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A BRIEF SKETCH OF SUBSTANTIVE DERIVATION
IN THE 17TH CENTURY TURKISH LANGUAGE

The purpose of this paper is to present some substantival, derivational suffixes existing in the 17th century Turkish language. The substantives selected from the following sources form the basis for the discussed subject:

1. H. Megiser, Thesaurus polyglottus vel Dictionarium multilingue, vol. I-II, Francofurti ad Moenum 1603 (= Meg.);
2. G. Molino, Dittionario della lingua italiana-turческа, Roma 1641 (= Mol.);
3. Illésházy Nicolai Dictionarium Turcico-Latinum, Viennae 1668, edited by J. Németh, Die türkische Sprache in Ungarn im siebzehnten Jahrhundert, Budapest 1970 (= Ill.);
4. J. Nagy de Harsány, Colloquia familiaria turcico-latina, Coloniae Brandenburgicae 1672, described and edited by G. Hazai, Das Osmanisch-Türkische im XVII Jahrhundert, Untersuchungen an den Transkriptionstexten von Jakob Nagy de Harsány, Budapest 1973 (= NdH.);
5. F. Meninski à Mesgnien, Thesaurus linguarum orientalium, Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae, vol. I-III, Viennae 1680 (= Men.).

The material is too plentiful to cite fully, as it consists of more than two thousand examples. Therefore, describing individual suffixes I will be illustrating them only with a few examples.

In the case when the 17th century derivative form, given in brackets just after the date, is identical graphically with the form given as a main entry I omit form given in brackets.

A sign $\underset{\cdot}{g}$ stands for the symbol $\underset{\cdot}{g}$ (letter $\underset{\cdot}{g}$ with a level line above) used by Meninski for Turkish /c/.

In the above-mentioned, 17th century sources, I have found 25 derivative suffixes forming substantives. In general, they create substantives, although among them there are also suffixes forming simultaneously substantives and adjectives. These are: -s, -gan || -kan, -gin || -kin, -(i)k, -mıs. Some of the presented suffixes (-ma, -mak) create not only substantives but also verbal-nominal forms. Therefore, discussing them I will deal only with their substantive forming function in order to conform with the assumed subject of this paper.

As the suffixes are not equally productive, therefore taking into account this very factor, they should be divided into two groups:

1. VERY PRODUCTIVE AND PRODUCTIVE SUFFIXES

These five suffixes (-ci || -ç, -cik || -çik, -ış, -lık, -ma) belong to one group, though the degree of their productivity is different from a very productive -lık (represented by 1406 examples) to the suffix -ma (represented by only 37 examples). Therefore, they are shown below in order, corresponding with their productivity:

1. Suffix -lık¹

This is the most productive suffix occurring in a variety of forms. In the 17th century sources I have found 1406 examples. It creates nouns from almost all grammatical categories but first of all from: nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numbers and different verbal forms. The most popular semantic categories created by this suffix are the following:

a) the general abstract nouns: aydınlık (1603: *aidenligi*) 'splendor' (Meg.II 547), aydınlık (*ajdynlyk*, *ajdynlyk*) 'lumen, lux, fulgor' (Men.I 587, 588, 1029, II 2821, 3057) ≡ aydın 'light'; dostluk (1603: *dostluk*) 'amicitia' (Meg.I 77), dostluk (1641: 'amicitia' (Mol.41), dostluk (1672: *doſtlyk*) (NdH.215, dostluk (1680: *dostlyk*) 'amicitia' (Men.I 176) ≡ dost 'friend';

b) the attributive abstract nouns: acılık (1641: *agilik*) 'amarezza, amaritudine' (Mol. 39), acılık (1680: *açılık*) 'amaritudine' (Men. I 70, 1366, III 4543) ≡ acı 'bitter'; genclik (1603: *gensluk*) 'adolescentia, iuventus' (Meg.I 39), genclik (1680: *genclik*) 'juventus' (Men.II 4034) ≡ genc 'young'; temizlik (1641: 'netezza, politezza' (Mol.290, 309), temizlik (1680: *temizlik*) 'mundities, puritas, nitor' (Men.I 1404) ≡ temiz 'clean';

c) the names of appliances, tools and objects of daily use: başlık (1668: *basluk*) 'habena' (III.154), başlık (1680: *başlyk*) 'tegumentum capitis' (Men.III 5905) ≡ baş 'head'; gözük (1641: *ghiosluk*) 'occhiale' (Mol.276), gözük (1680: *gözük*) 'perspicilla, conspilla, perspicillum' (Men.I 1618, II 4074) ≡ göz 'eye'; tuzluk (1603:

tusluk) 'salinum' (Meg.II 455), tuzluk (1668) 'salinum' (III.201), tuzluk (1680: *tuzlyk*) 'salinum' (Men.I 1461, 1462, II 3144, III 5260) ≡ tuz 'salt';

d) the names of diseases: cüdamlık (1641: *giudamluk*) 'lebbra' (Mol.229), cüdamlık (1680: *giudamlyk*) 'lepra et albiore maculae quae jumento apparent ex alterius morsu' (Men.I 1589) ≡ cüdam = cüzam 'leprosy'; körük (1603: *kiorkluk*) 'caecitas' (Meg.I 192), körük (1641: *kiorkluk*) 'cecita' (Mol.85), körük (1680: *kiorkluk*) 'caecitas' (Men.I 291, II 4065, III 5085) ≡ kör 'blind';

e) the names of dignities, professions and social positions: defterdarlık (1641: *deftardarlik*) 'camerlengato' (Mol.77), defterdarlık (1680: *deftardartyk*) 'officium Praesidis Camerae' (Men.II 2097) ≡ defterdar 'minister of finance'; elçilik (1641: *elcilik*) 'ambasciara' (Mol.40), ilçilik (1680: *ilcilik*) 'Legatio, et ipsum officium Legationis' (Men.I 605) ≡ elçi 'ambassador, envoy'; tercimanlık (1641: *tergimanluk*) 'interpretatione' (Mol.219), tercümānlik (1680: *tergiūmānyk*) 'officium interpretis, interpretatura' (Men.I 1144) ≡ tercūman 'interpreter';

f) the names of places with elements of nature: çamlık (1641: *ciamluk*) 'pineto luogo piantato di pini' (Mol.307) ≡ çam 'pine-tree'; kamışlık (1641: *ghamisc-lik*) 'canneto' (Mol.79), kamışlık (1680: *kamışlyk*) 'arundinetum' (Men.II 3598) ≡ kamış 'reed'; taşlık = daşlık (1641: *dasc-lik*) 'arabia, petrea' (Mol.56), taşlık (*taşlyk*) 'locus lapidosus, lapidibus abundans, lapidosa, petraea loca, saxetum' (Men.II 2689, 3068) ≡ taş 'stone';

g) the name qualifying the state, situation and psychical experiences: dulluk (1641: *dulluk*) 'veduanza' (Mol.475), dulluk (1680: *dullyk*) 'viduitas' (Men.I 1019, II 3152) ≡ dul 'widow'; sarhoşluk (1641: *sarhosc = lik*) 'imbriachezza' (Mol.192), sarhoşluk (1668: *szárhosluk*) 'ebrietas' (III.193), serhoşluk (1680: *serchoşlık*, *serchoşlyk*) 'crapula, ebrietas seu q. ebriositas, vinolentia, temulentia' (Men.I 862, 1533, II 2589, III 4634) ≡ sarhoş, 'drunk';

h) the names of time and distance: aralık (1680: *aralyk*) 'interstitium, intervallum, intermedium, medium rei' (Men.I 128, 1926) ≡ ara 'the space between'; gündelük (1641: *ghiundeluk*) 'giornata opera di un giorno' (Mol.164) ≡ günde ≡ gün 'day'; yıllık (1641: *illik*) 'annuale' (Mol.51), yıllık (1680: *jillyk*) 'annus, anni decursus' (Men.III 5603) ≡ yıl 'year';

i) the names of places used for storing different things: fişeklik (1668: *fissekluk*) 'teca ulveris' (III.173), fişeklik (1680: *fişeklik*) 'theca bombardaria' (Men.II 3524) ≡ fişek 'cartridge'; göğercinlik (1641: *ghioghierginlik*) 'colombaio' (Mol.95), göğercinlik (1680: *gög'erginlik*) 'columbarium, peristreon, peristerotrophium' (Men.II 4086) ≡ güvercin 'pigeon'; kömürlik (1641: *kiomurlik*) 'carbonaia' (Mol.81) ≡ kömür 'coal';

j) the names of action and the result of the action.

This suffix also creates substantives from verbal forms with various denotation, however mostly denoting the action and the result of the action denoted by a verb.

The most frequent verbal forms to which suffix -lik is added are the forms with the following endings: -ma, -mak, -maz. Here are some examples of these forms:

1. after the -ma ending: aldatmalık (1641: aldatmalik) 'fraude inganno, gabba-mento' (Mol.154,158) $\Leftarrow$ aldatma 'cheating'; bağirmalık (1641: baghrmalık) 'urla-mento' (Mol.488) $\Leftarrow$ bağırma 'yelling'; barışmalık (1641: barışc-malik) 'pace' (Mol.228) $\Leftarrow$ barışma 'reconciliation'; kapmalık (1641: kapmalik) 'rapacita' (Mol.337) $\Leftarrow$ kapma 'seized, snatched'; saymalık (1641: saimalik) 'numerazione' (Mol.274) $\Leftarrow$ sayma 'counting, enumerating'; unutmalık (1641: unutmak) 'scordameto' (Mol.387) $\Leftarrow$ unutma 'forgetting';

2. after the -mak ending: bilmeklik (1641) 'cognitione, notitia, sapientia, sagacita' (Mol.94,273,368,372) $\Leftarrow$ bilmek $\Leftarrow$ bil- 'know'; değişmeklik (1641: deghisc-meklik) 'variabilita' (Mol.472) $\Leftarrow$ değişmek $\Leftarrow$ değiş- 'change, vary'; kaçmaklık (1680: kaçmaklyk) 'fuga ipsum, fugere' (Men.II 3375) $\Leftarrow$ kaçmak $\Leftarrow$ kaç- 'escape';

3. after the -maz ending: açmazlık (1680: açmazlyk) 'dissimulatio' (Men.I 65) $\Leftarrow$ açmaz $\Leftarrow$ aç- 'open'; yaramazlık (1603: iaramaslyk) 'malignitas' (Meg.II 13), yaramazlug (1668: iaramazlug) 'Unschicklichkeit' (III.205) $\Leftarrow$ yaramaz $\Leftarrow$ yara- 'be useful, suitable'.

2. Suffix -cı || -çi

This very productive suffix (in the 17th century sources represented by 401 examples) is added to nouns and occasionally to adjectives, verbs and adverbs to denote people who are professionally or habitually concerned with or devoted to the object, person or quality denoted by the basic word. Three semantic categories can be formed by this suffix:

a) the nouns denoting occupation: buçakçı (1641: buciakgi) 'coltellaro' (Mol.97), biçakçı (1680: biçiakçı) 'cultarius' (Men.I 711) $\Leftarrow$ biçak 'knife'; fenerci (1641: fenergi) 'lanterniere' (Mol.227), fenerci (1680: fenerçi) 'laternarius' (Men.II 3551) $\Leftarrow$ fener 'lantern'; tarakçı (1680: tarakçı) 'pectinum artifex' (Men.II 2757) $\Leftarrow$ tarak 'comb';

b) the names of people with special features, inclinations: inadçı, inatçı (1641: inadgi, inatgi) 'ostinato pertinace' (Mol.286,301), inadçı (1680: ynādçı) 'obfirmatus, obstinatus, pertinax, pervicax, contrarius' (Men.II 3335,4154, III 4751) $\Leftarrow$ inat 'obstinacy'; müjdeci (1680: müjdeçi) 'lator vel annunciator boni novi' (Men.I 835, III 4279,4598,4674) $\Leftarrow$ müjde 'good news'; yalancı (1603: ialangi) 'mendax' (Meg.II 46), yalancı (1641: ialangi, ialanci) 'bugiardo, fallace' (Mol.75,140,141), yalancı (1668: ialangy adam) 'vir mendax' (III.204), yalancı (1680: jalançı) 'mentiens, mendax, non verus' (Men.II 3837) $\Leftarrow$ yalan 'lie';

c) the names of people being in a certain situation, circumstances: davacı (1680: daewaği) 'litigans, actor, praetensor, aspirans' (Men.II 2091, III 6064) $\Leftarrow$ dava 'problem, cause'; yolcu (1603: jolgi) 'caupo' (Meg.234), yolcu (1641: iolgi) 'viandante' (Mol.479), yolcu (1680: jolçi) 'viatores, latro, qui vias infestat, viam tenens' (Men.I 32, II 2267,2522) $\Leftarrow$ yol 'road'.

3. Suffix -cik || -çik

This is a popular suffix forming substantives from the nominal bases. In the 17th century sources, I have found 87 examples illustrating this suffix. The examples can be divided into two groups according to the semantic categories they form:

a) the names with diminutive meaning: ademcük (1641: ademgiuk) 'Huomicciulo' (Mol.177), ademcik (1680: ademgik) 'homuncio, homunculus' (Men.I 116) $\Leftarrow$ adem = adēm 'man'; çiçekcük (1641: cicekgiuk) 'fiore picciolo' (Mol.149) $\Leftarrow$ çiçek 'flower'; hayvancık (1641: haiuangik) 'animaletto' (Mol.49) $\Leftarrow$ hayvan 'animal'; karıncecik (1680: kaeringegik) 'formicula' (Men.III 5019) $\Leftarrow$ karınca 'ant'; paracuk (1641: para-giuk) 'pezzetto picciolo' (Mol.303) $\Leftarrow$ para 'money'; tilkicük (1641: tilkigiuk) 'volpetta' (Mol.487), tilkicik (1680: tilkiçik) 'vulpecula' (Men.II 2127) $\Leftarrow$ tilki 'fox'; zelzelecik (1680: zelzeleçik) 'levis terrae motus' (Men.II 2459) $\Leftarrow$ zelzele 'earthquake';

b) the names of plants: altuncık (1680: altunçik) 'auredus, caltha' (Men.I 382) $\Leftarrow$ altun = altın 'gold'; çancık (1680: çiangik) 'bistorta herba' (Men.I 1697) $\Leftarrow$ çan 'bell'; horosçık (1680: chorosçik) 'lepidium' (Men.I 1888) $\Leftarrow$ horoz 'rooster'.

4. Suffix -iş

This is also a productive suffix forming substantives from verbal forms with the denotation closely connected with the meaning of the verbal basis. This group, containing 70 derivatives with the suffix -iş, can be divided into two semantic subgroups:

a) the general abstract nouns: biliş (1680: biliş) 'notitia' (Men.I 876,1004) $\Leftarrow$ bil- 'know'; görüş (1680: görış) 'visio, aspectus, perspicacitas' (Men.I 1012, II 4062, III 5204) $\Leftarrow$ gör- 'see'; seviş (1680: sewiş) 'amatio, amor, dilectio' (Men.II 2711) $\Leftarrow$ sev- 'love';

b) the names of action and the result of the action: çekiş (1680: çek'is, çekis) 'rixa, contentio, tractio' (Men.I 1629,1631) $\Leftarrow$ çek- 'pull'; dönüş (1680: dönış) 'reditus, gyratio, conversio, reversio' (Men.II 2194,3911) $\Leftarrow$ dön- 'go round, turn';

kırı (1680: kyrys) 'fractio, fractura' (Men.II 3685,3666) $\Leftarrow$ kır- 'break'; yürü (1680: jurujiş, juris, jüris) 'gressus, incessus' (Men.II 2340, III 5616) $\Leftarrow$ yürü- 'walk'.

5. Suffix -ma

This productive suffix (confirmed by 37 the 17th century examples) produces substantives from all verbs. It forms several semantic categories. These are:

a) the names of action and the result of the action: basma (1641) 'stampa' (Mol.429), basma (1668: bazl(m)a) 'la stampa' (III.154), basma (1680) 'typus, typographia' (Men.I 836) $\Leftarrow$ bas- 'print'; değişme (1680: degişme) 'mutatio, variatio' (Men.II 2107) $\Leftarrow$ değiş- 'change'; titreme (1680) 'tremor, rigor febris' (Men.II 4165) $\Leftarrow$ titre- 'tremble, shiver';

b) the names of appliances, tools and objects of daily use: burma (1680) 'cochlea, clavus capreolatim' (Men.I 916) $\Leftarrow$ bur- 'twist, screw'; kapama (1680) 'tunica, vestis interior' (Men.II 3611) $\Leftarrow$ kapa- 'cover'; kazma (1680) 'ligo, rutrum' (Men.II 3582) $\Leftarrow$ kaz- 'dig, excavate';

c) the culinary terminology: dolma (1680: dolma) 'farsura' (Men.II 3153) $\Leftarrow$ dol- 'fill up'; kavurma (1680: kawurma) 'frixum, caro frixa' (Men.II 3603) $\Leftarrow$ kavur- 'fry, roast'; sarma (1680) 'minutal foliis vitis involutum' (Men.II 2916) $\Leftarrow$ sar- 'wrap'.

There is also one example of the category denoting occupation: yanasma (1680: janaşma) 'famulus mercede conductus, non mancipium' (Men.III 5553) $\Leftarrow$ yanas- 'incline, seem willing'.

II. UNPRODUCTIVE AND RARE SUFFIXES

Here are twenty suffixes: -ak, -an, -cak || -çak, -cil || -çil, -ç, -daş || -taş, -di || -ti, -ga, -gan || -kan, -gi || -ki, -gic, -gin || -kin, -i, -(i)k, -im, -(i)ndi || -(i)nti, -maç, -mak, -miş, -sak.

As in the previous group, the suffixes will be presented in order according to their productivity. Suffix -(i)k is the most productive here, as it counts 19 examples. The least productive are: -gan, -maç, confirmed by only one example.

1. Suffix -(i)k

This is an unproductive suffix creating new derivatives from verbal stems. In the 17th century sources I have found 19 examples with this suffix. The derivatives with suffix -(i)k belong to the following semantic groups:

a) the names of action and the result of the action: aksirik (1641: aksirik) 'starnuto' (Mol.430) $\Leftarrow$ aksır- 'sneeze' buruşık (1680: buruşyk) 'rugae' (Men.I 914) $\Leftarrow$ buruş- 'become wrinkled'; öksürük (1680: ök'sürük) 'tussis' (Men.I 532,1920) $\Leftarrow$ öksür- 'cough';

b) the names of appliances, tools and objects of daily use: sarik (1680: saryk) 'cidaris, tiara' (Men.II 2915,3326) $\Leftarrow$ sar- 'wrap'; tarak (1603) 'pecten' (Meg.II 223), tarak (1680) 'pecten' (Men.II 2756,3100,3102) $\Leftarrow$ tara- 'comb';

c) the names of plants: sarmaşık (1680: sarmaşık) 'hedera' (Men.I 773,1955, II 2916,4147) $\Leftarrow$ sarmaş- 'embrace'.

2. Suffix -ak

This suffix which is not common (only eleven examples) forms substantives from verbal and nominal bases. Here are the categories formed by the suffix:

a) the names of different places: durak (1680) 'locus consistentiae, domicilium' (Men.II 3141, III 6000) $\Leftarrow$ dur- 'stop'; konak (1641) 'albergo, allogiamento' (Mol. 29), konak (1672: konag) 'Wohnhaus, Unterkunft' (NdH.242), konak (1680: konak, konuk) 'hospitium, domus mansio, loca descensus' (Men.II 3799, III 4921, 4955) $\Leftarrow$ kon- 'lay, spend a night'; yatak (1672: iatak) 'Bett, Schlafstelle' (NdH.230,236), yatak (1680: jatak) 'cubile' (Men.III 5533) $\Leftarrow$ yat- 'lie down';

b) the names of appliances, tools and objects of daily use: biçak (1603: bitschak) 'culter' (Meg.I 376), biçak (1668: bicsak) 'culter' (III.156), biçak (1680: biçiak) 'culter' (Men.I 711) $\Leftarrow$ biç- 'cut'; ölçek (1680: olček) 'mensura' (Men.I 541) $\Leftarrow$ ölç- 'measure';

c) the names of the subject of the action: kaçak (1680: kaçiak) 'fuga' (Men.II 3632) $\Leftarrow$ kaç- 'escape'; korkak (1641) 'coderdo' (Mol.93), korkak (1680) 'timidus, meticulous, pusillanimis, ignavus' (Men.II 3789) $\Leftarrow$ kork- 'fear'; oturak (1672) 'Landwehr' (NdH.275), oturak (1680) 'statinus miles, seu rude donatus, exemptus et liber à bellicâ expeditione, emeritus' (Men.I 484) $\Leftarrow$ otur- 'sit down'.

There are also two examples among these derivatives that do not have a clear semantic connection with the bases they have been formed from. However, it is self-evident that originally this suffix used to create diminutives². Thus, the following derivatives at first had a diminutive meaning and then during semantic transformations they obtained the new sense denoting anatomical names: kolak, kolak (1603: kolagh, kolak) 'auris' (Meg.I 155), kulak (1680) 'auris' (Men.I 120) $\Leftarrow$ kul 'slave'; yanak (1603: ganak) 'gena' (Meg.I 593), yanak (1641: ianak) 'guancia' (Mol. 172), yanak (1680: jan-ak) 'gena' (Men.III 5594) $\Leftarrow$ yan 'side'.

3. Suffix -daş || -taş

This is an unproductive suffix forming substantives, denoting the co-agent being in the state or performing the action, which are semantically connected with the basic substantive from which the new derivatives are being formed. The group counts only eleven entries. Examples: addaş (1680: addaś) 'cognomen seu ejusdem nominis' (Men.I 110) ≤ ad 'name'; ayaktaş (1680: ajaktaś) 'socius pedum, socius' (Men.I 578, III 5496) ≤ ayak 'foot'; dindaş (1680: dindaś) 'ejusdem religionis' (Men.III 5496) ≤ din 'religion'; köydaş (1680: k'öjdaś) 'popularis, ejusdem pagi, villicus' (Men.II 4101, III 5492) ≤ köy 'village, country'; yaşdaş (1680: jaśdaś) 'rowiennik' (Men.I 5544) ≤ yaş 'age'.

4. Suffix -ı

This unproductive suffix, confirmed by only eleven examples, forms substantives denoting generally the product or the state originating from the performance of the action denoted by the verb. Here are some semantic categories formed by this suffix:

a) the names of action and the result of the action: koku (1641) 'fetore' (Mol. 145,426) ≤ kok- 'smell'; korku (1641) 'tema' (Mol.448); korku (1672, NdH.242), korku, korkular (1680) 'metus, terror, formido' (Men.I 20, II 3790, III 4469,5457) ≤ kork- 'fear, be afraid'; sevi (1680: sevi) 'amor' (Men.II 2716) ≤ sev- 'love'; yazi (1668: iazi) 'scriptura' (III.206), yazi, yazu (1680: jazi, jazu) 'scriptura' (Men.III 5542) ≤ yaz- 'write';

b) the names of different places: yapi (1641: japi) 'edefitio, fabrica' (Mol.131), yapi, yapu (1680: japy, japu) 'aedificium, fabrica' (Men.III 5532) ≤ yap- 'do, make';

c) the culinary terminology: yeyü (1680: jejü) 'edulium, cibus' (Men.III 5642, 5648) ≤ ye- 'eat'.

5. Suffix -ım

This is an unproductive suffix forming new derivatives from the verbal stems. In the 17th century sources, the suffix is confirmed only by ten examples.

In general, the derivatives with the suffix -ım denote the action, the state or the result of the action: adım (1603) 'passus' (Meg.II 214), adım (1668) 'passus' (III.149), adım, adım (1680: adym, adüm) 'passus' (Men.I 118) ≤ ad- 'step'; alım, alım (1680: atym, alüm) 'captus' (Men.I 397) ≤ al- 'take'; atım (1641: atim) 'tiro,

lancio' (Mol.457) ≤ at- 'throw'; doyum (1668: doim) 'praeda' (III.170), doyum (1680: dojum) 'praeda, spolia' (Men.II 3157) ≤ doy- 'become filled'; ulum (1603) 'mors' (Meg.II 83), ülüm (1680) 'mors' (Men.III 5007) ≤ öl- 'die'; yarum (1680: yarüm) 'medietas, medius' (Men.III 5538) ≤ yar- 'split'.

Sometimes, the derivatives with the suffix -ım have a different meaning than the verbal bases they originate from. They denote different objects or even places: geçim (1680: geçim) 'lorica, thorax' (Men.I 1918, II 3881) ≤ geç- 'pass by'; kaldırım, kaldürüm (1680: kaldırym, kaldürüm) 'pavimentum, stratum' (Men.II 3592, 3746) ≤ kaldır- 'raise'; kurum (1680) 'fuligo' (Men.II 3791,4187) ≤ kuru- 'dry'; uçurum (1680: uçırum) 'praecipitium' (Men.I 492) ≤ uçur- 'cut off with a single stroke'.

6. Suffix -ğı || -kı

This unproductive suffix, representing by only seven examples, forms derivatives from the verbal stems. The substantives with this suffix represent the following semantic categories:

a) the names of appliances, tools and objects of daily use: biçki, biçku (1680: bičky, bičku) 'serra, lucrum, scalprum' (Men.I 713,2076, III 5916) ≤ biç- 'cut'; silgi (1680: silgi) 'peniculum' (Men.II 2661) ≤ sil- 'wipe';

b) the general abstract nouns: bilgi (1680: bilgü) 'notitia, scientia' (Men.III 5965) ≤ bil- 'know'; sevgü (1680: sewgü) 'amor, dilectio' (Men.II 2714) ≤ sev- 'love'; uyku (1668: uiku) 'somnia' (III.203) ≤ uy- 'dream';

c) the names of action and the result of the action: virgi (1680: wirgi, wirgü) 'tributum, contributio' (Men.I 36, III 5422) ≤ vir- = ver- 'give';

d) the names of the object of the action: içki, işki (1680: ičky, işki) 'vinum, acetum' (Men.I 62, III 5745) ≤ iç- 'drink'.

7. Suffix -cak

This is also a less productive suffix (confirmed by six examples) creating substantives from nominal and verbal (mostly the passive voice) forms. In some cases, the derivatives with this suffix have diminutive meaning.

All examples given below can be divided into three semantic categories:

a) the names with diminutive meaning: çubucak (1680: çıbugiak) 'virgula, bacillus' (Men.I 1579) ≤ çubukcak ≤ çubuk 'rod, stick'; ısıcak (1680: issiçgiak) 'subcalidus, calidior, calor' (Men.I 227) ≤ ısı 'heat';

b) the names of appliances, tools and objects of daily use: kolçak (1680: kolčiak) 'armilla, brachiale' (Men.II 3804) ≤ kol 'arm'; salıncak (1680: salıncıak, salıncıak, salıncıak) 'oscillum, oscilla, orum, vectabulum' (Men.II 2923, 4046, III 5162) ≤ salın- 'swing, wave'; yastanacak (1680: jastanağıak) 'pulvinus' (Men.III 5579) ≤ yastan- = yaslan- 'lean against sth., support';

c) the names of the subject of the action: asılacak (1680: asylağıak) 'suspendus, furcifer' (Men.I 30, 258) ≤ asil- 'be hung'.

8. Suffix -(i)ndi || -(i)nti

This unproductive suffix creates substantives from verbal bases. In the 17th century sources, I have found only six derivatives. The derivatives formed with this suffix denote the names of action or the result of the action: bragındı (1680: braghindy) 'res rejectita' (Men.III 5929) ≤ brak- ≤ birak- 'quit, leave'; karıntı (1680: karynty) 'turba, typhon' (Men.II 3666) ≤ kar- 'mix'; kesindi, kesinti (1680: kesiindy, kesinty) 'praeseqmen, subseciva, quod dedit ex re secta aut scissa' (Men.II 3955) ≤ kes- 'cut'; kırıntı (1680: kirynty) 'fragmentum, item accessio' (Men.II 3678) ≤ kır- 'break'; kırkıntı, kırkındı (1680: kyrkynty, kyrkyndy) 'tonsura, quod detonsum est' (Men.II 3674) ≤ kırk- 'clip'; süpüründi (1672: şüpüründi) 'kehricht, Abfall' (NdH.259) ≤ süpür- 'sweep'.

9. Suffix -ç

This unproductive suffix represented by 5 examples creates substantives mostly from verbal bases. Added to verbal form ended with -n the suffix has form -ç. It creates different categories:

a) the names of appliances, tools and objects of daily use: kısac (1680: kysağ) 'forceps, tenaculum' (Men.II 3705) ≤ kıs- "squeeze"; tıkac (1680: tykağ) 'obturator' (Men.II 3115) ≤ tika- "stuff up";

b) the names of action and the result of the action: kazanc (1680: kazang) 'lucrum' (Men.II 3582) ≤ kazan- "earn, gain";

c) the names of the subject of the action: sulanç (1680: sulang) 'potator, aquator' (Men.I 17) ≤ sulan- "become wet".

However, there is also one example formed from a nominal basis: bakrac (1641: bakraq) 'secchia da canar acqua' (Mol.391) ≤ bakır "copper".

10. Suffix -dı || -tı

This is a rare suffix, represented by only three examples, forming substantives from onomatopoeic words. Derivatives with this suffix denote the action or the state described by the basis they are derived from. Examples: fısıldı (1680: fysyldy) 'susurrus, obmurmuratio' (Men.II 3522) ≤ fısil fısil 'with a whisper, with a whispering voice'; kütürdi (1680: kütürdy) 'rumor, tumultus' (Men.II 3873) ≤ kütür kütür 'a crunching sound'; mirildi (1680: myryldy) 'murmur, strepitus' (Men.III 4582) ≤ miril miril 'muttering, grumbling'.

11. Suffix -ga

This is also a rare suffix confirmed by only three 17th century examples. Substantives created by this suffix denote:

a) the names of living things: çekirge (1680: çek'rg'e) 'locusta' (Men.III 4891) ≤ çekir çekir 'a cracking sound';

b) the names of appliances, tools and objects of daily use: supurge (1668: supurğ'e) 'scopae' (III.196), supurge (1680) 'scopae' (Men.I 1547) ≤ süpür- 'sweep';

c) the names of action and the result of the action: kasırğa (1680: kasyrgha) 'turbo, typhon' (Men.II 3585, 3707) ≤ kasır- ≤ kas- 'tighten, stretch tight'.

12. Suffix -gıç || -kıç

This rare suffix, confirmed by only three examples, creates derivatives from verbal bases. The substantives with this suffix denote:

a) the names of appliances, tools and objects of daily use: patlangıç (1680: patlanghyç) 'sclopus' (Men.I 708) ≤ patla- 'explode'; pirlangıç (1680: pyrlanghyç) 'turbo, trochus' (Men.I 784) ≤ pirla- 'flutter, try to fly';

b) the names of the subject of the action: dalgıç (1680: dalghyç) 'urinator' (Men.II 2008, 3121) ≤ dal- 'plunge, dive'.

13. Suffix -an

This is a rare suffix creating substantives from verbal bases. In the 17th century sources, I have found only two examples with this suffix. Derivatives with it denote:

a) the culinary terminology: ayran (1680: airan) 'oxygala, lac serorum' (Men.I 590) ≤ ayır- 'separate';

b) the names of appliances, tools and objects of daily use: kapan (1680) 'statera major, trutina' (Men.II 3611), demir kapan (1680: demyr kapan) 'magnes' (Men.III 4850) $\Leftarrow$ kap- 'carry off, catch'.

14. Suffix -cıl || -çıl

This is a rare suffix represented by only two examples. It denotes the names of birds: balıkçıl (1680: balykçıl) 'ardea' (Men.I 627) $\Leftarrow$ balık 'fish'; tavşancıl (1680: tawşançıl) 'aquila' (Men.II 3145) $\Leftarrow$ tavşan 'hare'.

15. Suffix -gın || -kın

In the 17th century, this suffix seems to be rare as it is confirmed by only two examples denoting:

a) the names of the subject of the action: kaçkun (1680: kaçkun) 'profugus, transfuga' (Men.II 3574) $\Leftarrow$ kaç- 'escape';

b) the names of action and the result of the action: yangın (1680: janghyn) 'incendium' (Men.III 5553) $\Leftarrow$ yan- 'burn'.

16. Suffix -mak

This is widely known infinitive suffix. Sometimes, however, it can create substantives denoting the result of the action. Although, in this very function, it is extremely rare. In the 17th century sources, it is represented by only two examples: gülmek (1603: gulmech) 'risus' (Meg.II 432) $\Leftarrow$ gül- 'laugh'; karişmak (1680: karişmak) 'mixtio, confusio, turba' (Men.II 3578) $\Leftarrow$ kariş- 'mix'.

17. Suffix -miş

This suffix produces past participial forms from each verb. Some forms with this suffix function as substantives, but they are rare (only two examples). The examples, given here, represent the following categories:

a) the subject of the action: güzel okumış (1680: güzel okumış) 'doctus, bonus scriptor, philologus' (Men.III 4411) $\Leftarrow$ güzel oku- 'read well'.

b) the object of the action: yemiş (1680: jemiş, iemiş) 'fructus unus' (Men.I 1532, III 5080, 5607) $\Leftarrow$ ye- 'eat'.

18. Suffix -sak

This rare suffix forms substantives from verbal forms. Two examples with the suffix represent two different semantic categories:

a) the anatomical terminology: dirsek (1680) 'cubitus' (Men.III 4578) $\Leftarrow$ diresek $\Leftarrow$ dire- 'prop';

b) the object of the action: tutsak (1680) 'captive, bello captivus' (Men.I 227, II 3136), tusak (1603) 'laquear' (Meg.I 777) $\Leftarrow$ tut- 'catch'.

19. Suffix -gan

This suffix forms adjectives semantically connected with verbs they are derived from. Sometimes it also forms substantives, as a result of semantic substantivation. However, in this very function it rarely occurs. The only example, given below, denotes the name of a plant: ısırgan (1680: ysyrghan) 'mordax, rapax' (Men.I 254) $\Leftarrow$ ısır- 'bite'.

20. Suffix -mağ

This rare suffix forms substantives mostly denoting food. However, the only example I have found does not show this kind of denotation. It denotes the abstract name: yanıltmac (1680: jany-yltmağ) 'dictorium aut locutio' (Men.III 5594) $\Leftarrow$ yanıl- $\Leftarrow$ yanıl- 'err, go wrong, miss'.

The suffixes presented above form the following semantic categories:

- 1) the general abstract nouns (suffixes: -ış, -lık, -mac);
- 2) the attributive abstract nouns (suffix -lık);
- 3) the names of appliances, tools and objects of daily use (suffixes: -ak, -an, -cak || -çak, -ç, -cı || -kı, -quç, -(i)k, -im, -lık, -ma);
- 4) the names of diseases (suffix -lık);
- 5) the names of dignities, professions and social positions (suffix -lık);
- 6) the names of places used for storing different things (suffix -lık);
- 7) the names of places with elements of nature (suffix -lık);
- 8) the names qualifying the state, situation and psychical experiences (suffix -lık);
- 9) the names of time and distance (suffix -lık);
- 10) the names of different places (suffixes: -ak, -ı, -im);
- 11) the names of action and the result of the action (suffixes: -ç, -di || -tı, -ga, -cı || -kı, -gın || -kın, -ı, -(i)k, -(i)ndi || -(i)nti, -im, -ış, -lık, -ma, -mak);

- 12) the names of people with special features, inclinations (suffix -ci || -çü);
- 13) the nouns denoting occupation (suffixes: -ci || -çü, -ma);
- 14) the names of people being in a certain situation, circumstances (suffix -ci || -çü);
- 15) the names with diminutive meaning (suffixes: -cak || -çak, -cik || -çik);
- 16) the names of plants (suffixes: -cik || -çik, -gan, -(ü)k);
- 17) the anatomical terminology (suffixes: -ak, -sak);
- 18) the culinary terminology (suffixes: -an, -i, -ma);
- 19) the names of the subject of the action (suffixes: -ak, -cak || -çak, -ç, -güç, -gün || -kın, -mıs);
- 20) the names of co-agent (suffix -daş || -taş);
- 21) the names of the object of the action (suffixes: -gi || -ki, -mıs, -sak);
- 22) the names of living things (suffix -ga);
- 23) the names of birds (suffix -ci || -çil).

All suffixes discussed here create derivatives from two different formative bases i.e. nominal and verbal ones. Some new forms stem out from only one type of the basis, the others from both kinds. The following suffixes form substantives both from the nominal bases and the verbal ones: -ak, -an, -cak || -çak, -ç, -lik, -sak.

Dealing with the 17th century material, I have found some derivatives which have a very clear formative structure, but they do not have any semantic connection with the bases they are derived from. These are:

urumcek (1603: urumgek) 'araneus' (Meg.I 112), örümcek (1680: örümgek¹) 'araneus' (Men.I 150,503), cf.: örü 'texture, plaited or woven thing';

sarumsak (1603) 'allium' (Meg.I 69), sarumsak (1641) 'aglio' (Mol.26), sarımsak (1680: sarımsak, sarymsak) 'allium, coepa sylvestris' (Men.I 874, II 2601,2916) ≡ sarım 'bandage, a turn of winding' ≡ sar- 'wind, wrap around';

yara (1603: iara) 'vulnus' (Meg.II 745), yara (1541: iara) 'piaga' (Mol.303) ≡ yar- 'split, cut through'.

There are also two derivatives with derivative suffix -t. However, the formative structure of the derivatives with this suffix is unclear. These are: ögüt (1680: ögüt) 'monitum, consilium' (Men.III 5196), ölet (1680) 'pestis, pestilentia' (Men.III 5864). Therefore, the above mentioned derivatives and their suffixes cannot be taken into account in the review presented here.

Notes

¹ E. Siemienieć-Gotaś, The Nouns with Suffix -lik in the 17th Century Ottoman Turkish Language, *Folia Orientalia* XXIII, 1985-1986, pp. 143-150.

² A. Zajączkowski, Sufiksy imienne i czasownikowe w języku zachodniokaraïmskim, Kraków 1932, p. 17.

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