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KIPCHAK PHILOLOGY AND THE TURKIC LOANWORDS IN HUNGARIAN, I

T. HALASI-KUN

Ever since I started to work with the material of the *At-Tuḥfah*[1] I have had the desire to examine the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian in the light of some Kipchak Turkic philological evidence. And now, the desire has finally taken form.

As is well known, the question of the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian is an intricate one which can be brought to a satisfactory solution only by a gradual evaluation of all possible factors involved. The greatest problem that faces any scholar dealing with this subject is the question of separating the various Turkic layers from one another, that is, the establishing of the most plausible, most appropriate layer a given Turkic loanword, if so proven, can or is to be assigned to. There are no difficulties worthy of mention with words belonging to the newest, *i.e.*, the Ottoman layer. With the many valid criteria, both linguistic and historical, with a well-defined space and time element, and with the latest publication on the matter, the exhaustive monograph by S. Kakuk,[2] this layer is clearly outlined and can be accepted by all scholarly standards as settled.

Far less clear, and far less settled is the situation in the case of loanwords belonging to the first, the oldest layer, called by some the Oghur Turkic, by others the Bulghar-, again by others the Chuvash-, and here the Western Turkic layer. It is more than understandable if Gombocz in his monumental work,[3] in the fever of discovery, over-extended the realms of this layer. And it is also understandable that the succeeding generation, more detached and consequently more objective and more

[1] Full edition with complete translation, grammatical outline, and vocabulary to appear soon in *BOH*.

[2] S. Kakuk, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la langue osmanlie des XVI*e *et XVII*e *siècles, Les éléments osmanlis de la langue hongroise* (= *Near and Middle East Monographs* 17), The Hague–Paris, 1973.

[3] Z. Gombocz, *Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache* (= *MSFoU* 30), Helsinki, 1912.

critical with regard to the question, rejected many of the Gombocz criteria for this layer. Although some of these rejections are, indeed, debatable — this is the case with the *y-* > *c-* which, as long as there are no data from Middle Turkic to prove it otherwise, has to be considered a Western Turkic phenomenon — the new school had and has its great merits. Not only did it reevaluate the Western or, as he called it, Bulghar Turkic criteria set up by Gombocz, but it also split off the words which do not have any distinctive Western Turkic criteria, that is the so-called 'neutral words', from this layer. Outlined and formulated first by L. Ligeti,[4] the net results of this new approach were then incorporated into the *SzófSz*[5] and, more recently, into the *TESz*.[6] To recapitulate, the new school holds that of the criteria established by Gombocz the *z* > *r*, the *ş* > *l*, and some additional secondary features are definitely valid for Western Turkic, whereas the *y-* > *c-*, the *ç-* > *ş-*, the *-k/g* > vowel, together with some other secondary features are to be considered Eastern Turkic phenomena. Moreover, words qualifying for the latter group, together with the "neutral words" were combined to form a new layer called by the *TESz* "Old Turkic", and by the *SzófSz* "Turkic loanword from pre-Conquest time". In this new setup the previously established second Turkic layer, the Cuman–Pecheneg layer of J. Németh[7] became a sort of buffer-zone : those of the Turkic words which appeared in Hungarian too early to be considered Ottoman were assigned to this layer, and so were those older Turkic words which end in a final *-k/g*.

The large number of words classified as Old Turkic or "Turkic loanword from pre-Conquest time" make it evident that it was both justified and necessary to establish such a new layer since, by it, matters were greatly clarified and a solution was found for many an unanswered question. Yet one cannot help but realize the obvious vagueness which still prevails when it comes to separating the Cuman–Pecheneg loanwords from the 'new' Old Turkic layer. There are well-defined criteria for the Ottoman layer of the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian; there also are more or less well defined criteria for the separation of the Western Turkic from the Eastern Turkic layer in general; there are, however,

[4] L. Ligeti, "A török szókészlet története és török jövevényszavaink, Gyöngy", *MNy* 42, pp. 1-17.

[5] G. Bárczi, *Magyar szófejtő szótár*, Budapest, 1941 (= *SzófSz*).

[6] L. Benkő (ed.), *A magyar nyelv történeti–etimológiai szótára*, i-ii, Budapest, 1967-1970 (= *TESz*).

[7] Gy. Németh, "Török jövevényszavaink középső rétege", *MNy* 17, pp. 22-26.

hardly any valid criteria which would help in the separation of the Cuman–Pecheneg words from the Old Turkic ones in this layout. The reason for this deficiency is to be sought in the fact that the tools for such a separation are still lacking, the vast domain of Turkic philology, where most of these answers lie hidden, having been but little tapped to this end as yet.

If one takes the generally accepted findings of Hungarian prehistory[8] and plots all probable and possible habitats of the old Hungarians on a map, from the mere location of these habitats it becomes evident that for the solution of any Turco–Hungarian question first the Western Turkic, then the Kipchak Turkic, then the Oghuz Turkic, and finally the Turki language-groups have to be taken into consideration. The importance of Kipchak Turkic in this sequence is augmented by the fact that in the 13th and 14th centuries, in particular, the Kipchak Cumans played a greater role and had a greater influence in medieval Hungary than is generally admitted. And one must assume that there must have been, at that time, a considerable Kipchak influence on the Hungarian language as well. As to the depth of the Pecheneg influence, one has to point first of all to the Pecheneg bride of the ruling prince Taksony (Gy. Györffy, "Système de résidences d'hiver et d'été chez les nomades et les chefs hongrois au X^{e} siècle", *AEMAe* 1 (1975), pp. 101-102). The Pecheneg influence, on the other hand, should not be confined to Danubian Europe, as is the practice. It is to be extended to the Ural and Pontic areas where the Hungarians had their pre-Conquest habitats.[9] Finally, mention also has to be made here of the controversial theory of Zajączkowski which holds that the Kazars were, indeed, Kipchaks[10] and thus did not form part of the Western Turkic language group, as many maintain.[11] The fact that P. B. Golden in his *Q'azar Studies*,[12] a work treating the Kazar linguistic material in its entirety, did not find even one single word which would unambiguously qualify as Western Turkic, seems to point in the same direction.

Thus the importance of the Kipchak material in the elucidation of the

[8] Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása*, Budapest, 1929 (= *HMK*); L. Ligeti, *A magyarság őstörténete*, Budapest, 1943.

[9] G. Györffy, "Sur la question de l'établissement des Petchénègues en Europe", *Acta Orientalia* 25, pp. 283-291.

[10] A. Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem chazarskim*, Kraków, 1947.

[11] *E.g.*, J. Benzing, "Das Hunnische, Donaubolgarische und Volgabolgarische", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, i, p. 691.

[12] P. B. Golden, *Q'azar Studies*, i-ii (= *Monographs on Medieval Eurasia* 1) (in press).

question of the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian is evident, and this evidence further crystalizes the problem. It is true that there are satisfactory descriptions of the modern Kipchak languages in existence today, but historic descriptions of these languages are still lacking and, needless to say, without substantiating linguistic evidence from the past, etymological conclusions are standing on shaky grounds. And the way to such substantiating evidence has barely been opened, the matter having been barely touched upon as yet. Though after the long lapse which followed the appearance of the *Codex Cumanicus*[13] and Houtsma's *Dictionary*,[14] starting with the post-World War I period some new material, a number of Mamluk monuments, had been discovered and edited,[15] their philological evaluation, their historic-linguistic analysis has hardly been attempted, if at all. Next in the geographical sequence and, accordingly, in importance, the situation in the case of the Oghuz substantiating material is not much better either, despite the well-established Ottoman studies and the more sporadic — with considerable gaps where South-East Turkey, North-East Syria, Iraq, and in particular Iran are concerned — but still existing descriptions of the modern Oghuz languages.[16] Indeed, the most labored upon, both descriptively and historically, are the Turki languages which, however, at least according to the geographical layout, have to be considered the last among the three groups in the sequence of importance for our purposes.

Recapitulating the above, one can rightfully state that in the first two cases the needs and desiderata are obvious: additional material, both documental and new, and an intensified historic-linguistic evaluation of the existing material is needed to further clarify the question of Turkic loanwords in Hungarian in general, and the relation of the Old Turkic and Cuman–Pecheneg words in particular.

With regards to new documental material, I am glad to mention here that an Ayyubid–Rasulid hexaglot was found in a fourteenth-century manuscript collection (*mecmua*) in Yemen. The material of the hexaglot indicates that the Ayyubid–Rasulids spoke an Oghuz Turkic dialect. Containing altogether some 7,200 words for the six languages, the

[13] G. Kuun, *Codex Cumanicus*. Budapestini, 1880.

[14] M. Th. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch–arabisches Glossar*, Leiden, 1894.

[15] T. Halasi-Kun, "Die mameluk-kiptschakischen Sprachstudien und die Handschriften in Stambul", *KCsA* 3, pp. 77-83; D. Sinor, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie Centrale*, Wiesbaden, 1963, pp. 103-104; O. Pritsak, "Das Kiptschakische", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, i, pp. 74-87.

[16] T. Kowalski, *Zapiski Sir A. Steina w dialekcie Äjnally z południowej Persiji*, Kraków, 1937.

hexaglot should also provide some interesting additions to our knowledge on the Oghuz substratum of Kipchak Turkic. The mere existence of the hexaglot seems to prove that there is no need to go as far as Khvarazm[17] for an explanation for the presence of this substratum in the language of the Mamluks. The Ayyubid–Rasulid, Mongolian, Armenian, and New Greek material of the hexaglot shall be published as a cooperate effort by P. B. Golden, L. Ligeti, E. Schütz, and myself in *AO* 10-11.[18]

As already stated at the beginning, the aim of this article is to examine certain aspects of the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian in the light of some new Kipchak Turkic philological evidence. It is based on the rich material found in *At-Tuḥfah*. Second to none in importance in the field, even more valuable than the *Codex Cumanicus* which by its character, a monument in Latin script, cannot reflect fine distinctions in consonantal shades and changes so conclusive in Turkic philological studies, the *At-Tuḥfah* also is one of the most voluminous monuments in the field and, with its contents of about 4,000 words, ranks very close to the famous comparative dictionary of Kashghari. Indeed, *At-Tuḥfah*'s importance in this case is further enhanced by the fact that while Kashghari's main concern is Turki, *At-Tuḥfah* offers Middle Kipchak material and with it some of the most vital evidence for the conclusive solution of questions in Hungarian etymological studies.

The following pages are meant to serve as a sample of the contributions that can be gained from the rich material of the *At-Tuḥfah* be

[17] Having found that there are some obvious similarities between the Oghuz-Kipchak dialect (no. 3 dialect) of the Mamluks and the language described in *'Alī's Qiṣṣa'i Jūsuf*, and taking into consideration that according to A. N. Samoylovič 'Alī's work originated from Desht-i Kipchak or Khvarezm, I suggested, and somewhat prematurely as it seems now, that the Oghuz-Kipchak dialect should be linked to the same Desht-i Kipchak area (*KCsA* 3, pp. 81-83), a suggestion readily accepted as valid by C. Brockelmann (*Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Litteratursprachen Mittelasiens*, Leiden, 1954, p. 8) and further developed by J. Eckmann ("Das Chwarezmtürkische", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, i, p. 112), who postulated that not only the no. 3, the Oghuz-Kipchak dialect, but even the no. 1, the Kipchak dialect of the Mamluks is to be considered Khvarezmian ("Die kiptschakische Literatur", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, pp. 275-304). Eckmann's hypothesis was subsequently upheld by A. Bodrogligeti ("A Grammar of Mameluke Kipchak", *Studia Turcica*, pp. 89-102), and others. However, the envisaged continuation of this article, which is to deal with the Oghuz substratum of Kipchak Turkic, will present additonal new aspects in the light of which the above assumption regarding the origin of the no. 3 dialect of the Mamluks will have to be reconsidered. Not much different is the situation with the Kipchak dialect no. 1, and even interesting articles like that by A. Inan ("XIII-XV. yüzyıllarda Mısır'da Oğuz-Türkmen ve Kıpçak lehçeleri «Halis Türkçe»", *TDAYB* 1953, pp. 53-71) are best handled with considerable caution.

[18] Issues 1978, and 1979.

it for Turco-Hungarian etymological studies in general or for the question of the Old Turkic ('pre-Conquest time' Turkic) and Cuman-Pecheneg layers in particular.

I would like to begin by recalling two cases where recourse was already taken to the material in the *At-Tuḥfah* while dealing with Turkic loanwords :

1) GYOMOR

L. Ligeti, in his "Gyomor" (*MNy* 37, pp. 344-345), and H. Eren, in his "Török jövevényszók a magyarban" (*MNy* 49, pp. 34-37) refer to the *At-Tuḥfah* while dealing with the Kipchak Turkic character of this word. In completion of these references may I give here the pertinent entry in my *At-Tuḥfah* edition (= *T* from here on) :[19]

yumur 'stomach of suckling lamb, fourth stomach; belly' 4^{v} 4, 'gizzard' 28^{v}.

[19] The entries are taken from the second volume of *T* which is a complete listing, in alphabetic order, of all the Turkic words that occur in the various chapters of the monument. The mechanics of the presentation of the words in this listing are as follows : the Turkic word, reflected in a simplified transcription and complemented with the English equivalent of the Arabic meaning given, is followed by folio- and line references indicating each and every occurrence of the word in the monument. In case of identical meaning(s) the place references are listed in a single sequence; in case of differences in meaning the place references are broken up into corresponding groups. In the few cases where no Arabic meaning of the Turkic word is given in the monument, it is cited in *T* without a complementing English equivalent; in cases where the Turkic word appears both with and without an Arabic meaning in the monument, the place references, separated accordingly in two sequences, are linked together with the word 'and'. Following the occurrence references, a selective number of relevant Middle Kipchak parallels of the word are cited from the editions of Islamic monuments by M. Th. Houtsma (*Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leiden, 1894 (= Houtsma)), A. Caferoğlu (*Abû-Ḥayyân, Kitâb al-idrâk li-lisân al-Atrâk*, Istanbul, 1931 (= Caferoğlu)), S. Telegdi ("Eine türkische Grammatik in arabischer Sprache aus dem XV. Jhdt.", *KCsA* 1 Ergänzungsband, pp. 282-326 (= Telegdi)), A. Zajączkowski (*Manuel arabe de la langue des Turcs et des Kiptchaks (Epoque de l'Etat Mamelouk)*, Warszawa, 1938 (= Zajączkowski I) and "Note complementari sulla lessicografia arabo-turca nell'epoca dello Stato Mamelucco", *Annali del R. Istituto Superiore Orientale di Napoli* N.S. 1, pp. 149-162 (= Zajączkowski III) and V. Izbudak (*El-idrak haşiyesi*, Istanbul, 1936 (= Velet)), and from the editions of non-Islamic Kipchak Turkic monuments by K. Grönbech (*Komanisches Wörterbuch*, Kopenhagen, 1942 (= Grönbech), from the Middle Oghuz material given by A. Battal (*Ibn Mühenna lûgatı*, Istanbul, 1934 (= Battal I)), from the Middle Turkic material given by C. Brockelmann (*Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, Budapest-Leipzig, 1928 (= Brockelmann)), from the modern Turkic material given by T. Kowalski (*Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki*, Kraków, 1929 (= Kowalski)), W. Radloff (*Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, 's-Gravenhage, 1960, i-iv (= Radloff)), and in the well-known works of J. Németh, V. Pröhle, N. A. Baskakov, R. R. Arat, etc.

The word, in my opinion, is to be considered to be of Western Turkic origin. (*See* on *y-* > *c-* p. 156 above.)

2) KOZMA

E. Mándoky, in his "L'étymologie turque de deux mots Hongrois" (*Acta Orientalia* 25, p. 398), refers to the *At-Tuḥfah* in connection with the first item in his listing of Turkic correspondences to the Hungarian *kozma* ("*TZ qasmak* ~ *qazmak* «ateşin çokluğundan kabın dibine yapışan yemek artığı» *Atalay*, 186-7, 190"). Though I find the conclusion of Mándoky, placing the word among those belonging to the Old Turkic layer, debatable (*see* pp. 201-202 below), I would like to mention here only that the pertinent entries in *T* will read :

kasmak 'scrapings' 12r, 'remnants of food (burned to the bottom of the kettle)' 27v6; Radloff ii, 359 : *id.* Tatar, Chaghatay 'was an den Kesselwändern nach dem Kochen sitzen bleibt'.

kazzmak 'remnants of food (burned to the bottom of the kettle)' 27v; *SDer* 862 : *kazmık* 'tava, tencere gibi şeylerin içine yapışmış olan tortunun kazıntısı', *kazımık* 'tarhana, un çorbası, muhallebi gibi şeylerin pişirilirken kabın dibine çökmesi yüzünden elde edilen kısmı'.

Briefly, the Hungarian *kozma* might be of Kipchak Turkic origin.

One of the greatest merits of linguistic monuments lies in the fact that, if properly edited, they are bound to yield material which might confirm, modify, or refute old results, provide new etymological findings or be an indicator leading to such discoveries. For instance, with the aid of the *At-Tuḥfah* our knowledge on the etymologies of the following words can easily be complemented, modified, and/or enlarged :

1) BÉCS

The word *bečiel* 'hvffe halcz' of *Codex Cumanicus* was read and interpreted by G. Kuun as *bečel* 'urbs munita, castellum' and linked to *Bécs*, the Hungarian equivalent for *Vienna*.

L. Ligeti in a delightful article ("Sur deux mots comans", *Acta Antiqua* 10, pp. 167-174) corrects this mistake summarizing his findings (p. 174) as follows : "Quoi qu'il en soit, il est certain que le mot en question du *Codex Cumanicus* doit être lu *bečel*, son interprétation est "paralysé à la hanche", il n'a donc rien à voir avec le nom hongrois *Bécs* de la ville de Vienne".

Ligeti's findings also are confirmed by the *At-Tuḥfah*. In *T* the pertinent entry will read :

beçel 'afflicted with scrotal hernia, defective' 28r13, 'lame' 32v13; Grönbech 54 : *id.* 'hüftenlahm'; *SDer* 180 : *id.* 'çolaklık, topallık gibi uzvi malûliyeti olan'.

2) BÖLCSŐ

According to the *TESz* the word is of Old Turkic origin. The *ö*, the *l*, the *cs*, and the *ő*, that is each individual constituent of the word is explained with the aid of Hungarian criteria and the word deducted from a Turkic **bişiğ* form. With regard to some Kipchak Turkic criteria for the *ö*, the *l*, and the *ő* of this word see pp. 201-209 below. As for the *cs*, the pertinent entry of *T* is of interest and it reads as follows :

beçik 'crib' 8r10; Houtsma 62 : *beşik* 'Wiege'; Telegdi 306 : *id.* '*id.*'

Instead of the formulation H. *bölcső* < OT. **bişig*, one might then establish a more direct relation, that is, the Hungarian *bölcső* could be considered to be a word of Kipchak Turkic origin.

3) GESTENYE

The word is considered to have come into Hungarian around 1200 from Bavaria–Austria (*TESz*). In the pertinent entry *T* offers the following information on it :

kestene 'chestnut' 28v5; Radloff ii, 1168 : *kestane*, *kestene* Crimean, Ottoman 'die Kastanie'.

Thus, the Hungarian word might be Kipchak Turkic.

4) KALÁCS

The word is considered to be of Slavic origin (*TESz*). *T* in the pertinent entry offers the following information :

kalaş 'flat loaf of bread' 16v9, 28v6; Radloff ii, 232 : *id.* Altay, Teleut, Lebed, Shor 'das Weissbrot', ii, 231 ; *kalaç* Tatar, Crimean '*id.*'.

The Hungarian word might be Kipchak Turkic.

5) KAZAR

The standard explanation of the Hungarian word is that it designates a person or a group of people who is/are of Kazar origin (*TESz*). And there is the contention that, in Hungarian usage, settlements with ethnic names were either inhabited or founded by people of that same *ethnos*. Furthermore, according to J. Németh (*HMK*, pp. 37, 77, and 238) the Turkic equivalent of the word means 'vagabond, nomad', and according to P. Pelliot it is to be connected with the Mongolian *xasr* 'dog', a borrowing from Turkic (*Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris, 1949, pp. 208 note 2, and 218). Under the pertinent entry *T* offers the following information :

kasar 'dog' 85r13; Ramstedt 171 : *xasr* (*noxē*) 'jagdhund'.

Before bringing the various data into context, one should remember that a) ethnic names can be found designating species of dogs (a semantic change not all too uncommon, *e.g.*, ***komondor*** in Hungarian, ***Dane***

in English, etc.), and b) words designating animals, and in particular the word for dog, are often used in Turkic society as anthroponyms. Consequently, the word *kazar* in Hungarian should not be limited to its strict ethnic meaning, and settlements by this name should not be attributed strictly to the Kazar people. One might easily assume instead that such a settlement was founded for instance by a Kipchak Turk by the name of *Kasar* 'Dog'.

6) KÖLYÖK

The word is classified as Western Turkic by the *TESz*. I have a *küçük* entry in *T* which reads as follows :

küçük 'dog, puppy' 11r6; Houtsma 96 : *küçük, keçik* 'junger Hund'; Caferoğlu 54 : *küçük* 'köpek yavrusu'; ~ Zajączkowski I 33 : *külük* 'petit de chien'.

The *külük* form — whatever its origin may be — would indicate that the Hungarian *kölyök* does not have to be a Western Turkic word.

7) SAKÁL

Whatever the reason for it, the word is not listed in the *SzófSz*. It may be that it was considered one of those *Kulturworts* and thus of lesser importance. *T* offers the following information on this word :

şakal 'jackal' 7r10; Baskakov 267 : *id.* Noghay 'šakal'; Radloff iv, 937 : *şağal* New Uyghur 'der Schakal', iv, 1833 : *çakal* Ottoman *'id.'*; Houtsma 71 : *çağal 'id.'*.

8) SOK

Notwithstanding the Finno-Ugric background of the word, I would like to present here the data *T* provides us on the Turkic word *çok* 'much, many'. Pertinent entries are as follows :

şok 'much, many' 30r4; Caferoğlu 31 : *çok* 'kesir, çok'; Telegdi 308 : *id., bu andan çok yaxşıdur* 'dieser ist viel besser als jener'; ~ Radloff iv, 1023 : *şok-* Shor 'auf einen Haufen legen (Waaren, Sachen)'.

şok bol- 'to become numerous' 31r4; *see, s.v., şok*; *see, s.v., bol-*.

With its Middle Kipchak parallel the Shor form gains momentum.

9) SUBA

The word is considered to be of Slavic origin (*SzófSz*). In *T* we find the following entry :

şuba 'upper coat, top-clothing' 27r12.

One might consequently assume that, Arabic in origin, this word entered into Hungarian rather via Kipchak Turkic than via Slavic channels.

10) SZÓR

According to the *SzófSz* this is a "Turkic loanword from pre-Conquest

time", and is to be connected with the Chaghatay *saur-* 'to scatter'. *T* provides us with the following information :

sovur- 'to scatter, to fan (grain)' 15v8 ; Radloff iv, 562 : *id.* Chaghatay 'werfeln', iv, 429 : *savur-* Chaghatay, Ottoman 'zerstreuen, werfeln; prahlen, drohen' Crimean 'werfeln, sieben'.

As can be seen from numerous examples in *T*, in Middle Kipchak the *a* in the first syllable, when followed by *v* and *u*, often changes to *o*. We will give here only a few of the more relevant entries supporting this finding :

1. *avsun* 'incantation' 16v5 ; *SDer* 131 : *avsun(?)* 'yılan, parsak gibi hayvanların ağısına karşı muafiyet veren usül' ; ~ *SDer* 131 : *avsunla-* 'okuyup üflemek suretiyle ağılı hayvanların sokmaması için muafiyet kazanmak, şerbetlenmek; hastayı okuyup üflemek',

~

ovsun 'incantation' 16v5 ; *see*, *s.v.*, *ovsunla-*.

ovsunla- 'to use incantations, to climb' 17r7 ; *SDer* 131 : *avsunla-* 'okuyup üflemek suretiyle ağılı hayvanların sokmaması için muafiyet kazanmak, şerbetlenmek; hastayı okuyup üflemek'.

2. *kavun* 'muskmelon' 7r12 ; Caferoğlu 73 : *id.* 'sarı kavun' ; Telegdi 317 : *id.* 'Zuckermelone',

~

kovun 'muskmelon' 7r12 ; Caferoğlu 73 : *kavun* 'sarı kavun' ; Telegdi 317 : *id.* 'Zuckermelone'.

3. *kakırdak* 'foetal sack' 18v ; Velet 26 : *id.* 'rahimde oğlan yatağı dedikleri deri'.

~

kovurdak 'foetal sack' 18v6 ; *see*, *s.v.*, *kakırdak*.

11) TEKNŐ

It is considered to be a "Turkic loanword from pre-Conquest time" (*SzófSz*). *T* has the following pertinent entries :

tekenek 'bucket' 15r6 ; ~ Grönbech 238 : *tegene* 'Wassertrog' ; Radloff iii, 1031 : *id.* Kazak 'ein grosser Holznapf', iii, 1022 : *tekne* Ottoman 'ein grosser aus einem Holzstück ausgeholter Trog' Chaghatay 'ein grosses Gefäss' Oghuz, Turki 'der Schifskörper, das Fahrzeug'.

tekne- 'to carve out, to cut out, to split' 21r2 ; *see*, *s.v.*, *tekenek*.

The verbal base to the Turkic word is interesting. (For the Hungarian form *see*, pp. 201-207 below).

12) TULIPÁN

According to the *SzófSz* the word is of Italian, German or Ottoman origin. *T* has the following pertinent entry :

tulban 'turban' 24v4 ; Caferoğlu 107 : *id.* 'baş örtüsü, sarık, tülbent'.

Persian by origin, the word may have entered into Hungarian via Kipchak Turkic channels.

In the above cases information gained from the *At-Tuhfah* was used to confirm, complement, modify or refute old results. In the following they will be used as indicators for possible new etymologies. The three words to be dealt with are *Janik*, *könyv*, and *toportyán féreg*.

JANIK

Throughout centuries *Yanık* is the name under which the Hungarian Győr appears in Ottoman sources. The same designation for Győr also was found in Armenian sources (*e.g.*, in the chronicle of Gabriel Tokhateci, Manr Zhamanakagrutyuner XIII-XVIII dd. (Yerevan, 1951), i, p. 404). By Ottoman popular etymology, which eventually became general, the word was linked to the Ottoman Turkish *yanık* 'burnt, scorched'. (Such popular etymologies are of common appearance in Ottoman *defters*, *e.g.*, *Sıçan* (vulg.) 'ejecting, esp. excrement' for *Szécsény*, or *Direkli* 'pillared, having pillars' for *Drégely*.) On the other hand, in a recent monograph on Győr,[20] in an effort to explain the name *Győr*, P. Váczy (chapter "A város az ókor és a középkor fordulóján", p. 55) emphasizes the ford character of the place. And in *T* we find the following pertinent information :

yanık 'ford, ferry' 33r6; ~ Ramstedt 147 : *gatlğ*^{a} 'stelle wo man über ein Wasser setzt; furt, fahre'.

Taking into consideration that according to I. Kniezsa (*Ungarns Völkerschaften im XI. Jahrhundert*, Budapest, 1938, p. 108) in the 11th century some areas around the stronghold of Győr were inhabited by a Kipchak Turkic (Pecheneg) population, the place may very well have been called *yanık* 'ford' in Kipchak Turkic. To prove such a thesis, however, the existence of a *Janik* designation for Győr in earlier Hungarian sources would have to be established first.

KÖNYV

The word first appears in Hungarian records in ca 1282, in connection with Kálmán, King of Hungary (1095-1116) : "*Qunwes* enim Kalman est vocatus cum libros habebat". It is considered a *Kulturwort* by the *TESz*, and there are no conclusive etymological explanations for it. In *T* there are two pertinent entries which, though not decisive, are of great interest. They are as follows :

[20] P. Váczy, "A város az ókor és a középkor fordulóján", *Győr, Várostörténeti tanulmányok*, Győr, 1971, pp. 49-78.

1. *kebin* 'writing; contract of dowery' 30v3; Velet 20 : *gebin* 'kalın, mihr'; Steingass 1000 : *kābīn* 'matrimony, or rather the ratification of it before the judge; a marriage-portion or settlement which a husband is obliged to pay to his wife if he divorces her without sufficient cause'.

2. *kebin* 'shroud' 30v3; Radloff ii, 1194 : *id.* Kazak 'das Leichentuch, Todtengewand'.

The first of the two *kebin*s goes back to the Persian *kābīn*, the second to the Arabic *kafn*, and latter is mentioned only for its relevancy for the *v* in the Hungarian *könyv*. Beside 'writing; contract of dowery' *kitāb*, the Arabic equivalent of the first *kebin* can also mean 'book, in general'. At the same time one should not forget that in the Islamic World marriage documents were (A. Dietrich, "Eine arabische Eheurkunde aus der Aiyūbidenzeit", *DII* 1, pp. 121-154) and still are today (A. Bloch–H. Grotzfeld, *Damaszenisch-Arabische Texte*, Wiesbaden, 1964 (= *AKM* 35 ii), pp. 44-49) drawn up as elaborate and often voluminous documents. Furthermore, if one takes into consideration that King Kálmán married his first wife, 'la Pucelle' — the daughter of the Sicilian Roger I, and the sister of Roger II, in whose courts the Islamic traditions were strong — with special dowry arrangement, it becomes plausible that the word *Qunwes* relates to an elaborate marriage document. Since the changes in the Hungarian form, the $b > v$, the metathesis, the $e > \ddot{o}$ can easily be explained both along the Turkic (*see*, pp. 201-210 below) and the Hungarian line, if further historical data could be found to support the above theory, the word then could be added to those of the *kavar–kéve* category.

TOPORTYÁN FÉREG

Only the first component of this compound appears in the *SzófSz* with the meaning 'plump, sluggish'. There are no known valid etymologies for the word. Taking recourse to old notes made from J. Szinyei's *Magyar tájszótár* (Budapest, 1893-1901), I found in one of the definitions taken from the apiarian of A. Csémalossi Ravazdy (*Méhtolmács*, Diószeg, 1791, p. 38): "szamárdarázs, oly nagy mint az ekeszántással felforduló esméretes toportyán-féreg". The word *toportyán* appears in P. Bugát's *Természettudományi szóhalmaz* (Buda, 1836) where, on page 437, we find the following information: "*toportyán* = lycaena; *szilvási toportyán* = lycaena-pruni". *Féreg*, the second component of the compound is a general designation for insects in Hungarian. The name *toportyán féreg* then can be accepted as designating a sort of dung beetle. The relevant entry in *T* similarly is a compound, and we find :

tıfırdan kurtı 'dung beetle, scarab' 14r; ~ Telegdi 309 : *donguzlan kurtı* 'Käfer'; *TTS* 694 : *tomuzlan kurdu* 'bok böceği cinsinden bir böcek'.

In both Turkic and Hungarian, the second component is a word designating : worm, maggot, insect. Regarding the first component of the Hungarian compound, it is my contention that not only is it to be connected with the *SzófSz*' *toportyán* 'plump sluggish' but that this *toportyán* is, indeed, a back-formation from *toportyán féreg*, the compound in question to begin with.

But, *pars pro toto*, the real importance of the *At-Tuḥfah* lies, indeed, in the many and valuable phonetic data furnished by its contents, directly or indirectly. It was in my article on Middle Kipchak *k-*, *q-* > *0* that I first made use of the material along this line.[21] Now, once again I would like to point out some phonetic changes, both consonantal and vocalic, which can be established for Middle Kipchak from the information furnished by the *At-Tuḥfah*. And, although the majority of the phonetic changes provable by the information in the *At-Tuḥfah* might already have been established from modern Turkic dialects, with the help of the *At-Tuḥfah* our knowledge of them can be carried back in time and space, back to mid-fourteenth-century Syria.

Be it on old or newly established changes, the historical-linguistic evidence given to us by the *At-Tuḥfah* is of major interest not only for Turkology but also for Hungarology since, among others, it provides viable criteria for Kipchak Turkic loanwords in Hungarian. By dint of these criteria the "Middle layer" of the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian can be given new consideration and rescued from its present, so to say corridor status between the Western Turkic-, the Old Turkic-, and the Ottoman layers. Indeed, by virtue of the new evidence, the border between the Old Turkic- and the Cuman–Pecheneg layer appears almost superfluous, since in its light many a word in the Old Turkic group easily qualifies to be classified as Kipchak Turkic.

By the mere fact of its character, a monument in Arabic script originat-

[21] T. Halasi-Kun, "Orta-Kıpçakça *q-*, *k-* ~ *0* meselesi", *TDTHA* 1 (1950), pp. 45-61. This article has an obvious relevancy to the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian. *E.g.* certain phonetic aspects of K. Kerényi's semantically perfect etymology of the name *Árboc* ("*Árpád* és a növényi termést jelentő magyar személynevek", *MNy* 27, pp. 94-106, and 216), a thirteenth century Cuman leader who participated in the assassination of King Ladislas the Cuman (B. Hóman – Gy. Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, i (Budapest, 1935), pp. 610-611), linking the word to the Turkic *karbuz* 'water melon', are fully borne out by its contents.

ing most probably from Syria, the *At-Tuḥfah* is the best suited to yield valuable information in particular on the question of *ç* > *ş*, *ç* ~ *ş*, and the more sporadic *ş* > *ç* among all consonantal changes. Up till recently I myself missed the importance of this point and attributed the various *ç*, *ş*, *c*, *j* forms in the monument to transcription difficulties rather than anything else.[22] Only while working on my articles on "The Ottoman Elements in the Syrian Dialects" (*AO* 1, pp. 14-91, *AO* 5 pp. 17-95, and *AO* 7, forthcoming) did I become aware of the fact that, an obviously able philologist, the author of the *At-Tuḥfah* was well equipped to make careful differentiation exactly when it came to reflecting the *ç*, *ş*, *c*, *j* sounds.

From the information furnished by the *At-Tuḥfah* it becomes evident that — though both initial and intermediate *ç* was often preserved — in many instances a *ç* > *ş* change can be witnessed in the Kipchak Turkic dialect mainly described in the monument. In the following, a list of words is given in which the *ç* > *ş* change has taken place. It is, of course, understood that, even if not always cited, for each entry there is a corresponding *ç* form in one/some of the other Turkic languages. Furthermore, if there is a parallel form with *ç* in the *At-Tuḥfah* itself, the entry is marked with a ‖ for convenience (*e.g.*, ‖ *şok*).

ağaş 'blunt javelin used in equestrian games, wood' 14r1; Radloff i, 152 : *id.* Shor, Kazak 'Baum, Holz; hölzern', Kazak, Saghay, Shor 'Stock', Lebed, Shor 'der Wald'.

‖ *akşa* (*akşam yok*) 52r3; Radloff i, 128 : *id.* Kazak 'weisslich; Geld'.

‖ *aktaş* 'lad' 26r2; ~ *s.v.*, *aktaçı*.

alşak 'humble' 32v1, 'low' 73r11; Telegdi 302 : *alçak* (but *'alş'aq*) 'niedrig; sanft'.[23]

alşay- 'to straddle' 27v13; Radloff i, 428 : *id.* Kazak 'auseinander gebogen sein'; ~ Radloff i, 428 : *alşayt-* Kazak 'auseinanderbiegen', *oyağın alşaytıp turdu* 'er stand mit gespreizten Beinen da'.

‖ *andış* 'taking the oath' 38v; ~ Houtsma 55 : *ant iç-* 'schwören'.

‖ *aş* 'hungry' 11r; Radloff i, 587 : *id.* Kazak, Shor, Taranchi 'hungrig';

[22] T. Halasi-Kun, "Philologica I", *DTCFD* 5, pp. 1-37; *idem*, "Philologica II", *DTCFD* 7, pp. 415-465.

[23] Naturally, this change is not a phenomenon restricted to the *At-Tuḥfah*. It can readily be evidenced in other Middle Kipchak monuments, especially in later ones like the fifteenth-century *Qavānīn*. It is this change which accounts for certain reading difficulties Telegdi encountered in his German edition of this text. Adapting the findings from the *At-Tuḥfah* to the *Qavānīn* it is easy to see that there too *şim*, in general, stands for *ş* (that is *şağanak*, *şağır*, *şağır-*, *şanak*, *şap-*, and not *çağanak*, etc.), whereas *cim*, in recent loanwords, should be read as *c* (*e.g.*, *cāmi'*, *cān*, etc.) and in Turkic (older loan)words as *ç* (*e.g.*, *inçi*, etc.), and that in some instances parallel *ç ş* forms also have to be counted with (*e.g.*, *iç-* ~ *iş-*, etc.).

Houtsma 44 : *aç* 'nüchtern, hungrig'; Caferoğlu 1 : *id.* 'acıkmış kimse'; Kowalski 150 : *id.* 'hungrig'.

aşıtmak 'displeasure, sorrow' 26r8; ~ Radloff i, 594 : *aşın-* Kazak = *açın-*, i, 506 : *açın-* Altay, Teleut, Saghay 'bemitleiden, traurig sein, sich grämen, Schmerz empfinden, sich ärgern über etwas'.

balşık 'clay' 23r6; Radloff iv, 1506 : *id.* Kazak 'der Lehm, der Schmutz'; Caferoğlu 14 : *balçık* 'çamur'; Zajączkowski I 11 : *id.* 'argile, boue'; Telegdi 305 : *id.* (but $b^{a}l\dot{s}^{i}q$) 'Kot'.

balşıra- 'to crush' 25v10; ~ Ramstedt 32 : $baltsrx^{a}$ 'in Stücke zerfallen, breit zerknetet werden'.

balşıray- 'to be crushed' 10r7; ~ Ramstedt 45 : *biltsrxə* 'platt gedrückt werden, zerdrückt, zerknetet werden (von weichen oder durchnässten Gegenständen)'.

barşa 'totality' 81v4, 'all, totality' 90r5, and 81v4, 81v5; Telegdi 305 : *barça* (but $b^{a}r\dot{s}a$) 'alle'; Radloff iv, 1488 : *barşa* Kazak 'alle, alles'.

başa 'hoof (of cloven-footed beasts)' 12v5; Radloff iv, 1551 : *id.* Kazak 'der untere Theil des Beines, der Pfote (Hammels, etc.)'.

bir buşkaklı 'edge, single-edged' 12v8; *see, s.v., buşkaklı.*

bir neşe 'while, duration' 34v9; ~ Radloff iii, 687 : *neşe sağat bold*^{u}? Kazak 'welche Zeit ist es?', iv, 1747 : *bir nice adamlar* Ottoman 'einige Leute'.

borş 'debt' 15r2; Radloff iv, 1668 : *id.* Kazak 'die Schulden', iv, 1664 : *boruş* Kazak *'id.'*; Zajączkowski I 13 : *borç* 'dette, devoir'.

borş ber- 'to lend' 5r11; *see, s.v., borş*; *see, s.v., ber-.*

burşa 'pepper' 27v5; ~ Houtsma 61 : *burç* 'Pfeffer'; Grönbech 69 : *id.* *'id.'*.

burşak 'calculus' 12r12; Radloff iv, 1833 : *id.* Kazak 'die Erbse, der Hagel; eine Schnur mit Kügelchen, die man den Lämmern um den Hals legt, wenn man sie anbindet'; Houtsma 61 : *burçak* 'Hagel'; Caferoğlu 23 : *id.* 'dolu'; Grönbech 69 : *id.* 'Hagel'.

buşkaklı 'angular' 34r9; ~ Grönbech 67 : *buçğak* 'Winkel'.

bürşe 'flea' 7r8; Radloff iv, 1893 : *bürşö* Kazak 'der Floh'; Houtsma 61 : *bürçe* *'id.'*; Caferoğlu 25 : *id.* 'pire'; Velet 8 : *büre, bürçe* *'id.'*; Zajączkowski I 15 : *id.* 'puce'.

bürşük 'crown of a tree' 16v6; Radloff iv, 1893 : *bürş*^{ü}*k* Kazak 'die Blattknospe'; Houtsma 61 : *bürçek* 'Baumkrone'.

çeküş 'hammer' 33v5; Houtsma 69 : *çeküç* 'Hammer'; Caferoğlu 28 : *id.* 'çekiç'.

hiş 'nothing, nil' 38v6, 90r4; Zajączkowski I 21 : *hiç* 'rien, jamais'; Grönbech 102 : *heç* indeklinables Wort welches zur Verstärkung einer Negation oder eines sonstwie negierten Ausdruckes dient.

ırşık 'kind of rusk' 18v6; ~ Radloff ii, 758 : *kırçak, kırçık* Tatar 'die Kante des Brotes'; Pröhle 222 : *gırzın* Balkar 'Brot'; Pröhle 118 : *k'ırcın* Karachay 'brotartiges Gebäck'. (*See* Halasi-Kun, *TDTHA* 1 (1950), pp. 45-61).

ışkın- 'to escape' 9r1; Radloff i, 1402 : *id.* Shor 'sich losreisen, losschnellen, aufgehen (von einem Knoten)'; Grönbech 272 : *ıçkın-* 'entwischen'.

ışkun 'sparks' 20v4; Grönbech 263 : *uçkun* 'Funke'.

|| *ikşi* 'three years old goat' 10v4; *see, s.v., içki.*

il şap- 'to clap, to applaud' 22r10, 'to strike the hands together' 22r; *see, s.v., il* 'hand'; *see, s.v., şap-.*

ileŋiş 'crayfish' 18v9; Radloff iii, 745 : *lengeç* Chaghatay 'die Krabbe'.

inşike 'thin, delicate' 16v7; Grönbech 106 : *inçke* 'dünn, fein'; Radloff i, 1451 : *inçike* Taranchi 'schmal, schlank, fein'.

işegi 'intestine' 32r7; ~ Radloff i, 1552 : *işek* Kazak 'der Darm', i, 1515 : *içege* Kūrdak, Kumandi 'die Eingeweide, der Darm', *içegü* Chaghatay '*id.*'.

işeri 'inside' 10v11, and 82v10; Radloff i, 1515 : *içeri* Crimean, Ottoman 'innerhalb, drinnen, hinein; der innere Theil des Hauses (d.h. die Wohnräume der Familie)'; ~ Radloff i, 1556 : *işkeri* Taranchi 'innerhalb, inwendig'.

|| *işgen* 75r5; ~ *s.v., iç-.*

||*işke monuzı* 'St.-John's-bread' 13v11; *see, s.v., işki*; ~ Caferoğlu. 21 : *boynuz* Turkoman, *muyuz* 'boynuz'; Zajączkowski I 28 : *keçi boynuzu* 'caroube'.

işkeri 'inside, in it' 10v10, 73r12, and 82v9; Radloff i, 1556 : *id.* Taranchi 'innerhalb, inwendig'; Kowalski 192 : *içkiri* 'in..., hinein; Zimmer, Stube'.

||*işki* 'goat' 33r10; Radloff i, 911 : *eşki* Kazak 'Ziege', i, 1530 : *is'ki* Bashkir '*id.*'; Houtsma 45 : *eçki* '*id.*'; Caferoğlu 9 : *id.* Kipchak 'keçi'; Zajączkowski I 10 : *id.* 'chèvre'.

||*kabarşaklı bağa* 'kind of amphibious turtle; turtle ' 31v2, and 39r3; *see, s.v., kabarçaklı bağa.*

kalaş 'flat loaf of bread' 16v9, 28v6; Radloff ii, 232 : *id.* Altay, Teleut, Lebed, Shor 'das Weissbrot, ii, 231 : *kalaç* Tatar, Crimean '*id.*'.

kamşı 'whip' 33r12; Radloff ii, 496 : *id.* Kazak 'die Knute, Peitsche'; Houtsma 92 : *kamçı* 'Peitsche'; Caferoğlu 68 : *id.* 'kamçı'; Telegdi 316 : *id.* (but $q^{a}mş^{ı}$) 'Peitsche'.

kamşu 'whip' 33r12; *see, s.v., kamşı.*

||*karlağaş* 'swallow, swift' 19r1; Radloff ii, 196 : *id.* Altay 'die

Schwalbe'; Houtsma 89 : *karlağaç 'id.'*; Telegdi 317 : *id.* (but *q^{a}rl^{a}ğaş*) *'id.'*.

||*kaş-* 50^{r}5; Radloff ii, 389 : *id.* Shor, Kazak, Azeri 'entfliehen'.

kaşa bar- 'to escape' 9^{v}7; *see, s.v., kaş-*; *see, s.v., bar-*.

kaşır- 82^{v}; Radloff ii, 394 : *id.* Kazak 'vertreiben, fortjagen, in die Flucht schlagen'.

kavurşak 'doll' 31^{v}3; Radloff ii, 471 : *kavurçak* Ottoman 'eine Puppe, Figur (beim chinesischen Schattenspiel)'.

kemirşek 83^{v}11; Radloff ii, 1210 : *kemirçek* Altay, Teleut, Chaghatay 'der Knorpel', *kemirdzek* Baraba *'id.'*.

kerşek 'truth' 21^{v}13, 'true' 65^{v}1; Houtsma 97 : *kirşek* (*kerşek*), *kirşek söyle-* Turkoman 'die Wahrheit sprechen'; Radloff ii, 1106 : *kerçek* Tobolsk 'wahrhaftig, aufrichtig'.

keş bol- 'to be late' 67^{r}10, 68^{v}9, 68^{v}10; ~ Radloff ii, 1181 : *keş* Kazak 'spät'; *see, s.v., bol-*.

keş- 'to pass' 11^{v}7, 25^{r}13, and 82^{v}1; Radloff ii, 1180 : *id.* Kazak, Shor, Taranchi 'über einen Fluss setzen'; Houtsma 95 : *keç-* 'übersetzen'; Caferoğlu 43 : *id.* 'geçti'; Telegdi 313 : *id.* (but *k^{e}şti*) 'überschreiten'.

||*keşe* 75^{r}7; Radloff ii, 1181 : *id.* Kazak 'gestern'.

keşel 'bald-headed' 3^{v}5; Radloff ii, 1145 : *keçel* Ottoman 'kahlköpfig, grindköpfig'.

||*keşi monuzı* 'St.-John's bread, goat's horn' 13^{v}; ~ Houtsma 96 : *keçi* 'Ziege'; Caferoğlu 43 : *id.* 'keçi'; Telegdi 313 : *id.* (but *k^{e}şi*) 'Ziege'; ~ Caferoğlu 21 : *boynuz* Turkoman, *muyuz* 'boynuz'.

kırşıldat- 'to gnash' 29^{v}11; Radloff ii, 761 : *id.* Kazak 'ein knirschendes Geräusch hervorbringen'; ~ Radloff ii, 759 : *kırçılda-* Ottoman 'mit den Zähnen knirschen'.

kısaş 'crayfish' 18^{v}; Radloff ii, 804 : *kısaç* Ottoman 'die Zange, Schmiedezange'; ~ Caferoğlu 76 : *kıskaç* 'yengeç'; Zajączkowski I 43 : *kışkaç* 'écrevisse'.

kıskaş 'crayfish' 18^{v}10; Caferoğlu 76 : *kıskaç* 'yengeç'; Zajączkowski I 43 : *kışkaç* 'écrevisse'.

||*kış* 'mustard' 13^{v}11; ~ *s.v., kıçı*.

||*kışkır-* 'to cry; to scream; to yell' 18^{r}2; Radloff ii, 836 : *id.* Azeri, Kazak, Teleut 'schreien, jammern, rufen zanken'.

||*kışkırak* 'who makes much noise, noisy' 47^{r}13; ~ *s.v., kışkır-*.

||*kışkırık* 'who makes much noise, noisy; noise' 47^{r}13; *SDer* 895 : *kıçkırık* 'köpeği kurda saldırmak için çobanın haykırışı; kışkırtma'.

kızganş 'avaricious' 6^{v}8; Kowalski 230 : *kızğanç* 'geizig'.

||*kireş* 'lime' 11v1; *see, s.v., kireç.*

kol şap- 'to clap, to applaud' 22r9; *see, s.v., kol*; *see, s.v., şap-.*

korkunş 'frightful' 34v9; Radloff ii, 566: *korkᵘnşᵘ* Kazak 'furchtsam', ii, 565: *korkunç* Ottoman 'furchtsam', Chaghatay, New Uyghur 'schrecklich, furchtbar; die Furcht, der Schrecken'.

köş- 'to move, to decamp' 17r4; Radloff ii, 1304: *id.* Kazak, Shor 'übersiedeln, nomadisiren, fortziehen'; Houtsma 96: *köç-* fortziehen'; Caferoğlu 50: *id.* 'göçtü'; Telegdi 315: *id.* (but *köşti*) 'aufbrechen, das Lager verlassen'.

kulamşa 'catamite' 3v12.

kulaş 'fathom' 6v5; ~ Radloff ii, 977: *kulaşta-* Sayan, Kazak, Kirghiz 'mit ausgestreckten Armen messen; durch Abschreiten eine Entfernung messen'; Houtsma 92: *kulac* 'Länge der ausgestreckten Aerme, Klafter'; Caferoğlu 81: *kulaç* 'insan iki kolunu açtığı zaman bir kolundan öteki koluna kadar olan mesafe'; Zajączkowski I 41: *id.* 'brasse'; Kowalski 226: *id.* 'Klafter'.

külşe Turkoman 'cake' 30v9; Velet 33: *küliçe* 'peksimet, kek, kuru gevrek; külçe'; Radloff ii, 1334: *kölçe* Tatar 'ein auf der Pfanne gebratener Brotteig'; *ADer* 258: *külçe* 'yağlı çörek'.

||*küş* 'difficult' 22r3; Radloff ii, 1489: *küç* Sayan, Turki 'kräftig, kraftvoll, schwierig, schwer'.

munşuk 'pearls' 14r4; Radloff iv, 2120: *moynşak* Kazak 'rothe Perlen', iv, 2133: *monşa* Shor 'grosse Glasperlen'; Caferoğlu 59: *munçuk* 'boncuk'; Kowalski 236: *muncax* 'kügelchen (von einem Collier), Perle'.

olturğaş 'chair; seat' 30v5; Caferoğlu 62: *olturkaç* 'sandalye, iskemle'.

otraş 'island' 10v9; Gordlevskij 88: *oturaş* 'ostrov'; Caferoğlu Ar. 15: *otraç, atraç* 'al-cazīra'; Zajączkowski I 36: *otraç* 'île'; Kowalski 242: *id.* 'Insel'.

otraş 'something to sit on, space to sit in' 10v9; ~ Radloff i, 1119: *otturğuş* Teleut, Kumandi, Lebed, Shor 'die Bank, der Stuhl; die Stelle wo die Sonne untergeht (sich setzt), der Westen'.

||*ölşeyiptir* 'stepped (measured)' 34r4; *see, s.v., ölşi-.*

||*ölsi-* 'to measure' 29v2; Radloff i, 1259: *ölşö-* Kazak 'messen'.

||*ölşiptir* 'stepped (measured)' 34r; *see, s.v., ölşi-.*

||*ölşük* 83r11; *see, s.v., ölşi-.*

||*ölşüyüptür* 'stepped (measured)' 34r; *see, s.v., ölşi-.*

||*ölüş-* 'to measure' 30v13, and 83r11; ~ Radloff i, 1259: *ölşö-* Kazak 'messen'.

||*örkeş* 'hump (of the camel)' 19r2; Radloff i, 1227: *id.* Taranchi 'der Höcken des Kameels', *örköş* Altay, Lebed, Teleut, Kazak '*id.*'.

sanşlı 'embroidered' 34r1 ; ~ Radloff iv, 312 : *sanş-* Azeri 'stechen, durchbohren'; Grönbech 213 : *sanç-* 'durchstechen, durchbohren'; ~ Ramstedt 172 : *xatx^{a}x^{a}* (*xad^{a}kk^{a}*) 'stechen, durchstechen, sticken, steppen, ausnähen, durchnähen'.

saş 'hair (in general)' 20r5; Houtsma 80 : *saç* 'Haar'; Caferoğlu 84 : *id.* 'saç'; Telegdi 321 : *id.* (but *ş^{a}ş*) 'Haar'.

saş- 'to sow' 7v12; Houtsma 80 : *saç-* 'befeuchten, streuen'; Caferoğlu 84 : *id.* 'saçtı'.

saşak 'tassel, tangle' 20v; Caferoğlu 84 : *saçak* 'püskül'; Grönbech 210 : *id.* 'Franzen'.

||*serşe* Turkoman 'sparrow' 24v10; Radloff iv, 470 : *serçe* Ottoman, Crimean 'der Sperling'.

sırşa 'drinking glass, glass' 17v; Radloff iv, 649 : *sırça* Ottoman 'der Bergkrystall, das Glas'.

||*sış-* 'to evacuate the bowels' 9v10; Telegdi 322 : *sıç-* (but *ş^{ı}ştı*) 'cacare'; Houtsma 76 : *id.* 'scheissen'; Caferoğlu 90 : *id.* 'sıçtı'.

||*sışkak* 'one with diarrhea' 13v6; Brockelmann 177 : *sıçğak* 'am Durchfall leidend'.

||*sışkan* 82v8; Radloff iv, 400 : *saşkan* Taranchi 'die Maus'; Houtsma 76 : *sıçkan* 'Ratte'; Caferoğlu 90 : *id.* 'fare'; Telegdi 322 : *id.* (but *ş^{ı}şqan*) 'Maus'.

||*sirşe* Turkoman 'sparrow' 24v10; Radloff iv, 470 : *serçe* Ottoman, Crimean 'der Sperling'.

||*sovulşan* 'earthworm' 15r4; Radloff iv, 562 : *sovulcan* Ottoman 'der Regenwurm; der Eingeweidewurm'.

suş 'crime' 16r1; Caferoğlu 93 : *suç* 'kusur, kabahat, günah'; Zajączkowski I 47 : *id.* 'péché, faute'.

süri şibin 'mosquitoe(s)' 7r9; Caferoğlu 95 : *süvrü çibin* 'sivrisinek'; Zajączkowski I 45 : *sivriçibin* 'moucheron, moustique'; Grönbech 227 : *sürü çibin* 'Mücke'.

şabaklı 'blear-eyed' 3v7; Radloff iii, 1918 : *çapaklı* Ottoman 'eiternd, triefend'.

şabu 'fighting and tearing each other with tooth and nail' 8v1; Radloff iv, 989 : *şabū* Kazak 'das Schlagen, der Angriff'.

şağ Turkoman 'time, duration' 17v; Radloff iv, 930 : *şak* Shor, Kachints, Kazak 'die Zeit', Kachints 'die Kraft'.

şağır 'wine' 13v12, 36r8; Radloff iv, 1046 : *şığır* Kazak 'im Hause hergestellter Branntwein'; Houtsma 69 : *çakır* 'Wein'; Telegdi 308 : *çağır* (but *şağ^{ı}r*) '*id.*'; Grönbech 72 : *id.* '*id.*'; Kowalski 176 : *id.* '*id.*'.

şak 'time, duration' 17v; Radloff iv, 930 : *id.* Shor, Kachints,

Kazak 'die Zeit', Kachints 'die Kraft', iii, 1831 : *çak* Turki, Sayan, Kipchak 'die Zeit, das Zeitmaass, der Zeitpunkt'; Grönbech 73 : *id.*, *çax* 'Zeit'.

şak- 'to lodge a complaint' 21r8, 29v12; ~ Radloff iv, 939 : *şağım* Kazak 'die Verleumdung', *şağımpas* Kazak 'der Verleumder', *şağıs-* Kazak 'sich zanken', *şağıstır-* Kazak 'Streit erregen, aufhetzen, verleumden'; Houtsma 71 : *çak-*; Telegdi 308 : *id.* (but *ṣ[a]qtı*) 'Klage führen (gegen)'; Grönbech 73 : *id.*, *çax-* 'verleumden'.

[*şak-* 'to strike fire with a flint' 29v12; Houtsma 71 : *çak-* 'Feuer anschlagen'; ~ Radloff iv, 938 : *şagım* Shor, Kachints 'der Funke', *şagınna-* Shor, Kachints 'Funken sprähen', iv, 936 : *şakpak* Kazak 'der Feuerstahl, der Hahn der Flinte'.

şakal 'jackal' 7r10; Baskakov 267 : *id.* Noghay 'šakal'; Radloff iv, 937 : *şağal* New Uyghur 'der Schakal', iv, 1833 : *çakal* Ottoman '*id.*'; Houtsma 71 : *çağal* '*id.*'.

şakır köz 'evil eye, blue eye' 24r6; Caferoğlu 27 : *çakır gözlü* 'mavi gözlü'; ~ Radloff iv, 938 : *şağır* 'graue Augen habend (vom Pferde)'; *see, s.v., köz.*

şaklak 'insolent' 18v2; Caferoğlu 95 : *id.* 'sefih adam'.

şaklı 'corresponding to, in proportion to; estimate, grading' 29r7, 'assessment' 90r10; Grönbech 73 : *çaklı* 'so beschaffen, irgend einer Art seiend, ein gewisses Mass habend'; Bálint 89 : *id.* 'mässig; soviel wie; (c. dat.) bis'.

şal 'ermine' 28v7; Zajączkowski III 156 : *id.* 'belette'; ~ Radloff iv, 959 : *id.* 'mit grauem Haar, alt, bejahrt; der Graukopf, der Alte'.

şal 'gray haired, old man' 20r9; Radloff iv, 959 : *id.* 'mit grauem Haar, alt, bejahrt; der Graukopf, der Alte'; Houtsma 69 : *çal*; Caferoğlu 26 : *id.* 'doru at (renk)'; Battal I 24 : *id.* 'kır saçlı, kıranta'.

şal- 'to play a wind instrument, to play a musical instrument' 18r2; Radloff iv, 960 : *id.* Kazak 'mit einem Schwunge schlagen, berühren, treffen; schlachten; ein Bein stellen (beim Ringkampfe); in den Ohren klingen, hören, vernehmen', iii, 1875 : *çal-* 'ein musikalisches Instrument spielen (eigentlich mit geschwungenen Fingern)'; Caferoğlu 26 : *çal-* 'def ve sair alet-i musikiyeyi çaldı'; ~ Houtsma 74 : *düdük çal* 'pfeifen'.

şalğa- 'to shake' 14v1; *see, s.v., şalka-.*

şalka- 'to shake' 14v1; Radloff iii, 1884 : *çalka-* Ottoman 'bewegen, in Bewegung setzen, schütteln, schlagen (Eier, Milch, Schmand)'; ~ Caferoğlu 26 : *çalkan-* 'çalkandı'.

şalu 'statue (curved, molded, etc.)' 22r5; Radloff iv, 962 : *şalıG* Shor 'ein hölzernes Götzenbild mit bleiernen Augen and einem Barte aus

Eichhörnchenschwänzen', iii, 1884 : *çalū* Altay 'die Schamanentrommel; der Götze'.

şalu 'كَلُآ' 6v6.

şamruk 'offspring' 19r7; Brockelmann 49-50 : *çamrak* 'kleine Kinder'.

şanak 'bowl' 17v4, and 42v6; Houtsma *çanak* Schale'; Caferoğlu 26 : *id.* 'çanak'; Telegdi 308 : *id.* (but *ş^{a}n^{a}q*) 'Napf, Tasse'.

şap- 'to drive, to herd' 19v2; ~ Radloff iv, 981 : *id.* Shor, Kachints, Kazak 'schlagen, hauen', Kazak 'angreifen; schnell reiten, dahinsprengen'.

şap- 'to beat, to strike' 22v11; Radloff iv, 981 : *id.* Shor, Kachints, Kazak 'schlagen, hauen', Kazak 'angreifen; schnell reiten, dahinsprengen'; Caferoğlu 26 : *çap-* 'bir defada hem vurdu ve hem kesti'.

şapla- 'to slap in the face' 31v10; ~ Radloff iv, 984 : *şaplat-* Ottoman 'ein schmatzendes, klatschendes Geräusch von sich geben' (*bir sille şaplat-* 'eine Ohrfeige geben das es knallt'), iv, 984 : *şaplak* Ottoman 'der klatschende Schlag, die schallende Ohrfeige'; Houtsma 70 : *çapla-* 'eine Ohrfeige geben'; Grönbech 73 : *çaplatmak* 'Ohrfeige'.

şapras 'strabismic' 84v7; Radloff iv, 984 : *şapraş* Kazak 'schielend (nach innen)'.

şara 'bowl' 14r7; Radloff iv, 951 : *id.* Shor, Kazak 'eine grosse Holzschüssel auf die man das gekochte Fleisch legt'.

şara 'excuse' 89v; Radloff iv, 951 : *id.* Kazak 'die Möglichkeit, der Wille, das Hilfsmittel'; Caferoğlu 27 : *çara* 'çare'.

şarman- 'to roll up, to tuck up' 21r2; Houtsma 71 : *çirmen-* 'die Kleider aufschürzen'; ~ Grönbech 78 : *çırma-* 'wickeln, winden'; Radloff iii, 2083 : *id.* Tatar, Azeri, Teleut 'aufwickeln, umwickeln, einhüllen, umgeben, verheddern, verflechten', Azeri 'aufstreifen', iv, 1054 : *şırma-* Kazak 'zusammenbinden, einwickeln'.

şatla- 'to snap (fingers)' 28r2; Radloff iv, 971 : *id.* Shor 'knistern, krachen', iv, 956 : *şartla-* Shor, Tatar, '*id.*', Tatar 'knallen, knattern (Gewehr oder Kanone); klutschen'; Caferoğlu 27 : *çatla-* 'el şaklattı, el şaklatarak ses çıkardı'.

şatlan- 'to crack' 10r10; Radloff iii, 1901 : *çatlan-* Ottoman 'sich spalten, platzen'; ~ Radloff iv, 971 : *şatla-* Shor 'knistern, krachen'.

şaya 'vivid' 6v9; ~ Radloff iv, 945 : *şayan* Tatar 'munter, ein Witzbold, ein fröhlicher Mensch'.

||şayna- 'to chew' 35r9; Radloff iv, 927 : *id.* Kazak 'kauen, zerkauen'.

şeber 'smart, proper' 31r6; Radloff iv, 1017 : *id.* Shor 'vorsichtig, sparsam, sauber', Kazak 'ein Meister; der Schneider'; Grönbech 74 : *çeber* 'nett, anständig'; Kowalski 176 : *çeb'ar* 'anmutig, niedlich'.

şerez 'bush variety' 36r4, 'bushes' 85v1; Velet 11 : *çerez* 'eski lûğatler *ilme diken* diyorlar; *şibrik* tazesi, kurusuna *darı* derler; Kâbe yollarında çok olur, yere yayılır, sâki olmaz, kurudukta kedi tırnağı gibi dikenleri olur (Vankulu)'.

şerlen- 'to acquire (a disease)' 9r13; Brockelmann 56 : *çirlen-* 'krank sein'; ~ Radloff iv, 1004; *şer* Kazak 'eine langjährige, alte Krankheit; Hinfälligkeit nach einer Krankheit', iii, 2129 : *çirle-* Tatar 'krank sein'.

||*şerü* 'army' 25r2; Radloff iv, 1007 : *şeriG* Shor 'das Heer'; Houtsma 71 : *çeri* 'Heer'; Caferoğlu 28 : *id.* 'asker'; Zajączkowski I 17 : *id.* 'armée'.

||*şerü taykal-* 'to beat the troops' 9v; *see, s.v., şerü*; *see, s.v., taykal-*.

şeş- 'to untie' 13r3; Houtsma 79 : *id.* lösen'; Telegdi 323 : *id.* '*id.*'; Radloff iv, 1014 : *id.* Shor, Taranchi 'aufknüpfen, losbinden; ausziehen', *bel şeşt*^{i} Kazak 'er löste den Gürtel'.

||*şeşen* Turkoman 'eloquent' 27r5; Radloff iv, 1015 : *id.* Kazak 'beredt; ein kazakischer Erzähler; schön klingend (von musikalischen Instrumenten)'.

şeten 'thorny' 20v4; Radloff iv, 1012 : *id.* Kazak 'die Hecke, die Umzäumung', iv, 1013 : *şeden* Shor 'die Umzäumung'.

şetlevük 'hazelnuts' 7r11; Baskakov 268 : *şetlevik* Noghay 'orex'; Houtsma 71 : *çetleyik* 'Nüsse, Pistazien und ähnliches welches platzt'; Caferoğlu 28 : *çetlevük* 'bir nevi fındık'.

||*şetük* 'cat' 43r4; Houtsma 69 : *çetük* 'Katze'; Caferoğlu 28 : *id.* 'kedi'; Zajączkowski I 17 : *id.* 'chat'; Telegdi 308 : *id.* (but *şetük*) 'Katze'.

şevre 'trimming (esp. of garments)' 12v6; Grönbech 76 : *çövre, çüvre* 'Umkreis'; Radloff iii, 2000 : *çevre* Ottoman, Chaghatay 'der Kreis, der Umkreis, der Umfang, die Umzäumung, die Peripherie', Chaghatay 'die Nahestehenden, die Günstlinge; ein mit einer Borte versehenes Tuch, ein gesticktes Taschentuch'.

şevre- 'to turn, to whirl like in a dervish dance' 15r13; Şeyh Süleyman 164 : *çivre-* 'çevirmek, devirmek, döndürmek'; ~ Radloff iii, 1999 : *çevir-* Ottoman 'drehen, umdrehen, umgehen, unwickeln, umwinden'.

şevren- 'to be turned' 6v2; Radloff iii, 2000 : *çevirin-* Ottoman 'umkreisen, im Kreise herumlaufen, hin und her laufen (beim Suchen)', ~ *çeviril-* Ottoman 'gedreht werden, sich abwenden, sich entfernen'.

||*şevrün-* 'to turn' 15r; *see, s.v., şevren-*.

şıban 'boil' 15r3; Houtsma 70 : *çepen* Turkoman 'Geschwür'; Caferoğlu 29 : *çıban* 'çıban'; Zajączkowski I 18 : *id.* 'abcès, ulcère, furoncle'; Kowalski 179 : *id.* 'Geschwür'.

şık 'dew' 35v4; Radloff iv, 1041 : *id.* Kazak 'der Thau, der Morgen-

thau', Shor 'die Nässe, Feuchtigkeit'; Caferoğlu 30 : *çık* 'çiy'; Zajączkowski I 18 : *id.* 'rosée (du matin)'; Telegdi 308 : *id.* (but *ṣ'q*) 'Tau'.

şıkrak 'wheel' 15r7; Houtsma 72 : *çakrık* 'Spinnrad, Winde'; Caferoğlu 30 : *çıkrık* 'çıkrık'; Velet 11 : *id.* 'kuyu ipinin sarıldığı yuvarlak döner avadanlık'; Battal I 26 : *id.* 'iplik sarmak için küçük çark'; ~ Radloff iv, 1044 : *şıkırda-* Ottoman, Kazak 'knarren (von einem ungeschmierten Wagen)'.

şıkrık 'wheel' 15r7; *see, s.v., şıkrak.*

şılbık 'stick, club' 25r4; Radloff iv, 1062 : *şıbık* Kazak 'die Ruthe, das Reisig'; Grönbech 78 : *çıbuk, çıbux* 'Zweig, Reis; Rute, Gerte'.

şıldıra- 'to clutter' 14v1; Radloff iv, 1057 : *id.* Kazak 'klingen, klappern'.

şıltak 'cajoler, sly' 12r; ~ Radloff iv, 1057 : *id.* Altay, Teleut 'die Gelegenheit, die günstige Gelegenheit', *şıltaG* Shor *'id.'*, iv, 654 : *sıltau* Tatar, Kazak 'die Verleumdung, die Pfiffigkeit, Schlauheit; leere Ausrede, Ausflucht', Tatar 'die Ursache, die Gelegenheit'.

şıŋǧıl 'deep, unfathomable' 24v11; Vámbéry 282 : *çüŋül* Chaghatay 'ein kleiner Teich, petit étang, mare'; Ramstedt 430 : *tsoŋgal* 'durchsichtige tiefe stelle im fluss'.

şıŋla- 'to ring' 23v9; Radloff iii, 2073 : *çınla-* Ottoman 'klingeln' *kulak çınlaması* 'das Klingeln in den Ohren'; ~ Radloff iv, 1047 : *şıŋ* Kazak 'der Laut, das Läuten; das Dengeln der Sicheln, Sensen; die Klingel, die kleine Glocke'.

şıpşık 'sparrow' 24v9; Houtsma 70 : *çıpçuk* 'Sperling'; Caferoğlu 26 : *çapçuk, çıpçık* 'serçe'; Zajączkowski I 18 : *çıpçak* 'moineau'; Telegdi 308 : *id.* (but *ṣ'fṣ'q*) 'Sperling'.

şırak 'light, lamplight' 35r3; Radloff iv, 1051 : *id.* Kazak 'die Leuchte, das Licht; ein Schmeichelwort'; Houtsma 71 : *çırak* 'Kerze'; Caferoğlu 30 : *id.* Kipchak 'çırağ'; Telegdi 308 : *id.* (but *ṣ'raq*) 'Lampe'.

şıraklan- 'to shine' 36v3; ~ Radloff iii, 2076 : *çırakla-* Tatar *çıra çırakla-* 'er hat einen Spahn zum Leuchten abgespaltet', iv, 1051 : *şırak* Kazak 'die Leuchte, das Licht; ein Schmeichelwort'.

şıray 'coloring, complexion' 31v3; Radloff iv, 1051 : *id.* Kazak, Kachints, Shor 'das Aussehen, die Gesichtszüge, die Physiognomie', Shor, Kachints 'das Äussere, die Gestalt'; Grönbech 79 : *çıray* 'Gesicht; Porträt'.

şırayı kayıt- 'to regain color' 17r9; *see, s.v., şıray; see, s.v., kayıt-.*

şırlan- 'to recuperate' 9r.

şıvılda- 'to whisper in someone's ear' 38r; Radloff iv, 1063 : *şıbırda-* Kazak 'rascheln'; Velet 12 : *çivilde-* 'yavaş yavaş konuşmak, hafif sesle vicir vicir söylemek'.

şibin 'flies' 15v13; Radloff iv, 1062: *şıbın* Kazak 'die Fliege', Shor 'die Sandfliege'.

şibin süreçek Turkoman 'swatter' 33v; *see, s.v., şibin*; *see. s.v., sür-*. (*See*, Bang, *Monographien* ii, 23).

şibinlik 'swatter' 33v9; *see, s.v., şibin*.

şibrek 'worn material' 28v10; Radloff iv, 1089: *id.* Shor 'der Lappen'.

şimen 'meadow' 13v13; Houtsma 72: *çemen* 'Wiese'; Caferoğlu 32: *çümen* 'çimen'; Zajączkowski I 17: *id.* 'pré, prairie; herbe sèche'.

şimgen 'meadow' 14r1; Brockelmann 59: *çümken* 'gemeinsamer Himmelsschwaden, Panicum Dactylon'.

||*şirkin* 'squalid' 24r12; Radloff iv, 1074: *şirkʲn* Kazak 'der Ausdruck des Missfallens, ein Schimpfwort'; Houtsma 71: *çirkin* 'hässlich'; Caferoğlu 29: *id.* 'çirkin'; Telegdi 308: *id.* (but *şʲirkʲn*) 'hässlich'.

||*şişek* 'smallpox' 10v13; Radloff iv, 1015: *şeşek* Kazak 'die Blume; die Pocken'.

||*şok* 'much, many' 30r4; Caferoğlu 31: *çok* 'kesir, çok'; Telegdi 308: *id., bu andan çok yaxşıdur* 'dieser ist viel besser als jener'; ~ Radloff iv, 1023: *şok-* Shor 'auf einen Haufen legen (Waaren, Sachen)'.

||*şok bol-* 'to become numerous' 31r4; *see, s.v. şok*; *see, s.v., bol-*.

şokra- 'to seethe, to boil' 8r6; Caferoğlu 31: *çokra* 'kaynadı'; Brockelmann 57: *id.* 'sprudeln (Quelle), überkochen (von einem dicken Brei)'.

şolak 'withered (hand)' 3v10; Radloff iv, 1030: *id.* Kazak 'verstümmelt; kurz'; ~ Telegdi 323: *şoluk barmak* 'der kleine Finger'.

şoli 'celebrity' 20r10; ~ *ADer* 363: *şor* 'lâkırdı, söz, yalan söz, dedikodu'; Radloff iii, 1934: *çav* Uyghur 'der Ruhm', Ottoman 'das Geschrei, der Schrei, der Ruf'.

şoltak 'cajoler, sly' 12r; *see, s.v., şıltak*.

||*şorak* 'salt land' 18r; Radloff iv, 1028: *id.* New Uyghur 'die Salzsteppe, die Wüste'.

şorlı 'celebrated' 32v7; ~ *ADer* 363: *şor* 'lâkırdı, söz, yalan söz, dedikodu'; Radloff iii, 1934: *çav* Uyghur 'der Ruhm', Ottoman 'das Geschrei, der Schrei, der Ruf'.

şoyun 'iron, iron-alloy (esp. Chinese)' 12r13; Radloff iv, 1026: *id.* Shor, Kazak 'das Gusseisen', *şoyun col* Kazak 'die Eisenbahn', iv, 1022: *şoy* Shor 'das Gusseisen'; Grönbech 75: *çoyun* 'Erz'.

şöbrek 'piece of cloth, worn cloth' 14r7, 'rag' 20v, 'worn material' 28v10; Radloff iv, 1038: *şöbörök* Kazak 'der Lappen; baumwollenes Gewebe, Kattun', iv, 1113: *süpörök* Tatar 'der Lappen', iv, 1089: *şibrek* Shor '*id.*'; Houtsma 70: *çüprek* 'id.'; Caferoğlu 32: *id.* 'elbise'; Telegdi 309: *id.* (but *şʲöbrʲek*) 'Lappen'; Grönbech 77: *id.* 'Windeln'.

‖*şölmek* 'earthenware' 27v4, 'earthenware jar' 11r; Radloff iv, 1038 : *şölmök* Kazak 'das Glas', iii, 2044 : *çölmek* Ottoman, Crimean, Karaim 'ein irdener Topf'; Houtsma 72 : *çömlek* '*id.*'; Caferoğlu 31 : *id.* 'küçük tencere'.

şöp 'stalk of straw' 29r10; Radloff iv, 1038 : *id.* Kazak 'das Gras, das Kraut', Kazak, Shor 'der Kehricht, im Essen gefallene Hälmchen'; Caferoğlu 31 : *çöp* 'çöp'; Grönbech 76 : *id.* 'Überbleibsel, Abfälle'.

şöple- 'to gather' 29v6, 'to pick up from the ground; to collect; to gather' 31v8, 'to cleanse, to pick; to gather' 36v6; Kowalski 178 : *çopla-* 'sammeln, pflücken'; Bálint 98 : *çüble-* 'sammeln, auflesen'; Pröhle 99 : *ç'öple-* Karachay 'picken anbeissen'; Pröhle 216 : *tsöple-* Balkar 'picken, aufpicken, auflesen, anbeissen'.

şöre 'small, little' 21v; *SDer* 290 : *cüre* 'zayıf, küçük, kısa boylu', 288 : *cura* 'çılız, çelimsiz; arıların ufak oğulları'.

‖*şörek* 'flat loaf of bread' 28v, 'cake' 30v9; Houtsma 71 : *çörek* 'Kuchen'; Caferoğlu 31 : *id.* 'ekmek; küçük ekmek, peksimet'.

şövre 'trimming (esp. of garments)' 12v6; *see, s.v., şevre.*

şövür- 'to turn (around, over)' 29r13; Telegdi 308 : *çevir-* (but *şevir*) 'drehen (trans.)'; Grönbech 76 : *çövür-* 'drehen'; Kowalski 179 : *çuvur-* 'herausdrehen, herausreissen; verwandeln'.

şulğa- 'to wrap (cloth)' 31v5; Radloff iv, 1102 : *id.* Shor 'ein Kind wickeln', Kazak 'Lappen um die Füsse wickeln'.

şulğalık 'cloth for wrapping' 7v2; ~ Radloff iv, 1103 : *şulğau* Kazak 'Fusslappen'; Grönbech 27 : *çulğav* '*id.*'.

şulğu 'wrapping, swaddling clothes' 31r10; Radloff iv, 776 : *sulğa* Saghay, Koybal 'die Windel', iv, 1103 : *şulğau* Kazak 'die Fusslappen'; *see, s.v. şulğalık.*

şuval 'sack' 8r11, 'sack (for straw or grain); sack' 26r5; Radloff iv, 1096 : *şual* Tatar 'ein grosser Sack'.

şürü- 'to be spoiled; to rot' 9v11; Radloff iv, 1073 : *şiri-* Kazak 'faulen, faul werden'; Caferoğlu 32 : *çürü-* 'çürüdü'.

şürük 'spoiled' 47v4; ~ Radloff iv, 1073 : *şiri-* Kazak 'faulen, faul werden'; Caferoğlu Ar. 43 : جُرُكْ 'al-bâlî'.

şürülmiş 'turned (up, down, in, out)' 34r6; ~ Brockelmann 53 : *çevrül-* 'gedreht werden'; Radloff iii, 2203 : *çüvürül-* Karaim 'sich wenden; verwandelt werden in etwas'.

tınış- 'to stink' 6r12; ~ Brockelmann 206 : *tınçı-* 'faulen (Fleisch)' 194 : *tança-* (*tançğa-*) 'stinkend werden'.

tınş 'calm' 32v5; Radloff iii, 1320 : *id.* Kazak 'ruhig, friedlich, wohl, in gutem Zustande'; Caferoğlu 104 : *tınç* 'sâkit, dinç'; Kowalski 272 : *id.* 'ruhig; Ruhe'.

tınş bol- 'to rest' 5r2; *see, s.v., tınş*; *see, s.v., bol-*.

tiŋş 'calm' 32v5; *see, s.v., tınş*.

tiŋş bol- 5r2; *see, s.v., tınş bol-*.

töŋşi- 'to turn a somersault' 9v3; ~ Kowalski 266 : *t'ongaç-* 'sich wälzen'; Radloff iii, 1372 : *döŋböksʸn-* Kazak 'wackeln, sich winden (von Schmerzen)'.

tüvürşük 'seeds' 7r; *SDer* 481 : *dügürcük* 'ufak bulgur'.

uşra- 'to meet by chance' 22r7; Radloff i, 1776 : *uşura-* Kazak 'entgegenkommen, begegnen', i, 1727 : *uçura-* Teleut, Taranchi, Kazak *'id.'*, i, 1731 : *uçra-* Chaghatay 'begegnen' Karaim 'zustossen, treffen'.

uşuz 'cheap' 16v9; Houtsma 44 : *uçuz* 'billig'; Caferoğlu 111 : *id.* 'ucuz'.

yalağanş bol- Turkoman 'to strip oneself' 9r7; ~ Kowalski 197 : *yalaŋgaç* 'nackt'; Radloff iii, 158 : *yalaŋaç* Tatar, Taranchi 'nackt, entblöst', iv, 37 : *calaŋaş* Kazak 'nackt, bloss'; *see, s.v., bol-*.

yalanş 'naked' 24r12; Radloff iv, 37 : *calaŋaş* Kazak 'nackt, bloss'; Pröhle 268 : *zalaŋŋáts* Balkar 'nackt, zerlumpt'.

yalanşla- 'to strip oneself' 9r7; Radloff iv, 37; *calaŋaşta-* Kazak 'nackt ausziehen'; Grönbech 111 : *yalaŋaçla-* 'entblössen'.

yalşı- 'to become happy, to succeed' 5r10; Radloff iii, 185 : *yalçı-* Karaim 'glücklich sein, sich erfreuen'.

yanşı- 'to crush' 25v9; Radloff iii, 25 : *canşı-* Kazak 'drücken, zerdrücken, Hirse im Mörser zerstossen'; ~ Grönbech 113 : *yanç-* 'zerdrücken'.

yeŋeş 'crayfish' 18v; Houtsma 109 : *yeŋeç* 'Krebs'; Radloff iii, 332 : *id.* Ottoman 'der Krebs, die Krabbe'.

yulkuvuş Turkoman 'depilatory pincers' 33v12; Battal I 91 : *yolğuç* 'cımbız'.

Far less in number are the words in which an $s - ç > ç - ç > ş - ş$ change appears, and *T* furnishes the following examples for it :

||*şanşmala-* 'to embroider' 23v9; ~ Radloff iv, 949 : *şanş-* Kazak 'hineinstechen, stechen, durchbohren, durchstechen' (i, 23, and 33 : *ayr-* Tatar 'trennen; sich trennen' > *ayrma* 'Trennung, Unterschied, Verschiedenheit' > *ayrmala-* 'trennen, unterscheiden'); Ramstedt 172 : $x^{a}t x^{a} x^{a}$- 'stechen, durchstechen, sticken, steppen, ausnähen, durchnähen'.

||*şanşu* 'belly-ache, stomach-ache' 16r6; Radloff iv, 949 : *şanşū* Kazak 'das Stechen (krankhaftes Gefühl)'.

||*şaş-* 'to sow' 7v12; Radloff iv, 974 : *id.* Shor, Kachints, Kazak

'spritzen, Libationen machen, ausstreuen, säen'; Kowalski 176 : *çaç-* 'säen'.

şaş- 'to pick up from the ground; to collect; to gather' 31v9; ~ Vámbéry 274 : *çaş* Chagatay 'Haufen, Menge', *çaşla-* Chagatay 'anhäufen, aufspeichen'.

şaşak 'tassel, tangle' 20v2; Radloff iv, 975 : *id.* Kazak 'die Quaste, die Fransen'.

şaşra- 'to splash' 23v8; Radloff iv, 978 : *id.* Kazak 'sprühen'.

şerşe Turkoman 'sparrow' 24v10; Houtsma 76 : *serçe* Turkoman 'Sperling'; Zajączkowski I 45 : *id.* 'moineau'.

şeş- 'to pick up from the ground; to collect; to gather' 31v9; ~ *SDer* 328 : *çeş* 'hububat yığını'.

şırşa 'drinking glass, glass' 17v8; Radloff iv, 1053 : *şırcı* Shor 'eine bemahlte Holzschale zum Theetrinken'; Ramstedt 360 : *şirkᵉ* 'becher, glas'.

şırşık 'starling' 17v11; Radloff iv, 1046 : *şığırçak* Kazak 'der Staar'.

şışkan 'mouse' 27v1; Radloff iv, 1060 : *id.* Shor 'die Maus', iv, 1059 : *sıçan* Karaim *'id.'*.

şışra- 'to jump' 28r6, 36r13; Radloff iv, 658 : *sıçra-* Ottoman 'springen, hüpfen, aufspringen; spritzen; in Stücke zerspringen, beschädigt werden (von den Rändern eines Gefässes)'.

şirşe Turkoman 'sparrow' 24v10; Houtsma 76 : *serçe* Turkoman 'Sperling'; Zajączkowski I 45 : *id.* 'moineau'.

şovulşan 'worm(s)' 24v8; Baskakov 268 : *şuvalşan* Noghay 'červiak' 269 : *şılavşan* Noghay 'červiak'.

şörşek 'riddle' 13r1; Radloff iv, 1037 : *şörçek* Shor 'das Märchen'.

şüşkür- 'to sneeze' 25v5; Caferoğlu 32 : *çüçkür-* 'aksırdı'; Telegdi 309 : *çöçkür-* (but *şüşkürmᵉk*) 'niessen'; Grönbech 77 : *çüçkür-* *'id.'*.

And the two following entries preserved even the middle-stage form ($s - ç > ç - ç$) of the word :

çaçak 'tassel, tangle' 20v2; Bálint 90 : *id.* 'franse'; Németh 105 : *id.* Kumuk 'Franse, Pinsel'; Pröhle 96 : *ç'aç'ák* Karachay 'Franse'.

çırça 'drinking glass, glass' 17v8; Radloff iii, 2130 : *çirçe* Saghay, Shor 'kleine runde Holzschale zum Theetrinken'.

In the following few cases a $ç - ş > ç - ç$ change can be witnessed :

içiç 'the swallow, the drinking' 48v12, and 49r2, 49r12; *see, s.v., iç-*.

öçeç- 'to wager' 17r5; Brockelmann 130 : *öçeş-* 'wetteifern, nachahmen'; Radloff i, 1286 : *id.* Chaghatay 'streiten, zanken'.

sançıç 'tilt' 33v1; Houtsma 80 : *sançış* 'Streit'; Zajączkowski I 44 : *id.*' escarmouche, combat'.

Finally, the following smaller group of words is to show that occasional *ş* ~ *ç* change can also be found :

beçik 'crib' 8r10; Houtsma 62 : *beşik* 'Wiege'; Telegdi 306 : *id.* '*id.*'.

biçir- 'to cook, to bake, to cook properly' 23v6; *see, s.v., bişir-.*

çekiç- 'to writhe, to become twisted; to contend with someone at pulling' 38v5; Telegdi 308 : *çekiş-* (but *şekʲşti*) 'Rec. von ziehen; wägen'.

eçek 45v4, 45v6, 45v7, 46r3; *see, s.v., eşek.*

iç 'work' 20v9; *see, s.v., iş.*

ikçi 'curdled milk (sour)' 16r10; *see, s.v., ikşi* 'fermented milk, sour milk'.

kiçi 'person' 3r11, 76r11, 79r1, 79r6, 79r8, 79v5, 81v7, 84r3, 84r10, and 38v13, 39r9, 52r1, 52r3, 58r1, 58r2, 79r, 79r2, 79v6, 79v7, 81v4, 81v7, 84v9, 85r1, 85r2, 85r3, 85r4, 85r5, 85r7; Houtsma 97 : *kişi* 'Mensch'; Caferoğlu 50 : *id.* 'adam, insan; kadının kocası, zevc'; Zajączkowski I 31 : *kişiler* 'hommes (plur.)'; Telegdi 315 : *kişi* 'Mensch'.

kuçak 'turban-cloth, belt' 20v1; Velet 33 : *kuşak* 'bel bağı'; Radloff ii, 1025 : *id.* Crimean, Ottoman 'der Gurt'.

küreççi 'wrestler' 32r12; Radloff ii, 1453 : *küreşçi* Teleut 'der Ringer'.

oç 'ha!, lo!' 42r4, 87r6, and 42r5, 42r6; Caferoğlu 63 : *oş* 'işbu'; Zajączkowski I 36 : *id.* 'voici, voilà'.

oçbu 42r4, 80r8, 80r9; *see, s.v., oç.*

oçimdi 82v7; *see, s.v., oç; see, s.v., imdi.*

oçol 42r4; *see, s.v., oç; see, s.v., ol.*

oçta 42r7; Zajączkowski I 36 : *oşta* 'voilà'.

turçı 'pickled vegetables' 34v3; *see, s.v., turşı*

yumçak 'soft' 36r9; Houtsma 108 : *yumşak* 'weich'; Caferoğlu 129 : *id.* 'yumşak'

The *ç* remained in the following words :

aç- 'to calumniate; to open, to disclose' 29v13, 'to uncover; to open; to penetrate, to enter' 31r2; Houtsma 44 : *id.* 'öffnen'; Telegdi 301 : *id.* (but *'aşti*) 'öffnen; aufdecken'; Kowalski 150 : *id.* 'öffnen', enthüllen'; Radloff i, 497 : *id.* Sayan, Turki, Kipchak, Oghuz 'aufmachen, öffnen', i, 500 : *ağız açmak* Azeri 'übele Nachreden machen'.

aç- 'to be hungry' 11v5; Caferoğlu 1 : *id.* 'acıktı'; Telegdi 301 : *ac-* 'hungern'; Brockelmann 2 : *aç- 'id.'.*

açdıha 'snake (primal)' 10r12; Kowalski 150 : *açdağa, acdağa* 'Drache'.

açğan 'opener' 27r; ~ Grönbech 27 : *matellarnı barça açğan* 'alle Geheimnisse aufdeckend'.

***açı* 'sour, acrimonious' 12v11; Houtsma 45 : *id.* 'bitter'; Caferoğlu**

1 : *acı* 'acı'; Telegdi 301 : *id.* 'salzig (Wasser)'; Grönbech 28 : *açı* 'herb, bitter'.

açı 'fermented milk, bitter milk' 31r13; ~ Radloff i, 528 : *acığay* Tobolsk 'saure Milch'.

açı 'hungry' 11r; *see, s.v., açık.*

açı 'to be burning (by stinging sensation)' 13r8; Radloff i, 519 : *acı-* Ottoman, Uyghur 'Schmerz empfinden, Mitleid, Kummer haben', Ottoman 'weh tun, schmerzen', Azeri 'sauer werden', i, 504 : *açı-* Crimean, Teleut 'säuern, sauer werden, zu gähren beginnen', Teleut 'ein unangenehmes, schmerzhaftes Gefühl hervorbringen'.

açık 'hungry' 11r13; Radloff i, 521 : *acık* Shor 'hungrig'; ~ Kowalski 151 : *açıx-* 'hungrig sein'.

açık 'open' 48r7; Caferoğlu 1 : *açuk* 'açık'.

açık- 'to rush' 5r5; Grönbech 44 : *aşık-* 'eilen'; Kowalski 160 : *aşıx-* 'sich beeilen'.

açın- 'to suffer; to be in pain' 9r5; Radloff i, 506 : *id.* Altay, Teleut, Saghay 'bemitleiden, traurig sein, sich grämen, Schmerz empfinden, sich ärgern über Etwas', i, 522 : *acın-* Shor, Lebed, Azeri, Ottoman, Crimean, Uyghur 'sich selbst bedauern; traurig werden, bemitleiden, bedauern'.

açkan 'opener' 27r2; *see, s.v., açğan.*

açkıç 'key' 33v10, 48v9; Houtsma 44 : *açkuç* 'Schlüssel'.

açur 'wormy' 33r11.

ağırçak 'counterweight, esp. that of a spindle' 10v; Battal I 8 : *ağırçuk* 'ağırşak'; Houtsma 49 : *ağırşak* 'Schwergewicht der Spindel'; Caferoğlu 2 : *ağurşak* 'iğe geçirilen tağalak, ve saire'.

akça 'coin, small coin (change)' 15r10, 40v12, and 51v13, 59v9, 77r7, 77v10; Caferoğlu 5 : *id.* 'beyaz, fakat daha fazla para için müstameldir'; Zajączkowski I 7 : *id.* 'monnaie d'argent, argent'; Telegdi 302 : *axça* 'Dirhem'.

aktaçı 'lad' 26r; Radloff i, 137 : *axtaçi* Chaghatay, Turki 'Castrirer, Thierarzt; Stallmeister, Stallknecht'; Vámbéry 205 : *axtaci* Chagatay 'le châtreur, qui hongre les chevaux'.

ançak 'nothing else, only this; except; uniquely' 90r2; Caferoğlu 4 : *ancak* 'o kadar, yalnız'; Zajączkowski I 7 : *ançak* 'seulement, rien que'; Kowalski 156 : *ançex, ançax* 'nur, jedoch'.

ançık 'ladder, stair (wood)' 19r10; ~ Houtsma 50 : *ağınğaç* 'Treppe'; Grönbech 29 : *ağınğuç, ağınğıç* 'Leiter, Treppe'.

anğıç 'ladder, stair (wood)' 19r10; Houtsma 50 : *ağınğaç* 'Treppe'; Grönbech 29 : *ağınğuç, ağınğıç* 'Leiter, Treppe'; *SDer* 103 : *angıç* 'öküz, at arabalarının iki tarafına konan parmaklık'.

ant iç- 'to swear' 13r10; Houtsma 55 : *id.* 'schwören'; Telegdi 303 : *id.* (but *'antᵗṣti*) *'id.'*.

arslançuk proper name 45v4.

atmaça 'sparrow hawk' 7r; Houtsma 84 : *atmaça toğan* 'Habicht, so genannt weil man den Raubvogel auf der Jagd lanzirt'.

auç 'handful' 28r12, 30r9; Zajączkowski I 9 : *avuç* 'creux de la main, plein main, poignée'; Telegdi 303 : *auc* 'Handfleche; Handvoll'.[23]

avçı 'hunter' 21v; Brockelmann 16 : *id.* 'Jäger'; Radloff i, 81 : *id.* Tatar *'id.'*.

avlavçı 'hunter' 21v9; Kowalski 161 : *avlavçu* 'Jäger'.

avurçuk 'counterweight, esp. that of a spindle' 10v1; Battal I 8 : *ağırçuk* 'ağırşak'; Houtsma 49 : *ağırşak* 'Schwergewicht der Spindel'.

baça 'skylight' 16v3; Caferoğlu 13 : *baca* 'pencere'; Zajączkowski I 11 : *id.* 'ouverture, trou; espèce de fenêtre'.

bakça 'garden' 7v4; Grönbech 47 : *baxça, bakça* 'Garten'.

barça 81v8, 81v9; Caferoğlu 15 : *id.* 'hepsi, hep'; Telegdi 305 : *id.* (but *bᵃrṣa*) 'alle'.

baskıç 'shoe' 33v2.

beçel 'afflicted with scrotal hernia, defective' 28r13, 'lame' 32v13; Grönbech 54 : *id.* 'hüftenlahm'; *SDer* 180 : *id.* 'çolaklık, topallık gibi uzvi malûliyeti olan'.

berçimek 'lentils' 24v7; Houtsma 101 : *merçimek* Turkoman 'Linse'; Caferoğlu 58 : *mercimek* 'mercimek'; Zajączkowski I 34 : *mercemek* 'lentille'; Telegdi 319 : *id.* 'Linse'.

bıç- 'to cut, to cut up' 28r5, 83r12, 'to slice in two' 38r9; Houtsma 60 : *id.* 'zerschneiden (ein Kleid), mit dem Schwerte entzwei hauen, ernten'; Caferoğlu 18 : *biç-* 'biçti'; Telegdi 306 : *bıç-* (but *bⁱṣtⁱ*) 'zerschneiden'.

bıçak 'knife' 19r4; Caferoğlu 20 : *id.* 'bıçak'; Telegdi 306 : *id.* (but *bışᵃq*) 'Messer'.

bıçkı 'saw' 33v3; *see, s.v., bıçku.*

bıçkır- 'to snort, to sound (animal)' 21r4; Radloff iv, 1318 : *pıçkır-* Tatar 'rocheln, schnaufeln'.

bıçku 'saw' 33v3, 48v5; Houtsma 60 : *id.* 'Säge'; Telegdi 306 : *bıçkı* (but *bᵘṣqı*) *'id.'*.

biçin 83r12; Caferoğlu 18 : *id.* 'ekin biçimi'.

bilesinçe (*ol ki turdı turdum bilesinçe*) 67r3. (*See* Deny, *Gram.* § 437.)

bir ança 'some, a few, some of' 62r6, 89r2; Caferoğlu 18 : *id.* 'biraz, bir parça'.

birinç 'rice' 4v2; Telegdi 306 : *birinc* 'Reis'.

biyyüçi 'who plays the shadow theatre' 32v10; Velet 20 : *biyiçi* 'oynayıcı, raksedici'.

bolaçak 'possible' 38^{v}9.

buçak 'corner' 17^{v}3; Houtsma 64 : *id.* 'Ecke'; Caferoğlu 22 : *bucak* 'köşe, zaviye'; Zajączkowski I 14 : *buçak* 'angle, coin'.

buçuk 'half' 36^{r}6, 'half, a half, half of twenty dirhems, half of something, a share' 62^{r}5, and 81^{v}; Houtsma 60 : *id.* 'Hälfte'; Caferoğlu 22 : *id.* 'nısıf'; Zajączkowski I 14 : *id.* Turkoman 'moitié, demi'; Telegdi 307 : *id.* (but $b^{u}ş^{u}q$) 'halb'.

bulamaç 'pudding' 13^{v}12; Caferoğlu 22 : *bulğamaç* 'bulamaç'; Zajączkowski I 14 : *id.* 'potage de farine, espèce de bouillie épaisse faite de farine'.

buluç 'catamite' 3^{v}11; Redhouse 460 : *puluç, pulaç* 'sexually impotent'.

buyurçuk Turkoman 'quail' 18^{v}12; Radloff iv, 1305 : *pödürçük* Kızıl (Madır) 'die Wachtel'.

bürçek 'forelock' 36^{r}; Caferoğlu 25 : *id.* 'alnın üzerine eren saç'.

ça (*çe*) 'corresponding to' 29^{r}7; Zenker 376 : *id.* Chaghatay 'jusque, à, jusqu'à, même'.

çabala- 'to totter, to be disturbed' 29^{v}; Velet 9 : *id.* 'didindi, kavrandı, ıstırap gösterdi'; ~ Kowalski 176 : *çabalan-* 'aufgeregt auftreten, zappeln'.

çaçak 'tassel, tangle' 20^{v}2; Bálint 90 : *id.* 'franse'; Németh 105 : *id.* Kumuk 'Franse, Pinsel'; Pröhle 96 : *ç'aç'ák* Karachay 'Franse'.

çağanak 'elbow' 32^{r}6; Houtsma 72 : *çıkanak* 'Ellbogen'; Caferoğlu 29 : *çığanak* 'dirsek'; Telegdi 308 : *çağanak* (but $ş^{a}ğ^{a}n^{a}q$) 'Ellbogen'; Grönbech 78 : *çığanak* 'Ellenbogen'.

çakmak proper name 77^{v}4.

çalış 'fight' 33^{v}1; Houtsma 70 : *id.* 'Krieg'; Zajączkowski I 16 : *id.* 'combat, lutte'.

çalkılan- 'to be anxious' 10^{r}; *TTS* 114 : *çalkalan-* 'ırgalanmak, yerinde duramıyarak ileri geri hareket etmek'.

çamur 'mud' 37^{v}8; Caferoğlu 26 : *id.* 'çamur'.

çanırğı 'small bell' 11^{r}; ~ Redhouse 711 : *çanğır-* 'to clank, to jangle'. (*See* Gabain, *Gram.* § 115.)

çaŋ 'small bell' 11^{r}2; Radloff iii, 1851 : *id.* Chaghatay, Kazak 'die Glocke, der Glockenton', Chaghatay 'die Nachricht, die Neuheit'.

çarlak 'eagle, vulture' 35^{v}13; Radloff iii, 1868 : *çarlāk* Teleut 'die Möwe'; Bálint 91 : *çarlak, ak-çarlak* 'möve'; Şeyh Süleyman 151 : *çarağ* 'bir nevi şikâr kuşudur'; Radloff iii, 1828 : *çaylak* Ottoman 'der Habicht', iv, 928 : *şaylak* Shor 'die Möwe'.

çatır 'wrap (of women)' 4^{r}12; Radloff iii, 1898 : *id.* Tara (Kürdak) 'der Bettvorhang'; *ADer* 61 : *çadır* 'çarşaf (gerek kadınların bürlenmesi gerek yatak için)'.

çayna- 'to chew' 35r9; Kowalski 177 : *çeyna-* 'kauen'.

çeçen Turkoman 'eloquent' 27r5; Radloff iii, 1988 : *id.* Turki, Sayan, Kipchak 'schönrednerisch, beredt'.

çeft 'pair' 17v7; Redhouse 665 : *çift* 'couple, pair'.

çegertige 'locusts' 11r5; Kowalski 177 : *çegirt'k'e* 'Heuschrecke'.

çek- 'to draw, to pull' 11v4; Caferoğlu 28 : *id.* 'çekti'; Telegdi 308 : *id.* (but *ṣ[e]kti*) 'ziehen, wägen'.

çekiç- 'to writhe, to become twisted; to contend with someone at pulling' 38v5; Telegdi 308 : *çekiş-* (but *ṣ[e]k[i]şti*) 'Rec. von ziehen; wägen'.

çekirdek 'date pits' 36r4; Caferoğlu 27 : *id.* 'çekirdek'.

çekmen 'broadcloth' 11r2; Houtsma 72 : *çökmen* 'Tapet'; Radloff iii, 1956 : *çekpen* Sayan 'das Tuch, ein Wollenzeug'.

çektir- 'to have one pull' 54v2; Radloff iii, 1954 : *id.* Ottoman 'ziehen, tragen, rudern lassen'.

çekürge Turkoman 'locusts' 11r; Houtsma 72 : *çekirge* Turkoman 'Heuschrecke'; Zajączkowski I 17 : *çekürge* 'sauterelle'; Brockelmann 52 : *id.* Oghuz 'Heuschrecken'.

çeküş 'hammer' 33v5; Houtsma 69 : *çeküç* 'Hammer'; Caferoğlu 28 : *id.* 'çekiç'.

çerçi 'perfume vendor, grocer, messenger' 25r2; Grönbech 74 : *id.* 'Kleinhändler, Krämer'.

çerü 'army' 25r2; Houtsma 71 : *çeri* 'Heer'; Caferoğlu 28 : *id.* 'asker'; Zajączkowski I 17 : *id.* 'armée'.

çetek Turkoman 'forked tent pole, tree branch' 20r3; Radloff iii, 1958 : *çeğedek* Kazak 'ein junger Ast'; Pavet de Courteille 273 : *çatağ* 'cercle qui soutient la tente; planche garnie d'un trou qu'on passe sur le pilier de la tente; associé, joint'.

çetük 'cat' 18v11; Houtsma 69 : *id.* 'Katze'; Caferoğlu 28 : *id.* 'kedi'; Zajączkowski I 17 : *id.* 'chat'; Telegdi 308 : *id.* (but *ṣ[e]t[ü]k*) 'Katze'.

çevirçi 'curled up point of a slipper toe' 17v6.

çevrün- 'to turn' 15r; Radloff iii, 2000 : *çevirin-* Ottoman 'umkreisen, im Kreise herumlaufen, hin und her laufen (beim Suchen)'.

çık- 'to go out; to rise (esp. celestial bodies), to appear; to climb' 14v4, 17r7, 22v3, 23v4, 65r10, 77v6, and 46r10, 53v11, 53v13; Houtsma 71 : *id.* 'herausgehen'; Caferoğlu 30 : *id.* 'çıktı'; Telegdi 308 : *id.* (but *ṣ[t]qtı*) 'hinausgehen; aufgehen (Sonne, Mond)'.

çıkar- 'to tear out, to take off; to take out, to dislodge; to move out' 29v9, 'to make it appear' 54r11; Houtsma 71 : *id.* 'ausziehen'; Grönbech 78 : *çığar-* 'herausbringen, herausziehen'.

çıkın 'money bag, purse' 21v7; Radloff iii, 2058 : *id.* Ottoman 'eine kleine Börse, ein Beutel, der Ranzen', iii, 2064 : *çığın* Ottoman '*id.*'.

çıkış 'expenditure' 14r8; Battal I 26 : *id.* 'masraf, harc olunan para'; Radloff iii, 2068 : *akça çığışı* Tatar 'das Ausgehen des Geldes'.

çıkıt 'cheese' 11r10; Houtsma 71 : جفت 'Käse'; Caferoğlu 28 : *çiet* 'peynir'; Kowalski 179 : *çığıt* 'Käse'.

çıplak 'naked' 24r13; Radloff iii, 2097 : *id.* Oghuz 'nackt, entblösst, arm'.

çırça 'drinking glass, glass' 17v8; Radloff iii, 2130 : *çirçe* Saghay, Shor 'kleine runde Holzschale zum Theetrinken'.

çırlap akar 'murmur of water' 13v13; ~ Caferoğlu 30 : *çırla-* 'gürültü ile aktı'; *see, s.v., ak-*.

çıyan 'scorpion' 24v12; Houtsma 72 : *id.* 'Tausendfuss; Skorpion (wie behauptet wird)'.

çi 'raw' 36r10; Battal I 25 : *çiğ* 'olmamış, pişmemiş, çiğ'; Kowalski 179 : *çıy* 'roh'; ~ Grönbech 75 : *çiyik* (*çiyix?*) 'roh, ungekocht, ungebraten'.

çiçek 'flowers' 17v9; Houtsma 71 : *çeçek* 'Blume'; Caferoğlu 29 : *çiçek* 'çiçek'; Telegdi 308 : *id.* (but *ṣ^{i}ṣ^{e}k*) 'Blume'.

çileyiŋ Turkoman 'something similar, something of the same kind' 34v11, 88v13; *see, s.v., sıŋar-çılayın.* (*See* Deny, Gram. § 890.)

çimdile- 'to pinch' 29v13; Radloff iii, 2161 : *id.* Ottoman 'kneifen, aufschnurren, kraus annähen'; ~ Caferoğlu 29 : *çimdi-* 'çimdikledi'; Grönbech 78 : *id.* 'kneifen'; Houtsma 72 : *çimdir-* '*id.*'.

çimdivüç 'depilatory pincers' 33v12; ~ Caferoğlu 29 : *çimdi-* 'çimdikledi'; Grönbech 78 : *id.* 'kneifen'.

çirçi 'perfume vendor, grocer, messenger' 25r2; Grönbech 74 : *çerçi* 'Kleinhändler, Krämer'.

çirkin 'ugly' 38r2; Houtsma 71 : *id.* 'hässlich'; Caferoğlu 29 : *id.* 'çirkin'; Telegdi 308 : *id.* (but *ṣ^{i}rk^{i}n*) 'hässlich'; Grönbech 75 : *id.* '*id.*'.

çivilde- 'to mumble, to whisper' 38r; Velet 12 : *id.* 'yavaş yavaş konuşmak, hafif sesle vicir vicir söylemek'; *SDer* 362 : *id.* 'kulağa fısıldamak'.

çivile- 'to mumble, to whisper' 38r; Brockelmann 55 : *çıvıla-* 'summen (Topf)'.

çivişe- 'to mumble, to whisper' 38r; *see, s.v., çivilde-*.

çivişle- 'to mumble, to whisper' 38r; *see, s.v., çivilde-*.

çokal- 'to be numerous' 31r; Radloff iii, 2013 : *çoğal-* Ottoman, Chagatay 'vermehrt werden, sich vermehren, vervielfachen'.

çokmar 'club' 15r5, 33r12; Houtsma 72 : *id.* 'Knüttel'; Caferoğlu 31 : *id.* 'topuz'; Telegdi 309 : *id.* (but *ṣ^{o}qmar*) 'Keule'.

çolban Turkoman 'star' 30r3; Caferoğlu 31 : *çolpan* 'Zühre yıldızı, çoban yıldızı'; Zajączkowski I 17 : *çolban*, *çolpan* 'l'étoile du matin; aurore'.

çomuk 'club' 15r6; Houtsma 72 : *çumak* 'Keule' : Caferoğlu 31 : *çomak* 'çomak'.

çorak 'salt land' 18r; Radloff iii, 2019 : *id.* Ottoman 'mit Salz, Potasche gemischte Erde'.

çök- 'to kneel down' 8r6, 'to kneel, to fall on one's knees' 11v; Houtsma 72 : *id.* 'niederknien'; Caferoğlu 31 : *id.* 'dizi üzerine çöktü'; Telegdi 309 : *id.* (but *ǯök*) 'niederknien'.

çöle- 'to jump' 38r10; Caferoğlu 31 : *çövli-* (but جولِدِی) 'sıçradı'.

çömçi 'laddle, scoop' 33v6; Houtsma 72 : *çümçe* 'Napf'; Caferoğlu 31 : *çömçü* 'kepçe'.

çömlek 'earthenware jar' 11r2; Houtsma 72 : *id.* 'ein irdener Topf'; Caferoğlu 31 : *id.* 'küçük tencere'.

çörek 'flat loaf of bread' 28v; Houtsma 71 : *id.* 'Kuchen'; Caferoğlu 31 : *id.* 'ekmek; küçük ekmek, peksimet'.

çukur Turkoman 'pit, hole' 11r12, 12r11; Caferoğlu 32 : *id.* 'çukur'; Kowalski 178 : *çuğur* 'Graben, Grube', 182 : *cuğur* 'Grube, Kluft'.

çulhacı Turkoman 'weaver' 12v7; ~ Houtsma 72 : *çulah* 'Weber'; Radloff iii, 2177 : *çulha* Ottoman 'der Weber'.

çum- 'to dive' 26v2; Caferoğlu 29 : *çim-* 'banyo almak, istihmam etmek'; Kowalski 178 : *çom-* 'schwimmen'; Brockelmann 58 : *çöm-* 'untertauchen (Ente)'; Battal I 26 : *çom-* 'yüzmek'.

çunak 'one with chopped off ear' 33r1; Radloff iv, 1098 : *şunak* Kazak 'mit kurzen Ohren, ohne Ohren; ein Schimpfwort'.

çükündür 'chard' 19r8; Radloff iii, 2191 : *id.* Ottoman 'die Moorrübe, die Kohlrübe', i, 1875 : *üçkündür* Crimean 'die rothe Rübe'.

çümeli 'who squats with crossed legs' 32v8; ~ Redhouse 740 : *çümel-* trans. 'to squat down on one's heels', *çumal-* intrans. 'to squat down on one's feet'.

çünki 'since' 89r9; Grönbech 77 : *çün-kim* 'deshalb, weil'.

devlingeç 'kite' 12v; Telegdi 309 : *id.* (but *dʿevlʲngeş*) 'Weihe'; Houtsma 74 : *deglekeç* '*id.*'.

dürütçi 'creator' 13v2; ~ Battal I 73 : *türütken* '(Tanrı adlarından) yoktan var eden'.

düvlingeç 'kite' 12v; Houtsma 74 : *deglekeç* (but دكلوكچ) 'Weihe'; Telegdi 309 : *devlingeç* (but *dʿevlʲngeş*) '*id.*'.

epçi 'woman, wife' 3r3, 32r6, and 39r9, 41v3, 41v4, 58r1, 58r3; Houtsma 43 : *id.* 'Gattin'; Caferoğlu 9 : *id.* 'kadın'.

etçi 46v12, 62v8; *see*, *s.v.*, *et*.

xaç 'cross' 22r4; Grönbech 99 : *id.* 'Kreuz'.

içtan 'men's drawers' 31r11; Radloff i, 1402 : *ıştan* Altay, Teleut 'die Unterhose', i, 1561 : *ıştan* Taranchi, Chaghatay '*id.*'.

içton 'men's drawers' 31r11; Houtsma 44 : *id.* 'Hosen, Unterhosen'; Caferoğlu 38 : *id.* 'iç donu'.

manç (?) 'assurance of protection, security' 3r; Radloff i, 1362 : *id.* Crimean, Uyghur, Ottoman 'der Glaube, das Vertrauen', Ottoman 'eine Autorität die Glauben verdient', 'sicher, glaubwürdig'.

inçıkır- 'to sob' 8v10, 83v13; Radloff i, 1452 : *inçkir-* Chaghatay 'weinen, schluchzen, wimmern'.

inçıkırık 'gasping of a dying person, hicupping' 27r8, 83v13; Radloff i, 1452 : *inçkirik* Chaghatay 'das Schluchzen'.

iç 'work' 20v9; *see*, *s.v.*, *iş*.

iç- 'to drink' 21r7, and 13r10, 49r12, 51r12, 52v12, 81r12, 83v13; Houtsma 44 : *id.* 'trinken'; Caferoğlu 37 : *id.* 'içti'; Telegdi 310 : *id.* (but *'işti*, *'cmiş*) 'trinken'.

içeçek 'place of drinking' 48v3; *see*, *s.v.*, *iç-*.

içegen 47r4; *see*, *s.v.*, *iç-*.

içevçi 'drinking' 55r3, and 62v6; Kowalski 192 : *içivçu*, *içuvçu* 'trinkend'.

içiç 'the swallow, the drinking' 48v12, and 49r2, 49r12; *see*, *s.v.*, *iç-*.

içim 83v13; Radloff i, 517 : *id.* Ottoman, Chaghatay, Azeri 'ein Zug, Schluck (beim Trinken)'.

içir- 'to make one drink' 54r10, 82v3, and 78r10; Radloff i, 1516 : *id.* Sayan, Oghuz, Kipchak 'zu trinken geben, trinken lassen, tränken, zum Trinken auffordern'.

içki 'three years old goat' 10v4; Houtsma 45 : *eçki* 'Ziege'; Caferoğlu 9 : *id.* 'keçi'; Zajączkowski I 10 : *id.* 'chèvre'.

içmek 'drink' 81r12; Telegdi 310 : *id.* (but *'işmek*) 'Getränk'.

içüçi Kipchak 'drinking' 47r1; Kowalski 192 : *içivçu*, *içuvçu* 'trinkend'.

ilçi 'messenger; courrier' 7v2, 16r4; Houtsma 58 : *id.* 'Gesandter'; Caferoğlu 38 : *id.* 'elçi'; Kowalski 183 : *elçi* 'Bote, Gesandter'.

ilkinçi 'having primordiality, having firstness' 62r2, 62r3; *see*, *s.v.*, *ilk*.

imçek 'female breast' 10r11; Houtsma 54 : *emçek* 'Brustwarze'; Caferoğlu 11 : *emcek* 'meme'; Telegdi 304 : *id.*[24] 'weibliche Brust'; Grönbech 87 : *emçek* 'Brustwarze'.

imzirçi 'wet nurse' 32r5; *see*, *s.v.*, *imzir-*.

[24] *See* note 23 on p. 168.

inçi 'pearls' 31r11 ; Caferoğlu 39 : *inçü* 'inci'; Telegdi 310 : *inci*, *incü* 'Perle'; Grönbech 106 : *inçü* '*id.*'.

inçir 'fig' 8v1 ; Telegdi 310 : *incir* 'Feige'.

inçit- 'to disturb' 21r9, 'to make oneself disturbed, to disturb oneself' 10r9; Radloff i, 1454 : *incit-* Ottoman 'Kummer verursachen, Schmerzen hervorbringen'.

ipçi 'woman, wife' 3r13, 32r6, and 38v13, 39r9, 41v3, 41v4, 52r2, 58r1, 58r3, 85r1 ; Houtsma 43 : *epçi* 'Gattin'; Caferoğlu 9 : *ebçi* 'kadın'.

irimçik 'fermented milk; curdled milk' 31r13; Pröhle 339 : *eremçek* Tatar 'savó'; Bálint 19 : *id.* 'molken'; Radloff i, 1464 : *irimşik* Kazak 'ein Gericht das aus saurer Milch bereitet wird', *irimcik* Tobolsk 'der Quark, weisser Käse', i, 1414 : *irimçik* Turki = *irimcik*.

irinçek Turkoman 'lazy, idle' 30r6; Radloff i, 1462 : *irincek* Tara 'faul'.

irkinçe 'slowly, gently, leisurely' 90r9; ~ *SDer* 796 : *irkin* 'durgun, yavaş'.

issiçek 45v9; Radloff i, 1390 : *ısıcak* Ottoman 'heiss; die Hitze, heisse Freundschaft, eine heisse Quelle'.

itçügez 45v8, 45v9; *see, s.v. itçük.*

itçük 45v8, 45v9; Radloff i, 1506 : *itçek* Karaim 'ein kleiner Hund, Hündchen'.

kabarçak 'box' 22r1; Caferoğlu 67 : *kaburçak* 'ağaçtan içi oyularak yapılan, yahut ağaç kabuğundan yapılan hokka, kutu'.

kabarçaklı bağa 'turtle' 18v9; Houtsma 87 : *kabarçıklu boğa* 'Schildkröte'; Caferoğlu 67 : *kaburçaklı bağa* 'kaplumbağa'; Zajączkowski I 37 : *kabırçaklı baga* 'tortue, Li. : grenouille à écaille, à caisse'.

kabırçak 'box' 22r; Caferoğlu 67 : *kaburçak* 'ağaçtan içi oyularak yapılan, yahut ağaç kabuğundan yapılan hokka, kutu'.

kaç- 'to flee' 28r6, 37v1, and 52v1; Houtsma 88 : *id.* 'fliehen'; Caferoğlu 67 : *id.* 'kaçtı; Telegdi 316 : *id.* (but q^a*ştı*) 'fliehen'.

kaçan 'when?' 65r3, 65r3, 68r9, 68r10, 68r10, 89r3; Caferoğlu 67 : *id.* 'ne vakıt'; Zajączkowski I 37 : *id.* 'quand'; Telegdi 316 : *id.* (but q^a*ş*^{a}*n*) 'wann?'; Grönbech 188 : *kaçan*, *xaçan* 'wann' interrogatives Adv.

kaçan 'when' 65r1, 65r4; Grönbech 188 : *id.* 'als, indem, nachdem' temporale Satzkonjunktion.

kaçanki 'whenever' 89r3-4; *see, s.v., kaçan.*

kaçansa 'at the point where' 34v11, 89r4; *see, s.v., kaçan.*

kaçkak 'coward' 47v2; Radloff ii, 341 : *id.* Chaghatay 'zur Flucht geneigt, der Ausreisser'.

kakaç 'satin' 4r12; ~ Brockelmann 139 : *kaçaç* 'chinesischer Brokat, daher Sklavinnenname'.

kançık 'bitch' 30r12; Houtsma 93 : *id.* 'Hündin'; Caferoğlu 69 : *kançuk* 'dişi köpek'; Zajączkowski I 37 : *id.* 'chienne'.

kara laçın 'falcon' 30v1; Németh 135 : *id.* Kumuk 'Falke'.

karğaçı 'one who curses' 31r; Radloff ii, 193 : *karğavçu* Tatar 'der Verflucher'.

karınçak Turkoman 'ant' 36r2; Brockelmann 148 : *id.* Oghuz 'Ameise'; Houtsma 90 : *karınça* '*id.*'; Zajączkowski I 39 : *karınca* 'fourmi'; Telegdi 317 : *id.* 'Ameise'.

karlağuç 'swallow, swift' 19r; Caferoğlu 70 : *id.* 'kırlangıç'.

kavç 'afflicted with scrotal hernia, defective' 28r; *SDer* 853 : *kavuç* 'fıtıklı, kasığı yarık adam; cılız, zayıf, sakat'; *TTS* 434 : *kavluç* (*kavuç*) 'fıtıklı, kasığı yarık'.

kavuç 'afflicted with scrotal hernia, defective' 28r; *see, s.v., kavç.*

kayçı 'scissors, shears' 33v11; Radloff ii, 41 : *id.* Altay, Teleut, Tatar 'die Scheere'.

kazkıç 'spade' 48v9; Radloff ii, 384 : *kazğıç* 'ein jedes Instrument zum Graben; die Hacke, der Spaten, etc.'.

keçe 'night' 31v3, 'nighttime' 72r12, and 72v11, 75r2; Houtsma 101 : *id.* 'Nacht'; Caferoğlu 43 : *id.* 'gece'; Telegdi 313 : *kece* 'Abend'.

keçi 'three years old goat' 10v4; Houtsma 96 : *id.* 'Ziege'; Caferoğlu 43 : *id.* 'keçi'; Zajączkowski I 28 : *id.* 'chèvre'; Telegdi 313 : *id.* (but *ke̬şi*) 'Ziege'.

keçik- 'to be slow, to be late' 4v12, 'to set (sun)' 26r13; Caferoğlu 48 : *kiçik-* 'mahsus gecikti' (but 'tabaṭṭa'a'); Radloff ii, 1568 : *keçik* Taranchi, Teleut, Chaghatay, New Uyghur, Karaim 'spät bleiben, sich verspäten' Teleut 'Abend werden'.

keçkün Turkoman 'eagle' 11r4; Houtsma 96 : *küçken*? 'Adler, Geier'; Caferoğlu 50 : *köçken* 'kerkes kuşu'; Zajączkowski I 31 : *köçiken* 'espèce de vautour'; Radloff ii, 1512 : *küşögön* Kazak 'eine Geierart'.

keçrek 'tardy' 6v8.

keçüt 'ford, ferry, 33r; Houtsma 96 : *id.* Turkoman 'Übergang'; Caferoğlu 43 : *id.* 'geçit'; Zajączkowski I 28 : *id.* 'gué'.

keleçek 'place of coming' 49v3; *see, s.v., kel-.*

kelüçi Kipchak 47r1; Bálint 58 : *kileüçe* 'ankömmling'.

kemeçi 'boatman' 33r5; Houtsma 98 : *id.* 'Schiffer'.

kenkelçi 'joker' 32r11; Velet 29 : *kengelci* 'alaycı, şakacı, lâtifeci, meclis-ara, nedim'.

kerpiç 'bricks' 23r12; Houtsma 96 : *id.* 'Ziegel'; Caferoğlu 45 : *kerpüç* 'kerpiç'; Zajączkowski I 30 : *kirpiç* 'brique cuite; maçonerie'.

ketüçi Kipchak 47r1 ; Redhouse 1610 : *gidici* 'habitual goer'.

kıçı 'mustard' 13v ; Battal I 42 : *id.* 'hardal' ; Brockelmann 153 : *id.* 'Senf'.

kıçıkla- 'to tickle' 18r4 ; Velet 29 : *kıcıkla-* 'gıdıkladı' ; Battal I 42 : *id.* 'gıdıklamak'.

kıçkır- 'to cry ; to yell ; to call' 22v1 ; Caferoğlu 75 : *kıçkur-* 'cağırdı, bağırdı, feryat etti' ; Telegdi 317 : *kıçkır-*, *kıçıkır-* (but *q'ṣ'q'r*, *q'ṣq'rm''q*) 'schreien'.

kığılçım 'sparks' 20v ; Radloff ii, 707 : *kığılcım* Ottoman 'der Funke', ii, 849 : *kıvılcım* *id.*'.

kılççük proper name 46r5.

kılçık 'spike' 18v5 ; Caferoğlu 75 : *id.* 'buğday başağının üzerindeki ufak ve uzun dikenler'.

kılçır 'cross-eyed' 3v7 ; Radloff ii, 783 : *kılçar* Teleut 'schief, krumm, schielend', ii, 784 : *kılcır* Lebed = *kılçır*.

kızılça tırnak 'ringdove' 33r8 ; ~ Caferoğlu 77 : *kızılça turğay* 'bir nevi kuş' ; Zajączkowski I 43 : *id.* 'espèce d'oisseau rougeâtre' ; *see*, *s.v.*, *tırnak*.

kiçi 'small' 54v13 ; Caferoğlu 48 : *id.* 'küçük, sağır'.

kiçi- 'to boil (passion)' 26v4 ; ~ *SDer* 635 : *giciş-* 'arzu etmek, fazla heves etmek'.

kiçkez 'small, little' 21v2 ; Telegdi 314 : *kickez* 'klein' ; ~ Caferoğlu 48 : *kiçkine* Kipchak 'küçücük'.

kireç 'lime' 11v ; Houtsma 96 : *id.* 'Kalk' ; Grönbech 148 : *id.*, *kreç* 'Kalk, Kalkmörtel'.

kirpiç 'bricks' 23r12 ; Houtsma 96 : *kerpiç* 'Ziegel' ; Caferoğlu 45 : *kerpüç* 'kerpiç' ; Zajączkowski I 30 : *kirpiç* 'brique cuite ; maçonerie'.

kirpüç 'bricks' 23r12 ; *see*, *s.v.*, *kirpiç*.

koça 'master' 18r8, and 45r4, 45r5 ; Houtsma 88 : *koca* 'Herr' ; Telegdi 310 : *xoca* 'Herr, Meister'.

koçkar 'ram' 30r13 ; Houtsma 88 : *id.* 'Widder' ; Caferoğlu 78 : *id.* 'koç' ; Telegdi 318 : *kockar* 'Widder'.

köbüki çık- 'to bubble' 28r ; *see*, *s.v.*, *köbük* ; *see*, *s.v.*, *çık-*.

köçe 'crushed grain, groats' 11r, 'groats' 28v5 ; Radloff ii, 1288 : *id.* Saghay, Koybal 'eine Suppe oder ein Brei aus ganzen Gerstenkörnern', ii, 1289 : *köçö* Altay, Teleut, Lebed *id.*', ii, 1290 : *köcö* Lebed, Shor *id.*'.

kökçek 'beautiful' 30r5, 'beautiful, graceful' 32v4 ; Radloff ii, 1229 : *id.* Ottoman 'anmuthig, schön, zierlich'.

köngek 'men's drawers' 31r11 ; Houtsma 100 : *id.* 'Hosen' ; Caferoğlu 55 : *künçek* 'don' ; Grönbech 151 : *köngek* 'Hosen'.

közetçi 'overseer' 30v3; Arat 27: *küzetçi* 'Hüter'; Caferoğlu 92: *közetçi* Uyghur 'muhafiz'.

kuç- 'to hug' 25r8; Houtsma 88: *id.* 'umarmen'; Caferoğlu 78: *koç-* 'kucakladı'; Telegdi 318: *kuç-* (but *qᵘştı*) 'umarmen'.

kuçakla- 'to hug' 25r8; Caferoğlu 80: *id.* 'kucakladı'; Radloff ii, 1008: *id.* Turki 'in den Arm nehmen, mit beiden Armen umfassen, umarmen'.

kuçur 'salt land' 18r9; Kowalski 225: *kucur* 'sauer'; Ramstedt 195: *xucr* 'soda- und salzhaftige erde, salzerde'; Radloff ii, 906: *kuyur* Shor 'die Salzsteppe'.

kübürçük Turkoman 'box' 22r2; ~ Caferoğlu 54: *kübür* 'sandık'; *SDer* 1002: *id.* 'araba sandığı'.

küçi yeter 'able' 28r8; ~Caferoğlu 54: *küç* 'kuvvet, güc'; Houtsma 96: *id.*; *see, s.v., yet-*.

küçle- 'to be(come) strong' 29r11; ~ Brockelmann 115: *küçlen-* 'stark werden'; Radloff ii, 1654: *güçle-* Ottoman 'schwierig werden'.

küçlen- 'to be(come) strong' 10r1, 29v1; Brockelmann 115: *küçlen-* 'stark werden'.

küçli 'strong' 67v12; Radloff ii, 1496: *küçlü* Karaim 'Stärke habend, stark'.

küçüçük 'small, little' 21v2; Caferoğlu 48: *kiçiçük* Turkoman 'küçük'.

küçük 'dog, puppy' 11r6; Houtsma 96: *küçük, keçik* 'junger Hund'; Caferoğlu 54: *küçük* 'köpek yavrusu'; ~ Zajączkowski I 33: *külük* 'petit de chien'.

kügerçin 'pigeon' 12v; Caferoğlu 54: *id.* 'güvercin'; Zajączkowski I 32: *id.* 'pigeon'; Telegdi 315: *kügercin* 'Taube'.

küleç kişi 'silly, laughingstock' 32r; ~ Radloff ii, 1331: *kölöç* Tatar 'freundlich, fröhlich', *kölöç yözlö kiśi* 'ein Mensch mit freundlichem Gesichte'; *see, s.v., kiçi.*.

küleçek 'silly, laughingstock' 32r10, 77r5; Radloff ii, 1641: *gülecek* Ottoman 'lächerlich'; ~ Radloff ii, 1332: *kölüçen* Tatar 'der Spassvogel'. (*See* Bang, *Monographien* 31.)

külevçi 'who laughs much' 77r4; *see, s.v., kül-*.

külkeç 'headband for women' 24v5; Caferoğlu 54: *id.* 'kadınların başlarına bağladıkları bez'; ~ Radloff ii, 1466: *kül-* Teleut 'Hände und Füsse binden'.

külütçi 'silly, laughingstock' 77r5.

künçi 'sesame' 18v5; Zajączkowski I 33: *künci* 'sésame'.

küreççi 'wrestler' 32r12; Radloff ii, 1453: *küreśç* Teleut 'der Ringer'.

kütüçi 'herdsman' 16r10; Grönbech 160: *kütövçi* 'Hirt'.

laçın 'falcon' 20r11; Houtsma 101 : *id.* 'weisse Falke'; Caferoğlu 56 : *id.* 'şahin kuşu'; Zajączkowski I 33 : *id.* 'faucon, gerfaut'.

laçın proper name 41r12.

maçı 'cat' 18v11; Houtsma 101 : *meçi* 'Katze'; Caferoğlu 57 : *maçı* 'kedi'; Grönbech 161 : *id.* 'Kater'.

maktavçı 'panegyrist' 32v5; ~ Radloff iv, 2003 : *maxtav* Karaim 'das Lob'.

memreç 'youngling, bear cub' 27r13; Caferoğlu 58 : *id.* 'ayı yavrusu'.

neçe 'so many' 90r11; Grönbech 169 : *id.* 'wie viel, wie sehr' indefinites Äquativnomen von *ne*.

neçe 'how much?' 57r1, and 56v13, 57r1; Houtsma 102 : *id.* 'wieviel'; Caferoğlu 60 : *id.* 'kaç'; Zajączkowski I 35 : *id.* 'combien'; Telegdi 320 : *id.* (but *n^{e}şe*) 'wieviel?'; Grönbech 169 : *id.* 'wie viel?, wie sehr?' interrogatives Äquativnomen von *ne*.

neçe ki 'in the same measure as' 89r9.

neçelik 49v8; *see, s.v., neçe* 'so many'.

neçik 'how?' 57r2, 89r7, and 57r3, 57r3, 57r4, 82r3, 82r3, 82r4, 82r4, 82r5, 82r5, 82r6, 82r6, 82r6, 82r7, 88r10; Houtsma 102 : *neçük* 'wie'; Caferoğlu 60 : *id.* 'nasıl'; Zajączkowski I 35 : *id.* 'comment'; Telegdi 320 : *id.* (but *n^{e}şük*) 'wie?'; Grönbech 169 : *neçik* interrogatives Adverb.

neçik ki 'whoever' 89r8.

neçiklik 49v7; Bálint 147 : *niçeklek* 'beschaffenheit'.

niçek 'then moreover, and again' 30v.

oçak 'stove' 30v5; Telegdi 320 : *ocak* 'Ofen'.

okuçı 79v6, 79v6, 79v7, 80r4; Telegdi 320 : *okıçı* (but *'^{o}qışı*) '(Vor)-leser'.

olça 'booty; what is taken' 26r6, Turkoman 'prisoner of war' 26r; Kowalski 240 : *olca* 'Kriegsbeute'; Radloff i, 1094 : *id.* Karaim 'der Kriegsgefangene, die Beute'.

olçala- 'to gain (booty)' 26v6; Radloff i, 1094 : *olcala* Chaghatay, New Uyghur 'in Gefangenschaft nehmen, erbeuten'.

ortançı 'middle, intermediate' 37v9; Radloff I, 1069 : *ortancı* Ottoman 'der Mittlere, was sich in der Mitte befindet, der Vermittler, Zwischenträger'.

oruç 'the fasting' 68r8; ~ Houtsma 46 : *oruç tut-* 'fasten'; Caferoğlu 63 : *id.* 'oruç tuttu'; Telegdi 320 : *oruc tut-* 'fasten'.

otaçı 'healer, magician' 23r; Houtsma 56 : *id.* 'Arzt'; Caferoğlu 63 : *otçı, otaçı* 'tabip, doktor'.

öç 'revenge' 10r11, 90r11; Caferoğlu 64 : *id.* 'intikam'; Kowalski 242 : *id.* 'Rache'.

öçeç- 'to wager' 17r5; Brockelmann 130: *öçeş-* 'wetteifern, nachahmen'; Radloff i, 1286: *id.* Chaghatay 'streiten, zanken'.

ögürçi (?) 'herdsman' 16r10; Radloff i, 1198: *id.* Chaghatay 'der Pferdehirt'; ~ Radloff i, 1197: *ögür* Uyghur, Ottoman, Chagatay 'die Herde, Thiere (die zusammen leben), eine Schaar'.

ögütçi 'miller' 16r10; Brockelmann 131: *ögitçi* 'Müller'.

ölç 'measure, regard' 29r9; Caferoğlu 65: *ölçi* 'ölçü' (but Ar. 21: *öleç* 'al-qiyās va'l-i'tibār'); Zajączkowski I 36: *ölüç* 'mesure'; ~ Grönbech 182: *ölçe* 'Mass'.

ölç- 'to measure' 29r, 29v2; Radloff i, 1257: *id.* Ottoman 'messen, ausmessen; schätzen; abzählen, scandiren'.

ölçek 'dry measure for grain' 29r; Radloff i, 1257: *id.* Chaghatay, Ottoman 'das Maas'.

örküç 'hump (of the camel)' 19r; Houtsma 46: *örgüç* (but اُرُكِچ) 'Kameelhöcker'; Caferoğlu 66: *örküç* 'hörgüç, kambur (deve, hayvan)'.

örmeç 'braid, tress' 23v; ~ Bálint 38: *ürem* 'haarflechte'.

örümçük 'spider' 24v13; Radloff i, 1243: *örmüçük* Taranchi 'die Spinne'.

ötmekçi 46v12, 47r5, 62v7; Radloff i, 1275: *id.* Uyghur 'der Bäcker'.

sabançı 'plowman' 12r13; Radloff iv, 415: *id.* 'der Ackerbauer, Ackerarbeiter'.

saç- 'to sow' 7v12; Grönbech 210: *id.* 'säen'.

saçak 'stove' 30v; ~ Houtsma 57: *saç ayağı* 'eiserner Dreifuss'; Velet 38: *saç ayak* 'üç ayak, saç ayak (ateş üstünde tencere altına konan bir demir)'.

saçak 'tassel, tangle' 20v; Caferoğlu 84: *id.* 'püskül'; Grönbech 210: *id.* 'Franzen'.

saçra- 'to splash' 23v; Németh 105: *çaçira-* Kumuk 'spritzen'.

saçra- Turkoman 'to choke on water' 21r.

salınçak 'hammock cradle' 33v; Caferoğlu 86: *salıncak* 'salıncak'.

sanç- 'to pierce' 23v6; Houtsma 80: *id.* 'stechen'; Caferoğlu 86: *id.* 'sançtı'; Telegdi 321: *id.* (but *ṣ^{a}nṣ*) 'stechen'.

sançı 'belly-ache, stomach-ache' 16r; Radloff iv, 311: *sancı* Ottoman 'das Stechen in den Eingeweiden, die Kolik'.

sançış 'tilt' 33v1; Houtsma 80: *sançış* 'Streit'; Zajączkowski I 44: *id.* 'escarmouche, combat'.

sarançıka Turkoman 'locusts' 11r6; Houtsma 81: صرنجقا Aussprache unsicher 'Heuschrecke'; Grönbech 215: *sarınçka* '*id.*'.

savulçuk 'snake (ascarid)' 10r12; ~ Brockelmann 187: *suvuşğan* 'Schlange im Bauch die das Hungergefühl hervorruft'.

selkençek 'hammock cradle' 33v9; Caferoğlu 89 : *selkinçek* 'salıncak'.

serçe Turkoman 'sparrow' 24v10; Houtsma 76 : *id.* Turkoman 'Sperling'; Zajączkowski I 45 : *id.* 'moineau'.

sıçan 82v8; Radloff iv, 657 : *id.* Oghuz 'die Maus'.

sıçkak 'one with diarrhea' 47v2; Brockelmann 177 : *sıçğak* 'an Durchfall leidend'.

sıçra- 'to jump' 28r6; Radloff iv, 658 : *id.* Ottoman 'springen, hüpfen, aufspringen; spritzen; in Stücke zerspringen, beschädigt werden (von den Rändern eines Gefässes)'.

sığırçık 'starling' 17v; Houtsma 81 : *sığırçuk* 'Staar'; Zajączkowski I 48 : *id.* 'étourneau (oiseau)'.

sıŋar-çılaγın, *sıŋar-çulaγın* Turkoman 88v13; ~ *TTS* 684 : *sıŋarı* 'kendisi gibi, benzeri, hemhal, akran'; *see, s.v., çileyiŋ.*

sileçek 'dust cloth, cleaning rag' 33v; Radloff iv, 712 : *silecek* Oghuz 'eine grosse Serviette; das Badelaken'.

soğulçak 'snake (ascarid)' 10r; Radloff iv, 531 : *id.* Chaghatay 'der Wurm'.

soğulçan 'worm(s)' 24v; Velet 42 : *soğulcan* 'soğulcan'; Zajączkowski I 46 : *sovlaçan* 'sangsue'; Radloff iv, 562 : *sovulcan* Ottoman 'der Regenwurm, der Eingeweidewurm'.

sögüçi 'one who curses' 31r7, and 62v6; ~ Radloff iv, 576 : *sögüs* Saghay, Koybal, Kazak 'der Tadel, der Schimpf, der Fluch'.

sölençü 'thin slices of meat' 20v9; Caferoğlu 93 : *sövlünçü* 'dilim dilim kesilmiş et'; ~ Houtsma 79 : *söklençi* 'Gebratenes'; Zajączkowski I 47 : *id.* 'rôti'.

sövinçle- 'to bring glad tidings' 8r4; Grönbech 224 : *sövünçle-* 'Freude bringen', *mariamğa sövünçledi* 'er brachte Maria die (frohe) Botschaft'.

suçı 'watercarrier' 80r12, 80r13; Radloff iv, 779 : *suçi* Turki 'der Wasserträger'.

suçuk 'stuffed (food)' 34v4; Caferoğlu 93 : *id.* 'koyun sucuğu'; Zajączkowski I 47 : *id.* 'saucisse, saucisson'.

suravçı 'hangman, executioner' 32v10; Radloff iv, 766 : *surakçi* Taranchi 'der Untersuchungsrichter'.

sürç- 'to stumble' 25v; Radloff iv, 828 : *id.* Ottoman, Chaghatay 'stolpern, straucheln'.

süzgüç 'filter' 16v6; Radloff iv, 847 : *süzgeç* Ottoman 'das Filter, das feine Sieb, ein Löffel mit Löchern, ein Schaumlöffel'.

tağarçık 'bag' 11r1; Caferoğlu 96 : *tağarcuk* 'dağarcık'; Radloff iii, 1612 : *dağarcık* Ottoman, Chaghatay 'der Sack, der Beutel'.

tağarçuk 'bag' 11r1; *see, s.v., tağarçık.*

tal ağaç 'species of willow' 22r2; ~ Houtsma 83 : *tal* 'Weide'; Radloff iii, 875 : *id.* Turki, Sayan, Kipchak '*id.*'; ~ Radloff i, 149 : *ağaç* Sayan, Kipchak, Oghuz 'Baum, Holz; hölzern'.

tapçak 'bench, bunk' 8r12; ~ Brockelmann 191 : *tabçan, tabçaŋ* Kenchek 'Tritt mit drei Füssen zum Pflücken der Weintrauben'.

teliçe 45v10; Radloff iii, 1681 : *delice* Ottoman 'thöricht'.

tepkeç 'spur' 33v2; Caferoğlu 101 : *tebkiç* 'mahmuz'.

tevlügeç 'kite' 12v10; Houtsma 74 : *deglükeç* 'Weihe'; Telegdi 309 : *devlingeç* (but *dᵉvlᵉngeş*) '*id.*'; Brockelmann 203 : *teŋelgüç* Oghuz '*id.*'.

tılmaç 'translator, interpreter; agent' 8v3; Zajączkowski I 49 : *talmaç* 'interprète, drogman'; Grönbech 248 : *tolmaç, tılmaç* 'Dolmetscher'.

tilençi 'beggar' 20r9; Caferoğlu 34 : *dilençi* 'dilenci'.

tokuçı 'weaver' 12v7; Houtsma 74 : *dokırçı* 'Weber'; Kowalski 265 : *toxuvçu* '*id.*'.

tunçuk- 'to suffocate' 28r; Radloff iii, 1442 : *tunzuk-* Baraba 'ersticken (intr.)', *tunşᵘk-* Kazak '*id.*'.

tüligeç 'kite' 12v9; *see, s.v., tülügeç.*

tülügeç 'kite' 12v9; Battal I 77 : *id.* 'çaylık'.

uç 'stakes' 16v4; Caferoğlu 110 : *id.* 'at yarışında ve yahut ok atışında bahsa girmek'; Radloff i, 1720 : *id.* Ottoman 'die Wette'; ~ Houtsma 55 : *üç-* (but وچ) 'geben, über etwas wetten'.

uç 'end, edge'; Caferoğlu 110 : *id.* 'her bir şeyin ucu'; Kowalski 273 : *id.* 'Ende, Grenze, Ziel'.

uç- 'to fly' 23v3; Telegdi 326 : *id.* (but '*ᵘşti*) 'fliegen'.

uça 'hunch' 13v5, 'backside, posteriors' 24r7; Caferoğlu 111 : *id.* 'kıç, arka'; Brockelmann 227 : *id.* 'Rücken, Kreuz'; Radloff i, 1721 : *id.* Altay, Teleut, Shor, Saghay, Crimean, Chaghatay, New Uyghur 'das Hintertheil, Kreuz, der Rücken (bei Thieren und Menschen)'.

uçan 'flying' 18v8, 23r13; *see, s.v., uç-.*

uçan 'boat' 18v8, 23r13; Caferoğlu 111 : *id.* 'küçük gemi'; Zajączkowski I 54 : *id.* 'bateau, petit vaisseau, petit navire'; Radloff i, 1723 : *id.* Chagatay 'ein Schiff, grosses Fahrzeug'.

uçmak 'paradise' 10v8, 57v10, 69v8, and 45r13; Houtsma 45 : *id.* Turkoman 'Paradies'; Caferoğlu 111 : *id.* 'cennet'; Zajączkowski I 54 : *id.* 'paradis'.

ulançı 'pederast' 3v12; ~ Radloff i, 1022 : *oğlan* Azeri 'ein Jüngling der sich zur Päderastie gebrauchen lässt'.

umaç 'target' 33r13; Caferoğlu 4 : *amaç* 'yakın nişangâh'; Brockelmann 8 : *id.* 'Ziel'.

umaça kemigi 'thorax, collarbone' 23r; ~ Radloff i, 1167 : *omaca*

Ottoman 'das Steissbein, der Schwanzknochen'; Kúnos 158 : *uma (umaca)* 'Gliedbein'; ~ Radloff ii, 1208 : *kemik* Altay, Teleut 'der Knorpel, die weichen Theile grosser Knochen', Ottoman, Crimean 'der Knochen', Ottoman 'das Elfenbein'.

uruçı 78v, 84v2; Redhouse 249 : اوريجى 'one who strikes'.

uyalçak 'bashful' 32r9; Radloff i, 1631 : *id.* Altay 'verschämt, der sich leicht schämt, empfindlich', *uyalcak* Baraba *'id.'*.

üç 'three' 55v6, 60r7, 79r2; Houtsma 55 : *id.* 'drei'; Caferoğlu 114 : *id.* 'üç'; Telegdi 292 : *id.* (but *'ü̈ş*).

üç yüz 'three-hundred' 60r12; Zajączkowski I 54 : *id.* 'trois-cent'; Telegdi Ar. 65 : *'ü̈ş yü̈z*.

üçle- 'to make it threefold' 61v3; Radloff i, 1875 : *id.* Ottoman 'in drei Theile theilen; in Arende geben für drei Procent'.

üçlik 'thirdness' 61v6; Radloff i, 1875 : *üçlük* Ottoman 'eine aus drei bestehende Gruppe; Etwas aus drei Theilen, Dingen bestehendes; ein Dreipiasterstück'.

üçün 'because of' 20v, 59r13, 89r1; Houtsma 45 : *id.* 'wegen'; Caferoğlu 114 : *id.* 'için, üçün'; Telegdi 326 : *id.* (but *'ü̈şü̈n*) 'wegen'.

ügerçin 'pigeon' 12v10; Zajączkowski I 32 : *kügerçin* 'pigeon'. (*See* Halasi-Kun, *TDTHA* 1 (1950), pp. 45-61).

yaçanlı 'bashful' 32r11; ~ Velet 50 : *yacın-* 'yacındı, utandı, çekindi'; Grönbech 109 : *yaçan-* 'sich schämen, sich genieren, sich fürchten'.

yakınçak diminutive 45v9.

yakşıçarak diminutive 55r7.

yalançı 'liar' 30r8; Radloff iii, 161 : *yalancı* Oghuz 'der Lügner'; ~ Houtsma 107 : *yalan* 'Lüge'.

yalğan ant iç- 'to break one's oath' 13r9; ~ Houtsma 107 : *yalan* 'Lüge'; Caferoğlu 118 : *yalğan* 'yalan'; ~ Houtsma 55 : *ant* 'Eid'; Caferoğlu 4 : *id.* 'yemin'; Telegdi 309 : *ant iç-* (but *'antiṣti*) 'schwören'; *see, s.v., iç-*.

yalğançı Turkoman (!) 'liar' 30r8; Radloff iii, 176 : *id.* Tatar 'der Lügner'; ~ Caferoğlu 118 : *yalğan* 'yalan'.

yamança diminutive 55r8; *see, s.v., yaman.*

yapçın 'monkey' 28v; ~ Radloff iv, 1625 : *beçin* 'der Affe'; Ramstedt 43 : *betşn* = *mitşn* 'affe'. (*See* H. Eren, "A török magánhangzóváltakozások", *NyK* 51, p. 365.)

yaş balçık 'mud' 37v8; *see, s.v., yaş* 'tender, juicy'; ~ Houtsma 60 : *balçık* 'Lehm'; Caferoğlu 14 : *id.* 'çamur'; Zajączkowski I 11 : *id.* 'argile, boue'; Telegdi 305 : *id.* (but *balṣtq*) 'Kot'.

yataçak 'place of sleeping' 48v2; *see, s.v., yat.-*

yavurtçı 46^{v}12, 62^{v}7; *see, s.v., yavurt* and *yağurt*.

yaylavuç Turkoman 'frying pan, fried food' 23^{r}9; ~ Grönbech 110 : *yağlav, yavlov* 'Bratpfanne'; Battal I 83 : *yağlağu* 'aş-şufrīya'; *ADer* 411 : *yağlavuç* 'yağda kurulmuş sovan'. (*See* Zajączkowski, *Suffiksy*, § 7.)

yazaçak 'place of writing' 48^{v}2.

yazuçı 'making writing' 55^{r}2, 'the writing one' 79^{v}4, and 80^{r}5; Telegdi 312 : *yazıçı* (but *y^{a}z^{ı}şı*) 'Schreiber'; Kowalski 202 : *yazuvçu* 'Schreiber, Verfasser'.

yedgüç 'halter' 33^{r}; ~ Radloff iii, 526 : *yidek* Baraba 'der Halfterstrick, das Leitseil'.

yençi 'dough' 24^{v}7; Zajączkowski I 26 : *yinçi* 'pâte pétrie'.

yeyiçi Turkoman 'glutton' 3^{v}; Radloff iii, 327 : *yeyici* Ottoman 'der Esser', *çok yeyici* 'Jemand der viel zu Essen liebt, ein Feinschmecker, Schlemmer, Gourmand'.

yidgüç 'halter' 33^{r}; ~ Radloff iii, 526 : *yidek* Baraba 'der Halfterstrick, das Leitseil'.

yiyeçek 'place of eating' 48^{v}4; *see, s.v., ye-*.

yüçe 'high' 25^{r}; Radloff iii, 613 : *yüce* Oghuz 'hoch, erhaben, gross, berühmt'.

yülügüç 'razor' 33^{v}; Grönbech 131 : *yülügüç, yülüŋüç* 'Rasiermesser'.

yülüvüç 'razor' 33^{v}12; *see, s.v., yülügüç*.

Finally, in the following few words, mostly of Arabic or Persian origin, we find a clearly distinguished *c* :

cadı 'witchcraft' 18^{v}3; Radloff iv, 47 : *cadu* Crimean 'die Hexe', Karaim 'der Zauberer', Kazak 'die Zauberei, die Zauberformel'.

can 'soul' 16^{r}6; Houtsma 70 : *id.* 'Seele'; Telegdi 309 : *id.* '*id.*'.[25]

canbaz 'tightrope walker' 6^{v}8; Redhouse 638 : *cambaz* 'rope-dancer, acrobat'.

cihan 'world' 15^{r}2; Redhouse 693 : *id.* '*id.*'.

cömert 'generous' 30^{r}5; Houtsma 72 : *cüvemerd* Turkoman 'edelmüthig, freigebig'; Caferoğlu 25 : *cömert* 'kerim, cömert'; Telegdi 309 : *comard* 'freigebig'.

tecik 'merchant' 8^{r}12; Radloff iii, 1096 : *id.* Uyghur 'der Perser, persisch'.

yalıncak Turkoman 'naked' 24^{r}13; Radloff iii, 168 : *id.* Ottoman 'etwas entblösst'.

zincir 'iron chain' 19^{r}5; Radloff iv, 913 : *id.* Ottoman 'die Kette', iv, 888 : *zencir* Turki '*id.*'.

[25] *See* note 23 on p. 168.

The above listings bring irrefutable proof to the fact that the author of the *At-Tuḥfah* was well able to distinguish between the sounds *ç*, *ş*, *c*, *j*, and that he did so very carefully, indeed.

It is easy to realize from these listings, which are the results of a careful examination of the *At-Tuḥfah*, that a large-scale *ç* > *ş* change had taken place in our fourteenth-century Mamluk dialect.[26] The importance of this finding can be further enhanced by a more careful scrutiny of the material involved. By doing so one finds that in many instances forms appearing in the Mamluk dialect can be best matched by forms taken from some of the present-day northeastern Kazak and/or Sayan Turkic languages. A finding that can be interpreted as weighty evidence pointing toward until now unassumed ethnic ties which, no matter how distant their geographic locations, must have existed between these groups. It, on the one side, can open up new vistas regarding the ethnic composition of the later Mamluk state, the Kipchak ethnonym amongst the Altay Turks, or the presence of Arabo–Persian loanwords in Altay Turkic (N. A. Baskakov, *Altaiskii iazyk*, Moskva, 1958, pp. 28, and 35). On the other hand, the slave trade, which is to be sought at the bottom of these ties and which most probably flourished along the Trans-Siberian 'fur route', may have considerable relevancy regarding the little known beginnings of the Siberian Khanate. Also, brought into context, this new linguistic evidence might put the whole question of the 'mystery Circassians' of the Mamluk state into an entirely different light and provide the explanation why not a single bona fide Circassian word was discovered in the by now not all too sparse monuments from the Mamluk period. Finally, if examined with this particular point in mind, U. Haarmann's new work on Mamluk folklore[27] will certainly yield additional data relevant to the above theories.

But the information gained from the above lists is also enlightening with regard to Turkic loanwords in Hungarian. They minimize the need for a separation between the Old Turkic and the so-called Middle layer by making it possible for the whole to be considered as one large group, the Kipchak Turkic or — as some might insist — the Old Turkic group. In latter case, however, one should not forget that since all the pertinent data were recorded in the period between the eleventh and

[26] *See* note 23 on p. 168.

[27] *See* U. Haarmann, "Alṭun Ḫān und Čingiz Ḫān bei den ägyptischen Mamluken", *Der Islam* 51, pp. 1-36.

sixteenth century, *i.e.*, in the Middle Hungarian and Middle Turkic (Middle Kipchak) period, the Old Turkic designation may appear to some as not entirely to the point.

In any case, in light of the above information one might safely state that in the majority of the cases, the *ş* in Hungarian Turkic loanwords can be considered a Kipchak Turkic phenomenon and accordingly, words like *bársony*, *besenyő*, *bors*, *borsó*, *keselyű*, *kis*, *koporsó*, *kőris*, *orsó*, *ostábla*, *sajt*, *saru*, *sátor*, *sekély*, *seprő*, *sereg*, *serke*, *serte*, *sólyom* and *vásár*, and one might add here *sakál*, *sok*, *suba*, could be classified as being loanwords of Kipchak Turkic origin rather than anything else. As will be seen below (pp. 203-204) even the long vocalic ending in some of these words is of no major consequence in this respect.

Somewhat more complex is the question of the initial *ç* in the Hungarian Turkic loanwords. According to a presently prevailing modus, Turkic loanwords with initial *ç* are separated into two distinct groups and are assigned to two different layers. The first group consists of words like *csalán*, *csepű*, *csipa*, *csunya* which, in view of certain vocalic and/or consonantal changes in their ending, are considered to be earlier borrowings in Hungarian and assigned accordingly to the Old Turkic layer with the side-remark added, however, that their initial *ç* cannot be explained along Old Turkic lines. The second group consists of words like *csalit*, *csabak*, *csiger*, *csődör*, *csök*, *csősz* which, lacking the above criteria, do not qualify as Old Turkic and are consequently classified as belonging to the Middle Turkic layer. Information provided by the *At-Tuḥfah* about the *ç* $\gtrless$ *ş*, as well as the final vocalic and consonantal changes in Kipchak Turkic seems to make such a separation artificial and superfluous since the words involved all qualify to be classified as belonging to the Kipchak Turkic group of the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian. In further support of this thesis some of the final vocalic and/or consonantal changes will shortly be elaborated upon here. A detailed study of the Kipchak explosiva as well as the Turkoman substratum as it appears in the *At-Tuḥfah* will be the subject of the continuation envisaged for this article, while here only a few pertinent data should be mentioned from *T.*

As is known, one of the criteria the division of Turkic loanwords in Hungarian is based on is the word-endings corresponding to the Turkic final *-k* (*-ğ*). According to this correspondence they are divided into three categories: those which show a short vocalic ending instead of the original Turkic *-k* (*-ğ*), like *csipa*; those with a final *-k* (*-g*), like *csabak*; and those which show a long vocalic ending, like *besenyő*. In

general, words of the first category, like *bütü*, *csipa*, *csunya*, *eke*, *güzü*, *kapu*, *kozma*, and by some *dara* and *ürü*, are considered to be Old Turkic and the change of the final *-k* (*-ğ*) is explained as a result of dediphthongization and vowel-shortening in Hungarian. The situation is not as clear with words where the final *-k* (*-g*) remained. The presence of this *-k* (or *-g*, which is the result of sonorization in Hungarian) is considered the main criterion by which a word can be classified as belonging to the Middle Turkic layer, as is the case with *bicsak*, *csabak*, *csök*, *köldök*, *öreg*, *tőzeg*, and by some with *köpönyeg*, *maszlag*, *szúnyog* and *temérdek*. Yet words like *árok*, *bélyeg*, *kék*, *örök*, *sereg*, *túzok*, *tyúk*, and by some *szúnyog*, are treated differently and are assigned to the Old Turkic group. Finally, words of the third category, that is words which, as a result of an *-ȣk*, *-ȣ̈k*, *-ȣğ*, *-ȣ̈ğ* > *-ȣu*, *-ȣ̈ü* > *-ȣ̄*, *-ȣ̄* change in Hungarian, show a long vocalic ending instead of the original Turkic final *-k* (*-ğ*), like *ágyú*, *apró*, *besenyő*, *betű*, *borsó*, *bosszú*, *bő*, *bölcső*, *bucsú*, *csepű*, *erő*, *hajó*, *idő*, *kanyaró*, *keselyű*, *komló*, *koporsó*, *kóró*, *kölyű*, *köpű*, *kőrő*, *küllő*, *olló*, *orsó*, *sarú*, *seprő*, *tanú*, *tarló*, *teknő*, *tinó*, *toklyó*, *turó*, *ünő*, and by some *szeplő*, *tapló* and *tiló*, are all considered as belonging to the Old Turkic group. But data furnished by the *At-Tuḥfah* seem to make these differenciations not fully warranted.

In connection with the first, the *csipa* category the following doublets can be quoted from *T*:

1. *açık* 'hungry' 11r13; Radloff i, 521 : *acık* Shor 'hungrig'; ~ Kowalski 151 : *açıx-* 'hungrig sein',

   ~
   açı 'hungry' 11r.

2. *avruk* 83v7; Brockelmann 4 : *ağruk* 'Last'; Radloff i, 176 : *id.* Chaghatay 'Last; ein Gewicht eine Drachme schwer',

   ~
   ağrı Turkoman 'dirhem weight unit (1/8 of an ounce in the form of a metal plate)' 15r9; Vámbéry 210 : *agrı* Chaghatay 'mesures de poids pour les corps compacts et liquides (= 96 mişkals)'.

3. *ayruk* 'other than' 89r13; Houtsma 58 : *id.* 'ein Anderer'; Caferoğlu 8 : *id.* 'başka, gayrı'; Telegdi 302 : *ayrık* 'anderer',

   ~
   ayrı 'other than' 89r13; Radloff i, 26 : *id.* Ottoman, Azeri, Crimean, Cuman 'anders, verschieden'.

4. *azık* 'molar tooth' 22v6; Houtsma 47 : *azığ* 'Backenzahn',

   ~
   azı 'molar tooth' 22v; Caferoğlu 9 : *azu* 'azı'.

5. *irik* 'coarse' 14r; Brockelmann 67 : *irik*, *irük* 'grob'; Battal I 34 : *irik* 'kaba, sert'; Radloff i, 1459 : *id.* Chaghatay 'grob; grosskörnig',

   ~

iri 'coarse' 14r8; Radloff i, 1458 : *id.* Crimean, Kazak, Ottoman, Azeri 'gross, dick, grob', Kazak 'grosskörnig, grobkörnig'.

6. *kibik* 88v13; Telegdi 314 : *id.* 'wie'; Radloff ii, 1400 : *kibïk* Tobolsk 'wie',

~
kibi 'kind; an equivalent; something similar, something of the same kind' 22r1; Caferoğlu 48 : *id.* 'gibi'; Telegdi 314 : *id.* 'wie'.

7. *ördek* 'duck' 7r3; Houtsma 56 : *id.* 'Ente'; Caferoğlu 66 : *id.* 'ördek'; Kowalski 242 : *örd'ak* 'Ente',

~
örde 'duck' 7r13.

8. *tamık* 'hell' 10v, 10v8; Grönbech 233 : *tamu, tamuk, tamux* 'Hölle',

~
tamı 'hell' 10v8;

9. *tamuk* 'hell' 10v, 10v8; Grönbech 233 : *tamu, tamuk, tamux* 'Hölle',

~
tamu 'hell' 10v8; Houtsma 83 : *id.* 'Hölle'; Caferoğlu 97 : *tamuv* 'cehennem'; Grönbech 233 : *tamu, tamuk, tamux* 'Hölle'.

The number of these doublets could easily be multiplied with data from other Middle Kipchak linguistic monuments. Yet even the few examples quoted above, and in particular the *ördek* ~ *örde* doublet make it very plausible that Turkic loanwords with a final short vowel instead of the original *-k* (*-ğ*), that is words of the *csipa* category, may have come already in that form from Kipchak Turkic into Hungarian and, except for those with a high tongue position, like *bütü, güzü, kapu* and probably *ürü*, their short-vocalic ending does not have to be explained as resulting from dediphthongization and vowel-shortening in Hungarian. As to the *csabak* category, there was no need in the first place to separate loanwords where the final *-k* (*-g*) remained and classify some of them as belonging to the Middle layer and others as Old Turkic. And now, in light of the above, there seems to be no further need to separate words of the *csipa* category from those of the *csabak* category and to assign them to different groups either, since the criteria this separation is based on can easily be classified themselves as Kipchak Turkic.

Though perhaps somewhat more complex but not much more different is the situation with the third, the *besenyő* category, that is Turkic loanwords with a long vocalic ending instead of the original final *-k* (*-ğ*), a form considered to be the result of an *-ȣk, -ȣ̈k, -ȣğ, -ȣ̈ğ* > *-ȣu, -ȣ̈ü* > *-ȣ̄, -ȣ'* change in Hungarian. But, after examining the *At-Tuḥfah* along this line one finds that a similar development can also be observed in the Kipchak languages. As already mentioned above (p. 201), it is not my intention to give a detailed study of the Kipchak Turkic explosiva

here; a few remarks on the final palatal and velar plosives, their frequency, and their transcription will suffice for our purpose.

As is known and evident also from the *At-Tuḥfah*, the voiceless velar and palatal plosives *q* and *k* (both rendered in the article with *k*) appear quite frequently in final position in Kipchak Turkic. At the same time, though as a rule there is no graphic distinction made in the *At-Tuḥfah* between the voiceless *-k* and the voiced *-g* (both are reflected with ك, only in a very, very few cases the exceptional qualifying remark "voiced" is added), it is a well established fact that final *-g* is rare in the Kipchak Turkic languages in general. There is no problem with the voiced velar fricative *-ğ* in final position since, in the few occasions it appears, it is always clearly marked with a غ. The examples which follow were selected from the *T* to give a comprehensive picture of the final palatal and velar plosives (*-q*, *-k*, *-g*), velar fricatives (*-ğ*, *-x*), and resonant glides (*-u̯*, *-ü̯*, *-i̯*) their parallel appearances and their substitution by a vocalic or zero correspondance :[28]

1. *boğ-* Turkoman 'to strangle' 14v13; Houtsma 62 : *id.* 'erwürgen'; Caferoğlu 20 : *id.* 'boğdı'; Telegdi 307 : *id.* 'erwürgen',

bo- 'to strangle' 14v3; Caferoğlu 20 : *id.* 'boğdu'.

2. *doğ-* 'to rise (the sun, the moon, the star)' 5v3, 'to set in (daylight)' 76r1, and 47r7; Caferoğlu 35 : *id.*, *toğ-*, *to-* 'cocuk doğmasına doğdu denildiği gibi ay ve güneş tuluuna da denilmektedir'; Telegdi 325 : *toğ-* 'aufgehen (Sonne, Mond)'; Grönbech 247 : *id.* 'geboren werden; aufgehen'.

3. *dög-* 'to beat, to strike' 22v; Radloff iii, 1731 : *id.* Crimean 'schlagen, prügeln',

tög- 'to beat, to strike' 22v; Radloff iii, 1243 : *id.* Chaghatay 'schlagen, knüpfen',

töy- 'to beat, to strike' 22v11, and 40v1, 40v8, 60r1; Radloff iii, 1728 : *döy-* Oghuz 'schlagen',

töydür- 'to have him beat' 54r6, 78r7, 78v1; *see*, *s.v.*, *töy-*.

4. *dudağ* 'lip, upper lip' 20r6; Telegdi 309 : *id.* 'Lippe'; Houtsma 74 : *dodak* Turkoman '*id.*'; Grönbech 246 : *tōdak* '*id.*'.

5. *düg-* 'to knot' 25v; Caferoğlu 36 : *id.* 'düğümledi'; Velet 18 : *id.*, *atın kuyruğunu dügdü* 'kuyruk tüyünü büküp düğmeledi'.

6. *kışlak* 'winter residence' 34v; Radloff ii, 838 : *id.* Ottoman 'das Winterquartier, der Wintersitz',

[28] Examples for latter already given on pp. 202-203 above.

kışlav 'winter residence' 34v8; Radloff ii, 837 : *kışlau* Baraba, Cuman 'das Winterquartier, der Wintersitz'.

7. *kov* 'hot embers' 12v9; Radloff ii, 515 : *koğ* Chaghatay 'der Funke', ii, 516 : *koğo, koğ* Teleut 'die Asche, Ueberbleibsel am Feuer'.

8. *kulağ ur-* 'to listen' 22v; ~ Houtsma 92 : *kulağ* 'Ohr'; Telegdi 318 : *id.* 'id.'; *see, s.v., ur-*,

~

kulak 'ear' 4r1; Caferoğlu 81 : *id.* 'kulak'; Grönbech 202 : *kulak, kulax* 'Ohr'.

9. *oğ* 'solitude, retirement' 14r; Caferoğlu 61 : *id.* 'boş halvet'.

10. *ökeyk* 'pigeon' 38v7; *see, s.v., ögeyg*,

~

ögeyg 'pigeon' 38v7; Houtsma 51 : *ögeyik* (but كويك) 'Turtel'; Radloff i, 1193 : *ögeyk* Ottoman 'die Wandertaube'.

11. *sav bol-* 'to regain health' 23v3; Grönbech 211 : *id.* 'gesund werden'; ~ Houtsma 80 : *sağ* 'gesund'; Caferoğlu 84 : *id.* 'salim, sağlam, afiyette olmak'; Telegdi 321 : *id.* 'gesund'; *see, s.v., bol.-*

12. *sav-* 'to milk' 13r9; Caferoğlu 85 : *sağ-* 'sağdı'; ~ Kowalski 249 : *savul-* 'gemolken werden, Milch geben'.

13. *silg-* 'to shake, to shake off' 36v9; Houtsma 78 : *silk-* 'schütteln'; Caferoğlu 90 : *id.* 'silkti'; Telegdi 322 : *id.* 'abschütteln'; Grönbech 220 : *id.* 'schütteln'.

14. *şak* 'time, duration' 17v; Radloff iv, 930 : *id.* Shor, Kachints, Kazak 'die Zeit', Kachints 'die Kraft', iii, 1831 : *çak* Turki, Sayan, Kipchak 'die Zeit, das Zeitmass, der Zeitpunkt'; Grönbech 73 : *çak, çax* 'Zeit',

~

şağ Turkoman 'time, duration' 17v; Radloff iv, 930 : *şak* Shor, Kachints, Kazak 'die Zeit', Kachints 'die Kraft'.

15. *tağ* 'brand' 30v; Radloff iii, 1610 : *dağ* Ottoman, Chaghatay 'der Fleck, die Narbe, das Brandmal, das eingebrannte Zeichen; das Eisen zum Einbrennen'; Steingass 498 : *id.* 'mark; scar, spot, freckle; blemish; cautery; spot upon a garment, iron-mould'.

16. *tağ* Turkoman 'mountain' 10v9; Houtsma 83 : *id.* 'Berg'; Caferoğlu 96 : *id.* 'dağ'; Zajączkowski I 49 : *id.* 'montagne'; Telegdi 323 : *tağ, tav* 'Berg',

~

tav 'mountain' 10v9; Telegdi 323 : *tağ, tav* 'Berg'; Grönbech 232 : *id.* 'id.'.

17. *tamağ* Turkoman 'pharynx' 17r12; Houtsma 85 : *tamak* 'Gaumen'; Caferoğlu 97 : *id.* 'damak'; Grönbech 233 : *id.* 'Kehle, Rachen'; Radloff iii, 995 : *tamağ* Chaghatay 'die Kehle',

~

tamav 'pharynx' 17r12; Radloff iii, 995: *tamağ* Chaghatay 'die Kehle'.

18. *tüg* 'feathers' 16r13; Radloff iii, 1530: *tük* Turki, Sayan, Kipchak 'das Thierhaar; die Haare am Körper des Menschen; die Flaumfedern der Vögel', Soyot 'das Haupthaar des Menschen',

~

tüy 'feathers' 16r; Radloff iii, 1528: *id.* Oghuz 'das Haar, Flaum', *kuş tüyü* 'die Federn der Vögel'.

19. *yağ* Turkoman 'fat (in general)' 15r1, 22r7; Houtsma 103: *id.* 'Fett'; Caferoğlu 117: *id.* 'yağ'; Zajączkowski I 23: *id.* 'graisse'; Telegdi 311: *id.* 'Fett',

yağla- Turkoman 'to grease' 15v1; Caferoğlu 117: *id.* 'yağladı'; Telegdi 311: *id.* 'mit Fett einschmieren',

~

yav 'fat (in general)' 15r1, 27r7; Kowalski 201: *id.* Karaim 'Fett',

yavla- 'to grease' 15v1.

20. *yağ-* Turkoman 'to rain' 35r13; Houtsma 106: *id.* 'regnen'; Caferoğlu 117: *id.* 'yağdı',

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yav- 'to rain' 35r12; Kowalski 201: *id.* 'regnen'.

21. *yaylık* 'summer residence' 34v; Caferoğlu 123: *yaylak* 'yayla mahallı',

~

yaylav 'summer residence' 34v8; Caferoğlu 123: *yaylak* 'yayla mahallı'.

22. *yığ-* 'to gather' 11v; Caferoğlu 126: *id.* 'topladı'; Radloff iii, 468: *id.* Ottoman, Azeri 'aufhäufen, anhäufen, aufthürmen; magazinieren, in Speicher zusammenbringen',

yığın- 'to crowd together' 6r; *see, s.v., yığ-*,

~

yıyı- 'to gather' 11v5, 23r2; Radloff iii, 502: *yī-* Cuman, Tobolsk, Crimean 'sammeln'; Caferoğlu 126: *yığ-* 'topladı',

yıyın- 'to crowd together' 6r8; Brockelmann 87: *yığın-* 'für sich sammeln'; Radloff iii, 470: *id.* Lebed, Küerik, Uyghur, Ottoman 'angehäuft, aufgehäuft sein, sich anhäufen', Uyghur, Lebed, Küerik 'sich sammeln'.

As one can see from the above examples, the presence of the final *-k* (*-g*) in Turkic loanwords does not have to be singled out as a Kipchak Turkic criterion and the absence of it taken as a proof to the contrary. All in all, the final *-k*, *-g*, *-ğ*, *-x*, *-ų*, *-ų̈*, *-i̯*, and vocalic correspondence does not have to be considered a later development and limited strictly to Hungarian, since the same development can also be observed in the

Turkic languages in general and in Kipchak Turkic in particular. Thus, words with these criteria can easily qualify as Kipchak Turkic loanwords in Hungarian. Nothwithstanding the obvious and strong evidence Middle Kipchak monuments give in this respect, the emphasis has to be on 'can'. Indeed, it would be greatly desirable to have some Old Kipchak material that could support the above findings. Coupled with the still pending Kazar question, the exiguity in Old Kipchak monuments calls for increased caution here. On the other hand, just as in the case of examples for the $ç \gtrless ş$ changes, here too similarities tying in with the Sayan Turkic group are strikingly prevalent.

If, after the above major criteria, we now take a quick look at some of the secondary Hungarian criteria used in the classification of the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian, we will find that the situation is not much different there either, and identical phenomena are easily established in the relevant Turkic languages. One of these secondary criteria is the first syllable $e > ö$ in words like *bölcső, köpönyeg, körte, ölt-, öreg, örmény, ünő, üröm*, etc. The examples to be given next will show that the first syllable *i* and *e*, particularly when followed by an *ü* or *v*, but often also spontaneously, appear as *ö* or *ü* in the Middle Kipchak monuments :

a) *degül* Turkoman 'not to be, not to exist' 46^{v}10, 61^{r}7, 71^{v}4; Caferoğlu 33 : *id.* 'değil'; Telegdi 300 : Die Verneinung von *dur* ist *degül*, seltener *tügül.*

tüyül 'not to be, not to exist' 67^{r}7, 68^{v}2, 68^{v}3, and 46^{v}9, 66^{r}6, 71^{v}3, 71^{v}4, 73^{v}12; Caferoğlu 33 : *degül* 'değil'; Telegdi 300 : Die Verneinung von *dur* ist *degül*, seltener *tügül*; Grönbech 83 : *devül* unflektierbares Negationswort.

b) *tişi teve* 'she-camel' 36^{r}2.

töve 'camel' 11^{r}8; Houtsma 69 : *id.* 'Kameel'; Grönbech 252 : *id.* '*id.*'; Caferoğlu 34 : *deve* 'deve'; Zajączkowski I 19 : *id.* 'chameau'; Telegdi 309 : *id.* 'Kamel'.

c) *çekmen* 'broadcloth' 11^{r}2; Houtsma 72 : *çökmen* 'Tapet'; Radloff iii, 1956 : *çekpen* Sayan 'das Tuch, ein Wollenzeug'.

ötmek 'bread' 13^{v}10, 76^{r}4, and 48^{r}3, 77^{r}7, 81^{v}, 81^{v}8; Kowalski 243 : *öt'mek* 'Brot'; Houtsma 44 : *etmek* '*id.*'; Caferoğlu 12 : *id.* 'ekmek'; Zajączkowski I 10 : *id.* 'pain'; Telegdi 44 : *id.* 'Brot'.

ötmekçi 46^{v}12, 47^{r}5, 62^{v}7; Radloff i, 1275 : *id.* Uyghur 'der Bäcker'.

tebe 'heap, hill' 30^{v}; Radloff iii, 1118 : *id.* Turki, Kipchak 'der Gipfel, der Scheitel; Grabhügel' Baraba 'das Dach', iii, 1109 : *tepe* Oghuz, Turki 'der Scheitel, der Gipfel; der Hügel'.

töbe 'hill, mound' 8r9, 'heap, hill' 30v9; Houtsma 66 : *tebe* 'Hügel'; Caferoğlu 101 : *tepe* 'tepe'; Zajączkowski I 52 : *töpe* 'monticule, colline'.

Even these few examples suffice to demonstrate that the first syllable *e* > *ö* change in words of the *bölcsõ* category can be viewed not only as a Hungarian but also as a Middle Kipchak phenomenon.

Another of these secondary phenomena is the first syllable *a* > *i* change in the words *csipa*, *tinó*, which, particularly in the case of *csipa*, is considered to be the result of dissimilation in Hungarian. In the *At-Tuḥfah* one finds several words in which the same change can be observed, a clear indication that the first syllable *a* > *i* change might very well be considered a Middle Kipchak criterion,. The following examples are but a few of the pertinent entries in *T* :

1. *sanṣar* 'marten' 15r; Velet 39 : *sansar* 'sansar'; Houtsma 82 : *sausar* 'Marder'; Grönbech 216 : *savsar* 'Marder und dessen Fell',

~

sınsar 'marten' 15r; Velet 39 : *sansar* 'sansar'.

2. *sarımsak* 'garlic' 10r13; Houtsma 76: *id.* 'Lauch'; Caferoğlu 87 : *id.* 'sarımsak'; Telegdi 322 : *saramsak* 'Knoblauch',

~

sırımsak 'garlic' 10r13; *see*, *s.v.*, *sarımsak*.

3. *sığız* 'mastic' 34v2; Houtsma 77 : *sakız* 'Mastix'.

4. *ṣarman-* 'to roll up, to tuck up' 21r2; Houtsma 71 : *çirmen-* 'die Kleider aufschürzen'; ~ Grönbech 78 : *çırma-* 'wickeln, winden'; Radloff iii, 2083 : *id.* Tatar, Azeri, Teleut 'aufwickeln, umwickeln, einhüllen, umgeben, verheddern, verflechten', Azeri 'aufstreifen', iv, 1054 : *ṣırma-* Kazak 'zusammenbinden, einwickeln'.

The first syllable *o* (*u*) > *i* change seen in the word *bika* is considered to be a Turkic phenomenon. *T* offers the following examples on the same change :

1. *kıyan* 'rabbit' 4r8; Caferoğlu 80: *koyan* 'tavşan'; Zajączkowski 40 : 'lièvre'; Grönbech 198 : *id.* 'Hase'.

2. *tıfırdan kurtı* 'dung beetle, scarab' 14r; ~ Telegdi 309 : *donğuzlan kurtı* 'Käfer'; *TTS* 694 : *tonuzlan kurdu* 'bok böceği cinsinden bir böcek'.

3. *tılmaç* 'translator, interpreter; agent' 8v3; Zajączkowski I 49 : *talmaç* 'interprète, drogman'; Grönbech 248 : *tolmaç*, *tılmaç* 'Dolmetscher'.

The unorganic *l* in words like *bölcs*, *bölcsõ*, or *gyümölcs*, *szemölcs* — the latter two still to be considered Western Turkic (*see*, pp. 155-156 above) — is firmly believed to be a secondary development in Hungarian.

Yet, as can be seen from the unorganic *n*,[29] the development of secondary consonants is not a strange phenomenon in the Turkic languages either. For the secondary *l* in Turkic an offhand parallel can be given from *T* in *şılbık* 'stick, club' 25r4; Radloff iv, 1062 : *şıbık* Kazak 'die Ruthe, das Reisig'; Grönbech 78 : *çıbuk*, *çıbux* 'Zweig, Reis; Rute, Gerte'.

Finally, there is the metathesis in the word *kanyaró* which also is considered to be a secondary development in Hungarian (*i.e.*, H. *kanyaró* < OT. *karamō*). My earlier assumption (pp. 165-166 above), if proven correct, would mean that *könyv* also can be considered a word in which such a metathesis had taken place. As can be seen from the following pertinent entries in *T*, metathesis, in Middle Kipchak, is not an uncommon phenomenon either :

1. *akrın* 'slowly, easy' 90r7; Telegdi 302 : *akrın*, *arkun* 'ruhig!, langsam!'; Kowalski 153 : *akırın* 'mild'.

2. *ançık* 'ladder, stair (wood)' 19r10; Houtsma 50 : *ağınğaç* 'Treppe'; Grönbech 29 : *ağınğuç*, *ağınğıç* 'Leiter, Treppe',

~anğıç 'ladder, stair (wood)' 19r10; Houtsma 50 : *ağınğaç* 'Treppe'; Grönbech 29 : *ağınğuç*, *ağınğıç* 'Leiter, Treppe'; *SDer* 103 : *angıç* 'öküz, at arabalarının iki tarafına konan parmaklık'.

3. *çömlek* 'earthenware jar' 11r2; Houtsma 72 : *id.* 'ein irdener Topf'; Caferoğlu 31 : *id.* 'küçük tencere',

~ölmek 'earthenware' 27v4, 'earthenware jar' 11r; Radloff iv, 1038 : *şölmök* Kazak 'Glas', iii, 2044 : *çölmek* Ottoman, Crimean, Karaim 'ein irdener Topf'; Houtsma 72 : *çömlek* '*id.*'; Caferoğlu 31 : *id.* 'küçük tencere'.

4. *içki* 'three years old goat' 10v4; Houtsma 45 : *eçki* 'Ziege'; Caferoğlu 9, and 43 : *id.* Kipchak 'keçi'; Zajączkowski I 10 : *id.* 'chèvre',

işki 'goat' 33r10; Radloff i, 911 : *eşki* Kazak 'Ziege', i, 1530 : *is'ki* Bashkir '*id.*'; Houtsma 45 : *eçki* '*id.*'; Caferoğlu 9, and 43 : *id.* Kipchak 'keçi'; Zajączkowski I 10 : *id.* 'chèvre'.

~ikşi 'three years old goat' 10v4; *see*, *s.v.*, *içki*.

5. *salama* 'pitch' 17v2; Caferoğlu 86 : *samala* 'zift'; Zajączkowski I 44 : *samla* 'poix, goudron'.

6. *şovulşan* 'worms' 24v8; Baskakov 268 : *şuvalşan* Noghay 'červak', 269 : *şılavşan* Noghay '*id.*'.

7. *tımarsık* 'obnoxious' 13v7, 'disgraceful' 31r6; *SDer* 1355 : *tım-*

[29] J. Eckmann, "Türkçede *d*, *t* ve *n* seslerinin türemesi", *TDAYB* (1955), pp. 11-12.

sırık 'geveze ve şarlatan olmıyan, pisirik; müşkülpesent adam; ~ *SDer* 1365 : *timsirik* 'yemek beğenmez', *timsirikli* 'müsvesvis, vehimli; her yemekten tiksinen kimse'.

8. *tobra* 'nosebag' 33r13; Caferoğlu 104 : *id.* 'torba',

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torba 'nosebag' 33r; Radloff iii, 1189 : *id.* Ottoman, Azeri, Crimean 'der Sack, der Ranzen'.

9. *tunyak* 'hoof' 12v4; *see, s.v., tuynak*,

~

tuynak 'hoof' 12v4; Houtsma 69 : *id.* 'Huf'; Caferoğlu 108 : *id.* Turkoman 'ḥāfir'.

10. *yamğur* 'rain' 32r3; Houtsma 108 : *id.* 'Regen', 106 : *yağmur* Turkoman '*id.*'; Telegdi 311 : *yamğur, yağmur* '*id.*'.