

LUCIANO ROCCHI
University of Trieste
lrocchi@units.it

BERNARDO DA PARIGI'S *VOCABOLARIO ITALIANO-TURCHESCO* (1665): AN OTTOMAN-TURKISH LEXICOGRAPHICAL MONUMENT STILL NEGLECTED

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Abstract

Bernardo da Parigi's *Vocabolario Italiano-Turchesco* (1665) is a huge three-volume dictionary that unfortunately has been virtually ignored by studies on Ottoman lexicography so far. This paper focuses on a number of words recorded by Bernardo which are particularly interesting from a historical-lexicographical viewpoint, such as European loanwords not attested elsewhere or presenting noteworthy features and Anatolian Turkish words missing in Meninski (1680).

1. Bernard de Paris (Italianized as Bernardo da Parigi) (d. 1669) was a French Capuchin friar who spent many years as missionary in Turkey, Syria and Palestine. Thanks to a deep knowledge of Turkish acquired during his long stay in the Ottoman Empire, he wrote a French-Turkish dictionary (1649) that remained little known until, a few years later, the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide decided to prepare an Italian edition of it. Another Capuchin missionary, Pierre d'Abbeville (Italianized as Pietro d'Abbavilla) (1646–1706) was charged with translating the French part into Italian and in this new version the dictionary was published in Rome in 1665 under the title *Vocabolario Italiano-Turchesco*.

Bernardo's work is huge. It is divided into three volumes with a total of almost 2,500 pages; the number of entries amounts to about 25,000 and most Italian headwords have several equivalents, not only Turkish, but also Arabic and Persian, as is usual in Ottoman dictionaries. Nevertheless, this linguistic monument has

been largely ignored by historical studies on Turkish lexicography and even those that include it as source (e.g. the *Lingua Franca* by H. & R. Kahane and A. Tietze) sometimes omit its data (see some instances mentioned below). This lack of interest may be due to various factors: the publishing, fifteen years later, of Meninski's monumental *Thesaurus* that "obscured" Bernardo; the writing of Turkish words only in Arabic-Ottoman script (needless to say, transcription texts are much more useful for linguists); the difficult Italian language, very rich in rare and dialect words, used by the translator Pietro d'Abbavilla. Yet the French Capuchin's work does not deserve to be so neglected. It is a veritable lexical mine, full, for example, of Turkish derivatives formed with every kind of *ekler* (+CA, +CAk, +CI, +CIk, +CIğAz, +DAş, -Dir/DUr-, +lA-, +llk/lUk, -mAll, +sIz/sUz, -(y)IcI, -(y)Iş etc.); many of these cannot be found in other dictionaries. Given the necessary brevity of this article, I will confine myself here to listing and commenting on a number of words that seem to me important, especially from a historical-lexicographical viewpoint.¹

2. Loanwords of European origin that, to the best of my knowledge, are not recorded in any other lexicographical work:

- ārīgān* 'marjoram (*Origanum majorana*)' (161) • < It. (dial.) *arigano* 'id.' (DEI 288).
arişmāñiki 'arithmetic' (163) • < Gr. *αριθμητική*, but the rendering of [θ] as [ʃ] is surprising. Perhaps from some Greek dialect form.
ārtimūn 'mizzen sail' (1363) • < Gr. *ἀρτέμων* 'foresail' (Liddell, Scott 1996: 248) or rather < It. *artimone* 'vela di gabbia' (DEI 309). Missing also in LF.
bālşamīnā 'balsam, garden balsamine (*Impatiens balsamina*)' (229) • < It. *balsamina* 'id.' (DEI 418).
cīlek 'kind of sleeveless jacket worn over the shirt' (300, 321) • Probably < It. (old, dial.) *gilecco* and varr. 'kind of waistcoat or vest' (Pellegrini 1972: 339). A classical example of backborrowing, as this term goes back to Osm., T. *yelek* 'waistcoat, vest', through the *Lingua Franca* spread over the Mediterranean: cf. Ar. (Algerian) *ğalika*, Sp. (in Cervantes) *gileco* 'jacket worn by slaves' (> Fr. *gilet*) (DCECH 2: 313).
fānel 'linnet (*Linaria cannabina*)' (821) • < It. *fanello* 'id.' (DEI 1593).
kapūçin in the phrase *kapūçinlerin tariki* 'the rule of the Capuchins' (1762) • < It. *cappuccino* 'Capuchin (friar)'.
karği 'loading of the arquebus' (347) • In my opinion, from Ven. *carga* 'carica, parte di munizione che si mette nelle artiglierie, negli archibusi e simili' (Boerio 1867: 138).
labrusk 'wild vine' (1210) • < It. *la(m)brusca* 'id.' (DEI 2145, 2155).
lācāvūn 'legion' (1237) • < It. *legione*, perhaps through an Arabic mediation.
lalanğida 'kind of broad flat noodle' (1221) • < Gr. *λαλαγγήτα* 'frittella di pasta; ciambella, cialda' (Peridēs 1878: 1081).

¹ Turkish words are transcribed according to the usual rules (see TETTL 1: 8) with their meanings translated into English (the original ones are sometimes obscure or incomprehensible even for well-educated native Italian speakers). The numbers between round brackets refer to pages of the dictionary.

- Olāndiya* 'Holland' (1026) • < Old It. *Ollandia/Hol(l)andia* 'id.' (DI 3: 479).
purūṭūriyūn (or *bu-*, the print is not clear) 'podesta's palace' (1503) • < Late Gr. *πραϊτώριον* [*< Lat. praetorium*] 'official residence of a governor' (Liddell, Scott 1996: 1458).
repūpliķa 'republic' (1769) • < It. *repubblica* 'id.'.
riġla 'grain strickle' (1728) • < Gr. *ρήγλα* 'strickle' (Sophocles 1900: 969), *ρίγλα* 'rasiera, legno da rasar la misura del grano' (Somavera 1709: 353) < Lat. *rēgula* (Meyer 1895: 56).
ṣāhitiya 'kind of light fast ship' (1889) • It looks like a blend of Osm. *ṣayka* (< Hung. *sajka*) 'a peculiar kind of sea-going boat used in the Black Sea' (Redhouse 1890: 1113) and Old It. *saettia* 'galea sottile e velocissima' (DEI 3308). The insertion of *-h-* is however unclear.
ṭirbūna 'court, tribunal' (2331) • < It. *tribuna*, with semantic influence of *tribunale*.
vurdunār 'beam' (275, 2323) • < Old It. *bordonale* (with dial. varr. like *bordonar*) 'trave maestra; trave della coperta della nave' (DEI 563).

3. Other loanwords (including place names and ethnonyms) that present noteworthy features:

- antenā* 'lateen yard' (134) • < It. *antenna* 'id.'. Meninski (1680: 135) records the var. *artenā* < Ven. *altēna* (Rocchi 2013b: 891). Neither Bernardo's nor Meninski's data can be found in LF (69–70), where forms of this word only taken from 19th–20th century lexicographical works are cited.
avariz/avāriṣ 'tax, levy, duty' (995, 2238) • Cf. Osm. 'unforeseen public expenses or levies of money' (Redhouse 1890: 1326). This word originally comes in all probability from Byz. Gr. *ἀβανίεις* (note the lack of the *'ayn* in Bernardo), pl. of *ἀβανία* 'tax' (Rocchi 2013a: 114) and must later have blended, in the literary language, with Ar. *'awāriḍ*, pl. of *'ariḍ* 'obstacle, impediment; accident'.
'azunūr 'giant' (957) • Cf. Osm., T. *aznavur* 'azgın, kuvvetli, heybetli' (TS 354); 'strapping and pugnacious man, tough guy; daring fighter; wild, unruly, unmanageable' (Redhouse 1999: 82) < Arm. *aznawor* 'noble, brave; (dial., reborrowed from Georgian) giant [cf. Bernardo!], demon' (Dankoff 1995: 16). The form given by Bernardo does not seem to be attested elsewhere; the anteposition of the *'ayn* is not clearly explicable.
bānġa 'galley bench' (2318) • This record is an addition to the other Osm.-T. forms *banka/manka/manga* (< It. *banco*), the only ones found in LF 88.
borāz 'borage (*Borago officinalis*)' (274) • < It (old, dial.) *boraso* and varr. 'id.' (Rocchi 2013b: 894). As far as we know, Bernardo's entry only has one other correspondent in Carradori's dictionary: *boraz* (borras) 'borraggine' (Rocchi 2011: 86–87).
dama in the phrases *dama puli* 'playing piece', *dama taḥtası* 'gameboard' (2248) • Bernardo allows backdating the first Turkish occurrence of this Italian loanword (< *dama* 'draughts, checkers'), which until now has been attributed to Holdermann [1730] (Rocchi 2013b: 899).
*dūj** in the phrase *Venedik dūji* 'doge of Venice' (738) • Probably < Cr. (old) (< It.) *duž/duž* 'id.' (Skok 1971–1974: 1: 463). The form *doj* recorded in TETTL (1: 637, from

- a work of 1599) and explained as a borrowing from French is doubtful; in my view, it very likely comes from Croatian too and should be read *dúj*. Of the other names for the doge in Ottoman, *duçe/doce/tuce* are direct Italianisms, while *duzi* is mediated via Greek (Rocchi 2013b: 899).
- Eflāmīn* ‘Fleming’ (860) • The usual Osm. forms are *Filemenk/Filemeng*, with anaptyxis (Stachowski M. 1986: 113); Bernardo himself translates ‘Fiandra’ as *Filāmīn vilāyeti* (861). For the prosthesis with *e* in Turkish words see M. Stachowski (1995: 178).
- Filorentīn* ‘Florentine’ (876) • Anaptyctic var. of *Florentin* – only attested, as far as we know, in the pl. form *Florentinler* in Molino (Stachowski M. 1986: 118) – < Old It. *florentino* (DI 2: 72).
- foryās* ‘north wind’ (154) • Osm. *foryas/foryaz* (records from the 14th–16th centuries) < Gr. **φοριᾶς* for *βοριᾶς* ‘id.’ (LF 494–496; TS 1608–1609). Bernardo’s record, not mentioned in LF, seems to be the only attestation of this Turkish variant with *f-* in works published in Europe.
- iskemni* ‘desk, stool’ (620) • One (and the oldest) of the rare records of forms of this word with the cluster *mn* preserved, according to the Greek source (< *σκαμνί*): cf. Osm. *iskemni* in Mallouf’s dictionary [1863] (Stachowski St. 1971: 277), T. (dial.) *skemne* (id.: 278), *iskemnā* (Tietze 1962: 381).
- isturūpadan/usturūpadān/tirūpadān/tirabūdāl* ‘thole(-pin)’ (891, 1503, 1945) • Cf. *trabudar* ‘palischermo’ [= thole] in Carradori (Rocchi 2011: 324), apparently the only other record of this word. Possibly, a derivative of *usturpa* and varr. ‘strap, strop’ (< Ven. *stropa*) + the Persian morph *-dān* denoting ‘what holds or contains (anything)’; the name of “strap-holder” for the thole would be semantically justified as the oar is fastened to it by a strap (Rocchi 2013b: 917).
- İtāliyā* ‘Italy’ (1209) • Bernardo provides the first occurrence of the placename in this form; earlier, the type *Talya* is found in Molino (Stachowski M. 1986: 102, 103).
- İtāliyālī* ‘Italian’ (1209) • There are, it seems, no further old records of this derivative, which is in general much less common than *İtalyan*.
- kolāçiyūn etmek* ‘to have breakfast or lunch’ (824) • < Ven. *colaziòn* ‘colazione’ (Boerio 1867: 178). Further Osm. records of this loanword are very few and phonetically different: *kolāşyūn*, *kolāzyūn* with transcriptions such as *gholation*, *cholation*, *cholazion* modelled on Italian (old) spellings (Rocchi 2013b: 898).
- köfün* ‘basket’ (390, 533, 1510) • T. (dial.) *köfün* ‘büyük sepet’ (DS 2949) < Gr. *κοφίvu* ‘basket’ (Tzitzilis 1987: 72). That of Bernardo seems the only Ottoman record of this word.
- mābāmondi* ‘map of the world’ (1318) • This lexical type (< It. *mappamondo* and varr.) is reflected in Ottoman by three variations with different initials (*m-*, *p-*, *n-*). While forms beginning with *p-* and *n-* have been recorded since the 16th century, according to LF those beginning with *m-* are only found in 19th-century dictionaries; the neglecting of Bernardo’s data has thus lead to this wrong assumption: “Of this type [with *m-*] there are no old records” (LF 290).
- mestřin* ‘trowel’ (376) • < Gr. *μυστήρι(ov)* ‘cazzuola, mestola’ (Peridēs 1878: 1183). Bernardo’s record, which is isolated in Ottoman, must come from a Gr. medieval

form **μυστήριον*. The word is continued in modern Turkish Anatolian dialects as *misiri*, *mısırı* and the like (Tzitzilis 1987: 91).

Palandra 'Holland' (1026) • Other old records of this place name take the form of *Flandrya* 'Flandria' in Molino (Stachowski M. 1986: 104), *Fiyandra*, *Filandra* 'Belgium' in Montalbano (Rocchi 2014: 91). As to Bernardo, an (obviously not learned) mediation of Ar. *Falandra* 'Flanders' cannot be ruled out; in any case, his *Palandra* is the only attestation showing the change *f* > *p*.

pīvo 'beer' (388) • Bernardo's record is very valuable, as this Slavism (*pīvo* is the word for 'beer' in all Sl. languages) up till now has been thought to be only attested by Hindoglu (1838: 140) as *pīva* (from the Sl. genitive).

pūklā 'puppet' (298) • A var. of Osm., T. *kukla* < Gr. *κούκλα* 'id.' (Eren 1999: 263–264), perhaps due to the influence of (quasi-)synonymic Romance words like It. *pupa* 'doll' / *pupo* 'puppet' (DEI 3153, 3154).

sardīna (with the taxonym *bālġi* added) 'sardine, pilchard (*Sardina pilchardus*)' (85) • It is the third record known so far of this Italian loanword (< *sardina*), besides those coming from Ferraguto's (1611) and Carradori's (1650) transcription texts (Rocchi 2013b: 914).

vārdiyān in the phrase *vārdiyān bāşı* 'overseer of slaves' (1008) • Osm. *vardiyan* 'overseer of galley slaves' with further meanings (< Ven. *vardián* 'overseer'), *vardiyan başı* 'commander of the marines on a ship' have been documented since the 16th and 17th centuries respectively (LF 459). Bernardo's entry, not mentioned in LF, is the oldest lexicographical record of the word.

4. Some interesting Anatolian Turkish words missing in Meninski (1680):

beleş 'hill' (424, 433) • Osm. *beleş* 'dağlık, sarp yer, dağ beli' (TS 488–489); *belen* 'hilly region' (Evliya Çelebi, given as "türkmen": Dankoff 1991: 17); T. (dial.) *be-len* 'tepe, yüksek yer' (DS 611).

boyunşālġk 'muzzle' (1411) • T. (dial.) *boyunsalık* 'hayvanın boynu altından geçen, game ve yulara takılı ip' (DS 748).

cegnem/çegnem 'mouthful' (270, 1046) • Cf. Osm. *çeynem/çiğnem/çiyinem* 'bir kere çiğnenecek kadar' (TS 882–883). See TETTL (1: 524).

çekelez 'squirrel (*Sciurus*)' (1987) • T. (dial.) *çekelez* with many varr. 'sincap' (DS 1109). Origin unknown according to Eren (1999: 83). Missing in TETTL.

çendmek 'to beat severely' (241) • Cf. Osm. *çentmek* 'kertmek, doğramak' (TS 856), *çendelemek* 'ufak ufak doğramak' (id. 855); T. (dial.) *çendemek* 'yontmak' (DS 1134).

ikīr cinlġlik 'anxiety; perplexity' (133) • Cf. Osm., T. (dial.) *ikircinlik* 'tereddüt' (in a 14th-century Turkish version of 'Kelile ü Dimne': TS 2028), 'kararsızlık, duraksama' (DS 2515–2516); T. *ikircimlik* = *ikirciklik* 'being hesitant/suspicious/doubtful' (Redhouse 1999: 421), derivatives of *ikircik* (*ikircin/-cim*) 'suspicion, doubt' < Old Turkic *ikirçgü* 'id.' (on whose formation see Erdal 1991: 164). Tietze finds it difficult to explain the Osm.-T. forms with the final nasal ("şekil değişikliği neye dayanıyor?": TETTL 2: 380). In my view, as Bernardo's record shows, a folk-etymological influence of Osm.-T. *cinli* 'possessed by demons; irritable, nervous'

- needs to be taken into account, in which case *ikircin* would be backformed from the adjective *ikircinli* (attested).
- oyūk* ‘puppet made of wood or rag’ (822) • Osm., T. (dial.) *oyuk* ‘insan veya hayvan şeklini andırır korkuluk’ (TS 3039–3041), ‘bostan korkuluğu’ (DS 3303).
- palāz** in the phrases *ördek palāzı* ‘duckling’ (124), *kāz palāzı* ‘gosling’ (1455, 1512) • Osm., T. *palaz* ‘a duckling; a gosling; a young pigeon’ (Redhouse 1890: 435). Note that Nişanyan (2007: 368) dates the word from the second half of the 19th century.
- poyruk* ‘broom (*Spartium junceum*)’ (958) • Cf. T. (dial.) *poruk* ‘katırtırnağı bitkisi’ (DS 3471).
- teyeklemek* ‘to stake vines’ (1057) • For the base of this verb cf. Osm. *değek/teğek/tevek/devek* ‘asma filizi, asma kütüğü, asma dalı’ (TS 1035–1037), T. (dial.) *teyek/tevek* ‘üzüm kütüğü’ (DS 3900–3901). See TETTL (1: 576).
- uyagīc* (probably to read *-gīc*) ‘delayer, loiterer’ (1115) • Hapax, evidently related to *uya*, recorded by Bernardo in the phrase *uya adam* ‘slow man’ (1037), = Osm. *uyā* ‘ignavus, tardus, cunctator’ (Meninski 1680: 5865). However, the morphological aspect is problematic because the Turkish suffix *-gIç/gUç* is deverbal, not denominal (Korkmaz 2007: 80).
- uyügen* ‘sleeping’ (752) • Osm. *uyugan/uyugen* ‘çok uyuyan’ (TS 4042).
- vezne boşaldan* ‘merganser (*Mergus*)’ (1353) • Osm. *vezene boşaltan* ‘a water bird’ in Evliya Çelebi (Dankoff 1991: 96), *vezne boşaldan* ‘a species of wild duck, very hard to kill’ (Redhouse 1890: 2136); T. (dial.) *vezne boşaltan* ‘anas querquedula’ (Çakmak, Işın 2005: 38).

Abbreviations of languages and dialects

Ar. = Arabic	Gr. = Greek	Sl. = Slavic
Arm. = Armenian	Hung. = Hungarian	Sp. = Spanish
Byz. = Byzantine	It. = Italian	T. = Turkish
Cr. = Croatian	Lat. = Latin	Ven. = Venetian
Fr. = French	Osm. = Osmanlı	

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