

The Use of Turkisms in Balkan Languages as Reflected in Konstantinov's Novel *Baj Ganjo*

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The influence of Turkish on the languages of the Balkans has been the subject of numerous studies. Over the past several decades articles have been written covering all aspects of the influence of Turkish on the phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of Balkan languages, in particular in Bulgarian, Macedonian, Greek, Albanian and Serbo-Croatian. During the centuries of Ottoman occupation of the Balkans Turkish was considered the prestige language and there was wide-spread bilingualism in the local population. Linguists have noted elsewhere that each of the Balkan languages adopted numerous words from Turkish (for example, v. SANDFELD, KAZAZIS 1972) but as ČABEJ noted (1976 vol. III: 66): while Balkan languages adopted many of the same words, there was a difference in the intensity of Turkish influence in each language. The influx of Turkish words into the Balkan languages began to wane by the end of the nineteenth century and, indeed, there were attempts made to purify the languages in question by purging them of this Turkish element. While none of the languages has succeeded in removing all the Turkish words, many words did cease to be used, either because they referred to specific aspects of the Ottoman period which were no longer current, or because native words or so-called internationalisms took their place in the lexicon. Many Turkish borrowings have, however, remained part of the everyday lexicon of these Balkan languages.

Most articles on Turkish loan words in Balkan languages deal with this influence on one language and, while accepting the general truism that similar language contact phenomena occurred in the separate Balkan languages, little attempt has been made to document differences in the acquisition and retention of individual Turkish words. KAZAZIS (1972: 87), writing on the use of Turkisms in a broader Balkan context has noted:

"It was largely the same Turkish elements that were borrowed into each language and even the fate of individual Turkisms has been by and large the same in all languages: some Turkisms have disappeared, some have become well-anchored and virtually indispensable elements of a given language, others have acquired a pejorative, ironical, and vulgar connotation and so on. But there are also many differences from one language to another: Turkisms which may be part and parcel of the literary variety of one language may have been considerably lowered in the stylistic scale of another or become historical words and so forth."

This present study will explore the fate of Turkisms in three central Balkan languages, Macedonian (M), Bulgarian (B) and Albanian (A) to determine what commonalities exist among these languages in the current use of Turkisms. A comparative study of Turkisms in present day Balkan languages must answer the following questions: what are the differences in perceived acceptance of certain words, i.e. are they perceived as archaic, dialectal, colloquial, etc.; what extra-linguistic

factors have contributed to the maintenance or loss of words of Turkish origin, and finally, how best can we document these differences. In this study, I will document the type of differences alluded to by Kazazis by comparing a limited corpus of examples, specifically Turkisms taken from the Bulgarian novel *Baj Ganjo* by ALEKO KONSTANTINOV, and noting what words used in the Bulgarian original survive translation into Macedonian and Albanian, what words were glossed in each language edition, what Turkisms, if any, were inserted in the Macedonian and Albanian translations which were not in the original, and finally what the comparative status of these words is in each language. In speaking of the status of these words, I am referring to the appraisal of these words as belonging to a specific linguistic register, i.e. colloquial, sub-standard, neutral, archaic, etc. In each of the languages under study here there has been a movement to purify the language, to purge the Turkisms and replace them by internationalisms or words of native origin (v. MOSKOV, FRIEDMAN, DESNICKAJA). Parallel to this movement, however, has been a recognition that the Turkish lexicon enriches these languages. FRIEDMAN (1986: 101) and JAŠAR-NASTEVA (1962) note that in the contemporary Macedonian literary language Turkisms can serve special stylistic functions, they can be used for irony, local colour, humour, etc. and that Turkisms are not restricted to speech, but will occur with these stylistic functions even in journalistic prose. DESNICKAJA (1968: 10) states that Turkisms, as well as other foreign borrowings, add to the emotional and stylistic colouring of Albanian. It is clear that Turkisms are still widely used in Bulgarian, Macedonian and Albanian yet current attitudes towards Turkisms vary from speaker to speaker, and while some speakers will avoid certain Turkish words, it is evident, from the frequency with which such words occur in the media they are widely understood. Many of the words are part of the standard lexicon, others clearly are used for their stylistic affect.

I selected the novel *Baj Ganjo* to obtain data for this study for several reasons. First, the novel was written at the end of the nineteenth century when Turkisms were still abundant, but already stylistically marked. Indeed, attempts were already being made to purge Turkisms from the literary language. Second, much of the humour in the novel depends on stylistic contrast in language use and clearly *Baj Ganjo's* speech, sprinkled as it is with Turkisms, dialectisms and vulgarisms, provides numerous examples for study. KONSTANTINOV recognized the stylistic marking of Turkisms and at times self-consciously drew attention to their use, e.g.:

- Na Bălgarijata daj xľjab; nie mnogo xľjab ĵadem, da ne se xvalĵa, ama s takvazi ĉorba, pardon, s takvazi supa, cjal xľjab izĵadam.
- Give Bulgarians bread; we eat a loaf of bread, not to brag, but with a ĉorba like this, excuse me, with a soup like this, I could eat a whole loaf.
- I da se pregnem bratski xem s rusite, xem s nemicite . . . - Kakvo tova 'xem-xem'? Pred knjaz taka li se govori!
- and let us brotherly embrace both (xem) the Russians and (xem) the Germans . . . - What's this hem-hem stuff? Is this the way to talk to a prince?

Indeed, Konstantinov is hailed as a master of stylistics and his ability to capture the cadence of everyday speech contributes greatly to the success of *Baj Ganjo*. MINKOV (1970: 330) states that Konstantinov's use of Turkisms is untranslatable since it gives the work its special character and feel. Finally, the novel was chosen

since it is one of the most popular Bulgarian novels, one of the most popular novels of the Balkans, and has been widely translated. Because much of the humour depends on language, translators have had to be particularly sensitive to shifts in linguistic register. While there are admittedly some limitations to a study which bases its corpus on a translation of a well-known literary text, the fact remains that a novel such as *Baj Ganjo* which has a wealth of Turkisms in the original and which has been translated fairly recently into Macedonian and Albanian provides an interesting lexicon with which to begin a comparative study.

The Bulgarian edition chosen for this study was one published by 'Balgarski pisatel' in 1981 in its series 'Biblioteka za učenika'. Since it is intended for use by younger readers, it is filled with editorial remarks on language, politics, etc. The Macedonian edition of 1967 published by 'Kultura' and the Albanian edition published by 'Rilindja' in 1975 are the two most recent, if not only, current editions in these two languages and they, too, are annotated texts. Thus, I was able to compare not only the number and frequency of Turkisms, but also editorial attitudes towards them. I had hoped to include data from the Serbo-Croatian translation as well, but this version was the weakest translation. Not only were there no glosses of difficult vocabulary, but entire sections have been deleted, many Turkisms are absent, and in general this version is a less accurate translation of the Bulgarian original.

Before looking at the data some general remarks must be made on the types of words I included and what I excluded from this study. I am following the general principle of considering all words of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish origin which came into the Balkan languages through Turkish to be Turkisms. I have also included as Turkisms some words of western European origin which Škaljić and others have included in their dictionaries of Turkisms, e.g. *bastuna* 'stick' from Italian and *giše* 'ticket window' from French. In general I have not included words of Slavic origin which carry a Turkish suffix, e.g. *sramotilak* 'shame', but I have included words with Turkish roots which have been given Slavic suffixes. This type of hybrid is usually a verb, e.g. *omaskarja* 'to make a fool of' from the Turkish *maskara* 'fool', also *zabatača se* 'to fall into a difficult situation' from the Turkish *batak* 'bog, quagmire'.

Both FRIEDMAN and KAZAZIS discuss the problems of identifying calques. As both authors note, many calques contain a Turkish element, usually nominal, and a native verb. These are termed overt or clear borrowings by Friedman and Kazazis respectively. Such calques include, for example, Macedonian *jade kotek* from Turkish *kotek yemek* literally 'to eat a beating', i.e. 'to get a beating'; *kipva kelja* from Turkish *kelikizmak* 'to lose one's temper'. Friedman, in discussing less obvious calques, concludes that in a number of examples cited by JAŠAR-NAŠTEVA in her article on Macedonian calques on Turkish, it is difficult to determine whether similar phrases are actual calques, or mere linguistic coincidence, for example, compare Macedonian *Bajram se paga v nedela* and Turkish *Bayram pazara duşer* which are the literal equivalents of English 'Bayram falls on a Sunday'. Given the lack of evidence that these are true calques, I have excluded such calques from the present discussion. One interesting type of calque which demands a separate study is that of idioms. In several instances a Turkish idiom appears in Bulgarian, Macedonian and Albanian (henceforth abbreviated B, M, A respectively) as a calque on the

original Turkish, for example the Turkish equivalent of "Birds of a feather flock together" is *Tencere yuvarlandı kapagını buldu* 'The pot rolled and found its lid' which occurs in direct translation in all three texts, e.g.:

- B: Pretârkuli se tendžerata, če si nameri kapaka.
 M: Se istrkala tendžerčeto, si go najde kapačeto.
 A: Urrukalis tēnxherja dhe gjeti kapakun.

And Turkish for 'There is always something wrong'; *Armutun sapı var, üzümün çöpü var* 'The pear has its stem, the grape its stalk' occurs in direct translation, in abbreviated form:

- B: Kruškata si imala opaška.
 M: Krušata si imala opaška.
 A: Dardha e ka bishtin prapa.

I have not included examples of actual code switching in the glossary since whole sentences in Turkish do not reflect use of borrowed Turkish words. These instances of code switching will appear, however, in the index of glossed words given at the end of this paper in table 2.

Table 1 at the end of this paper contains a comparative list of Turkisms in the three language editions of the novel. A number of interesting facts about the Turkisms came to light in analyzing these tables, namely, the frequent lack of one to one correspondences in the translations, the different stylistic judgements provided by various references and differences between the evaluation provided on Albanian data by Kosovo in Yugoslavia and Tirana in Albania. We will look in turn at each of these three areas.

One of the most striking differences in the texts is the frequent lack of a one to one correspondence in the use of Turkisms. Either the Bulgarian text used a Turkish word where the Macedonian and Albanian texts did not, or these two texts inserted Turkisms which were not in the Bulgarian original. In several interesting examples, all texts used a Turkish word, but different ones. In other examples, one of the texts used a loan word from some other language. Examples of such variation are given below:

I. Turkisms consistent in Bulgarian, Macedonian and Albanian:

- B: ... *xelbetja* – govoriš i s politika, pa setne ja vidiš, če ti čisti botušite.
 M: ... *elbete* – i zboruvaš za politika, a posle ja gledaš kako ti gi čisti čizmite.
 A: ... *helbete*, ti i flet për politikën, po pastaj e sheh se po të pastron këpucët.

... of course, you talk to her about politics, and then later you watch as she cleans your boots.

II. Turkisms in Bulgarian; other in Macedonian; different Turkisms in Albanian:

- B: Ami za knjaza nešto *armaganec*?
 M: Ami za knezot nekoe *podaroče*?
 A: Po për princin a kemi ndonjë *peshgesh*?

So do we have some sort of gift for the prince?

III. Turkisms in Macedonian and Albanian; other in Bulgarian:

- B: Edin ot drug po-razkošnite *magazini* mamexa očita na publikata.
 M: *Dukanite* eden od drug poraskošni, gi privlekuvaa očite na publikata.
 A: *Duqanet e* bukura që vinin njeri pas tjetri tërhiqnin vështrimet e publiket.
 The stores, one more elegant than the next, caught the eye of the public.

IV. Turkisms in Macedonian; other in Albanian and Bulgarian:

- B: Zamini i pokraj kasapite i kaži im kolkoto imat mardalāk, *drob*, červa . . . neka gi sāberat . . .
 M: Zamini i kaj kasapite i kaži im sé što imaat mardalak, *džigeri*, creva . . . neka gi soberat vo eden-dva koša.
 A: Shko edhe të kasapët e u thuaj që të brendshmet e mishit, c'të kenë, *mëlsi*, zorë . . . le t'i mbledhin nëpër kosha.
 Go to the butchers, too, and tell them to get together whatever scrap they have - liver, intestines, . . . and put it in a basket or two.

V. Turkisms in Albanian, other in Bulgarian and Macedonian:

- B: Ispokāsaxa si *kordite*!
 M: *Zicite* si gi iskināa!
 A: I këputën fare *telat*.
 The strings broke!

VI. Europeanism in Bulgarian, Turkism in Macedonian and Albanian:

- B: *Galonite* se izpraznixa ošte kato xvārčaxme nad Slivnica i Dragoman . . .
 M: *Binlacite* se ispraznija ušte koga letavme preku Slivnica i Dragoman.
 A: *Shishet* u zbrazën qëkur po kalonim nga Slivica dhe Dragomnai.
 The gallons (barrels [M], bottles [A]) were emptied already when we flew across Slivnica and Dragoman.

VII. Turkism in all three texts, but different ones:

- B: I tja, *divane* - se nadeva, če šte ja zema za žena!
 M: I taa, *ajvan* - se nadeva deka ќе ja zemam za žena!
 A: Dhe ajo *budallocka* ka shpresë se mos vërtet do ta marr për grua!
 And she, the fool, hopes that I'll marry her!

Some of these disparities in the translations as cited above can be attributed to the individual translator's choice and may have no particular significance other than individual preference, other examples reflect poor translation; why, for example, not keep the Europeanisms which occurred in the Bulgarian original, e.g. *ombrelī* (which, incidently, is glossed in the Bulgarian edition by the Turkism *čador*) and *galoni* and annotate them, rather than losing the intended irony of the borrowing by substituting a here more neutral Turkism. In the majority of examples, however, in which there was not a one to one correspondence, the substitute of a different Turkism or non-Turkism was due to the total absence or lower status of the word

in Bulgarian, Macedonian, or Albanian, for example, *demek* 'that is to say' occurs only once in the Bulgarian text and it is glossed by the editor whereas in the Macedonian text it occurs over ten times and is not glossed. It is in this type of analysis that we can begin to gauge the differences in current use of Turkisms among these languages. Table 1 includes stylistic judgements of each Turkish word used in the text. To gauge the acceptability of these Turkish loans I have relied on the stylistic judgements provided by major dictionaries of the literary languages as well as specialized dictionaries on Turkisms. Any future comparative study of Turkisms must include a discussion of these variations in stylistic judgement. One of the problems encountered in doing a comparative study of Turkisms, however, is that one must rely on linguistic judgements which were made, in the case of Macedonian, for example, over twenty years ago. While the glossary contains a complete listing of comparative stylistic judgements, some illustrative examples would be helpful. The Turkism *elbette* 'of course' is considered colloquial in Bulgarian and Albanian, but archaic in Macedonian; *bol* 'lots' is colloquial in Bulgarian and Albanian, but was not included in the three-volume Macedonian dictionary; *divane* 'fool' which occurs frequently in the Bulgarian text but never in Macedonian and Albanian, is considered colloquial in Bulgarian, but is not included in the Macedonian and Albanian dictionaries; *sa(h)at* 'time, hour' is colloquial in Macedonian and Albanian, but archaic in Bulgarian; *maskara* 'fool' is considered folk in Bulgarian, colloquial in Macedonian, and pejorative in Albanian. It is clear that this variation in stylistic judgement is crucial to any synchronic, comparative study of Turkisms in the Balkans.

The comparison of stylistic norms between Tirana and Prishtina is worthy of an individual study, but preliminary remarks can be made on the basis of this current corpus. Table 1 includes separate stylistic evaluation provided by standard dictionaries of Albanian published in Yugoslavia and Albania. Differences were noted in more than twenty-five percent of the words cited. It appears that there is a marked tendency for Prishtina to accept many more Turkisms as neutral which in the Tirana publication are considered colloquial, dialectal or archaic, for example the following words were considered neutral in Prishtina but colloquial in Tirana: *his*, *inat*, *kallp*; the following were considered archaic in Tirana but neutral in Prishtina: *kallpak* and *han*. There are instances in which Tirana classifies a word as colloquial which is deemed archaic in Prishtina, e.g. *alish-verish*, *temena*, *tamah-qar*. There are several possible reasons for these differences. KOSTALLARI, the editor of the dictionary published in Albania, has clearly set prescriptive goals for the dictionary. Consequently, subtle attempts to purify standard Albanian from numerous Turkisms may be at work. ÇABEJ (1976, vol. III: 67) citing the work of TAVLIANI on Albanian dialects, suggests that Gheg, the northern variant of Albanian which is spoken in Kosovo, may have borrowed more Turkisms. If true, this may account for the greater acceptability of Turkish words in the Prishtina dictionary. Furthermore, widespread contact with Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian, which also have many of the same Turkisms, may strengthen their use in Kosovo. Clearly a number of factors may be causing the variation in stylistic judgement and a further investigation is needed.

It is also interesting to compare the number and types of words glossed in the different editions, words which are cited in table 2. One must be wary of using

editorial comments as the sole basis of evaluating vocabulary since editors may be publishing for vastly different audiences. Since these three language editions were published primarily for young adults, however, differences in the type and frequency of Turkisms annotated may shed more light on the current status of these words in the different languages. The Bulgarian edition provided explanatory notes for one hundred and one Turkish words, words ranging in style from neutral, e.g. *afionli* 'drugged' to the colloquial, e.g. *axmak* 'fool' to the archaic, e.g. *oka* 'oka' (i.e. a unit of measurement). The Macedonian text glossed only forty and the Albanian text glossed only six. In fact, it was only whole phrases, examples of code-switching into Turkish, which were consistently glossed in all three texts. Part of the discrepancy may simply be due to poor editing. How else can we account for the fact that neither the Macedonian nor Albanian texts gloss the words for set roles in backgammon, e.g. *džehari ek* 'four and one', when these words are cited in no dictionaries, or the fact that some words which are glossed in Macedonian are colloquial, e.g. *aškolsun* while words which do not appear in the three-volume dictionary, e.g. *aramište* and *g'k* are not glossed. There may also be extra-linguistic factors present, namely, many of the discrepancies in the number may reflect a tendency for Turkisms to play a livelier role in Macedonian and Albanian contemporary speech and, the consequent necessity to assume a greater knowledge of their meanings on the part of speakers of these languages, yet they may also reflect a reluctance to admit the prevalence of Turkisms in the current languages. The Bulgarian editors may wish to isolate more of the Turkisms as a foreign element. In some of the critical works on *Baj Ganjo*, for example MINKOV (1970), the Turkisms used by *Baj Ganjo* are considered as dialectal or substandard, outside the lexicon used by intellectuals. The dictionaries of Bulgarian, however, classify many of these same words as colloquial. Most likely these words play a similar role in Bulgarian as they do in Macedonian; they are part of the colloquial speech used in certain contexts by a broad range of speakers.

It is clear that this study has only scratched the surface. A study relying solely on written sources and, a limited corpus at that, obviously cannot hope to point out all areas of convergence and divergence in the use of Turkisms. It does, however, underline the need for a comparative dictionary of Turkisms in the Balkan languages and more current data on stylistic judgements. Current data illustrate the fact that the use of Turkisms in each language is changing, and that while the influence of Turkish on the lexicon of these languages is still widely evident, whether the individual borrowings are stylistically neutral or stylistically marked as colloquial or derogatory, the rate of attrition and semantic shift is different from language to language.

One final question should be addressed here. How Turkish are these Turkisms? In Table 1 words have been listed according to their form in standard Turkish. It must be pointed out, however, that in the Turkish edition of *Baj Ganjo*, too, many words are glossed, e.g. *samun* is a dialect form of *somun* 'a round loaf of bread', *marifet* is a dialect form of *marafet* 'trick, magic'. Other words are defined, e.g. *čifti* 'Jews', *muskal* 'vial', etc. Given that many of these so-called Turkisms were purged from the standard language because of their Persian and Arabic origin, it may be that words which from a Balkan perspective are classified as Turkisms, from a literary Turkish perspective, are considered Balkanisms.

Table 1: Glossary of Turkisms

Key: words are alphabetized according to Turkish borrowing. Blanks under the language heading mean the Turkisms did not occur in the *Baj Ganjo* text. It does not mean that there is no such Turkish borrowing in that language. Following the lexical entry are stylistic judgements. For Bulgarian, these were provided by the *Talkoven Rečnik* (T. R.) and the *Rečnik na redki, ostareli, i dialektni dumi* (R.); for Macedonian, they were provided by the *Rečnik na makedonskiot jazik*; for Albanian by the *Fjalor i Gjuhës së sotme Shqipe* (T.), published in Tirana, and the *Fjalor-Shqip-serbokroatisht* (P.) published in Prishtina. Designations are as follows: a = archaic, c = colloquial, d = dialectal, f = folk, h = historical, n = neutral, r = regional, - = not listed

Turkish	Bulgarian (T. R., R.)	Macedonian	Albanian (T., P.)	English
adet	---	adet	c ---	custom
aferim	aferim	c a aferim	- aferim	f a bravo
afyonlu	afionli	n n afionli	---	drugged
ağalar	---	---	agalar	h h rich men
ahmak	axmak	c d ahmak	c ---	fool, idiot
akıl	akāla	c -	---	mind
alış-veriş	ališ-veriš	c c alaš-veriš	a alish-verish	c a buying and selling
aman	aman	c c aman	n aman	f n alas, mercy
amma	ama	c - ama	c ama	c n but
Anadol	anodoluka	n - anadoluk	- anadolli	- east (Anatolian)
aramija	---	aramište	---	- roguishness; difficulty
arka	arka	n a arka	n arkë	n n cashier
armağan	armagan	n -	---	---
artık	artāk	n c artak	a ---	enough, really
aškolsun	aškolsun	c c aškolsun	c ashkollsun	- - bravo
aşınma	ašāma	- d	---	---
avaz	---	---	avaz	c n top of one's voice; melody
babayağit	babaitski	n c babaitski	n baballëk	c n brave
bahis	bas	n -	bast	n n wager, bet
bahşiş	bakšiš	n - bakšiš	n bakshish	n n tip, bribe
bakalım	bakālām	- c bakalam	a bakallem	- - we'll see
balkan	balkan	n - balkan	- ballkan	- - mountain, Balkan
bamya	bamja	n - bamja	n bamje	n n okra
barem	barem	n - barem	n ndobare	- - at least
baston	bastun	n - bastun	n bastun	n n stick
başibozuk	bašibosuk	n - bašibozuk	n bazibozuk	- - irreg. soldier
batak	---	---	batak	n n muddy place
batak	zabatača se	c - zabatača se	c ---	- - fall into difficulty (< batak 'bog, swamp')
batakçı	batakčija	c - batakčija	c batakçı	n n swindler, cheat
bayat	---	---	bajat	c n stale

Turkish	Bulgarian (T. R., R.)	Macedonian	Albanian (T., P.)	English				
bayır	bair	n -	---	hill				
be, bre	be, bre	n -	be, bre	n bre	c n hey!			
bedava	badeva	- c	badijala	c	badihava	c n in vain		
behar	---	---	---	behar	c n warm season (spring and summer)			
bela	belja	c -	bela	a	bela	c n trouble		
beraber	barabar	c c	barabar	c	---	together		
berber	berbernica	n -	berbernica	n	berber	n n barber		
bereket	berekat	n -	berikat	versin	a	bereqaversēm	- a God bless you	
versin	baj	n -	baj	d	baj	- -	bey	
bey	baktisam	c c	bastisa	a	---	- -	grow tired, bored	
bıkmak	---	---	---	---	bile	c n	even	
bile	---	---	binlak	n	---	---	large bottle	
binlik	boxça	n -	---	---	---	---	cover	
bohça	boklatmāš	- d	boklatamaš	-	bokilat	mish	- -	bring into disrepute
boklatmāš	bol	f c	bol	-	---	---	lots	
bol	---	---	---	---	bollek	c n	a lot	
bolluk	---	---	---	---	borxh	n n	loan	
borç	---	---	---	---	boshatisje	c n	emptying (< boş 'empty')	
boş	boşlaf	c c	boş laf	a	llafe	boshe	c n	idle talk
boş laf	bozov	- f	bozov	---	---	---	grey	
boz	---	---	budala	n	budalla	c n	fool	
budala	---	---	---	---	bilbil	n n	nightingale	
bulbul	---	---	---	---	xham	n	glass	
cam	džanum	c c	džanam	a	xhanem	c n	my dear	
canım	džeb	n -	džeb	n	xheb	n n	pocket	
ceb	Geena	- a	Geena	-	xhehene	a n	hell	
cehennem	dženabetin	c -	dženabet	a	xhenabet	- -	foul brute	
cenabet	džexari ek	- -	džehari ek	-	---	---	four + one (backgammon)	
cehari ek	džiger	a f	džiger	n	---	---	liver	
ciğer	---	---	---	---	xhin	- -	djinn	
cin	džumbuš	c c	džumbuš	c	---	---	merriment, chaos	
cumbuş	---	---	čador	n	---	---	umbrella	
çadır	çak	n -	---	---	---	---	far	
çak	çanta	n -	çanta	n	çantë	n n	bag	
çanta	çardak	n -	çardak	n	çardak	n n	balcony	
çardak	çarka	n f	çarka	n	---	---	paddle-wheel	
çarka	çarşaf	---	çarşaf	n	---	---	tablecloth	
çarşaf	çati	---	çatija	n	çati	n n	roof; eaves	
çati	çat-pat	n -	çat-pat	n	çapa-çapa	- -	smattering	
çatpat	čaj	n -	čaj	n	čaj	n n	tea	
çay	çekmedže	---	çekmedže	c	---	---	drawer	
çekmece	çergeri	n -	çergeri	n	çergë	- -	tent, rug	
çergeri	çevre	n -	çevre	n	---	---	handkerchief	
çevre	çifuti	a -	çifuti	-	çifut	n n	Jew	
çifit								

Turkish	Bulgarian (T. R., R.)	Macedonian	Albanian (T., P.)	English			
çiflik	çiflik	n -	çiflik	n	çiflik	h h	farm, estate
çift	---	---	---	---	çift	n n	pair
çini	çinija	n -	çinija	n	---	---	plate
çizme	---	---	---	---	çizme	n n	boots
çorap	çorap	n -	çorap	n	çorap	n n	sock
çorba	çorba	n -	çorba	n	çorbë	n n	soup
çorbacı	çorbadži	n -	çorbadžija	n	---	---	rich man
çünkü	çünkü	f c	---	---	---	---	because, since
dalavere	---	---	dalaveri	c	---	---	trick, deceit
dağa	---	---	---	---	dallgë	n n	wave
damar	---	---	---	---	damar	n n	vein
dangalak	dangalak	c d	dangalak	c	---	---	dunderhead
dava	---	---	---	---	dava	c n	trial, lawsuit
defter	tefterçe	n -	tefterçe	c	defter	a a	account book
demek	demek	- c	demek	c	demek	c n	i.e. that is to say
dürdür etmek	---	---	d'rdori	n	dërdëllis	c n	idle chatter
direk	---	---	---	---	---	n n	column, post
divane	divane	c d	---	---	---	---	crazy
dört çehar	djort-džehar	- -	dort-džehar	-	dort-xhihar	- -	four + one (backgammon)
döşek	---	---	dyshek	n n	---	---	mattress
dubara	dubara	n c	dubara	n	dubara	- -	two × two (backgammon)
du beş	dju-beş	n c	du-beş	-	dy-besh	- -	five + five (backgammon)
duhan	---	---	duhan	n n	---	---	tobacco
de . . de	---	de . . de	n	---	---	---	and, also
dükân	---	dukan	n	dyqan	n n	---	store
dülger	djulgerin	c -	dulger	-	---	---	mason
efendi	efendi	a a	efendi	a	efendi	h a	Mr. (title)
elbette	xelbetja	c d	elbete	a	helbete	c n	of course
entari	anterija	n -	anterija	n	janteri	- -	loose robe
epeyce	xepidže	- d	---	---	---	---	enough, a lot
esnaf	esnaf	a -	esnaf	n	---	---	guild, craft
faizçilik	faisçilik	- a	faisçilak	-	---	---	money-lending
fırlatmak	xvrli	n -	frli	n	---	---	throw
fistan	fustan	n -	fustan	n	fustan	n n	skirt
filcan	---	---	fildžan	n	filxhan	n n	coffee cup
fukara	fukara	c -	fukara	c	fukura	c n	poor person
gaga	gaga	r d	---	---	---	---	hook, beak
gayle	---	---	gajle	c	gajle	c n	worry
gaytan	gajtan	n -	gajtan	n	---	---	silks cord, braid
gemici	gemidžiski	n -	gemidžiski	a	gjemiče	a n	sailor
gevrek	---	---	---	n	---	---	(type of pretzel)
gidiklanmak	gādeličkane	n -	---	---	gudufisj	n n	tickling
gık	gāk	n -	g'k	-	gëk	c n	murmer
gidi	---	---	gidi	c	gijdi	- -	(interjection; expressing affection, abuse)

Turkish	Bulgarian (T. R., R.)	Macedonian	Albanian (T., P.)	English
gişe	giše	n - giše	n - - -	ticket window
gül	gjul	n d gül	a - - -	rose
günah	---	---	gynah	sin
gürültü	gjurultija	c - gjurultija	c gjyryllti	n uproar
ha ... ha	xa ... xa	- - - -	hë ... hë	c n either ... or
haber	xaber	f c aber	c haber	c n news
hal	xal	f f al	c hall	c n trouble, worry
halı	alište	f f - - -	---	clothes
hamal	xamal	n - amal	n hamall	c n porter
han	xançe	n - ançe	n han	a n inn
harc	xarçi	n - arçi	c - - -	expense
harççı	---	---	harxhi	c n grocer
has	(ima) xas	c d (ima) has	- - - -	you're right
haşhaş	---	---	hashash	n n hashish
hazır	---	---	hazër	a a ready
hatır	xatāra	f - ater	c hatër	c n feelings
hayde	xajde	n - adje	n hajde	c n let's go
haydut	xayduk	n - adjuk	n hajdut	c n brigand
hayır söylemek	xair sjujle	f f air sojle	- - - -	speak well
hayvan	---	ajvan	a hajvan	c n animal
hele	xele	c c - - -	---	at least
hem ... hem	xem ... xem	f - em ... em	c hem ... hem	c n both ... and
hemen	xemen	f c - - -	---	almost
hemşeri	emişerir	- d emişerir	- - - -	compatriot
hepten	xepten	f - epten	c - - -	entirely
heybe	---	---	hejbe	n n saddlebags
hiç olmazsa	xiç olmasa	- - iç olmasa	- hiç	c n at least
inat	inat	c d inat	c inat	c n obstinacy
ispatı	spatija	n - spatija	n spathi	n n clubs (cards)
işkembe	şkembe	n - şkembe	n - - -	tripe
itibar	ixtibar	r r ihtibar	- itibar	- - esteem, respect
kabadayı	---	---	kabadaiski	- - - -
kabarmak	kabardisa	n d kabardisa	n kapardisem	n n puff up
kahpe oğlu	kopile	c - kopile	- kopil	a n son of a bitch
kahve	kafe	n - kafe	- kafe	n n coffee
kahvehane	kafene	n - kafinja	- kafene	c n coffee shop
kala balık	---	---	kallaballëk	c n crowd, confusion
kalem	kalema	n a kalema	a kalem	n n pencil
kayıb	izkalāpim	n - skalāpim	- kallëp	n n form, model
kalp	kalpav	c - kalpav	c kalp	c n false, insincere
kalpak	kalpaka	n - - - -	kallpak	a n cap
kamçı	kamşik	n - kamşik	n kamxhik	n n whip
kanmak	kandisam	c - kandisam	c kandis	c n be content with
kan parası	kan parasā	- a kan parasā	- - - -	blood money
kanape	kanape	n - kanape	- kanape	n n sofa
kapak	kapak	n - kapaçe	n kapak	n n cover, lid
karanfil	karanfil	n - karafil	n karafil	n n carnation
karşı	---	---	përkarshi	c - opposite

Turkish	Bulgarian (T. R., R.)	Macedonian	Albanian (T., P.)	English
kasap	kasap	c - kasap	n kasap	n n butcher
kaşkaval	kaşkaval	n - kaşkaval	n kaşkavall	n n (type of cheese)
kat	---	---	kat	n n floor, storey
katil	katil	c c katil	c katil	n n assassin
katran	katran	n - katran	n - - -	tar
kaval	kaval	n - kaval	n - - -	kaval
kavga	kavga	c - kavga	c - - -	quarrel
kazan	kazan	n - kazan	n kazan	n n cauldron
kel	keljav	n - kelav	n - - -	mangy
kelepir	kelepir	c - kelepir	- qelepir	c n free, bought cheaply
keleş	keleş	n - keleş	n kelesh	- - dirty
keman	---	këman	a - - -	violin
kemancı	---	këmandži	a - - -	violinist
kese	kesija	n - Këse	n qese	n n bag
keyif	kef	c - kef	c qejf	c n pleasure
kibrit	kibrit	n - kibrit	n - - -	matches
kilim	kilim	n - kilim	n qilim	n n kilim
kira	---	---	n qira	n n rent
kirlı	kirliv	c - kirliv	c - - -	dirty, soiled
komşu	---	komşija	c - - -	neighbor
konca	---	---	gonxhe	n n bud
kömür	---	kumurçinja	c qymyr	n n coal
köpoğlu	kjopolu	- d Köpulu	- - - -	son of a bitch
(the <i>Talkozen Reçnik</i> gives 'kjopolu' as colloquial, but only in meaning of 'a type of salad')	---	---	---	---
kör	kjorav	c - kor	n - - -	blind
köşe	kjoşe	c - koşe	c qoshe	c n corner
kurmak	---	---	kurdıs	n n wind; tune
kusur	---	---	kusur	n n remainder; change
kutu	kutij	n - kutij	n kuti	n n box
kuyruk	kujruk	- d - - -	- - - -	tail
lale	lale	n - lale	n - - -	tulip
lezzet	---	---	lezet	c n taste; pleasure
meazallah	---	---	meazallah	c n God preserve us
mahalle	maxala	n - maalo	n mëhallë	c n quarter, neighborhood
mahmurluk	mahmurluk	c c mamurluk	n mahmurlëk	c n hangover
marda	mardaläk	c c mardalak	- - - -	rubbish
marifet	marafet	c c marifet	c marrifet	- - talent, skill
maskara	maskara	f - maskara	c maskara	n n fool
mastika	mastika	n - mastika	n mastikë	r n resin, mastika
maşa	---	---	maşa	n n tongs
maymun	majmun	n - majmun	n majmun	n n monkey
meğer	makar	n - makar	n - - -	but, however
mehabbet	moxabet	c c muabet	c muhabet	c n conversation
merak	---	---	merak	c n passion; whim
mermer	mermor	n - mermer	n mermer	n n marble
meydan	megdan	n - - - -	mejdan	a n square

Turkish	Bulgarian (T. R., R.)	Macedonian	Albanian (T., P.)	English
meyhane	mehana	n -	mejhanë	a n tavern
meze	meze	n -	meze	n n appetizers
miras	---	miraz	n -	inheritance
misafir	---	---	mysafir	n n guest
müşteri	müşteri	c a	müşteri	c n customer
muska	muska	n c	---	amulet
muskal	muskal	n -	---	vial
nafile	nafile	c d	---	useless, in vain
ne ise	nejse	c c	nejse	n n never mind
nekeslik	---	---	neqezllëk	- - stinginess
oda	---	odaja	a -	room
okka	oka	n a	okë	a a oka (1.283 kilos)
otuz bir	otuz bir	- a	otuz bir	- - 31 (card game)
paça	---	---	paçe	n n stew with lamb feet
papar	popara	n -	popara	n n dried bread and broth (papar yemek 'get a scolding')
para	para	n -	para	n n money (para)
parça	---	parçe	n -	piece
parmak	---	---	parmak	n n railing
paşa	paşa	n -	paşë	h n pasha
pazarlık	pazarlık	n -	pazarlikë	n n bargaining
perdah	perdaşa	c -	---	polish; wallop
perde	---	---	perde	n n curtain
peşkeş	---	---	peşqesh	c n gift
pey	pej	n c	---	earnest money
pite	pita	n -	pita	n n pita; pie
prangacı	prangadži	a a	---	convicts
rahat	---	---	rahat	c a ease, comfort
rakı	rakija	n -	raki	n n brandy, raki
rezil	rezil	c -	rezil	c n vile, base
rica	---	---	rixha	- n request
saat	saxat	a a	sahat	c n hour
sabahile	---	sabajle	c -	morning
sabun	sabun	n -	sapun	n n soap
sakınmak	sakān	c c	sakën	- - be careful
saksı	saksija	n -	saksija	n - vase
saltanatlı	saltanatlija	c c	saltanet	c n luxurious
sanat	zanaet	n -	zanat	n n craft, trade
sandık	sandak	n -	sënduk	n n trunk
sankim	sankim	c -	---	i. e., as if
saz	---	---	saz	n n saz; band
sazeci	---	---	sazexhi	c n musician
sebeb	---	---	sebeb	c n cause, reason
serbes	serbez	c -	serbesë	c n unreserved
sersem	sersem	- -	sersem	- - stunned
seyir	---	---	sehir	c n spectacle; look

Turkish	Bulgarian (T. R., R.)	Macedonian	Albanian (T., P.)	English
sıkılmak	---	---	sëkëldis	c n cause difficulty
sındırmak	sandardisa	c a	---	be troubled
sofra	sofra	f -	sofra	c sofër
somun	samun	c -	somun	c -
suret	surat	c -	surat	c surrat
sürü	sjurija	f f	surija	c -
şaka	şega	n -	şaka, şega	n shaka
şamar	şamar	n -	---	---
şaşırmak	şaşarma	c c	şaşarma	c -
şamata	---	---	shamatë	n n uproar
şami	---	---	şamiçe	n shami
şap	---	---	---	n n scarf
şayak	şajak	n -	şajak	n shajak
şeker	şeker	n -	şeker	n sheqer
şerid	---	---	---	n n sugar
şeytan	---	---	shejtan	n n ribbons; hem
şes-ubeş	şes-beş	- c	şes-beş	n shesh-besh
şişe	şişe	n -	şişe	n shishe
şükür	---	---	shygyr	c n devil, imp
tabaka	tabakera	n -	tabakera	n n backgammon
tabla	tabla	n -	tabla	n n bottle
talaz	talaz	n a	talaz	n tavllë
tamahkâr	---	---	tamahqar	n n backgammon
tamam	tamam	c -	tamam	c tamam
tavan	tavan	n -	tavan	n n wave
tayfa	tajfa	n -	tajfa	n n avaricious
tekme	tekme	f d	---	n n exactly
tel	---	---	---	n n ceiling
tembel	---	---	tembel	n n gang
temel	---	---	temel	n n kick
temenna	---	---	temena	c a wire
tencere	tendžera	n -	tendžera	n tenxhere
tenekeci	tenekedži	n -	tenekedžija	c teneqexhi
tepe	---	---	tepe	a -
terşih	terşe	- d	terşe	- - hill
teyel	tegel	n -	---	---
tezgah	tezgjah	n -	tezge	n -
torba	---	---	torbë	n n sack
toyğa	tojaga	n -	---	---
tütün	tjutjun	n -	tutun	n -
usta	---	---	usta	n n stick
uydurma	ujdrma	c c	ujdrma	c ujdisur
uymak	ujdisa	c -	ujdisuva	c ujdis
üçköşeli	juç-kjuşeli	- d	juç-koşeli	- -
			uç-qoshelli	- -

Turkish	Bulgarian (T. R., R.)	Macedonian	Albanian (T., P.)	English
uçbunar	jučbanar	n - jučbanar	- uç-buner	- - Three Wells (toponym)
yağmurluk	jamurluk	f - jamurluk	- - - -	raincoat
yaka	jaka	n - jaka	n jakë	n n collar
yallah	jala	- - - -	- - - -	Come!
yanlış	janlaş	c d janlaş	c jangllësh	- - wrong
yargı	- - -	- - - -	jargë	n n lawsuit
yastık	- - -	- - - -	jastuk	n n pillow
yazık	jazäk	n - jaz'k	c jazëk	f - pity
yelek	- - -	elek	n jelek	n n coat
yeşil	- - -	- - - -	jeshill	c n green
yok	jok	c c jok	c jok	- - no
yorgan	jurgan	n - jorgan	n jorgan	n n blanket
yumruk	jumruk	n - - - -	- - - -	fist
zararsız	zararsáz	a d zarass	- - - -	harmless, innocent
zavallı	zavaliya	n d - - -	- - - -	unlucky
zer/zâhir	zer	c - - - -	- - - -	really!
zevzeki	zevzek	c c zevzek	c zevzek	n n trouble maker
zil	- - -	- - - -	zil	n n bell
zincir	- - -	sindžir	n zinxhir	n n chain
ziyan	- - -	zijan	c - - -	loss, damage
zor zaman	zor zaman	c f zor zaman	c - - -	bad time

Table 2: Words and Phrases glossed in the three language editions

Bulgarian text		
1. aferim	19. boklatmäs	36. efendi
2. afionli	20. bol	37. emiŝerir
3. axmak	21. boŝlaf	38. faisçiläk
4. akäla	22. boxça	39. fukara
5. alıŝ-veriŝ	23. çalanáz, be, çengeler	40. gel, kefim, gel
6. anterija	'Play, Gypsies, play!'	'Come, my pleasure, come'
7. armagan	24. çardak	41. gjul
8. artäk	25. çark	42. gjurultija
9. aŝkolsun	26. çevre	43. xaber
10. aŝäma	27. çifuti	44. xair sjujle
11. babaitski	28. çunkim	45. xal
12. bädeva	29. demek	46. (ima) xas
13. bakaläm	30. djort-džehar	47. xatära
14. baktisam	31. dju-beŝ	48. xelbetja
15. barabar	32. djulgerin	49. xemen
16. batakcija	33. dubara	50. xepidže
17. bebernica	34. džehari ek	51. xepten
18. berekjat vesin	35. džumbjuŝ	

52. xiç olmasa	69. kopile	85. sakän
53. jamurluk	70. kujruk	86. saltanatlija
54. janlaş	71. mahmurluk	87. sandardisa
55. jazäk	72. mardaläk	88. sankim
56. jok	73. maskara	89. serbez
57. juç-kjuŝeli	74. mjuŝterija	90. surat
58. kabardisa	75. moxabet	91. sus be çengene
59. kalema	76. murafet	'Silence, Gypsy!'
60. kan parasä	77. muska	92. ŝaŝarma
61. kandisam	78. muskal	93. ŝeŝ-beŝ
62. katil	79. nafile	94. tekme
63. kazdärma beni	80. ne me ljazim bana	95. terŝe
'Don't make me angry'	dajak eme 'Why should I get a beating!'	96. ujdisa
64. kelepir		97. ujdırma
65. keljav	81. nejse	98. zararsáz
66. kjopolu	82. oka	99. zavalija
67. kjorav	83. otuz bir	100. zer
68. kjoŝe	84. saxat	101. zor zaman

Macedonian text

1. aferim	16. efendi	31. Kopololar
2. air sojle	17. elbete	32. mardalak
3. aŝkolsun	18. emiŝerir	33. muabet
4. ater	19. faisçilak	34. nafile
5. axmak	20. gel kefim gel	35. ne me ljazam bana
6. babaitski	21. gul	dajak eme
7. badijala	22. iç olmasa	36. otuz bir
8. bakalam	23. ihtibar	37. prangadži
9. berikat versin	24. jamurluk	38. sakin
10. bol	25. janlaş	39. sandardisa
11. boŝ laf	26. jok	40. sus be çengene
12. çalanaz be çengeler	27. kan parası	41. terŝe
13. çevre	28. katil	42. zarass
14. džanam	29. kazdrma beni	43. zor zaman
15. dženabet	30. kelepir	

Albanian text

1. allënez be, cingeler	4. shesh-besh
2. boklat mish	5. tabak
3. ne lazëm bana dajak jemeje	6. yç qoshelli

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