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Words from the Languages of Places Visited in Travelogues: Indicators of Local Culture

Gezi Notlarında Ziyaret Edilen Bölgenin Dilinden Sözcükler: Yerel Kültürün Göstergeleri

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ABSTRACT

British travelers who traveled through Bosnia and Herzegovina in the past centuries periodically used words and expressions in their travel writing that belong to the language of the places visited. This paper analyzes these linguistic elements in order to consider which entities of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian reality were marked by foreign travelers' use of native words. The analysis is based on the theory that, to a travel writer as a speaking subject, an adequacy exists between the entity of reality and the linguistic sign used to signify it. This feature is associated with the nature of the linguistic sign; more specifically, it is associated with the relationship between language and reality. The results of the analysis are evaluated within the framework of the theoretical approach that the subjects written in a travelogue as a cultural text were developed on the basis of observations and that the observations emerged from the comparison of the foreign world and the world to which the travel writer belongs. What travel writers have noted down as different in the places visited is shown to be signaled by the elements of the local language, and these linguistic forms themselves are also shown to establish a strong position in the cognitive construction of the foreign place.

Keywords: British travelers, Ottoman Empire, Habsburg Empire, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Travelogues, Local Culture, Local Language

ÖZ

Geçmiş yüzyıllarda Bosna-Hersek'e seyahatte bulunan İngiliz seyyahlar, gezi notlarında ziyaret ettikleri bölgenin diline ait bazı sözcükler kullanmışlardır. Bu makalede, Bosna-Hersek gerçek dünyasına ait unsurlardan hangilerinin İngiliz seyyahlar tarafından yerel dilin sözcükleri kullanılarak dile getirildiği incelenmektedir. İnceleme ise, konuşan bir özne olan seyyah için, nesnel gerçekliğe ait kavram ile onu işaret etmek amacıyla kullanılan dil göstergesi arasında bir uygunluk olduğu tanımına dayanmaktadır. Nesnel gerçekliği dil temsil eder, dolayısıyla konuşan bir özne için dil göstergesi gerçekliği ifade eder. Okuyucu ise, kendi dilinde yazılmış gezi notlarında anlatılan bölgeye ait dil göstergeleriyle karşılaştığı zaman bunları yabancı dil öğeleri olarak reddetmeden, yabancı bir dünya ile kendi kültürü arasında aracı olarak kabul etmektedir. Bu hususta hareketle makalede yabancı dil göstergelerinin İngilizce bir metne nasıl dahil edildiği, o metnin içinde nasıl anlam kazandıkları incelenmektedir. İnceleme sonuçları, kültürel bir metin niteliğinde olan gezi

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notlarında kaleme alınan konuların gözlemler üzerine geliştiği, gözlemler ise seyyahın yabancı dünya ile kendisinin ait olduğu dünyayı karşılaştırmasından ortaya çıktığı kuramsal yaklaşım çerçevesinde değerlendirilmektedir. Makalede seyyahın ziyaret edilen yerde kendi kültüründen farklı gördüğü nesneleri yerel dilin öğeleri ile işaret ettiği gösterilmekte, bu dilsel biçimlerin yabancı bölgenin bilişsel yapılanmasında güçlü bir konum oluşturduğu ileri sürülmektedir.
Anahtar kelimeler: İngiliz Seyyahlar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Avusturya-Macaristan İmparatorluğu, Bosna-Hersek, Seyahat Yazıları, Yerel Kültür, Yerel Dil

1. Introduction

The genre of travelogues encompasses the writings of authors who give an account of the spaces to which they've traversed and includes the cultures and traditions of the population living in the particular location, as well as demographic, ethnographic, and other traits of the area. Travel writers record the existing conditions of the areas they've visited in the manner through which they perceived that space.[1] Therefore, travelogues offer imagery of the reality in a geographic and cultural location as rendered by the travel writer's distinct vision.

Travelogues constitute the corpus of this paper that deals with the travel writings of English travelers to the Ottoman Empire. More precisely, the paper analyzes sections of travelogues that depict travelers' journeys through Bosnia and Herzegovina. The descriptions relating to Bosnia and Herzegovina have bene collated by Omer Hadžiselimović, who has published them in their original form in English in the volume titled *At the Gates of the East: British Travel Writers on Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*.[2]

Periodically, authors reference within their travelogues the destinations they've explored by employing linguistic elements native to those particular regions. This study delves into the linguistic aspects present in travel texts written in the English language. The focus lies on the terms from the historical reality of Bosnian-Herzegovinian life, particularly during the past centuries when the region had been part of the Ottoman Empire and later when it came under the protectorate of the Habsburg Monarchy after 1878. Specifically, the article examines the original lexis utilized by British travelers in their narratives and explores how this lexis vividly portrays the cultural essence of the places they visited.

According to reference books, the early modern period, particularly in England, witnessed a surge in travel activities across the known world. The abundance of published works from that era highlights the considerable interest and curiosity among the audience for news from distant lands and reflections on Great Britain's global standing.[3] During this pre-modern era, European readers particularly relished travelogues authored by European travelers who'd ventured through the Ottoman Empire.[4] These travelogues predominantly chronicled the day-to-day experiences of the travelers and offered observations on a relatively limited range of subjects. These subjects included the historical background of the visited places, the captivating allure of Eastern cities, the customs and beliefs of the Muslim world, the treatment of women,

1 Dragiša Živković, *Teorija književnosti sa teorijom pismenosti*, (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 1994), 150. Cited from Vladimir Gvozden, „Kako čitati putopis", in: ed. Saša Ilić, *Kako čitati: o strategijama čitanja tragova kulture*, (Beograd: Narodna biblioteka Srbije, 2005), 44.

2 Hadžiselimović, *At the Gates of the East*, 2001.

3 William H. Sherman, "Stirrings and searching (1500-1720)", *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, eds. P. Hume and T. Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 19. Cited from: Dean Duda, *Kultura putovanja*, (Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak, 2012), 141.

4 See e.g.: Jan Schmidt, "Kadir-i Mutlak'ın Rehberliğinde" Stephen Schultz'un Osmanlı İmparatorluğundaki Seyahati (1752-1756)", *Osmanlı Dünyası*, ed. Christine Woodhead, trans. by Gül Çağalı Güven (İstanbul: Alfa, 2018), 428-445.

and various details pertaining to daily life in the visited regions.[5]

The fact that travelogues have drawn considerable interest from readers infers that travel writing mediates between cultures. Thus, travelogues can be regarded as mediators in the areas of life about which their authors wrote, with the authors describing the aspects of foreign culture they'd observed from their own point of view. Travel writers visited places in different capacities and conditions. As a result, their experiences varied not only because they were individual but also because different strata of the foreign culture were accessible to them. Additionally, "it is reasonable to accept the idea that we cannot visit 'the same' city twice as the local dynamics constantly produce new meanings."[6] Therefore, one may expect informational diversity from a traveler primarily to the extent to which their individual abilities to observe and perceive are distinct, as well as depending on the length of stay at the place being visited, the purpose of their stay, and the historical period during which the travel took place.

The accounts of travelogues in which the travelers had visited locations throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina can be found in the book by Omer Hadžiselimović titled *At the Gates of the East: British Travel Writers on Bosnia and Herzegovina from Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*. Therefore, the changeability of the living environment is expected to affect the diversity of information. Nevertheless, this expectation should be related to the fact that the majority of travelogues dates back to the 19th century, which confirms that, in respect to mobility and compared to the previous centuries, that age represented a period of true upheaval.[7] Additionally, one should note that in the centuries preceding the 19th century, realities had changed at a much slower pace.[8] Thus, the travelers whose travel accounts may be read here predominantly inform readers about the Bosnian-Herzegovinian reality in the 19th century.

2. Methods

The subject of the travelogue is the "immediate and existing reality."[9] A travelogue reveals a world; however, it also reveals the travel writers themselves as their authors. Travel writers perceive the world they traverse and construct a text based on their personal contact with experiential reality. They act as mediators between cultures – the native world they themselves belong to and the visited location – and shape their view of that other realistically existing world.[10] In the process of linguistically shaping their observations about that realistically existing world, they call some entities by their original names. These linguistic signs of vernacular language

5 Schmidt, "Kadir-i Mutlak'ın Rehberliğinde", 428.

6 Duda, *Kultura putovanja*, 34.

7 Dean Duda, *Priča i putovanje: hrvatski romantičarski putopis kao pripovjedni žanr*, (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1998), 23. Edward Said states, for example: "...the fact that during the entire nineteenth century the Orient, and especially the Near Orient, was a favourite place for Europeans to travel and write about." Edward Said, *Orijentalizam*, trans. by Drinka Gojković (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 2000), 215.

8 Duda, *Priča i putovanje*, 24.

9 Duda, *Priča i putovanje*, 53.

10 Cf.: Duda, *Priča i putovanje*, 53.

ascribe to the travelogue factographic features that refer to what belongs to a different reality and act as signals to the reader in the native culture indicating the factuality of the journey.

To authors of travelogues, the linguistic elements they enter in their text about the visited place carry meaning; the took those meanings with them from the reality they had experienced. Together with the knowledge of a foreign reality, a traveler perceives a set of phenomena used for naming terms. In his discussion on de Saussure's postulates about a signifier as a blend of the sign and the signified, Benveniste indicated the third important term in the definition of the signifier. That third term is reality, or the referent itself which belongs to reality and is marked by a signifier.[11] The connecting of language with reality led Benveniste toward the definition that a relationship between the signifier and the signified is necessary; he interpreted the signifier and the signified as two inseparable components of linguistic sign imprinted jointly onto the speaker's spirit, with both components being evoked together on each occasion.[12] The signified and the signifier, or the mental image and acoustic image, are two sides of the same term, and the term is a part of reality; to a speaking subject, the linguistic sign covers reality.[13]

Starting from these theories, the elements of language of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian places visited in the travelogues written by British travelers from centuries past are viewed as linguistic signs that, to the author of the text, connect language and reality. To the author, adequacy exists between the linguistic sign and the entity of reality named with it.[14] Using these linguistic forms, authors express their relationship with the foreign world. Such linguistic shaping of a travel account poses a question of how this linguistic sign conveys its meaning to the sentence in the English language. Each sentence in a travel book has its reference as it relates to a specific situation; it has its meaning, and it is a part of the discourse entity. Therefore, this article is interested in how the communicational aspect of a foreign linguistic sign is achieved in a given discourse, because as Benveniste indicated, a person's spirit accepts the acoustic (or written) form that creates the notion of the term (i.e., that can be identified with the term). Otherwise, the spirit rejects it as unfamiliar or foreign.[15] Therefore, this research focuses on how the communicational aspects of foreign linguistic signs are incorporated into sentences in the English language and how their meanings are realized in the discourse entity.

3. Results and Discussion

A discourse entity requires a travel writer to consider which image of the visited place they will construct and address to their native culture by actualizing the linguistic elements belonging to that place. Authors of a travelogue compare the foreign world with their own;

11 Benveniste, *Problemi opšte lingvistike*, 56.
12 Benveniste, *Problemi opšte lingvistike*, 57.
13 Benveniste, *Problemi opšte lingvistike*, 58.
14 Cf.: Benveniste, *Problemi opšte lingvistike*, 58.
15 Benveniste, *Problemi opšte lingvistike*, 58.

their own observations arise from the comparison that makes places constant in their discourse.[16] The presence of the linguistic elements of a visited place gives the travelogue a dimension of objectivity, as these elements credibly refer to reality. The traveler's choice to record them connects them with subjectivity. Moreover, these linguistic elements are an expression of the traveler's spirit, observations, experiences, and feelings.[17] The traveler holds a multifaceted role in the travelogue discourse. They are both the subject of action as the one traveling, the subject of observation by acting as the keen observer, and the subject of expression by taking on the role of storyteller. These intertwined roles shape the narrative and contribute to the unique perspective presented in a travelogue.[18]

The local language elements are analyzed with the aim of exploring the circumstances in which foreign travelers opted them in their travelogue discourse.

3.1. What Travelers Need on their Journey

3.1.1. Guesthouse

In all the travelogues presented in the book *At the Gates of the East*, the word *han* (also *khan*) is used to refer to the buildings that served as the places where travelers would stop to spend the night and from where they would continue their journey. Several examples are found from the travelogues written by different authors, such as: "At the foot of one of them is a Cane,[19] but we pitched by it (p. 8)…[20] I returned to a *han*, and crossed over early the following morning (p. 55)… We reached a *han* in about an hour (p. 117)."

In the English text, the word *han* is perceived as unfamiliar and foreign. However, the reader of the travelogue understands that this unfamiliar word serves a purpose in distinguishing and identifying a specific entity. As a result, this new word is juxtaposed against the familiar context of the remaining text.[21]

The linguistic consequence of this juxtaposition is that the unfamiliar word becomes integrated into the grammatical structure of the sentence, and its meaning is comprehended within contextual clues.[22] In the examples given, the word *han* is surrounded by verbs related to arrival and stay, such as reach, return, and pitch. Within the thematic structure of the

16 Cf.: Duda, *Priča i putovanje*, 12.

17 Cf.: Bernisa Puriš, "Citati kao intertekstualni stilemi u putopisima Alije Isakovića", *Post Scriptum* 6-7 (2018), 67.

18 Dean Duda, "Figure u opisu prostora", *Tropi i figure*, eds. Benčić, Ž. and Fališevac, D., (Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti, 1995), 434. Cited from: Bernisa Puriš, *Stilistika bosanskohercegovačkog putopisa XX vijeka*, (Doctoral thesis, Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Sarajevo, 2013), 55.

19 It is only in this travel book that the word *han* is recorded in the above manner.

20 The bracketed numbers next to the citations indicate pages where the text cited can be found in Hadžiselimović's book *At the Gates of the East: British Travel Writers on Bosnia and Herzegovina from Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*.

21 Cf.: John R. Searle, *Govorni činovi: ogledi iz filozofije jezika*, trans. by Mirjana Đukić (Beograd: Nolit, 1991), 134.

22 Cf.: Boris Uspenski, *Ego loquens: jezik i komunikacioni prostor*, trans. by Radmila Mečanin (Novi Sad: Akademska knjiga, 2012), 229.

travelogue, the term *han* carries the meaning of an inn, resting place, or lodging, which aligns with the genre's typical context.[23]

The combination of this specific context and the lexical environment surrounding the word *han* ensures that the reader gains a comprehensive understanding of the description. In turn, this evokes a mental image in the reader's consciousness, as they imagine the object or place described based on their interpretation of "the situation they consider typical" within the context of the travelogue. [24]

Foreign travelers perceived this kind of lodging as *han*, which is why this local name appears consistently in their texts. Below is the description of a *han* by James Creagh[25] from Ireland when he visited Bosnia in 1875:

The extension of railways will cause Kissaylieu to rival, perhaps to eclipse, the most celebrated watering-places of France and Germany; and a far-seeing and prophetic Greek, in anticipation of those events, has built a vast Han *with an establishment of baths, close by. This construction is the great sight of the place; but, as it never occurred to the spectator that a comfortable hotel, rather than a Turkish* Han*, would be much more suitable to the wants of those Western visitors from whose pockets he expects to reimburse his outlay, I thought of the text, "To the Greeks foolishness"* (p. 327).

This note about a new *han* in Kiseljak has been set in a comparative framework: the Turkish *Han* is not a comfortable hotel. While the above comparative description of the *Han* seems explanatory, the one recorded earlier (back in 1861) by Goerge Arbuthnot is extremely judgmental: "*Han* is a painful mockery of the word hotel, as it is often translated" (p. 133). This author reports that some travelers use the word hotel to mean a Turkish *han*. The disagreement with such an action is a result of his perception of the entity of reality he mentions. However, a different approach by other travel writers is not simply a matter of their observations and subjective opinions; instead, it may be associated with their relationship toward the text. As Vladimir Gvozden stated, to those writers "the central issue is writing travelogues and not conveying objective facts."[26]

From among the authors whose travelogues this paper analyzes, only James Creagh used the word hotel to mean *han*; however, he used it not on its own but as a synonymous pairing of the word *han* connected by the conjunction "or". This is what the author wrote in his account, giving his perception of *han* as: "His *han* or hotel, resembled those establishments so amusingly described in *Don Quixote*" (p. 160).

23 The basic narrative structure of a travelogue consists of the sequence departure – travel – arrival, which may be expanded by adding the final event paragraph travel – return. For more on this, see Duda, *Priča i putovanje*, 54. In such a narrative structure, the "inn", "resting place", "lodging" has a high frequency of occurrence, and is taken as a thematic word. See: Krunoslav Pranjić, *Jezik i književno djelo*, (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1968), 128.

24 Cf.: Uspenski, *Ego loquens*, 201.

25 James Creagh was a professional soldier who traversed Bosnia in the summer of 1875. He describes his experience in a book titled Over the Borders of Christendomand Eslamiah (1876). See: Hadžiselimović, *At the Gates of the East*, xxiii.

26 Gvozden, "Kako čitati putopis", 48.

The author appears to have not used "hotel" in this description primarily for communicative reasons to explain to readers the meaning of the word *han* but rather to present to them his own perception of the "establishment".

In the account which states, "We contrived as often as possible to halt for our midday repast at one of the *Hans*, which are substitutes for inns and are pretty frequently met with," (p. 66) the clause "which are substitutes for inns" explicates the semantic content of the word *han*, or describes more precisely one aspect of that establishment.

In another example: "For although there are *Han*s and *Karaoul*s as resting places, they are so few" (p. 99) the phrase "as resting places" depicts the semantic content of *han*, and along with this word originating from the language of the place visited, the word *Karaoul* appears with roughly the same meaning. Searle refers to such "specific descriptions" that denote a word as descriptors.[27] Descriptors are used to present a referent in order for the reader to be able to mentally shape what is being discussed.

Some other terms associated with *han* were also expressed with the original word. The most frequent such terms are *hanji*, the person who keeps a *han* as the owner or renter.[28] The word *hisab* also appears with the meaning of bill, for which Edmund Spencer[29] states "is always insignificant, and the people's honesty extraordinary" (p. 101). In any case, this account informs the reader that a *han* was a stable form of accommodation for a fee.[30]

Fox, who travelled to Istanbul via Bosnia and Serbia in 1589, also mentioned payment for an overnight stay.[31] He recorded the following: "in these lands there are no inns where a traveler could stay overnight, except some large and expensive houses called *caravanserais*" (p. 4). This is the only mention of *caravanserai*, a great *han* which could accommodate entire caravans.

3.1.2. Documents

The travelogue author James Henry Skene visited Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1851. In his accounts, he states that the Ottoman Governor of Bosnia Omer Pasha issued to him "a *Buyrultu*, or general order to all the authorities in European Turkey to meet my wishes in every way" (p. 49). The semantic content of the original title of the document, *Buyrultu*, was presented by the author in the form of a sentential segment connected to the unfamiliar word with the conjunction "or". The same author recorded the title of another document as *teskere*, which he needed on the occasion of touring Travnik Castle. He interpreted the meaning in the same manner: "*teskere*, or order from the pasha" (p. 397).

27 Searle, *Govorni činovi*, 145.

28 Travel writers used different spelling for this word: *hanji, khandji, khanjee*.

29 Edmund Spencer made two separate visits to Bosnia: the first in 1847 and the second in 1850. See. Hadžiselimović, *At the Gates of the East*, xxii.

30 For more on accommodation and stay on journeys in the Middle Ages and then the New Age see Duda, *Kultura putovanja*, 123 onwards.

31 We only know that his surname was Fox and that he was traveling as a servant to Henry Cavendish, a man of high birth and of some distinction in Elizabethan England. See: Hadžiselimović, *At the Gates of the East*, xvii.

Ten years later on a trip through Bosnia, George Arbuthnot was also in possession of a *buyrultu* issued to him by Omer Pasha. As opposed to Skene, this author did not direct the reader to the meaning of the word, which he had recorded as *buruhltee*, most certainly believing the meaning to be clear contextually:[32] "My English blood and Omer Pasha's *Buruhltee* insured me advice and assistance" (p. 129).

3.1.3. Food

Among the different situations they came across on their travels, the travelers occasionally recorded their observations about the food in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The local expressions they used to describe their meals exemplify both the cultural diversity and their reference to something out of the ordinary. James Henry Skene wrote that in Bijeljina, he had "*pilaf* with *iaurt* for lunch," and he informs the reader that it was a meal consisting of "rice and sour milk" (p. 102): "For dinner I had *pilaf* with *iaurt* that is rice and sour milk – a palatable combination" (p. 101). In the accounts of such content, more than in any others, expressions may be encountered in which the author presents his individual judgment, as is the case here, where the combination of rice and sour milk is judged as delicious. For example, Edmund Spencer said, "*kiema-kibab*, a species of mutton cutlet are [sic] excellent" (p. 303).

The travelers, who are the authors of these travel books, had a habit of qualifying food, which confirms the words of Delgad Salazar that stated through his every bite, a man daily lives his two-fold position of a cultural and biological being: "eating represents meditating/digesting food in a culturally mature fashion."[33] Edmund Spencer was one who wrote about food more elaborately than other travelers. This author recorded another type of kebab, *schish-kiebab*, to be one of the most favorite dishes among the travelers from Western Europe: "One of the most favoured dishes with the traveler from Western Europe is the *schish-kiebab*" (p. 302). This same author mentioned that *baclava* is the most popular of all desserts (p. 303). By leaving the original word of a sweet dish in the text without referring to its meaning, the author most likely believed that the expression was familiar to the readership. However, this cannot be said to be true for *kaimakdja*, a dessert the author mentioned in a narrative sequence and described as a "*kaimakdja*, a compound of eggs, milk and honey to mention a sweet dish called *halan*" (p. 303). As the author did not interpret what dish it was, on can only assume it to have been *halva*.

In reference to drinks served with food and in addition to wine and plum spirit, Spencer recorded *slivovitza* (p. 303), but he made a mistake when he described it as "a spirit made

32 It is worth mentioning that the editor interpreted the meaning of this word to a contemporary reader in a footnote as follows: *a written order of reference issued by a pasha or vali (governor)*. Hadžiselimović, *At the Gates of the East*, 198.

33 R. Delgado Salazar, "Comida y cultura: identidad y significado en el mundo contemporáneo", *Estudios de Asia y África* 36/1 (2001), 84. Cited from: Mirjana M. Sekulić, "Hrana u putopisima: mogućnosti spoznaje španskog identiteta" [Food in Travelogues: Possibilities of Understanding Spanish Identity], *Nasleđe* 36 (2017), 38.

from corn." This drink is accurately described in a travelogue written by a group of British passengers (*A Ride through Bosnia*),[34] mentioning how Bosnia has many plum orchards "from whose fruit the peasants distil a favourite beverage called *slivovitza*" (p. 142). Plum is also referred to as Bosnian fruit by Paulina Irby,[35] who stated it to be used for making "plum jam or syrup: The Begs make a festivity of the time of boiling down plums for *bestilj*, or plum syrup" (p. 367). The author's selection of the synonymous pairing with syrup does not convey the meaning of *bestilj*, which is a thick plum marmalade. Nevertheless, judging by its reference, one may assume the author to be talking about compote or the sweet beverage prepared by dissolving some *bestilj* in water and consuming it that way.[36]

Although Edmund Spencer was predominantly occupied by food that was different from the food in his native country, he pointed out the similarity of food shared by a Bosnian peasant and Scottish highlander. There, he recorded the word *kasha* from the local language: "In the higher ranges of the mountains of Bosnia, the peasants, like the Highlanders of Scotland, make oatmeal into cakes and porridge, which they call *kasha*" (p. 304).

A travelogue by Arthur J. Patterson[37] also has references about the food that less wealthy people used to eat. He records the word *kasha* noting that "*rayahs* live largely on some kind of thick oatmeal porridge." This information is expanded by adding that *kasha* is "seasoned with the *koulia*, a soup made of milk and flour," thus referring to another word from the local language (*kulja*)[38] with an appropriate descriptor: "*Rayahs* live largely on *kascha*, a kind of thick oatmeal porridge, seasoned with the *koulia*, a soup made of milk and flour" (p. 66).

Furthermore, Patterson mentioned that, unless a traveler has their own supply of food, they must be prepared to live off *pita* or *tanka*. This food, to which the author referred with two local words, "is made of corn and rye flour." The author further stated it to be a type of bread similar to that referred to as black by Russians: "*pita* or *tanka*, cakes made of maize and rye – black bread in fact, as we used to call it in Russian" (p. 66). This is an interesting example as it reveals the author as a comparativist comparing different foreign milieus to transmit knowledge to his native culture.

34 The anonymous author of the article "A Ride through Bosnia" published in *Fraser's Magazine* (London) in November 1875, traveled about the middle of that year in a group surveying the railroads built to the order of the Ottoman government in the European part of Türkiye by Baron Hirsh's *Société Impériale*. Hadžiselimović, *At the Gates of the East*, 65.

35 Adeline Paulina Irby, 1831-1911.

36 The word *bestilj* is still used in the Bosnian language to denote thick plumb marmalade. It is a Turkish loan word, originating from the Turkish language. It is considered to be originally the word *pestil*. See: Abdulah Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom-hrvatskosrpskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1985), 139; Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1971), 141.

37 Arthur J. Patterson (1835-1899) was a professor of English and one of founders of the Department of English at the University of Budapest. See: Hadžiselimović, *At the Gates of the East*, 56.

38 *Kulja* is one of the names for *kachamak*, a better-known term for a consistent dish prepared by cooking corn flour in water and spiced with butter and milk. See: Miodrag S. Lalević, *Sinonimi i srodne reči srpskohrvatskoga jezika (bez gramatike i rečnika)* (Beograd: Nolit, 2004), 276.

In the accounts where travelers' attention is focused on the food, they occasionally testified to the spaces where the meals were served. For example, Arthur J. Patterson wrote that in better *hans*, one can have *kimack*, the food he identified as "a sort of thick clotted milk" (p. 66). While the sociologist of everyday life Maffesoli remarked, "public eating spaces are spaces which offer a possibility to get into contact on a journey with those representing alterity."[39] In his 16th-century volume *Of Travel*, Francis Bacon mentioned among his recommendations regarding etiquette that a traveler "should stay away from his fellowmen and eat at the inns where he will find a good company of local people."[40]

A. G. Hulme-Beaman mentions *mehana* in his account "It was some time before we reached the next *mehana*" (p. 165) as a space where he had a lavish breakfast with his companion Heinrich, while William Miller mentioned the Turkish *kavana* in his record: "Mouslims delight to come and take their ease over their coffee, supplied from a Turkish *kavana*" (p. 281).

3.2. Persons Encountered by Travelers

3.2.1. Addressing with anthroponyms and titles

In these travel accounts, travelers through Bosnia and Herzegovina mentioned the people they encountered, talked to, travelled, and spent time with. These persons are addressed using anthroponyms and titles. The title *beg/bey* occurs rather frequently as an indicator of the social status of local people and their membership to nobility. For instance, travel writer James Henry Skene mentioned how he had been informed about the meaning and use of this title in Bosnia:

I was accompanied on this walk by one of Mudir's armed retainers, whom, though clothed almost in rags, I heard Haireddin addressing as "Ali Bey*." I asked why he called him bey. He replied that he was a* bey*, and that his father's grandfather, and ancestors, from time immemorial, had all been* beys*; and he explained that this was the representative of one of the ancient feudal families, reduced to poverty by the abolition of their privileges* (p. 50).

In this paragraph, the author successfully rendered his knowledge to the readers, those who hold that expectation of his work. When corresponded with reality, the title *beg/bey* was inevitably an integral part of the anthroponym of the local culture. It indicated membership of leaders in a given community. For example, Edmund Spencer mentioned the title *beg/bey* along with the name of the person he calls his friend and with whom he travelled on a leg of his journey: "my enterprising friend Veli *Bey*"[41] (p. 39) and "enabled Veli *Bey* to obtain accurate information of the state of the country" (p. 40). The author's reference to the title alongside the

39 Michel Maffesoli, *El Tiempo De Las Tribus*: *El ocaso del individualismo en las sociedades posmodernas*, (México: Siglo XXI editores, 2004), 53. Cited from: Sekulić, "Hrana u putopisima", 38.

40 Francis Bacon, *Eseji ili saveti, politički i moralni*, trans. by Borivoj Nedić, (Beograd: Matica srpska, 1952), 69. Cited from: Duda, *Kultura putovanja*, 160.

41 In the text in English, this title is spelled as *bey*, which is its modern variant, predominant in the Turkish language in the 19th century.

first name reflects his solidarity with members of a different culture. In the above examples, it serves the purpose of stabilizing a friendly relationship.

Mutual solidarity among the holders of different cultural values is evident when a guest is addressed with a title from the local culture. In a conversation between his companion Hajrudin and the owner of the *han,* James Henry Skene discerned that he was addressed as *Inghilis Bey*: "He went on alone, and I heard him talking with someone, often repeating the words *Inghilis Bey*" (p. 115). In this example, the title of a nobleman, the *bey*, is used to refer to a person who is not directly engaged in communication. On the other hand, the travel writer signaled with an authentic form of endonym that the address *Inghilis Bey* is a local expression. By introducing such an address into his text, the author indicated that he accepts the formula. Furthermore, he continued to use it in that narrative sequence as an auto-referential expression as follows: "I understood that it had only been the old slaves who had given up their room to the *Inghilis Bey*"(p. 117) and "She threw me a glance from beneath her *yashmack*, evidently recognizant of the *Inghilis Bey*" (p. 118). By referring to himself from the point of view of the locals, the travel writer demonstrated his orientation toward interacting with the local culture in the above-described situation.

At times, travel writers made mention of local inhabitants in their narratives using only their titles, such as *aga* or *beg*/*bey*, without including their first names. The writers had encountered these individuals during their journeys, but no significant contact or interaction was established with them. In such accounts, the surrounding text plays a crucial role in conveying the meaning behind these titles. Here are several examples from the writings of various travel authors: "A Bosnian *Aga* was riding slowly along the shore on his ambling palfrey, with his white *turban* binding his shaven brows" (p. 45) and "And here and there saw fine-looking *beg* riding a well-groomed steed" (p. 89).

Addressing people with only the anthroponym can be found only in the travel book by James Henry Skene, where the author mentions his companion Hajrudin, "his trusty Bosniac" (p. 115). This is a person with whom the author directly communicates as his employee. However, he refers to his servant as "Osman-*aga*," using the first name and the title *aga*. This addressment reflects the travel writer's solidarity with the local culture in which addressing his elderly servant, or any one serving an eminent person, as *aga* was customary.[42] This is Skene's account: "I could hardly believe I was an Englishman when I saw myself thus riding with Osman *Aga* and Haireddin" (p. 101).

In travelogues, women are not typically referred to by their first names. Instead, the travel writers often mention the women they encountered on their journey using the common noun "wife," except in one instance where a different term (*hanum*) was employed. The woman referred to as *hanum* was described as "young and well dressed," with a striking appearance, possessing "a beautiful face, two big blue eyes, and red baggy *sirwal*s." Additionally, she is seen with several fine, richly caparisoned horses (p. 116). The travel writer draws attention to the uniqueness of this particular woman by using the synonymous pairing of lady when

42 Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-ı Türkî*, haz. Paşa Yavuzarslan (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2015), 31.

introducing the term *hanum*, thus emphasizing her distinguished status or significance in the context of the travelogue: "…but my knight-errantry was quieted by the remark that the *hanum* or lady, had nine saddle-horses" (p. 117). Further in this narrative sequence, the author referred to that same female person by using only the expression *hanum*: "When leaving it, I had the satisfaction of seeing the *hanum* arrive with her suite" (p. 118).

In his travelogue, E. Spencer informed the reader that *hadjis* are people who have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca (p. 245): "Beards are only worn by *Hadjis*, who have made a pilgrimage to Mecca" (p. 301). Other authors mention this title as an integral part of the anthroponym: "*Hadji* Abderrahman" (p. 320) and "*Hadji* Rizvan *Beg*" (p. 378).

The mention of *hodja* is encountered in the text by Arthur J. Patterson. The travel writer recorded that, on his way to a mosque in Bihać, which he had wanted to visit together with his companion, he came across a *hodja* and added the clarification that this is the title used for addressing the people who lead the prayers: "On our way to the mosque we fell in with one of the *hodjas*, as the persons who recite the prayers are called" (p. 61). No similar explanation was made for the word *muezzin*, however, it is always mentioned in the context of climbing the minarets and the call for prayer, which is key for conveying the meaning of this word: "The voice of a *Muezzin*, from the top of a tapering minaret" (p. 156). At this point, from among the other terms related to Islamic faith, James Henry Skene is worth mentioning as having recorded prayer as *namaz* and as having interpreted its meaning with a corresponding expression in English: "Ahmed Pasha went to say his *namaz*, or prayer, in the next room" (p. 325).

Bandits were a constant threat on a journey at the time when these travelogues were written. They are mentioned in all travelogues as *haiducs* or *ouskoks*. The following is one such example: "In the mountains, the traveler must be on the look-out for those daring children of the mist – the *Haiducs* and *Ouskoks*" (p. 99). The travel writer introduced lexemes from the local language in the sentence in English as additional referent expressions together with the phrase "daring children of the mist" which is in a metaphorical relationship with the the metaphors *Haiduc* and *Ouskoks*. Therefore, the semantic content of the lexeme from the local language in this example is not directly explicit, but their denotative dimension is composed of the contextual situation shaped by the recommendation to a traveler of the need to be cautious in the mountains.

Edmund Spencer wrote as follows: "It is more probable that the *Haiduc* or the *Ouskok*, the shepherd or the *Kiraidji*, will sit down by your side [...] help himself to your dinner" (p. 100). Describing an event as specific for a place he had visited, Spencer addressed the participants with their original titles with one exception – for *pastir*, he used the equivalent word in English: "shepherd". This example illustrates the author's use of a foreign linguistic sign when that expression is equivalent to the entity from a reality with which he is familiar. In this case, these words were *haiduc*, *ouskok*, and *kiraidji*.[43]

43 *Kiraidjis* were wheelwrights who rented carriages and transported passengers; therefore, such a word may be expected as a thematic word in the travel books of the time. It was used by other travel writers in their texts. It is worth noting here that we did not find in the texts a definition of the term *kiriaidji*.

3.2.2. Reference by peoples' titles

In the travel books that have been considered, a significant amount of the local lexicon is composed of titles. The texts have referred to *sultans*, *pashas*, *vizirs*, *muftis, kadis*, and *janissaries*. Texts abound with titles. Therefore, a variety of ways exist in which they have been incorporated into the text.

Authors often conveyed the meaning of a title by using the lexical pair they had chosen as a synonym of the local word, as in the following examples: "...and saying that a *kiaya*, or a steward always wears a pelisse (p. 323); "…an officer soon appeared to conduct me to the *konak* of *Kaimacam*, or lieutenant-governor" (p. 113); "...with his *Malmudir*, the chief of the Administrators" (p. 390); "I was surprised to find so few Jews at Mostar, the only three being the *Saraf* (banker) of the Vizir, his attendant, and a servant" (p. 241); "...but kept in view by a *zaptieh* or native policeman" (p. 66); and "... we hayred a *gennysary*, one of Turke's guard, to conduct us to Constantynople" (p. 5).[44]

In the above examples, two titles from different languages placed next to one another denote the same identity in reality. A synonymous pair was unable to be found for the title *Sheik-ul-Islam* and *mufti*, so their meaning was interpreted using a descriptor: "*Sheik-ul-Islam*, or a head of the Mohammedan hierarchy at" Contsantynople (p. 280) and "*Mufti*, or doctor of Mahometan law" (p. 408).

Very often, reference is made only using the title, while the meaning is conveyed in the contextual environment. When James Henry Skene wrote, "I sent Osman *Aga* with my letter to the *pasha* governing the district" (p. 245), he clearly inferred *pasha* to be the title of the district governor. The title indicates the position of its holder in the hierarchy of society. In Searle's theory on referent expressions, he defined title as a grammatical expression which on one hand flows into a specific description and on the other to the first name.[45] In the above example, the title *pasha* contains everything that is necessary to identify the person holding the title.

The following are some additional examples from different travel books in which government representatives are named by the office they hold: "The *Caddee* sent us twenty men to watch with us all night... (p. 7); ... and villages are placed at the foot of the hill, round its entire circumference. The most important of these is the seat of a *Mudir* (p. 126).

By choosing the local word as the referent expression, a distance is shown toward the dignitary on account of his position in the social hierarchy. Additionally, it is a demonstration of cultural distance. The author is in the same space and time as the dignitary to whom he refers and is in contact with the dignitary, directly or indirectly. The original titles contribute to the authenticity of the experienced event being narrated, ensuring at the same time a factographic level to the travelogue.

44 This is the only example where travel writer Fox interprets the word *janissary*. It was used by other travel writers without indicating its meaning. For instance, James Henry Skene writes about Osman-aga: *He was the son of a rich grandee of Trebisond, who, being an affiliated Janissary* (p. 48).

45 Searle, *Govorni činovi*, 154.

Occasionally, a high dignitary is referred to both by their first name and title. The following appears in *A Ride through Bosnia*, which dates back to 1875: We had been asked to dine with his Excellency Dervish *Pasha*, the *Vali* or Governor-General of Bosnia (p. 261). In a reference such as this, just the first name is insufficient regardless of its usefulness for identifying the person, because the travel writer and the reader of the travelogue do not share the same context. The use of the title emphasizes the features relevant to the identity of the person to whom the writer has referred. Therefore, titles are an important referential expression.[46] In this example of a complex referential expression, the first name indicates a smaller distance to be present between addresser and the person being mentioned where the relationship between them is not strictly formal.

3.2.3. Attire

The observations travel writers made about clothing in the countries they'd visited hold significant importance in terms of shaping the image of the local population within travel books. Travel books authored by British travelers exploring Bosnia and Herzegovina, even often include detailed descriptions of the attire worn by the local people. In these descriptions, *fez* in particular stands out as an original term used to refer to a particular item of clothing. For instance, while sharing the initial impressions of the place known as Metković that had been reached from Dalmatia, Robert Dunkin[47] noted a notable characteristic of the local population to be that almost all men wear a *fez*. He went on to highlight how the *fez* serves as the first indication of one's proximity to Türkiye (p. 85).

Fez is recorded by almost all travel writers without referring to the meaning of the word, which indicates that the readers of travel books might have been familiar with the expression. Some British travel writers informed readers how a headdress in the shape of a *fez* is an integral part of the clothing of not only Muslims but also Christians: Both vicar and curate wore moustachios, and the flat-topped red *fez*, which distinguishes their profession" (p. 127). When William Miller travelled throughout Bosnia in the last decades of the 19th century, he noted the railway men of the time to wear a *fez*.[48] This is the travel writer's description of a railway man: "The smart railway guard with his picturesque *fez* gives you a martial salute as he examines your ticket" (p. 88).

Another type of headdress worn by men in Bosnia is recorded by travel writers as a *turban*. It is actually a *fez* wrapped in thin cloth. The name *turban* is a European loanword from Turkish,[49] which is a modified form of the Persian word *dülbent*.[50] The British travelers used it

46 Cf.: Searle, *Govorni činovi*, 158.

47 Robert Dunkin, a hunter and camper, wrote a book entitled *In the Land of the Bora, or Camp Life and Sport in Dalmatia and the Herzegovina, 1894-5-6* (London 1897).

48 Author and journalist William Miller (1864-1945) travelled in the Balkans between 1894 and 1898.

49 Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik*, 521.

50 Sami, *Kamus-ı Türkî*, 282.

without any referent meaning, with "voluminous *turbans* (p. 67)" and "enormous *turbans*" (p. 70) being mentioned as integral parts of "flowing robes of many colours" (p. 67) or "flowing silk robes of gaudy colours" (p. 70). These robes are the image of "dignified Easterners" (p. 67). Andrew Archibald Paton[51] was one travel writer who'd visited Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1847. He compared small white *turbans* worn by men in the Bosnian city of Bihać with those worn by Berbers: "On the other side of which was a crowd of Moslems, in small white *turbans* of a Barbary fashion, and quite unlike the ample folds of the Asiatic" (p. 36). Similar to travel writer Patterson, who'd compared Bosnian bread to Russian black bread, Paton also constructed the image of one portion of the Bosnian population by comparing their headdresses with those worn by members of some other population of the world.

Harry C. Thomson[52] commented in his travelogue on the status of women in Bosnian society and made some records in the narrative entity about women's clothing. The author indicated how, outside of the house, a woman "must envelope herself in a long cloak called a *feredje*,[53] which covers her from head to foot, and a *yashmak*, or veil, to conceal her face" (p. 298).[54] From among the words originating from the Slavic languages, *opanke* are mentioned as a type of footwear: "Some sportsmen use the native *opanke*" (p. 180), as Robert Dunkin recorded in a passage where he comments on footwear that is suitable for walking around Herzegovina and Dalmatia. Describing a piece of clothing worn by the local people, H. C. Thomson recorded the original word *opanke* and added a descriptor: "*opankas* or rough, heelless shoes with turned-up toes" (p. 308).

3.3. Places Travelers Travelled Through

3.3.1. Referring to toponyms

In travel writers' narrations, they mention the names of different destinations that testify to their itinerary. Toponyms are recorded in the original form, which is quite predictable. These would not have been relevant to this analysis had it not been for the notes where authors translated the toponym into their own language and used the translated name as a referential expression alongside the original name. James Henry Skene recorded the Bosnian-Herzegovinian location of Kiseljak under its then name of *Ekşisu* and added the translation of the toponym into English as follows: *At* Ekshisu *the* khan *was more than usually cleanly and extensive. This was owing to the vicinity of a mineral spring, which is much sought in summer, and which gives the name of Sour Water to the place; for such is the translation of its Turkish appellation* (p. 112).

51 Andrew Archibald Paton (1811-1874) was a diplomat.

52 Harry Craufuird Thomson (1856-1940), a special war correspondent for *The Times*, visited Bosnia probably in the summer of 1896.

53 *Feredje* is the form in the Bosnian language of the Turkish loanword *ferāce*. Škaljić, *Turcizmi*, 279.

54 *Feredje* and *jashmak* are mentioned in some other travel books as types of women's clothing, for an example here, see: *feregi* (p. 241), *feredje* (p. 316), *yashmak* (p. 118, p. 302, p. 316).

In Searle's words, to a travel writer, "the descriptive foundation of both of these names" (original and translated) is "authentic for the same establishment", namely how one contains the other.[55] However, only one of these referential expressions is a toponym, with the translation explicating the semantic content of the name. The translation is possible, though, because the proper name originates from a description identifying the place by some of its features, and therefore its sense is straightforward.[56] Alongside the primary referent *Ekshisu* and its translation within the clause "which gives the name of Sour Water to the place", the travel writer introduced the secondary referent "vicinity of a mineral spring" to refer to "Sour Water".

Examples of translated proper names may also be found in other travelogues written by British travel writers. These are realized as phrases or individual words used to present meaning. The travel book *A Ride through Bosnia* contains an erroneous record of the then name of the place Jezero close to Jajce. The name was *Göl Hisar*, but the travel book contained the name "*Gul [Gül] Hisar*".[57] Consequently, neither the name nor its translation into English actually reflect the name of the place Jezero: "the picturesque little village of *Gul Hissa* or the Castle of Roses" (p. 144).

The analyzed travel books can be observed to also contain a double naming of the same toponym. One expression is the official name of the town, while the other is the name used by the locals. For instance, George Arbuthnot named Sarajevo this way, as followingly illustrated: "...to Bosna Serai or *Sarayevo*, as it is called in the vernacular" (p. 129). The uniqueness of proper names and their "vast pragmatic suitability" as Searle reported lies in the fact that they enable public reference to establishments while leaving the identity of the establishment and its descriptive features unquestionable.[58] However, the use of two names to refer to one place, even though those might be two variants of one and the same name, imposes the need for the pragmatic-communicative aspect and its other variants. To that end, the author in the above example introduced a descriptor realized by the clause "as it is called in the vernacular." This descriptor does not affect the identity or features of the named place, but rather represents a linguistic piece of information about a parallel referent expression.

In *A Ride through Bosnia* as well, Sarajevo is referred to with both the above-mentioned names, only from the opposite point of view. Namely, the order of the two in the text is the opposite of Arbuthnot's, with the first reference being the local expression followed by the official name. Therefore, the descriptor with the pragmatic-communicative function here has different content. In both of the examples described, though, the descriptive foundation is the same and the travel writers are evidently referring to the same thing: "We were now drawing near the chief town of Bosnia, *Seraijevo*, or *Bosna-Serai*, as it is called by the Turks" (p. 141).

55 Cf.: Searle, *Govorni činovi*, 261.

56 Searle, *Govorni činovi*, 261.

57 We assume that this is a result of reading the first word in the name of the place because both words *göl* (lake) and *gül* (rose) in Arabic are recorded with the same graphemes (kef-vav-lam). The sources do not indicate that there is a village or a settlement by the name *Gul Hisar* (or *Gül Hisar*).

58 Searle, *Govorni činovi*, 262.

The situation is different with the descriptor "the capital of Bosnia" that is present in the latter example. Rather than being a grammatical tool for identification, it has a geographical sense and indicates the features with a proper name of the named term. This descriptor serves the purpose of identifying in case the proper name is not sufficient for fulfilling the purpose of identifying the term.

The travel book by Edmund Spencer contains the following: "... that separate *Novi-bazar* from *Bosna-Serai*, better known to the European reader as *Sarievo*, the capital of Bosnia" (p. 39). Here, the identifying description appears as a prerequisite for the reference to "the capital of Bosnia" that is to be accepted because of the reference made with the unfamiliar (or less familiar) name *Bosna-Serai*.[59] As Searle said, "stating a name conveys a certain position to the reader and it is not necessary for both to give the same identifying description, on the condition that their descriptions are indeed truthful for the same object."[60]

3.4. Some Aspects of Social Life

Robert Munro[61] used the word *tcharsheeya* in his text to conveys the following meaning with a descriptor: "*Čaršija*, the true city and business place of the Mohammedan world of *Sarajevo*" (p. 270). Meanwhile, E. B. Lanin[62] added *bazaar* as another term alongside *tcharsheeya* to make a synonymous pair: "The coffee-houses and the *Tcharsheeya* or *bazaar* are central points of urban life" (p. 266). Paulina Irby interpreted the meaning of *tcharsheeya* using the expression market place (p. 369), which she added in parentheses. In Robert Munro's description of the Sarajevo *tcharsheeya*, he noted how its eastern section has a Turkish reading room and added its original name in parentheses: "Turkish reading-hall (*Kiraet-Han*)" (p. 271).

From among the buildings in Bosnian-Herzegovinian locales, British travelers mentioned *konak* using the original name. It is a residence of a local governor, as Arthur J. Evans[63] informs the readers of his travelogue in a footnote: "The usual name given to the residence of a Turkish official" (p. 194, footnote 58) accompanying his account "As the *Mudir* was not at home, we had to wait in the front room of his *Konak*" (p. 73). This is also the only example of an interpretation of the meaning of the word. In other texts, the meaning is rendered in the contextual environment: "An officer soon appeared to conduct me to the *konak* of *Kaimacam*, or lieutenant-governor" (p. 113) and "In the morning I paid my visit to Fehim *Pasha* in old *konak*" (p. 388).

In the travelogue of journalist and publicist William Miller, the word *turbe* has been recorded. On his visit to Eastern Bosnia in the late 19th century, he was in a group "*Bezirkvorsteher* took to the main mosque and to two *türbeh*, in one of which is the tomb of the great Bosniak, Sinan *Pasha*, who was a native of this place" (p. 91).

59 Searle, *Govorni činovi*, 257.
60 Searle, *Govorni činovi*, 261.
61 The archaeologist and anthropologist Robert Munro (1835-1920) came to the congress of archaeologists and anthropologists held in Sarajevo in Auhgust 1894. See: Hadžiselimović, *At the Gates of the East*, 166.
62 This is a pseudonym of journalist Emille Joseph Dillon. See: Hadžiselimović, *At the Gates of the East*, 265.
63 Arthur J. Evans (1851-1941) wrote a book titled *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina on Foot during the Insurrection August and September 1875* (London, 1876).

Hamam was recorded by James Henry Skene; he says that in Travnik he was in a "*hamam* or Turkish bath" (p. 324).

In reference to the organization of the living space, Robert Dunkin's attention was drawn by *ograda* in the sense of the word which has been abandoned and forgotten: "The large priest's house at *Glavatičevo*, which contains the chapel, is surrounded by what is here called an *ograda*, which means an enclosure fenced to keep out grazing cattle and sheep" (p. 343).[64]

Harem is a name of the private living space not accessible to a foreigner. In E. J. Dillon's travel book, he offered a brief analysis of the social life in the place he had visited. In that textual entity, he talks about *harem* as a space where the wife lives: "The wife spends her uneventful life in the *harem*, which is generally a darksome room, in which she can receive none but a few female friends at stated times" (p. 373).

In other travel books, *harem* could be found in narratives related to the traveler's daily life. An external circumstance had triggered one travel writer to mention the word *harem* in the linguistic shaping of a minimal story narrated in relation to the word *harem*. For instance, James Creagh revealed that in the *khan* where he was staying, he was once looking for a light for his cigarette when he "wandered by mistake into the *harem* of the old Turk; where he was suddenly confronted by a very aged woman" (p. 328). This story resembles an episodic plot,[65] as the unexpected encounter with and outburst from the woman in the *harem* would cause the travel writer to "flee" and "retreat in confusion;" it made him feel "afraid not to be charged again" and he "did not feel quite easy in his mind till he was five miles away from the den of this lioness" (p. 329).

The anecdote James Henry Skene told does not contain as much tension but does convey a generally true notion in relation to *harem*. On his way to Sarajevo, Skene was supposed to spend the night in a *khan* that was dilapidated and in an inadequate condition. His companion Osman-*aga* suggested to the *khandji* to admit the foreign traveler to the *harem*, which was "in one corner of the *khan*" and allow him to spend the night there (p. 112). However, as the travel writer narrated, "The *khandji* rejected the idea with horror." The denotative dimension of the word *harem* is thus contained in the *khandji*'s rejection of the proposal. Admitting a stranger into the *harem*, in the private part of the house where the family lived was unacceptable for any social group in the Muslim world of the time.

Some travelers reported having found themselves in Bosnia during holy days. Therefore,

64 *Ograda* is one of few words in the Bosnian language which was recorded by Ahmed Cevdet Paşa in his *tezkiraa* where he narrates about his stay in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1863 and 1864. *Ograda* means an "enclosed area", and its purpose may vary. While according to the account by a British traveler the *ograda* by the vicarage is an area protected from the cattle, the *ograda* Cevdet Paşa refers to is an area enclosed so that cattle could be kept and fed there in winter time: *Hersek'te ograda nāmiyle kadīmī etrāfı mesdūd kışlıklar olup bunlarda kışın hayvan beslerler*. (In Herzegovina there are winter grasslands which are enclosed – there, such areas have always been referred to as *ograda* – and used precisely for the winter pasture of cattle.) See Cevdet Paşa, *Tezākir* 21-39, haz. Cavid Baysun (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991), 8.

65 Cf.: Duda, *Priča i putovanje*, 68.

they described the customs, clothing, and facilities where festivities were organized. Travel books have referred to Christian holidays by recording them in English, with the exception of the festival *Krsno ime*, which Paulina Irby recorded in the original name: "Instead of the annual festival of the *Krsno ime*, when the friends and relations of every Serbian house gather to celebrate with feasting the day of their patron saint" (p. 367).

A. G. Hulme-Beaman mentioned St. George's Day, adding *Yorgidan* in parentheses (p. 219). The account is interesting as it suggests the form of the name in the language of the people of Bosnia. The same author recorded another popular name for a day of festivity. Namely, he mentioned that soon after St. George's Day came St. Elias' Day, also called *Ali-gyuni* by Muslims: "Shortly after St. George's Day (*Yorgidan*) was to come the feast of St. Elias, kept identically by the Mussulmans under the name of *Ali-gyuni*" (p. 264).[66]

Several authors recorded *guzla* not in reference to holidays but as the name of a musical instrument, such as Robert Dunkin who wrote, "The sportsman entering a *han* will often find a native singing and accompanying himself on a *guzla*. This is a mandoline-shaped stringed instrument, but is played with a bow, held like that of violoncello" (p. 179). George Arbuthnot also brought a descriptor referring to the word *gusle*; however, he saw this instrument as a kind of violin: "Sometimes, as in the present case, the voice is accompanied by the *guesla*, a kind of violin with one or three strings" (p. 128). The same technique of bringing the description of meaning into positional contact was applied in the interpretation of the word *piesma* as follows: "They have also their *piesmas* – a species of composition between prose and poetry" (p. 286).

The travel books of British travelers through Bosnia and Herzegovina between the 16th-20th centuries contain a great deal of information, stories, and anecdotes testifying to the mentality of the people in that region.[67] When considering the linguistic elements analyzed in this paper, an account written by George Arbuthnot pointing to the conception of time and space is interesting to note. The travel writer told how, on his way from Kotorsko to Brod, he'd enquired among the locals he met about the distance between the two places. He noted down his observations about the answers he had received as follows: "Each person of whom I enquired the distance told me more than the one before, until I thought that a Bosnian '*sahat*' (hour) was a more inexplicable measure than a German '*stunde*' or a Scottish '*mile and a bittoch*'" (p. 54). In this section of the text, the author recorded the word *sahat*, with *sā'at* being the actual Bosnian word. Nowadays, the word in standard Bosnian language is *sat*, while the form the travel writer recorded is archaic and may only be heard in non-formal communication.

66 *Aligyuni* is the day the people in these areas considered the warmest and the turning point of the summer. That is the second of August. In the local Christian community, that day is the church holiday dedicated to Saint Elias the Prophet, also known as St Elias' Day. The name Aligyuni used in the Muslim world is derived from the Turkish noun *gün* (*day*) added to the proper name Ali (Alija). The resemblance in the name is obvious – the second of August is Ali's Day, or Elias' Day.

67 Jacques Le Goff says that "any matter is a resource for a historian of mentality." Cited from: Duda, *Kultura putovanja*, 38.

4. Conclusion

As stated by Dean Duda, a travel book is characterized by its straightforward nature and ability to serve various social functions, ranging from political and economic to cognitive and cultural aspects.[68] This paper has focused on analyzing the lexemes from the local language that British travel writers used as original names for certain entities encountered during their explorations of Bosnia and Herzegovina between the 16th-to-early 20th centuries.

The analysis has revealed these authors to have opted for original names when referring to entities that showcased notable distinctions between the visited places and their own native world. According to Burke, travelers perceive cultural distance based on differences in religion, language, region, and clothing.[69] The use of original names for certain terms in the travel books directly indicates cultural diversity in the places visited. Through these linguistic forms, the essence of the visited locations is conveyed directly to the native culture, even when the authors offer interpretations or interventions in the form of synonymous lexical pairs or specific descriptors in English. By incorporating such linguistic features, these travel books effectively serve cognitive and cultural functions, facilitating a deeper understanding and appreciation of the diverse world explored by the British travelers in Bosnia and Herzegovina throughout history.

Among the linguistic elements from the local language, the fundamental Slavic stratum is represented by only a few examples, with the majority being composed of lexemes originating from the Ottoman-Turkish cultural and linguistic stratum. Careful insight has indicated that, in the past centuries, this lexis had been included in the Bosnian language vocabulary, which is why this paper has been able to analyze it as elements of language of the places visited.[70] This lexis marks a historic period, and culturally so in the travel books written by the British travelers.

In travel books, documenting reality is associated with the author's personality. The author of a travel book belongs to a sociohistorical context: their education, purpose of travel, and length of stay in the world they describe as well as the intention with which they write their text have to be related not just to their cultural and historical context but also to their personality. A travel book intertwines all of these. What is common in the travel books analyzed in the paper is that they have been written by authors who come from the same culture. Their texts disclose how they'd enjoyed the status of important guests in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, namely how they'd met with the local dignitaries and been their guests. Encounters with common people are less visible, although not entirely lacking. However, when authors did write about the lives of common people, they pointed out how they'd been perceived by the common people as distinguished foreign guests.

68 Duda, *Kultura putovanja*, 141.

69 Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 99.

70 See e.g.: Kerima Filan, *O turskom jeziku u Bosni*: *Studija*. Sarajevo: Connectum, 2017. Ekrem Čaušević, *The Turkish Language in Ottoman Bosnia*, İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2014. Kerima Filan, "Osmanlı Bosnası'nda Türkçenin Konumu Üzerine", *Dünden Bugüne Bosna-Hersek ve Aliya Izetbegoviç Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri*, eds. Zekeriya Kurşun et al., (İstanbul: Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf Üniversitesi & Gaziosmanpaşa Belediyesi, 2018), 451-463.

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