

STUDIA  
TURCOLOGICA  
CRACOVIENSIA

JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY IN KRAKOW · INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

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CRACOVIENSIA

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THE TREATMENT  
OF TURKIC ETYMOLOGIES  
IN ENGLISH LEXICOGRAPHY

LEXEMES PERTAINING TO  
MATERIAL CULTURE

KRAKÓW 2015

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# NOTATION

## 1. ROMANIZATION

In each entry in the section entitled ETYMOLOGY, where information from the English etymological dictionaries is quoted/summarized, all forms are cited in their original shape as provided by the authors. In all other cases, the following rules apply.

Ottoman Turkish and other Turkic forms originally written in the Perso-Arabic script are quoted in this form as well as in their modern Latin orthography, with the following exceptions:

- *ş* and *ç* are substituted with *š* and *č* respectively to make clearer the correspondences in the case of Perso-Arabic borrowings into Ottoman;
- *c* [dʒ] is substituted with *ǧ*
- the circumflex *^* is never used given its inconsistent application in Modern Turkish orthography to mark vowel length on some occasions, or unexpected palatalization of the preceding velar or lateral on others, or both; instead vowel length and palatalizations (whether predictable or not) are marked using the IPA whenever relevant;
- the opposition between front /k<sup>i</sup>/ and /g<sup>i</sup>/ vs. back /k/ and /g/ is marked with a dot accompanying the latter, i.e. *k̇*, *ġ* vs. *k*, *g*; these will variously correspond in modern Turkish orthography to *k*, *g*, or *ğ*.

Modern Turkish forms are always quoted in their modern Latin orthography.

Arabic forms are quoted using both the Arabic script orthography and in romanized form according to the DMG system, with the difference that the vocalic value of *ي* is always transliterated as *ī* and not *î*. The reason is the desire to maintain a consistent distinction between the vowel qualities *i* and *ɪ*, whether

long or short. For the same reason the substitution is always employed when copying transliterated Ottoman forms from English etymological dictionaries.

Persian forms are quoted in both the Perso-Arabic script and in simplified DMG transcription. In the latter, all diacritics are removed which do not have bearing on the actual pronunciation and their only function is to show notation via a different letter.

Russian forms are quoted in the Cyrillic. Other European language forms are quoted in their respective orthographies.

Other language forms originally written in non-Latin scripts are quoted in their standard transliterations.

In all the above cases, whenever phonetic nuances are relevant, the IPA is used.

## 2. SYMBOLS

<	=	etymologically comes from (either through inheritance or borrowing)
>	=	etymologically develops into (either through inheritance or borrowing)
←	=	is derived through regular morphological processes from
→	=	develops through regular morphological processes into
?	=	questionable derivation
*	=	unattested/reconstructed form
×	=	etymological merger

## LANGUAGE NAME ABBREVIATIONS

**A** = Arabic | **Akk.** = Akkadian | **AlgA** = Algerian Arabic | **Aram.** = Aramaic | **Arm.** = Armenian | **Av.** = Avestan | **Az.** = Azerbaijani | **Blg.** = Bulgarian | **ByzGk.** = Byzantine Greek | **CanF** = Canadian French | **Cat.** = Catalan | **CrimTat.** = Crimean Tatar | **Chag.** = Chaghatay | **Cz.** = Czech | **Du.** = Dutch | **E** = English | **EgA** = Egyptian Arabic | **F** = French | **G** = German | **Gk.** = Greek | **H** = Hindi | **Hu.** = Hungarian | **Heb.** = Hebrew | **Ind.** = Indic | **IrqA** = Iraqi Arabic | **It.** = Italian | **Kaz.** = Kazak | **KKrg.** = Kara Kirghiz | **Kip.** = Kipchak Turkic | **Krg.** = Kirghiz | **KTat.** = Kazan Tatar | **L** = Latin | **LebA** = Lebanese Arabic | **LevA** = Levantine Arabic | **Mong.** = Mongolic | **Ott.** = Ottoman Turkish | **P** = Persian | **Pg.** = Portuguese | **Pol.** = Polish | **Ro.** = Romanian | **Rom.** = Romance | **Ru.** = Russian | **SCr.** = Serbo-Croat | **Serb.** = Serbian | **Skr.** = Sanskrit | **Sp.** = Spanish | **Sw.** = Swedish | **SyrA** = Syriac Arabic | **T** = Turkish | **Taj.** = Tajik | **Tat.** = Tatar | **Tib.** = Tibetan | **Tkc.** = Turkic | **Tkm.** = Turkmen | **U** = Urdu | **Ukr.** = Ukrainian | **Uz.** = Uzbek | **Yid.** = Yiddish

If used before one of the above, the following mean:

**C** = Classical | **coll.** = colloquial | **dial.** = dialectal | **E** = Early/Earlier | **L** = Late | **M** = Middle | **Med** = Medieval | **Mod** = Modern | **N** = New | **O** = Old | **S** = Standard



# **I. INTRODUCTION**

## **1. AIMS, SCOPE, SOURCES**

### **1.1. AIMS**

The primary aim of the current thesis is twofold: (1) to analyse critically the etymological information found in a number of dictionaries of English concerning lexical items of (alleged) Turkic origin or due to (alleged) transmission via Turkic; and (2) to fill the missing data whenever possible. As far as (1) is concerned, the more detailed goal is to verify Liberman's diagnosis concerning English etymological dictionaries (e.g. Liberman 1994, 2009) with respect to the aforementioned area of vocabulary. As far as (2) is concerned, the more detailed goals are: (2a) to fill gaps in documentation; (2b) to trace the transmission routes of various attested forms of the English lexemes; (2c) to verify, correct and complement the Turcological information so far as it helps clarify the English forms or their immediate etymons.

### **1.2. SCOPE**

In order to make the scope of the work manageable, the decision was made to choose a sample of the vocabulary in question. The study focuses on lexemes pertaining to secular, non-military material culture arranged in the following semantic categories: 1. Buildings; 2. Coins; 3. Costume; 4. Cuisine; 5. Entertainment; 6. Handicraft; 7. Musical instruments; 8. Naval terminology. The categories themselves, as well as the entries in each category, have been arranged alphabetically.

Beyond the scope of the current work remain lexemes related to the areas of religion, politics, and natural environment. The reason for omitting these

items was the desire to focus on material artifacts produced and/or transmitted by Turks, which had the potential to influence the culture in Europe, and especially the English-speaking world.

While Islam is admittedly one of the most prominent cultural phenomena associated with the Ottoman Empire, inclusion of religious vocabulary would boost the size of the work considerably, without any substantial change in the overall picture of the contact situation. The reason is that the Islamic religious culture in the Ottoman Empire was directly related to Perso-Arabic influence, which makes the origin of such vocabulary largely predictable. The occurrence of these words in English is usually due to parallel transmission – frequently through one or more European languages – from Ottoman, Persian and Arabic, with the last of these languages being the ultimate source in the majority of cases. Non-religious vocabulary which nevertheless shares similar past is still richly represented in the present study, therefore it was considered reasonable to omit religious lexis so as not to overrepresent this etymological type in our corpus.

On the other hand, unlike products of material culture, which can spread with fashion and/or through trade, administrative nomenclature and military terminology spreads with conquest. Excluding British colonies, there has never been any Anglo-Turkic contact of this type, which largely limits the potential influence of this type of vocabulary. Furthermore, the names of local flora and fauna or atmospheric phenomena are also inextricably bound up with the context they are used in. In other words the use of this kind of vocabulary is usually spatially limited to the lands to which it applies.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.3. SOURCES OF MATERIAL

The following dictionaries constituted the source of material for the present study (in the chronological order):

- (a) British: Wedgwood<sub>1</sub> (1859–65), Wedgwood<sub>2</sub> (1872), Wedgwood<sub>3</sub> (1878), Skeat<sub>1</sub> (1882), OED<sub>1</sub> (1884–1928), Yule<sub>1</sub> (1886), Skeat<sub>2</sub> (1888), Stanford (1892), Yule<sub>2</sub> (1903), Skeat<sub>4</sub> (1910), Weekley (1921), OED<sub>5</sub> (1933), ODEE (1966), OED<sub>2</sub> (1989), CannA (1994), CannP (2001), OED<sub>3</sub> (2000–);
- (b) North American: W-M (1865), W<sub>2</sub> (1934), W<sub>3</sub> (1961), Klein (1966–7), AHD<sub>3</sub> (1992), AHD<sub>4</sub> (2000);
- (c) German: Müller<sub>1</sub> (1865–7), Müller<sub>2</sub> (1878–9).

<sup>1</sup> Of course, the actual degree to which these are successfully transplanted into new territory depends on the extralinguistic circumstances involved and has to be assessed on a case to case basis.



While the tradition of English etymology goes back to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (Considine 2009: 123), only a subset of the relevant dictionaries are included in the present study. A comment is needed concerning this selection.

As Liberman puts it, “modern English etymological lexicography begins with Skeat” (2009: 279). Indeed it was Skeat (especially in the fourth edition of his dictionary) along with the editors of OED<sub>1</sub> who first made full use of the advances that comparative linguistics had made in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, the decision was made to focus on the major etymological dictionaries beginning with Skeat (three editions),<sup>3</sup> and including Weekley, ODEE and Klein. Of Skeat’s predecessors two strictly etymological works, Wedgwood (three editions) and Müller (two editions) were chosen to represent earlier scholarship.

Added to these are two other kinds of dictionaries which offer etymological information but nevertheless could not be classified as etymological dictionaries of English. One includes studies devoted to more restricted areas: Anglo-Indian vocabulary (Yule<sub>1,2</sub>), the foreign element in general (Stanford) and borrowings from Arabic (CannA) and Persian (CannP).

The second category are large monolingual dictionaries which give etymological information. Here British lexicography is represented by OED<sub>1-2-3</sub>, which is more than enough, given the scope of this dictionary. The sources focusing on American English are represented by Webster-Mann (W-M), two editions of *Webster’s New International Dictionary* (W<sub>2</sub> and W<sub>3</sub>) and two editions of *The American Heritage Dictionary of English* (AHD<sub>3</sub> and AHD<sub>4</sub>).<sup>4</sup>

Of the larger dictionaries of English bearing the word *etymological* in the title the only ones that are not included are Robert K. Barnhardt and Sol Steinmetz’s

<sup>2</sup> Arguably, both Müller (Müller<sub>1</sub>) and Mahn (W-M) recognize these developments in their works, at least to some extent. However, Skeat was far more prolific and bolder in his writings, which made him more prominent on the scholarly scene. The fact that the other two scholars were not English might have further contributed to the relative obscurity of their names.

<sup>3</sup> The third edition of Skeat’s dictionary was regrettably inaccessible, but according to Liberman (2009: 280) there were few changes between the first and third editions. In accordance with his conclusion the present study has revealed no substantial differences in the relevant entries between Skeat<sub>1</sub> and Skeat<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> The choice of these particular editions is justified in the following way. Of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century general dictionaries of American English, W-M is arguably the most valuable as far as etymological commentaries are concerned. W<sub>2</sub> is included because it features a considerable number Turkic/Turkish etymologies, whereas W<sub>3</sub> is meant to represent more recent American lexicography, as are AHD<sub>3</sub> and AHD<sub>4</sub>. The fifth edition of AHD was unavailable to me at the time of the collection of the material.

*The Barnhart dictionary of etymology* (1988) (as well as its later incarnations under the title *Chambers dictionary of etymology*) and Yoshio Terasawa's *The Kenkyusha dictionary of English etymology* (1997), neither of which was available to me. Based on Liberman's opinion (2005: 295–6, fn. 35), their absence seems to have little bearing on the final results.

Moreover, deliberately excluded are commercial dictionaries aimed at the lay reader, like Eric Partridge's *Origins: a short etymological dictionary of English* (1958) and John Ayto's *Dictionary of word origins* (1990), as they display no pretence to originality.

#### 1.4. COLLECTION OF MATERIAL

Wedgwood (three editions), Müller (two editions), Skeat (three editions), Yule (two editions), Stanford, Weekley, ODEE and Klein were searched manually. OED<sub>2</sub> and OED<sub>3</sub> were searched electronically based on the CD-ROM and online editions respectively and the results were then checked against the print edition of OED<sub>2</sub>, as well as compared with OED<sub>1</sub> and OED<sub>5</sub>. None of the post-1933 supplement or additions volumes, which are included both on the CD-ROM and online, were consulted in print format. Webster's dictionary was searched electronically based on the CD-ROM edition and the results were then checked against the print editions of 1934 (W<sub>2</sub>) and 1961 (W<sub>3</sub>) in order to take into account any possible changes. AHD<sub>4</sub> was searched electronically based on the CD-ROM edition and the results were checked against the print edition of 1992 (AHD<sub>3</sub>).

Finally, the search results were checked against the lists provided by Gatenby (1954) and Cannon (2009) in order to minimize the risk of omissions.

## 2. PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

The problem of words transmitted into English from or through Turkic has never been the focus of a systematic etymological study as far as the lexicography of English is concerned. The relevant Turkic lexemes and their European (including English) reflexes have been included to varying degrees in studies of two kinds: (a) dictionaries of English that are the source of material for and one of the topics of this study; (b) articles focusing specifically on Turkisms in English.

## 2.1. DICTIONARIES OF ENGLISH

Here only a few general comments follow. For a more detailed assessment see section 7 below.

Liberman's diagnosis that all major etymological dictionaries of English reflect 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholarship is largely true with respect to the treatment of Orientalisms. This is less so, however, with the more recent editions of large monolingual dictionaries, i.e. *W*<sub>3</sub>, *AHD*<sub>4</sub> and *OED*<sub>3</sub>. Especially the revision of *OED* currently underway, where more up-to-date and more accurate sources are utilized, appears to be very promising.<sup>5</sup>

## 2.2. ARTICLES ON TURKISMS IN ENGLISH

The following articles deal specifically with our topic. Perhaps with the exception of Cannon's contributions, the originality of these works is limited, as they are rarely more than compilations.

### 2.2.1. Serjeantson (1936)

Despite its shortcomings Mary S. Serjeantson's study is still quoted as the standard account of foreign elements in the history of English (Liberman 2005: 280, Durkin 2010).

The words taken over from Turkic "dialects" are discussed on pp. 231–3. Serjeantson lists 45 such words, among them 13 included in the present study (*BERGAMOT*, *CAFTAN*, *CAÏQUE*, *CAVIAR*(E), *CHIBOUK*, *COFFEE*, *DOLMAN*, *FEZ*, *KIOSK*, *KOUMISS*, *MACRAMÉ*, *SALEP*, *TURBAN*). She identifies two Turkic sources, Ottoman and Tatar, although the latter label is not systematically defined.

The varying transmission routes are taken into account to some extent. The author first lists words that were transmitted indirectly (mostly through French, sometimes through Slavic) and then proceeds to direct loanwords, arranged by the century, based on the date of first attestation.

Apart from the section devoted to Turkic words, Turkish is mentioned as an intermediary in the transmission of six words of Persian origin – their English forms being: *Khedive* (227), *giaour*, *jackal*, *serai* (cf. *SERGALIO*), *spahi* (all four on p. 228), and *pilaff* (230) a variant of *pilau* (cf. *PILAF*) – as well as a possible transmitter of *SHERBET* from Arabic (219). One word, *uhlan* analysed by the author as ultimately Turkic, is listed as a borrowing from German (181).

<sup>5</sup> On the methodological issues encountered in the revision of the etymological entries in *OED*, see Durkin (1999) and, more broadly, (2009).

Serjeantson's account is useful as an introductory overview, but it is doubtless outdated. One reason is the fact that while Serjeantson's main source was OED<sub>1</sub>/OED<sub>5</sub>, the subsequent editions, OED<sub>2</sub> and especially OED<sub>3</sub>, offer numerous antedatings, which would probably rearrange the author's account.

### 2.2.2. Gatenby (1954)

As the author himself admits, this is "[not] much more than a fairly complete collection of words of Turkish origin found in the Oxford English Dictionary and its Supplement" (85). Indeed, the list in question constitutes the majority of the article. Each entry is a summary of the corresponding entry in OED featuring the explication of meanings, the earliest date of attestation and a summary of the word's etymology and/or reference to another entry. The quotations provided in OED are omitted. The etymological information is usually extracted from the dictionary without any major changes. Needless to say, the sources were, again, OED<sub>1</sub> and OED<sub>5</sub>.

The most innovative section of Gatenby's work is his brief introduction in which he formulates a series of suggestions for future research. The most enduring are his comments concerning the necessity of investigating transmission routes in his items c) and d).

Gatenby's list is a good starting point for the study of words transmitted into English from or via Turkic, but his treatment of the material is inconsistent. He divides the vocabulary into three sections: 1. From Turkish; 2. Words coming into English from Turkey, or through their use in Turkey, but not of Turkish origin; 3. Miscellaneous. While the last of these discusses words whose relation to Turkic is dubious or indirect, the division of the first two categories is ambiguous: no explanation is offered as to what the labels "from Turkish" and "from Turkey, or through use in Turkey" mean and how they actually differ. A form taken from Turkey or based on use in Turkey is very likely transmitted via Turkish, unless what Gatenby means is indirect transmission through the use by dragomans (see section 6.4.1), but this is not explicitly stated. Furthermore, the criteria of the assignment of particular words to either category are unclear. For example, *sorbet* and *serai* are both listed in the first category, although the former is explained as ultimately Turkish, but transmitted indirectly (i.e. < French < Italian < Turkish), whereas the latter is derived directly from Turkish, although it is classified as ultimately Persian. On the other hand, *seraph* ("French *seraph*, corruptly from Turkish *sharīf*") is listed in the latter category, although it seems to reflect French corrupt usage rather than directly the Turkish form.

### 2.2.3. Cannon (2000)

The study is not strictly etymological and offers an overview of the documentation of the use of Turkish and Persian words in English literature. No systematic distinction is made between the two kinds of lexemes.

### 2.2.4. Cannon (2008–9)

This is Cannon's preliminary survey of the Turkish element in English. The article falls into two sections. The first of these (pp. 163–78) features a number of methodological remarks as well as a historico-statistical outline of the Turkish influence on English from a variety of perspectives. This includes the assessment of the extent of this influence in various semantic fields, in particular centuries, in works by particular authors, as well as comparisons with the influence of other languages. This is accompanied by methodological considerations concerning the treatment of borrowings in general, including such aspects as spelling variation, the degree of nativization, participation in native word-formation. Observations based on the Turkish material are compared to the results of Cannon's two earlier studies of Arabic (1994 CannA) and Persian (2001 CannP) words in English.

The second section (179–84) of Cannon's article is comprised of three lists:

- (a) Turkish loans in English (325 items; each headword in the list is accompanied by the date of the earliest attestation, followed by the degree of nativization determined according to Cannon's scale)
- (b) Non-Turkish loans conveying Turkish elements (84 distant loans, "too changed from the Turkish form and/or meaning by the mediator to be considered Turkish"; the headword is followed by the identification of the mediating language)
- (c) First known uses by fourteen literary figures (an alphabetical list of writers who introduced at least one of the Turkish words in the first list; cf. Cannon 2000).

Cannon's contribution lies predominantly in the systematic collection and preliminary analysis of his material as well as the identification of some problem areas related to its study. Especially important are his remarks regarding the treatment of various transmission routes, and his insistence on accounting for all attested variants that scholars have access to, which may reflect independent borrowing from multiple sources (173). Closely related is his emphasis on the study of the chronology itself, including antedating and the identification of orthographic variants not yet recorded in dictionaries. Even if some details of his formulations may be controversial,<sup>6</sup> the general conclusions he draws are valid.

<sup>6</sup> Thus, for example his claim that the orthography *khanjar* 'a kind of Oriental dagger' explicitly points to transmission through Arabic or Persian as opposed to *hanjar* which

### 2.2.5. Şirin User (2009)

The bulk of the article is an extraction from Yule<sub>1,2</sub>. The author lists 36 lexemes, including the following that fall within the scope of the present study: *alleja* (see ELATCHA), *arrack*, *rack* (cf. RAKI(A)), *caique* (see CAÏQUE), CHOGA, CHUPKUN, COPECK, *kiosque* (see KIOSK), and TANGA.

The study is a useful extraction, but does not offer new etymologies. The author's occasional contribution is to suggest the Turkic etymon if Yule limits himself to indicate Turkish or Turki(c) origin. For example s.v. *chupkun*, Şirin User offers T *cepken* as a possible etymon.

## 3. STRUCTURE OF ENTRIES

### 3.1. HEADWORD

The selection of headwords depends on the most typical English spellings and tends to become more arbitrary in the case of words of lower frequency. Because the entries are grouped according to semantics, an index of all English orthographic variants is given at the end of the study.

### 3.2. PRONUNCIATION

British English pronunciation is always given before American English pronunciation.

British English pronunciation is given based on OED<sub>1,2</sub> (which usually reflects the state of the art at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century). American pronunciation is provided following W<sub>2</sub> (published 1934) and W<sub>3</sub> (1961). In those rare cases when this is possible, information on modern pronunciation in both British and American English is provided based on LPD and/or OED<sub>3</sub>.

Pronunciation is always transcribed using the IPA.

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suggests Turkish is perhaps an oversimplification. The Turkish pronunciation in [h] is indeed different from the Perso-Arabic [x]. However, the fact that an author spells the word in *kh-* may potentially point to his being influenced by the traditional transliteration/transcription of the Arabic script and because Ottoman Turkish *was* written in this script, this does not necessarily determine the source being non-Turkish.

### 3.3. FORMS AND DATING

In this section spelling variants found in English texts are quoted. Three main sources have been utilized for this purpose: (a) lexicographical sources; (c) Internet resources.

#### 3.3.1. Lexicographical sources

Unlike OED<sub>2-3</sub> and Stanford, the study does not provide full quotations, but lists only spelling variants as they occur in English texts. The reasons are the following: (a) the chronological component is not the main focus of the study (although it does serve an essential auxiliary function in etymological research); (b) the inclusion of full quotations would have boosted the size of the work considerably; (c) the majority of these would have to be virtually copied from OED<sub>2-3</sub> and Stanford.

Each spelling variant is followed by the date and reference to the passage in which it occurs. References are marked using either the name of the author, as given in OED<sub>2</sub>, OED<sub>3</sub> or Stanford, or if that is not provided, an abbreviated title of the work in italics. These are then followed by reference to one of the three sources themselves: OED<sub>2</sub> (2 in subscript), OED<sub>3</sub> (3 in subscript) or Stanford (S in subscript). Consequently, a formulation like “*burgoo* (1750 Ellis<sub>2</sub>)” means that the appropriate quotation featuring the orthographic variant in question is to be found in one of the relevant entries in OED<sub>2</sub> dated to 1750 and attributed to a person named Ellis. The relevant entries are listed at OED<sub>2</sub> in the ETYMOLOGY section of our entry (in this case the form may be found in OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. *burgoo*).

Because OED<sub>2</sub> (plus the 1990s additions appended to the CD-ROM version) is the last *complete* edition of this dictionary, it was decided that this should be the point of departure for the chronological list of forms. All occurrences of a word listed in OED<sub>2</sub> are included in the relevant entry in the present study. OED<sub>3</sub> was utilized in so far as it supplemented or corrected the information found in OED<sub>2</sub>. Whenever a quotation was found in both OED<sub>2</sub> and OED<sub>3</sub> and the details of the quotation are exactly the same, it appears in our list with subscript 2. Whenever a quotation was found in both OED<sub>2</sub> and OED<sub>3</sub> but the date or the spelling of the form was different, it was the third edition that was followed. In all identified cases such differences are indicated in footnotes.

All editions of OED provide a list of orthographic variants arranged chronologically according to the century/centuries in which they are attested. Only some of these are then supported with quotations showing their actual usage. In this study the decision was made to adhere to the years of attestation rather than centuries and the reason is the following. In a formulation like “7 *haramm*” in OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. *harem*, *haram* (= “16 *haramm*” according to the modified notation in OED<sub>3</sub>),

which is meant to suggest that the orthographic variant *haramm* is attested in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, there is no way to distinguish a systematic spelling convention attested throughout the relevant century from a single occurrence in that century, the latter being the case here.

Stanford is less reliable with respect to documentation than OED<sub>2</sub> (not to mention OED<sub>3</sub>). It features a number of typographical errors and misdatings. On the other hand, it antedates the attestations in OED on a number of occasions. Forms are quoted based on Stanford only if the quotations in question are missing from either OED<sub>2</sub> or OED<sub>3</sub>. Any noted inconsistencies between these three sources are recorded in footnotes. Furthermore, all errors identified in quotations provided by Stanford are indicated in the footnotes.

The titles of actual works as well as full names of the authors quoted following OED<sub>2-3</sub> or Stanford are to be found in these dictionaries and, therefore, are not listed in the bibliography.

Finally, it was decided that all the occurrences for which specific dates are given in OED<sub>2-3</sub> will be included for each entry. In many cases this necessarily results in repetition of the same orthographic variant, which may seem redundant. However, if we assume that the data in these dictionaries are representative, such repetitions are a reflection of the word's currency in English in the relevant period, as well as the extent to which its spelling was stable, which corresponds to the degree of standardization.

### 3.3.2. Internet resources

The following electronic book collections were utilized in order to complement the information on the chronology of attestation:

- (a) Google Books (<http://books.google.com>)
- (b) Internet Archive (<http://www.archive.org/index.php>)
- (c) NewspaperARCHIVE (<http://newspaperarchive.com>)
- (d) The Online Books Page (<http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu>)
- (e) EEBO: Early English Books Online (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>)

As far as (a) and (b) are concerned, the relevant content in these is largely the same, although the accessibility of particular texts may vary. Both databases are subject to restrictions due to copyright. Because they act under U.S. law, full access is granted exclusively to works published before 1923, the copyright on which has already expired.<sup>7</sup> This does not of course mean that Google or Internet Archive

<sup>7</sup> Full-access to later works is available only if the copyright owner has renounced their rights. It may be added that global access to works published online in accordance



grants full access to *all* public domain works. Generally, there is considerable disproportion as far as the numbers of works from particular centuries and in particular languages. While it is arguably English that is best represented, access is far easier to works published between 1800 and 1923 than to earlier ones.

The NewspaperARCHIVE database is a separate U.S.-based project, which digitizes periodical publications, with considerable coverage of American publications down to the early 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The Online Books Page is a catalogue of e-texts, which provides links both to those accessible via Google Books and to those available elsewhere.

EEBO aims to make accessible the 15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup>-century printed English texts. As such it is complementary to a large extent to both Google Books and Internet Archive.

While (a), (b), (c) and (d) were available for full text search, the last database served only auxiliary function if the exact location of the quotation was known.

The databases were used with the following purposes in mind: to find documentation of forms which are not supported by quotations in OED<sub>2,3</sub>; to resolve dating inconsistencies between OED<sub>2</sub>, OED<sub>3</sub> and Stanford; to verify dating provided in Stanford (in those cases where it was the only dictionary to quote a particular occurrence); to fill in the gaps in the documentation of the earliest usage of particular forms and/or senses; to add the documentation of the use of orthographic variants not included in OED<sub>2,3</sub> or Stanford.

Whenever a form is quoted based not on the quotations in OED<sub>2,3</sub> or Stanford, but from an external source, such references are not marked by any subscript qualifier, but the author's last name is identified (if known), followed by an abbreviation of the title and by the volume and page location in the text. Full bibliographical details in such cases are to be found in the Primary sources section of the Bibliography at the end of this work. In those cases when the source is a daily newspaper, the full title is given, followed by an exact date.

Finally, very important in using the aforementioned Internet resources is the technical side. Texts published in these collections are subject to optical character recognition (OCR), which, at least theoretically, should make them fully searchable as opposed to simple scanned images. While the quality of OCR in the EEBO database is reportedly very high,<sup>8</sup> this is not always the case for the other databases. The software used may deal fairly well with regular Roman typeface,

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with U.S. law still causes continuous legal disputes between the parties involved (i.e. Google and copyright owners), as copyright legislation varies from country to country.

<sup>8</sup> The EEBO subscription available to me did not include the full-text search option.

but it seems to be less successful with italicized characters or diacritics, both of which may be involved when foreign forms are quoted. It goes without saying that it fares considerably worse with languages using non-Latin scripts. Therefore, an efficient search requires a certain amount of creativity. However, this problem presented itself only occasionally and ultimately the results of OCR in the relevant databases are more than satisfactory. This combined with the considerable size of the corpus itself meant that the databases provide reliable enough results to be included in the present study.<sup>9</sup>

### 3.3.3. Arrangement of the orthographic variants

The forms in each entry are arranged chronologically unless other factors justify the following distinctions:

- (a) if formal and/or etymological reasons justify it to distinguish between form types, these are listed chronologically according to their first attestation and are marked by Latin capital letters (A, B, C, ...);
- (b) if semantic differentiation justifies distinction between meanings, these are arranged chronologically within each form type and numbered using Arabic numerals (1, 2, 3, ...), each number corresponding to the one found in the list of senses in the meaning section of the entry (see 3.4);
- (c) within each meaning or if these are not distinguished, within each form family the forms are arranged chronologically.

The above principles may result in the senses being listed out of chronological order within a particular form family. For example s.v. **SERAGLIO**, **SERAI**, **SERAIL**, in type B forms (*seraglio* and similar), the order of senses is 2, 1, 3, 4. and 5. The reason is that while sense 1 is the earliest one (*saray* 1542) if we consider all the forms of the word, it is attested after sense 2 in this particular form family (i.e. cf. *Serraglio* 1581, sense 2, and *Seraglio* 1589, sense 1).

This enables the reader to follow the chronology of form types, forms within each type, the global chronology of senses, and the chronology of senses within each form type.

Examples of nouns used as attributive premodifiers to other nouns are quoted together with the head noun they modify. If their (presumed) semantics in such a formation follow from one of the main senses, they are quoted in the appropriate semantic category. If the assessed meaning is distinctive enough they form a category of their own.

<sup>9</sup> On similar problems encountered when using Google Books to study Russianisms in English, see Podhajecka 2010.

No attempt was made to add lexemes found in English texts and likely to have been transmitted from/via Turkic which are not discussed in the dictionaries listed in 1.3.

Likewise, no consistent effort was made to trace the usage of the included words in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, beyond copying such information, if available, from OED<sub>2</sub> and, especially, OED<sub>3</sub>. One notable exception is the documentation of usage s.v. **BARBOTTE**, **BARBOOT(H)**, **BARBUDI**, for which occurrences from 20<sup>th</sup>-century U.S. newspapers were retrieved given that the word is only recorded in dictionaries that do not provide illustrative quotations and that it does not occur in pre-1900 texts. The type of vocabulary discussed in this study is marginal in the lexicon of Modern English and predominantly of historical value. Moreover, the analysis is itself strictly historico-etymological and the impact of Turkic on present day English is beyond its scope.

Occasionally derivatives attested in English (whether originally English or Turkic) may be found in the form section whenever their low frequency does not warrant the inclusion in a separate entry. These are listed separately under a headword, possibly representing their most typical shape, after the forms of the base word.

### 3.4. MEANING

The sequence in the list of meanings reflects the chronology of attestation irrespective of the orthographic variant. The meanings are numbered using Arabic numerals. As implied earlier the numbering corresponds to that used in the semantic classification of forms (see section 3.3).

### 3.5. ETYMOLOGIES

This section features summaries of etymological information found in the dictionaries listed in 1.3 above. Any information having no direct bearing on the history of the word has been omitted. The entries are arranged chronologically in order to make it easier for the reader to trace the evolution (if any) of these and to make clearer the extent to which the authors depended on their predecessors.

### 3.6. COMMENTARY

This section features the author's own contribution to the study of the words in question. In more complex cases which require longer commentary, it is divided into subsections. The division as well as the overall structure of the commentary is determined by the character of the information required to explain the history of the word in question.

## 4. METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS

### 4.1. HOLISTIC VS. ATOMISTIC APPROACH TO LEXICAL BORROWING

The traditional approach to lexical borrowing, which Durkin (2010) calls numerical and we will call holistic, usually produces word lists with the date of first attestation and the identification of the language of origin. This enables fairly precise answers to questions about the extent of the influence of individual languages on English. It is thus holistic in the sense that it offers a bird's eye view of lexical borrowing, analyzing it at the level of the lexeme rather than the word form and from the point of view of the results of contact for the language rather than of the contact situation itself. This approach is reflected in a number of classical works on the subject, see e.g. Serjeantson (1936) or the relevant passages in Baugh & Cable (1978). It is also pursued to a large extent in the dictionaries of English investigated for the purposes of the present study. Even if the authors of these studies make an attempt to discriminate between different transmission routes (e.g. see the appendix on the distribution of words in Skeat<sub>4</sub>), the treatment is still considerably synthetic (which is understandable given the scope of a typical dictionary).

Arguably, this is easily applicable to words of notable frequency, which have been well established in the English lexicon to the point of being standardized. Among our lexical items, it is uncontroversial for example that *coffee* and *café* are two modern standard word forms variously related to T *kahve* and A *qahwa*, the latter of the English forms notably reflecting French usage. It is possible then to focus solely on these two, disregarding the considerable historical variation attested in earlier English sources, although chances are high that important details relevant to the development of the standard forms will be missed out.

This holistic approach fails altogether when studying words of lower frequency, especially if they were not subject to standardization and exhibit considerable spelling variation. The forms collected and discussed s.v. ELATCHA (according to OED<sub>2</sub>: < Turki) and s.v. TANGA (OED<sub>2</sub>: < Portuguese < Indic) are good cases in point. In such situations it is impossible to simply state that the *word* comes from one particular language or another. This calls for a more detailed analysis on a *form to form* basis, which we will call atomistic.

If we take the latter of the two words, *tanga*, variously used with reference to a number of coins used in India, Tibet and Central Asia, it is very likely that all occurrences ultimately go back to an Indic form, but they passed into English via a number of routes. The usage pertaining to India may have been

transmitted from Portuguese as implied in OED<sub>2</sub> and definitely originates in Hindi/Urdu, but Indic (or Portuguese) cannot be the immediate source for the word used with reference to Tibetan or Central Asian coins.

Of course it would be possible and reasonable to distinguish between three entries *tanga* 1 ‘Indian coin’, *tanga* 2 ‘Tibetan coin’ and *tanga* 3 ‘Central Asian coin’. However, this solution was usually avoided in the present study unless there were considerable formal differences and clear enough semantic distinctions between the variants.<sup>10</sup> The goal is always the clarity of the argument, which is easier to achieve if the related forms are grouped together in one entry.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, this also reduces the number of entries and limits redundant repetition.

#### 4.2. CAN WE SPEAK OF TURKIC BORROWINGS INTO ENGLISH?

In cases like that of Turkic words attested in English texts, the question that naturally arises is whether the words under scrutiny may be considered Turkic borrowings into English. Such a holistic formulation would be a very convenient label but in fact it poses certain methodological problems (on related issues on the basis of Latin borrowings in English, see Durkin 2010). To my mind, the expression *borrowing from language A to language L* presupposes at least two types of knowledge:

- (a) that there was direct contact between a speaker (or speakers) of A and a speaker (or speakers) of L and at least one of them was at least partially bilingual (in the broader sense of the term)<sup>12</sup>; and
- (b) that the standardized form of the word in L is due to this direct contact.

Ad (a). There is no reason to regard a result of indirect transmission from A to L a borrowing from A to L. For such a label it is the immediate donor that is relevant and there are good methodological grounds for that. One is that if direct transmission is not the condition *sine qua non* for the label *borrowing from A to L* (or *A-ism in L*) to be used, then one lexeme may be classified as a borrowing from each language on its transmission route. In other words, if the transmission

<sup>10</sup> Thus, e.g. *feridgi* and *paranja* are discussed in separate entries.

<sup>11</sup> Also cf. Liberman’s (1994) principle ‘many birds, one stone’.

<sup>12</sup> To be sure, transfer of a lexical item between two speakers neither of whom is bilingual is of course possible. It involves pointing at objects and naming them. For example, such a situation must have been common in early contact between European settlers of America and its native inhabitants. For a discussion of such a contact situation, see Durkin (2009: 156) and the example from Spanish quoted therein.

A > B > C > L occurred, then the form in L is simultaneously a borrowing from all three A, B and C. At this point some defenders of the expression *borrowing from A to L* will suggest that it is the ultimate etymon that matters. It has to be borne in mind, however, that the concept of ultimate etymon is elusive in itself.<sup>13</sup> While the analysis of *beşlik* ‘a five-para or five-piaster coin; a fiver’ as < Ott. *beşlik* id. ← *beş* ‘five’ + *-lik* (a suffix used i.a. to derive names of coins from numerals) explains the English word satisfactorily (see **BESHLIK**), it is far more difficult to establish the original semantic motivation for **COFFEE**.<sup>14</sup> See also section 6.4 below on the possibility of direct Turco-English contact in various contact situations involved in the transmission of our vocabulary.

Ad (b). It seems reasonable to assume that, at least in some cases, in the initial stage of lexical transfer, i.e. before the word may be considered part of the lexical stock of language L, independent instances of adoption from multiple sources (speakers/authors) take place. Given appropriate circumstances (e.g. sufficient intensity of transmission, long enough exposure to the source(s), high prestige of the source(s), etc.), the lexeme is likely to gain considerable currency and become part of the word stock of L. Otherwise it is likely to remain an unadapted foreignism and eventually fall out of use. Arguably, the multiplicity of sources in the initial stage is not essential if they all may be said to represent one language A.<sup>15</sup> In such a situation any variation that is likely to occur other than that caused by the properties of the accepting language L is due to variation in A and the label borrowing from A is justified (e.g. the aforementioned *beşlik*).

Problems arise when we are dealing with multiple sources of various linguistic backgrounds, which may imply either several independent contact areas or one multilingual contact area.<sup>16</sup> Thus if all the forms cited s.v. **BOZA** were to be considered Turkisms in English (as suggested in OED<sub>1-2</sub>), the question

<sup>13</sup> For similar reasoning and other examples, see Németh (2011: 211–212).

<sup>14</sup> Note also that the constituent parts of *beşlik* may have further etymology of their own. If one of these were a borrowing in Turkic, would that make the English *beşlik* less Turkic? Moreover, assuming that the hypothesis of Ethiopic origin of *coffee* is correct, does it make it an Ethiopic loan word in English?

<sup>15</sup> For the sake of simplicity of argument, I disregard the problematic and heavily political distinction between language and dialect.

<sup>16</sup> The boundary between these two cases is rather fuzzy and may depend on the scale we apply when analysing a particular contact situation. For example Ottoman İstanbul may be considered a single multilingual contact area, but looking from a closer perspective, particular districts may be oriented more towards one particular linguistic variety (see e.g. Csató et al. 2010).

would arise about the criteria. While ultimate Turkic origin is likely, it seems that the English usage is due to joint transmission from Turkish and Arabic. Consequently, some occurrences of this word (one word? two words?) could be classified as Turkisms while others as Arabisms.

As a consequence of these difficulties, the labels *borrowing from Turkic to English* and *Turkism in English* are avoided in this work. Whenever reference is made in this work to *vocabulary transmitted via/from Turkic*, it ought to be understood as an informal cover term for foreign vocabulary for which a Turkic language acted as one of the links in the transmission route.

Finally, it has to be borne in mind that it is not my purpose to offer calculations of the extent of Turkic influence on English (e.g. exact numbers of Turkisms that appeared in particular centuries), but rather to analyse the process of transmission itself, whether direct or indirect.

## **5. LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF THE VOCABULARY TRANSMITTED FROM/VIA TURKIC**

In the following an overview will be offered of the linguistic features of the vocabulary examined in the present study. The presentation will proceed from the aspects of graphemics to phonology to elements of morphology and syntax. Whenever applicable, the extent to which a particular feature is reflected in the English forms will be discussed.

The focus will be here on (Ottoman) Turkish, as it acted as the main source (or transmitter) of the vocabulary in question. To the extent that other Turkic languages were involved in the transmission, the related problems are discussed in a more detailed way in the respective entries. Because Ottoman vocabulary exhibited strong influence from Arabic and Persian, these two will also be occasionally invoked.

### **5.1. GRAPHO-PHONEMIC CORRESPONDENCES IN ARABIC AND OTTOMAN**

A variety of writing systems have been used to write Turkic throughout the centuries (for a brief historical overview, see Róna-Tas 1998), reflecting the complex net of cultural influences which have affected the Turkic-speaking world. One of the clearest manifestations of Islamic influence is the adoption of the

Perso-Arabic script which has been in use among the speakers of Turkic since the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

For an excellent summary of the Perso-Arabic script as used in Ottoman see Bugday (1999: 1–16); a useful chart is also available in Kissling (1960: 4–5). On historical aspects of the use of the Perso-Arabic script by speakers of Turkic, see Baldauf (1993) (esp. with reference to Central Asia) and Scharlipp (1995). Here only those aspects will be emphasized that are relevant to the current study.

### 5.1.1. Full/defective vowel notation in the Perso-Arabic script

One notorious feature of the Perso-Arabic script is the complex vowel notation. While the rules are consistent with and fairly well suited to write Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, they do not necessarily match the Ottoman vocalic system.

Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic have phonemic vowel length distinctions, which are reflected orthographically. Without going into much detail, long vowels are fully written (the so-called *plene* spelling) using the following letters: *ā* = ا *alif* (T *elif*), *ū* = و *waw* (T *vav*) and *ī* = ي *yā'* (T *ye*). The last two may also represent glides *w* and *j* respectively and as such indicate the presence of a diphthong.

Short vowels may be marked using diacritics: /a/ = َ *fatha* (T *üstün*), /u/ = ُ *damma* (T *öt(ü)re*) and /i/ = ِ *kasra* (T *(k)esre*). However, this only occurs in certain text types, especially the Qur'an, and sometimes in grammar books, dictionaries. In the majority of contexts short vowels are not marked in any way.

In Ottoman vowel length was distinguished only in borrowings from Arabic or Persian.<sup>17</sup> Such words tended to retain their original orthography, with long vowels fully written and short vowels only marked in special types of text.<sup>18</sup> In pronunciation length distinctions could be retained as well, although this was not systematic and was generally more typical of careful pronunciation by higher social classes. Nevertheless, some Perso-Arabic loanwords retain quantitative distinctions even today.

As far as native words are concerned, the situation was different. It is commonly assumed that Ottoman did not distinguish between long and short vowels in native words. More important were, however, qualitative distinctions, with as many as eight vowels: *i*, *ü*, *ı*, *u*, *e*, *ö*, *a*, *o* (= phonetically [i, y, u, u, e, œ, a, o]).

<sup>17</sup> In fact, apart from long vowels in borrowings, consonant elision could result in secondary long vowels, but this was not reflected in writing.

<sup>18</sup> The situation was notably different in Old Ottoman, which is, however, irrelevant to the present study. See Mansuroğlu (1959) for details.



These distinctions are reflected in the Arabic script only to a limited extent. Thus word-initial *elif* stood for *e* in Ottoman, whereas word-initial *a* would be typically spelled with the so-called *elif medde*, i.e.  $\tilde{a}$ .<sup>19</sup> If word-initial *elif* was followed by *vav* it could stand for any of the following  $\ddot{u}$ , *u*,  $\ddot{o}$ , *o* or *ev*, whereas if it was followed by *ye* it could represent *i*,  $\iota$  or *ey*. Word-medially and word-finally *elif* stood for *a*, *vav* represented  $\ddot{u}$ , *u*,  $\ddot{o}$ , *o* or *v* and *ye* stood for *i*,  $\iota$  or *y*. Final *-e* was spelled as  $\aleph$  *he*; the same letter was occasionally used to spell word-medial *-e-*, but this was rather rare.

Based on the above, it may be concluded that while the Arabic writing system was successfully used to distinguish between rounded from unrounded vowels it was deficient when it came to the contrast front/back in high unrounded and all rounded vowels. What sometimes compensated for this, even though not always unambiguously, was the neighbouring consonant letters, on which see the next two sections.

When quoting Ottoman or Chaghatay material, English authors tend to transliterate and employ *i*,  $\bar{i}$ , *u*,  $\bar{u}$ , *a*,  $\bar{a}$ , which means that the actual pronunciation is not represented accurately. It has to be borne in mind in this context that the vocabulary in question seems to have been transmitted orally more often than graphically. Consequently, in this study all Turkic forms are given in Arabic orthography followed by romanized spelling which is an attempt to render the actual pronunciation. The latter is given in accordance with standard sources, most typically RTOİS.

Finally, it has to be remembered that whatever information we have of actual Ottoman pronunciation is a reconstruction based on modern Turkish, modern Turkish dialects and transcription texts, i.e. Ottoman texts (sometimes single forms) written in writing systems other than Arabic, which are better suited to recording qualitative differences between vowels.

### 5.1.2. The use of 'redundant' Arabic letters

It would be an overstatement to claim that the Perso-Arabic script as utilized in Ottoman had absolutely no means of indicating vowel quality. The Arabic phonemic system features a number of oppositions which were not linguistically relevant in Ottoman (e.g. the opposition between plain and 'emphatic' or velarized/pharyngealized obstruents). This fact rendered a number of Arabic letters potentially redundant in the notation of native Turkic words. They were, however, utilized in order to indicate the backness of the neighbouring vowel. Thus the

<sup>19</sup> This orthographic distinction was rarely systematically followed in handwriting or non-literary texts, where *elif* was typical for both word-initial [e] and [a].

following consonant letters imply back vocalism in the same syllable: ح (A [ħ] : T [h]), خ (A [x] : T [h]), ص (A [sʰ] : T [s]), ض (A [dʰ] : T [z ~ d]), ط ([tʰ] : T [t]), ظ (A [ðʰ ~ zʰ] : T [z]), ع (A [ʕ] : T [ʔ] or Ø), غ (A [ɣ] : T [g] syllable-initially, post-vocally released either as [ɣ] or in later borrowings as length of the preceding vowel), and ق (A [q] : T [k]).

### 5.1.3. Velar(ized) and palatal(ized) consonants

As remarked above, Ott. ک *k* [k] occurred in back syllables. Its front counterpart was ک *k* [kʰ] (= [c] in standard IPA). The letter ك could also represent *g* [gʰ] (= IPA [ɟ]) in all positions, while ğ, [ɣ] postvocally and [g] elsewhere, was written غ. Although distinguished in spelling, the oppositions in these two pairs, [k] : [kʰ] and [g] : [gʰ], were not phonological in native words, with the former in each pair restricted to back and the latter to front syllables. However, in borrowings from Persian and Arabic [kʰ] and [gʰ] could occur with back vowels *a/ā* and *u/ū* as well, e.g. *kâr* [kʰa:r] ‘profit’, *mahkûm* [mahʰkʰu:m] ‘sentenced’ or *ğâvur* [gʰaʰvur] ‘infidel’ (also cf. E *Giaour*, where *Gi-* [dʒ] clearly renders the palatalized quality of the initial consonant in Ottoman). This is because whenever an Arabic or Persian word was written in ك, the letter was interpreted as representing [kʰ]. Moreover, due to its palatalized quality [kʰ] exhibited a tendency to trigger the palatalization of neighbouring short vowels. Consequently, a word like ENP كشك *koşk* [koʃk] was adapted in Ottoman as *köşk* [kʰœʃkʰ] (see s.v. KIOSK). This sometimes resulted in doublet forms with and without vowel palatalization, e.g. *kervan* [kʰerʰva:n] ~ *kârvan* [kʰa:rʰva:n] ‘caravan’.

Analogical behaviour was characteristic of laterals. In native words there were two non-contrastive laterals: velarized [ɭ] in back syllables and palatalized [ʎ] in front syllables, both spelled ل *lam* (e.g. بالی *balık* [baɭɯk] ‘fish’ vs. بیلگی *bilgi* [bilʎi] ‘knowledge’). However, in words of Arabic/Persian origin, the same letter was universally interpreted as representing [ʎ] irrespective of the frontness/backness of the syllable, one notable exception being the word *Allāh* (Buğday 1999: 7).<sup>20</sup> Just as [kʰ] and [gʰ] discussed above, this [ʎ] could have fronting effect on the neighbouring vowel(s), although this was by no means regular as evidenced in the Ottoman pronunciation of *rāhatülhulkûm* ‘rahat lokum’ as more or less as [ra:hatyɭʰ hulʰku:m] (see s.v. RAHAT LOKUM ~ LOKUM).

<sup>20</sup> The reason is that it is also the only word in Arabic where the occurrence of emphatic (= pharyngealized) [ʎ] is not conditioned by an adjacent emphatic consonant (Kästner 1981: 78).

## 5.2. ELEMENTS OF TURKIC GRAMMAR

In this section those features will be discussed which testify to the Turkicness of the word forms in question. In other words, what follows is a survey of those grammatical elements of Turkic which are relevant to our study.

### 5.2.1. Vowel quality

Unlike in Modern Standard English, Turkish front unrounded vowels *i* [i], *e* [e] contrast with their rounded counterparts *ü* [y], *ö* [œ], whereas the high back rounded *u* [u] vowel forms an opposition with the corresponding unrounded *ı* [ɯ]. The change *yüzlik* ~ *yüzlük* > *yuzlik* ~ *yuzluk* (s.v. YUZLUK) is an example of the adaptation of [y] > [u: ~ ʊ], whereas *döner* > *doner* shows [œ] > [əʊ] (s.v. DÖNER (KEBAB)).<sup>21</sup>

The vowel [ɯ] is usually substituted with [ɪ], which is qualitatively the closest English vowel and like the Ottoman one is never long.<sup>22</sup> Examples of this adaptation include *başlık* > *bashlik*, *selamlık* > *selamlık*, *çibuk* > *chibouk* (and other variants), and *kız kilim* > *kis kilim*, although it has to be borne in mind that all of these are most likely partially transmitted via an intermediary.

### 5.2.2. Vowel harmony

One of the more conspicuous characteristics of Turkic languages is vowel harmony which determines morphophonemic vowel alternations in the suffixes. The type of vowel harmony tends to vary between the members of the family, but the pattern found in Turkish among others is the most relevant here.

This language exhibits two kinds of harmony: palatal (front/back) and labial (rounded/unrounded). Some suffixes exhibit only the first type (e.g. the plural suffix), whereas others are subject to both types of harmony at the same time (e.g. the genitive suffix).<sup>23</sup> As a result there are two possible forms of the plural suffix (*-lar/-ler*) and four variants of the genitive suffix (*-in/-in/-ün/-un*), depending on the last vowel of the stem. Compare (palatalization is ignored):

<sup>21</sup> A similar phenomenon is observed in *köşk* > *kiosk*, where [œ] > [ɒ], but in this case direct transmission is only one of the routes. The adaptation [œ] > [ɛ] in E *keftedes* (< Ott. *köfte*) has to be attributed to a Greek intermediary.

<sup>22</sup> Unlike Mod T [ɯ], which may be long due to consonant elision, e.g. *sığır* [su:r] 'cattle'.

<sup>23</sup> Some suffixes are disharmonic, e.g. *-yor-*, the suffix of one of the present tenses.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR	GENITIVE SINGULAR	NOMINATIVE PLURAL
<i>ip</i> [ip] ‘rope’	<i>ipin</i> [ipin]	<i>ipler</i> [ipler]
<i>kız</i> [kwɪz] ‘girl’	<i>kızın</i> [kwɪzun]	<i>kızlar</i> [kwɪzlar]
<i>yüz</i> [jyz] ‘face’	<i>yüzün</i> [jyzyn]	<i>yüzler</i> [jyzler]
<i>pul</i> [pul] ‘stamp’	<i>pulun</i> [pulun]	<i>pullar</i> [pullar]
<i>el</i> [el] ‘hand’	<i>elin</i> [elin]	<i>eller</i> [eller]
<i>sap</i> [sap] ‘stalk’	<i>sapın</i> [sapun]	<i>saplar</i> [saplar]
<i>köy</i> [kœj] ‘village’	<i>köyün</i> [kœjyn]	<i>köyler</i> [kœjler]
<i>son</i> [son] ‘end’	<i>sonun</i> [sonun]	<i>sonlar</i> [sonlar]

There are three classes of exceptions to vowel harmony (all examples from M. Stachowski 2009):

- a few old native words (*anne* ‘mother’), which are however, explicable diachronically
- compounds (*günebakan* ‘sunflower’)
- many borrowings (*amiral* ‘admiral’ : *amiralin*, *harf* ‘letter’ : *harfin*)

While palatal harmony was usually preserved, as English has a number of *a*-type vowels contrasting with an *e*-type vowel, the labial system was likely to be disrupted when Turkish words were transferred into English (or many other European languages), due to the systemic differences mentioned in 5.2.1. However, the only clear examples that we find in our corpus are the aforementioned *döner* > *doner* as well as *çibuk* > *chibouk* (the latter through partial Romance mediation).

This last word brings us to yet another aspect of vowel harmony. Historically, the two subsystems involved in it did not develop at the same time. Palatal harmony is more archaic, whereas labial harmony was still in the course of development in the Early Ottoman period and was rather unstable (on the development of labial harmony, see Johanson 1979). As Kerslake (1998: 185) puts it:

“any of the four front vowels *e*, *i*, *ö*, *ü* could be followed by either of the two high front vowels *i*, *ü*, and any of the four back vowels *a*, *ı*, *o*, *u* could be followed by either of the two high back vowels *ı*, *u*.”

Such earlier non-harmonic variants occasionally have to be invoked in order to explain the shape of English forms (see esp. s.v. *GALIONGEE*, and cf. s.v. *BERGAMOT*, s.v. *YUZLUK*, and s.v. *CHIBOUK*).

### 5.2.3. Soft *g*

The letter ğ (known as *yumuşak g*, i.e. ‘soft *g*’) is the letter of the Modern Turkish alphabet that may have one of two possible phonetic interpretations depending on the phonetic context (M. Stachowski 2009: 14–5):

- in the neighbourhood of front vowels *e, i, ö, ü* it is generally realized as [j] in standard pronunciation; additionally the sequence [Vj] may be contracted in colloquial pronunciation and realized as [V:] in the following contexts: word-finally, preconsonantly or between two identical vowels;
- in the neighbourhood of back vowels *a, ı, o, u* it is not pronounced but the preceding vowel is lengthened (occasionally a weak labial semivowel [w] may be heard in the position between two rounded vowels).

The spelling ğ reflects the older pronunciation as a full consonant (*ğ* in our transcription of Ottoman), either a stop or a fricative, the place of articulation of which probably depended on the frontness/backness of the neighbouring vowels (Kerslake 1998: 184). This older pronunciation is occasionally preserved in some forms of the English reflexes, cf. *yoghurt* (beside *yaourt*, etc.), or, outside the scope of the present study, *E beg* (as opposed to later *bey*).

## 5.3. ELEMENTS OF ARABIC GRAMMAR IN OTTOMAN

Three of the grammatical features of Arabic which are found in Ottoman are occasionally relevant either to the English reflexes or to their etymological analysis. They are discussed in the following three sections.

### 5.3.1. Pausal vs. medial forms and the feminine ending

In Modern Standard Arabic some words may occur in one of two forms depending on the syntactic context (here we follow the account in Hoberman 2007). One of these is known as pausal form, whereas the other medial (or contextual) form.<sup>24</sup> Without going into much detail, pausal forms are derived from medial forms, usually through the deletion of the final short vowel and the consonant *n* that may follow it, whereas in the case of Arabic feminine nouns, which we focus on in this section, through the substitution of the ending *-at* with *-a(h)*. Nowadays the final *-h* is practically silent, and only occasionally preserved in dialects.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> More traditional terms used in reference to noun forms are absolute state and construct state. However, because the phenomena in question are not restricted to nouns, we will adhere to the terminology used in EALL.

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion of this and parallel developments in other Semitic languages see Blau (1980).

The ambiguous nature of the Standard Arabic feminine ending is reflected in the letter *ṣ*, known as *tā' marbūṭa*, which is used to mark it. Its unique shape is a combination of *ḥ hā'* [h] and the two dots of *ṭ tā'* [t].

When Arabic feminine nouns were borrowed into Persian and Turkic, the ending was adapted as either *-a* (or *-e*) or *-at* (*-et*), although the precise reasons for choosing one option over the other are not entirely clear.<sup>26</sup> This split is also reflected in the spelling: words without final *-t* in pronunciation are spelled in *ḥ hā'* (i.e. without the dots!) whereas those ending in *-at* (or *-et*) are written in *ṭ tā'*. Compare e.g. Ott. قهوة [kah've ~ ka:'ve] 'coffee' (< A قهوة *qahwa* id.) and Ott. عمارت [ima:'ret] 'soup-kitchen for the poor' (< A عمارة *imāra* 'building').

Consequently, if a word derived from an Arabic feminine noun is spelled in an English text in *-at* or *-et*, this must indicate transmission through Turkish and/or Persian, unless it is part of a larger phrase. A form spelled in English in *-a(h)* or *-e(h)* in turn may be derived either directly from Arabic or through an intermediary, although evidence in favour of a mediating language has to be sought elsewhere.

In our dictionary see e.g. s.v. IMARET, s.v. SHERBET ~ SORBET and the form *rahat* as opposed to *rahah*, s.v. RAHAT LOKUM ~ LOKUM.

### 5.3.2. Genitive phrase

One of the contexts in which the noun occurs in its medial form is the first position in the genitive phrase, which in Arabic grammatical tradition goes by the name '*idāfa* 'attachment' (another feminine noun, cf. the reflexes in ModT *izafet* and ModP *ezafe*).

In Standard Arabic a genitive phrase is the combination of two nouns in which – according to the orthodox account – the second one is in the genitive. However, the genitive ending, either *-i* (definite) or *-in* (indefinite), is deleted if it occurs in the prepausal position (see the preceding section). If the phrase is definite, it is the second noun that is preceded by the definite article, whereas the first noun receives one of the definite case endings (Nom *-u*, Gen *-i* or Acc *-a*). The post-pausal pronunciation of the article [ʔal] is reduced to [l] in the medial context.

An example of genitive phrase is مدينة الخرطوم *madīnatu l-ḥartūm* [madi:natul xartu:m(i)] 'the city of Khartoum', where *madīna* 'city' is in the medial form and inflected for the definite nominative (the final *-u*).

In our corpus, see especially s.v. RAHAT LOKUM and s.v. SALEP ~ SALOOP.

The Turkish *izafet* and Persian *ezafe* are similar in function (noun + noun modification), but different in terms of the formal properties. The former may have three realizations (depending on the semantic relationship between the

<sup>26</sup> Perry (2007) argues for semantic motivation in Persian.

nouns, see M. Stachowski 2007: 89–96 for details), one of which is an apposition of two nouns in which the first noun is in the nominative, the second noun marked with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessive suffix (e.g. see s.v. **SHISH KEBAB**). The Persian ezafe is marked by the suffix *-i* on the first noun (see e.g. **CHARSHAF**).

### 5.3.3. Nisba

The name refers to the Arabic adjectival suffix *-īy* (in masculine adjectives; pronounced [i:]) or *-īya(t)* (in feminine adjectives; technically this is a combination of the nisba and the feminine ending discussed in 4.3.1). The suffix is used to form relational adjectives as well as, in its feminine form, abstract nouns, which frequently function as equivalents of various nouns in *-ism* of Greco-Latin terminology (see Holes 2004: 160–1).

The suffix was borrowed into Persian and Ottoman and is also attested in a number of ethononyms used i.a. in English, like *Farsi* – *Parsee*, *Turki*, *Afghani*.

Interpreted in this way Ott. *šerifi* would be a so-called relational adjective, derived using a foreign suffix, cf. A *-ī* and P *-ī* ‘belonging to’ (< A; see e.g. Lambton 1967: 102). However, this would not be surprising in view of the widespread knowledge of Arabic and Persian in the higher social classes. Cf. as well similar derivatives from ethnic names also attested in English: *Farsi*, *Parsee*, *Turki*, *Afghani*. Otherwise it could be simply a semantic extension of A *šarīfī* ‘of or pertaining to the house of sherifs’ ← *šarīf* + *-ī* (AED: 545) (see s.v. **SHERIFI** for details).

See also s.v. **FERIDGI** and s.v. **MEDJIDIE** and s.v. **SHERIFI**.

## 6. HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF ANGLO-TURKIC CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC CONTACTS

Despite considerable geographical distance, Anglo-Turkic contacts and Turkic influences in English culture seem to predate the modern period.<sup>27</sup> A brief survey is offered here of the changing character of these relations. The survey reaches as far as the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as the later period has not yet been thoroughly

<sup>27</sup> Presentation of the earlier history of the Turkic peoples is beyond the scope of the present study. For a brief overview see especially Golden (1998). A book-length account is to be found in Golden (1992). Pre-Ottoman Turkey is dealt with in Cahen (2001), whereas the history of the Ottoman empire is discussed by Shaw (1976–7) among many others. Finally, social and economic issues in the Ottoman empire are the topic of the monumental two-volume İnalcık & Quataert (eds.) (1997).

studied as a whole in the English historico-etymological lexicography and is beyond the scope of this work.

The first section describes the early contact between the English and the Orient. The second one focuses on English merchants, envoys and travellers to the Ottoman Empire, whereas the third one deals briefly with other Eastern territories where contact with Turkic-derived vocabulary was possible, i.e. Russia and the surrounding lands (including Central Asia), and India. The fourth section is aimed to evaluate the likelihood of direct linguistic contact between the speakers of English and the speakers of Turkic in these contact areas. The final section gives an overview of the English contributions to the study of Turkic languages until the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### 6.1. EARLY CONTACT WITH THE ORIENT

The earliest mentions of Eastern lands, including those later to be inhabited by Turkic peoples, can be found already in the Middle Ages. For example the 9<sup>th</sup>-century translation of Orosius' *Historia adversos paganos* makes reference to Asia Minor (*seo Lasse Asia*), and the lands near the Caspian Sea (*þe mon hæť Caspia*). Although these do not point to any direct contact, the first known Anglo-Saxon traveller to the Orient was the 8<sup>th</sup>-century Benedictine, Williband (later bishop of Eichstatt), who visited the Holy Land in 724 and provides an early eye-witness account of Muslims.<sup>28</sup>

Direct contact with the East on a larger scale resulted from the participation of English and Anglo-French knights in the Crusades between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. This is reflected in medieval *chansons de geste*, some of which contain images of "Saracens" abandoning their faith and converting to Christianity. The popularity of works such as the early 14<sup>th</sup>-century *Richard Coer de Lyon*, which depicts the king as a ruthless, bloodthirsty warrior and occasional cannibal eating his Muslim enemies, reflects the hostile attitude towards Islam and testifies to the fear that its followers instilled in medieval European society (Heffernan 2003: 10–17).

Pilgrimage was another reason for Europeans travelling to the Holy Land in the Middle Ages.<sup>29</sup> One notable work that reflects this trend is *Mandeville's*

<sup>28</sup> To be precise, towards the end of his life Willibald dictated his story to Hugeberc, a nun from the monastery he had founded. An edition of the Latin text is to be found in Willibald *Vita*, whereas an English translation appeared as Williband *Hodoeporicon*.

<sup>29</sup> For an overview of early pilgrimage to the Holy Land see e.g. Ch. 3 in Runciman (1995).



*Travels*, originally written in French, and translated into English. The author, who identifies himself as Sir John Mandeville, explains in his preface that the work was written “specialy for hem þat wol and beþ on purpos to visity þe holy cite of Ierusalem and þe holi places þat beþ pereaboute” (Mandeville *Travels*: 5). While the identity of the author and the originality of his account are nowadays considered highly doubtful (for a recent discussion see Phillips (2003)), it is certain that the work achieved considerable circulation in Europe, serving, together with Marco Polo’s travelogue, as a reference for Christopher Columbus. Its popularity is corroborated by the multiple manuscripts in which it survives (see Michael C. Seymour’s introduction in Mandeville *Travels*)

The greatest Late Middle English literary figure, Geoffrey Chaucer included Oriental motifs in many of his works, notably in the unfinished *Squire’s Tale*, set in *Tartarye* with the main characters being *Cambyuskan* (i.e. Genghis Khan) and his family, and in *The Man of Law’s Tale*, largely set in the court of *the Sowdan of Surrye*.

The name *Turkie* itself appears first in Layamon’s *Brut*, composed sometime at the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (MED s.v. *Turkie*), whereas the ethnonym *Turcs* in William de Briane’s Anglo-French translation of *Historia Caroli Magni* (also known as the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* due to its false attribution to Turpin of Reims) dated to c. 1215 (AND s.v. *Turc*, *Turk*; *Tur*), although the word occurs as an anthroponymic element in Middle English as early as mid-12<sup>th</sup> century (MED s.v. *Turk*). Another early Orientalism in English is the word *soudan* ~ *soldan*, found already in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century in Anglo-Norman (AND s.v. *soldan*), and as an anthroponymic element in Middle English (MED s.v. *soudan*).

## 6.2. PRIMARY CONTACT AREA: OTTOMAN TERRITORIES

The earliest period of direct Anglo-Ottoman cultural contact is related to Mediterranean commerce. The presence of Western merchants in the Ottoman Empire was regulated by the so-called capitulations, i.e. agreements between the sultan and Western ruler in which the former granted privileges to the subjects of the latter that allowed them to reside, travel and trade in his dominions. The granting of capitulations and their renewal by subsequent sultans was closely dependent on the current politics of the sultan.

İnalçık in İnalçık & Quataert (eds.) (1997 I: 192–5) distinguishes two stages in the history of capitulations. In the first period (1352–1517) the Levantine trade was dominated by Italian merchants, particularly the Genoese (capitulations of 1352) and Venetians (capitulations first granted sometime between 1384 and 1387), but later also Florentines and Neapolitans.

When Selim I renewed Mamluk capitulations in 1517, this allowed trade on the part of the French, as the Mamluks had extended the privilege to them. This makes the date a symbolic turning point, as a harbinger of the decline of Italian dominance in Mediterranean trade. Nevertheless, the agreement was still comparatively restrictive and France had to wait until 1569 to be granted full privileges.

England did not receive capitulations until eleven years later. Before that time Levantine goods were usually brought to England by the Genoese and Venetians. Nevertheless, sporadic English trading expeditions took place as well, reportedly even as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Wood 1935: 1, Faroqhi 2005: 148). Hakluyt's *Navigations* mentions English ships which sailed repeatedly to Sicily, Candia, the Isle of Chios, Cyprus Tripoli and Beirut between 1511–34 bringing back “Silks, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Malmesies, Muskadels and other wines, sweete oyles, cotten wooll, Turkie carpets, Galles, Pepper, Cinamom, and some other spices” (II: 96). Indeed it seems that the popularity of “Turkie carpets” and other Ottoman(-inspired) textiles was the earliest symptom in England of the forthcoming Orientalism (MacLean 2007: 32ff). Due to the growing demand for such commodities, in 1518 King Henry VIII appointed an Italian to the position of the English consul in Chios, as the first act in an attempt to join the Levantine commerce.

However, it was not until the late 16<sup>th</sup> century that the British presence in the Levant became more prominent and started to bear fruit. In 1580 William Harborne successfully negotiated on behalf of Elizabeth I the granting of capitulation privileges to England, which resulted in the founding of the Levant Company the following year. Moreover, thanks to his diplomatic activity official relations between the sultan and Elizabeth I were established, with Harborne becoming the first English Ambassador to Istanbul in the pay of the Company (Horniker 1942: 294, fn. 17).

In this early period, as well as throughout the following two centuries, the majority of texts that contribute the vocabulary under investigation in the present study are travelogues written by diplomats or merchants during their voyages to the dominions of the Ottoman sultan. These were published either as part of larger collections or separately and include both works written by Englishmen and translations of foreign authors.

The most prolific publisher of travelogues was Richard Hakluyt, whose work was clearly inspired by Ramusio's collection *Delle navigationi e viaggi* (volume I in 1550). Hakluyt published a number of anthologies, but for our study the most important of these is the second edition of his *Principal navigations, voyages, traffiques & discoveries* (1598–1600).

Another important work of this kind is Samuel Purchas' *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his pilgrimes* (1625), which as the title implies is inspired by and partly based on materials left by Hakluyt.

As far as single works dealing with Turkey are concerned, the most conspicuous ones written by Englishmen in this period include William Biddulph's *The travels of certaine Englishmen* (editions in 1609 and 1612), Fynes Moryson's *An itinerary: containing his ten years travel* (1617), Sir Thomas Herbert's *A relation of some yeares travaile* (1634 and three subsequent editions published in his lifetime 1638, 1665 and 1677), and Richard Pococke's *Observations on Egypt* (1743). Among later diplomatic accounts the letters by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu stand out, a collection of which was first published posthumously in 1763. An important early work of a slightly different character was Richard Knolles' *Generall historie of the Turkes*, (1603 and later editions), a weighty account on the history of the Ottoman Empire, the first work of this kind in English, although heavily biased (Şenlen 2005).

The knowledge of the Ottoman Empire among the English society was further popularized by numerous translations from other Western European languages. Texts of this kind feature abundantly in the compilations by Hakluyt and Purchas, but also worth mentioning are Thomas Washington's translation of Nicolas de Nicolai's *The navigations, peregrinations and voyages, made into Turkie* (1585), Robert Withers' translation of Ottaviano Bon's *A description of the Grand Signor's seraglio* (1650), John Davies' (or Davis') translation of Johan Albrecht de Mandelslo's and Adam Olearius' *Voyages and travels* (1662)<sup>30</sup> and Archibald Lovell's translation of Jean de Thévenot's *Travels into the Levant* (1687).

At the same time – although obviously at a slower pace – English literary figures were increasingly using Oriental vocabulary in a more creative manner and independently of the context in which it originally appeared. This was part of the general European vogue for Eastern culture, which manifested itself in art and literature and whereby it became fashionable to choose Oriental characters and settings in literary works.<sup>31</sup> Although the tendency only reached its climax in the Romantic period, its heralds may be found already in the Elizabethan period, cf. e.g. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (written c. 1587) or Shakespeare's *Othello* (written c. 1603).<sup>32</sup> Later literary Orientalism is also found e.g. in William Beckford's *Vathek* (1786).

<sup>30</sup> For a summary of interrelations between Mandelslo's and Olearius' texts as well as the early publication history see s.v. ELATCHA.

<sup>31</sup> Here only general remarks follow. For a more detailed account of Oriental vocabulary in English literature, see Cannon (2000).

<sup>32</sup> For a more detailed account of Oriental elements in early modern English drama, see Bayouli (2008).

The chief representative of Romantic Orientalism in English literature is George Byron, with his works such as *The Giaour* (1813), *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1814) or *Don Juan* (1823). Important contemporaries of Byron's include Thomas Moore (*Lalla Rookh*, 1817), Thomas Hope (*Anastasis*, 1819), or James Morier (e.g. *Ayesha*, 1834). Of the younger generation, William M. Thackeray should be mentioned (various works).

### 6.3. SECONDARY CONTACT AREAS

#### 6.3.1. Muscovy/Imperial Russia and neighbouring territories

England's diplomatic relations with Russian tsars in fact predate those with the Ottoman Empire. They were initiated by Richard Chancellor's visit at the court of Ivan IV in 1553, followed by the establishing of the Muscovy Company two years later. Despite certain cultural differences, the diplomatic relations between the two countries flourished throughout the Elizabethan era and until the position of the Dutch strengthened towards the end of the century, the English monopolized Western trade with Russia (Anderson 1958: 9).

This early period is documented in a fairly large number of English accounts, usually memoirs written by diplomats, which are, however, rich in stereotype and poor in accurate information (Anderson 1958: 15–6, 19ff). Russians were frequently depicted as inferior, savage and superstitious people, and the country as backward and primitive. More often than not this information was based on secondary sources, gossip or pure conjecture rather than actual experience. One work which is relatively exceptional in this last respect – although by no means entirely free of prejudice – is *Of the Russe common wealth* (1591) by Giles Fletcher, English ambassador to Russia in the years 1588–9.

Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries the knowledge of Russia among the English did not change drastically. This was largely due to the deterioration in diplomatic relations following the deaths of Ivan IV and Elizabeth I. Moreover, the 17<sup>th</sup> century proved to be a turbulent time in the history of England, which contributed to a lack of interest in the distant land. Nevertheless works devoted to Russia, although far less abundant, continued to be published. One of the more prominent in terms of quality is Davis' aforementioned translation of Mandelslo/Olearius (1662).

The situation started to improve gradually after the reign of Tsar Peter I (see Chapter 4 in Anderson 1958). However, in the context of our study, it is important to remember that down to the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century English activities in Russia were largely confined to the vicinities of Petersburg, Moscow, Riga and Reval, i.e. the large cities of the North-West (Anderson 1958: 81–2). Although people

like John Bell, Captain John Cook or Samuel Bentham travelled extensively in Russia, the exploration of this part of the world was not primarily the work of the English, but, beside Russians themselves, of Swedes and Germans (e.g. Stra(h)lenberg and Pallas respectively).

Consequently, direct contact with non-Russian peoples living in the Russian territory or neighbouring lands was the privilege of few Englishmen. As for the Turkic peoples living in or bordering on the territory of Russia, the information concerning them is very scanty. In the early years the English had some knowledge of the southern frontiers of Russia, including their non-Russian inhabitants. Jenkinson's *Russia & Bactria* (c1560 [1589]: 348ff) features what is probably the first English-language description of Nogay Turks living on the northern shores of the Caspian Sea, whereas Fletcher has a chapter on the Turkic inhabitants of the Khanate of Crimea, including both Crimean Tatars and Nogays (1591: 65–75). In the following century, Purchas published in his collection (1625 *Pilgrimes* III: 632–43) a translation of the description of the Crimean Tatars by the Polish ambassador to Muscovy, Marcin Broniowski (= Martin Broniovius), and Captain John Smith (1630 *Travels*: 24ff) offered an account of his captivity in the Khanate of Crimea, with some information on the Crimean Tatars and Nogais.

The works cited above focused on a few smaller areas and were rather exceptional in terms of their reliability among the generally fantastical descriptions typical of early modern travelogues. It was not until the 18<sup>th</sup> century that the scope of English-language accounts of Russia became more extensive and their informative quality began to improve. The main interest for the English was the Russian exploration of Siberia (1958: 84–6) and this resulted in a number of works, mainly translations, on that region. In 1738 Johan B. von Stra(h)lenberg's *An historico-geographical description of the north and eastern parts of Europe and Asia* appeared, originally published in German eight years before. The book offers a survey of the peoples and languages to be found in the Russian territories beyond the Urals and its author is nowadays considered the father of the Altaic theory (see M. Stachowski 2008b: 167). Another study of this kind is William Tooke's translation of Johann G. Georgi's *Russia, or A compleat historical account of all the nations which compose that empire* (1780–3; the German original, 1774–80), with the second volume devoted to “Tartar nations”.

More extensive travelling on the part of the British occurred in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Works were published with descriptions of Siberia (1858 Atkinson *Siberia*; 1879 Eden *Siberia*), the Crimea (1855 Koch *Crimea*; 1876 Telfer *Crimea & Transcaucasia*), or the Caucasus (1807 Wilkinson *Caucasus*; 1839 Wilbraham *Trans-Caucasian Russia*; 1889 Abercrombie *Caucasus*). However, the main focus

shifted to Central Asia, with numerous accounts written mainly by spies who were instrumental in the so-called Great Game, i.e. the Anglo-Russian struggle for dominance in the region, partly military and partly propagandist. A number of works from this period have their modest share in the documentation of our vocabulary (e.g. 1841 Wood *Oxus*; 1842 Harlan *Memoir*; 1868 *Russia, Poland & Finland*; 1878 Schem *War*; 1892 Curzon *Persia*). On the Great Game in general, see the popular account in Hopkirk (2001) and for a parallel story with focus on Qajar Iran from the Russian perspective, see Andreeva (2007). See also Becker (2004) and Wyatt (2011).

### 6.3.2. India

The English presence in India dates back to the arrival of Thomas Stephens in Goa in 1579 (Oaten 1909: 105). English trade with India was formally sanctioned by Queen Elizabeth in 1600, which led to the founding of the East India Company. The first factory was established in Surat in 1612, followed by those in Madras (1639–40), Bombay (1674) and Calcutta (1690) (Sedlatschek 2009: 8). Works that go back to that early period are chiefly translations and include Nicholas Lichefield's translation of Lopez de Castanheda's *First booke of the historie of the discoverie and conquest of the East Indias* (1582), Thomas Hickock's translation of Cesare Federici's *The voyage and travaile of M. C. Frederick into the East India* (1588), William Phillip's translation of Linschoten's *Discours of voyages into ye Easte and West Indies* (1598), Davies' translation of Mandelslo (1662), as well as John Ovington's *Suratt* (1696) and John Fryer's *New account of East-India and Persia, in eight letters* (1698).

Initially, the dominions of the East India Company seemed insignificant in comparison to those of its rivals, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the Danish. However, from the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century the company's power grew considerably, especially thanks to two victories in the battles of Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764), in the aftermath of which the English gained vast territories and became a prominent actor on the scene. The culmination of this tendency was the establishment of the British Raj in 1858, which would last another 89 years.

## 6.4. LANGUAGE CONTACT SITUATIONS IN THE CONTACT AREAS

It was postulated in section 4.2 that one of the necessary conditions for borrowing from A to L to take place is direct contact between a speaker of A and a speaker of L where at least one of them is bilingual to some degree. In this section an overview is offered of some aspects of the contact situations that resulted in the transmission of the lexical items in question.

#### 6.4.1. The role of Levantine dragomans

According to Ottaviano Maggi's treatise on diplomacy *De legato* (1596) the perfect ambassador had to know seven languages – Latin, Greek, Italian, French, Spanish, German and Turkish (Burke 2004: 115). With respect to this last language the majority of English ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire may be hardly said to have risen to the ideal, one exception being the second of them, Sir Edward Barton (in office 1588–97, Berridge 2009: 26–7),<sup>33</sup> but this ignorance was by no means confined to diplomats. Among those familiar with the language Wood (1935: 235) quotes the merchant Dudley North and the clergyman Robert Frampton,<sup>34</sup> but as he writes they were mere exceptions and “the majority of the merchants in the Levant had little contact with Turkish life, ways of thought, or maxims of conduct” (*ibid.*). Furthermore, this lack of competence in Turkish was not particular to the English, as evidenced in the following comment concerning Venetian ambassadors (Dursteler 2006: 35; see also Rothman 2009: 784):

“none of the baili in the period after Lepanto had any formal knowledge of the Ottoman language spoken in the Porte. In the early sixteenth century, Andrea Gritti appears to have had some command of the language, a result of his extended residence in Constantinople as a young merchant, but he was entirely exceptional.”

On the other hand, until the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was uncommon even among the higher Ottoman officials to know any European language (Lewis 2004: 24, Berridge 2009: 49). As a consequence, European merchants had to rely on interpreters, or dragomans.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Wood also mentions Barton's secretary and the future fourth ambassador, Sir Thomas Glover (in office 1606–11), who apart from his “perfect understanding” of Turkish spoke Polish fluently as his mother was Polish (Wood 1935: 80).

<sup>34</sup> The former was first a resident of Smyrna and then of Istanbul between 1662 and 1679, whereas the latter acted as the chaplain for the English Levant Company in the years 1655–66. Here we may also add Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who learnt Turkish during her stay in Turkey between spring 1717 and 1718, accompanying her husband, Edward Montagu, English ambassador to Sultan Ahmet III.

<sup>35</sup> E *dragoman* (other variants include *drogman* or even the folk-etymological *druggerman*) < F *dragoman*, *drogman* = Sp. *dragoman*, It. *dragomanno*, med. L *dragumanus*, late Gk. *δραγούμανος* < OldA *targumān* (now *tarğumān*, *tarğamān*, *turğumān*) ‘interpreter’ ← *targama* (*tarjama*) to interpret (see OED<sub>3</sub> s.v.). Also compare the archaic Ott. *dragoman* ‘id.’ (< Greek; beside the nowadays more frequent *tercüman* < A *tarğumān*; RTOİS 312 and 1148 respectively).

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century there existed three social groups from which interpreters were recruited in the Levant (Masters 2001: 74): (a) Sephardic Jews or Levantine Catholics (descendants of Venetian, Genoese or Cypriot merchant families long-established in the Levant), (b) autochthonous Ottoman Christians and Jews, and (c) youngsters sent from Europe to learn the local languages while serving as dragomans' apprentices, i.e. the so-called *giovani di lingua*.

Importantly, until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century British authorities were reluctant to have native Englishmen serve as dragomans, due to the difficulty of the task and the expense of the training process (Berridge 2009: 51). Thus, throughout the majority of the relevant period, the English in the Muslim world relied on the services of Italians,<sup>36</sup> Armenians, Jews, and Greeks, whose loyalty to the British crown could be and was questioned on various grounds.<sup>37</sup> This eventually led in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to plans to reform the system, so as to promote the recruitment of native English citizens into service as dragomans (*ibid.*: 52ff). However, unlike earlier similar attempts on the part of the French, the Poles and the Austrians (Csató et al. 2010: 432), this proved unsuccessful.

What this means is that throughout the existence of the Levant Company its members and employees could seldom rely on native English interpreters, which brings about the question of the medium of translation. According to Cunningham (1993: 2), while recruiting dragomans, "the British ministers were insisting on a competence in English, while still accepting men with a greater skill in French." However, it should be remembered that the Mediterranean lingua franca was based on spoken Italian, which makes it likely that the scenario outlined by Lewis (2004: 21) was far more frequent. Namely, in a conversation between an Englishman and a Turk each side had their own dragoman, and the two communicated with each other in Italian (or the lingua franca), while speaking to their employers in English and Ottoman respectively. Similar routine was followed in writing (*ibid.*: 28). Other mediating languages might have been involved as well: Cunningham (1993: 2) mentions Greek (beside Italian) as the language of communication in commerce and French as the language of diplomacy.

This context is of utmost importance to the subject of our study. If the occurrence of a word form in an English text is to be explained directly by the

<sup>36</sup> One of the more prominent dragoman dynasties in the service of the English Levant Company were the Pisanis, whose name "runs like a thread through more than two centuries of Levant Company and Foreign Office archives" (Cunningham 1993: 2).

<sup>37</sup> In fact there were reasons to question their loyalty to *any* government. In her discussion of Venetian dragoman dynasties, Rothman (2009) shows how the fact that dragomanate gradually evolved into a highly nepotistic and endogamous structure contributed to the unreliability of interpreters.



corresponding form and its use in Ottoman Turkish, in reality this may entail transmission through an intermediary, most typically Italian, Greek or French, the phonetic particularities of which were naturally determined by the descent of the speaker. Unless there is a philological motivation, i.e. unless Italian or Greek or French mediation is reflected in the English form or usage, it is not indicated in our dictionary, as it would be purely conjectural. In other words, a formulation “English < Ottoman” should be read as “transmitted from Ottoman to English with a possible intermediary, whose influence is, however, not reflected in the form”.

#### 6.4.2. Russia and neighbouring territories

There is not much information as regards the medium of communication used by early modern English travellers in Russia. Diplomats usually resorted to the services of Livonian interpreters, although there were exceptions like David Sylvester, Giles Fletcher and Jerome Horsey (Anderson 1958: 11–2). On the other hand, merchants, craftsmen or physicians, i.e. people who were exposed to contact with the locals, were bound to master at least rudimentary communicative competence in Russian. One such example is Mark Ridley, a physician who compiled *A dictionarie of the vulgar Russe tongue* (late 16<sup>th</sup> century; for an edition see Stone 1996). These were, however, exceptions and until the late 17<sup>th</sup> century there was no elementary book that would facilitate the learning process. Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf’s *Grammatica russica* published in Oxford in 1696 was the first grammar of Russian published in England and according to a contemporary opinion “would be a useful Booke to our Russian merchants” (Simmons quoted in Cracraft 2004: 38).

However, it seems likely that in this early period German and Dutch acted as important means of communication among the trading community, whereas from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, French must have assumed this role. This was due to the growth in prestige of the French culture and language especially during the reign of Catherine the Great (Matthews 1967: 259, Vinogradov 1982: 56–101).

If familiarity with Ottoman Turkish on the part of the subjects of the British monarch was rare, nothing can be said about their knowledge of other Turkic languages, except that it was on the verge of non-existence. While passages like the one on Crimean Turks in Smith’s *Travels* (1630) feature quotations of a few Turkic words, the distortions that are found in this material certainly testify to the authors’ ignorance of the local languages. This is due to the fact that as was in the case of the territory, the exploration of the language was performed mainly by other Westerners. The names of Pallas, the author of the famous dictionary, and Sta(h)lenberg, whose account of the peoples and languages was referred to above, may be mentioned again. On this topic, see further 6.5.2 below.

### 6.4.3. India

In India direct linguistic contact with speakers of Turkic was at best marginal if it ever occurred. The only Turkic language known to be used in that region in the relevant period was Chaghatay and only by the early Mughal rulers.

Chaghatay, which may be seen as a continuation of Karakhanid and Khwarezmian Turkic (Eckmann 1966: 1, Boeschoten & Vandamme 1998: 166), was used as a written lingua franca throughout Central Asia. As far as India is concerned, it is most notably the language of *Bāburnāme*, the autobiography of Bābur, the founder of the Mughal Empire. The language of this work was already highly Persianized, which testified to the high prestige of the Persian culture in the region (see Kuczkiewicz-Fraś 2004). Very soon Chaghatay was completely supplanted by Persian as the language of prestige, literature and of the court in Mughal India.

At the time the English language established itself in the subcontinent, it could not be directly influenced by Turkic in any significant way. However, Turkic-derived vocabulary was likely to reach English through the mediation of vernacular Indic languages, themselves heavily influenced by Persian as the carrier of Turco-Perso-Arabic culture.

## 6.5. THE STUDY OF TURKIC LANGUAGES BY THE ENGLISH UNTIL THE TURN OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

### 6.5.1. Ottoman Turkish

As remarked in the previous section, linguistic competence in Ottoman was rare among the diplomants and merchants residing in the territories of the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, a number of English authors emerged between the 17<sup>th</sup> and late 19<sup>th</sup> centuries whose works attest to their arguably very successful attempts to master the language – works which were meant to help others in the same venture. In what follows a brief summary is offered of the most prominent of those authors.

The pioneer of Turkish studies in England was William Seaman (1606/1607–1680), who learnt Ottoman while serving under the English ambassador Peter Wyche probably between 1628 and 1631 (Hamilton 2004). He published translations, both from Ottoman (e.g. *The reign of Sultan Orchan, Second king of the Turks*, 1652, being a translation of the initial sections from Sadeddin's *Tac üttevarih*), and into Ottoman (e.g. the New Testament of 1666; Siemienieć-Gołaś 1994 and 1995). However, the most ambitious among his works is undoubtedly *Grammatica linguae turcicae* (Seaman 1670). The text is in Latin with Ottoman

forms quoted in vocalized Arabic script. The presentation of the grammar follows the classical model of Latin and Greek authors and is divided into five parts devoted to: (1) orthography, (2) the substantive, (3) the verb, (4) the adverb and uninflected parts of speech, and (5) syntax. For an assessment of the value of Seaman's *Grammatica* from the point of view of Turkish studies, see Siemienieć-Gołaś (1995). Beside the translations and the grammar, it is perhaps interesting to note that the Bodleian Library, Oxford, stores two other works by Seaman which remain in manuscript only. One is a copy of an English-Latin dictionary, which he glossed in Turkish, effectively transforming it into an English-Latin-Turkish dictionary (Kut 2004: 245) and Seaman's own Turkish-Latin dictionary which he compiled between 1665 and 1673 (Kut 2004: 298).

It was on Seaman's *Grammatica* that the first grammar of Turkish written in English was modelled. Not much is known about its author Thomas Vaughan. Based on a number of occurrences of Vaughan's name in historical records, Gilson (1987: 3), speculates that he might have stayed in Smyrna (modern İzmir) from 1697 to 1709, but according to public records quoted by Anderson (2000: 114–5) there were in fact two periods when he resided there. He first left England in 1693 and subsequently arrived at Smyrna. He came back to England in 1701 and in 1710 was appointed the Levant Company husband. He again travelled to Smyrna two years later and served as factory treasurer for five years. In the meantime he published *A grammar of the Turkish language* (1709), which, as he states in the preface, was meant for “the Satisfaction and Advantage, which I supposed several Merchants abroad, and all who shall be design'd for Turkey, might reap from such Work” (v). The work features a presentation of the grammar in seventeen chapters, followed by five dialogues, Aesop's fable, a list of proverbs and a glossary. Unlike in Seaman's work, Ottoman forms are quoted in Latin script. For a fuller analysis of the work, including its kinship with the predecessor and its evaluation from the point of view of Turkish studies, see especially Gilson (1987). See also Lewis (1988) for a general overview, and Siemienieć-Gołaś (2010) on Vaughan's list of proverbs.

It was not until 1832 that the next grammar of the Turkish language written in English was published. The author, Arthur Lumley Davids, died of cholera three weeks after its publication and shortly before his twenty-first birthday (Lewis 1968: 398). His endeavour is more ambitious than those of his predecessors. Beside a grammar of Turkish (pp. 1–116), with occasional references to other Turkic languages (Tatar and Uyghur), the work includes Davids's “Preliminary discourse” on the early history and literatures of the Turkic peoples (pp. i–lxxviii), a thematically organized vocabulary (pp. 119–54), a collection of dialogues (pp. 155–68) and text samples in Uyghur, Chaghatay, Kipchak and

Ottoman with translations into English (pp. 171–208). The vocabulary and dialogues were clearly inspired by and are largely copied from Holdermann's *Grammaire turque* (1730).

When Davids's grammar was translated into French as *Grammaire turke* (1936), it gained considerable popularity among the Turks themselves. Its grammar part is said to have become one of the inspirations behind the first modern Ottoman grammar written in this language, i.e. Fuad and Cevdet Paşas' *Kava'id-i Osmaniye* (1851), whereas Davids's "Preliminary discourse" would become one of the foundations behind the emerging Pan-Turkism (Lewis 1968: 398–9).

While Seaman's, Vaughan's and Davids's publications retain their significance as documents of the Ottoman Turkish language but are nowadays of little scholarly value as studies of it, the achievements of another Englishman, James William Redhouse (1811–92), still testify to their author's competence in the domain of Ottoman studies. For a detailed account of Redhouse's life and a comprehensive bibliography of his works, see Findley (1979). Here it is enough to mention his most important publications. Beside numerous translations from and into Ottoman and studies on Ottoman literature, these include a grammar of Ottoman in French (Redhouse 1946), a simplified grammar in English (Redhouse 1884), an English-Turkish lexicon (two editions, Redhouse 1861 and 1877, with numerous reprints), and his *magnum opus*, the Turkish-English lexicon (Redhouse 1890, with numerous reprints and subsequent re-editions, most notably RTOİS).

In general the 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed growing preoccupation with Turkish studies on the part of the British, which was related to the general interest in Oriental studies. Consequently, we find numerous other grammars, written in English mostly for the purpose of facilitating language learning, like Boyd (1842), Riggs (1856; a very short introduction to Ottoman utilizing the Armenian alphabet), Hopkins (1877) and Hagopian (1907), to name a few.

### 6.5.2. Other Turkic languages

As evidenced from Davids's grammar, the languages we call today Turkic were commonly treated to be dialects of one Turkish language. Interest in other Turkic languages among the citizens of the British Empire was relatively limited and rarely promoted. One notable exception is the 19<sup>th</sup>-century British Orientalist, Robert Barkley Shaw (1839–79), who travelled repeatedly to eastern Turkestan from 1868 onwards. He was the first Englishman to visit places like Yarkand and Kashgar (Wheeler & Baigent 2004). In 1875 he published his grammar of the "Turki" language as spoken in Kashgar and Yarkand, which would imply

ancestor dialects of Modern Uyghur. The first volume (grammar) of the revised edition appeared three years later, followed by the second volume (vocabulary), after further two years (Shaw 1978–80).<sup>38</sup>

## 7. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In this section general conclusions follow concerning the treatment of Turkic etymologies in dictionaries of English. Overall the collected material seems to confirm Liberman's (1994, 2008) diagnosis that much of etymological lexicography pertaining to English tends to be outdated, dogmatic and derivative.

W-M, Wedgwood<sub>1.3</sub> and Müller<sub>1.2</sub> are quite similar in terms of the quality of the corresponding entries. Obviously while these are numerous in W-M, which was designed as a general reference book, the latter works include little of the relevant material and the subsequent editions do not differ greatly from the earlier ones. Wedgwood<sub>1.3</sub> has full-fledged entries only for *chagrin*, *coffee*, *seraglio*, *sherbet*, and *turban* and a short note on *caviar* (s.v. *cable*), whereas Müller has entries for *caftan*, *caviare*, *chagreen/shagreen*, *coffee*, *salop*, *seraglio*, *sherbet*, *turban*, and *xebec*, and discusses *raki* s.v. *arrack*. The Oriental forms they quote are often misrepresented (cf. e.g. Müller's romanization of the Arabic and Turkish forms s.v. *coffee*) and they seem to rely on similar sources, although they are not consistently quoted in Wedgwood and Müller, whereas references are missing completely from W-M. The authors are often hesitant to commit themselves to any etymological solutions, quoting an array of forms instead, the relations among which are not explicitly stated.

In Skeat's dictionary the author's own contribution is far more evident. This is manifested in a more decisive treatment of the material and it has to be admitted that Skeat's solutions are often correct, including his remarks on transmission routes, even if limited. The author's more accurate representation of Oriental forms is due to the fact that rather than quoting from secondary authors he used reliable dictionaries, including Dozy for Arabic, Richardson for Arabic and Persian, Shakespear for Hindi/Urdu and Zenker for Turkic, Arabic and Persian. One notable exception is his transliteration of Russian forms from

<sup>38</sup> Among English-language publications on Turkic, we also find Olufsen (1905), which is a turn-of-the-century document of spoken Uzbek of Bukhara. The author is Danish and the work is itself a result of a Danish expedition and as such does not indicate English interest in the region.

Cyrillic (see s.v. **CAVIAR(E)** and **KOUMISS**). While Skeat<sub>1</sub> and Skeat<sub>2</sub> do not differ much from each other, Skeat<sub>4</sub> offers a great number of corrections of earlier proposals.

OED<sub>1-5</sub> is similar in the quality of its entries. The editors relied on good sources too, including occasional references to Meninski and Redhouse. Apart from the inclusion of more lexemes, the most important contribution in comparison to the earlier dictionaries is the rich documentation of usage provided in the entries. This is not always followed by careful recognition of transmission routes, which occasionally results in controversial classification of senses (cf. e.g. s.v. **TANGA**). OED<sub>2</sub> does not improve on that, but it has to be remembered that the main goals of the editors of the second edition were to combine the first edition with all the following supplements into one continuous whole, to eliminate the most obvious mistakes, especially to be found in OED<sub>5</sub> (for an example, see s.v. **BENISH**) and to digitize the text. This last step became the starting point for the revision of entries for the third edition of the dictionary. Based on the entries revised so far, it has to be admitted that at least as far as the vocabulary in question is concerned OED<sub>3</sub> is a major contribution, offering very important improvements, corrections, and new solutions, as well as completely new entries and extended documentation of the existing ones.

Weekley, ODEE and Klein, published in the meantime, are highly derivative of OED<sub>1-5</sub> and rarely offer any original remarks. Additionally, Klein's preoccupation with Semitic is manifested in his notorious quoting of numerous Semitic forms, whether relevant or not.

As far as 20<sup>th</sup>-century general American English dictionaries, W<sub>2</sub> features suprisingly many words derived from Turkish. In fact, in many cases it seems to be the only major dictionary to quote the particular word, cf. the obsolete names of coins s.v. **AKCHE(H)**, s.v. **REBIA**, s.v. **YIRMILIK**, s.v. **YUZLUK**, and s.v. **ZER-MAHBUB**, or items of clothing, s.v. **SHAKSHEER** and s.v. **SHINTIYAN**. The majority of such words are discarded in W<sub>3</sub> and are completely absent from AHD<sub>3-4</sub>, which resemble OED<sub>2</sub> in terms of their inclusions. This last dictionary is exceptional among all the dictionaries consulted in that there are occasional attempts on the part of editors to clarify problematic Turkic words, see e.g. s.v. **CALPAC**, s.v. **KEBAB ~ KABOB** and s.v. **KOUMISS**.

Of the four studies focusing on various kinds of foreign elements in varieties of English, Stanford is the least reliable. It is similar to OED<sub>1-2-3</sub> in its attempt to document the usage of word forms discussed, but many dates are based on later editions, or even plain wrong. Occasional misprints distort the picture even further. Moreover, the solutions offered by the editors are very conservative and

many Turkic or Arabic forms are only traced back to their immediate French or Italian source.

Yule<sub>1-2</sub>, which is the most limited in scope, is at the same time the most informative of the four. While admittedly much of the information is nowadays outdated, it fairly accurately represents late 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholarship and features a number of original proposals (e.g. s.v. **CHUPKUN**).

CannA (plus the electronic second edition CannA<sub>E</sub>) and CannP are examples of solid scholarship but are largely based on the same material which is variously classified as Arabic or Persian, depending on the title of the work it appears in. The entries are laconic, although usually accurate. On the other hand, the lengthy introductions provide a lot of valuable complementary information.





## II. DICTIONARY

### 1. BUILDINGS

#### **HAM(M)AM ~ HUMMAUM ~ HUMMUM**

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **hammam** ~ **hummaum** [ha'ma:m], **hummum** ['hʌmʌm] (1898 OED1); AmE **hammam** [hæm'mɑ:m], **hummum** ['hʌmʌm] (1934 W2) ['hʌmʌm] (1961 W3)

FORMS: **1.** *Hammam* (1625 Purchas<sub>2</sub>), *Hummum* (1634 Herbert<sub>2</sub>), *Hamams* (1662 [1669] Davies<sub>3</sub>), *Hummums* (1686 D'Urfey<sub>3</sub>), *hummums* (1688 Bramston<sub>2</sub>), *Hammams* (1704 Pitts<sub>2</sub>), *Hummums* (1712 Budgell<sub>2</sub>), *hummaum* (1820 Hughes<sub>2</sub>), *Hummaums* (1828 Kuzzilbash<sub>3</sub>), *hamam* (1832 Gell<sub>2</sub>), *Hhammadms* (1836 Lane<sub>3</sub>), *hammām* (1839 Arab. Nts<sub>3</sub>), *hammam* (1844 Mem. Babylonian P'cess<sub>2</sub>) *hummums* (1856 Househ. Words<sub>2</sub>); **2.** *Hummums* (1701 Postman<sub>2</sub>), *Hummums* (1791 Boswell<sub>2</sub>), *Hummums* (1792 Wolcot<sub>2</sub>), *Hummums* (1861 Dickens<sub>2</sub>)

**1.** An Oriental bathing establishment, a Turkish bath; **2.** the Hummums: a bathing establishment based on this established in Covent Garden, London, which subsequently became a hotel.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1865: W-M s.v. **hummum**: P & A *hammām* 'a bath' ← *hamma* 'to warm or heat the water'
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **hammam**, **hummum**: < A *hammām* 'a hot bath'
- 1898: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **hammam**, **hammaum**: < A حَمَام *hammām* 'bath'; s.v. **hummum**: corr. of A حَمَام *hammām* 'hot bath' (A *hammam*, *hummum* 'coal, fuel, ashes'); a bathing establishment called 'the

- Hummums' is said to have been established in Covent Garden in 1631; it subsequently became a hotel
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **hammam**, **hummaum**: 'Turkish bath'; < A *ḥammām* 'bath'
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **hammam**: T (< A) & A *ḥammām* 'bath'; s.v. **hummum**: variant of *hammam*; *the Hummums*, a famous bathhouse, later hotel
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **hummum**: from *the Hummums*, a 17<sup>th</sup> century bathhouse in Covent Garden, London, England; < T *hamam* < A *ḥammām* 'bath'
- 1966: Klein s.v. **hammam**: 'a Turkish bath' < A *ḥammām* 'bath' ← *ḥamma* 'became hot, was warm', related to Heb. *ḥam*, Arabic-Syriac *ḥam*, *ḥāmām*, of s.m. Heb. *ḥōm* 'heat', *ḥam* 'hot', *ḥammāb* 'heat; sun' (*poet.*), *ḥammān* 'sun pillar', Akk. *emmu* 'hot', *ummu* 'heat'
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **hummum**, **hummam**: < T < A *ḥammām* 'bath', related to *hummum* 'coal, fuel, ashes'; a bathing establishment called The Hummums is said to have been set up in 1631 in Covent Garden, London
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1994: CannA s.v. **hammam**: 'an Oriental bathing house, also called *Turkish bath*; a 17<sup>th</sup>-century London bathhouse < A 'hot bath'

## COMMENTARY:

OED<sub>1,2</sub> has two separate entries, but the only difference between the forms in *hum(m)um* vs others is the fact that only the former type was used with reference to the Hummums, i.e. the baths in Covent Garden opened in 1631 and later modified into a hotel.

W-M gives all the necessary information concerning the Arabic etymon and quotes the relevant Arabic forms properly, although the meaning of *ḥamma* is actually more general 'to heat, make hot' (AED 237). The other two Arabic forms quoted in OED<sub>1</sub> (i.e. words for 'coal', etc.) are probably irrelevant for the history of the English word. This is because the English spelling *hummum* most likely reflects a phonetic adaptation (with a change of stress •' > '•• and vowel substitution to [ʌ]) that replaced the earlier English pronunciations more closely reflecting A *ḥammām* or its Ottoman reflexes *hamam* [ha'mam] ~ *hammam* [ha'ma:m] 'bath; bathroom, bathhouse; public bath' (RTOIS: 442, 444). Even less relevant are all the other Semitic forms quoted by Klein.

W<sub>3</sub> and ODEE are the only authorities quoted who explicitly assume Ottoman mediation. At least partial transmission through Ottoman may be justified given the common association with 'Turkish bath'. It has to be stated,

however, that this mediation has not left any unambiguous traces in the shape of the word.

One last comment is due with reference to the spelling *hammaum* attested in English in 1811. The digraph *-au-* usually stands for either [aʊ] or [ɔ:] in medial position in Modern English (Upward & Davidson 2011: 238). This may indicate labialization of the vowel under the influence of *m*, most likely before the stress shift.

## IMARET

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **imaret** [ɪ'mɑːrɛt, 'ɪmərət] (1899 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **imaret** [ɪ'mɑːrɛt] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *Imarets* (1613 Purchas<sub>2</sub>),<sup>39</sup> *Imareths* ~ *imarets* (1638 Herbert *Travels*: 124, 255),<sup>40</sup> *imaret* (1734 Cantemir *History* I: 86) *imaret* (1741 Tournefort *Voyage* III: 312)], *imaret* (1789 MR LXXX: 673), *imaret* (1817 Moore<sub>2</sub>)

An imperial soup kitchen in the Ottoman Empire, which served food to the poor or to travellers. Also used as a synonym of *caravanserai*.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **imaret**: 'a building for the accommodation gratis of Mohammedan pilgrims and travellers' < T *'imāra*
- 1899: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **imaret**: < T < A *إمارة* *'imārat* 'rendering habitable', hence 'hospice'
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **imaret**: 'in Turkey, an inn or hospice' < T *'imārat* < A *'imārah* 'building'
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub>: < T < A *'imārah* 'building'
- 1966: Klein s.v. **imaret**: 'in Turkey, an inn' < T < A *'imārah* 'pious institution, hospice' ← *'amara* 'he lived'
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **imaret**: 'an inn or hostel for pilgrims in Turkey' < T < A *'imāra*, building ← *'amara*, 'to build'
- 1994: CannA s.v. **imaret**: < T *imārat* < A *'imārah* 'building'
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

<sup>39</sup> Stanford dates this to 1614 based on the second edition, but the passage is also present in the first edition of 1613.

<sup>40</sup> OED<sub>2-3</sub> only quotes the first variant used by Herbert.

## COMMENTARY:

**1. Treatment in English dictionaries**

Final *-et* in the English forms remains unaccounted for in Stanford, W<sub>2</sub> and CannA, whose authors variously romanize the Ottoman form in *-a* ~ *-at*, or in *ah*. Moreover, the form *‘imāra* cited by Stanford as Turkish is in fact Arabic (see below).

Cannon's notation (CannA) of the (Ottoman) Turkish form as *imārat* is halfway between a transliteration of the Arabic form (the vowels) and the transcription of Ottoman pronunciation (the absence of *‘*, i.e. *‘ayn* and the presence of final *-t*, on which see below).

A comment is due concerning the semantics, as the glosses found in English dictionaries are not very precise. In Arabic the word has the general meaning 'building, edifice, structure' (AED: 753). In Ottoman the word was used in this general sense as well, but one of the more specific senses was 'soup kitchen', i.e. a typically Ottoman charity institution which served free food to the poor, as well as to religious students or travellers. This meaning seems to be prevalent in the English quotations listed above. Occasional association with 'caravanserai', although the two were not the same, is justified, given that imarets also admitted travellers and pilgrims. On the history and organization of imarets see e.g. Singer (2005).

**2. Origin**

Ott. عمارت *‘imāret* 'soup kitchen' (Redhouse: 1320) is sufficient to account for all the features present in the English forms. It is also perfectly regular in terms of the adaptation of Arabic borrowings in Ottoman. The initial ع *‘ayn*, pronounced as the voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ] in Standard Arabic, was regularly omitted by the Ottomans.<sup>41</sup> The original vowel length has been preserved in Modern Turkish.

As for the word end, A عارة *‘imāra(t)* ends in *ā* (*tā' marbūṭa*), which is pronounced either as [a] (possibly followed by a weak glottal [h]) in the pausal form or as [at] in the medial form (see section 5.3.1 in the Introduction for details).

<sup>41</sup> According to Bugday (1999: 6) the Turks would pronounce *‘ayn* as the glottal stop [ʔ], whereas Kissling (1960: 5) says that it was normally omitted and only occasionally rendered as the glottal stop. The question whether the consonant was omitted or adapted as [ʔ] is relevant in words like *sa'at* 'hour, time', but it has no bearing on those words where *‘ayn* was initial in Arabic. Words beginning in a vowel may be pronounced with the constriction of the glottis, especially utterance-initially, but this is subphonemic in many languages, Modern Turkish and English included. Thus in colloquial Ottoman the word, whether pronounced [ima:ret] or [ʔima:ret], would be phonemically analysed as /ima:ret/.

This morphonological alternation would disappear in Ottoman, with *tā' marbūṭa* surfacing as either *e* (< A *a*) or, more frequently, *et* (< A *at*).

The *-th* in one of the English forms above may be a mistake, as the same source also has *imaret* elsewhere. Alternatively, this variant may have been influenced by Hebrew words like *shibboleth* or *Nazareth*, which due to their occurrence in the Bible, were not unfamiliar.

Thus E *imaret* < Ott. *imaret* 'soup kitchen' < A *ʿimāra(t)* 'building, edifice, structure'.

## KIOSK

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **kiosk** ['ki:ɒsk, kɪ'ɒsk] (1901 OED<sub>1</sub>), ['ki:ɒsk] ~ ['kaɪɒsk] (2008 LPD); AmE **kiosk** [kɪ'a:sk] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), ['ki:,a:sk] ['kaɪ,a:sk] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), ['ki:a:sk] ~ [kɪ'a:sk] (2008 LPD)

FORMS: **1.** *Kiosks* ~ *Chouskes* (1625 Purchas<sub>2</sub>), *Chiosque* (1682 Wheeler<sub>2</sub>), *chiosks* (1717 Lady Montagu<sub>2</sub>),<sup>42</sup> *Kioscs* (1741 Ozell<sub>5</sub>), *kiosques* (1768 *Gent. Mag.*<sub>5</sub>), *Kiosque* (1787 *Gent. Mag.*<sub>5</sub>), *kiosk* (1802 *Edin. Rev.*<sub>5</sub>), *kiosk* (1815 Scott<sub>3</sub>),<sup>43</sup> *kiosk* (1817 Moore<sub>5</sub>), *keoschk* (1819 Hope<sub>5</sub>), *kiosques* (1839 Pardoe<sub>5</sub>), *kiosk* (1849 Lord Beaconsfield<sub>5</sub>), *ki-oshk* (1851 JAOS 1: 461), *kiosks* (1863 Kinglake<sub>2</sub>), **2.** *kiosk* (1865 *Daily Tel.*<sub>2</sub>), *kiosques* (1868 *Morn. Star.*<sub>2</sub>), *kiosks* (1870 Chambers<sub>2</sub>), *kiosk* (1933 MacDonald<sub>2</sub>), *kiosk* (1963 Nabokov<sub>2</sub>), *kiosk-restaurant* ~ *kiosk* (1964 Johnston<sub>2</sub>), *kiosk facilities* (1966 *South Australian Yearbk.*<sub>2</sub>), *kiosk* (1966 *Listener.*<sub>2</sub>), *kiosks* (1971 *E. Afr. Standard.*<sub>2</sub>), **3.** *kiosks* (1928 *Daily Mail.*<sub>2</sub>), *kiosk* (1972 Buckmaster<sub>2</sub>), *kiosk* (1974 Babson<sub>2</sub>)

**1.** An open pavilion or summerhouse of light construction, often supported by pillars and surrounded with a balustrade; common in Turkey and Iran, and imitated in gardens and parks in Western Europe; **2.** A light ornamental structure resembling this, used for the sale of newspapers (orig. in France and Belgium), for a bandstand, or for other purposes; **3.** Telephone kiosk.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1865: W-M s.v. **kiosk**: 'a Turkish open summer-house, supported by pillars' < T *kiushk*, *kiöshk* < P *kúshk*

<sup>42</sup> Stanford has another passage instead from the same source (a letter of Lady Montague's based on the 1827 edition), where, apparently, the word is spelt *ckiosk*, but this has to be a misspelling for *chiosk*, as *ck* is not normally used word-initially.

<sup>43</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1814.

- 1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **kiosque**: < Turki & P *kūshk* ~ *kushk* [sic! – M. U.] ‘a pavilion, a villa’
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **kiosk**, **kiosque**: < T *kyushk* ‘summerhouse, pavillion’
- 1901: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **kiosk** = F *kiosque* (It. *chiosco*) < T كوشك *kiūshk* ‘pavilion’, P *kūshk* ‘palace, portico’
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub>
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> s.v. **kiosk**: ‘a Turkish open summer-house, small pavilion’ < F *kiosque* < T *kushk*, *kōshk* (with *k* pronounced as *ki*) ‘a kiosk’ < P *kūshk* ‘a palace, a villa; a portico, or similar projection in a palace’; according to Devic the spelling reflects the Turkish practice of inserting a slight *i* after *k*
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **kiosk**: < F *kiosque* < T *kiūshk* ‘pavilion’ < P *kūshk* ‘palace, portico’
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **kiosk**: < F *kiosque* < T *kiūshk* ‘pavilion’ < P *kūshk* ‘portico, palace’
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **kiosk**, **kiosque**: T *kōšk* < P *kūshk* ‘portico, palace’
- 1966: Klein s.v. **kiosk**: also *kiosque* < F *kiosque* < T *kiōshk* ‘pavillion’ < P *kūshk*, ‘palace’
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **kiosk**: < F *kiosque* (in It. *kiosco*) < T *kiūshk* ‘pavillion’ < P *kūshk* ‘palace’
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **kiosk**: < F *kiosque* < T *kōšk* < MP *gōshak* ‘corner’ < Av. \**gaoshaka-*, diminutive of *gaosha-* ‘ear’
- 2000: AHD<sub>3</sub> = AHD<sub>4</sub>
- 2001: CannP s.v. **kiosk**: < T *kōšk* ‘pavilion’ < P *kūšk* ‘portico, kiosk, banqueting house’ < MP *kōšk* ‘palace, kiosk’; *kiosque* < F (< T < P, etc.)

## COMMENTARY:

## 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

Ottoman (< Persian) origin is properly identified by almost all authors, although the derivation from Persian is missing from Stanford. While the notations used for the Persian forms are overall consistent and seem to suggest a form like the classical NP *kūšk* (= ModP *kušk*), the spellings found for the Ottoman form(s) are far from uniform.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Two exceptions are Yule, whose formulation is very ambiguous, and AHD<sub>3</sub> (= AHD<sub>4</sub>), which refers to a Middle Persian form (see further).

Notations like *kiushk*, *kyushk*, *kiūshk* are somewhere between transcription (the palatalization of the velar is reflected) and transliteration (the vowel corresponds to orthographic *յ*). The form *kiöshk* found in W-M and Klein represents the pronunciation closely, as does *köshk* in Skeat, where we also find a comment concerning the palatalization of initial *k*-. The transliterated form *kūshk* is fairly frequent. W<sub>3</sub>, AHD, and CannP represent the word in Modern Turkish orthography.

Because of this variation, the overall impression may be that Ottoman could be pronounced both *köšk* and *kūšk* (or *kušk*), whereas the latter pronunciation did not occur (as evidenced in PLOT: §267). Furthermore, it is unclear whether Skeat's comment concerning the pronunciation of the initial *k* as *ki* is applicable to *köshk* alone or to both forms, according to the author.

*Kūshk* given in OED<sub>1</sub> as a Persian form (and repeated in OED<sub>2</sub>) must be a misprint for *kūshk*.

AHD<sub>3</sub> (= AHD<sub>4</sub>) is the first dictionary where further etymology is discussed. It is also the only one that derives the Ottoman form from MP *gōšak* 'corner'. While there are other examples of the change P *g*- > Ott. *k*-, chronology makes it impossible for Ottoman to have borrowed any items directly from Middle Persian.<sup>45</sup> Cannon makes up for this by adding an intermediate stage, i.e. P *kūšk*.

## 2. English usage

English forms are abundant and generally suggest that spoken language was involved in the transmission from Ottoman to the European languages. This is suggested by the presence of *-i-* indicating either the palatalization of the initial consonant in the Ottoman etymon or the front quality of the vowel or both. This palatal quality of both segments was marked only indirectly in the Ottoman script by using the letter *ک* *kef* instead of *ق* *kāf*, suggesting that the syllable was front rather than back. Thus if the word had passed via written documents, it would have the form *\*koshk*, *kosk* or similar.

Forms like *keoschk* or *kioshk* aim to reflect closely the Turkish pronunciation, the former exhibiting influence of German orthography with *sch* for [ʃ].<sup>46</sup> Most of them, however, feature adaptation of word-final *-šk* as *-sk*, which is clearly more acceptable phonotactically in the majority of European languages.

<sup>45</sup> The name Middle Persian is usually applied to the language of the Sassanid Empire (224–651AD), whereas we may speak of Ottoman Turkish from the beginning of the Ottoman Empire, i.e. the early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>46</sup> Whether *e* represents the palatalized quality of the initial consonant or *eo* should be read as *ö* is not entirely clear.

The orthography of some forms suggests either transmission through Romance or at least the influence of Romance spelling conventions, with *chi-* for [k'] pointing to Italian (as in ModIt. *chiòsco*) and *-sque* suggesting French. The chronology of attestation is consistent with extralinguistic evidence: the immediate donor of the majority of English forms must have been French, but the earliest ones may reflect Italian influence on French in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (cf. also *chiosque* 1608 and *chioschi* 1626 attested in French texts and quoted in FEW: 103).

### 3. The Ottoman word and its Persian etymon

The Ottoman form was كۆشك *köşk* ‘villa, summerhouse, pavilion’ (RTOİS: 680, Redhouse: 1595), indeed related to ModP *kušk* (earlier *kūšk*). The front vocalism in Ottoman is due to the palatalizing potential of the initial consonant (see section 5.1.3 of the introduction).

As for vowel height, there is a useful summary in Stein (2006: 147–148) of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman reflexes of NP *ū* as found in transcription texts. Generally there is variation *ü* ~ *ö* in words featuring the palatalized [k'] or [g'] and *u* ~ *o* elsewhere. The mid vowels tend to occur in words where ModP *u* < LNP *ū* < ENP *ō* (as opposed to others where ModP *u* < LNP *ū* < ENP *ū*). The precise dating of the shift *ō* > *ū* and a diachronic analysis of its territorial spread in Persian is very difficult, but Pisowicz's conclusion is that it must have been completed in New Persian by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, whereas before that the two phonemes must have occurred in free variation in the words with ENP *ō* (Pisowicz 1985; see especially the useful chart on p. 89; cf. also Perry 1996).<sup>47</sup>

All of the above may indicate that Ott. *ö* in Ott. *köşk* reflects ENP *kōšk* rather than the later *kūšk*. We know that *ū* in LNP *kūšk* derives from ENP *ō* due to comparative data. This older *ō* did not merge with *ū* in all varieties that stem from Early New Persian. Thus we have Taj *к̌ушк* ‘building’ (TRS: 200) to confirm the earlier *ō*.<sup>48</sup>

### 4. The ultimate origin

The ultimate etymon of the Persian word does not have bearing on the English form and need not concern us here in detail. A few remarks will suffice.

<sup>47</sup> A few examples of the merger are already found in the *Codex Comanicus*, but then again later transcriptions in Armenian script keep the two phonemes apart (see Chapter II in Pisowicz 1985, esp. pp. 73–6).

<sup>48</sup> ENP *ō* = Taj mid-central *ū* (= *ȳ* in Cyrillic), whereas ENP *ū* = Taj *u* (*y* in Cyrillic) (Perry 2005: 15).



The derivation in AHD<sub>3</sub> (together with its variants, see e.g. FEW: 103) is traditional and based on Horn (§945). It is not very convincing on semantic grounds: the transition from diminutive of ‘ear’ via ‘corner, angle’ to ‘palace’ is rather strained.

A counter-suggestion has been made by Bailey who treats the word as a diminutive in *-ak* too, but the derivational basis is a hypothetical form related to Av *kaožda-* (= Saka *kūšda-* ‘mansion’), i.e. *\*kaužda(ka)* > *kōšk* (e.g. Bailey 1967: 51–2).

## KONAK

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **konak** [kəʊˈnɑːk] (1933 OED<sub>s</sub>), AmE **konak** [kəˈnak] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [koʊˈnɑːk] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **1.** *Conáck* (1675 [1893] Covel<sub>2</sub>), *conáck* (1775 Chandler<sub>3</sub>); **2.** *conac* (1717 Lady Montagu<sub>s</sub>), *konak* (1852 Newton<sub>2</sub>), *konak* (1878 Poole<sub>2</sub>), *konak* (1882 Standard<sub>s</sub>), *Konak* (1897 Bartlett<sub>2</sub>), *konak* (1908 Droганof<sub>2</sub>), *konak* (1926 *Spectator*<sub>2</sub>), *Konak* (1957 Durrell<sub>2</sub>); **3.** *conacks* (1819 Hope<sub>s</sub>)

**1.** A halting-place on a journey, an inn; **2.** A large house, palace, or official residence, in Turkey, or in the (former) Ottoman Empire; **3.** A day’s journey, the distance between two halting-places.

### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **konak**: < T *qōnaq* ‘a resting-place for the night for travellers’; hence ‘a day’s journey’
- 1933: OED<sub>s</sub> s.v. **konak**: < T *qonaq*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **konak**: < T *qōnāq*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **konak**: < T
- 1966: Klein s.v. **konak**: < T *qōnāq*, ‘inn, mansion, government house’
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **konak**: < T *qonaq* ‘halting-place, inn’

### COMMENTARY:

#### **1. Treatment in English dictionaries and the word’s use in English**

The entries summarized above are very similar to one another, with one notable exception being the particular forms quoted for Ottoman. These are transliterations of Ott. *konak* in three different orthographic forms: قوناك, قنق, قونق. Only the last of these is recorded in Redhouse (1498) and RTOİS (673), where

فوكناق is also found. However, this unstable orthography does not reflect any fluctuation in pronunciation.

The spelling of the English forms corresponds closely to Ott. *konak* sometimes with expected substitutions (*c* for [k] before a back vowel, *c(k)* for the same consonant word finally) and does not point to transmission via any particular language. This is consistent with the fact that all the attestations listed in Stanford and OED<sub>2-3</sub> come from passages pertaining to lands under Ottoman rule, corresponding to modern Turkey, the Balkans or the Cyprus. The word must have been quoted as used either in Ottoman Turkish or in a very similar form in the languages of the Ottoman colonies e.g. the Balkan Slavic languages or (Cypriot) Greek.

The discussion of the semantics calls for corrections. The older meaning ‘resting-place; inn’ is not noted in OED<sub>2</sub>, although one of the examples quoted in this dictionary, a passage from the diary by John Covel (dated 1675, but not published before 1893, see Bent *Voyages*: 174–5), clearly exhibits this sense.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, the dictionary also misses the meaning ‘a day’s journey’, but this is because the editors do not have any passages featuring this use, unlike Stanford.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, the latter dictionary does not list the meaning ‘official residence’, although it has an example in the quotation from *Standard* (1882).<sup>51</sup>

All three meanings are also found in Ottoman (RTOİS: 673). Cf. Ott. *menzil* ‘halting place; a day’s journey’ (RTOİS: 756), where a similar semantic development has occurred (cf. its Arabic etymon منزل *manzil*, only ‘stopping place, way station, camp site; dwelling, house, residence’ ← √nzl ‘to dismount’, AED: 1124 and 1122 respectively).

## 2. The origin of the Ottoman form

The origin of the Ottoman form does not have any bearing on the English word, and will be discussed only briefly. For further details see the references provided.

It is universally assumed that Ott. *konak* i.a. ‘halting place; inn; mansion, residence, government house’ is a formation related to a verbal stem also found in Ottoman *kon-* i.a. ‘to camp, to make a night’s halt (during a journey)’ (RTOİS: 673). Although both the stem and the derivative seem to be firmly established in the Turkic languages,<sup>52</sup> the precise nature of the suffix remains controversial.

<sup>49</sup> The word is glossed ‘stage’ (see OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. *stage* sense 8a ‘a place in which rest is taken on a journey’) in the original text. Cf. also Chandler’s 1775 *conack*, glossed *resting-place* in the passage quoted in Stanford.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Hope’s 1819 *conacks* cited in Stanford.

<sup>51</sup> The word is glossed ‘palace’ in the original text.

<sup>52</sup> The earliest Anatolian Turkic attestation is the 14<sup>th</sup>-century *konaklık* (TS IV: 2626), but the stem and its derivatives occur already in Old Turkic (DTS: 455; see also 456

There are at least two candidates for the ancestorship of final *-ak*. Doerfer (TMEN III: §1539) sees Tk. *konak* as a returning loan (*Rückentlehnung*) from a Mongolic word which in turn had been taken over from OTk. *konok* (see *ibid.* for details; also see OTWF I: §3.102 on the suffix, which Erdal quotes as *-(O)k*). Others (e.g. Nişanyan s.v. *konak*) prefer to analyse the word as a reduction from *\*kongak*, the second syllable being the suffix *-gak* (see von Gabain 1941: §116, Räsänen 1957: 125–6, Tekin 1968: 112, and Berta 1996: esp. §§3.15 and 3.15.1).

## ODA

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **oda** ['ʊdə] (1902 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **oda** ['oʊdə] ~ ['oʊ'dɑ:] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: [*Odabassi* (Grafton *Turke*: iv), *Oda Bassi* (1585 Washington<sub>3</sub>), *Oda's* (plural; 1625 Purchas<sub>2</sub>), *Oda's* (plural; 1684 Phillips<sub>2</sub>), *Oda* (1797<sub>5</sub> *Encyc. Brit.*<sub>3</sub>), *Oda* (1823 Byron<sub>3</sub>),<sup>53</sup> *oda* (1905 Bell<sub>3</sub>); **a.** *Odas* (1712 Sutton<sub>3</sub>), *oda* (1936 Luke<sub>3</sub>); **b.** *Odà* (1865 Ouida<sub>3</sub>), *Odahs* (1885 Burton<sub>3</sub>),<sup>54</sup> *oda* (1984 *Time*<sub>3</sub>)

In the Ottoman Empire and Turkey: a room or chamber; *spec.* (now *hist.*) **a.** the barracks of the Janissaries; **b.** a room in a harem; (also, in extended use) the women in a harem collectively.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **oda**: 'a chamber, a class-room' < T
- 1902: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **oda**: < T اوڤده, اوڤده *ōṭah, ōdah* 'chamber, hall'
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **oda**: < T *ōdah*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **oda**: < T *oda* 'room, chamber'
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 2010: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **oda**: < T *oda* 'room, chamber'; also 'janizary barracks (now *hist.*); probably < Old Turkish *ōd* 'fire'

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on OTk. *konuk* specifically) and Middle Kipchak *konakla-* (CC 199). See also *\*ko:n-* variously glossed as 'to descend from height, sit down, stay overnight, settle, remain' in TMEN III §1539, Ščerbak 1970: 194, Berta 1996: §2.74, ÈSTJa VI 54–5.

<sup>53</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> has 1822, whereas Stanford has 1823, although it quotes a different passage from the same source.

<sup>54</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1886.

## COMMENTARY:

The gloss ‘classroom’ as given in Stanford for English does not reflect the actual usage of the word, either in Turkish or in English. It is based on one quotation from Purchas (1625), where the word may be glossed ‘room’ as well. In Turkish, *sinif* (< A *sinf*) and *dershâne* (< P *darshâne*) were more typically used for ‘classroom’ than *oda* ‘chamber, room, office’.

The variation *t* ~ *d* (graphically ط ~ د) as reported by OED<sub>1</sub> was indeed attested in Ottoman (cf. the forms quoted from Vullers’ dictionary in ÈSTJa I: 486).<sup>55</sup>

OED<sub>3</sub> correctly adds the historical meaning ‘Janissary barracks’ as it shows up in a number of English uses, including the earliest attestation in the phrase *Oda Bassi* ‘janizary officer’ or, as explained by the author of the 1585 passage, ‘person [...], which distributeth and parteth amongst them the offices of the chamber’ (cf. the more general meaning of *odabaşı* ‘janitor in a large establishment; man in charge of the rooms of an inn’ given in RTOİS: 897).

The fact that *oda* is related to the word for ‘fire’, as suggested by the editors of OED<sub>3</sub>, is generally accepted in Turcology (TMEN II: §489, EDT: 46, ÈSTJa I: 486). The following morphological derivation and semantic development may be assumed for Proto Turkic: \**ōt* ‘fire’ → \**ōta-* ‘to ignite, to kindle fire’ (cf. MTkc. *ota*-id. in Dankoff & Kelly II: 280, also see DTS: 373) → \**ōtağ* ‘place where fire is kindled’ (> ‘tent, dwelling’ > ‘room, chamber’). This last form regularly yields Ott. *oda* ‘room, chamber’, with the loss of the final spirant and the abundantly attested voicing of the vowel after a primary long vowel (for a parallel process see CHIBOUK).

It is unclear what the editors of OED<sub>3</sub> mean by “Old Turkish”. “Old Turkic” would be incorrect as it is not a direct ancestor of (Ottoman) Turkish.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, -*d* is not primary in Turkic: as seen above the form reconstructed for Proto-Turkic is *ōt*, the voicing *t* > *d* in (Ottoman) Turkish being a regular development.

On the other hand, if “Old Turkish” means “Old Ottoman” or “Old Anatolian Turkic”, the asterisk is redundant as OATkc. *od* ‘fire’ is attested as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century (TS V: 2909).

<sup>55</sup> Strictly speaking, the variation in Vullers is ط *t* ~ د *d* but the difference between ط and د was not systematic in Ottoman. The latter, occurring exclusively in the vicinity of back vowels, was sometimes replaced with the former, which was otherwise used in the neighbourhood of front vowels.

<sup>56</sup> This would be more or less equivalent to deriving an English form from its Gothic cognate.

**SERAGLIO ~ SERAI ~ SERAIL**

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **seraglio** [sɛˈrɑːljəʊ] (1912 OED<sub>1</sub>), [səˈrɑːl(i)jəʊ] ~ [sɪˈrɑːl(i)jəʊ] ~ [seˈrɑːl(i)jəʊ] (2008 LPD), **serai** [səˈraɪ] (1912 OED<sub>1</sub>), **serail** [səˈreɪl] (1912 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **seraglio** [sɪˈræljoʊ] ~ [səˈrɑːljəʊ] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>, 2008 LPD), [səˈræljoʊ] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), **serai** [səˈraɪːi] ~ [səˈraɪ] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>), **serail** [səˈreɪl] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [səˈraɪ] ~ [səˈraɪ(ə)l] [səˈreɪ(ə)l] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **A: 1.** *Saray* (1542 Grafton *Turke*: iiiii), *Saray* (1617 Moryson<sub>2</sub>), *Serrays* (1638 Herbert *Travels* 78),<sup>57</sup> *Serai* (1814 Byron<sub>3</sub>),<sup>58</sup> *Serai* (1820 Hughes<sub>3</sub>), *serai* (1840 Frazer<sub>3</sub>), *serai* (1869 Tozer<sub>2</sub>); **4.** *Surroyes* (1612 Covert<sub>3</sub>),<sup>59</sup> *Surroyes* (1615 de Feynes<sub>3</sub>), *Saraies* ~ *Saray* ~ *Seraes* (1625 Finch<sub>2</sub>),<sup>60</sup> *Serray* (1638 Bruton<sub>3</sub>), *Saray* (1638 Herbert *Travels* 78),<sup>61</sup> *seraw* (1664 [1852] Browne *Works* III 521), *serauee* (a1792 [1798] Forster<sub>3</sub>),<sup>62</sup> *serais* (1793 Hodges<sub>2</sub>), *seray* (1799 Hunter<sub>3</sub>),<sup>63</sup> *serais* (1813 Byron<sub>3</sub>),<sup>64</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Stanford dates this to 1665, but the passage was present at least as early as the 1638 edition.

<sup>58</sup> Stanford and OED<sub>2</sub> both dates this to 1812, but Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was published in 1814.

<sup>59</sup> Stanford spells *Surroies* and dates this to 1614, based on the second edition. I was not able to establish whether the spelling difference is between the two editions or is an error in Stanford.

<sup>60</sup> All the relevant passages come from Finch's journals published posthumously Purchas *Pilgrimes* 1625. The entries in the original edition are not explicitly dated. Purchas *Pilgrimes* 1905 dates these based on the hints in the text itself. Stanford has *Suray* (misspelling for *Saray*), attributed to Finch and dated 1609 (1610 in Purchas *Pilgrimes* 1905), as well as *Saray* (in another passage), *Saraies* and *Seraes*, all attributed to Purchas and dated 1625 (respectively 1609, 1610 and 1615 in Purchas *Pilgrimes* 1905). OED<sub>2</sub> has *Saray* (= Stanford's *Suray*), dated 1609, and *Saraes* (the same occurrence as in Stanford), dated c1616 (although the 1905 has 1615), both attributed to Finch. Because of such inconsistencies it seems more reasonable to combine all the occurrences under the date of publication of the first edition of Purchas.

<sup>61</sup> See fn. 57.

<sup>62</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1782.

<sup>63</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1800.

<sup>64</sup> This could be read as 'palace' (= sense 2) as well. We follow the original interpretation advanced in Stanford.

*serai* (1825 [1828] Heber<sub>3</sub>),<sup>65</sup> *seraees* (1848 Mill<sub>2</sub>), *serais* (1879 Wakefield<sub>2</sub>), *Serai* (1895 Outing<sub>2</sub>); **5.** (?) *sera* (1619 [1906] Foster<sub>2</sub>)<sup>66</sup>; **2.** (?) *Serai* (1813 Byron<sub>2</sub>)<sup>67</sup>

**B: 2.** *Serraglio* (1581 Rich<sub>2</sub>), *Seralyo* (1588 Hicock<sub>2</sub>), *Seraglia* (1612 Jonson<sub>3</sub>),<sup>68</sup> *Serraglios* (1615 Sandys<sub>3</sub>), *Seraglios* (1619 Purchas<sub>3</sub>), *Zereglia* (1625 Purchas<sub>2</sub>), *Serraglio* (1630 Massinger<sub>3</sub>),<sup>69</sup> *Seralio* (1634 Herbert<sub>2</sub>), *Seraglio* (1642 [1869] Howell<sub>3</sub>), *Serralias* (1653 Ramesey<sub>2</sub>), *Seraglio* (1658 Cleveland<sub>3</sub>), *Serraglio* (1659 [2001] Evelyn<sub>3</sub>), *Seraglio* (1673 Dryden<sub>3</sub>),<sup>70</sup> *Seraglio* (1681 Marvell<sub>3</sub>), *Seraglio* (1691 *Comedy*<sub>2</sub>), *Seraglios* (1699 [1731] Temple *Works* I 273),<sup>71</sup> *Seraglio* (1709 Tatler<sub>2</sub>), *Seraglio* (1711 Ken<sub>2</sub>), *seraglio lady* ~ *seraglio window* (1717 Montagu<sub>2</sub>), *Seraglio* (1741 Ozell<sub>3</sub>), *seraglio* (1773 Wilkes<sub>2</sub>), *seraglios* (1788 *Gentl. Mag.*<sub>2</sub>), *Seraglio* (1788 Walpole<sub>3</sub>), *seraglio* (1803 Lytton<sub>3</sub> and 1820 Scott<sub>2</sub>), *seraglio guard* (1822 Shelley<sub>2</sub>), *Seraglio* (1830 Galt<sub>3</sub>), *seraglio* (1847 Brontë<sub>2</sub>), *seraglio* (1860 Motley<sub>2</sub>), *seraglio* (1878 Stephen Johnson 47),<sup>72</sup> *seraglios* (1879 Farrar<sub>2</sub>), *seraglio* (1881 [1884] Elliott<sub>2</sub>), *seraglio* (1883 Lytton *Life* I 105)<sup>73</sup>; **1.** *Seraglio* (1589 Hakluyt<sub>3</sub>),<sup>74</sup> *surrallia* ~ *surrallya* (1600 [1893] Dallam<sub>2</sub>), *Seraglia* (1612 Coryat<sub>3</sub>), *Seralia* (1612 Biddulph<sub>3</sub>), *Seraglio* (1617 Moryson<sub>3</sub>), *Seraglio* (1630 Botero<sub>2</sub>), *Seralio* (1639 [1645] Howell<sub>3</sub>), *Seraglio* (1654 Whitlock<sub>3</sub>), *Seraglio* (1658 Browne *Pseudodoxia*: 317),<sup>75</sup> *Seraglio* (1667 [1669] Dryden *Queen*: 51),<sup>76</sup> *Serraglioies* (1682 Wheler<sub>2</sub>), *Seraglio* (1728 [1732] Haywood<sub>2</sub>),

<sup>65</sup> The entry is dated April 12, 1625 and was published three years later as part of Heber's journal. (Heber *Narrative* II: 131). Stanford refers to Yule who used a later edition (1844).

<sup>66</sup> See further for the justification of the question mark.

<sup>67</sup> See fn. 64.

<sup>68</sup> Stanford and OED<sub>2</sub> date this to 1610.

<sup>69</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> date this to 1624.

<sup>70</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> date this to 1672.

<sup>71</sup> Stanford uses a later edition. Temple died in 1699 and his works were published posthumously.

<sup>72</sup> Stanford date this to 1879, but the 1878 edition also features the passage.

<sup>73</sup> Stanford date this to 1803, but this is Baron Lytton's date of birth, which would make it impossible for him to be the author. The passage was published in 1883, in a posthumous collection of his writings. According to the editor it describes the events of the year 1811, but the context implies these recollections were written much later.

<sup>74</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> date this to 1599, based on the second edition of Hakluyt.

<sup>75</sup> Stanford date this to 1646, i.e. the date of the first edition, but the passage is quoted based on the 1686 edition. Because the consecutive editions were modified by Browne, 1646 is unreliable. The earliest edition I was able to access was the third one of 1658.

<sup>76</sup> Stanford date this to 1664, but the play premiered in 1667 and was published in 1669.

*Seraglio* (1733 North<sub>s</sub>), *Seraglio* (1768 *Gent. Mag.*<sub>s</sub>), *seraglio* (1775 Chandler<sub>s</sub>), *seraglio* (1820 Hughes<sub>s</sub>), *Seraglio* (1877 *Encycl. Brit.*<sub>2</sub>); **3.** *Seraglios* (1600 Pory<sub>2</sub>), *Seragli* (1613 Wotton<sub>2</sub>),<sup>77</sup> *Seraglio* (1656 Monmouth<sub>2</sub>); **4.** *Seraglia* (1617 Purchas<sub>2</sub>), *seraglio* (1659 Evelyn<sub>2</sub>); **5.** *seraglia* (1628 Foster), *seraglio* (1676 Covel<sub>2</sub>), *Seraglio's* (plural; 1682 Wheeler<sub>2</sub>), *Seraglio* (1712 Pomet<sub>2</sub>); **6.** *seraglio* (a1660 Evelyn<sub>3</sub>),<sup>78</sup> *Serraglio* (1670 [1698] Wilson<sub>3</sub>)<sup>79</sup>

**C:** **1.** *Sarail* (1585 Washington<sub>2</sub>), *serrail* (1621 Knolles<sub>3</sub>),<sup>80</sup> *Serail* (1687 *Lond. Gaz.*<sub>2</sub>), *serail* (1782 Scott<sub>2</sub>); **2.** *Sarails* (1585 Washington<sub>2</sub>), *Sarell* (1590 Marlowe<sub>3</sub>),<sup>81</sup> *Serraille* (1603 Florio<sub>2</sub>), *Serrayle* (1628 Le Grys<sub>2</sub>), *serail* (1683 *Paradise*<sub>s</sub>), *serail* (1786 Beckford<sub>2</sub>), *serail* (1808 Barrett<sub>2</sub>), *Serail* (1844 Kinglake<sub>2</sub>), *serails* (1853 Kingsley<sub>2</sub>); **3.** *Sarail* (1585 Washington<sub>2</sub>); **6.** *serail* (1865 Ouida<sub>s</sub>)

**1.** A Turkish palace, esp. that of the Sultan; **2.** The part of a Muslim house (esp. a palace) where women are secluded; the inmates of the harem; **3.** Soldiers' barracks; **4.** A place of accomodation for travellers (short for caravanserai); **5.** A warehouse; **6.** Other kinds of enclosure or confinement.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

1865: W-M s.v. **seraglio**: 'an inclosure; a place of separation'; 'the palace of the grand seignior, or Turkish sultan, inhabited by the sultan himself, and all the officers and dependents of his court; in it are also confined the females of the harem'; hence, 'a harem: a place for keeping wives or concubines'; and hence, 'a place of licentious pleasure; a house of debauchery'; < It. *serraglio* 'an inclosure of palisades', Sp. *serrallo*, OSp. *cerraje* Prov *serralh*, F *sérail* ← It. *ser-rare*, Sp. & Pg. *cerrar*, Prov *serrar*, F *serrer* 'to shut' ← LL *serra*, L *sera* 'a bar for fastening doors': afterward used for the P *serâi* 'a palace'; s.v. **serai**: 'a place for the accommodation of travelers in India and Tartary'; a caravansary or rest house'; < P *serâi* or *serâi* 'a palace, a king's court, a seraglio, an inn'

<sup>77</sup> Stanford date this to 1642.

<sup>78</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> and Stanford spell *seraglio* and date the passage to a1700 and 1644 respectively, both based on earlier editions. OED<sub>3</sub> refers to the 1955 edition of the original manuscript.

<sup>79</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> date this to a1668, but Stanford has the correct year.

<sup>80</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> date this to 1603.

<sup>81</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> date this to 1587.

- 1865: Wedgwood<sub>1</sub> s.v. **seraglio**: < It. *serraglio* 'a place shut in, locked, or inclosed as a cloister, a park, a paddock; sultan's palace' < *serrare* 'to lock in, to inclose'; application to the sultan's palace due to the influence of Ott. *saray* (< P) 'a palace, a mansion'; *sarayli* 'any person, esp. a woman, who has belonged to the sultan's palace'; *caravan-serai*: 'the place where a caravan is housed, an Eastern inn'
- 1865: Müller<sub>1</sub> s.v. **seraglio**: Fr *sérail* = Sp. *serallo* = It. *serraglio* 'Verschluss' ← *serrare* 'verschliessen' (< MLat. *serra* < Lat. *sera* 'Schloss') × Turk. ~ Per. *serai* 'Palast (des Sultans)'; Diez I: 379
- 1872: Wedgwood<sub>2</sub> = Wedgwood<sub>1</sub>
- 1878: Wedgwood<sub>3</sub> = Wedgwood<sub>1</sub>
- 1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **serai**, **serye**: < H-U < P *sarā*, *sarāi* orig. 'an edifice, a palace'; "The word, as applied to the Palace of the Grand Turk, became, in the language of the Levantine Franks, *serail* and *serraglio*. In this form ... the 'striving after meaning' connected the word with Ital. *serrato*, 'shut up'; and with a word *serraglio* perhaps previously existing in Italian in that connexion. It is this association that has attached the meaning of 'women's closed apartments' to the word. *Sarai* has no such specific sense"
- 1888: Skeat<sub>2</sub> s.v. **seraglio**: It. *serraglio* 'an inclosure, a close, a padocke, a parke, a cloister or secluse' [ref. to Florio] ← *serrare* 'to shut, lock, enclose' + *-aglio* (< L *-aculum*); [the following forms are also quoted: coll. VL *seracula* 'a small bolt', VL *serare* 'to bar, bolt, shut in', L *sera* 'a bar, bolt', L *serere* 'to join or bind together']; the special application with reference to Turkey is due to contamination with P (and T) *seráy* or *serát* 'a palace, a great edifice, a king's court, a seraglio'
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **seraglio**: < It. *serraglio* 'an enclosure; a cloister'; occasionally Anglicized as *serail*, *sarrel*, *serral* < OF *serrail*, *sarrail*
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub>
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> s.v. **seraglio** = Skeat<sub>2</sub> with minor changes: "Low Latin" is replaced by "Late Latin", the Latin forms are corrected (Late L *serācula*, *serāre*); s.v. **serai**: 'a court for the accommodation of travellers, a caravanseray' < P *serāi* lit. 'a palace'; also used to mean 'seraglio'; makes ref. to Byron; cf. commentary
- 1914: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **seraglio**: < It. *serraglio* < VL *\*serrāculum* 'enclosure, place of confinement' (cf. ML *serrāculum* 'fastening of the door') ← *\*serrāre* (> It. *serrara* = F *serrer* = Sp. *cerrar*) for *serāre* 'to lock up, close' ← *sera* 'lock or bolt'; contamination with T *serāi* 'lodging,



- palace'; also gives the following comment: all the meanings relate to Turkey, but some of them represent merely the etymological sense of the Italian word, while others owe their meaning wholly or partly to the Turkish word; s.v. **serai** n. 1: < T (< P) سرای *serāī* 'lodging, residence, palace'; also refers to *seraglio* and *serail*; s.v. **serail**: < F *sérail* < It. *serraglio* (cf. Sp. *serrallo*); ref. to *seraglio*
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **seraglio**: < It. *serraglio* (with ref. to Florio; see Skeat,) < L *sera* 'lock'; erroneously used, owing to superficial resemblance of form and sense, to render *serai*; s.v. **serai**: T *serāī* < P 'lodging, residence, palace'; esp. of Sultan's palace in Constantinople, wrongly called *seraglio*; [reference to *caravanserai* follows, though no separate entry for this word exists; s.v. *caravan* the following comment is offered: *caravanserai* < P *kārwān* 'company of merchants travelling together' + *sarāī* 'mansion, inn']
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **seraglio**: pl. *seragli*, *seraglios* < It. *serraglio*, orig. 'an enclosure of palisades', afterwards also 'a palace, seraglio' (by confusion with T *serāī* [reference to *serai*]) < VL *\*serraculum* ← *serrare* 'to close, lock up'; s.v. **serai**: < T *serāī* 'palace, house, inn' < P *sarāī*; s.v. **serail**: < F *sérail*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **seraglio**: < It. *serraglio* 'enclosure, cage, sultan's palace, harem' < OIt. (< ML *serraculum* 'bar of a door, bolt' < VL *\*serrare* 'to lock up, bolt' < Late L *serare*) × Turk *saray* 'palace'; s.v. **serai**: T & P; T *saray* 'palace, mansion' < P *sarāī* 'palace, mansion, inn'; s.v. **serail**: < MF < OIt. *serraglio*
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **seraglio**: < It. *serraglio* < T < P *serāī* 'palace' (also mentions F *sérail* as "current in Eng[lish]" in 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries); s.v. **serai**: < T < P *serāī* 'lodging, residence, palace'
- 1967: Klein s.v. **seraglio**: 1. 'harem'; 2. 'name of the old palace of the sultan in Constantinople' < It. *serraglio* lit. 'enclosure', later also in the sense of 'palace' (probably under the influence of T *serāī* 'palace') < ML *serrāculum* 'bar (of a door), bolt' ← VL *\*serrāre* 'to bar, bolt' ← Late L *serāre* ← L *sera* 'a bar (for fastening a door); the suffix *-aglio* < L *-aculum* used to derive place names; s.v. **serai**: 'a place for the accommodation of travellers in the East' < T *serāī* 'palace' < P *sarāī* 'mansion, inn' < OP *srāda* 'residence' < *prā-* 'to protect' (> Av *ṛāyeiṇti* 'they protect')
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **seraglio**: It. *serraglio* 'enclosure, seraglio', probably < VL *\*serraculum* 'enclosure' (← *\*serrāre*, 'to lace up' < L *serre* <

*sera*, ‘door-bar’) × T *saray* ‘palace’ (< P *sary* ‘inn’); Watkins gives IE *\*treh<sub>2</sub>-yo* (a variant of *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to cross over, pass through, overcome’) from which Ir *\*thrāya* ‘to protect’ is derived, the apparent ancestor of *sary*

2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

2001: CannP s.v. **serai**: < T *saray* ‘palace, mansion, government house or office’ (< P *serāī* ‘inn, residence, palace’) and < P; s.v. **seraglio**: < It. *serraglio* < T *saray* (< P *serāī*) × It. *serraglio* ‘cage’

## COMMENTARY:

### 1. Ordering forms and meanings

The attested forms come in three major shapes, which chronologically are *serai* ~ *saray*, *seraglio*, and *serail*. These are treated in three separate entries in OED<sub>1-2</sub>. Because of their currency the forms have been used with a wide variety of meanings, some more metaphorical than others, which makes their semantic categorization fairly difficult. The decision has been made here to follow generally the classification of meanings suggested by the editors of OED<sub>2</sub> for *seraglio*, which is semantically more variable than others. In fact, neither of the remaining variants occurs in a meaning not attested for *seraglio*.

The differences between the classification adopted here and the one found in OED<sub>2</sub> are due to the inclusion of the earliest form *Saray* (1542 Grafton *Turke*: iiiii). This resulted in *serai* ~ *saray* becoming the earliest attested form family (i.e. our type A forms) and the meanings 1(a, b, c) and 2 of the OED<sub>2</sub> becoming 2 and 1 in our treatment respectively.

### 2. English usage

As evidenced by the number of occurrences above the word enjoyed considerable popularity between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Of all the six meanings, only the first, i.e. ‘(Sultan’s) palace, mansion’, reflects the word’s usage in the East, whereas the fourth meaning, ‘a place of accommodation for travellers’, is actually extended from *caravanserai*, which was facilitated by the occurrence of *caravan* as an independent lexeme in English texts. The other meanings are either purely English creations or due to transmission of the word via the Romance languages. Importantly, in the majority of occurrences, the word retains its Oriental flavour, being used either with reference to the East or at least having Eastern connotations.

The earliest three meanings ‘the sultan’s palace’ (1542 *Saray*), ‘harem’ (1581 *seraglio*) and ‘a place of accommodation for travellers’ (1612 *Surroyes*) are all taken

over from foreign sources. The other three seem to be native English extensions of the general idea of ‘confined place’, which in turn was generalized from ‘harem’ in the Romance languages. It is also possible that the sense ‘soldier’s barracks’ is a deprecation of ‘palace’ or perhaps ‘government office’ (the latter is yet another meaning in Ottoman, RTOİS 985).

### 3. Treatment in the English dictionaries

Except for Stanford, all entries seem to take note of contamination of the Persian and Italian forms. In fact Stanford does not mention Persian or Turkish at all and consequently it is also the only dictionary to list both E *seraglio* and *serail* and not to notice the relationship between them.

The remaining entries frequently suffer from typical transcriptional problems. One of them is the notation of the final Ott. *-ay* or P *-āy*, often presented as *-āī* or similar, suggesting a sequence of two long vowels, whereas ʕ stands for a glide. Skeat<sub>2</sub> even suggests the existence of variants *serāy* ~ *serāī*, which is entirely wrong.

### 4. Origin of the English forms

All forms ultimately go back to Ott. *seray* ~ *saray* (RTOİS: 1001 and 985 respectively) and their etymon P *sarāy* (Steingass: 669). Ott. *saray* may be seen as a secondary formation due to harmonic readjustment of *seray*, which is the expected adaptation of P *sarāy*. The *e-a* in English is explicable both by the same vowel pattern in Ottoman and *a-ā* in Persian, where the first vowel is phonetically [æ]. The spellings in *sur-* most probably imply [ə], which is a regular development in an unstressed syllable in English.

Let us briefly comment on each form family:

#### (a) *seraglio*

The form follows the Italian orthography (EIt. *seraglio*, ModIt. *serraglio*). As noted in the dictionaries above, it should be seen as a result of contamination of the Oriental word with the descendant of a non-attested Latin *\*serraculum* ‘enclosure’ ← *\*serrare* ‘close’, the latter attested also as It. *serrare* id. (DELI s.v. *serraglio*<sub>2</sub>). This has given rise to the meaning ‘harem’ i.e. ‘a place where women are kept in confinement’. The meaning ‘palace’ is slightly earlier than ‘harem’ in Italian, but the delay is insignificant (1502 and 1507 respectively, *ibid.*). The contamination is seen not only in the meaning but also in the *-rr-* spelling of the modern form. For a similar semantic development cf. G *Schluß* ‘a lock’ > ‘castle’ (Kluge<sub>24</sub>: 811) and its Polish parallel *zamek* ‘a lock’ > ‘castle’ (Boryś 2005: 728).

(b) *serail*

Hope (1971 I: 50) classifies this as an Italianism in French (< *serraglio*), but formally it might as well reflect the Turco-Persian pronunciation of the word in French spelling. In terms of semantics the pattern of *serraglio* is however evident. The meaning 'harem' in French is earlier than 'palace' (1519 and 1538 respectively, Arveiller 1999: 496). Folk-etymological association with the native reflex of \**serrare*, i.e. *serrer* might have been also involved to some extent, as implied by the spelling variant *serrail* attested until the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Hope 1971 I: 50).

(c) *serai*

As implied earlier, the word is most probably a shortened form of *caravanserai* also introduced into English around the same time. As such it seems to have been adopted separately from the preceding two.

5. Comment on *caravanserai*

Another related form is *caravanserai* which managed to gain considerable currency in English texts. The forms that are listed in OED and Stanford are the following: *Cauarsara* ~ *Cauarzaras* (1599 Hakluyt<sub>2</sub>),<sup>82</sup> *Karabassaries* (1612 Coryat<sub>3</sub>), *carauan-sara* (1615 Indies<sub>2</sub>), *Crauansall* ~ *Crauanserras* ~ *Crauancera* (1625 Purchas<sub>3</sub>), *Carrauans-raw* (1634 Herbert<sub>2</sub>), *Caravanseras* (1662 Davies<sub>3</sub>), *Karavan Serais* (1682 Wheler<sub>2</sub>), *Caravans-serrahs* (1745 Bernier in Anonymous *Collection* II: 173),<sup>83</sup> *Kervanseray* ~ *Quervanseray* (1687 Lovell *Thévenot Travels* II: 120 and III: 8),<sup>84</sup> *Caravansary* (1712 Addison<sub>2</sub>), *Caravanserah* (1716 Pope<sub>3</sub>), *Caravanserais* (1741 Ozell<sub>3</sub>), *caravanseras* (1760 Sterne<sub>2</sub>), *caravansera* (1775 Chandler<sub>3</sub>), *caravanseras* (1793 Morse<sub>3</sub>), *caravansera* (1798 Maurice<sub>2</sub>), *Caravansery* (1801 Southey<sub>2</sub>),<sup>85</sup> *caravansera* (1805 Foster<sub>2</sub>), *Caravansera* (1837 Carlyle<sub>3</sub>), *caravansaries* (1855 Milman<sub>2</sub>), *caravanserais* ~ *caravanserial* (1864 Sala<sub>2</sub>), *caravansary* (1883 Braddon<sub>3</sub>).

The word is discussed in W-M (s.v. *caravansary*, *caravansera*), Müller<sub>1-2</sub> (s.v. *caravan*), Skeat<sub>1-2-4</sub> (s.v. *caravansary*), Yule<sub>1-2</sub> (s.v. *caravanseray*), OED<sub>1-2</sub> (s.v. *caravanserai*), Stanford (s.v. *caravansera(i)*), Weekley (s.v. *caravan*), W<sub>2</sub> and W<sub>3</sub> (s.v. *caravansary*), Klein (s.v. *caravanserai*), ODEE (s.v. *caravan*), AHD<sub>3-4</sub> (s.v. *caravansary*), and CannP (s.v. *caravansary*). None of the authors mentions Turkish as a possible intermediary, but the spelling *-serai* found in English, and

<sup>82</sup> In fact, OED<sub>2-3</sub> only gives the latter form, but the former occurs on the same page in Hakluyt.

<sup>83</sup> Stanford mistakenly attributes this to the 1684 edition of the translation of Tavernier's *Les Voyages*. No such passage occurs in that work.

<sup>84</sup> Only the latter is given in OED<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>85</sup> This is misdated to 1800 in Stanford.

frequently used in the headword in dictionaries, suggests that Ottoman mediation has to be taken into consideration (beside Persian). Two forms, *kervanseray* and *quervanseray* (1687), the latter with *qu-* pointing to Romance influence or mediation, exhibit vocalism which suggests oral borrowing from Turkish. The vowel pattern *e-a* in the first element of the compound matches the one found in Ottoman (*kervan*). The latter's Persian etymon has two long vowels (*kārwān*), the representation of which in European languages as *e-a* is rather unlikely. The substitution *e* for *ā* in Ottoman may be explained as due to the palatalizing quality of *k-*, spelled with ک *kaf*.<sup>86</sup> The vowel pattern *e-a* in the second element of the compound is also found in Ottoman (see Kakuk 1973: 224).

As for the fact that the first element of the compound is attested in both di- and trisyllabic variants (*kervan-* ~ *caravan-*), it is consistent with the European reflexes of P *kārwān* ~ Ott. *kervan* (see e.g. the Romance forms in DEI I: 754 and FEW). Because trisyllabic forms are not found in Persian or Ottoman, they seem to have arisen in Romance (whence they spread further around Europe), but the reasons for the vowel epenthesis remain unclear.<sup>87</sup>

## YALI

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **yali** [jə'li:] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>); AmE **yali** [ja:'li:] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: *yalis* (1962 Fleming<sub>2</sub>), *yalis* (1976 *Times*<sub>2</sub>), *yalis* (1978 Sheldon<sub>2</sub>)

A waterside residence, especially as found in Istanbul.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **yali**: 'a summer konak, esp. one by the waterside' < T *yāli*, lit. 'beach, seaside' < NGk. *gialos* < Gk. *aigialos*

1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **yali**: < T *yali* 'shore, waterside residence' < Gk. *αἰγιαλός* 'sea-shore'

<sup>86</sup> That such a palatalization was by no means necessary is evidenced by forms like Ott. *kâr* [k'ar] 'profit' < P *kâr* 'work'.

<sup>87</sup> Trisyllabic Ottoman forms are occasionally reported in transcription texts (PLOT: §255), cf. *carauan-sarai* ~ *carauan-serai* (1591 Löwenklau; on this source see further S. Stachowski 1988), *caravansarai* (1603 Megisero), *karavan seray* (1790 Preindl: 453; this source is dated 1791 in PLOT, but the first edition appeared a year earlier), also cf. *karavan* (1790 Preindl: 464). Such forms have to be approached with caution: it is very likely that they are due to the authors' interference with the Ottoman material under the influence of the corresponding European reflexes.

## COMMENTARY:

The etymological commentary is generally correct, although the source of the (Ottoman) Turkish form should be identified as dialectal NGk. *γαλι* rather than the ancient form (Symeonidis 1976: 75; also in TDES 441).

## 2. COINS

### AKCHE(H)

PRONUNCIATION: AmE **akcheh** [ˈɑ:k tʃɛ], **akcha** [ˈɑ:k tʃɑ:] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: *Akche* (1734 Cantemir *History* I: 141), *atche* (1766 Croker, Williams & Clarke *Dictionary*: s.v. *atche*), *atche* (1771 EB<sub>1</sub> I: 501), *atche* (1813 *Pantologia* I: s.v. *atche*), *ákcheh* (1833 Smith & Dwight *Armenia* I: 59), *akcha* (1834 Çelebi–Hammer *Narrative* I: 178)

A small silver Turkish coin, also known as the asper.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **akcheh**, **akcha**: ‘the asper’, called also *othmany* after Othman I, by whose son it was first issued about 1327 < T *aqchah* ← *aqjah* ‘whitish’

#### COMMENTARY:

With the sole exception of the earliest attestation, all other records of the word come from lexicographic or encyclopedic sources. This suggests that the word was of marginal currency in English.

One of the English variants, *atche*, reflects assimilation across syllable boundary [k.tʃ] > [t.tʃ], which is an English innovation.

As for the explanation offered in W<sub>2</sub>, it must be modified, because of the existence of the variant *ağča* in older Ottoman texts, which clearly points to Ramstedt’s earlier etymology *akča* < *ağča* < \**ağiča* < *ağī* ‘treasure’ (cf. OTkc. *ağī* id.) + *-ča* (see M. Stachowski 2010: 2, fn. 4 for details). It is nevertheless very likely that association with the etymologically unrelated *akča* ‘whitish’ (← *ak* ‘white’) reinforced by analogy with ByzGk. *ἄσπερον* ‘white’, a name applied to various silver coins of the Byzantine Empire (< L *asper* ‘rough’, by extension also ‘fresh’ and (of silver) ‘white’, ODB I: 211), played a role in the change *ağča* > *akča*.

**ALTILIK**

PRONUNCIATION: AmE **altilik** ['æltəˌlɪk] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *altiliks* (1838 [1840] *U.S. Senate Documents* IV: 53), *altilik* (1842 Eckfeldt, & du Bois *Manual*: 133), *altilik* (1888 Caillard *Report*: 73), *altilik* (Bush *Narrative*: 135), *altilik* (1911 EB<sub>11</sub> XXVII: 441)

A silver coin equivalent to 6 piasters, formerly used in Turkey.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **altilik**: < T

1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **altilik**: < T *altilik*

## COMMENTARY:

The word was of marginal currency in English, largely limited to its American variety.

The vocalism of the Turkish word is misrepresented in W<sub>2-3</sub>, cf. the Modern Turkish orthography *altılık*. This back quality of the vowels was also partially reflected in the Arabic script notation used in Ottoman التيلق 'six-piaster piece' (RTOIS: 53; the presence of ق unambiguously indicates back vocalism, at least in the final syllable, see section 5.1.2 in the Introduction).

Finally, the morphological structure of the word may be clarified as it supports the meaning well: *altı* 'six' + *-lık*, a very productive suffix often encountered in names of coins. For more details on the suffix as used in names of coins, see s.v. **BESHLIK**. For more examples of this use, see s.v. **YIRMILIK**, s.v. **YUZLUK** and cf. s.v. **METALIK**. For other uses of the same suffix, cf. s.v. **BASHLIK**.

**BESHLIK**

PRONUNCIATION: AmE **bishlik** ['beʃˌlɪk] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: *bishlik* ~ *bishliks* (1807 Thornton *Turkey*: 239), *Beshliks* (1820 Turner *Levant*: xvii), *bishlik* (1834 NWM Oct 25: 132), *bishlik* (1888 *Manchester Exam.*), *bashlik* (1920 Budge *Egypt & Mesopotamia* II: 42)

A coin worth five paras and later on five piastres.



## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **besklik**: < T ‘a coin worth five piastres’ ← *besk* ‘five’  
 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **besklik**: < T *besk* ‘five’

## COMMENTARY:

The information given in Stanford and W<sub>2</sub> is correct.

*Bishlik* and *bashlik* feature various adaptations of the Ottoman root vowel, where *i* and *a* represent English unstressed [ɪ] and [ə] respectively, which suggests that the forms in question reflect the original Turkish stress pattern. Alternatively, *a* may indicate transmission via Arabic, with the usual adaptation of Ottoman short open *e* in that language (Prokotsch 1983: 9, Reinkowski 1995: 93). In any case, the result is occasional formal identity of the word with an unrelated *bashlik* ‘headgear’ < Ott. *başlık* (see BASHLIK and the vowel variation therein).

The suffix *-lik* (– *lık* – *lük* – *luk*, cf. section 5.2.2 in the Introduction) was commonly used in Ottoman for deriving abstract or collective nouns. The literal meaning of Ott. *beşlik* could be paraphrased as ‘a portion of five’ (cf. *iki haftalık* ‘the period of two weeks’, M. Stachowski 2009: 105). All in all, the formation is similar to E *fiver*.

For more examples of this use, see s.v. ALTILIK, s.v. YIRMILIK, and s.v. YUZLUK. Also cf. s.v. METALIK. For other use of the same suffix, cf. s.v. BASHLIK in our corpus, and see Siemienieć-Gołaś (1985–6) and (1997: 91–165).

## COPECK

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **copeck** [ˈkəʊpɛk] (1893 OED<sub>1</sub>, 2008 LPD), AmE **kopeck** [ˈkoʊpɛk] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 2008 LPD), [ˈkoʊpɛk] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *Copecks* – *Copeck* (1662 Davies<sub>3</sub>), *Copec* (1698 Crull<sub>2</sub>), *Copeck* (1716 Perry<sub>2</sub>), *copiques* (1775 Wraxall<sub>2</sub>), *copeeks* (1810 Clarke<sub>2</sub>), *copecks* (1885 *Athenæum*), *copeck* (1888 *Times*<sub>2</sub>)

A Russian copper coin, the  $\frac{1}{100}$  part of a rouble.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **copeck**: ‘a Russian coin,  $\frac{1}{100}$  of a ruble’ < *dīnār Kopekī* ‘a coin often mentioned in the histories of Timur and his family’ < Turki *kopek* ‘dog’; [the following comment is offered: “Charmoy explains the term as equivalent to *Abū-kalb*, ‘Father of a dog’

formerly applied in Egypt to Dutch crowns (Löwenthaler) bearing a lion. There could not be Dutch coins in Timur's time, but some other Frank coin bearing a lion may have been so called, probably Venetian. A Polish coin with a lion on it was called by a like name."]; another etymology: *kopek* < Ru. *kopie*, *kopye* 'a pike', many old Russian coins representing the Prince on horseback with a spear

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **copeck**: < Ru. *kopeika*
- 1893: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **copeck**: < Ru. *kopejka*, *kopeika* ← (diminutive form) of *kopjě* 'lance, pike'; so called from the substitution in 1535 of the figure of Ivan IV on horseback with a lance, for that of his predecessor with a sword; compare Bestuzhev-Riumin, *Russkoja Istorija*, 1885, II. 206, and Karamzin VIII. i. (citing the contemporary Chronicle of Rostov)
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub>
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> s.v. **copeck**: < Ru. *kopieika* 'a copeck', diminutive of *kopeé* 'a lance', so called from the figure of Ivan IV, holding a lance (1535)
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **copeck**: < Ru. *kopeika* ← dim. of *kopyé* 'lance'; effigy of Ivan IV with lance was substituted (1535) for that of his predecessor with sword
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **kopeck**: also *kopek*, *copeck* < Ru. *kopeika*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **kopeck**: or *kopek*, also *copeck* < Ru. *kopeika* ← *kop'e* 'lance'; from the fact that the Czar was originally depicted on the coin with a lance in his hand; akin to Ru. *kopat'* 'to dig, hollow', Gk. *koptein* 'to smite, cut off'
- 1966: Klein = W<sub>3</sub>
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **copeck**: Ru. *kopějka* ← dim. of *kopjě* 'lance' (OSlav *kopije*, related to Gk. *kóptein*); so named from the substitution in 1535 of the figure of Ivan IV on horseback with a lance for that of his predecessor with a sword
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **kopek**: or *kopeck* also *copeck* < Ru. *kopeika* < MRu. *kopeika*, ← *kopie* 'spear'; from the image of a rider with a spear on the coins minted by Moscow after the capture of Novgorod in 1478
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

#### COMMENTARY:

W-M has the entry *copeck* 'a Russian coin of copper, worth about three quarters of a cent', but no etymological commentary is offered. Yule<sub>1-2</sub> is the only source

that mentions the possibility of Turkic origin, whereas all other authors adhere to other explanations variously relating the word to the Slavic word for ‘lance’.

The Turkic hypothesis, whose advocates beside Yule included Lokotsch (§1204) among others, is nowadays commonly rejected, see Trubačov’s discussion in ÈSRJa (II: 318), Armstrong (1978) or Černych (1999 I: 427–8). Neither Trubačov nor Armstrong provide any argumentation, whereas Černych simply states that the Turkic etymology is not supported by historical, geographical and archeological data, but gives no details.<sup>88</sup>

The Arab practice, referred to in Yule, of naming coins using combinations of *abū* ‘father’ with various nouns referring to an element in the legend (frequently misinterpreted) is widely reported.<sup>89</sup> It is commonly assumed that the expression *abū kalb* was applied to the Dutch *löwenthaler*, i.e. lion thaler, by mistake or by mockery.<sup>90</sup> In any case, the similarity between the Arabic name of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Dutch *löwenthaler* and the name of a 14<sup>th</sup>-century Central Asian coin as suggested by Yule, could be only accidental (although following the same pattern of reasoning).

However, it is very unlikely that the Central Asian coin has anything to do with ‘dog’ (that is, Tkc. *köpek*) at all. The actual name as quoted by historians is the Persian phrase *kebek dinar* and used with reference to the dinar issued

<sup>88</sup> Trubačov makes reference to an article by Rjadčenko, which I could not access. Another work by Trubačov (2008: 315) may offer a hint as to the reasons for his rejection of this etymology. While discussing Ru. *собака* ‘dog’ he suggests that it is related to Tkc. *köpek* (or *köbäk*) ‘dog’ through the dissimilation *k–k > s–k*. Irrespective of whether we accept this connection or not, adoption of Tkc. *köbäk* as Ru. *собака* does not rule out the possibility of an independent loan at a different time Tkc. *köpek > Ru. конёйка*.

<sup>89</sup> Examples include *abū midfā* ‘lit. ‘father of the cannon’ (in EI<sub>1</sub> I 100 mistakenly glossed ‘father of the canon’) and *abū tāqā* ‘lit. ‘father of the window’, both reportedly used for the Spanish pillar dollar, i.e. a coin featuring the representation of a colonnade (in the former name the columns were mistaken for cannons by the Arabs), or *abū tayr* ‘father of the bird’ used with reference to Maria Theresa’s dollar depicting the Habsburg double-headed eagle.

<sup>90</sup> According to an alternative view suggested by Charmoy (as reported by Howorth 1880: 240, fn. †), the association with the dog, an animal considered unclean by the Arabs, was meant to be contemptuous with respect to Christians, who used the coin, or by reference to the base metal of which it was made. However, these features, i.e. the use by Christians and coinage from base metal, were not unique to the *löwenthaler*. Moreover, this was by no means the only name of this coin in the Orient. According to Pamuk (2000: 99), beside *ebu kalb*, Turks used the names *esedi gurus* or *aslanlı gurus*, the nouns *esed* and *aslanı* being different words for ‘lion’ (for *gurus* see s.v. KURUS).

by Kebek Khan (1318–26), the ruler of the Chaghatay Khanate, as part of his currency reform (Barthold 1963: 8, Akhmedov & Sinor 1998: 265).<sup>91</sup>

Summing up, whether Ru. *κονεύκα* ‘coin’ is derived from *κονῆ* ‘spear’ or, less likely, goes back to Kebek’s coin, the connection with Tkc. *köpek* ‘dog’ has to be rejected.

## KURUS

PRONUNCIATION: BrE/AmE **kurus** [kəˈruːʃ] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [kuˈrʊʃ] ~ [kuˈruːʃ] (2008 LPD)

FORMS: *gurush* (1807 Thornton *Turkey*: 239), *ghrúsh* (1882 *Numismatic Chron.*), *Ghrush* ~ *Grush* ~ *Gurush* (1917 Frey<sub>2</sub>), *grouch* (1927 *Weekly Dispatch*), *grouch* (1959 Pound<sub>2</sub>), *kurus* (1960 Case<sub>2</sub>), *Kurus* (1971 *Whitaker’s Almanack*<sub>2</sub>)

A Turkish piastre,  $\frac{1}{100}$  value of a lira; a coin of this value.

### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **kurus**: < T *kuruş*
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **kurus**: < T *kuruş*
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **kurus**: < T *kuruş* < L (*dēnārius*) *grossus* ‘thick (denarius)’; cf. *grosz*
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub> [reference to *grosz* replaced by reference to *groschen*]

### COMMENTARY:

#### 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

The earliest dictionary that makes reference to the Turkish word is Stanford s.v. *carchi* ‘a coin of Cyprus’, where it is derived from T *girsh*, *ghirsh*, orig. ‘a German dollar’, now ‘very small coin’. The forms quoted for Ottoman are in fact dialectal Arabic < Ottoman (e.g. EgA *ḡirš* in EgAED: 693; also see Prokotsch 1983: 107; cf. OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. *qursh*). The actual form found in the only quotation in Stanford, i.e.

<sup>91</sup> Fragner (1986: 559) gives the name as *kapakī dīnār*, but this would mean ‘the kapak of the dinar’. If the name had had the form of the Persian ezafe we should expect \**dīnārī kapak*.

*carchies*, seems to be a *hapax legomenon* and correspondence with either Ott. *guruş* or A *qirş* ~ *ğirş* is doubtful.

The remaining dictionaries take note of ModT *kuruş*, which does not, however, explain initial *g-* in the earlier English forms (see below).

AHD is the only authority that attempts to trace the etymology of the Turkish form, but the explanation advanced there is unsatisfactory. While anaptyxis is to be expected as Turkish does not tolerate word-initial consonant clusters (on this subject see M. Stachowski 1995 and 2009: 40), the changes *g-* > *k-* and *-ss-* > *ş* which supposedly occurred somewhere on the way between Latin and Ottoman as well as the apocope of *-us* remain unaccounted for (compare below).

## 2. English forms

The earliest English form renders faithfully the older Ottoman form *guruş* ‘piaster’ (RTOİS 689), whereas forms like *g(h)rush* may be reflexes of the Ottoman forms without the epenthetic vowel.<sup>92</sup>

The form *kurus* reflects ModT *kuruş*, with the devoicing of *g-*. The pronunciation reflects closely that of Turkish. The cedilla, alien to the English orthography, has been dropped, which results in an unusual graphemic-phonemic correspondence <s> = [ʃ].

## 3. (Ottoman) Turkish forms

Names like ML (*dēnārius*) *grossus* ‘thick denarius’ and forms derived from it like It. (*denaro*) *grōso* (at least since 1585, DEI II 1876), Cz. *groš* (with regular *s* > *š* substitution, see Machek 1968: 152, for other examples), G *groschen* or Pol. *grosz* (both < Cz) were applied in Europe to a variety of thick silver coins. The name spread in the Ottoman empire most probably in its Slavic form through the Balkans (cf. Mac = Blg. *zrou*). This happened on a large scale especially after the 1550s, when a large number of such coins were in circulation (Pamuk 2000: 151). In the 17<sup>th</sup> century its Turkicised form started to be used with reference to such coins like the Spanish eight-real piece (*riyal ġuruş*) or the Dutch thaler or lion dollar (*esedi ġuruş* or *aslanli ġuruş*; also cf. s.v. *COPECK*), both very popular in the empire (Pamuk *op. cit.*: 99, see also table on p. 144). Finally, in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century the Ottoman government made attempts to establish a new currency in

<sup>92</sup> Ott. *gruş* is recorded in Pianzola’s 18<sup>th</sup>-century materials (Rocchi 2009: 109) and in Viguier’s 1790 dictionary (S. Stachowski 2002: 116). Cf. also *groš* in Molino’s Italian-Turkish dictionary of 1641 (Siemienieć-Gołaś 2005: 78) beside *goroš* with epenthesis in Meninski (1680: 3398).

order to regain control over the monetary system. As part of this tendency in 1703, the Ottomans began minting their own *ğuruş* or *kuruş*, frequently referred to as *ğedid kuruş* (i.e. 'new *kuruş*') in order to distinguish it from the European *Groschen* (Pamuk *op. cit.*: 160).<sup>93</sup>

This etymology was transparent at least to some English authors, as evidenced in the 1882 quotation, where the Ottoman *ghrúsh* (i.e. *ğruş*) is likened to European forms like *grossi* (i.e. pl. of L *grossus*), *groschen* and *groat*.<sup>94</sup>

Ott. *guruş* ~ *kuruş* was adopted as *qurūş* in Arabic. This was later reinterpreted as a broken plural, for which the singular *qirş*, *qurş* (also, dialectally, *ğirş*, *ğurş*; cf. above) were created through back-formation.<sup>95</sup> The latter were later taken over into English as *qursh* (see OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. *qursh*).

## LIRA

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **lira** ['lira] ~ ['liərə], pl. **lire** ['lire] rarely **liras** (1903 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **lira** ['li:rə] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), ['li:rə] ~ ['li:rə], pl. **liras** also **lire** ['li:(,)rei] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *lira* (1871 Murray<sub>2</sub>), *liras* (1884 Boyle<sub>2</sub>), *liras* (1904 *Daily Chron.*<sub>2</sub>), *lira* (1912 Lawrence<sub>2</sub>), *lira* (1975 Rathbone)

A monetary unit of Turkey.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1892: Stanford s.v. **lira**: < It

[1903: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **lira**: 'Italian silver coin' < It. *lira* < contraction of L *libra* 'pound']

[1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> s.v. **lira**: 'Italian silver coin' < It. *lira* < L *libra* 'pound']

<sup>93</sup> Dziubiński (1998: 127) dates this new *kuruş* to 1687–8, the beginning of Suleyman II's reign (1687–91). However, according to Pamuk (*op. cit.* 159–60) the earliest new silver coin comes from 1690, although it was minted with the date 1687. Moreover, it was apparently intended as a *ğedid zolota*, i.e. "new *zolota*" in order to distinguish it from its ancestor the Polish *złoty* (> Ott. *isolette* ~ *zolota*) rather than a *kuruş* or *piaster*. Incidentally, the application of *złoty* 'golden' to a silver coin is a good illustration of the depreciation of coin values and, consequently, their names (for a parallel case cf. *gulden*).

<sup>94</sup> The last word comes from MDu. *groot* 'great', a cognate of E *great* or G *groß* 'id.', which was applied by the Dutch to the coin. They must have associated G *Groschen* (< L *grossus*) with *groß* and created an improper calque *groot*.

<sup>95</sup> In the Arabic dialect of Baghdad we also find sg. *qiriş*, pl. *qurūş* (Reinkowski 1995: 110).

- [1921: Weekley s.v. **lira**: ‘coin worth a franc’ < It. < L *libra* (cf. F *libre*)]  
 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **lira**: < It. < L *libra* ‘pound’  
 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **lira**: < T < It. *lira* < L *libra* ‘balance, unit of weight’  
 [1966: ODEE s.v. **lira**: ‘unit of Italian currency’ < It. < Prov *liura* = F *livre*, It. *libbra* < L *libra* ‘pound’]  
 [1967: Klein s.v. **lira**: ‘Italian silver coin and monetary unit’ < It. ‘pound’ < L *libra*]  
 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>, with the addition of the second sense ‘monetary unit of Turkey’  
 [1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **lira**: < It. < OIt. < OProv *liura* < Latin *libra* ‘a unit of weight, pound’]  
 [2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>]

#### COMMENTARY:

Notably only Stanford, OED<sub>2</sub> and the American dictionaries acknowledge the use of the word with reference to the Turkish coin. The remaining sources only etymologize the word in the sense ‘Italian coin’ and are quoted, in square brackets, for the sake of completeness.

While the ultimate etymology is clear and is correctly described in the dictionaries quoted (also see e.g. DEI III: 2246), the use of *lira* with reference to an Ottoman coin reflects transmission through Ottoman.

The Ottoman lira was first circulated in the 1844 as part of the reform of the monetary system of the Ottoman empire (Pamuk 2000: 208).

#### MANGHIR

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **manghir** [ˈmæŋɪə] (2000 OED<sub>3</sub>), AmE **mangour** [ˈmæŋg(ə)r] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), **manghir** [ˈmæŋɪ(ə)r] (2000 OED<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *Mangor* (1585 Washington<sub>2</sub>), *Mangouri* (1617 Moryson<sub>2</sub>), *Mangur* (1684 Smith<sub>3</sub>),<sup>96</sup> *Mangours* (1687 Lovell<sub>2</sub>), *Mangours* (1696 Du. Mont<sub>2</sub>), *Manghir* (1708 Croix *Tales*: 215), *manghir* (1962 Carson<sub>3</sub>)

A Turkish copper coin (originally weighing approx. 2.5 grams, subsequently dropping at some mints to approx. 1.5 grams).

<sup>96</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> has the same passage dated 1683, although the actual edition used by Bradley is that of 1708. However, the passage was first published in *Philosophical transactions* of the Royal Society in 1684 as implied in OED<sub>3</sub>.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1905: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **mangour**: < T منغر *mangir* (Redhouse)  
 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **mangour**: 'a former Turkish copper coin, ¼ asper' < T *manghir*  
 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>  
 2010: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **manghir**: < MF, F *mangor* (1576, in the passage translated in quot. 1585), *mangour* (1665 and 1694, in the passages translated in quotes. 1687 and 1696) and directly < its etymon Turkish *mangir* 'a copper (rarely brass or bronze) coin (now obsolete), money'; of unknown origin

## COMMENTARY:

## 1. Treatment in English dictionaries and occurrence in English

Notationwise, the Ottoman forms quoted in OED<sub>1,2</sub> and W<sub>2</sub> on the one hand, and OED<sub>3</sub> on the other reflect two orthographic variants منغر and منغير respectively. The actual pronunciation probably resembled ModT *mangir*, which is nowadays colloquially used for 'money' (RTOİS: 730). None of the dictionaries comments on the apparent vowel change Ott. [i] > E [u:].

As to the documentation of usage, there is a considerable gap in the word's attestation after 1708. This correlates with the information given in the definition section in OED<sub>3</sub> that the coin was withdrawn in 1691 (to be subsequently reissued in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and withdrawn again in 1879). Nowadays the word is used in English only in history-related contexts, as the coin is long obsolete (indeed it is already dubbed as such by Redhouse, see 1663).

Earlier English usage clearly features forms in *-ur* while forms in *-ir* seem to be confined to a later period. As the latter type is easily explained as a graphic borrowing from the Ottoman *mangir* (although see below), it is the former which will be focused on in the next section.

## 2. The Ottoman etymon(s)

Apart from *mangir* 'copper coin of a very small value', nowadays only coll. 'money' (RTOİS 730), Ottoman Turkish had *manķūr* ~ *manğur* 'copper coin', dated by Nişanyan (ÇTES s.v. *mangir*) to the early 14<sup>th</sup> c. and 1533 respectively (also in Bianchi: 1029 and 1031, and İA VII: 282).<sup>97</sup>

<sup>97</sup> The question remains whether the variation ġ ~ ķ was graphic or phonemic. The Arabic letters ġ and ķ could both stand for ġ (in postconsonantal position pronounced [g]) in Ottoman. Additionally ķ, as opposed to ġ, was the standard spelling for ķ [q ~ k].



This older form has to be treated as the etymon, direct or indirect, of the French forms in *-o(u)r*. Thus the interrelations in this form between the forms may be summarized in the following way: early E *mango(u)r* < F *mango(u)r* < (<) early Ott. *manğur* > LOtt. *manğır* (= T *mangır*) > ModE *manghir*.

The digraph *gh* in ModE *manghir* was influenced by the manner of transliterating the Arabic letter غ *ğayn* (vide the notation in W<sub>2</sub>). In Modern Standard Arabic the corresponding segment is pronounced as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ], but in Ottoman this pronunciation was only expected postvocally in back contexts.<sup>98</sup> In postconsonantal position the segment was pronounced as a plosive [g], cf. Ott. طالغه ~ طلغه ~ دالغه = T *dalga* ‘wave’ (Redhouse: 883, 1227, 1244, RTOİS: 269), Ott. قارغه = T *karga* ‘crow’ (Redhouse: 1411, RTOİS: 606). Thus, in Modern Turkish the word is pronounced in [-g-] and accordingly the spelling is *mangır* rather than \**manğır*. For similar overuse of *gh* in English, cf. *CHOGA* and *NARGHILE*.

### 3. Further origin

Eren’s entry on T *mangır* (TDES 287) amounts to the same conclusion as in OED<sub>3</sub>.<sup>99</sup> However, there have been at least two attempts at explaining the word in Turcological literature.

Uzunçarşılı (İA VII 282) claims that the word derives from a Mong. *munğun* ‘money’, and the corresponding Persian and Arabic terms are *pišiz* and *fuls* respectively. His opinion is based on *Takvim-i meskûkât-ı osmâniye* (= ‘Catalogue of Ottoman coins’) by İsmail Galib. This is accepted without reservations in several sources, e.g. Aykut (1995–6: 177, fn. 73). None of the authors seems to be bothered by the fact that word-final Mong. *-n* is regularly rendered as *-n* in (Ottoman) Turkish, e.g. Mong. *ğalasun* ~ *ğilasun* ‘young, youthful’ > Ott. *ğalasun* ~ *ğalasın* ~ *ğilasun* &c. ‘brave, etc.’ (Schönig 2000: 105; = T *celâsin*, RTOİS 219),

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This problem could be resolved if the etymology of the word were known (see section 3). Also compare Ott. مائقال ~ مائقال *mangal* ‘brazier’ (RTOİS 730), where similar variation is perhaps a matter of voicing the stop after the nasal, given that an Arabic form identical to ModSA *manqal* ‘id.’ (AED: 1167) was the etymon of the word. That the *-nğ-* cluster was nevertheless possible in Ottoman is shown by the existence of words like منقار *minqār* ‘bird’s beak’ (Redhouse: 2010) < A (cf. ModSA منقار *minqār* ‘id.’, AED: 1162).

<sup>98</sup> In Modern Turkish this *ğ* after a back vowel was lost with compensatory lengthening of the vowel (cf. T *dağ* [da:] ‘lord’). See section 5.2.3 in the Introduction.

<sup>99</sup> Indeed, the lack of any further commentary makes one wonder why the word is included in his dictionary at all, especially given the average length and informativeness of his entries and, on the other hand, the omission of many other difficult lexemes.

Mong. *yosun* ‘generally accepted rule, traditional custom, habit, etc.’ > early Ott. *yosun* ‘law, custom, rule’ (Schönig 2000: 186).

Nişanyan (ÇTES s.v. *mangır*) offers a more promising solution. He prefers to treat the word as an Arabic passive participle منقور *manqūr* ← نقر *naqara* ‘knock, rap, strike, beat’ (the latter in Mawrid: 1187; also see AED: 1161). This etymology makes much more sense (recall EOtt. *manḳūr*): the passive participle of ‘strike’, if nominalized, could be used with reference to a coin. An Arabic form like *manqūr* is also consistent with the early Ottoman forms in *-nḳ-*, whereas the development early Ott. *-nḳ-* > late Ott. *-nḡ-* (= T *-ng-*) is analogical to the one in *mangal* (see fn. 97 above).

## MEDJIDIE

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **medjidie** [mɛˈdʒiːdiɪ] (1906 OED<sub>1</sub>, 2001 OED<sub>3</sub>), AmE **medjidie**, **medjidieh** [mɛˈdʒiːdiɪ] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [mɛˈdʒidiɪ] (2001 OED<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: 1. *medjidi* (1855 *N. Amer. Rev.*<sub>3</sub>), *gold medjidié* (1860 *Jrnl. Statist. Soc.*<sub>3</sub>), *medjidy* (1883 *Macm. Mag.*<sub>3</sub>),<sup>100</sup> *medjideh* (1902 *19<sup>th</sup> Cent.*<sub>2</sub>), *mejidi* (1911 *Lawrence*<sub>3</sub>), *mejideh* (1922 *Blackwood's Mag.*<sub>3</sub>), *mejideh* (1931 *Times Lit. Suppl.*<sub>3</sub>); 2. *The Imperial Order of the Medjidie* (1856 [1857] *Ann. Reg., Chron.*<sub>2</sub>), *the Order of the Grand Cordon of the Medjidie* (1888 *Hazell's Ann. Cycl.*<sub>2</sub>), *the Imperial Order of Medjidiè* (1913 *Amer. Jrnl. Internat. Law*<sub>3</sub>)

1. A large Turkish silver coin minted from 1844 until 1919, a twenty kurush piece (weighing 24 grams); [2. With capital initial (usu. with *the*). A civil order of Ottoman Turkey instituted in 1851 by the Sultan Abdul Mejid, having five grades and presented as a seven-point star.]

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **Medjidie**, **medjidie**: < T *mejīdī*; ‘a Turkish order of honor (instituted 1852 by the Sultan Abdul-Medjid); a Turkish silver coin minted by the same Sultan in 1844, equal to 20 piastres’
- 1906: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **medjidie**: < T (Ar) مجيدية *mejīdie* ← the name عبد المجيد *Abdu'l Majīd*
- [1921: Weekley s.v. **medjidie**: < ‘Turkish order instituted’ (1851) by *Sultan Abdul-Medjid*]

<sup>100</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> misdates this to 1882.

- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **medjidie**, **medjidieh**: **1. a.** ‘a silver coin of Turkey formerly rated at twenty, but long current at nineteen, piasters; **b.** ‘a gold coin of Turkey equal to one hundred piasters’; **c.** a silver coin of Hejaz and Nejd, equivalent to the riyal’ **2.** ‘Medjidie order’; < T *mejīdieh* < A *majīdīyah* ‘belonging to *Abd-al-Majīd*, Abdul-Medjid, a sultan of Turkey in the 19<sup>th</sup> century’
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 2001: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **medjidie**: < F *medjidié* (1854 in form *medjidi*; 1868 in Littré as *medjidieh* in sense 2) or its etymon Ott. *meğidiye* (= T †*mecidiye*) < the name of Abdul *Mejid*

#### COMMENTARY:

The sense ‘order’ does not fall within the scope of the present study. It is listed here, as well as the forms that represent it, only for the sake of completeness. Weekley does not mention the use in the sense ‘coin’.

The etymology of the word is not problematic and has been recognized correctly by all the authors. OED<sub>3</sub> may be recommended as the model. It could be added that <ç> = [dʒ] in Modern Turkish orthography, so that the pronunciation of the Ottoman and Modern Turkish forms is the same, and that the ending *-iye* is the Arabic feminine nisba suffix *-īya(t)* (cf. FERİDGI and see section 5.3.3 in the Introduction).

#### METALIK

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **metalik** [mɛˈtəlɪk] (1906 OED<sub>1</sub>), [mɪˈtəlɪk], [mɛˈtəlɪk] (2001 OED<sub>3</sub>), AmE **metallik** [mɪˈtælɪk] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), **metalik** [məˈtælɪk] (2001 OED<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *metallics* (1895 Callan<sub>2</sub>), *metalik* (1897 Ramsay<sub>2</sub>), *metallik* (1920 19<sup>th</sup> Cent.<sub>3</sub>), *metalik* (1980 *Jrnl. Econ. Hist.*<sub>3</sub>)

A former Turkish coin worth 10 paras.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1906: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **metalik**: < T; prob < MGk. μέταλλον metal + *-lik* suffix as in *beshlik* ‘five-piastre piece’
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **metallik**: ‘any series of debased coins formerly current in Turkey; the one nominally worth 20 paras, usually called *yirmilik* varied in actual value from 10 to 18 paras’; cf. *metal* and *beshlik*

1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>

2001: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **metalik**: < Ott. *metalik* (later *metelik*; compare T *metelik*, only in fig. use) < F *métallique*, ‘metallic’

#### COMMENTARY:

Of the two competing etymologies suggested in OED<sub>1,2</sub> and OED<sub>3</sub> respectively, the latter is more likely. A similar opinion is advocated by Eren, who explains the word as ellipted from F *monnaie métallique* ‘coins’ (TDES 294). French origin is also suggested in RTOİS s.v. *metalik* (765), *metelik* (766).

The earlier *metalik* (nowadays only ‘metallic’) has developed into ModT *metelik* (nowadays only used in figurative expressions) through harmonic readjustment *a > e*. Apart from vowel harmony, this fronting was further facilitated by the palatalized pronunciation of *l* [lʲ] (and *k* [kʲ]).

The suffix *+lik* (– *+lik* – *+lük* – *+luk*) mentioned in OED<sub>1</sub> is indeed found in *beşlik* ‘five-piaster piece’ (RTOİS: 163; also see BESHLIK), as well as other names of coins like *altılık* ‘six-piaster piece’ (RTOİS: 53; see ALTILIK), *altmışlık* ‘sixty-para piece’ (RTOİS 54) or *yirmilik* ‘twenty-para or twenty-kurush piece’ (RTOİS 1258; see YIRMILIK). However, the combination of Ott. *metal* (whether < Gk. *μέταλλον*, as in OED<sub>1</sub>, or rather < F *metal*, as in RTOİS 765) and *+lik* would result in *\*metallik* rather than *metalik*. Moreover, such a word would have the meaning ‘metallic, made of metal’, which would beg the question why the word was used with reference to a ten-para piece, when all coins are made of metal. Even more importantly, all the coin names mentioned above are formed by adding *+lik* to numerals: *beş* ‘five’, *altı* ‘six’, *altmış* ‘sixty’ and *yirmi* ‘twenty’, which would make a formation like *\*metallik* unusual. In fact the perfect semantic parallel for *beşlik* ‘five-piaster piece’ (cf. E *five*) would be *onluk* (← *on* ‘ten’ and *+luk*), a word actually used with reference to the ten-para piece (RTOİS 901; cf. E *tanner*), a coin in circulation from 1618 (see Krause 17: 1102). Thus it makes more sense to accept the derivation found in TDES, although subsequent association of *metalik* – *metelik* with other names of coins in *+lik* cannot be ruled out.

Interestingly, Nişanyan (ÇTES) prefers to derive the word from Gk. *μεταλλικόν* ‘anything metallic’ ← *μεταλλικός* ‘metallic’ ← *μέταλλ(ον)* + *-ικός* ‘metal’. This is not entirely impossible, but because the date of the earliest occurrence mentioned by Nişanyan is 1876, i.e. the period when Ottoman was under heavy influence of French, it is more reasonable to assume transmission through French.

# PARA

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **para** ['pa:rə] (1904 OED<sub>1</sub>), ['parə] (2005 OED<sub>3</sub>), AmE **para** ['pa:ra:] ~ ['pa:'ra:] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), ['pa:rə] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>) ['perə] (2005 OED<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **1.** *Paras* [pl.] ~ *Para* (1687 Lovell<sub>2</sub>), *Parrahs* (1704 Pitts<sub>3</sub>), *peraus* (1776 Chandler<sub>2</sub>), *para* (1785 [1808] Parsons<sub>3</sub>),<sup>101</sup> *para* (1819 Hope<sub>s</sub>), *para* (1820 Hughes<sub>s</sub>), *paras* (1821 Byron<sub>s</sub>), *para* (1830 Galt<sub>s</sub>), *paras* (1839 Pardoe<sub>s</sub>), *para* (1849 Beaconsfield<sub>s</sub>), *paras* (1871 Baker<sub>s</sub>), *paras* (1880 Nichol<sub>2</sub>), *paras* (1884 Boyle<sub>s</sub>), *paras* (1935 Edib<sub>2</sub>); **2.** *Para* (1886 Cassel's *Encycl.*<sub>2</sub>), *paras* (1907 Macmillan's *Mag.*<sub>2</sub>), *para* (1960 Manning<sub>2</sub>), *paras* (1971 *Daily Tel.*<sub>2</sub>), *paras* (1971 *Whitaker's Almanack*<sub>2</sub>), *paras* (2003 *S. Wales Echo*<sub>3</sub>)

**1.** A Turkish monetary unit, equal to one-fortieth of a piastre. Now *hist.* The last coin to be denominated in *para* was a 10 para piece in the 1940s; **2.** A monetary unit of Serbia (and formerly of Yugoslavia), equal to one-hundredth of a dinar. Before the formation of Yugoslavia, the *para* was a monetary unit in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **para**: < T *pāra* < P *pāra* 'a small copper coin, of which forty go to the piastre, worth about 1/16 d. English'
- 1904: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **para**, n.<sup>1</sup>: < T (< P) پاره *pārah* 'piece, portion, morsel; the small coin so called'; in F *para*
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **para**: < T *pārah* 'piece, portion'
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **para**: < T *pārah* < P *pārah* 'a piece'
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **para**: < T < P *pārah*, lit. 'piece'
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **para**: < T < P *pārah* 'piece, portion, coin so called'
- 1967: Klein s.v. **para**: < T *pārah* < P *pārah* 'piece'
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **para**: < SCr. < T < P *parāh* 'piece, para'
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>
- 2001: CannP s.v. **para**: < T 'money' < P 'a piece, portion'
- 2009: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **para**, n.1: < Ott. *pāra* (T *para*) 'small coin' (formerly specifically in sense 1), (more generally) 'money' < P *pāra* 'piece, portion, fragment, morsel'; cf. F *para* (1674 in sense 1 in the passage translated in quotation 1687 at sense 1)

<sup>101</sup> Dated 1808 in OED<sub>2</sub>.

## COMMENTARY:

The majority of forms used in English do not pose problems. Despite its shape the form *peraus* (1776) is meant to reflect Ott. *para* (with the English plural ending) as implied in the text. It has to be a transcription of the spoken form, with *-e-* in the first syllable representing what the author identified as [ə] due to word-final stress in the Turkish form. One should not make much of the digraph *-au-*, which may be due to a misinterpretation of the final stressed [a] in the Ottoman form.

The forms given as Turkish by the majority of English lexicographers are transliterations from the Arabic script. The final sequence *-ah* corresponds to the letter *ha*, which normally denotes [h], but in final position was used in New Persian (as well as Ottoman) to write short *a* (also see section 5.3.1 of the Introduction). The pronunciation of this vowel varied between the more conservative [æ] and the newer values [ə] ~ [e] (Pisowicz 1985: passim, esp. Chapter III),<sup>102</sup> and was regularly rendered in Ottoman as *e*, as evidenced by the older form *pare* (RTOİS: 917). The other Ottoman variant, *para*, results from harmonic readjustment in colloquial speech. Crucially, however, the word never ended in [-h].

It is also important to note that both editions of AHD misrepresent the vowels in the Persian form as *a-ā* instead of *ā-a*: it was the first vowel that was written using *ʿalif*.

The information given in OED<sub>3</sub> is correct. It may, however, be added that in the case of sense 2 South Slavic mediation has to be postulated.

## PUL

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **pul** [pu:l] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>, 2007 OED<sub>3</sub>), AmE **pul** [pu:l] ~ [pʊl], pl. **puls** [-z] or **puli** [-i] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [pu:l] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>) [pul] (2007 OED<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *Pul* (1662 Davies<sub>3</sub>), *Pul* (1864 Vámbéry<sub>3</sub>), *pūls* (1883 Wills<sub>3</sub>), *pooli* (1927 *Statesman's Year-Bk.*<sub>2</sub>), *puls* (1934 Ahmad & Aziz<sub>2</sub>), *Puls* (1941 *Whitaker's Almanack*<sub>2</sub>), *puls* (2004 *Gloucestershire Echo*<sub>3</sub>)

Originally: any of various small copper coins used in Iran and central Asia (now *hist.*). Later: a monetary unit used in Afghanistan, equal to one hundredth of an afghani. Also in American English, an obsolete Russian copper coin used between the 15<sup>th</sup> century and 1810.

<sup>102</sup> Nowadays, it has generally receded to [æ], although in this particular position, i.e. word-finally, the phonemic opposition between [æ] and [e] has been neutralized in favour of the latter, thus resulting in a pronunciation like [pāre].

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **pul**: also *poul*; a. ‘an obsolete Russian copper coin, 15<sup>th</sup> century to 1810; in Georgia the pul (Georgian *phuli*) equals 1/10 ko-peck’ < Ru. *pul* < P *pūl*; b. ‘a Persian and Afghani coin’ < P *pūl*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **pul**: 1. ‘a Russian copper coin issued from the 15<sup>th</sup> century to 1810’; < Ru. *pulo*, *pul* < T *pul* ‘small coin’ < LGk. *phollis* ‘bellows, a small coin’ < L *follis* ‘bellows, bag’; 2. a: ‘a unit of value of Afghanistan equal to 1/100 afghani’; b: ‘a coin representing this unit’; < P *pūl* < T *pul*
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **pul**: < Pashto < P *pūl* < T *pul*; cf. Gr. *φόλλις* ‘a small coin’
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **pul**: < P *pūl*, perhaps < LGk. *phollis* ‘bellows, money bag’ < L *follis*
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>
- 2001: CannP s.v. **pul**: < Pashto ‘a coin’ (< P ‘money’) & P < T, ultimately L *follis* ‘bellows, bag’
- 2008: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **pul**: < Pashto *pūl* ‘money, one hundredth of an afghani’ and its etymon P *pūl* ‘small copper coin, perhaps’ < ancient Gk. *ὀβολός* ‘obolus’; cf. F *pul* (1659 in the passage translated in quot. 1662), G *Pul* (1656 in the passage translated in quot. 1662)

## COMMENTARY:

Given the complex semantics, joint transmission from more than one source seems very likely. The most likely candidates for immediate donorship are Russian (as suggested for one of the senses in W<sub>2,3</sub>) and Pashto (as proposed in OED<sub>2,3</sub> and CannP).

As for the ultimate origin, the form may well derive from ByzGk. *φόλλις* (< L *follis*) or ByzGk. *ὀβολός* (rather than ancient Greek as suggested in OED<sub>3</sub>). It is nevertheless clear that both words were used with reference to the same coin, allegedly through a false-etymological association (Hendy 1999: 38).

In any case, nothing suggests Turkic mediation at any stage.

## REBIA

PRONUNCIATION: AmE **rebia** [rə'bi:ə] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: *rebia* (1872 Homans *Coin Book*: 101), *rebia* (1917 Frey *Numismatics*: 199)

In Ottoman Empire, any quarter denomination coin.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1934:  $W_2$  s.v. **rebia**: < Ott. *rub'īyeh* < A *rub'īyah* 'pertaining to a fourth part'  
 1994: CannA =  $W_2$

## COMMENTARY:

The word was of marginal frequency in English and occurred exclusively in specialist contexts. Its inclusion in  $W_2$  may perhaps point to a wider use in American English up to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to this dictionary *rebia* referred to 'a 19<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman gold coin, a Turkish silver coin', but in fact its etymon denoted any quarter denomination, as can be seen in the catalogue by Uslu et al (2010).<sup>103</sup>

The Ottoman form is romanized which obscures the pronunciation. RTOİS (961) has Ott. (now obsolete) *rub'īye* 'gold quarter-lira piece', the spelling of which suggests a glottal stop for the pharyngeal fricative of A *rub'īya(t)*, but this was most probably not pronounced at all. In any case, the English pronunciation may be based on either the Ottoman or the Arabic pronunciation, with typical English vowel reductions in the unstressed syllable, whereas the English spelling seems to have been shaped by the pronunciation.

## SHERIFI

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **seraph**: ['••] (1912 OED<sub>1</sub>; only the stress pattern is provided; probable pronunciation ['seraf]); BrE/AmE **seraphin** ['•••] (1912 OED<sub>1</sub>, 1934  $W_2$ ); BrE/AmE **sherifi** [ʃə'ri:fi] (1914 OED<sub>1</sub>, 1934  $W_2$ ); AmE **xeraphin** ['zerəfin] (1934  $W_2$ )

FORMS: **A**: **1.** *Saraphes* (a1576 [1577] Eden<sub>3</sub>),<sup>104</sup> *Seraphs* (1653 Urquhart<sub>2</sub>), *Seraph* (1656 Blount<sub>2</sub>), *Seraph* (1772 Mair *Book-keeping*: 410)

**B**: **1.** *shariffes* (1615 Sandys<sub>2</sub>), *sherif* (1647 Greaves<sub>2</sub>), *Scherif* (1687 Lovell<sub>2</sub>), *Xeriffs* (1690 Dryden<sub>2</sub>), *Scherifi* (1696 [1705] Du. Mont<sub>2</sub>), *sherriffs* (1785 *Arab. Nts.*<sub>2</sub>), *scherifs* (1802 [1815] *Arab. Nts.*<sub>2</sub>), *Xeriff* - *Zeriff* (1858 Simmonds<sub>2</sub>)

**[C**: **2.** *Serafynes* (1582 Lichefield<sub>2</sub>), *seraphine* (1584 [1599] Barrett<sub>2</sub>), *Seraffines* (1588 Hickock<sub>2</sub>), *Seraffins* (a1613 [1625] Hawkins<sub>2</sub>), *Zeraphins* (1698 Fryer<sub>2</sub>), *Seraphyns* (1704 Churchill<sub>2</sub>), *Xerapheen(s)* (1727 Hamilton<sub>2</sub>), *Zeraphim* (1858 Simmonds<sub>2</sub>)]

<sup>103</sup> For an example of such a coin, see s.v. **ZERMAHBUB**.

<sup>104</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this precisely to 1576.



1. A Turkish gold coin, especially the one struck in Egypt; [2. A silver coin formerly current in India.]

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- [1887: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **xerafine**, **xerafim**: ‘a silver coin formerly current at Goa and several other Eastern ports’ < corruption of A *ashrafi* (or *sharifi* ‘noble’ – cf. the medieval coin so called), which was applied properly to the gold *dinār*, but was also in India, and still is occasionally by natives, applied to the gold mohur
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **seraph 2**: < A; cf. *sheriff*; s.v. **sheriff**, **seraph**, **saraf(fo)**, **sarapho**, **ashurfee**: ‘a gold mohur; a Turkish gold coin; a silver coin, a *xerafin*’ < A *sharāfi*, *ashrafi* ‘noble’; s.v. **xeriff(e)**: < T cf. *sheriff*; [s.v. **xerafin**, **xerafim**: ‘a silver coin of Goa; a gold mohur’ < Pg. *xerafim*, *xarafim* < A *ashrafi*, *sharifi* ‘noble; a gold dinar’]
- [1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub>]
- 1912: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. ‘seraph 2: F †*seraph* < corruption of T شريف *sharīf* (cf. It. †*saraffo*) cf. *shariffe*; s.v. **seraphin**: < Pg. *xerafim*, *xarafim* < A *sharīfi*, originally ‘a gold coin’; cf. *seraph 2*
- 1914: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **shariffe**: cf. *sherifi*; s.v. **sherifi**: ‘a gold coin formerly current in the Levant’; < A شريفی *sharīfiy* (Dozy) ← *sharīf*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **sherifi**: also *sherify* < T *sherīfi* < A *sharīfi* ‘pertaining to a noble’
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- [1994: CannA s.v. **xerafin**: < Pg. *xerafim* < A *sharīfi* < *sharīf*]

#### COMMENTARY:

##### 1. English usage

In Yule<sub>1-2</sub> A *šarīfi* ‘noble’ is only briefly mentioned as the name of a medieval coin, but no reference to Ottoman use is made.

Stanford, rather confusingly, derives the form *xeriff(e)* from Ottoman and refers the reader to *sheriff*, which, together with other forms discussed in the same entry (*seraph*, *saraf(fo)*, *sarapho*, *ashurfee*) is nevertheless explained as a direct borrowig from Arabic. The romanization of one of the Arabic forms is confusing, *šarāfi* (s.v. *sheriff*). Compare *šarīfi* (s.v. *xerafin*), the only one to be found in AED (545).

OED<sub>1</sub> has three separate entries *seraph*, *shariffe* and *sherifi*, but the second of these offers no etymological discussion. While *seraph* is derived from

an undisclosed Turkish form, reference to this language is missing s.v. *sherifi*, although the quotations therein suggest predominantly Ottoman-related contexts.

Indian use (see the forms listed in type C above) is discussed in Yule<sub>1-2</sub> (s.v. *xeraine*, *xerafin*), Stanford (s.v. *xerafin*), OED<sub>1-2</sub> (s.v. *seraphin*), and CannA (s.v. *xerafin*). Because these forms are more distantly related, they are listed in square brackets (just as the respective entries) and the discussion of their transmission is postponed until the last section of the current entry.

Forms of the *ashrafee* type may be explained solely on the basis of A اشرفي *ašrafī*, without reference to Ottoman. Consequently, they have been excluded from the list above.

## 2. The origin of the word and its transmission to English

If we start with the suggestion in OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. *seraph*, it has to be noted first that Ott. شريف *šerif* was used in the senses ‘noble; descended from Muhammed; descendant of Muhammed, particularly, at Mekka and Medina, one descended through Hasan; sacred’ (Redhouse: 1124). It was a familiar religious term borrowed from Arabic (cf. ModA شريف *šarīf* i.a. ‘distinguished, eminent, illustrious, noble, highborn; honoured, celebrated; sherif, title of the descendants of Mohammed’, AED: 545; the substitution A *a* > Ott. *e* is regular, see Stein 2006), but it was not used with reference to coins of any kind. Consequently, it cannot be the etymon of E *seraph*.

Instead, it is more likely that both English words go back to the name of an Ottoman coin struck in Egypt under the name of *šerifi*. It could be seen as a simple adjectival formation based on the aforementioned *šerif*,<sup>105</sup> but its application to a coin may be due to a particular ruler.

The Ottoman *šerifi* was issued as a replacement of an earlier Mamluk coin known under the Arabic name of *ašrafī* (> Ott. *ešrefi*) (cf. in Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. *ashrafee* and the metathesized form *ashurfee* mentioned in Stanford). The latter is based on A *ašraf* ‘noblest’ (+ nisba suffix > *ašrafī*), which is the intensive or superlative of *šarīf*, i.e. the two words are closely related.<sup>106</sup>

The earliest Mamluk *ašrafī* coins (lit. ‘coin of the noblest’, adapted into Ottoman as *ešrefi*) were struck during the reign of sultan Al-Ašraf Barsbay (1422–38)

<sup>105</sup> Interpreted in this way Ott. *šerifi* would be a so-called relational adjective, derived ← *šerif* using the Arabic nisba suffix, or a semantic extension of A *šarīfī* ‘of or pertaining to the house of sherifs’ (AED: 545) ← *šarīf* + nisba *-ī*. On nisba see section 5.3.3 of the Introduction.

<sup>106</sup> A *ašraf* should not be confused with *ašrāf*, the former being intensive, the latter plural form of *šarīf*. The title, and hence the name of the coin, both have *a*–*a*. All three, *ašraf*, *ašrāf* and *šarīf*, are of course based on the same root √šrf.

and named in his honour, i.e. ‘the coin of (sultan) Ašraf’ (Schrötter 1930: 42).<sup>107</sup> Barsbay’s monetary reform, whose purpose was to reestablish a strong Muslim coin in Egypt over the European ducat, was so successful that all subsequent Mamluk gold coins were called *ašrafī* in recognition of that (Bacharach 1973: 87–8).<sup>108</sup>

According to historians, after 1517, i.e. after the conquest of Egypt by the Ottomans, *šerifi* replaced *ešrefi* (Pamuk 2000: 97–8). The question remains open whether the application of *šerifi* to the new coin was in any way inspired by the name of its predecessor, *ešrefi*.<sup>109</sup> The fact that Ottoman Turks adapted *ašrafī* as *ešrefi*, i.e. without preserving the vowels, may indicate that the connection with sultan Barsbay was either unknown or irrelevant to them.

Coming back to English forms, in types A and B two characteristic features may be observed: (a) the shift [ʃ] > [s] in type A forms, and (b) the occasional spelling in *x-/z-* in type B forms. The first may be perhaps due to transmission through dialects of Italian (cf. It. *serafini* 1585 ‘specie di moneta orientale’, DEI V: 3339; also cf. SHERBET ~ SORBET). The second feature points to the influence of foreign orthographies. The use of *x-* for [ʃ] is a typical feature of Portuguese spelling, cf. Pg. *xeraffim* in the next section. The latter was normally used with reference to a coin used in Portuguese India, but the similarity in form could have contributed to the identification of the two names.

Furthermore, word-initial *x-* is typically pronounced in English as [z] (e.g. *xero*), the consonant recorded in the respelled variant *Zeriff* (1858; beside *Xeriff*). Cf. also similar spelling variation in type C.

### 3. A note concerning type C forms

Coins under the Portuguese name *xarafim* ~ *xerafim* (Dalgado 1921 II: 424) were struck in Goa between 1570 to 1871 (Schrötter 1930: 751). Their name must

<sup>107</sup> The edict establishing the new currency is dated 15 Šafar 829 (i.e. 27 December 1425 (Grotzfeld 1996–7: 55).

<sup>108</sup> Barsbay was not the first Mamluk sultan to assume the title *al-ašraf* ‘the noblest’, quite common among Muslim rulers. What follows from Schrötter 1930 is that none of the earlier Mamluk sultans struck coins known as *ašrafī*. Admittedly, Grotzfeld (1996–7: 57) quotes Muhsin Mahdi’s example of an *ašrafī dinar* of 1291, but he dismisses the latter’s claim that this was a coin, considering it an ingot instead. Whatever the case, it is universally assumed that *ašrafī* only spread two centuries later as the name of the coin struck by Barsbay.

<sup>109</sup> Interestingly, nearly two centuries after the name *ašrafī* was replaced by (or modified into?) *šerifi* as a result of Selim I’s conquest of Egypt, the former was again put into use by Ottomans, beside the continuation of the *šerifi*. In 1695 Mustafa II issued the gold *ğedid ešrefi* ‘new ešrefi’ and *čifte ğedid ešrefi* ‘double new ešrefi’, a clear reference to pre-Ottoman Egyptian coin (Uslu et al. 2010: 52).

be modelled on Ott. *šerifi*.<sup>110</sup> The change Ott. *-i* > Pg. *-im* is parallel to the usual adaptation of nouns ending in the Arabic nisba suffix *-ī* (which Ott. *šerifi* etymologically is, see above) by identifying them with the reflexes of L *-ibus* (Corriente 2008: lviii; also cf. BOCASIN).

## TANGA

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **tanga** ['tæŋgə] ~ ['tʌŋə] (1910 OED<sub>1</sub>), AmE **tanga** ['tʌŋgɑ:] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), **tanga** [təŋ'gɑ:] **tangka**, **tanka(h)** [təŋ'ka:] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **1.** *Tangas* ~ *Tangoes* (1598 Phillip<sub>2</sub>), *Tangas* ~ *Tangs* (1615–6 [1625] Steele<sub>2</sub>),<sup>111</sup> *Tanghe* ~ *Tanghes* (1662 Davies<sub>2</sub>),<sup>112</sup> *Tango* (1698 Fryer<sub>2</sub>), *Tanges* (1700 S. L.<sub>2</sub>), *tangas* (1766 [1772] Grose<sub>2</sub>), *Tanga* ~ *Tanja* (1858 Simmonds<sub>2</sub>)

**2.** *tongas* (1740 [1762] Thompson & Hogg<sub>2</sub>), *tungah* (1815 Malcolm<sub>2</sub>), *tenga* (1889 Curzon<sub>2</sub>), *tengas* (1924 *Glasgow Herald*<sub>2</sub>)

**3.** *tanks* (1876 Markham<sub>2</sub>), *tankas* (1892 [1894] Rockhill<sub>2</sub>), *tankas* (1904 *Times*<sub>2</sub>), *tangka* (1904 de Mattos<sub>2</sub>), *tamka* (1970 Taring<sub>2</sub>), *tangka* (1972 Muller<sub>2</sub>), *tamka* (1974 Norbu<sub>2</sub>)

The name applied to various coins used in: **1.** South Asia; **2.** Central Asia; **3.** Tibet.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **tanga**: < Marathi *tank*, Turki *tanga*; “Mr. W. Erskine has stated that the word *tanga* or *tanka* is of Chagatai Turki origin, being derived from *tang*, which in that language means ‘white’ ... Though one must hesitate in differing from one usually so accurate, we must do so here. He refers to Josafa Barbaro, who says this, viz. that certain silver coins are called by the Mingrelians *tetari*, by the Greeks *aspri*, by the Turks *akcha*, and by the Zagatais *tengh*, all of which words in the respective languages signify ‘white.’ We do not

<sup>110</sup> Rather than A *šarifi* or, even more so, *ašrafī* as variously suggested in Yule<sub>1-2</sub> (s.v. *xerafine*, *xerafim*), Stanford (s.v. *xerafin*), OED<sub>1-2</sub> (s.v. *seraphin*) and CannA (s.v. *xerafin*). To repeat, there is no evidence that the former was ever used with reference to a coin, whereas the latter had been already replaced by Ott. *šerifi*.

<sup>111</sup> The second of these forms is quoted only in Stanford, dated to 1625 and attributed to Purchas (in whose collection Steele’s letters originally appeared).

<sup>112</sup> The first form is quoted only in Stanford, whereas the second only in OED<sub>2</sub>.

- however find such a word in the dictionaries of either Vambéry or of Pavet de Courteille; – the latter only having *tangab*, ‘fer-blanc.’ And the obvious derivation is the Skt. *ṭaṅka*, ‘a weight (of silver) equal to 4 *māshas* . . . a stamped coin”
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **tanga** < Oriental Pg. ‘a silver coin of India, roughly corresponding to the later *rupee*’; also ‘a copper coin of the west coast of India’
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub>
- 1910: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **tanga** n. 1: apparently < Pg. *tanga* < *ṭaṅka* in various Indian vernaculars < Skr. *ṭaṅka* ‘a weight = 4 *māshās* (beans), a coin’; also *ṭaṅkaka* ‘a stamped coin’; “Under the Mogul sovereigns, the silver *ṭaṅka* was the chief silver coin, the same as the silver dinar or later *rupee*; mention is also made in 14th cent. of a *ṭaṅka* or dinar of gold, worth 10 silver dinars. About 1500 there were black or copper *ṭaṅkas*, of which 20 went to the old silver *ṭaṅka*. In the end of the 16th century, the *tanga* was a money of account, and afterwards a copper coin, at Goa, where it is still in use . . . The name also survives, in derived forms, in most of the Indian vernaculars, as that of a copper coin, and in Urdū, in its Sanskrit form and sense, as that of a weight. The identity of the Turkī *tanga*, *tonga* with the Sanskrit word has been disputed, and the word attributed to a Chagatai Turkī origin”
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **tanga**: also **tangka**, **tanka**, **tankah** ‘any of various Eastern coins; specifically: a. a former silver coin of India corresponding to the *rupee*; b. a debased silver coin unit of Tibet; c. a former bronze coin of Portuguese India’; < H *tangā*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> = W<sub>2</sub>, but the Hindi is quoted as *ṭaṅgā*
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **tanga**: ‘coin or money of account in India, Persia, and Turkestan’ < Pg. *tanga* < *tanka* in various Indian vernaculars < Skr. *ṭaṅka* ‘weight’
- 1967: Klein s.v. **tanga**: also **tanka**, name of various coins in India and Turkestan < Hindi *tanga*, lit. ‘weight’ < OInd ‘stamped coin; a weight’, probably connected with Tat. *tanka* ‘a silver coin’, ModP *tanga*, Arm. *t’anka* ‘a small coin’
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> s.v. **tanga**: < Tajik; akin to Sanskrit *ṭaṅkaḥ* ‘stamped coin’; s.v. **tenge**: < Kaz. & Tkm; akin to Skr. *ṭaṅka* ‘stamped coin’
- 2001: CannP s.v. **tanga**: < P *tanga*, *tanka* ‘money’ & Hindi *tangā* ‘a certain coin’; prob. << Tk

## COMMENTARY:

**1. English usage**

OED<sub>1,2</sub> divides the occurrences into two broad categories: 1. those applicable to Goa and the Malabar Coast; and 2. those pertaining to Turkestan, Persia, Tibet, etc.

This division is most probably based on chronology, as the earliest noted uses are exclusively with reference to South Asia (throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century), whereas later usage is limited to Central Asia and Tibet. From the historical point of view combining the latter two is rather surprising. The earliest silver coins in Tibet were introduced in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century from Nepal (Walsh 1907: 11; see also Walsh 1908: 684, Krause 17: 1180–1) and the relationship between them and the Central Asian ones is, at best, remote. It is then more reasonable to separate usage related to Central Asia from that pertaining to Tibet.

**2. Treatment in English dictionaries**

It appears that Yule<sub>1,2</sub> touches upon all the aspects of the word's etymology. The author's criticism of Erskine is justified, but the form quoted from DTO is misrepresented, as what we actually find in the latter is the trisyllabic تَنَكَّة [= *teneke* – M. U.] 'fer-blanc' (219; cf. Ott. تَنَكَّة *teneke* 'tinplate', Redhouse: 602), which is a borrowing from P *tanaka*, and as such unrelated to our word.

Stanford mentions Portuguese as the intermediary, which is consistent with the fact that the author does not mention the use of tangas in Central Asia or Tibet. It is also plausible chronologically, as the Portuguese word is attested at least since 1529 (eDHLP).

OED<sub>1,2</sub> combines Stanford with Yule<sub>1,2</sub>, including the latter's account of the spread of tangas in South Asia. It is also the first source to acknowledge the use with reference to Central-Asian and Tibetan coins. Seen in this light, the editors' conclusion that the word is of Hindi origin is an oversimplification. The same applies to both editions of Webster (i.e. W<sub>2</sub> and W<sub>3</sub>), where transmission is direct from Hindi as well as ODEE, where, as usual, a digest of OED<sub>1</sub> is offered. The brevity of these entries results in the curious suggestion that the name of a coin used i.a. in Persia and Turkestan was transmitted into English from Hindi either directly or via Portuguese mediation.

Klein quotes the Tatar, Persian and Armenian counterparts of the Hindi word most probably following Bloch (1934: 59; perhaps based on Master's translation published as Bloch 1965: 62) without giving reference and without commenting on the latter's suggestion. Whatever Klein and Bloch mean by 'Tatar', the form is misquoted by both authors, as Turkic forms seem to have front vocalism (TMEN II: 588–9).

AHD<sub>4</sub> distinguishes between *tanga* ‘a coin used in Tajikistan’ (< Tajik) and *tenge* ‘coins used in Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan’ (< Kazakh and Turkmen). These are the modern meanings, which are not reflected in the data quoted in OED<sub>2</sub>. Other than that the entry follows the same path as the others, postulating for all three relationship with Sanskrit.

Cannon returns, albeit with reservation, to the proposition rejected in Yule<sub>1-2</sub> and OED<sub>1-2</sub> that the Hindi word comes from Turkic, but does not give any actual etymon, which makes his remark difficult to interpret.

### 3. Transmission into English

It seems necessary to assume in this case multiple transmission from a number of sources. The following forms are relevant.

For the meanings related to Indian subcontinent (i.e. the forms in 1) the sources must have been predominantly Indic (cf. Urdu/Hindi *tanḡā* ‘two *paisās*’, Shakespear 1817: 245)<sup>113</sup> and to some extent Persian, as the language of higher status in the Mughal Empire (cf. *ṭanḡa* ‘cash, gold or copper coin’, Steingass: 331).<sup>114</sup> Occasional Portuguese mediation, as implied by lexicographers of English, cannot be completely ruled out, although it has left no explicit traces either.

As far as the forms used with reference to Central Asia (i.e. the forms in 2) are concerned, all the relevant quotations provided in OED<sub>1</sub> refer to Bukhara (and in one case also Khiva), which would suggest a spoken ancestor of Modern Uzbek as the most likely donor (cf. ModUz. *танга* ‘серебряная монета достоинством в 15 коп. (Бухара) или 20 коп. (Ташкент, Фергана)’ [= a silver coin equal to 15 kopeks (Bukhara) or 20 kopeks (Tashkent, Fergana)]). The earliest two forms are however irreconcilable with any Uzbek (or Central Asian) form, at least if interpreted literally.

The first passage comes from a description of a journey to Khiva and Bukhara, which may suggest that, despite the strange spelling, the form *tongas* (1740), used twice in the text, once with reference to Khiva and then to Bukhara,

<sup>113</sup> For the Indo-Aryan forms we will follow here the Indologist practice of writing *ṇ* for [ṇ]. The phonological status of [ṇ] in Indo-Aryan is problematic, see Masica 1991: 96 for a brief discussion and references. Whatever the nature of the contrast between [ṇ] and other nasals, it is neutralized in favour of the former before a velar.

<sup>114</sup> If the spellings *Tanghe* ~ *Tanghes* (1662), *Tanges* (1700) represent disyllabic forms, the use of *e* in the second syllable may indicate the tendency of short Persian *a* to be fronted. However, it cannot be ruled out that spelling in *e* results from word-initial stress in English and reduction of the second vowel. Whatever the case it must be stated explicitly that the spelling in *-gh-* is non-etymological, i.e. it corresponds to a stop in the etymon.

indeed is meant by the authors to reflect a form they actually heard there. The letter *-o-* may stand for an unstressed vowel, equated by the English author with [ə]. Otherwise it may represent the Uzbek labialized *â*, although this is inconsistent with the vocalism of the Uzbek form as reported by Doerfer (see below). On the other hand, *tungah* (1815) comes from a passage dealing with the history of Bukhara and it is difficult to establish where the author derives his information from. The spelling in *-u-* may be another way of writing [ə] or it may stand for a vowel like [ʌ].

The form *tenga(s)* found in the 1889 and 1924 quotations seems to reflect the dialectal Bukharan Uzbek form *tänga* (~ *tängi*) ‘a coin, one ninth of a *tila*’, as quoted by Olufsen (1905: 53). These Uzbek forms are unexpected and may be due to indirect transmission from Persian, although the intermediary is difficult to determine.

In the case of Tibetan coins (the forms in C), the Tibetan language seems the obvious donor, cf. WTib རྩོལ་, རྩོལ་, རྩོལ་, རྩོལ་, *ṭān-ka*, *ṭān-ka*, *ṭān-kʰa*, *tañ-ka* (Jäschke 1881: 202).<sup>115</sup>

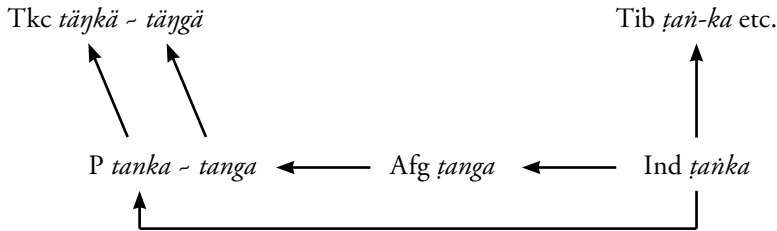
#### 4. Further origin

Doerfer (TMEN II: §946) offers a comprehensive critical summary of the various attempts to etymologize the word. He rejects eight of these and argues for Indic origin, which makes his opinion consistent on the whole with the proposals advanced by the lexicographers of English. Because his criticism seems justified with respect to the eight hypotheses, we will take the ninth, which he favours as our point of departure (for the others see *ibid.*, esp. pp. 590–1).

Doerfer argues that the vocalism *ä* in the first syllable found in Uzbek (instead of the expected *e*), and Bashkir and Kazakh (instead of the expected *i*) rules out the possibility of these forms being native (590). He concludes then that Turkic *tängä* ~ *täñkä* in general must be a borrowing from Iranian forms (cf. P *tanga* ~ *tanka*) which themselves are from Indic. The transmission route that he assumes may be summarized in the following way:

<sup>115</sup> Tibetan influence is especially evident in the form *tamka* attested at least twice (1970 and 1974) and reflecting the first form quoted by Jäschke, i.e. རྩོལ་, which in turn is a transliteration from the Devanagari script तमगा. The circle in the former and the dot in the latter have the same function and mark a nasal segment (*anusvāra*) which occurs after the vowel. In the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration this is rendered as *m̐*, so that the first syllable of both forms could be transliterated as *ṭam̐*. The actual pronunciation, however, depends on the environment: in this particular situation it is [ŋ], which is more closely reflected in Jäschke’s transcription as *ṭāñ-ka*.





This seems a well-argued and plausible scenario. It also correlates well with the chronological data. Probably the earliest occurrence of a related form is the Indic nominative singular neuter *ṭaṅkam*<sup>116</sup> featured on the legend of a silver coin issued in AH 418 and 419 (i.e. AD 1027/8) by Mahmud of Ghazni, as reported already in Thomas 1871: 48 (the same information is later repeated in numerous sources, including Yule<sub>1,2</sub> as well as Darley-Doran 2000: 185). The Indic form is used in the reverse as a translation of A *dirham* which occurs in the obverse. Afterwards references to coins used in the Indian subcontinent and known as *ṭaṅka* occur in various authors beginning in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Temple (1897: 235–44) gives an impressive list of these, which also includes a number of references to non-Indian coins, whose names are related. The earliest of these is a passage dated 1535, which mentions a Russian form *Dengui* (cf. ModRu. *деньгу* ‘money’).<sup>117</sup> However, an even earlier non-Indian usage, not mentioned by Temple, is in the Persian phrase *tanga-yi nuqra* lit. ‘silver tanga’ used with reference to a coin issued by Timur in 1390 (Fragner 1986: 558).

There is one important aspect in Doerfer’s hypothesis that still remains to be discussed: the Indic forms themselves. Mayrhofer’s treatment (1956: 456 and 2001: 220) does not contribute much: he concludes that the word is a culture word with unknown etymology and quotes Bloch’s Tatar, Persian and Armenian forms. Far more informative is Turner’s entry (1962–6: §5426), albeit in terms of material rather than explanation. The author refers to the non-existent Tatar *tanka* as the etymon, but the Indo-Aryan forms he enumerates have to be taken into account in tracing the word’s history.

One more point has to be highlighted in the context of the English word. The Hindi/Urdu variant referred to above, *٢ tangā* ‘two *paisās*’ (Shakespeare 1817: 245) is phonetically incompatible with the early Indic *ṭaṅka* – the opposition

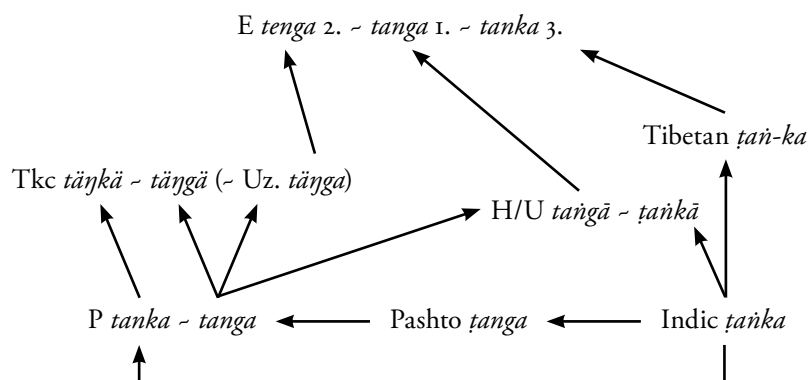
<sup>116</sup> This is *ṭaṅkam* in Thomas’s transliteration.

<sup>117</sup> Some of his forms may be unrelated: e.g. *dāng* (found in *Ain-i Akbari*, dated by Temple to 1551), i.e. NP *dāng* ‘Münze’, cf. TMEN II: 590.

dental : retroflex is retained in Modern Hindi/Urdu, as reflected in the Hindi form cited by Turner, *ṭaṅgā* m. ‘a coin worth 2 paisā’. Shakespear’s form may perhaps be explained by borrowing from P *tanga*.

To conclude, Doerfer’s theory may be provisionally accepted for the time being because it is plausible phonetically and chronologically. However, it has yet to be scrutinized against the Indo-Aryan data quoted by Turner, before it may be considered safe.

After the inclusion of the relevant Hindi/Urdu form as well as the English forms themselves the provisional scenario may be outlined in the following way (the numbers refer to senses as listed above):



## YIRMILIK

PRONUNCIATION: AmE **yirmilik** [ˈyɜːmɪlɪk] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: *yirmilik* (1800 Beaujour *Greece*: 369), *yermilik* (1837 Urquhart *Portfolio* V: 298), *Yirmilik* (1842 Eckfeldt & du Bois *Manual*: 134), *yirmilik* (1860 Snowden *Coins*: 392), *yermilik* (1871 *Constantinople*: 28), *yirmilik* (1912 Hidden *Ottoman Dynasty*: 305)

**1.** A silver coin of Turkey worth about 25 cents or 12 ½ dolloars; **2.** A former Turkish coin of copper and nickel, nominally worth 0.022.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **yirmilik**: < T *yigirmi* ‘twenty’ + suffix *-lik*

## COMMENTARY:

There is no need to derive the English word from the archaic Ott. *yigirmi* ‘twenty’ (RTOİS: 1258) as the word was attested in the contracted form *yirmilik* (*ibid.*). The pronunciation of the first syllable follows the general English pattern of words in *-ir-* (cf. *bird*). The spelling in *-er* is another way of recording the same pronunciation.

Otherwise the etymology presented in  $W_2$  is flawless. On the suffix see s.v. **BESHLIK**. For other coin names featuring this suffix see also s.v. **ALTILIK** and **YUZLUK** and cf. **METALIK**. For another use of the same suffix compare s.v. **BASHLIK**.

**YUZLUK**

PRONUNCIATION: AmE **yuzluk**, **yuzlik** [ˈyuːzlʊk] ~ [ˈyuːzlɪk] (1934  $W_2$ )

FORMS: *Yuzlik* (1842 Eckfeldt & du Bois *Manual*: 134), *yuzluk* (1863 *Annual Report* 1862: 563), *yuzlik* (1872 Homans *Coin Book*: 98)

A former Turkish coin of the nominal value of 100 paras, or 2½ piasters.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1934:  $W_2$  s.v. **yuzluk**, **yuzlik**: ‘a former Turkish coin of the nominal value of 100 paras, or 2 ½ piasters’ < T *yüzlik* ← *yüz* ‘a hundred’

## COMMENTARY:

The word was marginal in English and can be found solely in numismatic studies (e.g. the 1842 and 1872 attestations) or in official documents pertaining to commercial relations (the 1863 occurrence).

$W_2$  uses transliteration, which obscures the actual vowel quality. The Ottoman etymon is *yüzlük* ← *yüz* ‘a hundred’ + *-lük*. The English form *yuzlik* does not have to imply the existence of *yüzlik* in Ottoman. The latter is not attested, although it is theoretically plausible, given that the Early Ottoman instability of labial harmony was retained in the dialects (see section 5.2.2 in the Introduction). However, the variable adaptation of *ü* in the second syllable may result from the shift of stress to the first syllable between English.

For the suffix compare the previous entry, as well as other coin names derived in the same way: s.v. **ALTILIK** and **BESHLIK** and cf. s.v. **METALIK**.

**ZERMAHBUB**

PRONUNCIATION: AmE **zermahbub** [zɜːməˈbuːb] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: *zermaboobs* (1782 [1814] GM 84.2: 107), *zermabub* (1790 Bruce *Nile* III: 54), *zermahboub* (1800 Beaujour *Greece*: 370), *sequin zeramabouc* ~ *zermahboub* (1805 Dubost *Elements* II: 319), *Mahbub* ~ *Zermahbub* (1811 Kelly *Cambist*: 83), *zermahbub* (1828 Fitzpatrick *Thaumaturgus*: 96), *zeri mahbáb* (1845 EM XXV: 849), *zecchin zermahboub* (1851 EA III: 308), *zer mahbúb* (1882 NC 3<sup>rd</sup> series, vol. 3: 170)

A former gold coin of the Ottoman Empire, equivalent to four rebias.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **zermahbub**: < T ← P *zer* ‘gold’ + A *mahbub* ‘beloved’  
 1994: CannA s.v. **zermahbub**: < T < P ← *zar* ‘gold’ + *mahbub* ‘beloved’ < A  
 2001: CannP s.v. **zermahbub**: < T *zerimahbub* ‘an Ottoman gold coin of twenty-five kurush’ < P *zar* ‘gold’ + *mahbub* ‘beloved’ (< A)

## COMMENTARY:

The forms used in English exhibit a number of variations. The presence or absence of *-h-* does not have any bearing on the pronunciation of the word in English. Because [h] does not occur post-vocally in English, the [h]-less pronunciation is an expected adaptation of Ott. [-ah-].<sup>118</sup>

Occasionally, French influence (or mediation) is seen: either in the spelling in *-ou-* in *zermahboub* or in the word order in *sequin zeramabouc* (1805) ~ *zecchin zermahboub* (1851). This last form is indeed a curious hybrid combining French orthography (*-ou-*) and syntax with Italian orthography (*zecchin*). Final *-c* in the 1805 form is unexpected and must be a typographical mistake, as the correct spelling may be found in the same source too.

While the unexpected appearance of *-á-* in *zeri mahbáb* (1845) is difficult to account for, the extra vowel in *zeri* is to be explained by the Persian origin of the phrase. On the whole, the expression goes back to Ott. زر محبوب *zeri mahbub* ‘gold coin of twenty-five kurush’ (Redhouse: 1006, RTOIS: 1280;

<sup>118</sup> Modern Turkish [h] is a very weak glottal fricative with a tendency to fall out, which causes compensatory lengthening, although notably not before oral stops and affricates, cf. modern T *Ahmet* [ahˈmet] ~ [aːˈmet], but *sohbet* [sohˈbet] ‘intimate’ (not \*[soːˈbet]), Sezer 1986: 230. Thus in the modern pronunciation, [h] would be retained (cf. s.v. SALEP).

the latter word had long [u:] in the second syllable, see RTOİS 720) ~ *zer mahbub* (Zenker II: 478, Allan 1993: 1226; also in classical numismatic sources like Schrötter 1930: 755) < P زهر محبوب *zeri mahbūb* ‘purest gold’ (Steingass: 1183), literally ‘beloved gold’ ← P *zer* ‘gold’ (+ *-i*, the marker of the Persian izāfa) + *mahbūb* ‘beloved’ (< A *maḥbūb*, passive participle of *ḥabba* ‘to love’, AED: 179). The apocope of the izāfa marker in Ott. *zer mahbūb* (also found in the majority of English forms) may indicate that the phrase was occasionally lexicalized in Ottoman, although there is strong preference for the phrasal variant *zer-i mahbub* in modern numismatic sources (e.g. in Pâkalın 1983 III: 655, Pamuk 2000: passim, Uslu et al 2010: passim).

The form *Mahbub* (1811), used in reference to the *zeri mahbub* struck in Egypt, goes back to an ellipted colloquial variant, found in Egyptian Arabic as *maḥbūb* ‘gold piece, sequin (in Ottoman times)’ (AED: 179, also marked as Arabic in Zenker II: 822), which is a semantic borrowing from Ottoman. Otherwise it may point to the existence of Ott. *mahbub* ‘gold coin’. While this meaning is not to be found in dictionaries of Ottoman – *mahbub* being usually recorded in the senses ‘beloved’ and ‘catamite’ (RTOİS: 720) – some evidence of such usage is found in Turkish numismatic sources. Uslu et al (2010: 301–2) list a quarter denomination known as  $\frac{1}{4}$  *mahbub* or *rubiye* (compare s.v. **REBIA**) and minted in Egypt during Mahmud II’s reign (1808–1839). This name is clearly opposed to the *zeri mahbub* and  $\frac{1}{2}$  *zeri mahbub* coins issued in the same period (*ibid.*: 299–300) or various *zeri mahbub* and  $\frac{1}{2}$  *zeri mahbub* and  $\frac{1}{4}$  *zeri mahbub* coins issued by earlier sultans (the earliest being Ahmed III, 1703–1730; *ibid.*: 69–70).



### 3. COSTUME

#### BASHLIK

PRONUNCIATION: BrE/AmE [ˈbæʃlɪk] (1933 OED<sub>s</sub>, 1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **A.** *bashluk* (1817 MissR 5: 495), *bashluck* (1831 Armstrong *Travels*: 69), *bashluk* (1897 Bigham *Western Asia*: 21), *bashluks* (1917 Childs *Asia Minor*: 122)

**B.** *bashlick* (1821 Porter *Travels* I: 44), *bashlik* (1839 Wilbraham *Trans-Caucasian Russia*: 260), *bashlick* (1862 Marshall *Schamyl*: 70), *bashlyk* (1876 Telfer *Crimea & Transcaucasia* I: 83), *baschliks* (1881 Leslie<sub>2</sub>), *bashlik* (1882 O'Donovan<sub>2</sub>),<sup>119</sup> *bashliks* (1885 Forbes<sub>2</sub>),<sup>120</sup> *bashluik* (1886 Tolstoy [Doyle] *Anna Karénina*: 360), *bashluik* (1904 *Daily Chron.*<sub>2</sub>), *bashlik* (1914 Hume *Russia*: 303)

A cone-shaped hood worn by people in Western Asia and Russia.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **bashlik** **1**: < E. Turk. *bāshlıgh* ‘covering for the head’  
1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **bashlyk**, **bashlik**: ‘a kind of cloth hood covering the ears’  
< Ru. *bashlyk*  
1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **bashlyk**: < Ru. *bashlyk* < T *başlık* ‘hood’ ← *baş* ‘head’  
1966: Klein s.v. **bashlyk**: < T *bashlyq*, ‘any kind of headgear’  
1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **bashlik**: < Ru. *bashlyk*

#### COMMENTARY:

The two classes of spellings found in English ultimately reflect vocalic variation in Turkic. They may be distinguished on the basis of the second syllable being *-luk* (type A: << Tk. *luk*) or *lik* ~ *lyk* (type B: << Tk. *lık*). It is the latter that is

<sup>119</sup> Stanford misdates this as 1884.

<sup>120</sup> Stanford misdates this as 1884.

more abundant in English texts, exhibiting greater orthographic variation, and has found its way to general dictionaries of English.

The variation *i* – *y* in type B forms indicates different media of transmission. The former, pronounced [i] in English, corresponds directly to Tk. [u] or Ru. [i] or similar. On the other hand, *y* is a typical transliteration for the Russian letter *ѣ* (= [i]) and suggests influence of the written form in this language.<sup>121</sup> Assuming word-final stress in E *besklik*, orthographic *e* must represent [ə] in an unstressed syllable, but if the stress had already shifted, then the suggested vowel is unetymological. Word-final stress would be in accordance with Tk. *başlık* or Ru. *башилык* (also cf. the pronunciation in Russian [bəʃˈlʲɪk] with unstressed vowel reduction resembling the one typical of English).

“E. Turk.” in Stanford probably denotes “East Turki” (i.e. Chaghatay) rather than the eastern dialects of Anatolian Turkish. However, the form is misquoted, cf. Chag. باشلیق *başlıq* ‘einen Kopf habend; an der Spitze seiend’ (Radloff IV: 1559; also cf. ‘chef, commandant, tête’, DTO: 151) vs. Chag. باشلیق *başlık* i.a. ‘Kopfstück’ (Radloff IV: 1559), the two formed using two different suffixes. Moreover, direct transmission into English from Chaghatay, a written lingua franca of Central Asia, is very unlikely.

W<sub>3</sub> gives the most complete etymology. The bashlik is typical of the Caucasus (cf. Černych 1999 I: 80) and the word itself can be found in numerous languages of the region: Ossetic *baslyq* – *basluq* – *baslaq*, Kabardian *başlyq*, Svan *başlyq*, Georgian *başlyqi* id. (Abaev I: 239), Adyghe *бауэлыкъ* – *бауылыкъ* id. (cf. Shag I: 70). The word must have passed into these languages as well as Russian from one of the Turkic languages of the Caucasus, possibly from Azerbaijani (cf. Az. *башилыг* quoted in Černych 1999 I: 80).

## BENISH

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **benish** [bɪˈniːʃ] (1933 OED<sub>s</sub>)

FORMS: *Benish days* – *Benish* (1743 Pococke *Egypt*: 184 and 190 respectively), *benishe* (1787 Volney *Syria & Egypt* I: 169), *beniche* (1797 EB<sub>2</sub>), *benish* (1827

<sup>121</sup> While it is conceivable that *y* could represent [u] too, it is rather unlikely. The letter *y* is in fact regularly used to transcribe this vowel by Turcologists outside Turkey (e.g. see K. Stachowski 2012: 324), but it is not generally used to transcribe Turkish/Turkic words in the English tradition. It is, on the other hand, a regular transliteration for Ru. *ѣ* in Slavist studies, including English-speaking authors (see e.g. Matthews 1967).



Buckingham *Mesopotamia* II: 194),<sup>122</sup> *benee'sh* ~ *ben'ish* (1836 Lane<sub>2</sub>),<sup>123</sup> *benishes* (1840 Fraser<sub>2</sub>)

An outer garment with very long sleeves.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1933: OED<sub>S</sub> s.v. **benish**: < T *binuṣ*, *bunuṣ* (properly = 'riding-habit') ← *binnek* 'to mount a horse'
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **benish**: < T *biniṣ* (properly = 'riding-habit') ← *binmek* 'to mount a horse'
- 2007: CannA<sub>E</sub> s.v. **benish**: < T *binish* 'riding habit' < A *benīš*

#### COMMENTARY:

The forms found in English texts do not exhibit any significant variation. The strange use of apostrophes found in the first edition of Lane (1836) is due to typographical difficulty in executing the author's system of diacritics.

The pronunciation of the English word could have originated as an adaptation of either Ott. *biniš* or A *benīš* (but cf. *bīnīš* in ARS: 87). The contexts in which the English forms are found do not necessarily point to direct transmission from Ottoman. In all these cases reference is to Ottoman-governed Arab lands in which Ottoman was by no means the only medium of everyday communication. Consequently, it seems sensible to assume at least joint transmission from Ottoman and Arabic, although in all likelihood Arabic was the dominant source.

If the etymological explanation of the Ottoman word advanced in OED<sub>S-2</sub> is correct,<sup>124</sup> i.e. *biniš* < *bin-* 'to ride' + *-iṣ*, then Ottoman could still be said to have played a prominent role in the transmission of the word. The suffix *-iṣ* does indeed exist in Turkic, but it is a deverbal nominalizing suffix. Consequently, the literal meaning of *biniš* would be '(the act/style of) riding' but the word is also used with reference to a ceremonious procession in which the sultan rode

<sup>122</sup> Interestingly, a reprint of the same passage in *The Ladies' Monthly Museum* (LMM 26: 11) features *binish*, although this may be a typo, as both 1827 editions of Buckingham (i.e. the two-volume edition, which I quote from, and the one-volume one) have *benish*.

<sup>123</sup> The spellings are simplified to *beneesh* and *benish* respectively in later editions of Lane (cf. e.g. Lane *Egyptians*<sub>III</sub> I: 53).

<sup>124</sup> The Turkish forms quoted in OED<sub>S</sub> could reflect the instability of labial harmony in early Ottoman (cf. the forms s.v. CHIBOUK), but the source on the basis of which they are quoted is unknown. Such variants are not to be found in RTOİS.

on horseback. The evolution of this meaning into ‘riding-cloak’ would be rather fanciful, which calls into question the identity of the two and, accordingly, RTOİS (181) has two separate entries, *biniş* 1 ‘riding’ and *biniş* 2 ‘riding cloak’.<sup>125</sup>

Thus the problem of the etymology of *biniş* 2 remains open. ROTİS (*ibid.*) only writes that the word is of Italian origin. Tietze (TETTL I: 348) is more specific and quotes It. *pelliccia* ‘fur coat’ as the source. Dialectal T *biniç* ‘cübba’ quoted by Tietze (based on DS II: 697) rules out the derivation suggested in OED<sub>2</sub> and suggests itself as the missing link between the standard *biniş* and its alleged Italian etymon. There are, however, certain problems related to this hypothesis.

While changes *b* > *p* and *l* > *n* are more or less frequently attested in the adaptation of Europeanisms in (Ottoman) Turkish (see M. Stachowski 2000: §§2.2a and 16.2a respectively), the shift *č* > *ş* is not: the voiceless affricate is usually preserved or, less typically, voiced (*op. cit.*: §§13.1–2). Deaffrication *-č* > *-ş* is found word-finally in Turkish dialects (Caferoğlu 1959: §23271), but then we would expect the correspondence to be: standard T *\*biniç* = dialectal T *\*biniş*.

A possible solution would be to assume that Arabic acted as an intermediary between Italian and Ottoman. While *l* > *n* is quite common cross-linguistically, both It. *p* > A *b* and It. *č* > A *ş* are expected because Arabic lacks both the phonemic voiced bilabial stop and voiceless alveolar affricate. Unfortunately, this scenario does not explain the dialectal Turkish *biniç*, unless the latter is assumed to be a direct borrowing from Italian. Furthermore, It. *-ia* would be likely to be identified in Arabic with the feminine nisba suffix *-īya*, which is often found in names of clothing (see the forms quoted s.v. FERIDGI), which would result in *\*banişīya* ~ *\*binişīya* (assuming *l* > *n*).

To sum up, the role of Ottoman in the transmission of *benish* into English is debatable, as is the ultimate origin of the word.

## CAFTAN

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **caftan** [kafˈtɑːn] ~ [ˈkæftæn] (1888 OED<sub>1</sub>), AmE **caftan** [ˈkæftæn] ~ [kəfˈtɑːn] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [ˈkaftən] ~ [ˈkaftan] ~ [kafˈtan] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: I. *Caftan* (1542 Grafton *Turke*: v), *Caftan* (1591 Fletcher<sub>2</sub>), *Kaftan* (1662 [1669] Davies<sub>2</sub>), *Caffetan* (1671 Charant<sub>3</sub>),<sup>126</sup> *Cafetan* (1695 Motteux<sub>2</sub>), *Cofian*

<sup>125</sup> Beside *biniş* 3 ‘vision, sight’, which is a borrowing from Persian.

<sup>126</sup> This is referred to as Charante in OED<sub>2</sub>.

(1700 Rycaut<sub>2</sub>), *Caftan* (1717 [1965] Montagu<sub>3</sub>),<sup>127</sup> *Cafetan* (1757 [1782] Bruce<sub>3</sub>),<sup>128</sup> *caftan* (1813 Moore<sub>2</sub>), *caftans* (1835 Willis<sub>2</sub>), *caphtan* (1866 Reader<sub>2</sub>), *Kaftan* (1889 Hall Caine<sub>2</sub>); 2. *Kaftan* (1965 *Vogue*<sub>2</sub>), *Caftans* (1966 *Daily Tel.*<sub>2</sub>), *kaftans* (1967 *Daily Mail*), *caftan shirt* (1968 *Guardian*<sub>2</sub>), *Kaftan* (1969 *Daily Nation (Nairobi)*<sub>2</sub>), *Kaftan* (1972 *Wilson*<sub>2</sub>)

1. A Turkish garment, long under-tunic or vest tied at the waist with the girdle;
2. A similar dress worn in Western countries.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1865: Müller<sub>1</sub> s.v. **caftan**: of Oriental origin; cf. T *kaftân* 'langes Oberkleid' = P *chafthan* 'Panzerwamms' > It. *caffetano* = F *cafetan* = G *kaftan* = Ru. *kaftan*, etc.
- 1878: Müller<sub>2</sub> = Müller<sub>1</sub>
- 1888: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **caftan**: < T قفطان *qaftân*, also in P; in early use probably < F *cafetan*
- 1888: Skeat<sub>2</sub> s.v. **caftan**: < T *qaftân* 'a dress'
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **caftan**: < T = P *qaftân* (sometimes < F *cafetan*; *caphetan* in Cotgrave)
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> = Skeat<sub>2</sub>
- 1924: Weekley s.v. **caftan**: < T *qaftân*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **caftan**: < F *cafetan* < T *qaftân* (> P *qaftân*, A *quftân*)
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **caftan**: < Ru. *kaftan* < T < P *qaftân*
- 1966: Klein s.v. **caftan**: < T *qaftân* < A *qaftân* < P *khaftân*
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **caftan**: < T *qaftân* (partly < F *cafetan*)
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **caftan**: < Ru. *kaftan* < Ott. *qaftân*
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

#### COMMENTARY:

##### 1. English forms

The word was transmitted over a longer period of time through a variety of routes. The earliest variant appears in Grafton's translation of Geuffroy *Turc* (1542), a French account of the Ottoman court. The passage in Fletcher (1591) is a portrayal of a Russian nobleman, and the quoted form is Ru. *кафтан* (most probably < Ott.,

<sup>127</sup> This is less precisely dated to 1716–8 in OED<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>128</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> uses the publication date, i.e. 1782.

Az. or Tat. CrimTat. *kaftan*; ÈSRJa II: 212). On the other hand, the quotation from Davies (1662), which is a translation of another French text (based in turn on a German original), may be found in a description of Greek dress and thus goes back to Gk. *καφτάνι* (< Ott), with the apocope of the Greek case marker.

The forms *Coftan* (1700 Rycaut), *Caftan* (1717 Montagu), and *caftans* (1835 Willis) all directly reflect Ottoman usage. The first of these must go back to the Ottoman variant *koftan* also recorded by Arcangelo Carradori (1630; Rocchi 2011: 196). The labialization *a > o* resembles a similar phenomenon found in modern dialects, given that the word exhibits both triggering contexts, i.e. velar *k* and labiodental *f* (Caferoğlu 1959: 245, §22241).

The spelling of *Caffetan* (1671 Charant), *Cafetan* (1695 Motteux<sub>2</sub> and 1757 [1782] Bruce) may have been influenced by forms like It. *caffettano* ~ *cafetano* (DEI I: 660) and/or F *caftetan* ~ *caffetan* (Arveiller 1999: 225–6).

## 2. Further origin

According to TMEN (§1168), Tk. > P خفتان *xaftān* and Tk. > A قفطان *quftān* (Persian and Arabic forms from Steingass: 468 and AED: 914 respectively) and not Ottoman < Arabic < Persian, as Klein suggests. The earliest Turkic form according to TMEN (*ibid.*) is *kaptan*, but the form in *-ft-* is attested already in Kaşgari (see Dankoff & Kelly I: 328). For further discussion of the etymology of the Turkic word cf. TMEN (III: §1168).

## CALPAC

PRONUNCIATION: BrE/AmE **calpac**, **calpack** ['kælpæk] (1888 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **calpac**, **calpack** ['kælpæk] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), ['kælpæk] ~ [kæl'pæk] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *colepecke* ~ *colpack* (1598 Hakluyt<sub>s</sub>), *kalpac* (1797 Dallaway *Constantinople*: 83), *kalpác* (1803 Montagu *Works*: 304),<sup>129</sup> *calpac* (1813 Byron<sub>2</sub>), *calpack* (1819 Hope<sub>s</sub>), *calpac* (1820 Hughes<sub>s</sub>), *calpack* (1835 Willis<sub>2</sub>), *calpacked* (1852 Willis<sub>2</sub>), *colback* (1870 Erckmann-Chatrian<sub>2</sub>)<sup>130</sup>, *kalpack* (1871 *Daily News*<sub>2</sub>), *colpacks* (1877 Wraxall<sub>2</sub>)<sup>131</sup>, *calpac* (1938 Marcossion *Years*: 162), *qalpaq* (1977 Elgood *Arms*: 35)

A felt cap of triangular form, worn by Turkic peoples; also an Oriental cap generally. Also '**calpacked** ppl., Wearing a calpack.

<sup>129</sup> OED<sub>3</sub> dates this to 1718. On the date 1803, see further.

<sup>130</sup> This is quoted s.v. *colback*, which only offers a cross-reference to *calpac*.

<sup>131</sup> This is quoted s.v. *calpack*, which only offers a cross-reference to *calpac*.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1888: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **calpac**: < Turkī قَلْپَاق *qalpāq* ~ قَالْپَاق *qālpāq*  
 1892: Stanford s.v. **calpac(k)**, **kalpac(k)**: < Turki *qalpāq*, s.v. **colepecke**:  
 < Turki; s.v. **colpack**: < Turki  
 1924: Weekley s.v. **calpac**: < Turki *qālpāk* ‘eastern head-dress  
 (Turkestan)’  
 1934: W<sub>2</sub> **calpac**, **calpack**: < T *qalpāq*, *qālpāq*; also *calpacked*, adj.  
 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **calpac**: < T *kalpak*  
 1966: Klein s.v. **calpac**: < T *qalpāq* (> Hu. *kalpag* ‘calpac, headgear’,  
*kalap* ‘hat’)  
 1966: ODEE = OED<sub>1</sub>  
 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>  
 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **calpac**: < Ott. *qalpāq* < OTkc. < MP *kulfak* ‘cap’ di-  
 minutive of *kulf* ‘hat’  
 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

## COMMENTARY:

## 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

All dictionaries, with the sole exception of AHD<sub>3-4</sub> and W<sub>3</sub>, essentially copy from OED<sub>1</sub>.

“Turkī” (OED<sub>1,2</sub>) or “Turki” (Stanford and Weekley) probably stands for “Turkic”, although it could correspond to our “Uyghur” (cf. the use in Shaw 1878–80).

The varying spellings, *qalpāq* ~ *qālpāq* (OED<sub>1</sub> and repeated variously in Stanford, Weekley, Klein, ODEE, OED<sub>2</sub> and AHD) represent orthographic and not phonetic alternation (cf. section 5.1.1 of the Introduction).

Stanford has three separate entries, all of which are derived from the same source. The author does not bother to explain the *o* ~ *a* variation (see below).

Klein gives Hu. *kalpag* ‘calpac, headgear’ (< Ott) for no obvious reason: no connection exists between the English and the Hungarian words, nor does he explicitly suggest any.

AHD<sub>3-4</sub> offers an interesting attempt to explain the word as a borrowing from Middle Persian (see below). However, deriving an Ottoman word directly from Old Turkic is misleading, as the former (a variety spoken in Anatolia since roughly the 13<sup>th</sup> cent., which became the literary language of the Ottoman Empire) is not a direct descendant of the latter (in its broadest sense comprising the Orkhon Turkic koiné, 7<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries, Old Uyghur, 9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, and Karakhanid Turkic, 11<sup>th</sup> century).

## 2. Variation in English and its origin

English forms exhibit the graphic *a* ~ *o* variation in the first syllable, which must have corresponded to a similar variation in pronunciation. This may point to transmission through Russian, where a similar phenomenon is observed at least since the 15<sup>th</sup> cent. (Sreznevskij 1893: 1183, 1258). It may be attributed to the spreading of *akanye*, i.e. an [a]-like pronunciation of unstressed *o*, which might have resulted in orthographic hypercorrection to *колпак*.

Otherwise, Kipchak Turkic influence could be assumed. According to ÈSTJa V 236, *a* > *o* is observed in Kipchak in the neighbourhood of *k* [q]. This could imply the transmission route E < Ru. < Kip. Also cf. CAFTAN.

Whether Kipchak was involved or not, the hypothesis of Russian mediation is consistent with the fact that the 1598 attestations, *colepack* and *colpack*, each from a text by a different author, although published in the same collection (Hakluyt *Navigations*<sub>B</sub>), both occur in passages describing Russian costume. Doerfer (TMEN §1506) also considers Russian the immediate donor to other European languages (Polish, French, German, and Dutch).

Finally, it is marginally possible that the word was partially transmitted through Polish, where we find *kolpak* id.

## 3. Ultimate source

The origin of Tkс. *kalpak* is far from settled. A comprehensive summary of some of the proposals can be found in ÈSTJa V: 234–6. Below we will limit ourselves to the discussion of four proposals. The first two are not to be found in ÈSTJa, whereas the third seems to be the most convincing of those quoted in that dictionary. The fourth hypothesis, the most recent, is similar to the third in some respects, but gives additional details.

The word is not attested in any form of Old Turkic, but ORu. *черные клобуки*, a partial calque of the ethnonym *Kara Kalpak* (with *kara* ‘black’ translated as *черный*) attested in a chronicle in 1152, indirectly testifies to its existence (REW s.v. *клобу́к* = ÈSRJa s.v. *клобу́к*, see also Černyx 1999).<sup>132</sup>

The Middle Persian forms quoted in AHD<sub>3-4</sub> have to be corrected, cf. MacKenzie’s (1986: 52) *kulāf* ‘cap, bonnet’ (= early NP *kulāh*)<sup>133</sup> and *kulāfak* (= early NP *kulāhhak*). However, the latter could not be the direct etymon

<sup>132</sup> On the people referred to as *черные клобуки* in Russian see Golden 1979–80 and 1996.

<sup>133</sup> كَلَّه *kulāh* ‘A conic hat of black lamb-skin worn by the Muhammadan monks or dervīshes; any head-gear, a Tartar cap, a turban’ (Steingass 1041).

of *kalpak*, because if borrowed into Ottoman it would have yielded *\*kūlāfek* ~ *\*kūlafek*.<sup>134</sup>

Eren (TDES: 203) suggests that dial. T *kalıp* ‘lid, cover’ (= standard T ‘mold, matrix’) + (a)*k* diminutive suffix (cf. also (f)) > *kalpak* ‘lid, cover’ (Kaz. = KTat. *kalpak* ‘lid, cover’) > ‘calpack’. This theory is not very plausible either: *kalıp* ‘form, shape’ is not native, but a late borrowing < A *kālib* id. < Gk. *καλόπους* (Symeonidis 1976: 57), and is too limited geographically (dial. Turkish) to have become the basis of a whole family of Turkic forms.

According to M. Asamutdinova (quoted in ÈSTJa V 235), *kalpak* < *kaplak* ← *kapla-* ‘to cover, close’. This idea is plausible both semantically (‘(head-) cover’ > ‘hat’; cf. TARPOOSH for analogy) and formally. The only objection is the prevalence of forms in *-lp-* compared to the ones in *-pl-*, which are limited to dialectal Turkish. It seems more likely that the latter are secondary than the other way round.

M. Stachowski (in preparation) considers in detail another variant of this proposal. The suggested evolution is the following: *\*kapā* ‘zumachen; bedecken’ → *\*kapālak* > *kabalak* > *kalabak* (metathesis) > *\*kalıbak* > *kalpak*, although the author points out several problems. First of all, the variants *kabalak* and *kalabak* are attested in one dialect each and neither could be the source of Tatar or Uyghur *kalpak* (see the list of Tk. forms in ESTJa V: 234). Moreover, the author admits the change *\*kalıbak* > *kalpak* is problematic, as the expected result would be *\*kalbak*.

#### 4. *Talpoek, Talpoche* or *kalpác* in a letter by Lady Montagu?

An interesting problem is related to a passage from one of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu’s letters dated 1717 in Stanford, 1718 in OED<sub>3</sub>, and 1803 here. The relevant letter is dated March 10, 1718 in all editions that I was able to access. On the date 1803 see towards the end of this section.

There have been numerous editions of these letters and there are certain inconsistencies among them. According to the editions the authors of the relevant entries used (the 1827 edition in Stanford and the 1837 edition in OED<sub>3</sub>),

<sup>134</sup> Vowel elision in the second syllable in trisyllabic words in Turkic affects generally high vowels and is less regular with non-high vowels. Furthermore, P *k* (written 𐰚 *kāf*) was regularly rendered as palatal *k* [kʲ] in Ottoman, whereas P *l* as palatal *l* [lʲ]. These two palatal consonants would typically trigger the fronting of *u* > *ü* [y]. Persian short *a* was typically rendered as *e* and the possibility of P *a* > T *a* is further hindered by the presence of the palatal *-k*. Finally, Persian long *ā* regularly turns up in Ottoman as *ā* ~ *a*.

the passage in question has the form *kalpác*, although OED<sub>3</sub> adds that a 1966<sup>135</sup> edition has *talpoche*.

In fact there are in general three occurrences of suspicious *t*-forms in the earliest editions of the letters. The first edition has *talpock* (one occurrence, Montagu *Letters* 1763 II: 30) and *talpoche* (twice, *op. cit.*: 152, 158).<sup>136</sup> These are repeated in all other 18<sup>th</sup>-century editions (Montagu *Letters* 1779: 102, 167, and 170; 1790: 132, 215, and 219; 1794: 97, 158, and 161; and 1798: 81, 132, and 135) as well as translations into French (*Lettres* 1764 I: 196, II: 79, and 84) and German (*Briefe* 1764: 120, 188 and 191). However, the first French translation (*Lettres* 1763) beside the expected *talpock* (I: 194), has *tolpache* (II: 76) instead of the first *talpoche*, and substitutes the second one with *coëffure* (II: 81). The spelling in *o*–*a* must be a typographical error.

The first edition to use *kalpác* seems to be Montagu *Works* (1803), where the editor was rather inconsistent, as we find in the respective order: *talpock* (185), *kalpác* (304), and *talpoche* (310). In later editions, whenever *kalpác* or *kalpac* appears, it is always in the second passage only. Probably the last edition that features this substitution is Montagu & Hale *Letters* (1869: 78, 100, and 102 respectively; also reissued in 1876).

As remarked above, Halsband's standard edition is reported in OED<sub>3</sub> to feature *talpoche* in the second of the three passages. While I did not have access to this edition, the selection published five years later has *talpack* in all three passages (Montagu & Halsband *Letters*: 96, 108 and 109 respectively).

It has to be borne in mind that the following interpretation is provisional and should be verified against the original manuscript. The majority of editions have the *t*-spellings, including the earliest (1763) and the standard ones (Halsband). On this basis, it is safer to assume that *kalpác* is a later correction and the *t*-spellings are primary.

It should be assumed that *talpoche* and *talpock* are the same word with either the *ch* or *ck* resulting from misreading of the other. This is suggested by the similar semantics implied by the original contexts and by small chances of two hapaxes very similar semantically and formally occurring in one author. Thus there remain two possibilities:

- (a) *talpock* is primary and *talpoche* should be read *talpocke*;
- (b) *talpoche* is primary and *talpock* should be read *talpoch*.

<sup>135</sup> Halsband's full edition published in 1965–7, but the relevant volume (the first) was published in 1965. I did not have access to this edition, but to the abridged one (Halsband 1970).

<sup>136</sup> According to the numbering in the first edition, *Talpock* occurs in Letter XXIX, dated April 1, 1717, and both occurrences of *Talpoche* in Letter XXXIX of March 10, 1718. The quotation listed in OED<sub>3</sub> is on p. 152 in the first edition.



Ad (a)

Radloff (III: 1090) quotes Chag, ETkc. *tälpäk* ‘das Käpsel’, KKirg. & Krg. *telpäk* 1. ‘eine Pelzmütze’ (KKrg); 2. ‘ein Tatarenkäpsel’ (Krg) as well as (Radloff III: 1388) ETkc. *tilpäk* ‘die Filzkappe’. Uzbek has *melnäк* [= *telpäk* – M. U.] ‘теплая местная шапка’ (UzRS: 447; also in TMEN II: 1009) and Tkm. *melnek* [= *telpäk* – M. U.] ‘папаха’ (TkmRS: 627). The relationship of these forms with *kalpak* suggested by Babinger (1993: 701) remains obscure, as the *k* – *t* alternation is not regular in Turkic. A further problem is that the front vocalism in the Tkc. forms in *t*- is irreconcilable with the back vowels found in the forms in *k*-. For the same reason the relationship of Tkc. *t*- forms with Montagu’s *talpock(e)* is unlikely.

An alternative solution may be sought in deriving *talpocke* from *kalpak* with dissimilation *k*–*k* > *t*–*k*. The question remains whether the dissimilation occurred in English (Lady Montagu is said to have mastered Ottoman quite well) or in Ottoman, with an unattested *\*talpak* being the etymon for *talpocke*. A scenario similar to the former is assumed in TLF s.v. *talpack*.

Ad (b)

*Talpoche* could be explained as Lady Montagu’s distortion of Ott. *tarpoş* ‘a skullcap’ (Redhouse: 1236; cf. s.v. **TARBOOSH**). Influence of *kalpak* on the development *-rp* > *-lp*-, although not impossible, does not have to be assumed: liquids are prone to be substituted for one another cross-linguistically (for useful examples of the instability of liquids, see e.g. Hock 1991: 108).

Of the two hypotheses, the latter is less problematic. This of course implies that the form used by Montagu is not related to Ott. *kalpak*. While the occurrence in the 1803 edition was the editor’s wrongful decision, it suggests their familiarity with the term, which in itself warrants its inclusion in our documentation.

## CARACO

PRONUNCIATION: AmE **caraco** [ˈkɑːrəˌkəʊ] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *caraco* (1787 NLM Aug: 445), *caraco* (1787 WHM Oct: 543), *caraco* (1819 BA Aug: 89), *caraco* (1850 NMBA Jun: 381), *caraco* (1876 Haydon *Correspondence* I: 45), *caraco* (1895 Gaulot *Friend*: 349)

A woman’s short coat or jacket usually about waist length.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **caraco**: < F; perhaps < T *kerrake* ‘alpaca coat’

## COMMENTARY:

It seems that the garment in question came into vogue in Britain in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, with a number of fashion magazines devoting at least a passing reference.

E *caraco* may come from either F *caraco* or It. *caracò* ‘lightweight woman’s dress which was briefly popular in the 18<sup>th</sup> century’, whose further etymology is dubbed uncertain in DEI (I: 750).

Ott. *kerake* ~ *kerrake* ‘a former kind of light cloak’ (RTOİS: 639 and 641 respectively) cannot be native in Turkic, because of the disharmonic vowels. It seems reasonable to treat Meninski’s (1680: 3924) harmonic *kereke* ‘paludamentum, species vestis exterioris Arabicae latae cum praecisis manicis’ as a secondary, phonologically adapted form rather than the other way round.

The Arab link present in Meninski’s gloss is followed by Nişanyan (ÇTES s.v. *kerrake*), who seems to offer a plausible solution. He mentions A *karaka* ‘Araplara özgü bir tür cübbe’ [= ‘a kind of robe typical of Arabs’], related to Aram. *krākā* id. ← √*krk* ‘to wrap’. For potentially similar semantics, cf. DOLIMAN.<sup>137</sup> The problem with this explanation is that Nişanyan does not provide any source from which he quotes the Arabic form and neither the standard dictionaries of Arabic attest *karaka* in the appropriate meaning, nor is such a name of a robe mentioned in Stillman’s standard study of Arab dress (2003).

Because of the problematic character of the Ottoman word, the Turkish connection in the history of the English word remains uncertain.

## CHARSHAF

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **charshaf** [ˈtʃɑːʃɑf] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>); AmE **charshaf** [ˈtʃɑːrʃɑːf] ~ [ˈtʃɑːrʃæf] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: *charshaf* (1886 LLW 16: 387), *charchaff* (1900 Foote *Talk* 965), *tcharchaf* (1926 Goodrich-Freer<sub>2</sub>), *charshaf* (1928 *Blackw. Mag.*<sub>2</sub>), *tcharshaff* (1938 *Times Lit.*<sub>2</sub>), *tchartchaf* (1943 Price<sub>2</sub>), *charshaf* (1955 Nabokov<sub>2</sub>), *charshaf* (1963 *Times*<sub>2</sub>), *Charshaf* (1972 Hotham<sub>2</sub>), *charshaf* (1986 *Times*<sub>2</sub>)

In Turkey and some Balkan countries: a headscarf worn by women, a remnant of the veil formerly worn.

<sup>137</sup> DEI (I: 750) suggests a possible relationship of It. *caracò* with Mexican Sp. *caracol* ‘a kind of broad and short nightgown’, but this is not very useful, given the obscure nature of the latter.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **charshaf**: ‘a dark costume, consisting of skirt, cape, and veil, worn by Turkish women’ < coll. T *chārshāf* < *chārsheb* ‘sheet, bedcovering’ < P *chādir* ‘tent, dress’ + *sheb* ‘night’
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **charshaf**: < T *çarşaf*, orig. ‘an all-encompassing outer garment for women, worn with a veil’ ← P *chādar-i-shab* ‘bed-sheet’
- 2001: CannP s.v. **charshaf**: < T ‘a dress with a veil formerly worn, poss. < P *čādoršab* ‘wrapper for bed-clothes’

## COMMENTARY:

## 1. English forms and their treatment in English dictionaries

The English forms are very similar to one another. The only variations are: (a) final *-ff* ~ *-f*, both pronounced [f]; (b) initial *ch-* ~ *tch-*, the former pronounced either [tʃ] or [ʃ], the latter [tʃ]; (c) medial *-sh-* ~ *-ch-* ~ *-tch-*, the first always pronounced [ʃ], the second being either [tʃ] or [ʃ] and the last one always pronounced [tʃ].

Both *ch-* and *-ch-* could be pronounced [tʃ] in *charchaff* (1900), which, together with *tchartchaf* (1943), could be interpreted as resulting from assimilation [tʃ-ʃ] > [tʃ-tʃ]. It may have occurred in English or may reflect a similar phenomenon in Ottoman (see below). Alternatively it is possible to interpret *charchaf* as representing a pronunciation like [ʃaːʃaf] with another kind of assimilation [tʃ-ʃ] > [ʃ-ʃ] (but see also below). Initial *ch-* must have been pronounced [tʃ] in all other forms as it contrasts there with medial *-sh-* used for [ʃ]. Medial *-ch-* was most probably pronounced [ʃ] in *tcharchaf* (1926) as it contrasts with the initial *tch-* used for [tʃ].

W<sub>2</sub> does not account in any way for the differences in vowels between the Oriental forms quoted. The entry in OED<sub>2</sub> suggests the full (Late) New Persian form as the ultimate etymon, whereas CannP uses the Modern Persian reduced form. Moreover, only the former quotes the (Modern) Turkish form. Additional comments are due.

## 2. The ultimate etymon and its transmission

From the formal point of view the majority of English forms could be explained based on the Persian variants, but Ottoman mediation nevertheless seems reasonable, as the passages that feature the word refer variously either to Turkey itself, or to other lands under Ottoman rule. This also means that transmission via other secondary sources is plausible (e.g. cf. SCr. *čaršaf* ~ *čaršav* in the context of the 1938 *tcharshaff* which occurs in a passage pertaining to the Balkans).

The ultimate etymon is the Persian phrase *čādar-i-šab* ‘bed-sheets; a large veil, covering the whole dress’ (Steingass: 384). This is a Persian ezafe phrase (marked by *-i-*) built of two words چادر *čādar* ‘a tent, pavilion; a mantle, scarf; a veil; a sheet; a shroud, winding-sheet; a table-cloth’ and شب *šab*, ‘night, darkness’; (Steingass: 383 and 729 respectively). The whole construction literally means ‘night sheet’, i.e. ‘bedsheet’.

In Late New Persian the word was pronounced *čādar* ~ *čāder*, whereas the pronunciation *čador* is modern (Dehxoda s.v. چادر), and as such has no bearing on the Ottoman or English words. The ezafe *čādar-i-šab* was subsequently reduced and various sources quote various stages of this reduction. Here I arrange the Persian forms in a sequence that seems to be plausible from the point of view of phonetic evolution (references in brackets point to the sources that quote the particular forms): *čādar-i-šab* > *čādaršab* (ÇTES s.v. *çarşaf*) > *čāršab* (PLOT §71) > *čāršav* (*ibid.*) and even *čāršaf* (written چارشاف GPRS: 228).<sup>138</sup> On the spirantization *b* > *v* see Pisowicz (1985: 118–9).

The reduced forms *čāršav* ~ *čāršaf* were then passed on to Ottoman as *čārşaf* ‘bed sheet, women’s outdoor overgarment’ (RTOİS: 242), with such variants as *čarčaf* (cf. E *tchartchaf* and perhaps *charchaf* above) ~ *čarsav* ~ *čerşaf* (PLOT: §71), along with what would have been considered learned pronunciation, i.e. *čārşeb* < P *čāšab*. From Ottoman the contracted form was adopted into dialectal Arabic, cf. LebA = SyrA شرف *šarşaf* ‘bedsheet’ (AED: 543). The substitution *č* > *š* is typical and results from the lack of phonemic *č* in Arabic. Thus dialectal Arabic may be considered another possible explanation for the form *charchaf*, if it was pronounced [ʃ–f].

## CHOGA

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **choga** [ˈtʃɒɡə] (1933 OED<sub>s</sub>), AmE **choga** [ˈtʃoʊɡə] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

<sup>138</sup> Zenker (I 339) has P چار. 1. ‘four’; 2. ‘cloth’. While the first meaning does not pose problems, the second one could be seen as a reduction of *čādar* (or perhaps a back-formation from *čāršab* ‘bed-sheet’), in which case it is a separate lexeme. However, this use of the form *čār* is missing from Dehxoda or any other dictionary of Persian, which makes the existence of *čār* ‘cloth’ rather dubious. If Zenker’s *čār* ‘cloth’ turned out to be a false back-formation from *čāršab*, it would not be the only example of such practice in his dictionary: cf. Kincses Nagy (2005: 167, fn. 13), for an analogical example of *boyin*, *boyun* ‘matrice, uterus; Mutterlieb’.

FORMS: *chogha* (1830 Fraser *Adventurer* vol. I: 336), *choga* (1842 Harlan *Memoir*: 127), *choga - chogha* (1866 Watson *Textile*: 135, 145),<sup>139</sup> *choga* (1883 *Q. Rev.*), *choga* (1891 Kipling), *choga* (1905 *Westm. Gaz.*)

A loose garment with long sleeves like a dressing-gown, worn by Afghans or Hindus.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **choga**: < Turki *choghā* ‘a long sleeved garment, like a dressing-gown (often used as such by Europeans)’; properly ‘an Afghan form of dress made of soft woolen material and embroidered on the sleeves and shoulders’; in Bokhara ‘a furred robe’
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub> + “In Tibetan *ch’uba*; in Turki *juba*. It is variously pronounced *chuba*, *juba* or *chogha* in Asia, and *shuba* or *shubka* in Russia” (*J.R.A.S.*, N.S. XXIII. 122)
- 1933: OED<sub>s</sub> s.v. **choga**: Turki *choghā*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **choga**: < T *chūga*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **choga**: < Sindhi < Altaic; = T *čuha* ‘cloth’
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>s</sub>
- 2001: CannP s.v. **choga**: < U ‘a long cloak’ (< P *čukā*) & T *čōyā*

#### COMMENTARY:

##### 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

The label “Turki” used by Yule is ambiguous, but in this case most probably means Chaghatay (see next section, also cf. s.v. CALPAC). OED<sub>s</sub> and OED<sub>2</sub> offer an extremely abridged version of Yule’s entry, whereas the other two sources mention other languages as immediate donors: Sindhi (W<sub>3</sub>) and Urdu (CannP). No support for these differences is given.

The editors of W<sub>3</sub> do not justify the alleged ultimate Altaic origin of the word either. Furthermore, it is unclear whether the Altaic family or the Altaic language is meant, although the former is more likely.

By “T *čōyā*” mentioned as another immediate donor beside Urdu Cannon must mean an Ottoman variant چوغا *čoğa* (Redhouse 736),<sup>140</sup> as Modern Turkish

<sup>139</sup> OED<sub>2-3</sub> only has the first of these and it is quoted at 1869, but the original edition was published three years earlier.

<sup>140</sup> Also cf. other variants *čoha* ~ *čoka* ~ *čuha* ~ *čuka* ‘id.’, RTOİS: 259, 259, 262, and 262 respectively.

has *çuha*. However, Ottoman is not likely as the donor, given the Central Asian and Indian provenance of the word (see below).

On the *-gh-* ~ *-g-* variation as well as the possible links between *choga* and the array of forms given in Yule<sub>2</sub> see below.

## 2. Origin of the English forms

As infrequent as it occurs, the word is associated in English literature either with Central Asia (Afghanistan in 1830, 1842, 1883, and Bukhara in 1866) or India (in 1866 and 1891). Thus the immediate sources of the forms seem to have been the languages of Central Asia, like Pashto (cf. e.g. Waziri Pashto *čoḡa* ‘Afghan robe like a dressing-gown’ in Lorimer 1902, p. 65)<sup>141</sup> and Uzbek (see below), or the languages of the Indian subcontinent, most probably U *چوغة* *čoḡa* ‘a kind of garment’ (Forbes 1858: 335) ~ *چوڻا* *čoḡā* ‘a kind of cloak like a morning-gown (made of wool or camel’s hair)’ (Platts 451).<sup>142</sup>

Chag. *چوڻا* *čoḡa* i.a. ‘habit de fourrure; ombre’ (DTO: 294; also cf. Süleymān: 47), if this is what is meant by “Turki” in Yule<sub>1,2</sub> is a very unlikely direct source. Chaghatay was a Turkic written *lingua franca* of Central Asia whose knowledge among English writers was virtually non-existent. A more likely Turkic source would be 19<sup>th</sup>-century spoken Uzbek (via interpreters), but a similar form is lacking at least in modern dictionaries of this language. Watson claims to be quoting a Bukharan word, but it is unclear what particular language he means in this context.

The *-gh-* ~ *-g-* variation in English has no implications for the etymology: by all accounts all alleged etymons had a spirant. In English both kinds of spelling would be pronounced with a stop (cf. *yog(h)urt* s.v. YOGURT). Watson, who gives both the Indian and the Bukharan forms, spells them *choga* and *chogha* respectively, but the latter occurs in a quotation from a different author and probably reflects the orthography in that source.

The attested forms are so close formally to one another that it is ultimately difficult to point to one particular donor language whether Pashto or Hindi/Urdu (or Turkic?).

<sup>141</sup> Raverty in his 1867 dictionary s.v. *کوسى* *ko-saey* (PashEDict: 820) writes ‘a coat or robe made of felt, with long sleeves, a felt *choga’h*’, but the latter, which would be a transliteration for *چکە*, is missing.

<sup>142</sup> In modern Hindi this corresponds to *čoḡa* ‘a gown, toga’ (HEDict 1970: 217).

### 3. Ultimate origin

The usual assumption is that the source of the Central Asian and Indian forms was P چۆڭ *čuhā* ‘a woollen garment; a monk’s garb; a kind of tunic; a sort of overcoat or cloak’ (Steingass: 402), which is plausible for historical reasons.

Further origin is obscure. The word is also widespread in the languages of the Caucasus (see Abaev I 316, where it is dubbed as “Perso-Turkic”), which according to Doerfer may be its ultimate source (TMEN III: 110, §1133).

The connection with Ru. *шуба* ‘fur coat’ (*шубка* being the diminutive) is doubtful. The Russian word (along with other similar Slavic forms) is nowadays usually compared to A جبة *ǧubba* (e.g. by Vasmer who rejects earlier Indo-European etymologies, see REW III: 433 or ĚSRJa IV: 482 and references therein; also cf. Černych 1999 II: 427).

All in all, the role of Turkic in the transmission and/or ultimate origin of the English forms is uncertain.

## CHUPKUN

PRONUNCIATION: no information<sup>143</sup>

FORMS: *chupkun* (1809 [1810] LP 8: 1326), *chupkun* (1841 Wood *Oxus*: 337), *chup-kun* (1883 Yule<sub>1</sub>)

The long frock (or cassock) which is the usual dress in Upper India of nearly all male natives who are not actual labourers or indigent persons (Yule<sub>1</sub>).

### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **chupkun**: < H *chapkan* < probably Turki or Mongol; perhaps identical with the *chakman* ... a word still used in Turkistan; Beame’s idea that *chapkan* ← *chap* ‘compressing or clinging’ is a little fanciful but such a folk-etymological association may have contributed to the corruption of the word
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub> plus references to Vambéry (who quotes Central Asian forms *tchapān* ‘upper coat’ and *tchekmen* ‘gown’) and Platts (who has H *chapaknā* ‘to be pressed’ in his dictionary)

<sup>143</sup> The spelling may suggest either [ʧʌpkʌn] or [ʧʌpʰkʌn], with probable vowel reduction (> [ə]) in the unstressed syllable.

## COMMENTARY:

Yule<sub>1-2</sub> may be on the right track in tracing the origin of the word, although the information provided there is not very precise. The immediate source is indeed H *çapkan*, which itself is probably from P چپکن *çapkan* ‘a sort of short coat’ (Steingass: 388) rather than Turkic.

If the word is related to T *cepken* (‘краткий вышитый кафтан с длинными рукавами’ [= ‘short embroidered caftan with long sleeves’ – M. U.], TRS: 181), as suggested by Şirin User (2009), the relationship may be only indirect: neither the form (E *a–a* vs T *e–e*) nor the meaning, which in English is closely associated with India, justify non-mediated derivation from Ottoman (derivation from Modern Turkish is ruled out on the basis of chronology).

According to Doerfer (TMEN III: 82, §1103), the Persian form goes back to Ott. چپک *çepken* ‘stout jacket the sleeves of which are slit, leaving the arms free’ (RTOİS: 248), although transmission in the opposite direction is equally possible from the formal point of view. However, Doerfer accepts Räsänen’s idea of relating the word to *ček-* ‘to pull, to draw’ and seems to assume the following stages in the development of the relevant form (also see TDES: 69 for a similar outline): *çepken* < *çekpen* < *çekmen*, with *ček-* ‘to pull, to draw’ (all these forms are attested in Turkic, along with many other variants).

Because the element *-men* does not have a safe etymology itself (this problem is discussed s.v. DOLIMAN, DOLAMA, DOLMAN) and the semantic basis is not entirely satisfactory, the solution advanced by Doerfer may be accepted only tentatively.

## DOLIMAN ~ DOLAMA ~ DOLMAN

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **dolman** [ˈdɒlmən] (1897 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **dolman** [ˈdɑːlmən] 1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [dɒʊlmən] ~ [dɒlmən] ~ [dɑːlmən] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **A:** 1. *Dolyman* (1585 Washington<sub>2</sub>), *Dollymant* (1589 Jenkinson<sub>3</sub>),<sup>144</sup> *dela-man* (1675 [1893] Bent *Voyages*: 199), *doliman* (1687 Lovell *Thévenot Travels* I: 29), *Doliman* (1702 Bruyn<sub>2</sub>), *dolyman* (1741 Tournefort *Voyage*: 7), *dolyman* (1743 Perry *Levant*: 80), *doliman* (1797 [1906] Sullivan *Whaley*: 140), *dolyman* (1797 EB<sub>III</sub> 9.1: 62), *doliman* (1839 Knight *Outlines*: 132), *doliman* (1853 Demidov *Travels* II: 35), *dolyman* (1907 Pollard *Woman*: 274); 2. *doliman* (1816 Vaudoncourt *Ionian Islands*:

<sup>144</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> attributes this to Hakluyt and dates it to 1599, based on the date of publication of the second edition of his collection.



317), *doliman* (1830 Heber *Life* I: 292), *doliman* (1841 Millingen *Duelling* I: 221), *doliman* (1870 BEM Oct: 557)

**B: 1.** *Dualma* (1717 [1763] Montagu *Letters* 1763 II: 150), *Dolama* (1786 Tott *Memoirs* II: 275), *dolama* (1838 BM Aug: 474), *dolama* (1853 Skene *Frontier* II: 127), *dolama* (1877 [1878] Evans *Letters*: 197), *dolama* (1910 Jaekel *Lands*: 218)

**C: 2.** *dolman* (1832 Abrantès *Memoirs* IV: 221), *dolman* (1861 CJ June 1: 343), *dolmans* (1883 *Standard*), *dolman* (1901 [1916] Conrad *Stories*: 198); **1.** *dolman* (1843 Romer), *dolman* (1878 Schem *War*: 126); **3.** *dolman* (1872 *Punch*), *dolman* (1876 Ouida), **4.** “*Dolman*” *sleeve* (1874 WDTJ Oct 3: 479), *dolman sleeves* (1908 SM Nov: 564), *dolman sleeve* (1934 Brown), *dolman sleeve* (1939 Picken), *Dolmans* (Amer. *Speech*); **C’: 5.** *dolmanette* (1883 *Glasgow Weekly Her.*), *dolmanette* (1888 Müller *Lectures*: 35)

**1.** A long robe worn by the Turks; **2.** The uniform jacket of a hussar, or one resembling this; **3.** A kind of mantle worn by women; **4.** In full, **dolman sleeve:** A sleeve that is much wider at the arm-hole than it is at the wrist; **5. dolmanette:** A small or short dolman.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1865: W-M s.v. **dollman**: ‘a long cassock worn by the Turks’; Hu. *dolmány*, T *dôlâmân*, *dôlâmah*, *dhôlâmah*, Cz. *doloman*, F *doliman*, G *dollman*, *doliman*
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **dolman**, **doliman**: < F *dolman*, *doliman* < T *dolama*
- 1897: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **dolman**: orig. < T *دولامان* *dôlâmân* or *طولامة* *dôlâmah*, whence Pol, Cz. *doloman*, Hu. *dolmany*, F *doliman*, (in sense 2) *dolman*, G *doliman*, *dollman*; the disyllabic form appears to be through French
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **dolman**: ‘Hussar jacket’ < F, Pol. *doloman* < T *dôlâmân*; Cotgrave: *dolyman*: ‘a Turkish gowne, long coat, or upper garment; collarlesse, and closed with long buttons downe to the girdle-stead’
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **dolman**: ‘a long robe, or outer garment with sleeves, worn by Turks’ < F *doliman* (< T) ‘a Turkish robe’; ‘hussar’s jacket’ < G *dolman* < Hu. *dolmany* < T *dâlâmân*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **dolman**: < earlier *doliman* < F < T *dolama*, lit. ‘act of winding’ ← *dolamak* ‘to wind’

- 1966: Klein s.v. **dolman**: ‘a long Turkish robe; a kind of jacket worn by hussars’ < F < G *Dolman* < Hu. *dolmány* < T *dōlāmān* ‘the red cloak of the Janizaries’
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **dolman**: ‘Turk’s long robe open in front’ (16<sup>th</sup> c. *doly-man*); ‘hussar’s uniform jacket worn with sleeves hanging loose; woman’s mantle with cape-like appendages’ (19<sup>th</sup> c.); in the first sense < F *doliman*; in the second < F *dolman* < G *dolman* < H *dolmany*; all << T *dōlāmān*
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **dolman**: < F < G < Hu. *dolmany* < T *dōlāmān* ‘robe’ ← *dolamak* ‘to wind’
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

## COMMENTARY:

## 1. English usage

English forms clearly fall into three classes, the trisyllabic *doliman* and *dolama* and the disyllabic *dolman*. Based on the limited data in OED<sub>2</sub> one could conclude that the trisyllabic forms were used only in the sense ‘Turkish robe’, whereas the remaining meanings were restricted to the disyllabic variant. That this is not the case is clear from the forms quoted above. The trisyllabic variant was used in at least another meaning, ‘hussar’s uniform’.

## 2. Treatment in English dictionaries

W-M merely offers an assortment of forms without taking stance as to their mutual relationship. The three forms quoted for Ottoman Turkish in fact represent two distinct, albeit related, words *dolaman* and *dolama* (see section 3). The latter is quoted in two orthographic variants transliterated *dōlāmāh* and *dhōlāmāh*, where *dh-* must stand for ط, one of the Arabic letters merely suggesting back vocalism of the syllable in Ottoman (see section 5.1.2 in the Introduction). Both spellings, دولامه and طولامه, are indeed attested in Ottoman (RSTOİ 308).<sup>145</sup> The same variation is also reported in OED<sub>1</sub>. The macrons in both dictionaries (also repeated in Weekley, Klein, ODEE, OED<sub>2</sub> and AHD<sub>3-4</sub>) are only graphic and imply full notation of the vowels in question in Arabic orthography.

Only Stanford, OED<sub>1,2</sub>, W<sub>3</sub> and ODEE mention the existence of an earlier trisyllabic variant in English, but their explanations differ. Stanford merely

<sup>145</sup> The digraph *dh-* could as well suggest the Arabic ɰ, but no variants with this letter are attested in Ottoman.

indicates that the variation *dolman* ~ *doliman* is taken over from French, which seems to be generally correct.<sup>146</sup> OED<sub>1-2</sub> states explicitly that the disyllabic form is from French, but otherwise merely quotes an array of related European forms without analysing their mutual relationships. W<sub>2</sub> and ODEE focus more on the transmission of the two main senses. ‘Hussar’s jacket’ is said to have originated in Hungarian and followed a northern transmission route through German, whereas ‘Turk’s long robe’ passed from Ottoman to French.

## 2. French as the immediate donor and the origin of the French forms

The majority of forms found in English clearly reflect French usage. Based on French and English written sources, the following comparative chronology of the earliest attestations may be established for the main meanings in the two languages (for references to English forms, see above):

Form	Meaning	French	English
<b>doliman</b>	‘Turkish robe’	<b>1519:</b> see Arveiller 1999: 90 <sup>147</sup>	<b>1585</b>
	‘hussar’s jacket’	<b>1758:</b> Bois <i>Dictionnaire</i> III: 596 <sup>148</sup>	<b>1816</b>
<b>dolama</b>	‘Turkish robe’	<b>1654:</b> see Arveiller 1999: 90	<b>1786</b>
<b>dolman</b>	‘Turkish robe’	<b>1680:</b> Magdeleine <i>Empire Ottoman</i> I: 203, <sup>149</sup> also <b>1801:</b> Gaigne <i>Dictionnaire</i> : 180	<b>1843</b>
	‘hussar’s jacket’	<b>1812:</b> see TLF	<b>1832</b>

<sup>146</sup> F *doliman* (1519; Arveiller 1999: 90) and *dolman* (1680) predate their English equivalents.

<sup>147</sup> Beside *doloman* (1537, FEW: 41). Interestingly, among these early French variants of we also find *dolomon* (1647, Arveiller 1999: 90), which is used in a description of a Polish nobleman, as part an account of the author’s visit to Poland and must reflect Pol. *doloman* (attested at least since 1521, S. Stachowski 2007: 104).

<sup>148</sup> Beside *doliman* ‘l’habillement d’un Janissaire; une longue robe avec des manches courtes’ (Bois *Dictionnaire* II: 431).

<sup>149</sup> Compare in the same author *dolama* ‘Turkish robe’ (1677 Magdeleine *Miroir*: 239). Both these forms *dolman* and *dolama*, combined with *dolaman* (1620) attested in Meninski (2184), point that the variation reported in RTOIS and mentioned above was attested in Ottoman at least from the 17th century. Compare also the earliest attestation in TLF is 1763 in the sense ‘robe de dessous des Arméniens’.

These French forms ultimately reflect three different Ottoman etymons, the first being Ott. *دولامان* *dolaman* ‘kind of apron, kind of jacket, dolman’ (RTOİS: 308; also cf. Meninski: 2184). The substitution *a* > *i* is unexpected, but may be attributed to the fact that the vowel in the second syllable of trisyllabic words in Ottoman had tendency to become phonetically reduced, which may have resulted in this kind of reinterpretation on the part of the Europeans.<sup>150</sup> A similar phenomenon is attested in 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century Italian, or more precisely Venetian, forms. The following attestations are all reported in Zaccaria (1919: 18, 206–209, 230), who does not provide dates nor references to the editions he used, which have been reconstructed here for convenience. In the chronological order, the forms are: *Talamana* (Nov. 1475 [1574] Contarini in Ramusio *Navigazioni* II: 120),<sup>151</sup> *tulimani*, pl. (Jan. 1503 [1880] Sanuto *Diarii* IV: 669), *tuliman* (Apr. 1503 [1881] Sanuto *Diarii* V: 25), *doloman* (Dec. 1503 [1881] *ibid.*: 458), *dulimani*, pl. (Dec. 1529 [1898] Sanuto *Diarii* LII: 351), *duliman* ~ *doliman* (Aug. 1530 [1899] Sanuto *Diarii* LIII: 452),<sup>152</sup> *dolimano* (Aug. 1532 [1901] Sanuto *Diarii* LVI: 828), *dulimani*, pl. ~ *duliman* (1561 Barros-Ulloa *L’Asia* I: 65, II: 28), *doliman* ~ *Dullimano* ~ *Duliman* ~ *dulimano* ~ *Dolimani*, pl. (1568 Sansovino *Historia*: 18, 51, 60, and the last two 97), *dulimano* (1577 Castagneda-Ulloa *Indie* I: 10 and 17).<sup>153, 154</sup>

As the chronology shows, Venetian usage slightly predates the French forms, which is not surprising as it was Venetians who were at the forefront in cultural and linguistic contact with the Orient at that time. It is then possible that the French adopted the word from them, although independent transmission into French with parallel reinterpretation of the vowel cannot be ruled out.

Beside *dolaman* Ottoman had two other forms expressing the same meaning, *دولامه* *dolama* (RTOİS: 308), which is a natural candidate as the source

<sup>150</sup> This reduction frequently resulted in complete vowel deletion, as evidenced by *dolman*. Perhaps the reason behind the lack of change in *dolama* may be attributed to the fact that this word was transmitted over a century later, when the Europeans were generally more familiar with Turkish.

<sup>151</sup> Zaccaria (1919: 18 and 207) repeatedly quotes the form as *Talamane*. It is unclear whether he used a different edition of Ramusio (albeit with the same pagination as mine) or repeats the same mistake over and over again. Furthermore, on page 207 Zaccaria mistakenly refers twice to page 150 in Ramusio, whereas the reference on page 18 is correct (i.e. p. 120 in Ramusio).

<sup>152</sup> Zaccaria mistakenly refers to Sanuto XLIII 492 here.

<sup>153</sup> Zaccaria also reports the existence of *dolma* in later Italian texts, which he explains as a borrowing from French (208).

<sup>154</sup> On the possible influence of the trisyllabic Italian/Venetian forms on the evolution of the early European reflexes of P *dolband* ~ *dulband*, see TURBAN.

of F *dolama* (> English),<sup>155</sup> and the syncopated *دولمان* *dolman* (RTOİS: 308), which seems to have been overlooked by the authors of English (and other) etymologists.

While many authors derive the European *dolman* from Ott. *dolama* or *dolaman*, according to a few others (Klein, ODEE, AHD<sub>3</sub> above; also Reuning 1943: 128, Prati: 378–9, TLF s.v. *dolman*) the syncopated European form passed along a northern route which begins with Hu. *dolmán* ~ *dolman* id. < Ott. *dolama*.<sup>156</sup> Both etymologies imply clearly that the syncope took place outside Ottoman. In the case of the latter this makes it possible to make a clear etymological distinction between F *doliman* ‘Turkish robe, dolman’ < Ott. *dolama(n)* and F *dolman* ‘hussar’s jacket’ < G *Dolman* & Hu. *dolmany* < Ott. *dolama*. The existence of the syncopated variant in Ottoman and the fact that the French forms are not clearly differentiated in meaning shows that this scenario is oversimplified.<sup>157</sup> In fact, as seen above the earliest French attestations of *dolman* refer to ‘Turkish robe’ and directly reflect Ottoman usage.

For historical reasons it has to be assumed that the meaning ‘hussar’s jacket’ passed through a separate channel. Hussars originated in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century in Hungary and were subsequently adopted in countries of Europe, among them Poland (c1500 – initially composed of Hungarians and possibly Serbians; Gembarzewski 1999) and France (1692).<sup>158</sup> In the latter case the first regiment was formed of Hungarian refugees (Lynn 1997: 492), but such formations became

<sup>155</sup> Some authors, including Stanford and W<sub>3</sub> (also Lokotsch: §530, FEW: 41, Arveiller 1999: 89, TLF s.v. *doliman* and s.v. *dolman*, ÈSRJa I: 525 and others), quote Ott. *dolama* instead of *dolaman* as the sole etymon of E/F *doliman* and similar forms. This is unnecessary complication.

<sup>156</sup> In some variants of this hypothesis, which may be found in other sources, G *Dolman*, Pol. *dotman* or Cz *dolman* are included as intermediaries. Cf. Weekley above.

<sup>157</sup> Hadrovics (1985:195) claims that the syncope *dolaman* > *dolman* is regular in Hungarian and uses this to postulate Hungarian transmission into Serbo-Croat. Phonetic reduction of the middle syllable of a trisyllabic word up to complete loss is, however, attested in many languages, including Turkish, see examples given by M. Stachowski *burada* ~ *burda* ‘here’, *dakika* ~ *dakka* ‘minute’, *hazine* ~ *hazne* ‘treasury’ (2009: 22). Moreover, the data assembled by Kakuk (see further in the main text) shows that Hungarian exhibited a similar variation, which suggests that the syncope, although not unusual, was by no means obligatory in Hungarian.

<sup>158</sup> Lynn reports the existence of earlier regiments of *cavalerie hongrois* in the 1630s, but according to him these were temporary formations (1997: 492).

quickly ‘Germanized’ (Elting 1997: 240).<sup>159</sup> This suggests that the likely sources of the meaning ‘hussar’s jacket’ in French were Hungarian and German.

The chronology of Hungarian forms is traced in detail by Kakuk (1973: 130–1) and it can be seen that beside the reduced *dolmány* (1525 in Kakuk; cf. Rocchi 1999–2010, I: 80, who dates it c1405)<sup>160</sup> and *dolman* ~ *dolmán* (1511–19<sup>th</sup> c.) non-syncopated forms like *Dolomán* (1504–19<sup>th</sup> c.), *dolomány* (1585–1736), *dolamán* (1788), and others are attested too.

In German the earliest occurrence that I have been able to identify is *Dollman* ~ *Dolman* (1592) in *Sigismund & Anna*, an anonymous account of Anne of Austria’s arrival in Cracow on 26<sup>th</sup> May 1592 to marry King Sigismund III Vasa of Poland.<sup>161</sup> The relevant passage is the description of the king’s entourage that welcomed the bride and one of the regiments is said to have been dressed in dolmans. In this context *Dolman* most likely means ‘ceremonial robe’ and the immediate source seems to be Polish (the form *dolman* since 1515, S. Stachowski 2007: 104). Another early German form is *Tollman* used in a description of Hungarian dress (1613 Oertel *Chronologia*: 17) with likely transmission from Hungarian.

Trisyllabic forms may be identified in German as well, beginning with *doliman* (1645) quoted by Weigand (1909 I: 366). These, however, invariably refer to ‘Turkish robe’ and seem to reflect French usage: many appear in translations of descriptions of the Ottoman court originally written in this language. This applies to the 1645 form itself, as well as e.g. *doliman* 1688 (Girardin *Türkische Keyser*: 44) or 1753 (Helyot *Geschichte* I: 234). The earliest attestation of the trisyllabic form in German in the sense ‘hussar’s jacket’ appears to be the plural *Dolimans* (1780 Forster *Cook*: 416; later than F *doliman* id. by twenty-two years).

The linguistic material presented above suggests the existence of two routes along which the words were initially disseminated across Europe (and

<sup>159</sup> As an indicator of this Germanization, the earliest F *doliman* ‘hussar jacket’ (1758) is used in reference to the uniform of the Volontaires de Nassau-Saarbruck, a regiment of German hussars in the service of Louis XV’s army during the Seven Years’ War. The Prussian army itself had its first hussar regiment established by Frederick the Great in 1721 (Duffy 1974: 98).

<sup>160</sup> 1405 is actually a very early date for a borrowing from Ottoman to Hungarian, although not implausible. The first encounters between the two languages occurred in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>161</sup> The pages in the text are not numbered, but the form occurs on pages, 6, 7 and 8 of the Google scan. Weigand, I: 366, s.v. *Dolman*) claims, following Gombert, that the word is attested as early as 1500 in historical documents on Transylvania, but he gives no actual forms nor does he comment on the meaning. I could not access the relevant study by Gombert.

subsequently transmitted into English). Three forms are spread along the southern route, via Romance, *doliman* (< Ott. *dolaman*), perhaps even as early as in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, as well as *dolama* (< Ott. *dolama*) and *dolman* (< Ott. *dolman*) in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, all in the sense ‘Turkish robe’ and related.<sup>162</sup> Following the northern route, *dolman* is transmitted in the 15<sup>th</sup> century into Hungarian where it acquires the meaning ‘hussar’s jacket’. Subsequently, this usage is passed on into Slavic, German and French. When *dolman* ‘hussar’s jacket’ reaches the last of these languages, it is identified with *doliman* and *dolman* already existing in the sense ‘Turkish robe’ and causes semantic extension of the two words. The new meaning is later transmitted into English.

### 3. The Ottoman etymons

Both *dolama* and *dolaman* ~ *dolman* are derivatives of the verbal stem *dola-* ‘to wind, wrap (round)’ (RTOİS: 308; on the root itself see ÈSTJa III: 259–60). *Dolama* is a typical deverbal noun with the meaning ‘that which is wrapped around’ and survives in Modern Turkish (on *-ma* see e.g. Lewis 2000: 171–2; for other examples in our corpus see DOLMA, SHAWARMA, KORMA, ELEME, and less directly TARAMOSALATA).

Ott. *dolaman*, which has nowadays fallen out of use, is more problematic. The puzzling element *-man/-men* cannot be identified with any productive suffix in Ottoman. The only other form denoting an article of clothing that seems to be analogically formed is Ott. *çekmen*, which is apparently based on *çek-* ‘to draw, to pull’ (see s.v. CHUPKUN).<sup>163</sup>

<sup>162</sup> While *doliman* was very likely passed through Venetian into French, *dolama* and *dolman* were most likely due to direct transmission from Ottoman into French, as no such forms are attested in Venetian.

<sup>163</sup> The Old Turkic deverbal suffix *\*-mān/-mēn* which allegedly forms nomina instrumentalis (‘very rare’, EDT: xlv; ‘ex[ample]s which are both early and unproblematic are absent’, OTWF I: 387–9). While a noun meaning ‘that which is used to wrap (round)’ is not inconceivable as the name of a piece of clothing, it seems that the clearest examples of nomina instrumentalis which Erdal gives (OTWF I: 388) are names of tools. It should be acknowledged in this context that formations in *-man/-men* are occasionally found in Ottoman itself: a few nouns, like *koyman* ‘sheep herdsman’ (cf. *koyun* ‘sheep’), *kölemen* ‘mamluk’ (*köle* ‘slave’), *kösemen* ‘ram or a billy-goat trained to fight’ (cf. *köse* ‘beardless’), as well as adjectives (with intensified meaning), like *kocaman* ‘enormous’ (← *koca* ‘big’), *şışman* ‘fat’ (← *şış* ‘swollen, swelling’) (Kononov 1956: 105–6, §§147). Crucially however, none of these are deverbal or instrumental in sense, as seen in these examples. A huge number of deverbal nouns in *-man / -men*, like *yazman* ‘secretary’ (← *yaz-* ‘write’) and *öğretmen* ‘teacher’ (← *öğret-* ‘teach’), were introduced as part of the language reform of the

## FERIDGI

PRONUNCIATION: BrE/AmE **feridgi** [fə'ɾɪdʒi:] (1895 OED<sub>1</sub>, 1934 W<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: **1.** *ferigee* (1717 [1763] Montagu *Letters* II: 33),<sup>164</sup> *ferige* (1718 [1763] Montagu *Letters* III: 26),<sup>165</sup> *Ferijee* (1743 Pococke *Egypt*: 189), *feridjee* (1819 Hope<sub>s</sub>), *feraje* ~ *ferajes* (the latter plural; 1849 Lynch *Jordan*: 90), *fèrèjé* (1857 Morier *Photo* I: 281), *ferajee* (1860 Benjamin *Sisters*: 153), *feridgi* (1883 O'Donovan<sub>2</sub>),<sup>166</sup> *ferijeh* (1884 Boyle<sub>s</sub>), *ferejé* (1897 Xenos *Andronike*: 298), *feridgi* (1915 *Near East*: 109), *feridgi* (1968 Kazantzakis *Biography*: 210); **2.** *Ferijee* (1743 Pococke<sub>2</sub>)

**1.** A cloak worn in the street by Muslim women; **2.** The dress of ceremony worn by Turkish officials.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **feridjee, ferigee, ferijee**: < A *fèrijî*; 'a large cloth capote worn out-of-doors by women in Turkey, Persia, and Egypt'
- 1895: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **feridgi**: < T فَرَاجَة *fèrājé*, vulgarly *fèrèjé*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **feridgi, feridjee**: also *fergee, ferijee*, etc. < T *fèrājeh* < A *farji, farajīyah* 'upper garment'
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1994: CannA s.v. **feridgi**: < T *fèrājeh* < A *farji, farajīyah* 'upper garment'

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1930s (Kononov 1956: 106, §148, Lewis 1999: 100–1). These may have been created under the influence of formations featuring E *man* (Lewis gives the example of *vatman* 'tram-driver' < F *wattman* < E *watt* 'unit of power' + E *man* 'man'). Not all Modern Turkish nouns in *-man* / *-men* are deverbal, as evidenced by *uzman* 'specialist, expert' ← *uz* 'able, skillful, clever'. All in all, none of these classes of vocabulary seems a good match for *dolaman* and *çekmen*.

<sup>164</sup> Also found in OED<sub>2</sub>, based on the 1825 edition of Lady Montagu's letters.

<sup>165</sup> The relevant letter is not dated, but the date is partly confirmed by its beginning, in which Lady Montagu remarks "I am preparing to leave Constantinople". This points to the first half of 1718, as the Wortley Montagu family left for England on July 5, 1718 (ODNB). Moreover, the preceding letter is dated March 16 (without the year), whereas the following one is of May 19, 1718, which offers a more precise approximation.

<sup>166</sup> Stanford dates this to 1884.



## COMMENTARY:

**1. Treatment in English dictionaries**

The Arabic form quoted by Stanford does not seem to have existed (cf. below). The fanciful vowel notation in OED was perhaps inspired by Viguiier (1790, *fêradjè*, S. Stachowski 2002: 102), Redhouse (1880, *ferrâjê* ~ *fêrâjê*, 674) or some other author, but does not reflect any linguistically relevant distinctions. CanNA combines the derivations from Stanford and OED<sub>1</sub>, but quotes different Arabic forms than the former (cf. below).

**2. English forms and their immediate origin**

The word is attested in English at least once in an earlier (“archaic”, RTOÏS 365) sense of the Ottoman etymon, namely ‘dress of ceremony worn by Turkish officials’. This is not noted in the dictionaries of English.

Three forms stand out *fêréjé* (1857), *ferijeh* (1884) and *ferejé* (1897), apparently recording pronunciations different from the Modern English one: spelling in *-é* or *-eh* probably indicates final [-e:] or [-ei].<sup>167</sup> The status of *-e* in *ferige* (1818) and *feraje* (1849) is unclear, but both spellings should be assumed to represent a trisyllabic pronunciation. Although final *-ge* is typically pronounced as [dʒ] in Modern English (e.g. in *vestige*, *college*, *refuge* etc.), in this case it is very likely that final *-e* represents [i:] and the form is an erroneous (or alternative) spelling for the 1717 *ferigee* used in an earlier letter by the same author.<sup>168</sup> As for *feraje* (1849) and *ferajee* (1860), the pronunciations represented by these may be similar to each other, but it is difficult to comment on the spelling and the phonetic quality of the second vowel, because the stress pattern is unknown.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Incidentally, the sequence *-eh* which still frequently occurs in Oriental borrowings in modern English is absent from Upward & Davidson’s (2011) discussion of the spelling of ‘exotic’ borrowings.

<sup>168</sup> The forms most probably render the Turkish pronunciation as heard by Lady Montagu during her one year’s stay in Istanbul (for the actual candidates see next section). The fact that the Turkish form was most probably stressed regularly, i.e. on the final syllable, makes the elision of this syllable highly unlikely.

<sup>169</sup> Spellings in *-aje* are extremely rare in Modern English and seem to be limited to 20<sup>th</sup>-century borrowings from Spanish (or via Spanish), where they stand for [h], cf. the OED<sub>2-3</sub> entries for *mestizaje* ‘interbreeding and cultural intermixing of Spanish and American Indian people’ and *yajé* (a variant spelling of *yagé* ‘a species of South American liana’). Nevertheless, the last consonant in *feraje* must have been [dʒ], in accordance with the other forms including *ferajee*.

The remaining variants are rather uniform in representing pronunciations similar to the Modern English one. The only differences are graphic, namely the ways of rendering [dʒ] (*g* ~ *j* ~ *dj*) and the final [i:] (*i* ~ *ee*). Spellings in *-dj-* are influenced by French orthography.

Modern Turkish has *ferāce* (= Ott. *فراجه* *ferāġe*) ‘1. dustcoat formerly worn by Turkish women when they went out, 2. *archaic* cloak worn by ulema on ceremonial occasions’, with the second vowel pronounced long (RTOİS: 365). Moreover, RTOİS lists the archaic variant *ferecī* (Ott. *fereġī*) mentioned above, only attested in the second sense. Additionally, S. Stachowski reports the existence of the following forms (ALOT I: 66): *feriġi* ~ *vereġi* (1603 Megiser), *feraġe* (1641 Molino), *fereġe* (1677 Mascis), *ferāġe* ~ *ferrāġe* ~ (coll.) *fereġe* (1680 Meninski), *feraġe* (1790 Viguier) and *ferāġe* (1790 Preindl).<sup>170</sup> Transcription texts generally reflect the colloquial pronunciation as heard in the streets of Istanbul and other major Ottoman cities, in which long vowels tended to be shortened in order to conform to the native phonological system (but cf. the forms in Meninski above and see next section).

Based on the above, the learned Ottoman pronunciation *ferāġe*, as well as colloquial Ottoman forms *fereġe* ~ *feriġi* (~ *feraġe*?) or the archaic *fereġi* seem to be the most likely candidates as immediate ancestors of the English forms. The substitution Ott. [-e] > E [-i(:)]<sup>171</sup> seems plausible given the atypical character of final [-e] in English.<sup>172</sup> However, it is likely that at least the earliest *-ee* form is meant to render an archaic variant attested in Ottoman, namely *fereġī* ‘cloak worn by ulema on ceremonial occasions’ (the final vowel is pronounced long; RTOİS 366).

The vowel [i] in the second syllable in the Modern English pronunciation must go back to the vowel in the second syllable of the colloquial Ottoman variant *fereġe* (rather than the long *ā* in *ferāġe*), which – being short and pretonic – was likely to be confused in terms of quality by foreigners. When the stress shifted (i.e. Ottoman final stress > English penultimate) the vowel was pronounced in accordance to its spelling.

### 3. Origin

Further origin of the Ottoman forms as suggested in CannA may be true, but the matter is controversial. At least three suggestions have been put forward in the Turcological literature:

<sup>170</sup> Preindl is dated 1791 in ALOT, but an earlier edition appeared in 1790.

<sup>171</sup> If the English word had had final stress, the vowel would have to be long.

<sup>172</sup> But cf. the *-el/-eh* forms above, where final [-e] is rendered as [eɪ] (which dialectally may be realised as [e:]). For a similar [eɪ] (~ e:) ~ [i] variation see s.v. NARGIL(E).

- (a) Miklosich (TE I 59): Ott. فراجة (= *ferāġe* – M. U.) perhaps < MGk. *φορεσιά* (cf. ModGk. *φορεσιά* ‘1. suit of clothes; 2. uniform’; GkED: 943 – M. U.); also accepted i.a. by Lokotsch (§603; he also quotes A *farāġa*, but does not postulate any direct relationship between the Ottoman and Arabic forms, cf. (b) below), Räsänen (VEWT: 144), Vasmer and Trubačov (REW III 205 = ÈSRJa IV 190);<sup>173</sup>
- (b) a slightly modified variant of the preceding, with Arabic mediation between Greek and Ottoman, suggested at least as early as Meyer (1893: 52), also accepted by Maidhof (1920: 20) and S. Stachowski (1967: 36); we will discuss Stachowski’s formulation: LOtt. *ferāġe* – EOtt. *fereġe* ‘outer cloak worn by women and the clergy’ < A *farāġa* – *farāġiyya* ‘Mäntelchen’ < MGk. *φορεσιά* < *φορεσιία* ‘Kleid, Strassenmantel’; the Arabic variant *farāġa* is missing from ALOT (I: 66) by the same author;
- (c) Nişanyan (ÇTES s.v. *ferace*): < A *farūġ* – *furūġ* ‘ulema sınıfından olanların giydiği bol cübbe [= a long robe worn by the learned]’ ← A *√frġ*.<sup>174</sup>

Let us begin with the last hypothesis. The forms the author quotes are inconsistent with standard dictionaries of Arabic. Wehr (AED: 822) and Baranov (ARS: 587) seem to have *furūġ* only as pl. of *farġ* 1. ‘slit’, 2. ‘vulva’, which in turn goes back to *√frġ* ‘to open, to part, to separate, to cleave, to split, etc.’, i.e. the same root that Nişanyan invokes. The form Nişanyan has in mind must be *farrūġ* ‘a kind of robe, slit in the back; a child’s shirt’, which has a number of attestations in the Quran (e.g. the Prophet is reported to have worn a *farrūġ*; Lane 1968: 2360; Stillman 2003: 12). However, the meanings denoting a kind of garment seem to be restricted to Classical Arabic: dictionaries of Modern Standard Arabic only quote *farrūġ* – *furrūġ*, a collective for ‘chicken’ (AED: 822, ARS: 587). Whatever the case, the substitution A *ū* > Ott. *a* is unexpected and there is no reason for the addition of the final syllable in the Ottoman form, which makes a direct derivation like the one in (c) above implausible. Let us therefore return to the suggestions in (a) and (b).

As for the former, while there is at least one analogy for the unexpected adaptation Gk. *o* > Ott. *e* in the first syllable: Gk. *φορετικο* ‘für Bekleidung geeigneter Stoff’ > T *feretiko* – *forotiko* ‘Leinen- oder Popelinstoff aus Hanf

<sup>173</sup> MGk. *φορεσιά* is not to be confused with ModGk. *φορετζές* ‘Oberkleid der Türkinen’, which is a borrowing from Ottoman (Maidhof 1920: 20) with final -ς marking the nominative. On the other hand, MGk. *φορεσιά* ← *φέρω* ‘carry’ (cf. ModGk. *φέρω* ‘have, bear’ GkED 933).

<sup>174</sup> Connection with the Arabic root *√frġ* was tentatively suggested at least as early as 1911 by Kraelitz-Greifenhorst (quoted in Maidhof 1920: 20), but Nişanyan’s proposal is more detailed.

und Baumwolle' (Tzitzilis 1987 no. 563), the change Gk. *s* > Ott. *ğ* seems to lack parallels. This is also relevant in the context of S. Stachowski's proposal, where *ğ* is assumed to have arisen in Arabic. Furthermore, although the Arabic form *farāğā* 'garment' (first quoted by Lokotsch) would be a perfect basis for Ott. *ferāğē* ~ *fereğē* (with more adaptation), no other sources quote it. Modern Arabic has the standard *farāğīya* 'loose outer garment with large sleeves (worn by sheikhs)' (ARS: 587), beside dialectal forms like EgA *farāğīya* 'loose robe, gown (worn by religious figures)' (EgAED: 645) or MorA *farāziya* 'long tunic of lightweight material worn by men' (MorAED: 33). The adoption of this form into Ottoman would result in *\*fereğīye* instead of *ferāğē* ~ *fereğē*.

A *farāğīya* is not attested before the 8<sup>th</sup> Islamic Hijra century (≈ 15<sup>th</sup> century AD) according to Vollers (1897: 299), which makes sense if the word is a borrowing from Middle Greek. In any case, it becomes widespread in Arabic by the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as discussed in Dozy (1845: 327–34), who compares it with Ott. *فراجه* *ferāğē* and expresses belief that the meaning 'vest worn by women in the street' is restricted to the latter (1845: 334), while the Arabic use is in the sense 'loose robe worn by men' (cf. meanings 1 and 2 above). This itself does not yet determine the direction of borrowing, but it indicates that the English forms partially go back to Ottoman usage.

Coming back to the phonetically surprising change Gk. *s* > A *ğ*, it might prove fruitful to consider a combination of Meyer/Stachowski's proposal with the one by Kraelitz-Greifenhorst/Nişanyan. Namely, it could be assumed that MGk. *φορεσιά* appears as *farāğīya* in Arabic due to folk-etymological association with the root  $\sqrt{\text{frğ}}$  'to open up, to slit'. The semantic motivation may be sought in the shape of the garment. Mayer in his book on Mamluk costume claims that the *farāğīya* worn by the clergy of lower rank was open (*mufrāğā* from the root  $\sqrt{\text{frğ}}$ ) at the front from top to bottom with a row of buttons (1955: 50). This makes it semantically similar to *farrūğ* 'a robe slit in the back' (see above). Similarly, the representations of the *farāğīya* found in Stillman (2003) all feature various kinds of opening at the front: the Moroccan-style *farāğīya* is cut from bottom up (*ibid*: Fig. 7), the one worn by a Tripolitan merchant is slit from collar to waist (*ibid*: Pl. 34c) and the one worn by the Moroccan Jew (*ibid*: Pl. 50) seems to match the description in Mayer. While openings are found in all kinds of garment, this feature may have come into focus, when adapting an unfamiliar Greek word in Arabic.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>175</sup> The nisba ending (*-īya*), although normally used as a formative of abstract nouns, is also found in names of articles of clothing, e.g. *bād'iyya* 'sleeveless vest for men', *fūkiyya* 'a body shirt for men' *ğallabiyya* 'hooded outer robe with long sleeves' and others, all quoted in Stillman (1986).

While transition from *A faraǧīya* to Ott. *ferāǧe* ~ *fereǧe* is still not fully accounted for, it is safe to assume that the latter was the source of the word in English.

Cf. **PARANJA**.

## FEZ

PRONUNCIATION: BrE/AmE **fez** [fez] (1895 OED<sub>1</sub>, 1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *fez* (1802–3 Pallas<sub>2</sub>), *fez* (1840 Fraser<sub>5</sub>), *fez* (1845 Stanhope<sub>5</sub>), *fez* (1849 Layard<sub>3</sub>),<sup>176</sup> *fez* [cap] (1863 Speke<sub>2</sub>), *fezzed* (1864 Grant<sub>2</sub>), *fez* (1876 *Times*<sub>5</sub>), *fezzy* (1876 Meredith<sub>2</sub>), *fez* (1883 Braddon<sub>5</sub>), *fezes* (1884 Bent<sub>2</sub>), *fezzed* (1891 *New Rev.*<sub>2</sub>), *fez* (1940 Crain *Rulers*: 229), *fezzed* (1959 *Encounter*<sub>2</sub>), *fezzed* (1971 *Household*<sub>2</sub>), *fez* (1973 NS LVIII 852: 825)

A skull-cap formerly of wool, now of felt, of a dull crimson colour, in the form of a truncated cone, ornamented with a long black tassel; formerly the national head-dress of the Turks; cf. **TARBOOSH**.

Hence **fezzed** ppl. a., furnished with or wearing a fez (1864). Also '**fezzy** adj., nonce-word, in same sense (1876).

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **fez**: < T *fes*; ?< *Fez* 'the chief town of Morocco; a red felt cap with a silk tassel'
- 1895 OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **fez**: < (? through F *fez*) T فِس *fēs*, فَاس *fēs*; allegedly < the name of town *Fez* (in Morocco)
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **fez**: < F < T *fēs*, from *Fez* in Morocco
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **fez**: pl. *fezzes*; < F < *Fez*, Morocco; *fezzed*, adj, *fezzy*, adj.
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **fez**: < F < *Fez* (*Fès*), Morocco
- 1966: Klein s.v. **fez**, n., a red felt cap with a long black tassel < F *Fez*, a town in Morocco
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **fez** < T *fēs*, perh. through F; said to be named after the town *Fez*, capital of Morocco and chief place of its manufacture
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **fez**: < F < T *fēs* 'Fez'; s.v. **Fez**: 'a city in north-central Morocco northeast of Casablanca'

<sup>176</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> quotes this at 1851.

- 1994: CannA s.v. **fez**: < A *fās* ‘Fez, the name of the Moroccan city where this hat was first made’  
 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> s.v. **fez**: < F < T *fes* < Fez, Morocco

## COMMENTARY:

Webster-Mahn has an entry for this word, but gives no etymology. The entries in English dictionaries are very similar to one another. Most assume transmission from Ottoman via French. CannA stands out among them in that the author derives the word directly from Arabic or mentions the Arabic form at all. There is some inconsistency as to the transcription of the final consonant. Ottoman forms correctly have -s (the final obstruent is voiceless in Turkish), with the sole exception of the one quoted in ODEE.

The name of the city is variously quoted as *Fez* ~ *Fès*, frequently without the indication of the language.

The Modern Turkish form is *fes* < coll. Ott. فس *fes* I. ‘the red woollen cap worn in the Turkish Empire’; 2. ‘Fes (in Morocco)’ (Redhouse: 1383) = literary Ott. فاس *fās* ‘the city of Fes in Morocco (Redhouse 1360) << A فاس *fās* id.<sup>177, 178</sup>

There are no semantic or formal grounds to confirm or rule out French mediation.

As for the ultimate origin, the derivation from *Fes* seems faultless, but it seems impossible to determine with certainty where the name of the Moroccan city was first applied with reference to the cap produced there. In Morocco itself the cap is known as *šašiya* ‘kind of conical hat with a tassel’ (MorAED: 150) or *terbuš* ‘fez’ (MorAED: 200). Therefore, it is very likely that the association arose in Ottoman Turkish.

Two stages in the history may be distinguished:

1. The development of the meaning ‘hat’ in Ottoman.
2. Borrowing into Europe facilitated by the fact that Mahmud II (1789–1839) declared the *fez* as the obligatory headdress of soldiers in 1826, and subsequently of imperial officials in 1829. Consequently, the *fez* came to symbolize the representatives of the Ottoman authorities.

Cf. also TARBOOSH.

<sup>177</sup> Redhouse marks it as Persian, which means he assumes Persian-mediated transmission from Arabic. This cannot be ruled out.

<sup>178</sup> In Modern Turkish: *Fes* ‘the city in Morocco’, *Fas* ‘Morocco’, *fes* ‘hat’.

## PAPOOSH

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **papoosh** [pə'pu:ʃ] (1904 OED<sub>1</sub>, 2005 OED<sub>3</sub>), **pabouch** [pə'bu:ʃ] (1904 OED<sub>1</sub>), **babouche** [bə'bu:ʃ] (1885 OED<sub>1</sub>, 2011 OED<sub>3</sub>); AmE **papoosh** [pɑ:'pu:ʃ] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [pə'pu:ʃ] ~ [pɑ:'pu:ʃ] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [pə'pu:ʃ] (2005 OED<sub>3</sub>), **pabouch** [pɑ:'bu:ʃ] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), **babouche** [bə'bu:ʃ] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [bə'bu:ʃ] ~ [bɑ:'bu:ʃ] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>) [bə'bu:ʃ] (2011 OED<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **A:** *Papouche* (1678 Phillips<sub>3</sub>),<sup>179</sup> *Papuchas* (1682 Wheler<sub>2</sub>), *papouches* (1775 Chandler<sub>3</sub>), *papuches* (1822 Lady Hamilton<sub>3</sub>), *papooshes* (1823 Wheeler<sub>3</sub>), *papouches* (1834 Ayesha<sub>5</sub>), *papooshes* (1835 Willis<sub>2</sub>), *papouches* (1845 Lady Stanhope<sub>5</sub>), *papooshes* (1847 Thackeray<sub>2</sub>), *papooshes* (1865 Ouida<sub>5</sub>), *papooshes* (1875 Van-Lennep<sub>3</sub>), *papoosh* ~ *papouche* [~ *baboosh* ~ *babouche*] (1952 Liddel Hart<sub>3</sub>), *papuches* (2003 *Pittsburt Post-Gaz.*<sub>3</sub>)

**B:** *Paboutches* (1687 Lovell<sub>3</sub>),<sup>180</sup> *Pabouches* (1702 de Bruyn<sub>3</sub>), *Paboutches* (1745 Caylus *Tales* vol. 2: 114), *paboutches* (1812 Weber *Tales*: 665), *paboutches* (1813 Moore *Letters*: 9),<sup>181</sup> *pabouches* (1823 Scott<sub>5</sub>)<sup>182</sup>

**C:** *Baboushes* (1695 Motteux<sub>2</sub>), *Babouches* (1735 Morgan<sub>3</sub>), *Babouche* (1754 Camus<sub>3</sub>), *babouches* (1769 Grosley *Observations* I: 160), *baboushes* (1840 Cass *France*: 169), *babouches* (Asmar<sub>3</sub>), *babouches* (1863 *Daily paper*<sub>2</sub>), *babouches* (1882 *Ballou's Monthly Mag.*<sub>3</sub>), *babouches* (1909 Hichens<sub>3</sub>), *babouches* (1918 Craig *Maktoub*: 242), *babouches* (1958 Bryer *Image Makers*: 31), *babouches* (1963 Kurzman<sub>3</sub>), *babouches* (2006 *New Yorker*<sub>3</sub>)

A Turkish or Oriental slipper.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1885: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. s.v. **babouche**: < F *babouche* (= Sp. *babucha*) < A بابوش *bābūsh* < P پاپوش *pāpōsh* 'a slipper' < *pā* 'foot' + *pōsh* 'covering' (< *pōshīden* 'to cover'); for *p* > *b* cf. *pasha* ~ *bashaw*

<sup>179</sup> The relevant quotation is given in Stanford under the year 1684.

<sup>180</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> has two separate entries: *papoosh*, *papouch(e)* on the one hand and *pabouch* on the other. The 1687 quotation is in the latter. OED<sub>3</sub> has only one entry.

<sup>181</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> has *pabouches* (s.v. *pabouch*) and refers to the same author, vol. 2: 64. The first edition of Moore has *Paboutches* on page 9, as do the third, the fourth and the eighth, all 1813 and all one-volume editions. Absent from OED<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>182</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> quotes this at 1824, but the correct date is 1823.

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **papoosh, papouch(e)**: < E < P *pāpōsh* ‘a heelless Oriental slipper’; the forms with *bab-* < A *bābūsh* or F *babouche*
- 1904: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **papoosh, papouch(e)**: < P پاپوش *pāpōsh* (T پاپوش *pābutch*) ‘slipper, shoe’ ← P پا *pā* foot + پوش *pōsh* covering
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **babouche**: ‘Turkish slipper’; < F < A *bābūsh* < P *pā* ‘foot’ + *pūsh*, ‘covering’; for formation cf. *pyjamas*; for interchange of *p-*, *b-*, cf. *pacha*, *bashaw*; s.v. **papoosh**: variant of *babouche*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **babouche, baboosh**: < F *babouche* < A *bābūsh* < P *pāpūsh*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **babouche**: < F < A *bābūj* - *bābūsh* < P *pāpūsh*; s.v. **papoosh**: earlier *papouch* < F < P *pāpūsh*
- 1966: Klein s.v. **babouche**: < F < A *bābūsh* < P *pāpūsh*, lit. ‘foot-covering’ < *pā*, ‘foot’ + *pushīden* ‘to cover’; *p* > *b* suggests Arabic mediation
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **papoosh**: < P *pāpōsh* ‘babouche’; 17<sup>th</sup> cent. *pabouch* < T *pābutch*
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1994: CannA s.v. **babouche**: < F < A *bābūj* - *bābūsh* < P *pāpūsh* ‘slipper’
- 2001: CannP s.v. **babouche**: < F < A *bābūj* - *bābūš* < P *pāpūš* ‘papoosh’; s.v. **papoosh**: < P *pā* foot + *pūš* covering
- 2007: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **babouche**: < F *babouche* (1671; 1600 as †*babuc*) - *papouche*; < Ott. *babuç* (16<sup>th</sup> century or earlier) - *pabuç* (cf. *pasha* - *bashaw*); s.v. **pampootie**: Irish < Javanese < Persian; s.v. **papoosh**: < F *papouch* (1542; 1665 as *paboutches* (plural) in the passage translated in quot. 1687; 1676 as *papouches* (plural) in the passage translated in quot. 1677) and its etymon T *pabuç* ‘shoe, slipper’ < ENP *pāpōš* < *pā* ‘foot’ + *pōš* (ModP *pūš*) ‘cover, covering’; cf. F *babouche* (now the usual form in French)

## COMMENTARY:

## 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

English dictionaries usually distinguish between *babouches* vs. *papouches* - *papooshes*. OED<sub>2</sub> additionally has *pabouch*, whereas OED<sub>3</sub> combines *pabouch* and *papoosh* in one entry and adds a separate one for *pampootie* (< Irish < Javanese < Persian). This last word is irrelevant to our topic and will not be discussed.

Stanford derives the word directly from Persian, but in this way the considerable formal variation documented in the quotations is left unaccounted for. The only alternative form to be discussed there, although not to be found in the quotations provided, is *babouche*, which is explained as either < F or < A.



In all other dictionaries except OED<sub>3</sub> the form with initial *b-* is derived from *F < A < P*. As for the variant beginning in *p-*, OED<sub>2</sub> derives it from Persian *pā-pōš* and also provides Ottoman *pabuč* to account for the change of the second vowel to [u:] and to explain forms like *paboutches*. The morphological analysis of the Persian word is correct. A summary of OED<sub>1</sub> is offered in ODEE.

Weekley has a different vowel in the Persian form, namely *pā-pūš*. The same is found in *W*<sub>2.3</sub> and in Klein, whereas *W*<sub>3</sub> adds another Arabic variant *bābūğ*. Cannon's entries repeat the information found in *W*<sub>3</sub>.

The entries in OED<sub>3</sub> consist the most original recent contribution as they offer a valuable revision of the etymology in OED<sub>2</sub>.

## 2. English forms and their origin

It stands to reason to keep separate three types, namely (a) *papouch* ~ *papoosh*, (b) *pabouch* ~ *paboutch*, and (c) *babouch*. The last one stands out due to the initial consonant, while (a) and (b) are distinguished for their medial consonants. With respect to the final consonant, the spelling *-sh* implies unambiguously [ʃ], *-tch* corresponds to [tʃ], whereas *-ch* is ambiguous between the two values, depending on whether the orthography is interpreted according to the French or the English norm respectively.

### Ad (a)

These forms may be explained as borrowed from *P pāpūš*, with occasional French influence seen in the spelling. The latter is manifested in *ou* for [u:]<sup>183</sup> and *ch* for [ʃ]. The latter digraph would be substituted by *-sh* only from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Ott. *papuš* (Redhouse: 429) may have acted as an intermediary between Persian and French, although this is not obligatory.

### Ad (b)

There is only one quotation with *E paboutches* (1687) in the dictionaries cited, but there are other occurrences as well, as evidenced above. This form is very clear as to the transmission route: *< F paboutches* (the form to be found in the French originals of the texts in 1687 and 1745) *< Ott. بابوچ, pabuč*. The latter is given as the popular pronunciation of *papuš* by Redhouse (429). The French

<sup>183</sup> Cf. LME *house* 'house' /u:/ > EModE *house* [aʊ] due to the Great Vowel Shift. It seems the spelling *papouch* points to post-GVS transmission, as in the case of later borrowings from French like *group* or words reborrowed in that period like *courier*. Moore (1813) rhymes *paboutches* with *pouches* (= ModE [paʊtʃɪz]) but given the late attestation this has to be an eye-rhyme.

spelling in *-tch-* points to unadapted pronunciation in [tʃ], whereas forms like *pabouches* indicate substitution of the final consonant with F [ʃ].<sup>184</sup>

Ad (c).

The forms in *b-* come from F *babouche* (1654; Arveiller 1999: 26–7; this is the form that is the most widespread in Modern French). The initial consonant may point to transmission, at an earlier stage, via A *bābūġ* ‘slipper’ (AED 49; < Ott. < P), where the substitution of [p] with [b] is expected due to lack of phonemic /p/ in Arabic. However, direct Ottoman transmission to French is not impossible as forms beginning in *b-* are attested in Ottoman Turkish as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century (PLOT: §375; S. Stachowski 1997: 181) and are also found in present day dialects (DS II 454). Given their abundance, they do not necessarily point to Arabic influence. As pointed out by M. Stachowski (2008a: 119), Oghuz Turkic witnessed voicing of word-initial plosives especially if the next consonant in the word was voiced (cf. P *pād(e)šāh* > Ott. *pad(i)ša(h)* > *bad(i)ša(h)*). In any case, the existence of Ottoman forms in *b-* (and their potential role in the transmission of F *babouche*) is overlooked by the English authors.

For an overview of the transmission of the word’s variants from their Oriental sources to the languages of the Balkans, the Caucasus and West Europe, see the comprehensive outline in S. Stachowski (1997).

### 3. The ultimate origin of the word

P *pāpūš*, which is the ultimate etymon of both the Arabic and Ottoman words, is universally held to be a compound of the noun *pā* ‘foot’ and the stem *pūš-* of the verb *pūšidān* ‘to cover’ (Lok 1625, VEW<sup>T</sup> 380, PLOT 375). On the Iranian root \**paus-* ‘to dress, clothe, cover’ (which regularly > MP *pōš* > NP *pūš* > ModP *puš*) see Cheung (2007: 303).

For the second element of the Persian compound also cf. **TARBOOSH**.

### PARANJA

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **paranja(h)** [pærən'dʒɑ:] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), [ˌpærən'dʒɑ:] (2005 OED<sub>3</sub>); AmE **paran(d)ja** [pə'rændʒə] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [ˌpærən'dʒɑ] (2005 OED<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *parandja* (1903 Meakin *Turkestan*: 130), *paranjas* (1928 *Daily Express*<sub>2</sub>), *paranja* (1947 *New Times*<sub>2</sub>), *parandzha* (Vyshinsky *Law*: 596), *paranjahs* (1954

<sup>184</sup> The deaffrication /tʃ/ > [ʃ] occurred in Central French in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Buckley 2009: 40), effectively eliminating the affricate from the system.

Koestler<sub>2</sub>), *paranzha* (1982 Kahn *Fruits*: 179), *paranja* (1985 *Internat. Jrnl. Middle East Stud.*<sub>3</sub>)

A long wide robe with a veil worn by some Muslim women outside the home, esp. in Central Asia.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **parandja**: ‘a heavy black horsehair veil worn by women of central Asia’ < Uzbek  
 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **paranjah**: < Ru. *parandžhá* << Arabic  
 2009: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **paranja**: < Ru. *parandža*, of uncertain origin; perhaps < a Turkic language of central Asia (compare Uz. *paranži* ‘veil, yashmak’, Tkm. *perenji* ‘veil’) < Ott. *ferāje* (Turkish *ferace*) ‘feridgi’, cf. A *farajīya* ‘long robe formerly worn by men of the professional classes’ (chiefly in Ottoman period), Ru. *ferez*’, *ferjaz*’ ‘man’s long garment, woman’s undergarment’ (attested in Old Russian), Blg. *feredže* ‘yashmak, veil’, SCr. *feredža* ‘Turkish woman’s outer dress or veil’ (all < Ott), and also ByzGk. *φορεσία* ‘street garment’

#### COMMENTARY:

##### 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

Both OED<sub>2</sub> and W<sub>3</sub> offer very laconic etymologies. Given the meaning and the shape of the word, the statement that Ru. *parandža* ultimately comes from Arabic in OED<sub>2</sub> skips a few steps.

Viewed from this angle, W<sub>3</sub> is more accurate, as Uzbek indeed seems a likely source historically (many English quotations refer to anti-paranja protests in Uzbekistan, which were part of the local women’s rights movement). However, overlooking entirely the likelihood of Russian mediation is troublesome, because the Uzbek form (not mentioned in W<sub>3</sub>) is *напанжу* (= *paranǰi*) ‘paranja’ (UzRS: 336), i.e. the final vowel is different.

The *-i* > *-a* change may have occurred in Russian. Possibly Uz. *paranǰi* was reanalysed as a nominative plural form, when the word was borrowed into Russian and a secondary nominative singular in *-a* was created.

The English forms differ only in the way of rendering [dʒ]: either the English *j*, or the French digraph *dj* or *dzh* acts as a transliteration from the Cyrillic <ДЖ>. The latter two spellings may point to the immediate donor being either French (< Russian) or Russian.

## 2. Earlier history

Uz. *паранжи* [= *paranǰi*] ‘paranja’ (UzRS: 336) is distantly related to Ott. *feraǵe* ~ *fereǵe* (> E FERIDGI) and features the regular Uzbek substitution *p* > *f* (Wurm 1959: 494) as well as an inexplicable *n*. Both features are also present in the Turkmen form Tkm. *перенжи* [= *perenǰi*] ‘paranja’ (TkmRS: 523), but for the above-mentioned historical reasons, it is the Uzbek form that seems more relevant.

The change [ʒ] > [dʒ] is an expected adaptation in Turkic given the non-native status of the former.

For further etymology, see s.v. FERIDGI.

## SHAKSHEER

PRONUNCIATION: AmE **shaksheer** [ʃakʃi:r]

FORMS: *shaksheer* (1819 Hope *Anastasius* I: 68), *shaksheer* (1829 MacFarlane *Constantinople*: 458), *shaksheer* (1837 Scott *Egypt & Candia* II: 224)

A kind of long Oriental trousers, worn especially by women outdoors.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **shaksheer**: < T *čāqshīr*

## COMMENTARY:

While the word is attested both in British and American English, albeit very rarely, no British dictionary records it.

The romanization of the Turkish form obscures the harmonic relationship between the two vowels. Ottoman had two forms *čakšīr*, *čakšur* ‘trousers secured round the waist in folds, and sewn to light leather boots at the ankles’ (RTOİS: 237).

In order to explain the change *č*- > *š*- transmission through Arabic has to be assumed, where this kind of substitution is expected on grounds that both Modern Standard Arabic and the majority of dialects lack phonemic *č*.<sup>185</sup> With respect to this feature, also see s.v. SHINTIYAN and s.v. SHAWARMA and cf. s.v. BENISH.

Doerfer (TMEN III: 31) assumes that the word is originally Turkic and derives from *\*čakıšur* ‘(knatternd) gegeneinander schlagend’ (cf. Ott. *čakıš*- i.a. ‘to collide with one another’, RTOİS: 237 – M. U.) through syncope of the middle syllable and stabilizing of the non-labial harmonic form. This hypothesis seems formally and semantically convincing.

<sup>185</sup> In those varieties that have it, it corresponds to *k* of Standard Arabic.

## SHINTIYAN

PRONUNCIATION: AmE **shintiyan** [ʃɪntɪjæn], **shintyan** [ʃɪntjæn] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: *shintiyan* (1739 QR LXIII: 298)], *shintyan* (1851 Curtis *Nile*: 128)

1. Wide, loose trousers or drawers worn by some Muslim females; [2. A kind of sword used by the Bedouins.]

### ETYMOLOGY:

1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **shintiyan, shintyan**: < SyrA *shintiyān* < T *chintiyān*  
 1994: CannA: < A < T *chintiyān*

### COMMENTARY:

The direction of borrowing as described by the English sources is correct. A شنتيان *shintiyān* ‘loose trousers resembling pantalets, worn by women’ (AED: 569) came to be used as a synonym for *širwāl* (> E *sherryvallies*) during the Ottoman rule in certain Arab territories (cf. SyrA (Aleppo) *šantiyāni* id. ~ SyrA (Soukhne) *šintyani* id. ~ LebA and northern Pala *šintyān* ~ EgA (Cairo) *šintiyān* id. quoted from various dictionaries in Borg 2004: 301; see also Prokotsch 1983: 123 and Stillman 2003: 84). The change Ott. *č* > A *š* is expected given the lack of *č* both in standard and the majority of dialectal Arabic. See s.v. **SHAKSHEER**, s.v. **SHAWARMA**, and cf. **BENISH**.

As for the ultimate source, Ott. *čintiyān* ‘trousers’ < It. *cignato* id., with the following intermediate stages: [nj–t] > \*[tj–n] > [ntj–n] (M. Stachowski 2000: 163).<sup>186</sup>

## TARBOOSH

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **tarboosh** [tɑːˈbuːʃ] (1910 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **tarboosh** [tɑːrˈbuːʃ] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [tɑːrɒʃ] ~ [tɑːrɒʃ] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *tarpous* (1702 Bruyn<sub>2</sub>), *tarboosh* (1839 Lane<sub>2</sub>), *tarbôosh* (1845 Stanhope<sub>3</sub>), *tarbooshed* (1873 Leland<sub>2</sub>), *tarboosh* (1884 Colborne<sub>2</sub>), *tarbouch* (1885 Brassey<sub>2</sub>)

<sup>186</sup> RTOÏS (256) mentions another Ott. *čintiyān* ‘sword’ (also cf. Yemeni Arabic *šintiyān* ‘sword-blade’ < TkC, Piamenta 1990: 268). There is at least one English occurrence that attests the sense ‘sword’, i.e. *shintiyan* (1856 Burton *Narrative*: 365). Because the connection between the two senses is unclear (if there is one at all) and because names of weapons are beyond the scope of the current work, we will not pursue this matter further.

A cap of cloth or felt (almost always red) with a tassel (usually of blue silk) attached at the top, worn by Muslims either by itself or as part of the turban.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **tarboosh**: < A *tarbūsh* ‘a cap of cloth or felt (generally red and with a tassel of blue silk), worn by Mohammedans by itself or under the turban’
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> s.v. **surpoose**: ‘a cover, as of a basin, dish, hooka-bowl’ < P *sar-posh*, ‘head-cover,’ (also corrupted into E *tarboosh*)
- 1910: OED<sub>1</sub>: A طربوش *tarbūsh*; so called in Egypt; in F *tarbouch*
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> s.v. **tarboosh**: ‘a round cap much worn by Arabs and Turks’ < A *tarbūsh* ‘a kind of red cap’ (Devic); Devic: A < P *sar-pōsh* ‘a head-dress’; properly, for women ← P *sar* ‘head’ + *pōsh* ‘a cover’
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **tarboosh**: < A *tarbūsh*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **tarboosh**: < A *tarbūsh*, cf. F *tarbouch*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **tarboosh**: A *tarbūsh*
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **tarboosh**: < EgA *tarbūsh*
- 1967: Klein s.v. **tarboosh**: < F *tarbouch(e)* < A *tarbūsh*, lit. ‘sweating cap’, a hybrid coined < T *ter* ‘sweat’ + P *pūshidān* ‘to cover’
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **tarboosh**: EgA *tarbus* < T *terposh*, probably < P *sarposh*, ‘headdress’ ← *sar* ‘head’ + *pūsh* ‘covering’
- 1994: CannA s.v. **tarboosh**: < A ‘hat of felt cloth, almost always red’, prob. < P *sarposh* ‘head cover’
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>, but P for ‘headdress’ is romanized as *sarpūsh*
- 2001: CannP s.v. **tarboosh**: < A *tarbūš* ‘hat of felt cloth, almost always red’ < Ott. *tarbuş*, prob. alteration < P *sarpūš* lit. ‘head cover’

#### COMMENTARY:

##### 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

Only AHD<sub>3-4</sub> and CannP mention Turkish as an intermediary. Others prefer either the derivation < F < A < P or simply < (dial.) A.

Yule<sub>2</sub> does not provide any reason for modification of P *serpōš* into E *tarbush* nor does he imply any intermediaries. The quotation from Devic in Skeat<sub>4</sub> pushes the problem to the domain of Arabic studies, but does not suggest any solution either.

Klein’s entry suggests that the Arabic word is a compound of two foreign words, an Ottoman and a Persian one. While this is not a very likely scenario,

one could think of adding Ott. *terpoš* as an intermediate step (i.e. Ott. *terpoš* ← *ter* ‘sweat’ + P *pōš*), whereby the Ott. variant *tarpoš* would have to be later. However, this is not confirmed by the chronology: *tarpoš* is found as early as Meninski (1680: 2585; marked as vulg. pronunciation of *serpoš*), whereas the variant with the front vowel is not found in a dictionary before Redhouse.

The suggestion of a connection between the Arabic/Ottoman *t*-forms and the Persian *serpōš* has proved particularly vital and it has been repeated by numerous authors since Meninski.

## 2. Ultimate origin

Based on Redhouse, we find in Ottoman *ترپوش* *terpoš* ‘ornamental skullcap’ (529; explained as adaptation of P *sarpōš*), *طربوش* *tarpoš* ‘skullcap’ (1236; marked as Arabic), both of which are explained as variants of *سرپوش* *serpūš* coll. *serpoš* ‘headgear’ (1050; marked as Persian). The modern edition, i.e. RTOİS, has *طربوش* *tarpoš* id. (1099; explained as adaptation of P *sarpōš*) and *ترپوش* *tarbūš* ‘skullcap, fez’ (1097; marked as learned Persian), *طربوش* *tarpoš* id. (1099; explained as adaptation of P *sarpōš*) and *سرپوش* *serpūš(e)* ‘headgear; cover (of anything)’ (1004; marked as learned Persian).

As regards the alleged derivation of the Ottoman forms from P *sarpōš* ‘head-dress of fine linen, muslin, or silk, part of which flows down and covers the face, shoulders, and sometimes the whole body’ (Steingass: 670), the expected reflex is *serpoš*, as in Meninski (1680: 2585). While alternation between sibilants and *t* is found in the Turkic languages of Siberia, it is virtually non-existent outside that region. The only example in Ottoman seems to be Ott. *kit* ‘rare, scarce’ against MTkc *kız* (DTS: 449), but the position and the sibilant involved are different.<sup>187</sup> If the change *serpoš* > *terpoš* ~ *tarpoš* is due to assimilation fricative-stop > stop-stop, it is an isolated example. This leaves us with the following hypotheses:

- (a) P *serpoš* > Ott. *serpōš* (× Ott. *tār*, i.a. ‘crown of the head’ < P) > Ott. *tarpoš* > Ar. *ṭarbūš* (> Ott. learned *tarbūš*) > E *tarboosh*
- (b) Sp. *trapucho* ‘little-rag’ or Sp. *traposo* ‘rag-like’, used with reference to fez by Moriscos (> Ott. *tarpuš* ~ *tarpoš* ‘fez’) > A *ṭarbūš* > F *tarbouch* ~ E *tarboosh*, etc.

Ad (a)

The English word may theoretically be either from Ottoman or Arabic, or jointly from both, but the word was marginal in Ottoman (*fes* ~ *fās* being the

<sup>187</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Marek Stachowski for discussion of this point and for this example.

preferred term) and the quotations adduced above suggest Arabic as the source.<sup>188</sup> The weakest link in the above scenario is the transition from Ott. *serpoš* to *tarpoš* and the suggested folk-etymological association with the learned Persian word *tār*. Vowel shortening may be perhaps attributed to popular pronunciation where primary vowel length of Perso-Arabic loanwords tended to be disregarded. On the other hand, the principle behind folk etymology is explaining the unknown by reference to the more familiar, so the question naturally arises whether *tār* was indeed more familiar than *serpoš* among the common people.

#### Ad (b)

This alternative scenario follows from Corriente's (1980: 199–200; also 2008: 302, n. 729) etymology of Ar *ṭarbūš*. He argues for a Romance etymon: *traposo* 'ragged, rag-like' or *trapucho* 'despicable rag', diminutive of *trapo* 'rag'. According to him, the reluctance on the part of Spanish Muslims to wear headgear („la conocida aversión de los musulmanes españoles en sus primeros tiempos a cubrirse la cabeza”; also see Stillman 2003: 91) may have led Moriscos to refer to the fez as *traposo* 'rag-like' or *trapucho* '(little) rag' (a diminutive of *trapo* 'rag'), when they reached eastern Arab lands after being expelled from Spain. The shaky element in this scenario is its reliance on an otherwise unattested word usage the Spanish of Moriscos, although lack of record is not surprising in the case of colloquial, slang terms.

Cf. FEZ. Also cf. PAPOOSH for another use of the second element of P *sarpoš*.

Also see section 4 s.v. CALPAC(K) for a discussion of three occurrences of forms which may in fact represent Ott. *tarpoš*.

## TURBAN

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **turban** ['tɜːbən] (1915 OED<sub>1</sub>), AmE **turban** ['tɜːrbən] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **tulipan(t)** ~ **tuliban(t)**: *tolipane* (1561 [1886] Jenkinson<sub>2</sub>),<sup>189</sup> *tolibants* (1589 Puttenham<sub>2</sub>), *Tolliban* (1596 Danett<sub>2</sub>), *Tulipan* ~ *Tolepan* (1597 Gerard<sub>2</sub>), *Tuliban*

<sup>188</sup> By the way, the later variant *terpoš* might be perhaps explained by folk-etymological association with Ott. *ter* 'sweat' (cf. Klein's etymology).

<sup>189</sup> Stanford attributes this to Hakluyt and dates it to 1598, based on the date of publication of his collection; whereas OED<sub>2-3</sub> uses a later edition, and quotes the form according to the dating in the text.



(1600 Pretty<sub>3</sub>),<sup>190</sup> *dulipan* (1600 Pory<sub>2</sub>), *tulipant* (1603 Knolles<sub>2</sub>), *tolibante* (1607 Carew<sub>2</sub>),<sup>191</sup> *Tullipant* ~ *Tulipans* (1613 Purchas<sub>2</sub>), *Tulipants* (1638 Herbert *Travels* 139),<sup>192</sup> *Tulliband* (1652 L'Estrange<sub>2</sub>), *Tulipant* (1688 Holme<sub>2</sub>)

**tulban(t):** *Tulbant* ~ *Talbant* (1585 Washington<sub>2</sub>), *Tulbent* (1617 Moryson<sub>2</sub>), *Telbent* (1625 Purchas<sub>5</sub>), *Telbent* (1650 Withers<sub>3</sub>),<sup>193</sup> *Tulbans* (1662 Davies<sub>2</sub>), *Dhulbandt* (1686 Chardin<sub>2</sub>)

**turban(t):** *Torbants* (1588 Hickock<sub>2</sub>), *Turban* (1597 Gerard<sub>2</sub>), *Turbanto* (1599 Nashe<sub>2</sub>),<sup>194</sup> *turbantes* (1598 Haydocke<sub>2</sub>), *turbents* (1599 Hakluyt<sub>2</sub>), *turbants* (1601 Holland<sub>5</sub>), *turbant* (1607 Carew<sub>2</sub>), *Turbant* (1609 Barlow<sub>2</sub>), *Turbants* (1610 Marcelline<sub>2</sub>), *Turbonds* (1616 Shakespeare<sub>3</sub>),<sup>195</sup> *turbant* (1616 Jonson<sub>3</sub>),<sup>196</sup> *Turbine* (1623 Cockeram<sub>2</sub>), *Turbanes* (1624 Bedel<sub>2</sub>), *turban* (1642 Milton<sub>5</sub>), *Turbant* (1650 Withers<sub>3</sub>),<sup>197</sup> *Turband* (1652 L'Estrange<sub>2</sub>), *Turbants* (1660 Ingelo<sub>2</sub>), *Turbants* (1662 Davies<sub>2</sub>), *turban* (1682 Evelyn<sub>5</sub>), *turban* (1687 Lovell<sub>2</sub>), *Turbat* (1688 Holme<sub>2</sub>), *Turban* (1693 *Mem. Cnt. Teckely*), *Turbat* (1697 Dampier<sub>2</sub>), *Turband* ~ *Turbants* (1710 Addison<sub>2/5</sub>),<sup>198</sup> *Turbant* (1717 Lady Montagu<sub>2</sub>), *Turbant* (1720 Strype<sub>2</sub>), *Turband* (1727 Hamilton<sub>2</sub>), *Turbant* (1735 Johnson<sub>2</sub>), *turbant* (1753 Hanway<sub>2</sub>), *Turban* ~ *Turbant* ~ *Turband* (1755 Johnson<sub>2</sub>), *Turband* (1766 [1787] Porny<sub>2</sub>), *Turband* (1772 Richardson<sub>5</sub>) *turban* (1774 Goldsmith<sub>2</sub>), *turban* (1775 Chandler<sub>5</sub>), *Turbans* (1776 *Lady's Mag.*), *turban* (1788 Gibbon<sub>2</sub>), *turban* (1796 Burney<sub>2</sub>), *turban* (1803 Edgeworth<sub>5</sub>), *turban* (1803 *Med. Jrnl.*), *turban* (1805–6), *turbans* (1814 Byron<sub>2</sub>),<sup>199</sup> *turban* (1819 Scott<sub>2</sub>), *turban* (1823 C'tess Blessington<sub>2</sub>), *turban* (1827 Steuart<sub>2</sub>), *turbans* (1835 *Ladies' Cabinet*), *turban* (1838 Disraeli<sub>2</sub>), *turban* (1839 Lane<sub>5</sub>), *turbands* (1839 Moneteith<sub>2</sub>), *turbans* (1839 Darwin<sub>2</sub>), *turbans* (1844 [1846] Warburton<sub>2</sub>), *turban* (1852 Stowe<sub>2</sub>), *turbant* (1852 Thackeray<sub>2</sub>) *Turban Hats* (1862 *Eng. Wom. Dom. Mag.*), *turban hat* (1862

<sup>190</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1588 and attributes to Hakluyt, the apparent date when the passage was written, whereas OED<sub>3</sub> prefers 1600, the date of publication of the third volume of Hakluyt's collection and attributes the passage to the actual author.

<sup>191</sup> See OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. *turban* under the *β* forms.

<sup>192</sup> Stanford dates this to 1665, but the passage already occurs in the first edition.

<sup>193</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1653.

<sup>194</sup> See OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. *turban* *grout-head*.

<sup>195</sup> Stanford and OED<sub>2</sub> date this to 1611.

<sup>196</sup> Both Stanford and OED<sub>2</sub> date this to 1609.

<sup>197</sup> See OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. *turban* under the *α* forms.

<sup>198</sup> The first form is given in OED<sub>2-3</sub>, whereas the second, from a different passage in the text, in Stanford. Also the latter dates the form to 1709.

<sup>199</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1812.

Yonge<sub>2</sub>), *turban* (1865 Melton<sub>2</sub>), *turbaned* (adj.; 1876 Evans<sub>2</sub>), *turban* (1878 Villari<sub>2</sub>), *turban* (1885 Bible; used as a gloss for *mitre*), *turbans* (1908 *Paris Fashions*<sub>2</sub>), *turban hat* (1909 *Daily Graphic*<sub>2</sub>); **2.** *Turban* (1681 [genus *Turbo*] Grew<sub>2</sub>), *Turban* (1686 [genus *Turbo*] *Philos. Trans*<sub>2</sub>), *Turks Turband* (1713 [*Echinus* S. *Diadema Turcarum*] Petiver<sub>2</sub>), *Turk's Turban* (1760 [*Ranunculus*] Lee<sub>2</sub>), *Turban* (1815 Wood<sub>2</sub>), *Rock Turban* (1819 [genus *Turbo*] Turton<sub>2</sub>), *Turbans* (1837 [*Cidaris imperialis*] Penny Cycl.<sub>2</sub>), *scarley turban - mixed turban* (1882 [*Ranunculus*] *Standard*<sub>2</sub>); **3.** *turban* (1846 Soyer<sub>2</sub>), *turban* (1909 Webster<sub>3</sub>)<sup>200</sup>; **4.** *turban* (1909 *Daily Graphic*<sub>2</sub>)

**turribant:** *Turribant* (1596 Spenser<sub>2</sub>)

**1.** A traditional Muslim headdress consisting of a long scarf of linen, cotton, or silk that is wound around a small cap or directly around the head, or, by extension, other types of head-dress that resemble this; **2.** Various scientific names of animals or plants resembling the turban (the Latin name as specified in the passage is provided in square brackets); **3.** A drum-shaped case for entrées, fillets, etc.; **4.** A style of hair-dressing for women resembling the turban.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1865: Müller<sub>1</sub> s.v. **turban:** < altengl[isch] *turband*, *turbant*, *tulibant*, *tulipant*; Sp., It. *turbante*, F, G *turban* < P *dulband*, *dôlband*, T *dulbend*, *tulbend* ‘das um den Kopf gewickelte Nesseltuch’; cf. tulip und Trench E. 13
- 1865: W-M s.v. **turban:** O. Eng. *turband*, *turbant*, *tulibant*, *tulipant* < F *turban*, Sp. & It. *turbante* < P *dulband*, *dôlband* ← *dulâi* ‘double’ (← *dû* ‘two’ + *lâi* ‘fold’) + *band* ‘band, bandage’; T *dulbend*, *tulbend*
- 1865: Wedgwood<sub>1</sub> s.v. **turban:** < F *turban*, It. *turbante*; commonly assumed to be < P *dulbend*; the word is not known either in Turkish or Arabic, so perhaps < F *turbin* ‘a whelk’, due to similar conical shape
- 1872: Wedgwood<sub>2</sub> = Wedgwood<sub>1</sub>
- 1878: Wedgwood<sub>3</sub> = Wedgwood<sub>1</sub>
- 1879: Müller<sub>2</sub> = Müller<sub>1</sub> except for the substitution of ‘altenglisch’ with ‘früher auch’ and the second Persian form being spelled *dolband*

<sup>200</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> quotes this from the 1911 edition of Webster.

- 1882: Skeat<sub>1</sub> s.v. **turban**: 'a head-covering worn in the East'; forms in *l* are more correct, cf. F *tolopan* (Cotgrave); < F *turbant* ~ *turban* 'a turban, a Turkish hat' (Cotgrave) < It. *turbante* 'a turban' (Florio) < T *tulbend*, coll. of T *dulbend* 'a turban' (Zenker) < P *dulband* 'a turban' (Richardson), which according to Vüllers' (1855 I: 893) < Hindustani *dulband*, a turban (Shakespeare)
- 1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **turban**: < T *dulband* 'turban' < P < A *dul* 'volvere' applied to either a girdle or a head-wrap; from Turkish > European languages, *Tulipant*, *Tolliban*, *Turbant*, and others; the derivation < P < H *sirband* 'headwrap' is inconsistent with the word's history; Wedgwood's suggestion that the word < F *turbin* is equally to be rejected; once popular, the Turkish word has now fallen out of use
- 1888: Skeat<sub>2</sub> = Skeat<sub>1</sub>
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **turban**: < F *turban*, *turbant*; **toliban** < F (16, 17 cc.) 'the head-dress of a Mohammedan, consisting of a shawl or scarf wound round a *tarboosh*; a Persian hat or tiara; name of various head-dresses and hats worn by Europeans (esp. women) in modern times; a gaudy-colored handkerchief worn on the head by negro women'
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub>
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> = Skeat<sub>1</sub>, except for the fact that Vüller's derivation from Hindustani is deemed doubtful; reference to Yule<sub>1</sub> is added
- 1915: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **turban**: « P *دلبند* *dulbānd* or *دولبند* *dōlbānd*, coll. T *tulbant*, *tul(i)pant*, *toli-* (also > OIt. *tolipante*, *tolipano* > ModIt., Sp., Pg. *turbante*; obs. F *tolliban* (15<sup>th</sup> c.), *tulban*, *turbant* (Cotgr.), F *turban*; EModDu. *turbant* (Kilian), Du. *tulband*, G, D, Sw. *turban*; it is not clear in which language *tul-* > *tur-* occurred; it may have been in SW India, or in Portuguese; we find it first in Hickock's translation of Cesar Frederick, who cites it from the Portuguese Indies; *tulipant*, *turbant* were the most usual English forms in 17<sup>th</sup> cent.; *turban* was used by Johnson and Gibbon
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **turban**: < P *dulband*; in most European languages the *-r-* for *-l-* appearing first in Pg; earlier E. forms were *tolipan*, *tulban*, etc.
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **turban**: < T & F; F *turban*, earlier *turbant*, *tulban*, *tolliban* < T *dülbend*, coll. *tülbend* 'a length or square of muslin, a turban' < P *dulband* 'turban, sash'
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **turban**: MF *turbant* < It. *turbante*, modification < T *dülbend*, *tülbend* < P *dulband*

- 1966: ODEE s.v. **turban**: three main types are represented by *tolibant*, *tulipan*, *turban(t)* < F †*toliban*, †*tulban*, †*turbant* (mod. *turban*), It. †*tolipano*, -*ante*, Sp., Pg, It. *turbante* < T *tülbend* < P *dulband*; cf. TULIP
- 1967: Klein s.v. **turban**: < F *turban*, earlier *turbant*, *tulban*, *tolliban* < T *tülbend* < P *dulbänd*, ‘turban’
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **turban**: < F *turbant* < It. *turbante* < Ott. *tülbend* ‘muslin, gauze, turban’
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>
- 2001: CannP s.v. **turban**: < MF *turbant* (< It. *turbante* < T *tülbent*, pron. of P *dulband* ‘turban’) and T

## COMMENTARY:

## 1. Classification of English forms

OED<sub>2,3</sub> distinguishes three form types: *α. tul(i)pan(t)* (comprising the first two types above), *β. tur(i)bant*, and *γ. turban*. Here the decision has been made to distinguish, first between the *l* and *r* forms, and, second, between the di- and trisyllabic forms. The classes have been arranged according to the date of first attestation.

There are two forms that stand out in the first and second classes. These are the two forms in *d*- (1600 *dulipan* and 1686 *Dhul-bandt*) as well as two attestations of an *n*-less form (1688 and 1697 *Turbat*).

The word gained considerable currency in English, which is manifested in the number of shades of meaning exemplified in OED<sub>2,3</sub>. The various extensions of the meaning ‘head-dress’ distinguished in that dictionary have been subsumed here under sense 1. This has also happened to the various zoological or botanical meanings combined under sense 2. Senses 3 and 4, although attested overall in three sources, have distinct meanings and have been separated accordingly.

Only the basic meaning (together with its extensions) is represented by all the variants, the remaining senses are attested only in the forms of the *turban(t)* type.

## 2. Treatment in English dictionaries

The information in Wedgwood<sub>1</sub> that the word is absent from either Turkish or Arabic is false with respect to the former, as evidenced by all the dictionaries (irrespective of how accurately they represent the actual forms), including Müller<sub>1</sub> and W-M, both published in the same year as Wedgwood’s work. Nevertheless,

it is true that this is not the most common word used with reference to turbans in (Ottoman) Turkish, that being *sarık*.

The connection with F *turbin* ‘whelk’ is inadequate to explain the *tul-* > *tur-* change. Firstly, doubts may be raised as to the assertion that *turbin* has ever been used in French with reference to ‘whelk’. According to TLF the actual form used in this meaning was *turbo* based on the use of L *turbo* id. by Linnaeus (s.v. *turbo* 1; also cf. sense 2 above). However, the first attestation recorded in TLF is in the year 1808, which rules out the possibility of it causing the *l* > *r* shift (cf. also below).

On the other hand, partial influence from L *turbo* ‘an object that spins or revolves; whirlwind, whirlpool’ cannot be ruled out as an explanation for the *tul-* > *tur-* change.

W-M is the first dictionary to imply the Persian form as the ultimate etymon by offering its etymological analysis. As far as I am aware, Mahn is the only author to have proposed such an explanation (see further section 4 below).

Skeat<sub>1</sub> is the first to formulate explicitly the relationship Ott. < P, and to comment openly on the variation lit. *d-* ~ coll. *t-*. He also suggests, probably correctly (see below), that the change *l* > *r* took place in Italian, although this is not stated *expressis verbis*. His claim that the Persian word is of Hindustani origin does not make it any more transparent. Following Yule, the author later withdraws from this position (Skeat<sub>4</sub>).<sup>201</sup>

Stanford explicitly mentions Persian and the Orient, but surprisingly derives both forms only from French, with no allusion to the Persian or Ottoman forms.

Murray (OED<sub>1</sub>) offers a more comprehensive overview of Romance forms. He also attempts to explain the *tul-* > *tur-* change, tracing it to Portuguese India. His reasoning makes sense in view of the data at his disposal, but is nowadays outdated. This is even truer of Weekley, whose entry is essentially based on OED<sub>1</sub> but is formulated in a more dogmatic way. ODEE also draws heavily on OED<sub>1</sub>, quoting exactly the same Romance forms but with no comment on the origin of *tul-* > *tur-*.

The remaining dictionaries simply repeat the sequence E < F < (Ott)T < P, occasionally adding Italian as the intermediary between Ottoman Turkish and French.

<sup>201</sup> In fact, Vüllers, whom Skeat originally quoted to support his hypothesis, only stated that the word was used in both Persian and Hindustani, but himself did not explicitly claim that one is derived from the other.

### 3. The oriental etymons and their transmission to English

It is widely assumed nowadays that the European forms go back to Ottoman < Persian (e.g. Lokotsch §544, FEW s.v. *turban*). Junker & Alavi (1977) quote two forms for Persian: *دلبند* 'Turban' (321) – *دولبند* 'Turban; Eimerstrick' (333), which are *dolband* and *dulband* in modern pronunciation. Steingass transcribes the same orthographic variants as *dulband* (532) and *dolband* (546). His transcription is supposed to reflect the etymological sources of the vowels and not the actual pronunciation (Steingass: vii), which makes the first of his forms consistent with its equivalent in Junker & Alavi, as ENP *u* > LNP = ModP *o*. On his transcription *o* Steingass writes "*o* (*a* + *u*) as in *more*" (*ibid.*), which equals *ō* in the standard transcription, as LNP = ModP *u* < ENP *ō* << OP *au* (see Pisowicz 1985: 175). Thus apparently we are dealing here with two Persian forms *دلبند* *dolband* (< ENP *dulband*) and *دولبند* *dulband* (< ENP *dōlband*), which is very unusual for Persian (see also next section).

For Ottoman, Redhouse reports the same two orthographic variants *دلبند* (911) and *دولبند* (926), both of which were pronounced in careful style as *dūlbend* and colloquially as *tūlbend* – *tūlbent*. The pronunciation in *t*- is reflected in yet another spelling variant, *تولبند*, reported in RTOİS (1199).

Initial obstruent devoicing, although not easily explained, is not uncommon in Ottoman pronunciation of words of Persian origin, e.g. Ott. *tahra* < P *dahra*, Ott. *tāne* 'grain' < P *dāne* id. (for examples involving other obstruents see Tietze & Lazard 1967: 128). It is precisely because of this devoicing and the lack of a similar phenomenon in Persian that the Ottoman form is relevant for the history of the English word.<sup>202</sup>

The devoicing of final plosives is, on the other hand, a common feature of Modern Turkish, which is reflected in modern orthography (*tūlbent*). This situation must have developed in Ottoman, and at least in Late Ottoman final plosives must have been voiceless as well, but precise dating is difficult due to the fact that Perso-Arabic words usually retained their spelling (see Kerslake 1998: 185–6).

Even more forms are quoted for Ottoman in transcription texts (PLOT): in chronological order *dulbent* (1533), *tulbent* (1544–8), *dulvend* (1553–5),<sup>203</sup> *tulbant*

<sup>202</sup> Such forms are actually unexpected. Generally speaking, TkC *t*-, *k*- > Oghuz TkC *d*-, *g*-. This applies to Ottoman as well. However, in Ottoman, unlike in the remaining Oghuz Turkic languages, the process was partially reversed whenever the next consonant was voiceless (e.g. Ott. *dat* – *tat* 'taste' = modT *tat* 'id.', *dat* – *tat* 'to taste'; see Doerfer 1969: 255). Thus it is not the process itself that is problematic but its position before a voiced consonant in *dul*- > *tul*- (as well as in *tāne* < P *dāne*).

<sup>203</sup> Similar *-v*- < *-b*- spirantizations are sporadically reflected in dialect materials (see Caferoğlu 1959: §§2321 and 2324; Tietze & Lazard 1967: 129), although they

(1591), *tulpant* (1591), *tulipant* (1591), *tüllban* (1620), *dulbend* (1641), *tüllbent* (1672), *düllbend* (1680), *tüllbend* (1790). However, certain reservations have to be borne in mind when dealing with this assortment.

First of all, it has to be noted that the earlier the transcription text, the less reliable the notation of vowels is. More specifically, the use of *ü* for the high front rounded vowel had not yet been firmly established in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries and the letter is not consistently distinguished from *u* in those early authors if they happen to use it at all. It is then highly probable, although beyond proof, that the forms transcribed in *u* were in fact pronounced in *ü*, as it is the case in Modern Turkish. This is actually how Kakuk interprets such spellings found in transcription texts (1973: 136). This would consequently mean that: (a) ENP *u* (or *ō?*)<sup>204</sup> > Ott. *ü*; (b) Ott. *ü* > *u* in one (or more) of the European transmitters of the word. Ad (a), a shift to *ü* in Ottoman is expected (whether the original vowel was *u* or *o*) due to the neighbouring *l*, which was one of the consonants causing vowel fronting in Perso-Arabic loanwords in Ottoman (see section 5.1.3 of the Introduction). Ad (b), this would be an expected development in those European languages which lack front rounded vowels.

The 1591 forms, quoted in PLOT from Löwenklau (see also S. Stachowski 1988: 147), look suspiciously similar to the various European spellings found in the initial stage of the diffusion of the word (i.e. 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries). Löwenklau is the only source where Ottoman variants in *-bant* / *-pant* instead of *-bend* / *-bent* are reported. It is *e* that is normally expected in Ottoman from Perso-Arabic *a* (Stein 2006: IV.2; also cf. the Modern Persian pronunciation as [æ]). Although examples with back *a* (< P *a*) are also found (*ibid.*, esp. item IV.2.b), these usually have another back vowel and may thus be explained as a result of harmonic readjustment. As remarked earlier, the backness of the vowel written as <u> is not certain in 16–17<sup>th</sup>-century sources.<sup>205</sup>

Moreover, Löwenklau seems also to be the only author who reports the existence of a trisyllabic form *tulipant*. Because only disyllabic forms are reported for Persian, it would have to be assumed that the *i* epenthesis occurred in Ottoman. This kind of phenomenon in (Ottoman) Turkish is usually a means to avoid consonant clusters in borrowings. Although it has been rather irregular, it has generally

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mainly seem to have affected intervocalic *b*. There is only one example of the shift occurring in a clusters: P *\*sarbārča* > Muğla T *serverce* (Tietze & Lazard 1967: 129).

<sup>204</sup> Theoretically, either of the two Persian variants discussed above could have been the source, but *dōlband* would be very likely rendered as *\*dōlbend* ~ *\*dōlbent* (see KIOSK for a parallel development) and no such variants are attested.

<sup>205</sup> It should be remembered that OED<sub>1</sub> quotes *tulbant*, *tul(i)pant*, *toli-* for Ottoman. This may be influenced, whether directly or not, by Löwenklau.

tended to affect two-consonant clusters word-initially and word-finally, as well as three-consonant clusters word-internally (see M. Stachowski 1995). Although examples of vowel epenthesis to avoid two-consonant clusters are occasionally found word-internally as well, they are rather rare. M. Stachowski reports only one example, It. *giruetto* > Ott. \**cirvet* > *cirevet* 'flag, pennant' (*ibid.*: 177), which – while similar in certain respects – is too sporadic to be significant.

These remarks suggest that Löwenklau's forms should not be relied on in order to explain certain European variants as in all likelihood the former were influenced by the latter.<sup>206</sup>

This is confirmed by the dates of attestation of the earliest Italian (mostly Venetian) forms, which come in a very large number of shapes. Zaccaria (1919 *passim*) lists a whole array of forms from the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> century, which differ in terms of four parameters: 1. voicedness of the first consonant; 2. presence or lack of *l* > *r*; 3. presence or lack of epenthesis; 4. the vowel pattern in the stem syllables. While the *d*- < *t*- variation may be disregarded based on its presence in the Oriental etymons (*d*- < Ott. or P; *t*- < Ott), the remaining parameters enable us to distinguish between the following types: (a) *l*-forms with epenthesis and stem vowel patterns *o-i-a*, *o-o-a*, *u-i-a*, *u-o-a*, *u-u-a*; (b) *l*-forms without epenthesis, with stem vowel patterns *o-a*, *u-a*; (c) *r*-forms without epenthesis with the vowel pattern *u-a*.

The (b) forms are the closest to their etymon, although the vowel pattern has been modified. The shift *l* > *r* before a bilabial in (c) forms may be explained by the attestation of this kind of change in certain Italian dialects, including Genoese (see Rohlfs 1949–54 I: §§342–3). The most problematic seem to be the forms in (a), which feature the as yet unexplained epenthesis and exhibit the greatest variation in terms of vowel patterns. Because there seems to be no regular justification for these phenomena, the following should be treated as provisional.

I would suggest that contamination with another word which entered Italian from Ottoman in roughly the same period (and later English as well), namely *dolimano* (& co.) < Ott. *dolaman* (see DOLMAN). The word in question exhibits a similar variation in terms of vowels in Italian: Zaccaria 1919 *passim* gives attestations for the patterns *a-a-a*, *o-i-a*, *o-o-a*, *u-i-a*, the last three of which are identical to patterns found for *tolipano* above. Moreover, the words belong to the same area of vocabulary, which makes it easier for them to occur together and contaminate.

<sup>206</sup> For a similar example of Löwenklau's possible meddling with the Ottoman forms he quotes see the section on *caravanserai* s.v. SERAGLIO.



If the above is acceptable, further evolution of the word should not pose major difficulties. The variable Italian use subsequently is copied by the French (occasionally accompanied by forms taken over directly from Ottoman; Arveiller 1999: 577–83). Interestingly, the first to spread are the *r*-variants (*turpante* 1519) only later followed by the *l*-ones (*tolopan* 1542, *tulband* 1559). What is important, by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century these Romance forms become widespread enough to make the explanation of the Löwenklau's 1591 forms outlined above plausible.

Around that time, they also find their way into English, initially as part of translations from the Romance languages. Thus e.g. 1585 *Tulbant* and *Talbant* are found in a translation of Nicolas of Nicolay. The latter is in fact a misprint, as the French original has *Tulbant* in both relevant passages (cf. Nicolay *Turquie* 196 and 214 respectively). On the other hand, 1588 *Torbants*, 1598 *turbantes*, as well as *Telbent* found in Purchas' collection of 1625 all come from translations from Italian.<sup>207</sup>

#### 4. The ultimate origin

Further etymology is problematic. As it has no direct bearing on the origin of the English forms I will limit myself to a few points.

Lokotsch's (§544) hypothesis that *dulband* ← *dil* 'heart' + *band*, stem of *bastan* 'bind', has a rather weak semantic justification. First of all, the analogy between a heart and a turban is rather far-fetched. Secondly, the author does not explain the *i* > *u* change, which would be unexpected in Persian. Also compare the actual formation from *dil* and *band*, i.e. P *dilband* 'attractive, lovely' (Steingass: 535), lit. 'heart-binding'.

Semantic reasons lead us to conclude that Mahn's (W-M) solution, albeit original, is equally unconvincing. The turban is not doubly bound, as this analysis would suggest.

<sup>207</sup> The original in the case of this last form is Ottaviano Bon's *Il serraglio del Gran Signore* (1607), which I was not able to access. However, the same form occurs in the translation at least once more, two pages later (Purchas *Pilgrimes* 1625: 1593). This consistency may suggest that the spelling reflects the equally consistent Italian original. Interestingly, normalizing tendencies took their toll and when the same translation was published again in 1653, this time on its own, edited by John Greaves, *Telbent* was replaced with *Turbant* (Withers *Seraglio*: 63 and 73 respectively), perhaps due to the editor's belief that the latter was more correct. Moreover, in the 1905 reedition of Purchas, the form is rendered as *Terbent* (Purchas *Pilgrimes* 1905 IX: 351 and 356 respectively).

The Persian word is a riddle. As remarked above, it is spelt in two different ways: with a *y* (which would imply ModP *dulband* < LNP *dūlband*)<sup>208</sup> and without it (which would stand for ModP *dolband* < NP *dulband*).<sup>209</sup> The variation ModP *u* ~ *o* (= LNP *ū* ~ *u*; either < ENP *ū* ~ *u* or < ENP *ō* ~ *u*) is not regular and has not yet found a satisfactory explanation.

## YARMULKE

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **yarmulke** ['jɑ:məlke] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>); AmE **yamilke** ['jɑ:milkə] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), **yarmulke** ['jɑ:rməlke] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *jarmulka* (1903 *Jewish Encycl.*<sub>2</sub>), *yarmelke* (1929 *Menorah Jrnl.*<sub>2</sub>), *yamalka* (1930 *Gold*<sub>2</sub>), *yarmolka* (1941 *Schulberg*<sub>2</sub>), *yamulka* (1957 *Stern*<sub>2</sub>), *yarmelkas* (1962 *McBain*<sub>2</sub>), *yarmulke* (1963 *Pynchon*<sub>2</sub>), *yarmulkah* (1966 *Davidson*<sub>2</sub>), *yarmulka* (1966 *Kemelman*<sub>2</sub>), *yarmulke* (1971 *Malamud*<sub>2</sub>), *yarmulka* (1975 *Church Times*<sub>2</sub>), *yarmulke* (1979 *Hailey*<sub>2</sub>), *yarmulka* (1984 *Times*<sub>2</sub>)

A skull-cap worn especially by Orthodox and Conservative Jewish males in the synagogue, the house, and study halls.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **yamilke**: < Yid. *yarmulke* in German spelling *jarmulke* < Ru. *ermolka*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **yarmulke**: or **yarmelke** < Yid. < Ukr. & Pol. *jarmulka* 'small hat, skullcap'; probably < T *yağmurluk* 'raincoat' ← *yağmur* 'rain'
- 1967: Klein s.v. **yarmulke**: < Ukr. & Pol. *yarmulka* < ?; possibly < T *yağmurluk*, 'raincoat', ← *yağmur* 'rain'
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **yarmulke**: < Yid. *yarmolke* < Pol. *jarmulka* 'cap'
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **yarmulke**: < Yid. < Pol. & Ukr. *yarmulka*; possibly < T *yağmurluk* 'rain clothing' ← *yağmur* 'rain'
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

<sup>208</sup> This could be either from ENP *\*dūlband* or *\*dōlband*. Steingass' transcription in *o* (he uses it without the macron) suggests the latter.

<sup>209</sup> Both variants are attested in Dehxoda s.v. *دولبند* and *دلبند*.

## COMMENTARY:

The etymologies provided above are very similar to one another. The only dictionaries that do not mention Turkic are *W*<sub>2</sub> and *OED*<sub>2</sub>.

Although many authors assume the derivation from Ott. *yağmurluk* ‘raincoat, roof over a doorway’ (RTOİS: 1236) – apart from those quoted above see e.g. Corriente (2008: 260) or Wexler (1987: 140–1) – this etymology is by no means settled. A series of articles have been published whose authors reject the Turkic etymon and instead consider the possibility of a Latin one.

Strumiński’s (1987: 201) main objection against the Turkic etymology is semantic discrepancy, namely the fact that the Polish word, which is chronologically earlier than the Yiddish one, has never been used with reference to a raincoat or hood used for protection from rain. This is not a sufficient argument for rejecting the Turkic explanation, according to Stachowski (2013b), who observes additionally that meanings ‘coat of thick wool’ and ‘cloak’ are occasionally attested with some variants. He then proceeds to voice more serious concerns about the alleged Turkic origin. He assumes the transmission Ott. *yağmurluk* [jaɣmurɫuk] or [jaɣmurɫuk] > [ja:murɫuk] > Pol. *\*jamurɫuk* > *\*jarmurɫuk* (masculine) > *jarmurka* (feminine; by analogy to other names of headgear, such as *czapka*, *mycka*, *krymka*, *piuska*, etc.), which although weakened by the lack of attestation of the two Polish forms, would not be implausible phonetically. What poses the problem is chronology: the earliest attestation of the Polish word dates back to 1443 (*jałmurka*), whereas the loss of postvocalic *ġ* (accompanied by compensatory lengthening of the vowel) is a later phenomenon in Ottoman. In other words, the lack of *-g-* in 15<sup>th</sup>-cent. Pol. *jałmurka* (and later variants) is unaccounted for.

Strumiński’s own suggestion is that Pol. *jarmurka* is ultimately a distortion of MedL *armutia* ‘long cap worn by the clergy’ (1314), which he considers an earlier variant of a Medieval Latin form which he quotes as *almunicum* ‘church canon’s cap’ (in fact *almunicipium*, attested in 1477, see Wolanin 2013: 348), which itself produces Pol. *jełmunka* ~ *jałmonka*. In his response, Gold (1987) does not reject the Latin etymology, but calls for a more detailed clarification of the Latin forms, identifying two more forms, *almucia* and *almutia*, the latter in the sense ‘cowl, hood’ and possibly going back to A *al-mustaqa* ‘fur-lined cloak with long sleeves’.

While Wolanin (2013) does not explicitly state that, it follows from his discussion that none of the actually attested Medieval Latin forms is a perfect candidate for etymon of Pol. *jałmurka*, given the [k] > [ts] change before front vowels in the former.

To sum up, while the Latin origin has its own difficulties, the Turkic connection has to be rejected and there are no signs of Turkic mediation either.

## YASHMAK

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **yashmak** [ˈjæʃmæk] (1921 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **yashmak** [ˈjaːʃmaːk] ~ [ˈjæʃmæk] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *asmack* (1718 [1763]; Montagu *Letters* III: 26, in later editions also *asmak*),<sup>210</sup> *yashmak* (1844 Kinglake<sub>2</sub>), *yakmaks* (1848 Thackeray<sub>2</sub>), *yashmak* (1885 *Times*<sub>2</sub>), *yashmak* (1895 Hemingway<sub>2</sub>), *yashmak* (1915 [*Near East*: 109])

A Muslim woman's double veil worn in public, where only the eyes are exposed.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **yashmak**: < A 'the veil worn by Mohammedan women when not in their private apartments'
- 1921: OED<sub>1</sub>: < A يَشْمَق *yashmaq*
- 1921: Weekley: < A
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **yashmak**: also *yashmac* < A *yashmaq*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub>: < T *yaşmak*
- 1966: ODEE = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1967: Klein: < A *yáshmaq* 'veil worn by women'
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub>: < T
- 1994: CannA: < T *yaşmak* & A *yashmaq* 'woman's veil'
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub>: < T *yaçmak*

## COMMENTARY:

*Asmack* (1718) and *yakmaks* (1848) must be random distortions of a foreign word or misspellings. Otherwise English variants are uniform and closely correspond to the Turkic etymon.

In some dictionaries the Turkish forms are quoted according to their modern orthography, which together with the designation "Turkish" may suggest borrowing from Modern Turkish. This of course would have been impossible in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Moreover, AHD<sub>4</sub> has -ç- which in modern Turkish orthography stands for the affricate -*ç*-, while the etymon clearly has -*f*-.

A يَشْمَق *yaşmaq* ~ يَشْمَك *yaşmak* (AED: 1297) may have been a partial source, but the word is easily explained based on its etymon, Ott. *yaşmak*. The latter has a clear etymology in Turkic: \**yaš-* 'to cover, to hide' (OTkc. *yaš-*, DTS 246; cf. also Ott. *yaš-*) + *mak* one of the suffixes forming deverbal nouns (TDES 443, TMEN III 1865; on the suffix see M. Stachowski 2009: §§II.1–II.2).

<sup>210</sup> For the dating, see s.v. *feridgi*, fn. 165.

**YELEK**

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **yelek** ['jɛlɛk] (1921 OED<sub>1</sub>), **jelick** [dʒɛlɪk, *prop.* 'jɛlɪk] (1900 OED<sub>1</sub>), **gilet** ['zɪle] (1899 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **gilet** [ˌziː'lɛ] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), ['zɪleɪ] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), **jelick** ['jɛlɪk] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **A: 1.** *gilets* (1786 WHM: 539), *gilet* (1883)

**B: 2.** *jelick* (1816 Tully<sub>2</sub>), *jileck* (1817 Tully *Narrative*: 32),<sup>211</sup> *jelick* (1821 Byron<sub>2</sub>), *jelique* (1823 [Lamb *Reis* I: 57]), *jellick* (1830 *Jews of Barbary*: 261)

**C: 2.** *yel'ek ~ yeleks* (1836 Lane *Egyptians*<sub>1</sub> I: 49 and 294),<sup>212</sup> *yelek* (1837 Robinson *Palestine & Syria* I: 336), *yelek* (1849: Curzon: 57), *yelek* (1865), *yellek* (1900 Sue *Knight*: 231)

**1.** A bodice shaped like, or in imitation of, a man's waistcoat; **2.** A vest or bodice worn by women in the Orient (Turkey, Palestine, Egypt etc.).

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **gilet**: < F 'vest, waistcoat'; s.v. **jelick**: < T *yelek*; s.v. **yelek**: < T  
 1899: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **gilet**: < F *gilet* 'waistcoat'  
 1900: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **jelick**: < T يلك *yelek* 'waistcoat'  
 1921: OED<sub>1</sub>: s.v. **yelek**: T يلك *yelek*  
 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **gilet**: 'waistcoat' < F < T *yelek*  
 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **gilet**: < F < Sp. *gileco*, *jaleco*, *chaleco* < A *jalikah* 'a garment worn by slaves in Algeria' < T *yelek* 'waistcoat, vest'; s.v. **jelick**: < T *yelek*  
 1966: Klein: **gilet**: F < Sp. *jileco*, *gileco* (= ModSp. *chaleco*) < AlgA *jaleco*, 'coat of Christians in Moorish captivity' << T *yelek*  
 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>

<sup>211</sup> This is the second edition of the work from which the quotation for 1816 is provided.

<sup>212</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> gives this form as *yelek*.

## COMMENTARY:

**1. Treatment by etymologists of English**

Stanford and OED<sub>1,2</sub> do not connect *gilet* with the other two forms. Klein seems to be the first dictionary to derive *gilet* from T *yelek*. However, the first English author to mention this origin is probably Weekley, who does not include the word in his etymological dictionary, but briefly discusses it in Weekley (1932: 25). He rejects the traditional derivation from *Gilles* (*gilet* was taken to be the diminutive) and says that it derives from T *yelek*, through Sp. *gileco* ‘a slave’s jacket’ and was introduced through Algiers. This would suggest that Arabic must have mediated between Turkish and Spanish. This is assumed by Klein as well as W<sub>3</sub>, although the two give different Arabic forms (see below).

**2. The English variants**

The modern form is *yelek*, which directly reflects its Turkish etymon. Its older counterpart is *jelick*. The oldest, *gilet*, although etymologically related, should be treated as a separate word, with no semantic connection to the East. It is recorded occasionally in English texts in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, always with reference to French fashion. More typically, it occurred in numerous handbooks of the French language in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Nowadays, it is used sporadically as a historical term. The first attestation of *yelek*, i.e. 1836 *yel’ek* has an apostrophe, probably as a stress mark, although has *yeleks* and in subsequent editions it is absent altogether.

**3. The relation of the English forms to their ultimate source**

The transmission of the forms was probably as follows:

- (a) T *yelek* > It. *gileccu* ~ *gelecco* (cf. DELI) > OSp. *jileco* (= ModSp. *chaleco*) > F *gilet* > E *gilet*

The adaptations of the initial consonant proceeded as follows: T [j] > It. [dʒ] > Sp. [ʒ]. As for the auslaut, von Wartburg (FEW: 200) offers two explanations for the *-ek* > *-et* shift. Either the final letter was changed due to the loss of final consonants or under the influence of the auslaut of semantically similar words like *corset*. This seems satisfactory. Most probably both reasons had a share in the reshaping of *gilet*.

Wartburg (and TLF following him) also derives the whole family of Romance forms from AlgA *ǧalika*, quoted after Dozy (1845). This apparent connection is also reflected in the entries in W<sub>3</sub> and Klein. However, there is no reason for Ott. *y-* to be represented by *ǧ-* in Algerian Arabic, which has [j].

In Italian, on the other hand, such a substitution is in line with the evolution of Proto-Romance word-initial \*j- (Maiden 1995: 54). This change is of course too old to have affected our word directly, but it is possible that, given the rare occurrence of word-initial glides in Italian (Krämer 2009: 85), the word joined the ranks of native lexemes, where [dʒ-] < Proto-Romance \*j- (= L i-), as part of adaptation strategies.<sup>213</sup> For a similar assumption, see Corriente (2008: 259).

This account is indirectly supported by the semantic development: the meaning of *gilet* is very similar to that of *yelek* less the reference to the Orient. In other words, it is a case of semantic broadening. To derive the word via AlgA *jalika* 'a garment worn by slaves in Algeria' would involve first a depreciation of meaning and then its (re)appreciation, which is more complex, although not impossible.

(b) T *yelek* > It. *gelecco* > E *jelick*

Although the initial consonant could arise on the basis of French forms by analogy to words like *jelly*, due to the final sound it has to be derived from Italian. This also applies to the 1823 *jelique*, which only imitates French orthography.

(c) T *yelek* > E *yelek*

This derivation does not pose any difficulty.

## ZARCOLE

PRONUNCIATION: no information

FORMS: *Saracoll* ~ *Zarcola* ~ *Zarcole* (1585 Washington<sub>2</sub>), *zarcull* (1603 Knolles<sub>2</sub>), *Zercola* (1696 Dumont<sub>2</sub>), *zarcola* (1745 Osborne *Collection*: 605), *zarcola* (1810 Duane *Dictionary*: 284), *zirh-kulah* (1821 Castellan *Turkey* IV: 259), *zarcola* (1839 Knight *Outlines*: 132), *Zarcole* (1994 And *Istanbul*: 117), *zirh-kulah* (1997 Prata *Angels*: 197)

A high cylindrical helmet such as was worn by janizaries.

<sup>213</sup> The awareness of the correspondence It. [dʒ-] = L <i-> should be expected in view of the importance of Latin as the language of the church and science. For an earlier analogy cf. Ott. *yeni çeri* > It. pl. *ianizzari* ~ *giannizzari*.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1921: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **zarcole**: < T1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>

## COMMENTARY:

The etymological commentary in OED is very laconic. The only piece of information that the dictionary provides (< T) is, in essence, correct, given the semantics, but without any suggestion of an etymon, it is difficult to treat this as a serious proposition.

The word is very rare in English, but the forms are more varied than suggested by OED. The ones that seem to dominate are *zarcola* and *zarcole*. These might have been influenced by similar French forms (cf. especially the 1576 *zarcola*<sup>214</sup> in Nicolay *Peregrinations*: 133, and the same form in 1606 in Villamont *Voyages*, book III: 450). We also find occasional instances of a closer rendering of the etymon (the 1821 and 1997 forms).

The word ultimately goes back to a Persian compound زکلاه *zirih kulāh* ‘a helmet, with a texture of iron rings hanging down as a defence for the neck, a casque’ (Steingass: 616) ← *zirih* ‘a coat of mail’ (*ibid*; also ‘armour’, PLOT: 254) + *kulāh* ‘a conical hat’ (Steingass: 1041). However, Ottoman must have been an intermediary, as the meaning is clearly influenced by the use of the helmet by janizaries.

The Ottoman form is given by S. Stachowski as *zirh-külâh* – *zirh-gülâh* ‘Helm, Ritterhelm’ (PLOT 254), with a regular palatalization of *u* > *ü* under the influence of the following, non-velarized *l*. The reduction *zirih* > *zirh* occurred in Ottoman, with the first one being the literary, whereas the second vulgar form (Redhouse: 1008; nowadays only *zirh*).

The letter *a* in English most probably stands for *i* (or *ı*) in Ottoman. Because the latter occurred in an unstressed syllable, it was likely to be identified with the reduced vowel [ə], the spelling of which is variable in English.

For *kulāh* cf. CALPAC.

<sup>214</sup> With a gloss on the margin ‘habit de teste des Ianissaires’.



## 4. CUISINE

### AIRAN

PRONUNCIATION: AmE **airan** [aɪˈraːn] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *airan* (1807 Wilkinson *Caucasus* II: 163), *iran* ~ *airan* (1819 Maurizi *Muscat*: 44), *airan* (1836 Rich *Koordistan* I: 238), *airan* (1856 Sandwith *Kars*: 200), *hyran* (1858 Atkinson *Siberia*: 514), *ayran* (1870 Millingen *Koords*: 66–7), *airan* [~ *aira*] (1900 Rockhill *Rubruck & Carpine*: 85), *airana* (1916 Czaplicka *Siberian Year*: 238–9), *airan* (1929 Robbins & Kunitz *Stories*: 99)

An Altaic and Turkish drink prepared from fermented milk.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **airan**: ‘an Altaic and Turkish drink prepared from fermented milk’ < T *ayran*  
1961: W<sub>3</sub> = W<sub>2</sub>

#### COMMENTARY:

The spellings are rather uniform and closely reflect the Turkic etymon. The only ones that require additional clarification are *iran* (1819), *hyran* (1858), *aira* (1900) and *airana* (1916).

Given the Modern English spelling convention, *i-* in the 1819 form could be seen as an alternative spelling for [ai]. However, the author of the work where the relevant passage may be found is Vincenzo Maurizi, an Italian doctor who visited the Sultan of Muscat and served as his personal physician in the years 1809–14. The form *iran* is to be found beside *airan* in a footnote appended to the author’s conversation with the Arab envoy of the Saud dynasty to Muscat. As we learn from the preface, Maurizi wrote the memoir in Italian and had it translated into English in order to be published in 1819 in London. Consequently, it is unclear who the footnote comes from: whether it was the envoy’s original

comment or it was subsequently added by the author or by the translator. This makes the hypothesis that *i-* was used to render [aɪ] of the English pronunciation rather problematic. What seems certain, a pronunciation like [ʔi(:)ra(:)n] is rather unlikely in Arabic, whose dialects generally retain the distinction between [i(:)] and [aɪ].<sup>215</sup>

The form *hyran* is easier to explain. It seems to be an unusual spelling for [(h)aɪ'ra:n]. It is not implausible for an English native speaker to interpret a vowel-initial word as beginning in [h], given the weak glottal quality of the latter in English. On the other hand, it may be simply an example of inverse spelling. Either way, it subscribes to the alternation [h ~ Ø] in initial position which was reflected in spelling from early Middle English onwards (Lass 1999b: 118). The form is used with reference to a dairy product prepared by the Kirghiz and might as such reflect Krg. *ayran* id. (Radloff 1893: 439; for Modern Kirghiz, cf. KrgRS I: 33) or Ru. *ауран* id.

The final *-a* in *airana* (1916) has no justification. Czaplicka, the author of the memoir in which the form is attested, was a Polish ethnographer. Formally, *airana* could be the Russian accusative, but the use of this form instead of the nominative is rather surprising given Czaplicka's familiarity with Russian.

As for *aira* (1900), given its context of occurrence, i.e. an edition of William of Rubruck's account of his journey, it would seem to be a rendering of Mong. *ayraġ* (Clark 1973: 182) or *ayiraġ* (TMEN II: 180), whose relationship to *airan* is traditionally assumed as Mong. *ayraġ* < Tk. *ayran*.<sup>216</sup> This connection seems to be tacitly assumed by Rockhill, who has *aira* in the main text and *airan* in the footnote. Interestingly however, both Wyngaert's (1929; quoted in Clark 1973: 182) and Risch's (1934; quoted in TMEN II: 180) editions of the Latin original read *airam*. Doerfer treats this spelling as pointing to a Turkic (rather than Mongolic) source, with *-m* for *-n*, whereas Clark quotes more examples of this kind of substitution in Rubruck. All this suggests that Rockhill's *aira* is a misinterpretation of the spelling in the manuscript.<sup>217</sup>

The specific meaning of *airan* tends to vary from region to region, just as the method of production. ÈSTJa I: 111 takes note of the following meanings:

<sup>215</sup> This is at least the case in Modern Gulf Arabic, where the diphthong is pronounced either [eɪ] or [e:] (Holes 1984: 14).

<sup>216</sup> Final *-n* was substituted with *-ġ* by analogy with such semantically related words as Mong. *\*aġuraġ* 'animal milk', *bišilaġ* 'cheese' or *taraġ* 'curd cheese' (TMEN II: 180; cf. also VEWT: 12).

<sup>217</sup> The other possible readings of this form quoted by Clark from Wyngaert's edition, i.e. *agram* and *apram*, suggest that at least the interpretation of the final letter is stable.

‘fermented milk (diluted with water)’, ‘fermented milk from which butter has been separated; buttermilk’ and ‘drink similar to kefir’, etc. Nevertheless as far as the ultimate origin is concerned, the consensus seems to be that the word is a combination of the verb stem *\*adır-* ‘to separate’ and the suffix *-an*, forming names of results of an action (Räsänen 1929 quoted in ÈSTJa I: III; also Clark 1973: 182 and 1978: 374, ÈSTJa itself and others). Thus the implied evolution is *\*adıran* > *\*ađiran* > *\*ayıran* > *ayran*.<sup>218</sup> The literal meaning ‘that which is separated’ is motivated by the method of production, which involves the separation of butter from milk (ÈSTJa I: III; also in a similar vein Radloff 1893 I: 439, but cf. Pröhle, quoted in TMEN II: 179–80, who describes a different method, resembling that used in the production of kefir).

## BAKLAVA

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **baklava** [ˈbɑkləvɑ] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>); AmE **baklava** [ˈbɑːkləvɑː] ~ [ˈbɑːkləˈvɑː] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *Bocklava* (1650 Withers<sub>3</sub>),<sup>219</sup> *baclavà* (1799 Montague *Mediterranean*: 166), *baklava* (1824 Morier<sub>2</sub>), *baklava* (1936 Bradley<sub>2</sub>), *baklava* (1960 *Times*<sub>2</sub>), *baklava* (1967 Marder<sub>2</sub>)

A type of sweet pastry generally cut in diamond-shaped pieces.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1961: W<sub>3</sub>; also *baklawā*; < T *baklava*  
 1989: OED<sub>2</sub>; < T  
 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub>; < T  
 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

## COMMENTARY:

The English forms may either directly go back to Ottoman Turkish or might have been adapted through a European intermediary, but their shape does not point to any particular donors. The dish spread throughout Europe from

<sup>218</sup> For the geographical extent of the shift *-d-* > *-đ-* > *-y-*, see Johanson 1998b: 102. The phonetic objections raised by Doerfer (TMEN II: 181) with respect to Kaşgari’s *ayran* (instead of the expected *\*ađran*) are dealt with in Clark (1973: 182) and ÈSTJa (I: III). The discussion of the Chuvash forms may be found in Clark (1978: 374).

<sup>219</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1653 (the publication date of the second edition) under the name of Greaves (the editor) rather than Withers (the translator).

Turkey and Balkans. Thus, some English forms may go back (again directly or indirectly) to such forms as Ru., Serb., Mac. *baklava*, Bulg. *baklavà*, Ro. *baclava*, etc. (TMEN II: §708). Pronunciation in [o] suggested by the spelling *Bocklava* may be due to the labiovelar quality of Turkic [ɬ] influencing the perception of an unstressed vowel in the preceding syllable.

Further etymology is problematic, although there have been several proposals. Dozy (1881) I: 104, Lokotsch: §191 and Redhouse: 374 mark the word as Turkish. For Doerfer (TMEN II §708), however, it does not have Turkic structure. Nevertheless he suggests, albeit with hesitation, the T > A direction of borrowing (cf. also ERShJ I: 96, who has no doubts). Räsänen's comment (VEWT 59) is inconclusive: he equates the word with A *baqlāwa* 'Blättertorte', without deciding which is the original.

Despite Doerfer's remark, there have been several attempts to decypher (if not impose) the Turkic structure of the word. Eren (TDES 34) compares it to *oklava* and says that at first glance both seem to feature the suffix *-lava*. T *oklava* 'rolling pin' is most probably based on *ok* '1. arrow; 2. beam, pole (of a carriage)' with the addition of two suffixes *+la-* and *-ǵu* (ÇTES s.v. *oklava*). However, the verb-forming suffix *+la-* is attached to nominal stems, and Turkish lacks a nominal stem *\*bak*.<sup>220</sup>

Having made the remark on the similarity between *baklava* and *oklava*, Eren, somewhat confusingly, goes on to point out that the word may be based on T *bakla* 'broad-bean, horsebean', which itself is a borrowing from Arabic (see RTOİS 126). The semantic parallel is unclear here: neither beans nor any other succulent plant is used in the production of baklava. A similar hypothesis was earlier advanced by Škaljić (TShJ: 116) who explained the name with reference to the shape in which baklava is usually cut by the Arabs, apparently similar to that of beans. However, baklava is cut in rhombuses, which hardly resemble beans.<sup>221</sup>

Because there is no satisfactory Turkic etymology, a possibility has to be taken into consideration that the word is a borrowing in (Ottoman) Turkish. An original suggestion in this vein has been recently made by Buell (2000: 216, fn. 66):

"The word baklava itself may be a Turkicized Mongolian, from the word that is *bayla-* in Classical Mongolian, with the basic meaning "tie, wrap up,

<sup>220</sup> There exists the verbal *bak-* 'to look' (ĖSTJa II 40), but in addition to the impossibility of it forming a combination with *+la-*, it is semantically irreconcilable with *baklava*.

<sup>221</sup> There is a Turkish phrase *baklava biçimi* which literally means baklava-shaped and corresponds to E *rhomb-shaped*, *diamond-shaped*. In fact RTOİS (126) uses the latter two as glosses.

tie up in bumbles, pile up, heap,” precisely what is involved in making *gül-lach*. Compare also Khalkha *baglaa*, “bale, bunch, bundle,” etc. Baklava is possible [*sic!*] a Turkicized verbal form with the Turkic verbal ending *-u(v)* substituted for the Mongolian *-x*.”

Semantically, this seems plausible, but there is a formal problem: there is no reason for Mongolic  $\gamma$  to be reflected as *k* in Turkic, the expected reflex being  $\dot{g}$  (ModT  $\dot{g}$ ). Moreover, Buell’s hypothesis does not explain the final *-a* in *baklava*.<sup>222</sup>

To conclude, the word in English definitely comes from (Ottoman) Turkish and reflects Turkish usage, but its further origin has yet to be determined.

## BERGAMOT

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **bergamot** [ˈbɜːɡəməʊt] (1887 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **bergamot** [ˈbɜːɡəməːt] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [ˈbɜːɡəˌməːt] ~ [ˈbɜːɡəmət] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **1.** *bergamot* (1600 Surfleet<sub>3</sub>),<sup>223</sup> *Bergamott* (1621 Howell<sub>5</sub>), *Bergamot* (1664 Evelyn<sub>5</sub>), *burgamot* (1665 Lovell *Herball*: 324), *Bergamy* (1676 *Phil. Trans.* XI, 126: 628), *Bergume* (c1680 *Crys*<sub>3</sub>), *Burgamy* (1682 Grew<sub>3</sub>),<sup>224</sup> *Bergamotes* (1697 Dryden<sub>2</sub>), *bergamot* (1767 [1803] Abercrombie<sub>5</sub>), *bergamots* (1824 [1863] Mitford<sub>2</sub>), *bergamot* (1868 Longfellow<sub>2</sub>); **2.** *Burgamot Trees* (1696 *London Gaz.*<sub>2</sub>), *Bourgamot* (1712 Pomet<sub>2</sub>), *Bergamot* (*Encycl. Brit.*<sub>5</sub>) *Bergamot* (1876 Harley<sub>2</sub>); **3.** *burgamot* (1706 [1849] *Songs*<sub>5</sub>), *Burgemott* (1715 *London Gaz.*<sub>2</sub>), *Bergamot* (1716 Cibber<sub>2</sub>), *bergamot* (1785 Cowper<sub>2</sub>); **4.** *Bergamot* (1766 Anstey<sub>2</sub>), *bergamot* (1829 Thackeray<sub>2</sub>), *bergamot* (1850 *Pendennis*<sub>2</sub>); **5.** *Wild Bergamot* (1843 Torrey<sub>2</sub>), *Bergamot Mint* (1858 Hogg<sub>2</sub>), *Bergamot* (1866 *Treas. Bot.*<sub>2</sub>), *Bergamot* (1958 *Popular Gardening*)

**1.** A fine kind of pear; **2.** A tree of the kind *Citrus bergamia* (also *bergamot tree*), or its fruit (also *Bergamot orange*), from the rind of which a fragrant essence is prepared; **3.** Snuff scented with this essence; **4.** The essence itself (also *the essence of bergamot*); **5.** Various kinds of herbs: *Mentha citrata* (also *Bergamot mint*), *Monarda fistulosa* (also *Wild bergamot*), *Monarda didyma*.

<sup>222</sup> Incidentally, the word is missing from Schönig’s study of Mong. words in Turkish (2000).

<sup>223</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> and Stanford date this to 1616.

<sup>224</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1677.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1865: W-M s.v. **bergamot**: 1. = '*Citrus bergamia*'; 2. = 'essence'; 3. = 'pear'; 4. = 'snuff'; 5. 'A coarse tapestry, manufactured with flocks of wool, silk, cotton, hemp, and ox or goat's hair, said to have been invented in Bergamo, Italy' < F *bergamote*, Sp. *bergamota*, *bergamoto*, It. *bergamotta*, *bergamoto* < It. *Bergamo* 'town in Italy'
- 1882: Skeat<sub>1</sub> s.v. **bergamot**: 'pear' < F *bergamotte* 'a yellow peare, with a hard rind, good for perry; also, the delicate Italian peare, called the Bergamote peare' (Cotgrave); < It. *bergamotta* 'bergamot pear', also 'essence' < It. *Bergamo*, the name of a town in Lombardy
- 1887: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **bergamot** *n.* 1: I. 1. = '*Citrus bergamia*'; 2. 'essence'; 3. 'snuff'; 4. 'herbs'; II. 5. 'A woven fabric or tapestry composed of a mixture of flock and hair, said to have been first produced at Bergamo in Italy.'; s.v. **bergamot**, *n.* 2: 'pear' < F *bergamotte* < It. *bergamotta* < T *beg-armüdi* 'prince's pear'
- 1888: Skeat<sub>2</sub> = Skeat<sub>1</sub>
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **bergamot** 1: < F *bergamotte* < It. *bergamotta*; or < It. *Bergamo* (possible contamination It. *Bergamo* × T *beg-armüdi* 'prince's pear' if the latter is the source of It. *bergamotta*); s.v. **bergamot** 2: 1. '*Citrus bergamia*'; 2. 'essence'; 3. 'snuff'; < It. *bergamotta*, *bergamoto* 'tree'
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> s.v. **bergamot**: < F *bergamotte* 'a yellow peare, with a hard rind, good for perry; also, the delicate Italian peare, called the Bergamote peare' (Cotgrave); < It. *bergamotta* 'bergamot pear', 'a kind of excellent pears come out of Turkey' < T *beg-armüdi* 'prince's pear' ← *beg* 'prince' + *armüd* 'a pear'; the name of the essence < It. *Bergamo* place in Lombardy
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **bergamot** 1: '*Citrus bergamia*, essence'; perhaps < It. *Bergamo* (Venice), but some connect it with *bergamot* 2; s.v. **bergamot** 2: 'pear' < F *bergamot*, It. *bergamotta*, corrupted < T *beg-armüdi* 'prince's pear'
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **bergamot**: 1. 'a minor variety of pear'; 2. a. 'a kind of orange (*Citrus bergamia*) having a pear-shaped fruit whose rind yields an essential oil much used in perfumery', b. 'any of several mints, esp. *Mentha aquatica*, *Monarda fistulosa*, and *Monarda didyma*'; 3. 'the essence of perfume made from bergamot fruit'; 4. 'a variety of snuff scented with this perfume' < F *bergamote* < It. *bergamotta* < T *beg-armüdi*, lit. 'the prince's pear'; [s.v. **Bergamot**: 'a Bergamo'; s.v. **Bergama**: also *Bergamo* 'any rug of long loose pile, strong

- geometric designs, and rich, vivid colors, woven by nomads near Bergama, Asia Minor']
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **bergamot**: 1.a. '*Citrus bergamia*', b. 'herbs'; 2. 'essence'; 3. 'snuff'; < F *bergamote* < It. *bergamotta* < Tk. (cf. T *bey-armudu* lit. 'prince's pear')
- 1966: Klein s.v. **bergamot** '*Citrus bergamia*': < It. *Bergamo* city in Lombardy; s.v. **bergamot** 'pear': < F *bergamot* < It. *bergamotta* < T *beg armūdī*, lit. 'pear of a bey' × It. *Bergamo*, a place-name)
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **bergamot 1**: A. '*Citrus bergamia*', 'essence', 'snuff', 'herbs'; B. 'kind of tapestry'; presumably both < *Bergamo* 'a town of Lombardy, Italy', but the early spelling in *burg-*, *bourg-* in A raises doubts; s.v. **bergamot 2**: 'kind of pear' < F *bergamotte* < It. *bergamotta* < T *beg-armūdī* 'prince's pear' ← *beg* 'prince' + *armūdī* 'a pear'
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **bergamot**: < F *bergamote* < It. *bergamotta* < dial. T *beg-armudu* 'bey's pear' ← *beg* 'bey' + *armud* 'pear' + *-u*, possessive suff.
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>
- 2001: CannP s.v. **bergamot**: 'pear' < F *bergamote* < It. *bergamotta* < T *begarmūdī* lit. 'prince's pear' ← *beg* + *armūdī* (< P *amrūd* 'a pear')

#### COMMENTARY:

##### 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

W-M has only one entry which discusses 'pear' together with other senses. Skeat<sub>1-2-4</sub> has a single entry too, but treats the two senses he mentions, 'pear' and 'essence', as etymologically separate.

Interestingly, 'pear' is considered secondary by some authors who mention it: W-M quotes it as its third sense, whereas OED<sub>1-2-3</sub>, Weekley, Klein and ODEE all discuss it under *bergamot 2*, rather than *bergamot 1*. This is inconsistent with the chronology of attestations: the sense 'pear' is almost a hundred years older than '*Citrus bergamia*' (see above).<sup>225</sup> The treatment in Stanford seems more reasonable in this respect.

<sup>225</sup> Even the date 1616, which was the original dating of the earliest quotation (see fn. 223 above), gave 'pear' an advantage of 80 years over '*Citrus bergamia*'.

Those authors who separate the two entries derive ‘pear’ from Turkish, but ‘*Citrus bergamia*’ & co. from the Italian place-name. On the other hand, later American dictionaries, which do not mention ‘pear’ at all, explain ‘*Citrus bergamia*’ & co. by reference to the Turkish expression.

## 2. Possible scenario

Doubtless, the earliest use attested in English, i.e. *bergamot* ‘pear’, ought to be derived ultimately from Ott. *beg armudı* ‘prince’s pear’. The transcription *beg armūdi* found in most English dictionaries is a romanization of Ott. بك آرمودی (Redhouse: 73). The letter *ṡ* *vāv* reflects the long *ū* in the Persian etymon, which was regularly shortened in colloquial Ottoman pronunciation.<sup>226</sup>

Ott. *beg armudı* lit. ‘lord’s pear’ is a regular noun-noun modification marked by the 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessive suffix *-ı* attached to the second noun.<sup>227</sup> Consequently, the representation of the second element as *armūdi* ‘pear’ in ODEE is misleading. The first noun is a common Ottoman title of respect, which survives in Modern Standard Turkish as *bey* (= dial. *beg*) ‘lord’. As for the second element, Ott. *armud* ~ *armut* ‘pear’,<sup>228</sup> it is identified as a borrowing from NP *armūd* (~ *amrūd* ~ *anbarūd*) id. by Räsänen (VEWT 27; cf. also PLOT §14). The entry in AHD<sub>3-4-5</sub> spells the final vowel as *-u*. While this is the expected harmonic variant of the possessive suffix in Modern Turkish, it was not so in Ottoman, where the vowel was *-ı* (written *ی* and transliterated by English etymologists as *-i*).<sup>229</sup> Reference to a (modern?) dialectal Turkish form in AHD<sub>3-4</sub> is unjustified.

Thus at the first stage of its transmission Ott. *beg armudı* passed into Romance. The route of borrowing that is usually assumed is Ott. > It. > F (FEW: 34, Hope 1971 I: 164–5). This is not reflected in the chronology of attestations, with the earliest Italian form being slightly later (*bergamotte* in 1537

<sup>226</sup> But compare Ott. *armūd* ~ *emrūd* ~ *ermūd* as found in Meninski (PLOT §14). RTOİS (74) does not indicate long *ū* in Modern Turkish pronunciation.

<sup>227</sup> On this construction, known as the *izafet*, see section 5.3.2 of the Introduction. On the non-labial quality of the final vowel see further.

<sup>228</sup> The *-d* ~ *-t* reflects the spelling in either *د* *dāl* or *ت* *te*. The opposition voiced/voiceless is neutralized in final plosives in Turkish, as reflected in the modern spelling in *-t*, which, however, becomes *-d* if the following suffix begins in a vowel. It is suggested that this neutralization started in Ottoman, but was not consistently reflected in Arabic script (Kerslake 1998: 185–6). It is therefore likely that the graphemic variation in Ottoman did not reflect different pronunciation variants. Note also a similar variation in NP *امروت* *amrūt* ~ *امرو* *amrūd* ‘pear, guava’, Steingass: 100).

<sup>229</sup> It is usually assumed that labial harmony became stable in Ottoman only in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Before that time the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular possessive suffix only had non-labial variants (*-i* ~ *-ı*) (also see section 5.2.2 of the Introduction).



[1538] Aretino *Lettere*: 100, 191)<sup>230</sup> than its French counterpart (the plural *poire bergamotes* in 1536 Estienne *Seminarium*: 70).<sup>231</sup> However, the difference is of little significance and given the general impact of Italian culture in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the assumption of such a direction is fairly safe.

Interestingly, early authors do not mention *Bergamo* at all. According to Steiger (FEW: 34) the association arose in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>232</sup> As the latter author says, the demonym formed from *Bergamo* is regularly *bergamasco* and not *bergamotte*. Steiger (*ibid.*) mentions the town of Bergama in Asia Minor (historically, Pergamon) as the more likely source of the change Ott. *beg armudı* > It. *bergamotte*, but this might have been as well a spontaneous metathesis.<sup>233</sup>

Most probably French was the immediate source of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century English forms used in the first sense. The spelling *-ur-* for [3:(r)] is not surprising but seems to indicate partial oral borrowing (also cf. E *burg* as a possible influence). More curious are forms in *-my* and *-me*. Because the association between *bergamot* and *Bergamo* was already widespread at that point, these may come from variant names of the town (cf. *Bargame*, *Bergume*, see ThLL II s.v. *Bergomum*).

The name was subsequently transferred onto *Citrus bergamia*, a kind of lemon tree, the shape of whose fruit may be thought to resemble a compressed pear. This must have taken place in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the earliest attestations of the new sense appear (cf. F *Bergamotte* 1694, quoted in Arveiller 1999: 55, and E *Bergamot Trees* 1696 above). Interestingly, those early French authors also

<sup>230</sup> Hope (1971 I: 164–5) gives the use by Varchi as the earliest Italian attestation. He dates this between 1503–65 (i.e. within Varchi's lifespan), which is too imprecise to be of any use. Most probably Varchi *L'Hercolano* is meant (*bergamoto*, p. 309), a work published posthumously in 1570, whose composition is usually dated to the years 1560–5 (Farina 1997: 1116). DELI dates the same form to ca. 1665.

<sup>231</sup> The work is quoted by Andernacht (1917: 169), who is then referenced in FEW: 34. TLF s.v. *bergamot(t)e* has the same date but quotes Rabelais *Pantagruel* III (the plural *Berguamottes* on pp. 90–1) instead, which must be a mistake as Rabelais' work was published in 1546.

<sup>232</sup> Some early authors were aware of the actual etymon, i.e. *beg armudı*. Varchi glosses the word 'pero del Signore', although no reference to the Ottoman phrase is made (*L'Hercolano*: 309), whereas Caporali (1601) refers to Turkish and says 'bergamoto vuol dire signor pero' (quoted in DELI s.v. *bergamoto*).

<sup>233</sup> The tendency of liquids to metathesize is a well attested phenomenon cross-linguistically. Such a mobility is also found in the history of the word for 'pear' itself: cf. T *ar-mut* ~ *emrud* (RTOİS 74) and their etymon NP *amrūd* ~ *armūd* (Steingass: 100 and 39 respectively) ~ MP *urmōd* (MacKenzie 1986: 84). Additionally Tavernier (2007: 460) reconstructs OP *\*umrūta* 'pear' as the source of borrowed forms attested in Elamite texts.

make reference to the essence obtained from the citrus. This is true of the passage quoted by Arveiller, but also of the one found in 1698 in Misson *Voyage* III: 407,<sup>234</sup> where the word is glossed ‘espece de Citron’. The work is a relation from a visit to Italy made by the author in 1688, thus indirectly confirming this use in Italian as well. According to the author, in Rome one could buy a fresh *Bergamotte* from the tree, and have the essence prepared for them.

The association with Bergamo seems to be especially prevalent in the senses surrounding *Citrus bergamia*, but there is no reason for it, apart from the formal similarity of the two words. The region famous for *Citrus bergamia* and its essence has traditionally been Calabria in the south of Italy, whereas Bergamo is situated in the far north.

It seems then that the English use of the word with reference to both *Citrus bergamia* and the essence obtained from its fruit is also to be derived from Romance. As remarked above the word is also used with reference to other plants whose scent resembles that of the Bergamot essence.

### 3. Bergamot – ‘tapestry’ from Bergamo or Bergama?

One final comment is due concerning the meaning ‘tapestry’, which stands out among the rest, and is usually kept separate on that account. It is listed here only for the sake of completeness, but its inclusion is not meant to imply that it belongs together with all the remaining senses.

The meaning ‘a kind of fabric or tapestry made of a mixture of flock and hair (apparently first made in Bergamo, Italy)’ is recorded in W-M s.v. *bergamot* as well as in OED<sub>1,2</sub> s.v. *bergamot* 1. The latter dictionary gives a single quotation dated to 1882, but the use occurs as early as 1763 (J. Johnson *Dictionary* s.v.).

The gloss is a result of confusion of Italian *Bergamo* and Turkish *Bergama*. The latter was famous as an important centre of Ottoman weaving industry and gave name to the type of carpet woven there. Consequently this sense is etymologically separate, which justifies its exclusion from the discussion above.

## BOZA

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **boza**, **bosa** [ˈbəʊzə] (1887 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **bosa**, **boza** [ˈboʊzə] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>), **booza**, **bouza** [ˈbuːzə] (1934 W<sub>2</sub> 1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

<sup>234</sup> This is the third edition of the work. The first edition, which was unavailable to me, was published in 1691 in two volumes. Thus there exists the possibility that this actually predates the form quoted by Arveiller (1999: 55).

FORMS: *Boza* (1656 Blount<sub>2</sub>), *Bosa* (1684 Tavernier<sub>5</sub>), *Bosa* (1706 Lemery<sub>2</sub>), *booza* (1743 Lockman *Jesuits* I: 200), *Bouza* (1797 Heron *Collection*: 426), *boózeh* (1836 Lane<sub>5</sub>), *boozah* (1839 *Arab. Nts.*<sub>5</sub>), *Booza* (1843 [1849] Southey<sub>3</sub>),<sup>235</sup> *Boozy* (1845 Warburton<sub>5</sub>), *Bosa* (1847 Craig<sub>2</sub>), *boosa* (1879 Low<sub>2</sub>), *buza* (1884 Lansdell<sub>5</sub>)

A fermented drink in Turkey, the Middle East, Egypt, East Africa and in some European territories that used to be part of the Ottoman empire (e.g. the Balkans) resembling beer, made from millet or darnel meal; a preparation of honey and tamarinds.

ETYMOLOGY:

- 1887: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **boza**, **bosa**: < T <sup>بوزة</sup> *bōza* ‘a kind of thick white drink made of millet fermented’
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **booza**: < A < T *būzah*, *bozah*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **boza**: also *bosa*, *bozah*; < T *bōza*, *būza* (> A *būzah*)
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **bosa**: < T *boza*
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 2001: CannP: < T ‘a fermented drink’ < P *būza* < A *būḏah*

COMMENTARY:

## I. English variants and their treatment in dictionaries

The word's spelling has varied along three dimensions: the spelling of the first vowel (-*o* ~ -*oo* ~ -*ou* ~ -*u*), the spelling of the second consonant (-*z* ~ -*s*) and the spelling of the second vowel (-*a* ~ -*eh* ~ -*ah* ~ -*y*). As for the first of these, the spelling in -*o* stands for the pronunciation given in OED<sub>2-3</sub>, as shown above. This must simply reflect Ott. *boza* 'beverage made of fermented millet' (RTOİS 194), another related Turkic form or an intermediary form (e.g. one of the Balkan forms, see below). However, there is no reason for the spellings -*oo* ~ -*ou* ~ -*u* to reflect [əʊ]. These typically stand for an [u:] or [ʊ], a pronunciation which is missing from OED<sub>2-3</sub>, although the dictionary lists the spelling variants themselves. Such pronunciation may reflect the Arabic form بوزة *buza(t)* 'a beerlike beverage' (AED: 100),<sup>236</sup> but Romance mediation may have also been partially responsible, cf. Sp., Pg. *buza*, F *bousa* (all in TMEN II: §788).<sup>237</sup>

<sup>235</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> gives this under the date of publication (1849).

<sup>236</sup> Such direct transmission must be assumed e.g. in the case of *boózeh* (1836) found in Lane's work on Egyptian customs.

<sup>237</sup> Doerfer (TMEN II §788) quotes other *u*-forms as well, such as Tkm *buza*, Az *buza*, (Mod)P *buza* (but cf. ENP *bōza* ~ *bōzā* ‘a beverage made from rice, millet, or barley,

The spelling of the second consonant has no bearing on the pronunciation, which is [z] in both cases.

Finally, the spellings *-a* ~ *-eh* ~ *-ah* all variously reflect [a] (or [e]?) of the Oriental forms. The letter *-h* is a romanization of Arabic *ḥ* *ha*, which is the usual notation for this vowel word finally (see 5.3.1 in the Introduction for details).

## 2. The origin of the English forms

The drink and its name spread more recently through Ott. *boza* ‘beverage made of fermented millet’ (RTOIS 194), cf. the forms attested in the Balkans (cf. Ro. = Blg. *buza* ~ *boza*, SCr. *buza*, Gk. *μυζῆς* ‘Hirsebier’, TMEN II: §788) or in Hungary (cf. Hu. *boza*, *ibid.*).

As for the ultimate origin, contrary to the information in CannP the word does not seem to be related to any Arabic root. In this context the scenario outlined in ÈSTJa (II 174) seems more likely: the word probably spread in the Arab world from Egypt where it had been taken over from the Middle Kipchak language of the Mamluk rulers of Egypt. On the other hand, EgA *būza* might as well be from Ott. *boza* (Prokotsch 1983: 60).

The word is widely attested in Turkic (for a comprehensive list of Turkic forms see ÈSTJa II: 173) and according to Doerfer (TMEN II: §788):

Andererseits hat [...] tü. *boza* ursprünglich wohl eine andere Bedeutung gehabt (Treber, Maische) und hat erst später seine heutige Bedeutung ‘Art Bier’ angenommen, in Übertragung auf das von den Iranern übernommene Getränk.

More recently K. Stachowski (2008: 95–6) tentatively mentioned the word in connection to Tk. *buğday* ‘wheat’ and quoted proposals that relate it to a variety of distant forms. His hesitation as to the origin of *buza* ~ *boza* seems in place at this point.

## 3. On the possible connection to E *booze* and *beer*

Interestingly, there have been attempts to link Tk. *boza* to two Germanic words. These hypotheses have no direct bearing on the etymology of *boza* itself, but this seems a suitable opportunity to mention them.

Laufer (1929) draws comparison between E *booze* ~ *bouse* (& co.) and the Turkic forms. English has both a verb ‘to drink excessively’ (first attested c1300, OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. *bouse* / *bouse* v. 1) and a noun ‘1. liquor; 2. drinking bout’ (c1325, OED<sub>2</sub>

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beer’, Steingass: 206), U *būzā*, or Slavic: Ru. *buza* > Ukr *buza* > Pol. *buza*. Although not impossible, these are less likely as immediate sources of the English forms.

s.v. *bouse* / *bouse* n.1). According to OED<sub>2</sub> the English word may be a borrowing from Middle Dutch, but the origin of the etymon is problematic. Laufer's (1929: 58) opinion is very reserved, which is justified given the temporal distance and scarcity of records. He concludes that contamination between *bouse*, n. and *boza* (or perhaps its Arabic equivalent *būḏa* – M. U.) may have occurred. As an argument in favour of his hypothesis, he gives the similarity of form and parallel semantic development of the English noun and its Oriental counterpart. He quotes a passage from Burckhardt *Nubia* 1822 which apparently shows that the Oriental word was occasionally used in the sense 'drinking bout', which is surprising as dictionaries do not seem to report such a meaning of *buza* or *boza*. The relevant quotation as reported by Laufer begins "Nobody goes to a *buza* but without taking his sword with him..." (emphasis his; Laufer 1929: 57). However, both Burckhardt *Nubia* 1822: 204 and its earlier edition, Burckhardt *Nubia* 1819: 221, actually have "Nobody goes to a *bouza* *hut* without taking his sword with him..." (emphasis mine – M. U.), in which *bouza* may be interpreted as meaning 'liquor'. This weakens Laufer's argument. The similarity in form and meaning is indeed striking, but does not itself confirm the thesis. If, as Laufer agrees, the English verb is primary (< Gmc), the development of the noun *booze* is a simple conversion, a common phenomenon in English (cf. *drink*, v. > *drink*, n.), which does not require any reinforcement from foreign sources. Thus although *booze* was likely to be associated with *booza*, this had probably hardly any bearing on the development of the two words.<sup>238</sup>

Doerfer (TMEN II §788) summarizes another interesting proposal. If the hypothesis of Turkic origin is true, the protoform could be reconstructed as *\*bur<sup>ia</sup>*.<sup>239</sup> This has led some authors (see *ibid.* for references) to the assumption that E *beer*, G *Bier* (& co.) may be traced ultimately to Turkic, whereas the native name was *\*alup* (> E *ale*).<sup>240</sup> Doerfer points out a number of weaknesses in this hypothesis, but the question is worth investigating further.

<sup>238</sup> To be sure, such a contamination may have reinforced similar spelling, but the problem is suggestive of the chicken and egg dilemma.

<sup>239</sup> Compare the following Uralic forms: Cheremis *pürë*, Mordvinian *pur<sup>ie</sup>* 'gekochter Met' (TMEN II §:788).

<sup>240</sup> For a detailed discussion of this proposal and references see TMEN II §:788. Also compare the comment in ODEE s.v. *ale*: "Only Eng. retains both *ale* and *beer*, the Scand[inavian] languages only *ale*, and the other Germ[anic] lang[uage]s only *beer*".

**BULGUR ~ BURGOO ~ BURG(H)UL**

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **bulgur** ['bʊlgə] (1888 OED<sub>1</sub>), ['bʌlgə] (2008 LPD), **burg(h)ul** ['burgul] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), **burgoo** [bɜ:'gu:] (1888 OED<sub>1</sub>), ['bɜ:gu:] (2008 LPD); AmE **bulgur** ['bʊlgʊr] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>), ['bʌlgər] (2008 LPD), **burghul** ['bʊrgʊl] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), **burgoo** ['bɜ:gu:] ~ [bɜ:'gu:] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [bɜ:'gu:] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [bɜ:gu:] ~ [bər 'gu:] (2008 LPD)

FORMS: **A: 1.** *burgoo* (1703 Dampier *Voyage*: 150), *burgu* (1704 Pitts<sub>s</sub>), *burgoe* (1711 Mandeville *Treatise*: 246), *burgoe* (1731 Pitts<sub>s</sub>), *burgoo* (1750 Ellis<sub>2</sub>), *Burgoo* (1753 Chambers<sub>2</sub>), *Burgoo* (1825 Knapp & Baldwin<sub>2</sub>), *burgoo-eating* (1834 Marryat<sub>3</sub>),<sup>241</sup> *Burgoo* (1863 Sala<sub>2</sub>); **3.** *burgoe* (1743 Isham<sub>2</sub>), *burgou pot* (1853 McConnel<sub>2</sub>), *burgoo* (1906 *Washington Post*<sub>2</sub>), *burgout* (1906 Pittman<sub>2</sub>), *Burgoo* (1966 *Times Lit. Suppl.*<sub>2</sub>)

**B: 2.** *burgol* (1729 Morgan *Algiers* II: 617), *Burgle* (1764 Harmer<sub>2</sub>), *Burghul* (1820 Walpole *Travels*: 119), *Borgul* ~ *Burgoul* (1822 Burckhardt<sub>2</sub>), *burgûl* (1848 Kitto *Tahtar*: 149), *Burghul* (1920 Handbk. Syria<sub>2</sub>), *burghul* (1923 Bell<sub>2</sub>), *burghul* (1934 Webster<sub>2</sub>), *bourghol* (1954 Waldo<sub>2</sub>), *Bourgol* (1955 Smouka<sub>2</sub>), *burghul* (1960 Khayat & Keating<sub>2</sub>), *Burgul* (1984 Hussaini & Sakr<sub>2</sub>)

**C: 2.** *bulgur* (1802 James *Dictionary*: s.v. *vivres*), *bulgur* (1807 Thornton *Turkey*: 199), *bulgur* (1840 Bowring *Syria*: 49), *bulghur* (1897 Peters *Nippur* I: 347), *bulgur* (1934 Webster<sub>2</sub>), *bulgar* (1961 *Economist*<sub>2</sub>), *bulgur* (1967 Mehta<sub>2</sub>), *bulgur* (1977 *New Yorker*<sub>2</sub>), *bulghur* (1980 Esko<sub>2</sub>), *bulghur* (1982 Chamberlain<sub>2</sub>)

**1.** A thick oatmeal gruel or porridge used chiefly by seamen; loblolly;  
**2.** Wheat which is boiled, parched in the sun and crushed with hammers or in a mill and subsequently used as an ingredient in a variety of dishes; **3.** (*AmE*) A soup or stew made with a variety of meat and vegetables, used esp. at outdoor feasts.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1865: W-M s.v. **burgout** ~ **burgoo**: dial. E *burgood* 'yeast'; perhaps < Welsh *burym* 'yeast' + *cawl* ~ *gawl* 'cabbage, gruel'  
 1888: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **burgle**: < P برغل *burghul* 'blé mondé, gruaux' (Zenker); s.v. **burgoo**: unknown; connection with dial. *burgot* ~ *burgood* 'yeast' has been conjectured

<sup>241</sup> This is dated to 1833 in OED<sub>2</sub>.

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **burgoo**: < P & A *burghul* ‘boiled wheat dried and bruised, used in the East for making gruel or porridge’; Dozy cites the forms *burgu*, *borgu*, as early as 1612, thus completing the proof that *burgoo* = *burghul*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **bulgur**: ‘in Turkish and adjacent territories, parched, crushed wheat, also called *burgul*’; < T *bulghūr*; s.v. **burghul** = *bulgur*; s.v. **burgoo**: also *burgout* 1. ‘a kind of oatmeal pudding, or thick gruel, used by seamen; porridge’, 2. ‘a savory stew or thick soup, containing meat and vegetables, orig. served at barbecues and picnics’; origin uncertain
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **bulgur**: < T; s.v. **burgoo**: unknown
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **burgoo**: < A *burghul* (recorded as *burgul* ~ *burgu* in the 17<sup>th</sup> c.) < P (‘bruised grain’)
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **burg(h)ul** = OED<sub>1</sub>; s.v. **bulgur**: < T; s.v. **burgoo**: < A *būrğul* ‘cooked, parched and crushed wheat’ ≪ T *bulgur*; [**burgle**: removed]
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **bulgur**: < Ott. *bulghūr*; s.v. **burgoo**: perh. alteration of *ragout*
- 1994: CannA s.v. **bulgur**: < T < A *burghul* < P lit. ‘cracked grain’; s.v. **burgoo**: < A *burghul*
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> s.v. **bulgur**: < Ott. *bulğur* < A *burğul* ~ *burğül* < P *barghül*; s.v. **burgoo** = AHD<sub>3</sub>
- 2001: CannP s.v. **bulgur**: < Ott. *bulyūr* ‘boiled and pounded wheat’ < A *buryul* ~ *buryül* < P *burgül* ‘cracked grain’ < Tk. *buryur* ~ *buryūr*; s.v. **burgoo**: < A *burghul* or *bulgur*

#### COMMENTARY:

##### 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

The 19<sup>th</sup>-century dictionaries only note forms of the A type, which is understandable in view of the later attestation of the other form types. Surprisingly however, this continues up to 1989 among the British authors.

The earliest hypothesis (W-M) connects the word with a dialectal name for ‘yeast’. This is repeated with reservation in OED<sub>1</sub>, and tacitly rejected in later editions of both dictionaries (W<sub>3</sub> and OED<sub>2</sub> respectively). Indeed, semantics makes this proposal dubious, as there is no connection between porridge and yeast.

Among these early sources it is only Stanford who rightly seeks the origin in the Orient and quotes P & A *burğul*.

W<sub>3</sub> is the first dictionary to feature *bulgur* beside *burgoo* and refers the reader to Turkish, but without any forms, so this remark is difficult to evaluate. P & A *bulgur* quoted in Stanford, which would be a perfect match for *bulgur*, is overlooked.

ODEE (only *burgoo*) draws upon Stanford, but adds that the Arabic form is a borrowing from Persian, the latter meaning ‘bruised grain’. However, it may be added that a similar meaning is attested in Arabic (‘cracked wheat kernels’; AED: 66) and the reason for choosing this particular direction of borrowing ultimately remains unclear. The formulation in Stanford (“< P & A”) is more cautious in this respect.

OED<sub>2</sub> distinguishes between E *bulgur* < Ott. and E *burgoo* < A < Ott., the reason probably being the *l-r ~ r-(l)* variation. This is reversed by Cannon (CannA and CannP), who additionally assumes the direction < Ott. < A < P. The editors of AHD<sub>3-4</sub> seem to ignore the link between E *burgoo* and A *burgul* suggested in OED<sub>2</sub> and refer the reader to *ragout* instead. See below on that.

## 2. The origin of the English forms

In the Orient the distribution of forms in modern standard languages is as follows: T *bulgur* ‘крупномолотая пшеница’ [= coarsely-ground wheat] (TRS 1977: 133) = A *برغل* *burgul* ‘bulgur, cracked wheat kernels, used in cooking and served together with other food’ (AED: 66) = P *بلغور* *bolğur* ‘крупя; каша из пшеничной или ячменной крупы’ [= groats, porridge made of wheat or barley groats] ~ *برغول* *bärgöl* ‘толчёная или дроблёная пшеница; каша из толчёной или дроблёной пшеницы’ [= crushed or ground wheat; porridge made of crushed or ground wheat] (PRS I: 217). Thus it seems that nowadays only Persian features the alternation *r-l ~ l-r* in its standard variety.

Similar metathesis is already found in Late New Persian. Steingass has *برغول* *burgöl* ~ *bärgöl* ‘wheat, barley, corn (especially bruised); also a dish made of grain’ ~ *بلغور* *bulğur* ‘bruised barley or wheat; a dish made of the same; anything pounded’ (Steingass: 176 and 198).

Ottoman itself exhibited the same consonant metathesis, but without accompanying variation in the vowels: *بورغول* ~ *برغل* ~ *برغول* *burgul* ‘boiled and pounded wheat’ ~ Ott. *بولغور* *bulğur* (RTOİS: 199, 201).<sup>242</sup> For historical reasons, i.e. Ottoman participation in the European politics and trade, it is these forms that are the most likely source of the European forms, including E *burgoo* and *bulgur*. However, it is also possible that A *burgul* and P *bulğur* had a partial role, acting as additional sources.

<sup>242</sup> Beside other metathetic variants: *buğlur* (> *būlur*), *buğrul* (> *būrul*) (Kakuk 1973: 82).



French occasionally acted as an intermediary (cf. James' *bulgur* based on Bois *Supplement*: 565).<sup>243</sup>

Coming to English variants, neither Stanford nor OED<sub>2</sub> take note of the B forms. If these are included, the evolution of the English usage turns out fairly comprehensive. It seems that older English forms all derive from the variants in *r-l*, whereas the *l-r* spellings start to appear only from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The earliest forms are distorted both formally, due to the dropping of *-l*, and semantically, as the word is initially used in seamen's jargon as a synonym of *loblolly*, i.e. a kind of gruel eaten frequently on board a ship.

The hypothesis offered in AHD<sub>3-4</sub><sup>244</sup> which could be seen as a solution explaining the lack of final *-l* in *burgoo*, is formally rather far-fetched, as the supposed evolution *ragout* [ræ'gu] 'a stew of chopped meat and vegetables' > *burgoo* [bɜ:'gu:] does not explain the presence of *b-* in the latter.

Moreover, as remarked above *burgoo* in its earlier use was a synonym of *loblolly*. According to Bailey (*Dictionary* II s.v. *oat-meal*) *burgoo* is "Greets [= *grits* – M. U.] boiled in Water, till they burst, and then mixed with butter" (also cf. the quotation from Haedo in fn. 247 below). Traditional Oriental *bulgur* is used as an ingredient in a number of dishes, some of which indeed include meat and/or vegetables, but these are known under other names.<sup>244</sup> In other words, *burgoo* in its first sense was semantically closer to *burgul* than to *ragout*, as the latter makes no reference to grains or gruel. Consequently, it is from the former word that this early use must be derived.

The dropping of final *l* in *burgoo* may instead be attributed to the phenomenon of vocalization of postvocalic /t/, widely attested in modern dialects of English (among others Southern British, Scottish and Australian). Early instances in a similar context are exhibited by such 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup>-century dialectal spellings as *pou*, *poo*, *pou* or *pu*', all for *pull*.<sup>245</sup>

<sup>243</sup> James' *Dictionary* is at least partially based on Chesnaye des Bois' French dictionary of military terms. The relevant entry (*vivres*) is copied in its entirety without reference. The French original was first published in the supplement of 1746 (Bois *Supplement*: 565).

<sup>244</sup> For example, LebA = SyrA = IrqA *kubba* 'a kind of meatballs made of bulgur, onions, minced meat and piñons, also baked in flat loaves' (AED: 946). Occasionally the name of such a dish will consist of *bulgur* combined with another word (e.g. T *bulgur pilâvi*). For other examples see Abdalla 1990 (esp. pp. 137–8).

<sup>245</sup> Final consonant loss is of course a well-known phenomenon in the history of French. However, spellings like *\*bourghou* or *\*bourgou* do not seem to be attested in that language. On the other hand, the form *bourgoul* is found in French at least since 1717 (D'Arvieux *Palestine*: 243).

The comment in Stanford concerning Sp. *burgu*, *borgu*<sup>246</sup> quoted by Dozy (1881) is puzzling. The fact that these two Spanish forms are attested in 1612 (in Haedo *Topographia*: 13 and 30 respectively)<sup>247</sup> does not automatically prove that they are to be derived from *burgul*. Yet the parallel they provide is another argument that the dubious assumption made in AHD is not necessary to explain *burgoo*.<sup>248</sup>

Nevertheless, this of course does not rule out the possibility that *burgoo* and *ragout* became associated with each other by some speakers at a later stage. In fact, it is likely that the development of meaning 3, which is typical of American English and essentially identical to that of *ragout*, was facilitated by the formal similarity of the two words. The spelling *burgout* (1906) may be an indicator of such folk association.

### 3. Earlier history

The mutual relations between the Arabic, Persian and Ottoman forms are problematic. Despite the circumstantial nature of the evidence, let us try to outline a possible scenario.

A *burgul* is unlikely to be native in this language, because the quadriliteral root  $\sqrt{br\dot{g}l}$  is unproductive.<sup>249</sup> Consequently, the word is usually considered a borrowing from Ott. *burgul* (thus e.g. in Prokosch 1983: 58 and Procházka 2005: 198; see also EALL IV: 593), although P *bulğür*, which Steingass considers to be of Turkish origin, could also have been the source.

<sup>246</sup> These are glossed as ‘froment bouilli, séché et concassé, préparé avec de la graisse ou du beurre, que l’on mange avec du lait aigre ou avec de la viande’.

<sup>247</sup> The latter is spelled *gorgu* in the 1612 original, but the description provided by Haedo (*Topographia*: 30) “trigo medio molido, con manteca” [= half-ground wheat with butter] matches that of *burgu* (13) “trigo cocido, y mal molido, que cuecen como arroz” [= cooked wheat, badly ground, which is boiled like rice]. Thus Dozy seems justified in assuming *gorgu* to be a misspelling for *borgu*. Haedo’s text concerns Algiers, but crucially *burgu* is mentioned as a type of food provisions kept by Janissaries, which implies that the form may be a reflection of either an Algerian Arabic or Turkish pronunciation.

<sup>248</sup> Sp. *burgu* could be theoretically seen as a source of *burgoo*. This would relegate the problem of *l*-lessness to the domain of Romance linguistics. However, *burgu* does not seem to be attested later in Spanish, whereas Haedo’s text itself seems to have only gained some currency in England from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards and thus could not have had any impact on the development of E *burgoo*.

<sup>249</sup> Abdalla (1990: 130) reports the existence of the verb *barğel* ‘to make powdery; to separate individual particles’ in Assyrian Neo-Aramaic, which is however secondary in relation to *barğel* ‘bulgur’. The semantic link is either the consistency of bulgur or the method of production, which requires wheat to be separated from the chaff.

Persian exhibits unexpected variation *bulğūr* ~ *burgöl* ~ *barğöl*, which may indicate borrowing from various sources. Steingass' derivation P *bulğūr* < Ott. *bulğur*) is plausible. The other two forms, the origin of which Steingass does not comment on, are more difficult to explain. There is, however, a possibility that both are from dialectal Arabic: for *barğöl* cf. the form *bərgöl* (< Ott. *burgul*) quoted by Procházka (2005: 198),<sup>250</sup> and for *burgöl* cf. LebA *burgöl* quoted by Kanafani-Zahar (1994: *passim*).<sup>251</sup>

All this seems to indicate that it was Turkic that acted as donor in Arabic and, at least partially, in Persian. This is the scenario which is usually assumed (see e.g. TMEN II §736), despite the fact that the word does not have any established etymology in Turkic: Eren (TDES 63) and Nişanyan (ÇTES s.v. *bulgur*) offer no information, whereas Kabataş (2007: 127; s.v. *bulgur köftesi*) writes explicitly: "Sözcüğün kökeni henüz aydınlatılamamıştır" [= The origin of the word has not been clarified yet].<sup>252</sup> It may be conjectured that the word is an old migratory term, especially popular in Central Asia and neighbouring territories. Even if it ultimately derives from another unidentified source language, Turkic may be considered an important link in the transmission of the word into Europe.

For ethnographic background on *bulgur* see especially Abdalla (1990).

<sup>250</sup> Procházka (2005: 198) does not identify the particular dialect, which makes this hypothesis problematic. Generally, P *a* cannot go back to A *u*, but may reflect a reduced vowel found in dialectal Arabic. The difficulty here is that the reduction of short vowel oppositions (*i* : *u* : *o* > *ə*) is typical of the Maghreb dialects: cf e.g. Tripolitan Jewish Arabic *bərgəl* (Yoda 2005: 231) or AlgA = MorA *berğol* (Aytaç 1994: 48). Their influence on Persian could have been marginal at best due to geographical distance.

<sup>251</sup> Also cf. E *bulgor* (1729), a form which occurs in a text concerning Algiers, more specifically, in a passage about the *Kul-Oghlou*, i.e. Janissaries (cf. Ott. *kul oğlu* 'Janissary who is the son of a Janissary') in Algiers and may thus reflect either an Algerian Arabic or a Turkish pronunciation.

<sup>252</sup> There exists a verbal stem in Modern Uyghur *bulğu-* 'to stir (up)' (ËSTJa II: 253). However, there are two reasons to reject this link: (1) *bulğu-r* (Part. Aor.) would be formed from the active stem and would mean 'something that stirs' rather than 'something stirred', the former not applicable to the dish; (2) almost all other Turkic languages have a low vowel in the second syllable of this word (*bulğa-* etc.) and it is rather unlikely that Modern Uyghur could have imposed the pronunciation *u-u* on other Turkic languages.

**CAVIAR(E)**

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **caviar(e)** ['kæviɑ:] ~ ['kævi'ɑ:] (1889 OED<sub>1</sub>), ['kæviɑ:] ~ ['kævi'ɑ:] (2008 LPD); AmE **caviar(e)** ['kæviɑ:r] ~ ['kævjɑ:r] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), ['kæviɑ:r] ['kɑ:viɑ:r] also [•••] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), ['kæviɑ:r] ~ ['kævi'ɑ:r] ~ ['kɑ:viɑ:r] ~ ['kɑ:vi'ɑ:r] (2008 LPD)

FORMS: **A: 1.** *cavery* (1591 [1857] Fletcher<sub>2</sub>), *Cauearee* (1616 Bullokar<sub>2</sub>), *Caviary* (1620 Skelton<sub>2</sub>), *Caueary* (1626 Bacon<sub>2</sub>), *Caveary* (1639 Nabbes<sub>2</sub>), *Caviary* (1702 Bruyn<sub>2</sub>), *Caviary* (1721–1800 Bailey<sub>2</sub> [also cf. type D 1731–61]); **2.** *Cauiarie* (1602 Shakespeare<sub>2</sub>)

**B: 1.** *Chauiale* (1598 *Epulario*<sub>2</sub>), *Cavialy* ~ *Cavialies* (1655 [1746] Moufet & Bennet<sub>2</sub>)

**C: 1.** *Gauere* (1612 [1633] Harington<sub>2</sub>), *caveare* (1616 Beaumont & Fletcher<sub>2</sub>), *caveare* (1620 Blount<sub>2</sub>), *Cauiare* (1624 Smith<sub>2</sub>), *Cavere* (1663 Head<sub>2</sub>), *caviare* (1698 Crull<sub>2</sub> [also cf. type D 1698]), *caveare* (1708 [1807] King<sub>2</sub>), *caviare* (1837 Donovan<sub>2</sub>), *caviare* (1870 Yeats<sub>2</sub>); **2.** *caviare* (1822 [1869] Hazlitt<sub>2</sub>), *caviare* (1827 Scott<sub>2</sub>), *caviare* (1847 Barham<sub>2</sub>), *caviare* (1880 *Literary World*<sub>2</sub>); **3.** *caviared* (1890 *St. James' Gaz.*<sub>2</sub>), *caviared* (1894 *Westm. Gaz.*<sub>2</sub>), *caviare* (1899 Gissing<sub>2</sub>), *caviare* (1920 *Times*<sub>2</sub>)

**D: 1.** *Caveär* (1628 Wither<sub>2</sub>), *Cavear* (1673 Ray<sub>2</sub>), *Cavayer* ~ *Caveer* (1680 [1685] Morden<sub>2</sub>), *cavajar* (1698 Crull<sub>2</sub> [cf. also type C 1698]), *Cavier* (1708 Motteux<sub>2</sub>), *Caveer* (1730 Swift<sub>2</sub>), *Caveer* (1731–61 Bailey<sub>2</sub> [also cf. type A 1731–61]), *Cavear* ~ *Kavia* (1740 Brookes<sub>2</sub>), *cavier* (1774 [1862] Goldsm.<sub>2</sub>), *caviar* (1782 Bruce<sub>2</sub>), *Caviar* (1853 Soyer<sub>2</sub>)

**1.** The roe of the sturgeon and other large fish obtained from lakes and rivers of the east of Europe, pressed and salted, and eaten as a relish; **2.** A product too lofty for mass appreciation; **3.** *slang*. A passage blacked out by a censor (orig. a Russian censor) by the use of a stamp which when inked and applied to the paper leaves a close network of white lines and black diamonds, resembling to some extent the appearance of caviare spread upon bread and butter. So **caviare** v. trans., to block out or censor in this way.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1864: W-M s.v. **caviare**, **caviar**: F *caviar*, Sp. *cabial*, *cabiar*, NGk. χαβιάρι < T *haviâr*

- 1865: Müller<sub>1</sub> s.v. **caviare**: F *caviar*, It. *caviale*, Sp. *cabiar*, *cabial*, Gk. *καβιάρι*, and T *haviâr* (but Ru. *ikrá*) < Tatar according to Heyse
- 1865: W-M s.v. **caviare**, **caviar**: < F *caviar*, Sp. *cabial*, *cabiar*, It. *caviale*, Gk. *καβιάρι* < T *haviâr*
- 1878: Müller<sub>2</sub> s.v. **caviare**: F *caviar*, It. *caviale*, Sp. *cabiar*, *cabial*, Gk. *καβιάρι*, and T *haviâr*; < Tatar; Ru. *ikrá*
- 1882: Skeat<sub>1</sub> s.v. **caviare**: < F *caviar*, formerly also *cavial* (Brachet) < It. *caviaro*, Florio ‘a kinde of salt blacke meate made of roes of fishes, much used in Italia’; also spelt *caviale* < T *havyâr* or *hâvyâr* given as the equivalent of *caviare* in Redhouse’s English-Turkish dictionary; it is, however, made in Russia; but the Russian name is *ikra ruibeya*; the Turkish word begins with the letter *há*, a strong pectoral aspirate, here rendered by *c*
- 1888: Skeat<sub>2</sub> = Skeat<sub>1</sub>
- 1889: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **caviar**, **caviare**: of uncertain origin; found in Turkish as *حَاوِيَار* *khāvyār*; in 16<sup>th</sup> cent. Italian as *caviale* (> 16<sup>th</sup> cent. F *cavial*, Sp. *cavial*, 16<sup>th</sup> cent. E *cavialy*), also as *caviaro* > F & Pg. *caviar*; “It. has no root in Turkish, and has not the look of a Turkish word. Redhouse in his MS. Thesaurus<sup>253</sup> marks it as Italian-Turkish, looking upon it as borrowed from Italian,” Prof. Ch. Rieu) [on the discussion of pronunciation see COMMENTARY]
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **caviar(e)**: < F *caviar*; some forms < It. *caviale*, *caviaro*; << T *havyār*, *hāvyār*; the word is said to be sometimes pronounced as if it was spelt *caveer*
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> s.v. **caviare**: < F *caviar* (formerly also *cavial*) < It. *caviaro* < ?; T *khāvyār* < It; the Russian form is *ikra*
- 1921: Weekley: Earlier also *cavialy* (16<sup>th</sup>-cent. F *cavial*, It. *caviale*); < F *caviar*, It. *caviaro*; T *khāvyār* prob. < It; not from Russian as the latter has *ikra*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **caviar**, **caviare**: < F *caviar* < It. *caviro*, *caviale* < T *khāvyār*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub>: alteration (probably influenced by F *caviar*) of the earlier *caviari*, *cavery* < OIt. *caviari*, pl. ← *caviaro* < T *havyar*

<sup>253</sup> This refers most probably to an unfinished and unpublished project of a large Ottoman-English dictionary that would include Ottoman words of whatever origin, which Redhouse abandoned in 1885 and whose manuscript has been stored in the British Museum ever since (ODNB s.v. Redhouse). The *Lexicon* (Redhouse 1890) classifies the word simply as Turkish.

- 1966: Klein s.v. **caviar, caviare**: < F *caviar* < It. *caviaro* (now *caviale*) < ModGk. *καβιάριον* < T *khaviar* < *Kaffah* (= Theodosia), name of a trading town on the South Eastern shore of the Black Sea
- 1966: ODEE: various early forms < It. *caviale* (> F †*cavial*), Sp. *cabial*, Pg. *caviar*, †*cavial*, F *caviar*, all < T *khāvyār* [on the discussion of pronunciation see COMMENTARY]
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **caviar**: alteration of *caviarie* (probably < obsolete It. *caviari*, pl. ← *caviaro*) or < F *caviare*; both < T *havyar* < P *khāvyār*; akin to *khāyah* ‘egg’ < MP *khāyak* [in Appendix: MP < OP \**āvyaka*-, dim. ← \**avya*-; Word history: “Although caviar might seem to be something quintessentially Russian, the word *caviar* is not a native one, the Russian term being *ikra*. *Caviar* first came into English in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, probably by way of French and Italian, which, along with other European languages, borrowed it from Turkish *havyar*. The source of the Turkish word is apparently an Iranian dialectal form related to the Persian word for “egg,” *khāyah*, and this in turn goes back to the same Indo-European root that gives us the English words egg and oval.”
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

## COMMENTARY:

## 1. Comments on the pronunciation

The following commentary concerning the evolution of the pronunciation of the word is offered by the editors of OED<sub>1-2</sub> s.v. *caviare* (quoted here according to OED<sub>2</sub>):

Originally, *caviāly*, *-āle*, *-ārie*, *-āre* was of 4 syllables, with accent on the penult, as in Italian, but was sometimes reduced to 3 syllables, by slurring *-iā-*, as *-yā-* [i.e. [-i.ɑ:-] > [-jɑ:-] – M. U.], and later with the accent shifted to the first syllable. As early as 1625, the final *-e*, in *caviare*, *caveare*, was often dropped in speech, and later also in writing, giving *caviar*, *cavear* (cf. F. *caviar*), pronounced (kævɪɑ:(r), -ɛə(r)), sometimes (kævʲɑ:(r), -ʲɛə(r)), and perh. also with accent shifted (ʼkævɪɑ:(r), -ɪə(r), -jə(r)). About 1700, prevalent forms were *ca'vear*, *ca'veer*, riming with *prepare*, and *cheer*; the latter pronunciation appears to have been the only one in common use in the end of the 18th c., for Walker, 1797, who spells *caviare* and pronounces (kəvɪə(r)), says,

“Either the spelling or the pronunciation of this word should be altered..the ancient spelling seems to have been *Caviare*; though

Buchanan and Bailey, in compliance with pronunciation, spell it *Caveer*, W. Johnston *Cavear*, and Ash, as a less usual spelling, *Cavier*."

Smart (1846) pronounces (kæv'jeə(r)), Webster has the accent on first syllable ('kæviɑ:(r)); prevalent pronunciations in England c. 1890 were (kæv'ɑ:(r), kæv'ja:(r)), 'etymologically the best' (N.E.D.), also (kæv'jeə(r)), and as in Smart. The prevalent pronunciation in the late 20th century is as in Webster. Shakespeare's *cavi'arie*, and Swift's *ca'veer*, are recognized archaic forms.

A summary of this is provided in ODEE. In addition to that, more recent pronunciation exhibiting a variable stress pattern ('••• ~ •••) is attributed to French influence.

The following comment is offered in W<sub>2</sub> (s.v. **caviar**, **caviare**; the transcription has been substituted so as to conform with the IPA):

*Caviare* was originally pronounced in four syllables. Later the pronunciation became unsettled, and the final *e* was dropped. The pronunciations ['kæviɑ:r] and ['kævjɑ:r] like the French, are now usual, although the older [kə'viər], [kə'viər] is still sometimes heard.

It must be added that the forms above have been rearranged in comparison to the classification in OED<sub>2</sub>, in order to reflect better the phonetic variation, especially in the number of syllables. Types A and B represent forms which were most probably pronounced as quadrisyllabic, although reduction to three syllables (caused by spontaneous resyllabification of the kind mentioned in OED<sub>2</sub>) is not impossible. This does not apply to *cavery* (type A; 1591 Fletcher.), which must have been trisyllabic, as well as perhaps *Chauiale* (type B; 1598 *Epulario*.), if the comments in the following paragraph on type C forms are correct.

According to the account in OED<sub>2</sub>, type C started out as quadrisyllabic and evolved into trisyllabic, which would mean that the final *-e* was originally pronounced. This would contradict Lass' claim, according to which final [-ə] became archaic and restricted mainly to poetry in Chaucer's time, i.e. around two hundred years earlier (1992: 79). Assuming Lass' chronology, it is more likely that types C and D both reflect trisyllabic pronunciation, with occasional tendency for further reduction to two syllables (as a result of the aforementioned resyllabification).

The irregular phonetic evolution of the English forms, with tendency for reduction, fluctuations of syllable boundaries and vowel quality, may be seen as a kind of wrestling between adaptation and the awareness of the foreignness of the word. The latter was strong enough to reverse the changes induced by the evolution of the language. Thus e.g. *ca'veear* and *ca'veer*, products of resyllabification and the typical late-GVS vowel fluctuations are superseded in Modern English

by more archaic forms. Some cases of reborrowing (most frequently from French) may have occurred as well. This kind of evolution is alluded to in W<sub>3</sub>, where the early forms (the four syllable variants in [-i], i.e. our type A forms) are derived from the earlier Italian plural *caviari*<sup>254</sup> and later forms explained as readaptations of F *caviar*. Also the comment in ODEE attributing the modern stress variation being to French influence is plausible given the typical development of such loanwords in English (e.g. *brasserie* BrE ['bræsəri] ~ AmE [bræsə'ri:]).

## 2. Treatment in English dictionaries

Wedgwood (all editions) does not include a separate entry in his dictionary, but s.v. *cable* notes the similarity between T *havyar*<sup>255</sup> and E *caviare*.

Varying notation, like *havyâr* ~ *hâvyâr* (Skeat<sub>1</sub>) or *havyâr* ~ *hâvyâr* (Stanford), seems to suggest variation in vowel length, but it reflects only graphic alternatives (i.e. either حویار or حایار), as vowel length was not distinctive in Ottoman Turkish, except in some Perso-Arabisms. The Ottoman form was phonetically similar to T *havyar*. Thus in *havyâr* (Müller and W<sub>1</sub>) and *khâvyâr* (OED, Skeat<sub>4</sub>, Weekley and ODEE) both vowels are of roughly the same length and do not contrast. Moreover, the comment in Skeat<sub>1</sub> concerning the pronunciation of the initial *hâ* (also reflected in transliterations *h* in Stanford and *kh* in OED<sub>1</sub>, Skeat<sub>4</sub>, Weekley, Klein and ODEE) is incorrect, as the pronunciation of this letter was most likely that of the Modern Turkish glottal [h].<sup>256</sup>

The editors of OED<sub>1</sub> are the first to question openly the native character of Ott. *havyar* and they propose the derivation T < It., later repeated in Skeat<sub>4</sub>. Both Weekley and ODEE offer mere summaries of the argumentation found in OED<sub>1</sub>, although Onions seems to reject the Italian origin of the Turkish form.

<sup>254</sup> Italian influence is also plausible in the case of type B forms as well, cf. ModIt. *caviàle*.

<sup>255</sup> Wedgwood wrongly transcribes the word as '*havyar*'. The Arabic letter ع '*ayn*' (for which 'is the standard transliteration) occurred in Ottoman only in words of Arabic origin and was regularly omitted in pronunciation (except word initially, where it stood for a vowel, usually [a]). Furthermore, the actual Arabic word for 'caviar' is written خیاری *hibyārī*, i.e. without '*ayn*' (AED: 264). Wedgwood writes the sequence '*h*' because he draws a parallel between two pairs of words: Est *kabbel* 'a rope, a string' and A '*habl* 'a rope' (a mistake or strange romanization of *ḥabl* 'id.', AED: 182) on the one hand and E *caviare* and T *havyar* on the other.

<sup>256</sup> As far as romanization is concerned, Skeat's notation of the Russian form *ruibeya* (in the first two editions) must be an awkward attempt to render рыбя 'piscine', adj. fem., with *u* being interpreted by Skeat as two letters rather than one. Thus the phrase is meant to denote 'fish roe'. Cf. fn. 296 in KOUMISS.



Klein returns to the idea that the direction of borrowing was from Turkish to Italian (with Greek mediation), but assumes that the Turkish word was based on Kaffa, the name of the important trade centre on the coast of the Black Sea (modern Feodosia). See below on that.

AHD<sub>3-4</sub> derives the Turkish word from Iranian, without quoting the original proponent of this idea (see below). Finally, AHD<sub>3-4</sub> and W<sub>3</sub> are the only dictionaries that explicitly comment on the origin of the forms in *-ry* – *-rie*.

To sum up, the authors of English etymological dictionaries assume that the word reached English via Romance (usually on different occasions from French and Italian). The majority (except OED<sub>1</sub>, Skeat<sub>4</sub> and Weekley) see the etymon of the Romance word in Turkic (most typically in Ott. *havyar*), but W-M and Klein also assume Greek mediation. Three hypotheses regarding the origin of Ott. *havyar* itself are offered: < It. (OED, Skeat<sub>4</sub> and Weekley), < *Kaffa* (Klein), and < P (AHD and W<sub>3</sub>).

### 3. English forms and their European background

What seems uncontroversial is the fact that the word spread in Europe via Italy. As remarked by Hope (1971 I 180), it was through Italian merchants that caviar was being imported from eastern Europe throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Georgacas (1978; quoted in EWN s.v. *kaviaar*) gives two early forms: Ven. *caviari* (1319–20) and It. *chaviari* (1437). TLIO (s.v. *caviale*) informs us that It. *caviale* is first used in Pegolotti's *Practica della mercatura*, i.e. before 1347.<sup>257</sup>

A number of variants are attested in French: *cavyaire* (1432), *caviat* (1552), *caviar* (1553) and *cavial* (1660) (FEW: 70, Hope 1971 I: 180, TLF s.v. *caviare*). By that time some final consonants had been lost in French, so the variation is partially only graphemic; cf. also the 1723 variants *kavia* and *kaviac* reported in Savary *Dictionnaire* II 451 and *caviard* – *kaviard* in the 1742 edition of the same work (II 931). The chronology seems to suggest that the word was taken over in its Venetian form, while *cavial* may be borrowed from It. *caviale*.<sup>258</sup>

The English variants may be accounted for solely based on the Romance forms. Those quoted by Georgacas explain the English variants in *-y* or *-ie*. It is unclear whether the same Italian/Venetian forms meant by *caviari* in AHD and W<sub>3</sub>, because no references and no dates are given by the editors of these

<sup>257</sup> The exact date of compilation of the work by Pegolotti is unknown. 1347 is the date of the author's death.

<sup>258</sup> Fouche 1966 III 674 and Buben 1933 (quoted in TLF) treat *cavial* as primary in French and other forms, including *caviar*, as hypercorrections. This is unnecessary complication, given the early attestation of the Italian form in *-l*.

dictionaries. The 1655 *Cavialie(s)* is an adaptation of It. *caviale* (with final [e] > [i]), as confirmed by the fact that the latter occurs in an Italian quotation on the same page. The 1740 spelling *Kavia* may be influenced by the French spelling attested in Savary (see above) or simply a direct reflection of the French pronunciation without final consonant.

#### 4. Hypotheses as to the ultimate origin

The ultimate origin of the word has not yet been determined. Several solutions have been offered, although none is perfect. Let us begin by discussing the suggestion found in Klein. The Ottoman name for Kaffa was *Kefe* (also to be found in Crimean Tatar), which could hardly serve as basis for *havyar*.<sup>259</sup> A variant of this etymology was offered earlier by Hesseling (1921: 213–4),<sup>260</sup> who discusses the Greek forms. Hesseling rejects ModGk. \*καβιάρι quoted in many etymological dictionaries (including Müller, see above) as non-existent and discusses the proper form χαβιάρι common already in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (albeit only in derivatives). According to him, it is the Greek rather than Turkish form that is derived from the name of the city and rather from its Genoese form *Kaffa* than from T *Kefe*.

Although well-documented from the philological point of view, Hesseling's hypothesis is unacceptable. Even if the changes *k* > *x* and *ff* > *v* are regular in borrowings from Italian to Greek, as he claims, neither the *ι* after *β* nor the final *-ρι* are accounted for. Moreover, the name *Kaffa* is attested in Byzantine Greek in the form Καφα, as early as the mid 10<sup>th</sup> century (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* c. 53, l. 170, see Moravcsik & Jenkins 1967: 266), around three hundred years before the Genoese established themselves in the Crimea, which suggests that when they did, it was them who adopted the name from the Greeks and not the other way around. These remarks apply to Klein as well.<sup>261</sup>

The idea alluded to in AHD that the word is ultimately Persian received the first comprehensive presentation in Eilers (1974) and this was probably the source for the English editors, although no reference is given. Eilers quotes the Persian phrase *māhī-i xāviyār* 'sturgeon' (the latter element is nowadays *xāvyār*), which is understood literally as 'the caviar (*xāvyār*) fish (*māhī*)'. He claims that

<sup>259</sup> The quasi-Oriental notation *Kaffah* in Klein is a hybrid. The final *-h* suggests this is to be interpreted as a transliteration of the Ottoman name كك *Kefe* (the *h* representing the final *hā*; see section 5.3.1 in the Introduction), but the vowels and the geminate *-ff-* suggest influence from the Genoese name *Caffa* - *Kaffa*.

<sup>260</sup> Given the lack of references in his dictionary, it is unclear whether Klein was inspired by Hesseling or by a source derivative of Hesseling.

<sup>261</sup> The origin of the name *Kaffa* itself is problematic. For a brief summary see Jankowski (2006: 591).

*xāviyār* is related to *xāyadār* ‘bearing eggs/roe’. In other words, P *xāya* ‘egg’ + *-dār* ‘containing’ → *māhī-i xāyadār* ‘an egg-bearing fish; sturgeon’, whose second element became independent with the meaning ‘that which is extracted from the sturgeon, i.e. caviar’. As Eilers himself admits, a change like *xāyadār* > *xāviyār* is impossible on its own. His solution is that the latter existed dialectally beside the former. The variation in the suffix *-dār* ~ *-(i)yār* is found e.g. in *bāzdār* ~ *bāziyār* ‘falconer’, *dāmdār* ~ *dāmiyār* ‘prince’ and others (387). The base *xāv-* is, on the other hand, assumed to be another variant of the Iranian *xāya*, *xāi*: as Eilers shows, a form related to the former is attested in Waziri Pashto as *yōwya* ‘egg’ < *āwya* (389). Both variants ultimately go back to IE *\*ōuī-om* ‘egg’, with the labial being lost in the majority of forms. Crucially, forms preserving the labial are attested not only in Waziri (East Iranian), but also in Northwest Iranian: he quotes two forms attested in dialects west of the Caspian Sea, which is the dominant region of caviar production. Overall, Eilers’s article is very well researched and convincing. From the formal and semantic point of view it could be accepted as the ultimate solution if it were not for the chronology of attestations (see below). What is important for our main topic, if this etymology turned out to be correct, this would mean that the Turkish form is secondary and its only role with respect to the English forms might have been that of a transmitter.

Another Iranian hypothesis is advocated by Szemerényi (1967: 24–5), whose main objection against Eilers is that the etymon should not be expected to refer to the fish, but rather to its roe. In his article, Szemerényi quotes the Ossetic compound *jæu-gæf* ‘fish-millet = caviar’, whose second element, also found as *kæf* ‘fish’, constitutes at the same time, he suggests, the first part of T *havyar*, i.e. *hav-*. We should then expect, he says, the last syllable of the Turkish word to mean ‘egg’, which rules out *jæu* ‘millet’. Szemerényi then suggests as the etymon the Romani *jaro* ‘egg’, which found its way into Russian argot as *яро* id. (see REW III 479). The author seems to suggest that Ossetic *kæf* + Romani *jaro* >> T *havyar*, but it is unclear which language was the immediate donor and where the combination of the Ossetic and Romani elements first appeared, especially that the author gives no attestations. Szemerényi’s solution is inferior to Eilers’s in terms of documentation and ultimately less convincing.

As remarked above, what seems to contradict Eilers’s etymology is chronology of attestations. The crucial data comes from Georgacas’s *Ichthyological terms for the sturgeon and etymology of the international terms botargo, caviar, and congeners: A linguistic, philological, and culture-historical study* (1978; quoted based on EWN s.v. *kaviaar* and Messing 1981) by far the most elaborate study of the word’s history.

The author antedates the earliest documentation in Greek by three centuries (Gk. *χαβιάριον*, 9<sup>th</sup> century), which leads him to reject Eilers’s hypothesis on the

basis of Iranian forms being later. This dating also implies that the Greek form cannot be a direct borrowing from Turkic, as it is attested before major-scale direct contact between the two.

Consequently, Georgacas decides to treat the word as native in Greek. He attempts to kill two birds with one stone by arguing that *caviar* may be related to Gk. ἀβγοτάριχο ~ ἀβγοτάραχο, a dialectal form of which (βοτάριχο) seems to be the etymon of European *botargo*. The standard form is, in Georgacas's opinion, a compound made of ἄβγο 'egg', related indirectly to CGk. ᾠον 'egg' (see e.g. Frisk 1970: 1150 or Chantaine IV-2: 1303 on the latter) and τάριχος 'preserved by salting or smoking' (cf. ModGk. ταριχεύω 'cure, salt, smoke'; GkED 869). Georgacas claims that Gk. χαβιάριον may derive from a compound made of the very same elements as ἀβγοτάριχο, but in reverse order, and suffixed with the diminutive -άριον (~ -άριον), i.e. an unattested \*τάριχᾶβγιάριον. The first two syllables may have been lost through reanalysis \*τάριχ-ᾶβγιάριον → \*τάριχ-ᾶβγιάριον.

It is difficult to compare Eilers's and Georgacas's proposals without access to the latter author's original formulation, although the chronology established so far tends to support Greek origin. On the other hand, the lack of earlier Iranian attestations may be accidental and apart from this shortcoming Eiler's hypothesis seems to have better support in the actually attested linguistic material and does not require clipping of two initial syllables (\*τάριχ).

Whatever the ultimate solution turns out to be, it seems that (Ottoman) Turkish was at best one of the transmitters rather than the ultimate source. If Georgacas is right, then Ott. *havyar* is from Greek and both languages may have jointly acted as donors for the early Italian (and perhaps French) forms.

## COFFEE

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **coffee** ['kɒfi] (1891 OED<sub>1</sub>), ['kɒfi] (2008 LPD); AmE **coffee** ['kɔ:fi] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), ['kɔ:fi] ~ ['kɑ:fi] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>, 2008 LPD)

Forms: **A: 1.** *Chaona* (1598 Linschoten<sub>3</sub>),<sup>262</sup> *Cohu* ~ *Coho* ~ *Cohha* (1625 Purchas<sub>5</sub>), *Coho* (1634 Herbert *Travels*: 150 [also cf. type B 1634]),<sup>263</sup> *Coho* ~ *Cahua* (1638 <sub>2</sub>Herbert *Travels*: 241 [also cf. type C 1638]), *Cahve* (1650 Withers<sub>3</sub>),<sup>264</sup> *Kahwa* ~

<sup>262</sup> This is universally interpreted as a misprint for *Chaoua*, and appears in the latter form in OED<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>263</sup> Stanford only quotes *Coffa* and *Coho*. The date is misprinted 1684. The form *Coho* is repeated in the 1638, 1665 and 1677 editions of Herbert. The remaining references to these editions in our list omit this variant.

<sup>264</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1653, and attributes to Greaves, the editor.

*Kahawa* - *Cahwa* (1662 Davies<sub>s</sub>), *cahu* (1665 Havers<sub>2</sub>), *Coho-houses* (1665 <sub>3</sub>Herbert *Travels*: 119, 241 [cf. type B 1665]) *Kahue* (1702 Bruyn<sub>2</sub>); **2.** *Coaua* (1609 Biddulph *Travels*: 65),<sup>265</sup> *Coava* 'berry' (1630 Smith<sub>3</sub>),<sup>266</sup> *Choava-berry* (1665 <sub>3</sub>Herbert *Travels*: 119, 241 [cf. type B 1665])

**B:** **1.** *Coffe* (1601 Parry<sub>2</sub>); *Coffa* (1609 Biddulph *Travels*: 65),<sup>267</sup> *Coffa* (1626 Bacon<sub>s</sub>),<sup>268</sup> *Coffa* (1630 Smith<sub>3</sub>),<sup>269</sup> *Coffa* (1632 Lithgow<sub>2</sub>), *Coffa* (1634 Herbert *Travels*: 150 [also cf. type A 1634]),<sup>270</sup> *coffee* (1636 Evelyn<sub>2</sub>), *coffee* (1659 (*title*)),<sup>271</sup> *Coffee* (1662 Davies<sub>s</sub>), *Cophe* (1664 Sylva<sub>2</sub>), *Coffee* (1665 <sub>3</sub>Herbert *Travels*: 119, 241 [cf. type A 1665]), *Coffee* (1676 Wycherley<sub>s</sub>), *Coffe* - *Coffee* (1677 <sub>4</sub>Herbert *Travels*: 113, 230), *Coffee* (1678 Tavernier *The Voyages* I: 36), *Coffey* (1691 Wood<sub>2</sub>), *Coffee* (1702 Bruyn<sub>2</sub>), *Coffee* (1712 Pope<sub>3</sub>),<sup>272</sup> *Coffee* (1712 *Spectator*<sub>s</sub>), *Coffee* (1774 Fithian<sub>2</sub>), *coffee* (1796 Owen<sub>2</sub>), *Coffee* (1815 Smith<sub>2</sub>), *coffee* (1817 Tucker<sub>2</sub>), *coffee* (1820 Hughes<sub>s</sub>), *coffee* (1824 Byron<sub>2</sub>), *coffee* (1867 Baker<sub>2</sub>), *coffee* (1913 Mackenzie), *coffee* (1920 Mansfield<sub>2</sub>), *Coffee* (1923 *Daily Mail*), *coffee* (1938 Bowen<sub>2</sub>), *coffee* (1959 *Woman's Own*), *coffee* (1970 *Honey*); **2.** *Coffa* (1626 Bacon<sub>3</sub>), *Coffee* (1685 Chamberlayne<sub>2</sub>), *Coffee* (1709 *Brit. Apollo*), *coffee* (1870 Yeats<sub>2</sub>); **3.** *coffee* (1857 Livingstone<sub>2</sub>), *coffee* (1859 Tennent<sub>2</sub>)

**C:** **3.** *Caphe* (1623 Bacon<sub>2</sub>)<sup>273</sup>; **1.** *Caffa* (1631 Hobson<sub>3</sub>), *Capha* (1631 [1669] Jorden<sub>3</sub>), *Copha* - *Caphe* (1638 Herbert *Travels*: 241 [also cf. type A 1638])

**D:** **1.** *Cauphe* (1634 [1678] Howell<sub>s</sub>), *Cauphe* (1636 [1637] Blount<sub>2</sub>), *Kauhi* (1659 (*title*)); **3.** *Caufee* (1757 Dyer<sub>2</sub>)

**1.** A drink made by infusion or decoction from the seeds of a shrub (see 3), roasted and ground or (in the East) pounded; extensively used as a beverage, and acting as a moderate stimulant; **2.** The seeds or 'berries' (collectively), either raw or roasted; or the powder made by grinding the roasted seeds, from which

<sup>265</sup> Stanford has the same quotation from the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of 1612.

<sup>266</sup> The quotation occurs in OED<sub>2-3</sub> in sense 1 among the β forms. It is also dated to 1603–30 in OED<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>267</sup> See fn. 265 above.

<sup>268</sup> Stanford dates this to 1627, but the work was published a year earlier.

<sup>269</sup> This is dated to 1603–30 in OED<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>270</sup> See fn. 263.

<sup>271</sup> In other words, the form occurs in the title of the work.

<sup>272</sup> Stanford dates this to 1713, while OED<sub>2</sub> to 1712–4.

<sup>273</sup> As remarked in OED<sub>2</sub> his was published in Latin and translated into English in 1651.

the drink is made; **3.** The tree or shrub from which coffee is obtained; a species of *Coffea*, chiefly *C. arabica*, a native of Abyssinia and Arabia, but now extensively cultivated throughout the tropics; **4.** also used in various compounds or phrases.

# ETYMOLOGY:

- 1865: Müller<sub>1</sub>: F *café*, It. *caffè*, Sp. *café*, Du. *kaffee* < Orient; either < A *qahwah* 'wine, a drink made of berries' (T *kahweh*; the coffee berry is known as *bunn*), or according to others < *Kaffa* 'a region in Africa, being the homeland of the plant'
- 1872: Wedgwood<sub>2</sub>: A *cahwa* or *cahwé* 'coffee', formerly one of the names for wine; Texeira, who wrote in 1610, writes it *kaoáh*. – Dozy
- 1878: Müller<sub>2</sub> = Müller<sub>1</sub>, but the Arabic word is romanized as *qahvah*
- 1878: Wedgwood<sub>3</sub> = Wedgwood<sub>2</sub>
- 1882: Skeat<sub>1</sub>: a decoction of berries of the coffee-tree < T *qahveh* coffee < A *qahweh*, coffee; Palmer's Pers. Dict. col. 476 ; also *qahwah* or *qahwat*, Rich, Dict. p. 1155
- 1886: Yule<sub>1</sub>: < A *kahwa*, apparently originally 'wine'; maybe a corruption of another word, possibly *Kaffa*, one of those districts of the S. Abyssinian highlands (Enarea and Kaffa) which appear to have been the original habitat of the Coffee plant (*Coffea arabica*); if this is correct, then *Coffee* is nearer the original than *Kahwa*; on the other hand, *Kahwa*, or some form thereof, is in the earliest mentions appropriated to the drink, whilst some form of the word *Bunn* is that given to the plant, and *Būn* is the existing name of the plant in Shoa; also applied in Yemen to the coffee-berry [a historical outline of the spread of coffee follows]
- 1888: Skeat<sub>2</sub> = Skeat<sub>1</sub>
- 1891: OED<sub>1</sub>: < A قهوة *qahwah*, in Turkish pronounced *kahveh*, the name of the infusion or beverage; according to Arab lexicographers < 'wine' or 'some kind of wine' ← verbal root *qahiya* 'to have no appetite.'; other sources claim that it is foreign: < African, cf. the name of *Kaffa* in the south Abyssinian highlands, where the plant appears to be native; no evidence of this, *qahwah* is not a name given to the berry or plant, which is called قهوة *bunn*, the native name in Shoa being *būn*; in European langs. c. 1600 < T *kahveh*; through It. *caffè* (?); cf. F, Sp., Pg. *café*, G *kaffee*, Da, Sw. *kaffe*; the *o* in E *coffee*, Du. *koffie*, earlier G *coffee*, *koffee*, Ru. *kophe*, *kophei* apparently represents earlier *au* from *ahw* or *ahv*

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **cafejee**: E < T *qahveji* ‘a servant whose business it is to serve coffee’, the termination *-jī* signifying in Turkish one whose employment is indicated by the first part of the word; s.v. **cafejee-bashi**: < T *qahveji-bāshī*: ‘head of the *cafejees*’; s.v. **coava**: < rendering of A *qahwa* = ‘coffee’ (orig. ‘wine’); the word is an old doublet of *coffee* (*coffā*), but appears to have only been used for *coffee-berries*, as though some writers had attempted to distinguish the name of the berry from the name of the beverage; s.v. **coffee**: A *qahwa* or T *qahwe*
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub> and additional comments including: “Burton gives the derivation as *akhā*, fastidire fecit, causing disinclination for food. In old days the scrupulous called coffee *kihwah* to distinguish it from *kahwah*, wine”
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub>: the only change is the spelling of the last Arabic form as *qahwa(t)*
- 1921: Weekley: most European languages (c. 1600) < T *kahveh*, A *qahwah*, apparently first as name of drink; early forms are very numerous; *coffee* was soon followed by the *coffee-house* (cf. F. *café*)
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> [s.v. **cafenet**: also *cafeneh*, ‘in Turkey, a humble inn or house of rest for travelers, where coffee is sold’ < T *qahveh khāneh* ‘coffeehouse’;] s.v. **coffee**: < It. *caffè* < T *qahveh* < A *qahwah* ‘wine, coffee, a decoction of berries’
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> [s.v. **cafeneh**: also *cafenet*, ‘a Turkish coffeehouse or inn’ < T *kahvane*, *kahvehane* ‘coffee shop, café’ ← *kahve* ‘coffee’ + *hane* ‘house’;] s.v. **coffee**: < It., T; It. *caffè* < T *kahve* ‘coffee, café’ < A *qahwah* ‘wine, coffee’
- 1966: Klein s.v. **coffee**: < It. *caffè* < T *qahvé* < A *qāhwa*<sup>b</sup> ‘wine; coffee’ < *Kaffā*, *Kāfa*, a district in the southwestern part of Ethiopia. A *qāhwa*<sup>b</sup> orig. meant ‘the plant or drink coming from Kaffa’; in Kaffa itself the coffee is called *būnō* and the Arabs borrowed this word in the form *bunn*, naming by it the raw coffee
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **coffee**: the present form is first recorded in the 17<sup>th</sup> c. with variants *coffe*, *cauphe*, *cophee*; < *kahveh*, Turkish pronunciation of A *qahwah*, through Du. *koffie*; earlier English forms closer to the Arabic and Turkish forms, viz. *chaoua*, *coffā*, *cahve*, *caffā*, *kauhi*, cf. Ru. *kófe*, G †*chaube*; supposedly < *Kaffā*, name of a part of Abyssinia, the native home of the coffee plant; F, Sp., Pg. *café*, G *kaffee*, Sw, Danish *kaffe* < It. *caffè* < T
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>

- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub>: < Ott. *qahveh* (× It. *caffè* < T) < A *qahwa* < root *qhw* ‘to be(come) weak, dim, dull, dark’
- 1994: CannA: < It., T; It. *caffè* < T *kahve* ‘coffee, café’ < A *qahwah* ‘wine, coffee’, i.e. the dark one < PCS \**qhh* dark, rather than < Eth *Kaffa*
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

## COMMENTARY:

**1. Treatment in English dictionaries**

The spelling of the Oriental forms in early dictionaries varies, which suggests uncertainty as to the actual shape of the etymon. On the final *-eh*, *-ah*, *-d<sup>h</sup>*, *-at*, and *-a(t)* found variously in Arabic and Turkish forms in Müller and Skeat, OED, Weekley, Klein, ODEE, CannA, AHD and W<sub>3</sub>, see section 5.3.1 of the Introduction. It is unclear what difference Müller<sub>1</sub> means when he transcribes *-u-* in the Arabic form and *-w-* in Turkish. The Turkish form has [v], and this is a regular way in which (Ottoman) Turkish rendered Arabic [w] (the latter does not possess a voiced labiodental fricative). In Müller<sub>2</sub> A *qahwa(t)* and Ott. *kahve* are written *qahvah* and *kahweh* respectively, which is the opposite of the phonetic reality as far as the labiodental consonant is concerned. The opposition [k] : [q] is phonologically significant only in Arabic, so the difference in the transcription of the word-initial segment is justified. Wedgwood’s (all editions) contrast *cahwa* : *cahwé* does not correspond to any phonemic difference in Arabic pronunciation.

Müller (both editions) assumes mediation through French, Italian, Spanish and Dutch. While Du. *koffie* is more likely < E than the other way round (EWN s.v. *koffie*), the Romance forms, especially It. *caffè* (in 1585 as *caveè*; DELI s.v. *caffè*), and F *café* (in 1626 as *caué* < T; Arveiller 1999 s.v. *qahve*)<sup>274</sup> indeed contributed to the transmission of the word to England (see below).

**2. Orthographic variants and the origin of the English forms**

Based on the evidence in OED<sub>2-3</sub> and Stanford, the oldest sense in English is ‘drink’, which at the same time exhibits the greatest variety of spellings. The earliest are classified by the editors into three categories (s.v. **coffee**). Those belonging to the first one seem to be distinguished based on the internal consonant (cluster) being other than [f]. The latter two feature forms in *-ff-* or

<sup>274</sup> There is also *elcaué* attested in 1620 (*Addenda FEW* s.v. *qahwa*), which clearly goes back to Arabic, with the preservation of the definite article.



-*ph*- for [f] and are distinguished from each other by the editors based on the last vowel letter being either *a* or *e*.

The '[f]-less' type includes forms meant to represent foreign pronunciations, according to OED<sub>2</sub>. The internal consonant (cluster) is written in a variety of ways, which are difficult to interpret due to the lack of systematic distinction between *v* and *u* in the relevant period, the two being frequently allographs (whether in complementary distribution or free variation) rather than separate graphemes. Consequently, it is impossible to decide whether a given spelling represents the Turkish pronunciation in [v] or Arabic in [w]. One notable exception is the 1650 *cahve* found in Robert Withers' translation of *A description of the Grand Signor's seraglio, or Turkish emperours court* by Ottaviano Bon, which may safely be assumed to represent the (Ottoman) Turkish form, both given the type of text where it appears, as well as clear notation of *v*. Spellings like *cohu*, *cobha*, *coho* most likely represent the Arabic pronunciation, as there is no sign of the labial fricative in them. Another exception is Herbert's rendering of differences between Turkish and Arabic pronunciations shown respectively as *caphe* (with the reinterpretation of [-hv-] as [-f-]) and *cahua* (1638 Herbert *Travels*).

The earliest form representing this group is the Latinate *caoua* found in the earliest European description of the plant in Prospero Alpini's *De Medicina Egyptiorum* (1591: Book 4 – 123).<sup>275</sup> This form was apparently used in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century in England according to the editors of OED, although no quotations are offered.

The misspelling *Chaona* for *Chaoua* in the 1598 translation of Lindschoten's *Itinarium* is due to a mistake in the Dutch original (Lindschoten *Itinarium*: 35), which was also reproduced in various translations around Europe, e.g. Latin (1599: 31) and French (1610: ch. 26, p. 64).

The 17<sup>th</sup> century foreign forms (i.e. the [f]-less forms) are more numerous as this is the time when coffee is becoming more and more popular and descriptions of Oriental customs of drinking and cultivating it are being published. Forms like *coava* and *coave*, clearly related, seem problematic at first glance. Only the first one is documented with quotations, both in OED and Stanford (the latter has separate entries for *coffee* and *coava*). OED spells it with *v* (s.v. *coffee*, sense 1a: the 1630 quotation [dated so in OED<sub>3</sub>; in the earlier editions the dates are 1603–30]), whereas Stanford offers two quotations in *u* (s.v. *coava*; with the dates 1612 and 1625) and one quotation in *v* (*Choava-berry* dated to 1665, *ibid*).

<sup>275</sup> As mentioned in Yule<sub>1</sub>, the earliest European mention of coffee is the word *chaube* found in Leonard Rauwolf account of his visit to Constantinople (1573). This is, however, a brief mention rather than a description.

Curiously enough, the relevant passages explicitly distinguish between the word spelt variously *coffa* ~ *coffe* ~ *coho*, meaning the drink, and another one, spelt *coava* ~ *coaua* ~ *choava* (-berry) and meaning the berry of which it is made. This distinction, which has no grounding in linguistic reality, was fairly widespread in the 17<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>276</sup> and is due to repetition of the same erroneous information by various authors.

The earliest author who introduces the distinction, copied (?) then by others, is Biddulph (1609). The form *coffa* ‘drink’ seems to be an attempt on his part to render the pronunciation he heard himself, whereas *coaua* ‘berry’ may be a misspelling for Alpini’s *caoua*, which Biddulph could have been familiar with. The latter claim is partly confirmed by the distribution of the meanings he attributes to these two forms. If Biddulph knew Alpini’s treatise, it was fairly natural for him to use the latter’s ‘scientific’ name for the berry.<sup>277</sup>

Biddulph’s *coffa* belongs to one of the remaining two categories postulated by the editors of OED that feature forms in [f]. The origin of this sound is not clear. Italian has similar forms, so that they may have influenced English, at least to some extent. But ultimately, from the phonetic point of view, [f] could be derived either from T *-hv-* (the [v] being perceived as voiceless due to the preceding [h]) or from A *-hw-* (via a labialized [h<sup>w</sup>]; for an English parallel cf. E *laugh*, where [ɑ:f] < [aux]).

As remarked above, the forms in [f] in OED<sub>2</sub> are distinguished from one another based on the final vowel, either [a] or [e: ~ i(:)]. The reason for this kind of division is not made clear. Perhaps it is meant that they should be derived from A *qahwa(t)* and Ott. *kahve* respectively, but this is not discussed. It makes more sense to distinguish three kinds of [f]-forms based on the vowel in the first syllable, where

<sup>276</sup> To be sure, not all authors believed in the existence of two separate words. Bacon, for example in his 1626 *Sylva Sylvarum* uses *coffa* for both ‘drink’ and ‘berry’. See the relevant quotation in Stanford, where the passage is wrongly dated 1627, and cf. OED<sub>2-3</sub> where the same work is quoted, but missing the passage with *coffa* ‘drink’.

<sup>277</sup> The diagraph *oa* was used by 17<sup>th</sup>-century English writers to mark the post-Great-Vowel-Shift /o:/ (< ME /ɔ:/), which is still reflected in ModE spellings like *coal*, *coarse*, *load*, *boat* as well as *oar* and *boar* (the vowel of the latter two was then lowered back to /ɔ:/ due to the following /r/). If we assume that Biddulph’s *coaua* is not a distortion of *caoua* and that he used it in the manner of other 17<sup>th</sup>-century writers, the quality of the vowel is rather surprising. Given the weak quality of the following [h] in Turkish and assuming that this situation may be projected back into Ottoman, we could theoretically expect a long vowel in the English form. 17<sup>th</sup> century English lacked a phonemic long low vowel at that time (Lass 1999b: 103), which in that case would have resulted in identifying the vowel in *kahve* with /ɒ:/, but probably not /o:/. Also see further for remarks on Modern English [ɒ].

we find spellings in *a*, *o* or *au*. The first one clearly represents the original vowel in Ott. *kahve*. The latter two, which probably reflect 17<sup>th</sup>-century English pronunciations in [ɔ] (type B forms) and [ɒ] or [aʊ] (type D [see Dobson 1957: §§235–7; esp. p. 784]), have not been satisfactorily explained so far and are not discussed in the English dictionaries quoted above, except for OED. However, the editors' suggestion of the development *o* < *au* < *ahw* or *ahv* renders [f] inexplicable (cf. above).

EWN (s.v. *koffie*) offers two hypothetical solutions to this problem: (1) *a* > *o* under the influence of the preceding [q], or (2) *a* > *o* as in *dalar* > *dollar*. The parallel with *dollar* is not very helpful: because the phonological contexts are hardly comparable, the two words would remain two separate isolated examples.

However, the first explanation is more compelling (a similar solution is advanced in de Vaan 2008: 203), although we lack direct evidence in support of it. In Turkish, while labialization *a* > *o* in the neighbourhood of *k* (pronounced variably as [k ~ q]) is possible in modern dialects (see Caferoğlu 1959: 245, §22231) and may reflect a similar tendency in Ottoman (for an example from our corpus see *koftan* in CAFTAN), no Ottoman forms like *\*kōhve* or *\*kōhva* are directly attested. As far as Arabic is concerned, if we take the modern situation as our frame of reference, subphonemic backing /a/ > [ɑ] is possible in both the standard and the dialects in the neighbourhood of [q], although the change does not seem to involve labialization. According to de Vaan the different reflexes (i.e. *o* ~ *a*) of the first vowel attested in the European forms were determined by whether it was respectively the first or the second syllable of the Ottoman etymon that was perceived as stressed. This is a plausible theory, but without additional data it remains a theory.

### 3. The origin of the Arabic etymon

The ultimate origin of the name is irrelevant for its history in Europe, which is mostly related to the popularity of Ottoman culture in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Therefore, a few remarks will suffice.

As for the discussion in English dictionaries, two forms are recurrent in the early authors: A *qahwa(t)* 'wine' and the name of the Ethiopian province *Kaffa*, the alleged homeland of the coffee tree. The authors vary as to the relationship between them. Müller and Yule seem to treat the two words as two unrelated competing hypothetical etyma. Yule is more inclined towards the first of these etyma, because A *qahwa(t)* 'coffee' refers to the beverage itself rather than the plant, the latter being denoted by another word. OED<sub>1</sub> and Weekley basically copy this information. Klein does so too, but supports the derivation from *Kaffa* nevertheless. CannA stands out by quoting the hypothesis by Kaye (1986). The remaining authors do not discuss derivation beyond A *qahwa(t)* 'coffee'.

The connection between A *qahwa(t)* and the name of the Ethiopian province *Kaffa* is not verifiable given the present state of our knowledge. *Kaffa* is the modern name and A *qahwa(t)*, if related at all, must be an adaptation of a form that existed at least as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>278</sup> Without access to earlier attestations (and forms?) of *Kaffa* it is impossible to subject this assumption to conclusive evaluation.

The only plausible alternative that I have been able to find is the one by Kaye (1984), who relates the word to a Semitic root  $\sqrt{qhb}$  whose meaning is related to the concept ‘blackness’, the semantic relation being transparent. See Kaye (1984) for details.

#### 4. A note concerning Oriental derivatives that reached English

W<sub>2</sub> and W<sub>3</sub> report the existence of AmE *cafeneh* or *cafenet* ‘coffee-house’. This derives (via French) from Ott. *kahvene* (see S. Stachowski 1961: 17), a colloquial contraction of *kahvehane* ← *kahve* + *hane*. The second element is P *hane* ‘house’, which lost this meaning in Ottoman and became a derivational suffix, used to create names of locations (see e.g. Buğday 1999: 82). Final *t* in *cafenet* must go back to inverse spelling in French.

Stanford is worth mentioning as the only dictionary to comment on two other foreign derivatives that reached English: *cafejee* and *cafeji-bashi*, both are from Ottoman, as the author rightly notes (cf. Ott. *kahveği* ‘keeper of a coffee shop’; *kahveği başı* ‘person whose job was to prepare the Sultan’s coffee’; RTOİS 582).<sup>279</sup>

#### 5. A note concerning European derivatives of A *qahwe* / T *kahve*

A number of European derivatives of varying meanings reflecting the career of coffee in our continent have been attested in English. Their origin is not problematic and its treatment in OED<sub>2,3</sub> is satisfactory. They are included here for the sake of completeness. The list below follows the chronology of attestation as determined in OED<sub>2,3</sub>:

- (a) *café* ‘coffee-house’ (1802 Wilmot<sub>2</sub>; the proper name *Café d’Acajou* is attested in 1789) < F *café*; the word is also found in the sense ‘coffee’ in a number of French names for types of coffee: *café au lait* ‘coffee with milk’ (1763 [1904] Walpole<sub>2</sub>), *café noir* ‘black coffee’ (1845 Acton<sub>2</sub>), *café filtré* ‘coffee made by

<sup>278</sup> This is when the drink and the name are introduced in Ottoman Turkey (cf. ÇTES s.v. *kahve*). On the introduction of the drink itself see the useful summary in Kia 2011 (p. 234) and the references therein.

<sup>279</sup> Stanford glosses *cafejee-bashi* ‘head of the cafejees’, which is the literal meaning of *kahveği başı*.

filtering boiling water through coffee' (1922 Ukers), *café complet* 'coffee with milk and sugar' (1933 Blunden & Norman<sub>2</sub>), and *café crème* 'coffee with cream' (1936 Connolly<sub>2</sub>)

- (b) *caffeine* 'a vegetable alkaloid crystallizing in white silky needles, found in the leaves and seeds of the coffee and tea plants' (1830 Lindley<sub>2</sub>) < F; the name was coined by the French chemist Pierre Joseph Pelletier (1822 Pelletier *Caféine*: 35)
- (c) *caffè* 1. 'coffee-house, esp. Italian' (1835 Tuckerman<sub>3</sub>); 2. 'coffee, esp. as served in Italian caffès' (1852 [1927] *Venerabile*<sub>3</sub>); also found in a number of Italian names for types of coffee: *caffè latte* 'coffee with milk' (1847 *Cultivator*<sub>3</sub>), *caffè espresso* 'coffee made using steam pressure' (1933 Douglas<sub>3</sub>), *caffè macchiato* (1988 *N.Y. Newsday*<sub>3</sub>; originally American)
- (d) *cafeteria* 'coffee-house' (1839 Stephens<sub>2</sub>) < American Sp. *cafetería* 'coffee-shop'; originally limited to American English
- (e) *cafetière* 'coffee-pot; coffee-percolator' (1846 Soyer<sub>2</sub>) < F

## DOLMA

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **dolma** ['dɒlmə] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), [ˈdɒlmə] ~ [ˈdɒlma:] (2008 LPD); AmE **dolma** ['dɒlmə] [ˈdɒlma:] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [ˈdaːlmə] ~ [ˈdɔːlmə] (2008 LPD)

FORMS: *Dolma* (1802 Pallas *Russia* I: 359),<sup>280</sup> *Dolma* (1817 Walpole *Memoirs*: 243, 245), *dolma* (1829 Frankland *Constantinople* I: 144), *Dolma* (1889 *Cent. Dict.*<sub>2</sub>), *dolmas*, sg. (1935 Morphy<sub>2</sub>), *dolmas*, pl. (1954 Dodge<sub>2</sub>), *dolmades* (1962 Haggard<sub>2</sub>), *dolmathes* (1962 *Listener*<sub>2</sub>)

A Turkish dish made of hollowed out vegetables stuffed with various ingredients that may or may not contain meat widespread in the former dominions of the Ottoman Empire and surrounding regions (esp. Turkey, the Balkan countries, Russia, Iran, etc.).

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1961: W<sub>3</sub>: < T lit. 'something stuffed' ← *dolma* 'stuffed'
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub>: < T ← *dolmak* 'to fill, be filled'
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub>: < T 'filling'
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

<sup>280</sup> The referenced work is the second edition of 1812, the first edition (1802) being unavailable to the author. However, the relevant passage is present in the first edition as well, as evidenced by its reprint in NAR (1803: 81).

## COMMENTARY:

The earliest attestations of the word are from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, almost a century earlier than suggested by OED<sub>2</sub>. The form does not point to any particular immediate donors and there exists a possibility of mediation in transmission of any of the early attested forms, especially through languages of the Balkans (cf. Serb. *dolma*, Bulg *dolmà*, Alb *dollmá*, Ru. *dulma*; TMEN III §1188). The form *dolmas* (1935) is used as a singular and most probably reflects the standard spoken Greek form *dolmas* (cf. ModGk. *ντολμάς* ‘stuffed vine leaves’ GkED 593), with *-s* being the Greek marker of the nominative, rather than the English plural ending. The forms *dolmades* and *dolmathes* (both 1962) are from the Modern Greek plural *ντολμάδες*.<sup>281</sup> The form *dolmas* (1952) is on the other hand an English plural.

Ott. **دولما** *dolma* ‘a dish of meat, fruit or vegetable, filled with rice, force-meat, etc’ (Redhouse: 1262) literally means ‘filling’ and is a deverbal noun from *dol-* ‘to fill’ (*-mak* given in *dolmak* in OED<sub>2</sub> is the suffix of another deverbal noun, which usually has function similar to the infinitive). The deverbal suffix *-ma* is widely used in Turkic to form names of dishes (cf. ELEME, KORMA, SHAWARMA).

The root itself is an alteration of a Tkc. stem reconstructed as *\*tol-* ‘to become full’ (> T, Az., Tkm. *dol-*) by Doerfer (TMEN III §1188) and *\*töl-* by Räsänen (VEWT 486), who includes Tkm. *döl-* and Yak *tuol* in his comparison. Piek 2819 and STJ 263 both have long vowels, which corroborates Räsänen’s reconstruction. The *-l* is further analysed by Erdal as a passive-forming suffix (OTWF II 628).

**DONER (KEBAB)**

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **doner** [ˈdɒnə] [ˈdɒʊnə] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), [ˈdɒnə] (2008 LPD); AmE **doner** [ˈdoʊnər] (2008 LPD)

FORMS: *doner kebab* (1947 Ekrem *Turkey*: 20), *döner kebab* (1958 Howe<sub>2</sub>), *döner kebab* (1968 Roden<sub>2</sub>), *doner kebab houses* (1981 *Listener*<sub>2</sub>), *doner kebab* (1986 Milne<sub>2</sub>)

A Turkish dish which consists of slices of lamb or mutton, layered with herbs and spices on a vertical spit and roasted as it revolves against a tall narrow grill. As the surface is cooked the meat is sliced thinly downwards and served, often with pita. Also elliptically as **doner**.

The dish is also prepared (often with slightly different ingredients) outside Turkey, esp. for sale in restaurants, etc. (1958 *döner kebab*).

<sup>281</sup> For the same Greek plural ending see KEFTEDES.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **doner kebab**: < T *döner kebab* < *döner* participial adjective ‘turning, rotating’ (← *dönmek* ‘to turn’) + *kebab* ‘kebab’

## COMMENTARY:

The etymology given in OED<sub>2</sub> is correct. A comment could be added concerning the literal meaning ‘rotating kebab’. What rotates is actually not kebab but the skewer (= T *şiş*; cf. **SHASHLIK**) on which the dish is prepared. Thus *döner* is an ellipted form of *döner şiş* ‘rotating skewer’, the latter built of the aorist participle *döner* modifying the noun *şiş* (on *-er* in *döner*, see M. Stachowski 2009: 357ff).

See **KEBAB** for the second component.

Cf. also **SHAWARMA**, the name of a similar Arab dish.

**ELEME**

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **eleme** [ˈɛlɪmi] (1891 OED<sub>1</sub>), AmE **eleme** [ˈɛlɪmi] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [ˈɛləmi] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *Eleme Figs* (1874 Flückiger & Hanbury *Pharmacographia*: 489); *elemi* (1879 *Encycl. Brit.*<sub>2</sub>); *Eleme Figs* (1888 *Grocer's Price*<sub>2</sub>), *Elemi figs* (1889 White *Fig*: 63)

*attrib.* In **eleme figs**, a kind of dried figs from Turkey (1879 *elemi*).

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1891: OED<sub>1</sub> < T اللهمة [sic! – M. U.] (transliterated *èlémé* by Redhouse) ‘something sifted or selected’
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **elemi**: ‘resin’; cf. F *élémi*, Sp., It. *elemi*; origin doubtful, probably < sA
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **eleme**: or *elemi figs*; < T *elehmeh* ‘sifted’
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **eleme**: ‘Smyrna figs of superior quality packed flat’; < T *eleme* ‘selected, sifted’
- 1966: Klein s.v. **eleme**: ‘a fragrant raisin’ < Sp. *elemi* < VA *elemí*, corresponding to A *al-lāmí*
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **eleme**: < T *eleme* ‘something sifted or selected’

## COMMENTARY:

According to the text referenced under date 1874, “[t]he word *Eleme* applied in London shops to dried figs of superior quality (“Eleme Figs”) is probably a corruption of the Turkish *ellémé*, signifying *hand-picked*.” Two pieces of information

may be drawn based on this: (a) the expression was widely known (at least in London) by 1874, therefore it must have reached England considerably earlier; (b) while the particulars had to be filled in, the Turkic origin of *eleme* was no secret to the English. The latter was obviously related to the fact that the figs were imported from Turkey.

It seems that two Ottoman words were confused in the history of the English use: *elleme* ‘hand-picked, selected’ (← *elle-* ‘to handle, feel/touch with the hand’; RTOİS 336) and *eleme* ‘sifted, selected’ (← *ele-* ‘to sift, to sieve; to search carefully, to select’; *op. cit.*: 335).

Furthermore, the variant *elemi* is due to folk etymological association with yet another word, *elemi* (< A), denoting a kind of resin obtained from *Canarium luzonicum*, which used to be an important commodity in the East. There are reports of a certain Mr Parker of Placer, California who imported the fruit in the late 1880s. They were known there as “Elemi” figs, as their colour apparently made them resemble the resin (see e.g. White *Fig*: 63).

For the deverbial suffix *-ma* see also DOLMA, KORMA, and SHAWARMA.

## HALVA

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **halva** [ˈhælvə] ~ [həlˈvɑ:] ~ [x-] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), [ˈhælvə] ~ [ˈhælvɑ:] (2008 LPD), **hulwa** [ˈhʌlwə] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), **halawi** [həˈlɑ:wi:] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>); AmE **halva(h)** [hɑ:lˈvɑ:] ~ [ˈhɑ:l(,)vɑ:] ~ [ˈhɑ:l(ə)və] ~ [ˈhɑ:ləvɑ:] ~ [ˈhælvə] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [hɑ:lˈvɑ:] ~ [ˈhɑ:lva:] (2008 LPD)

FORMS: **A:** *helwa* (1662 Davies<sub>2</sub>), *holway* (1698 Fryer<sub>2</sub>), *hulwa* (1783 Gladwin *Ayeen* I: 79), *halwá* (1832 Atkinson *Persia*: 29), *halwa* (1832 Morier *Zohrab* I: 123), *hulwa* (1884 *Times*<sub>2</sub>), *halwa* (1917 Kipling<sub>2</sub>)

**B:** [*Halvaxis* (1677 Tavernier *Seraglio*: 9)] *halvah* (1829 Fuller *Turkey*: 526), *halvah* (1833 Kay *Turkey*: 519), *halva* (1842 Leveson-Gower *Mediterranean* I: 304), *halva* (1846 Fromer<sub>2</sub>), *halvas* (1884 LippM Oct: 394), *halvas* (1908 *Daily Chron.*<sub>2</sub>), *halva* (1916 Saki<sub>2</sub>), *halvah* (1945 Kober<sub>2</sub>), *halvah* (1953 Miller<sub>2</sub>), *halva cake* (1962 *Listener*<sub>2</sub>), *halvah* (1964 Markfield<sub>2</sub>), *halva* (1973 *Sunday Express*<sub>2</sub>)

**C:** *hhalaweh* (1836 Lane *Egyptians*<sub>1</sub> II: 17),<sup>282</sup> *halawi* (1911 Lawrence<sub>2</sub>), *halawi* (1913 *Home Lett.*<sub>2</sub>)

<sup>282</sup> Both OED<sub>2</sub> and OED<sub>3</sub> refer to p. 14, but my edition has the relevant passage on p. 17.



A kind of sweetmeat originally from Turkey, but also popular in Europe (esp. the Balkans) and eastern countries; in the Mediterranean basin usually made from caramel and sesame seeds, but the particular ingredients vary from region to region.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **hulwa**: < A *halwa* and *halawa* is generic for 'sweetmeat', and the word is in use from Constantinople to Calcutta; in Hind[ustani], the word represents a particular class, of which the ingredients are milk, sugar, almond paste, and ghee flavoured with cardamom
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub>
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **halvah**: also *halva*, *halavah*: < Yid. *halva* < Ro. < T *helva* < A *ḥalwā* 'sweetmeat'
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **halawi**: < A; s.v. **halva**: < T *helva*, MGk. *halvas*, A *ḥalwā* 'hulwa'; s.v. **hulwa**: < Urdu and A *ḥalwā* 'sweetmeat'
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **halvah**: also *halva*, *halavah*; < T *helva* < A *ḥalwā*
- 1994: CannA s.v. **halawi**: < *ḥalwā* 'sweetmeat'; s.v. **halva(h)**: (Yid. *halva* < Rom) < T *helva* < A *ḥalwā* 'sweetmeat'; s.v. **hulwa**: Urdu & A *ḥalwā* 'halvah'
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> s.v. **halvah**: or *halva* < T *helva* < A *ḥalwā* < *ḥaluwa* 'to be sweet'

#### COMMENTARY:

OED<sub>2</sub> has three separate entries: *halawi* 'a kind of sweetmeat', *halva* 'a sweetmeat made of sesame flour and honey' and *hulwa* 'a kind of sweetmeat in India, Persia, etc.'. The division of entries is confusing: they are treated as separate lexemes, but at the same time feature very inconsistent cross-references that suggest at least some identity. The assignment of meanings is also problematic: they do not seem different enough to justify the separation of the words. The comment in the definition of *halva* is not valid, as the dessert may be prepared from varying ingredients depending on the region, unless what is meant here is the Turkish and European varieties. The geographical delimitation of *hulwa* to "India, Persia, etc." could be justified, on the basis of the form (see further), but it makes inconsistent the mention of the form *halwa* (quoted from Kipling, with clear reference to India) in *halva* (q.v.).

The attested forms seem to fall into two larger groups those in *-w-* (type A) and those in *-v-* (type B). The earliest one is *helwa* (s.v. *hulwa*), recorded in 1662, in John Davies's translation of Adam Olearius' *Travels*, who mentions that the

dessert is made in Tabriz. The next record is from the 1698 work by John Fryer entitled *A new account of East-India and Persia* (*ibid.*). It is said there that *Holway* is used in Spahaun (= Isfahan) by the members of the Sufi during religious ceremonies in resemblance to showbread. These and other sources featuring forms in *-w-* refer either to Iran or Afghanistan, therefore it is reasonable to assume that they are due to Iranian influence. However, the source could not have been spoken Persian, where orthographic *ṣ*, *w* would be pronounced as [v] in this position, but either written language or another dialect, e.g. Dari, which retains the original [w] in all environments.

It seems that type B forms do not appear in English before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, there is an isolated attestation of this spelling as part of the derivative *halvagi* ‘halva-maker, confectioner’ (corresponding to Ott. *halvağçı* id.) in a 1677 translation of Tavernier *Serrail*.<sup>283</sup> The earliest English *halvah* (1829) is recorded in a passage describing the author’s pastimes during his stay on the Greek island of Paros. This would suggest Greek mediation in this case. The fact that there is no *-s* ending, which is present in the Greek form χαλβάζς, could suggest that the author was aware that it was the nominative case marker, although it cannot be ruled out that he had already known the word from elsewhere. Around the same time *halvah* is also recorded in American English (1833). The *halva(h)* forms are frequently attested in British English in the 1830s, 40s and in the latter part of the century. All these texts are written from the point of view of a visitor or resident in the Ottoman Empire, Persia or India. Thus the forms were transmitted most probably via one of three major routes:

1. directly from a dialect of Ottoman Turkish
2. from Persian (< Ott)
3. from Urdu or Hindi (< P < Ott)

Again, *a priori* familiarity with the form from one of the European languages cannot be ruled out, especially given the fact that there are more records in other languages in this period. Direct borrowing from Greek is almost certain in the case of *halvas* (1884 in American English and 1908 in British English) due to reasons mentioned above.

CannA copies his derivations from two sources: OED<sub>2</sub> (*halawi* and *hulwa*) and (an earlier edition of) Webster (*halva*). While Webster’s derivation may

<sup>283</sup> In fact, the translation was originally published in 1675. Because I could not obtain a copy, I used the edition of 1677.

make sense for American English, it is rather unlikely in British English. In the former it may also be due to interdialect transmission from British English.

The ultimate etymon is A حَلْوَى *ḥalwā* ‘candy, confection, confectionery, sweetmeats’ (AED: 237), which is the source of Ott. حلوا *helva* ‘a certain sweet dish prepared in many varieties with sesame oil, various cereals, and syrup or honey (Redhouse: 802, also see ALOT I: 106). The Ottoman Turkish use was transmitted to Persian and other varieties of Iranian, whence to Hindustani and further to Anglo-Indian. Along another route it has also reached the Balkans, whence it spread to Europe. It might have also been transmitted back to Arabic, as a semantic loan, with special reference to the Turkish halva, and thus some English *-w-* forms could be explained as deriving from Arabic.

The form *hhalaweh* probably corresponds to the Arabic plural *ḥalāwā* (← *ḥalwā*, AED: 237). The two forms in *-i* are unclear, although if we take into consideration T. E. Lawrence’s biography they may reflect a (plural?) form from one of the Eastern Arabic dialects.

## IMAM BAYILDI

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **Imam Bayildi** [t'mɑ:m 'bɑ:jildi] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: *Īmām Bāyildi* (1865 Turabi *Cookery*: 35), *Imam Bayildi* (1918 *Blackwood's Mag.* vol. CCIV, no. 1237: 587), *Imam Baïldi* (1935 Morphy<sub>2</sub>), *Imam Bayildi* (1952 Howe & Espir<sub>2</sub>), *Imam Bayildi* (1958 Orga<sub>2</sub>), *Imam Baïldi* (1969 [1970] Stout<sub>2</sub>), *Imam Bayildi* (1972 Rathbone<sub>2</sub>), *Imam Bayildi* (1973 *Guardian*<sub>2</sub>)

A dish consisting of eggplant stuffed with onion, garlic and tomatoes.

### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **Imam Bayildi**: < T, lit. ‘the priest fainted’ (supposedly from pleasure at, or because of the cost of, the dish)  
 1994: CannA s.v. **Imam Bayildi**: < T; lit. ‘the imam fainted’, as at the cost or deliciousness of this aubergine dish

### COMMENTARY:

The information provided in OED<sub>2</sub> is fairly accurate. Cannon’s entry is an evident copy.

The English usage as reflected in the quotations supplied in that dictionary is always with reference to Turkey and it seems that Turkish may be accepted as the immediate donor. The earliest quotation (1865), not found in OED<sub>2</sub>, comes

from a cookery book popularizing the Turkish cuisine and the form that is used there is romanization of Ott. ام‌آم بايلى (Redhouse: 194, RTOİS: 532). Later usage is most probably due to reborrowing from 20<sup>th</sup>-century Turkish (whether Late Ottoman or Modern Turkish). Modern Turkish spells the name as one word *imambayıldı* (RTOİS 532), whereas the English spelling reflects the phrasal origin of the name. Letter substitutions <I> for <İ> and <i> for <ı> are expected.

The use of *i* in the 1935 and 1969 spellings could be under the influence of Greek *ιμάμ μπαίλντι* id. (GkEDict 387), but may well reflect a convention adopted from French whereby two dots are used in some foreign words to indicate that the vowel forms its own syllable, cf. *naïve*, and *CAÏQUE*.

In English texts (including those quoted in OED<sub>2</sub> at 1935, 1952 and 1969) the phrase is frequently translated using the gerund, e.g. 'fainting imam', 'swooning imam' etc. This is not accurate as the corresponding Turkish phrase would be *bayılan imam*, with *-an* being the suffix of the present participle. The translations suggested by both OED<sub>2</sub> and CannA are more faithful.

Various versions of the story of the imam fainting at the expense or deliciousness of the dish are frequently recounted in popular sources both in English (e.g. 1935 and 1952 above) and in other languages, but also occasionally by far more authoritative sources (e.g. TShJ: 345). However, the explanation is rather suspicious and is probably an urban legend, although no plausible alternative has been offered.

## KEBAB ~ KABOB

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **kebab** [kɪ'bæb] ~ [kɪ'ba:b] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), [kɪ'bæb] ~ [kə'bæb] (2008 LPD), **cabob** [kə'bɒb] (1888 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **kebab** [kə'ba:b] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [kɪ'ba:b] (2008 LPD), **kebaub** [kə'bo:b] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), **cabob** / **kabob** [ka'ba:b] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), ['keɪba:b] ~ [kə'ba:b] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: A: 1. *Kibób* ~ *Kibôbs* (1675 [1893] Bent *Voyages*: 174, 262), *cabob* (1696 Ovington *Suratt*: 397), *cabob* (1698 Fryer<sub>2</sub>), *cobbob* (1731 Pitts<sub>3</sub>), *cabobs* (1743 [1814] Pococke in Pinkerton *Voyages* XV: 211),<sup>284</sup> *chabobs* (1771 [1882] Smollett<sub>5</sub>),<sup>285</sup> *cobob* (1797 EB<sub>3</sub> V: 107), *kabob* (1813 Forbes<sub>3</sub>), *kabobb* (1819 Busk<sub>5</sub>), *kabobs* (1826 Hockley<sub>5</sub>), *kubaubs* (1828 Kuzzilbash<sub>5</sub>), *kibaubs* (1839 Kirkland<sub>2</sub>), *kebaubs* (1840 Fraser<sub>5</sub>), *cabobs* (1855 Thackeray<sub>3</sub>),<sup>286</sup> *keebaubs* (1861 Winthrop<sub>2</sub>), *kabobs*

<sup>284</sup> OED<sub>2-3</sub> gives wrong volume reference, XIV instead of XV.

<sup>285</sup> This quotation occurs in Stanford s.v. *pilau*.

<sup>286</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1854.

(1883 Stuart<sub>3</sub>); 2. *cabob* (1699 B. E.<sub>3</sub>)<sup>287</sup>; **Transitive verb.** *cabob'd* (1774 Graves *Quixote* III: 110), *kabobbed* (1798 Morton<sub>3</sub>), *kabobed* (1835 Maryatt *Pacha* III: 91), *cabobbed* (1865 Leveson *Hunting*: 259)

**B:** 1. *kab-ab* (1738 Shaw *Travels*: v), *kabab* (1774 Graves *Quixote* III: 110), *ka-bāb* (1834 Çelebi-Hammer *Narrative* I, i: 124), *kabab* (1839 Wilbraham *Trans-Caucasian Russia*: 44), *kubab* (1845 Bregion & Miller<sub>3</sub>), *khubab* ~ *qabab* (1954 *Good Housek. Cookery Bk.*<sub>2</sub>)

**C:** 1. *kebab* (1766 Hasselquist *Levant*: 290), *kibaāb* (1790 Francklin *Bengal to Persia*: 189), *kibaāb* (1797 *Encyc. Brit.*<sub>3</sub>), *keb-abs* (1813 Forbes<sub>2</sub>), *kiebabs* (1819 Hope *Anastasius* I: 140),<sup>288</sup> *kebāb* (1836 Lane<sub>3</sub>), *kibab* (1902 *Daily Chron.*<sub>2</sub>), *kebabs* (1932 *Times Lit. Suppl.*<sub>2</sub>), *kibbab* (1954 *Good Housek. Cookery Bk.*<sub>2</sub>), *kebab* (1955 Band<sub>2</sub>), *kebabs* (1963 Carrier<sub>2</sub>), *kebab houses* (1967 *Times*<sub>2</sub>), *kebabs* ~ *kebab ragoûts* ~ *fish kebabs* (1970 Simon & Howe<sub>2</sub>), *kebab skewers* (1973 *Times*<sub>2</sub>), *kebab houses* (1974 *Times*<sub>2</sub>), *kebab van* (1990 *Independent*<sub>3</sub>), *kebab van* (2001 *In at Deep End*<sub>3</sub>), *kebab houses* (2003 *New Yorker*<sub>3</sub>)

1. An oriental dish made of pieces of meat roasted on a skewer, with vegetables;

2. 'A leg of mutton stuffed with white herrings and sweet herbs' (Halliwell).

**Transitive verb.** To cook in the manner described.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1865: W-M s.v. **cabob**: < P *cabbob* 'meat roasted'  
 1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **cabob**: < A-H *kaḇāb*  
 1888: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **cabob**: < A كَبَاب *kaḇāb* (also in P and U)  
 1892: Stanford s.v. **cabob**: < A, P, Hind *kaḇāb* 'small pieces of meat roasted on a spit with seasoning between the pieces'; in India, a general term for 'roast meat'; s.v. **kebab**, **kebaub**: < A; s.v. **kiebab**: < T; s.v. **kubab**, **kubaub**: < P  
 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub>  
 1921: Weekley s.v. **cabob**: meat on skewers < A *kaḇāb*  
 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **cabob** n.: a. now always plural 'meat roasted in small pieces on a skewer and seasoned with garlic, oil, etc.; so called in the Orient', b. 'a leg of mutton stuffed with white herrings and sweet herbs, and roasted' c. U.S. 'a strip of beef and a slice of

<sup>287</sup> This is misdated 1690 in OED<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>288</sup> Stanford refers wrongly to p. 130.

- bacon twisted around the end of a green stick and roasted over an open fire, usually garnished with sliced bacon' < P & H *kabōb*; s.v. *cabob* v. t.: 'to roast as a cabob'
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **kabob**: < P, H, A, & T; P & H *kabāb* < A < T *kebab*
- 1966: Klein s.v. **cabob**: n. 'roast meat' (Anglo-Ind.) < Hind *kabab* < P *kabab*; derivative: *cabob*, tr. v.
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **cabob**: < Urdu (P) < A *kabāb*
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **cabob** = OED<sub>1</sub>; s.v. **kebab**: var. of CABOB
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **kebab**, **kebob**, **kabob**: refers the reader to *shish kebab*; s.v. **shish kebab**: T *kebab* 'roasted meat'
- 1994: CannA s.v. **kabob/kebab**: A *kabāb* < T *kebab* 'roast meat'
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> s.v. **kebab**, **kebob**, **kabob**: refers the reader to *shish kebab*; s.v. **shish kebab**: T *kebab* 'roasted meat' (prob. < A *kabāb* 'cooked meat in small pieces', possibly < Aram. *kabbābā* 'burning, charring' ← *kabbeb* 'to char, roast', probably < Akk. *kabābu*, 'to burn')
- 2001: CannP s.v. **kabob/kebab**: < A, P *kabāb* < T *kebab* roast meat

## COMMENTARY:

## 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

The Persian form quoted by W-M is either a ghost word or in non-standard notation. The vowel *-o-* in the second syllable may be interpreted as a reflection of the Late New Persian (= Modern Persian) pronunciation of the Early New Persian long *ā* as labialized [ā̌],<sup>289</sup> although this is not stated directly. Yule<sub>1</sub> adds a note on the semantics of the word in Anglo-Indian, which was apparently used with reference to 'roast meat' in general, but specifically denoted what we nowadays call *kebab*. OED<sub>1</sub>, Stanford, W<sub>1</sub>, Weekley, ODEE do not add any new information. The respective entries only differ as far as the candidates for immediate donor being alternatively Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Urdu, Hindustani

<sup>289</sup> This change in fact replaced the opposition of quantity (*a* : *ā*) with that of quality (*ā̌* : *ā*). This is reflected e.g. in Rubínčik's dictionary (PRS), where the two vowels are transcribed *ā̌* and *a* respectively. Western dictionaries (e.g. Steingass) tend to use the traditional transcription, i.e. *a* and *ā*. Interestingly, as far as the latter vowel is concerned Pisowicz's (1985: 12) data point to variation among the speakers between slight labialization and a complete lack of it. The conclusion is that 'there are no grounds for acknowledging /ā̌/ as a labialized vowel'.

or various combinations of these. Klein has short vowels in the second syllable of both Hindustani and Persian forms, which seems to be incorrect.<sup>290</sup>

OED<sub>2</sub> is the first dictionary to acknowledge the existence of *kebab* as a separate word, although the separation is rather cosmetic, based on the spelling and pronunciation. The Turkish form is mentioned for the first time in W<sub>3</sub>, albeit in a wrong context, i.e. as the source of A *kabāb*. The same wrong derivation A < T is repeated by Cannon in both his studies. Ott. كباب 'roast, baked or broiled flesh; a dish of such food' (Redhouse: 1520; = ModT *kebab*) cannot be the ultimate etymon and cannot be a Turkic word, as it violates vowel harmony. The direction of borrowing was Ott. < A, which explains the vowels in the Ottoman form, as long Arabic *ā* was regularly reflected as *a* in Ottoman Turkish, whereas the short *a* was adapted as [e], especially in the vicinity of ك *kaf* (see section 5.1.3 in the Introduction).

AHD<sub>4</sub> correctly attempts to trace the word to Semitic (see below).

None of the sources concerned makes the effort to explain the second vowel in *cabob* as opposed to *ā* or *a* in the alleged etymon.

W-M is the only dictionary for which the problem does not seem to exist. However as remarked above, if what is meant by *o* in the notation is [o] in the Persian form then the whole account is fallacious. If on the other hand *o* stands for [ā], then the question should be asked whether such a pronunciation existed early enough to influence English (see below on that).

## 2. The use in English

As mentioned above, OED distinguishes between two entries, *cabob* and *kebab*, on the basis of spelling and pronunciation. This is justified, but these differences call for explanation. In fact, three major classes of forms can be distinguished and these are chronologically: **A.** *cabob(s)*, *kabob(s)*; **B.** *kabab(s)*; **C.** *kebab(s)*, *kibab(s)*.

In some of the A forms, the second vowel is written *au*. Such spellings start to appear in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, by which time the spelling conventions in English were fairly uniform. Generally, the Modern English pronunciation of this digraph is either [ɔ:] or [aʊ], with some words featuring the former, others the latter and still others varying between the two (Upward & Davidson 2011: 238). As there is no reason to assume a diphthongal pronunciation, the second vowel in forms like *kebaubs* must have been [ɔ:] and the digraph spelling may have been influenced by French spelling conventions.

<sup>290</sup> In 19<sup>th</sup>-century Urdu the form was كباب *kabāb* 'roasted meat' (Shakespear 1834: 1312, Platts: 809), also cf. ModH *kabāb* 'skwed meat' (HED 117). ModP كباب *kābab* (see e.g. PRS II: 305) may be romanized with two short vowels, but then the qualitative difference should be marked.

Consequently, there are two possible variant pronunciations of the second vowel: forms in A (plus the verbal uses) with spellings in *o* ~ *au* for [ɒ] (and perhaps historically [ɔ:]) as opposed to forms in B and C with spellings in *a*, for [ɑ:] ~ [æ].

If the English word has always been stressed on the second syllable, i.e. like its Oriental etyma, then the variation in the spelling of the first vowel *a* ~ *e* ~ *i* ~ *o* ~ *u* has no bearing on its actual quality. It may, however, occasionally correspond to the vowel in the source form (see next section).

### 3. The origin of English forms

Because the three vowel patterns exhibited by the majority of English forms, namely *a*–*o*, *a*–*a* and *e*–*a*, correspond well to the various Oriental pronunciations of the word it is tempting to suggest the following derivations:

Type A: < LNP كباب *kābab* ‘meat cut in small pieces and roasted with onions and eggs stuck on skewers; roast meat’ (< *kabāb*; Steingass: 1011); as remarked above LNP *a* probably had a tendency for labialization to [ɑ], like in Modern Persian, which could theoretically be held responsible for the spelling *-bob*; cf. also ModTaj. *kabob* id. (TajRS: 134)

Type B: < (dial.) A; cf. SyrA = EgA *kabāb* ‘fried or broiled meat’; cabobs, meat roasted in small pieces on a skewer, a kind of meatballs made of finely chopped meat’ (AED: 946).

Type C: < Ott. كباب *kebab* ‘roast, baked or broiled flesh; a dish of such food’ (Redhouse: 1520) (= T *kebab* id.), which is suggested by *e* in the first syllable

Occasionally the information derived from the text itself is consistent with this scenario. For example, spellings like *cabob* (1696 Ovington), *cabob* (1698 Fryer), *kubaubs* (1828 *Kuzzilbash*) may indeed all reflect West Iranian forms, as the relevant passages pertain to Mogul India (the first two)<sup>291</sup> or Kurdistan (the last one).<sup>292</sup> On the other hand, the spellings *kab-ab* (1738 Shaw, 1813 Forbes) and *kabab* (1774 Graves *Quixote*), as the authors explicitly state, represent the Arabic name of the dish. Finally, *kebab* (1766 Hasselquist), *kiebabs* (1819 Hope) both represent Turkish forms. The first of these is found in a memoir of the author’s travels in the Ottoman territories, the other in a novel set in the Ottoman Empire and famous for its careful depiction of detail.

<sup>291</sup> On the prestigious role of Persian in Mughal India see especially the useful overview in Alam 1998.

<sup>292</sup> Cf. Kurd ك’ەبەب (= *kebab*) ‘kebab, shashlyk’ (KurdRS: 205). Also cf. the form spelled *kebbab* ‘arrostò’ in the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Kurdish grammar written in Italian (Garzoni 1787: 93).



However, the account as outlined above would be oversimplified. A good case in point is the story behind the form *cobbob* (1731) found in the third edition of Pitts' *A faithfull account of the religion and manners of the Mahometans, in which is a particular relation of their pilgrimage to Mecca*, a work originally published in 1704. The relevant passage is a description of the cuisine of the Turkish inhabitants of Algeria, and seems to be absent from the earlier editions. Crucially, as McConnell (2004) informs us, the printers of this and the following (1738) editions decided to replace all the Turkish forms in Pitts' manuscript with "the conventional Arabic forms." As such, the spelling *cobbob* is not the best rendering of the expected A *kabāb*.

Furthermore, numerous cases can be identified where the source language may be deduced from the context or is named explicitly by the author, but the spelling does not match the expected pronunciation in the source language. For example the earliest attested spellings in the A class, *Kibób - Kibôbs* (1675) occur in a description of the author's visits to Küçükçekmece and Adrianople in Turkey. The letter *i* in the first syllable most probably reflects the palatalization of the preceding *k*-. However, *o* in the second syllable does not have any motivation in the Turkish pronunciation. The same is true of *kabbob* found in Busk (1819), who explicitly refers to Turkish.

A very similar form, *cabobs* (1743 Pococke) may in turn be a representation of EgA *kabāb*, as it occurs in the description of a supper served during the author's visit to the village of Sennours (i.e. the modern Sinnūris) in Al-Fayyum Oasis in Egypt.

On the other hand, we also find *kabāb* (1834 Çelebi-Hammer), which clearly stands for the form used in the Turkish manuscript of Çelebi's *Seyâhatnâme*.

Finally, as remarked above, if labialization in Persian is considered an explanation for the *-bob* spellings in Ovington and Fryer, the question should be asked how old it actually is and whether it occurred early enough to affect the 17<sup>th</sup>-century English forms. Beside these, we find e.g. *kibaab* (1790), with direct reference to Persian context. It seems that the spoken form is being rendered here, as the author marks the palatalization of *k*-, yet the second vowel is transcribed as *aa*, i.e. *ā*, with no indication of labialization.

Interestingly, some authors were aware that the spelling in *-bob* does not correspond to the actual pronunciation in the Orient. Thus, Graves writes "the neck of a camel, made *kabab* (...), or in plain English, *cabob'd*," suggesting that *cabobed* is the Anglicised form.

Difficulties like those outlined above force one to approach the spelling variation with caution: it would be jumping to conclusions to formulate any strong statements based on such unreliable evidence.

To sum up, the following points may be made:

- all three languages, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, jointly contributed to the spreading of the word in England
- the earlier spellings in *-bob* ~ *-baub* are more likely due to a distortion of an unfamiliar word than close rendering of actually heard pronunciation
- spellings in *-bab* are closer to their Oriental etymons
- in each case the source language has to be determined on the basis of the information in the text rather than on purely linguistic grounds.

#### 4. Ultimate origin

All the above forms ultimately go back to Semitic. The derivation offered in AHD<sub>4</sub> is phonetically and semantically plausible.

Another possible semantic motivation is the fact that meat is formed into balls in a typical kebab. Leslau (1991: 273) mentions A *kabbaba* ‘form into a ball’ in an entry for Ge’ez *kababa* ‘encircle, surround’.

### KEFTEDES

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **keftedes** [kɛfˈtɛðɪːz] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: *keftedès* (1899 Walton *Paris* IV: 310), *keftedes* (1912 Craies<sub>2</sub>), *keftédhes* (1958 Liddell<sub>2</sub>), *keftethes* (1966 *Observer*<sub>2</sub>), *keftedes* (1970 *Times*<sub>2</sub>)

A Greek dish of small meat balls made with herbs and onions.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **keftedes**, *n. pl.*: Gk. *κεφτέες*, pl. *κεφτέδες* ‘meat ball’ ← T *köfte*
- 2001: CannP: [in the Distant Loans section] < Gk, pl. of *kephtes* (< T *köfte* < P ‘kofta’ [s.v. *kofta*: Eng < P *kūfta* ‘rissole’] + Gk. pl. *-edes*)

#### COMMENTARY:

The etymology in the OED is generally correct.

The pronunciation reflects closely that of Modern Greek, except for the vowel in final syllable as well as final consonant.

As regards the word’s more remote past Cannon rightly adds that T *köfte* ‘grilled meat patty; meatball; croquette’ is itself a borrowing from P كوفته *kofta*

i.a. ‘hashed meat; balls of pounded meat cooked in soup’ ← کوفتن *koftan* i.e. ‘to beat, thrash’ (both in Steingass: 1062). P *kofta* occurs in English as well (cf. e.g. CannP s.v. *kofta*).

Vowel fronting in T *köfte* vs. P *kofta* is due to the fact that ک *kaf* in Persian loanwords in Ottoman was pronounced with palatalization, i.e. [kʲ] rather than as plain velar [k]. Because in native words the first one occurs solely in the context of front vowels, it had tendency to cause vowel fronting in borrowings, thus *o* > *ö*. This subsequently triggered the harmonic fronting of the final vowel as well, i.e. *-a* > *-e*. The Turkish front rounded vowel *ö* [œ] was unrounded to *e* in Greek, an expected development, given the lack of the former in Greek.

## KORMA

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **korma** [ˈkɔːmə] ~ [ˈkormaː] (1997 OED<sub>Add</sub>, 2008 LPD); AmE [ˈkɔːrmə] (2008 LPD)

FORMS: *Qoorma* ~ *Qoormā* (1832 Herklots<sub>2</sub>), *Quoorma* (1883 Wyvern<sub>2</sub>), *Koormah* ~ *Quormah* (1902 Ketab<sub>2</sub>), *kormah* (1932 Anand<sub>2</sub>), *khōrrma* (1954 Chowdhary<sub>2</sub>), *korma* (1960 Jhabvala<sub>2</sub>), *korma* (1976 *Telegraph*<sub>2</sub>), *korma* (1988 Ghosh<sub>2</sub>)

A mildly spiced Indian curry dish of meat or fish marinated in yoghurt or curds.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1997: OED<sub>Add</sub>: < Urdu *ḡormā*, *ḡormah* < T *kavurma* lit. ‘cooked meat’

## COMMENTARY:

The etymology in OED<sub>Add</sub> is generally correct. The English word is used exclusively with reference to an Indian dish and Urdu is the most likely donor.

What may be added is that the passage to the latter language was most probably indirect. Doerfer (TMEN III §1554) outlines a very likely scenario in which Tk. *kavurma* ‘fried meat’ (= Ott. *kavurma* ‘id’, RTOİS 622 – M. U.) was first borrowed into a number of Iranian varieties, where the sequence *-avu-* is distorted in various ways, cf. the reflexes in Persian dialects *-u-* ~ *-au-* ~ *-ou-* ~ *-o-* and Pashto *-o-* (see *ibid.* for particular forms). It is the latter form according to Doerfer that was the source of Urdu *ḡormā*.

The form *kavurma* lit. ‘frying’ is itself a deverbal noun from the verbal stem *kavur-* ‘fry’. The suffix *-ma* (~ *-me*) is found in the names of a number of dishes. Cf. DOLMA, SHAWARMA. Also cf. ELEME.

**KOUMISS**

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **koumis(s)** ['ku:mɪs] (1901 OED<sub>1</sub>), ['ku:mɪs] ~ ['ku:məs] (2008 LPD); AmE **k(o)umiss** ['ku:mɪs] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), ['ku:mɪs] ~ ['ku:məs] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>, 2008 LPD)

FORMS: *Cosmos* (1598 Hakluyt<sub>2</sub>), *cosmus* (1601 Johnson<sub>2</sub>),<sup>293</sup> *Chumis* (1607 Topsell<sub>2</sub>), *Cossmos* (1630 Smith<sub>2</sub>), *kumis* (1723 Pres. St. Russia<sub>2</sub>), *Kumisse* (1771 Gentleman's Mag.<sub>2</sub>), *koumiss* (1817 Edin. Rev.<sub>s</sub>), *koumis* (1873 Busk<sub>s</sub>), *koumiss* (1876 Bartholow<sub>2</sub>), *koumiss* (1882 Sat. Rev.<sub>s</sub>),<sup>294</sup> *koumiss cure* (1884 Pall Mall Gaz.<sub>2</sub>), *kumys* (1892 Daily News<sub>2</sub>)

Fermented liquor made from mare's milk.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **koumis, kumiss**: < Tat. *kumiz* 'fermented mare's milk; an intoxicating drink prepared from fermented mare's milk; a fermented beverage made from cow's milk in imitation of the Tartar beverage'; s.v. **koumiss**: < Tat.
- 1893: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. †**cosmos**, n 2: early form of *koumiss*, app. due to some error of transcription
- 1901: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **koumiss** = F *koumis*, G *kumiss*, Pol. *komis, kumys*, Ru. *кумыс* (*kumys*) < Tat. *kumiz*
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> s.v. **koumiss**: 'a fermented liquor prepared from mare's milk' < F *koumis* < Ru. *kymuis*' < Tat. *kumiz*
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **koumis**: 'fermented liquor from mare's milk' < Tat. *kumiz*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **kumiss, koumiss**: < Ru. *kumys* < Tat. *kumiz*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **koumiss**: or *kumiss* or *kumys* or *kumys* < Ru. *kumys* < KTat. & Krg. *kumyz*
- 1966: Klein s.v. **kumiss, koumiss**: < Ru. *kumys* < Tat. *kumiz*
- 1966: ODEE: < F *koumis*, G *kumiss*, Pol. *komis, kumys*, Ru. *kumys* < Tat. *kumiz*
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **kumiss**, also **koumiss**: < Ru. *kumys* < ORu. *komyzŭ* < OTkc. *qımız* ← *qammaq* 'to shake'
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

<sup>293</sup> This is given only s.v. *cosmos* n. 2.

<sup>294</sup> This is quoted s.v. *yag(h)ourt, yaoort*.

## COMMENTARY:

**1. English forms**

The early forms in *-sm-* are due to the spelling *cosmos* in William of Rubruck's account of his journey to Mongolia. The 1598 translation published in Hakluyt's collection (quoted in OED<sub>2</sub>) actually features the first occurrence in English. William of Rubruck's relation found its way to other European languages, e.g. French (1634), which helped to disseminate this early variant.<sup>295</sup>

The reason for this modification is unclear. Interference from *cosmos* 'universe' although semantically opaque is not entirely impossible in folk-etymological terms. On the other hand, Pelliot assumes an error for *comos*, whereas Clark considers this a deliberate modification by the author to make the two syllables sound alike (Clark 1973: 185).

The remaining forms represent the French spellings or spelling conventions, perhaps except for *kumis* (1723) and *kumys* (1892), which look like direct renderings of Ru. *кумыс*.

**2. Treatment in English dictionaries and the word's actual transmission**

The Tatar forms quoted in English dictionaries are all misrepresented. The Turkic varieties that indeed seem to follow the *u-i* pattern (but not *u-i!*) are certain dialects of Khakas (Anikin 2000: 322), which are not very likely to have directly impacted English in any way. Tatar, on the other hand, has *kımız* (ÈSTJa VI 215).

Given the non-labial vocalism in Tatar, an intermediary is needed to account for [u:] in English (as well as in French, its actual immediate donor). OED<sub>1,2</sub> s.v. *koumiss* mentions a number of forms in a sequence which may suggest a chain of transmission, but without any explicit commitment on the editor's part. This is modified in ODEE, where the direction of borrowing is explicitly stated, but the first to outline the most probable transmission route of the majority of forms is Skeat<sub>4</sub>, who claims that the word passed to the Western European languages through Russian.<sup>296</sup> This is later repeated by other authors.

That the change *i-i > u-i* occurred in Russian is justified by Anikin by the fact that a sequence like [ki-] is very marked in this language (or generally in Slavic). We find no fault with this explanation. Thus while the word is generally Turkic, it reaches Europe in its Russian form.

<sup>295</sup> The form *cosmos* is also retained in the first full translation of William of Rubruck's account into English in Rockhill *Rubruck & Carpine*: 62.

<sup>296</sup> Apart from the already discussed mention of a non-existent Tat *\*kumiz*, another inaccuracy in Skeat<sub>4</sub> is the author's romanization of Ru. *ui* [i] as *ui*, which may confuse the reader into thinking that this represents a diphthong. Cf. fn. 256 in CAVIAR.

AHD<sub>3</sub> offers another variant of the etymology, in which an OTkc. *ķımız* instead of a Tatar form is passed to Old Russian as *komyzŭ* (i.e. *комызѣ*). This is most certainly based on Vasmer (ĖSRJa II 416), but the label “Old Turkic” used in AHD<sub>3</sub> (not by Vasmer) is misleading, as in Turkic studies it typically refers to the language of the Orkhon inscriptions and Old Uyghur texts, and in its broader sense may include Karakhanid Turkic, none of which is a likely source of direct borrowing into Russian.

AHD<sub>3</sub> also attempts to explain the Turkic form, probably again following Vasmer (accepted by Anikin 2000: 322), but for unknown reasons the Old Turkic infinitive which is supposed to constitute the derivational basis is given as *ķammak*, instead of *ķimmak* ‘to shake’. The element *-iz* is not explained.

Semantically and formally more convincing is the most recent etymological solution by Erdal (quoted in M. Stachowski 2010: 543, fn. 10), who proposed in 2009 that Tk. *ķımız* ‘kumis’ < P *qamīz* id. < ? A *hāmīd* ‘sour’. For a discussion of earlier proposals see ĖSTJa (VI 216).

## MEZE

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **meze** [ˈmezeɪ] ~ [ˈmeɪzeɪ] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), [ˈmez eɪ] (2008 LPD); AmE **meze** [me ˈzeɪ] ~ [ˈmeɪzeɪ] (2008 LPD)

FORMS: *maza* (1904 *N. Y. Times*<sub>3</sub>), *Mezeh* (1913 Keoleian<sub>3</sub>), *mézés* (1926 *Manch. Guardian Weekly*<sub>2</sub>), *mézé* (1950 David<sub>2</sub>), *Mezedes* (1955 *Times*<sub>2</sub>), *mezzeh* (1955 Boulanger *Lebanon*: 46), *meze* (1957 Durrell<sub>2</sub>), *mezée* (1966 Aldridge<sub>2</sub>), *mezza* (1967 Girson *Voyages*: 11), *mezzeh* (1968 Cleary<sub>2</sub>), *Mezes* (1974 *Times*<sub>2</sub>), *mezze* (1990 *Sunday Tel.*<sub>3</sub>), *maza* (2001 *Boston Globe*<sub>3</sub>)

A selection of dishes served with an aperitif as appetizers before the main course, especially in Greece and Near East.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub>: < T *meze* ‘snack, appetizer’
- 2001: CannP: < T ‘a snack, appetizer’ < P *maza* ‘taste, relish’
- 2010: OED<sub>3</sub>: < ModGk. *μεζέζ* (plural *μεζέδες*) ‘snack’, T *meze* ‘snack, appetizer’, and their etymon P *maza* ‘taste, flavour, smack, relish’ (in later use also in sense ‘savoury snack, taken with drink to bring out its taste’; compare A *mazza* (plural *mazzāt*) ‘relishes, appetizers taken with drink’) < P *mazīdan* ‘to taste, suck, sip’

## COMMENTARY:

OED<sub>3</sub> provides all the necessary information. Regarding the gemination in A *mazza* < P *maza* or T *meze* (this latter etymology in AED: 1062, EALL IV 593), Tafazzoli (1986) mentions it as a means in Arabic to adjust borrowings from Iranic to the trilateral root system, although only monosyllabic words are mentioned (thus e.g. in *qazz* ‘silk’ < P *kaz*). The result is reflected in some English forms.

It is difficult to determine from the context whether the forms like *mézés* (1926) and *Mezes* (1974) are adaptations of the Greek singular reinterpreted as a plural-only noun or rather English plural forms of *mézé* or *Meze*.

## MOUSSAKA

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **moussaka** [mu:'sa:kə] ~ [mu:sə'ka:] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), [mʊ'sa:kə] ~ [mu:'sa:kə] (2003 OED<sub>3</sub>), [mu:'sa:kə] (2008 LPD); AmE **moussaka** [mu:'sa:kə] ~ [mu:sa:kə] ~ [mu:sa:'ka:] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [mu'sakə] ~ [musa'ka] (2003 OED<sub>3</sub>) [mu:'sa:kə] (2008 LPD)

FORMS: *Müzàkkà* (1862 Efendi<sub>3</sub>), *Moussaka* (1941 Harrison<sub>2</sub>), *Moussaka* (1950 David<sub>2</sub>), *moussaka* (1957 Durrell<sub>2</sub>), *mousaka* (1960 *Sunday Express*<sub>2</sub>), *mousaka* (1962 *Listener*<sub>2</sub>), *moussaka* (1966 *Punch*<sub>2</sub>), *moussaka* (1972 Aiken<sub>2</sub>), *moussaka* (1993 *Toronto Life*<sub>3</sub>)

A Balkan and eastern Mediterranean dish of minced beef or lamb, aubergines or potatoes, and onions.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub>: < T < EgA *musakḳ'a*; cf. ModGk. *μουσακάς*, Ro. *musaca*, Alb, Blg. *musaka*, etc.
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub>: < SCr. < T *mussakka* < A *musakka*
- 1993: W<sub>3-Add</sub>: < NGk. *mousakas* < T *musakka*
- 1994: CannA: < ModGk. *mousakas* < T *musakka* < EgA
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub>: < SCr. < T *mussakka* < coll. EgA *musaqqa'a*, ‘chilled, moussaka’, feminine passive participle of *saqqa'a*, ‘to chill’, variant of *ṣaqqā'a* ← *ṣaq'a* ‘cold, frost’ ← *ṣaqi'a*, ‘to be white’
- 2010: OED<sub>3</sub>: < Ott. *mūṣāqa*, T *musakka* < A *musaqqa*, lit. ‘that which is fed liquid’, passive participle ← *saqqā* ‘to feed liquid to’; later probably reborrowed < Gk. *μουσακάς* and similar forms in Balkan languages (cf. Ro. *musaca*, Bulg *musaka*, Serb. and Cr *musaka*, Alb *musaka*; cf also F *moussaka* (1934 or earlier)); the Arabic etymon

suggests a procedure of repeatedly adding liquid during cooking; however, this is not mentioned for moussaka in Turkish cookery books, old or new. It perhaps refers simply to the addition of the sauce

#### COMMENTARY:

### 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

OED<sub>2</sub> postulates the direction of borrowing from Arabic to Ottoman to English and this derivation is repeated without major changes by the majority of dictionaries. Regarding the apparent role of Egyptian Arabic, see below.

AHD<sub>3-4</sub> misspells the Turkish form as *mussakka* instead of *musakka* and adds Serbo-Croat as an intermediary, but the choice is not justified and surprising in view of the identification of the dish as Greek by the editors (cf. the solution advocated in W<sub>3-Add</sub>).

The spelling of the Ottoman and Modern Turkish forms as given in OED<sub>3</sub> may be misleading if one does not know that the former is romanized. The actual pronunciation in Ottoman must have been very similar to the modern one.

### 2. The origin of the word and its passage to English

Only AHD<sub>4</sub> and OED<sub>3</sub> attempt to trace the origin of the Arabic word. Each traces the word to a different Arabic root.

That the editors of AHD<sub>4</sub> seek the source of the Turkish word in Egyptian Arabic is perhaps influenced by AED (484),<sup>297</sup> but compare Baranov (ARS 362), who does not qualify the word as dialectal. More importantly, both Wehr and Baranov spell the word *مُسَقَّقَة* *musaqqa'a* and list it under a morphologically unproductive root  $\sqrt{sq}$  (as in *سَقَّ* *saqqa'a* 'to slap, clap'). The semantic motivation remains unclear, but whether the two are indeed related or not, the fact that they both have  $\text{س}$  *s* rather than  $\text{ص}$  *ṣ* seems to rule out the relationship with *ṣaqqa'a* 'to be icy, ice-cold, frozen' (AED: 607), unless an irregular change is assumed. What also contradicts the hypothesis found in AHD<sub>4</sub> is the semantics: A *musaqqa'a* is neither prepared nor served frozen.<sup>298</sup>

<sup>297</sup> In modern Egyptian colloquial pronunciation, to which the editors of AHD<sub>4</sub> refer, ق is usually pronounced as [q] or [ʔ] depending on the particular dialect (see Wilmsen & Woidich 2006, esp. section 1.2), which would imply that the borrowing must have occurred via the written medium. The pronunciation [q] is only heard in higher styles, which are heavily influenced by Modern Standard Arabic (EgAED: ix).

<sup>298</sup> The gloss 'chilled' as found in AHD<sub>4</sub> seems an understatement in comparison to Wehr's definition (AED: 607). Also cf. the derivative *muṣaqqa'* 'deepfrozen' *ibid.*



The solution offered in OED<sub>3</sub> is perhaps more convincing semantically, but is unacceptable on formal grounds. Dictionaries of Arabic do not seem to note the use of *musaqqa* ‘that which is fed liquid’ in the sense ‘moussaka’. As remarked above, the actually attested form is *musaqqa’a* with the sequence [aʃa] at the end. While a contraction like [aʃa] > -ā [a:] is imaginable phonetically,<sup>299</sup> the reverse, which would have to be assumed to explain the form ModSA *musaqqa’a* if *musaqqa* were primary, is far less likely.

In fact the loss of the pharyngeal occurred when the word was borrowed into Ottoman Turkish, which is a regular development in this situation. It was in this form that the word spread in Ottoman territories and subsequently further in Europe. The earliest English form is rather isolated and is a direct borrowing from Ottoman, which is evidenced by the fact that it occurs in a cook book of Turkish recipes written in English by a Turk. In this context the spelling in -z- is unexpected.

That the word is associated with the Balkan culture validates the assumption in OED<sub>3</sub> of later reborrowing through the languages of the Balkans. The influence of Greek orthography may be seen in the use of the digraph -ou- for [u:], but it is equally likely that F *moussaka* was crucial in shaping the English spelling of the word. The French word occurs at least as early as 1872 in the phrase *Moussaka à la Moldave* (Dubois *Cuisine*: 479), which confirms the Balkan provenance.

To conclude, while the Arabic word itself has not found a satisfactory explanation, the transmission route Arabic > Ottoman > Balkan languages > French > English (with the intermediaries occasionally acting as direct donors) seems to be firmly established.

## PASTRAMI

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **pastrami** [pæ'stra:mi] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), [pə'stra:mi] (2005 OED<sub>3</sub>, 2008 LPD); AmE **pastrami** [pə'stra:mi] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>, 2005 OED<sub>3</sub>, 2008 LPD)

FORMS: **A**: **1.** *pastourma* (1831 [1832] Groves<sub>3</sub>), *Pasdirma* (1834 Hammer<sub>3</sub>)

**B**: **1.** *pastruma* (1853 *Househ. Words*<sub>3</sub>), *pastrama* (1887 Thorpe<sub>3</sub>)

**C**: **2.** *pastrama* (1914 *N.Y. Times*<sub>3</sub>), *Pastrami* (1914 *Jewish Criterion*<sub>3</sub>), *pastrami* (1916 *Syracuse (N.Y.) Herald*<sub>3</sub>), *pastrami* (1920 *N.Y. Tribune*<sub>3</sub>), *pastrami* (1935 Odets<sub>3</sub>),

<sup>299</sup> In other words, the form *musaqqa'a* associated with the verb *saqqa'a* ‘to slap’ (?) would become *musaqqa* associated with the verb *saqqa* ‘to feed liquid’. This is of course a rather elaborate solution.

*pastrami* (1940 Marx<sub>2</sub>), *pastrami sandwich* (1941 Blochman<sub>2</sub>), *pastrami* (1945 Kober<sub>2</sub>), *pastrami* (1953 McGivern<sub>2</sub>), *pastrami sandwich* (1961 Hunter<sub>2</sub>), *pastrami* (1962 Ludwig<sub>2</sub>), *pastrami* (1967 Waldo<sub>2</sub>), *pastrami* (1973 *New Yorker*<sub>3</sub>), *pastrami* (1976 *Time*<sub>2</sub>), *pastrami salmon* (1994 *Food & Wine*<sub>3</sub>), *pastrami* (2003 McEwen<sub>3</sub>)

1. Various ways of preserving meat common in Turkey and in the Balkans;
2. *Originally US*. Highly seasoned smoked beef, usually served in thin slices; (as a count noun) a serving of this, esp. as a filling in a sandwich. Later also in extended use: other meat or fish prepared in a similar manner.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1961: W<sub>3</sub>: < Yid. < Rom. *pastramă* ← *păstra* ‘to preserve’, perhaps < VL \**parsitare* ‘to spare’ < L *parsus*, p. pple ← *parcere* ‘to spare’
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub>: < Yid. < Ro. *pastramă* ← *păstra* ‘to preserve’
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub>: < Yid. *pastrame* < Ro. *pastramă* ← *păstra* ‘to preserve’ < VL \**parsitāre*, to spare, save, ← *parsus*, p. pple ← L *parcere*, ‘to be thrifty with’
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>
- 2009: OED<sub>3</sub>: < Yid. *pastrame* (in Ashkenazic pronunciation *pastrami*) < Ro. *pastramă* ‘pressed and preserved meat’ (1792; also as *păstramă*) < Ott. *başdırma*, lit. ‘something pressed, forced down’ (with reference to the process in which the cured meat is prepared; T *pastırma*, *bastırma*), verbal noun of *bastır-mak* ‘to suppress, to press down’; the following modern forms are given for comparison Gk. *παστουρμάς*, Blg. *pastırma* (< T); as far as the early usage is concerned (forms in A above), the first two variants (1831, 1834) are identified as reflecting the Turkish etymon, whereas the latter two (1853, 1887) reflecting the Romanian; it is added that “[p]astrami was apparently first sold in the U.S. in a Jewish delicatessen c1887”; a comment is given that it is the extended use that is original as “in the Balkans, pastrami has always been made of any of a number of pressed and preserved meats, rather than being limited specifically to beef”

#### COMMENTARY:

For criticism of the derivation from Vulgar Latin see Gold (2009a). More plausible is derivation from Ottoman, as argued in OED<sub>3</sub> as well as by Gold himself, although according to M. Stachowski (2013a) modifications are needed in the explanation of the Ottoman etymon itself.

First of all, in Modern Turkish *bastırma* is only used in its basic sense ‘(sup) pressing, suppression, pressure’, whereas the food is known as *pastırma* only (Stachowski 2013a: 180). While Ottoman Turkish used both forms as the food name, RTOİS marks *bastırma*<sup>300</sup> as a provincial variant of *pastırma*. This is consistent with Stachowski’s (2013a: 182) explication of the Ottoman forms. He raises semantic and formal doubts against the derivation of *pastırma* from *bastır* ‘press down’. Firstly, there is no semantic motivation for the meaning ‘pressed meat’ in *pastırma*: its distinctive feature is that it is salty, as salt is the most basic means of meat preservation. Moreover, as Stachowski remarks *pastırma* is not pressed at all “its main component being fine, high-quality sirloin beef, dried, smoked and seasoned with spices” (182). Furthermore, although the devoicing *b-* > *p-* is possible, due to the following voiceless *-st-*, it is surprising that it would affect only the noun, but not its verbal basis *bastır-*.

In view of these problems, Stachowski’s own proposal seems more plausible: Gk. *βάστρομα* ‘corned meat or fish’ > T *\*bastama* ~ *\*bastıma* (the *a* ~ *ı* alternation in word-medial syllables being a frequent phenomenon) ~ *\*pastama* ~ *\*pastıma*, which through folk etymological association with T *bastırma* ‘pressing’ > *bastırma* ~ *pastırma*, a food name.

## PILAF ~ PILAU

PRONUNCIATION:<sup>301</sup> BrE **pilaf** [pɪˈlɑːf] ~ [pɪˈlæf] (1906 OED<sub>1</sub>), [ˈpɪlaf] ~ [ˈpiːlaf] (2006 OED<sub>3</sub>), [pɪˈlɑːf] ~ [ˈpiːlɑːf] (2008 LPD), **pilau** / **pilaw** [pɪˈlɑʊ] ~ [pɪˈlɔː] ~ [pɪˈləʊ] (1906 OED<sub>1</sub>), [pɪˈlɑʊ] ~ [ˈpiːlɑʊ] (2006 OED<sub>3</sub>), [ˈpiːlɑʊ] ~ [ˈpɪllɑʊ] ~ [pɪˈlɑʊ] ~ [pəˈlɑʊ] (2008 LPD), **perleau** / **perlow** [ˈpɜːləʊ]; AmE **pilaf** [pɪˈlɑːf] ~ [pɪˈlæf] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [pɪˈlɑːf] ~ [pɪˈlæf] ~ [pɪˈlæː(ə)f] also [ˈpiːl-] ~ [ˈpɪl-] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [ˈpɪlɑːf] ~ [pəˈlɑːf] (2006 OED<sub>3</sub>), [ˈpiːlæf] ~ [ˈpɪlæf] (2008 LPD), **pilau** [pɪˈlɔʊ] ~ [pɪˈlou] ~ [pɪˈlɔː] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [pɪˈlɑʊ] ~ [pɪˈlɔː] ~ [pɪˈloʊ] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [pəˈlɑʊ] ~ [pɪˈlɑʊ] ~ [pɪˈlɔː] (2006 OED<sub>3</sub>), [pɪˈloʊ] ~ [pɪˈlɔː] ~ [pɪˈlɑː] ~ [pɪˈlɑʊ] (2008 LPD), **perlow** [ˈpɜːləʊ] (2006 OED<sub>3</sub>)

<sup>300</sup> The spelling *başıdırma* in OED<sub>3</sub> is a transliteration from the Arabic script and does not represent the actual pronunciation with *ı* [ɯ].

<sup>301</sup> Only the most popular variants are given.

FORMS: **A:** *Pilaw* (1609 Biddulph<sub>3</sub>),<sup>302</sup> *Pillaue* (1612 [1625] Coryat<sub>2</sub>), *pillaw* (1615 Sandys<sub>3</sub>), *Pillaw* (1630 Smith *Travels*: 31),<sup>303</sup> *Pelo(e)* (1634 Herbert<sub>2</sub>), *pelaw* (1634 Howell *Letters*: 348),<sup>304</sup> *Pilau* (1678 Phillips<sub>3</sub>), *pilaw* (1682 [1872] Evelyn<sub>3</sub>), *Pilao* (1687 Lovell<sub>2</sub>), *Palau* (1696 Ovington<sub>2</sub>), *Pullow* (1698 Fryer<sub>2</sub>), *Pilloe* (1711 Lockyer<sub>2</sub>), *Poloe* (1728 Smith<sub>3</sub>), *Pillou* (1731 Pitts<sub>3</sub>), *pillaws* (1771 Smollett<sub>3</sub>), *Pellow* (1782 [1787] Colman<sub>2</sub>), *pilaus* (1786 Beckford<sub>3</sub>), *Pullão* (1811 Kirkpatrick<sub>2</sub>), *pilau* (1820 Hughes<sub>3</sub>), *pilaus* (1821 Juan<sub>2</sub>), *pilaws* (1834 Baboo<sub>3</sub>), *pillaus* (1850 Thackeray<sub>3</sub>),<sup>305</sup> *pillaw - pulao* (1860 Burton<sub>2</sub>), *pillaos* (1883 Aliph Cheem<sub>2</sub>), *pillaued* (1897 Roberts<sub>2</sub>), *pilau* (1938 Rawlings<sub>2</sub>), *pilaus* (1949 [pronunciation indicated as *pé-los*, *púr-loos*] Botkin<sub>2</sub>), *pilau* (1971 *Carry Singapore*), *pilau rice* (1971 Charteris<sub>3</sub>), *pullao* (1971 *Hindustan Times Weekly*), *pulao* (1971 *Illustr. Weekly India*), *pulao* (1971 Russel<sub>2</sub>), *pilau rice* (1987 Ronay<sub>3</sub>), *pilau* (2001 Glazebrook<sub>3</sub>), *pilau rice* (2002 Perera<sub>3</sub>)

**B:** *pilaf* (1813 Hobhouse *Albania*: 291),<sup>306</sup> *pilaff* (1814 Byron<sub>3</sub>), *pilaffe* (1827 NMM 1827, pt 2: 471), *pilafs* (1844 Kinglake<sub>3</sub>), *pilàf* (1845 Lady H. Stanhope<sub>3</sub>), *pilaff* (1877 Edwards<sub>2</sub>), *pilaff* (1884 Boyle<sub>3</sub>), *pilaff* (1930 Locke<sub>2</sub>), *pilaff* (1935 Edib<sub>2</sub>), *pilaffe* (1936 Fleming<sub>2</sub>), *pilav* (1956 Macaulay<sub>2</sub>), *pilav - plov* (1959 Maclean<sub>2</sub>), *pilaf* (1967 *Punch*), *pilaf* (1978 *Detroit Free Press*), *pilaf* (2003 *Guardian*)

**C:** *perlow* (1930 Hughes & Hurston<sub>3</sub>), *perleau* (1933 *Amer. Speech*), *perleau* (1935 Hurston<sub>2</sub>), *perlo* (1955 *This Week*), *perlow* (2002 *N. Y. Times*)

An Oriental dish, consisting of rice boiled with fowl, meat or fish, and spices.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **pilau**, **pilow**, **piláf**: P *pulão*, or *pilāv* < Skr. *pulāka*, ‘a ball of boiled rice’

<sup>302</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1612, based on the second edition.

<sup>303</sup> This is misdated to 1629 in Stanford.

<sup>304</sup> For unknown reasons OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to c1645 with 1650 added in square brackets, but the relevant letter is dated to 1634 in all editions of Howell’s letters that I accessed.

<sup>305</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> misdates this to 1849. Stanford has *pilaus* based on an 1879 edition.

<sup>306</sup> Stanford dates this to the year 1809 and attributes it to Byron quoted in Moore (see Stanford s.v. *pilau*, *pilaf*, *pilaw*). However, Moore makes it clear that the relevant passage is a quotation from Byron’s fellow traveller to Greece, John Cam Hobhouse Broughton, where he recalls their late 1809 visit to Athens (291). He also mentions earlier (95) that they ate *pilaf* during their stay at a Turk’s house in the town of Libokavo (nowadays Libohovë, Albania). Hobhouse’s recollections were first published in 1813.

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **pelaw**: < T; s.v. **pelo**: < T; s.v. **pilau, pilaf, pilaw**: < T *pilaw* ‘rice boiled with meat, broth, butter and spices’
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub>
- 1906: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **pilau, pilaw, pilaff**: < P *pilāw* (in T *pilāw, pilāv* (or *pilāf*), U *pilāo, palāo*) ‘boiled rice and meat’; > F *pilau*, It. *pilao*, ModGk. *πιλάφι*, Ru. *пилав* *pilavŭ* (= *pilaff*); appears in English in many forms, according to the language or locality whence the writer has adopted it; the earlier examples (< 17<sup>th</sup> c. Turkish), are identical with Persian; *pilaff* represents modern Turkish pronunciation
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> s.v. **pillau, pilau**: ‘a dish of meat or fowl with rice and spices’ < P *pilāw* id.
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **pilau, pilaw, pilaff**: < T, P *pilāw*; *pilaff* is through Ru
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **pilau, pilaw**: ‘an Oriental dish made of rice (or cracked wheat) boiled with meat, fowl, or fish, spices, etc.’ < P & T *pilāw*; s.v. **pilaued**: ‘made into pilau’
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **pilaf**: < P & T *pilāu, palāu*
- 1967: Klein s.v. **pilau, pilaf, pilaw**: ‘an Oriental dish of rice boiled with meat, etc.’ < T *pilāw* < P *palāv*
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **perleau**: a dial. AmE variant of *pilau*; s.v. **pilau, pilaw, pilaff** = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub>; **pilaf** or **pilaff** also **pilau**: < P *pilāw* < T *pilāv*
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>
- 2001: CannP s.v. **pilau/pilaf(f)**: < P *pilāv* & T *pilav*
- 2011: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **perlow**: dial. AmE (especially Southern); alteration of *pilau* (as pronounced with stress on the second syllable), with change of the vowel in the first syllable (perhaps after *per-* prefix) and shift of stress; s.v. **pilaf**: < T *pilav* < P *pilāv*; probably partly via F *pilaf* (1833), It. *pilaf*; cf. ModGk. *πιλάφι*, Ru. *pilav*; *pilaf* seems now to be more usual in North America than *pilau* and is the usual entry form in North American dictionaries (also cf. dialectal *perlow*); in other English-speaking areas their incidence seems to be about equal; s.v. **pilau**: < P *pulaw* (16<sup>th</sup> cent. in form *palāv, pilāv*, or *pulāv* (vowel of first syllable uncertain)), and its etymon H *pulāv* ‘dish of rice and meat’ < Skr. *pulāka* ‘ball of rice’, probably < Dravidian (cf. Tamil *pulukku* (adjective) simmered, (noun) boiled or parboiled food, *pulukkal* cooked rice); possible partial Romance mediation: F *pilau* (1654; 1680 as *pilaw*; 1833 as

*pilaf*), It. *pilao* (1542). With *pilau rice* compare French *riz pilaf* (1938); the pronunciations recorded in OED<sub>1</sub>, all with stress on the second syllable, are usual in BrE until the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century and remain usual in AmE; the shift of stress generally > change of the vowel in the first syllable; the 19<sup>th</sup> cent. pronunciation of the second syllable was usually /lɔ:/, but other pronunciations included /əʊ/ for AmE and /aʊ/ for BrE

#### COMMENTARY:

### 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

The connection with Sanskrit is mentioned already in Yule<sub>1</sub>. However, then it disappears, only to resurface in OED<sub>3</sub>.

The notation of the final sound in the Turkish and Persian forms is ultimately very confusing. The same sound is romanized as *u*, *w* and *v*, with a variety of distributions between these two languages. Consequently, the relationship among these forms as well as between them and the English ones is often obscured, as in Klein or Weekley (cf. below).

The formulation Ru. *pilavŭ* = *pilaff* found in OED<sub>1</sub> is ambiguous, but probably is meant to suggest that, while the former is a romanization, the actual pronunciation is similar to the E *pilaff*.<sup>307</sup> Weekley simply writes E *pilaff* < Ru. < T.

Also the remark that early forms, derived from 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman, are identical with Persian is unclear. As seen above these early forms invariably end in [aʊ ~ əʊ] (variously rendered in spelling as *-aw*, *-aue*, *o(e)*, *u*). If they are identical with P *pilāw* it would make sense to derive them from this form (but cf. below).

### 2. English forms

The word is widespread in English in the period of flourishing relations with the East. There seem to exist three basic variants, chronologically: *pilau* ~ *pilaw*, *pilaf* and *perlow*. The last one is only mentioned in OED<sub>2</sub> and OED<sub>3</sub>. The first two are subsumed in one entry in the majority of dictionaries, with the notable exception of OED<sub>3</sub>. The decision of the editors of the latter to treat *pilau* and *pilaf* as separate seems well-grounded, given their probable different origin.

<sup>307</sup> The romanization of Ru. *ѳ* as *ŭ* is misleading as it suggests trisyllabic pronunciation. The Russian hard sign was pronounced as reduced [ũ] only up to roughly the 12<sup>th</sup> century, although as a grapheme it continued to be used until the Russian orthographic reform of 1918.

### 3. Immediate origin of English forms

Crucial here is the identity of the final sound. The first type exhibits [w], whereas in the second [f] is suggested by the spelling in *-f(f)*, although in the 20<sup>th</sup> century we also find, though less numerously, forms in *v* implying [v].

In Modern Persian [w] exists only as part of diphthong [ow] (see Pisowicz 1985: §3.2.2). In all other contexts, whenever the letter و represents a consonant, it is pronounced as [v], so that و ends in a fricative, which, however, evolved from classical Persian /w/ sometime between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This archaic pronunciation [w] has been retained in all positions in Dari, the variety of New Persian spoken in Afghanistan, as well as word-finally in Tajik (Perry 2005: 24–5). Thus Taj. *палав* id. (Kalontarov 2008: 209) is pronounced with a [w]. Moreover, there is some evidence that articulation intermediate between [v] and [w] (perhaps [β]?) was heard in Persian as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Pisowicz 1985: 118).

When the word was adapted into Old Ottoman from Early New Persian the glide was substituted with a fricative, which was triggered by the lack of diphthongs in the former language.<sup>308</sup> While word-final devoicing is restricted to plosives in Turkish, there was tendency to devoice any final obstruent in borrowings from Persian into Anatolian Turkish (Tietze & Lazard 1967: 128), so that a form written پلاو would be colloquially pronounced as *pila[f]*.

All of the above seems to imply that E *pilaw* ~ *pulao* (& c.) are simply derived from a New Persian form continuing ENP *pilāw* ~ *palāw*, whereas E *pilaff* < Ott. *pilav*. That this is not so is shown by the earliest form in which the word is attested in English. Its shape fits ENP *pilaw* perfectly, but the context seems to suggest that the author is quoting a Turkish form. This shows that some of the *w* forms above are influenced by Ottoman spelling rules, which obscure the correspondences. Moreover, the majority of occurrences of *pilaw* refer to India or Pakistan, which points to transmission via Hindi or Urdu *pulāv* (HRus 711 and URS: 132 respectively),<sup>309</sup> rather than from Persian, as rightly pointed out by OED<sub>3</sub>. On the other hand, forms in *-f(f)* tend to occur in passages pertaining either to Turkey itself or to Central Asia, which is consistent with their transmission as described above.

Partial transmission through Romance as indicated in OED<sub>3</sub> cannot be ruled out (cf. section 6.4.1 the Introduction).

<sup>308</sup> Both VEWt 385 and TDES 333 give *-v*, i.e. Late New Persian, forms as the etymon. Nişanyan (ÇTES s.v. *pilav*) dates the Ottoman word back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. a period when variants in *-w* were probably more dominant. This dating is however suspicious as the author gives no reference.

<sup>309</sup> The final *v* is pronounced as a voiced bilabial approximant [ʋ], which is likely to be interpreted as [w] by native speakers of English.

#### 4. Further origin

Given the variation attested in the vowel pattern in the Persian forms quoted in OED<sub>3</sub> (*i-ā*, *u-a*, *a-ā*, *i-ā* and *u-ā*; also note the variant *pilav* attested in Steingass: 254), the word must be a borrowing in that language. The account suggested in OED<sub>3</sub> seems satisfactory.

#### RAHAT LOKUM

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **rahat lokum** ['rɑ:hət lɒ'ku:m] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), ['rɑ:hət lɒ'ku:m] (2008 OED<sub>3</sub>) **locoum** ['ləʊkəm] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>); AmE **rahat lokum** ['rahæt la'ku:m] (2008 OED<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **rahat lokum**: *rahat locum* (1808 Campenhausen<sub>3</sub>), *rahat-lokúm* - *rahat-ul-kholkúm* (1846 Çelebi-Hammer *Narrative* I, pt. 2: 153),<sup>310</sup> *rahat-lukum* (1855 *About Greece*: 278), *rahatlikum* (1859 Cox *Buckeye*: 207), *rahat likoum* (1860 Thornbury *Turkish Life* I: 184), *rahat lahkoum* (1861 *Punch*<sub>2</sub>), *rahatlicoum* (1863 *Power Days & Nights*: 290), *rahat-el-lo-koom* (1867 Benjamin *Turk & Greek*: 21), *rahat-lakoum* (1868 Arnold *Levant* II: 49), *rahatlicum* (1877 Appleton *Sunshine*: 12), *rahat lakum* (1881 *The Living Age* vol. 149, iss. 1922: 190) *Rahat Loukoums* (1894 *Daily News*<sub>2</sub>),<sup>311</sup> *rahat lakuhm* - *rahat lakoum* (1900 *Confectioners' Union Handbk.*<sub>2</sub>), *Rahat La Koum* (1907 [1969] *Yesterdays' Shopping*<sub>2</sub>), *rahat-lakoum* (1931 Cronin<sub>2</sub>), *rahat loquum* (1933 Martinovitch *Turkish Theatre*: 25), *rahat el halkum* (1935 Morphy<sub>2</sub>), *rahat lakoum* (1945 Forester<sub>2</sub>), *Rahatlokum* (1960 *Times*<sub>2</sub>), *rahat lakoum* (1963 *Punch*<sub>2</sub>), *Rahat Lokum* (1968 Roden<sub>2</sub>), *rahat lokum* (1970 Simon & Howe<sub>2</sub>), *Rahat Lokhoum* (2005 *Daily Tel.*<sub>2</sub>)

**locoum**: *lokum* (1845 White *Constantinople* II: 9), *lokum (cakes)* (1898 Adler & Ramsay *Coffe House*: 33), *locoums* (1913 *Chambers's Jrnl.*<sub>2</sub>), *loukoum* (1921 Graham<sub>2</sub>), *lokoum* (1960 *Spectator*<sub>2</sub>), *locum* (1962 Fleming<sub>2</sub>), *loukoumi* (1967 *Vogue*<sub>2</sub>), *lokoum* (1972 Rathbone<sub>2</sub>)

**rahat**: *rahah* (1856 Burton<sub>2</sub>), *rahat* (1931 *Discovery*<sub>2</sub>)

**lokum rahat**: *loukoum-rahat* (1887 Crawford<sub>2</sub>), *lokum rahat* (2002 Richardson<sub>3</sub>), *lokum rahat* (2004 McGee *Food & Cooking*: 692)

Turkish delight.

<sup>310</sup> This has been misdated as 1834 in OED<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>311</sup> See OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. *delight*, n. 4.



# ETYMOLOGY:

- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **locoum**: T *lokum*; s.v. **rahat lokum**: T *rahat lokum* < A *rāḥat al-ḥulqūm* ‘throat’s ease’
- 1994: CannA: < T < A *rāḥat al-ḥulqūm* lit. ‘throat’s ease, a kind of candy’; also E *rahat* < T and *lokum* < T
- 2010: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **locoum** = OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **rahat lokum**: < written OttT *rāḥatūlhulkūm* (coll. *rāḥat*-1 lokum) < coll. A *rāḥat al-ḥalqūm* ‘throat’s ease’ < *rāḥat*-, *rāḥa* ‘ease’ + *al*, definite article + *ḥalqūm*, variant of CA *ḥulqūm* ‘throat’; cf. T *lokum* ‘Turkish delight’; the earlier expression ‘lumps of delight’ arose by association with T *lokma* < A *luqma* ‘morsel, bit’; some forms (the 1834 quotation) reflect the Arabic form

# COMMENTARY:

## 1. Treatment in English dictionaries and use in English

As evident from the list of attested forms the word is used in two ways: either as a phrase or, less frequently, ellipped to a single word, either *rahat* ~ *raḥah* or *lokum*. OED distinguishes *locoum* itself as a separate entry, as stress seems to depend on whether the word is used on its own (initial stress) or in the phrase (final stress). The separation of *locoum* and *rahat lokum* is, however, rather inconsistent, as the former entry features examples of the use of the latter. Moreover, the two are not really different semantically, the entry for *rahat lokum* cross-referencing the entry for *locoum*. That is why all kinds of forms will be treated together, although the chronologies of attestation above have been separated.

Apart from the full form *rahat lokum* as well as the two ellipped variants, *rahat* ~ *raḥah* and *locoum*, there are at least three attestations of a fourth variant with the order of elements reversed, namely *lokum rahat*. These are most probably spontaneous creations by the English authors in question (note the gap between the first and second attestations), as such forms do not seem to be attested in other languages, let alone Turkish.

The orthography of some forms may have been influenced by French, where the word becomes widespread around the same time (cf. the 1838 *rahatlakoum* and 1853 *rahat lokoum* listed by Arveiller 1999: 435).

One form, *loukoumi* seems to be a romanization of Gk. *λουκούμι* (GkED: 511), with *-i* resulting from the word’s assimilation to the Greek neuter declension.

The form *raḥah* (1856 Burton) is directly from Arabic, with *-ah* being a popular romanization of *ā*, i.e. the *tā’ marbūṭa*. A *raḥa(i)* is used on its own in

the sense ‘rest, repose; recreation; ease, leisure’ (AED: 423), but what is meant here is elliptical ‘ease [of throat]’.<sup>312</sup>

A similar ellipsis is attested in the form *rahat* (1931 *Discovery*), but the presence of *-t* proves that the elliptical form cannot have been taken directly from Arabic. The consonant *-t* shows up if the word is the first element in the genitive construction, but is not pronounced if the word is in isolation (see section 5.3.1 of the Introduction). In other words if a speaker of Arabic were to ellip the second element the result would be *rāḥa*. Thus E *rahat* must be the result of ellipsis in English or in Turkish.

The form *rahat-ul-kholkūm* (1846 Çelebi-Hammer) corresponds to the Arabic and learned Ottoman forms, whereas *rahat-el-lo-koom* (1867 Benjamin) may be a rendering of a colloquial Turkish pronunciation.

## 2. Ottoman Turkish and Arabic forms

All three dictionaries predominantly quote the written forms (or rather their romanizations), although the medium of transmission was probably spoken. The entry in OED<sub>3</sub> is still a considerable improvement in comparison to OED<sub>2</sub> and Cannon (who merely copies from OED<sub>2</sub>), as it mentions the different Turkish forms: the educated Ottoman *rāḥatü-l hulkūm*, as well as its colloquial distortion into *rāḥat-ı lokum*. Nevertheless, certain objections seem to be wanting. It is unclear why the editors derive T *rahatü-l-hulkum* from coll. A *rāḥat al-ḥalkūm* [ra:ḥatul ḥalqu:m] instead of standard A *rāḥat al-ḥulkūm* pronounced [ra:ḥatul hülqu:m] (cf. AED: 423 for ModSA).<sup>313</sup> As far as the distortion A *rāḥat al-ḥulkūm* [ra:ḥatul hülqu:m] > Ott. *rahatü-l-hulkum* > coll. T *rahat-ı lokum*, it is perfectly regular in view of the adaptation of Arabic noun phrases into (Ottoman) Turkish. The change A [u] > T ü [y] is caused by the fact that in the Ottoman pronunciation of Arabic-derived words ʃ *lam* was almost universally interpreted as [l] (as opposed to velarized [ɫ]), which patterned with palatal

<sup>312</sup> This is suggested by a note in the second edition (of 1857) of the work in which the word appears (Burton *Personal Narrative* II: 280). Burton says that *rahah* is a colloquial (“familiar” in his phrasing) term for *rahat el hulkum* ‘the pleasure of the throat’.

<sup>313</sup> This formation is known as *ʾidāfa(t)* ‘attachment’ in Arabic, with the head noun modified by the following one in the genitive (see section 5.3.2 of the Introduction). The [-u] in [ra:ḥatu] is the nominative ending, which is not rendered in writing in any way, whereas the reduction of the definite article *al* [ʔal] to [l] is regular post-vocally. The genitive of the second noun is in fact *ḥulkūmi*, but all final short vowels are reduced in Arabic in pre-pause position (this would affect the nominative *u* in *rāḥatu* if it occurred before a pause). All these processes occur in dialectal pronunciation as well (see e.g. Holes 2004).

sounds and could exert fronting influence on the surrounding vowels (see section 5.1.3 of the Introduction). As a result, the preceding nominative ending in a borrowed *'idāfa(t)* construction would frequently surface as *ü* (Buğday 1999: 123), sometimes further unrounded to *i* (cf. ALOT III 31: Ott. *rahat-i-l-hülkum*, where the fronting influence of [l] seems to extend to the second noun as well).<sup>314</sup>

A further comment is needed concerning the possibility of distortion of *rahatü-l-hulkum* into *rahat-ı lokum*. A phrase like the latter could be perceived as an example of the Persian ezafe construction, which corresponds functionally to the Arabic *'idāfa(t)* construction. The Persian marker of the ezafe is *-i* suffixed to the first noun, which is rendered as *-i* or *-ı* in Ottoman Turkish, depending on vowel harmony. In other words, *rahat-ı lokum* would be an almost perfect morphosyntactic calque of *rāḥat al-ḥulkūm*, if it weren't for the second noun, which has been further distorted (see below). A non-harmonic variant, *rahatı lokum*, is found in Viguier's grammar of Turkish of 1790 (quoted in ALOT III 31).<sup>315</sup> All these colloquial forms may be seen as various attempts to cope with an unfamiliar phrase by the less educated citizens of the Ottoman Empire.

Redhouse (954), quotes Ott. راحت لوقوم *rahat lokum* as a colloquial expression used for the literary راحت الحلقوم *rahat-al-hulkum*.

### 3. Modern Turkish form and the ultimate origin of the word/phrase

Modern Turkish has two expressions meaning 'Turkish delight': *lokum* or *lâtilokum* (İTRS: 1058). Nişanyan (ÇTES s.v. *lâtilokum*) does not explain the latter, but only refers the reader to *lokum*, which he derives from A *lukma* 'morsel' (AED: 1026 – M. U.). He also comments that the connection with A *rāḥat al-ḥulkūm* is probably invented. However, this account fails to explain the change in the change *-ma > -um*.

T *lokma* is also mentioned by the editors of OED<sub>3</sub>. Their remark concerning the origin of the expression 'lumps of delight' is original and deserves consideration. Whether the connection could be further extended from semantic to formal concerns as well, as is done, perhaps too drastically by Nişanyan, is an open question.

<sup>314</sup> In other contexts than the *'idāfa(t)* construction, the Arabic definite article *al* would be pronounced in Ottoman as *e*, with the change *a > e* also caused by the palatalizing quality of the Arabic-derived *l*.

<sup>315</sup> It is a notorious problem how to read the letter *ı* as used in transcription texts (Ottoman texts written in Latin script), i.e. whether it is to be understood as *i* or *ı*. Viguier is a notable exception, as he consistently writes *«e»* for *ı* and *«i»* for *i*. Thus, his orthography *«rahatı lokum»* is indeed a separate phonetic variant.

While discussing A فالودج *fālūdaj* ‘golden translucent starch pudding’ (< P *pālūda*), Nasrallah (2007: 595–6) mentions its native Arabic equivalent سرطرط *siriṭraṭ*, which denotes ‘ease of swallowing’ (also cf. A *sariṭa* ‘to swallow, gulp’ AED: 474). Nasrallah then adds that medieval Turkish cooks remodelled the word as *rāḥat lukum* ‘easy on the throat’, which was in turn further modified by Victorian travellers to the Ottoman Empire. This explanation obviously misses one intermediate stage, as *rāḥat lukum* cannot be translated ‘easy on the throat’ either in Arabic or (Ottoman) Turkish.

It seems that reference to A *rāḥat al-ḥulkūm* ‘ease of the throat’ is unavoidable. The phrase would be more or less synonymous with *siriṭraṭ*, both in its literal and metaphorical meanings. Borrowed by the Turks it turns up as Ott. *rahatü-l hulkum* ~ *rahatı-l hülkum*. There are two possibilities at this point:

- (a) The unfamiliar phrase becomes distorted in colloquial pronunciation through folk-etymological association with A *lukum*, plural of *lukma* ‘morsel’) and reshaped into *\*rahatı lukum* ~ *\*rahatı lokum*, producing a phrase meaning ‘pleasure of the morsels’ or ‘ease of the morsels’ (cf. ‘ease of swallowing’).<sup>316</sup> This is more likely than association with the Arabic singular, whose expected result *\*rahatı lokma*, which is formally more distant.
- (b) Ott. [h] being very weakly articulated could have been elided in a foreign word. Thus *rahatı-l hülkum* ~ *rahatü-l hulkum* > *\*rahatı-l ülkum* ~ *\*rahatü-l ulkum* > *\*rahatilkum* ~ *\*rahatülkum* (with haplology) > *\*rahatlıkum* ~ *\*rahatlukum*<sup>317</sup> (with harmonic readjustment and metathesis) > *rahat(ı) lokum* (due to contamination with *lokma*).

Of the two possibilities the first variant seems simpler. It is nevertheless worth bearing in mind that both proposals involve a number of unattested steps and as such are mere hypotheses.

## RAKI(A)

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **raki** [rə'ki:] ~ [ræki:] (1903 OED<sub>1</sub>), [ra:ki] ~ [ræki] ~ [ra:'ki:] (2008 LPD), [ra:ki] ~ [raki] ~ [rə'ki:] (2008 OED<sub>3</sub>), **rakia**: [ra'kija] ~ [rakia] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), [ra:kiə] ~ [rakie] ~ [rə'ki:ə] (2008 OED<sub>3</sub>); AmE **raki** [ra'ki] ~ [ræki] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [rə'ki:] ~ [ræki] ~ [ra:ki] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [ra:ki] ~ [ræki] ~ [ra:'ki:] (2008 LPD), [reiki] ~ [raki] (2008 OED<sub>3</sub>), **rakia** [ra:ki(j)ə] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [reikiə] ~ [rakiə] (2008 OED<sub>3</sub>)

<sup>316</sup> A reflex of the former, otherwise unattested, form seems to be found in the Polish form *rachattukum*.

<sup>317</sup> This form would be the source of Pol. *rachattukum*.

FORMS: **raki**: *Racky-house* (a1613 Middleton<sub>3</sub>), *rackee* (1675 [1825] Teonge<sub>2</sub>), *rac-kee* (1678 Smith<sub>3</sub>), *raki* (1775 Chandler<sub>2</sub>), *rakie* (1778 *Ann. Reg.*<sub>3</sub>),<sup>318</sup> *rakkee* (1808 MacGill *Travels* II 159), *akee* (1835 Marryat<sub>2</sub>), *Raki* (1845 Warburton<sub>2</sub>), *raki* (1873 Tristram<sub>2</sub>), *Raki* (1919 Jones<sub>2</sub>), *Raki* (1933 Orwell<sub>2</sub>), *Raki* (1941 West<sub>2</sub>), *raki* (1956 Macaulay<sub>2</sub>), *Raki* (1959 James<sub>2</sub>), *raki* (1969 Mavor<sub>2</sub>), *raki* (1980 Bar-Zohar<sub>2</sub>), *raki* (1991 *Guardian*<sub>3</sub>), *raki* (2002 Kinzer<sub>3</sub>)

**rakia**: *rakia* (1778 Fortis<sub>3</sub>), *rakia* (1845 *Encycl. Metrop.*), *rakia* (1876 *Jrnl. Anthropol. Inst.*<sub>3</sub>), *rakiya* (1908 Mijatovich *Servia*: 88), *rakia* (1912 Durham<sub>3</sub>), *rakija* (1926 *Blackw. Mag.*<sub>2</sub>), *rakia* (1932 Greene<sub>2</sub>), *rakia* (1950 Canning<sub>2</sub>), *rakia* (1959 Maclean<sub>2</sub>), *rakija* (1966 *New Statesman*<sub>2</sub>), *rakia* (1980 Hone<sub>2</sub>), *rakia* (1994 *Independent on Sunday*<sub>3</sub>)

A clear alcoholic beverage of Turkey (esp. **raki**) and the Balkans (esp. **rakia**) distilled from a variety of fruits or grains, usually flavoured with herbs and spices, esp. aniseed.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1865: Müller<sub>1</sub> s.v. **arrack**: (hence also *rack*, *raki*) ‘arrack, reiss-palmenwein; obscure origin, either: < Skr. *rakschasura* ‘demon’s wine’ (because it is forbidden according to the Laws of Manu) or < A *araq* ‘schweiss, saft, abgezogenes geistges wasser’, related to *araqa* ‘schwitzen’
- 1878: Müller<sub>2</sub> = Müller<sub>1</sub>
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **raki**, **akee**: < T *rāqī* ‘an ardent spirit made from grape-skins ; a grain-spirit’
- 1903: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **raki**: < T راقِي *rāqī* (> also Gk. *ῥακίη*, *ῥακίη*) ‘brandy, spirits’
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> s.v. **raki**: ‘arrack, spirits’, cf. Stanford; < T *rāqī*, ‘arrack’ < A *araq* ‘arrack’; cf. *arrack*
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **raki**: < T *rāqī* (> ModGk. *ῥακίη* brandy); ? = *arrack*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **raki**, **akee**: < T *rāqī* < A *araq*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **raki**: < T; s.v. **rakia**: < SCr. *rakija*
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **raki**: < T *rāqī* (> ModGk. *rhaké* ‘brandy spirits’)
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>; s.v. **rakia**: < Bulg *rakíya*, SCr. *ràkija*: cf. RAKI
- 1994: CannA s.v. **raki**: < T ‘arrack’ < A *araqī* (< *araq* + *-i*); s.v. **raki(j)a**: < SCr. *rakija* ‘brandy, liqueur’ << A *araqī*
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> s.v. **raki**: T *rāqī* < A *araq* ‘arrack’

<sup>318</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> has the same quotation dated to 1777.

- 2010: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **raki**: < Ott. *raqi* 'brandy, spirits' (T *rakı*; > ModGk. *ραχή, ραχί*, Albanian *raki*; for forms in other Balkan languages see *rakia*) < A 'araq (with reference to E *arrack*); in later use probably partly reborrowed via ModGk. or Alb; cf. F *raki* (1628 as *raqui*); the form *Raki* (1941 West) probably rendering SCr. *rakija*; s.v. **rakia**: < SCr. *rakija* (< T *rakı*), apparently originally via It. *rakia* (1784 in the passage translated in quot. 1778); in later use also < its equivalent in other Balkan languages, e.g. Blg. *rakija*, Mac *rakija*, and Alb *rakia* (definite form of *raki*); cf. also Ro. *rachiu*

#### COMMENTARY:

OED<sub>3</sub> offers the best account of the word's history. E *raki* comes via Ott. *rakı* which is indeed related to A 'araq (although see below).<sup>319</sup> The latter itself also shows up as ModE *arrack* and older *rack*, mostly through the mediation of the languages of India (cf. the relevant entries in OED<sub>2-3</sub>).<sup>320</sup> While *rack* is indeed an aphetic form of *arrack* as Müller writes, *raki* could not be explained in this way, due to the final *-i*, hence reference to Ottoman is necessary.

As for Ott. *rakı*, it comes from A 'araqī, the adjectival (or attributive) form where 'araq is combined with the so-called *nisba* suffix.<sup>321</sup> One may only add that the adaptation of the Ottoman final *-ı/-i* as *-ija* and the resulting assimilation of such nouns to the feminine declension is typical of the Balkan Slavic languages (e.g. Ott. *ğami* 'Friday mosque' > SCr. *džamija* = Blg. *џамия*; see S. Stachowski 1961: 81ff and Menges 1968: 144). Notably, the majority of English forms based on Balkan *rakija* have been reduced to two syllables, which is the dominant pronunciation nowadays. The evident exceptions are the 1908 *rakiya* as well as the 1926 and 1966 *rakija*.

<sup>319</sup> The representation of the Ottoman form as *raqi* in OED<sub>3</sub> is a romanization of راقی, where ق indicates the backness of the syllable.

<sup>320</sup> *Arrack* and *rack* are also discussed in separate entries in Müller<sub>1-2</sub>, Skeat<sub>1-2-4</sub>, Yule<sub>1-2</sub>, OED<sub>1-2-3</sub>, Weekley, W<sub>3</sub>, Klein, ODEE, AHD<sub>2-3</sub> and CannA.

<sup>321</sup> The reason for the apheresis *arrack* > *rack* is unclear. Reinterpretation of *a-* as the English indefinite article has to be ruled out as the noun denotes a liquid and is as such uncountable. More likely is perhaps reinterpretation of *arrack* as *ar-rack*, with *ar* corresponding to the Arabic definite article (A ر, *r* is one of the so-called sun letters, i.e. it represents a sound which causes assimilation of *l* in the Arabic definite article *al*, e.g. *al r-* > *ar r-*), which would obviously indicate some familiarity with Arabic on the part of the agent.

**SALEP ~ SALOOP**

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **salep** ['sæləp] (1909 OED<sub>1</sub>), **saloop** [sə'lu:p] (1909 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **salep** ['sæləp] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), ['sæləp] ~ [sə'lep] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), **saleb** ['sæləb] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), ['sæləb] ~ [sə'leb] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), **saloop** [sə'lu:p] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [sə'lu:p] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), **salop** ['sæləp] ~ [sə'la:p]

FORMS: **A: 1.** *Salup* (1712 Centlivre<sub>2</sub>), *Salop* (1720 D'Urfey<sub>3</sub>),<sup>322</sup> *Salob* (1727 Hamilton<sub>2</sub>), *Salop* (1728 Smith<sub>2</sub>), *salop* (1736 Bailey<sub>2</sub>), *Salup* (1747 Glasse<sub>2</sub>), *saloop* (1753 Chambers<sub>2</sub>), *Salop* (1756 Browne<sub>2</sub>), *salop* (1767 *Ann. Reg.*<sub>3</sub>),<sup>323</sup> *saloop* (1804 Smith<sub>2</sub>), *Salop* ~ *Saloop* (1823 Henry<sub>3</sub>),<sup>324</sup> *saloop* ~ *salop* (1851 Mayhew<sub>2</sub>), *Salop* ~ *Saloop* (1861 Bentley<sub>2</sub>); **2.** *Salop* (1728 Smith<sub>2</sub>), *saloop* (c1759 [1890] *Roxb. Ball.*<sub>2</sub>), *Salop-man* (1764 *Low Life*<sub>2</sub>), *saloop* (1778 [1784] *Cook Voyage*: 519),<sup>325</sup> *Saloup Woman* (1791 Gambado<sub>2</sub>), *saloop* (1803 *Censor*<sub>2</sub>), *saloop* ~ *salopian* (1823 Lamb<sub>3</sub>),<sup>326</sup> *saloop* (1840 Pereira<sub>2</sub>), *saloop* ~ *salop-stalls* (1851 Mayhew<sub>2</sub>), *saloop-house* (1873 Thornbury<sub>2</sub>), *saloop* (1882 Besant<sub>2</sub>), *saloop* (1884 Boyle<sub>3</sub>), *saloop-vendors* (1889 *N. & Q.*<sub>2</sub>); **3.** *saloop-bush* (1884 Miller<sub>2</sub>)

**B: 1.** *salep* (1736 Bailey<sub>2</sub>), *salep* (1753 Chambers<sub>2</sub>),<sup>327</sup> *Salep* (a1756 [1771] Haywood<sub>3</sub>),<sup>328</sup> *Salep-powder* (1770 Moul<sub>3</sub>),<sup>329</sup> *salep* (1830 Donovan<sub>3</sub>),<sup>330</sup> *salep-powder* (1841 *Penny Cycl.*<sub>2</sub>), *salep* (1851 Mayhew<sub>2</sub>),<sup>331</sup> *Salep* (1854 [1861] Thomson<sub>2</sub>), *Salep* (1858 Carpenter<sub>2</sub>), *Salep* (1861 Bentley<sub>2</sub>), *Salep-mucilage* (1868 Watts<sub>2</sub>)

**1.** The dried tubers of European orchids, used as food and as demulcent; **2.** A hot drink consisting of an infusion of powdered salep or (later) of sassafras, with milk and sugar, formerly sold in the streets of London in the night and early morning.

<sup>322</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> has a different date (1719), but the relevant volume was published a year later, as rightly corrected in OED<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>323</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> has an earlier date (1766), but 1767 is the date of publication.

<sup>324</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> quotes from a later edition (1826).

<sup>325</sup> Stanford dates this to "before 1779", but the note is clearly dated to 1778 by Cook.

<sup>326</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1822. Also nonce formation *salopian* has a separate entry in OED<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>327</sup> See OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. *saloop*.

<sup>328</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> has the same quotation at 1771 (the date of publication).

<sup>329</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1768.

<sup>330</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1637.

<sup>331</sup> See OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. *saloop*.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1864: W-M s.v. **salep**: written also *saleb*, *salop*, *saloop*; A *sahleb*, T *salleb*
- 1865: Müller<sub>1</sub> s.v. **salep**: salep; also *saloup*, *salep* 'a root and a drink from the East'; T *salleb*, A *sahleb*; cf. *salop* < F *salope* 'schlapig, liederlich' (perhaps < *sale*)
- 1879: Müller<sub>2</sub> s.v. **salep**: salep; also *saloop* and, as in G and F, *salep*; the name comes just as the root and the drink from the East, where it is T *salleb*, A *sahleb*; cf. E *salope* 'schlampig, liederlich' (= G *salopp*) < F *salope* < E *slop* × *sale* 'schmutzig'
- 1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **saleb**, **salep**: the word is used with reference to tubers of various European and Asian species of orchis, which have had the reputation of being restorative and highly nutritious, although good modern authorities disagree with that; A *khuṣṣāl-tha'lab*, i.e. 'testiculus vulpis' (the analogy of Gk. *orchis* is given) is a full name; also cf. names used in India: *ṣa'lab miṣrī* 'Salep of Egypt', or popularly *salep-misry*; E *saloop* belongs here as well
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **saleb**, **salep**, **sal(o)p**: < Sp. and T *saleb* 'a mucilaginous and starchy substance obtained from the tubers of various orchideous plants'
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub>
- 1909: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **salep** = F *salep*, Sp. *salép*, Pg. *salepo* < T سَلَب *sālep* < A ثَعْلَب *tha'leb* (pronounced in some parts *sa'leb*) ← a shortening of خصى الثعلب *khasyu 'th-tha'lab* [sic!] 'orchis' (lit. 'fox's testicles'; cf. the English name 'dogstones'.); s.v. **saloop**: altered form of *salep*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **salep**: < F & Sp. < A *saḥlab* < corr. of *khuṣṣ al-tha'lab* 'the fox's testicles'; s.v. **saloop**: < *salop*, *salup*, variants of *salep*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **salep**: < F & Sp. *salep* < A *saḥlab* < *khuṣy ath-tha'lab*, lit. 'the fox's testicles'; s.v. **saloop**: modification of F ~ Sp. *salep*
- 1966: ODEE: virtually a repetition of OED<sub>1</sub> except for a different transcription of the Arabic phrase as *khasyn 'th-tha'lab* [sic!]
- 1967: Klein: < F < Sp. < A *sāhlab* ~ vulg. *sāhleḥ* < corr. of *thā'lab* ← *ḥuṣā ath-tha'lab* 'the fox's testicles, *Orchis mascula*'
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **salep**: < F ~ Sp. < Ott. *sālep* < A *saḥlab* 'a kind of orchid'; s.v. **saloop**: alteration of *salep*
- 1994: CannA: F & Sp. < Ott. < A *saḥlab* 'a kind of orchid' < *khuṣy al-tha'lab* lit. 'the fox's testicles'
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>



## COMMENTARY:

## 1. Treatment in the dictionaries of English

The Oriental origin of the word is uncontroversial and is recognized by all the authors. Furthermore, all except Müller<sub>1</sub> and Yule<sub>1-2</sub> take into consideration the possibility of Romance mediation. Ottoman Turkish is assumed as the intermediary in Stanford (the author does not discuss the origin further), OED<sub>1</sub> (= ODEE, OED<sub>2</sub>), AHD<sub>3</sub> (= AHD<sub>4</sub>) and CannA. Yule<sub>1-2</sub>, W<sub>3</sub> and Klein both derive the European forms directly from Arabic.

The romanization of the Oriental forms varies from author to author. Ottoman had *salep* (- *sa'leb*) 'salep (root of *Orchis mascula*); a hot drink made from the powdered root of salep' (RTOİS 979). The form *salleb* (Müller<sub>1-2</sub>) did not exist, whereas *sālep* (OED<sub>1</sub>, AHD<sub>3</sub>) is a romanization from Ottoman spelling in Arabic script.

Even more problematic to the English authors was the notation of the Arabic genitive construction *خصى الثعالب*, which in our system would be transliterated as *ḥuṣā al-ta'lab* (pronounced [xusa:θθaʕlab]).<sup>332</sup> Among the less obvious examples, the author of the OED<sub>1</sub> entry correctly records the assimilation of the definite article to the following dental fricative but the use of ' is unclear. More importantly, he wrongly identifies the letter *ى* as *y* in *khasyu*. Onions (ODEE) further distorts this form by misreading *-u* as *-n* for unknown reasons (or perhaps it is the publisher's error?).

## 2. The origin of English forms

The following forms are provided by 19<sup>th</sup>-century dictionaries of Arabic, Persian and Ottoman:

## (a) Arabic:

- ثعالب ta'lab* 'fox', Zenker I: 336; also in Modern Standard Arabic, ARS (110);  
*خصى الثعالب ḥuṣā al-ta'lab* 'Salepwurzel', Zenker I: 336; also cf. the more meaningful gloss given for Modern Standard Arabic in ARS (223):  
 'ятрышник широколистый' [= '*Orchis mascula*' – M. U.]; the literal meaning is 'fox's testicles';

<sup>332</sup> This is the standard transliteration of the phrase. Another one would be *ḥuṣā at-ta'lab*, where assimilation *l-t > t-t* is marked. In a glossary appended to his critical translation of a 10<sup>th</sup>-century Arabic cook book, Nasrallah (2007: 659) spells the phrase as *خصى الثعلب* and implies different vowel qualities in his romanization, *ḥiṣī al-ta'lab*, perhaps representing a dialectal variant. As the first element of the construction is irrelevant for the history of our word, we will disregard this variation.

- سحلب *saḥlab* ‘salep’, Dozy (1881 I: 637)<sup>333</sup>; cf. the meanings in Modern Standard Arabic as reported in ARS (350) 1. ‘сале́п’ a. ‘сушёные клубни ятрышника’; b. ‘название приготавливаемого из них сладкого напитка’ 2. ‘ятрышник широколистый’ [= 1. ‘salep’ a. dried tubers of an orchid’ b. ‘the name of the sweet drink made from these’; 2. ‘*Orchis mascula*’ – M. U.]; cf. also AED (466), who gives only ‘salep (dried tuber of various species of *Orchis*); a sweet drink made of salep’;
- (b) Persian  
 ثعلب *saʿlab* ‘fox’ (Steingass: 345); cf. also the meanings in Modern Persian, 1. ‘*Orchis*’; 2. ‘vixen’ (marked as rare), as reported in PRS (I: 419)<sup>334</sup>; *saʿlabi misrī* [= ثعلبي مصري – M. U.] ‘salep (the root of *Orchis mascula*)’ (*ibid.*);
- (c) Ottoman:  
 ثعالب *saʿleb* 1. ‘the fox’; 2. (vulg. *sālep*) ‘salep, the root of various kinds of orchis, also, the plant of a salep orchis, *o. mascula*, etc.’; 3. ‘the powdered bulb of the salep orchis; also, the drink prepared from this powder’ (Redhouse: 625); also cf. the following forms reported for Ottoman in RTOİS: ثعلب *saʿleb* ‘fox; same as *sālep*’ (979), سالب ~ سالف *sālep* ‘root of *Orchis mascula*; a hot drink made from the powdered root of *Orchis mascula*’ (*ibid.*), سحلب *saḥleb* var. of *salep* (974);  
 خصى الثعالب [no romanization provided – M. U.] ‘the plant and bulb of the orchis’ (Redhouse: 625).

Based on the above we may conclude that in Arabic there existed two forms used in the sense ‘dried tubers of orchid’ and these were *ḥuṣā al-taʿlab* lit. ‘the fox’s testicles’ and *saḥlab*. According to Dozy (1881 I: 637) the latter is a corruption of the former and this explanation has enjoyed a considerable popularity throughout the decades – cf. W<sub>3</sub>, Klein and CannA above, as well as more recently e.g. Corriente (2008: 427). It seems, however, that no one has attempted to evaluate the likelihood of such a development.

There are two changes calling for explanation in the apparent distortion of A *taʿlab* [θaʕlab] ‘fox, orchid’ into *saḥlab* [saḥlab]: the shift of the initial fricative from interdental to (post)dental and the devoicing of the word-medial pharyngeal

<sup>333</sup> He also writes that the word is “un corrouption de خصى الثعالب ‘les testicules du renard’; se sont les racines bulbeuses de l’*Orchis mascula*, qu’on a nommés ainsi à cause de leur forme” (Dozy I: 637).

<sup>334</sup> Rubincik actually treats the two in separate entries, probably dismissing the alleged connection between them.

fricative. The pronunciation of CA *t̤*- as [s] is found among the educated speakers of the modern city dialects of Syria, Jordan and Egypt, as a semi-formal compromise between the colloquial [t] and the standard [θ]. This is, however, a fairly recent tendency, which affects only certain types of words, mainly borrowings from Standard Arabic (Holes 2004: 71) and as such cannot be solely responsible for a change whose effects are visible in the earliest English forms. Sibilant pronunciation is also found on a more regular basis e.g. in certain dialects of Arabic spoken in Afghanistan or Anatolia (see Ingham 2005 and Jastrow 2005 respectively), but this is most likely due to the influence of the Iranian and Turkic varieties spoken there, where the adoption of CA [θ] as [s] is a typical feature (see below).<sup>335</sup>

Furthermore, at least in Modern Arabic, the devoicing ‘[ʕ] > ʰ [h] is unexpected between a vowel and a sonorant. Rare instances, which Watson (2002: 252) dubs “unprovoked devoicing”, occasionally do occur in similar environments nowadays, but the phenomenon is unsystematic and there is no reason to assume that it existed in the past. Furthermore, if the devoicing ever took place, it is not reflected in modern dialectal forms for ‘fox’ available in the recently published word atlas of Arabic. All the variants, whether beginning in [θ], [t] or [s] have the voiced [ʕ] word-medially (WAD: Map 133).<sup>336</sup>

All this seems to suggest that the distortion of the word did not take place in Arabic itself. Consequently, we may be dealing here with a returning loan.<sup>337</sup>

In Turkish and Persian, the Arabic letter *ṭāʾ* was regularly pronounced as [s]. As for *ʿayn*, its pronunciation in both these languages most probably varied with style. According to the authors of the standard introductions to Ottoman, it was typically rendered as a glottal stop [ʔ] (Deny 1959: 193, Buğday 1999: 6). However, it should be borne in mind that such careful pronunciation was typical of higher or learned style, as indicated for Ott. *saʿleb* ‘fox; root; drink’ in RTOİS (979). In less careful speech it was likely to be elided causing compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, which is reflected in the fact that

<sup>335</sup> Moreover, that [s] is not the only possible pronunciation in Anatolian Arabic as evidenced by the Çukurova dialects, where OA *t̤* surfaces as *t* (see Procházka 2002: 17–8).

<sup>336</sup> Sadly enough, the atlas does not feature words for ‘orchid’ or ‘salep’.

<sup>337</sup> Johns (2002: 246) tacitly rejects the devoicing hypothesis, when he suggests that Dozy may have meant the following transformation: [ʰu]sā [l-tāʾ]lab > saʰlab. This seems to us too fanciful a solution and there is no indication of this either in Dozy or in any of the early authors. Incidentally, Johns mentions the word as a possible link in the origin of the female name *Suḥayliba* attested in a document written in Sicily and dated 1238. The story of our word as outlined below would contradict such a connection, because according to it *saʰlab* is a later development.

the first vowel could be spelled with <sup>ا</sup> 'alif (cf. spellings the سَالِب ~ سَالَب reported in RTOİS: 979) unlike the Arabic etymon.<sup>338</sup>

It is the third variant mentioned in RTOİS (974), سَحْلَب *sahleb*, that is the closest to A سَحْلَب *sahlab*. The pronunciation in *-h-* is a conceivable distortion in the speech of uneducated classes of the Ottoman society, who did not know Arabic.

Thus, the following hypothetical stages may be distinguished in the transmission of the word to English:

- a. The Arabic phrase *huṣā al-ta'lab* 'the fox's testicles' is coined with reference to *Orchis mascula* or other types of orchid, the reason being the similarity of the tubers to testicles;<sup>339</sup>
- b. The phrase is taken over into Ottoman, where it occasionally occurs in a shape similar to that in Arabic (cf. Redhouse: 625);
- c. In colloquial spoken Ottoman the second noun, originally meaning 'fox' in Arabic, acquires the meaning of the whole phrase;<sup>340</sup> the initial fricative is regularly substituted with [s], whereas the pronunciation of 'ayn depends on style, varying between the glottal stop [ʔ], the glottal fricative [h] and loss with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel;
- d. Ott. *sa'leb* reaches Europe; the immediate source could be any of the three pronunciation variants found in this language;
- e. The variant in [h], occasionally reflected in writing as سَحْلَب, is borrowed into Arabic, which gives ModSA سَحْلَب *sahlab* 1. 'tubers', 2. 'drink', 3. 'Orchis'.

<sup>338</sup> There seems to be a disagreement among scholars as to the pronunciation of ع 'ayn before another consonant in Modern Persian. Jeremiás (2006: 408–9) states that both Arabic ' and ' merge in Persian and their pronunciation is restricted "by both phonetic and social factors: it is pronounced only in certain medial and final positions before or after consonants in careful speech (e.g. *ma'lūm* > Modern Persian /ma'lum/ 'known')." On the other hand, Perry (2007: 574) claims that the sound disappears in preconsonantal environment causing compensatory lengthening (ModP /ba:d/ < A *ba'd* 'after'). For yet another view see Pisowicz (1985: 47), who compares the acoustic effect of this consonant in literary pronunciation to that of Danish stød. Whatever the case, it is not unlikely that the variation reflected in the data quoted by these authors is a continuation of similar stylistic fluctuations found in the earlier period.

<sup>339</sup> The association between the two is widespread. Cf. the Greek word *ορχίς* itself, originally meaning 'testicle' and secondarily applied to the plant (Chantraine III: 830). Also cf. the older English names *dogstones* (OED q.v.) and *dog's cods* ~ *dog cods* (OED s.v. *dog* n. 1).

<sup>340</sup> For a similar, although not identical, development, cf. A *rāḥat al-ḥulḳūm* lit. 'de-light of the throat' > Ott. *rahatül-hulkum* >> *rahat lokum* > ModT *lokum* 'a kind of sweetmeat; Turkish delight' (see RAHAT LOKUM).

What the scenario above fails to account for is the other English variant, *saloop* ~ *salup* ~ *salop*. Given that similar forms seem to be absent from all other European languages, it seems likely that this is a random distortion of an unfamiliar word peculiar to English. When etymologizing F *salope* ‘sloppy, slovenly’, Müller<sub>2</sub> mentions the English word *slop* ‘mud’, which may hold the key to our riddle. English has a number of words of similar shape, referring variously to dense liquid substances, the act of spilling a liquid or the act of swallowing (see OED s.v. *slop*, n.2, *slop*, v.2 and *slup*, v.). Whether they are related or independent onomatopoeic formations is unknown, but association with such words seems possible in the case of *salep*. The powder made of dried orchid tubers acts as a thickener when added to the drink; when added in larger quantities it turns the drink into a kind of hot pudding (EJF: 517). Thus the reshaping of *salep* under the influence of *slop* ~ *slup* is conceivable.

## SHASHLIK

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **shashlik** [ˈʃæʃlɪk] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), [ˈʃæʃlɪk] ~ [ˈʃɑːʃlɪk] (2008 LPD); AmE **shashlik** [ˈʃɑːʃlɪk] ~ [ˈʃɑːʃlɪk] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [ˈʃɑːʃlɪk] ~ [ˈʃɑːʃlɪk] (2008 LPD), **shaslik** [ˈʃɑːʃlɪk] ~ [ˈʃɑːʃlɪk] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **A:** *shishlik* (1855 Koch *Crimea*: 71), *shislick* (1862 Galton *Tourists*: 65), *shishlik* (1868 *Russia, Poland & Finland*: 226), *shishlik* (1889 Abercrombie *Caucasus*: 35), *shishlik* (1893 Siemens *Recollections*: 282)

**B:** *shashlyk* (1892 SGM 8: 139), *shashlik* (1893 Mikoulitch *Mimi*: 171), *shashlik* (1903 Norman *Russias*: 193), *shashlik* (1925 Wilson<sub>2</sub>), *shashlik* (1951 Garve<sub>2</sub>), *shashlik* (1960 *Guardian*<sub>2</sub>), *shashlik* (1977 *N. Y. Times*<sub>2</sub>)

An Eastern European and Asian kebab of mutton and garnishings often served on a skewer.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **shashlick**: < Ru. *shashlyk* < Tkc.; akin to Tat. KTat. *šyšlyk* kabob  
 1989: OED<sub>2</sub>: < Ru. *shashlyk* < T *šiš* ‘a spit, skewer’; cf. *shish kebab*  
 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **shashlik**: < Ru. *shashlyk* < T  
 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

## COMMENTARY:

The English forms invariably refer to territories in the Russian Empire, Ukraine, the Caucasus, etc., which is consistent with Russian mediation. The dictionaries

quoted above recognize only the English form *shashlik* (i.e. the B forms), but there existed earlier another variant in *shish-* (the A forms).

The association of Ru. *шаушлык* with Tkc. *šiš* ~ *šis* 'skewer, spit' is widely accepted at least since Miklosich (TE II 64, also see Dmitriev 1958: 47, REW s.v. *шаушлык*, and ÈSRJa s.v. *шаушлык*).<sup>341</sup> The semantics in this derivation poses no problems. The suffix *-lik* ~ *-lık* is very productive in the Turkic languages and derives a great variety of nouns (for a comprehensive list of examples from 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman see Siemienieć-Gołaś 1997: 91–166).

Radloff identifies *šislik* as a Crimean Tatar and Karaim word only (IV 1086). Vasmer adds Tat. *šislik* but gives no reference. Dmitriev (1958: 47) refers to Az. *šislik* 'that which is roasted on a skewer', but according to Černych (1999 II: 407) the usual Azeri word for 'shashlik' is *šiš kebab*. Apart from these we find a number of similar formations in Karachay-Balkar (*šislik* id., KBRs: 751) and Kumyk (*čislik* id., RKS: 1118). Overall, the word turns out to have a limited distribution in Turkic.<sup>342</sup>

Nevertheless, forms like Karachay-Balkar *šislik* or CrimTat. *šislik* have to be assumed as the source of the Russian word. The letter *a* in Russian is perhaps due to the relevant vowel being unstressed both in Turkic and in Russian, which led to hypercorrection in the spelling in the latter language.

Importantly, the existence of E *shishlik* indicates that the passage from Turkic into English was initially direct. The source could be partially CrimTat. *šislik* (1855 Koch) and partially Karachay-Balkar *šislik* (1889 Abercrombie, 1893 Siemens).

## SHAWARMA

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **shawarma** [ʃə'wɑ:mə], [ʃə'wa:mə] (2007 OED<sub>3</sub>); AmE **shawarma** [ʃə'wɑrmə] (2007 OED<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *shawirma* (1953 *Oakland (Calif.) Tribune*<sub>3</sub>), *shawarma* (1965 Nelson<sub>3</sub>), *shawarma* (1980 *Observer*<sub>3</sub>), *shawarma* (2004 *Time Out N.Y.*<sub>3</sub>)

An Eastern European and Asian kebab of mutton and garnishings often served on a skewer.

<sup>341</sup> On the career of Tkc *šiš* ~ *šis* and related forms, see Helimski (1997).

<sup>342</sup> Černych (II: 407) additionally invokes Turkic forms in *-a-*, attested in Nogay, Kazan Tatar, and Uzbek, but he correctly identifies them as borrowings from Russian.

## ETYMOLOGY:

2007: OED<sub>3</sub>: < coll. SyrA *šāwirma*, *šawirma* < T *çevirme* ‘sliced meat roasted on a spit or skewer’ < *çevirmek* ‘to turn, rotate’

## COMMENTARY:

Overall the commentary in OED<sub>3</sub> is adequate, but several remarks are in order. Most obviously, the vowel in the second syllable of the English forms<sup>343</sup> does not match the Arabic one (E [ɔ: ~ ɑ: ~ ɑ] vs A [i]). The shift [ɑ:] > [ɔ:] may be explained by analogy to the graphemic-phonemic correspondence in words like *warm*,<sup>344</sup> but the presence of [ɑ:] in the first place is inexplicable given the Arabic form and the fact that the relevant syllable is stressed in both languages (in eastern dialects of Arabic as well as the generally accepted pronunciation of Modern Standard Arabic if the penult in a trisyllabic word is heavy and the word does not end in a superheavy syllable, it is the penult that is stressed, see e.g. Watson 2007 §5.1 for Egyptian Arabic and San’a Arabic, and Ryding 2005 §7.1 for Modern Standard Arabic). AED (526) has *šawurma* beside *šawirma*, but this does not explain the vowel in English either. Perhaps some mediation should be assumed, but the other European forms seem to be derived from English, e.g. Sp. = Pg. = Sw. *shawarma*, F *shawarma* ~ *chawarma*, Cat. *xauarma*, or G *Schawarma*.<sup>345</sup>

Moreover, the reason for OED<sub>3</sub> giving SyrA *šāwirma*, *šawirma* particularly as the source of the word in English is unclear. This variety of Arabic is not the only one that borrowed the word from Turkish, cf. e.g. EgA *šawirma* ‘Geröstetes’ (Prokotsch 1983: 121). If the English word derives directly from Arabic, then it would be safer to write “dialectal” or “colloquial Arabic”, rather than the name of a particular dialect.

The change T [ʃ] > A [ʃ] is to be expected, given the lack of the former in Arabic. The *-ma-* suffix is found in other Turkish names of dishes (see **DOLMA**, **ELEME**, **KORMA**, and for a more distorted form **TARAMOSALATA**). It is also worth noting that although Redhouse has the meaning ‘(roast meat) turned on a spit’ (Redhouse: 741) the more common expression for analogical dishes in Turkish is *döner kebab* (see **DONER (KEBAB)**).

<sup>343</sup> Except for the earliest graphic form of course, which, by the way, does not correspond to the pronunciation as given in OED<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>344</sup> Where [ɔ:] < earlier [ɑ:], but this change is too early to have affected *shawarma* directly.

<sup>345</sup> Also in Polish as *shoarma* or *szatarma* (reflecting the second English pronunciation given above) and even *sholarma* (a controversial compromise between the English spelling and pronunciation).

## SHERBET ~ SORBET

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **sherbet** [ʃɜːbɪt] (1914 OED<sub>1</sub>), [ʃɜːbət] (2008 LPD), **sorbet** [ˈsɔːbɪt] ~ [ˈsɔːbeɪ] (1913 OED<sub>1</sub>), [ˈsɔːbeɪ] ~ [ˈsɔːbət] ~ [ˈsɔːbɪt] (2008 LPD); AmE **sherbet** [ʃɜːbət] ~ [ʃɜːbɪt] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [ʃɜːbət] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>, 2008 LPD), **sherbert** [ʃɜːbɜrt] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>, 2008 LPD), **sorbet** [ˈ••] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [ˈsɔːrbət] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [ˈsɔːrbət] ~ [ˈsɔːrbeɪ] (2008 LPD)

**sherbetlee** [ʃɜːbetli] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), **sherbetzide** [ʃɜːbetzaid] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: **A: 1.** *Zerbet* (1603 Knolles<sub>3</sub>),<sup>346</sup> *Cerbet* (1610 Knolles<sub>3</sub>), *sherbet* (1609 Biddulph *Travels*: 65),<sup>347</sup> *Shurbets* ~ *sherbets* ~ *sherbet[-men]* (1615 Sandys<sub>2</sub>), *sherberke* (1625 Purchas *Pilgrimes* II: 1368),<sup>348</sup> *seruett*s (1626 Bacon<sub>2</sub>), *sherbecke* (1630 Smith<sub>2</sub>), *sherpet* (1632 Lithgow), *sherbets* (1634 Herbert<sub>3</sub>), *sherbets* (1662 *Merc. Publ.*<sub>3</sub>), *Sherbert* (1665 Herbert<sub>3</sub>), *Sherbette* (1668 *Lond. Gaz.*<sub>2</sub>), *Sherbets* (1672 Shadwell<sub>2</sub>), *sherbert* ~ *sherbert cups* (1675 Covel<sub>2</sub>), *Sarbet* (1685 Gracian<sub>2</sub>), *Sherbet* (1728 Vanbrugh & Cibber<sub>2</sub>), *sherbets* (1753 Hanway<sub>2</sub>), *sherbet* (1768 *Gent. Mag.*<sub>3</sub>), *Sherbet Cups* (1805 Wilmot<sub>2</sub>), *sherbet* (1813 Byron<sub>2</sub>), *sherbets* (1817 Moore<sub>2</sub>), *sherbet* (1839 Lane<sub>3</sub>), *Sherbet* (1845 Barham<sub>2</sub>),<sup>349</sup> *Sherbet* (1845 Cooley<sub>2</sub>), *Sharbut* (1845 Bregion & Miller<sub>2</sub>), *sherbet* (1866 Livingstone<sub>2</sub>); **2.** *Sherbet* (1856 Cooley), *Sherbet* (1895 *Stores' Price List.*), *sherbet* (1905 *Macm. Mag.*<sub>2</sub>); **3.** *Sherbet* (1890 Barrère & Leland<sub>2</sub>), *sherbet* (1917 Lawson<sub>2</sub>), *sherbets* (1974 Archer<sub>2</sub>); **4.** *sherbet doilies* (1896 *Godey's Mag.*<sub>2</sub>), *Sherbet Dabs* (1957 Kirkup<sub>2</sub>), *sherbet-fountains* (1957 Hoggart<sub>2</sub>), *sherbet dabs* (1958 *Listener*<sub>2</sub>); **sharbetlee:** *shurbet'lee* (1836 Lane *Egyptians*<sub>I</sub> 1: 372), *sharbetlee* (1846 Lane *Egyptians*<sub>III</sub> 2: 112), *sharbetlee* (1873 Wilkinson *Egypt*: 127), *sharbetlee* (1908 Emerson *Beverages* I: 346); **sherbetzide:** *sherbetzide* (1897 CD VII: 5388)

**B: 1.** *Sorbet* (1585 Washington<sub>2</sub>), *Sorbetta* (1613 *Haga at Constantinople.*), *Sorbet* (1682 Wheeler<sub>2</sub>), *sorbet* (1682 Evelyn<sub>3</sub>), *sorbettes* (1766 Smollett<sub>2</sub>), *sorbet* (1783 Beckford<sub>3</sub>),<sup>350</sup> *sorbets* (1805 *Ann. Rev.*<sub>2</sub>), *sorbets* (1844 Asmar<sub>2</sub>); **2.** *sorbets* (1864 *Daily Telegr.*<sub>2</sub>), *sorbets* (1885 Mabel Collins<sub>2</sub>)

<sup>346</sup> This and the following quotation are from the same work. The latter was added by the author in the second edition. OED<sub>2</sub> quotes both forms at 1603, but from the 1621 edition.

<sup>347</sup> Stanford quotes the same passage from the second edition of 1612.

<sup>348</sup> Stanford misquotes the form as *sherberhe*.

<sup>349</sup> Stanford dates this 1847.

<sup>350</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> uses a later edition (1843).



1. A cooling drink of the East, made of fruit juice and water sweetened, often cooled with snow, or a European imitation of it, esp. effervescing drink made of sherbet powder; 2. In full **sherbet powder**: A preparation of bicarbonate of soda, tartaric acid, sugar, etc., variously flavoured, for making an effervescing drink; 3. Transferred uses (water-ice, sweetmeat or any alcoholic beverage); 4. As part of various compounds.

ETYMOLOGY:

- 1865: W-M s.v. **sherbet**: < A *sherbet*, *shorbet*, *sharbat*, properly 'one drink or sip, a draught, beverage' ← *shariba* 'drink'; F *sorbet*, Sp. *sorbete*, Pg. *sorvete*, It. *sorbetto*
- 1865: Wedgwood<sub>1</sub> s.v. **sherbet**: It. *sorbetto* 'any kind of thin supping broth'; also 'a kind of drink used in Turkey, made of lemons, sugar, currants, almonds, musk, and amber, very delicate, called in England Sherbet' (Florio); < A *sharbat* 'a drink or sip, a dose of medicine, sherbet, syrop'; *shurbat* 'a draught of water' ← *sharb*, *shirb*, *shurb* 'drinking, supping' = L *sorbere*, It. *sorbire* 'to sup or suck up liquid', the Arabic and Latin roots being doubtless, like G *schlüpfen*, a direct representation of the sound; cf. Lith. *srēbti*, *srobtī*, *sraubti*, *srūbti*, *sruboti* 'to sup, sip', *sruba*, 'soup, broth'
- 1867: Müller<sub>1</sub> s.v. **sherbet**: < A *scharbat* pl. *scharābāt* 'getränk, zuckersaft' ← *schariba* 'trinken'; cf. *sorbetto* [no such entry, only *sorbet*, which only refers back to *sirup* and *sherbet* – M. U.], *sirup shrub*
- 1872: Wedgwood<sub>2</sub> = Wedgwood<sub>1</sub>
- 1878: Wedgwood<sub>3</sub> = Wedgwood<sub>1</sub>
- 1879: Müller<sub>2</sub> s.v. **sherbet**: 'ein kühlendes getränk' < A *scherbet*, *schorbet*, *scharbat*, plur. *scharābāt* 'zuckersaft, getränk' ← *schariba* 'trinken'; E *sorbet* < F *sorbet*, Sp. *sorbete*, Pg. *sorvete*, It. *sorbetto*, Diez assumes influence from L *sorbere* 'schlüpfen'; cf. *shrub* 2 and *sirup* and NHG forms *sorbet*, *scherbet*, *syруп* (in Weigand)
- 1882: Skeat<sub>1</sub> s.v. **sherbet**: 'a kind of sweet drink' < A *sharbat* 'a drink, sip, beverage, draught, sherbet, syrop' ← A *shariba* 'he drank', related to *syруп*, *shrub*, in the term '*rum-shrub*'
- 1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **sherbet**: the Indian form *sharbat* 'draught' of Arabo-Persian origin (the final *t* is generally silent in Arabic, resulting in *sharba*, in Persian *sharbat*); European forms < Arabic through various routes: It. *sorbetto* and F *sorbet* probably < Levantine or Turkish form *shurbat* or *shorbat*; in Spanish and Portuguese *xarabe*, *axarabe* (< *ash-sharāb* 'wine or any beverage'), and *xarope*,

- (probably > It. *scioppo*, *sioppo*, OF *ysserop*, ModF *sirop*, also E *syrup*, and more directly from Spanish, *shrub*); ModSp. *sorbete* and *sirop* < F or It. (Dozy and Devic); *sherbet* probably direct from the Levant; the form *shrāb* is applied in India to all wines and spirits and prepared drinks, e.g. Port-*shraub*, Sherry-*shraub*, Lall-*shraub*, Brandy-*shraub*, Beer-*shraub*
- 1888: Skeat<sub>2</sub> = Skeat<sub>1</sub>
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **sherbet**: < P *sharbat*, or T *shurbet*: an Oriental cooling drink consisting of water, either sweetened or made acid with fruit juice, and flavored in various ways
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub>
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> = Skeat<sub>2</sub>
- 1913: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **sorbet**: < F *sorbet* (Sp. *sorbete*, Pg. *sorvete*) < It. *sorbetto* < T *shorbet* (see SHERBET), perhaps influenced by It. *sorbire* 'to imbibe'. So Du. and Flem *sorbet*, G *sorbet(t)*
- 1914: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **sherbet**: < T and P شربت *sherbet* < A شربة *sharba*<sup>b</sup> ← شرب *shariba* 'to drink'; cf. *sorbet*
- 1921: Weekley: T, P *sherbet*, A *sharbah* ← *shariba* 'to drink'; cross-references to *sirup*, *shrub* 2, *sorbet*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **sherbet**: < T & P *sharbat* < A *sharbah* 'a drink' ← *shariba* 'to drink'; s.v. **sherbetlee**: < erroneous for *sherbetjee* < T *sherbetji* 'a maker or seller of sherbet'; s.v. **sherbetzide**: < erroneous for T *sherbetji*; s.v. **sorbet**: variant of *sherbet*: < F < L *sorbetto*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **sherbet**: < T & P; T *şerbet* < P *sharbat* < A *sharbah* drink ← *shariba* to drink; s.v. **sorbet**: MF 'a fruit drink' < OIt. *sorbetto* < T *şerbet*
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **sherbet**: < T, P *sherbet* < A *sharab* ← *shariba* vb. drink (cf. SHRUB<sup>2</sup>, SYRUP); s.v. **sorbet**: < F *sorbet* < It. *sorbetto* < T *shorbet* < A *sharbāt*, pl. drinks; cf. SHERBET
- 1967: Klein s.v. **sherbet**: a drink made of diluted fruit juice and sugar; < T, P *sherbet* < A *shárba*<sup>b</sup> 'one drink' ← *sharāb* 'drink, beverage' < *sháriba* 'he drank', related to MishnHeb. *šārāph* 'he absorbed, sipped, sucked'
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1994: CannA s.v. **sherbet**: < T & P; OttT *şerbet* < P *sharbat* < A *sharbah* 'drink'; s.v. **sherbetlee**: erroneous adaptation < T *sherbetji*; s.v. **sherbetzide**: see **sherbetlee**
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> s.v. **sherbet**: < Ott. 'sweet fruit drink' < P *sharbat* < A *šarba* 'drink' ← *šariba* 'to drink'; < Semitic root √šrb 'drink, absorb';

Word History: “The Turkish and Persian words referred to a beverage of sweetened, diluted fruit juice that was popular in the Middle East and imitated in Europe. In Europe *sherbet* eventually came to refer to a carbonated drink. Because the original Middle Eastern drink contained fruit and was often cooled with snow, *sherbet* was applied to a frozen dessert (first recorded in 1891). It is distinguished slightly from *sorbet*, which can also mean ‘a fruit-flavored ice served between courses of a meal.’”]; s.v. **sorbet**: < F < Ott. *sherbet* ‘sweet fruit drink’

2001: CannP: < OttT *şerbet* ‘sweet fruit drink’ (< P *şarbat* < A *šarba* ‘a drink’) & P

#### COMMENTARY:

##### 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

The word is discussed by many authors and the commentaries frequently differ considerably.

The first difference is the notation of the Arabic form. The majority quote the Arabic form with a final *-t* (*šarbat* and similar), but OED<sub>1</sub>, Weekley, Klein, CannA and W<sub>3</sub> write it as *šarbah* or *šarba<sup>b</sup>*, whereas AHD and CannP have *šarba*. The final letter in the Arabic spelling is the so-called *tā’ marbūṭa*, which in standard Arabic may stand for either *-a* (< *-ah*) or *-at* depending on the syntactic position of the noun (for details, see section 5.3.1 in the Introduction). The form *šarba* must have been more common when giving the name of the drink to foreigners. In Persian and Ottoman Turkish the final *t* was generalized to all forms of this word, so in these languages the forms are *šarbat* (Steingass: 740) and *şerbet* (Redhouse: 1120) respectively. Thus forms with final *-t* are more likely to have been borrowed via an intermediary than directly from A *šarba*.

Wedgwood (all editions) does not mention Ottoman mediation either, although association with the land is present (‘a kind of drink used in Turkey’). The Arabic form, however, is closer to reality, with corrected vowel notation. Out of the remaining Arabic forms quoted there, i.e. *šurbat*, *šarb*, *širb*, and *šurb*, Wehr only has the first and the last ones (*šurba* ‘drink; sip, draught, swallow; dose portion (of a medicine)’, and *šurb* ‘drinking, drink; absorption’, AED: 540; there is also EgA *šurba<sub>2</sub>* ‘soup’, 540). Wedgwood’s claim of the onomatopoeic origin of the root √*šrb* is a plausible idea. It is with reference to this onomatopoeia that the similarity with L *sorbere* is mentioned for the first time, although the possibility of folk-etymological association in Italian is not explicitly stated. Moreover, It. *sorbetto* is given as the immediate source, but this does not make much sense

as the headword is *sherbet* (more likely, a candidate for direct borrowing < T), while E *sorbet* (< F < It. < T) is not mentioned at all.

Müller<sub>1</sub> has a separate entry for *sorbet* (as well as *sirup* and *shrub*), but this cross-references back to *sherbet*, without any mention of Italian. Müller<sub>2</sub> adds two more Arabic forms, i.e. *šerbet* and *šorbet*, but does not give any reference for these.<sup>351</sup> He is also the first one to comment on E *sorbet*, deriving it from Romance languages.

Skeat<sub>1</sub> solves the problem of the interrelationship of the Arabic forms. Because he also has *-t* in the Arabic etymon, an Ottoman form does not seem necessary, although the mismatch in the vocalic pattern (A *a-a* vs. E *e-e*) is left without explanation.

Yule<sub>1</sub> is the first English dictionary to include a comment on the final *-t*. The explanation of the vowel in the first syllable of It. *sorbetto* and F *sorbet* is confusing, as the term 'Levantine' is ambiguous (Levantine Arabic or 'Oriental' in general?) and the distribution of the forms *šurba(t)* ~ *šorba(t)* is unclear (are these both 'Levantine' and Turkish, or is the former 'Levantine' and the latter Turkish?). Moreover, while *šurba(t)* exists in Arabic (see above), no form with a rounded back vowel seems to be attested for (Ottoman) Turkish. The same mistake is repeated in Stanford and the author does not explain why the Arabic source is rejected, unless he is not aware of it.

OED<sub>1</sub> summarizes very well the conclusions of its predecessors, by combining the best qualities of Skeat<sub>1</sub> and Yule<sub>1</sub>. Weekley copies his entry from OED<sub>1</sub>. Klein's reference to the Hebrew form is entirely irrelevant. ODEE has separate entries, *sherbet* and *sorbet*, but is very inconsistent as far as the forms and derivations. S.v. *sherbet*, the Turkish and Persian forms are derived from a wrong Arabic form, which is, moreover, misquoted (correctly *šarāb* 'beverage, drink; wine; fruit, juice' AED 740, also cf. Klein above). The entry for *sorbet* explains a non-existent T *\*šorbet* as an adaptation of *šarbāt* (the plural of *šarba(t)*), a phonetically unlikely derivation.

## 2. English forms and their transmission to English

Based on modern meanings given in OALD as well as differences in pronunciation it is justified to separate: (a) *sherbet* 1. BrE 'a powder that tastes of fruit and fizzes

<sup>351</sup> Wehr (AED: 540) has SyrA *šorba(t)* 'soup', but also A *šurba(t)* 'drink; sip, draught, swallow' and EgA *šurba(t)* 'soup'. It is difficult to determine whether one of these or any other form was meant by Müller's *šorbet*. Whatever the case, they are insufficient on their own in explaining E *sorbet*, for semantic reasons as well as due to initial [s] and final [t]. Incidentally, their association with the root  $\sqrt{šrb}$  is secondary in Arabic, as their source is probably LNP *šurbā* < ENP *šōrbā* 'soup, gruel' (Steingass: 765), a word which has a clear structure in Persian: ← < *šor* 'salt' (*ibid.* 765) + *bā* 'a kind of gruel or other species of spoon-meat' (*ibid.* 135).

when you put it in your mouth, eaten as a sweet/candy', 2. AmE = *sorbet*; (b) *sorbet* 'a sweet frozen food made from sugar, water and fruit juice, often eaten as a dessert' (see LDOCE for similar meanings and cf. AHD quoted above for a slightly different account). This differentiation is, however, late, and there is a considerable overlap of historical meanings recorded in OED<sub>2</sub>, with *sorbet* attested in senses similar to those of *sherbet* at least throughout the 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries, which makes it reasonable to treat both families of forms in one entry. The forms above are kept apart, however, due to their different origin.

The two families of forms differ basically in two respects: (1) the initial consonant, and (2) the vowel notation. Generally speaking, the *sherbet* forms are < Ott. *šerbet* < A *šarba(t)* with possible Persian mediation between Arabic and Ottoman. The change of vowels A *a*–*a* > Ott. *e*–*e* is expected, given that the usual vowel substitutions are A *a* > Ott. *e*, A *ā* > Ott. *a*. This shows explicitly that it was Ottoman that acted as the immediate donor of such variants in Europe.

The second class of forms, the *sorbet* spellings, are < F < It. < Ott. < A, again with possible Persian mediation. The *š* > *s* substitution is due to transmission via Italian where association with L *sorbire* 'sip' alluded to by Wedgwood, the editors of OED as well as other authors (e.g. DELI s.v. *sorbetto*) is very likely.

Ottoman mediation has to be assumed in both forms in order to explain: (a) the *e* vowels; (b) the final *-t*; and perhaps (c) the semantics. The latter two could be explained also by reference to the Persian form alone. A *šarba* is glossed by Wehr 'drink; sip, draught, swallow; dose, potion (of a medicine); laxative, purgative, aperient' (AED 540). It is in Ottoman that the word has the meaning 'a sweet drink', among others (Redhouse: 1120), and Steingass notes the meaning 'sherbet', among others, in his dictionary (740).

Some minor alterations are found in certain forms in the OED entry for *sherbet*. The earliest two variants listed there, namely *zerbet* and *cerbet*, come from the 1603 and 1610 editions of Knolles' *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*. These may be various attempts to write a foreign word. They have been classified by the editors of OED with other forms of this group due to the vowel letters, but the initial letters more typically represent an alveolar rather than a postalveolar consonant, which makes them exceptional among the *e*–*e* forms. If this is accurate, they may represent an early Italian form like \**serbetto*, i.e. with the *š* > *s* substitution, but lacking the association with L *sorbire*.<sup>352</sup>

<sup>352</sup> The change *š* > *s* sometimes occurred spontaneously in borrowings from Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Arabic (e.g.: *sach* 'shah', 1542, DELI s.v. *sciā*; ModIt. *dervis* < P *darviš*, see also SHERIFI).

There are two other surprising forms in *s-* in the English data: the 1626 plural *seruettts* from Bacon (*Sylua Syluarum* §705) and the 1685 *sarbet*. The latter may as well belong with *sorbet*, whereas the former, which features *-v-* instead of *-b-*, is more problematic. The fricative is also present in a Modern Turkish dialectal form *şervet* (DS X: 3763) as well as Ott. *şervet* recorded as *siervet* (1603; quoted in PLOT III: 96). The problem is that the latter is the only form in *-v-* recorded for Ottoman Turkish in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which begs the question whether this is not a misspelling. Moreover, because no *-v-* form is attested in Italian, assuming a form like *şervet* as the source for Bacon's *seruettts* would require an alternative explanation of the initial *s-*, which makes the whole argument a little too dubious. On the other hand, *-v-* may result from transmission through a Spanish form *\*serbet*, whose intervocalic *-b-* = [β] is likely to be interpreted as [v].

The first vowel letter in *Shurbet* (as well as the *-i-* in *Shirbet*, a form given as one of the 16<sup>th</sup>-c. variants in OED, but without an accompanying quotation) most likely representing [ə], indicates word-final stress, perhaps in imitation of the Turkish pronunciation. Conversely, *sharbut* was probably stressed on the first syllable, as in modern pronunciation.

There are three more problematic forms mentioned in the entry in OED<sub>3</sub>: *sherberke*, *sherbecke* and *sherbert*. The first two occur in two different versions of the same passage – an account of Captain John Smith's captivity in the Khanate of Crimea. The *-rke* form occurs in Purchas's collection of travel writing, whereas the *-cke* appears in *The True Travels* issued under John Smith's own name several years later. This suggests that the former may be treated as a misspelling. Nevertheless, the form remains problematic. If Smith had known the word before he was taken captive, we could expect a form transmitted via Romance. There are a number of *-c* forms attested in French, which arose as a result of hypercorrection after the loss of final consonants. However, none of them resembles *sherbecke* closely enough and none is attested early enough: *surbecq* (1646), *sorbec* ~ *sorbek* (several attestations; the earliest in 1674), *serbek* (1815).

As for *sherbert*, it may be one of the early cases of inverse spelling indicating the loss of /r/ in postvocalic position (see Lass 1999b: 114)

### 3. Note on *E sharbetlee* and *sherbetzide*

These two puzzling forms are occasionally attested in English in the sense 'maker/seller of sherbet'. The most typical equivalent is Ott/ModT *şerbetçi* id. (in *ç* and not *ğ* as suggested in W<sub>2</sub>), but the two English words cannot be directly related.

*Sharbetlee* is first used by Lane in his description of Cairo and the later authors most probably copy from him, as the contexts and even the wording are very similar to Lane's.

EgA *šarbātli* ‘sherbet seller’ is indeed recorded in 19<sup>th</sup> century EgA (as *šarbâtly*, in Spiro 1895: 308) and in modern EgA *šarbātli* ‘vendor of sweet drinks’ (EgAE: 457) and the form is listed among the borrowings from Ottoman in Prokotsch (1983: 120). It seems conceivable that these developed by substantivisation of the Ottoman adjectival form *šerbetli* i.a. ‘having a fruit drink’ (ROTİS: 1057).

*Sherbetzide* is very rare: it occurs only once as far as we have been able to determine, if we disregard two of our dictionaries, i.e. W<sub>2</sub> and CannA. At this point no satisfactory explanation of this form can be found.

## SHISH KEBAB

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **shish kebab** [ʃɪʃ kɪˈbæb] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), [ʃɪʃ kəˈbæb] ~ [ʃiːʃ] ~ [-ki-] [•••] (2008 LPD); AmE **shish kebab** [ʃɪʃ kəˈbɑːb] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [ʃɪʃ kəbɑːb] (2008 LPD)

FORMS: 1. *shish kēbābi* (1864 Turabi *Cookery*: 4), *shish kebab* (1914 Lewis<sub>2</sub>), *sheesh kabab* (1921 Train<sub>2</sub>), *shushkabab* (1951 Koestler<sub>2</sub>), *shish-kebab* (1960 Times<sub>2</sub>), *shishkebabs* (1976 *Outdoor Living*<sub>2</sub>), *shish kebab* (1980 Way<sub>2</sub>); 2. *Shish-kebabs* (1966 Pennings<sub>2</sub>), *shish and kebab* (1974 Schultz<sub>2</sub>), *shish kebab* (1975 Nature<sub>2</sub>), *shish kebab structure* (1979 Nature<sub>2</sub>)

1. A dish consisting of pieces of meat (usu. lamb) grilled on skewers (1914 *shish kebab*); 2. *Physical Chem.* A fibrous crystalline structure formed in some flowing or agitated polymer solutions, consisting of many plate-like crystallites (*kebabs*) growing outwards from a long ribbon or rod (a *shish*).

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1961: W<sub>3</sub>: < Arm. *shish kabab* < T *šiš kebabi* ← *šiš* ‘skewer’ + *kebab* ‘roast meat’
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub>: < T *šiškebab* ← *šiš* ‘skewer’ + *kebab* ‘roast meat’
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub>: < Arm. *shish kabab* < T *šiš kebabi*: *šiš* ‘skewer’ + *kebabi*, qualifying (possessive) form of *kebab* ‘roasted meat’ (prob. < A *kabāb* ‘cooked meat in small pieces’, possibly < Aram. *kabbābā* ‘burning, charring’ ← *kabbeb* ‘to char, roast’, prob. < Akk. *kabābu* ‘to burn’)
- 1994: CannA: < Arm. *shish kabab* < A & T *shishkebab* lit. ‘skewer-roast meat’
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub>: < Arm. *shish kabab* < T *šiš kebabi*: *šiš* ‘skewer’ + *kebabi*, qualifying (possessive) form of *kebab* ‘roasted meat’ (prob. < A *kabāb*

‘cooked meat in small pieces’, possibly < Aram. *kabbābā* ‘burning, charring’ ← *kabbeb* ‘to char, roast’, prob. < Akk. *kabābu* ‘to burn’)

#### COMMENTARY:

AHD<sub>3-4</sub> quotes the Turkish form correctly, i.e. with the possessive *-ı* at the end of the second noun. This is the so-called Turkish *izafet* construction, functionally, though not formally, equivalent to Arabic *ʿidāfa(t)* (see section 5.3.3 in the Introduction). The original Turkish formation is reflected in the first English quotation. Others seem to be variously modified, most notably by the apocope of final vowel. This is attributed to Armenian mediation, which is indeed possible, because, based on the early sources, it is the Armenian immigrants in America who seem to be responsible for popularizing the dish and its name.

For *şiş* ‘skewer, spit’ see **SHASHLIK**. See **KEBAB** for the second component.

#### TARAMOSALATA

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **taramosalata** / **taramasalata** [tærəməsəˈlɑ:tə] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), [tærəməsəˈlɑ:tə] ~ [təˈrɑ:məsəˈlɑ:tə] ~ [təˈræməsəˈlɑ:tə] (2008 LPD); AmE **taramosalata** [tɑ:rəˈmoʊsəˈlɑ:tə] (1993 W<sub>3-Add</sub>), **taramosalata** [tɑ:rəməsəˈlɑ:tə] ~ [tɑ:rəməsəˈlɑ:tə] (2008 LPD)

FORMS: *tarama salata* (1910 Ferriman<sub>2</sub>), *taramosalata* (1958 Liddell<sub>2</sub>), *taramasalata* (1964 *Spectator*<sub>2</sub>), *tarama* (1972 *Harper’s & Queen*<sub>2</sub>), *taramosalata* (1978 *Chicago*<sub>2</sub>)

A Greek fish palate made traditionally from the roe of the grey mullet or from smoked cod’s roe, mixed with garlic, lemon juice, olive oil, etc.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **taramosalata**: ModGk, ← *παραμâς* ‘preserved roe’ (< T *tarama* ‘soft roe, red caviare’) + *σαλάτα* ‘salad’
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **taramasalata**: or *taramosalata*; < ModGk. *taramas* ‘preserved roe’ (< T *tarama* ‘soft roe’) + *salata* ‘salad’ (< It. *insalata* ← fem. past participle of *insalare* ‘to salt’ ← L *in-* ‘in, on’ + VL *\*salāre* ‘to salt’ < L *sāl* ‘salt’)
- 1993: W<sub>3-Add</sub> s.v. **taramosalata**: < NGk. ← *taramas* ‘salted fish roe’ (< T *tarama*) + *-o-* + *salata* ‘salad’
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>



## COMMENTARY:

The *a - o* variation should be noticed in the segment corresponding to the Greek interfix, which is only graphic as the syllable is always unaccented and pronounced [ə]. The form *tarama* is termed elliptical by the editors of OED<sup>2</sup>, but it may well result from the borrowing of the Turkish word itself, without the Greek intermediary (the context does not rule out this interpretation, cf. the relevant quotation in OED<sub>2</sub>). In that case, the meaning would be ‘fish roe, caviar’ rather than the Greek dish made of it.

The etymological information given in the dictionaries is overall correct. It may be added that *tarama* is built of the verbal root *tara-* ‘to comb, to search thoroughly’ and the suffix *-mA-*, and the whole formation may literally be understood as ‘(something that has been) searched, chosen’, and is similar in sense to that of ELEME. The suffix is found in numerous names of dishes (cf. also DOLMA, ELEME, KORMA, and SHAWARMA).

## TSIPOURO

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **tsipouro** [ˈtsɪpʊrəʊ] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: [*Tsipouro Pharos* (1914 PP 10: 570),] *tsipouro* (1939 Metzelthin *Cook Book*: 254), *tsippouro* (1947 Mulgan<sub>2</sub>), *tsipouro* (1953 Fielding<sub>2</sub>), *tsipuro* (1969 Mavor<sub>2</sub>), *tsípouro* (1981 Bowman<sub>2</sub>)

A pomace brandy from Greece.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1989: OED<sub>2</sub>: < ModGk., probably < T

## COMMENTARY:

The word first occurs in an English text in a 1939 cookbook, but before that several occurrences of the brand name *Tsipouro Pharos* are recorded in American English. That Greek was the immediate donor is beyond doubt and what requires further discussion is the origin of the source form.

Without any Turkish forms cited by the editors of OED<sub>2</sub>, the assumption that Gk. *τσίπουρο* < T can hardly be treated as reliable. According to Tietze (1955 no. 274) modern dialectal Turkish forms like *cubur*, *cubar*, *cibre* are all from Greek. This is rejected by Vásáry (1994), who includes T *cibre* ‘residue of fruit after pressing’ (and a large family of dialectal variants) under Tk. *čöpre*, one of derivatives of Tk. *čöp* ‘rubbish’. Vásáry’s (1994: 279–280) conclusion is that the Greek word is

a borrowing from Turkish, with possible returning loans in the opposite direction, T *čupuri* ~ *čipuri*. While this etymology is semantically impeccable, there are certain difficulties in morphological interpretation (which the author acknowledges) and the complex relationships between the Turkic forms require further elucidation from the Turcological perspective. Nevertheless given the obscurity of the Greek word, Vásáry's etymology is more satisfactory than Tietze's.

## TZATZIKI

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **tzatziki** [tsæt'si:ki] (1993 OED<sub>Add</sub>), [tæt'si:ki] ~ [tsæt'si:ki] (2008 LPD); AmE **tzatziki** [tɑ:t'si:ki]<sup>353</sup>

FORMS: **A:** *djadjik* (1904 Garnett *Turkish Life*: 301), *djadjik* (1911 Garnett *Turkey*: 197), *Jajik* (1966 *The Press Courier (California)* Jun 12: 12), *judge-ik* (1994 *Wisconsin State Journal* Aug 10: 1), *jajik* (2007 Mahari *Orchards*: 101)

**B:** *cacik* (1954 Toklas *Cookbook*: 54), *Cacik* (1966 *The Press Courier (California)* Jun 12: 12), *Salmon cacik* (1979 *Winnipeg Free Press* Jul 25: 45), *cacik* (1994 *Wisconsin State Journal* Aug 10: 1), *cacik* (2005 *Gettysburg times* Jul 26: 21)

**C:** *tzatziki* (1960 Howe<sub>3</sub>), *tsatsiki* (1963 Stubbs<sub>3</sub>), *tzatziki* (1978 *Lancashire Life*<sub>3</sub>), *tzatziki* (1979 *Sunflower*<sub>3</sub>), *tzatziki* (1982 Mann<sub>3</sub>), *tzatziki* (2005 *Gettysburg times* Jul 26: 21)

A Turkish or Balkan dish consisting of yoghurt with chopped cucumber, garlic, and sometimes mint.

### ETYMOLOGY:

1993: OED<sub>Add</sub> s.v. **tzatziki**: ModGk. τσατσίκι < T

### COMMENTARY:

The information in the OED concerning *tzatziki* is correct, although it would be useful to comment on the Greek word and its Turkish etymon. The Greek pronunciation is [dza'dzici], so that E *tzatiki* must have been modelled on the written Greek form. The Turkish etymon of the Greek word is *cacık* or rather Ott. جاجق 'a kind

<sup>353</sup> These pronunciations are of course incompatible with type A or B spellings. The former seem to suggest a pronunciation like [dʒædʒɪk] or [dʒæ'dʒɪk] or even [dʒʌdʒɪk] (*judge-ik* 1994).

of salad of chopped cucumber dressed with curds and garlic' (Redhouse: 633). The Greek dish is made with similar ingredients, although thicker.

OED<sub>Add</sub> does not mention nor does it have separate entries for type A or type B spellings. These are of course incompatible with the pronunciations provided by modern dictionaries. Type A spellings suggest pronunciations like [dʒædʒɪk] or [dʒæ'dʒɪk] or even [dʒʌdʒɪk] (*judge-ik* 1994), and as such seem to be renderings of Turkish pronunciation [dʒa'dʒɪk].<sup>354</sup> Type B spellings on the other hand are adaptations of the Modern Turkish spelling *cacık*.

According to Tietze (TETTL I: 411), *cacık II* 'salad' < *cacık I* 'a type of edible herbs', although he dubs the etymology of the latter unknown.<sup>355</sup> Nişanyan (ÇTES s.v. *cacık*) suggests connection with P *ژژ* *žāž*, which may denote 'a kind of camel's thistle', 'a kind of wormwood', 'a sort of artichoke', 'any plant not growing from seed' (Steingass: 635). The idea is not unreasonable, as the Turkish word is a dialectal common name of plants like goatsbeard, common sorrel, common purslane or spinach and these plants are often used in the preparation of *cacık*, as reported by Eren (TDES 67; without reference to the Persian word).

## VISNEY

PRONUNCIATION: no information

FORMS: *Visney* (1721 [1899] Portland *Manuscripts* V: 616); *Visney* (1724 [1765] Statutes 1765: 197); *Visney* (1733 Ellis<sub>2</sub>); *Visney* (1736 Bailey<sub>2</sub>); *Visney* (1787 Statutes 1787: 119)

A liquor of the nature of cherry brandy.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1917: OED<sub>1</sub>: < T *vishneh*, P *wishneh* 'cherry' (with corresponding forms in the Slavic and other languages of Eastern Europe)
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 2001: CannP: < T *višne* 'Morello cherry', Ru. *višnya* and P *wišneh*, *wišna* 'cherry'

<sup>354</sup> Or a similar one found in an intermediary, as in e.g. the 1904 and 1911 *djadjik*, which denotes the Armenian version of the dish.

<sup>355</sup> Indeed if the derivation 'salad' < 'herbs (used as one of the ingredients)' is true, Theodoridis (1974) offers an interesting example of further evolution of similar type. He quotes an Abaza reflex *čaž'eχ* 'colostrum', whose meaning developed through analogy to another ingredient of *cacık*, i.e. yogurt.

## COMMENTARY:

The liquor was imported to Britain throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which is evidenced by references found in various British customs-related documents of that time such as an act of 1724 by King George I establishing duty rates on a number of commodities, a similar document of 1787 by the Parliament. The earliest attestation comes from 1721, for which year we have a report in a letter from Edward Harold to the Earl of Oxford dated February 18 of a debaucherous reception at the Duke of Newcastle's residence in which the guests drank a variety of liquors, including visney, for "thirteen hours as it is said". Crucially, no explanation of the term is seen necessary by the author, which suggests familiarity with the drink by that time.

The Oriental forms quoted in OED<sub>1</sub> and CannP are all various transliterations, with the final *-h* being only orthographic and not present in the pronunciation (cf. section 5.3.1 the Introduction). The two words (i.e. the Turkish and the Persian ones) were pronounced in a similar way. Both dictionaries fail to comment on the possible relationships between the word forms provided. The reason for CannP quoting the Russian word instead of any other Slavic form is unclear. Any of the Balkan Slavic forms would be equally – if not more – appropriate here (see below).

Various kinds of sour cherry liquors are made in the eastern and southern parts of Europe (including Poland, Russia, the Balkans, and Turkey). Ottoman Turkish mediation has to be assumed for historical reasons: at least some of the documents referenced above mention the liquor as imported from Turkey. However, the Ottoman Turkish *vişne* وشنه itself does not mean the liquor, but the fruit, 'morello/sour cherry' (Redhouse: 2138, RTOİS: 1230), i.e. *Prunus cerasus*. This suggests that the metonymic application to the liquor itself must have taken place among the European traders.<sup>356</sup>

The etymology in OED<sub>2</sub> is misleading as it does not comment on the relationship between the Turkic and Slavic forms. As Muslims, the Turks did not produce the liquor themselves. It is reasonable to assume that both the product and its name were adopted by the Turks from the Balkans (cf. Bulg. *вишна* ~ *вишня* and Serb. *višnja*; VEW: 528, Tietze 1957: 2, TDES: 436). The *-e* in the final syllable in the Turkic form is due to vowel harmony.

On the Slavic word see e.g. REW I: 208, ÈSRJa I: 325, Machek: 692, Boryś 703) and cf. Černyx I: 156 and ERSJ III 498.

<sup>356</sup> For similar usage, cf. Pol. *wiśnia* 'cherry' which may be colloquially used with reference to *wiśniówka* 'low-quality cherry-flavoured alcoholic liquor'.

## YOGURT

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **yogurt** ['jɒɡət] ~ older ['jəʊɡʊt] (1921 OED<sub>1</sub>), ['jɒɡət] ~ ['jɒɡʊt] (2008 LPD), **yaourt** ['jaʊrt] (1921 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **yog(h)(o)urt** ['joʊɡʊrt] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), ['joʊɡʁt] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), ['joʊɡʁt] (2008 LPD), **yohourt** ['joʊʊrt] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), **yagh(o)urt** ['ja:ɡʊrt] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), **yahourt** ['ja:ʊrt] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: **A:** *yoghurd* (1625 Purchas<sub>2</sub>), *yaghourt* (1837 Robinson *Palestine & Syria* I: 86), *yoghúrt* ~ *yóghúrt* (1841 JRGS I: 412, 415, 417), *yoghoort* (1856 Sandwith *Kars*: 200), *yaghourt* (1883 O'Donovan<sub>2</sub>),<sup>357</sup> *yoghourt* (1912 *Dundee Adv.*), *yoghurt* (1924 Browning<sub>2</sub>), *yoghourt* (1934 Waugh<sub>2</sub>), *yoghourt* (1955 Freeman<sub>2</sub>), *yoghourt* (1980 *Sunday Times*), *yoghurty* (1981 *Times*)

**B:** *yogourt* (1687 Lovell<sub>2</sub>), *yogurt* (1970 Lowell<sub>2</sub>), *yogurt* ~ *yogurty* (1983 *N.Y. Mag.*)

**C:** *yaourt* (1759 Egmont & Heyman *Travels* I: 127), *yaourt* (1798 Eton *Turkish Empire*: 232—234), *yaoort* (1819 Hope<sub>3</sub>), *yaourt* ~ *jaoùrt* (1819 Maurizi *Muscat*: 44), *youart* (1844 Kingslake<sub>3</sub>), *yaourt* (1882 *Sat. Rev.*), *yaort* (1887 Stevens)

**D:** *yahourt* (1827 *Economy & Cookery*: 153—4), *yahourt* (1837 [1838] Pardoe<sub>2</sub>)<sup>358</sup>

A sour fermented liquor made from milk, used in Turkey and other countries of the Levant; now common in many English-speaking countries as a commercial semi-solid, often flavoured, foodstuff.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **ya(g)hourt**, **yaoort**: < T *yōghurt* 'a kind of cream cheese; curds and whey'; also variants: *yoghurd* < T; *youart* < T  
 1921: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **yaourt**: < T *يوغرت yōghurt* (with quiescent *gh*) YOGURT; s.v. **yogurt**: < T *yōghurt*  
 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **yoghurt**: also *yoghourt*, *yogurt*, *yohourt*; < T *yōghurt*  
 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **yogurt**: or *yoghurt* also *yoghourt*; < T *yōghurt*  
 1966: ODEE s.v. **yaourt** = OED<sub>1</sub>; s.v. **yog(h)urt**: var. of *yaourt*  
 1967: Klein s.v. **yoghurt**, **yoghourt**, **yogurt**, n., 'a food made from milk fermented by a bacterium' < T *yōghurt*  
 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>

<sup>357</sup> Stanford dates this to 1884.

<sup>358</sup> Stanford dates this to 1839.

- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **yogurt**: also *yoghurt*, *yoghourt*; < T *yoğurt*  
 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> s.v. **yogurt**: also *yoghurt* or *yoghourt*; T *yoğart*, *yoğurt* ←  
*yoğur* ‘to knead’

#### COMMENTARY:

### 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

None of the dictionaries accounts for the variation in the English forms, although all recognize it (to varying degrees). The comment on “quiescent *gh*” in OED<sub>1-2</sub> barely touches the issue. It is true with reference to Modern Turkish, where the segment in question is written as *-ğ-* (see section 5.2.3 in the Introduction), as seen in the notation used in the American dictionaries.

Only AHD<sub>4</sub> offers more details concerning the Turkic etymology, on which see below.

### 2. The orthographic features of the English forms and their origin

Some English spellings exhibit influence from French orthography, cf. *-ou-* for [ʊ]. The English orthographic forms may be divided into four categories, chronologically: (A) variants in *-gh-* (*yoghurd*, *yaghourt*, *yoghúrt* ~ *yóghúrt*, *yoghourt*, *yoghurt*); (B) variants in *-g-* (*yogourt*, *yogurt*); (C) variants without the word-medial consonant (*yaourt*, *yaoort*, *youart*, *yaort*); and (D) one variant in *-h-* (*yahourt*).

It should also be noticed that the vowel in the first syllable in types A and B is usually *-o-* (with the sole exception being *yaghourt*), whereas types C and D must have been pronounced with an *a*-like vowel in the first syllable, as suggested by the pronunciations listed in W<sub>2</sub> (perhaps with the exception of *youart*, but this occurs only once in a single text and must be a misspelling). This vowel variation [o ~ a] in the first syllable may indicate that most source forms were stressed according to the Turkish/French rules, i.e. on the last syllable, and when some English speakers shifted the stress, the pronunciation followed the spelling.<sup>359, 360</sup>

Ottoman had *yoğurt* ‘yogurt’ (= ModT *yoğurt*; RTOİS: 1259). As remarked earlier, the modern standard pronunciation of the sequence *-oğ-* [-o<sup>w</sup>u-] goes

<sup>359</sup> There is a Turkic variant *yağurt*, which Doerfer (TMEN IV §1866: 174) convincingly explains as analogical formation based on TkC *yay* ‘butter’. This, however, is attested only in Old and Middle Turkic sources and, consequently cannot be the source of the [a–u] forms in French and English.

<sup>360</sup> In OED, types A, B and D are combined under a single entry, whereas type C is singled out. However, treating *yahourt* together with *yog(h)urt* seems inadequate, as the status of *-h-* vs *-gh-* is unclear. See next paragraph.

back to [-oyu-]. Crucially, the earlier stage has been preserved dialectally (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 8, Friedman 2006: 32).<sup>361</sup> The *-gh-* in the first class may be seen as a way of transcribing (either in English or in a donor language in those cases where borrowing was not direct) the earlier Ottoman [ɣ] or as a transliteration for the Arabic letter ڭ used in the Ottoman spelling. The *-g-* in the second class reflects the adaptation Ott. [ɣ] > E [g], also found in other European languages like F *yog(h)ourt* (besides *yaourt*), It. *yogurt*, Sp. *yogur*, Pg. *iogurte*, G *Jogurt*.

The spelling *yahourt* may have been taken over from French, where it stands most probably for [ja'urt] (see TLF s.v. *yaourt*, *yog(h)ourt*), so that this type belongs together with *yaourt* rather than *yogurt*.

### 3. Further etymology

From the point of view of Turkic studies, the word has caused some debate as to its structure and origin and the simple derivation from *yoğur* 'to knead' in AHD does not do justice to the issue. At least two hypotheses have been put forward.

- (1) Doerfer (TMEN IV §1866) identifies four form types: *yoğrut*, *yoğurt*, *yağurt* and *yoğrat*. All of these are attested in early Turkic sources (see *ibid.* for actual references). The first two are derived from *\*yoğurut* < *yoğur-* 'to knead', both with vowel loss.<sup>362</sup> Similar derivations are given by Räsänen (VEWT 205), Clauson (1972: 905; *yuğurt* < *yuğrut* through metathesis), ÈSTJa (IV 208) and Erdal (OTWF 313, but cf. also below).
- (2) ÈSTJa (IV 208) refers also to an older equation by Vámbéry of *yoğurt* and *yoğun* 'thick'.

Erdal tries to combine the two derivations. In explaining *yoğur-* (> *yoğrut*) he compares it to *yoğun*, claiming the two share the same base *\*yoğ-* 'to become dense, thick'. He then concludes that *yoğrut* is irregular, because we would expect *\*yoğut* (as derivatives in *-ur* and its variants tended to lose *r* when the suffix *-ut* or its harmonic variants followed; *ibid* 310). This is rather dubious from the semantic point of view: the link between 'to knead' and 'dense, thick'

<sup>361</sup> Also see examples from Serbo-Croat in S. Stachowski (1973: 151–9, on SCr. *jògurt* see 154), which may indicate an even more archaic stop pronunciation in Balkan Turkish.

<sup>362</sup> The first one with the so-called Mittelsilbenschwund: if the nucleus of the second syllable in trisyllabic lexemes is a high vowel, this vowel is typically lost in Turkish, as in *ayır-* 'to separate' → *\*ayır-ıl* > *ayrıl* 'to be being separated'. The form *yoğurt* is unexpected in this context, but Doerfer gives the parallel of OTkc *adirt* 'difference, distinction' ← *adur* 'to separate' (+ *-it*), cf. AIRAN.

is not straightforward. Moreover, as Tekin points out in his review of OTWF (Tekin 1994: 259), ‘kneading’ is hardly the method for producing yoghurt.

Even more importantly, Tekin rejects the derivation *yogurt* < *yoğur* (i.e. (1) above) on formal grounds saying that *yoğur* has [o] only in Turkish and Azeri, [u] being the vowel of both syllables in other Turkic languages. He then proposes to derive *yogurt* from another *\*yoğur-* ‘to make thick’, a hypothetical causative form based on *\*yog-* ‘to become thick or dense’. This derivation seems acceptable.



## 5. ENTERTAINMENT

### BARBOTTE ~ BARBOOT(H) ~ BARBUDI

PRONUNCIATION: AmE **barbotte** ['ba:r|ba:t] ~ [ba:r'ba:t], **barbooth** ['ba:r|bu:t] ~ ['ba:r|bu:θ] ~ [ba:r'bu:t] ~ [ba:r'bu:θ], **barbudi** [ba:r'bu:di] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: [1. *barbut* (1835 Geddings *Archives* II: 342);] 2. *barbut* (1936 *Hammond Times* Jan 11: 1), *barbut games* (1939 *Hammond Times* Jul 25), *Barboot* (1941 *Montana Standard* April 23: 1), *barbotte ~ barbotte houses ~ barbotte players* (1945 *The Lethbridge Herald* Oct 22: 2), *barabout ~ bar boot* (1951 *The Charleroi Mail* Feb 13: 1), *barbou (dice) game* (1951 *Titusville Herald* Sep 22: 1), *Barboot King ~ barbudi* (1952 Peterson *Barbarians*: 240), *barbout* (1954 *Albuquerque Tribune* Jul 30: 9), *barbooth* (1961 *The Daily Telegram* May 22: 2), *barboot* (1965 *Nevada State Journal* Nov 26: 7), *barbudi* (1966 *News Palladium* Dec 29: 9), *barbouth tables* (1968 *The Weirton Daily Times*: 1), *barbut (dice) game* (1969 *Life* Feb 14: 56), *Barabout ~ Barbooth ~ Barbouth ~ Barbudey* (1978 Scarne *Gambling*: 301), *Barboot ~ Barbout ~ Barboutie* (2010 Kling *Reno*: 195)

[1. An Ottoman coin worth about four cents;] 2. A dice game in which a throw of 3–3, 5–5, 6–6, or 6–5 wins, a throw of 1–1, 1–2, 2–2, or 4–4 loses, and other throws do not count.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **barbotte**: < CanF & T; CanF *barbotte* < T *barbut*

#### COMMENTARY:

#### 1. English usage and the origin of the English forms

The game is often mentioned as a popular pastime among Greek immigrants in the USA. The early occurrences are almost exclusively found in news reports of police raids on illegal gambling houses. The word occurs in a great variety of spellings in

(American) English newspapers. While some of these variations are not surprising – e.g. *-oo-* ~ *-ou-* for [u:] – others are less expected, e.g. occasional final *-th*.

The connection with the Greek community in America suggests that the immediate source of the borrowing was Greek (cf. ModGk. *μπαρμπούτι* ‘craps, game of dice’, GkED: 570) and not Canadian French as postulated in W<sub>3</sub>. In fact according to the 1945 quotation, the game of barbotte was introduced in Montreal from the USA in the 1920s. This date may imply that the game reached the USA with the large wave of Greek immigrants in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, as a result of the Balkan Wars.

The Greek origin is sometimes reflected linguistically by retention of final [-i] (= *-i* ~ *-ie* ~ *-y*), i.e. the nominative ending of a Greek neuter declension. This follows from the fact that (Ottoman) Turkish non-personal nouns which ended in a consonant in that language typically became neuter when borrowed into Greek (Horrocks 2010: 380). The spelling in *-udi* in English reflects the neutralization of the contrast /t/ : /d/ in intervocalic position, where both are pronounced as [ɹ] in American English.

## 2. European history and the problematic origin of the word

Beside Greek, the word is attested in other languages of the Balkans, e.g. SCr. *barbut* ‘a kind of Eastern dice game’ (TShJ: 120), Blg. *барбѹм* id. (Georgiev et al. 1971: 33), Ro. *barbut* (Ciorănescu 2001: 79), Alb *barbut* ‘dice’ (Mann 1948 I: 28). All these words are usually traced back to Ott. *باربود* *barbut* id.. However, the ultimate origin of the Ottoman word (RTOİS: 131) is problematic in itself.

Škaljić (TShJ: 120) explains T *barbut* ~ *barbud* as a borrowing from P *bār-bad* ‘ugly profit’ ← *bār* ‘profit’ + *bad* ‘ugly’. This resembles an earlier proposal by Āli Seydī quoted by Tietze (TETTL: 280), whereby the Persian etymon was the phrase *bār-i bad* composed of the same two elements. This hypothesis is rejected by Loma (2006: 196). One may add to his semantic objection that there seems to be no good reason for substitution of P *a* with Ott. *u*.

Ciorănescu (2001: 79) considers Ro. *barbut* to be related to the feminine noun *barbută* ~ *barbute* ‘an old Turkish silver coin, which was worth two and a half *bani* in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century’, but reaches no conclusion as to the ultimate origin. Suciū (2010: 74), who only has Ro. *barbut* ‘a dice game’, marks the word as a slang term and, surprisingly, dates it to as late as the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to Loma (2006: 196) both meanings, ‘dice game’ and ‘(old) coin used as a decoration (on a hat)’, are attested in Serbian dialects, as well as throughout the Balkan area.

Strangely enough, references to an Ottoman coin referred to as *barbut* are entirely absent from Pamuk (2000), the Krause catalogues or two recent works

on late Ottoman numismatics by Turkish scholars (Uslu et al. 2010 and Beyazıt et al. 2011). The only Ottoman coin that seems to have been referred to as *barbut* was the 19<sup>th</sup>-century *barbut altını*, but the information on it is rather scant. Apparently it was a two-karat gold piece (Pâkalın 1983 I: 159), whose exact value in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century is recorded by the Austrian ministry of trade as 3 piasters or 37 paras (AWVS 1860: 759). It is possible that the name *barbut altını* was restricted to very informal contexts or to argot, which is why it is missing from standard sources, but this is only a conjecture.

Nişanyan (ÇTES s.v. *barbut*) dates the earliest attestation of the Ottoman word in the sense ‘a gold coin peculiar to Egypt’ to 1842 (albeit without reference), but this usage must have existed earlier, as proved by a reference to a *Barbut* in an 1833 German text (‘der kleinsten türkischen Goldmünze’, Oppenheim *Heilkunde*: 20).<sup>363</sup> It is worth noting that in Oppenheim the meaning is not restricted to Egypt. The earliest occurrence of the meaning ‘a kind of dice game’ is dated by Nişanyan to 1876, in the well-known dictionary by Ahmet Vefik Paşa, which implies that it must have existed before that date as well.

In the etymological section of his entry, Nişanyan reports the existence of Ven. *barbut* = It. *barbato*<sup>364</sup> ‘bearded’ (allegedly ← Ven. *barba* ‘beard’), also used nominally as the name of ‘a kind of money’. According to the author, the name may come from a coin which featured a representation of the king.

The entire scenario, while theoretically plausible, is circumstantial and raises a number of questions, but the main objection is that the sense ‘coin’ is apparently not recorded in Italian/Venetian. The largest Italian historical dictionary has the following three adjectives: *barbato* 1 ‘that has taken roots’, *barbato* 2 ‘i. bearded, 2. authoritative, 3. in heraldry, with reference to a rooster with wattles in various kinds of enamels, 4. in astronomy, with reference to a bearded comet’ (GDLI II: 61), *barbuto* ‘i. bearded, 2. an adult man, 3. authoritative, 4. with reference to a bearded woman, 5. that has roots’ (*op. cit.*: 65). Beside, there is also the noun *barbuta* ‘a kind of helmet used in Renaissance Italy, barbuta’ (*ibid.*). None of these is attested with reference to a coin nor is any such form recorded with this meaning in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century dictionaries of Venetian, cf. Boerio (1829, 1956, 1867) or Ninni’s (1890) additions and corrections to Boerio. This does not yet prove anything, but it weakens Nişanyan’s argument considerably, unless he relies on some other source unavailable to us (for similar problems with Nişanyan’s forms, see s.v. CARACO and s.v. FERIDGI).

<sup>363</sup> As well as a few English language adaptations of Oppenheim’s account in contemporary medical journals, the earliest of which dates back to 1835 (Geddings *Archives* II: 342) and listed in square brackets above.

<sup>364</sup> But cf. the more frequent Italian form *barbuto*.

Moreover, the argument invoking the depiction of a king is ultimately unclear. What Nişanyan means is probably that the coin featured a depiction of the governor of Venice with a beard, the use of the word *king* is at least problematic in this context. Up to 1797 Venice was an independent republic governed by a doge, and in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a series of shifts in power. In 1797 it briefly became part of Napoleon's empire only to be traded to Austria later the same year. In 1804 it was regained by Napoleon and became part of his Kingdom of Italy, but returned under Austrian rule again in 1814, as a result of the Vienna Congress, and thus became part of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia under the Habsburgs for the next half-century, with a brief episode of independence as a republic in 1848–9. Finally in 1866 the land of Venetia became part of the Kingdom of Italy (Boaglio 2003: 200). The chronology of attestations suggests that only the French rule and the Austrian rule should be taken into account.

The monarchs who bore the title of king in the relevant period were Napoleon I Bonaparte, Francis I of Austria, Ferdinand I of Austria. However, it follows from Krause 19 that while unsurprisingly all three issued coins with images of themselves, none was depicted with a beard. The first king depicted as such on a Venetian coin was Victor Emanuel II who ascended the throne of Italy in 1861, i.e. too late given the chronology of the Ottoman form. Earlier Venetian coins, i.e. those issued by the Republic of Venice (up to 1807), typically featured the representation of St Mark and the winged Lion of St Mark. While St Mark was depicted with a beard, it there is no direct evidence that this suddenly became of significance to coin-users.<sup>365</sup>

As a result, the question of the ultimate origin of the word still remains a mystery. It seems that E *barbudi* (& co.) 'dice game' < Gk. *παρμπούτι* id. < Ott. *barbut* id., but it remains to be demonstrated whether and how the last form is related to Ott. *barbut* 'a type of coin' and what the source(s) of these are.

## BRIDGE

PRONUNCIATION: BrE & AmE **bridge** [brɪdʒ] (1933 OED<sub>s</sub>, 1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>, 2008 LPD)

FORMS: 1. [*Bridge* (1843 Paget<sub>2</sub>), *Bridge* (1864 *American Hoyle*: 72)] *Biritch* (1886 *Biritch*), *Bridge* (1898 Boaz<sub>2</sub>), *bridge* (1898 *Nat. Rev.*<sub>2</sub>), *bridge* (1901 *Slam*<sub>2</sub>), *Auction*

<sup>365</sup> Theoretically, it could be hypothesized that the ruler on the coin was wearing a *barbuta* (cf. the noun given in GDLI), but this is rather unlikely, as this type of helmet was used in Italia in the Renaissance.

*bridge* (1903 Crawford<sub>2</sub>), *Auction Bridge* (1908 Dalton<sub>2</sub>), *Auction bridge* (1959 Reese<sub>2</sub>), *Auction Bridge* (1960 Betjeman<sub>2</sub>), *bridge* (1963 Hervey<sub>2</sub>); **2.** *Bridge player* (1899 Hulme-Beaman<sub>2</sub>), *bridge-coat* (1905 *Daily Chron.*<sub>2</sub>), *Bridge Scoring Block ~ Bridge Scoring Book ~ Bridge Book ~ Bridge Marker* (1907 [1969] *Yesterday's Shopping*<sub>2</sub>), *bridge paries* (1910 *Reg. in Russia*<sub>2</sub>), *bridge-fours* (1914 Mackenzie<sub>2</sub>), *Bridge-markers* (1914 Saki<sub>2</sub>), *Bridge Drives* (1927 *Auction Bridge Mag.*<sub>2</sub>), *bridge coat* (1928 Macaulay<sub>2</sub>), *bridge-parties* (1949 Laski<sub>2</sub>), *bridge four* (1953 Parry<sub>2</sub>), *bridge player* (1967 Lemarchand<sub>2</sub>)

1. A card-game based upon whist, also as part of the names of varieties of bridge;
2. As part of various compounds.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1924: Weekley: earlier '*Biritch*, or Russian Whist', unkn. origin
- 1933: OED<sub>s</sub> s.v. **bridge n. 2:** Etymology unascertained; probably of Levantine origin since some form of the game appears to have been long known in the Near East; the origin of the seemingly Russian forms *biritch*, *britch*, is unknown; the game is said to have been played in Constantinople and the Near East about 1870; formerly also called *bridge whist*; *biritch* in quot. 1886 is applied to the call of 'no trumps'
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **bridge:** formerly *biritch* (of unknown origin; not Russian as often stated), apparently changed to *bridge* from the dealer's *bridging*, or passing, the declaration of trumps to his partner
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **bridge 4:** < earlier *biritch* (× *bridge* 'structure over a river', folk etymology)
- 1966: Klein = Weekley
- 1966: ODEE = OED<sub>s</sub>
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>s</sub> with the ad-dition of Bliss's (1969) proposal: < Ru. *biritch* ~ *britch* < T \**bir-üç* 'one-three' (one hand is exposed and three concealed)
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **bridge 2:** < E *biritch* (× *bridge* 'the structure over a river') < Ru. *birich* 'a call'
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub> with the addition that Ru. *birich* < ORu. *birichĩ*

#### COMMENTARY:

##### 1. English usage

The earliest form which is taken to refer to an ancestor of the modern varieties of bridge is *biritch* (1886). However, the earliest quotation given in OED<sub>2</sub> is that from a letter by Paget, who mentions "intellectual games of Bagatelle and

Bridge.” While *Bagatelle* is probably used in its modern sense, i.e. ‘a kind of billiards’ (this is attested at least since 1819, see OED<sub>2</sub> q.v., sense 2), the usage of bridge is rather enigmatic, hence the bracketing (both above and in OED<sub>2</sub>).

There is, however, another possibly relevant quotation which features an earlier usage of *bridge* (1864). Admittedly, the word is not used with reference to the game itself this time, but it occurs in a card-game-related context (see further below).

## 2. The origin

It seems necessary to remark at the beginning, for the sake of order, that *bridge* ‘card game’ appears to be unrelated to *bridge* ‘structure joining two banks of a river’: apart from the identity of form, no connection can be established between the two. Hence, the roots of the former have to be sought elsewhere.

In order to explain the name of the game it would be natural to begin with the history of the game itself. According to EB<sub>E</sub> (s.v. *bridge*) an ancestor of the modern forms of bridge was played under the name of *khedive* (i.e. Ott. *hdiv* ‘the Ottoman viceroy in Egypt’ < P, see RTOİS: 479) in Constantinople before 1870 and a variant of this even earlier in Greece. The editors do not however disclose the source of this information and no dictionary at our disposal seems to feature this use of the Ottoman word.

The first legitimate proposal, the one by Bliss (1969), as summarized in OED<sub>2</sub>, follows this Oriental link. The solution is plausible both formally and semantically but a few comments are in order. The lack of any attestations of T \**bir-üč* ‘one-three’ is a problem. To support his theory, Bliss invokes the analogy of *šešbeš* ‘backgammon’, lit. ‘six-five’ (cf. *SHESHESH*), which is indeed apparent. There are, however, a number of differences (on all the remarks concerning *šešbeš*, see s.v.):

- (a) while *šešbeš* is widely attested in Turkish and elsewhere as the name of one of the possible throws in backgammon, the 1886 English quotation seems to be the only source that mentions the use of *biritch* as a call in the game (other sources derive the information from this quotation); to be sure, no such call is used as part of the game nowadays;
- (b) while it is true that *šešbeš* is not used in Turkish in the sense ‘backgammon’, but such usage is found elsewhere, the 1886 E *biritch* ‘card game’ is the only attestation of this form.

Based on this it may be said that Bliss’s theory rests on two rather weak arguments, an unattested T \**bir-üč* ‘one-three’ and its alleged English reflex *biritch*, which is attested only once.

Interestingly, the quotation of 1864 (i.e. earlier than that featuring *biritch*!) records usage which is rather curious in the context of Bliss’s hypothesis. The word

is used in the description of another trick-taking card game, euchre. In the latter, *bridge* is apparently the situation when “one side has scored four and the other one.” The fact that the opposition is between one and four rather than one and three makes it impossible to use this in support of Bliss, but the similarity is striking. Moreover, the question remains how the two senses of *bridge* are related if they are related at all. Based on the evidence at our disposal it is currently impossible to answer this question.

Let us now turn to the solution advanced in AHD. A variant of this hypothesis is offered by A. M. Sabanina in Anikin (ed.) (2003: 50). She invokes proposals to relate the word to ORu. *бурвич* ‘a call (announcing the beginning of a market)’, which would parallel *Biritch!* allegedly used in the game to signify the desire to play no trump, which was at the same time a call for a bid. Sabanina criticises this proposal based on the widely circulated extralinguistic information, i.e. the Oriental (or Balkan?) origin of the game itself suggested by the account in EB<sub>E</sub>. However, given the unknown source of this information, her skepticism seems too strong.

Whatever the case, the etymology of *bridge* ‘card game’ remains a mystery and links with Turkic cannot be satisfactorily demonstrated.

## CHIBOUK ~ SHIBOUK

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **chibouk** [tʃɪˈbʊk] (1889 OED<sub>1</sub>), [tʃɪˈbu:k] ~ [tʃəˈbu:k] (2008 LPD); AmE **chibouk** [tʃɪˈbu:k] ~ [tʃɪˈbʊk] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [tʃɪˈbu:k] ~ [tʃəˈbu:k] (2008 LPD)<sup>366</sup>

FORMS: **A: 1.** *chibouque* (1814 Byron<sub>3</sub>),<sup>367</sup> *chibouk* (1839 Stephen<sub>2</sub>), *tchibouk* (1840 Wilde<sub>3</sub>),<sup>368</sup> *tschibouques* (1845 [1889] FitzGerald<sub>3</sub>), *chibouque* (1847 Disraeli<sub>2</sub>), *chib-book* (1872 Baker<sub>2</sub>), *chibouk* (1877 Edwards<sub>2</sub>); **2.** *chiboukchies* (1834 Morier<sub>2</sub>), *chibouquejees* (1869 *Guardian*<sub>2</sub>)

**B: 1.** *shibook* (1828 [1830] Webster *Travels*: cviii), *shibouk* (1835 Hoskins *Ethiopia*: 36), *shibouk* (1837 Hoskins *Libya*: 139), *shibouk* (1843 Graves<sub>2</sub>),<sup>369</sup> *shibooks* (1852 John *Egypt*: 15)

<sup>366</sup> Pronunciation in [tʃ-] is incompatible with type B forms, which suggest [ʃ-]. Moreover, the final syllables in *chiboukchies*, *chibouquejees* imply [-tʃɪz] ~ [-dʒɪz] respectively.

<sup>367</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1813.

<sup>368</sup> See OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. *shisha*.

<sup>369</sup> This is found in OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. *shibouk*, which only refers back to *chibouk*. In OED<sub>3</sub>, the quotation is simply moved to the entry *chibouk*.

1. The long tobacco-pipe used by the Turks; 2. Hence **chiboukchy**, **chibouquejee**: servant in charge of chibouks.

# ETYMOLOGY:

- 1865: W-M s.v. **chibouque**, **chibouk**: 'a Turkish tobacco-pipe, usually with a mouth-piece of amber, a stem of some valuable wood, and the bowl of baked clay' < T
- 1884: Skeat<sub>5</sub> s.v. **chibouk**: 'a Turkish pipe, for smoking'; also spelt *chibouque*; < T *chibūq* 'a stick, tube, pipe' (Devic); *chybūk*, *chubūk* 'a pipe' (Zenker)
- 1888: Skeat<sub>2</sub> s.v. **chibouk** (addenda) = Skeat<sub>5</sub>
- 1889: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **chibouk**, **chibouque**: < T چبوق *chibūk*, lit. 'small stick', also 'tube of the pipe; the pipe itself'; the spelling *chibouque* is French
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **chibouque**: F < T *chibūk* 'a long Turkish tobacco-pipe'; s.v. **chibūkji**: < T 'pipe-bearer'
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> s.v. **chibouk** = Skeat<sub>5</sub>, with the addition of F *chibouque* as an intermediary between Turkish and English
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **chibouk**: 'long pipe' < T *chibūk* 'stick, pipe-stem'
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **chibouk**, **chibouque**: < F *chibouque* < T *chibūq*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **chibouk** 'a Turkish tobacco pipe having a clay or meerschau bowl and a long stem with a mouthpiece often of amber' < F *chibouque* < T *çibuk*, *çubuk*
- 1966: Klein: < F *chibouque* < T *chubūq*, *chibūq*, 'pipe', properly 'stick, staff, tube', related to *chūb*, 'stick, staff'
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **chibouk**: 'Turkish tobacco-pipe' (19<sup>th</sup> c., *chibouque*, Byron) < T *chibūk* 'small stick, tube of pipe, pipe', partly through F *chibouque*
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **chibouk**: 'a Turkish tobacco pipe with a long stem and a red clay bowl' < dial. T *çibuk* < *çubuk* 'shoot, twig, staff' < OTkc. *chubuq*, *chībīq* ← dim. of *chīp*, *chīb*- 'branch'
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

# COMMENTARY:

## 1. English usage

The forms in A do not present any difficulty, as they all go back to Ott. چبوق *çibuk* i.a. 'a twig, a pipe stem, a tobacco pipe' (Redhouse: 712–713) while *chiboukchies* (1834)



~ *chibouquejees* (1869) are from Ott. چبوقچی *čibukčī* ‘a maker or seller of pipe stems; (formerly) a servant in charge of the pipes in a large establishment’ (Redhouse: 713). The majority exhibit influence from French orthography with *ou* used for [ʊ] and the ending *-que* for [k]. This may result from partial transmission via French or simply from the French spelling conventions being popular at the time of borrowing. Note however that the earliest occurrences of the corresponding French forms that we have been able to locate are *chibouque* (1825 Salle *Hygiène*: 39) and *chibouk* (1830 [1833] Michaud & Poujoulat *Correspondance* II: 161), i.e. later than the first English one. One type A form, *tchibouques* looks like a mixture of French (-*ou-* and *-que*) and German (*tsch-*) spelling conventions. Another orthographic hybrid is *chibouquejees*. It is worth noting that in all cases above initial *ch* may stand either for [tʃ] or [ʃ], depending on whether it represents English or French spelling rules respectively.

Notably, the stress pattern resembles that of French (and that of Turkish as a matter of fact), which is not typical of English, as disyllabic words taken over from French tend to undergo a stress shift to the first syllable in British English (e.g. *café*).

The forms in B could be said to have been entirely overlooked by the lexicographers of English if it were not for but one occurrence quoted in OED<sub>2</sub>, which, however, receives no comment from the editors. While it would be possible for F *chibouque* ~ *chibouk* [ʃi'buk] to be adapted in English as *shibouk* [ʃi'bʊk] via the spoken medium, it seems that these are better explained as adoptions from the Arabic dialects spoken in territories like Egypt, Libya or Ethiopia – cf. *šibuk* attested in the Egyptian and Maghreb dialects (quoted in FEW s.v. *chibouk*).<sup>370</sup> This is suggested by the fact that all the occurrences are in passages from travelogues to these lands.

## 2. Treatment in English dictionaries

The entries are very similar to one another and the differences lie in various romanizations used, which is for example reflected in Skeat<sub>5</sub>, with the same Ottoman variant, i.e. *čibuk*, written in two different ways, based on two different sources.

AHD<sub>3</sub> is the only dictionary that attempts to be more precise in qualifying the forms and to trace the origin of the word beyond Ottoman. However, the shape of the actual forms is misrepresented (see below).

<sup>370</sup> For EgA *šibuk* ~ *šubuk* see also Prokotsch 1983: 122, 124. Also compare ModSA *šubuk* ‘chibouk’ (AED: 529). All these forms are borrowings from Ottoman. On vowel variation *i-u* ~ *u-u* see paragraph 3.

### 3. Ottoman forms and their origin

Ottoman exhibited considerable variation in terms of labiality of the vowels, with *čibik*, *čibuk* and *čubuk* as subsequent stages of the development. This is expected, as labial harmony is a relatively recently stabilized feature in Turkish and the variants testify to this having been a gradual process. Modern Standard Turkish only has *çubuk* i.a. ‘rod, wand, long-stemmed tobacco pipe, twig’ (RTOİS 262) but *čibik* is retained in the dialects (DS III 1157).

Chronologically, *čibik* and *čibuk* are earlier, as the word is a diminutive related to OTkc. *čip* ‘twig’ found in Kašgari (DTS 150; on the diminutive suffix see OTWF I: §2.11). Thus the evolution could be outlined as follows: \**čipik* > Ott. *čibik* (voicing *-p-* > *-b-* is regular in Ottoman after a primary long vowel, see TMEN III: §1059, esp. 43–4; also see ODA) > *čibuk* (labialization of the second vowel due to the preceding *-b-*) > *čubuk* (harmonic readjustment).

To sum up, Turkic participation in the word’s etymology is beyond doubt.

## MAJOUN

PRONUNCIATION: BrE/AmE **majoun** [məˈdʒuːn] (1904 OED<sub>1</sub>, 1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>, 2000 OED<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *Madyun* (1780 Tooke<sub>3</sub>), *majum* (1781 [1840] Lindsay<sub>2</sub>), *madjoon* (1819 Hope<sub>3</sub>), *Majoon* (1858 Simmonds<sub>3</sub>), *Majoon – El Mogen* (1883 Kane<sub>2</sub>), *Majun* (1919 Chambers<sub>3</sub>), *majoun* (1952 Bowles<sub>3</sub>), *majoun* (1990 Mirabella<sub>3</sub>)

An intoxicating confection of Middle Eastern origin, made of cannabis leaves mixed with dried fruit, nuts, spices, etc.

### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **majoon**: < Hindustani < A *ma’jūn*, lit. ‘kneaded,’ and thence what old medical books call ‘an electuary’ (i.e. a compound of medicines kneaded with syrup into a soft mass), but especially applied to an intoxicating confection of hemp leaves, &c., sold in the bazar; cf. Deccan [= Dakhini – M. U.] *ma’jūm*; Moodeen Sheriff, in his Suppt. to the *Pharmac. of India*, writes *maghjūn*.
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **madjoon**, **majum**: < A *ma’jūm* ‘an electuary’
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub>
- 1904: OED<sub>1</sub>: (U and T) < A معجون *ma’jūn*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **majoon**: H *ma’jūn* ‘kneaded’ < A

- 1961:  $W_3 = W_2$   
 1967: Klein s.v. **majoon**: < Hindustani *majūn* < A *ma'jūn*, lit. 'kneaded', passive participle ← '*ajana*, 'he kneaded'  
 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>  
 1994: CannA: < H *ma'jūn* lit. 'kneaded' < A 'a bhang confection'  
 2010: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **majoun**: < U *ma'jūn* (in regional usage *ma'jūm*, *mājūn*) 'electuary, confection, majoun' and (partly via Persian) its etymon A *ma'jūn* 'paste, electuary, majoun' (> T *macun*), passive participle ← '*ajana* 'knead'

#### COMMENTARY:

OED<sub>1</sub> is the only dictionary that mentions T *māğūn* (~ *ma'ğūn* i.a. a slang term for 'hashish', RTOİS: 716).

The only form that may directly point to Ottoman usage is *madjoon* (1819), used by Thomas Hope, a writer heavily influenced by his tours of the Ottoman Empire. Also, the author of the first quotation (*Madyun* 1780) uses the word in a description of the customs of "the Tartars of Astrachan", which could suggest transmission from a Turkic language, although it is unknown how precise his application of the phrase is.

Otherwise, the forms that are quoted above, seem to reflect the word as used in the Indian subcontinent (< Arabic, perhaps with Persian mediation).

#### NARGIL(E)

PRONUNCIATION: **narg(h)ile(h)** ['nɑ:gɪleɪ] (1906 OED<sub>1</sub>), ['nɑ:gɪleɪ] ~ ['nɑ:gɪli] ~ ['nɑ:'gi:leɪ] (2003 OED<sub>3</sub>), ['nɑ:ɢəleɪ] ~ ['nɑ:gɪleɪ] ~ ['nɑ:ɢəli] (2008 LPD), **nargeel** [nɑ:'gi:l] (2003 OED<sub>3</sub>), **nargil** [nɑ:'gɪl] (2003 OED<sub>3</sub>), **nargilly** [nɑ:'gɪli] (1906 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **narg(h)ile(h)** ['nɑ:rgɪleɪ] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), ['nɑ:rgəleɪ] ~ ['nɑ:rgəli:] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), ['nɑ:rgəli] (2003 OED<sub>3</sub>), ['nɑ:rgəleɪ] (2008 LPD), **nargeel** [nɑ:'gi:l] (2003 OED<sub>3</sub>), **nargil** [nɑ:'gɪl] (2003 OED<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **A**: *narguillet* (1806 Pouqueville), *Narghilé* (1820 Walpole *Travels*: 196), *narguileh* (1821 Castellan *Turkey* V: 200), *narghilé* (1835 Willis<sub>3</sub>), *nargeéleh* (1836 Lane *Egyptians*: 167), *narghilé* (1839 Pardoe<sub>2</sub>), *narghile* (1848 Thackeray<sub>2</sub>), *narghilehs* (1877 Edwards<sub>2</sub>), *nargileh* (1897 Gunter<sub>2</sub>), *narghilé* (1924 Murry<sub>3</sub>), *nargileh* (1935 Edib<sub>3</sub>), *narghile* (1962 Green<sub>3</sub>), *nargilehs* (1991 Waldrop<sub>3</sub>)

**B**: *nargills* (1813 Forbes<sub>3</sub>), *nargeels* (1840 Fraser<sub>3</sub>), *narghill* (1855 Howe *Travels*: 213), *nargil* (1863 Morier<sub>3</sub>), *narghil* (1891 Wills<sub>3</sub>)

C: *nargilly* (1847 Disraeli), *nargilie* (1854 Graham Jordan & Rhine: 110), *narghilly* (1871 Collins<sub>2</sub>), *narghili* (1998 *Gazette (Montreal)*<sub>3</sub>)

Esp. in Turkey or the former Ottoman Empire and Iran (Persia): hookah. The word is used for all types of hookahs in Turkey and the former Ottoman Empire, but in Iran (Persia) it is properly applied to a type designed for travelling, in which the receptacle for the water is actually made from, or to resemble, a coconut.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1865: W-M s.v. **nargile, nargileh**: ‘a smoking apparatus in which the smoke is passed through water to cool it’; < P
- 1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **nargeela, nargileh**: properly ‘coco-nut’ (Skr. *nārikera*, *-kela*, or *-keli*; P *nārgil*; Greek of Cosmas, *Ἀργέλιον*); thence the *hubblebubble*, or *hooka* in its simplest form, as made from a coco-nut shell; and thence again, in Persia, a *hooka* or ‘water-pipe with a glass or metal vase’
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **narghile**: A and T < P *nārgil*, orig. ‘cocoa-nut’
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub>
- 1906: OED<sub>1</sub>: = F *narghileh, narguilé* < P (or T) نارجيلة *nārgileh* ← P نارجیل *nārgil* ‘cocoa-nut’, of which the receptacle for the tobacco was originally made
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> s.v. **nargileh, nargile, nargili**: ‘a pipe or smoking apparatus in which the smoke is passed through water’ < P *nārgil* ‘a coco-nut’ (these pipes were originally made with a coco-nut, which held the water); cf. Skr. *nārikera-s*, *nārikela-s* ‘a coco-nut’; see Yule and Devic
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **narghileh**: ‘hookah’ < P *nārgilēh* < *nārgil* ‘coco-nut’, of which the reservoir was originally made
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **narghile, nargile**: also *nargileh* < P *nārgileh* ← *nārgil* ‘coconut’ (of which originally made) < Indic; cf. Skr. *nārikela*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **nargileh**: also *narghile* < P *nārgila* ← *nārgil* ‘coconut’ (of which the bowls were originally made) < Indic; akin to Skr. *nārikela*, *nāḍikela* ‘coconut’, Hindi *nāriyal*
- 1966: ODEE: (partly through F *narghileh, narguilé*) < P (T) *nārgileh* ← P *nārgil* ‘coconut’, of which the receptacle for the tobacco was made
- 1967: Klein s.v. **narghile, nargile**: ‘hookah, an Oriental pipe’ < P *nārgil* ‘coconut tree’; probably < OI *nārikerah, nārikelah* ‘t.s.’ < ?; possibly Dravidian; so called because originally narghiles were made of coconut shells.
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>

- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **narghile**: also or *nargile* also *nargileh*; < F *narghilé*, obs. variant of *narguilé* < P *nārgīleh* ← *nārgīl* ‘coconut’ (from which the receptacle was made) < Skr. *nārikelaḥ* - *nālikeraḥ*
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>
- 2001: CannP s.v. **narghile**: variants *nargileh*, *nargile*, *narghileh* (< F); < T *nargile* (< P *nārgīla* ‘water-pipe’ < *nārgīl* ‘coconut’, the material of which the pipe bowl was once made) & P
- 2010: OED<sub>3</sub>: partly < T *nargile*, partly < P *nārgīle* (also as *nārgīla*), and partly < their etymon P *nārgīl*, lit. ‘coconut’ (of which the receptacle for the water was originally made) < MP *anārgīl* ‘coconut’, ultimately < Skr. *nārikela* ‘coconut’; in some uses via F *nerguil* (1787), *narghilé* (1833), *narguilé* (1834); in quot. 1806 at *α* via French *narguillet* (1805 in the passage translated); cf. F *nardsjīl* (1773) and G *nardsīl* (1772 or earlier), both < A *nārajīla* ‘hookah’, singular form corresponding to *nārajīl*, collective noun < P *nārgīl*; cf. earlier *arghileh* n.

#### COMMENTARY:

OED<sub>3</sub> classifies the 1998 *narghili* together with their *α*-forms (= A above) instead of the *γ* class (= C), the latter featuring only two variants: *nargilly* (1847 Disraeli<sub>2</sub>), *narghilly* (1871 Collins<sub>2</sub>). The reason is that these two forms are said to have been pronounced [na:'gɪli] (the pronunciation suggested for these particular forms in OED<sub>1</sub>), whereas the modern forms are ['na:gɪli].

Ottoman Turkish influence on the form and semantics is rather marginal: the form is very similar to the Persian etymon. Ottoman very likely acted as one of the intermediaries, especially in those texts which make explicit reference to Turkey.

Modern Standard Arabic has *نرجيلة* *nargīla* (AED: 1119), which makes it unlikely as a donor, but if EgA *نرجيلة* *nargīla* (< Ott.; Prokotsch 1983: 101) is taken into consideration instead, then the scenario outlined in Stanford seems plausible.

Direct derivation from P *nārgīl* found in Skeat<sub>4</sub> does not account for the trisyllabic forms in English. Interestingly, the author does not even mention the disyllabic English forms, which indeed go back to P *nārgīl*.

Both di- and trisyllabic Persian forms are mentioned in OED<sub>1</sub>, where French mediation is assumed. The entry is almost literally repeated in Weekley and ODEE, although the former rejects French mediation.

The connection of the Persian word with Indic mentioned in W<sub>3</sub>, Klein, AHD and OED<sub>3</sub> seems to be correct (Mayrhofer 1963: 155). The assumption of ultimate Dravidian origin is not originally Klein's, but occurs as early as Bloch 1930: 740.

No fault can be found with the account outlined in the OED<sub>3</sub>. The possibility of partial Egyptian Arabic mediation mentioned above could be added. In general there is no direct indication of Ottoman mediation.

## SHESHBESH

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **sheshbesh** [ˈʃɛʃbɛʃ] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: *sheshbesh* (1971 Davidson<sub>2</sub>), *sheshbesh* (1975 Haddad<sub>2</sub>), *sheshbesh* (1977 Kaplan<sub>2</sub>)

A variety of backgammon played in the Middle East.

### ETYMOLOGY:

1989: OED<sub>2</sub>: < T < P *shash* ‘six’ + T *beş* ‘five’

### COMMENTARY:

Two dice are used for backgammon in Turkey and the possible throws are named using a mixed Turco-Persian terminology, with *şешbeş* meaning a combination of 5 and 6 (for the names of the other throws see Lewis 2000: 81). However, the meaning ‘backgammon’ is not noted in dictionaries of Ottoman Turkish or Modern Turkish dialects and the game itself is known as *tavla*.

The name is applied to the game itself in regions which used to be under heavy Ottoman influence, such as the Balkans,<sup>371</sup> Egypt<sup>372</sup> or the territory of Kurdistan.<sup>373</sup> Because these areas are quite apart geographically and direct lexical exchange between them has to be ruled out, this use must be of migratory character. The available evidence indicates that the influence of Turkish was only indirect.

Cf. BRIDGE.

<sup>371</sup> For example SCr. *šes-beš* ‘five and six in tavlá’, but cf. the following comment [č]esto se i sama igra tavle naziva ovako, pa se kaže: »hoćemo li poigrati šes-beša?« (Skaljić 1966: 587).

<sup>372</sup> Cf. EgA *šiš-biš* ~ *šiš-beš* ‘Tricktrack’ (Prokotsch 1983: 123).

<sup>373</sup> North-West dialects of Jewish Aramaic *šes-beš* ‘backgammon’ (Sabar 2002: 304).

**SHISHA**

PRONUNCIATION: BrE/AmE **shisha** ['ʃiːʃə] (2007 OED<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **1.** *sheesha* (1832 *New Monthly Mag.*<sub>3</sub>), *sheesheh* (1840 *Wilde*<sub>3</sub>), *sheesha* (1854 *N & Q*<sub>3</sub>), *sheesha* (1967 *Times*<sub>3</sub>), *shishas* (1987 *Chicago Tribune*<sub>3</sub>), *sheesha* (2001 *Grimwood*<sub>3</sub>); **2.** *shisha* (1985 *Washington Post*<sub>3</sub>), *shisha* (1995 *Moneyclips*<sub>3</sub>), *shisha* (2003 *enRoute*<sub>3</sub>)

In Arabic-speaking countries, esp. Egypt: **1.** A water-pipe through which tobacco is smoked; a hookah; **2.** Tobacco for smoking in a hookah, esp. when mixed with fruit, mint, or other flavourings, or coated in molasses.

## ETYMOLOGY:

2007: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **shisha**, n.2: < EgA *šīša* 'hookah' (originally spec. the glass flask through which the smoke is drawn into the mouth), 'tobacco for smoking in a hookah' < either P *šīša* 'glass' or T *šīše* 'glass'

## COMMENTARY:

Given the strong association of the word with Egypt, the etymology as offered in OED<sub>3</sub> is overall correct. It may be added that Persian is the source of the Ottoman Turkish form and both have been in fact used in more specific meanings, i.a. 'bottle, flask' (see Steingass: 775 and RTOİS: 1065 respectively). Ottoman Turkish transmission to Egyptian Arabic is very likely given the historical ties. The word is included by Prokotsch in his study of Ottoman words in Egyptian Arabic (1983: 123).

It goes without saying, however, that from the point of view of the English word, the role of Ottoman is marginal and has not left any obvious traces at all.





## 6. HANDICRAFT

### BOCASIN

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **bocasin** ['bɒkəsɪn] (1887 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **bocasine** ['ba:kəsɪn] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: **A**: *bokesyn* ~ *bokasyn* (1446 [1865] Raine *Testamenta* III: 102]), *bokesye* ~ *bokesy* (c1485 *Inventory*<sub>3</sub>),<sup>374</sup> *boccasin* (1611 Cotgrave<sub>2</sub>), *Bugasines* (1660 *Act 12 Chas. II*<sub>3</sub>), *Bugasines* (1670 *Bk. Rates*<sub>3</sub>), *Boucasin-stuff* (1714 *French Bk. Rates*<sub>2</sub>), *Boccasin* (1721 Bailey<sub>2</sub>), *Bocasine* (1755 Johnson<sub>2</sub>)

[**B**: *Buckskins* (1894 *Tailoring*<sub>2</sub>), *Buckskin* (1895 *Oracle Encycl.*<sub>2</sub>), *Buckskin* (1968 *Ironside*<sub>2</sub>)]<sup>375</sup>

A fine twill cotton cloth.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1887: OED<sub>1</sub>: < (also through F *boccasin*) Sp. *bocaci* 'cotton stuff used for lining' < T بوحاسى *bōḥāsī* ~ بوغاسى *bōghāsī* 'cotton cloth'  
1892: Stanford s.v. **bocasin(e)**, **boccasin(e)**, **boucasin**, **bokesy**: < F *boc-casin* ~ *boucassin* 'a kind of fine buckram like taffeta, used for lining'; the form *bokesy* < Sp. *bocaci*  
1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **bocasine**: 'a fabric similar to fine buckram' < F *bocassin*, *boucassin*  
1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>

<sup>374</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1485 (i.e. without the *circa* qualification).

<sup>375</sup> All these occurrences are listed in OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. *buckskin* at sense 5. See further.

## COMMENTARY:

## 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

The word is now obsolete and has always been of marginal currency. All attestations adduced above are either from inventories of goods or dictionaries.

The majority of English forms end in *-in* and only one 15<sup>th</sup>-century source seems to feature *n*-less forms. Both the OED and Standford note this variation and account for it by reference to F *bouccasin* and Sp. *bocací* respectively. It seems that the formulation in OED<sub>1</sub> is less precise, as it is the form in *-in* (i.e. French) that was more successful in penetrating English.

The macrons over the vowel letters in the Ottoman forms quoted in OED<sub>1,2</sub> do not reflect length but full notation in the Ottoman script. However, the alternation *ḥ* ~ *ḡ* is indeed reflected in transcription texts, cf. Meninski (1680: 910).

## 2. Spread around Europe

The word that is universally held as the ultimate etymon is Ott. *boğası* (see OED<sub>1,2</sub> above, also e.g. Lokotsch §324, Meyer-Lübke 1911: §1188, FEW: 34–5; TLF s.v. *boucassin*). This is consistent with historical evidence: the movement of this commodity was indeed from the East to the West. *Boğası* was high-quality cotton twill produced in such Anatolian provinces as Hamideli, Konya and Karaman and exported to Europe (İnalçık 1993a: 266). It seems it was brought to western Europe in the late Middle Ages especially by Italian merchants, cf. MedL *bocassinus* (1259, du Cange 1883–7 I: 684; also used by the Genoese in the 14<sup>th</sup> century; see Arveiller 1999: 64) and It. *bocacinum de Cipro* (1365, DEI I: 545).<sup>376</sup>

Among the Romance forms, Sp. *bocací* (since 1397, Corominas 1967: 99) is exceptional in that it does not end in *-n(o)* (cf. the aforementioned Italian forms, as well as F *boucassin*, FEW: 34–5). The addition of *-n(o)* in other Romance languages was one of the adaptation strategies in borrowing Arabisms in *-ī* and was due to the identification of the Arabic nisba suffix with reflexes of L *-īnus* (Corriente 2008: lviii, also cf. Mac Donald 1976). While it seems that *-ī* does not go back to the Arabic nisba suffix (see further), it might have been perceived as such by Europeans (see also the last section s.v. *SHERIFI*).

<sup>376</sup> It should be noted that Arveiller (1999: 63–4) provides one case of direct borrowing from Turkish to French (*bougosi* 1305), which is not surprising given the nature of commerce. However, it was the Italians who dominated the Mediterranean trade at that point, hence Italian dialects are the most likely candidates for the immediate donor. For a discussion of cotton trade in late medieval Venice, including a survey of the prices of *boğası*, see Ashtor 1976: 675–715).

E *bokesye* ~ *bokesy* (c1485) may go back to (the ancestor of) this Spanish form, but direct transmission from Ottoman should not be ruled out, as sporadic trading expeditions into the Levant were organized since the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century (see section 6.2 of the Introduction). The English variants in *-n* must have been transmitted via Romance.

### 3. Further origin

The ultimate origin of Ott. *boğası* is unknown (TDES: 55–6). Some authors attempted to interpret the final *-ı* as representing the Arabic nisba suffix (Tekin & Tietze 1994: §159), but in that case the question arises of what *boğas-* represents.

In a similar vein, Corriente (2008: 233–4) offers a rather risky hypothesis that the word may be a corruption of A *bāğazīya* ‘a coarse silken fabric’, which itself would be derived from *Bāğaz*, an unidentified place name mentioned once in an Arabic geographic treatise. While naming commodities after the place of manufacture was very common in the Levant (and is very common in general), there seem to be too many unknowns in this hypothesis.<sup>377</sup>

### 4. A note on E *buckskin*

OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. *buckskin* notes a fifth sense ‘a kind of strong twill cloth’, which is considerably different from the remaining four and unlike them cannot be derived from the basic meaning ‘the skin of a buck’ (= sense 1 in OED<sub>2</sub>). Consequently, following Lokotsch (§324; also in FEW: 35) and despite Pelliot’s (1959: 112) doubts, it should be assumed that *buckskin* ‘twill cotton cloth’ is a product of folk-etymological reinterpretation of *bocasin* ‘twill cotton cloth’ that resulted in substitution of unknown elements with native morphemes.

## ELATCHA

PRONUNCIATION: no information

FORMS: **A:** *allesas* (I612 [I896] Danvers & Foster *Letters* I: 205), *allizaes* (c1613 Downton<sub>2</sub>)

<sup>377</sup> The word *bāğazīya* is absent from AED, ARS and Mawrid as well as dialectal dictionaries like Harrell or EgAED. Also it is a mere coincidence that South Slavic has forms in *-ija*, esp. SCr *bağazija* (Skok I 89). The ending here is a regular adaptation of Ottoman final *-i* / *-ı* (cf. **RAKIA**).

**B:** *alleias* (1614 [1625] Purchas<sub>s</sub>),<sup>378</sup> *alleias* (1622 Cocks<sub>s</sub>), *Allegiens* (1662 Davies Mandelslo's *Travels* I: 63),<sup>379</sup> *allejars* (1662 [1922] Sainsbury *Calendar*: 239), *Allajars* (1696 Ovington *Suratt*: 218),<sup>380</sup> *Alajah* (1698 Fryer *East India & Persia*: 196),<sup>381</sup> *Allejah petticoat* (1712 *London Gaz.*), *Allegeas* (1797 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*<sub>s</sub>), *Allachas* (1813 Milburn<sub>2</sub>), *Alleja* (1872 Baden Powell<sub>s</sub>)

**C:** *Elatchis* (1696 *Merchant's Ware-house*); : *Elatches* (1712 *Advt. in Spectator*<sub>2</sub>), *Elatchas* (1757 *New Hist. E. Ind.*)

A colourful cotton-silk fabric, frequently striped, woven in India in imitation of similar textiles from Ottoman Turkey and Turkestan.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **alleja**: < Turki *alchah*, *alajah*, or *alāchah* 'a silk cloth 5 yards long, which has a sort of wavy line pattern running in the length on either side' (*Baden-Powell's Punjab Handbook*, 66)
- 1891: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **elatcha**: < Turki *alchah*, *alāchah* 'any kind of corded stuff'
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **alleja**: < T *alāja*, *alāchah* 'a striped cloth from Turkestan, of silk or cotton' (cf. *elatches*); s.v. **elatches**: < Anglo-Indian < Turki *alāchah* 'striped piece-goods of silk or cotton' (cf. *alleja*)
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub> + "Platts ... gives *ilācha*, 'a kind of cloth woven of silk and thread so as to present the appearance of cardamoms (*ilāchī*). But this is evidently a folk etymology. Yusuf Ali (*Mon. on Silk Fabrics*, 95) accepts the derivation from *Alcha* or *Alācha*, and says it was probably introduced by the Moguls, and has historical associations with Agra"
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>

<sup>378</sup> The actual author of the passage is Richard Cocks, who also authored the next quotation. His letter of 1614 was first published in Purchas' collection, and consequently the passage is attributed to the latter in Stanford.

<sup>379</sup> Stanford has the same quotation but taken from the second edition and hence dated 1669. Also the author's name is misprinted as Mandelelo.

<sup>380</sup> Yule<sub>1</sub> and Stanford quote this at 1690, but this date does not seem to be mentioned in the text and Ovington's relation was published in 1696.

<sup>381</sup> Yule<sub>1</sub> quotes this at 1673, although this date is not mentioned explicitly in the text.

## COMMENTARY:

## 1. English usage

All the forms quoted above are used with reference to the cloth produced in India. Consequently, we may only speak of indirect influence of Turkic in this case. Nevertheless, this influence is to some extent reflected in the forms used in English.

English dictionaries do not comment on the pronunciation of the word, which is why only indirect inferences about the phonetics of the borrowing are possible.

Type A forms are isolated early examples. The spelling *-s- ~ -z-* of the consonant in the onset of the third syllable is not supported by any potential source form (see below). Given limited evidence, let us assume these to be random distortions of an unfamiliar word.

Type B spellings seem to be renderings of the Turkic etymons *alača ~ alağa* or similar forms borrowed from Turkic. In the texts published in Purchas's collection as well as under his own name, Cocks uses syllable-initial *i* for [dʒ], as evidenced by spellings like *Iapan*, *Iacob* or *Iames* (see e.g. the very same page in Purchas), therefore his *alleias* (1614 and 1622) may be interpreted to belong in this group. Two spellings of this type exhibit non-etymological consonants: *allegiens* and *allejars*. While the latter may be interpreted as an example of inverse spelling pointing to the weakening of postvocalic [r],<sup>382</sup> the former is more troublesome.

The form *allegiens* (1662) may be found in John Davies' translation of Johan Albert de Mandleslo's description of the latter's travel to India. Davis' edition is in fact considerably far removed from Mandleslo's own account. The latter was never published in its original form. The first edition of the text, published in German in 1645, was prepared and expanded by Adam Olearius and appended to the latter's own report on Duke of Holstein's embassy to Russia and Persia.<sup>383</sup> The next three German editions followed in 1647, 1656 and 1668. In the meantime, the work was translated into other European languages, including the first two French editions of 1656 and 1659. The author of the French translation, Abraham de Wicquefort, introduced his own additions to Olearius' already expanded version, based on the available travel literature of his time. It was

<sup>382</sup> Inverse spellings of this kind (e.g. *Bavarior* for *Bavaria*) are attested throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as reported by Lass (1999b: 114). See also his argument that these testify to the *weakening* of [r] postvocally rather than its *loss* in this position. For another case of inverse spelling, see *sherbert* s.v. **SHERBET**.

<sup>383</sup> In fact, Mandelslo initially travelled as part of this embassy before continuing the voyage on his own from Persia.

the 1659 edition by de Wicquefort that acted as the basis for Davis' translation into English (Lach & Van Kley 1993: 523). While I did not have access to de Wicquefort's 1659 edition, the 1666 edition features the relevant passage and the word is spelled in the very same way as in the English version (Mandelslo *Indes*: 194). Crucially, the early German editions, including the 1668 one, do not seem to have the passage in question. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that it was de Wicquefort's addition to Madelslo and Olearius' text. Moreover, one of de Wicquefort's sources seems to have been van Twist's description of India, where we find a strikingly similar passage, including the spelling *allegiens* (van Twist *Indien*: 21). Consequently, the form that we find in Davis' English text is a copy of a French spelling, which in turn is a copy of a Dutch variant. The reason for the insertion of the nasal in the Dutch form remains, however, unclear, and does not seem to be expected if the etymon was *alaġa*.

The remaining type B forms are rather straightforward renderings of TkC. *alaġa* ~ *alača* or related forms. The spelling of the second vowel as *e* instead of *a*, may be due to the fact that it occurred in the pretonic syllable in the source form and it was likely to be identified with [ə].<sup>384</sup>

Forms in C are different in that they begin in *e-* which is more likely to be a rendering of the initial vowel of the Indic form *ilācā* than that of TkC. *a-*. Turkic has either [tʃ] or [dʒ], whereas later Indian forms have [tʃ] and Indian Portuguese has [ʒ] (Dalgado 1921 I: 23).

## 2. Treatment in English dictionaries

The use of the word with reference to an Indian commodity makes the direct derivation from Turkic less likely than is suggested by the dictionaries of English. More importantly, both Yule<sub>1,2</sub> and OED<sub>1,2</sub> confuse two unrelated Turkic words. Both are derivatives in *+ča* ~ *+ġa*, which is a common Turkic diminutive suffix frequently used in deadjectival adjectives in a similar way to the English adjectival *-ish* (Pomorska 2004: 43, M. Stachowski 2009: 122–3; cf. e.g. Ott. *uzunġa* 'somewhat long or tall' ← *uzun* 'long; tall', RTO/Š: 1205) or in deadjectival nouns denoting objects or ideas associated with the relevant feature (TMEN II: §520; also cf. Tat. *yešēlče* 'vegetable' ← *yešēl* 'green'; *kızılča* 'rubella' ← *kızıl* 'red', Pomorska 2004: 43). The form quoted as *alchah* for *alča* (= Ott. *alġa* 'reddish' in

<sup>384</sup> According to Johanson 1998a: 34–5, while the final syllable of native Turkic words carries pitch accent, their initial syllable tends to be characterized by dynamic stress (for a similar postulate for Turkish, see Johanson & Csató 1998a: 207). If this prosody could be projected into the earlier stages of Turkic, the second syllable would have been perceived as the weakest in a trisyllabic word, which would make adaptation of the vowel as [ə] in English or in Dutch.

RTOİS: 45) is a formation based on the root *al* (Ott. ‘vermilion, flame scarlet, red’, RTOİS: 41; also see Radloff I: 349–50 and ĖSTJa I: 125–6). On the other hand, the forms quoted as *alajah* – *alāchah*, i.e. *alağa* – *alača* in our notation (= Ott. *alağa* ‘striped stuff’, RTOİS: 42) are based on a different stem, *ala* (Ott. ‘spotted, speckled’, RTOİS: 42; see also ĖSTJa I: 129–30).<sup>385</sup>

The word *alağa* was used in Ottoman with reference to a variety of silk-cotton blends popular in India, Persia and Turkey from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards (İnalçık 1993a: 294). These were originally produced in Ottoman Turkey, but in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries India began producing their own *alağa* which was exported under the same name to Turkey but also sold on the domestic market (İnalçık 1986: 561–2 and 1993a: 276).

It is conceivable that a name like *alağa* or *alača* was at some point used in India. However, such forms must have fallen out of use by the 19<sup>th</sup>-century, as dictionaries for that period only feature *الچا* *ilāchā* ‘a kind of silk and thread cloth’ (Forbes 1858: 54; Fallon 1879: 122; Platts 1884: 73) – *الچا* *ilāyachā* ‘a kind of cloth woven of silk and thre-ad’ (Shakespeare 1834: 127; Forbes 1858: 55; Platts 1884: 74). Connection to *ilāchī* ‘cardamom’ suggested in Platts (as well as Fallon) is folk-etymological, as remarked by Yule, and must be the reason for an otherwise unexpected modification of the initial vowel. Moreover, it may have additionally influenced the final vowel in the 1696 E *elatchis*.

The transmission routes of the two English variants may be summarized in the following way:

- (a) forms A & B: < Ind. \**alağa* – \**alača* (or similar) < Tk. *alağa* – *alača* (the Indic form in -č- could have been partially due to transmission via P *alāča*; see TMEN II: §520 on the latter form);
- (b) forms C: < Ind. *ilāchā* ‘cloth’ (and partially < *ilāchī* ‘cardamon’) < \**alača* ‘cloth’ (< Tk.) × *ilāchī* ‘cardamon’.

<sup>385</sup> Because this etymology is convincing, an early suggestion by Wiener (1917 I: 269), who sought the origin of the Turkic word in Chinese, has to be rejected. Furthermore, in his discussion of another word, Tk. *alaču* ‘tent’, whose relationship to *ala*, if real, is more problematic, Tenišev (ed.) (1997: 497) briefly notes that Tk. *alağa* results from folk etymology. It is difficult to discuss this suggestion, as no earlier forms are given, hypothetical or not, that could have been subject to folk-etymological modification by association with *ala*. Folk etymology has to operate on preexisting material.

## KILIM

PRONUNCIATION: BrE/AmE **kilim** [kɪˈli:m] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>, 1989 OED<sub>2</sub>, 2008 LPD)

FORMS: *kelim* (1881 Harrison<sub>2</sub>), *Kilims* (1884 Griffit<sub>2</sub>), *Kelims* (1895 *Brit. Warehouseman*<sub>2</sub>), *Khilims* (1900 Mumford<sub>2</sub>), *Kelim rugs* (1923 *Daily Mail*<sub>2</sub>), *kilims* (1926 Lawrence<sub>2</sub>), *khilim* (1931 Dilley<sub>2</sub>), *Kelims* (1960 Foot<sub>2</sub>), *kilims* (1967 Rathbone<sub>2</sub>), *Kelim rugs* (1972 *Vogue*<sub>2</sub>), *Kilims* (1972 *Country Life*<sub>2</sub>)

A type of carpet made in Turkey, Kurdistan, etc.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **kilim**: < T *kilim* < P *kilīm*  
 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **kilim**: T < P *kilīm*  
 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = W<sub>3</sub>  
 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **kilim**: < T < P *gilīm*  
 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> s.v. **kilim** < T < P *gilīm*; perhaps < Mong.  
 2001: CannP s.v. **kilim**: T ‘rug’ < P ‘a coarse woven blanket or rug’

## COMMENTARY:

The fact that some English forms were spelled *kelim* was probably not related to any difference in pronunciation. The forms in *kh-* are most likely popular pseudo-Oriental spellings.

The derivation < T < P found in English dictionaries is consistent with the chronology of forms outlined by Doerfer (TMEN IV: §1718). The earliest Persian form is *gilēm* (10<sup>th</sup> century), which would later regularly develop into *gilīm* (ENP *ē* gradually merged with ENP *ī* throughout the period between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries; Pisowicz 1985: 174). The latter form appears already in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Codex Comanicus (as *gilim*, Bodrogligeti 1971: 134).

However, because the devoicing *g-* > *k-* is unexpected either in Persian or in Ottoman,<sup>386</sup> the existence of the form *kilim* in both languages (beside *gilīm*, Persian: Steingass 1043, Ottoman: RTOİS: 402) has to be accounted for. Doerfer (TMEN IV: 6) assumes that Oghuz forms in *k-* are borrowed from Kipchak dialects, where the devoicing is expected (cf. MKip. *kilim* ‘wollene Bedecke’,

<sup>386</sup> In Oghuz Turkic (i.e. Ottoman) it is more common to observe the opposite, i.e. the *voicing* of initial stops, especially if the next consonant in the word was voiced (M. Stachowski 2008a: 119). Because the next consonant in our word is [l], this makes spontaneous devoicing in Ottoman virtually impossible.



CC 142). The assumed transmission route is unexpected in view of the fact that it was Persian tapestries and carpets that were considered models to be imitated by the Turks. Unfortunately, we are unable to suggest any other solution.

## KIS KILIM

PRONUNCIATION: AmE **kis kilim** ['ki:s ki;li:m] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: 1. *Kis Kilim* (1900), *kis kilim* (1917 Dwight *Miniatures*: 199); 2. *Kis Kilim* (1930 Maerz & Paul *Colour*)

1. A type of carpet; 2. W<sub>3</sub>: = *Russian calf*: 'a moderate brown that is deeper and slightly redder than chestnut brown, deeper and yellower than auburn or bay, and redder, stronger, and slightly lighter than coffee']

### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1961: W<sub>3</sub>: 'Russian calf' < *Kis Kilim* 'a kind of carpet' < T *kizkilim*  
 2001: CannP s.v. **Kis Kilim** (distant loans section): T 'the name of a type of carpet' < *kiz kilim* 'blanket' ← *kız* 'girl' + *kilim* (< P 'a blanket')

### COMMENTARY:

Based on Cannon's laconic commentary it is difficult to understand the connection with 'girl'. The actual phrase is *kız kilimi* ← *kız* 'girl' + *kilim* 'carpet, rug' (+ *-i* 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. possessive suffix) and was/is used with reference to a carpet meant for dowry and woven by nomad girls (RTOIS: 661, TRS: 548).

Strangely enough, the expression is also occasionally used as the name of a kind of brown colour as mentioned above. This usage was first codified in 1930, but the reason for choosing this name for the colour is unclear.

## SAFFIAN

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **saffian** ['sæfiən] (1909 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **saffian** ['sæfi.ən] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), ['sæfiən] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *saphion* ~ *Saphian* (1591 Fletcher<sub>2</sub>),<sup>387</sup> *Saffian* (1796 Morse<sub>2</sub>), *Saffian* (1845 Barlow<sub>3</sub>),<sup>388</sup> *Saffians* (1882 Paton<sub>2</sub>)

<sup>387</sup> Both passages are featured in Stanford as well, although they are attributed to Hakluyt and quoted based on the second edition of his collection (1598).

<sup>388</sup> OED dates this to 1834–6. OED<sub>3</sub> provides the date of publication.

A leather made from goatskins or sheepskins tanned and dyed in bright colours; Morocco leather.

ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford: **saffian**: < Ru. *safyan* 'dyed Persian leather, which has been tanned with sumach'; s.v. **saphian**, **saphion**: < Russian  
 1909: OED<sub>1</sub>: < Ru. *сафьянъ* < Ro. *saftian* < T (P) *سختیان* *saxtiyān*; cf. G *saffian*  
 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **saffian**: < Ru. *safeyan* < Ro. *saftian* < T < P *sakhtiyān* 'goat's leather' ← *sakht* 'hard'; there has been frequent confusion with morocco leather and with the name *Safi*, *Saffi*, a Moroccan seaport  
 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **saffian**: < Ru. *saf'yan* < T *sahtiyān* < P *sakhtiyān* 'goatskin' ← *sakht* 'hard, strong'  
 1967: Klein s.v. **saffian**: < Ru. *safyan* < T *sakhtiyān* < P *sakhtiyān* 'goat's leather'  
 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>  
 2001: CannP s.v. **saffian**: < Ru. *saf'yan* (also Ger. *Saffian*) < P *saxtiyān* 'goatskin, Moroccan leather' (← P *saxt* 'hard') & T *sahtiyān* (< P) 'Moroccan leather'

COMMENTARY:

1. Treatment in English dictionaries

The romanization in Stanford suggests that the source was a trisyllabic Russian word, whereas the latter was in all likelihood disyllabic. The extra syllable *-i-* is due to the transliteration of *ь* as a vowel, a value that it had irreversibly lost in the fourteenth century, when the weak yers were elided (Matthews: §312). The *x* ~ *kh* spellings are various transliterations of the Perso-Arabic letter *خ* (= Ott. [h], P [x]).

All cited dictionaries except Stanford assume at least partial transmission through Turkish.

2. The ultimate etymon and the origin of English forms

The candidates are Ott. *سختیان* *sahtiyān* 'Morocco leather' (RTOİS: 975) and P *سختیان* *saxtiyān* id. (Steingass: 661).

The association with *Safi*, the Moroccan port, mentioned in W<sub>2</sub> is considered a valid etymological explanation e.g. by Brückner (1927: 479), who gives the parallel of F *maroquin* id. < F *Maroc* 'Morocco', and appears to have influenced many lexicographers, cf. glosses of Ott. *sahtiyān* or P *saxtiyān* as 'Moroccan leather' (Redhouse 1044, RTOİS: 975, see also CannP above) or 'maroquin'

(DTO 347; Zenker II 500). However, the relationship is rejected as folk-etymological by Littmann (1924: 95–6) and, following him, Vasmer (REW II 584 = ÈSRJa III 566).

Nowadays it is universally believed that Ott. *سختیان* *sahṭiyān* ‘Morocco leather’ (RTOİS: 975) < P *سختیان* *saxtiyān* id. (Steingass: 661) ← *saxt* ‘hard, strong, firm, secure, solid, etc.’ (Steingass: 660), see e.g. Lokotsch (§1762), ÈSRJa (III 566) and PLOT (§473). The lineage Ottoman < Persian is assumed in all English dictionaries quoted above except Stanford, although only W<sub>2-3</sub> and CannP mention the Persian adjectival root *saxt* ‘hard’ to which the word is held to be related.

While certain questions require further investigation,<sup>389</sup> we will adhere to the general consensus that the word is Iranian. Given this assumption, the question remains of the role the Turkic forms played in the transmission of E *saffian*. Based on the context of occurrence and the character of the relevant works, it is most likely that the 1591 and 1845 occurrences go back to Russian forms, the 1796 one reflects Balkan usage, whereas the 1882 one, German.

It seems that the word spread in Europe through two channels, i.e. the Balkans and East Slavic. In both these contexts it is very likely that Turkic acted as the donor. This is indeed assumed in literature. For example, Anikin (2000: 489, also see ÈSRJa III: 566) quotes T *sahṭiyān*, CrimTat, Kip. *saḫṭiyān* (< P *saxtiyān*) as possible sources of Ru. *сафьян* (1535; SRJa<sub>XVI–XVII</sub> XXIII: 67), which subsequently

<sup>389</sup> A number of Iranian words have been identified as related by Bailey (quoted in Pulleybank 1962: 243–4). He groups these under two Iranian bases *\*sak-* (with the participle *\*saxta-*) and *\*sāk-* (with the participle *\*sāxta-*) both of which are said to mean ‘to prepare’ and in specialized senses ‘to build, equip, harness, fasten’. While NP *saxtiyān* would belong with the former and thus mean ‘prepared leather’, the latter seems to be attested in a number of other forms, e.g. Pahlavi *sāxt-* ‘to equip’ (also ‘to make, prepare; tolerate’, MacKenzie 1986: 74; also cf. ModP *sāxtan* ‘to make, prepare’, PRS II: 8). Furthermore, Bailey (1985: 27) relates NP *saxtiyān* to Pahl *saxtaka-* ‘prepared leather’ (also in Henning 1950: 644, although the Pahlavi form is quoted as *saxtag* ‘of morocco leather’). He then proceeds to identify the element *-aka* as the common Iranian nominal suffix with the following stages of development *-aka-* > *-aga-* > *-aya-* > *-aya-* > *-a’e-* > *-ai-*, *-e-*, *-ī-*, *-i-* (*ibid.*). The explanation of NP *saxtiyān* as ‘prepared leather’ is perhaps more convincing semantically than reference to NP *saxt*, which beside ‘strong’ may mean ‘hard, difficult, heavy, severe’ (PRS II: 8), but the nature of the relationship between the latter form and Bailey’s *\*sak-/saxta* as well as the length alternation in *\*sak-* ~ *\*sāk-* have yet to be addressed. Another problem is the existence of the variant P *sixtiyān* (Steingass 661; also cf. A *siḥṭiyān* ~ *saḥṭiyān* ~ *suḥṭiyān* ‘Morocco-leather; tanned goat’s skin’, Gacek 2008: 36; is the Persian form a returning loan from Arabic?).

reached German as *Saffian* (1635; Opelsbaum 1971: 154–5). This lineage may be attributed to Turco-Russian trade in the Crimea and on the shores of the Caspian. Interestingly, it follows from one of Fletcher's passages that the Persian provenance of the commodity was known to him.

Ottoman is also given as the source of SCr. *sàhtijān* ~ *sàftijān* ~ *sàktijān* ~ *sàfijān* ~ *tàftiān* (TShJ: 542–3, S. Stachowski 1973: 174, ERShJ III: 192), Blg. *саф-тиян* ~ *сѣфтиян* ~ *сафтиян* ~ *сахтиян* ~ *сѣхтиян* (BER VI: 515, 517), Ro. *saftián* ~ *săftian* (Ciorănescu 2001: 677, Suciu II: 626), etc. As seen in these forms the development *-ht-* > *-ft-* > *-f-* was by no means confined to Russian.

To sum up, none of the English forms listed above directly reflects a Turkic form and Turkic only acted as an intermediary.

## SHAGREEN

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **shagreen** [ʃə'gri:n] (1913 OED<sub>1</sub>), [ʃə'gri:n] ~ [ʃæ'gri:n] (2008 LPD); AmE **shagreen** [ʃə'gri:n] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [ʃæ'gri:n] [ʃæ'gri:n] [ʃə'gri:n] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [ʃə'gri:n] ~ [ʃæ'gri:n] (2008 LPD)

FORMS: **A: 1.** *Shagrin-Leather* ~ *Shagrin-Skins* (1677 Tavernier<sub>2</sub>),<sup>390</sup> *Shagreen Covers* (1696 Prior<sub>2</sub>), *Shagreen* (1698 Fryer<sub>2</sub>), *Shagreen* ~ *Shagreen Case* (1706 Phillips), *Shagreen* (1710 Steele<sub>2</sub>), *Shaggareen Case* (1730 [1732] *Inventory D. Bond's Goods*<sub>2</sub>), *shagreen case* (1768 Sterne<sub>3</sub>), *shagreen* (1774 [1776] Goldsmith<sub>2</sub>), *shagreen* (1777 Cook<sub>2</sub>),<sup>391</sup> *shaggreen case* (1789 Lobo *Abyssinia*: 491), *shagreen skins* (1782–3 Martyn<sub>2</sub>), *shagreen-case* (1852 Thackeray<sub>2</sub>), *shagreen* (1852 [1853] Morfit<sub>2</sub>), *shagreen-covered* (1864 Sala<sub>2</sub>), *shagreen* (1891 Peacock<sub>2</sub>), *shagreen* (1907 Galsworthy<sub>2</sub>); **2.** *shagrin* (1702 Baillie<sub>2</sub>), *shagreen* (1728 Delany<sub>2</sub>), *Shagreen* (1741 *Anti-Pamela*<sub>2</sub>); **3.** *Shagreen Ray* (1776 Pennant<sub>2</sub>), *shagreen* (1819 Bowdich<sub>3</sub>), *Shagreen scales* (1849 Murchison<sub>2</sub>), *shagreen-covered* ~ *shagreen points* (1857 Miller<sub>2</sub>), *shagreen* (1870 Nicholson<sub>2</sub>), *shagreen* (1871 Huxley<sub>2</sub>), *shagreen* (1873 Mivart<sub>2</sub>), *Shagreen-skate* (1882 Tenison-Woods<sub>2</sub>), *shagreen-granules* (1896 Woodward<sub>2</sub>); **4.** *Shagreen* (1884 Knight<sub>3</sub>)<sup>392</sup>

<sup>390</sup> Stanford uses a later edition and dates the quotation to 1684 accordingly.

<sup>391</sup> OED<sub>3</sub> lists this under the date of publication, i.e. 1784, but the note is clearly dated 1777.

<sup>392</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this exactly to 1884.

**B:** *Chagrin* (1678 Phillips<sub>2</sub>), *Chagrin* (1697 D'Aunoy<sub>2</sub>), *Chagrin* (1734 North<sub>2</sub>), *chagrin* (1767 *Philos. Trans.*<sub>3</sub>)<sup>393</sup> *chagrin* (1842 Prichard<sub>2</sub>)

**1.** A kind of untanned leather with a rough surface, prepared from the skin of the horse, ass, etc., frequently dyed green; **2.** silk fabric; **3.** Skin of various sea animals which is covered with close-set calcified papillæ, forming a hard rough surface: used for polishing, etc.; often used attributively in names of various species of these animals **4.** Hard, colored, metallic spots found on the surface of iron castings.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1859: Wedgwood<sub>1</sub> s.v. **chagrin** 'grief': according to Diez *chagrin* 'grief' < *shagreen* 'leather'; F *peau de chagrin*, Genoese *sagrinà* 'to gnaw', *sagrinàse* 'to consume with anger', Piedmontese *sagri* 'shagreen', *sagrin* 'care, grief' to support the relationship *chagrin* = *shagreen*; in like manner It. *limare* 'to file', metaphorically 'to fret' and *far lima-lima* 'to fret inwardly'
- 1865: Müller<sub>1</sub> s.v. **chagreen**: **1.** 'Kummer' (usually in the pure French spelling *chagrin*) **2.** 'gekörntes Leder, Schagrin' (usually spelt *shagreen*); < F *chagrin* in both meanings; according to Diez the word is the same as It. *zigrino*, Ven. = Romagnol *sagrin*, Du. *segrein*, MHG *sager*, as well as A *zargab*; according to Ménage < T *sagri* 'Rücken, Kreuz' (because the rump of the donkey or the mule was used for the production of shagreen); shagreen (or rather similar skin of marine animals), which was used as a grater or a file is a fitting metaphor for *chagrin*, i.e. 'sorrow'; cf. It. *limare* 'to file', metaphorically 'to fret' and *far lima-lima* 'to fret inwardly' (Wedgwood)
- 1865: W-M s.v. **chagrin** 'grief': < F *chagrin* or *chagrain* 'shagreen, a particular kind of rough and grain leather, also rough fish-skin used for graters and files', hence, figuratively, for a gnawing, corroding grief; *chagrin* is literally the cutting pain produced by the friction of the *shagreen* leather; see *shagreen*; s.v. **shagreen**: < F *chagrin*, *chagrain*, It. *zigrino* < T & P *sagri* 'the back of a horse or another beast of burden; the leather of a horse's back, the skin of a certain fish'
- 1867: Müller<sub>1</sub> s.v. **shagreen**: refers to *chagreen* (see Müller<sub>1</sub> 1865)
- 1872: Wedgwood<sub>2</sub> = Wedgwood<sub>1</sub>

<sup>393</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1766, but the 1766 issue was published the following year, as corrected in OED<sub>3</sub>.

- 1878: Müller<sub>2</sub> s.v. **chagrin**: essentially = Müller<sub>1</sub>, but occasionally the wording is different; most importantly the word's origin is summarized: < T *zâgrî* 'Rücken, Kreuz', P *sâgarî*, A *zagrab*
- 1878: Wedgwood<sub>3</sub> = Wedgwood<sub>1</sub>
- 1879: Müller<sub>2</sub> s.v. **shagrin**: refers to *chagrin* (see Müller<sub>2</sub> 1878)
- 1882: Skeat<sub>1</sub> s.v. **chagrin** 'vexation, ill-humour': < F *chagrin* 'grief' of unknown origin; Diez, however, identifies the word with F *chagrin* = E *shagreen* 'a rough substance sometimes used for rasping wood'; hence 'a type of corroding care' (cf. It. *limare* 'to file', also 'to fret or gnaw', he also cites Genoese *sagriná* 'to gnaw', *sagrináse* 'to consume oneself with anger' < F *chagrin* 'leather' < P *saghri* id.; s.v. **shagreen**: 'a rough-grained leather, shark's skin'; < F *chagrin* id., originally made of the skin (of the *back* only) of the horse, wild ass, or mule; afterwards, from the skin of the shark; < T *sāghrî* ~ *saghri* 'the back of a horse, shagreen'; cf. P *saghri* 'shagreen'
- 1886: Yule<sub>1</sub> s.v. **shagreen**: E *shagreen* = F *chagrin* = It. *zigrino* = MHG *Zager* < P *sāghrî* = T *sāghrî*, 'the croupe or quarter of a horse, from which the peculiar granulated leather, also called *sāghrî* in the East, was originally made'; according to Diez F (> E) *chagrin* 'vexation' = *shagreen*, cf. It. *lima* and E *tribulation* for analogy
- 1888: Skeat<sub>2</sub> = Skeat<sub>1</sub>
- 1889: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **chagrin**: < F *chagrin*, 1. 'rough skin, shagreen'; 2. 'displeasure, ill-humour, etc.'; *chagrin* 'grief' = *shagreen* 'rough leather' with the sense development in French 'rough and granular skin employed to rub, polish, file' > metaphorically, 'gnawing trouble'; E *shagreen* 'rough leather' (= It. *zigrino*, Ven. *sagrin*) < T صاغرى *ṣāghrî*, صغرى *ṣaghri*, سغرى *saghri* 'leather prepared from the rump of a horse; shagreen' < 'rump of a horse'
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **chagrin**: E < F *chagrin* = 'shagreen', 'melancholy', 'vexation'. See *shagreen*.; s.v. **shagreen**: E < F *chagrin* 'leather with a granular surface, prepared from the skin of horses or other animals'; also, attrib. See *chagrin*
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub> = Yule<sub>1</sub>
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> s.v. **chagrin** 'grief': essentially = Skeat<sub>1</sub>, but the Turkish form is given invariably as *sāghrî*; it is also added that the word is marked as Persian by Richardson (1863: 833); s.v. **shagreen** 'leather' = Skeat<sub>1</sub>
- 1913: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **shagreen**: cross-reference to *chagrin*
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **chagrin** 'grief': < F < T *saghri* 'rump of a horse', whence *shagreen* 'a leather of granulated appearance' is prepared;

- for the metaphor cf. E *gooseflesh* and F *chair de poule*; there are chronological difficulties in the history of the French word but the association with ‘leather’ in English is clear; s.v. **shagreen**: a quasi-phonetic spelling (17<sup>th</sup> cent.) of *chagrin*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **shagreen**: < F *chagrin* < T *ṣāghri*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **shagreen**: by folk etymology (influence of *shag* ‘coarse wool’ and *green*) < F *chagrin* < T *ṣagri*
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **chagrin** for chronological if for no other reasons, not to be referred to *chagrin* ‘shagreen’; s.v. **shagreen**: untanned leather (17<sup>th</sup> c.), var. sp. of *chagrin* < F *chagrin* (> It. *sagrin*, Du. *sagrijnleer*) < T *sagry* rump, skin of this
- 1967: Klein s.v. **shagreen**: F *chagrin* < T *ṣāghrī*, lit. ‘rump of horse; shagreen’; so called because only the skin of the rump of the animal is used for this purpose
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **shagreen**: < F *chagrin*, *sagrin* < T *ṣāğri* ‘crupper, leather’; Word History (s.v. **chagrin**: ‘sorrow’): “At one time *chagrin* was thought to be the same word as *shagreen*, ‘a leather or skin with a rough surface,’ derived from French *chagrin*. ... It was later decided, however, that the sense ‘rough leather’ and the sense ‘sorrow’ each belonged to a different French word *chagrin*.”]
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

#### COMMENTARY:

##### 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

As evidenced above F *chagrin* ‘rough leather’ (> E *shagreen* - *chagrin* id.) was earlier (erroneously) considered to be etymologically related to F *chagrin* ‘grief’ (> E *chagrin* id.). Consequently, cross-references between the two words are common. In the summary above, only those entries are included which are devoted to or which mention *shagreen* ‘leather’, irrespective of whether the relationship is implied or not. The comments below also predominantly concern the treatment of this word.

Wedgwood<sub>1</sub> refers to Diez, but fails to mention Menagé’s comments on the Turkic origin summarized therein. Almost all later dictionaries (except Stanford and the subsequent editions of Wedgwood) mention the Ottoman word, albeit in a variety of shapes (see the next section on this point).

Müller<sub>1</sub> explicitly follows Menagé (quoted by Diez) in deriving the word from Ottoman. This is repeated in W-M without reference to Diez or Menagé,

but with the addition of Persian, though the latter's relationship with the Turkish form is not explained. The etymology becomes even more ambiguous in Müller<sub>2</sub>, where the word is seemingly derived from Turkish, Persian and Arabic. Skeat<sub>1</sub> (repeated in Skeat<sub>2</sub>) is no less confusing: s.v. *chagrin* the word *shagreen* is derived from Persian, while s.v. *shagreen* Turkish is mentioned as the donor and the Persian form is only quoted for comparison (the author's decision is in favour of Ottoman in both entries in Skeat<sub>4</sub>). Similar derivations are offered in Yule<sub>1,2</sub> and OED<sub>1,2</sub>.

Although Weekley mentions chronological difficulties as far as the attestations of the senses 'grief' and 'leather' in French, he firmly supports the etymological identity of the two, whereas ODEE is the first authority explicitly to the equation, precisely on this basis. The connection is also rejected in AHD<sub>3-4</sub>, whereas W<sub>2</sub>, W<sub>3</sub> and Klein do not mention it at all.

Additionally W<sub>3</sub> is the only authority that explains the spelling of *shagreen* (for F *chagrin*) through folk-etymological association with *shag* 'rough matted hair, wool, etc.' + *green*.

None of the authors comments on the *-in* ending, nor the [s] > [ʃ] change (see below on both).

## 2. On the notation of the Turkish forms

Menagé (1694: 173) has T *sagri* and this form is first quoted after Diez by Müller<sub>1</sub>, though Müller<sub>2</sub> has *zâgrî* (= *zâgrî*). In the same year W-M has T & P *sagri* (= *sagri*). Later we encounter the following forms (given here using our transliteration system): *sâghrî* ~ *saghrî* (Skeat<sub>1,2-4</sub>), *sâghrî* (Yule<sub>1,2</sub>), *şâghrî* ~ *şaghrî* (OED<sub>1,2</sub>) ~ *saghrî* (OED<sub>1,2</sub> and, copied, in Weekley), *şâghrî* (Klein), *sagry* (ODEE), *sağrı* (AHD) and *çagri* (W<sub>3</sub>).

All these refer to Ott. صاغرى *sağrı* '1. the rump of man or beast; 2. the stout leather made from the rump of a beast' (Redhouse: 1157) or another variant.

The variation in the vowel notation may only reflect varying graphic shape of the word as written using the Arabic script, with full Ottoman notation rendered using a macron (see section 5.1.1 of the Introduction).

The *-y* in ODEE is probably used to transcribe the high back unrounded vowel [u], which is expected due to vowel harmony (as well as the orthography, see further).

The *-g-* ~ *-gh-* ~ *ğ* are various transliterations of the Arabic letter غ *ğayn*, which in Ottoman was pronounced as [ɣ] postvocally and was subsequently lost in this position, which caused compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (see below).<sup>394</sup>

<sup>394</sup> The last variant, *ğ*, used by the editors of AHD, occurs in Modern Turkish as the so-called *yumuşak ge*, i.e. 'soft *g*', i.e. the letter representing this lost consonant.



Finally, three special symbols, *z*- (Müller<sub>2</sub>), *ç*- (OED<sub>1-2</sub> and W<sub>3</sub>), and *ş*- (Klein) are occasionally used to render the initial consonant, other than the prevailing *s*-. The reason is that the initial letter in Redhouse's form, the Arabic *ص* *ṣād*, is actually distinct from *س* *sīn*, which is evidenced in the forms quoted in OED<sub>1</sub>. In Arabic the two letters represent distinct phonemes, which was not the case in Ottoman. However, in the latter language *ص* *ṣād* occurred only in the context of the back vowels, and thus partially encoded vowel harmony. The *s*- in the majority of the authors may be interpreted to stand for *ص* *ṣād* noted in Redhouse. The letter *z*- in Müller<sub>2</sub> is surprising, but because the author's romanization of Oriental words is inconsistent, we should not assume that it stands for *ز* *zāy*, but rather for *ص* *ṣād* (cf. *s*- in Müller<sub>1</sub>). Klein's *ş* is the modern transliteration of *ص* *ṣād*.<sup>395</sup> The use of *ç*- in OED<sub>2</sub> (copied from OED<sub>1</sub>) and W<sub>3</sub> (probably likewise) may be confusing, as in Modern Turkish orthography this letter stands for [tʃ]. It was of course not confusing in OED<sub>1</sub>, i.e. at the time when Turkish still used the Arabic script. However, the examples given in OED<sub>1</sub> require an additional remark. Because the editors make consistent effort to distinguish between *ص* *ṣād* and *س* *sīn* it seems that they had evidence of orthographic variants not noted by Redhouse, although, unfortunately, they do not quote their source.

Summing up, the romanizations found in English dictionaries enable us to say that there may have existed a considerable variation in terms of the spelling of the word in Ottoman, with alternants like *صاغرى* (Redhouse & OED<sub>1</sub>) ~ *صغرى* (OED<sub>1</sub>) and, perhaps, *سغرى* (OED<sub>1</sub>).

### 3. English forms and their use

The spelling *shagreen* (and related) is far more widespread, but variants in *ch*- indicate that the equation with *chagrin* 'grief' was fairly popular. The association with negative feelings may also be partly confirmed by the following passage from North (1734): "[plotters] take into familiarity thoughts which, before, had made their skin run into a chagrin."<sup>396</sup>

The spelling in *sh*- may have arisen in order to distinguish the word from *chagrin*, as the two start to appear at around the same time (1656 *chagrin* 'grief', 1677 *shagreen* 'leather' and 1678 *chagrin* 'leather'). As remarked in W<sub>3</sub>, folk

<sup>395</sup> Klein's glosses the Turkish word „lit. 'rump of a horse'". The use of the expression "literally" would suggest the structure of the word was somehow transparent to the author, which seems striking, given the lack of a clearly established etymology (see below).

<sup>396</sup> Also given in Skeat<sub>2</sub> and in Weekley.

etymology may have been involved as well. This is consistent with forms like *shaggreen* (1789; cf. also the 1706 quotation in OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. *shagreen*, where the word is explained as “a sort of rough green Leather”) and *Shaggareen* (1730 [1732]). The latter has an unetymological *-a-* vowel, which suggests that it was interpreted as an obscure compound (see the discussion of such forms s.v. *ragamuffin* in Liberman 2008).

The word has frequently been part of compounds as seen above.

Semantically, senses 1a and 1b are dominant. The development of sense 2 is obscure.

#### 4. The French form

The transmission seems to have been E *shagreen* ‘rough leather’ < F *chagrin* id. either directly < Ott. *sağrı* ‘rump of an animal, rough leather produced of it’, or through Italian.

Transmission via Italian dialects is possible especially in the early period for historical reasons and seems to be consistent with the chronology, although the attestations are rather isolated: F *sagrin* (1606, later *chagrin* since 1648; TLF s.v. *chagrin* 1) and It. *sagri* (16<sup>th</sup> c. [1907] Soderini *Animali*: 109; Modern Italian has *zigrin*, but cf. Ven. *sagrin*, Boerio 1829: 519).

The early dates of attestation and the presence of *-g-* in the Romance forms clearly point to borrowing before the [aɣ] > [a:] change in Ottoman, whereas the ending *-in* is a typical Romance strategy employed in the adaptation of Orientalisms ending the Arabic nisba suffix or interpreted as such (Corriente 2008: lviii; see also section 5.3.3 of the Introduction and cf. s.v. *BOCASIN* and s.v. *SHERIFI*).

As for the [ʃ] < [s] shift in French, Menagé (1694: 173) explained it as due to the similarity between Arabic letters ش *šīn* [ʃ] and س *sīn* [s], which differ only in that the latter lacks the three dots. This is true, but the word would have to be an exclusively graphic borrowing, which is not very likely, given its status as a popular commodity. Also an isolated French form *sagrin* is in fact attested in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century (cf. FEW s.v. *sağrı* and TLF s.v. *chagrin*).

Wartburg (FEW s.v. *sağrı*) explains the change by the fact that *ş* in Arabic had a slight palatal shade, but his argument is inconsistent as he explicitly derives F *chagrin* from Turkish, where *şād* was most likely pronounced as [s].

The most convincing and simplest solution is suggested in TLF s.v. *chagrin* 1 ‘espèce de cuir grenu, préparé avec la peau de la croupe du mulet, de l’âne ou du cheval et utilisé en reliure et en maroquinerie de luxe’, where influence from *chagrin* 2 adj. ‘affligé, attristé, contrarié, désolé, peiné, triste’ (since 1389) is assumed.

### 5. Ultimate etymon

Further origin of the Ott. *sağrı* ‘rump of an animal; shagreen’ is controversial. Similar words are widespread in the Turkic and Mongolic languages (cf. the list in ÈSTJa VII 151), but the word is inexplicable in either family according to Doerfer (TMEN III no. 1212). For further discussion cf. also EDT 815, VEWT 393, Fedotov II 30 and TDES 349–50.

Interestingly, ÈSTJa (VII 153) attempts to reconstruct a Turco-Mongolic protoform *\*saɣărin*, with final *-n* reflected in WM *saɣari(n)* i.a. ‘horsehide, skin; leather; shagreen’ and allegedly in the European forms like F *chagrin*. Even if the protoform is adequate, comparison of its final consonant to that in *chagrin* is clearly far-fetched.



## 7. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

### BOUZOUKI

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **bouzouki** [bu:'zu:ki] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), [bu'zu:ki] ~ [bə'zu:ki] (2008 LPD); AmE **bouzouki** [bu'zu:ki] ~ [bə'zu:ki] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>, 2008 LPD)

FORMS: *bouzouki* (1907 Marden *Greece*: 25), *bouzouki* (1915 Mellon *Songs*: 48), *bouzoukis* (1952 MacNeice<sub>2</sub>), *bouzouki* (1959 Blake<sub>2</sub>), *bouzouki* (1964 *Punch*<sub>2</sub>)

A Greek mandoline.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| 1961: | W <sub>3</sub> ; < Gk. <i>mpouzouki</i>                            |
| 1989: | OED <sub>2</sub> ; < Gk. <i>μπουζούκι</i> ; compare T <i>bozuk</i> |
| 1992: | AHD <sub>3</sub> ; < Gk. <i>mpouzouki</i> , probably < T           |
| 2000: | AHD <sub>4</sub> = AHD <sub>3</sub>                                |

#### COMMENTARY:

#### 1. English usage and treatment in dictionaries

The English Forms unambiguously denote a Greek instrument. As such the word is generally correctly interpreted as borrowed from Greek in all dictionaries (cf. ModGk. *μπουζούκι* id., GkED: 575). This is reflected in the presence of the final *-i*, the marker of one of the neuter declensions in Modern Greek. What is also retained in English is the Greek stress pattern and the spelling of the vowels as digraphs (cf. also F *bouzouki*, attested at least since 1876 Bourgault-Ducoudray *Souvenirs*: 36).

Further etymology requires additional investigation. The laconic reference to T *bozuk* in OED<sub>2</sub> is hardly satisfactory without any discussion of the semantics. AHD<sub>3-4</sub> gives even fewer details.

## 2. The Turkic etymon

As for Ottoman, a comment is in order concerning the existence of two words *bozuk* in this language. Ott. بوزق - بوزوق *bozuk* 1 is defined as ‘broken, destroyed, spoiled, gone bad’, whereas بوزق *bozuk* 2 is ‘1. a kind of lute; 2. musical piece of corrupt tradition’ (RTOİS: 194).<sup>397</sup> The first of these is a deverbal adjective in *-uk* (see *-ik* in Lewis 2000: 220) from the verbal stem *boz-* i.e. ‘to undo, disintegrate, demolish’ (RTOİS: 194). The other *bozuk* is more problematic. As far as its second meaning is concerned, it seems that it belongs with *bozuk* 1, given its component ‘corrupt’. Whether and how the first meaning, which is more relevant to our discussion, is related to these is not immediately clear.

One explanation is offered by Picken (1975: 210), who sees the two words as unrelated. Following Villoteau’s hypothesis he identifies the Egyptian *tanbour bouzourk* with P *tanbūr-i bozorg* (= large *tanbur*, i.e. another instrument of the family *saz*, cf. *SAZ*) and assumes that *bozuk* ‘lute’ developed as a corruption of the adjective *bozorg*, which “would have been facilitated by the absence of final double consonants of the type ‘rg’ in Western Turkish” (*ibid.*). This suggestion merits discussion.

While it is true that word-final *-rg* is phonotactically restricted in Turkish, its voiceless counterpart *-rk* is perfectly acceptable, e.g. *bark* ‘dwelling’, *kırk* ‘forty’, or, for that matter, *Türk* ‘Turk’. Thus it is more likely for *-rg* to be adapted through devoicing rather than elision of the liquid, even more so in view of the absence of word-final voiced plosives in Turkish.

Moreover, *bozorg* is the Modern Persian form which goes back to an earlier بزرگ *buzurg* ‘great, large, grand’ (Steingass: 183). Although the absolute chronology of the change ENP *u* > LNP *o* is unclear, the two were in (dialectal?) variation throughout the period between the 13<sup>th</sup> and late 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Pisowicz 1985: 89). Consequently, the question could be asked which should be considered the source of T *bozuk*. Even more importantly, Persian short vowels tended to be identified with Turkish front ones.

Taking into consideration all of the above, we should expect in Modern Turkish either *\*bözörk* (< P *bozorg*) or *\*büzürk* (< P *buzurg*). The latter vocalism is in fact attested in the actual adaptation of the word found in learned style in Ottoman, i.e. بوزرک *büzürk* id. (RTOİS: 210).<sup>398</sup> All this seems to render Picken’s theory implausible.

Contrary to Picken but based on his data the word could perhaps after all be connected to *bozuk* ‘broken, destroyed’. According to him (*op. cit.*: 229), the

<sup>397</sup> Cf. Chag. بوزوغ *bozuğ* ‘détruit; espèce de guitare à cinq ou sept cordes’ (DTO: 169).

<sup>398</sup> The orthography unambiguously points to voiced *-g*. This would likely be devoiced in colloquial pronunciation.

most popular tuning used in Turkish lutes is the so-called *bozuk düzen* i.e. ‘corrupt tuning’ (where *düzen* = ‘ordering’ also ‘tuning of a musical instrument’). Picken’s own translation of the phrase, ‘the tuning of the *bozuk*’, is inappropriate, as it translates another phrase, namely *bozuk düzeni*, which he in fact quotes among the *saz*-tunings listed by his informant (*op. cit.*: 230; his Musical Example 8). The 3<sup>rd</sup>-person possessive marker *-i* in *düzeni* indicates that the phrase is composed of two nouns, the first one modifying the second. In *bozuk düzen* the first element has to be interpreted as an adjective ‘corrupt’.

It seems from the above that the name of the most popular tuning is known in two variants, i.e. *bozuk düzen* ‘corrupt, disorderly tuning’ and *bozuk düzeni* ‘bozuk tuning’. The question remains which is the original one. Treating *bozuk düzeni* ‘bozuk tuning’ as primary does not contribute to solving our question as to the origin of the name of the instrument. Let us assume otherwise and take *bozuk düzen* ‘corrupt, disorderly tuning’ to be the original name. Thus the name *bozuk* could be seen as a nominalization of the adjective and the evolution would be: adjective denoting the most typical tuning > noun denoting the instrument itself. The variant *bozuk düzeni* would then be a subsequent development, after the nominalization of *bozuk*. This would leave us with the need to explain the reason for calling the tuning ‘corrupt, disorderly’.

The following is based on Pennanen (1999: 123–6), who offers an original solution. He suggests two different ways in which the tuning could be considered ‘broken, corrupt, disorderly’.

First of all, an alternative name for *bozuk düzen* given by Picken is *karadüzen* [lit. ‘black order/tuning’ – M. U.], a name which he considers obscure (*op. cit.*: 230). In Pennanen’s opinion, *bozuk düzen*, which according to Gazimihâl was originally used with reference to the primitive “broken” style of East Anatolian rural long-necked lute players, may have been synonymous with *karadüzen*. Pennanen (126) writes:

“In Turkic languages ‘*kara*’ can denote e.g. ‘black, dark, obscure, unlucky, gloomy, of common people, poor, bad, mean, dirty’ ... In this context ‘*kara*’ may mean ‘of common people’ as a distinction from *fasıl* lutes of the courts. Consequently *karadüzen* may have been used for an instrument that was played in a way poorly, and *bozuk düzen* for the tuning for this instrument.”

According to the second explanation, the tuning known as *bozuk düzen* is far more flexible than others in the sense that it may have several different finals.<sup>399</sup>

<sup>399</sup> Cf. Rockstro’s commentary with reference to plain chants based on Greek modes (EB XXI: 706): “The intervals of each ‘mode’ are derived from a fundamental sound, called its ‘final.’ [Fn.:] Analogous to the tonic or key-note of the modern scale.”

Picken (1975: 230) lists as many as six, based on the data from his informant – as opposed to other types of tuning, like *âşık düzeni*, *misket düzeni*, *karanfil düzeni* and *tambur düzeni*, which only have one possible final each. Thus, according to Pennanen (*ibid.*):

“Indeed, the colloquial meanings of ‘*bozuk düzen*’ are ‘in a disorderly state’ and ‘out of order’ and for *düzeni bozuk* ‘out of order’, ‘out of tune’ ..., which can refer to this unusual characteristics of the tuning. *Bozuk düzeni* is indeed disobedient and irregular; it breaks the rules.”

Both hypotheses rely heavily on semantics and as such it is virtually impossible to choose between them.<sup>400</sup>

As far as the first idea is concerned, *kara* adj. has many other meanings that could apply to music: 1. ‘grave, sorrowful’; 2. ‘wicked; malicious’; 3. ‘hapless’; 4. ‘funeral’; 5. ‘simple, common’; 6. ‘pure’; 7. ‘powerful, daring’ (Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 23–34). That Pennanen may, however, be on the right track in this case is perhaps suggested by the existence of *kara ölüň* ‘das Volkslied’, lit. ‘das gewöhnliche Lied’, which attests the same meaning.

The application of the oxymoronic *bozuk düzen* ‘disorderly tuning; out-of-tune tuning’ is imaginable with reference to a folk or non-standard tuning, which was perceived as “worse” among the representatives of the higher culture of the courts.

To sum up, while the etymology of the Ottoman word is unsettled, the transmission route (< F) < Gk. < Ott. seems to be uncontroversial.

## NEY

PRONUNCIATION: BrE/AmE **ney** [neɪ] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>, 2009 OED<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *Naii* (1756 Russel<sub>3</sub>), *na’y* (1836 [for *náy* – M. U.] Lane<sub>3</sub>), *neh* (1883 Wills<sub>3</sub>), *Nay* (1915 Farmer<sub>3</sub>), *ney* (1957 Reed<sub>3</sub>), *ney* (1996 Michaelis<sub>3</sub>), *nay* (2001 *Kindred Spirit*<sub>3</sub>)

<sup>400</sup> In another sense all tunings used in *saz*-type instruments are disorderly. They are the so-called re-entrant tunings, in which an initially ascending sequence is “broken” by a pitch which is lower than the preceding one or, conversely, a descending sequence is “destroyed” by a pitch higher than the preceding one. However, this is not a distinctive feature of the *bozuk* tuning and there seems to be no special reason to emphasize it in this particular case as opposed to others. Moreover, Picken’s data (table 31, pp. 286–7) features at least two *bozuk* tunings (in Dinar and Ankara) in which two successive courses out of three are tuned in unison, which technically makes them non-re-entrant.



A type of flute used in the Near and Middle East, consisting of an open-ended length of cane with finger-holes, sounded by blowing across the rim.

ETYMOLOGY:

- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **nay**: < A (< P) *nāy*  
 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **nay** 3: 'a vertical end-blown flute of ancient origin used in Muslim lands' < A *nāy* < P  
 2001: CannP s.v. **nay**: < A 'a flute' < P 'a fife, a general term for any musical pipe' < MP *nāy*  
 2009: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **ney**: < T *ney* 'reed, flute' and its etymon P *nay* 'pipe, reed, flute' (also as *nāy* > A *nāy*, T *nay*)

COMMENTARY:

In order to be more faithful to the actual evidence quoted in OED<sub>3</sub>, the conclusion should be that there is no single immediate donor of the form in English. The account as presented in OED<sub>3</sub> is overall accurate, although the following comments may be added.

The distribution of forms in the crucial languages is the following:

- (a) Persian: نای *nāy* i.a. 'a reed; a reed-pipe; a flute, flageolet, fife; a reed played upon by the dervishes (Steingass: 1383);  
 (b) (Ottoman) Turkish: نی *ney* 'a reed flute played especially in Mevlevi music' (RTOİS: 883, s.v. *ney* 1); نای *nay* id. (RTOİS: 870); both are indeed from Persian, the former from *nay* (with regular P *a* > Ott. *e*) and the latter from *nāy* (with regular P *ā* > Ott. *a*);  
 (c) Arabic: ناي *nay* 'flute' (SteingAED: 1095) < Persian (?).

The English pronunciation as suggested in OED<sub>3</sub> corresponds to the Turkish pronunciation, but this does not have to be conclusive. The answer as to the immediate donor has to rely on the observation of the spelling and the context in which the forms occur.

The variants *naii* (1756), *ney* (1957 and 1996) denote the flute as used by the dervishes of the Mevlevi order, and hence correspond to the typical meaning in (Ottoman) Turkish. The first of these probably reflects Ott. *nay*, whereas the latter two the nowadays more frequent *ney*. The forms *náy* (1836) and *nay* (1915 and 2001) occur in descriptions of Arab folk culture, and transmission from A *nāy* seems likely (*náy* being a transliteration from the Arabic script). Finally, the form *neh* (1883), found in a description of a dinner eaten by the author in the Persian city of Hamedān, most probably goes back P *nay* 'reed, flute'. The letter *-e-* may

indicate that the spelling reflects a fronted pronunciation of the short Persian *a*, which is typical of Modern Persian.

The modern instrument is thought to be a descendant of ancient Middle Eastern reed flutes (for a comprehensive account see Ott 2004: 667–8). The derivation of its name seems to be uncontroversial among Iranists (see e.g. Cheung 2007: 276–7 with references). Both Persian forms may be traced to MP *nay* ‘reed, cane’ and *nāy* ‘tube, flute, clarion; pole, perch’ (MacKenzie 1986: 58) and the word is said to go back to PIr *\*nad-*, with a number of cognates within Iranian as well as in the Indic and Anatolian branches of Indo-European.<sup>401</sup>

## SANTOUR

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **santir** [sæn'tɪə] (1909 OED<sub>1</sub>), **santour** [sæn'tʊə] (1909 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **santir** [sæn'tɪ'r] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>), **santour** [••] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [sæn'tʊ'r] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *santur* (1789 AR 3: 517), *santoor* (1799 Disraeli *Romances*: 45), *santūr* (1820 Walpole *Travels*: 158), *santour* (1853 Layard<sub>2</sub>), *Santir* (1864 Engel<sub>2</sub>)

A kind of dulcimer used in Iran, in the Arab world, and formerly also by the Turks.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1909: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **santir**, **santour**: < A سنطير *sanṭīr* (= P = T ساظور *sānṭūr*) < corr. of Gk. ψαλτήριον ‘psaltery’; cf. Biblical Aram. *p’santerîn*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **santir**: < A *sanṭīr* < Gk. *psaltērion*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **santir**: also *santour* < A *sinṭīr*, *sanṭīr*, *sanṭūr* < Gk. *psaltērion* ‘psaltery, harp’
- 1967: Klein s.v. **santir**: < A *sanṭīr* < Gk. ψαλτήριον; cf. Aram. *p<sup>ε</sup>sanṭērīn* ~ *p<sup>ε</sup>sanṭērīn* ‘a (triangular) stringed instrument’ < Gk

<sup>401</sup> Interestingly, this is not mentioned by Ott (2004: 667), who postulates that the Pahlavi word is a borrowing from Aramaic root *qn’*, (she also quotes Assyrian *qanū* ~ *qanu’u* and Heb. *qnh* for comparison). This is clearly a misinterpretation of MacKenzie (1986: 58), who writes the following s.v. *nay*: “*KNYA* < A[ramaic – M. U.] *qn’*.” This in MacKenzie’s notation means that one of the notations of the word in Pahlavi uses Aramaic ideograms (transliterated using capital letters), which correspond to the Aramaic root *qn’*. Thus no etymological relation between the words is suggested.

- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>  
 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **santir**: Arabic *sanṭīr* < Gk. *psaltērion* ‘psaltery’  
 1994: CannA: < A *sanṭīr*, P *sanṭūr* < Gk. *psaltērion* ‘psaltery, harp’  
 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub>: **santoor**: or *santur* < A *sanṭīr*, *sanṭūr* < Gk. *psaltērion* ‘psaltery’  
 2001: CannP: < A *sanṭīr*, T *santur*, P *sanṭūr* ‘spinet, harpsichord’ < Gk. *psaltērion* ‘psaltery, harp’

#### COMMENTARY:

All authors postulate direct transmission from Arabic, although OED<sub>1</sub> and CannP add Persian and Turkish forms as well, whereas CannA adds only Persian. All authors agree that the Oriental forms are themselves adaptations of Gk. *ψαλτήριον* ‘psalterium’. Both OED<sub>1</sub> and Klein mention Aramaic forms, but the reason for that remains unclear in the context of the etymologies suggested by the authors (but cf. below).

The early forms attested in English variously refer to the Ottoman (cf. forms 1789, 1820) and Persian (1864) instruments. The passage dated 1799 is a translation from a Persian version of the story of Mağnun and Leyla, whereas the one of 1853 speaks of “santour of the East” without any details. This makes direct transmission from Arabic doubtful, at least as far as these particular forms are concerned.<sup>402</sup>

As far as E *santir* (1864), it seems the safest solution to derive it from A سنطير *sinṭīr* ‘harp; piano’ (Steingass AED: 513) beside the other two variants سينطير (= *sinṭīr* – M. U.) – سنطور (= *sanṭūr* – M. U.) ‘sorte d’instrument de musique consistant en une caisse trapézoïde sur laquelle sont tendues des cordes métalliques qu’on frappe avec de petits plectrums’ (Kazimirski-Biberstein I: 1152). The evidence drawn from the 19<sup>th</sup>-century dictionaries of the other two languages in question is inconclusive as to the variation *u* ~ *i* (or *ū* ~ *î*). Steingass gives P ستور *santūr* ‘a spinnet, harpsichord’ (700) and refers the reader to سنطير, but the latter entry is missing. In Redhouse we find the following Ottoman variants: صانطور *santur* ~ *santir* [sic; see further – M. U.] (1162), سانطور *santur* ‘a dulcimer’ (1032); also cf. the following additional spellings quoted in RTOİS صنطور ~ صنتور ~ سنطور (984). Curiously enough, all these orthographic variants have *vāv* in the second syllable, which clearly indicates [u] and is inconsistent with Redhouse’s transcription *santir*. The dialectal form, *santir* (beside *santur*; DS X: 3539), could be seen as indirect evidence of the *a*–*i* variant in Ottoman,

<sup>402</sup> The earliest form is actually from a review of Toderini’s *Litteratura Turchesca*. Thus, strictly speaking, it reflects a Turkish form quoted in an Italian text.

although there seems to be no indication of the latter in transcription texts (see ALOT III: 62, where *santur* alone is given). In any case, both Modern Standard Persian and Modern Standard Turkish seem to use forms in *u* (see PRS II: 59 and TRS: 751 respectively).<sup>403</sup>

Another question is what mutual relations exist among the Oriental forms quoted above. Undoubtedly, the conclusion reached by the lexicographers of English as to the Greek origin of the word is correct (see below), but scholars have yet to determine the actual transmission route(s).

The Aramaic original of *The Book of Daniel* mentions several times an instrument called *ܣܢܬܪܐ* *p<sup>s</sup>anterin* or *ܣܢܬܪܐ* *p<sup>s</sup>anṭerīn* (Muraoka 2010: 129).<sup>404</sup> It has been long assumed that the Biblical Aramaic word is an adaptation of Gk. *ψαλτήριον* ‘a kind of harp’ (Braun 1999: 54).<sup>405</sup> The latter is attested at least since the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and is explained as ← *ψάλλω* ‘pluck hair’ but also ‘play a stringed instrument with fingers’ (Chantraine IV-2: 1284; also see Mitchell & Joyce 1965: 25 for the early history of the two words in Greek and earlier references).<sup>406</sup>

In his treatment of the Ottoman word, Räsänen (VEWT: 428) makes use of the Aramaic link and writes Ott. *sontur* [sic!] < A *sanṭūr* < Aram. *p<sup>s</sup>anṭērīn* < Gk. *ψαλτήριον*. A variant of this derivation is also found in ALOT (III: 62), where we find Ott. *santur* < A *sanṭīr*, *sinṭīr* ‘Psalter, Saiteninstrument, das mit Plektron geschlagen wird’ < Aram. *p<sup>s</sup>anṭērīn* < Gk. *ψαλτήριον*. Another interpretation is however possible. A *s-* and Aram. *p<sup>s</sup>* could be seen as two independent ways of dealing with the Greek cluster *ps-*, the former through deletion, the latter through vowel epenthesis. Thus A *sanṭīr*, *sinṭīr* could be seen as an independent borrowing from Greek. Whatever the case, the origin of the vowel *u* in the Persian and Ottoman forms remains unsolved.

<sup>403</sup> Otherwise, the instability of the feature rounded/unrounded in early Ottoman is well-attested. For examples in our material, see BERGAMOT and CHIBOUK.

<sup>404</sup> The word has been discussed in a variety of sources and has been quoted in a number of transliterations. Here we follow Muraoka’s Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic index to the Septuagint.

<sup>405</sup> The Greek word and its Latin adaptation, *psalterium*, occur in the translations of the relevant passages (e.g. Dn. 3, 5) in the Septuagint (*φωνῆς* [...] *ψαλτηρίου*) and the Vulgate (*sonitum* [...] *psalterii*) respectively (see Montagu 2006: 207 for a useful collation).

<sup>406</sup> In view of this safe explanation, Kolari’s etymology Aram. *p<sup>s</sup>anṭērīn* < P (quoted in Braun 1999: 54) has to be rejected.

**SAZ**

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **saz** [saz] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: *Saz* (1870 Engel<sub>2</sub>), *Saz* (1918 Stanley<sub>2</sub>), *saz* (1957 Slessor<sub>2</sub>), *saz* (1969 Rathbone<sub>2</sub>), *saz* (1977 Early Music<sub>2</sub>), *saz* (1980 Bar-Zohar<sub>2</sub>)

A long-necked stringed instrument, found in modern Turkey, and in the former Ottoman dominions in North Africa, and the Near East.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1989: OED<sub>2</sub>: < T < P *sāz* ‘musical instrument’

2001: CannP: < T ‘a stringed instrument’ (< P) & P

## COMMENTARY:

The usage in English as exemplified in the quotations found in OED<sub>2</sub> points directly to transmission from Turkish. All the passages refer to Ottoman, present day Turkish or related contexts. Two quotations from Stanley’s catalogue of Stearne’s collection (1918) mention the use of *saz* in Algeria and Egypt, but transmission through (dialectal) Arabic is, nevertheless, unlikely, as the word does not seem to be attested there.<sup>407</sup>

Ott. *saz* is universally assumed to be from P *sāz* (e.g. VEW: 406, PLOT: §484), as also pointed out in OED<sub>2</sub> and CannP. On purely formal grounds the Persian word could just as well be the source of E *saz* as the Ottoman. However, the meaning strongly suggests Ottoman mediation. P *sāz* is used as a generic expression for ‘musical instrument’, beside having a number of other more or less distantly related meanings (see Steingass: 640). Most importantly, while this general meaning is shared by Ottoman word (RTOİS 990) and Persian, the more specific application to ‘long-necked lute’ is Ottoman-only: according to Picken (1971: 174) “no Iranian lute is called *sāz*”. Thus it is the Ottoman usage that is reflected in English.<sup>408</sup>

<sup>407</sup> Cf. its absence from Prokotsch 1983, EgAED or AED.

<sup>408</sup> From the Turcological point of view, it is interesting to note that the word might have been additionally associated with a purely Turkic lexeme, *saz* ‘rush, reed’ which is also used with reference to the sound of the wind blowing through reeds or branches of trees as well as that of insects (Picken 1971: 174).

**ZEL ~ ZILL**

PRONUNCIATION: BrE/AmE **zel** [zɛl] (1921 OED<sub>1</sub>, 1934 W<sub>2</sub>), **zill** [zɪl] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **zel**: *zel* (1754 *Monthly Rev.* XI: 207), *zel* (1776 Harmer *Observations* I: 416), *zel* (1817 Moore<sub>2</sub>), *zell* (1838 Lytton<sub>2</sub>)

**zill**: *Zil* (1824 *Harmonicon* I, ii: 109), *zill* (1837 FQR 20, xxxix: 108)

A cymbal.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **zel**: < P & T *zil* 'a kind of cymbal'
- 1921: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **zel**: < T *zil* (refers to Redhouse)
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **zel**: < T *zil* < P *zil*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **zill**: 'a small metallic cymbal used in pairs with one worn on the thumb and the other on the middle finger'; probably < T *zil* 'bell, cymbals'; of imitative origin
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **zill**: 'one of a pair of round metal cymbals attached to the fingers and struck together for rhythm and percussion in belly dancing' < T *zil* 'cymbals'
- 1994: CannA s.v. **zills**: < A, related to *ṣalīl* 'rattle, jingling, clatter' prob. < T *zil* 'cymbals'; another variant, *zill*, possibly < T
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>
- 2001: CannP s.v. **zel**: T *zil* 'bell, cymbal' (< P 'a small closed bell used on cats, hawks, etc.') & P; s.v. **zill**: reborrowing; < T < P 'a small bell'

## COMMENTARY:

**1. Treatment in English dictionaries**

Almost all authors assume (Ottoman) Turkish as the donor, while some also add Persian as a secondary source. OED<sub>1</sub> has a long vowel in the Ottoman form as opposed to all other dictionaries, but this is due to spelling variation زیل - زيل (see Redhouse: 1011 and 1023 respectively).

CannA offers a confusing hypothesis. The author differs from others in deriving *zills* from an undisclosed Arabic form related to A *ṣalīl* 'rattle, jingling, clatter' < T *zil* 'cymbals'. At the same time he derives *zill* from Turkish. The only form that looks similar to *zil* and is related to the same Arabic root is *ṣill* 'a variety

of venomous adder, viper' (AED: 608; ARS: 442) and it is unclear whether it is the one meant by Cannon. If so, it seems an unnecessary complication to derive the word through an intermediary if the latter is more distant in form and meaning. Moreover, there seems to exist some evidence that the *ʃl* complex is onomatopoeic in Semitic languages (cf. Leslau 1991: 561 on *ʃʃl*).

Based on CannP the author seems to have changed his mind concerning the origin of the word, although the relevant entry is not changed in the 2007 electronic edition of CannA (CannA<sub>E</sub>).

## 2. English forms

Based on the distribution of the headwords, it would seem that *zel* exemplifies British usage, whereas *zill* is American, but this division is not very consistent – both quotations under *zill* come from British English. The singular form is frequently glossed 'cymbals'.

The explanation of E *zil(l)* should not pose any difficulty, but due to the similarity between Ott. *zil* 'cymbal' and P *zīl* id. the possibility of multiple sources has to be taken into account.

As for *zel(l)*, none of the authorities who quote this form attempt to explain the vowel change. This would have been likely as a transcription of an Ott. *\*zil* but the vowel in question was invariably high front. Instead, this spelling may be due to an error in transcription. The author of the 1754 passage, Alexander Drummond, was the English consul in Aleppo in 1754–6, therefore it may be assumed that the form he noted was probably the one he heard or, to put it more precisely, misheard. This erroneous form was subsequently copied by other authors. This was indeed the case with Harmer, the author of the second passage featuring the form, who explicitly refers to Drummond. Harmer's work turned out to be popular enough to make it necessary to publish two more editions, in 1797 and 1816. This may have further contributed to the dissemination of Drummond's error. In fact there is evidence to suggest that it reached France. I have identified two attestations of *zel* 'cymbales' in French: 1833 (Martin *Gao*: 170) and 1841 (Moore *Oeuvre*: 27; a translation of the 1817 passage referenced above).

## 3. Further origin

Contrary to the information given in CannP, the nature of the relationship between Ott. *zil* and P *zīl* is far from certain: both directions of borrowing are in fact possible, but the word is absent in PLOT and TMEN. Steingass, on the other hand, treats the word as a loanword from Ottoman (634).

What seems certain is the fact that initial *z-* suggests that the word is not native in Turkic ("Initial *z-* is assumed not to have existed in Proto-Turkic, and

it still only occurs in loanwords”, Johanson 1998: 104), although *s*- > *z*- is attested in Turkish dialects, see s.v. ZURNA.

It is probable that the word is ultimately imitative, as suggested in W<sub>3</sub>, but the question of where the onomatopoeia was formed remains unsolved. In this vein, see Picken (1975: 16–7) on the possibility of deriving the word from the Semitic root  $\sqrt{sll}$  (cf. Leslau’s  $\sqrt{sll}$  above).

## ZURNA

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **zurna** [ˈzʊəna] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: *zurnau* (1776 Harmer *Observations* I: 416), *zourna* (1870 Engel<sub>2</sub>), *zurna* (1876 Steiner & Barrett<sub>2</sub>), *zurna* (1941 Bessarabov<sub>2</sub>), *zurnâ* (1953 Arbatsky<sub>2</sub>), *zurna* (1965 *Listener*), *zurna* (1976 *Southern Even. Echo*)

A Turkish pipe resembling a bagpipe or shawm.

## ETYMOLOGY:

1989: OED<sub>2</sub>: < T; cf. P *surnā*

2001: CannP: T *z/surna* ‘a shawm’ < P *sūrna* ‘a festival music pipe’

## COMMENTARY:

While the information in OED<sub>2</sub> is not erroneous, it is very laconic. On the other hand CannP is more informative, but less accurate. It correctly attributes the *s* ~ *z* variation to Ottoman, but the Persian form is misquoted. New Persian has سُرْنَا *surnā* ~ سوزنا *sūrānā* ~ سوزنای *sūrānāy* ‘a hautbois; a clarion’ (Steingass: 678, 708; also in ModP, Junker & Alavi 1977: 437).

The spelling in *z-* in English undoubtedly points to transmission through Ottoman. The earliest Turkic forms are in *s-*, e.g. the 14<sup>th</sup>-century derivative *surnacı* noted by Nişanyan or the 13<sup>th</sup>-century MKip. *suruna* found in *Codex Comanicus* (Drimba 2000: 94). The *z-* forms must have arisen in Ottoman at least by the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as reported by Farmer (1936: 21), who quotes such variants from Evliya Çelebi. Other examples of *s* > *z* are attested in dialectal Turkish as well (see Caferoğlu 1959: 250, §23221).

Persian also has *zurnā* ‘a trumpet, a hautbois’ (Steingass: 615), which could have been the source of the English form, though it is less probable given the semantics of the English usage. As *s* ~ *z* variation is not typical in Persian, the *z-* form in this language may be a returning loanword from Ottoman.



The New Persian form سورنای *sūrnāy* suggested to some the derivation from NP *sūr* ‘feast’ + *nāy* ‘reed’, see e.g. Nişanyan s.v. *zurna*, TDES: 471 and cf. Steingass’s gloss *sūrnāy* ‘a trumpet, a clarion blown on feast-days’. This derivation may be folk etymological, as the variation *u* ~ *ū* is not explained). Picken (1975: 485) reports two other proposals suggested to him by different scholars in personal communication. According to Baines, P *sūrnā(y)* < A *ṣūr* ‘horn’ + P *nā(y)*. Gershevitch (accepted by Bailey) derives P *\*surnāy* lit. ‘horn-reed’ from OIr *\*sru-nāda* ← *\*sru* ‘a horn’ + *\*nāda* ‘reed’ (cf. NEY). The lengthening in *sūrnāy* would be then caused by association with the aforementioned A *ṣūr* ‘horn’.



## 8. NAVAL TERMINOLOGY

### CAÏQUE

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **caïque** [ka:'i:k] (1888 OED<sub>1</sub>), [kar'i:k] ~ [ka:'i:k] (2008 LPD); AmE **caïque** [ka:'i:k] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [kar'i:k] ~ [ka:'i:k] ~ [kaɪk] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [kar'i:k] ~ [ka:'i:k] (2008 LPD)

FORMS: **1.** *Caiks* ~ *Caiques* (1625 Purchas<sub>2</sub>), *Kaik* (1650 Withers<sub>3</sub>),<sup>409</sup> *Caicks* (1702 Bruyn<sub>2</sub>), *caique* (1813 Byron<sub>3</sub>), *caique* (1814 Byron<sub>3</sub>),<sup>410</sup> *caïck* (1819 Hope<sub>3</sub>), *caïques* (1839 Pardoe<sub>3</sub>), *kyjiks* (1859 *All Year Round*<sub>3</sub>), *kaik* (1864 *London Rev.*<sub>2</sub>), *caïques* (1865 Ouida<sub>3</sub>) *caïque* (1884 Colborne<sub>2</sub>); **2.** *Caicche* (1666 *Lond. Gaz.*<sub>2</sub>), *Caïck* ~ *Caiques* (1741 Ozell<sub>3</sub>), *caique* (1820 Hughes<sub>3</sub>), *caïques* (1852 [1862] Conybeare<sub>2</sub>), *caique* (1861 Geikie<sub>2</sub>), *cayek* (1877 Burnaby<sub>3</sub>)

**caïquejee**: *caikjee* (1835 Willis<sub>2</sub>), *caïquejee* (1864 *Daily Tel.*<sub>2</sub>)

**1.** A light boat used esp. in the Bosphorus; **2.** A Levantine sailing vessel. Also **caïquejee**: a rower of a caïque.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1888: OED<sub>1</sub>: < F *caïque* < T *kaik*
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **caïque**: < T *qāiq* [qāyiq] 'a light wherry used for rowing esp. on the Bosp(h)orus'; the spelling *caique* is French; s.v. **caïquejee**: < T *qāiqjī* 'a rower of a caique, boatman'; s.v. **cayek**: < T; s.v. **kai(c)k**: < T
- 1903: Yule<sub>2</sub>: < T *kāik*; also connection with Eskimo *kayak* is suggested
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub>: < F *caique* < T *qāiq* 'a boat'
- 1924: Weekley: < F *caïque* < T *kaik*

<sup>409</sup> The same passage is attributed to Greaves and dated 1653 in OED<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>410</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this 1812.

- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **caïque**: < F < It. *caicco* < T *qāyiq*; s.v. **caïquejee**: < T *qāyiqji*  
 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **caïque i**: < earlier *caik* (× F *caïque* < T) < T *kayık*  
 1966: Klein: < F < It. *caicco* < T *kayık*  
 1966: ODEE: < F *caïque* < It. *caicco* < T *qaiq*  
 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>  
 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub>: < F < It. *caicco* < Ott. *qayiq* < OTkc. *qayghuq*  
 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

## COMMENTARY:

The romanization of Turkish forms in English dictionaries is confusing in three aspects: (1) the number of syllables is unclear; (2) the vowel harmony is distorted; (3) vowel length is marked inconsistently. The actual (Ottoman) Turkish form was disyllabic, back with respect to vowel quality and only had short vowels, just as the ModT *ḳayık*.

As for the English forms, all the relevant passages are set in Ottoman context. The majority of spellings reflect the Ottoman etymon as close as English orthography permits.<sup>411</sup> The use of diaeresis or the sequence *-que* may indicate transmission via French, as assumed by some authors above. This is not the only alternative, as simple influence of French spelling conventions may be in question here. In any case, the word is attested in French earlier than in English (*caïq* 1579, TLF s.v. *caïque*).

We also find English forms like *caicche* (1666), suggestive of the influence of Italian (orthography), which has led other authors to assume Italian mediation. The 1859 spelling *kyjiks* seems very awkward and the reason behind it remains unclear.

As far as further origin is concerned, the word seems to be native in Turkic. No relationship between it and “Eskimo” *qayaq* (cf. Yule<sub>2</sub>) can be reasonably justified, except for coincidental formal and semantic similarity. For a new review of the etymology of Tkc. *ḳayık*, as well as a convincing refutation of the Eskimo link, see de la Fuente (2010).

## CAR(A)MOUSSAL

PRONUNCIATION: AmE **caramoussal** [kəˈrɑːmʊˈsɑːl] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [ˌkærəməˈsæl] ~ [ˌkærəməsæl] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

<sup>411</sup> The sequence *-ayi*, which could be a closer rendering of [-ajw-] of the Turkish pronunciation, is extremely rare in English outside the context where it is heteromorphemic as in the gerund form of the verb (e.g. *paying*).

FORMS: *Caramussalos* (1565 Hieron. Comes Alexandrinus<sub>2</sub>),<sup>412</sup> *Caramusalins* (1572 Hakluyt<sub>5</sub>), *Carmosell* (1587 Saunders<sub>2</sub>), *Caramusalin* (1599 Hakluyt<sub>5</sub>), *Carmasals* (1615 [1670] Sandys<sub>2</sub>), *caramoussal* (1621 Knolles<sub>3</sub>),<sup>413</sup> *Carmoesalo* (1625 Purchas<sub>5</sub>), *Caramusalls* (1651 Howell<sub>2</sub>), *carmasal*, *carmusol* (1656 Blount<sub>2</sub>), *carmizale* (1665 [1868] Digby<sub>3</sub>),<sup>414</sup> *Caramosil* (1668 Wilkins<sub>2</sub>), *Carmousal* (1696 Phillips<sub>2</sub>), *Caramousel* ~ *Carmousal* (1721–1800 Bailey<sub>2</sub>)<sup>415</sup>

A Turkish merchant vessel used for transporting grain in the Mediterranean, especially in the 16<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **caramousal**, **carmousal**: < It. *caramusal(ino)*, *car-amussale* or F *carmoussal* ‘a Turkish merchantman, a Moorish transport ship’; << T *qarāmūsāl* (perh. through VL *caramussalus*) ‘a kind of ship’; s.v. **carmasal**, **carmizale**, **carmoesalo**, **carmosell**, **carmousal**, **carmusol**: < It
- 1893: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **caramoussal**, **carmousal**: in It. ‘*caramusāli* ‘a kind of ship in Ormuz’, *caramusalino* ‘a kind of pinnace or bark’ (Florio), *caramussāle* ‘a Turkish merchantman’ (Baretti), Sp. *caramuzal* ‘transport vessel used by the Moors’ (Velasquez), F. *carmoussal* ‘a kind of Turkish ship’ (Cotgr.), 16<sup>th</sup> cent. L *caramussallus*, T قراموسال *qarāmūsāl* ‘a kind of ship’ (Meninski 1680, Zenker 1866). (*Kara-mussal* is also the name of a place in the Gulf of Nicomedia near the Bosphorus.)
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **caramoussal**: < T *qarāmūsāl*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **caramoussal**: < T *karamürsel*, *karamusal*; perhaps ← *kara* ‘black’ + *mürsel* ‘envoy, apostle’
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>

#### COMMENTARY:

##### 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

Stanford rightly mentions Romance transmission. The Ottoman Turkish form the author quotes, i.e. *qarāmūsāl*, is a romanization of قراموسال and the vowel

<sup>412</sup> This is a Latin text written in England.

<sup>413</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1603 (1<sup>st</sup> edition), but apparently the passage had not been introduced before 1621 (3<sup>rd</sup> edition) as rightly corrected in OED<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>414</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1628.

<sup>415</sup> In a number of editions of Bailey’s dictionary.

length is only graphic (i.e. the pronunciation would be more similar to the form *karamusal* given in  $W_3$ ).

Murray gives similar information in OED<sub>1</sub>, but supports the forms he quotes by references to his sources. Florio's It. *caramusáli* which he quotes looks like an Italian plural (also see Arveiller's comments on F *caramoussali*, 1999: 275–6). Curiously enough, Florio himself glosses it as if it were singular. Murray also mentions the name of the city in the Gulf of İzmit (former Nicomedia), which indeed seems to be related (see below). Nevertheless, he seems to hesitate over the mutual connections between the Romance and Turkish forms.

$W_3$  is exceptional in giving a different form, *karamürsel*, beside *karamusal* and advancing a provisional etymological analysis of it, but no comment as to the differences between the two forms is offered.

## 2. English forms and their Romance origins

Romance influence is occasionally reflected in the shape of the English forms. We find spellings in *-ou-* for [u], which point to French influence. Two forms end in *-in*, which goes back to the Romance diminutive ending, cf. F *caramuscolin* (1575) < It. *caramuzzalino* (1573) (Hope 1971 I 174; also cf. Florio's *caramusalino* quoted in OED<sub>2</sub>).

Beside English, syncopated forms are found in French as well – cf. *carmoussal* (1595), *Carmoussal* (1615), *carmoussales* (c1621), all given by Arveiller, as well as *carmoussal* (1605; cited in FEW: 87) – but these may be independent.

Although the chronology does not directly support such a hypothesis (it does not contradict it either), it is reasonable for formal and historical reasons to assume the following transmission route: Ottoman > Italian (Venetian) > English (with possible partial French mediation between Venetian and English). In the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the word was transmitted into English, French had lively contact with Venetian, which was still the dominant language in the Mediterranean commerce. The direction It. > F is assumed by Hope (1971 I 174, 280) and is supported convincingly by Arveiller (1999: 274–8). On the Ottoman form see the next section.

## 3. Ottoman Turkish form

Turkic origin of the term seems to be universally accepted and seems to be corroborated by historical evidence, although *karamürsel* itself has its own problems.

The hypothesis advanced in  $W_3$  that *karamürsel* is a compound composed directly of *kara* + *mürsel*, although plausible formally, is not convincing from the semantic point of view. Ottoman مرسل *mürsel* (< A) is glossed as 'sent with a message or mission; an envoy, messenger; an apostle, a missionary' (Redhouse: 1810),

whereas *ḳara* is a Turkic word meaning 'black'. A phrase like 'the black messenger' or 'the black apostle' would indeed be rendered as *ḳara mürsel* in Turkish, but it seems too elevated stylistically (*mürsel* is marked as learned in RTOİS: 826) to have been applied to a type of ship, whose mere function was transportation ('small craft carrying cargo', RTOİS: 604).

Another explanation, alluded to in the OED<sub>1</sub>, seems more promising. According to LFL (§467), the Turkish name *ḳaramusal* - *ḳaramursal* - *ḳaramürsel* (recorded from the 16<sup>th</sup> century) is probably related to *Ḳaramürsel* - *Ḳaramusal*, the name of the city in the Gulf of İzmit. The authors quote Vidos (1939) as the source of this hypothesis, and the same reference is repeated in FEW: 87, and Hope 1971 I: 280, but the association had been known at least since 1890 (Redhouse: 1450, s.v. قره مرسل 'name of a peculiar kind of craft built at Karamursal on the gulf of Nicomedia, and formerly used for transport service'). Both FEW and Hope accept the derivation. It is also endorsed by historians like Robert Mantran (1963) quoted by Braudel (1995: 115–6, n. 44),<sup>416</sup> although Bosworth (1983: 13, n. 17) considers the association folk-etymological.

In Turkish historiography (but not only) the place name is commonly assumed to be related to a certain Karamürsel Bey, also known as Mürsel Alp (*Ḳara* 'black' being a nickname). This name appears first in Ottoman anonymous chronicles (Giese 1925). It is said there that as a reward for his part in the taking of İzmit, Mürsel Alp was offered the Bithynian town of Prenetus or Pronektos, which was then renamed after the new owner (Giese 1925: 21, see also Hammer-Purgstall 1827: 84 and Angelov 1956: 230). According to Özden (1988: 73) it was there that Karamürsel Bey established the first Ottoman shipyard, initially for military purposes.

Although the story seems to be well established in historiography (Sabaev 2002: 242), some historians express doubts as to the authenticity of Karamürsel Bey (Imber 1993: 71).

A serious argument against this scenario is raised by Corriente (2008: 248), who also suggests his own, very interesting hypothesis. He rejects the possibility that *ḳara mürsel*, which he glosses as 'the black prophet', could be used with reference to the alleged inventor of the ship (> 'the ship', 'the placename') on the grounds that such use would be blasphemous for a Muslim, as there is only one Prophet. He prefers to derive the word from a corruption by the Western merchants of Ott. *\*Ḳaramürseli*, a gentilic of *\*Ḳaramürse* (← *ḳara* + *mürse*, lit. 'black anchorage, anchorage on the continent'), which could have been the original place name. Namely, this would be distorted by Europeans into *ḳaramürsel* by

<sup>416</sup> Mantran misspells the name as *\*Haramürsel*.

folk-etymological association with ‘messenger, prophet’. Ott. مرسى ~ مرسى *mürsa* (beside *mersa*) ‘anchorage, harbour’ is attested as early as Meninski (1680: 4572; also Redhouse: 1810).

Ott. *karamusal* ‘mooring swivel’ (also ‘navigii genus’, Meninski 1680: 3660) could perhaps be seen as another returning loan from European *caramoussal*.

## GALIONGEE

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **galiongee** [gæljənˈdʒi:] (1898 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **galiongee** [ˌgæljənˈdʒi:] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [ˌgæljənˈdʒi:] ~ [ˌgæliːənˈdʒi:] ~ [ˌgæljənˈdʒi:] ~ [ˌgæliːənˈdʒi:] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *Galiongée* (1813 Byron<sub>2</sub>), *Galiongee* (1821 *Blackw. Mag.*<sub>2</sub>), *Galiongees* (1823 Sheridan<sub>2</sub>)

A Turkish sailor.

### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **galiongee, galionjī** : < T *qālyūnji* ‘a galion-man’
- 1898: OED<sub>1</sub>: < T قاليونجي *qālyūnji* ← *qālyūn* < It. *galeone* ‘galleon’
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **galiongee**: also *galionji* < T *qālyūnji* ‘a man-of-war’s man’ < *qālyūn* ‘man-of-war’ < It. *galeone*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **galiongee**: < T *kalyonçı* ‘man-of-war’s man’ < *kalyon* ‘man-of-war, galleon’ < It. *galeone* < OSp. *galeón*
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>

### COMMENTARY:

The etymological information in English dictionaries is overall correct. A few remarks are in order. First, the romanizations of Ottoman forms in Stanford and OED<sub>1</sub> reflect the spelling rather than pronunciation (see below). It is the form in W<sub>3</sub> that is closer to the actual pronunciation, although *-çi* incorrectly suggests a voiceless pronunciation of the affricate and a disharmonic vowel. Modern Standard Turkish has *kalyoncu* [kaljonˈdʒu] ‘a sailor on a galleon, a soldier of the navy’ (TRS: 503), with the expected voicing of the suffix consonant and a back harmonic variant of the suffix vowel.

The forms in *-i* point to an earlier Ottoman variant, i.e. قاليونجي *kalyonçī* ‘a man-of-war’s man’ (Redhouse: 1423; marked as obsolete). The final *-i* instead of *-u* is due to the fact that labial harmony became stable only in Late Ottoman (see section 5.2.2 in the Introduction). Given this fact as well as the variety of



forms attested for the base *ḱalyon* (see LFL: §318), we should expect at least several more pronunciation variants in (Early) Ottoman, including a form similar to ModT *ḱalyoncu* (actually attested in the late 19<sup>th</sup>-century genitive plural *ḱalyonḡuların*, LFL: §318) as well as others including *\*ḡalyonḡı* ~ *\*ḡalyonḡu* (cf. *ḡalyonlar*, *ibid.*), i.e. forms closer to their Italian (or rather Venetian) etymon. The former could be postulated as the source of the form used by Byron in 1813 (i.e. the first attestation of the word). Adaptation of It. *g* variably as Ott. *ḡ* ~ *ḱ* was not uncommon (cf. *ḡalerya* ~ *ḱalarya* < It. *galleria*, LFL §320).

Consequently, the transmission could be summarized in the following way: E *galiongee* < Ott. *\*ḡalyonḡı* (~ *ḱalyonḡı*) ← *ḡalyon* ~ *ḱalyon* < Ven. *galiòn*.

## GULET

PRONUNCIATION: BrE/AmE **gulet** [gu:'let] (2005 OED<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *gulets* (1986 *Financial Times*<sub>3</sub>), *gulet* (1998 *Artist*<sub>3</sub>), *Gulets* (2003 *Los Angeles Times*<sub>3</sub>)

A sailing boat, usually ketch- or schooner-rigged, chiefly used in the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, esp. for holiday cruises.

## ETYMOLOGY:

2005: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **gulet**: < T *gulet* 'sailing warship, schooner, brigantine' < F *goélette*, †*goulette*, probably via It. *goletta*; cf. ModGk. *γολέτα* and earlier E *goelette* 'a light schooner-rigged sailing boat used chiefly in North America, typically broad-beamed with two masts' (< F); T *gulet* became popular in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the growth of Turkish coastal tourism

## COMMENTARY:

Transmission from Turkish into English seems uncontroversial. As to the origin of the former, the possibility that the French word was transmitted via Italian (or Venetian) is mentioned by Nişanyan (see ÇTES s.v. *gulet*). However, because the French etymon of all these forms, F *goélette* is itself late (1740; TLF s.v. *goélette*), this is less likely. In general, Italian borrowings in Ottoman are abundant in the earlier period, when the Levant commerce was flourishing and Ottoman Turkish was under heavy influence of Italian and Greek (see LFL), whereas towards the end of the Ottoman Empire it was French that acted as the main source of borrowings.

The hiatus in the French word [gɔ.ɛ'lɛt ~ gɔ.ɛ'lɛt] would have to be eliminated in Ottoman. However, the expected form *\*gelet*<sup>417</sup> is not attested. In this context, F *goulette* [gʊ'lɛt] (exclusive to the 18<sup>th</sup> century according to OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. *goelette*) seems a better candidate for the immediate etymon of the Turkish word.

## KELEK

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **kelek** ['kɛlɪk] (1901 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **kelek** ['kɛlək] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: *Kilet* (1678 Tavernier *The Voyages* I: 72),<sup>418</sup> *kellick* (1840 Fraser<sub>2</sub>), *keleks* (1872 Yeats<sub>2</sub>)

A raft made of reeds used on rivers in Turkey, in Asia.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **kelleck, kellick**: < T *kelek* 'a raft supported by inflated sheep-skins, used on rivers of Syria and the neighbouring countries'; also *kilet* < T  
 1901: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **kelek**: < T كلك *kalak, kelek*  
 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **kelek**: < A & T *kalak* < P *kalk*  
 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>

## COMMENTARY:

### 1. English forms

The earliest form *kilet* (1678) is the most puzzling. While the change *e > i* is probably caused by the palatalized quality of the initial consonant in Ott. *kelek* (pronounced [k'ɛlək']), the reason for the dissimilation *k-k > k-t* is less obvious. The *-t* form is consistently used on multiple occasions in the French original (1676, Tavernier *Les Voyages* I: 177, where the passage in question is to be found, as well as 203, 204 and 245). A derivation like *kilet* < T, as formulated in Stanford, would suggest that the dissimilation occurred in Turkish, which is not the case. The French form must be an inverse spelling, reflecting the loss of final consonants in French.<sup>419</sup>

<sup>417</sup> The usual strategy of hiatus elimination in such cases (i.e. in trisyllabic and longer words) would be to contract the two syllables in question by deleting the first one as the second one is usually in harmony with the ones that follow (M. Stachowski, p.c.).

<sup>418</sup> I used the 1678 edition of the translation of Tavernier, because I could not obtain a copy of the first edition of 1677.

<sup>419</sup> The possibility of a folk-etymological association with GULET is tempting, but the chronology definitely rules it out.

The spelling of the second vowel in the second form probably indicates that the difference in stress between the English form (initial) and its Turkish etymon (final) was present already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## 2. The Turkish form

Redhouse notes كلك *kelek* ‘a kind of raft chiefly in use on the Tigris and Euphrates, constructed of inflated skins’ (1563), which is identical to the modern form. The vowel variation reported in OED<sub>1</sub> is not in fact found in Turkish. However, كلك *kalak* is found in Iraqi Arabic (AED: 837). In Ottoman, the spelling كلك would always be pronounced in [e–e], given that the initial and the final consonants are spelled ك instead of ق (see section 5.1.2 of the Introduction).

It should be noted that the word is not originally Turkic. As indicated in the gloss in Redhouse, *keleks* were a typical means of transport of goods and people on the Tigris and Euphrates. Agius (2008: 119) reports that they were propelled down the river and upon reaching their destination, the cargo was unloaded, the raft dismantled and its parts sold while the journey back was made by land.<sup>420</sup>

Thus, Ott. *kelek* goes back to A *kalak*, which was used in that language at least since the Middle Ages (no records in Classical Arabic),<sup>421</sup> whereas the latter may be derived from Aramaic or Akkadian (see Agius 2008: 120 and references therein).

## KETCH

PRONUNCIATION: BrE/AmE **ketch** [kɛʃ] (1901 OED<sub>1</sub>, 1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>, 2008 LPD)

FORMS: A: *cache* (1481–90 [1841] *Howard Househ. Bks.*<sub>2</sub>), *Catches* (1561 Eden<sub>2</sub>), *catch* (1580 Bingham<sub>2</sub>), *Catches* (1624 Capt. Smith<sub>2</sub>), *caches* (1642 [1735] Nicholas<sub>2</sub>), *Catches* (a1661 [1883] Glanville<sub>3</sub>),<sup>422</sup> *Catches* (1693 Urquhart & Motteux<sub>3</sub>)<sup>423</sup>

<sup>420</sup> Also see an illustration of a *kelek* in Agius (2008: 120).

<sup>421</sup> While many Arabic words were transmitted into Ottoman via Persian, it is safer to assume direct transmission from Arabic here. The Persian form is کالک *kālak* (Agius *op. cit.* 120; also Steingass: 1008: ‘a kind of sandal’, cf. SANDAL). The usual adaptations were P *ā* > Ott. *a* and P *a* > Ott. *e*. While ك [k] and ل [l], which in native words occurred in the neighbourhood of front vowels, had the tendency to palatalize the neighbouring vowels in borrowings, this was by no means universal, cf. e.g. کآر [kʰar] ‘profit, gain’ (< P *kār* ‘work’).

<sup>422</sup> Dated to 1625 in OED<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>423</sup> Dated to a1693 in OED<sub>2</sub>.

**B:** *ketch* (1655 Cromwell<sub>2</sub>), *Ketch* (1665 *Lond. Gaz.*<sub>2</sub>), *ketch* (1687 Randolph<sub>5</sub>), *Ketches* (1704 Pitts<sub>5</sub>), *ketch* (1720 DeFoe<sub>2</sub>), *ketch fashion* (1819 Rees), *ketch-rigged* (1845 Nicolas<sub>2</sub>), *ketch* (1876 Hardy<sub>2</sub>), *ketch rig* (1891 *Daily News*<sub>2</sub>)

A strongly-built two-masted vessel, initially used as a bomb-vessel.

#### ETYMOLOGY:

- 1882: Skeat<sub>1</sub> s.v. **ketch**: corr. < T *qaiq*, *qáiq* ‘a boat, skiff’ (It. *caicco* = F *caïque*); also F *caiche*, *quaiche* id. (< E) and Du. *kits* id. (< E)
- 1888: Skeat<sub>2</sub> = Skeat<sub>1</sub>
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **ketch**: < Du. *kits* < T *qāiq* ‘boat, wherry; a small broad stout two-masted vessel’; such craft were much used as bomb-vessels
- 1901: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **ketch**, n.1: Later form of *cache*, ‘catch (refers to *catch*, n.2), with *e* for *a* as in *keg*, *kennel*, *kestrel*, etc; s.v. **catch**, n.2: Middle English *cache*; probably < *catch* ‘to chase, to drive’, *catch* ‘the act of catching’; the later *ketch* is analogous to *keg* for *cag*, *kennel* for *cannel*, etc.; It may be the noun *catch* n.<sup>1</sup> (in Middle English *cach(e)*) in sense 4 ‘chase, pursuit’, as *yacht* is Dutch *jagt*, *yacht* ‘chase, pursuit’, for *jachtschip*, *jageschip*, in reference to its swiftness
- 1910: Skeat<sub>4</sub> s.v. **ketch**: formerly *catch* < *catch* n. < *catch* vb. (reference to OED<sub>1</sub>)
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **ketch**: earlier also *catch* (15<sup>th</sup> cent.), which may be from verb *to catch*, Old Northern F *cachier* ‘to hunt’ (cf. *yacht*); Du. *kits*, F *caiche*, *quaiche* < E
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **ketch**: probably < *catch* n. or v.
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **ketch**: alteration of earlier *catch* < ME *cache* probably < *cacchen* ‘to chase, catch’
- 1966: Klein s.v. **ketch**: < F *catch* < vb. *catch* ‘seize’
- 1966: ODEE: earlier *cache*; perh. < CATCH; for the vowel cf. KEDGE
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub>: ME *cache* ← *cacchen* ‘to catch’
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> = AHD<sub>3</sub>

#### COMMENTARY:

The derivation found in Stanford and Skeat<sub>1,2</sub> seems to have fallen into oblivion and rightly so. The connection between E *ketch* and T *kayık* is implausible for a number of reasons. Phonetically, there is nothing that would explain the

palatalization T [k] > E [tʃ]<sup>424</sup> or the reduction T [ajw] > E [e]. Moreover, such a scenario would be highly unlikely from the point of view of chronology: the earliest occurrence, *cache* (1481–90), seems too early to be due to Turkish influence on English. The number of words that entered English from Turkish in the 15<sup>th</sup> century is considerably limited.<sup>425</sup>

To sum up, the hypothesis advanced in OED<sub>1</sub> seems plausible and no connection with the Ottoman word should be assumed. Cf. CAÏQUE.

## MAHONE

PRONUNCIATION: AmE **mahone** [mə'hoʊn] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>)

FORMS: **mahone**: *Maones* (1572 [1599] Malim<sub>2</sub>),<sup>426</sup> *Mahumez* (1585 Washington<sub>2</sub>),<sup>427</sup> *Mahoons* (1651 Howell<sub>2</sub>), *Mahones* (1658 Monmouth<sub>2</sub>), *Mahoon* (1696 Phillips<sub>2</sub>), *Maa-humes* (1709 Hill<sub>2</sub>) *Mahone* (1858 Simmonds<sub>2</sub>), *Mahone - Mahonna - Maon* (1867 Smyth<sub>2</sub>)

**mahonnet**: *mahonnets* (1524 *Begynnyng Ordre Knyghtes Hospytallers*)<sup>428</sup>

A flat-bottomed Turkish sailing vessel; a barge, a lighter.

## ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **maone**: < It. *maona* 'a large Turkish barge or lighter', also called *mahon(n)e* (< F *mahonne*); << T *maghūna* 'a barge'
- 1904: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **mahone**: occurs as F *mahonne*, Sp. *mahona*, It. *maona*, T مآونة *māwuna*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **mahone**: < F *mahonne*, Sp. *mahona*, It. *maona* < T *māwunah*
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1994: CannA s.v. **mahone**: < F *mahonne*, Sp. *mahona*, It. *maona* < T *māwuna* < A *mā'ūnah* 'lighter, barge'

<sup>424</sup> Turkish ق *k* is pronounced as velar [k] or uvular [q] (depending on the dialect). The palatal [kʲ] is always written ك.

<sup>425</sup> Among the words investigated as part of this thesis, there is only one, **BOCASIN**, that seems to date back to that time.

<sup>426</sup> Stanford quotes this under the date of publication 1599.

<sup>427</sup> The editors also supply the form *Mahomez* which occurs in the same spot in the French original.

<sup>428</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> quotes the same passage from Hakluyt's collection and dates it to *c.* 1599.

- 2009: OED<sub>3</sub> s.v. **mahone**: < It. *maona* (a1566) or MF *mahonne* (1559; also *mahomme* (1544), *maonne* (1553), and probably earlier as plural *mahonnez* [reference to *mahonnet*], Sp. *mahona*, Pg. *maona*, medieval Gk. *μαοῦνα*, all of roughly similar date) < T *mavuna*, *mavna*, of uncertain origin; cf. A *ma'ūna* (probably) 'storeship' (cf. EgA *mā'ūna* 'lighter, barge'); s.v. **mahonnet**: < MF *mahonnez* (in the source of quotation 1524), probably as plural of \**mahonnet* < *mahonne* (reference to *mahone*) + *-et* (N.E.D. (1904) indicates the stress as *ma'honnet*)

#### COMMENTARY:

##### 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

Stanford spells the Turkish form in *-gh-* as if transliterating from the Ottoman *ğ gayn*, which does not follow from the actual Ottoman spellings (but cf. below). Closer to the attested Turkish spellings is the one quoted in OED<sub>1</sub>, which has *-w-* for *ğ*, *vāv*. The actual pronunciation was probably similar to that found in Modern Turkish, i.e. *mavına* 'barge, lighter, scow' (beside *mávna*, TRS: 608). The differences in vowel length only reflect graphic variation.<sup>429</sup>

The editors of OED<sub>3</sub> provide a list of orthographic variants in Romance, which account for the forms found in English. However, the variation in the second consonant in these forms remains to be explained.

The only English dictionaries which go beyond Ottoman in their discussion of the word's origin are CannA and OED<sub>3</sub>. The latter concludes that the source of the Ottoman forms is unknown, although two Arabic variants are offered for comparison, whereas the former is quite decisive in postulating the direction Arabic > Ottoman. Importantly, it seems that *mā'ūna* 'lighter, barge' seems to be limited to Egyptian Arabic (so in AED: 1074), which is pointed out in OED<sub>3</sub> but not in CannA. On the other hand, the editors of OED<sub>3</sub> quote the semantically similar A *ma'ūna*, but the source of this form and the meaning of the phrasing "(probably) storeship" remain unknown.

<sup>429</sup> Vowel length was retained in careful (educated) pronunciation of Arabic words and phrases in Ottoman. However, the word was part of the everyday vocabulary of merchants, whose speech either was or was influenced by colloquial Ottoman, where both vowels were likely to be shortened. The variable spellings found in both the Ottoman forms (in Arabic script) as well as transcription texts (in Latin script) testify to a considerable variety of pronunciations, which indirectly points to the high frequency of the word in spoken contexts.

## 2. The Ottoman Turkish forms and their origin

There are three orthographic variants included in Redhouse: *ماعونه* *mā'una* (1658) ~ *ماعونه* *mā'una* (1917) ~ *ماونه* *mavuna* 'a barge, a large lighter'; 2. 'an ancient kind of sailing ship' 3. 'a cheek on which the cross-trees rest below the head of a mast' (1663).<sup>430</sup> In RTOIS (738) beside *mavuna* we also find an earlier *maune* as well as *mavna*. To these S. Stachowski (ALOT II 83) adds a few more variants found in transcription texts: *mavona* (1641), *mauna* (1677), *mahuna* (1680), *mavuna* (1790), *mavna* (1790).

The initial *m-* points to the word being non-native in Ottoman (Räsänen 1949: 210, Johanson 1998: 31). Thus, Arabic origin is postulated by S. Stachowski (ALOT II: 83) and, albeit with hesitation, Doerfer (TMEN IV 19–20, §1736). There are nevertheless considerable differences between the two authors.

According to Stachowski, Ott. < EgA *mā'ūna* 'Leichter, Lastkahn, Schiff', whereas in Doerfer sees two possible solutions:

- (a) A *mā'ūna* 'Hilf, Beistand, Unterstützung' >> Ott. *mavuna* 'a barge, large lighter' (> EgA *mā'ūna*), with the following semantic evolution: 'help, assistance, support' > 'tax collected to finance food provisions for the army' > 'storehouse (where the supplies were kept); barge (on which they were transported)';
- (b) EgA *mā'ūn* 'Gefäß' → *mā'ūna* 'Leichter, Lastkahn' > Ott. *mauna* ~ *mavuna*.

The semantic development in (a) is based largely on a number of metaphorical meanings listed in Dozy (1881 II: 192) and attested either in Arabic itself, like 'impôt dont le produit sert à l'approvisionnement de l'armée en campagne' or in Italian *maona* 13<sup>th</sup> c. 'espèce de banque privée'<sup>431</sup> or in the Toscanian dialect 'grands magasins sont appelés aujourd'. According to Doerfer, the fact that the subsequent stages in the postulated semantic evolution involve meanings attested in different languages may be attributed to the multilingual nature of the merchant community. Despite the rather speculative character of this analysis, Doerfer seems to favour it over the one in (b), because he considers it impossible to reconstruct a similar gradual evolution for the change 'utensil, container' > 'lighter, barge' (TMEN IV: 20).

As for this last point, the semantic evolution in (b) is in fact plausible, despite Doerfer's scepticism. The first reason is that lighters and barges are used to transport goods, which means storage is to some extent involved. Moreover, there is a semantic parallel in the development of L *vascellum* 'a small urn or casket for a dead person's

<sup>430</sup> This last meaning is etymologically a separate word (< Gk. *μάγουλα* ← pl. of *μάγουλο* 'cheek') which has fallen together with our *mavuna*, etc. (LFL: 541, §805).

<sup>431</sup> This gloss, which Doerfer quotes, like the other ones, from Dozy, is perhaps misleading. This probably refers to *maona* 'joint stock company for an overseas enterprise' (the gloss is due to Mantello & Rigg 1999: 309), e.g. as in the Genoese *Maona di Chios*.

ashes' (OLD: 2014), lit. 'a small vase' (← diminutive of *vās* 'a container for liquids or food'). The semantic extension to 'ship' is reflected in modern Romance languages, e.g. F *vaisseau* 'navire, bateau' (already OF *veissel* c1195, TLF s.v. *vaisseau*).<sup>432</sup>

Strengthened by this parallel, the hypothesis in (b) appears at least as convincing as the one in (a) and at this point it is a matter of personal taste which of the two is accepted.<sup>433</sup>

Whatever the case, the second consonant in the Ottoman forms (and their European counterparts) is a reflex of the Arabic letter ع *ʿayn*, which is realised in Arabic as a pharyngeal [ʕ] or an epiglottal [ħ] fricative. It is alien to Ottoman and the notations above represent various attempts at rendering it in speech and writing. The first Ottoman form quoted in the preceding paragraph represents the Arabic orthography (cf. ماعونة *māʿūna* 'lighter, barge', AED: 1074), whose influence is also seen in all forms that retain the letter ع. In Ottoman words of Arabic origin the corresponding segment was most typically elided (M. Stachowski 2009: 21). In this case this resulted in a hiatus, the varying phonetic realization of which is reflected in the transcriptions quoted above, cf. *mauna* ~ *maune* (with a possible glottal stop [ʔ]) and *mahuna* (with the glottal fricative [h]). On the other hand, the transcriptions *mavona* ~ *mavuna* ~ *mavna* (the last one < *mavuna*, through elision) seem to point to adaptation through labialization of Arabic [ʕ] or [ħ], which was triggered by the presence of the following [u].

While Modern Standard Turkish retains the form *mavuna* ~ *mavna* (TRS: 608), it is the other variants that are reflected in the European forms of the word.

## SAIC

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **saic** ['seɪɪk] (1909 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **saic** [sa:'i:k] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [sa:'i:k] ~ ['sa:ɪk] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **A:** *Saichs* (1667 Lond. Gaz.<sub>2</sub>), *Saïc* (1686 Chardin<sub>2</sub>), *Saiques* (1687 Lovell<sub>2</sub>), *Saicks* (1715 *Comm. Jrnls.*<sub>2</sub>), *Saicks* (1741 Ozell<sub>3</sub>), *Saïc* (1769 [1780] Falconer<sub>2</sub>), *Saick* (1814 Byron<sub>3</sub>),<sup>434</sup> *saique* (1834 Morier<sub>2</sub>)

**B:** *Shykes* (1704 Pitts<sub>2</sub>), *scheick* (1775 [1825] Chandler<sub>3</sub>)

<sup>432</sup> Beside, Medieval Latin itself has at least seven attestations of *vās* 'navis' (see DC VIII: 247). Also cf. E *vessel*, where both senses are retained to some extent.

<sup>433</sup> Incidentally, the relevant entry is missing from Prokotsch's standard study of words of Ottoman origin in Egyptian Arabic (1983). While it does not mean that Prokotsch would embrace the hypothesis in (b), it may suggest that he would reject the one in (a) (unless the omission is accidental).

<sup>434</sup> The same is given under 1813 in OED<sub>2</sub>.



A kind of sailing vessel used in the Mediterranean and in the Black Sea.

ETYMOLOGY:

- 1892: Stanford s.v. **saic**, **saik**: < F *saique* < T *shāiqā* ‘a kind of ketch, Turkish or Grecian, common in the Levant’; s.v. **shyke**: < T  
 1909: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **saic**: < F *saique* < T شايقا *shāiqā*  
 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **saic**: < F *saique* < T *shāyqah*  
 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **saic**: < F *saique* < T *şayka*  
 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>

COMMENTARY:

1. The treatment in English dictionaries

The entries in English dictionaries are essentially the same, although the representation of the (Ottoman) Turkish form is varied, with Stanford, OED<sub>1-2</sub> and W<sub>2</sub> adopting varying transliterations and W<sub>3</sub> offering a transcription. Disregarding vowel length, which was only graphic, the transliteration *shāiqā* could suggest a pronunciation similar to the modern trisyllabic variant *şayika*. However, the latter is reported exclusively for Modern Turkish. It is therefore more likely that *yā* transliterated as *ī* stands for the consonantal [j].

None of the authors comments on the change *š*- > F *s*-, which is unexpected given the presence of [ʃ] in the phonemic system of French.

2. English usage and transmission routes

Type A forms exhibit the influence of Romance – cf. It. *saicca* (the earliest attestation seems to be the Venetian plural *saiche* 1533 [1902] Sanuto *Diarii* LVII: 406) and F *saique* (as *saiq* 1628 and *saique* 1648, TLF s.v. *saique*) – or spoken Greek, cf. ModGk. *σαϊκα* ‘saicca galera’ (quoted in HLSL III: 40). Some of them may nevertheless reflect Turkish usage (e.g. *saiques* 1687). The substitution *š*- > *s*- may point to transmission via Greek, where it was a regular device in the adaptation of words from Ottoman (Horrocks 2010: 379).

Type B forms seem to be attempts to render the Turkish form directly, with possible influence of German orthography (*scheick* 1775).

2. The problem of the ultimate origin

Modern Turkish has two forms, *şayika* and *şáyka* (TRS: 805 and 806 respectively), whereas Ottoman only had *şáyka* (RTOİS: 1051), beside the less frequent *čayka* (TMEN III: 331). Although many sources follow Miklosich (1886: 336; cf. also Lokotsch: §1780; Vasmer IV: 312) in postulating Ottoman as the source, it

appears that the word is not native in Turkic. Because this has no immediate bearing on the etymology of the English word, a few remarks will be sufficient.

Initial *š-* is secondary in Turkish (see Räsänen 1949: 179 and TMEN III: 331) and none of the situations described as giving rise to it seems to occur in the case of *šayka*.<sup>435</sup> Consequently, Kononov's hypothesis (quoted in Šipova 1976 s.v. *чайка II*) that the root here is Common Tk. *čay* 'stream, small river', while a possible explanation for Kaz. *šayka*,<sup>436</sup> does not account for ModT *š-*.<sup>437</sup> Moreover, such an etymology would leave unexplained the existence of the trisyllabic Turkish variant *şayka*. Finally, the stress pattern *šáyka* makes it rather unlikely that the word is Turkic, as already remarked by Doerfer (*loc. cit.*). All these points suggest that this hypothesis has to be rejected.

Alternatively one could assume that the word is a borrowing in Tk. This is suggested in Hadrovics (1985: 463; original formulation in 1956), whereby Ott. *šayka* < Hu. *sajka* < MedL/OIt. *sagitteā* - *sagettia* - *saettia* - *sayteia* - *saytea* 'schnelles, leichtes Schiff' (also see du Cange 1883–7 VII: 267, s.v. *sagitta* 1).<sup>438</sup> The change *-ta* > *-ka* is attributed to influence of Hu. *barka* 'barge' and others, but *s-* > *š-* is unexplained. This and other considerations lead M. Stachowski (2014) to reject this solution and suggest tentatively that the word results from contamination of two unrelated lexemes, a Mediterranean *s-t* word and an Eastern European *č-k* form (cf. e.g. Pol. *czajka* 'fast, manoeuvrable boat' < 'peewit' and see *ibid.* for details).

Despite its problematic origin, it may be safely assumed that the two transmission routes were the following: type A < French or Italian or Greek (F < It. < Gk. < Ott); type B < Ottoman.

## SANDAL

PRONUNCIATION: BrE/AmE **sandal** ['sændəl] (1909 OED<sub>1</sub>, 1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: *sandalls* (1742 [1753] Woodroffe<sub>2</sub>), *sandal* (1862 FP Oct 7: 88), *sandal* (1877 Edwards<sub>2</sub>), *sandal* (1898 Higinbotham *Report*: 257)

<sup>435</sup> These are (a) through aphaeresis, e.g. T *šu* 'that' = Krg. *ošū*, Tat *uši* 'id' [< PTkc \**ošī* - M. U.]; and (b) through assimilation, e.g. T *šiš-* 'swell' < \**siš-*.

<sup>436</sup> Caferoğlu identifies *-ka* with the suffix found in T *başka* 'other, another', *arka* 'the back, the space behind' etc., and interprets its meaning as diminutive (1970: 11).

<sup>437</sup> Ottoman had *šayka*, beside less frequent *čayka*, which Doerfer (TMEN III: 331) explains as a Turkicized form created in order to avoid the phonotactically marked word-initial *š-*.

<sup>438</sup> This account is accepted in Benkő (ed.) (1967–84), TDES: 384, and HSL III: 40.

A long, narrow two-masted boat used in the Levant and on the northern coast of Africa.

ETYMOLOGY:

- 1909: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **sandal, n. 3**: < T, P سَنْدَل *sandal*, A صَنْدَل *ṣandal* (Dozy); cf. late Gk. σάνδαλον ~ σανδάλιον, F *sandale*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **sandal**: 'a narrow two-masted boat, used on the Barbary coast and on the Nile' < A *ṣandal* < P *sandal* 'skiff'
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **sandal 4** = W<sub>2</sub>
- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> = OED<sub>1</sub>
- 1994: CannA s.v. **sandal 2**: < A < P 'skiff'
- 2001: CannP s.v. **sandal 2**: < A *ṣandal* (< P 'a skiff') & P & T *sandal* 'a rowing boat'

COMMENTARY:

The following scenarios seem to be offered in the dictionaries listed above: either E < T & P & A (without explaining the mutual connections; OED<sub>1,2</sub>) or E < A < P (W<sub>2,3</sub>, CannA), whereas CannP seems to offer a mixture of the two: E < A (< P) & P & T (without determining the origin of the Turkish form). Neither the editors of W<sub>2,3</sub> nor Cannon (who seems to be copying from them) offer arguments in favour of the alleged Persian origin of the Arabic form. Given that the word does not appear to be native in either, the direction of transmission might have been as well the opposite.

The word had marginal currency in English. The two forms quoted in OED<sub>2</sub> were not transmitted from Turkish. The form *sandalls* (1742) is glossed by the author as 'Persian boats so called' (Woodroffe in Hanway *Caspian* I: 130), and thus must go back to P *sandal* ('a small boat employed in carrying fresh water and victuals to ships lying at a distance from shore, a bumboat', Steingass: 701), whereas *sandal* (1877), used in reference to a boat used on the Nile and operated by Arabs, must reflect EgA *ṣandal* 'freight barge' (cf. Colin 1922: 76).<sup>439</sup> However, attestations like *sandal* (1862) and (1898), where reference to the boat as used by the Turks is explicitly made, make it reasonable to assume partial transmission from Ottoman as well.

According to LFL (565, §839), the source of the Turkish form is ByzGk. σάνδαλις 'a type of vessel' (as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> cent.), derived from earlier σάνδαλον

<sup>439</sup> Colin (1922: 76) writes صَنْدَل (= *ṣandal* – M. U.) and transliterates *ṣandal* (as if for \*صَنْضَل). The same transliteration is repeated in LFL (565). Here we follow the Standard Written Arabic form as given by Wehr (AED 614) which corresponds to the Arabic orthography as given by Colin better.

(or the diminutive *σανδάλιον*) ‘slipper’, with a metaphorical extension of meaning. It is suggested in DEI (V: 3330) that the semantic change occurred in Latin (the earliest form in 1030), the basis of analogy being the flat shape of both the vessel and the shoe, although the chronology seems to support Greek as the language where the semantic extension occurred.

To sum up, Ottoman only had a marginal role in the transmission of *sandal* ‘vessel’ to English.

### XEBEC ~ CHEBEC(K)

PRONUNCIATION: BrE **xebec** [ˈzi:bək] ~ [zɪˈbək] (1989 OED<sub>2</sub>), [ˈzi:bək] ~ [ˈzeɪbək] (2008 LPD), **chebec** [ʃɪˈbək] (1889 OED<sub>1</sub>); AmE **xebec** [zɪˈbək] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>), [ˈzi:bək] ~ [zəˈbək] (1961 W<sub>3</sub>), [ˈzi:bək] ~ [ˈzeɪbək] (2008 LPD), **chebec** [ʃəˈbək] (1934 W<sub>2</sub>, 1961 W<sub>3</sub>)

FORMS: **A:** *Xebeque* (1742 Philalethes *Profit & Loss*: 28), *Xebeck privateers* ~ *Xebec* (1745 GM 15: 263, 302), *xebeck* (1756 *Gentl. Mag.*<sub>2</sub>), *xebeque* (1760 *Ann. Reg., Chron.*<sub>2</sub>), *xebeck* (1763 More<sub>3</sub>),<sup>440</sup> *xebec* (1769 [1780] Falconer<sub>2</sub>), *Xebec Ships* (1780 Knowles<sub>2</sub>), *Xebec* (1794 Steel<sub>3</sub>),<sup>441</sup> *xebec* (1797 *Encyc. Brit.*<sub>3</sub>) *xebeck frigate* (1801 Cochrane<sub>2</sub>), *Xebeck* (1802 [1832] *Amer. State Papers*<sub>3</sub>), *xebeck-rigged privateer* (1812 *Examiner*<sub>2</sub>), *xebeck* (1816 *Ann. Reg., Gen. Hist.*<sub>2</sub>), *xebec* (a 1829 [1846] Taylor<sub>2</sub>), *xebec* (1851 Kipping<sub>2</sub>), *xebecs* (1884 Woolson<sub>2</sub>)

**B:** *Zebeck* (1742 GM 12: 106), *Zebecks* (1752 TB 4, i: 69), *zebeck* (1770 *Ann. Reg.*<sub>3</sub>),<sup>442</sup> *zebecque* (1839 Marryat<sub>2</sub>), *Zebeck* (1844 Hood<sub>2</sub>)

**C:** *chebec* (1753 UM 13: 237), *chebecks* (1762 Büsching<sub>2</sub>), *chebecks* (1773 Brydone<sub>2</sub>), *chebecks* (1806 Duncan<sub>2</sub>), *Chebec* (1858 Simmonds<sub>2</sub>)

**D:** *shebeck* (1758 UM 16: 210), *shabeques* (1830 Blaquiére<sub>3</sub>), *shebeck* (1841 Donatti *Orphan*: 68)

A small three-masted vessel, used in the Mediterranean.

<sup>440</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1762.

<sup>441</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> does not provide the author's name and quotes this as *Rigging & Seamanship*.

<sup>442</sup> OED<sub>2</sub> dates this to 1769.

ETYMOLOGY:

- 1864: W-M s.v. **xebec**: F *chebec*, Sp. *xabeque*, *jabeque*, Pg. *xabeco*, It. *scia-becco*, *zambecco*, G *schebecke* < T *sumbeki* ‘a kind of Asiatic ship’, P *sumbuk*, A *sumbūk*
- 1865: Müller<sub>1</sub> s.v. **xebec** = W-M
- 1879: Müller<sub>2</sub> s.v. **xebec**: F *chébec*; Sp. *xabeque*, *jabeque*, Pg. *xabeco*, *chabeco*, It. *ciabecco*, *sciabecco*, *siambecco* < T *sumbeki*, A *sumbuk*, P *sunbuk* as a name of small originally Oriental later south European vessel
- 1882: Skeat<sub>1</sub> s.v. **xebec**: ‘a small three-masted vessel used in the Mediterranean’ < Sp. *xabeque* id. (= Pg. *zabeco* = F *chebec*) < T *sumbakī* ‘a kind of Asiatic ship’; also P *sumbuk*, ‘a small ship’, A *sumbūk* ‘a small boat, a pinnace’; Devic s.v. *chebec* also gives Pg. *xabeco*, It. *zambecco*, the latter form retaining the nasal *m*, which is lost in the other languages; he adds that the word *sumbakī* is given in the first ed. of Meninski’s *Thesaurus* (1680) and that the mod. Arabic word is *shabbāk*
- 1889: OED<sub>1</sub> s.v. **chebec**, **-ck**: < F. *chebec*; in OF *chabec*, Sp. *jabeque*, OSp. *xabeque*, *-veque*, Pg. *xabeco*, *-veco*, OPg. *enxabeque*, It. *scia-becco*, *zambecco*, *stambecco*, A *shabbāk*, *shobbāk*, Turkish *sunbekī* (Meninski, 1680) < ?; (the vessel was originally a fishing-boat)
- 1888: Skeat<sub>2</sub> = Skeat<sub>1</sub>
- 1892: Stanford s.v. **chebec(k)**: < F; s.v. **xebec**: < (?) It. *sciabecco*
- 1910: Skeat<sub>1</sub> = Skeat<sub>2</sub>; adds that T *sumbekī* is written *sunbekī*
- 1921: Weekley s.v. **xebec**: ‘vessel’; cf. F *chabec*, *chebec*, It. *sciabecco*, *zambecco*, Sp. *jabeque*, T *sumbakī*; all < A *shabbak*
- 1934: W<sub>2</sub> s.v. **chebec**, **chebeck**: < F *chebec* [reference to *xebec*]; s.v. **xebec**: < earlier *chebec* (× Sp. *xabeque*, now *jabeque*) < F *chebec* < It. *sciabecco* < A *shabbāk*
- 1961: W<sub>3</sub> s.v. **chebec**: < F *chebec*, *chébec*; cf. *xebec*; s.v. **xebec**: < F *chebec* < A *shabbāk*; probably influenced by obsolete Spanish *xabeque* id. (= ModSp. *jabeque*) or Cat. *xabec*, both < A *shabbāk*
- 1966: Klein s.v. **chebec**, **chebeck**: < F *chébec* < It. *sciabecco*; ref. to *xebec*
- 1966: ODEE s.v. **chebec**: refers to *xebec*; s.v. **xebec**: alteration after Sp. †*xabeque*, now *jabeque*, of *chebec* < F *chebec* < It. *sciabecco* < A *shabbāk*
- 1967: Klein s.v. **xebec**: ‘a small three-masted vessel’ < *chebec* < F *chebec* < It. *sciabecco* < A *shabbāk* (> also Sp. *xabeque*, now spelled *jabeque*). E *xebec* was influenced in form by Sp. *xabeque*

- 1989: OED<sub>2</sub> s.v. **chebec** = OED<sub>1</sub>; s.v. **xebec**: Altered form of *chebec* (F *chebec*) after Sp. *xabeque*, now *jabeque*
- 1992: AHD<sub>3</sub> s.v. **xebec**: also *zebec* or *zebeck* < F *chebec*, probably < Cat. *xabec* < dial. A *šabbāk*
- 1994: CannA s.v. **chebec**: < F [refers to *xebec*]; s.v. **xebec**: mentions the *z*-spelling; prob. < F *chebec* (influenced by obs. Sp. *xabeque* and Cat. *xabec*); all < A *šabbāk* ‘small warship’
- 2000: AHD<sub>4</sub> s.v. **xebec**: < F *chebec*, probably < Cat. *xabec* < A *šabbāk* ← *šabaka* ‘to entwine, fasten’; s.v. **zebec**: var. of *xebec*

## COMMENTARY:

## 1. Treatment in English dictionaries

Up to Weekley all dictionaries mention a Turkish form (variously *sumbeki*, *sumbakī*, or *sunbekī*), either explicitly as the ultimate source (Skeat, all editions), one of the sources (W-M = Müller) or simply as one of the related forms (OED<sub>1</sub>). The sole exception is Stanford, which even fails to point out the Ibero-Romance influence in *xebec*. Later sources rightly omit Turkish (see below).

## 2. English forms and their immediate origin

As follows from the above list, four kinds of forms may be distinguished, based on the spelling and pronunciation of the initial consonant. These reflect direct influence of the following Romance languages:

- type A: *x*- represents either Old Spanish [ʃ] (later > [x], nowadays spelt *j*) or Catalan [ʃ]; in English this is pronounced [z] (as in *xylophone*);<sup>443</sup>
- type B: *z*- is the more typical English spelling for initial [z] in the pronunciation of the previous form;
- type C: *ch*- represents the French spelling for [ʃ];
- type D: *sh*- the nativized spelling of the previous form.

## 3. Turkish origin (?)

An important distinction has to be drawn between two types of forms found in the languages of the Mediterranean:

- (a) the *-b*- type: e.g. F *chebec* (1737, see Arveiller 1999: 510), Sp. *xabeque* > *jabeque*, Pg. *xaveco* (with *b* > *v*), It. *sciabécco* (1768, DEI V: 3393);

<sup>443</sup> [z] here is usually interpreted as a reduction of [gz], which according to Dobson (1968 §359) occurred in the medieval pronunciation of Latin rather than in English itself.

- (b) the *-mb-* type: It. *zambecco* (plus the diminutives It. *zambecchino* and Ven. *sambecchino*), Ott. *sünbeki*.

The insertion of *-m-* in the Italian forms may be spontaneous, although influence from an etymologically unrelated word, It. *zambuco* (< Somali *sambūq*), as suggested in FEW: 166, cannot be ruled out.

As far as the European forms in (b) are concerned, it is assumed in LFL (385, §563) that Ott. *sünbeki* (pronounced in [-mb-]) < Ven. *sambecchino*, and not the other way round. The main reason is that otherwise the final *-i* in Ottoman would be inexplicable (the Arabic etymon of all the forms, *šabbak*, does not account for it), whereas the scenario assumed in LFL derives it from *-ino* with the apocope of the final syllable. While it is not without difficulties of its own (Ven. *-a-* > Ott. *-ü-*?), the scenario is consistent with the relative chronology, with Ven. *sambecchino* attested as early the 14<sup>th</sup> century (so in DEI V: 3327) and Ott. *sünbeki* in the 17<sup>th</sup> (1680 Meninski II: 2715). Crucially, this implies that the English and Ottoman forms are only (remote) sister forms.





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- Morier *Zohrab* = Morier, James J. (1832). *Zohrab: the hostage*. I–III. London.
- MR = *The Monthly Review, or Literary Journal* (1749–1844). London.
- Müller *Lectures* = Müller, F. Max (1888). *Three introductory lectures on the science of thought*. Chicago.
- NAR = *The New Annual Register, or General Repository of History, Politics and Literature*.
- NC = *The Numismatic Chronicle, and the Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society* (1836–). London.
- Nicolay *Turquie* = Nicolay, Nicolas de (1576). *Les navigations, peregrinations et voyages, faicits en la Tvrqvie*. Anvers.
- NIE = *The New International Encyclopedia* (1914–30). I–XXV. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New York.
- NLM = *The New Lady's Magazine; or, Polite and entertaining companion for the fair sex: entirely devoted to their use and amusement* (1786–95). London.
- NMBA = *The New Monthly Belle Assemblée; A magazine of literature and fashion* (1847–70). London.
- NMM = *The New Monthly Magazine: The New Monthly Magazine and Universal Register* (1814–20); *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* (1821–36); *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist* (1837–52); *The New Monthly Magazine* (1853–81); *The New Monthly* (1882).

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- NS = *New Scientist*.
- NWM = *The New York Mirror, a weekly journal, devoted to literature and the fine arts*, vol. 12. New York.
- Oertel *Chronologia* = Oertel, Hieronymus (1613). *Viertter Thail Deß Hungerischen unnd Sibenbürgischen Kriegswesens, was sich seithero Anno 1604. biß auff Ao. 1607, inn der außgestandnen Rebellion mit dem Türcken, Rebellen und ... zugetragen ... alles mit vleiß beschriben und zusam[m]en getrage[n]*. Nuremberg.
- Ovington *Suratt* = Ovington, John (1696). *A voyage to Suratt in the year 1689*. London.
- Pallas *Russia* = Pallas, Peter S. (1812). *Travels through the southern provinces of the Russian Empire* [translated from the German]. I–II. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London.
- Pantologia* = Good, John M., Olinthus Gregory & Newton Bosworth (1813). *Pantologia, a New Cyclopaedia*. . . I–XII. London.
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- Perry *Levant* = Perry, Charles (1743). *A view of the Levant; particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and Greece*. London.
- Peters *Nippur* = Peters, John P. (1897). *Nippur, or Explorations and adventures on the Euphrates*. I–III. New York – London.
- Peterson *Barbarians* = Peterson, Virgil W. (1952). *Barbarians in our midst: a history of Chicago crime and politics*. Boston.
- Phil. Trans.* = *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (1665–). London.
- Philalethes *Profit & Loss* = Philalethes (1742). *The profit and loss of Great-Britain and Spain, from the commencement of the present war*. London.
- Pinkerton *Voyages* = Pinkerton, John (1808–14). *A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world*. I–XVII. London.
- Pococke *Egypt* = Pococke, Richard (1743). *A description of the East, and some other countries. Volume the First, observations on Egypt*. London.
- Pollard *Woman* = Pollard, Edward B. (1907). *Woman in all ages and in all countries IV: Oriental women*. Philadelphia.
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- Portland *Manuscripts* = Nalson, John et al. (eds) (1899–1907). *The manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland preserved at Welbeck Abbey*. I–VIII. Norwich.
- Power *Days & Nights* = Power, Marguerite A. (1863). *Arabian days and nights, or Rays from the East*. London.

- Purchas *Pilgrimes* 1625 = Purchas, Samuel (1625). *Hakluytus posthumus, or, Purchas his pilgrimes*. I–IV. London.
- Purchas *Pilgrimes* 1905 = Purchas, Samuel (1905–7). *Hakluytus posthumus, or, Purchas his pilgrimes*. I–XX. Glasgow.
- Prata *Angels* = Prata, Nicholas C. (1997). *Angels in iron*. New Jersey.
- QR = *The Quarterly Review* (1809–1967). London.
- Rabelais *Pantagruel* III = Rabelais, François (1546). *Tiers livre des faictz et dictz heroiques du noble Pantagruel*. Paris.
- Raine *Testamenta* = Raine, James (ed.) (1865). *Testamenta Eboracensia. A selection of wills from the registry of York*. I–III. Edinburgh.
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- Rich *Koordistan* = Rich, James C. (1836). *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan and on the site of ancient Nineveh; with journal of a voyage down the Tigris to Bagdad and an account of a visit to Shirauz and Persepolis*. I – II. London.
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- Sansovino *Historia* = Sansovino, Francesco (1568). *Historia universale dell'origine et imperio de Turchi*. Venetia.
- Sanuto *Diarii* = Federico, Stefani, Fulin Rinaldo, Belchet Guglielmo & Barozzi Nicolò (eds.) (1879–1903). *I diarii di Marino Sanuto (1496–1533)*. I–LIX. Venezia.
- Savary *Dictionnaire* 1723 = Savary des Brûlons, Jacques & Louis-Philémon Savary (1723). *Dictionnaire universel de commerce*. I–II. Amsterdam.
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- Scarne *Gambling* = Scarne, John (1978). *Scarne's guide to casino gambling*. New York.
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- SGM = *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*. Edinburgh.
- Shaw *Travels* = Shaw, Thomas (1738). *Travels, or Observations relating to several parts of Barbary and Levant*. Oxford.
- Siemens *Recollections* = Siemens, Werner von (1893). *Personal recollections* [translated by W. C. Coupland]. London.
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- SM = *The Strand Magazine* (1891–1950). Strand.
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- Statutes 1787 = *The statutes at large, from Magna Carta, to the end of the eleventh Parliament of Great Britain XXXVI* (1787). Cambridge.
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- Stephen *Johnson* = Stephen, Leslie (1878). *Samuel Johnson: A study of his life*. London.
- Sue *Knight* = Sue, Eugène (1900). *The knight of Malta. Envy, or one of the Seven Cardinal Sins*. New York.
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- Tavernier *Seraglio* = Tavernier, Jean B. (1677). *A new relation of the present Grand Seignor's seraglio*. London.
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- Tavernier *The Voyages* = Tavernier, Jean B. (1678). *The six voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, a noble man of France now living, through Turkey, into Persia and the East-Indies*. Translated by John Philips. London.
- TB = *The True Briton* (1851–4). London.
- Telfer *Crimea & Transcaucasia* = Telfer, J. Buchan (1876). *The Crimea and Transcaucasia, being the narrative of a journey in the Kouban, Gouria, Georgia, Armenia, Ossety, Imeritia, Swannety, and Mingrelia, and in the Tauric Range*. I–II. London.

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- Thornbury *Turkish Life* = Thornbury, Walter (1860). *Turkish life and character*. I–II. London.
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- Toklas *Cookbook* = Toklas, Alice B. (1954). *The Alice B. Toklas cook book*. New York.
- Tolstoy [Doyle] *Anna Karénina* = Tolstoï, Lyof [sic!] (1886). *Anna Karénina* [translated by Nathan Haskell Doyle]. New York.
- Tott *Memoirs* = Tott, François (1786). *Memoirs of Baron de Tott, containing the state of the Turkish empire & the Crimea, during the late war with Russia. With numerous anecdotes, facts, & observations, on the manners & customs of the Turks & Tartars*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. I–II. London.
- Tournefort *Voyage* = Tournefort, Joseph Pitton de (1741). *A voyage into the Levant*. I–III. London.
- Tully *Narrative* = Tully, Richard (1817). *Narrative of a ten years' residence at Tripoli in Africa: from the original correspondence in the possession of the family of the late Richard Tully, esq., the British Consul, comprising authentic memoirs and anecdotes of the reigning Bashaw, his family, and other persons of distinction; also, an account of the domestic manners of the Moors, Arabs and Turks*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London.
- Turabi *Cookery* = Turabi Efendi (1865). *Turkish cookery book: a collection of receipts from the best Turkish authorities*. London.
- Turner *Levant* = Turner, William (1820). *Journal of a tour of the Levant*. I–III. London.
- Twist *Indien* = Twist, Johan van (1651). *Generaele beschrijvinghe van Indien*. Amsterdam.
- UM = *The Universal Magazine*.
- Urquhart *Portfolio* = Urquhart, David (ed.) (1836–7). *The portfolio; or A collection of state papers, and other documents and correspondence, historical, diplomatic, and commercial*. I–V. London.
- U.S. *Senate Documents* = *Public documents printed by order of the senate of the United States during the first session of the twenty-sixth congress begun and held at the city of Washington, December 2, 1839* (1840). I–VIII. Washington.
- Varchi *L'Hercolano* = Varchi, Benedetto (1570). *L'Hercolano, dialogo nel qual si regiona generalmente delle lingue, & in particolare della toscana, a della fiorentina*. Fiorenza.
- Vaudoncourt *Ionian Islands* = Vaudoncourt, Guillaume de (1816). *Memoirs on the Ionian islands; including the life and character of Ali Pacha* [translated by William Walton]. London.
- Villamont *Voyages* = Villamont, Jacques de (1606). *Les voyages du Sr. de Villamont*. Paris.
- Vyshinsky *Law* = Vyshinsky, Andrey Y. (1948). *The law of the Soviet state* [translated from the Russian by Hugh W. Babb]. New York.
- Walpole *Memoirs* = Walpole, Robert (1817). *Memoirs relating to the European and Asiatic Turkey*. London.
- Walpole *Travels* = Walpole, Robert (1820). *Travels in various countries of the East: being a continuation of memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*. London.

- Walton *Paris* = Walton, William (1899). *Paris: from the earliest period to the present day*. Philadelphia.
- Watson *Textile* = Watson, John F. (1866). *The textile manufacturers and the costumes of the people of India*. London.
- WDTJ = *Warehousemen and Drapers' Trade Journal*. London.
- Weber *Tales* = Weber, Edward (ed.) (1812). *Tales of the East*. Edinburgh.
- Webster *Travels* = Webster, James (1830). *Travels through the Crimea, Turkey, and Egypt; performed during the years 1825–1828*. 2 vols. London.
- White *Constantinople* = White, Charles (1845). *Three years in Constantinople: or, Domestic manners of the Turks in 1844*. I–III. London.
- White *Fig* = White, A. F. (1889). Fig culture and varieties. – *Official report of the Eleventh Fruit Growers' Convention of the state of California*. Sacramento: 63–4.
- WHM = *Walker's Hibernian magazine; or, Compendium of entertaining knowledge* (1771–1811). London.
- Wilbraham *Trans-Caucasian Russia* = Wilbraham, Richard (1839). *Travels in the Trans-Caucasian provinces of Russia, and along the southern shore of the lakes of Van and Urumiah in the Autumn and Winter of 1837*. London.
- Wilkinson *Caucasus* = Wilkinson, Charles (ed.) (1807). *A general, historical, and topographical description of Mount Caucasus* [translated from the works of Jacob Reineggs and Friedrich A. von Bieberstein]. I–II. London.
- Wilkinson *Egypt* = Wilkinson, John G. (1873). *A handbook for travellers in Egypt*. 4<sup>th</sup> revised edition. London.
- Willibald *Hodoeporicon* = Brownlow, Canon (transl.) (1891). *The Hodæporicon of Saint Willibald (circa 754 A.D.)*. London.
- Willibald *Vita* = Holder-Egger, O. (ed.) (1887). *Vitae Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi auctore sanctimoniali Heidenheimensi*. – *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 15.1: 80–117.
- Wood *Oxus* = Wood, John (1841). *A personal narrative of a journey to the source of the river Oxus, by the route of the Indus, Kabul and Badakhshan, performed under the sanction of the supreme government of India in the years 1836, 1837 and 1838*. London.
- Xenos *Andronike* = Xenos, Stephanos T. (1897). *Andronike: the heroine of the Greek Revolution* [translated from the Greek by Edwin A. Grosvenor]. Boston.

## 2. BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

AED	Wehr (1994)
AHD <sub>3</sub>	Soukhanov (1992)
AHD <sub>4</sub>	Pickett (2000)
ALOT	S. Stachowski (1975–86)
AOH	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> . Budapest.
ARS	Baranov (1989)

- BER Georgiev et al. (1971)  
 BIFAO *Le Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*. Cairo.  
 BSOS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*. London.  
 CAJ *Central Asiatic Journal*. Wiesbaden.  
 CannA Cannon & Kaye (1995)  
 CannA<sub>E</sub> Cannon & Kaye (2007)  
 CannP Cannon & Kaye (2001)  
 Chantraine Chantraine (1968–80)  
 ChRS Beskrovnyj (1959)  
 ÇTES Nişanyan (2011)  
 Dehxodā Dehxodā (1958–66)  
 DEI Battisti & Alessio (1950–7)  
 DELI Cortelazzo & Zolli (2002)  
 DS *Derleme Sözlüğü*  
 DTO de Courteille (1870)  
 DTS Nadeljaev et al. (1969)  
 EALL Versteegh (ed.) (2005–9)  
 EB<sub>E</sub> Encyclopedia Britannica Online: <http://www.britannica.com>  
 eDHLP *Dicionário Houaiss Eletrônico da Língua Portuguesa*  
 EgAED Hinds & Badawi (1986)  
 EI<sub>1</sub> Houtsma (1993)  
 EI<sub>2</sub> *Encyclopedia of Islam*  
 ERSJ Skok (1971–74)  
 ÈSRJa Vasmer & Trubačov (1986–7)  
 ÈSTJa Severtjan (1974–)  
 EWN Philippa (2007)  
 FEW von Wartburg (1968)  
 FO *Folia Orientalia*. Kraków.  
 GDLI Battaglia & Squarotti (1961–2002)  
 GkED Stavropoulos (2010)  
 GPRS Gaffarov (1974)  
 JAIS *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies*. Edinburgh.  
 JAOS *Journal of American Oriental Society*. New Haven.  
 KCsA *Körösi Csoma-Archivum*. Budapest.  
 Klein Klein (1966–7)  
 Kluge<sub>24</sub> Kluge & Seebold (2002)  
 Krause 17 Bruce II (2009)  
 Krause 18 Cuhaj (2010)  
 Krause 19 Cuhaj (2009)  
 KrgRS Judachin (1985)  
 KurdRS Bakaev (1957)  
 LDOCE *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*. 5<sup>th</sup> edition on CD-ROM



LFL	Kahane, Kahane & Tietze (1958)
Lokotsch	Lokotsch (1927)
LPD	Wells (2008)
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i> . University of Michigan (2007); online edition; URL: <a href="http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med">http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med</a>
Meninski	Meninski (1680)
MorAED	Harrel (1966)
Müller <sub>1</sub>	Müller (1865–7)
Müller <sub>2</sub>	Müller (1878–9)
OALD	Hornby (ed.) (2000)
ODB	Kazhdan (ed.) (1991)
ODEE	Onions (1966)
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> . Oxford University Press (2004); online edition; URL: <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com">http://www.oxforddnb.com</a>
OED <sub>1</sub>	Murray et al. (eds.) (1884–1928)
OED <sub>2</sub>	Simpson & Weiner (eds.) (1989)
OED <sub>3</sub>	Simpson & Weiner (eds.) (2010–)
OED <sub>Add</sub>	Simpson & Weiner (eds.) (1993), Proffitt (ed.) (1997)
OED <sub>5</sub>	Onions & Craigie (eds.) (1933)
OLD	Glare (1968)
OTWF	Erdal (1991)
Platts	Platts (1884)
PLOT	S. Stachowski (1998)
PRS	Rubinčik (ed.) (1977)
Radloff	Radloff (1893–1911)
Redhouse	Redhouse (1890)
REW	Vasmer (1953–8)
RTOİS	Alkım et al. (2000)
SEC	<i>Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia</i> . Kraków.
Skeat <sub>1</sub>	Skeat (1882)
Skeat <sub>2</sub>	Skeat (1888)
Skeat <sub>4</sub>	Skeat (1910)
SLing	<i>Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis</i> . Kraków.
SRJa <sub>XVI–XVII</sub>	<i>Slovar' russkogo jazyka XVI – XVII vv.</i>
SSH	<i>Studia Slavica Hungarica</i> . Budapest.
Stanford	Fennell (1892)
STC	<i>Studia Turcologica Cracoviensia</i> . Kraków.
Steingass	Steingass (1892)
Süleyman	Kúnos (1902)
TajRS	Kalontarov (2008)
TDAY-B	<i>Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı – Belleten</i> . Ankara – İstanbul.
TDES	Eren (1999)

TE	Miklosich (1884)
TETTL	Tietze (2002–)
ThLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>
TkmRS	Baskakov et al. (1968)
TLF	<i>Le Trésor de la Langue Française informatisé</i> ; URL: <a href="http://atilf.atilf.fr/tlf.htm">http://atilf.atilf.fr/tlf.htm</a>
TLIO	<i>Tesoro della Lingua Italiana delle Origini</i> ; URL: <a href="http://tlio.ovi.cnr.it/TLIO">http://tlio.ovi.cnr.it/TLIO</a>
TMEN	Doerfer (1963–75)
TPS	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i> . London.
TRS	Baskakov et al. (eds.) (1977)
TS	<i>Tarama Sözlüğü</i>
TShJ	Škaljić (1966)
UAJb	<i>Ural-altaische Jahrbücher</i> . Wiesbaden.
URS	Kibirkštis & Pomerancev (1958)
UzRS	Kary-Nijazov & Borovkov (eds.) (1941)
VEWT	Räsänen (1969)
W <sub>2</sub>	Neilson et al. (eds.) (1934)
W <sub>3</sub>	Gove (ed.) (1961)
WAD	Behnstedt & Woidich (2011)
Wedgwood <sub>1</sub>	Wedgwood (1859–65)
Wedgwood <sub>2</sub>	Wedgwood (1872)
Wedgwood <sub>3</sub>	Wedgwood (1878)
Weekley	Weekley (1921)
W-M	[= Webster-Mahn] Porter (1865)
Yule <sub>1</sub>	Yule & Burnell (1886)
Yule <sub>2</sub>	Yule & Burnell (1903)
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> . Leipzig.
Zenker	Zenker (1866–76)

### 3. REFERENCES

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