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The Birth and Death of Bosnian Varieties of Turkish¹

Abstract

Today it is widely accepted to make the assertion that the dialects of Turkish are divided into two large branches: (I) Anatolian and (II) Balkan (or Rumelian). Anatolian dialects are divided into three main groups, (a) Eastern, (b) Northeastern, and (c) Western, each of which has several subgroups. These categories are based upon the classification laid down by Németh, who included not only the Turkish dialects of western Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Kosovo in the West Rumelian group, but also those of Albania, Bosnia, and Serbia (NÉMETH 1956: 12-56; IDEM 1982: 119). This classification has been in continuous use up to the present day (TRYJARSKI 1990: 441; KARAHAN 1996: 1-2). I do not think BVT can be considered a Balkan dialect of Turkish, although it developed on the basis of an Old Ottoman substratum brought to Bosnia by the Ottomans. Bosnians did not replace their maternal (Bosnian) language with a dialect of Turkish and impose non-Turkish characteristics on it, as was the case with autochthonous non-Turks in other parts of the Ottoman Empire who dropped their native languages and adopted Turkish varieties. WRT is the native language of Turkish immigrants in western Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Kosovo, while the Bosnian variety, which came into being as a result of the cultural and business contacts between the local South Slavic population and native speakers of Turkish, had to be learned as a foreign language. Aside from that, they did not use Bosnian Turkish when communicating with one another in public (which was almost universally noted by foreign travel writers) or within the family. We do not know even about how well it was spoken by Muslim women, whose education was generally limited to elementary religious instruction in *maktabs*, and whose social contacts consisted of immediate family members and relatives. BVT was never spoken by the majority of the population, which is why it died out after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina began in 1878.

Key words: Turkish dialects, West Rumelian Turkish, Bosnian variety of Turkish

Türkçenin Bosna Değişkelerinin Doğumu ve Ölümü

Öz

Günümüzde Türkçenin diyalektlerinin iki büyük kola ayrıldığı iddiası yaygın olarak kabul görmektedir: (I) Anadolu ve (II) Balkan (veya Rumeli). Anadolu ağızları (a) Doğu, (b) Kuzeydoğu ve (c) Batı olmak üzere üç ana gruba ayrılır ve bunların her birinin çeşitli alt grupları vardır. Bu kategoriler, Batı Rumeli grubuna yalnızca Batı Bulgaristan, Makedonya ve

¹ In this article, I summarize the results of my long-term research into the Bosnian variety of the Turkish language. I have presented them in more detail in the Introduction of my book "The Turkish Language in Ottoman Bosnia", The Isis Press, Istanbul, 2014.

Kosova'daki Türk diyalektlerini değil, aynı zamanda Arnavutluk, Bosna ve Sırbistan'dakileri de dahil eden Németh tarafından ortaya konan sınıflandırmaya dayanmaktadır (NÉMETH 1956: 12-56; IDEM 1982: 119). Bu sınıflandırma günümüze kadar sürekli olarak kullanılmıştır (TRYJARSKI 1990: 441; KARAHAN 1996: 1-2). Her ne kadar Osmanlılar tarafından Bosna'ya getirilen Eski Osmanlıca bir alt tabaka temelinde gelişmiş olsa da BVT'nin Türkçenin bir Balkan diyalekti olarak kabul edilebileceğini düşünmüyorum. Boşnaklar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun diğer bölgelerinde ana dillerini bırakıp Türkçe varyantları benimseyen otokton gayri-Türklerde olduğu gibi, ana dillerini (Boşnakça) Türkçenin bir diyalektiyle değiştirip ona Türkçe olmayan özellikler empoze etmediler. Batı Bulgaristan, Makedonya ve Kosova'daki Türk göçmenlerin anadili WRT iken, yerel Güney Slav nüfusu ile anadili Türkçe olanlar arasındaki kültürel ve ticari temaslar sonucunda ortaya çıkan Boşnakça, yabancı bir dil olarak öğrenilmek zorundaydı. Bunun dışında, halk arasında (yabancı seyahat yazarları tarafından neredeyse evrensel olarak not edilmiştir) veya aile içinde birbirleriyle iletişim kurarken Boşnak Türkçesini kullanmamışlardır. Eğitimleri genellikle *maktablardaki* temel dini eğitimle sınırlı olan ve sosyal ilişkileri yakın aile üyeleri ve akrabalardan oluşan Müslüman kadınlar tarafından ne kadar iyi konuşulduğu hakkında bile yeterince bilgimiz yok. BVT hiçbir zaman nüfusun çoğunluğu tarafından konuşulmadı, bu yüzden Avusturya-Macaristan'ın 1878'de Bosna-Hersek'i işgali başladıktan sonra yok oldu.

Anahtar sözcükler: Türk lehçeleri, Batı Rumeli Türkçesi, Türkçenin Boşnakça varyantı

1. Historical background of the Bosnian variety of Turkish

After the fall of Jajce in 1463, the Ottoman conquests continued westward and, with longer or shorter pauses, into the territory of Bosnia until the fall of Bihać in 1592. During that period of about 130 years, Bosnia gradually transformed into an Ottoman province where, due to its sensitive geostrategic position, strong military forces and their logistics were concentrated – including tradesmen who offered various services to the army. Along with the Ottoman army, many imams, muallims, kadis, and sheikhs also arrived in Bosnia (ALIČIĆ: 1982:81).

By the mid-seventeenth century, the most intensive period of conversion to Islam among the population had finished, and the ethnic Turks who made up the regular Ottoman troops were gradually leaving the province. Islamization brought about significant changes in the structure of the population, because in the place of the foreigners who were leaving Bosnia came local people who had accepted Islam and earned the right to be admitted into the military class (KASUMOVIĆ 1999: 81).

After the establishment of Ottoman rule in Bosnia, the local population, especially in urban centers where military troops were stationed, lived in contact with ethnic Turks, which resulted in a certain level of “bilingualism”. The Turkish that the local urban population had acquired, knew, or partially understood had features of Old Ottoman Turkish, the language of the Turkish conquerors and settlers in the Balkans.

In the earliest phase of social contact between Bosnians and Turks, BVT was formed as a lingua franca, or language of interethnic communication, specifically in towns where commerce and artisanry flourished and where the regular troops of the Sultan's army were concentrated. In these new circumstances, Turkish could be learned not only by Muslims, but also by Christians, who did not learn that language in their schools until the nineteenth century. One group that had a powerful motive to learn Turkish were merchants (who until the eighteenth century were mainly Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholics, and Jews), for whom knowledge of that language made travelling and doing business throughout the Empire easier. After the majority of the Sultan's regular troops, who were mostly ethnic Turks, pulled out of Bosnia, Christians probably learned

Turkish through business and personal contacts with Turks and Muslims not only in the Bosnian Eyalet, but also in the greater Rumelian region, and even throughout the Empire. Later contacts between Bosnians and Balkan Turks in Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Kosovo influenced the final form of the Bosnian Variety of Turkish.

After the late sixteenth century, when the majority of ethnic Turks in the system of the regular Ottoman army left Bosnia, the chance for Bosnians to have direct linguistic contact with Turks, at least for most of the population, was significantly reduced in comparison with the previous period. Therefore, I assume that from the seventeenth century on, the influence of Bosnian on BVT steadily grew stronger, especially in syntax, semantics, and the lexicon, as well as phraseology.

The question of what communication situations Bosnian Muslims used or learned Turkish in remains without a definite answer, especially since we know that they communicated amongst themselves in their mother tongue. I presume that, even after the Sultan's troops were pulled out of Bosnia, Turkish was used most often in contacts with Turks who came to Bosnia from various parts of the Balkan peninsula and Anatolia and settled there. Bosnians would have come into contact with them in a variety of situations, either as business contacts (primarily in the trading of goods and services) or social contacts in mosques (*cami*, *mescid*, or *tekke*), on the street, at bazaars, and in coffee houses, where much of public life occurred, but also through other forms of informal socializing. One also should not forget that Ottoman citizens of various non-Turkish ethnicities (Albanians, Tatars, Kurds, Arabs, Cherkezians, and others) also travelled to Bosnia (and occasionally stayed there), as is confirmed by some Bosnian surnames and microtoponyms derived from those ethnonyms. For all of these groups – Bosnians as well as foreigners who had come to Bosnia from somewhere else – Turkish was a language of interethnic communication. Moreover, Bosnians also used Turkish when travelling (for business) and in the army, and not only as members of Janissary units, but also in military units that were sent from Bosnia to many fronts throughout the Empire.

2. The sociolinguistic status of the Bosnian variety of Turkish

As mentioned above, BVT existed in parallel with Ottoman Turkish, which had the status of the official language (its most significant domains being administration, the judiciary, and the military) as well as the language of the highly educated elite, literature, and science. Yet Bosnian Muslims and Christians considered BVT to be a language of prestige, and Muslims also saw it as the language of religious and cultural equation with the Turks (Ottomans). In spite of this, that popular variety of Turkish never endangered the native language of Bosnian Muslims, most likely because in Bosnia and Herzegovina true bilingualism never existed as the practice of spontaneous switching between two languages, and there was probably not even a large number of bilingual speakers whose communicative competence was at a level close or equal to that of native speakers of Turkish. A shift from the mother tongue to the dominant, prestigious language is possible only under conditions of long-term linguistic contact between socially superior and socially subordinate ethnic groups who use different languages. This happened in Macedonia, where over several centuries of being surrounded by a Turkish majority, some non-Turkish ethnicities dropped their mother tongue and accepted Turkish as their own.

3. How widespread was BVT among the population?

In the historical and Turkological literature very different opinions can be encountered on how many non-native speakers knew Turkish in the Balkans and in Bosnia. We will illustrate this by means of four quotations:

(1)

In Ottoman Europe the vast bulk of the population - probably around 80 per cent of the total -

remained Christian. Even where Islam made inroads into the countryside, it rarely carried the Turkish language along with it: Bosnian Muslims still spoke their native Slavic; the Muslim Ali Pasha of Jannina spoke Albanian and Greek but not Turkish; the Muslim peasants of Crete spoke Greek, and enjoyed the island's epic poem - the *Erotokritos* - as much as the Christians, from whom, after all, most of them were descended. Outside the original heartlands round Edirne, the Turkish language in the Balkans remained an administrative lingua franca confined to urban centres. Cities like Bosna Seraj [Sarajevo], Skopje and Sofia were heavily Islamic and Turkish-speaking islands of imperial governance in a mostly Christian sea – much as German-speaking cities functioned in Slavic Eastern Europe at the same time (MAZOWER 2001:64).

(2)

Bilingualism in relation to the Turkish language was bi-directional almost everywhere in southeast Europe. This means that speakers of Balkan Turkish, of course with different levels of competence, spoke Balkan languages of the Christian surroundings, while the broad strata of the population knew at least the basics of the Turkish language (KAPPLER 2002:829).

(3)

During the course of the centuries-long Turkish occupation, this language [Bosnian] was resolutely maintained by Bosnian Muslims. Never in Bosnia – not even in urban environments – was Turkish spoken, and this was because there was no massive settlement [of Bosnia] by ethnic Turks. True, the language was infiltrated with many Turkish words (most of which were actually of Arabic origin). They entered the linguistic inventory of Muslims [i.e., Bosniaks], as well as of Serbs and Croats, and spread, it seems, through the local population, especially among those who prided themselves on having a thorough Oriental education (HADŽIJAHIĆ 1990:94).

Why do we encounter such opposing opinions? I believe that there are at least two reasons for this: (a) Estimates about the spread of Turkish, or rather, of this variety of Turkish, is not based upon reliable sources because such sources do not even exist, which creates room for guesswork and the uncritical equating of the language situation in Bosnia with that of other parts of the Empire; and (b) authors tend to fall into the trap of over-generalization, whereby they apply one picture to all periods, without accounting for the fact that the level of use of the Turkish language was in direct correspondence with the political, military, and economic power of the Empire. It is also important to note that Turkologists sometimes mention the alleged widespread knowledge and use of Turkish in Bosnia probably also because they have not done any research in this field at all, nor have they consulted any literature of Bosnian or South Slavic provenance. Hadžijahić summarized in two sentences the cause and effect of the problem (they were not referred to as ethnic Turks = there was no Turkish language), from which it is clear that there is no possibility of Sarajevo having been some kind of Turkophone island in a Christian, Slavic sea. But as far as Turkish loanwords are concerned, they did not enter the Bosnian language solely through people “who prided themselves on having a thorough Oriental education,” but also through common folk who in the *madrasas* had acquired an elementary knowledge of Turkish, or rather, in the Bosnian variety of that language.

4. The Turkish language (BVT) in Bosnia in the nineteenth century

Although at the threshold of the nineteenth century the French consul in Travnik, Amédée Chaumette des Faussés, notes that “barely twenty percent of the population” knows Turkish, the language of the government (ŠAMIĆ 1966: 253), due to the lack of reliable written sources (and these could only be statistical data, which of course did not exist even in the countries of Europe before the nineteenth century), it is not possible to confirm how many non-native speakers of Turkish there were in Bosnia.

In spite of this fact, the estimates given by practically all European authors of travel literature, memoirs, and books about Bosnia, as well as the estimates that we find in other sources, are almost identical. For example, the medical doctor, geologist, ethnographer, and geographer Ami Boué, who resided in Bosnia in 1836, 1837, and 1838, writes in his work *La Turquie d'Europe* that Serbs and Albanians do not know Turkish and that Bosnians of all faiths, including Islam, neither know the language nor show any interest in learning it. Boué notes that Bosnians know “only a few” words or even “only ordinary salutations, and that they feel antipathy towards the Ottomans” (ŠAMIĆ 1966: 249). According to the publicist H. Massieu de Clerval, “The young Turk from Istanbul treats them [Bosnian Muslims] like barbarians, because they have not yet acquired the refinedness of civilization that he extolls himself with; the old Ottoman from Asia mocks these ‘Turks’ who do not know the Turkish language and who pronounce Arabic strangely in their prayers” (ŠAMIĆ 1981: 253). Even Saint Marium, one of the French consular officials in Bosnia (1870-1873), records that “Turkish is practically unknown among the people” (ŠAMIĆ 1981: 257) while equivalent observations are also made by English travel writers (HADŽISELIMOVIĆ & RIĐANOVIĆ 1989: 196-197, 299), Austrian Gustav Thoemmel (THOEMMEL 1867: 81-82, 114), Austrian consular official Carl Sax (ČAUŠEVIĆ 2012: 23-36), Prussian diplomat Otto Blau (BLAU 1868: 13-14), and Croatian travel writer Matija Mažuranić (PAIĆ-VUKIĆ & ČAUŠEVIĆ 2008: 293-305). Blau observes that “Turkish is spoken by a relatively small number of officials (Turks), one part of the Muslim clergy, and the pupils of [religious] schools that are under their control, while Orthodox Christians and Catholics, more in the towns than in the country, have a very poor knowledge of the language.” Thoemmel particularly stresses that the “Bosnian Muhammadans” spoke Slavic, just as the Christians do, and that only a small number of one and the other group, “thanks to contacts with the local authorities,” but also due to business contacts, know just enough Turkish to make themselves understood when necessary.

Why do practically all foreigners, who began coming to Bosnia in greater numbers from the mid-eighteenth century on, regularly comment on the language situation there? It seems that in European countries even at that time the general belief was that not only Christians of South Slavic origin lived in Bosnia, but Turks (Ottomans), and that Turkish was therefore spoken a lot there. The Rivers Sava and Una were the natural borders between the Habsburg (from 1867, the Austro-Hungarian) and Ottoman Empires, and from the perspective of the then European countries, everything on the other side of those two rivers was “the Turkish Empire inhabited by Turks.” That this impression was broadly held even in the Ottoman Empire’s “neighboring country” (today, Austria) is even confirmed by G. Thoemmel, who in 1867 found it necessary to point out that in his country there is a “great and widely held misunderstanding that Bosnian Muhammadans are Turks/Ottomans ‘by nationality.’” Furthermore, he explains “that in the entire country, with the exception of military troops, all of the Imperial government officials and their personal servants have temporary residence there, and that they are considered an alien and undesirable element in the country by the Bosnian population” (THOEMMEL 1867: 81-82). The misconception that “real” Turks lived in Bosnia may have been partially caused by the fact that Muslims in Bosnia, as I have mentioned already, referred to themselves as Turks. Bosnian Christians also called local Muslims “Turks”. Even Croats, the citizens of Dubrovnik, and Slavonians called Bosnian Muslims “Turks,” but this was above all a religious descriptor.

Although already “on its deathbed,” the final blow to the Turkish variety in Bosnia and Herzegovina was dealt by the occupation of 1878. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy established a new government and new economic and social relations, and in the same year it discontinued Turkish as the official language. The fact that during the period from 1878 to 1908, that is, from the beginning of the occupation until the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, several bilingual magazines in Bosnian and Turkish continued to be published, or that, on the initiative of several prominent citizens of Sarajevo, in September 1884 (sic!) the Sarajevo Turkish-language

newspaper *Vatan* [Homeland] began to be published, does not mean much in and of itself. On this topic M: Imamović writes the following: "Explaining the need for publishing a political newspaper and spreading education among Bosniaks, the government newspaper *Sarajevski list* of 27 July 1884 stated that the reason for its being printed in Turkish was that 'many Muhammadans do not know how to read modern letters'. In reality, a newspaper in Turkish could have had only a few hundred readers among *educated Bosniaks* [italics by E. Č.]. For the rest of the Bosniak-Muslim population, such a newspaper could have had only a certain psychological function and significance" (IMAMOVIĆ 1996: 31).

We can agree with Imamović's conclusion because until 1908 the Sultan continued to have formal sovereignty over Bosnia and Herzegovina, and one part of the Muslim population believed, at least during the first few years of occupation, that the Ottoman Empire would regain power in the province.

5. Linguistic characteristics of BVT

Although many characteristics of West Rumelian Turkish can be found in BVT, the Latin-script texts that I have studied indicate that BVT also had autochthonous characteristics that were the result of strong interference from the Bosnian language. Since I have written about these autochthonous characteristics in exhaustive detail in my book "The Turkish Language in Ottoman Bosnia", here I will list just some examples recorded by Otto Blau, Carl Sax, and Father Andrija Glavanović, a Franciscan priest from Bosnia who wrote a Turkish grammar in the 19th century:

g'itmek g'erek im 'I should go.'; *g'itmek g'ereghy var* 'One should go.'; *senum anachtarmi bu dür / senummi anachtar dür?* 'Is this your key?'; *onlarum bu at dür* 'That horse is theirs.'; *onlarum kitablar dür* 'Those books are theirs. / Those books belong to them.'; *Siz celdi.* 'You've arrived.' (pl.); *Siz cidecek mi?* 'Do you want to come?' (pl.); *Niçün sen k'elmedi?* 'Why didn't you come?'; *Biz cittim.* 'I left.'; *kadirim bu etmege* 'I can do that.'; *verdigin kitab okumaja bašladum* 'I've begun to read the book that you gave me.'; *benum kardaş iki evi var* 'My brother has two houses.'; *Mustapha ati hanghydür* 'Which [one] is Mustapha's horse?'; *K'eçtimi bu yol ile?* 'Did he go by this way?'; *Ardyna bak su k'endarile.* 'Look behind yourself downstream.'; *Suyı k'eçür bu adamy!* 'Take that man across the water!'; *herçesi yalvarma* 'Don't ask everyone for help. / 'Don't beg everyone.'; *var bak senün baba ne japarsa* 'Look at what your father is doing.'; *Nejlersen?* 'What are you doing?'; *Niçin buny işlersen?* 'Why are you doing that?'; *K'itsen, ben k'elürüm.* '[You] go, I'll come later.'; *bilmis olsam ki buraja g'eldun, bende g'elurdum* 'If I had known that you had come here, I would have come, too.'; *g'elmemis olsa evla olurdü* 'It would be better if he had not come.'; *pederin bu vilajete g'eldi ise bir chyzmek'ar beraber g'etürdi idi ne oldü* 'When your father first came to these parts, he brought with him only one ware, and what happened to him afterwards?'; *baban evlenmiş ise jig'irmi jaşında idy* 'When your father got married, he was twenty years old.'; *g'elmiş ise g'elmemiş ise bilmem / gelmişse bilmem* 'I don't know if he has come.' [contemporary Turkish: *Gelip gelmediğini bilmem.*]; *böjle olursa bilmem / böjle olmuş ise bilmem / böjle olmuş olsa bilmem.* 'I don't know if that's how it was.'; *uçrenmişim evde yema* 'I am used to eating at home.'; *nere istersün çitma?* 'Where do you want to go?'; *nice korkarsün buni yapma* 'Why are you afraid to do that?'; *ben ziade bilirim neteki sen* 'I know more than you.'; *hanghy (kaçinci) sahâta degin* 'Until what time?'; *ikinçi saâta deg'in bir çejrek eksik dür* 'It's fifteen minutes till two.'; *kaçinçi sahat kalktun* 'At what time did you get up?'; *hanghy jaşında syn* 'How old are you?'; *niçün sen k'elmedi / sorma / niçün sorma, bütün k'ün seni bekledüm* 'Why didn't you come?' / 'Don't ask.' / 'Why shouldn't I ask? I waited for you all day.'; *bak bir g'emi denize g'idecek varmi?* '[Go] see if there's any boat/ship that is about to depart.'; *bir adam saraya cidecek varmi?* 'Is there anyone who is going to Sarajevo?'; *istambolda okur yazar tur[k]çe adam çok* 'In Istanbul there are many literate people.'; *hiç adam bilmes, hançisena inanur* 'He doesn't know anyone whom he can trust.' / 'He doesn't know who to trust.'; *sana ne vereim hiç bir şeyüm jok* 'I have nothing to give you.' / 'I have nothing that I would be able to give to you.'; *ğennet g'öjde olan bir pek g'üzel jerdir neredede Allah g'örünür*

'Heaven is a beautiful place in which God appears. '; *ben Memi arkadaşlarım için yazarım niçün onlar bilmez yazma* 'I, Memi, sign in lieu of my friends because they are illiterate. '; *o vakt haćian o g'eldy okumada idim* 'When he came, I was reading. '; *kać kerre ojleden sonra ujujorsem bašum aghyryjor* 'Whenever I sleep in the afternoon, my head aches. *Öyle olmazdy ben dedüm.* 'I said that it wouldn't happen like that. '; *ben okujinđe oda geldy* 'While I was reading, he arrived as well. '; *biz achšamlyk jejinđe onlar muslumanlar geldy* 'While we were eating [our meal], they, the Muslims, arrived. '; *ben fojniczada olynđe hić bir šej išitmedim* 'While I was in Fojnica, I didn't hear a thing.'

Concerning the characteristics of BVT, I can also relate some other dilemmas. For example, it is well known that the Turkish language was in much wider use among Bosnian Muslims than among (Bosnian) Christians because Muslims attended *madrasas* and for this very reason came into more frequent contact with the language. In addition, they formed social contacts with native speakers of Turkish more often. Many Muslims also had personal notebooks (*mecmua*), into which they copied, and composed their own, short texts in Turkish. On the basis of this information, we can conclude that they had better spoken competence than their compatriots of the Christian faith. However, the Turkish language of the texts written by Franciscans in Bosnia did not differ from the popular Turkish language in which an unknown author or transcriber (a Bosnian Muslim) composed or transcribed one short text in the form of a dialogue. This text was written in Arabic script. For the sake of illustration, I will cite examples from it:

ben unutmuşım niçün sora ańmamışsun 'I didn't forget because you mentioned (it) later. '; *evetleme hep olur senden öyle sözler* 'You always tell me not to hurry. '; *güçdür halkı cem' etma* 'It's hard to gather people together. '; *Allahdan isteye Allah vürür eger murad éderse* 'Ask God for it. If He so wishes, He shall give it to you. '; *bir kimse bir kimseye kulagina fisildasa ol kimse işitmese işidür* 'If someone whispered something into someone's ear so that a third would not hear it, He [God] would hear it. '; *beni diñlersen böyle eyleye, soñra pişman olmazsun* 'If you are listening to me, do it so, and you shall not regret (it)' (BLAU 1868: 109-112).

The examples cited above are from the nineteenth century, because the most recent research carried out in Franciscan monasteries and libraries have not uncovered any texts in Turkish older than that. One of the key problems of the study of BVT is the non-existence of Latin texts, which would, at the very least, bridge the period from the second half of the seventeenth century, when Illésházy's dictionary with dialogues was written (1668) (NÉMETH 1970), to the mid-nineteenth century, when Bosnian Franciscans and European diplomats (Blau, Sax) recorded examples of popular Turkish. A comparison of the language of Illésházy's dictionary and these nineteenth-century texts shows that the "Bosnian Turkish" of southern Hungary and nineteenth-century BVT had many common characteristics, but that BVT also had a *considerable number of autochthonous characteristics* (as witness the above-mentioned examples). However, due to the general lack of texts as well as a temporal "gap" of almost two centuries, one cannot even approximately comment on how quickly the process of copying non-Turkish linguistic codes into BVT occurred, nor on whether the state that we encounter in the mid-nineteenth century can be considered to be the culmination of that process.

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