

TEUFIK MUFTIĆ

ON ARABIC LOANWORDS
IN THE SERBO-CROAT LANGUAGE*

INTRODUCTION

There are several thousands loanwords in our language. They were borrowed from Turkish, Persian and Arabic languages. Almost all loanwords borrowed from these three languages are commonly referred to as "Turkish words". This is justified by the fact that most probably the biggest number of the words originating from Persian and Arabic languages, and naturally those originating from Turkish, were borrowed through Turkish. This is quite normal as the Turks ruled in this region for centuries. At the same time the links with Persia and the Arab-speaking countries were very loose, which also explains the route by which the loanwords came into our language. Although the Turkish language is totally different from Arabic by its origin and structure, it nevertheless borrowed a myriad of different words. Some of those Arabic words underwent semantic and phonetic changes in the Turkish language and came into use in this part of the world as well. The borrowing of Arabic words from Turkish was done primarily via our people who could speak Turkish, and some of them were educated in Turkey.

However, there are even those who knew Arabic language. As it is the language of Islamic religion, and as such was accessible to a certain degree to all Muslims regardless of the level of their education, we believe that a certain number of Arabic words (first of all those referring to the religious life of Muslims and most of their first names and family names) was borrowed directly from the Arabic language.

There is still the third way by which a certain number of Arabic words came to our language. It was some European languages (German, French, Italian, Spanish, etc.) which had borrowed some Arabic words (from various sciences: astronomy, mathematics, chemistry and medicine, etc. or otherwise) in the Middle Ages.¹

* See: "O arabizmima u srpskohrvatskom jeziku". In: *POF X-XII/1960-61*, Sarajevo, 1961, pp. 5-29.

¹ Among other Oriental words which came to various European languages, we also find Arabic words contained in the Dictionary: K. Lokotosch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs*. Heidelberg, 1927. Cf. Kunitzsch, *Arabische Sternnamen in Europa*, 1959.

In the recent period a number of books were published in various countries on Arabic loanwords in different languages.² In our country, Arabic words were without exception grouped as Turkish words, in the absence of the books, which would deal exclusively with Arabic words in our language as a whole. Turkish words – and along with them Arabic words – can be found in all local dictionaries. Some dictionaries devote special attention to Turkish words, although they all were produced for practical purposes, without any major scientific pretensions. This is the reason why they are often rife with mistakes.³ The latest and so far the best piece of work here, which was devoted to Turkish words (including Arabic and some other words) is the dictionary of Abdulah Škaljić titled “Turkish Words in Popular Speech and Popular Literature of Bosnia and Herzegovina”.⁴ This work, as one can see from the title, did not cover all sources of Turkish words used in our language or the sources of Arabic words which the author included in his work, either in terms of space or time. According to this author, there are about 6,500 Turkish words,⁵ of which in my own counting, over 3,800 are the words of Arabic origin. It is clear that slightly more than one half of those “Turkish” words are in fact the words of Arabic origin. This is why I thought that this paper should be a starting point for a brief analysis of the destiny of Arabic words in our language, primarily from the point of view of their phonetic changes, with a brief review of some of their semantically specific features. A brief review of sound changes of Turkish words is given in the introduction to Škaljić’s book⁶, while their semantic changes could be followed to a certain extent and extracted from etymological explanations provided for some of the words listed in the dictionary.

In this paper we shall deal with Arabic words only, giving particular attention to the most important sound and semantic changes which Arabic words underwent while travelling from Arabic language into ours, either directly or indirectly. Those changes are sometimes very important, in view of the big structural, sound, semantic and other differences between the Arabic

² Of those, available were the following: Mubārek el-Bākistānī, “El-kelimātu-l-‘arebiye fi l-lugati l-urdiye”, in the magazine: *Meğelletu-l-meğme‘i l-‘ilmi l-‘arebi, El-ğuz‘u-t-tānī, El-muğalledu-t-tāsi‘ we l-‘iṣrūn*, Dimašq, 1954, p. 252-260; Wolf Leslau, “Arabic Loanwords in Amharic”, in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London, 1957, Vol. XIX, Part 2, p. 221-244; Dr. ‘Abdu-l-Wehhāb ‘Azzām, “El-elfāzu-l-‘arebiye fi l-lugāti-l-islāmīye ġairi-l-‘arebiye”, in the magazine *Meğelletu-l-meğme‘i-l-lugati-l-‘arebiye, El-ğuz‘u-t-tāsi‘*, El-Qāhire, 1957, p. 85-86.

³ See review in the work of A. Škaljić, I, p. XV-XXII, below.

⁴ Published in Sarajevo in 1957 in two volumes: I A-J and II K-Ž, LVI, p. 814. See: Dr. Šaćir Sikirić, *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, VIII-IX for 1958-9, Sarajevo, 1960, p. 232-240; Dr. Fehim Bajraktarević, *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, book XXVI, Vol. 3-4, Beograd, 1960, p. 334-344.

⁵ See: Škaljić, Vol. I, p. XXII.

⁶ See: Škaljić, Vol. I, p. XXVII-XLII.

language, our language or the language through which Arabic words came into our language. Besides, the scope and type of the changes were dependent on various social circumstances, the persons through which the words were borrowed and the time when the Arabic words were borrowed. In a nutshell, in addition to the factors of acoustic, physiological and psychological nature, we should take into consideration also cultural and historical, social and other elements if we want to explain in detail not only the physical changes, but also the causes which brought about the changes in the external structure, and especially those which are related to the meaning of some of the Arabic words used in our language.

PHONETIC CHANGES

A. Consonantism

The system of its sounds and consonants and its consonantism make the Arabic language – we shall focus only on its standard form – as a member of the a Semitic language family, very much different from our language and other Indo-European languages from which some Arabic words came into use in our language, even from the Turkish language which belongs to an Ural-Altai language family.

The comparison between the consonants in the Arabic and our language will show that there is a similarity in the following 15 consonants only: *b, t, ġ (= ḍ), d, r, z, s, š, f, k, l, m, n, h, y (= j)*. The remaining 13 consonants which the Arabic language contains do not exist in our language. The following transliteration is usual when changing them into corresponding consonants in our language: ' , *t, ħ, ḥ, ḍ, ṣ, ḍ, ṣ, ṣ, ḡ, q, w*.

It would be natural to assume that identical consonants from both languages, which came into our language together with Arabic words, maintained their original pronunciation, while the changes occurred in those consonants which were not known to our language, in view of the well-established practice that the loanwords are adapted fully in terms of sounds to the receiving language. In some of our Arabic words even the identical consonants changed and the sounds were added to some of the words which do not exist in Arabic at all. Changes to Arabic sounds were occurring already in Turkish or another language from which those Arabic words came to the Serbo-Croat language, in which Arabic sounds remained without any significant changes or underwent major changes, adapting fully to the pronunciation of our sounds. It would be possible to establish in some of the Arabic words the influence of the intermediate language, while it would be quite impossible in some other words, as some of them were borrowed without any major changes, on the ground of the phonetic similarity between the two languages. Of all changes, regardless of where, when and why they occurred, the most important is the replacement of Arabic phonemes with similar phonemes which exist in our

language, no matter whether that similarity concerns their acoustic impression or is physiological in terms of the manner and place of formation of phonemes. Also, some Arabic consonants were lost, particularly the so-called *hamza* and *'ayn*. This also includes a general transformation of geminated consonants into simple ones (the loss of one from a combination of the two same consonants). Less important are the cases of metathesis (transposition of consonants) and the introduction of consonants which did not exist in the original Arabic words. There are also some smaller changes of consonants, and they will be mentioned in brief at the appropriate places, along with the examples illustrating the above mentioned changes.

a) *Transposition of consonants*

Before we explain the most important transpositions of Arabic consonants, especially of those which do not exist in our language, we would like to make several remarks in that regard.

Arabic consonants which maintained the same phonetic value will not be mentioned here. Some Arabic consonants were completely deleted from all positions in the words, others disappeared in certain cases only, while some others, after they disappeared, left some traces of their existence and affected the surrounding sounds. More detailed explanations will be provided along with some examples in the text below.

First of all, we shall group consonants from the Arabic language by place of articulation. We shall start from labials and shall finish with laryngeals.⁷ We shall give only the replacement of those consonants with related or physiological and remote consonants known to our language.

Replacement of labials

In this group, the Arabic language has three bilabials: *b*, *m*, *w* and one labio-dental consonant *f*. Of these consonants, *b*, *m* and *f* correspond to *b*, *m* and *f* in our language and thus remained unchanged. Bilabial *w* (similar to English *w*) does not exist in our language and in most cases it is replaced by our labio-dental sound *v*. We shall give here the examples of other replacements of these consonants.

Bilabial *b* = ب

b > *p*: this consonant is in some cases, when it is at the end of the word, replaced by voiceless *p* (which does not exist in standard Arabic), as in: *'ağ'a'ib* > *adž'aip*; *'aib* > *aip* or *ajp*; *'azeb* > *azap*; *tewāb* > *sevap* instead of *sevab*; *ğeib* > *džep*; *ğewāb* > *dževap* instead of *dževab*; *'Aḥmed* > *Ahmet* instead of *Ahmed*, etc.⁸

⁷ The grouping, order, division and names of Arabic consonants originate from: Sabatino Moscati, *Il sistema consonantico delle lingue semitiche*, Roma, 1954; see page 41.

⁸ These and similar doublets show the influence of the Turkish language on our Arabic words and also that a certain number came directly from Arabic or another foreign language, except for Turkish, as it has already been stressed.

Like in analogous changes of other voiced consonants with their voiceless pairs at the end of the word, this must have been taken from Turkish, in which such a phenomenon is both regular and proper.

In some words *b* was assimilated into *p* in front of the following voiceless consonants (regressive assimilation), such as in: *ḥabs* > *haps* (and in all derived words: *hapšenje*, *uhapsiti*), etc.

b > *v*: In some cases *b* becomes *v*: *ḥabs* > *avs*; 'abd > *Avdo* (abbreviation of *Abdulah*); *kebāb* > *ćevap* and *ćevab*; *sebeb* > *sevep*; *tebdīl* > *tevdil* instead of *tebdil*, etc.

b > *f*: This is also a transformation into a related sound, such as in the following words: *ḍabt* > *zaft* instead of *dabt* and *zapt* (= Turkish); *mešrebe(t)* > *maštrafa* (Turkish *mašraba*).

Bilabial *m* = م

m > *n*: Only in a couple of words: 'imdād > *indat* instead of *imdat* (= Turkish), *semt* > *sent* (and in derived words: *sentati*, *presentati*, *sentimice*, *sensus*), *temām* > *taman* instead of *tamam* (= Turkish).

Bilabial *w* = و

w > *v*: As we have stressed already, this is a regular transformation. Nevertheless, we shall give a couple of examples, as it concerns a change of the sound that is not common in our language. We shall take only two or three examples out of many: *wāli(n)* > *valija*, *waqt* > *vakat*, *taqwīm* > *takvim*, *ḥalwā'* > *halva*.

w > *f*: We find this transformation in the following examples: *sehw* > *sef* (and in a derived word *posefiti se*).

Labiodental *f* = ف

f > *v*: This transformation in its voiced pair (not common in Arabic) is found in the following words: *fiṭr* > *vitre* (although it is said: *sadakai-fiṭr!*), *šefeq* > *ševak*, but also *šefak*, *ḥifz* > *hivz* instead of *hiḥz*, *sufre(t)* > *sovra* instead of *sofra* (= Turkish), 'āfet > *avet*, *fā'ide(t)* > *vajda* instead of *fajda* (Turkish *fayda*), *fereḡiyye(t)* > *veredža* instead of *feredža* (Turkish *ferace*) etc.

f > *m*: The replacement with related bilabial exists only in: *ḥifz* > *Himzo* and *Imzo* instead of *Hifzo* (and *Hivzo* with assimilation *f* > *v*).

f > *p*: This change with related bilabial is only found in *sufre(t)* > *sopra* instead of *sofra*.

f > *k*: In the word *mufti(n)* > *muktija* and

f > *h*: In the same word: *muhtija* instead of *muftija*.

Interdental sounds

They are: *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ḏ*, *ẓ*. None is common in our language. *ṭ* and *ḍ* are similar to English sounds spelled *th*. As in some Arabic dialects, they are replaced by similar dental: *ṭ* > *s* and *ḍ* > *z*. Consonants *ḏ* and *ẓ* (like *š*, *ṭ*, *q*) are often referred to as emphatic and velarisation is characteristic for them, when the back part of the tongue is raised toward velum. This is why they are some-

times referred to as velarised consonants. In our language they are all pronounced without velarisation, and *ḏ* and *ẓ* are pronounced like our *z* (*ḏ* sometimes as *d*).

Interdental *ṭ* = ث

ṭ > *s*: This is the most frequent change: there are numerous examples and we shall give only some: *tiqlet* > *srklet* (Turkish *siklet*); *tulut* > *sulus* (Turkish *sülüs*); *ḥadiṭ* > *hadis*, etc.

ṭ > *z*: *mīrāṭ* > *miraz*.

Interdental *ḏ* = ذ

In most cases it is replaced by our dental *z* and in some cases also by dental *d*.

ḏ > *z*: This is also a regular replacement. We shall give only two or three examples: *ḏikr* > *zik(i)r* (Turkish *zikir*); *ḏu-l-fiḡār* > *zulfikar*; *leḏḏet* > *lezet*; *'iḏn* > *izun*; *mu'eḏḏin* > *mujezin*, etc.

Emphatic interdental *ḏ̣* = ض

ḏ̣ > *z*: *ḏabit* > *zabit*; *ferḏ* > *farz* (= Turkish); *remeḏān* > *ramazan* (= Turkish); however,

ḏ̣ > *d*: *Ramadan* (as a personal name): *ḏabt* > *dabt* in addition to *zapt* etc.

Emphatic interdental *ẓ* = ظ

This consonant is regularly replaced by dental *z*. There seems to be no other replacements. Here are several examples:

ẓ > *z*: *ẓālim* > *zalim*; *mazlūm* > *mazlum*; *ḥāfiẓ* > *hafiz*; *ẓuhūr* > *zuhur* (*ozuhuriti*), etc.

Dentals

They include: *t*, *d*, *ṭ*, *n*, *r*, *l*, *s*, *z*, *ṣ*, of which *t*, *d*, *n*, *r*, *l*, *s*, *z*, since they are identical in our language, remained unchanged. For that reason we shall not give examples. However, in some cases, some of them were changed by other consonants. Examples are as follows:

Dental *d* = د

d > *t*: In some words voiced *d* changed into voiceless *t* (or, they were taken from the Turkish language in which that change must have occurred). As a consequence, dual forms were created, which preserved both *d* and *t*, for example: *'Aḥmed* > *Ahmet* instead of *Ahmed* (Turkish *Ahmet*); *'inād* > *inat* (= Turkish) instead of *inad*; *muḡellid* > *mudželit* instead of *mudželid*; there are cases with *t* only: *Mahmūd* > *Mahmut*; *šāhid* > *šahit* (and *šajit*) etc. In word initial position *d* changed into *t*: *debbāḡ* > *tabak* (= Turkish) (= leather worker).

Dental *n* = ن

n > *m*: *rehn* > *rehum* (and *reum*); *wezne(t)* > *vezma*;

n > *l*: *na'lun* > *nalula* instead *naluna*;

$n > h$: 'insān > *ihsan* instead of *insan*;
 $n > k$: in the same word: *iksan*;
 $n > nj$: *mūnis* > *munjiz* instead of *muniz*.

Dental $r = ر$

$r > l$: 'irtifā' > *iltifa* instead of *irtifa*.

Dental $l = ل$

$l > lj$: Under the influence of palatal vocal *i*, *l* changed into *lj* in the following words: *fetīl* > *fitilj* (Turkish *fitil*); *helīme(t)* > *heljma* (Turkish *helme*, *helime*); *mindīl* > *mendilj* (Turkish *mendil*); *mīl* > *milj*; *mīlk* > *miljač*; *mīljé* (in addition to *milač* and *milč*); *sebīl* > *sebilj*.

$l > m$: Only in the word *bulbul* > *bumbul*.

Dental $s = س$

$s > z$: *qawwās* > *kavaz*; *muflis* > *mufliz*; *mūnis* > *muniz*; *nufūs* > *nufuz* instead of *nufus*; *sā'is* > *seiz* and *sejiz*; *muderris* > *muderiz*, instead of *muderis*, etc.

Dental $z = ز$

$z > s$: *zulf* > *soluf* (in addition to *zuluf*, *zulov*);
 $z > š$: *za'ferān* > *šafra*n (in addition to *zafran*), and
 $z > ž$: in the same word: *žafra*n; *zurāfe(t)* > *žirafa*.

Emphatic dental $t = ط$

This is an occlusive voiceless emphatic dental which is not common in our language. It is regularly replaced by our dental occlusive *t*, except for some other cases of the change, for example:

$t > d$: *tarḥ* > *dara* (Turkish); in addition to *tara*; *qaṭā'if* > *kadaif* (Turkish *kadayif*); *qaṭīfe(t)* > *kadifa*.

Emphatic dental $ṣ = ص$

This fricative voiceless emphatic dental is not common in our language. It is regularly replaced by our fricative dental *s*, and in some words by *z*.

$ṣ > z$: *ṣan'at* > *zanat*; *maḥṣūs* > *mahsuz* (and *maksuz*) instead of *mahsus*; *meqāṣṣ* > *makaze* and *makase* (Turkish *makas*).

Palato-alveolars

They are *š* and *ğ* (= *ḍ*). They correspond to our consonants *š* and *ḍ*. The former did not change, while *ğ* is regularly replaced by our *dž* or in some cases by some other consonants.

Palato-alveolar *š* = ش

As it has been said before, it is regularly replaced by our consonant *š*, which is why we shall not give any examples. Other changes do not seem to have occurred. In 'ešğāl > *ežgal* voicing assimilation occurred.

Palato-alveolar *ğ* (= *ḍ*) = ج

Although this sound is very close to our *ḍ*, it regularly becomes our *dž* (especially in writing). But it is ever more pronounced like *ḍ* in certain areas,

which is also the case with other examples of consonant *dž* which are not of Arabic origin.

ǧ > dž: *ǧami'a(t)* > *džamija*; *meǧlis* > *medžlis*; 'ilāǧ > *iladž*, and many other words;

ǧ > č: *ǧehāz* > *čeiz* in addition to *čejiz*, *čejz* (Turkish *çeyiz*, *cihaz*); *ǧull* > *čul* (Turkish *çul*); *ħarāǧ* > *harāč*; *ħarǧ* > *hār(a)č*; *serrāǧ* > *sarač* (Turkish *saraç*);

ǧ > v: 'eǧzā > *evza*, and

ǧ > r: in the same word: *erza*.

Palatal *y* (= *j*) = *ɟ*

It corresponds to our palatal *j*, which is why there is a regular replacement.

Velar *k* = *ك*

Although this consonant corresponds to our *k*, in addition to the cases when it keeps its original form, it often becomes our palatal *č*. There are dual forms with *k* and *č*, although there are words in which only *č* appears. There are also some other changes of this sound.

k > č: *Ka'be(t)* > *Čaba*, instead of *Kaba*; *kātib* > *čatib* (abbreviated into *čato*) instead of *katib*; *kitāb* > *čitab* instead of *kitab*; *mubārek* > *mubareč* instead of *mubarek*; *Šākir* > *Šaćir* instead of *Šakir*; only with *č*, for example in: *kebāb* > *čevap* (in addition to *čevab*, *čebap*); *Kāmil* > *Čamil*; *kūb* > *čup*; *helāk* > *helač*; *dukkān* > *dučan*, etc.

k > đ: *tekbīr* > *teđbir* (in addition to *tečbir*), instead of *tekbir*;

k > h: *mekteb* > *mehtef*, instead of *mekteb*, and

k > j: in the same word: *mejtef*.

Uvulars

Uvular sounds are: *ħ*, *ǧ*, *q*, and they do not occur in our language. They are regularly replaced by our consonants *h*, *g* and *k*. There are also some other changes which we will mention here, while the deletion of sound *h* will be discussed later in the Chapter on deletion of consonants.

Uvular *ħ* = *ح*

ħ > h: this is the most usual replacement. There are so many examples and we shall give only some: *Fāħire(t)* > *Fahira*; *šeiħ* > *šejh* and *šeh*; *Ĥalid* > *Halid*; *ħālis* > *halis*; 'āħiret > *ahiret*, etc.

ħ > g: *meħāzin* > *magazin* (and *magaza* = Turkish);

ħ > k: *ħalīfe(t)* > *kalif(a)* (different meaning) instead of *halifa*; *maħsūs* > *maksuz* instead of *mahsus*; *muħtār* > *muktar* instead of *muhtar*; *šeiħ* > *šeik* instead of *šeih*;

ħ > v: *duħān* > *duvan* instead of *duhan*.

Uvular *ǧ* = *ج*

ǧ > g: this is a regular replacement. Let us give only the following examples: *ǧībet* > *gibet*; *maǧrib* > *magrib*; *bāliǧ* > *balig*, etc.

ǧ > k: *debbāǧ* > *tabak* (= Turkish, leather maker).

Uvular *q* = ق

q > *k*: this is a usual replacement. Out of many examples, we shall give only some: *qāḍī(n)* > *kadija*; *baqqāl* > *bakal(in)*; *zuqāq* > *sokak* (= Turkish), etc.

Pharyngeal

ḥ and ' are not common in the Serbo-Croat language. The first is most often replaced by our laryngeal *h*, while the other is lost in most cases (we shall discuss this later). In some cases both were replaced by some other sounds.

Pharyngeal *ḥ* = ح

ḥ > *h*: this regular replacement will be illustrated by the following examples: *ḥikāye(t)* > *hikaja* in addition to *hičaja*; 'aḥbāb > *ahbab*; *silāḥ* > *silah*, etc.

ḥ > *j*: *ḥisāb* > *jesap* in addition to *hesap* instead of *hesab*; *silāḥ* > *silaj* instead of *silah*;

ḥ > *v*: *ḥayāt* > *vajat* instead of *hajat*; *silāḥ* > *silav* instead of *silah*.

ḥ > *k*: *ḥinnā'* > *kna* in addition to *kina*, *krna*.

Pharyngeal ' = ع

' > *h*: *sā'at* > *sahat* in addition to *sat*; 'āṣin(*n*) > *pohasiti se*; 'āšūrā' > *hašure* instead of *ašure*; 'aqīq > *hakik*;

' > *j*: *ma'den* > *majdan*; 'aqreb > *jakrep* instead of *akrep*;

' > *v*: *du'ā* > *dova*.

Laryngeals

They are ' and *h*. The former, so-called *hamza* was deleted, although there are cases in which, this sound, although deleted, influenced the surrounding segments. The latter consonant corresponds to our laryngeal *h* and remained unchanged. There are also cases in which this sound was deleted or became different sounds. The cases of deletion will be discussed in the Chapter below.

Laryngeal ' = ء

In imitating Arabic pronunciation, this consonant remained in the Muslim pronunciation of the word *Qur'ān* > *Kur'an* (although it is usually pronounced as *Kuran* or *Koran*) and in some similar words like *Fu'ād* > *Fu'ad* etc., although it is usually avoided, in addition to its deletion, by its replacement with some other consonants, as follows:

' > *h*: 'ālet > *halat* instead of *alat*; *seudā'* > *sevdah*;

' > *v*: *su'āl* > *suval* instead of *sual*;

' > *j*: 'esīr > *jesir*; *mu'edḍin* > *mujezin*; *belā'* > *belaj*.

Laryngeal *h* = ه

h > *v*: *ma'tūh* > *matuv* instead of *matuh* (= Turkish).

b) *Deletion of consonants*

Most of Arabic consonants were placed by related or other consonants or maintained their original pronunciation in our language. However, some of the consonants were deleted. Thus, the consonants ' = ξ and ' = ε were almost completely deleted from their positions. In non-Muslim pronunciation here the consonants *ḥ* = ħ, *ḥ* = ç and *h* = o are completely deleted, while Muslims, with few exceptions, maintained them. All three sounds are pronounced like our *h*.⁹ Some other consonants were deleted as well.

Already in the Arabic pronunciation in 'waqf' (pause), the following consonants were mainly deleted in both speech and writing: *t* in suffix *-at* (*et*); *-yy* in suffix *-iyy* and *-n* in an indefinite article (*tenwīn*) *-un* (or only *n*), although there are cases in which they are preserved.

We could mention here a general simplification of geminated consonants, although gemination was preserved in some cases, or at least there is a hesitation over the pronunciation of some words, among Muslims only.

We shall not give all the words in which a consonant was deleted; rather, we shall give an example for each above-mentioned consonant in its various positions in a word. The examples are as follows:

- ' – 'Abdu-l-lāh > Abdul(D)ah; ma'rifet > marifet; 'irtifā' > irtifa;
- ' – 'imām > imam; su'āl > sual; 'ešqiyā' > eškija;
- ḥ* – ḥaber > aber instead of haber; maḥmūr > mamuran instead of mahmuran;
- ḥ* – ḥalāl > alal instead of halal; 'aḥbāb > abab instead of ahabab; ṣulḥ > nasuliti se; muḥḍir > muzur instead of muhzur (Turkish muhzir)
- h* – hewā > ava instead of hava; qahr > kaar and kār instead of kahar (Turkish kahir); miḥmez and miḥmāz > mamuza (Turkish mahmuz), etc.

There are many more examples illustrating the deletion of these consonants. However, the examples of the deletion of other consonants are not so numerous: *t* – sā'at > sahačija; ġairet > gajrečija; ḥidmet > hizmečar; *d* – 'inād > inačija, inačiluk; *m* – qa'immeqām > kajmekam; *r* – 'istikrār > istekar instead of istekrar, etc.

Geminated consonants which are unusually frequent in the Arabic language, became single consonants, as our language does not tolerate consonantal pairs. In some words a geminated (the second) consonant is preserved or at least there is some hesitation in pronunciation. As a result, sometimes we can hear doublets with or without gemination, in Muslim pronunciation, while gemination disappeared from the pronunciation of non-Muslims. This phenomenon should be attributed to a more direct influence of the Arabic language on the pronunciation of our Arabic words in Muslim speech.

⁹ On the loss of "h" sound and adding that sound at places where it does not exist in Arabic, which is a characteristic of non-Muslim speech here (like the lack of knowledge of geminated consonants in Arabic words), see Škaljić, Vol. I, p. XLI-XLII.

Thus we can hear: *ḥammāl* > *ham(m)al* in addition to *amal(in)*; *ḥammām* > *ham(m)am* in addition to *amam*; in some examples hesitation is not evident and we can hear only geminated consonants: *ḡennet* > *džennet*; *quwwet* > *kuvvet*; *šiddet* > *šiddet*, etc.

In some other cases (in Muslim speech also) gemination disappeared, for example in the words: *qaṣṣāb* > *kasap(in)*, in Turkish *kasap*; *serrāg* > *sarač* (Turkish *saraç*); *meqāṣṣ* > *makaze* in addition to *makase*, etc.

Consonant *-n* disappeared fully from an indefinite article (which is also the case in Arabic, in the pause). An exception is the word: *na'lun* > *naluna*; ' *Ādilun* > *Adil*; *ḡāhilun* > *džahil*; *rāḡin* > *razi* (= Turkish). In the word *qāḡin* > *kadija* we can see that suffix *-ja* developed in place of *-n*, like in the following words: *muftin* > *muftija*; *wālin* > *valija*; *rāwin* > *ravija*, etc.

In place of suffix *-at* (*et*), which is pronounced in Arabic in a pause as *-a* (*-e*) and is used in most cases to introduce a feminine gender, we often use only vowel *-a* (especially in female names); ' *Ābide(tun)* > *Abida*; *Fāḡile(tun)* > *Fadila*, etc. There are still many cases in which *-t* was preserved: *bereket* > *bereket* and *bericet*; *ma'rifet* > *marifet*; *sunnet* > *sun(n)et*; *našihat* > *nasihat*, etc. In some cases it was deleted from nominative and accusative cases, although it appears in the cases under the pattern of our nouns of neutral gender, as in: *bure*, *lane* etc. Such words are for example: *mille(t)* > *mil(l)*; *sūre(t)* > *sure*; *hemze(t)* > *hemze*.

In place of suffix *-iyy(un)*, in our language there is only *-i*, as in: *qawiyy(un)* > *kavi* (=Turkish), or suffix *-ija*: *Qadriyy(un)* > *Kadrija*; *ṣūfiyy(un)* > *sufija*, etc.

c) Addition and epenthesis of consonants

There are only few "pure" additions (at the beginning and the end of the word) and epenthesis (in the middle of the word) of new consonants in places where they did not exist in Arabic words. We shall give some examples of addition and epenthesis of consonants, which are rather replacements of related or similar consonants. These are examples:

- j* – it looks like a new sound at the beginning of the word in: ' *esīr* > *jesir*;
- h* – it looks like an epenthetic sound in: *sā'at* > *sahat*; the same seems to be the case in the following examples:
- v* – *su'āl* > *sual*; *j – ma'den* > *majdan*; *k – ma'sum* > *maksum*;
- h* – it looks like added to the following words: ' *ālet* > *halat*; *seudā'* > *sevdah*, etc.

Those are, however, the replacements mentioned in the text above.

We shall now give some examples of a real addition or epenthesis of consonants:

- m* – inserted in: ' *ibret* > *imbrete*;
- j* – inserted in: *Ḥusein* > *Husejin*; *ḡair* > *hajir* and in similar cases in order to avoid a hiatus in a diphthong;
- n* – inserted in: *ḡile(t)* > *hinla*;

- t* – inserted in: *mešrebe(t)* > *maštrafa*;
- t* – added at the end of the word: *ħabs* > *ħapst*;
- r* – inserted in the word *seġġade(t)* > *serdžada*, although this could be explained as assimilation of a geminated consonants *ġ* > *r*.

We would also mention that dissimilation would also be the case in the following words: *bulbul* > *bumbul* (*l* > *m*); *maħšūs* > *maħsuz* (*s* > *z*) and *temām* > *taman* (*m* > *n*). *r* seems to be inserted in the words: *tiqlet* > *srklet*, *qidd* > *zrt*, etc, although there is also assimilation of vowels (in our words *r* is a vowel). It will be discussed in the Chapter on vowels.

In personal names ending in *-i* (as it is the case with such words of non-Arabic origin in our language), consonant *j* is inserted in oblique cases in front of suffixes, in order to avoid a hiatus. Thus, the genitive form of *Suyūfiyy* > *Sujuti* is *Sujutija* (like *Rossinija* < *Rossini*). The genitive form may also be *Sujutije* which is derived from nominative form *Sujutija*, although this form is believed to be less correct, like in any other similar examples.

Consonant “*j*” in the mentioned suffix *-ja* in the words such as *kadija* etc., or the whole suffix may have originated under the influence of genitive or accusative of such words in Arabic, in which they are: *qāḏiyen* (in a pause *qāḏiyā* or *el-qāḏiyā*).

d) *Metathesis (transposition of consonants)*

In some Arabic words, some consonants transposed their positions, in order to make pronunciation easier or under the influence of popular etymology (e.g. *la‘net* > *nalet*). In this way a foreign word adapted to our pronunciation, or its meaning was coming closer to the meaning of the words similar to original Arabic words by their form. There are only few examples for metathesis: *na‘lun* > *namula* instead of *naluna*; *ġeḏwe(t)* > *dževza* instead of *džezva*; *kešf* > *čevš* and *čevš*; *šubhe(t)* > *šuhva* instead of *šubha* in addition to *šupha*, *šuvha*; *buledā’* > *budala*; *ġairet* > *garjet* instead of *gajret*; *teuhid* > *tehvid* instead of *tevhid*, etc.

e) *Assimilation of consonants*

The adaptation to the manner of pronunciation of Serbo-Croat words led to the transposition of related consonants. One of the two consonants (in Arabic standard language there are no tri-consonant groups), if they are different in terms of voicing or place of articulation, are assimilated if they stand next to or near each other. This is also happening in the Arabic pronunciation, but because of an etymological orthography it is not recorded in the Arabic script. Thus, the following are examples of assimilation in our language: *ħabs* > *ħaps*; *maqbul* > *maġbul*; *ħabṭ* > *zapt*; *‘iḥāl* > *izhal*; *qaṣden* > *kasten*, etc. These are examples of voicing assimilation.

In words *sunbul* > *sumbul*; *minber* > *mimbera* (in addition to *minber(a)*; *semt* > *sent*, assimilation by place of articulation took place.

The opposition phenomenon – dissimilation – is a rare occurrence with consonants, which we have already seen in the words such as *bumbul*, *taman* and *mahsuz*.

f) Palatalization of consonants

Some non-palatal consonants were transformed into palatal in our Arabic words. In case of the words, *fītilj*, *mendilj*, *milj*, *milj(a)c*, *heljma* and *sebilj*, palatal vocal *i* influenced the surrounding segments or there was a kind of assimilation of consonants with vowels.

However, in case of a frequent transfer of $k > \acute{c}$, there is no such influence (at least not in all cases): *kātib* > *ĉatib*; *mulk* > *mulĉ* (but there is also *mulĉ*, in which *l* transformed into *lj* under the influence of palatal *ĉ*).

Some other changes have led to subsequent palatalization (or yodization, as it is referred to in our language).¹⁰ In the word *haps* the consonant *s* changes in front of the suffix *-jenje* into palatal *š*; this is why we say *hapšenje* or *ferq* > (*o-*)*ferĉiti*, etc.

B. Vocalism of our Arabic words

The standard Arab language marks in writing only three long vowels (usually transliterated as *ā*, *ū*, *ī*) and diphthongs (with usual transliteration: *au*, *ai*), together with vowel *w* or *y*. In marking short vowels there are only three (with transcription: *a*, *u*, *i*). But all these basic vowels change more or less their quality (timbre), not only in a direct contact with emphatic *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, uvulars *ħ*, *ġ*, *q*, pharyngeal *ħ* and laryngeal ‘ consonants but also under the influence of various other factors. As Schaade¹¹ mentions it, the factors are as follows: the closeness of upper consonants, openness or closeness of a syllable, whether the syllable is stressed or unstressed, number of syllables in a word, influence of surrounding words and analogy and some other circumstances.

When they are near the above-mentioned consonants, long vowels are pronounced similarly to the manner in which they are pronounced here. But when it is immediately after emphatic consonant, the pronunciation of vowel *u* tends toward *o* and of vowel *i* toward vowel *ü* in German. The pronuncia-

¹⁰ There is a difference in terminology, as it is said about palatalization on p. 157 in Mario A. Pei and Frank Gaynor, *A Dictionary of Linguistics*, New York, 1954, the following: *The change of a sound which is ordinarily not a palatal into a palatal sound*. The following is said of yodization, on p. 236-7: *The changing of a pure vowel (usually e or i) in hiatus (q.v.) into the semivowel which in English orthography is usually written as y, and called yod after a letter of the Hebrew alphabet (e.g. the Latin vinea, which was pronounced as three syllables, changed into the Vulgar Latin vinya, sounded as two-syllable word)*.

¹¹ See: A. Schaade, “Der Vokalismus der arabischen Fremdwörter im osmanischen Türkisch”, Article published in *Festschrift Meinhof*, p. 450.

tion of long *a* when it stands next to other vowels tends toward *e* (dialectal transforms into long *i*).

Short vowel *a* (fetha) next to upper consonants (and *r*) is similar to our vowel *a*; when it stands next to emphatic consonants it tends toward vowel *o*, while it is pronounced similarly to our vowel *e*¹² when it is next to other consonants.

If it stands next to the above-mentioned consonants, short vowel *u* (*ḍamma*) becomes vowel *o* (or if it is next to the guttural sound, especially to *ḥ* and *ʿ*, it becomes *ö* – similar to the German sound), and otherwise it maintains its timbre and is pronounced similarly to our *u*.

Short vowel *i* (*kesra*), when it is next to the above consonants, is pronounced like the Russian vowel *ы*. Otherwise, it maintains the pronunciation similar to that of our vowel *i*.¹³

All the above mentioned influences on the pronunciation of Arabic vowels affected more or less the Arabic borrowings in our language. We should take into account the influence of Turkish vocalism on Arabic words, which we took over mainly through the Turkish language. Besides, vocalism of some other languages influenced Arabic words, and eventually our language made an influence as well.

Overall, a certain number of vowels in Arabic words underwent some major changes in quality and quantity. Thus, short vowels became long and long vowels became short. Some vowels were deleted, while others, not common in Arabic, were inserted in some Arabic words. Some diphthongs underwent monophthongization and contraction, the transformation of their semi-vowel (*u*, *i*) into a consonant (*v*, *j*) or insertion of consonant *j* between the vowels. Of course, Arabic words underwent changes in accent, depending on the place of accent in a word and on its nature, so that they adapted to the accentuation pattern in our language.

Out of the above vowels, most of the long vowels remained unchanged (without taking into account the changes of accent). Among short vowels, *i* remained unchanged, *u* became *o* in some cases, while *a* kept the same sound when surrounded by the above consonants. When surrounded by other consonants, with few exceptions, it is pronounced similarly to our *e*.

¹² Short vowel “fetha” is marked by “a” or “e” in accordance with real pronunciation, and not as it is usual with “a” only, which is done for the purpose of transliteration. We did that also because it was concluded in the first issue of *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* (p. 195) and also in order to show that our pronunciation of that consonant did not change. As the true Arabic pronunciation was not known, under the influence of foreign transcription of Arabic words (English etc.), some words are written wrongly, for example: Nagib instead of Nedžib, Mohamad instead of Muhamed, Naser instead of Nasir, etc.

¹³ On the pronunciation of Arabic vowels and diphthongs, see *A Grammar of the Arabic language* translated from the German of Caspari and edited with numerous additions and corrections by W. Wrights, Third edition revised by W. Robertson Smith and M. J. de Goeje, Cambridge, 1955, Volume I, p. 7-12.

We shall now give examples for the major linguistic phenomena. Some of them are similar to those attributed to consonants, but in view of their different importance for the vowels, they are not arranged in the order which applies to consonantism. Others are characteristic of vowels only and they had to be given an appropriate place among other phenomena related to vowels.

a) Assimilation of vowels

Although front vowels can be found in our language next to each other (palatal) *e* and *i*, and back (velar) *a*, *o*, *u*, assimilation of vowels is characteristic for some Arabic words. As a result, front vowel *i* after back vowel *a* changed into back vowel *u*. For example, *ḥāṣil* changed into *hasul*, etc. Maybe in most such cases the assimilation of vowels in local Arabic words should be attributed to the influence of the Arabic language governed by the so-called vocal harmony. The above mentioned word *ḥāṣil* was pronounced in the Turkish language as *hasıl*, i.e. with a specific Turkish back vowel “*i*” (instead of Arabic “*i*” because of the preceding “*a*”). After that word came from Turkish to our language, Turkish “*i*” was changed to its related vowel “*u*”. Analogous are the following examples: *ḥādīm* (Turkish *hadım*) > *hadum*; *ḥasır* (Turkish *hasır*) > *hasura*; *ḥāṭır* (Turkish *hatur*) > *hatur*, in addition to *hator*, *hatar* and *hater*; *ḥāḍır* (Turkish *hazır*) > *hazur*; *qāleb* or *qālib* (Turkish *kalıp*) > *kalup* in addition to *kaluf*; *qasım* (Turkish *kasım*) > *Kasum*; *qādir* > *kadar* in addition to *kader*; *ta’līm* > *talum*, etc.

There is an interesting case of assimilation of Arabic “*i*”, most probably via Turkish “*i*” into to our vocal “*r*”: *ḥinnā’* (Turkish *kına*) > *krna* in addition to *kna*, *kina*; *ṭiqlet* (Turkish *sıklet*) > *srklet*; *ḍidd* (Turkish *zıd*) > *zrt*; *qible(t)* (Turkish *kible*) > *krbla* instead of *kibla*; *qismet* (Turkish *kismet*) > *krsmet* instead of *kismet*.

Many other cases of assimilation of vowels are found in the following words: *temām* > *tamam* in addition to *taman*; *maḥkeme(t)* > *mehkema* in addition to *meščema*; *ṣadeqa(t)* > *sadaka*; *ḥanğer* > *handžar*; *menāre(t)* > *munara* in addition to *minaret*; *sirāğe(t)* > *saradža*; *ma’din* or *ma’den* > *majdan*; *meqāṣṣ* > *makaze* in addition to *makase*; *meḥalle(t)* > *mahala*, etc.

b) Dissimilation of vowels

This is an opposite phenomenon. Out of two or more vowels of the same sequence, often identical, one (or more) may be replaced by a vowel of another sequence. Thus, we have: *ğazāl* > *gazela*; *’aṣnāf* > *esnaf*; *’aṭrāf* > *etraf*; *merīd* > *mariz*, etc.

c) Addition or epenthesis of vowels

Arabic words, having lost case suffixes (in our language, in Turkish, or in another language or in Arabic) and an indefinite article, often contained two consonants at the end of the word. As our language accepts only the following clusters –*st*, –*št*, –*žd* and –*zd*, various vowels were inserted in different clusters

of consonants in our Arabic words. It is interesting that in such cases it is not only fleeting or fugitive “a” that is added, which appears regularly in other borrowings. We find it, for example, in the word *waqt* > *vakat*, but in the words such as: *sahn* > *sahan*, *qahr* > *kahar* etc., although inserted, it remains and is not “fugitive”. Vowel “u” often appears in a similar function, which is preserved in all other cases. These are examples: *kibr* > *kibur* in addition to *čibur*; *’iḥn* > *izun*; *rehn* > *rehum*; *resm* > *resum*; *sehm* > *sehum*; *ṣabr* > *sabur*; *qabr* > *kabur*; *ḥaṣm* > *hasum*; *qatl* > *katul*; *zulf* > *zuluf* in addition to *zulov*, *suluf* etc. in oblique cases vowel “e” remains: *’emr* > *emer*; *qadr* > *kader*; and vowel “r” in words *siḥr* > *sihir*; *’dihm* > *zihinli* and in some other similar cases.

Vowel “a” is added at the end of some words: *Su’ād* > *Suada*; in the words *ḥasīr* > *hasura*; *minḥer* > *minbera*, *mimbera* instead of *minber* etc., there is a change in a grammatical gender, which will be discussed later (semantic changes).

d) Deletion of vowels

Vowel “u” was deleted together with consonant -n from an indefinite article (*tanwīn*). Other vocal suffixes were deleted as well. Thus, we have: *’Umeru* > *Omer* or in genitive (*’iḏāfet*): *’Abdu-l-meḡīdi* > *Abdulmedžid* (as it is in Arabic in a pause), etc.

Some of our Arabic words lost some vowels, most probably because of an accent shift in our language (or in the language from which we borrowed them). Thus, for example: *ḥalife(t)* > *kalfa* (in addition to *halifa* or *kalif* with a different meaning); *ḥayewān* > *hajvan*; *ḥinna’* > (*via kina*) > *kna*, etc.

We could also mention the loss of unstressed vowels from some diphthongs, or their monophthongization: *ḡeib* > *džep*; *šeih* > *seh* (in addition to *šejh*, *šeik* with a different meaning); *teube(t)* > *toba* in addition to *tobe*, *tevba*, *tevbe*, etc.

Related to this is the contraction of the two identical vowels after the deletion of consonants which used to separate them: *ḡemā’at* > *džemat*; *sā’at* > *sat*; *meḥalle(t)* > *mala*, instead of *mahala*, etc.

e) Change of vowel quantity

In addition to other factors, the shift of the original accent of some of our Arabic words affected the change of the quantity (length) of vowels. The long vowels thus became short and short vowels became long. These are only some examples of frequent cases of shortening many long vowels in the Arabic language: *ṣaḥārā* > *sahārā*; *qaṣṣāb* > *kasāp*; *šeri’at* > *šeri(j)at*; *Re’ūf* > *Reūf*; *’aqribā’* > *akrebā*; *’Emīn* > *Emīn*, etc.

There are cases in which vowels became short and long in the opposite direction: *’Abdu-l-ḥamīd* > *Abdulhāmīd*; *’ešqiyā’* > *eškījā*, etc.

The initially short Arab vowels became longer in rare cases only: the examples are as follows: *’ālēt* > *alāt*; *ḥanḡēr* > *handžār* etc. A more frequent phenomenon was the transfer of initial vowels in personal names into long vowels: *Mūṣṭafā* > *Mūjo*; *Hüsein* > *Hūso*; *Mēliḥa(t)* > *Mēla*; *Šāfiyye(t)* > *Sāfa* and many others.

Like in the Arabic language in a pause, the preceding vowel became longer as a compensation for deleted -n from an indefinite article: 'aqlen > aklā; ġāliben > galibā; meṭelen > meselā (but, for example, in ġebren-qahren > dżebren-kahren -n was preserved).

f) Accent shift

We have seen that out of all accent changes the accent shift was very important. It was the change of the place of accent in a word which sometimes resulted in deletion or change of the vowel quantity. However, such cases may happen even without the accent shift as the accent may change its place without causing such a change in the word. Thus, for example, the accent shifted to the word initial position (which is the tendency of our recent accentuation in general), without causing any other changes in the same words: *Laḡif* > *Lāḡif*; *faḡīr* > *fāḡīr*; *Reṣād* > *Rēṣād*; *Fārūq* > *Fārūk* etc., although it goes back to the second syllable in genitive forms (and in some other cases).

Without going into details of this accent shift or the details of other problems related to accent, we can say in general that our Arabic words have been completely adapted to our accent system. This is why, in addition to the above, some other changes took place in the Arabic words, such as those which concerned the pitch and strength of sound of some vowels. As a consequence, our Arabic words received all four accents of our language, although such a difference between accents does not exist in the Arabic language.

C. Formation of new words¹⁴

We think that we should stress an interesting fact that Arabic nouns were the first words which came into our language. Those were primarily nouns and adjectives of which new nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs were formed by derivation and composition. They are composed of elements drawn from our language and often Turkish and even Persian and other languages. Thus, the so-called hybrid words were created.

We shall first refer to derivation, i.e. to the creation of new words by adding affixes, initially prefixes and thereafter suffixes.

a) Derivation

Prefixes

We shall first give examples of our prefixes:

iz- (is-): *ta'bīr* > *istabiriti*; *ta'mīr* > *istamiriti*; 'ilāġ > *iziladżiti*; *deur* > *izdeverati*; etc.

na-: *ħaber* > *nahaberiti*; *niyyet* > *nanijetiti*; *şulħ* > *nasuliti se*; *taħmīn* > *natahmin*; *qaşd* > *nakastice*; etc.

¹⁴ On various ways of formation of our Turkish words (and some Arabic as well), see Škaljić, Vol. I, p. XLII-XLV

- o-: *bā' it* > *obajatiti*; *baṭṭāl* > *obataliti*; *qahr* > *okahariti*; *ḥinnā'* > *okniti*; etc.
- ob- (op-): *siḥr* > *opsihiriti*;
- od-: *ḡewāb* > *oddževapiti*; *hiḡret* > *odhidžretiti*; etc.
- po-: 'āṣi(n) > *po(h)asiti se*; *ḥabs* > *pohapsiti*; *ḥarḡ* > *poharčiti*; 'inād > *poinaditi se*; *sehw* > *posefiti se*; *temām* > *potamam* and *potaman*, etc.
- pod- (pot-): *kusur* > *potkusuriti*; *quwwet* > *potkuvetiti se*; etc.
- pre-: *semt* > *presentati*; *teslīm* > *preteslimiti*; *tebdīl* > *pretebdiliti*, etc.
- pri-: *ṣabr* > *prisaburiti*; *te' ḥīr* > *pritehiriti*, etc.
- pro-: *ḥisāb* > *prohesabiti*; *ta' bīr* > *protabiriti*, etc.
- raz- (ras-): *dellāl* > *rastelaliti*; *taqṣīm* > *rastaksimiti*; *rāḥat* > *razrahaiti se*; etc.
- s-: *qaṣd* > *skastiti*; *yekūnu* > *sječuniti*; etc.
- u-: *ḡild* > *udžiliti*; *ḥabs* > *uhapsiti*; *ḡabt* > *uzaptiti*; etc.
- uz-: *ḥarūn* > *uzharuniti se*; *ḥaṣm* > *uzhasumiti se*; 'inād > *uzinad*, etc.

Many adjectives of Arabic origin (especially those in *-i*, *-li*) have become unchangeable, i.e. they do not change by case or gender, although some of them may be compared, when they receive our prefixes or suffixes required for comparison of adjectives. Thus we have: *mu'teber* > (*naj-*)*muteberniji*; *maqbul* > (*naj-*)*magbulniji*, etc. two Arabic comparatives underwent comparison in our language as they were understood as positives. They are: 'efḡal > *efzal* and 'ehwen > *ehven*. Thus, we say: (*naj-*)*efzalniji* or (*naj-*)*ehveniji*.

The adjectives were formed of Arabic nouns with Persian adverb *bi*: *ḥaber* > *bihaber*, *ḥuḡūr* > *bihuzur*.

Derivation by suffixes

1) Adjectives

In the said comparatives or superlatives, (*naj-*)*efzalniji* and (*naj-*)*magbulniji*, suffix (or infix) *-n* is added in front of *-iji*. This suffix is used for the formation of adjectives. It is regularly preceded by fugitive *a*, for example: *bereket* > *bericetan*; *qahr* > *kaharan*; *maḥmūr* > *mahmuran*, etc. Another affixes are used for the formation of adjectives: *-ast*: 'aḥmaq > *ahmakast*; 'ebreš > *abrešast*; 'esmer > *esmerast*; *-ski*: ḡemā'at > *džematski*; ḡenmet > *dženetski*; *qiyāmet* > *kijametski*, and in many other cases.

We have already mentioned that Arabic suffix *-iyy* was transformed into *-i*: 'aksiyy > *aksi*; *zeitūniyy* > *zejtuni*, etc.

Turkish suffix *-li* is very frequent: 'aḥlāq > *ahlakli*; *ḥair* > *ha(j)irli*; 'iqbāl > *ikbali* in addition to *igbali*; *ṣabr* > *saburli*; *ḡihn* > *zihinli*, etc.

Hewa' > *havadar* adjective contains Persian *-dar*.

Some adjectives were formed from Arabic words with Turkish postposition *-suz*: 'edeb > *edepsuz*; *ḥair* > *hairsuz*; 'ār > *arsuz*; *terbiye(t)* > *terbijesuz*, etc.

2) Nouns

Many local and a number of foreign suffixes were used for their formation. There are some cases of combination of even two suffixes in the same word. The following are some of our suffixes:

- an: 'abd > Avdan; Muḥammed > Mušan; Muṣṭafā > Mujan; etc.
- ica: 'areb > arebica; hewā' iyy > havajica; ġemāl > Džemica; etc.
- ić: (in family names) 'abd > Abdić; qādi(n) > Kadić, etc.
- in: 'areb > Arapin instead of Arap; baqqal > bakalin instead of bakal; qassāb > kasapin instead of kasap; etc;
- ina: 'ahbāb > aḥbabina; buledā' > budalina;
- ka: Behiyye(t) > Behka; Sāmiye(t) > Samka; Ğemīle(t) > Džemka; 'areb > Arapka; etc.
- ko: Šāliḥ > Salko; Neḏīr > Nesko; Šefīq > Šefko; Ze'īm > Zajko, etc.
- nik: la'net > naletnik; 'emānet > amanetnik.

dži is a frequent Turkish suffix which is regularly combined with suffix *-ja*, which results in *-džija*: 'abā' > abadžija; na'lun > nalundžija; hammām > hamamdžija, etc.

This *-dži* is also combined with Turkish suffix *-luk* in *-džiluk*: 'abā' > abadžiluk, although suffix *-luk* is also added to the base: qādi(n) > kadiluk; wezīr > vezirluk; 'asker > askerluk; aqribā' > akrebaluk; 'āsi(n) > asiluk, etc.

Turkish suffix *-li* is combined with *-ja* to form nouns: qafeṣ > kafezlija; ṣa'nat > zanatlija; teferruḡ > teferičlija, etc.

Suffix *-dži* corresponds to Turkish suffix *-či*. In fact, it is its option after voiced consonants. It appears in the combination with suffix *-ja*, i.e. in the form *-čija*: ġibe(t) > gibečija; qiyāme(t) > kijamečija; saḥleb > salepčija, etc.

Persian suffix *-dar* is also in use: ḥazīne(t) > haznadar; silāḥ > silahdar, etc. *-čar* is also Persian, which was initially not a suffix, although it was taken as such: ḥidme(t) > hizmečar; zulm > zulumčar, etc.

The words with those Persian suffixes, including those with suffix *-ana* (derived from the word *hane* = kuća) could be regarded as compound words since they were derived from the initially independent words, although we do not feel them like that any longer. Suffix *-ana* is found, for example, in ḥabs > hapsana, and the derived words: hapsandžija (there are elements from three or even four languages). *-hana* was preserved in some compound words, although that is the so-called *izafet*, discussed in the Chapter on composition.

3) Verbs

Derivation of verbs (except for those derived by prefixes) is done by expanding a noun base of Arabic words by our thematic vowels *-a* or *-i*: deur > deve-rati; 'emānet > amanetiti; baṭṭāl > obataliti, etc.

Some verbs were derived by our suffix *-ova*, for example: 'āsiq > ašik-ovati; teferruḡ > teferičovati, etc.

Some verbs are formed by Greek suffix *-isa* (taken through Turkish) which is sometimes preceded by Turkish *-le(n)* or *-la*: *šubhe(t)* > *šuphelenisati se* (Turkish: *šuphelenmek*); *'iqāmet* > *kamettleisati*; *mubarek* > *mubarečleisati*; *wereq* > *varaklaisati* (Turkish *varaklamak*); *belā'* > *bela(j)isati*; etc.

Composition

Composition implies the formation of compound words out of two or more independent words, so that they make a new speech or semantic unit. In addition to Arabic words, a compound word may contain a word of our or another language (Arabic as well and often Turkish or Persian).

Compounds with our words are rare: *haber* > *habernoša*; *kufur* > *kufur* (*čufur*), or with negative particle *ne-*: *waqt* > *nevakat*; *hair* > *nehajir*; *rāḥat* > *nerahat*, etc.

We would include here the so-called *izafet* (genitive construction), for example: *re'isu-l-'ulemā'i* > *reisul-ulema* (which literary means leader of scholars). Genitive suffix *-i* is regularly deleted. There is another form of this construction in which *-i* is added to the first word, for example: *dāru-l-ḥarbi*, and in our language *dari-harb*. This construction came from the Persian language (via Turkish) as did the third form of *izafet*, the so-called *maqlūb*, i.e. reverse as the words are in a reverse order. Thus it is said *dun'ja-mal* (literally: world's wealth and Arabic would be: *mālu-d-dunyā*). As the words in *izafet* are closely linked and this construction is strange in our language by its form, we take such words as compounds. This is the reason why they are included in this Chapter, and not in Syntax, where they belong to in terms of grammar. Below are examples of all three types of *izafet*:

Real Arabic *izafet* is more frequent in personal names, such as in: *'Abdu-l-lāh* > *Abdulah*; *'Abdu-s-selām* > *Abduselam*; *Seifu-d-din* > *Sejfudin*; *Du-l-fiḡār* > *Zulfikar* etc. It seems to be rare in other words: *beitu-l-māl* > *bejtul-mal*; *šeiḥu-l-'islām* > *šejhul-islām*; *du-l-ḥiḡḡe(t)* > *zul-hidže*, etc.

The second form of *izafet* exists, for example, in the following words: *deuru-d-dunyā* > *devri-dun'ja*; *leiletu-l-qadr* > *lejlei-kader*; *šadeqatu-l-fitr* > *sadekaifitr*; *ziyāretu-l-qabr* > *zijareti-kabur*. In some examples in Arabic the other part is an attributive adjective: *kelām qadīm* > *kelami-kadim*; *nizām ḡedīd* > *nizami-džedid*, etc. With the Persian word (*rūz*) we have a compound with Arabic: *maḥšer* > *rozi-maḥšer*.

The third form of *izafet* (i.e. without any suffixes) exists in compounds with Arabic words: *hair, du'ā'* > *hair-dova*; *nufūs, teḡkire(t)* > *nufus-teskera*; *sibyān, mekteb* > *sibjan-mekteb*; *sā'at, qulle(t)* > *sahat-kula*. Some examples illustrate attributive construction in the Arabic language, while according to the rule an attribute would come behind its noun, for example: *maḡbūl, du'ā'* > *maḡbul-dova*; *'eḡīr, zemān* > *ahir-zeman*, etc. There are compounds with Persian and Arabic words: *teslīm* > *džan-teslim*; *meḡāšš* > *mum-makaze* or the compounds in which the second word is Persian: *kutub* > *kutub-hana*; *qirā'et* > *kiraethana*; *musafir* > *musafir-hana*; *'iḡāzet* > *idžazet-nama*; *qiblet* > *kiblet-nama*; *siyāḡat* > *sejahat-nama* etc.

The following compounds contain a Turkish word in word initial position: *qaṭā'if* > *ekmek-kadaif*; *šāhid* > *jalan-šahit*; *haber* > *kara-haber*; *kebab* > *šiš-čevap*, etc.

D. Syntactic changes

In addition to *izafet* construction which would belong to this Chapter, which for the above mentioned reasons is discussed under the word formation, we shall mention only two or three interesting cases in relation to syntax of some of our Arabic words.

If we link this chapter to the compounds, we would stress syntagmas composed of some Arabic adjectives or nouns with our verbs. The most interesting phenomenon is that in such cases it is regularly our verb that changes, while the Arabic word remains in nominative (with verbs *biti*, *učiniti se*), in genitive (*doći*) or accusative (*činiti*, *učiniti*), regardless of gender and number of the subject or object accompanying those syntagms, such as: *gaib* (*hasul*, *halas*, *helać*, *kail*) *biti*; *azab* (*dovu*, *helać*, *nićah*) (*u*)*činiti*; *asi* (*ašik*, *rahat*) *se učiniti*; *haka* (*tobe*) *doći* etc.¹⁵ As one part of the syntagm remained unchanged, they would represent a transition to real compounds.

Many adjectives are unchangeable. For example, *magbul*, as we have seen, has comparison, although it does not have declination, so that, for example, *magbul dova* would not change in different cases; only the word *dova* would change, i.e. the procedure with such syntagms is similar to the above mentioned compounds. This particularly goes for the adjectives ending in *-i* (for example *razi*) or in *-li* (for example, *hajirli*, *mušemali*) etc., which are totally unchangeable.

E. Semantic changes

We shall not enter into a detailed description and interpretation of semantics in relation to our Arabic words. We would only point to some of their peculiarities and we would give two or three interesting examples of semantic changes and stress some developmental tendencies of Arabic words in our language.

We have already mentioned an interesting circumstance that most of our Arabic words were initially nouns and adjectives. There were some particles. Concerning verbs, there are only their noun forms (noun verbs and participles). Pure verbal forms were not taken. We derived verbal forms from noun forms in the above-mentioned manner. There is an interesting form of a true verbal Arabic form: *yekūnu* > *ječun* (he will be) which is used here as a noun meaning sum, amount. A grammatical value changed-this is the so-called transmutation.

It also includes the changes of grammatical gender, which is often the case with the nouns ending in the mentioned suffix *-at* (*-et*), such as: *leddet* > *lezet*; *ma'rifet* > *marifet*; *qiyāmet* > *kijamet*; *našihat* > *nasihat*, etc., which are

¹⁵ See Škaljić, Vol. I, p. XXVI-XXVII.

feminine in the Arabic language and masculine in ours. Some of those nouns maintained ending *-e* after suffix *-t* was deleted, and as such they assumed neutral gender, for example: *sūre(t)* > *sure*; *kesre(t)* > *kesre*; *ġubbe(t)* > *džube*; *ġemre(t)* > *džemre*, etc.

Such transmutations also include the changes of number such as, for example, the use of Arabic plural forms in our singular forms (of which our plural forms are created). Those are: *aḥbāb* (plural of *ḥabīb*) > *ahbab*; *'aqrān* (plural form of *qirn*) > *akran*; *buledā'* (plural of *belād*) > *budala*; *'erzāq* (plural of *rizq*) > *erzak*; *'aṣnāf* (plural of *ṣinf*) > *esnaf*, etc. We must have taken such forms via the Turkish language in which the Arabic plural forms underwent the same changes. However, the development of Arabic words did not always correspond to the development in Turkish. Not all of these words were created under the Turkish influence. Thus, for example, the word *'ešqiyā'* (plural of *šeqiyy*) > *eškija* mean, like in Turkish, thugs, while here it means smuggled tobacco. The word *Sahara* (from *sāhāra*, which is plural of *sahrā'*), as a geographical name, was taken from a European language (Turks also use a singular form: *sahra*) as a general noun (*appellativum*).

There are some words the original meaning of which changed after their grammatical function changed. Some of them underwent a semantic change. For example, *esnaf* originally meant in Arabic *type*, while here it means craftsmen. A similar concretization took place in the word *eškija*. In Arabic that is an adjective which means: miserable, unfortunate; here it indicates a person or an object.

In these examples we notice that the basic meaning has narrowed. Such cases are frequent among our Arabic words. For example, the words, *ashabi*, *bedel*, *delil*, *farz*, *gasul*, *hadis*, *sumet* etc., which are used in Arabic as religious terms and in their original meaning. But they came to our language as exclusively religious terms, while their basic meanings are expressed by our own words or the borrowings from other languages.

A similar limitation of the use of words is also found in most of personal names originating from Arabic (several hundreds).¹⁶ Thus, for example, the words *Adil*, *Behdžet*, *Džemal*, *Edib*, *Fadil*, *Halil*, *Ismet*, *Mahmut*, *Nusret*, *Refik*, *Sabit*, *Šakir*, *Tajib*, *Velid*, *Zarif* and many others are used as personal names, while in Arabic they have their original meaning in everyday use, in addition to their use as personal names.

We should also mention their very usual abbreviation on the pattern of formation of other similar hypocoristics and diminutives. Such, for example, are the following names: *Muḥammed* > *Muho*; *'Emīne(t)* > *Mina*; *Šaliḥ* > *Salko*; *'Āmire(t)* > *Mira* and many more. Arabic diminutives in such cases are individual only, for example: *Husein* > *Hasen* or *Suleimā* > *Selmā* (here *Huse(f)in* and *Sulejma*) and they are not seen as diminutives.

¹⁶ See about Muslim personal names in general, Škaljić, Vol. I, p. XXVI-XXVII; according to him, out of 492 names listed in his Dictionary, only 81 are not of Arabic origin!

Numerous family names, topographic and geographic names originate from those names. A detailed study would not only be useful for etymology but for other fields of science as well, such as ethnology, sociology, history, geography, etc.

As most of those personal names (anthroponymy) came here under the influence of Islam, most of Arabic words fall within the domain of religion, which is quite understandable in view of the fact that the Arabic language is the language of Islamic religion of all Muslims. However, it has always been the major expression of Islamic culture in general, so that its influence on the languages of various Islamic religions expanded everywhere to a greater or smaller extent even outside the domain of religion. Thus, its influence on the Urdu, Persian, Hausa, Suaheli, Turkish and some other languages was very strong. We find in Persian and Turkish thousands of Arabic words from various fields of human activity.¹⁷ Most of Arabic words came to our language via Turkish, which have nothing in common with the religious life.

A certain number of our Arabic words taken from various European languages are such as well. Many of them indicate the notions from natural science and other branches of science and philosophy, which were extremely well developed in medieval Arabic and other Islamic states. Many of those Arabic words became a general cultural heritage of European languages, including ours. However, there is a significant number of those words originating from the other group, i.e. from those which came here via Turkish or directly from Arabic, which became domesticated, and a number of such words are simply irreplaceable by the words of local origin.

In our old folk poems, both epic and lyric (*sevdalinka*) and in popular speech, especially in the speech of Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of other members of our people and in other regions, the use of Turkish and among them Arabic words was quite widespread. However, under the influence of various political, social, cultural and historic, psychological and other factors, a feeling gradually developed for a pure local language and a tendency to free it from foreign words. It strongly affected Arabic words (or Turkish). The languages from which such words came into our use did not change the grammatical structure of our language. They were also limited in terms of number of semantics. In other words, they came into use as individual words, and for some other reasons. This is why the influence of our language on them was very strong and comprehensive. Defensive forces of our language were becoming stronger. Thus, after these words came into everyday use, a period followed in which younger generations could hardly understand them. This is the stage in which they are coming out of use even by those people

¹⁷ Cf. Škaljić's classification of Turkish words (which could be adequate for Arabic words, with some corrections) in his "Pregled riječi prema njihovom sadržaju", in which he classifies them into 24 groups, giving the number of Turkish words contained in his dictionary, vol. I, p. XXV-XXVI.

who could understand them at least partly. This is why many of them became archaic, or very uncommon.

As the process of loss of Arabic words (or Turkish words) is progressing it is necessary to preserve and record all the words that still exist in the popular speech and to collect and study that which is already recorded not only in the popular literature of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but in the Yugoslav literature in general. In any case it would be an important and useful task of our Orientalists in the first place but also of other scientists in general. Those words would not be important from the point of view of our language and our culture but also from the aspect of Arabic and Arabic linguistic and cultural influence here in general.

O ARABIZMIMA U SRPSKOHRVATSKOM JEZIKU

REZIME

Određeni broj arapskih riječi došao je u srpskohrvatski preko raznih evropskih jezika. Jedan dio sastoji se od direktnih posuđenica iz arapskog, mali broj je došao iz perzijskog, a većina ih je najvjerojatnije došla preko turskog. Ovo je dosta očito, imajući u vidu da u turskom ima mnogo posuđenica iz arapskog, s jedne strane, a da su, s druge, Turci ovdje vjekovima vladali. Upravo zato je, u jednu ruku, bilo opravdano prirodno uključivati i arabizme u turcizme, iako postoji relativno velik broj pravih arabizama. Tako, naprimjer, od nekih 6.500 turcizama uvedenih u posljednji i najveći rječnik te vrste objavljen u Jugoslaviji, autora Abdulaha Škaljića (vidi fusnotu četiri u ovom tekstu), 3.800 riječi su, zapravo, arapskog porijekla. Većina muslimanskih vlastitih imena arapskog su porijekla. Situacija je slična sa riječima koje se tiču vjerskog života muslimana, ali i pored toga postoji veliki broj arabizama koji označavaju ideje iz najrazličitijih aspekata života.

Ovaj se rad bavi uglavnom fonetskim promjenama koje su prošle arapske posuđenice, bilo da su u to vrijeme ušle u srpskohrvatski preko jezika kroz koji su došle, ili oboje.

U dijelu teksta koji se bavi konsonantima u arabizmima navode se najznačajnije zamjene za arapske konsonante, svjesne ili nesvjesne. Navedene su po fiziološkoj grupi, definirane mjestom artikulacije, počevši od labijala, pa sve do laringala.

Pod zasebnim podnaslovom, razmatraju se pitanja kao što su gubitak, dodatak, umetanje, metateza, asimilacija, disimilacija i palatalizacija konsonanata.

Potom se razmatraju promjene u vokalnom sistemu arabizama, te slijede primjeri najznačajnijih pojava koje se tiču arapskih vokala, kao što su asimilacija, disimilacija, umetanje, dodatak i gubitak, njihove kvalitativne promjene i, na kraju, neke promjedbe o akcentima u arapskim posuđenicama.

Naredno poglavlje daje kratki okvir tvorbe arabizama, prvo onih koji su nastali derivacijom sufiksa i prefiksa iz srpskohrvatskog i nekih drugih jezika. Zatim se daju kratke ali najznačajnije karakteristike načina na koji se arapske riječi transformiraju u naše.

Pod kratkim zasebnim naslovom mogu se naći primjedbe u vezi sa nekim sintaksičkim i semantičkim karakteristikama arapskih posuđenica.

Na kraju rada ukazuje se na potrebu da se prikupe svi arabizmi (možda u okviru turcizama) u svim dijelovima zemlje gdje se pojavljuju, a i u cjelokupnoj jugoslavenskoj literaturi, pošto ništa nije u potpunosti nestalo, i zato što postupno izlaze iz upotrebe i postaju arhaični, kako u govornom tako i u pisanome jeziku.

Osim toga, prikupljanje i izučavanje arabizama u srpskohrvatskom bilo bi zanimljivo iz ugla samog arapskog, jer arapski element u našem jeziku povezan je ne samo sa utjecajem koji je arapski imao, već i sa utjecajem arapske, a posebno islamske kulture uopće.

ON ARABIC LOANWORDS IN THE SERBO-CROAT LANGUAGE

SUMMARY

A certain number of Arabic words has come into Serbo-Croatian through various European languages. One part of them consists of direct borrowings from the Arabic, a small number of them has come via Persian, and most of them have most probably come via Turkish. This is quite obvious considering the fact that there are many Arabic loanwords in the Turkish language, on the one hand, and that, on the other, the Turks were for many centuries rulers in these parts. That is why it has been in a way a justifiable practice to include Arabic loanwords as a matter of course among the Turkish loanwords, although there is a comparatively considerable number of Arabic words among them. So, for example, out of some 6.500 "Turkish borrowings", entered in the latest and the biggest dictionary of its kind published in Yugoslavia, compiled by Abdulah Škaljić (see Footnote 4 of this paper), 3.800 entries are in fact of Arabic origin. Most of our Muslim personal names are of Arabic origin. The position is similar with words concerning the religious life of Muslims, but besides these there is a great number of Arabic borrowings denoting ideas from the most diverse provinces of life in general.

This paper deals mainly with the phonetic changes which the Arabic borrowings have undergone, whether at the time they came into Serbo-Croatian or in the language through which they came or both.

In the chapter dealing with the consonants of the Arabic borrowings the most significant substitutes for Arabic consonants in Serbo-Croatian, cognate and otherwise, are cited. They are listed according to physiological groups,

defined by the place of their articulation, beginning with labials and ending with laryngals.

Under separate headings items such as the loss, addition, insertion, metathesis, assimilation and dissimilation, and palatalisation of consonants of the Arabic borrowings are discussed.

Then the changes in the vowel system in the Arabic loanwords are discussed, then follow examples of the most important phenomena concerning Arabic vowels, such as assimilation, dissimilation, insertion, addition and loss, changes of their quality and lastly come some remarks about the accent in the Arabic loanwords.

The next chapter gives a short outline of new formations with Arabic borrowings, first those made by means of derivation with suffixes and prefixes from Serbo-Croatian and some other languages. Then are given briefly the most characteristic ways of compounding Arabic loanwords with Serbo-Croatian, Turkish and Persian words.

Under shorter separate headings there are remarks on some syntactic and semantic characteristics of Arabic borrowings.

At the end of the paper a point is made about the need to collect Arabic loanwords (perhaps within the framework of Turkish borrowings) in all those parts of the country where they occur, and in the whole of Yugoslav literature, because they have not been collected completely, much less studied, and because they have been progressively going out of use and have become archaic in spoken as well as in written language.

Moreover, the collection and study of Arabic loanwords in Serbo-Croatian would be interesting from the point of view of Arabic itself, because the Arabic element in our language accounts not only for the influence that the Arabic language has had, but also for the influence of Arabic and moreover Islamic culture in general.