Altere...; Adelung 1815, 3; Kononov 1972, 23.
5 Adelung II, 338.
6 Adelung 1815, 3; Adelung I, 32, 33, II, 339.
7 Bartens 413.
8 Bartens loc. cit.

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quired since the first edition. The second edition was thus considerably revised and enlarged, also including fuller linguistic samples.\footnote{See note 9.}

Witsen’s linguistic material falls into two major parts:
a) common names arranged in the glossary,
b) proper names scattered throughout the descriptive passages. The richest in common names is the Georgian glossary with over 900 entries on seven and a half pages. Substantially smaller in size, the Crimean Tatar list contains 530 entries and a two-line poem or fragment of a poem.

The student scrutinizing the Crimean lexical material recorded by Witsen is faced with the inevitable question of which sources Witsen used and who his informants were. A reply to these questions would largely promote precise reconstruction. However, our inquiries have failed to provide us with definitive answers to the questions raised here.

Witsen may have drawn on the works of travellers before him for data (including linguistic ones). He refers to this in the preface to the first edition, saying that he had made recourse to reports by Dutch travellers and to various unpublished travel journals.\footnote{Witsen 1692, p. 73: “Added to this were the reports by Dutchmen who were staying in Peking, Hokio and other places, and the various unpublished travel journals written in these regions, including the ones about Tataria itself, that is, Astrakhan, Siberia, Persia, Georgia, Turkey, and so on, as well as those written accounts about the Indian route I received, describing what it is like way out there in the east and the north-east, for instance in Mugal, Kalmakia, Altin, Siberia, Samoedia…” (All translation from Dutch has been rendered by Erzsébet Mollay.)}

Two pages later he uses the ‘papers’ of an employee of the British army (“krygs-beampte”) in captivity among the Crimean Tatars around 1620.\footnote{Witsen 1692, 387.} When describing the Crimean peninsula, he returns to this source again.\footnote{Witsen 1692, 389; Adelung I, 34.} At the beginning of the geographical-historical section following the glossary in both editions, Witsen names the source again in this way: “What follows now is a brief account of Tartaria which we have borrowed from the French traveller de la Croix.”\footnote{“Volght zeker bericht, op het lantchap Crim… getogen uit een verhael ternerder geftelt wel eer by zeker Engelfch kryghs-beampte, die onder de Crimsche Tartar gevange is geweft, omtrent den jare zeventien hondert twintigh.”}

On page 394 of the first edition, he also names a Dane (“Duitfch”) who was employed in Moscow. Other possible sources are Purcha’s collection

\footnote{“Volght eonigh beright op het Crims Tartaryen, genomen uit den Franfchen lantbefchyver de la Croix.” (Witsen 1692, 391) He writes the same in the second edition, cf. Witsen 1705, 583. Perhaps he is referring to La Croix’s Guerres des Turcs avec le Pologne et la Moscovie (A la Haye 1689).}
of travel diaries (1613), and the travel accounts of Josafa (Giosafa) Barbaro (1436), John Smith (1593) and Ferrand (around 1650).

Many share the position that Witsen’s linguistic material came from a Russian informant (or mediator, to be more precise), or from a Russian source. This contention can be accepted as valid for the Crimean Tatar sample in view of the following considerations. As we know, Ivan III and Vasily III, grand dukes of Moscow, engaged in busy correspondence with the khanates of Kazan and the Crimea. This suggests that the court employed interpreters and translators — at least by name Tatards — who had a good command of the Kazan and Crimean Tatar, and the Ottoman Turkish languages.

Considering that Witsen moved in diplomatic circles in Moscow and befriended influential persons, it cannot have been difficult for him to gain an informant (interpreter, translator) in the required language.

A close study of the Crimean Tatar lexical material makes it abundantly clear to us that certain words (terms) must have been taken from written language or they go back to a written variant mostly recorded in Arabic script. The best example is the Arabic word hüwe ‘he, it’ which frequently occurs at the beginning (in the invocation) of diplomas. Only those people knew it who had access to Tatar or Ottoman Turkish diplomás.

Kononov claims that those linguistic materials that were collected and placed at Witsen’s disposal by the Russian Academy of Science were used by him in the second edition.

One may then conclude that Witsen came into possession of the Crimean Turkic-Tatar lexical material through Russian mediation. One thing is certain: that the words were unintelligible for him. This is attested by the gross clerical errors and lapsus calami. Someone must have transliterated the Arabic (Cyrilllic) texts according to a then used system of European transliteration. These questions are elaborated in the following section of the present paper.

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17 He spent 16 years in the Crimea as the envoy of Venice, and also as a merchant. The Russian edition of his travel journal: Putešestvie v Tanu Iosafata Barbaro ... SPbg. 1836.
20 Doerfer, Ältere 10; Kara 431; Kononov 1972, 23.
21 Kononov 1972, 21.
22 See the entry hüwe of the vocabulary.
23 Kononov 1972, 23; Right about this time in Russia — in the wake of Peter T’s reforms — scientific research got a new impetus; ethnographic expeditions took increasing interest in collecting linguistic data as well.
II. Witsen’s Crimean Tatar glossary

In the first edition (1692) Witsen inserted a paragraph ahead of the glossary in which he gave a brief description of the (Crimean) Tatar language. This is followed by the list of the words. The words are not enumerated in alphabetic order, but grouped according to topics (e.g. heaven, earth, water; cereals, and animals, etc.). The italicised entry beginning with a capital letter is separated from the meaning by a comma. In the second (and the identical third) edition (1705, 1785), the introductory comments on the language were completed with yet another short paragraph. In this edition, the glossary begins on page 578 and ends on page 583. Here the items are listed in strict alphabetic order. The formal arrangement is otherwise the same as in the first edition. The number of entries is 530, which does not mean, however, as many lexical units, for the conjugated forms of verbs and plurals of nouns are entered separately. At the tail-end of the list a two-line poem or fragment of a poem can be found.

24 "The Tatar language as it is being spoken in the Crimea derives from Turkish; it is a modified Turkish language. A Turk, however, who quite well understands the Crimean language from which the below names [words, I. B.] come, does not fully comprehend the Nagay tongue, although it is adjacent to his in the Crimea, because it has greatly deteriorated and is spoken very fast. The less [does he understand it] as the words are uttered from the throat the way the Arabs do. Many, probably most, other western Tatar [Kipchak, I. B.] languages are related to the Crimean Tatar: they originate from it and can be labelled modified Crimean. Therefore, we may call it the mother tongue of all the Tatar languages. What seems to account for this fact is that the Tatar rule, now confined to the peninsula of the same name, the Crimea, on this side — that is, in the west — used to stretch long into the heartland." (Witsen 1692, p. 391)

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The Crimean Tatar language which is spoken in the region along the Russian border is somewhat similar to that of Moscow: it contains a large number of Arabic and Persian words*; the one that is spoken near-the Turkish settlements and fortifications largely corresponds to Turkish; the bulk of this language is purely Turkish, although its sound — its pronunciation — has changed.***" (Witsen 1705, 1785, p. 577) * He must have meant the purely Kipchak Crimean Tatar spoken in the northern part of the peninsula, which resembles the Kazan ("Moscow") Tatar. ** Presumably he means the southern Crimean Turkish-Tatar dialect, or the Crimean Osmanli language.

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The reconstructed data are to be found in the vocabulary appended to the present paper.

In the course of the reconstruction work it is imperative to bear in mind the nationality of the collector or transcriber for he may have used the letters of his own language's sounds to symbolize the corresponding sound values in the foreign language. One letter may designate very different sounds depending on the nationality of the collector.

Instead of the contemporary Dutch system of transcription, Witsen complied with the rules of a standard European (Latin, Italian, German) transcription in the Crimean Tatar glossary. This makes the 17th-18th century — and even earlier — (Turkish) transliterated linguistic monuments and their analyses highly revealing to the point at issue. Regardless of how Witsen came by the material of the glossary, there must have been someone — perhaps a Russian scholar of European origin — who transcribed it for him according to a generally used system.

Part of the efforts to reconstruct the words was to present the original phonemes. This was considerably facilitated by etymology, which helps differentiate between phonemes and their variants.

Except for a few phonetically justifiable cases, palatal harmony was observed in all Turkic words. The words not complying with labial harmony were left unchanged, for labial harmony was still in the making at the studied time.

The use (sound values) of certain letters and letter clusters of the glossary deviating from common usage is specified below:

(slanting lines // enclose the phonemes, round brackets () carry Witsen’s data; the underlined words normally beginning with a small letter are the entries to be found in the reconstructed vocabulary at the end of the paper, where the precise and full data can be looked up. Whenever Witsen’s item and the reconstructed one do not differ, only the former is presented.)

a ä, variant of /e/, iślā- (-iśla-), sādāf (Sfadağ), cf. CC “a” = e (ä), Grönb. 14: Crim. Tat. “Otamās” = Ötümās, Kuvn 1873, 52; Maggio’s Osm. material occasionally has “a” = ä, (Kenessey 61).

a̞ a arzēhāl (Arzehual) In modern Dutch it designates a long vowel. In Witsen’s time the corresponding graph was “ae”.

ae ā (Merdebaen), (Helaek) A peculiarity of Dutch to symbolize length, cf. “aa”.

26 Grönbeoch took this as his starting point when analyzing the CC (Grönb. 11).
27 Cf. Grönb. 11; Similar material: CC; Maggio; Németh, Ilésh.; Hazai, Hur., etc.

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c /z/ Zemzem (Cemcem), zewk (Cewk)
   g goy (Coi), Likewise CC Grönb. 13, Maggio (Kenessey 66), Kuun 1873, 52
   [s] susar (Ofar), transis (Francis): in Witsen’s alphabet (1st ed. p. 210)
   “ce” = ɔ (ʌ, θ)
   k kış (Cis)
ch χ xadim (Chadim), (Chamur) It only occurs in initial position. In CC it
denotes several sounds
   (χ, k, k, g) cf. Grönb. 12—13.
   ci /č/ čigor ~ čgar (Cikar) Cf. Maggio: “ci” = č Kenessey 63
ds /z/ ziyan (Dsajan), zulum (Dsulum)
   (ç) corba (Dsorba), qumaç (Komads)
e 1. ē close e in the first syllable, a palatal reduced sound in the rest of the
   syllables, eg. (Azem), béšek (Befcek); “e” also designates a reduced sound
   for the German transcribers of CC (Grönb. 18) and for Maggio (Kenessey
   61). 2. ē a velar reduced sound, the phonemic variant of [i], e.g. arzehal
   (Arzehal), qizel (Kifel)
ee ē (Eelgen) A peculiar Dutch feature to mark length.
ei (i) imansis (Eimansis); with Arabic letters: إبا نز (Osm.) It suggests Arabic
   transliteration, for the letter group یل symbolizes the close e or i sounds
   of Turkic languages.
ey ē close variant of [e], e.g. deg’me (Deyghme), deg’irmen (Deyghirmen), cf.
   “ei,” and also the paragraph on the sound g’ below;
g /γ, ɣ/ (Aga), (Gam)
   /g/ (Fisilgen), (Legên)
gh /γ/ (Maghib), (Karaghî); cf. Crim. Tat. “Cottologha bey” (= Qutlubuya
   bey) Kuun 1873, 54; Maggio (Kenessey 64—65); Witsen’s Yakut lexical
   material (Kara).
   /χ/ axret (Agh-ret), ferax (Feragh); cf. CC yaregh = jaryχ (Grönb. 12)
   g’ ég’er (Eígher), deg’me (Deyghme)
gi + vowel /j/ alaja (Alagia), yanji (Changii); cf. Maggio: before a and o “gi”
   is j (Kenessey 63)
   g’ lig’am (Ligiam)
   /č/ burčak (bourgiak)
i /i/ siyir (Sfiqhir), qırq (Kirk), qıl (Kıl); Likewise in CC, mostly with the Italian
   transcribers (Grönb. 12), in Witsen’s Yakut material (Kara), in Maggio
   (Kenessey 61)
   /y (ɨ) tay (Tai), (Nai), ɨayvan; (Haiwán) cf. CC (Grönb. 13), Kuun 1873, 52
j g’ g’ul (Juil), g’ümlek (Jumlek)
k’ k’emend (Jemend)
kj k’ k’amil (Kjamil), k’éli (Kjeli), k’ör (Kjor)
o /a/ tap- (Thop-)
   /o/ (Dort), k’öpek (Kjopek), cf. Maggio (Kenessey 62)
/u/ mum (Mom), quyû (Kojou), qumač (Komads); A more openly pronounced Crim. Tat. u may have been identified with the closer o, which is why the graph “o” was used. The same can be observed in the CC (Grönb. 12). The Italian scribe of Tatar diplomas wrote “o” in place of the etymological u (e.g. “Boga” (Buğa), “Aibolat” (Aybulat), cf. Kuun 1873, 52)

oe ā maymûn (Maimoën) A Dutch specificity to designate length.

ou /u/ armut (Armout), qul (Koul)

ũ/ bûrk (Bourk), bügérûľjék (Bougeruljek)

ṣ f /š/ guš (Kous), qasîk (Kafik)

ž/ zarar (Sarar), zor (Sor), quzu (Koufu); Occasionally in CC too (Grönb. 15)

ž/ eždehâ (Esdhia)

sc fc /š/ šekër (Scekjer), arş (Arsc), cf. Maggio (Kenessey 68)

sci + vowel /š/ šaban (Sciaban), alâšâ (Aalascia), cf. Maggio (Kenessey 68)

foh /š/ aruš (Arušch)

ff /š/ aš (Aff); in CC “ss” = š (Grönb. 13)

ź/ abassâ (Abbassa), almâzīs (Almaffis)

ṣ/ qasab (Kaffab), qasavet (Kaffavet)

tg + i /č/ činliq (Tginliq), čigar- (Tgicer-)

tgi + vowel /č/ čiplaq (Tgiiplak), čamur (Tgiamour)

th /t/ tay (Thai), tamaq (Thamak), at (Ath); It proves conclusively the borrowing of written Arabic data.

In Witsen’s Crim. Tat. alphabet ↓ = “thi” (1st ed. p. 210)

-tw /č/ bičaq (Bitsae), mači (Matzi)

u /ũ/ bûbül (Bulbul), ümêr (Umer); in Witsen’s Yakut material “u” = ŭ (Kara), in Maggio likewise (Kenessey 62)

/w/, y sew- (Seu), tiwe (Tiwe), qayûn (Kauwn)

x It occurs once, mistakenly in place of “r”: yer (Ex)

y See “uy” and “ey”

į/ qîr domuzî (Cydsmuzy)

zi + vowel /č/ buqča (Bakzia), ničûn (Nizîun), cf. CC where “z” = č (Grönb. 13)

Accentuation. The following regularities can be observed in the use of accents:

• (accent circonflexe) normally indicates length: azâb (Aabsâb) alâm (Alâm), devîl (Devîl), ferâχ (Ferâgh); occasionally marking the place of accent: (Delî) delî, (Francis) fransîs (Sfadîf) sâdîf

• (accent grave) designates the accented vowel: (Almâ), (Kjiše), (Danê), (Duighmè) dûg’me, (Innè), etc.

• (accent aigu) normally signifies accent: (Derê), (Dsörbâ) çorba, (Tamam), etc.
(tréma) indicates that the two vowels should be pronounced separately: e.g. (Taälim) taalim, (Thäouk) tawq. Though rarely, the German transcribers of CC indicated ī with "’" (Grönb. 14, 15). Some of Witsen’s items also suggest a vowel + i cluster, but then an intrusive y or ī must also be postulated: (Alaik) alayiq, (ai) ayī (Acc.), (Karīe) garye.

**Symbols and their sound values (summary table)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol(s)</th>
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<th>Symbol(s)</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Symbol(s)</th>
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<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a, o</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>i, y</td>
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<td>ä</td>
<td>å, aa, ae</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k, c</td>
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<td>a</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>j, kj</td>
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<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b, bb</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>c, k</td>
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<td>č</td>
<td>ci, ds, gč, tg (+i), tz, zi, tgi</td>
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<td>l, ll</td>
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<td>+ vowel</td>
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<td>n</td>
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<tr>
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<td>gi</td>
<td>ō</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>p</td>
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<td>e</td>
<td>r</td>
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<tr>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>c, s, ʃ, ]ʃ</td>
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<td>ě (close)</td>
<td>ey, ei</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>s, ʃ, sc, sch, sci, ]ʃ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ě (velar reduced)</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t, th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ě (palatal reduced)</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>o, ou, u</td>
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<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>oe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'</td>
<td>gh, gi, j</td>
<td>ŭ</td>
<td>u, ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ģ (y)</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
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<td>h</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>gh, h</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>j, l</td>
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<tr>
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<td>i, ei</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>o, ds, s, ʃ, ]ʃ, ʃʃ, z</td>
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<tr>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>i, l</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td>s</td>
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</table>

### III. Linguistic conclusions offered by the glossary

1. **Vowel system**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tongue Position</th>
<th>Place of articulation</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Velar</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>I I I l</td>
<td>L L L</td>
<td>L L L</td>
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<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/ü/</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/u/</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>ě</td>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>ě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>ţ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>o, ds, s, ʃ, ]ʃ, ʃʃ, z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Supplementary comments on particular vowels

The standard Crimean Tatar language does not distinguish between a close and an open e sound. The open and close phonemic variants detectable in linguistic monuments and dialects have all merged into a single e sound in the standard Ottoman-Turkish and Crimean Tatar literary languages. In the dialects, however, the open and close e sounds are clearly and strictly differentiated. The open e is less open than the Azerbaijani and Volga-region ā; it is approximately identical with the educated pronunciation of Ottoman-Turkish e. Witsen’s word list also bears out that the phoneme /e/ used to have a close — even reduced — variant (ē) and an open one (ā).

ē (1) It is either a close e or a palatal reduced phonemic variant, more open than i, but more closed than e, already reduced in many cases. It is close in the first syllable and reduced in the subsequent ones. Memetov points out that the most close of all the positional variants of the phoneme /e/ is the one between two voiceless consonants. In linguistic records (e.g. CC) the e ~ i alternation alludes to the preservation of the close e (Grönb. 7). The transliterated records of the Ottoman Turkish language also permit the assumption that the phoneme /e/ did have a close variant. Crimean Osmanli also contains ē, which is shown by the wavering of the written data between i and ā. This alternation can sporadically be detected in the literary Crimean Tatar language as well: āki ~ iki ‘2’, küt ~ kıt ‘to go’, āt ~ īt ‘to do, to make’. One can come across similar alternations in the Crimean Tatar diplomas, which also point to the existence of a close e.

ē (2) A velar reduced sound, the phonemic variant of /i/. In modern standard literary pronunciation ī has a reduced quality resembling the reduced pronunciation (ē, ē) of the Russian a, o following a stressed syllable. Marking it with the graph “e” is not only a convention of spelling, but — as Rösänern points out — has its phonetic justification as well: in the Volga Turkic lan-

28 Kakuk 1976, 52.
29 Cf. Räslautg. 90; Doerfer (Krm tat. 376) and Sevortjan (p. 235) speak only of a single ā (or e) sound in the Crimean Tatar literary language.
30 Dmitriev 1928, 207.
31 Memetov 114, 123.
32 Németh, Illősh.; Hazai, Harsh.; Maggio (Kenessey); Kakuk, Recherches 443, 444, 450.
33 Doerfer, KKrmosm. 274.
34 Doerfer, Krm tat. 376.
35 On the basis of the ĕ! ~ 1 alternation Matuz (p. 89, 95) did not decide either for i or e (here ē). He uniformly marked ē in the cases at issue.
36 Sevortjan 235.

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guages i becomes reduced, resembling e rather than i. In transliterated Ottoman Turkish texts, “ö” often stands for the Turkish i, or rather a variant of its, a velar illabial sound produced in central tongue position.

/[ö]/, /[ü]/ Normally they indicate medial (mediopalatal) half-close or close labial vowels, irrespective of the extent to which these sounds are velarized in certain positions. (See also Depalatalization.)

Qualitative features of vowels

Vocalic harmony. Palatal harmony (or palatal progressive assimilation) is consistently observed except in words of foreign origin. E.g. qalın, deli, sanduq; razmet, helaq, ates, etc. In a few cases, however, original Turkic words fail to comply with it: e.g. almaler, balaler, taragler, baljik, bičaq, etc. As the examples show, it is above all the plural suffix that creates words of vocalic disharmony. Not only Witsen’s material, but also later collected dialectal material reveal this phenomenon. It can be found in Crimean Osmanli and in Maggio’s Ottoman-Turkish grammar as well, e.g. onler, kimler (Kenessey 80). In some other cases, consonants that have a palatalizing effect disrupt the palatal harmony (See Palatalization).

Palatal regressive assimilation. We have only one example: qarenfil (< qaranfil).

Labial harmony. It is much weaker than palatal harmony for the reasons of 1. the survival of (original) Kipchak features, e.g. in homomorphic (illabial) affixes; 2. the large number of foreign words; 3. the survival of certain archaic affixes. Witsen’s material is basically disharmonic as regards labial harmony (e.g. devletli, šuk’er, sarumsaq, mülir, dördinfio, etc.).

Palatalization. Upon the influence of certain consonants (postalveolars, palatals), the place of some velar vowels are taken by their palatalized (or even palatal) variants or counterparts. As Witsen used one letter to signify several sounds, it is problematic now to identify the palatalized (palatal) sounds. Taking this into account in the reconstruction of the words, we have given two possible alternatives in most cases, e.g. bičaq ~ bičaq (Bitzae), čin ~ čin (Tyin), etc. It must be noted that the palatalization of the sounds a, o, and u is also quite likely, but Witsen’s perfunctory notation makes it impossible to detect it in his word list. The only phoneme whose palatalized variant is tentatively indicated in the scientific transcription of the entries is /j/. E.g.:

37 RæLautg. 84.
38 Kakuk, Recherches 444.
39 From Dmitriev’s collection: yašleri, giy-sani-a, yan-e, şorbasiler, ağa-lar, etc. (Dmitriev 1926, 343), cf. also Doerfer, Krmkt. 374.
40 Deviation was indicated in the CC too (Grönb. 7, 16, 17).
\[\ddot{i} > i\] effected by š aši (see aš), qasık
\[\ddot{i} > i\] effected by y aywaši, fuji, baljik, ţanţi
\[\ddot{i} > i\] effected by y ziyañan I, II, badiyan; qayiš, qasın
\[\ddot{i} > i\] effected by č bicaq, čiplaq, čin, čiqar-, mači

This type of palatalization is familiar from other Turkic languages as well (cf. Räslautg. 58, 81, 84, etc.; Kakuk, Recherches 446, 447, 456).

Depalatalization. The vowels to undergo it are the palatal labials (ö, ū). Owing to the notational system applied to the glossary, one cannot decide with absolute certainty when the sound in question is an ö peculiar to Kipchak (graph: o, ø), an intermediate sound between ö and o, and when a depalatalized ö whose phonetic quality is very near to, or identical with, the former. Witsen is assumed to have marked both ö sounds uniformly with “ö”. We have replaced it everywhere with “ö”. The same applies to the various ū sounds. (Cf. Dmitriev 1926, 343; Doerfer, Krm. 375; Sevortjan 236.)

Elision. Few authentic examples can be gleaned from the glossary: zerdū (provided that < zerdēlū), ilq (<iğ)<čqar- which is not verifiable unless the clusters “ci” and “Tgi” in (Cikar-) and (Tgičar-) denote č and not č + i, see čiqar- (Cf. Dmitriev 1926, 344, Dmitriev 1928, 208; Doerfer, Krm. 376; Sevortjan 239).

Epenthesis. Few data can be culled from the word list: bugerufjēk (<bug-
ruľfjēk), tøyume ~ tołyme (<tüzme ~ tołyme), xazeret (<xazret), sulč (<sulč). Reduction. Its traces can be discerned in polysyllabic words. In Witsen and other sources, the imperfectly articulated and sounding, reduced variants are indicated by the letter of the vowel that is in any way similar to them.41 The studied glossary most frequently features the letter “e” as standing for both palatal and velar reduced vowels. The application of “i” and “u” (“ou”) for the same role is not demonstrable. In this conjunction the entries aruš (ʔarēš) and turnaq (ʔtērnag) are controversial. In the transcription, the reduced vowels are marked by “ö”, e.g. alermēsin (see al-), darildinmē (daril-), tükʻērūk, ťukʻér.

Accent. In the Crimean Tatar language it normally falls on the vowel of the final syllable. In words consisting of three or more syllables there is a secondary accent as well (generally falling on the first syllable). The vowel in the syllable with the secondary accent is more completely articulated than the unaccented vowels,42 which are thus much weaker (more reduced — I.B.).43 This is what underlies the phenomena of elision and reduction.

41 In the CC e, u (Grönb. 17, 18), in Maggio e (Kenessey 61).
42 SamoijOp. 19; Sevortjan 239.
43 Sevortjan loc. cit.

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Consonantal system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of articulation</th>
<th>Manner of articulation</th>
<th>Plosives</th>
<th>Spirants</th>
<th>Affric.</th>
<th>Occlusives</th>
<th>Liquids</th>
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<tr>
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<td>h</td>
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</table>

**Supplementary comments on particular consonants**

b- Occasionally the original *b* is retained in initial position. In the material of *Matuz bol-* is frequent (here *bul-* I.), but the emergence of *ol-* upon the influence of Ottoman Turkish can also be discerned. 44

-b only stands at the end of foreign words (*azab, ɣarib, mayrib,* etc.). As these words were mediated by Ottoman Turkish, they have to be approached therefrom. By the 16th—17th centuries, the *-b > -p* change had struck root in Ottoman Turkish, but the dichotomy was still there. 45 The variants with -b represent a more archaic stage of development. It is less probable though not impossible, that these words were derived from their forms written in Arabic script, but in this case -b should stand in place of -p in *alup* too.

d- Many of the glossary’s words begin with *d-* a part of which display *d-* ~ *t-* alternations (e.g. *demir ~ temir, delik ~ telik*). The proportion of words originating in, or mediated by, the Ottoman Turkish language must have considerably increased by the time of the collection, for in Armenian-Kipchak very few words began (in the early 17th century) with *d-* apart from the Ottoman Turkish and Persian loanwords. 46

-d In *Witsen’s* list it only stands at the end of foreign words (e.g. *derd, k’emend,* etc.). In spite of the fact that the *-d > -t* change was well underway in the Ottoman Turkish of the 16th—17th centuries, in 17th-century Crimean Tatar the voiced final sound (*-d*) was preponderant. 47 Should, however,
these words merely reflect the Arabic way of writing, we would have to reckon with an actual final -t.

-ğ- occurs only in foreign words.

-ğ’- It is a palatalized variant in initial position (e.g. g’el-, g’ümlek, g’ün). The initial g- (g’-) is typical of Oghuz, occurring more frequently in southern than in northern dialects.

-ğ- Examples: bügérüljék, igermi, legen (~leyen), yógün (yóyân), etc. -ğ- also occurs in contemporary Ottoman Turkic, e.g. degif- ‘sich ändern’, düg-‘schlagen’, dügün ‘Hochzeit’ (Hazai, Hars.), egri ‘schräg’ (Németh, Illésh Kakuk, Recherches 141), eglen- ‘bleiben, Zeit vertreiben, sich unterhalten’ (Németh, Illésh.).

-ğ’- is a palatalized version in medial position (e.g. deg’-, deg’irmen, düğ’üm, düg’mé, eg’é). The reconstruction of the items (Deygh-) dég’- (Deyghirmen) deg’irmen and (Duighme) dü̆g’mé needs separate mention. In the first version ey = e (close), ui = u. Perhaps they were transliterated from Arabic letters where é was marked by “ç!” or “ç”, and ú by “ı”. Thus Witsen’s entry (Deyghirmen), for example, may be the transliteration of [deyɡ(ı)rm(ə)m]. The same applies to the other examples. The other assumption is that Witsen’s data reflect a real linguistic phenomenon. Are Witsen’s “Deygh-” (see. dég’-) and Jakab Harșány-Nagy’s “değbe”48 (the conditional of the verb “değ-”) only accidentally identical, or are they both erroneous? At the time of the -ğ- > -y- change49 the older versions with g must have existed side by side with the new versions containing y.50 A mixing of the two forms must be accountable for the transitional versions with -yg-, e.g. *deyg-, *deygirmen, *duygme.

-ğ The retention of the final -g appears to be an archaic feature (cf. RästLautg. 121, 123–34). Nor is it quite impossible that it mirrors a traditional way of writing. There is some uncertainty in Witsen as to the notation of voiced and voiceless consonants, anyway.

ğ In initial position it is indicated by “ğ”, in final and medial position by “y”. The velar ğ (“ğ”, “y”) is a plosive according to Doerfer51 and Çobanzade52 and a spirant according to Samojlović53 and Sevortjan.54 As the question cannot

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48 Hazai, Hars. 407.
49 Cj. Menges 84 ; with copious data: Serebrennikov—Gadževa 49–53.
50 Examples can be gleaned from contemporary Ottoman-Turkish transliterated records too: düğ- ‘schlagen’ (Hazai, Hars.), ~ duyus (= düyüş) ‘Schlacht’ (Németh, Illésh.), egri ‘schräg’ (Németh, Illésh.) ~ egrı (= eyri) ‘krum, schief’ (Hazai, Hars.); eglen- ‘bleiben, Zeit vertreiben... ’ (Németh, Illésh.) ~ eglen- (= eylen) ‘s. unterhalten’ (Hazai, Hars.).
51 Doerfer, Krmtat. 377.
52 Çobanzade 1925, 32.
54 Sevortjan 236 : sonor, uvular, velar.
be decided on the basis of Witsen’s glossary, only the velar character of the \( \dot{g} \) sound is to be marked in the reconstruction, irrespective of the manner of articulation. Therefore, “\( \dot{g} \)” and “\( \gamma \)” are equivalent signs in the transliteration of Crimean Tatar words (entries). Nevertheless, it was considered more appropriate to use the letter “\( \dot{g} \)” initially.

-\( \gamma \) It was also retained in original Turkic words.

The glossary contains no examples of those changes (e.g. \( \gamma > w < u \)) which Doerfer (Krm tat. 377) enumerates.

-\( \gamma \) The entries do not exhibit \( \gamma \sim -w \) alternations (e.g. \( b\alpha\gamma, y\alpha\gamma, q\alpha u\gamma \)). The variants with \( -\gamma \) occur mainly around Simferopol (Doerfer loc. cit). Sporadic occurrences of \( -\gamma \) can also be found in diplomas, e.g. \( u\nu\gamma \) (Matuz 101).

\( h \) It is missing from present-day literary language, with scattered occurrences in certain dialects and in the language of old people (cf. Doerfer Krm tat. 380; Sevortjan 236). Witsen’s item was transliterated with “\( h \)” when the precedents of the word involved “\( h \)” (\( s, s \)).

\( \chi \) Witsen also tried to mark it separately. In the reconstruction “\( \chi \)” replaces the original “\( h\alpha \zeta \)” or “\( k\alpha \zeta \)”.

\( k' \) - is a palatalized phonemic variant, whose palatalized character was also indicated by Witsen, e.g. \( k'\alpha y\tilde{\imath}, k'\epsilon m\tilde{k}, k'\im\tilde{m}, \) etc. The initial \( k \) — prevails over the entire Crimean Tatar language territory (Doerfer, Krm tat. 378). The palatalized \( k' \) — was also differenti ated by Maggio in contemporary Ottoman Turkish, who claimed that its pronunciation was quite close to \( k \), but the Turks enunciated it in the way the Italians do the letters “\( c'h \)” in the word “chiedo” (Kenessey 45). Maggio uses “\( k'i \)” to designate it.

\( q \) Witsen does not distinguish it with a separate sign. Already in the CC it was indicated by “\( c \)” and “\( k \)”.

The degree of its velarity can no longer be established.

\( m \) - From the 26 words, only one is originally Turkic (\( ma\epsilon \)), the majority being of Arabic-Persian origin.

\( n \) According to Dmitriev it has two variants: 1. “stronger” e.g. \( b\alpha n\alpha \) (\( b\alpha n\alpha \)), \( s\alpha n\alpha \) (\( s\alpha n\alpha \)) ; 2. “weaker” e.g. the \( n \) of the possessive case ending and the verb marker of 2nd P. Sing. In the 17th-century Crimean Tatar diplomas it was probably still included, although hardly any trace of it can be detected in Witsen’s word list: e.g. \( d\alpha r\tilde{\i}d\tilde{\i}\epsilon n \, m\epsilon, \, d\epsilon\tilde{n}\epsilon s \). \( n \) is regularly replaced by \( n \).

The same can be observed in certain Kazan Tatar dialects (cf. Burganova 31, Borhanova 102; in Mishers: Machmutova 133). In the Crimea this change may have been effected by a strong southern influence.

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55 Grönbech 13.
56 Dmitriev 1926, 345.
57 Matuz 99.
-s It has two variants: 1. -s < -*-s, a rare occurrence already in Proto-
Turkic;\textsuperscript{58} 2. -s < -*z. The collectors of the material of the CC already heard a
voiceless sound at the end of the word where in modern Turkic languages the
-z is half-devoiced or voiceless.\textsuperscript{59} Examples: *aqčamís, donus, qus, sekís, etc.

- ş The ambiguity of Witsen's transliteration would sometimes make an
-ş possible in its place, for most data include the letter “ş”. The -ş > ş change
is typical of Noghay. However, no other specific Noghay feature, such as -i (<y>-), -ur (<y>-), -ş (<e>-), can be demonstrated in Witsen's glossary, which
proves that it is simply a notational peculiarity. The word yemiş, for instance,
has two forms: (Jemife) and (Jemisler). Nor were the sounds ş and s differenti-
tiated in writing in the CC (cf. Grönbech. 13). Józef Matuz did not find instances
of the ş > s change in 17th-century diplomas, notwithstanding the fact that
the Arabic script allows for the differentiation of the two sounds (cf. Matuz 100).

v- occurs in initial position upon Ottoman Turkish influence. There are
only two examples: ver-, vilayet.

w It is regarded as the bilabial variant of the phoneme /v/. Its existence
alludes to northern (Kipchak) influence. In Kazan Tatar dialects v is regularly
replaced by w (cf. Machmutova 62). As in contemporary Ottoman Turkish the
w variant of /v/ did occur, however sporadically (cf. Hazai, Hars. 336, 362),
it seems justified to postulate and note a w variant in some cases.

y In 14 cases, Witsen marked it regularly with “j” or “y” in initial and
medial position. The -y- > -j change cannot be traced here, nor in Matuz.\textsuperscript{60}
Already the CC carries examples where in intervocalic position, especially
before and after e, i, ı, y was not marked. Grönbech attributes this to the fact
that between vowels sounding similarly to y, this y was very weakly articulat-
ed.\textsuperscript{61} Witsen, or his mediator, signified this sound with “i” in Crimean Tatar,
apparently trying to distinguish the semi-vowel i. In a few words we can even
come across “i” : (Alaık) alayık, (Almaık) almayık (see al-).

z Initially it is only found in foreign words. In final position it is consisten-
tly devoiced and only becomes voiced again in juxtaposition with voiced
phonemes, e.g. yüs II, but “Yüz yarayım ...” (see the poem at the end of the
glossary). z at the end of the word sax is exceptional.

Devoicing. Voiced consonants (except those of foreign origin) are replaced
by their voiceless counterparts in word final position. E.g. -z > -s almazis
domus, gos, semis, etc.; -v > -f qaf, cf.

Voicing. -ç- > -ş- in the word fuşi (<fusî) and -ğ- > -γ- in yarayım
(<yaraq-î-n).

\textsuperscript{58} Cf. Serebrennikov—Gadžieva 59.
\textsuperscript{59} Grönbech 13; For the incidence of the -z > -s change see also Räs-Lautg. 177—
\textsuperscript{60} Op. cit. 100.
\textsuperscript{61} Grönbech. 18.
Morphology

The low number of morphological phenomena included in the glossary does not enable one to undertake a thorough analysis. The major morphological conclusions to be inferred from Witsen's word list are summed up below.

Nouns and adjectives. The plural of nouns seems to be the homomorphic -ler. E.g. almaler, jaukler, dūg'ūmler, zamanler, etc. The Crimean Tatar songs provide similar data: tatarlar, atarlār, bakarlār, perhaps for the sake of rhyming only. In J. Harsányi-Nagy -ler occurs in an insignificant number (about 7%) after a velar word-ending: e.g. aralerinde, zemanlerinde (Hazai, Hars. 387). Cf. Doerfer, Krmtat. 381.

Case endings. Accusative: -i gawī, ašī, -i seni, -yī aqčayī, -n after 3rd P. possessive suffix, e.g. yarayın; Locativus: -de aralerinde, yüzde; it joins the noun or adjective with the help of a pronominal -n- after possessive suffixes. Ablativus: -den neden.

Endings of nominal predicates. Only in the 3rd P. Sing. is there a uniform ending, -dur: e.g. ěindur, divandur, qadirdur. Interrogative form: -médur činnédur, warmédur. The negative was formed with the negative particle deyül: zemandur, zeman deyül.

Possessive suffixes Sing. 1st P. -im, -im ğanım, yerım, 3rd P. -i ğani, zemani, Plur. 1st P. -miş ~miş āramız-de, aqšamıš, 3rd P. -leri ara-leri-n-de. Case endings are joined to it with the help of a pronominal -n-. Cf. Doerfer, Krmtat. 381, 382.

Pronouns. Personal: sen, acc. seni; demonstrative: o; interrogative: k'im, ne, neden, ničün (< ne + ičün).

Verbs. The marker of aoristos: -r arar, ęylar, išler, ašar; -ar agar, satar; -er q'aler; -ur alur, olur, warur; -ur sərünsur, ülür, verûr; Endings in the aorist: indicative, 1st P. Sing. -um laparum, alurum, ararum; -üm verürum, isterûm. It is universal in present-day dialects (cf. Doerfer, Krmtat. 384—85). 2nd P. Sing. -sin ęylersin, ülûrsin, -sen išlûrsen, the same form occurs in the diplomas in Matuz (op. cit. 109) and in modern dialects (cf. Doerfer, Krmtat. 385). 3rd P. Sing. zero ending. 1st P. Plur. -ıs (<-iz) ašarıs. This form survives in certain southern dialects (Doerfer, Krmtat. 385) ] -miş (<-miş) alurmış, warurmış. The form is identical in today's dialects (cf. Doerfer, loc. cit.). Negative form: 1st P. Sing. -ma-m warmam, a northern form according to Baskakov, -maz-um warmazum; 3rd P. -mas (<-maz) ašamas; 1st P. Plur. -maz-ıs (<-mazlı) almazıs; Cf. Şamojl Op. 60, Sevortjan 246. Interrogative, 2nd P. Sing. -mésin (<mısın) alurmésin, taparmésin, warurmésin.

62 Jansky 107.
63 BaskTJa. 154.

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Imperative, optative. The 1st P. forms of imperative originally belonged to the optative. 1st P. Sing. -ayım alayım Cf. Doerfer, Krmtat. 387, Krmosm. 278, Sevortjan 245. 2nd P. Sing. — є (verbal stem) al, bar, kil; 1st P. Plur. -ayiq alayiq, warayiq, -alim ~ -alum alalim, waralum. This form is rare in the Crimean Osmanli as well (Doerfer, Krmoszm. 278). Besides the former typically Kipchak variant, this is an Oghuz (Ottoman Turkish) form. Negative (prohibitive) form: 2nd P. Sing. stem + -ma ~ -me aldama, yeme, onutma; 1st P. Plur. -maya almayaq.

Infinitives: -maya aşamaya, -maq ~ -mek varmaq, q’ülmek.

Participles. -an -yan, Witsen only recorded its negative form: -mayan qılmayan; -r, -ar, -er (see aša-), -mas aşamas is the negative form of the former, cf. Doerfer, op. cit. 386.

Gerunds. -p (-up) alup, tartup; the linking vowel of -p is still the archaic u. Cf. SamojłOp. 63, Matuz 92.

Lexicology

The Crimean Tatar dialects are ‘mixed’ dialects with respect to the vocabulary as well. The Common Turkic elements are intermingled with the regional, Kipchak and Oghuz items, which has led to the evolution of a whole variety of synonyms. In Witsen’s material, however, synonyms are very scarce. Perhaps the words of identical meaning, but different origin, were omitted during the selection.

Turkic elements

Just over half of the known (deciphered) items are genuine Turkic words, the other half being of foreign descent. This proportion would be more favourable if the foreign elements long incorporated in the Turkic languages (since the Old or Common Turkic era) had not been grouped together with the later loanwords. This said, one may conclude that Witsen’s Crimean Turkic-Tatar glossary is basically of Turkic origin. 54.4% of all the entries derive from the original Turkic word stock. This figure is 37% in a Crimean Tatar letter dated 1679 and 38% in 16th-century Ottoman Turkish diplomas (cf. Matuz 117). Within the stock of original Turkic words, those of Common Turkic descent (existing both in Oghuz and Kipchak languages) are predominant.

Kipchak elements. Those words belong here which are Kipchak in a strict sense, that is, are characteristic only of the Kipchak vocabulary. Their number is relatively low in the glossary. E.g. aša-, anda, aruš, bala, börü, bul- (to be), jaw, k’eli, kiš, qočqar, gos, guduy, gumač, mači, talqan, etc.

64 Doerfer, Krmtat. 389; Matuz 114.
65 Doerfer, Krmtat. 389; Sevortjan 257.
Oghuz elements. This category contains only those words which belong to Ottoman Turkish or to languages closely related to it. Added to the general Oguz words are some peculiarly Ottoman Turkish elements as well. E.g. çamur, deli, domus, düğüm, ef, düdük, düşek, ye-, qurt, ol-, bul ‘to find’, gümlek, goyun, ver-, etc.

Kipchak-Oghuz synonyms. On the border of two languages or language groups — in the so-called contact zones — the vocabulary is characterized by the usage of a great many synonyms. Witsen’s word list includes the following synonyms (the first item is Kipchak, the second Oghuz): aša- ye- ‘to eat’ börü qurt ‘wolf’, bul I ol- (to be), gočgar qoč ‘ram’, maçi k’edi ‘cat’.

Foreign elements

The proportion of loanwords (Arabic-Persian) was 63% on the basis of a letter dated 1679, and 45.6% in Witsen’s material.

Arabic elements. They were imported by Crimean Tatar through the mediation of Ottoman Turkish and Persian. At 161 their number is relatively high (30.9%). The meaning of the borrowed words is very diverse. E.g. adam, axret, devlet, jam, gandil, qumač, sabun, âmér yakut, zülm, etc.

Persian (Iranian) elements. The greater part must have reached the Crimean Tatar language via Osmanlı, the smaller part via Central Asian Turkic mediation. The ratio of Persian loans is relatively low compared to the Arabic ones: a mere 13%. E.g. armut, ateš, bay, çorba, jan, jawuš, divan, ferman, k’emend, lešk’er, zerîl, zerde, etc.

Other elements. The biggest single group here are the Greek loanwords transmitted by Ottoman Turkish: anaqta, barut, fanar, fulaqé, k’eremit. There are also some words of Russian origin: aruš, dur (from French), māq. The word warul of French origin possibly found its way into Witsen’s material through Ottoman Turkish. The only Mongol loanword tayi must have survived from the age of the Golden Horde. The proportion of these miscellaneous loans is around 2% within the entire glossary.

Conclusions

The glossary is a 17th-century monument of the Crimean Tatar (or Turkic-Tatar) language. Its vocabulary is basically Turkic, with strong influence exercised upon it by foreign (Arabic-Persian) languages. The percentage share

66 Brands (see Bibliography) has a chapter entitled “Oghusische und kiptschakische Züge im heutigen Wortbestand”, a part of which — Die Synonymik der oghusisch-kiptschakischen Kontaktzonen — deals with this question in detail.
67 Matuz 117.

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of original Turkic words is about the same as that of the Oguz-Kipchak lexical units. This linguistic material is phonetically and morphologically "mixed" as well. The impact of Ottoman Turkish is marked in every area. The majority of Arabic-Persian elements also appear to have been mediated by Ottoman Turkish.

As the data are very limited in number, one can put forth only a highly hypothetical assessment as to which dialectal group the glossary belongs to. Considering that only very few features peculiar to the northern dialects of modern Crimean Tatar can be discerned, it seems appropriate to assume dialects which are under strong southern influence. Such are the central and southern Crimean Tatar and the Crimean Turkic dialects. Presuming that the glossary might preserve the memory of these tongues, we may call it Crimean Turkic-Tatar.

IV. Vocabulary

The reconstructed entry word indents the line. It is followed by the letter-perfect copy of Witsen's item in round brackets. Whenever there is some deviation between the Dutch and the reconstructed meaning, the former has been translated.

When Witsen's item — within the () — is not preceded by the date of year, it has been taken from the second edition (1705). When the word is from the first edition, it is preceded by the date of 1692. When the item is unchanged in the second edition, the date of year of the first edition is followed by "1705, 1785 id." to signify the identity of the data. The differences can be inferred from a comparison of the complete items after the date of year.

The reconstructed meaning comes after the parenthesis. At times Witsen's meaning is too generic, at other times too particular. We have tried to rectify this as well.

After the corrected meaning "cf." introduces the comparative linguistic data. It is always indicated whether the item in question can be found in the following sources and languages: CC, Idr., Idr. Haş., Tarş., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., Kar., Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Nog., K.-Balk., Osm. (For the explanation of abbreviations see Bibliography and the index of abbreviations.) The meanings of these items are not given unless it appears particularly justified.

Whenever we failed to reconstruct Witsen's item, the place of the entry is taken by his data in brackets.

The alphabetic order of the entries in the vocabulary is: a, ä, b, c, č, j, d, e, è, f, g, g', ĝ, γ, h, χ, i, ĭ, j, k, k', q, l, m, n, o, ó, p, r, s, š, t, u, û, v, w, x, y, z, ž
a b a z a (1692 Abaffa, een klein boere paert. 1705, 1785 id. = a little peasant horse) ‘an Abaza horse’ Presumably an abbreviation from the expression *abaza at(i)* thus it designates the animal’s place of origin. In the 17th century, abaza appears independently as a horse-name: ‘Comme nom de cheval: 1655—56 Abaza’2 (Kakuk: AOH 28 (1974), 32). Cf. Osm. abaza ‘An Abaza man; The Abaza country in the Caucasus’. The Osm. and Crim. Tat. words abaza ‘ein Mensch . . . der sehr unverständlicli spricht’ (R. I, 625) can be mentioned here, as one can suppose that the Turks compared people speaking too quickly or with mistakes to Abaza men who spoke unintelligibly for them.

a b u γ a y ā t (Abu Hajät, Water des Levens.) ‘water of (eternal) life’ Cf. Osm. āb-i hayät ‘Water of life (a legendary spring or river)’, Osm. Özön abhayat (Āb-i hayat) ‘Hayat suyu. İçeni ölmezlige kavuşturan masal suyu’ < P. Ar.

a d a m (1692 Adam, een menfch. 1705, 1785 id.) ‘man’ Cf. Tuhf., Arm.-Kipc., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Osm. adam < Ar. < Hebrew

a d e m (Her adem, elk Menfch. = every man) ‘man’ Cf. Tat. Dobr. adem, Nog. adam, ādem, Osm. adam (adām) < Ar. < Hebrew

a f e r i m (Aferim, een woord, waer mede men iemands doen pryft, is zoo veel Schepper gezegt. = a word to praise somebody’s deed, as if we said master) ‘bravo!’, well done! Cf. KarK, Osm. aferim < Ar.

a γ a (Agà, een Heer.) ‘gentleman, senior, elder brother’ Cf. CC, Qaw., Arm.-Kipc., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Osm. aya. Used in the Crimea as a title of senior state officials (Matuz 7—8)


a γ a č l i q (1692 Agat, ofte Lic, een bolch. 1705, 1785 Agat of Lic, een Bolch.) ‘forest’ Cf. Dur. ayağ-lyq ‘bois, forêt, taillis’, Kumyk, Osm., Tat. ayağliq, Nog. ayağlıq


2 The ethnymyn abaza frequently occurs both as a historical and a modern personal name (cf. Kakuk, AOH 28 [1974], 32—33, Recherches 24).
A ča mē t (Achmet of Regieb, een eigen Naem. = a proper name) 'Ahmet'

aq-, agar (Jafe juse de akar, de tranen loopen uit de oogen. = tears drop from the eyes) 'to flow' Cf. CC, Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., K.-Balk., Kumyk, Nog., Osm. aq-

a q ė a See say-; 'money' Cf. CC, Bul., Tuhf. aqča, Arm.-Kipch. aqča, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Kumyk aqča, 17th century Osm. akča (Kakuk, Recherches 34)

a q ė a 'money' Cf. Nog. aqša; aqšamīs bulsa (Akšiamis boulfa, zoo wy Geld hadden.) 'if we had money'; aqšamīs yottur (Akšiamis jottur, wy hebben geen Geld.) 'we have no money'

a l-, alur See etmek, too; 'to take, to seize' Cf. CC al-, -ur, -yr, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Nog., K.-Balk., Kumyk, Osm. al-; alayiq (Alaık, dat wy 't nemen, of wy zullen 't nemen. = let us take it, we shall take it) Optative, 1st Pl. Prural; alayım (Alaım, ik zal 't nemen. = I must take it) Optative, 1st P. Singular; alalim (Alalim, dat wy 't nemen. = let us take it, let us seize it) Optative, 1st P. Prural; almayiq qawî dat wy 't vaftelijk, of voor zeker niet nemen. = with absolute certainty we shall not take it away) 'don't let us take the bag away' Optative, 1st P. Prural, Negative; almazis (Almæfis, wy zullen 't niet nemen. = we shall not take (seize) it) Aorist, 1st P., Prural, Negative; alup g'el (Alup jel, neemt, of krygt, en brengt het. = take, hold and bring it) 'fetch it' Compound verb form with -p Gerund, Imperative Mood 2nd P. Singular; alümseisin (Alourmefin, zult gy 't nemen? = will you take (or buy) it?) Aorist, 1st P. Singular, Interrogative; almīs (Alourmīs, wy zullen 't krygen, nemen, ontfanger. = we shall catch it, we take it, we receive it) Aorist, 1st P. Prural; alurum (Alurum, ik neem, of zal nemen. = I take it or I shall take it) Aorist, 1st P. Singular.


a lā (Ala, 't is goed.) 'good, magnificent, excellent' Cf. Osm. TS álā 'İyi, pek iyi' < Ar.

a lā jā (Alaqja, veel verwig, van vermengde kaleuren.) 'many-coloured, pied' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj. (alača), Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. alafa

a lā m (Alâm of alamet, een teeken.) 'sign, badge, flag' Cf. CC, KarHT, Osm. alam ~ álâm < Ar.

a lā m e t (Alâm of alamet, een teeken.) 'sign, mark, badge' Cf. Osm. alamet 'A sign, mark; a symbol; a trace...', Tat. Dobr. alamet 'znak', Kumyk alamat 'priznak, simptom, primeta, otličitel'naja čerta...' < Ar.


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a l d a- ‘to swindle, to deceive’; aldama (Aldama, bedriegt niet. = don’t swindle) Imperative Mood, Negative (prohibitive) Form, 2nd P. Singular. Cf. Idr., Tarj., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Kumyk, Nog., Osm. aldama-
Ilm (Taälim of alim, een Geleerde.) ‘scientist, scholar, educated man’ Cf. Kumyk alim, Osm. ‘ālim ‘Who knows; Learned; erudite; a doctor of science’ < Ar.
Allah ‘Allah’ Cf. KarK, Kumyk, Osm. Allah < Ar.; bir Allah (Bir Allah, een God.) ‘(one) Allah’; Allahü ekber (Allahu ekber, God is de Grootste.) ‘Allah is the greatest’ Cf. Osm. Özön Allahü ekber ‘Tanrı uludur’; Allahü k’erim (Allahu K’erim, de weldoende God. = the beneficial God) ‘Allah is gracious’ Cf. Osm. Allah k’erim ‘God is gracious!; Fear not! Do not fret!’; Allahü râyîm (Allahu Râyîm, ontfermende God. = merciful God) ‘Allah is merciful, compassionate’ Cf. Osm. rahîm ‘Who feels or shows compassion, compassionate’
āmin (Amin, Amen.) ‘amen’ Cf. CC, Arm.-Kipch., KarHT, Kumyk amen ~ āmin < Ar. < Hebrew
anqa ta r (Anaktar, Sleutel.) ‘key’ Cf. Tuhf. (anahatar), Chag. R. I, 228 anaqtar, Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. anaqtar < Greek
anda (Baranda, gaat daer. = go there) ‘there’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Tat. Chag. R. I, 238 anda
anka (Simourg of anka, een Gryp-vogel. = griffon) ‘fabulous bird of enormous size’ Cf. Osm. ‘anqâ ‘A fabulous bird of enormous size said to inhabit the Caucasus range’ < Ar.
ara ‘to look for, to search’ Cf. Tat. Dobr., Osm. ara-; ararum (Ararum, ik zoekte.) ‘I look for it’ Aorist, 1st P. Singular
araqî (Raki, Brandewyn, anders Raki. = brandy, otherwise Raki) ‘brandy’ Cf. Crim. Tat., Nog., K.-Balk., Osm. araqî; See r aqî, too

3 Inferring from the Dutch meaning one would assume a Locativus case ending after the Possessive personal ending -di seems to be mistakenly inserted in place of -de.

a r s (Ars, begeerte, verzoek.) ‘request, wish, application’ Cf. Kumyk, Osm. ars < Ar.

a r š (Arš, Gods Troon, de Hemel, een Troon. = throne of God, the sky, throne) ‘heaven, sky, throne’ Cf. Osm. arš ‘The ninth heaven; A throne’, Uig. R. I, 331 arš ‘nebesnyj svod’, Trkm. arış ‘sed’moe nebo, poslednj krug raja’ (TurkmRS1.) < Ar.

a r u š ~ arēš (1692 Aruşch, gerft. 1705, 1785 Aruşch, Garft. = barley) ‘rye’ Cf. Crim. Tat. Ėčel. arš ‘çavdar’, Tat. arış (TatRS1.) < Russian


a s (1692 As, een armelin. 1705, 1785 id.) ‘ermine, weasel’ Cf. Bul., Müh., Tuhf., Dur., Kumyk, Osm., Tat. Chag. Uig. R. I, 535 as


a š -a- ‘to eat, to take one’s meal’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. aša-; ašudiq (Afšiđidik, wy hebben gegeten. = we had eaten) Definite Past Tense, 1st P. Plural; ašar bulsan g’el (Afšiğ boulfak, jel)8 wilt gy

4 In the 1692 edition, the meanings of the consecutively listed names of cereals and similar plants (qaraboydag, arpa, aruş) may have become somewhat mixed up during copying.

5 More probably u designates the sound ū and not a velar reduced sound, for it is typical of the entire glossary to include the more archaic labial vowels. The indication of the velar ĕ variant is justified by Evliya Čelebi’s item ārš.

6 See note 4.

7 The Dutch meaning would suggest a verb inflection of 1st P. Plural, though Witsen is often in the wrong as regards Person. If n (Ar. &n) is in place of the regular -s (Ar. &) by mistake, the meaning can be accepted. The confusion of r and z (Ar. &z, and j) occurs several times in the glossary. Otherwise it should be an archaic and very rare Personal ending -n (1st P. Sing.). Cf. Osm. ęderun ‘ich tue’ (Németh, Illésh. 80), Osm. bilmen, alman, ęmen in the negative form of the aorist (Hazai, Hars.). In conjunction with this phenomenon, Hazai notes the following: “Die Varianten (n) die auf ein früherees Stadium der Entwicklung der Personaleinungen hinweist, ist als eine spezielle historische Variante zu betrachten” (op. cit. 408).

8 It comes from the 2nd P. imperative g’el (jel) that the 3rd P. form included in the Dutch meaning is unnecessary and unwarranted. The sentence (Afšiğ boulfak, jel) can be interpreted in the following ways: 1. aşar bulsa, k’el (g’el) = if he (she) wanted to eat and you don’t want to disturb him (her), or you will take him (her) the food, come; 2. aşar bulsan g’el (provided that đ was transcribed by k and not n) = if you want to eat, come; 3. aşar bulsaq, g’el = if we want (wish) to eat, come. The second
eeten, of wil hy eeten? zoo komt. = if you want to eat, or if he (she) wants to eat, come) 'if you want to eat, come'; ašamas bulsan g'elme (Asciamas boulfak jelme),⁹ wilt gy niet eeten, of wil hy niet eeten? zoo komt niet. = if you don't want to eat, or if he (she) doesn't want to eat, don't come) 'if you don't want to eat, don't come'; ašamaya g'erek olur (Asciamaga jenekölour, men moet, men zal, men behoort te eeten. = one must eat, one has to eat, one is compelled to eat) 'we must (need) eat'; ašayiq (Asciaik, dat wy eeten, = that we eat) Optative, 1st P. Plural; aši ašariš ~ ? asii ašarin¹¹ (Ascı afciarın, wy zullen Spys eeten. = we eat food, we shall eat) 'we eat food, ? I eat food' Aorist 1st P. Plural or ? Singular


a t e š (Ates, Vuur.) 'fire' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. ateš < P,


a y n e (Ainê, Spiegel.) 'mirror' Cf. Tat., KarK, Osm. ayne < P,
a y u (1692 Ain,¹² een beer. 1705, 1785 id.) 'beer' Cf. CC, Idr., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim.Tat(aju), Tat. Dobr. ayu, K.-Balk. ayyu, Osm. ayu, vulgar ayi

a y va a (Aiwâ, een Que-appel.) 'quince' Cf. Idr., Tarj., K.-Balk., Nog., Osm. aywa

a y v a ji 'quince-seller' See a y v a + -ji (Affix forming occupation-names); aywaqiler (Aïwagiler, iemand die Quee-appelen verkoopt. = someone, selling quince-apples) 'quince-sellers'
a z ā b (Adsâb, Iftraffe.) 'punishment' Cf. Osm. 'azâb < Ar.
a z ē m (Azem,¹³ magtigfte, verhevenfte. = mightiest, greatest) 'mighty, great' Cf. Osm. 'azım < Ar.

interpretation appears to be the most plausible as it is the most closely related to the Dutch meaning. The same applies to the negative form of the expression ašamas bulsan. The other solutions cannot be accepted, unless we know the full context or we postulate a series of assessments. It may easily mislead the reader that in the written form in Arabic letters the final graph of the 2nd P. Sing. and 1st P. Plur. in the Optative is identical (e.g. وستس وستس sevseh; وستس sevsek, SamoijOp. 74), or that the Arabic writing of -seq ~ -sen is: سمان. Wilsen's hesitation about the meaning is shown by the question mark he inserted after the 3rd P. form of the Dutch verb.

⁹ See note 8.
¹⁰ Correctly: jerek.
¹¹ See note 7.
¹² Correctly: Aiu.
¹³ In 17th-century Ottoman-Turkish remains surviving from Hungary: "Azem" (Azım) Kakuk, Recherches 51.
b a b a (Babu, Vader.) ‘father’ Cf. Idr. baba (accosting), KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. baba
b a d e m (Badem, een Amandel.) ‘almond’ Cf. KarK, Osm. badem, badem, CC, Nog., Kumyk badam < P.
b a d i y a n (Badijan, het kruit Venkel.) ‘star (Chinese) anise, sweet fennel (Dictamnus, Dictamnus praxinella, Illicium anisatum, Foeniculum dulce)’ Cf. Old Turkic (uig.) DTS badiyan ‘anis kitaşkij, bad’jañ (Illicum verum), Nog. bad’yan (< Russian), Tat. R. IV, 1520 badyan > Russian bad’jan (See Śipova 46)

b a γ (Bag, Boomgaard, Wyngaerd.) ‘fruit garden, vineyard’ Cf. Idr., Tarj., Bul., Qaw., KarKTH, Osm. bagγ, Tat. Dobr., Nog. baw < P.
b a q č a (Bak霞, een Hof, een Tuin.) ‘garden, vegetable garden’ Cf. CC, Tuhf. bagča, Arm.-Kipch., Kumyk, KarTK, baγča (< bagča), Nog. bagša, Crim Tat., Osm. bagča < P.
b a l a (Bala, een Kind.) ‘child’ Cf. Id., Tarj. (bala ‘little chicken’), Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. dial. TRS1. bala; balalér (Balaler, Kinderen.) ‘children’
b a l a l i (Balalez,14 wolvaßenen. = adults) ‘an adult who has children’ Cf. Tat. Dobr. balali ‘z dziećmi’, Tat. Kzk. R. IV, 1493 balali
b a l j i k (Balšik, Klei of Sleik.) ‘clay, mud’ Cf. CC balčug (but the “u” designates here an i), Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf. (balšik), Qaw., KarK, Kumyk, Osm. balčug, Nog. balšig
b a l m u m ‘wax’ See mum; Cf. KarK balmum, Osm. bal-mumu
b a r- ‘to go’ Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. bar-; bar anda (1692 Baranda, gaet daer. 1705, 1785 id.) ‘go there’ Imperative mood, 2nd P. Singular
b a r ā b a r (Bar à bar, gelijk. = of the same form, the same) ‘together, jointly’ Cf. Tuhf., KarK., Nog., Osm. R. IV, 1478 barabar < P.
b a r m a q (Barmak, een Vinger, word uitgesproken met een P. parmak. = finger (toe), usually pronounced with p parmak) ‘finger, toe’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Qaw., KarH, Tat. Dobr., Nog. Kumyk barmaq; barmaqler (Barmakler, de Vingers.) Plural, Nominative; barmaqlerim (Barmaklerim, mijne Vingers. = my fingers) Possessive form, 1st P. Singular
b a r u t (Barout, Buff-kruit, ook Sulphur. = gunpowder, sulphur, too) ‘gunpowder’ Cf. KarK. barot, Osm. bărut < Greek

14 The error must have been caused by the two consecutive words of similar form. It is assumed here that “Balaler” was originally followed by *Balaliler (balaliler) which was mistakenly transformed into “Balalez” during copying or for some other reason. The erroneous exchange of the letters r and z occurs quite a few times in Witsen (See iete- and ver-).
beri 'here, this way' See kil- Cf. CC, Tuhf., Qaw. (bāri), Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, Osm. beri

bēsēk (Besčieš, een Wieg, word uitgesproken bēsik. = cradle, usually pronounced bēsik) 'cradle' Cf. Qaw., Tarj. būšik. Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Kumyk, Osm. bėšik

bīčaq (1692 Bitzae,17 een Mes. 1705, 1785 id.) 'knife' Cf. CC būcaq (bicac, bizac, bīča[c], bīčak), Idr., Mūh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat. bīčaq, KarT bīčak, bīčak, Kumyk bīcaq, Osm. bīcaq

bīr 'one, a (an) Numerical or Indefinite article; Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Mūh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. bir; bir Ala (1692 Birala, Godt. 1705, 1785 Bir Allah, een God. = God) 'there is one God — Allah!'

bīš- 'to be cooked, baked, fried; to become ripe' Cf. CC biš- (bis-), Idr., Tarj., Bul., Qaw., KarT, Kumyk, K.-Balk. biš; anu bišmis (Aivā bišmis, gekookte Quee-appel. = cooked quince) 'the quince is cooked' Indefinite Pas Tense, 3rd P. Singular

bīšk 'cradle' See bēsēk bēsēk. Cf. Old Turkic DTS bišik ~ bešik, Idr., Tat.

R. IV, 1788 bišik

bōra (1692 Bogdai, terw. 1705, 1785 Bogdai, Tarw.) 'wheat' Cf. CC bōrdaj ~ būrdaj, Idr., Tuhf., Qaw. būrdaj, Tarj., Mūh., Dur. būrdaj, KarK būrdaj ~ būrdaj, Osm. būrdaj

būrū (1692 Born,18 een wolf. 1705, 1785 id.) 'wolf' Cf. CC būrū (boru), Idr., Tarj., Bul., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk būrū, Tuhf., Qaw. bēri


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15 What justifies the reconstruction with ē (signifying a close ē in the first and a palatal reduced in the second syllable) is that Witsen recorded a variant with e and one with i.

16 The variant with i next to ē is acceptable, but an original form with i is not impossible either.

17 e is a lapsus calami (? misprint) in place of c. Probably the correct form was Bitzae.

18 u is mistakenly replaced by n; perhaps a misprint.

19 This word (expression) is from the two-line poem at the end of the glossary. Its Dutch translation and the reconstructed text can be found there.

20 Witsen's designation of u with ou is consistent (except for the word būrk ~ bōrk), yet it appears more reasonable to assume ū here. On the other hand, we have an Osm. dial. item with vowel disharmony (bojrülic), and analogously the Crimean Tatar word may as well be buyrüljék. It is evident in the analogues that the second syllable is strongly reduced. Etymology: similarly to the Osm. bojrülic ~ bojrülic ~ börüce < bojrül 'partly-coloured' + -ce Denm. suff. (oj. -ča RasMorph. 92), the Crime.Tat. buyrüljék

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bükrlüje [bwrkljə ~ bwrkwrljə] ‘The kidney bean, phaseolus vulgaris’, Osm. dial. DS boğrlüce (Semirkent — Isparta, Zil — Tokat) ~ bügrülce (Refahiye — Erzincan) ‘bőrülce’ (= cow pea black-eyed bean)

b u l  I. ‘to be’ As Auxiliary Verb see aša-. Cf. Tat. bul-, CC, Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. bol-

b u l  II. ‘to find’ Cf. Idr., Müh., Bul., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. bul-; buldi (Bouldi, hy heeft gevonden. = he (she) has found it) Definite Past Tense 3rd Person Singular; bulmadi (Boulmadi, hy heeft niet gevonden. = he (she) hasn’t found it) Definite Past Tense Negative 3rd P. Singular


bülbul (Bulbul, een Nachttegael.) ‘nightingale’ Cf. CC, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Osm. bülbul


ća l- ‘to seize, to carry away, to play (an instrument)’ Cf. Idr., Tarj., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. čal-; čaldum (Tgialdum, ik heb getracht, of gearbeid. = I took it (away) or I did it) Definite Past Tense 1st P. Singular

ć a m u r (Tgiamur, Modder.) ‘mud, dirt’ Cf. Idr., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. čamur

ć e n d e n ~ čendem See man

ć i q a r- ~ čigar- ~ čgar- ‘to lead out, to draw out, to bring out’ Cf. Müh. Bul., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch. (čigär- < čigär-), Crim. Tat., Osm. čigar-; čigarum ~ čgarurum (Tgicarrurum, ik zal ‘t uit brengen, of uit dryven. = I shall bring or drive it out) Aorist, 1st P. Singular; jan čigär- ‘to kill’ See jan

će n ~ čin ‘real, true’ Cf. CC čyn (čin), Tarj., Müh., Osm., Tat. čin; čindur ~ čindur (Tgindur, oprechtelijk. = it is true); činmedur ~ činemdur (Tgindur, is ‘t recht? = is it true?)

će n d a n ~ čindan ‘true, real’ Cf. če n + -dan (Suffix forming adjectives, see Osm. TRS1. -dan, e.g. candan ’duševnyj’) čindani ~ čindani (Tgindani, gerechtig. = rightful) Accusative;

će n d é l a p ~ čindelap (Tgindelab, waerlijk, oprecht. = real, true)?

< bükrl ~ bögrül ‘multi-coloured, spotted’ cf. MK Bükrül ‘gescheekt, mit weissen Flanken (Pford, Schaf)’ (Brockelman), bögrül (DTS) ‘id.’ + -fek Demin. suff. (cf. Osm. TRS1. -cek). The word probably refers to the spots of the mottled bean, provided that they knew it at all.

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činliq ~ činliq (Tginlik, oprechtigheid.) ‘truth, reality’ Cf. čin ~ čin + -liq (Denominal suffix forming nouns, see RāsMorph. 105, Osm. TRS1. 964 -lik, Tat. R. III, 2073 činliq)
čiplaq ~ čiplaq (Tgiiplak, naakt, ongekleed.) ‘naked, unclothed’ Cf. Tuhf. (Turkmen dialect), Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. čiplaq
čirba ~ čirba ‘soup’ See čorba; Probably it is variant of čorba, but its relationship to the Persian word čerbe ‘dripping’ (Redhouse 716) cannot be excluded.
čorba, čirba ~ čirba (Dsorba, d锶rba, een zog of zuipen dat van Water, Rys, Honing, enz. gemaakt word. = fluid (sauce) or soup, made of water, rice, honey etc.) ‘soup, a kind of soup’ Cf. Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Osm. čorba, but mostly šorba (Crim. Tat., M-K, KarK, Kumyk) < P.
jadu~jadu (Giadui, een Duivels-konstaenar: hier van daen het woord giasou, waar mede zy een Ketter, of een ongelooighe beteken. = devil-master (conjurier): the word giasou derives from this, meaning heretic or unbeliever) ‘witch, magician’ Cf. Idr. Haș. cadı ‘síhirbaz, büyüt’, Tuhf. cadı ‘síhir, büyüt’, Tat. Dobr., Osm. R. IV, 47 jadı; Crim. Tat., Osm. R. IV, 47 jadu; KarK jaduw < P.
jaduyi (Giadui, Ketter, Duivels-konstaenar. = heretic, devil-master) ‘heresy, witchcraft’ Supposing that the item from Witsen Giadui is a literal transcription of an Arabic word [jadwy]. Osm. jaduw [jadwy], jaduy [jadwy] ‘Witchcraft’ < P.
jadu ‘soul, life’ Cf. CC, Tarj., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. jən < P.; jən al- ‘to kill’, jən alur (Giian alur, hy neemt de Ziel of het Leven weg. = he takes away his soul or his life); jən cığar- (~ cığar-) ‘to kill’, jən cığarur (cığarur) (Giian Cığarur, hy geeft de Gee t, of de Ziel uit. = he breathes his life, or soul); jəni yoq (Giian jok,21 hy heeft geen Ziel, of daer is geen leven meer. = he has no soul (life), or there is no life) ‘he (she) has no soul, lifeless’; jənleri yoq (Giianleri jok, zy hebben geen Ziel, of daer is geen Leven in haer Lieden. = they have no soul (life), or there is no life in their limbs) ‘they have no soul, they are dead’; jən sat- ‘to sell one’s soul (figurative)’ Cf. Osm. TRS1. canım şeytana satmak ‘zaporedat duşu şertu’; jən satar (Giian zatar, hy verkoopt een Ziel, of zijn Ziel. = he sells souls, or he sells his own soul); jən ver- ‘to die, to breathe one’s life’ Cf. Osm. TRS1. can vermek; jən verur (Giian verruz,22 hy geeft zijn Ziel, of Leven over. = he gives his soul or life out); jənim (Giianim, mijn Ziel. = my life) ‘(Interjection) My dear one’

21 The Dutch translation and the plural form of the expression (jənleri yoq) suggest that the original form may have been jəni yoq ending with i pronounced casually (or deteriorating before y).
22 z is mistakenly exchanged for r.

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\( \text{\textcopyright a n s i s} \) (Giiànsis, zonder Ziel. = soulless) 'lifeless, soulless' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Kumyk, Osm. \( \text{j\text{'ansiz} } \)

\( \text{j a y s} \) 'courageous, brave, hero; sergeant' Cf. Osm. Hazai: Hars., Kakuk: Recherches (with numerous data) čauš, Müh., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat. čauš, Osm. čauuuš [čawš] 'A herald; A pursuivant, a messenger; A sergeant in the army...' < Ar. P.; \( \text{javšler} \) (Giaousler, dappere, ftrydbare, twiťgierige. = courageous, pugnacious, bully) Plural; \( \text{javšler aralerinde} \) (Giaousler aralerinde, zijnder twiť-gierige onder haer: anders tāi tu is twii, of oorlog. = there are pugnacious among them: otherwise tāi tu quarrel, or war) '1. (there are) pugnacious among them 2. among pugnacious people' See tā y i tā y i n, too

\( \text{j a v u s} \) (Giaw, een plaets: giavous, dapper, ftrydbaer. = Giau it's a place: giavous, courageous, pugnacious) 'hero, courageous; pugnacious' Cf. Müh., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat. čauš, Osm. čauuuš < Ar. P.

\( \text{j a w} \) 'battlefield, fight; enemy; army' See jā v u s. Cf. Tat. Dobr. gaw [jaw], K.-Balk. jav [jaw], Tat. Kzk. R. IV, 7 jau [jaw] 'der Krieg, die Baranta, der Feind, das Heer' See Nog., Kumyk jav, too

\( \text{j a v i s} \) 'nut' See jē v i s. Cf. Kumyk jauuž 'muskatnyj orech' < Ar. < P.

\( \text{j a z u} \) 'witch, magician' See jā d į w. Cf. Osm. Zenker jāzū, Osm. Özön cazu < P.

\( \text{j e v i s} \) (Gievis, een Noot, Hazel-noot: van waer giavis, Noote-muskaet. = nut, hazel-nut: hence giavis, nut-meg) 'nut' Cf. Crim. Tat. jāwiz, jāwiz, Tat. Dobr. jēviz (= jeviz), Tat. Dobr. Mándoky jēwez, Osm. jēviz < Ar. < P.

d\( \text{a l q a n} \) See t\( \text{a l q a n} \)

d\( \text{a m b a y} \) (1692 Dambai, dieren. = 'animals'; 1705, 1785 id.) 'buffalo' Cf. Osm. dial. TRS1. dombay 'bujvol'

d\( \text{a n e} \) (Dane, een Graen, Koorn-graen, in het gemeen een korn, wort ook van grooter dingen gezeget. = grain, seed, usually said also of bigger things) 'seed, grain, piece' Cf. KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. dāne < P.

d\( \text{a r i d u n y a} \) (dari dunja Deze Waereld = this world) 'this world, transitory world, earth' Cf. Osm. TRS1. dāri-dūnya 'ētot mir, tlennyj (brennyj), mir', Osm. dialect TS dardūnya 'Dūnya, yeryūzū' < P., Ar.

d\( \text{a r i l} \) 'to get angry, to be offended' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. daril-; darildun mé? (Darildingham, zijt gy ontstelt of vertoornt? = are you dismayed or angry?) 'did you get angry? are you offended?' Definite Past Tense 1st P. Singular, Interrogative; darilma (Darilma, ontzet uw niet. 'don't be angry' Imperative mood, Negative (prohibitive) Form, 2nd P. Sing.

23 See note 19.
d e li (Delı, een Zot.) ‘silly, fool’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. dela
d e li k (Delik, een gat.) ‘rift, orifice’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. delik
d e m i r (Demir, Yzer.) ‘iron’ Cf. Müh., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. demir
d e ni s (1692 Denis, de zee. 1705, 1785 Denis, denghis, de Zee.) ‘sea’ Cf. KarK, Osm. deniz
d e ni s ‘sea’ See d e ni s. Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Osm. deniz
d e p e ~ tepe (Deppe-teppe,²⁵ de top van een Berg, ook een Heuvel. = the peak of a mountain, or a hill) ‘mountain, peak of a mountain, hill’ Cf. Müh. tepe, Osm. depe ~ tepe, KarK, tepe
d e r e (Deré, een Valeye, Dal of laegtę. = valley, cavity, lowland) ‘brook, valley, hollow, precipice’ Cf. Qaw. dārā, Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. dere < P.
d e r d²⁶ (Derd, tegenfpoet, fmrtę. = trouble, pain) ‘trouble, sorrow, pain’ Cf. Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. dert < P.
d e r y a (Derja, het Aerdryk. = the universe, earth) ‘big water, river, sea, ocean’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Osm. derya < P.
d e v i t (Devit, een Inkt.-kooker.) ‘ink-pot’ Cf. CC dıwaıt, Tarj. dawayt, KarK, devet, Osm. divit [dwyıt] < Ar.
d e v l e t (Deflet, uitmuntend, verheven, gelukkig. = excellent, magnific- cent, happy) ‘wealth, happiness, high rank (estate)’ Crim. Tat., KarH, Nog. (dāwelet, Kumyk, Osm. devlet ‘Prosperity; good luck; high estate’ < Ar.
d e v l e t lü (Defletlu, een die uitmuntende, verheven is. = what (who) is excellent, majestic) ‘powerful, rich, happy’ Cf. Tuhf., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, Osm. devletlü, devletlü ‘official title; illustrious, excellent (applied to officials of the first and highest class only)’

²⁴ The word final -d > -t change was just underway, so the word can be both read with -d and -t.
²⁵ Most probably, hyphenation does not denote that it is an echo word, but that they are alternatives.
²⁶ See note 24.

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d è g' "to touch, to reach" Cf. Bul., Crim. Tat. dąd- (= deg-), Osm. dey-[dème]; dég'me (Deghme, foot of raekt dat niet. = don't take it, or don't touch it) Imperative Mood, Negative (Prohibitive) Form, 2nd P. Singular d i g' i r m e n n (Deyghirmen, een Moolen.) 'mill' Cf. KarK, deqirmen, 17th century Osm. (Németh, Illésh.) deqirmenc" 'Müller', Osm. TS deqirmen d e y ü l 'no, not' (Negative Particle of the Compound Nominal Predicate) Cf. Arm.-Kipch. dargul, KarK dągul, 17th century Osm. (Németh, Illésh.) dągyl (= degil), Hazai, Hars. deqil, Osm. TS deqil, Chag. R. III, 1660 dągul d i s (Dis, een Tand.) 'tooth' Cf. Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. diš d i v a n ~ divane 'fool' Cf. Crim. Tat. divanä, Osm. divâne, Chag. Eastern Turkic R. III, 1779 divanä < P.

d o m u s 'hag, pig' See d o n u s. Cf. KarK, Tat. Dobru., Osm. domuz d o n u s ~ donuz (Dónous, een Varken; de uitdruk is domous. = pig, the pronunciation is domous) 'hag, pig' Cf. Qaw. donysz, KarT, Kumyk, Osm. doňuz [twkwz]

d o r d i n j i (Dordingi, de vierde.) 'fourth' Cf. KarK dordunjî, Tat. Dobru., Mándoky dordjinjis; Osm. dörдинji
d o r t (Dort, vier.) 'four' Cf. CC, Tarj., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobru., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. dört ~ dört
d u r (Dour, ronde-danssen. = to dance a round dance) 'round, turning' Cf. Kumyk tür, Osm. TRS1. tür 'turn; krug; oborot; turne; progulka' < French tour

d u n y a 'world' Cf. CC dunjá, dunja etc., Arm.-Kipch. dunja, KarK dunje, Tat. Dobru., Nog., Kumyk dunyla ~ dunya, K.-Balk. duninya, Osm. TS dunya < Ar.

d u d u k (Duduk, een Fluit.) 'flute, flageolet' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobru., Kumyk, Osm. düdük ~ düdük

d u g'm e (Duighme, een knopp, een knop.) 'bow, knot, bundle; button' Cf. Idr., Tuhf. (Turkm. dial.) dugme, Crim. Tat., KarK dogme, 17th century Osm. (Németh, Illésh.) duc'me (= dug'me), Osm. TS dugme
d u g' i m 'knot, noose, slip-knot' Cf. Osm. TS dug'mum dug'müler (Dughummer, kluwens. = balls (knots))
d u s e k (Dowfiek, een Bed.) 'resting-place, bed; mattress' Cf. Osm. düşık 'Anything spread to be lain or slept on; especially a mattress'
e f (Eff, een Huis.) 'house' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj. (äw), Müh., Tuhf. (Turkm. dial.), Qaw. (äw), Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. ev

27 See the sound g' for a detailed explanation.
28 See note 27.
29 It is a word of the poem. The original final e (divane) was dropped for the sake of the rhyme. See also note 19.
30 The version with n is more probable, as other data also include n in place of η.
31 See note 19.

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dilgen (1692 Eelgen, groen kruit. 1705, 1785 Eelgen, groen Kruid. = green grass, spice, cabbage) ?

emânet (Emanet, een pand, of iets dat vertrouwt word. = pledge, or a thing entrusted to somebody) ‘pledge, pawn, a thing or a thing entrusted to somebody’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. emanet (emânet) < Ar.

erik (Erik, een Pruim.) ‘plum’ Cf. CC, KarK, Kumyk, Osm. erik


etmek (Elmek, Brood.) ‘bread’ Cf. CC, Tarj. (ätmäk), Müh., Crim. Tat., KarH, Kumyk, Osm. emmek; etmek al (Elmek al, neemt Brood. ‘take some bread’


ev See ef


fâlik (Fâlik, een huwbare Dochter. = nubile) ‘adult girl, marriageable
girl’ Cf. Osm. fâlik < Ar.

fanar (Fanar, Lantaern.) ‘lamp’ Cf. CC fanar, Osm. R. IV, 1910
fanar < Greek

ferâţ (Feragh, verheuging, blijdfchap.) ‘pleasure, gaiety’ Cf. Osm. ferâh < P. < Ar.

ferêj (Feregie, het Opperkleed, Mantel.) ‘overgarment, overcoat’ Cf. Crim. Tat. fârûţa, Osm. ferêje < Ar.

ferman (Ferman, bevel, befluit.) ‘command, order’ Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K ferman, Osm. ferman < P.

fermede (Fermoule, dat gelaat, of bevoelen is. = that, which has been entrusted) ‘commission, command, decree’ Cf. Osm. fermûde < P.

ferzendo (Ferzend, een Jongen.) ‘boy, child’ Cf. Osm. ferzend < P.


fîsilgen (Fisilgen, een handvat in ‘t byzonder, een Zilver Lampet. = a bowl with handle, mostly a silver jug) ?

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f u g i (오토지, een Ton of Tat.) ‘barrel, vessel’ Cf. Crim. Tat. fuču ~ füči, KarK, Osm. fuči
f u l a q e³² (Fulake, gevangenis, ftoik, of bewaarplaats. = imprisonment, stick, or place of punishment) ‘a staff with a loop of rope let through two holes by which the feet of a culprit are held up for the bastinado’ Cf. Osm. falaqa < Greek
g' e l- ‘to come’ Cf. Crim. Tat. gël-, KarK ke-’, Kumyk gel-, Osm. gelmek; g'eldi (Jeldi, hy is gekomen. = he came) Definite Past Tense 3rd P. Singular
g' e r e k ~ k’erek (Jerek, ‘t is nodig) ‘must; necessary’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., K.-Balk. kerek, Crim. Tat., Kumyk, Osm. gerek; g’erek ol-, g’erek olur ‘must, it will be necessary’ See a s a-
g’ i z i (Jisli, verborgen.) ‘hidden, secret’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. gizli
g’ü l (Juil, een Roos.) ‘rose’ Cf. CC gül ‘Blume’, Idr., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. gül ~ gül; < P.
g’ü l-, ~ k’ül- ‘to laugh, to smile’ Cf. Crim. Tat., Osm. gül-, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. kül ~ k’ül-; g’ülmek ~ k’ülmek (Juilmek, lachen.) ‘to laugh, to smile’ (Infinitive); g’üler ~ k’üler (Juiler, hy lacht. = he laughs) Aorist, 3rd P. Singular
g’ü m i š ~ k’ümüş (Jumis, Zilver.) ‘silver’ Cf. KarK gümüş, Kumyk g’ümüş, Osm. gümüş; Arm.-Kipch. kumuş, karK kümüş, KarK, Tat. Dobr., K.-Balk. kümüş ~ k’ümüş

g’ü m le k (Jumlek, een Hems.) ‘shirt’ Cf. Osm. gömlek
g’ü z g ü See k’ü z g ü
ğ a l b e (Galbe, overhand, overwinning) ‘victory, superiority, dominance’ Cf. Osm. TS galebe ‘Yenme, yengi; Üstünlük’ < Ar.
ğ a m (Gam, hardzeer, droefheid.) ‘pain, sorrow, sadness’ Cf. CC yam, Crim. Tat. gam, KarK gam, yam, Osm. gam < Ar.; gam ye- ‘to grieve, to sorrow’, gam yeme (Gam jeme, bedroeft uw niet: eigentlijk, hebt geen smerte of

³² According to Redhouse’s Osm. data the vowels of the word are reduced (ā = ā; here ē). Next to the labially uttered ʃ this changeable reduced sound, which was indefinitely articulated already in Crim.Tat., came to be labialized and articulated more fully. The vowel of the second syllable was also altered upon the influence of the subsequent stressed syllable. Thus: falaqa > falaqa > (here: fulaqe). However, ə might simply indicate a velar reduced sound as well (ē).
droefheid. — don't be sad: actually don't have pain or sorrow) 'don't be sad, don't take it to your heart' Cf. Osm. gam yemek

ğ a r ĭ b (Garîb, een vreemdeling, 'foreigner' Cf. CC garîp, KarK, garîp, KarHT garîb, Tat. Dobr. garîp, Osm. garîp < Ar.

gayya (Gauqa, beroerte, oproer. = apoplexy, revolt, riot) 'discord, quarrel, fight' Cf. Crim. Tat. gayya 'der Streit, Feindschaft', Osm. (Hazai, Hars.) gauqa (gauqua) kavga 'Streit; Zank', Osm. gauqa, vulgar gauqa < Ar. [yewa]

ğ a y b ̃ ̃ ̃ gayêb (Gaib, verloren, afwezen.) 'the lost thing, the missing thing; the lost' Cf. Crim. Tat. gaip, Crim. Tat. M-K gayîb, KarK gayîp, Osm. ghâ'îb, vulgar gayîb < Ar.

ğ a y r é (Gairê, een ander, iets anders.) 'other, another' Cf. Crim. Tat. gayrî, KarK gayrî, Osm. gayrî < Ar.

h a u a (Hawa, de Lucht.) 'air; weather' Cf. CC hava [haua], Crim. Tat. hawa, KarK ɣawa, Osm. hava < Ar.

h a u e s (Hawes, tegenlof, tegenstand, toutmoedigheid. = trouble, opposition, daring) 'passion, inclination, mood' Cf. Crim. Tat. hawâs ̃ ̃ ̃ ̃ hâwâs, KarK, ãawes, 'zelanie, stremlenie, žâzda', Osm. haves ̃ ̃ ̃ hêves < Ar.

h e d a ̃ ̃ ̃ ̃ ̃ hêda (< huda) (1692 Heda betekent, in het Crims, den hemel. = Heda means, in Crimean, the sky; 1705, 1785 Heda, den Hemel. = the sky) 'firmaiment, sky' Perhaps it can be connected to the Osman-Turkish word huda 'god' of Persian origin (cf. Osm. TS, TRS1. Huda). Thus the meaning of the word 'heaven' (= dwelling place of god) would be intelligible.

h e l â k (Helaek, ondergang, verbreking, uitroeving.) 'decay, deterioration, decline' Cf. Crim. Tat. hâlâk, Osm. helâk < Ar.

h e m d e n ̃ ̃ ̃ ̃ hêmden, laeftent adem. = the last breath) 'intimate friend' Cf. Crim. Tat. hâmân 'sogleich, ebenso', Osm. hemân < P.

h e m ã n (Heman, nu voort, en tonds. = 10, start, immediately, at once) 'immediately, instantly; almost' Cf. Crim. Tat. hêman 'sogleich, ebenso', Osm. hemân < P.

h e r 'every, each' Cf. CC, Tuhf. her, Bul. här, Arm.-Kipch. har, KarK xer, Osm. her < P.; her adem (Her adem, elk Menfch.) 'every man'; her g'ûn ̃ ̃ ̃ her k'ûn (Her jûn, alle daegh.) 'every day'; her k'im (Herkjiem, elk eem.) 'anybody'; her ãâzî (Herkjiîgii) 33 alle man.) 'all, everybody'; her zaman (Herfâman, altyd.) 'always, continually'

h e r d e m (Herdem, geftadig, altyd.) 'without a break, continuous, always' Cf. Osm. her dem < P.

h e r k'ê s (Herkes, t'elkemaël. = all the time, the prevailing occasion) 'always' Cf. Arm.-Kipch. Vásáry harkjez < P.

33 Wilsen also recorded its correct form: k'isi (Kjiîîi). The given expression can only be reconstructed as *her k'îč, or *her k'îji, if the correctly spelt word is assumed to be *HerkJiîgii.
hilāl (Hilal, de nieuwe Maen: maer chalal, een Tandeftooker. = the new moon; but chalal is toothpick) ‘new moon’ Cf. Osm. hilal ‘The new moon, the crescent’ < Ar.

himmet (Himmet, bekommering, zorg, voorneme. = sadness, trouble, plan) ‘trouble, provisio, goodwill’ Cf. Osm. himmet < Ar.

hirseyyir ~ hirseq’ir ~ hirsekh’ir (Hirsejir, die iets bekomt das waerdig is. = who gets something valuable, who gets what he deserves)

hüwe (Hüe, die, hy. = that, he) ‘he, it; God’ Cf. Osm. hüve (= hüwe) ‘he, it; God’; It must be noted that the invocatio (da’vet) of Muslim diplomats, thus among others that of the Crimean khans, often consists only of the word ḫ ‘He (= God)’ written with golden letters (Matuz 61—62).

Hüseyn ‘a masculine name’ See Xa li l and Xa sa n; Cf. Osm. hüseyn (= hüseyn) < Ar.

hadim (Chadim, een Dienst-meit. = maid; Chadim Eunuch, gefnedene Dienst-booden. = castrated servants) ‘eunuch; servant’ Cf. Crim. Tat. xadam, karK xadim, Osm. xadim < Ar.; xadimler (Chadimler, gefnedenen. = the castrated) Plural

xain (Chain, oproerige, ook afvallige. = inciting, turbulent, faithless, perjurer) ‘unfaithful, traitor, perjurer, ungrateful; rebel’ Cf. Osm. xā’in < Ar.; See xayin, too

xāl (Hāl-hala, de tegenwoordigheid, nu terftond. = the present, immediately) ‘the present time’ Cf. Osm. hāl < Ar.; See xā lā, too

xā lā ‘at present, now; still, yet’ See xā l; Cf. Osm. hālā ‘At the present time, at present, now; Still, yet’ < Ar.

xā lal ‘toothpick’ See hilal; Cf. Ar. Johnson khalāl, khīlāl ‘A toothpick’

xāli (Chali, vry, leedig.) ‘free, leisure’ Cf. Osm. kḥālī, Osm. TRS.1. hālī < Ar.

Xa li l (Chalil, Hafan of Hufeyn, eige Namen. = proper names) ‘Halil’ Cf. Osm. khalil ‘An intimate friend; A proper name of men’ < Ar.

xalqa (Halka, een Ring.) ‘ring’ Cf. CC xalqa, Crim. Tat. M-K halqa, KarK xalqa, Osm. halqa < Ar.

xalwa (Halwa, Confituur Zuiker.) ‘a certain Oriental sweet dish’ Cf. Crim. Tat. halwa, KarK xalwa, Nog. xalwa, Osm. halva, helwa < Ar.

xalvet (Halvet, oorlof.) ‘holiday, permission; farewell’ Cf. Osm. khalvet ‘Solitude, loneliness; A retired place, ...’ < Ar.

xam (Cham, ræuw.) ‘unripe, immature’ Cf. CC xam, KarK, Kumyk, Osm. ham ~ kham < P.

xamur (Chamur, Zuur-dezem. = sour dough) ‘dough, leaven’ Cf. CC xamyur, KarK, Kumyk hamur, Osm. khamur < Ar.

xān (Chān, Konink, Tytel van de Konink. = king, the title of the king) ‘sovereign, khan’ Cf. CC xān, Arm.-Kipch. xan, Crim. Tat. EČel. xān, KarK, Nog., Kumyk xan, Osm. khān

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χ a n jār (Changiær, Mes, Pook, Turks Mes, dat ze in de gordel dragen. = knife, dagger, the Turks’ knife worn in the girdle) ‘knife, khandjar’ Cf. Crim. Tat. Osm. R. II, 1666 χansār, Osm. khanjer, vulgar khanchar < Ar.

χanji (Changi, Caffelein, oppasser van een Herberg. = innkeeper, servant of an inn) ‘tavern keeper’ Cf. Osm. khanji ‘An innkeeper’

χ a rām (Harām, dat in de Wet verboden is, ongeoorloft, vervloekt. = that which is forbidden by law, not allowed, not wanted) ‘forbidden’ Cf. CC χaram, KarK χaram, Osm. harām < Ar.

χ a r d a l (Chardal, Kars. = candle)

χ a r d e l (Chardel, Moftaert.) ‘mustard’ Cf. Osm. khardel, vulgar khardal < Ar.

X a s a n (Hasan of huseyn, eigen Naem.) ‘Hasan (proper name)’ Cf. Osm. Hasan < Ar.

χ a s i r (Chazir, een Mat, alles wat med fpreid, Tapyt. = rush, matting, everything that man spreads out, carpet) ‘mat (carpet)’ Cf. CC χasyr ‘Matte’; Crim. Tat. hasir, Osm. hasir < Ar.

χ a w a n (Hawan, zachtmoedigheid en matigheid. = gentleness and moderation) ‘gentleness, tenderness’ Cf. Osm. hevn [hwn] ‘A being easy; facility; A being slow and leisurely’ < Ar.; χawan ile (Hawanilè, met zachtmoedigheid.) ‘meekly, tenderly; lightly’ See i l e, too.

χ a v i yār (Chavijaer, Cavijaer.) ‘caviar’ Cf. Osm. hayyar

χ a y i n (Chajin, bedrieger, verleider. = deceiver, tempter) ‘deceiver, traitor, ungrateful’ Cf. Osm. khā’in, vulgar khāyn < Ar.; See χ a i n, too

χ a y w a n (Haiwán, een Dier.) ‘animal’ Cf. KarK χaywan, Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal hayvan, Osm. vulgar haywān < Ar.

χ a z e r e t ~ χazret (Hazeret, Heerlijkheid.) ‘gentleman, squire, dignity’ Cf. Crim. Tat. Osm. R. II, 1771 hazrāt, KarK hazrat, Osm. hazret < Ar.

χ a z i r (Hazir, gereed, bereid, tegenwoordig.) ‘ready, willing; now’ Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK hazir, KarK χazir, Osm. hāzir < Ar.

χ i r kē (Chirkē, een Kleed van lappen, dat verachtelijk is. = ragged clothes, that are despised) ‘long quilted coat, clothing of a dervish; ragged clothes’ Cf. Crim. Tat. ħirxa, Osm. khoṛqa < Ar.

χ i z m e t (Chismet, een dienst.) ‘service, duty’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK hismet, Osm. khzmet, hizmet < Ar.

i b r i k (Ibrīk, een koopere kan, gemeenlijk de Koffe-kan. = brass-jug, usually coffee-pot) ‘coffee-(tea-)pot with spout’ Cf. Osm. TS ibrik < Ar.

i g e r m i (Igermi, twintig.) ‘twenty’ Cf. Osm. R. I, 1428 igirmi

24 See note 19.
ilê 'with, together with (postposition) 'See χ a w a n Cf. Osm. TS ilê
ilg See ilil
ilig ~ ilg (İlîk of İlîk, merg.) 'marrow' Cf. CC jilîk, Osm. KarL Chag.
R. I, 1484 ilîk 'Knochenmark'

i m a n sî s (Eimanîç, ongeloovig, of die geen geloof verdiend. = unbeliever, he who does not follow any religion) 'unbeliever' Cf. Crim. Tat. îmansîz, KarK îman 'vera', Tat. Dobr. Ülkûsal îmansîz, Kumyk îmansîz, Osm. îmansîz < Ar. îmân + Affix -sîz (private suffix)

i n n e (İnmê, een Naelt.) 'needle' Cf. Tuhf. iyne, KarH îne, Tat. Dobr., Nog., K.-Balk., Osm. iyne, Lebed, Soyon R. I, 1446 innâm 'die Nadel'

istî - 'to want, to wish, to mean' Cf. Mûh., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. iste-; isterûm (İsterzum,35 isterrum, ik zal, of ik trachte te doen. = I will, or intend to do something) Aorist, 1st P. Singular

i šlê- See išle-

išlê- ~ išlê- 'to do, to make, to work' Cf. CC išlemek, Tuhf. išle-, Mûh. išlemek, Arm.-Kipch. išla-, KarTK išle-, Karî išlê-, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Osm. išle-; ne išlärên ~ ne išleren (1692 Neîlafen,36 ofte Neîlferen, wat doet ghy. 1705, 1785 Neelerzen, Neîlafen, of Neîlferen, wat doet gy?) 'what are you doing?' Aorist 2nd P. Singular

i t (1692 It, een hont. 1705, 1785 It of köpek, een Hond.) 'dog' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Mûh., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Crim. Tat., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. it, Nog. iyt

(Jumga, Zatyn. = satin?) ?

(1692 Jitsjlâ,37 een geit. 1705, 1785 id.) 'she-goat'? 


k' em il (Kjamil of Kemal, volmaekt.) 'complete, whole; ready; perfect' Cf. KarK k'âmil', Kumyk kâmil, Osm. kyâmil < Ar.

k' e dî i (Kjedi, een Katte.) 'cat' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. kedi

k' e ḫe n (Kjefen, het Dood-kleed.) 'a shroud, winding-sheet' Cf. KarK kefin, Osm. Crim. Tat. R. II, 1199, 1200 kâfân ~ kâfîn < Ar.

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35 A distorted form, probably of Isterzum or Isterrum. Several examples of the gemination of "r" can be quoted. isterzin might be Aorist 2nd P. Sing., but the Dutch translation does not recognize it.

36 One may assume on the basis of the expression (Neîlferen), which is identical in meaning and grammatical form, that the correct entry was Neîlarfen.

37 The first part of the so far undeciphered item (Jitz-) might be the word keçi ~ keći 'goat'. In several words of the glossary j = k' and tÇ = Ç are regular correspondences. The second component (-jala) might be the misspelt form of bala 'child: offspring of animal'. In this way, the given meaning could be explained and the expression reproduced as keçi bala(sï).
k'eli (Kefil, een Borg.) 'a bail' Cf. KarK keful, Osm. kefil < Ar.
k'el- See g'el-
k'eli (Keli, Vaten.) 'handle, holder; pounder' Cf. CC keli 'Mörserkeule', Tuhf., Tarj. (kěli), KarK keli, Nog. Kumyk, Kzk. R. II, 1116 keli
k'e m (Kjem, te weinig.) 'few' Cf. Nog., Kumyk, Osm. kem < P.
ke māl 'whole, full, perfect(ion); maturity' See k'a m i l; Cf. Crim. Tat. kāmal, Osm. kemāl < Ar.

k'emend (Jemend, Touw, Koorde. = cord, string) 'cord, lasso, noose'
Cf. Nat. Dobr. kemen 'lasso, arkan', Osm. kemend < P.

k'emik (Jemik, een Been.) 'bone' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Nog. kemik,
Kumyk gemik 'chrjašč', K.-Balk. kemik süjek 'chrjašč', Osm. kemik

k'emenun (Kjemnoun, zorgvuldig.) 'careful'?
k'erēk See g'ērēk

k'eremīt (Kjeremit, Pannen Teegelen. = roof tiles, bricks) 'roof tile'
Cf. Nat. Dobr. kiremit 'dachówka', Osm. kiremud 'A roof-tile'

k'erewis (Kjerewis of Kijuaas,38 word gebruikt voor Kars, en voor Water-kars. = cherry is called this way) 'celery' Cf. Osm. kerevīz 'Celery, especially, the turnip-rooted celery' < Ar.


k'erpič (Kjerpids, gebakken teenen. = burnt stones) 'brick' Cf. CC kerpič 'ungebrannte Ziegel', Idr. kerpîç, Tarj. kerpîç, Müh., Bul., Tuhf. kirpič,
KarK kerpič, Kumyk kerpič, Osm. kirpîç [krapyč, krimp]

k'ertik (Kjertik, rimpelen, ook poeten in 't aengezicht. = wrinkles, or freckles on the face) 'a slight notch, cut, score; wrinkle; freckle' Cf. Idr.
Tuhf. kertik, Crim. Tat. kārtik, KarK, Nog., Osm. kertik

k'esēs (Kjeścīc, die zich afzonderd, alleen woont; een Monnik. = a man who lives alone, separated from others; monk) 'hermit, monk' Cf. Tuhf.
kesiš 'rahip, papas', Kumyk Osm. kešiš 'A Christian priest, monk, or hermit' < P.

k'eyik (Kjeik, een Hart. = stag, hart) 'deer, stag, hind; (usually)
a wild beast, Cf. Tarj. kūik, Tuhf., Müh. kiyik, Dur. köjik, KarKTH, Nat. Dobr.,
Nog. kiyik, Osm. gayik

k'il- 'to come' Cf. Nat. kil-, otherwise in all the languages nearby: kel-
kilberi (1692 Kilberi, komt hier. 1705, 1785 id.) 'come here' See also bēri
k'ile (Kjilè, een Kooren maet. = a quantity of grain) 'bushel' Cf. Osm. kile 'A bushel' < Ar.


38 Correctly: Kjiaras

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kimet (Kimet, waerde.) 'value' Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K qimet, Tat. Dobr. qimet, Osm. qimet < Ar.
kira (Kira, Huur, Huis-huur.) 'wage, rent' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. kira < Ar.
k'irs 'cherry' See k'erevis; Cf. Osm. kryaz, kryas
k'ise (Kjisse, een zak. = small bag; Kjise, een Beurs. = purse, pouch) 'purse, small bag' Cf. KarK kese, Nog., Kumyk, Osm. TRS1 kise
k'is (1692 Cis, een zabel-dier. 1705, 1785 id.) sable (Martes zibellina) Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., Kumyk kiş
k'isi (Kjissi, iemand. = somebody; See also her) 'man' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. kishi
k'ophik 'dog' See i t; Cf. Idr., Tarj., Bul. (kopak), KarK, Osm. TS köpek
k'or (Kjor, Blind.) 'blind' Cf. CC kör (cor), Tuhf., Qaw., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. TS kör, Nog. kör < P.
k'ul- See g'ul-
k'ullan (Kjulli, allen.) 'all, the whole' Cf. Kumyk küllü, Osm. TS külli < Ar.
k'mis See g'umis
k'un See g'un
k'urk, Crim. Tat. kyrk 'suba', Nog. körk, körk 'mech, mechi (dlja nagnetania vozducha)', Osm. kyurk, Tat. TRS1. kurek 'mech'
k'uzg ~ g'üzgü (Jusghu, een Spiegel.) 'mirror' Cf. CC küzgü, Tarj. küzgü, Crim. Tat., KarK küzgü, Tat. Dobr. Ülkusal küzgu, K.-Balk. küzgü, Kumyk güzgü, Osm. gyzgyu (= gözgü)
qadir (Kadır dur, hy is mağtig or bequaem. = he is powerful, or clever) 'clever, strong, able' Cf. Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk qadir, Osm. qadir < Ar.
qaf See qav I.
qaf tan (Kaftan, een Rok of Boven-kleed. = skirt, or overgarment) 'upper clothes, overcoat; an upper gown or robe with long skirts and sleeves' Cf. KarTH kaftan, Tat. Dobr. qaptań, Osm. qaftan
qače (Kahpe, een Hoere.) 'whore, woman of loose morals' Cf. Nog. qache, Osm. qahbe < Ar.
qagun ~ qagum (Kakoun, Bond van Hermeling-vellen. = ermine fur-coat) 'ermine' Cf. Idr. Haş. ak as 'as dedikleri derisi makkul hayvann ak renklisi ki (kakum) derler', Osm. qagım ~ qagum 'The ermine', qagım kürk 'An ermine fur' < P.
qala (Kala, een Kaftel.) 'fort, castle' Cf. CC qala, Qaw. qala, Arm.-Kipch. qala, KarHT kala, Kumyk qala < Ar.
qalem (Kalem, een Pen, Schryf-pen.) 'pen' Cf. CC qalam, Crim. Tat., KarK qalem, kalem, Tat. Dobr. qalem, Nog. dial. qalem, Osm. TS kalem, K.-Balk., Kumyk qalam < Ar.
qal'ın (Kalin, dik, grof.) ‘thick, coarse, dense’ Cf. CC qalın, Idr., Tarj., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK Nog., Kumyk qalın, Osm. Ts kalın
qal'ap (Kalpak, een Muts, Hoed, dekzel van een Kan of Pot. = high cap, hat, the lid of a can or pot) ‘high (fur) cap, hat; (pot-) lid’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, Osm. qalpaq
(Kalfeme, inzwalging. = swallowing, annexion) ?
qandil (Kandil, een Lamp.) ‘wick, torch, lamp’ Cf. KarK qandil ‘lampada, lampadka’, Osm. qandil < Ar.
qapu ‘gate, door’ See qap; Cf. Idr., Tarj., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK. Kumyk, Osm. qapu
qara (1692 Carabogdai, zeker aerd van gert of grut, daer men pap of brei van maekt. = a sort of hulled, varnished barley (grits, pearl-barley), used for making mush or soup; 1705, 1785 Carabogdai of Cerde, zeker aert van Gort of Grut, daer men Pap of Brei van maekt. = id.) ‘a sort of buckwheat, Fagopyrum vulgare’ Cf. Nog. qara biyday ‘rož’, Osm. qara buyday ‘Spelt’, Osm. TRS1. karabuğday ‘grečicha (Fagopyrum)’, Tat. R. II, 136 qara būday ‘der Buchweizen’
qarayi (Karaghi, een houte Pyp of Fluit.) ‘pipe, flute’? Probably related to the homonymous Osm. word meaning ‘poker’, ‘rake’: Osm. TRS1. karağı ‘köşerga’; See also qaraşi (R. II, 151)
qarenfil (Karenfil, Giroffel-nagelen.) ‘pink’ Cf. KarK qarenfil, Osm. qarınfil < Ar.
qarinça (Karingia, een Mier.) ‘ant’ Cf. Tarj. karyncā, Qaw. kareńça, Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK karinča, Osm. qarinča

40 The Dutch word “Exter” means a kind of raven-like bird (Pica pica).
q a r y e (Karże, een Dorp, Gehucht.) ‘village, hamlet’ Cf. Osm. qarye, vulgar qarzīye ‘A village’ < Ar.

g a r p u s (Kirpous, Water-meloen.) ‘watermelon’ Cf. Idr., Tarj., Tuhf. qarpuz, Dur., Qaw. karbuz, Crim. Tat. qarpuz, Tat. Dothr. qarpuz, qarpīz, Nog. qarbij, Osm. qarpuz


q a s a b (Kaffab, Slacht-huis. = butcher’s shop) ‘butcher’ Cf. CC, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dothr. qasap, Nog. qasapšt ‘mjasnik’, Osm. TS kasap < Ar.


q a š i k (Kafik, een Lepel.) ‘spoon’ Cf. Idr., Müh., Tarj., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dothr., Kumyk, K.-Balk. qasiq, Osm. TS kāşik

q a t a r (Katir of Katı)41 een hoop Beesteen, een drift. = a group of animals, pack, herd) ‘a line or chain consisting of something’ Cf. Nog. qatar ‘rjad, stroy; šerenga; staja’, Osm. qatar ‘A string or file of beasts of burden; A file of men following one another in a series’ < Ar.

q a t i r ‘mule’ See q a t a r; Cf. CC, Bul. qatyr, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Tat. Dothr. Ülkūsāl, Osm. kätir


q a y y u (Kaïgrow, groote droefheid, gewezen. = big sorrow, weeping) ‘bitterness, sorrow; trouble’ Cf. CC qajji, Tarj. kajgi, Tuhf. kajgu, Tat. Dothr. qajgu, Uig. Eastern Turkic, Tar. Baraba R. II, 10 qajgu

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41 Witsen’s correct item would read “Katar of Katir”. The conversation must have been about mules (qatar) when the word qatar ‘file of animals’ was uttered, and this might have caused the misunderstanding and the distortion of the data.

42 The meanings being so different as they are, the two words can be declared homonymous: I. qaw ~ qaw ‘touchwood’. II. qaw ~ qaf ~ qaw ‘sack, bag’
q a i q⁴³ ~ qayiq (KaTk, een Roei- schuit, kleine Bark. = rowboat, small three-masted sailing boat) 'barge, boat' Cf. Crim. Tat. qaiq, qayiq, Tat. Dobr., KarHT, Nog. Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. qayiq

q a y n⁴⁴ ~ qayin (Kain, Dennen-hout. = fir-tree, pine 'birch (Betula pendula), beech (Carpinus betulus, Fagus silvatica), ? fir-tree (Abies) Cf. CC qajn, 'Birke', Nog. qayin, Kumyk qayınayaç 'berez', Osm. qayın, qayın The hornbeam (carpinus betulus), Osm. TRSl. kayın 'buk lesnoj (Fagus silvatica)'


q a z a n (Kalan,⁴⁶ een Ketel.) 'kettle, boiler' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Tarj., Tuhf. Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk. qazan, Osm. TS kazar

q i l (Kil, een Haair.) 'single hair, a hair' Cf. Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. qil, Osm. kil

q i l- 'to do, to make' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Tarj., Crim. Tat., KarK, Kumyk. K.-Balk. qil-, Osm. qilmak, qilmayan (Kilmajan)⁴⁷ Present participle, Negative form

q i l i č (Kilids, een Deegen.) 'word' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw. (qılığ), Crim. Tat. M-K (qılığ), KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk. qılığ, Osm. TS qılığ

q i r 'here) wild, living in wilderness' See q i r d o m u z i ; Cf. Idr. qvr 'Tepe baş', Bul., Tuhf., Bul., Crim. Tat. qir 'das Feld, der Acker', Crim. Tat. M-K qır 'gora', Tat. Dobr. qır 'pole, step', Osm. qır 'Grey; uncultivated, waste land'

q i r d o m u z i (1692 Cydsmuzy,⁴⁸ bofch-verken. 1705, 1785 Cydsmuzy, een Bofch-varken.) 'wild-hog (Sus scrofa)' Cf. qır 'wild' + domuz 'pig'; Similar compositions are the following: qır kığı 'die auf freiem Felde lebend Thiere, das Wild', qır gazi 'die wilde Gans', qır kâfiş 'das Reh' (R. II, 732), Tat. R. III, 773 qır tarny 'das Haselhuhn'


q i s m e t (Kismet, verdeelinge, in deelen. = parts, in parts) 'share, fate' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. qismet, Kumyk qismat, Osm. qismet < Ar.

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⁴³ The vowel of the second syllable must have been articulated weaker (it got reduced and/or lost), that is why it was not marked. The fuller form stands after the entry.

⁴⁴ See note 43.

⁴⁵ See note 43.

⁴⁶ Correctly Kazan or Kafan.

⁴⁷ See note 19.

⁴⁸ Correctly Cydsmuzy.

gəč (Kods, een Ram: ‘t is buiten gebruik het Schaep te neemen kods kari,49 ‘t Wyf van den Ram. = ram: one does not call a sheep kods kari as it is the ewe (female) of a ram) ‘ram’ Cf. Idr., Tarj., Mūh., Bul., Crim. Tat., KarK qoč, Osm. qoč (= qoč)


qomace See qumace
qondus See qundus

qoy (1692 Coi, een chaep. 1765, 1785 id.) ‘sheep’ Cf. CC, Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. qoy


qon ~ qoyin ~ qoyin (Koin, een Schaep; men zegt kojun. = sheep; they call it kojun) ‘sheep’ Cf. Osm. [qwyn] = qoyin; See also qoy; qoyrung See quyrung

qoyu See quyu


qondug ~ quduq ~ ? quzug (Kodfog,51 Fontaine.) ‘well’ Cf. KarK quduq ‘kolodec’. The form quduq strikingly agrees with the Old Turkic data: DTS quduq ‘kolodec’, quduq ‘kolodec’


qundus ~ qundus (Kondous, een Bever.) ‘beaver (Castor)’ Cf. Tat. Dobr., K.-Balk., Osm. qunduz

49 (kods kari) = qočqar is either mistaken or an inflection (Accusative). Correctly: kods kar (= qočqar)

50 See note 43.

51 Elsewhere “ds” designates z. The retention of the word final original -g is rare, but possible; the indication of a voiced consonant here may be by analogy, or upon foreign (Russian, German) orthographic influence.
q ur b a γ a (Kourbaga, Havik.) ‘frog’ Cf. Idr., Tarj. (kurboga), Tuhf., Osm. TS kurbaga
q ur m a (Kourma, een Dadel-vrucht.) ‘date’ Cf. Tarj. korma, Tuhf., Bul., Qaw. qurma, Nog. qurma ‘churma, finiki’ < P.
q u s t a n (Kustanc, den Regen-boog, rootheid van de Lucht. = rainbow, the redness of the air (sky)) ‘rainbow’ Cf. Osm. qustan < Ar.
q u s a q (Kouhciak, Gordel, Riem.) ‘girdle’ Cf. Idr., Tarj., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. quşaq, Osm. quşaq
q u s l u q (Kouslouk, het tweede deel van de dag, de tyd tu chen den op gang der Zonne en middag. = the second half of the day; the time between sun-rise and noon) ‘the time between morning and noon’ Cf. Idr., Tarj. (kuşluk), Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Kumyk quşluq, Osm. [qwšlq] = quşluq ‘The time of early morning’
q u t i (Kouti, een Doos, Bus, Doosjen.) ‘box, case’ Cf. KarK quti, Tat. Dobr. qutu, Osm. qutu
q u y r u q ~ qoyruq (Koitouk, de Staert.) ‘tail’ Cf. CC quyruq, Idr., Tarj., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk. quyruq, Osm. R. II, 505 goiruq
q u y u ~ q o y u (Kojou, een Put.) ‘well’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk. qoyu, Osm. kuþu. See also q u d u γ
q u v o y ? (1692 Cuvoi, een wildegeit. 1705, 1785 Cuvoi, een wilde Geit. = wild-(nanny-) goat) ?
q u z u (Koufu, een Lammeken.) ‘lamb’ Cf. Tarj. kuzu, Müh., Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal 18, Osm. TS kuzu
q u z u γ ? See q u d u γ
lā z i m (Lasim, ‘t is noodig.) ‘necessary’ Cf. Osm. lâzım < Ar.
le g e n (Legén of lejen, een Hand-bekken.) ‘bowl, basin’ Cf. CC layan (lahan) ‘(Tauf-)Becken, baptisterium’, KarK legen, l’egen, l’eken, Kumyk legen, Osm. leken, vulgar leyen ‘A large bowl or basin, as a wasshand basin’ < P.

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le le k (Lelek, Oyevaer.) ‘stork’ Cf. Crim. Tat. lägläk, KarH leklek, Tat. Dobr. legelek ‘bocian’, Osm. TS leylek < P.
le ę k’ę r (Leskjer of²² furlemeck, het Leger voeren. = to command the army) ‘army, the guards; soldiers’ Cf. Osm. leşker, Osm. Özön leşger, leşker ‘Asker’ < P.
le y e n ~ lek’en (at Witsen lejen) See le g e n
li g’ā m (Ligiam, een Toom. = halter of horse, bridle) ‘bridle (with rein and curb-bit); curb-bit’ Cf. Osm. ligyām ‘A bridle; A bit (for a beast’s mouth)’ < P.

lülə (Lule, een Tabaks-pyp, ook een kraentje. = pipe, or little tap, curved tube) ‘pipe, the part of a pipe which contains the tobacco’ Cf. Osm. lule (= lule) ‘A pipe, tube’ < P.
ma či (1692 Matzi, een kat. 1705, 1785 id.) ‘cat’ Cf. CC mačy (mazi) ‘Kater’, Idr., Tarj. (macı), Tuhf., KarKT mači ‘kośka’, Tat. màče ‘kośka’
ma γ ribaba (Maghrıb, het Welten.) ‘west’ Cf. Osm. magrib < Ar.
ma χ rē m a (Mahrema, Hand-dook.) ‘towel’ Cf. KarK mahrama ‘golovnoj platok’, Osm. [mqrmh] məqreme, vulgar mahrama, mahrama ‘A cloth used as an apron, towel, handkerchief, etc.’ < Ar.
maq (Maek, Man-kop. = poppy-head) ‘poppy’ Cf. Tat. R. IV, 2071 mäk ‘der Mohn’ < Russian
man ? ~ mänčenden ? ~ mančendem ? (1692 Man ofte Ciendem, bolch-paert. 1705, 1785 Man of Ciendem, Bolch-paerd. = wild horse) ?
ma y m u n (Maimoen, een Aep.) ‘monkey’ Cf. CC, Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Kumuł, Osm. maymun < Ar.
me k’e s (Mekjes, veracht.) ‘despised’ Cf. ? Osm. mıkyas ‘A being extremely grasping in a bargain; unreasonableness < Ar.

²² The separation with ‘of’ ‘or’ the collocational verb and noun is incorrect, suggesting that Witsen thought the unintelligible words were synonyms.

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merdebaen (Merdebaen, een Ladder. ‘ladder, stairs’ Cf. Tuhf. (Trkm. dialect) merdimen, Crim. Tat. märdivän, KarK, Tat. Dobr. meryven, Osm. merywän vulgar meryvan ‘A ladder’ < P.


ersrik (Mesrik, het Ooloten.) ‘east’ Cf. Osm. mesrik < Ar.

mitik (Miltik, ontmoetingen, verdedigingen. = meetings; persistence; defences) ‘place (time) of a meeting’ Cf. Osm. miktqa [mltqy, mltqa], Osm. Özön miltieka < Ar.

mis (Misk, Muskus.) ‘musk’ Cf. Crim. Tat. mis (Dmitriev 1926, 345), Osm. TS misk < P.

mizän (Mizän, een Schael daer men iets in weegt. = (dish of) scale, used for measurements) ‘scale balance’ Cf. Tat. Dobr. mizan, Osm. mizän < Ar.

mom See mum

mordar See mordar

muharem (Muharem, na de Arabische styl, de eerfte Maend. = according to Arabic style, the first month) ‘muharrem (the first lunar month)’ Cf. Osm. muharem < Ar.


mumya (Mumia, Mumie.) ‘mummy’ Cf. Osm. R. IV, 2216 mumya ‘die Mumie’ Ar.

mordar (Mordar, alderlei onreinigheid. = every kind of dirt, uncleanness) ‘dirty; unclean; pagan’ Cf. CC, Tuhf. (murdar ‘haram’, mordar sik- ‘zina etmek’), Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarHT, Kumyk mordar, Osm. mürdär vulgar mürdär ‘Canonically unclean; dirty; carrion’ < P.

Musa (Mouasa, Moses. ‘Moses’ Cf. Osm. müsa ‘A razor; Moses’ < Ar. mußafir (moussafir, moussafir, moussafir, moussafir) een Herberg der Reizigers. = inn of passengers) ‘hostelry’ Cf. Osm. TRS1. misafirhane, 17th century Osm. (Hazai, Hars.) müßafir (mussafer) < Ar.-P.

muhir (Muhir, een Zogel-ring of Wapen.) ‘seal, seal-ring; coat-of-arms’ Cf. Bul. mühr, Osm. mühr, vulgar mukur < P.

muvek (Murek, Inkt.) ‘ink’ Cf. KarK mürek, Tat. Dobr. mürek, Osm. murekab (= mürekab) < Ar.

naq (Nahak, die geen waerheit heeft. = one who is not right ‘unjust, unlawful’ Cf. Osm. na-haq vulgar na-haq ‘Unjust, iniquitous’ < P.-Ar.


33 See note 19.
nān (Nane, Eeten, Brood.) ‘food, bread’ Cf. Osm. nān < P.
nan-nemek (Nan nemek, Brood en Zout, oneigentlijk belofte. = bread and salt, figuratively promise) ‘bread and salt; (fig.) engagement, a promise in return for some good deed or favour’ Cf. Osm. Özön nan ü nemek ‘tuz ve ekmek (hakka)’, cf. also Osm. nemek (< Ar.) ‘Salt’; < P.-Ar.

nay (Nai, Speel-fluit.) ‘flute, (reed) whistle’ Cf. Osm. nay ‘The reed; A reed flute, a pipe’ < P.

ne ‘what?’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Qaw., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk Osm. ne; neden utürū (Neden uturu, om wat oorzaak?) ‘why, owing to what?’ Cf. CC, Tuhf., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. TRSI. neden, see also utürū; nèdèr? (Neder, wat is ‘t? ‘what is this (that)?’ Cf. KarH nèdir ‘kakoj, čto za’, Osm. TRSI. ne, nèdir

nè ḥā yè t (Nehajet, het einde, de bepaling. = the end, the determination) ‘end, finishing; finally’ Cf. Osm. nhāyet < Ar.

nè ḥè k (Nehek, een Rupze. = caterpillar) ?
n uγ a γ é (Nougaγè, nieuwe vlammen, of eigeentlijk negen vlammen, een zoort van Zwaerden. = new flames, or nine flames, an art of sword) ?
\[o^{35}\] ‘that, he (she)’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. TS o

o k (Ok, een Pyl.) ‘arrow’ Cf. CC oγ, Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk. oγ, Osm. TS ok

ol- ‘to be’ See a ș a-; Cf. Bul., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Osm. ol-


o n u t- ‘to forget’ Cf. 17th century Osm. (Hazai, Hars.) onut [Imperative] Cf. also CC, Tuhf., Idr., Tarj., Müh., Qaw., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Osm. TS unut-; onutma (Onoutma, vergeet niet.) ‘don’t forget’ Imperative, 2nd Person Sing., Negative (Prohibitive) Form


p a r m a q ‘finger’ See b a r m a q Cf. Tuhf., Crim.Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr. parmaq, Osm. parmak

p a ș a ‘pasha’\[56\] See D a u d; Cf. Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat. paşə, Osm. TS paşa

\[54\] The word final vowel (e = ē, ā) is most probably a case ending (–ə Acc.), or a Possessive ending denoting 3rd Person. It has hardly anything to do with the Osm. nāne ‘Peppermint, mentha piperita’ of Arabic origin.

\[55\] See note 19.

\[56\] As contemporary diplomas reveal, the title “paşə” was not in use in the Crimea (cf. Matuz 8).

(Phola, komt van daer. = comes from there) Perhaps the ending -a denotes a gerund which used to express present tense in the Kipchak languages. If “ph” denotes b, the verb-stem is *bol- ‘to be, become’ thus the reconstructed form would be *bola ‘he will be’ or perhaps ‘he will be here’, i.e. ‘he will come here, comes from there’. Thus the given Dutch meaning is also correct. Cf. CC, Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., K.-Balk. bol-; See also bul- I.

rab ~ rabb (Rab, Heere, God.) ‘gentleman, rich, God’ Cf. Osm. rebb, vulgar rabb, Osm. Özön Rabb, Rabbi ‘Tanri’ < Ar.


rāχeile (Rahelite, een Laft-beefit.) ‘pack-animal; camel’ Cf. Osm. Özön rahile ‘Yük hayvanı’ < Ar. ArRSl. rahlat ‘verchovaja verbljudica’

raχmān (Rahman, Barmhartig.) ‘merciful, all-forgiving’ Cf. Osm. rahman < Ar.

raχmei (Rachmet, Barmhertig.) ‘pietry, mercifulness’ Cf. Crim. Tat. raxmat ‘die Gnade’ KarK rahmetli, Nog. raxmet, Osm. rahmet < Ar.

raχ Qi (Raki, Brandewyn.) ‘brandy’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK raqî, KarH raki, Tat. Dobr. raqi, Osm. raqı < Ar.

ramən a (Ramefan aï, de Maend Ramefan, de negende in rang, op welk zy de groote Valten houden. = the month of Ramefan, ninth in order, when the big fast is observed) ‘the ninth lunar month, the time of fasting’ Cf. Osm. rəməzən [= reməzən] < Ar.

reχeb a ya (Regieb aï, de Maend Regieb, de zevende in rang. = the month of Regieb, the ninth in order) ‘the seventh lunar month’ Cf. Osm. rejeb [rəjb] < Ar.

sabun (Saboun, Zeep.) ‘soap’ Cf. KarK, Osm. sabun < Ar.

saburlig (Sabburluk, lankmoedigheid.) ‘patience’ Cf. CC saburlux, saburlug, Crim. Tat. sabur ‘die Geduld’ KarK saburlig

sadəq (Sfadik, volmaakt, oprecht, waerachtig. = perfect, real, true) ‘true, sincere, faithful’ Cf. KarT sadəq ‘spravedlivyj; pravednyj’, Osm. sadiq < Ar.

sagir (Sagir, Doof.) ‘deaf’ Cf. Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., KarK, Nog. sayir, Osm. TS suğır

sagri (Segryn Leer.)’ saffian, donkey-leather’ CC sauvr, savry ‘Leder’, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Osm. sārgyz ‘The rump of man or beast; The stout leather made from the rump of a beast’, Chag. R. IV, 276 sauvr

67 The second syllable of both the Arabic and the Turkish word is short in Redhouse: rəχət (a = ə).

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s a l i x (Salih, een die vroom, goedertieren, vredezam. = simple, patient, forbearing) 'meek, peaceful, patient' Cf. Osm. salıh < Ar.

s a m a n (Sfaman, Stroo, Voeder.) 'straw; fodder' Cf. Tarj., Tuhf. (Trkm. dialect), Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. saman

s a m u r (Samour, Zabel-bond. = sable-fur) 'sable, sable-fur' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK samur, Osm. semur vulgar samur 'The sable ... ; also its fur' < P.

s a n d u q (Sanduk, een Kift of Koffer. = chest or trunk) 'chest, trunk, suitcase' Cf. Crim. Tat. sandîq, KarK sanduq, Osm. sanduq vulgar sanduq < Ar

s a r i q (Sarik, een Tulband.) 'turban' Cf. KarK, Tat. Dobr. sariq, Osm. TS sarık

s a r u m s a q (Sarumsak, Look.) 'garlic' Cf. Idr., Tarj. (sarymsak), Müh., Bul., Crim. Tat., Osm. R. IV, 326 sarımsaq, KarK sarımsaq, 16—17th century Osm. sarumsak (Kakuch, Recherches 353)

s a t- 'to sell, sale' See j a n; Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. TS sat-

s a t i r (Sfatir, een regel.) 'row' Cf. KarK satır 'stroka, stročka', Osm. TS satır < Ar.

s a y- 'to count' Cf. Tuhf., Qaw., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Crim. Tat., Osm. say-; say aqçaı (Sai aktgai,58 teld Geld.) 'count the money, ? pay!'

s a y s i s (< sayışıs) (Saiış, ontelbaer.) 'innumerable' Cf. KarK sayı 'ščet', Osm. TS sayısz

s a z (1692 Szaz, een moeras. 1705, 1785 id.) 'marsh, bog' Cf. CC, Idr. (saz 'Orman'), Tarj., Kar, Tat. Dobr., Nog. saz

s ä d ä f (Sfadâf, Schelpen. = shell, cockle-shell) 'pearl' Cf. CC sadaf 'Raute', Crim. Tat. Osm. R. IV, 485 sădâf 'die Raute (Pflanze); Perlmutter', KarK sedef 'perlmutr' < Ar.

s e k i s (Sekis, Acht.) 'eight' Cf. CC segiz, sekizinči, Idr., Tarj. (sâköz), Müh., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. TS sekiz

s e l ä m (Selam, Heil.) 'peace, health, salvation; greeting' Cf. Crim. Tat. sâlam, Tat. Dobr. selam, Osm. selâm < Ar.

s e l ä m e t (Selamet, Vrede, vrede-welch, greetinge. = peace, peace wishing, greeting) 'prosperity, welfare, luck, health' Cf. Osm. selëmet < Ar.

s e m i s (Semis, Vet.) 'fat, fattened' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. TS semiz


s e r â n (Serân, haeften. = hurry) ?

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58 Correctly: aktgai (aqçaı, Acc.).
sermäya ~ sermäyä (Sermaja, Have of Goed, dat iemand heef om te handelen. = wealth, what somebody has to do business in it) ‘property, wealth, capital’ Cf. KarK sermiye, Osm. ser-mäye < P.

se vâde (Seude, magtig, uitmuntende. = big, outstanding, excellent) ‘big, eminent’ Cf. Osm. Öözön suada ‘Kutlu kimeseler’ suud ‘Yukarı çıkmca’ < Ar.

sev ~ sew- ‘to love’ Cf. CC, Idr. sev-, Tarj. saw-, Qaw. saw-, Crim. Tat. saw-, Crim. Tat. Jansky 95 sew- (= sev-), KarK sev- (sew-), Osm. TS sevme-k; severum (Severum, ik beminne. = I love) Aoristos, 1st Person, Sing.; sevme-züm (Sevmezüm, ik beminne niet. = I don’t love) Aoristos, Negative form, 1st Person Singular

siyaset (Siaset, gebied, geweldige heerluchty en onderwerping. = territory, forcible regime and subjugation) ‘direction, governing, opression’ Cf. Osm. suyăset < Ar.


sişçe (Sirdgie, Glas.) ‘glass, drinking-glass’ Cf. Idr., Bul. sırça, Müh., Tarj. sırçâ, Tuhf. sırça, Osm. TS sırça ‘Cam’


sirmâ (Sirma, fijn Goud of Zilver-draed.) ‘golden or silver thread’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. sirma, Osm. TS sirma

sirva (Sirva, Gomme. = rosin, resin (gum), mucilage) ?


su (1692 Su, water. 1705, 1785 id.) ‘water’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., Osm. TS su

sûha (Suha Pompenen, ook een aert van Kawourden.59 = marrow or a sort of melon) ?

sûla (1692 Sula, haver. 1705, 1785 id.) ‘oats’ Cf. Osm. sula ‘The aloe; aloes’

59 The correct letter in place of r is probably n, resulting in the word Kawoun (= gawon, see gayn) ‘musk-melon’.

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s u l è χ (Suleh, Vrede, bevrediging. = peace, reconciliation) ‘peace’ Osm. sul-h ‘Peace’ < Ar.
s u r e t (Souret, een Beeltenis, afbeelding.) ‘picture, form’ Cf. CC, Crim. Tat. M-K, Osm. TS suret < Ar.
s u s a r (1692 Cusur, een marter-dier. 1705, 1785 id.) ‘beech marten, marten’ Cf. CC sasvar (sasur) ‘Marder und dessen Fell’, Tarj. sausar, K.-Balk., Kkp. savasar, Chag. Tat. Kzk. R. IV, 782 susar ‘der Marder’ < P.
s u r u n– ‘to drag oneself along, slide’ Cf. Crim. Tat. Osm. R. IV, 817 sûrûn–, KarK sûrûn–; sûrûnûr (Surunour, men fleept, of men trekt. = drag or draw) Aoristos, 1st Person Sing.
š a b a n (Sciaban, de achtste Maend. = the eighth month) ‘sha’ban (the eighth month of the Muslim lunar year)’ Cf. Nog. šaban, Osm. TS şaban < Ar.
š a l γ a n (Scialgan, een Raep.) ‘turnip’ Cf. CC şalyam (salghan), Idr., Tuhf., Qaw. (šalqam), Dur., Crim. Tat. şalyam, Osm. shalqam, šor, qača R. IV, 964 şalqan (šalqan) < P.
š e k’ e r (Seekjer, Zuiker.) ‘sugar’ Cf. CC, KarK, Tat. Dobr. šeker, Osm. TS seker < P.; šekerde 60 aš talî olour (Sekjerde ascitati olour, gezuikerde Spys zal zoet zijn, of word zoet. = sugared food must be sweet, or will be sweet) š e m (Sceem, een Kaers.) ‘wax, candle’ Cf. Osm. šem’ ‘Wax, beeswax; Wax-candles, wax tapers’ < Ar.
š e m d ā l (Scemdal, een Kandelaer.) ‘candlestick’ Cf. KarK, šamdan, Tat. Dobr. şemdan, Osm. Özön şem’dan < P.
š i š e (Sciffe, Glaze Koppen.) ‘bottle, glass’ Cf. CC, KarK, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr. šiše, Osm. TS şışe
š u k’ e r (Scukjer, dankzegging, God zy gedankt.) ‘thanks, thanks to God’ Cf. CC śügür, Arm.-Kipch. šukur, KarK şükür, Tat. Dobr. šukur, Nog. şükir, Osm. shukr (= šukr), vulgar shukyur (= šükür) < Ar.
t a b a q (Thabak, een Kom of Schotel.) ‘dish, plate’ Cf. CC tabaq, Crim. Tat. M-K tabaq ‘list’, Tat. Dobr., Nog. tabaq, Osm. TS tabak < Ar.
t a b e (Thabe, een Zegel-ring.) ‘seal-ring’ Cf. Osm. tābî ‘A seal or stamp used for imprinting’, Osm. Develičlu tabî ‘mühür, damga, basma’ < Ar.
t a b e y e t (Thabēet, Nature.) ‘nature’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK tabiyat, Nog. tabiat, Osm. tabî’at (= tābi’ot) < Ar.

60 The full and regular form must have been (Sekjerden) šek’erden, or the Abl. ending may have been -de.
61 The Dutch meaning only refers to the word alim, see a l i m.

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t a b i b (Thabib, Genees-meester. = healing-master) ‘physicien’ Cf. Osm. tabib < Ar.


 t a l a b (Thalab, eichf, begeerte, verzoek.) ‘complaint, wish, request’ Cf. Crim. Tat. talap, Tat. Dobr. talap, Nog. talap, Osm. taleb < Ar.; talabler (Thalaber,62 verzoeken, begeeren. = requests, wishes) Plural

t a l a q (Talak, eichf, beede. = claim, demand, request) ‘divorce, dissolving a marriage’ Cf. Nog. talaq ‘razvod, rastorzenie braka’, Osm. talāq < Ar.

tā lī (Thali, Geluk.) ‘luck’ Cf. Osm. Özön tali ‘Kismet. Talih’ < Ar.

 t a l ə q a n (Thalkan of dalkan, zeker Spys der Tartaren. = a certain meal of the Tartars) ‘toasted millet, barley or corn meal, from which a meal (mush) with milk is prepared’ Cf. Mūh. talkan, Crim. Tat. EČel. tālqān ‘qawrulmās dari unī’, Tat. Dobr. talağin, Nog. talağan, Tat. Kzk. Teleut etc. R. III, 889 talağ

t a m a q (Thamak, het verhemelte van de mond. = roof of the mouth) ‘palate, throat, pharynx’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf. (tamaksav ‘obur’), Tarj., Mūh., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr. tamaq, Osm. tamaq vulgar damaq

t a m ā m (Tamām, Volmaekt, geheel.) ‘perfect, full, whole’ Cf. CC, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. tamam, Osm. temām vulgar tamam < Ar.

 t a m b u r (Thambur, Rinkel-trom. = rattling drum) ‘any oriental string instrument’ Cf. Nog. Osm. TS tambur < Ar.; tamburler (Thambourler, Rinkel-trommen.) Plural

 t a p- ‘to adore, venerate; serve’ Cf. Tarj. tabu, tabu āt- ‘dienen’, Osm. TS tapmak; tapar (Thapar, hy heeff aengebeden, of bid aen. = adored or adores) ‘he (she) adores it’ Aoristos, 3rd Person Sing.; taparmēsin (Thaparmēsīn, zult gy aen bidden? = will you adore it?) Aoristos, Interrogative 2nd Person Sing.; taparum (Thoparrum, ik bidde aen. = I adore) Aoristos, 1st Person Sing.; tapum (Thapum, ik heb aengebeden, Godsdiensstige eere bewezen. = I adored, paid religious respect) Definite past tense, 1st Person Sing.; tapurumēsin (Thapurumesisīn,63 zult gy hem doen doen aenbidden. = will you make them adore him ?) The causative form of verb tap- in Aorist and Interrogative, 2nd Person Singular

 t a r a q (Tarak, een Kam.) ‘comb’ Cf. Idr., Tarj., Mūh., Tuhf., Qaw. (taraqṣī), KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. taraq, Osm. TS tarak; taraqler (Tharakler, Kammen.) Plural.

 t a r i (1692 Tari, milie. = millet; 1705, 1785 id.; Thari of dari, een Zaed tuffchen Geers en Linzen. = a seed (in size) between barley and lentil) ‘millet’ Cf. CC tary (tari) ‘Hirse’, Idr., Tarj., Tuhf., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. tari

62 l after b must have been omitted by mistake. The complete form is Thalabler.
63 s in place of r must be a lapsus calami.

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tā rī ~ dāri (Thāri, die weg werpt, verwerpt, verfpilt. = he who throws, fiddles, trifles something away) ? See also dā ra dū n ya a

tā ra t 'to weigh, measure' Cf. CC tārt- 'ziehen, zerren', Idr., Tarj., Mūh., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. tārt-; tārt[up] al (Thart al, 64 weegt en neemt, 65 = weigh and take it away) 'weigh and take it', see also al-; tārt (Tart, weept.) 66 'weigh' Imperative mood, 2nd Person Singular

tā rē tē ~ tārtī (Thart, 67 gewichte, de zwarte,) 'weight' Cf. Idr. tārtu, Osm. tārtu, tarts 'The weight of an object'

tā rī tu m (Thartum, verwerpen, veracht. = depraved, disdained) ?


tā tā r (Thatar, Tartaer.) 'Tatar' Cf. CC, Idr., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr. tātar, Osm. tātār

tā tīlī 'sweet' Cf. CC tātīly (tatli, tatle), Idr., Tarj., Tuhf. tātu, Qaw., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr. tālī, Osm. TS tālī; tālīdūr (Tadhīdūr, het is zoet. = it is sweet) See also sī k'ē r

tā y q (Thāouk, een Henne.) 'pullet, hen' Cf. CC tawuq (tauc) 'Huhn, Hahn, Henne', Tuhf., Dur., Qaw. tawuq, Arm.-Kipch. tawuq, Crim. Tat. M-K tawuq, KarK, Tat. Dobr. tawuq, 17th century Osm. (Hazai, Hars.) tawuk (Németh, Illésh.) tawuk

tā y s a n (Tausčian, een Haes.) 'hare' Cf. Tarj., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat. M-K tawšān, KarK, Nog. dialect tawšan, 17th century Osm. (Németh, Illésh.) tawšan

tā wē 'frying-pan, baking pan' See tā bē Cf. Tuhf. tawa, Crim. Tat. tawa, KarK tawa, Tat. Dobr., Osm. TS tava < P.

tā y (1692 Tai, een hinde. = hind; 1692 Tai, een volen. = foal; 1705, 1785 Tai, een Hinde of Veulen. = hind or foal; 1705, 1785 Thāi, een Veulen van een Paerd. = foal of a horse) 'foal' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Mūh., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. tay

tā y a q (? ) See tū y a q

tā y i ~ tā y i n (tāi is twift, of oorlog. = discord or war; The full data see at jā y s.) 'enemy; hostility, war' Cf. Chag. R. III, 1621 dayin 'der Feind' < Mongol

tē k'ē (Tekje, een fteunzel. = brace) ?

64 The juxtaposition of verb stems is wrong in this case. Originally probably: Thartup al: cf. aluq g'el (al-).

63 If it is taken as a polite imperative form, the Dutch translation may refer to the singular. (Communication by Erzsébet Mollay.)

66 See note 65.

67 We may assume that originally the word ended with a velar reduced sound, which was omitted during recording or copying. The correct item would be Tharte or Tharti.

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telik (Telik, een gat.) 'opening, gap' Cf. Idr., Bul. tälik ~ dälik, TuHF.
telik, Osm. TS delik
temir (Temir, Yzer.) 'iron' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., MüH., TuHF., Qaw., Arm.-
tepę See depe
tesbiχ (Tesbiχ, gemeenlijk Pater-nooster, een keten Coralen. = common
beads, chain of coral 'beads,' rosary' Cf. KarK tesbe, tespi, tespiy 'četki', Osm.
tesbiχ < Ar.
tilkë (Tilkje, of Ulbı, een Vos.) 'fox' Cf. Dur. tilkë, Crim. Tat. M-K,
Osm. TS tilki, KarK til'ki, Tat. Dobr. tilki; See also tilkë
	iwe (1692 Tıwe, een kameel. 1705, 1785 id.) 'camel' Cf. MüH. teveci
'deveci', TuHF. teve 'deva', KarH teve, KarT t'ev'da, KarK deve, Osm.
TS deve
tırnag (Thirmak, Nagel.) 'nail, claw' Cf. CC tyrmaq 'Nagel', Idr. Tarj.,
tırnag, Osm. TS turnak. See also turnaq; tırnagler (Thirmakler, Nagels.) Plural
tıyaq See tuıyaq
tıprag (ıpaprak, Hof-aerde. = soil of garden) 'earth; ground' Cf.
CC, Idr., Tarj., MüH., Bul., TuHF., Qaw. toprag, Arm.-Kipch. toprag, Crim. Tat.
KarK, Tat. Dobr. toprag, Osm. TS toprag
tırnı See turna
tıyümę See tuıyumę
tıra (Thourna of thorna, een Reiger.) 'crane' Cf. CC, Idr.
Tarj., MüH., Bul., TuHF., Qaw., Dur., KarK, Nog., K.-Balk., Osm. TS turna
tıranag 'nail, claw' A variant of tırnag; turnagler (Thirmakler, Nagels.)
Plural
tıyaq ~ toyaq ~ tıyaq (?) (Thojak of Thajak, klauwen van Paerd of
Olle. = hoofs of a horse or horned cattle) 'hoof' Cf. Idr. tıyaq, Tarj. tuınak,
KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., K.-Balk. tıyaq
tılk'ë (ılk'ë (Tukjerük, ıpekzel. 'saliva, spittle, spitting' Cf. CC, Idr.,
MüH. tükür, TuHF. tükürük, KarT t’ük’ür’ük, Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal 220 tükürüğün,
Nog. tükırık, Osm. TS tükürük
tılkı (1692 Ulbı, 68 een vos. 1705, 1785 Tılke of Ulbı, een Vos.) 'fox' Cf
CC, Idr., Tarj., MüH., TuHF. tilkë, Nog. tilki, Uig. Chag. R. III, 1570 tılki;
See also tılkë
tıyumę ~ tıyumę 69 (Tojume, een Knoop van een Kleed. = button of
clothing) 'button' Cf. TuHF. tıyme, Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal 243 tıyme, Nog. tıyme,
K.-Balk. tıyme, Osm. düğme

68 Correctly: Tulci.
69 As relevant data from cognate languages bear out, the vowel of the second
syllable was only later interpolated. The sonor -y- may also have effected its formation.
It is shorter than the rest of the sounds.

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u č m a χ (1692 Sīmak,⁷⁰ het paradys. 1705, 1785 id.) ‘Paradise’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf. učmaq, Arm.-Kipch. učmaq, KarK učmaq, Osm. TS učmak

ù l- ‘to die, perish’ Cf. Tat. and the Altai Turkic languages R. I, 1845 úl-in other related languages: ól- ~ ûl-; ûl (Uyl, sterfl. = die!) Imperative mood, 2nd Person Sing.; ûlûrsin (Uylûrsin, gy zult ûterven. = you will die) Aorist, 2nd Person Singular

ù m è r (Umer, levens tyd. = the time of life) ‘life’ Cf. KarK, Tat. Dobr. ömîr ~ ömûr, Nog. ömîr < Ar.

ù t m à k (1692 Utman,⁷¹ broot. 1705, 1785 Utman, Brood.) ‘bread’ Cf. CC ötemek, Tuhf., Dur. ötmak, Arm.-Kipch. otmak, Crim. Tat. M-K ötemek, KarK ötemek, Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal 65, 78, 197 ötemegi [otmek], Uig. Chag. R. I, 1275 ötmâk

ù t ù r ù ‘because of, owing to, for (postposition)’ See n e; Cf. CC útru, Arm.-Kipch. Vásáry útrû, KarK ötrû, Osm. R. I, 1266 ötûrû

v e r- ‘to give’ Cf. Crim. Tat. wûr-, KarK ver-, Tat. Dobr. ver-, Osm. R. IV, 1967 wûr-; verdûm (Verdum, ik hebbe gegeven. = I gave) Definite Past Tense, 1st Person Sing., cf. 17th century Osm. verdûm (Nêmeth, Illésh.); vermedûm (Vermedum, ik hebbe niet gegeven. I did not give) Definite Past Tense, Negative Form, 1st Person Sing., cf. 17th Osm. ver-medûn, ver-medük (Hazai, Hars.); verûr (See j a n, jan verûr) Aorist, 3rd Person Sing.; verûrum (Verrûrûm,⁷²) ik geve of zal geven. = I give or I shall give) Aorist, 1st Person Sing., cf. 17th century Osm. verurum (Nêmeth, Illésh.), ver-ûr (Hazai, Hars.).

vî lâ y e t (Villajet,⁷³ Landfchap of Provincie. = region, country) ‘vila-yet, country’ Cf. Osm. vilayet < Ar.; vilâyetler (Villajetter, Landfchappen.) Plural

w a r-, warmaq (Warmak, gaen, komen, tegenwoordigzijn. = to go, come, be present) ‘to go, arrive’ Cf. Idr. var-, Crim. Tat. R. IV 1958 var-, Osm. TS varmak; war (War, gaet.) ‘go’ Imperative, 2nd Person Sing.; waralûm (Waralûm, of waerân, laat ons gaen. = let us go) Optativus, 1st Person Plural, cf. 17th century Osm. var-ûlûm (Hazai, Hars.); waramam (?) ~ warmaq (Warramam, ik zeude daer niet gaen. = I wouldn’t go there) ‘I cannot go (there), ? I shall not go’; warayq ~ warayık (See waralûm) Optativus, 1st Person Plural; wardûm (Wardûm, ik heb daer geweef. = I was there) Definite

⁷⁰ It probably came about by misspelling *Tsmak (êmaq < uêmaq < ućmaq- ‘Paradise’. The strong reduction, even omission, of the initial unstressed vowel is a well-known phenomenon (cf. RâsLautg. 53–54).

⁷¹ n in place of k must be a lapsus calami or a mistake of the copyist.

⁷² z is mistakenly exchanged for r.

⁷³ Similarly an unnecessary double letter can be found in case of r and l of certain words. Perhaps, the person who put down the text heard them longer, than the laterals of his own language.
Past Tense, 1st Person Sing.: *warmadum* (*Warmadum*, ik heb daer niet geweet. = I wasn’t there) Definite Past Tense, Negative Form, 1st Person Sing.; *warmazum* (*Warmaffum*, ik zael niet gaen. = I shall not go) Aorist, Negative Form, 1st Person Sing.; *warurmêsín* (*Warrurmefin*, zult gy gaen, of daer komen? = you will go or you will come there) Aorist, Interrogative, 2nd Person Sing., cf. 17th century Osm. *var-ur* (Hazai, Hars.); *warummis* (*Warrumis*, wy zullen gaen of komen. = we shall go or come) Aorist, 1st Person Plural; *warurum Warrurum*, ik zal gaen. = I shall go) Aorist, 1st Person Singular

* Wa r uv l (Waroul, een Ton, Vat. = barrel, vessel) ‘barrel’ Cf. Osm. R. IV, 1958 varil ‘die Tonne’ < French baril

* Y a γ (Jag, Vet, iets dat in ‘t gemeen vetachtig is. = fat, something which is generally greasy) ‘fat, oil’ Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Tarj., Bul., Tuhf., Dur. yag, Qaw. yag, Crimean Tat. jayfi, Crimean Tat. M-K, KarK yag, Tat. Dobr. yajli, Osm. yagh

* Y a γ m u r (Jaghmour, Regen.) ‘rain’ Idr., Tarj., Bul., Qaw., KarK yaghmur, Osm. TS yagher

* Y a q i n (Jakin, naby.) ‘near(by)’ Cf. Idr., Tarj., Tuhf., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. dialect yahin, Osm. yagh

* Y a q u t (Jakout, een Rubin.) ‘precious stone, ruby’ Cf. CC jaqut, KarK, Nog., Kumyk yagut, Osm. yagh < Ar.

* Y a r a q74 ‘suitable, fit, instrument, weapon; possibility; necessary preparation’ Cf. Idr. yaraqla- ‘silahlandirmak’, Tarj. jarakla- ‘sich waffnen’, Tuhf. yarak, Arm.-Kipch. jaray, 17th century Osm. yarak ‘Waffe’ (Németh, Illésh.), jarak ‘Gerät; Waffe’ (Hazai, Hars.), Chag. Uig. R. III, 105 yaraq

* Y a r a m a s (Jaramas, quaed. = annoyed, wrathful) ‘worthless, good-for-nothing’ Cf. CC jaramaz ‘abscheulich’, Crimean Tat. yaramazliq, Tat. Dobr., KarK, Osm. TS yaramaz

* Y a s τ i q (Jazdik, een Kuffen.) ‘pillow’ Cf. CC jastuq, Idr., Tarj. jastuk [ystiq], Mühl., Tuhf., Qaw., Crimean Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. Kumyk yastiq, Osm. TS yastik

* Y a $ (Jafc, vochtig.) ‘tear; moisture’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Mühl., Tuhf., Qaw., Crimean Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk yaš, Osm. TS yas; yaš yüzde uğar (Jafc jusde akar, de tranen loopen uit de oogen. = tears drop from the eyes) ‘tears flow on the face’

* Y a w é (Jawe, verlies, iets dat gemi t word. = loss, something we miss) ‘the lost, vanished thing’ Cf. Osm. yamu, yamu ‘Lost; Astray ... ’, Chag. R. III 293 yamu ‘verloren, verschwunden’ P.

* Y a w u r t (Jawourd, Dikke-melk.) ‘yogurt’ Cf. Tuhf. yawurt, Idr., Tarj., Bul., Qaw., Dur. yagurt, Osm. yoghurt

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74 See note 19.
y a y (Jai, een Boog.) 'bow' Cf. CC ja, jaa, Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK Nog., Osm. yay
y e- 'to eat'; (fig.) to get, endure' (See ğ a m) Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch. Vásáry, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Nog. ye- ~ yē-, Osm. TS yemek
y e d i (Jedi, seven.) 'seven' Cf. Idr. yōdī, Tuhf., KarK, Osm. TS yedi. Tat. Dobr. yedi
y ĝ' l i k (Jeighlik, Schoonheit. = beauty) 'superiority, advantage' Cf. Osm. yē 'Better; best; preferable', Osm. TS yeğlik 'Bir şeyin başkaları arasındaki üstün sayılması, rūğhan'
y e m i n (Jemin, een Eed.) 'oath' Cf. Crim. Tat. yēmin, KarK yemin, Osm. yēmin < Ar.
y e m i ś (Jemisć, Fruit-vrucht.) 'fruit' Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf., Dur., KarT yemisć ~ yāminı, Osm. TS yemış; yemisler (Jemisler, Vruchten.) Plural
y e m u r t a 77 (Jemourta, een Ey, en Eyeren. = an egg, eggs) 'egg' Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K yumurta, KarK yimırtıa, yumırtıa, yumurta, Nog. yumırtqa, Osm. TS yumurta
y e ś i l (Jefcil, groen.) 'green' Cf. CC jašıl, Müh. yešıl, Qaw., Crim. Tat. yāsıl, KarK yeşil', Tat. Dobr. yešil, Osm. TS yešıl
y e t m i ś (Jemisć, zeventig.) 'seventy' Cf. Idr., Bul., Tuhf., KarT, Tat Dobr. yemisć yāmış, Osm. TS yemisć
y o q (Jok, neen of niet. = no or not) 'no, there is not (Negative Form of the Predicate var)' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat. KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk yeq, Osm. TS yok
y o r γ a n (Jorgan, een Deken.) 'coverlet' Cf. CC jovuryan[yourgan], Idr., Tarj. (Jorgan), Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. yoryan, Osm. TS yorgan
y ĝ ō g à n ~ yöyan (Jojan of jogan,78 een gebid, eigentlijk het mond tuk van 't gebid. = curb-bit, in fact the part of the curb in the mouth) 'curb-bit,
bridle' Cf. CC jügen [yugan], Dur. jügän (jükän), KarK yügen, RNc_8 S1. yüwen Tat. TRS1. yögän, Behk. yügün, KzK. RKzkS1. jügen

y o y a n s. y o g a n

y ü s I. ~ yüz⁷⁹ 'face' See ag̣; Cf. CC jüz, Idr., Tarj., Müh., TuHF., Qaw yüz, Arm.-Kipch. Vásáry juz, Crim. Tat., KarK, Nog., Kumyk yüz ~ yüz, Osm. TS yüz


z a l i m (Dsafim, geweldig, onrechtvaardig, godloos. = aggressive, un-lawful, unjust, godless) 'aggressive, unjust, despotic, cruel' Cf. Crim. Tat. zalim. zalim, Tat. Dobr. zalim, Nog. zalim, Kumyk Osm. TS zalim < Ar.

z a m a n 'time' Cf. CC zaman, Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat., Dobr., Nog., Osm. TS zaman < Ar.; her zaman (Herfamán, altyd.) 'always, continually'

z a r a r (Sarar, schade, nadeel, verlies. = damage, loss) 'trouble, damage, loss, injury' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. TS zarar < Ar.

z e m a n 'time' Cf. Tat. Dobr. zeman, Osm. zeman < Ar.; zeman dyl (Seman delyl, 't is de tyd niet. = its time has not come yet); zemandw (Seman dur, 't is de tyd, of daer is de tyd. = it is time, its time is here); zemani yoq (Semanî jok, daer is geen tyd. = he (she) has no time); zemanler (Semanler, Tyden.) Plural

z e m a n s i s (Semanfis, zonder Tyd. = without time) 'not in time, before its time, untimely' Cf. Nog. zamansiz, Osm. zemansiz

z e m z e m (Cemcem, een Put die te Mecca is. = a well, which is in Mecca) 'the name of a sacred spring (well) in Mecca' Cf. Tat. Dobr. zemzem, Nog. Zemzem, Osm. zemzem, zemzam 'A well in the court of the Cubical House at Mecca' < Ar.

z e n i l (Sengil, magtig. = mighty) 'rich' Cf. KarK zengillik, Crim. Tat. zängin, KarK, Osm. TS zengin, Tat. Dobr. zengin < P.

z e r d e e 'a meal made of rice and saffron' See q a r a b o y d a y; Cf. Crim. Tat. Osm. R. IV, 892 zärda 'Suppe aus Reis und Safran' < P.

z e r d e l i ～ zerdâli⁸¹ (Serdegi of jerdelou, geelachtig, geel verwe. = yellowy, yellow colours) 'apricot' Cf. Qaw. zärda, Dur. zärda, Crim. Tat. zärda, KarK zerdêli, Tat. Dobr. zerdali, Osm. zerdâli, (P.) zerd-ülâ 'The wild apricot, prunus armeniaca' < P.

⁷⁹ As -z > -s is regular in the glossary, it is appropriate to reconstruct -s here. In a voiced context it becomes -z again, of course: e.g. yüzde, Yüz yaravən... See also yüs II.

⁸⁰ See note 19.

⁸¹ In view of similar double forms, one may assume the alternation of the suffix -li and -lu here. Thus g in the first item (Serdêli) is incorrect for l.
zerdelû See zerdeli
zerdelû (Cerdleu, Zaed als Gort. = grains similar to the pearl-barley like) Probably its stem is zerde, see there.

zewk (Ceuk, genoegen, vrolijkheid. = content, gaiety) ‘pleasure, gladness, jollity’ Cf. Crim. Tat. z̠awk, Tat. Dobr. zevq, Osm. TS zevk < Ar.; zewkler (Ceukler, vrolijkheden, vermakingen. = gaieties, amusements) Plural

zirar (D지원r, Icherepe Iteenen, met welke zy dorfehen. = sharp-edged stones used for threshing) ‘sharp-edged stones for threshing or grinding’ Cf. Osm. zurer ‘Sharp-edged stones’ < Ar.

ziyafet (Sijafet, Gaft-mael.) ‘rich repast, feast’ Cf. KarK ziyafet ‘pir, ugoščenie’, Osm. TS ziyafet < Ar.


ziyan II. (Dsijan, wilde Jasmin. = wild jasmin) ‘darnel’ Cf. Osm. zi'an ‘Darnel, lolium temulentum’ < Ar.


zorna See zorna

zorisis (Dsorisi, zonder onrecht, zonder bedrog. = without unlawfulness, without cheating) ‘without difficulties, without violence’ See zor


zurlemek (?) ~ zorlamaq (?) ‘to command (army)’ Cf. Osm. TRS1. zorlamak ‘forsirovat’”, Crim. Tat. M-K zorlamaq ‘nastaivat’”; Perhaps a derivate of the verb sër- ‘to lead, direct’ cf. Arm.-Kipch. sur- ‘to drive (among)’, Osm. TS sürmek ‘Yönetip yürütmek’

zurna ~ zorna (Dsorna, een Trompet. = trumpet) ‘zurna (a primitive double-reed instrument played with a drum in folk music), clarinet’ Cf. Tuhf. zurnay, Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Nog., Osm. zurna < P.

At the end of the glossary (p. 583, 2nd ed.) one can find the following fragment of a poem:

Bou dari dunja bir Mussaphir Chandur
Juz jaragin Kilmajan o bir divandur.

Its Dutch translation:

Deze Waereld is een Herberg der Reizigers;
Hy is dwaes die zich van Reïs-tuig niet voorziet.
Its English translation:

This transitory world is just a hostel
He who does not provide himself with travelling utensils is a fool.

The reconstructed text:

*Bu dârı dünyâ bir musafırandur,*
*Yüz yarayın gilmayan o bir divandur.*

**Abbreviations**

Abbreviations with initial capital letters and names following the abbreviations of languages are bibliographic references whose explanation is to be found in the Bibliography.

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<td>Tat.</td>
<td>Tatar, see TatRSI.</td>
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<td>Tat.Dobr.</td>
<td>Tatar of Dobrudja, see Zającowski</td>
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<td>Trkm.</td>
<td>Turkmen</td>
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<td>Uig.</td>
<td>Uighur, see R.</td>
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<td>Plur.</td>
<td>Plural</td>
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