

TURKISH COLOR TERMS AS A LINGUISTIC CHOICE OF ALBANIAN SPEAKERS

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ABSTRACT: It has been ascertained that Turkish loanwords have an important place and status in the Albanian language. Color terms are an interesting part of this category of the Albanian lexicon, which plays an important role as a carrier of cultural and lingual inheritance. This paper studies color names and their meanings as well as their role as a linguistic choice of different varieties of the Albanian language. Lexicalization patterns of color naming in Albanian are examined with special emphasis on Turkish loanwords. The meaning, function, and role of Turkish loanwords are observed based on relevant dictionaries and the Albanian National Corpus. The attitude of Albanian speakers towards Turkish loanwords was investigated based on a survey conducted with students at the University of Prishtina.

This study presents valuable data collected from different sources. Their analysis has shown that Turkish loanwords are used to name different categories of the color spectrum; they fit all lexicalization models of Indo-European languages, they can be the only term used to name the focal color category in different dialects, and the change in the meanings of these words has led to the emergence of new focal colors. Therefore, this paper argues that the existence of Turkish color terms in Albanian cannot be explained only with the universalist approach and that the relativist approach should not be ignored, due to the linguistic choice speakers make in different varieties of Albanian language.

KEYWORDS: Color terms, Turkish loanwords, synonymy, corpus linguistics, lexicalization

Introduction

The influence of Turkish on the Albanian language began to appear intensively in the XIV century. The intense contact between these two languages resulted in the borrowing of a considerable number of Turkish words. Therefore, the impact of Turkish on Balkan languages has been studied with great interest by many Balkan researchers for years. Even though the influence of the Turkish on Albanian is seen at different grammatical levels, its influence on its lexicon is undoubtedly the most significant.

The Turkish loanwords were many times analyzed in terms of their status in Balkan languages, and their uses in style and idiom. Many studies like those of Kazazis (1969), Desnitskaya (2006), and Reinkowski (2002) emphasize the importance of Turkish loanwords in terms of style and idiom. They assert that literary language would become very poor in their absence.

Studies also show that their usage is inevitable in folklore, spoken varieties of the Albanian language, and all kinds of registers of low levels of formality. When Turkish loanwords are treated from a sociolinguistic point of view within the framework of language varieties (registers), it is seen that the words have different meanings in different situations and contexts. When examined in this respect, it becomes obvious that most of them cannot be replaced with other words. Moreover, new meanings give these words a new status. It is seen that these words have preserved their existence in Albanian but a considerable number of them went through the semantic narrowing and semantic change. Different meanings that the Turkish loanwords have acquired make them irreplaceable with other words and enrich the Albanian language in terms of style/form.

Having more than 5000 common words (Dizdari, 2005) makes these two people culturally close and it means that the speakers of these two typologically different languages share thousands of common linguistic choices. Thus, the present paper deals with color terms as a particular part of Albanian vocabulary where Turkish loanwords appear as an important linguistic choice of Albanian speakers. There are not many previous studies on Albanian color terms (ACT). One of them is the study of Alexander Rusakov (2017, p. 191) who discusses it based on old Albanian texts. He reconstructed the main stages of the development of the basic color terms in Albanian. The theoretical framework he based his work on was a universalist one. He used four books by old Albanian writers¹ and etymology as the main source for his study.

¹ These books register a very small number of Turkish loanwords and color terms are not one of them. Nevertheless, as Rusakov (2017) himself states the Albanian language has a shallow written history, and these few books barely reflect the real vocabulary of Albanian speakers of that period (16-17 century). Considering the

1. Literature review

The nature of color is a classic philosophical problem, mainly because of its dependence upon perception. (Goddard, 2010, p.111) Over the years, extensive research has been conducted in the fields of psychology, linguistics, and anthropology to understand the complexities of color. One influential study by Berlin and Kay (1969) focused on cross-linguistic research of color names, revealing a cross-cultural and nearly universal pattern in the selection of abstract color names in various languages. This research led to the formulation of hypotheses regarding the existence of universal constraints on cross-language color naming and the evolutionary progression of color terms in languages.

Berlin and Kay (1969) proposed a list of eleven basic color terms (BCT) for English: *black, white, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, orange, pink, purple, and gray*. A BCT term must meet specific criteria. Namely, its signification is not included in that of any other color term. This criterion eliminates examples *crimson* and *scarlet* which are both kinds of red for speakers of English. Its applicability must not be restricted to a narrow class of objects. This criterion eliminates the example *blond* which may be predicated only of hair, furniture and perhaps a few other things. The term must be salient for informants and tend to occur at the beginning of elicited lists of color terms. It should be stable in its reference and it has to occur in the idiolects of all informants, etc. These criteria suffice in most cases to determine the basic color terms in any language. The few doubtful cases that arise are handled by the following subsidiary criteria: The doubtful form should have the same distributional potential as the previously established basic terms. For example, in English, the suffix *-ish* allows forms such as *reddish, whitish, greenish*, etc., but not *scarletish, blue-greenish*, etc. Names of objects characteristically having the color in question are dubious, e.g. *gold, silver, ash*. This subsidiary criterion would exclude *orange* in English if it were a doubtful case on the basic criteria. Recent loanwords are also dubious. In cases where it is difficult to assess the lexemic status of the term, morphological complexity is given some weight as a secondary criterion. The English color term *blue-green* can be eliminated by this criterion.

Berlin and Kay's research aimed to demonstrate that all languages have a limited number of basic color categories, with some languages using as few as two.

Later in 1978, Paul Kay and Chad McDaniel conducted research on color perception and color vision, supporting Berlin and Kay's theory. They proposed the concept called Fundamental Neural Response Categories (FNRCs), which are universal categories of neural responses underlying color perception. These categories are believed to shape our understanding of color across different cultures and languages.

However, the linguistic relativity hypothesis emerged as a significant opposing viewpoint. According to this hypothesis, the language available to describe perceptual experience directly influences the experience itself. Consequently, the categorization and lexicalization of colors are shaped by cultural and linguistic conventions, resulting in substantial variations across different cultures and languages (Whorf, 1956; Wierzbicka, 2014; Özgen & Davies, 2002). Researchers who support the linguistic relativity hypothesis argue that color perception is not only determined by universal neural mechanisms but is also shaped by language and cultural factors. They argue that physiology cannot define meaning. This theory also recognizes the role of cultural and social factors in shaping color categorization. Cultural practices, traditions, and even the availability of certain dyes or pigments can influence the development and expansion of color terms in a language. For instance, languages with a rich textile heritage might have more nuanced terms for different shades and patterns of colors related to textiles.

Moreover, advancements in technology and globalization have impacted color categorization in modern societies. The proliferation of digital displays, color printing, and standardized color systems has led to the emergence of new color terms and an increased awareness of subtle color variations. In fields such as design, fashion, and branding, specific color descriptions have become essential.

Color words are used to tell how things look and many languages which are not developed under the influence of industry and technological changes (e.g. aboriginal people of Australia, etc.) describe things using the principle of likening and not by using discrete terminology. Namely, something looks like something else in nature. The relativist idea is that likening is a basic semantic component of color terms and this is supported by how non-basic color terms often work. E.g. *golden*,

nature of the books and the writers' perspectives on the Ottoman Empire, there may be a deliberate avoidance of using Turkish words.

ash, *orange*, which derives from a certain fruit, or *pink* which derives from the name of a certain flower. The etymological investigation of most languages also supports this idea, because the meaning of almost every color term is expressed by seeking the comparison and similitude of entities. Small systems of basic color terms tend to group colors according to light and dark distinction and visual prototypes like the frames of reference for describing how things look that is provided by the landscape. E.g. sky is used as a reference for blue, the sea is sometimes used for blue, and sometimes for green. Vegetation is used for green. Wierzbicka (1996) gives examples of languages that do not have certain color terms because of lacking certain prototypical references. Thus, it may need to be accepted that color semantics are more than just visual prototypes. Some researchers suggest that the basic color terms are like names (Wierzbicka, Brakel, 1993) and as such they are taught and learned with objects in early childhood, therefore their semantics as a category remains an open question. (Goddard, 2010, p.126)

What bothers the researchers the most is how to account for the basic vs. non-basic distinction.

The researchers supporting the relativist approach, such as Thierry et al (2009), state that “a presence of a given color category in a lexicon is able to influence the perceptual processing of the corresponding color.” (Thierry et al in: Ronga, Bazanella, 2015, p.225) Here, the emergence of color categories as a dynamic process was thoroughly analyzed. The argument is supported by the interlinguistic variability in modern Greek, in which the blue spectrum is divided into two categories: light and dark. The native speakers could distinguish light blue from dark blue faster and better than English speakers. (Ronga, Bazanella, 2015). Özgen&Davis (2002) also argue that Turkish has a term for blue and dark blue (*mavi* for blue and *lacivert* for dark blue). Again, the same is concluded for Russian language. Russian blues also reveal the effects of language on color discrimination (Winawer et. al, 2007). Now, from the English-speaking point of view, it is generally agreed that Russian has two basic words that cover English blue, roughly speaking, *goluboy* and *sinij* are light blue and dark blue. Hungarian has two basic color words for English red, namely *piros* and *vörös* which are used to denote color categories of light and dark red. (Goddard, 2010, p. 82-83).

Before I pass to Albanian color terms which is the main topic of this paper it is important to mention that one of the characteristics of the BCTs is that recent loanwords are considered to be dubious (Berlin & Kay, 1969, p. 4-7) and therefore cannot be regarded as basic color terms. But Turkish color terms have been present in the Albanian language at least for three centuries and therefore their behavior deserves observation. The Albanian language is also an interesting example of ambiguity and vagueness in the semantic meaning of color terms. It has a rich set of old and new borrowings, which are the synonyms of basic color terms. Since I could not find any previous work done in terms of Albanian color nomenclature, and there is no information that Albanian is included in bigger projects like the World Colour Survey² or EOSS project³, I consider it important to present a linguistic analysis of Albanian colors terms with special focus on loanwords.

This paper deals with the lexicalization patterns that occur in Albanian color nomenclature. Lexicalization is one of the processes by which the meaning is associated with surface forms. When speaking about systematic relations in language between the meaning and surface expression, Leonard Talmy (1985) concludes that semantic elements and surface elements relate to each other in specific patterns. He finds a range of typological patterns (a small number of patterns) and universal principles (a single pattern within or across languages) and demonstrates the existence and nature of certain semantic categories. The results of the EOSS project point to several lexicalization patterns. Therefore,

² World Colour Survey (WCS) was initiated in the late 1970s to test the hypothesis advanced by Berlin and Kay (1969)

³ Evolution of Semantic Systems, 2011-2014, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen. The research is conducted on how meanings vary over space and change over time. Data from 50 IE languages were collected and some preliminary results were provided by Majid, Jordan & Dunn (2015). One of the project tasks was a color elicitation task that consisted of 84 Munsell color chips arranged in a single fixed random order (materials developed by Majid & Levinson 2007). Color chips differed concerning brightness, hue, and saturation. Twenty participants were asked to name the chips that were presented to them individually and randomly. Approximately 1,680 full responses were collected in total for each IE language. These results point to some regularities and specificities of lexicalization patterns in color naming in IE languages.

I suggest that Albanian lexicalization patterns as an IE language are using the same or similar patterns and it is important to see whether borrowings (Turkish loanwords) fit them.

Even if it is too soon to put the investigation of Albanian color terms in any of the above-mentioned theoretical frameworks it is important to examine Albanian language in the framework of color lexicalization of Indo-European languages, to examine color nomenclature in terms of its synonyms and loanwords. This paper does not tend to give an in-depth analysis of color perception by Albanian-speaking people but gives a piece of basic information about the color naming system. It will try to answer or if not at least trigger the following questions: Do synonyms serve only as an alternative word for an existing color term or is there evidence that they denote new focal colors? Are Turkish loanwords used as modifiers? Is there a possibility that they refer to different hues and brightness? Is there any evidence that loanwords change one's worldview? What lies beneath the linguistic choice of Albanian speakers when color terms are in question?

2. Method

This study has applied a mixed method based on both qualitative and quantitative data. The data is excerpted from three sources: Albanian dictionaries, the Albanian National Corpus, and a survey. The collected data have been used to establish lexicalization patterns and the basic color terms following the main criteria suggested by Berlin and Kay in their monograph "Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution" (1969). Albanian Color Terms (ACT) are analyzed by reviewing the corpora from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives to test if the abovementioned relativist idea that likening is a basic semantic component of color terms is true for Albanian language, too.

Other necessary data are obtained by using the corpus linguistics methodology. Corpus linguistics is a methodology used for linguistic analysis such as the density of word usage. Meyer (2002) states that it is also suitable for the analysis of lexical meaning based on real contexts and gives the example of Fillmore (in: Meyer, 2002) who had analyzed the word 'risk' based on a corpus containing 25 million words. He concludes that there is at least one new lexical meaning, which is not registered among the definitions of most dictionaries. Furthermore, investigations are showing that "the most elaborate dictionaries provide no more than bare hints about the meanings of words" (Chomsky, 1993, p.23 in: Majid et al., 2015, p.1) which once more points out the importance of the semantic aspect of languages that we know so little about.

Corpus linguistics methodology is used to determine the frequency of usage of Turkish loanwords, which is compared with the frequency of usage of other color terms. The semantic analysis is conducted by comparing the definitions of Turkish loanwords in etymological, specialized, and other dictionaries to their usages in different contexts based on Albanian National Corpus (ANC) and Google search in cases when the usage of a particular color term is not registered in ANC.

The meanings of Turkish color terms are first examined in their definitions, which are given in the dictionaries. Then their meanings are observed in the context through the examples taken from the above-mentioned corpora. The description of each Turkish color is given in a separate subsection where quantitative data is commented and qualitative analysis is presented. All the examples from this corpus are examined, but only relevant ones are presented in this paper. The statistical data on the frequency of their usage is given in the annex of this paper.

2.1. Instruments

2.1.1. The Albanian National Corpus (ANC)⁴

ANC is seen as appropriate for the semantic analysis of Turkish loanwords as it contains both literary and non-literary texts. It also subsumes the Corpus of Early Albanian Texts. The Albanian National Corpus contains folk texts and original literary texts belonging to 86 Albanian novelists and poets from different geographical regions such are Albania, North Macedonia, and Kosovo published between 1960- and 2010. Non-literary texts subsume modern essays, formal letters, religious texts (Old Testament, The Qur'an, memoirs, diplomatic texts, and scientific and academic texts. 62% of the total material contains daily newspaper texts published in Albania (Gazeta Shqiptare, 2006-2007), North Macedonia (Koha.mk, 2011-2013), and Kosovo (Zëri, 2013). As described by corpus designers

⁴ Maria Morozova, Alexander Rusakov, Timofey Arkhangelskiy. Albanian National Corpus. (Available online at: albanian.web-corpora.net, accessed on 03.04.2023).

“Language variety used in these texts is mostly Albanian standard written variety or close to it. In the interviews and quotations one can meet examples of dialectal speech. The examples of dialectal speech or dialect stylization can also be met in the speech of the characters of fiction texts. In the poetic texts created before the 1950s, earlier variants of literary language might be used.”⁵ The Corpus of Early Albanian Texts contains “Christian Doctrine” by Luka Matranga (1592) which is one of the main monuments of the Albanian writings. In this paper, only relevant examples of color terms’ usage are presented.

The analysis of the usages is supported by the metadata descriptions and morphological annotation consisting of tags assigned to words. The texts of ANC have an automatic morphological annotation which includes the lemmatization, part of speech, all inflectional features, dialectal differences, glossing, and English translation of lemmata. In this manner, the lexicalization forms of ACT are investigated using the corpus covering a wide range of text categories. The analysis is supported by using its metadata such as the title of the text, author or title of newspaper, publication year, genre, and type of text. The plots of metadata values and frequencies are not illustrated for the sake of the brevity of this paper. The frequency of usage of ACT is measured based on ANC and those that are written with the graphemes of Albanian language also in Google search data. The percentages of usage are compared and presented in tabular form in the annex of this paper.

2.1.2. Dictionaries

The list of ACTs analyzed in this study is identified in the following dictionaries: Dictionary of Contemporary Albanian (1981), Dictionary of Albanian Language (2006), Etymological Dictionary of Albanian Language (1988), Etymological Dictionary of Albanian Language (2017), Dictionary of Oriental Loanwords in Albanian Language (2005). The etymology of color terms is supported by Eqrem Çabej’s etymological works (I-IV), and Etymological dictionaries of the Albanian Language by Gustav Meyer (1891). The detailed diachronic analysis of Turkish words before they are placed in Albanian is not seen as relevant for this study as these terms encoded a certain meaning when borrowed and have been used as such for many centuries. However, the meaning of Turkish loanwords is also checked in the Turkish Etymological Dictionary, the Dictionary of Contemporary Turkish⁶ (TDK online version), Kubbealti Sözlük (online) and Kamûs-i Türkî⁷.

2.1.3. Survey

The participants of the survey are selected as follows: 100 youngsters between the ages of 19 and 22 have been asked to name 24 categories of different colors on a Munsell chart⁸. Each category is expressed in numbers from [1] to [24]. The chart was presented on a sheet of paper where participants were asked to write the name of each color marked with a number. In addition, more than 70 participants older than 35 have also been interviewed by using an online survey and asked to name the color categories on a chart given below. Participants are Albanian speakers coming from different regions, such as Kosovo, North Macedonia, and Serbia where the speaker’s dialect is Gheg, but they use Toskë as a standard variation in formal situations. The demographic information of the participants is given in the annex to this paper. The results of the survey do not give information about the usage of Turkish colors in Albania.

3. Depicting Albanian color terms

3.1. A diachronic perspective

Albanian is known as a language with very few indigenous words. The historical development of this language shows that at every stage of it, many loanwords appear due to language contact with its superstratum. It can be easily identified from etymological dictionaries that there is a considerable number of loanwords denoting a color from languages such as Latin, Romanian, and Slavic. However, it is analyzed if these color terms complied with the criteria for BCT in the early stages of the Albanian language.

⁵ op.cit.

⁶ Online version <https://sozluk.gov.tr/>

⁷ Online version of encyclopaedic dictionary “Kamûs-i Türkî” by Şemsettin Sami.

⁸ Albert Munsell was both a scientific thinker and an artist who wanted artists and scientists to have a system that made it easy to express colours in a concrete way. It is used in linguistic studies by many scientists such as the psychologist Eleanor Rosch, etc.

In Orel's Albanian Etymology Dictionary (1998) which is limited to X-XII centuries⁹, it is documented that first two BCTs for black (*zi*) and white (*bardhë*) come from the Proto-Albanian language and as such they are included in the group of not borrowed words. (Çabej II, pp.325-326, pp.161-164)

The word used for the red color is the term *kuqe* (*coccoeus*)¹⁰ and it is a Romanian loanword, which comes from Sanskrit. (Meyer, 1891, p.210)

According to Topalli "Albanian language borrowed from Latin the term *verdh* for yellow and *gjelbër* for green." (Topalli, 2017, p.1556). The important thing here is the fact that the meaning of these terms in the source language has changed during the borrowing process. In other words, in Latin the term *verdh* was used to denote the green color and some studies document that it is still used as such in some villages of the city of Gjakova in Kosovo¹¹. It should not be forgotten that the term *gjelbër*, which was used for green color, was earlier used to denote the yellow color in the source language. The terms for green and yellow can be encountered in Bogdani's book (1658) but they show semantic fluctuation. Moreover, the term *verdh* for yellow appears in Budi's texts (1618, 1621) but it has the meaning of *pale* and it does not denote a focal color of the color spectrum.¹² (Rusakov, 2017, p.205).

The color term *kaltër* which was used for blue color was also borrowed from the Romance word *calthinus* 'yellow, yellowish', based on the Latin *caltha* 'Calendula officinalis' (Meyer, 1891, pp.170-171) So, in the source language it is used to denote yellow and not blue color. For Romance historical linguists, lexical stability is defined as the rate at which words borrowed from Latin survive in Romance languages through verbal transmission (Dworkin, 2016). According to the findings of Dworkin and based on the use of Latin loanwords in Albanian, it is seen that the Latin color terms show a low level of lexical stability.

Few lexicalization patterns are appearing in color naming. The first two color terms for white and black (*bardh* and *zi*) are monolexemic terms of Albanian origin. The terms for red and yellow (*kuqe* and *verdh*) are monolexemic borrowed terms. The terms *gjelbër* and *kaltër* are formed by adjective suffix *-er*. Thus, it is concluded that these two terms did not meet the universalist criteria for BCTs in earlier stages of Albanian language development. The term *blertë* is another term for green color, which is also lexicalized by using an adjective suffix *-të* which is affixed to the Proto-Albanian word *blara* related to Latin *florus* "shining, bright", or 'gray', W blawr id. < IE *bhlaros (ÇABEJ Etim. II, pp.260-261).

These two suffixes express the meaning of likening. Another term using this lexicalization pattern is the term *hirtë* used for gray color. However, these two color terms do not meet the first BCT criteria.

So far, it is seen that in all stages of its development, the Albanian language has increased its color terminology from different sources. The loanwords did not always achieve lexical stability and this fact has paved the way for new terms. Therefore, not long until the Ottoman Empire expanded in the Balkans, in the 14th century, the Albanian language began to receive new loanwords, but this time from a typologically different language such as Turkish. Written evidence registers the Turkish term 'mavi' in the XVII-th century. (Bogdani, 1658).

The contemporary Albanian has enriched its terminology with Turkish monolexemic words like *jeshil* (green), *mavi* (blue), *sari* (yellow), *all* (scarlet), *kërmëz* (red), *pembe* (pink), *çivit* (indigo blue),

⁹ The data from this dictionary is compared to other etymological dictionaries mentioned in subsection 2.1.2.

¹⁰ Rusakov (2007), in his study «Basic color terms of old Albanian writers» defines the term "kuqe" as a BCT of Albanian. He does the diachronic study of BCT based on etymology and four monumental texts of the Albanian language. He concludes that the color lexicon in Albanian writing is rather poor because of the character of these texts. However, he says that the triad of BCT white-black-red is found in the texts he discusses. The term red is found in the text of the 16th century written by Buzuku and it is used as an attribute of various fabrics and clothes. (Rusakov, 2017, p.197)

¹¹ Sindorela Doli Kryeziu (2013), "Shtirirja e shqipërisë standarde në Kosovë-Gjakovë", unpublished doctoral dissertation at the University of Tirana.

¹² Budi and Bogdani are Albanian writers of two old books written in the 17th century. The other two books are those of Buzuku (1555), and Bardhi (1635). The books obtain liturgical texts and translations of the Bible. The character of this particular corpus and the cultural tradition in which the books are written could have affected the writers' linguistic choices, particularly their non-preference of Turkish loanwords. However, it should be also mentioned here that there are tens of other Turkish loanwords in each of them.

gjuvez (violet-dark red) and *murrinë* (dark grey) and other borrowings like *blu* (blue), *lejla* (lilac), etc. It also has a rich inventory of other color terms, which take place in the group of non-basic terms.

3.2. Depicting color terms in the contemporary Albanian language with focus on Turkish loanwords

Different dictionaries of the Albanian language register 27 color terms¹³. According to ANC data most frequently used terms used to name colors in Albanian are: *bardhë* for white (5259 occurrences), *zi/zezë* for black (8857 occ.), *kuqe* for red (2387 occ.), *gjelbër* for green (448 occ.), *kaltër* for blue (466 occ.), *verdhë* for yellow (689 occ.). The participants of the survey used the same terms as BCTs to which they added different modifiers depending on the different hues and brightness.

“The term lexicalization pattern comprises word-formation patterns and other grammatical (e.g. syntactic) and semantic (metaphor and metonymy) patterns used in color naming.” (Rafaelli *et al.* 2019)¹⁴. The lexicalization of the Albanian color concept relies mainly on three ways of word formation: monomorphemic words, words formed by derivation (Nentity+suffix -ër, Nentity+suffix+të, entity+suffix -më/-ë, Color name +rremë/-emë which gives approximate meaning, N+Ngen pattern) function conversion, compound words, and syntactic structures. Almost all these patterns are used to lexically realize the ‘N-like’ meaning in the Albanian language.

Turkish color terms appear in these lexicalization patterns:

a. Lexicalization by **derivation**. Certain words denoting some object in nature take a word-forming suffix *-të* and form the N-like color term. Even though Turkish color terms are borrowed and used as mono-lexemic, they sometimes, by analogy, adapt to the Albanian grammaticalization process of adjectives. E.g. *Jeshil* - *i/e jeshiltë* (*çaji jeshil*), *Sari* - *i/e saritë* (*shamitë e sarita* – yellow scarfs), *Mavi* - *i/e mavitë* (*sytë mavi* – blue eyes), *Pembe* *i/e pembtë* (*fustani pembe* – pink dress), *All-e* - *i/e allit* (*lulja e allit* – red flower), *e portokalltë* (orange).¹⁵

b. A lot of Turkish loanwords are also involved in the processes of lexicalization by **function conversion**: *misri* (corn yellow), *kajsi* (peach), *bizele* (crayola pea green), *patëlxhan* (eggplant purple), *katran* (black), *çivit* (indigo blue), *portokalli* (orange), *jargavan* (redbud-tur. *erguvan*), *limon* (lemon yellow), etc.

There are two words by which color concept is lexicalized as a **compound word**: *ngjyrë* (color) and the word *bojë* (Turkish loanword meaning *color* or *dye*). They both share the same meaning of *color* and determine the syntactic category of the entire word. The head’s dependent of the compound is usually a name of some fruit, vegetable, mineral, or other object from nature. E.g. *Bojëgjak* (color of blood), *bojëqielli* (color of sky).

a. Among compound color terms there are other combinations of a Turkish and some other color term or some fruit name. e.g. *jeshilmolle*- apple green, *blumavi*- purplish blue, *mavishege* - pomegranate purple/magenta / reddish purple.

The classification of lexicalization patterns found in the corpus is given in tabular form in the annex of this paper.

3.3. Turkish loanwords as linguistic choices of Albanian speakers

The analysis of the meanings is conducted according to the principle of comparison. The statements are a result of comparing the dictionary definitions, usages in context excerpted from ANC and survey results:

¹³ This paper deals only with those Albanian terms that are relevant for this study and Turkish loanwords.

¹⁴ The prospective book *Lexicalization patterns in color naming: a cross-linguistic perspective* is foremost motivated by the research and results from the project *Evolution of Semantic Systems*, 2011-2014, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen. The main interest of the project was how meanings vary over space and change over time. Data from 50 Indo European languages were collected. One of the project tasks was a color elicitation task that consisted of 84 Munsell color chips arranged in a single fixed random order (materials developed by Majid & Levinson 2007). Albanian language was not among the languages, which were analysed in this project. Thus, this paper is a modest contribute to that field, too.

¹⁵ This method of word formation is typical for Indo-European languages. Bayraktar (2014, p.180) also notes how many color categories gain their concreteness by means of objects in nature. In Turkish it is formed by means of Persian (which is an Indo-European language) suffix *-i*, e.g. *fistikî* (pistachio green), *demirî* (iron gray), etc.

3.3.1. Jeshil (Eng. green)

Quantitative data on the frequency of usage of the term *jeshil* show that it has 38 occurrences in ANC and 324,000 occurrences in Google search. The data indicate that *jeshil* (476) is less frequently used in the ANC compared to *gjelbër* (746) and more frequent than its synonym *blertë* (155) which are Albanian basic terms for green. However, the Google search data suggests that *jeshil* has a relatively high search frequency, indicating its popularity in online contexts. This suggests that there may be different preferences or regional variations in the usage of color terms within the Albanian language.

The survey quantitative data show that the term *jeshil* for green has been chosen 11 times. Survey participants think that each different word exists to express different meanings. Although few in number, some of them used the word *jeshil* (Eng. green) to name a different category of this color. But some denote the focal green color by *jeshil* (Eng. green) and the Albanian term *gjelbër*.

The most common term used in the standard variety of Albanian to denote the green color is *gjelbër* and its definition in the Dictionary of Contemporary Albanian (DCA) is the same as the definition of the word ‘green’ in the Dictionary of Contemporary Turkish (DCT). According to the definitions in DCA and The Dictionary of Oriental Loanwords in Albanian Language (DOLAL) the second meaning of this term is: *bluish, yellowish*. In other words, different categories of *green* are also named lexicalized by this term. However, the word *Jeshil* is defined as a color term for *green*. In DCA it is marked as a word that is used in non-standard varieties. It is also a part of many compound words: *bojëjeshil* (Eng. green), *çallmëjeshil* (Eng. (a dervish) with a green turban), *jeshilohem* (Eng. verb to turn green), *jeshilon* (Eng. to paint in green), *jeshillëk* (Eng. greenery). It is seen that the word *Jeshil* has been used as a synonym for grass, meadow, leaves, or even cucumbers. (Dizdari 2005, p.454.).

ANC results show that it does not have a limited domain of usage. It is used as an adjective for all kinds of objects in nature and others such as fabrics, clothes, face expressions, etc. Here are some examples: *çaj jeshil/green tea*, *karton jeshil/green card*, *sinjali jeshil/green light*, *sy jeshil/green eye*, *vreri jeshil të inatit/the green poison of stubbornness*, *balli jeshil/green face*, etc. Google search gives few examples of using the term *jeshil* to express a figurative meaning:

- (1) *Jeshil dhe i papjekur* / Green and immature (Google engine)
- (2) *Dukej jeshil si bari* / he looked green as grass (he looked scared and bored) (Google Engine)

Interestingly, some Albanian authors choose more than one term to denote the green color in the same sentence. These question the definitions of the dictionaries and give evidence that not all synonyms must denote the focal color or the same color category of the spectrum. It could also be evidence that the presence of more than one term for the same concept (say focal color) in one’s vocabulary increases the tendency to divide the concept into different categories and thus create new concepts. (See e.g.(1))

- (3) *...dhe Migenës i kishin shkrepitirë sytë dhe e gjelbra iu kthye në jeshil si e një mace të egërsuar.* / Migena’s eyes beamed, their green (gjelbra) turned to the green (jeshil) of a wildcat. (Kadare, 1978)

According to the relativist approach, the plurality of terms affects word preference and the use of two synonyms for green (*jeshil-gjelbër*) support this idea. The terms that a speaker will use generally vary depending on the habits and general uses associated with intercultural contacts. Synonymy is a common language phenomenon when talking about color terms. Synonyms are used in different forms depending on extra-linguistic factors such as geographical and socio-cultural factors and linguistic standardization process.

The standard variety of Albanian is used in three Balkan countries inhabited by the Albanian population: Albania, North Macedonia, and Kosovo.

For a better understanding of the semantic change according to the geographical language varieties, the ANC data was divided into three categories: standard Albanian in North Macedonia, standard Albanian in Albania, and standard Albanian in Kosovo. As a result, it is found that in the North Macedonian media, the term *jeshil* is more commonly used than the term *gjelbër*. Speaking of Kosovo, the users of standard variety consider the word *gjelbër* as a color term for green. Parents I interviewed often complained about the use of foreign words in schoolbooks. There is a vast number of Turkish synonyms among these words. For example, the term *jeshil* is used instead of BCT *gjelbër*, and the term *blu* (Eng. blue) is being used instead of BCT *kaltër* (Eng. blue). This is because some schoolbooks are

prepared by authors who are native speakers from Albania whose language underwent a different path of development.

An interviewee from Kosovo, who lives in a region of Dragash¹⁶ assures us that the term *gjelbër* is not a common word among Albanian speakers who live there. Instead, they use the term *jeshil*. The city of Peja¹⁷ is also known for using the word *jeshil*. Another interviewee from Peja asked if she should name the color with standard Albanian or ‘as they talk in their city’. It is important to emphasize that these cities are not populated by Turkish minorities of Kosovo. The usage of Turkish loanwords has nothing to do with actual language contacts with Turkish speakers. The inhabitants of the latter are still under the influence of social class stratification which was established during the Ottoman Empire. Some traditional families often considered elite (and name themselves “kasabali”) are those who are indigenous inhabitants of this city, whose families used to speak Turkish in earlier periods (Sülçevsi, 2019, p.10). These social and cultural differences among different Albanian speakers might unconsciously affect their word choices.

The very variation of data shows that the term *gjelbër*, which *prima facie* denotes a focal color in Albanian language, is opened to question because of its synonym *jeshil*, which is sometimes avoided. Besides, one should not forget that there is another synonym for green. Namely, the term *blertë* shows a low frequency of use even though it is an indigenous color term. This also indicates that the term *blertë* might be used for a different category of green in terms of hue, brightness, or intensity.

3.3.2. Mavi (Eng. blue)

Quantitative data show that the term *mavi* has 45 occurrences in ANC and many occurrences in Google search. The search is restricted to collocation with the term *ngjyrë* (color) and the word *është* (Albanian verb to be) but it would be incorrect to give a specific number because it shows also the results of texts written in Turkish.

The ANC data shows that *mavi* has a relatively low frequency, suggesting that other terms like *kaltër* and *blu* are more commonly used for blue color in Albanian. 15 occurrences appear in newspapers issued in Albania, and 5 in newspapers issued in Kosovo and Macedonia. 25 usages are registered in Albanian fiction written by writers of Albania. However, the Google search data indicates a higher frequency for *mavi*, suggesting its popularity in online searches.

The survey results show that the term *mavi* for blue has been chosen only by one person to name the color [12].

Turkish dictionaries define the term *mavi* as a noun that is used to name a color between *green* and *violet*. It is described as the color of the “cloudless sky”. Albanian dictionaries describe it as *blu e mbyllur* (Eng. *dark blue*) and *i murrëtyer* (dark grey). The term *mavi* (Eng. *blue*) is marked in less formal varieties of Albanian language. In DCA, the BCT *kaltër* (Eng. *blue*) is given as its synonym. This loanword is used to form new verbs such as *mavijos* (Eng. to paint in blue), *mavijosem* (Eng. to be painted in blue), *mavijosur* (Eng. painted in blue. Has taken the color of blue).

The definition of the term *mavi* in Turkish dictionaries includes the word *violet*. This implies that all nuances between yellow and violet are included among the categories of this color. It can therefore be assumed that it is used not only for focal blue but also for other categories of blue to purple. ANC data shows that it is used to describe the color of eyes ‘*sytë mavi*’, the color of the sea (deti *mavi*), the color of stain, the color of face or bruise, the color of clothes *jekuku mavi*, the color of a flower, e.g. *karafila mavi* etc. It is also used as a metaphor to denote a color of an expression “*vështrimi qortues (mavi)*”/ (blue) reprimanding look, *ura mavi*/blue bridge, etc.

The abovementioned usages in context found in the Albanian National Corpus confirm that it mainly denotes a term of violet rather than focal blue. This could be confirmed with a simple search on the internet. When one searches the term *mavi* in Albanian, he/she will see a lot of objects in violet.

¹⁶ Dragash is a town and a municipality located in the Prizren District of Kosovo. It has 1,098 inhabitants, while the municipality has 34,827 inhabitants.

¹⁷ Peja is fourth most populous city of Kosovo and the capital of eponymous municipality and District. It has 48,962 inhabitants.

This causes a discrepancy between the definitions in the Albanian dictionary, which defines it as a term of blue (*kaltër*, *blu* and *blue*), but also is a piece of evidence that changes in the meaning can cause a formation of a new basic term.

Here are some other usages found in ANC and Google engine, which give different meanings in contexts:

(4) *Ngryset blu e gdhiet rozë, për t'u kaltëruar sërish në muzg e për të rilindur agimit si një bojë mavi e frikshme nga njëpërzierje alkimiste rozë-blu e kështu pa mbarim.* (ANC)/ The night was spent in **Blue** (Alb. *blu*) and dawned as pink (Alb. *roze*), at the sunset it turned blue (Alb. *kaltero*) and it was reborn as a dreadful blue (Eng. dark blue), which emerged from the alchemist blue-pink (*rozë-blu*) mixture at daybreak, and continued so on forever.

(5) Armina tregon se ngjyra e saj e preferuar nuk është *blu* por *mavi*! / Armina says that her favorite color is not blue (alb. *blu*) but *mavi* (Eng. purple/magenta)! (ANC)

(6) “Ka një sekret ngjyra e Rilindjes, megjithëse e etiketojnë shpesh si *mavi*. Ajo është bashkim i blusë dhe i së kuqes...kush ka sy të shikojë e dëgjojë”, - tha ai./ There is a secret to the color of Rilindja, although it is often labeled as *mavi* (mauve). It is a union of blue and red...who has eyes to see and hear”, he said. (Google engine)

Example (4) shows that it is not used for sky-blue color but it involves pink, which is closer to violet. The dictionary registers a widely used term *vjollcë* for this color, which has more than 200 occurrences in ANC. The example (5) shows that an author is making a clear difference between what terms *blue* and *mavi* are denoting. Example (6) is an example taken from a Google search. It is used to denote the color of a political parties' symbol, which is not the color that the English term *blue* is denoting. There is evidence that term *blu* for blue is used as BCT in Albania and the Turkish word *mavi* is used for *lilla*, while in Kosovo the BCT is *kaltër*, and the Turkish word *mavi* also has the meaning of sky-blue color.

No idiomatic expression containing this term is found in the corpus.

3.3.3. Sari (Eng. yellow)

Quantitative data show that the term *sari* (yellow) has only 1 occurrence in ANC and few occurrences in Google search engine. The ANC data suggests a very low frequency of the term "sari(h)" for "yellow," indicating that it is not commonly used in the corpus. The Google search data indicates the same frequency. The BCT *verdhë* appears frequently in both ANC and Google search, it competes with the terms *kaltër* and *gjelbër*. The survey results show that the term *sari* for yellow is used only by 1 participant to name the color number [5].

Turkish word *sari* appears among the synonyms of the word *verdh* for yellow color. Although DCA does not register the term *sari* as an Albanian color term it is very common in some idiolects. It is excluded from Albanian dictionaries during the purification process of the Albanian language, and it is rarely used by common speakers. In DOLAL, the definition of the word *sari* is described as a synonym for BCT *verdhë*. Its second meaning is *pale* and *faded*. This definition fully fits the definition of the Turkish word *sari* in DCT.

In ANC, only one example of this word has been found:

(8) *Na mbyti lagështia. A po m'i sheh fëmijët, sarih si limoni, më shumë po rrinë të sëmurë se shëndosh.* / Humidity smothered us, you see my children, their faces are **sarih/yellow** like lemons (pale). (ANC)

Apparently, the word shifted from a high to a low level of formality in the varieties of the Albanian language. It is assumed that it could be a term used by older generations and probably will be an obsolete word. Albanian youngsters think that it is a word that is mostly used by village people.

3.3.4. Kërmëz (Eng. dark red color)

Quantitative data show that the term *kërmëz* (dark red) has 0 occurrences in ANC and 55 occurrences in Google search. The ANC data indicates that *kërmëz* does not appear in the corpus, suggesting that it is not commonly used for *dark red*. However, the Google search data shows some instances of this term being searched for, although at a lower frequency.

The survey results do not provide any example of this color term.

DCA defines it as a *dark red* or color of dark red rose. This term is widely used as a metaphor for a kind of dye used for dying wool` but it is also used as a figurative expression for a mare or a female horse, a kind of insect that produces a red color and a velure. Dictionaries mark it as a word that is used in the varieties of the Albanian language that are ranged on a low level of formality. They suggest that

this term may be used in artistic or expressive context. No example of it has been found in ANC. The word can be among obsolete words. But it is registered in poetry and novels in pleonastic expressions. These are some of the examples found in Google search:

(9) *Mora abdes me falë xhumanë; Shpirt gajtani kermez; / I took abdes (ritual washing) to do the Friday prayer; My soul is like red lace (shih: Bushati 1999, 403)*

(10) *Me trëndafila, kuq, kërmëz, / with red, dark red roses (FB)*

(11) *Por Jehovahi mund t'i marrë mëkatet që janë si ngjyra e kuqe e ndezur ose si kërmëz dhe t'i bëjë të bardha si bora ose si leshi i palyer./ (11) But Jehovah can take sins that are like bright red or dark red and make them white as snow or wool (ht.glosbe.com)*

(12) *..i hipur mbi një gomar e mbi një kërmëz... I ulur mbi një gomar dhe një kërmëz I një gomari / (12) ..riding on a donkey and a mare... Sitting on a donkey and a donkey's mare (Mateu. 21:1-5)*

(13) *por a e dini se ajo gjithashtu mund të fshihet në ushqimin tuaj si kërmëz?/ (13) but did you know that it can also be hidden in your food as a bug? (joq-albania.com)*

(14) *Në Arbërinë e jugut venedikasit u përqendruan kryesisht në blerjen e mallrave të vyera si mëndafsh krudo, dyllë dhe kërmëz, të cilat i blinin prej nëpunësve dhe tregtarëve bizantinë./ In southern Arberia, the Venetians concentrated mainly on the purchase of dyed goods such as crudo silk, wax and velure(velvet), which they bought from Byzantine officials and merchants. (balkanculturalheritage.com)*

3.3.5. All/-e (Eng. bright red)

Quantitative data shows that the term *alle* has 0 occurrences in ANC and 68 occurrences in Google search engine. The ANC data indicates no occurrences of the term all/-e for bright red. In contrast, the Google search data shows a small number of occurrences. The low number of occurrences indicates that it is used in some variations of the Albanian language.

The survey results do not provide any data on the usage of this term.

The dictionary defines this term as a *bright red*. The word *all/-e* has limited use. It is mostly used when characterizing face, cheek, blood, flag, and traditional clothing, e.g. (17), (22). According to Dizdari, it is mostly used in Albanian folk songs and spoken language (Dizdari, 2005, p.20). The dictionary suggests that it may be used in artistic or expressive context. In the examples we have compiled from ANC, it is seen that its definition complies with its usages in the context but is also used to lexicalize the level of intensity of red color, which is a different category of color spectrum. ANC and Google data show that it is mostly used together with the Albanian color term “kuqe” (red) as a modifier and denotes brightness, e.g. (15), (16).

(15) *...një njëvjeçari të mbuluar me leshra all të kuq!...a one-year-old child with bright red hair (ANC)*

(16) *Në çastin kur faqet i bëheshin alle të kuqe, /...the moment when its cheeks would turn bright red (when he/she blushes). (ANC)*

(17) *Ibroja ia mbuloi blanën e tëmthit me flokët dhe çemberin bojë alle/ Ibro covered the scar on his temple with his hair and red scarf. (ANC)*

(18) *Nganjëherë e thithinin atë cigaren shumë sa që gaca dukej si dritë e kerrit nga mbrapa, cigarja u bënte allë / (9) Sometimes they smoked that cigarette so much that the gash looked like a curry light from behind, the cigarette would turn bright red (google engine)*

(19) *Kur prapa maleve drita te dale, Brrin te ngrere, t'i bjere si e harbuar, Dhe dielli ta zgjeroje plasen ngjyre alle / When the light came out from behind the mountains, raised the horn, made them as if lost, and the sun widened the bright red crack (google engine)*

(20) *Dhe në pjergullën e paqtë, qiellore, ngjyrë alle të rrobës së shenjtë Zukatë muzika e kishës posi një mizë prej smeraldi të blertë/ And in the quiet, heavenly, bright red pergola of the sacred robe, the music of the church, as if a fly of green emerald (google engine)*

(21) *U përkula dhe i kërkova ndjesë asaj resë ngjyrë allë që i rrinte kurorë mbi kokë./ (16) I bowed down and apologized to that cloud of bright red color that hung a crown over his head. (google engine)*

The sentences (18), (19), and (23) give examples of usages in poetry and novels. Thus, it could be concluded that this term is going to remain a stylistic choice of Albanian writers.

3.3.6. Pembe (Eng. pink)

Quantitative data shows that the term *pembe* has 2 occurrences in ANC. The Google search is restricted to collocation with the term *ngjyrë* (color) and the word *është* (Albanian verb to be) but it would be incorrect to give a specific number because it shows also the results of texts written in Turkish.

Two examples of the term *Pembe* are found in newspapers issued in Macedonia and Albania. The Google search data indicates a higher frequency, the usages are mostly registered in websites of Kosovo and some in websites of Macedonia. The survey results show that the usage rate of the term *pembe* for pink is much higher than its other synonyms (*rozë* / pink). It is used to name the colors from [19] to [23] (see color chart 1).

In Albanian, the synonyms for pink color are the terms *pembe*, *roze*, *pink*, *e trëndafiltë*. None of these words except for the term *e trëndafiltë* (Eng. rose-like) are included in the DCA. Which means that the term *pembe* is not expected to be used in standard variety of the Albanian language. In OOWT it is defined as: “the one colored as rose”. In DCT it is defined as the color which comes out of the mixture of red and white.

ANC analysis results show that this term is registered only three times. The Albanian word “*e trëndafiltë*” also has a low frequency of usage. The word with a higher frequency of use is the term “*rozë*” (Eng. pink). It is used as an attribute in different domains such as clothes or even proper names. It is also used as a metaphor: e.g. *i mbulonte me mendafsh pembe e bluz jeshil*/he covered them with pink silk and green blouse (ANC), *bomboneria me shitësit Pembe e Ferika*/ a candy shop with its sellers Pembe and Ferika (AN), *disa u krijuan si të reja majtiste me ngjyrë pembe e të kuqe*/some of them were formed as new leftists with pink and red colors (ANC)

However, different results were obtained in our survey. According to a survey we did with students from the University of Prishtina, the term *pembe* of Turkish origin appeared as the most commonly used term in spoken language. This indicates that there is a usage of different terms among different dialects, which requires a thorough sociolinguistic analysis of color terms.

Google search gives these examples:

- (1) *Pembja është ngjyra e kujdesit, dhembshurisë, dashurisë...* / (1) The pink is the color of care, compassion, love (magazineforyou.com)
- (2) *Fasada nga jashte ka vetem dy lloje te ngjyrave ate te kuqe kah e pembja si...* / (2) The facade from the outside has only two types of colors, red and pink as... (ubt-uni.net)
- (3) *E pembja është ngjyra e duhur dhe shumë shpesh përdoret si ngjyrë e mureve në burgje dhe në institucione të shëndetit mental* / (4) Pink is the right color and is very often used as a wall color in prisons and mental health institutions (portalb.mk)
- (4) *lëkura juaj anon më shumë nga e kaltërta, e kuqja apo e pembja.* / (5) your skin leans more toward blue, red, or pink. (ceshabeauty.com)
- (5) *me ngjyre ka e pembja apo si e kuqe e shlyer* / (6) in color it has a pink color or like a faded red (bebaime.com)

Google most often translates the albanian term *pembe* using the words *orange*, *ivory*, *purple*, *flower*, *rose*, *tree*. This shows how variable the engines can react when selecting the color.

3.3.7. Gjyvez (Eng. dark red)

The quantitative data shows that the term *gjyvez* which is also registered as *gjuvez* and *xhyvez* has 0 occurrences in ANC and very few occurrences in Google search.

The Turkish loanword *gjyvez* (Eng. purplish red, dark red), whose frequency of use in Albanian is rather very limited is not included in the DCA. It is not registered in the etymology dictionary either, but it is registered in the Dictionary of Oriental Words of Albanian Language by Dizdari (2005). In DCT it is described as “red with a hint of purple” and is known to be used to express the same color category in Albanian. No example of this term has been found in ANC, but it is a popular word among older Albanian speakers. A few examples are found in the novel of Demaçi (2012): *shami bojëkafe, në trup një xhakëtë të zezë me pika gjyvez*...a brown scarf, a black jacket with dark red dots.

Google search gives examples of this term, which was used as an attribute to furniture, clothes, etc. e.g. *fustan gjyvezi* /dark red dress (Presheva Jonë, 2012), *shes një tabure ngjyrë gjyvezi* / I sell a dark red stool (online advertisement).

Some examples of its usage denote the color of aubergine eggplant. E.g. *A ki patligjon gjyvez* /Do you have aubergine eggplant? (FB); *e kish qit njo boj xhyvez* /somebody put an aubergine colour (FB),

There are a few examples of using the term *gjyvez* (*xhyvez*) as a figurative expression which has a derogatory meaning depicting dark-skinned people. E.g. *Kjo eshte ideologjia e juej xhyvez edhe jeshil,bashke/ This is your black-green ideology (forum-al.com)*; or: *Cila dashuri si pyet?? Dashuria ndaj njerit qymyr te zi, xhyvez krejt??!!... Xhyvez daje...xhyzezi martohet me xhyvez. (forumishqiptar.com)/If you ask what love? Love towards coal black person, a completely aubergine (dark skinned) man. the “xhyvez” marries the “xhyvez”.*

Participants of the survey did not use this term to name any color. The results indicate that this term too, is used in particular varieties of the Albanian language such as *slang, literature, etc.*

4. Conclusions

Etymological analysis shows that Albanian color terminology was developed gradually by borrowing from other languages. Turkish color terms have played an important role in lexicalizing color in the early stages when the terms *gjelbër* (green) and *kaltër* (blue) had not yet established their lexical stability. In the contemporary Albanian language, Turkish loanwords have shifted to the language varieties of low level of formality, but some of them still keep a high frequency of usage. This register-shifting has caused the formation of new meanings and given them new functions, which also opens the way for new focal colors. But its usage will still be limited to dialects.

The Albanian language employs several lexicalization patterns to realize different meanings of color terms. Turkish loanwords are used in almost all word-forming processes. They are detected in lexicalization through conversion, derivation, and compounding. Turkish words do not form words with the suffix *-rremë* of approximate meaning. This supports the relativist claim that in some languages instead of naming a particular color people say “that something is like something”. The tendency to name a color by comparing or combining one color term with another also supports their approach. Compound words are often conducted by a Turkish loanword *bojë*, which besides its meaning of “a dye” also keeps the meaning of the word “color”. Hues, brightness, and intensity are expressed by adjectives, repetition, and approximation.

The analysis of color terms usage in the context in some cases gives different results from dictionary definitions. It is found that synonyms are used randomly and cause the vague use of color terms. Writers often use Turkish color terms in pleonastic expressions and sometimes even use them to denote different color categories. This confirms that linguistic variants with special social meaning (dialects, registers, styles, etc.) and different social contexts tend to affect the way the speaker or writer perceives the color.

Briefly speaking, Turkish loanwords were found to be used in a few directions: 1. in syntactic-semantic processes such as pleonasm and tautology; 2. in semantic change processes such as meaning narrowing and meaning extension; 3. to express different combinations of hues, brightness, and intensity; 4. to denote new focal colors (e.g. *blue / magenta, blumavi / purplish blue*); 5. both as nouns and modifiers.

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<https://fjalorthi.com/fjalorth> (Dictionary of Contemporary Albanian Language - ASHSH 2006)

Chart 1: Color Chart



Chart 2: Albanian color terms classified by lexicalisation patterns

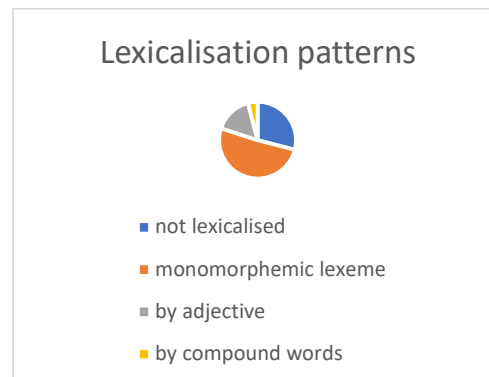


Chart 2: Albanian color terms used by survey participants

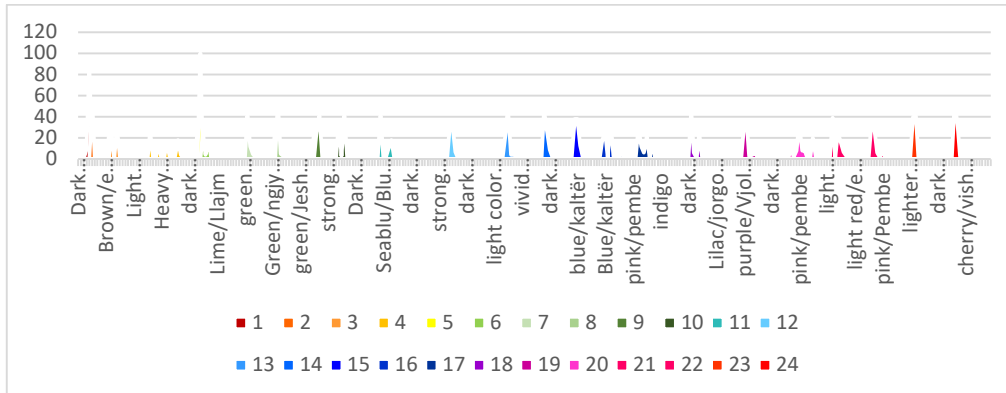


Table 1: Frequency of occurrence of Turkish loanwords

Color term (Alb-tur-eng)	ANC (more than 20 million tokens)	Google search engine
<i>Gjelhër (yeşil/green)</i>	460	604.452
<i>Blertë (yeşil/green)</i>	114	47.000
<i>Jeshil (yeşil/green)</i>	38	324.000
<i>Kaltër (mavi/blue)</i>	466	640.206
<i>Blu (mavi/blue)</i>	456	405.000
<i>Mavi (mavi/blue)</i>	27	74.900
<i>Çivit (indigo)</i>	5	1920
<i>Verdhë (sarı/yellow)</i>	689	369.000
<i>Sari(h) (sarı/yellow)</i>	1	Few thousands
<i>Kuq/e (kırmızı/red)</i>	2387	416.00
<i>All (al/scarlet)</i>	0	68 (stylistic)
<i>Kërmëz (koyu kırmızı/dark red)</i>	0	55
<i>Rozë (pembe/pink)</i>	172	358.000
<i>Trëndafiltë (pembe/pink)</i>	15	248
<i>Pembe (pembe/pink)</i>	2	121
<i>Pink (pembe/pink)</i>	1	347.000
<i>Hirtë (gri/grey)</i>	74	40.200
<i>Murrinë (gri/koyu gri)</i>	60	7400/53000