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The Increasing of the Number of Syllables and the Chronology of Anaptyxis and Prosthesis in West European Loanwords of Ottoman-Turkish

1. Preliminaries; 2.—3. Consonant-clusters; 4. Anaptyxis; 5. Prosthesis; 6. Hypercorrect Prosthesis; 7. Word-final *-a* and *-e*; 8. Vocabulary; 9. Literature; 10. Abbreviations.

1. The number of syllables in a West European loanword in Ottoman-Turkish may increase by anaptyxis, prosthesis or by the adding of a word-final *-a*. While the two former processes serve as a method of avoiding Indo-European consonant clusters, the third is caused by the operating of a morphological pattern created by numerous Italian loanwords.

2. Though the common opinion is that the Ott. language does not tolerate consonant clusters in word-initial and word-final positions, and admits only some types of word-medial clusters which, however, may consist of two consonants only, there are many examples in transcriptional texts of WE loanwords with preserved consonant clusters:

(2.1) Consonant-clusters in word-initial position: Ott. *freng* (1525—30) 'French' ≤ Fr. *franc*, It. *franco*; Ott. *kristyan* (1533) 'Christian' ≤ It. *cristiano*; Ott. *groş* (1641), a coin ≤ Ger. *Grosch*; Ott. *skorçina* (1730) '[bot.] comfrey' ≤ It. *scorzona(ra)*; Ott. *skorpit* (1790) 'scurvy' ≤ It. *scorbuto*; Ott. *tripoli* (1790) 'infusorial earth' ≤ It. *tripoli*; Ott. *stropa* (1791) 'heavy stick, club' ≤ It. *stroppa*; Ott. *kredito* (1875) 'credit' ≤ It. *credito*; Ott. *tren* (1890) 'train' ≤ Fr. *train*; Ott. *gliserin* (1911) 'glycerine' ≤ Fr. *glycérine*; Ott. *stor* (1916) 'net curtain' ≤ Fr. *store*.

(2.2) Consonant-clusters in word-medial position: Ott. *kristyan* (1533) 'Christian' ≤ It. *cristiano*; Ott. *iskerlet* (1641) 'scarlet' ≤ It. *scarlat(t)o*; Ott.

mustra (1641) 'pattern, sample' ≤ It. *mostra*; Ott. *onza* (1641) 'ounce' ≤ Ven. *onza*; Ott. *sardela* (1641) [zool.] 'anchovy' ≤ Ven. *sardela*, It. *sardella*; Ott. *londra* (1680), a sort of cloth ≤ It. (*tela di*) *Londra* 'tessuti finissimi di lana, che si fabbricano a Londra per l'Oriente' (Zing. 869); Ott. *misket* (1680) 'muscatei' ≤ Ven. *moscato*; Ott. *ambra* (1730) 'ambergris' ≤ It. *ambra* [≤ Lat. *ambar*, *ambaris* ≤ Ar. *anbar*]; Ott. *dubla* (1828), Spanish coin ≤ Sp. *dobla*; Ott. *forsmajor* (1867) 'act of God' ≤ Fr. *force majeure*; Ott. *kontrol* (1911) 'control' ≤ Fr. *contrôle*; Ott. *lista* (1912) 'list, register' ≤ It. *lista*; Ott. *pardesü* (1916) 'overcoat' ≤ Fr. *pardessus*.

(2.3) Consonant-clusters in word-final position: Ott. *post* (1829) 'post, duty' ≤ Fr. *poste*; Ott. *bilârd* (1868) 'billiards' ≤ Fr. *billard*; Ott. *marş* (1868) 'step [staircase]' ≤ Fr. *marche*; Ott. *pens* (1875) ≤ Eng. *pence*; Ott. *prens* (1875) 'prince' ≤ Fr. *prince*; Ott. *ponç* (1912) ≤ Eng. *punch*; Ott. *rümatizm* (1916) 'rheumatism' ≤ Fr. *rhumatisme*.

3. Only three WE words with word-medial clusters consisting originally of three consonants could be found:

(3.1) Ott. *losman* (1886) ≤ Eng. *loadsman*; Ott. *omrela* (1894) 'umbrella' ≤ It. *ombrella*; Ott. *seksant* (1911) 'sextant' ≤ Fr. *sextant*.

But cf. *mustra*, *londra*, *ambra*, *forsmajor* and *kontrol* in (2.2).

In all the three examples, the number of the consonants was reduced from three to two but the clusters themselves remained. Interestingly enough, there seems to be no connection between the position in the cluster and the fact of being dropped:

(3.2) $-C_1C_2C_3-$ ≥ $-C_2C_3-$ (in *losman*)

(3.3) $-C_1C_2C_3-$ ≥ $-C_1C_3-$ (in *omrela*)

(3.4) $-C_1C_2C_3-$ ≥ $-C_1C_2-$ (in *seksant*)

Here, the dropped consonant was always an oral stop but it is not possible to say on the basis of three examples only if this actually is a rule. It is just as difficult to explain why the dropped consonant in Fr. *sextant* [-kst-] ≥ Ott. *seksant* was *t*, not *k*, which is an oral stop, too.

4. Consonant clusters in the word-initial position may be broken up by anaptyxis [CC(V)- ≥ CVC(V)-] or prosthesis [CC(V)- ≥ VCC(V)-]. In the light of our materials, the anaptyxis as a method for avoiding consonant clusters in the first syllable seems to be an older method which operated already as early as in the fifteenth century, while the prosthesis started to be effective only two hundred years later. The oldest examples for anaptyxis we could find are: Ott. *fireng* (1489) 'Christian' and Ott. *filuri* (1489) 'florin, golden coin', cf. § 5.

The vowels used in the anaptyxis in different syllables are the following: *t, i,*

→ *u, ü* (from the 15th century on) *a* (19th century)
o (17th—19th century) *e* (19th—20th century)

Of these, *u* and *ü* occur in words with labial vowels only, while *ı* and *i* can be found in words with labial or illabial vowels (as in Ott. *fulispid* [(1886) ≤ Eng. *full speed!*], not **fuluspid*), but cf. Ott. *filuri* 'florin' and *fuluri* id.

The anaptyxis by *o* can only occur if there is another *o* in the etymon, as in Ott. *kontorato* (1867) 'contract' ≤ It. *contratto*; Ott. *borancine* (1881) 'metal ring, hoop' ≤ **boroncina* ≤ Ven. *bronzina*. But we can find *ı*, *i* or *u* in such words as well, e.g. Ott. *filuri* (1489) 'florin' ≤ *flori* (1533), see *Vocabulary*; Ott. *mostura* (1912) 'pattern, sample' ≤ It. *mostra*.

The position in the word has no influence on which vowel is chosen for the anaptyxis. In the materials we could find there are only two examples with *u* — each in a non-first syllable, but there are of course many examples of the *u* anaptyxis in Modern Turkish, so that it would be very risky to exclude this possibility for Ott. Turkish.

Examples:

(4.1) The anaptyxis with *ı/i*: Ott. *fireng* (1489) 'Christian' ≤ Fr. *franc*, It. *franco*; Ott. *filurin* (1867) 'florin, golden coin' ≤ Fr. *florin*; Ott. *sekistant* (1880) 'sextant' ≤ Fr. *sextant*; Ott. *tiren* (1881) 'train' ≤ Fr. *train*; Ott. *diragon* (1886) 'dragoon' ≤ Fr. *dragon*; Ott. *fulispid* (1886) ≤ Eng. *full speed*; Ott. *marin* (1911) '[geol.] marl' ≤ Fr. *marne*; Ott. *tirtir* (1911) 'tartar' ≤ **tartır* ≤ Fr. *tartre*.

(4.2) The anaptyxis with *u/ü*: Ott. *curum* (1912) 'shoal, school [fish]' ≤ It. *ciurma*; Ott. *mostura* (1912) 'pattern, sample' ≤ It. *mostra*.

(4.3) The anaptyxis with *o*: Ott. *goroş* (1680), a coin ≤ Ger. *Grosch*; Ott. *kontorato* (1867) 'contract' ≤ It. *contratto*; Ott. *boroş* (1881) 'brooch' ≤ Fr. *broche*.

(4.4) The anaptyxis with *a*: Ott. *salamastra* (1881) 'rope, cable' ≤ It. *salmastra*.

(4.5) The anaptyxis with *e*: Ott. *terampa* (1863) 'exchange, barter' ≤ *trampa* (1863) ≤ It. *tramuta*; Ott. *cindere* (1881) '1. cylinder press; 2. narrow pass, defile; 3. [fig.] pressure, stress' ≤ It. *cilindro*; Ott. *cirevet* (1912) 'flag, pennant' ≤ **cirvet* ≤ It. *giruetto*; Ott. *perens* (1912) 'prince' ≤ *prens* (1875) ≤ Fr. *prince*; Ott. *teren* (1912) 'train' ≤ Fr. *train*.

If a word is attested in two phonetic variants (with and without anaptyxis), the form without anaptyxis is in the majority of cases older than that with anaptyxis, e.g.

(4.6) Ott. *prens* (1875) 'prince' = *perens* (1912) id.; Ott. *porşlan* (1881) 'porcelain insulator' = *porsilan* (1911) id.; Ott. *plaka* (1911) 'plate, plaque, sheet' = *pilaka* (1912) id., but cf. also:

(4.7) Ott. *filuri* (1489) 'florin' = *flori* (1533) id.

5. The oldest occurrence with prosthesis is Ott. *iskerlet* (1641) 'scarlet', cf. § 4. The following vowels can be used prosthetically:

<i>ı/i</i> (17th—20th century)	<i>o</i> (18th century; one example only)
<i>u/ü</i> (17th—20th century)	<i>e</i> (19th century)

Examples:

(5.1) The prosthesis with *i/i*: Ott. *iskerlet* (1641) 'scarlet' ~ *iskarlat* (1881) id. ≤ It. *scarlat(i)o*; Ott. *iskut* (1677), a coin, scudo ≤ It. *scuto*; Ott. *igris* (1680), a country costume ≤ Ven. *griso*; Ott. *iskarpin* (1911) 'dancing-shoe' ≤ It. *scarpino*; Ott. *iskola* (1912) 'school' ≤ Ven. *scola*; Ott. *istor* (1912) 'roller-blind, net curtain' ≤ Fr. *store*.

(5.2) The prosthesis with *u*: Ott. *uruba* (1680) 'clothes' ≤ It. *roba*.

(5.3) The prosthesis with *o*: Ott. *oruba* (1791) 'furniture' ≤ It. *roba*.

(5.4) The prosthesis with *e*: Ott. *eryal* (1863), Spanish coin ≤ Sp. *real*; Ott. *eskonto* (1881) '1. discount; 2. theft, swindle' ≤ It. *sconto*; Ott. *eskorbut* (1894) 'scurvy' ≤ It. *scorbuto*; Ott. *estofa* (1894) 'brocade' ≤ It. *stoffa*; Ott. *estufato* (1894) 'broth' ≤ It. *stufato*; Ott. *eşporta* (1894) 'fruit basket, hamper' ≤ It. *sporta*.

The *u/ü* prosthesis occurs in WE words with labial vowels. A somewhat surprising fact is that *ü* can appear in both palatal and velar words (while there are no examples of *u* in palatal loanwords), e.g.

(5.5) WE words with *o*: It. *roba* ≥ Ott. *uruba* 'clothes'; It. *stroppa* ≥ Ott. *üstürpa* 'heavy stick, club' ~ *usturpa* id.

(5.6) WE words with *u*: Eng. *schooner* ≥ Ott. *üsküna* ~ *usküna* id.; Eng. *screw* ≥ Ott. *uskur* 'screw ship'.

6. A rare phenomenon is the "hypercorrect prosthesis" in which the original vowel, being other than *i*, is replaced by *i* as in Ott. *ispitalya* (1863) 'hospital' ≤ It. *ospitale*. Some It. loanwords in Ott. Turkish may be interpreted as results of normal (It. *st-* ≥ Ott. *ist-*) or hypercorrect (It. *est-* ≥ Ott. *ist-*) prosthesis which depends on which It. phonetic variant is accepted as the etymon, e.g.

(6.1) Ott. *istima* (1875) 'estimate, projection' ≤ It. *stima* ~ *estima*; Ott. *istimator* (1875) 'valuer' ≤ It. *stimatore* ~ *estimatore*; Ott. *istimare* (1881) 'estimate, projection' ≤ It. *stimare* ~ *estimare*.

7. Some WE words with a consonant in the word-final position receive, when borrowed by Ott. Turkish, an additional *-a* (or rarely *-e*) which gives them a "more It. appearance", e.g.

(7.1) Ott. *polusa* (1790) 'money order' ≤ *polus* (1790) ≤ Fr. *police*; Ott. *ladinga* 'cartridge belt, ammunition pocket' (1886) ≤ Ger. *Ladung*; Ott. *paravana* (1912) 'folding screen' ≤ Fr. *paravent*. — For the examples of proper nouns with the additional *-a* [e.g. Ott. *Nedirlanda* (1828) ≤ Dutch *Nederland*; Ott. *Lipiska* (1832) ~ *Lepsika* (1886) ≤ Fr. *Leipsick*; Ott. *Belcika* (1863) ~ *Belçika* (1911) ≤ Fr. *Belgique*] see StachM GEN 101 (*Belçika*), 105 (*Nedirlanda*), 108 (*Lepsika*) and StachM WEA 167 (*Lepsika* and other examples).

The phenomenon is well known from other languages as well, cf. E. Haugen's opinion on American Portuguese: "The /-a/ is actually ambiguous,

since it not only reproduces E [= English] *-er*, but is added as a regular suffix to many words which in E end in consonants.” (Haugen 219). However, the Ott. phenomenon cannot simply be equated to the Roman paragoge, because additional vowels in paragogic forms are the same as the vowels in the last syllable of the word (cf. ERS 59: Sardinian [parayulaza] ≤ Lat. *parabolas*) and this is not necessarily the case in Ott. words.

The additional *-a* and *-e* are first attested in Ott. sources from the 16th century:

(7.2) MTu. *ev* ‘house’: “**leue* mit dem [It.] Vorsatz *l-* wie bei *lelim* ‘mein Arm’ und der it. Endung *-e* wie in *eseche* ‘Esel’, *mermere* ‘Marmor’” (ITS 236).

(7.3) MTu. *burun* ‘nose’: “die Schriftform *burno* offensichtlich an it. *naso* angelehnt” (ib. 237).

(7.4) MTu. *odun* ‘firewood’: “[Ott.] *oduna*; ital. *-a* nach *legna*” (ib. 241).

(7.5) MTu. *ok* ‘arrow’: “[Ott.] *ocho*; ital. *-o!*” (ib. 241).

8. VOCABULARY

For geographical names see (7.1).

amber see *ambra*.

ambra (1730) ‘ambra’ (Clod. 28) ≤ It. *ambra* ≤ Lat. *ambar*, *ambaris* ≤ Ar. *anbar* ≥ Ott. *amber* (1641; Mol.).

bilârd (1868: биллярдъ) ‘Billard’ (ICh 26) ~ **bilârt** (1835) ‘bigliardo, biliardo’ (KB = Barb. IT 87a) ≤ Fr. *billard* = It. *bigliardo*, *biliardo* ≥ Ott. *bilârdo* (1890: bilardo) ~ *bilyardo* (1890: biliardo) ‘billard’ (Y 54).

bilârdo, **bilârt**, **bilyardo** see *bilârd*.

borancin (1881: borandjinè) ‘virole de métal à l’extrémité de la poulie; cercles, frettes’ (BdM I 321) ≤ **boroncina* ≤ Ven. *bronzina* ‘campanella di bronzo del collare’ (DEI 611).

boroş (1881: boroçh) ‘broche, bijou de dame’ (BdM I 297) ≤ Fr. *broche*.

cindere (1881: djendèrè) ‘1. machine pour lustrer et feutrer les étoffes, presseoir, cylindre; 2. passage resserrée, détroit; 3. (au fig.) oppression, tyrannie’ (BdM I 539) ≤ It. *cilindro*.

cirevet (1912: djirèvet) ‘girouette’ (DET 346) ≤ It. (19th c.) *giruètta* ‘banderuola’ (DEI 1817) = Sic. *giruètta* ‘oggetto che gira’ (Barb. IT 158: “(...) il Kerestedjian fa derivare da un ipotetico italiano *giravetta* (...), che io non trovo nei dizionari”).

curum (1912: djouroum) ‘multitude, banc [de poissons]’ (DET 164) ≤ It. *ciurma* ‘moltitudine di persone’. — Cf. Barb. IT 118b: “L’italiano deriva dell’arabo (...) e rientrò in oriente solo nel turco in tempi moderni”.

diragon (1886: дырагон) ‘драгунъ’ (St. 50) ≤ Fr. *dragon*.

dubla (1828: doûbla) ‘doublon, pistole d’Espagne’ (Rh. I 264) ≤ Sp. *dobla*.

eryal (1863: èrial) ‘taler, une pièce d’argent de 5 ou 6 francs’ (Mall. I 40) ≤ Sp. *real* ‘una moneda acuñada por el rey’ (Corom. 507 s.v. *rey*).

- eskonto** (1881: esqonto) 'escompte, change; droit du banquier pour se traites; vol, tromperie, pillage' (BdM I 55) ≤ It. *sconto*.
- eskorbut** see *skorpit*.
- estofa** (1894) 'stoffa [broccata]' (Bon. IT 185) ≤ It. *stoffa*.
- estufato** (1894) 'stufato' (Bon. IT 185) ≤ It. *stufato*.
- eşporta** (1894: ešporta) 'sporta' (Bon. IT 185) ≤ It. *sporta*.
- filuri** (1489) 'florin' (DUP 135b) ~ **fuluri** (1876) 'früher: Goldgulden, Ducaten; jetzt: Silbergulden' (Z II 670c) ≤ Ott. *flori* (1533) 'duchato' (Arg. 72). — Contaminated ≤ Middle Lat. *flores* and It. *fiori* 'flowers', because of lilies imprinted on the golden coins and being heraldic figures of Florence. Because of its phonetic features, the word cannot be traced back directly to It. *florino* (as e.g. in DUP 135b) or *fiorino* (as e.g. in Bon. IT 185).
- fireng, firenk** see *freng*.
- florî** see *filuri*.
- forsmajor** (1867) 'force majeur' (Mall. II 931) ≤ Fr. *force majeure*.
- freng** (1525—30), in: *freng yuzı* (frengiusi) 'mal franzoso' (ITS 238) ~ **fireng, firenk** (1489) 'franc, chrétien' (DUP 135). — ≤ Fr. *franc* = It. *franco*.
- fulispid** (1886: foulispid) 'à toute vitessel, usité dans les commandements à bord' (BdM II 434) ≤ Eng. *full speed!*
- fuluri** see *filuri*.
- gliserin** (1911: glissérin) 'glycérine' (Kél. 876) ≤ Fr. *glycérine*.
- goroş** see *groş*.
- groş** [≥ MTu. *kuruş*] (1641: ghrosc) 'grosso moneta' (Mol. 172) ~ **goroş** (1680: ghoroš) 'thalerus, imperialis' (Men. 3398). — ≤ Ger. *Grosch* 'Groschen; penny, cent' ≤ Cz. *groš* id. ≤ Lat. *grossus* 'thick' (Klugé 272).
- iskarlat** see *iskerlet*.
- igris** (1680: igⁱris) 'species vestis rusticanae' (Men. 350) ≤ Ven. (*pano*) *griso* 'lendinella, panno grosso usato dai Romiti e da alcuni Frati' (Boerio 348) = It. *panno grigio* (Bon. IT 186).
- iskarpin** (1911: isqarpin) 'escarpin' (Kél. 90) ≤ It. *scarpino*. — For this word in the language of Turkish Armenians see Barb. IT 222b.
- iskerlet**, in: *iskerlet irengi krmızı* [sic!] (1641: i. irengi krmisi) 'colore di scarlatto' (Mol. 96) ~ **iskarlat** (1881: esqarlat) '1. drap écarlate de Venise; 2. rouge écarlate, pourpre' (BdM I 54). — ≤ It. *scarlat(t)o*. — The Sp. origin (Sp. *escarlat* id.) seems to be less possible for cultural-historical reasons.
- iskola** (1912) 'école [?]' (DET 37) ≤ Ven. *scola*.
- iskorbit** see *skorpit*.
- iskut** (1677: iscut) 'scudo [sorte di moneta]' (Ma. 194a) ≤ It. *scuto* = Modern It. *scudo*.
- ispitalya** (1863: ispitalia) 'hôpital' (Mall. I 45) ≤ It. (16th—19th c.) *ospitale* (DEI 2692 s.v. *ospedale*).
- istima** (1875: ιστίμα) 'stima' (K 61) ≤ It. *stima* (Zing. 1537) ~ *estima* (ib. 474).
- istimare** (1881: istimarè) 'estimer, faire l'estimation de marchandises embarquées' (BdM I 53) ≤ It. *stimare* (Zing. 1537) ~ *estimare* (ib. 474).

- istimator** (1875: ἰστιματόρ) 'stimatore' ≤ It. *stimatore* (Zing. 1537) ~ *estimatore* (ib. 474).
- istor** (1912) 'store (sorte de rideau)' (DET 342) ≤ Fr. *store*.
- kontorata** see *kontorato*.
- kontorato** (1867: qonthorato) 'contrat' (Mall. II 1050) ~ **kontorata** (1876) 'Kontrakt' (Z II 523a—b) ≤ Ven. *contrato* id. = It. *contratto*.
- kontrol** (1911: qontrol) 'contrôle' (Kél. 991) ≤ Fr. *contrôle*.
- kredito** (1875: κρέδιτο) 'credito' (K 65) ≤ It. *credito*.
- kristyan** (1533) 'cristiano' (Arg. 72) ≤ It. *cristiano*.
- kuruş** see *groş*.
- lista** (1912) 'liste' (DET 354) ≤ It. *lista*.
- ladinga** (1886: ladengua) 'petite cartouchière; giberne à fusées' (BdM II 695) ≤ Ger. *Ladung*.
- londra** (1680) 'pannus vilior Hungaricus, seu ejus species; Scheptuch' (Men. 4210) ≤ It. (*tela di*) *Londra*. — Cf. StachM WEA 167.
- losman** (1886: лосман) 'лоцманъ' (St. 60, 147) ≤ Eng. *loadsmān*.
- marm** (1911: maryn) 'malléable, marne' (Kél. 1091) ≤ Fr. *marne*.
- marş** (1868: маршь, маршь) 'marche [d'escalier]' (ICh 181) ≤ Fr. *marche*.
- misket** (1680: misk¹et) 'vinum Apianum, Falernum; Muscateller-Wein' (Men. 4652) ≤ Ven. *moscato* 'vino fatto di moscadella'.
- mostura** see *mustra*.
- mustra** (1641) 'mostra' (Mol. 264) ~ **mostura** (1912: mostoura) 'échantillon' (DET 354) ≤ It. *mostra*.
- omrela** (1894) 'ombrella' (Bon. IT 190) ≤ It. *ombrella*.
- onza** (1641) 'oncia' (Mol. 281) ≤ Ven. *onza*.
- oruba** see *uruba*.
- paravana** (1912) 'paravent' (DET 344) ≤ Fr. *paravent*.
- pardesü** (1916: pardessü) 'Überzieher' (Pap. 75) ≤ Fr. *pardessus*.
- pens** (1875: πένς) 'pence' (K 63) ≤ Eng. *pence*, pl. ≤ *penny*.
- perens** see *prens*.
- pilaka** see *plaka*.
- plaka** (1911: plaqa) 'plaque' (Kél. 323) ~ **pilaka** (1912: pilaca) 'plaque' (DET 345) ≤ It. *placca*.
- poliça** see *polusa*.
- polusa** (1790: polousa) 'rescription' (Vig. 428) ≤ Fr. *police* = It. *poliz(z)a* ≥ Ott. *poliça* (1680: poliçia) 'literae cambij; Wechsel-Brief' (Men. 940).
- ponc** see *ponç*.
- ponç** (1912: pontch) 'punch [boisson]' (DET 345) ~ **ponc** (1890: ponğ) 'punch' (Y 473) ~ **punç** (1863: pountch) 'punch' (Mall. I 268) ~ **punc** (1838: poundj) 'ponche' (Hind. 135) ≤ Eng. *punch*.
- porselan, porsilan** see *porslan*.
- porslan** (1881) 'godet ou poulie en porcelaine qui, dans l'appareil télégraphique, sert à isoler les fils' (BdM I 414) ~ **porsilan** (1911: porcelan)

- ‘porcelain des télégraphes, isolateur’ (Kél. 326) ~ **porselan** (1912: porsélan) ‘porcelain’ (DET 345) ≤ Fr. *porcelaine*.
- post** (1829: poste) ‘poste, emploi’ (Rh. II 113) ≤ Fr. *poste*.
- prens** (1875: πρένς) ‘prince’ (K 38, 60) ~ **perens** (1912) id. (DET 120) ≤ Fr. *prince* = It. *prince* ≥ Ott. *prinçe* (1866: prinçe) ‘Prinz’ (Z I 192b).
- prinçe** see *prens*.
- punc, punç** see *ponç*.
- rūmatizm** (1916: rūmatism) ‘Rheumatismus’ (Pap. 59) ≤ Fr. *rhumatisme*.
- salamastra**, in: *s. istupisi* (1881: çalamastra istoupisi) ‘rabans, bouts de cordages qu’on emploie à faire différents amorrages’ (BdM I 51) ≤ It. *salmastra*.
- sardela** (1641), in: *sardela balıġı* (s. balighi), *tuzlı sardela* (tuzli s.) ‘alice pesce salato’ (Mol. 32) ≤ Ven. *sardela* ‘sardella, sardina’ = It. *sardella* id.
- sekistant** see *seksant*.
- seksant** (1911: seksante) ‘sextant’ (Kél. 686) ~ **sekistant** (1880: sèkisstānt) id. (Rd. 288). — A graphic loan ≤ Fr. *sextant* [sekstā].
- skorçina** (1730: scortchina) [bot.] ‘scorsonere’ (Hold. 91). — Contamination of It. *scorzona* ‘colubro verde e giallo, saettone’ (DEI 3421) and It. *scorzonera* [bot.] ‘genere di composite liguliflore’ (DEI 3421).
- skorpit**, in: *skorpit illeti* (1790: sqorpit ‘illèti) ‘scorbut’ (Vig. 434) ~ **eskorbut** (1894) ‘scorbuto’ (Bon. IT 185) ≤ It. *scorbuto* (Bon. 185). — The change of It. *-but(o)* into Ott. *-pit* ~ *-bit* (1829: *iskorbit* id., Rh. II 210) may have been caused by the association with Ott. *bit* ‘louse’.
- stor** (1916: sstor) ‘Store’ (Pap. 70) ≤ Fr. *store*.
- stropa** (1791) ‘canne’ (Pr. 228) ~ **üstürpa** (1791: usturpa) ‘1. canne; 2. bâton pastoral’ (Pr. 228, 461) ~ **usturpa** (1866) ‘grosser Stock, Knüttel, wie die Hirten führen’ (Z II 122a) ≤ It. *stroppa*.
- terampa** (1863: tèrampa) ‘change, troc’ (Mall. I 298) ≤ *trampa* (1863) id. (ib.) ≤ It. *tramuta* ‘tramutamento’.
- teren** see *tren*.
- tiren** see *tren*.
- tirtir** (1911: tyrtyr) ‘tartre’ (Kél. 803) ≤ **tartir* ≤ Fr. *tartre*.
- trampa** see *terampa*.
- tren** (1890: trèn) ‘train de chemin de fer’ (Y 587) ~ **tren** (1881: teren) ‘train de chemin de fer’ (BdM I 462) ~ **teren** (1912) id. (DET 345) ≤ Fr. *train*.
- tripoli** (1790) ‘tripoli, craie blanche’ (Vig. 450) ≤ It. *tripoli*.
- uruba** (1680: urubā) ‘res, vasa; robba, bagaglio’ (Men. 2375) ~ **oruba** (1791: orouba) ‘meuble’ (Pr. 417) ≤ It. *roba* (see Zing. 1337; Bon. IT 190).
- uskuna** see *üşkūna*.
- uskur** (1890: ouskour) ‘screw, bateau à hélice’ (Y 455) ≤ Eng. *screw*.
- usturpa** see *stropa*.
- üşkūna** (1863: usquna) ‘goëlette’ (Mall. I 58) ~ **uskuna** (1866: uskūnâ) ‘Schooner, Zweimaster’ (Z I 49a) ≤ Eng. *schooner*.
- üstürpa** see *stropa*.

9. LITERATURE

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10. ABBREVIATIONS

Ar. = Arabic	It. = Italian	Sp. = Spanish
Cz. = Czech	Lat. = Latin	Ven. = Venetian
Eng. = English	MTu. = Modern Turkish	WE = West European
Fr. = French	Ott. = Ottoman(-Turkish)	
Ger. = German	Sic. = Sicilian	