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## ENGLISH ETYMOLOGIES FROM THE POPULAR REGISTER (II)<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

Difficulties in tracing the etymology of lexical isolates and loans from other languages are exemplified in the discussion of a gathering of English words previously without satisfactory explanations of origin.

*Flabbergast*: The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the noun *flabbergast* as ‘bombast’, has but a single example, and calls the usage “rare” and possibly Scottish. As a verb, *flabbergast* is more widely attested and the definition shifts from content or style to effect: “To put (a person) in such confusion that he does not for the moment know what to do or say; to astonish utterly, to confound” (OED s.v. *flabbergast*, v.; accessed 1 September, 2015). Inter alia, one senses that this entry has not been the subject of recent editorial attention. The dictionary’s etymological note is quite full but inconclusive:

First mentioned in 1772 as a new piece of fashionable slang; possibly of dialectal origin; Moor (1823) records it as a Suffolk word, and Jamieson (1825 *Suppl.*) has *flabrigast*: “to gasconade, *flabrigastit* worn out with exertion, as used in Perthshire. The formation is unknown; it is plausibly conjectured that the word is an arbitrary invention suggested by *flabby* adj. or *flap* n. and *aghost* adj.”

The earliest recorded forms are with an initial *flaba-*. *Flaber-* and *flabber-* are later developments, whether phonological or orthographical, or both. As with the noun, Scottish antecedents are presumed (the lexicological reference is to John Jamieson’s *An etymological dictionary of the Scottish language* [1818] and its *Supplement* [1825]).

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<sup>1</sup> This article continues an inquiry initiated under the same title in volume 133, issue 3 of this journal.

Although the examples in the *OED* are not unanimous, *flabbergastation* (as *Punch* called it in 1856) is generally the product of an oral communication of something newly presented as fact.

On the premise that *flabbergast* originated in Scotland, before passing to fashionable speech in London, one might look for a source in Scots Gaelic and speculate on an adaptation into Scots English for satirical and/or comic purposes, the sort of Gaelicisms found in *The flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy*. Yet, aside from Gaelic *flò* ‘stupefaction’ and *beurla* ‘speech, language’, there is nothing suggestive of the mystery word (Dwelly 1930, s.v.). Old Norse, a major influence on the languages of the British Isles, is similarly lacking in clues (but note *flá* ‘to flay’; Cleasby et al. 1957). If, indeed, one or more loan words lie behind *flabbergast*, a more distant source, one with less immediate influence on Scots vocabulary than Gaelic or Norse, seems likely.

In Old French, in its Norman dialect, and in Anglo-French, *fable* ‘fable, verbal invention, etc.’ had a doublet, *flable* (Godefroy 1881–1902; Rothwell et al. 2005). Although unattested in Middle English and Middle Scots, where *fable/fabel/fabul* and *fable/fabill* are found, respectively, the variant *flable* could well have reached northern Britain (Kurath et al. 2001; *Dictionary of the Scots language*). A reduced form of *flable* can be imagined as the source of the *flaba-* of early spellings of *flabbergast*, or the second -l- of *flable* can have been replaced, through dissimilation, by another liquid, -r-, as seen in *flabber-*. As concerns semantics, in common with *flabbergast*, *flable* represents a speech act intended to impress.

In Old English *gæstan* meant ‘to frighten, terrify’ but later forms such as *gast* and *ag(h)ast* also meant ‘to astonish’ or ‘confound’. As the *OED* suggests, the past participle, *gast/agast*, could have entered into a compound to yield *flabbergast* on the model represented by *moon-struck*.<sup>2</sup> It is proposed that *flable*, at home in Scots in the post-medieval period, provided the first element of the compound *flabbergast*. The development here advanced may be schematized as follows: *fable* > *flable* > in Britain *flab(re)* + English *gast* ‘confounded’ = *flabbergast* ‘to confuse, confound, astonish with verbal invention’.

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*Pimp*: Still with the life on the town, we find that the *Oxford English Dictionary* offers a definition of *pimp* that takes into account the earliest attested use in Ben Jonson and brings readers up to modern times: “Originally: a person who arranges opportunities for (illicit) sexual intercourse; a procurer. Now: a man who takes a proportion of the earnings of a prostitute, usually in return for arranging clients, providing protection, etc.” (*OED* s.v. *pimp*, n.1; accessed 1 September, 2015). As for etymology: “origin unknown”. The economies of the online edition of the dictionary do, however, permit some history of the lexical inquiry. German *Pimpf*

<sup>2</sup> The second element of the Perthshire term *flabrigastit* ‘worn out with exertion’ may show the influence of Old French *gast* ‘devastated, wasted’. A reconstructed, all-French form *\*flabre-gast* violates the language’s rules for compounding.

‘small boy’ and *pimpernel* are rejected as possible congeners on semantic grounds. The dictionary continues:

The similarity to the following French words is probably coincidental: *pimpant* alluring or seducing in outward appearance or dress, in later use also elegant, coquettish, affected (c. 1500 in Middle French as *pinpant*), *pimper* to adorn, attire (a person, oneself) (1578 in Middle French) ...

In the following, the discussion is guided by a quotation from Pepys that exemplifies part one of the above definition: “The Duke of York is wholly given up to his new mistress... Mr. Brouncker it seems was the pimp to bring it about” (Pepys 1970–1983: 10 June, 1666, VII. 159). In Middle English *pimpe* referred only to a flock of chickens or birds. ‘An adornment of fowl’ might qualify as a novel collective but *pipe* ‘flock’, < Anglo-French *pipée* ‘flock’, is the likely source. Norman French has no other plausibly relevant terms. Yet the French connection should not be too summarily dismissed, as the *OED* would do, if we entertain the idea that in English usage it is not the young woman who is primping by dressing in her finery but rather her ‘placement officer’, the procurer, who is touting his *protégée* to a prospective patron in an enticing word picture. Pimping would then be the projection of this enhanced image with a view to a liaison. But this semantic adjustment, from an intransitive or reflexive use (she pimps) to transitive (he pimps her), would – in the lack of any French evidence – have had to occur in English after an undocumented loan from the continent. While this is not impossible, especially in the case of a vogue word proper to rakes about town, evidence is lacking.

Largely on the basis of an instance of *pimp* in Ben Jonson that does not figure in the *OED* commentary (see further below), Anatoly Liberman (2007: n.p.) sees English *pimp* as cognate with German *Pimpf* ‘young lad’ and continues:

The less-known meanings of Engl. *pimp* “servant at the lowest level of a social hierarchy” indicates that *pimp* “provider of sex” is not the only and, most probably, not the original meaning of this word. The development must have been from “worthless person” to “the least respected servant” and from those to a general term of abuse, later transferred to the sexual sphere.

Liberman’s definitions, ‘servant at the lowest level of a social hierarchy’ and, in a subsequent reference to Jonson, ‘nanny, raw novice; servant’, has no antecedents in the full *OED* entry, where secondary meanings are “a person who panders to an undesirable or immoral impulse, appetite, etc. ... a despicable person; a spy, an informer; a telltale (orig. U.S.); a peeping Tom, a voyeur (Welsh English); a male prostitute (U.S. slang).” This said, it does seem that a dynamic comparable, if not similar, to that outlined by Liberman was at work in the evolution of *pimp*. I suggest that the history of *pimp* is informed not so much by shifts in station or moral stature as by function. The function, apparent in all attested cases, is that of a go-between, at the lowest level the errand boy or modern U.S. *gofer* (< *go for*; cf. the electricians’ *best boy* on film crews), at a higher social level, the pander. This conception of function would encompass the more specialized application to scouts, spies, and informers (*OED*), who procure information. The North American use of *pimp* as

the young factotum in a lumber camp, noted in Liberman but not in the *OED*, fits neatly into this cluster of meanings.<sup>3</sup>

And so does usage in Jonson, to which we now turn. The *OED* offers three instances, the first from 1600: “*Punt*. What is he for a Creature? *Car*. A Pimpe, a Pimpe, that I haue obseru’d yonder, the rarest Superficies of a Humor” (Jonson 1600: iii. i. sig. Iii<sup>v</sup>). There are two examples of the phrase *pimp errant*: “I neuer saw a young Pimpe errant, and his Squire better match’d” (here *squire* = ‘pander’) and “I hope you take not me for a Pimpe errant, To deale in smock Affaires?” (Jonson 1631: iii. v. 24; Jonson 1965: v. iv; “smock affairs” = ‘dealings with women’).

The more recently noted instance of the word to which Liberman alludes is in Jonson’s *The alchemist* (1965). Liberman follows Jonson editor G. R. Hibbard’s lead in identifying the pimp as a ninny, both inexperienced and a menial (Hibbard 1977). The context in Jonson’s play does not entirely bear this out. Face speaks to Kastril about Subtle, the ‘alchemist’: “He made me a Captain. I was a stark pimp, / Just ‘o your standing, ‘fore I met with him” (Jonson 1965: iii. iv. 44–45). Face need not have been a ninny and any lack of experience was primarily in the techniques of fraud or coney-catching, to which he is now being initiated. As Jonson’s phrasing elsewhere suggests (‘errant pimp’), the lad was initially one who ran errands. Face’s promotion to Captain in reality reflects only his fraudulent identity in the deceptions now being orchestrated by Subtle.

The condemnation now associated with *pimp* does not derive from the low status of those who first bore the label but rather from its later adoption in the sex trade. Even before the semantic narrowing (in which the notion of intermediary was not lost), the word’s age-specific ties were loosened, as were those with household or comparable service. *Pimp* also illustrates that etymology is not destiny. The ultimate origin of *pimp* may lie in the phono-semantics of the cluster of words on the reconstructed Indo-European root \**pank-*, *peng-* ‘to swell’ (Pokorny 1959–1969 I 789). The narrow front vowel of *Pimpf* and *pimp* prompts a comparison with *pimple*, this too a serviceable derogatory term for a young servant (cf. the figurative use of *sprout* and *squirt*).

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*Dude*: In a scholarly and editorial style that seems to mirror the subject under consideration – lexicographical self-referentiality – The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *dude* as:

A name given in ridicule to a man affecting an exaggerated fastidiousness in dress, speech, and deportment, and very particular about what is aesthetically ‘good form’; hence, extended to an exquisite, a dandy, ‘a swell’. (*OED*, s.v. *dude*, n.; accessed 1 September, 2015).

Admittedly, we learn that “[t]his entry has not yet been fully updated (first published 1897).” As for origins, the dictionary continues: “[a] factitious slang term

<sup>3</sup> *Pimp* as ‘spy, informer, toady’ is exemplified in Cassidy (1985–2012: 4.154).

which came into vogue in New York about the beginning of 1883, in connection with the ‘aesthetic’ craze of that day. Actual origin not recorded.” The difference between factitious lexical coinage and “true” slang may be difficult to establish and, even though no sure etymology has been proposed, there is no compelling reason to think the term is entirely lacking in historical depth back beyond the 1880s. The *OED* is on surer ground in the matter of the vogue for *dude*. No fewer than six attestations are recorded from the popular press over a first three-year period.<sup>4</sup>

Yet reference to personal style of a very different kind is evident within the next four decades. A naval memoir from 1918 contains the following: “In a gang of snipes there is generally one dude who is known as the ‘king snipe’.” (Ruggles 1918: 139; *snipe* ‘a member of a group of workers’, in this case firemen in the ‘black gang’). To accommodate this semantic development, a 1993 draft addition to the *OED* entry qualifies the original commentary on *dude* with “[m]ore generally, any man who catches the attention in some way; a fellow or chap, a guy. Hence also approvingly, esp. (through Black English) applied to a member of one’s own circle or group.” A common element in these two uses of *dude*, which are at some distance in terms of social status, is then aspiration to, or acquisition of, social approval (in which being a dapper dresser might count), whether society is defined in larger or narrower terms.

Of as much interest for English lexicography as for establishing an origin for *dude* is the entry in *The American heritage dictionary*, which might be imagined as closer to the evidentiary material: ‘1. *Informal* An Easterner or city person who vacations on a ranch in the West; 2. *Informal* A man who is very fancy or sharp in dress and demeanor; 3. *Slang*, a. A man; a fellow, b. A person of either sex’ (*The American heritage dictionary*, s.v. *dude*). But no source is suggested in the abrupt “origin unknown”. Although the *AHD* does not profess to be a historical dictionary, this entry “de-topicalizes” the *OED* documentation from the 1880s, making dudism seem practicable in any socially defined dress style and in any era. As well, in the ordering of the sub-sections, it gives more prominence to the dude on the side of the corral in New Mexico than to the one on the sidewalks of New York.

The late appearance of *dude* in American English argues against a long underground existence in British English, where it might otherwise be fancifully imagined as cognate with, or (via Old French) derivative of, the early Germanic name *Dudo* (cf. the medieval Norman historian Dudo de St. Quentin) or related to Middle English *dud*, which is attested from the early fifteenth century as ‘an article of clothing, a coarse cloak’ (*OED*). In polyglot New York or other nineteenth-century American urban centers, almost any kind of adstratum linguistic influence would have been possible. Popular language and slang have an

<sup>4</sup> *Dude* is also recorded from Chicago. The *OED* has a citation under *dude* as “a non-westerner or city-dweller who tours or stays in the west of the U.S., esp. one who spends his holidays on a ranch; a tenderfoot” from the *Prince Albert Times* (1883): “The dude is one of those creatures which are perfectly harmless and are a necessary evil to civilization” (5 July, 1) but Prince Albert is far from cowboy country and this is surely a reference to the dude in his urban environment. The first attested use of *dude ranch* would then be somewhat later, from 1921.

affinity for picking up terms from neighboring languages, if some cachet or witty application is promised. In the case of *dude*, it is proposed that the term, initially lightly derisory, was borrowed from native speakers of Irish resident in large numbers in New York and other cities. Any clothing style that smacked of British pretensions would invite particular scorn. In Old Irish *duí*, with the forms *duid*, *dhaoi*, *daoithe*, meant ‘fool, unwise or unlearned person, ignoramus’. In modern Irish *daoí* is found as ‘fool, dullard, dunce, clown’. From fool to fop is perhaps no great stretch. A more compelling phonological match is with Irish *dúd*. The referent here is often the mouth or other body orifices. Extended meanings and derivations are often figurative, e.g. *dúd* ‘a horn; a smoking pipe’, *dúdach* ‘with a big or prominent mouth’. Could this term also have been applied to a show-off? A related form, *dúid*, was used of a craning neck (= snobbishness?), a listening attitude, but also in simple pejoration as ‘cad’. (Quin 1913–1976: s.v.; Dinneen 1927: s.v.).<sup>5</sup> Irish immigrants in New York would promptly have enhanced their popular language with slang terms thought appropriate to the new circumstances<sup>6</sup> and any of the above, often derogatory, words might be assigned a new meaning in Irish and then appear, seemingly without precedent, as *dude* in early nineteenth-century American English. The subsequent slang use of *dude* for a member of the speaker’s social group is consonant with such an origin in popular language – very possibly immigrant Irish slang. Lexicogenesis is still not a well understood process but in this case it seems unlikely that *dude* is the factitious creation of a style-conscious late nineteenth-century journalist. Other writers were, however, quick to show that they were “with it”. The vogue word *dude* was soon archly complemented by established suffixes to yield *dudedom*, *dudeness*, *dudery*, *dudism*, *dudish*, *dudess* and *dudine*, none of which survived the era. *Dude*, however, shows continued vitality, in, however, a very different social environment. Yet other urban environments are commerce and the courts.

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*Finagle*: The *Oxford English Dictionary* has a relatively brief entry for *finagle*, which is defined as “*intrans.*, to use dishonest or devious methods to bring something about; to fiddle. Also *trans.*, to “wangle”, to scheme, to get (something) by trickery” (OED, s.v. *finagle*; accessed 1 September, 2015). Best known from twentieth-century American popular speech, its origins are here said to lie in English dialect, as reflected by the word *fainague*, meaning ‘to cheat’. For this the dictionary relies on a no less assiduous but of necessity less meticulous editor, Joseph Wright, who compiled a five-volume *English dialect dictionary* between 1898 and 1905.

<sup>5</sup> To return to English *dud*, could the image of a gaping mouth have early been attached to the rough, open cloaks that were an Irish export product in the Middle Ages?

<sup>6</sup> See Cassidy (2007). In the sub-title of this entertaining collection the implied contribution of Irish travelers to American slang is surely overstated.



On the basis of evidence from Shropshire, Hertfordshire, Gloucestershire and other western counties, *fainaigue* is defined as (1) to revoke at cards, (2) to fail of a promise, to play truant, to shirk work, and (3) to deceive by flattery, to obtain by improper means, to cheat (Wright 1898–1905: 2.281, s.v. *fainaigue*). But this third meaning is supported by only a single quotation, “But a maiden came one day And feneaged his heart away”, and seems an over-reading, when ‘to fail of a promise’ might be closer to the truth, a broken engagement and a broken heart. Wright proposes an origin in Old French *fornier* ‘to deny’ (< Latin *foris* + *negare*). As *renege* relates to French *renier*, so *fainaigue*/*faineague* to *fornier*. Thus far Wright. But *fornier* is represented in Anglo-French vocabulary only as ‘baker’ and ‘to bake’ (cf. modern French *four* ‘oven’ < Latin *furnis*) and, more importantly, has no Middle English derivative, e.g., *\*fornien* (Rothwell et al. 2005, s.v. *fornier*; Kurath et al. 2001). This lack of evidence and the considerable phonological, not to say semantic, distance from *fainaigue* to *finagle*, makes Wright’s and thence the *OED*’s derivation implausible.

The first attestation of *finagle* is from 1926 and is from a lexical reference work, so that popular use before that date seems guaranteed: ‘Finagle, U.S. political cant’ (Wentworth 1944: s.v.). As a consequence, one can only speculate when a transfer from some other language than English might have occurred, if, indeed, a loan is implicated. None of the Celtic or Germanic languages of the North Sea zone has anything similar, and German *vernaglen* ‘to nail neatly down’, while perfective in a sense similar to that of a bit of political or commercial hoodwinking or backroom-dealing (cf. English *to fix*), is nonetheless an unlikely source.

Popular impressions of Yiddish and prejudicial associations might suggest to some a Yiddish precedent for, and North American deployment of, *finagle*, from an origin in a putative *\*feinnageln* (whatever this ghost word might mean), but there is no evidence for any of this. In this regard, the Benedictine monk turned professor of mnemonics, Gregor von Fainaigle, who gave demonstrations and lectures in England and Ireland, must be considered, if only that his and his pupils’ feats of memory were assumed to be tricks. (Stephen 1908–1909: vol. 18, s.n. *Feinaigle, Gregor von*). And Ireland offers precedents for turning proper names into verbs, e.g. *to boycott*, *to lynch*.

In the following, a source for *finagle* is sought in a cluster of words, once quite in vogue, now best known from the adjective *finicky*, judged an adaptation of *finicking* “affecting extreme refinement; dainty, fastidious, mincing; excessively precise in trifles. Also of things: Over-delicately wrought or finished; also, insignificant, paltry, trifling.” (*OED*, s.v. *finicky*; accessed 1 September, 2015). The verb *finick* as attested from 1857 but *finicking* possibly from 1661, the earliest form (1592) and perhaps the locus of the coinages is the adjective *finical* (/ˈfɪnɪkəl/), thought to be a perhaps lightly critical adaptation of *fine* in the sense of the above definition – with the learned ending *-ical* parodying the style in question. Illustrative of the senses “of persons, their actions and attributes: Over-nice or particular, affectedly fastidious, excessively punctilious or precise, in speech, dress, manners, methods of work, etc. Also of things: over-scrupulously finished; excessively or

affectedly fine or delicate in workmanship”, early examples of *finical* and their dates are as follows: [1592] “She is so finicall in her speach” (Nashe 1592: sig. C4<sup>v</sup>); [1607] “Women gorgeously appavelled, finicall and fine as fippence” (Estienne 1608: 50; [1650] “Expressions made up of a bombast of words and finical affected complements” (Howell 1650: i. i. 2); [1660] “More trim and elegant fancies, who are so nice and finical that they would not come near a sore” (More 1660: 12, xi.); [1709] “Your open Sleeves ... made a much better Show than the finnikal Dress I am in” (Steele 1710: §6); [1727] “The Finical [style] ... consists of the most curious, affected, mincing Metaphors” (Pope 1727: 67); [1753] “Lord G. seems a little too finical in his dress” (Richardson 1785: II. ii. 9).

How far-fetched is the notion of a derivation of U.S. *finagle* from British *finical*? In the reconstruction of a plausible development, the shift in stress from the first syllable to the second and the impression of subsequent alignment with verbs in *-agle* (of which there are actually none; *inveigle* is close) will have been determining for other changes. Importation into new social circumstances in North America would also have facilitated changes in register and meaning. The above examples of *finical*, if reflective of general use and not simply the choices of the editors of the *OED*, concentrate on the dress and social manners of women (and men charged with effeminacy) and, less narrow in gender focus, on styles of self-projection in speech and writing. In comments lightly critical or condemnatory, artifice and inordinate attention to (personal) detail are targeted. Such conceits may be suspected of ulterior motive and deceit, and this conclusion seems to mark the turning point in the development in usage. The semantic focus appears to have moved from self-preoccupation according to certain social norms to other, less laudatory objectives, although still in the pursuit of personal advantage. In *finagle*, attention to detail is redirected to exploiting detailed knowledge of “how the system works”, to achieving perhaps unscrupulous or dishonest ends through insider information, cronyism, awareness of loopholes, misrepresentation, insinuation, leverage, even fraud and graft. In the advance of *finagle*, *finical* seems to have been left behind; the latest attestation that the *OED* chooses to list is from 1885.

Examples of U.S. usage of *finagle*, again from the *OED*, may be projected against the British examples above: [1926] “I’m a weary man, and I don’t want any finnageling from you” (Anderson, Stallings 1926: 111); [1936] “Discounting any possible editorial finageling ... the solid fact remains that opposing politically minded people do cancel subscriptions” (*Writer’s Digest* 1936: 193, 4 October); [1954] “All the time trying it on, fiddling and finagling, selling anybody out for fourpence” (Priestley 1954: vi. 120); [1955] “Any attempt to fudge or finagle or to get ahead of the other fellow will be recognized by the judge for what it is” (Denlinger 1955: 173).

From the sphere of social behaviour, including dress, manner and writing, *finical/finagle* entered politics, commerce, the justice and regulatory systems, as the earlier grudging recognition of style and assuinity was supplanted by an awareness of cunning, cleverness, and deviousness – still, as with the original *finical*, artifice and attention to detail in the service of self-promotion.



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## THE TURKISH LOANWORDS ČÀLGA IN BULGARIAN AND MANÉLE IN ROMANIAN

**Keywords:** etymology, Balkan languages, multilingualism, pop-folk, argot

### Abstract

Bulgarian *čalga* and Romanian *manele* “ethno-pop” or “pop-folk” are loanwords from Turkish. Besides the etymology of these words, the features of pop-folk will be described from a linguistic, historical and sociocultural point of view. It is a phenomenon rooted in the local Romani cultures, which are characterized by multilingualism and linguistic creativity. At the same time, pop-folk in the Balkans is based on a long tradition of Oriental music.

### Currents in popular music culture

The Bulgarian *čalga* and Romanian *manele*, meaning ‘ethnopop’, or ‘pop-folk’, are central concepts in the vocabulary of South-East-European music. Both words are taken from Turkish. A comparable phenomenon is the popular Serbian ‘turbo-folk’ (Roth 2012: 88).

Wagner (2008: 433) calls *čalga* “the most successful genre of Bulgarian music, a mix of traditional folk music and contemporary pop music.” “Pop-folk” has enjoyed increasing popularity in Bulgaria in recent decades and is seen as a unique kind of ‘Romani music’. It has been criticized for its trivial and kitschy lyrics written in vulgar language, although it has “today attained almost central social and political significance” (Roth 2012: 89; for a sociocultural problematization of the phenomenon see, e.g. Gehl 2010: 44–57). In particular, the so-called “čalga culture” has been accused of promoting and helping to cement obsolete traditional gender roles (Luleva 2008). In parallel, critics see in the Romanian *manele* “a mass phenomenon of poor taste and primitivism, of cheap Eastern tack” (Popescu 2008: 437).

Originally the Bulgarian *čalga* referred to the traditional light music of around the time of the Ottoman Empire and the Bulgarian National Revival. The Romanian *manéle* is a comparable phenomenon, also emerging from the musical culture of the East, cultivated unofficially in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century among the Romani and today – though much criticized by voices within “high culture” – a mass phenomenon of Romanian popular culture. The two genres of music resemble each other in several aspects: both involve inventive, catchy melodies and incorporate elements of local folk music as well as Serbian, Greek or Eastern elements. Both *čalga* and *manéle* are characterized by the unconstrained and highly creative fusion of different musical styles, making them especially vital and fascinating genres within the global current of “world music”. The lyrics often have an ironical and humorous note. In many cases the content of the songs concerns clichéd themes such as desire, relationships and lost love, as well as money and “newly-rich” lifestyles. On a linguistic level they are characterized by vernacular expressions and obscenities, and code-switching. It is sung in Bulgarian and Romani and in Romanian and Romani, in the respective countries. The performers are mostly Romani. Listening to pop-folk is widely seen as a mark of identity. Internet portals such as YouTube and the Skoobe platform, for example, have made the music accessible to everyone for free – especially relevant for members of the Romani minority living abroad. The music and dance venues frequented by Bulgarian and Romanian Romani in other countries play almost exclusively pop-folk, ensuring the music fans remain up to speed on the newest hits. The pop-folk scene in its countries of origin is generally characterized by high productivity.

### Travelling musicians’ argot

In Bulgarian- and Macedonian-speaking areas, as with other languages of the Balkans, there is historical evidence of argot, including – which is relevant for the present context – among travelling musicians. This includes above all the conventional argot of the travelling Schlager musicians who played in public houses and at wedding celebrations, and the forms of argot used among violin players. The original Bulgarian terms are *muzikàntski taen ezik* ‘travelling musicians’ argot’, *čalgadžijski taen ezik* ‘travelling Schlager musicians’ argot’, *cigulàrski taen ezik* ‘violin-players’ argot’ and *guslàrski taen ezik* ‘gusle-players’ argot’. The gusle is an ancient kind of one-stringed lute belonging to the folk-music tradition of the Balkan Peninsular. Travelling musicians’ argot, the Bulgarian *čalgadžii* or *muzikànti*, was documented at an early stage and described in studies such as that by Argirov (1901; on this article, see Leschber 2009: 128f). The Bulgarian scholar of argot Ivanov (1986: 22) documented some relevant examples in Bulgaria and Macedonia in the localities of Prilep, Bitolja, Ochrid, Kruševo, Veles, Skopje and Bracigovo. In a later study, Ivanov (1997: 165) found that 4.02% of words used in the Schlager musicians’ argot, *čalgadžijski taen ezik*, were of Turkish origin. More accurately, the Bulgarian and Macedonian variants of the musicians’ argot are characterized by a significant group

of words ultimately originating in Arabic or Persian, which were transmitted via Turkish (Ivanov 1986: 179). Argirov's (1901: 29) work made clear that not even the declension and patterns of word construction in these argot variants were adapted to fit the rules of Bulgarian. In the Bulgarian and Macedonian argots of the violin players and Schlager musicians, words whose origins are Romani outnumber those of Turkish origin. Indeed, words originating in the Romani language represent the majority within these argot variants. Historically, many Romani were multilingual, these languages at least including Romani, Bulgarian and Turkish; this is mostly still true today (for current data on the ethnicity and use of language see the 2011 Bulgarian census, which provides an evaluation). In the past it was above all Romani musicians who comprised the small orchestras that would perform at weddings and festivals in the Bulgarian and Macedonian villages and towns (Argirov 1901: 30; Kostov 1956: 412). Horse dealer and musician were once very common professions among Romani people, and these inevitably involved travelling long distances. Argirov (1901: 29–37) built a list of 163 words comprising the specific vocabulary of the travelling musicians' argot. The origins of a half of these – 79 – were in Romani. Thirty-four argot words used by the travelling musicians were Turkish or of Eastern, Persian-Arabic origin. A further nine words came from Modern Greek. Argirov was also able to identify nine words of Romanian origin and two that came from the Judeo-Hispanic. Only one Albanian and one Bulgarian word could be found. The origins of 29 additional words were unclear, though they probably stemmed from the Romani or the Turkish (or, originally from the Persian/Arabic). In the special Bulgarian of the violin players, *cigulàrski taen ezik*, specific usages based on hybrid models are found, which are formed of deverbals originating in Romani, and Bulgarian verbs. Of particular interest is that, according to Kostov (1956: 423), words originally belonging to this violin-players' argot served as a basis for the formation of other argot variants. Elements of the violin-players' argot also entered and enriched the Bulgarian cant.

### Etymology and derivatives of the Bulgarian *čàlga*

According to BNR (2001: 1111) the Bulgarian *čàlga* means 'Bulgarian folk song (usually with undemanding lyrics)', whose definition is supported by numerous references in the Bulgarian media (see Kràsteva 2000: 115). Stemming from this is the word *čàlgadžija* 'travelling musician' with a Bulgarian agent-noun suffix of Turkish origin in the variant *-džija* for masculine nouns (cf. Turkish *-ci*). The Bulgarian word *čàlgadžija* also has the variant *čàlgädžija* 'travelling musician', presumably taken directly from the Turkish *çalgıcı* 'id'. According to *Rečnik* 1982 the word has stress on its initial syllable: *čàlgadžija* (adjective *čàlgadžijski*) (*Rečnik* 1982: 987). A slight semantic change is seen in the obsolete Bulgarian *čàlgadžilàk* 'music' < Turkish *çalgıcılık* 'the profession of musician'. Closest to the original Turkish is the Bulgarian word *čàlgija*. According to Armjanov (2012: 369–370) the Bulgarian *čàlgotèka* means 'discotheque playing *čàlga* and pop-folk'.

In DTB (2002: 278) the Bulgarian *čalgà* is described with the stress at the end. The Bulgarian word *čalgija* is translated as 1. ‘musical instrument’, 2. ‘to play music, music’ < Turkish *çalgi* 1. ‘music, to make music’, 2. ‘musical instrument’, 3. ‘orchestra, band’, 4. ‘restaurant with band’ 5. ‘musical entertainment’, cf. the Turkish verb *çalmak* ‘to make, to produce sound, to play a musical instrument, to make music’ (see Steuerwald 1988: 211–212). According to DTB (2002: 342), *čalgija*, *čalgadžija* and *čalgidžija*, and *čalgidžiluk* are found in Serbo-Croatian.

Radloff (1911, III: 1886–1887) gives the comparisons *çalgi* (чалгы) 1. (Ottoman, Crimean) ‘the playing of a musical instrument’, 2. (Ottoman, Crimean) ‘the musical instrument’, 3. ‘the orchestra’. In Tietze (2002: 469), the Turkish *çalgi* (*çalgu*) is *çal-* II with the deverbial derivational suffix *-gi* (see Clauson 1972: 417–418 on *çal-*, which means, among others, ‘to play (a musical instrument)’).

Van der Linden (2001: 323–324) accords *tchalgi Baghdadi* the meaning of ‘musical collective from Baghdad’. In a small inquiry the author surveyed speakers of Baghdad Iraqi Arabic, who understand *tchalghi al-Baghdádi* as ‘name for a small Baghdad orchestra’. This word in the Baghdad dialect could again have been taken from another language, potentially Azerbaijani, a Turkic language, possibly via Persian.

### Etymology and derivations of the Romanian *manéle*

According to Popescu (2008: 437), *manéle* has been present in Romanian since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Ciorănescu (2001: 488) derives the Romanian *maneá*, usually used in the plural *manéle* ‘Turkish melodies’, from the Turkish *mane*, DLR (1965: 81) Rom. *maneá* (1). We can also compare the Bulgarian (dial., arch.) *manè* (2) (see BER, 3: 595, 649; *Rečnik* 1998, 9: 22) ‘song’, which originates from a phonetic variant of the Turkish *mani* ‘kind of folk song’, ‘antiphons with verses of a specific number of accentuated syllables’, ‘singing poem’. The word is also evidenced in the Bulgarian dialect as *maanè*, *manii* ‘Eastern music composition with a slow, meandering melody’, and in Kilkis/Aegean Macedonia ‘song with a theme of love or mourning’. (*Rečnik* 1982: 498).

Suciu (2010: 477–408) describes the Romanian *maneá*, pl. *manéle* – traditional 1. (lit., rare) ‘love song of Eastern or Turkish origin’, with the modern meaning of 3. ‘Romanian light music genre with traditional influences, originating around 1950–1960 in Romani circles, then entering Romanian subculture, with lively rhythms (...), etc., taken from the Turkish *mani* ‘type of folk song’, arch. *mānī*, arch. and dial. \**māne* (cf. Tatar *mane*) < Arabic *manā*. Similarly, Räsänen (1969: 326) describes (Ottoman) *mani* ‘folk song’, (Crimean) *manä* ‘folk song, melody’; Steuerwald (1988: 758) describes the Turkish *māni* ‘traditional folk poem, (usually) in verses of four lines each with seven syllables, with the rhyme scheme a, a, b, a’. Eyuboğlu (1995: 474) confirms that the Turkish *māni* II was taken from the Arabic *mānā*.

For the Romanian argot Volceanov (2006: 158) establishes *manelist* (m.), pl. *maneliști*, *manelistă* (f.), pl. *maneliște* as nouns and adjectives, with the meanings 1. (pej.) ‘(singer) who performs songs of doubtful artistic merit, with lyrics that are often



vulgar or obscene' and 2. '(singer) who performs entertaining or love songs with slow-moving melody typical of Eastern peoples', although the latter seems to be the traditional, value-free and older meaning. The Romanian adjectives *manelistic* and *manelós* are rare and used mostly in literary contexts, and only begin to be evidenced at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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

**Keywords:** Ottoman-Turkish, New Persian, lexical borrowing, transcription texts

### Abstract

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

215. **ibrişim** (*ibirişin* 1603); **ibirişim** (1584), **ebrişin** (1611), **iperşim/ipirşim** (1611), **ebirşim/ebirşin** (1650) – **1533** *ibrişin* (jbriscín) 'seta' (ArgAd. 201, ArgR.126); **1574** *ibirişin* (hibirissin) 'seta' (VNAd. 64); **1584** *ibirişim* (hibirissim) 'soye' (PalPD. 526–527; [\*hisbirissim (PalBern. 321)]); **1611** *ebrişin* (ebrişin) 'seta' (RJT-Majd. 198); **1611** *iperşim* (iperscím) 'seta' (FerrR. 99); **ca. 1630** *ibrişim* (ybrissim) 'sericū tortū ad suendum' (MontR. 110); **1650** *ebirşim* (ebirscim) 'seta' (CarrR. 137).  
Der. – **1533** *ibrişinci* (jbriscingi) 'setaiuolo' (ArgAd. 201, ArgR.126).  
Phr. – **1533** *ham ibrişin* (cham jbriscín) 'seta cruda' (ArgAd. 201, ArgR.114).

– **1587/88** *ibrişim geyisi\** (ibrischim \*geschie) ‘Seiden Kleidt’ (LubAd. 45) – **1650** *ebirşin kânar* (ebirscin chianar) ‘fettuccia, nastro di seta’ (CarrR. 137) – **1611** *ipirşim kumaşı* (ipirscim cumasci) ‘brocato di seta’ (FerrR. 112) – **1650** *ebirşin pervazi\** (ebirscin \*peruazli) ‘fettuccia, nastro di seta’ (CarrR. 137).

• < Pers. *abrişam/abrişum* ‘silk’. – N. 255 (XIV); P. 85 (XIV).

216. **işkembe** (1641); **skembe** (1533) – **1533** *skembe* (schiembé) ‘uentre’ (ArgAd. 269, ArgR. 219); **1611** *skembe* (schembé) ‘budella, interiora, entragna’ (FerrR. 101); **1650** *işkembe* (iscchiembéh) ‘ventre’ (CarrR. 192).

Der. – **1533** *skembecik* (schiembeggich) ‘uentricino’ (ArgAd. 269, ArgR. 219).

• < Pers. *işkam̄ba* ‘the third stomach of ruminating beasts’, *şikamba* ‘belly, stomach, tripe’. – N. 276 (XV); P. (–).

217. **işkence** (*iskence* 1641); **skunce** (1496/1501) – **1496/1501** “męki [Turcy zowa] *skundzie*” (Constantine of Ostrovica: StachSHET. 521); **1533** *skence* (schiengié, schiengé) ‘colla, tormento; fattoio, strettoio’ (ArgAd. 269, ArgR. 220); **1603/1612** *skence* (skenge) ‘tormentum’ (MegThP. 2: 635; MegILT.); **1611** *skence* (schengié) ‘flagello, tormento’ (FerrR. 101); **ca. 1630** *skence* (skenge) ‘tormentun, persecutio’ (MontR. 175); **1650** *iskence* // *işkence* (ischengie) ‘tormento’ (CarrR. 192); **1677** *iskence* (ischengie) ‘supplicio, tormento’ (MascVoc. 238, 249).

Der. – **ca. 1630** *ikencle-* (?) (ichienglemek, ichienglerum) ‘*it.* confiscare, inchiodare, crucifiggere’ (MontR. 112).

Phr. – **1533** *skence et-* (schieng(i)e edérum) ‘affliggo, tormento’ (ArgAd. 269, ArgR. 220); **1611** *skence et-* (schengié edérum) ‘flagellare, tormentare’ (FerrR. 101); **1677** *iskence et-* (ischange etmech) ‘flagellare, frustare, tormentare, dar tormento’ (MascVoc. 51, 53) – **ca. 1630** *skence ver-* (skengie uermek) ‘bellum, tormentū inferre; persequi’ (MontR. 175); **1650** *iskence* // *işkence ver-* (ischengie verirum) ‘martoriare, tormentare’ (CarrR. 192); **1677** *iskence ver-* (ischange vermech) ‘tormentare, dare della corda’ (MascVoc. 249) – **1533** *skence vur-* (schieng(i)e uurúrum) ‘affliggo, tormento’, (schieng(i)é uurdurúrum) ‘fo affligere’ (ArgAd. 269, ArgR. 220).

• < Pers. *şikanḡa* ‘pain, torture’. – N. 276 (XIV); P. 136 (1430).

220. **kâğat** (1544/48); **kâat** (ca. 1520), **gât** (1525/30), **kâhat** (1533), **kehat** (1533), **çagıt** (1603), **kehot** (?) (1611), **kât** (1611), **kâ(y)ıt** (1677), **gâgıt** (1677) – **ca. 1520** *kâat* (chiaat) ‘carta’ (LupisON. 3b); **1525/30** *gât* (giat) ‘carta’ (ITSprAd. 223); **1533** *kâgıt/kâhat/kehat* (chiaghét, chiachát) ‘foglio’, (chiechát) ‘charta; lectera’ (ArgAd. 215, ArgR. 133, 144); **1567** *kagıd* (kagedi [+ poss.]) ‘carta; lettera’ (LettBomb. 139–143); **1575** *kâhat* (kiahat) ‘epistre; epistola’ (PostelInstr.); **1584** *kâh[a/o]t\** (\*quiahal [PalBern.], \*quiahol [PalPD.]) ‘papier’ (PalBern. 321, PalPD. 528–529); **1603/1612** *çagıt* (tschagıt) ‘papyrus, charta’ (MegThP. 2: 205; MegILT.); **1611** *kehat/kehot/kihat* (kahati, kehoti [+ poss.], kihati) ‘papier, carta’ (RJTMajd. 205, 206); **1611** *kât/kâat* (chiját, chiaat) ‘carta, carta da scriuere’ (FerrR. 104); **ca. 1630** *kâgıt/kâhat* (chiaghét, chiahat) ‘carta’ (MontR. 121); **1650** *kâgıd/kâgat* (chiaghéd, chiağat) ‘carta da scriuere, scartoccio’ (CarrR. 196); **1677** *kâ(y)ıt* (chiaet) ‘carta’ (MascVoc. 25).

Der. – **1677** *kâ(y)ıtcı* (chiaetgi) ‘cartaio’ (MascVoc. 26) – **1677** *gâgıtcuk* (ghiaghet-giuch) ‘letterina, viglietto, che si manda’ (MascVoc. 81).

Phr. – **1641** *deriden kâğid* (deriden kiaghid) ‘carta pecorina’ (MolDitt. 82); **1650** *derinden kâğid* (derinden chiaghid) ‘carta pecorina’ (CarrR. 196) – **1650** *kazel kâğıdı* (qazel chiaghedi) ‘cartello infamatorio’ (CarrR. 196) – **1533** *oynama(y)a kehat* (oinamaá chiechát) ‘charte da giuoco’ (ArgAd. 215, ArgR.189); **1650** *oynanmak kâğid* (oinanmaq chiaghed) ‘carta da giocare’ (CarrR. 196) – **1641** *sultan kâğid* (sultan kiaghidi) ‘carta reale, o imperiale’ (MolDitt. 82); **1677** *sultan kâ(y)ıt* (sultan chiaet) ‘carta reale’ (MascVoc. 26).

– **1650** *çağat/kâhat yüzi* (ciaghat/chiahat iuzi) ‘facciata di carta, pagina’ (CarrR. 196) – **1611** *(h)aman kât (i)ste-* (hamán chiát stérum) ‘domandar saluo condotto’ (FerrR. 55).

• < Pers. *kāğaz*, *kāğiz* ‘paper; letter’. – N. 289 (X); P. 138 (XIV).

221. **kâğıdhane** (*çagethana* 1668); **kihathane** (1672) – **1672** *kihathane* (kihathanei [+ acc.]) ‘locum Chartaricon dictum’ (HarsHaz. 92–93).

• < Pers. *kāğaz-xāna* ‘paper-mill’. – N. (-); P. (-).

223. **kahpezne** (1591); **ka(h)bezen** (1473), **kapezan** (1533) – **1473** “*Baycabezen* (= *vay ka(h)bezen*) o figliuol di putana” (G. M. Angiolello: *RamNav.* 3: 380); **1533** *kapezan* (*chappesán*) ‘ualente homo’ [amelioration from ‘son of a bitch’ to ‘tough guy, brave fellow’ and the like] (ArgAd. 210–211 [with a different interpretation], ArgR. 137).

• < Pers. *qaḥba* (< Ar.) ‘whore, prostitute’ + *zan* (→ 655. *zen*). – N. (-); P. (-).

224. **kâhya** (*kekaya* 1546); **kahaya** (1525), **kaya** (1533), **keaya** (1548), **kâ(h)iy** (1622), **kâ(h)kâya** (1650), **kâya** (1677) = **kâthude** (1641); **ketoda** (ca. 1630), **kitudar** (1650), **ketuda** (1677) – **1525/1526/1532** “*cachaia/cecaia/chiechaia* zoè logotenente del bilarbei” (M. Sanudo: *MancT.* 98); **1539** “vno *Checaya*, ouero Protogero de Giannizzeri, che è come vicegerente” (RambLibT. 17v); **1545** “Hannoui vno che gouerna tutta la casa, il quale chiamano *Chechaia*” (BassR. 67); **1548** “[One of the kitchen supervisors in the Palace is called] *Cheaia*, il quale è deputato a vedere tutte le cose che entrano, & eschono delle cucchine, & accordare le differentie che venissero infra gli cuochi” (MenTratt. 132); **1560** “Le *Cahaia* ou contrerolleur” (PostelTPart. 16); **1587** “*Checaia*, voce Turchesca, da noi vicegerente, & agente” (MinHist. unnumbered page); **1584** “[The Janissaries’ Aga] a un Lieutenant soubz luy, appellé *Quecaiat*” (PalBern. 258); **1608** “*Kihaia* oder Hofmeister” (SchwSt. 238); **1622** *kâ(h)iy* (Chiaij) ‘Hofmeister’, (Chyaij) ‘Botschafter [? oder nur Titel]’ (WennStach. 601); **ca. 1630** *keaya/ketoda* (*kieaia*, *cheaia*, *kietodda*) ‘praefectus aulae, vicarius’ (MontR. 127); **1633** *kâhya* (*kihaja*) ‘sekretarz’ (S. Twardowski: *StachSHET.* 327); **1650** *kâhya/kâ(h)kâya* (*chiahia*, *chiachchiaia*) ‘amministratore, soprastante’; *kitudar* (*chitudar*) ‘presidente’ (CarrR. 196, 216); **1677** *ketuda/kâya* (*chietuda*, *chiaia*) ‘maiordomo, maestro di casa’ (MascVoc. 86).

Phr. – **1594** “la favorita sua (= of the Sultan) *Caiacadum* (= *kâhya kadun*)” (M. Zane: *RelAlb.III* 412).

- **1533** *meret kaya* (merètt chaiá) ‘herede’ (ArgAd. 232, ArgR. 170) – **1668** “the *Serai Kiahaiasi*, Lord Steward of the household, who oversees the Chambers of the Pages” (RycautPSt. 36).
- **1553** “il *capigiler-chietcudasci* (recte *chietcudasi*), che vuol dir luogotenente de’ portinari” (B. Navagero: RelAlb.I 59); **1587** “*Capigilarchecaiasi*, voce Turchesca, Luocotenete, & Signore de portonari” (MinHist. unnumbered page).
- < Pers. *kat-xudā* ‘lord-lieutenant, viceroy, locum tenens, deputy’. – N. 289 (*kāhya* XV), 321 (*kethüda* XIV); P. 145 (*kethüda* 1430).
225. **kâkül** (1641).
- Phr. – **1641** *avret kâküli* (auret kiakiuli) ‘treccie delle donne’ (MolDitt. 466); **1677** *aviretler kâküli* (auretler chiachiuli/\*chiachiulesi) ‘treccie delle donne, zazzera di donne’ (MascVoc. 255, 278).
- < Pers. *kākul* ‘lock of hair; forelock’. – N. 290 (XV); P. 138 (2/XV).
226. **kalbur** (*galbur* 1641) – **1533** *kalbur* (chalbúr) ‘staccio, uaglio’ (ArgAd. 209, ArgR. 134); **ca. 1630** *kalbur* (kalbur) ‘cribrum’ (MontR. 122); **1650** *kalbur* (chalbur) ‘vaglio’ (CarrR. 197).
- Der. – **1533** *kalburcı* (chalburgí) ‘stacciaio, uagliaio’ (ArgAd. 209, ArgR. 134). – **1533** *kalburcik* (chalburgích) ‘vagliuzo’ (ArgAd. 209, ArgR. 134).
- **1533** *kalburla-* (chalburlárum) ‘uaglio’, (chalburlatterúrurum) ‘fo uagliare’ (ArgAd. 209, ArgR. 134) – **1650** *galburlayıcı* (ghalburlaigi) ‘criuellatore’ (CarrR. 157).
- < Pers. *ğalbîr* ‘sieve’, prob. of Semitic origin, cf. Ar. *ğirbāl* ‘id.’ The Pers. form *qalbūr* was reborrowed from Turkish (TMEN 3: 493). – N. 291 (XIII); P. (–).
227. **kalpezan** (1672); **kalpızan** (1533) – **1533** *kalpızan* (chalpisán) ‘falsatore’ (ArgAd. 210, ArgR. 135).
- < Pers. *qalb-zan* ‘a coiner of false money’. – N. 293 (XV); P. (–).
231. **kâr** (1603) – **ca. 1630** *kâr* (kiar, chiar) ‘operator’ (MontR.124).
- < Pers. *kâr* ‘action, work; acting; agent operator’. – N. 300 (XIV); P. 139–140 (XIII/XIV).
234. **kârhane** (1641); **kerhana** (1533) – **1533** *kerhana* (chierkaná) ‘bordello’ (ArgAd. 216, ArgR. 145).
- < Pers. *kâr-xāna* ‘shop, workshop, manufactory, laboratory; any place where public works are carried on’. – N. 319 (XVI); P. (–).
235. **kâse** (1641) – **1677** *kâse* (chiassè) ‘tazza da bere’ (MascVoc. 242).
- Der. – **1677** *kâsecik* (chiassegich) ‘tazzetta’ (MascVoc. 242).
- Phr. – **1677** *cam kâse* (giam chiasse) ‘tazzone’ (MascVoc. 242) – **1677** *cevahirli kâse* (gieuahirli chiasse) ‘tazza tempestata di gemme’ (MascVoc. 242) – → 1005. *zernişan*.
- < Pers. *kāsa* ‘cup, goblet’. – N. 306 (XIV); P. 140 (2/XV).



238. **kebin** (ca. 1450); **käpim** (1538), **käbin** ([1553]; 1668), **kibin** (1594) – [The word was recorded also in Italianised forms, f. ex. 1473/80 “il Gran Turcho là e’ tiene per sue femine e *chibine*” (DeiCr. 156); 1533 “quando una donna rompe il *chibino*” (Arg-Ad. 217)] – 1538 “Et è in foro et libertà di un Turco, repudiar la moglie dummodo che li dia el *Capim*, che è la dote, et la controdote che li ha promesso” (SpandSath. 250); 1539 “Non possono sposare al modo loro, che chiamano fare il *Chebin*, più che vna moglie” (RambLibT. 29v); 1545 “se vna donna, & vn’huomo sono d’accordo, promessale dal marito la dote, la quale loro domandano *Chebin*, subito si mena senz’altro la donna a casa” (BassR. 67); 1548 “Il padre [of a girl asked in marriage] (...) gli [= to the suitor] domanda (...) vna certa quantità di danari, (...) i quali chiamano *Chebin*, cioè dote” (MenTratt. 35); 1553 “torre a \**cadin* [recte *cabin*], cioè per moglie” (B. Navagero: RelAlb.I 102); 1560 “vn (...) mariage fait à plaisir ou conditionné, & ne s’appelle pas communement mariage, mais *kebin*” (PostelRepT. 8); 1573 “cotal cerimonia, che risponde allo spozalizio, si chiama *chebin*” (C. Garzoni: RelAlb.I 454); 1578 “si tien per fermo che’l [= the Sultan] sia contento della sola moglie, (...) se ben non le ha per ancora fatto *chebin*, che tanto vuol dire come indotata et sposata” (G. Correr: RelPedF. 229); 1584 “[The Sultan Selim] la fece sua moglie, havendole tagliato *chebin*, che al modo turchesco è come al nostro sposarla” (G. Soranzo: RelPedF. 252); 1594 “il loro Signore, (...) nato di schiava e non di matrimonio, usando il Signor Turco di rado toglier a *chibin* le sue donne” (M. Zane: RelAlb.III 407); ca. 1630 *kebin* (kebin) ‘concubinatus’ (MontR. 127); 1668 “There is also another sort of half marriage amongst them, which is called *Kabin*, when a man takes a wife for a month, or for a certain limited time” (RycautPSt. 154).

• < Pers. *kābin* ‘matrimony, or rather the ratification of it before the judge; marriage-portion or settlement which a husband is obliged to pay to his wife if he divorces her without sufficient cause’, *kabīn* ‘marriage-portion’. – N. (–); P. 138 (XIII/XIV).

239. **kehrübar** (1680); **kekerbar** (1533), **kehribar** (1650) – 1533 *kekerbar* (chiecchierbàr) ‘ambra gialla’ (ArgAd. 215 [*keherbar*], ArgR. 144); 1650 *kehribar* (chiehribar) ‘ambra gialla’ (CarrR. 209).

• < Pers. *kāh-rubā* ‘yellow amber’, *kah-rubā* ‘attracting straws, i.e. amber’. – N. 316 (XV); P. (–).

243. **kem** (1603) – 1533 *kem* (chiem) ‘chattiuo’ (ArgAd. 216, ArgR. 144); 1611 *kem* (chiém) ‘cattiuo, tristo’ (FerrR. 107); ca. 1630 *kem* (kem) ‘malus’ (MontR. 127); 1650 *kem* (chiem) ‘abuso, biasmo; nefando, scelerato; sdegno’ (CarrR. 209); 1672 *kem* (kem) ‘malum’ (HarsHaz. 46–47); 1677 *kem* (chiem) ‘empio; male, maluagio, rio, tristo, scellerato’ (MascVoc. 44 passim).

Der. – 1611 *kemlik* (chiemlic) ‘male’ (FerrR. 108); 1650 *kemlik* (chiemlich) ‘dissolution di vita, maluagità, empietà’, (chiemlich ileh) ‘corucciosamente, dissolutamente, empiamente’ (CarrR. 210); 1672 *kemlik* (kemlik) ‘mala’ (Hars-Haz. 132–133); 1677 *kemlik* (chiemlich) ‘malignità, cattiuità, maluagità, malizia, sventura, sciaura’ (MascVoc. 87, 236).

Phr. – **1650** *çok kem* (cioch chiem) ‘malissimo’ (CarrR. 209) – **1641** *dahi kem* (dahi kiem) ‘peggiore’ (MolDitt. 297); **1650** *dahi kem* (dahi chiem) ‘infimo, il peggio’ (CarrR. 209) – **1641** *hayati/ziyade kem* (chaiati, szijade kiem) ‘pessimo’ (MolDitt. 302).

– **1641** *kem adem* (kiem adem) ‘homo tristo; sclerato huomo’ (MolDitt. 380); **1650** *kem adam* (chiem adam) ‘homaccio’ (CarrR. 209) – **1641** *kem adet* (kiem adet) ‘abuso’ (MolDitt. 6); **1677** *kem adet* (chiem adet) ‘abuso’ (MascVoc. 3) – **1641** *kem amel* (kiem amel) ‘mala operatione’ (MolDitt. 241) – **1641** *kem deyiş* (kiem deisc) ‘mal detto’ (MolDitt. 241) – **1611** *kem haber* (khem chaber) ‘malas al(bricias)’ (RJT Majd. 40) – **1641** *kem have* (kiem haue) ‘aria cattiva’ (MolDitt. 59); **1650** *kem hava* (chiem hhaue) ‘aria pestifera’ (CarrR. 173) – **1611** *kem kuku* (chiem cuccusí [+ poss.]) ‘puzza, fetore’ (FerrR. 111); **1641** *kem koku/koku* (kiem koki/koku) ‘puzza, fetore, spuzza’ (MolDitt. 329, 426) – **1641** *kem melek* (kiem melek) ‘angelo catiuo’ (sic) (MolDitt. 48) – **1641** *kem taleh* (kiem taleh) ‘suentura, sciagura’ (MolDitt. 440); **1677** *kem talih* (chientalich) ‘malauentura’ (MascVoc. 87) – **1641** *kem vakt* (kiem vakt) ‘tempo trauagliato’ (MolDitt. 449).

– **1611** *kem adı çek-* (chiem adí cichérum) ‘infamare’ (FerrR. 70) – **1677** *kem adet et-* (chiem adet etmech) ‘abusare’ (MascVoc. 3) – **1650** *kem et-* (chiem ederum) ‘abusare, peggiorare, far peggio’ (CarrR. 209) – **1677** *kem edici* (chiem edigi) ‘malfattore’ (MascVoc. 87) – **1641** *kem ol-* (kem olmak) ‘peggiore’ (MolDitt. 297); **1650** *kem ol-* (chiem olurum) ‘corucciarsi’, (chiem olmisc) ‘abusato, corucciato’ (CarrR. 209) – **1650** *kem süyle-* (chiem suilerum) ‘biasimare, dir male’, (chiem suilemisc) ‘biasmato’ (CarrR. 209–210).

• < Pers. *kam* ‘few, little; deficient, defective; worse; poor, wretched; base’. – N. 317 (wrongly dated X as Old Turkic *kem* ‘illness’ is a different word [Clau-sonED 720]); P. 142 (1291–1312).

245. **kemance** (1680); **kemence** (1611), **kemençe** (1650), **çemençe** (1650) – **1611** *kemence* (chiemengié) ‘viola, instromêto da sonare’ (FerrR. 107); **ca. 1630** *kemence* (kemenge) ‘lyra’ (MontR. 128); **1650** *kemençe/çemençe* (chiemence, ciemencieh) ‘lira da sonare, viola da sonare’ (CarrR. 104).

Phr. – **1677** *kemance çalcısı* (chiemangie cialgissi) ‘sonatore di violino’ (MascVoc. 212) – **1650** *kemençe okı* (chiemenceh ochi) ‘pleto, arco di lira’ (CarrR. 104).

• < Pers. *kamānča* ‘little, bow; lute, harp, species of violin’. – N. 317 (XV); P. (–).

247. **kemankes** (*kemenkeş* 1641) – **1677** *kemenkeş* (chiemenchiesc) ‘arciere’ (MascVoc. 16).

• < Pers. *kamān-kaš* ‘archer’. – N. (–); P. 142 (2/XV).

248. **kemend** (*kement* 1641).

Der. – **1650** *kementcik* (\*chientgich = k̄mntğk) ‘lacciolo da vcelli’ (CarrR. 210).

Phr. – **1650** *kemend ko-* (chiemend qorum) ‘tender laccio’ (CarrR. 210).

• < Pers. *kamānd* ‘halter, noose, snare, lasso’. – N. 317 (XIV); P. 142 (1368).

249. **kemer** (1641); **çemer** (1533) – **1533** *çemer/kemer* (cemér, chiemér) ‘uolta di hedi-fitij’ (ArgAd. 216, ArgR. 69); **1587/88** *kemer* (kemer) ‘Gewelb’ (LubAd. 47); **1611** *kemer* (chiemér) ‘lamia di fabrica’ (FerrR. 108); **1650** *kemer* (chiemer) ‘arco di volta, pilastro, volta di muraglia’ (CarrR. 210); **1668** *çemer* (csemer) ‘fornix’ (IllNém. 164); **1677** *kemer* (chiemeri [+ poss.]) ‘arco’ (MascVoc. 16).

Phr. – **1641** *kemer alti* (kiemer alti) ‘portico’ (MolDitt. 312) – **1641** *kemer kibi* (kiemer kibi) ‘a fogia (sic) d’arco’ (MolDitt. 22) – **1650** *kemer tunanmı̄ş* (chiemer tunanmisc) ‘arco trionfale’ (CarrR. 210).

– **1650** *donanma kemer* (donanma chiemer) ‘\*carro trionfale’ (CarrR. 128).

• < Pers. *kamar* ‘arch, cupola, dome’. – N. 317 (XIV); P. 143 (1430).

250. **kemha** (*kâmuka* [recte *kâmuha*] 1533); **kâma** (1611), **kâmoa** (ca. 1630) – [The attestations in Latin documents from Poland of 1395 (‘purpura dicta camcha’) and 1406 (‘de camcha puluinaria’), quoted by StachSHET. 290, may come directly from Persian] – [add.] **1533** *kâmuha* (chiamucchá) ‘dommasco’ (ArgAd. 210, ArgR. 136); **1557** ‘sztuk *kamchy* [Pol. gen.] i axamitu tureckiego’ (E. Otwinowski: StachSHET. 290); **1587/88** *kemha* (kiemha) ‘Damasket’ (LubAd. 47); **1611** *kâmha* (chiamkha) ‘damasco’ (RJTMajd. 202); **1611** *kâma* (chiamá) ‘taffità di seta’ (FerrR. 108); **1612** *kâmuha* (chiamuccha) ‘vestis Damascena, Damast’ (MegILT.); **ca. 1630** *kâmoa* (chiamoa) ‘damasco’ (MontR. 123).

• < Pers. *kamxā* ‘Damask silk of one colour’, *kimxā* ‘Damask silk of different colours’, of Chinese origin (TMEN 3: 602–606). – N. (–); P. 143 (1332).

251. **kenar** (1672); **kinar** (1611), **keran** (ca. 1630), **kiran** (ca. 1630), **kânar** (1641) – **1533** *kenar* (chienár) ‘cimoso di panno; sponda di lecto et simili’ (ArgAd. 216, ArgR. 145); **1611** *kinar* (kinar) ‘orilla’ (RJTMajd. 207); **ca. 1630** *kenar/keran/kiran* (chienar, kieran, kiran) ‘ripa’ (MontR. 128); **1641** *kânar* (chianar) ‘francia, ouero orlo, estremità della veste’ (MolDitt. 154, 284); **1650** *kânar/kenar* (chianar, chienari [+ poss.]) ‘cimozza di panno, scampolo; falda di veste; frangia; penarata’ (CarrR. 199).

Phr. – **1611** *çay kena[rı]* (ciái \*chiená) ‘ripa, sponda del fiume’ (FerrR. 108); **1677** *çay kenari* (ciái chienari) ‘sponda del fiume’ (MascVoc. 225) – **1641** *döşek kânarı* (dosc=ek kianari) ‘sponda del letto’ (MolDitt. 424) – → 215. *ibrişim*.

• < Pers. *kanār* ‘side, brink, coast, shore; edge; hem (of a garment)’. – N. 317 (XIV); P. 144 (XIV).

252. **kepçe** (1680); **kepe** (1650), **kepşe** (1650) – **1533** *kepçe* (chiepcé) ‘chucchiaio grande, romaiuolo’ (ArgAd. 216, ArgR. 145); **1611** *kepçe* (chiepcié) ‘cucchiario da minestrone’ (FerrR. 108); **1650** *kepe/kepşe* (chiepeh, chiepsce) ‘cazza, ramino, trulla, mestola da muratori’ (CarrR. 210).

• < Pers. *kabča/kapča/kafča* ‘ladle, spoon; skimmer’. – N. 318 (not dated); P. 141 (1514/1515).

253. **keresta** (1641) – **1533** *kereste* (chieresté) ‘uettouaglia’ (ArgAd. 216, ArgR. 145); **1677** *kereste* (chierestè) ‘materia, legname’ (MascVoc. 91).

• < Pers. *kārāsta* ‘planks, building materials’ (ErenTDES 233) rather than *karašta* ‘Abfall, Müll; Späne, Laub’ (Stachowski = JunkerAlaviW. 598). – N. 318 (XVII Meninski); P. (–).

254. **kervan** (*kârvan* 1641); **kerevan** (1677) – **1650** *karvan* (caruan) ‘carouana’ (CarrR. 203); **1653** “*Kiaruan* en turc (...) que nous appellons Karauane par corruption, est vn amas de marchands ou voyageurs qui se mettent en troupe crainte d’estre detrousez en chemin” (F. de la Boullaye: ArvAdd. 289); **1677** *kerevan* (chiereuan) ‘carauana’ (MascVoc. 25).

Phr. – **1533** *karovambaşı* (charovambascí), found in a sentence Argenti translates keeping this Turkish word also in the Italian version (ArgAd. 212, ArgR. 140); **1538** “Sonnovi anchora molti deputati al governo et custodia de ditti camelli, quelli hanno un capo adimandato \**Saravanibassi* (recte *Caravanibassi*)” (SpandSat. 218); **1584** “allasmes loger en la maison de nostre *Caravan Bassi*, & conducteur” (PalBern. 311); **1618** *karvanbaşı*\* (karwanbassego [Pol. gen.]) [‘przewodnik karawany’] (StachSHET. 308); **1653** “ie l’ay tousiours veu *Kiaruan Bachi*” (F. de la Boullaye: ArvAdd. 290); **1675** “Le *Caravan-bachi* qui en (= of the caravane) est le Capitaine” (B. Tavernier: ArvAdd. 290).

• < Pers. *kārwān* ‘caravan’. – N. 319 (XIV); P. 140 (XIV).

255. **kervanseray** (*karavansari* 1553); **karvansera** (1455/57), **kevenseray** 1481, **karavarsera** (1518), **kârvasara** (1533), **karvosara/karvosera** (1545), **karvasera** (1568), **karabasara** (1579), **karabansaray** (1608), **karbasera** (1653), **kerevensaray** (1654) – [Several records that repeat forms of the word already attested earlier are not mentioned] – **1455/57** “ung petit *karvanssera*, qui sont maisons ainsy que les kans en Surye” (B. de la Broquière: ArvAdd. 290); **1481** *kevenseray*\* (\**czeuuen-czerey*) [‘Herberge an Landstraßen’] (GUngSt. 53); **1518** *caravarsera* (M. Sanudo: MancT. 98); **1533** *kârvasara* (chiaruasará) ‘albergo’ (ArgAd. 213 [*karvansara*], ArgR. 141); **1538** “fanno fare molte hostarie, quale loro chiamano *charuaserra*, ne le qual hostarie li viandanti possano alloggiare senza pagamento alcuno” (SpandSat. 242); **1545** “hanno i *Caruossarà* (elsewhere *caruoserà*, *charuoserà*), cioè gli hospitali, doue capitano i forastieri” (BassR. 65); **1553** “vn grand edifice (...) que les Turcs de nom propre appellent un *Carbachara*” (P. Belon: ArvAdd. 290); **1568** “vn *Caruasseras*, qui est comme vne grange ou grande escuyrie en lieu d’hostellerie” (NicQLivr. 98); **1573** “i *caravanserai*” (C. Garzoni: RelAlb.I 401); **1579** “hosteleries qu’ils nomment *Carabassara*” (C. de Pinon: ArvAdd. 291); **1608** *Carabansarai* (SchwSt. 237); **1622** *Caravan Saraj/Caravan-Sarai* (WennStach. 602); **1653** “vn (...) *Karbasera*, ou *Kiaruansaray*, ou hostellerie si on veut pour les karavanes” (F. de la Boullaye: ArvAdd. 291); **1654** “Logemens publics dans les villes, & sur les grands chemins (...), qu’on appelle *Kerevan Serai*, c’est à dire la maison des Caravanes” (du Loir: ArvAdd. 291).

Der. – **1545** “v’è vn’ guardiano [of the *karavanseray*] che riscuote, & se cosa fusse robbata egli è obligato, a ritrouarla. Chiamanolo *Charuosaranzi* [= *kervanserayci*]” (BassR. 66).

- < Pers. *kārwānsarāy* 'a caravansera, a public building for the reception of caravans'. – N. (-); P. (-).
256. **kese** (1603) – **1533** *kese* (chiessé) 'borsa' (ArgAd. 216, ArgR. 145); **1611** *kese* (keshe) 'bolsa' (RJT Majd. 205); **1611** *kese* (chiesé) 'borza' (FerrR. 108); **1677** *kese* (chiessè) 'borsa, sacchetto di denari, o di moneta' (MascVoc. 22, 173).  
Phr. – **1587/88** *kese sürme* (kesse surme) 'Rucken reiben' (LubAd. 47).  
• < Pers. *kīsa* 'a purse either for money or for enclosing letters; kind of small sack made of goats' hair'. – N. 320 (XIV); P. 146 (1430).
257. **keşiş** (1603); **kesis** (ca. 1520) – **ca. 1520/1525/30** *kesis* (*kāšiš* Adamović) (chiesis) 'frati' (LupisON. 1a; ITSprAd. 241); **1533** *keşiş* (chiescisc) 'abate; frate; prete' (ArgAd. 217, ArgR. 146); **1611** *keşiş* (chiescisc) 'monaco' (FerrR. 108); **ca. 1630** *kesis* // *keşiş* (kesis) 'monachus' (MontR. 128); **1677** *keşiş* (chiescisc) 'monaco' (MascVoc. 98).  
Der. – **1611** *keşişe* (keschischè) 'beguina, religiosa' (RJT Majd. 206) – **1611** *keşişlik* (chiescisclic) 'monasterio' (FerrR. 108).  
Phr. – **1611** *keşişhane* (keschischhanè) 'abadia, monasterio' (RJT Majd. 206).  
• < Pers. *kašīš* 'priest, presbyter'. – N. 320 (XIV); P. 144 (XIV).
258. **keşke** (1603); **keşk** (1611) – **1533** *keşke* (chiéscichie) 'Dio uoglia' (ArgAd. 217, ArgR. 146); **1611** *keşk* (keschk, kesk, kesch) [used as a mark for Turkish optative verbal forms] (RJT Majd. 206); **ca. 1630** *keşke* (keskie) 'secundū uoluntatem meā' (MontR. 128).  
• < Pers. *kaš-kih* 'May it happen! God send! Would to heaven!'. – N. 320 (XIII); P. (-).
259. **kil** (1641) – **1533** *kil* (chil) 'terra che si mettono in capo le donne quando si lauono' (ArgAd. 217, ArgR. 150).  
• < Pers. *gil* 'clay. mud'. – N. 326–327 (XIV); P. 101 (1482).
260. **kilim** (1680) – **1533** *kilim* (chilim) 'charpita' (ArgAd. 217, ArgR. 150).  
• < Pers. *gilim* 'garment made of goats' hair or wool; carpet or rug to lie down upon; blanket'. The Beiforms *kilim*, *kilim* are probably reborrowed from Turkish (TMEN 4: 4–6). – N. 327 (XIII); P. 145 (1430).
261. **kin** (*çin* 1668) – **1533** *kin* (chin) 'uendetta' (ArgAd. 218, ArgR. 150).  
Phr. – **1533** *kin et-* (chin edérum) 'uendico', (chin etterúrum) 'fo uendicare' (ArgAd. 218, ArgR. 151).  
• < Pers. *kīn* 'hatred, enmity, rancour, malice; revenge'. – N. 328 (XII); P. 145 (1430).
266. **köşe** (1641); **köse** (1533) – **1533** *köse* (chiossé) 'chanto di strade o di tauole et simili' (ArgAd. 223, ArgR. 155); **1650** *köse* (chiosce) 'cantone di muraglia' (CarrR. 225); **1677** *köse* (chiosce) 'angolo, cantone' (MascVoc. 13, 24).

Phr. – **1650** *köşe dönder-* (chiosce donderum) ‘scantonare’, (chiosce dondermek) ‘scantonamento’, (chiosce dondermisc) ‘scantonato’ (CarrR. 225); **1677** *köşeden kaç-* (chiosceden caccimach) ‘scantonare, fuggire’, (chiosceden caccimisc) ‘scantonato, fuggito’ (MascVoc. 184).

– **1641** *altı köşeli* (alti kiosk=eli) ‘sestile, di sei angoli’ (MolDitt. 399) – **1641** *dört/dörd köşeli* (dort/dord chiosc=eli) ‘quadrato, quadrangolo’ (MolDitt. 330); **1672** *dort köşeli* (dort köseli) ‘quadratum; quadrangulatum’ (HarsHaz. 106–107, 184–85; Stachowski records Nagy de Harsány’s *köşeli* without giving its meaning) – **1587/88** *üç köşeli* (utschkioscheli) ‘Winckelmas’ (LubAd. 61); **1641** *üç köşâli* (vcz chiosc=ali) ‘triangolo’ (MolDitt. 467); **1677** *üç köşeli* (vc chiosceli) ‘triangolo’ (MascVoc. 255).

• < Pers. *gūša* ‘angle, corner, nook, closet’. – N. 347 (XIV); P. 147 (1332).

267. **köşk** (1680); **kösk** (1533), **köşik** (1587/88), **kişk** (ca. 1630), **güşek** (1650) – **1533** *kösk* (chiósch) ‘una capanna o uero padiglione di legno che fanno i turchi ne’ giardini et sopra le case et qui stanno a mangiare (et bere [ArgR.]/et simili [ArgAd.]’ (ArgAd. 223, ArgR. 155); **1587/88** *köşik* (koschick) ‘Lusthaus’ (LubAd. 47); **1614** “fanno anche ne’ giardini certe fabriche al piano del terreno, che essi chiamano *kiosck*” (DValCard. 87); **1625** “Some [rooms] also vpon the Sea side, which are called *Kiosks* [Engl. pl.], that is Roomes of faire prospect, or (as we terme them) banquetting Houses” (S. Purchas: COED 919); *ca.* **1630** *köşk/kişk* (chiosk, kisk) ‘palatium’ (MontR. 133); **1641** *kösk/köşk* (kiosk, kiosk=k) ‘belvedere’ (MolDitt. 70, Indice); **1650** *güşek* ‘verone, loggia’ (CarrR. 167); **1668** “the *Kiosch*, or banquetting-house” (RycautPSt. 11); **1677** *köşk* (chiosc=chi [+ poss.]) ‘belvedere’ (MascVoc. 21).

• < Pers. *kuşk* ‘upper chamber, gallery, or balcony on the top of a house; hall, parlour’, *küşk* ‘palace, villa’. – N. 348 (XIV); P. 147 (XIV).

272. **lâceverdi** (1680) – **1533** *laciverdi* (laggiuerdí) ‘azzurro oltramarino’ (ArgAd. 226, ArgR. 161).

• < Pers. *lâğawardî* ‘azure, cerulean; made or consisting of lapis lazuli’. – N. (-); P. 151 (2/XV).

273. **lâcivert** (1641) – **1533** *laciverdi* (laggiuerdí [+ poss.]) ‘lapislazarò’ (ArgAd. 226, ArgR. 161); **1650** *lacivert* (lagiuert) ‘smalto’ (CarrR. 232); **1677** *lacivert* (lagivert) ‘azzurro’ (MascVoc. 19).

Phr. – **1677** *divare lacivert et-* (diuare lagiuert etmech) ‘smaltare il muro’ (MascVoc. 207) – **1650** *lacivert ko-* (lagivert qorum) ‘smaltare’ (CarrR. 232).

• < Pers. *lâğaward* ‘lapis lazuli’. – N. 362 (XIV); P. (-).

274. **lâf** (1680) – **1533** *laf* (laf) ‘ciancia, frapperia’ (ArgAd. 226, ArgR. 161).

Der. – **1533** *lafçı* (lafçj, laffçj) ‘cicalone, cianciatore, frapptore, parabolano’ (ArgAd. 226, ArgR. 161).

• < Pers. *lâf* ‘praise; boasting, self-praise, bragging’. – N. 362 (XIII), P. 151 (XIII).



276. **lâla** (1591) – **ca. 1630** *lala* (lala) ‘tutor’ (MontR. 137); **1668** “*Lala*, which signifies Tutor” (RycautPSt. 44).

• < Pers. *lâlâ* ‘the chief servant, intrusted with the education of his master’s son’. – N. 364 (not dated); P. (–).

278. **legen** (1603) – **1587/88** *legen\** (\*jegen) ‘Handtbecken’, (\*lepen) ‘Gisbeck’ (LubAd. 14, 17); **1611** *legen* (leghen) ‘bacin, bassin’ (RJT Majd. 209); **ca. 1630** *legen* (leghen) ‘peluis’ (MontR. 137); **1650** *legen/leğen* (leghien, leien) ‘bacino, bacile da lauarsi; conca, vaso, infrescoatoio, lauacro, rinfrescoatoio’ (CarrR. 233); **1677** *legen* (leghen) ‘catinella, cioè doue si laua le mani; conca’ (MascVoc. 26, 31).

• < Pers. *lagan* ‘brazen or copper pan in which the hands are washed’. – N. 367 (XIII); P. 152 (2/XV).

279. **leke** (1641); **läke** (1650) – **1533** *leke* (lecchié) ‘macchia di panni’ (ArgAd. 227, ArgR. 162); **1650** *leke* (lechie) ‘lentigine, machia, bruttura’ (CarrR. 233); **1677** *leke* (lechie) ‘macchia’ (MascVoc. 85).

Der. – **1533** *lekeli* (lecchielj) ‘macchiato’ (ArgAd. 227, ArgR. 162); **1612** *lekeli* (lekeli) ‘immundus’ (MegILT.); **ca. 1630** *lekeli* (lekeli) ‘immundus’ (MontR. 137).

– **1533** *lekele-* (lecchielérum) ‘macchio’, (lecchieletterúrurum) ‘fo macchiare’ (ArgAd. 227, ArgR. 162); **1677** *lekele-* (lechielenmech) ‘macchiare’, (lechieleien) ‘macchiatore, quello che macchia’, (lechielenmisc) ‘macchiato’ (MascVoc. 85) – **1650** *lekeleci* (lechielegi) ‘machiatore’ (sic) (CarrR. 233).

Phr. – **1533** *leke et-* (lecchié edérum) ‘macchio’ (ArgAd. 227, ArgR. 162) – **1650** *läke çıkar-* (lachieh cicarirum) ‘purgare panni’ (CarrR. 233) – **1650** *läke çıkarmak hane* (lachieh cicarmach chane) ‘purgo, bottega’ (CarrR. 233) – **1641** *leke çıkararı sabun* (lekie cikaran \*sabor/sabun) ‘sapone da leuar macchie’ (MolDitt. 372, Indice) – **1641** *leke kaldur-* (lekie kalduran) ‘leua macchie’ (MolDitt. 233).

• < Pers. *laka/lakka* ‘spot, stain’. – N. 368 (XV); P. (–).

281. **leş** (1603); **eleş** (1650) – **1533** *leş* (lésci) ‘morto, cioè corpo morto di homo et di animale, latino chadáuér’ (ArgAd. 227, ArgR. 162); **1611** *leş* (lésc) ‘cadauero, morto’ (FerrR. 115); **1650** *eleş* (elesc) ‘cadauero’ (CarrR. 142); **1672** *leş* (\*lesii [recte lesini (+ poss. acc.)]) ‘cadaver’ (HarsHaz. 183–183).

• < Pers. *lâš* ‘dead body, carcas’. – N. 368 (XIV); P. 153 (XIV).

282. **leşker** (1603); **lesker** (1533) – **1533** *lesker* (leschiér) ‘campo di soldati; ciurma; exercito’ (ArgAd. 227, ArgR. 162); **ca. 1630** *lesker* // *leşker* (lesker) ‘exercitus’ (MontR. 137).

Phr. – **1548** “In la Grecia c’è vn Capitano di grādissima potëtia (...) et sotto li duoi (?) ha quaranta millia huomini a cauallò *Uromeli lescheri* (= *Urumeli leskeri*)” (MenTratt. 186) – → 940. [*ser leşker*].

• < Pers. *laşkar* ‘army, host, military force; camp, encampment’. – N. 368–369 (XIII); P. 153 (XIII/XIV).

## Abbreviations

abl. = ablative	It. = Italian
acc. = accusative	Lat. = Latin
add. = see Introduction, 3)	loc. = locative
Ar. = Arabic	Mong. = Mongolian
Arm. = Armenian	Osm. = Osmanlı
cf. = compare	Pers. = Persian
com. = comitative	phr. = phrase(s)
dat. = dative	pl. = plural
der. = derivative(s)	Pol. = Polish
dial. = dialect(al)	poss. = possessive
Fr. = French	prob. = probably
Engl. = English	Sp. = Spanish
G. = German	stand. = standard
gen. = genitive	suff. = suffix
Gr. = Greek	T. = Turkish

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

**Keywords:** Ottoman-Turkish, New Persian, lexical borrowing, transcription texts

### Abstract

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

285. **malдар** (1641) – **1650 maldar** (maldar) 'comodo di beni, denaroso' (CarrR. 237); **1677 maldar** (maldar) 'abbiendo, riccho' (MascVoc. 1, 154).

Der. –**1650 maldarlık** (maldarlich) 'comodità, beni' (CarrR. 237).

Phr. – **1650 maldar et-** (maldar ederum) 'arrichir altri' (CarrR. 237) – **1641 maldar ol-** (maldar olmisc) 'accresciuto di robba, cioè arricchito' (MolDitt. 13); **1650 maldar ol-** (maldar olurum) arrichirsi (sic), farsi ricco' (CarrR. 237).

• < Pers. *māl-dār* 'rich, moneyed; proprietor'. – N. (–): P. 156 (1430)

288. **maše** (1680) – **1533** *maša* (masciá) ‘molle da fuoco’ (ArgAd. 230, ArgR. 167); **1587/88** *maša* (mascha) ‘Feurzang’ (LubAd. 48); **1650** *maša* (mascia, masciah) ‘molli, molle dal fuoco’ (CarrR. 239).  
 Der. – **1641** *mašacık* (masc=agik) ‘moletta’ (sic) (MolDitt. 259).  
 • < Pers. *māša* ‘tongs, smith’s forceps’. – N. 391 (XV); P. (-).
290. **maye** (1680) – **1533** *maya* (maia) ‘saia di panno’ (ArgAd. 230, ArgR. 168); *ca.* **1630** *maya* (maia) ‘fermentū, coagulum; fex, uel amurca’ (MontR. 141); **1650** *maya* (maia) ‘leuame, leuato, leuito’ (CarrR. 239).  
 Der. – **1650** *mıyala-* (mialar) ‘leuitare il pane’ (CarrR. 245).  
 Phr. – **1611** *amur mayası* (amúr maiası) ‘leuito del pane’ (FerrR. 118) – **1611** *piyner mayası* (pijné maiası) ‘quaglio cō che si fa il cascio’ (FerrR. 118) – **1611** *süt mayası* (sút maiası) ‘quaglio di latte’ (FerrR. 118).  
 • < Pers. *māya* ‘root, origin, principle, essence’. – N. 393 (XIII); P. (-).
291. **mazı** (1680) – **1533** *mazı* (masi) ‘galla’ (ArgAd. 231, ArgR. 168); **1611** *mazı* (maszı) ‘galla cō che si fa la tinta’ (FerrR. 118); **1641** *mazı* (masi) ‘galla, frutti di quercia’ (MolDitt. 159); **1677** *mazı* (masi) ‘galla’ (MascVoc. 54).  
 • < Pers. *māzū* ‘gall or oak-apple’. – N. 394 (XIV); P. (-).
292. **meger** (*med’er* 1668) – **1533** *meger* (meghiér) ‘se già’ [the meaning ‘forse’ added by Adamović must be removed as Argenti crossed out *meger* as an equivalent of It. *forse*] (ArgAd. 231, ArgR. 169); **1603/1612** *meger* (meger) ‘interim’ (MegThP. 1: 734; MegILLT.); *ca.* **1630** *meger* (meger) ‘interim’ (MontR. 142).  
 • < Pers. *magar* ‘but; unless, except, only, if it is not’. – N. 396 (XI); P. 157 (1368).
293. **mehenk** (\**mekenk* [recte *mehenk* (ArgAd. 231, ArgR. 169)] 1533); **mehäkk** (1611) – **1611** *mehäkk* (mehácc) ‘pietra di paragone p(er) conoscere l’oro’ (FerrR. 118).  
 • < Pers. (< Ar.) *maḥakk* ‘Prüfstein’ (Junker AlaviW. 692). Perhaps directly from Arabic. – N. (-); P. (-).
294. **mekik** (1680) – **1533** *mekik* (mecchích) ‘squola da tessere’ (ArgAd. 231, ArgR. 169).  
 • < Pers. *makik* ‘weaver’s shuttle’. – N. 397 (XV); P. (-).
295. **menekşe** (*menevşe* 1641); **benevişe** (1533), **menevce** (1650), **menevişe** (1650) – **1533** *benevişe/menekşe* (beneuiscé, menechscé) ‘maluagia’ (ArgAd. 148, ArgR. 51); **1611** *menevşe* (meneuscié) ‘viola, fiore’ (FerrR. 118); **1650** *menevce* (meneuge) ‘viola’ (CarrR. 241).  
 Phr. – **1533** *menekşe çiçegi* (menechscé cicceghi) ‘mammola, uiola’ (ArgAd. 148, ArgR. 51); **1650** *çiçek menevişe* (cicech meneuiscé) ‘viola, fiore’ (CarrR. 241); **1677** *menekşe çiçek* (menech-scie cicech) ‘uiola, fiore’ (MascVoc. 271).  
 • < Pers. *banafša* ‘violet; violet colour’. – N. 64, 399 (XIV); P. 35 (1/XV).

296. **meneviş** (1641); **benevş** (1533), **benuş** (1533) – **1533** *benevş/benuş* (beneúsc, benúsc) ‘pagonazo; il colore di uiole mammole’ (ArgAd. 148, ArgR. 51).  
 • < Pers. *bunafš, binafš* ‘blue, violet-colour’. – N. 399 (not dated); P. (–)
298. **merd** (*mert* 1641) – **1533** *mert* (*mert*) ‘maschio’ (ArgAd. 232, ArgR. 170).  
 • < Pers. *mard* ‘man, hero; brave, bold; male’. – N. 402 (XII); P. 158 (XIII/XIV).
299. **merdane** (1680) – **1533** *merdane* (*merdané*) ‘alla uirile, uirilmente’ (ArgAd. 232, ArgR. 170)  
 Der. – **1533** *merdanece* (*merdaneggié*) ‘alla uirile, uirilmente’ (ArgAd. 232, ArgR. 170).  
 • < Pers. *mardāna* ‘brave, manly’. – N. 401 (XIV); P. 158 (XIII/XIV).
300. **merdiven** (*merdüven* 1680); **merdeven\*** (1603), **merdibe\*** (1603), **mürdeven** (ca. 1630) – **1533** *merdiven* (*merdiuén*) ‘scala’ (ArgAd. 232, ArgR. 170); **1587/88** *merdiven/merdüven* (*merdiuen, merduven*) ‘Stiegen, Leitter’ (LubAd. 49); **1603/1612** *merdeven\*/merdibe\** (\**nierdenen, \*nierdibe* [*recte merdeuen, merdibe*]) ‘scala’ (MegThP. 2: 471; MegILT.); **ca. 1630** *merdiven/mürdeven* (*merdiuen, murdeuen*) ‘scala’ (MontR. 143); **1641** *merdeban* (*merdeban*) ‘scala’ (MolDitt. 377); **1650** *merdeban* (*merdeban*) ‘scala’ (CarrR. 242); **1677** *merdiven* (*merdiuen*) ‘scala’ (MascVoc. 182).  
 Der. – **1650** *merdebancık* (*merdebangich*) ‘scaletta’ (CarrR. 242).  
 Phr. – **1641** *değirmi merdeban* (*deghirmi merdeban*) ‘scala a lumaca’ (MolDitt. 377).  
 – **1641** *merdiven ayağı* (*merdiuen aiaghi*) ‘scalino, grado della scala’ (MolDitt. 377).  
 – **1650** *merdebani ko-* (*merdebani qorum*) ‘scalar, muraglia o *simmi*.’, (*merdebani qomach*) ‘scalamento’ (CarrR. 242) – **1650** *merdebani koyıcı* (*merdebani qoigi*) ‘scalatore’ (CarrR. 242).  
 • < Pers. *nardubān* ‘stircase, steps, ladder’. – N. 401 (*nerdüven/merdimen* XIV); P. 176 (*nerdüvan/nerdüban* XIII/XIV).
301. **merdüm** (\**merdum* [*recte merdüm*] 1641) – **1650** *merdüm* (*merdum*) ‘nobile’ (CarrR. 242); **1677** *merdüm* (*merdum*) ‘gentiluomo’ (MascVoc. 56).  
 • < Pers. *mardum* ‘man: polite, civilized man’. – N. (–); P. 158 (1/XV).
302. **mest** (1680); **mešt** (1533) – **1533** *mest/mešt* (*mest, mesct*) ‘jmbriaco, ubbriaco’ (ArgAd. 232, ArgR. 171).  
 Phr. – **1533** *mešt et-* (*mesct edérum*) ‘fo inbriacare’ (ArgAd. 232, ArgR. 171) – **1533** *mešt ol-* (*mesct olúrum*) ‘jmbriacomì’ (ArgAd. 232, ArgR. 171).  
 • < Pers. *mast* ‘drunk, intoxicated’. – N. 404 (XIV); P. 159 (XIII/XIV).
303. **mestane** (1680) – **ca. 1630** *mestane* (*mestane*) ‘ebrius’ (MontR. 144); **1641** *mestane* (*mestane*) ‘ebrio, embriaco, imbriaco, vbriaco’ (MolDitt. 130 passim); **1650** *mestane* (*mestane*) ‘imbriaco’ (CarrR. 243); **1677** *mestane* (*mestane*) ‘ebrio, embriaco’ (MascVoc. 43, 44).

Der. – **1641** *mestanelik* (mestanelik) ‘embriacheza, imbriachezza’ (MolDitt. 132, 192); **1650** *mestanelik* (mestanelich) ‘vbriachezza’ (CarrR. 243); **1677** *mestanelik* (mestanelich) ‘embriachezza, imbriachezza’ (MascVoc. 44, 62).

Phr. – **1650** *mestane et-* (mestane ederum) ‘imbriacare altri’ (CarrR. 243) – **1641** *mestane ol-* (mestane olmak) ‘imbriacare’ (MolDitt. 192); **1650** *mestane ol-* (mestane olurum) ‘imbriacarsi’ (CarrR. 243); **1677** *mestane ol-* (mestane olmach) ‘imbriacare’ (MascVoc. 62).

• < Pers. *mastāna* ‘intoxicated, like a drunkard’. – N. (-); P. 159 (1368).

304. **meşin** (1680); **meçim** (1533) – **1533** *meçim* (mecím) ‘montanina, quioio’ (ArgAd. 232, ArgR. 169).

• < Pers. *mişin* ‘dressed sheep’s skin’. – N. 404 (XV); P. (-).

305. **meteris** (1641) – **1677** *meteris* (metteris) ‘argine; bastione, parapetto, riparo’ (MascVoc. 16 passim); **1678** *meteris* (meterys, meterysz) [‘okop, szaniec’] (S. Proski: StachSHET. 401).

Phr. – **1677** *su meteresi* (su metteresi) ‘argine’ (MascVoc. 16).

• < Pers. *matars* ‘the bar of a door; parapet of wood or earth, palisade’. – N. (-); P. (-).

307. **meyhane** (\**meykane* [recte *meyhane*] 1641); **me(y)ana\*** (ca. 1520), **meyhana** (1533), **mehana\*** (1574), **mehane/mehene** (1587/88), **meyana** (1611) – **1533** *meyhana* (meichaná) ‘tauerna’ (ArgAd. 233, ArgR. 171); **1587/88** *mehane/mehene* (mehane, mehene) ‘Keller, Kellner’ (LubAd. 49); **1611** *meyana* (meianá) ‘hosteria, tauerna’ (FerrR. 119); **ca. 1630** *meyhane/meyhana* (meihane, meihanà) ‘taberna, hospitium’ (MontR. 144); **1650** *meyhane* (meihhaneh) ‘bettola, osteria’ (CarrR. 244); **1677** *meyhane* (meihane) ‘osteria, tauerna’ (MascVoc. 114, 241).

Der. – **ca. 1520/1525/30** *me(y)anaci* (meanazi) ‘losto’ [= l’oste] (Lupis-ON. 1b; ITSprAd. 219); **1533** *meyhanaci* (meichanaggi) ‘tauerniere’ (ArgAd. 232, ArgR. 171); **1574** *mehanaci/mehanci* (mehanazi, mechangi) ‘hoste’ (VNAd. 65); **1611** *meyanaci* (meianagi) ‘hoste, tauern(ier)o’ (FerrR. 119); **1650** *meyhaneci* (meihhanegi) ‘bettolieri, oste’ (CarrR. 244); **1677** *meyhaneci* (meihanegi) ‘oste, tauerniero’ (MascVoc. 114, 241).

Phr. – **1677** *meyhane[ye] git-* (meihane ghiden) ‘tauerniero, quello, che va spesso alle tauerne’ (MascVoc. 241).

• < Pers. *mai-xāna* ‘wine-cellar, tavern’. – N. 407 (XIV); P. 160 (XIV).

308. **meyhos** (*mayahos* 1641) – **1533** *mayhos* (maichósc) ‘di mezo sapore’ (ArgAd. 231, ArgR. 168); **1677** *mayhos* (maihosc) ‘acetosa’ (MascVoc. 5).

Der. – **1533** *mayhosçe* (maichosctcé) ‘di mezo sapore’ (ArgAd. 231, ArgR. 168).

• < Pers. *māy-xwuš/may-xwuš* ‘subacid’. – N. (-); P. 156 (1/XV).

309. **meyje** (1641) – **1672** *meyje* (mejveler [+ pl.]) ‘fructus’ (HarsHaz. 66–67); **1677** *meyje* (meiue) ‘frutto’ (MascVoc. 53).

Phr. – **1641** *toprak meyvesi* (toprach meivesi) ‘frutti della terra’ (MolDitt. 156); **1677** *toprak meyeve* (toprach meiuve) ‘frutti della terra’ (MascVoc. 53) – → 343. *nar*, 849. *incir*.

• < Pers. *mīwa*, *maywa* ‘fruit’. – N. 407 (XIII); P. 160 (1482).

311. **meze** (1641).

Der. – **1611** *mezele(n)*- (mezelérum, mezelenérum) ‘dilleggiare, spreggiare’ (FerrR. 119); *ca.* **1630** *mezele*- (the *mesele*- of my edition has to be corrected) (\**messelemek*) ‘iocari, fabulari’ (MontR. 144); **1650** *mezele*- (meszelerum) ‘tras-tullarsi, vccellare, schernire’ (CarrR. 244).

• < Pers. *maza* ‘taste, flavour, smack, relish’. – N. 408 (XII); P. (-).

312. **mih** (*muh* 1672) – **1533** *muh* (much) ‘chiodo da cauallo’ (ArgAd. 233, ArgR. 173); **1587/88** *muh* (much) ‘Hufnagel’ (LubAd. 49).

Der. – **1533** *muhla*- (muchlárum) ‘conficcho’, (muchlatterúrúrum) ‘fo confic-chare’ (ArgAd. 233, ArgR. 173); **1641** *muhla*- ((ekserilhe) mchlamak) ‘inchiodare (con chiodo)’ (MolDitt. 202); **1677** *muhla*- (mihlamach) ‘conficcare’, (mihlan-misc) ‘conficcato’ (MascVoc. 32) – **1672** *muhlacı* (muhlagsii [Lat. pl.]) ‘equites, in jacienda hasta, quam *Gsida* vocant, exercitatissimi’ (HarsColl. 292).

Phr. – **1533** *muh adam* (mukadám) ‘fermo, cioè uno che sta fermo in una terra di continuo’, (stambolí muchadám) ‘in Constantinopoli fermo’ (ArgR. 173; [otherwise ArgAd. 234]). – → 587. *tahta*, 813. *haç*.

• < Pers. *mīx* ‘nail’. – N. 408 (XIII); P. 160 (1430).

314. **mihter** (*mehder* 1641); **meter**\* (1522), **metär** (1548), **mähter** (1560), **mekter** (*ca.* 1630) – **1496/1501** “Tych lepak, ktorzy stany Cesarskie rozbijają, (...) zowią je *mechterler*” (Constantine of Ostrovica: StachSHET. 392); **1522** “200 *metter* [It. pl.] che aconzano i pavioni” (T. Contarini: RelPedF. 36); **1560** “*Macterler* (elsewhere *Mecterler*) tabourins”; “les *Macterler* (...) dresseurs de paullions du Prince” (PostelTPart. 42, 45).

Phr. – **1496/1501** “starszego ich (= of the *mechterler* [see above]) zowią *mechterbasza*”; “nawyszy ich (= of the equerries) panowie zowią się *michterbasza*” (Constantine of Ostrovica: StachSHET. 391); **1539** “*Mechterbassi*, che è capo di quelli, che distendono i padiglioni & gli tapetti, che spazzano la corte, & che fanno altri simili negocii”; “vno *Mechterbassi* capo de trombettieri, & de’ tamburri” (RambLibT. 17v, 20r); **1548** “el loro (= of the *çadır mehteri*, see below) capitano chiamato *Metarbascia*” (MenTratt. 159); **1612** *mehter başa* (mechterbassa) ‘praefectus tubicinum & tentoriorum’ (MegILT.); *ca.* **1630** *mekter başı* (mekterbassi) ‘praefectus tubicinum’ (MontR. 142).

– **1548** “Sonoui ducêto huomini [called] *Ciadermecteri* (= *çadır mehteri*) (...). Questi quando el re va in campo, cento di loro per giorno se inuiano inanzi, & vanno a tendere i padiglioni” (MenTratt. 159); **1598** “*Tzader Mecter Bassi*, cioè (...) Maestro de’ padiglioni” (SorOtt. 10).

• < Pers. *mihtar* ‘greater; elder; prince, lord, chief’. – N. 397 (XIII); P. 161 (1482).

316. **mirza** (1680); **mirze** (1496/1501), **murza** (1500/47), **miriza/mirize** (1588) – **1496/1501** *mirze* (mirze) [‘książę’] (Constantine of Ostrovica: StachSHET. 405); **1500/47** *murza* (mvr̄sa) [‘tytuł synów bejów’] (StachSHET. 419); **1533** *mirze* (mirsé [given as ‘tarteresco’]) ‘grande maestro, homo reputato’ (ArgAd. 233, ArgR. 172); **1587** “*Miriza, & Mirize*, voce Soffiana, titolo di Prencipe, & di supremo rappresentante Reggio” (MinHist. unnumbered page); **1598** “*Mirisà* è proprio titolo del primogenito de’ Rè di Persia” (SorOtt. 46); **ca. 1630** *mirze/mirza/miriza* (mirze, mirza, miriza) ‘vicirex’ (MontR. 145).
- < Pers. *mīr-zā* ‘prince; son of a great lord, noble cavalier, knight; gentleman’. – N. (–); P. 136 (XIV).
317. **miyan** (1680).
- Der. – **1533** *miyancı* (miangi) ‘mezano, sensale’ (ArgAd. 233, ArgR. 172); **1672** *miyancı* (miangsi) ‘mediatricem’ (HarsHaz. 176–177).
- < Pers. *miyān* ‘waist, loins; middle, center’. – N. 407 (not dated); P. 162 (XIII/XIV).
318. **mum** (1544/48); **mom** (1574) – **1533** *mum* (múm) ‘chandela di seuo; lume accidentale’ (ArgAd. 235, ArgR. 174); **1574** *mom* (mom) ‘lume’ (VNAd. 65); **1575** *mum* (mum) ‘chandelle; candela’ (PostelInstr.); **1587/88** *mum* (mum) ‘Licht, Kertz’ (LubAd. 49); **1603/1612** *mum* (mum) ‘candela’ (MegThP. 1: 267; MegILT.); **1611** *mum* (mūm) ‘cādela’ (RJTMajd. 212); **1611** *mum* (múm) ‘candela’ (FerrR. 120); **ca. 1630** *mum* (mum) ‘lumen, candella’ (MontR. 146); **1672** *mum* (mum) ‘lux seu candela’ (HarsColl. 177); **1677** *mum* (mum) ‘candela’ (MascVoc. 25).
- Der. – **1650** *mumcaaz* (mumgiaaz) ‘mocolo’ (CarrR. 249) – **1533** *mumcı* (mumgi) ‘il seuaiuolo’ (ArgAd. 235, ArgR. 174); **1668** “*Mungies* [Engl. pl.], or Bayliffs of the Janizaries” (RycautPSt. 195); **1672** *mumcı* (mumgsi) “proprie (...) significat venditorem candela, seu fusorem; (...) sed hic in propria significatione non sumitur, est enim promotor causae, vel executor justitiae, sive pauperum sive divitum, qui publica autoritate à supremi Jenicseriorum Praefecto (...) emittitur” (HarsColl. 177–178) – **1533** *mumlı* (múmlj, mummlj (bez)) ‘jncerato (panno)’ (ArgAd. 235, ArgR. 174).
- **1611** *mumla-* (mumlárum) ‘incierare’ (FerrR. 120); **1641** *mumla-* (mumlamak) ‘incerare’ (MolDitt. 201); **1677** *mumla-* (mumlamach) ‘incerare’, (mumlanmisc) ‘incerato’ (MascVoc. 66) – **1650** *mumlacı* (mumlagi) ‘inceratore’ (CarrR. 249).
- Phr. – **1533** *bal mumı* (bal mumı) ‘chandela di cera, cera, torchio’ (ArgAd. 144, 235, ArgR. 45); **1587/88** *balmum* (ballmum) ‘Wachskertz’ (LubAd. 49); **1611** *bal mumı* (bal mummi) ‘\*torre [recte torce]’ (RJTMajd. 173); **1611** *balmum* (balmúm) ‘candela di cera, cera, torcia’ (FerrR. 60); **ca. 1630** *balmum* (balmum) ‘candella, cera’ (MontR. 55); **1641** *bal mumı* (bal mumı) ‘candela di cera, cera’ (MolDitt. 79, 87); **1668** *balmum* ‘cera’ (IllNém. 154); **1672** *balmum* (balmum) ‘cereum’, (balmumlar) ‘cereis’ (HarsHaz. 178–179); **1677** *balmum/bal mumı* (balmum) ‘cera’, (bal mumı) ‘torce’ (MascVoc. 27, 249) – **1587/88** *yağ mum* (jag mum) ‘Talch-kertz oder Inschlittkertz’ (LubAd. 49); **1611** *yak mumı* (iac mūmmi) ‘candela’



(RJTMajd. 233); **1611** *yağ mum* (iág múm) ‘candela di seuo’ (FerrR. 157); **1641** *yağ mumu* (iagh mumi) ‘candela di seuo’ (MolDitt. 78) – **1641** *yel mumu/momu* (iel mumi/momi) ‘face, torcia, fiaccola’ (MolDitt. 139, 145); **1650** *yel mumu* (iel mumi) ‘doppiere, torcia’ (CarrR. 351); **1677** *yel mumu* (iel mumi) ‘face, fiaccola’ (MascVoc. 47, 49).

– **1641** *mum dibi* (mum dibi) ‘moccolo’ (MolDitt. 259) – **1677** *mum fitil* (mum fittil) ‘lucignolo della lucerna’ (MascVoc. 84) – **1612** *mom mākasi\** (\*momekrasi) ‘emunctorium’ (MegILT.); **ca. 1630** *mum makas* (mum makas) ‘emunctorium’ (MontR. 146); **1641** *mum makası* (mum makasi) ‘moccaro di candela, smoccatore’ (MolDitt. 258, 407); **1668** *mum [m]akas* (mumakasz) ‘emunctorium’ (IllNém. 186) – **1668** *mum yağı* (mumiagy) ‘sevum’ (IllNém. 186).

– **1677** *mumu kapa-* (mumi cappamach) ‘turare il lume’ (MascVoc. 259) – **1611** *mumla yüster-* (= *göster-*) (mumla iustermek) ‘alumbrar’ (RJT Majd. 212).

• < Pers. *mūm* ‘wax, wax-candle’. – N. 424 (XIV); P. 162 (1368).

319. **murdar** (1544/48); **mordar** (1545) – **1533** *murdar* (murdár) ‘brutto di tutto, sporco, brutto’ (ArgAd. 235, ArgR. 174); **1545** “chiamanci similmente *Mordár*, che vuol dire sporchi” (BassR. 75); **1611** *mundar* (mundár) ‘brutto, sporco, immondo’ (FerrR. 120); **ca. 1630** *murdar/mordar* (murdar, mordar) ‘spurcus, immundus’ (MontR. 146); **1650** *murdar* (murdar) ‘laido, immondo, sucido’ (CarrR. 249); **1672** *murdar* (murdar) ‘turpe’ (HarsHaz. 76–77); **1677** *murdar* (murdar) ‘immondo, lordo, sporco’ (MascVoc. 63, 83).

Der. – **1677** *murdarlı* (murdarli) ‘sporcoso’ (MascVoc. 187) – **1533** *murdarluk* (murdarlúch) ‘sporcheza’ (ArgAd. 235, ArgR. 175); **1650** *murdarlık* (murdarlich) ‘laidezza, sordidezza, sucidume’, (murdarlich ileh) ‘sordidamente’ (CarrR. 249).

– **1533** *murdarla-* (murdarlárum) ‘jmbratto’, (murdarletterúrum) ‘fo imbrattare’ (ArgAd. 235, ArgR. 175); **1650** *murdarla-* (murdarlanmisc) ‘lordo, immondo, profanato, sporcato’ (CarrR. 249); **1677** *murdarla-* (murdarlamach) ‘imbrattare’ (MascVoc. 62) – **1650** *murdarlacı* (murdarlagi) ‘profanatore’ (CarrR. 249).

Phr. – **1611** *mundar et-* (mundár ed[érum]) ‘imbrattare’ (FerrR. 120).

• < Pers. *murdār* ‘dead carcase, carrion; impure, dirty, polluted; obscene’. – N. 424 (XIII); P. 162–163 (XIII/XIV).

321. **mühre** (1680); **möhere** (1650) – **1533** *mühre* (mucré) ‘rimedio contr’al ueneno, lattouare, in latino antidotum, in greco anttifarmacum’ (ArgAd. 236, ArgR. 176); **1611** *mühre* (muhré) ‘quello con che s’imposima’ (FerrR. 120); **1650** *möhere* (möhère) ‘pulitoio’ (CarrR. 247).

Der. – **1533** *mühreli* (mucrelí) ‘zannato, lisciato (foglio)’ (ArgAd. 236, ArgR. 176) – **1533** *mühresiz* (mucresís) ‘non zannato, non lisciato’ (ArgAd. 236, ArgR. 176).

– **1533** *mührele-/mührüle-* (mucrelérum) ‘liscio fogli’, (mucrulérum) ‘zanno fogli’, (mucruletterúrum) ‘fo lisciare’, (mucruletterúrum) ‘fo zannare’ (ArgAd. 236, ArgR. 176); **1611** *mührele-* (muhrelérum) ‘imposimare’ (FerrR. 121).

• < Pers. *muhra* ‘kind of small shell resembling pearls; concha veneris; glass or coral-beads’, *muhra’i gān-dāru* ‘bezoar-stone’. – N. (–); P. 164 (1445).



322. **mühür** (1641) – **1533 mühür** (muchúr) ‘sigillo, suggello’ (ArgAd. 236, ArgR. 176); **1611 mühür** (muhur) ‘bulo’ (RJT Majd. 212); **1611 mühür** (muhúr) ‘sigillo’ (FerrR. 121); **ca. 1630 mühür** (muhur) ‘sigillum’ (MontR. 148); **1650 mühür** (muhur) ‘bollo, sigillo, suggello’ (CarrR. 250); **1677 mühür** ‘sigillo’ (MascVoc. 205).  
 Der. – **1533 mühürli** (muchurlí) ‘sigillato, suggellato’ (ArgAd. 236, ArgR. 177).  
 – **1533 mühürle-/mühürle-** (muchurlárum) ‘suggello’, (muchurlatterúrum) ‘fo suggellare’, (muchurlemisc) ‘suggellato’ (ArgAd. 236, ArgR. 176); **1611 mühürle-** (muhurlemek) ‘bular, marquer’ (RJT Majd. 212); **1611 mühürle-** (muhurlérum) ‘sigillare’ (FerrR. 121); **1650 mühürle-** (muhurlerum) ‘autenticare, bollare. marchiare, imprimere, improntare, sigillare’, (muhurlemech) ‘autenticazione, bollamento, bollatura, sigillamento’, (muhurlenmisc) ‘autenticato, sigillato’ (CarrR. 250); **1677 mühürle-** (muhurlemech) ‘sigillare, suggellare’ (MascVoc. 205, 237) – **1650 mühürleyici/mühürleci** (muhurleigi, muhurlegi) ‘autenticatore, bollatore, sigillatore, suggellatore’ (CarrR. 250).  
 Phr. – **ca. 1630 mühür bas-** (muhur basmak) ‘imprimere, sigillare’ (MontR. 148); **1641 möhür boz-** (mohur bosmak) ‘sbollare, aprire’ (MolDitt. 375).  
 – **1668 meçtupleri muhurle(n)-** (mecstupleri muhurle(n)mek) ‘sigillare literas’ (IllNém. 185).  
 • < Pers. *muhr, muhur* ‘seal, seal-ring’. – N. 429 (XIII); P. 164 (1445).
324. **müjde** (1641); **müşde** (1677) – **1677 müşde** (\*musede [*recte* muscde]) ‘annunziazione’ (MascVoc. 14).  
 Der. – **ca. 1630 muştuci** (mustugi) ‘alator boni nuntij’ (MontR. 147) – **1611 mustuluk** (mustulúc) ‘premio in beueraggio’ (FerrR. 120); **ca. 1630 muştuluk** (mustaluk) ‘recognitio donum, it. mancia’ (MontR. 147).  
 Phr. – **1650 muştuluk götür-** (musctuluk ghiuturmech) ‘annuntiatione’ (CarrR. 250) – **1611 mustuluk ver-** (mustulúc uerérum) ‘premiare’ (FerrR. 120); **1677 muştuluk ver-** (musc=tuluch vermech) ‘annunziare’ (MascVoc. 14).  
 • < Pers. *mižda/mužda* ‘glad news, joyful tidings’. – N. 429 (XIII); P. (–).
325. **müsülman** (*musulman/musulman* 1544/48); **mursuman** // **mürsüman** (1533), **mu-surman** (1560); **mösülman** (?) (1574) – **1533 mursuman** // **mürsüman** (mursumán) ‘turcho’ (ArgAd. 237, ArgR. 175); **1553** “Les Turcs ou *Mussulmans* [Fr. pl.]” (P. Belon: ArvAdd. 412); **1560** “les Turcs (...) veullent tous estre appellés *Mussulman*, ou *Mussulmin*, ou *Mussumanlar*, c’est a dire, fidelles” (PostelRepT. 40); **1560** “le sang des *Moussurmans* [Fr. pl.]” (J. Dolu: ArvAdd. 412); **1569** “*Musulman*, to iest práwy Turek” (Polish document: StachSHET. 427); **1574 mösülman** (?) (monsulman) ‘turco’ (VNAd. 65); **1587/88 müsülman** (?) (musielman) ‘Turck’ (LubAd. 50); **1608 Musulman** (SchwSt. 242); **1611 müslüman** (muslumahn) ‘Turco’ (RJT Majd. 212); **1611 musulman** // **müsülman** (musulmán) ‘turchi, natione’ (FerrR. 121); **1622 musulman** // **müsülman** (Musulman) [‘Muslim; Türke’] (WennStach. 604); **1672 mu-surman** (muşurman) ‘Turcae; sectae Mahumedanae addicti’ (HarsHaz. 128–129).  
 Der. – **1672 musurmanlık\*** (muşurmanligün (sarti)) ‘Mahomedismi (requisita)’ (HarsHaz. 198–199).

- Phr. – **ca. 1630** *müsl(i/ü)man vılaet* (musl[.]man uilaet) ‘Turcar(um) regio’ (MontR. 149).  
 – **1677** *musurman* // *müsürman ol-* (musurman olmach) ‘renegare’ (MascVoc. 152).  
 • < Pers. *musulmān* ‘Musulman, Muhammadan, believer’, *muslimān* (Pers. plural of Ar. *muṣlim*) ‘orthodox believers, Musulmans’. – N. 434 (XI); P. 165 (1291–1312).
327. **nadan** (1603) – **ca. 1630** *nadan* (nadan) ‘nesciens’ (MontR. 151).  
 • < Pers. *nā-dān* ‘ignorant, silly, unlearned’. – N. 440 (XIII); P. 167 (XIII/XIV).
329. **nahak** (1641) – **1677** *nahak/nehak* (nehach) ‘aggrauio’, (nahach) ‘ingiusto’ (MascVoc. 9, 70).  
 • < Pers. *nā-ḥaq* ‘false, untrue; unjust, unlawful; injury, falsity’. – N. 440 (XIII); P. 168–169 (1430).
331. **nalbant** (1641) – **ca. 1630** *nalbant* (nalbant) ‘faber equor(um) ferrarius’ (MontR. 151); **1650** *nalbant* (nalbant) ‘maniscalco, ferracauallo’ (CarrR. 252); **1677** *nalbant* (nalbant) ‘\*ferrare [recte ferraro], manescalco, ferra caualli’ (MascVoc. 49, 90).  
 Der. – **1603/1612** *nalbantci* (nalbantgi) ‘faber’ (MegThP. 1: 515; MegILT.).  
 Phr. – **1677** *nalbant gem* (nalbant ghiem) ‘morsa, strumento da fabbri’ (MascVoc. 100).  
 • < Pers. *naʿl-band* ‘smith, farrier’. – N. 441 (XV), P. 170 (1430).
332. **nam** (1641) – **1567** *nam* (nam) ‘nominato’ (LettBomb. 138, 141); **1672** *nam* (nam) ‘nomen’ (HarsHaz. 52–53); **1677** *nam* (nam) ‘dignità; fama, riputazione; trionfo’, (namile [+ com.]) ‘con onore’ (MascVoc. 35 passim).  
 Der. – **1650** *namli* (namli) ‘riguardeuole, honoreuole’ (CarrR. 253); **1677** *namli* (namli) ‘trionfale’ (MascVoc. 256) – **1677** *namsuz* (namsus) ‘infame’ (MascVoc. 68).  
 Phr. – **1677** *namsız adem* (namsis adem) ‘plebeo, uomo di poca stima’ (MascVoc. 130).  
 • < Pers. *nām* ‘name’. – N. 441 (XIV); P. 170 (1482).
333. **namaz** (ca. 1450) – **ca. 1630** *namaz* (namaz) ‘preces’ (MontR. 151); **1646** “\**Hamas* [recte *Namas*], to jest sposób modlenia się” (Sz. Starowolski: StachSHET. 433).  
 Phr. – **1496/1501** [only one of the various readings of each phrase is cited] *akşam namazı* (aksam namazi); *ikindi namazı* (ykindy namazy); *öyle namazı* (oyle namazy); *sabah namazı* (sabach namazi); *temzit namazı* (temzyt namazy) (Constantine of Ostrovica: StachSHET. 14, 235, 444, 481, 579); **1548** “[A Turk must go to the mosque] cinque volte il giorno a l’hore ordinate, la prima volta ne la aurora chiamata \**salanamazzi* (= *sabah namazı*), la secōda a mezzo giorno *vlenamazzi* (= *öyle namazı*), la terza tre hore avanti l’ocaso del sole *inchind-inmazzi* (= *ikindi namazı*), la quarta ne l’ocaso del sole chiamata *acsannamazzi* (= *ahşam namazı*), la quinta a hore due di notte *iatsinamazi* (= *yatsı namazı*); & a queste hore fanno i Turchi le loro solite orationi” (MenTratt. 24); **1560** *öyle*

*nemazi* (oyle nemazi) 'midi', *ikindi nemazi* (ichindi nemazi) 'entre deus & trois', *ağşam nemazi* (agssam nemazi) 'le soir', *yätsı nemazi*\* (ietsy \*nemahi) 'le tard' (PostelRepT. 48); **ca. 1630** *sabah namazi* (sabah namasi) 'mediū inter meridiem et aurorā' (MontR. 168); **1636** *cuma namazi* (dziumanamazzy); *evle* (= öyle) *namazi* (eulenamazzy) (St. Oświęcim: StachSHET. 168, 182).

– **1538** "*nomascalisi* [= *namaz halısı*], che vuol dire tappeto di adorare" (Spand-Sath. 239).

– **1533** *namaz kıl-* (namás chelárum) 'supplico a Dio', (namás chelderúrurum) 'fo supplicare' (ArgAd. 238, ArgR. 179); **1575** *namaz kıl-* (namaz kelmak) 'oraison; orare' (PostelInstr.); **ca. 1630** *namaz kıl-* (namas klamak, namas klarum) 'fundere preces' (MontR. 151); **1672** *namaz kıl-* (namaz kilmak) 'praecatio' (HarsHaz. 198–199); **1677** *namaz kıl-* (namas chilmach) 'orare, pregare' (MascVoc. 113).

• < Pers. *namāz* 'prayers, those especially prescribed by law'. – N. 442 (XI); P. 170–171 (1291–1312).

334. **namdar** (1641) – **1650** *namdar* (namdar) 'heroico, eroe' (CarrR. 253); **1677** *namdar* (namdar) 'celebre, famoso, glorioso' (MascVoc. 27, 48, 57).

Phr. – **1650** *namdar/namdari et-* (namdar/namdari ederum) 'glorificare, intitolare', (namdar etmech) 'glorificatione, intitolatione' (CarrR. 253) – **1650** *namdar/namdari ol-* (namdar/namdari olmisc) 'glorificato, intitolato' (CarrR. 253).

• < Pers. *nāmādar* 'famous, renowned, well-known'. – N. 442 (XIV); P. 171 (1368).

335. **name** (1641) – **1677** *name* (name) 'epistola' (MascVoc. 45).

Der. – **1677** *nameciğaz* (namegigas) 'letterina, viglietto, che si manda' (MascVoc. 81).

Phr. – → 959. *şifaatname*.

• < Pers. *nāma* 'writing, lettere, epistole'. – N. 442 (XIII); P. 171 (1368).

336. **namert** (1641); **nemert** (1611) – **1611** *nemert* (nemert) 'auaro' (FerrR. 122).

Der. – **1611** *nemertlik* (nemertlíc) 'auaritia' (FerrR. 122).

• < Pers. *nā-mard* 'unmanly, coward; impotent; covetous'. – N. 442 (XIV); P. 171 (1368).

337. **nami** (1641) – **1533** *nami* (namí) 'poeta' (ArgAd. 238, ArgR. 180).

Der. – **1533** *namilük* (namilúch) 'poesia' (ArgAd. 238, ArgR. 180); **1650** *namilik* (namilich) 'gloria, beatitudine' (CarrR. 253).

• < Pers. *nāmī* 'illustrious, celebrated; celebrity, notoriety'. – N. (-); P. (-).

342. **napak** (1641); **nepak** (1641), **nepek** (1650) – **1641** *nepak* (nepak) 'immondo, lordo, sporco' (MolDitt. 193, 236); **1650** *nepek* (nepech) 'auaro' (CarrR. 256).

Der. – **1677** *napaklı* (napachli) 'sporcoso' (MascVoc. 187) – **1650** *napaklık/nepeklik* (napachlich) 'sucidume, schifezza', (napachlich ileh) 'sucidamente, schifamente'; (nepechlich) 'auaritia' (CarrR. 254, 256); **1677** *nepakluk* (nepachluch) 'sporcheria, sporcizia' (MascVoc. 225).

– **1650** *napakla-* (napachlarum) ‘insucidare’ (CarrR. 254); **1677** *nepakla-* (nepachlamach) ‘sporcare’, (nepachlanmisc) ‘sporcato’ (MascVoc. 225).

Phr. – **1641** *napak ol-* (napak olmisc) ‘sporcato’ (MolDitt. 424); **1650** *napak ol-* (napak olutum) ‘insucidarsi, sporcarsi’ (CarrR. 253).

• < Pers. *nā-pāk* ‘impure, unclean, polluted, filthy, defiled’. – N. (-); P. 172 (1482).

343. **nar** (1641) – *ca. 1520/1525/30 nar* (nar) ‘pomi granati’ (LupisON. 3a; ITSprAd. 222); **1533** *nar* (nar) ‘melagrana’ (ArgAd. 238, ArgR. 180); **1584** *nar* (nar) ‘pesches’ (PalBern. 323); **1611** *nar* (nar) ‘granato’ (RJTMajd. 213); **1611** *nar* (nár) ‘granato, frutto’ (FerrR. 122); *ca.1630 nar* (nar) ‘punicū malum’ (MontR. 151); **1650** *nar* (nar) ‘pomo granato’ (CarrR. 254).

Phr. – **1677** *nar aḡacı* (nar aghagi) ‘melo granato, *albero*’ (MascVoc. 92) – **1677** *nar meyve* (nar meiue) ‘granata, melagrana, pomo granato, melo granato, frutto’ (MascVoc. 59, 92).

• < Pers. *anār/nār* ‘pomegranate’. – N. 442 (XIV); P. 87 (1445).

346. **natemam** (*natamam* 1641) – **1533** *natamam* (natamám) ‘jperfecto’ (ArgAd. 238, ArgR. 180); **1677** *natamam* (natamam) ‘imperfetto’ (MascVoc. 63).

• < Pers. *nātāmām* ‘imperfect, unfinished’. – N. (-); P. 173 (1482).

348. **nay** (1641) – **1533** *nay* (nái) ‘piffero’ (ArgAd. 238, ArgR. 180); **1614** “quei flauti, che chiamano *nai*, ovvero più correttamente *nei* – che in persiano significa propriamente canna, come di canna son fatti – non si può creder quanto dolce suono rendano” (DValCard. 120); **1677** *nay* (nai) ‘flauto, zufolo’ (MascVoc. 51).

Der. – **1677** *naycık* (naigich) ‘zufolo piccolo’ (MascVoc. 280).

• < Pers. *nāy* ‘reed; reed pipe, flute’, *nay* ‘pipe, tube, flute; reed, cane’. – N. 448 (XIII); P. 178 (1489).

352. **nazik** (*nazuk* 1641) – **1533** *nazik* (nasích, naxích) ‘fragile, gentile, mingherlino, sottile’ (ArgAd. 238, ArgR. 181); **1611** *nazik* (nasík) ‘delicado’ (RJTMajd. 213); **1677** *nazuk* (nasuch) ‘diligato’ (MascVoc. 38).

Der. – **1533** *naziklik* (nasicchlich, naxichlích) ‘letio’ (ArgAd. 238); **1650** *nazuklik* (nasuchlich) ‘delicatezza’, (nasuchlich ileh) ‘delicatamente’ (CarrR. 255); **1677** *nazuklik* (nasuchlich) ‘arguzia’ (MascVoc. 16).

• < Pers. *nāzük* ‘thin, slender, subtle, tender, delicate, fragile’. – N. 444 (XIV); P.175 (XIII/XIV).

353. **neft** (1680).

Phr. – **1533** *ak neft* (ach neft) ‘olio petrino’ (ArgAd. 134, ArgR. 31).

• < Pers. *naft, nift* ‘naphtha; combustible matter’. – N. 445 (XIV); P. (-).

354. **nekes** (1533) – *ca. 1630 nekes* (nekes, nekies) ‘auarus, parcus’ (MontR. 152); **1677** *nekes* (nechies) ‘misero, parco, scarso’ (MascVoc. 97, 118).

- Der. – **1533** *nekeslik/nekeslük* (necchieslích, necchieslúch) ‘auaritia’ (ArgAd. 239, ArgR. 182); **ca. 1630** *nekeslik* (nekieslik) ‘auaritia’ (MontR. 152); **1677** *nekeslik* (nechieslich) ‘tenacità’ (MascVoc. 243).
- < Pers. *nākas* ‘unmanly, worthless, mean, base; sordid, avaricious’, *nakas* ‘vile, sordid’. – N. 446 (XII); P. 169 (XIV).
355. **nem** (1603) – **1533** *nem* (nem) ‘humido; umidità’ (ArgAd. 239, ArgR. 182).  
 Der. – **1533** *nemlük* (nemmlúch) ‘umidità’ (ArgAd. 240, ArgR. 182).  
 • < Pers. *nam* ‘moisture; wet, moist’. – N. 446 (XIV); P. 175 (XIII/XIV).
357. **nemnak** (*nemlak* 1603); **nag** (ca. 1630) – **ca. 1630** *nag* (nag) ‘humidum; humiditas’ (MontR. 151).  
 • < Pers. *namnāk* ‘moist, dank, damp’. – N. (-); P. 176 (2/XV).
359. **neşter** (1680); **nester\*** (1587/88) – **1587/88** *nester\** (\*nesler) ‘Laseissen’ (LubAd. 50); **1650** *nişter* (niscter) ‘lancietta da barbieri’ (CarrR. 258).  
 • < Pers. *niştar* ‘lancet, fleam’. – N. 447 (XIV); P. 177 (XV/XVI).
363. **nigâr** (1570/90) – **1533** *nigâr* (nigghiâr) ‘dama’ (ArgAd. 240, ArgR. 182); **1677** *nigâr* (nighiar) ‘meretrice’ (MascVoc. 93).  
 • < Pers. *nigâr* ‘picture; beautiful woman, mistress, sweetheart, beauty’. – N. 448 (XIV); P. 179 (XIII/XIV).
364. **nigende** (1680); **niyende** (1533) – **1533** *niyende* (niendé) ‘jmbottitura’ (ArgAd. 240, ArgR. 182).  
 Der. – **1533** *niyendeli* (niendelj) ‘jmbottito’ (ArgAd. 240, ArgR. 182).  
 • < Pers. *niganda* ‘a particular kind of ornamental sewing, counterpoint, embroidery’. – N. (-); P. 179 (1514/15).
367. **nişan** (1570/90); **naşan\*** (?) (1496/1501); **neşan\*** (1522), **nizan\*** (?) (1538), **ninşan** (1611), **inşan** (ca. 1630) – **1533** *nişan* (niscián) ‘augurio; berzaglio; segno’ (ArgAd. 240, ArgR. 183); **1611** *nişan* (nischan) ‘accento’; (nisan) ‘amiga’ (RJT Majd. 214); [add.] **1611** *ninşan* (ninscián) ‘inditio, segno, prodigio’ (FerrR. 124); **ca. 1630** *nişan/inşan* (niscian, insan) ‘signum, contrasignum’ (MontR. 153); **1650** *nişan* (niscian) ‘accento di scrittura; argomento, inditio; disegno; mira di balestra; presagio; termine, segno’, (niscianler [+ pl.]) ‘atti, gesti’ (CarrR. 257); **1677** *nişan* (niscian) ‘nota, segno, segnacolo, segnale’ (MascVoc. 106, 196).  
 Der. – **1533** *nişancı* (nisciangi) ‘segnatore’ (ArgAd. 240, ArgR. 183); **1548** “[The *haznadarbaşa* has] dui altri suoi superiori, chiamato l’vno \**Testeder* (recte *Tefteder*), l’altro *Nisangi*, che sono Sigillatori delle case & della porta del Tesoro” (MenTratt. 125); **1594** “cinque o sei *nissangi*” (M. Zane: RelAlb.III 434); **1615** “il cancellier grande, che segna i comandamenti del Gran Signore e si chiama il *nisciangi*” (DValCard. 189) – **1533** *nişanlı* (niscianlj) ‘segnato’ (ArgAd. 240,

ArgR. 183); **1611** *nişanlı* (nischanli) 'desposado' (RJTMajd. 214); **1677** *nişanlı* (niscianli) 'segnoso, pieno di segni' (MascVoc. 197).

– **1533** *nişanlı-* (niscianlárum) 'segno', (niscianlatterúrurum) 'fo segnare' (Arg-Ad. 240, ArgR. 183); *ca.* **1630** *nişanlı-/inşanlı-* (niscianlamak, insanlamak) 'signare, notare' (MontR. 153); **1677** *nişanlı-* (niscianlanmisc) 'notato, segnato' (MascVoc. 106, 196).

Phr. – **1650** *göz nişan* (ghios niscian) 'mira della balestra' (CarrR. 257–258) – **1650** *seren nişan* (seren niscian) 'penna dell'antenna' (CarrR. 258) – **1650** *tup* [= *top*] *nişan* (tup niscian) 'berzaglio' (CarrR. 258) – → 1006. *zernişan*.

– **1496/1501** "*Nasandzi Basza, jakoby u nas Kanclerz*" (Constantine of Ostrovia: StachSHET. 436); **1522** "*1 nessangi bassi, che segna 100 mandamenti*" (T. Contarini: RelPedF. 37); **1538** "*il Nizanzibassi*" (SpandSath. 223); **1539** "*vno nessangibassi, che segna gli comandamenti, & publice scritte col segno del Signore*" (RambLibT. 17r); **1548** "*Nisangi Bascia il quale tiene il sigillo delle casse ne si pote pigliar dinari senza lui*" (MenTratt. 168); **1573** "*il nisangi-basci che segna ogni comandamento, in modo che non è valido quello che non sia segnato col suo sigillo*" (C. Garzoni: RelAlb.I 430–431); **1583** "*il \*nessangli (recte nessangi) bassi, che è quello che rivede e contrassegna tutti li comandamenti*" (P. Contarini: RelAlb.III 232); **1590** "*il nisangi bassi, che ha carico di segnare i comandamenti del re*" (G. Moro: RelAlb.III 375); **1608** "*Nißchanschi Wascha deß Reichs Cantzler*" (SchwSt. 242) – **1558** "*il nassigimbei (= nişancı bey), che è quello che segna i comandamenti*" (N. Michiel: RelPedF. 110); **1576** "*il nisangi beg, che è quello che pone il segno del Signore*" (B. Antelmi: RelPedF. 198).

– **1677** *nişan çıkar-* (niscian cicarmach) 'smarginare, leuar il margine' (MascVoc. 207) – **1611** *nişan et-* (nischan etmek) 'desposar' (RJTMajd. 214); **1650** *nişan et-* (niscian ederum) 'annotare, notare, segnare, disegnare', (niscian etmech) 'disegnamento' (CarrR. 258); **1677** *nişan et-* (niscian etmech) 'notare' (MascVoc. 106 – **1650** *nişan edici* (niscian edigi) 'anotatore, disegnatore, signatore' (CarrR. 258) – **1650** *nişan ko-* (niscian qorum) 'annotare, notare, segnare', (niscian qomach) 'annotamento, annotatione' (CarrR. 258) – **1650** *nişan ver-* (niscian verirum) 'annotare, notare, segnare' (CarrR. 258) – **1533** *nişana vur-* (niscianá uurúrurum) 'colpisco' (ArgAd. 240, ArgR. 183); **1650** *nişan vur-* (niscian vururum) 'colpire' (CarrR. 258).

• < Pers. *nişān* 'sign, signal, mark, character; annotation, index; butt, target'. – N. 450 (XI); P. 181–82 (1332).

371. **nohut** (1603); **nout** (ca. 1520), **naut** (1611) – *ca.* **1520/1525/1530** *nout* (nout) 'ciseri' (LupisON. 2b), 'cexeri' (ITSprAd. 220); **1533** *nohut* (nochút) 'cece' (ArgAd. 241, ArgR. 183); **1611** *nohut* (nohuth) 'garanapiça' [cf. stand. Sp. *garbanzo* 'chickpea'] (RJTMajd. 214); **1611** *naut* (naút) 'ceci, legumi' (FerrR. 124); *ca.* **1630** *nohud* (nohud) 'cicer' (MontR. 153); **1668** *nohut* (nohut) 'pisum' (IllNém. 186); **1677** *nout* (nout) 'cece' (MascVoc. 26).

• < Pers. *nuxūd* 'vetch, pulse'. – N. 451 (XIII); P. 183 (1332).



## Abbreviations

abl. = ablative	It. = Italian
acc. = accusative	Lat. = Latin
add. = see Introduction, 3)	loc. = locative
Ar. = Arabic	Mong. = Mongolian
Arm. = Armenian	Osm. = Osmanlı
cf. = compare	Pers. = Persian
com. = comitative	phr. = phrase(s)
dat. = dative	pl. = plural
der. = derivative(s)	Pol. = Polish
dial. = dialect(al)	poss. = possessive
Fr. = French	prob. = probably
Engl. = English	Sp. = Spanish
G. = German	stand. = standard
gen. = genitive	suff. = suffix
Gr. = Greek	T. = Turkish

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## SOME DATA ON OLD UIGUR TRAPS

**Keywords:** Old Uigur language, culture, hunters, traps, etymology, lexicon

### Abstract

In this paper some Old Uigur words for traps are discussed. Among the words Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī listed in his dictionary only *tuzak* is attested in Old Uigur. On the other hand, some other words such as *kapgan*, *körp*, *sürgü*, *yipäk* are known from Old Uigur texts, mainly from religious scriptures. An interesting feature is that different verbs are used together with the different trap terms: *tuzak ur-*, *körp kaz-*, *kapgan ur-*, *sürgü tik-*, *yipäk tart-*. These data give us some insight into the activities of hunters.

### Introductory remarks

In his dissertation Serkan Şen investigated the words of professions in the Old Uigur period, among others those pertaining to hunting (Şen 2007). It is remarkable that the first volume of *Acta Turcica* (2009) was devoted to “Av ve Avcılık”.

Hunters and their methods of hunting are mentioned in some texts. Several types of traps are known from these texts. The traps were very important, although we cannot be sure how much these translated texts reflect the original setting or not. But in any case, the types of hunting in India or somewhere else were at least similar to practices in Turkic lands. From a report on hunting in Antalya region we learn that even today traps are used because in the case of some clever animals it is difficult to catch them by fire arms (Kaştan, Kaştan 2009: 417–418).

I would like to discuss in the following some Old Uigur words for traps used by hunters. Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī (MK) records at least four different words for ‘trap’: *tuzak*, *čanka* (ED: 425b), *sačratgu* (ED: 798b), *yapgak* (ED: 874b) and a verb *añdı-* (ED: 186a ‘to lurk, lie in wait’).

Of these words only *tuzak* is attested in Old Uigur. On the other hand, there are several other words in Old Uigur that are not recorded in the DLT: *kapgan*, *körp*, *sürgü*, *yipäk* and others like *tor* ‘net’, *ag id*. This does not mean that there was such a great difference in the lexicon of both corpora, but rather it shows how limited our knowledge is.

## An Old Uigur Buddhist text mentioning several trap words

A considerable number of trap words appear in a hitherto not published Buddhist Old Uigur text fragment, not only *tuzak*, but as well as some others. It is a fragment of a *pustaka* most probably of the earlier period of Old Uigur Buddhist literature (10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries). So far the fragment Mainz 50 of the Turfan Collection in Berlin<sup>1</sup> seems to be a single sheet of that book which makes the identification of the contents difficult. As far as I can see, it most probably belongs to the vast *Abhidharma* literature. Here, we jump into a discussion of what is *saṃvara* ‘restraint’ and *asaṃvara* ‘non-restraint’. The text of the first or probably recto side:

(01) k..... kiz...l.....k (02) [kör]k[i]tü y(a)rhkadı : anı üçün kenki (03) tözün-lär kutluglar ymä sudur-ka tayak (04) -lıgın šastr yaratmış-ta ymä iki (05) asanvar üzä tutdılar yana yonak-çı (06) -[i] časut-çı-lı bolar ikigü taišij (07) abidr[m]-ta dirpataki-ta ikigü-dä barča (08) bir yañlıg bar ärip : inčip yana kor (09) k[i]lgalı sävgüči atl(i)g asanvar yahuz (10) [a]bidrm-ta ok bar dirpataki-ta yok (11) bo iki asanvar-larig mišrak abidrma (12) ha[rđ]ay-ta asanvar sakišinta sözlämäyüki (13) ärsär : yenikin tutup sözlämämiş ol : (14) munta yana takıgu igitgüči temäk.

([http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/mainz/dta\\_mainz\\_index.htm](http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/mainz/dta_mainz_index.htm))

can be translated<sup>2</sup> as follows:

At the time when some Noble Ones or Arhats were writing *śāstras* on Buddhist *sūtras*, they were kept by two *asaṃvaras*. Accusers and spies both were considered in the *Abhidharma* and in the *Tripiṭaka* of the same kind. But the *asaṃvara* called ‘loving to cause damage’ is mentioned only in the *Abhidharma*, not in the *Tripiṭaka*. If these two *asaṃvaras* are not mentioned among the number of *asaṃvaras* in the *Miśraka Abhidharmahṛdaya*, it is because they were held as light (*asaṃvaras*). Here, what concerns breeding of chicken (...).

Here, I shortly refer to the Old Uigur *Kšanti kılmak nom* (TT IV), an original Uigur Buddhist confession text, which has a section of twelve sins called *asanvar*. Klaus Röhrborn explains the term as “Bezeichnung für eine Kategorie von 12 Sünden, die das berufsmäßige Töten und Quälen von Lebewesen zum Inhalt haben” (UW 2015: 293). But this is only a specified meaning of the general term *asaṃvara*: “Distorted discipline. Practices not in accord with the rule” (DDB s.v.). In other

<sup>1</sup> Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Digital Turfan Archive.

<sup>2</sup> Translated by the present writer.

contexts, mainly in the translations of *Abhidharma* texts, the term *asaṃvara* was also used in a general sense.<sup>3</sup> The source of the *asaṃvara* section of the *Kṣānti kīlmaḥ nom* is probably the *Samyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra* (T XXVIII [1552]; cf. Dessein 1999). On the Question: what is the *asaṃvara*? (T XXVIII [1552]: 890b18) the Answer is given: there are 12 *asaṃvara*. Namely: (1) to slaughter sheep, (2) to nourish fowls (chicken), (3) to nourish hogs, (4) to catch birds, (5) to catch fishes, (6) to hunt lions, (7) to make robbery, (8) executioner, (9) to make prisons, (10) to bewitch with *nāgas*, (11) to kill dogs, (12) to order hunters. In the following passage these twelve categories are explained in greater detail.

Here I quote from Dessein's translation:

*Question:* What is abiding in non-restraint? *Answer:* Twelve kinds abide in non-restraint: (1) the so-called slaughterer of sheep, (2) raiser of chickens, (3) raiser of pigs or (4) catcher of birds, (5) the fisher, (6) hunter, (7) thief, (8) executioner, (9) jailer and (10) charmer of dragons, (11) the one who slaughters dogs and (12) the game warden.<sup>4</sup> The one who slaughters sheep is the one who kills sheep. Because of awarenesses of death when raising, selling or killing [them], he is always called "slaughterer of sheep". The same applies to the one who raises chickens and to the one who raises pigs. When the one who catches birds kills a bird, it is for his own life. The same applies to the fisher and to the hunter. Thieves often do harmful things. The executioner is the one who mainly kills people for his own life. The jailer guards the prison for his own life. The charmer of dragons controls happiness of the game of dragons and snakes for his own life. The one who slaughters dogs is a *caṇḍāla*. The game warden is the head of the hunters of the royal house. (Dessein 1999 I: 167–168)

As obvious from the following table the order in the *Kṣānti kīlmaḥ nom* (Doğan 2011: 308) is slightly different, but in principle the same.

T [1552]	Old Uigur <i>Kṣānti kīlmaḥ nom</i>
1 slaughterer of sheep	1 slaughterer of sheep
2 raiser of chickens	2 raiser of chicken
3 raiser of pigs	3 pig keeper
4 catcher of birds	4 (= 5) fisher
5 fisher	5 (= 6) hunter, netter, trapper
6 hunter	6 (? = 7) ?
7 thief	7 (= 4) fowler, falconer; those who kill creatures that fly and crawl on their bellies

<sup>3</sup> The general data are given in Shōgaito (2008: 489). They all refer to the Hedin texts edited in Shōgaito (2014, cf. index: 225).

<sup>4</sup> The numbers in ( ) are inserted by the present writer.



T [1552]		Old Uigur <i>Kšanti kılmak nom</i>	
8	executioner	8 (= 11)	seller of dog meat
9	jailer	9 (? = 8)	killer of the <i>ajagara</i> snake
10	charmer of dragons	10	snake charmer, rain stone magician
11	the one who slaughters dogs	11 (= 9)	jailer who tortures living beings
12	game warden	12	Caṇḍāla who kills people

Let us have a detailed look at the terms of this list. Although often studied or referred to, some of these terms are still problematic (OTWF: 111). One possible path to reach a better understanding is a thorough comparison to their Chinese counterparts which is here followed for the first time.

1. *koyn ölürgüçi tuži* = (1) 屠羊 *tuyang*<sup>5</sup> ‘slaughterer of sheep’. The Old Uigur term ‘slaughterer (killer) of sheep’ is followed by the Chinese term *tuži* ‘butche’ derived in TT IV (447) and DTS (594b) from Chinese 屠子 *tuzi*, but Shōgaito (2003: 365a) explains it correctly from Chin. 屠兕 *tuer*.
2. *takiḡu igidgüçi* ‘raiser of chicken’ = (2) 養雞 *yangji* id.
3. *tonuzçi* ‘pig keeper’ = (3) 養豬 *yangzhu* ‘raiser of pigs’.<sup>6</sup>
4. *balıkçi* ‘fisher’ = (5) 捕魚 *buyu* id.
5. *käyikçi aṅçi tuzakçi torçi*<sup>7</sup> ‘hunter, game hunter, trapper, netter’ = (6) 獵師 *lieshi* ‘hunter’.
6. *čivgaçi* ‘?’<sup>8</sup> =? (7) 作賊 *zuozei* ‘thief’.

<sup>5</sup> These Chinese terms are taken from T (XXVIII, 552.89ob: 19–20). Translation by Dessein (1999: 167–168).

<sup>6</sup> Here it has to be noted that Erdal (OTWF: 112, fn. 154) did not completely agree with Clauson’s translation ‘pig keeper’, but the Chinese parallel shows that Clauson was correct.

<sup>7</sup> OTWF (112): ‘wild game hunters, trappers’ for *käyikçi aṅçi tuzakçi* following the listing in TT (IV: A 56–57) where this word group ends in *boltumuz ärsär*. In U 4827, however, the word order is different: *käyikçi aṅçi torçi tuz[akçi]*. Semantically, *tor* and *tuzak* belong together.

<sup>8</sup> Following TT IV (A 57) *torçi čivgaçi* was taken as one group. As no fac-simile of U II (8) (T II: Y 42, l. 10) exists, one cannot examine whether *t[ ]qaçi* is identical with the mentioned word group. Differently, in U 4827



*čivgaçi* is preceded by a short word that can probably be emended to *[ogr]ı* ‘thief’. It cannot be read *[torçi]ı* because *torçi* is part of the preceding word group. Erdal translated it as ‘bird-snarers’ (OTWF: 112). Uçar (2012: 84; follows ED: 396a) regards it as homonymous with *kušçi*, but the latter one belongs semantically rather to *itärçi*. Now, *čivgaçi* should correspond to Chinese *zei* ‘thief’. Semantically, one has to give up the idea that *čivgaçi* is someone like *torçi* ‘netter’. If in Turkish a ‘thief’ (Steuerwald 1972: 56b; Sezgin 2013: 44a ‘yankesici, cepten, çantadan para çalan hırsız’) can be called *arpacı* ‘seller of barley’ (Redhouse 2011: 74b); but Tietze (2002: 200) has *arpa* II ‘para’ and mentions that Wagner (1943: 8) regarded *arpacı* as a loan-word from Greek *αρπαζω* which is rather improbable), *čivgaçi* in Old Uigur could have a similar connotation. In his comment, Clauson (ED: 396a) refers to several Turkish words like *čivka*, *čivgar*, *čivkar*, but not to MK *čufga* ‘a horse which a fast post-rider takes on the road and rides until he finds

7. *kušči itärči*<sup>9</sup> *učugma bagrın yorigma tınlıglarıg ölürgüçi* ‘fowler, falconer; those who kill creatures that fly and crawl on their bellies’ = (4) 捕鳥 *buniao* ‘catcher of birds’.
8. *it ätin satguçi* ‘seller of dog meat’ = (11) 屠犬 *tuquan* ‘one who slaughters dogs’.
9. *açakram yılan ölürgüçi* ‘killer of the *ajagara*<sup>10</sup> snake’=? (8) 魁膾 *kuikuai* ‘executioner’.
10. *luu üntürgüçi yadçı* ‘snake charmer, rain stone magician’ = (10) 呪龍 *zhoulong* ‘charmer of dragons’.
11. *tınlıglarıg kınaguçi bukaguçi* ‘jailer who tortures living beings’ = (9) 守獄 *shouyu* ‘jailer’.
12. *kişi ölürgüçi çantal* ‘Caṅḍāla who kills people’ =? (12) 司獵 *silie* ‘game warden’.

The verso side of Mainz 50 which is more relevant to the topic of this paper reads as follows:

(01) [ ] (02) *yunlap azu ymä ölürip öz [elti]n* (03) *-güçi : yänä içi kişi-lär ärür : mantr* (04) *bap luu oynatguçi arviş-çi-lar ärsär* (05) *k(a)ltı arviş küçi üzä luug yılan-ıg* (06) *bap b(ä)kläp oynatmak üzä äd tav[ar]* (07) *kazganıp öz eltindäçi-lär ärür : it* (08) *ölürgüçi-lär ärsär : k(a)ltı kedin änätkäk* (09) *elintä bar antag çantal-lar it ölürip* (10) *yedäçi-lär ärür : azu ymä ätin satıp asıg* (11) *tilädäçi-lär ärür : añçı-lar ärsär : k(a)ltı* (12) *yol kızıp tuzak urdaçı-lar : körp kaz* (13) *-daçı-lar kapgan urguçi-lar : sürgü* (14) *tıkgüçi-lär yipäk tartdaçı-lar ärür :*

In the subsequent translation I divide this short text which mentions groups of evil doing human beings into semantic sections:

- I. (Those who ...) are human beings such as sister-in-laws and elder brothers who use (...) or kill for their own living.
- II. The charmers who cause snakes to dance by binding mantras are those who by power of charms bind and tie dragons and snakes, thus gaining income for their own living.
- III. Those who kill dogs are such ones who like in the country of West India those caṅḍālas who kill dogs for eating, or for selling their flesh thus looking for profit.
- IV. Hunters are those who follow the way and dispose traps, those who trench pitfalls, those who put up *sürgüs*, and those who tauten lashes.

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another’ (ED: 396a) which could be a further candidate (in that case Old Uigur would be an illabial form of it). I cannot offer a definite solution here, but I am convinced that the meaning ‘thief’ lies behind.

<sup>9</sup> The word *itärçi* was read by Erdal as *edärçi* (< \**edärtçi*) (OTWF: 112, fn. 155; following Clauson in ED: 69b) ‘tracker’, but there is no example writing *-t-* for a medial *-d-* in these confession mss. that belong to the early period of Uigur Buddhist literature thus making this derivation doubtful. Şen (2007: 46) translates *itärçi* as ‘doğancı’, but refers to Ata (2004: 171) *ütärçi* meaning ‘Av için kullanılan hayvan, köpek vs.’ Rather, one expects a profession, not an animal’s name. Thus, convincing is the etymology proposed by Jaquesson for the Middle Asian names of the falcon from *it-* ‘to push’ (‘pousser’), i.e. *it-är* ‘one who pushes’, and she concludes that this is “à l’origine de l’un des plus anciens noms pour « fauconnier » en türk, *itärçi* que nous traduisons comme « celui qui pousse [le faucon] »” (Jaquesson 2000: 220).

<sup>10</sup> UW (2015: 8).

It is obvious that each of the four trap words is connected with a special verb thus at least giving the possibility to get some idea of their uses: *tuzak ur-*, *körp kaz-*, *kapgan ur-*, *sürgü tik-*, *yipäk tart-*.<sup>11</sup>

## Discussion of Old Uigur trap words

### 1. *tuzak*

The word *tuzak* is well attested in many Turkic languages, old and new, but less is known about the method how *tuzaks* were built. For Modern Turkish at least we note some data. A detailed description of fyke nets<sup>12</sup> for fishing is given by Ayaz (Ayaz, Altınağaç, Cengiz 2006) who investigated their use in Çanakkale. But this does not mean that a *tuzak* is a special tool of fishermen. The word *tuzak* is so general that it is used for many spheres. In biotechnology all kinds of traps are so used as to mention only a few of them. Birişik (2013), e.g., mentions many kinds of *tuzak*.

MK translates *tuzak* as ‘a trap or noose used in hunting’ (ED: 573b). Doerfer (TMEN II: 962) came to the conclusion that its original meaning might have been snare (‘Schlinge’). Clauson admits that there is no obvious Turkish etymology wherefore he comments on the rhyme of *tuzak* with Persian *duzax* ‘hell’: “as there is no Turkish etymology for *tuzak* the possibility of some such foreign origin might be explored, but obviously ‘trap’ cannot be derived directly fr[om] ‘hell’.” (ED: 573b) The once maintained connection to uig. \**tuz* ‘net’ by Räsänen (EWT: 502b; cf. Severtjan 1980: 290) is no longer valid as such word does not exist, it is *tor* ‘net’.

In many cases the word is used in the concrete sense, mainly in stories in Jātakas and Avadānas, although in most cases hunters are mentioned generally without giving details about their instruments or their special equipment. Thus, as a whole, our information on this semantic group remains limited. In a Manichaean text the word *tuzak* appears, too, but without further context (Zieme 2011a).

Here, I quote again from Clauson’s paper on hunting:

For some forms of game, and I suspect especially the bear and other large animals, the technique was one of trapping rather than shooting. The word for trap was tu-zak which Kāšgarī translates ‘a trap or snare used in hunting’, with the interesting remark that it was a word used as a compliment by a man to his beloved. The word is first noted in paragraph 61 of the *Irk Bitig* where it was hitherto been transcribed toz ‘dust’, with the result that the paragraph became nonsense. What it actually says is ‘a crane alighted on its resting place and without noticing it was caught in a tuzak’. In this context the word must mean some kind of noose, like a rabbit wire.

<sup>11</sup> But, of course, also other verbs were possible, this is the case in an example from the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*: *arigta barip toor tuzak yaratdi*: “He went into the forest and made nets and traps” (Shōgaito, Tuguševa, Fujishiro 1998: l. 2099; cf. Tokyürek 2013: 250).

<sup>12</sup> “A fyke net is a fish trap. It consists of cylindrical or cone-shaped netting bags mounted on rings or other rigid structures. It has wings or leaders which guide the fish towards the entrance of the bags. The fyke nets are fixed on the bottom by anchors, ballast or stakes.” (<http://www.fao.org/fishery/geartype/226/en>).

In other contexts, particularly for catching bigger game, it must have meant a concealed pit-fall. Kāṣṣārī records the phrase *oğri: tuzak*, translated ‘a trap buried in the ground’, which seems to imply a pit-fall rather than a noose. The word was also used metaphorically. (Clauson 1968: 15)

In this metaphoric sense it is used also in Old Uigur. In the story of *Sadāprarudita and Dharmodgata* the disciple is advised: *ayıg šmnunuy tuzakıña ilinmägil* ‘Do not be bound by the trap of the evil Māra’ (Tekin 1980: 187, l. 038, translation: 237). The same verb, i.e. *ilin-*, is known from a hunting case related by MK (Hauenschild 2003: 108) as well as in *Kutadgu Bilig: bu dünya işi bek tuzakçı turur / tuzakka ilinme sini berkitür* (KB: 4824) and in *Irk Bitig* (§ 61; as mentioned in the citation from Clauson 1968: fn. 38).

In a Manichaean confession text we read (Clark 2013; a Buddhist parallel was discussed in Zieme 2015): *tugmak ölmäkl[i]g torug tuzakıg šäštäč[i] bolalım / kılınčlıg bag bukagug üztäči bolal[i]m* ‘May we be the ones who untie the net and the snare of being (re)born and dying! / May we be the ones who pull apart the bond and the fetter of action!’ (Clark 2013: 117). This is a remarkable phrase showing a full parallel structure in all its three syntagmas, wherefore it may be regarded as a verse although it lacks alliteration.

Further examples in the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* were earlier discussed, the *amranmaklıg tuzak* ‘love trap’ (Zieme 2011b: 286) or the *yilinmāk yapšinmaklıg tor (...)* *tuzak (...)* ‘the net and the trap of adherence and sticking at’ (Wilkens 2012/2013: 169).

## II. *körp*

The word *körp* ‘pit’ needs some explanation. The stem itself is not recorded in dictionaries, but MK has a verb *körplä-* which surely is derived from *körp*. The verb is referred to in two examples: *ol kozı körplädi* ‘He roasted the lamb in a pit’<sup>13</sup> and ‘dug out of the ground’ (ED: 738a; DLT: 377). In both cases it refers to a pit or hole. The meaning of the noun can firmly be established as ‘pit’.

## III. *kapgan*

The word *kapgan* ‘snare, trap’ is well documented, (OTWF: 385; detailed information also in TLH: 490–491) the verb for the action is again *ur-* ‘to array’.

## IV. *sürgü*

A noun *sürgü*<sup>14</sup> which should mean another kind of trap is not recorded by MK, only the derived verb *sürgülä-*: *ıt käyikni sürgülädi* ‘the dog made the antelope run and followed in its tracks to catch it.’ (ED: 851a).

<sup>13</sup> 

<sup>14</sup> Republican Turkish has the word *sürgü* ‘bar’.

## V. *yipäk*

*yipäk tart-* ‘to strain a cord’. The word *yip* ‘cord’<sup>15</sup> is well-known, but not *yipäk*. The word (*y*)*ipäk* ‘silk’ is attested only since around 1300 (Baytal 1934: 90a *Yipekçi* ‘İpekçi’; Grønbech 1942: 107 *ipek*, *jibek* [ypac / jibek] ‘Seide’). In Old Turkic a deminutive suffix +Ak is recorded (OTWF: 40–44; Erdal apparently did not mention this word), but is “silk” derived from “cord”? It is questionable. It is not possible to draw further conclusions from this example, but it cannot be excluded that this is the earliest attestation of the Turkic word for “silk”. One can estimate a date around the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## An Old Uigur text about different hunters

Some words for hunters are derived from the object of hunting as e.g. *käyikçi*, others from the tool hunters are using like *tuzakçi*. The list of hunters in the story of Kalyānamkāra and Pāpamkāra is well known: *kuščı käyikçi balıkçı avçı torçı tuzakçı* (Hamilton 1971, I: 7–8). In other texts one or the other word of this group as well as others appear. A bilingual Sogdian – Old Uigur wordlist contains several entries of hunter terms (Sundermann, Zieme 1981).

Finally, another Buddhist fragment should be mentioned here. It is a part of an Old Uigur translation of the famous *Lotus sutra*.<sup>16</sup> The fragment U 2971 (T II S 53) reads:

- 01 [                    ] azka yapşınmaz k(a)čan ymä taş nomlug bitig-läri ymä [                    ]  
 02 [                    ]-lar kač(a)n yaguk turmaz al(i)m berim tutmaz ymä k(a)čan n(ä)ŋ tu[zakçı]  
 03 [ap ymä] izči ap ymä agči ap ymä koy yigidgüči ymä olar birlä [                    ]  
 04 [                    ]dtači ap ymä käyikçi ap ymä kuş tutači<sup>17</sup> ap ymä bo [                    ]  
 05 [                    ]yn yegüči ešilär birlä katılmaz ymä<sup>1</sup> [                    ]

[Such people] are not attached to worldly pleasures, also not to heretical scriptures [    ], also they do not stand near, they do not make affairs (to hold taking and giving), not with trappers, not with trackers, not with netters, not with those who keep sheep and those, who [    ], not with hunters, not with bird hunters, they do not join with those who earn their money with women.<sup>18</sup>

From this text we are informed of several types of hunters: *tu[zakçı]* ‘trapper’ (ED: 574a) is well documented; *izči* ‘tracker’<sup>19</sup> is not recorded in ED or other Old Uigur dictionaries. There is also no record in the dictionaries for *agči* ‘netter’. It is derived

<sup>15</sup> Or sometimes *yip*. Probably both variants existed.

<sup>16</sup> It was identified by Jens Wilkens in 2008.

<sup>17</sup> It seems to be a shortened form of *tut-tači* ‘holder, catcher’, thus *kuş tutači* ‘bird catcher’.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Kubo, Yuyama (2007: 315): “They should know that they will be clad in the robe of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Such people are not attached to worldly pleasures. They dislike heretical scriptures and writings. They are not pleased to consort with heretics, wicked people, butchers, those who keep boars, sheep, chickens, or dogs, hunters, or those who make a living by pandering. They will be honest in mind, and will have correct recollection and the power of merit. They will not be troubled by the three kinds of poison.”

from *aq* ‘net’ and appears in juncture with *tuzak* (ED: 75a). As an element of a personal name a certain Ağcı is known from U 5623 recto 6 *arslan ağcı*, D. Matsui (2002: 118) read the name *arslan açarı*.

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<sup>19</sup> In Republican Turkish *izçi* ‘pathfinder’.



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# GRAMMATICALIZATION PATHS AND CHAOS: DETERMINISM AND UNPREDICTABILITY OF THE SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT OF VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS (PART 2 – CHAOS IN LINGUISTICS)

**Keywords:** grammaticalization paths, verbal semantics, Chaos Theory, Cognitive Linguistics, semantic maps

## Abstract

This paper demonstrates that by applying Chaos Theory to the modelling of the evolution of verbal forms and verbal systems, it is possible to view classical grammaticalization paths as universal, and align this deterministic assumption with the unpredictability of concrete grammatical developments. The author argues that such an explanation is possible because traditional grammaticalization paths do not represent realistic cases of grammatical evolutions, but rather correspond to abstract and non-realistic deterministic laws which codify the order of the incorporation of new meanings to the semantic potential of a gram. Therefore, from a synchronic perspective, they can be used to represent the semantic potential of a form as a map or a state. In contrast, a realistic development emerges as a trajectory connecting such maps or states. Consequently, the cross-linguistic typological model of realistic evolutionary processes of a certain type corresponds to a state-space – it is a cluster of all possible trajectories the grams of a certain class can travel. This article – the second of series of three papers – will deal with a principled application of Chaos Theory to linguistics and with a new alternative interpretation of paths postulated by Path Theory.

## 1. Where we left off

The previous paper – the first in the series – discussed the phenomenon of chaos in mathematics. In non-formal language, mathematical chaos is the unpredictable

behaviour of non-linear dynamic systems that, albeit governed by deterministic dynamic equations, are highly sensitive to initial conditions. If the treatment of chaos is more formal, it surfaces in three standard definitions proposed by Devaney, Strogatz, and Smith. According to the first definition, a dynamic chaotic system is sensitive to initial conditions, topologically transitive (being characterized by mixing), and its periodic orbits are dense (Devaney 1989). According to the second definition, “[c]haos is aperiodic long-term behaviour in a deterministic system that exhibits sensitive dependence on initial conditions” (Strogatz 1994: 323). According to the third definition, chaotic systems are characterized by stretching and folding behaviour (cf. the horseshoe phenomenon), are exponentially sensitive to initial conditions, which can be measured with the Lyapunov exponent, and these systems’ maps have positive topological entropy (Smith 1998). Lastly, a number of specific properties exhibited by chaotic systems have been presented, such as attractors, strange attractors, fractal structure, bifurcations, basins, and emergence.

Having explained the mathematical theory of chaos, another question arises: how can we transfer this mathematical model to other fields of science, such as linguistics. Chaos Theory is an abstract mathematical model. It cannot be freely transposed to the study of languages, because chaos in mathematics and chaos in linguistics do not imply exactly the same thing. Only a principled application of Chaos Theory (in which reductions and simplifications imposed by modelling would be acknowledged and controlled) can warrant an adequate use of a chaos narrative in linguistics – a use that would go beyond imprecise metaphors and vague comparisons. Such a precise definition of chaos that would specifically be designed for and applicable to linguistic science must be formulated.

The present article will deal with the use of Chaos Theory in linguistics. I will first address the issue of modelling – the basis of a principled manner of applying Chaos Theory to linguistics (Section 2.1). Afterwards, I will propose a definition of chaos that can be applied to the study of languages, more specifically to the theory of grammaticalization paths (Section 2.2). This will subsequently enable me to analyze Path Theory from a new and, arguably, more appropriate perspective. From this perspective, traditional paths are not models of realistic evolutions (Section 3.1). They are rather matrices that schematize sequences and possible ranges of senses incorporated into the semantic potential of grams of certain types (Section 3.2) – matrices that can be used to model synchronic semantic potentials of grams (i.e. the meanings of grammatical forms offered at a determined point in time; Section 3.3).

## 2. How can Chaos Theory be useful in linguistics – “non-mathematical” chaos

### 2.1 Modelling problem

From the discussion in the previous paper of the series, we have learned that Chaos Theory is a mathematical model of some dynamic systems. And this fact is crucial: it is a mathematical theoretical representation. Mathematical models typically

misrepresent realistic facts (Smith 1998: 42, 50). This is already observable in physics, where empirical data does not always entirely adjust to the requirements of the theory. Accordingly, chaotic models also idealize the real state of affairs. This idealization appears because natural phenomena (to the description of which the mathematical model has been applied) lack the fractal intricacy or period doubling that are characteristic of mathematical chaotic organizations (Smith 1998: 51, 98–105).

Similar to all mathematical macro-physical theories, the mathematical chaotic representation is idealized. That is, it provides an approximately true account and explanation of phenomena belonging to the realistic physical world (Smith 1998: 71–72; Diéguez Lucena 2010: 66). During the modelling of a concrete physical organization in accordance with Chaos Theory, the system being analyzed is portrayed as a geometric configuration where numerical values correspond to a given physical behaviour. In this manner, one constructs abstract theoretical trajectories that symbolize time evolutions of dynamic systems in the real world (Smith 1998: 72). The encoding of states achieved by a system is especially arbitrary and sometimes – for instance, in social sciences or in fields where the objective measurability strongly decreases – even metaphorical (Auyang 1998b: 213).

Moreover, although the modelling appears as strictly numerical and geometrical, one should be aware that physical quantities corresponding to realistic properties are coarse-grained. Consequently, hypothesized trajectories should be understood as fuzzy. Nevertheless, in the model, we consistently treat them as regular and discrete, assuming this representation to be a pure idealization (Smith 1998: 73). To put it differently, since in the real world we are faced with fuzzy-valued quantities while applied mathematical models work with precisely determined real numbers, in the modelling process, scholars must inevitably fictionalize. This means that mathematical dynamic models of chaos have surplus content, “pretending that there is precision in the values of relevant physical quantities where there is not” (Smith 1998: 127). What excuses such an idealizing procedure and gives a reason for it?

Scientists fictionalize and represent real-world coarse-grained quantities in precise fine-grained numbers because there is no other alternative. The hypothesized precise quantities in a chaotic model applied to real systems are fictions. Nevertheless, as Smith (1998: 127) convincingly argues, *this does not matter*. Since the idea of fuzzy mathematics remains still quite unconvincing, there is no other option (compare however Zadeh 1973; Dimitrov 2002: 15; Dimitrov, Hodge 2002: 31; Dimitrov 2005). Albeit the model is fictional to a degree, we can still extract a broad range of features from it, by merely knowing that it is approximately true and tolerably realistic. Scholars just have to **defictionalize** the model’s results. This means that after reaching unrealistically precise predictions or explanations of certain quantities – as these were built on numerically precise initial conditions and parameters – one must again fuzzify such predictions and descriptions (Smith 1998: 127–128). In other words, one conserves the unrealistic cleanness and precision of the model, being conscious of the fact that the fuzziness must be taken into account when the model is applied to real world quantities and organizations. This is a procedure with which a scientist can extrapolate pertinent information

from models that offer an excessive content due to the over-idealized precision of values that is fuzzy in the realistic universe.

Furthermore, theoretical models drastically simplify the real picture. Being built on approximations, they necessarily leave out a good number of details. They portray a given physical organization in ideal terms, focusing only on some relevant macro-variables and crucial relations (Auyang 1998b: 69; Diéguez Lucena 2010: 75). Approximations and idealization, however, are not simple defects. On the contrary, they play a crucial role in science (Diéguez Lucena 2010: 66). Mathematical models and their solutions are exact in the formal and logical sense, but not in the sense that they impeccably reflect reality. Real-world systems are not sufficiently simple in order to behave in a perfect accordance with universal laws (Diéguez Lucena 2010: 75). A mathematical (as well as empirical) theory is not required to be complete, exhausting all real-world factors. It is expected to incorporate the most relevant ones, formulating them in the manner that would provide nearly accurate solutions (Auyang 1998b: 67–68). Hence, abstract models – either empirically testable or not – are beneficial and useful for they enable scholars to encapsulate some essential properties and behaviours of realistic systems, by providing approximate explanations and predictions. They offer a coherent vision of a few salient factors of a system. Knowing such theoretical characteristics of the idealized system, we gain in the understanding of similar organizations and processes and/or in more realistic conditions (Auyang 1998b: 70).

Therefore, it is possible to extract certain pieces of information which are relevant for the real world from properties provided by purely mathematical material (i.e. encoded by numerical, unrealistic and fictionalizing models) – even the most simplified. This is particularly feasible if such properties constantly appear in a large set of models constituting robust traits (Smith 1998: 126). When applying a model to realistic phenomena, one merely disregards the surplus content provided by the theory and considers this surplus as purely fictional. That is, a scientist focuses exclusively on relevant features, i.e. on properties which appear as robust. In this manner, such robust truths may be understood as super-truths, namely as statements which remain true in models with any permissible initial state (Smith 1998: 129).

If one keeps in mind the above-explained relationship between theoretical models and the realistic universe, the mathematical model of chaos may be useful for the representation of natural phenomena. That is, certain robust properties of mathematical chaos may be successfully identified in idealized models of physical systems. If there is a correlation between this idealized representation of a realistic system and the mathematical model of chaos, a given real-world process can be identified as chaotic. In this manner, what superficially appears as noisy, disordered, intricate, and (in everyday sense) chaotic may be represented as an abstract model of chaos. In other words, the evolution of real world variables that appears as more or less erratic, when pictured into the state-space idealization, sometimes generates mathematically prototypical chaotic structures if conducted in a perfectly precise manner.

The correspondence between a hypothesized model of realistic phenomena and the model posited by Chaos Theory (and thus the explanation of real-world systems in terms of mathematical chaos) is both possible and recoverable because of idealizations employed (Smith 1998: 127–128, 142). However, when equalling natural systems with a mathematical chaotic system, it is necessary to constantly filter out the mathematical substance (precise and ideal) from the non-mathematical substance (fuzzy and realistic). One must always be aware of the surplus content which is characteristic of any theoretical representation (Smith 1998: 127). One should, therefore, trust the robust features, focusing on the properties that are the most stable both in the mathematical model and in a given real-world organization.

## 2.2 Linguistic definition of chaos

Having explained the mathematical theory of chaos and the modelling problems related to its application to real-world phenomena, I will propose a definition of chaos relevant to linguistics, and in particular to the study of semantic developments of verbal grams.<sup>1</sup>

Overall, the application of chaos to other fields of studies can be numerical, narrative or mixed (i.e. encompassing numerical and narrative character). In this paper the transposition of Chaos Theory to linguistics is mainly used as narrative, sometimes intermingled with more precise features, especially topological ones (e.g. waves). In this manner, I continue the method adopted by Bybee (2010), who was, to my knowledge, the first scholar to suggest the compatibility of semantic paths with the narrative of Chaos Theory. Since my model is principally built around such a narrative, it will not contain and/or yield exact mathematic calculations and/or numerical representations. This, however, should not be viewed as weakness (compare the same approach in Bybee 2010; see also Larsen-Freeman 1997; Massip-Bonet 2013; Munné 2013). The use of models imported from hard sciences (especially, mathematics and physics) in the form of narratives is common in social sciences and offers numerous advantages (cf. Auyang 1998a). As explained previously, such non-numerical narratives may be employed under the condition that a given narrative is not a mere analogy but is used as an exact heuristic method. Specifically, each term in the target model should be demonstrated to be equivalent to the original terms from the numerical model.

Chaos Theory (in its narrative and/or more mathematical versions) has been applied to linguistics or discussed for linguistic purposes by several scholars. Among the more narrative applications and discussions, the most relevant are those developed by Schneider (1997, 2013) for dialect variation, by Larsen-Freeman (1997) for applied linguistics (see also Cooper 1999), by Bybee (2010) for grammaticalization theory, by Massip-Bonet (2013) for language change (especially from a sociolinguistic

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<sup>1</sup> This implies that I will not be concerned with the application of Chaos Theory to other linguistic and grammatical phenomena. As will be evident from the subsequent discussion in this section, Chaos Theory (both in a narrative and a numerical form) has extensively been used in various branches of linguistics.

perspective), by Munné (2013) for linguistic categorization, and, lastly and more comprehensively by Kretzschmar (2015).<sup>2</sup> A more computational implementation of Chaos Theory in the field of linguistics, including cognitive linguistics (especially in morphology, semantics and syntax) has been developed by Wildgen (1998, 2005) and Wildgen and Plath (2005). One should also mention an extensive application of the catastrophe theory to linguistics by Wildgen (1982, 1983, 2004, 2005). Even though the catastrophe theory is not synonymous with Chaos Theory, it can be regarded as its predecessor because it was concerned with bifurcation in non-linear systems. Other related frameworks or approaches correspond to a dynamic neural network model (or a family of such models) and complex-systems theory which also analyze the behaviour of language as a complex dynamic system (cf. Massip-Bonet, Bastardas-Boada 2013). Among all these approaches and scholars, only Bybee (2010) focuses on grammaticalization semantic paths, making an important observation concerning the attractors of paths.<sup>3</sup>

A given linguistic organization will be understood as chaotic if, after idealization and fictionalization – i.e. being treated as if physical values were exact and corresponded to mathematical quantities either in a precise mathematic representation or in a more metaphorical narrative – the resulting model *approximates* the mathematical theoretical representation established by Chaos Theory. In other words, once the grammatical developments receive a geometrical, idealized and fictionalized, representation (either precisely numerical or more narrative), the *robust* features of the evolution of grammatical systems would fulfill determined, expectedly *robust*, properties of prototypical chaotic organizations.

This definition implies two things. First, one is required to represent a complex state of affairs in the real world as an idealized point in the phase space of a geometrical model and to treat the development of multifaceted, coarse-grained and, in some aspects, difficultly measurable or unquantifiable values pertinent to a linguistic organization as concrete mathematical objects and quantities (points, sets of points, surfaces, vectors or waves). Second, the correspondence between a geometrical idealization and fictionalization of the physical system, on the one hand, and the mathematical system posited by Chaos Theory, on the other, is not required to be *absolute* and *perfect*. It is sufficient if the two models coincide in certain robust features.

All of this means that a given linguistic process or a grammatical structure will be considered chaotic if its modelled representation delivers a dynamic, non-linear, a-periodic system which, although governed by deterministic laws, is unpredictable (as far as long-term estimations for a concrete trajectory), due to a high sensitivity to initial conditions, displaying a stretching-and-folding behaviour on attractors. In light of this last point, the model suggests the existence of (strange)

<sup>2</sup> Kretzschmar (2015: 15–19, 31, 125) expresses certain doubts concerning the chaotic nature of language and the usefulness of Chaos Theory for language analysis.

<sup>3</sup> As correctly noted by Bybee (2010: 198), such attractors are strange in the sense of Chaos Theory (regarding the concept of strange attractor, see Sections 2.3 in the first paper of the series and Section 3 in the third paper).

attractors, basis and bifurcations – properties typical of chaotic organizations. The fulfillment of all the above-mentioned characteristics will enable us to view a given grammatical process or system as chaotic. However, the matching may be less impeccable and the entire correspondence between the model of a realistic system and the mathematical theory can be limited to a certain number of the most characteristic features. Thus, as far as linguistic objects are concerned, the idea of being chaotic should be understood as a *continuum* of degrees of equivalence between a modelled linguistic structure and an archetypical chaotic system, ranging from states of lesser equivalence (non-prototypicality) to states of greater equivalence (prototypicality).

### 3. Alternative understanding of Path Theory

Before developing a chaotic model of the semantic evolution of grammatical constructions (see the next paper in the series), I will discuss the status of paths as proposed by Path Theory. The validity of these paths remain unchallenged, if they are understood not as models of realistic developmental cases but rather as models of the incorporation of new senses into the semantic potential of a gram. Given this, they can be employed to depict synchronic states of grammatical forms. As a result, paths may be upgraded from inductive generalizations to scientific laws and be viewed as universal and deterministic. This new understanding of paths will be crucial for the formulation of a chaotic model of realistic evolutions of grams.

#### 3.1 Paths as models of developing grams

The standard path model is usually comprehended as representing realistic evolutions. Following this idea, stages on a given cline are assumed to represent different grammatical categories. Put differently, according to Path Theory in its classical version, grammatical constructions seem to “mutate” from a certain gram  $g_1$  into another gram  $g_2$ . The sequence of such stages constitutes a path that seemingly represents a typologically common evolution. I will illustrate this by using an anterior path.<sup>4</sup> The anterior path provides a model of the grammatical development of original resultative or completive grams (e.g. Nedjalkov, Jaxontov 1988: 3–63; Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca 1994: 51–105; Dahl 2000a: 14–17; Nedjalkov 2001: 928–940). In its standard shape, this cline states that resultative proper grams evolve into present perfects which subsequently transmute into perfective or simple past tenses:

RESULTATIVE PROPER → PRESENT PERFECT → PERFECTIVE PAST / SIMPLE PAST

Figure 1: Anterior path (adapted from Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca 1994 and Dahl 2000a)

<sup>4</sup> Other labels used for this cline are ‘aoristic’, ‘past’ or ‘towards perfective and past’ (cf. Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca 1994; Dahl 2000b; Squartini, Bertinetto 2000).



This understanding of paths has certain limitations. On the one hand, it is usually considered to be *quasi* universal – it schematizes a common tendency rather than a deterministic law. On the other hand, and even more importantly, it fails to encapsulate the various evolutionary scenarios affecting original resultative constructions.

First, one may encounter multiple examples where formations that are defined as past tenses offer uses which have nothing to do with the semantic domain of a definite past. That is, they may convey the ideas of a future tense, a counterfactual mood and a deontic mood. For example, in numerous languages, grams that are employed in the function of a definite past are able to express future events. This phenomenon is particularly frequent in subordinated temporal clauses (e.g. in Mandinka *Niŋ a naata, ntel be dokuwo ke la* ‘When he comes (lit. came), we will work’) although it may also be found in main clauses (see *Je l’ai fait dans 5 minutes* ‘I will have done (lit. did or have done) it in 5 minutes’ in French). Modal uses (especially, counterfactual and deontic) of the constructions which, in their prototypical sense, act as perfects or past tenses are equally common. The former value can be illustrated by the use of the so-called “suffix conjunction” *qatal(a)* in the Semitic family (cf. Andrason 2013a), whilst the latter may be exemplified by the Polish perfective past (*Wczoraj napisał list* ‘Yesterday, I wrote a letter’) which in certain cases provides modal deontic, real-factual nuances (*Napisal (już) mi ten list!* ‘Write this letter (now)!’).<sup>5</sup>

Second, rather than functioning as a category that matches only one stage of the anterior path (for instance, a resultative proper, a present perfect, a perfective past or a simple past in the model proposed in Figure 1), grammatical constructions that evolve along the anterior path tend to be employed as amalgams of many stages located on this cline. That is, realistic grams display senses that correspond to more than one phase of the anterior trajectory. For example, *passé composé* in French may be employed in the function of a resultative proper, a present perfect, a perfective past and a simple (i.e. aspectually neutral) past (Grevisse 1975). Consequently, it can span the entire anterior path (Andrason 2010a: 340–341). In a similar vein, depending on a given context, the Akkadian (Semitic) *iprus* formation behaves as if it were a stative, a present perfect, a perfective past or a simple past (Andrason 2010a: 336–340). This behaviour is obviously not restricted to grams travelling along the anterior path, but rather concerns constructions of any diachronic and synchronic type. It stems from the fact that grammatical forms are inherently polysemous – polysemy being the norm in languages (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007).

Probably, one of the most evident examples illustrating the two above-mentioned phenomena is the Biblical Hebrew *qatal* form, which besides functioning as a resultative proper, a present perfect, a perfective past and a simple past (gram types that jointly cover the entire anterior cline), additionally acts in certain instances as a counterfactual mood, an imperative, an evidential and a future (Andrason 2011a, 2013a). No path can account for such a polysemy within the frame of the standard model. Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994) are fully aware of this phenomenon.

<sup>5</sup> A similar situation can be observed in Semitic or Niger-Congo linguistic families (Andrason 2013a, 2013c, 2016).

They correctly notice that grams *retain* the senses previously acquired for a long time, and probably, for this reason split the present perfect stage into “young” and “old” anteriors. The former gram stands for prototypical present perfects while the latter represents constructions that offer additional uses which correspond to definite past functions – it is a past tense that has preserved its original perfect senses.

Another excellent example of the incompatibility of the standard path model with realistic evolutions is provided by so-called modal paths (Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca 1994: 240). One of such trajectories – the ability path – shows how expressions of mental or physical ability develop into grams that convey the meaning of root possibility, and subsequently the meaning of epistemic possibility and potentiality. After that, they may evolve into expressions of permission and/or prohibition. Additionally, a gram that is employed with the sense of root possibility commonly develops into an intentional and desiderative construction, which, in turn, can evolve into a modally coloured future. It is clear that such a path does not portray a realistic evolution of a gram in the sense that each stage on the cline would correspond to a subsequent developmental phase of this formation, i.e. at the time *a*, *b*, *c*, etc. Grams that arise from ability inputs and evolve along the ability cline typically offer senses that reflect various stages located in this path. They accumulate values predicated by the path so that their semantic potential may correspond to a large section of the cline (for instructive examples, consult Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca 1994; Andrason 2010b).

### 3.2 Paths as models of incorporation of senses

The imperfections explained in the previous section can be overcome if paths are understood as templates of an ordered incorporation of senses into the semantic potential of verbal constructions, and not as models of realistic evolutions that show how grams evolve from one stage to another. In this manner, instead of symbolizing realistic grams, each stage refers to a semantic value that can be incorporated into the total meaning of a gram. In other words, stages correspond to consecutive meaning extensions that arise from language use. As a result, the progression on the cline (i.e. the accessibility to a given sense, including a value which is situated at the very end of the trajectory) does not necessitate that the senses acquired earlier (i.e. values that correspond to more initial stages) be lost. Quite the reverse is true; original senses may survive for a long time even though the gram has advanced on the path and is now able to convey values that reflect ultimate portions of the cline. The model informs us only on the order of incorporated senses but not on their extent of accumulation. Returning to the anterior path, this new interpretation implies that grams do not mutate from a resultative proper into a perfect and, next, into a past tense. Original resultatives rather acquire additional present perfect senses. Subsequently, they may gain an explicit past value, first perfective and subsequently non-perfective. Consequently, formations that are born as resultative proper may span any section of the cline from the resultative proper to the simple past (Andrason 2011a, 2012a, 2013a, 2013b).

Since the model is interpreted as specifying the order of incorporation of new senses into the semantic potential of certain types of formations and not as a collection of historical phases of realistic grammatical constructions, other senses emerging from subsequent “stages-values” on the standard cline can easily be acknowledged and added to the representation. In this manner, various non-canonical values can be related to the most common ones, thereby yielding a map of possible meaning extensions available for a determined taxonomical class. For instance, the values of modal counterfactuality, futurity, probability, necessity (order), etc. can all be connected to the anterior path by means of branches that symbolize, less common – but yet possible – meaning extensions departing from the standard senses located on the anterior path (resultative, perfect, perfective, past; for illustrations of this consult Andrason 2011a, 2011b, 2012b, 2013a).

It should also be noted that this understanding of the path model enables scholars to fragmentize the clines into a highly fine-grained representation with a large number of specific “stages-values”. Thus, it is possible to provide a more precise model of evolutionary meaning extensions in which twenty or more stages can be identified instead of the three or four stages posited previously. In fact, there is no limitation to the increase of granularity because the cline may always be made more precise (or more fine-grained), thus including steadily more microscopic senses. For example, one can design the following more detailed model of the anterior cline. At the beginning, resultative constructions acquire dynamic present perfect senses in the following order: first the gram develops an inclusive value,<sup>6</sup> then resultative,<sup>7</sup> experiential<sup>8</sup> and finally indefinite.<sup>9</sup> After that, the formation is admissible in explicitly past environments, developing definite past senses that correspond to an increase in the temporal distance from the enunciator’s here-and-now. The gram progressively expresses actions or activities that are located in a more distant past moment: first in an immediate past (e.g. hodiernal, hesternal, or recent) and then in a more distant past (general and remote). Additionally, during the incorporation of a definite past sense, perfective values seem to be acquired before non-perfective ones (e.g. durative senses). In this manner, an upcoming past gram first provides an aspectual perfective sense and only later does it become acceptable in durative

<sup>6</sup> The inclusive anterior (also labeled as universal) indicates that an action or state holds without interruption from a determined point in the past to the present moment, e.g. *I have known Max since 1960* (Jónsson 1992: 129–145).

<sup>7</sup> The resultative anterior introduces dynamic events, portraying them as highly relevant for the present state of affairs, e.g. *I cannot come to your party – I have caught the flu* (McCawley 1971).

<sup>8</sup> The experiential anterior indicates that the subject has an experience of having performed (or not) a given action. This means that the activity is portrayed as an experience which occurred at least once, and which might have been repeatable, e.g. *I have never read that book* or *I have read ‘Principia Mathematica’ five times* (Jónsson 1992: 129–145).

<sup>9</sup> The indefinite perfect (also labeled indefinite past) indicates events that are clearly past without, however, specifying their temporal location. As for the former property, the gram approximates a past tense. However, given the latter characteristic, the formation behaves as a typical present perfect. Therefore, in Figure 2 below, it is located between the semantic domains of a present perfect and past tense.

or non-perfective milieus (Harris 1982; Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca 1994; Squartini, Bertinetto 2000; Lindstedt 2000; Heine, Kuteva 2006, 2007; Andrason 2011b, 2012b, 2013a, 2013b).<sup>10</sup> The entire scenario can be schematized as follows:

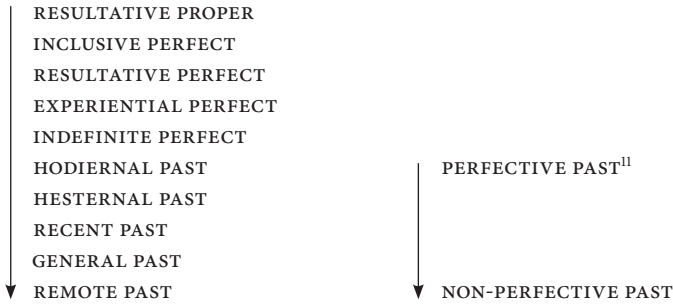


Figure 2: Anterior path as a sequence of incorporation of new senses<sup>12</sup>

Once the path is understood as a model of incorporation of senses (where the stages of a cline represent not the grams but rather the values or semantic domains), its status can be upgraded to a universal and deterministic law. This means that the above-positing representation of the anterior path offers an abstract model of the development of resultative constructions in the way that it *predicts* the uniquely possible order of the acquisition of new senses corresponding to semantic domains. It is a deterministic rule specifying an ordered universal sequence of incorporated values from the initial sense  $x_0$  to the final sense  $x_z$  through a set of intermediate senses  $x_1 \dots x_n$ .

It is at this theoretical level where the trajectory becomes universal and deterministic (Dahl 2000a: 12; Traugott 2001: 1, 5). Just like in natural sciences, it is possible that in the context of a concrete observation the rule does not operate. However, it is so not because the law has ceased to be valid, but because other parts of the environment and, especially, other rules have interfered. Accordingly, paths – viewed as representations of meaning extension – correspond to abstract idealizations or theoretical laws where all realistic disturbing factors or “noises” are disregarded.

<sup>10</sup> The grouping of such perfective and non-perfective values delivers the category of a simple past tense (cf. Bertinetto, Lenci 2010: 36–38).

<sup>11</sup> As a definite past, the gram may undergo two independent developments, to some extent. In the process, the gram increases its temporal distance from the speaker’s here-and-now, being admissible in more remote contexts: immediate > hodiernal > hesternal > recent > general (a person’s life past) and remote (historical and ancient) past. In the other process, certain aspectual nuances are acquired, first perfective ones (perfective past) and next durative or non-perfective ones (the gram functions as a simple past – an aspectually neutral gram). This aspectual development is restricted to certain types of verbal systems (cf. Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca 1994). There is no precise stage-to-stage equivalence between the stages which link the indefinite perfect and various subcategories of the definite past on the one hand, and the development of the perfective past into its aspectually neutral variant, on the other.

<sup>12</sup> The vertical arrows in this figure symbolize a diachronic progression of resultative inputs.

They operate in an ideal world where they are totally deterministic and not only statistically common. Although based upon limited empirical evidence, their strength is universal. This universality, however, is valid only at the abstract level, where all the processes have been simplified and represented in isolation from the other sections of the system. A law that represents a phenomenon is regarded as being independent from the rest of the system: no relations with other elements are envisaged.<sup>13</sup>

This abstract universality of paths and their determinism do not signify that all grams in all languages invariably evolve in the same way. It rather implies that language development is governed by certain universal, theoretical and, thus, abstract rules. These rules, which provide an idealized and fictionalized picture of the phenomenon, can be comprehended as universal truths and deterministic principles (on this phenomenon in science, consult Luisi 2010: 26). Consequently, by induction, we take our generalization for laws, being aware that they are “hypothetical universals”. In doing so, the path model does not differ from any empirical theory and its statements are as universal as biological, chemical or physical laws. Like biology, chemistry and physics, this new version of Path Theory interprets a limited amount of cases as representative enough and, by induction, predicts that under such and such conditions all entities of a given type should behave in such and such a manner.

### 3.3 Paths as models of synchronic semantic potentials

The above-mentioned understanding of clines does not diminish or compromise the relevance of the already detected paths. On the contrary, trajectories receive a stronger theoretical position by being understood as deterministic rules with no statistical dependency.

First, as has already been mentioned, they correctly codify the sequence and direction of accumulation of meanings during the evolution of the grams by predicting subsequent senses to be acquired. They inform us how constructions traverse the semantic space of the verbal system from taxis to tenses, through aspects. By doing so, they constitute deterministic laws or principia which control realistic grammatical developments despite the fact that they, themselves, do not encapsulate such realistic evolutionary processes. Second, they serve as matrixes for the explanation of states (or semantic potentials) that are available synchronically.

The latter phenomenon is referred to as (cognitive or dynamic) mapping (cf. Haspelmath 2003; Andrason 2016) or panchrony (Heine, Claudi, Hünemeyer 1991; Andrason 2010b, 2013). This procedure interprets synchronic states as

<sup>13</sup> It is by using this scientific idealization and – to an extent – falsification, science formulates its postulations, principles, laws and theories. This is, in fact, the only way that science can proceed with developing its representations of the universe. As previously mentioned, in all models, scientists idealize the real world because they cannot represent the universe as it is (Auyung 1998b). Scientists typically formulate the laws offering a model of how a given process, fact or phenomenon will be if it is taken separately in isolation and in ideal conditions. They ignore frictions, accidental forces, adjacent noises and disturbing relations. This means that in science the universality and determinism refer not to the universe itself but to scientific interpretations.

being diachronic processes (both universal and concrete) and defines the synchronic semantic content of a construction as a portion (a set of stages  $x_0, x_1 \dots x_n, x_Z$ ) of a given path-law. This interpretation of paths harmonizes with the principle of cognitive linguistics according to which the synchronic semantic variation of a form reflects that form's own history. As such semantic variations are viewed as static vestiges of consecutive diachronic changes, the overall meaning of a form is represented as a map (cline or network) whose components are organized diachronically. The usefulness of semantic maps based on diachronic universals has been widely acknowledged and such maps have commonly been employed (for a detailed discussion of the panchronic methodology and dynamic view of grammatical categories, as well as for a discussion of the usefulness of dynamic semantic maps, see Heine, Claudi, Hünnemeyer 1991; Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca 1994: 204; Haspelmath 2003: 211–242; De Haan 2010, 2011; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007; Bybee 2010; van der Auwera, Gast 2011: 166–189; Narrog, van der Auwera 2011: 318–327; Andrason 2010b, 2011a, 2011b, 2012a, 2012b, 2013a, 2013b).

In the case of the anterior path, given that the model determines the order of the senses that are incorporated into the total meaning of an originally resultative construction, the unidirectional chain (either coarse-grained as in Figure 1 or fine-grained as in Figure 2) has frequently been employed in order to map the synchronic semantic potential of concrete and realistic grams that have developed from resultative inputs. Put differently, given that resultative proper formations incorporate taxis, aspectual and temporal values by following the sequence established by the anterior cline, the overall meaning of a post-resultative formation – its entire polysemy – is typically equalled with a portion of the trajectory. In such maps, each specific sense matches a stage on the path that symbolizes the historical moment where that value has been acquired. This means that post-resultative grams may be understood at any moment of their evolution as amalgamations of senses that correspond to the stages of the anterior path and any of its possible extensions arisen by means of less canonical branches. Accordingly, the total meaning of a gram – its *state* at a time *t* – is portrayed as a map whose components are organized along universal and deterministic paths. Inversely, the meaning of a formation is not elevated (and/or reduced) to one diachronic phase (a single stage of a path) but, by acknowledging a typical variation of uses and functions (i.e. the polysemy of this form), is represented as various phases of the cline. In an extreme case, a gram can convey meanings which cover (almost) the entire trajectory.

Such an extreme case (which is in fact not rare crosslinguistically) is offered by Biblical Hebrew. In Biblical Hebrew, the form referred to as *qatal* is compatible with all the senses of the anterior path: resultative proper, perfect (all its subtypes), definite past (of any degree of remoteness), perfective past and non-perfective past. Accordingly, the map of the *qatal* gram spans the entire length of an anterior path, i.e. from its initial phases (resultative proper and resultative perfect) to highly advanced stages (remote and narrative (non-perfective) past; cf. Andrason 2013a, 2015). The mapping may be more coarse-grained (as in Figure 3a) or more fine-grained (as in Figure 3b). The former corresponds to the granularity level offered by the anterior

path designed by Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca (1994) and Dahl (2000a; cf. Figure 1 above), while the latter corresponds to the anterior path postulated by Andrason (2011a, 2011b, 2012a, 2012b, 2013a, 2013b; cf. Figure 2 above). Both maps depict a synchronic state of the *qatal* form.

(a) Coarse-grained map



(b) Fine-grained map

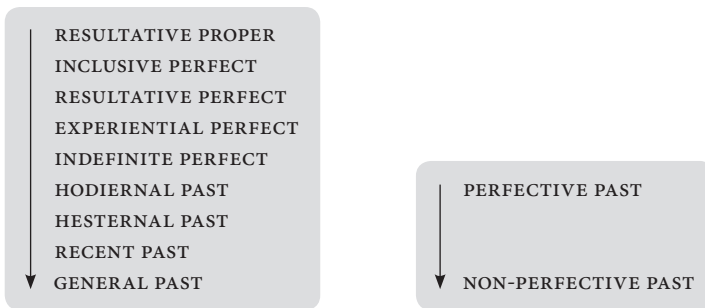


Figure 3: Maps of the synchronic state of the *qatal* form (Andrason 2013a, 2015)

#### 4. Interim conclusion

Universal paths substantially diverge from concrete realistic developmental processes, establishing only the order of incorporation of new senses. While realistic grams accumulate senses, paths formulate no prediction with regards to the extent of such an accumulation. Paths should hence be understood not as representations of realistic evolutionary cases but rather, by codifying the order of incorporated meanings, as models of principia governing such evolutions. They can also be used as templates to map the synchronic states of grammatical constructions. Following this interpretation, paths can be viewed as universal rules that operate deterministically. However, their validity is universal at an abstract and theoretical level, where all the noise or “friction” is ignored and where the system is profoundly idealized.

Knowing the epistemological status of traditional paths, a new question arises: How can we represent realistic evolutionary cases? How can we formulate a model that would represent the sequence of stages in the development of real-world grammatical formations? In the next paper – the last of the series – I will demonstrate that realistic evolutionary stages are points on state-space. This state-space draws from a new understanding of paths, namely from their view as matrices of the semantic potential of grams. The conceptualization of the grammatical life of verbal constructions as chaotic will enable me to provide an explanation of all possible developmental cases, including the most anomalous.



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## GLOBAL ENGLISH IN ITS LOCAL CONTEXTS: MANIFESTATIONS OF THE SOCIAL ENGLISH LANGUAGE STRATIFICATION IN NAMIBIA. PART 1: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

**Keywords:** Global English, the Outer Circle, English in Namibia, social variation

### Abstract

The ever more popular and global use of English in the world is an undeniable fact. One of the obvious manifestations of this process is the selection of English as an official language, typically in former post-colonial states. Its global status, however, also motivates some African and Asian countries which have never been a part of the British Commonwealth to choose this tongue as an official state language (sometimes – the only official language) too. Does this decision assume that the citizens of those states know English fluently? How is English integrated in their everyday life? The case study of Namibian newspaper articles and personal advertisements from classified pages as well as billboard texts is an attempt to offer some insights into the use of the variety of English typical of this country both in the official and private milieu in writing. The objective of the study, presented in two parts (Part 1: theoretical background and Part 2: analysis of data) is to outline the unique context of the use of English in Namibia and describe the most characteristic features of Namibian English grammar when compared to Standard British English and on the basis of the results illustrate the existence of a social dialect continuum with regard to the use of the English language to be detected in the analysed written texts.

The following discussion has been triggered by an encounter with English as a global language that is used in Namibia. The short history of a recently established state and, consequently, the brief period of the use of English as the official language there

constitute the background for a discussion of some aspects of the English language landscape in Namibia and its systemic features in that relatively unknown part of the English-speaking world.

English in Namibia appears to be a rather unique case when compared to other varieties of English used in the world. It is an African variety of English spoken in Southern Africa. Varieties of English used in most parts of that continent, along with those spoken in Asia and the Pacific have for the last 30 years or so been classified by linguists as new varieties of English, or New Englishes (cf. Kachru 1985, 1992; McArthur 1998; Kirkpatrick 2007; Mesthrie, Bhatt 2008; Jenkins 2009, 2014, etc.). Also, following a number of classification models developed over the last few decades (cf. Görlach 1995; McArthur 1998; Modiano 1999ab) and notably the one by Kachru (1985, 1992), whose classification, as the most popular, will broadly be followed here, which attempted to categorize various manifestations of English in the world in terms of its geographical distribution and status as the first, second or foreign language, African varieties of English belong, according to Kachru's model, to the so-called Outer Circle (cf. Melchers, Shaw 2011). They are to be understood as varieties used as a second language in countries which were formerly British colonies, and, having gained independence, for a variety of reasons, decided to continue using English as the official (or one of the official) state language(s) (cf. Crystal 2003).

Namibian English, however, rarely features among specifically investigated African varieties (cf. Stell 2014; Buschfeld 2014), and if it does, the main reason for the analysis is the evaluation of its language policy as well as its educational repercussions (cf. Beck 1995; Pütz 1995ab, 2000, 2004; Harlech-Jones 1995ab; Maho 1998, Cantoni 2007; Frydman 2011), with a number of publications by Cluver (1990, 1992, 1993, 2000) and Stell (2009, 2014) taking a broader perspective on the linguistic relations within Namibia. The language policy and planning in Namibia are the reason why Namibian English constitutes a rather non-prototypical case among African Englishes ranked as post-colonial English varieties, for Namibia not only became independent much later than most other African states, i.e. in 1990 (cf. Cluver 1993, after Deumert 2009; Frydman 2011; Stell 2014), but it had also never been a part of the British Commonwealth. This means that the use of English as an official language had never been the case in Namibia during the colonial period (cf. Buschfeld 2014), contrary to a number of other African countries, e.g. Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria, Botswana, Zambia, etc. Thus, when Namibia became an independent state in 1990, the decision to designate English as the official state language was not a consequence of its earlier use and acquaintance with it during the colonial period, as in the other states (besides their wanting to maintain English as a neutral language in view of a possible competition between local tongues and, consequently, a struggle of tribes for power in the state and the need to prevent internal upheavals this way) (Mesthrie 2009; cf. Platt et al. 1984). In fact, the resolution to employ English as the state language was made long before the country gained its independence – it hails back to the SWAPO's (South-West African People's Organisation), the country's liberation movement, policy of 1981 in cooperation with the United Nations Institute of Namibia (cf. Deumert 2009; Stell 2014), with its objective laid out as follows: “[t]he aim

of introducing English is to introduce an official language that will steer the people away from lingo-tribal affiliations and differences and create conditions conducive to national unity in the realm of language” (Deumert 2009: 393).

## 1. Historical context and language policy

During its pre-independence history Namibia, first discovered for Europe by Bartholomeo Diaz in 1486, was a German colony between 1884–1915 (cf. Pütz 1995a; Stell 2014), the wide stretches of empty desert lands having attracted Europeans because of diamonds and other minerals, which resulted in first settlements in Lüderitzland and South West Africa in general (cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*). Although during the time of the German dominion the indigenous languages were accepted in Namibia, the official language of the state was German. Between 1904 and 1907 a major genocide of two indigenous tribes, Herero and Nama, took place. After World War I, in 1919, however, Germans lost their African lands in the south-western part of Africa, and the territory of today’s Namibia, as a result of the decision of the League of Nations, fell under the legal domination of South Africa (Pütz 1995a; Stell 2014), some of its area (Walvis Bay and Penguin Islands) having become a part of the Cape Colony as early as 1878 (Wilken, Fox 1978; Stell 2014). Eventually it became a part of the Union of South Africa in 1910 (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*). In the years to follow the German language lost its former status in Namibia, though it continued to be used in big cities (Stell 2009), and the tongues which were promoted to the official status in the country were Afrikaans and English, yet it was Afrikaans that was used by the government and administration of the state (Stell 2009; Frydman 2011). When in 1948 the Nationalist Party won the majority in the Republic of South Africa, the country applied the apartheid policy, which affected Namibia as well (Meredith 1988; Frydman 2011).

Already in the years preceding the independence Namibian pre-independence government, contrary to the Republic of South Africa, which is marked by a particularly wide plethora of official languages (11 in total: Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, Zulu), decided for the language policy of monolingualism (Frydman 2011; Stell 2014). In view of Haugen’s (1966) analysis of language standardization such a move is understandable and desired by the state, for it is aimed at maintaining the country’s homogeneous and united character, and it prevents the formation of internal divides, which the use of different languages by different groups might encourage. However, Namibia not only has 13 language groups within its bounds, represented by 10 to 30 different languages and dialects (Maho 1998), these including Bantu speaking groups, Khoesan speaking groups and Indo-European speaking groups, the latter being Afrikaans, German and English (cf. Pütz 1995a; Frydman 2011; Stell 2014), but English is used as a native tongue by barely 0.5%–0.8% of the 2-million-plus population (cf. Pütz 1995ab; Brock-Utne, Holmarsdottir 2001; Trudgill, Hannah 2008). According to *Ethnologue* (<http://www.ethnologue.com/language/eng>) there were 10,200 users of English



as a native tongue in 2006, whereas Crystal (2003) additionally mentions that it is a second language of 300,000 inhabitants there. In other words, the language of the smallest fraction of the population of Namibia has been selected to be the only official language of the whole state (cf. Frydman 2011). And not only is the official tongue the language of the smallest minority, but also one which does not continue the language of the formal colonial power governing Namibia, contrary to the most frequent policy accepted by the majority of post-colonial states. With such a history of its development and the conditions of its present use an unavoidable outcome has been a diversification of its frequency of use and quality of the language in terms of adherence to its extraterritorial standard norms that depends mostly on the social and tribal characteristics of its users. This, in consequence, must have resulted in the development of the social dialect continuum with the acrolectal variety of the best educated users, through mesolectal variants down to the basilectal level of the least socially affluent citizens of Namibia. The present paper aims at demonstrating the existence of the aforementioned social diversification within English on the basis of a selection of written texts.

Compared to its neighbouring countries, Namibia's language policy is rather unusual. It appears to be closest to that of Mozambique, which is also a monolingual state, its official language being Portuguese, as these lands used to be a Portuguese colony till 1975 (cf. Lopes 2004). With about 20 indigenous languages competing for power in the independent state the choice of the neutral Portuguese appeared to be quite a natural option as a safeguard of the country's stability. There have since been attempts to promote a local tongue to a more equal position to that of Portuguese in education, not yet with satisfying results, however (cf. Lopes 2004; Frydman 2011). In Botswana and Malawi, Namibia's other neighbours, both of which used to be British colonies (Malawi gained its independence in 1964 and Botswana in 1966) (cf. Frydman 2011), the linguistic situation is different – while English is the official tongue of the state as a natural continuation of the former colonial regime, there is also an indigenous language in each of the countries which performs the function of a national language, this being Chichewa in Malawi, as one of 12 other local tongues, and Setswana in Botswana, one of more than twenty indigenous tongues there. Although especially in Botswana the national language, as the native language of ca. 80% of the population, enjoys a rather strong position, which leads to the policy of assimilation of other minorities to it (cf. Nyati-Ramahobo 2004), it is unquestionable that both in Malawi and Botswana it is English that has attained the highest prestige and is the dominant tongue of the educated elites of the state (cf. Frydman 2011). Finally, the southern neighbour of Namibia and its former hegemon, the Republic of South Africa, shows a still different policy as regards the language situation in the state. Contrary to the aforementioned countries, the Republic of South Africa officially promotes the policy of multilingualism, having 11 official tongues (see above), out of the 25 used in the state, and this number includes English as a language of the former colonial rulers. However, as Kamwangamalu (2004) observes, despite the favourable state policy it is English in actual fact that enjoys a preferential treatment in public and administrative

domains of the country over other tongues. Against this background it then appears interesting to see that Namibia follows a rather unique path, especially when juxtaposed to the Republic of South Africa, in its having adopted a monolingual language policy, and to that a language which does not stem from its colonial past. As already mentioned above (cf. Frydman 2011: 182), such a decision was made even before Namibia became an independent state – it was a decision taken by SWAPO (South-West African People's Organisation) as a reaction to the policy of apartheid and their South-African oppressors, and thus against Afrikaans as their language. English was thus perceived as a symbol of liberation from the former policy of oppression (Pütz 1995ab; Frydman 2011).

As the above overview demonstrates, the linguistic situation in Namibia as regards its official language and language policy is rather uncommon, and, as mentioned earlier, it has become a subject of numerous analyses and discussions (cf. Cluver 1993; Harlech-Jones 1998; Marsh, Ontero, Shikongo 2002; Pütz 2000; Stell 2009, 2014; Töttemeyer 2010; Frydman 2011). Educationists and linguists point out that attaining positive results in education in a situation in which students have been taught in a language that is foreign to them is not possible, and even the past 90 years of compulsory English education have not managed to make Namibians English speakers (cf. Töttemeyer 2010). Some scholars point out that the policy of severing ties with South Africa, also in terms of the language, that developed during the apartheid regime, is not valid any more, as the Republic of South Africa is no longer a threat to Namibia. Therefore favouring monolingualism in English and ignoring local tongues not only does not contribute to positive results attained in education, but it also benefits only the privileged minority in the country (cf. Pütz 1995a; Harlech-Jones 1998). In summary, the discussion concerning the use of English in Namibia oscillates rather round the language policy in the country and the poor results in education, there appears to be no comprehensive analysis, however, which deals with the description of the English language and its use in Namibia (cf. Stell 2014), possibly due to its fairly recent history and little time for its having developed unique features of Namibian English. Only very recently has there been an attempt to provide an initial tentative description of the variety by Buschfeld and Kautzch (2014) as well as analyze English in Namibia according to Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model (Buschfeld 2014). Few books make any reference to English in Namibia when analyzing world Englishes. The *Ethnologue* does not list it as a separate variety. Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008) do not refer to it at all, and neither do Kachru et al. (2006). Other authors, e.g. Trudgill and Hannah (2008: 34–36), Melchers and Shaw (2011: 159) include it in the overview of African Englishes, they, however, do not devote any space to its description, except for stating that varieties of English in Southern Africa generally share features of pronunciation and grammar. Stell (2014) discusses the use of English in Namibia not from the point of view of its actual features, but rather its use in the context of inter- and intra-ethnic communication in Namibia, particularly in terms of the process of code-switching with the major indigenous tongues used locally. In view of the above neither is the present paper an attempt to offer such a description, for the lack of a comprehensive enough source of data and

context for comparison. Its objective is rather to offer some observations regarding the linguistic landscape of the use of English in Namibia illustrated by a selection of everyday uses of English in different contexts and functions, and unlike other analyses undertaken so far, to do so in reference to a written material. On the basis of the collected samples of texts the paper also undertakes to sketch possible differences of use found between English in Namibia and Standard British English, which is still the norm followed in that country.

At this point a comment needs to be made regarding the terminology used in the current analysis as well as, in the light of the above extensive discussion, the position of English in Namibia as seen against the overall selection of varieties of English identified at present worldwide. When classifying different varieties of English, side by side with the already classical division of Englishes into the Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles quoted above (cf. Kachru 1985, 1992) another traditional classification of varieties of English that Kachru's model is based on into English as a Native Language (ENL), English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) can often be found. Both of these, however, have been subject to criticism, mainly due to the fact that they categorize the variety of English in a given society in too broad terms, e.g. they ignore the fact that in the same community some speakers may use English as their first and others as second language (cf. Jenkins 2009), or that at times it is difficult to assign a given country unequivocally to only one of the above categories (cf. Buschfeld 2014). A more recent approach to investigating and differentiating between varieties of English in the post-colonial world based on the diachronic analysis of their development in a given area, the Dynamic Model, has been advocated by Schneider (2007, 2011). Following the assumption that the historical and political developments in a society lead to the re-writing of the users' sense of identity, which in turn re-defines the sociolinguistic conditions in a given society, and these finally are reflected in the subsequent linguistic developments in the tongues of both the colonizers and the colonized, the model postulates the existence of five stages of the English language evolution. These are, respectively, Foundation, Exonormative Stabilization, Nativization, Endonormative Stabilization, and finally Differentiation (Schneider 2007). Following these, each new English variety can thus be assigned to a given phase it is currently going through. Useful and widely acclaimed as the model is, in principle it appears unsuitable to be applied in the Namibian context for the obvious reason that English in Namibia has never been a post-colonial variety (cf. Buschfeld 2014). Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2014), however, do attempt to adopt the model also for the description of non-post-colonial Englishes and argue that, based on the initial investigation of its structures, English in Namibia is currently moving from stage 2 (Exonormative Stabilization) to stage 3 (Nativization), the situation possibly being a result of the early influence of South African English on the English used in Namibia, and more likely of the adoption of English as the sole official language in the state on its gaining independence. In other words, when we apply the classical interpretation to the above situation, English in Namibia is gradually moving from the EFL to the ESL stage. However, Buschfeld (2014: 194) is very cautious about making claims concerning the phases

of the development of Namibian English, as “there is currently not enough (socio) linguistic data available for EiNa and diachronic material is missing altogether.” This evaluation of the current state will, in turn, have an implication for the approach assumed in the present study. Since the move from the exonormative (EFL) stage, i.e. where the norm is Standard British English (SBrE), to the nativized (ESL) stage has not been fully warranted and is still lacking a thorough description, the analysis of the collected samples will assume Standard British English as the norm, also for the sake of a clearer presentation of the examples. Due to this Namibian English structures which show some differences when compared to SBrE will be described as departures from the norm (cf. also Steigertahl’s terminology quoted in the next section), until a thorough and an in-depth description of the nativized morpho-syntactic features of the new variety has been compiled.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Namibian English grammar and spelling

The few sources that list features of South African English (SAE), which English in Namibia accordingly resembles, mention a few points concerning aspects of SAE grammar, these are, however, very few and far between. Both Trudgill and Hannah (2008: 35) and Melchers and Shaw (2011: 116–117) point out as typical the use of an invariant question tag, notably *is it?*, and the use of the non-negative *no* as a sentence initiator, e.g., “A: Isn’t your car ready yet? – B: No, it is” (Melchers, Shaw 2011: 117). Besides that, Trudgill and Hannah (2008: 35) and Baugh and Cable (2002: 322) indicate a set of verbs which require the use of objects in SBrE, but which are often omitted in SAE, e.g. *Have you got?*, *Did you put?*, *Can I come with?* as well as the utilization of complement structures consisting of an adjective + infinitive where in SBrE the structure of an adjective + *of* + participle is used, e.g. *it is capable to withstand heat*. Melchers and Shaw (2011: 117), on the other hand, add the use of *busy* as a reinforcement marker of the progressive aspect, e.g. *He was busy lying in bed*. Additionally, Baugh and Cable (2002: 322; cf. Taitt 1996: 83) point to the use of unusual constructions of the *He threw me over the hedge with a rock* type. The most extensive list, referring in the first place to Black South African English, can be found in Kirkpatrick (2007: 110, based on de Klerk, Gough 2002: 362–363), and the features are mostly in line with the general characteristics describing New Englishes (cf. Mesthrie, Bhatt 2008; Jenkins 2009, 2014). Beside the above-mentioned characteristics, they cover, among others, the deletion of endings in verb forms, nouns in plural, and in genitive (alternately, uncountable nouns often appear with

<sup>1</sup> At this point I wish to thank one of the reviewers of the paper for his/her cautionary comments concerning expressions like “departure from the norm”, “misuse”, etc. in the description of this newly developing variety. It is hoped, however, that the above comments and references to the current state of knowledge will justify their use in the discussion of the analysed examples, without at the same time carrying critical overtones towards the quality of the language and an intention to question the development of a fully independent variety of Namibian English in the future.

the plural ending), a different form of phrasal verbs, lack or alternative use of articles, pronouns often not distinguished for gender and also used as copy pronouns, a freer word order as well as the maintenance of the interrogative word order in indirect questions, etc. As can be seen, the above list is quite generic as regards the grammar of non-native English, while the inventory of variety-specific features is not extensive. At this point it is therefore worth adding a brief enumeration of morphosyntactic features found specifically in the English language in Namibia which were listed by Steigertahl in her Power Point presentation (delivered at the conference devoted to World Englishes in 2015),<sup>2</sup> namely: omission of subject pronouns (e.g. *is interesting*), overuse of plural markers with definite plural nouns (e.g. *good mornings*), a variant use of articles, already adduced above, overuse of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular markers (e.g. *you was here*), omission of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular marker (e.g. *this child do not eat at all*), double past tense markings (e.g. *Did he worked yesterday?*), underrepresentation of past tense (e.g. *Yesterday I play*), misuse of past tense (e.g. *I have come in 1995*), overuse of progressive forms (e.g. *I am having a book*), omission of auxiliary verbs (e.g. *they been here the longest*), some divergent use of adverbs (e.g. *for me personal*), as well as a number of other more specific examples of variant uses of structures.

However, all of the above as well as some of the aforementioned features of grammar have been detected only in the spoken interaction, which means we may have difficulties finding any confirmation of their existence in the written samples of Namibian English, and we must also bear it in mind that English in Namibia does not have to mirror South African English in all the aspects pointed to earlier. Therefore, the analytical section (to be found in Part 2 of the paper)<sup>3</sup> aims at a more detailed analysis of a number of actual samples of Namibian English texts for the sake of establishing whether any of the above features can be identified in the randomly chosen written material too and whether any previously unmentioned aspects of the use of English can be identified here as well.

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<sup>2</sup> The presentation available at [http://www.academia.edu/12861565/Presentation\\_English\\_in\\_Namibia\\_A\\_New\\_Variety](http://www.academia.edu/12861565/Presentation_English_in_Namibia_A_New_Variety).

<sup>3</sup> The division of the paper into two parts is a result of the limitation set on the length of papers externally imposed on the journal editors.

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