

48. The use value of Turkish loanwords in contemporary Serbian standard and colloquial language

Stefani MİLJKOVIĆ¹

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Abstract

Turkish loanwords are an indispensable part of the Serbian vocabulary, represented in literary language as well as in everyday communication. After the interlinguistic contact between the Serbian and Turkish language has ended, some turkisms became archaic; others remained unchanged, while some began to develop their semantic meanings according to the nature and logic of the Serbian language. The period of Serbian history as part of the Ottoman Empire has left deep traces, not only in the language, but also in the collective memory of the Serbian people. For those very reasons, the use of turkisms is of great importance for the stylistic and emotional-expressive markings of language utterances. The use values of lexemes of Turkish etymology are present at all levels of the language, and manifest itself especially in the non-standard language varieties, such as: vernacular, colloquial and slang. Also, a large number of those varieties have a slightly or completely different meaning from their equivalent in the standard Serbian language, and some of those semantic values are not even listed in dictionaries. These, and other characteristics that are outside the scope of normative standards of the Serbian language, are indicators of the complexity for the usage of turkisms and their value.

Keywords: Turkish loanwords, provincialisms, turkisms in Serbian slang, nonstandard language varieties

Çağdaş Sırpçanın yazı dili ve gündelik dilinde Türkizmlerin kullanım değeri

Öz

Türkizimler Sırp kelime hazinesinin vazgeçilmez bir parçası olup edebi ve meslek dilinde olduğu kadar günlük iletişimde de kullanılmaktadır. Sırpça ile Türkçe arasındaki dil bağlantısı koştuktan sonra bazı türkizmler eskimiş, bazıları bir değişikliğe uğramadan kullanırken bazıları da anlam açısından Sırp dilinin doğasına ve mantığına uyararak gelişim göstermiştir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun bir parçası olarak Sırp tarihinin önemli bir dönemi, Sırp halkının sadece dilinde değil, aynı zamanda kolektif hafızasında da derin izler bırakmıştır. Bundan dolayı, sözcelerin üslup ve duygusal-ifade belirtmesi açısından türkizmlerin kullanımı büyük önem taşımaktadır. Türkçe kökenli sözcükbirimlerinin kullanımı dil çeşitlerinin her düzeyinde bulunmaktadır ve özellikle dilin standart dışı kullanılan varyantlarında, tüm sözlüksel anlamların sözlüklere kaydedilmemesi nedeniyle kendini gösterir. Sırp ölçünlü dilinin kapsamı dışında kalan bu ve diğer özellikler, türkizmlerin kullanım karmaşıklığının ve değerlerinin göstergeleridir.

¹ Arş. Gör., University Of Belgrade, Faculty Of Philology, Oriental Languages, Literatures and Cultures (Belgrade, Serbia), stefani.miljkovic@fil.bg.ac.rs, ORCID ID: 0000-0003-1294-612X [Araştırma makalesi, Makale kayıt tarihi: 11.05.2023- kabul tarihi: 20.07.2023; DOI: 10.29000/rumelide.1331504]

Anahtar kelimeler: Türkizmler, taşra ağzı sözleri, Sırp argosundaki türkizmler, dilin standart dışı kullanılan varyantları

Linguistic contacts that inevitably had to follow after centuries of coexistence of two very different people, led to the emergence of specific loanwords in the Serbian language, which are called *turkisms*². As the language contact with Turkish was passive, i.e. there was no active communication³, the people adopted new words orally and Turkish borrowings were selectively accepted and adapted according to the nature and cultural aspects of the Serbian language. Oriental cultural borrowing was also heavily influenced, so the assimilation of new words from that aspect was inevitable. In the period of intensive linguistic contact, lexemes were borrowed first and in the largest number, followed by morphemes and other linguistic features such as formative suffixes, idiomatic expressions and many others⁴. It is also necessary to point out that the turkisms which were created in that period can be considered as a kind of internationalism⁵ (Bugarski, 2003, p. 54), because they were adopted words, they were used in three continents. That is one of the indicators that Turkish, as an intermediary language, had a great influence on the development of the lexical vocabulary in the eastern part of Europe.

During interlinguistic lexical contact between the Turkish and Serbian languages, Turkish loanwords can be observed in two phases: The first was while the language contacts lasted, and the second, when the language contact ended (Đinđić, 2013, p. 13). During the first phase, interlinguistic borrowings were most intense, which was faster and more natural. Unfortunately, there were not adequate opportunities to record all the loanwords that occurred in the first and most intensive phase of lexical borrowing.

The first recorded turkisms appear in the first Serbian dictionary of Vuk Karadžić's `Srpski rječnik` (1818) that contained 2,500 words of Turkish origin (Peco, 1986, p. 305), which represents a tenth of the total Serbian vocabulary⁶. Over the years, many, more or less complex and voluminous, lexicographic works have appeared that recorded the words of Turkish etymology represented in the Serbo-Croatian language. This is a clear indicator of how much the Turkish language had an impact on the Serbian material and cultural heritage.

In the second phase, i.e. after the liberation of Serbia, the language contact between these two languages had ended. The previously assimilated lexemes couldn't develop further and remain frozen in time, also a large number of these Turkish words disappeared from the Serbian language. Today, it is not possible to give an exact number of turkisms due to several factors. The intensity of the oriental influence was not the same in all parts of the country, nor among all national and social infrastructures. Thus, the Muslim population has a greater number of used Turkish words than the Christian one. In the north of Serbia, which was under the direct influence of the Turkish conqueror for a certain period of time, has a

² The term turcizam (turkism) is generally accepted by Serbian linguists and turkologists as a common name for borrowed loanwords from Ottoman-Turkish, as the donor language, to Serbian as the recipient language. Although there were other terminological solutions such as: osmanizmi (ottomanisms), orijentalne reči (oriental words), arabizmi (arabisms), istočnjačke reči (eastern words), these terms were not put in use because the term turcizam was deeply rooted in the Serbian lexicon.

³ During the centuries, there were few people who knew and spoke Turkish, and were self-taught. Only in the second half of the 19th century did a greater number of educated connoisseurs appear who represented prominent citizens of Serbia, there were politicians and ministers. In that period, Serbian grammar schools began to teach Turkish as a foreign language. (More about this in: Teodosijević, 1997)

⁴ In addition to the terminological disagreement, among linguists there is also the issue of classification of turkisms. Some linguists believe that the derivation words formed from non-oriental words and Turkish suffixes cannot be classified as turkisms, while other linguists categorize them equally as other loanwords.

⁵ Words with a similar form and the same meaning exist in a large number of modern languages.

⁶ There are different interpretations about the exactly defined number of turkisms in Vuk's dictionary. Linguists had different criteria in defining turkisms based on either etymology, structure or represented amount of loanwords, so the number from the analyzed corpus varies amongst linguists. (More about this in: Teodosijević, 2016)

smaller number of oriental loanwords than in the south, where the Ottoman Empire was maintained for the longest period. Also, the age of the speaker is also an important factor, namely the understanding and active use of Turkish borrowings is noticeable among the older generation. The younger generation uses lexicon primarily from the standard language or loanwords from the global language, which leads to the disappearance of large number of turkisms. Serbian linguists and turkologists estimate that the number of borrowed words and their derivatives in the modern Serbian language is around 3,000 Turkish words (Teodosijević, 2016, p. 12), with a tendency for that number to decrease year by year in active lexical fund.

Turkisms in the collective consciousness of the Serbian people represent an inseparable connection with the past. Turkisms carry with them a strong stylistic mark that is linked to the period and speech of the people that were part of the Ottoman Empire. Such examples can be found in literary works that were created during that time period in our region and a few decades after the liberation, or in the later works that are writing about that time period. A large number of Yugoslav Serbian writers such as: Borisav Stanković⁷, Ivo Andrić⁸, Jelena Dimitrijević⁹, Stevan Sremac¹⁰ and many others in their literary works forever recorded and preserved from oblivion not only Turkish words but also the culture, daily life and other material and intangible riches of oriental Serbia¹¹ (More about this in: Marinković, 2018).

Almost a century later, the works of these writers continue to live on and inspire the creation of new works. For example, the works `Zona Zamfirova` (2002) and `Ivkova slava` (2005) by the writer S. Sremac received their screen adaptation in the form of a film with the same title. The aforementioned works of this author were created during his stay in the newly liberated town of Niš, where there was still a strong oriental atmosphere. The language and style he used has changed considerably, giving way to Turkish words that are often or less often used in Serbian, as well as words and idioms that are harder to understand today or are completely obsolete. As such, he is considered as a witness of the lost time among writers (Aykut, 2012, p. 444-445). What characterizes these film examples is that they did not

⁷ Borisav Stanković (1876-1927) was a Serbian writer whose works depicted the life of people from the south of Serbia. His works exude the life and circumstances of town Vranje during the Ottoman Empire, as well as its inhabitants, people of all social classes and religions. His works are full of turkisms as well as oriental cultures, which is masterfully described through depictions of everyday life. His most famous works are: 'Koštana' (1902), 'Stari dani' (1902), 'Božiji ljudi' (1902), 'Nečista krv' (1910) and many other short stories.

⁸ Ivo Andrić (1892-1975) was a Nobel laureate whose best-known works, translated into more than 50 languages, deal with the subject of Bosnia under Ottoman rule as well as the life and struggle of an ordinary man from that period. The works are filled with stories from the past, and the lexical wealth in terms of Turkish loanwords, represents an inexhaustible topic and inspiration for Serbian linguists and turkologists alike. Among his most famous works are: 'Na Drini ćuprija' (1945), 'Gospodica' (1945), 'Travnačka horonika' (1945), 'Prokleta avlija' (1954), 'Most na Zepi' (1920), 'Omerpaša Latas' (1977) and many others.

⁹ Jelena Dimitrijević (1862-1945) was a Serbian writer and feminist who fought for the emancipation of women. She was a cosmopolitan, polyglot, world traveler, and she also knew and spoke the Turkish language. In her works, she dealt with the Orient and was a sort of mediator between East and West. She dealt with issues concerning women and women's issues, and in addition described the Young Turk Revolution and its impact on the traditional way of life of Turkish women in the Balkans. In her travelogue 'Pisma iz Niša o haremima', Dimitrijević not only successfully portrayed the hidden life of Turkish women, but also the cultural and folklore characteristics of Turkish life. In addition to a very detailed and faithfully captured traditional life, the author used authentic Turkish words and expressions transcribed into the Serbian language. Works by this author: 'Pisma iz Niša o haremima' (1986), 'Đul-Marikina prikaznja' (1901), 'Fati-Sultan, Safi-Hanum, Mejrem-Hanum' (1907), 'Nove' (1912), 'Pisma iz Misira' (1929) and others.

¹⁰ Stevan Sremac (1855-1906) was Serbian realist and popular writer even today. His works exude everyday life and anecdotes from all parts of Serbia. Among his most famous works are those that deal with the description of the town Niš several years after its liberation, as well as anecdotal stories from that area. In addition to the authentic description of the life and culture of people of Niš from that period, the writer recorded and immortalized the dialect speech of this place, which is abundant in Turkish loanwords and Turkish tradition at a time when Serbia was increasingly turning to the West and the oriental heritage slowly began to disappear. Such works are: 'Ivkova slava' (1895), 'Zona Zamfirova' (1903), 'Nasradin-hodža' (1894), 'Ibi-aga' (1898), 'Jeksik-adžija' (1902) and many others.

¹¹ Turkisms play a particularly important role in Andrić's creative work because he gives them a form that can often appear in the vernacular, which at the same time represents an archive not only of literary but also of vernacular speech. All Turkish words are listed in the regularly irregular form and in the frequently changed meaning in which they are used in the vernacular in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Peco, 1993, p. 98).

depart lexically from the books, i.e. they are abundant in archaic Turkish words and provincialisms that were characteristic of Serbian speech at the end of the 19th century. In the movies there were no changes or adaptations of those nonstandard words to the modern Serbian language. This kind of undertaking has not been seen in modern cinematography because there has always been an aspiration to modernize the language of the works and harmonize them with the normative linguistic standards in order to make the film accessible and comprehensible to a wide audience. As for the use of turkisms in modern cinematography, especially those that are archaic, they are present primarily in the stylistic disposition of the Ottoman Turks. When it was necessary to display the character of a Turk in cinematographic productions, then oriental loanwords would be used. Such an example can be found in films like `Banović Strahinja` (1983) and `Nečista krv` (1996), which, if they had remained faithful to their written originals, would have had a much larger number of Turkish loanwords. Turkisms that appear in these films are: *jala* (tur. yallah), *besbelli* (tur. besbelli), *kaurin* (tur. gâvur), *tejtan* (tur. şeytan), *dervit* (tur. derviş), *fukara* (tur. fukara), *meraklija* (tur. meraklı), *efendija* (tur. efendi) and similar. On the other side, in the screen adaptations of Sremc's stories, the atmosphere is oriental in all segments and fully completes the experience of the past times. Lesser known Turkish loanwords that appear in movies are: *čutek* (tur. kötek), *kalabalik* (tur. kalabalık), *belkim* (tur. belki), *mala* (tur. mahalle), *kardaş* (tur. kardeş), *begendisati* (tur. beğenmek), *čivčika* (tur. çiftçi), *kurtaliati se* (tur. kurtarmak), *izmečarka* (tur. hizmetçi) and many others. These films were very popular and awakened interest among the common people to study forgotten turkisms.

In the same period, the humorous Serbian series 'Crni Gruja'¹² (2003) was shown, which is set in the second half of the 18th century in Serbia under Ottoman rule, just before the outbreak of the First Serbian Uprising. The series used the modern Serbian language as well as references related to modern political and cultural events in Serbia and around the world. While at the same time, trying to maintain the authenticity of past times, using archaic turkisms such as: *džebana* (tur. cephane), *kurtum* (vkrşun), *harač* (tur. haraç), *jatak* (tur. yatak), *ajduk* (tur. haydut), *kubura* (vkubur), *aganlija* (tur. ağa), *čengele* (tur. çengel), *karakondžula* (tur. karakoncolos). Although the series is humorous and not of educative-historical character, the use of archaic Turkish words made the series sound as authentic as possible without losing quality and humorous content.

Based on such contemporary cinematic examples, one can see how important and significant Turkish loanwords are for the Serbian language, whether they are archaic and forgotten or an integral part of the modern language. In the collective consciousness of the Serbian people, turkisms are associated with the past, and not with the modern language, which contributed to an authentic historical-linguistic atmosphere and fully revived the spirit of the past¹³.

During the first phase of the language contact, lexemes were taken from the Turkish language as the donor language to Serbian as the recipient language, which took place in several stages. The basic degree of adaptation implies that the borrowed lexeme is adapted to the phonetic system of the recipient's language, while its semantic adaptation is at minimal level, that is, that most often, one meaning is taken

¹² 'Crni Gruja' was conceived as a Serbian version of the British series Blackadder, with the main character's name being a play on words based on the analogy of Karadorde - Crni Đorđe, i.e. Crni Gruja - Karagruja, which in Serbian jargon has a double lascivious meaning.

¹³ The first Turkish series, which began to be screened in ex-Yugoslavia's region, happened a few years after such films and series, and one of the possibilities why Turkish series experienced such popularity in our region. It can be explained by the fact that almost a decade before their showing the common population was intrigued with a forgotten common language. That fascination only continued with the Turkish series, where an ordinary person could recognize in this foreign language the same words that he uses every day, such as: *pare* (tur. para), *kafa* (tur. kahve), *džezva* (tur. cezve), *čorba* (tur. çorba), *jogurt* (tur. yoğurt), *dolma* (tur. dolma) and others.

over from the donor language. Such as the words: *baklava* (tur. baklava), *jorgan* (tur. yorgan), *halva* (tur. helva), *jorgovan* (tur. erguvan), *kafa* (tur. kahve), *limun* (tur. limon), *badem* (tur. badem), *çarapa* (tur. çorap) and others. These are also words that have been completely assimilated into the Serbian language and for which there is no adequate synonym. In the other stages of adaptation, the loanword is adapted to the morphological system of the recipient language. There is also a change within the semantic level in the form of an expansion or reduction in relation to the meanings of the same lexeme in the language of the donor. When the loanword reaches this semantic level, it means that it has fully adapted and has been assimilated into the linguistic standards of the recipient language¹⁴.

The semantic reduction of the loanwords in relation to the original words in the donor's language is an integral part of every interlinguistic borrowing. This phenomenon can be explained by the tendency that when a word is adopted, only a few meanings are taken on, depending on the culture and tradition of the speaker. In addition, after the termination of interlinguistic contact between the Serbian and Turkish languages, the lexemes that continued to change their meaning in Turkish could not, naturally, be followed in Serbian. Thus, the word *teđer* (tur. şeker) in the Serbian just means a product made from processed sugar beet or sugar cane. While in the Turkish language, in addition to the same meaning, there is also another meaning: 'candy'. *Papuča* (tur. pabuç) has the meaning of footwear, while in Turkish it has the meaning: footwear¹⁵, furniture legs and several meanings from professional terminology.

Expanding the semantic meaning of loanwords is very productive. Namely, a large number of borrowings, which are still active in the standard language, have either completely changed, or kept their meanings from the donor language and expanded with new ones in accordance with the logic and nature of the recipient language. Also, the cultural influence certainly had a significant impact in semantic shaping.

Although in smaller amount, turkisms that deserve special attention are those that have completely changed the meaning in relation to their equivalents in the recipient language. The genesis of such lexemes is closely related to the meaning of the original word, while the metaphorical logic unique to its creator led to the emergence of a different semantic value. Thus the word *betika* (tur. beşik) in Turkish language means 'cradle' while in the Serbian it means 'bladder'. The explanation of the origin for this meaning can be sought in associative logic because both things have a similar form. Similar case can be seen with the lexeme *orman*, which has completely changed its meaning in relation to its Turkish equivalent *orman*: 'forest', while in Serbian it means: 'closet, wardrobe'. The adjective *jogunast*, derived from the Turkish word *yoğun* 'dense, compact, thick', in the Serbian language is completely different from its equivalent in Turkish, and names a character trait of negative connotation 'self-willed, disobedient'. The use value of the lexeme is certainly influenced by the vernacular. Namely, for lexemes such as *zejtin* (tur. zeytin) and *maja* (tur. maya) there are adequate synonyms in the standard, but their usage in vernacular and colloquial language are certainly more common. *Zejtin*, i.e. *ulje* (oil), was created by shortening of the Turkish idiom *zeytin yağı* and in such a way became assimilated. The same logic was used for lexeme *maja* which is especially prevalent among older generations as a name only

¹⁴ It should be emphasized that the opinions of linguists differ on the use of the term loanword, which especially refers to turkisms that do not have adequate synonyms in the Serbian language. Namely, some experts believe that 'Completely domesticated and actually irreplaceable words from other languages should not even be called foreign words - but, eventually, domestic words of foreign origin. Those whose adaptation has advanced can be called loanwords, while those that have not yet adapted or are not even needed are sometimes named foreign words. It can be seen, that naming the term is not only important to the degree of adaptation of foreign words, but also the attitude towards them'. (Bugarski, 2003, p. 206)

¹⁵ This meaning has disappeared from the Turkish colloquial language.

and exclusively for rennet. Such examples are excellent indicators that all synonymous variations do not have the same comparative and applicable value in a certain contextual environment, that is, they do not have the same used value. The words *zejtin* and *ulje* are synonymous words, but they cannot always be used in the same context. Because *zejtin*, in the colloquial language, refers only to edible oil made from sunflower, while for all other types of lexeme *ulje* is used: *maslinovo ulje* (olive oil), *ulje za auto* (car oil), *ulje za kosu* (hair oil). At the same time, lexeme *zejtin* appears in youthful slang vocabulary as a derisive term for excessive use of hair gel or brilliantine. Special attention should be paid to the word *meraklija*, which is an excellent representative of this category of turkisms. It is related to regional, cultural and sociological usage in the Serbian language. Derived from the Turkish word *merakh*, in the Serbian it was adapted in the form of *meraklija*¹⁶. Although the root word is *merak* in Serbian has the same meaning as in Turkish: `desire, longing, pleasant mood, satisfaction`, the derivation word is visibly different. The word is categorized as a provincialism and its use is primarily associated with the south of Serbia, especially the area around the town of Niš. *Dictionary of the Serbian language*¹⁷ lists the meanings: '1. one who loves and knows how to enjoy things and have fun. 2. One who likes to look at women and spend time with them' (RMS 680). In contrast to the previous dictionaries of the Serbian language, this edition gives a more detailed and approximate meaning of the lexeme *meraklija*. In the collective consciousness of Serbian people, this word carries a more complex meaning for which there is no adequate synonym in the standard Serbian language. Its use and meaning are closely related to the cultural-social sphere of Serbian identity. In modern Serbian colloquial language, this meaning is narrowed down and is associated exclusively with a person who likes to go out in bars, socialize with people, who enjoys the charms of life, in most cases it has a positive meaning. *Kafana* is closely related to the word *meraklija*. *Kafana* is another Turkish borrowing that has changed its meaning from its Turkish equivalent *kahvehane*. The RMS dictionary *kafana* as 'tavern, restaurant' (509), but its use value is certainly much more complex than that. In urban areas, it is associated with a cheap restaurant; a restaurant with an ethnic theme, while in rural areas of Serbia, *kafana* is an establishment where only beverages are served. In the colloquial language, *kafana* is associated as a place for socializing that includes food, alcohol, live music and hedonistic entertainment, a kind of escape from everyday life problems and strict social norms of behavior. It is precisely because of such associative attitudes that for many years a negative attitude was attached to the *kafana* as a haunt of alcoholics and bad people. Today, that use value has changed a lot and among young people it is a colloquial expression that means 'night time and socializing, to have fun'.

Within this category, the most represented are certainly loanwords that, in addition to the original meaning, have expanded their semantic field with new ones. This type of extension is very important for lexical research because it represents the last stage of adaptation for the borrowed lexeme and shows that it has completely assimilated in the language of the recipient. It is characteristic of the Turkish borrowings that their etymological meaning continued to spread even after the interlinguistic influence ended. Semantic expansion is represented in all functional styles of the Serbian language, and it is especially expressed in non-standard language varieties. In this case, a large number of these meanings are not adequately or at all recorded in the dictionaries of the Serbian language, which certainly affects the problem of determining the exact number of Turkish words that are used within the active lexical fund.

As previously mentioned, the representation and use of turkisms is not equally territorially represented, and a greater number is found in the south of Serbia, while a smaller number can be found in the north.

¹⁶ The same form is used for both male and female.

¹⁷ Further in the text RMS.

What is specific about territorial stratification is that the same word was not adapted equally in both regions. Thus, for the Turkish word *bekar*, we find the doublets *bećar* in the north and *bekrija* in the south of Serbia and the use of one of the given provincialisms gives additional insight of the speaker's territorial affiliation. In addition to the different form, there is a difference in the meaning itself, alongside common meaning. 'bachelor, unmarried man', *bećar* also carries a positive social characteristic in the meaning: 'young joyful man', while *bekrija* carries a negative meaning: 'who loves drinking and night life'. The same loanword has developed its additional meanings in two completely different directions, which names a human characteristic that is in accordance or opposite to socially acceptable norms. *Kapija* (tur. kapı) and its Serbian equivalent, *vrata*, are synonyms in Serbian, but their use value is not applicable to every contextual environment, because *kapija* is primarily a gate for entering a yard, and *vrata* is exclusively a door entrance to a house, building, and the like. The diminutive of the same lexeme, also originally a Turkish word, *kapıdzik* (tur. kapıcık) in the Serbian language has a similar meaning as in Turkish and refers to 'a small door'. Although the RMS dictionary does not list a meaning that is still in active use as provincialism that is represented in the territory of the southern Banat, where *kapizik* refers to an entrance gate to a courtyard intended for people, while *kapija* means a large and wide gate as the entrance to the yard, primarily intended for entry for cars and livestock. *Ćuprija* (tur. köprü) has a much more complex meaning in Serbian literary and colloquial speech than its standard synonym *most*. Thanks to Andrić and his work 'Na Drini ćuprija', the Turkish borrowing *ćuprija* was assimilated into the Serbian language as an archaism, but it remained alive as a symbol of human destinies, merging and separation. (Teodosijević 2018: 236). But *ćuprija* is not only a romantic archaism of Turkish etymology, it is also a provincialism of an active lexical fund that is very actively used in everyday speech and refers to the approach from the road to the yard that is separated by ditches. This meaning is not recorded in any normative dictionary or in any dictionaries of Turkish loanwords, which can be seen as a lexicographical injustice because it is not an archaic but a living word that will continue to be in active use.

Closely related to provincialisms are sociolects, i.e. slang words. Slang words of Turkish etymology have not been given much attention by Serbian linguistics due to various factors. It was primarily due to the fact that they can be in active use only for a certain time, while some can remain for several decades and become generally accepted, so that today they are found in colloquial usage. The slang corpus consisting of Turkish loanwords appear from those that have undergone minimal changes in their form and meaning, to those that have acquired a completely new semantic value. The largest number of slang turkisms are words from the standard language that have expanded their semantic meanings to a new one, usually through the process of metaphorization the primary meaning of the word or in obtaining a completely new meaning which origin is known only to its creator. Their semantic uses are primarily emotional and expressively marked and are related to an unconventional type of communication that aims to stay hidden from general public. Sometimes, the usage is nothing more than to reflect humorous character. Lexemes like *sırće* (tur. sirke) 'poor quality drink', *kasapın* (tur. kasap) 'bad surgeon, doctor', *kaiť* (tur. kayıř) 'extremely short skirt, mini-skirt', *tezga* (tur. tezgâh) 'part-time job for musicians', *ćartav* (tur. ćarřaf) , 'a wide, ill-tailored dress, a light summer dress', *duťmanka* (tur. kadın duřman) 'brandy, rakija', *pilićar* (tur. pilić) 'petty thief', *oleťen* (tur. leř) 'to be very drunk', *sarme* (tur. sarma) 'big, bulging eyes' are examples that turkisms have become an inseparable part of communication and portrayal of a social culture or subculture. Thus, for example, the Turkish borrowing *ćorba* (tur. ćorba) in its secondary slang meaning: 'liquid fuel, gasoline'. Although it is no longer an integral part of active lexical fund, it is closely related to the tragic period of Yugoslav history during the 90s time period caused by wars, hyperinflation, sanctions and the lack of basic means of living, including gasoline that was

diluted - hence the slang word *čorba*. This and similar slang words are deeply rooted in the collective consciousness of the Serbian people and represent a type of linguistic identity.

These and many other examples of provincialisms and slang words are of vital importance in showing the extent to which turkisms are really represented in the modern Serbian language, and whose semantic meanings are not or are partially misguided in normative lexicographical works. Turkisms as non-standard language varieties represent the complexities from the corpus of the Serbian language as well as the utility values of these lexemes in depicting the mental and moral portrayal of their speakers.

Dwelling on the topic of the use value, it is necessary to single out the category of emotionally-expressive marked Turkish loanwords found in newspaper articles which also has a significant role in preserving these loanwords from oblivion. Usually turkisms, often archaic ones, can be found in newspaper headlines as an indispensable part of effectively conveying expressions, and in most cases they carry an invective meaning. Lexemes like *kabadahija* (tur. kabadayı), *harač* (tur. haraç), *javaçluk* (tur. yavaşlık), *zulumcar* (tur. zulümkar), *dilber* (tur. dilber), *ortakluk* (tur. ortaklık) and many others appear as epithets expressing the author's critical attitude towards a certain political situation or person. What draws attention is that there are adequate Serbian equivalents for the given expressions, but they cannot convey an expressive statement as Turkish words can. Because lexemes of Turkish etymology, as already mentioned, have a deeper meaning in the collective history of the Serbian people, and thus words that are used to get more negative and dramatic effect.

All the above-mentioned turkisms are at the same time an integral part of vernacular or colloquial vocabulary and the number of semantic variables of which cannot be fully specified. Their value, as well as their meanings, which can have a reduced or expanded meaning in relation to the same lexeme in the donor language, in the modern Serbian language differs depending on the factors mentioned above, but also many others. As an example in the Turkish loanword *konak*, which is beginning to appear more and more often in translations of Turkish series into Serbian, is once again becoming an integral part of the active lexical fund, even if its use is fundamentally wrong. The Turkish word *konak* in the modern Serbian language has lost its activity and appears primarily as a part of the name of historical objects such as: *Konak kneginje Ljubice*, *Konak kneza Miloša*, *Konak Đukić*, *Gospodar Jovanov konak*, *Gospodar Vasin konak* and similar (More about this in: Aykut, 2016, p. 31-44). Today, the word *konak* is primarily associated with the meaning: 'lodging, larger house' and not, as in the past, 'mansion of a rich and respectable host, villa'. Because of that it is not always possible to use for every Turkish word its equivalent in Serbian, and the reason for that there is no equivalent use value between the given lexemes. The situation is similar with the word *leğ* (tur. leş), which in Turkish language means a dead animal, while in Serbian it primarily refers to a dead body of a person, but it is also usable for a dead animal. These examples denote that there has been a significant change in the loanword semantics of the recipient language relative to the same word in the donor language. *Čartija* (tur. çarşı) is a word that can often be heard in colloquial language and it has moved away from its original meaning. Today, especially in rural areas, it refers to 'people, main street, town square', so in expressions like: 'Idem u čartiju' (I am going to bazaar), doesn't always refer to bazaar or business district, but where a large number of people gather. In addition to this meaning, the most widespread is its figurative meaning 'public opinion, petty bourgeoisie'. While examples like the lexemes *jogurt* (tur. yoğurt) and *mantije* (tur. mantı) are Turkish loanwords which were fully assimilated in Serbian without any synonym but in reality they do not refer to the same things as in the Turkish language. *Jogurt* in the Serbian language is a dairy drink similar in structure to Turkish *ayran*. Turkish and Serbian *mantı* / *mantije* represent two completely different dishes that only have the name in common. The above-mentioned examples

represent linguistic phenomenon called false friends. This could cause a problem when translating from Turkish to Serbian and vice versa as it could lead to cross-linguistic misunderstandings during translation or oral communication which arises as a result of reflexive recognition of lexical forms. While their use value to the active lexical fund of both languages is not always applicable in a certain contextual environment.

Conclusion

Assimilated words of Turkish etymology represent an inseparable part of Serbian material and intangible heritage. Their presence in all areas of the modern Serbian language is an excellent indicator of how deeply rooted these loanwords are in the language vocabulary, i.e. how they resisted time and the purist tendencies, they remained within the passive and active lexical fund of the Serbian language.

The use value of Turkish words is certainly complex and it is not possible to give a precise categorization. In literary and film works, they appear as a stylistic marker, primarily in portraying characters and providing an authentic atmosphere. While their use in Serbian non-standard language varieties represent the complexity of the structure and semantic changes in relation to the same lexemes in the donor language.

Although a large number of Turkish words are slowly disappearing from the Serbian language or are being replaced by other words, especially in communication with younger generations, at the same time completely different tendency is noticeable. Namely, in the last few years there has been a noticeable increase in the use of archaic turkisms in pop songs. Titles of pop songs like: *Džanum* (tur. canım), *Derdan* (tur. gerdan), *Hanuma* (tur. hanım), *Teherzada* (tur. Şehrâzâd), *Behute* (tur. bihud), *Viva mahala* (tur. mahalle)¹⁸ represent loanwords from passive lexical fund that had changed their use value and they became part of everyday communication. The same tendency is also seen in reviving forgotten crafts as in traditional and oriental way of tailoring and those groups of people call themselves *terzije* (tur. terzi) and their vocabulary consists of Turkish words that have been revived through their work and creation.

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¹⁸ Mahala as colloquial word means: people from neighborhood, close friends from same part of city.

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