

(hunerlu) 'vertueux' (Pr. 577); 1838: *hünerli* (hunérli) 'industrieux, vertueux; élégant, excellent' (Hind. 497).

Zus.: 1680: *hüner göstermek* (hüner g'östermek¹) 'artem exhibere, efficere facimora mirabilia, dignum aliquid auribus hominum efficere ac edere' (Men. 5504).

212. *hünermend* (1680), *hünerbend* (1680) 'begabt, geschickt, künstlerisch; Künstler, Handwerker' = nper. *hunärmänd* 'ds.'. — 1680: *hünermend*, rarius *hünerbend* 'arte scientiā praeditus, industrius, ingeniosus, praestans' (Men. 5504); 1730: *hünermend* (hünermend) 'vertueux' (Hold. 13); 1791: *hünermend* (hünermend) 'vertueux' (Pr. 577); 1838: *hünermend* (hunérménd) 'industrieux, vertueux; élégant, excellent' (Hind. 497).

Abl.: 1730: *hünermendlik* (hünermendlik) 'vertu' (Hold. 13).

213. *hünerverlik* (1680) 'Kunst, Kunsthandwerk, Geschicklichkeit; Begabung', eine Ableitung mit dem Suffix *-lik* von npers. *hunärvär* 'begabt, geschickt, künstlerisch'. — 1680: *hünerverlik* (hünerwerlik¹) 'ars, industria; elegantia; palmarium opus' (Men. 5504).

214. *hünkâr* (1838), *hunkâr* (1615), *hunker* (1544—48), *hungâr* (1591), *ungâr* (1546), *hunçar* (1668) 'der Gewalt über Leben und Tod hat, Herrscher, Souverän; Oberherr, ein Titel des Sultans' = npers. *χūnkâr* 'der Gewalt über Leben und Tod hat; Mörder' (Räsänen VEWb. 163). — 1544—48: *hunker* (huncher, hunker) 'nomen dignitatis regum, sed hoc nomine nullum audiui umquam vel ex Christianorum vel infidelium regibus appellari, praeterquam ipsum Suleimannum eorum regem' (Georg. 109); 1546: mais quand ilz en (*sc.* le grant Turc) parlant par reuerence, ilz l'appellent *Vnghiar* seullement, qui est comme dire, *la Maiesté* (Geuff. 22); 1591: *hungâr* (hunggiar) 'nomen dignitatis, a Turcis ita sultanis suis tribuitur' (Leuncl. 884); 1615: *hunkâr* (hunkiâr) 'cesarz (= Kaiser)' (Paszk. 137); 1641: *hunkâr* (hunkiâr) 'imperadore' (Mol. 195); 1668: *hunçar* (huntsar...) 'ephebus' (TSU 176); 1672: *hunkâr* (hunkiâr) 'Herrscher' (Nagy 229); 1680: *hunkâr* (chūnk'âr) 'imperatore, rè de'Turchi, der tuerckische Keyser' (Men. 1979); 1791: *hunkâr* (houunkar) 'qui a le droit de verser le sang de ces sujets, un souverain' (Pr. 525); 1838: *hunkâr*, *hünkâr* (qhounkiâr, hunkiâr) 'titre de l'empereur des Turcs, sultan' (Hind. 214).

(Fortsetzung folgt)

ZDZISŁAW DARASZ

THE WORD-FORMATION OF SERBO-CROATIAN SUBSTANTIVES OF TURKISH ORIGIN

(Part one)

INTRODUCTION

Osmanli-Turkish loan-words account for the largest number of words of foreign derivation in the Serbo-Croatian language. Over five centuries of contacts between the Ottoman Turks and the Slavonic peoples of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and part of Croatia, caused by political dependence on, and direct geographical proximity to, the Ottoman State, enriched the Serbo-Croatian's vocabulary by several thousand Osmanli loan-words. Škaljić's dictionary of Serbo-Croatian turkisms¹ contains 8.742 lexical units and is the most comprehensive work on these borrowings published so far. However, even that large work cannot be considered exhaustive for it is, in principle, based on the vulgar language of Bosnia and Herzegovina and on literary language data and takes Osmanli loan-words into South-Serbian, Montenegrin and Chakavian dialects into account to a degree which is clearly unsatisfactory. These shortcomings are partially compensated for by Elezović's dictionary² and by the dictionary

¹ A. Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku (Turkisms in the Serbo-Croatian Language)*, Sarajevo 1965.

² G. Elezović, *Rečnik kosovsko-metohiskog dijalekta (Dictionary of the Cossavian-Metohian Dialect)*, I—II, Beograd 1932-1935 (= Srpski Dijalektološki Zbornik, vol. IV and VI).

of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts³, as well as various vocabularies appended to monographs on various dialects. The Academy Dictionary is particularly helpful in the investigation of Osmanli-Turkish borrowings in Serbo-Croatian because of its extensive historical documentation which enables the chronology of borrowings to be established: unfortunately, it does not contain many of the words cited in Škaljić's dictionary.

It is vital for the study of both languages to establish the chronology of Osmanli-Turkish borrowings into Serbo-Croatian for it would facilitate the explanation of many processes which took place in languages which were in constant and direct contact with each other over a long period of their historical development (from the end of the 14th to the 19th centuries). The whole problem assumes particular importance when looked at from the viewpoint of Turkish studies for there is still a great deal of work to be done in that field of linguistic history.

In view of this, it is essential to eliminate the errors made in the dictionaries and studies published hitherto and which are a result of educing the form of a borrowing from contemporary Osmanli-Turkish and not from the language of the time in which the borrowing was made⁴. These errors limit the usefulness of Škaljić's otherwise valuable work. For the same reason studies of the chronology of turkisms in South-Slavonic languages, begun in

³ *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* (A Dictionary of the Croatian or Serbian Language), published by the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, I—XIX (a—ustanjenje), Zagreb 1880-1971. Known also as the Academy Dictionary (RJA).

⁴ See T. Kowalski, *W sprawie metodologii badań zapożyczeń tureckich w językach słowiańskich* (Concerning the Methodology of Investigations into Turkish Loan-Words in Slavonic Languages), „Sborník prací I. Sjezdu slovanských filologů v Praze 1929“, Praha 1932, pp. 554-556; H. K. Дмитриев, *О тюркских элементах русского словаря* (About Turkish Elements in the Russian Vocabulary), „Лексикографический сборник“, III (1958), pp. 3—47; С. Стаховский, *Заметки о методологии этимологических исследований турецких заимствований в сербско-хорватском языке* (Notes on the Methodology of Etymological Investigations into Turkish Borrowings in Serbo-Croatian), „Этимология 1964“ Москва 1965, pp. 56—61.

Poland by Stachowski⁵, will bring important benefits to both Slavonic and Turkish studies in many spheres of study, including word-formation.

The aim of this paper is to present the word-formation processes to which Osmanli-Turkish borrowings were exposed in the Serbo-Croatian substratum. Bearing in mind the extensiveness of this problem, I have limited myself to just one category of borrowings, which is the most numerous, i.e. to substantives.

Osmanli-Turkish words which became word-bases for Serbo-Croatian derivatives, were usually borrowed together with their formants. Some of these formants (-ana, -čija || -džija, -luk) were separated and served to create derivatives from Serbo-Croatian base-words. The part played by Osmanli-Turkish formants in the word-formation of Serbo-Croatian derivatives has been discussed by Stachowski⁶. However, the creation of Serbo-Croatian derivatives from Turkish word-bases and Serbo-Croatian suffixes has not yet been investigated in any detail⁷.

There are numerous borrowings of Osmanli-Turkish words which themselves are derived from Arabic, Persian and other languages (Armenian, the Caucasian languages, Greek, West-European languages). One can abandon their etymological education without prejudicing the results of this paper because the fact that a given word was borrowed into Turkish from some other language is of no significance to the question undertaken

⁵ S. Stachowski, *Studia nad chronologią turecyzmów w języku serbsko-chorwackim* (Studies of the Chronology of Turkisms in Serbo-Croatian), Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (ZNUJ) no. CXLV, Prace Językoznawcze, zeszyt 18, Kraków 1967; *Studia nad chronologią turecyzmów w języku bułgarskim* (Studies of the Chronology of Turkisms in Bulgarian), ZNUJ no. CCLIII, Prace Językoznawcze, zeszyt 33, Kraków 1971.

⁶ S. Stachowski, *Przyrostki obcego pochodzenia w języku serbsko-chorwackim* (Foreign Suffixes in Serbo-Croatian), ZNUJ, Rozprawy i Studia, vol. XXVII, Kraków 1961.

⁷ Cf. S. Stachowski, *Czasowniki serbsko-chorwackie o osnowie tureckiej* (Serbo-Croatian Verbs with Turkish Themes) in: „Studia linguistica in honorem Thaddaei Lehr-Splawiński”, Warszawa 1963, pp. 265—268.

here. All the words were borrowed into Serbo-Croatian from Turkish and in Serbo-Croatian all are described as *turkisms*.

The word-formation of Turkish substantives in Serbo-Croatian has been illustrated by examples taken from Škaljić's dictionary. The date of the oldest known written record, insofar as it has been established, is appended to those words whose historical documentation is given in the Academy Dictionary. This acquaints us with the history of the process, helping to give a more comprehensive picture of the assimilation into Serbo-Croatian of Osmanli-Turkish loan-words.

The Author would like to express his deepest gratitude to Dr Stanisław Stachowski for his invaluable advice and help during the writing of this paper and to Mr Jacek Laskowski for translating it into English.

I. WORD-FORMATION OF SUBSTANTIVES

The first part of this paper gives a review of word-formation data arranged in alphabetical order according to suffixes. This kind of classification based on formal and not semantic criteria allows a closer characterisation of Serbo-Croatian suffixes and an indication of their semantic functions, not all of which were exploited in the process of creating substantives derived from Turkish word-bases. Selected functions of the various suffixes will be illustrated by the most typical example possible.

1. The Suffix *-a*

The structural function of the Serbo-Croatian suffix *-a* is primarily that of a flexional morpheme of substantives belonging to the 3rd declension, i.e. to feminine gender substantives. Its semantic function, the designation of femininity, is apparent in the series of proper names and appellatives, e.g. *Bòjan : Bòjana*, *kùm : kùma*, *ùnuk : ùnuka*, etc. The separated suffix *-a* was added to borrowed Moslem feminine names which do not necessarily have a masculine equivalent, e.g. *Đevleta*, *Merdžana* (= Osm.

Turk. *Devlet*, *Mercan*), and to appellatives of beings whose feminine gender is most often determined by their semantic nature (*bàlduza* 'sister-in-law, wife's sister', *hanùma* 'lady, woman, wife') or beings, objects and phenomena whose Serbo-Croatian synonyms are of feminine gender (*bèna* = *buddàla*, *glùpača* 'fool, idiot', *bèšika* = *kòlijevka* 'cradle', *mùma* = *svijèća* 'candle', *musevèda* = *bijèda*, *nèsreća*, *nàpast* 'poverty, misfortune'). Bilingual persons would have grouped words borrowed from a language to which grammatical gender is foreign among Serbo-Croatian masculine substantives ending with a consonant: the structural suffix *-a* then regrouped them in the feminine declension.

In the list of examples given below proper nouns have been omitted and the examples have been limited exclusively to appellatives.

1. *bàlduza* 'sister-in-law, wife's sister'. — From Mid.Osm. *balduz* (= New Osm. *baldız*) 'id.'.
2. *bèšika* (1755) 'cradle'. — From Mid.Osm. *beşik* 'id.'.
3. *čèlènka* (1780) 'wreath, garland, aigrette, plume as head ornament'. — From Mid.Osm. *čelenk* 'id.'.
4. *čengele*, *čendele*, pl. t., 'iron cambrels; gallows made of iron hooks'. — From Mid.Osm. *čengel* 'iron hook; hooked, crooked claw; a hooking of one's foot round an opponent's leg'. RJA notes only the form *čengel* and gives the date of the first registration as 1683.
5. *éora* (1849) 'mare blind in one eye'. — From Mid.Osm. *kör* 'blind, lacking foresight; careless, blundering; blunt'.
6. *furuna* (1783), *vrùna* 'oven, bakery, kiln, furnace'. — From Mid.Osm. *furun* (= New Osm. *furun* and *ferin*) 'id.'.
7. *hanuma* (1837) 'lady, woman, ladylike, wife'. — From Mid.Osm. *hanum* (= New Osm. *hanım*) 'id.'.
8. *hàsurà*, *àsurà* (1649) 'rush mat, matting'. — From Mid.Osm. *hasur* (= New Osm. *hasır*) 'id.'.
9. *jàruga* (1649) 'split, crack, cleft, cracked, fissure'. — From Mid.Osm. *jarug* ~ *jaruk* (= New Osm. *yarık*) 'furrow, crack, ditch'.
10. *kàduna* (1612—1618) 'woman, matron, lady, feminine, female'. — From Mid.Osm. *kadun* (= New Osm. *kadın*) 'id.'.

11. *kàrpuza* (1837) 'water-melon'. — From Mid.Osm. *kar-puz* 'id.'.
12. *kàtura* (1858) 'mule'. — From Mid.Osm. *katur* (= New Osm. *katır*) 'id.'.
13. *kùbura* (1681) 'holster, quiver, long case, horse pistol'. — From Mid.Osm. *kubur* 'long-shaped object, holster'.
14. *lèvènta* (first half of the 16th century) 'free, independent adventurer, irresponsible servant, handsome strong youth'. — From Mid.Osm. *levend* 'handsome and elegantly dressed person', which is, in turn, from Persian *lewend* 'idler, loafer'.
15. *màngura* (1616) 'copper coin of very small value, colloq. money'. — From Mid.Osm. *mangur* (= New Osm. *man-gır*) 'id.'.
16. *mènduša* (1683), *mìndruša* 'ear-ring'. — From Mid.Osm. *meng'uš* (= New Osm. *mengüş*) 'id.'.
17. *pàpuča* (1616) 'shoe, slipper'. — From Mid.Osm. *papuč* 'id.'.
18. *pàsmaga*, *pàčmaga* (1742) 'shoe, slipper'. — From Mid.Osm. *pašmag* 'id.'.
19. *tùlbenta* (1759) 'muslin, gauze'. — From Mid.Osm. *tùlbent* 'delicate thin linen for turbans, wraps etc.'.

2. The Suffix -(a)c

In Serbo-Croatian this suffix is added to verbal, substantive and adjectival themes. Added to verbal themes it creates a word meaning the agent of the action named in the theme or, more rarely, the result of the action, e.g. *lovac* 'hunter', *pisac* 'writer', *rònac* 'diver'; *hitac* 'shot', *udarac* 'blow'. Linked to substantives it most often forms diminutives or substantives indicating someone's origin or place of residence, e.g. *bràtac* 'younger brother', *izvorac* 'springlet', *zùbac* 'little tooth'; *Hèrcegovac* 'Herzegovinian', *planinac* 'highlander'. With adjectival derivatives it forms a being or thing endowed with the quality named in the theme, e.g. *čùpavac* 'mophead, dishevelled person', *èlìlavac* 'bald person', *làkomac* 'glutton', *skùpac* 'miser'; *studénac* 'source, well' (= *stùden* 'cold, cool').

In words borrowed from Osm.-Turk. the suffix -(a)c, added also to themes extended by the adjective forming suffix -ev || -ov, occurs only with substantive themes.

1. *Àlifakovac* 'the name of one of the districts of Sarajevo doubtless derived from some Little Ali' (Osm.-Turk. *ufak* 'little').
2. *Ànadolac* (1846) 'resident of Anatolia'. — From S.-Cr. *Ànadol*, *Ànadoliija*, derived, in turn, from Osm.-Turk. *Anadol*, *Anadolu*.
3. *Àšikovac* 'name of a district in Sarajevo'. — From S.-Cr. *àšik* 'lover, wooer' = Mid.Osm. *ašyk* 'id.'.
4. *Bākārevac* 'name of district by Novo Sarajevo railway station'. — From S.-Cr. *bàkar* 'copper' = Mid.Osm. *bakar* (= New Osm. *bakır*) 'id.'.
5. *bečàrac* 'merry song sung by young people'. — From S.-Cr. *bèčār* 'boy, bachelor' = Mid.Osm. *bek'ar* (= New Osm. *bekār*) 'id.' = Persian *bikār* 'someone without work'.
6. *bègovac* (1849) 'person belonging to a beg's or lord's family'. — From S.-Cr. *bèg* 'lord, person of high rank, leader; courtesy title' = Mid.Osm. *beg* (= New Osm. *bey*) 'id.'.
7. *bènac* 'false yellow ducat, counterfeit ducat'. — From the abbreviated form of Osm.-Turk. base *benzet* 'an imitation'.
8. *bènac* (second half of the 19th century) 'fool, idiot'. — From Osm.-Turk. *bön* 'id.'.
9. *hakikovac* 'head-band with a blood-stone'. — From S.-Cr. *hàkik* 'semi-precious red stone used in the manufacture of rings and necklaces; blood-stone' = Osm.-Turk. *akik*, colloq. *hakik* 'id.'.
10. *jabànac* (1812—1813) 'foreigner'. — From S.-Cr. *jabàna* 'foreign country, desert, waste land' = Mid.Osm. *ja-ban* 'id.'.

3. The Suffix -āč

Most often added to verbal themes forms the agent of the action named in the theme, e.g. *bèrāč* '(harvest) gatherer', *brìjāč* 'barber, shaver', *igrāč* 'player, dancer', *vìkāč* 'shouter'. It rarely

appears with substantive themes, e.g. *kòlāč* 'cake', *rògāč* 'carob; kind of white bean; stag-beetle', *ubrādāč* 'kerchief tied under the chin' and the one example where it is added to an Osmanli-Turkish loan-word.

1. *čarkāč* (as well as the forms *čarkār* and *čarkāš*) 'soldier of the vanguard'. — From S.-Cr. *čarka* 'vanguard' = Mid. Osm. *čarka* 'id.'.

4. The Suffix -ača

Appears with substantive, adjectival and verbal themes. The substantives thus formed designate objects being in some way connected with the meaning of the base-word, e.g. *bjēlača* 'thick overcoat worn by highlanders', *pokrivača* 'veil, curtain, bed-spread', *povēzača* 'kerchief'. Only a very few of these words designate an animal or human being, e.g. *křmača* 'sow with litter', *narikača* 'mourner', *udāvača* 'marriageable woman'. This suffix is particularly often added to substantive adjective ending with -ov to form substantives meaning a stick of the tree named in the theme or a vodka flavoured with the fruit of the tree, e.g. *brēzovača* 'birch stick', *jābukovača* 'apple-flavoured vodka', *ōskorūšovača* 'rowan-flavoured vodka; rowan-berry stick'. Other meanings are rare.

In Osm.-Turk. loan-words the suffix -ača, together with its variants -enjača || -ovača, appears in nearly all the kinds of combination mentioned above.

1. *abēnjača* (as well as the form *abēnjāk*) 'kind of cap made of a thick woollen cloth called aba'. — From S.-Cr. *āben* 'cloth' = S.-Cr. *āba* 'rough, thick woollen cloth usually home-made' = Mid. Osm. *aba* 'id.'.
2. *ajgirača* (1852) 'mare; passionate woman'. — From Mid. Osm. *ajgyr* 'stallion'.
3. *alāpača* (1852), *alākača* 'talkative woman, chatterbox'. — From S.-Cr. *alākati* 'to cry „Allah, Allah!” while making an attack on the enemy; to utter cries of amazement, to shout, make a noise'.

4. *badžēnjača*, *badžēgnjača* 'long pole for opening the smoke hole in old peasant huts'. — From S.-Cr. *bādža* 'smoke hole; vent in the roof for smoke' = Mid. Osm. *bağa* 'chimney'.
5. *kesimača* (1845) *česimača* 'hired cow'. — From S.-Cr. *kēsīm* 'temporary hiring out of a cow to someone in return for an agreed sum of money or, more usually, for part of the dairy produce' = Osm.-Turk. *kesim*, part. from *kes-* 'to cut (off)'.
6. *mātufovača* 'Serbo-Croatian text written in the Arabic alphabet'. — From Osm.-Turk. *matuh* 'senile', hence the work of a senile mind, hence foolish.
7. *misirača* (1772) *mesirača* 'pumpkin; corn-cob'. — From Mid. Osm. *mysyr* 'corn'.

5. The Suffix -āč

A very unproductive suffix which appears in a mere handful of Serbo-Croatian words from adjectival (*glūhāč* 'deaf person', *gōlāč* 'naked person; starveling') or verbal (*pūhāč* 'something which one blows'; *pūhāčā glāzbala* 'brass or wood-wind instruments') themes. In the collated material of Osm.-Turk. derivations, only the word *būsāč* contains this suffix.

1. *būsāč* 'wooden water-bowl'. — Abbreviated form of Osm.-Turk. theme *būstagan* 'a round bowl shaped like a water-melon'.

6. The Suffix -ak

This suffix appears in two fundamental forms, as well as in its extended variants -enjak, -injak, -(a)njak, -jak, -č(a)k. The first is characterised by a shifting vowel, e.g. *cvřčak*, gen. sing. *cvřčka* 'cricket', *mōmak*, gen. sing. *mōmka* 'boy', the second by a long vowel, e.g. *lūdāk*, gen. sing. *lūdāka* 'madman', *ūjāk*, gen. sing. *ūjāka* 'uncle'. Added to substantive themes the suffix -(a)k usually creates a diminutive, occasionally giving the word a shade of endearment, e.g. *cvijetak* 'little flower', *dānak* 'nice, pleasant

day', *grášak* 'small pea'. Added to verbal themes whose infinitive ends in *-ati* it forms the names of the agents of the action, e.g. *lèžāk* 'idler, loafer', *tèžāk* 'peasant, hired farm-hand'; added to substantive themes it either modifies their meaning, e.g. *pòljāk* 'field caretaker', or does not change it at all, e.g. *kijāk* = *kij* 'stick', *vòjāk* = *voj* 'soldier'. Added to adjectival themes it forms appellatives which are strictly, though variously, related semantically to the adjectival base-word, e.g. *glühāk* 'deaf person', *golūbinjāk* 'dovecote', *ljèvāk* 'left-handed person'. In this last group there are many substantives derived from adjectives ending in the suffix *-(a)n*, e.g. *bèzbožnjāk* : *bèzbožan* 'godless person', *slobòdnjāk* : *slobòdan* 'liberal, free-thinker; freedman'. By analogy substantives were formed which have no equivalent adjective ending in *-(a)n*, e.g. *đimnjāk* 'chimney', *pàšnjāk* 'pasture ground'. In this case one can talk of the suffix *-njāk*.

The derivatives from Osm.-Turk. loan-words with the help of the suffix *-ak* appear only with substantive or adjectival themes. There are no derivatives which denote any kind of action or state.

1. *abènjāk* (1818) 'woollen cloth cap' (see *abènjača*).
2. *altipàtlak* 'six-gun'. — From Osm.-Turk. *altipatlar* (*alt* 'six' + *patlar*, part. imp. of *patla-* 'to shoot') 'id.', with an adideation of the ultima *-ar* for the S.-Cr. suffix *-ak*.
3. *bènāk* 'fool, half-wit'. — From Osm.-Turk. *bön* 'id.' (see *bénac*).
4. *čivitnjāk* (1818) 'bowl for cooking dye obtained from indigo white'. — From S.-Cr. *čivit* = Osm.-Turk. *çivit* (see *čivitār*).
5. *éorak* (1759) 'blank cartridge'. — From S.-Cr. *ëör* = Mid. Osm. *kör* (see *éóra*).
6. *éulúmak* (1806) 'small mace, small club'. — From S.-Cr. *éulum* 'mace, club' = Osm.-Turk. *külünk* 'iron bar'.
7. *džamlíčak* 'peep-hole; sky-light'. — From S.-Cr. indecl. *džāmlī* 'glass, glazed' = Mid.Osm. *ğāmlī* 'id.'.
8. *đūbretnjāk* 'basket for carrying manure out into a field'. — From S.-Cr. *đūbre* 'stable manure; pus; rubbish' = Osm.-Turk. *gūbre* 'id.'.

9. *fakirak* 'poor soul, poor thing'. — Hyp. of S.-Cr. *fàkir* 'poor person; fakir'. — From Osm.-Turk. *fakir* 'id.'.
10. *gròšnjāk* (1806) 'plaited wheat roll costing one groš'. — From S.-Cr. *gròš* 'Turkish coin worth 40 para or a hundredth of a lira' = Mid.Osm. *guruš* (= New Osm. *kuruš*) 'id.'.
11. *māfišnjāk*, *māvišnjāk* (1852) 'mould used for cutting out the paste preparatory to frying it to make dry biscuits'. — From Osm.-Turk. *mafiš* 'nothing; kind of tit-bit which melts in the mouth' = Arabic *mā fīhi šāy* 'there's nothing in it'.
12. *Tasliđžāk* 'inhabitant of Plevlje'. — From S.-Cr. *Tasliđža* 'Plevlje' = Osm.-Turk. *Taşlıce* 'id.', lit. 'not very stoney'.

7. The Suffix *-an*

It appears in two versions which differ in the length of the vowel. The suffix *-an* appears with substantive, adjectival and verbal themes and forms the names of male gender persons and animals, rarely things, e.g. *būkvan* 'fool', *domišljan* 'perspicacious person, jester, cunning fellow', *drāgan* 'dear; lover'. The long vowel variant *-ān* appears with substantive themes to form the names of persons, animals and things which are in various ways connected with the meaning of the word-base, e.g. *gàcān* 'pigeon with feathered claws', *gūsān* 'gander', *kūmān*, hyp. of *kūm* 'god-father'.

The suffix *-an* (*-ān*) very rarely appears with words derived from Osm.-Turk.

1. *Kajmakčālān* 'the highest peak of the Nidže Mountains in Macedonia'. — From Osm.-Turk. *kaymak çalı* (abbr. form of *kaymaklı çalı*) 'winnowed thicket' (from *kaymak* 'that which is winnowed, sorted', *çalı* 'thornbushes').
2. *Mèšan* (1828), hyp. of Moslem masculine proper name *Mehmed*.
3. *peksijān* (1852) 'dirty, unclean person'. — From S.-Cr. *pèsin*, *pèksin* 'id.' = Mid.Osm. *pes* (= New Osm. *pis*) 'dirty, unclean' + Persian suffix *-in*.

8. The Suffix *-ār*

Is usually added to verbal theme to form the agents of an action, e.g. *čuvār* 'caretaker', *pisār* 'writer', *štampār* 'printer', *zidār* 'brick layer'. Added to substantive themes it forms substantives in some way connected semantically with the base-word, most often by designating persons concerned with the guarding, making or selling of things, e.g. *báčvār* 'cooper', *čizmār* 'leather-stitcher', *lùgār* game-keeper, *mljekār* 'milkman'.

The comparatively small productivity of this otherwise productive suffix (Škaljić quotes a mere nine examples) with Osm.-Turk. loan-words can be explained by the fact that substantives designating the agents of an action were most often borrowed together with their Turkish suffix *-cı* || *-ci* which has the same semantic function, e.g. *abadžija* 'draper', *bostandžija* 'gardener', *dućandžija* 'shopkeeper', *sapundžija* 'soap-boiler' etc.

1. *ajlučār* 'worker who receives a monthly salary'. — From S.-Cr. *ajluk* 'pay; monthly salary' = Mid.Osm. *ajlyk* 'id.'.
2. *akšamlučār* 'participant of evening meetings and conversations over vodka'. — From S.-Cr. *akšamluk* 'informal evening meeting' = Mid.Osm. *akšamlyk* 'id.'.
3. *čarkār*, see *čarkāč*.
4. *čergār* (as well as the form *čergāš*) 'Gypsy tent-dweller'. — From S.-Cr. *čerga* 'Gypsy tent' = Osm.-Turk. *gerge* 'id.'.
5. *čivitār* (1818) 'seller of dye extracted from indigo white'. — From S.-Cr. *čivit* 'indigo' = Osm.-Turk. *çivit* 'id.'.
6. *hàpsār* (*apsār*) 'prisoner'. — From S.-Cr. *hàps* 'imprisonment, gaol' = Osm.-Turk. *hapis* 'id.'.
7. *kàišār* (1879) 'usurer, profiteer'. — From S.-Cr. *kàiš*, *kàjiš* 'leather belt, strap' = Osm.-Turk. *kayış* 'id.'.
8. *òdžacār* (1818) 'chimney-sweep'. — From S.-Cr. *òdžak* 'chimney, hearth' = Osm.-Turk. *ocak* 'id.'.
9. *pàpučār* (1649) 'slipper maker' (see *pàpuča*).

9. The Suffix *-āš*

Added to substantive themes, it forms the names of persons, animals and objects which are in some way connected with the

substantive named in the theme, e.g. *budālāš* 'fool', *gàjdāš* 'piper', *imèlāš* 'wax-wing, bird which feeds on mistletoe'. Added to adjectival themes it forms the names of persons, animals and objects endowed with the quality designated in the base-word, e.g. *bjē-lāš* 'grey (horse)', *bogātāš* 'rich man', *krivāš* 'large curved knife'.

Both of these functions can be demonstrated on examples taken from Osm.-Turk. loan-word material. A particularly numerous group is made up of appellatives of animals, especially horses.

1. *čakširāš* (1808—1812) 'wearer of Turkish trousers'. — From S.-Cr. *čakšire*, pl. t. 'trousers with a loose flap at the back and narrow trouser-legs buttoned up at the sides' = Mid.Osm. *čakšyr* 'id.'.
2. *čarkāš*, see *čarkāč*.
3. *čergāš*, see *čergār*.
4. *člāš* (17th century) 'dappled horse'. — From Mid.Osm. *čil* 'freckled, spotted'.
5. *eblekāš* 'pied, roan horse'. — From Osm.-Turk. *eblek* 'id.'.
6. *hergèlāš*, *herdèlāš* 'stud-horse'. — From S.-Cr. *hergèla* 'haras, stud' = Osm.-Turk. *hergele* 'id.'.
7. *košijāš* 'racehorse'. — From S.-Cr. *kòšija* 'horse-races' = Osm.-Turk. *koşu* 'id.'.
8. *lakrdijāš* (1818) 'jester, rascal, knave'. — From S.-Cr. *lakrdija* 'word, speech; comedy of no literary merit serving only to arouse laughter at all costs, joke' = Osm.-Turk. *lâkırđı* 'id.'.
9. *mavijāš* (1896) 'blue-feathered pigeon'. — From S.-Cr. *màvi* 'sky-blue' = Osm.-Turk. *mavi* 'id.'.
10. *òbduljāš* (1888) 'racehorse'. — From S.-Cr. *òbdulja* 'horse-races' = Osm.-Turk. *òndül* 'prize for the participants of a race; wager'.
11. *sùtljāš* (1877) 'sweet, cold rice pudding'. — From Osm.-Turk. *sùtlü aş* 'a milk dish' with addition of *aş* to the S.-Cr. suffix *-āš*.
12. *tambùrāš* (1852), *tambùrāš* 'tambourine player'. — From S.-Cr. *tàmbura*, *tànbura* 'kind of stringed musical instrument' = Osm.-Turk. *tambura*, *tanbura* 'id.'.
13. *testèrāš* (1895) 'person sawing a tree'. — From S.-Cr. *te-stèra* 'saw' = Osm.-Turk. *testere* 'id.'.

10. The Suffix *-ašca*

Serbo-Croatian grammars do not mention this suffix; even Maretić's grammar⁸, which goes into great detail as far as word-formation is concerned, omits it. The only example of its usage is with an Osm.-Turk. loan-word where it functions as a diminutive (cf. the analogical diminutive suffix *-ašce* for neuter gender substantives: *srdāšce* 'small heart', *sūnāšce* 'small sun', *ustāšca* pl. t. 'small lips').

1. *knāšca*, dim. of S.-Cr. *knā* 'henna, red dye used cosmetically'. — From Osm.-Turk. *kina* 'Lawsonia inermis, plant and powder derived from its dried leaves, a cosmetic used particular by Moslem women'.

11. The Suffix *-če*

Its only function is the creation of diminutives, usually of animate substantives, e.g. *mōmče* 'small boy', *pastirče* 'shepherd boy', *Sr̄pče* 'young Serb, Serbian child', rarely of inanimate substantives, e.g. *ākōvče* 'small bucket', *mjēšče* 'scant moss'.

1. *māksumče* 'small child', dim. of S.-Cr. *māksum* 'child; thin, sickly child'. — From Osm.-Turk. *māsum* = Arabic *ma'sūm* 'innocent, free of sin'.

12. The Suffix *-evo* || *-ovo*

Formally, this suffix is an exponent of the neuter gender of possessive adjectives in *-ev* || *-ov* and the extent of its productivity is limited to place-names, e.g. *Đakovo*, *Krāljevo*, *Smēderevo*. The name of the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina was created by analogy with these toponyms.

1. *Sarajevo* (1505—1512) 'the largest town and capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, formerly Vrhbosna'. — From Mid.Osm. *saraj* 'seraglio; palace of the sultan or sultan's viceregent'.

⁸ T. Maretić, *Gramatika hrvatskoga ili srpskoga književnog jezika* (A Croatian or Serbian Literary Language Grammar), Zagreb 1963.

13. The Suffix *-ica*

Very productive, most frequently appearing in feminine gender substantives, this suffix has a large variety of semantic functions. Added to the past part. active, it forms the names of the agents of the action designated in the verb, e.g. *br̄talica* 'man of few words', *gr̄zlica* 'moth', *pr̄opalica* 'human wreck, waif of society'. It is also added to the past part. passive, e.g. *mūčēnica* 'martyr', *orānica* 'plough-land', *pečēnica* 'Sunday roast'. Added to adjectival themes this suffix forms the appellatives of persons and objects endowed with the quality designated in the theme, e.g. *dēsēnica* 'right hand', *domāčica* 'housekeeper, housewife', *stārica* 'old woman'. The suffix *-ica* also creates the feminine equivalents of masculine gender substantives, e.g. *cārica* 'tsarina', *golūbica* 'dove', *učiteljica* 'school-mistress', as well as numerous diminutives, e.g. *črkvica* 'small church', *ručica* 'small hand', *varošica* 'small town'. It is frequently added to adjectives ending in *-an*, *-av*, *-in*, *-iv*, *-ov*, hence its extended variants *-anica*, *-inica*, *-ivica*, *-ovica*, e.g. *āginica* 'Aga's wife', *sunčānica* 'sunstroke', *šljivovica* 'plum-flavoured vodka'.

The material here given provides the largest number of examples of the use of the suffix *-ica* to form feminine gender substantives from their masculine gender equivalents, diminutives and adjectival derivatives. There are no words formed from participles.

1. *ālājbegovica* (first half of the 19th century) 'wife of the Alabeg, the commander of a sanjak'. — From Mid.Osm. *alaj* 'many, a lot; company' + *beg* (New Osm. *bey*) 'person of high rank; leader'.
2. *ālica* (1852) 'kind of large cherry of bright red colour'. — From S.-Cr. *āl* 'bright red' = Osm.-Turk. *al* 'id.'.
3. *āščinica* (1818), *āhčīnica* 'eating-house'. — From S.-Cr. *āščija* 'cook' = New-Osm. *aşçı* 'id.'.
4. *bāšica* (1779) 'the first drops distilled during the production of liquor'. — From Mid.Osm. *baš* 'beginning, the first'.
5. *bāždarica* (1818) 'woman toll-collector'. — From S.-Cr. *bāždār* 'toll-collector' = Osm.-Turk. *bacdar* 'id.'.

6. *bëgovica* (1818) 'beg's wife'. — From S.-Cr. *bëg* = Mid. Osm. *beg* (see *dlājbegovica*).
7. *birkatica* (1866) 'one-storeyed house, wall the width of one brick'. — From Osm.-Turk. *bir* 'one' + *kat* 'layer, storey'.
8. *bürmutica* (1818) 'tobacco box'. — From S.-Cr. *bürmut* 'tobacco' = Osm.-Turk. status constructus *burun otu*, lit. 'grass for the nose' (*burun* 'nose' and *ot* 'grass').
9. *čibuljica* (1818) 'rash on the face'. — From Osm.-Turk. *giban* 'boil, ulcer'.
10. *dilkušica*, *dèlkušica* (1841), dim. of *dilkuša* 'bird which makes one happy' (S.-Cr. folk poetry doubtless calls the nightingale this) = Osm.-Turk. *dilkuša* 'something which opens, rejoices the heart' (= Persian *dilgušā*; *dil* 'heart' + theme of present tense of *gušāden* 'to open').
11. *džigerica* (1649) 'liver'. — From Mid.Osm. *ğiger* (= New Osm. *ciğer*) 'id.'.
12. *jarànica* (1763) 'female friend, companion'. — From S.-Cr. *jarān* 'friend, companion' = Mid. Osm. *jāran* 'id.'.
13. *jogunica* (1755) 'stubborn, unruly person'. — From Mid. Osm. *jogun* (= New Osm. *yoğun*) 'id.'.
14. *kadifca* (1808) 'Tagetes erectes, Tagetes patulus'. — From Mid.Osm. *kadife* 'silk velvet fabric'.
15. *māšice*, pl. t. (1818), dim. of *māše* 'fire-tongs'. — From Osm.-Turk. *maşe* 'id.'.
16. *mātufovica*, see *mātufovača*.
17. *mīndušica* (1818), dim. of *mīnduša*; 'Dicentra spectabilis, fuchsia' (see *mīnduša*).
18. *Mūjica* (about 1700), hyp. of Moslem masculine name *Mustafa*.
19. *pōturica* (1759) 'convert to the Mohammedan faith; peasant'. — From S.-Cr. *pōtur* 'id.'. = Mid.Osm. *potur* 'Turkish pants with narrow legs' (*pot* 'wrinkle, fold'). According to some sources Turkish historians called the Bosnians Poturs („Sejihatnama” Evlija Čelebi, vol. V, p. 401).
20. *samārica* (1852) 'pack-horse'. — From S.-Cr. *sāmār* 'packs, saddlebags' = Mid.Osm. *samar* (= New Osm. *semer*) 'id.'.

14. The Suffix -iē

Added directly to the roots of, most frequently, masculine gender substantives, very rarely to feminine gender substantives and adjectives this suffix forms diminutives, e.g. *cvjetić* 'small flower', *đāčīē* 'schoolboy, student lad', *jāmiē* 'small pit for grapevine' (from *jāma*), *klobučīē* 'small cap', *živiē* 'young sprig, sprout'. A similar function is that of creating substantives which mean young persons, animals or plants which by their very nature are also diminutives, e.g. *brātiē* 'nephew', *sēstriē* 'nephew'; *labuđiē* 'cygnet', *rībiē* 'young fish'; *brēziē* 'young birch-tree', *jābučiē* 'young apple-tree'. Occasionally substantives ending in -iē denote someone's origin, e.g. *kūciē* 'high-born person', *Mlēciē* 'Venetian' (from *Mlēci* 'Venice'), *plēmiē* 'nobleman; person from a good tribe'. The suffix -iē very often appears with substantive possessive adjectives ending in -ev || -ov to create patronimics (the majority of Serbo-Croatian surnames were formed thus), e.g. *bānoviē* 'ban's son', *krāljeviē* 'prince, king's son', *Milōševiē*, *Pāvloviē* 'the descendants of *Miloš*, *Pavao*'. Its extended variant -čiē, which appears in *kazānčiē* 'small cauldron', *kamēnčiē* 'small stone' and other words was created by separating the ending from diminutives like *đavōlčiē* 'little devil': *đavōlak*, *hljēpčiē* 'small bread': *hljēbac*, *sinčiē* 'small son': *sinak*, where the final *k* and *c* were palatalised to *č* before the front vowel *i*.

In Škaljić's dictionary there are over a hundred examples for the use of the suffix -iē almost exclusively functioning as a patronimic formative. For this reason only those with the oldest historical documentation have been given below.

1. *Barākoviē* (1614). — From S.-Cr. proper noun *Bārak* = *bārak* adj. and subst. 'hairy, shaggy, hirsute' = Mid.Osm. *barak* 'id.'.
2. *Bāšiē* (17th century). — From S.-Cr. *bāša* 'superior, chief; courtesy title of more distinguished citizens' = Mid.Osm. *baša* 'id.'.
3. *Ćóriē* (1704). — From S.-Cr. *ćoro* 'blind, one-eyed person' = S.-Cr. *ćor* (see *ćora*).
4. *Dumēndžīē*. — From S.-Cr. *dumēndžija* 'helmsman' = Mid. Osm. *dūmenği* 'id.'.

5. *Kapîdžîć* (2nd half of the 17th century). — From S.-Cr. *kapîdžija* 'door-keeper' = Mid.Osm. *kapyğy* 'id.'.
6. *Ōdobasić* (17th century). — From S.-Cr. *ŏdobaša* (as well as *ŏdabaša*) 'commander of an oda (smallest unit of mercenaries), commander of a platoon of janissaries' = Mid.Osm. *oda başy* 'commander of an oda of janissaries'.
7. *ŏdžaković* (1818) 'person of noble birth'. — From S.-Cr. *ŏdžak* 'chimney; court, lord's residence' = Osm.-Turk. *ocak* 'id.'.
8. *Sāmardžîć* (1702). — From S.-Cr. *samardžija* 'saddler' = Mid.Osm. *samarğy* 'id.'.
9. *Spāhić* (1702). — From S.-Cr. *spāhija* 'lord of the manor, feudal lord committed to serving in the cavalry in the event of war' = Mid.Osm. *sipahi* 'id.'.
10. *škembîći*, pl. 'tripe'. — From S.-Cr. *škembe* 'innards, pluck, tripe' = Osm.-Turk. *işkembe* 'id.'.
11. *Topálović* (1756). — From S.-Cr. *tŏpal* 'lame person, person with one leg shorter than the other' = Mid.Osm. *topal* 'id.'.

15. The Suffix -ik

Has three fundamental semantic functions. From the past part. passive ending in -an || -en it forms the appellatives of persons, less often animals and objects describing their attributes in the formative word-base, e.g. *navadēnik* 'addict', *poturčēnik* 'Mohammedan convert', *rānjenik* 'wounded person'; *hranjēnik* 'porker'; *nakopānik* 'widened way', *varēnik* 'mulled wine'. Frequently added to adjectival themes it forms appellatives of persons and objects in some way semantically connected with the base-word, e.g. *cr̃nik* 'black, i.e. bad person', *jābukovik* 'apple-vodka', *jārik* 'barley or flax', *pāklenik* 'hell-raiser', *slūžbenik* 'clerk, worker'. Added to substantive themes meaning plants it forms the appellatives of larger clusters of these plants (nomina loci), e.g. *bŏrik* 'pine forest', *jāsik* 'aspen grove', *topŏlik* 'poplar wood'. It rarely appears with other themes as in *jarānik* 'companion, friend' = S.-Cr. *jārān* = Mid.Osm. *jāran* 'id.' (example not given in Škaljić's *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*).

The extended variant -*nik*, separated from masculine gender substantives formed with the help of the suffix -*ik* added to adjectives ending in -(a)n (*bolēsnik* 'sick person', *književnik* 'writer'), appears in *čētnik* 'partisan, chetnic', *proklētnik* 'reprobate, damned person' and in the majority of examples taken from Osmanli-Turkish loan-words.

1. *čūvik* (1879) 'hillock, peak'. — From Osm.-Turk. *kāh* 'id.'.
2. *habērnik*, *abērnik* (1818) 'messenger, herald'. — From S.-Cr. *hāber* 'news, information' = Osm.-Turk. *haber* 'id.'.
3. *hāpsenik*, *āpsenik* (1818) 'prisoner'. — From S.-Cr. *hāps* (see *hāpsār*).
4. *nāletnik* (1881) 'reprobate, devil'. — From S.-Cr. *nālet* 'reprobate, metaphorically devil, satan', by way of metaphor from S.-Cr. *lānet* 'curse, censure' = Osm.-Turk. *lānet* 'id.'.
5. *sēvetnik* 'match-maker'. — From S.-Cr. *sēvet* 'cause, reason; because of' = Osm.-Turk. *sebeḡ* 'id.'.

16. The Suffix -in

It appears only in singular substantives derived from substantive and adjectival themes and meaning human beings of masculine gender, e.g. *domācin* 'master of a house, householder', *gospŏdin* 'master' (from the older form *gŏspŏd*), *rādin* 'worker' (from *rād*), *tūdin* = *tūdinac* 'foreigner'. This category also contains the appellatives of persons belonging to various national groups (*Ārapin* 'Arab', *Būgarin* 'Bulgarian', *Mādžarin* 'Hungarian', *Sr̃bin* 'Serb') as well as numerous substantives derived from loan-words, mostly Osmanli-Turkish.

1. *bērberin* (1649), *bērber* 'barber, shaver'. — From Mid.Osm. *berber* 'id.'.
2. *čŏbanin* (1649), *čŏban* 'shepherd'. — From Mid.Osm. *čoban* 'id.'.
3. *dūnderin* (1704), *dūnder* 'carpenter, builder'. — From Mid.Osm. *dūlger* 'id.'.
4. *đaurin* (1818), *đaur*, *đavur* 'unbeliever, non-Mohammedan, Christian'. — From Mid.Osm. *g'aur* ~ *g'avur* 'id.'.
5. *kaurin* (1470), *kaur*, see *đaurin*.

6. *mürtatin* (1837), *mürtat* 'traitor, renegade'. — From Osm.-Turk. *murtat* 'id.'.
7. *nâlbantin* (1845), *nâlbant* 'smith who makes horseshoes'. — From Osm.-Turk. *nalbant* 'id.'.
8. *pâpazin* (1851), *pâpaz* 'Orthodox pope'. — From Osm.-Turk. *papas* 'id.'.
9. *Türčin* (1397) 'Turk, in folk language any Mohammedan'. — From Old Osm. *Türk* 'Turk'.

17. The Suffix *-ina*

Very productive, it appears with many semantic functions. Added to substantive themes it forms augmentatives (*břdina* 'large hill', *čovjěčina* 'great big fellow', *ptičurina* 'large bird'), the appellatives of actions carried out by the person named in the word-formation base (*gusārina* 'corsairage', *hajdučina* 'banditry', *prosjāčina* 'beggary'), words meaning payment for something (*cārina* 'duty', lit. 'money due to the tsar, the ruler', *mrtvāčina* 'funeral dues', *vozārina* 'transport charge'), material substantives (*gòvedina* 'beef', *kòzletina* 'goatskin; goat meat', *prāsetina* 'pork') as well as words with different meanings (*gòdina* 'year', *kněžina* 'duchy', *krājina* 'district; borderland'). It creates abstract substantives from adjectives of positive and comparative degree, e.g. *bjelina* 'whiteness', *đavnina* 'antiquity', *dužina* 'length'; *debljina* 'thickness', *mekšina* 'softness'. A particularly large number of words were derived with the help of this suffix from possessive adjectives ending in *-ev* || *-ov*: *bānovina* 'land ruled by a ban', *krāljevina* 'kingdom', *očevina* 'patrimony' etc. If the word-base adjectives are derived from the names of animals or plants, then the derived substantives designate the meat or skin of the animal and the wood or straw of the plant, e.g. *đnovina* 'mutton', *zěčevina* 'hare (meat of)'; *glògovina* 'hawthorn wood', *kukùruzovina* 'dry corn stalks'. The suffix *-ina* is especially productive with ordinal numbers (*trěčina* 'one-third', *stòtina* 'one-hundredth') and participles (*izgòrjelina* 'site of a fire', *puklina* 'rift, crack').

Its extended variant *-ština* was separated from substantives derived from adjectival themes ending in *-skī*, where *-sk-* before *-ina* changed to *-št-*, e.g. *pogānština* 'squalor, filth', *siròmaština*

'poverty'. Hence the suffix *-ština* in words like *bezòbraština* 'insolence', *lùkāvština* 'craftiness, guile' and others which do not have an equivalent adjective ending in *-skī*.

Words formed from Osm.-Turk. borrowings with the help of the suffix *-ina* perform all the semantic functions named above with the exception of those functions combined with numeral and participle themes.

1. *ahbābina*, augm. of *ahbāb* 'friend'. — From Osm.-Turk. *ahbab* ~ *ahbap* 'friend, beloved'.
2. *ālčāčina*, *ālčakčina*, augm. of *ālčak* 'scoundrel, rogue, half-wit'. — From Osm.-Turk. *alçak* 'low person, metaphorically scoundrel, simpleton'.
3. *babōvina* (1870) 'patrimony'. — From S.-Cr. *bābo* 'father' = Osm.-Turk. *baba* 'id.'.
4. *baždārina* (1837) 'purchase tax, duty'. — From S.-Cr. *bāž-dār* (see *bāždarica*).
5. *bečārina* (1818), augm. of *bēcār* (see *bečárac*).
6. *běgovina* (1837) 'property of the beg'. — From S.-Cr. *běg* (see *běgovac*).
7. *budalāština* (1678) 'trifle, foolishness, madness'. — From S.-Cr. *budāla* 'fool, idiot' = Mid.Osm. *budala* 'id.'.
8. *budālina* (1728), augm. of *budāla* (see *budalāština*).
9. *čāmovina* (1806) 'pine-wood, wood of coniferous trees'. — From S.-Cr. *čām* 'conifer' = Osm.-Turk. *çam* 'pine tree'.
10. *dòmuzovina* (1867) 'pork'. — From S.-Cr. *dòmuz* 'pig' = Osm.-Turk. *domuz* 'id.'.
11. *fukarāština* 'poverty'. — From S.-Cr. *fūkara* 'poor person, pauper' = Osm.-Turk. *fukara* 'id.'.
12. *kāltāčina*, augm. of *kāltak* 'a Tartar wooden saddle, the wooden skeleton of a saddle, metaphorically a spoilt woman' = Osm.-Turk. *kaltak* 'id.'.
13. *mēcūřina* 'black coffee'. — From S.-Cr. *mēcūř* (*měkrūh*) 'small sin, i.e. something which one shouldn't do but which isn't explicitly forbidden' = Osm.-Turk. *mekruh* 'odious, contemptible person, thing'.