

Interlinguistic phenomena in Albanian Turkisms

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ABSTRACT

The following article will analyse some particular cases of Albanian Turkisms, also compared with Turkisms in other languages of the Balkans. The topics that will be dealt with are the following: morphemic induction, hybrid compounds, calques on Turkish expressions, possible Turkisms that probably entered after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, folk etymology, morphological adaptation, interference of Turkisms between languages of the Balkans and some other particular cases regarding Albanian and other Balkan Turkisms.

KEYWORDS

Turkish, Albanian, Balkan languages, linguistic interference, historical lexicology, etymology.

An important place in the studies of Balkanistics is held by Turkish studies, especially when it comes to linguistic interference between Turkish and other languages of the Balkans. The present article is the result of a research in progress on Turkish loanwords in Albanian, compared to Turkisms from other Balkan languages. It also analyses some interlinguistic phenomena between Albanian, Turkish and other languages.

It is part of a piece of research which does not simply aim to update the fundamental works of Dizdari and Boretzky in the field of Albanian Turkisms, but is also an important stage in a possible future project for a new Thesaurus – as Kappler (2000: 157-158) asserts in his article “Verso un nuovo Thesaurus dei turcismi balcanici” contained in *Processi di convergenza e differenziazione nelle lingue dell'Europa medievale e moderna* – that is to say, an update and enrichment of Miklosich's essential *Die türkischen Elemente in den südost- und osteuropäischen Sprachen*.

Although some of the words analysed here are obsolete, they help to throw light on the historical, past influence of Turkish on the Albanian language and on other languages of the Balkans.

1. MORPHEMIC INDUCTION

Gusmani in his *Saggi sull'interferenza linguistica* (1981: 129) asserts that the “borrowing” of morphemes is not simply a process of imitation. It also requires active behaviour on the part of the speaker, who interprets and exploits the means given by the lexical loanwords in order to renew his/her expressive possibilities. Gusmani does not consider the morphemic induction as a proper case of linguistic interference, although generated by an interlinguistic contact, but as a further phase in which the speaker independently revises the linguistic material at his/her disposal, regardless of its origin.

There are Turkish loans in Albanian such as *adetçe* (adv.) “in accordance with the traditional custom”, with the same meaning as in Turkish. However, there are also Albanian adverbs (also used as adjectives) such as *fshatarçe* “country-style, rustically; together with the whole village”, *vendçe* “in the manner of the local natives; calmly; very hard”, *tironçe* “in the manner of people from Tirana”, *kosovarçe* “in the manner of natives from Kosovo”, which represent typical cases of morphemic induction: the Turkish suffix *-çe* becomes part of the Albanian linguistic fund and is used with non-Turkish words as well.

A similar case is the adverb *alla shkodrançe* “in the manner of people from Shkodra”, where *alla* itself is of Italian origin. But in this case the intermediation of the Albanian Turkisms *allaturka* “Turkish-style; oriental” and *allafranga*, *allafrënga* “in West-European style (as opposed to *allaturka*)” (< Turk. *alaturka* “Turkish-style, after the Turkish manner” and Turk. *alafranga* “European-style, done in the European manner” < It. *alla turca*, *alla franca*) is very likely.

2. HYBRID COMPOUNDS

The following words are Albanian formations presenting Turkish linguistic material only partially:

- Alb. *gazepmadh*, -i (m., adj.) “person who complains at the first, minimal difficulty” < Turk. *gazep, gazap* “anger, hate, exasperation” + Alb. *madh* “big, great”. The Turkism is also present in: Arom. *γᾶzepi* (Papahagi, 1963: 520); Gr. *γαῖεπι* (Koukkidis, 1960: 22); SrCr. *gazap, gazab, gazep* – also with the meanings: “bad weather, natural disaster; vindictive; cursed; ill-fated” (Nosić, 2005: 261) –; Bulg. *газеп, казеп* (dial.) “very peppery; fierce, bad” (Grannes, 2002: 46); Mac. *газеп* (Koneski, 1986: 91).
- Alb. *qametmadh*, -i (m., adj.) “a person who gets very bitterly angry” < Turk. *kıyamet* “judgement day (when the dead rise again); catastrophe; disorder, tumult” + Alb. *madh*. The Turkism is also present in: Gr. *κηγιαμέτι* (Koukkidis, 1960: 42), *κιαμέτι*;¹ SrCr. *kijamet* – also with the meanings: “group of noisy people; bad weather; hurry” (Nosić, 2005: 385) –; Bulg. *каемет* (dial.) (Grannes, 2002: 115); Mac. *кијамет* (Koneski, 1986: 328).
- Alb. *adetkeq*, -i (m., adj.) “a person who has many vices” < Turk. *adet* “traditional custom, tradition” + Alb. *keq* “bad”. The Turkism can also be found in: Rom. *adet* “debt, tax” (Cioranescu, 1958: 7); *adetiū* – with the meaning “tax” as well (Şăineanu, 1885: 7) –; (Mold.) *adetiū*, Megl. *adet* (Cioranescu, 1958: 7); Arom. *adete* (Papahagi, 1963: 57); Gr. *αντέτι* (Koukkidis, 1960: 18); SrCr. *adet, hadet* – also with the following meanings: “Islamic Law (in accordance with the Qur’an); traditions of the Muslims” (Nosić, 2005: 10) –; Bulg. *адет, арет* (dial.) – also with the meaning “character, nature” (Grannes, 2002: 2) –; Mac. *адет* (Koneski, 1986: 5).

The Turkisms *gazep*, *qamet*, *adet* have become part of the Albanian lexicon as independent words, common in other Balkan languages as well. The compounds *gazepmadh*, *qametmadh* and *adetkeq* are language-internal formations, in accordance with word formation in Albanian, as in other cases when Turkisms are not involved, e.g.: *kryemadh* “big-headed” or *shpirtkeq* “malevolent”.

3. CALQUES ON TURKISH EXPRESSIONS

3.1. ALB. ALAMETE KIJAMETIT AND TURK. KIYAMET ALAMETLERİ

Alb. *alamete kijametit* (expr.) “signs of the end of the world” < Turk. *kıyamet alametleri* “id.”.

The two phrases follow a different word order, Albanian being a progressive language (the first part of the noun syntagm is the carrier of meaning), whereas Turkish is a regressive language.

Alb. *alamet* (adj.) “emphasizes the praiseworthy quality of the following noun, what a wonderful”; (m.) “augury, omen; personal calamity; impolite insult” <

1 <http://www.livepedia.gr/index.php/%CE%9ACE%B9%CE%B1%CE%BC%CE%AD%CF%84%CE%B9>

Turk. *alamet* “sign, mark, symbol; monstrous, enormous”. The word has entered other languages such as: SrCr. *alamet* “sign, symptom” (Škaljić, 1985: 85); “omen; happening, event; right occasion; storm, bad weather; curse” (Nosić, 2005: 27); Bulg. (dial.) *алемет* “difficulty, trouble; happening, circumstance”; (dial.) *алимет*, *влимет* “storm” (Grannes, 2002: 7).

Alb. *kijamet*, *qamet* (where $q < k + i/j$), *kiamet*, *kjahmet* (with epenthetic *-h-*) has the following meanings: (m.) “doomsday, judgement day (when the dead will be resurrected); calamity, catastrophe; terrible storm; flood”; (adv.) “very much, completely”.

Dizdari (2005: 538-539) mentions also the reduplicated variant *qameti qameti* “to the maximum, at most, at (the) worst”.

Regarding the adjectival use of *alamet* and *kiamet* – as well as that of *goxha/koxha* (adv. “a lot; fairly, rather”; (adj.) “great, tremendous” < Turk. *koca* “very big; great; fully grown, adult; old” –, their position before the noun does not represent a typical behaviour of the Albanian language (cases such as *i madhi Çabej* “the great Ç.” or *e dashur Enkelejda* “dear E.” are rare and limited to certain particular, emphatic usages), whereas these adjectives regularly precede the noun in Turkish.

3.2. ALB. (GHEG) *ME MARRË İBRET* AND TURK. *İBRET ALMAK*

Alb. *me marrë ibret* (expr.) “to learn (a lesson) from a mishap” < Turk. *ibret almak* – also with the meanings “to take (something) as a warning; to take (something) as an example”.

In this case, a partial translation occurs: the Turkism *ibret* already exists in Albanian as an independent word, whereas the Turkish verb *almak* “to take” is translated with its Albanian equivalent. Here an interference of Turk. *ibret almak* (especially pertaining to the meaning “to take something as an example”) with other languages such as It. *prendere esempio* “id.”, Engl. *to take (something) as an example* etc. can be clearly observed. However, Alb. *me marrë ibret* presents a certain distance from Alb. *me marrë shembull* “to take (something) as an example” because the first one is related to a lesson learnt from a mishap or a mistake, not from a positive happening, and that is the main meaning in Turkish.

Alb. *ibret*, *-i* (m.) “ugly appearance; deterrent; misshapen/loathsome person; horror”; (adv.) “horrible, hideous, ugly” < Turk. *ibret* “lesson learned through a misfortune; an unhappy event serving as a deterrent; warning; (colloq.) strange, queer; ugly, repulsive”.

The word can also be found in: Arom. *ibrete* “example (taken from a terror); great terror” (Papahagi, 1963: 570); Gr. *μπρέτι* “example” (Koukkidis, 1960: 37); SrCr. *ibret* “lesson; example; astonishment, wonder” (Škaljić, 1985: 338); “warning; big crowd; mockery; a person who deserves to be mocked” (Nosić, 2005: 312); Bulg. *ибрет* (dial.) “example; monster, boogiemán” (Grannes, 2002: 99).

4. POSSIBLE TURKISMS THAT PROBABLY ENTERED AFTER THE FALL OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

4.1. ALB. RROBDISHAMË, RROBDËSHAMË, RROBDYSHAMË, ROBDISHĀM, ROBDËSHAMBËR, FR. ROBE DE CHAMBRE AND TURK. ROBDÖŞAMBR

Alb. *rrobdisham/ë*, -a, *rrobdëshamë*, *rrobdyshamë*, *robdishām* (f.), *robdëshamb/ër*, -ri (m.) “bathrobe, dressing gown” < Turk. *robdöşambr* “(man’s) dressing gown, bathrobe”.

The word indicates a certain Gallicism in Turkish (< Fr. *robe de chambre*), but it is less certain in Albanian. In this case, Turk. *robdöşambr* might be the intermediary between French and Albanian.

A consonantal cluster *-mbr* is not common in Turkish. In cases like this, vowels are required between the consonants. The fact that the form of this Turkish Gallicism has not undergone further mutations, attests that it entered the Turkish lexicon relatively late. In effect, the word is not documented in Turkish before the 1930s.

4.2. ALB. SYTJEN, SUTJEN, FR. SOUTIEN-GORGE AND TURK. SÜTYEN, SUTYEN

Alb. *sytjen*, -i, *sutjen* (m.), *sutjen/ë*, -a (f.) “bra, brassiere” < Turk. *sütyen*, *sutyen* “id.”.

Regarding the other Gallicism *sytjen*, *sutjen* (< Turk. *sütyen*, *sutyen* < Fr. *soutien-gorge* “bra, brassiere”), the intermediation of Turkish between French and specifically Alb. *sytjen* is explained by the close front rounded vowel *y/ü*. Turkish variant *sütyen* is well documented and dominant. In accordance with Turkish vowel harmony, the vowel *e* in the second syllable anteriorises the vowel in the first syllable: in the passage from French to Turkish, because of the *e*, the *u* becomes *ü*. In this way, Turk. *sütyen* is directly related to Alb. *sytjen* (*y* = *ü*).

Also Alb. *sutjen* requires a Turkish intermediation, due to its similarity to Turk. *sutyen* rather than to Fr. *soutien-gorge*.

Although it is possible that those Gallicisms were of common use for a long time before being documented in writing, they could attest to some continuing influence of the Turkish language on Albanian in the early period after the downfall of the Ottoman Empire.

5. FOLK ETYMOLOGY

5.1. TURK. MUŞMULA AND ALB. MUSHMOLLË

Alb. *mushmoll/ë*, -a, *mushmullë* (f.) “medlar, medlar-tree (*Mespilus germanica*)” < Turk. *muşmula* “id.”.

The Turkism is also found in: Rom. *moşmol*, *moşmon* “medlar-tree”; *moşmoală*, *moşmoană*, *moşmulă*, *muşmulă* “medlar” (Cioranescu, 1958: 540); Arom. *muşmoală*,

mušmulă “medlar”; *mušmuleŭ* “medlar-tree” (Papahagi, 1963: 720); Gr. μούσμουλο (Babiniotis, 2010: 880); SrCr. *mušmula*, *mušmulja* (Škaljić, 1985: 478); Bulg. мушмула, мушмала (dial.), мушмул, мошмул (Grappes, 2002: 193); Mac. мушмула (Koneski, 1986: 428).

There is no clear connection between the Greek (Ancient Gr. μέσπιλον, Medieval Gr. μούσπουλον, Modern Gr. μούσμουλο) and the Turkish forms. As a rule, Turk. *mušmula* is considered as a derivation of μούσμουλο. But there are scholars (such as Meyer, 1893: 33) who consider the Modern Gr. μούσμουλο as a backborrowing from Turkish. Thus, the Turkish word is identified as a derivation from the most ancient forms in Greek. Accepting this hypothesis, the *p > m* assimilation takes place in Turkish, not in Greek.

There are various interpretations about the formation and meaning in Albanian:

- a. As Çabej (1982: 104) rightly suggests, *mushmollë* is the result of a folk etymology by associating *mushmull(ë)*, the true Albanian Turkism, with Alb. *mollë* “apple”.
- b. Another way to interpret Alb. *mushmollë* by intending it as composed by *mush* + *mollë* might be that of “swollen apple” or “plum, chubby apple”. *Mush*² is considered here as a non-Standard variant of *mbush* “to fill up”, due to the lack of pronunciation of the *b* that leads to the following examples from Gheg dialects: *mbrapa* > *mrapa*³ “behind”, *mbrëmje* > *mramje*⁴ “evening”, *këmborë* > *kumonë*⁵ “bell”, *pëllëmbë* > *pllamë*⁶ “palm (of the hand); span, six inches” etc. This hypothesis could be corroborated by the Albanian reflexive verb *muçitem* “to swell up” (Kostallari, 1980: 1178).

Cordignano (1938: 326) gives the Albanian synonym *mollëmuç/e*, -ja “medlar”, which can be found in Kostallari (1980: 1162) too. Elezi’s Alb. *muçe* (2006: 945) and *muq* (2006: 951) “bundle of grass” – very likely from Ven. *mucio* “heap” – and also the homonym *muçe* “ass, donkey” (< Alb. *maguç* “id.”) are hardly relatable to *mollëmuçe*. A relation to the verb *muçit* “to moo, bellow” is unlikely as well, the latter being an onomatopoeia. Thus *mollëmuçe* – clearly splittable into *mollë* + *muçe*, where *muçe* is probably related to the

- 2 <http://books.google.it/books?id=eww9AAAAIAAJ&pg=PA56&dq=mush+burre&hl=en&sa=X&ei=skAcVJWQPOT8ygOw-YFg&ved=0CCYQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=mush%20burre&f=false>
- 3 <http://books.google.it/books?id=SjasqxAeHXAC&pg=PA62&lpq=PA62&dq=kumon%C3%AB&source=ble&ots=avybS8pwXo&sig=4qvgZBhlbVlOmEU1YUoO7ortU1g&hl=en&sa=X&ei=VTccVNCNDsiAywPjyIDoAw&ved=0CCKQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=mrapa&f=false>
- 4 <http://books.google.it/books?id=6wXaAAAAIAAJ&q=mramje&dq=mramje&hl=en&sa=X&ei=0D4cVLKYFqj8ygPDiYLIDA&ved=0CCIQ6AEwAA>
- 5 <http://books.google.it/books?id=SjasqxAeHXAC&pg=PA62&lpq=PA62&dq=kumon%C3%AB&source=ble&ots=avybS8pwXo&sig=4qvgZBhlbVlOmEU1YUoO7ortU1g&hl=en&sa=X&ei=VTccVNCNDsiAywPjyIDoAw&ved=0CCKQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=kumon%C3%AB&f=false>
- 6 http://books.google.it/books?id=a6vNAAAAIAAJ&q=pllam%C3%AB&dq=pllam%C3%AB&hl=en&sa=X&ei=ijocVMvSL-j_ygObo4LwCQ&ved=0CEoQ6AEwBg

verb *muçitem* “to swell up”, not without taking into account a possible mutual influence between the latter verb and the animal (e.g. cow) which has eaten its fill by feeding on the *muçe, muq* “bundle of grass” – might confirm the supposed, folk etymological meaning of “swollen, plum apple”.

Besides, Leotti (1937: 769) relates the variant *muçmollë*, which could corroborate the hypothesis above. But it could also be the case of the phonetic phenomenon *sh > ç* (postalveolar fricative [ʃ] > affricate [tʃ]), not uncommon in some dialects of Northern and Southern Albania, as stated by Topalli (2007: 361), e.g.: *çotë* “common jay (*Garrulus glandarius*)” < *shotë* “shelduck (*Tadorna tadorna*)”, *çpejt* “quickly” < *shpejt* “id.”, *djaloç* “adolescent boy” < *djalosh* “id.”. This phenomenon could also pertain to the above mentioned verb *muçitem*, from a hypothetical **m(b)ushitem*.

- c. Another Albanian word *mush* meaning “down” (from the area of Guri i Zi, Shkodër) is documented in Father Gazulli’s (1941: 275) Gheg dictionary and it corresponds to the Standard Alb. *push* (< Turk. *puş* “to cover, cover” according to him and Meyer, 2007: 409, though the hypothesis is very unlikely due to semantic distance). This leads to another possible, though less likely, folk reinterpretation of *mushmollë* as “down-covered apple, downy apple”.

5.2. TURK. AKREP AND ALBANIAN VARIANTS AGREP AND HAGREP

Alb. *hagrep*, -i, *agrep* (m.) “scorpion” < Turk. *akrep* “id.”.

The Turkism is also present in SrCr. *akrep, jakrep* (Škaljić, 1985: 79); Bulg. *йѣкрап* (dial.) “venomous insect” (Grannes, 2002: 111); Mac. *акреп* – also in the figurative sense “ugly person, scarecrow” (Koneski, 1986: 8).

The Turkism is common in Standard Albanian as *akrep*, also meaning – as in Turkish as well – “hour hand (of a timepiece)”. But in these dialectal variants with *g* – a normal mutation itself, cf. infra Alb. *goxha* < *koxha* < Turk. *koca* – indicating an arthropod animal, a folk etymology could have occurred, probably relating the word to Alb. *greq* “fishhook; crochet hook, barb; storage hook”, the latter being similar to the sting (and possibly the tail) of the animal, crooked as a hook. This hypothesis can be corroborated by Dizdari’s (2005: 15) dialectal variant *greq* with the meaning “scorpion”.

Regarding the variant *hagrep*, Gazulli (1941: 19) explains this word as *ha-greq*, lit. “eat(s) (the) sting”, which can thus be considered as “that which is stung by its own sting”, probably related to the common, false belief that the animal stings itself to death when confronted with fire. But a prosthesis of *h-* as a subsequent language-internal development seems to be more likely, as in Alb. *hamshor, harmëshor* “stud horse” < Vulgar/Medieval Lat. **armissarius* < Lat. *admissarius* “id.” or Alb. *hashure* < *ashure* “sweet dish made of beans, fava beans and hulled barley, or with boiled wheat, sugar, honey, walnuts, almonds, raisins, cinnamon, other

spices etc. (eaten after the fast of Ashura, a holiday celebrated by Bektashi Muslims)" < Turk. *aşure* "pudding made with cereals, sugar and raisins", although found with both its variants in SrCr. *aşure*, *haşure* (Škaljić, 1985: 104) as well.

6. MORPHOLOGICAL ADAPTATION

Alb. *abdyselät*, -i, *avdeselat* (m.) "castor-oil plant (*Ricinus communis*)" < Ott. *abdüsselätin* "Tigilium seeds, which yield croton oil" (Redhouse, 1890: 1281).

Dizdari (2005: 1-2) considers Alb. *abdyselät* as a direct loanword from Ar. *habb'us sälatin*, lit. "emperors' pill". Škaljić (1985: 295) reports SrCr. *habu-salatin*, *abu-salatin* primarily as a loanword from Turk. *habbus-salatin*, lit. "sultans' grain".

However, neither Ar. *habb'us sälatin* nor Turk. *habbus-salatin* are to be considered as the origin of the Albanian word, as direct Arabisms mostly derive from religious literature (e.g. the Qur'an, which is unlikely in this case). By accepting the assumption that *abdyselät* derives from *habbus-salatin*, it would be hard to explain the dissimilation *bb* > *bd* in Albanian, as Arabisms and Turkisms in this language are too recent to show such phonetic mutations. Moreover, except for the direct loanwords from the Qur'an, most Arabisms and Persisms have entered the Albanian lexicon through Turkish, and especially through Ottoman Turkish. This is the case of Ott. *abdüsselätin*, which effectively confirms this thesis.

The Ottoman ending *-in* could have been interpreted by the Albanian speakers as an accusative suffix of the singular definite form, consequently leading to the apocopated hypercorrectness *abdyselät*.

7. INTERFERENCE OF TURKISMS BETWEEN LANGUAGES OF THE BALKANS

7.1. ALB. AGALLËK, AGËLLEK AND SRCR. AGALUK

Alb. *agallëk*, -u, *agallek* (m.) "the state of being or living like an aga; (pej.) aga-like behaviour" < Turk. *ağalık* "being an aga; generosity; gentlemanliness".

The Turkism is also found in SrCr. *agaluk* – with the same meaning as in Albanian, but also with the following meanings: "aga's wealth, aga's property" (Škaljić, 1985: 73); "the part of income that servants have to give to the aga; autocracy, use of violence in aga's exercise of power" (Nosić, 2005: 14); Bulg. аґалѣк "abundance, generosity; all Turks in a given place or situation, considered as a body"; алѣк (dial.) "pride" (Grannes, 2002: 2, 8); Mac. аґалак "nobility; arrogance; wealth, property" (Koneski, 1986: 5).

The meanings "generosity" and "nobility" pertaining to the Turk. *ağalık* are respectively found in Bulgarian and Macedonian as well. The pejorative senses are found almost in all Balkan languages listed above, but the main meaning remains that related to wealth.

Alb. *agëllek*, -u, *agllik*, *agllok* (m.) “money given to the bride as a dowry by the groom” < Turk. *ağırılık* “weight, burden; baggage, luggage”; (reg.) “money given to the bride as a trousseau; jewelry”.

The Turkism entered the following languages as well: Rom. *agarlık*, *argalík*, *agǎrlíc*, *angarlíc* “baggage” (Cioranescu, 1958: 12); SrCr. *agrluk*, *agaluk* (Škaljić, 1985: 73); Bulg. агърлък, агарлък, аглък (Grannes, 2002: 2). The meanings in Regional Turkish, Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian are the same as in Albanian.

To Alb. *agallëk* “the state of being or living like an aga; (pej.) aga-like behaviour” corresponds SrCr. *agaluk*, with the same meanings, but also with the meaning “aga’s wealth, property”, shared with Macedonian. But to Alb. *agëllek* “money given to the bride as a dowry by the groom” corresponds SrCr. *agrluk* and, again, the form *agaluk*, but in this case with another meaning. Both Alb. *agallëk* and *agëllek* are semantically related to wealth and economic prosperity. This semantic similarity between the two Turkisms could have conditioned the formal coincidence in SrCr. *agaluk*. It is rather simple to identify Alb. *agëllek* with Alb. *agallëk* because of an etymology that leads to Alb. *agë* (which is a variant of Alb. *aga* < Turk. *ağa* “lord, master; local big landowner”) + *-llek*, which substitutes the suffix *-llëk* (< Turkish nominal suffix *-lık*) in some dialects (e.g. in Gheg).

The deletion of the *r* in Alb. *agëllek* and SrCr. *agaluk* shows the possibility that one of these languages played the role of an intermediary between Turk. *ağırılık* and the other language. An independent deletion of the *r* in both languages is a more awkward hypothesis.

In the case of Rom. *argalík* and *angarlíc*, an interference with Turk. *argat* “labourer; farmhand; construction worker” and Turk. *angarya* “forced labour, corvée; drudgery; angary” could have occurred, being both Turkish words related to the idea of hard work. Cf. Rom., Megl. *argat* “servant; stable boy” (Cioranescu, 1958: 35-36), Arom. *aryat* “day labourer; worker” (Papahagi, 1963: 138) and Rom. *angara*, *angărie*, *anhărie*, *angărea*, *hangăra(le)*, *angherie* “servidumbre, prestación en dinero o en días de trabajo; dificultad, problema, engorro” (Cioranescu, 1958: 26), Arom. *angărie* “corvée; taille” (Papahagi, 1963: 107). Although both Papahagi and Cioranescu consider these words as Graecisms, respectively from Modern Gr. ἀργάτης, εργάτης “artificer; labourer, worker, workman” and (Medieval) Gr. ἀγγαρεία “angary; fag; task”, the nominal suffix *-líc* < Turk. *-lık* in Rom. *argalík* and *angarlíc* proves that at least these two formations are Romanian Turkisms. Cf. also Alb. *argat*, *ergat* “hired hand, farm hand; peon; (obs.) day labourer, farmer who comes to give free help to another farmer”, considered by Meyer (2007: 51) as a Graecism, but by Çabej (1976: 74) as a borrowing which entered twice the Albanian lexicon: once from Modern or Medieval Greek and once from Turkish. Çabej tries to corroborate the hypothesis of a Turkish origin of Alb. *argat* by quoting Bardhi, an Albanian bishop and author of the 17th century who translates Lat. *mercenarius* as “rogëtār, turcice argat”. That is to say that, at least in the North, *argat* was perceived as a Turkish word. On the other hand, both Meyer (2007: 48) and

Çabej (1976: 49-50) agree in considering Alb. *angari* “forced labour; drudgery” as a Turkism, whereas Turk. *angarya* is considered as a Graecism.

7.2. ALB. RASË, RAST AND TURK. RAST

Alb. *ras/ë, -a* (f.) “(grammatical) case; (colloq.) case, occasion, circumstance”;

Alb. *rast, -i* (m.) “case; occasion; circumstance; accident; opportunity, chance; cause, reason” (possibly) < Turk. *rast* “straight; right; proper; straightforward; in order; successful”, *rast gelmek (-e)* “to meet by chance, chance upon (someone); to meet with, encounter, find; (for something unexpected) to come (one’s) way, come to (someone)”.

The latter is also found in: Arom. *araste* “occasion, moment propice” (Papahagi, 1963: 128); Gr. *ράσσι, ράστ* “coincidence; chance; circumstance, occasion, event; chance meeting” (Koukkidis, 1960: 79).

The meaning of *rasë* in Standard Albanian is “grammatical case”, but in some colloquial usages it is considered as a synonym of *rast* (Newmark, 1999: 726). *Rasë* certainly has had a larger use in Gheg dialects: it exists with the meaning “case; occasion; circumstance; chance” in the archaic form of the Act of Contrition (a Catholic prayer), in Haki Shtërmilli’s literary work *Sikur t’isha djalë* (If I were a boy) etc.

Çabej (2002: 276-277) considers *rasë* as identical with Turk. *rast*, but deriving from a Turkish variant without *-t*, as in Turk. *rasgele -rastgele* “by chance, haphazard”. According to him, it appears for the first time in Father Jungg’s Albanian-Latin dictionary of 1895 as *ras-a* “opportunity, chance”. In Çabej’s opinion, *rasë* as “grammatical case” and “case” (e.g. *tri rase tifoje* “three cases of typhus”; *në çdo rasë* “in any case”) is supposedly formed under the influence of It. *caso*, Fr. *cas*, Ger. *Fall* “case”. He supposes some kind of translation or reinterpretation by the clergy of Shkodër – in the period after Meyer and Jungg – by associating *rasë* with the Gheg inf. *me ra* “to fall”, as *caso*, *cas* are associated with *cadere*, and *Fall* with *fallen*. So, “Bashkimi” Association’s Albanian New Dictionary of 1908 is the first to contain the form *rasë* “case, occasion”.

Elsewhere, Çabej analyses other words with seemingly similar characteristics. One of these is *bast, bas* “betting” (1976: 175) < Turk. *bahis* (in the oblique cases as *bahse, bahsi*), which according to him is found in Bulg. *бас* as well. In his opinion, a phonetic evolution *-s > -st* occurred in Alb. *bast* – as in Alb. *mest* < Alb. *mes* “middle” (probably < Gr. *μέσον* “id.”), *kostra* (pl.) < *kosa* (pl.) “braids of hair” (according to Orel, 1998: 193 and Meyer, 2007: 254 < Sl. *kosa* “id.”, cf. Bulg., SrCr. *kosa*) – and, being the variant *bast* more typical of Southern and Central Albania, it also passed to Arom. *baste* “gamble, bet” (as confirmed also by Papahagi, 1963: 193). But *mest* is considered by Mann (1948: 278) as the locative case of *mes*. And actually, when analysing Alb. *çast* and *čas* < Sl. (SrCr., Mac.) *čas* “time, moment”, Çabej (1987: 93-94) explains the presence of *-t* as a phonetic behaviour of Alba-

nian (as in *kosa ~kostra*) or, more likely, as a remainder of the old locative case (cf. Buzuku's, Budi's, Bardhi's and Bogdani's *čas* and Bogdani's *ndë çast* "immediately"). Thus the hypothesis of an old locative suffix seems the most convincing one and it should be applied to *mes ~mest* and *bas ~bast* as well.

Çabej does not include *rasë, rast* in the hypotheses above. Moreover, Mann (1948: 423), who considers *rast* as a Turkism, gives recent documentation for Gheg *rasë* and Tosk *rasje* "chance, occasion, opportunity, case", that is to say between the beginning of the 20th century and the 1930s. Considering the fact that *rast* results as an undisputable Turkism in Albanian – but also in Greek and Aromanian –, the variants *rasë* and *rasje* seem to be subsequent language-internal formations. Furthermore, it seems rather impossible that the Turkish borrowing *rast* conditioned all the following formations: Alb. *čas* (a Slavic loanword) > *çast*, Alb. *bas* (a Turkish loanword) > *bast* and Alb. *mes* (very likely, a Greek loanword) > *mest*.

Besides Çabej's above mentioned hypothesis on the creation of Gheg *rasë*, then adopted in Standard Albanian, the formation of Alb. *rasë* and *rasje* could be based on a reverse process: an analogy, due to the perception of the -t in *rast* as a case suffix.

8. SOME OTHER PARTICULAR CASES

8.1. ALB. *AJNA* AND TURK. *AYNI, AYNA*

Alb. *ajna* (adv.) "very well, in a perfect way; experience, exercise, practice" < Turk. *ayna* "mirror, looking glass; smooth water (over an upswell); smooth and bright as the surface of a mirror; (dial.) perfect, going very well".

The Turkism entered SrCr. *ajna* "mirror" (Škaljić, 1985: 77) as well.

According to Dizdari (2005: 11), the word nowadays obsolete has been used in Shkodër in the expression *me e ba ajna (diçka)* "to learn to do something perfectly thanks to exercising, experience etc...". He also mentions a metathetic variant *ajan* with the meaning "clear".

Dizdari compares the Albanian Turkism with Turk. *ayni* "the same, identical", but the origin of the word is Turk. *ayna* with the meanings listed above. In addition, the dialectal Turk. *ayna* means "perfect, going very well". Thus, it is directly related to Alb. *ajna*.

8.2. ALB. *AKLLASHIT, AKLLASHNAME*, BULG. *АКЪШМАК* AND TURK. *AKLAMAK, AKLAŞMAK, HAKLAŞMAK*

Alb. *akllashit* (v.) (North-Eastern Kosovo) "to clarify, resolve" (as based on the derivatives related by Dizdari, 2005: 14).

Dizdari gives two possible etymologies:

- < Turk. *aklamak* “to whiten; to clear (someone) of responsibility” (where the Turkish component *ak* “white colour; clean” can be noticed);
- < Turk. *haklaşmak* “to settle mutual rights or claims; to be quits”.

If the origin of Alb. *akllashit* were Turk. *haklaşmak*, an elision of the voiceless glottal fricative *h*- would have occurred in Albanian. The same elision occurs in Bulg. *аклъшмак* “adjustment, repair” (Grannes, 2002: 5) as well, which could be the intermediary for Albanian. Whereas in Albanian, a morphological adaptation occurs: Turkish verbal suffix *-mak* is substituted by Albanian suffix *-it*.

Derivatives:

- Alb. (*i, e*) *pakllashitun* (adj.) “unclear”;
- Alb. *akllashnam/e, -ja* (f.) “confirmation; certainty; conviction”.

In the formation above it is possible to observe the Turkish suffix *name* (< Persian), which sometime in the past meant “letter; certificate, document”, but nowadays is used only to form compounds. According to Dizdari (2005: 14), the reflexive verb *aklaşmak* “to turn white” is not documented in Turkish dictionaries. Therefore, he denies the existence of a stem *aklaş* which could be further combined with the suffix *-name*.

Unfortunately, a dictionary can not always register all verbal forms or compounds with a certain suffix. Moreover, an unregistered word does not always coincide with a non-existent one. Nonetheless, Turk. *aklaşmak* today is registered in the dictionaries. In order to make this point clearer, let’s take as an example Alb. *ispatname* “testimony” (Dizdari, 2005: 425-426) and *zabitname* “government mandate given to a local dignitary or chief in order to properly manage the country; authority to rule given to an officer commanding an expedition in certain a region; judicial and executive body in complicated cases and blood feuds; conciliation trial (in the Kanun of Mirditë); authority” (Dizdari, 2005: 1137-1138). Not finding these compounds in the consulted Turkish dictionaries, Dizdari (2005: 426, 1138) supposes that they are language-internal formations in Albanian. However, *ispatname* is documented as “testimony” in Uyghur,⁷ a Turkic language that, regardless of its geographical distance, has been historically influenced by the Turkish (Osmanli) lexicon. Whereas *zabitname* is attested by Turk. *zabitname* “minutes (of a meeting); minute book; (written) proceedings (of a legislative assembly); court record, transcript; police report”.

7 <https://www.google.it/webhp?sourceid=chrome-instant&ion=1&espv=2&ie=UTF-8#q=ispatname%20uyghur>

ABBREVIATIONS

- * = hypothetical/ reconstructed form
- < = derives from
- > = becomes
- ~ = graphic/phonetic opposition
- adj. = adjective
- adv. = adverb
- Alb. = Albanian
- Ar. = Arabic
- Arom. = Aromanian
- Bulg. = Bulgarian
- cf. = compare
- colloq. = colloquial
- dial. = dialect
- e.g. = for example
- Engl. = English
- expr. = idiomatic expression, locution
- f. = feminine noun
- Fr. = French
- Ger. = German
- Gr. = Greek
- id. = same meaning
- inf. = infinitive
- It. = Italian
- Lat. = Latin
- lit. = literally
- m. = masculine noun
- Mac. = Macedonian (Slavic)
- Megl. = Megleno-Romanian
- Mold. = Moldavian subdialect (of Daco-Romanian)
- obs. = obsolete
- Ott. = Ottoman Turkish
- pej. = pejorative
- pl. = plural
- reg. = regional
- Rom. = Romanian (or Daco-Romanian)
- Sl. = Slavic
- SrCr. = Serbo-Croatian
- Turk. = Turkish
- v. = verb
- Ven. = Venetian

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