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## WORD-INITIAL CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN TURKISH: EVIDENCE FROM TRANSCRIPTION TEXTS

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### Abstract

Transcription texts of Turkish record a phonetic phenomenon rarely attested in other Turkish sources: word-initial consonant clusters in items of non-Western origin. Although Turkish regularly admits such clusters in Western loanwords, their occurrence in non-Western vocabulary is unexpected from a phonotactic perspective. Numerous examples of cluster-initial spellings appear in transcription texts from the 16th to 20th centuries. The aim of this study is to determine which of these forms reflect genuine phonetic developments and which are merely products of source-specific orthographic practices. While many items are written with initial clusters, only fourteen can be reliably interpreted as phonetic in origin. The remaining cases must be approached cautiously, as the orthographic conventions of certain authors – particularly Argenti, Ferraguto, and Molino – frequently obscure the underlying pronunciation.

### 0. Introduction

One of the basic phonological characteristics of Turkish is its restriction against consonant clusters in word-initial position. Although modern standard Turkish dictionaries include words written with word-initial consonant clusters, these spellings are generally considered to reflect Western orthographic influence rather than native pronunciation.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, in standard Turkish orthography and lexicographic

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<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of this issue and a summary of orthographic conventions across different periods, see Ekiyor (2010). The same study (pp. 6–8) also provides a list of words with

practice following the adoption of the Latin alphabet, a number of words have consistently been written with initial consonant clusters.<sup>2</sup>

In Turkish, word-initial consonant clusters are thus primarily associated with borrowings from European languages, and all words beginning with consonant clusters listed in modern standard dictionaries are of Western origin. Native or non-Western words with word-initial clusters are generally unattested in standard sources. However, Latin-script transcription texts of Turkish – records of the spoken language from earlier centuries – contain lexical items of non-Western origin that exhibit word-initial consonant clusters. These words originally lacked initial clusters both in their source languages and in modern Turkish, yet they surface with such clusters in transcriptional records, representing an exceptional configuration for Turkish phonotactics. Because many cluster-initial spellings in these sources arise from source-specific orthographic practices rather than actual speech forms, not all such examples can be taken as evidence of a genuine phonetic development; in my analysis, only fourteen items can be regarded as reflecting a real phonetic phenomenon. The developments underlying these forms can be attributed to apheresis (VCC- > CC-), syncope (-CVC- > -CC-), or metathesis (CVC > CCV).

In this study, I examine the words identified in Latin-alphabet transcription texts. Since these texts were produced by writers belonging to different orthographic traditions and intended to record the spoken language, the data they contain must be evaluated with caution. For this reason, I consider only those forms attested in at least two independent sources (i.e. not relying solely on a single compiler). Items recorded in sources that frequently omit the high unrounded vowel in initial position are evaluated with particular attention to their orthographic conventions. The works of Filippo Argenti (1533), Pietro Ferraguto (1611), and Giovanni Molino (1641) exemplify such sources.

The article is organized according to the phonological processes that give rise to the relevant forms. Section 1 examines instances of apheresis; section 2 discusses cases of syncope; section 3 analyzes metathesis; and section 4 considers source-specific forms in relation to the authors' orthographic practices. Section 5 presents general conclusions on word-initial consonant clusters in non-Western Turkish words as an atypical phonotactic phenomenon. Figure 1 provides a schematic representation of consonantal distributions within word-initial clusters.

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word-initial consonant clusters as recorded in the orthography manual. Transcription texts and *galatat* dictionaries (works cataloguing popularly used but linguistically 'incorrect' forms) document the adaptation of Western loanwords through anaptyxis or prothesis, processes that adjusted word-initial clusters to conform to Turkish phonotactics. For general information on transcription texts, see M. Stachowski (1995: 176–178); for *galatat* dictionaries, see Kültürel (2008: 87, 134, 253).

<sup>2</sup> The first Latin-alphabet orthographic guide published by the Language Committee records words beginning with *bl-*, *fl-*, *fr-*, *pl-*, *pr-*, and *tr-* (Dil Encümeni 1928: 55, 68–69, 78–79, 212, 214).

## 1. Apheresis in Turkish and word-initial consonant clusters

Typical cases of apheresis in Turkish are analyzed by M. Stachowski (2009): MTK. *şimdi* ‘now’ < OTk. *uş imdi*; MTK. *sıtma* ‘malaria’ < *ıstıma* < *ıstıt-* ‘to heat’; MTK. *sıcak* ‘hot’ < *ısig-çak*; Gagauz *sırgan* = MTK. *ısrıgan* ‘nettle’ < *ısrır-* ‘to bite’. Each of these words (*uş imdi*, *ıstıma*, *ısigçak*, and *ısrıgan*) was originally trisyllabic, with a high vowel in the medial syllable. The reduction is explained as the result of a general tendency in Turkish to shorten trisyllabic words with a high vowel in the middle syllable. Since deleting other vowels would produce phonotactically impermissible sequences (*\*ıstıma*, *\*ısigçak*, *\*ısrıgan*), it was the initial vowel that was lost (M. Stachowski 2009: 93–94). Beyond this, apheresis in Turkic has not been examined in depth. Cases where apheresis yields word-initial consonant clusters are mentioned only briefly, as well as in observations on Argenti’s material (Pokrovskaya 1964; Türk 2003; K. Stachowski 2015: 285; Salan, Kabaday 2022). In Kartallıoğlu’s (2022) compilation of spoken Turkish registers based on Latin-script transcription texts, numerous items exhibiting word-initial consonant clusters are recorded, but he does not subject them to analysis.

In the present study, we identify the clusters *st-*, *sp-*, *sm-*, *şst-*, and *kr-* as cases of apheresis that reflect a phonetic phenomenon rather than a purely graphemic convention, distinguishing them from other words written with initial consonant clusters in the sources.

### st-

The form written without its initial vowel in Meniński and later sources is in fact the Arabic phrase الله أستغفرُ ‘I seek forgiveness from God’, used in Modern Turkish as *estağfirullah* ~ *estağfurullah*. Meniński (1680: 195) records *stagfürüllah*, *staghfürüllāh*; Zenker (1866: 42) *stugfurullah*; and Meynard (1881: 50) *stagfirullah*, *staghfir oullah* as vernacular forms. Bonelli and Iasigian (1910: 41) likewise note the form with apheresis of the initial vowel *stafrullah* in the spoken language of Istanbul.

The reduction likely reflects phonetic fusion in frequently co-occurring sequences such as *tövbe estağfirullah* (> *tövbestağfirullah*) ‘Heaven forbid! ~ I seek forgiveness from God.’, where the final segment of the first word merges with the initial vowel of the second; cf. *sm-* below.

Another instance of word-initial *st-* occurs in Modern Turkish *üstübeç* ‘lead white’ (< Pers. *isfidāž*), attested as *stubéccj* in Argenti (Rocchi 2007: 223) and *stubech* in Carradori (Rocchi 2011: 299).

### sp-

Modern Turkish *ispat* ‘proof’ (< Ar. *iṭbāt*) appears without its initial vowel as *spat* in Argenti (Rocchi 2007: 185), Montalbano (Rocchi 2012: 177), Molino (Święcicka 2020: 323), and *spát* in Ferraguto (Rocchi 2012: 101).

Another example is *spap* ‘garment’ (< Ar. *esvāb*) in Palerne (Rocchi 2017: 562), with the same spelling also found in Ferraguto (Rocchi 2012: 87). Given the orthographic

habits of Palerne – whose spellings are neither rigorous nor consistent, at times following French conventions and at other times reproducing material from the *Vocabulario nuovo* with minimal alteration (cf. Rocchi 2017: 547–548) – and of Ferraguto (see §4.2 below), I remain cautious about interpreting this form as evidence of phonological change. For this reason, *spap* is not included in the word list in Figure 1.

sm-

The modern standard Turkish *ısmarlamak* ‘to order, to commission’ (< \**ısparla* < \**ıspār* < New Pers. *sipār* ~ Middle Pers. *ōs pār* ‘anvertrauen’, KEWT 178) appears in transcription texts in the form *smar* across multiple sources (Argenti = Rocchi 2007: 220; Ferraguto = Rocchi 2012: 97; Montalbano = Rocchi 2014: 176; Molino = Świącicka 2020: 437; Carradori = Rocchi 2011: 296; Pianzola = Rocchi 2009: 124). In the 19th century, Zenker (1866: 59) also attests *s’marla-*. This pattern recalls the loss of the second word’s initial vowel of frequently co-occurring expressions such as *Allaha ısmarladık* (> *Allahasmarladık*) ‘goodbye’, where the fusion of adjacent words led to vowel deletion, cf. *st-* above.

It is worth noting a further consideration: the Persian source form begins with a CVC sequence. Consequently, while the *smar* form could reflect apheresis from the Turkish-adapted *ısmar*, it is also possible that it represents syncope from Persian *sipār* (*sipār* >> \**simar* > *smar*), cf. *šk-* below.

şt-

Modern Turkish *işte* ‘voilà,’ with its initial vowel deleted and a resulting word-initial consonant cluster, appears in the *Vocabulario nuovo*: *ste azerder* ‘here, it is ready’ (Adamović 1976: 47), and, probably via that source in Palerne: *stea zerder* ‘here, it is ready’ (Rocchi 2017: 552). From a source – probably a 16th-century text – the form *stebōda* ‘here, it is here’ (MTk. *işte bunda*) is attested (Rocchi 2016: 1054). The word likewise appears with an initial consonant cluster as *štä* in Gagauz (Pokrovskaya 1964: 48).

Although isolated, Ferraguto’s *stá* ‘appetite’ MTk. *iştah* (< ar. *ištihā*) (Rocchi 2012: 101) contains the same cluster and will be revisited below (§4.2).

kr-

Argenti (Rocchi 2007: 156), Ferraguto (Rocchi 2012: 100), and Montalbano (Rocchi 2014: 112, 133) record the Modern Turkish *ikrar* ‘avowal’ (< Ar. *iḵrār*) with an initial consonant cluster: *krar*. However, in all three sources, doublets are also attested in which the word begins with a vowel. Again, two isolated forms with initial *kr-* are treated by Rocchi (2016) as phonetic phenomena: *cromet* ‘wonder; miracle’ MTk. *keramet* (< Ar. *karāma(t)*), which he classifies as syncope (p. 1059), and *cric* ‘forty’ MTk. *kırk*, which he interprets as metathesis (p. 1060).

## 2. Word-initial consonant clusters arising from syncope

In Turkish, diachronic and synchronic syncope is more frequently attested than apheresis and is accordingly given greater attention in grammars. However, studies devoted specifically to this phenomenon are limited (Tekin 1995; İskender 2008, 2023). İskender (2008: 18–36) notes that most evaluations of this phenomenon treat diachronic and synchronic syncope together.

Forms in which syncope of a vowel produces a word-initial consonant cluster have not previously been examined in Turkish. In the transcription texts analyzed here, such clusters include *br-*, *pr-*, *tr-*, *sp-*, and *şk-*.

### *br-*

A prominent example is the verb MTK. *birak-* ‘to leave,’ frequently recorded without its initial vowel from the 16th century onward (Argenti = Rocchi 2007: 57; Ferraguto = Rocchi 2012: 62; Meniński 1680: 747, 778; Carradori = Rocchi 2011: 88; Megiser 1612: n.p.; Pianzola = Rocchi 2009: 59; Schroeder 1835: 124; Sauerwein 1855: 64, 116; Zenker 1866: 190; Meynard 1881: 293; Bonelli, Iasigian 1910: 181).

### *tr-*

The Modern Turkish noun *tıraş* ‘shaving’ (< Pers. *tarāš*) provides another example. Its initial-consonant-cluster form *traş* appears in numerous sources from the 16th to 19th centuries (Argenti = Rocchi 2007: 246; Molino = Święcicka 2020: 466; Rocchi 2011: 325; Megiser 1612: n.p.; Ferraguto = Rocchi 2012: 150; Montalbano = Rocchi 2014: 191–192; Meniński 1680: 1136; Pianzola = Rocchi 2009: 238–239; Schroeder 1835: 140; Sauerwein 1855: 207; Meynard 1881: 460).

### *sp-*

MTK. *sipahi* ‘cavalryman’ (< Pers. *sipāhī*) appears with an initial cluster in transcription texts: Valentiano *spache* (Yağmur 2016: 182); Ferraguto *spahi*, *spailic* (Rocchi 2012: 139); Montalbano *spai* (Rocchi 2014: 177); Megiser (1612: n.p.) and Korabinsky (1788: 99) *spahi*.

### *şk-*

Argenti records *schienge* with an initial consonant cluster in his 1533 dictionary (Rocchi 2007: 220), an early attestation of MTK. *işkence* ‘torture’ (< Pers. *šakanže* ~ *šikanže*). Other transcription texts likewise attest such clusters: Ferraguto *schengie* (Rocchi 2012: 101); Korabinsky (1788: 99) and Megiser (1612: n.p.) *skenge*; Montalbano *skenge*, *skengia* (Rocchi 2012: 175); Herbinus *skendzie* (Zajączkowski 1948: 74).

Modern Turkish *işkembe* ‘tripe’ (< Pers. *šakanba* ~ *šakamba*), which has a sound structure similar to *işkence*, is attested with a word-initial consonant cluster in fewer

sources: Argenti *schiembe* (Rocchi 2007: 219); Ferraguto *schembé* (Rocchi 2012: 101); in Gagauz, the word appears as *škembä* (Pokrovskaya 1964: 48).

There are two possible sources for the change in these two words: (1) apheresis in Turkish (VCC- > CC-), or (2) syncope affecting the Persian-derived form (-CVC- > -CC-), cf. *sm-* above.

pr-

MTk. *pirinç* ‘brass’ (< Pers. *pirinž* ~ *birinž*) is recorded as *princ* in Argenti (Rocchi 2007: 200). A different word with the same phonological structure, meaning ‘rice’ (< Pers. *birinž*) appears as *prinç* in Paszkowski (S. Stachowski 1998: 168) and as *príncc* in Ferraguto (Rocchi 2012: 131).

### 3. Word-initial consonant clusters resulting from metathesis

Metathesis is attested in two items where the process yields a word-initial consonant cluster through a CVCC > CCVC restructuring.

tr-

The first example is Modern Turkish *turp* ‘radish’ (< Pers. *turb*), recorded as *trup* in several sources (Carradori = Rocchi 2011: 326; Ferraguto = Rocchi 2012: 151; Montalbano = Rocchi 2014: 192; Meniński 1680: 1163, 3141; Pianzola = Rocchi 2009: 239; Schroeder 1835: 140; Megiser 1612: n.p.). In addition to these sources, the first Latin-alphabet orthography guide of Turkish also records the word as *trup* (Dil Encümeni 1928: 78).

br-

The second example is MTK. *burç* ‘bastion’ (< Ar. *burž*), attested in metathesized form by Molino *bruc* (Święcicka 2020: 213) and Carradori *brwğ* (Rocchi 2011: 90).

### 4. Some Isolated Examples and Notes on the Notational Practices of Argenti, Ferraguto, and Molino

The works discussed in this section – Filippo Argenti’s *Regola del parlare turco* (1533), Pietro Ferraguto’s *Dittionario della Lingua Turchesca* (1611), and Giovanni Molino’s *Dittionario Della Lingua Italiana, Tvrchesca* (1641) – contain a noticeably higher number of word-initial consonant clusters than the other transcription texts examined. Argenti and Molino, whose dictionaries were compiled roughly a century apart, both possessed knowledge of Turkish – albeit to different degrees and for different purposes – and were familiar with Turkish phonology as well as

the contemporaneous classical Turkish orthography written in Arabic script (Rocchi 2007: 1, 5; Święcicka 2020: 124). By contrast, the level and source of Ferraguto's competence in Turkish remain debated (Bombaci 1949: 132; Keskin 2023: 118).

Because it is difficult to determine whether the cluster-initial forms found in these sources reflect phonetic reality or arise from individual orthographic practices, I examine the non-Western Turkish items written with initial consonant clusters in these three dictionaries with their notational conventions in mind. The examples discussed in this section are therefore not included in the lexical list presented in Figure 1.

#### 4.1. Argenti

Argenti's 1533 work (Bombaci 1938; Adamović 2001; Rocchi 2007) represents an early attempt – typical of all transcription texts – to render the consonantal Turkish script – an *abjad* – into a European script in which vowels are written explicitly. Given his knowledge of spoken and written Turkish, it is plausible that he omitted certain sounds – especially unstressed vowels – that were not explicitly represented in the original script.

Two examples with word-initial *ht*- clusters occur only in Argenti. The first is *chttiar*, representing MTK. *ih̄tiyar* 'old' (< Ar. *iḥtījār*) (Rocchi 2007: 122). In light of Ferraguto's *hetthiár* (Rocchi 2012: 99), a developmental sequence of *iḥtījār* >> *hetiyar* ~ *hitiyar* > *htiyar* is conceivable.

The second example in Argenti, *chttibar* (Rocchi 2007: 122), corresponds to MTK. *itibar* 'reputation' (< Ar. *i'tibār*). After the shift of Arabic ayn "ع" to *h*, the form appears to have undergone apheresis: *i'tibār* >> *ehtibar* (Rocchi 2007: 91) > *htibar* (ibid.).

The form *schüre*, attested only in Argenti (Rocchi 2007: 220), represents MTK. *üsür* 'pot, bowl,' a Persian loan. The word appears in the Persian dictionary of 17th century *Farhang-e Rashidi* in four variants – اسکره, اسکوره, سكره, سكره [Transliteration: 'skrh, 'skwrh, skwrh, skrh] (Ali 1873: 59). Argenti (Rocchi 2007: 220) and Ferraguto (Rocchi 2012: 97) are the only sources to record a form written *slan*- for MTK. *ıslan*- 'to get wet'. This spelling may reflect the non-representation of an initial high vowel (*i*-) in transcriptional practice, yielding *slan*- for underlying *ıslan*-. Alternatively, the intended form may have been *sılan*-, a variant attested in the Erzurum dialects, where metathesis of high vowels and *s*- is well documented (e.g. *ıslık* > *sılık*, *ısmarla*- > *sımarla*-; Gemalmaz 1995: 140).

#### 4.2. Ferraguto

In the critical edition of Ferraguto's 1611 *Dittionario della Lingua Turchesca*, Rocchi (2012: 25) identifies *krar* 'promise' (MTK. *ikrar*), *ngitérum* 'I hurt' (MTK. *incit*-), *nnsiálla* 'God willing' (MTK. *inşallah*), *slup(ine)* 'style' (MTK. *üslup*), *smarla*- 'to order' (MTK. *ısmarla*-), *spap* 'garment' (MTK. *esvap*), *stá* 'appetite' (MTK. *iştah*), *ste*- 'to want' (MTK. *iste*-), and *sturá* 'razor' (MTK. *ustura*) as instances of apheresis, suggesting that "the development may be influenced, at least in part, by transmission through Arabic-speaking informants" (Rocchi 2012: 25).

On the following page, he classifies *blesíc* ‘bracelet’ (MTk. *bilezik*), *blút* ‘cloud’ (MTk. *bulut*), and *prinç* ‘rice’ (MTk. *pirinç*) as examples of syncope, noting that this process repeatedly yields consonant clusters that are ordinarily incompatible with Turkish phonotactic constraints (Rocchi 2012: 26).

Later, he designates *crusciún* ‘lead’ (MTk. *kurşun*), *nsura* ‘after’ (MTk. *sonra*), and *sselan-* ‘to get wet’ (MTk. *ıslan-*) as cases of metathesis, and *schiát* ‘complaint’ (MTk. *şikâyet*) as haplology, without further explanation (Rocchi 2012: 30).

Although Rocchi interprets these spellings as reflecting sound changes, the source of Ferraguto’s linguistic data remains unknown – as is generally the case with transcription texts (Kappler 2024: 211) – and the entries therefore require further investigation. For example, all attestations of *nsurá* occur after the ablative suffix – that is, after an *-n* consonant: *epsindén nsurá* ‘after everything’ (MTk. *hepsinden sonra*) (p. 94), *vilé densurá* ‘afternoon’ (MTk. *öğleden sonra*) (p. 128), *haılı ghildensurá* ‘after some years’ (MTk. *hayli yıldan sonra*) (p. 161) (page numbers from Rocchi 2012). This pattern suggests not a change *sonra* > *nsura*, but rather *sonra* >> *sura*, since the latter is already well attested in Thracian Turkish dialects (Bayraktar and Sandalyeci 2018: 225, 268).

A final note concerns the claim that Ferraguto’s work reflects Western Rume-  
lian Turkish dialects. Based on the available studies, these dialects do not exhibit phonological developments (Gülensoy 1987; Günşen 2012; İğci 2014; Bayraktar and Sandalyeci 2018) that would account for the word-initial clusters Ferraguto records in non-Western origin Turkish words. In his attempt to demonstrate – using quantitative measures – that Ferraguto’s dictionary represents Western Rumelian Turkish, Keskin (2023: 134) cites several instances of word-initial consonant clusters like *braserigigüm* ‘my dear brother’ (MTk. *biraderciğim*), *mbaréc* ‘blessed’ (MTk. *mübarek*), etc. from Ferraguto’s work, yet provides neither commentary nor dialectal evidence to substantiate a connection.

### 4.3. Molino

Molino – “Yohannes of Ankara,” an Armenian and an Ottoman subject – is believed to have written his work according to the variety of Turkish spoken in Istanbul (Święcicka 2020: 113). He omits the vowel *ɪ* between two initial consonants with a frequency unmatched in other transcription sources: in 12 of 13 words beginning with *fɪ-*; 6 of 7 with *gɪ-*; 6 of 7 with *hɪ-*; 37 with *kɪ-*; 3 of 5 with *tɪ-*; 2 of 5 with *mɪ-*, and 4 of 12 with *sɪ-*. Doublets nevertheless occur, e.g. *kymet* ~ *kijmet* ~ *ghijmet* ‘value’ (MTk. *kıymet*) and *ksz* ~ *ks* ~ *kis* ‘girl’ (MTk. *kız*).<sup>3</sup>

Although the same pattern does not hold for the vowel *i*, a few initial *i* vowels in comparable positions are also omitted: *szndan* ‘dungeon’ (MTk. *zindan*); *mskal* ‘id.’ (MTk. *miskal*); *nscan* ‘sign, mark’ (MTk. *nişan*); *chlaf* ‘contrary’ (MTk. *hilaf*).

<sup>3</sup> In the critical editions of Molino’s dictionary, these omitted vowels are supplied in parentheses (Siemieniec-Gołaś 2005; Święcicka 2020).

The Armenian letter ը, used to represent ə in Armenian-script Turkish texts, is only rarely written in the Armenian orthographic tradition (Gulian 1902: 3). Molino appears to have transferred this orthographic habit into his Latin-based Turkish spelling – a practice that would later become common in Armenian-script Turkish texts (Kaya 2021: 26–27).<sup>4</sup>

### 5. Conclusion

In the so-called transcription texts, a limited set of non-Western Turkish words exhibit word-initial consonant clusters. Some of these items are of Persian origin (MTk. *ismar(la)-, işkembe, işkence, pirinç, sipahi, tıraş, turp, üstübeç*), some are Arabic (MTk. *burç, estağfirullah, ikrar, ispat*), and a few are native Turkish (MTk. *bırak-, işte*). Analysis of these data reveals that six consonants (*b, p, k, t, s, ş*) may occur in the first position of a cluster and five (*p, t, k, m, r*) in the second. Three voiceless plosives *p, t, k* can occur both in the first and in the second position but no geminates are allowed. The approximant *r* and nasal *m* are restricted to the second position, with *r* preceded only by plosives (*b, p, t*) and *m* by the non-labial fricative *s*. Non-labial fricatives *s* and *ş* do not occur in the second position and precede plosives (*t, p, k*), producing clusters such as *sp-*, *st-*, *şk-*, and *şt-*. Overall, plosives may precede *r*, non-labial fricatives may precede plosives, and *s* may precede *m*. These generalizations are illustrated in Figure 1, which schematically represents consonantal distributions within word-initial clusters.

Individual words with atypical word-initial clusters – attested only in Argenti, Ferraguto, or Molino – require further evidence before broader phonotactic generalizations can be made. This caution is particularly necessary because the compilers of Latin-script transcription texts followed different orthographic conventions, and the spoken sources underlying these records are not always identifiable.

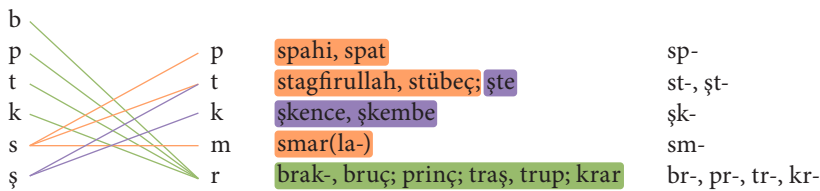


Figure 1: Distribution of consonants in word-initial clusters attested in transcription texts.

<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to Soner Atalan (Dr., Marmara University, Istanbul) for drawing my attention to this point about Armenian orthographic practice. He is currently preparing a study on the function of this character in Armenian orthography and the representation of Turkish vowel *ı* in Armenian-script Turkish texts.

## Chronological list of sources

- 1533: Filippo Argenti, *Regola del parlare turco*. Manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze. (See Rocchi 2007)
- 1574: [Author unknown]. *Vocabulario nuovo*. Venetia. (See Adamović 1976)
- 1606: Jean Palerne, *Peregrinations (...)*. Plus est adiousté un petit dictionnaire en langage françois, italien, grec vulgaire, turc, moresque, ou arabesque, & esclauon (...). Lyon. (See Rocchi 2017)
- 1611: Pietro Ferraguto, *Dittionario della Lingua Turchesca*. Manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli. (See Rocchi 2012)
- 1612: Hieronymus Megiser, *Institutionum Linguae Turcicae Libri Quatuor*. Lipsia.
- 1630 ca. Giovan Battista Montalbano, *Turcicae linguae per terminos latinoseducta Syntaxis in usum eorum qui in Turciam missiones subeunt*. Manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli. (See Rocchi 2014)
- 1641: Giovanni Molino, *Dittionario della lingua Italiana, Turchesca*. Roma. (See Siemieniec-Gołaś 2005 and Świecicka 2020)
- 1650: Arcangelo Carradori, *Il dizionario italiano-turco*. Manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia. (See Rocchi 2011)
- 1680: Meniński, Franciszek a Mesgnien, *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium turcicae, arabicae, persicae (...)* *Lexicon turcico-arabico-persicum, tom 1–3*. Vienna.
- 17th century: The codex Ashb. 1547 of the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana of Florence. (See Rocchi 2016)
- 1781–1789: Bernardino Pianzola, *Dizionario Grammatiche, e Dialoghi*. Padova. (See Rocchi 2009)
- 1835: Guillaume Schroeder, *Grammaire Turque a l'usage des Français et Anglais Contenant en outre une collection d'idiotismes, de discours Familiars et un Vocabulaire eb Français, Turc et Anglais*. Leipsic: Othon Wigand, Librarire-Éditeur.
- 1855: Georg Julius Justus Sauerwein, *A pocket dictionary of the English and Turkish languages*. London: Williams and Norgate.
- 1910: Luigi Bonelli, S. Iasigian [Yazıcıyan], *Il turco parlato (lingua usuale di Constantinopoli) [Istanbulca Mükaleme ve Lugat Kitabı]: cenni grammaticali, dialoghi e vocabolario italiano-turco*. Milano: U. Hoepli.

## Index of modern Turkish words

<i>bırak</i> ‘to leave’	<i>hilaf</i> ‘contrary’
<i>bilezik</i> ‘bracelet’	<i>ıslan</i> ‘to get wet’
<i>birader</i> ‘brother’	<i>ısmarla</i> ‘to order, to commission’
<i>bulut</i> ‘cloud’	<i>ihtiyar</i> ‘old’
<i>burç</i> ‘bastion’	<i>ikrar</i> ‘avowal’
<i>estağfirullah</i> ~ <i>estağfurullah</i> ‘I seek forgiveness from God’	<i>incit</i> ‘to hurt’
<i>esvap</i> ‘garment’	<i>inşallah</i> ‘God willing’
	<i>ispat</i> ‘proof’

<i>iste-</i> ‘to want’	<i>nişan</i> ‘sign, mark’
<i>işkembe</i> ‘tripe’	<i>sonra</i> ‘after’
<i>işkence</i> ‘torture’	<i>şikâyet</i> ‘complaint’
<i>iştah</i> ‘appetite’	<i>pirinç</i> ‘brass’
<i>işte</i> ‘voilà’	<i>pirinç</i> ‘rice’
<i>itibar</i> ‘reputation’	<i>sipahi</i> ‘cavalryman’
<i>keramet</i> ‘wonder; miracle’	<i>tıraş</i> ‘shaving’
<i>kırk</i> ‘forty’	<i>turp</i> ‘radish’
<i>kıymet</i> ‘value’	<i>ustura</i> ‘razor’
<i>kız</i> ‘girl’	<i>üsküre</i> ‘pot, bowl’
<i>kurşun</i> ‘lead’	<i>üslup</i> ‘style’
<i>miskal</i> id.	<i>üstübeç</i> ‘lead white’
<i>mübarek</i> ‘blessed’	<i>zindan</i> ‘dungeon’

## Abbreviations

Ar. = Arabic	n.p. = No page
KEWT = Stachowski M. 2019	OTk. = Old (Anatolian) Turkish
MTk. = Modern Turkish	Pers. = Persian

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