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**A Letter by Sultan Mehmet III to King Sigismund III in Polish  
Transcription**

The original letter by Sultan Mehmet III to king Sigismund III containing a delivery order of a new peace treaty to the Polish envoy Szczęsny Herburt, disappeared. In the National Archives in Warsaw there are two transcriptions in Latin characters — two versions of the mentioned Turkish letter<sup>1</sup>. The original Turkish document was made out in the year 1598<sup>2</sup>; the transcriptions were made out afterwards. The first text in transcription (No. 523), entitled "Extract from the imperial transcript", contains a full summary of the original Turkish letter. The other text in transcription (No. 524) is much shorter than the first one; it is an adapted and a simplified version of the original document, written in a colloquial language. The official expressions were limited to some necessary ones. As far as some phonetic and grammar features are concerned these transcriptions vary quite considerably. The shorter version shall be studied in this paper from a linguistic point of view.

The Turkish letter discussed preceded the peace and alliance treaty between Poland and Turkey<sup>3</sup>; it contained some main points of the treaty terms which were recapitulated in these extracts. The author of the shorter transcription and most probably the author of the extract, was the court interpreter Dawid Serebkowicz, an Armenian born. He prepared also a transcription in Armenian characters of the shorter text which he entitled: "Name. Translated from Arabic [sic!] into Turkish

<sup>1</sup> Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnzych, AKW, Dz. turecki, teczka 281, nr 523, 524 (photos "1" and "2").

<sup>2</sup> The date 4.VIII.1598 is given by Z. Abrahamowicz, see note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Z. A b r a h a m o w i c z, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*. T. I, cz. V1, Warszawa 1959, pp. 232—233 (No. 241).

by Daud Serepkowic". The authors of *Ottoman-Turkish Diplomatics*<sup>4</sup> indicate only two official dragomans bearing the name Serebkowicz — Stefan and Piotr. Other sources mention also Krzysztof Serebkowicz as a court interpreter<sup>5</sup>. In the seventeenth century the Armenian family Serebkowicz was especially estimated by king Sigismund III and later by king Ladislaus IV<sup>6</sup>. Unfortunately, we are not provided with other information about Dawid Serebkowicz's activity as a court interpreter.

Both transcriptions — the one in Latin characters and the other in Armenian alphabet prove a great number of phonetic and even morphological differences.

The author of our version omits the long traditional Inscriptio formula: *kudvet ül-ümerâyi'l-iżāmi'l-İseviyye...sâhibi'l-delâyili' l-medždi ve'l-ifтихār* "the Paragon of Great Christian Princes... Lord of Glory and Fame" — to a single word *iftixār*. The Salutatio formula: *χutimat 'awākibuhu bi 'l-χayr* "may his ultimate results be terminated with success" is abbreviated and changed into: *akbatī χayr olsun*. The Narratio and Dispositio: *tevki-i ref-i hümâyün vasil olidžak malūm ola ki* "as soon as this exalted imperial letter reaches [your hands] it should be known that..." is abbreviated to: *vasıl oldukta malūm ola ki*.

### Transcription

*Iftichar. Wileiaty Leh kraly<sup>1</sup> Zygmunt<sup>2</sup> Akbaty chayr olsun wasyl oldukta, malum ola ki, biza laiyk<sup>3</sup> muhtabar beglerinizdan<sup>4</sup>, Pan Szczęsny Herbert elcziniziylan<sup>5</sup> mehtubunuz<sup>6</sup> gielup, kasym oleysymdan<sup>7</sup>, bugiuna gielindzak<sup>8</sup>, biza olan achtu aman we sulfu peyman, iolundan, dochruluch oldunuz<sup>9</sup> bildirmiszsiz we bundan mada<sup>10</sup>, kyrym chany kazy gierek chan thatar eskeriylan<sup>11</sup>, Leh wiliatyndam<sup>12</sup> gieczmamak<sup>13</sup>: uzeriniza<sup>14</sup>, duszman gielirsa<sup>15</sup> chan hazratlary iardyma, warmak bildirdikta, we bugdan woywodasy, ieremita woywoda, iarar we dochru adamdur szu<sup>16</sup> neczeki<sup>17</sup> sachdur, wiliaty<sup>18</sup> bogdana woywoda olup, we kie[n]dynden<sup>19</sup> sora<sup>20</sup> woywodalychy ochluna werilmak, we leh bazyrgianlarynn<sup>21</sup> mataħlardan<sup>22</sup>, kasap we refet šb-sy we churuszlarbyn<sup>23</sup> giumrug<sup>24</sup>: we ref we kasab<sup>25</sup> šb-łary alynmamak, we Leh bazyrgianlaryndan, murd olanlar, ryzgykiar<sup>26</sup> baszyna<sup>27</sup> taslym olunmak chususu bildirmiszsyz<sup>28</sup>, we erdella leh sinorynda<sup>29</sup> olup, becz<sup>30</sup> kralina tari<sup>31</sup> olan, kaszowa we hud<sup>32</sup> we mukacz,*

<sup>4</sup> A. Zajęczkowski, J. Rychmann, *Zarys dyplomatyki osmańsko-tureckiej*, Warszawa 1955, p. 113, an English translation: *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomatics*, The Hague—Paris 1968.

<sup>5</sup> B. Baranowski, *Znajomość języka tureckiego w dawnej Polsce*, RO XIV (1939), pp. 31—32; idem, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku*, Łódź 1950, p. 87; Z. Abramowicz, op. cit., pp. 249 (No. 257), 252—253 (Nos. 260, 261).

<sup>6</sup> J. Rychmann, *Znajomość i nauczanie języków orientalnych w Polsce XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 1950, p. 15; B. Baranowski, *Znajomość języka tureckiego w dawnej Polsce*, RO XIV (1939), pp. 31—32.

bu uc<sup>z</sup> para kalalar, erdel wiliaty<sup>33</sup> bu dzanubten fetoldukta, bizim tharafymyzdan<sup>34</sup> esker warmamak we begler beglik<sup>35</sup> olmamak, we ozu serhatyndan<sup>36</sup> ak suia<sup>37</sup> waryndza synyr<sup>38</sup> belli olmaiyp, iani<sup>39</sup> synor<sup>40</sup> thaiyn olmak chususlaryn, we elczimyzyn dzuwaby<sup>41</sup>, bizim dzuwabymyzdyr<sup>42</sup>, sozuna jnanasyz<sup>43</sup>, szu<sup>44</sup> bildirmiszsiz, we dahy her neki iazmiszsiz, bir kullaiy<sup>45</sup>, malumuz olmisztur, imdi babamyz we dedemyz<sup>46</sup> zamanyndan beri olan dostluchunuz<sup>47</sup>, we dochruchunuz<sup>48</sup>, sair<sup>49</sup> krallardan, ustun olup we sizin<sup>50</sup> hakynyzd<sup>51</sup>, jnaiat we ehsan, we dzumla rydzalarynyz<sup>52</sup> makpulumuzdur, we chan hazratlary, sefere humaiuna omurumuzila warmak murad edikta<sup>53</sup>, leh wiliatyndan<sup>54</sup> geczmaiyen<sup>55</sup> we uzerinyza<sup>56</sup> duszman gielursa mektup we adamys<sup>57</sup> gondaryp<sup>58</sup> iardyma wara, heweczilan siza jardymdzi ola dei<sup>59</sup> omurum gonderilmisztur<sup>60</sup>, we bundan (p. 2) mada, buchdan woywodasy, ieremiiia woywoda, herdaiym dochruluch uzerina<sup>61</sup> chyzmat edar we omurumuza inamyr we wiliaty<sup>62</sup> buchdanyn<sup>63</sup> her iy<sup>l</sup> haradzyn wakty we zamanyylan<sup>64</sup> kypyma giondara, netaki sachdyr buchdan wiliatyna woywoda olup woywodalychy ahyra werilmaia, oger<sup>65</sup> olursa<sup>66</sup> ochluna werula, we leh bazyrgianlaryndan<sup>67</sup>, groszlaryndan giurmruk we reft we matahlaryndan, eski kanon<sup>68</sup> uzerina<sup>69</sup> giurmuklaryn weraalar, we reft we kasap sb-sy, alynmaia, we leh bazyrgianlary, oldukta espaby karwan baszyna<sup>70</sup> taslim<sup>71</sup> oluna we o uc<sup>z</sup> para kalalar wiliaty<sup>72</sup> erdel alynmazdan ongurdu, sizin<sup>73</sup> tharafynyzdan<sup>74</sup>, alynana<sup>75</sup> zaptoluna, bizim dzanubumuzdan japuszmaialar, sajir istadiklarinyzyla<sup>76</sup>, bunlarda achtnamaia jazylmysztyr<sup>77</sup>, we erdel wiliaty<sup>78</sup> beglar beglik<sup>79</sup> olmamak we o jstadugunuz jerde<sup>80</sup> snor thain olmak chusuzlara<sup>81</sup> jnszallah<sup>82</sup> wiliaty<sup>83</sup> erdel alyndykta sizinilan<sup>84</sup> bizim aramyz olan sulfu salah, we achtu aman, uzerina<sup>85</sup> gierek<sup>86</sup> tierki<sup>87</sup>, wardukta sytkylan, aktykaylan<sup>88</sup> dostlukta olup, aramyzda olan achtu peyman<sup>89</sup> uzerinda<sup>90</sup> oiasiz, biz dahy achtu aman uzerindaiz<sup>91</sup>, dayma elcziilarnyz we bazyrgianlarynyz huzuruhal uzerina<sup>92</sup> olup giedup gielalar<sup>93</sup>, maliki<sup>94</sup> mehrusanda<sup>95</sup> alym satyndan<sup>96</sup> eksik olmaiaar: onar<sup>97</sup> giore<sup>98</sup> inanasiz dostluk szarty her meczila<sup>99</sup> muhabatur, we biza elcziniziyan<sup>100</sup> giondarilan<sup>101</sup> namynyzda<sup>102</sup> her neki jazmiszsiz dzumlasy malum olmisztur<sup>103</sup> we sizin<sup>104</sup> muradynyzy<sup>105</sup> dostluk we muhabata jnanyp, werilan achtnamaiy humaiunun<sup>106</sup> iczinda jazylmisztir inszallah<sup>107</sup> warduchunda, jnanasiz we eskinden adatunuz<sup>108</sup> uzerina<sup>109</sup> ol dzanubun<sup>110</sup> ahvalyn we kayry<sup>111</sup> habarlerly ne jszidilrsa<sup>112</sup> we sachylchynyz<sup>113</sup> habaryilan<sup>114</sup> jazyp her dayim adamlarynyzyilan<sup>115</sup> bildirasiz.

<sup>1</sup> k'rali; <sup>2</sup> Zigmunt; <sup>3</sup> layik'; <sup>4</sup> begleringizdan; <sup>5</sup> elchingizilan; <sup>6</sup> mehtupunguz; <sup>7</sup> oleysmdan; <sup>8</sup> gelyindzag; <sup>9</sup> oldunguz; <sup>10</sup> ma(y)ada(y); <sup>11</sup> eskeerilan; <sup>12</sup> villeyatiindan; <sup>13</sup> gedzhamak; <sup>14</sup> uzieringiza(y); <sup>15</sup> gelir esa(y); <sup>16</sup> diyu; <sup>17</sup> necha(y)ki; <sup>18</sup> villeyati(y); <sup>19</sup> gendindan; <sup>20</sup> songra(y); <sup>21</sup> bazirganlarining; <sup>22</sup> matahlarindan; <sup>23</sup> xruşlarindan; <sup>24</sup> gumruk'; <sup>25</sup> k'asap; <sup>26</sup> rizgik'ijar; <sup>27</sup> basina(y); <sup>28</sup> bildirmiszsiz; <sup>29</sup> snorunda(y); <sup>30</sup> bedz; <sup>31</sup> an error for-tabi; <sup>32</sup> hus; <sup>33</sup> villeyati(y); <sup>34</sup> darafimisdan; <sup>35</sup> begilik'; <sup>36</sup> serha(y)dindan; <sup>37</sup> ak' suva(y); <sup>38</sup> snir; <sup>39</sup> iangi; <sup>40</sup> snor; <sup>41</sup> dzuwapi; <sup>42</sup> dzuwapimizdir; <sup>43</sup> inana(y)siz; <sup>44</sup> diyu; <sup>45</sup> k'ulliya(y); <sup>46</sup> dadamyz; <sup>47</sup> dostluyunguz; <sup>48</sup> doyrunguz; <sup>49</sup> sayir; <sup>50</sup> sizing; <sup>51</sup> hak'ingizda(y); <sup>52</sup> redza(y)larining; <sup>53</sup> etik'ta(y); <sup>54</sup> villeyatiindan; <sup>55</sup> gecmayip; <sup>56</sup> uzieringiza(y); <sup>57</sup> adamii; <sup>58</sup> gondarup; <sup>59</sup> diyu; <sup>60</sup> gondarilmisztur; <sup>61</sup> uzerina(y); <sup>62</sup> villeyati(y); <sup>63</sup> buydannning; <sup>64</sup> zamani(y)ila(y); <sup>65</sup> egar; <sup>66</sup> olur esa(y);

<sup>67</sup> békirganlarından; <sup>68</sup> k'anun; <sup>69</sup> üzierina; <sup>70</sup> bašina(y); <sup>71</sup> taslım; <sup>72</sup> viléyati; <sup>73</sup> sizing;  
<sup>74</sup> darafinizdan; <sup>75</sup> alınır esa(y); <sup>76</sup> ista(y)diklarıngiz ila(y); <sup>77</sup> jazilmiştir; <sup>78</sup> viléyati(y);  
<sup>79</sup> begilik'; <sup>80</sup> ierda(y); <sup>81</sup> xususlara; <sup>82</sup> inşalah; <sup>83</sup> viléyati; <sup>84</sup> sizingilan; <sup>85</sup> üzierina;  
<sup>86</sup> gérak'; <sup>87</sup> turk'i; <sup>88</sup> ik'tik'asilan; <sup>89</sup> péymani; <sup>90</sup> üzierina(y); <sup>91</sup> üzierinda(y)iz;  
<sup>92</sup> üzierina; <sup>93</sup> gelalér; <sup>94</sup> mamalik'i; <sup>95</sup> mehrusamda(y); <sup>96</sup> satımdan; <sup>97</sup> ongar;  
<sup>98</sup> gitora(y); <sup>99</sup> meçila(y) — an error for večila; <sup>100</sup> elçingizilan; <sup>101</sup> giçondarılan;  
<sup>102</sup> namangızda(y); <sup>103</sup> olmıştır; <sup>104</sup> sizing; <sup>105</sup> muradınıgizi(y); <sup>106</sup> humayununung;  
<sup>107</sup> inşalah; <sup>108</sup> adatung guz; <sup>109</sup> üzierina; <sup>110</sup> džanubung; <sup>111</sup> k'ayri; <sup>112</sup> iſitilirisa(y);  
<sup>113</sup> saylıngiz; <sup>114</sup> habarıyilan; <sup>115</sup> adamlarıngizilan.

References to the transcription in Armenian characters (photos "3" and "4"). The transcription is based on that used in: E. Tryjarski, *Dictionnaire arméno-kiptchak*, vol. I, fasc. 1—2, Warszawa 1968, fasc. 3, Warszawa 1969, fasc. 4, Warszawa 1972.

### Translation

Glory to Sigismund, king of Poland! May his ultimate results be terminated with success! As soon as [this letter] reaches [your hands] it should be known that you have sent a letter by your envoy Mr. Szczęsny Herbert, one of your trusted lords, worthy of us, [in which] you have informed of your loyalty to us under the security and peace treaty, [valid] from the 8th of November till the present day; furthermore, you have informed that [you wish] the Crimean Khan Gazi Girey not to pass over Poland with his Tatar army; and if you are attacked by enemy, and if His Highness Khan is informed [of this], he should hasten to your assistance; and [it should be known] that the voivode of Moldavia, Yeremia, is a loyal and trusted man, which is right; he came into the office of voivode of Moldavia, and after his death the voivode office has to pass on to his son; and [also] that a tax called *kasap* and *reft* as well as the cash customs should not be collected from Polish merchants; and that property left by dead Polish merchants should be handed over to their benefactors; and what concerns three fortresses: Kashova, Hust and Mukach, situated between Transylvania and Poland, which belong to the Hungarian king, should Transylvania be conquered from this side, neither army should be sent from our side, nor rule of magnates should be established [there]; and [you have informed] that the border that is between the river Dniepr and the river Aksu [White River] is not precisely delimited; it is necessary to trace a new line; and you have said "our envoy's answer is our answer, do believe his words!"; all what you have written [to us] has entirely come to our knowledge; and now we say: your friendship and fidelity which last from the times of our fathers and ancestors exceed those of other sovereigns; and as far as you are concerned, we accept your kindness and respect and all your requests; and if His Highness, the Crimean Khan, wishes, on our demand, to set forth on an imperial campaign, let him not cross over Poland; and if you are

attacked by enemy, and if you send a letter and a messenger [to him], he should come to help, being willingly your supporter; my order [in this matter] has been sent; and more, that the voivode of Moldavia, Yeremia, has always been true to us, and he has confidence in our affairs; and that Moldavia should sent the tribute every year in a due time to pay the harach, to my Court, that falls by rights; [Yeremia] has been designated for the office of voivode, and should he die, the office should pass on to his son; and that from the Polish merchants who, according to the ancient law, were paying the cash customs and a tax on goods called *kasap* and *reft*, the duties should not be collected; and if a Polish merchant dies, his property should be handed over to the head of the expedition; and as to those three fortresses, lest they should be conquered by Transylvania, they ought to be conquered and possessed by you; so far as you are concerned, we shall not interfere; these matters together with your other requests have been written down in the alliance treaty, [namely]: no rule of magnates in Transylvania should be established; a new border should be traced at the place indicated by you; in case Transylvania is conquered, and, according to the peace and security treaty concluded between us, the Turks shall have to come, then you should live up to the friendship and security treaty with all conscience and confidence; we also keep to the alliance treaty; let your envoys and merchants come, in accordance with the treaty, and let them not incur losses because of the commerce in the imperial dominions; do believe in it; the friendship conditions are realy favorable; and in your letter which you have sent by your envoy, you have written about all these matuers, and everything has been confirmed; and we also have accepted your requests; we have trusted your traditional friendship which has been recorded in the imperial alliance treaty handed [to you]; when it reaches your hands, believe [in everything], and according to an old custom, if [all] these matters and other news come to your knowledge, let your success be always given forth by your people.

J. J. Johnson

Willeke leb herte liggaund stade charrubun  
wagst oldasta qualum leb leb laasch mukhabar.  
Leb herte beffensiden. Van beegtey heebust eterningtan  
wagst leb hettentum giebty laaym olysymtan. In puma yebtu  
Diet leb leb oltu amur we enig te geymin a-  
vandien tundien fortentek oldungs hilti wees we  
ha herten bunden nadar. Inzom shing hazy giebty olen  
hettentek thatar? esterigton. Et willekendien geymanek:  
gurimica eternian giebty shen herteloy ta-  
dymas, warnah hilti hilti. we liggen  
dasy. ieromia evey nadar. Dicar we dootan dan-  
dar? we mukhi mukhie. wilety liggaund wey  
nadas step. we liggen den sara meyndatuk  
we mukhie. we tek hazyganteng yeyr? nadar  
dan, hawap we reflectey we chomoroytien  
gymong; we off we hawat stade alayna mukh  
we hazyganteng dan. mud oltu? yeyr  
haz hazy was oltu eternian hawat hilti hilti yeyr.  
we odlas tek sinayda step. we hilti hilti  
stein. hawas we hilti we mukhie. hawat pata  
hatalas? Dik wilety bu dawatthe fotolank,  
he. hawat hazyganteng ester warnamak, we  
hazer hylle eternian. we oltu se hazyganteng  
ak mud mayndas yeyr. hilti eternian. we  
synos hawas eternian eternian. we eternian  
dawat. hawat dawat by yeyr? yeyr. somay haza  
yeyr we hilti mukhie, we hilti hilti hilti  
hilti hilti. malone eternian, inde hilti  
yeyr we hawat hazyganteng hawat etan dashti  
chamur. we dashtutu eternian said. hatalas. we  
hawat step we eternian hazyganteng, of mukh we eternian  
we eternian hazyganteng met pata mukh. we eternian  
haz hazyganteng before humannian. Et eternian mukh  
we eternian hilti hilti hilti hilti hilti hilti  
we eternian dasman giebty hawat mukh  
yeyr geymanek. indymas wara, hawat mukh  
jordamku stade eternian geymanek. we eternian

Photo 1. Latin text

mada, mukim uoyadog, iemnia uoyadva, kendam Dzobnica  
numia obymat edar we sunnumma dianys erielyt buran  
eyn heigt hengryr wally us tamaywten hengryr yedan  
ra, metali uchedje buchdan uchlyr as uoyadva olyp uoyadva  
Dzobnica atyra warlma, eger slava ositona uomla, we bila  
bergejan taryndara gosvitavindan yimman we rojt we hengry  
shay, we malah taryndan, oshi leman kirkina gosvitavindan  
wo salan, we rojt we hengry shay, atyra uomla, we koi ke  
dzogantay, oblikita esaby leman hengryr fashin atuna  
we ome para salatac uchlyt edet atyndra angas  
da, siyos hengry yudan, atyra uomla, kirim kram  
krem dan yapwematac, sivir istadlarumiyatac, kunitan  
uchnamasa ja yutneyta, we Dzobnica uchta begtar beghik  
otinamak, we O'Gostaduqne sendo sivir kirim kunita  
suitala, jumattah uchlyt edet atyndita, uchustan kirim  
aramys stan sulpi salak we atlik aman uchbira, jumattah  
bi, warlulta, jytleytan, atlyearstan istakhta, olyp, wa  
mijo da stan atkypymas ueranda ota sic, buntah uchnamas  
ueranda, dengna elutayore, we hengry puvore, y hengry  
buras olyp jutay, qateler molde uchnamas, atyndra  
eluti istakhatas, oni yure morasic deslikh seach hengry  
cita mu hababas, we bila otuniriytan gosvitavindan manys  
yedan, han ne li jumassiz Dzobnica malum otinatad  
we sivir amaduyzy dostlik, we qateler jutay, uchnamas  
uchtaganay hengrynum iemla, Dzobnica jumattah we  
dostlik, jumaa sic we istidun istakhan numia et duman  
shwatzan we hengry hababas, we kumtak, we uchtoch  
we hababitan jutay, her daylim adantur uchnamas  
bil tiravir.

Photo 2. Latin text (end)

Photo 3. The text in Armenian characters

The image shows a single page from an Armenian manuscript. The page is filled with dense handwritten text in black ink on aged, yellowish paper. The script is a clear form of modern Armenian. There are several large, decorative initial letters at the beginning of lines, which are characteristic of traditional book writing. The overall appearance is that of a well-preserved historical document.

Photo 4. The text in Armenian characters (end)

## Language of the transcription

### ORTHOGRAPHY<sup>7</sup>

The author of the transcription used a contemporary Polish orthography with its characteristic letters:

*cz* = č; *dz* = dž; *j* = y; *ł* = l; *y* = i; *w* = v; *sz* = š;

This spelling renders as a rule quite correctly the phonetic system. There is no difference in denoting the back and front labial vowels: *o* — ö; *u* — ü, except of a sporadic denoting the *g* palatal consonant by adding an *i* vowel, for ex.: *giumruk* ≠ *g'iumruk*; *giondarilan* ≠ *g'öndarilan*.

Sounds significance table

<i>a, ā</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>ł, l</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>ł</i>	<i>l</i>
č	cz	m	m
d	d	n	n
dž	dz	ŋ	n, ng
e	e	o, ö	o
f	f	ö	o
g, g̊	g	p	p
g̊	g̊t	r	r
h	h, ch	s	s
χ	ch, h	š	sz
i	y, i	t	t, th
i <sub>o</sub>	o	u, ü	u
i, ī	i, j, y	ü	u
k, k̊	k	v	w
k̊	ki	y	i, y
		z	z

### PHONOLOGY

#### VOCALISM

##### Non-labial vowels

Non-labial vowels show several changes comparatively to the vocalism of modern literary Turkish.

*e* ≠ *i*: *ehsān* (1) ≠ *ihsan*; *netaki* (2) ≠ *niteki*; *gedüp* (2) ≠ *gitmek*

<sup>7</sup> The scientific transcription of Turkish sounds and the mark system are based on those used in: G. H a z a i, *Das Osmanisch-türkische im XVII. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen an den Transkriptionstexten von Jakab Nagy de Harsány*, Budapest 1973.

*e* ≠ *a*: *esker* (1) ≠ *asker*; *mehrūsanda* (2) ≠ *mahruse*  
*a* ≠ *e*: *kullayı* (1) ≠ *külliye*; *džumla* (1) ≠ *cümle*; *netaki* (2) ≠ *niteki*; *istaduğunuz* (2) ≠ *istemek*

### Progressive assimilation

*a — e* > *a — a*: *hazratları* (1) ≠ *hazret*; *habar* (2) ≠ *haber*; *axtnāma* (2) ≠ *ahitname*; *para* (1) ≠ *pare*; *kala* (1) ≠ *kale*; *adat* (2) ≠ *adet*  
*a — i* > *a — ī*: *dahı* (1) ≠ *dahi*; *Kāzī* (1) ≠ *gazi*; *āhīra* (2) ≠ *ahir*  
*i — ā — e* > *i — e — a*: *vileyat* (1) ~ *viliyat* (1, 2) ≠ *vilāyet*  
*i — ā — e* > *i — ī — a*: *viliyat* (1, 2) ≠ *vilāyet*  
*u — a — e* > *u — a — a*: *muhabat* (2) ≠ *muhabbet*  
*u — e — e* > *u — a — a*: *muhtabar* (1) ≠ *muteber*

### Regressive assimilation

*e — ā* > *a — ā*: *karvān* (2) ≠ *kervan*  
*a — e* > *e — e*: *esker* (1) ≠ *asker*  
*i — ā* > *i — ī*: *rīdžālariñiz* (1) ≠ *rica*  
*e — ī — ā* > *a — ī — ā*: *bazīrg'ān* (1) ≠ *bezirgān*

### Vocal dissimilation

*a* ≠ *e*: *mehrūsanda* (1) ≠ *mahruse*

### Vocal class changes

*e — ī* > *a — ī*: *taslim* (1) ~ *taslim* (2) ≠ *teslim*  
*i — e* > *i — a*: *hīzmat* (1) ≠ *hizmet*

### Labial vowels

Vocal changes may be observed only within velar labials because the palatal labial vowels are not denoted.

*u* ≠ *o*: *Mukač* (1) ≠ *Mohacs*; *Buğdan* (1) ~ *Boğdan* (1) ≠ *Boğdan*

*o* ≠ *u*: *omūrumuż* (1) ≠ *umur*; *groš* (2) ~ *guruš* (2) ≠ *kuruş*

The word *sini᷑r* (1) ~ *sīnır* (1) ≠ *sinır* reflects a transition stage: *i — o* > *i — ī<sub>o</sub>* > *i — ī*. The word *kanon* has probably a foreign vocalism.

Forms which reflect a labial assimilation and delabialization

*o — u*: *doğru* (1) ≠ *doğru*; *Ozu* (1) ≠ *Ozu* (<*o — ī*)

*a — ī*: *kapı* (1) (<*a — u*)

### Labialization

In contact with a labial consonant a non-labial vowel is labialized in following examples:

*b* — *džānubten* (1) ≠ *canip*

*v* — *džuvābi* (1) ≠ *cevap*

## Vowel reduction

*akbatî* (1) ≠ *akibet*; *mada* (1) ~ *maada* (1) ≠ *maada*; *sniôr* (2) *sünür* (2) ≠ *sinur*; *nâm* (2) ~ *axtnâma* (2) ≠ *name*

## Epenthetic vowel

*i* — *vasîl* (1) ≠ *vasil*; *rîzgîk'âr* (1) ≠ *rîzkkâr*

## Epenthetic vowel reduction

*kralî* (1) ≠ *kiral*; *χayr olsun* (1) ≠ *hayir olsun*; *axtnâma* (2) ≠ *ahitname*

## Persian izafet-morphem

Persian izafet-morphem is undergone the palato-velar assimilation, with the exception of: *axt-u amân* (1); *axt-u peymân* (2). Other examples: *axt-i peymân* (2); *huzûr-u hâl* (2); *mâlik-i mehrûsan* (2) ≠ *memaliki mahruse*; *axtnâma-yî hümâyûn* (2); *sulf-u salâh* (1, 2) ≠ *sulh-u salah*; *vîlyat-i buğdan* (2); *sefer-e hümâyûn* (1)

## CONSONANTS

## Voiced — voiceless consonants

Voiceless consonants occur in all positions of the word. However, voiced and voiceless consonants are alternating in word-finals. It is rather a practice of a written language (in Arabic script) to mark the voiced consonants in word-finals.

*t* ≠ *d*: *axtnâma* (2) ≠ *ahitname*; *sîtküilan* (2) ≠ *sîdik*; *işidilirisa* (2) ≠ *işitmek*; *murd* (1) ≠ *murt*; *murâd* (1) ≠ *murat*.

*p* ≠ *b*: *espâbi* (2) ≠ *espap*; *zaptoluna* (2) ≠ *zaptolunmak*; *makpûlumuzdur* (1) ≠ *makbul*; *kasâp* (1) ~ *kasâb* (1) ≠ *kasap*; *gelüp* (1) ≠ *gelmek*; *džânuðten* (1) ≠ *canip*

*g* ≠ *k*: *g'ümriük* (2) ~ *g'ümriüg* (1) ≠ *gümruk*; *kendi* (1) ≠ *kendi*; *beglik* (2) ≠ *beylik*

*g* ≠ *k*: *rîzgîk'âr* (1) ≠ *rîzkkâr*

*g* ≠ *k*: *doğruluğ* (1) ≠ *doğruluk*; *dôstluğ* (1) ~ *dôstlukta* (2) ≠ *dostluk*; *ğuruş* (1) ~ *ğroş* (2) ≠ *kuruş*

*k* ≠ *g*: *kâzî* (1) ≠ *gazi*

*c* ≠ *dž*: *Beç* (1) ≠ *Beç*; *neçeki* (1) ≠ *niceki*

*z* ≠ *s*: *bildirmiñsiz* (1) ≠ *bildirmek*; *inanasiñz* (1) ≠ *inanmak*; *babaniz* (1) ≠ *baba*; *oldunuñz* (1) ≠ *olmak*

## Consonant changes

*k* > *h*: *mehtübunz* (1) ~ *mektûp* (1) ≠ *mektup*

*l* > *l*: *leh* (1) ~ *leh* (1) ≠ *Leh*; *elçi* (1) ~ *elçî* (1) ≠ *elçi*; *kala* (1) ≠ *kale*; *Erdel* (1) ~ *Erdel* (2) ≠ *Erdel*; *ahvâlin* (2) ≠ *ahval*

*m* > *n*: *alîm satîn* (2) ≠ *alm satim*

### Consonant reduction

- $\eta > \emptyset$ : *sora* (1) ≠ *sonra*  
 $t > \emptyset$ : *ref* (1) ~ *reft* (1) ≠ *reft*; *edikta* (1) ≠ *ettikte*  
 $h > \emptyset$ : *fetoldukta* (1) ≠ *fetholmak*

### Geminate consonants reduction

- $kk > k$ : *hakiniżda* (1) ≠ *hak(kki)*  
 $bb > b$ : *muhabata* (2) ≠ *muhabbet*  
 $tt > t$ : *muhabatur* (2) ≠ *muhabbettir*

### Epenthetic consonant

An epenthetic consonant or conjunctive morphem is either marked by *y* or reduced, thus: *tain olmak* (2) ~ *tayin olmak* (1) ≠ *tayin*; *viliati* (1, 2) ~ *viliyatı* (1, 2) ≠ *vilayı*; *sair* (2) ~ *säyir* (2) ≠ *sair*; *läyik* (1) ≠ *lâyık*; *däyim* (2) ≠ *daim*

The 'ayn

'Ayn is rendered by *h* (> *k*) or is reduced —  $h > \emptyset$ : *matäh* (1) (< Arab. *matā*) ≠ *matah*; *aktikā* (2) (< Arab. *i'tikat* > *iħtikāt* > *aktikā*) ≠ *itikat*; *muhtabar* (1) (< Arab. *mu'tabar*) ≠ *muteber*; *mada* (2) ≠ *maada*

### Haplology

Haplology occurs in: *malūmuz* (1) ≠ *malūmumuz*. Other examples of haplology may be considered as orthographical faults because in the corresponding words in Armenian transcription there occur correct forms, for ex.: *mālik-i mehrüsanda* (2) — Armenian: *mamaliki mehrusanda*; *adamız* (1) — Armenian: *adami*.

### Syllable multiplication

The only example occurs in: *alīnīna* (2) ≠ *alina*

### Metathese

*iya* = *ayi*: *kullayi* (1) (< *kulliya*) ≠ *külliye* (Armenian: *kulliya*)

## MORPHOLOGY

### I. Nominal suffixes

#### A. Derivative

Assosiative: *-lik*, *-lik*, *-luk*, *-luğ*: *beglik* (1); *voyvodaliği* (2); *dösluk* (2) ~ *dösluğ* (1); *doğruluğ* (2)

Professional: *-çi*, *-dži*: *elçi* (1, 2); *yardımdži* (1)

Participative: *-g'än*: *bazırg'än* (1, 2); *-k'är*: *rızgik'är* (1)

B. Plural: *-lar*, *-ler*: *g'ümrukların* (2); *kalalar* (1, 2); *beglar* (2); *habarleri* (2)

#### C. Possessive suffixes

a. First person singular: *-im*, *-um*: *omürum* (1); *kapıma* (2)

b. Third person singular: *-i*, *-i*, *-u*, *-sii*: *krali* (1); *kralina* (1); *zanı* (1); *voyvodaşı* (1); *oğluna* (1); *yolundan* (1); *χususu* (1)

c. First person plural: *-miz*, *-miz*, *-İMİZ*, *-imiz*: *babamız* (1); *aramızda* (2); *demiz* (1); *beglerimizdan* (1); *džuvābimizdir* (1)

d. Second person plural: *-İNİZ*, *-iniz*, *-unuz*: *tarafınızdan* (2); *elçiniz* (1); *adatunuz* (2); *mehtübunuz* (1); *dostlugunuz* (1)

e. Third person plural: *-ları*, *-leri*: *größeşleri* (2); *hazratları* (1); *habarleri* (2)

#### D. Suffixes-case

a. Genitive: *-İN*, *-NİN*: *Bugdanın* (2); *haradžin* (2); *bazırg'änlarinin* (1);

b. Accusative: *-İ*, *-İN*: *ahvälİN* (2); *murādiniZİ* (2)

c. Dative: *-A*: *biza* (1); *bug'üna* (1); *üzerina* (2); *yardıma* (1); *oğluna* (1)

d. Locative: *-DE*, *-TA*: *yerde* (2); *bildirdikta* (1); *oldukta* (1)

e. Ablative: *-DAN*, *-DEN*, *-TEN*: *beglerimizdan* (2); *bazırg'än-larindan* (1); *yolundan* (1); *bundan* (1); *viliyatından* (1), *eskiden* (2); *džänubten* (1)

f. Directive: *-AR*: *onar* (2)

### II. Verbum substantivum (Copula)

a. Third person singular: *-DIR*, *-DUR*, *-TİR*, *-TUR*, *-TÜRK*: *sağdır* (2); *džuvābimizdir* (1); *yazılımşıtır* (2); *adamdur* (1); *sağdur* (1); *makpūlumuzdur* (1); *olmıştur* (2); *g'önderilmiştiir* (1)

b. First person plural: *-YIZ*: *üzerindayız* (2)

### III. Verbal suffixes

#### A. Derivative

##### Voice

a. Causative: *-DIR*: *bildirdikta* (1)

b. Passive: *-İL*, *-IL*, *-ÜL*: *verilmak* (1); *g'önderilmiştiir* (1); *işidilirisa* (2); *yazılımşıtır* (2); *verüla* (2) *-İN*, *-UN*: *alındıkta* (2); *oluna* (2)

c. Reciprocal: *-UŞ*: *yapušmayalar* (2)

B. Negative: *-MA*: *g'ečmamak* (1); *varmamak* (1), *olmayıp* (1); *olmayalar* (2)

#### C. Tense — mood suffixes

a. Past tense *-Dİ*: *oldunuz* (1)

b. Past tense *-MIŞ* (Quotative): *olmıştur* (2); *yazılımşıtır* (2); *bildirmiştür* (1); *bildirmişsiz* (1)

c. Aorist: *-İR*, *-ÜİR*, *-AR*: *inanır* (1); *kalar* (2); *χizzmat edar* (1); *gelürsa* (1)

d. Optative: *-A*: *vara* (1); *ola* (1); *g'öndara* (2); *verilmaya* (2); *bildirasız* (2); *olasız* (2); *inanásız* (1); *yapušmayalar* (2); *gelalar* (2); *olmayalar* (2)

e. Conditional: *-SA*: *gelirsa* (1); *gelürsa* (1); *işidilirisa* (2)

f. Imperative: *-SUN*: *χayr olsun* (1)

#### D. Gerunds

a. Consecutive: *-(Y)İP*, *-UP*, *-ÜP*: *yazıp* (2); *g'öndarıp* (1); *olmayıp* (1); *gelüp* (2); *gedüp* (2); *olup* (1)

b. Temporal: *-İNDŽA*: *varındža* (1)

*-indžak*; *gelindžak* (1)

c. General: -e: *g'öre* (2)

-y (< *yi*): *dey* (1) ≠ *diye*

#### E. Verbal-nouns

a. General (and Temporal): -dik, -dik, -duk: *bildirdikta* (1); *murād edikta* (1); *istadiklarınız* (2); *alındıkta* (2); *oldukta* (1); *varduğunda* (2); *istadıgunuz* (2)

b. Agentive: -(y)an, -en: *geçmeyen* (1); *olan* (1); *verilan* (2); *ölanlar* (1)

c. Negative: -mazdan: *alınmazdan* (2)

d. Infinitive: -mak: *varmak* (1); *olmamak* (1)

#### Pronouns

a. Personal: *biz* (2); *biza* (1); *bizim* (1); *siza* (1); *sizin* (1)

b. Demonstrative: *bu* (1); *bundan* (1); *bunlarda* (2); *šu* (1); *o* (2); *ol* (2); *onar* (2)

#### Postpositions

1) *ila*, -*la*, -*ilan*, -*ilan*, -*yilan*: *omūrumuz ila* (1); *Erdella* (1); *elčiniziilan* (1); *zamāniyilan* (2); *eskeriyilan* (1); *sixinilan* (2)

2) *önürdü*: *alınmazdan önürdü* (2)

3) *beri*: *zamāniñdan beri* (1)

4) *üzeri*: *doğruluğ üzerina* (2); *kanon üzerine* (2); *axt-u peymān üzerinde* (2)

5) *sora*: *kendinden sora* (1)

6) *mada*: *bundan mada* (2) ≠ *maada*

7) *g'öre*: *onar g'öre* (2)

8) *ič*: *axtnāma-yi hümāyün ičinda* (2)

9) *yol*: *axt-u peymān yolundan* (2)

10) *hak*: *sizin hakinižda* (1)

#### SYNTAX

The construction of the sentence is very simple, e.g. *Buğdan voyvoda sī*, *Yeremiya voyvoda*, *yarar ve doğru adamdur*. Subordinate clauses are mostly introduced by gerund -ip; temporal clauses by verbal noun -dikta 'when' or -indža, -indžak 'when, as soon as'. Other tenses are asyndetically connected, for ex.: *Biza olan axt-u amān yolundan doğruluğ oldunuz bildirmišsiz*. Predicate in principal clauses builds usually Optative -a, or -miš, -mištir tenses.

#### SOME REMARKS ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE TRANSCRIPTION

The phonetic and morphological characteristics of the transcription reflect a colloquial Turkish of the second half of the 16th century. The author used for example gerunds -indžak<sup>8</sup>, -y<sup>9</sup> and a postposition -ilan<sup>10</sup>. There occur some old

<sup>8</sup> J. Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, Paris 1921, p. 998;

<sup>9</sup> G. Hazai, *Das Osmanisch-türkische im XVII. Jahrhundert ...*, Budapest 1973, p. 396.

<sup>10</sup> J. Deny, op. cit., p. 876.

forms such as: the postposition *önürdü<sup>11</sup>* and the directive case *-ar*. The vocabulary is quite pure Turkish. It is difficult to classify the language of the transcription to any particular Turkish dialect. The very characteristic phonetic feature, namely that velar vowels come after palatal vowels, which is the case in our transcription, is also testified for other Turkish dialects as well as in various Turkish texts in transcription<sup>12</sup>. Other phonetic features occur also in various published transcriptions.

The palato-velar and labio-non-labial assimilation is observed in most cases. The transcription proves a preponderance of velar vowels, especially in suffixes, after palatal vowels. Though it is a common feature in various Turkish dialects, an intermediary influence of Armeno-Kipchak dialect, with which Serebkowicz was certainly acquainted, cannot be neglected. On the other hand, it is possible that the transcription reveals a phonetic variant (*ä*) of the vowel *e*.

The palato-velar assimilation is not observed in 66 cases. Velar vowels occur mostly in following suffixes: Plural *-lar*; Optative *-a*; Conditional *-sa*; Infinitive *-mak*; Negative *-ma*; Genitive case *-i*, *-nin*; Accusative case *-ii*, *-in*; Locative *-da*, *-ta*; Ablative *-dan*; postposition *-la*, *-ilan*. Velar vowels occur after palatal vowels 53 times; palatal vowels after velar vowels 13 times.

The labio-non-labial assimilation is not observed in the following words: *geliüp*, *geliürsa*, *adamdur*, *sağdur*, *olmiştur*, *varduğunda*, *adatunuz*, *verüla*, *yapuşmayalar*, *istadığınız*, *vardukta*, *gedüp*, *muhabatur*, *varduğunda*. Labial vowels occur after non-labial vowels velar 16 times.

Mixed suffixes with back-front vowels are: *-müssiz*, *-ilan*, *-diklarinizila*.

The consonant harmony (assimilation) is observed in most cases, thus: *oldukta* (1); *makpül* (1) ≠ *makbul*; *espābi* (2); *zaptoluna* (2) ≠ *zaptolunmak* (< Arab. *zabit*); *aytnāma* (2) (< Arab. *'ahd*); *sütküilan* (2) ≠ *sıdık*; except of: *džānuňten* (1) ≠ *canip* (b was probably pronounced *p*)

Consonant *l* reveals a tendency to velarization (dark *l*).

#### SOME PHONETIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRANSCRIPTION IN ARMENIAN CHARACTERS

The Armenian alphabet renders consequently nasal consonant *ŋ* = *ng* and guttural consonant *γ*. Voiced consonants occur in such cases where they are voiceless in the Latin script, e.g.: *daraf* (*taraf*); *gélindžag* (*gelindžak*); *Bédž* (*Beč*); *géndi* (*kendi*). Velar vowels occur in some words where there are palatal vowels in the Latin transcription, for ex.: *néčak'i* (*nečeki*); *gora* (*g'öre*); *ierda* (*yerde*); *gerak'* (*g'erek*).

On the other hand, palatal vowels occur in such cases where there are velar vowels in the Latin script: *bašina* (*bašina*); *k'rali* (*krali*); the second person plural

<sup>11</sup> J. Deny, op. cit., p. 623.

<sup>12</sup> J. Ekmann, *Anadolu Karamanlı ağızlarına ait araştırmalar. I. Phonetica*, Ankara 1950, p. 183; G. Hazai, op. cit., p. 381.

of the possessive suffix has always a velar vowel in the second syllable: *-ingiz*, e.g.: *élčingiz; bęgléringizdan*.

Vowel reduction appears in following examples: *snor ~ snır; xruš; saylxıngiz*. An Armenian form is revealed by *Ak'suva* (Dative case of *Ak'su*).

The Armenian transcription provides us with a better spelling in the following examples:

Armenian	Latin	Armenian	Latin
<i>gəndindan</i>	<i>kie[n]dynden</i>	<i>adamē</i>	<i>adamēz</i>
<i>bildirmišsiz</i>	<i>bildirmišsiz</i>	<i>turk'i</i>	<i>tierki</i>
<i>sérhadindan</i>	<i>serhatindan</i>	<i>mamalik'i</i>	<i>māliki</i>
<i>k'ulliya</i>	<i>kullayi</i>	<i>išitilrsa</i>	<i>išidilirisa</i>
<i>k'anun</i>	<i>kanon</i>		

There are word abbreviations which occur often in Armenian writings, such as: *sb* (= *akče*); *pr* (= *pare*)<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> In the above-mentioned Latin transcription (No. 523) there occur the words *akče* and *pare* instead of the abbreviations *sb* and *pr*. See also the interpretation of the abbreviation *sb* as 'srebrnik' (silver coin) in: E. Tryjarski, *Dictionnaire arméno-kiptchak*, vol. I, fasc. 4, Warszawa 1972, p. 670; and a new explanation of this abbreviation as 'asper, silver coin' by Ya. R. Dashkevich and E. Tryjarski, *Армяно-кипчакские долговые обязательства из Эдирне (1609 г.) и Львова (1615 г.)*, RO XXXVII, fasc. 1, 1974, p. 56.