

Classification of Turkic (and via Turkic) Loanwords in the Polish Vocabulary

Lehçenin Söz Varlığındaki Türkçe Kökenli veya Türkçe Aracılığıyla Ödünçlenen Sözcüklerin Sınıflandırılması

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ABSTRACT

Interlingual borrowing is the process by which a language borrows words or structures from another language. This process occurs as a result of various interactions such as cultural, commercial, technological, literary, scientific, and historical. Any language can borrow words or terms from another language to refer to a new object, idea, or cultural element. This contributes to enriching the vocabulary of a language, increases its diversity, and expanding its possibilities of expression. The evolution of language and such lexical exchanges reveal the dynamic nature of languages and the importance of cultural communication. The Polish language has also borrowed many words of Turkish origin as a result of interactions with Turks or Turkish communities throughout history. The presence of these words of Turkish origin is a result of long-term political, military, and commercial relations with Turkish-speaking communities, especially the Tatars and the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, this paper focuses on the classification of words of Turkish origin in Polish and loanwords that passed through Turkish and their impact on Polish culture and language. At the same time, taking into account Poland's historical relations with Turkish culture and languages, this study also analyzes how and in which periods words originating from Turkish languages were included in Polish and the differences in meaning and usage of these words have undergone. These borrowings enriched the Polish vocabulary by reflecting a different cultural heritage and linguistic expressions. This paper reveals the evolution of these borrowings from Proto-Turkic to modern times by classifying them according to their usage and highlighting their semantic and phonetic adaptations in Polish.

Keywords: Borrowing, Polish, Turkish and Turkic Languages, Interlingual Interaction

ÖZ

Diller arası ödünçleme, bir dilin başka bir dilden sözcük veya dil yapısı ödünç almasıdır. Bu süreç kültürel, ticari, teknolojik, edebi, bilimsel ve tarihsel gibi çeşitli etkileşimler sonucunda gerçekleşir. Bir dil, yeni bir nesneyi, fikri veya kültürel unsuru ifade etmek için başka bir dilden sözcük veya terimler alabilir ve böylece dilin söz varlığı zenginleşir, çeşitlilik artar ve ifade olanakları genişler. Dilin evrimi ve bu tür sözcük alışverişleri, dillerin dinamik doğasını ve kültürel iletişimin önemini ortaya koymaktadır. Lehçe de tarih boyunca Türklerle veya Türk topluluklarıyla olan etkileşimler sonucu birçok Türkçe kökenli sözcüğü

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bünyesine katmıştır. Söz konusu Türkçe kökenli sözcüklerin varlığı, özellikle başta Tatarlar ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu olmak üzere Türkçe konuşan topluluklarla uzun süreli siyasi, askeri ve ticari etkileşimlerin bir sonucudur. Bu nedenle bu çalışmada Lehçede yer alan Türkçe kökenli sözcükler ile Türkçe aracılığıyla geçen alıntı sözcüklerin sınıflandırılması ve bu sözcüklerin Polonya kültürü ve dili üzerindeki etkileri ele alınmaktadır. Aynı zamanda Polonya'nın Türk kültürü ve dilleriyle tarihsel ilişkileri göz önünde bulundurulduğunda kökeni Türk dillerine dayanan sözcüklerin Lehçeye nasıl ve hangi dönemlerde geçtiği ve bu sözcüklerin uğradığı anlam ve kullanım değişiklikleri de incelenmiştir. Bu ödünclemeler farklı bir kültürel mirası ve sınırları genişletilmiş dilsel ifadeleri yansıtarak Lehçenin söz varlığını zenginleştirmiştir. Çalışma, Proto-Türkçe döneminden modern zamanlara dek bu ödünclemeleri kullanım alanlarına göre ayırarak evrimlerini ortaya koymakta ve bu sözcüklerin Lehçedeki anlamsal ve fonetik uyarlamalarını vurgulamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Ödüncleme, Lehçe, Türkçe ve Türk Dilleri, Dillerarası Etkileşim

Introduction

Linguistic borrowing is the borrowing of elements from one language to another through various factors. When there is interaction between languages for cultural, commercial, technological, literary, scientific, etc. reasons, a language may borrow words, idioms, linguistic structures, and grammatical features from another language. Language often borrows words or expressions from another language to express concepts or convey information about new objects, ideas, or cultural elements. This linguistic phenomenon thus contributes to the formation of new words or grammatical structures in the language, helping to enrich the language, expand its vocabulary, increase its diversity, reveal new possibilities of expression, and provide a wider range of meaning in communication.

Borrowing usually refers to the use of words or language structures that are adopted from other languages. The borrowed words or language structures are adapted to the grammatical rules or pronunciation features of the target language, along with their meaning or usage in the source language. Interactions and communication between different languages ensure the constant change and development of languages and reflect cultural richness.

In Polish, this linguistic phenomenon is called *zapożyczenie językowe* or *pożyczka*. Elements borrowed from another language are not limited to words. Idioms, prefixes, suffixes, phonological, and syntactic structures can also be included in borrowing. Borrowing reasons based on social, political, historical, cultural, economic, etc. can be observed at many layers of the language. Specifically, the term *zapożyczenia językowe* in Polish refers to words and linguistic features that have been introduced into Polish from German, French, Latin, English, and other languages, especially throughout history. These borrowings have enriched Polish vocabulary and increased the expressive power of the language in cultural and scientific fields.

There is no language that does not have words of foreign origin in its vocabulary. These are also known as loanwords, alien words, or borrowed words. The transfer of foreign words from one language to another is a natural consequence of mutual relations between societies and cultures. In particular, words are exchanged between languages spoken by neighbouring communities. "In the vocabulary of every language, there are words and elements taken from other languages, albeit in varying amounts. A language with no relationship or exchange with other languages means that a society does not have a relationship with other societies. Such a situation is not possible, especially today."¹

The Relationship Between Languages

Every society learns something from societies with different sociocultural structures. Different geography, different historical environments, and therefore different experiences are considered new knowledge for societies. They directly transfer what they have learned to their language. The reason for such borrowing is knowledge. However, borrowed words are

1 Mehmet Aydın, *Dilbilim El Kitabı - Temel Kavramlar ve Konular* (İstanbul: Akademik Kitaplar, 2014), 132.

not always based on knowledge and learning. “While the substratum language provides the superstratum language only cultural borrowings, the superstratum language introduces both cultural and prestige borrowings into the substratum language. Whereas cultural borrowings, i.e. loan words about culture, show us what one nation teaches another, and the borrowing is, to a large extent, from a higher-level language to a lower-level language, prestige borrowings have nothing to do with the world of culture and learning, with the needs of the recipient language. Such prestige borrowings arise from the psychological needs of the recipient language user, social units, and individuals and satisfy their needs, expectations, and desires such as appearing more knowledgeable, belonging to a social group, attracting attention, at least realizing their existence by differentiating themselves in language, etc...”²

Foreign words in a language reflect the relations of the society speaking that language with other societies, whether positive, such as neighborliness and coexistence, or negative, such as war and conquest. Thus, the relationship between languages occurs on three bases:

“1. *Adstratum effect*: The name given to the interactions between languages due to neighborliness and coexistence. This concept also includes the influence of minority and immigrant languages on native languages.

2. *Substratum effect*: The influence of the language spoken in any country on the language of its conquerors, even if the native language disappears from the country, it may leave traces in the language of the society that later dominates that country.

3. *Superstratum effect*: It is the influence of the language of those who conquered a country on the language spoken in that country.”³

Other languages should not have much influence on a language. There is undoubtedly a close connection between the identity of a language and the identity of the society that speaks that language. If there are too many loanwords, in addition to losing the identity of the society, it may even be possible for that language to be eliminated. There are many examples of languages that were used by a society at a certain time but then fell out of use because of being influenced by other languages. On the other hand, “as early as 1886, Hermann Paul pointed out that all borrowing by one language from another is predicated on some minimum of bilingual mastery of the two languages.”⁴ With this statement in his work titled *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*, Paul emphasizes the capacity of one language to be used in combination with another language, apart from societal bilingualism and individual bilingualism. In some cases, the ability of a person or community to speak or understand more than one language can provide practicality for communication and increase cultural interaction. However, in some rare cases, societal bilingualism may lead to negative consequences such as language pressure, cultural assimilation or language loss. For this reason, when borrowing sounds, affixes, words and rules from other languages, it is necessary not to overdo it and to make need-based

2 Günay Karaağaç, *Dil Bilimi Terimleri Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2018), 100-101.

3 Aydın, *Dilbilim El Kitabı - Temel Kavramlar ve Konular*, 134.

4 Einar Haugen, “The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing”, *Language* 26/2 (1950), 210.

borrowings. In this respect, it would be appropriate to share the Polish saying *dobry zwyczaj - nie pożyczaj* ‘neither a borrower nor a lender be’, which is used very frequently by Poles regarding the meaning of “lending”, which means “giving something with the intention of taking it back later.” After all, one can lend something to someone on the condition of getting it back, but lending does not always result in getting it back, and this can become a source of disagreement. This Polish phrase indirectly warns against negative situations.

Problematic of the Term “Borrowing”

As can be seen from the Polish saying above, the Polish verb *pożyczyć*, which does not have a special meaning such as ‘to get or receive something from someone with the intention of giving it back after a period of time’, and the linguistic term Polish *zapożyczyć* are semantically different from each other. Note that two different lexems are mentioned; thus, there is no confusion of terms. However, the linguistic terms *ödünçleme* in Turkish and *borrowing* in English are also used in the sense of ‘giving something to get it back later’. Therefore, it becomes very likely that confusion of meaning may arise. “Because the return of what is given is a very rare phenomenon in language exchanges. Borrowing implies the return of the borrowing after some time, but the situation is different in linguistic borrowing. Most of the time, what is borrowed becomes fixed in the target language and is adopted like any other native elements of the language.”⁵ If language, which is a sine qua non of a society and a very important part of culture, is being talked about, instead of “borrowing” it would have been preferable to use the term “diffusion”, which refers to the spread of cultural elements or innovations from one society to another. It’s a concept commonly used in sociology, anthropology, and other social sciences to explain how ideas, technologies, behaviors, or other cultural traits are transmitted and adopted across different societies or groups. “The implied metaphor is certainly absurd, as borrowing occurs without the lender’s consent or even awareness, and the borrower is not under any obligation to repay the loan. One might as well call it stealing, were it not that the owner is deprived of nothing and feels no urge to recover his goods. This process can be called an adoption because the speaker adopts elements from a second language into their own. But what would one call a word that has been adopted-an adoptee? Anthropologists speak of ‘diffusion’ in connection with a similar process in the spread of nonlinguistic cultural items. We might well speak of linguistic diffusion, though this would suggest the spread of the language itself rather than of elements from it.”⁶

The term *zapożyczenie* ‘borrowing’ itself refers to borrowing foreign words, terms, and structures. Polish is also very convenient in terms of assimilating foreign words. “That means that borrowed words lose the feature of foreignness in the minds of average language users quite quickly. This is because speakers have adapted themselves to Polish language traditions in

5 Caner Kerimoğlu, *Genel Dilbilime Giriş* (Ankara: Pegem Akademi, 2017), 284.

6 Haugen, “The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing”, 211.

terms of pronunciation, inflection, and word formation. There are only a few word-quotations that function in an unchanged foreign orthographic and pronunciation form.”⁷

Today, borrowing involves not only the assimilation of a large number of words but also their extremely rapid adaptation, their extraordinarily easy incorporation into colloquial vocabulary, and their spread, which is a real cause for concern. This is where the feeling of threat to language and culture stems from. Therefore, what type of borrowing is dangerous? Linguists agree that borrowing that causes a rapid semantic extension of already used words is dangerous for the language. This is because, according to them, ambiguities that are of no use for the communication process, lead to larger-scale contexts. Even worse, it is observed that the word is used in the wrong sense by moving away from its current meaning. For example;

“the word *current* - 1. keeping validity; 2. up to date. In the language of young Poles used in the meaning of: ‘present, today’s, contemporary.’

The word *dieta*, which literally means ‘consumption of strictly determined food, a special series of food adapted to the needs and capacity of the body’, is used to describe ‘a style of nutrition for weight loss, slimming;

The word *trywialny*, used widely nowadays in the sense of ‘ordinary’, originally means something that ‘deviates from the prevailing cultural norms of a society; coarse, vulgar, insipid, indecent, plain, ordinary, widely known, obvious, banal, widespread, trite.’⁸

These examples reveal an interesting process of change in the meanings of many Polish words. Today, this process has become much more intense and accelerated. The difference between the language of the younger generation and the language of the middle-aged is clearly visible. Such changes in the meaning of words are called *zapożyczenie znaczeniowe (semantyczne)* ‘semantic borrowings’. The reason for such naming is that borrowing gives a new meaning to a word that already corresponds to something in Polish, just like the meaning it gives in a foreign language. “Let’s try to find this out by looking at new combinations of words that are very common today: *serwować wiadomości* ‘to serve news’, *przyjazny dla środowiska* ‘environmentally friendly’, *inteligentny samochód* ‘smart car’, *inteligentny proszek* ‘smart powder detergent’, *generacja kosmetyków* ‘cosmetics production’, *warsztaty poetyckie* ‘poetry workshop’, *dersować spostrzeżenia* ‘considering opinions’, *trening psychologiczny* ‘psychological education’. Let’s think about what the new usage of the highlighted words is. In relation to which definitions were the expressions used before?”⁹ It should be underlined that verbs, adjectives and nouns, such as *serwować*, *przyjazny*, *inteligentny*, *generacja*, *warsztat*, *adresować*, and *trening*, which were used previously in very different intra-linguistic contexts, are now encountered in very different combinations in contemporary Polish.

Learning is the basis of interlingual verbal exchange. People constantly learn new things from societies in different geographies and transfer this knowledge to their own society, and,

7 Aldona Skudrzykova, “Dobry zwyczaj - Zapożyczaj?”, *Postscriptum* 2-3/42-43 (2002), 29.

8 Skudrzykova, “Dobry zwyczaj - Zapożyczaj?”, 31.

9 Skudrzykova, “Dobry zwyczaj - Zapożyczaj?”, 32.

therefore, to their own language. New things learned and acquired from different societies and the names given to them have made it inevitable for internal and external elements to emerge in dictionaries. Turkish is one of the living languages today and has a deep-rooted history and wide geography. In this vast geography where Turkish is spoken, neighborly relations have been established with many states and tribes, and there has been a mutual exchange of information and words. Although there are currently no neighborly relations between Poland and Türkiye today, we can talk about a rich cultural relationship. “In studies dealing with Turkish elements in various Slavic languages, the Polish forms of the words are also touched upon. Particularly Fasmer and Doerfer also point out the Polish forms of Turkish words. On this subject, for which there is no monographic study, Tadeusz Majda says the following: “The centuries-long relations of the Turkic peoples with the Slavic tribes (including the Slavic tribes later called Poles) affected the Slavic languages in their early stages of development. In recent years, this interaction has been the focus of researchers’ attention. As a result of the investigations, new information has been revealed about the development of Slavic languages and the influence of the Huns, Protobulgars and Avars on this process. The language spoken by the mentioned tribes is considered to be a member of the Turkish language group. Like other Slavic languages¹⁰, the Polish language, which began to take shape in the 5th and 6th centuries, was under the intense influence of Turkic languages.”¹¹

Not examining the origins of the verbal exchange between the two languages, limiting this language phenomenon that has existed for centuries through modern times, and addressing it only within the framework of today will lead to a very narrow evaluation of the issue. Throughout history, country borders have changed because of wars. It has been observed that societies that no longer live in very close geographies shared the same border for a certain period. For example, although Poland and Türkiye are currently not geographically neighboring countries, as a result of the conquest of a large part of Hungary, the Ottoman Empire used to be a neighboring country with Poland. For this reason, when examining the exchange of words between languages, it is necessary to consider the geographical locations of the states in the past, their political situations, and how they developed relations with each other, in case they were in a very different situation from today. On the other hand, the relations between the Tatar Turks and Poland should not be forgotten. Tatars began migrating from Central Asia to the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth since the 14th century. They often engaged in military service and served as members of the Polish army. It is possible to find traces of their culture, especially their language, which they try to keep alive, in Polish. Therefore, it can be said that the influence of Turkish and Turkic languages on Polish is a result of the political, military and commercial relations of Tatars and Turks with Poland.

10 See, Mariana Budu, “Türkçeden Rusçaya Geçen Kelimelerin Fono-Morfo-Semantik Başkalaşması”, *Yeni Türkiye Dergisi Türk Dili Özel Sayısı 2* (2018).

11 Günay Karaağaç, *Türkçe Verintiler Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2008), XLIX.

In some languages, a large part of the lexicon, known to most speakers, especially upper-class speakers or, at least, somewhat educated speakers, consists of words borrowed from another language. These loanwords often contain many morphologically complex words. If a complex word is transferred to another language, its morphological structure may be distorted. However, when a language borrows many morphologically complex words from another language, their morphological structures can be preserved and even become more functional in the target language.

The Relationship Between Turkic and Slavic Languages

It is difficult to examine the relationship between Turkic and Slavic languages in a single period. The first period of this relationship, which can be divided into three phases, lasted until the first half of the 7th century. During this phase, the Slavic people were in contact with various Turkic peoples, including the Huns and the Khazars. In the second phase, covering the period from the second half of the 7th century to the 14th century, the connection with Turkish words became stronger. During this period, the Slavs came into contact with the Bulgarians, Pechenegs, Cumans and, most importantly, the Kipchak Tatars. Turkish Bulgarian tribes advanced west in the 6th century, conquered the Slavic tribes settled on the right bank of the lower Danube and founded the Balkan Bulgarian state in 679, but two or three generations later, Turkish-speaking Bulgarians became completely Slavic. The third phase began in the 14th century, but since the relationship between languages developed as a result of wars in this period, the ending phase varies according to the branch of the Slavic peoples. For example, in the case of Eastern and Western Slavs who were in conflict with the Tatars and Ottoman Turks, it lasted until the 17th century. In the case of the Southern Slavs, such as the Bulgarians, Serbs, Montenegrins and other Balkan peoples who fought against the Ottoman Turks, it lasted until the beginning of the 20th century.¹²

Several methods must be followed to determine the origin of a word. The words of a language are either created in that language or taken from other languages. Historical texts, research on local dialects, and information on languages with which relations have been established in the past are of great importance to etymological studies. Words can undergo significant changes over time. These changes can be both formal and semantic. Additionally, cross-linguistic borrowing may also play a role in these changes. The relations that the Polish people had established with the people of the Near and Far East brought about the enrichment of the Polish vocabulary. The relationship between Polish and Turkish languages is also interesting from an etymological point of view. Since the influence of Turkic languages can be mentioned etymologically from the Proto-Slavic period to the present day, this influence can be divided into many chronological layers as follows:

12 Stanisław Stachowski, *Słownik historyczny turyzów w języku polskim* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2007), V-VI.

“1. *Okres praturkijski* ‘Proto-Turkish’ period (= *praturecki* ‘Proto-Turkish’), pre-literate, yet can be revised.

2. *Okres staroturkijski* ‘Old Turkish’ period (= *staroturecki* ‘Old Turkish’), the VII-XII/XIII centuries include the following: a) Three closely related dialects: *staroujgurski* ‘Old Uyghur Turkish’, *karachanidzki*, ‘Karakhanid Turkish’, and *orchońsko-jenisejski* ‘Orkhonian-Yeniseian’ whose role in Turkology is similar to Old Church Slavonic in Slavic studies; b) *protobułgarski naddunajski* ‘Danube Bulgarian Turkish’ (attested to be multi-branched), which should definitely be considered a separate language from the above dialects.

3. In the *średnioturkijski* ‘Middle Turkish’ period of the XIII-XVI/XVII centuries the following languages have been attested: a) *staroosmański* ‘Old Ottoman’ (with *seldżucki* ‘Seljuk period Turkish’ = *staroanatolijski* ‘Old Anatolian Turkish’); XIII-XV centuries, continuing with *średnioosmański* ‘Middle Ottoman’ (XVI-XVIII centuries), *nowoosmański* ‘New Ottoman’ (XIX century), and finally *współczesny turecki* ‘Contemporary Turkish’; b) *średniokipczacki* ‘Middle Kipchak Turkish’ (*kipczacki* ‘Kipchak’ = *kumański* ‘Kuman’ = *polowiecki* ‘Polovets Kipchak’), which includes, among other languages, three relatively better documented dialects: *komański* ‘Koman’ (= Cuman), *mameluckokipczacki* ‘Mamluk Kipchak’ and *ormiańskokipczacki* ‘Armenian Kipchak’¹³; c) *chorezmijski* ‘Khwarezm Turkish’ (= *zlotoordyński* = *zlotoordowy* ‘Golden Horde Turkish’); d) *czagatajski* ‘Chagatai Turkish’ (= *dżagatjski* ‘Chagatai’ = *starouzbecki* ‘Old Uzbek’).

In contrast, a completely separate line of development continues with *protobułgarski nadwołżański* ‘Volga Proto-Bulgarian’.

4. *nowoturkijski* ‘New Turkish’ period, XVI/XVII-XIX centuries, is a phase in which older written languages (*osmański* ‘Ottoman’; Chagatai with its many regional varieties) continued to develop, although many still lack the standardization characteristic of the 20th century. A large number of documents emerge regarding the languages that had been separated from each other.

5. The languages of the modern period of the XX-XXI centuries are classified as: a) *czuwaski* ‘Chuvash’ (the only surviving representative of the Bulgarian language group); b) *chaladź* ‘Halach’; c) *jakucki* ‘Yakut’ and *dołgański* ‘Dolgan’; d) *grupa południowosyberyjska* ‘South Siberian Group’ (= Northern = North-Eastern Group): *chakaski* ‘Khakas’, *tuwiński* ‘Tuvan’ and others; e) *grupa karłucka* ‘Karluk Group’ (= *ujgurska* ‘Uyghur Group’ = East = South-Eastern Group): *uzbecki* ‘Uzbek’, *ujguiski* Uyghur (= *nowoujgurski* ‘New Uyghur’) and others; f) *grupa kipczacka* ‘Kipchak Group’ (= West = North-West): *tatarski* ‘Tatar’, *baszkirski* Bashkir, *kazachski* ‘Kazakh’ (= *kazaski* ‘Kazakh Turkish’), *kirgiski* ‘Kyrgyz’, *krymskotatarski* ‘Crimean Tatar’, *karaimski* ‘Karaim’, *karaczajskobalkarski* ‘Karachay-Balkar’ and others; g) *grupa oгуzyjska* ‘Oghuz Group’ (= Southern = South-West Group): *turecki* ‘Turkish’ (= Ottoman = *anatolijskoturecki* ‘Anatolian Turkish’ = *turecki Turcji* ‘Turkey Turkish’), *azerski Azerbajdżani* (= *azerbejdżański* ‘Azerbaijani language’), *turkmeński* ‘Turkmen’ etc.”¹⁴

13 Kipchak Turkish with Armenian script.

14 Tomasz Majteczak, Bożena Sieradzka-Baziur and Dorota Mika, “O zapożyczeniach turkijskich w języku polskim”, *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 61/6 (2013), 96-98.

Interlingual interaction is of course reciprocal. In this respect, one-way linguistic borrowing cannot be considered. For example, the influence of Slavic languages on Karaim is undeniable and there are many words borrowed especially from Polish. Since Karaim, like other languages, has different dialects, it is necessary to distinguish in which of these dialects the influence of the Polish language is particularly strong. “The borrowings from Polish are used very little in the Crimean dialect, but heavily in the Trakai and Halich dialects. This is due to the fact that the Polish Karaites maintain close cultural ties with the Karaites living in Trakai and Halicz rather than the regional proximity of Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine. In addition, the density of Polish borrowings in the Trakai dialect is also due to the influence of the Karaites who came from Poland and settled in Trakai over time.”¹⁵ Among Slavic languages such as Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian and Belarusian, direct borrowing from Polish is the most common. The reason why Slavic languages have such an influence on Karaim should undoubtedly be analysed in terms of social relations. These relations may be based on different factors such as religious reasons, war and commercial interactions or geographical conditions. For whatever reason, it has always been inevitable to come across traces reflected in the vocabulary of languages depending on the contacts established between communities. “Based on the fact that words of Slavic origin are more common among the loanwords, it is possible to say that the communities with which the Karaites had close contact were mostly Slavic communities.”¹⁶ It seems that the connections established between Karaim and Slavic languages¹⁷ are mostly due to social and geographical conditions.

Today, judging by the fact that such languages from the Indo-European, Semitic, Ural-Altaic, Sino-Tibetan, Dravidian language families as Hindi, Armenian, Persian, Sanskrit, Urdu, Arabic, Hausa language, Hebrew, Turkish (Bashkir, Chuvash, Dolgan, Karachay-Balkar, Tatar, Turkmen, Tuvan), Mongolian, Korean, Japanese, Chinese, Tamil are taught in Polish universities, there is great interest in Eastern languages.

Other borrowings, both direct and indirect, from Middle Turkic period languages are also seen in Old Polish (until the end of the 15th century). “Indirect borrowing in language” or “secondary borrowing in language” means the borrowing of expressions in one language from another language, usually through an intermediary language. For example, lexical

15 Abdulkadir Öztürk, “Karaycadaki Alıntı Kelimeler”, *Gazi Türkiyat* 16 (2015), 161.

16 Abdulkadir Öztürk, Hüseyin Yıldız and Işıl Arslan, “Karaycadaki Alıntı Kelimelere Katkıları”, *Türkoloji* 107 (2021), 28.

17 Here are a few of the hundreds of words that have passed from Polish, a Slavic language, into Karaim: *album* ‘album’, *ale* ‘but’, *ambicja* ‘ambition’, *bochenek* ‘a loaf (of bread)’, *burak* ‘beet’, *cegła* ‘brick’, *cynamon* ‘cinnamon’, *egzemplarz* ‘copy’, *ekspонат* ‘exhibit’, *farba* ‘paint’, *gazeta* ‘(news)paper’, *głos* ‘voice’, *hipoteza* ‘hypothesis’, *kapelusze* ‘hat’, *kogut* ‘cock’, *kolejarz* ‘railman’, *kowal* ‘blacksmith’, *kuropatwa* ‘partridge’, *kwiat* ‘flower’, *los* ‘lot’, *mur* ‘wall’, *nawet* ‘even’, *olej/olejek* ‘-culin.- oil’, *pakiet* ‘package’, *para* ‘steam’, *paw* ‘peafowl’, *piszczałka* ‘-mus.- pipe’, *podłoga* ‘floor, ground’, *poemat* ‘poem’, *polowanie* ‘hunting’, *prasa* ‘-newspapers, journals- the press’, *proza* ‘prose’, *rewizja* ‘revision’, *szklanka* ‘glass’, *tarcza* ‘shield’, *testament* ‘testament’, *waga* ‘scale’, *wieża* ‘tower’, *sznur* ‘rope’, *rozumieć* ‘to understand’, *zdrada* ‘betrayal, infidelity’. See. Öztürk, “Karaycadaki Alıntı Kelimeler”, 155-157.; Öztürk, Yıldız and Arslan, “Karaycadaki Alıntı Kelimelere Katkıları”, 24-25.

units belonging to some Turkic languages, such as *jasyr* ‘captive’, *szłyk* ‘headgear’, *kozak* ‘-horse soldier - Cossack’, *kolczan* ‘quiver of arrows’, passed into Polish from old Russian. The source of the mentioned lexical units is Tatar, which is from the Central Kipchak group. “Since the 16th century, many loanwords of eastern origin, mostly from the Kipchak group Turkic languages, have entered the Polish language through Russian (these languages include Dobruja, Akkerman, Bucak and Crimean Tatars, as well as Polish Tatars settled in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Karaites and Armenian, as well as Polish). They were spoken by Polish Armenians who lived on the south-eastern borders from Podolia to Zamość.”¹⁸ While some words were directly borrowed from Turkic languages, other words were transmitted to Polish through Russian, Ukrainian and Hungarian. Yet, it cannot be said that Hungarian had a great direct influence on Polish. About a hundred words, mostly related to military service and men’s clothing, have been borrowed from Hungarian. Among these, in addition to words of Hungarian origin, there are also etymologically Turkish words that the Hungarians took from the Turkic peoples in the wide steppes along the northern coast of the Black Sea¹⁹ during their migration from their ancestral homeland at the foot of the Ural Mountains to the Great Hungarian Plain.

Central Kipchak Turkish is a language group generally spoken in parts of Central Asia and Russia. Tatar, as it is also known, was accepted as the second official language of Tatarstan within the Russian Federation and became a written language. This can be explained why some lexical units of Turkic languages passed into Polish from old Russian. “*Szłyk* (cf. Ukrainian, Russian, Belarusian *šłyk* ‘a type of hat’) ‘a type of headgear; ‘hood, cap’. (...) According to T. Minikowska’s findings, *szłyk* is taken from Ruthenian, where it emerged as an abbreviation of the word *baśl’yk*, meaning ‘hood, hat’, which comes from Turkic languages (see Tatar *bašlyk* ‘headgear’).²⁰

The fact that Poland and Russia, located in Central and Eastern Europe, are very close to each other makes interlingual interaction between the two countries inevitable. Some words have passed into Polish from Ukrainian, the language of another country to which Poland is a neighbor. When we look at words such as *bohater*²¹ ‘hero’, *jarmulka* ‘raincoat’, *ataman* ‘ataman’, *kaftan* ‘caftan’, which came from Ukrainian to Polish, we see that they are words that came from Turkic languages to Ukrainian. “The earliest layer of Ukrainian loanwords dates back to the 15th century, and most are related to personal names. The 16th century, a period

18 Bogdan Walczak, *Zarys dziejów języka polskiego* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1999), 167.

19 The region covers the territory of many countries such as Ukraine, Romania, Moldova, Bulgaria and Russia.

20 Beata Kuryłowicz, “Cechy wschodniosłowiańskie w polskich źródłach rękopiśmiennych z Podlasia drugiej połowy XVI wieku. Przyczynek do dziejów kontaktów polsko-ruskich” *Międzynarodowa Konferencja Naukowa ‘Języki ruskie w rozwoju historycznym i kontaktach z polszczyzną’*, Ed. Lilia Citko (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Prymat, 2018), 176.

21 “Bohater, from the 16th century, is a borrowing from Ukrainian *bohatyř* ‘hero’ (cf. also Russian *bogatyr̆*, old Russian *bogatyr̆* / *bogatur̆*), from Turkic languages (old Turkic *bayatur* ‘hero’, modern Turkish *bahadır* ‘brave, heroic’); the last source of the word is Persian *bahadır* ‘strong man’.” See, Wiesław Boryś, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2005), 35.

of intensive Polish-Ukrainian relations, caused a significant increase in influence. Sixteenth-century lexical borrowings include, e.g. *czaban* ‘shepherd’, *wół* ‘ox’, *czerniec* ‘baneberry’, *kniaź* ‘the title of the prince who formerly ruled in Russia and Lithuania’, *kozak* ‘cossack’, *metropolit* ‘metropolitan’²², *czeret* ‘reed’, *kitajka* ‘silk fabric specific to Eastern countries’, *bohater* ‘brave, hero’, *chyży* ‘swift’, *dub* ‘fool’, *czarka* ‘bowl’²³, *krynica* ‘spring’, *wiedźma* ‘witch’ are loanwords from the sixteenth century. In these periods, it is quite evident that Ukrainian was the intermediary language in the acquisition of words of Turkic origin, such as *bachmat*²⁴ ‘Tatar horse’, *bazar* ‘market’, *kaftan* ‘caftan’, *surma* ‘zurna’, *ataman* ‘ataman’.²⁵ Some words entered the old Polish language directly from Ottoman, that is, from the language that is the ancestor of modern Turkish.

However, new words can be derived in that language by adding derivational suffixes to words taken and adopted from another language. This time, since there is no code copying with the other language, the derived word in question will be accepted as the word of that language, not a quote. For example, even though *bohater* passed from Turkish to Polish through Ukrainian, the forms derived from this word will be considered to be of Polish origin. “Words derived from the Ukrainian stem with the help of Polish or Polishized word derivations are not considered Ukrainian borrowings, unless there are clear etymological indications in both dictionaries²⁶ (e.g. *bohater* is the Ukrainian loanword, whereas *bohaterka* ‘heroine’, *bohatersko* ‘heroic’, *bohaterstwo* ‘heroism’ are not)”²⁷

The Polish term *Turcyzm* ‘Turkism’, within its narrow definition, only covers words transferred from Ottoman Turkish to Polish. According to a more comprehensive definition, it includes words that come from the dialects of the Kipchak group spoken in the eastern and south-eastern regions of Poland or from any Turkic language and have a connection with the Turkish language.

22 In Christianity, the bishop responsible for all the churches in a region.

23 According to the cited source, the word in question is borrowed from Ukrainian. “*Czara*, from the 17th century, is ‘a type of decorative, expensive vessel usually used for fine beverages’; diminutive form *czarka* from the 16th century. Borrowing from the Russian *čara* is ‘a patterned, expensive vessel used for drinking, cup, goblet’, which is probably an eastern loanword (attested from the 12th century), cf. in Turkmen *čara* ‘large cup’, in Kyrgyz *šara* ‘large wooden cup’, in Mongolian, *čara/cara* ‘a type of metal cup’. See Boryś, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, 90.; Polish *czara*, of which transcription is [čara], takes its origin from one of the listed above eastern languages, Mongolian. When the relevant word is examined in the Mongolian-Turkish dictionary, such definition as “a wide and flat metal plate; a big wooden bowl!” is encountered. See Ferdinand Diedrich Lessing, *Mongolian-Turkish Dictionary*, trans. Günay Karaağaç, (Ankara: Turkish Language Association Publications, 2003), 265. Thus, it seems necessary to accept that the loan word *czara*, which is accepted to have entered the Polish language from Ukrainian or Russian, has its origins in eastern languages.

24 The word of Persian origin, meaning ‘wide’, is formed by the combination of *pechn* and the Turkish word *at*.

25 Andriy Volodimirovic Moklicya, *Leksikologiya sucasnoyi pol's'koyi movi: Naval'no-metodicni materialy do kursu vidannya druge* (Luc'k: SNU imeni Lesi Ukrayinki, 2018), 54.

26 The mentioned dictionaries are *Słownik wyrazów obcych* Ed. Jan Tokarski (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1972) and *Słownik języka polskiego I–III* Ed. Mieczysław Szymczak, (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Wiedza Powszechna, 1988-1989).

27 Adam Fałowski, “Ile jest słów pochodzenia ukraińskiego we współczesnej polszczyźnie ogólnej?” *LingVaria* 18/1(35) (2023), 65.

Particularly Central Kipchak dialects were widely spoken in the mentioned regions of Poland until the 17th century. It is known that Kipchak Turks live densely in the regions where these dialects are spoken. Middle Kipchak dialects are not spoken today. Traces of these dialects have been preserved in some words and expressions in Polish. The common point of both definitions for the term *Turcyzm* is that it is the general name of words of Turkish origin in Polish.

Languages and cultures cannot exist in isolated environments. Throughout history, languages and cultures have interacted and influenced each other, borrowing words, ideas and traditions. As it is natural of any language and culture, Polish also has many words borrowed from different languages, and these words have contributed to the enrichment and development of Polish. However, it can sometimes be very difficult to trace the word across languages and to determine which language or languages it originates from. For example, Turkish may be just one step in a word's journey towards Polish. These steps can be divided into three: initial, middle and final. Since the first step can be understood as the original Turkish words, the middle step is the words borrowed from the Turkish language, from there to another language, and from there to Polish; the last step should be understood as words borrowed directly from Turkish languages into Polish.

In this regard, words that were transferred directly from Turkish or from Turkish to another language and from there to Polish language will be presented in categories below.

Words related to clothing or fabric type

Altembas (Tur.): altınbaş²⁸ (cloth of gold, a variety of brocade with a predominance of golden color.) (SWOiZO, p. 27)

Angora ((Fre. (*cat*) *angora*, Eng. *angora cat*, from the name of the town of *Angora* in Türkiye (from Gre. *Ankyra*, today Ottoman Tur. *Ankara*)): angora (1. a variety of cats, goats and rabbits with long, delicate, usually white fur. 2. wool from these animals.) (SWO(b), p. 53)

Atlas (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): atlas (soft silk or cotton fabric, shiny and smooth on the right side, matte on the left.) (SWO(c), p. 81)

Babosze / Babusze (Tur.): pabuç (Turkish slippers.) (SWO(a), p. 42)

Baczmagi (Tur.): başmak (shoes with uppers cut towards the back, modeled on Turkish ones, worn in Poland in the 17th century.) (SWO(b), p. 101)

Bambosze (Tur. from Per.): pabuç (slippers, warm, soft house slippers, made of felt or cloth.) (PSWO, p. 80)

Baszlik (Rus. from Tur.): başlık (a type of hood for the head with ends to wrap around the neck.) (SWO(a), p. 48)

Cizma (from Hun., from Tur.): çizme (a shoe made of soft leather, with a flat sole, shallow or with a low upper, usually with an elongated and turned-up tip, commonly worn in the 12th-15th centuries.) (SWO(c), p. 159)

28 Thin, white headscarf with gilded stripes. See. "Türkiye'de Halk Ağzından Derleme Sözlüğü" Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlükleri, accessed 6 Mayıs 2024, <https://sozluk.gov.tr/>

Czadra / Czador (Ottoman Tur. from Per.): çadır²⁹ (a garment of Muslim women covering the entire figure, with holes for the eyes.) (SWO(b), p. 200)

Czarczaf (Tur. from Per.): çarşaf (yashmak, veil, a traditional veil for the head and face, still worn by women in some Muslim countries.) (PSWO, p. 151)

Czucha / Cuha (Tur.): çuha (traditional overcoat of Carpathian highlanders, russet coat, hooded cloak, long robe lined with fur.) (SWO(a), p. 91)

Dolman / Dolman / Doloma (Hun. from Ottoman Tur.): dolama (Turkish men's clothing made of silk or cloth, long, with tight sleeves, worn under a fur coat.) (SWO(b), p. 242)

Dyftyk (Tur. *tiftik*, Ottoman Tur. *diftik*, from Per.): tiftik (woolen, silk or cotton fabric; clothes made of this fabric.) (SWO(b), p. 253)

Dyma (Ottoman Tur. from Modern Gre.): dimi (cotton fabric, or commonly cotton-linen fabric.) (SHTwJP, p.106)

Ferezja (Ukr. *ferézija*., old Rus. *fieriez*., maybe from Tur.): ferace (elegant outer garment worn by women in Türkiye.) (SWO(b), p. 332)

Fez³⁰ / Fezka (Ottoman Tur.): fes (men's red cap in the shape of a truncated cone topped with a black tassel.) (SHTwJP, p. 129)

Jaszmak (Tur.): yaşmak (a veil covering the neck and face up to the eyes of Turkish women.) (SWO(a), p. 276)

Kaftan (Ottoman Tur. from Ara., from Per.): kaftan (upper part of armor, made of several layers of leather or canvas.) (SHTwJP, p. 276)

Kefia (Tur.): kefiye (colorful headgear among the Turks.) (SWO(b), p. 543)

Kolpak (Tur.): kalpak (high cap without a visor, cylindrical or conical in shape, made of fur or cloth, trimmed with fur, worn in the Middle Ages by Tatars, popular in Poland from the 15th to the 19th century.) (SWO(b), p. 569)

Kontusz (Tur.): biniş³¹ (the outerwear of the Polish nobility since the 16th century.) (WSWOiT, p. 409)

Meszty (Tur.): mest (lightweight slippers, especially cloth ones, with flexible bottoms.) (PSWO, p. 496)

Opończa (Tur.): pañço (a loose-fitting sleeveless coat without a cape, often with a hood.) (SWO(a), p. 508)

Papuć (Tur.): pabuç (half-shoe, a shoe traditionally worn by Polish highlanders, thin-soled boot, light slipper.) (SWO(a), p. 533)

Perkal (Fre. from Tur., from Per.): patiska (A strong, smooth, fine cotton cloth for underwear and bed linen, and for industrial use.) (PSWO, p. 586)

29 A large white cloth that women cover their heads with, a chador. See. "Tarama Sözlüğü" Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlükleri, erişim accessed 6 Mayıs 2024, <https://sozluk.gov.tr/>

30 It comes from the city of "Fez" in Morocco.

31 "The garment worn by scholars over their robes." See. Mehmet Kanar, *Eski Anadolu Türkçesi Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Say Yayınları, 2011), 126

- Szarawary* (Tur.): şalvar (trousers, especially wide, puffed trousers, bags.) (SWO(a), p. 793)
- Tafta* (Ottoman Tur. from Per.): tafta (silk fabric with a delicate shine, rustling when moved; (maybe) a piece this fabric.) (SHETwJP, p. 562)
- Tulup* (Rus. from Tur.): tulup (long, loose fur (usually sheep), usually not covered with fabric.) (SWOiZOzA, p. 592)
- Tyftyk* (Tur.): tiftik (a type of cotton fabric.) (SWO(a), p. 862)

Words related to the state, state employees and their titles

- Aga* (Tur.): ağa (officer rank during the reign; title, dignity (also religious) in Eastern Mohammedans.) (PSWO, p. 22)
- Basza / Pasza* (Tur.): paşa (the governor, or commander of the troops in Türkiye.) (SWO(a), p. 48)
- Beglerbeg / Beglerbej* (Tur.): beylerbeyi (The governor, provincial governor in Türkiye.) (SWO(a), p. 50)
- Bej / beg* (Tur.): bey (formerly awarded in Türkiye to senior civil and military officials; title of the rulers of Tunisia during the Turkish protectorate.) (PSWO, p. 89)
- Chan* (Tur.): han (former title of the ruler, head of a province, in various, mainly Turkic and Mongolian countries, especially in Central Asia; part of a name, denoting royal or “noble” descent in Muslim Asian countries.) (SWOiZOzA, p. 97)
- Czauusz* (Tur.): çavuş (Turkish orderly, envoy.) (SWO(b), p. 200)
- Dywan* (Tur.): divan (Grand Council of State, supreme court in Türkiye.) (SWO(a), p. 123)
- Efendi* (Tur. from Gre.): efendi (-in Türkiye until 1935- lord, courtesy title; an Arab landowner or official in the Arab countries of the East.) (PSWO, p. 199)
- Ejalet* (Tur.): eyalet (circle, district in Türkiye, pashalik.) (SWO(a), p. 129)
- Emir* (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): emîr (title for rulers in some countries of the Muslim East.) (SWO(c), p. 255)
- Ferman / Firman* (Tur. from Per.): ferman (order, mandate, permission, regulation (especially written), addressed by the Persian shah, sultan or Turkish vizier to subordinates or vassals.) (SWOiZOzA, p. 185)
- Kagan* (Old Tur.): kağan (in the Middle Ages: a title of ruler among many Turkic-speaking peoples, including the Khazars, taken over by the Kiev princes; also the person entitled to this title.) (SWO(c), p. 434)
- Kajmakan* (Tur. from Ara.): kaymakam (1. the chief of a Turkish district or lieutenant colonel. 2. in ancient Turkey: deputy of the grand vizier.) (SWO(b), p. 509)
- Kalem* (Tur.): kalem (Turkish Chamber of Accounts.) (SWO(a), p. 285)
- Medzlis* (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): meclis (national assembly, tribunal, parliament in some countries of northern Africa and southwest Asia (Türkiye, Iran, Egypt).) (SWO(b), p. 703)

Muchtar (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): muhtar (the head of a village or district in Türkiye.) (SWO(b), p. 747)

Mutesarîf (Tur.): mutasarrîf (head of the sanjak, head of a district in Türkiye.) (SWO(a), p. 462)

Otoman (Ottoman Tur.): Osmanlı (former name of the Turks, derived from the founder of the Ottoman (=Osman) dynasty; Turkish state.) (SHETwJP, p. 452)

Padyszach (Tur. from Per.): padişah (Title of the Shah of Iran, the Monarch of Afghanistan and the former Turkish Sultans.) (SWOiZO, p. 373)

Pasza (Ottoman Tur.): paşa (pasha, a title of high military and civilian dignitaries in some Muslim countries (outlawed in Türkiye in 1934, abolished in Egypt in 1952).) (PSWO, p. 576)

Sandżak (Tur.): sancak (flag; part of a pashalik, county, district in Türkiye.) (SWO(a), p. 702)

Seraj (Ottoman Tur. from Per.): saray (in Muslim countries: the residence of the ruler, especially the palace of the Sultan.) (SWO(c), p. 853)

Sultan (Tur. from Ara.): sultan (title of the ruler in Muslim countries. (in Türkiye until 1922).) (SWOiZO, p. 487)

Tamga (Tur.): damga (a sign on ancient Turkish and Tatar coins with the name and title of sultan or khan.) (SWOiZO, p. 503)

Ulus (Ottoman Tur.): ulus (-historical- estate of the Mongol khan; -formerly- settlement, camp of Turkic-Mongol tribes in Eurasia.) (PSWO, p. 800)

Wali (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): vali (administrator of the province, an administrative-territorial unit in Türkiye.) (SWO(b), p. 1157)

Wezyr (Tur. from Ara.): vezir (high official of various Muslim countries, minister, councilor of state; (capital W.) the highest official in a Muslim state, especially in Ottoman Turkey.) (PSWO, p. 816)

Wilajet (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): vilayet (in Ottoman Turkey, a province ruled by a pasha with the title of *wali*.) (SHTwJP, p. 459)

Words related to food and drink

Alycza (Aze. from Ottoman Tur.): alıç (a variety of plum, a thorny tree or shrub with edible yellow, red or black fruit, growing in the Caucasus and Western Asia; in Poland grown as plum rootstocks and as a hedge plant; the fruit of this plant.) (SWO(b), p. 38)

Arbuz (Old Kum., Armeno Kip., Crimean Tat., Kar., Ottoman Tur.): karpuz (a vegetable plant of the cucurbitaceae family and its fruit.) (SHTwJP, p. 18)

Bakalie (Tur. from Ara.): bakkaliye (raisins, figs, almonds, dates mixed with nuts, gingerbread, marmalades, a traditional Polish Christmas treat.) (SWOiZOzA p. 58)

Baklawa (Tur., Ara.): baklava (a very sweet Turkish dessert made of thin sheets of dough layered with honey and nuts.) (SWO(c), p. 97)

Buza (Tur.): boza (a refreshing drink of eastern origin in the form of tang, usually prepared from oat flour or millet.) (SWO(c), p. 139)

Chatwa (Tur. from Ara.): helva (a hard, crumbly, sweet paste made of sesame seeds ground in honey.) (PSWO, p. 130)

Hatwa / Hajwa (Tur.): helva (A sweet cake made of nuts, flour, honey and hemp oil, used as a delicacy.) (SWO(a), p. 221)

Jogurt (Tur.): yoğurt (a sour drink made from boiled cow's milk, fermented using a special leavening.) (SWOiZO, p. 243)

Kaczan (Rus. *koczan*, Ukr. *kaczan*, maybe from Tur.): koçan (1. cabbage core. 2. corn on the cob.) (SWO(b), p. 508)

Kajmak (Rus. from Tur.): kaymak (Kajmak: a mass of thickened milk and sugar, usually with the addition of coffee, chocolate, juices, etc., for filling or layering dessert cakes.) (SWOiZO, p. 247)

Kawon (Tur.): kavun (melon) (SWO(a), p. 304)

Kebab (Tur.): kebab (a dish of Turkish origin, prepared with pieces of meat (usually lamb), roasted with onion, pepper, eggs and rice.) (SWO(b), p. 543)

Kumys (Ukr., Rus., Old Rus., from Tur.-Kum.): kımız (intoxicating drink made from mare's milk, used and highly valued among the peoples of eastern Europe and Asia.) (SHETwJP, p. 360)

Mastika (Eng. from Tur.): mastika (alcoholic drink flavoured with mastic and aniseed oil.) (PSWO, p. 486)

Musaka (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): musakka (less commonly, *mussaka*: a casserole made of alternately layers of minced meat and vegetables (tomatoes, onions and eggplants), popular in Greek, Turkish and Bulgarian cuisine.) (SWO(c), p. 640)

Pilaw / Pilaf (Tur. from Per.): pilav (a favorite Eastern dish, consisting of fatty mutton cooked with rice and topped with butter.) (SWO(a), p. 571)

*Rachatlukum*³² (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): latilokum (a sweet eastern delicacy with a gelatinous consistency, made of wheat starch and sugar, cut into cubes, usually sprinkled with powdered sugar.) (SWO(b), p. 929)

Raki (Tur.): rakı (Turkish vodka usually distilled from fermented raisins, sometimes from figs or dates with aniseed added for flavor.) (SWOiZOzA, p. 481)

Sazan (Rus. from Tur.): sazan (wild carp of the Black and Caspian Sea basins, the ancestor of farmed forms that have re-wilded in European rivers and lakes.) (SWOiZO, p. 456)

Sorbet (Ita. from Ottoman Tur., from Ara.): şerbet (a cold drink made of fruit juices and sugar with the addition of alcohol.) (SHETwJP, p. 528)

32 It has passed into the Turkish language from the Arabic synthetic verbal compound *rāḥat + hulḳūm* (throat soothing) and is no longer used. In current Turkish, the word *lokum* is used.

*Szaszłyk*³³ (Rus. from Ottoman Tur.): şaşlık (a dish made of pieces of mutton layered with slices of pork fat, impaled on a spit and baked.) (SWOiZO, p. 495)

Tatla (Tur.): tatlı (a type of eastern sweet delicacy.) (SWO(c), p. 924)

Words related to customs and traditional tools

Bajram (Ottoman Tur.): bayram (the name of two major Muslim holidays: the Great Bayram at the end of Ramadan and the Small Bayram celebrated 70 days later³⁴.) (SWOiZOzA p. 58)

Bazar (Tur. from Per.): pazar (square or room with stalls and booths where a variety of goods are sold; market, marketplace.) (SWO(b), p.116)

Czajnik (Rus. *czajnik*, Tur., Mon. *čaj*, from Northern Chi. *čha-ye*): çaydanlık (a lidded, round-bellied aluminum or enameled vessel with a spout, used for boiling water for tea; teapot.) (SWO(b), p. 200)

Handżar (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): hançer (Turkish knife curved at the end, usually with a handle set with diamonds; khanjar; dagger.) (SWO(b), p. 415)

Harem (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): harem (1. a part of a traditional Muslim home inhabited by women, where foreign men are not allowed to enter; seraglio. 2. the wives and concubines of a Muslim and their children living there.) (SWO(c), p. 352)

Kardasz / kierzdasz (Tur.): kardeş (brother, kinsman, friend, compatriot, one-tribe.) (SWO(a), p. 296)

Kindzał (Rus. from Tur.): hançer (a type of dagger, a long, double-edged knife, straight or curved, with a short handle, used by Caucasian tribes and the Turks.) (SWO(b), p. 548)

Makrama (Tur. from Ara.): makrome (decorative openwork fabric made of threads or strings tied in knots or braided.) (SWO(c), p. 578)

Ramazan (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): ramazan (the ninth month in the Muslim lunar calendar, also a strict fast binding on Muslims, observed every day from dawn to dusk.) (SHETwJP, p. 470)

Turban (Tur.): türban (Turkish turban made of fabric, used as a head covering.) (SWO(a), p. 860)

Words related to religion

Baba (Ottoman Tur.): baba (Muslim hermit.) (SHTwJP, p. 27)

Derwisz (Ottoman Tur. from Per.): derviş (member of a Muslim religious brotherhood of a mystical nature.) (SWO(b), p. 225)

Hadżi (Ottoman Tur. *hadży*, Per. *hadži*, from Ara. *hadždž*): hacı (a Muslim who made the pilgrimage to Mecca.) (SWO(b), p. 412)

33 It is stated that this word passed from Turkish into Russian and from Russian into Polish. That's why the ingredients used for the dish differ.

34 Namings such as *Great Holiday* - *Small Holiday* may differ according to the holiday among the sources. For example, unlike the source above, it is stated in another source as follows: a Muslim holiday that falls at the end of the month-long fasting - Ramadan (Small Bayram) and 70 days after that (Great Bayram). See: (SWO(c), 96.

Hodža / Chodža / Hodzia (Tur.): hoca (spiritual teacher among Muslims.) (SWO(a), p. 237)
Kismet (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): kismet (in Muslims, mainly Turkish: the fate destined for every person.) (SWO(c), p. 466)

Meczset (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): mescit / cami (Muslim temple with a tower and a crescent moon on top.) (SHETwJP, p. 392)

Medrese (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): medrese (higher education institution, especially attached to mosques, a clerical academy.) (SHETwJP, p. 393)

Minaret (Fre. from Tur., from Ara.): minare (the tower of a mosque from which the muezzin calls the faithful to prayer.) (SWO(c), p. 617)

Muezzin (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): müezzın (in Islam: a person who calls all the faithful from the minaret to prayer five times a day.) (SWO(c), p. 638)

Mufti (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): müftü (Muslim scholar and theologian, expert in Islamic law, issuing official rulings on religious and legal matters.) (SWO(c), p. 638)

Mulla (Tur. from Ara.): molla (title given (mainly in Türkiye) to a Muslim cleric with the meaning: master, saint, etc.) (SWO(b), p. 749)

Namaz (Tur. from Per.): namaz (the obligatory Muslim prayer recited five times a day; salat.) (SWO(b), p. 755)

Tekkie (Tur.): tekke (Mohammedan monastery.) (SWO(a), p. 820)

Ulema / ulem (Tur.): ulema (learned jurist, theologian and cleric among the Turks.) (SWO(a), p. 866)

Words related to tools, equipment and objects

Arba (Tur.): araba (two-wheeled cart of Mongols, Kyrgyz.) (SWO(a), p. 29)

Arkan (Tur.): urgan (a long rope or thong with a loop, usually tied to a saddle, used by shepherds and nomadic peoples to catch game, especially horses, and in battle to pull an opponent from the saddle.) (SWO(c), p. 69)

Buñczuk (Ukr. from Tur.): boncuk (a string of beads around the horse's neck, which is the insignia of the commander riding it.) (SWO(c), p. 137)

Cybuch (Tur.): çubuk (a tube on which a pipe with tobacco for smoking is placed.) (SWO(a), p. 87)

Czaprak (Tur.): çaprak (a covering for a horse) (SWO(a), p. 91)

Czerdak (Rus. from Ottoman Tur.): çardak (type of veranda, often on a flat roof, in houses built in the East, especially Türkiye.) (SWO(b), p. 201)

Dubas (Ukr. maybe from Tur.): tombaz (an old Polish small rowing and sailing river vessel for transporting goods, used in the 16th-18th centuries.) (SWO(b), p. 249)

Dziwer (Tur.): cevher (pattern on Damascus steel.) (SWO(a), p. 123)

Filizanka (Rum *filigean*, from Ottoman Tur. *fındzan*, from Per. *fındzān*): fincan (a cup with a handle, usually made of porcelain or faience, used for drinking tea, coffee, etc.) (SWO(b), p. 339)

Gajdy (Tur.): *gayda* (a folk wind musical instrument consisting of a leather purses and two pipes, one of which is used to play a melody, the other gives a long-drawn-out bass; bagpipe.) (SWO(b), p. 374)

Imbryk (Tur.): *demlik* (a vessel for brewing tea, coffee.) (SWO(a), p. 250)

Jatagan (Ottoman Tur.): *yatağan* (Turkish crooked sabre.) (SHTwJP, p. 169)

Kabura (Rus. from Tur.): *kubur* (leather holster for a gun.) (SWOiZOzA, p. 274)

Kaik (Tur.): *kayık* (Turkish long narrow boat made of light wood.) (PSWO, p. 363)

Kalem (Tur.): *kalem* (writing reed; pen; writing.) (SWO(a), p. 285)

Kańczug (Ukr. maybe from Tur.): *kamçı* (whip made of a braided thong fixed onto a short stick.) (SWO(c), p. 444)

Kapciuch (Tur.): *kapçık* (tobacco pouch.) (SWO(b), p. 522)

Kapkan (Tur.): *kapan* (baited trap formerly used for wolves, foxes and martens.) (SWO(a), p. 524)

Kendyr (Ottoman Tur.): *kendir* (bast fiber obtained from the stems of (*Apocynum venetum*), a wild herbaceous plant, used for cordage.) (SWO(b), p. 544)

Kiesa (Tur.): *kese* (money bag, pouche, purse.) (SWO(a), p. 306)

Kilim (Tur. from Per.): *kilim* (two-sided, woollen, patterned decorative fabric for the wall or floor.) (SWOiZOzA, p. 291)

Kobza (Tur.): *kopuz* (folk musical instrument consisting of a pipe and a bellows held under the arm for pressing; an old-fashioned lyre.) (SWO(a), p. 312)

Kolczan (Tur.): *okluk / okdanlık* (arrow case for a bow, worn at the belt or on a strap over the shoulder or attached to the saddle.) (SWO(c), p. 483)

Koncerz (Old Cze. *končič*, maybe from Ottoman Tur. *hanczer*, *handžer*, from Ara. *handžar*): *hançer* (cutting weapon with a straight, long blade, designed for stabbing, used by heavy cavalry in Poland, Hungary and the East from the 15th to the mid-18th century.) (SWO(b), p. 579)

Korbacz (Hun. from Ottoman Tur.): *kirbaç* (horsewhip, riding whip, whip with a short handle and a long (braided) leather strap.) (PSWO, p. 423)

Kord (Tur. from Per.): *kârd* (all side arms, especially the short sword.) (SWO(b), p. 599)

Kutas (Ukr. from Tur.): *kotas / kotaz / kutas* (ornament made of thread, silk, wool, string, etc., in the shape of a brush; weed.) (SWO(b), p. 626)

Makata (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): *makat*³⁵ (patterned silk fabric, gold or silver, for hanging on walls and in tents, or for covering furniture.) (PSWO, p. 474)

Mazut (Rus. from Tur., from Ara.): *mazot* (dense oily liquid remaining after the distillation of crude oil, used as boiler fuel, raw material for the production of lubricants or (after cracking) gasoline and light diesel oils.) (SWOiZOzA, p. 362)

35 "Low sofa with cushions." See. Şükürü Halûk Akalın et al., *Türkçe Sözlük* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2011), 1611.

Nargile (Tur. from Per.): nargile (pipe used mostly in the Middle East in which smoke passes through a vessel of water and very long, flexible pipes.) (PSWO, p. 524)

Safian (Rus. from Tur., from Per.): sahtiyān (thin, soft, dyed goat skin, formerly used for the uppers of light footwear and leather goods, today for book bindings, furniture upholstery, etc.) (SWOiZOzA, p. 504)

Sagan (Rus., from Tur. *sağān*, from Ara. *šahn*): kazan (A large cooking pot, made of iron or copper, used mainly in the countryside.) (SWO(b), p. 987)

Sepet (Ottoman Tur.): sepet (-formerly- box for storing jewels, documents, etc.) (SWO(b), p. 1008)

Sofa (Fre. from Tur. from Ara.): sedir (soft couch, usually with bolsters replacing the arms and backrest.) (SWO(c), p. 867)

Surma (Ottoman Tur. from Per.): zurna (a wind instrument formerly used in the army; a type of metal trumpet covered with leather.) (SHTwJP, p. 386)

Szatra / szater (Hun. from Tur.): çadır (camp, gypsy camp; (formerly) a tent.) (SWOiZOzA, p. 556)

Tapczan (Ukr. from Tur.-Kar.): çekyat (sleeping furniture consisting of a rectangular wooden box with mesh and springs and a mattress, sometimes upholstered with decorative fabric.) (SWO(b), p. 1091)

Taraban (Ukr. from Tur.): daraban (a drum in the shape of an elongated cylinder, used in the former army.) (SWO(c), p. 923)

Zyle (Ottoman Tur. from Per.): zil (Janissary musical instrument made up of bells and brass, fixed on a long stick.) (SHTwJP, p. 469)

Words related to army, ranks and war equipments

Asawula / Asaula / Asaul (Kipchak languages or Ottoman Tur.): başbuğ (commander of a cavalry unit in the former Cossack army; deputy ataman of the Zaporozhian Cossacks.) (SHTwJP, p. 20)

Ataman (Ukr. from Old Rus., from Tat.): ataman (military leader in the Cossacks.) (SHTwJP, p. 22)

Bandera (Ottoman Tur. *bandyra*, from İta. *bandiera*, from Germanic lang. *band*): bandıra (a flag indicating the nationality of a merchant ship or warship.) (SWO(b), p.107)

Baszybuzuki (Tur.): başıbozuk (irregular Turkish troops without military discipline, distinguished by their bravery.) (SWO(a), p. 48)

Buzdygan (Tur.): bozdoğan (a mace with a head split into 6 - 8 steely feathers, a weapon and a sign of the dignity of commanders -16th - 18th centuries-). (SWOiZO, p. 81)

Czajka (Tur.): şayka (a small Cossack war boat.) (SWO(a), p. 91)

Dzida (Ottoman Tur.): cida (ancient weapon consisting of an arrow-shaped blade mounted on a long shaft, being a lighter version of the spear or pike.) (SWO(b), p. 263-264)

Dziryt (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): cirit (type of spear with a short shaft and a narrow point, commonly used as a hunting and war weapon for close or ranged combat.) (SHTwJP, p. 113)

Janczar / Janiczar (Tur.): yeniçeri (Mohammedan soldier of the Turkish infantry, adopted Christian child.) (SWO(a), p. 275)

Jasyr (Tur.): esir (captivity among the Tatars or Turks; prisoners and captives taken by them.) (PSWO, p. 353)

Kalkan (Tur.): kalkan (shield, buckler.) (SWO(a), p. 287)

Karawusz (Tur.): karavaş (slave, farmhand.) (SWO(a), p. 295)

Kawas (Tur.): kavas (Military police and gendarme in Türkiye.) (SWO(a), p. 304)

Muszyr (Tur.): müşir (General of the Turkish army.) (SWO(a), p. 462)

Oda (Ottoman Tur.): oda (sleeping chamber for Janissaries, accommodating 100-150 soldiers; Janissary dwelling, barracks; hut.) (SHTwJP, p. 303)

Orda (Tur.-Tat.): ordu (camp of Tatar troops; in former Poland also the name of the whole of these troops; horde) (SWO(c), p. 680)

Sahajdak (Ukr. from Tur.): sadak (bow case and quiver of arrows; quiver.) (SWO(b), p. 988)

Semen (Ukr. from Ottoman Tur., from Per.): seymen / seğmen (court Cossack in ancient Russia) (SWOiZOzA, p. 517)

Seraskier (Ottoman Tur. *serasker*, Per. *sār*, Ara. *askar*): serasker (-in ancient Turkey-commander-in-chief, later minister of war.) (SWOiZOzA, p. 519)

Spah / spahis (Fre. from Ottoman Tur. *sipahi*, from Per. *sipāhi*): sipahi (-historical- from the 14th to the 19th century: soldier of heavy, regular Turkish cavalry.) (SWO(b), p. 1029)

Ulan (Old Rus. from Tur.-Tat.): oğlan (a soldier of light cavalry, armed with lances, sabres and pistols, and later also with carbines, created in Poland in the 18th century and existing until World War II.) (SWO(b), p. 1144)

Words encountered in daily life, place names

Arszyn (Rus. from Tur.): arşın (a unit of length equal to approximately 3/4 of a meter, used in Russia before 1918 and in several other countries until the introduction of the metric system.) (SWO(c), p. 71)

Aryk (Rus. from Tur.): arık (in Turkestan: irrigation canal.) (SWOiZO, p. 45)

Aul (Tur.): avul (a settlement of Caucasian highlanders and some former nomadic tribes in Central Asia.) (SWO(b), p. 91)

*Bachmat*³⁶ (Old Rus. from Tur. and Per.): at (a small, stocky, very resilient riding horse, formerly used by Tatar and Polish cavalry.) (SWO(b), p. 101)

Bakszysz (Tur. from Per.): bahşiş (donation, a tip, a gift, a bribe, mainly in the Middle East and North Africa.) (SWO(b), p. 103)

36 It was formed by the combination of the words *pehn*, meaning 'wide, broad' which was transferred from Persian to Ottoman Turkish, and *at* meaning 'horse' in contemporary Turkish.

Basztan (Rus., Ukr., Tur., from Per.): bostan (garden on the Black Sea steppes, intended for cultivation vegetable plants, mainly watermelons, melons and cucumbers.) (SWO(b), p.114)

Buran (Rus. from Tur.): boran (violent and dangerous storm, accompanied by a snowstorm, blowing frequently in winter from the north-east in central and southern Siberia.) (SWOiZO, p. 80)

Chandra (Rus. maybe from Tur.): buhran (state of depression and discouragement, caused by some failures or loneliness, sometimes without cause.) (SWO(c), p. 150)

Czaban (Ukr. from Ottoman Tur.): çoban (shepherd of sheep or oxen.) (SWO(b), p. 200)

Falagi (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): falaka (type of physical punishment used in ancient Turkey.) (SHTwJP, p. 125)

Fatalach / Fatalaszek (Tur.): paçavra (rubbish, rags, junk; a trifle, a bagatelle.) (SWO(a), p. 166)

Giaur (Tur.): gâvur (contemptuous name given by Mohammedans to disbelievers; unfaithful.) (SWO(a), p. 201)

Hajda (Tur.): haydi (an exclamation expressing urgency; onward, forward, ride.) (SWO(b), p. 412)

Haracz (Ottoman Tur. from Ara., from Gre.): haraç 1. (a payment extorted from someone by force and threats, usually by criminals; ransom.) 2. (a tax formerly levied on the non-Muslim population in Muslim countries.) (SWO(c), p. 351)

Jurta (Rus. from Tur.): yurt³⁷ (circular tent, hut, covered with deerskins or flet, used by nomads of central Asia and southern Siberia.) (PSWO, p. 359)

Kantar (Ottoman Tur. from Ara., from Gre.): kantar (a hundredweight unit of weight, which in Ottoman Turkey equaled 56 kg.) (SHETwJP, p. 291)

Kary (Ukr. from Tur.): kara (horse color: black.) (SWO(c), p. 453)

Kiosk (Fre. from Ottoman Tur. *köszk*, from Per. *kūszk*): köşk (in Islamic architecture: a decorative summer palace in the form of a garden pavilion or villa.) (SWO(b), p. 549)

Koczować (Rus. from Tur.): göçebe yaşamak (about peoples, tribes: to lead a nomadic lifestyle.) (SWO(c), p. 474)

Komitadži (Tur.): komitacı (commander of the insurgents on the Balkan Peninsula.) (SWO(a), p. 319)

Konak (Ottoman Tur.): konak (in Türkiye and some Balkan countries, a large edifice, especially one used as an official residence.) (SWOiZO, p. 272)

Kozak (Ukr. from Tur.): kazak (member of a group of people forming a free state in the feudal society of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Muscovite state, living in Ukraine and south-eastern Russia, having a separate military organization.) (SWO(b), p. 607)

37 “The tent in which nomadic Turks lived.” See: Akalın et al., *Türkçe Sözlük*, 2617.

Kulis (Eng. from Hin., from Tur.): kul³⁸ (labourer used for the lowest and least paid jobs, usually a carrier.) (SWO(c), p. 527)

Kurdesz (Ottoman Tur.): kardeş (feast song; feast companion, companion.) (SHETwJP, p. 363)

Kurhan (Old Rus. from Tur.-Kum.): kurgan (embankment; grave mound, high grave.) (SHETwJP, p. 363)

Liman (Rus. from Ottoman Tur., from Gre.): liman (shallow sea bay on the northern coast of the Black and Azov Seas, usually separated from the open sea by a spit -sandbar-) (SWOiZOzA, p. 338)

Majdan (Tur. from Per.): meydan (square in a village, a military camp, a stronghold; yard.) (SWO(b), p. 678)

Odaliska (Fre. from Tur.): odalık (female slave in former Türkiye, mainly in the Sultan's harems.) (SWOiZOzA, p. 405)

Ogier (Tur.): aygır (uncastrated, ungelded horse, stud.) (SWO(a), p. 500)

Palanka (Tur.): palanka (a fortification made of earth, surrounded by a ditch and a palisade.) (SWO(a), p. 528)

Szakał (Fre., Tur. from Per. maybe from San.): çakal (a person who profits from another's misfortune.) (SWO(c), p. 905)

Tabor (Ukr. from Tur.-Tat.): tabur (a larger group of people wandering together or gathered at a rest stop; camp.) (SWO(b), p. 1085)

Walida sultan(k)a (Ottoman Tur. from Ara.): valide sultan (mother of the reigning sultan, mother sultan.) (SHETwJP, p. 617)

Conclusion

Interaction between languages takes place on three bases: interaction between languages because of neighbourhood and coexistence; the language of the conquered country influencing the language of the conquerors; the language of the conquering country influencing the language of the conquered country. Since there was no war of conquest between the two states directly on their lands during the relationship dating back to the Ottoman period, the vocabulary of the two states borrowed words in different fields other than military and war terms.

The presence of words of Turkish origin in Polish is related to the political, military, and commercial relations between Poles and Turks throughout history. The migration of Tatars to Poland and their military service here is an important part of this interaction. Additionally, the fact that the Ottoman Empire was a neighbor of Poland for a period explains this exchange of words.

The words of Turkish origin in Polish are words that have passed through different Turkish languages during various periods of history. These words are indicators of the cultural and linguistic richness of Polish. During the borrowing process, words were adapted to the grammatical and phonetic features of Polish. Throughout its history, Polish has borrowed

38 "Slave." See. Kanar, *Eski Anadolu Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, 477.

many words from German, French, Latin, English as well as Turkish languages. This process has helped enrich the language and provide a wider range of meanings in communication. The historical development of Turkish-derived words in Polish starts from the Proto-Turkish period and continues through different Turkish dialects in various periods. During this period, relations between Turkish tribes such as the Huns and Khazars with the Slavs began to emerge. During the Old Turkish period, interaction occurred with Bulgarians, Pechenegs, Cumans and Kipchak Tatars. The Middle Turkish Period was the period when the relations of Slavic peoples with the Turks continued in different branches. Particularly the Middle Kipchak dialects, spoken in the east and southeast of Poland, have been an important source of many Turkish words to Polish. These dialects were widely spoken until the 17th century. The borrowed words in Polish have undergone semantic changes over time. The language difference between the young generation and the middle-aged is an indicator of these changes.

The analysis of Turkish-origin words in Polish vocabulary reveals a significant interlingual interaction that has shaped the linguistic landscape of both languages. Through centuries of contact, primarily driven by historical events such as migrations and political relationships, Turkish words have permeated Polish, contributing to its cultural and linguistic richness. The adaptation of these borrowings, both in meaning and form, underscores the dynamic nature of language evolution. While excessive borrowing might pose risks to linguistic identity, the historical borrowings between Polish and Turkish illustrate a beneficial cultural and communicative exchange.

Abbreviations

Ara.:	Arabic
Aze.:	Azerbaijani
Chi.:	Chinese
Cze.:	Czech
Eng.:	English
Fre.:	French
Gre.:	Greek
Hin.:	Hindi
Hun.:	Hungarian
Ita:	Italian
Kar.:	Karaim
Kip.:	Kipchak
Kum.:	Kuman (Cuman, Kipchak)
Mon.:	Mongolian
Ottoman Tur.:	Ottoman Turkish
Per.:	Persian

- PSWO: Władysław Kopaliński, *Podręczny słownik wyrazów obcych*, (Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Rytm, 1999).
- Rum. : Romanian
- San.: Sanskrit
- SHETwJP: Stanisław Stachowski, *Słownik historyczno-etymologiczny turcызmów w języku polskim*, (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2014).
- SHTwJP: Stanisław Stachowski, *Słownik historyczny turcызmów w języku polskim*.
- SWO(a): Michał Arct, *Słownik wyrazów obcych*, (Warszawa: Księgarnia Michała Arcta, 1918).
- SWO(b): Elżbieta Sobol, *Słownik wyrazów obcych*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1999).
- SWO(c): Lidia Wiśniakowska, *Słownik wyrazów obcych*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2004).
- SWOiZO: Władysław Kopaliński, *Słownik wyrazów obcych i zwrotów obcojęzycznych*, (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1988).
- SWOiZOzA: Władysław Kopaliński, *Słownik wyrazów obcych i zwrotów obcojęzycznych z almanachem*, (Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Rytm, 2007).
- Tat.: Tatar
- Tur.: Turkish
- Ukr.: Ukrainian
- WSWOiT: Andrzej Markowski and Radosław Pawelec, *Wielki słownik wyrazów obcych i trudnych*, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Wilga, 2001).

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