

## ON TURKISH LOANWORDS IN CROATIAN LANGUAGE

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**ABSTRACT:** This paper deals with one of the most numerous groups of loanwords in Croatian language—the ones that are coming from or through Turkish language. Basic information on Croatian language that is given in the introductory part of the paper is followed by some historical facts and explanations of the somewhat problematic label *turcizmi*. Furthermore, three types of Turkish loanwords in Croatian language are discussed and exemplified. The first group consists of words that are part of standard language and that have no (valid) Croatian replacement. The second group consists of words that have to do with some aspect of Turkish and oriental reality. The third group consists of words that are not part of standard language but are actively used in regional idioms. The paper also deals with attitudes towards Turkish loanwords.

**Keywords:** Croatian language, Turkish language, loanwords.

### HIRVAT DİLİNDEKİ BAZI TÜRKÇE KELİMELER ÜZERİNE KISA BİR BAKIŞ

**ÖZ:** Bu makale Hırvat dilinde bulunan ödünçleme kelimeler gruplarından birini, içeriği oldukça geniş olan Türk dilinden ya da Türk dili aracılığıyla gelmekte olan ödünçleme kelimeler grubunu ele almaktadır. Makalenin giriş kısmında verilen Hırvat diliyle ilgili temel bilgileri, bir miktar sorunlu olan “Turcizmi” (Türkçeden ödünçlenen sözcükler anlamına gelmektedir). deyiminin açıklanması ve hakkında bazı tarihsel gerçeklerin verilmesi izlemektedir. İlave olarak Hırvat dilindeki Türkçe ödünçlenen kelimelerin üç tipi tartışılmakta ve örneklendirilmektedir. İlk grubu, standart dilin parçaları olan ve Hırvatçada geçerli bir muadili bulunmayan kelimeler oluşturmaktadır. İkinci grup, Türk ve doğu realitesinin bir yönünü yansıtan kelimelerden meydana gelmektedir. Üçüncü grup ise standart dilin parçası olmayan, ancak yöresel deyimlerde aktif bir şekilde kullanılan kelimelerden müteşekkildir. Makalede ayrıca Türkçe ödünçleme kelimelere karşı olan tutum ele alınmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Hırvat dili, Türk dili, ödünç kelimeler.

**On Croatian language:** Croatian language (Turkish: *Hırvatça*; Croatian: *hrvatski* [xř̩va:ski:] ISO 639-1: hr; ISO 639-2/3: hrv) belongs to the western branch of South Slavic languages (together with Slovenian, Serbian, Bosnian, Montenegrin, Macedonian and Bulgarian) and is spoken by approximately 5.55 million people living mostly in Croatia (3.98 million, 2001 census) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (0.469 million, 2004 census), but also in Australia, Austria, Canada, Chile, Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, United States and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Except in Croatia, it is one of three official languages in Bosnia

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<sup>1</sup> Paul M. Lewis (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 16<sup>th</sup> Edition, SIL International, Dallas 2009, online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com/> (14/3/2012).

and Herzegovina, one of the recognised minority languages (i.e. equal in use to official language) in Vojvodina (autonomous province of Serbia), Montenegro, part of Austria (Burgenland), part of Italy (Molise), and in several Romanian communes (Carajova, Lupac). In addition, it is going to be one of the official languages of the European Union after Croatia receives full membership on 1<sup>st</sup> July 2013. Croatian language is written in Latin script.<sup>2</sup>

The standard form of Croatian language is based on dialect called Shtokavian (spoken throughout most of Croatian territory), other dialects of Croatian language being Kaykavian (central and northern parts of Croatia including capital city Zagreb) and Chakavian (northwestern Croatia, Dalmatian coast, and Adriatic Islands). Shtokavian dialect is also the basis of standard Serbian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin. During most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century all these languages were mostly referred to by its common name Serbo-Croatian, i.e. they were considered to be one language that has two equal variants (western variant, or Croatian, and eastern variant, or Serbian). In reality, diversities between the two variants were often suppressed on account of Croatian as the Serbian variant of Serbo-Croatian was favoured by political centres of power in Yugoslavia.<sup>3</sup> After the fall of Yugoslavia during the last decade of last century all languages continued to develop separately and freely. The processes of differentiation and standardisation are still active (e.g., normative literature of Montenegrin language was

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<sup>2</sup> Croatian alphabet is called *gajica* since it was devised by Croatian linguist Ljudevit Gaj in 1835, based on Jan Hus's Czech alphabet. The alphabet consists of thirty letters: A a, B b, C c, Č č, Ć ć, D d, Dž dž, Đ đ, E e, F f, G g, H h, I i, J j, K k, L l, Lj lj, M m, N n, Nj nj, O o, P p, R r, S s, Š š, T t, U u, V v, Z z, Ž ž.

<sup>3</sup> Eugenija Barić, Mijo Lončarić, Dragica Malić, Slavko Pavešić, Mirko Peti, Vesna Zečević and Marija Znika, *Hrvatska gramatika*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition, Školska knjiga, Zagreb 2005, p. 35.

written during the past several years)<sup>4</sup> but Croatian language is now considered worldwide to be a language in its own right.<sup>5</sup>

**On Turkish loanwords in Croatian language:** “All Croatian cultural and scientific tradition has been steeped in, and enriched by, several hundred years of linguistic contact with other cultural and civilisational spheres.”<sup>6</sup> One of the languages that influenced Croatian is Turkish.

Occasional contacts between Turks and Croatians began during the 15<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>7</sup> but it is generally known that the Turkish conquest of Hungary and some parts of today’s Croatia (Slavonia, Lika, Dalmatia) began in 1514 and lasted until 1552. These parts were ruled by Ottoman Turks for more than 150 years. Their rule came to an end and they were forced to leave these territories after they suffered defeats near Vienna in 1683 and on the battlefield near Mohács in 1687. Peace treaties between Ottomans and Habsburgs (under whose rule in that time were Croatia and Hungary) were signed in Srijemski Karlovci (1699), Požarevac (1718), and Belgrade (1739). The River Sava was proclaimed to be the border between the two empires.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Grammar of Montenegrin language was written in 2010 (Adnan Čigrić, Ivo Pranjković and Josip Silić, *Gramatika crnogorskoga jezika*, Ministarstvo prosvjete i nauke Crne Gore, Podgorica 2010) and orthography in 2009 (Milenko A. Perović, Josip Silić and Ljudmila Vasiljeva, *Pravopis crnogorskoga jezika i rječnik crnogorskoga jezika (pravopisni rječnik)*, Ministarstvo prosvjete i nauke Crne Gore, Podgorica 2009). On the other hand, processes of standardisation in Croatian language started very early and until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (when the era of Serbo-Croatian began) these processes were separated from the standardisation processes in other Shtokavian based standards. *Institutiones linguae Illyricae libri duo* written by Bartol Kašić in 1604 is considered to be the first grammar of Croatian language, and *Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum Europae linguarum, Latinae, Italicae, Germanicae, Dalmaticae et Ungaricae Institutiones* written by Faust Vrančić in 1595 is considered to be the first dictionary of Croatian language (cf. Eugenija Barić et al, ibid or Milan Moguš, *Povijest hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, Globus, Zagreb 1993).

<sup>5</sup> Croatian language is one of the languages that can be studied at the Department of Balkan languages, Faculty of Letters, Trakya University.

<sup>6</sup> Marija Turk and Maja Opašić, “Linguistic Borrowing and Purism in the Croatian Language” *Suvremena lingvistika*, Issue 65, Zagreb 2008, p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> One of the first texts in Croatian literature that is addressing the so-called ‘Turkish topic’ is *Zapis popa Martinca* (handwritten in Glagolitic script). This text was written after the Battle of Krbava field in 1493. In this battle the Turks strongly defeated the Croatian army and it took a very long time for Croatians to recover from that. Texts summarise this event in the expression *turci nalegoše na ezik hrvatski* ‘Turks stepped on Croatian language’ where Croatian language is equated with the Croatian nation (Davor Dukić, “Osmanizam u hrvatskoj književnosti od 15. do sredine 19. Stoljeća” in Krešimir Bagić, *Zbornik radova Zagrebačke slavističke škole*, Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu and Zagrebačka slavistička škola, Zagreb, 2007, p. 87).

<sup>8</sup> Ekrem Čaušević, „‘Turci’ u Satiru Antuna Matije Relkovića (1732. – 1798.)“, *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, Issue 47-48, Sarajevo 1999, p. 67.

During their almost two-century-long rule in parts of Croatia, the Turks influenced local population strongly, and these influences were, and still are, reflected in Croatian language. Turkish influences in Croatian language were mostly spread by: (i) the Turkish army; (ii) Turkish administration; but also by (iii) Islamised Slavs (mostly from Bosnia) that were forced to relocate to parts of Croatia during Ottoman rule.<sup>9</sup> Those Islamised Slavs<sup>10</sup> spoke mostly Shtokavian dialect that was already strongly influenced by Turkish (at that time Bosnia was already for a longer period under Ottoman rule), especially through so-called ‘Bosnian Turkish’.<sup>11</sup> Bosnian Turkish is a special idiom that belongs to Balkan dialects of Turkish language and was used in Bosnia exclusively as a form of oral communication between non-Turkish subjects to Ottoman authorities. This idiom was used as some kind of filter for phonological adaptation of Turkish words before they entered Shtokavian dialect.

Words that Croatian language acquired from or through Turkish are in most of the Croatian literature referred to as *turcizmi*. In the dictionary *Hrvatski enciklopedijski rječnik*<sup>12</sup> the word *turcizam* is explained as polysemous. The first meaning comes from linguistic domain and is paraphrased as a ‘recognisable unit acquired to some language from Ottoman Turkish’. The second meaning is from colloquial language and is paraphrased as a ‘unit from Arabian, Persian or other language acquired through Ottoman Turkish during the time of stratification of Turkish, Slavic and other cultures and civilisation’. Since the term *turcizmi* is polysemous, this means that its usage (even in linguistics) is not always without problems. According to Babić,<sup>13</sup> one of the problems is that not all words that Croatian language acquired through Turkish are actually of Turkish origin. Lots of them, if not most, come from Arabian and Persian language, and since Croatian literature calls those languages oriental, sometimes words coming from Turkish, Arabian and Persian language are called by the common name *orijentalizmi*. Advocators of the label *turcizmi* stress that Croatian language

<sup>9</sup> Abdulah Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*, “Svjetlost” izdavačko preduzeće, Sarajevo 1966, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Those Islamised Slavs were often referred to by the name *Turčin* ‘Turk’, and that was common practice throughout Balkan (Marta Andrić, “Turcizmi u seoskom govoru Slavonije”, *Migracijske i etničke teme*, Volume 19, Issue 1, Zagreb 2008, p. 17).

<sup>11</sup> Ekrem Čaušević, *ibid*, p. 75.

<sup>12</sup> Vladimir Anić, Dunja Brozović Rončević, Ivo Goldstein, Slavko Goldstein, Ljiljana Jojić, Ranko Matasović and Ivo Pranjković, *Hrvatski enciklopedijski rječnik*, EPH and Novi Liber, Zagreb 2004, online version: <http://hjp.srce.hr> (14/3/2012).

<sup>13</sup> Dalibor Brozović, „Odoše Turci, ostaše turcizmi“, *Vijenac*, Issue 173, Zagreb 2000, online version: [http://www.matica.hr/Vijenac/Vij173.nsf/AllWebDocs/Dalibor\\_BrozovicPRVOLICEJEDNINE](http://www.matica.hr/Vijenac/Vij173.nsf/AllWebDocs/Dalibor_BrozovicPRVOLICEJEDNINE) (14/3/2012).

acquired Arabian and Persian words through Turkish as an intermediate language and therefore it is justified to refer to all these words as *turcizmi*. Nevertheless, not all words Croatian language acquired through Turkish are of oriental origin. For example the word *kesten* ‘chestnut’ or *kutija* ‘box’ entered Croatian through Turkish from Greek, and similarly with the word *kamara* ‘pile; room’ that comes from Italian *camera*. In addition, not all words that originate from Arabian or Persian came into Croatian through Turkish. For example, *alkohol* ‘alcohol’ is of Arabic origin, but Croatian acquired it from European resources. Furthermore, there are words in Croatian that originate from Turkic languages other than Turkish like *klobuk* ‘hat’ that is probably of Avarian origin. In this paper, the term *turcizmi* will be used as a label for words that originate from Turkish language and for words that entered Croatian through Turkish.

The number of words that one language ‘loans’ or ‘borrows’ from another (this should be understood in a metaphorical way since there is no actual intention of giving back anything) is conditioned by several factors such as intensity and duration of contacts between languages, nature of contact (direct or indirect), social and political factors, cultural and historical factors, etc. Language that is borrowing or loaning words is termed as recipient language, and language that is supplying them is termed as donor language. Among South Slavic languages, Turkish influenced the most on Bosnian and Macedonian. In addition, Turkish influences are evident in Bulgarian, Montenegrin, and Serbian, and in East Slavic languages on the coast of the Black Sea. In Slovenian and in Western Slavic languages, Turkish influences are minimal (since Western Slavs have never had direct contact with Turks). Croatian language is a little bit more specific. As indicated, Turkish words entered Croatian most intensively during Ottoman rule, but for a long time afterwards they were mostly part of oral communication (mostly in Shtokavian dialect) and were rather rarely used in written (literary) language. During the time between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Croatian grammarians and lexicographers considered most of Turkish loanwords to be foreign words that are not to be considered as part of Croatian language and that need to be avoided in literary use.<sup>14</sup> Lexicographers’ and grammarians’ attitudes changed and a number of Turkish loanwords increased in written production during the time of Serbo-Croatian since the Serbian variant had much more influence. The reason why Serbian was much more influenced by Turkish lies in the fact that the Serbs came under Ottoman Turkish rule from the 14<sup>th</sup> through the 19<sup>th</sup> century,

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<sup>14</sup> Tomislav Talanga, “Pučka etimologija među nekim njemačkim posuđenicama”, *Jezikslavlje*, Volume 3, Issue 1-2, Osijek 2002, p. 197.

while parts of Croatia were under Ottoman rule for a much shorter time (this is the reason why, on the other hand, Croatian was much more influenced by German, Hungarian and Italian). Another reason why there are more Turkish loanwords in Serbian than in Croatian is connected with different approaches to the processes of standardisation. Serbs rely strongly on folk literature and spoken language as the ideal norm, while Croats are always taking into account literary sources (and as already noted, Turkish loanwords were avoided in written language). In addition, linguistic purism or linguistic protectionism is characteristic for Croatian (as is for some other Slavic languages such as Slovenian and Czech). This can be seen as a reaction to the fact that “for most of its history, the Croatian language was, to a great extent, in an unfavourable sociolinguistic situation in relation to other languages—Turkish, Italian, German, Hungarian, then Serbian for the best part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and finally English from the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>15</sup> This negative attitude towards influences of other languages is probably itself influence of German language in which language purity is a matter of interest ever since the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16</sup> In the first place, purism is usually directed against borrowed words. It can be said that “Croatian purists have offered the longest and the most tenacious resistance to the excessive use of loanwords. A critical attitude towards loanwords has been a feature of Croatian since the dawn of its literacy and has marked its whole history. Most philologists and writers have tended to moderation. Adherents of strictness and advocates of moderate approaches all agree that, if there is a choice between a foreign word and its native synonym, the native word should be preferred. Loanwords can be tolerated when they have a role to play in a standard language style.”<sup>17</sup>

In addition, it is important to recognise that of three different dialects of Croatian language – Shtokavian, Kaykavian, and Chakavian – only Shtokavian was more directly influenced by Turkish. Through Shtokavian dialect, Turkish loanwords entered Croatian standard language. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that, although Turkish loanwords spread through the prestige of Shtokavian dialect as a basis of standard language, they could not squeeze out native words in Kaykavian or Chakavian dialect (at least not always). For example, in Chakavian vernacular of the island Murter<sup>18</sup> Turkish loanwords that became part of standard language did not succeed in replacing local words (that, to be

<sup>15</sup> Turk and Opašić, *ibid*, p. 82.

<sup>16</sup> Tomislav Talanga, *ibid*, p. 197.

<sup>17</sup> Turk and Opašić, *ibid*, p. 83.

<sup>18</sup> Edo Juraga, “Turcizmi u murterskom govoru”, *Čakavska rič*, Volume 38, Issue 1-2, Split 2010, p. 333-342.

honest, come mostly from Venetian). So words like *pitura*, *bičva*, *kušin*, and *bumbak* are favoured instead of standard words like *boja* ‘colour’, *čarapa* ‘sock’, *jastuk* ‘pillow’ and *pamuk* ‘cotton’. Although there are some exceptions, e.g. Turkish loanword *dućan* ‘shop’ completely squeezed out local word *butiga*.

Turkish loanwords in Croatian can be separated into three separate groups, according to Brozović.<sup>19</sup> The first group consists of words that are fully accepted in Croatian language and are part of standard language. It can be said that they have ‘all civil rights’.<sup>20</sup> Some examples that can be found in the dictionary *Rječnik hrvatskog jezika*<sup>21</sup> are: *hajde* ‘let’s go, come on’, *hajduk* ‘bandit’, *ajvar* ‘aivar’, *alat* ‘tool’, *avet* (*avetinja*) ‘phantasm’, *alka* ‘ring’, *badem* ‘almond’, *bakar* ‘copper’, *bar* ‘at least’, *barut* ‘gunpowder’, *barutana* ‘powder-magazine’, *bećar* ‘bachelor, rake, roué; fast liver; big spender; man about town; playboy’, *bedem* ‘defensive wall’, *bena* ‘fool’, *beričet* ‘abundance’,<sup>22</sup> *boja* ‘colour’, *bubreg* ‘kidney’, *budala* ‘fool’, *bunar* ‘well, water-well, draw-well’, *čak* ‘even’, *čamac* ‘small boat’, *čarapa* ‘sock’, *čekić* ‘hammer’, *čizma* ‘boot’, *ćela* ‘bald head’, *ćevabdžija* ‘person who makes grilled minced-meat fingers; person who owns or operates restaurant where grilled minced-meat fingers are grilled’, *ćavap* (*ćevapčić*) ‘grilled minced-meat fingers’, *ćup* ‘pot’, *dadilja* ‘nanny’, *dućan* ‘shop’, *dugme* ‘button’, *duhan* ‘tobacco’, *dušmanin* ‘enemy’, *džep* ‘pocket’, *džumbus* ‘mess’, *džezva* ‘Turkish coffee-pot’, *fitilj* ‘blasting fuse’, *gajde* ‘bagpipe’, *galama* ‘noise, racket, din’, *harač* ‘tax’,<sup>23</sup> *hambar* ‘corn house, repository’, *hašiš* ‘hashish’, *hir* ‘caprice’, *horda* ‘crowd’, *jasmin* ‘jasmine’, *jastuk* ‘pillow’, *jogurt* ‘yogurt’, *jorgovan* ‘lilac’, *kava* ‘coffee’, *kavana* ‘coffee shop’, *kalup* ‘model, mould’, *karanfil* ‘carnation’, *kat* ‘floor’, *kavez* ‘cage’, *kavijar* ‘caviar’, *kopča* ‘buckle’, *kula* ‘tower’, *kutija* ‘box’, *lakrdija* ‘burlesque, farce’, *lepeza* ‘fan brush’, *lula* ‘pipe’, *marama* ‘scarf’, *mangup* ‘mischief’, *miraz* ‘endowment’, *naranča* ‘orange’, *nar* ‘pomegranate’, *nišan*

<sup>19</sup> Dalibor Brozović, *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Abdulah Škaljić, *ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>21</sup> Jure Šonje (ed.), *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika*, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, Školska knjiga, Zagreb 2000.

<sup>22</sup> Word *beričet* was not used for a long period of time and was (almost) forgotten, but it was made very popular several years ago when it was used in translation of a famous quote from Star Trek in the last movie from this franchise. Instead *živi dugo i uspješno* ‘live long and prosperous’ Spock, one of the major characters in the movie, was now saying *živi dugo i beričetno*. This translation made a lot of fuss in Croatian media and internet forums and started discussions on attitudes towards purism or linguistic protectionism.

<sup>23</sup> For a long period of time this word was not part of everyday communication until it was brought back to life in 2009 when it was first used in media as a vivid and picturesque way of describing new taxes.

'sight (rifle)', *odaja* 'chamber', *oluk* 'drain', *papuča* 'slipper', *rakija* 'brandy', *sat* 'clock, watch, hour', *sanduk* 'case', *zumbul* 'hyacinth', *tamburica* 'tamburitza', *tava* 'pan', *tavan* 'attic', *zanat* 'trade, craft, handicraft', and *šećer* 'sugar'. For those words there is no Croatian supplement and if there is one, then the Croatian word is usually polysemous and its use can lead to misunderstanding. Brozović has an example of the word *dućan* 'shop' instead of which Croatian word *trgovina* can be used. Nevertheless, the word *trgovina* is polysemous and can mean 'shop' but also 'commerce; trade'. In addition, some of the Turkish loanwords that belong to this group do have Croatian supplements, but these supplements are stylistically marked as opposed to the Turkish loanword of which use is neutral. Brozović has an example of the word *sat* 'cloak; watch; hour' and Croatian supplements *ura* and *dobnjak*. These supplements have several problems - the word *ura* is polysemous style, and the word *dobnjak* is regional and obsolete.

The second group of Turkish loanwords in Croatian consists of words that are connected to some aspect of Turkish and oriental reality e.g. Islam or food. Some examples from *Rječnik hrvatskog jezika*<sup>24</sup> are: *abdest* 'ablutions, ritual washing', *aga* 'aga, agha; member of Turkish lower landed gentry, minor Turkish feudal lord', *alajbeg* 'hist. Turkish provincial military head', *halva* 'halvah', *Bajram* 'Bairam', *baklava* 'baklava', *burek* 'borek, stuffed puff pastry', *derviš* 'dervish', *džamija* 'mosque', *fes* 'fez, tarbush', *hamam* 'hammam, Turkish bath', *hareem* 'harem', *hodža* 'Moslem priest', *imam* 'imam', *janjičar* 'janissary', *rahatlokum* 'Turkish delight', *otoman* 'ottoman', *paša* 'pasha', *ramazan* 'Ramadan', and *sarma* 'stuffed cabbage rolls'.

The third group of Turkish loanwords is the largest. This group consists of words that are not part of standard language but belong to regional idioms. These words are not used on a regular basis and instead of them, Croatian words are used in neutral communication. These Turkish loanwords can be used as a means of stylistic expression, as is often the case with Croatian writers, not only from Bosnia and Herzegovina but also from Slavonia or Lika. As Škaljić<sup>25</sup> would say, these words are used in standard language only when something needs to be purposefully highlighted, when historical events are to be described and evoked, when something needs to be ironised, when the meaning of the word needs to be emphasised, or in similar situations. According to Brozović, some examples of these words are *barjak* or *sevdah*. In Croatian standard language, words *zastava* 'flag' and

<sup>24</sup> Jure Šonje, *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Abdulah Škaljić, *ibid.*, p. 16.



*ljubav* 'love' are used instead. Some examples from *Rječnik hrvatskog jezika*<sup>26</sup> are: *ada* 'small river island', *adet* 'custom', *hajvan* 'animal, cattle', *akrap* 'scorpion', *aman!* 'grace! mercy!', *amanet* 'wow', *amidža* 'uncle', *ašikovati* 'to flirt', *at* 'horse', *avlija* 'courtyard', *babo* 'father', *barjaktar* 'flag-bearer; leader', *baksuz* 'misfortune; man without luck', *balvan* 'beam, balk; goof, idiot', *bašča* 'garden', *behar* 'blossom', *bekrija* 'hard-drinking rake, debauchee', *burma* 'wedding ring', *džigerica* 'liver', *đubar* (*đubre*) 'litter, manure, rubbish, trash', *fildžan* 'Turkish coffee-cup', *kaiš* 'strap', *lampa* 'lamp', *mamurluk* 'hangover', and *muštuluk* 'good news'.<sup>27</sup>

The first two groups of Turkish loanwords present no problems in Croatian language, but the third group is often (usually wrongfully) considered as characteristic of Serbian language and therefore avoided. According to Greenberg,<sup>28</sup> after the disambiguation of Serbo-Croatian prescriptivist linguists in Croatia have tended to view Turkish borrowings negatively while the Serbian linguists have made known their bias against German loanwords. However, as Brozović concluded, the words that comprise the third group of Turkish loanwords in Croatian are an integral part of Croatian linguistic heritage and therefore those words need to have their place in Croatian dictionaries, together with all other stylistically marked words.

Speaking of Turkish loanwords in Serbo-Croatian, Škaljić<sup>29</sup> presents a different approach to their classification. According to him, Turkish loanwords can be grouped in the following way: (i) words that are fully accepted and that don't have a supplement, or a supplement is not fully accepted; (ii) words that are fully accepted in local idioms and can be freely used in standard language, although supplements exist; (iii) words that are fully accepted in local idioms but when used in standard language they bring stylistic value; (iv) words that are characteristic for different regions; (v) words that are used in folk songs but have disappeared from everyday usage; (vi) words that are connected to religious life, religious customs and greetings of Muslims.

Turkish influences on Croatian are oriented at lexical level. Persuasiveness of lexical borrowing as opposed to grammatical borrowing is

<sup>26</sup> Jure Šonje, *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Although the third group of Turkish loanwords consists of the largest amount of words, these words, since they are part of regional idioms, are usually not recorded in dictionaries of Croatian standard language.

<sup>28</sup> Robert D. Greenberg, *Language and Identity in the Balkans*, Oxford University Press, New York 2004.

<sup>29</sup> Abdulah Škaljić, *ibid.*, p. 15-17.

usual, even between languages that are not that much structurally different as Croatian and Turkish are. This means that most of the Turkish loanwords in Croatian can be found among content words—nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Among these, nouns are most common (e.g., concrete nouns like *barut* ‘gunpowder’ or *rakija* ‘brandy’ and abstract nouns like *beričet* ‘abundance’). Also, several exclamations (e.g. *hajde* ‘let’s go, come on’), participles (e.g. *čak* ‘even’) and even conjunctions (e.g. *ama* ‘but’) can be found among Turkish loanwords in Croatian language. In addition, several derivational suffixes in Croatian language are of Turkish origin (e.g. *-ana* in *barutana* ‘powder-magazine’, *-džija* in *ćevapdžija* ‘person who makes grilled minced-meat fingers; person who owns or operates restaurant where grilled minced-meat fingers are grilled’ and *-luk* in *mamurluk* ‘hangover’).

During the process of their assimilation, Turkish words usually needed to adapt too so that they can fit neatly into the system of Croatian language, i.e. they often needed to change phonologically or morphologically. The list of changes that happened to Turkish words during the process of adaptation to Croatian language is rather long (c.f. Škaljić)<sup>30</sup> and for that reason it will not be discussed in more detail here. The process of phonological adaptation is concerned with the substitution of phonemes from Turkish language with the phonemes from Croatian language<sup>31</sup> and with further adaptation to the phonological system of Croatian language (e.g. processes of dissimilation, assimilation, metathesis etc.). Morphological adaptation is concerned with inclusion of borrowed words to Croatian paradigms (e.g. declination, conjugation). These two levels of adaptation can be described as mechanical.<sup>32</sup> The third level of adaptation is concerned with semantics. A borrowed word can have the same meaning in recipient language as in donor language, the scope of meaning of a borrowed word in recipient language can be changed compared to donor language, or a borrowed word can have a completely different meaning than in donor language. In addition, a borrowed word can cause changes in relationships between existing words that are part of the semantic field into which the word is borrowed. In that way, a borrowed word can change the usage pattern of some words in the

<sup>30</sup> Abdulah Škaljić, *ibid*, p. 27-45.

<sup>31</sup> For phonemes that are common to both languages phonological adaptation presents no problems (e.g. tur. *boya* > hrv. *boja* ‘colour’, tur. *ada* > hrv. *ada* ‘river island’, tur. *yorgan* > hrv. *jorgan* ‘duvet’ tur. *barut* > hrv. *barut* ‘gunpowder’, etc.), but Turkish has several phonemes that Croatian does not (ı, ö, ü, ğ) . In situations that involve these phonemes adaptation is not always systematic (e.g. in Croatian word *jastuk* ‘pillow’ Turkish vowel *ı* from word *yastık* is substituted by vowel *u*, but in Croatian word *bakar* ‘copper’ the same Turkish vowel from word *bakır* is substituted by vowel *a*).

<sup>32</sup> Tomislav Talanga, *ibid*, p. 193.

language recipient, and ultimately a borrowed word can squeeze out some words from use in recipient language.

**Conclusion:** A high number of Turkish loanwords in Croatian language is a direct reflection of a long period of cultural contacts and social interactions between speakers of those two languages. The process of lexical borrowing from Turkish language is not active now for an already longer period, but many words that entered Croatian language by this process are now a standard part of its vocabulary. In addition, there is a rather long list of Turkish loanwords that are not part of standard language but are vividly used in regional idioms. A high number of Turkish loanwords in Croatian language combined with their high frequency presents persuasive motivation for this paper. Although this paper presents only a short overview of all the issues that are concerned with Turkish loanwords in Croatian language, it is reasonable to believe that it can be described as informative and that it will be of interest to all interested in topics such as lexical borrowing, languages in contact or linguistic purism.

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