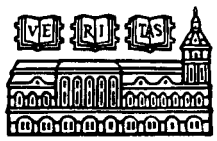
HARVARD UKRAINIAN STUDIES

EUCHARISTERION:

Essays presented to
OMELJAN PRITSAK
on his Sixtieth Birthday
by his Colleagues and Students

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Volume III/IV 1979-1980
Part 1



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Evliya Çelebi as Linguist

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Philologists specializing in Ottoman studies — A. Bombaci, K. Foy, G. Hazai, W. Heffening, J. Németh, A. Zajączkowski, and myself included — have long attached great importance to Ottoman texts written by non-Turkish scribes in non-Turkish scripts, that is, to the western Latin, Italian, Croatian, Hungarian, Polish, German, Gothic, Cyrillic, Greek, and eastern Syriac manuscripts generally referred to as Ottoman transcription texts.[1] These documents provide invaluable information, especially regarding the vocalic stock of a language.

Far less attention has been paid to those reverse transcription texts which also exist, i.e., to the textual monuments in Ottoman script by Ottoman authors and scribes, which directly or indirectly provide an enormous variety of information for both non-Turkic and Turkic linguistics. Thus, for instance, little or no use has been made of the Ottoman cadastres as a linguistic source, though it stands to reason — and I confirmed it in my work with them[2] — that the scribes of the *defter*s aimed at rendering sound equivalents as closely as possible, especially where names of individuals and places were concerned. Consequently, if used correctly, these registers can be a gold mine of valuable linguistic data. The few pertinent literary works that have so far been identified as transcription texts in reverse are only the beginning: they include the "Hymn of Dragoman Murat,"[3] some *mülemma*s from Bosnia,[4] and

[1] T. Halasi-Kun, "Gennadios török hitvallása," *Kőrösi Csoma-Archivum* 1 (1935–39): 139–247; G. Hazai, "Nachträglisches Vorwort zu einer Veröffentlichungsreihe," *Archivum Ottomanicum* (hereafter *AO*), 6 (1974, in press); idem, "Present-day Views on Ottoman Historical Grammar and Some of its Prevailing Problems," *AO* 7 (1975, in press).

[2] T. Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı yer adları üzerinde araştırmalar," *Türk dili ve Tarihi Hakkında Araştırmalar* 1 (1950): 63–104; idem, "Sixteenth-century Turkish Settlements in Southern Hungary," *Belleten* (Türk Tarih Kurumu), 28: 1–72.

[3] F. Babinger, "Der Pfortendolmetsch Murād und seine Schriften," *Ungarische Bibliothek* (Ungarisches Institut an der Universität Berlin), ser. 1, 14: 33–54.

[4] O. Blau, *Bosnisch-türkische Sprachdenkmäler* (Leipzig, 1868).

especially the language notes of Evliya Çelebi, the renowned seventeenth-century Ottoman historical geographer, although these last are regarded by some with reservations.[5] It was precisely this skepticism combined with certain hints provided by the exacting manner of transcription found among cadastre scribes that first prompted me to scrutinize some of Evliya Çelebi's transcriptions more closely, with the thought that positive findings might eventually induce scholars to reevaluate Çelebi as a historical geographer, as well.

In his *Seyahatname,* Evliya Çelebi provides samples of some twenty-six languages and dialects, most of which have yet to be subjected to thorough philological scrutiny.[6] I concentrated my attention on the Hungarian material, already worked on by L. Ligeti, but instead of using the two available editions,[7] each offering an often greatly altered version of the original manuscript, but both still in general use, I based my investigation on a photostat copy of the autograph (vol. 6, fol. 9v) preserved in the Topkapı Museum in Istanbul.[8]

Before proceeding to the text itself, however, two major factors affecting the outcome of any such investigation should be mentioned. One of them is, of course, the quality and the authenticity of the source itself. The other is that the way Ottoman texts transcribe non-Turkic language material is strongly affected by certain Ottoman predispositions, or, as I

[5] Gy. Szekfű, "Bevezetés (Kútfőkritikai tanulmány a hódoltság korabeli török történetírókról)," *Török történetírók* 3:1–63.

[6] On the Kaytak material, see V. Bart'old, "K voprosu o proisxoždenii kajtakov," *Ètnografičeskoe obozrenie* (Moscow), 4–5 (1910): 37–45; P. Pelliot, "Le prétendu vocabulaire mongol des Ḳaitaḳ de Daghistan," *Journal Asiatique,* 1927, no. 1, pp. 279–94; idem, "Les formes turques et mongoles dans la nomenclature zoologique du Nuzhattu-'l-ḳulūb," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London), 6 (1931): 555–80. On the Caucasian material, see R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasischen Sprachproben in Evliya Çelebi's Seyahatname," *Caucasica* 11:84–126; J. von Hammer, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa . . . , by Evliya Effendi,* 2 vols. (London, 1846–50), 2:58, 173, and 197. On the Hungarian material, see L. Ligeti, "Evliya Cselebi magyar szójegyzéke," *Magyar Nyelv* 67 (1971): 394–409 (= *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai és ami körülöttük van,* vol. 1, Budapest Oriental Reprints, A 1 [Budapest, 1977], pp. 324–40). On the German material, see H. J. Kissling, "Einige deutsche Sprachproben bei Evliyā Čelebi," *Leipziger Vierteljahrschrift für Südosteuropa* 11 (1935): 212–20. The Rumanian material is currently being compiled by M. Zobian, Ph.D. candidate at Columbia University. The dialect of Bolu is being studied by H. Eren.

[7] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname,* vols. 1–10 (Istanbul, 1886–1938); Z. Danışman, ed. and trans., *Evliyâ Çelebi seyâhatnâme, Mehmet Zıllı oğlu Evliyâ Çelebi,* vols. 1–13 (Istanbul, 1969–71; vols. 14 and 15 have not yet been published).

[8] A. Taeschner, "Die neue Stambuler Ausgabe von Evlijā Tschelebis Reisewerk," *Der Islam* 18 (1929):209–310; R. Kreutel, "Neues zur Evliya-Çelebi-Forschung," *Der Islam* 48 (1971):269–78; P. A. MacKay, "The Manuscripts of the *Seyahatname* of Evliya Çelebi. Part 1: The Archetype," *Der Islam* 52 (1975):278–97.

prefer to call them, *Systemszwang*s that are mainly orthographic, phonetic, and morphophonetic in character.[9]

Thus, for instance, though on occasion one might find a *ye* as an indicator of consonant palatalization,[10] in the majority of cases the same phenomenon is reflected by a *kef*. This is the result of a *Systemszwang* that is orthographic in character.[11] Similarly, the Ottoman transcription for the Hungarian consonant cluster *m+b* is a consistent *nun+be*, as can be seen — just to give one example — in the Hungarian place-name *Sombor*.[12] The reflection of the Italian *gl*, or the South Slavic *ć* (read *t'*) with *kef* (in the latter case, the usage is restricted to *ć*, and, as a rule, never extended to *č* or *c*) is also orthographic in character.

When we turn to the phonetic *Zwang*s, pertinent data seem to show rather clearly that aside from Islamic loan material, where the original Arabic and Persian ways were sacrosanct, vocalic length in Ottoman texts is not proved. This is especially true if one realizes that after the introduction of the Latin script, vocalic length, since it was alien to the basic sound stock of the language, tended to diminish even where Islamic loan material was concerned. In addition to vowel shortening in general,[13] phonetic *Systemszwang* is involved in the reflection of the Hungarian closed and open long *e* as a short *i* and a short *e*, respectively, whenever indicated.[14] For the first case we find examples such as H. *körtvély* = T. *körtvil, négy = nid', méz = miz*.[15] Even today, the Turkish ear will perceive the Hungarian closed long *é* as short *i*: H. *szép* = T. *sip*. For the second case the most obvious examples are the Hungarian geographical names *Erdély* = T. *Erdel*, and *Bécs* = T. *Beç*. The Hungarian long non-labial *á* is commonly heard and rendered as a short *à*, as, for example, in the Hungarian place-name *Vác* = T. *Vàç*. The same place-name also serves as a good example of a consonantal *Systemszwang*: missing from the Turkish sound stock, the Hungarian *c* (read *ts*) is mainly reflected with a *çim* in Ottoman script.[16] Phonetic in character is the nonindication of *geminata*

[9] For the effect of *Systemszwang*s, see my article "The Ottoman Elements in the Syrian dialects," I, II, II cont., in *AO*, vols. 1, 5, and 7; and P. B. Golden's "The Oğuz (Ottoman-Safavid) Elements in Georgian," *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and the Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern* (New York, 1977).

[10] The depalatalized forms in the list that follows (nos. 41, 43, 57, 58, 61, and 70) can be attributed to depalatalized dialect variants.

[11] Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," p. 94.

[12] Halasi-Kun, "Sixteenth-century Turkish Settlements," p. 35 and passim.

[13] Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," pp. 94–95.

[14] Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," pp. 94–95.

[15] Ligeti, "Evliya Cselebi," p. 331.

[16] Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," p. 95.

(consonant length),[17] a phenomenon accepted and reflected only in Persian loanwords, whether of Persian or Arabic origin.[18] The rendering of the Hungarian final voiced consonants by the Turkish *media explosiva* (medial plosives) is also phonetic in character.[19]

Morphophonetic *Systemszwang* is involved in the dissolution of consonant clusters by epenthesis, elision, and epithesis.[20]

Aside from the various *Zwang*s, some simple orthographic practices also affected the ways initial and final vowels, and vowels in general, are reflected. And although, except for the neglected effort by Thúry,[21] no systematic study of the historical characteristics of Ottoman Turkish orthography has yet been done, some of these characteristics are obvious from the texts. Thus, vowels, whenever they are indicated, are represented either by a vowel symbol (*vav, ye, elif*), by a *hareke* (*fetha, kesre, zamme*), or by a combination of the two. Though generally considered a vowel symbol, *elif,* in most cases, is actually the carrier of a *hemze* (probably small *'ain*), representing a *Stimmritzenverschlusslaut* present in every vocalic sound in the initial position. For the sound color the *elif* is usually complemented with a second vowel symbol: *elif* complemented with a *hareke* usually represents a palatal *e,* and *elif* complemented with a *medde* (i.e., a combination of two *elif*s in which the first one carries the *hemze,* and the second is of vocalic value) usually stands for a velar *â.* In representing vowels in general, earlier Turkic writings made generous use of the *harekes*. Later on, however, in Eastern Turkic (Chaghatay, etc.) texts the *harekes* were brought down and up to the line, made *plene,* whereas in Western Turkic (Ottoman) they lost their function altogether as it came to be considered sufficient to mark the vowel only once, if at all,[22] in the same word, and to do so in *plene.* Of the vowels in final position, *-a,* and *-e,* as a rule, are reflected with a *he*; only in a very few random cases do we find an *elif* in that position.[23]

Turning back now to Evliya Çelebi's Hungarian sample, my reading of the relevant material follows:[24]

17 Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," p. 95.
18 Halasi-Kun, "Ottoman Elements."
19 Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," p. 95.
20 Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," pp. 96–97.
21 J. Thúry, "A XIV. századbeli oszmán-török nyelv," *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 34 (1904): especially 151–57.
22 Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," p. 102.
23 Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı," p. 96.
24 For the material in brackets, I rendered the initial *hemze* by the usual symbol ('), the straight *harekes* by raised a, u, i, the *plene* vowel marks by lower case a, w, y, and

1. [^{a}k] *ed'* 'one'
2. [k^{a}tW] *ketö* 'two'
3. [xarm] *har(o)m* 'three'
4. [nYk] *nid'* 'four'
5. [hWt] *höt* 'five'
6. [xat] *hat* 'six'
7. [h^{a}t] *het* 'seven'
8. [kWç] *n'oç* 'eight'
9. [kYlnç] *kil(e)nç* 'nine'
10. [tYz] *tiz* 'ten'
11. [ḥ^{u}swAn] *husvan* 'twenty'
12. [k^{a}twAn] *ketvan* 'twenty'
13. [ḫar . . .] *har(minç)* 'thirty'
14. [nkwan] *n(e)d'ven* 'forty'
15. [hWtwAn] *hötven* 'fifty'
16. [ḥAtwAn] *hatvan* 'sixty'
17. [h^{a}twAn] *hetven* 'seventy'
18. [k'WçwAn] *n'oçvan* 'eighty'
19. [ḳ^{i}lnçwAn] *kil(e)nçven* 'ninety'
20. [tYzwAn] *tizvan* 'hundred'
21. [knYr] *k(e)nir* 'bread'
22. [w^{i}z] *viz* 'water'
23. [şW] *şo* 'salt'
24. [şAytUn] *şayt* 'cheese'
25. [wAy] *vay* 'butter'
26. [mYz] *miz* 'honey'
27. [t^{a}y] *tey* 'milk'
28. [t^{a}yf^{a}l] *teyfel* '(sour)cream'
29. ['alWtt^{a}y] *aluttey* 'butter(milk)'
30. [ḥAkmA] *had'ma* 'onion'
31. [ḳ^{a}nAl] *kanal* 'spoon'
32. [k^{a}ş] *keş* 'knife'
33. [ṭAlṭ] *tal(a)t* 'dish'
34. [pYnçbH] *pinç(e)be* 'basement'
35. [k^{a}rkA] *d'ert'a* 'candle'
36. [lWnAḳ] *lonak* 'it is a horse (= T. *at dır*)'
37. [tWz] *tüz* 'fire'
38. [d^{i}snW] *disno* 'pig'
39. [hWzzh bWzAt] *hozza buzat* 'bring the wheat'
40. [hWzzh 'abrAḳt] *hozza abrak(o)t* ['bring the fodder']
41. [l^{i}yan] *liyan* 'girl'
42. [k^{a}rmk] *d'erm(e)k* 'child'
43. ['^{a}şşwn] *asson* 'woman'
44. [s^{a}mH] *seme* 'eye (of)'

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the same, when complemented with *harekes*, by upper case A, W, Y. In rendering the consonants, I followed, more or less, the standard form.

45. [zWrWt] *(a)z orot* 'nose'
46. [ṣAyH] *saya* 'mouth (of)'
47. [haṣh] *haṣa* 'belly (of)'
48. [kwwᵃl] *d'övel* 'come'
49. ['ᵃrᵃk] *ered'* 'go'
50. [hᵃmAr ḥWz] *hamar hoz* 'bring fast'
51. [sᵃkᵃr] *seker* 'wagon'
52. [mWjtkH] *mojt ke* 'wash it'
53. ['Ynkh] *inge* 'the shirt of'
54. [hWçH nᵃḳᵃm 'ayandYḳ] *hoça nekem ayandik* 'here, give me a gift'
55. [fWḳmᵃk] *fok meg* 'grab it, etc.'
56. [kWḳ] *t'uk* 'hen'
57. [kWḳmAn] *t'ukmon* 'egg'
58. [ḳWrtwYl] *körtvil* 'pear'
59. ['lma] *alma* 'apple'
60. [mᵃk] *med'* 'sour cherry'
61. [çᵃrṣnH] *çereṣne* 'cherry'
62. [hAlH] *hala* 'the fish of'
63. [çWnpW] *çompo* 'terch'
64. [lⁱst] *list* 'flour'
65. [sWl] *söl(ö)* 'grape'
66. [sⁱlwA] *silva* 'prune'
67. [fAyH] *faya* 'the wood of'
68. [dⁱyW] *diyo* 'walnut'
69. ['anbᵃr] *ember* 'man'
70. [mᵃnAçkH] *meneçke* 'bride'
71. [kywakwn] *ki vad'on* 'who is it'
72. [nᵃm tWdWm] *nem tudom* 'I do not know'
73. [nm lAtᵃm] *n(e)m lat(t)am* 'I did not see'
74. [hWnlWḳ . .] *hun lakol* 'where do you hail from'
75. ['Yt lAḳWm] *it lakom* 'I live here'
76. [hWzH ḳⁱçY vAlAḳAt] *hoz(z)a kiçi valakat* 'bring your little c . . t here'
77. [bAṣWm ṣᵃgᵃt] *basom ṣeget* 'f . . . your ass'
78. [bAṣthm anyh] *bastam anyat*[25] 'f . . . your mother'.

From this list it is evident that: (a) in a number of incidents, nouns appear with case endings (33: acc., 34: ill., 36: dat., 45: acc.), even if they are not given as part of a phrase; (b) the third-person-possessive suffix often appears at the end of nouns, especially nouns designating parts of the human body (44, 46, 47, but also 53, 62, 67), a phenomenon also observed by Grønbech;[26] (c) in one instance (40) the Turkish meaning is missing from the entry. Entries 12, 40, 76, 77, 78 are missing from the two

[25] The final twice-dotted *he*, in given cases (*status constructus*, feminine, etc.) representing a final *te*, often appears undotted in Ottoman.

[26] K. Grönbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch* (Copenhagen, 1942), pp. 30 (*avzu*), 36 (*alnı*), 37 (*amu*).

published editions, and one entry in them (*kétszáz,* following our entry 20: *tizvan*) is not to be found in the autograph. All in all, the examples presented here reflect the work of a good linguist with a remarkable ability to render accurately even sounds alien to the Turkish ear.

If one is willing to discount certain descriptive predispositions characteristic of that stage of Ottoman historiography, the core of Evliya Çelebi's narration might also effectively repudiate some of the criticism leveled against the author as a historical geographer. In any case, a new critical edition, and a thorough study of the autograph material is needed before justice can be done to Evliya Çelebi as a linguist, as a historian, and as a geographer.

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