

THE USE OF PERSIAN LOANWORDS IN ALBANIAN: FOCUSING ON THE REGISTERS OF THE LOW LEVEL OF FORMALITY

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Abstract: This study addresses the use of Persian loanwords in today's Albanian language, focusing on registers with a low level of formality. Persian (Farsi) had an extensive presence in the culture of the Ottoman Empire, which for almost five centuries ruled the Balkan region, where Albanians lived as well. Thus, intercultural relations were established between Albanians and Persians, but with the mediation of the Ottoman Empire. In this way, a large number of Persian words penetrated the Albanian language, many of which, even after many attempts to replace them with Albanian words, have wide use in various registers of this language. Our study addresses the shift of Persian words from high to low-level of registers of formality. This study is conducted using two corpora. The first corpus consists of the lyrics of folk songs, as the genre of the lower level of formality. The second corpus consists of interviews with 100 people interviewed within the project "Oral History of Kosovo". The analysis of the use of this part of the Albanian lexicon was carried out on the basis of the theory of corpus linguistics, the theory of languages in contact and the sociolinguistic approach to language registers. The study relies on multi-functionality and linguistic pluralism, on the basis of which the functionalization of Persian words has been researched and used in different styles.

Keywords: Persian words, Albanian vocabulary, styles and registers, cultural impacts

1. Introduction

The almost five-century rule of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan Peninsula instilled an Oriental culture that, among other influences, introduced numerous Arabic, Persian, and Turkish linguistic elements into the languages of the region. The presence of these linguistic elements in the Balkan languages has been identified in two

planes – the grammatical and the lexical. Indeed, the lexical plane has always been regarded as more important due to the large number of words from these languages in the Balkan lexicon, which were intended to be minimized to allow new lexical developments. In Balkan studies there has been a scientific debate about the use of an appropriate scientific term for the marking of Arabic, Persian and Turkish loanwords in the Balkan languages. Some scholars (Meyer, 1891; Knežević, 1962) and the best known of them, Škaljić (1969; 113), have labeled borrowings of Arabic, Persian and Turkish into Balkan languages *turkisms* arguing that "since the Arabic and Persian words that have come to the Balkans are also extended to the Turkish language and very rarely there are words that directly from Arabic or Persian entered the Serbo-Croatian language, then the use of the term *Turkism* is fairer. On the other hand, Bajraktarević (1964) defends the position that the term *turkism* is not a scientific term and proposes the term "orientalism". According to him,

[...] the etymology of Turkish words is the main problem of Balkan linguists, because they only know Turkish and their knowledge of Arabic and Persian is very limited, so they have faced serious problems in finding the etymology of Turkish words and many times have been forced to make ridiculous comparisons, and thus have made terrible mistakes". (1964; 130)

This is what Desnickaja (1963, 126) argues as well, according to whom,

Turkism implies not only the purely Turkish words, but also the Arab and Persian ones, which have penetrated Albanian through Turkish or directly from Arabic and Persian, the knowledge of which was widespread among the educated part of the Muslim population of old Albania. In this sense, the term *orientalism* would be more accurate.

While in Albanian linguistic studies we encounter both notions, recently, the term *turkism* has been more established. But it should be noted that a significant number of *turkisms* are of Persian origin, which have also brought elements of Persian culture and civilization and thus have created cultural contacts between Albanians and Persians.

Although these words of the Albanian lexicon are a legacy of earlier times, their presence still reflects the current world of Albanian speakers. In some of the studies we saw that one of the linguistic functions of the remaining *turkisms* is to use them as stylistic tools in literary works

(Desnickaja, 1963; 126-134). Reinkowski (2002) believes that *turkisms* are losing their formal status and their use borders on the popular language. However, during the review of studies we have noticed that the conclusions regarding *turkisms* have been made with a special focus on standard and literary language. For example, when it is said that they are good stylistic tools, as in Desnickaya's (1963) study, mostly literary styles are explored. The most recent study on the formal and informal status of Turkisms in Albanian is by Rugova & Rugova (2017). They conclude that Turkish loanwords in Albanian are widely used in informal contexts for expressive and directive functions (ibid; 232). Their study primarily utilizes a written corpus from newspapers and publishing houses in Kosovo and Albania. In this study as well, by expanding the registers of speakers of the Albanian language, we aim to reflect on the usage and the status of the formality of *turkisms* with Persian origin, in further text referred to as Persian loanwords. Through this study, we will see if Persian words are still present among informal speakers of the Albanian language. That is why we have seen fit to use two corpora: The first corpus consists of the lyrics of folk songs, as the genre of the lower level of formality. The second corpus consists of interviews with 100 people interviewed within the project *Oral History of Kosovo*.

Our research is built on the principle of linguistic diversity, which we consider an asset that affects the development and expansion of the ontological, epistemological, aesthetic, and social dimensions of people and, as a result, of the creation of closeness and friendship between them. In this case, our study, identifying borrowings of Persian words in the Albanian language argues that peoples in the past, but also today, communicate and receive and give to each other. Thus, this study can contribute to the relativization of ethnocentric reductionist attitudes “about pure languages and races” and “pure ethnic cultures”.

2. Methodology

This paper is based on qualitative analysis. The descriptive method is used to explain the theoretical background of historical and social contacts of Albanian and Persian cultures; methods of classifying styles and registers and their importance in defining the meaning of words.

The study was carried out mainly on the basis of corpus linguistics methodology. Corpus linguistics has already been proven to be an appropriate methodology for descriptive, theoretical, psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic, lexical, and lexicographic linguistic analysis. A corpus is a collection of texts used for the purpose of general linguistics. Corpus linguistics is mostly used for function-based linguistic analysis by linguists who regard language as a means of communication. (Meyer,

2002; 19). Corpus linguistics has gained popularity with the promulgation of the theory of generativism, according to which grammatical descriptions can be evaluated on three levels: observational expediency, descriptive expediency, and explanatory expediency. According to Leech, the corpus is the perfect source for verifying the falsity, completeness, simplicity, accuracy, and objectivity of any linguistic hypothesis (Leech: Meyer 2002; 21). In the study, we approached Persian words from different perspectives, addressing the relationship of language and context. Persian words have been analyzed from a semantic point of view in the context of registers and styles. Examples of Persian loanwords contrasted to its synonyms in Albanian are given to clarify the change of meanings and their usages in different styles.

2.1. Tools and participants

The study applied an adjusted and random selection technique. Thus, as a corpus, we have selected two main types of corpora: a) the corpus of folk songs, b) the corpus of texts of *Oral History of Kosovo* projects. We also used the National Corpus of the Albanian Language as a source from which we excerpted specific examples to support the presence of different meanings of Persian loanwords detected in the above-mentioned corpus of spoken variety. The demographic data of the participants are given in the Annex of this paper.

2.1.1. The corpus of folk songs

As the first corpus, we chose the lyrics of popular songs written and sung in the Albanian language. This register belongs to the low-level. Low-level generalization registers are considered registers which are volumes of short texts that do not contain extensive content (Biber, 1994; 34). They are usually used to convey a message, an emotion, or other purpose to achieve a certain effect to the broader mass of the audience or readers. In this type of registers borrowings are among the frequent language choices that can be heard. For this study we have done the analysis of folk songs, to observe the presence of Persian words and their function. The reason why we chose folk songs is that these songs are still heard by different layers of Albanian speakers and constitute the main lyrics of festive ceremonies and parties of Albanians. The lyrics of the popular songs are taken from the digital corpus www.teksteshqip.com. We have read the lyrics of 20 popular songs, which are considered as the most heard and sung among Albanians, and thus we have identified the Persian words in them.

2.1.2. The corpus of texts of *Oral History of Kosovo* project¹

The corpus consists of interview texts obtained from the OHK project where 100 participants belonging to different ages and socio-economic statuses² were interviewed. For an interviewer to be representative, Albanian must be their native language. Knowledge of the Turkish language, although not a mandatory criterion, has been taken into account due to the phenomenon of bilingualism and code change.

This corpus offers the public the opportunity to hear people's voices, pick up on the rhythm and colour of their speech, and see expressions of feelings. Aware that the interviewer, with his/her own presence, influences the interviewee and the recording, and complicates the dynamic between the interviewee and the researchers, the project team has tried to mitigate the problem by selecting interviewers who speak the same dialect as the interviewee, posing broad questions, prioritizing what the interviewee wants to say rather than what they think the interviewer wants to hear. Additional questions were asked to clarify or explain more fully what has been said. The interviewees choose their own words naturally, not losing spontaneity. The interviewers were younger than the interviewees, which removes, to some extent, the need for high-level formality. The interviewees are from different parts of Kosovo. Therefore, the corpus represents more than one sociolect of the Albanian language, among them the two main dialects of the Albanian language, Tosk and Gheg. The density of use has been measured in software developed for Sketch Engine language studies. Sketch Engine is software designed for identifying the most typical, rarest, and most extraordinary features and uses within corpora consisting of millions of words in length.

3. Literature review

The study of languages in contact or linguistic contact is important because it provides both useful theoretical and practical results. Researching the social aspects of linguistic contacts sheds light on intergroup reports and their identities, on how adaptation processes in some circumstances, divergences and conflict have influenced the formation of these reports.

In some cases, the results of language contacts may be only borrowings or with the new terminology replicas of words and

¹ <https://oralhistorykosovo.org/> (Last retrieved 01.09.2023)

² The socio-demographic data of the interviewees are provided in tabular form in Annex 1.

grammatical forms³, in other cases completely new languages are formed. In the section where we are presenting the reviewed literature, we see it as useful to initially give a general reflection of the socio-cultural contact of Albanian with Persian (Farsi). Then we will present the theoretical background of the stylistics of the Albanian language in the frameworks of which this study is set.

3.1. Linguistic contacts of Albanians with the Persian (Farsi) language

The common geography of the Persians and Turks, and later the creation and expansion of the Ottoman Empire into the Balkan regions, caused these peoples to have close cultural and political contacts with one another, and thus left tremendous influences on each other's thought and cultures. Several causes of the spread and presence of Persian culture can be identified, especially its literature in the Balkan regions.

After the arrival in the region of Persian dervishes and mystics, who in addition to dealing with the spread of Islam, also helped the integration of the inhabitants of the region into the Ottoman Empire, they built *tekkes* and *zawiyas*, in which Persian language was taught and works of Persian poetry and mysticism were read. As an example, we can mention the tekke of Frashëri in Përmet, Albania, whose founder was Baba Tahir Nesibiu from Khorasan in Persia (modern Iran). Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682) mentions that in the Albanian lands he had seen dervishes who learned the Persian language:

[...] In fact, the famous traveler Evliya Çelebi mentions in his notes that there are many people among the inhabitants of the city who learn Persian, honor Ali and his family, and curse Muawiya and Yazid...". (Clayer, 2012; 44)

The Ottoman madrasas were also centers for teaching the Persian language and reading the masterpieces of this literature. (Mehmeti, 2019; 164) Part of the teaching curricula of these madrasas covered the masterpieces of Islamic-Persian poetry and mysticism, such as the *Bostān* and *Gulistān* of Saadi Shirāzi (1210-1292), the *Divan* of Hafiz Shirazi 1325-1390), the *Mathnawi* of Mawlānā Rumi (1207-1273), the *Behāristān* of Jāmi (1414-1492), and various others. The manuscripts of

³ Linguistic contact scholars often prefer the term *model* for the form of the word in the source language and the term *replica*, rather than the word *borrowing*, for the form it takes in the receiving language. See Matras (2009), Filipović (1986)

diwans of local poets writing poetry in the Persian language, found in the archives and libraries of cities in Albania, Kosovo and North Macedonia are an undeniable fact that in these areas literature in the Persian language has been read and enjoyed.

While Shemeddin Sami Frashëri (1850-1904), the great Albanian scholar in the Ottoman Empire, in the introduction of the book *Hurdeçin*, writes: "The Persian language was created for poetry, and the poetry was created for Persian language" (Sami, 1885; 3). The presence and importance of Persian language in the Balkan region is best documented by Ashik Çelebi (1520) who in his work *Senses of Poets* (*Meşâirü 'ş-Şuārā*) writes:

It is recounted that when a child is born in Prizren, before giving him a name, they give him a *mahlas* (pseudonym). The child who is born in the Jenice of Vardar, uses the Persian word 'mama' for bread. A child born in Prishtina keeps a seal around his belt. Therefore, all this means that Prizren is a place of poets, Jenice of Vardar a place of Persian language, and Prishtina is a place of administration. (Recepoğlu, 2000; 44)

In the Albanian regions there lived several poets who had managed to write poetry and *diwans* (complete collection of poems) in the Persian language. (See also: Rexhepi, 2018) An example can be shown by Nezim Frakulla (1685-1760), the Albanian poet, who speaks about the influences and the models of his poetic creativity:

Unë Urfi-i i zemanit	I'm the 'Orfi of all time,
unë Firdusi hakani	I'm strong like Ferdowsi,
unë sahibi maani (meani)	I'm the possessor of meaning,
ti më je ihsani enam	You are my provider of goodness,
Ti më je oll shahi pyrnaz	You are my king of compliments,
ti më je sirr, ti më je raz	You are my secret, you are my
unë jam Hafëzi Shiraz	mystery,
unë jam Saadi-i ejam.	I'm Hafiz-i Shiraz
	I'm the Saadi of this time.

(Frakulla 2006, 56)

So, Nezimi compares himself to the Persian poets, Orfi (1555-1591) and Ferdowsi (940-1019), and says that he possesses the meanings of things, which God has told him. Moreover, addressing the Loved one, he says that you are obsessed with me, and you are my secret and mystery, although I am Hafiz Shirazi and the Saadi of this time. It is clear that he

wants to identify himself with the poetry of the Persian poets. None other than the national poet of the Albanian people, Naim Frashëri (1846-1900), wrote a grammar of the Persian language, which was published twice in Istanbul. Naim called his grammar "*Qawā'id-e Fārsiye Ber Tarzi Novīn*" (Persian Rules by the New Method).

The interest of Albanians in learning Persian lasted until the beginning of the 20th century, that is, until the creation of the Albanian state. But, because of this presence of Persian in the tekkes, madrasas and in the intellectual and literary circles of the Albanians, many Persian elements managed to penetrate the Albanian language. Many of the Persian words that have penetrated the Albanian language have already remained only in texts of different genres and in dictionaries, but a significant number of them are still used today, either in Albanian folk songs or in the everyday speech of Albanians.

3.2. The importance of language varieties for the study of Persian words in Albanian language

The aforementioned historical, literary and sociological facts create a suitable basis for the study of Persian words in the context of sociolinguistics and stylistics.

The analysis of the use of Persian words in this paper relies on the heterogeneity of language. The concept of varieties has been treated along with other concepts such as linguistic units and language communities in sociolinguistic studies. Linguistic varieties have been approached within the framework of various theories.

According to the functions of language, we identify three: an informational function, an expressive function, and an action-inducing function. The information function includes 3 separate styles: the illustrative style, the comparative style and the technical style; the expressive function includes 2 styles: the ironic style, the hyperbolic style and the metaphorical style; finally, the inducement function includes 3 different styles: the evocative style, the appreciative style and the devaluing style.

Persian words represent a special part of the lexicon of the Albanian language which has drawn the interest of scholars, especially in the context of language purification. During the formation of the standard variant of the Albanian language, attempts were made to exclude them from the vocabulary and were used rarely in the spoken and written version of the standard Albanian language. Scholars (Reinkowski 2012; Kazazis 1969) consider that the number of Turkish (and thus Persian) origin words is decreasing and that when they are used, it is as stylistic tools in the literary language. They also believe that their presence in the

popular language will continue. Based on these findings, as well as sociolinguistic studies of varieties of the language, we assume that Persian words will appear as compulsory as well as free language choices in written and spoken varieties of the Albanian language. All Persian words already recorded in the lexicography of the Albanian language can be treated as compulsory elections,⁴ because they are already accepted and recorded. However, we consider that a significant number of Persian words have been a) moved to the registers of the low level of formality of the Albanian language; and as such are b) functionalized by the Albanian speakers depending on the needs of the social and linguistic context, the purpose of the speaker not only in the language of the literary texts, but also in the spoken language. Therefore, we have made our analysis of the variety of Albanian spoken and written language, where speakers speak at a low level of formality.

4. Analysis of the use of Persian words in the registers of the low level of formality

4.1. Persian words in Albanian folk songs

The people of the Balkans have a rich heritage of folk songs, often with similar elements, concepts, archetypes and figures. Recently, several volumes of this heritage in the Albanian language have been recorded and published. Folk songs are also referred to as "jare/yäre" (from the Persian *yār*, beloved, friend, companion). A large number of the lyrics and melodies of these songs are collected in the "www.teksteshqip" database. This corpus of the Albanian language has managed to mostly preserve the Persian words, because according to Çabej (1976; 64), "Turkish influence on folklore has been one of the main factors that have caused borrowings, which has left a lexical legacy that cannot be easily eradicated through external efforts."

It should be noted that some of these songs are written within the poetic forms of the Persian-Turkish Gazelle. Thus, out of the 20 lyrics of these songs that we have studied, we have managed to identify 45 Persian words: *aseman, bahçe, behar, bylbyl/bilbil, çare, çeshme, derman, dert, derja, dost, ferman, hem, gonxhe, gjyl, gjylistan, gjymbysh, jare, jaran, mejdan, manushaqe, menekshe, myzhde, namaz, namazli, nishane, padishah, Pazar, perçë, qerpaze, sejmen, selvie, shah, shejh/sheh, pervane, xham, xhan, xhanan, zehër, zylyf/zulluf, zilifqar, zindan, zing, and zyba*. The source forms in Persian and their meaning

⁴For this study, the following dictionaries of the modern Albanian language were considered: Fjalori i Gjuhës Shqipe (1981), Fjalori i Gjuhës Shqipe (2006); Fjalori Etimologjik i Gjuhës Shqipe (2017)

are given in tabular form in the annex to this paper.

For illustrative purposes, below we provide some examples of the texts of these songs.

Example (1)

Aman ja *dost*,
Ej Elif, ma mirë me dekë,
Se ja mërrimë ktij vilajeti;
Be, bilahi, s'e kujtova,
Para 'nej na munoi, devleti,
-Ja dost, hej *dost!* [...]

Aman ja *dost*,
Zi edhe *zehër* nau mush kjo jetë
Edhe u çue merhameti,
Sin s'kan frigë se donë me dekë,
Kabul s'i ban Hazredi Muhammedi,
-Haj-haj, medet medet. [...]

Aman ja *dost*
Kaf, Kur'ani qi po shkruen,
Edhe ish ardhë pej Perenisë
Qef, *qerpaze* na jemi ba,
Tuk se shkeli kama e jezidies,
-Haj-haj, medet-medet. [...]

Ze zybaja e jote, more *bylbyl*,
Je ni *gonxhez hem* drandafil
Ej Halil, *perçën* jafet,
Sen sifatin ty ta kan gjetë
Ishe kanë, ne t'ba hyqymet.

(Krasniqi, Salih & Feriz, 2007).

The song "Aman, ja dost" is one of the most popular songs in Kosovo and among the Albanians of North Macedonia. This song is sung by the most famous folk singers of this genre of folk music. The song has 15 stanzas and addresses the plight of the Albanian people in the last days of Ottoman rule. The song, as its title implies, is full of Turkish, Arabic and Persian words. In the verses that we brought here, the Persian words are, *dost* (*dūst*), *zehër* (*zahr*), *qerpaze* (*qabāde*), *zyba-ja* (*zibā*),

bylbyl (bolbol), gonxhe (ğhonçe). hem (ham), and perçë (parçeh).

Example (2)

Dal e dal po na vjen *behari*
 Lum kush asht ashik!
 O me lule na u mbushke djali
 Me kumash jeshil.
 O me tanuz, fesin në ballë
 Po m'gjezdis nëpër *Pazar*.
 O açik m'i ke sy e vetlla
Aseman more djalë!
 Zenel Aga mor shka' t'kam bo
 Që m'ke marr mëni?
 O me vuxhud o jam ograshtisë
 Ai po m'hjek zingji.
 E me vuxhud o bre je i vogël
 Kërkush hallin s'ma din.
 Për Zotin o që asht rrahim
 Ashki yt më dogj!

(Tekste shqip. Web. Këngë gjakovare: Dal e dal po na vjen behari)

Here, we find the Persian words *behar (behār)*, *pazar (bazār)*, *Aseman (āsamān)*, and *zingji (zeng)*.

The above-mentioned Persian words are mainly used in styles with the inducing and informative function. They are functionalized as inducement tools being used in the evocative style and as informational tools being used in the technical style.

Country songs are structured around the motives and lyrical worldviews of the Perso-Turkish Gazelle, "traces of which are still observed in the popular cultures of the peoples of the East" (Andrews & Kalpaklı, 2005; 195). The wide presence of these songs in the music culture of Albanians shows that they still have fun with the lyrics of the Perso-Turkish Gazelle, and thus cultivate their aesthetic feelings. Persian words here play an important role in the expression of that atmosphere, because they are cultural borrowings that will be present in the language of popular song cultivated by the people. As can be seen, the spirit of the Persian-Turkish gazelle that came to the Balkans through the Ottoman tradition has not only continued to be created and sung to this day, but has managed to extend its influence across the deeper

dimensions of the spiritual and intellectual life of Albanians and still today a large number of people continue to experience and enjoy this culture. This poem and, as a result, this intellectual tradition continues to influence the epistemological and ontological dimensions of a large proportion of the Albanian people. Through the Persian words of country songs, today Albanians can create emotional and intellectual connections with both Persian and Turkish culture, and in this way, they have the opportunity to enjoy the same lyrical concepts and metaphors as the Persians and Turks.

4.2. The use of Persian words by the interviewees of the Oral History of Kosovo

The HGK corpus consists of 402,883 words and records more than 100 Persian words that are also present in the Dictionary of the Albanian Language. These are:

abdes, aga, ah, aheng, ahër, akshami, aman, ashiqare, avash, avaz, axha, axhallarë, badihava, bahçe, bahçebanxhi, barabartë, barazi, barabarësi, barem, bare, bazhderana, behari, bylbylat, çadër, ombrellë, çardak, çarçafi, çarshi, çejez, çeshme, çeshme, çift, çifteli, çoban, çorape, dada, dem baba dem, dert, dervish, dollap, duvar, ferman, ferman, filan fistekja, filan fisteku, gjaur (serb), gebr, gjoja (se), gjynah/gjyha, hambar, hava, henëz, hiç (bile), hosh-geldiniz, jaran, karavan saraj, llaf, fjalë, lāf, llafazani, llafosem, madem, mehane, mejdanet, mezë, name, nami (u bojke), nari, naz, nazlije, odë, papuçe, pare, pazar, peçe, penxhere, perdja, peshkir, pishman (i bijke), qare, qelibari, qofte, , qilim, qira, qorr, qosh, rast, rastësisht, serbes, shadërvan, shegërt, taze, telash, turshi, vishnje, xham, xhambazë, zehr, zor, and zorshëm

Most of the Persian words used here, although not found in the dictionaries of today's Albanian language, are an inseparable part of the spoken register. All are registered in the informal style. Some of these words are hybrids formed with Turkish and Albanian words or suffixes:

barabar (pers. adverb)+si (alb. suffix),
 rast (pers. noun)+[ë]+sisht (alb. suffix),
 zor (pers. adjective)+shëm (alb. suffix).

Based on the results of the analysis of the spoken register, we found that the spoken language is increasingly similar to the written version. This is shown by the use of a set of Persian words in both registers: *rastësisht* (accidentally), *vishnje* (sour cherry), *odë* (chamber) and so on.

Persian words, which are a powerful tool in styles with expressive function (irony, metaphor,) keep the dynamism of their use in the formal version (eg: nam-i-nām, denbabaden-dam be dam). The use of Persian

words by interviewees of different ages and categories of Kosovar society proves that these Persian words have not yet managed to be replaced with other Albanian words. The use of these words is recorded among speakers who have used the formal variant and the Gheg dialect⁵. Some speakers using the Tosk variant⁶ (formal dialect), although showing rare use of Persian, in certain cases during the use of explanatory-comparative and technical style are obliged to use them.

In cases where the speaker uses formal-level styles or registers, the presence of Persian words is recorded in the styles with the informational function. That is, they are irreplaceable when the speaker uses the illustrative-comparative style and the technical style. When the speaker speaks on topics of the type of childhood narrative in describing the city or house, traditions or when Persian words constitute a specific terminology such as: family terminology, architectural, urban terms, musical, that of Sufism or of various technical means. For example: *qifteli/joft-tel (li)* (a type of musical instrument), *çarshi/çahārsū* (Eng. bazaar, market, downtown), and so on.

This lexicon consists of words that have no substitute in the Albanian language or can be replaced with words that will not create a relationship with the listener and speaker on the emotional and intellectual level.

Example (3): Countering Persian word with its Albanian synonym:
çarshi – treg

Formal style: treg, shesh (today's shopping center)

Informal style: treg, çarshi

Evocative Style: çarshi

Comparative illustrative style: çarshi

Technical style: çarshi

Metaphorical style: çarshi (audience, opinion)

According to FGJSH (ASHSH, 2006), the word *çarshi* has the

⁵ The Albanian language develops into two main dialects, Tosk and Gheg which are geographically divided by the Shkumbini River. Gheg dialect encompasses the northern Gheg and southern Gheg which are roughly separated by the river Mat. (Demiraj, 2013) Gheg is spoken by Gheg Albanians in northern Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, as well as Serbia and Montenegro.

⁶ The Tosk encompasses the northern and southern Tosk that are roughly separated by the Vjosa River. The sub-dialects of the Tosk are Arberesh and Arvanit dialects. (Demiraj, 2013) Tosk is spoken in southern Albania, a small part of Macedonia, Greece and southern Italy by Arbëresh.

following characteristics:

çarshi,-a: noun, feminine; (obsolete); a covered market; streets with shops on both sides: the city bazaar. FGJSH (ASHSH, 2006)

From this definition we understand that this word is obsolete, which means that it should not be found in the formal style. The speaker once used the word for places where he could trade. However, when we look at the informal style, the word *çarshi* shows a more frequent use among older people and the inhabitants of the cities where this type of square or city street has been preserved even today, as we have seen from the analysis of the HGK corpus. To further clarify the scope of the meaning of this word, we have taken some examples from the national corpus of the Albanian language⁷:

“u mbush *çarshia* me llafe se KTV-ja do të ndëshkohej [...]”
/ Eng. “The *çarshi* was filled with rumours that KTV would be punished [...]”

Zëri, 2013.04.15

“Të rreshtuar dhe të heshtur vazhdojnë ecjen rrugëve të *çarshisë*.”/eng. “Aligned and silent, they continue walking the streets of the *çarshi*.”

Kim Mehmeti, 1900–2014

In technical style it is also used in the high level of formality, in literature and in various descriptions of old architecture.

“Nga ora tre, më thirrën në telefon, po t’thom e kisha telefonin me numër të shtetit tjetër, edhe po m’lajmrojnë që e kanë kallë Çarshinë e Madhë në Gjakovë, edhe kanë vra Doktor Izet.... kanë vra një aktivist,...”/ “At three o'clock, they called me on the phone. I'm telling you, I had the phone with a number from another country, and they're telling me that they set the Grand Bazaar in Gjakova on fire, and they killed Doctor Izet... they killed an activist...”

OHK, *Interview with Vjosa Dobruna*, 3.07.2013-
11.07.2013

As such this word also evokes a certain group of speakers who would understand the oriental atmosphere and environment that can be

⁷ The national corpus of the Albanian language registered 340 uses of the word *çarshi* in 186 different documents. <http://web-corpora.net/AlbanianCorpus/search/> (last retrieved on 15.09.2023)

found in the specific locations of the cities of the Ottoman Empire. It can be heard in certain groups, so the Albanian speakers who are residents of these cities, the Albanian speakers from the diaspora who have not used the Albanian words *treg*, and so on.

An example of the use of Persian words with expressive function is the Albanian word *terezi* (per. tarāzū ترازو is derived from the Middle Persian word *tarāzūk*, which holds the same meaning.)

Me terezi (ngadalë, me kujdes, me hamendje), *vë gjërat në terezi*: e kam vu punën në terezi, për fije, mbarë, i merr fjalët skalapurri *nuk je në terezi* : *s'jam në terezi*; *s'jam në rregull*, në gjendje, (Dizdari, 2005:1023), *s'e prish kur terezinë*: i merr punët shtruar, nuk shqetësohet) etj. (DAL, 2006).

Example (4): *Countering Persian word with its Albanian synonym*: terezi – peshore (Eng. scales)

Formal style: peshore

Informal style: peshore

Metaphorical style: terezi

Technical style: peshore, terezi (obsolete)

Persian words are certainly indicative of the different social identities of Albanian speakers such as age, background, religious affiliation, etc. *terezi* is used more among older people, the meaning depends on the origin as well. For example, the expression '*me terezi*' means 'carefully, without shaking', but in the city of Ulcinj, Montenegro, 'probably, presumptuously, presumptuously' (Dizdari, 2005:2013). It is not used in formal styles. The word '*terezi*' evokes the old tradition, technically it expresses an old tool which today has been replaced with new digital tools. It cannot be replaced because it constitutes the backbone of certain figurative expressions without which no new meanings could be expressed. For illustration purposes, let's take an example from ANC:

"Dhe e çmonin edhe më tepër që s'e prishte kurrë *terezi në*." / Eng. He never use to lose his coolness, and they respected him more for that.

Kalemi's trans. of "Madam Bovary"

"Unë terezitem më mirë në karrige." Eng. I concentrate better on the chair.

Marku's novel "Në ballkonin e mbrëmjes"

The last two usages show that the word *terezi* is far from its main meaning of weighing machine or scales, and is transpositioned from noun to verb thereby depicts new meanings such as:

Terezitem. intr. verb, colloquial To think deeply, to think carefully, to measure a lot before doing something; to think and concentrate a lot when doing something, To not be in a hurry; to plan to measure oneself to do something. *Terezitej t'i fliste.* (Eng. He was thinking of talking to him.) (DAL, 2006)

Example (7): Countering Persian word pazar (بازار) with its Albanian synonyms: treg (Eng. market), shitblerje (Eng. shopping), negociata, negocioj (Eng. bargain)

Formal style: treg

Informal style: pazar

Metaphorical style: pazar

Dictionaries give three different meanings of the word *pazar*. When countered with its Albanian synonyms one can easily come to conclusion that it is often used as a strong linguistic tool for metaphorical style. Here are some examples excerpted from ANC that support this view:

Djali i vetë ka thonë, 'Ani n'rregull, a bon qët' vendim... a bon t'shtunën?' Ishte *ditë pazari*, 'A bon t'shtunën me komuniku?' Ky i thotë, 'Po, edhe mblidhen krejt populli. / Eng. His son said, 'Alright, is it okay if we... is it okay to do it on Saturday?' It was *sales day*, 'Is it okay to communicate on Saturday?' He replied, 'Yes, and everyone will gather.'

OHK, *Interview with Riza Krasniqi*, 30.01.2016

Ato janë të mbushura me fibra, ndaj mos harroni t'i vend osni në listë sa herë bëni *pazar*.' / Eng. "They are full of fiber, so don't forget to add them to your list every time you go *shopping*."

[Agjencia Telegrafike Shqiptare] 08.02.2017

Në të kundërtën shitja në "*aksham Pazar*" edhe i kësaj n dërmarrjeje i jep vulë realitetit se në Kosovë vijnë vetëm ata i nvestitorë që janë të gatshëm të bëhen pjesë e bandës së pus htetit." /Eng. "On the contrary, selling in the "last minute shopping" of this enterprise further solidifies the reality that in Kosovo, only those investors who are willing to become part of the ruling clique come.

[Zëri] 25.03.2013

I pyetur se kush i zotëron 60% të aksioneve që do të marrin portin, kreu i qeverisë deklaroi se nuk mund të përgjigjet për *muhabete pazari* që bëhen te gabi dhe në kafe. / Eng. When asked who owns the 60% of the shares that will

take over the port, the head of the government stated that he cannot respond to the *gossip* that takes place in second-hand shops and cafés.

CNA.al, 10.09.2022

Nëse ajo legjitimon çdo *pazar* apo akt jo moral të opozitë s për të rrëzuar qeverinë,..."/ "If it legitimizes every *negotiation/bargain* or immoral act of the opposition to overthrow the government

[Koha.mk] 14.05.2012

[...]unë mendoj që çështje të tilla delicate nuk zgjidhen d uke i nxjerrë në *pazar* dhe duke akuzuar me terma të forta atë më të cilin kërkon që të arrish marrëveshjen."/ eng. "I believe that such delicate matters are not resolved *by airing them publicly* and accusing with strong terms the very person with whom you seek to reach an agreement.

[Panorama] 05.11.2016

The first three examples of the usages of the word “pazar” are also encountered in the dictionaries of Turkish, through which these words are borrowed. While the last three - as seen above - have metaphorical meanings which are developed later in Albanian, and are not used as such in Turkish.

Thus, it could be concluded that some Persian words cannot be easily replaced with other Albanian words due to the development of new meanings during the loan process. These words have active use in various styles and registers of Albanian. It has already been found that the speakers, during the conversation, make a style change, so from the formal one they switch to the informal style or often are careless during the use of the formal style, depending on the topic and context and the situation they are talking about. In addition to the topic they talk about, their use is also motivated by emotions. It is worth mentioning here the styles that are used with the expressive function, such as ironic, hyperbolic, or metaphorical style are seen very often.

5. Conclusions

Through this study, we researched the Persian words in two important corpora of the Albanian-speaking society of Kosovo. From the first corpus consisting of 20 Albanian folk songs, we were able to identify 45 words of Persian origin. From the second corpus of the project "Oral History of Kosovo" consisting of interviews with 100 people interviewed,

we recorded 100 Persian words. The presence of Persian words in these two corpora, which reflect important dimensions of the daily life of Albanian speakers, is a fact that we still have a visible presence of these words in Albanian. Persian words in the Albanian language should be considered a cultural asset that help expand and develop the ontological, epistemological, aesthetic and social dimensions of Albanian speakers.

By contrasting Persian words with their Albanian synonyms, we understood that not all can be replaced due to the use in different styles, because of new meanings acquired over time as well as due to naturalization and use at the formal level. Our analysis has shown that they are present and an inseparable part of the registers at the lower level of formality. They are language tools employed in the styles and registers which have a expressive function such as the metaphorical style.

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L’USO DEI PRESTITI PERSIANI NELLA LINGUA ALBANESE: FOCUS SUL LIVELLO BASSO DEL REGISTRO FORMALE

Questo studio si concentra sull’uso dei prestiti persiani nell’albanese moderno con riferimento al livello basso del registro formale. La presenza del persiano nella cultura dell’Impero ottomano, compresi i Balcani e i territori abitati dagli albanesi che ne fecero parte per cinque secoli, fu molto ingente. Dunque, si stabilirono legami interculturali tra la lingua albanese e quella persiana tramite e nell’ambito dell’Impero ottomano. In questo modo molte parole persiane entrarono a far parte della lingua albanese. Nonostante vari tentativi per sostituire queste parole con parole albanesi, esse vengono tuttora usate in diversi registri linguistici. Lo studio analizza lo shift di parole persiane dal registro alto a quello basso della formalità. Al fine di portare a termine lo studio, si è usufruito di due corpora. Il primo corpus comprende testi delle canzoni folcloristiche in quanto appartenenti al registro più basso della formalità. Il secondo corpus consiste di cento interviste registrate per il progetto “Oral History of Kosovo”. L’analisi dell’uso di questa parte del lessico della lingua albanese è stata condotta basandosi sui principi della teoria del corpus linguistico; la teoria delle lingue in contatto e l’approccio sociolinguistico al registro linguistico. Lo studio si basa inoltre sulle teorie della multifunzionalità e del pluralismo linguistico attraverso le quali è stato analizzato il processo di funzionalizzazione delle parole persiane nei diversi registri linguistici in cui esse vengono utilizzate.

Parole chiavi: Lessico persiano, vocabolario albanese, stili e registri, impatto culturale