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## Some problems of Balkan Turcisms

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0. In order to present an overall picture of the origin of words (in this case, Turkish loan-words) that would conform with contemporary etymological studies, it is not sufficient merely to indicate the word's etymon. It is required that they be viewed in a wider, areal context (by comparing them with respective Turcisms in other Balkan languages) in order to analyse the phonetic, semantic and morphological characteristics of these lexemes, as well as to highlight and interpret the number of characteristics that decline from the forms of these words in contemporary Turkish, primarily those characteristics that reflect the influence of West Rumelian dialects<sup>1</sup>. All these requirements, naturally, cannot be met by a single dictionary, although such lexicographic handbooks have frequently been a starting-point for individual studies dealing with these problems. At the same time, etymological studies and dictionaries, in the field of Turcology, could be improved by exploiting the results of such specialised studies<sup>2</sup>. Their achievements have depended on, and will continue to depend on, the size and the nature of the studied corpus of SCr lexical material, and also the extent to which Turkish dialects have been studied, as well as on the availability of the Turkish lexicon<sup>3</sup>.

1. Our primary topic of interest, the phonetic characteristics of Turkish loans in the Serbo-Croatian language, has been studied by many distinguished scholars: Dmitriev (1928 and 1929), Schmaus (1955), Hazai (1964), Adamović (1972-1973) and Stachowski (1973). The subject of these studies and monographs is mainly the corpus of Turcism in the dictionaries of Vuk, Škaljić and Knežević, the lesser portion of it coming from the RSA dictionary. This lexical material, over a long period of time the only one available, features in the first place Turcisms in the speech of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and central Serbia, as well as in the literary language, so that the conclusions reached in these works are based on the phonetic features of these forms of speech<sup>4</sup>. In an attempt to show the contribution of this new dialectal material<sup>5</sup> in a study of the phonetic adaptation and phonetic characteristics of Turcisms in the Serbo-Croatian language, this paper analyses the semivowel in Turkish loan-words, be it originally a reflex of the Turkish *ı*, or the consequence of phonetic changes typical of the vernacular in southern and south-eastern Serbia<sup>6</sup>. Turcisms from this area, known for their semantic and phonetic peculiarities, are compared with the Škaljić's corpus, and then with the Bulgarian Turcisms on the other hand. Previous studies of the reflexes of the Turkish *ı* in Serbo-Croatian have shown that it is replaced either by existing SCr vowels (usually *a*, *u* or *i*), or rarely by a vocalic *r*, since the semivowel is normally absent from Serbo-Croatian dialects. It was also noted that the semivowel occurs in place of this Turkish vowel only in

the speech of Kosovo and Metohija, as described in the dialectal dictionary of Gliša Elezović<sup>7</sup>. Among other things, our analysis widens the territory on which this feature is present.

2. First we will point to the appearance of the semivowel in Turkish loans in this dialect, which is etymological, i.e. it has the same position as in the Turkish word model, and it is taken over as such. The majority of examples show the semivowel in SCr words as being stressed, which conforms to the phonetic characteristics of this dialect. There the semivowel (as a reflex of the Protoslavonic palatal and non-palatal semivowel) is in its turn, best preserved when stressed.

2.1. The semivowel in a word base<sup>8</sup>:

*адѣм, адѣмче, адѣм* 'human or animal hermaphrodite' (Leskovac, Vranje), *адум, хадум* (Škaljić)\*, Bulg. *ѣдѣмльк* (Grannes 1996: 162) < Turk. *hadım*<sup>9</sup>,

*азгѣн, азган*, 'furious' (Leskovac, Pirot, Vranje), *азгин* (Škaljić), Bulg. *азгѣн, ѣзгѣн* (Grannes 1996: 162) < Turk. *azgın*,

*азѣр* 'ready' (Leskovac, Vranje, Zlatanović 1981), *азуран* (Vranje, Zlatanović 1981), *хазур* (Škaljić), Bulg. *азѣр* (BD I 241) < Turk. *hazır*,

*акѣл* 'reason' (Leskovac, Pirot), *акѣлан* (Pirot), *акѣл* (Vlasotince, Leskovac), *акил, ак'л* (Škaljić), Bulg. *акѣл* < Turk. *akıl*,

*алтан, алтѣн* 'gold, golden, golden coin' (Pirot, Vranje), *алтун, алтин* (Škaljić), Bulg. *алтѣн* < Turk. *altın*,

*арѣм, арѣм* 'damned' (Pirot), *арѣм* 'furious' (Leskovac), *арун, харун* (Škaljić) < Turk. *harın*,

*атѣр, атѣр* 'will, love' (Leskovac, Pirot, Vranje, Zlatanović 1981), *хатар, хатор, хатер, хатур* (Škaljić), Bulg. *атѣр* (BD I 242) < Turk. *hatır*,

*ачѣк пита* 'kind of a dish' (Vranje), *ачик, хачик* (Škaljić), Bulg. *ачик* < Turk. *açık*,

*бѣлгѣз* 'wife's sisters husband', *бѣлгѣза, бѣлдица* 'sister in-law (to a man)' (Leskovac), *балгѣза* (Pirot), *балдуза* (Škaljić), Bulg. *балдѣза* < Turk. *baldız*<sup>10</sup>,

*бакалѣм* 'let's see' (Pirot), *бакалум* (Škaljić) < Turk. *bakalım*<sup>11</sup>, *бакѣр* 'copper' (Leskovac, Pirot), (Лесковац, Пирот), *бакар* (Škaljić), Bulg. *бакѣр* < Turk. *bakır*,

*зѣбѣн* 'clothe without a sleeve', *зѣбѣнција* 'tailor' (Pirot), *зубун* (Škaljić), Bulg. *зѣбѣн* < Turk. *zıbın*,

*јанѣк, јенѣк* 'leather bag' (Pirot), *јанѣк* (Škaljić) < Turk. *yancık*, *јастѣк* 'pillow' (Leskovac, Pirot), *јестѣк* (Pirot, Vranje) < Turk. *yastık*,

*јазѣк* 'damage' (Pirot), *језѣк, језѣк* 'shame' (Leskovac), *јазук* (Škaljić), Bulg. *јазѣк* (BD I 250) < Turk. *yazık*,

*калѣп* 'mold' (Leskovac, Pirot, Vranje, Zlatanović 1981), *калуп, кѣлуф* (Škaljić), Bulg. *калѣп, калап, калуп* (BER) < Turk. *kalıp*,

*кѣна* 'henna' (Pirot), *кѣна, кѣна, кѣна, кѣна, кѣна* (Škaljić), Bulg. *кѣна* (BER) < Turk. *kına*,

*късмет, късметлија* 'destiny, luck' (Leskovac, Pirot, Vranje, Zlatanović 1981), *кисмет, крсмет* (Škaljić), Bulg. *късмет* < Turk. *kismet*,  
*кадѣна* 'respectable lady' (Pirot) *кадуна* (Škaljić), Bulg. *кадѣна*  
 (BER) < Turk. *kadın*,  
*крмѣз* 'red' (Leskovac), *крмез, крмзи* (Škaljić), Bulg. *кърмѣз*  
 (BER) < Turk. *kırmız*,  
*назлѣн* 'noble' (Vranje), *назлѣндисѹјем* 'to be shy' (Leskovac),  
*назланѹија* (Vranje, Zlatanović 1981), *назли* (Škaljić), Bulg. *назль, назльм,*  
*назлама, назландисвам се, назланджия* (BER) < Turk. *nazlı*,  
*нальне, налуне, нанѣле, нануле, лальне* 'patens' (Leskovac),  
*наламје* (Pirot), *налуне, нануле, налуле* (Škaljić), Bulg. *нальм, нальн,*  
*налан, налун, лальм* (BER) < Turk. *nalın*,  
*ськлѣт* 'oppressiveness' (Leskovac, Pirot), *саклѣт* (Pirot, Vranje),  
*саклет, скрлет* (Škaljić), Bulg. *ськлет* (BD I 268) < Turk. *sıklet*,  
*сакѣз* 'chewing resin' (Leskovac), *саказ, сакрз* (Škaljić) < Turk.  
*sakız*,  
*сакѣн* 'don't talk, keep a secret' (Vranje) < Turk. *sakın*,  
*сандѣк, сѣндѣк* 'box' (Pirot), *сандѣк* (Leskovac), *сандук* (Škaljić)  
 < Turk. *sandık*,  
*сатѣр* 'hacking knife' (Leskovac, Pirot) < Turk. *satır*,  
*чадѣр* 'umbrella', *чадор* 'tent, group of people' (Leskovac), Bulg.  
*чадѣр* (BD I 271) < Turk. *çadır*,  
*чакѣр* 'cross-eyed, kind of falcon' (Leskovac, Vranje, Zlatanović 1981),  
*чекѣр, чакарлија, чекарлија* (Vranje, *ibid.*), *чакар, чакр* (Škaljić), Bulg.  
*чакѣрест* (BD I 271) < Turk. *çakır*,  
*чалѣк* 'mad man' (Leskovac, Vranje), *чалнѣк* (Lebane), *чалук*  
 (Škaljić) < Turk. *çalık*,  
*ѹанѣм, ѹанѣм, ѹануѹм* 'my dear' (Vranje, Zlatanović 1981), *ѹануѹм*  
 (Škaljić) < Turk. *canım*,  
*шашкѣн* 'crazy man' (Vranje, Leskovac), *шьшкѣн* (Leskovac),  
*шашкин* (Škaljić) < Turk. *şaşkın*.

2.1.1. Half of approximately thirty examples show a certain fluctuation when it comes to the reflex of a Turkish vowel, even when found in the same locations. So this vowel appears both as a semivowel and as an *a*, *u*, *o* or *y*: *алтѣн, алтѣн; азгѣн, азгѣн; азѣр, азѹран; атѣр, атѣр; језѣк, језѣк; калѣп, калѣп; сандѣк, сандѣк*. This can be explained by the greater wideness of pronunciation of the stressed vowel.

2.1.2. Most of the Bulgarian material also reflects the semivowel in the same words, except in some cases where, instead of the semivowel, there is also an *i*, *u* or *a*: Bulg. *ачик, калуп, калап*.

2.1.3. On the other hand, as expected, the Škaljić's corpus demonstrates a difference regarding the words analysed; the position of the Turkish *ı* can be occupied by various SCr vowels<sup>12</sup>: instead of *атѣр* in the Prizren-Timok dialect, there are *хѣтар, хѣтор, хѣтер, хѣтур*; instead of *късмет* - *кисмет*, etc. In the following examples: *крна, крсмет, срклет, сакрз*, in place of the Turkish vowel *ı* is the vocalic *r*, encapsulating the element of the semivowel, which is

demonstrated in the studies written by Lehiste and Ivić (Ivić-Lehiste 1967). The vocalic *r* usually appears after or before the velar *k*. Only when it comes to the word **чакр**, is there an *r* in the Turkish word, while in the other examples the SCr vocalic *r*, due to its phonological nature, stands for the Turkish *ı*.

## 2.2. The semivowel in the suffix *-lik*<sup>13</sup>

**агъльк, агальк, аганльк, агалак** 'pleasure' (Leskovac) Bulg. **агальк**,  
Mac. **агалак** < Turk. *agalık*,

**азгънльк, азганлак** 'rage' (Vranje, Pirot), Bulg. **азгънльк**,  
**азгинлик, ъзгънльк** (Grannes 1996: 162) < Turk. *azgınlık*,

**аильк** 'agreement' (Leskovac), **ајльк** 'salary' (Pirot, Leskovac),  
**ајлак** 'id.', **ајлук** (Leskovac), Bulg. **айльк**, Mac. dial. **ајльк** (Stachowski 1991)  
< Turk. *aylık*,

**ајнацильк** 'laziness' (Pirot), Bulg. **айнаджилък** (Grannes 1996: 161)  
< Turk. *aynasılık*,

**албатльк** 'blacksmith's trade' (Pirot) < Turk. *nalbantlık*,

**алталък** 'golden coin' (Leskovac), Bulg. **алталък, алтъльк**  
(Grannes 1996: 163) < Turk. *altılık*,

**аргатльк** 'work as a day laborer' (Pirot) < Turk. *ırgatlık*,

**арсьзльк** 'malice' (Pirot), Bulg. **арсьз** (BER) < Turk. *arsızlık*,

**ацильк** 'pilgrimage' (Pirot), Bulg. **хаджилък** (Grannes 1996: 202) <  
Turk. *hacılık*,

**бъдъвлък, бадавльк**\*<sup>14</sup> 'idleness' (Leskovac) < Turk. *bedava*,

**бътъклък, батаклък** 'damage' (Leskovac), Bulg. **батаклък** (Grannes  
1996: 165), Mac. **батакчилък** (Stachowski 1961) < Turk. *batak, bataklık*,

**бакальк** 'groceries' (Leskovac, Pirot), Bulg. **бакалльк**, Mac. dial.  
**bakaльк** (Stachowski 1991) < Turk. *bakkallık*,

**баксузльк** 'trouble' (Leskovac) < Turk. *bahtsızlık*,

**бачальк, башчалък** 'a gift given by the bride' (Leskovac), **бошчалък**  
(Pirot, Vranje, Zlatanović 1981) < Turk. *bohçalık*,

**бачованльк** 'gardening' (Leskovac), **башчеванцильк** (Pirot), Bulg.  
**бахчеванльк, бахчеванджилък** (Grannes 1996: 165) < Turk. *bahçıvanlık*,  
*bahçıvancılık*,

**бъшкъльк** (Leskovac), **башкальк** 'a separate portion of property'  
(Pirot, Vranje, Zlatanović 1981), Bulg. **башкальк** (BD I 242) < Turk. *başkalık*,

**беһарльк** 'bachelorhood' (Leskovac), Bulg. **бекярльк** (Stachowski  
1961) < Turk. *bekârlık*,

**бојацльк** 'painters trade' (Pirot), Bulg. **бояджилък** (Stachowski  
1961) < Turk. *boyacılık*,

**домазльк** 'property' (Leskovac, Pirot), **домазлькчија** 'host'  
(Pirot), **домазльчан** 'best kept for breeding' (Leskovac, Vranje), Bulg.  
**дамазльк, дамазлак** (BER) < Turk. *damızlık, damazlık*,

**душманльк** 'hate' (Pirot), Bulg. **душманльк** (BER) < Turk.  
*düşmanlık*,

**инацильк** 'spite' (Pirot), Bulg. **инатльк** (BER) < Turk. *inatçılık*,

**јавашльк** 'negligence' (Pirot), **јавашлук** (Leskovac), Mac. **јавашлак**  
(Stachowski 1961) < Turk. *yavaşlık*,

*јѣбанцилък* 'foreign country' (Piroť), Bulg. *йѣбѣнджилък* (Grannes 1996: 178) < Turk. *yabancılık*,  
*казанцилък* 'coppersmith's trade' (Piroť), Bulg. *казанджилък* (BER) < Turk. *kazancılık*,  
*калабалък* 'crowd' (Leskovac, Piroť, Vranje, Zlatanović 1981), Bulg. *калабалък*, Mac. *калабалак* (Stachowski 1961) < Turk. *kalabalık*,  
*каванлък* 'beekeeping' (Leskovac, Piroť, Vranje, Zlatanović 1981), Bulg. *кованлък* (BER) < Turk. *kovanlık*,  
*кулакълък* 'kind of a woman cap' (Piroť), Bulg. *кулакълък* (BER) < Turk. *kulaklık*,  
*мурдълък* 'sloppy' (Leskovac), *мурдарлък* (Vranje, Zlatanović 1981), Bulg. *мурдарлък* (Grannes 1996: 190) < Turk. *mundarlık*, *murdalık*, *murdarlık*,  
*мутаџцилък* 'the trade of making articles of goat hear' (Piroť), Bulg. *мутаџчилък* (Grannes 1996: 190) < Turk. *mutağçılık*,  
*натаналък\** 'slowly' (Vranje), *на тенелък* (Leskovac) < Turk. *tehna*,  
*ортакълък* 'mutual business' (Vranje), Bulg. *орталък* (BER), *ортакълък* (Grannes 1996: 192) < Turk. *ortaklık*,  
*раатлък* 'comfort' (Piroť), Bulg. *рахатлък*, Mac. *рахатлак* (Stachowski 1961) < Turk. *rahatlık*,  
*сарачлък* 'saddler's trade' (Piroť) < Turk. *saraçlık*,  
*табакълък* 'tanner's trade' (Piroť), Bulg. *табакълък* (Grannes 1996: 198) < Turk. *tabaklık*,  
*ћесатлък* 'stagnation in business' (Vranje), Bulg. *кесатлък* (Stachowski 1961) < Turk. *kesatlık*,  
*ћирицилък* 'carrier's trade' (Piroť), Bulg. *кираджилък* (BER) < Turk. *kiracılık*,  
*чорбалък* 'kind of a plate' (Leskovac, Piroť), Bulg. *чурбълък* (Grannes 1996: 206) < Turk. *çorbalık*,  
*чорбаџцилък* 'wealth' (Piroť), Bulg. *чорбаџжилък* (Grannes 1996: 206) < Turk. *çorbacılık*,  
*џабалък* 'cheapness' (Piroť), *џѣбълък* (Leskovac) < Turk. *\*cabalık* (Stachowski 1992: 35),  
*шашавлък\** 'stupidity' (Leskovac, Piroť) < Turk. *şaşal*,  
*шашкълък*, *шьшкълък* 'stupidity' (Leskovac), *шашканлък* (Piroť) < Turk. *şaşkınlık*.

2.2.1. Most of the scholars who have studied the phonetic form of the Turkish suffix *-lik* in Serbo-Croatian (Hazai, Schmaus, Stachowski, Adamović) had at their disposal only lexical material in which that formant is almost always used as *-лук*. The tendency toward phonetic unification in SCr Turcisms is explained as a consequence of the situation in West Rumelian dialects in which, continuing a feature typical of the Old Osmanic language, the suffix *-lık/-lik* comes after the labial and non-labial bases. Numerous examples of Turcisms with this suffix in our material show a tendency toward unification in the variant *-лък*, with a few parallel examples with *-лук* and *-лак*. The most acceptable explanation for this situation should be sought in already mentioned

characteristics of the West Rumelian dialects of the Osmanic language, although the morphological explanation offered by Grannes should not be completely discarded (Grannes 1996: 228-229).

2.2.2. The suffix *-лък* in these SCr forms of speech (as well as in Bulgarian), and relatively more than in other SCr territory, is very productive with non-Turkish bases<sup>15</sup>. This fact might have contributed to its phonetic unification even in places where it would be expected to appear as *-лик*<sup>16</sup>. Even in such examples we can consider this to be the etymological form of the suffix. This is primarily due to the fact that some studies based on older Turkish lexicographic sources and on comparative Balkan material lead us to the conclusion that in the earliest phase of the West Rumelian Turkish dialects this suffix appeared solely as *-lik*, which yielded a SCr *-лук*, and *-лък* in this speech (Németh 1956: 28-29, Adamović 1972/73). Also in Prizren Turkish speech this suffix only appears as *-lik* (Hafiz 1979: 70). Those examples are:

- антерилък, антерилак* 'making a dress' (Leskovac) < Turk. *entarilik*,  
*бешлък* 'transverse beam, silver coin' (Vranje, Leskovac), Bulg. *бешлик, бешлък* (Grannes 1996: 214) < Turk. *beşlik*,  
*везирлък* 'pleasure' (Vranje, Zlatanović) < Turk. *vezirlik*,  
*дунђерлък* 'masonry' (Pirot), Bulg. *дюлгерлък, дюлгерлик* (Grannes 1996: 216) < Turk. *dülgerlik*,  
*ешеклък* 'mischief' (Leskovac), Bulg. *ешеклик* (Grannes 1996: 217) < Turk. *eşeklik*,  
*јергенлък* 'bachelorhood' (Vranje), *јерђенлък* (Pirot), Bulg. *ергенлък, ергенлик* (BER) < Turk. *ergenlik*,  
*комшилък, комшилак* 'neighborhood' (Leskovac), Bulg. *комшилък, комшалък, комшулук* (BER) < Turk. *komşuluk, konşuluk*,  
*марифетлък* 'skill' (Leskovac), *марифетлук* (Vranje), Mac. *марифетлак* (Stachowski 1961) < Turk. *marifetlik*,  
*мезельк* 'tidbits to accompany a drink' (Leskovac), Bulg. *мезельк, мезелик*, Mac. *мезелик* (Stachowski 1961) < Turk. *mezelik*,  
*мејанцилък* 'profession of a tavern keeper' (Pirot), Bulg. *механджилък* (BER) < Turk. *meyhanecilik*,  
*муштерилък, муштерилак* 'buying' (Leskovac) < Turk. *müşterilik*,  
*резилък* 'infamy' (Leskovac, Pirot), *резилак* (Leskovac), Bulg. *резиллик, резилък* (Grannes 1996: 221), Mac. *резилак* (Stachowski 1961) < Turk. *rezillik*,  
*серсемлък* 'malice' (Leskovac, Pirot), *серсенлък* 'ability' (Leskovac), *серсемлък, серсемлик* (Grannes 1996: 221) < Turk. *sersemlik*,  
*севтельк, сефтельк* 'first sale of a day, beginning' (Leskovac, Vranje) < Turk. dial. *sefte* (Németh 1965: 404, Grannes 1996: 58), *seftelik*,  
*суртуклък* 'vagrancy' (Pirot) < Turk. *sürtüklük, \*sürtüklik* (Stachowski 1962: 60),  
*тепельк* 'small woman cap' (Pirot, Leskovac, Vranje, Zlatanović 1981), *тепелук* (Vranje *ibid.*), *тепелак* (Leskovac), Bulg. *тепелик* (Stachowski 1961), *тепельк* (Grannes 1996: 222) < Turk. *tepelik*,

**терзилѣк** 'tailoring' (Leskovac, Pirot), Bulg. **терзилѣк** (BD I 269), **терзилик** (Grannes 1996: 222), Mac. dial. **terzilѣк** (Stachowski 1961) < Turk. **terzilik**,

**трлѣк** 'lower part of a sock' (Пиpот), Bulg. **търлѣк, терлик** (Grannes 1996: 222) < Turk. **terlik**,

**ћеремицилѣк** 'tile making' (Pirot) < Turk. **kiremitçilik**,

**ћирлѣк** 'kind of a white cap' (Pirot), **ћирлак** (Pirot, Panajotović) < Turk. dial. **kirlik** (DS),

**чивилѣк** 'hanger' (Leskovac, Pirot), Mac. **чивилук** (Stachowski 1961) < Turk. dial. **\*çivilik, \*çivilük** (Stachowski 1962: 26),

**чивлѣк, чифлѣк** 'farm' (Leskovac), **чивлик** (Pirot), Bulg. **чифлик**, Mac. dial. **чифлик, чивлик** (Stachowski 1961) < Turk. **çiftlik**.

2.2.3 The Turkish suffix **-lık**, present in this unified form in the South Moravian vernacular of the Prizren-Timok dialect, is also present in the Turcisms of West Bulgarian speech, which is the opposite of the situation in East Bulgaria<sup>17</sup>.

2.3. From the etymological standpoint, and linked to the phonetic realisation of Turcisms with this suffix, the question arises whether it is justified or even necessary, in such and like cases, reconstruct the Turkish dialectal form as an etymon, or to give the used but phonetically rather inappropriate form of the Turkish word. If we are to accept the method of reconstruction of the West Rumelian form of Turkish lexemes, the way Stachowski does<sup>18</sup>, then the etymon of SCr **бешлѣк**, for example would be balk. Turk. **\*beşlik**.

3. The most interesting examples are those in which appears non-etymological semivowel. An explanation of this phenomenon should first be sought in the characteristics of local Turkish speech forms<sup>19</sup>, or among the recognised characteristics of the West Rumelian dialect, and it is only after that interpretation proves impossible that we should consider the characteristics of the Prizren-Timok dialect of Serbo-Croatian. However, before trying to trace the origin of this semivowel, we must express certain reservations regarding the very manner of its transcription. Since the semivowel in the lexicographic sources exploited is designated by a single sign, it is impossible to establish its precise quality, i. e. to distinguish between a genuine semivowel and a reduced pronunciation of one of the vowels.

3.1. The semivowel resulting from vowel reduction.

**абер; абър** 'news, message' (Pirot), **абер, хабер** (Škaljić), Bulg. **абър** (BD I 241) < Turk. **haber**,

**агълѣк** 'pleasure' (Leskovac), **агалук** (Škaljić) < Turk. **ağalik**,

**бѣдѣвлѣк** 'idleness' (Pirot), **бѣдѣвѣија, бадавѣија** 'idle' (Leskovac), **бадаваѣија** (Škaljić), Bulg. dial. **бѣд'аавѣ, бѣд'ьѣвѣ**, (BD VIII 107) < Turk. **bedava**,

**бѣмбаѣава, бѣмбаѣава** 'free' (Leskovac), **бѣмбадава** (Škaljić) < Turk. **bambedava**,

**бѣчѣлѣк, бѣшчѣлѣк** 'a gift given by the bride' (Leskovac), **бошчалук** (Škaljić) < Turk. **bohçalık**,



**бѣшкѣльк**, **башкѣлук** 'separate part of a property, secret' (Leskovac), **башкалук** (Škaljić), Bulg. dial. **бѣшкѣ**, **бѣшкѣльк** (BD VIII 108) < Turk. *başkalık*,

**безьрѣан** 'merchant' (Leskovac), **базѣрѣан**, **базрѣан** (Škaljić), Bulg. **базиргян** (BER) < Turk. *bezirgân*,

**зързѣват**, **зарзѣват** 'mixture of various ingredients, spice' (Leskovac), **зарзѣват**, **зерзѣват** (Škaljić), Bulg. **зарзѣват** (BER) < Turk. *zerzevat*,

**кѣльбѣльк** 'crowd' (Leskovac), **калабѣлук** (Škaljić), Bulg. **калабалѣк** (BER) < Turk. *kalabalık*,

**кѣльп**, **калап** 'mold' (Leskovac), **калуп** (Škaljić), Bulg. dial. **кѣльбѣдан** (BD VIII 141) < Turk. *kalıp*,

**сѣглам**, **саглам** 'correct' (Piroć), **саглам** (Škaljić), Bulg. dial. **сѣглам** (BD VIII 141) < Turk. *sağlam*,

**сѣмьнѣльк**, **самьрѣльк** 'stable' (Leskovac), **саманлук**, **самалук** (Škaljić), Bulg. **саманлѣк** (Grannes 1996: 195) < Turk. *samanlık*,

**сѣрмалѣк**, **сармалѣк** 'kind of dish' (Leskovac) < Turk. *sarma*, **тазѣльк** 'early fruit and vegetables' (Leskovac), **тазѣлук** (Škaljić) < Turk. *taze, tazelik*,

**цѣбѣльк** 'cheapness' (Leskovac), **цабѣлук** (Škaljić) < Turk. *cabalık*,

**цѣнабѣт** 'naughty' (Leskovac), **ценѣбет** (Škaljić), Bulg. dial. **цѣнѣбет** (BD VIII 123) < Turk. *cenabet*.

3. 1. 1. The presence of the non-etymological semivowel before or after the accent in a pre tonal or post tonal position in the Turkish loan-words analysed could be a consequence of the phonetic characteristics of the SCr speech forms it is recorded in. It has already been noted that the Prizren-Timok dialect features a dynamic accent only, with no tonal opposites, which brings it closer to the Balkan League zone than the other SCr dialects. This type of accent results in a significant difference between the stressed and unstressed vowels, which diminishes the potential of the unstressed vocalism to carry phonological distinctions, thus resulting in a non distinctness of some vowels that otherwise, when in a stressed position, do differ (Ivić 1991: 202). Bearing this in mind, in the pronunciation of the given examples a reduction of unstressed vowels and their shift toward a semivowel may be assumed and this was then reflected in their spelling. One argument in favour of this interpretation is the fact that in many locations identical lexemes are simultaneously used with the semivowel and etymological vowel occupying the same position. Of special interest are lexemes which, in Turkish loans, show a different realisation of an accented vowel and, in the same word, the semivowel before the accent, e. g. **бѣмбаѣава**, **бѣмбаѣава**. In examples like: **бѣдѣвлѣк**, **бѣчѣльк**, **бѣшчѣльк**, **бѣшкѣльк**, **кѣльбѣльк**; etc., the semivowel in the word base may be interpreted as an intersyllabic vocal assimilation or as a formation by analogy.

3.2. The stressed non-etymological semivowel:

**алчѣк** 'stupid' (Leskovac, Vranje), **алчѣк** (Škaljić), Bulg. dial. **алчѣк** (BD II 123), **алчѣк** (BD VIII 205) < Turk. *alçak*,

**бѣр** (**бѣрѣмке**) 'at least' (Leskovac), **бѣр**; **бѣрѣм** (Škaljić), Bulg. **барѣ**, **барѣм** (BER) < Turk. *bari*,

- бѣтѣк** 'bad' (Leskovac), **батѣк** 'refuse' (Leskovac), **батак** (Škaljić) < Turk. *batak*,
- баш**, **бѣш** 'really' (Leskovac), **баш** (Škaljić), Bulg. **баш**, **бѣш** (BER) < Turk. *baş*,
- батлак**, **батлѣк** 'mud' (Piro, Leskovac), Bulg. **батлак** (BD I 242) < Turk. dial. *batlak* (DS),
- белензѣци** 'bracelet' (Leskovac), **белензука** (Škaljić), Bulg. **белезик** (BER) < Turk. *bilezik*,
- дѣлѣп**, **далѣп**, **дѣлѣпче**, **далѣпче** 'old-time closet' (Leskovac), **долап** (Škaljić), Bulg. **долап** (BER) < Turk. *dolar*,
- далѣк**, **далѣк** 'diaphragm' (Leskovac), **далак** (Škaljić), Bulg. **далак** (BER), Bulg. dial. **дѣлак** (BD IV 200) < Turk. *dalak*,
- замѣн**, **замѣн** 'always' (Leskovac), **зѣман** (Škaljić), Bulg. **заман** (BER), Bulg. dial. **зѣман** (BD VI 34) < Turk. *zeman*,
- јѣлпаз** 'nasty' (Leskovac), **јѣлпаз** (Škaljić) < Turk. *yolpaz*,
- лѣв**, **лѣв**, **лаф** 'chat, respectability' (Leskovac), **лаф** (Škaljić), Bulg. **лаф**, **лъфа** pl. (BER) < Turk. *laf*,
- мутлѣк** 'probably' (Leskovac), **мутлак** (Škaljić), Bulg. **мутлѣк**, **мутлак** (BER) < Turk. *mutlak*,
- наѣк** 'gruff' (Leskovac), **наѣк** (Škaljić), Bulg. **наджак** (BER) < Turk. *nasak*,
- сѣн**, **сѣн** 'small metal plate' (Leskovac), **сѣн**, **сѣхан** (Škaljić) < Turk. *sahan*,
- сусѣн** 'sesame' (Piro), **сусам** (Škaljić) < Turk. *susam*,
- тамѣн** 'just right' (Leskovac), **таман** (Škaljić), Bulg. dial. **дѣлак** (BD I 143) < Turk. *tamat*,
- чиплѣк** 'nude' (Leskovac), **чиплак** (Škaljić), Bulg. dial. **чиплак** (BD II 301) < Turk. *çiplak*.

3.2.1. A special peculiarity of these Turkish loan-words are instances in which the non-etymological semivowel occurs under accent<sup>20</sup>. Since the stressed vowels in these speech forms do preserve their quality, it is quite a problem to explain their shift into the semivowel in that position. It should also be pointed out that a great number of these lexemes have been recorded both with the semivowel and the etymological vowel, which is another testimony of the instability of the semivowel on this position. In most instances the semivowel stands for an etymological *a*, and in individual cases for an *e*, *o*, or *u* respectively.

3.2.3. The appearance of the stressed semivowel instead of the vowel *a* between *l* and *k* in lexemes like: **батлѣк**, **далѣк**, **мутлѣк**, **чиплѣк** can be explained by analogy with the semivowel in words with the Turkish suffix *-lik* that dominate in these dialects as **-лѣк**.

3.2.3. The appearance of the stressed non-etymological semivowel in the following examples may be a consequence of another previously noted characteristic of this dialect, which is the reduction of a vowel beside a labial or nasal. In some more western SCr dialects that do not have the semivowel in their system, it has also been noted that the vowel *a* next to *m* and *n* becomes a

semivowel. In the Prizren-Timok dialect this mainly occurs in words of Slavonic origin, and by analogy, the same principle could have been transmitted to Turkish loans as well, like: *замьн, сьгльм, сьн, сусьн, тамьн*.

3.3. This leads us to the conclusion that the non-etymological semivowel is mainly typical of SCr speech in the Prizren-Timok zone and that its occurrence was influenced by the phonetic characteristics of this dialect, as well as by linguistic analogy, in a manner similar to that in which the presence of the *ɪ* in Turkish speech in a bilingual community of the past, and consequently in Turkish loan-words too, contributed to an already existing tendency toward preservation of the vocal nature of the Slavonic semivowel.

4. Finally, we would say that in Turkish loans in southern and south-eastern parts of the Prizren-Timok dialect the semivowel appears regularly as a reflex of the Turkish *ɪ* in suffix *-льк*. It is also present in word bases as a reflection of the Turkish vowel as well as a result of phonetic changes typical of this dialect. In these cases the semivowel and other vowels fluctuate both in the etymological and non-etymological positions.

4.1. The presented dialectal material does show important singularities regarding the phonetic adaptation of the Turkish *ɪ* in relation to the corpus of Turkish loans in all other SCr dialects and the standard language. An insight into the available - and by no means final - Bulgarian material shows numerous similarities (though not complete concordance) between (West) Bulgarian Turkish loans and ones from the Prizren-Timok zone. These singularities are primarily conditioned by the characteristics of the Prizren-Timok dialect that led to the specific emergence of the phonetic form belonging to borrowed Turkish words. Due to the shortage of historical sources from this area that would otherwise enable us to use a true diachronic approach to the study of Turkish loans, we must rely on the synchronic dialectal material gathered in the last fifteen years, remembering along the way N. Tolstoy's vivid remark that «the contemporary dialectal landscape (...) is a diachrony developed in space»<sup>21</sup> (Tolstoj 1968/1997: 15). If we accept this viewpoint, then further thorough and comprehensive research into the phonetic, semantic and morphological characteristics of Turkish loans in this dialect could clarify a series of interesting points relating to Balkan Turkish loans as well as the West Rumelian dialects.

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<sup>1</sup>The principle of quoting the Turkish contemporary language etymon, adopted in the Škaljić's dictionary, has already been much criticised. The same objection is valid for most other etymological handbooks for Serbo-Croatian (Skok, Knežević, etc.)

<sup>2</sup>Scholars who have recently studied Turkish etymologies in Serbo-Croatian (e.g. Stachowski 1992, Stachowski 1997) stress the historical development and dialectal characteristics of the Turkish language itself.

<sup>3</sup>Bearing in mind the importance of older lexicographic Turkish language manuals from 16th-19th centuries, a study of Turkish dialects is of special importance for this type of research.

<sup>4</sup>Although the RSA dictionary introduces a great number of words from the Prizren-Timok dialect, it is not a reliable lexicographic source for phonetic and morphological studies since it has carried out a systematic hypercorrection of accent, semivowels, infinitives, etc.

<sup>5</sup>This analysis has been made possible primarily by the appearance of dialectal dictionaries and glossaries from southern and south-eastern Serbia during the last decade or so, which has considerably supplemented the corpus of Turkish loan-words in Serbo-Croatian. This study is based on the dictionaries and glossaries from Leskovac, Vranje, Pirot and Lebane.

<sup>6</sup>We chose to investigate these phonetic characteristics because the Prizren-Timok dialect of Serbo-Croatian, unlike others and the standard language itself, has preserved the archaic feature of the semivowel.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Stachowski 1973: 39-46.

<sup>8</sup> We have separately treated Turkish loans with the suffix *-lik* for better organisation of the material and mindful that the phonetic realisation of this suffix has so far been treated as a separate phenomenon.

\* Editorial note: It was impossible, for technical reasons, to make a distinction between the expiratory stress of SE-Serbian dialects and the short ascending accent of S-Cr literary language, both being marked here by a grave, which, consequently, on the words from the Serbian Prizren-Timok dialect designates not the same accentological unit as for instance on those cited from Škaljić's dictionary.

<sup>9</sup> Since the etymology is not our primer topic of interest in this paper, Turkish etymon is mostly taken over from Škaljić's dictionary.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Turk. dial. *balgız* 'pretty, dear' (DS).

<sup>11</sup> This is a clear example of the Turkish imperative suffix, but we considered that on the Serbo-Croatian level it is taken as an integral part of this word since it is not a morphologically independent form, in the way the suffix *-lik* is.

<sup>12</sup> However, from the spelling of some words it can be concluded that the semivowel used to be pronounced in this part of the Serbo-Croatian language territory too, since Škaljić, lacking another sign, uses an apostrophe twice (in the words *ak'l* and *k'na*).

<sup>13</sup> For these examples we shall not give the words from the Škaljić's dictionary, because this suffix is always realised as *-luk*.

<sup>14</sup> For the words with the asterisk we couldn't find the appropriate Turkish word with suffix *-lik*.

<sup>15</sup> As an illustration we shall quote some examples; for the ones from Pirot cf. Stachowski 1992: 68-69 *ајдуклаќ* 'banditing' (Leskovac), *ајдукльќ* (Leskovac, Pirot), Bulg. *ајдукльќ* (BD I 241), *богатльќ* 'wealth' (Pirot), Bulg. *богатльќ* (Grannes 1996: 232), *бунальќ* 'rebellion' (Vranje), *вантазльќ* 'stupidity' (Pirot), *виделаќ*, *видельќ* 'world, existence' (Leskovac), *газдьльќ*, *газдалаќ*, *газдальќ* 'property, wealth' (Leskovac, Pirot), *грнчарльќ* (Pirot), *доодлаќ*, *доодльќ* 'arrival' (Leskovac), *другарльќ* 'friendship' (Pirot), Bulg. *другарльќ* (Grannes 1996: 234), *ђавольќ* 'mischief' (Pirot), *мајсторльќ* 'skill' (Pirot), Bulg. *майсторльќ* (Grannes 1996: 236), *навацильќ* 'matchmaking' (Pirot), *назадльќ* 'failure in business' (Pirot), *ненавидльќ* 'hate' (Pirot), *обидльќ* 'trying' (Pirot), *оправльќ* 'easy done work' (Lebane), *оратльќ* 'talk' (Leskovac), *пашальќ* 'field for cattle pasture' (Leskovac, Pirot), Bulg. *пашальќ* (Grannes 1996: 237), *пијальќ*, *пијенльќ*, *пијалаќ*, *пијанлаќ* 'drink' (Leskovac,

Pirot), Bulg. *пийалѣк*, *пиелѣк* (Grannes 1996: 237), *поодлѣк* 'departure' (Leskovac), *расиплѣк* 'wastefulness' (Leskovac, Pirot, Lebane), *сиромашлѣк* 'poverty' (Врање), Bulg. *сиромашлѣк* (Grannes 1996: 238), *спаслѣк* 'salvation' (Vranje), *срамотлѣк* 'shame' (Врање), *човеслѣк* 'good reputation' (Leskovac).

<sup>16</sup>It should be borne in mind that it is impossible to establish, in each individual case, whether a Turkish word was loaned already with this suffix, or whether it was added to it, by analogy, in the already unified form.

<sup>17</sup>A detailed survey of the vocalisation of this suffix in Bulgarian is provided by Grannes 1996: 210-230.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. e.g. Stachowski 1992 and Stachowski 1997.

<sup>19</sup>Unfortunately, they have not been systematically or adequately described until recently (cf. Tryjarski 1990: 438-439) nor in this situation likely to improve in the near future.

<sup>20</sup>In the absence of adequate Turkish proof we have looked for an explanation of this phenomenon in SCr dialectal characteristics, although we advise extreme caution when these examples occur in other Balkan languages.

<sup>21</sup>It is usually stressed that one of the greatest difficulties in attempting of Turcisms is the lack of relevant historical sources in Turkish, as well as in other Balkan languages (cf. Tietze 1983: 238-239).

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