

A CRIMEAN TURKIC-TATAR GLOSSARY FROM THE 17th CENTURY

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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 copperplate 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,⁴ 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.⁵

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.⁶

The book, an impressive venture both for its size and influence, is actually a compilation with the seams showing quite distinctly.⁷ 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 'Moscovite' empire.⁸

According to *Bartens*, the first edition (1692) testifies to a considerable rise in knowledge as compared to the preceding works.⁹ 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-

⁴ Doerfer, *Ältere . . .*; 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.*

⁹ *Op. cit.* 414—415.

quired since the first edition. The second edition was thus considerably revised and enlarged, also including fuller linguistic samples.¹⁰

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.¹¹ Among his sources, he often mentions the works of foreign travellers as well, first being an English writer called *Rykant*.¹² Two pages later he uses the 'papers' of an employee of the British army ("krygs-beampte") in captivity among the Crimean Tatars around 1620.¹³ When describing the Crimean peninsula, he returns to this source again.¹⁴ 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*".¹⁵ On page 394 of the first edition, he also names a Dane ("Duitsch") who was employed in Moscow. Other possible sources are *Purcha's* collection

¹⁰ See note 9.

¹¹ Witsen 1692, p. 73 : "Added to this were the reports by Dutchmen who were staying in Peking, Hoksiö and other places, and the various unpublished travel journals written in these regions, including the ones about Tataria itself, that is, Astrakan, 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 Mugalia, Kalmakia, Altin, Siberia, Samoedia . . ." (All translation from Dutch has been rendered by Erzsébet Mollay.)

¹² Witsen 1692, 387.

¹³ Witsen 1692, 389; Adelung I, 34.

¹⁴ "Volgh zeker bericht, op het lantschap Crim . . . getogen uit een verhael terneuder gestelt wel eer by zeker Engelsch kryghs-beampte, die onder de Crimsche Tarter gevangen is geweest, omtrent den jare zeftien hondert twintigh."

¹⁵ "Volgh eenigh bericht op het Crims Tartaryen, genomen uit den Franschen 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),¹⁶ and the travel accounts of *Josafa (Giosafa) Barbaro* (1436),¹⁷ *John Smith* (1593)¹⁸ and *Ferrand* (around 1650).¹⁹

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.²⁰ 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 Tatars — who had a good command of the Kazan and Crimean Tatar, and the Ottoman Turkish languages.²¹

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.²² Only those people knew it who had access to Tatar or Ottoman Turkish diplomas.

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.²³

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 (Cyrillic) texts according to a then used system of European transliteration. These questions are elaborated in the following section of the present paper.

¹⁶ Samuel Purcha, *The Pilgrimes . . .* London 1613 ; 1625—26.

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.

¹⁸ Travels in Europe, Asia, Africa and America . . . London 1630 ; In : *Collection of Voyages of John Churchill*. London, I—II, 1704 ; 1752.

¹⁹ Relation du Sieur Ferrand, Médecin du Kan des Tartares, Touchant la Krimée, les Tartares Nogais, et se qui se passe au Serrail du dit Kan. In : *Receuil des Voyages au Nord*, t. IV, p. 526—534.

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 I'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.²⁴ 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.²⁵ 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.

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.²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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 ā, variant of /e/, *išlä-* (-*ifla-*), *sädäf* (*Sfadaf*), cf. CC “a” = e (ā), *Grönb.* 14 : Crim. Tat. “Otamas” = *Ötämäs*, *Kuun* 1873, 52 ; Maggio’s Osm. material occasionally has “a” = ā, (*Kenessey* 61).

aa ā *arzehäl* (*Arsehaal*) 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 Grönbech took this as his starting point when analyzing the CC (Grönbech. 11).

²⁷ Cf. Grönbech. 11 ; Similar material : CC ; Maggio ; Németh, *Illésh.* ; Hazai, *Hars.*, etc.

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c /z/ *Zemzem* (*Cemcem*), *zewk* (*Ceuk*)

q goy (*Coi*), Likewise CC *Grönb.* 13, *Maggio* (*Kenessey* 66), *Kuun* 1873, 52

/s/ *susar* (*Cusar*), *fransüs* (*Francis*) : in *Witsen's* alphabet (1st ed. p. 210)
“ce” = ڦ (ڻ, ڻ)

k kiš (*Cis*)

ch χ *χadim* (*Chadim*), (*Chamur*) It only occurs in initial position. In CC it denotes several sounds

(χ, h, k, g) cf. *Grönb.* 12–13.

ci /č/ *čiqar* ~ *čqar* (*Cikar*) Cf. *Maggio*: “ci” = č *Kenessey* 63

ds /z/ *ziyan* (*Dsijan*), *zulum* (*Dfulum*)

(ڏ) *corba* (*Dsorba*), *qumač* (*Komads*)

e 1. ē close e in the first syllable, a palatal reduced sound in the rest of the syllables, eg. (*Azem*), *bēšek* (*Besciek*) ; “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. *arzeħal* (*Arfehaal*), *qizel* (*Kiffel*)

ee ī (Eelgen) A peculiar Dutch feature to mark length.

ei (i) *imansiš* (*Eimanfis*) ; with Arabic letters : ايمانفس (Osm.) It suggests Arabic transliteration, for the letter group ى symbolizes the close e or i sounds of Turkic languages.

ey ī close variant of /e/, e.g. *dēg'me* (*Deyghme*), *dēg'irmen* (*Deyghirmen*), cf. “ei,” and also the paragraph on the sound g' below;

g /γ, ġ/ (*Aga*), (*Gam*)

/g/ (*Fistigen*), (*Legèn*)

gh /γ/ (*Maghib*), (*Karaghi*) ; cf. Crim. Tat. “Cottologha bey” (= *Qutlubuya* bey) *Kuun* 1873, 54 ; *Maggio* (*Kenessey* 64–65) ; *Witsen's* Yakut lexical material (*Kara*).

/χ/ *aχret* (*Agh-ret*), *ferax* (*Feragh*) ; cf. CC *yaregh* = *jaryχ* (*Grönb.* 12)
g' ēg'er (*Eigher*), *dēg'me* (*Deyghme*)

gi + vowel /j/ *alaⱩa* (*Alagia*), *χanji* (*Changii*) ; cf. *Maggio* : before a and o “gi” is ĵ (*Kenessey* 63)

g' *lig'am* (*Ligiam*)

/č/ *burčak* (*bourgiak*)

i /i/ *süyir* (*Sfighir*), *qırq* (*Kirk*), *qıl* (*Kil*) ; Likewise in CC, mostly with the Italian transcribers (*Grönb.* 12), in *Witsen's* Yakut material (*Kara*), in *Maggio* (*Kenessey* 61)

/y/ (i) *tay* (*Tai*), (*Nai*), *χaywan* ; (*Haiwán*) cf. CC (*Grönb.* 13), *Kuun* 1873, 52

j g' *g'ül* (*Juil*), *g'ümlek* (*Jumlek*)

k' *k'emend* (*Jemend*)

kj k' *k'amil* (*Kjamil*), *k'eli* (*Kjeli*), *k'ór* (*Kjor*)

o /a/ *tap-* (*Thop-*)

/ō/ (*Dort*), *k'ópek* (*Kjopek*), cf. *Maggio* (*Kenessey* 62)

/u/ *mum* (*Mom*), *quyu* (*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*” (*Buya*), “*Aibolat*” (*Aybulat*), cf. *Kuun* 1873, 52)

oe *ū* *maymūn* (*Maimoen*) A Dutch specificity to designate length.

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

/ü/ *bürk* (*Bourk*), *bügérüljék* (*Bougerulgiek*)

s f /š/ *quš* (*Kous*), *qašik* (*Kafik*)

/z/ *zarar* (*Sarar*), *zor* (*Sor*), *quzu* (*Kousu*) ; Occasionally in CC too (*Grönb.*

15)

/ž/ *eždeha* (*Esdeha*)

sc fc /š/ *šek'er* (*Scekjer*), *arš* (*Arſc*), cf. *Maggio* (*Kenessey* 68)

sci + vowel /š/ *šaban* (*Sciabán*), *alaša* (*Aalaſcia*), cf. *Maggio* (*Kenessey* 68)

sch /š/ *arus* (*Arusch*)

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

/z/ *abaza* (*Abassa*), *almazis* (*Almaſſis*)

/s/ *qasab* (*Kassab*), *qasavet* (*Kassavet*)

tg + i /č/ *činliq* (*Tginlik*), *čiqar-* (*Tgicar-*)

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)

tz /č/ *bičaq* (*Bitzae*), *mači* (*Matzi*)

u /ü/ *bülbül* (*Bulbul*), *ümér* (*Umer*) ; in Witsen's Yakut material “*u*” = ü (*Kara*), in *Maggio* likewise (*Kenessey* 62)

/w/, ü *sew-* (*Seu-*), *tiwe* (*Tiue*), *qaun* (*Kaoun*)

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

y See “uy” and “ey”

/i/ *qır domuzi* (*Cydsmuzy*)

zi + vowel /č/ *baqča* (*Bakzia*), *ničün* (*Niziun*), cf. CC where “z” = č (*Grönb.* 13)

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

^ (accent circonflexe) normally indicates length : *azāb* (*Adsâb*) *alām* (*Alâm*), *devit* (*Devît*), *ferāχ* (*Ferâgh*) ; occasionally marking the place of accent : (*Delî*) *deli*, (*Francis*) *fransüs* (*Sfadâf*) *sädäf*

' (accent grave) designates the accented vowel : (*Almà*), (*Kjisè*), (*Danè*), (*Duighmè*) *dug'me*, (*Innè*), etc.

' (accent aigu) normally signifies accent : (*Deré*), (*Dsòrbá*) *čorba*, (*Tamam*), etc.

.. (tréma) indicates that the two vowels should be pronounced separately : e.g. (*Täälîm*) *taalim*, (*Thäouk*) *taug*. Though rarely, the German transcribers of CC indicated *i* with "i" (*Grönb.* 14, 15). Some of Witsen's items also suggest a vowel + *i* cluster, but then an intrusive *y* or *ü* must also be postulated : (*Alaïk*) *alayiq*, (*aï*) *ayi* (Acc.), (*Karie*) *qarye*.

Symbols and their sound values (summary table)

Symbol(s)	Sound value	Symbol(s)	Sound value
a	<i>a, ā</i>	ngh	η
â	ā	o	<i>o, a, ö, u</i>
aa	ā	oe	ū
ae	ā	ou	<i>u, ū</i>
b	<i>b</i>	ö	<i>o</i>
bb	<i>b</i>	p	<i>p</i>
c	<i>z, k, q, s</i>	ph	<i>f, t̪b</i>
ch	χ	pp	<i>p</i>
ci	č	r	<i>r</i>
d	<i>d</i>	rr	<i>r</i>
ds	<i>z, č</i>	s	<i>s, z, š, ž</i>
e	<i>e, ē</i>	ʃ	<i>s, z, š</i>
ee	ē	sc	š
ei	ē (close), i	sch	š
ey	ē (close)	sci	š
f	<i>f</i>	ʃʃ	<i>š, z, s</i>
ff	<i>f</i>	t	<i>t</i>
g	<i>g, γ, (j)</i>	tg (+i)	č
gh	γ, χ, g'	tgi (+vowel)	č
gi	j, g', č	th	<i>t</i>
h	<i>h, χ</i>	tz	č
i	<i>i, ī, y (i)</i>	u	<i>u, ū, ü, w</i>
ī	<i>i, ī, y (i)</i>	ui	ū
j	<i>y, g', k'</i>	uy	ū
k	<i>k, q</i>	ü	<i>ü, w</i>
kj	<i>k'</i>	v	<i>v</i>
l	<i>l</i>	w	<i>w</i>
ll	<i>l</i>	x	—
m	<i>m</i>	y	ī, see uy, ey
n	<i>n</i>	z	<i>z</i>
ng	η	zi	č

Sounds and their graphic symbols (summary table)

Sound	Symbol(s)	Sound	Symbol(s)
a	a, o	ī	i, y
ā	ā, aa, ae	k	k, c
ä	a	k'	j, kj
b	b, bb	q	c, k
č	ci, ds, gi, tg (+i), tz, zi, tgi + vowel	l	l, ll
		n	n
		o	o, ö
ž	gi	ö	o
d	d	p	p, pp
e	e	r	r, rr
ē	ee	s	c, s, ſ, ſʃ
é (close)	ey, ei	š	s, ſ, sc, sch, sci, ſʃ
é (velar reduced)	e	t	t, th
é (palatal reduced)	e	u	o, ou, u
		ú	ou, u, ui, uy
f	f, ff	ü	oe
g'	gh, gi, j	ꝝ	u, ü
ǵ (ȝ)	g	v	v
h	h	w	w
x	gh, h	y	j, i
i	i, ei	z	c, ds, s, ſ, ſʃ, z
í	i, ī	ꝑ	s

III. Linguistic conclusions offered by the glossary**1. Vowel system**

Tongue Position	Place of articulation	Palatal		Medial		Velar	
		Illab.	Lab.	Illab.	Lab.	Illab.	Lab.
Upper		/i/		/ù/		/i/	/u/
Central		/e/		/ö/		é	/o/
Lower	ä					/a/	

Supplementary comments on particular vowels

The standard Crimean Tatar language does not distinguish between a close and an open *e* sound.²⁸ 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.²⁹ In the dialects, however, the open and close *e* sounds are clearly and strictly differentiated. The open *e* is less open than the Azerbaijan and Volga-region *ä*; it is approximately identical with the educated pronunciation of Ottoman-Turkish *e*.³⁰ *Witsen's* word list also bears out that the phoneme /e/ used to have a close — even reduced — variant (*ē*) and an open one (*ä*).

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.³¹ 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.³² Crimean Osmanli also contains *ē*, which is shown by the wavering of the written data between *i* and *ä*.³³ This alternation can sporadically be detected in the literary Crimean Tatar language as well: *äki* ~ *iki* '2', *kät-* ~ *kit-* 'to go', *ät-* ~ *it-* 'to do, to make'.³⁴ One can come across similar alternations in the Crimean Tatar diplomas, which also point to the existence of a close *e*.³⁵

ē (2) A velar reduced sound, the phonemic variant of /i/. In modern standard literary pronunciation *i* has a reduced quality resembling the reduced pronunciation (*ə*, *ē*) of the Russian *a*, *o* following a stressed syllable.³⁶ Marking it with the graph "e" is not only a convention of spelling, but — as *Räsänen* points out — has its phonetic justification as well: in the Volga Turkic lan-

²⁸ Kakuk 1976, 52.

²⁹ Cf. RäsLautg. 90; Doerfer (Krmtat. 376) and Sevortjan (p. 235) speak only of a single *ä* (or *e*) sound in the Crimean Tatar literary language.

³⁰ Dmitriev 1928, 207.

³¹ Memetov 114, 123.

³² Németh, Illésh.; Hazai, Hars.; Maggio (Kenessey); Kakuk, Recherches 443, 444, 450.

³³ Doerfer, KKrmosm. 274.

³⁴ Doerfer, Krmtat. 376.

³⁵ On the basis of the $\zeta^l \sim l$ 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.

guages *i* becomes reduced, resembling *e* rather than *i*.³⁷ In transliterated Ottoman Turkish texts, "e" often stands for the Turkish *i*, or rather a variant of its, a velar illabial sound produced in central tongue position.³⁸

/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*, *sandıq*; *raxmet*, *helaq*, *ateş*, etc. In a few cases, however, original Turkic words fail to comply with it : e.g. *almaler*, *balaler*, *taraqler*, *baljik*, *bičaq*, etc. As the examples show, it is above all the plural suffix that creates words of vocalic dis-harmony. Not only *Witsen's* material, but also later collected dialectal material reveal this phenomenon.³⁹ It can be found in Crimean Osmanli and in *Maggio's* Ottoman-Turkish grammar as well, e.g. *onler*, *kimlar* (*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* (< *garanfil*).

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. *devletlü*, *şük'er*, *sarumsaq*, *mühir*, *dördinji*, 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* ~ *büčaq* (*Bitzae*), *čin* ~ *čin* (*Tgin*), etc. It must be noted that the palatalization of the sounds *a*, *o*, and *u* is also quite likely,⁴⁰ 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 /i/. E.g. :

³⁷ RäsLautg. 84.

³⁸ Kakuk, *Recherches* 444.

³⁹ From Dmitriev's collection : *yaşleri*, *giy-saň-a*, *yan-e*, *şorbaʃiler*, *ağa-ler*, etc. (Dmitriev 1926, 343), cf. also Doerfer, *Krmat*. 374.

⁴⁰ Deviation was indicated in the CC too (Grönb. 7, 16, 17).

- i* > *i* effected by *š aši* (see *aš*), *qašik*
- i* > *i* effected by *ž aywaži*, *fuži*, *balžik*, *χanži*
- i* > *i* effected by *y ziyān* I.II., *badiyan*; *qayiš*, *qayin*
- i* > *i* effected by *č bičaq*, *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*, *ü*). 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*, *e*), 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 "o". We have replaced it everywhere with "ö". The same applies to the various *ü* sounds. (Cf. *Dmitriev* 1926, 343; *Doerfer*, *Krmtat.* 375; *Sevortjan* 236.)

Elision. Few authentic examples can be gleaned from the glossary: *zerdlü* (provided that <*zerdélü*), *ilq* (<*ilig*), *čiqar-* which is not verifiable unless the clusters "ci" and "Tgi" in (*Cikar-*) and (*Tgicar-*) denote č and not č + i, see *čiqar-* (Cf. *Dmitriev* 1926, 344, *Dmitriev* 1928, 208; *Doerfer*, *Krmtat.* 376; *Sevortjan* 239).

Epenthesis. Few data can be culled from the word list: *bügerüljék* (<*bügrüljék*), *tüyüme* ~ *töyüme* (<*tüyime* ~ *töyme*), *χazeret* (<*χazret*), *suléχ* (<*sulχ*).

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 *arus* (?*areš*) and *turnaq* (?*ternaq*) are controversial. In the transcription, the reduced vowels are marked by "ë", e.g. *alurmésin* (see *al-*), *darıldiñmē* (*darıl-*), *tük'érük*, *şük'ér*.

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 SamoilOp. 19; Sevortjan 239.

⁴³ Sevortjan *loc. cit.*

Consonantal system

Place of articulation	Manner of articulation	Plosives	Spirants	Affric.	Occlusives		Liquids	
					semi-vowels	nas.	laterals	tremulant
Bilabial	p, b				w, ū	m		
Labiodental		f, v						
Dental	t, d							
Alveolar		s, z				n	l	r
Postalveolar		š, ž		č, ġ				
Palatal	k, g	y			j			
Velar	q, ġ	χ				ŋ	l	
Laringual		h						

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, garib, 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,

⁴⁴ Matuz 99.

⁴⁵ Kakuk, *Recherches* 482—83.

⁴⁶ Schütz 100.

⁴⁷ Cf. Kakuk, *op. cit.* 484.

these words merely reflect the Arabic way of writing, we would have to reckon with an actual final *-t*.

j- occurs only in foreign words.

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

-g- Examples : *bügérüljék*, *igérmi*, *legen* (~*leyen*), *yögän* (*yöyän*), etc. -*g-* 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.).

-g'- is a palatalized version in medial position (e.g. *dég'*-, *dég'irmen*, *düg'üm*, *düg'me*, *ég'er*). The reconstruction of the items (*Deygh-*) *dég'*- (*Deyghirmen*) *dég'irmen* and (*Duighme*) *düg'me* needs separate mention. In the first version *ey* = *é* (close), *ui* = *ü*. Perhaps they were transliterated from Arabic letters where *é* was marked by "ـ" or "ــ", and *ü* by "ـــ". Thus Witsen's entry (*Deyghirmen*), for example, may be the transliteration of دایگرمن [deyg(i)rm(e)n]. 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 Harsányi-Nagy's "*dejgße*"⁴⁸ (the conditional of the verb "*dejg-*") only accidentally identical, or are they both erroneous? At the time of the *-g-* > *-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*, **düygme*.

-g The retention of the final *-g* appears to be an archaic feature (cf. RäsLautg. 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.

g̊ In initial position it is indicated by "g̊", in final and medial position by "γ". The velar g̊ ("g̊", "γ") is a plosive according to Doerfer⁵¹ and Cobanzade⁵² and a spirant according to Samojošović⁵³ and Sevortjan.⁵⁴ As the question cannot

⁴⁸ Hazai, Hars. 407.

⁴⁹ Cf. Menges 84; with copious data: Serebrennikov—Gadžieva 49—53.

⁵⁰ Examples can be gleaned from contemporary Ottoman-Turkish transliterated records too: *düg-* 'schlagen' (Hazai, Hars.), ~ *dugus* (= *düyüüs*) 'Schlacht' (Németh, Illésh.), *egri* 'schräg' (Németh, Illésh.) ~ *egri* (= *eyri*) 'krum, schief' (Hazai, Hars.); *eglen-* 'bleiben, Zeit vertreiben . . .' (Németh, Illésh.) ~ *eglen-* (= *eylen*) 's. unterhalten' (Hazai, Hars.).

⁵¹ Doerfer, Krmtat. 377.

⁵² Cobanzade 1925, 32.

⁵³ SemojlOp. 14—15.

⁵⁴ Sevortjan 236: sonor, uvular, velar.

be decided on the basis of *Witsen's* glossary, only the velar character of the *g* sound is to be marked in the reconstruction, irrespective of the manner of articulation. Therefore, “*g*” and “*γ*” are equivalent signs in the transliteration of Crimean Tatar words (entries). Nevertheless, it was considered more appropriate to use the letter “*g*” initially.

-*γ*- It was also retained in original Turkic words.

The glossary contains no examples of those changes (e.g. *γ* > *w* < *u*) which *Doerfer* (*Krmtat.* 377) enumerates.

-*γ* The entries do not exhibit -*γ* ~ -*w* alternations (e.g. *bay*, *yay*, *quduy*). The variants with -*γ* occur mainly around Simferopol (*Doerfer loc. cit.*). Sporadic occurrences of -*γ* can also be found in diplomas, e.g. *uluj* (*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 Krmtat.* 380; *Sevortjan* 236). *Witsen's* item was transliterated with “*h*” when the precedents of the word involved “he” (», 4).

χ *Witsen* also tried to mark it separately. In the reconstruction “*χ*” replaces the original “*ha* χ” or “*kha* χ”.

k'- is a palatalized phonemic variant, whose palatalized character was also indicated by *Witsen*, e.g. *k'ayit*, *k'emik*, *k'im*, etc. The initial *k* — prevails over the entire Crimean Tatar language territory (*Doerfer, Krmtat.* 378). The palatalized *k'* — was also differentiated 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 “chi” in the word “chiedo” (*Kenessey* 45). *Maggio* uses “*ki*” to designate it.

q *Witsen* does not distinguish it with a separate sign. Already in the CC it was indicated by “*c*” and “*k*”.⁵⁵ The degree of its velarity can no longer be established.

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

η According to *Dmitriev* it has two variants: 1. “stronger” e.g. *baña* (*baṇa*), *saña* (*saṇa*); 2. “weaker” e.g. the *n* of the possessive case ending and the verb marker of 2nd P. Sing.⁵⁶ In the 17th-century Crimean Tatar diplomas it was probably still included,⁵⁷ although hardly any trace of it can be detected in *Witsen's* word list: e.g. *darıldiŋ mé*, *deŋis*. *η* is regularly replaced by *n*. The same can be observed in certain Kazan Tatar dialects (cf. *Burganova* 31, *Borhanova* 102; in Misher: *Machmutova* 133). In the Crimea this change may have been effected by a strong southern influence.

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;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.⁵⁹ Examples : *aqčamis*, *domus*, *qas*, *sekis*, etc.

-š The ambiguity of *Witsen's* transliteration would sometimes make an -s possible in its place, for most data include the letter "s". The -š > s change is typical of Noghay. However, no other specific Noghay feature, such as ġ (<y-), -w- (<-y-), -š (<-č), can be demonstrated in *Witsen's* glossary, which proves that it is simply a notational peculiarity. The word *yemiš*, for instance, has two forms : (*Jemis/c*) and (*Jemisler*). Nor were the sounds š and s differentiated in writing in the CC (cf. *Grönb.* 13). *József Matuz* did not find instances of the š > 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 notate 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- > ġ change cannot be traced here, nor in *Matuz*.⁶⁰ Already the CC carries examples where in intervocalic position, especially before and after e, i, ī, y was not marked. *Grönbech* attributes this to the fact that between vowels sounding similarly to y, this y was very weakly articulated.⁶¹ *Witsen*, or his mediator, signified this sound with "i" in Crimean Tatar, apparently trying to distinguish the semi-vowel ī. In a few words we can even come across "i" : (*Alaik*) *alayik*, (*Almaik*) *almayıq* (see *al-*).

z Initially it is only found in foreign words. In final position it is consistently devoiced and only becomes voiced again in juxtaposition with voiced phonemes, e.g. *yis* II, but "Yüz *yarayıñ* . . ." (see the poem at the end of the glossary). z at the end of the word *saz* 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*, *qos*, *semis*, etc.; -v > -f *qaf*, *ef*.

Voicing. -č- > -č- in the word *fuci* (<*fuči*) and -q- > -y- in *yarayıñ* (<*yaraq-i-n*).

⁵⁸ Cf. Serebrennikov—Gadžieva 59.

⁵⁹ Grönbech 13 ; For the incidence of the -z > -s change see also RäsLautg. 177—178, Németh, *Inscr.* 56, in Crimean Tatar : SamojlOp. 60.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.* 100.

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*, *jauşler*, *dıg'ümller*, *zemanler*, etc. The Crimean Tatar songs provide similar data: *tatarlär*, *atarlär*, *bakarlär*, perhaps for the sake of rhyming only.⁶² 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 *qawii*, *aşii*, -i *seni*, -yi *aqçayii*, -n after 3rd P. possessive suffix, e.g. *yaratyin*; 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. *čindur*, *divandur*, *qadirdur*. Interrogative form: -mēdur *činmēdur*, *warmēdur*. The negative was formed with the negative particle *deyil*: *zemandur*, *zeman deyül*.

Possessive suffixes Sing. 1st P. -im, -im *janim*, *yerim*, 3rd P. -i *janii*, *zemanii*, Plur. 1st P. -miz ~ mis *aramiz-de*, *aqşamis*, 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*, *eyler*, *işler*, *aşar*; -ar *aqar*, *satar*; -er *g'üler*; -ur *alur*, *olur*, *warur*; -ür *sürünür*, *ülür*, *verür*; Endings in the aorist: indicative, 1st P. Sing. -um *taparum*, *alurum*, *ararum*; -üm *verürüm*, *isterüm*. It is universal in present-day dialects (cf. *Doerfer*, *Krmtat.* 384–85). 2nd P. Sing. -sin *eylersin*, *ülürsin*, -sən *işlärsén*, 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. -is (<-iz) *aşaris*. This form survives in certain southern dialects (*Doerfer*, *Krmtat.* 385)] -miz (<-miz) *alurmiz*, *warurmiz*. 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*,⁶³ -maz-um *warmazum*; 3rd P. -mas (<-maz) *aşamas*; 1st P. Plur. -maz-is (<-maziz) *almazis*; Cf. *Samojl* Op. 60, *Sevortjan* 246. Interrogative, 2nd P. Sing. -mésin (<*müsün*) *alurmésin*, *taparmésin*, *warurmésin*.

⁶² Jansky 107.

⁶³ BaskTJa. 154.

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. — Ø (verbal stem) *al, bar, kil*; 1st P. Plur. *-ayıq alayıq, warayıq, -alım ~ -alum alałım, 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. *-mayıq almayıq*.

Infinitives: *-maya ašamaya, -maq ~ -mek warmaq, g'ilmek.*

Participles. *-an -yan*, *Witsen* only recorded its negative form: *-mayan qılmayan; -r, -ar, -er* (see *aşa-*), *-mas ašamas* 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. *SamojlOp.* 63, *Matuz* 92.

Lexicology

The Crimean Tatar dialects are 'mixed' dialects with respect to the vocabulary as well.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ 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. *aşa-, anda, aruš, bala, börü, bul-* (to be), *jaw, k'eli, kiš, qočqar, qos, quduy, qumač, 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 Oghuz words are some peculiarly Ottoman Turkish elements as well. E.g. čamur, deli, domus, dög'üm, ef, diđuk, dušek, ye-, qurt, ol-, bul 'to find', g'ümlek, qoyun, 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.⁶⁶ 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), gočqar ~ goč 'ram', mači ~ k'edi 'cat'.

Foreign elements

The proportion of loanwords (Arabic-Persian) was 63% on the basis of a letter dated 1679,⁶⁷ 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, ġam, qandil, qumač, sabun, imér yakut, zalim, etc.

Persian (Iranian) elements. The greater part must have reached the Crimean Tatar language via Osmanli, 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, ateş, bay, čorba, jan, şawuš, divan, ferman, k'emend, lešk'er, zerqil, zerde, etc.

Other elements. The biggest single group here are the Greek loanwords transmitted by Ottoman Turkish : anaqtar, 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.

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., Tarj., 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, į, d, e, è, f, g, g', ġ, γ, h, χ, i, ī, j, k, k', q, l, m, n, o, ö, p, r, s, š, t, u, ü, 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)¹ 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 unverständlich 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 χ a y ā t (*Abu Hajāt*, Water des Levens.) ‘water of (eternal) life’ Cf. Osm. *āb-i hayāt* ‘Water of life (a legendary spring or river)’, Osm. Özön *abihayat* (*Āb-i hayat*) ‘Hayat suyu. İçeni ölmeliğe kavuşturan masal suyu’ < P. Ar.

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

a d e m (*Her adem*, elk Mensch. = every man) ‘man’ Cf. Tat. Dobr. *adem*, Nog. *adam*, *ädem*, Osm. *adam* (adäm) < Ar. < Hebrew

a f e r i m (*Aferim*, een woord, waer mede men iemands doen pryst, is zoo veel Schepper gezeght. = 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.-Kipch., 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 (*Agads*, Hout, een Boom.) ‘tree, wood’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf. (*agas*), Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *ayač*, Nog. *ayač*

a γ a č l i q (1692 *Agat*, ofte *Lic*, een bosch. 1705, 1785 *Agat* of *Lic*, een Bosch.) ‘forest’ Cf. Dur. *ayaš-lyq* ‘bois, forêt, taillis’, Kumyk, Osm., Tat. *ayačlıq*, Nog. *ayaşlıq*

a χ r e t (*Agh-ret*, de tyd des laesten oordeels. = time of the last judgement) ‘the other world, last judgement’ Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K *Axret kyni* ‘Konec žizni. Strašnyj sud’, Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal *ahret*, Osm. TS *ahret* < Ar.

¹ Similar expressions: Osm. TRSl. *arap atı* ‘arabskij skakun’ K.-Balk. *qaračay qoy* ‘karačaevskaja ovca’ (*Russko karačaevo-balkarskij slovar* Moskva, 1965); Kzk. *qazağı qoy* ‘kurdjučnaja ovca’ (RKzkSl.); Tat. dial. *roman sarıq* ‘merinosovaja ovca’ (TatRSl.); Tat. Crim.Tat. R. I, 365 *alaşa at* > Russian *lošad'* ‘gilded horse, steed’, cf. Šipova, *Slovar' tjurkizmov v russkom jazyke*. Alma-Ata, 1976; Designations derived from place-names can also be exemplified: Kirg. *kiser qoy* ‘kurdjučnaja ovca gissarskoj porody’ (K. K. Judachin, *Kirgizsko-russkij slovar*. Moskva, 1965).

² The ethnonym *abaza* frequently occurs both as a historical and a modern personal name (cf. Kakuk, AOH 28 [1974], 32–33, *Recherches* 24).

Aχmet (*Achmet* of Regieb, een eigen Naem. = a proper name) 'Ahmet'
Cf. Nog., Osm. *Ahmet*, *Ahmed* < Ar.

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

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

aqša 'money' Cf. Nog. *aqša*; *aqšamis bulsa* (*Aksciamis bousla*, zoo wy Geld hadden.) 'if we had money'; *aqšamis yoktur* (*Aksciamis joktur*, wy hebben geen Geld.) 'we have no money'

al-, *alur* See *etmek*, too; 'to take, to seize' Cf. CC *al-*, *-ur*, *-yr*, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dopr., Nog., K.-Balk., Kumyk, Osm. *al-*; *alayiq* (*Alaik*, dat wy 't nemen, of wy zullen 't nemen. = let us take it, we shall take it) Optative, 1st P. Plural; *alayim* (*Alaim*, 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. Plural; *almayiq qawi* dat wy 't valstelijk, 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. Plural, Negative; *almazis* (*Almassis*, wy zullen 't niet nemen. = we shall not take (seize) it) Aorist, 1st P., Plural, 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; *alurmésin* (*Alourmesin*, zult gy 't nemen? = will you take (or buy) it?) Aorist, 1st P. Singular, Interrogative; *alurmis* (*Alourmis*, wy zullen 't krygen, nemen, ontfangen. = we shall catch it, we take it, we receive it) Aorist, 1st P. Plural; *alurum* (*Alurum*, ik neem, of zal nemen. = I take it or I shall take it) Aorist, 1st P. Singular.

ala (1692 *Birala*, Godt. = God) 'Allah' Cf. Cuman of Hungary *ala*, *aló* 'Allah' (Mészáros 16), Crim. Tat., Tat. Dopr., Nog. *alla* < Ar.

ālā (*Ala*, 't is goed.) 'good, magnificent, excellent' Cf. Osm. TS *ālā* 'İyi, pek iyî' < Ar.

al a į a (*Alagia*, veel verwig, van vermengde koleuren.) 'many-coloured, pied' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj. (*alača*), Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *alača*

alām (*Alâm* of *alamet*, een teeken.) 'sign, badge, flag' Cf. CC, KarHT, Osm. *alam* ~ *alām* < Ar.

alāmet (*Alâm* of *alamet*, een teeken.) 'sign, mark, badge' Cf. Osm. *alamet* 'A sign, mark; a symbol; a trace . . .', Tat. Dopr. *alemet* 'znak', Kumyk *alamat* 'priznak, simptom, primeta, otličitel'naja čerta . . .' < Ar.

alaša (*Alascia*, een Ruin-paerd. = war-horse) 'gelded (horse), steed' Cf. Crim. Tat., Osm., Tat. R. I, 365 *alaša* 'merin', Nog., K.-Balk. *alaša* 'merin', Crim. Tat. EČel. *alaša* 'beygir at', KarK, Tat. Dopr., Kumyk *alaša* 'lošad', 'kon'

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. *alda-ali* (*Ali*, eigen Naem. = a proper name) ‘Ali’ Cf. Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. *Ali* < Ar.

ā l i m (Taälîm of *alîm*, een Geleerde.) ‘scientist, scholar, educated man’ Cf. Kumyk *alîm*, Osm. ‘*ālim* ‘Who knows; Learned; erudite; a doctor of science’ < Ar.

Alla h ‘Allah’ Cf. KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *Allah* < Ar.; *bir Allah* (*Bir Allah*, een God.) ‘(one) Allah’; *Allâhü ekber* (*Allahu ekber*, God is de Grootste.) ‘Allah is the greatest’ Cf. Osm. Özön *Allâhü ekber* ‘Tanrı uludur’; *Allâhü k'erim* (*Allahu Kjerim*, de weldoende God. = the beneficial God) ‘Allah is gracious’ Cf. Osm. *Allah kerim* ‘God is gracious!; Fear not! Do not fret!'; *Allâhü râxîm* (*Allahu Râghim*, ontfermende God. = merciful God) ‘Allah is merciful, compassionate’ Cf. Osm. *rahim* ‘Who feels or shows compassion, compassionate’

a l m a (*Alma*, een Appel.) ‘apple’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *alma*; *almaler alduq* (*Almaler alduk*, wy hebben Appelen genomen. = we have bought apples)

āmin (*Amin*, Amen.) ‘amen’ Cf. CC, Arm.-Kipch., KarHT, Kumyk *amen* ~ *āmin* < Ar. < Hebrew

a n a q t a r (*Anaktar*, Sleutel.) ‘key’ Cf. Tuhf. (*anahtar*), Chag. R. I, 228 *anaqtar*, Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *anaxtar* < Greek

a n d a (*Baranda*, gaet daer. = go there) ‘there’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Tat. Chag. R. I, 238 *anda*

a n q a (Simourg of *anka*, een Gryp-vogel. = griffon) ‘fabulous bird of enormous size’ Cf. Osm. ‘*anqā* ‘A fabulous bird of enormous size said to inhabit the Caucasus range’ < Ar.

a r a ‘between, among; interval, distance’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Bul., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *ara*; *aramizde* (*Aramisai*,³ onder ons, tusschen ons.) ‘between us’; *aralerinde* (*Aralerinde*, onder haer lieden. = among the men) ‘among them’

a r a- ‘to look for, to search’ Cf. Tat. Dobr., Osm. *ara-*; *ararum* (*Ararum*, ik zoeke.) ‘I look for it’ Aorist, 1st P. Singular

a r a q i (*Araki*, Brandewyn, anders Raki. = brandy, otherwise Raki) ‘brandy’ Cf. Crim. Tat., Nog., K.-Balk., Osm. *araqi*; See *r a q i*, too

a r m u t (*Armout*, een Peer.) ‘pear’ Cf. Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *armut*, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *armüt* < P.

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 p a (1692 *Arpa*, boekwyt. 1705, 1785 *Arpa*, Boekweit.⁴ = buckwheat) 'barley' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dopr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *arpa*

a r s (*Ars*, begeerte, verzoek.) 'request, wish, application' Cf. Kumyk, Osm. *arz* < Ar.

a r ḙ (*Arſe*, Gods Troon, de Hemel, een Troon. = throne of God, the sky, throne) 'heaven, sky, throne' Cf. Osm. *arጀ* 'The ninth heaven; A throne', Uig. R. I, 331 *arጀ* 'nebesnyj svod', Trkm. *arıጀ* 'sed'moe nebo, poslednij krug raja' (TurkmRS1.) < Ar.

a r u ḡ ~ aręጀ⁵ (1692 *Arusch*, gerft. 1705, 1785 *Arusch*, Garft.⁶ = barley) 'rye' Cf. Crim. Tat. EČel. *arጀ* 'čavdar', Tat. *ariጀ* (TatRS1.) < Russian

a r z ē h a l (*Arſehaal*, openbaer Verzoek-schrift. = open written application) 'written petition' Cf. Osm. '*arzi-hāl*', vulgar '*arzuhāl*' 'A written petition' < Ar.

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 ḡ (1692 *Aff*, Spys. 1705, 1785 *Aff*, Spys.) 'food, eatable' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch., Tat. Dopr., KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *aš*; *aši ašarīs ~ ? aši ašarin⁷* (*Aſci aſciarin*, wy zullen Spys eeten. = we eat food, we shall eat) 'we eat food, ? I eat food'

a ḡ a- 'to eat, to take one's meal' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dopr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *aša-*; *ašadiq* (*Aſciadiq*, wy hebben gegeten. = we had eaten) Definite Past Tense, 1st P. Plural; *ašar bulsan g'el* (*Aſciar boulſak, jel*,⁸ wilt gy

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

⁵ More probably *u* designates the sound *u* 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 *ē* variant is justified by Evliya Čelebi's item *ārጀ*.

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. *ɔ̄*) is in place of the regular *-s* (Ar. *ɔ̄*) by mistake, the meaning can be accepted. The confusion of *r* and *z* (Ar. *ɔ̄*, and *ɔ̄*) occurs several times in the glossary. Otherwise it should be an archaic and very rare Personal ending *-n* (1st P. Sing.). Cf. Osm. *ederun* 'ich tue' (Németh, *Illésh.* 80), Osm. *bilmen*, *alman*, *etmen* in the negative form of the aorist (Hazai, *Hars.*). In conjunction with this phenomenon, Hazai notes the following: "Die Varianten (*n*) die auf ein früheres Stadium der Entwicklung der Personalendungen 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 (*Aſciar boulſak, jel*) can be interpreted in the following ways: 1. *ašar 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. *ašar bulsan g'el* (provided that *đ* was transcribed by *k* and not *n*) = if you want to eat, come; 3. *ašar 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 boulſak 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* (*Aſciamağa jenek¹⁰ olour*, 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 ašarīs ~ ? asī ašarin¹¹* (*Aſci aſciarin*, wy zullen Spys eeten. = we eat food, we shall eat) 'we eat food, ? I eat food' Aorist 1st P. Plural or ? Singular

a t (1692 *At*, een paert. 1705, 1785 *Ath* of *At*, een Paerd.) 'horse' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Nog., K.-Balk., Osm. *at*

a t e š (*Ates*, Vuur.) 'fire' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *ateš* < P, *a y* 'moon, month' See *ramazan*, *rejeb*. Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul.. Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., Kumyk, Nog., K.-Balk., Osm. *ay*

a y a q (*Ajak*, de Voet.) 'foot' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *ayaq*

a y n e (*Ainè*, Spiegel.) 'mirror' Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *ayne* < P.

a y u (1692 *Ain*,¹² een beer. 1705, 1785 id.) 'bear' Cf. CC, Id., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat (*ajū*), Tat. Dobr. *ayu*, K.-Balk. *ayyu*, Osm. *ayu*, vulgar *ay*

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

a y w a j i 'quince-seller' See *a y w a + -ji* (Affix forming occupation-names); *aywažiler* (*Aiwagiiler*, iemand die Quee-appelen verkoopt. = someone, selling quince-apples) 'quince-sellers'

a z ā b (*Adsāb*, strafte.) 'punishment' Cf. Osm. *'azāb* < Ar.

a z ē m (*Azem*,¹³ magtigste, verhevenste. = mightiest, greatest) 'mighty, great' Cf. Osm. *'azīm* < 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. ۋىسەن, ۋىسەن سەۋسەن; ۋىسەك, ۋىسەك سەۋسەك, SamojlOp. 74), or that the Arabic writing of -sen ~ -sen is : ۋىسەن. Witsen'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" (Azīm) Kakuk, *Recherches* 51.

b a b a (*Baba*, 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 prasinella*, *Illicum anisatum*, *Foeniculum dulce*)’ Cf. Old Turkic (uig.) DTS *badijan* ‘anis kitajskij, bad’jan (Illicum verum), Nog. *bad’yan* (<Russian), Tat. R. IV, 1520 *badyan* > Russian *bad’jan* (See Šipova 46)

b a γ (*Bag*, Boomgaerd, Wyngaerd.) ‘fruit garden, vineyard’ Cf. Idr., Tarj., Bul., Qaw., KarKTH, Osm. *bay*, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *baw* < P.

b a q č a (*Bakzia*, een Hof, een Tuin.) ‘garden, vegetable garden’ Cf. CC, Tuhf. *baqča*, Arm.-Kipch., Kumyk, KarTK, *bayča* (<*baqča*), Nog. *baqša*, Crim Tat., Osm. *bayča* < P.

b a l (*Bal*, Hooning.) ‘honey’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *bal*

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*; *balaler* (*Balaler*, Kinderen.) ‘children’

b a l a l i (*Balalez*,¹⁴ volwassenen. = adults) ‘an adult who has children’ Cf. Tat. Dobr. *balali* ‘z dziećmi’, Tat. Kzk. R. IV, 1493 *balali*

b a l į i k (*Balgiik*, Klei of Sleik.) ‘clay, mud’ Cf. CC *balčuq* (but the “u” designates here an *i*), Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf. (*balšík*), Qaw., KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *balčuq*, Nog. *balšiq*

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*; *barmaqlar* (*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. *bārut* < 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* (*balalīler*) 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 *iste-* and *ver-*).

b e r i 'here, this way' See *kil-* Cf. CC, Tuhf., Qaw. (*bäri*), Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *beri*

b é š é k¹⁵ (*Besciek*, een Wieg, word uitgesproken *bisik*. = cradle, usually pronounced *bisik*) 'cradle' Cf. Qaw., Tarj. *bäšik*, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dopr., KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *bešik*

b i č a q ~ büčaq¹⁶ (1692 *Bitzae*,¹⁷ een Mes. 1705, 1785 id.) 'knife' Cf. CC *byčaq* (bicac, bizac, biča[c], bičak), Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat. *büčaq*, KarT *bičaq*, *büčak*, Kumyk *bičaq*, Osm. *büčaq*

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

b i š- 'to be cooked, baked, fried ; to become ripe' Cf. CC *biš-* (bis-), Idr., Tarj., Bul., Qaw., KarT, Kumyk, K.-Balk. *biš-* ; *aywa bišmiš* (*Aiwâ bismis*, gekookte Quee-appel. = cooked quince) 'the quince is cooked' Indefinite Past Tense, 3rd P. Singular

b i š i k 'cradle' See *b é š é k*. Cf. Old Turkic DTS *bisik* ~ *bešik*, Idr., Tat. R. IV, 1788 *bišik*

b o y d a y (1692 *Bogdai*, terw. 1705, 1785 *Bogdai*, Tarw.) 'wheat' Cf. CC *boydaj* ~ *buydaj*, Idr., Tuhf., Qaw. *boğday*, Tarj., Müh., Dur. *buğday*, KarK *boyday* ~ *boğday*, Osm. *boyday*

b ó r ü (1692 *Born*,¹⁸ een wolf. 1705, 1785 id.) 'wolf' Cf. CC *börü* (boru), Idr., Tarj., Bul., KarK, Tat. Dopr., Kumyk *börü*, Tuhf., Qaw. *böri*

b u¹⁹ 'this' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dopr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *bu*

b ü g é r ü l j é k ~ b u g é r ü l j é k²⁰ (*Bougerulgiek*, of bourgiak, Boontjes.) 'bean' Cf. Chag. R. IV, 1880 *bükürükük* [bwkrwljq] 'die Bohne', Osm.

¹⁶ What justifies the reconstruction with *é* (signifying a close *e* in the first and a palatal reduced in the second syllable) is that *Witsen* recorded a variant with *e* and one with *i*.

¹⁷ The variant with *i* next to *č* is acceptable, but an original form with *ii* is not impossible either.

¹⁸ *u* is a lapsus calami (? misprint) in place of *c*. Probably the correct form was *Bitzac*.

¹⁹ *u* is mistakenly replaced by *n*; perhaps a misprint.

²⁰ 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.

²¹ *Witsen's* designation of *u* with *ou* is consistent (except for the word *birk* ~ *börk*), yet it appears more reasonable to assume *ü* here. On the other hand, we have an Osm. dial. item with vowel disharmony (*boğrülce*), and analogously the Crimean Tatar word may as well be *buğeruljék*. It is evident in the analogues that the second syllable is strongly reduced. Etymology : similarly to the Osm. *bögürülce* ~ *boğrülce* ~ *börülce* < *bögürül* 'partly-coloured' + -ce Demin. suff. (cj. -čā RasMorph. 92), the Crim.Tat. *bügéruljék*

bukrıljé [bwkrıljı̄h ~ bwkrwljı̄h] 'The kidney bean, phaseolus vulgaris', Osm. dial. DS *boğrülce* (Semirkent — Isparta, Zil — Tokat) ~ *büğrülce* (Refahiye — Erzincan) 'börülce' (= cow pea black-eyed bean)

b u l- I. 'to be' As Auxiliary Verb see *aşa-*. Cf. Tat. *bul-*, CC, Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dopr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *bol-*

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

b u r č a q (Bougerulgiek of *bourgiaak*, Boontjes. = bean) 'leguminous plants (bean, pea etc.)' Cf. Old Turkic DTS *burčaq* 'goroch i drugie rastenija iz semejstva bobovych', CC *burčaq* 'Hagel', Tarj., Bul., Tuhf. (*burşak* 'ufak taş, çakıl taşı'), KarK *burčaq* 'grad', Kumyk *burčaq* 'fasol', grad', Osm. TRS1. *burçak* 'gorošek posevnoj'

bülbül (*Bulbul*, een Nachtegaal.) 'nightingale' Cf. CC, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dopr., Kumyk, Osm. *bülbül*

b ü r k ~ *börk* (*Bourk*, een Regen-kap. = rain-hood cap) 'felt or leather-cap' Cf. Osm. R. IV, 1889 *bürk* 'eine Mütze aus Lammfell oder Filz', Tat. R. IV, 1887 *bürük*, CC, Müh., Tuhf., KarK, Tat. Dopr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *börk*

č a 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

č a m u r (*Tgiamur*, Modder.) 'mud, dirt' Cf. Idr., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *čamur*

č e n d e n ~ *čendem* See *man*

č i q a r- ~ *čiqar-* ~ *čqar-* 'to lead out, to draw out, to bring out' Cf. Müh. Bul., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch. (*čiχar-* < *čiqar-*), Crim. Tat., Osm. *čiçar-*; *čiqarurum* ~ *čqarurum* (*Tgicarrurum*, ik zal 't uit brengen, of uit dryven. = I shall bring or drive it out) Aorist, 1st P. Singular; *jan čiqar-* 'to kill' See *jan*

č i n ~ *čin* 'real, true' Cf. CC *čyn* (*čin*), Tarj., Müh., Osm., Tat. *čin*; *čindur* ~ *čindur* (*Tgindur*, oprechtelijk. = it is true); *činmedur* ~ *činmedur* (*Tginmedur*, is 't recht? = is it true?)

č i n d a n ~ *čindan* 'true, real' Cf. *čin* + *-dan* (Suffix forming adjectives, see Osm. TRS1. *-dan*, e.g. *candan* 'duševnyj') *čindanı* ~ *čindanı* (*Tgindani*, gerechtig. = rightful) Accusative;

č i n d é l a p ~ *čindəlap* (*Tgindelab*, waerlijk, oprech. = real, true)?

< *bükriül* ~ *bögrül* 'multi-coloured, spotted' cf. MK *Bükriül* 'gescheckt, mit weissen Flanken (Pferd, Schaf)' (*Brockelmann*), *bögrül* (DTS) 'id.' + *-jék* Demin. suff. (cf. Osm. TRS1. *-cek*). The word probably refers to the spots of the mottled bean, provided that they knew it at all.

č i n l ī q ~ *činliq* (*Tginlik*, oprechtheid.) ‘truth, reality’ Cf. *č i n* ~ *čin* + *-liq* (Denominal suffix forming nouns, see RäsMorph. 105, Osm. TRS1. 964 *-lik*, Tat. R. III, 2073 *činliq*)

č i p l a q ~ *čiplaq* (*Tgiiplak*, naakt, ongekleed.) ‘naked, unclothed’ Cf. Tuhf. (Turkmen dialect), Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *čiplaq*

č i r b a ~ *čirba* ‘soup’ See *č o r b a*; Probably it is variant of *čorba*, but its relationship to the Persian word *čerbe* ‘dripping’ (*Redhouse* 716) cannot be excluded.

č o r b a, *čirba* ~ *cirba* (*Dsòrbá, dfirba*, een zop of zuipen dat van Water, Rys, Honing, enz. gemaekt 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.

ž a d i w (*Giadiu*, een Duivels-konstenaer: hier van daen het woord *giasou*, waer mede zy een Ketter, of een ongeloovige betekenen. = devil-master (conjurer): the word *giasou* derives from this, meaning heretic or unbeliever) ‘witch, magician’ Cf. Idr. Haş. *cadı* ‘sahirbaz, büyüğü’, Tuhf. *cadı* ‘sahir, büyü’, Tat. Dobr., Osm. R. IV, 47 *jadı*; Crim. Tat., Osm. R. IV, 47 *jadu*; KarK *jaduw* < P.

ž a d u y ~ *jaduyi* (*Giadui*, Ketter, Duivels-konstenaer. = heretic, devil-master) ‘heresy, witchcraft’ Supposing that the item from *Witten Giadui* is a literal transcription of an Arabic word [jadwy]. Osm. *jaduwı* [jadwy], *jaduyı* [jadwyy] ‘Witchcraft’ < P.

ž a n ‘soul, life’ Cf. CC, Tarj., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *jan* < P.; *jan al-* ‘to kill’, *jan alur* (*Giian alur*, hy neemt de Ziel of het Leven weg. = he takes away his soul or his life); *jan čiqar-* (~ *čiqar-*) ‘to kill’, *jan čiqarur* (*čiqarur*) (*Giian Cikarur*, hy geeft de Gee t, of de Ziel uit. = he breathes his life, or soul); *janı yog* (*Gian 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’; *janleri yog* (*Giianlerrı 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’; *jan sat-* ‘to sell one’s soul (figurative)’ Cf. Osm. TRS1. *canını şeytana satmak* ‘zaprodať dušu čertu’; *jan satar* (*Giian zatar*, hy verkoopt een Ziel, of zijn Ziel. = he sells souls, or he sells his own soul); *jan ver-* ‘to die, to breathe one’s life’ Cf. Osm. TRS1. *can vermek*; *jan verür* (*Giian verruz*,²² hy geeft zijn Ziel, of Leven over. = he gives his soul or life out); *janım* (*Gianim*, mijn Ziel. = my life) ‘(Interjection) My dear one!’

²¹ The Dutch translation and the plural form of the expression (*janleri yog*) suggest that the original form may have been *janı yog* ending with *i* pronounced casually (or deteriorating before *y*).

²² *z* is mistakenly exchanged for *r*.

ſa n s i s (*Giiânsis*, zonder Ziel. = soulless) 'lifeless, soulless' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *ſansız*

ſa u ſ 'courageous, brave, hero; sergeant' Cf. Osm. *Hazai*: Hars., *Kakuk*: Recherches (with numerous data) *čauš*, Müh., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat. *čaruš*, Osm. *čawuš* [*čawš*] 'A herald; A pursuivant, a messenger; A sergeant in the army . . .' < Ar. P.; *jausler* (*Giaousler*, dappere, Itrydbare, twiftgierige. = courageous, pugnacious, bully) Plural; *jausler aralerinde* (*Giaousler aralerinde*, zijnder twift-gierige onder haer: anders *taii* is twift, of oorlog. = there are pugnacious among them: otherwise *taii* quarrel, or war) '1. (there are) pugnacious among them 2. among pugnacious people' See *ta y i* ~ *ta y i n*, too

ſa v u ſ (*Giaw*, een plaets: *giavous*, dapper, Itrydbaer. = *Giaw* it's a place: *giavous*, courageous, pugnacious) 'hero, courageous; pugnacious' Cf. Müh., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat. *čaruš*, Osm. *čawuš* < Ar. P.

ſa w 'battlefield, fight; enemy; army' See *ſa v u ſ*. Cf. Tat. Dobr. *ǵaw* [*jaw*], K.-Balk. *jau* [*jaw*], Tat. Kzk. R. IV, 7 *jau* [*jaw*] 'der Krieg, die Baranta, der Feind, das Heer' See Nog., Kumyk *yaw*, too

ſa v i s 'nut' See *ſe v i s*. Cf. Kumyk *ſawuz* 'muskatnyj orech' < Ar. < P.

ſa z u 'witch, magician' See *ſa d i w*. Cf. Osm. *Zenker* *ſazū*, Osm. *Özön cazu* < P.

ſe v i s (*Gievis*, een Noot, Hazel-noot: van waer *giavis*, Noote-muskaet. = nut, hazel-nut: hence *giavis*, nut-meg) 'nut' Cf. Crim. Tat. *ſäwiz*, *ſäwüz*, Tat. Dobr. *ſeviz* (= *jeviz*), Tat. Dobr. Mändoky *ſewez*, Osm. *ſeviz* < Ar. < P.

d a l q a n See *ta l q a n*

d a m b a y (1692 *Dambai*, dieren. = 'animals'; 1705, 1785 id.) 'buffalo' Cf. Osm. dial. TRSl. *dombay* 'bujvol'

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

d a r i d ü n y a (*dari dunja* Deze Waereld²³ = this world) 'this world, transitory world, earth' Cf. Osm. TRSl. *dari-dünya* 'êtot mir, tlennyj (brennyj), mir', Osm. dialect TS *dardünya* 'Dünya, yeryüzü' < P., Ar.

d a r i l- 'to get angry, to be offended' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *daril-*; *darildiñ mé?* (*Darildinghme*, zijt gy ontstelt of verstoort? = are you dismayed or angry?) 'did you get angry? are you offended?' Definite Past Tense 1st P. Singular, Interrogative; *darılma* (*Darılma*, ontzet uw niet. 'don't be angry' Imperative mood, Negative (prohibitive) Form, 2nd P. Sing.

²³ See note 19.

*D a y d*²⁴ (*Daoud*, David.) 'David' Cf. CC *daud* 'David', Nog. *Daut*, Osm. Zenker *dāūd* < Ar.; *Daud paša* (*Daoud pascia*, de Oversten David. = David principal) 'David pasha' Cf. Osm. *dāwud paša*

d a w ē l (*Daüel*, een Trommel.) 'drum' Cf. Tat. Dobr. *davilli*, Osm. R. III, 1646 *davil*, Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Osm. *davul* < Ar.

d e - 'to say, to speak' Cf. Tuhf., Qaw. (dä-), Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *de-*; *dedüm* (*Dedum*, ik heb gezegd. = I said) Definite Past Tense, 1st P. Singular

d e l i (*Deli*, een Zot.) 'silly, fool' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *deli*

d e l i 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 n i s (1692 *Denis*, de zee. 1705, 1785 *Denis*, *denghis*, de Zee.) 'sea' Cf. KarK, Osm. *deniz*

d e η i s 'sea' See *d e n i s*. Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Osm. *deñiz*

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 laegte. = valley, cavity, lowland) 'brook, valley, hollow, precipice' Cf. Qaw. *därä*, Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *dere* < P.

*d e r d*²⁶ (*Derd*, tegenpoet, smrte. = 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 *duvat*, Tarj. *däwät*, KarK, *devet*, Osm. *divit* [dwyt] < Ar.

d e v l e t (*Deflet*, uitmuntend, verheven, gelukkig. = excellent, magnificent, happy) 'wealth, happiness, high rank (estate)' Crim. Tat., KarH, Nog. (däwlet), Kumyk, Osm. *devlet* 'Prosperity; good luck; high estate' < Ar.

d e v l e t l ü (*Defletlou*, een die uitmuntende, verheven is. = what (who) is excellent, majestic) 'powerful, rich, happy' Cf. Tuhf., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *devletli*, *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.

*d è g'*²⁷ 'to touch, to reach' Cf. Bul., Crim. Tat. *däg-* (= *deg-*), Osm. *dey-* [dkmk]; *dég'me* (*Deyghme*, Itoot of raekt dat niet. = don't take it, or don't touch it) Imperative Mood, Negative (Prohibitive) Form, 2nd P. Singular

*d è g' i r m e n*²⁸ (*Deyghirmen*, een Moolen.) 'mill' Cf. KarK, *degirmen*, 17th century Osm. (Németh, Illésh.) *degirmenc'i* 'Müller', Osm. TS *değirmen*

d e y ü l 'no, not' (Negative Particle of the Compound Nominal Predicate) Cf. Arm.-Kipch. *dugul*, KarK *dügül*, 17th century Osm. (Németh, Illésh.) *degijl* (= *degil*), Hazai, Hars. *degil*, Osm. TS *değil*, Chag. R. III, 1660 *dägil*

d i š (*Dîs*, een Tand.) 'tooth' Cf. Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *diš*

*d i v a n*²⁹ ~ *divane* 'fool' Cf. Crim. Tat. *divanät*, Osm. *dîwâne*, Chag. Eastern Turkic R. III, 1779 *divanä* < P.

d o m u s 'hog, pig' See *d o n u s*. Cf. KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *domuz*

d o n u s ~ *doŋus*³⁰ (*Dönous*, een Varken; de uitspraak is *domous*. = pig, the pronunciation is *domous*) 'hog, pig' Cf. Qaw. *donjuz*, KarT, Kumyk, Osm. *doñuz* [twkwz]

d ó r d i n j i (*Dordingii*, de vierde.) 'fourth' Cf. KarK *dordunji*, Tat. Dobr., Mándoky *dördinjisi* Osm. *dördinji*

d ó r t (*Dort*, vier.) 'four' Cf. CC, Tarj., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *dört* ~ *dört*

d u r (Dour, ronde-danssen. = to dance a round dance) 'round, turning' Cf. Kumyk *tur*, Osm. TRS1. *tur* 'tur; krug; oborot; turne; progulka' < French *tour*

*d ü n y a*³¹ 'world' Cf. CC *dunjá*, *dünja* etc., Arm.-Kipch. *dunja*, KarK *dünje*, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk *dünya* ~ *dünya*, K.-Balk. *duniya*, Osm. TS *dünya* < Ar.

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

d ü g' m e (*Duighmè*, een knopp, een knop.) 'bow, knot, bundle; button' Cf. Idr., Tuhf. (Turkm. dial.) *dügme*, Crim. Tat., KarK *dögme*, 17th century Osm. (Németh, Illésh.) *duc'me* (= *düg'me*), Osm. TS *düğme*

d ü g' ü m 'knot, noose, slip-knot' Cf. Osm. TS *düğüm düg'ümber* (*Dughum-ler*, kluwens. = balls (knots))

d ü s e k (*Dousciek*, een Bed.) 'resting-place, bed; mattress' Cf. Osm. *düsek* '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.

ē g' e r (*Eigher*, een Zael) 'saddle' Cf. CC *eyer*, Idr. *ägär*, Idr. Haş. *ejer* ~ *eyer*, Müh. *eyerçi* 'eğerçi, saraç', Tuhf. *eyer*, Qaw. *äyär*, Dur. *äyär*, Crim. Tat. *äjär* (= *eyer*), Tat. Dopr. *eyer*, 17th century Osm. (Németh, Illésh.) *eyer*, *Maggio* (Kenessey, 68) *eyerle-* 'to saddle', Hazai, Hars. *eger* [eğer], Osm. *eyer* [akr; ayr], Chag. Tar. R. I, 695 *ägär* 'Sattel'

ē l g e n (1692 *Eelgen*, groen kruit. 1705, 1785 *Eelgen*, groen Kruid. = green grass, spice, cabbage) ?

e m ā n e t (*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. Dopr., Osm. *emanet* (*emānet*) < Ar.

e r i k (*Erik*, een Pruim.) 'plum' Cf. CC, KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *erik*

e s k' e r (*Eskjer*, Krygs-leger. = war (battle) camp) 'army; combatant, soldier' Cf. KarK, Nog. *esker* ~ *äsker*, Kumyk *asger*, Osm. R. I, 880 *äskär* < Ar.

e t m e k (*Etmek*, Brood.) 'bread' Cf. CC, Tarj. (*ätmäk*), Müh., Crim. Tat., KarH, Kumyk, Osm. *etmek*; *etmek al* (*Etmek al*, neemt Brood. 'take some bread')

e y l e- 'to make, to do' Cf. Qaw. *äylä-*, Crim. Tat. EČel. *neyle-* [< ne + eyle-], Crim. Tat. *äilä-* (= *eyle-*), KarK *eylä-*, Tat. Dopr., Osm. *eyle-*; *ne eyler-sin?* (*Neeilerzin*, . . . wat doet gy? = what are you doing) Aorist 2nd P. Singular

e v See *e f*

e ž d e h a (*Esdeha*, een Draek.) 'dragon' Cf. KarK *ažidaxi*, KarT *ajdaya*, Tat. Dopr. *ağderya*, Nog. *azdaa*, Kumyk *aždaha*, Osm. *eždeha* [*aždha*] < P.

fālik (*Falik*, een huuwbare Dochter. = nubile) 'adult girl, marriageable girl' Cf. Osm. *fālik* < Ar.

f a n a r (*Fanar*, Lantaern.) 'lamp' Cf. CC *fanar*, Osm. R. IV, 1910 *fanar* < Greek

f e r ā χ (*Feragh*, verheuging, blijdschap.) 'pleasure, gaiety' Cf. Osm. *ferāh* < P. < Ar.

f e r e j ē (*Feregie*, het Opperkleed, Mantel.) 'overgarment, overcoat' Cf. Crim. Tat. *färäjä*, Osm. *ferāje* < Ar.

f e r m ā n (*Ferman*, bevel, befluit.) 'command, order' Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K *ferman*, Osm. *fermān* < P.

f e r m ū d e (*Fermoude*, dat gelast, of bevoolen is. = that, which has been entrusted) 'commission, command, decree' Cf. Osm. *fermūde* < P.

f e r z e n d (*Fersend*, een Jongen.) 'boy, child' Cf. Osm. *ferzend* < P.

f i l ĵ a n (*Filgian*, een drink-kopje. = drinking-cup) 'cup' Cf. KarK, Tat. Dopr., Osm. vulgar *filjan* < Ar.

f i s l i g e n (*Fisligen*, een handvat in 't byzonder, een Zilver Lampet. = a bowl with handle, mostly a silver jug) ?

f r a n s i s (*Francis*, een Europaen. = European) ‘French man, European’ Cf. Osm. R. IV, 1952 *fransız*

f u ġ i (*Fougii*, een Ton of Vat.) ‘barrel, vessel’ Cf. Crim. Tat. *fuču* ~ *füči*, KarK, Osm. *fuči*

*f u l a q e*³² (*Fulake*, gevangenis, stok, of bewaerplaets. = 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. *gäl-*, KarK *kel-*, 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 noodig) ‘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 ş a-*

g' i z l 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 ş ~ *k'ümüş* (*Jumis*, Zilver.) ‘silver’ Cf. KarK *gumuş*, Kumyk *g'ümüş*, Osm. *gümüş*; Arm.-Kipch. *kumuş*, karK *kümiş*, KarK, Tat. Dobr., K.-Balk. *kümüş* ~ *k'ümüş*

g' ü m l e k (*Jumlek*, een Hemd.) ‘shirt’ Cf. Osm. *gömlek*

g' ü n ~ *k' ü n* ‘day’ See *her*; Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *gün* ~ *gün*, Arm.-Kipch. *kun*, Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., K.-Balk. *kün* ~ *kin*

g' ü z g ü See *k' ü z g ü*

ǵ a l b e (*Galbe*, overhand, overwinning) ‘victory, superiority, dominance’ Cf. Osm. TS *galebe* ‘Yenme, yengi; Üstünlük’ < Ar.

ǵ a m (*Gam*, hardzeer, droefheit.) ‘pain, sorrow, sadness’ Cf. CC *yam*, Crim. Tat. *gam*, KarK *gam*, *yam*, Osm. *gam* < Ar.; *ǵam ye-* ‘to grieve, to sorrow’, *ǵam 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 (*ä* = *ə*; here *e*). Next to the labially uttered *f* 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: *fələqə* > *fūləqə* *fulaqə* > (here: *fulaqē*). However, *u* might simply indicate a velar reduced sound as well (*ē*).

droefheit. = 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*

g a r i b (*Garib*, een vreemdeling, 'foreigner' Cf. CC *yarip*, KarK, *garip*, KarHT *garib*, Tat. Dobr. *garip*, Osm. *garip* < Ar.

gauya (*Gauga*, beroerte, oproer. = apoplexy, revolt, riot) 'discord, quarrel, fight' Cf. Crim. Tat. *qauya* 'der Streit, Feindschaft', Osm. (Hazai, Hars.) *gauga* (*gauga*) *kavga* 'Streit ; Zank', Osm. *gawga*, vulgar *qawga* < Ar. [γwya]

g a y b ~ *gayéb* (*Gaib*, verloren, afwezen.) 'the lost thing, the missing thing ; the lost' Cf. Crim. Tat. *gaip*, Crim. Tat. M-K *gayib*, KarK *gayip*, Osm. *ghā'ib*, vulgar *gāyib* < Ar.

g a y r é (*Gairè*, een ander, iets anders.) 'other, another' Cf. Crim. Tat. *gayri*, KarK *gayri*, Osm. *gayri* < Ar.

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

h a w e s (*Hawes*, tegenpoet, tegenstand, toutmoedigheit. = trouble, opposition, daring) 'passion, inclination, mood' Cf. Crim. Tat. *hawäs* ~ *häwäs*, KarK, *χawes*, 'želanie, stremlenie, žažda', Osm. *haves* ~ *heves* < Ar.

h e d a ~ *hüda* (< *huda*) (1692 *Heda* betekent, in het Crims, den hemel. = *Heda* means, in Crimean, the sky ; 1705, 1785 *Heda*, den Hemel. = the sky) 'firmament, 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 ā k (*Helaek*, ondergang, verbreking, uitroeying.) 'decay, deterioration, decline' Cf. Crim. Tat. *häläk*, Osm. *heläk* < Ar.

h e m d e n ~ *h e m d e m* (*Hemden*, laeften adem. = the last breath) 'intimate friend' Cf. Osm. *hemdem* < P.

h e m ā n (*Heman*, nu voort, aen tonds. = 10, start, immediately, at once) 'immediately, instantly ; almost' Cf. Crim. Tat. *häman* 'sogleich, ebenso', Osm. *hemān* < P.

h e r 'every, each' Cf. CC, Tuhf. *her*, Bul. *här*, Arm.-Kipch. *har*, KarK *yer*, Osm. *her* < P. ; *her adem* (*Her adem*, elk Mensch.) 'every man' ; *her g'ün* ~ *her k'ün* (*Her juin*, alle daeg.) 'every day' ; *her k'im* (*Herkjim*, elk een.) 'anybody' ; *her k'iši* (*Herkjigi*,³³ alle man.) 'all, everybody' ; *her zaman* (*Hersaman*, altyd.) 'always, continually'

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

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

³³ Witsen also recorded its correct form : *k'iši* (*Kjissi*). The given expression can only be reconstructed as **her k'ic*, or **her k'iži*, if the correctly spelt word is assumed to be **Herkjigi*.

h i l ā l (*Hilal*, de nieuwe Maen : maer *chalal*, een Tande-stooker. = the new moon ; but *chalal* is toothpick) 'new moon' Cf. Osm. *hilal* 'The new moon, the crescent' < Ar.

h i m m e t (*Himmet*, bekommering, zorg, voorneme. = sadness, trouble, plan) 'trouble, provision, goodwill' Cf. Osm. *himmet* < Ar.

h i r s e y i r ~ *hirseg'ir* ~ *hirsek'ir* (*Hirsejir*, die iets bekomt das waerdig is. = who gets something valuable, who gets what he deserves)

h ü w e (*Hüe*, die, hy. = that, he) 'he, it ; God' Cf. Osm. *huwe* (= hüwe) 'he, it ; God' ; It must be noted that the *invocatio* (da'vet) of Muslim diplomas, thus among others that of the Crimean khans, often consists only of the word „He (= God)' written with golden letters (Matuz 61–62).

H ü s e y n 'a masculine name' See *X a l i l* and *X a s a n* ; Cf. Osm. *huseyn* (= hüseyin) < Ar.

χ a d i m (*Chadim*, een Dienst-meit. = maid ; *Chadim Eunuch*, gesnedene Dienst-booden. = castrated servants) 'eunuch ; servant' Cf. Crim. Tat. *χadim*, KarK *χadim*, Osm. *χadim* < Ar. ; *χadimler* (*Chadimler*, gesnedenen. = the castrated) Plural

χ a i n (*Chain*, oproerige, ook afvallige. = inciting, turbulent, faithless, perjurer) 'unfaithful, traitor, perjurer, ungrateful ; rebel' Cf. Osm. *χā'in* < Ar. ; See *χayin*, too

χ ā l (*Häl-hala*, de tegenwoordigheid, nu terftond. = the present, immediately) 'the present time' Cf. Osm. *häl* < Ar. ; See *χālā*, too

χ ā l ā 'at present, now ; still, yet' See *χāl* ; Cf. Osm. *hälā* 'At the present time, at present, now ; Still, yet' < Ar.

χ a l a l 'toothpick' See *hilal* ; Cf. Ar. Johnson *khalāl*, *khilāl* 'A toothpick'

χ a l i (*Chali*, vry, leedig.) 'free, leisure' Cf. Osm. *khalī*, Osm. TRS1. *hali* < Ar.

X a l i l (*Chalil*, *Hafsan* of *Huseyn*, eige Namen. = proper names) 'Halil' Cf. Osm. *khalil* 'An intimate friend ; A proper name of men' < Ar.

χ a l q a (*Halka*, een Ring.) 'ring' Cf. CC *χalqa*, Crim. Tat. M-K *halqa*, KarK *χalqa*, Osm. *halqa* < Ar.

χ a l w a (*Halwa*, Confituur Zuiker.) 'a certain Oriental sweet dish' Cf. Crim. Tat. *hälva*, KarK *χalwa*, Nog. *χalwa*, Osm. *halvā*, *helwa* < Ar.

χ a l v e t (*Halvet*, oorlof.) 'holiday, permission ; farewell' Cf. Osm. *khalvet* 'Solitude, loneliness ; A retired place, . . .' < Ar.

χ a m (*Cham*, raeuw.) 'unripe, immature' Cf. CC *χam*, KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *ham* ~ *kham* < P.

χ a m u r (*Chamur*, Zuur-dezem. = sour dough) 'dough, leaven' Cf. CC *χamyr*, KarK, Kumyk *hamur*, Osm. *khamur* < Ar.

χ ā n (*Chân*, Konink, Tytel van de Konink. = king, the title of the king) 'sovereign, khan' Cf. CC *χan*, Arm.-Kipch. *χan*, Crim. Tat. EČel. *χān*, KarK, Nog., Kumyk *han*, Osm. *khān*

χ a n (*Chàn*, een Gebouw, gemeene Herberg. = building, common tavern, inn; *Chandur*³⁴ een Herberg. = hostelry) ‘hostelry, inn’ Cf. Crim. Tat. Osm. R. II, 1663 *χan* < P. < Ar.

χ a n ġā r (*Changiār*, 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 *χanjär*, Osm. *khanjer*, vulgar *khanchar* < Ar.

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

χ a r ā m (*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 spreid, Tapyt. = rush, matting, everything that man spreads out, carpet) ‘mat (carpet)’ Cf. CC *χasyr* ‘Matte’, Crim. Tat. *hasır*, Osm. *hasır* < Ar.

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

χ a v i y ā r (*Chavijaer*, Cavijaer.) ‘caviar’ Cf. Osm. *havyar*

χ a y i n (*Chajin*, bedrieger, verleider. = deceiver, tempter) ‘deceiver, traitor, ungrateful’ Cf. Osm. *khā'in*, vulgar *khāyın* < 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*, Heerlijkheit.) ‘gentleman, squire, dignity’ Cf. Crim. Tat. Osm. R. II, 1771 *hazrät*, 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 k ē (*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. *χırxa*, Osm. *khırqa* < Ar.

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

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

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

³⁴ See note 19.

i l e 'with, together with (postposition) 'See *χ a w a n* Cf. Osm. TS *ile ilg* See *ilig*

ilig ~ *ilg* (*Iorgh* of *Ilgh*, merg.) 'marrow' Cf. CC *jilik*, Osm. KarL Chag.

R. I., 1484 *ilik* 'Knochenmark'

i m a n s i s (*Eimansis*, ongeloovig, of die geen geloof verdiend. = unbeliever, he who does not follow any religion) 'unbeliever' Cf. Crim. Tat. *ımansız*, KarK *iman* 'vera', Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal *imansız*, Kumyk *imansız*, Osm. *ımansız* < Ar. *imān* + Affix *-siz* (privative suffix)

i n n e (*Innē*, een Naelt.) 'needle' Cf. Tuhf. *yne*, KarH *ine*, Tat. Dobr., Nog., K.-Balk., Osm. *yne*, Lebed, Soyon R. I., 1446 *innä* 'die Nadel'

i s t e- 'to want, to wish, to mean' Cf. Müh., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *iste-*; *isterum* (*Isterzum*,³⁵ *isterrum*, ik zal, of ik trachte te doen. = I will, or intend to do something) Aorist, 1st P. Singular

i šl ä- See *işle-*

i šl e- ~ *ışlä-* 'to do, to make, to work' Cf. CC *ışlemek*, Tuhf. *işle-*, Müh. *ışlemek*, Arm.-Kipch. *ışla-*, KarTK *ışle-*, KarT *ışlä-*, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Osm. *ışle-*; *ne ışlärsen* ~ *ne ışlersen* (1692 *Neiflasen*,³⁶ ofte *Neiflersen*, wat doet ghy. 1705, 1785 *Neeilerzin*, *Neiflasen*, of *Neiflersen*, wat doet gy?) 'what are you doing?' Aorist 2nd P. Singular

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

(*Jumga*, Zatyn. = satin ?) ?

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

k' a γ i t (*Kjaghit*, Papier.) 'paper' Cf. CC *kayyt*, Idr. *qağit*, Tarj. *kegit*, Tuhf. *kagyt*, Qaw. *kāğıd*, Crim. Tat. M-K *kayid*, KarHT *kayit*, Tat. Dobr. Mán-doky *k'ät*, Nog. *kayit*, K.-Balk. *qayıt*, Osm. *kyāghid* [*kayd*] < P.

k' ā m i l (*Kjamil* of *Kemâl*, volmaekt.) 'complete, whole; ready; perfect' Cf. KarK *k'amıl*, Kumyk *kamil*, Osm. *kyāmil* < Ar.

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

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

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

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

³⁷ The first part of the so far undeciphered item (*Jtz-*) might be the word *keči* ~ *keči* 'goat'. In several words of the glossary *j* = *k'* and *tz* = *č* 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 *keči bala(sı)*.

k e f i l (*Kefil*, een Borg.) 'a bail' Cf. KarK *kefil*, Osm. *kefil* < Ar.

k' e l- See *g' e l-*

k' e l i (*Kjeli*, Vaten.) 'handle, holder; pounder' Cf. CC *keli* 'Mörserkeule', Tuhf., Tarj. (*käli*), KarK *keli*, Nog. Kumyk, Kzk. R. II, 1116 *keli*
k' e m (*Kjem*, te weinig.) 'few' Cf. Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *kem* < P.

k e m ā l 'whole, full, perfect(ion); maturity' See *k' a m i l*; Cf. Crim. Tat. *kämal*, Osm. *kemäl* < Ar.

k' e m e n d (*Jemend*, Touw, Koorde. = cord, string) 'cord, lasso, noose' Cf. Tat. Dobr. *kemen* 'lasso, arkan', Osm. *kemend* < P.

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

k' e m n u n (*Kjemnoun*, zorgvuldig.) 'careful' ?

k' e r e k See *g' e r e k*

k' e r e m i t (*Kjeremit*, Pannen Teegelen. = roof tiles, bricks) 'roof tile' Cf. Tat. Dobr. *kiremit* 'dachówka', Osm. *kiremuł* 'A roof-tile'

k' e r e w i s (*Kjerewis* of *Kijuas*,³⁸ word gebruikt voor Kars, en voor Water-kars. = cherry is called this way) 'celery' Cf. Osm. *kereviz* 'Celery, especially, the turnip-rooted celery' < Ar.

k' e r p ē (*Kjerpe*, een Slang.) 'hedgehog' Cf. Idr., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Dur., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *kirpi*

k' e r p i č (*Kjerpids*, gebakken teenen. = burnt stones) 'brick' Cf. CC *kerpič* 'ungebrannter Ziegel', Idr. *kärpiuç*, Tarj. *kärpič*, Müh., Bul., Tuhf. *kirpič*, KarK *kerpič*, Kumyk *kerpič*, Osm. *kirpitch* [krpyč, krpj]

k' e r t i k (*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. *kärtik*, KarK, Nog., Osm. *kertik*

k' e ʂ i š (*Kjescisc*, die zich afzonderd, alleen woont; een Monnik. = a man who lives alone, separated from others; monk) 'hermit, monk' Cf. Tuhf. *keşiş* 'rahip, papas', Kumyk Osm. *keşiş* 'A Christian priest, monk, or hermit' < P.

k' e y i k (*Kjeik*, een Hart. = stag, hart) 'deer, stag, hind; (usually) a wild beast, Cf. Tarj. *käik*, Tuhf., Müh. *kiyik*, Dur. *käjik*, KarKTH, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *kiyik*, Osm. *geyik*

k i l- 'to come' Cf. Tat. *kil-*, otherwise in all the languages nearby: *kel-*; *kil beri* (1692 *Kilberi*, komt hier. 1705, 1785 id.) 'come here' See also *b e r i*

k' i l e (*Kjilè*, een Kooren maet. = a quantity of grain) 'bushel' Cf. Osm. *kile* 'A bushel' < Ar.

k' i m (*Kjim*, wie?) 'who?' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., Tat. Dobr., KarHT, Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *kim*

³⁸ Correctly: *Kjiras*

k i m e t (*Kimet*, waerde.) 'value' Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K *qimet*, Tat. Dobr. *qimet*, Osm. *qimet* < Ar.

k i r a (*Kira*, Huur, Huis-huur.) 'wage, rent' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *kira* < Ar.

k' i r a s 'cherry' See *k' e r e w i s*; Cf. Osm. *kirāz*, *kurās*

k' i s e (*Kjisè*, een zak. = small bag; *Kjisè*, een Beurs. = purse, pouch) 'purse, small bag' Cf. KarK *kese*, Nog., Kumyk, Osm. TRS1 *kise*

k i š (1692 *Cis*, een zabel-dier. 1705, 1785 id.) sable (*Martes zibellina*) Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., Kumyk *kiš*

k' i š i (*Kjissi*, iemand. = somebody; See also *her*) 'man' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *kiši*

k' ó p e k 'dog' See *i t*; Cf. Idr., Tarj., Bul. (*köpäk*), KarK, Osm. TS *köpek*

k' ó r (*Kjor*, Blind.) 'blind' Cf. CC *kör* (cor), Tuhf., Qaw., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. TS *kör*, Nog. *kör* < P.

k' ü l- See *g'ül-*

k' ü l l i (*Kjulli*, allen.) 'all, the whole' Cf. Kumyk *küllü*, Osm. TS *külli* < Ar.

k' ü m i š See *g'umiš*

k' ü n See *g'un*

k' ü r k (*Kjurk*, Bont. = skins) 'fur, fell; fur-coat' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Tuhf. *kürk*, Crim. Tat. *kyrk* 'šuba', Nog. *korik*, *kork* 'mech, mech (dlja nagnetanija vozducha)', Osm. *kyūrk*, Tat. TRS1. *kürek* 'mech'

k' ü z g ü ~ *g'üzgü* (*Jusghu*, een Spiegel.) 'mirror' Cf. CC *kützgü*, Tarj. *küzügü*, Crim. Tat., KarK *kützgü*, Tat. Dobr. Ülküsäl *küzgu*, K.-Balk. *küzgü*, Kumyk *güzgü*, Osm. *gyuzgyu* (= *gözgü*)

q a d i r (*Kadirdur*, hy is magtig of bequaem. = he is powerful, or clever 'clever, strong, able' Cf. Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk *qadir*, Osm. *qādir* < Ar.

q a f See *q a v* I.

q a f t a n (*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. *qaptan*, Osm. *qaftān*

q a x p e (*Kahpé*, een Hoere.) 'whore, woman of loose morals' Cf. Nog. *qaxpe*, Osm. *qahbe* < Ar.

q a q u n ~ *qaqum* (*Kakoun*, Bond van Hermeling-vellen. = ermine fur-coat) 'ermine' Cf. Idr. Haş. *ak as* 'as dedikleri derisi makbul hayvanın ak renklisi ki (*kakum*) derler', Osm. *qaqim* ~ *qaqum* 'The ermine', *qaqim kürk* 'An ermine fur' < P.

q a l a (*Kala*, een Kastel.) 'fort, castle' Cf. CC *qalaa*, Qaw. *qal'a*, Arm.-Kipch. *qala*, KarHT *kala*, Kumyk *qala* < Ar.

q a l e m (*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.

q a l i n (*Kalin*, dik, grof.) ‘thick, coarse, dense’ Cf. CC *qalyñ*, Idr., Tarj., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK Nog., Kumyk *qalın*, Osm. Ts *kalin*

q a l p a q (*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*

(*Kalseme*, inzwelging. = swallowing, annexion) ?

q a m i š (*Kamis*, Riet-gewas.) ‘reed’ Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. *qamış*, Osm. TS *kamış*

q a n d i l (*Kandil*, een Lamp.) ‘wick, torch, lamp’ Cf. KarK *qandıl* ‘lampaða, lampadka’, Osm. *qandıl* < Ar.

q a p i (*Kapi* of *kapou*, de Deur.) ‘gate, door’ Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *qapi*, Osm. *qapu*, *qapi*

q a p u ‘gate, door’ See *q a p i*; Cf. Idr., Tarj., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK. Kumyk, Osm. *qapu*

q a r a (*Kara*, Zwart.) ‘black’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qara*, Osm. TS *kara*

q a r a b o y d a y (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’

q a r a γ i (*Karaghi*, een houte Pyp of Fluit.) ‘pipe, flute’³⁹ Probably related to the homonymous Osm. word meaning ‘poker’, ‘rake’: Osm. TRS1. *karağı* ‘kočerga’; See also *qarayı* (R. II, 151)

q a r e n f i l (*Karenfil*, Giroffel-nagelen.) ‘pink’ Cf. KarK *qarenfil*, Osm. *qaranfil* < Ar.

q a r γ a (*Karga*, een Exter.)⁴⁰ ‘crow’ Cf. Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Nog., Kumyk *qarya*, Osm. *qarga*

q a r i (*Kari*, een Vrouw.) ‘woman’ Cf. Müh. *kari* ‘kocamış erkek ve kadıñ’, Tuhf. *kari* ‘ihtiyar, yaşılı’, Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. *qarı*, Osm. *qarı*

q a r i n (*Karin*, het Ingewand.) ‘belly’ Cf. CC *qarym* ‘Bauch’, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qarın*, Osm. TS *karin*

q a r i n j a (*Karingia*, een Mier.) ‘ant’ Cf. Tarj. *karynča*, Qaw. *karinča*, Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK *qarınja*, Osm. *qarinja*

³⁹ In Crim.Tat. “kuraj” denotes a flute (pipe), cf. Vámbéry, 639; Further data: Kzk. R. II, 921 *quray* ‘eine Art Flöte (bei den Beschkiren)’, Crim.Tat. M-K *qaval* ‘dudka, svirel’.

⁴⁰ The Dutch word “Exter” means a kind of raven-like bird (*Pica pica*).

q a r y e (*Karie*, een Dorp, Gehucht.) ‘village, hamlet’ Cf. Osm. *qarye*, vulgar *qariyye* ‘A village’ < Ar.

q a r p u s (*Karpous*, Water-meloen.) ‘watermelon’ Cf. Idr., Tarj., Tuhf. *qarpuz*, Dur., Qaw. *karbuz*, Crim. Tat. *qarpuz*, Tat. Dobr. *qarpuz*, *qarpız*, Nog. *qarbız*, Osm. *qarpuz*

q a s (*Kas*, een Ganze.) ‘goose’ Cf. CC *qaz*, Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., *kaz*, Dur., Qaw. *qaz*, Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qaz*, Osm. TS *kaz*

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

q a s a v e t (*Kassavet*, verdrukking, benaeuwtheit.) ‘sorrow, fear, anxiety, anguish’ Cf. Crim. Tat. *gasavät* ‘die Grobheit, Härte, Traurigkeit, der Kummer, Betrübnis’, Crim. Tat. M-K *qasevet* ‘zabota, trevoga’, Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal 44 *kasvet*, Kumyk *gasavat*, Osm. *gasävet* < Ar.

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

q a t a r (*Katir* of *Kati*,⁴¹ een hoop Beesten, een drift. = a group of animals, pack, herd) ‘a line or chain consisting of something’ Cf. Nog. *qatar* ‘rjad, stroj ; 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. Dobr. Ülküsal, Osm. *katur*

q a v I. ~ *qaf* ~ *qaw* (*Kav* of *kaf*, Tontel, Zwillig)⁴² ‘tinder’ Cf. CC *qov* ‘Zunder’, Idr. *qav*, Tarj. *kaw*, Müh. *kavlik* ‘çakmak kabı’, Tat. Dobr. *qaw* ‘sucha trawa’, Nog. *qaw* ‘vysochšaja na kornju trava’, Osm. *qaw* ‘Tinder ; touchwood, punk’

q a v II. ~ *qaw* ‘vessel, leather bottle, bag’ See *q a v* I. Cf. Uig. Caf. *kav* ‘küçük bir ölçü’ MK *qap* ‘Schlauch, Gefäß’, CC *χap* ‘Sack’, Tarj. *kap* ‘Sack’, KarK *qap* ‘mešok’, Nog. *qapšiq* ‘mešok’, Kumyk *qap* ‘mešok’, K.-Balk. *qabčiq* ‘mešok’, Osm. *qaw* ‘The cast skin of a snake’, Tat. TRS1. *qap*; Concerning *b* ~ *p* > *w* ~ *v* ~ *f* see RäsLautg. 172—73.

q a ү n (*Kaoun*, Pompoen.) ‘musk-melon’ Cf. CC *govun*, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur. *qavun*, KarK *qawun*, Tat. Dobr. *qaun*, Tat. Dobr. Mándoky, Kumyk, Osm. *qawun*, Osm. Hazai, Hars. *kaun* [kaun], Tat. Kzk. R. II, 52 *qaun*

q a y γ u (*Kaigou*, groote droefheit, geween. = big sorrow, weeping) ‘bitterness, sorrow, trouble’ Cf. CC *qajyī*, Tarj. *kaigy*, Tuhf. *kaygi*, Tat. Dobr. *qayyu*, Uig. Eastern Turkic, Tar. Baraba R. II, 10 *qayyu*

⁴¹ Witsen’s correct item would read “*Katar of Katir*”. The conversation must have been about mules (*qatir*) 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. *qav* ~ *qaw* ‘touchwood’. II. *qav* ~ *qaf* ~ *qaw* ‘sack, bag’

q a ɿ q⁴³ ~ qayiq (*Kaik*, 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 *qajyn*, 'Birke', Nog. *qayin*, Kumyk *qayinayač* 'bereza', Osm. *qayn*, *qayin* The hornbeam (*carpinus betulus*), Osm. TRSl. *kayın* 'buk lesnoj (*Fagus silvatica*)'

q a y s⁴⁵ ~ qayiš (*Kais*, een Hals-band. = dog-collar) 'leather strap' Cf. Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw. (*qayš*), Dur., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Kumyk *qayiš*, Tat. Osm. Chag. Eastern Turkic R. II, 44—45 *qaž*

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 *kazan*

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

q i l- 'to do, to make' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Tarj., Crim. Tat., KarK, Kumyk. K.-Balk. *qıl-*, Osm. *kılmak*; *qılmayan* (Kilmajan)⁴⁷ Present participle, Negative form

q i l i č (*Kılıç*, een Deegen.) 'sword' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw. (*gılıç*), Crim. Tat. M-K (*glüč*), KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qılıč*, Osm. TS *kılıç*

q i r ('here) wild, living in wilderness' See *q i r d o m u z i*; Cf. Idr. *qır* 'Tepe başı', Bul., Tuhf., Bul., Crim. Tat. *qır* '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, bosch-verken. 1705, 1785 *Cydsmuzy*, een Bosch-varken.) 'wild-hog (*Sus scrofa*)' Cf. *qır* 'wild' + *domuz* 'pig'; Similar compositions are the following: *qır kığı* 'die auf freiem Felde lebenden Thiere, das Wild', *qır qazı* 'die wilde Gans', *qır käjäsi* 'das Reh' (R. II, 732), Tat. R. III, 773 *qır tarayı* 'das Haselhuhn'

q i r q (*Kirk*, veertig.) 'forty' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., KarH, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr. Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *qırq* ~ *kirk*

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

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 *Cyrdomuzy*.

q i z é l (*Kiffel*, Rood.) ‘pink, red’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dopr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qızıl*, Osm. TS *kızıl*

q o č (*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., Müh., Bul., Crim. Tat., KarK *qoč*, Osm. *qoch* (= *qoč*)

q o č q a r ‘ram’ See *q o č*; Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Bul., Tuhf., Dur., Qaw. Crim. Tat. Zaatov, KarK, Kumyk *qočqar*, Osm. *qochqar* ‘A very large and powerful ram, kept for fighting’

q o m a č See *q u m a č*

q o n d u s See *q u n d u s*

q o s (*Kos*, Okker-noot.) ‘walnut’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Dur., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dopr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *qoz*

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

q o y a n (1692 *Cojan*, een haes. 1705, 1785 id.) ‘hare, rabbit’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Bul., KarK, Tat. Dopr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *goyan*, Osm. DS *koyan* ‘Tavşan’

*q o i n*⁵⁰ ~ *qoyin* ~ *qoyin* (*Koin*, een Schaep ; men zegt *kojun.* = sheep ; they call it *kojun*) ‘sheep’ Cf. Osm. [qwyn] = *qoyin* ; See also *q o y u n*

q o y r u q See *q u y r u q*

q o y u See *q u y u*

q o y u n ‘sheep’ See *q o i n* ; Cf. Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dopr., Osm. *qoyun*

q u d u γ ~ *quduq* ~ ? *quzuy* (*Kodfog*,⁵¹ Fontaine.) ‘well’ Cf. KarK *quduq*quduy strikingly agrees with the Old Turkic data : DTS *quduy* ‘kolodec’, *quduy* ‘kolodec’

q u l (*Koul*, een *Knecht*, een *Slaef*) ‘servant, slave’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dopr., Nog. Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qul*, Osm. TS *kul*

q u m a č ~ *q o m a č* (*Komads*, aert van stoffe, Zyde en Bombazyn.) ‘cloth, silk’ Cf. Kumyk *qumač* ‘tkan’, material, materija’, Tat. Ostroumov *qumač* ‘bumažnaja materija’ < Ar.

q u n d u s ~ *q o n d u s* (*Kondous*, een Bever.) ‘beaver (Castor)’ Cf. Tat. Dopr., K.-Balk., Osm. *qunduz*

⁴⁹ (*kods kari*) = *qočqarı* is either mistaken or an inflection (Accusative). Correctly : *kodskar* (= *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 u r b a γ a (*Kourbaga*, Havik.) 'frog' Cf. Idr., Tarj. (*kurboga*), Tuhf., Osm. TS *kurbaga*

q u r m a (*Kourma*, een Dadel-vrucht.) 'date' Cf. Tarj. *korma*, Tuhf., Bul., Qaw. *qurma*, Nog. *qurma* 'churma, finiki' < P.

q u r t (*Kourt*, een Hout-worm, ook een Wolf.) 'wood-borer, worm ; wolf' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *qurt*, Osm. TS *kurt*

q u r u (*Kourou*, droog.) 'dry' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Dur., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Kumyk, K.-Balk. *quru*, Osm. TS *kuru*

q u s t a n (*Kustanc*, den Regen-boog, rootheit van de Lucht. = rainbow, the redness of the air (sky)) 'rainbow' Cf. Osm. *qustān* < Ar.

q u š (*Kous*, een Vogel.) 'bird' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *quš*, Osm. *kuš*

q u š a q (*Kousciak*, Gordel, Riem.) 'girdle' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. *qušaq*, Osm. *qušhāq*

q u š 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. (*kušluk*), Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Kumyk *qušluq*, Osm. [qwšlq] = *qušluq* 'The time of early morning'

q u t i (*Kouti*, een Doos, Bus, Doosjen.) 'box, case' Cf. KarK *qutī*, Tat. Dobr. *qutu*, Osm. *qütü*

q u y r u q ~ *qoyruq* (*Koirouk*, de Staert.) 'tail' Cf. CC *qujruq*, Idr., Tarj., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *quyruq*, Osm. R. II, 505 *qoiruq*

q u y u ~ *q o y u* (*Kojou*, een Put.) 'well' Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *quyu*, Osm. *kuyu*. 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 (*Kousu*, een Lammeken.) 'lamb' Cf. Tarj. *kozu*, Müh., Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal 18, Osm. TS *kuzu*

q u z u γ ? See *q u d u γ*

lāl (*Lal*, een Paerl, maer ook een Smaragdus. = pearl, but emerald too) 'ruby, pearl ; precious stone' Cf. CC *laal*, Crim. Tat. *lāl* 'der Rubin', Nog. *lal* 'rubin', Osm. *la”äl* 'A pearl-merchant', *la'l* 'The ruby' < P. < Ar.

lāl e (*Lale*, Lelie. = lily) 'tulip' Cf. Crim. Tat. *lalä*, Tat. Dobr. *lale* 'tulipan', Osm. *läle* < P.

lāzim (*Lasim*, 't is noodig.) 'necessary' Cf. Osm. *läzim* < Ar.

legēn (*Legēn* of *lejen*, een Hand-bekken.) 'bowl, basin' Cf. CC *layan* (lahan) '(Tauf-)Becken, baptisterium', KarK *legen*, *lēgen*, *lēken*, Kumyk *legen*, Osm. *leken*, vulgar *leyen* 'A large bowl or basin, as a washhand basin' < P.

le h l i ‘Polish’ Cf. Crim. Tat. *lählī* ‘polnisch, der Pole, der Karaim aus Polen’, KarHT *leh* ‘poljak’, Osm. *lehli* ‘Polish’; *lehliler* (*Lehliler*, Poolen, een Pool. = Poland, Polish) Plural

l e l e k (*Lelek*, Oyevaer.) ‘stork’ Cf. Crim. Tat. *lägläk*, KarH *leklek*, Tat. Dobr. *legelek* ‘bocian’, Osm. TS *leylek* < P.

l e š k' e r (*Leskjer* of⁵² *furlemek*, het Leger voeren. = to command the army) ‘army, the guards; soldiers’ Cf. Osm. *leshker*, Osm. Özön *leşger*, *leşker* ‘Asker’ < P.

l e y e n ~ *lek'en* (at Witsen *lejen*) See *l e g e n*

l i 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.

l ü l e (*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* (= lüle) ‘A pipe, tube’ < P.

m a č i (1692 *Matzi*, een kat. 1705, 1785 id.) ‘cat’ Cf. CC *mačy* (mazi) ‘Kater’, Idr., Tarj. (*mäči*), Tuhf., KarKT *mači* ‘koška’, Tat. *mäče* ‘koška’

m a γ r i b (*Maghrib*, het Westen.) ‘west’ Cf. Osm. *magrib* < Ar.

m a γ r ē m a (*Mahrema*, Hand-doek.) ‘towel’ Cf. KarK *maγrama* ‘golovnoj platok’, Osm. [mqrmh] *mqreme*, vulgar *maqrama*, *mahrama* ‘A cloth used as an apron, towel, handkerchief, etc.’ < Ar.

m ā q (*Maek*, Man-kop. = poppy-head) ‘poppy’ Cf. Tat. R. IV, 2071 *mäk* ‘der Mohn’ < Russian

m a q a s (*Makas*, een Schaefer.) ‘scissors’ Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. *maqas* < Ar.

m a n ? ~ *mančenden ?* ~ *mančendem ?* (1692 *Man* ofte *Cienden*, bosch-paert. 1705, 1785 *Man* of *Ciendem*, Bosch-paerd. = wild horse) ?

m a r a s (*Maras*, Ziekte.) ‘illness’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Nog., Osm. *maraz* < Ar.

m a y (*Maj*, Water.) ‘water, liquid’ Cf. Osm. *ma'i* vulgar *mayı* ‘Liquid, fluid’, Osm. TRS1. *maî* ‘vodjanoy, vodnyj’ < Ar.

m a y m u n (*Maimoen*, een Aep.) ‘monkey’ Cf. CC, Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *maymun* < Ar.

m e k' e s (*Mekjes*, veracht.) ‘despised’ Cf. ? Osm. *mikyas* ‘A being extremely grasping in a bargain; unreasonableness < Ar.

m e m l e k' e t (*Memlekjet*, een Koninkryk. = kingdom) ‘country; native land; empire’ Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. TS *memleket* < Ar.

m e n d a l (*Mendal*, het hout Aloe. = almond-tree) ‘almond’ Cf. Osm. *mendel* ‘the wood of aloes’, *mendel* ‘Lign aloes’ < P. < Ar.

⁵² The separation with ‘of’ ‘or’ the collocational verb and noun is incorrect, suggesting that *Witsen* thought the unintelligible words were synonyms.

m e r d é b a n (*Merdebaen*, een Ladder. 'ladder, stairs' Cf. Tuhf. (Trkm. dialect) *merdimen*, Crim. Tat. *märdvän*, KarK, Tat. Dobr. *merdiven*, Osm. *merduwān* vulgar *merdivan* 'A ladder' < P.

m e r y e b a (*Merheba*, vaert wel. = Good-bye) 'hello, welcome, good afternoon' Cf. Crim. Tat., Osm. *merhaba*, Tat. Dobr. *merxaba* < Ar.

m e š r i k (*Mesrik*, het Ooften.) 'east' Cf. Osm. *mešrik* < Ar.

m i l t i k (*Miltik*, ontmoetingen, verdedigingen. = meetings; persistence; defences) 'place (time) of a meeting' Cf. Osm. *multaqā* [mltqy, mltqa], Osm. Özön *mülteka* < Ar.

m i s k (*Misk*, Muskus.) 'musk' Cf. Crim. Tat. *mis* (Dmitriev 1926, 345), Osm. TS *misk* < P.

m i z ā n (*Misān*, een Schael daer men iets in weegt. = (dish of) scale, used for measurements) 'scale balance' Cf. Tat. Dobr. *mīzān*, Osm. *mīzān* < Ar.

m o m See *m u m*

m o r d a r See *m u r d a r*

m u ḡ a r r e m (*Muharrem*, na de Arabische stijl, de eerste Maend. = according to Arabic style, the first month) 'muharrem (the first lunar month)' Cf. Osm. *muharrem* < Ar.

m u m ~ mom (*Mom*, Smeer, een Kaers : *balmom*, Was. = ointment (tallow), candle : *balmom*, wax) 'wax, candle' Cf. Idr., Tuhf., Bul., Dur., Qaw. (*mūm*) Crim. Tat. *mum* 'das Licht', KarK, Tat. Dobr. *mum*, Osm. *mūm* < P.

m u m y a (*Moumia*, Mumie.) 'mummy' Cf. Osm. R. IV, 2216 *mumya* 'die Mumie' Ar.

m u r d a r ~ mordar (*Mordar*, alderlei onreinigkeit. = every kind of dirt, uncleanness) 'dirty; unclean; pagan' Cf. CC, Tuhf. (*murdar* 'haram', *murdar sik-* 'zina etmek'), Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarHT, Kumyk *murdar*, Osm. *murdār* vulgar *mūrdār* 'Canonically unclean; dirty; carrion' < P.

M u s a (*Mousa*, Mozes. 'Moses' Cf. Osm. *mūsa* 'A razor; Moses' < Ar.

m u s ā f i r x a n (*mussaphir Chandur*,⁵³ een Herberg der Reizigers. = inn of passengers) 'hostelry' Cf. Osm. TRS1. *misafirhane*, 17th century Osm. (Hazai, Hars.) *muṣafir* (musāfir) < Ar.-P.

m ü h i r (*Muhir*, een Zegel-ring of Wapen.) 'seal, seal-ring; coat-of-arms' Cf. Bul. *mühr*, Osm. *muhr*, vulgar *muhur* < P.

m ü r e k' e b (*Murekjeb*, Inkt.) 'ink' Cf. KarK *mürekeb*, Tat. Dobr. *mürekeb*, Osm. *murekab* (= mürekäb) < Ar.

n a ḡ a q (*Nahak*, die geen waerheit heeft. = one who is not right 'unjust, unlawful' Cf. Osm. *na-haqq* vulgar *na-haq* 'Unjust, iniquitous' < P.-Ar.

n a f t (*Napht*, het kruid Naphta. = spice-oil, 'vegetable oil' 'crude oil, vegetable oil' Cf. Osm. *neft* '(Originally) Rock oil, naphta . . .' < P.-Ar.

⁵³ See note 19.

n ā n (*Nane*,⁵⁴ Eeten, Brood.) 'food, bread' Cf. Osm. *nān* < P.

nan-nemek (*Nan nemek*, Brood en Zout, oneigenlijk 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 (hakki)', cf. also Osm. *nemek* (< Ar.) 'Salt'; < P.-Ar.

n a y (*Nai*, Speel-fluit.) 'flute, (reed) whistle' Cf. Osm. *nay* 'The reed; A reed flute, a pipe' < P.

n e 'what?' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Qaw., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk Osm. *ne*; *neden uitürü* (*Neden uturu*, om wat oorzaek?) 'why, owing to what?' Cf. CC, Tuhf., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. TRS1. *neden*, see also *ütürü*; *nedér?* (*Neder*, wat is 't? 'what is this (that)?' Cf. KarH *nedir* 'kakoj, čto za', Osm. TRS1. *ne*, *nedir*

n ē h ā y e t (*Nehajet*, het einde, de bepaling. = the end, the determination) 'end, finishing; finally' Cf. Osm. *nihāyet* < Ar.

n e h e k (*Nehek*, een Rupze. = caterpillar) ?

n i č ü n (*Niziun*, waerom?) 'why?' Cf. Osm. *nichun* vulgar *nichin* [nyčwn] 'For what? Why?'

n u γ a y ē (*Nougajè*, nieuwe vlammen, of eigentlijk negen vlammen, een soort van Zwaerden. = new flames, or nine flames, an art of sword) ?

o⁵⁵ 'that, he (she)' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. TS *o*

o k (*Ok*, een Pyl.) 'arrow' Cf. CC *oχ*, Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk. *oq*, Osm. TS *ok*

o l- 'to be' See *a š a-*; Cf. Bul., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Osm. *ol-*

o n (*On*, Tien.) 'ten' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. TS *on*

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

o t (1692 *Ot*, vuer. 1705, 1785 *Ot*, Vuur.) 'fire' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. TS *ot*

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 š a 'pasha'⁵⁶ See *D a u d*; Cf. Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat. *paša*, Osm. TS *paşa*

⁵⁴ The word final vowel (*e* = ē, *i*) is most probably a case ending (-i 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 "paša" was not in use in the Crimea (cf. Matuz 8).

p i y a l e (*Pialè*, een Drink-vat.) ‘drinking vessel, cup, drinking-glass, Cf. CC *pijala* ‘Becher’, Tuhf. *piyele* ‘cam kadeh’, Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. *piyala*, Osm. *piyâle* < P.

(*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 *b u l-* I.

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

*rajet*⁵⁷ (*Rahet*, Rust, verquikking.) ‘rest, refreshing’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, *rahat*, *rayat*, Tat. Dobr. Nog. *rayat*, Osm. *râhat* < Ar.

r ā x i l e t (*Rahilet*, een Laft-beest.) ‘pack-animal; camel’ Cf. Osm. Özön *rahile* ‘Yük hayvani’ < Ar. ArRS1. *rahilat* ‘verchovaja verbljudica’

r a x m ā n (*Rahman*, Barmhertig.) ‘merciful, all-forgiving’ Cf. Osm. *rahmān* < Ar.

r a x m e t (*Rachmet*, Barmhertigkeit.) ‘piety, mercifulness’ Cf. Crim. Tat. *raymat* ‘die Gnade’ KarK *rehmetli*, Nog. *raymet*, Osm. *rahmet* < Ar.

r a q i (*Raki*, Brandewyn.) ‘brandy’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK *raqi*, KarH *raki*, Tat. Dobr. *raqi*, Osm. *raqi* < Ar.

r a m ē z ā n a y ī (*Ramesan aï*, de Maend Ramesan, de negende in rang, op welk zy de groote Vasten houden. = the month of Ramesan, ninth in order, when the big fast is observed) ‘the ninth lunar month, the time of fasting’ Cf. Osm. *rāmazān* [= rəməzān] < Ar.

r e j e b a y ī (*Regieb aï*, de Maend Regieb, de zevende in rang. = the month of Regieb, the ninth in order) ‘the seventh lunar month’ Cf. Osm. *rejeb* [rjb] < Ar.

s a b u n (*Saboun*, Zeep.) ‘soap’ Cf. KarK, Osm. *sabun* < Ar.

s a b u r l i q (*Sabburlık*, lankmoedigheit.) ‘patience’ Cf. CC *saburlux*, *sabyrluq*, Crim. Tat. *sabur* ‘die Geduld’ KarK *saburliq*

s a d ī q (*Sfadik*, volmaekt, oprecht, waerachtig. = perfect, real, true) ‘true, sincere, faithful’ Cf. KarT *saddiq* ‘spravedlivyj; pravednyj’, Osm. *sadiq* < Ar.

s a γ ī r (*Sfagir*, Doof.) ‘deaf’ Cf. Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., KarK, Nog. *sayir*, Osm. TS *sağır*

s a γ r i (*Sagri*, Segryn Leer.) ‘saffian, donkey-leather’ CC *sayry*, *savry* ‘Leder’, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Osm. *sāghri* ‘The rump of man or beast; The stout leather made from the rump of a beast’, Chag. R. IV, 276 *sayri*

⁵⁷ The second syllable of both the Arabic and the Turkish word is short in Redhouse: *râhat* (ā = ə).

s a l i χ (*Salih*, een die vroom, goedertieren, vreedzaem. = simple, patient, forbearing) ‘meek, peaceful, patient’ Cf. Osm. *salīh* < Ar.

s a m a n (*Sfaman*, Stroo, Voeder.) ‘straw; fodder’ Cf. Tarj., Tuhf. (Trkm. dialect), Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dopr., 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 Kist of Koffer. = chest or trunk) ‘chest, trunk, suitcase’ Cf. Crim. Tat. *sandiq*, KarK *sanduq*, Osm. *sunduq* vulgar *sanduq* < Ar

s a r i q (*Sarik*, een Tulband.) ‘turban’ Cf. KarK, Tat. Dopr. *sarıq*, Osm. TS *sark*

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* (Kakuk, Recherches 353)

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

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

s a y- ‘to count’ Cf. Tuhf., Qaw., KarK, Tat. Dopr., Crim. Tat., Osm. *say-*; *say aqčayi* (*Sai aktgai*,⁵⁸ teld Geld.) ‘count the money, ? pay !’

s a y s i s (< *sayısış*) (*Sasis*, ontelbaer.) ‘innumerable’ Cf. KarK *sayı* ‘šet’, Osm. TS *sayısız*

s a z (1692 *Saz*, een moeras. 1705, 1785 id.) ‘marsh, bog’ Cf. CC, Idr. (*saz* ‘Orman’), Tarj., Kar, Tat. Dopr., Nog. *saz*

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

s e k i s (*Sekis*, Acht.) ‘eight’ Cf. CC *segiz*, *sekizinči*, Idr., Tarj. (*säkiz*), Müh., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dopr., Osm. TS *sekiz*

s e l ā m (*Selam*, Heil.) ‘peace, health, salvation; greeting’ Cf. Crim. Tat. *sälam*, Tat. Dopr. *selam*, Osm. *selām* < Ar.

s e l ā m e t (*Selamet*, Vrede, vrede-wesch, greetinge. = peace, peace wishing, greeting) ‘prosperity, welfare, luck, health’ Cf. Osm. *selāmet* < Ar.

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

s e n (*Sen*, Gy.) ‘you’ Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Tuhf., KarH, Crim. Tat., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. TS *sen*; *seni* (*Seni*, U.) Accusative.

s e r ā n (*Serân*, haefsten. = hurry) ?

⁵⁸ Correctly: *aktgai* (*aqčayi*, Acc.).

s e r m ā y a ~ *sermāyā* (*Sermaja*, Have of Goed, dat iemand heeft om te handelen. = wealth, what somebody has to do business in it) ‘property, wealth, capital’ Cf. KarK *sermiye*, Osm. *ser-māye* < P.

s e ù d e (*Seude*, magtig, uitmuntende. = big, outstanding, excellent) ‘big, eminent’ Cf. Osm. Özön *suada* ‘Kutlu kimseler’ *suud* ‘Yukarı çıkmak’ < Ar.

s e v - ~ *sew-* ‘to love’ Cf. CC, Idr. *sev-*, Tarj. *säw-*, Qaw. *säv-*, Crim. Tat. *säw-*, Crim. Tat. Jansky 95 *sew-* (= *sev-*), KarK *sev-* (*sew-*), Osm. TS *sevmek*; *severüm* (*Severum*, ik beminne. = I love) Aoristos, 1st Person, Sing.; *sewmezüm* (*Seumessum*, ik beminne niet. = I don’t love) Aoristos, Negative form, 1st Person Singular

s i y a s e t (*Siaset*, gebied, geweldige heerschappy en onderwerping. = territory, forcible regime and subjugation) ‘direction, governing, oppression’ Cf. Osm. *siyāset* < Ar.

s i l ā ḡ (*Silāh*, Wapenen. = weapons) ‘weapon’ Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K *silah*, Tat. Dobr. *silaz*, Osm. *silāh* < Ar.

s i m u r γ (*Simourg* of *anka*, een Gryp-vogel. = griffon) ‘a fabulous bird’ Cf. Idr. Haş. *simurğ* ‘Halk (zümrüt anga) der ; simurğ’, Osm. Özön *Simürg* ‘*Kafdağı*’nda bulunduğu söylenen masal kuşu. Anka.’ < P.

s i r ġ e (*Sirdgie*, Glas.) ‘glass, drinking-glass’ Cf. Idr., Bul. *syṛča*, Müh., Tarj. *śirčā*, Tuhf. *sırça*, Osm. TS *sırça* ‘Cam’

s i r g e ~ *s i r γ a* (*Sirge*, Vergierzelen. = ? ornaments, jewels) ‘ear-drop; jewel’ Cf. Idr. *sirğa* ‘Küpe’, KarTHK, *sirya*; Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *sirya* Further Turkic data: Šipova, Slovar’ tjurkizmov v russkom jazyke, Alma-Ata 1976, 284—85

s i γ i r (1692 *Sigir*, een koei. 1705, 1785 *Sigir*, een Koey. = cow, *Sfighir*, een Os. = Ox) ‘horned cattle (cow, ox etc.)’ Cf. CC *syyyr* ‘Ochs’, Idr., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Dur., Crim. Tat., M-K karK *sīyir*, Osm. TS *siğır*

s i r m a (*Sirma*, fijn Goud of Zilver-draed.) ‘golden or silver thread’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. *sirma*, Osm. TS *sırma*

s i r w a (*Sirwa*, Gomme. = rosin, resin (gum), mucilage) ?

s o γ a n (*Sfogan*, Uyen.) ‘onion’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *soyan*, Osm. TS *soğan*

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

s u h a (*Suha* Pompoenen, ook een aert van Kawourden.⁵⁹ = marrow or a sort of melon) ?

s u l a (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* (= *qawun*, see *qayn*) ‘musk-melon’.

s u l é 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 *Cufar*, een marter-dier. 1705, 1785 id.) ‘beech marten, marten’ Cf. CC *savsar* (sausar) ‘Marder und dessen Fell’, Tarj. *sausar*, K.-Balk., Kkp. *suwsar*, Chag. Tat. Kzk. R. IV, 782 *susar* ‘der Marder’ < P.

s ü r ü n- ‘to drag oneself along, slide’ Cf. Crim. Tat. Osm. R. IV, 817 *sürün-*, KarK *sürün-*; *sürünür* (*Surunour*, men sleept, of men trekt. = drag or draw) Aoristos, 1st Person Sing.

š a b a n (*Sciaban*, de achste Maend. = the eighth month) ‘sha’ban (the eighth month of the Muslim lunar year)’ Cf. Nog. *šaban*, Osm. TS *šaban* < Ar.

š a l y a n (*Scialgan*, een Raep.) ‘turnip’ Cf. CC *šalyam* (salghan), Idr., Tuhf., Qaw. (*šalqam*), Dur., Crim. Tat. *šalyam*, Osm. *shalgam*, šor, qača R. IV, 964 *šalyan* (*šalqan*) < P.

š e k’ e r (*Scekjer*, Zuiker.) ‘sugar’ Cf. CC, KarK, Tat. Dobr. *šeker*, Osm. TS *šeker* < P.; *šek’erde*⁶⁰ *aš tatlı olur* (*Sekjerde ascitatli olour*, gezuikerde Spys zal zoet zijn, of word zoet. = sugared food must be sweet, or will be sweet)

š e m (*Scem*, een Kaers.) ‘wax, candle’ Cf. Osm. *shem* ‘Wax, beeswax; Wax-candles, wax tapers’ < Ar.

š e m d ā l (*Scemdal*, een Kandelaer.) ‘candlestick’ Cf. KarK, *šamdan*, Tat. Dobr. *šemdan*, Osm. Özön *sem’dan* < P.

š i š e (*Sciffe*, Glaze Koppen.) ‘bottle, glass’ Cf. CC, KarK, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr. *šiše*, Osm. TS *siše*

š ü k’ é r (*Scukjer*, dankzegging, God zy gedankt.) ‘thanks, thanks to God’ Cf. CC *šügür*, Arm.-Kipch. *šukur*, KarK *šükür*, Tat. Dobr. *šukur*, Nog. *šükir*, Osm. *shukr* (= *šükr*), vulgar *shukyur* (= *šük’ür*) < Ar.

t a a l i m (*Taälim* of *alim*, een Geleerde.⁶¹ = scholar) ‘teaching, exercise’ Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K *ta’lim al-* ‘učit’sja voennomu stroju’, Osm. *ta’lim* ‘A teaching’ < 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 é (*Thabe*, een Zegel-ring.) ‘seal-ring’ Cf. Osm. *tābi‘* ‘A seal or stamp used for imprinting’, Osm. Devellioğlu *tabe* ‘mühür, damga, basma’ < Ar.

t ā b é (*Tabe* of *thawe*, een Fruit-pan. = fruit-dish) ‘pan, frying-pan’ Cf. Nog. *taba* ‘skovoroda, skovorodka’, Osm. *tabe*, vulgar *tawa* < P. < Ar.

t a b é y e t (*Thabéet*, Nature.) ‘nature’ Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK *tabiyat*, Nog. *tabiat*, Osm. *tabi‘at* (= *tābi‘at*) < 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 *āl i m*.

t a b i b (*Thabib*, Genees-meeester. = healing-master) 'physicien' Cf. Osm. *tabib* < Ar.

t a γ a n (*Thagan*, Yzere treeft. = iron tripod) 'tripod' Cf. Kkp *tayan* 'tagan', Tat. R. III, 795 *tayan* 'der Ständer, Böcke zum Aufhängen', Osm. *tigān* 'a frying-pan' < P. < Greek

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

t a l a q (*Talak*, eisch, beede. = claim, demand, request) 'divorce, dissolving a marriage' Cf. Nog. *talaq* 'razvod, rastorženie braka', Osm. *talāq* < Ar.

t ā l i (*Thali*, Geluk.) 'luck' Cf. Osm. Özön *tali* 'Kismet. Talih' < Ar.

t a l 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. Müh. *talkan*, Crim. Tat. EČel, *tälqān* 'qawrulmiš dari uni', Tat. Dobr. *tałqin*, Nog. *talqan*, Tat. Kzk. Teleut etc. R. III, 889 *talqan*

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., Müh., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr. *tamaq*, Osm. *tamaq* vulgar *damaq*

t a m ā m (*Tamám*, 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 ät-* 'dienen', Osm. TS *tapmak*; *tapar* (*Thapar*, hy heeft aengebeden, of bid aen. = adored or adores) 'he (she) adores it' Aoristos, 3rd Person Sing. ; *taparmésin* (*Thaparmefin*, zult gy aen bidden ? = will you adore it ?) Aoristos, Interrogative 2nd Person Sing. ; *taparum* (*Thoparrum*, ik bidde aen. = I adore) Aoristos, 1st Person Sing. ; *taptum* (*Thaptum*, ik heb aengebeden, Godsdienftige eere bewezen. = I adored, paid religious respect) Definite past tense, 1st Person Sing. ; *taptururmésin* (*Thapturusmefin*,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., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw. (*taraqči*), 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 tusschen Geers en Linzen. = a seed (in size) between barley and lentil) 'millet' Cf. CC *tary* (*tari*) 'Hirse', Idr., Tarj., Tuhf., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *tarī*

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.

tārī ~ ? *dari* (*Thari*, die weg werpt, verwerpt, verspilt. = he who throws, fiddles, trifles something away) ? See also *dārī dūnyā*

tart- ‘to weigh, measure’ Cf. CC *tart-* ‘ziehen, zerren’, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. *tart-*; *tart[up] al* (*Thart al*,⁶⁴ weegt en neemt,⁶⁵ = weigh and take it away) ‘weigh and take it’, see also *al-*; *tart* (*Tart*, weegt.)⁶⁶ ‘weigh’ Imperative mood, 2nd Person Singular

tartē ~ *tarti* (*Thart*,⁶⁷ gewichte, de zwaerte.) ‘weight’ Cf. Idr. *tartu*, Osm. *tartu*, *tarti* ‘The weight of an object’

tartum (*Thartum*, verwerpen, veracht. = depraved, disdained) ?

taš (*Thàs*, een Steen.) ‘stone’ Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr. *taš*, Osm. TS *tas*

tatar (*Thatar*, Tartaer.) ‘Tatar’ Cf. CC, Idr., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr. *tatar*, Osm. *tatār*

tatlī ‘sweet’ Cf. CC *tatly* (tatli, tattle), Idr., Tarj., Tuhf. *tatlu*, Qaw., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr. *tatlī*, Osm. TS *tath*; *tatlidur* (*Tathlidur*, het is zoet. = it is sweet) See also *šeke* ?

tayq (*Thäouk*, een Henne.) ‘pullet, hen’ Cf. CC *tavuq* (tauc) ‘Huhn, Hahn, Henne’, Tuhf., Dur., Qaw. *tavuq*, Arm.-Kipch. *tawuż*, Crim. Tat. M-K *tavuq*, KarK, Tat. Dobr. *tawuq*, 17th century Osm. (Hazai, Hars.) *tauk* (Németh, Illésh.) *tauk*

tayşan (*Taufcian*, een Haes.) ‘hare’ Cf. Tarj., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat. M-K *tavşan*, KarK, Nog. dialect *tawşan*, 17th century Osm. (Németh, Illésh.) *tauşan*

tawē ‘frying-pan, baking pan’ See *tābē* Cf. Tuhf. *tava*, Crim. Tat. *tava*, KarK *tawa*, Tat. Dobr., Osm. TS *tava* < P.

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

tayaq (?) See *tuyaq*

tayin ~ ? *tayin* (*taii* is twift, of oorlog. = discord or war ; The full data see at *jaayš*) ‘enemy ; hostility, war’ Cf. Chag. R. III, 1621 *dayin* ‘der Feind’ < Mongol

teke (*Tekje*, een steunzel. = brace) ?

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

⁶⁵ 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*.

t e l i k (*Telik*, een gat.) 'opening, gap' Cf. Idr., Bul. *tälik* ~ *dälik*, Tuhf. *telik*, Osm. TS *delik*

t e m i r (*Temir*, Yzer.) 'iron' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dopr. Nog., K.-Balk. *temir*

t e p e See *d e p e*

t e s b i χ (*Tesbih*, gemeenlijk Pater-noster, een keten Coralen. = common beads, chain of coral 'beads,) rosary' Cf. KarK *tesbe*, *tespi*, *tespiy* 'četki', Osm. *tesbih* < Ar.

t i l k' é (*Tilkje*, of *Ulci*, een Vos.) 'fox' Cf. Dur. *tilkü*, Crim. Tat. M-K, Osm. TS *tilki*, KarK *til'ki*, Tat. Dopr. *tilki*; See also *t ü l k i*

t i w e (1692 *Tiue*, een kameel. 1705, 1785 id.) 'camel' Cf. Müh. *teveçi* 'deveci', Tuhf. *teve* kuş 'deve kusu', KarH *teve*, KarT *t'ev'ä*, KarK *dewe*, Osm. TS *deve*

t i r n a q (*Thirnak*, Nagel.) 'nail, claw' Cf. CC *tyrmaq* 'Nagel', Idr. Tarj., Tuhf. Qaw., Crim. Tat. M-K (*tırnaqlamaq*), KarK, Tat. Dopr., No., K.-Balk. *tırnaq*, Osm. TS *tirnak*. See also *turnaq*; *tırnaqlar* (*Thirnakler*, Nagels.) Plural

t o y a q See *t u y a q*

t o p r a q (*Thoprak*, Hof-aerde. = soil of garden) 'earth; ground' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw. *topraq*, Arm.-Kipch. *topraχ*, Crim. Tat. KarK, Tat. Dopr. *topraq*, Osm. TS *toprak*

t o r n a See *t u r n a*

t ö y ü m e See *t ü y ü m e*

t u r n a ~ *torna* (*Thourna* of *thorna*, een Reiger.) 'crane' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., KarK, Nog., K.-Balk., Osm. TS *turna*

t u r n a q 'nail, claw' A variant of *tırnaq*; *turnaqler* (*Thurnakler*, Nagels.) Plural

t u y a q ~ *toyaq* ~ *tayaq* (?) (*Thojak* of *Thajak*, klaeuwen van Paerd of Osse. = hoofs of a horse or horned cattle) 'hoof' Cf. Idr. *tuyaq*, Tarj. *tuinak*, KarK, Tat. Dopr., Nog., K.-Balk. *tuyaq*

t ü k' é r ü k (*Tukjeruk*, speekzel. 'saliva, spittle, spitting' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh. *tükür-*, Tuhf. *tükürük*, KarT *t'ük'ür'ük*, Tat. Dopr. Ülküsal 220 *tükürugün*, Nog. *tükirik*, Osm. TS *tükürük*

t ü l k i (1692 *Ulci*,⁶⁸ een vos. 1705, 1785 *Tilkje* of *Ulci*, een Vos.) 'fox' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf. *tülkü*, Nog. *tülkü*, Uig. Chag. R. III, 1570 *tülkü*; See also *t i l k' é*

t ü y ü m e ~ *töyüme*⁶⁹ (*Tojume*, een Knoop van een Kleed. = button of clothing) 'button' Cf. Tuhf. *tüyme*, Tat. Dopr. Ülküsal 243 *tüyme*, Nog. *tüyme*, K.-Balk. *tüyme*, 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.

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

ü l- ‘to die, perish’ Cf. Tat. and the Altai Turkic languages R. I, 1845 *ül-* in other related languages: *ól-* ~ *ül-*; *ül* (*Uyl*, sterft. = die!) Imperative mood, 2nd Person Sing.; *ülürsin* (*Uilurfin*, gy zult sterven. = you will die) Aorist, 2nd Person Singular

ü m é r (*Umer*, levens tyd. = the time of life) ‘life’ Cf. KarK, Tat. Dobr. *ömir* ~ *ömür*, Nog. *ómır* < Ar.

ü t m ä k (1692 *Utman*,⁷¹ broot. 1705, 1785 *Utman*, Brood.) ‘bread’ Cf. CC *ötmek*, Tuhf., Dur. *ötmäk*, Arm.-Kipch. *otmak*, Crim. Tat. M-K *ötmek*, KarK *ötmek*, Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal 65, 78, 197 *ötmeğî* [otmek], Uig. Chag. R. I, 1275 *ötmäk*

ü t ü r ü ‘because of, owing to, for (postposition)’ See *n e*; Cf. CC *utru*, Arm.-Kipch. Vásáry *utru*, KarK *ötrü*, Osm. R. I, 1266 *ötürü*

v e r- ‘to give’ Cf. Crim. Tat. *wär-*, KarK *ver-*, Tat. Dobr. *ver-*, Osm. R. IV, 1967 *vär-*; *verdüm* (*Verdum*, ik hebbe gegeven. = I gave) Definite Past Tense, 1st Person Sing., cf. 17th century Osm. *verdum* (Németh, Illésh.); *ver-medüm* (*Vermedum*, ik hebbe niet gegeven. I did not give) Definite Past Tense, Negative Form, 1st Person Sing., cf. 17th Osm. *ver-medün*, *ver-medük* (Hazai, Hars.); *verür* (See *ja n*, *jan verür*) Aorist, 3rd Person Sing.; *verürüm* (*Verruzum*,⁷² ik geve of zal geven. = I give or I shall give) Aorist, 1st Person Sing., cf. 17th century Osm. *verurum* (Németh, Illésh.), *ver-ür* (Hazai, Hars.).

v i l ā y e t (*Villajet*,⁷³ Landschap of Provincie. = region, country) ‘vilayet, country’ Cf. Osm. *vilayet* < Ar.; *vilāyetler* (*Villajetler*, Landschappen.) 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 *war-*, Osm. TS *varmak*; *war* (*War*, gaet.) ‘go’ Imperative, 2nd Person Sing.; *waralum* (*Warallum*, of *waeräik*, laet ons gaen. = let us go) Optativus, 1st Person Plural, cf. 17th century Osm. *var-alum* (Hazai, Hars.); *waramam* (?) ~ *warmam* (*Warrarmam*, ik zeude daer niet gaen. = I wouldn’t go there) ‘? I cannot go (there), ? I shall not go’; *warayq* ~ *warayik* (See *waralum*) Optativus, 1st Person Plural; *wardum* (*Wardum*, ik heb daer gewelt. = I was there) Definite

⁷⁰ It probably came about by misspelling **Tsmah* (*čmax* < *učmax* < *učmax*- ‘Paradise’. The strong reduction, even omission, of the initial unstressed vowel is a well-known phenomenon (cf. RäsLautg. 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 geweit. = I wasn't there) Definite Past Tense, Negative Form, 1st Person Sing.; *warmazum* (*Warmaßum*, ik zael niet gaen. = I shall not go) Aorist, Negative Form, 1st Person Sing.; *warurmësin* (*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.); *warurmës* (*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

w a r u 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. *yay*, Qaw. *yağlı*, Crim. Tat. *jayji*, Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK *yay*, Tat. Dobr. *yaylı*, Osm. *yagh*

y a γ m u r (*Jaghmour*, Regen.) 'rain' Idr., Tarj., Bul., Qaw., KarK *yaymur*, Osm. TS *yağmur*

y a q i n (*Jakin*, naby.) 'near(by)' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Tuhf., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. dialect *yaqin*, Osm. *yaqın*

y a q u t (*Jakout*, een Rubin.) 'precious stone, ruby' Cf. CC *jaqut*, KarK, Nog., Kumyk *yaqut*, Osm. *yāqūt* < 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 *yaruq*

y a r a m a s (*Jaramas*, quaed. = annoyed, wrathful) 'worthless, good-for-nothing' Cf. CC *jaramaz* 'abscheulich', Crim. Tat. *yaramazlıq*, Tat. Dobr., KarK, Osm. TS *yaramaz*

y a s t i q (*Jazdtik*, een Kussen.) 'pillow' Cf. CC *jastug*, Idr., Tarj. *jastuk* [*yastq*], Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. Kumyk *yastiq*, Osm. TS *yastık*

y a ș (*Jasc*, vochtig.) 'tear; moisture' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk *yaş*, Osm. TS *yaş*; *yaş yüzde aqar* (*Jasc jusde akar*, de tranen loopen uit de oogen. = tears drop from the eyes) 'tears flow on the face'

y a w e (*Jawe*, verlies, iets dat gemi t word. = loss, something we miss) 'the lost, vanished thing' Cf. Osm. *yawi*, *yawu* 'Lost; Astray . . .', Chag. R. III 293 *yaru* 'verloren, verschwunden' P.

y a w u r t (*Jawourt*, Dikke-melk.) 'yogurt' Cf. Tuhf. *yavurt*, Idr., Tarj., Bul., Qaw., Dur. *yagurt*, Osm. *yoghurt*

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 *g a m*) Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch. Vásáry, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Nog. *ye-* ~ *yä-*, Osm. TS *yemek*

y e d i (*Jedi*, zeven.) ‘seven’ Cf. Idr. *yädi*, Tuhf., KarK, Osm. TS *yedi*. Tat. Dobr. *yedi*

y é g' l i k (*Jeighlik*, Schoonheit. = beauty) ‘superiority, advantage’ Cf. Osm. *yey* ‘Better; best; preferable’, Osm. TS *yeğlik* ‘Bir şeyin başkaları arasında üstün sayılması, rüçhan’

y e m i n (*Jemin*, een Eed.) ‘oath’ Cf. Crim. Tat. *yämin*, KarK *yemin*, Osm. *yemin* < Ar.

y e m i š (*Jemisc*, Fruit-vrucht.) ‘fruit’ Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf., Dur., KarT *yemis* ~ *yämis* Osm. TS *yemis*; *yemisler* (*Jemisler*, Vruchten.) Plural

y é m u r t a⁷⁵ (*Jemourta*, een Ey, en Eyeren. = an egg, eggs) ‘egg’ Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K *yumurta*, KarK *yümürta*, *yumırta*, *yumurta*, Nog. *yumırtqa*, Osm. TS *yumurta*

y e r (1692 *Ex.⁷⁵* de aerde. 1705, 1785 id.) ‘earth, native land, ground’ Cf. CC, Tarj., Bul., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. TS *yer*; *yerim* (*Jerrim*,⁷⁶ mijn Land-plaets. = my fatherland) Form with personal possessive suffix of the 1st Person Singular

y e š i l (*Jesciil*, groen.) ‘green’ Cf. CC *jašyl*, Müh. *yesil*, Qaw., Crim. Tat. *yäşil*, KarK *yeşil*, Tat. Dobr. *yeşil*, Osm. TS *yeşil*

y e t m i š (*Jetmis*, zeventig.) ‘seventy’ Cf. Idr., Bul., Tuhf., KarT, Tat. Dobr. *yetmiš* *yätmış*, Osm. TS *yetmiş*

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 *yog*, Osm. TS *yok*

y o r y a n (*Jorgan*, een Deken.) ‘coverlet’ Cf. CC *jovuryan* [yourgan], Idr., Tarj. (*jurgan*), Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. *yoryan*, Osm. TS *yorgan*

y ö g ä n ~ *yöyän* (*Jojan* of *jogan*,⁷⁸ een gebid, eigenlijk het mond tuk van ‘t gebid. = curb-bit, in fact the part of the curb in the mouth) ‘curb-bit,

⁷⁵ As in the later edition the correct form of the word did appear (*Jer*), it must be a copyist’s error here. The initial “E” might be the adoption of the Cyrillic *e* (*ye*), but in this case the formation of *x* is hard to explain satisfactorily.

⁷⁶ See note 73.

⁷⁷ *yemurta* ‘egg’ must be the result of folk etymology, formed from *yumurta* upon the influence of *ye-* ‘to eat’. (Dmitriev 1926, 344)

⁷⁸ The first word of double data like this (e.g. *legen*, *leyen*) may be the more common variant.

bridle' Cf. CC *jügen* [yugan], Dur. *jügän* (*jükän*), KarK *yügen*, RNc_gS1. *yüwen*
Tat. TRS1. *yögän*, Bshk. *yigän*, KzK. RKzkS1. *jügen*

y ö y ä n s. y ö g ä n

y ü s I. ~ *yüz*⁷⁹ 'face' See *aq-*; Cf. CC *jüz*, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw
yüz, Arm.-Kipch. Vásáry *juz*, Crim. Tat., KarK, Nog., Kumyk *yüz* ~ *yüz*, Osm.
TS *yüz*

y ü s II. *yüz*⁸⁰ 'hundred' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf. *yüz*, Arm.-
Kipch. *juz*, Crim. Tat., KarKT *yüz*, KarT *yuz'*, Nog., Kumyk *yüz*, Osm. TS *yüz*

z a l i m (*Dsalim*, geweldig, onrechtvaerdig, 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 *zamana*, Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat,
Dobr., Nog., Osm. TS *zaman* < Ar. ; *her zaman* (*Hersaman*, 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 deyül*
(*Seman deyül*, 't is de tyd niet. = its time has not come yet); *zemandur* (*Seman
dur*, 't is de tyd, of daer is de tyd. = it is time, its time is here); *zemanı yoq*
(*Semani jok*, daer is geen tyd. = he (she) has no time); *zemanler* (*Semanler*,
Tyden.) Plural

z e m a n s i s (*Semanjis*, zonder Tyd. = without time) 'not in time, be-
fore its time, untimely' Cf. Nog. *zamansız*, Osm. *zemansız*

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. *Zem-
zem*, 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 'a meal made of rice and saffron' See *q a r a b o γ d a y*; Cf. Crim.
Tat. Osm. R. IV, 892 *zärdä* 'Suppe aus Reis und Safran' < P.

z e r d e l i ~ *zerdeli*⁸¹ (*Serdegi* of *serdelou*, geelachtig, greele verwe. =
yellow, yellow colours) 'apricot' Cf. Qaw. *zärdäli*, Dur. *zärdalu*, Crim. Tat.
zärdalä, KarK *zerdeli*, Tat. Dobr. *zerdalî*, Osm. *zerdâlı*, (P.) *zerd-älü* '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 yarayın*... 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 (*Serdegi*) is incorrect for *l*.

z e r d e l i See *z e r d e l i*

z e r d l u (*Cerdrou*, Zaed als Gort. = grains similar to the pearl-barley like' Probably its stem is *zerde*, see there.

z e w k (*Ceuk*, genoegen, vrolijkheit. = content, gaiety) 'pleasure, gladness, jollity' Cf. Crim. Tat. *zäwk*, Tat. Dobr. *zewq*, Osm. TS *zevk* < Ar.; *zewkler* (*Ceuikler*, vrolijkheden, vermakingen. = gaieties, amusements) Plural

z i r a r (*Dfirâr*, scherpe steenen, met welke zy dorfchen. = sharp-edged stones used for threshing) 'sharp-edged stones for threshing or grinding' Cf. Osm. *zurer* 'Sharp-edged stones' < Ar.

z i y ā f e t (*Sijafet*, Gaft-mael.) 'rich repast, feast' Cf. KarK *ziyafet* 'pir, ugošćenie', Osm. TS *ziyafet* < Ar.

z i y ā n I. (*Sijan*, ongeluk, droefheit, smerte. = misfortune, sadness, pain, grief) 'damage, loss' Cf. CC, Bul., Tarj., *zijan*, KarK *ziyan*, *ziyan*, Tat. Dobr. *ziyan*, Nog. *ziyan*, Osm. R. IV, 902 *ziyan*, *ziyan* < P.

z i y a n II. (*Dsijan*, wilde Jasmin. = wild jasmin) 'darnel' Cf. Osm. *zi'an* 'Darnel, lolium temulentum' < Ar.

z o r (*Sör*, ongerechtigkeit, bedriegrye. = unlawfulness, swindle) 'hard, difficult, strength; force, might, violence' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. TS *zor*

z o r n a See *z u r n a*

z o r s i s (*Dsorsis*, zonder onrecht, zonder bedrog. = without unlawfulness, without cheating) 'without difficulties, without violence' See *z o r*

z u l u m (*Dfulum*, gewelt, onrecht. = violence, unlawfulness) 'oppression, tyranny' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarT, Tat. Dobr. *zulum*, Osm. *zulm*, vulgar *zulum* < Ar.

z ü r l e m e k (?) ~ *zorlamaq* (?) 'to command (army)' Cf. Osm. TRS1. *zorlamak* 'forsirovat', Crim. Tat. M-K *zorlamaq* 'nastaivat'; Perhaps a derivative of the verb *sür-* 'to lead, direct' cf. Arm.-Kipch. *sur-* 'to drive (among)', Osm. TS *sürmek* 'Yonetip yürütütmek'

z u r n a ~ *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 Reis-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 dari dünya bir musafirxandur,
Yüz yarayın qilmayan 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.

Ar.	Arabic
Arm.Kipch.	Armeno-Kipchak, see Schütz
Bshk.	Bashkir
Chag.	Chagatay
Crim.Tat.	Crimean Tatar, see R.
demin.	deminutivum
dial.	dialect
Kar.	Karaim
KarH	Karaim of Halich
KarK	Karaim of the Crimea
KarT	Karaim of Troki
KarL	See KarH
K.-Balk.	Karachay-Balkar
Kkp.	Karakalpak, see RKkpSl.
Kzk.	Kazakh, see RKzkSl.
Nog.	Noghay, see NogRSl.
Osm.	Ottoman-Turkish, see Redhouse (Where Osm. is not followed by further marks, Redhouse's data is quoted, possibly in the original way of writing.)
P.	1. Persian 2. Person
Sing.	Singular
Tar.	Taranchi
Tat.	Tatar, see TatRSl.
Tat.Dobr.	Tatar of Dobrudja, see Zajączkowski
Trkm.	Turkmen
Uig.	Uighur, see R.
Plur.	Plural

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