

PERSIAN LOANWORDS IN ANATOLIAN TURKISH

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It is well known that Ottoman Turkish literature from its very beginning to the early part of this century was strongly influenced by the classical Persian literature. Knowledge of the Persian language and letters was a *sine qua non* of Ottoman education. No wonder that the dictionaries of Ottoman abound in poetic, but also prosaic, Persian loanwords. The prosaic ones include a large amount of household terminology, which markedly differs from the high-level poetic terms by its stronger assimilation and integration in the Turkish language. These terms for domestic objects and concepts must have been borrowed at an early stage, however difficult it may be to state when. It is also difficult to assess the role which was played by erudite snobbery in their borrowing, although we may assume that it was not large.

Less attention has been paid to the Persian loanwords which are not represented in the standard language, but are being used in the dialects of Anatolia. With some of these our present study intends to deal. All materials presented here have been extracted from the *Söz derleme dergisi* (DD, see Works cited in abbreviation, at end of article) which only lists those words that can be regarded as completely assimilated. In this, our study follows a number of earlier studies (Andreas Tietze: 'Griechische Lehnwörter im anatolischen Türkisch', *Oriens*, vol. 8, 1955, pp. 204-257; 'Slavische Lehnwörter in der türkischen Volkssprache', *Oriens*, vol. 10, 1957, pp. 1-47; 'Direkte arabische Entlehnungen im anatolischen Türkisch', *Mélanges Jean Demy*, Ankara, 1958, pp. 255-333; 'Einige weitere griechische Lehnwörter im anatolischen Türkisch', *Németh armağanı*, Ankara, 1962, pp. 373-388).

The material presented in this article is arranged in the alphabetical order of the etyma. Each entry begins with the Modern Persian etymon, often followed by remarks about its formation, dialectical variants, and the distribution in geographically significant areas; a colon then leads

over to the Anatolian Turkish variants (Designation of language has been omitted both for the etymon and for the borrowings in the Turkish dialects). If a variant of the term is also represented in Standard Ottoman or Standard Azerbaijani, this is indicated separately.

A unified system of transliteration has been used in general, but for the Turkish words the spelling of the sources has been retained. In this spelling there is no systematic distinction between *ā* and *e*, *k* and *g*, *h* and *x*, and between long and short vowels.

The word list is followed by an Index Rerum in which the material is presented in view of the meanings of the loanwords in dialectal Turkish. Here the types are arranged not so much according to logical definition, but rather in groups representing various practical fields of human activity. In spite of the incompleteness of our material, it is interesting to see the relative importance of the broad area of basic economic activities (agriculture, gardening, irrigation, animal husbandry) on the one hand and that of various domestic subjects (cooking, clothing, family life) on the other hand. The terms representing a higher level of social life and culture are mostly suspect of having been introduced through an earlier layer of the standard language.

Indices of all the words treated and a table for bibliographical reference will be found at the end of the article.

PHONOLOGICAL CHANGE

Vowels:

Although our sources for the Turkish borrowings do not indicate vowel length, we can safely assume that in the dialectal material all long vowels have become short. This assumption is corroborated by the fact that Persian *ā* and *ū* are often represented in our material as *e* and *ü*, thus by vowels which cannot be lengthened. Persian *ē* and *ō*, which today have become *i* and *ü*, ordinarily appear as *e* and *o* or *ö*, a fact which establishes the early date of these borrowings. The vowel in Persian *xwa* occurs in our material as *a*, *o*, and *u*, but the examples are too few to be significant. As in the borrowings in Standard Ottoman the short vowels are ordinarily put into the palatal category, but also words containing *ā* or *ū* often appear in this category throughout as can be seen from the following examples:

ā: 6. **afžār* > *evcer(siz)*; 13. *āvang* > *hevenk*; 16. *āžana* > *ecene*; 32. *čāryak* > *čerik*; 35. *čaugān* > *čöğgen*; 40. *dān* > *den*; 41. *dāna* > *dene*; 53. *gumān* > *gümen*; 59. *harifāna* > *herfene*; 69. *kābīn* > *kebin*; 76. *kaškāw* > *keşkef*; 102. *sagbān* > *seğmen*; 114. *šāna* > *şene*; 126. *yārān* > *yeren*.

ū: 54. *gūna* > *göne*; 58. *ğūğa* > *cüce*; 78 *kūča* > *küçe*; 130. *zalū* > *zeli*;
131. *zambūrak* > *zenbildek*.

In these examples we see the effect of the Turkish rule of vowel harmony. Both palatal and labial harmony were effective in the change *dūrbin* > *jūlbūn* (46.). An example in which both alternatives of palatal harmonization were realized is Persian *araqčīn* (10.) which appears as *arakçın* and as *erehcin* as well as in several transitional variants.

The Persian diphthong *au* (today pronounced *ou*, *ow*) is represented by *ö* in our material: 35. *čaugan* > *çöğen*; 71. *kaušgar* > *köşker*.

A frequent feature, also of Standard Ottoman, is the labialization of the vowel in the neighborhood of a labial consonant. Examples of progressive labialization: 2. *āurēz* > *havruz*; 86. *mīrāu* > *imrül*; 127. *yāva* > *yavu*; and possibly 31. *čārpādār* > *çalpatur*. Examples of regressive labialization: 26. *čambar* > *çömber*; 109. *sīpāra* > *suþara*; 112. *šābāš* > *þoba*; 116. *tābxāna* > *tovhana*; 117. *þabxxāna* > *tokhana*; 135. *zihgīr* > *zūfkūr*.

Also delabialization of a rounded after a non-rounded vowel is found in Standard Ottoman. In our material there are these examples: 7. *āxur* > *axır*; 130. *zalū* > *zeli*. This phenomenon also occurs after a labial consonant: 4. *afsūn* > *avsin*. Delabialization even occurs in first syllables: 98. *puštīvān* > *peštivan*; 111. *sumtirāš* > *santıraç*.

Since Turkish does not have liquids or nasals in initial position, a prothetic vowel may be used to avoid this feature in borrowed words. Our material includes several examples for this: 80. *lāfzan* > *yılabazan*; 89. *nāštā* > *anašta*; 99. *rang* > *ireng*; 100. *rāsta* > *arasta*; 101. *rīšta* > *erište*. The opposite development, perhaps caused by hypercorrection, is found in 10. *araqčīn* > *raşqın*.

Epenthetic vowels which serve to break up intrasyllabic consonant clusters are common in Standard Ottoman (They are also common in some Persian dialects, notably in the Khorasan). There are also some instances in our material: 34. *čatr* > *çetir*; 70. *kafš* > *keviş*.

There are several instances for the dropping of a middle vowel in words of three or more syllables: 8. *ālūča* > *alça*; 47. *firōmānda* > *fermana*; 57. *γalladān* > *kaldan*; 59. *harīfāna* > *harfene*; 85. *mēšīna* > *meşne*; 107. *sāyavān* > *sayvan*; 109. *sīpāra* > *sıþra*. This seems to be a typical phenomenon, although there are two cases which seem to present the opposite development (39. *dahra* > *tahara*, and 80. *lāfzan* > *yılabazan* and Standard Ottoman *lafazan*).

There is one unquestionable case of dropping of a final vowel: 50. *gazangū* > *gezen*.

There are three cases of aspiration of an initial vowel: 2. *ābrēz* >

havrız; 13. *āvang* > *hevenk*; 101. *rišta* > *erište* > *herište*. There is also one case in which the initial aspiration was dropped: 59. *harifāna* > *erfane*.

Consonants:

The only Persian phoneme which is normally not represented in Turkish is *ž*. In our material it only occurs in one type and there is represented by *ğ*: 16. *āžana* > *acene*.

The phoneme *γ* in Turkish cannot occur initially. In our material Persian initial *γ* appears only once; in the loanword it is replaced by *q*: 57. *γalladān* > *kaladan*.

Initial *g* in Turkish only occurs before front vowels; before back vowels it is desonorized to *q*: 53. *gumān* > *kuman*.

Desonorization also normally takes place in Turkish when a voiced consonant appears in syllable-final (word-final) position or as a segmental feature in consonant clusters. In our material the following cases occur:

Word-final *b* > *p*: 38. *čōb* > *çop*.

Word-final *v* > *f*: 76. *kaškāv* > *keşkef*; 115. *šēv* > *şef*.

Word-final *d* > *t*: 55. *gunda* > *künt*.

Syllable-final *g* or *γ* > *k* or *q*: 37. *čirāγpā* > *çiraxpa*; 56. *gung* > *künk*; 61. *xarsang* > *hersek*; 83. *marγ* > *merk*; 99. *rang* > *irenk*; 129. *zāγča* > *zakça*; 132. *zang* > *zenk*.

g > *k* after unvoiced consonant: 71. *kafšgar* > *köşker*; 135. *zihgīr* > **zihkīr* > *zikir*.

Word-final *ğ* > *č*: 17. *bāğ* > *paç*; 111. *sumtīrāš* > *sunturaç*.

Apart from these regular features, desonorization also takes place typically in the initial consonant:

Initial *b* > *p*: 17. *bāğ* > *paç*; 23. *bōy* > *poy*.

Initial *d* > *t*: 39. *dahra* > *tahra*; 41. *dāna* > *tene*.

Initial *z* > *s*: 129. *zāγča* > *sakça*; 131. *zambūrak* > *sempirek*.

Initial *g* > *k*: 48. *ganduma* > *kendime*; 52. *girda* > *kirde*; 55. *gunda* > *künde*; 56. *gung* > *künk*.

Other cases of desonorization:

b > *p*: 69. *kābīn* > *kepin*; 131. *zambūrak* > *sempirek*.

v > *f*: 5. *āftāva* > *aftafa*; 107. *sāyavān* > *sayfan*.

d > *t*: 31. *čārpadār* > *çalpatur*; 49. *gazanda* > *gezente*.

g > *k*: 20. *barga* > *berke*; 75. *kargas* > *kerkez*.

γ > *x*: 18. *bāγbān* > *bahmant*; 37. *čirāγpā* > *çiraxpa*; 88. *mūm-rawān* > *mumurxan*.

Sonorization may occur under various circumstances. Our material presents the following cases:

p > *b*: 118. *taxtapōš* > *tahtaboş*, probably under folk-etymological influence.

Preconsonantal *f* > *v*: 4. *afsūn* > *avsun*(*lamak*); 6. **afzār* > *avcar*; 70. *kafš* > **kavš* > *keviş*.

t > *d*: 43. *dastār* > *dasdar*; 94. *pā-taxta* > *pedahta*; 100. *rāsta* > *arasda*; 101. *rīšta* > *erişde*; 120. *tašt* > *deşt*.

Initial *s* > *z*: 106. *sarbār* > *zelber*; 109. *sīpāra* > *zıpra*.

Final *s* > *z*: 28. *čap-rāst* > *çapraz*; 75. *kargas* > *kerkez*; 91. *palās* > *palaz*.

Postnasal *q* > *g*: *zarīn-qadaḥ* > *zerengade*.

Initial and internal *č* > *ğ*: 25. *čāh* > *çağ*, *çak*; 26. *čambar* > *cember*; 29. *čarb* > *cerp*; 38. *čōb* > *cob*; 8. *ālūča* > *aluca*; 10. *araqčīn* > *aracın*; 45. *dōlča* > *dolca*; 66. *xwānča* > *honca*; 78. *kūča* > *küce*; 106. **sarbārča* > *serverce*; 129. *zāγča* > *zaca*.

Spirantization may in many cases already have taken place dialectally in Persian. The following cases occur:

Internal *b* > *v* (f): 50. *gazangubīn* > *gezengevi*; 69. *kābīn* > *kevin*; 106. **sarbārča* > *serverce*; 116. *tābxāna* > *tovhana*, *tafana*; 117. *taḫxxāna* > *tavana*, *tafana*.

q > *x* before unvoiced plosive: 10. *araqčīn* > *arahçın*; 119. *tağča* > *tahča*.

Despirantization of *x* occurs initially and in postconsonantal position 63. *xaygina* > *kaygına*; 66. *xwānča* > *gonça*; 11. *āšxāna* > *aşkana*; 30. *čarx* > *çark*; 96. *pēšxwān* > *peşkun*, *peşgun*.

Initial aspiration and the dropping of initial aspiration has been mentioned above (see Vowels). The phoneme *h* in internal and final position is often dropped; sometimes it is transformed into an *f*, a glide, or a *γ*.

Dropping of internal *h*: 39. *dahra* > *tara*; 135. *zihgīr* > *zikir*. In the first of these two examples already Persian has a variant without *h*, but the Turkish variant may have developed independently. Here belong also cases of *x* > *h* > *O* (11, 116, 117).

Dropping of final *h*: 25. *čāh* > *ça*(*lık*); 97. *pīh* > *pi*; 134. *zarīn-qadaḥ* > *zerengade* (dropping of final *h* after long vowel is common in colloquial Persian, too, and the records show that the phenomenon is old).

h > *f* (and *x* > *h* > *f*): 7. *āxur* > *afur*; 59. *harīfāna* > *ferfene*; 135. *zihgīr* > *züfkür*.

h > glide: 97. *pīh* > *piy*; 135. *zihgīr* > *zeykir*.

h > *γ*: 25. *čāh* > *çağ*.

A typical Turkish feature is the transformation of intervocalic or syllable-final *g* into a glide, and the interchangeableness of this glide and of *γ* with *v*.

g > glide: 35. *čaugān* > *çöğēn*; 102. *sagbān* > *seymen*.

v > *γ* or glide, and vice versa: 127. *yāva* > *yağa*; 35. *čaugān* > *çöven*; 102. *sagbān* > *sevmen*.

Nasalization of the labial plosive is frequent; usually it seems to take place under the influence of a following *n* (a phenomenon found also in Turkish words in the eastern part of the Ottoman-Azerbaijani dialect area): 18. *bāγbān* > *bağman*; 21. *bēl* > *mel*; 37. *čirāγpā* > *çirahma*, *çirakman*; 60. *xarbanda* > *harmanda*; 102. *sagbān* > *seyman*.

Substitutions among liquids and nasals are common, especially lamdacism of the *r*:

r > *l*: 31. *čārpādār* > *çalpatur*; 39. *dahra* > *dehle*; 46. *dūrbīn* > *dūlbūn*; 59. *harīfāna* > *felfana*; 88. *mūm-rauγan* > *mumliğan*; 106. *sarbār* > *zelber*; 131. *zambūrak* > *zenbildek*; 136. *zēr-zamīn* > *zelzeme*.

l > *n*: 25. *čāl* > *čan*. 82. *lauzīna* > *nevizīne*.

n > *l*: 46. *dūrbīn* > *dūldül*.

m > *n*: 12. *āšnā* > *aşma(lık)*; 37. *čirāγpā* > *çirakma* > *çirapna*; 111. *sumtirāš* > *sunturaç*; 136. *zēr-zamīn* > *zerzene*.

In a few cases a syllable-final half-consonant is replaced by *l*: 86. *mīrāu* > *imral*; 102. *sagmān* > *seymen* > *selmen*. One case of substitution of *m* for the glide may be based on extraphonetical reasons: 103. *sāliyān* > *salman*.

Within the range of the sibilants the change from *š* to *č* occurs in three different positions: 111. *sumtirāš* > *sunturaç*; 112. *šābāš* > *çoba*; 120. *tašt* > *teçt*. The opposite development is represented by 10. *arağčīn* > *raşqīn*. In the change *s* > *š* in 3. *afsar* > *aşsar* folk-etymological influence may have been instrumental.

There are a few instances of direct consonantal assimilation: 10. *arağčīn* > *araccīn*, *araccūn*; 37. *čirāγpā* > *çirappa*, *çirappa*.

Some consonantal changes may be explained as dissimilation: 5. *āftāva* > *aktafa*; 33. *čaşma* > *teşme*; 117. *tabxxāna* > *tokhane*.

We have in our material only a single case of consonantal gemination: 53. *gumān* > *hūmmen*.

Consonantal metathesis is frequent: 10. *arağčīn* > *araçkīn*; 12. *āšnā* > *aşnalık* > *aşlanlık*; 28. *čap-rāst* > *çar paz*; 39. *dahra* > *derhe*; 103. *sāliyān* > *saynlan*, *saylan*; 105. *sārvān* > *savran*; 106. *sarbār* > *zebler*. In two cases the shift takes place between a consonant and a vowel: 86. *mīrāu* > *imrav*; 88. *mūm-rauγan* > *mumurgan*.

Dropping of a consonant usually brings about the simplification of a

consonant cluster. This can be said for the dropping of the *f* in 87. *muft* > *mut*, *mot*, of the *t* in 120. *tašt* > *teş*, and probably of the *n* in 61. *xarsang* > *hersek*, and in 99. *rang* > *irek*. But often the dropping of a consonant in one word is counterbalanced by the insertion of the same consonant in another word. E.g., preconsonantal *r* is dropped in 75. *kargas* > (*ak*)*kekes* and in 106. *sarbār* > *zeber*, but *r* is inserted in 25. *čāh* > *çarh* and 102. *sagbān* > *sērmen*, probably for hypercorrection. Similarly, a *d* is dropped in 1. *āukand* > *aukan* and 47. *firōmānda* > *fermana*, but an inorganic *d* appears in 131. *zambūrak* > *zenbildek*; and a *t* is dropped in 100. *rāsta* > *arasa* and 125. *ustun* > *ūsün*, but in a case resembling the first example for the dropping of *d*, an inorganic *t* is added: 18. *bāγbān*, *bāγvān* > *bağvant*, *bahmant*. The dropping of half-consonants, usually in syllable-final position, is not surprising (86. *mīrāu* > *mira*; 116. *tābxāna* > *tōxene*, *tohana*; 36. *čirāγ* > *çira*, *çvra*; 88. *mūm-rawγan* > *mumuran*; 129. *zāγča* > *zaca*). Also the development of a *b* after *m* (136. *zēr-zamīn* > *erzem*) can be easily explained. But there is a number of cases of dropping or insertion which cannot be explained easily on the phonetical level. In some cases we have to question the correctness of the recording.

Unexplained cases of consonant dropping:

105. *sārvān* > *arvan*. Dropping of initial *s* does not occur otherwise. The entry is based on a single record. It needs verification.

112. *šābāš* > *šaba*. The form is well attested. Dropping of final *š* needs clarification.

136. *zēr-zamīn* > *erzem*. The mutilation of the beginning is perhaps due to a tendency to shorten and to dissimilation.

Unexplained cases of consonantal addition at word end:

41. *dāna* > *denem*. This development is explainable on the morpho-phonemic level.

45. *dōlča* > *dölcek*. Probably, this development, too, can be explained on the morphophonemic level.

58. *ğūğa* > *cücen*.

60. *xarbanda* > *harmandal*. The development may be due to folk-etymological influence.

117. *ṭabxxāna* > *tokanak*.

1. *ābkand*, *āukand* 'any hollow channel excavated by the rushing of a torrent; a place where water collects and stagnates; a pond' (Steingass, s.v.), from *āb*, *āw*, *āu* 'water' and the stem form of *kandan* 'to dig': *avkant* (Antalya), *avgant* (Antalya, Konya, Uşak), *avkan* (Rize), *avgan* (Uşak, Kütahya, Denizli, Balıkesir, Aydın, Isparta, İstanbul, Afyon, Kastamonu,

Ankara) 'channel; underground water pipe; tunnel; water reservoir lined with masonry, cistern' (DD 1.127, 128, AD 1.18).

2. *ābrēz*, *āwrēz* 'a vessel used in baths for pouring water over the head and body; a bucket; a water-pipe, a spout; a drain, a ditch; a water-closet, privy' (Steingass, s.vv.), from *āb*, *āw*, *āu* 'water' and the stem form of *rēxtan* 'to pour': 1. *abrez* (Kars: Ayrim uruğu) 'watercloset' (Doğuİl 231); 2. *avruz* (İzmir: muhacir), *havruz* (Amasya), *havruz* (Gaziantep), *hevriük* (Kastamonu) 'chamber-pot' (DD 1.130, 723, AD 1.163, AnadAğz 233, GazAğzı 3.396). The second type is widely spread and is also known in Istanbul and in the standard language; it occurs as a Turkism in some of the Balkan languages (e.g., Bulgarian, Bosnian).

3. *afsār* 'headstall' (Steingass, s.v.), 'halter; bridle' (Miller, s.v.), in Kurdish, often with sonorization of the first consonant, but only recorded with initial aspiration: *hefsar*, *hāvsar*, *h'āvsar* (*hevsar*) 'halter' (Kurdeov 315, Bakaev 413, 424, Farizov s.v. nedouzdok): *avşar* (Bursa) 'halter' (DD 1.131). The change from *s* to *ş* may be due to folk-etymological influence (influence of the name of the Avshar tribe).

4. *afsūn* 'an incantation, a fascination, verses used in spells; fraud, deceit' (Steingass, s.v.), Manichaean Mid. Pers. *'pswn* "spell, incantation": *avsn* (Kırşehir, Urfa, Gaziantep) 'the practice of reciting a spell and blowing over a sick person; the practice of pronouncing a spell over a person in order to make him immune against animal poison', with the verbal derivatives *avsunlamak* (İçel, Niğde), *avsnnamak* (Urfa) 'to engage in these practices', and *avsunlatmak* (Burdur) 'to deceive; to get rid of' (DD 1. 131, 4.1618, GazAğzı 3.57, UrfaAğzı 93). Standard Azerbaijani has the form *ovsun* (and derivatives), Standard Ottoman *afsun*.

5. *āftāba*, *āflāva* "a water-pot; a ewer; traveller's bottle" (Steingass, s.vv.), from *āb* "water" and *tāba* "pan": *aftafa* (Kars: Karakoyunlu uruğu), *aktafa* (Kars) 'water-pot, pitcher, ewer' (DD 1.85, Doğuİl 3, 231). The first form is identical with Standard Azerbaijani *aftafa* id. The Iranian loanword appears in Turkish already in the 11th century (Atalay: *Divanü lûgat-it-türk dizini* s.v. *aftabı*).

6. *afzār* "a tool, an implement" (Haïm, s.v.), with variants *avzār*, *auzār* "tools; spiceries, hot seasonings" (Steingass, s.v.), "a tool" (Haïm, s.v.), and *abzār* "a tool; spices, seasoning" (Haïm, s.v.), Pahl. *afčār* "Instrument, Gerät", with Arm. *aučan*, *aučar* "Hilfsmittel, Arznei" (Nyberg, s.v. *afčār*): *avcar* (Seyhan, Diyarbekir, Maraş, Gaziantep) 'tool; hunting materials like gunpowder, bullets, small shot, cartridges, etc.' (DD 1.126); *avcar* (Kayseri, Maraş, Gaziantep, Seyhan, Niğde, Kars) 'spices; spices used in the preparation of dried meat (*pastırma*); taste, flavor' (DD 1.126, AD 1.17, KaysSöz 7), with the derivatives *avcarlamak*

(İçel) 'to spice (food) in order to prevent corruption' (DD 1.127) and *avcarsız, evcersiz* (Niğde) 'rude, unpolished (person), inconsiderate (talker); incoherent (talk)' (DD 1.126 f. s.v. *avcar*, 127, AnaDağız 204). The origin of the Turkish forms is not the standard Persian form *afzār*, but a dialectal form **afğār*, **afzār*, which may perhaps be recognized in Āštiyāni *owzār* "beam (of plough)" (Kiyā, Gūyīš i Āštiyān 10). The relation between the two meanings "tool" and "spices" is not quite clear.

7. *āxur* "a stall for horses" (Steingass, s.v.), "a manger, a stall" (Haım, s.v.), Pahl. *āxvar* id. cf. Arm. *axur*, Kurd. *axyl* (*axil*), *axor* id. (Kurdoev 41, Bakaev 14, Farizov s.v. *khlev*), but Kurdish has also a variant *afyr* (*afir*) 'manger' (Jaba-Justi 13, Kurdoev 39, Bakaev 33, Farizov s.v. *yasli*), cf. Georg. *axori* 'hay-rack': *axor* (Kars), *axur* (Gaziantep), *ahr* (Muğla), *afur* (Kastamonu, Giresun, Ordu) 'stall for a horse; stable' (DD 1.79, Doğuİl 150, 231, GazAğzı 3.34, AnaDağız 201, KuzeyDoğu 43, 305); *ahur* (İzmir, Bursa: muhacir), *afur* (Kastamonu, Sinop, Zonguldak) 'manger' (DD 72, 79). The first type ('stall; stable') was as *axor*, modern *ahur*, the Standard Ottoman term, whereas the second type ('manger') corresponds to Standard Azerbaijani *axur*. Because of the interference of the standard word, the listings in dialect dictionaries are quite sketchy. A third semantical type, designating a drinking basin for animals at a fountain (*ahır, ağır, ahur*, DD 74, 79, 80, 1604) seems to be a blending of this word with the synonymous *axar* (*ahar, akar* DD s.vv.), an aorist derivative of Turk. *aq-*, *ax-* 'to flow' (possibly, it is found in Persian as Turkish loanword, see the listing in Steingass).

The Iranian loanword is recorded in Turkish in the 11th century (*aqur*, Atalay: *Divanü lûgat-it-türk dizini* s.v. *akur*). Ottoman has been a center of diffusion of the word (cf. Arab *āxūr* 'écurie' DozySuppl 1.1; Greek *ἀγούρ*, Andriotis 30, HistLex 3.384, 16th c. Moravcsik ByzTurc 2.83; Bulg. Serb. Lokotsch no. 36, etc.)

8. *ālūča* "damson or prunella" (Haım, s.v.), "prunella; mirabelle plum, small plum" (Miller, s.v.), from *ālū* 'plum' with the diminutive suffix *-ča*: *aluç* (Elâziz), *aluca* (Diyarbakır), *alça* (Elâziz, Van) 'wild plum; green plum' (DD 1.94, 4.1610, GüneyDoğu 262, Anadil 218). Standard Azerbaijani has *alça*. The word is not known in Standard Ottoman.

9. *angušta* 'a fork for winnowing grain' (Steingass, s.v.), from *angušt* 'finger' and the denominal formans *-a*: *engüşte* (Tokat) 'tongs' (DD 2.538).

10. *araqçın* 'a handkerchief, napkin, sudary; a little cap' (Steingass, s.v.), from *araq* (from Arab. 'araq) 'sweat' and *çin*, the stem form of *çīdan* 'to gather': *araqçın* (Ankara, Malatya, Tokat, Kütahya, Manisa), *arakçın* (Ankara, Erzurum, Kastamonu, Sivas), *arahçın* (Kayseri),

araçın (Samsun), *araccin* (Trabzon), *raşkın*, *raşqın* (Balıkesir) 'skullcap, nightcap; skullcap of pink cambric; velvet skullcap with embroidered edges' (DD 1.108, 4.1615, AD 1.12, 2. 117, AnadDial 1.199, TrabFolk 260); *arakçın* (Sivas, Çorum, İzmir, Konya, Denizli, Malatya), *arahçın* (Kayseri), *araccun* (Amasya), *araşk* (Kars; perhaps erroneous for *araşkın*, which would be close to the Standard Azerbaijani form), *erehcin* (Çorum) 'high ornamental headgear worn by the bride at the wedding' (DD 4.1615, AD 1.126, 2.7); *arakcın* (Afyon) 'richly ornamented scarf worn by the bride' (DD 4.1615); *araçkın* (Çanakkale) 'loosely woven head scarf' (DD 4.1614); *erakcin* (Kayseri) 'bridal crown plaited with ears of wheat' (AD 2.54); *arakçın*, *erakçın* (Kayseri) 'bride's wedding dress made of ears of wheat' (KaysSöz 6, 34); *araçkın* (İstanbul) 'beret' (DD 4.1614). Standard Ottoman knew the term *araçqın* 'a linen cap worn under a turban' (Redhouse, s.v.), which has become obsolete together with the *Sache*, but Standard Azerbaijani still uses *arağcın*, *araşqın* 'skullcap' (Hüsejnov, s.vv.).

The formation of the Persian word must have been conditioned by the Arabic term (recorded in the 11th century, cf. DozySuppl., s.v.) *'araqīya* for several kinds of headgear.

11. *āšxāna* 'a kitchen, a cook's shop' (Steingass, s.v.), from *āš* 'soup, etc.' and *xāna* 'house': *aşana* (Ordu), *aşene* (Amasya), *aşkana* (Erzincan) 'kitchen' (DD 1.122, AD 2.8, KuzeyDoğu 307). The word is also used in Standard Ottoman (*aşhâne*) and Standard Azerbaijani (*aşxānā*).

12. *āšnā* 'a friend, companion, comrade, acquaintance', with the derivative *āšnāi* 'friendship, acquaintance' and the phrase *āšnāi dādan* 'to give signs of recognition, to make oneself known to each other as acquaintances, after intercourse having been interrupted' (Steingass, s.vv.), Pahl. *āšnāk*: *aşna* (Muş; Terekeme ağzı) 'friend, acquaintance' (Anadİl 220); *aşmalık* (Maraş, Seyhan), *aşlanık* (Urfa) 'joking, plaisanterie' (DD 4.1618, AD 2.8). The Persian loanword is found in the two literary languages, Ottoman (*āşinā*) and Azerbaijani (*āšnā*), and the derived form *āšnāi* is paralleled by the Turkish derivative in *-lık*, *-liğ*. It is likely that the variants with the meaning 'joking, plaisanterie' originate from the standard language; but this can hardly be assumed for the unsuffixed variant.

13. *āvāng* 'a line on which clothes or bunches of grapes are hung up to dry' (Steingass, s.v.), a derivative of the root of *āvēxtan* "'to hang": *hevek* (Kayseri, Çorum, Ankara, Gaziantep), *hevenk* (Gaziantep) 'bunches of grapes, pears, apples, pomegranates, etc., suspended on a rope or stick to keep them for the winter' (DD 2.723, KaysSöz 44, GazAğzı 3.400). The variant *hevenk* is used in Standard Ottoman.

The initial aspiration may be due to a blending of the word with another

Persian loanword, Pers. *hāvan* 'mortar', from which is derived Ott. *havan*, but also, with blending, Azerb. *hāvāng*.

14. *āvāra* 'lost, annihilated; ruined; scattered; destitute of name or character; an exile, outcast, vagabond, vagrant' (Steingass, s.v.): *avara* (Bolu, Samsun, Seyhan, Manisa, Konya, Zonguldak, İzmir, Kars, Kütahya, Bilecik, Ankara, Niğde, Kırşehir, Kastamonu, Sinop, Malatya, Gaziantep) 'poor, infertile soil; bad, weak; inactive, idle' (DD 1.126, GazAğzı 3.56). The last meaning, occurring in a saying (cf. GazAğzı 2.124), may be derived from Standard Ottoman. In Standard Azerbaijani (*āvāra*, *āvārā*) and in Standard Ottoman (*āvāre*) the word means 'idle; idler, vagabond'.

15. *ayvān* 'a sofa; a portico, open gallery, verandah, balcony on the top of the house, for the benefit of the prospect and fresh air; a palace' (Steingass, s.v.): *ayvan* (Erzincan, Diyarbakir, Elâziz, Ankara, İçel, Giresun, Erzurum, Çankırı, Rize, Kocaeli, Balıkesir, Kars; Sivas: Karapapah ağzı), *eyvan* (Malatya, Elâziz, Van, Çorum, Bitlis) 'balcony; roof balcony; flat roof; platform; three-walled hut or room, open on one side; drying loft for fruit, etc.; verandah; hall, military depot' (DD 1.142, 2.567, AD 2.56, SivasTokat 219, GüneyDoğu 264, Anadıl 237, 238). The term, today obsolete, is recorded in older sources of Standard Ottoman.

16. *āzāna* 'a tool for notching millstones' (Steingass, s.v.), a derivative of *āzādan*, *āzīdan* 'to prick, pierce, sew': *acene* (Kayseri), *ecene* (Sivas, Çorum, Ankara, Kırşehir, Ordu, Burdur), *ecine* (Kayseri) 'tool for cutting a hole in wood or metal; tool for cutting a hole in a scythe for insertion of the handle; tool for punching holes in leather; stonemason's chisel' (DD 1.67, 2.505, AD 1.115, KaysSöz 3, 32).

17. *bāğ* 'tribute; toll levied by the road-patrol' (Steingass, s.v.), Old Pers. *bāji*- 'tribute': *paç* (Afyon, Elâzığ, Maraş, Gaziantep, Seyhan) 'tax, tribute; share; capital', with the derivative *paçcı* (Gaziantep), *bacı* (Gümüşhane, Yozgat) 'collector of tax or tribute' (DD 3.1127, 4.1621, GazAğzı 3.546). The term *bāc* was common in older Ottoman; it is obsolete in the modern Standard Ottoman-Turkish, but still used in Standard Azerbaijani.

18. *bāyban*, *bāyvān* 'a gardener; a vine-dresser' (Steingass, s.vv.), from *bāy* 'garden; vineyard' and *-bān*, *-vān* 'keeper, guardian': *bağvan* (Van), *bağman* (Muş; Terekeme ağzı; Kars: Ayrım ağzı), *bağvant* (Kayseri), *bahmant* (Eskişehir), and, with a Turkish suffix, *bağvancı* (Van), *bağmancı* (Kars: Terekeme ağzı) 'gardener; keeper of a vineyard; vineyard guard' (DD 1.155, 4.1622, Doğuıl 1.233, Anadıl 221). The variant *bağman* (Giresun) 'garden; kitchengarden' (DD 4.1622, KuzeyDoğu 307) can be

explained as derived from the overcharacterized variant in *-ci*. Standard Azerbaijani has *bāyḡbān* 'gardener'; this form was also used in older literary Ottoman.

For the development of the final *-t* in some variants, we can point to a Standard Ottoman parallel: *pazvant* 'watchman', from Pers. *pāsbān*, *pāsvān* id.

19. *bārdān* 'a large wallet; a cloak-bag, a portmanteau, etc.' (Steingass, s.v.), from *bār* 'burden, load, baggage, pack' and *-dān* 'container of': *bardān* (Erzurum) 'large sack of goat's hair, for carrying straw' (DD 1.165).

Standard Azerbaijani *bārdān* is glossed as 'large sack for fibrous raw materials like cotton, wool, silk, etc.'

20. *barga* "something suggestive of a leaf", *barga i zardālū*, *hulū* "dried apricots, or peaches, cut in lobes" (Haīm, s.v.), from *barg* "leaf" and the suffix *-a*: *berge* (Sivas, Afyon, Amasya, Malatya), *berke* (Erzurum) 'apricot; wild apricot (*zerdali*)' (DD 1.192, 193, SivasTokat 220), with the compound *berge çiri* (Sivas) 'dried apricot' (SivasTokat 220); *berge* (Sivas) 'peach' (DD 1.192). Apricots are preserved and marketed in dried form, thus the term for the dry fruit can easily become a Wanderwort. For a parallel, compare Russian *orjuk*, *urjuk* 'dried apricot', a Turkic loanword (Kirg. *örük*, Uzb. *urik*, Bashk. *örök*, KazanTat. *örek*, etc.), or English *raisin*, from French *raisin* 'grape'.

21. *bēl* 'a shovel, spade' (Steingass, s.v.): *bel* (Kayseri, Gaziantep; Anatolia), *bil* (Ankara), *mel* (Ordu) 'spade; gardener's pickaxe; narrow hoe' (DD 3.1048, AD 1.31, KaysSöz 11, GazAğzı 3.86), with the compound *otbeli* (Konya) 'shovel for ashes' (DD 4.1701), the expression *bel depmek* (Gaziantep) 'to work over with a spade' (GazAğzı 3.86), and the derivative *bellemek* (Gaziantep) 'to dig over with a spade' (GazAğzı 3.88). The variant *bel* is used in Standard Azerbaijani and Standard Ottoman.

22. *bēlča* 'small shovel, small spade', from *bēl* 'shovel, spade' and the diminutive suffix *-ča*: *belçe* (recorded in Antalya, from a native of Kerkük) 'shovel' (DD 1.184).

23. *bōy* 'odour, fragrance, perfume; scent, spice' (Steingass, s.v.), cf. *bōy-afzār*, *bōzār* "spice, seasoning" (Steingass, s.v.): *boy* (Bursa, İçel, Giresun, Çorum, Maraş, Isparta, Gümüşane, Kayseri), *boy* (Tekirdağ; İstanbul: muhacir) 'a preparation of ground cumin seeds and other spices, used as coating for meat preserve (*pastırma*); cumin seeds' (DD 1.220, 3.1162, KaysSöz 13).

24. *čādar* 'a tent, pavilion; a mantle, scarf; a veil; a sheet; a shroud, winding-sheet; a table-cloth' (Steingass, s.v.), Pahl. *čatur*, *Āštiyāni čādera* (Kiyā 42): *çadır* (Malatya, Teke) 'tent', (Malatya, Sivas) 'sheet

(as woman's outer garment, or bed sheet)', (Edirne, İzmir, Teke) 'umbrella' (DD 4.1640, AD 1.61, SivasTokat 223), with the compounds *çadırbezi* (Zonguldak) 'cambric', and *çadıreteği* (Ankara) 'rain cloud covering the whole sky' (DD 4.1640). Standard Azerbaijani and Standard Ottoman have the meaning 'tent'; therefore the dialect dictionaries do not reflect the full distribution of this meaning.

Another type belonging to the same root is attested by Standard Azerbaijani *çadra*, Kurd. *çadrä* (Bakaev 437), Russ. *çadrä*, etc., 'woman's outer garment', which is also dialectically recorded in Anatolia: *çadıra* (Manisa) id. (DD 1.291).

25. *çäh* 'a well, pit' (Steingass, s.v.), also Kurd. *çah* (*çah*) 'pit; well' (Kurdoev 148): *çah* (Erzincan, Gümüşane, Samsun, Malatya), *çaha* (Kastamonu), *çarh* (Elâzığ, İstanbul), *çağ* (Konya, Giresun, Elâzığ, Çanakkale, Kayseri, Ankara, Bursa, Sivas, Afyon, Tokat, Kırşehir, Kastamonu), *cağ* (Niğde, Konya, Zonguldak, Tokat, Çanakkale, Ordu, Amasya, Kars, Çorum, Bursa, Elâzığ), *cah* (Kayseri), *cal* (Erzurum), *çal* (Van), *çalı* (Erzincan), *çan* (Malatya), with the derivatives *çağlık* (Amasya, Ankara, Çankırı, Eskişehir, Bursa, Giresun, Kastamonu, Samsun), *çalık* (Bursa), 'kitchen sink with water tap, drain, and sewer or cesspool, or any part of this installation; installation for washing hands and face; washroom (*gusülhane*) with floor drain' (DD 1.244, 245, 291, 292, 293, 296, 301, 306, 4.1641, 1642, AD 1.49, 61, 66, KaysSöz 19), also in the compounds *çağevi* (Niğde), *çağlık bucağı* (Çankırı) 'washroom (*gusülhane*)' (Ad 1.61).

The washroom for complete ablution (in Turkish *gusül*) is required in every Muslim household. It is, furthermore, customary to gather the water from the kitchen sink and the water from the toilet in two separate cesspools in order to protect remnants of bread (which is venerated as God's gift) against defilement. The variants with *l* have to be connected with Pers. *çäl*, *çäla*, *çälü* "pit, hollow" (Haïm, s.vv.), Kurd. *ç'al* (*çal*) 'pit' (Kurdoev 148).

26. *çambar* 'a kerchief, collar, necklace' (Steingass, s.v.): *çember* (Trabzon, Gaziantep, Kastamonu, Ankara, Edirne, Seyhan, Sinop, Kocaeli, Konya, Balıkesir, Bilecik, Manisa, İçel, İstanbul, Amasya, İzmir, Rize), *çömber* (Trabzon), *çember* (Isparta, Ordu, Çankırı, Antalya, Kütahya, Çanakkale, Ankara, İçel, Çorum), *çember* (Ankara, Bolu, Seyhan), *çelber* (Aydın dialect) 'headkerchief, scarf' (DD 1.252, 321, AD 1.70, GazAğzı 3.153, KuzeyDoğu 314).

Possibly, another type has to be connected with this one: *çanpur* (Muğla) 'head scarf made of white material (*hiümayun*)' (DD 4.1643), with *çampur* (Kütahya), *çanpur* (Konya), *şampırı* (Sivas) 'cambric' (DD 1.301,

303, 3.1273). However, the unvoiced labial stop and the vowel are hard to explain.

27. *čäng* ‘the expanded hand, the fingers somewhat hooked; the claw of a wild beast; talon of a bird’ (Steingass, s.v.), also Kurd. *čäng*, *č’äng* (*çeng*) ‘paw’ (Kurdoev 158, Bakaev 447): *çenge* (Bitlis) ‘paw’, (recorded in İstanbul from a native of Kerkük) ‘the open hand, the palm’ (DD 1.324).

The type belongs to Standard Azerbaijani *čängä* ‘the open hand with the five fingers’.

28. *čapräst*, *čaprās* ‘a silk button; a buckle, breastplate, badge; unsteadiness (a turning from left to right and vice versa)’ (Steingass, s.v.), from *čap* ‘left’ and *räst* ‘right’ with Kurd. *čapraz* (*çapraz*) ‘iron breast-plate’ (Kurdoev 150): *çapras* (Amasya), *çapraz*, *çarpaç* (Sivas) ‘hook or buckle in front of dress; silver ornament in front of dress’ (DD 4.1643, SivasTokat 69, 224); *çarpaç* (Tunceli, Van, Bitlis; Muş: Terekeme ağzı) ‘crosswise, transversal, diagonal’ (GüneyDoğu 270, Anadıl 228); *çapras* (Gaziantep), *çarpaç* (Konya) ‘a horse’s having white socks on the right front leg and the left hind leg, or vice versa’ (DD 4.1643, AD 1.66); *çarpaç* (İstanbul) ‘screw for tightening smith’s pliers’ (AD 1.66); *çarpaç* (Kayseri) ‘mixture of rye and wheat’ (AD 1.66); *çapraz* (Ankara) ‘snow mixed with rain’ (DD 1.305), with the expressions *alaçaprazak* (Diyarbakir), *alaçarpaçak* (Van) id. (DD 1.88). Standard Ottoman has *çapraz* ‘waistcoat fastened by frogs; crossing, crosswise’; therefore, the recordings in the dialect dictionaries are incomplete.

29. *čarb* ‘fat, greasy’, Pahl. *čarp*: *cerp* (Isparta) ‘layer of grease on bouillon’ (DD 4.1632).

30. *čarx* ‘wheel; spinning-wheel’, Avest. *čaxra*:- *čark* (İzmir, Antalya) ‘winding-wheel’ (DD 1.306). Since the word is a common loanword (Standard Azerb. *čarx*, Standard Ottoman *çark*), the dialect dictionaries do not reflect its distribution.

31. *čärpādār*, *čärvādār* ‘a carrier; a muleteer; a driver of beasts of burden; a sumpter’ (Haīm, s.vv.), from *čärpā* ‘quadruped’ (*čär*, *čahār* ‘four’ and *pā* ‘foot’) and *-dār* ‘having, possessing’; also Kurd. *čärvādār* (*çarvedar*) ‘groom’ (Kurdoev 151): *çalpatur* (Kars) ‘leader of a caravan, muleteer’ (DD 1.299). Standard Azerbaijani has *čarvadar* ‘keeper of pack-animals’.

32. *čäryak* ‘one fourth; a quarter’, *čärak* ‘a quarter’ (Haīm, s.vv.), from *čär*, *čahār* ‘four’ and *yak* ‘one’: *çerik* (Çorum, Giresun, Niğde, Erzincan, Gümüşane) ‘a measure for grain, equalling 4 okkas; a measure for grain equalling 24 okkas; a measure for grain, equalling 60 okkas; a measure for grain, equalling one *šinik* (i.e., a quarter bushel); 100

dirhems; 50 dirhems' (DD 4.1646). The 'quarter', Standard Azerb. *çüräk*, Standard Ottoman *çeyrek*, is a general loanword applying to various matters.

33. *čašma* 'a fountain, source, spring', from *čašm* 'eye' and the suffix *-a*, with the Kurdish variant *češmä* (*çeşme*) 'toilet, privy' (Kurdoev 165): *çeşme* (Gaziantep) 'toilet, privy' (GazAğzi 3.156); *teşme* (İzmir) 'fountain, spring' (DD 3.1348). The form with initial *t-*, perhaps to be explained as dissimilation, is also found in Syrian Arabic *tašme* 'latrines' (Barthélemy 85), where it is a loanword from Turkish.

34. *çatr* 'an umbrella, parasol', Sanskrit *chattra-* 'parasol', with Kurd. *çätür* (*çetür*) id. (Kurdoev 162): *çetür* (Kars: Terekeme ağzi) 'umbrella' (DD 1.329, Doğuİl 239). The variant belongs to the area of Standard Azerbaijani *çätür* id.

35. *çaugān* "a stick with one end bent, used in a game at ball; the game of polo or horse-shinty; a crooked drum-stick; a stick having one end arched, to which is suspended an iron or steel ball, carried as an ensign of royalty" (Steingass, s.v.), with an arabicized variant *ğaukān* (Steingass), Pahl. *čōpakān* "polo-stick; the game of polo", a derivative of *čōb* "wood; stick", with Kurd. *čāvgan* (*cevgan*), *čogan* (*çogan*) 'stick; crutch; the game of polo' (Kurdoev 162, 172) and Armenian *ğogan* 'stick, crook': *cōgen* (Çorum), *çögen* (Urfa), *çögen* (Kastamonu, Antalya, Diyarbakır, Konya, Urfa, Erzincan, Ankara, Malatya, Gaziantep, Gümüşane), *çöğgen* (Konya), *çöven* (Gaziantep) 'stick, cane, shepherd's crook; hooked stick for bending down high branches; yoke for carrying water pails' (DD 1.285, 375, AD 1.83, GazAğzi 3.175, UrfaAğzi 103). The Persian loanword is found as *çevgān* in older literary Ottoman sources as the term for 'polo-stick'.

36. *çirāy* 'a lamp; light; the wick of a candle' (Steingass, s.v.), with Kurd. *ç'ıra* (*çira*), *ç'ıray* (*çirax*) 'lamp' (Kurdoev 169, Bakaev 451): *çırağ* (Denizli), *çira* (Balıkesir), *çıra* (Gaziantep, Kayseri, Kırşehir, Ankara, Seyhan, Konya, Kastamonu) 'oil or kerosene lamp; light' (DD 1.340, KaysSöz 23, AnadDial 1.160, 161, GazAğzi 3.161), with the compound *çoban çırası* (İstanbul) 'asparagus', (Tokat) 'a certain plant used as firewood' (DD 4.1650) and the derivatives *çiralık* (Konya) 'lamp-stand', (Çorum) 'small metal kerosene lamp' (DD 4.1648) and *çıralamak* (İzmir) 'to light (a fire)' (DD 4.1648). Standard Azerbaijani has *çirāğ* 'lamp', whereas Standard Ottoman *çıra* has the meaning 'resinous wood for kindling a fire'. The Standard Ottoman doublet *çırak* means 'apprentice'.

37. *çirāy-pā* 'foot of a lamp; portable lamp; candle-stick' (Steingass, s.v.), from *çirāy* 'lamp' and *pā* 'foot', with Kurd. *ç'ırap'e* (*çirapê*) 'lamp-

stand' (Kurdoev 169): *çırakpa* (Bitlis), *çırappa* (Kırşehir), *çırakma* (Ankara, Kayseri, Kırşehir, Çanakkale, Niğde, Bolu, Gaziantep), *çırakma* (Kırşehir, Niğde, Bolu), *çırakman* (Bursa, Bolu, Niğde, Ankara, Giresun, Sivas, Bilecik, Muğla, Kocaeli, Yozgat, Samsun) 'lampstand; candlestick' (DD 4.1647, 1648, AD 1.75, GazAğzı 3.161; illustrations in Alaca-Höyük, pl. VII no. 38, pl. IX no. 64); *çırappa* (Konya), *çıraxpa* (Van), *çırabna* (İzmir), *çırakma* (İçel, Konya, Manisa, Kırşehir, Aydın, İzmir, Kayseri), *çırakla* (Yozgat), *çırakman* (Kayseri, Bahkesir) 'small oil or kerosene lamp' (DD 1.340, 357, 4.1647, 1648, AD 2.34, KaysSöz 23, Anadıl 229); *çırakma* (İstanbul: muhacir), *çırakman* (Edirne), *çırak* (Isparta) 'saddler's or tanner's tripod; tripod for shoeing oxen or water-buffaloes' (DD 1.340, 4.1648); *çırakma* (İstanbul?) 'minaret' (DD 4.1647); *çırakman* (Çanakkale, Edirne) 'pile of sesame sheaves' (DD 4.1648); *çırakman* (Ankara) 'waterfall' (DD 1.340, 4.1648); *çırabba* (Gümüşane), *çırakma* (Kırşehir), *çırakman* (İçel; İstanbul: muhacir) 'boys' game consisting of landing a spool in a hole by hitting it with sticks' (DD 1.340); *çırakman* (Ankara) 'apprentice' (AD 1.75 f.).

The last-mentioned variant has to be associated with Standard Ottoman *çırak* 'apprentice', which derives from Persian *çirāç* 'client, dependent'. The semantical development underlying the types designating 'waterfall' and the boys' game is not clear. Among the fishermen of İstanbul, the term *çırakman* is used for 'beacon lighted to attract fish by night'. A problem is posed by the widely distributed variant ending in *-n*: Are we here confronted with an internal Turkish development? Or do these etyma go back to another Persian etymon? Standard Azerbaijani has *çirāçbān* 'illumination', obviously a loanword from Persian (from which word?), but semantically remote. Persian *çirāçbāna* 'lamp-stand; candle stick' fits semantically, but not in form. (The isolated variant *çırabana* 'fire-place', from İstanbul: muhacir, quoted in DD 1.340, can hardly be connected with it). It, therefore, seems safer to assume a Turkish development.

38. *çöb* 'a log; wood; a tree; a staff, rod, baton, stick; a drum-stick, etc.' (Steingass, s.v.): *çop* (İzmir), *cop* (Anatolia), *cob* (Southern Anatolia, Bolu, Afyon, Ankara, Kırşehir) 'thick stick with knob' (DD 1.283, 369, AD 1.58); *cöp* (Çanakkale) 'wooden peg which holds the parts of a wheel's felloe together' (DD 1.285); *cob dikmek* (Southern Anatolia) 'a game in which sticks are thrust into soft ground or mud' (AD 1.59).

Modern Standard Ottoman has *cop* 'truncheon, policeman's baton'. The voicedness of the majority of variants requires clarification. Perhaps, an intermediary language has to be assumed for the borrowing, e.g., Armenian *l'sub* 'stick'.

39. *dahra*, *dāra* 'scythe, sickle; reaping-sickle; a pruning-hook; a farmer's instrument for paring horses' hoofs; a small two-edged, sickle-formed, sharp dagger' (Steingass, s.vv.), with Kurd. *dehre* 'spade' (Jaba-Justi, s.v.): *dehre* (Amasya, Karaköse, Giresun, Elâziğ, Malatya, Gümüşane, Van, Urfa), *derhe* (Malatya), *dehle* (Ankara), *dahra* (Konya, Ankara, Kayseri, Niğde, Çorum, Amasya, Çankırı, Tokat, Gaziantep, Maraş, Kırşehir), *darha* (Ankara), *tahra* (Ankara, Denizli, Tokat, Konya, Aydın, İzmir, Tekirdağ, Trabzon, Bursa, Kütahya, Kastamonu, Zonguldak, İçel, Afyon, Eskişehir, İstanbul, Rize, Bilecik, Çoruh, Isparta; Manisa: muhacir; Balıkesir: muhacir), *tahara* (Trabzon), *tara* (Aydın, Balıkesir, Çanakkale, İzmir, Manisa, Muğla; İstanbul: muhacir) 'sicklelike tool with handle, used for pruning trees or vines, cutting fire-wood, etc.' (DD 1.394, 404, 412, 420, 3.1300, 1315, AD 1.89, 364, AnadDial 1.205, GüneyDoğu 272, GazAğzı 3.181, TrabFolk 294, UrfaAğzı 105); *tahra* (Zonguldak) 'reaping-sickle' (DD 3.1300, AD 1.364); *dehre* (Erzincan, Sivas), *dahra* (Ankara, Gaziantep, Malatya), *tahra* (Konya, Ankara) 'butcher's knife; iron tool for breaking bones; tool for pounding meat' (DD 1.394, 412, 3.1300); *tare* (Eskişehir) 'stone-mason's tool shaped like a butcher's knife' (AnadDil 279).

Standard Azerbaijani has *dährä* 'chopping-knife, cleaver'. In modern Standard Ottoman the type does not exist, but it is recorded as *dahra*, *tahra* 'pruning-sickle' in sources of the XVI-XVIIIth centuries (cf. TTS, vols. 2-4, s.vv.).

40. *dän* 'grain', also Kurd. *dan* 'grain' (collectively) (Jaba-Justi 172, Kurdoev 180): *den* (Siirt) 'wheat cleaned of the bran', (Erzincan) 'seeds of vetch', (Karaköse) 'grains (of maize, pomegranate, etc.)', (Gümüşane) 'bread crumbs, remnants of food' (DD 1.416). Standard Azerbaijani has *dän* 'grain'; in Standard Ottoman the type is missing.

41. *dāna* 'grain; a berry; stone of fruit, seed of grain or fruit', (Steingass, s.v.), also "piece (counting word)", from *dän* 'grain' and *-a*: *dānā* (Balıkesir, Isparta, Afyon), *dene* (Gümüşane, Sinop, Gaziantep, Ankara, Konya), *dāni* (Denizli), *tānā* (Manisa), *tene* (Gaziantep, İçel, Urfa; Southern Anatolia), *denem* (Muğla) 'grain, seed; berry; piece (counting word)' (DD 1.416, 3.1339, AD 1.376, AnadDial 1.163, GazAğzı 3.663, UrfaAğzı 136, GüneyBatı 107, 122), with many derivatives and compounds. The distribution of this general loanword is not fully reflected in the dialect dictionaries (Standard Azerbaijani *dānā*, Standard Ottoman *dāne*, *tāne*).

42. *darz* 'a joint, the joining of the skull, a suture, a seam; a rent in a garment which has been sewed up' (Steingass, s.v.), "a crevice, an interstice" (Haım, s.v.), also Kurd. *därz* (*derz*) 'split, rift, flaw; scratch;

scar, seam' (Kurdoev 197): *derz* (Kayseri) 'crevice between two rocks', (Konya) 'fissure between bricks, etc.', (Tokat) 'layer of mortar between stones or bricks' (DD 1.421).

43. *dastār* 'the sash of fine muslin cloth wrapped round the turban; a handkerchief, napkin; a towel; an apron' (Steingass, s.v.), with Kurd. *dāstar* (*destar*) 'white scarf wound around the head by men' (Kurdoev 193): *dastar* (Tokat, Giresun, Sivas, Erzurum, Samsun, Kars, Denizli, Konya, Aydın, Amasya) 'head scarf; table napkin; napkin for covering food or dough; thin woolen rug, blanket, or curtain' (DD 1.405, 4.1653), with the compounds *dasdar kilim* (Giresun) 'kind of rug' (KuzeyDoğu 314) and *baş dastarı* (Isparta) 'woman's head scarf' (DD 4.1625).

44. *dāya* 'a nurse, foster-mother; a midwife' (Steingass, s.v.), Pahl. *dāyak*: *taya* (Sivas) 'wet-nurse' (DD 1.1325 f.), with the derivative *tayadaş* (Ankara, Gümüşane, Maraş, Konya, İçel, Kırşehir, Kayseri, Sivas, Urfa, Balıkesir, Adana) 'coetaneous, coeval, equal, peer, companion' (DD 1.1326).

Standard Azerbaijani has *taya* 'wet-nurse'. In Ottoman, the term *dāye* is restricted to the older literary language. The voiceless initial is found in some north-western Iranian dialects, Gilakī *tāye* (Sootoodeh, Farhang i gilakī 49), Āštiyānī *tāyya* (Kiyā, Gūyīš i Āštiyān 26).

45. *dölča* 'a leathern bucket' (Steingass, s.v.), from *döl* (from Syr. *danla*) and the diminutive suffix *-ča*: *dolca* (Kars, Bursa, Çankırı), *dulçe* (Erzurum) 'scoop, dipper; drinking-mug' (DD 1.455, 472); *dölcek* 'well-bucket' (DD 1.464). Standard Azerbaijani has *dölča* 'jug; large milk-pail'. Cf. Georg. *tolča* 'pitcher, jug'.

46. *dūrbīn* 'far-sighted; a telescope', from *dūr* 'far' and the verbal element *-bīn* 'seeing': *dūlbīn* (Sivas), *dūldūl* (Antalya, Malatya; Southern Anatolia; Ankara: Türkmenler) 'telescope' (DD 1.482, AD 1.112, Sivas-Tokat 229). Older Ottoman and Standard Azerbaijani have the form *dūrbīn*, modern Standard Ottoman *dūrbūn*. In the meaning 'farsighted', the Persian word is old: as a term for 'telescope' it may be an Ottoman creation; it occurs in Ottoman sources of the 17th century. Since the modern term is of common usage, the dialect dictionaries do not reflect the distribution of the type.

47. *firōmānda* 'broken, weak, fatigued, tired, dejected, depressed, oppressed; helpless; without relief; bewildered, amazed; defective' (Steingass, s.v.), from *firō* 'down, downward' and *mānda*, participle of the verb *māndan* 'to remain; to be fatigued': *fermana* (Sivas) 'weak' (DD 2.574). The immediate source is probably literary Ottoman *fūrū-mānde* 'exhausted'.

48. *ganduma* 'a kind of grain deprived of the husk' (Steingass, s.v.), "gruau de froment ou semoule" (Desmaisons, s.v.), from *gandum* 'wheat' and the individualizing suffix *-a*: *kendime* (Kars) 'broken grains of pounded wheat (*bulgur*)' (DD 4.1686).

49. *gazanda* 'biting, stinging; injurious, hurtful; venomous, noxious; a venomous reptile or reptiles' (Steingass, s.v.), 'a biting creature, a stinger' (Haïm, s.v.), active participle of the verb *gazidan* 'to bite; to sting': *gezente* (Edirne, Ankara; Southern Anatolia), *gezenti* (Tekirdağ; Edirne: muhacir), *kezenti* (Denizli) 'pest, an insect infesting vegetables, melon plants, and in particular broad-beans; person who moves around too much' (DD 2.624, 893, AD 1.144). The last-mentioned meaning is a folk-etymological interpretation associating the word with the Turkish verb stem *gez-* 'to wander around'.

50. *gazangubîn* (and *gazangû*, Steingass, Vullers) "manna", from *gaz* "tamarisk" and *angubîn* "honey": I. *gezengevi* (Elâzığ, Diyarbakır, Mar-din), II. *gezengi* (Elâzığ), *gezen* (İçel) 'manna' (DD 2.624).

51. *girau* 'a wager, stake, bet; a pledge, pawn, deposit, earnest; a contract' (Steingass, s.v.), Pahl. *grav*, cf. *girau dâdan* "to put in pledge, to pawn" (Miller, s.v.), with Kurd. *gyrav* (*girav*), *gyrev* (*girêv*) 'pawn' (Kurdoev 282, 283, Bakaev 106): *girav* (Malatya) in the expression *girava vermek* 'to pawn, to mortgage' (DD 2.638).

Standard Azerbaijani has *giröv* 'pawn'.

52. *girda* 'a kind of round cake, but not thin' (Steingass, s.v.), also "a loaf" (Haïm, s.v.), from *gird* 'round; circle' and the suffix of concretization *-a*: *girda* (Konya), *kirde* (Kütahya) 'a kind of bread; a kind of bread; a kind of unleavened cake with poppy-seeds or cheese' (DD 2.638, 4. 1692).

Standard Azerbaijani has *girdä* 'round', but the term for 'kind of round cake' is found in Anatolian literary sources of the 14th-18th centuries (cf. TTS, vols. 1-4, s.v. kirde).

53. *gumân* 'doubt, suspicion, surmise; opinion, fancy, supposition, imagination; conceit, pride, haughtiness' (Steingass, s.v.), Pahl. *gumân*, with Kurd. *göman*, *guman* 'hope, faith; opinion; thought; doubt' (Kurdoev 292, Bakaev 100): *guman* (Ankara, Zonguldak, Kırşehir, Kayseri, Trabzon), *gûman* (Trabzon, Ankara), *güman* (Adana, Maraş, Van; Eastern Anatolian nomads), *gümen* (Seyhan, Ankara, Denizli, İçel, Antalya, Urfa, Sivas; Eastern Anatolian nomads), *kuman* (Ordu), *hümmen* (Manisa) 'hope, illusion; thought, opinion, guess; surmise, suspicion' (DD 2.685, 759, AD 1.153, 2.65, 66, SivasTokat 240, OrtaAnad 242, GüneyDoğu 287, Doğu1 255, KuzeyDoğu 333, Anad1 250, TrabFolk 62, 272). The type, which in the form *gümân* occurs in the two standard

languages, is not very common in Standard Ottoman, for which reason it is not overlooked by the dialect dictionaries.

54. *gūna* 'colour; species; form, figure, external appearance, mode, manner, kind' (Steingass, s.v.), from *gūn* 'colour, form manner, etc.' and *-a*: *gōne* (Tekirdağ?) 'color; kind, quality' (DD 2.659).

55. *gunda* 'a lump of dough' (Steingass, s.v.), with a variant *γunda* id., Pahl. *gund(ak)* id., Arm. *gund*, *gundak* 'sphere, ball', Avest. *gunda* 'Mehlteig, Teigballen' (Bartholomae, Altir. Wörterbuch 525): *kūnde* (Afyon, Kars, Kerkük), *kūnt* (Van, Erzurum, Erzincan, Bitlis, Kayseri, Ankara, Kars) 'lump of dough ready to be baked into one loaf; potter's clay' (DD 2.1008, 1010, AD 1.259, KaysSöz 63, Doğuİl 264); *kunt* (Gümüşane, Erzurum) 'lump of dough for the preparation of flat bread' (DD 2.993). To this belongs Standard Azerbaijani *kündü* 'lump of dough'.

56. *gung* 'dumb; one who converses by signs; stupid' (Steingass, s.v.), Pahl. *gung*, with Kurd. *kung* 'mute' (JabaJusti 344): *kūnk* (Denizli) 'tongue-tied; having a poor memory, unintelligent (child)' (DD 2.1009).

57. *γalladān* 'a granary', from *γalla*, borrowed from Arabic, 'corn, grain' and the element *-dān* 'container of': *kaladān* (Samsun, Sinop), *kaldan* (Samsun) 'small storage unit within a granary' (DD 2.815, 4.1672, AD 1.196, 197).

58. *ğūğa* 'a chicken, a poult' (Steingass, s.v.): *cüce* (Samsun, Sivas, Çorum) 'chicken' (DD 4.1639). To this type, possibly, also belongs *cücen* (Giresun, Ordu) 'chick' (DD 4.1639). Standard Azerbaijani has *ğüğä* 'chick'.

59. *harifāna* 'in a companionable manner', from *harif*, borrowed from Arabic, 'associate, companion, mess-mate' and the suffix *-āna*, an action modifier: *harfene* (Gaziantep), *herfene* (Kars, Erzurum, Isparta, Kayseri, Sivas), *halfene* (Gaziantep), *ferfene* (Karaköse, Çankırı, Ankara, Kayseri), *felfana* (Niğde), *erfane* (Çankırı), *erfene* (Türkmen ağzı), *älfänä* (Antalya, Isparta) 'a feast or picnic where each participant contributes his share' (DD 4.1665, AD 1.135, 2.54, 70, KaysSöz 35, GazAğzı 3.384, 390, AnadDial 1.167, 2.146, OrtaAnad 236).

The Literary Ottoman term is *herifāne*, but already Meninski (1680, vol. 2, p. 3198) lists variants: '*ārifāne, vrfāne, refene* 'Zech, Urte, einem jeden seine Portion'. The modern standard form is *ārifāne*. The loanword seems to have entered Anatolian Turkish through Standard Ottoman.

60. *xarbanda* 'an ass-owner, muleteer' (Steingass, s.v.): *harmanda* (Seyhan, Gaziantep, Maraş), *harmandal* (Adana) 'servant who looks after someone's pack-animals; caravan-leader's assistant; servant, groom' (DD 2.706, GazAğzı 3.391).

61. *xarsang* 'a large rough stone; heaps of gravel (rendering a road

disagreeable to travel on); obstacle, stumbling-block' (Steingass, s.v.), from *xar* 'ass' and *sang* 'stone': *hersek* (Çanakkale) 'stony country, stony field' (DD 2.722). The Turkish record is isolated, therefore the etymology has to be regarded as tentative in spite of the good phonological and semantical agreement.

62. *xāšāk* 'chips, leaves, sprigs, shoots, suckers, young grass, small bits of wood, shavings, parings, or refuse of any kind; also dust, motes, straws, or anything similar which gets into the eye or liquors; rubbish, siftings' (Steingass, s.v.), a derivative of *xāš* 'rubbish, chips, etc.': *hašak* (Bursa: muhacir) 'rubbish, chips, crumbs, filth mixed with dirt and dust' (DD 2.707).

There is only this single record for the Anatolian variant, and we are not told where the immigrant (*muhacir*) had come from.

63. *xaygīna*, *xagīna* 'a fried egg' (Steingass, s.v.), 'scrambled eggs, also omelet' (Haïm, s.v.), a derivative of *xāya* 'egg': *kaygīna* (Denizli), *kaygana* (Adana, İzmir; Türkmen ağzı; Avşar ağzı), *gaygana* (Gaziantep) 'dessert consisting of a kind of bread or cake soaked in syrup' (DD 2.856, AD 1.212, GazAğzı 3.309), with the diminutive derivative *kayganacık* (Sivas) 'a kind of beets' (DD 4.1683).

The variants with *-a-* as second vowel are widely spread; the variant *kaygana* is known in İstanbul as 'omelette'. Standard Azerbaijani has *gayğanağ* 'fried eggs'.

64. *xīšt* 'a javelin, dart, spear, halberd, pole-axe' (Steingass, s.v.), Old. Pers. *aršti-*, with Kurd. *xyšt* (*xīšt*) 'wedge, blade; bayonet; javelin; mace' (Kurdoev 373), Georg. *xīšti* 'bayonet': *xīšt* (Malatya), *hišt* (Erzincan, Kars), *hišt* (Erzincan) 'dagger; iron rod with sharp point (especially, the kind used by dervishes for self-infliction of wounds); fishing-spear' (DD 2.733, 737, AD 1.170).

65. *xīštak* 'a gusset' (Steingass, s.v.), also "seat (of trousers)" (Haïm, s.v.), from *xīšt* "brick" and the diminutive suffix *-ak*, compare *xīštī* "shaped like a brick or lozenge; diamond-shaped" (Haïm, s.v.): *hişteşek* (Malatya, Kars), *hişteşek* (Elâzığ, Urfa) 'gusset, triangular piece sewn in the armpit of a garment; arm-pit; field of trapezoidal shape' (DD 2.733, 737).

66. *xwānča*, *xunča* "a small table, like a tea-board; a tray; meats sent from a marriage feast to an absent friend" (Steingass, s.v. *xūnča*) from *xwān* "a table, covered table, and the meat upon it; a spacious tray" (Steingass, s.v.) and the diminutive suffix *-ča*; with Kurd. *xunč'ä* (*xūnçe*) 'cup, bowl; tray' (Kurdoev 381), Georg. *xonča* 'wooden tray': *honça* (Samsun, Bursa, Tokat, Çorum, Bitlis, Yozgat, Kırşehir, Kayseri, Konya, Ankara), *hança* (Kayseri), *hunça* (Kars, Van), *gonça* (Isparta),

honca (Kayseri) 'food sent as a gift to the house of the bride; wedding presents brought by those invited; food sent as gift from the bride's house to the groom's house; tidbits offered to bride and groom; ceremony of betrothal; things secretly sent by the wife to her mother's house; present, award; award given for good tidings; food or present given by the owner to the shepherd when he announces the birth of a lamb or other animal' (DD 2.644, 700, 742, 757, KaysSöz 46); *honça* (Malatya) 'dried fruits', (Kırşehir, Niğde) 'round table used for the preparation of dough, and occasionally for eating', (İstanbul) 'a dish consisting of roasted chicken and bread' (DD 2.742, AD 2.72).

67. *ispandān*, *sipandān* "the seed of the wild rue; mustard; nasturtium" (Steingass, s.vv.), with variants *asbatān*, *istabān* "seed of the wild rue" (Steingass, s.vv.), *ispatān* "graine de moutarde" (Desmaisons, s.v.), *istibān* "semence de rue sauvage" (Desmaisons, s.v., after Johnson and Šu'ūrī), a derivative of *ispand* "wild rue"; the variants *asbatān*, *istabān*, etc., seem to be turkicized forms of *ispandān*: *ispatan* (Denizli), *ispatan* (Maraş, Hatay, Seyhan), *ıstapan* (Çankırı) 'the wild mustard plant; wild cress' (DD 2.776, 798).

68. *iškina* 'bread crumbled into broth' (Steingass, s.v.), Manichaeic Mid. Pers. 'šknğ: *iškene* (Diyarbakır, Elâzığ) 'broth; bread soaked in broth', with the derivative *işkeneli* (Elâzığ) 'containing much broth or gravy (food)' (DD 2.799).

69. *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' (Steingass, s.v.), Pahl. *kāpēn*, with Kurd. *kābīn* (JabaJusti, s.v.) and Georg. *k'ebini* 'marriage-money': *kebin* (Gaziantep), *kepin* (Muş), *kevin* (Kayseri) 'wedding ceremony' (DD 2.863, 879, OrtaAnad 249).

Standard Azerbaijani has *kābin* 'wedding ceremony'; in Literary Ottoman *kābin* is 'bride-money' (records of *kebin* 'bride-money; marriage ceremony' from sources of the 14th to 16th centuries are found in TTS I.440, 3.429).

70. *kafš* 'a shoe, sandal, slipper, high-heeled and shod with iron' (Steingass, s.v.), Pahl. *kafš*, with Kurd. *k'awš* (*kewš*) id. (Kurdoev 435): *keviş* (İçel) 'boot, shoe' (DD 4.1690). Perhaps, the Kurdish variant is the immediate source of the Turkish variant.

71. *kafšgar*, *kaušgar* 'shoemaker', from *kafš* 'boot' and *-gar* 'maker of': *köşker* (Antalya, Amasya, Isparta, Kayseri, Ankara, Niğde, Afyon, Maraş, Seyhan, Çankırı, Kırşehir, İzmir, Konya, Gaziantep, Tokat, Sivri) 'shoemaker, cobbler', with the derivatives *köşkerce* (Maraş) 'a shoe resembling a slipper' and, with over-characterization, *köşkürcü* (Burdur) 'cobbler',

and the compounds *köşker iğnesi* (Maras) 'shoemaker's awl' and *köşker* (or *köşger*) *tavası* 'a cold dish made of creamed yoghurt, bread, garlic, and mint powder' (DD 4.1697, AD 1.251, 2.97, KaysSöz 62, GüneyDoğu 294, GazAğzı 3.465).

72. *kağ, kaş* 'coarse silk of little value' (Steingass, s.vv.), Pahl. *kač* with Kurd. *kāž* (*kej*) 'raw silk' (Kurdoev 424); also, Pers. *kaği* 'raw silk from the cones' (Steingass, s.v.), with Kurd. *kāži* 'band, ribbon' (Jaba-Justi 333): *keci* (Erzurum, Urfa, Konya) 'silk; silk shirting' (DD 2.862, UrfaAğzı 116); *kec* (Van), *keci* (Manisa, Ankara) 'thread, yarn; string' (DD 2.863, AD 1.215); *kec* (Malatya), *keci* (Gaziantep, Hatay; Southern Anatolia) 'silkworm; cocoon' (DD 2.863, AD 1.215, GazAğzı 3.440 f.).

73. *kağāba, kağāva, kažāba, kažāva* 'a camel-litter for women' (Steingass, s.vv.), with Kurd. *kāžavā* (*kejave*) id. (Kurdoev 424): *kecaba* (Kars), *kejova* (Kars: Terekeme ağzı), *kejava* (Sivas: Terekeme ağzı) 'litter; litter in which the bride is carried to her husband's house' (DD 2.863, Doğuİl 28, 263, SivasTokat 249).

74. *kaščā, kabča, kaščā* 'a ladle, skimmer' (Steingass, s.vv.), from *kašč* id. and *-a*, Pahl. *kaščāk*, cf. Kurd. *kāvč'i* (*kevc'i*), *kāšč'i* (*kešč'i*) id. (Kurdoev 423, 432, Bakaev 189): *kepçe* (Bursa, İstanbul, Balıkesir, Edirne, Bolu, Çanakkale) 'share-beam (of a plough)'; (Ankara) 'a part of the mill-wheel', (Maras; Southern Anatolia) 'concave gold coin as bridal ornament worn on the temples', (Afyon) 'shovel for the fire-place' (DD 4.1687, AD 1.221, 2.88), with the compounds *eyrikepçe* (Kars) 'tadpole' (DD 4.1658), *kepçegaga* (Niğde) 'a kind of duck' (AD 2.88), etc.

Since Standard Ottoman has *kepçe* 'ladle, skimmer', the dialect dictionaries do not reflect the distribution of this type.

75. *kargās* 'a vulture' (Steingass, s.v.), Pahl. *karkās*: *kerkez* (Kars: Terekeme ağzı) 'kind of bird' (Doğuİl 262), with the compound *akkekes* (Konya) 'a kind of falcon with white head and black wing tips' (DD 4.1606). Standard Ottoman *kerkenez* 'hawk; kind of vulture' with the Anatolian variants *kelkenez* (Kayseri, Elâzığ), *kelkenez* (Kayseri), *kelkekez* (Gaziantep), and *kerkenek* (record not located) id. (DD 4.1686, AD 1.223, 2.87, GazAğzı 3.444) seem to go back to another variant of the Persian etymon. Standard Azerbaijani *kärkingäk* 'small hawk', to which belongs the Anatolian variant *kerkencik* (Bilecik) 'a kind of hawk' (DD 2.883), possibly can be related to the same type.

76. *kaškāb, kaškāv*, 'barley-water, barley-broth; a ptisan' (Steingass, s.v.), from *kašk* 'barley' etc., (see the following paragraph), and *āb* 'water': *keşkef* (Kırşehir) 'a dish made of pounded wheat, baked in the oven' (DD 2.889 f.).

77. *kaškak* 'barley or wheat, especially boiled whole with meat till

it has become soft' (Steingass, s.v.), from *kaşk* 'sour milk dried; a kind of thick pottage made of wheaten flour or barley meal with sheep's-milk, to which is added flesh or wheat; barley; barley-water' and the diminutive suffix *-ak*: *keşkek*, *kāškäk* (Kırşehir, Bursa, Samsun, Sinop, Ordu, Kütahya, Kayseri, Ankara, Bilecik, Konya, Balıkesir, Çorum, Urfa) 'dish made of pounded wheat and meat' (DD 2.890, AnadDial 1.186, AnadAğız 239, UrfaAğzı 117).

78. *kūča* 'a narrow street; a lane, slum, row, passage; a street, square, market-place' (Steingass, s.v.), from *kū* 'a broad street, square, market-place; a narrow street, an alley' and the diminutive suffix *-ča*, with Kurd. *k'uč'ä* (*kūçe*) 'street; alley' (Kurdoev 455): *kūçe* (Diyarbakır, Urfa), *küce* (Diyarbakır) 'street; blind alley' (DD 4.1699, AD 2.99). Probably connected with this one is the type *hükçe*, *hökçe* (Diyarbakır) 'street' (DD 2.751, 758). Standard Azerbaijani has *küçä* 'street'.

79. *kura*, *kūra* 'a smith's forge' (Steingass, s.v.), Manichaean Mid. Pers. *qwrg*, with Kurd. *k'urä* (*küre*) (Kurdoev 455, Bakaev 216), Georg. *k'ura* 'hearth': *küre* (Kastamonu, Çorum, Yozgat, Kırşehir, Ankara) 'stove for the preparation of grapejuice molasses (*pekmez*)', (Malatya) 'bellows' (DD 2.1012, AD 1.260).

Standard Azerbaijani has *kürä* 'hearth, forge'. The term *küre* 'furnace' is attested in Ottoman sources of the 14th-18th centuries (TTS, vols. 1-2, s.v.).

80. *lāfzan* 'a boaster, braggart' (Steingass, s.v.), from *lāf* 'praise; bragging' and the verbal element *-zan* 'striking, casting', stem form of *zadan* 'to strike, to cast': *ylabazan* (Bolu) 'alert, agile, quick' (DD 3.1524).

Standard Ottoman has *lāfazān* 'great talker, boaster', which has to be regarded as the immediate source of the Anatolian variant.

81. *langarī* 'provisions distributed to the poor; a kind of drinking-glass' (Steingass, s.v.), "a kind of tray or large plate proper to the *langar*" (Farhang i Ānandarāğ, s.v.), with Tajik *tabaqi langarī* 'large plate, platter, dish', from *langar* "alms-house" (Steingass, s.v.), "a place where food is given to people every day; monastery" (Burhān i Qāti', Farhang i Ānandarāğ, s.v.) and the adjectival suffix *-ī*, also Kurd. *längäri* (*lengeri*) 'copper bowl, copper plate' (Kurdoev 495, Bakaev 227), Arm. *langer* is glossed as 'crémaillère' (Ohannesian, s.v.): *lengeri* (Niğde) 'large copper platter for rice, etc.' (AD 1.264); *lenger* (Kayseri, Çankırı, Afyon) 'large copper plate' (AD 1.264). Standard Ottoman has *lenger* 'large copper plate'.

82. *lauzīna* "a confection of almonds; any food in which almonds form a part" (Steingass, s.v.), from *lauz* "almond" and the suffix *-īna*, Pahl. *lauzēnak*: *nevzīne* (Kırşehir, Kayseri, Ankara) 'a sweet confection

made of flour, butter, and sugar' (DD 3.1078, AD 2.107, KaysSöz 68, OrtaAnad 252).

83. *marγ* 'a species of grass of which animals are exceedingly fond' (Steingass, s.v.), also "meadow" (Haïm, s.v.), Avest. *marəγa-* "meadow", with Arm. *marg* id., Kurd. *merg* (*mêrg*) id. (Kurdoev 533, Bakaev 236), cf. also Georg. *margi* 'bed, plot': *merk* (Erzincan) 'bed, plot in a garden' (DD 3.1054).

84. *māya* 'the female of any animal, a female camel in particular' (Steingass, s.v.), variant of *māda* id., Pahl. *mātak*: *maya* (Antalya, İzmir, Ankara, İçel, Diyarbakır, Amasya, Çanakkale, Muğla, Konya, Kırşehir, Denizli, Çorum, Manisa, Isparta, Hatay, Seyhan, Ordu, Gaziantep, Antalya, Yozgat, Aydın, Erzurum, Urfa; Western Anatolia) 'female camel of good quality (being a crossing of a male Bactrian and a female Arabian camel), with light-colored long fur, regarded as the best pack-animal' (DD 3.1043, AD 1.273, 2.104, AnadDial 1.189, Doğull 266, GazAğzı 3.489, UrfaAğzı 126); *maya* (Çorum, Ankara, Kayseri, Kırşehir, Yozgat, Niğde, Çankırı) 'she-ass' (DD 3.1043, AD 1.273, KaysSöz 66).

In the meaning 'she-camel' the term is found in Standard Azerbaijani and Standard Ottoman, and its use is attested in literary sources of the 14th-18th centuries (TTS, vols. 1-2, s.v.).

85. *mēšīna* 'a flock of sheep' (Steingass, s.v.), from *mēš* "sheep" and the suffix *-īna*: *mešne* (Elâzığ) 'sheep' (DD 3.1055).

86. *mīrāb*, *mīrāu* 'the superintendent of a river or other public reservoir for watering fields (when water is allowed to run through a certain opening for a time specified)' (Steingass, s.v.), from *mīr* 'prince, lord, chief' (from Arab. *amīr*) and *āb*, *āu* 'water', with Kurd. *mirab* (*mîrab*), *mirav* (*mîrav*) 'supervisor of irrigation waters' (Kurdoev 531, 532, Bakaev 246): *mirav* (Erzurum, Konya), *mıra* (Niğde), *merav* (Konya), *imrav*, *imral* (Kayseri), *imrul* (Tavulsun [vilayet?]) 'supervisor of irrigation waters' (DD 3.1065, AD 1.186, 279, 281, 2.76, 104, KaysSöz 48).

In Standard Azerbaijani the term is *mirab*.

87. *muft* 'gratuitously, without payment, gratis' (Steingass, s.v.), with Kurd. *möft* (*muft*) id. (Kurdoev 550): *mut* (Zonguldak, Afyon, Ankara), *mot* (Seyhan) 'gratis' (DD 3.1068, AD 1.284).

Standard Azerbaijani has *müftä* 'gratis', the ending being the Turkish dative suffix (compare Pers. *ba mufti* "gratis"). This form is also found in Ottoman in older literary sources (records for the 17th century: *müfte satılmak*, TTS 4.582; *müfte girmek*, Meninski, s.v. *müft*).

88. *mūm-rawçan* 'wax and oil mixed, used for polishing furniture' (Steingass, s.v.), from *mōm*, *mūm* 'wax' and *rawçan* 'oil, butter, fat': *mumurgan* (Diyarbakır), *mumurhan*, *mumurxan* (Gaziantep, Malatya,

Afyon, Isparta), *momurhan* (Malatya), *mumurhan* (Gaziantep), *mumuran* (Konya), *mumlağan* (Denizli) 'a concoction of wax, olive oil, almond oil, lemon juice, etc., used as an ointment for chapped hands' (DD 3.1071, AD 1.270, 283, 2.106, GazAğzı 3.500).

89. *nāštā* 'hungry, having an empty stomach; fasting' (Steingass, s.v.): *anašta* (Kerkük) 'empty-stomached in the morning' (AD 1.10).

90. *nava* 'a grandchild' (Steingass, s.v.), cf. Old Pers. *napā* id., with Kurd. *nāvi* (*nevî*) id. (Kurdoev 567, Bakaev 260): *neve* (Bitlis, Van) 'grandchild' (DD 3.1077, AnadİL 266), and, with a diminutive suffix, *nevcik* (Bitlis) 'great-grandchild' (DD 3.1077).

Standard Azerbaijani has *nāvā* 'grandchild'.

91. *palās* 'coarse woolen cloth worn by dervishes; a woolen carpet; sackcloth' (Steingass, s.v.), variant *palāh* (Jud.-Pers.), with Kurd. *p'alas* (*palas*) 'old rug; rag' (Kurdoev 585, Bakaev 298): *palas* (Kayseri, Giresun, Afyon, Gaziantep, Elâzığ, Gümüşane, Ankara, Kırşehir, Samsun), *palaz* (Erzurum, Kırşehir, Malatya, Çankırı, Kayseri, Gümüşane, Kars, Konya, Erzincan, Giresun, Adana, İzmir, Maraş, Gaziantep), *pala* (Bitlis, Kırşehir, Eskişehir, Ankara, Afyon, Edirne, Bursa) 'rug; old rug; coarse rug; goat-hair rug of solid color; narrow woven rug' (DD 3.1128, 1129, AD 1.306, 307, GazAğzı 3.547); *palaz* (Zonguldak, Kırşehir), *pala* (Çankırı, Kocaeli, Konya, Yozgat, Bursa, Zonguldak, Bolu, Edirne, Ankara, Eskişehir, Kırşehir, Balıkesir, Kütahya, İstanbul, Seyhan) 'rag; dish rag' (DD 3.1128, 1129 f., AD 1.306, Anadial 1.195); *palaz* (Manisa) 'loincloth, bath-towel', (Zonguldak, İzmir) 'old, worn, patched' (DD 3.1129 f.); *pala* (İzmir) 'napkin, handkerchief', (Seyhan, Bolu, Ankara, Bilecik) 'beddings' (DD 3.1129).

Standard Azerbaijani has *palaz* 'a kind of rug'.

92. *par* 'a wing; a feather; a leaf; the sails or paddles of a mill' (Steingass, s.v.), with Kurd. *p'ār* (*per*) 'feather; wing; blade (of an oar); paddle (of a paddle-wheel)' (Kurdoev 595, Bakaev 298): *per* (Adana, Seyhan, Giresun, Çanakkale, Malatya, Gaziantep), *peri* (Malatya, Sivas, Sinop, Seyhan) 'paddle-wheel of a mill or steamer; paddles or spokes of a paddle-wheel' (DD 3.1143, 1144, AD 1.310, GazAğzı 3.552); *per* (Erzurum) 'iron device put between millstones to prevent them from touching each other' (DD 3.1143). Standard Azerbaijani has *pār* 'wing; wings of a wind-mill, etc.'.

93. *parčîn* 'curved, crooked, bent; nails driven through anything and then clenched at the points; a hedge of briars; thorns placed on a wall as a fence; a shed; a hovel constructed of sticks, leaves, etc.' (Steingass, s.v.), with Kurd. *p'ārč'in* (*perçin*) 'rivet, clinch, cramp' (Kurdoev 596): *perçin* (Malatya, Urfa) 'hedge; wall' (DD 3.1143).

Standard Ottoman *perçin* and Standard Azerbaijani *pärçim* have the meaning 'rivet'.

94. *pā-taxta* 'a shoe of undressed leather; the treadle of a weaver's loom' (Steingass, s.v.), from *pā* 'foot' and *taxta* 'board, plank': *pedahla* (İzmir) 'pedal of a hand-loom' (DD 3.1139).

95. *pēša* 'art, skill; work, craft, trade', Pahl. *pēšak* "social class; profession", with Kurd. *p'ešä* (*péše*) 'art, craft, trade' (Kurdoev 611, Bakaev 296): *peše* (Malatya) 'ruse, a lie invented to cover up guilt or shame' (DD 3.1146).

Standard Azerbaijani has *pešä* 'trade, craft, profession'.

96. *pēšxwān* "counter" (Haïm, Miller, s.v.), from *pašxwān* 'a gift; a table', *pišxūn* 'a table, a bench' (Steingass, s.v.), from *pēš* 'before, front' and *xwān* 'a dinner-table', with Kurd. *pešxun* (*péšxūn*) 'dinner-table' (Kurdoev 611, Bakaev 284): *pešgin*, *peškin* (Kars), *pešgün* (Malatya), *pişgon* (Niğde), *peşkün* (Erzincan, Erzurum), *peşkun* (Kayseri, Edirne, Kars, Erzincan) 'low wooden dinner-table; dough-board with legs, which can be used as dinner-table; round metal tray used as dinner-table; wooden support which carries the dinner-table top' (DD 3.1146, AD 1.314); *peşgun*, *peşgün* (Giresun) 'large platter on which food is served' *peşkün* (İzmir) 'school-bench', (İstanbul: muhacir) 'counter in a shop', *peşgün*, *peşkün* (Sinop) 'installation for washing up' (DD 3.1146).

97. *pīh* 'fat, grease, tallow' (Steingass, s.v.): *piğ* (Kars), *piy* (Van), *pi* (Sivas) 'tallow' (DD 3.1152, 1158, AD 2.115).

Standard Azerbaijani has *piy* 'fat, tallow'.

98. *puštān*, *puštūn*, *puštībān*, *puštīvān* 'a prop; a buttress; the bar of a door' (Steingass, s.vv.), from *pušt* 'the back' (or a derivative of it) and *-bān* 'protector of', Mid. Pers. *puštik-pān*, cf. Kurd. *pyštāvan* (*pištevan*) 'protector, defender' (also the Persian variants have this meaning) (Kurdoev 620): *puštūvan*, *peštivan* (Isparta) 'a kind of rafter' (DD 3.1147, 1170).

99. *rang* 'stratagem, fraud, imposture; insincerity, perfidy, disloyalty; playfulness, innocent delusion or frolic, ridicule' (Steingass, s.v.), Pahl. *rang* 'color': *ireng* (Konya), *irek* (İçel) 'ruse, stratagem' (DD 2.794); *ireng* (Muğla, Isparta), *irenk* (Konya, Burdur, Manisa, Isparta, İzmir), *irek* (Seyhan), *ilenk* (Denizli) 'ill-treatment, torture, oppression', with the expressions *ireng etmek* (Muğla, Isparta), *irenk etmek* (Denizli), *irek etmek* (Seyhan) 'to ill-treat, torment, oppress' (DD 2.794, 795, 4. 1669).

Standard Azerbaijani (*rāng*) and Standard Ottoman (*renk*) have borrowed the Persian word in the meaning 'color'.

100. *rāsta* 'a market-place; a level road' (Steingass, s.v.), "a row; a series of shops; a section or part of the market-place" (Haïm, s.v.), cf.

Kurd. *arase* 'corn-market' (recorded in JabaJusti 281) (however, this word seems to be borrowed from Turkish): *arasta* (Balıkesir, Konya, Samsun, Trabzon), *arasda* (Trabzon) 'bazaar quarter; street in the bazaar devoted to one trade' (DD 4.1615, AnadDial 1.149, KuzeyDoğu 306, TrabFolk 260); *arasa* (Diyarbakır, Maraş, Gaziantep) 'bazaar for the corn and fruit trade; name of Gaziantep's largest bazaar' (DD 4.1615, GazAğzı 3.46, GüneyDoğu 262).

In the form *arasta*, the term was also used in earlier Standard Ottoman.

101. *rišta* 'thread, anything twisted, as a match, candle-wick, linstock; slices of paste put in soup, macaroni' (Steingass, s.v.), past participle of the verb *riştan*, *riştan* 'to spin, to twist', with Kurd. *ryştä* (*rişte*) 'thread; string; noodles, macaroni' (Kurdoev 643): *erişte*, *äriştä* (Konya, Ankara, İstanbul, Manisa, Kırşehir, Kayseri, Kütahya, İçel, Çorum, Balıkesir, Niğde, Maraş), *erişde* (Elâzığ), *herişte* (Kerkük) 'hand-made thin noodles' (DD 2.545 f., AD 1.166, AnadDial 1.168, AnadAğzı 220, GüneyDoğu 277, 278); *erişte* (Çanakkale, İzmir) 'sea-weed' (DD 2.545 f.). In the first meaning, the term is found in Standard Azerbaijani (*arišta*) and Standard Ottoman (*erişte*); it is recorded in the 16th century (Meninski, s.v.) and has been borrowed by Serbo-Croat as *jèrište* 'noodles'. In the meaning 'seaweed', the term is recorded, without the prothetic vowel, in a 17th century Ottoman text (quoted in LFL, bottom of page 392).

102. *sagbân* 'a dog-keeper' (Steingass, s.v.), from *sag* 'dog' and *-bân* 'keeper of', with Kurd. *sägman* (*segman*) 'hunter; warrior; footsoldier, infantryman' (Kurdoev 655): *seyman* (Urfa), *seymen* (Bolu; Bursa: muhacir) 'watchman, guard' (DD 3.1213); *seyman* (Balıkesir, Aydın, Muğla, Manisa, Eskişehir), *seyman*, *seymen* (Kütahya, Afyon, Antalya, Gaziantep; Southern Anatolia), *seymen* (Gaziantep, Kırşehir, Çanakkale, Kayseri, Manisa, Bursa, Balıkesir, Bolu, Maraş, Konya), *seğmen* (Çorum, Seyhan, Konya; Anatolia), *seymen* (Malatya), *selmen*, *sêlmen*, *sêmen*, *sêrmen* (Gaziantep), *semen* (Seyhan, Niğde, Ankara, Antalya), *seymene*, *saymana* (Manisa) 'at a wedding, armed young men riding on horse-back, who go and bring the bride in a procession to the groom's house; bridal cortège; the leader of the bridal cortège; groom's companion at the wedding' (DD 3.1203, 1204, 1212, 1213, 4.1702, AD 1.331, 336, 2.121, KaysAğzı 77, AnadAğzı 252, GazAğzı 3.586); *seymen* (Gaziantep) 'group of horsemen who would meet the pilgrims returning from Mecca and would lead them into the town in solemn procession' (AD 1.336).

In the Ottoman military organization before the 19th century, the *segbâns* were one of the subgroups of the Janissary corps.

103. *sâliyân* 'annual; an annual pension' (Steingass, s.v.), a derivative of *sâl* 'year', with Kurd. *sâlyân* (recorded in JabaJusti 233), *saylan*

(Kurdoev 653) 'tax, capitation tax'; Pers. *sāliyāna* 'annual; an annual pension' (Steingass, s.v.): *salyan* (Giresun, Çoruh, Kars, Erzincan, Tokat, Sivas, Hatay, Niğde, Gümüşane, Amasya, Kastamonu, Gaziantep), *saylan* (Seyhan), *sayılan* (Kayseri), *salyana* (Çankırı) 'tax; amount of tax allotted to an individual by the local authority in order to raise the total which is levied on the community', with the derivative *salyancı* (Giresun, Ordu, Kars, Malatya, Kayseri, Kastamonu, Gaziantep) 'tax collector' (DD 3.1186, 1197, AD 1.325, KaysAğzı 76, AnadAğzı 252, GazAğzı 3.576); *salyan* (Gaziantep), *salman* (Isparta; Western Anatolia) 'alms collected by certain itinerant dervishes through the chanting of hymns; also, this manner of collecting alms', with the expression *salman etmek* (Southern Anatolia) 'to mendiccate with the chanting of hymns, as a dervish' (AD 1.325, 2.119, GazAğzı 3.576).

The terms *sāliyān*, *sāliyāne* 'tax levied on a community' were used in Standard Ottoman. An equivalent to this term, which might be regarded as a folk-etymological adaptation of it, is derived from the verb *sal-* 'to cast; to impose, to levy': *salgın* (Burdur, Çorum, Ankara) 'tax levied on a community', with *salgıncı* (Seyhan, Bolu, Amasya, Konya, Ankara, Samsun, Isparta, Çorum, Burdur; Western Anatolia) 'tax-collector' (DD 3.1183, AD 1.324, 2.119, AnadDial 1.200).

The second meaning of the Anatolian variants seems to have developed from the first; however, the development is not sufficiently clear, and the possibility remains that the two types should be separated from one another.

The Kurdish variant *saylan* may be borrowed from Turkish.

104. *sanğa* 'a balance, scales; a weight' (Steingass, s.v.), from the stem form of *saxtan*, *sanğidan* 'to weigh' and the suffix *-a*: *sıncı* (Gümüşane) 'sensitive scales' (DD 3.1230).

105. *sārbān*, *sārvān* 'a camel-driver', from *sār* 'head' and *-bān* 'keeper of': *savran* (Denizli, Muğla, Maraş, Kayseri, Aydın), *arvan* (Ankara), and the compound *savran başı* (Maraş) 'camel-driver; leader of a caravan' (DD 1.118, 4.1702, AD 1.329, 2.120, KaysSöz 76, AnadDial 1.201).

Standard Azerbaijani has *sarban*, *sarvan* 'camel-driver'. The variant without initial *s*, a hapax, may be an erroneous recording.

106. *sarbār* 'a bundle on the top of a load; a load carried on the head' (Steingass, s.v.), also 'a surcharge; an overcharge' (Haïm, s.v.), variants *sarbar*, *sarvar* (Desmaisons, both after Šu'ūrī), from *sar* 'head' and *bār* 'load', with Kurd. *sārbār* (*serbar*) 'supplementary load' (Kurdoev 661): *zelber* (Gaziantep, Ankara, Kırşehir, Antalya), *zeber*, *zebler* (Southern Anatolia, Eastern Anatolia), *zeber* (Çifteler köyü [vilayet?]) 'a load which is put over the two bales carried by a pack-animal; extra load; excessive

load' (DD 3.1569, 1570, AD 1.434, GazAğzı 3.781); *zelber* (Kayseri, İçel, Gaziantep, Seyhan, Kırşehir, Niğde) 'burden, annoyance, discomfort' (DD 3.1570, AD 1.434); *zelber çuvalı* (Ankara) 'large sack to be carried by an animal without pack-saddle' (DD 3.1570). A Persian word **sarbārča*, **sarbarča*, a diminutive form in *-ča* of *sarbār*, *sarbar*, is attested by the following Anatolian Turkish type: *serverce* (Muğla), *selverce* (İzmir, Muğla, Antalya), *zelverce* (Tekirdağ) 'felt blanket, pad, or cushion, put under the wooden frame (*hamut*) on a pack-camel's back, in order to prevent rubbing; the pack-camel's wooden frame (*hamut*) itself; rope connecting the camel's pack-frame with the girth' (DD 3.1204, 1211, 1570).

107. *sāyabān*, *sāyavān* 'a canopy, umbrella, parasol; a shade formed by foliage or by any other projection; a tent, pavilion' (Steingass, s.vv.), from *sāya* 'shade, shadow' and *-bān* 'keeper of': *sayvan* (Amasya, Çorum, Bolu, Bilecik, Kastamonu; Southern Anatolia), *sayvant* (Seyhan, Afyon, Isparta, İstanbul, İçel, Çanakkale, Denizli, Burdur, Yozgat, Ankara, Bursa, Samsun), *sayfan* (Giresun, Ordu) 'watchman's hut on a field or in a vineyard; hut for drying raisins; covered place with open sides; sheep-fold; trellis with vine; hall in a house; loft, attic; storage room' (DD 3.1197, 4.1702, AD 1.330, 2.120, AnadAğzı 252). Records of the use of *sayvan* 'canopy, parasol' in Ottoman sources of the 14th-15th centuries are found in TTS, vols. 1-4, s.v.

108. *sēlāb* 'an inundation, current, flood' (Steingass, s.v.), from *sēl* 'flood, torrent' (borrowed from Arab. *sail*) and *āb* 'water', with Kurd. *selaf* (*sēlaf*), *selav* (*sēlav*) 'torrent; downpour; inundation' (Kurdoev 677, Bakaev 326), Tajik *sel* 'torrential rain', *selob* 'torrent formed by rain': *selav* (Kars) 'depressed ground' (DD 3.1202).

109. *sīpāra*, *sipāra* 'one portion of the thirty into which the Qur'an has been divided' (Steingass, s.vv.), from *sī* 'thirty' and *pāra* 'piece': *sıpara* (Maraş), *supara* (Giresun, Trabzon), *sıpra* (Anatolia), *zıpra* (Manisa) 'section of the Koran; case or pocket in which the Koran section is carried to school; first reading book', with the compound *sıpr kesesi* (İzmir) 'book-case made of cloth' (DD 3.1218, 1578, 4.1702, 1703, AD 2.122, TrabFolk 292).

In Standard Ottoman the term was usually *supara*.

110. *sōzanak* 'gonorrhoea', with Kurd. *sūzenek* id. (recorded in JabaJusti 247): *sūzenek* (Kars) 'gonorrhoea' (DD 3.1269).

The Eastern Anatolian variant corresponds to Standard Azerbaijani *süzənäk* id.

111. *sumtirāš* 'an instrument for paring horses' hoofs' (Steingass, s.v.), from *sum* 'hoof' and *-tarāš* 'shaving; paring', with Kurd. *symt'ārāš*,

synt'āraş (*simteraş*) 'farrier' (Kurdoev 681, Bakaev 343): *sunturaç* (Edirne, Çanakkale, Kırşehir, Afyon, İzmir), *suntureç* (Isparta), *santuraç* (Çorum) 'knife for paring hoofs' (DD 3.1256, AD 2.119).

112. *şābāş* 'bravo! excellent!; money thrown about at marriages or given to singers' (Steingass, s.v.), from *šād bāš!* 'be joyful!', with Kurd. *šabaş* (*şabaş*), *šavaş* (*şavaş*) 'exclamation with which bride and groom are honored at the wedding; the ceremony of scattering money over bride and groom; money given to the musicians at a wedding' (Kurdoev 692, 693, Bakaev 462): *şaba* (Maraş, Gaziantep), *şoba* (Seyhan) 'money collected by the musicians' (DD 1.364, 3.1270, GazAğzı 3.631), with the derivative *şabalamak* (Seyhan) 'for a musician, to play in front of a person in order to receive a present from him' (DD 3.1270). The following notations may be inaccurate renderings: *şaba* (Maraş) 'eulogist', *şababaş* (Maraş) 'present given to a eulogist' (GüneyDoğu 306).

113. *šahr*, *šār* 'a town', with Kurd. *šar* (*şar*) 'town; land' (Kurdoev 694): *şar* (Çorum, Kayseri; Southern Anatolia) 'town' (DD 3.1276, AD 1.358, KaysSöz 81).

Standard Azerbaijani has *šāhār*, Standard Ottoman *şehir*, but the form *šar* is frequently found in older sources (for records from the 14th to the 17th centuries, see TTS, vols. 1-4, s.v.) and in Anatolian place-names.

114. *šāna* 'a comb; a hay or corn fork', *šana* 'a corn-fork with five prongs for winnowing' (Steingass, s.vv.), with Kurd. *šanä* (*şane*), *šänä* (*şene*) 'comb; corn-fork; winnowing-fork' (Kurdoev 694, 700, Bakaev 466): *šana* (Kars; Ağrı: muhacir), *şene* (Van, Bitlis) 'pitchfork; winnowing-fork' (DD 3.1274, 1281).

Standard Azerbaijani has *šana* 'pitchfork'.

115. *šev*, *šēb*, *šīb* 'a descent, declivity; wet ground made uneven and rugged by the trampling of men, and afterwards hardened by the influence of the sun' (Steingass, s.vv.): *şev* (Tokat, Kayseri, Afyon), *şef* (Aydınlı) 'slant, slope, declivity; trapezoidal piece of land; crooked, contorted tree' (DD 3.1279, 1282, KaysSöz 81).

Standard Ottoman has *şev* 'slope; bevel'.

116. *tābxāna* 'a hot-house; a winter habitation; a warm bath; summer quarters; a house entirely glazed' (Steingass, s.v.), from *tāb* 'heat' and *xāna* 'house': *tafana* (Kırşehir, Kayseri, Konya; İzmir: muhacir), *töxene* (Sivas), *tohana* (Gaziantep, Kayseri), *tovhana* (Tekirdağ) 'winter room, room which contains a warming arrangement (*tandır*) consisting of a brazier surrounded by seats; hall, large room' (DD 3.1298, 1371, 1388, SivasTokat 265).

In older literary Ottoman, the term *tābhāne* designated a common kind of charitable institution functioning as a hostel, poor-house, or infirmary.

117. *tabxxāna* 'a cook's shop; a kitchen' (Steingass, s.v.), from *tabx* 'a cooking' (borrowed from Arab. *tabx* id.) and *xāna* 'house': *tafana* (Konya, Kırşehir), *tavana* (Niğde), *tokhane*, *tokana* (Kayseri), *takana* (Kayseri, Ankara), *tokanak* (İstanbul) 'kitchen; kitchen and pantry; pantry' (DD 3.1298, 1302, 1324, 1373, AD 1.371). In literary Ottoman, the term *tabhhāne* was used to designate the kitchen buildings of the imperial seraglio (*tabhhāne-i āmire*).

118. *taxtapōš* 'stage, wooden floor' (Steingass, s.v.), from *taxta* 'board, plank' and *-pōš* 'covering, dressing': *tahtaboş* (Kütahya, Niğde, Konya) 'balcony; small room' (DD 3.1300). Standard Azerbaijani has *taxtapūš* 'shutter, wooden cover'. In Standard Ottoman *tahtaboş* 'raised platform on a roof', the second element is folk-etymologically connected with Turk. *boş* 'empty, hollow'.

119. *tāqča* 'a little window; a niche' (Steingass, s.v.), from *tāq* 'arch, vault, window' (borrowed from Arab. *tāq*, which itself goes back to Pahlavi *tāk*) and the diminutive suffix *-ča*, cf. Georg. *ṽaxčā* 'recess with shelves, niche': *takça* (Niğde) 'small window' (DD 3.1302, AD 1.365); *tahça* (Kars: muhacir) 'small niche in the wall' (DD 3.1299).

Standard Azerbaijani has *taxčā* 'niche, shelf'.

120. *tašt* 'a basin, a salver; a ewer-stand' (Steingass, s.v.), *tašt* "a large basin, ewer, cup, bowl" (Steingass, s.v.), Pahl. *tašt*, with Kurd. *ṽāšt* (*tešt*) 'tub, basin; manger' (Kurdoev 746, Bakaev 368), cf. Arm. *dašd*, Arab. (Syria) *ṽāšt* 'basin': *tešt* (Maraş, Çorum, Kayseri, Erzurum, Tunceli, Kırşehir, Gaziantep), *tešti* (Erzurum, Çoruh), *teşd* (Malatya), *deşt*, *keşç* (Kayseri), *teçt* (İçel), *teş* (Sinop, Seyhan), *teç* (Eskişehir, Erzurum, Çankırı, Afyon, Kayseri, Kastamonu, İçel, Ankara, Denizli, İzmir, Gümüşane, Isparta, Konya, Çorum), *tec* (Kastamonu) 'large copper basin, wash-tub, dough-trough; cauldron for boiling molasses (*pekmez*); milk-pot; a corn measure' (DD 3.1328, 1329, 1347, 1348, AD 1.379, 383, 2.43, KaysSöz 28, 56, Doğuİl 280, GüneyDoğu 309, GazAğzı 3.667).

121. *tēz* 'sharp, cutting; acute, pointed; bold, impetuous, vehement; swift, prompt; tart, acrid' (Steingass, s.v.), with Kurd. *tiz* (*tíz*) 'shrill; swift' (Kurdoev 755): *tez* (Isparta) 'rancid; acidity of butter or cheese' (DD 3.1351, AD 1.379), with the expression *tez yakı* (Denizli) 'an upset stomach' (DD 3.1353); *tez* (Gaziantep) 'fast, swift' (GazAğzı 3.668), with the derivatives *tezce* (İzmir) 'a cattle disease which kills fast', *tezlemek* (Tekirdağ: muhacir) 'to hurry', *tezlik* (İstanbul) 'hurry' (DD 3.1352, 1353), and the compounds *tezbasan* (Ankara) 'early (crop)', *tezpışen* (Konya, Afyon; Tokat: muhacir) 'a kind of sweet dessert (literally, fast-cooking)' (DD 3.1351, 1353).

In the meaning 'swift', *tez* is a common loanword in both Standard

Azerbaijani and Standard Ottoman; therefore, the dialect dictionaries do not indicate its distribution in Anatolia. Standard Ottoman has also *tüz* 'high-pitched'.

122. *töla* 'a hound that hunts by the scent; a whelp' (Steingass, s.v.), with Kurd. *t'olä* (*tole*), *t'ulä* (*tüle*) 'pup' (Kurdoev 766, 770): *tola* (Ankara), *tula* (Kars, Van, Erzincan, Bitlis, Ağrı; Kars: Terekeme ağzı; Amasya: yabancı) 'pup; small dog; strong, fearless dog; hound' (DD 3.1375, 1395, AD 1.391, 2.132, Doğuİl 25, 282). The hapax *tale* (Bursa: muhacir) 'pup' (DD 3.1307) may be an erroneous recording.

Standard Azerbaijani has *tula* 'dog'.

123. *tün* 'the stove of a bath' (Steingass, s.v.), Pahl. *tün* with Kurd. *ṭun* (*tün*) 'cave; stove, oven; furnace' (Kurdoev 770), cf. Georg. *ṭuni* 'kiln': *tun* (Afyon) 'the opening of an oven; the surface, upper part of an oven' (DD 3.1397 f.).

124. *turş*, *turuş* 'acid, tart, sour; morose, stern, cynical' (Steingass, s.v.), Pahl. *turuş*, with Kurd. *tyrş* (*tirş*) 'sour' (Kurdoev 763, Bakaev 356): *tiriş* (Kars) 'sour' (DD 3.1368).

Standard Azerbaijani has *turş* 'sour'. The vowels of the Anatolian variant correspond to the vowel of the Kurdish variant.

125. *ustun*, *ustün* 'a column, prop, beam, mast' (Steingass, s.vv.), by addition of a prothetic vowel from an older *stün*, Pahl. *stün*, cf. Kurd. *stun* (*stün*) 'column, pillar; beam, rafter' (Kurdoev 690, Bakaev 341): *ustun* (Bursa, Ankara, Ordu, Balıkesir, Eskişehir, Kocaeli, Çankırı, Hatay, Samsun, İstanbul, Edirne), *üstün* (Bolu), *üsün* (Çanakkale) 'beam; floor or ceiling beam; rafter; tie-beam, ridge-pole, or king-post (?) of the roof; board supporting the roof-tiles; ceiling; shelf' (DD 3.1421 f., 1438, AD 1.404).

Standard Azerbaijani and Standard Ottoman have *sütün* 'column', pillar', borrowed from the Persian variant *sutün* with epenthetic vowel.

126. *yārān* 'a friend; a polite, well-spoken man; a jovial, agreeable companion' (Steingass, s.v.), a derivative of *yār* 'friend': *yaren* (Kütahya, Ankara, Afyon), *yeren* (Urfa, Gaziantep; Kars: muhacir) 'friend, companion' (DD 3.1517, AD 1.416, AnadDial 1.211, Doğuİl 286, GüneyDoğu 313, OrtaAnad 262, GazAğzı 3.752), with the derivative *yârenlik*, *yarenlik* (Malatya, Afyon, Burdur), *yerenlik* (Urfa, Gaziantep), *yerenmik* (Gaziantep) 'friendly conversation, joking chat; (Burdur only) 'weekly social evenings' (DD 3.1517, AD 1.416, 2.140, GazAğzı 3.752), often in the expression *yârenlik etmek* (Erzurum, Kars, Tokat, Kırşehir, Elâziğ, Sivas, Gümüşane, Diyarbakır, Niğde, Giresun, Kayseri, Samsun, İzmir, Ankara, Zonguldak, İçel, Çanakkale, Denizli, Bilecik, Balıkesir, Çorum), *yârenmik etmek* (Erzurum) 'to be friends with; to have a friendly chat;

to engage in light conversation; to play jokes on someone' (DD 3.1483), and with the compounds *yâren kılıdı* (Konya) 'a certain design of dying the hands with henna, used by women', *yâren otu* (Balıkesir: muhacir) 'tobacco' (DD 3.1483). Although the term *yâren* 'friends, companion' is obsolete in modern Standard Ottoman, the derivative *yârenlik* 'friendly chat, joking conversation' and the expression *yârenlik etmek* 'to engage in friendly chat, to have a joking conversation' are common. Literary Ottoman *yârân* 'friends' is borrowed from Pers. *yârân* id., the plural of *yâr*.

127. *yâva* 'lost, ruined; vain, foolish, futile, absurd, stupid; men or things whose origin is not known; fictions, foolish expressions' (Steingass, s.v.): *yava* (Konya, Ankara), *yavu* (Sinop, Ordu) 'lost (cattle), stray (animal)' (DD 3.1494, 1496); *yağa* (Kırşehir), *yava* (Ağrı), *yavu* (Bolu, Balıkesir, Malatya) 'wandering around idly, idle; lazy; shy; unsociable' (DD 3.1451, 1494, 1496); *yava* (Seyhan) 'a newcomer (to the village), a settler who does not belong to the original stock' (DD 3.1494); *yavu* (Eskişehir, Ankara), *yavi* (İzmir: muhacir), *yavu* (Ankara, Kastamonu, Bolu) 'stupid, silly; tactless, inconsiderate, indiscreet; ugly', with the derivative *yavalık* (Maraş) 'joke, jest' (DD 3.1494, 1496).

Standard Ottoman has *yâve* 'foolish talk'. Old Ottoman had the expression *yavu kılmak* 'to lose' and *yavu varmak* 'to be lost' (records, mostly from the 14th-16th centuries, are found in TTS, vols. 1-4, s.vv.).

128. *zâγ* 'a crow, raven, rook; a sort of pidgeon' (Steingass, s.v.): *zağ*, in the compound *karazağ* (Gümüşane, Gaziantep) 'black crow, raven; a kind of small bird' (DD 4.1680).

129. *zâγça* 'a small crow, a daw' (Steingass, s.v.), from *zâγ* 'crow' and the diminutive suffix *-ça*: *zaca* (Malatya), *zakça* (Maraş), *sakça* (Eskişehir, Kayseri, Kırşehir; İstanbul[?]) 'crow; black crow; jay; a black bird' (DD 3.1181, 1563, 1565).

Standard Azerbaijani has *zâγça* 'jay, jackdaw'.

130. *zâlû* 'a leech': *zeli* (Ankara) 'leech' (DD 3.1570).

Standard Azerbaijani has *zâli* id.

131. *zambûrak* 'a cross-bow; a small cannon; a camel-swivel; a kind of very sharp weapon' (Steingass, s.v.), from *zambûr* 'bee; camel-swivel' and the diminutive suffix *-ak*: *zenbildék* (Zonguldak, Samsun, Bolu), *sempîrek* (Zonguldak) 'bow or sling with which children shoot after birds' (DD 3.1204, 1571, AD 1.435). In modern Standard Ottoman *zemberek* means 'small spring (of a watch, etc.)', but in the 15-17th centuries the term designated a crossbow or a similar, but larger, ballistic machine.

132. *zung* 'rust; gumminess in the corners of the eyes' (Steingass, s.v.), with Kurd. *zäng* (*zeng*) 'rust' (Kurdoev 802, Bakaev 169): *zenk* (Seyhan) 'mildew of vines' (DD 3.1571).

133. *zardak* 'a carrot', from *zard* 'yellow' and the diminutive suffix *-ak*: *zerdek* (Bursa) 'carrot' (DD 3.1571).

134. *zarin-qadah* 'a white and yellow narcissus' (Steingass, s.v.), from *zarin* 'golden' and *qadah* (borrowed from Arab. *qadah* id.) 'cup, goblet': *zerengade* (Kocaeli) 'narcissus' (DD 3.1571). The word is listed as *zerin-kadeh* in some Standard Ottoman dictionaries (Redhouse also lists the vulgar variants *zerenkada*, *zeremkada*), and through Ottoman the term has entered some of the Balkan languages (Mod. Gr. ζερνωκαδες, Serbo-Croat. *zelenkada*, Roum. *zarnacadea*; for the latter cf. Lokotsch no. 2204, with a different derivation).

135. *zihgir* 'a ring, generally of bone, worn by archers on the thumb, to save it from being cut by the bow-string, a thumb-stall' (Steingass, s.v.), from *zih* 'bowstring' and the verbal element *-gir* 'seizing, keeping, holding': *zikir* (Seyhan), *zekir* (Bursa: muhacir), *zeykir* (Ankara, Niğde, Eskişehir, Malatya, Maraş, Gaziantep) 'kind of finger-ring; finger-ring with stone, broad finger-ring worn by women on thumb' (DD 3.1570, 1573, 1582, AD 1.435, GüneyDoğu 315); *züfkiir* (Tekirdağ: muhacir) 'thimble' (DD 3.1589). Although obsolete today, the term was known in older Standard Ottoman; in the 17th century (cf. Meninski, s.v.) the vulgar form *zekir* 'thumb-stall' is recorded. This form was borrowed by Serbo-Croatian, where it has become *zećir* 'finger-ring'.

136. *zır-i zamîn*, *zër-zamîn* 'an underground cellar or cave' (Steingass, s.v.), from *zır*, *zër* 'under, below' and *zamîn* 'ground, land, soil', with Kurd. *zerâzâmin* (*zêrezemîn*) (Kurdoev 809), also *zerâzâmi* (cf. JabaJusti, s.v. *zâmin*) 'cellar, basement': *zerzemi* (Niğde, Kars, İstanbul), *zerzemi*, *zerzenbi*, *zelzemi*, *yerzem*, *erzem* (Kayseri), *zerzembe* (Erzurum), *zerzama* (Gaziantep), *zerzamba* (Maraş, Gaziantep), *zerzene* (İçel), *zerzeni* (Konya), *zelzeme*, *zenbine*, *zelzem* (Seyhan), *zerzem* (Seyhan, Afyon), and the derivative *zemlik* (Bursa), 'cellar, basement; dark underground store-room for food; coal-cellar' (DD 2.548, 3.1520, 1570, 1571, 1572, AD 1.435, DoğuI 287, GüneyDoğu 215, 315, GazAğzı 3.782); *zerzemi* (Kayseri) 'kitchen' (DD 3.1572). Semantically not clear is *zerzemi* (Giresun) 'landslide, cave-in' (DD 3.1572).

Standard Azerbaijani has *zırzâmi* 'cellar, basement'. The Kurdish, Azerbaijani, and Anatolian borrowings without final *-n* have to be derived from a Persian variant formed with *zamî* (cf. Steingass, s.v.), a variant of *zamîn*.

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