

sollicitation' (Vig. 420); 1791: *niyaz* 'supplication' (Pr. 546); 1838: *niyaz* 'prière, demande; supplique' (Hind. 485).

Zus.: 1680: *niyāz etmek* (nijāz e.) 'supplicare, submissè orare' (Men. 5294); 1790: *niyaz etmek* (niyaz ètmek) 'prier' (Vig. 420); 1791: *niyaz etmek* 'supplier' (Pr. 546).

371. *nohut* (1603), *nohud* (1672), *nuhud* (1680) 'Kichererbse' = npers. *nuxūd*, *noxūd* 'Erbse' (Lokotsch EWb. Nr. 1577; Räsänen VEWb. 354). — 1603: *nohut* 'cicer' (MThP I 258); 1641: *nohut* (nochut) 'ceci, legume; cesare, legume' (Mol. 85, 87); *yaban nohuti* (iaban nochuti) 'cece seluaggio' (Mol. 85); 1672: *nohud* 'Kichererbse' (Nagy 249); 1680: *nuhud*, vulg. *nohud* (nuchūd, vulg. *nohud*) 'cicer' (Men. 5148, 5153). — Dial.: čan. *nōd* AAT 244; man. *noʊt* ADM I 192; ant. *nuʰud* ADM I 192.

372. *nūmayan* (1680), *numāyan* (1680) 'zu Tage tretend; augenscheinlich' = npers. *namāyān* 'sichtbar, ansehnlich, klar, augenscheinlich'. — 1680: *nūmayan* (*nūmajān*) 'apparens, quod videtur' (Men. 5256); 1838: *nūmayan* (*numayan*) 'visible' (Hind. 483); 1867: *nūmayan* (*numaian*) 'évident, manifest, visible' (Mall. II 1386).

Abl.: 1680: *nūmayānlık* (*nūmajānlyk*) 'apparitio, visus, species' (Men. 5257); 1838: *nūmayanlık* (*numayanlek*) 'visibilité' (Hind. 483); 1867: *nūmayanlık* (*numaianlyq*) 'visibilité, apparence, manifestation' (Mall. II 1386).

Zus.: 1680: *nūmayān etmek* (*nūmajān e.*) 'ostendere, monstrare' (Men. 5256). — 1680: *nūmayān olmak* (*nūmajān ol.*) 'videri, apparere, ostendi' (Men. 5256).

(Fortsetzung folgt)

ZDZISŁAW DARASZ

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

(Part two)

18. The Suffix *-ınca*

Its function is the formation of substantives which designate the place of an action or where something is stored. In derivatives from Osm.-Turk. loan-words it appears four times; RJA does not give any of these examples.

1. *burèkčınca*, *burègdžınca* 'shop where burek (a kind of pie) is sold'. — From S.-Cr. *burèkčija* 'person concerned with the making and selling of meat pies' = Mid. Osm. *bürekkçi* (= New Osm. *börekçi*) 'id.'.
2. *kalūpdžınca*, *kalūfdžınca* 'workshop where fez models are displayed and shaped'. — From S.-Cr. *kalūpdžija* 'fez modeller' = Mid. Osm. *kalupčy* (= New Osm. *kalıpcı*) 'id.'.
3. *sahāčınca*, *sājdzınca* 'watch-maker's workshop'. — From S.-Cr. *sahāčija* 'watch-maker' = Osm.-Turk. *saatçi* 'id.'.
4. *šečèrdžınca*, *šekèrdžınca* 'confectioner's shop'. — From S.-Cr. *šečèrdžija* 'confectioner' = Osm.-Turk. *şekerci* 'id.'.

19. The Suffix *-inja*

In a few words its function is the same as that of the suffix *-ina* appearing simultaneously with that suffix added to ordinal number and pronoun themes of the adjectival declension, e.g. *nekolicinja* : *nekolicina* 'several', *šèstinja* : *šèstina* 'one-sixth', *toli-*

cinja : *tolicina* 'amount'. Basically the suffix *-inja* forms adjectival substantives (*pústinja* 'desert', *svétinja* 'holiness'), including substantives formed from possessive adjectives ending in *-ski* creating the names of feminine gender persons to denote their place of birth or residence, e.g. *Běčkinja* 'Viennese woman', *Englěskinja* 'English woman', *Frāncūsikinja* 'French woman'. The substantive derivatives, which are equally numerous, have various meanings. Some of them are the feminine equivalents of masculine gender substantives (*bòginja* 'goddess', *knèginja* 'princess'), others designate plants or their fruit (*brèkinja* 'rowan, rowan-berry', *glòginja* 'hawthorn', *smrèkinja* 'common pear'), others still do not change the meaning of the base-word (*avétinja* : *avēt* 'ghost', *Ārapkinja* : *Ārapka* 'Arab woman', *Misīrkinja* : *Misīrka* 'Egyptian woman').

Its extended variant *-kinja*, separated from adjectival derivatives like *Běčkinja*, *trgōvkinja* 'tradeswoman', appears in *dvōrkinja* 'maid-of-honour, servant-maid', *rōpkinja* 'woman slave', *uškočkinja* 'woman escapee'.

The following material also gives a couple of examples for the formation of the appellatives of objects (arms) having a specific origin or quality with the help of the suffix *-inja*.

1. *ādžamkinja* (first half of the 17th century), *ādžemkinja* 'Persian-made sword'. — From S.-Cr. *Ādžam*, *Ādžem* 'Persia, Persian, any non-Arab' = Mid. Osm. *Ağam* and New Osm. *Acem* 'id.'.
2. *avétinja* (1818), *havétinja* 'ghost'. — From S.-Cr. *avēt* 'id.' = Osm.-Turk. *āfet* 'misfortune; a mythological being shaped like a winged lion'.
3. *bāždarkinja* 'woman customs officer' (see *bāždarica*).
4. *bèglučkinja* 'rifle issued by the ruler of a beylic, rifle being the state's property'. — From S.-Cr. *bègluk* 'beylic' = Mid. Osm. *beglik* (= New Osm. *beylik*) 'id.'.
5. *kàurkinja* (17th century) 'non-Mohammedan, Christian woman'. — From S.-Cr. *kàur(in)*, see *đaurin*.
6. *mèrdžānkinja* (1888) 'small rifle adorned with red corals'. — From S.-Cr. *mèrdžān* 'coral' = Osm.-Turk. *mercan* 'id.'.

20. The Suffix *-ište*

Appears with substantive and verbal (past participle active) themes and forms nomina loci, e.g. *ljètište* 'summer resort', *nòčište* 'night's lodging', *sājmište* 'market place'; *kāzalište* 'theatre', *od-māralište* 'rest-home'. There are numerous appellatives which designate places where something once was, e.g. *crkvište* 'square on which a church once stood', *pšeničište* 'wheat field', *rāžište* 'rye field'. Its productivity is further extended to include the creation of nomina instrumenti, e.g. *grābljište* 'rod on a rake', *kōsište* 'snath', *sjèkirište* 'helve', and even words having a slight pejorative meaning (where the vowel ceases to be long), e.g. *blātište* 'muck, mud', *čorjèčište* 'non-person', *ljūdište* 'id.'.

Added to Osmanli-Turkish loan-words, the suffix *-ište* performs only the first of the functions named above.

1. *kōnačište* 'night's lodging, inn, lodging house'. — From S.-Cr. *kōnak* 'spending a night (sleeping)', which in turn is derived from the Osm.-Turk. verb *kon-* 'arrive, stay at a hotel, become a guest'.
2. *pazarište* (1649) 'market place'. — From S.-Cr. *pazār* 'bazaar, mart' = Mid. Osm. *pazar* 'id.'.

21. The Suffix *-ivo*

Added almost exclusively to verbal themes it forms neuters which designate things which come about as the result of the activity mentioned in the verbal base-word and the tools of work, e.g. *pēcivo* 'bread', *prèdivo* 'yarn'; *krēsivo* 'flint', *sječiva*, pl. 'cutting instrument'.

The only instance of the suffix *-ivo* being added to an Osm.-Turk. loan-word is with a substantive theme.

1. *hàrčivo* (1867) 'expense, outgoing money'. — From S.-Cr. *hàrač*, *hàrč* = Osm.-Turk. *harç* 'id.'.

22. The Suffix *-ja*

Added directly to the root (*grāđa* = *gradja* 'building material', *stāja* 'stable') or to substantive and adjectival themes (*gōspōđa* = *gospodja* 'lady'; *sūša* = *suhja* 'drought', *tvrdja* = *tvrdja* 'turret';

miserliness; guarantee'), it forms words of various meanings. It is unproductive in contemporary Serbo-Croatian and for this reason the cited forms may not always appear to be divisible in descriptive grammar. The two Osm.-Turk. loan-words with the suffix *-ja* do not differ semantically from their word-bases.

1. *merája* (1852) 'pasture land'. — From Osm.-Turk. *mera* 'cattle grazing ground'.
2. *đdaja* (1805) 'room'. — From Mid. Osm. *oda* 'id.'

23. The Suffix *-je*

It forms collectiva from the substantives of all three genders, e.g. *bôrje* 'pine forest', *đvolje* (with epenthetical *l*) 'firewood', *grânje* 'branches', *zrnje* 'seed'. In a few words it merely performs a structural function, transferring substantives from the masculine or feminine gender class to the neuter class without changing its meaning, e.g. *đbličje* : *đblič* 'shape, form', *prijèstôlje* : *prijèsto* 'throne', *râskošje* : *râskoš* 'luxury'. Nomina abstracta are derived from adjectival themes, e.g. *đbilje* 'plenitude', *pošténje* 'honour, respect', *zdrâvlje* 'health'. Most often the suffix *-je* forms nomina deverbalia from the past participle passive, hence its extended variant *-ânje* || *-ênje*, e.g. *pitânje* 'questioning', *rûšênje* 'destroying' etc.

The extent of the use of the suffix in the word-formation of Osm.-Turk. loan-words is limited exclusively to nomina deverbalia; for this reason their English meanings have been given only with the verbal base-word.

1. *bečaròvânje* (1818). — From S.-Cr. *bečaròvati* 'live the life of a bachelor' = S.-Cr. *bèčâr* (see *bečârac*).
2. *begènisânje*. — From S.-Cr. *begènisati* 'take a fancy to, fall in love' = Osm.-Turk. *beğen-* 'id.'.
3. *čarkânje* (1818). — From S.-Cr. *čarkati* 'to trip; light a fire' = S.-Cr. *čarka* (see *čarkāč*).
4. *čârênje* (1818). — From S.-Cr. *čârîti* 'to trade; make a profit' = S.-Cr. *čâr* 'profit' = Osm.-Turk. *kâr* 'id.'.
5. *fâjdisânje* (1852). — From S.-Cr. *fâjdisati* 'to profit' = S.-Cr. *fâjda* 'profit' = Osm.-Turk. *fayda* 'id.'.

6. *kâlemljênje*. — From S.-Cr. *kâlemiti* 'to graft' = S.-Cr. *kâlem* 'vaccine, quickset; etching-needle' = Mid. Osm. *kalem* 'id.'.
7. *sâkačênje* (1818). — From S.-Cr. *sâkatiti* 'injure' = S.-Cr. *sâkat* 'cripple, invalid' = Osm.-Turk. *sakat* 'id.'.
8. *sèvdisânje* (1841). — From S.-Cr. *sèvdisati* 'like, love' = Osm.-Turk. *sevdi*, 3rd person sing. perf. of *sev-* 'id.'.

24. The Suffix *-ka*

Words with this productive suffix have a great variety of meanings which include the names of persons, animals and objects as well as activities. Some of them were formed by adding the suffix directly to the root, e.g. *lôvka* 'animal of prey; trap', *sjêčka* 'chaff', *zîpka* 'cradle'. An example of adding the suffix *-ka* to a verbal theme can be *psôvka* 'curse'. Most frequently, however, it appears with substantive themes and has several semantic functions. Added to masculine gender substantives it forms their feminine gender equivalents (in this case a large number of nomina originis can be noted), e.g. *Beògrađanka* 'inhabitant (female) of Belgrade' = *Beògrađanin* (the suffix *-in* is dropped before the adding of *-ka*), *Bûgârka* 'Bulgarian (woman)', *pàstîrka* 'shepherdess', *vodèničârka* 'miller (woman)'. Derivatives from collectiva are formed with the suffix *-ka* whose semantic function is to pick out one object from the multifariousness of the base-word, e.g. *bîljka* 'plant' = *bîlje* 'plant-life', *grâška* 'one pea' = *grâh* 'peas', *sjêmênka* 'one seed' = *sjême* 'seed'. Formerly the suffix *-ka* was also used to build diminutives, but in the contemporary language this function is no longer felt because either the semantic field has changed or the meanings of the derivatives are not different from the meanings of the base-words, e.g. *grîješka* 'fault, error' = *grîjeh* 'sin, guilt', *kòkôška* : *kòkôš* 'laying hen', *sjênka* : *sjên(a)* 'shadow'. Another function is to form the names of persons, animals and objects whose distinctive feature is described in the adjectival theme to which the suffix is added, e.g. *črnka* 'brunette', *jâlôvka* 'heifer', *mâtôrka* 'old hen of home fowl', *plâvka* 'blonde'. From numerals are derived the following substantives: *dvôjka* 'twosome; barrel holding the equivalent of two buckets', *šèstôrka* 'six-some; bucket holding the equivalent of six buckets', etc.

The extended variants *-(j)anka*, *-inka*, *-ovka* were separated from the derivatives from the passive participle ending in *-an* || *-en* and possessive adjectives ending in *-ev(skī)* || *-ov(skī)*, *-in(skī)*. Hence they appear in substantives which do not have an equivalent participle or adjective, which is also confirmed by a few of the examples cited below.

The productivity of the suffix *-ka* with Osmanli-Turkish loan-words is comparatively large. It includes the names of persons, animals and objects of specific qualities or origin, feminine substantives derived from their masculine gender equivalents and diminutives.

1. *abadžinka* (19th century) 'tailor's needle'. — From S.-Cr. *abadžinski* 'tailor's, belonging to the tailor' = S.-Cr. *aba-džija* (see *abējača*).
2. *adžamovka* (1858), *adžemovka* 'Persian made sword'. — From S.-Cr. *Adžam*, *Adžem* 'Persia, Persian' (see *adžam-kinja*).
3. *alāmanka* (1845) 'German made sword'. — From S.-Cr. *Alāman* 'German' = Mid. Osm. *Alaman* (= New Osm. *Al-man*) 'id.'.
4. *Bēhka*, hyp. of Moslem girl's name *Behija* (Osm.-Turk. *Behiye* = Arab. *bāhiyyā* 'beautiful, attractive').
5. *Ćamka*, hyp. of *Ćamila* 'Moslem girl's name' (Osm.-Turk. *Kāmīle* = Arab. *kāmīlā* 'perfect, complete').
6. *dilberka* (1844) 'beloved, lady-love; kind of woman's lyrical song'. — From S.-Cr. *dilber* 'handsome youth, lover' = Osm.-Turk. *dilber* 'id.', which is, in turn, from Persian *dilber* (*dil* 'heart' + *ber*, theme of the present tense of the verb *burden* 'to carry'), lit. 'heart carrier'.
7. *đaurka* 'non-Mohammedan woman, Christian' (see *đaurin*).
8. *karāmanka* (1818) 'kind of pear brought to the Balkan countries from Turkey'. — From Osm.-Turk. *Karaman* 'district of Turkey'.
9. *karānfilka* (1867) 'kind of long rifle, silver-plated and adorned with ornaments'. — From S.-Cr. *karānfil* 'carnation' = Osm.-Turk. *karanfil* 'id.'.
10. *krdžalinka* (1827) 'rifle made in the Turkish town of Kırca Ali (present-day Kyrdžali in Bulgaria)'.

11. *mèrdžanka* 'kind of trout'. — From S.-Cr. *mèrdžan* 'coral' (see *mèrdžankinja*).
12. *mīraska* 'daughter of rich parents bringing her husband a large dowry'. — From S.-Cr. *mīrāz* 'dowry' = Osm.-Turk. *miraz* ~ *miras* 'id.'.
13. *mīsrka* 'bulb, pumpkin; guinea-hen' (see *misrača*).
14. *nalīmanka* (1888). — From S.-Cr. *alāmanka* by metathesis (see *alāmanka*).
15. *Rápka*, hyp. of *Rabija* 'Moslem girl's name' (Osm.-Turk. *Rabia* = Arab. *rābiā* 'spring').
16. *sevdālinka* 'Bosnian love song'. — From S.-Cr. *sevdātija* 'enamoured' = Osm.-Turk. *sevdalı* 'id.'.
17. *šamljanka* (1818) 'Damascus sword'. — From Osm.-Turk. *şamlı* 'Syrian, Damascene' = Osm.-Turk. *Şam* 'Damascus'.
18. *tēnečka* (1733), *tānečka* 'watering can'. — From S.-Cr. *tenēce* 'sheet metal' = Mid. Osm. *teneke* 'id.'.

25. The Suffix *-ko*

Appears often in proper and common nouns of masculine gender with a positive emotional colouring, e.g. *debéljko* 'fatty', *srditko* 'spitfire', *zēlēnko* 'grey (horse)'. Only one neuter gender substantive namely *klūpko* 'small ball'. It does not fulfil any other semantic functions.

1. *dájko* (18th century), hyp. of *dàidža* 'uncle, mother's brother'. — From Mid. Osm. *dajy* 'uncle; war-hero, hero'.
2. *Džélko*, hyp. of *Džélil* 'Moslem boy's name' (Osm.-Turk. *Celil* = Arab. *ġalīl* 'respected, honoured, famous').
3. *Hálko* (1858), hyp. of *Hálil* 'Moslem boy's name' (Osm.-Turk. *Halil* = Arab. *ḥalīl* 'favourite, faithful friend').
4. *Měško* (1909), hyp. of *Mehmed* (see *Měšan*).
5. *šiško* 'fatty'. — From Osm.-Turk. *şiş-* 'swell, grow round'.

26. The Suffix *-lo*

It appears with themes of verbs belonging to the 4th and 5th conjugations, i.e. those having *-a-* and *-i-* in the present and infinitive themes, e.g. *črtalo* 'coultter, ploughshare' = *črtati* 'draw,

trace', *kùpalo* 'swimming-bath, bath' = *kùpati* (se) 'to bathe', *pjěvalo* 'throat (jocularly)' = *pjěvati* 'to sing', *pòjilo* 'water-hole' = *pòjiti* 'to water (cattle)', *sùšilo* '(ink) drier; drying room' = *sùšiti* 'to dry'. It occasionally appears added directly to the root: *djělo* 'deed, action, work', *jělo* = *jedlo* 'food', *rělo* = *radlo* 'plough'. It can be seen from the examples quoted that the suffix *-lo* forms nomina instrumenti, nomina loci and also numerous words of a slightly jocular or pejorative colouring, e.g. *blebětalo* 'chatterbox, parrot', *mězalo* 'daubster', *víkalo* 'loud-mouth'.

With Osm.-Turk. loan-words its small productiveness is limited to the creation of nomina instrumenti.

1. *čěkětalo*, *čěkalo* (1818) 'ladle, mill-ladle, shovel'. — From S.-Cr. *čěkětati* 'to rattle' = Osm.-Turk. *çek-* 'pull, pull off, take off'; *kahve çekmek* 'grind coffee'.
2. *mávilo* (1898—1906) 'blue paint'. — From S.-Cr. *máviti* 'to colour blue' = S.-Cr. *mávi* 'blue, azure' (see *mavijáš*).
3. *ráhtilo* (1896—1909) 'any tool which is used in agricultural work'. — From Osm.-Turk. *raht* 'horse's harness' + S.-Cr. suffix *-ilo* separated from verbal derivatives where the suffix was just *-lo*.

27. The Suffix *-nja*

Added to verbal themes it most frequently forms abstract substantives designating an activity or state, e.g. *ljútinja* 'anger, irritation', *mřžnja* 'hatred', *pàtnja* 'suffering', rarely the names of objects, e.g. *nòšnja* 'clothing'. As far as Osm.-Turk. loan-words are concerned, the suffix *-nja* appears only once and that in a substantive derivative which probably came into being by analogy to semantically similar *ljútinja*, *mřžnja*.

1. *kivnja* (as well as the forms *kîn*, *kîm*, *êîn*, *êîm*) 'anger, hatred, craving for revenge'. — From Osm.-Turk. *kin* 'id.'

28. The Suffix *-o*

Appears most frequently in substantives of neuter gender derived directly from the root, e.g. *břdo* 'hillock', *měso* 'meat', *pěro* 'pen'. Masculine gender substantives derived from substan-

tive, adjectival and verbal themes have a hypocoristical or jocular colouring, e.g. *bráto* 'little brother', *glúho* 'deaf person', *žděro* 'glutton'. The suffix *-o* appears in this function with Osm.-Turk. loan-words as well.

1. *běgo* (1841), hyp. of *běg* (see *běgovac*).
2. *Běšo*, hyp. of *Běšir* 'Moslem boy's name' (Osm.-Turk. *Beşir* = Arab. *bāšīr* 'herald bringing good, joyful news').
3. *čájo* (1852), hyp. of *čāuš* 'wag entertaining wedding guests; court or army guard; messenger'. — From Mid.Osm. *čavuš* 'lower ranked commander in a Janissary army'.
4. *óro* (1728), hyp. of *ēdravac* 'blind in one eye' (see *éora*).
5. *šěho* (19th century) 'godly person living like a dervish', hyp. of *šěh* 'prior of a dervish order' = Osm.-Turk. *şeyh* 'old man, superior, chief'.

29. The Suffix *-öst*

Added to adjectival themes it forms substantives having various abstract meanings, e.g. *mogúcnöst* 'possibility', *sigúrnöst* 'certainty', *vjěrnöst* 'fidelity'. Very productive in Serbo-Croatian derived word-formation, but there is only one instance of its use with an Osm.-Turk. loan-word.

1. *čělavöst* (1788) 'process of going bald; baldness' (= *čěla*). — From S.-Cr. *čělav* 'bald' = Mid. Osm. *kel* 'id.'

30. The Suffix *-skā*

This feminine gender suffix forming possessive adjectives with a masculine equivalent of *-skī* is included here on account of its use in the formation of geographical names like *Frāncūs-kā* 'France', *Pōljskā* 'Poland', *Štājerskā* 'Styria'. There are two examples with Osm.-Turk. loan-words.

1. *Đàurskā* 'country of unbelievers (non-Mohammedans)'. — From S.-Cr. *đàurskī* 'Christian, giaour' (see *đàurin*).
2. *Kàurskā* (1818), see *Đàurskā*.

31. The Suffix *-stvo*

Very productive in Serbo-Croatian, it forms nomina abstracta from substantives, adjectives and the past participle passive which mean a state, quality or activity, e.g. *apostolstvo* 'apostleship', *junaštvo* (= *junač* + *stvo*) 'heroism', *pijanstvo* 'drunkenness', *prokletstvo* 'curse'. Some of the substantives formed with the help of this suffix have a concrete meaning, e.g. *carstvo* 'tsardom', *kraljevstvo* 'kingdom', *ljudstvo* 'mankind'.

Added to Osm.-Turk. loan-words it forms substantives designating states and situations in which the persons named in the base-words find themselves.

1. *jaranstvo* (1818) 'friendship, comradeship'. — From S.-Cr. *jaran* 'friend' (see *jaranica*).
2. *jendijstvo* 'the performance of duties belonging to a bride's maid'. — From S.-Cr. *jendija* (as well as *jengija*) 'bridesmaid' = Osm.-Turk. *yenge* 'id.'.
3. *većilstvo* 'full powers'. — From S.-Cr. *većil* (*vekil*) 'plenipotentiary, substitute' = Osm.-Turk. *vekil* 'minister, plenipotentiary'.

32. The Suffix *-uka*

Totally unproductive, this suffix is completely neglected in Serbo-Croatian grammars. It can be supposed that it is a borrowed suffix, probably Hungarian, because although it isn't mentioned by Stachowski⁹ there is a clear morphologico-semantic analogy between its one use in Serbo-Croatian and certain Hungarian words with the suffix *-uka* (cf. Hungarian *apuka* = *apu* 'daddy', hyp. of *apa*, *anyuka* = *anyu* 'mummy', hyp. of *anya*, where the suffix is *-ka*). The S.-Cr. suffix would then be separated from similar Hungarian loan-words: unfortunately there is no larger amount of evidence which could support this conclusion fully.

1. *babuka*, hyp. of *bába*, *bábo*, hyp. 'father'. — From Osm.-Turk. *baba* 'father'.

⁹ S. Stachowski, *Przyrostki obcego pochodzenia w języku serbochorwackim*, Kraków 1961.

33. The Suffix *-ulja*

Added to substantive and adjectival themes it forms concrete, never abstract, substantives. Words thus formed designate, usually, objects and animals, occasionally persons, e.g. *grdulja* 'ugly person', *mnogulja* 'cow that gives a lot of milk', *rogulja* 'cow with large horns; metaphorically harridan', *rosulja* 'drizzle', *stbulja* 'old Serbian church book'. Appears in two substantives borrowed from Osm.-Turk.

1. *krbulja* (1818) 'basket for berries, made of linden, spruce bark'. — From S.-Cr. *krba* 'water vessel' = Osm.-Turk. *kurba* 'water vessel made of leather'.
2. *obdulja* (1759) 'horse-race' (see *obduljaš*).

34. The Suffix *-ura*

Words derived from substantive themes with the help of this suffix perform various semantic functions, but the most frequent function of the suffix is to form augmentatives and pejoratives, e.g. *bòžura* 'hog killed for Christmas', *glàvura*, augm. of *gláva* 'head', *kàpura* 'hen with a cap-like comb', *lùbura* 'bowl made of the bark of a sapling for cherries and wild strawberries'. Not very productive, it appears only once with an Osm.-Turk. loan-word.

1. *kalàštura* (1818) 'corrupt, loose woman or girl; coarse, rough man; cur'. — From S.-Cr. *kàlāš* 'dolt, shyster, conman' = Mid. Osm. *kallaš* (= New Osm. *kalleš*) 'spendthrift, wastrel, loiterer, waif, cheat'.

35. The Suffix *-uša*

Fairly productive it appears with substantive and verbal, more rarely with adjectival themes and forms the names of persons, animals, plants and objects, some of which have a slightly hypocoristical or ironic shade of meaning, e.g. *blebètuša* 'chatterbox', *djevèruša* 'best man's wife', *govòruša* 'talkative woman', *kokòtuša* 'cock-like hen', *madžàruša* 'wild plum'.

The use of the suffix *-uša* can be seen in all its functions on the Osm.-Turk. loan-word material given below.

1. *alātuša* (1818) 'chestnut (horse)'. — From S.-Cr. *älat* 'chestnut' = Osm.-Turk. *al* 'red' + *at* 'horse'.
2. *bečaruša* (word noted in old Serbian acts published in 1890 in Belgrade) 'woman leading a life of revelry, prostitute; acne'. — From S.-Cr. *běčār* (see *bečārac*).
3. *Čemaluša* (1867) 'former name of one of the streets in Sarajevo derived from the name of the founder of the mosque to be found there'. — From Osm.-Turk. *Kemal* 'Moslem male name' = Arab. *kāmāl* 'perfection, finity'.
4. *dòruša* (1818) 'bay mare'. — From abbreviated base S.-Cr. *dòrat* 'bay horse' = Osm.-Turk. *doru* at 'id.'.
5. *Hàjruša*, hyp. of *Hajrija* 'Moslem female proper name'. — From Osm.-Turk. *Hayriye* = Arab. *hayriyyä* 'good, happy'.
6. *jelčenuša* 'sailing ship'. — From S.-Cr. *jělcen* 'sail' = Osm.-Turk. *yelken* 'id.'.
7. *kalèmuša* 'noble kind of rose'. — From S.-Cr. *kàlem* (see *kàlemljēnje*).
8. *siktèruša* 'coffee served to guests at the end of a reception to let them know that it's time they went home'. — From S.-Cr. *sikter!* 'get out!' = Osm.-Turk. *siktur!*, imp. 2nd person sing. of *sikur*-, reflexive form of *sik*- 'to have sexual intercourse' (vulgar).
9. *Türkuša* (1852) '„real” Turk, as opposed to Bosnian Moslems'. — From S.-Cr. *Türk* (see *Türčin*).

II. A SURVEY OF SEMANTIC GROUPS

1. Nomina agentis

The names of the performers of an action are derived from Osm.-Turk. loan-words which designate either the activity itself or something which is somehow connected with the activity of the person designated in the derivation (occasionally the agents can be an animal). They are formed with the help of the following suffixes:

- āc*: *čarkāč* (I 3);
- āca*: *alāpača* (simultaneously with a pejorative meaning, I 4);
- ār*: *ājlučār*, *akšāmlučār*, *čarkār*, *čivitār*, *òdžacār*, *pāpučār* (I 8);
- ās*: *čarkāš*, *lakrdijāš*, *tamburāš*, *testērāš* (I 9);
- ica*: *dilkušica* (I 13);
- ik*: *hābernīk*, *sèvetnīk* (I 15);
- (*k*)*inja*: *bāždarkinja* (I 19).

2. Nomina qualitatis

The names of animate beings and objects qualified by the phenomena, objects or qualities designated in the base-words are formed with the help of the following suffixes:

- (*a*)*c*: *bēnac*, *bénac*, *hakīkovac* (I 2);
- āca*: *abēnjača*, *mātufovača* (I 4);
- āk*, -(*a*)*k*: *abēnjāk*, *bēnāk*, *čorak*, *džamlíčak*, *grōšnjāk* (I 6);
- (*j*)*an*: *peksijan* (I 7);
- ās*: *čakšīrāš*, *čilāš*, *eblēkāš*, *hergēlāš*, *košijāš*, *mavijāš*, *obdūljāš*, *sūtlijāš* (I 9);
- ica*: *ālica*, *bāšica*, *bīrkatica*, *jogūnica*, *kadīfica*, *mātufovica*, *samārica* (I 13);
- ik*: *hāpsenīk* (I 15);
- ka*: *karānfilka*, *mērdžānka*, *mīrāska*, *sevdālīnka* (I 24);
- (*k*)*inja*: *mērdžānkinja* (I 19);
- uša*: *alātuša*, *dòruša*, *jelčenuša*, *kalèmuša* (I 35).

3. Nomina originis

Substantives designating something's or someone's origin are formed by the following suffixes:

- (*a*)*c*: *Ānadolac*, *jabānac* (I 2);
- āk*: *Taslidžāk* (I 6);
- in*: *Türčin* (I 16);
- (*k*)*inja*: *ādžamkinja*, *bēglučkinja* (I 19);
- ka*, as well as -*ovka*, -(*j*)*anka*: *ādžamovka*, *alāmānka*, *karāmānka*, *krdžalīnka*, *mīsīrka*, *šamlījanka* (I 24).

4. Nomina instrumenti

The names of objects, tools and equipment serving to carry out certain activities are formed with the help of the following suffixes:

- āca*: *badžēnjača* (I 4);
- āc*: *būsāc* (I 5);
- ak*, -(j)*āk*: *altipātlak*, *čivitnjāk*, *đubretnjāk* (I 6);
- ica*: *būrmutica*, *māšice*, pl. t. (I 13);
- ka*: *abadžinka*, *tenečka* (I 24);
- lo*: *čeketalo*, *mavilo*, *rahtilo* (I 26);
- ulja*: *krbulja* (I 33).

5. Nomina loci

The names of places where some activity takes place or where something is to be found are formed by the following suffixes:

- evo*: *Sarajevo* (I 12);
- (n)*ica*: *āščinica* (I 13);
- inca*: *burekčinca*, *kalupdžinca*, *sahāčinca*, *šećerdžinca* (I 18);
- iste*: *kōnačiste*, *pazarište* (I 20);
- skā*: *Đauruskā*, *Kauruskā* (I 30).

6. Diminutives and hypocoristic forms

To this category are added, apart from diminutives and words of hypocoristic form, substantives designating offspring and semantically connected with them surnames and patronimics. It is worth noting the characteristic manner in which hypocoristic forms are created, namely by the addition of the suffix not to the whole word-base but to its first syllable. The following suffixes create diminutives and hypocoristicons:

- (a)*k*: *čulūmak*, *fakīrak* (I 6);
- an*: *Mēšan* (I 7);
- ašca*: *knāšca* (I 10);
- če*: *māksumče* (I 11);
- ica*: *mīnđušica*, *Mūjica* (I 13);
- ić*: *Baráković*, *Bāšić*, *Ōdobašić*, *đđžaković*, *Spāhić*, *škembīć*, pl. (I 14);

- ka*: *Bēhka*, *Ōámka*, *Rápka* (I 24);
- ko*: *dájko*, *Džélko*, *Hálko*, *Méško*, *Šiško* (I 25);
- o*: *bégo*, *Béšo*, *čájo*, *ćóro*, *šého* (I 28);
- uka*: *bābuka* (I 32);
- uša*: *Hājruša* (I 35).

7. Augmentative and pejorative forms

Augmentative and pejorative forms are created with the help of the following suffixes:

- ina*: *ahbābina*, *ālčačina*, *bečarina*, *budalina*, *kāltačina* (I 17);
- ura*: *kalāštura* (I 34);
- uša*: *bečaruša* (I 35).

8. Nomina abstracta

These include abstract verbal substantives (nomina deverbalia) and substantives designating states or qualities. They are formed by adding the following suffixes to verbal, substantive and adjectival themes:

- (št)*ina*: *budalāština*, *fukaráština* (I 17);
- (an)*je*, -(en)*je*: *bečarovānje*, *begēnisānje*, *čarkānje*, *čārēnje*, *fāj-disānje*, *kālemljēnje*, *sākačēnje*, *sēvdisānje* (I 23);
- nja*: *kivnja* (I 27);
- ost*: *čēlavōst* (I 29);
- stvo*: *jarānstvo*, *jendījstvo*, *večlstvo* (I 31).

9. Concrete substantives

These are formed with the help of only one suffix from Osm.-Turk. base-words:

- (ov)*ina*: *čāmovina*, *dōmuzovina* (I 17).

10. Feminine equivalents of masculine gender substantives

These are formed by adding the following suffixes to the masculine gender themes:

-ica: *báždarica*, *jarànica* (I 13);

-(k)inja: *kàurkinja* (I 19);

-ka: *dilbërka*, *đaurka* (I 24).

The suffix -a, which has only a structural function with Osm.-Turk. loan-words, has been omitted here.

III. CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the material presented here leads to conclusions which confirm the long-term influence of the Osmanli-Turkish superstratum on the Serbo-Croatian language substratum and allows us to formulate more general conclusions about the manner in which borrowed words are adapted in a new linguistic environment.

The problem before us is the word-formative adaptation of Osmanli-Turkish words into Serbo-Croatian. This adaptation is the third step in the process of accepting loan-words, for it is preceded by phonological and inflexional adaptation. Since this process is visible only in a historical context, I have arranged all the dated examples according to the century in which they were borrowed; I have not maintained a chronological order within century-groups but have given the relevant examples in alphabetical order of the suffixes discussed.

14th: *Turčin* (1397);

15th: *kaurin* (1470);

16th: *levēnta* (first half of the 16th century), *Sàrajevo* (1505—1512);

17th: *àsura* (1649), *jàruga* (1649), *kàduna* (1612—1618), *kùbura* (1681), *màngura* (1616), *mènduša* (1683), *pàpuča* (1616), *pàpučar* (1649), *čilāš* (17th century), *džigerica* (1649), *Mùjica* (about 1700), *Baráković* (1614), *Bàšić* (17th century), *Kapidžić* (2nd half of the 17th century), *Ōdobasić* (17th century), *bèrberin* (1649), *čòbanin* (1649), *budalāština* (1678), *adžamkinja* (first half of the 17th century), *kàurkinja* (17th century), *pazàrīšte* (1649);

18th: *běšika* (1755), *čelēnka* (1780), *furūna* (1783), *pāčmaga* (1742), *tūlbenta* (1759), *misīrača* (1772), *čórak* (1759), *bāšica* (1779), *jarànica* (1763), *jogūnica* (1755), *pòturica* (1759), *Óórié* (1704), *Sāmardžić* (1702), *Spāhić* (1702), *Topálović* (1756), *dūnderin* (1704), *budālina* (1728), *tenečka* (1733), *dájko* (18th century), *čóro* (1728), *čelavōst* (1788), *obdulja* (1759);

19th: *čóra* (1849), *hanūma* (1837), *kàrpuza* (1837), *kàtura* (1858), *Anadolac* (1846), *běgovac* (1849), *bénac* (2nd half of the 19th century), *jabánac* (1812—1813), *ajgīrača* (1852), *alāpača* (1852), *kesīmača* (1845), *abēnjāk* (1818), *čivitnjāk* (1818), *čulūmak* (1806), *grōšnījāk* (1806), *māvišnjāk* (1852), *Měšan* (1828), *peksījan* (1852), *čivītār* (1818), *kāišār* (1879), *odžacār* (1818), *čakšīrāš* (1808—1812), *lakrdījāš* (1818), *mavījāš* (1896), *obduljāš* (1888), *sūtlijāš* (1877), *tambūrāš* (1852), *testērāš* (1895), *alājbegovica* (first half of the 19th century), *alica* (1852), *āščīnica* (1818), *báždarica* (1818), *běgovica* (1818), *bīrkatica* (1866), *būrmutica* (1818), *čibuljica* (1818), *dělkusiča* (1841), *kadīfica* (1808), *māšice* (1818), *mīndušiča* (1818), *samārica* (1852), *odžaković* (1818), *čuvik* (1879), *abērnīk* (1818), *apsenīk* (1818), *nāletnīk* (1881), *đaurin* (1818), *mūrtatin* (1837), *nālbantin* (1845), *pāpazin* (1851), *babōvina* (1870), *báždarina* (1837), *bečārina* (1818), *běgovina* (1837), *čamovina* (1806), *dōmuzovina* (1867), *avētinja* (1818), *mèrdžānkinja* (1888), *hārčivo* (1867), *merāja* (1852), *odaja* (1805), *bečarōvānje* (1818), *čarkānje* (1818), *čarēnje* (1818), *fajdisānje* (1852), *sakačēnje* (1818), *sēvdisānje* (1841), *ābadžinka* (19th century), *adžamovka* (1858), *alāmānka* (1845), *dilbërka* (1844), *karāmānka* (1818), *karānfilka* (1867), *krdžatinka* (1827), *nalīmānka* (1888), *šamlījanka* (1818), *Hálko* (1858), *čékaló* (1818), *bégo* (1841), *čájo* (1852), *šého* (19th century), *Kàurskā* (1818), *jarānstvo* (1818), *krbulja* (1818), *kalāštura* (1818), *alātuša* (1818), *bečaruša* (19th century), *Čemaluša* (1867), *dōruša* (1818), *Turkuša* (1852);

20th: *Měško* (1909), *mavilo* (1898—1906), *rāhtilo* (1896—1909).

The majority of derivatives with the oldest historical documentation are forms created with the help of suffixes which do not have, at least, in conjunction with the Osm.-Turk. loan-word themes, a semantic function but merely a structural one. This proves that new lexical loan-words are assimilated phonologically (that is enough to compare the phonetic form of Serbo-Croatian

derivations with their Osmanli-Turkish base-words), then inflexionally and only at the end of this process loan-words become fully assimilated into the borrowing language, becoming derivational bases which are often very productive.

A large number of Serbo-Croatian suffixes (35) are used to create derivatives from Osmanli-Turkish loan-words. The degree of their productivity is varied. From this one can conclude that borrowings were not necessarily included into the most productive word-formative categories. The semantic range of these formants is equally wide and includes a whole series of semantic groups, thereby satisfying the needs for linguistic intercommunication in various walks of life of the Moslem society of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the other nations of present-day Yugoslavia which found themselves under the political and cultural sway of the Ottoman Empire.

The largest number of examples of substantive word-formation in Serbo-Croatian from Osmanli-Turkish base-words comes from the 19th century. The majority of this material comes from Vuk Karadžić's dictionary¹⁰ and from folk-songs, but bearing in mind that Karadžić was the first to undertake the collection and publication of these songs which were known by the people thanks to older oral traditions, one should treat the data of the Academy Dictionary with some reserve. It is certain that many of the loan-words which the Academy Dictionary gives as contemporary will have to be put back to at least the 18th century after more extensive investigations into their chronology. It is also necessary to establish the time of loan-words which have not yet been dated because only a full historical documentation will make possible a thorough presentation of the assimilation of Osmanli-Turkish words into the Serbo-Croatian language.

¹⁰ V. St. Karadžić, *Srpski rječnik* (A Serbian Dictionary), Beč (Vienna) 1818.

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