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1

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Kolec TOPALLI**THE ANTIQUITY OF VALIANT EPOS THROUGH
GRAMMAR ARCHAISMS**

The people's artistic literature is created by anonymous authors in different periods of the human society. Some creations are very ancient, some are younger. The time of their creation can be assessed from the content, from the historic events that are presented and from different aspects of the social life. In this direction, valiant epos songs, describing the social formation of the time when they were created and showing us historic events that are connected with specific historic and social circumstances, present an ancient period of our history, related to the early Middle Ages. This could be proved by the different aspects of these creations, one of those are archaic elements in the grammar's structure.

It is known that the language is a social phenomenon that unites the human society through communication. The vocabulary especially changes, but also change even the grammar forms, the sounds and sentences building forms. These last change more slowly, because compound the skeleton of a language. Even those change and the preservation of the grammar elements in a creation language is sing in antiquity for the time itself when the creation has occurred.¹

Observing into this aspect, one of the grammar elements who are preserved in the valiant epos is the neuter genre. Historically, in all the Indo-European family languages, the nouns have had three genres, on which the masculine and feminine genre are almost preserved in all the languages, with exception of English and Persian languages, and this last branch of this family. While the neuter genre has disappeared in most of these languages, especially in Roman, Celtic, English languages etc., it is preserved in the German and Russian languages and

¹ M. Domi, *Çështje të gjuhës së epikës legjendare heroike*, Tiranë, 1983, 5 v.

has been vivid in the classical languages, in the ancient Greek and Latin. Even in the Albanian language, this genre, that has been alive some centuries ago, but now has disappeared. Therefore, only few cases have remained nowadays. However, its disappearance occurred late. Buzuku and other authors that have written centuries ago, have preserved this genre, that is extended except the nouns, adjectives even on pronouns and articles.

In the valiant epos, there are many cases of neuter's use, proving from one side the vivacity of this genre in the past centuries, and from the other side, the antiquity of these songs, reflected as creations of that age when this genre was used more than in our days.² Here some examples: *shka e ka ba luma ata t'bardhë?*, when the substantivised adjective is on neuter genre, thing that proves *ata* pronoun is in this case is on the singular person of this genre. – *Ç'do me ba, nuse, kta uj?*, – *Ç'â kta vaj, Tanushë, lum motra, i thotë*. In both these cases, the index of the neuter genre is the *kta* pronoun, again used for the singular person of this genre. – *S'kam si ha, mori e mira e vogël, / se ata bukë nuk asht për mue*. Even the noun *bukë/bread*, as a noun substance, differently from the today Albanian, is in neuter genre, that is proved from *ata/them* pronoun, who accompanies it and is in the singular person of this genre. Another example that we have in the verses: *njikta gjak syve ta hjekim / e në mejdan prap po çohena*, ose: – *Zot, kta gjak, bre nanë, shka m'asht?*, where the noun *gjak/blood*, as indivisible substance noun, in both these examples is in the neuter genre, proved by the demonstrative pronoun *këta*, that accompanies an noun in the singular person.³

Another grammar archaism that is found in the valiant epos is the paradigm of the feminine nouns gender with consonant's theme, that in the definite form take the ending *-ja* in the nominative case and the the ending *-së* in the indirect cases. Today this paradigm is out of use, with exception of a dialectic trace; but it's been alive some centuries ago, proved by the ancient authors in their writings. Even in the valiant epos there are traces of this paradigm, even in those nouns where is presented on Buzuku and in the Northern spoken. Here an example: *curril lodja djelmve m'u ka shkue*. As also generally happens with the

² Sh. Demiraj, *Çështje të sistemit emëror të gjuhës shqipe*, Tiranë, 1972, 94 v.

³ E. Çabej, *Në botën e arbëreshëve të Italisë*, Tiranë, 1987, p. 70.

nouns of this kind, even in this example the voicelessness consonant of the indefinite form is turned in voiced consonant in the definite from the collision with the semivowel -j, that is part of the ending-article.

Among noun's cases, the ablative case is presented with a relic character. It has been a case with full function, much more used rather than in our days, thing that is proved again by the ancient authors, when it has many functions especially unaccompanied from any preposition. Such uses we find even in the valiant epos, as for example: 1) in the function of the place as an *ablativus loci*: *Ndiellin dhitë e nuk i gjejnë, / fort po i lypin **lugjeve**, / fort po u thërrasin **qetave***; ose: *ndalnju **gurrave** me u freskue, / ndalnju **mrizave** me pushue*, ose: *hekrat **duersh**, bugagit **kambësh***; 2) in the function of time, as an *ablativus temporis*, e.g.: *Me dalë **heret** n'at fushën e mejdanit!*, or: *se ato **paresh** ranë n'lumë*, or: *N'bjeshkë të nalta **parmbramit** shkau ka dalë*; 3) in the function of cause as an *ablativus causae*, e.g.: *Gjergjit tem, qi kalbet **varrësh** mbi dhe!*, or: *Me e pasë pa Behurin gjallë, / shpirti **tutësh** u kishte dalë!*; 4) in the function of the mood as an *ablativus modi*, e.g.: *n'kalldram **copash** e ka ba*; or: *Dy **copësh** zemra djalit iu ka da*; 5) in the function of removal, as an *ablativus separationis*, e.g.: *Â shkepë **shoqesh** zana e vogël*, or: *jam da **babet**, jam da **nanet**, jam da **motret**, jam da **vllaut***; 6) in the function of a limitation, as an *ablativus limitationis*, e.g.: *Edhe nusja uj do të na bijnë / e **fagesh** të dy po lahena*; 6) in the function of the qualifier, as an *ablativus qualitatis*, e.g.: *si gjamë **qiellet**, kur ban reja me shkrepe*. Even with prepositions come out many examples where the ablative is use with its old endings, that today are out of use. Such is the case of the preposition *për*, that today is used only in the accusative case, but once was used even in the ablative, with many examples even in the valiant epos; e.g.: *aspak gjog as shpatë s'ka marrë, / po **për deret** jashtë Muji ka dalë*; or: *kryet me shpatë Behurit ja ka pre, / **për mustakut** ja ka vjerrë n'mollë t'shalës*.

Another archaic characteristic of these creations is connected with the indirect cases of masculine nouns. Its known that the definite form of these cases is formed from the indefinite by taking part in this formation even the case ending, e.g.: *një lisi ~ lisit*. However, there are some examples in the old Albanian when the definite form is created by the indefinite without the case ending. These are cases of an ancient phase when the ending of the indefinite form was not still generalized

in the definite and such examples we find even in the valiant epos; e.g.: *edhe t'vllat Muji m'i ka thanë*. As archaic forms, such are found on large scale in the ancient writers works, as for example, on Buzuku: *ende e dalë të diellët* (LXXXII/2a = LXXXII/2a), *e përpara d Naltët të lutetë* (LXXXIIIa = CIIIa); on Bardhi: *Eme rë, e shoqja e t birt* (Dict. 195).

Always in the nouns case system, in the materials of these songs come out even the genitive-dative plural forms with the most ancient ending *-e* when was not yet generalized the consonant *-v-* of this case form; e.g.: *Edhe nusen krushqet jau ka marrë*; or: *se shum sherrin turqet jau kem' pa*. Such forms have been vivid until some centuries ago as is proved by the ancient writers, in whose works the sound *-v-* is used only with nouns on vowel theme, viz in the hiatus conditions, but not in nouns that come out with consonant, e.g. on Buzuku: *End atë mot tha Jezu turmësë Xhudhivet e krenëvet priftënet* (LIX/2b), or: *tue dhanë dritë d verbënet* (XII/2a). Such forms, traces of which we can find even in the valiant epos, have continued to be used until the XIX century, as attests this example from Naim Frashëri: *Tregomu dhe Shqiptaret udhën' e punës së mbarë* (BB 23).

Another ancient characteristic in the nominative system is the plural with vowel mutation, e.g.: *dymdhetë ketesh kulla e naltë*; or: *po ja ap treqind duket*. Its known that the vowel mutation has acted in the Albanian language in an earlier period and in our days has come being avoided to be replaced with plural regular forms.

In the adjectival system, are noted cases of adjectives declension together with the noun to form the superlative degree; as e.g.: *Kur ka dalë n'bjeshkën ma t'naltën*, or: *Ma ka nxjerrë thikën ma t'preftën*; *e ka zgjedhë Tanusha 'i kullë ma t'mirën*. This characteristic is found even in the ancient authors, proving its antiquity; e.g., Buzuku: *dërgo Laxarinë të lanjë gishtinë m̃a të vogëlinë endë ujë*; Budi: *mpsheha nja mpkat m̃a të madhnë*. Such formations are based in the cases when the adjective is substantivised, as consequence, is used in the definite form, as e.g.: *Ti ndër gjithë shoqet ke kenë ma e mira* (V. Pasha); *po pvetë ajo m̃a e madhja* (Kurti PK I 13). From these formations, where the adjective is substantivised, was passed in his use together with a noun

by accomplishing the adjective's definite form in the function of the superlative degree expression⁴.

Another linguistic archaism in valiant epos is also the use of unarticulated interrogative pronoun *cili/which*; p.sh.: *Shka ka qitë krajli e i ki' pvetë: / – I cili jush sarajet m'i dojtë?* This use, that today is avoided from language, proves the common origin of the interrogative pronoun with relative pronoun, demonstrating that the principal is the use of the relative pronoun with article, while the interrogative pronoun comes out from the relative pronoun with the decline of the pre-article. This way explains even the phonetic aspects of these pronouns, because *cili* has come out from a **të sij*, where *të* represents the noun-article of the plural; as consequence, the relative pronoun does not derive from the interrogative pronoun by adding the pre-article, but the interrogative pronoun is formed from the relative pronoun by leaving outside the pre-article. For this reason, the use of the interrogative pronoun with a pre-article compounds an element of syntax archaism, which possess even the ancient authors; e.g. Buzuku: *Të sillë doni en së dysh u t u lëshonj?* (LV b = LXV b); *porsi ish të purifikuomitë e Xhudhivet, qi embaj e sijado dÿ o trÿ masë* (XXXVIII b); *i zunë i sillidota en sish me i thashunë* (LXIV a); Kazazi: *I silli kësi së tre vetësh u bā nieri?* (DK 7).

Always in pronouns field, another archaic element is the use of the abbreviated form in plural of the third person *u* instead of the second person *ju*; e.g.: *A ju ka ra malli i shpisë, / a ju ka ra malli i robnisë, / a u ra n'mend për babë e nanë, / a u ra n'mend për shnjergja t'bardhë.* As its seen, the abbreviated form of the third person *u* is used instead of the second person, even parallel to it, as use of stylistic values to create changes within the verses. This proves that has been a period when the abbreviated form from *u* has been used in both persons of plural and later, when for the second person started to be used the pronoun of the nominative case *ju*, the form *u* remained in use only for the plural of the third person. This characteristic has continued until the National Renaissance age, where we find e.g. on Naim: *Fushat' e gjera me lule! q' u kam ndër mënt dit' e natë* (BB 3). Historically, the form *u* sources from the full form of the Indo-European *vos*, that in the unaccented position is reduced on the *u* vowel, the same as happened with the

⁴ K. Topalli, *Gramatikë historike e gjuhës shqipe*, Tiranë, 2011, p. 556.

reflexive pronoun *vetë*, which in the same position has given the inactive particle form *u*; as consequence, in the use of these inactive particles we have a twofold move of cases: first, the second form of the second person *u* is used for the third person and in a later phase it remained only for the third person, because for the second person started to be used the complete form *ju* of the nominative case.

Other archaic characteristics are connected with the verbal system. Such are some uses of the verb in the optative mood, that today are not used anymore, but have one been. This verbal mood today is used to express a wish or a curse and also a supposition in hypothetical protases periods. In earlier times, it has even other uses, especially after the relative pronouns, proving that its functions have come by wrinkling through the centuries. Thus, in the valiant epos we find: – *Kush dalsh t'ligt nuses me m'ja hjekë, po ja ap treqind duket*. Today, this use is avoided being replaced from the subjunctive mood, is frequent especially in the folklore; e.g.: *Kush daftë, kjaftë e kurr mos këndoftë; Kush mos levdoftë vedin, i u djegët kasolla* (Kamsi Pr. 12, 90); *Kush e ndjeftë e e kallxoftë, u baftë gur e u verboftë* (Kurti PK I 47); *Kush e digjoftë e diftoftë, u thaftë në bres e teposhtë* (FS I, II 456). Based on this cases and in other ones where the optative has the meaning of the future, in opposition to the linguists that see it formed within the Albanian or borrowed from the Latin, many years ago we have expressed the opinion that it is an inherited form, that with the time meaning and the special formation which is build, can be approached in Indo-European degree with sygmatic future, possessed by some other languages of this family as: Sanskrit, Greek and Lithuanian.⁵

Always in the verbal system, there are cases of imperative mood use with the imperfect indicative value to express prolonged or repeated actions, as e.g.: *Grueja kjaj e plaku fshaj*. This special meaning of the imperative mood, characteristic for the northern Gheg, is consequence of grammar homonymy of the imperative mood form, generally without ending, with the third person of imperfect singular, that in an earlier period also was without ending. This is also, even when the morphonologic of the imperative mood themes change and when the indicative imperfect on the third person are the same (khs.

⁵ K. Topalli, *Për burimin e trajtës foljore të mënyrës dëshirore në gjuhën shqipe*, “Studime filologjike”, Tiranë, 3-4, 1998, 109 v.

piq, dil). Therefore, these forms in origin have been forms of the imperfect third person, that some centuries ago came out without any ending, as consequence, phonetically were compatible with the singular of the imperative mood. And then when the imperfect forms were enlarged with endings (khs. *ec-te*), these forms, that had phraseological nature, remained without enlarging, as consequence, were interpreted as imperative mood forms preserving the time meaning that the imperfect has to express in prolonged or repeated actions⁶.

Another grammar archaism of valiant epos that speaks for its antiquity, belongs to the syntax field, of word connection with parataxis, that is a more ancient connection than the hypotaxis, which has come later. Such cases are especially seen in the syntagma with inchoative verbs, where the verbs not only are connected with the coordinated implements, but even among them are inserted in other words; as e.g.: *kanë nisë kangën e po këndojnë, / kanë nisë lodrën e po lodrojnë, / kanë nisë gurrat e po i turbullojnë*; or: *Ka qitë nana e po e pvetë; Paska qitë Halili e ka thanë*. This way of connecting terms in sentence is the most ancient one, that has been alive in the oldest Indo-European languages. Such constructions we find in mass even on the ancient authors, especially on Budi; e.g.: *E prifti mbet e j tha* (DC 27), that completely responds to the valiant epos structure: *Mbet e i foli Krajle Kapedani*, or: *Mbet e i tha ajo zana ma e madhe*.

All these archaic linguistic characteristics in the grammar field made these creations with great values on the history of the Albanian language and for the Albanian nation.

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⁶ K. Topalli, *Sistemi foljor i gjuhës shqipe*, Tiranë, 2010, p. 182.

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**THE FIRST AROMANIAN LITERATURE: THE
TEACHING WRITINGS (THEODOR CAVALLIOTI, DANIIL
MOSCOPOLEAN, CONSTANTIN UCUTA)**

The first Aromanian didactic works date in the last three decades of the eighteenth century and have been authored by Aromanian scholars Theodor Anastasie Cavallioti, Daniil Moscopoleanul and Constantin Ucuta. We must mention as well the translation of religious texts into Aromanian (*The Aromanian Liturgy, Codex Dimonie*).

The present paper reports about the main features of the Aromanian dialect in Albania, namely the typical features of the Grabovean subdialect spoken in the Moscopole area and the Fărșherot subdialect as they are used in the writings of the first Aromanian scholars. According to Th. Capidan, the inhabitants of the towns of Corcea, Pogradet, Elbasan, Cavalja, Tirana, Durazzo, Lusnia, Berat, Fărica (Fieri) came from the Moscopole area and their speech presents particular features that are to be found in the writings of the 18th century scholars. Nevertheless, they do belong to the Fărșherot subdialect, and only with time they have lost some particular features of the latter subdialect.

The first Aromanian pedagogical works were written in the Greek alphabet.

The first Aromanian texts printed or found in a manuscript form were written in the Greek alphabet and have been of great concern for all editors of these texts for two reasons: first, aiming to render as faithfully as possible the Greek alphabet text and secondly, transliterating it into the Latin alphabet. Over the course of two centuries several Romanian and foreign linguists and philologists have worked on these texts. Among them were Johann Thunmann, Gustav

Meyer, Franz Miklosich, Gustav Weigand, Per. Papahagi, Matilda Caragiu-Marioțeanu, and Armin Hetzer.

Theodor A. Cavallioti published in Venice in 1770 *Πρωτοπειρία* [First Teaching], a reading book for the elementary classes, written in Greek, which included at the end a glossary of 1170 Greek words, translated into Aromanian and Albanian. The work is 104 pages long and comprises prayers and passages from the Bible. It also contains the following Aromanian text (in original, written in the Greek alphabet): *Hristos de morți năstăsi, cu morte morteă călcându, ș-a mărmintătorlor ahărzi bană harizmă*. [Christ has risen from the dead, trampling down death by death, and upon those in the tombs bestowing a pleasant life].

The work of Cavallioti, of which there is no known copy available currently, has been passed on to us through later editions, of which we owe the oldest to Johann Thunmann. The German scholar (of Swedish origin) re-edited the Cavallioti trilingual glossary in 1774 and included it in his work *Über die Geschichte und Sprache der Albaner und der Wlachen* (Leipzig, 1774). In Thunmann's work, the glossary itself takes up 58 pages (pp. 181-238), with the rest of the book (pp. 171-180, 239-366, in total 138 pp.) representing a comprehensive study of the history and language of the Romanians and Albanians, the first of its kind in the literature.

It is worth mentioning here that the copy of the *Πρωτοπειρία* which came to be owned by Johann Thunmann had been given to him by a young Aromanian, born in Moscopole, Constantin Hagi Cegani, who had studied in foreign universities and whom the German scholar introduces eulogistically: “*Mr. Constantin Hagi Cegani of Moscopole made me the honour of giving me this rare book: [he is] a man of rich knowledge, especially in the fields of philosophy and mathematics, with a brilliant mind and worthy of a happier fate. Having visited this university twice in three years, he also visited Leiden and Cambridge, has been to France and Italy, and is now returning to his homeland, so that the knowledge he gained can benefit his compatriots. Beyond this, Mr. Cegani gave me a wealth of information about Aromanians and Albanians, about their names, the areas they live in, their number, their language, etc.*” (Thunmann 1774: 179-180, note).

From Johann Thunmann we have the first information about Πρωτοπειρία and its author: “*The book that contains this list of words was printed in Venice in 1770 by Antoni Bortoli. Its author is Mr. Theodor Cavallioti, an archpriest or most distinguished preacher from Moscopole, Macedonia. He is a learned man, the most learned of his people; he has studied productively languages, philosophy and mathematics. [...] He understands and speaks Greek, Aromanian and Albanian as mother tongues. He was born in Moscopole and is about 46 years old now. He has studied the humanities in his hometown [...], and philosophy and mathematics in Iannina [...]. He has written on almost all of the philosophical sciences, but nothing has been printed so far*” (Thunmann 1774: 177-178 and note g on p. 178).

Reprinting Th. Cavallioti's trilingual glossary, Johann Thunmann has added on a very significant column with the terms translated in Latin, which, on one hand, boldly highlights the Roman origin of Aromanian dialect and, on the other hand, offers the possibility to compare it with Albanian, based on the Latin element. As far as the Latin element is concerned, it is revealing that, out of 1170 words in the glossary, more than 650 are of Latin origin in Aromanian, which translates into a percentage of over 50% (approximately 56%). Thunmann himself made this calculation on the basis of Cavallioti's glossary: In the language of the Romanians south of the Danube, 50% of the words are of Latin origin: “die Hälfte derselben [Sprache] (ich habe nachgezählt) ist Lateinisch” (Thunmann 1774: 339). It is interesting to note that an almost identical percentage of words of Latin origin in Aromanian is to be found in the *Lexicon in four languages* (Λεξικόν Τετράγλωσσον) of Daniil Moscopoleanul, printed in Venice in 1794: of the 1072 Aromanian words, 586 are of Latin origin, i.e. about 55% (see Brâncuș 1992: 40).

Among the Latin words for which Johann Thunmann gives translations in Aromanian and Albanian, we note:

(8) ar. *sămtu*, alb. *shent* [*i shënjtë, i shentjë*] (< lat. *sanctus*) (cf. Vătășescu 1997: 470); dr. *sânt*.

(36) ar. *rá'ă*, alb. *reze* [*rreze*] (< lat. **radia* [= *radius*]) (cf. Çabej II: 93; missing from Vătășescu 1997); dr. *rază*.

(46) ar. *cal*, alb. *kalë, kali* (< lat. *caballus*; la Thunmam, s.v. *equus*) (cf. Vătășescu 1997: 199); dr. *cal*.

(60) ar. *nepótu*, alb. *nip* (< lat. *nepos*, -tis; la Thunmam, s.v. *consobrinus*) (cf. Vătăşescu 1997: 106); dr. *nepot*.

(63) ar. *pûlpă*, alb. *pulpë* (< lat. *pulpa*; la Thunmam, s.v. *sura*) (cf. Vătăşescu 1997: 37); dr. *pulpă*.

(72) ar. *númeru*, alb. *numur* [*numër*] (< lat. *numerus*) (cf. Çabej I: 384, Vătăşescu 1997: 229); dr. *număr*.

(81) ar. *máscuru*, alb. *mashkull* (< lat. *masculus*; la Thunmam, s.v. *mas*) (cf. Vătăşescu 1997: 19); dr. *mascur*.

(106) ar. *fúndu*, alb. *fund* (< lat. *fundus*; la Thunmam, s.v. *profunditas*) (cf. Vătăşescu 1997: 149, 226, 271); dr. *fund*.

(169) ar. *sănătos*, alb. *shëndoshë* (< lat. *sanitosus*; la Thunmam, s.v. *sanus*) (cf. Vătăşescu 1997: 70); dr. *sănătos*.

It is remarkable that all words listed above are also found in Daco-Romanian, and most of them are also present in other Romanian dialects: *cal* [horse], *fund* [bottom], *nepot* [nephew], *număr* [number] (in Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian), *mascur*, *săm(t)* and *sănătos* (in Megleno-Romanian), *pulpă* [= calf] (in Istro-Romanian).

Among the words shared in common with Albanian, which Romanian has inherited from its autochthonous substratum, we note:

(9) dr. *ghimpe*, alb. *gjep* [*gjemb*], preserved only in Daco-Romanian; ar. *skinu* (< lat. *spinus*) (cf. Brâncuş 1983: 78–79).

(298) ar. *băne'u* 'to live', alb. *banoj* (in Aromanian it is most likely an Albanian loanword).

(520) ar. *ma'ăre*, alb. *modhul* (Brâncuş 1983: 93–94).

(521) ar. *gruma'u*, alb. *gurmaz* (Brâncuş 1983: 84–85).

ar. *guşă*, alb. *gushë* (Brâncuş 1983: 84–85). For Albanian, Thunmann gives *kiafă* [qafë], with its correspondent in dr. *ceafă*.

(522) ar. *groapă*, alb. *gropë* (Brâncuş 1983: 47–48).

(546) ar. *baltă*, alb. *baltë* (Brâncuş 1983: 35–37).

(707) ar. *năpărtică* 'viper', alb. *nepërkë* (Brâncuş 1983: 104–105).

(797) ar. *bască* 'wool sheared from sheep', alb. *bashkë* (Brâncuş 1983: 40–41).

(994) ar. *ţalpă* 'gum', alb. *gjalpë* 'unt' (cf. Saramandu 1987: 126 ş.u.).

Similar to words inherited from Latin, we notice that words originating from the substratum are present either in all dialects (*baltă*, *groapă*, *guşă*), or in some of them: in Daco-Romanian, Aromanian and

Megleno-Romanian (*bască, mazăre, năpârcă*) or in Daco-Romanian and Aromanian (*grumaz*). Two words can be found only in Daco-Romanian (*ceafă* and *ghimpe*), and one word only in Aromanian (*țalpă*).

We paid particular attention to Johann Thunmann's work for several reasons. Firstly, we note that this work introduced the most important South-Danubian Romanian dialect, namely Aromanian, into the Western scientific debate. In reference to Aromanian, the author states that "to the best of my knowledge, prior to the vocabulary I present here [from Th. Cavallioti], nothing was known" (Thunmann 1774: 177). Aromanians, called *Thracische Wlachen* by Johann Thunmann, speak the same language as their brothers' north of the Danube (*Dacische Wlachen*) (cf. Thunmann 1774: 176, note): „Sie reden eben dieselbe Sprache, als ihre Brüder diesseits der Donau" (Thunmann 1774: 174). Beside its importance for the study of Romanian and Romance linguistics in general, Johann Thunmann's work provides the foundation of subsequent studies on substratum, Balkan linguistic correspondences, the Latin element shared by Romanian and Albanian, etc. Johann Thunmann was the first to put forth the *theory of continuity* of both for Romanians and Albanians in their respective territories, a contention that later gained prominence. Another theory which has become widely accepted was the substratum theory, grounded on the comparison between Romanian and Albanian, and subsequently the study of Balkan linguistic correspondences came to include Bulgarian (Kopitar 1829) and Greek (Miklosich 1861).

Franz Miklosich was the first to present most of these correspondences, among which we note: (1) the presence of the *ă* vowel timbre in Albanian, Romanian and Bulgarian; (2) the enclitic definite article (postpositioned) in Albanian, Romanian and Bulgarian; (3) the absence of infinitive in Albanian, Bulgarian and Greek and its replacement with the subjunctive (only partially in Romanian); (4) the confusion between genitive and dative in Albanian, Romanian, Bulgarian and Albanian (the Tosk dialect); (5) the use of the *a avea* auxiliary to form the future tense in Romanian, Greek, Bulgarian and Albanian (the Tosk dialect); (6) forming the cardinal number from 11 to 19 by following the *unus super decem* pattern in Albanian, Romanian and Bulgarian. Added to these correspondences, there are

other characteristics shared by Romanian and Albanian, such as rhotacism (in the Tosk dialect of Albanian and in the Romanian dialect).

Constantin Ucuta, map archivist and archpriest in Posen (Southern Prussia), published in Vienna, in 1797, *Néa Παιδαγωγία* (*The New Pedagogy*) (with the subtitle: “facile alphabet book to teach Wallachian Romanian script to the young, as currently used by the Romanian-Wallachians [= by Aromanians]”). Ucuta wrote the alphabet book for the well-established purpose to teach Aromanian children to read Aromanian: *Așteaptă-o luâina aistă puțână, tră filisirea a fumel'ilor a nostrorŭ, că de multu ți era doru se o vedzi aistă arhizmă tru fara anostră, tsi cu efcolie se kicăsească fumel'ile anostre ațea ți cu multă zâmane ș-cu multă zâhmete o k'icăseșcu pre altă limbă*. [Receive this scarce enlightenment, for the use of our children, for you have been longing for a long time to see this beginning for our people, so that our children be able to understand with ease what they otherwise understand with tedious and strenuous effort in another language]. It can be concluded that Ucuta was aware of the national awakening movement of Romanians in Transylvania. This awareness was reinforced by the national movement promoted by the Transylvanian School (“Școala Ardeleană”) and was publicly asserted, at the beginning of the 19th century, by the Aromanian writers Mihail C. Boiagi and Gheorghe Constantin Roja.

Despite its religious nature, Ucuta's work is first and foremost a manual for the study of Aromanian, and it is the first attempt by an Aromanian writer to set the norms for the written dialect.

For the first time, Constantin Ucuta discusses the presence in Aromanian of the syllabic *u* and non-syllabic *u*: “one is full and the other is short «pre ngiumitate»”, states the author. Furthermore, he explains the difference between the vowels *a*, *ă* (transcribed as *a* with subscribed iota) and *î* (transcribed with the Greek *oi*). Discussing the sound *g*, he says that it is pronounced «similarly to the Latin *g*», and *j* „as maľar÷asca *s' z*”. The sound *x* is transcribed by Ucuta using *λλ*'. With regard to *rr* [with apical or velar pronunciation], he says that it sounds “like the Serbian *r*.”

Another Aromanian scholar originating from the Moscopolean cultural sphere of that time – the end of the 18th century – is Daniil

Moscopoleanul (full name: Daniil Mihali Hagi Moscopoleanul), the author of another reading book, with religious content, written in Greek, Εισαγωγική διδασκαλία [Introductory teaching], printed in Venice in 1794, which includes at the end a conversation textbook in Greek, Aromanian, Bulgarian and Albanian (Λεξικὸν Τετράγλωσσον). It is worth noting that Aromanian was called Βλάχικα, which is the same name used by Cavallioti. Daniil explains in the title of his work that he translates the Greek text TMν Μοισία Βλαχικᾶς, in the “Romanian from Moesia”, pointing to the linguistic unity between Aromanian and Daco-Romanian, which represent one language. Similar to Cavallioti’s subsequent editions, Daniil’s work was also republished by the Englishman William Martin Leake, in *Researches in Greece* (London, 1814), by Franz Miklosich, in *Rumunische Untersuchungen*, vol. I, 2 (Vienna, 1882) and by Per. Papahagi in *Scriitori aromâni în secolul al XVIII-lea* [Aromanian writers in the 18th century] (Bucharest, 1909).

The importance of Daniil Moscopoleanul’s work was highlighted, among others, by Th. Capidan: “The significance of Daniil’s work for a better knowledge of the Aromanian dialect, as well as other Balkan languages, namely Albanian and Bulgarian, is tremendous. There is no other work in the Aromanian dialectology literature with a freer structure of the sentence than Daniil’s book. As an Aromanian with a good grasp of this dialect, he was able to write without being influenced by other languages” (Capidan 1932: 53). Prof. Grigore Brâncuș has studied the *Lexicon* authored by Daniil Moscopoleanul, deeming it “one of the oldest and most important monuments of the Romanian language south of the Danube” (Brâncuș 1992: 43). In analysing the etymological structure of the Aromanian lexicon, Grigore Brâncuș finds that, out of the 1072 lexical units provided in *Lexicon*, 586 (meaning approximately 55 %) are of Latin origin. This proportion is almost identical to the one found in Th. Cavallioti (56%; see *supra*).

The works of the three authors reveal features of the dialects spoken by Aromanians in Albania, specifically particularities of the Grabovean and Farsherot idioms. According to Th. Capidan, the Aromanian inhabitants of the cities of Corcea, Pogradec, Elbasan, Cavalja, Tirana, Durazzo, Lușnia, Berat, Fearica (Fier) originate from the Moscopole region and show linguistic particularities that can be found in

the language of 18th century writers, but, in terms of origin, they are still Farsherots who have lost, with the passing of time, some specific features (for example, the velar *r*.) (cf. Nevaci 2009: 225).

Phonetic characteristics of Aromanian texts in the 18th century

The vowel system. The pronunciation of **Qa** as **a**: *m̥rte* for *mQárte*, ‘moartea’ (“death”); *v̥lmeră* for *vQámeră* ‘plug’ (“plough”)

Absence of protetic *a*- *rădăţină*, *rău*, *rránă*, for the forms which are common among other Aromanians: *arădăţină* ‘rădăcină’ (“root”), *arău* ‘rău’, *aránă* ‘rană’ (“wound”)

The pronunciation of ÷a as ʔ. *urˈc×a*, *impˈtigă*, *burˈte*, *fumˈle*, etc. for *ur÷ác×e* ‘ureche’ (“ear”), *mp÷átică* ‘peticeşte’ (“patching”), *bur÷áte* ‘burete’ (“sponge”), *fum÷á×e* ‘copii’ (“children”). The ÷á diphthong is sometimes written as ˘á, as in Codex Dimonie: *ġun˘ápine* ‘jneapăn’ (“juniper”) *f˘átă* ‘fată’ (“girl”).

Syllabic U. At the end of words, *u* is syllabic, and is noted either as a group of consonants: *bagu*, *acu*, *nepotu*, *omu*, *numeru*, *nelu*, *mascuru*.

The pronunciation of *ă*, *î* as *ä*, transcribed by Daniil with *ε*, pronunciation specific to the Farsherot idiom: *prevĖĭle*

for *prăvĖăle* from *pravadă* ‘vită’ (“cattle”) *lëndurâ* for *lăndurâ* ‘rândunică’ (“swallow”); *serme* for *sărâme* ‘fărâme’ (“smithereens”); *puțenu* for *puținu* ‘puțin’ (“a little”); *lenĖĖetlu* for *lînĖĖetlu* ‘bolnavul’ (“ill”).

The consonant system. The reduction of the consonant clusters *rn* and *rl* *la rr* with multiple vibrations, in forms such as *eárră* ‘iarnă’ (“winter”), *toárră* ‘toarnă’ (“pours”) etc. and *cúscurre* ‘cuscrul’ (“father-in-law”), *țerr* ‘cer’ (“sky”) etc., constitutes a pronunciation that is specific to the Farsherots and Graboveans.

It is not possible to know whether the notation *pp*, used by all the three authors, is meant to denote a velar *r* (or possibly uvular) or an *r* with multiple apical vibrations. However, the form *picurayu*, found at Daniil, 168/28, could confirm a velar or uvular *r* present in the Farsherot idiom, further certifies Daniil’s relationship with this idiom.

Velar l. In the forms *đallă* (“churn milk”), *0ellă* (“cooked meal”) we have, most likely, a velar *l*, specific to the idiom of the Graboveans, who are strongly influenced by the Albanian pronunciation of that sound.

Codex Dimonie, discovered by Gustav Weigand in 1889, in Ohrid (Macedonia), in the house of the brothers Iancu and Mihail Dimonie, is a compilation of religious texts, translated into Greek. The manuscript was published by Gustav Weigand, in phonetic transcription, alongside the texts written in Greek alphabet, in “Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache” (no. IV-VI, 1894-1899).

Codex Dimonie, dating from the end of the 18th century represents, as shown by the typicon indications written in Greek and included in the Aromanian text, a translation of religious works based on biblical texts, following the Greek original, namely: *Gospel of Mark*, *Acts of the Apostles*, *John Chrysostom*, some of which were taken from Damanschin Studite and Ephren the Syrian (see Caragiu Marioțeanu 1962 and Nevaci 2009: 269-284).

In what follows, we present some *characteristics of the Grabovean idiom*, based on the text:

With regard to the vowel system, the Grabovean idiom, alongside the Farsherot one, into the category of idioms with 6 vocalic phonemes (the closed central vowel /î/ is absent), being different, in this regard, from the Aromanian idioms with seven vowel phonemes (Pindean and Gramostean).

Another characteristic feature of the Grabovean idiom, which is also found in the dialect spoken by the Farsherots in Albania, is the monophthongization of the diphthongs ÷*a*, *Qa*, resulting the form /, *a* (cf. Nevaci 2009: 282). In *Codex Dimonie* the diphthong ÷*a* appears both as ÷*a* (graphically, ~*a*), and as *e*: *bis~arică* (35/26), *ur~ac×e* (11b/18), but *déde* (68b/18), *cădére* (70/3). However, the *Qa* diphthong is preserved (shown graphically as:” *a*):” *áspe* (81b/13), *ic” ană* (27b/21).

With regard to another phonetic feature found in this text, specifically the labialisation area of unstressed *ă*, Th. Capidan states that: “It suffices for one to spend one day in Tirana or Durazzo to hear Ucuta’s language with the usual labialisation of unstressed *ă*” (Capidan 1931: 121). These features are also found in *Liturgical Book* (Caragiu-Marioțeanu 1962: 81-82 and is confirmed by the current Grabovean dialect. In *Codex Dimonie* the following forms are documented: *furmacu* for *fărmacu* ‘otravă’ (“poison”) used by the other Aromanians

(43 b/2), *lungoare* for *lăngoare* ‘boală’ (“illness”) used by the other Aromanians (37/21).

The phonetic form *duminică* for *dumănică* in the other Aromanian dialects, attested by Daniil Moscopoleanul, is also documented in *Codex Dimonie* (68 b/6) and has been preserved until present in the Grabovean idiom (cf. Saramandu 1972: 175).

The presence in the text of *Codex Dimonie* of the phonetic form *mări* (plural of *măre*) (95/11) for *măr*— in the other Aromanian dialects it constitutes another characteristic of the Grabovean idiom (cf. Saramandu 1972: 175; Bardu 2004: 73, called by these authors the *Moscopolean* dialect). This phonetic feature is also found in the works of the Aromanian writers at the end of the 18th century: Daniil notes *mari pești* (136/12), and Ucuta *amirărăț mari* (101/55).

The 3rd person singular forms of the present indicative and present subjunctive of the verbs *da* ‘dau’ (“I give”), *la* ‘spăl’ (“I wash”), *sta* ‘stau’ (“I stay”), as provided in *Codex Dimonie*, as well as by Daniil: *dă*, *lă*, *stă* constitute an area which is distinct, among Graboveans, from the forms *da*, *la*, *sta* in other Aromanian. This phenomenon was reported for the first time, based on field studies, by Nicolae Saramandu (cf. Saaramandu 1972: 25). With regard to the *consonant system*, we note some phenomena found in the text:

The reduction of the consonant cluster rn > r is a particular feature shared by the Farsherot and Grabovean idioms and found in the writings of all Aromanian writers at the end of the 18th century. In *Codex Dimonie* it occurs in the phonetic forms: *cară* for *carni* ‘carne’ (“meat”), and in Aromanian *hărescu* for *hârnescu* ‘hrănesc’ (“I feed”) in Aromanian *etc.*

We point to the reduction of the lateral [l] in the group [rl] to [r] in the definite article forms of the noun: *țeru* for *țerlu* ‘cerul’ (“the sky”) in Aromanian, *scră* for *sărli* ‘soarele’ (“the Sun”), *fićoru* for *fićorlu* in the other Aromanian idioms, etc.

However, the reduction of the dental [n] within the consonant cluster *mn* (*mn > m*), a characteristic of the Farsherot idiom, occurs in the texts authored by the Aromanian writers from the 18th century, including *Codex Dimonie*. Thus, we encounter the forms *lémnu* ‘lemn’ (“wood”), *scámnu* ‘scaun’ (“chair”), *sémnu* ‘seamn’ (“sign”) etc (cf.

Saramandu 1972: 98, 1893: *mn* > *m* only among the Farsherots, but not among the Moscopoleans [= Graboveans].

The writings authored in the 18th century, as well as the *Liturgy Book*, provide the form *măc* ‘mănânc’ (‘I eat’) (similar with the majority of Aromanian idioms, including Farsherot (cf. Nevaci 2009 d: 11284). On the other hand, in *Codex Dimonie* only the form *măncu* is found, without the reduction of the consonant cluster, same as in Boiagi.

It possible that both forms were used (those with *nc* non-reduced to *c* were documented in the Pindean idiom, in the town of Băiasa (by Weigand 1894: 250/23), *Aminciu* by Saramandu în *ALAR* m.s.). In Vlahoclisura, a town with Moscopolean population, Papahagi reports forms without the reduction of *nc* to *c*. Furthermore, in Ohrid we find the forms *mîncare* (Weigand 1894: 303/11) and *avea mîncată* (Weigand 1894: 383/19). With regard to the forms *măcu* and *măncu*, Weigand explains that *măcŭ* is attested primarily in Monastir [= Bitolia], but it is also found in Ohrid, alongside the labialised form of *ă*, *munku* (Weigand 1894: 319).

Regarding the lexicon, we find in *Codex Dimonie* the form *ținivá* of indefinite pronoun, with the sense of “someone”, “anybody” (Weigand 1894: 14/19): *dise aveță vi'ută ținivá și adună ani du rugu di pritu s7il?*, ‘if you see someone gathering berries from thorns?’ (with verb in the positive form), but also with the same meaning of the negative pronoun “nobody”: *ținivá nu va s-:i avdă* (Weigand 1894: 13/8-9) ‘nobody will hear them’ (with the verb in the negative form). *Ținivá* with the meaning of “nobody”, “anybody” is also provided by Daniil and Ucuta. It is worth noting that the indefinite pronoun *ținivá* can be found in the works of Aromanian writers in the 18th century in negative sentences with the meaning of “nobody”: *ținiva nu poati* (Ucuta 65/4) ‘nobody can’; *caftă hrană și nu le da ținivá* ‘they ask for food and nobody gives them’. *Ținivá* is a Grabovean form. In the Farsherot idiom, the corresponding form is *văr*, used as indefinite pronoun (*vini vărČ* (*fiÉorČ*? ‘some lad has come’), but also as negative pronoun in negative sentences (*nu vini vărČ* (*fiÉorČ*) ‘no lad has come’. In *Codex Dimonie*, *ținivá* can be found both in negative sentences, similar to the use found in Aromanian writers at the end of the 18th century, with the meaning of “nobody”, as well as positive

sentences, with the meaning of “somebody” (see *supra*) (cf. Nevaci 2009: 285).

In a field investigation that was carried out in Ohrid in 2007, I was able to confirm, after more than a century, the observation made by Gustav Weigand that in Ohrid – old urban centre – people do not speak a unified idiom. Even in the present day, two distinct groups of Aromanian speakers can be identified (cf. Nevaci 2013):

- a) the old urban population, of Grabovean and Farsherot origin
- b) subsequent waves of Aromanian population, of Farsherot origin.

The two groups are aware of the differences between them, both in terms of social status, as well as in terms of speech.

Conclusion. The fruit of the intense cultural activities at Moscopole were the works of the first Aromanian writers, Theodor A. Cavallioti¹, Daniil Moscopoleanul² și and Constantin Ucuta. The language of the works of the eighteenth century Aromanian writers (Daniil, Ucuta, Cavallioti), as well as that of the religious texts dating back to the same period display the peculiarities of the Farsherot and Grabovean dialects. One can glimpse from the language of these writings a certain “archaicity” that indicates their affinities with the previous periods in the evolution of the Romanian language, and sometimes even with popular Romanian.

¹ Th. A. Cavallioti published in Venice, in 1770, *Πρωτοπείρία* (First Teaching), a reading book for elementary classes, written in Greek, comprising prayers from the Bible. At the end, the book had a glossary of 1170 Greek words translated into Aromanian and Albanian. The significance of this glossary for the research of the Aromanian dialect was first revealed by the German scholar Johann Thunmann, a professor at the University of Halle, who also published it in his work *Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der östlichen europäischen Völker* (Leipzig, 1774). The work of Cavallioti comprises a single Aromanian text (in the fărșerotes dialect): *Hristos de morți nâstâsi cu morte mort-a călcându, ș-a mărmintătorlor ahârzi bană harizmă* [Christ has risen from the dead, trampling down death by death, and upon those in the tombs he has bestowed life].

² Daniil Moscopoleanul published in Venice in 1794, *Εισαγωγική διδασκαλία* (Introductory Teaching), a reading book, written in Greek, which finally included a four-language conversation guide for Greek, Albanian, Aromanian, and Bulgarian. The first edition was reproduced by English researcher William Martin-Leake in *Researches in Grece* (London, 1814: 383-403). Daniil's work is not exactly a lexicon, as the title would suggest, but rather a conversation guide with phrases used in daily speech. The language of Daniil Moscopoleanul's text was studied by Grigore Brâncuș in *Reflections on the structure of the Aromanian vocabulary in Daniil Moscopoleanul's dictionary* in “Linguistic Studies and Research”, XLIII, 1992, no. 1, pp. 39-43, where he pointed out that “in this admirable work of Daniil Moscopoleanul, the Latin element dominates at level of the vocabulary” (p. 41).

In the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the national consciousness of the Aromanians grew stronger as a result of the Mosopole moment and due to the Aromanian diaspora in Austro-Hungary and in the Romanian Principalities. This reality has recently been highlighted by Max Demeter Peyfuss, a well-known specialist in the history of Southeast Europe: “The Aromanians have arrived, through a relatively continuous evolution, from being aware of the individuality of their language to being aware of its Latin origin and, ultimately, to a modern form of national consciousness, that embraces the idea of being closely associated, if not of the same with the Dacians” (Peyfuss 1974: 30, cf. also Saramandu 2010: 50-52).

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Th. Capidan, *Raporturile lingvistice slavo-române. Influența română asupra limbii bulgare*, în DR, III, 1922–1923, p. 129–138.

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Edmond MALAJ

THE DUKAGJINI FAMILY DURING THE MIDDLE AGE. GEOGRAPHIC EXTENSION OF THE LANDS AND SOME FEATURES

Many Albanian and foreign authors have written about the Dukagjini family. The historian Paolo Petta in his book, *Despots of Epirus and princes of Macedonia*¹, devotes some space to the Dukagjini family. In addition, the Swiss historian, Oliver Jens Schmitt informs us about this family in his book, *Scanderbeg*.² Moreover, the Serbian scholar Ivan Božić wrote a book chapter in 1979 entitled “About Dukagjini” (O Dukadžinima).³



Fig. 1: Coat of Arms of the Dukagjinis.
Gjin Varfi, *Heraldika shqiptare*, p. 45.

Among the Albanian scholars, we can mention Luan Malltezi, who in one of his papers entitled, “Skënderbeu dhe Dukagjinët”⁴ describes their relationship with the National Hero very well.

The present paper aims to generalize history of the Dukagjinis, from

¹Paolo Petta, *Despotë të Epirit e princër të Maqedonisë. Mërgata shqiptare në Italinë e periudhës së Rilindjes*, translated from the Italian Pëllumb Xhufi, Tiranë: IDK, 2000, p. 229.

²Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Skënderbeu*, translated into Albanian by Ardian Klosi, Tiranë: K&B, 2008, p. 201-212.

³Ivan Božić, “O Dukadžinima”, in Ivan Božić, *Nemirno pomorje XV veka*, Belgrade: Srpska Književna Zadruga 1979, pp. 332-384.

⁴Luan Malltezi, “Skënderbeu dhe Dukagjinët”, in *Skënderbeu dhe Evropa (Përmbledhje kumtesash)*, prepared for publishing and editor in chief Prof. dr. Ferit Duka, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë: 2006, p. 83-102.

their origins to their extinction, mainly focusing on their continuity after the Ottoman occupation outside Albanian territories, especially in the region of Istria (Slovenia) with some unknown data about their history over there. Dukagjinis are part of the old noble Albanian tribes with many branches, and not from a single family⁵, that became known in the XIV-XV century, although this family appeared for the first time in the IX century.⁶ As for the other feudal families, especially the northern ones, the Dukagjinis became the most powerful principality after the fall of the Balshaj principedom.⁷

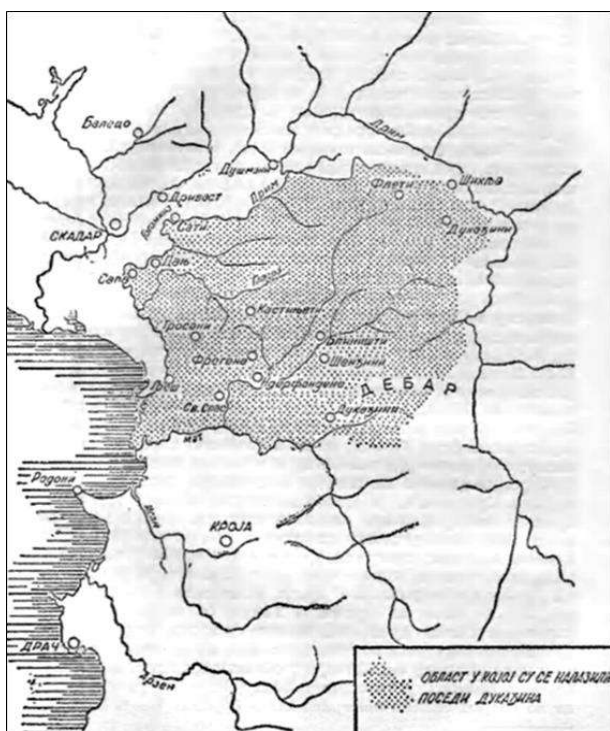


Fig. 2: The map of the Dukagjini possseons, I. Božić, *O Dukadžinima*, p. 347.

⁵P. Petta, *Despotë të Epirit...*, p. 229; see also: O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu...*, p. 201.

⁶Musa Ahmeti, "Dukagjinët e shek. 14. Një dokument i rëndësishëm i Lekë Dukagjinit në Dubrovnik", in *Rilindasi*, newspaper supplement *Shqiptarja.com*, viti IV, nr. 301, date 21.12.2014, p. 19.

⁷L. Malltezi, "Skënderbeu dhe Dukagjinët ...", p. 83.

Their characteristics consist not only of a large number of their families belonging to other kinship branches, but also the disputes these families had among them about why belonging to the same kindred.⁸

Their role in the politics of that time was great, and achieved its peak during the Scanderbeg age,⁹ and after his death. Lekë Dukagjini, the legendary figure, appeared here for the first time. Later, praises to his legend were sung, which have come down to through oral tradition.¹⁰

The map in the Figure 2 shows their possessions in the north of the Albanian territories, which mainly stretched out in the north-west of the Upper Zadrime to Ndërfandine, and in the north-east, to the point where the Black Drini and the White Drini Rivers unite. Included in it are regions around Lezha, the Dukagjini region and the Flatland of Dukagjini, that today lay in Kosovo.¹¹

The Dukagjini region as toponym started to be used mainly during and after the Ottoman period, because the Dukagjini region, including some areas where the Dukagjinis were landlords in the Middle Ages were called Pulatum (Pult-Albanian) and was divided into the Upper Pult and the Lower Pult.¹² The main region where they have been landlords is found mainly in Zadrime,¹³ and between the regions of Lezha and Fan, which should have been the descendants of Tanush II

⁸P. Petta, *Despotë të Epirit...*, p. 229.

⁹L. Malltezi, *Skënderbeu dhe Dukagjinët ...*, pp. 83-102.

¹⁰On the legends about Lekë Dukagjini see also: *Gojëdhëna për Lekë Dukagjinin*, in Patër Zef Jankaj, *Krijimtari gojore (Krajë - Malësi)*, prepared for publishing Zef Anton Gjuravçaj – Patër Mirash Marinaj, Tuz: Misioni Françeskan në Malësi, 2007, pp. 242-247.

¹¹Aleksandër Buda, “Dukagjinët”, in *Fjalori Enciklopedik Shqiptar*, vëll. I (A-Gj), Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Tiranë: Kristalina-KH, 2008, p. 542; see also: Aleksandër Buda, “Dukagjinët”, in *Fjalori Enciklopedik Shqiptar*, Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë, Tiranë: Shtypshkronja e Re, 1985, p. 212; see also: L. Malltezi, *Skënderbeu dhe Dukagjinët ...*, p. 84.

¹²*Light and Shadow, Isolation and Interaction in the Valley of Northern Albania*, editors: Michael L. Galaty, Ols Lefe, Wayne E. Lee, Zamir Tafilica. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute Of Archeology Press (University of California) 2013, p. 53. (=Monumenta Archeologica 28).

¹³*Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis illustrantia*. Collegerunt et digesserunt Dr. Ludovigus de Thallóczy, Dr. Constantinus Jireček ed Dr. Emilianus de Sufflay. Volumen II (Annos 1344-1406 continens) (Nr. 555 et passim) Vindobonae MXMXVIII. Typis Adophi Holzhausen., nr. 413. (hereinafter: AAlb).

Dukagjini line, son of the Leka I.¹⁴ One of the coat of arms of the Dukagjinis is the white one-headed eagle, while their seal is still unknown to us.¹⁵

Records on the origin and different families of the Dukagjinis

According to a legend brought to us by Gjon Muzaka (Memories), early origin of the Dukagjinis was Troy. After being displaced to France at the time of the Crusades, one of their forefathers accompanied the French King on a crusade to Jerusalem.¹⁶ The two brothers went to Italy, and one of them remained there, becoming one of the predecessors of the Ferrare family. The other Dukë Gjini came to the Albanian lands, and occupied the Zadrina area, Montenegro (close to Zadrina), Fan and Flet, where he built the Flet castle.¹⁷ However, we should be cautious about the data given by Gjon Muzaka, not only for the Dukagjinis, from whom his wife Maria Dukagjini derived, but also about other families.¹⁸ According to a legendary Ragusan chronicle, their origin was somewhere in the VII century. Here, the Dukagjinis are mentioned as promoters of rebellions in Bosnia, and to have twice interfered in Ragusa.¹⁹

Anyway, the principal of this noble tribe is known as Duke Gjin Tanushi, or Ginus Ducaginus, and is mentioned as living at the end of the XIII century. He had two sons: Gjergj Dukagjini, born in 1349, and

¹⁴Milan Shufflay, *Serbët dhe shqiptarët*, translated from the Croatian by Hasan Çipuri, Tiranë: Toena, 2004, p. 158; see also: Gjon Muzaka, *Memorie*, translated Dhorë Qirjazi, Tiranë: Toena, 1996, p. 41.

¹⁵Milan Shufflay, *Histori e Shqiptarëve të Veriut (Studim Sociologjik)*, translated by Abdullah Konushevci, Prishtinë: Nositi, 2009, p. 33.

¹⁶*Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, vëll. I (Ilirët, Mesjeta, Shqipëria nën Perandorinë Osmane gjatë shek. XVI – vitet 20 të shek. XIX), Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë: Toena, 2002, p. 307; O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu...*, p. 201.

¹⁷Johann Georg von Hahn, "Reise durch die Gebiete des Drin und Wardar. Dritte Abtheilung: Beiträge zur Geschichte von MittelßAlbanien nach den Funden des Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl Hopf", in *Denschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sechzenhnter Band. Wien: aus der Kaiserlich-Königliches Hofs- und Staatsdruckerei 1869, p. 122; see also: Gj. Muzaka, *Memorie ...*, p. 40.

¹⁸J. G. von Hahn, "Beiträge...", in *Denschriften ...*16, p. 122; Gj. Muzaka, *Memorie ...*, p. 40.

¹⁹*Historia e Popullit Shqiptar...*, vol. I, p. 307; L. Malltezi, "Skënderbeu dhe Dukagjinët ...", p. 83.

Atanazius Dukagjini, birthdate unknown.²⁰ His title of Duke (in 1281, Ducam Ginium Tanuschiū Albanensem) must have been granted to him at the time when he served as an officer in the Byzantine²¹ Serbian army.²² Duke Gjin was captured by the captain of Durrës, and it seems he was later killed by Catholic highlanders led by the Benedictine abbots of Ndërfandina (Trafandina).²³



Fig.3: The second coat of arms of the Dukagjinis.
Gjin Varfi, *Heraldika shqiptare*, p. 46.

On this murder, Gjon Muzaka says that the signor Dukagjini was killed from his vassals in the villages of Ndërfan, because the bishop of this dioceses has seen his wife [covetousness-E.M] in a non-appropriate way and Duke Gjin killed this bishop in the church of Shën Maria in Ndërfan.²⁴ According to Hahn, this history is very similar with the

²⁰*Historia Byzantina duplici Commentario illustrata*. Prior Familias ac Stemmata imperatorum Constantinopolitarum, cum corundem Augustorum Nomismatibus, & aliquod Iconibus; Præterea Familias Dalmaticas & Turcicas complectitur: Alter Descriptionem Urbis Constantinopolitanæ qualis extitit sub Imperatoribus Christianis. Auctore Carolo Du Fresne Domino Du Cange, Regi a Consiliis, Francæ pud ambianos Questore. Venetiis, Ex Typographiæ Bartolomæi Javarina M. DCC. XXIX, p. 167.

²¹I. Božić, "O Dukadinima...", p. 334.

²²M. Shuflaj, *Serbët dhe shqiptarët...*, p. 158; *Light and Shadow ...*, p. 53; see also: I. Božić, "O Dukadinima...", p. 334.

²³M. Shuflaj, *Serbët dhe shqiptarët...*, p. 158.

²⁴J. G. von Hahn, "Beiträge...", in *Denschriften ...*16, p. 122; Gj. Muzaka, *Memorie ...*, p. 41.

legends of that region.²⁵ The vengeance goes beyond the murder of the Duke Gjini, because after he is killed the entirety of his home relatives and only a little kid was spared because was hidden and being taken to be educated from someone called Stefan Progani from the Kallmet village.²⁶ The name of the boy is not mentioned. Years later, Stefan Progani gave his daughter in marriage to this boy and helped him to regain the properties his father once possessed. They had many sons and nephews and nieces, from whom Gjon Muzaka remembers only three of them who were brothers: Gjergj, who, according to Hopf as based on the documents dated 1403 was the lord of

Zadrima, Vunon (Vukon) or Tanush, the lord of Fan, and Dukagjin, who possessed eight villages in Zadrima and was predecessor of the Dukagjini branch situated in the city of Shkodra.²⁷

Nonetheless, their story has been documented mainly in the XIV-XV centuries. During the XIV century we find documents that attest for relations and agreements of the Dukagjinis with Ragusa and the Ragusans. A document of the 1377 reports about the payment of a debt that Nikollë Tudorevic Dukagjini (*Nicolaus Tudorevich Duchagin*) had to a Ragusan nobleman called Vita de Goce²⁸.

The agreement or the diploma of Lekë Dukagjini I made in 1387 is of particular importance.²⁹ Here, it is not reported that Lekë Dukagjini (III) was a contemporary of Scanderbeg. But there was an antecedent person who was the brother of Pal Dukagjini. Apparently, he was the Father of Tanush and Progon Dukagjini, lords of Lezha.

²⁵J. G. von Hahn, "Beiträge...", in *Denschriften* ...16, p. 122.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸AAIb II, nr. 340; I. Božić, *O Dukadzinima...*, p. 335.

²⁹P. Gjon Shllaku, "Dokumenta historije. Lekë Dukagjini I u shkruhen Raguzinve", *Hylli i Dritës (XVIII)* 1940, 12, p. 83.



Fig. 4: Another Coat of Arms of the Dukagjinis. Gjin Varfi, *Heradika Shqiptare*, p 47.

We are bringing the following agreement in question, translated from the Slavic by father Gjon Shllaku OFM: *“Lekë Dukagjini I. I'm writing to the Ragusa people! On behalf of Lekë Dukagjini and my brother Pal of the highest honorable city of Dubrovnik I am writing on my behalf and on my brother's, go freely in my land and do not be afraid of anything, regarding the custom, pay as based on the law, and who has lived before in this place, do not be afraid because we have made peace with the Turks and may God please you. On the back: To the highest honorable from the city of Ragusa. The penultimate day of December 1387.”*³⁰ This diploma surprisingly is not signed by the scribe of Leka, nor specifies the place where it was written. Except this, it lacks a cliché that could be seen in these types diplomas.³¹ This document proves that the Dukagjinis, as the Balshaj, Kastriots, etc., had Slavic chancelleries.³²

In the XIV century, as above mentioned, for a certain of time, the

³⁰Ibid. (The original is preserved at the Dubrovnik Archive, Div. Canc. 1386-II, 38) the original text in Slavic *“Od Leke Dukagin i Pavla brat mu vlastelom(i) č(e)st(e)noga grad Dubrovnika pišu vera vi moja i moga brat grdet sloba dno po moei zemli ne boite se ništa a jer je za carinu davaite se zakon(e)nu carinu što ste prge davali inema vlasteloma koi su prge nastonjeki na tema meste bil a nied(n)oga strah se ne boite jer se umiriha s Tur(e)ci i Bog(e) vi veseli. Vlastelom(e) č(e)st(e)noga grad Dubrovnika pišu. Die penultimo Dec. 1387.”* Ibid.

³¹M. Ahmeti, “Dukagjinët...”, in *Rilindasi*, supplement of newspaper *Shqiptarja.com*, viti IV, nr. 301, date 21.12. 2014, p. 19.

³²M. Shuflaj, *Serbët dhe shqiptarët...*, p. 170.

Dukagjinis ruled in Lezha, but the city was lost by Tanush Dukagjini and Progon, his brother (sons of Lekë I Dukagjini), through an agreement made in 1393.³³

They gave the city to the Venetians, on condition that from this city they would receive one third of the whole production,³⁴ to further enjoy the proprietorship of the five large villas with homes around (*casalia*) which were under the possession of the fortress of Lezha, to not permit enemies or rebels of Dukagjinis to be established in the territories of this city.³⁵ They gave away the city to the hands of Venetians, apparently they made because of the Turkish menace that had become riskier. This assumption is supported by a document dated a year later, where the Turks attacks against the villages of Lezha that remained under the possessions of the Dukagjinis.³⁶

The aforementioned name of Progon Dukagjini was present in other documents of 1394, in connection with the permission that Voislava Topia, sister of Gjergj Topia demands (*domina Voislava soror quondam domini Georgij Topie domini durachij*), to the lord of Durrës, to marry Progon.³⁷ Permission was granted to her on 16.7.1394.³⁸ This marriage proves the alliances that the Dukagjinis had with other powerful noble families, e.g., the Topiaj. It could be also mentioned here the marriage of Maria Dukagjini with Gjon Muzaka.³⁹ Some years later, in a document dated on May 27, 1402, we informed that the above-mentioned Progon, son of Lekë, (*Progamus filius quondam Leche Duchaino*), was killed fighting for Venice, under the walls of the Shat

³³*Acta Albaniae Veneta Saeculorum XIV et XV*. Josephi Valentini S. J. Labore reperta et Transcripta Ac Typis Mandata. Pars Prima: Saeculum XIV complectens. Tomus Primus: Ab initio ad usque annum MCCCCLXXXIV. Centro internazionale di Studi Albanesi Palermo/ Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli/ Istituto di Studi Albanesi dell' Università di Roma/ Fondazione Giorgio Cini Venezia/ Ponteficio Istituto di Studi Orientali Roma 1967, nr. 497. (hereinafter: AAV).

³⁴ AAlb II, nr. 501, 517; AAV I, nr. 542; shih edhe: *Dokumente për historinë e Shqipërisë të shek. XV. I. (1400-1405)*, prepared from Injac Zamputi and Luan Malltezi, editor in chief Aleks Buda, Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë Tiranë: 1987, dok. nr. 101.

³⁵ AAV I, nr. 497; see also: AAlb II, nr. 501.

³⁶ AAlb II, nr. 517.

³⁷ AAV I, nr. 549.

³⁸ AAV I, nr. 553.

³⁹ J. G. von Hahn, "Beiträge...", in *Denschriften ...* 16, p. 121. Gj. Muzaka, *Memorie...* p. 41.

castle.⁴⁰ Also, this document mentions another Progon Dukagjini, the brother of Pal (*quidam Progamus, Frater dicti Pauli*), cousin of the aforementioned, loyal to the Venetians, who died in Dalmatia.⁴¹

They lost the right on one third of the production mentioned above, because on April 8, the 1401, a noble called Johan Barbo was presented before the Senate of Venice asking to be appointed administrator in Lezha to control these revenues that once belonged to the Dukagjinis.⁴² It is unclear how this pass of rights has occurred from Dukagjinis to the Venetians. It might be the deaths of some members of this family (Tanush and Progan [Progami – E.M.], sons of Leka were dead), who have not only been part of the agreement, but also and its defenders.

Here it is mentioned another line of this family, members of which appear in documents time after time. A document dated on May 27, 1402 mentions three brothers, Pal, Tanush and Progam Dukagjini who have other five brothers. Based on this document, Progam is considered loyal to the Republic of Venice. In this document are also mentioned their cousins, Lekë Dukagjini II and Progam (II), his son, who is considered loyal to Venice and has been killed fighting for the honor of the Venetian possessions in the castle of Shat.⁴³ Pal, Tanush and Progam Dukagjini, the three brothers mentioned above, felt threatened by the Turks and asked the Republic of Venice for help and a shelter for their families in Shkodra (Scutari), Albanian city that at the time belonged to the Venice rule. This request to shelter in Shkodra was granted, and they were also given a horse and a monthly salary of three golden ducats.⁴⁴

In two Venetians' documents from the year 1403, Gjergj Dukagjini is mentioned. He was a small landlord and loyal vassal of the Venetians, who received from the Venetian count-captain of Shkodra the administration of Balldren and Kakarriq villages. He created a small army consisting of 50 knights and 100 infantry men and asked to be

⁴⁰ "...et quidam Progamus filius quondam Leche Duchaino consanguineus suus etiam fidelis nostri domini pugnando pro honore nostri domini sub castro Stti fuit mortuus..." AAlb II, nr. 694.

⁴¹ "Progamus frater dicti Pauli [...] mortuus in partibus Dalmatie". AAlb II, nr. 208; AAlb II, nr. 694; I. Božić, "O Dukadinima...", p. 340.

⁴² AAlb II, nr. 667.

⁴³ *Dokumente për Historinë e Shqipërisë...*, I (1400-1405), dok. nr. 215.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

pardoned from the tax of the 1/10 that was asked to be paid from these villages, with the goal to keep his small army and put it under the command of the Venetians rectors anytime was required. This tax was not removed, but in exchange was promised a gift of 60 perpers divided in two terms, one for the celebration of the Saint Peter's Day and the other for the Easter. In parallel, a 12 arms-length of drapery to make a *chlamydia** and a hood honoring of the Venetian rule would be also given.⁴⁵ The drapery gift is attested once again from a later document dated July 9, 1403.⁴⁶

Another line that is less documented and met with the definition as the “old Line” or “the true Dukagjinis”, which apparently were established in Shkodra, but having possessions even in Zadrime, was that of Pal, father of Nikoll († before 1454), whose son was Draga Dukagjini († before or during 1462)⁴⁷, on whom we do have many data. They had possessions even in Zadrime and after 1458, Draga demanded that the Lordship (Seignory) would recognize to him the possession of Shat (Satti), because he pretended that his father, Nikolla, was once its owner.⁴⁸

Regarding the Dukagjinis of Shkodra, Ivan Božić mentions some of them, e.g., example Andrea Dukagjini (before 1406), who rented a pond that indeed belonged to the bishop of the Shkodra municipality, but was paying the rent to Venice for it,⁴⁹ and his brother Gjon (Ivan) Dukagjini (priest), who rented from Venice some fields in the vicinity of Shkodra, which refused to give back, when Venice wanted to grant them to another Catalan merchant.⁵⁰ Andrea Dukagjini, the nephew of Andrea Dukagjini, son of Gjon from Shkodra (*Andrias Ducagin quondam domini Johannis de Scutaro*) that apparently was a merchant but also dealt with loan matters, is one of the members of the Dukagjini family from Shkodra.⁵¹

Budimir Dukagjini is the other example that could be mentioned

*Medieval clothing.

⁴⁵ “[...] *bracia xij panni, pro possendo kacere sibi nam clamidem ed vnum caputeum ad honorem nostri dominij*”. *Dokumente për Historinë e Shqipërisë ...*, I (1400-1405), nr. 329.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, nr. 353.

⁴⁷ O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu...*, p. 203.

⁴⁸ L. Malltezi, “Skënderbeu dhe Dukagjinët ...”, p. 95.

⁴⁹ I. Božić, “O Dukadinima...”, p. 342.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

here. He wanted to rent some ponds around Shkodra, who were in the possession of Venice at the beginning of the XV century, and his son called the same as he, Budimir, participated in the war of the Shkodra besieged in 1478. His wife and his three children begged Venice for help on January 1, 1479. The Senate decided that she had to be paid 5 ducats per month for as long as the siege would continue.⁵² Regarding the Dukagjini from Shkodra, it is impossible making any connection among them due to limited data that provided by the studies, or archival sources. Consequently, it could be not said whether they belonged to the same family or not.

The line of Lekë III Dukagjini (“writer” of Kanun)

Regarding the line of Lekë (III) Dukagjini, who is known as “author” of the Kanun (Kanun of Lekë Dukagjini), one of the Albanian customary laws, at the beginning of the XV century, we could mention the brothers Nikollë and Pal Dukagjini (mentioned even at the Lezha alliance of 1393⁵³). They participated even in the Council of Lezha on 1444⁵⁴, and in the battles at the side of Scanderbeg against the Turks as in the case of Torvioll battle, where the forces of Pal Dukagjini participated. Marino Igraca, one of his officers was killed⁵⁵. Regarding the war against the Turks, Nikollë Dukagjini, his brother, was already known. He led the anti-Ottoman rebellion in 1435, which ended with the liberation of the city of Deja, that later became a source of conflicts with the Zaharia family.

Pal Dukagjini died from apoplexy in 1446, at the age of 61.⁵⁶ In his book entitled, *History of Scanderbeg*, G. Biemmi gives some data about his character. There, he writes: “*In the last days of this year (1446) died from an apoplexy stroke Pal Dukagjini, age 61, from which, 40 of them had passed in possession of his territory. He was a prince with all the*

⁵²*Ibid*, p. 343.

⁵³AAV I, nr. 497; AAlb II, nr. 501.

⁵⁴“Paolo Ducagini ch’era in Principe dei piu considerabili dell’Albania non tanto per l’esntisione del dominio, quato pel zelo che negl’incontri facea comparire per l’interesse della Religione. e ora maneggiavafi a tutto potere per ottener ajuto a Scander-begh contra il Turco Nicolò Ducagini fuo germano”. Giammaria Biemmi, *Istoria di Giorgio Castrioto detto Scander-Begh*, seconda edizione, Brescia: Giammaria Rizzardi 1756, p. 30.

⁵⁵*Ibid*, p. 51.

⁵⁶*Ibid*, p. 99.

gifts that a man with such a character as his would need: noble in feelings; kept his promises; grateful to the goods, liberal in negotiations and talks, agree on punishment; intelligent in agreements, and capable to succeed any intrigue through agreements, with good behavior and gallant to gain the sympathy of the people; everybody considered him worthy to govern a great kingdom."⁵⁷

As fellow-fighter of Scanderbeg, participant at the Assembly of Lezha and member of the Alliance forged from this assembly, according to Biemmi, he enjoyed not only the respect of the other princes, but also a higher esteem from the part of Scanderbeg: *"If Albania would have had such capable and noble princes as Pal Dukagjini, very soon she would become the most prosperous country in the world. Vulpiano (Ulpiana?) (the place where he had established his residence), at the time he inherited it from his father, was only a little and poor castle with 1500 persons living in it, and by the time he died, she has become one of the richest and populated in Albania living there 15 thousand inhabitants; the city with all these inhabitants was chaired from the renown of his sage and moderated leadership. His death a deep and sad loss was for Scanderbeg, not only for the friendship they had and for his way to keep the allies together, but because his way was how he kept together the unity and harmony among other allies.*"⁵⁸

Lekë III Dukagjini was the son of Pal Dukagjini. We are calling him Lekë as Leka III, because there are many other men with the same

⁵⁷ "Negli ultimi giorni di queft' anno morì da un colpo d'apoplezia Paolo Ducagini essendo d'anni 61. di cui n'avea speso nel dominio de' suoi Stati poco meno di 40. Fu un Principe adornato ai tutte quelle doti che poteansi desiderare in un uomo del fuo carattere: nobiltà di sentimenti, cofianza nelle promesse, gratitudine a' benefizj, liberalità nelle recognizioni, piacevolezza ne' caftighi, intelligenza per gli affari, e capacità di riuscire in ogn'intrigho per via di negozio, maniera e grazia per guadagnarsi l'affetto, e la stima degli uomini; cosicchè tutti il celebravano degno e capace di governare un grandissimo regno" G. Biemmi, *Istoria* ..., pp. 99-100.

⁵⁸ "Scander-begh dicea che se l'Albania avesse più Principi così bravi, e così generosi come Paolo Ducagini, ella divenirebbe ben presto il più florido Sato del mondo. Vulpiano, (luogo ove avea fatto la sua Residenza,) quando egli successe al Padre, non era che un picciolo, e povero Castello, in cui abitavano niente più di mille e cinquecento persone; quando egli morì, era fatto una delle più ricche, e più popolate Città dell' Albania, che computava ben quindici mila abitanti: condottavi tanta quantità di gente dalla sola fama del suo savio, e moderato governo. La sua morte fu d'un grave rincrescimento a Scander-begh, ma non folo per tante teftimonianze d'amicizia che avea ricevuto, quanto perchè considerava essergli mancato il sostegno di quell' Alleato, il quale col suo esempio, e col suo maneggio tenea l'unione, e la concordia negli altri Alleati." G. Biemmi, *Istoria* ..., p. 100.

name.⁵⁹ Regarding Lekë III Dukagjini, Biemmi, based on the anonymous writer "Tivarini" who is unknown even today, tells about the confrontation between Lekë Dukagjini and Lekë Zaharia during the wedding of Mamica, the youngest sister of Scanderbeg on 26 January 1445, in the Muzakie city, because of Irini Dushmani, the daughter of Gjergj Dushmani, prince of Zadrima.⁶⁰

Irini was very beautiful and was present with her father among other guests at the wedding: *"Her presence ignited the fire of love in the both rivals. One day, that the servants of the two lords fought against each other. At the time when this tumult was understood as a signal, Leka and Zaharia showed themselves up together with their men, who were all armed and ready for a real fight...even though they were wounded several times, they continued to hit each other to the death."*⁶¹

In this wedding, many people lost their lives. Scanderbeg, who with his authority would have softened this confrontation, was not present at those moments. Vrana Konti and Vladan Gjura were wounded because they dared to introduce themselves between the fighting lines aiming to separate them. So, this fight between the two Albanian princes is described by Biemmi, who says that this information was taken from an "anonymous Tivar citizen." Some months later, Lekë Zaharia was murdered from a paid assassin on orders of Lekë Dukagjini.

Biemmi describes this event: *"Lekë Zaharia (Zaccaria Altisfero), lord of Deja was killed in an ambush by Lekë Dukagjini, son of Pal ... when he was returning home from the castle of Varosa, where he had made the last preparations for his marriage to Irini, the daughter of Gjergj Dushmani, the only heiress of that house."*⁶² This murder was

⁵⁹ *Dokumente për Historinë e Shqipërisë...*, I(1400-1405), dok. nr. 215.

⁶⁰ Fan S. Noli, *Probleme biografike mbi Skënderbeu*. Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu 1468-1968, prepared from Edward A. Licho, *Federata Panshqiptare e Amerikës Vatra/Pan-Albanian Federation of America Vatra*. Boston: Massachusetts 1968, p. 92; see also, *Istoria ...*, p. 85.

⁶¹ *"Ivi la sua presenza accendo sempre piu il fuoco della passione de suoi concorrenti, avvenne un giorno che due lor servitori essendo venuti alle mani, al punto di quel romore come ad un segnale che aspettavasi comparvero Alessio, e Zaccaria con tutta la gente loro sull' armi, e talmente preparati, e disposti, che non altrimenti di due giustebattaglie attaccarono un fiero conflitto: in cui dopo molte ferite ricevute da una parte, e dall' altra proseguivano tuttavia saldi nei lor posti a batrersi, es ammazzarsi."* G. Biemmi, *Istoria ...*, p. 85.

⁶² *"Zaccaria Altisfero Signore di Dagnio fu assassinato dentro un'insidia da Allesio Ducagini figliolo di Paolo... mentre tornava a casa dall castello di Varosa, ove era stato a dare*

mentioned also by Barleti, emphasizing the negative side of Lekë Dukagjini: “*famous for the many successes that he had in his bad intentions, nonetheless he came from a very good father.*”⁶³

Indeed, the source of this enmity was not Irini Dushmani, but rather the castle of Deja so much wanted from the Dukagjinis, from Scanderbeg and from Venice herself that now possessed this strategic city-fortress. Leka succeeded mainly by trickery to penetrate within the city of Deja in 1456. He pretended himself to be a friend of Venetians, taking even money from them,⁶⁴ but on the other side he allied with persons inside the castle and succeeded in corrupting a Venetian officer.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, Venice had started to doubt about it and for this reason the defensive troops of the castle were well armed, and when the word spread about the existence of conspirators within the castle, the Venetian representative Antonio Delfin arrested eight suspects.⁶⁶ These were useless measures, because, in a dark autumn night the people of Leka approached the city walls with high ladders, climbed the walls and entered the flat where the Venetian representative rested and took him by surprise while he was sleeping.⁶⁷ Leka brought him to be decapitated, raped the young and the beautiful daughter of the prince,⁶⁸ deported his wife with all her children to Shkodra, naked and in a miserable condition. If the captain of Shkodra hadn't assisted her and the children with food and other necessary things, they would have died of cold and hunger for sure.⁶⁹ During these clashes in Deja, the noble Vasilio Hungaros, whose father and brother were killed while serving

l'ultima mano ai trattati del matrimonio con Jerina figluola unigenita di Giorgio Dusmano, et erede della paterna signoria.” Ibid, p. 101.

⁶³Marin Barleti, *Historia e Skënderbeut*, translated from the original and the introduction by Stefan J. Prifti, Tiranë: Mihal Duri, 1967, p. 139.

⁶⁴ AAV XXIII, nr. 6379, 6388, 6390; O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu ...*, p. 206.

⁶⁵ O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu ...*, p. 206.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu ...*, p. 206.

⁶⁹“... Antonij delphyni, qui dum foret prouisor lagni proditorie per Comestabilem deceptus cum lecha duchain stipendiarius et prouisionatus noster in Scutaro tamquam publicus Intrasset dictum locum lagni, Fuit dum kaceret honorem nostrum ab ipso Lecha crudeliter et immanissime interfectus et acceptis quibusunque rebus suis fuerunt dicta vxor, filij, et filie spoliati et pessime in ordine missi versus Scutarum, et nisi Comes et Capitaneus noter Scutari subuenisset de passagio ac etiam pane, ac necessarijs ad vital vt huc venire possent fame et frigore penitus miserabiliter prituri erant.” AAV XXIII, nr. 6508.

Venice, was captured and his right hand was cut by Lekë Dukagjini.⁷⁰ Baldesar de Forluxijs, the grown son of the administrator (comestabile) of the castle, was among the victims.⁷¹ This event must have taken place on October 29, 1456.⁷²

It seems that Leka, encouraged by this victory, wanted to march against the city of Drisht, citizens of which had war experience.⁷³ The Shkodra citizens provided succour to the inhabitants of Drishti. Leka was forced to withdraw and suffered a humiliating defeat. It was said that about 1200 Leka's warriors were killed and drowned in the Drin River, while Leka himself escaped and took shelter in the mountains with approximately 60 fellow-fighters.⁷⁴

The occupation of Deja by Lekë III Dukagjini was a concern for Venice. The Seignory took immediate measures to retake this city as soon as possible, because the situation became very difficult even for Shkodra after the events in Deja.⁷⁵ However, Lekë Dukagjini couldn't keep Deja for long, because in June 1457, the Seignory repossessed the castle. He came to know this on a letter of 6 September 1457 that Seignory sent to the count-captain of Shkodra "*We retook, the city of Deja by the grace of God, and it is known all the struggles, all the costs, all the pain, the loss the efforts made to retake our Possessions have suffered our citizens in this endeavor of our Possession.*"⁷⁶

It is supposed that Alfonso V of Naples helped in the defeat in Deja.⁷⁷ The Venetians wanted Leka dead or alive. They put an award on him of 1000 ducats for his body and 1500 ducats if was captured alive. This announcement was spread in all the Venetian possessions, in

⁷⁰ "*Quod Fideli nostrom Vasilio Hungaro quondam sami cuius pater, et frater in nostris seruicijs mortui funt, et ipse in proxima guerra Dagni raptus fuit, et per Lecham Duchaino sibi fuit Incisa manus dextra...*". AAV XXIII, nr. 6650.

⁷¹ AAV XXIII, nr. 6629. AAV XXIII, nr. 6630.

⁷² O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu ...*, p. 206.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ L. Malltezi, "Skënderbeu dhe Dukagjinët...", p. 95.

⁷⁶ "*Requisitus est per gratiam dei locus dagni, et omnibus notum est cum quanto labore et Impensa nostri dominij, Morte et iacturis Subditorum nostrorum obtenta est illa Impresa*". AAV XXIII, nr. 6569.

⁷⁷ "...*quod Rex Aragonum faueat emulis nostris in illis partibus*", AAV XXIII, nr. 6475; O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu ...*, p. 207.

Albania and Kotorr.⁷⁸ He managed to escape, making alliance with the Turks, who attacked the Scanderbeg lands, because Leka has opened them [Turks] the paths.⁷⁹

The power that Scanderbeg was gaining, was a bad issue for the Dukagjinis. So, they approached themselves to Venice (1456) and sometimes with the Ottomans (1457⁸⁰). When the Ottomans helped the Dukagjinis to take the castle of Sati, Scanderbeg started to fight against Lekë Dukagjini, to avoid this dangerous position behind his back. The enmity with Scanderbeg and their alliance with the Turks caused the excommunication of Dukagjinis (to Leka and his brother) for a certain time by the Pope Paul II,⁸¹ even though they were considered pious believers.⁸² The alliance with their religion enemy of has alienated Lekë Dukagjini even with the local catholic clergy.⁸³

After some years of enmity between Scanderbeg and Dukagjinis, the intervention of Pal Ēngjëlli made possible the reconciliation between Scanderbeg and Lekë Dukagjini on 1463,⁸⁴ because Venice unsuccessfully tried earlier to reconcile them by sending the provisional Gabriel Trevizano.⁸⁵ The reconciliation with Scanderbeg might have occurred also because of the Turkish threat towards Dukagjinis themselves, as their territories faced directly the Ottoman invasions. Nonetheless, the enmity between a branch of the tribe (the most ancient and loyal branch to Venice, which is briefly aforementioned) with Scanderbeg continued. The son of a certain Nikollë Dukagjini (*Drage*

⁷⁸“*Jtem che ditti Conte et prouededor nostri debiano publicar a dar taia che chi amazasse Lecha duchain debia hauer da la Camera nostra de Scutari dukati doro mille Chil presentasse viuio Millecinqucento. E questa taia sia proclamada per tuti logi ostri de albania ed a Cataro*”.AAV XXIII, nr. 6481.

⁷⁹O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu ...*, p. 207.

⁸⁰During this year, Leka founding hismlf menaced from the Venice, from the Scanderbg, allied with the Ottomans, opened to them the paths, and as consequence he become responsible that a big Ottoamn army stroke the Scanderbeg army causing a severe defeat on him. AAV XXIII, nr. 6695; see also: O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu ...*, p. 207.

⁸¹Jovan Radonić, *Đurađ Kastriot Skenderbeg i Arbanija u XV Veku* (Istoriska Grada), Beograd: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija 1942, nr. 174; see also: P. Petta, *Despotë të Epirit...*, p. 230.

⁸²M. Ahmeti, “Dukagjinët...”, in *Rilindasi*, supplement of newspaper *Shqiptarja.com*, year IV, nr. 301, date 21.12. 2014, p. 19.

⁸³L. Malltezi, “Skënderbeu dhe Dukagjinët...”, p. 97.

⁸⁴P. Petta, *Despotë të Epirit...*, p. 230.

⁸⁵L. Malltezi, “Skënderbeu dhe Dukagjinët...”, p. 99.

Duchayno)⁸⁶ who was killed fighting bravely for Venice on 1462,⁸⁷ is one of the representatives of this branch. It is not to be excluded the possibility that he might have been killed fighting against the cousins that belonged to a newer branch of Dukagjinis (Leka (III) Dukagjini was part of this branch).⁸⁸ It should be mentioned here that this branch considered itself as the “the house of real Dukagjinis” (*casa delli veri Ducagini*)⁸⁹ and was established with great wealth in the Dibra and Fani regions and there were 32 villages under Draga's rule.⁹⁰

However, Leka and Scanderbeg reconciled, because Leka and his brother had signed a peace agreement February 19, 1459, in Shkodra, in the presence of Benedetto Saronzo of Shkodra, Luca Contarini of Lezha and Cresio de Molini of Drishti, the Venice representatives. But its conclusions were unacceptable to Scanderbeg, even though he himself participated in the negotiations.⁹¹ The peace was achieved on one condition, that Leka has to be considered his vassal no longer.⁹² This was better expressed in the fall of 1463, when Venice was trying to have him as ally in the war against the Turks.⁹³ Leka told the Franciscan Eugene who participated in the negotiations: “*Also, I don't want to be under Scanderbeg rule, but very pleased to be (serve) under every rector or provisional of your Signory, if you want this, and to obey you forever. Also I ask, that in case that Scanderbeg would fight against me, I would have the help of your honorable Signory and also if I wage war on him, I agree you to help him.*”⁹⁴ Nonetheless, from these difficult moments and later the Dukagjinis participated actively at the war against the Ottomans, under rule of Lekë III Dukagjini and later under the rule of Nikollë Dukagjini.

Barleti stated that Leka himself was the first who gave the grief

⁸⁶ AAV XXIII, nr. 6695.

⁸⁷ P. Petta, *Despotë të Epirit...*, f. 230.

⁸⁸ O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu ...*, f. 211.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ AAV XXIII, nr. 6695.

⁹¹ O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu ...*, p. 210.

⁹² P. Petta, *Despotë të Epirit...*, p. 230.

⁹³ O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu ...*, p. 211.

⁹⁴ “*Item non voglio esser soto Scanderbego Ma son ben contento esser soto qualunque rector o proueditore voglia La prefata. Sria. e stare Sempre a sua obedientia. Item Domando se scander[be]go me fesse gurra cha La sua. Sma. Sria. me dia auto e similiter se mi La fesse al dito Scander[be]go so contento aiuti lui*”. AAV XXV, nr. 7633.

message to Albanians when Scanderbeg died. Marin Barleti describes this event: “*When he heard that they were crying on his dead body, Lek Dukagjini, Epirus Prince... run in the middle of the bazaar and said with a grieving face and his voice choking, tweaking the beard and hair, ‘Come running, you princes, because today are shattered the doors of Epirus and Macedonia, today our fortresses and walls have fallen; today every hope of ours had died with this man.’*”⁹⁵ Scanderbeg was bewailed in this way by Leka, who has not been a loyal friend at all, but on the contrary, has been his enemy for many times.⁹⁶

After the death of Scanderbeg, Leka III Dukagjini became one of the main leading figures of the war against the Ottomans, because he played an important role in the victory of the Albanian in front of the Kruja city walls on 1477. The name of Lekë Dukagjini is bound within one of the versions of Albanian customary laws. The so-called Kanun of Lekë Dukagjini is believed to have the origins of the legal disposals that he himself has brought during his time.

In 1479, after the fall of the principal castles of Lezha, Drishti, Kruja, Shkodra, etc., Nikollë and Lekë Dukagjini and many other Albanian nobles were forced to migrate to Italy. They came back later in 1481, after the death of the Sultan Mehmet II, hoping to regain again their possessions that once had.

Permanency in the Ottoman Empire

A branch of this family — the descendants of one Leka's, as based on Du Cange⁹⁷, Leka I — lived in the Ottoman Empire⁹⁸. Based on Dhimitër Shuteriqi, Islamization occurred even in the branch of Gjergji I Dukagjini. From this branch, Pal IV, the nephew of the above-mentioned Gjergj, the second son of Nikollë I and Ana, who was the

⁹⁵M. Barleti, *Histori e Skënderbeut...*, p. 489.

⁹⁶P. Petta, *Despotë të Epirit...*, p. 230

⁹⁷Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina...*, p. 140.

⁹⁸E. J. Brill's *First Encyclopedia of Islam: 1913-1936*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma. A. J. Wensinck, H. A. R. Gibb, W. Heffening and E. Lévi-Provençal. Reprint Edition. Volumen III. Leiden/ New York/ Köln: E. J. Brill 1993, f. 1144.

daughter of Gjergj Araniti, was converted to Islam.⁹⁹ Pal IV Dukagjini (known in 1454-1457) was promoted on the rank of the Turkish Pasha and stayed such for a certain time.¹⁰⁰ Also within this line, Nikolla III, the son of Gjergj III Dukagjini and Helen (the other daughter of Gjergj Araniti*) converted to Islam.¹⁰¹

So, one of these two branches should derive from the Dukagjin-Zade, one of the most famous Ottoman families,¹⁰² members of who became Viziers and pashas. The representatives of this branch grew up in the sultan's court and made a career there. Here, we can mention the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, Ahmet Pasha Dukagjini (1512 - 1515) (in Turkish: *Dukakinoğlu Ahmed Paşa*; died in 1515), Dukagjin-zade Mehmet, his son and the governor of Egypt,¹⁰³ Dukagjin-zade Yahya Bey and Ali Bey.

Dukagjin zade Jahya bey or *Jahya Bey Dukagjini* (*Dukagin-zâdeYahyâbey* or *Taslicali Yahyâ bey*¹⁰⁴) is one of the most important figures of this branch. He was taken from his family in Albania because of the *divshirmes* tax and was sent to Istanbul to join the *Adjemi Oghlan* troops, where the young officers of Janissaries and Spahi (Turkish cavalymen) were trained.¹⁰⁵ His parents remain unknown.

He became Spahi officer on the rank of *Yahya Bash* and *Bylyk Bash* (detachment commander.)¹⁰⁶ Later, he became the administrator of Bosnia and was one of the classic poets of the Ottoman literature in the sultan Suleiman era. *Dukagjin zade Jahya bey* authored, "*The kings*

⁹⁹ Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi, *Aranitët (Histori, Gjenealogji, Zotërimet)*, prepared for publishing Zana Shuteriqi Prela, Tiranë: Toena, 2011, p. 69.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

*We have to clarify here that Gjergj Araniti, based on Muzaka chronology, had eight daughters. Three of them were married with the sons of Gjergj I Dukagjini: Ana (or Kirana) was married with Nikollë I Dukagjini, the elder son of Gjergj, Helena was married with Gjergj III Dukagjini while Despina was married with Tanush IV Dukagjini. See: *ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu...*, p. 203.

¹⁰³ Michael Winter, *Egyptian Society Under Ottoman Rule, 1517-1798*. London/ New York: Taylor & Francis 2004, p. 35.

¹⁰⁴ *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe: Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Volumen II*. Edited by Marcel Cornis-Pope (Virginia Commonwealth University), John Neubauer (University of Amsterdam). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company 2004, p. 286.

¹⁰⁵ E. J. Brill's *First Encyclopedia of Islam...*, vol. III, p. 1149.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

and the beggar” (*Shâh u gedâ*),¹⁰⁷ one of his most famous mesnavi. He unsuccessfully tried to save the prince Mustafa who was very popular with the people and army. Mustafa fell victim to the Grand Vizier and Sultana Khurram’s intrigues, [but without success,] and so he wrote an elegy on prince Mustafa after his execution.¹⁰⁸ The elegy was so popular that it could be recited by everyone. The Grand Vizier tried to execute him unsuccessfully. However, he was removed him from the post. He spent the last years of his life in the Zvornik sanjak, Bosnia, where he continued to work on his divans and papers until his death in 1572.¹⁰⁹

Mehmet Pasha Dukagjini (Dukagjin-zade Mehmet or Dukagin-Oğlu Mehmet Pasha) who was mentioned above, was pasha of Egypt from 1554-6. He made a distinction from the other pashas who were faithful to the Sharia.¹¹⁰ He was considered a hedonist who loved sitting by the Nile’s shore and singing in public, playing a wired instrument very similar to guitar. He was called back from Sultan Suleiman and was executed because has violated the Sharia law.¹¹¹ Here, only some important progenies of Dukagjini family who lived in the Ottoman Empire were mentioned.

Permanency in Istria

Other branches of this family lived in Ancona and Venice. Jireček says this branch existed until XVII century.¹¹² Stefan Dukagjini, the son of Luka, brother of Nikollë and Lekë Dukagjini, lived in Marca, Ancona.¹¹³ Pal and Leka, the descendants of Stefan, were born in Marca.¹¹⁴ A branch of the Dukagjinis, after the fall of Shkodra and the

¹⁰⁷*History of Literary Cultures...*, p.286.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ For further information about his books see: *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰M. Winter, *Egyptian Society...*, p. 35.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*

¹¹²M Konstantin Jireček, “Albanien in der Vergangenheit”, in *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen*. Unter Mitwirkung von Professor Dr. Konstantin Jireček, Professor Dr. Milan von Šufflay, Sektionsschef Theodor Ippen, Professor E. C. Sedlmayr, Archivar Dr. Josef Ivanič, Weiland Emmerich von Karácson, K. Ung. Sektionsrat Béla Péch und Karl Thopia. Zusammengestellt von Dr. Ludwig von Thallóczy. I. Band. Mit einer Landkarte. München/Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot 1916, p. 84.

¹¹³ Gj. Muzaka, *Memorie...*, p. 51.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*

surrounding areas, was established in Istria, who at that time belonged to the Republic of Venice. We have more data about the Dukagjinis of Istria than the Dukagjinis living in the Ottoman Empire. They were established there in the seventies of the XV century, together with other Albanian families. Bruni, Borisi Bruti, Carpaccio are some of the most noted families. Prospero Petronio said *“After seeing many places, they found the city of Capodistria (Koper), who was at the level of their lordship and decided to make it their ‘homeland.’”*¹¹⁵

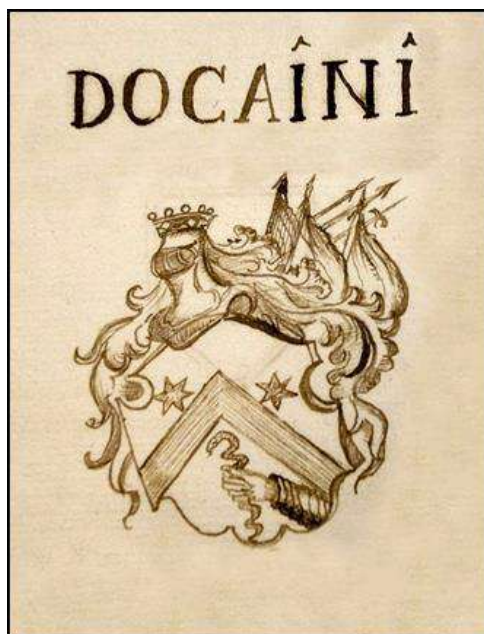


Fig. 5: The Coat of Arms of the Dukagjinis, from P. Petronio, Brani ..., në: *Iliria*, nr. 2/2017 (Koper, Slovenia), the cover.

In a Venetian document dated May 8, 1479,¹¹⁶ the Senate of Venice

¹¹⁵ *“Visti e girati molti luochi, e ritrovando la Città di Capodistria corrispondente à fatto al genio, e nobiltà de loro spiriti deliberarono d’elegersela per Patria.”* Prospero Petronio, *Brani della Parte Prima delle memorie sacre e profane dell’Istria, Memorie sacre degli anni 1680 e 81*, taken from: *Koper Regional Archives*. Fond: Rodbina Gravisi, Prospero Petronio, *Memorie Sacre e Profane dell’Istria*: Sign.: SI PAK/0299/008; see also: Salvator Žitko, “La nobile famiglia albanese dei Ducaino”, in *Iliria*, nr. 2/2017 (Koper, Slovenia), p. 19.

¹¹⁶ *“Est Omnino necessarium pro honore nostri Domini dare expeditionem his pauperibus scutarentibus, qui qotindie ...Propterea vadit pars quod auctoritate hujus Consilii scribatur*

decided to ask the rectors of Istria, Zara and the counts of Nona that at the time were under the Venice rule, to inform them about the situation and the quality of the lands, estates and free houses in their communes and municipalities for sheltering of the “desolated Shkodra inhabitants” (*pauperibus scutarensis*), who have left Shkodra, already occupied from the Turks and were waiting to be accommodated in their second home, the lands of the Venice possessions. Among these fugitives were present members of the Dukagjini family.

The newcomers of the Dukagjini family belonged to two branches of this family. The representatives of the first group belonged to the Leka (III) Dukagjini branch, the fellow-fighter of Scanderbeg, but his descendants stayed for a short time in Istria and then moved away. The second group belonged to Gjon Dukagjini, a cousin of above-mentioned Leka.* The first who came in this city was Gjon (II) Dukagjini (Giovanni Ducaino) and his family, who first should have come in the Decani village. Petronius and Candler¹¹⁷ say that the village was founded by the Dukagjinis, who gave their name to this village (Dekani).¹¹⁸ Nonetheless, the Istria scholars have different opinions about the name of this village and its history before the coming of the Dukagjinis.

Rectoribus nostris istriae ac rectoribus Jadrae et Comiti Nonae quod cum omnia diligentia intellegere debeant, si in civitatibus et in territoribus illis comunitati sint domus terrena et possessiones nostril domini et de conditione, quantitate et qualitate ac valor ipsarum per litteras suas particulariter et disticte, nostro dominio significare debeant”. *Dokumenta të shekullit XV për historinë e Shqipërisë*, vëll. IV (1479-1506), pjesa I (1479-1499), prepared from Injac Zamputi, Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës, Tiranë: 1967, nr. 13.

*On the branch see the family tree presented by Petronio given below.

¹¹⁷Pietro Kandler, *Codice diplomatico Istriano*, vol. 4: Anni 1400-1499, Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco, 1850, p. 2037.

¹¹⁸S. Žitko, “La nobile famiglia albanese dei Ducaino ...”, in *Iliria*, nr. 2/2017, p. 20.

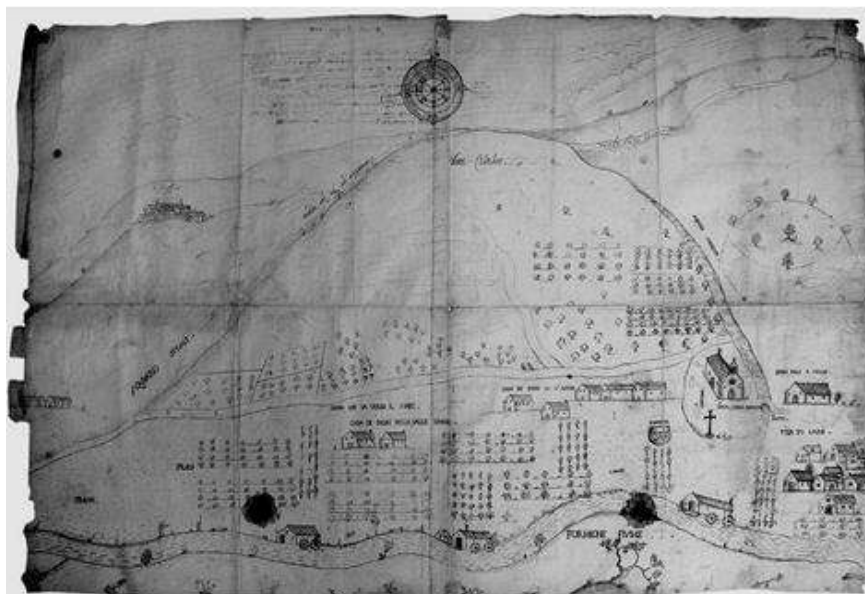


Fig. 6: The map of Cani (Decani) village, Istria (Slovenia), from S. Žitko, “La nobile famiglia albanese dei Ducaino”, nē: *Iliria*, nr. 2/2017 (Koper, Slovenia), p. 20.

Salvator Žitko informs us about this village. He says that the village has been ruled by the *De Cano* family since 1300, and continued to be ruled by them even in the 1400s.¹¹⁹ In addition, Žitko says that, “*Damianus Canis, one of the descendants of this noble family, was one of the members of the Great Council of Koper. It seems they have kept the symbol of the De Cani family at home and the description that Petronio makes in his manuscript about the emblem does not corresponds with the emblem sculpted on the wall of the Mahnič-Piciga house. A. Tommasich connects this emblem to the Dukagjini nobles.*”¹²⁰

Paolo Muner, an author from Trieste, gives another origin to this village, as based on the author Dario Alberi. He writes that “The historical reality is more complicated, because there were truly only two Albanians refugees.” Dario Alberi wrote in his book about Istria that “Decani (Villa Decani) ... became a residence after 1480, when the Senate of Venice decided that Giovanni Ducaini, the Albanian from Scutari and noble from the Albanian principality of Dukagjin, one of

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* p.22.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

the lords of Socerbi, would be granted the right of permanent residence, the same as a Copri noblemen.”¹²¹ Later, again according to Alberi, “*Decani (Villa Decani) was named after Decano or De Cano, a noble from Copri and descendant of the old family Sulmone from Abruzzo, who later moved to Albania and perhaps was friend of Dukaini. The place was named Villa Dukaina...*”¹²²

There are no definitive data about the foundation of this village. However, the Dukagjinis moved to this village, which was repopulated after 1480. Later, the Dukagjinis became the lords of the *castle San Servolo, not far from the city of Capodistria (Koper). This castle, which included some villages around, was paid for in gold coins, and this proven by a document. The document is in Latin and translated into English from the Albanian version*

December 7, 1480, the 14th indication. Venice. Doge Giovanni Mocenigo appreciates the appointment of Giovanni Ducaini, a well-deserved Scutari citizen, as squire of San Servolo (Socerbi). The village that today is called de Cani or Decani (Municipality Archive of Capodistria/ Koper) is named after him.

Giovanni Mocenigo, Leader of the Venetians with the Grace of God, etc., I extend my greetings and considerations to the noble men, Dominico Maurocen, during my tenure of the Podesta and Kapedan of Justinopol, and to his loyal followers. In addition to the decisions regarding the Shkodra people, according to which our Council was authorized to express their honors and do the payments to the very deserving Shkodra people, who, while in the service of our Lordship, showed courage on the occasion of the last siege, our wise and exemplary men also decided to grant him the Socerbi fortress in our valley in the country of Mokovo, instead of the noble Philip Minio, who did not accepted this honor, the well-deserved and faithful Shkodra nobleman Giovanni Ducain, who bravely and faithfully withstood the difficulties while he was in the service of our possession

¹²¹Paolo Muner, “Il caso della famiglia Dukagjini (a Villa Decani), nel piu vasto tema degli insediamenti di profughi albanesi nei territori già della Repubblica di Venezia”, in *Iliria*, nr 2/2017 (Koper, Slovenia), p. 28.

¹²² *Ibid.* p29.

and the glory of the Lord, risking his own life and proving his loyalty. I conclude that the appointment was made on a regular basis, according to our laws and in the spirit of our doctrine, so I approve and support it. For this, I urge clearly and efficiently that our aforementioned and the very loyal Giovanni be admitted to the above-mentioned castle of San Cervolo (Socerbi), in the above-mentioned place of our nobility, providing him with payment and all that belongs to this position, including the three salaries paid in advance. I do not doubt your loyalty and your conviction in this regard, and I am confident that you will fully apply this instruction to me. Record this decision for us to keep in the memory of the future and update the records whenever necessary. Made in our ducal palace, 7 December 1480, the 14th indication.¹²³

Johanes Mozenigo (or Joannes Mocenigo), the Venetian Doge, reconfirms three months later Gjon Dukagjini in this position, because the leaders of Capodistria (Koper) (at the language of the time *Justinopoli*) chose Joanes de Jonerius, a noble from this city, as squire of the San Servolo castle. The squireship was characterized by rivalry between the natives and the newcomers, because the above-mentioned doge, appointed Joanes de Jonierius as squire of this castle on

¹²³ The text in original: "Anno 1480. 7 Decembre, Indizione XIII. Venezia. Doge Giovanni Mocenigo loda la nomina in Castellano di S. Servolo Del benemerito Scutarino Giovanni Duchayno, dal quale venne il nome alla villa sua, ora dei Cani, o Decani. (Archivio Municipale di Capodistria). Joannes Mocenigo Dei gratia Dux Venetiarum etc. Nobilibus et sapientibus Viris Dominico Mauroceno de suo mandato Potestati et Capitaneo Justinopolis, et successoribus suis fidelibus dilectis, salutem et dilectionis affectum. Viri Nobiles sapientes nostri supra provisionibus Scutarensium qui a nostrum majore Consilio habuerunt amplam et plenam facultatem providendi et beneficia conferendi fidelissimis et de dominio nostro benemeritis Scutarensibus, qui tempore ultime obsidionis optime et fideliter se gesserunt, auctoritate suprascripta elegerunt in Castellum Sancti Servuli in Valle nostra Mocho loco Viri nobilis Philippo Minio qui refutavit, fidelissimum et de dominio nostrum benemeritum Joannem Duchaynum nobilem Scutarensensem, qui spretis laboribus facultatem et propria vita tempore obsidionis, pro honore Dei dominiique nostri viriliter et fidelem se gessit: quamquidem electionem recte et debite factam, et juxta formam legum et ordinum nostrorum laudavimus et approbavimus. Mandantes vobis efficaciter et expresse ut predictum Joannem fidelissimum nostrum acceptare et acceptari facere pro Castellano ad dictam bastitam Sancti Servuli locho antedicti nobilis nostri cum omnibus Salario et utilitatibus solitis debeatis non dubitamus pro fide et laudabili obedientia vestra vos omnia fucturos esse dando ei pecuniam trium mensium anteactorum: Has autem nostras ad futurorum memoriam registrari facite et registratas presentati restituite. Dato in nostro ducali palatio die VII Decemb, Indictione XIII, M.CCCC.LXXX." P. Kandler, *Codice diplomatico Istriano* ..., vol. 4, nr. 1206.

December 21, 1480,¹²⁴ ignoring Gjon Dukagjini who was appointed as such on 7 December 1480. Thus, he contradicted his prior decision. This mistake was rectified some months later.



Fig. 7: The San Servolos Castle, Istria (Slovenia). Photo: Edmond Malaj, 2016.

Gjon Dukagjini was reconfirmed in this position on March 14, 1481 by the Doge who mentioned once again the three advanced payments that the Capodistria (Justinopol) organs should make to him.¹²⁵ Further,

¹²⁴ “...Et speramus multiplici ratione fidele et optimum servitium, predictum Joannem Joneriis confirmamus et facimus Castellatum dicte Bastite, cum utilitatibus modis et conditionibus quas habebant predecessores sui...”. Po aty, nr. 1207.

¹²⁵ “**Anno 1481. 14 Marzo, Indizione XIV. Venezia. Doge Giovanni Mocenigo ordina di rimettere nel Capitanata di Castelnovo lo scutarino Giovanni Ducaz'no.** (Archivio Municipale di Capodistria). Joannes Mozenigo Dei gratia Dux Venetiarum. Nobilibus et sapientibus viris Dominico Mauroceno de suo mandato Potestati et Capitaneo Justinopolis, et successoribus suis fidelibus dilectis salutem et dilectionis affectum. Alias sub die septimo mensis decembris proxime preteriti Vobis scripsimus ut juxta electionem et deputationem per quinque Nobiles nostros supra provisionibus Scutarensium factam de fedelissimo nostro Joanne Duchayno cive et nobile Scutarensi in Castellatum S. Servuli loco nobilis nostri Philippi Minio qui refutavit, et memores vobis scripsisse superioribus diebus ut in confirmationem Electionis Vestre de Joanne de Joneriis per vos electo, que res certe nobis molesta fuit quia non intelligebamus vobis scripsisse literas nostras ad requisitionem Sapientum predictorum. Qui sapientes nostri habuerunt a nostro Majori consilio amplissimum libertatem providendi et beneficia conferendi fidelissimis nostri Scutarensibus tum de officiis istius nostre Venetiarum civitatis quam ceterarum et locorum nostrorum. Et propterea has nostras de integro vobis scribere deliberavimus volentes, et vobis efficacissime injungentes quatenus

we do not have any data about the continuity of the Dukagjinis in this region, but we know that their family continued to exist until the XVII century to its extinction in 1609. The last progenies of this family were Nikolla and Gjon Dukagjini, the sons of Dr Pal Dukagjini, an expert of the law, who got the Doctor's degree in this field.¹²⁶

Genealogies of the Dukagjinis

Having already presented their history, the reminder of this paper informs about three more genealogies of this family, which are only mentioned in different. Carolo Du Fresne Domino Du Cange, (1729) informs in his book titled, *Historia Byzantina duplici Commentario illustrate*, about the first genealogy.

Information about the second genealogy could be found in the book, *Memorie sacre e profane dell'Istria, Memorie sacre degli anni 1680 e 81* authored by Prospero Petronius, an Istrian author. His book is based on Andrea Engjëlli genealogy, while the book titled, *Nemirno Pomorje u XV veka*, authored by Ivan Božić tells us about third genealogy in "O Dukadinima,"¹²⁷ one of its chapters.

Another genealogy of this family, very shortly given, is published in Albanian. Oliver Jens Schmitt, divides this family into three branches: the first line derives from Leka the Old († before 1451) with his son Leka the Young († after 1481); the other line, which dates earlier derives from Pal († before 1458) with his sons Nikollë († after 1481) and Progon († before 1471), the third line, the older consists on Pal, with his son Nikollë († before 1454), who was the father of Draga (†

prefactum Joannem Duchaynum per quem alias vobis juste ad instantiam Sapientum nostrorum predictorum scripsimus acceptare et quam primum ponere debeatis non obstante litera per nos scripta circa ioannem de Joneriis pro Castellano in dicta. bastita S. Servuli, quia semper fuit et est nostre intentionis conservare electiones per prefatos Suplentes factas in suprascriptis Scutaren. cum omnibus salario modis et conditionibus predecessorum suorum, dando predicto johanni Duchayno prestantiam trium mensium anteactorum quemadmodum consuetum est. Hec autem registrari facite et registratas presentanti restituite. Data in nostro ducali palatio die XIII Marcii. Indictione XIII, MCCCCLXXXI" P. Kandler, *Codice diplomatico Istriano...*, vol. 4, nr. 1209.

¹²⁶Koper Regional Archives. Fond: Rodbina Gravisi, Prospero Petronio, *Memorie Sacre e Profane dell'Istria*: Sign.: SI PAK/0299/008. Shih edhe: S. Žitko, "La nobile famiglia albanese dei Ducaino ...", in *Iliria*, nr 2/2017, p. 19.

¹²⁷I. Božić, "O Dukadinima", p. 344.

before 1462).¹²⁸ There are two unknown genealogies.

Prospero Petronio gives a more complete information in his book titled, *Memorie sacre e profane dell'Istria, Memorie sacre degli anni 1680 e 81*.¹²⁹ The book is about the history of Istria, and devotes some space to the Dukagjinis, who moved to Istria after the Ottoman occupation, as aforementioned said, occupying a place in the local aristocracy

Petronius says that “The information given in his book is based on the Andrea Engjëlli genealogy, but reading a copy of this genealogy,¹³⁰ it could be said that their genealogy is not properly given. However, their name appears many times when mentioning their marriages with other families. Information about their generations could be found in the page 4 and 5, starting from this last, but the information is incomplete. The book does not have page numbers. The figures below illustrate the genealogy of this family given by Prospero Petronio, as found in the original manuscript, transcribed and translated into Albanian:

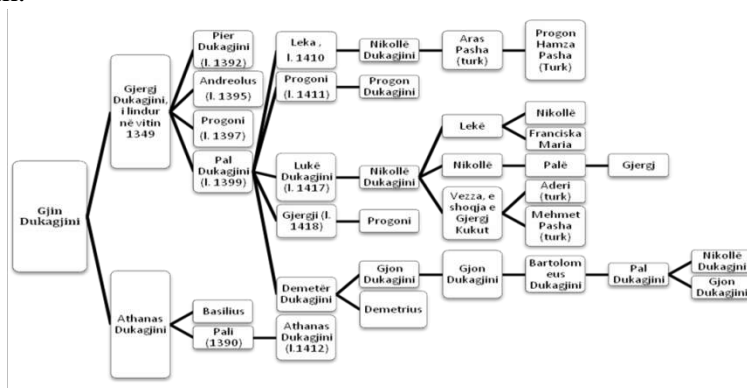


Fig. 8: The genealogy given by Du Cange, *Historia Bizantina*..., p.140.

¹²⁸O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu*..., p. 203.

¹²⁹ Prospero Petronio, *Brani della Parte Prima delle memorie sacre e profane dell'Istria, Memorie sacre degli anni 1680 e 81*, taken from: *Koper Regional Archives*. Fond: Rodbina Gravisi, Prospero Petronio, *Memorie Sacre e Profane dell'Istria*: Sign.: SI PAK/0299/008; see also the publishing: “Kontët Shqiptarë Dukagjini në Kopër”, in *Iliria*, nr 2/2017 (Kopër, Slloveni).

¹³⁰*Genealogia Imperatorvm ac Regvm Aliorumque, Principvm, et Illvstrium Virorum, Ab Adamo usque ad annum M.D.LV*. Romae: apud Valerium, & Aloysium Doricos: sumptibus Andreae Philippi Angeli (1560). It is published in other versions as well, in 1551, 1552, 1553, 1553, 1555, 1621, with a new publishing even in 1869.

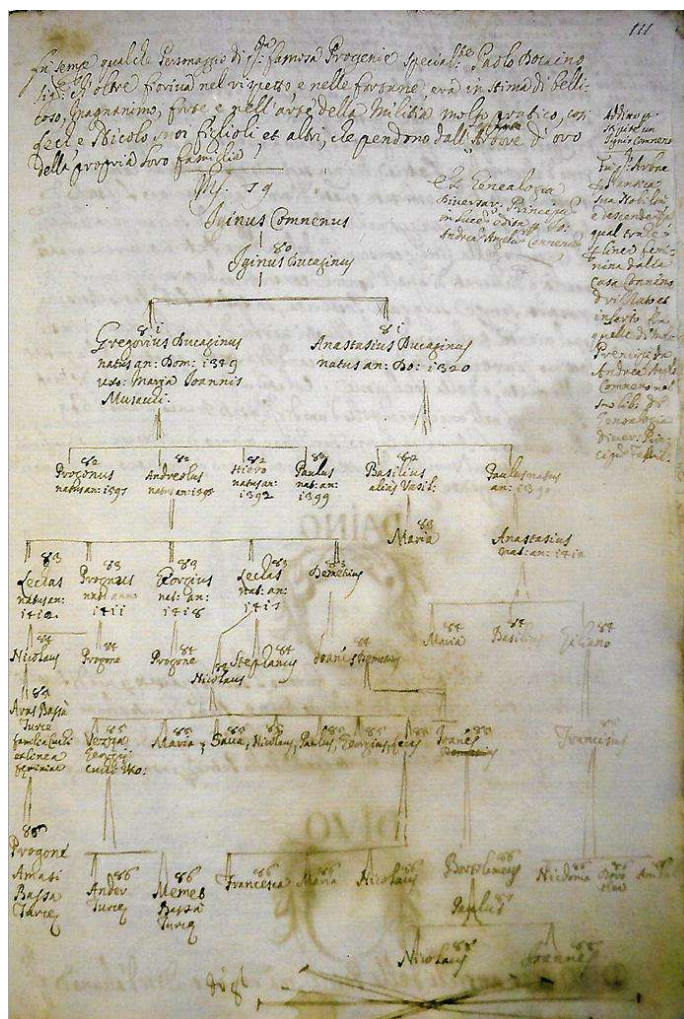


Fig. 9: Geneology of Dukagjinis, from P. Petronio, *Brani...*, in Ilira, Nr 2/2017(Koper, Slovenia), p.19.

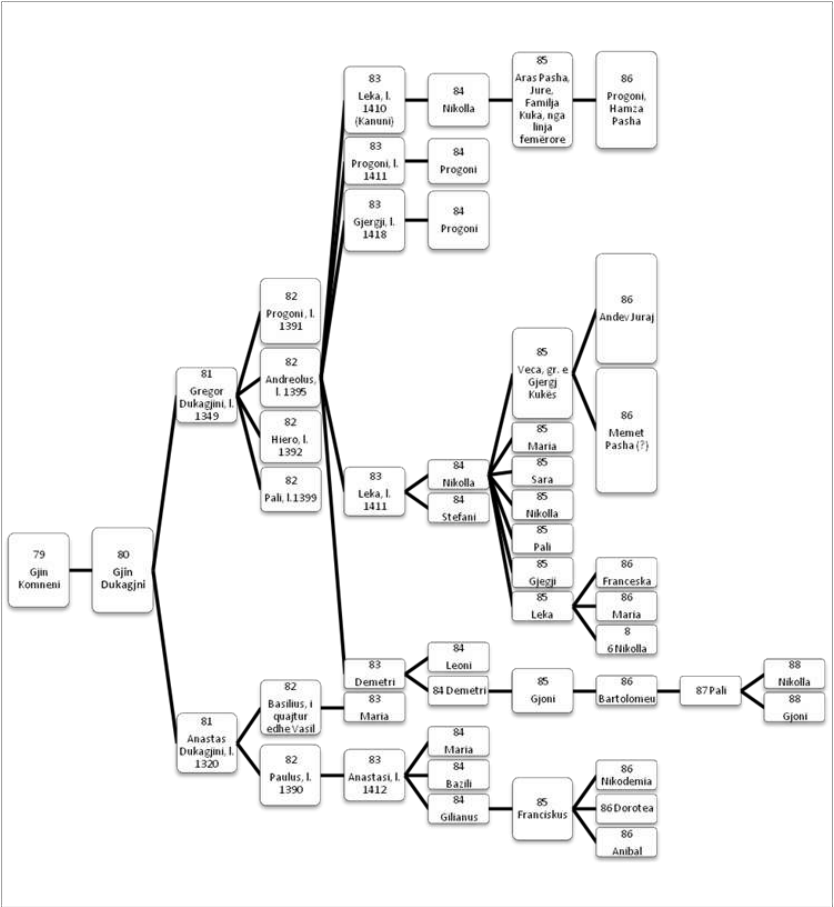


Fig. 10: Genealogy of Dukagjinis, from the manuscript of P. Petronio, *Brani ...* (see fig. 9).

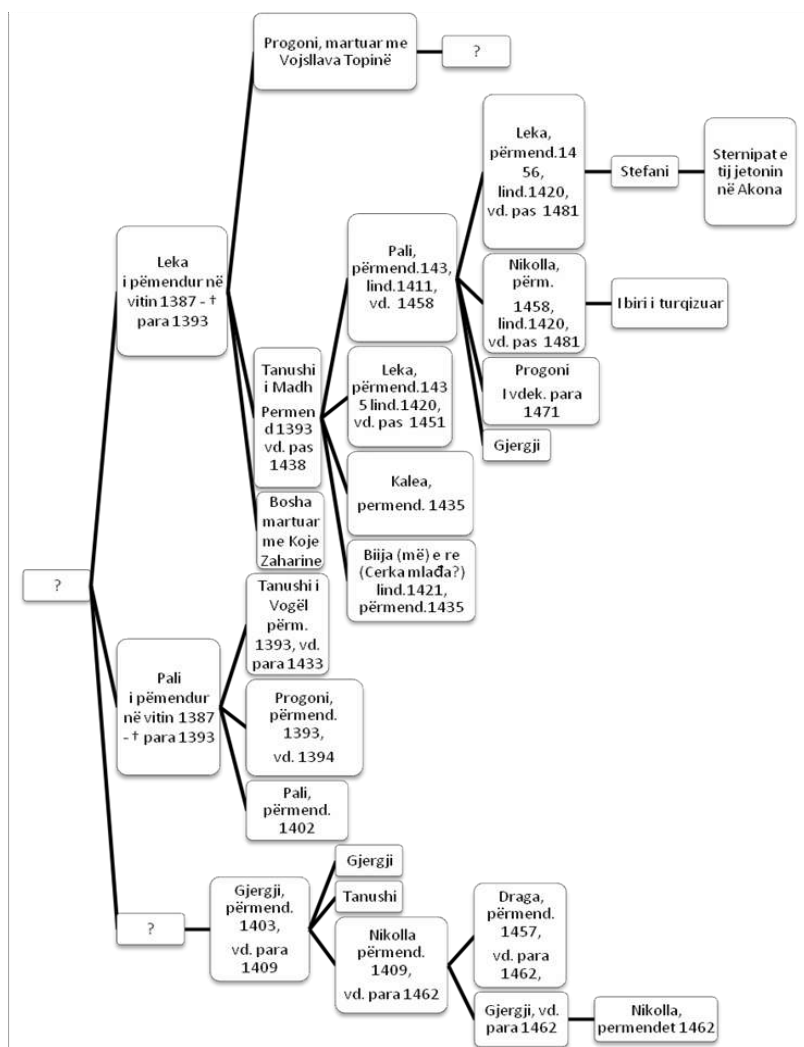


Fig. 11: Genealogy of Dukagjini's data given from I. Božić, "O Dukadžinima," p. 344.

Beqir META

**THE COURT OF THE HAGUE'S VERDICT AND ITS
IMPACT ON PRIVATE SCHOOLS DURING THE NATIONAL
PROCESS OF THE ALBANIAN INSTITUTIONS (1935-1938)**

The decision of the League of Nations to ban the nationalization of private schools in the Greek minority area fueled Greek sentiments and aspirations in other regions as well, where by this time these tendencies appeared weakened. The Albanian government allowed in September 1935 the opening of private Greek-speaking schools in minority villages wherever they had been before the nationalization process, in accordance of the Court of The Hague. Greek consulates and agents succeeded in reviving the Greek movement in some areas of southern Albania.

The impact in Korça and Gjirokastra

The Hague verdict triggered a new impetus of Greek sentiment in the Korça prefecture, not only on the issue of the Orthodox Church, but also on education and beyond. The Korça Prefecture stated that "the Greek part of the Korça region has silently supported the request of the Gjirokastra Greeks; nonetheless they consider that this decision will not provide them an equal benefit. The interest arises to establish, under this mask, the privileges that the Orthodox element had in the past, in terms of forming their religious Greek sentiments, through their freelance religious teachers, and providing themselves a more implanted and broader authority to smash, by these advantages, the present system of the National Autocephalous Church, which obstructed the acquiring of privileges and other things that the

Orthodox element previously possessed along with dogma”.¹ The prefecture informed that these Greek elements had already begun to be assisted even by a part of the clergy, chaired by Kissi, the bishop of Korça.

If these reports were credible, it is clear that the Greek circles were greatly encouraged by the new situation established after the Court of The Hague verdict. They were also putting pressure on the Korça Albanian Orthodox nationalists to stop supporting the autocephalous national church and other national institutions. In June, 1935, the prefecture announced that the Greek circles, "began to influence the patriots, who however, did not show their support and such a thing is not to be believed"² However, such a pressure had its side effects. The prefecture announced also that, "affected by the advantages that Kissi preached they would have, these circles thought that they would be granted a wider religious privilege and had apparently changed their (patriotic) attitude. As a consequence, they showed cold feelings that have never been unfelt or undeclared before." This conviction has been shaped by events of negative significance. One of them was the election of the leader of the "Korça Youth" society, during which the Orthodox element was clearly in favor of the Orthodox candidates only, regardless of the morality or cultural background and without any consideration of what such an election would represent. Until now, the Orthodox patriots have been opposed to having this attitude.³

Some Orthodox patriots held a requiem Mass for the Uniate Church. This attitude was not related to their faith but rather to the bitter resentment towards the chairman of the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (AAOC/KOASH), Visarion, whose prestigious religious position was considered an insult to the Orthodox faith. The prefecture proclaimed that his Eminence Kissi was involved in secret preaching and sermons under the religious mask harming the "social and brotherly collectivity of the Korça components." Based on his attitude and his grouping activities, the prefecture suspected that his intention "For this reason, the prefecture proposed his transfer and

¹ *Arkivi Qendror Shtetëror i Republikës së Shqipërisë* (hereinafter: AQSh), Fond (hereinafter: F.) Ministry of Internal Affairs [hereinafter: MPB, Year (hereinafter: V.) 1935, File (hereinafter: D.) 399, p. 199-202, The Prefecture of Korça – MPB, 12 June 1935.

² *Ibid.* F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 399, p. 199-202, Prefecture of Korça – MPB, 12 June 1935.

³ *Ibid.*

replaced him with Father Vasil Marko until the previous situation be restored, i.e., holding faith of the church and show contentment and love among the various elements.”⁴

The Italian Consul of Vlora made a darker assessment of the situation and outcomes of the Albanian government's nationalization policy.⁵ Of course his assessments should be cautiously taken, and some of his given arguments reflect the great difficulties faced by the national policy of the Albanian government at that time. He wrote that the Albanian government, “aware of the obstacle the population of Gjirokastra posed to the national unity process, was ready to fight Hellenism by all means. The efforts made did not find the support of the Albanian Orthodox Christians who initially had embraced the Albanian national cause.”

According to Consul Ettore Guglielmo Grande, the lack of success lied in the superiority and civilization of the Greek-Orthodox element compared to the rest of the population, and therefore they were unassimilable by the inferior Muslim element. He considered the government's action inappropriate because “fighting Hellenism means fighting the Orthodox in general, limiting or banning the practice of their religion and cultural activities, and forcing them to all kinds of oppression. Under this political upheaval and pressure of their Muslim compatriots, they began a closer relationship with Greece.”

The consolidation process of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Albania and the nationalization of the Greek schools were at the heart of consul's dissatisfaction. He wrote that, “the recent establishment of the autocephalous Albanian church was in contrast to the people's will, and the gradual removal to the complete closure of Greek schools made the Orthodox population of Southern Albania to increasingly turn its attention to Greece due to the affinity of language and religion, and by the disgust towards the predominant Muslim element.”

It's very interesting the comparison he made between the Albanian government and the Ottoman Empire's national policy. According to him, “Turkey during the centuries of occupation used very different

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Archivio del Ministero degli Affari Esteri*, Roma (hereinafter: *AMAE*), Affari Politici, 1931-1945, Albania, Busta 49, Minoranze greche (posiz. 1-2), Italian consulate in Vlora for the Italian legation in Tirana and for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, 21 May 1935.

methods: it supported by cajoling the Muslim proselytism and accepted the convert to Islam as much as possible, but did not put any pressure on those who wouldn't give up their religion, left them alone and granted them the worship and cultural freedom, that throughout the province of Gjirokastra existed only Greek schools administered by the community enjoying not only tolerance by the Turkish government, but also the encouragement of the government.” It's the same thing he emphasized about the Church, which during the Ottoman occupation, was totally independent from any government intervention. Consul Grande, completely ignoring the efforts the Albanian nationalists made to foster education in the Albanian language during the Ottoman occupation, stated that it was only in 1917 that the first Albanian schools in that region were founded by the Italian Occupation Troops Command.

He emphasized that under these circumstances, the issue of Hellenic minority schools gained wider dimensions in that region, gaining an irredentist political connotation.⁶

The conclusions drawn and the opinions given by the Italian consul should be critically considered. He did not show any comprehensive approach towards the Albanian government's policy on the nationalization process and exaggerated both the coercive measures taken by the government against the Greek-speaking elements who opposed these reforms, and the dimensions or number of these elements in the Gjirokastra prefecture. He ignored the need for national education and religious institutions as a fundamental precondition of state-building.

However, this report by the Italian consul confirmed a difficulty characterizing the successful progress of the nationalization process, which was a sine qua non condition for the existence, survival and the consolidation of the Albanian state. He acknowledged the great and powerful role of the Greek consulates in the area of Gjirokastra prefecture. He underlined the fact that in this area there were two Greek sub-consulates of the first category, one in Saranda and the other in Gjirokastra, both chaired by career officials. They made great efforts to support the Hellenism and activity of the Orthodox clergy, who, “although of Albanian nationality, are more sensitive towards Greek

⁶ Ibid.

authority and the inherited tradition of the Patriarchs, rather than to local political authority," as better confirmed by the current issue of the Greek schools. Grande also noted the weakness of Italian influence on the Greek influence in this prefecture. He wrote to Rome, saying that, "in comparison with this organization, Italy only has a Royal Consular Agency in Saranda."⁷

The purpose of the Albanian government's policy to preserve national institutions suffered a major blow from Italian government as it insisted and put very strong pressure on the reopening of the Italian schools, especially the Catholic schools. The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed out the case of Catholic confessional schools as one of King Zog's major actions to fight Italian influence in Albania, after refusing to renew the 1926 Pact, when Albanian-Italian relations went into crisis. It was noted that in the cultural field, this action had begun by forbidding the Albanian students from attending Italian schools in 1932, on the pretext of placing Albanian administrative directors in the professional schools held by Italian funds. In addition, this campaign culminated with the legal provisions of April, 1933, when the Albanian government amended two articles of the Statute, ordering the closure of all private schools. Rome had no doubt about the purposes of these measures. It affirmed that, as clearly shown by the Albanian manifestations; the articles were drafted against the numerous Catholic institutes under development, considering these institutes as instruments of Italian propaganda because of funds from Italian government and Italian teachers. This move was also described as a retaliatory reprisal against Albanian Catholics who, led by their bishops, went to Rome in the spring of 1932 to pay a visit to His Holiness and to the head of the Italian government.⁸ The Italian Foreign Minister stated that he would never revert back to the *status quo*, but gave the necessary time and space for King Zog to find a solution of mutual consent. The last effort made to include this issue in a Concordat between Albania and the Holy See appeared unsuccessful. The Albanian government asked to directly discuss the matter with the

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ AMAE, Affari Politici, 1931-1945, Albania, Busta 49, Trattative italo-albanesi (posiz.1-4), Report of the Office for Albania (Ufficio Albania) to deputy secretary of State (sottosegretario di Stato), 18 March 1935.

Italian government. According to Rome, negotiations between the Vatican and the Albanian government failed because the Vatican asked for the laity to be allowed to attend seminaries, even of other religious institutions. The Albanian delegation declined this demand. Indeed, the Albanian government had allowed the laity to attend Catholic religious schools, only if sanctioned by administrative, rather than legislative acts, but the Vatican declined this proposal, and insisted that this should be sanctioned by law.⁹ The Italian Legation in Tirana thought that the disagreements between Rome and Tirana on this issue were surmountable. On one hand, the Albanian government would have to make concessions. On the other hand, the Italians would have to accept the limited number of the Catholic religious schools.¹⁰

The Italian side planned to make these proposals to resolve the issue: asking the Vatican to admit that the laity's right to attend Catholic schools be confirmed administratively, rather than legally. In this case, the Albanian government would engage, through an official secret note, with the prefects of Shkodra and Tirana, following the demands from the interested parties (the Catholic bishops), and ask them to communicate with the interested parties regarding permission to attend schools, according to their demands. The attendance of these schools by the laity would be limited, according to religious orders, as they existed in Albania. The reopening of dormitories and orphanages should be requested, [but not persistently], giving them lessons.¹¹

Zog, feeling both the Italian and Greek pressure some weeks ago, tried to pacify the situation with Rome. He had proposed a series of agreements with Italy to Italian minister Indelli in order to lower the tension with Mussolini's government. One of these proposals was the agreement about sending some Italian teachers to Albanian secondary schools to teach Italian and other teaching subjects. He also suggested that such teachers be accepted in the Shkodra's Albanian high school. This proposal came at a time when negotiations with the Holy See had stalled.¹² This proposal came at a time when negotiations with the Holy See had stalled. The summer of 1935 marked an important time period

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² AMAE, Affari Politici, 1931-1945, Albania, Busta 49, Trattative italo-albanesi (posiz.1-4), Italian legation in Tirana for the MFA in Rome, 23 January 1935.

which concluded with an historic period. Continuous efforts were being made to overcome the difficult and delicate problems characterizing the consolidation of the nation-state, national conscience and the national institutions. A number of successes were achieved in this extremely difficult struggle, far more than in any other historical period. On the other hand, there were also many failures related to objective reasons, like the strong pressure from the neighbors and the international organizations and the legacies of the past, which had deep roots in the conscience of some people groups. Also, there were some relatively minor problems caused by mistakes in dealing with these extremely delicate and sensitive issues. However, it seemed that the Albanian state was moving in the right direction, towards the national unification and consolidation of the national consciousness and institutions. This was an ongoing process.

After 1935, the consequences of the Court of The Hague verdicts began to be felt even more. Albanian public opinion reacted in defense of national institutions. The Albanian press was in favor of the public schools. In September 1936, the *Korça Newspaper* wrote that Albanian parents should put their love for the motherland prior to any other sentiment, and to entrust their children's education to public schools engaged at the national level of the educational process of the younger generation. The same newspaper wrote that, "This is how our national unity over religions and regions will be thoroughly achieved."¹³ According to the newspaper, the public schools were unique and the core of policies of other nations with ancient civilization and with long history of sovereignty, while "for us it is a crucial and imperative necessity."

This newspaper it made positive notes to some private schools that were of benefit to the Albanian society during the period of the foreign rule, but the course of events changed as Albania proclaimed independence. The article reminded Albanian parents to not forget the special law stating that, "to be employed in public administration, the diplomas of private high schools had to be reassessed, giving an extra exam, while the diplomas issued by public schools ought to be excluded from this examination."¹⁴

¹³ "Shkollat shtetërore e private", in *Gazeta e Korçës*, 23 September 1936.

¹⁴ Ibid.

The Greeks would certainly not be content in seeing the correct implementation of the Court of The Hague verdict by the Albanian government alone. They would only consider it as a means to address their consistent and well-calculated policy of reinforcing Hellenism in Southern Albania.

The signs of a secret Greek movement could be clearly noted in the Korça prefecture. In November, 1937, in the village of Orman Çiflik, a private Greek school was opened with teachers paid by the village inhabitants, and 10 pupils left the public school. There were also two Greek private schools for adult girls in Korça. Their teachers were two nuns.¹⁵ The Prefecture of Korça ordered that the school in Orman Çiflik was not to be opened without the Ministry of Education's authorization.¹⁶

The year 1938 marked the opening of schools for national minorities in non-national minority villages. These actions were supported by the Greek consulates. Thus, early this year, the Council of Ministers ordered the shutdown of the national minority school in the village of Vromero in Saranda, because the school was opened without any official permission. The village had never had a private school before, and its inhabitants were registered as Albanians, not as a Greek-speaking minority.¹⁷ The Prefecture of Gjirokastra informed the Ministry of Interior that the men of this village spoke Albanian at home, some women and children preferred speaking Greek at home, and while outside, they spoke Albanian for everything. The mayor of Gjirokastra emphasized that communication in Greek in this village was due to the marriages with the inhabitants from Greek-speaking villages.¹⁸ Later, the government withdrew, and the Ministry of Education instructed the Prefecture of Gjirokastra that Vromero's council of aldermen should do the legal formalities for the opening of the Greek school, on the basis of the decision of the Council of

¹⁵ *AQSh*, F. MPB, V. 1937, D. 144, p. 7, Inspectorate of Education in Korça – to MA, 6 November 1937.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, F. MPB, V. 1938, D. 217, p. 1, Chairmanship of the Council of Ministers – to the Ministry of Education, 4 February 1938.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, F. MPB, V. 1938, D. 217, p. 7, The Prefecture of Gjirokastra – to MPB, 3 May 1938.

Ministers from 18 May, 1938.¹⁹ The prefecture of Gjirokastra objected to this instruction, insisting that the inhabitants of this village were of Albanian origin and spoke Albanian. However, the Council of Ministers did not change its decision, and granted permission to open a Greek private school in Vromero.²⁰

Another piece of evidence is the anti-national attitude of the Greek minority school staff due to concessions made by the Albanian government after the Court of The Hague verdict that allowed Greek nationalism to advance.²¹

The inducement of the Greek element in Himara

The verdict was of benefit to the Greek element in Himara, therefore. In August 1935, the Greek leaders demanded more Greek classes than Albanian classes and tried to disassociate the local church from KOASH. Some inhabitants from Dhërmi went further, demanding equal status with minority Greek-speaking schools. They demanded for the situation before 1921 to be restored, claiming that they had neither participated in the Greek-minority movement a year earlier nor had they given up their 'rights' and the government should not misunderstand their goodwill.²²

The Vlora Education Inspectorship reported that the movement of Greek-speaking elements was inspired by foreign propaganda and money from local propagandists. Telegrams were sent on behalf of the population of Himara to make their demands known. The population of Himara, Dhërmi and Palasa were deceitfully asked to sign and some signatures were falsified.²³ Aware of the situation, the Ministry of the Interior asked the Vlora prefecture to multiply the gendarmerie forces in case of any unexpected situation. In addition, it was asked to

¹⁹ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1938, D. 217, p. 10, MA – to the Prefecture of Gjirokastra, 24 May 1938.

²⁰ *Ibid*.

²¹ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1938, D. 217, pp. 20-25, Prefecture of Gjirokastra - to MPB, 1 July 1938.

²² *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 399/1, p. 141, Appeal of some inhabitants of Dhërmi sent to the Ministry of Education, 31 August 1935.

²³ *Ibid*, F. MA, V. 1935, D. 51, p. 279, Inspectorate of Education, Vlora – to MA, 11 September 1935.

diminish any incidence that might occur during the nationalists' demonstrations.²⁴

On the other hand, the pro-Albanian Himara activists vigorously asked for the national institutions to be protected and tried to improve the level of local administration for a successful struggle against Greek propaganda and the Greek elements. In a letter sent to the Prime Minister on 3 September 1935, they notified that "as a major step, they had begun to make the population of Himara characterized by a rusted Greek sentiment to stand up." To succeed, they asked for the deputy prefect, Ymer Faslliu and the secretary of the sub-prefecture, Ramiz Harxhi to be replaced on the pretext, "because they did not know how to make politics and were a source of dissatisfaction among the people."²⁵

On 11 September, a large group of Dhërmi inhabitants, made up of young intellectuals and elderly people, held a demonstration in the center of Himara, where they sang the Albanian National Anthem and the King's Anthem and sent this telegram to the Vlorë prefecture: "The people of Dhërmi village do not join their centuries-old Albanian destiny and feelings to the Greek minority and are always loyal to the Albanian government and categorically reject any form of intimidation and harassment from the foreigners and propaganda, confirming their devotion to the nation."²⁶

Some boys from Himara, led by Dhimitër Konomi, headed to Palasa to demonstrate against the opening of Greek schools.²⁷ The local authorities took action to support this pro-Albanian movement. The Himara sub-prefecture proposed to Vlorë prefecture to grant scholarships to those Himara boys whose national feelings prevailed and wanted to attend the Elbasan Normal School.²⁸ In addition, those who supported the Albanian education Himara ought to be excluded

²⁴ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 399/b, p. 465, MPB – to the Prefecture of Vlorë, 28 September 1935.

²⁵ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 399/1b, p. 517, Appeal of some inhabitants of Himara – to the Prime Minister, 3 September 1935.

²⁶ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 399/a, p. 384, Telegram of the Dhërmi aldermen representatives – to the Prefecture in Vlorë, 11 September 1935.

²⁷ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 399/b, p. 427, Prefecture Vlorë – o MPB, 19 September 1935.

²⁸ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 399/b, p. 444, Sub/prefecture of the Bregut i Detit -to Vlorë Prefecture.

from the military service.²⁹ The Greek side did not remain inactive. The Deacon, Dhimitri Shisko and Father, Kozma Billa delivered a sermon cursing all those who had displayed Albanian national sentiment and protested against the Greek schools.³⁰ The Greek consul of Saranda encouraged the inhabitants of Dhërmi by saying that the League of Nations recognizes them as a national minority.³¹ Also, the Greek consulate in Vlora was active in Himara in the case of the schools by distributing money to the people of Himara as a means to address the opening of the Greek schools.³² The Greek consul of Saranda had given Himara teachers a three-month salary and urged them to open the private schools.³³

On the other hand, the propaganda of Albanian patriots against Greek schools became intense. The Ministry of Interior advised the nationalists to follow a soft line and avoid any incident.³⁴ At the beginning of October 1935, the number of signatories in favor of the Albanian National School had increased in Palasa, while in Dhërmi their number went up to 200.³⁵ The signatories from Dhërmi demanded for the previous situation to be restored because “there would be no moral and material satisfaction, but only indirect contempt of an entire country, because we are all Albanians and share the same history, language and traditions”³⁶ if more Greek classes were added to academic program.

Kristofor Kissi visited Himara in the early days of October to end the turmoil in the clergy issue. He was received by the Himara leaders with honors and a grand ceremony. After a personal investigation, the measures taken by national authorities against the priest of Palasa and his supporters were approved along with the under-observation process

²⁹ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 399/1a.

³⁰ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 399/1, p. 8, Prefecture of Vlora – to MPB, 23 September 1935.

³¹ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D.399/1, p. 33, Sub/prefecture of Himara – to MPB, 1 October 1935.

³² *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D.399/1, p. 197, Prefecture of Berat – to MPB, 10 October 1935.

³³ *Arkivi i Ministrisë së Punëve të Jashtme* (hereinafter: *AMPJ*), V. 1935, D. 297, p. 134, Inspectorate of Education in Vlora – MA, 24 October 1935.

³⁴ *AQSh*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 399/1, p. 38, MPB – to the Sub-prefecture of Himara, 2 October 1935.

³⁵ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 399/1, p. 52, Sub-prefecture of Himara – MPB, 4 October 1935.

³⁶ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 399/1, p. 140, Appeal of the inhabitants of Dhërmi sent to the Sub-prefecture of Himara, 8 September 1935.

and his transfer ordered by the Metropolitan of Berati.³⁷ However, after his departure, the Greek element commission continued its disruptive campaign.

It should be emphasized that at the beginning of October 1935, the Greek movement had managed to harm the attendance at Albanian schools in some villages. Thus, in Himara, last year, 145 males and 60 females attended school, while 5 males and no females were enrolled at this time. In Dhërmi, in the previous year, there were 147 pupils, and now 75 have been enrolled, and from 46 pupils in Palasa, 18 have been enrolled.³⁸

Some inhabitants were looking for indirect favors, which were mainly scholarships, rather than high-level jobs in public administration, as a means to address their support for the pro-Albanian activities and national institutions. The sub-prefecture authorities promised them that these demands will be met only if their children were sent to school and they signed up against the Greek schools.³⁹ There were 40 signatures collected against the Greek schools in Himara. The sub-prefecture considered the Himara Commission's efforts to foster education in the region a successful achievement and hoped that the number of enrolled students would soon increase.⁴⁰ The National Commission was chaired by Dhimitër Konomi, the lawyer, Thoma Jani and the Sub-lieutenant, Vangjel Jani. Two or three days later the number of signatures against the Greek school here increased. There were 60 signatures collected in Himara and the number of enrolled students here increased. There were 66 students in Dhërmi, 23 in Palasa and 10 in Himara.

However, the situation in October 1935 remained unclear and defining the supremacy of either side was impossible. The two sides had both temporary victory and defeat. Thus, the dissenters of the Albanian school in Palasa were so weakened that their number was

³⁷ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 399/1, p. 60, Sub-prefecture of Himara - to MPB, 4 and 5 October 1935.

³⁸ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 399/1, p. 159, Sub-prefecture of Himara -to MPB, 8 October 1935.

³⁹ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 399/1, p. 165, Sub-prefecture of Himara - to MPB, 9 October 1935.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, F. MBP, V. 1935, D. 399/1a, p. 235, Sub-prefecture of Himara - to MPB, 11 October 1935.

reduced to 5 or 6 people. The National Commission was holding negotiations with the dissents and it was expected that the negotiations would end in favor of the Albanian state interest.⁴¹ Two days later the pro-Greek commission refused to hold further talks on this issue, regardless the efforts made.⁴²

Interesting efforts were made by a part of the local population to materially benefit from the juxtaposition between Greek and Albanian policy for Himara. The opposing of Albanian schools and Albanian institutions and the support of the Greek school and church became a profitable business for a part of the population who turned into souls and spirits' merchants and manipulators of the not only to the illiterates but also to the population with politically unformed conscience. This is probably the ugliest and the most mocking side of this political clash. Obviously, the Greece was financially superior compared to the Albania. The Himara sub-prefecture informed that: "The dissenters of the Albanian school have nothing but a materialistic mindset. The population of the district and the members of the commission are the only possessed by this materialistic mindset as they propose where to benefit therefrom. On the other hand, we make promises as we are in straits. In brief, we think that population of region is nothing but materialistic, devoid of moral and human values, and feeling of attachment and commitment to the country, especially."⁴³

The sub-prefecture informed that the supervisors of the committee fighting for the Albanian school have *idealism* and willingness to *make material sacrifices* for the sake of the national school even though they were poor and without incomes.⁴⁴ Some state employees, members of the commission, were sent to Himara but the local authorities considered them inefficient, of no good and nepotists who show favoritism to relatives by offering jobs and other privileges. The gendarmerie headquarters demanded their transfer on the pretext that:

⁴¹ *Ibid*, F. MBP, V. 1935, D. 399/1a, p. 276, Sub-prefecture of Himara - to MPB, 14 October 1935.

⁴² *Ibid*, F. MBP, V. 1935, D. 399/1a, p. 332, Sub-prefecture of Himara - to MPB, 17 October 1935.

⁴³ *Ibid*, F. MBP, V. 1935, D. 399/1a, p. 306, Sub-prefecture of Himara - to MPB, 16 October 1935.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, F. MBP, V. 1935, D. 399/1a, p. 313, Sub-prefecture of Himara - to MPB, 16 October 1935.

“these people are not idealists, but only materialists, and without any moral integrity.” In addition, it was confirmed that the population of Himara village was one and its pro-Greek thinking remains unchanged. So, systematic coercive measures were proposed because the authority and prestige of the national and local institutions of the state was failing due to the extremely tolerant attitude being shown. There was a positive situation in Palasa and Dhërmi because of the efforts made by the patriot Dhimitër Konomi.⁴⁵

According to the sub-prefecture, the Greek pressure put on the population of Himara was in different economic and administrative ways. The population of Himara had close and vital relationship with the capitalist Jorgji Bollano to whom they were debtful. He used the position which he had gained with the support of the Greek authorities to put pressure on the Himara people to follow the Greek elements. The Himara people also knew that their support for the Albanian school would lead to the Greek consulate's refusal of passport visas. As a result, their trade with Greece would be greatly damaged.⁴⁶

The Greek consulates in Albania refused to grant visas to Himara people who asked for Albanian schools. The Himara sub-prefecture feared that the opponents of the Albanian School would raise up and make successes so far in Dhërmi and Palasë vulnerable.⁴⁷ In Greece, also, obstacles were placed in front of those Albanians whose relatives in Himara demanded schooling in the mother tongue rather than in Greek at the private schools.⁴⁸

On 18 October 1935, the Commission for the Greek Schools requested the sub-prefecture to open private schools completely in Greek where Albanian would only be taught 6 hours a week. As the committee had a stubborn and intransigent attitude, the sub-prefecture proposed the deportation of three people from Himara to not only hearten that part of the population who supported the Albanian schools in Dhërmi, Palasa and Himara, but also maintain the connection with.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, F. MBP, V. 1935, D. 399/a, p. 390, Gendarmerie Headquarters of Himara – to the General Headquarters of Gendarmerie, Tirana, 18 October 1935.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, F. MBP, V. 1935, D. 399/1b, p. 403, Sub-prefecture of Himara – to MPB, 22 October 1935.

⁴⁷ *AQSh*, F. MBP, V. 1935, D. 399/1b, p. 416, Sub-prefecture of Himara – to MPB, 24 October 1935.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, F. MBP, V. 1935, D. 399/1b, p. 459, MPB – to MPJ, 29 October 1935.

Their soft and tolerant attitude allowed them to oppose the government which prestige and dignity was declining.⁴⁹ The Ministry of Interior opposed taking these measures for the moment.⁵⁰

The information that the Vlora Education Inspector sent to the Ministry of Education is a means to address a better understanding of the support for the Albanian school in October 1935. He informed that only 25 pupils were enrolled and attending classes in Palasa and from 84 pupils enrolled in Dhërmi, 72 were attending classes. There were 6 pupils enrolled in Himara, but only five were attending classes. The latter, were being kept in school with difficulties and in a “fondling” way.⁵¹

The inspectorate described the reaction in Himara as unbearable and the measures taken ineffective. It particularly criticized the clerks of commission who occasionally had even played a double role. In addition, energetic coercive measures against foreign and domestic propagandists were suggested e.g., their transfer and their replace with energetic people who were familiar with the people's mentality, dismissal of all the civil employees coming from Himara from any public administration position, ban of the activity of those working in public services like the doctors and lawyers at a undetermined period of time and province privation of all the privileges given by the payment of government taxes as a means to address their obedience to the laws.⁵² So, there is a clear discordance between the local and central authorities about their exercise of authority in Himara. The local bodies, experiencing a direct confrontation with the movement of Greek-element, demanded rigorous administrative measures, while the central government, which evaluated the effects of these measures on a broader national and international level, refused to implement them and demanded a more comprehensive, moderate and loyal policy.

Unlike Himara, in Dhërmi and Palasë, the Albanian government policy was gaining supremacy over the Hellenic policy. On 29 October,

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, F. MBP, V. 1935, D. 399/a, p. 353, Sub-prefecture of Himara – to MPB, 18 October 1935.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, F. MBP, V. 1935, D. 399/1a, p. 357, MPB - to the Sub-prefecture of Himara, 21 October 1935.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, F. MBP, V. 1935, D. 399/a, p. 383-384, Inspectorate of Education in Vlora - MA, 21 October 1935.

⁵² *Ibid*.

the Himara sub-prefecture reported that 10 more families in Dhërmi gave their support to the Albanian school and opposed Greek-element community who remained in minority. "So, the Greek propaganda in Dhërmi and Palasë failed and schools continued regularly."⁵³

However, these assertions could only reflect the current situation because the Greek consulate of Saranda was openly and boldly continuing its propaganda. The Himara sub-prefecture reported that the Greek consulate in Saranda, along with the Greek merchant of that town, Mazaraqi, had tried to oust from the supporters of the Albanian school doctor Milo, who represented a large family of Albanian patriotic sentiments who supported Albanian school and had the main influence on the attitudes of the village of Dhërmi in favor of the Albanian school. They had proposed to his son, Vasil Milo, the post of inspector of the Greek-speaking schools, with a salary of 300 gold francs per month, on condition that his family join the Greek-element group and sent off their children from the Albanian national schools. But he declined their request.⁵⁴

On November 1935, the majority of the Himara population made another statement in favor of Albanian classes in public schools and against Greek classes in private schools with private teachers.⁵⁵

Although the old venoms of the Ottoman age had tightened the Albanian government had generally pursued a soft policy based on compromises with the Greek movement and in the slow, non-excessive withdrawal of the Himara population into the bosom of the nation she belonged to. From 1930 to 1935 the Ministry of Education gave these three villages the permission for their children to attend lessons in the Greek one hour a day. Theological lessons in Greek out of the school environment by Greek teachers were also allowed.⁵⁶

Even during 1936, although Greek propaganda had been totally focused in the area of Himara, Albanian patriotic elements resolutely reacted against the concessions made to Greek politics by the Albanian government. The eldersmen of Dhërmi, Himara and Palasa villages sent

⁵³ *Ibid*, F. MBP, V. 1935, D. 399/1b, p. 470, Sub-prefecture of Himara – to MPB, 29 October 1935.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, F. MBP, V. 1935, D. 305, p. 3, Sub-prefecture of Bregu i Detit – to MPB (no date).

⁵⁵ *AMPJ*, V. 1936, D. 268, p. 53, MPB – MPJ, 2 November 1935.

⁵⁶ *AQSh*, F. MPB, V. 1935, D. 1122, p. 1-2, Report of the MPB about the schools in Himara (no date).

a telegram on 10 September to King Zog, vigorously protesting against “the so-called leaders who were violating the Albanianism, traditions and customs.” They emphasized that these actions “were driven by personal interests and were inspired and funded by foreign propaganda to the expense of the national interests and the politics of the Albanian Kingdom.”⁵⁷

Himara was a concerning issue to the government, mainly because it was considered the fore-front of the Greek action for the revival of Hellenism in southern Albania. The government memorandum of 18 September 1936 on the schools in Himara⁵⁸ makes in a very interesting description of the situation created in these villages and the sources of it, along with the long history lying in the Himara issue. The document explains that the reasons behind the use of Greek by the last generations in general were the close, especially commercial relationship between Himara and the Greek islands, and the constant propaganda of the Greek church. This church, has been the first tool of the Greek nationalists for the Hellenization of the Balkan population and especially of the Southern Albanians since the time of Catherine II of Russia (XVIII century).

Himara remained an Albanian province, where the characteristics of the Albanian culture prevailed even at this time, more than in some other provinces of the country. The custom and traditions of Labëria, its habitants, family names, the names of places, songs, their laments, customs on birth, marriage and death and various holidays clearly testify the Albanian ethnicity of the population of Himara.

The inhabitants had learned the Greek language later, which was a recent thing, but their old Albanian customs are more conservative expressions of the spiritual life of people than the language. However, the old women still spoke Albanian in all these three villages.

The inhabitants of these three villages were also aware of their Albanian identity and had always confirmed this truth. They knew that they were part of the same tribe with the Lab people of Vlora and Kurveleshi, with whom they were still connected by marriages, despite

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1936, D. 713, pp. 7-8, Telegram of the Dhërmi, Himara and Palasë alderman. (Simo Zoto, Llambro Neço, Dhimitri Dhimitriadhi and Perikli Milo) sent to King Zog, 10 September 1936.

⁵⁸ *AQSh*, F. Kryeministria, V. 1936, D. IV-418, pp. 15-22, Memorandum on the schools in Himara, 18 September 1936.

their different religious background. The inhabitants of Palasa claimed to have come from the Dukat of Vlora, the inhabitants of the Gjipe neighborhood of Dhërmi were proud of their Kruja ancestry and the fact that their ancestors were soldiers of Skanderbeg. The three villages claimed to have their relatives in Labëria, Progonat, Nivicë of Kurvelesh and in the villages of Velçë, Tragjas etc.

So, these were Albanian villages and their national-minority status, like the Chams, in Greece was unlikely. Consequently, the rule for the Greek-speaking minority schools was inapplicable. This opinion found the support of a considerable part of the population of Himara, Palasa, and especially Dhërmi willing to develop schooling in the mother tongue.

The memorandum emphasized that the “party” asking for Albanian schooling consisted mainly of young people and intellectuals, while the Greek-speaking ‘party’ consisted mostly of the older generation; elders and priests.

In September 1936, the Ministry of Interior also emphasized that the Albanian origin of the population of Himara is the fundamental reason to not apply the 1935 minority school rules in the three villages of the region.⁵⁹ Otherwise, she demanded to go even further. She described the government's soft behavior as a source of the encouragement for the Greek-speaking element. Given the large amount of money Greece had invested in Himara and generally in the south of the country, the passive attitude taken by the government could be considered inappropriate. Therefore, it was proposed as following: (1) imposing the regular payment of taxes to the population; (2) keeping the Greek consuls of Saranda and Vlora not only under observation when going to Himara, but also keeping isolated, if possible. In addition, an entry ban for the Greek propagandists was necessary; (3) keeping Thanas Bebi in Vlora, Dhimitër Muço and Vangjel Rusi in Dhërmi, Spiro Milo in Himara, Sokrat Papaj and Miho Zhango in Saranda etc. who were acting as agents of Greek consulates strictly under control and not giving them any possibility to continue their mission. Moreover, the transport service should be monitored for the vehicles were carrying mail and newspapers from Himara to Vlora and Saranda. The leaders and the main implementators of this propaganda must be deported from

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

the country; (4) forcing the school age children to attend classes and penalizing those who did not; (5) granting complete freedom to pupils attending national schools and the supporters of the Albanian schooling; and, (6) electing as sub-prefect, district commander and judges only those who manifest intellectual capacities, good manners, tact and energy and experience in public administration.

The Ministry of Interior warned about two consequences if measures were not put in place: (1) we would have three Greek-national minority villages in the true sense of the word, and (2) Greek would spread to other Himara villages; in Vuno, Qeparo, Pilur and Kudhës.⁶⁰

The victory achieved at Court of The Hague encouraged the Greek consulates to intensify their actions. At the beginning of academic year 1936-37, the Greek consulate of Vlora sent an amount of 600 napoleons to Palasë of Himara, in order to encourage local residents to attend the Greek private schools and to not follow the Albanian government's advice. She also promised the residents of Palasë that was ready to accept 60 boys as students in Greece allowing them to participate in state scholarship program.⁶¹

The prefecture of Vlora stated that number of pupils who had attended Albanian school was higher in the previous two years than in 1936-37. The reduced number of pupils was due to the propaganda of the Greek consulates and the money they had distributed to the population in order to persuade them to resist and prevent their children from attending Albanian schools as a means to address their minority rights access.⁶² She suggested that first the population Himara should be allowed to learn Greek and attend theological classes to the previous extent, and then be applied the sanctions on education law and be ignored eventual complaints. Given the international law acts, Himara could not enjoy minority rights, e.g., language or anything else, and the disobedience of some people inspired by Greek propaganda, the prefecture of Vlora proposed the following measures: (1) rigorous application of sanctions as provided by the law as a legal measure left no space for complaint; (2) permission of theological classes as it was not harmful; (3) deportation of Thanas Bebi and Ilia Billo from the

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *AMPJ*, V. 1936, D. 268, p. 19, MPB – MPJ, 23 September 1936.

⁶² *AQSh*, F. MA, V. 1937, D. 129, p. 2, Prefectura of Vlora – to MPB, 1 December 1936.

country, if the political situation allowed, as they were leading Greek propaganda and distributing the money coming from this country; and, (4) disapprove the academic performance of the Greek private schools, because they were illegal and would encourage the Greek propagandists and would give them the conviction that the Albanian state was committed to recognizing the rights of Himara as a minority.

Another possible measure was the commitment of all the Himara people who were part of the public administration to the abiding by the law. This had to be carried out through threat of dismissal. Consequently, they would be forced to ask their relatives to fulfill and respect government orders and state laws and send their children to school. Apparently, this proposal aimed at responding to the policy of economic corruption and administrative coercion of the Greek government towards the population of Himara.

Therefore, no right that was contrary to the law was given to the Himara people who were opposing the Albanian school, and their children were strictly prevented from studying abroad. As a result, the parents would regret that their children cannot attend school for a long time and would be forced to send them to public schools.⁶³

Even in 1937, the Ministry of Interior continued to insist on banning the opening of Greek schools in Himara using the argument that the population of the three villages was linguistic minority rather than ethnic minority.⁶⁴ The situation remained almost the same as before. The Vlora prefecture reported that the population of these villages was divided into the minority and the pro-government group. Thus, the dissension continued to be evident.⁶⁵ But now the part of the population that had asked for the Greek schools was less enthusiastic, because they were witnessing the demoralization of their sons who had been dropped out of school and abandoned too. They were also seeing that the Greek government was not taking care of them as they had imagined. The local authorities thought that they too could agree to step back from the previous path.⁶⁶ The Himara sub-prefecture suggested the Albanian

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *AQSh*, F. MA, V. 1937, D. 129, pp. 3-4, Report from MPB on the schools in Himara (no date).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, F. MPB, V. 1937, D. 204, p. 2, Prefecture of Vlora - to MPB, 17 May 1937.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, F. MA, V. 1937, D. 129, p. 272, Sub-prefecture of Bregu i Detit – to Prefecture of Vlora, 6 August 1937.

authorities to have a nonchalant stance, because those who supported the Greek movement were few in number and could count them on the hand fingers, while the poor and illiterate part of the population had followed them nothing but for materialistic purposes.⁶⁷

At this moment, the Council of Ministers of Albania following the agreement of August 1938 with the Greek government, decided in principle to allow the opening of three Greek minority schools in Himara. The forthcoming paragraph reports the full decision:

“On the bases of the agreement with the Greek representative in Tirana, where the Hellenic government agrees to increase the number of state schools in Çamëria from five that are today to ten, and the Albanian language should be taught in each school 10 hours per week. In addition, it accepts that the teachers be nominated by the Albanian minority communities, approved by our representatives, and then appointed to office by the Greek government, but that government demands in return the opening of three schools in Himara, Palasa and Dhërmi, which would be held at the expense of the respective Greek speaking communities.”

The Council of Ministers decided

The acceptance of this accord, as it is in compliance with the rule's disposal for the function of the private schools of minorities, dating 2/11/1935. On the other hand, it is based on the reciprocity principles and authorizes the Ministry of Education to approve in principle the demands that are to be sent from the interested party on the opening of the three minority schools in Himara, but their definitive opening is to be granted at the moment the Ministry of Foreign Affairs notifies about the beginning of the classes of Albanian language in schools in ten villages of Çamëria. It emphasizes the need for concrete classes of Albanian language in the minority schools of Himara; authorizes the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to communicate to the Greek government this decision that is based, first, on the desire of the Albanian

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

government to increase as much as possible the friendly relations with the neighboring country.⁶⁸

The decision of the Albanian government's marked an important turning point and a step back in her implementation of education policy, developing a vogue *sense of national identity* in Himara. The agreement between Albania and Greece was completely asymmetrical. First, Himara did neither represented an ethnic minority nor a national minority like Çamëria did, and it could not be treated in the same way, therefore. Second, the Greek government had not promised to open private Albanian minority schools in Çamëria, as the Albanian government did in the Greek minority area and in Himara. The Greek government allowed only the Albanian language to be taught in the Greek state schools of Çamëria. This was a considerable distinction between the two countries. The increase in number in Çamëria of the schools where the Albanian was taught was of great interest for the country, but reciprocity had to be established in relation to Greek schools that were allowed to operate in the minority Greek-speaking areas. The efforts made to obtain the national affirmation of the Albanian population of Himara were unsuccessful and suffered a major blow from the opening of Greek schools in Himara region. The opening of these schools were the source of Hellenism revival throughout southern Albania and giving the idea of the *status quo* that existed during the Ottoman-era, where the Greek church and school had been predominant.

The number of schools providing 10 hours of Albanian language lessons per week increased in Çamëria by five, but the rights of the Albanian national minority in Greece were neither recognized nor affirmed, although this minority itself was recognized by Greece and the international acts. This unprincipled compromise altered the efforts that Albania made to demand Greece to apply the same standards as those imposed on Albania about minorities.

This unprincipled compromise benefitted Greece. First, Greece prevented the Albanian government from legally addressing the rights of the Albanian minority in Çamëria following the Court of The Hague verdict to the international organizations. Second, it channeled the issue

⁶⁸ AQSh, F. MA, V. 1937, D. 129, p. 274, Decision of the Council of Ministers, nr. 965, date, 25.08.1937.

of the rights of the Albanian minority simply into a government agreement of goodwill, which it could shirk anytime when seems to her appropriate. Third, it channeled the fulfillment of the rights of the Albanians of Çamëria on a parity basis by fulfilling its demands for the extension of Hellenism in Southern Albania, so, as a concession, it demanded the Greek population to be Graecized. As a result, formation and consolidation process of Albanian national institutions and the national unification process were at risk.

Time proved that those few concessions made by the Greek government in Çamëria were partial, temporary and unsustainable. It would gradually nullify them through a consistent restrictive policy that was very effective and well-calculated to serve the objectives of assimilation and ethnic cleansing that the Greek state had been pursuing for decades in Çamëria.

The opening of private minority schools in Himara put the justice and principles the policy that has been pursued by Albania since 1920 into doubt. This concession had dangerous *future* consequences. The pressure put on the government accompanied with some minimal concessions that were anytime repealeable, would easily obstruct the long consolidation process of the Albanian national conscience and state institutions in all groups of the Albanian people. Above all, it encouraged the Greek-speaking elements to continue their resistance and efforts to the same goal of imposing these concessions on other Albanian provinces as well, gradually transforming them into the Greek national minority areas. In this way, a very dangerous footpath was opened for the future of the nation-state in Albania.

The opening of private minority schools was accompanied by protests by a part of the local population with Albanian sentiments who was surprised and deeply disappointed by this drastic change of government's policy towards Himara. Such a protest was organized by the inhabitants of Dhërmi village on 13 September 1937, and 47 habitants from this village signed a petition, and 20 habitants from Palasa village signed this petition. They all demanded only the running of the Albanian state schools.⁶⁹ Some days later, the aldermen of Himara, Dhërmi and Palasa village together with a representative group

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, F. MA, V. 1937, D. 129, pp. 278-279, Letter of Dhërmi and Palasë villages sent to the Sub-prefecture of Himara, 13 September 1937.

of parents whose children attended national schools, headed by Nikolla Jani, addressed the Himara sub-prefecture their complaints about the opening of Greek schools in their villages. They insisted that Albanian education process was moving towards consolidation and empowerment. Thus, 45 have been enrolled in the school in the Dhërmi village and 24 children have been enrolled in the school in the Palasë village since the first day of school, and it was hoped that all children from these villages would be enrolled in the Albanian schools this year. But they withdrew a little bit, “after hearing the bad news about the opening of minority schools.”⁷⁰ The aldermen of these villages stated that Greek propaganda had spread the news that, following the opening of Greek schools in Himara, Dhërmi and Palasë, national minority schools would also be opened in the city of Vlora. Then a Greek high school in Delvina would open.

Meanwhile, the Greek government was trying to drag on its own the Albanian Orthodox, by granting scholarships to their sons in Greece and appointing some of the boys from Albanian villages as teachers in minority schools. After citing these Greek actions, the aldermen of Himara's villages made the following statement to the sub-prefect: “We only know that we are Albanians, as we have stated and proved on numerous occasions, but the national sentiment has not been yet instilled among the elderly people whose mentality has been affected by the foreigners. Unfortunately, the long occupation period affected our nature and mode. They have rusty elements that bred confusion and have become insensitive to the bad consequences they cause to their children. Even in this region, these individuals who have unfounded and epidemic pretexts are causing suffering to us. Such an illness has endangered our lives and shocked the vital interests of the state and the nation. We are not and cannot be Greeks. Here, we can mention the Spiro Milo family from the Progonat of Labëria, the Zoto clan from the Vithkuq of Korça; all the families of the Gjoleka neighborhood who come from Kruja, likewise almost everyone else Therefore, we would ask our government to recognize our rights as Albanian citizens, same as for all other Albanians. We would ask our government to protect us from foreign propaganda by opening our Albanian school

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, F. MA, V. 1937, D. 129, p. 277, Sub-prefecture Bregu i Detit – to Prefecture of Vlora, 20 September 1937.

*and not transforming her into a Greek one, because we definitely despise her as we are nothing else but Albanians. We do not believe that our fair government will make us victims of foreign intrigues and scarce foreigners and of those who has sold themselves to them. Instead, we demand that we be provided with simple national education. This gesture of ours is completely within realistic limits, quite the opposite will happen if the government itself wants our own immobility, making our struggles be merely a dream. We therefore beg you that the fair government **ensure** our rights of Albanian schooling in our villages ... ”*⁷¹

This statement made from the patriotic people of Himara sounded like an SOS call to the government, it was an indirect but very strong and poignant accusation against the wrong turn that its policy had taken towards Himara.

Despite the liberal policy of the Albanian government, the tendencies for the spread of Hellenism were not softened and continued to be consistent. Following the opening of the Greek private schools in Himara, Dhërmi and Palasë, by decision of the Council of Ministers of 25 August 1937,⁷² the Greek element group was not completely satisfied. In April 1938, he attacked for the complete liquidation of the Albanian school. They urged their children to harass the pupils attending Albanian schools and put pressure on the population not to pay salaries to Perikli Milo and Simo Zoto, the aldermen of Palasa and Himara, respectively, who were elected by the vote of the population of these villages. Both of them were not only against the proclamation of these villages as minorities, but also supported Albanian propaganda. The Greek element group was trying to make Albanian national public school misfunction.⁷³ Meanwhile, Vlora prefecture was informed that at the private minority schools in Himara were being used for teaching purposes and geographic maps illustrating a part of the southern Albania as Greek territory were hung on walls.⁷⁴

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*, F. MPB, V. 1938, D. 217, p.16, Headquarter of the Himara Gendarmerie – to the General Headquarter of Gendarmerie, 21 April 1938.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ AQSh, F. MPB, V. 1938, D. 217, p. 17, Prefecture of Vlora – to Sub-prefecture of Himara, 17 May 1938.

In June 1938, the sub-prefecture of Himara described the situation as calm and notified that even those residents who called themselves national minority were pleased with the administration, the government and the Albanian state and expressed worship of King Zog. But she also notified that, the efforts were underway to revive venoms about some state taxes. The village of Himara was the forefront of these efforts, because the Greek propaganda was powerful here.⁷⁵ The situation was good in the villages of Vuno, Qeparo, Pilur and Kudhës. However, the “complete idea of nationality” was not properly embedded due to some elders with dark mentalities. But there was hope in the fact that the young generation was growing up with a patriotic spirit and spirit of nationalism. The inhabitants that were asking for the Greek language classes at school stated that they were doing so to receive Greek scholarship. Some of them were already showing signs of regret, while some minority propaganda leaders no longer had the enthusiasm they once had when the minority schools were allowed to open. At that time, they had received a lot of money from Greece, but now, it seems that they got nothing, except Niko Milo and his 2-3 associates. The ‘minority’ teachers continued to be paid by the Greek consulates.

The Himara public schools were attended in June 1938 by few children whose parents requested that they be granted a scholarship for the high schools.⁷⁶

The Himara sub-prefecture had the dilemma about what policy to follow. It wavered between a nationalist policy and a liberal line. The first alternative suggested taking some measures to equal the Greek propaganda campaign for the Hellenization of Himara. First, no one in the Himara ‘minority’ group was to be admitted to public office, neither in private or anonymous societies, nor in banks or other institutions. Officials in these institutions who did not support the efforts that the government made to stop the Greek propaganda in Himara or those who played a double game in this regard had to be dismissed. Second, the children of this group were not to be given any

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, F. MPB, V. 1938, D. 216, pp. 2-4, Sub-prefecture of Bregdet - to Prefecture of Vlora, 22 June 1938.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

state scholarships and those who received these scholarships were cut off. This group was denied the facilities of every kind.⁷⁷

As another liberal alternative, the sub-prefecture proposed to let the situation run in its own course. The Himara people were constantly advised to abandon the wrong path and embrace the Albanian national idea, because they were simply Albanian. The minority group should always be seen with a good eye and respected, and by no means should never think that they cannot enjoy the minority rights in Albania. They had to be received in the state offices “with a kind of smile and in such a way” to let them know that they too “enjoy complete unity, justice and impartiality”, as every good Albanian citizen in order to understand the mistake they have made.

The sub-prefecture categorically advised the civil employees in Himara to never let themselves become subject of inferiority or abasement, but rather be serious and correct towards the “minority” group. So, they should not tolerate those who secretly send their children to study in Greece and take the necessary legal measures against them. It was also suggested that the students attending these ‘minority’ schools in Himara should not be granted state scholarships. Children of the ‘minority’ group, who had graduated from foreign high schools and foreign higher education institutions, should not be accepted into the public administration service or other institutions without giving up the idea of “minority”. Scholarships would also be granted when all their children and their siblings start attending national public.⁷⁸

The Ministry of Internal Affairs categorically rejected these proposals of nationalist connotation, and noted that even the part that supported Greek schools had the same right to be public employees as the other citizens.⁷⁹

The Greek element elements in Himara became even more aggressive in the fight against the Albanian schooling. In August 1938, the “minority” group of Himara, Dhërmi and Palasë villages, attempted to take over the state school buildings in these villages. This news spread rapidly and discouraging the population and augmenting the

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, F. MPB, V. 1938, D. 216, p. 5, MPB – to the Prefecture of Vlora, 1 July 1938.

concern of the Albanian national community in these and other surrounding villages. In particular, the part that supported state schools in the municipality of Vuno and the village aldermen were addressing the government a pledge that it should not allow the provision of public school buildings to these persons.⁸⁰ Even the Vlora prefecture considered it dangerous to Albanian national interests to give state school buildings to the “minority” group.⁸¹

In this vague situation the Fascist occupation has somehow found the process of consolidation of national institutions in Himara. The Greek nationalism and Greek movement tented to revive, and the situation under which the Albanian state was found benefitted Greece. The Greek government and Greek nationalism would consider the crash of the Albanian state after the Italian occupation as a rare opportunity to pursue the old expansionist goals towards southern Albania.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1938, D. 217, p. 31, Sub-prefecture of Bregdet - to Prefecture of Vlora, 13 August 1938.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, F. MPB, V. 1938, D. 217, fl. 31, Notes of the Prefecture of Vlora.

Shaban SINANI

THE RECORD MEMORY OF THE GENERAL OF THE DEAD ARMY¹

Gjenerali i ushtrisë së vdekur (hereinafter: *The General of dead army*) was published in a time when the war's events and its protagonists had become memory and would be seen from far as happened in *another time*.

Whether it was Drago Siliqi² or Dritëro Agolli³ who advised Kadare to write the novel, this work came from *memory recall*. It seems it was not a report or a short narration of memory to urge the writing of this novel; it also wasn't a simple intriguing event in the creative fantasy - the exhuming of the foreign army from an Italian military-humanitarian mission - that was charged with fulfilling this task.

At the time when the writer, Ismail Kadare was writing the novel, *The General of the Dead Army*, the historic memory as record existed at least on five forms:

¹ This presentation was delivered at the Scientific Conference *Literature and Memory*, organized by the Department of Literature, Faculty of History and Philology, University of Tirana, Albania.

² Ymer Çiraku, *Drago Siliqi si kritik origjinal letrar*, në *Shekulli*, November 5, 2013, pp. 18-19: It's a known fact that he suggested to Kadare, that one of his novels published at the beginning of 1960, had the essence of a likely novel, a fact that would not delay to come: "*The general of dead army*", a distinguished novel that paved the way to success to Kadare in Albania and all over the world. The writer remembers another circumstance on this visionary and faithful friend: then where under responsibility, without giving to anyone for publishing procedure, convinced that only obstructions and drawing would have, Drago, the director himself, published my book with poems and verses on "*Shekulli im*".

³ Entela Resuli, *Vajza e Dritëroit: Pengu me Kadarenë ditën e vdekjes së babait*, in *Dita*, August 17, 2017: Happened that they have exchanged to each-other literary subjects...About the event of the novel "*The general of the dead army*", Dritëro have heard it in a village and told to his friend: "You write this novel because suits better to your style of narration. I wouldn't write it as you could".

1. The historic archive of the time war in Tirana, and the orders to protect the fascist Italian army after September 8, 1943. Part of this archive are tens of letters, orders and drafts of the highest partisan military command operations in October, 1943, to severally dissociate 129 carabinieri of the Gamucci's column (*colonna Gamucci*)*, and for their physical liquidation in a village of Çermenika.

2. Assisi court archive in Rome (*Corte d'Assise di Roma*) raised charges against two former Albanian commanders of the anti-fascist war, indicted on crimes against humanity, as orderers and executors of the war prisoners, directly involved in massacring the 129 carabinieri of Gamucci column. This trial lasted 11 years and its acts contain thousand pages of testimonies, among which only the self-defense of Xhelal Staravecka remains unpublished, and contains 60 pages.

3. The recollection literature of those who themselves knew colonel Gamucci during the war, felt that it was their human duty to make known their testimony in favor of a post bellum justice about his activity and destiny⁴.

4. A few years before the novel was published, was established another record, that of the archive Ministry of Communal Economy, involved as a collaborative institution with the Italian military-humanitarian mission that arrived in Albania for the disinterment of the war's fallen soldiers. It could be here emphasized that this mission, in a form or another, by primal aim had to enlighten the history of Gamucci's column and the colonel leading it, sometimes on behalf of the mission and sometimes in the name of the investigation of a dark event, sometimes in the name of human morality to honor the death, and sometimes directly as has it begun as military mission that was never been interrupted. Some of these insisting recollections are testified in 1982, 1992, 1993 and 2005⁵. There might be later recollections, on

* On the documents preserved at the State National Archival (orders, reports, correspondence) are mentioned 121 carabinieri, together with their commander Giulio Gamucci. For more see AQSH, Fondi (Fond) 14 (ish-arkivi i PPSH (former PLA archive), Dosja (file) nr. 20, Viti (year) 1943.

⁴ For the Italian opinion this matter was made known immediately after the war, in the book without author *Les italiens en Albanie après le 8 septembre 1943*, Rome 1945.

⁵ Some of the concerned: Totto Palmo, Rai, 1992; capit. Pino Piseddu, mission *Pelican*, 1992; maggiore Cantore Cirs, mission *Pelican*, 1992; Attilio Massimo Iannucci, Ambassador, 2005.

which we miss the data. The author was involved in this research in 2005 due to the work he was doing by the time. He succeeded in getting a more or less verified answer due to the accessibility to the Albanian documents found in the Ministry of Municipal Economy, on the history of the reburials⁶.

5. For the first time, the destiny of the Gamucci column, in the memorial literature and in the Italian investigations, was considered as the true story that inspired Ismail Kadare to write the novel, *The General of the Dead Army*, the novel of colonel Zeta in the Italian publishing of the last two decades⁷. In 2013, in the book entitled *La colonna Gamucci - Alla ricerca della verità*, authored by Tullio and Laura Mereu, followed by another monograph study published this year, entitled, *Da Tirana a Fushë-Gurra: la storia della "colonna Gamucci"*, for the first time is mentioned the comparison between the imaginary general of Kadare (indeed the colonel Zeta) and colonel *Gamucci* and of his 129 carabinieri, executed in October-November 1943 in Zdrajsh of Çermenika. In these two decades, the books of testimony character are not few and the critical examination of the history becomes persistent more than ever. The book authored by Antonio Magagnino *L'eccidio della colonna Gamucci: storia dei Carabinieri Reali in Albania comandati dal colonnello Giulio Gamucci*⁸, part of the known series, *Per non dimenticare (To not forget)* shows the progressive mobilization of historiography papers for reveal of the memory of events putting together the abundant data from the archives⁹, compares the Italian

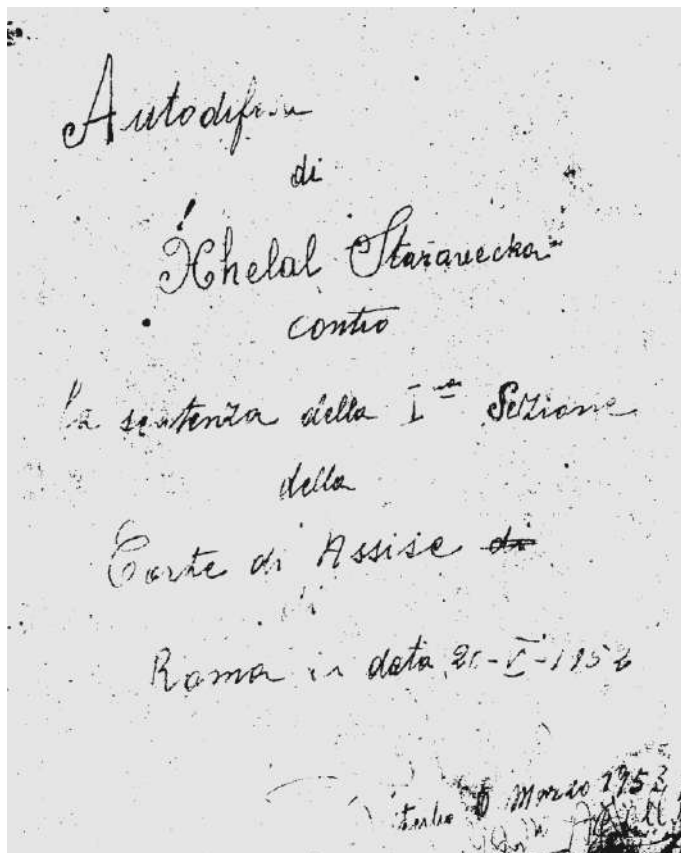
⁶ In the memorandum sent to the Italian ambassador in Tirana Attilio Massimo Iannucci (September 2005) are made known for the first time the Albanian sources that prove the alienation of the remains of an unknown from the search mission, to keep the promise towards the family of colonel Gamucci. The memorandum is found on AQSH, Fondi(Fond) *Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e Arkivave*, year 2005 (September).

⁷ Tullio Mereu e Laura Mereu, *La colonna Gamucci. Alla ricerca della verità*, ediz. Alcione, Trento 2013; Tullio Mereu, *Da Tirana a Fushë-Gurra, la storia della colonna Gamucci*, 2017, p. 6: *A differenza del generale immaginario di Ismail Kadare ci siamo dedicati ad uomini che non sono mai stati sepolti, ma la ricostruzione della loro storia ci ha concesso di vedere le strade, i corsi d'acqua, i monti che hanno attraversato, di accompagnarli fino agli ultimi momenti della loro vita. Questo viaggio ideale è servito a dissotterare le memorie, a ricostruire i fatti, ad eliminare tante contraddizioni, a togliere un manto di pietoso riserbo e di non poca ipocrisia.*

⁸ Antonio Magagnino, *L'eccidio della colonna Gamucci: storia dei Carabinieri Reali in Albania comandati dal colonnello Giulio Gamucci*, ediz. Herald Editore, Roma 2015.

⁹ On the Italian archival sources already published about the fate of the Gamucci's column see: Silvia Trani (a cura di), *L'unione fra l'Albania e l'Italia: censimento delle fonti (1939-*

sources with the Albanian ones, and finally verifies them through the memory of the war's protagonists themselves.



The front text of self-defense (Autodifesa) of Xhelal Staravecka at the Assisi Court, in May 20, 1952-March 6, 1953. (*Corte d'Assise di Roma*)

The memoir literature for the dark event of the murder of 129 carabinieri and their commander has not been lacking in Albania. This book could be mentioned here: *Përballë gjyqit të historisë*, authored by Xhelal Staravecka in the form of a manuscript from 1966, which was

1945) conservate negli archivi pubblici e privati di Roma, ediz. Direzione generale per gli archivi, Roma 2007, p. 228.

published in Tirana a few years ago¹⁰. There are also some writings and interviews in the Albanian and Italian languages, by Kadri Hoxha from 1990-1993¹¹. The historiography and memoirs writings in Albanian in this case have been few¹². Nonetheless, despite their limited number, through them the history of the Gamucci's column, that was also reported by the Allies, has been made known.

The distinction on this issue, that is connected with the identity of the authors, the novel and historic recollection of Ismail Kadare are united by one goal: the investigation of a crime. In the novel, *The General of the Dead Army*, the undeserved death of the colonel Zeta, comes to be explained because he violated a war law, the touching of the civilians, by raping a young Albanian girl. In the Albanian documentary-archival literature of the letters and the orders of the partisan command, arguments are made as although the Gamucci column was surrendered, it was not to be treated as the other part of the fascist army, but should be entirely annihilated, together with the commander, to revenge the people, because it was a carabinieri unit and not a military one. The excuse for this crime exist in the memories of the Albanian protagonists, and its exorcism, the exclusion of oneself from the guilt, by passing the responsibility to the higher ranks of command. In the *Corte d'Assise di Roma* acts, the indictment of the crime compounds the violation of war rules and the execution of prisoners. In the monographic studies of the recent decades, the confirmation of the historic guilt and possibly a moral trial for the persons that are directly involved in this event is the primary objective. The killed historic conscience, the lack of tranquility, the painful memories, and also the distinction between the text recollection and the historic one, are the principal motives.

The comparison between the literary text memory and the historic memory is more and more possible and more complicated. From this comparison, the scholar can go to the question about what the writer

¹⁰ Xhelal Staravecka, *Përballë gjyqit të historisë: kujtime historike 1912-1966*, bot. Naimi, Tiranë 2012.

¹¹ Kadri Hoxha, *Terror i kuq me plumba pas shpine: "Katini i vogël" në Gurin e Muzhaqit*, published in *Republika newspaper*, December 1, 1991.

¹² See for example: Antonio Fernando Guida, *Vrasja e karabinierëve të kolonelit Gamucci - robërit e luftës, 1943*, bot. 55, September 17, 2011, pp. 16-17; see also: Romeo Gurakuqi, *Si e nxiti Dushan Mugosha luftën mes Ballit e Partisë Komuniste*, in *Panorama*, November 1, 2016. See also: Ardian Ndreca, *Historia polifonike*, published in *Mapo newspaper*, August 27, 2010.

Ismail Kadare knew when he wrote the novel, and how the destiny of colonel Zeta is conditioned by the fate of the colonel Giulio Gamucci. (To the time when the novel has been written, only the Albanian sources of the wartime existed, the long correspondence of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the Albanian authorities for accepting the mission of reburial,¹³ the documents and the publishing of the Italian commissariat office for honoring the fallen in war that continues to exist even today (*commissariato generale per le onoranze ai caduti in Guerra*), the writings of the fellow-warriors of the *colonel Gamucci* in the Italian press and especially the file of the trial process who lasted more than 10 years to prove the guilt of Kadri Hoxha and Xhelal Staravecka (together with more than 10 tracts that the latter distributed during the time of his permanence in Italy).) as an exception, the first book about the destiny of the prisoners of war would be published, the first book about the destiny of the prisoners of war and above all of Gamucci's column, on about 330 pages, entitled *Albania 8 settembre '43, 9 marzo 1944*¹⁴, by Alessandro Serra.

This issue becomes more complicated because of another similarity between the two types memories, which might help us to go forward to get an evincible answer. In the documents of the archive of the former Ministry of Communal Economy of Albania are the copies of the search, exhuming, identification and restitution of all the Italian soldiers killed in war, found from the military-humanitarian mission of 1959-1962. Among the other sources draws the attention to the history is the search for the grave of colonel Gamucci. His name is found in the lists of those restituted in Italy (in the document *Estimazione*, that was prepared from the mission itself). Next to colonel Gamucci's name the following data was found:

- Name:	colonello Gamucci.
- Registration number:	18 410.
- Place where has been found:	Zdrajsh, Librazhd.
- What has been found:	Only the head (<i>solo la testa</i>).
- Other notes:	Found in surface.

¹³ Inventario della serie affari politici 1946-1950, Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Archivio Storico Diplomatico, Roma 1977, Busta nr. 15 (1947), Fasc. II, *Eccidio Gamucci*.

¹⁴ Alessandro Serra, *Albania 8 settembre '43, 9 marzo 1944*, ediz. Longanesi, Milano 1974.

There are two other styles of handwriting next to Colonel Gamucci's name in the preliminary registry of the persons found (*estimazione*). Initially, his name did not exist in this document. The name of the colonel was later added, by another person, as hypertext. The first person has only written the remark unknown (*ignoto*) next to number 18410. Subsequently, another person hand-corrected the data and the exhumed with no. 18 410 given to the name of Colonel Gamucci. From the same hand, data has been corrected and added to the next name, which corresponds to the number 18 411. A suspicious change has been made on the *ignoto* remark: "*carabiniere, solo la testa.*" From this register, it appears that the colonel and the carabinieri were found on the surface, in an isolated (*isolato*) place, in a new tomb (*tomba nuova*). Usually, others are marked *tomba vecchia*. The carabineer has been ranked as an *adjutant to Colonel Gamucci*.

On the second document with that title, is a list of those found (*elenco*), that contains the names of the exhumed soldiers and commanders, and the name of Colonel Gamucci has been properly written. From the comparison of the data that these documents contain, lists and registers, can be proven that the serviceman with number 18, 410 had come back twice for repatriation and repose in his country. In the beginning he came as unknown, and later as colonel Gamucci. This is also confirmed by the fact that for all the others an informational personal card (*schedina individuale*) existed, but colonel Gamucci card has not been elaborated upon, or had disappeared. Only the cards of the soldiers found in Zdrajsh that were numbered from 18 400 to 18 409 were preserved. Then, it should be the card of the colonel, which is missing. Further, there is a leap in numbers to card number 18, 411.

The documents reported that groups of Albanian and Italian gravediggers started in the spring of 1961 to search and exhume the remains of the Italian soldiers killed during the Italian-Greek war and, in general, in the Second World War as based on a state agreement. A document dated 1961 reported that massive graves of executed Italian soldiers exist in Zdrajsh village, Librazhd.

An official report dated December 31, 1961, about the efforts made during that year to find the graves of the Italian soldiers in the Librazhdi region stated that there was a mass grave at the place called Qafa e Parmakut near Rajca but that it was inaccessible because of the

snow and because it is a border zone. It was also reported that around 100 executed Italians were buried in Fushë-Gurrë, Orenja village and 20 executed officers were buried in Zdrajsh, but it was stated that the area was inaccessible because of the snow. In a report of two weeks later, dated January 15, 1962, it is said that the mission couldn't go in Fushë-Bardhë because of the snow and because in this place, in a hollow, is buried colonello Gamucci, together with other 10 officers. The same source stressed that in Qafë të Parvallit 13 executed people were found, but that couldn't be reached because of the snow. This was following the correspondence with another source, where it is said that colonel Gamucci is buried in Guri i Muzhaqit, together with the other 10 officers. Some days after, through an official attestation issued by the chairman of the Zdrajsh village, it is affirmed that in this village are some hollows, and some Italians are buried there. The attestation is accompanied by a draft-design, where are marked the places of the execution and the burial sites.

The concoction with the bones of an unknown person sent to the family of colonel Gamucci is discovered from a letter of general Domenico Bandini, mission's chief, sent to the director of the Communal Economy in Tirana. The letter, dated May 23, 1962, states that the bones of the colonel indeed are not found. In this letter, general Bandini begs the Albanian official to make the impossible for the continuation and the intensification of the searches on the three massive graves in *Orenjë to find the 100 Italian soldiers because the Italian authorities were informed that have been found*. Bandini also writes that the remains of the colonel Gamucci are found and his family and the Ministry of Defense are notified¹⁵.

Going back to the question in the beginning: what Ismail Kadare knew for the destiny of colonel Gamucci, the record imposes the twofold question: what he knew about the destiny of the Gamucci's column during the war and what he knew about a possible manipulation with the remains of somebody to bring it back alienated in Italy with the name of the colonel, to give peace to his family. Among the most favorable arguments in expelling the coincidence causalities between the history's text and the memory can be posed like this:

¹⁵ AQSH, Fondi(Fond) *Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e Arkivave*, year 2005 (September).

1. Among the people aware of the 129 Italian carabinieri executed in Çermenika was also the general Tahir Kadare¹⁶, which the writer often mentions in some of his autobiographic novels (including the ideological quarrel with him in the novel *Vajza e Agamemnonit*.)¹⁷ His name comes sometimes in the exchange letters between the orderers for the collective execution of *Gamucci's column*. It is supposed that in the conversation with the unwanted uncle, the writer could have taken more information about the event.

2. Preparatory searches are part of the creative practice of Kadare. "*Dimri i vetmisë së madhe*" cannot be understood without the advice of the secret archives of the time. Even for the novel "*Koncert në fund të dimrit*" it is known that he asked to see the archives. The novel, "*Krushqit janë të ngrirë*" came after he was refused the permission to see the documents of the Albanian-Yugoslav break during 1946-1948. "*Një dosje për Homerin*" started from the meeting that the writer had with the Homeric specialist Albert Lord, during the proceedings of AIESEE Congress in Izmir in 1979¹⁸.

3. Another stimulating sign to believe that the author knew more than the others for both the events was: for the massacre of Çermenika and the manipulation of the remains of an unknown person, alienated with the commander of the annihilated column, can be seen in the colonel Gamucci's name. The Greek alphabet follows this order: **A-α** (alpha, άλφα); **B-β** (beta, βήτα); **Γ-γ** (gamma, γάμμα); **Δ-δ** (delta, δέλτα); **E-ε** (epsilon, έψιλον); **Z-ζ** (zeta, ζήτα). From *gamba/gama* (*Gamucci*) to *zeta* (The Black Colonel), to his initials, has only a leap in two letters. Meanwhile, the names of the battalion that Colonel Gamucci commanded were the Blue Battalion and Punitive Battalion,

¹⁶ *Nelle giornate immediatamente precedenti al 15 ottobre, Enver Hoxha, Mehmet Shehu, Tahir Kadare, Ramadan Çitaku e Dusan Mugosa decisero che i carabinieri dovevano essere eliminati. Le loro parole indicano in maniera chiara e definitiva come l'odio partigiano contro i carabinieri sia stata la causa determinante della decisione.* Tullio Mereu, *Da Tirana a Fushë-Gurra: la storia della "colonna Gamucci"*, Roma 2014, p. 58.

¹⁷ I don't love my uncle. *From many years, any time we met, was a custom to quarrel, because we had different opinions on everything: for the incompetence of the cadres, for the market deficits, for Stalin, for the TV shows, for the issue of Kosova etc.* I. Kadare, *Vajza e Agamemnonit*, bot. 55, Tiranë 2003, p. 52.

¹⁸ On this fact and its importance for a genetic history of the novel "*Një dosje për Homerin*" was also mentioned by Eileen Battersby, well-known Irish literary reviewer in her article, *In search of Homer in old Albania*, published on *The Irish Times*, 16 August 1997.

reminding us that these nominations were distinct among other units of the fascist army, and reminding us of the distinction between the carabinieri and militia.

2

comandante la Legione dei Carabinieri di Tirana, con i suoi reparti quasi al completo.....

Il Colonnello Gamucci con i suoi reparti al completo, non era prigioniero dei tedeschi, perché innanzi tutto il Colonnello Gamucci lascia Tirana il 9 settembre del '43 che i tedeschi non erano arrivati ancora; poi i prigionieri non camminano centinaia e centinaia di chilometri soli per andare in prigione senza la scorta del carceriere. Come si è voluto dimostrare per il Colonnello Gamucci. Il prigioniero quando per la strada trova l'occasione di svignarsela non ci pensa due volte, il Colonnello Gamucci prigioniero, seguendo la strada, 15 chilometri da Tirana i partigiani gli propongono che da prigioniero diventasse libero unendosi con loro, lui dà ordine ai suoi dipendenti che aprono il fuoco e sopraffanno le due formazioni partigiane, una comandata da Xhevdet Petrella e l'altra da Hamit e Jusuf Keci uccidendo tanti partigiani. Un prigioniero simile che va da solo in carcere e uccide per istrada chi lo vuol liberare dalla prigionia, la logica umana non lo accetta né mai ha avuto luogo una simile storia in tutti gli episodi di tale natura da quando il mondo è mondo. No, Colonnello Gamucci va verso la Germania con i suoi dipendenti perché in Albania avevano agito male ma troppo male ed in essa non avevano salvezza, perciò volontariamente viaggiavano a riunirsi e diventare collaboratori dei tedeschi.

La Corte afferma che il Colonnello Gamucci aveva amici in Albania; un fatto simile non si nega, ma amici aveva quegli albanesi che avevano collaborato con lui durante l'occupazione italiana: come Shevket Veriacci che fu capo del Governo fantoccio dall'aprile del 1939 fino al 1941, come Qazim Mulleti prefetto di Tirana, come Pandeli Papalillo questore di Tirana durante tutta l'occupazione e via dicendo.

La Corte stessa afferma che il Colonnello Gamucci rifiutò la proposta dei partigiani, oltre il rifiuto alla Commissione del Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale a Tirana, di arrendersi, e aprì il fuoco contro gli stessi per non arrendersi, sia nel primo caso ~~15 Km. da~~ Tirana, sia nel secondo quando fu catturato strada facendo per riunirsi

From the unpublished self-defense of Xhelal Staravecka

The comparison of the record neither adds nor limits the values of the novel, *The General of the Dead Army*, but it is helpful for the genetic story of the work and verification of the relations between history and literature. The latter is already unavoidable, because in

Italy, whether the publishing memoirs or exploratory (in the field of military history), the question has been raised about the way the prisoners of war were treated, as a test of morality for the parts involved in. It is known that history is inclined to hide oneself. The literature, going from the historic memory, also stays faithful to it, accomplishing at the same way its aesthetic-literary functions. The verification of the relations between them is at meantime a possibility to ascertain on what level the fantasy and the recognition, imagination and the parlor exist within the writer.

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Nysret KRASNIQI

ANTON PASHKU'S SEMIOTICS

1. Motivation

I would like to think that people who deal with literature in the Albanian territory have read Anton Pashku's work. Thus, I want my paper to not be considered a harbinger of his work, but the internal memory within memory of the literary heritage, as a continuous question mark, which I want to share with you, as experts of Anton Pashku's work. Good literature, holds always in abeyance pending further inquiries, even when its reader has more developed oblivion rather than memory, Metaphorically, in this case I speak forgetting the beauty of structural detailed analyses, to focus on some phenomena of Anton Pashku's work.¹

2. Kuteli, Koliqi, Pashku

Pashku's work is already part of the Albanian classic literature and literary canon and is published and republished. The classical devalues every tendency of theoretical eclipse, because it keeps alive the existence of theory and never the vice versa. The classical introduces itself in aesthetic comparison only to reflect the value of literary morality. This aesthetic comparison proves the time's relativity and shows that, in this case, Pashku's work, could be seen in the light of the Albanian literary history. Who are the classical works that could be compared with Pashku's work? Kuteli and Koliqi, by all means.

¹During the elaboration of this text on Anton Pashku work, I strained the "forgetfulness" method as explicit reference, relying in implicit references or memory references. This, by saying method, seemed to me reasonable also for the fact that relied on a long experience, I have read again and again the work of this author. The personal empirics on reading Pashku's work is now reaching a decade.

Death is a dominant theme of Kuteli's writings. It has biblical ideal bases which extolled death through a classical narrative style, canonizing its prose as many versions of the universal question of the eternal crises between the *body* and *soul*. Ago Jakupi, Xheladini and Tata are the characters of this dichotomy, which very often could be found in our arch-psychology.

Ernest Koliqi analyzed the Canon's imperative morality on literary morality over the principles of care for the ethnic basis, making the particularity rise over the general, with a work on the universal as a melancholic form, endangered authenticity paradise. Doda, Diloça, Hilushi and Gaspri are Koliqi's creatures living among us as a quixotic Albanian version.

Kuteli and Koliqi created the dialectical Geg-Tosk metonymy, exploiting the simplicity of their philosophy, also as a *kratilik* concept, because the language (the dialect) is not only a communication arbitrary mean, but also an intelligible strata of spiritual coloring, a linguistic monument that comes from the arch-psychology of the generation that have spoken it. Here, we are at the same line with Eqerem Çabej: the southern and the northern who re-established the linguistic literary philosophy of their circles, anyhow creating and recreating the purposeful forms of the Albanian modern prose.

What about Pashku? Kuteli and Koliqi could be found in Pashku, and even beyond their literary morality philosophy. There is no author that begins its paper without having in mind the repeat and not the resemblance to his precursors. There is no author that wants to be alive in the national literature and not entirely exploiting the linguistic possibilities of the proper realm, to be more mature even beyond the language's power when it turns into literary characters and syllables. This plurality of desires when is connected with the prose's form, necessarily shows an authorship's conscience that even though inherited, the language is linguistically recreated by the authors.

3. Semiotics - symbol's index

Let's remember: Anton Pashku begun as narrator with the philosophy that the writing is a *creation of the world and not its camouflage*, challenged the narrative lineal, which is a reminiscence of

the people's transmission of the language in the literary prose challenging its camouflage even when the latter was at the height of conveying universal themes. Instead, Anton Pashku totally exploited the language's philosophy and recreated the Geg language in the territory of Kosova, instead of reflexive confession, created the semiotic confession. Pashku's *Semiotic confession* has nothing to do with the De Saussure's ideas, but with the awareness that in arts, in most of cases, more valuable is the philosophy *how it's said* rather than *what is said*, that how the signs of the old language convey new meanings and how the sings of the new language stick with the old one, without harming its camouflage. To narrate through signs means to sublimate narration, concentrate of reading experiences and to create a literary world that powerfully melts the author's knowledge emotion to restore this effort in literary experience and evidence. And the literary evidence of Anton Pashku, even fantasy or with some real reference, always begins after an experience. So, the semiotic narration of this author begins from the conclusion or the end, connecting the raw of syllables of an experience as a reminiscence of a character, of that character that is always created as a sign, hereupon a symbol, and never as arbitrary denomination. Such a narration necessarily strains the trajectory or the descriptive meditative circle, minimizes the so-called narrative real time to strain the associate-thinking speed straining, thus the Pashku's narration has more description rather than narration. Although, in Pashku's prose we have dominance of the character, we stress that also this author gives with relativism the fragile dichotomy of metonymy with metaphor, consequently, through a multifarious aesthetics, to exit from the stylistic powerful game with the characters.

Thus, Pashku's *narration with characters or the narration poetry*, is "airily" connected with an idea, which should be developed as a *theme* not through predicative narration, but through the strain of symbol, which becomes basis of idea's volcano, thus the theme to exactly realize the connection of the symbol with the situations, who strain the authorship's intentional idea. Hereupon, first the idea and then its fulfillment through the character, at Pashku's work, grasps two dominions: the theme of war and the theme of love, tested and strained in the individual's psychology.

On human principle and on the idea over the literary morality, Pashku considers war a monstrosity and his idea is a knotting tie to see it's effect or monstrosity over the individual. Thus, the individual is the war's character, murderer or murdered, through which is stigmatized at the circle of the characters the monstrosity of the death. The war divides the loving ones, psychologically asphyxiates the individual, from one side makes orphans, while on the other, dehumanizes and drives crazy the murderers. In a no postured (non-postured) religiosity, Anton Pashku seems having the idea that the war is *diabolical intention*, who makes the world chaotic, and hell on earth and not as God would wish, harmony in His land.

When he has the idea of love, which he considers an idealism, Anton Pashku mostly characterizes the dimension of disagreement rather the dimension of happiness. Love is conceived by Pashku as a form of war, who necessarily touches the individual in the deepest psychological precipices. We remind here the narrations *Xixëllojat*, *Nën qarr po rrinte vasha* and *Anija e dejun*.

The individual is Pashku's starting point in his associations to create creatures that cover the painful connective fields. As it seems, in Pashku's conception, the literary writing is not the means of creating a happy world, of exploiting the literary form to bring forward the ideas and doctrines of a real social, political or ideological doctrinal time. Pashku, even when creates the characters as a sign of ideas for the universal themes like war and love, he sees the motivation for those as historic, so he has the awareness that the literary text is not saved by the theme of the temporal motive, but the inner creative style, that always is connected with the deepest spheres of individual's thought, who allegedly suffers the war's or love's consequences, touching in this way the universality of the human pain as a human phenomenon that is intertwined with both these crises situations, which necessarily are touching the individual to his human back-bone emotions. Thus, for Pashku, the motive is only a means of building the character as a phenomenological idea.

However, Anton Pashku, over his creative logic of fulfilled ideas in art through the character as a semiotic narrative axes, doesn't stops only on two dominant phenomenon's of the principal phase, war and love, of his narrative creativity. In his creative decline comes the novel *Oh*,

which since its title as *palatal symbolism* through semiotics challenges by saying, the traditional metonymic semantics of the novel. The title calls for interpretation at least in three semantic indications: the transformation of the prosaic metonymy in palatal symbolism, the symbolic heritage of graphemes and the multi connotation of the expletive *Oh*, even on authorship intention to sign the opening of a literary world as a literary-philosophical question mark. The palatal symbolism reflects the ideal of the motivated language, or the *kratilizm*, the symbolic heritage of praphems catches the *O*, who suggests the cry, but also the circle, while the *H* undermines the cut and the file, and meanwhile the multi-connotation of the *expletive* that flings you in the wide field of pain suggesting motives and themes that would be fulfilled through the heavy tessellation with the characters.

Who is the index of the characters, which Anton Pashku connects in his semiotic narrative circle? The pyramid, the old-man, the snake, the sheep, the mountain, the two-stringed lute, the sunset, the twilight, breuks and desidiats, the two-side mirror, the balloons, the misogynist, the cosmopolitan, the father, the hipper pin, so the motives are turned in characters' form which source the themes that strain the ideas. To worship, this nexus of characters is the symbolic armory, that keeps the connection of themes in the novel's thematic of the game with the symbols. So, through a hermetic adventure, if we play with these characters, we would mark some other themes: *the pyramid* – the theme of hierarchy, the mysteries of utopia, the *old-man* – the theme of heritage, the empiric mythic oral literature, *the snake* – the theme of Gnosticism latent of a hostile world or of human genetic poison, *the sheep* – the theme of biblical philosophy of God's relation with the man, the longing for the unreachable, the *mountain* – the theme of the ethnic-national space, which burns in the historic *abysses*, *the two-stringed lute and the sunset* – the theme of arch-national Illyrian symbolic, *the twilight* – the theme of the hesitant times and of inner betrayals, *breuks and desidiats* – the theme of disagreements in time of crises, *two-side mirrors* – the theme of the fraudulent, to use a one of the characters of Koliqi, “merchants of flags”, *the balloons* – the theme of demagogy as form of living in the One Person power, *the misogyny* – the theme of non-cultural orgy tendency and losing oneself and national identity, the *cosmopolitan* – the theme of flattening the utopian

ideal of equality, *the ground* – the theme of the connection of our man with the land as diligence for authenticity, *the hipper pin* – the theme of closure, isolation, systemic murder as tendency to annihilate the dignity of the human and national identity.

However, these important characters — of the Pashku's circle segment — make up the pivotal positions, nevertheless, through the element's system, are complemented with substitutive under characters, who change all his prose in the character. Let's pretend, that if the pivotal character for a phenomenon stands *the pyramid*, its artistic eclipse it's not made by giving *narration explanations*, but with other tangent characters, symbols, as can be the rise of the pyramid with *the sand of the artificial lake*, then *the wind* destroys it etc., as an idea of false illustration. Let's pretend, that as a pivotal character we have the 99 black sheep and the pretended lost the hundred sheep comes as the non-existential of the betrayal incomplete as a human generic factum. From this way of writing comes the opinion that Anton Pashku, known as novelist, has always had the longing to be a poem lover, by watching this form as the queen of the words arts, even as heritage, even as desire for its reign in modernity even why he himself has written the form of the prose, that proves the high author's culture, and also gives signs that no national literature has achieved *the elite maturity*.

All these eclipsed pivotal-characters with other characters as poetic mosaic in the form of prose should be intertwined and make the whole of the circle or they should use a veneration of Sabri Hamiti of *intelligence' triumph*. To pleasantly relay on this intertwinement, Anton Pashku dramatizes his text exactly where it should act with other cases in the novel chapters. Thus, as form of the chapters, Anton Pashku, through the game with the dramatic tradition creates the dialogue, who as a transgression, it's indeed a monologue. To be motivated this philosophy should be found, invented or at least thought even in another act. Pashku through his performance creates two symbols: *He* and *She*.

He, the symbol character shows the individual, which thinks and through his association thoughts enters within memories of many voices, and as such sublimates the philosophy of the thinking man, an imagery that necessarily is mostly intertwined with the author's authorship intent. While, the symbol character, *She*, shows the

individual that “rectifies” He, through rejection, by denying the tendency for pragmatism motivating in this way the dialogue's immanent, which in essence for the character is translated as monologue. Is this a reminiscence of generic incomprehension, or a philosophic clash for life, the world and the universe? The return of the principal incomprehension, at the *Bible*, seems that comes as a distant voice, but stays near the human being, man and woman, voice which Anton Pashku changes in the dialogue-monologue of pre-basic dramatic genre.

Thus, the creative force of Anton Pashku's syntagma and a paradigm of prosaic characters, it's a relativism of genre's laws, makes him author of literature's kingdom that achieves to create his Book, the book of Pashku.

4. Pashku's book

This book is a cultural icon even in another intellectual plane. Debates have arisen very often over the interinfluences in literature or what the theoreticians and the philosophers call as the problem of *agony*. This problem, Anton Pashku seems that has better understood than other authors of the Albanian literary prose, because he has powerful literary awareness in these three dimensions: *awareness for the literary imagination, awareness for the Albanian literary tradition and the universal literary synthesis models*.

The awareness for the literary imagination, however with inner complement sources, for Anton Pashku is the extreme of making active five tastes over the classic poetic understanding, applied in the art that is written in lines and not in verses. This awareness is an intentional escape from the arbitrary, even as a split from pragmatism. However, on Pashku seems that happens an imaginary conformity with *psycho-empiric* sources and the *awareness for the imaginary* as artistic immanence. It seems that this conformity, externally assisted in the restriction meaning, is transformed on author's way of life, which means that it would be life of the pre-literary character.

The awareness for the Albanian literary tradition comes as a responsibility towards authenticity's gnoseology and in this way of his literary form. Pashku has not considered the language, at least the

Albanian languages, as a communication mean only, who in its antiquity carried within her aureole the authentic philosophical experience of our man from ethnicity to modernity. The Albanian language is not only considered as a mean of the Albanian literature, but a form of the spiritual and cultural evolution of the Albanians. Thus, if the narrations are language and come down through oral tradition, Anton Pashku knew, loved and read Albanian. Anton Pashku is very old to be young and very young to be old. He honored and respected with admiration the concept which we have better articulated from Elliot about the *individual tradition and talent*. However, Anton Pashku listen and read Albanian to create and re-create the index of characters that source from the psycho-somatic labyrinths of the authorship personae, even to add and strengthen his dreamer formation. Thus, the Albanian literary tradition in Anton Pashku's psycho-somatic is not integrated as imitation philosophy of the "old," but as a *totality of the re-created Albanian language multiple mosaic*.

The universal *index of literary models* is tightly tied with the longing or insomnia for the literary and cultural reading as recognition immanency who is accompanied in the pleasure of life. Anton Pashku was not the type of literary that on behalf of authenticity accepts the isolation from the other's spiritual, i.e., from the other's language. The language of other's literature, as awareness for longing and recognition, preoccupies Pashku at the most cultural form that a lover of the highest literary style might have. He hasn't ventured and proved the agony with casual works, but he read so much the world literary canon over the zero time in literature. Thus, he refused *historicist* reading, but accepted *iconic reading*. The iconic reading undermines the transformation of the books read into philosophical-literary concepts, as consequence of what surges out of their text, so in cultural literary symbols, which would approach with the author's literary awareness of the Albanian literary tradition. The symbol of this philosophy is the the literary text as self-sufficient without the tendency of epithets on theoretical formation bases. Thus, Pashku reads the *Authors*. The Authors of Pashku won't make similarity pressures, but they develop the intuition, intelligence and creativity to face the index power of literary signs, icons that strengthen the literary morality. The literary morality is preserved only by the authors, thus Anton Pashku considers literary

agony the imminent ethics of culture, that needs to be investigated as inner semiotic index in his work. Regarding the *agony*, Pashku succeeds in showing us that he preserves the philosophy of intersection, not the philosophy of similarity. It can never be said that Pashku's text is similar to some Author, but it can be said that he dialogues in implicit and latent way with the universal literary model of cultural indexes.

This literary awareness, even this essential concept for the art of speech, make Anton Pashku an original author of the Albanian literature, but at the same time a unique model of the Albanian literature, which would raise many question marks, which are left open or latent after he defining him as *breaker and solidifier* of the literary tradition. Anton Pashku, aware that is not young, he was conscious that he should be different from the old. His literary morality always is challenging for the reader, causing even a permanent discussion about the philosophy of *artistic reception*. The semiotic narration of Anton Pashku, solidified the writing of Albanian prose, and surprised the reader. If by reader we mean even the literary reviewer, the latter was often surprised when he tried to search and "find" the *Ariadnes thread*! In this way, when the literary work on prose was facing the reader in Kosova, necessarily the first critics were the pretenders of his work's investigation and validation. But, the surprise that Pashku's narration brought to them was manifested in two types of reading, and was not in harmony at all with the literary reading. The principal reading, nonetheless investigated the depth, wouldn't penetrate in the abyss of the characters, but would take the theme of war, misreading it and consequently, misinterpreting it. The effort to attribute a non being philosophy to the text, was always accompanied with the doubt that why Anton Pashku wasn't writing *happy literature*, which was expanding as a *new seed* in the Albanian literature of Kosova. *The lack of happiness* in Pashku's literature was seen with denial from the paternalistic ideological critique. The corrugation of literary connotation in investigating and misinterpreting the theme of war, and then the request towards the literature to be more clear and communicating, showed that the literary critique was not in accordance with and able to penetrate in the nature of Pashku's writing. It was problematic for Pashku being praised by the critics, because he was out

of the scheme established by ideological instructions. However, Pashku was continuously amazed by the literature which some of his readers considered unconscious *labyrinth* of the fact that might be attached to the *Ariadnes thread*. In the history of Kosova's critique I would distinguish two scholars, which investigated Pashku's text to evaluate literature as *differentia specifica*. Mensur Raifi with the psychoanalytic critique, which was adapted to the investigation of situations of the character's crises in Pashku's text and Sabri Hamiti, who through *hermeneutics, close reading* and *literary phenomenology*, was responsible for making Anton Pashku an iconic writer in the framework of the Albanian literature by investigating the author's awareness of the thinking prose, which is characterized by the structured character in circle and by the authentic writing. However, these two scholars had the power of intuition and rationality, an eminency belonging to the juxtaposition of the literary text, of that text that is enmeshed through characters and focused on the similar reader or the lover of the game with topics and symbols.

5. Cultivating aesthetic glamour

We have to accept that the general evolution of the artistic literary taste has been very slow among us. The established taste principally formed by the Enlightenment, romantic, ideological literary reading, stratified in narrowed social and political occasions, wouldn't swiftly face the literary taste that would offer the unity of game and thought in the heavy adventured creativity. Anton Pashku distinguished the tastes "searching" even a reader, which is not heavily conjured from the literary historicism over establishment, but prefers the creation of authentic forms that challenge the propagated veneration in literature.

How does this *reader* find the *Ariadnes thread* on Pashku's work? First, this reader overpasses the phase of literary enthusiasm, (if he does so) and tries to feel the sound, the echo, the lament, the surprise of literature's phenomenon, so *the music and the literature*, which can never be felt by that person who pretends that music should have only a sound! The music of literature is the emotion field, which stands beyond the understanding and the rational. The feeling of freedom that music of literature creates is the first step of this reader to walk in the

Pashku's imaginary field. In this way, when this reader understands the special *melos* of Pashku, it opens the possibility of investigating the author's "instruments" dialogue to gradually taste the *harmony of the voice and characters*, which even why are with different cultural codes, source and are realized from the author's understanding which as primary goal has to achieve the degree where ideas "should" come from the characters, thus from the *semiosis*. The semiosis reading asks for the reader hankering after for culturally knowing their *index*. The introduction in communication with Pashku's Index of semiosis, it's the first step of finding the *Ariadnes thread*, if we could talk about a thread! The communication with this index means that perplexes for knowing the beauty, which in solid arts has never been met in the in "raw" form. Thus, Pashku looks for the reader that is gradually formed in the space of literature to see his work as a special sign even in this space. This "request" towards the reader is investigated, is felt by us especially on the *Oh* book, which again is made with an intent of implicit differentiation. If this reader in his way of love towards literature, achieves to feel the sincere taste of this book, no doubt proves his intelligence to live the pleasure that Pashku's literary pharmacology offers as a pure spiritual "nourishment."

If the opposite would happen, eventually then, if he comes of the search of a type or other literary taste or he should continue the closure of his emptiness's towards the semiosis indexes of Anton Pashku! The book titled, *Oh*, authored by Anton Pashku is the Albanian literary labyrinth that always waits there for him to be ready to enter it!

Thus, in the literature of Kosova, Anton Pashku's prose has not only established a high aesthetic reading "standard," but also an influential immanency at his generation creative authors, and on the future literary generations. This would mean that the prose writing among us, as a literary and cultural phenomenon, with Anton Pashku, has passed from the elite formation level to the elite influential level. If we glorify the development of literary prose after Pashku, we see an interesting influence, not as the Pashku's work mimetic, but as stylistic love. The love for the Pashku's style means a closer affinity with the literature's phenomenon as escape from the literary writing transformation in ideological medium. The style of Anton Pashku was perceived as a model for those authors on which the concept about the prose was

connected with the dominance of the character as non-ordinary real to create the reflexive prose, the thoughtful one.

This means that a better understanding of the literary morality has been achieved, i.e., love for the aesthetic morality that shines in Anton Pashku's work. Which is the aesthetic morality admired by Pashku's followers in the Albanian literary evolution?

The extraordinary deduction of the artistic expression in prose until the oncoming of its change in the pure elliptical poetry, without hurting any philosophic sentence of this narrative literary form; the "war" of melting the emotion and the ratio, fulfilled as created and re-created character, then after is connected to a range of characters forming their specific index in the always overturned imaginary narrative circle; the awareness on the national literary tradition without wilting in any moment a superficial hyper textual carrying, but integrating it at the "body" of his prose as echo of the dead voices; the triumph of the game with the genre's forms without having in any moment the tendency of aiming to ironise with them; the triumph of conveying of ideas on life, death, notion, world, universe, and then the policies of philosophy through macro and micro characters; the awareness of literary universality that as matrix has the special elements of Albanian nativity, as monument of harmonizing the arch-history of history in legal permanent relation between identity and the global.

6. Literary morality

Thus, Anton Pashku's work with the aesthetic morality, now part of the national literary canon, influences the Albanian literary culture. On seeking about the religiosity in arts, necessarily we undermine two interesting implications, which percolate the creative process or the religious presence at the inner conceptions of the author. *The religion in art* and its transformation into cult and, also the presence of the *sacred letters* as motivated anti-culture are melted in the artistic work. When we interconnect with the literary art we have to glorify that it's not at all the case of creating the idea of *symbolists* for *poetry as faith*, in the meaning of religion, so of the relation of an interconnected faith that the literary author establishes with the literary world or the mysterious and metaphysical phenomenon of the artistic expression.

This literary faith was beyond any doubt possessed by Anton Pashku. Here, he carved the artistic expression in the form of prose. However, over the principle that the literary text should preserve its specific morality, Anton Pashku, among other things, went even in an implicit culture that is interconnected with the conception of the world through the inherited religious eyeglass. Love and kindness, individual's freedom and collectivity, even that as biblical reminiscence discourse in the whole Pashku's work, presents powerful coordinates which wear his work with pleasant religious halo. So, the faith that through art can be established in a specific artistic morality without hurting in no form of the inherited morality, which comes as a religious voice and as a deny of categories that violate the poetry of the human life. The specific literary morality is the essential mark that makes Anton Pashku a classic of the Albanian literature, while his semiotic narration is his lively and literary stile.

Evalda PACI

**THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE BY GJON NIKOLLË KAZAZI
(1743), A SYNTHESIS OF CATECHISM AND DIDACTICS**

The Christian doctrine by Gjon Nikollë Kazazi (1743) belongs to a singular context in terms of publishing period, its destination and modest dimensions of this volume. It is about an important endeavor that aims to approach the Albanian reality with the Christian Doctrine, the importance of which is re-emphasized in the following proceedings Acts of Council of Trento and also in the re-publishing of Catechism by Roberto Bellarmino.

The tradition of our studies enumerates a series of such conclusions and essays, nevertheless without excluding also those elements of Catechism contained in the first part of Gjon Buzuku's book, mostly known as the Missal of Gjon Buzuku. Very important remain the efforts of Pjetër Budi, who considered the realization, translation adaption into Albanian of the Doctrine we're here discussed about, but also of the handbooks that are unavoidably thematically and contextually connected with it: The Roman ritual and *Speculum confessionis* (The mirror of the confession). The compendium in which Gjon Nikollë Kazazi presents to believers precedes such realizations in time, strengthening the opinion that their value stands even in the fact that have prepared and oriented the subsequent publishing, that in some aspects are presented more consolidated in the direction of some textual and terminological elements.

The name of Gjon Nikollë Kazazi is connected with the meaningful moments that directly include the old Albanian scriptures and in particular Gjon Buzuku's book. To this prelate we owe a denomination

resume who tends to adapt the content of the book, because he speaks about a *too old Missal, impaired from the time*.¹

Further researches that shed light over Kazazi's interest towards Gjon Buzuku's book, make possible to more concretely understand how he was explained even in connection of specific parts of this book (which he should had closely known), exactly in the meantime he was foreshadowing these issues to fellow Arbëresh in the south of Italy.²

Meanwhile, later researches which include items of this book, also names of Arbëresh world prelates that were included in research of earlier texts and liturgy practice, make possible the mention of Kazazi's name and underline his role in direction of respective relations that were established thanks to the common interest on this spinning wheel of problems. Enough to remember precisely in this case the extended commentaries of few years earlier by the well-known scholar Bardhyl Demiraj had dedicated to this problematic and to self-correction in some lively circumstances that directly include Gjon Nikollë Kazazi and the issue of his relation with the history of the book into question.³

The historical discovery and interpretation of the physical situation of this book and what such a fact represents, which for years has included the studies where are presumably treated the research history of tracking old Albanian texts, also remaining impressive for every committed reader and for every scholar of this field of studies. In a certain way, Kazazi's denomination although it is not absolute and not only all inclusive in relation with the real content of this book construction, had a continuous influence to the use of a term or

¹ G. Petrotta, *Popolo, lingua e letteratura albanese (a cura di M. Mandalà)*, Edizioni Mirror, Palermo, 2003, p. 98: Questo è l'antichissimo Messale Albanese per antichità tutto stracciato che S.E. l'Arcivescovo di Scopia Monsignor Don Giovanni Battista di Nicola Casasi, albanese di Giacova, verso l'anno 1740 aveva con meraviglia visto a Roma nel Collegio di Propaganda. Volle da esso trascrivere di proprio pugno un esemplare dell'ultima pagina, lieto di mandarlo in dono all'inclito P. Giorgio Guzzetta, fondatore del Seminario albanese in Palermo e di altri Istituti albanesi, prototipo delli spiriti magnanimi e dell'animo e della generosità della nazione albanese.

² B. Demiraj, *Jeta dhe trashëgimia e Gjon P. Nikollë Kazazit*, Botime Françeskane, Shkodër, 2013, p. 105-108. We wish to clarify that in this paper we would not stop in the priority issue of discovering Gjon Buzuku's book. We have put in evidence like other previous scholars Kazazi's stand or opinion about the complex contextual nature of this book.

³ B. Demiraj, *Gjon Nikollë Kazazi dhe "Doktrina" e tij*, Botime ASHAK, Prishtinë, 2006; B. Demiraj, *Jeta dhe trashëgimia e Gjon P. Nikollë Kazazit*, Botime Françeskane, Shkodër, 2013, p. 105 v.

denomination on Buzuku's book. Nevertheless, his concrete nature made the inclusion in it of some modest sacerdotal books possible.

The Christian Doctrine by Gjon Nikollë Kazazi represents a compendium in the best meaning of the word, presenting under the pretension of simplified explication of some basic notions that stand in the foundations of Bellarmino's Catechism. This catechism, with its variants since the Council of Trento, directly included the Balkan countries in which the practice of Christian liturgy was present and part of the life of the relevant populations.

An analytical view focused on the contextual analyze of this handbook, and also the tracking of some elements that belong to catechism and also to the specific lexicon of liturgical terminology, would put in evidence the case of involvement and of content in this modest work and of the uses that some years ago were made object from previous authors who undertook the realization of textual models not entirely equal, but that could not be avoided from the question to use of a terminology that without any doubt should be or should aim to be standardized. In this view, this specific register of terminology can be said that pierced a kind of itinerary since the first book that is known to day in our studies tradition and until further works that are presented simpler at the content and textual model. The publishing of the Christian Doctrine follows chronologically the publishing of the Acts of the Council of Arbër (1703). At the same time, it could also be considered the fact that is followed from another different achievement as is the Christian Doctrine (*Doktrina e kërshen*) elaborated by father G. Guagliata (Rome, 1845)⁴ and presented in two languages that stand side by side: Italian and Albanian. The terminology of liturgy is examined even in other small volumes close in time, a part of which are followers of Kazazi's doctrine, that even might not prove the fact that the authors could have discussed with one another, are also good and considerable steps in this directions.

Seen even in the approximation view with these afore mentioned achievements, cannot not be put in evidence the particularity that this small work who has come out from the hands of prelate Kazazi is presenting in many points of view.

⁴ Dottrina Cristiana del Card. Bellarmino, della Compagnia di Gesù, tradotta in albanese dal P.G. Guagliata, della stessa compagnia, Roma, coi tipi della S.C. De Propaganda Fide, 1845.

As essential elements of every doctrinal manuals of catechism, even in this work written by Kazazi, are tracked prayers as *Ati ynë* (*Our Father*) or *Falemi Mbrī* (*Hail Mary*). In each prayer can be seen new usages and in particular towards some nouns forms, as could be seen details that have to do with a kind of continuity compared with earlier editions known today. In the prayer *Falemi Mbrī* are not found the forms *mëkatnuem* or *mëkatnor* (*sinner*), but the word *faitor* (*guilty*), meanwhile that such above mention form is seen exactly in the texts of the doctrinal edition prepared by Father Guagliata S.I. almost a century later⁵. It's interesting to notice that in special usages, Kazazi sticks to the Buzuku's edition of the prayer *Ati Ynë* (we have especially at the usages of *detyrë* e *detorës* from Kazazi's text).⁶

From the other side, to return the concrete content of this handbook, we should put in evidence that its content, conform the essential principle elements of a Catechism doctrine of the Catholic faith, is presented more direct according to the usage and explication of some notions that usually are seen in the respective editions of Bellarmino's Catechism. The pedagogic aspect and the didactic one, are seen in specific paragraphs of the work, a fact that also proves even more personalized elements from the part of the author on the content and explication point-of-view.

The author presents himself conservative according to some denominations in the field of liturgy: we mean the synthetic construction of *Zotynë* with the respective paradigm forms,⁷ as is in continuity seen by starting with Gjon Buzuku's texts;⁸ we refer to an important terminological regist usage in this field and is connected with a case that first is seen on Pjetër Bogdani in the work *Cuneus*

⁵ B. Demiraj, *Gjon Nikollë Kazazi dhe "Doktrina" e tij*, Botime ASHAK, Prishtinë, 2006, p. 372: *Falemi Mbrī hirplota, zotyn me ty. Bëkuem je permblë gjithë grë e bëkuem fruiti i barkut tit, Jesus. Sheinteja Mbrī, e Ama e Tinëzot, lutu për në faitoret tashti e nde fill t morts san. Amen.*

⁶ B. Demiraj, *Gjon Nikollë Kazazi dhe "Doktrina" e tij*, Botime ASHAK, Prishtinë, 2006, p. 372: *Bukën tan të përdiçmen epnae sod e na ndije neve dettyret tona, posi na ndijeim detoreset tan.*

⁷ For the respective apparition of the above-mentioned paradigm also see, B. Demiraj, *Gjon Nikollë Kazazi dhe "Doktrina" e tij*, Botime ASHAK, Prishtinë, 2006, p. 369-370.

⁸ See also the relevant use for the Holy Trinity in Kazazi's texts, in B. Demiraj, *botim kritik i cituar*, p. 376: *Zoti i Shendritat, një i vetmi e i vërteti Zotyn, epma ndihmën tande të dves mir me një mort sheinte.* (This usage is a reconfirmation of an essential notion in such doctrinal editions, on which is stressed at the same time the unity of God's trinity.)

prophetarum (1685);⁹ we have in mind also the synthetic construction on *hirplota* from Ave Maria, that reminds the Latin responding syntagma *gratia plena*, based on a typical logic relation on the secondary term syntaxes on Latin grammar; we have in mind even the sacraments denomination, without these latter things cannot be conceived the construction of such handbook, with precise catechism and doctrinal goal. Especially, as for the sacraments, we should put in evidence that are described in totally special way by Kazazi: every denomination is accompanied from the relevant explanation. In specific texts are seen the respective verbs that make part in the semantic field of sacraments practicing, the close usage of those compounds a characteristic feature in the content of these texts.¹⁰

A good part of the construction that is seen in this little volume of Kazazi, lives even today in the northern Albanian spoken dialect, concretely among Christian believers: per te diel e fest te urdhënuome (*quoted critical publishing*, p. 370); me ngjenuom Kreshmet e Mdhā e Vengjillet e me mos ngren mish te prenden e të shtunden (*ibid*, p. 370); me mos bām darsm nde mo~t lidhun.. (*ibid*, p. 370). Regarding to essential prayers that are massively used in the practice of the liturgy, in Kazazi's texts we find the close versions, as happens with *Besojmën* (*I believe*) and with *Ati ynë* prayer¹¹. Such close usages are naturally accompanied with the didactical aspect of their function, accomplishing in this way the content itself of this work, which is the essential inner goal of the Christian faith principles.

The active nouns especially in cases as *krijuesi*, *çpërblësi*,¹² *shëlbuesi*, *refyesi*,¹³ all are closely connected with a special semantic field as that of liturgy is.

⁹ B. Demiraj, *Gjon Nikollë Kazazi dhe "Doktrina" e tij*, Botime ASHAK, Prishtinë, 2006, p. 383: Lum ata qi jen të paqs, se kan me u kiueutun bit e Hyt.

¹⁰ B. Demiraj, *Gjon Nikollë Kazazi dhe "Doktrina" e tij*, Botime ASHAK, Prishtinë, 2006, p. 377: Prindia janë dëtuer me i rritun e me i mbaitun fëmīn e vet nde tmer~t Tinëzot, me i mpsuom me lutun Tenëzotn, qish ënsht nevoi e qish duhet per t'ū refyem mir e me u kunguem e tiera kafsh qi jen të nevoishime për të shëlbuom.

¹¹ B. Demiraj, *Gjon Nikollë Kazazi dhe "Doktrina" e tij*, Botime ASHAK, Prishtinë, 2006, p. 369.

¹² B. Demiraj, *Gjon Nikollë Kazazi dhe "Doktrina" e tij*, Botime ASHAK, Prishtinë, 2006, p. 365.

¹³ B. Demiraj, *Gjon Nikollë Kazazi dhe "Doktrina" e tij*, Botime ASHAK, Prishtinë, 2006, f. 369: Me mbaruem pëndesën qi te ja kët urdhënuom refyesi.

In parallel to noun synthetic forms, analytical form of the type: *të ndëjyemit* (e mpkatevet); *të ngjallmi~t* mishit;¹⁴ *të dashunit* i perket Tinezot...¹⁵ etc. are very interesting.

According to the nominative system, in the texts of this doctrine are found interesting models in the view of construction and also is seen how the analytical forms are used, as the synthetic constructions that would be proved in later texts with the same destination.

Is presented even in this volume of Kazazi the adjectival form of *sheint*(saint) preceded from a proposition article: 4. Pendesa (penance) o refimi *sheint* qi na i ndijen e na hiek fajet prej shpiertit. 5. Voimi *Sheint* nde fill~t morts qi na ep ndihm me dvekun mir e shum here ndimon me u shendoshun ende fediget se korpit. 6. Urdheni *Sheint* i Priftënīs qi na ep hīr e ndihm me i bam e me i veperuom mir e si duhet punet e kafshet e Tinzot.¹⁶

It doesn't miss either the constructions that remind similar usages which are not rare in specific texts from Gjon Buzuku's book, even from other works by similar destination. The construction of *sheinti Sakrament*¹⁷ or *sheintes Kish*¹⁸ and some other analogue from syntagma construction point of view, exactly remembers the Litany of the Saints in the above-mentioned book, and also a series of analogue constructions from the Doctrine drafted by Father Guagliata S.I. nearly a century later than Kazazi's *Compendium* materialization.

On the whole work of the point-of-view content, can be seen that in this small volume drafted by Kazazi, are found less Turkish words rather than in the Council of Arbër Acts texts and further in the bilingual edition that almost a century later was drafted by the same purpose by Father G. Guagliata of Society of Jesus. Are present elements of Latin or Latin-Roman origin, in some cases even with

¹⁴ B. Demiraj, *Gjon Nikollë Kazazi dhe "Doktrina" e tij*, Botime ASHAK, Prishtinë, 2006, p. 372.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 380.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 371.

¹⁷ B. Demiraj, *Gjon Nikollë Kazazi dhe "Doktrina" e tij*, Botime ASHAK, Prishtinë, 2006, p. 364: Kush të vën mbas *sheintit Sakrament*, kur shpihet të sëmuni, ka pës viet ndijes.

¹⁸ B. Demiraj, *Gjon Nikollë Kazazi dhe "Doktrina" e tij*, Botime ASHAK, Prishtinë, 2006, p. 368: Fëja i përket Tinëzot, se ban qi të besoim gjithqish kã kallëzuem Zotyn i vërteti *Sheintes Kish*.

grammar features that remember the connection with the language of the origin¹⁹.

Specific details from the content texts in such publishing in true are made to approach objects with other works perhaps even more distant from the geographical or chronological point-of-view. This has happened with the special forms in these texts, anytime they have been made comparative objects in the tracking process mainly etymological in our studies and especially by the scholars of these fields.

In our point-of view, staying in the middle of previous or following works, the Doctrine handbook presents an interesting prove in the point-of-view of preserving specific usages, and also of the text model that presents per se.

For the resume synthetic nature, catches the eye the specific rubrics that approach and especially those that are found in the Gospels. The issue of gospel texts reflection in content of doctrinal editions is too usual and is reflected even in other authors that have the same goal and object study. In the case of Gjon Nikollë Kazazi, we can refer to the *Tetë Lumënie*(Eight Glorifications), a text from the *Gospel according to Mathew* (5, 3-13), that is found even in the content of Gjon Buzuku's book²⁰.

Catches the eye that in this text and the composite words as in the case of *zemberdelir* use, in the phrase: Lum ata qi jen *zemberdelir*, se kan me pām Tenezon²¹. In general lines, should be admitted that *Tetë lumënitë* in the long edition brought by Kazazi, are presented with not small changes from the respective evangelical text in Buzuku's Missal.

In the tracking process of these doctrinal texts we can see the verbs usage that carry a different meaning rather than the previous relevant authors. We would aside the verb *fëjej*, used in the meaning of *fyej*, *lëndoj*(hurt)²², differently from what results in the Missal's texts, in

¹⁹ Is to be noticed e.g., the adaption of the noun *mort* with a feminine adjective, as in the following example, *botim kritik i cituar*, p. 376: Ruoim këtë nat *prei mortiet së pakuituome e së pāprtime e prei gjith mpkatesh...* gjithashtu, Ibid: ..epma ndihmën tande të dves mir me një *mort sheinte*.

²⁰ *Meshari i Gjon Buzikut, botim kritik përgatitur nga Eqrem Çabej*, Tiranë, 1968, p. 369. Shih për më tepër në brendi të këtij teksti nga libri i Buzikut dhe përdorimin e kompozitës *pamërdëlitë*: Bekuom ata qi janë *zemërdëlitë*, përse ata të shohënë Tenëzonë.

²¹ B. Demiraj, *botim kritik i cituar*, p. 382-383.

²² B. Demiraj, *botim kritik i cituar*, p. 362: Kur të dro zembëra të mos jësh ndë ndonji fai, thuei me zemër të penduome: Banmë mëshërier, o Zot, për të madhet mëshëriert tande. Po

which not only the usage of this verb is frequent, but also it mostly refers the idea of committing a sin²³.

Occurred on a timely context and also historic that closes up with the Council of Arbër (1703), but also with later realizations that in some elements express the continuity towards this work, this Doctrine always remains of a special importance not only in the terminological point- of- view that is proved in its texts²⁴.

The most recent critical and philological publishing (Demiraj, Prishtinë, 2006) on this modest work from the volume point-of-view, but not such from the importance it represents in different study fields and in the continuity of a series of achievements exactly in the last two decades, channels towards new tracking for everybody that aims to investigate thoroughly in the textual and philological aspect of these works that compound a dignified representation of a literature written in Albanian.

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pendohem me gjith zembër se të kam fëjyem e po përmëtonj, më para me kien dvekun, se më me të fëjyem. Se po të due, o Zot, me gjith zember përmbi gjith kafsh.

²³See also especially *Decem precepta Dei*, në *Meshari i Gjon Buzukut*, botim kritik përgatitur nga *Eqrem Çabej*, Tiranë, 1968, p. 61 v.

²⁴ The enforce even the idea of the writing tradition progress of our language in this period of time, we would declaim a very meaningful consideration of the scholar Bardhyl Demiraj about the importance of this work, that has to do with the fact that the *alphabetical code presented by Kazazi in this small volume, better proves a renew continuity of the Albanian writing tradition developed from Buzuku and Matranga*. See also B. Demiraj, *botim kritik i cituar*, p. 128: ...the same code is used in the same period and still in Rome, even the Arbëresh from Piana degli Albanesi Zef Skiro (Joseph Schirò), bishop in *partibus* of Durrës Dioceses and apostolic visitor of Himara (Demiraj 2005). And this is another prove that approves the theses of cultural relations “existence” between Arbëresh and Albanian circles in the beginnings of the XVIII century” (Mandalà 1994), a prove that raise even more the value and the importance of the “Doktrina e Kërshten” handbook (Romë 1743) by Gjon Nikollë Kazazi, which we have focused as object study in the second part of this paper.

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Rexhep ISMAJLI

**LETTER OF GJERGJ PEKMEZI ABOUT THE SITUATION
IN ALBANIA PRIOR TO 1901¹**

On the legacy that the Austrian consul August Ritter von Kral, has left at the Albanian centers, at the State Archive in Vienna is found a broad report of Gjergj Pekmezi, "PhD candidate" at Vienna University, about the situation in Albania. The report is typewrite and has no other data. It's simply found in the file of Nachlass August Kral I in the Archive. August Ritter von Kral (1869-1953) had served in different diplomatic positions of Austria-Hungary, and later in the Ottoman Empire and in Persia. He has been one of the most important officials of the Austrian diplomacy in the Albanian territories, very active especially in the first two decades of the XX century. His activity within the Albanian world, the relations and the engagements about the movement of Albanians, firstly at the centers where Austro-Hungary had its diplomatic services – Manastir, Thessaloniki, Shkodra, Cetinje, Prizren, Elbasan, Durrës, etc. Kral has learned Albanian and had established wide and intensive communications with different Albanian personalities and figures of the epoch - the second part of the decade of the end of XIX century and the first two decades of the XX century, among other personalities as Dervish Hima, Faik Konica, Ndre e Lazar Mjeda, Hasan Prishtina, Bajram Curri, Gjergj Pekmezi, Gjergj Fishta, and many others. In the files of his legacy known as "Nachlass August Kral" are found many correspondences and other valuable materials about the movements among Albanians with the Austrian diplomacy and about the relations of this power with the cultural and patriotic activities through Albanians, especially in the important periods as about the efforts for the unification of the alphabet, of rebellions, of

¹ The letter has been translated into English from the Albanian version of the letter written in German. The author wants to keep the English version of the letter as in the original.

Kosova's movements at the period right after the independence, at the time of the Shkodra Literary Commission, on the activity for opening everywhere the schools in Albanian, etc.

Other notes in the letter help us approximately establish on Time: the letter is sent to the Chief of the Section in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while in the content he speaks even for the consul Kral in Manastir. According the notes is known that Kral was on service in Manastir as DA Konsulat from 1897 to 1901, while as Leiter on 1904 until November. Dr. Gjergj Pekmezi is known as one of the important figures of the Albanian scene and culture of the first part of the XX century, as linguistic and scholar, as teacher of the Albanian language, as patriot with multi activities in the field of culture – in connection with the Albanian alphabet, the schools and especially with the Shkodra Literary Commission of 1916-1918, as its Chairman. He is born in Tushemisht of Pogradec on 1872, died in Vienna on 1938, studied in the Greek schools in Ohrid and Manastir, the university studies for theology in Belgrade (1890-1894), while the studies for philosophy and philology in Vienna on 1901. From 1903 has acted as lecturer of the Albanian language in Vienna, while on 1904 together with Hilë Mosi and Kolë Rrota have founded the patriotic association Dijs (the knowledge). On 1913 was involved with the commission to define the borders in the south of Albania, while on 1914 was appointed interpreter of Austro-Hungary in Durrës. On 1916 was appointed Chairman of the Shkodra Literary Commission, while on 1917 assisted and accompanied the delegation of the Albanian leaders in the visit they had in Vienna for meetings with the imperial authorities. From 1920 until 1924 and from 1926 to 1928 served as Albanian consul in Austria. On the scientific and cultural work is also known as teacher of Albanian in Vienna, as researcher of the language, as publisher. He collaborated with the authorities of the time as Rajko Nahtigal, Maximilian Lambertz, Norbert Jokl, etc. Is known for the important work of 1908 *Grammatik der albanesischen Sprache*, on the report about the study of the dialect of Elbasan, Vienna 1901, on the Albanian Bibliography co-author with Manek on 1909, on the text for learning Albanian (*Sprach fuehrer zur schnellen Erlernung der albanesischen Sprache*, Vienna 1913, on *Lehr und Lesebuch des Albanischen* co-author with M. Lambertz, Vienna 1913, for publishing *Bleta shqypëtare*

(The Albanian bee) of Thimi Mitko, Vienna 1924, etc.. The report we are publishing was found from the member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Prof. dr. Oliver Schmitt, and was sent to us scanned, and we express our heartily thanks. We have seen this and we went ourselves in the State Archive of Vienna on May 2017. We are presenting in the complete form the original in German who was translated in Albanian by the Prof. dr. Teuta Abrashi. It speaks about a report that Gjergj Pekmezi sent to his principal at the Section in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna. It's signed with the insert cand. phil., that means PhD candidate (where philology was included). In the content is mentioned even the meeting with August Kral, the Austro-Hungarian consul in Manastir, on this duty during the period 1897-1901, while as Leiter on 1904. From the documents that were found in the archive of Vienna University, is seen that Gjergj Pekmezović has submitted the request for Rigorosum exam on 1901, where were also elaborated the evaluations about his job from Paul Kretschmer and Vatroslav Jagić. This means that the report would have been compiled prior to this date. Anyhow is much earlier. Seems that belongs to 1900 or 1899, when Pekmezi was preparing the dialectic report. The numbers in square brackets mark the number of the pages in the original, in total 52.

Hochwulgebereuer Herr Sections-Chef

mein innigst verehrter Weltäter !

Vor etwa vier Monaten unternahm ich eine Reise in meine Heimat Albanien. Es geschah dies zum Zwecke des philologischen Studiums einiger albanesischer Dialecte und lag mir schon damit ich von dieser Hauptaufgabe meiner Reise nicht abgezogen werde - die Absicht ganz ferne, auch die sonstigen Verhältnisse, insbesondere die *c u l t u r e l l e n* und *p o l i t i s c h e n* Zustände meines Heimatlandes, in den Kreis meiner Studien und Beobachtungen einzubeziehen.

Einleitung.

Trotzdem war es für mich als Einheimischen, der von seiner Heimat lange abwesend war, unvermeidlich, dass ich mich auch auf dem culturellen und politischen Gebiete erklärlicher Weise bald für dieses bald für jenes interessierte, da sich mir ja die bezüglichen Beobachtungen ganz von selbst aufdrängten. Sie hieselbst gewonnenen verschiedenen Eindrücke möchte ich nun, Ihrer freundlichen Aufforderung folgend, hier in Kürze zusammenfassen. Ich tue dies umso lieber, als ich hiedurch vielleicht ein Zweifaches erreichen

./.

52.

wähne es, weil andere auf der Lauer sind und mir die Zeit schon sehr vorgeht, die Sache vielleicht schon in dem höchsten Stadium der Reife zu sein scheint.

Mit dem nochmaligen Ausdrucke meines innigsten Dankes an meinen grossen Weltäter, ohne den ich meine Heimat nicht so bald und auf eine solche, besonders in meinem speciellen Fachstudium von so viel Erfolg begleitete Art gesehen hätte, zeichne ich mich Euer Hochwulgeborener

ergebenster und dankbarster

Đorđ Pekmezi

cand.phil.

beknappend

*Pekmezi's letzter Brief
auf Albanien*

[1] Your Excellency, Chief of the Section, my dearest Benevolent!

Introduction

Nearly two months ago I undertook a journey in my homeland, in Albania. This because of the philological studies on some Albanian dialects that was my goal to study - without getting my mind off from my principal duty - that in my studies to include even observations of other circumstances, and especially the cultural and political situation of my homeland. For me as a native, missing for a long time from my homeland, was unavoidable to not be interested for this of that issue in the field of culture and of politics, because the respective observations were spontaneously imposed. Taking into consideration your friendly request, I like to briefly resume the different impressions obtained in this way. I do this even more pleasantly as eventually I will achieve [2] two things: to present the situation in Albania in a better light and to serve the Albanian cause. About the first, to better glance Albania, would not be such a courageous and dramatic effort, if we keep in mind that this European country is as though totally unknown and a complete darkness coils it possibly in ever point of view, emulates it with the most far areas of Africa. In true, to European researchers, ethnographers, archaeologists and even politicians it's possible to say: why you roam in far distances, the best is so close! Since the times of Hahn, nevertheless the efforts and the sacrifices, to now nobody thought to continue the beautiful achievements of Hahn in the same way. Can this be explained that allegedly the weakest forces had the courage to work on something, but these still lacked the essential and the necessary support of a stronger cultural body, of a cultivated state?

And for what can somebody fancy that who the latter may be, except the neighboring Austro-Hungary, which with the occupation of Bosnia Herzegovina turned *de facto* the natural bearer for the whole Balkan Peninsula. However for Austria, Albania is not only a scientific study object, [3] on which its savants are called to make. For Austria - I can let go this conviction - has more important interests, extremely vital and irrefutable, political, trade and other unavoidable interests that precisely challenge the attention of Austro-Hungary about the country in question and its inhabitants. In Albania, the different propaganda which are demoralizing the people, still are not so much advanced as for example in Macedonia; nonetheless even there they have started to ferment. Wouldn't be any convincing hope that Austria would be in

grade to put her powerful hand, to face the desires and the sympathies, now expanded and make public in Turkey, that the abandoned Albanian people has for in Austro-Hungary, but the weight of her grandeur should not bring degeneration, in a denationalizing of the native tribe /: as other small nations which aim to multiply in some millions:/, but more than an idealistic task, is seen as a stronghold of civilization and bearer of the culture to see its reputation and consolidation. Albanians are the neighbors of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, therefore because of a natural necessity, soon or later, will occur a balance of the culture birthplace that is considered Austro-Hungary and of a country [4] totally stripped of culture, but rich in manifold characteristics as Albania is. Perhaps since now "some things" are happening, but I can assure you that this is not enough to achieve whatever results within Albania.

It's difficult to see the traces that something can be done; because in Brussels, Bucharest, Sofia, Athens, Southern Italy or in any other country cannot be find a kitchen to prepare some kind of healthy and spiritual food for the Albanian people, so much longing for books, schools, education culture and liberation: that might be and should be only in Vienna. It is an immeasurable mistake if á priori an Albanian is imagined only as a savage and hungry only for pillage and murder that compared with a non-European savage is more dangerous and more unpleasant, because he is more able with gunfire and has more courage. I believe that in my following descriptions to show how deep are affixed the self-acknowledgment roots and of an authentic and self-understood patriotism - a patriotism that leads in the formation of a national individuality, that spontaneously flows as self-educated product from the free embezzlement of the culture. How good and noble things would be shown as a subsidiary force. [5] Everywhere I have been, the leaders of the people, above all, with a emphatic enthusiasm, showed to me that what things can do the love for the proper people, as that can turned to reality. The religious issues are not at the center of the Albanian patriots interests/:as such they almost pretend that according to that place concepts, belong to intelligentsia / but the care for the national welfare, that results even more painful, because the people are aware, especially of the lack of material means, for their feebleness.

With a naive sincerity - mainly because that I came from Austria and because I studied there - they talked everywhere about me, that with a strong conviction they await aids from Austria. If this aid is recommended, then is easily feasible. Without entering on political theories, I suppose that is necessary to be supported the cultural aspirations of Albanians, first of all to secure the necessary books and to build a school system based on national language. The issues mentioned until now [6] comply even with the presentations of the consul in Manastir, Mr. Kral, whom I had the honor to visit time after time, in which case I felt free to raise issues of education and school books. I would like to mention a fact, naturally with a noted appeal that this should not be understood as a insolent judgment, that Mr. Kral is a very precious defender, vigorous and with deep point-of-views about Austrian interests in the Balkan peninsula, whom has achieved to wisely include even the Albanian interests and to combine them among them. In the end of this introduction, I awarded myself the right to lodge a request, that in mine following descriptions not be questioned as a methodical and fixed completion. The purpose of my journey - as I highlighted above - was different from the subject of these lines. I am also aware for my weaknesses in politics.

I want only to gratify the desire of Your Excellency to put forward my journey's impressions - regardless of its last goal. In order that I could be as much as possibly accurate and objective, I shall stick to the journey's chronology and, in these steps, I will write the observations and the experiences I had. [7]

The Albanians in Sofia and especially in Bucharest

I took the journey across Serbia. Since here /: at Nish/ during the journey I had the possibility to meet with many intellectual Albanians, which were coming back from Bulgaria and Romania. Those who were coming from Bulgaria knew very well about the activities of "Dëshira" association in Sofia; but all knew even for the activity of the Albanians in Bucharest and were full of patriotic awareness. Among them were distinguished especially those coming from Romania, whom, among other things, were telling about the publishing of the History of Scanderbeg in previous years on Albanian magazines. They also boasted that already knew to write and read Albanian. In the end, one

of them the most intellectual has called me aside, and showed me a variety of Albanian books, which he wanted to secretly bring at homeland as presents, and it doesn't matter he knew the danger he was facing. To my question, where he has bought these books and how much he paid for them, he answered that these books were taken free of charge from the fellow countrymen in Bucharest, which for years were making efforts to enrich us with books in Albanian. Since I was interested about the way how the Romanian government was behaving [8] with the Albanians there, he told me that Bucharest is a favorable place for patriotic activity, having no barrier from the part of the government, but also finding support from it. The Vlachs are simple, he innocently told me, our allies.

Rauf Bey in Leskovik, then the poet Fërasri [Frashëri] and the Albanian students in Constantinople

In Thessaloniki by a lucky coincidence I met with Rauf bey and his father Asllan bey from Leskovik, Albania. Two years ago, Rauf bey graduated in Constantinople in a Turkish high school and would have to be appointed a prefect in one of the big cities if wouldn't be for his visible patriotic presentation. Rauf bey showed me that how the above mentioned school was followed by young Albanians who continued the studies and the latter had an extraordinary patriotic conviction and very enthusiastic about the Albanian case. This, according to my opinion, is a consequence of their often meetings with the best poet Albania has today and the great patriot Naim bey, which is situated in an unknown place for me in Constantinople. Rauf bey wants to be in touch with all his colleagues. The same continuous report [9] about the success that they achieved in diffusing the Albanian patriotism. Rauf bey knew even about the educated Albanians in the Big Maytep of Manastir, on many things he observed he noticed that even there predominated the same spirit. In the end, Rauf bey spoke even for his activity. He himself wrote some poems in Albanian and has translated from the Turkish to Albanian geography. He would have done in this direction even with multiple forces, if his work would have been somewhere published. It seemed to me that he was waiting for me to say: give me your manuscripts, because in Vienna would be easily to secure the publishing of these things so much necessary for us.

I faced here for the first time the thoughts, which I generally came across everywhere in Albania, how much was asked and waited for the help from Vienna. Rauf bey point-of-view is: Albanians couldn't exist entirely independent, basing only in themselves, therefore they should stick to a foreign power. Can be this power a Balkan country, as Montenegro, Greece, Serbia or Bulgaria, was he asking laughing. What remains to us, so? [10] To get Italianized from Italy and then to born in rags of poverty together with the Italian brothers and to multiply the anarchist assassins? Is to be surprised, said Rauf bey, by the rapid progress, which since the occupation of Bosnia Herzegovina from Austria, is such visible, that is known everywhere in Albania and after all is something that even us in Albania want to experience. No doubt, only Austria is capable to make the right thing to us, therefore Austria enjoys great sympathy and so good reputation.

The Bulgarian propaganda, the bishop and Saint Clement library in Ohrid, where for private affairs I was forced to make a longer stay. Although in this area, where I have many friends and connections, I have not been there for ten years, my visit prompted a lot of attention and, without any pain, in a short time I was introduced in all the circles of that place, as for e.g. are the different propaganda.

For this I talked with the Bulgarian bishop Metodie from Ohrid. According to his point-of-view in Ohrid purlieu, the Bulgarian propaganda is more likely to succeed. He is convinced that the Serbs can never come closer to Bulgarians. He also perfectly knew that the Turkish government obstructs the Bulgarians because they represent a greater power, [11] meanwhile the Serb propaganda and others do not find support from it. During the conversation, the bishop presupposed that the already Albanian known and advanced idea can encompass a danger against Bulgarians. Of course, Bulgarians should ally with Albanians. But, according to his experience, Albanians don't have much sympathy for such an idea. He himself has often heard from Albanians that they are impatiently waiting to be occupied from Austro-Hungary as Bosnia Herzegovina.

From the mouth of the bishop I heard from the first time about the existence of an Albanian movement in Ohrid. As I noticed, to bishops in general are given duties from the part of the Bulgarian government to closely watch all the cases even those less important. When after

some days I returned the visit to the bishop, he showed me, explained and briefly described some Slavic books-parchments, which I superficially looked. Therefore, he offered me if I wanted to see the very rich library of Saint Clement, where he had some books which he was capable to evaluate. The famous library once contained a very precious treasure of important books and archaeological monuments. Today, [12] this is already very poor, because the friends of science have discovered that the latter want to help by stealing it. Unfortunately I had only a week of time to superficially leaf the collection of nearly 200 books. About some Slavic manuscripts, some of which contain big interest about the old history of literature, I took approximate notes. Also, I brought with me even an inventory table for the whole library.

The Serb propaganda

According to the Serb propaganda, I talked with the teacher of the Serb school in Ohrid, Georg Tasić, with whom I was introduced years ago in Belgrade. With a friendly presentation, he expressed for the very fast advance of the Serb propaganda in Ohrid, especially for the great increase it had the recent years. Also, would last even only a year, until to be formed a Serb hierarchy for Macedonia. And so I hope, he said, that won't last by years, that entire Macedonia accepts to be Serbia./: until now was achieved that in Ohrid to bribe only ten homes to win over./

The Greek propaganda

On the Greek propaganda I talked with the bishop himself. Although [13] he was very pleased with the progress, I sometimes noticed that in his voice was not prevailing such a conviction as for e.g. the Bulgarian bishop had. No Greek took place in Ohrid, 12 Greek-speaking homes were there only because had in their disposal the wealth of the Saint Naum monastery in the vicinity of Ohrid. Among the Serb and Greek speaking elements still relay on friendly relations, but not such relations have ceased in Thessaloniki to me.

The cleric and the school

Many Greek priests came to me and asked me if would have been possible the unity with the Catholic rite and what good would this

bring. They have heard that the Catholic priests were paid very good from the Pope and they had no need to take from the people, and this thing would have been welcomed for our poor people. The same question was posed to me by two Greek priests in Pogradec. However, they were not interested only for the payment of the Catholic priests, but more how this Catholicism would have been rightly connected with the school and mind enlightenment of the people.

One of them, father Konstantin, defined very good the few Greek schools in the Southern Albania, in which case he defined that how non pedagogical are those. The children are sent for 13 years to learn [14] and at the end achieve a result that are not able to write even an ordinary letter in the new Greek, and barely can understand a book in Greek. And so happens that for daily necessities writing of no language can be used for. On this is added the complete ignorance about the necessary things, that everywhere establish the foundation of the culture, that the children who have complete the above mentioned schools have no idea at all, e.g. the bases of arithmetic or physics, etc.

The Albanian relations

Even for the Albanian relations in Ohrid, I principally came to learn from the mouth of the people that belong to the Greek propaganda, above all by some former colleagues of Ελληνικόν σχολεῖον (Hellenic school T. A.) of Ohrid /:explainable according to the Greek speaking element / and from the Greek bishops of that place.

Hamdi bey in Ohrid

Especially many knew to tell me about the big patriot and brightest Albanian, Hamdi bey, which, because of the ardent and marvelous participation in the Albanian cause, was kept in prison for some years. He has founded in Ohrid a secret Albanian school and was doing a lot for the distribution of the books in Albanian. Accompanied by a friend, [15] who now is in periphery, he himself even /: later mentioned to me that/ has gathered Albanian narratives, poems and different dialects and if he could, he would publish these collections.² Indeed, he in the Ohrid, Manastir, Dibër, Elbasan, Pogradec, and Korça regions is known as an enthusiastic patriot and watched by the part of the government;

² Note: Probably, I will succeed in obtaining these summaries.

but nonetheless everything, as I was myself convinced, he is of great influence throughout the everywhere in the region.

Impatiently I wanted to meet this interesting man, therefore I paid him a visit. As soon as he heard about me, that I mainly came to study the Albanian language on the ground, as I knew him and appreciated his patriotic-Albanian stand and his self-sacrificing action, he started to speak with the greatest enthusiasm that he with the great pleasure would be ready for his homeland, stripped of everything and so culturally poor, was ready to make the greatest sacrifices with the greatest energy to day and night influence in saving and rising Albania. [16] As he told me, he was for a year in Serbia /: Belgrade/, and for this reason he has a certain friendship relation with the men of the Serb propaganda; once, e.g., I met him at the Serbian school.

His Albanian enlightenment, national point-of-views and the enthusiasm for the cause of his homeland were shaped in Bucharest where he lived for a longer period of time. He admits this himself in a very beholden way. With the Austrian consul in Manastir he has close friendship relations. According the Albanian customs, he was his blood-brother. Thus, at the beginning he asked from me every kind of sign of Mr. Kral that he could speak freely with me for such things. In general, I noticed that Hamdi bey /: of course, because of his imprisonment / became more careful and diplomatic than in the beginning, based on the information about him, I was aware of this.

He himself spoke that how slow has become more than before. Mostly he remorse that how these things would be good to him, if he could have the necessary funds. Every day people came to him and asked book from him. He himself wanted to read all those that were published in Albanian, but this "Istanbul dog", he says, [17] forbids us all and even won't let us be as we are in reality³.

We know Istanbul's aspiration very well. It could take us towards total Turkish loan-words. It is not only me who knows this, but the whole country knows this. But we will show to this miserable dog that we are Albanians, not Tartars. We have decided, either to remain sons of Scanderbeg or better to not be at all in this world! More than the

³ Note: I believe that this inappropriate expression is a sign of revolt of the Muslim bey, and has been originally reproduced.

unfavorable conditions in Istanbul, it's our poverty that is paralyzing us. The lack of money is making the opening of the Albanian schools and the having the necessary books for them impossible. We have only a single school in Korça, which is being managed with unprecedented difficulties and efforts. It's true that a lot has been done in Bucharest, but the misery is so unaffordable that no association would afford it. To ask or to hope in such a thing would be a vexing mistake. *"Honestly speaking"*, said further Hamdi bey, *"I indeed do not understand how Austria, the only cultural great power near to us, doesn't manifests not even the slightest will, although this would be in its interest."*

It is surprising that our sympathy towards Austria-Hungary is not lost. Probably this is harmful for us, because we cannot wait longer. It's the last chance for us to rise up. Perhaps another power would, if Austria doesn't want to, to finally lay a helpful hand to us, the wildest, the poorest and the most forgotten nation in Europe. There is the possibility of sending a memorandum to the educated Europe, in which we would present our troublesome and miserable situation. But such a thing is mostly likely to not make us more devoted. Certainly, we could awake the sympathy of the people with noble thoughts; but a true and wide help would only be offered by a neighboring country with great cultural background. In general, it seems that Europe not only is unaware of our situation, but also doesn't care. How is it possible that Europe, the stronghold of civilization, remains in silence and non-operational? These were the expression of an extremely despondency, which I tried to reproduce mot-à-mot.

The circumstances in Pogradec

I moved from Ohrid to Pogradec. Here, like in Mokra and Korça, the Albanian national idea was widely spread.

In Pogradec, [19] father Kosma, the priest of the locality, and his son, the present teacher in this city, were not participating in this, because they were paid from the Greek government and did not have any particular reputation. I saw their double faces. They played the role of the spies. Once, the house of my brother and of my son-in-law, where I was living, was surrounded one night and was watched by a group of policemen due to their encouragement. Because the Albanian patriotic feeling in the areas of Starova, Mokra and Korça has cached

stable roots especially even the in the lowest strata of the population, and thanks to high migration level in Romania, where the immigrants could easily find a job /: mainly as construction workers / and the same colony of the migration in Bucharest practiced Enlightenment activity in such a way that as these simple people, once returned to Albania, could further elaborate the awakening patriotic feelings. This shows that remarkable outcomes are achievable. The patriots in Pogradec showed a higher reflection compared with the patriots in Ohrid. In Ohrid, the Albanians knew [20] that the mixture with the Bulgarian, the Turks, Romanies, Gypsies etc., does not allow them to show self-confidence in the same way as in the areas of Albanian majority. As the Albanians of Ohrid are almost pure Moslems and as such they live in the Turkish neighborhood /: Maala/, extract credible data to define their number would be difficult. On the other hand, according to Albanians, in the neighborhood of Starova reside half Orthodox and half Moslems.

In Pogradec, as in the other parts of this country, which I visited, I achieved during my so short stay to take advantage - because of the Latin - on especially to many distinguished people for my elaborated and justified alphabet in the XXI volume of archive for Slavic philology, p. 214 would be assimilated by them, also since my return from Vienna the letters arrived in this area to me, are written with a brilliant orthography of my afore-mentioned alphabet and the writers of these letters, from which the majority knew this alphabet as "their spiritual father"/: some of them knew the Turkish alphabet, other the Greek one, but the majority knew even the orthography used in the Middle Albania through the Bucharest literary publishing/ they acknowledged it, [21] and in this case this unrestrained trust, for sake of the cause, it's not undesirable. If I had the possibility to give the people the books, which they were so longing for, the first independent step would have been made - spiritual udder of the Albanians living there, which would have been laid even wider and with this the whole Greek propaganda aspirations would have been removed for good.

Hajdar bey in Pogradec

Istref bey is the most influential and powerful lord in Pogradec. He has only a grown son, Hajdar bey. I am extremely happy that the rumors I heard about them were proven untrue. They were described as

fanatic Turks. The old bey Istref is careful as much as possible, because he has been sometimes victimized from the government and this might be the source of imaginary reputation among the people.

Given my false assumptions, my hastiness and immaturity, I was thinking of trying to convince the young bey Hajdar that he is not Turk, but rather a respectful Albanian. Imagine my surprise, when he never gave me the chance to start such an effort, but showed me a variety of patriotic Albanian books [22] and above all an appeal, lately elaborated in Bucharest and sent to the Sultan, from Mehmet bey Frashëri that now is in Italy, which puts in evidence and harshly criticizes the actions and the non-actions of the Turkish officials, from their highest rank to the lowest one. In addition, Hajdar bey stated that he is the humblest admirer of Mehmet bey Frashëri, the compiler of this appeal, with whom he is in full accordance. When I pointed out, acknowledging the Moslems merits for the Albanian cause, Hajdar bey jumped on his feet, has put his arms around me, embraced me, shake my hand and said: *“From now on we are two brothers. You as the older and more educated, you order me and I will do whatever is possible for our Albanian cause.”* Hajdar bey was one of those that learned my alphabet. Lately, I received a letter from him, in which his character of the Turkish writing could be noted due to the characteristics of the Latin letters, which in my theory are correctly applied. Before Hajdar bey could write only in Turkish and he had to make great efforts to adapt the use of Latin letters, something he considered necessary for each and every Albanian. During my stay in Pogradec a happy event occurred [23] in the house of Istref bey, which was of great benefit to my goal; Hajdar bey, his only son got married to the daughter of the well-known Alo bey from Korça. During the wedding I was honored with the brilliant role of the best man. The wedding offered me the possibility to see his great influence beyond the borders of that area.

The notes that I took at the wedding of Hajdar bey in a wider circle

In the wedding I met with the most eminent personalities from Korça, Mokra, Gora, Bërzeshta, Dibra and Ohrid.

I had the opportunity to closely know the leaders of the Albanian people who came together to celebrate the union of two people. At the

third day of the celebration, which was 14 days long, I and my son-in-law were invited for a dinner-meeting with the beys that were present.

My appearance /: I showed up dressed in European style/, which drew the beys' attention. They wanted to know me. I introduced myself as the tradition of area requires and I showed them in accordance with their point-of-views, the purpose of my journey and the mission of my life, something that they took rightly into the consideration and understood that I was trying to publish books in Albanian, [24] and to make the Albanian language worldwide known. They were surprised and to some this sounded unlikely to be feasible. The oldest and the respectful Limblloshmi agha from Bërzeshta, thought that I came from Romania.

When I explained that I was studying in Vienna and my intentions to go back there shortly, he began to praise Austria, adding that his son who is a high official in Istanbul, told him about "Nemces" /: like this were the Austrians called by Albanians, while the Germans from the German Reich were called Prussians/ and for the "tricks" /: a thousand of their /arts. They were asking information about different things and they heard attentively, especially when the conversation addressed the greatest discoveries of the cultured northwest /: as e.g., the multiple use of the electricity etc./ and of culture, its civilization and humanity in general. However, I noticed that my interlocutors had no clue about the things I was talking about with the best of intentions and were skeptical. Through Hajdar bey, Adem agha /: the ruler of Mokra/ Limblloshëm and Pasho bey were holding an interesting conversation about the above-mentioned appeal of Mehmet bey Frashëri. [25] Hajdar bey asked whether they got it in Korça, where things such as writings, books etc, were easily to be provided, and they confirmed it.

They had a long discussion about the content of the appeal and its compiler. Pasho bey mentioned a place where was spoken about the "lazy" pashas, making the participants burst into laughter. At the end, with the greatest benevolence was awaited my description of the personality of His Majesty, the Austrian Kaiser, his commendable and recognizable manner, his chivalry, the wisdom of a regent and his exemplary life. In the following days I met again with the majority of the beys, to whom I was introduced that evening, like the brother of Alo bey, the old Krekun and his brother Kaper, with Jusuf Bey from

Limblloshëmi, grandfather Jusuf, a distinguished bey from Gora etc. I learnt from them that most of them know to write and read orthography as that of Frashëri, which has been diffused from Bucharest. They learned from me only what I knew about. In specific cases, as the recognition of the Albanian writing comes from the pressure of their sons, something that it's not so unexplainable. Thus e.g. the son of Limblloshmi is in Constantinople in friendly relations with Naim bey Frashër, [26] the famous poet whom we mentioned above. They are very proud about what has happened with the Albanian cause until today and want to thank the Muslims.

Why are they referring to Frashëri brothers? They were waiting for me to bring as many books as I could and to distribute them across the country. When I denied this, one of them told me that at least I should have brought the History of Scanderbeg in verses, because in Austria one can get as many copies as he wants. These beys were speaking about Austria with the most benevolence and when referring to her political influence in Bosnia Herzegovina, while were cursing the sultan and his government a lot. The Albanian newspapers, wherever they might be brought from, were very welcomed. Only Adem agha from Mokra expressed his disregard about the magazines published in Italy, something that he made because of "Albanie" published in Brussels. He thought that unfortunately, the Albanians of Italy are unable to think properly in Albanian. When he met with an Albanian of Italy in Durrës, who enthusiastically showed and read to him an Albanian magazine published in Italy, he couldn't understand a single word, because the magazine was in Italian. [27] So, Adem agha expressed his regret and said that he couldn't understand this at all. In addition, he was introduced to an Albanian association through the same person, but felt himself very uncomfortable because Italian was mainly spoken. He also learned from a credible source that the newspapers of the Albanians of Italy not only are written in the Italian thinking, but also are of no use to Albanians, as their publishers themselves cannot speak Albanian. Unfortunately, I couldn't stay much longer as I wanted with him.

Before I left, most of them asked me to send books in Albanian.

The Monastery of Kalishta and the new Greek bishop in Durrës

After the wedding, together with the residents of Pogradec I went on the Church Day in the monastery of Kalishta, which is 6 hours away from Pogradec, on the shore of the Ohrid Lake. My visit there aimed to welcome for the first time the new bishop of Durrës, Gora, Mokra and Shpat. On the way to Kalishta, I saw many interesting archaeological objects. When we arrived in Kalishta, we paid a visit to the bishop. The bishop knew Greek and Turkish, but couldn't speak Albanian at all. He left a strange impression on me, [28] when the priest from Pogradec, father Kosma, which during our audience from the bishop sat next to him /:I was sat beside father Kosma /, in all the questions I posed in Greek to the bishop about the church and other issues, he replied only by deep silence. I was forced to reflect and to clarify to the bishop how little diffused was the Greek in these parts, where not only the simple people, but also the priests and the so-called teachers of the Greek school didn't have even the basic knowledge of Greek.

A lot of precious time has been lost. Schooling people with this non-mother tongue is a slightly successful effort, although all other things are left aside and neglected. Concerned, the bishop expressed his wonder about how this miserable situation could be tolerated for such a long time. He couldn't prevent himself from by saying offensive words about his predecessor and at the same time he heralded how he would act from now on. About my remark about the bad situation of the schools and their improvement, the first pedagogical measure was to be introduced the diffusion of the genuine education [29] and then would be permitted the teaching of Greek as a subject and thus the latter would achieve a true success, the bishop did not fully agree. He wants to close the school of the boys and only to reorganize the schools of the girls, so that every graduated student to fluently speak Greek. If the mother speaks Greek at home, the children will learn Greek. I took the courage to remark that this plan is not easy to be applied. The majority of the population is Moslem and the bishop knows very well that the Muslim girls never could follow the schools dependent on him. But I also doubt that a girl from the Christian minority, which co-lives with the Muslim majority, after some years of school, would be able in a distant future to speak Greek and Hellenize her family.

I know how difficult is the Greek language to be learnt in our schools and to be fluently spoken. I have learned this really “divine” language only after finishing the high school in Manastir, because this school is focused on teaching Greek. [30] The same I could say even about my colleagues. They merely had basic knowledge of the Greek. I dared to interrupt the discussion of the bishop, because I understood his intentions and the vanity of any further discussion by informing him about my studies on Albanian language. So, I tried to prove him that this is compatible with his way of judgment about the scope of Hellenization, on the possibility that in bases of an elementary teaching of the Albanian language to be also achieved a better knowledge of the Greek, against this doubtful method planned by him.

I didn’t do this to make him angry, but to examine in details the issue in order to have a better reflection on some points. The result was that he misbalanced and immediately changed the way of the conversation. He told me the fabricated and the hackneyed story of the Greeks and the Greek-speaking persons about the common origin of Albanians and Greeks from the ancient Pelagic people. So, we said farewell, but the results of this conversation were immediately seen. My niece who has worked as a teacher in Pogradec for two years was now fired. To this surprising attack, I responded [31] by marrying her to a good family. Immediately after that, my cousin, who has been working as a teacher in Pogradec for three years, was transferred in Elbasan, where he had to present himself within three days. This was unacceptable, but thanks God, nothing worse happened. The bishop was insidiously pretended to be a great friend of mine.

Archimandrite Germanos of Elbasan

The Archimandrite Gjermani/: Germanos/ of Elbasani, the nephew of the bishop of Durrës, Gora, Mokra and Shpat who died two years ago, heard about me from my cousin who was sent to Elbasan. One beautiful day, this honorable man showed up in front of me in Pogradec.

You can imagine my joy, because I was given the opportunity, without taking into consideration the other thing, to listen for eight hours a conversation held in the dialect of Elbasan, the best of all Albanian dialects. This was so very much desired by me since my

philological studies. But, from the Archimandrite Germanos/Gjermani, I learned other interesting things, because he is a very educated and intelligent person. He graduated from the theological school in Athens. He knows very well Albania, because he and his uncle had travelled across the country. Otherwise, he travelled a lot all over the world. He is aware that he enjoys [32] a great sympathy among people and would had more of it, if he could have the necessary means. He considers the fact that Austria should make a change a logic postulate. He wondered why the Catholic schools under the Austrian protectorate in the north and partly in middle Albania have Italian but not Albanian characteristics. This was quite illogical to him. The Italian influence has so much increased that the native Albanian Catholic priests have almost forgotten Albanian. Albanian language was taught in School as a foreign language. *“In this way”, Gjermani said, “in the north and in the middle Albania now we have an Italian propaganda and nothing more, which is financed by Austria. Austria doesn’t want us to be Italianized; nobody believes this. However, this happens de facto, or if by this we don’t mean Italianization, then in this way is helped the Italian cause. For me, the method that Austria uses, it’s not the right one. ‘Two years ago, I wanted to come in Vienna’, he said, (I’m drafting the words of Gjermani himself during the further run of our conversation), [33] ‘during the Shpat case. As I am in close relations with the population of Shpat, I am blamed for everything that happens there. Honestly, I have to admit that I have been the initiator of this whole thing. Do you want to know what I truly wanted to do with the Shpat people? I mean not with the Orthodoxes before God, what for me would be the most natural, but — do not be surprised — Catholics, to the Catholics that do not belong to the Italian propaganda, but to a just and protective Austria that supports the individuality of the nations. My desire is that not only Shpat, but the whole middle Albania, to be supported by Austrian means of Catholicism. Inexplicably, the Austrian consul in Manastir, forbade all the aids. I asked about the reason, but never got it! Consequently, I wanted to go in Vienna to learn from the leader and not from his dependents the reason for the help forbidden. On the other hand, the Russian consul in Manastir came often in Elbasan and tried a lot to win over me, but his efforts were useless, because serving my people was the only one thing that ran through my*

mind from the very beginning. This is why I either wear this priest hat, or better not live at all. By this decision, [34] to save above all our people, for me personally doesn't matter if I'm Orthodox or Catholic, because I am convinced, that even as Catholic, I will remain in the eyes of God a likeable Christian. I also believe that today is the right time, where we with a little sacrifice, we can achieve a lot. If Austria asks today that we have to become Catholics to justify the help for us, I will be ready without any coercion, ready to do what was said and to convince my spiritual brothers only and only to save us. However, I consider the establishment of the Albanian national schools the first bases for our salvation. When I posed to the Russian consul the question of the national school, he spoke against it in a very determined way, and started to highlight the importance of the Greek school to Albanians. This is reason that we have not talked to each-other since then. Yes, the honorable consul has hither and thither the idea and supports the efforts to Hellenize or Slavonicized us by opening Greek schools in Shpat where Russian is taught, but not Albanian. Regardless the Russian money and efforts, I am sure that for a short time Shpat and the rest of middle Albania would become Catholic, [35] as the only way to get help from the Austrian consul. Consequently, I would like to travel by now to Vienna, but not in Rome as I was advised time after time by don Carolin :/?/, secretary of the Catholic Bishopric of Durrës⁴.

I interrupted don Carolin, and said him that it was not my intention to contribute in the Italianization of Albanians. He subsequently started to explain the Pope's point-of view and emphasized that such a journey had nothing to do with the Italian government. I replied to him that all the Catholic schools in the northern Albania, with no distinction are subsidized by Austria and Italy. Italian is used in all the school subjects and in general Italian spirit prevails. This fact proves enough about the excessive and harmful Italian influence. If me or anyone else turned towards Vienna and pose the things in the right way, the things would find their own way only there. Neither the Italian government, nor His Holiness the Pope, would not he help us to with what is vital to us, finding a way out. Don Carolin, very nervous, tried somehow to prove the legitimacy of the Italian language [36]. The use of Italian was

⁴ Note: Gjermani did not remember the name of the same person.

justified by the fact that in the beginning the clergy was made up by Italians only. Today speaking, Italians could be still found among us. Therefore we should give the Italian language the deserved place in history. As it has become a flaw in northern Albania, should the middle and southern Albania embrace such a thing?! We have been fighting Hellenization since the beginning of the human thought, now we should become Catholics, to surrender to Italianization. This is unlikely to happen, because we demand and we have the natural request for independency in the land of the general human culture. We can lean on Austria, but not on Italy simply because we are learning Italian in our national schools.”

During this talk, Archimandrite Germanos was so much exalted and was repeating me over and over his great desire to come to Vienna and to take advices from responsible authorities on up to what level his desires about the Austria-Hungary influences are justifiable and perhaps to contribute for a benevolent estimation of these desires. By the way, he asked me for an advice about what could be done with regard.

[37] I explained him that I'm in such a situation that I could not give any advice, and that the response could only be found in Vienna. Following our conversation, the Archimandrite Germanos told me about his very good relations with Dervish bey from Elbasan, a well-known patriot. He added that not only Dervish bey, but also many others were pleasantly waiting to meet with me in Elbasan. It His discussion about the Greeks and their propaganda in the Balkans was very interesting. Since he has lived four years in Athens, he was aware of their intentions. He said that he is not afraid of the Greek aspiration; it has been proved that these kind of aspirations that other Balkan countries had, proved to be a fiasco. In the following days, the Archimandrite had to return to Elbasan, because he was afraid that the bishop who was coming the same day in Pogradec, would learn about his presence.

He asked me to go with him. Once I heard that Dervish bey from Elbasan was absent, I decided to accept Gjermani's invitation after thinking a lot about this. I did so, because Elbasani region represented a very important place for my studies.

In Elbasan

In the first night after our arrival in Elbasan, the Archimandrite [38] Gjermani organized a dinner on the occasion of my visit, and his best friends were invited. I was confirmed that Dervish bey is a very energetic and smart patriot, but his every step was controlled, and he was very much aware about this fact. It was also said that he would willingly convert to Catholic, if his life in that case was in danger.

Once again the bishop of Durrës

Then I asked about the new Orthodox bishop and the impressions about him after his visit in Elbasan. They told me about some episodes from the time of his visit. He himself, together with the gendarmes, collected the taxes and allowed the gendarmes to violate those who did not consider him, disliked or couldn't pay the taxes because their poverty. Instead of taxes, the gendarmes took their food reserves and furniture; the people were beaten, etc. Consequently, in the first Sundays, nobody went to the church when the bishop was holding the mass. The dissatisfaction towards the bishop was even greater, because the population of Elbasani wanted Gjermani, as natural descendant of his uncle to become a bishop. "*If only we had the chance*", the Elbasan inhabitants said, [39] "*would kicked him from the church.*"

The Albanian orthography

There I had a long talk even with my cousin and the second teacher. Both assured about their aim to make their children learn Albanian, and write and read in this language. They both knew my orthography. The second teacher thought that in Elbasan only with few auxiliary means would be easy to turn the Greek schools into Albanian ones. There is no one with Greek ideas in Elbasan and the second teacher, the older, has been teaching Moslems and Christians to read and write in Albanian. In Elbasan, it was spoken about the frequent visits of the Austrian consul in Manastir and this was considered as a sign of improvement of the circumstances.

Some of the distinguished people confirmed that Dervish bey had close relations with the aforementioned consul and it was hoped for better relations.

The Romanian propaganda

The newly Romanian propaganda is proving to be very active in Elbasan. They have also established a school. In the beginning was difficult for me to understand, that also the sons of the renowned Albanian linguistic, interpreter etc., Kristoforidhi, are turned Walachian and the elder son is also teacher of Romanian, and the second was granted a scholarship in Bucharest. [40] Later I was told that Kristoforidhi's wife is an Aromanian-Vlach and after the death of her husband she simply raised her children with Romanian spirit.

Kristoforidhi's dictionary

As it is known, Kristoforidhi except other things compiled an Albanian lexicon, which could be found only in the form of manuscript, and is in the possession of his three daughters. For them, it has the value of a dowry.

Dervish bey

I left Elbasan after three days, and I was accompanied to Kukës by the Archimandrite Gjermeni.

We met Dervish bey by chance. Right at that moment, he was returning home, and was exactly how he has been described in Elbasan. He really is an energetic boy, still a young man and gives the impression of a very intelligent man. Although we couldn't be together for too long, because he was under observation by officials, gendarmes etc., I was promised to be given a copy of Kristoforidhi's dictionary. But this would be a difficult task. It means that I did not agree with the owners, because the legal appropriation of a copy cost 400 Turkish liras—too much for Dervish bey, [41] whose richness in real estate and lands was inapproachable. Dervish bey said very good things about the Austro-Hungarian consul in Manastir, because he was probably his best friend. He wanted me to go back to Elbasani to speak with me longer with me. I couldn't promise him such a thing. We said farewell in a friendly manner, mutually hoping to see each-other again. I travelled from Kukësi to Bërzishta and Mokra, and after two weeks I returned to Pogradec, where again I undertook new journeys. With my son-in-law and first secretary /: Bashqatib/ of Pogradec prefect, an emigrant from

Plovdiv born Bulgarian-Moslem/: Refugee/ we travelled by car first in Korça taking the most exhausting road in the world.

Chieftain Kajo in Zvezda

We arrived in Zvezda after four hours. Here, we took a break and met with chieftain Kajo and his five guards. I am mentioning this because he, as chief of the thieves in Middle Albania, for 30 years was behaving as absolute ruler, but the last year he reconciled with the government.

Korça

In the evening we arrived in Korça. We stopped by a relative of mine.

Thimi Marko

The next day I paid a visit to Thimi Marko, a very distinguished patriot, [42] who has made great sacrifices for the Albanian school in Korça. It could be said that Korça is the only place in the country that has a real Albanian school. Here, there is a patriotic nest in the best meaning of the word, and have come together to found the national school with the help of the Albanian colony in Romania, which is controlled by the Albanian community in Korça that has Albanian as instructive language. Because of this ardent Albanian movement, the Albanians from Korça had to face many vexations. The Greek bishop forbade the priests to hold mass for the Albanians and cursed them publicly in the church. More severe were the blows from the government. Together with Thimi Marko, from whom I learned closely about these, went to meet Oroman bey.

Oroman bey

Oroman bey is a very educated person, and he speaks Turkish, new Greek, the old Greek and French. He was ver pleased to meet me, because he heard about me and the scope of my journey from Istref bey of Pogradec.

He thought that for the moment Albanians should continue to work abroad for the Albanian cause, and the success requires many of them,

[43] because those who live in this country cannot have their hands tied by the Ottoman government. The cause can only be supported secretly.

The Albanian Orthodox School of boys

First, the three of us went in the Albanian school for boys, where our visit was forewarned by a /: bodyguard/ of Oroman bey. We were solemnly allowed to enter the school. Albanian songs were sung. Then the head-teacher tested the highest class to show us the progress of the children. The teacher and the children didn't have printed books, but only manuscripts.

Both the employed teachers except Albanian knew only Greek. For this reason the written lessons from them in the form of manuscripts were compiled according to the Greek samples. I required one of these manuscripts and instantly I was convinced that the used samples were original and very old, which in no way was compatible with the current pedagogic point-of-view. For this, I tried to explain some things to the teachers, and told them that they should translate the latest Greek publications at least. But the head-teacher told us that this was impossible in Turkey, because the Turkish government would annihilate them, while their order in Athens is infeasible [44]. The head-teacher told how much the reputation of the Albanian school has increased and how much the Albanian cause has gained in this way, since the decoration of the school from the Austrian consul in Manastir in the last year the school. This visit caused spiritual exaltation, because it was made on the exam day.

In the end, I asked the teachers to give the pupils of the highest grades homework consisting of writing a tale or something similar in Albanian, because I wanted to see how did the pupils from this class /: around 15 years/ consider writing in Albanian. I saw the compositions later, and I can clearly confirm that the Greek schools in Albania, the quality of which I know very well, and the Albanian schools for the same groups of age cannot be compared at all, because the children schooled in the mother tongue are much more advanced than their school mates, who learn the all the subjects in a foreign environment and in Greek, a foreign language. If the Albanian school in Korça survived and was later to be founded, in accordance with the necessities

to a higher school, the Greek propaganda in Korça/: exists a complete Greek gymnasium / [45] would be out of consideration.

The entertainment in the evening at Oroman bey

In the evening, Oroman bey invited us for dinner. Many eminent personalities from Korça were also invited.

Two Moslems were among the guests. I was told that they were good Albanian poets. Indeed, I noticed that both spoke excellent Albanian. One of them, a muezzin /: Moslem priest and teacher/ had the habit of uninterruptedly replacing the the speakers' Turkish words with the Albanian words. The conversation was about the schools, the bishop etc. The Greek schools and the behavior of the bishop were extremely criticized. They said that many rich Albanians were unfortunately leaders of the Greek propaganda. They cursed their blindness of those rich Albanian who died in foreign countries, because their fortune was made a bequest to the Greek propaganda in their homeland, giving the latter the most powerful tools to denationalize their brothers. There were a lot of such cases. Oroman bey expressed his sadness that there were only few rich Albanian patriots. Therefore, is understandable the miserable circumstances financial support that certain topics of vital interest were found.

On the contrary, Thimo Marko [46] said that "at least in Bucharest there are some distinguished Albanian rich families that have materially sacrificed. Consequently, life has somehow blossomed in Korça." As the head-teacher again was very interested in my orthography, I took the opportunity to compare this orthography with the orthography the inhabitants of Frashëri were accustomed to. They said that my orthography is simpler based on the diction, but the people think that the orthography of Frashëri has already been beautifully embraced in their area. Therefore, they decided my orthography to be gradually introduced in schools, if only they had a source from where they could get the books with my orthography.

The evangelical school of girls in Korça

In the following days I visited the evangelistic school for the girls where I was solemnly welcomed. I unexpectedly received a manuscript

about the history of the foundation and development of this school which origins are related with the late Albanian evangelist Gjermeni.

Later I was given another manuscript by the same compiler about his imprisonment. I hope that these manuscripts, [47] especially the first, will be published somewhere. The aforementioned school was superior to the school of the boys in terms of academic performance. The homework of the pupils of each school was compared, and the results showed the superiority of the girls. I detoured into Boboshtica. After, I took a 6 hours trip to the south of Korça. Except for the linguistic material, this trip didn't bring anything useful to emphasize. As soon as I got back, I swiftly travelled to Manastir. During the trip, I realized that Prespa and Resnja were populated with Albanians.

Manastir: Mr. Kral, the Austro-Hungarian consul

Once I arrived in Manastir, I introduced myself to Mr. Kral, the Austro-Hungarian consul. The way Mr. Kral has been described so far made him a very interesting person in my eyes.

I was shown extraordinary kindness and hospitality, and I was told that Your Excellency had already talked to Mr. Kral about me.

We talked about the situation in Albania. He turned out to be a great friend of Albanians, armed with information about their country, character, and necessities etc. [48] He is very aware about the position he holds. He showed me his patriotic feelings towards his country, the most conscientious zeal of an Austro-Hungarian representative reflected in the relations and the friendship with Albania and Albanians. He connects the Albanian patriotism with the most sincere gratitude and loyalty towards the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and the harmony of the ideas and interests between the two countries.

Since the beginning, I allowed myself to express my interests and my full admiration for this zealous Austrian representative. Honorable Mr. Chief of the Section, I cannot hide the fact that I as an Albanian coming from Austria, who is convinced about the aspirations of my nation, can only wish the Mr. Kral's echoes his point-of-views at higher instances in Vienna. Now it's the right time for us to open one after another, the schools in the Manastir, Ohrid, Dibra, Korça and Elbasan regions, i.e., at the heart of the country. It would be appropriate for us

to open a bookshop⁵ in Vienna and to set up the Albanian Literary Association, so that the association in Bucharest would be obliterated [49], and the national aspirations would be fed and get support from the most powerful nation.

This is the only digression on my opinions I have allowed myself, until now in this travel report.

Gjergj and Gjermen Kyrias (Qiriaz)

I came back in Manastir. Mr. Kral, the consul, is an autodidact who teaches himself Albanian, but he is also taught from Gjergj Qiriaz, a master of the language. The latter is in charge of keeping the depository of the Bible translated into English in Manastir. I also introduced myself to him. He and his late brother Gjermeni have great merits for the distribution of the Bible translated into Albanian regardless the great difficulties. It could be said that they have extremely contributed in the Albanian cause.

The Serbian consul Ristić

With the intermediation of Gjergj Qiriaz, I was met with many Albanian with patriotic spirit. Except this, I paid a visit to Mihailo Ristić, the Serbian consul, who was a friend of mine from Belgrade, and I hoped to learn about some of the political inclinations from him. We also talked about Albania. Ristić told me that Serbian government has already begun to put the Albanian issue in the agenda, and to do something about it.

[50] Currently, there is an Albanian attending the high school in Belgrade, who is considering to be graduated with major in Albanology. He has correspondence with Simić, the Serbian consul in the Old Serbia, and both of them take good care of the Albanian case. He asked me to be part of the Serbian services. For sure I was to be instantly granted a respected scholarship, with which I would had the possibility to finish my studies in any foreign country with subsequent lecturer ore researcher as Albanologist in Belgrade.

⁵ Verschleiss: Verkauf im Kleinen (oesterreichische Amtsprache, cf. DUDEN)

The spies of the Russian consul

The Austro-Hungarian consul told me during my second visit that the consuls were talking a lot about me, and the Russian consul was spying me through his consuls. Once, I had to dinner with one of the spies called Vasiljev at Dr Anastas Kristidis palce, a former colleague of mine. He was not invited. We talked about the Slav and Greek issues in Macedonia. Vasiljev invited me to visit him at his apartment. He surely would try to perforate a little bit on me. "Unfortunately," I had to take the road and move further.

The ending remark

You, my beloved friend,

I would be forever grateful if you have the patience to have a preliminarily look at the whole report of the aforementioned journey.

[51] At the introduction I made a remark that to my irrelevant opinion, Austria, for many reasons, has been pushed to exercise her power towards the Albanian cause, as my journey report clearly explains. The misery and the urgent cultural necessities of the Albanians could be clearly seen.

The deep respect and the trust in Austria could be clearly noted everywhere. People are loudly calling for books and schools, general promotion of the Albanian spiritual revival through education of the talented young people, and support for the establishment of an Albanian spiritual center in Vienna! Indeed, here you won't find a beautiful duty for such a big cultured state as Austro-Hungary, which has historically exercised her power to guarantee the diffusion of humanity and civilization! Let our sympathy towards Austria-Hungary be not lost. Losing the sympathy doesn't pass through my mind, but everyone is waiting and for me the time has come. It seems the case has achieved the highest scale of maturity.

My deepest thanks to my great benevolent, without whom I wouldn't have seen my birthplace, and undoubted would have continued my studies.

Best regards Your Excellency,
Humble and thankful

Gjergj Pekmezi
PhD Candidate

REVIEWS

Norbert Boretzky, *Der Türkische einfluss auf das Albanische. Teil 1. Phonologie und Morphologie der Albanischen Turzismen. 1975, 273 p. Teil 2. Wörterbuch der Albanischen Turzismen. 1976. 225 p. Otto Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden. In the series: "Albanische forschungen", 11 and 12*

The book of Norbert Boretzky on Turkish loan words is published in two volumes on 1975-1976. Now, already after 40 years, is visibly late to do its review, and at the same time are devaluated the fruitful possibilities for dialogue and cooperation. Nevertheless, although are passed some decades, there has never been an essential examination of these volumes, that remain the most extensive work published till today for this very important issue in the studies on the Albanian language.

The works of the German scholars on the Albanian language have a long and fruitful tradition of priceless contribution. In the last half century is presented a new development in treating the Albanian language from their part. The reason is, because on the Albanian language there is a big lexical afflux proved in all the fields of publishing, and continuous to be made the collection of the lexicon afflux from the verbal sources, while the Albanian linguists have drafted dictionaries and lexicological and etymological works. It's not anymore the previous situation, in which J. Xyländer, J. G. von Hahn or G. Meyer were forced and with great efforts to collect Albanian words where they could. In these circumstances, some German trackers followed a new direction: in parallel with the further tracking in a wider plane, they also examined the works of the previous German scholars.

Norbert Boretzky on *Ndikimin e turqishtes mbi gjuhën shqipe/the Turkish influence on the Albanian language* has used a wide

bibliography, and about on this theme are also mentioned the names of F. Miklosisch, G. Meyer, G. Weigand, N. Jokl, M. Lambertz, W. Fieldler.

The Volume I (1975) entitled *Fonologjia dhe morfologjia e turqizmeve të shqipes/The phonology and the morphology of the Turkish loan words in Albanian* has an introduction on the goal construction of the work and for other questions. Then comes the First part on phonology and is divided on 8 chapters. Rightfully, since the beginning is given the general view on Albanian and the Turkish languages, then are taken one by one the sonorous changes, accent's problems, secondary changes, the special developments in the Albanian dialects, The Turkish loan words definitions, the spoken language and dialects borrowings and in the end some special dialects. Each chapter has been minutely analyzed and every paragraph is equipped with many examples. This construction after an all inclusive structure promises for a deepened research, that will sensitively bring forward the today knowledge. Indeed, there are many cases where are interesting findings and observations, that were not previously grasped and the author has put them in evidence, and those have not touched the phonetic and phonologic questions; compared with the sonorous forms and with Istanbul's Turkish they were not compared with the Balkan languages. However, after an attentive reading are raised a series of essential questions.

It's impossible to be reflected all these issues, and consequently we will stop on the closer examination of some of them and from this, comes out a picture based on the general framework.

The biggest problem for every kind of borrowing words in our language is this: **Which is the corpus of the Albanian language lexicon?** Does there belongs anything casual, transitional, of individual and stylistic circumstances, especially in the bilingual conditions? The disregard of this severe scientific request would bring us in a framework, on which we would have a corpus of the Greek, Latin, Turkish, Slavonic and of the today English languages, mixed all together, viz in a lexicon monster, but not in a real language as Albanian is. I'm bringing a very meaningful example.

Is given by Boretzky as Turkish loan word (p. 247): *la ila illallah*, that derives from the Turkish *lâ ilaheillallah*. There is not in the

Albanian language such e Turkish loan word, and neither in the Turkish do not exists such words. The author tries to base this with the reason that the expression is used on the rites. It's true that the Arabic is used in the Moslem rites when the Koran is read in Arabic, but how can be spoken for such an Albanian word borrowed from the Turkish? Also, the author has made a final affirmation, that in the Albanian language there is not any borrowing words from the Arabic or the Persian languages, everything has passed through the Turkish language. That's an ahistoric affirmation. The Arabic is heard from the minarets in Albania since the first day when the mosques were build in the XV century and still is heard even today in the center of Tirana. The Arabic is learned not in the Saudi Arabia and in Bagdad, as the author undermines, nonetheless even in the Arab countries were gone Albanian soldiers, but was learned with stick hits in meyteps and in medresses in the Albanian land. I am mentioning here also a common word: *duhan/tobacco*. Its incomprehensive why all the etymologists till today say that his word comes from the Turkish, in which there is not such a word, but has *tütüin*. The tobacco is brought in Albania by the soldiers of Arab countries and have brought it after the XVII century, because until then neither in Europe was not widely spread, as a plant brought from America. In any case, we will agree with the author, that the term "Orientalism" does not stands, but not insisting that there are not loan words except the Turkish intermediation. On the contrary, its incomprehensible that the author himself has brought examples from the Arabic, as: *tekrir*, not existing in Albanian; *nafaize-t* that is the plural in the Arabic and the Turkish language itself does not possess it.

Are given Turkish loan words as *kilus*. This is a word of medical terminology, is Latin *chylus* (from the Greek *chylos*), while the Turkish has taken it from the Arabic. Our doctors use it with the Latin's spelling and cannot imagine either that is borrowed from the Turkish and even worse, that this word is in our language from the Turkish. As a special term, does not makes part in the Albanian corpus, let alone in the group of the Albanian Turkish loan words.

Karajfile is treated as adaptation differently from the meaning of the flower *karanfil*, also this is repeated twice in the book. Nothing like this stands, because the name of the rifle comes from the Italian producing

firm Carlo e Figlio and is a paronymic case. Generally, this author doesn't know the homonymy of the Albanian language.

A kind of wheat is called in Ukraine *arnautkë*. This is not an Albanian word and nor Turkish in the Albanian language. It's a borrowing from the Slavonic languages and also the Ukraine's Albanian themselves.

I believe that such examples are enough. However in case that in a country from Sicily and Mandrica, from Ukraine and Egypt, from Presheva and Peloponnese, from Manastir and Istanbul, the visible framework cannot be defined Albanian. This is not our language.

Below I will bring other cases of the items that are not Albanian, while in the reference¹ I have given an additional list with words through N. Boretzky's pages, which never have been part of the Albanian language corpus and nothing can be build on them that could be useful for the linguistic. From a series of examples can be given the impression that the author has collected the material from statterings, stammerers, lispings, stutterers, and perhaps from people with not only these kind of problems of spelling apparatus².

Rightfully the author insists, to be taken into consideration the genuine Turkish loan words, viz taken into the Albanian language from the Turkish and not by the mediation of other languages. However, in the concrete material this criteria has not been applied. For example, have come in Albanian not from the Turkish, but from the Slav spoken

¹ Words that are not recognized from the Albanian language: *allahtabiler, allarametile, allah nemrile, azhdis, baki, ballçik, baxhallar, beli vallahi, benis, berumbak, bezeris, bezhde, biçare, çitar, darmadan, dodë, don, fallxhihanë, fëldishtë, gazali, gibta, gjenish, haxhusk, hënxhir, izen, kallama, kapllamak, katie, kavgatë, kërndellis, kiket, mahana, maskarë, masulat, mutllak, pajtat, qesetë, saka, ses, sërrçe, suqut, sytana, takamile, talimat, tallkin, taraki, teretut, tesvëti, tybistik, xhandërma, xhelatxhi, xhezanagdje.*

² Such distorted forms are: *aqikat (hakikat), багаçë (pogaçe), баҳчеванхи, бакґан (fakfun), baksëz (i pabaft), balldane (palldëm), balldanos (për: majdanos), barberhanë, bukëxhi, çemalle (qemane), çetap (qitap), çerteli (çifteli), çerap, demi (dimi), devanhane, diverhane (divanhane), dolldërma, dudall (budall), dullak, duvat (duvak), eb (hejbe), enk (aheng), esik (eksiq), flerexhi, freshllëk, gstarxhi, gjellxheshë, hapsanxhi, har (ahur), haritë (hartë), hashaf (hashash), hyqamet, jashtëk, kaçllëk, kadem jazi, kallap (kallëp), konomllëk, korme (urmë), lmaz (elmaz), lundërhane, marmur (mermer), mysllys (myflis), myshma (mushama), nënëllëk, pacar (pazar), peden (beden), pjamber (pejgamber), pixhak (biçak), pergjel, pleqërrillëk, pumuk (pambuk), qederprurës, qulap (qylah), sanak (sënduk), taftan (kaftan), taqi (takije), taraqi (terjaqi), taftan, tiranalli, tyrlysh, ushta, vatht (vakt), xhap (xhep), xhell (exhel), zalfë (zarfë), zumbull.*

a series of words³. These are not included in the different paragraphs. The author himself admits (p. 237), that in a poem taken from the Turkish are seen the words *jediler* and *kërkler*, then what had to do with the Albanian Turkish loan words, when our language does not recognize them? Cannot be approved that *patrik* is a Turkish loan word, when the Turkish itself has taken it from the Greek; then, the Albanians doesn't learned the Orthodoxy from the Turks. Nor *cangadhe* is from the Turkish *çangal*, but from the Greek. It's incredible (p. 100), that the author calls Albanian the word *arnáut*, which is typical a Slavonic word. Where are found these Albanians, that do not call themselves *shqiptarë/Albanians*, but *arnáut*?

It results to me that some foreign authors, and first among them Angelo Leotti (The Albanian-Italian dictionary, 1937), have tried to fabricate a non existing Albanian language⁴, going that far to "Albanianise" the Turkish loan words. Unfortunately, all these useless fabrications of N. Boretzky has taken as authentic, without a critical stand, also a proof of the superficial knowledge of Albanian by him. A critical stand should have been taken also towards some words form the etymologies of G. Meyer (1891), because was natural that the knowledge would go forward after a century, but N. Boretzky has taken as valid, e.g. *boga*, *bukagi*, *çik*, *ganilloj*, *geler*, *hajmana*, *kërkma*, *kërnellis*, *muskovnisht*, *suluk*, *zgail*.

The second major problem about the Turkish loan words is that the Albanian and the Turkish are two different languages, because **make part in two different language families**. Consequently, the comparisons cannot be superficially made by confronting a word with another, but word after word within another linguistic system. To concretize this, I have taken the item of the terminal sound reflection *-a*

³ Borrowings from the Slav languages and not directly from the Turkish: *alltinbash* – tq. *altin bezi* (there is no possibility that phonetically *bezi* could give *bash* in Albanian), *bukagi*, *fukaritem*, *gjelinë*, *gybërr*, *haraçnik*, *harxhit*, *kashik* (on F. Bardhi only and even T. Dizdari marks that nowhere comes among Albanians), *kaur*, *llapit*, *shegert*.

⁴ Inventions of foreign authors, that the Albanian does not recognize: *bollësi*, *bollësisht*, *i boshhtë*, *bunartinj*, *daullar*, *daulltar*, *eshktar*, *firarem*, *fodullësi*, *fodullim*, *hajdutsi*, *halhtar*, *hapsos*, *hasmëtar*, *i hatërueshëm*, *i idizashëm*, *kallauzis*, *karagjozëri*, *i kastileshëm*, *i katërqoshhtë*, *kurbantore*, *i lazemshëm*, *llapoj*, *i mehanshëm*, *i merkashëm*, *mezatar*, *mushamalizonj*, *nakseri*, *i painsaf*, *i qejfshëm*, *i sabrushëm*, *sagllamëtar*, *i salltanatshëm*, *sallxhakthi*, *serhirtar*, *sermos*, *sertllis*, *shupedis*, *tamamërisht*, *i teneqenjhtë*, *toptanërisht*, *i tuhafshëm*, *i ujugshëm*, *i xhamillëktë*, *i xhenemtë*, *i xhymertë*, *zanator*, *zulluntar*.

during the adaptation in the Albanian language. Mechanically, the author has assembled a list of examples (p. 108), in which has put in brackets those what he calls changed forms: *baba* (*babë*), *bakllava* (*bakllavë*), *baxha* (*baxhë*), *budalla* (*budall*), *dava* (*davë*), *dolloma* (*dollamë*), *donama* (*donamë*), *hata* (*hatë*), *hurma* (*hurmë*), *llapa* (*llapë*), *mahana* (*mahanë*), *maskara* (*maskarë*), *mastrapa* (*mashtrapë*), *masha* (*mashë*), *nafaka* (*nafakë*), *para* (*pare*), *raja* (*raje*), *salla* (*sallë*), *saraxha* (*saraxhë*), *sërma* (*sërmë*), *sofa* (*sofë*), *sufra* (*sofra*), *shaka* (*shakë*), *turra* (*turrë*). Except the general shortcomings, that are among these wrong forms, in this way to the author has escaped an essential Albanian phenomenon. Is clearly noticed that even from these examples, where the forms with terminal accent are of the southern spoken dialect, while those with pre-terminal accent of the northern spoken. This is a characteristic that cannot be ignored. Meanwhile, here is not simply the case for a terminal accent, but for a complex process.

It's not true that for example the Turkish word *babá* through the sound change comes as in the Gheg dialect *bábë*. The essence here is the displacement of the accent, intertwined with the morphological forms. The Albanian is an inflectional, flexive language and this determines all the changes that occur during the adaptation process of a Turkish word in the Albanian system. Concretely, the Turkish word *babá* would be included as a noun, taking at first place the forms and the genders. In Albanian, *babá* would be a masculine noun, so *babái*. In the Gheg dialect, by accent's displacement the word becomes *bába*, thus it's not true that in the Gheg lacks the form *baba*. However, comes as a feminine noun *dera*, *dora* etc. and normally would have the indefinite form *bábë*, consequently we have the postpositive indefinite article and not a phonetic change, while in the spoken pronunciation, as for the other Albanian nouns, the terminal vowel possibly can't be heard, compensated with an extension of the accentuated vowel [*bāb*]. The plural of this word is rarely used and is borrowed together with the Turkish plural *baballar-*, but again including within the system *baballar-ë*, *-ët*. For the Gheg dialect in the spoken language comes also *bába-t* (in the Fjalori i Bashkimit/Union Dictionary, 1908).

The change of the accent, as its noticed, is accompanied with the gender's change. Also this phenomenon is wider, therefore briefly we are presenting some examples, as: *komshi*, *-u* and *komshi*, *-a*; *efendi*, *-u* and

efendi, -a. (compare with Serb, *efendija*, *komšija*). I would add here the example *shan-shani*, in which according to the author we have an abstract suffix -i, when the work is very easy: is the definite form.

Nonetheless we have an accent's displacement, then is posed the question in a more general plan on this phenomenon. Without entering in all the details, I am marking that the Turkish words with closed syllable have not changed the accent: *bilbil*, *kapak*, *pazar*. Also the following words with terminal -i have not changed it: *çati*, *komshi*, *xhami*, *zanatçi*. It is changed on the words with terminal accent -é: *penxheré*- *penxhére*, *teneqé*- *teneqe*, *tenxheré*- *tenxhere* and exactly this change coincides again with the division between the principal Albanian dialects. Here, there is a need for an explanation. It seems to me that the reason is the Albanian contact with the Balkan languages. The northern areas have been in contact with the Slav languages, on which is not heralded the terminal accent, e.g. Serb. *ága*, *páša*. In the southern areas the contact has been closer with the Turkish Balkan communities, while the Greek also has preserved the terminal accent for this kind of words. Consequently, in the south was listened the same form for the Turkish and for the Greek and was not heralded the incentive for a displacement in the Albanian. In the north was heard the same form also for the Serb, meanwhile the displacement of the accent didn't conceived something foreigner on the Albanian phonetic system and that's why this change is seen on some exclamations: *uá* in the Tosk and *áu* in Gheg.

We shall accept that the essential model of the Albanian word it's principally a bisyllabic item, but also trisyllabic, with pre-terminal accent. Even here there is the necessity to be kept in mind the linguistic system and not to act with separated items. Thus, of course that *mal* is a monosyllabic word taken like this, but it regularly comes bisyllabic and also trisyllabic in the whole of its inflection: *mali*, *malit*, *malet*, *maleve*. Also happens with the verbs: *hap* is within a paradigm: *hapa*, *hapim*, *hapur* etc. The inclination in Albanian for a bisyllabic with pre-terminal accent is clearly seen in the personal nouns abbreviations: *Ibrahím* > *Bími*, *Abdurrahím* > *Dúro*, *Muhamét* > *Méti*. In this way, especially we can explain the processes of today. In the standard language, a series of Turkish loan words are not accepted with terminal accent, as *básme*, *húrmë*, *máshë*, *sófër*, *tenxhére* etc. Some continue to be

presented in both forms: *tenéqe* and *teneqé* and among these there are impressive cases, as the pairs: *káfe* – *kafé*, *pashá* – *páshë*. Briefly, all these very interesting sides on this study field are not understood by the author because of his mechanic method and of not deep knowledge of the Albanian language system. Also, even in the mechanic presentation there are flaws. For example, has drawn its attention the avoidance cases, as e.g. *për pará* – *páre* or *basmá* – *básme*, that should be explained.

The third major problem are the **linguistic variants**. Every language with a long and vivid life is presented with a series of variants according its specific characteristics. Firstly, in the beginning of the writing are made distinctions between the written and the spoken language. N. Boretzky has used the term "written Turkish". In this case, this is a meaningless usage. During the centuries of the Ottoman rule, the Albanian language has not been in contact with the written Turkish, but with the Osman language. The Osman language it's not the written Turkish, but a different language, on which naturally there are dictionaries and respective grammars. Without wishing to be overlengthy, I would do a comparison: The Osman language is like the Latin face to Italian, as the old Slavonic church language in face of the Russian. Therefore Dante Alighieri defended the Italian as the poetry language, while A. Pushkin, the Russian for the same reason. Also, in Turkey, there was a current to bring similar changes in the second half of the XIX century and in this current was also focused Sami Frashëri.

It cannot be itemized here this broad question, but is meaningless, that in his book, N. Boretzky doesn't mentions the Osman language. Also is complicated even the Arabic as the written untouchable language of Islam. Meanwhile, it's not Turkish *rubajat*, but Arabism come to us with individual use, because the Turkish has it *rubai* and this is the form of the literary term in Albanian, viz a special term. It would belong here also the historicism approach by Turkish origin and also the use for stylistic necessities of Turkish quotations, procreation which visibly comes in the writings of Gjergj Fishta and of Fan Noli, in the satirical writings and even in the today journalistic polemic, but for all these essential sides there is no trace on the book we are talking about, where everything is inundated from the attention towards the dialectical material without any essential importance. The author's

expression (p. 14), that should be collected the entire material of the Turkish loan words of Albanian is a fiction, chasing a ghost, in case which are not followed study criteria as in every scientific research field.

Secondly, comes the regional variation. Of course, the Turkish has the proper spoken dialects. However, in no way can be applied the same stand as in the case of the Greek and of Slavonic dialects, which the Albanian has been in contact with. The borrowings from the Slavonic and Greek languages have sensitively grown their presence of their dialects in the Albanian realm areas. Also for example, is noticed a distinction between the northern areas in contact with the Serb language and of the most southern areas, in contact with the Bulgarian language, that is proved by the passably example of the word *opangë* – *opingë/green-hide shoe*. Another distinction for a Turkish loan word is also faced for the well known word *beg/bej/bey*, as is attested from the name *Skënderbeu* - *Skanderbegu/Scanderbeg*; as consequence the form *beg* matches with the Slavonic languages.

On the contrary, there has not been something usual in the Albanians' contact with peoples that spoke different dialects that would influence in the nature of the Turkish loan words. The most visible affirmation is the fact that, since Albania detached herself from Turkey, it didn't remained Turkish enclaves in the political Albanian territory. Nor can be guessed for dialectical distinctions of the Turkish language, that has left their traces among Albanians working in Istanbul, of the soldiers, or vice versa, from the Turks that were working in the administration, in justice, army and in the religious institutions in Albania. By all means, is a special study field the distinction of the loan words in Albanian, from one side, and of the Turkish loan words in the written language for the national and religious necessities from the other side, a distinction that exists for the Turks themselves. Has been diffused the saying "Elbasan's Albanian and Istanbul's Turkish" since the middle of the XIX century, which proves that on Albanians didn't enjoy prestige the Turkish dialectical oscillations.

From the other side, we have today a not bad picture at all of the Albanian dialectical characteristics. Of course, it's necessary to continue the work done till now, but it's worthless for the Albanian dialectology to research how are phonetically formed the Turkish loan

words in every spoken. Those are treated within the respective dialectical system, viz if in some eastern spoken is faced the analyze of the sound *-í* approximately in [aj], viz is faced [majr] për *mirë/for better*, there is reason to see the Turkish borrowings of these words, because naturally also *raki* would be pronounced [rakaj] totally different from its etymology. Our distinguished researcher in this field, Tahir Dizdari, anytime he had the chance, has clearly shown that how a Turkish loan word has occurred changes exactly in a close spoken circle, e.g., says that *boshline*, *henk*, *kapodai*, *koçak*, *koçobash* are variants of Shkodra's Catholics. These are secondary changes, that has not to do with the words' etymology.

Variations of a language are also seen in the bilingual conditions. I wish to emphatically repeat, that cannot be accepted as composite part of the Albanian language, neither the words nor the phenomena that are noticed in a bilingual environment. This a special study field, nonetheless is certain, that a majority of borrowed words come from the bilingual circumstances, but deserves attention only that material, which generally passes in the language and not what subsists on the bilingual speaker. Many examples on N. Boretzky's book are exactly taken from bilingual environments and are totally rejected. Cannot be equalized the Albanians bilingualism with the Greek and Slavonic languages towards a limited bilingualism with the Turkish. The bilingualism with the Greek and with the Slavonic languages is pluricentennial and vivid till today on Albanians, but this is another question.

Also, another question is the multilingualism among the Turkish, Arabic and Albanian languages. I shall not add here another very interesting point of view, that is the Turkish language role on the Balkan languages during the Ottoman rule. We shall accept that the Turkish was for centuries the language of the "Ottoman globalization" and no doubt this point of view would help us to open other aspects for the comparative studies on Balkan level.

The languages have historic variants. There is no trace on this book for this important fact. Surprisingly there is not discussed for the great historic event of Albania's detachment from the Ottoman Empire and for the sensitive consequences on the linguistic situation of the contacts with the Turkish and on the national cultural orientation. As

consequence, the book's material is far away from the today Turkish loan words situation in the Albanian language, and is felt the impression that such researches serve to the Turkish linguistics and not to the Albanology.

Instead of the fourth problem, comes the turn of a problematic which will be included the affirmations that not stand related with the Albanian language.

– It's not true that in the Albanian language the suffix *-je* is used only for the verbal nouns and as consequence, it is an "unusual construction" (p. 256) the word *okje*. There are not few the examples from the Albanian nominative themes: *barkje, elbje, dorje, gurje, mishje, përdhesje, përparje*.

– It's not true (p. 42), that in Albanian the sound [xh] has been rare and has become dense under the Turkish influence. In the spoken pronounce is totally natural the sonorous prefix *ç-*, as on the words: *xhvesh, xhvoshk, xhdëmtoj, xhgërryej, xhvidhos*.

– It's not true (p. 43), that in Albanian the sound [ë] from peripheral has become central under the respective Turkish sound. Our linguists have minutely treated as one of the principal distinctions between the two Albanian dialects, that is affirmed for example with the words: *ranë – rërë* and *baj – bëj*.

– It's not true (pp. 153-154), that the fall in Albanian of the initial sound [h] comes from the mediation of the Slavonic languages. This sound falls as dialectical phenomenon of a spoken language characteristic nevertheless any kind of the Slavonic languages influence, because it's not that strong in this position, as in the spoken dialect of Korça and partially of Dibra. It's seen as mistake even in the writing, therefore many years ago (14 March 1971) I have published an article entitled "*Pse më ani*"?

– From the field of word-formation, I am placing a point on a more generalized nature. According to the author (p. 52) has been borrowed the Turkish word *arapça* and this has given in Albanian *arapçe*. The Turkish has the suffix in two variants in accordance with the vowel synharmony: *-ça/ -çe*. The Albanian does not have borrowed the synharmony request, as has done in the case of the suffix *-lar/ -ler*. The reason for this is that in Albanian there is a suffix *-sh, -she, -shë*. In dependence of the terminal sound of the word-forming theme it comes

as *-çe*, e.e. *fshat>fshatshe> fshaçe*; *vend>vendshe>vendçe*. The Albanian has also a suffix *-çe* Slav loan word and that's why has not been difficult to enter in use also the Turkish *-çe*, but not *-ça*.

Consequently, *arapçe* does not derives from *arapçá*, but is a formation within the Albanian language. There is no sense to be constructed guessed words of the Turkish (p. 174) as: **başıbozukça*, **çifutça*, **çobança*, **haydutça*, **sokakça*, because in a regular form they are formed in Albanian *hajdut> hajdutshe* or directly *hajduçe*; *sokak>sokakçe*. Not at all enters here the word *kapanxhë*, which only in the dialectical variant is *kapanxhe* from the Turkish *kapança*, because for the Albanian language there is not here any kind of suffix. The same thing worthwhile on other cases, as e.g., *gjoksore* its not a Turkish loan word, but of the theme *gjoks-* which is added one of the most used Albanian suffixes.

– Cannot be approved the affirmation (p. 225), that in Albanian *hyzmeqare* is directly borrowed from the Turkish *hizmetkar*. Such borrowings have come in Albanian as masculine nouns and then are constructed the items on the feminine gender. It's known that the feminine gender of the professions, ethnicities, of geographic and regional appurtenance, of physical and psyche characteristics, we construct them from the masculine gender: *punëtor – punëtore*, *mësues – mësuese*, *grek – greke*, *përtac – përtace*, *tiranaz – tiranase* etc. Such affirmation is contrary with the less complicated formations. E.g., from the Turkish *bey*, we have *bej/beg* and some of them *bejlereshë/beglereshë*. How would the author explain the formations from *budalla* on the feminine: *budallaqe*, *budallçkë*, *budallonjë*, *budalle*, *budallicë*, *budalleshë*? All these are direct loan words from the Turkish *budalá*?

– Doesn't happens some adjectivisation of the nouns with emphasized use, as e.g., *hale* for "i ndytë/dirty". This is a usual characteristics for Albanian, as in the cases *akull* (i ftohtë/cold), *dëborë* (i bardhë/white). These we have marked as adjectival usages in our dictionaries, but morphologically are not adjectives, don't take the adjective forms. Also *shakllaban* it's not adjectivisation, because in the Turkish language is presented as noun and adjective, but because this a total common phenomenon for the Albanian language, viz *punëtor-i/punëtor-e* and an endless such number of words in Albanian are

pointed out as nouns and as adjectives. Also, the Albanian has its own usages of the nouns as adverbs, e.g. to mark a big plurality: *mizëri*, *mizë*, *rrush*, *prush*, *lumë*; consequently, is seen some loan word, as *deng*, *top*.

The author takes these cases as proof for "a big intensity of the Turkish influence" (p. 239) and such an unacceptable affirmation he supports by the examples: *akibet*, *çatall*, *hakikat*, *rehat*, *sefte*, by surprising us that where has he found as adverbs the words *axhele*, *hakikat* etc.

- Are not conjunctions (p. 246) in Albanian: *anxhak*, *demek*, *gjoja*, *madem*.

- There are not such exclamations in Albanian: *baxhallar*, *dost*, *çik*, *dura*, *helbete*, *hoshbullduk*, *qorolla*. This last, because of the homonymy with *qor* would be offensive as greeting.

- Is totally unnecessary the paragraph 3.1 (p. 252) "Nouns construction", because derivative words from Turkish themes has regularly for words with Albanian themes, viz *arap* – *arapeshë* is according the model *bujk* – *bujkeshë*. As always, also for this case lacks the generalization, viz that the examples of the derived words from the Turkish theme attest that these themes are good assimilated in the Albanian and therefore usually are not vanished from use, as has happened with thousand other words that have remained isolated.

- There is no need to be treated with the Turkish borrowings, the Albanian words, as: *elefant*, *kalibër*, *magji*, *paraqsë* etc. Are seen time after time other forms, that had nothing to do with the work's object.

- There is no probability, that the Albanian language has taken from the "written Turkish" words as: *astragaç*, *dogëndis*, *grybeke*, *tegel* etc. What, Turkish books (with Arab letters!) have been read from the Albanian women (unfortunately massively illiterate!) to learn *astragaç/pasta sheet rolling-board* and *tegel/seam*?

- Also from other authors there is a big unclarity on Albanian compounds; many phrases are presented on writing as a single word. Enough to explain one example. There is not in the Albanian language a compound *akshampazar*. The Albanian words do not have two accents with the same value. While for this example helps us also a known saying: *aksham pazar* – *batakçi mall*. We have to accept that we have also compound *batakçimall*, something absurd. Consequently,

such examples do not stand at all: *specadollma*, *kafepijetore*, *pushimdyfek* and should not be written as a single word; the last of them is a ugliness that does not exist in Albanian. Here I would like to add the word *telshkrim* (p. 271), that also does not exist in the Albanian lexicon and less that the first part is *tel-* of the Turkish. This is such an ugly loan word from *telegraf*, where the first part is from the Greek, but is part of the international words, as: *televizor/television*, *teleskop/telescope* etc.

The second volume in the dictionary is a *Fjalor i turqizmeve të shqipërisë/Dictionary of the Turkish loan words in Albanian* (1976). There is a short introduction "Vërejtje për fjalorin/remarks on the dictionary", showing that is the material that has served for the first part treatment. Are included few words of uncertain Turkish origin. For the material and the dialects is shown that for Presheva and Dibra the collection has been made from the verbal source, while for Drenica, Zadrime and Çamëria from the written sources. At the end of the used literature list, catches the eye, as the author himself admits, that has not exploited the rich Albanian literature. Are seen only three writers names: S. Hasani (1964), S. Imami (1964), J. Xoxa (1958). This explains the big poorness of this vocabulary, because there are nearly 5000 items, but a big part of them are all kinds of dialectal forms and words that are not Albanian Turkish loan words. All the aforementioned flaws on the first volume of the work are found in this vocabulary, which consequently cannot be called "Dictionary of Albanian Turkish loan words". Therefore cannot be made an analyze of it. I am bringing some supplementary examples to prove that such a collection is useless.

Is given a first form *bakallhone* from Presheva and is not found the form *bakallhanë*, while *bakallanë* I have found it in the Albanian press since 1911. Is given as first form *aferin* for *aferim*, form taken from A. Leotti and that does not exist in the Albanian language, then is followed with such forms from A. Leotti, as: *alles*, *ankran*, *baglladi*, *batakëri*, *baxhosxhi*, *berberië*, *delldisem*, *erqani-harp*, *felaqet*, *gjeremes*, *gjëllxheshë*, *haham*, *harramxhi*, *hasmeshë*, *hekurxhianë*, *irshat*, *jollxhi*, *jomak*, *kafë-ibrik*, *kapkanë*, *kapsanë*, *katërqoshellikçe*, *kryetopçi*, *masip*, *matrapasxhi*, *menaf*, *mesleq*, *mirimall*, *mualifllëk*, *muamelexhi*, *muhim*, *mynexhim*, *mystade*, *pilafçi*, *pishdar*, *preçartllëk*, *rakixhi*, *remall*, *rynxhuk*, *sahatçillëk*, *saka*, *sandraç*, *skambil*, *sukçi*, *shorollop*, *tesvëti*,

tibbie, tiftik, tihaqim, triqoshore, utllage, vezaxhi, xhevahirxhi, xhirit, zëtllek, ziraat. If we add here, that are also the words, that I have shown in the note 4, as the Albanian words with some Turkish suffix (viz *tërthorçe* for the author is Turkish loan word!), then we exit what is called linguistic science. I shall not touch known words, that lack, as *bajame* or *barbunjë*.

In the pages 147-207 are given five list of Turkish loan words from the aforementioned regions. This is an unacceptable methodic flaw. The influence of the Turkish language has been for centuries in all the Balkans, therefore cannot be distinctions between an Albanian village and somebody else for the presence or the lack of an item. Since this is such a flaw, I can treat it with a little humor. According to this lists, comes out that in Drenica, Zadrime and Çamëria for five centuries have not heard about the *Moslems*; in Zadrime and in Dibra have not had the chance to see any *muezzin*; in Drenica wear *çorape/socks*, while in the four other regions have not known them; *bakllava* have eaten only in Presheva, all the other Albanians from Zadrime to Çamëria have not tasted it; there is a great chance that *budallenj/stupid* are not found in Zadrime and in Dibra.

As conclusion, has been made a big work, but with poor outcomes because of the generally wrong mechanic method, and especially from the confusing of dialectical forms with the bilingual circumstances, by constructing a useless picture of the Albanian Turkish loan words.

I shall be allowed to make an affirmation, which I believe expresses a truth. In our time, the Albanian linguists have achieved not a bad level on the Albanian language scientific examination, while have an unsuspected priority: they have the Albanian language as mother tongue; many sides of it for them are precisely understandable and explainable that the foreign scholars can't do, nevertheless the deep scientific level of their today knowledge. I shall not present concrete examples here, but not rarely of well-known Albanologists, I have noticed wrong examples of Albanian language, something that an Albanian linguist could never do, not because is more capable, but because is his language, because he possesses those who are called linguistic competences and the linguistic feeling, which a foreigner rarely can fully achieve. From N. Boretzky I am bringing again some other examples out of any imagination. Is given as a Turkish loan word

pishëvënë/firebrand from the Turkish *pezevenk*. No Albanian can make such a mistake, because is forbidden to him by linguistic competence. No Albanian can accept that *kryelane*, for a kind of cooking, derives from a horse race word in Arab from the Turkish *küheylan*. *Gjedheshtë/interest rate* as E. Çabej has analyzed, has no connection with the Turkish word *güzeşte*. From this affirmation comes out that, the Albanian linguists do not have to fear the critical examination and the contributions from the foreign authors. On the contrary, we have the opportunity to show that *pizeveng* comes from the Armenian as offensive word, while *manushaqe/violet* also derives from the Armenian and are useless the efforts to explain it through phonetic changes of the Turkish word *menekşe*.

However, the critical examination should not be used by us as an aim in itself, even for putting in evidence the scientific precision. In case that we would closely follow the works of the Albanologists and attentively examine them, is created the possibility to establish a dialogue, and even cooperation.

Xhevat LLOSHI

Kolec TOPALLI, *Fjalori etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe*
(Etymological dictionary of the Albanian Language.
Akademia e Studimeve Albanologjike, Tirana, 2017, 1984 f

The etymologic dictionary of the Albanian Language of Prof. Kolec Topalli is his latest major work crowning the lifetime experience dedicated to the scientific research in the field of the Albanian language and its history

The studies on the history of the Albanian Language, Prof. Topalli started since the '70ies and the first outcomes of this work have seen the light of publication at the only scientific review of the Linguistic Institute "Philological Studies". These papers, accomplished in difficult conditions of his life at those times, were fruit of his passion and dedication towards the study of the Albanian language history, because was not easy to enter such a study field where the Albanian and world colossuses of Albanology have made their efforts since before a century along with several generations of scholars. The willpower, the perseverance and the love for the Albanian language and its scientific study, encouraged him to learn the necessary foreign languages, the classical and the new ones, to be committed in this field and to secure the scientific literature in the field of the Indo-European and Albanian linguistic history and to master thoroughly the most consolidated achievements of the Albanological science in this field before taking the courage to further step in. These steps, in the beginning focused in special issues of the Albanian history phonetics, consecutives and very systematic, extended in a period of twenty years, brought important scientific outcomes that were concretized in a considerable number of 8 monographs about the Albanian history of phonetics, from which was also published the major work of the Albanian Historic Phonetics.

The gained experience in the profound studies on history's phonetics served as bases for further research on the Albanian historical morphology, which were realized in four other monographs on Albanian language grammar system essential parts and then in another

generalized work with the Albanian Language Grammar History of over 1700 pages.

In all this great volume of scientific work for the reconstruction of the Albanian language history, important parts of it and closely connected with it was the different etymologic category of the Albanian words, through which are also discovered the phonetics rules that define the language's evolution and vice versa, the precise knowledge on the rules or phonetics regulations that have acted within the language and also give perfect etymologies.

In this way, the studies on phonetics and the Albanian grammar history, naturally brought the author on the reconstruction of the words history, their origin, their earlier and more earlier discover, so the Albanian words etymology and their reflection in an etymologic dictionary.

The difficulty on which the scholar faces for the reconstruction of the form and the meaning of the words is big in the case of the Albanian language, which has a late writing documentation, in the XVI century, and not voluminous, with a number of limited texts. Except this, the Albanian is a language that has suffered many changes during the centuries and the words' form have changed enough under the dynamic accent context by influencing in the contraction of sounds stunt, what makes more difficult the identification of the word's earlier form. For the Albanian remains to be mainly applied the comparative method, for those words that are also found in the other Indo-European sister languages, and the comparative method and that of the inner reconstruction, for the created words within the language with its own material.

However those ancient traces preserved in the old texts of the Albanian language, in the Albanian spoken dialects, especially those of Diaspora that preserve archaic characteristics, in the verbal folklore and sometimes also in the onomastics, are priceless records for the linguistic historian to reconstruct the words etymon. This method of work have pursued previous distinguished Albanologists, since Gustav Meyer, Norbert Jokl and especially Eqrem Çabej, in the remarkable results they have achieved in the field of the Albanian etymologic studies. At Meyer's time, the knowledge on the ancient Albanian texts and the number of the Albanian texts that the scholars had at their

disposal were more limited and such was also the knowledge on the Albanian dialects. Jokl brought forward the studies on Albanian etymology by applying a more efficacious method about the examination of a word origin: the collection of a wider evidences of the word in the language, of its forms and variants in space and time; the study of the word seen within the language, starting from the Albanian tools themselves, and then making comparisons with the neighboring or distant languages; the examination of the word in close connection with the item or the concept that she marks, according to the method *words and items*, and interdisciplinary method that connects the linguistics to ethnography or the popular culture.

This method of his master and friend was assimilated and followed by Eqrem Çabej in his etymologic studies, bringing them in a higher degree after collecting a long form from his past and from the scientific institutions of a very rich material on Albanian, as from the written texts, old and new, also from the dialects and the folklore, studies that were concretized in 7 volumes of Etymologic studies in the field of the Albanian language, already published, with a considerable number of examined lexicon units from their source.

The etymologic dictionary of Kolec Topalli is based on this previous linguistic achievement and on a wide published literature in these fields from Albanian and foreign scholars. The research of old texts, that he had secured time ago in a digitalized form, have been an irreplaceable source and solid support to reconstruct ancient phases, undocumented in the Albanian language. Kolec Topalli in his studies continuously refers to the ancient authors, also with the help of new computing technologies, finding in their priceless material serving as impetus and also as a new etymologic interpretation or as confirmation of the ideas crystallized by time.

His etymologic studies reflected in the dictionary are based on a big data records from the spoken Albanian in all the territories when it is spoken, within or outside the national borders or from the Arbëresh Diaspora, collected from a rich documentary literature. Thanks to the gained experience from the personal achievements and that of the previous scholars, thanks to the exploitation of new sources records and the intensive systematic work lasting several years, he succeeded to finish an etymologic dictionary on the Albanian language with the

greatest number of lexicon units data given till today from a dictionary of this nature on Albanian, overall 42.846 lexicon units including the derivatives, and 2331 onomastics units.

The dictionary includes a major part of Albanian lexicon affluences that are active in this language, but even many rare and ancient Albanian words, that present an interest for the traces that have left in the derivation and in toponomastic.

The bases of the etymologic dictionary of Prof. Topalli are the etymologic studies done by Eqrem Çabej, founding stone and starting point for the today etymologic studies, as he himself says in the introduction of the dictionary. As Çabej did take as reference point the etymologic dictionary of Gustav Meyer to do the review, the much more supplements and replenishments in his studies, also Koleç Topalli starts from Çabej's studies, because there finds collected all the previous studies along with the respective critics, and from there constructs his own critic with new solutions and proposals and enforcements of the previous given data.

As to the study method, again the model is that of Çabej's, already experienced on Albanian languages etymologic studies, which has its specifics as independent language within the Indo-European family without genetic connections with none of the other languages within this family and as an ancient language, but lately identified in the writings. In his studies, Çabej was starting from a wide concept of etymology, not simply as etymon finding or a word's source, but the observation of word's life in a general meaning: the word's area of diffusion, the environment where it was formed and the inner developments of hers, the many branching and the secondary meanings, its productivity in the language, the connection with other words within the lexicon of the language etc. As a method of scientific work, he had the support on the concrete facts of the Albanian language, the recognition of the vivid linguistic material in all its forms and expressions in space and time to give the linguistic interpretations. Firstly, he started from the inner comparison of the word with other words within the language, and then he addresses on external comparison.

The inner comparative method in Koleç Topalli's etymologic studies, is primal in explaining the roots of the different words. In the

etymologic analyzes of the word is firstly seen its connections with other close words within the language, the place that the word occupies in the Albanian lexicon system. Further, he seeks the connections with the responsive words of the languages which the Albanian has been in contact for centuries and then with those of the Indo-European sister languages. Thus, e.g., in this way he seeks the explanation of a word as *mëngo*(*to rise early*) not at the Latin *manicare* but on the Albanian word *ag/daybreak*, and so on.

Another methodological characteristics and merit of Prof. Topalli's work that made him achieve good results in the etymologic solutions, is the examination of the phonetics phenomenon in connections and interdependence to each-other, where the sound change affects and influences in all the language's phonetic system, and at the other side in connections and contextual dependence, seen this not only within the word's limits, but also wider, within a syntagma context or the phrase one. This way of observation of the phenomenon within the system can seem self-understandable and axiomatic for the linguistic, but is not easy at all to be applied in the concrete studies. It seeks a very good knowledge of laws and rules of the language's phonetic development, and at the same time a continuous attention to pursuit all the consequences that might have caused in the system a rule or a specific phenomenon.

The success of a pertinent etymology depends from the conformity's form and content, which means that, the form on one side is justifiable from the historic developments point-of-view of all the sounds that compose the lexeme, naturally seen in systemic connection and dependence, the definition and the observance of the relative and absolute chronology of phonetic characteristics to divide what has been borrowed from the other languages and what is inherited from a more ancient Indo-European period, and from the other side the semantic coherence with the basic lexeme or with the origin where the analyzed word originated. In the majority of etymological interpretations, Prof. Kolec Topalli consistently exercises on these premises, therefore his etymologic solutions are generally sustained. Kolec Topalli's etymologic contributions are of different chronologic levels: of the Indo-European period, of the words borrowing period from the other languages, and especially there are many explanations of the words origin within the Albanian, with internal language meanings. Here, also

enters a good number of analyses from the onomastics, that enrich his contribution even in this field.

Unlikely from the study and selective character that Çabej's studies have been, the work of Kolec Topalli has the characteristics of a dictionary, so has informative character, synthetic and reconstructive. In this way, also forced from the reduced dimensions of such a dictionary, he avoids the scientific debate on the given theses from the previous scholars and gives his opinion that seems more appropriate and based on the records of the Albanian language. Therefore, the dictionary is addressed to the wider audience than that of scientific circles, to all those that have desire to know the origin and the history of the Albanian words.

Nevertheless, is based on a wide scale in the previous etymologic studies, the new etymologic dictionary has many new contributions. These contributions can be summarized in some aspects.

First, the author has taken into examination and has seen with a very critical eye many from the etymologic solutions of the previous Albanologists, by improving, précising or rejecting many from them. Here has found application the author's deep knowledge from the phonetics and morphologic studies, of the Albanian language and its dialects history, on the bases of which are rejected the previous solutions and are undertaken other solutions. E.g. verbs as *blej*, *endem*, *davarit*, *dergjem*, *dëboj*, *dëftoj*, *lyej*, *mbërthej*, *mbërrij*, *mbuloj*, *ndërgon*, *ndërsej*, *ngacmoj*, *ngallmoj*, *ngec*, *ngul*, *njom* etc., nouns as *brengë*, *buall*, *buzë*, *domën*, *lëbogër*, *lëpê*, *mbles*, *myjë* *mye* adjectives as *i mbarë*, *i mbramë* and many others. Except this, there are alternative proposals for a big number of explanations given from the previous authors, as Çabej, by opening the scientific debate in parallel with another internal reconstruction or in the Indo-European plane, e.g. *acar*, *bërryl*, *lë*, etc.

Secondly, are given new interpretations and new word etymologies untreated till today, that compound very important contributions in the field of the Albanian etymology. These new contributions are made possible thanks to a insisting work on collecting, analyzing and interpreting of the records, known or unknown before, from the Albanian spoken dialects, and especially from the collection of the old Albanian texts, that always remain an irreplaceable source and solid

support for the reconstruction of ancient, undocumented Albanian language phases.

These new etymologic contributions are partly regional, unregistered in dictionaries, but found from the author in dialectological or folkloristic materials, some other are obsolete words, that are connected with specific historic periods, and in a big number are the new words, introduced in the last decades from the foreign languages or created within the Albanian language with its stuff and not always have found reflections within the today Albanian dictionaries.

From the first group, regional words more or less rare, we mention *bagolínë* f. "grass with thin leaves..." North word; *bajgúsh* m. name of a insect, word from the Tosk dialect; *bállá* sh. "half soles or robber shoes", Tosk dialectical word; *bobotë* "meal of flour corns, unbaked well bread", *bretk* "lumbers, sacrum"; *burbulec* "a kind of worm", *buzhel* "fat", *dafnjëj* "dismember, breaking", Gheg regional words (Elbasan, Tirana, Kosova); *dafurrój* "search hastily something, regional word (Durrës); *dahúk* "something long and with a tip", regional word and central Gheg (Kruja, Tirana, Kavaja); *dujkë* "a very fruitful tree; *kórëz* "deadline", "belt, girdle", dialectical words (Tropoja, Kosova, Luma, Elbasan); *koreník* "of the same age", Gheg word. VL; *korrák* "crow", regional word (Vlora, Fier, Çamëria); *lakut* "guzzler", Tosk word; *laper* "ragman, loiterer", *ndóset* adjective "whole", northern Gheg word; *ndrýpem* "fall, fall on the ground", *ndrys* "condense", *ngájë* "cause, reason", *ngárdhe* "pretext, obstruct, mess", Gheg dialect word; *ngërzís* "harass; to raise difficulties"; *ngufás*, *ngjelkë*, *ngjëthet* "falling leafs, in leaf", *pafille*, *pahi* "fence pole or with woods", *i pakajshëm* "indecent", *torlë* etc.

A number of new etymologies with onomatopoeic source (e.g. words that have as primary root *curr-* with onomatopoeic origin) or the so-called elementary creations, as e.g. formations that have as primary root *bob-*, *bub-*, *çak-*, *gog-*, *kok-* etc. A big number especially compound the new or relatively new words, introduced in the Albanian language through cultural contacts with the international languages, as Italian, French, English or the modern Greek. In parallel of the direct borrowing source, interesting for the reader is the given of the original source through the intermediary lexeme. These kinds of words compound a major part of the Albanian active lexicon and until today,

in their majority, are not reflected through dictionaries or etymologic studies. Therefore, present an interest for the general reader according their source, especially for words rooted in the Albanian as *abazhur/abat-jour/lamp shade* etc. and are important even for the enrichment and the update of the today Albanian dictionaries. In the explanation of cultural borrowing, is given their origin in the source language from where the word has been extracted, the dictionary has taken in some cases also a encyclopedic character (e.g. *nikotinë, amazonë* etc.)

However there is a number of the whole language etymologies prior remained without explanation which the author explains as with internal tools, e.g. *blacë* "low forest with bushes", *blanë* "wound scar, stain", *dokë, mashurkë, ngashërej, nguc* etc. or reconstructs as ancient Indo-European source, e.g. *lodër*, inherited word, that is connected with the root ie. *lēId^h*- "grow", where makes part irl. vj. *luaid* "move", *imluadi* "put in motion"; *ngjis*₁ verb "to glue two things, glue etc.", a word non-etymologized precisely before, that according to the author is connected with the root ie. *g^had^h*- "unite, closely connected", where make part friz. *gadia* "unite", ags. *geador, to goedere* (Engl. *together*) "bashkë" etc.

What catches the eye in this etymologic dictionary is that many of the new etymologies are explained from formations within the Albanian language. This is an outcome of a very good knowledge of the Albanian language and its dialects, and also of its grammar history. A number of etymologies since the foreign Albanologists of the Indo-European school are explained as reconstructed Indo-European bases somewhere doubtful or non secure, with the wide gained knowledge on the Albanian language and now can be easily explained with the internal tools of the Albanian language. This method, as we saw, was firstly applied by Jokl, even why sometimes in a very exaggerated way, but with more results was applied by Çabej and we also see it used enough and successfully in the dictionary of Prof. Kolec Topalli.

A contribution for the future explanative Albanian dictionaries and also for the scholars of the Albanian language word-formation, is the complete reflection of the basic lexeme derivative, evidenced and completed also by the KLSH researches and in the regional dictionaries, folkloristic materials etc. The words by basic lexeme

origin are analyzed and explained also from their origin, even when are not clear at first sight.

On the etymologic dictionary on the plants names is given the scientific explanation in Latin, that is an important help for the future explanative dictionary of the Albanian language, where are to be marked the Latin denominations of the plants, and a big help for the linguistic, botany's researchers, and also for the interpreters.

In the dictionary are also explained a number of words of the general lexicon that are used as family names or patronymic of different regions of the Albanian space. With this, the dictionary in many cases gives contributions even as onomastics and patronymic dictionary. As was above-mentioned, the dictionary contains 2331 onomastics units.

By giving explanations for the major part of the Albanian lexicon, the dictionary at the same time offers knowledge in different human lives and activities, for the way of living, on world-outlook and character, customs and usages, religions and myths, on human relations in general. Therefore, rightfully the author qualifies the dictionary as the nation's encyclopedia. Just as example, I'm bringing the word *baner* "a stick with leaves fixed as a sing, flag" in Shestan of Ulqin and the holiday called the Day of Banir in Shestan, where the peasants go to the top of the hill and as soon as the sun rises, they raise a *banir*, a stick with tufts and leaves, a very interesting word for the ethnographic studies.

Such a dictionary serves not only to the linguists, but also to the intellectuals of other fields and finally to all those who want to know the origin of the Albanian words. It also serves as model for the way how to proceed on word's origin reconstruction on scientific bases, far away from the amateur efforts and arbitrary word analyses.

In spite of the difficulties of enlightening the origin of the Albanian words, the author has not hesitated to deal with difficult etymologies, unresolved or remained suspended by offering solutions in the forms of the hypotheses, and often more than one, with the respective argument based on the necessary scientific apparatus intertwined with the linguist's sharp intuition. Thus, the dictionary presents also the level of the today Albanian etymologic studies and offers a solid scientific bases to the future generations of the linguists that will bring forward these studies.

Anila OMARI

CRITICISM AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

“A DICTIONARY OF EUROPEAN ANGLICISMS”
EDITED BY MANFRED GÖRLACH, OXFORD UNIVERSITY
PRESS, OXFORD, 2001
PRESENT- DAY ALBANIAN INCLUDED

"*A Dictionary of European Anglicisms*" has been prepared by the renowned German lexicologist and lexicographer, Manfred Görlach, professor at the Department of English at the University of Köln, Germany.¹ The dictionary was published by Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 2001 (first edition).²

The dictionary is the first of its kind. As stated in its introduction, it is a work of about ten years (1993-2001). It is a genuine international dictionary because it has 16 dictionaries of Anglicisms for 16 of Europe's major languages. Among these major languages, the author rightly includes Albanian. Many data have been collated, examined, and analyzed, not only from the Anglicisms dictionaries of several languages, but also from many other publications. The dictionary includes 3800 Anglicisms.

¹ In the second cover of the dictionary there is a list of the names of the twenty-four contributors to the European languages. For Albanian: R. Ködderitzsch and T. Ködderitzsch.

² From data and book quotes, we have known that the author had been working on such a dictionary for years. But we have only recently learned that the dictionary was published in 2001. We got it only a few months ago. So, more than 15 years have passed since the dictionary was released. Perhaps, it has also been reprinted. If it has been reprinted, we believe it should have been updated. We have in mind the author, his articles in the international journal, *Lexicography*, his profound knowledge of English and English loanwords, and his ongoing research in 16 European languages- a truly great work. The dictionary has 352 pages (in large format and in fine print).

According to the author, after the end of Europe's political division (1989-1990), the intake of Anglicisms, especially in Eastern countries, has been dramatic. In order to avoid up-to-date data retrieval, the author has quickly prepared the dictionary for publication, with a view to dealing with the early '90s. This means that in subsequent volumes there may be more subjects and data and more Anglicisms.³

The English language is, as is well known, one of the most cultivated means of communication. The dictionary documents the spread of borrowings from this language - from British English and American English to the main languages of Europe. There are 16 European languages: Albanian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Icelandic, Italian, Norwegian, Polish, Romanian, Russian, and Spanish. There are four Germanic languages (Dutch, German, Icelandic, and Norwegian), four Slavic languages (Bulgarian, Croatian, Russian, and Polish), four Romance languages (French, Italian, Romanian, and Spanish) and four other languages (Albanian, Finnish, Greek, and Hungarian). The author explains his reasons for this choice.

The choice has been made with regard to the contributors, but more than that, "partly to allow the analysis of a maximal number of contrasts- purists vs. open speech communications, Western vs. Eastern countries, regional comparisons (Skandinavian/the Balkans), and the impact of mediating languages (French and German in particular).⁴" The four language groups generally represent the Northwest (Germanic languages), Southwest (Romance languages), Northeast (Slavic languages) and Southeast (mainly Balkan languages). Languages in close contact with English (Irish, Welsh, etc.) are not included.

The dictionary documents the introduction of Anglicisms into European languages up to 1995. Earlier Anglicisms are also included; but, nevertheless, it puts emphasis on those which have entered after World War II.⁵ In fields such as informatics, the dictionary relies more

³ Of course, the more the electronic corpus is expanded, the more difficult the task becomes.

⁴ Also of Russian. Compare, for example, the word *dispeçer*: According to the table in the dictionary, it appears to have been used in French and all Eastern languages, under Russian impact, as a word in the sphere of socialist organization. It has not entered other languages.

⁵ See, e.g. at letter *B*: *baby*, *babysitter*, *background*, *badminton*, *band*, *banker*, *bar*, *baseball*, *basketball*, *bazooka*, *beefsteak*, *bestseller*, *big bang*, *Big Brother*, *bit* (byte),

on recent dictionaries. For today's technologies, the author plans to compile a second dictionary. The dictionary does not include those Anglicisms mostly unknown to the reader with general education. It seems, it has been taken into consideration an ideal bearer of language, that is, one who knows that number of words, expressions and terms (in the case of Anglicisms), even Anglicisms which most people know.

The author thinks that European languages (Western - H.Sh.) may become more similar to each other over time (due to Anglicisms - H.Sh.), ⁶ but there may also be special developments if consider, for example, the influences of French legislation on the French language.⁷

At least, as the author says, for about 25% of glosses, the history and spread in Europe is given. The dictionary is thus both historical and even etymological. See, for example, the word *shawl* (in Albanian "shall"); the history of the word comes from the Persian language. When there is evidence of an indirect arrival of an Anglicism from another language, the entry path is given (eg via French, Russian, etc. / *racket*, *recital*, etc.). This is done, especially when a word is no longer felt as an Anglicism (or totally an Anglicism) in this or that language.

As to the origin and history of an Anglicism in a particular language, the author distinguishes also the speech. See, e.g.: Anglicisms coming from spoken language: *leader*, *leadership*, *live*, *on line*, *look*, *market*, *Pin*, *Vip*, *mouse*, *pub*, *knockdown*, *knockout*, *killer*, etc.; from written language: *lynch*, *massmedia*, *derby*, etc.; from both spoken and written language: *leader*, *lord*, *manager*, *miss*, *modem*, etc.

blackout, *blue jeans*, *board*, *bobbin*, *boiler*, *boxer*, *boycott*, *brainwashing*, *building*, *bulldozer*, *bunker*, *business*, *bypass*, etc.

⁶ The author seems to have regard to: a) The sociolinguistic context of the use of English today and in the future: Current globalization affects and can continue to strongly affect foreign companies and investments with foreign (and local) management and managers, because the language of management (now) is mainly English. Add here today's and tomorrow's technologies - too, with English or under the impact of English. b) Borrowing items and concepts which, for reasons known, will continue to be under the impact of the English language. c) Standard Western European languages (because they were formed under the influence of Latin) always influence each other and thus rely more or less on the same system of concepts. d) The social impact of dictionaries, especially bilingual and terminological.

⁷ Even for Albanian and Greek, as Indo-European languages, may be easier than, for example, Arabic to get an English loanword.

An Anglicism is put as headword in the dictionary, if it is recognized as such by its form (writing, pronunciation, morphology), in *(at least) one of the languages being tested*. According to this criterion, internationalisms formed by Greek or Latin elements (such as e.g. *telephone*) are not included. Words from other languages (such as, e.g. *avocado*) are not included, though they come through English, judging that they have nothing English in their phonographic form in the 16 specified languages.⁸ The criterion allows words which are obviously *derived* from the English language, but are not English words (such as e.g. *pulli*), or words which cannot be used according to English rules (*antibaby pill*). When for subjective reasons, they are included, they are distinguished by an asterisk. Derivative English words and English homonyms are set as separate lexemes. Names, having become generic nouns are hardly included because, according to the author, they follow different processes in various languages. Therefore one can not find, e.g. *International Monetary Fund* in the dictionary.⁹

The Anglicism, according to the author of the dictionary, is a word or an expression of English origin (British or American) that is felt as such. But the dictionary contains even proper English loanwords, that is, words or expressions of English, or of English origin, that may not be felt as such in a certain language nowadays. In both cases, it seems that the author has adopted the term *Anglicism* in its most general sense: “a word or an expression from the English language in this or that language.” In order not to be misconceived this notion, in all cases, for every language there is given its phonographic form of Anglicism and occasionally, where appropriate, its morphological form.¹⁰

The author specifies in particular the data related to the acceptance of the foreign word in a given language, its stylistic value, its

⁸ Sometimes, when an English pronunciation is noted in a certain word, even in one language, it is included for it is considered an English loanword (the pronunciation makes it English).

⁹ We think they could have been included for they are English loanwords, not only as denominations, but also as parts of them.

¹⁰ The discussion, as known, can go further: A certain English word or of English language background - is it an Anglicism or a formation in another language (eg, in Albanian, *bojkotoj* and *sponsorizoj* are Anglicisms, loanwords or formed within it, as opposed to *the boycott*, *the sponsor*)?

integration level, etc. In the dictionary even calqued Anglicisms (such as, e.g. *black box*) are included. Non-English derivatives are grouped under the same item, and derivatives that are also Anglicisms are given as separate glosses.

The following eligibility criteria are used for admissibility:

1. The word is not recognized in a given language because it is calqued, or it has its native equivalent (e.g., *gully* is only in German).
2. The word is felt English and is mainly known by bilinguals (e.g. *weekend*, *keyboard*, etc.).
3. The word is known, but as a foreignism, i.e., it is used only in the British or American context (e.g. *sheriff*, *shilling*, etc.).
4. The word has a limited use in a certain language (it is a historicism, a technical term in computing, banking, aviation, etc.; it is used only in printed media; it is dialectal or provincial; it is colloquial; it is journalistic; it is a jargon; it is used only by the younger generation, such as e.g. *action* with an English pronunciation; it has a stylistic load; it's forbidden by law, but it still exists - such as e.g. *frangle* in French; nowadays it is outdated or is becoming outdated; it is trendy or rare).
5. The word is fully accepted; it is used in many styles and registers, but is known as English in writing, pronunciation and morphology.¹¹
6. The word is no longer recognized as English and its English origin can be investigated and etymologically determined.
7. The word is identical or almost identical to a native word in the recipient language and thus, the borrowing is only semantic (compare *Maus* in German, in computer terminology).
8. The word comes in a certain language from a non-English source (eg, from French).

The following is the dictionary's technique: The English etymon is given as the headword. It is followed by the meanings it has as an

¹¹ In the process of integrating English words or of English descent into this or that language, it is also valuable to know its semantics (whether it gains another meaning within the language, that is, whether it develops new meanings), and the internal valency of the unit (that is, its ability to serve or not serve as a stem for new formations), its external valency (that is, its ability to combine with other words of language), etc.

Anglicism in various languages. Further, especially for the most important items, the word history and its spread in Europe is given in a few lines (see eg *board*, *essay*, *graphics*, *radar*, etc.). Then, for each language where Anglicism exists, the following information is provided: spelling and pronunciation,¹² gender and plural (for nouns),

¹² A comparison in Albanian: There are Anglicisms which are identical to the English etymon (*finish*, *poker*, *radar*, *rum*, *slogan*, *smog*, *snob*, *sport*, *sprint*, *supermarket*, *standard*, *start*, *stop*, *tank*, *tender*, *ISBN* / = International Standard Book Number, *PIN* / = Personal Identification Number, *VIP* / = Very Important Person, etc.), or which are pronounced as in English (*dispeçer*, *maus*, *mister*, *spiker*, *king*, *shok* / = shock, *snajper*, *stok*, *sires*, *test*, *trajner*, *tuist*, *uiski*, *janki*, etc.), or are within the phonetic system of the Albanian language or according to this phonetic system (*skaner*, *shilingë*, *sterlinë*, *softuer*, *spikerfon* (like *telefon*), *stendë*, *stok*, *striptizë*, *stjuardesë*, etc.). But this cannot always happen. The reasons are known. Compare the pronunciation of the English vowels and their transcription in English words or of English origin in Albanian:

a [æ / ei / ə / a:].

→ 1. *a* (apparently, it is taken from the written language because the word comes with the same textual representation, perhaps, because we do not have [æ] in Albanian *a* and is closer to Albanian): *skaner*, *kamping*, *kameraman*;

2. *e* – *dispeçer*, *këk*;

3. *a* (because also in English the *a* + *f* + consonant is pronounced *a* (long sound)): *draft*;

4. *ej* (almost the same as in English → [ei]: *grejppfrutë*;

e [i: / e] → e (the same as in English, in the closed syllable): *ekskavator*;

ee [i:] → i : *biftek*.

ei [ei] → ej : *hokej*.

o [əu / o] → o (the same as in English, in the closed syllable): *hobi*, *hokej*, *okej*;

i/y [ai / i]

→ 1. *i* (the same as in English, in the closed syllable): *disketë*, *linçoj*;

2. *aj* (almost the same as in English, in the open syllable [ai]): *snajper* (Engl. *sniper*), *teletajp* (Engl. *teletype*), *najlon*;

u [ju (:)/ u / ʌ]

→ 1. *ju* (the same as in English, in the open syllable): *tredjunion*, *kompjuter*;

2. *u* (*u* is in a closed syllable and in English it is pronounced ʌ; then, the borrowings must have been taken from the written language): *bunker*, *dumping*, *trust*, *xhungël*;

3. *u* (the same as in English, in the closed syllable): *pulovër*;

4. *o* (in English, in the closed syllable it is pronounced ʌ): *drogë* (Engl. *drug*).

Accent in Albanian:

a) Last: *impákt*, *spikerfón*, etc.

b) Second last: *skáner*, *kurrikúl*, etc.

approximate date of entry and, where necessary, mediating language. The rest of the information, perhaps, the most important one is: Is the English word (or of English origin-H.Sh) part of the given language and how is it integrated into this language in terms of acceptance, style, circulation, etc.? When an Anglicism is calqued, the calque is also given. The equivalent is also given when it exists alongside or before the Anglicism.

In terms of the acceptability of an Anglicism, the author has chosen the technique with squares. A large square, divided into small squares - white, gray, black. White squares indicate that the word is fully accepted; gray squares indicate that the word has a limited use; black squares indicate that the word is not part of the given language.¹³ Each language is abbreviated in one square.

There are other auxiliary techniques in the dictionary (summary paragraphs, italics, speech and stylistic labels, etc.: *tech*, *coll*, *jour* / = journalese, *euph*, *derog*, *pej*, *fac* / = facetious, *mod* = modish) to tell the history, the spread, the status, the full or partial acceptance of the Anglicism, etc.

The headword, i.e., the Anglicism is for all the 16 languages. But inside the text, the author gives, as it was said, also calqued or translations or native equivalents, realistically showing us that in this or that language, it (the Anglicism) does not exist. It's a very apt suitable method. See, e.g. for Albanian language in the dictionary: *kuti e zezë* for *black box*, *qiellgërvishtës* for *skyscraper*¹⁴, *shplodhem* (= *çlodhem* – H.Sh.) for *relax*, *tryezë e rrumbullakët* for *round table*, *marrëdhënie me publikun* for *public relations*, *fundjavë* for *weekend*, *shpëlarje truri* for *brainwashing*, *linjë ajrore* for *airline*, *postë ajrore* for *airmail*, *tregti e lirë* for *free trade*, *muaj i mjaltit* for *honey-moon*, etc. And the foremost value of this research is not to seek and not necessarily to use Anglicisms and foreign words, in general, where there is no need to seek and use them. Within this framework, we think that the part on Albanian can be improved in a future edition by removing some

¹³ Of course, this is the most important piece of information. Generally, this information is accurate. But it goes without saying that in so many items and in so many languages, something can be revised. See below, for example, our suggestions for the Albanian square.

¹⁴ There is another word in Albanian for *scyscraper*: *rrokaqiell*. Its meaning: (a building) as high as if grasping the sky.

Anglicisms.¹⁵ For the Albanian language, the exclusions relate to the concept of acceptability under this dictionary. Thus, *aftersheiv* (a type of cream used after shaving), *agrimet* (now obsolete), *aerobus*, *antifriz* (Engl. antifreeze), *barelë* (Engl. barrel), *çips* (large pieces of potatoes fried in deep fat), *bodi* (Engl. body, in sports), *tost* (Engl. toast), *star*, *relly* (Engl. rally = a large political meeting), *sprej* (=spray), *sori* (=sorry), *fërst leidi* (=first lady), *trik* (Engl. trick), *tim* (Engl. team), *fikshën* (Engl. fiction), *trimër* (Engl. trimmer), *t-shërt* (=t-shirt), *superman*, *uestern*, etc. do not have to be included in the dictionary because either the item or the concept (denoted by these words) has not entered, or because they are doublets in Albanian, and thus they are barbarisms, or because there are calqued words for them. The other judgment would be this: Because an English word may be still found in any newspaper, radio, television, television show, etc., even if for several times, it does not mean that it belongs to the language or that it has entered the language. A language is not equal to a television or to a newspaper. And finally, as it is well known, language makes its own to the benefit of the native word.

This dictionary is useful for all those who deal with Anglicisms in present-day languages. The criterion for the admissibility or inadmissibility of this or of that Anglicism, according to the following scheme, is particularly useful:

The Anglicism:

1. has equivalents (in Albanian, eg *fundjavë* / not *uikend* / Engl. *weekend*);
2. has a calque (in Albanian, eg: *qiellgërvishtës* or *rrokaqiell* / not *skajskrejper* / Engl. *skyscraper*; *klub nate* / not *najtklab* / Engl. *nightclub*; *muaji i mjaltit* / not *hanimun* / Engl. *honeymoon*; *miush* (in computing) / not *maus* / Engl. *mouse*);
3. is known by the experts (so it is restricted): *speakerphone*, *quark* (phys.), *fiction* / *non-fiction* (let.), *Ryegrass* (bot.) // written in Albanian: *spikerfon*, *kuark*, *fikshën* / *nonfikshën*, *rajgras*;
4. is a sematic borrowing: in Albanian: *king* (colloquial);

¹⁵ Meanwhile, there could be included, e.g. *videotekst*. Also, *satelit*. Originally the word is French; but in the sense of “artificial satellite” we believe to come from English, because of the American flights to the Cosmos and the linguistic impact of American English.

5. has a special register (style) of use: *mister, sir, sherif*;
6. is used by bilinguals or by those who want to put on airs, etc.: *baby-sitter*;
7. is used in computing: *software, server*;
8. is used in mass media: *insert*, etc.

In summary, there are three assessments of the author of the dictionary on a certain Anglicism in the 16 European languages: integrated into the language / limited in use / non-existent in this or that language. This judgment can be taken as a guide to describe and motivate not only an Anglicism, but also an Italianism, a Slavism, and so on. Thus, the dictionary is a unique source of study, not just for Anglicisms in European languages.

The author has followed, as it was said, the introduction of Anglicisms into European languages. More than that, he has followed the phonographic form of Anglicisms in European languages, the way of entry into a language when not directly borrowed from English, the degree of acceptance and usage restrictions; but also the native synonyms, when they exist. Thus, the dictionary is, of course, also a comparative linguistic analysis¹⁶ and a detailed lexical and lexicographic study for European lexicologists and lexicographers. For example, for an Albanian lexicographer it would be of interest: How many of the Anglicisms of this dictionary are included in the national dictionary of our language? Will there be more or less Anglicisms in our later national dictionaries? What about bilingual dictionaries, with English as first or second language? Will there be or not be an increase of this kind of lexicon in the Albanian language? Can a glossary of Anglicisms be made in Albanian?¹⁷

¹⁶ See, e.g., the data that the Anglicism *slogan* exists in 15 languages, but not in Bulgarian. Bulgarian has the word *lozung* / from German.

¹⁷ Years ago, in 2001 we made a glossary of English loanwords in Albanian - as much as they could be put to a footnote. It was **the first** lexicographic attempt in Albanian. (See *Rreth fjalëve angleze ose me prejardhje nga gjuha angleze në gjuhën e sotme shqipe*, in “Studime për leksikun dhe për leksikografinë e sotme shqipe”, Tiranë, 2015). Later, Xh. Lloshi made a glossary of English loanwords. (See Xh. Lloshi, *Raste ndërhyrjesh të huazimeve nga anglishtja*, in “Studime filologjike”, 2011/1-2. According to V. Proko, E. Lafe has made a glossary of over 600 units. (See V. Proko, *Probleme të depërtimit dhe të ngulitjes së anglicizmave në nivele të ndryshme të ligjëritimit*, in “Kërkime gjuhësore”, II, Tiranë, 2014). We have many folders with quotes from publications and other

The dictionary gives also information on the time (year or decennial) of using or accepting the Anglicisms in a certain language. So it's also like a historical dictionary. The dictionary user can be acquainted not only with the Anglicisms of Europe, but also with reliable historical-etymological explanations and convincing encyclopedic explanations. See, for example: the lexeme *service* [sə:vis] is a homograph with French *service* [servi:s]; then, is it an Anglicism or a Frenchism? The answer: *table service* is mostly a Frenchism; *car repair* is an Anglicism; *campus*, with an English pronunciation is Anglicism;¹⁸ otherwise, it is Latinism; *picnic*: word history: from French: *pique-nique*, c. XVII-XVIII, meaning "a meal for which expenses are shared - co-pay eating"; the Anglicism has not such a meaning; etc.

The details of this dictionary are of particular interest for the lexicographers of bilingual dictionaries (with English one of them). The lexicographer may find out what has happened to a certain Anglicism: Has it retained its original meaning? Could it have gained other meanings? Then can it be properly translated according to its etymon?

According to "A Dictionary of European Anglicisms", *lipstick*, *mumps*, *break*, *network*, *popcorns*, *skinheads*, etc. are available in some other languages. In the Albanian square these are not noted. The dictionary does not include under the Albanian part the words *çek* (= *check*), *çekap* (= *check up*)¹⁹, *kornflekse* (*cornflakes*), *dedlain* (= *deadline*), *ded ueit* (= *dead weight*), *djuti-fri* (= *duty-free*), *feër plej* (= *fair play*), *fitnës* (= *fitness*), *full taim*, *part taim*, *handikap*, *insërt*, *horror*, *lav stori* (= *love story*), *singëll* (Engl. *single*); *toples* (= *topless*), etc. With the formation and intuition of the scientist, professor Manfred Görlach tells us that the Albanian language does not need to have such foreign words, for they are barbarisms. The author has not included *popcorn* in the Albanian square because we have *pupagjel* (*kokoshkë*, *gjeldash*, *lule misri*), *skinhed* (Engl. *skinhead*), because it is enough to have *kokëqethur* / *kokërruar*; *stipëllçeis* (Engl.

information means on English loanwords. Maybe based on them, in the future there can be compiled a proper glossary of English loanwords.

¹⁸ In this judgment, the dictionary user may investigate and conclude whether, e.g. *apartment* and *budget* are French loanwords, or English loanwords.

¹⁹ Recently it is being used.

steeplechase), because we have *vrapim me pengesa*. The words using *self-* (such as *self-acting*, *self-control*, *self-government*, etc.) are not included in the dictionary because Albanian has its own formative element with *vetë-* (=self-); etc. Our research in the T-Z letters of this dictionary shows that there are 386 Anglicisms in the other 15 languages, whereas under the “Albanian language” – there are 60; so, much less anyway. And this indicator comes to us from this dictionary.

We believe that this dictionary can serve as a model for those who wish to further study Anglicisms in the Albanian language and more than that, to compile glossaries of Anglicisms, Italianisms, and more.

Hajri Shehu

KOLEC TOPALLI'S "ETYMOLOGIC DICTIONARY OF THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE" - FRUIT OF HIS 45 YEARS WORK

Instead of introduction

On the discussion held at the "XVIII International Seminar on Albanian Linguistic, Literature and Culture" (Tirana, 18-31 August 1996) I had wrote: "*E. Çabej himself has been conscientious that his work 'presents a series of studies and not an etymologic dictionary of the Albanian language'*"¹, so he is giving explicating opinions and not summarized critique observations for the outcomes. Further, he continuous: "*The etymologic dictionary of the Albanian language... will be the crowning of many years long work. For this long and trying work are not enough the strengths of a man alone. It has to be fulfilled from a prepared ad hoc collective for this task*"².

All these still remain valid advises for such an endeavor. Whether we like or not, the effort to draft the Albanian language etymologic dictionary should necessarily start from that of G. Meyer. Then it has to be carefully examined what has been written since 1891 until today.

The opinion that in the etymologic dictionary of the Albanian language, in parallel with the word's origin, to be given – after the example of the Latin etymologic dictionary of Ernout-Meillet – also a history of the words, that today seems exaggerated luxury. The complete publishing of Çabej's work, along with another one, that follows his example, properly fulfill the demand for a "linguistic encyclopedia". Further, the etymologic dictionary should be etymologic alone and similar with the French one (O. Bloch – W. von Wartburg), or of the Greek (Andriotis) and not like the Russian etymologic dictionary of M. Vasmer, or the Italian of Cortelazzo-Zolli, with many details that should be avoided. The etymologic dictionary of the

¹ E. Çabej, SE I 33.

² E. Çabej, *Disa parime...*, BUSHT, SSHSH, nr. 4, 1961, p. 184.

Albanian language, has to be simple in use, and possibly in a single volume where are to be included all the words of the today Albanian.

Along with the classical demands, necessary for a modern etymologic dictionary as: the putting of etymology within the language's system; the clarification of the word's situation within this system and then outside of it; the word's study in close groups; the detailed analyzes of borrowings sources, which might have penetrated through different ways; the precise bibliography's references etc., should be kept in mind also other specific criteria on the Albanian language. First, the material's quantity and quality that should be taken for elaboration. Second, the need of a corpus, where is to be included the lexicon of the ancient Albanian authors and third, the need of a big dictionary, where to be entirely included the complete affluence of the Albanian language lexicon. My discussion ended like that: *"Is excessive to say that these issues, that now lay for discussion, will find the proper final solution in the etymologic dictionary of the Albanian language, the need of which is felt in every step of the Albanian language historian"*.

Now after 20 years we have in hand the etymologic dictionary of the Albanian language, that fills an emptiness created during the times. And this colossal work is fulfilled by a single person, by raising to himself a monument in the pantheon of the Albanian linguistic. Therefore, I cannot stand without saying that the origin of this dictionary, has started in the muddy roads of the villages, where together discussed what we have to do in the university's auditoriums.

* * *

The etymologic dictionary that we are analyzing is part of a 45 years' work of the author in the field of linguistics, the most important part, the crowning of a work started since the '70ies and concluded on 2017. During this period of nearly half a century, Topalli has been taken with different fields of language history, as the phonetics, morphology, syntax, dialectology and onomastics, and in all is also present the etymology, not only as a auxiliary discipline to analyze the other fields, but also as a special field with direct genuine studies. If we seize with a single look his 45 years of publishing of 12.000 pages, where are included 15 monographs and 250 article and scientific papers (p. 1983 of the Dictionary), catches the eye the concentration on an

exhaustive way in a study field at a specific time period. From this side can be easily distinguish three studies and publishing periods, from which the latest is the etymology, representing his highest scientific maturity degree.

The first period includes the earlier studies of 1972-1982, where the author is mainly focused with the today Albanian language problems, with occasional incursions on language's history, especially in the field of etymology. Very interesting in the studies of this period are the sources of the future forms and of the conditional mood on the verb system, of the particle *do* of these forms etc. (SF 4, 1980, 126-140; 4, 1982, 100-105).

The second period, the longest in the time aspect, includes the years 1993-2007, where the main place is occupied by the studies on historic phonetics, that include 9 monographs and tens of articles. Correcting and rectifying some of the previous established phonetics rules by foreign and local linguists, the author has analyzed many words from the etymological side. Also, in some of the published monographs, he dedicates a special chapter to this field. Thus, in the monograph "Theksi në gjuhën shqipe/The accent in the Albanian language", the last chapter, entitled "Vështrime etimologjike në fjalë të përngjitura/Etymologic observations in the compounded words", examines the origin of the words *edhe*, *ende*, *është*, *gjetiu*, *hiç*, *kahane*, *kashelashë*, *madje*, *mbëndore*, *ndesh*, *ndërdomna*, *ndoset*, *ndovorrria*, *nejse*, *qyetë*, *vete* (pp. 402-411).

In the monograph "Për historinë e hundorësisë së zanoreve në gjuhën shqipe/On the nasality's history in the Albanian language", in the last chapter, entitled "Vështrime etimologjike në fjalë që lidhen me hundorësinë e zanoreve/Etymologic observations in words that are connected with vowels nasality", is analyzed the origin of the words *arëz* "grerëz/wasp" / Gheg. *anxë*, *argull* e *ergjëz*, *blej*, *dehem*, *di*, *ënjtem* / Gheg. *ajem*, *i gjatë*, *më* / Gheg. *mã*, *qen* (pp. 107-115). In the monograph "Zhvillimi historik i diftongjeve të shqipes/The historic development of the Albanian language diphthongs", the chapter on the diphthong *-ye-* has the paragraph "Shpjegime etimologjike/etymologic explanations", were are widely analyzed on their origin the words *krye*, *ndërkej*, *i mushkullyer*, *mye*, *ndivënye*, *nye*, *qye*, *tryelë*, *urrye* (pp. 182-196). In the monograph "Shndërrime historike në sistemin zanor të gjuhës

shqipe/Historic changes in the vowel system of the Albanian language", the chapter of phonetic change /e/, /je/ > /i/ has the paragraph "Vështrime etimologjike/Etymologic observations", where are analyzed the nouns *shqipe*, *vit*, *gliqe*, *kërliqe*, *caq*, *prind*, *gjind*, *grigjë*, *dhimbë*; and also the verbs *çel*, *ngjir*, *lëviz*, *lëvirem*, *vinj* (pp. 187-196).

In the monograph "Sonantet e gjuhës shqipe/The sonants of the Albanian language", in the chapter about the nasal palatal sonant -*nj*- is analyzed the origin of the words *njom*, *gjetiu*, *qengj*, *kanjushë*, *me njethë*, *shnjall* (pp. 190-198); in the chapter "Tingulli/The sound -j-" is analyzed the origin of the words *cjap*, *fjeta*, *thjeshtë* (pp. 226-229); while on the "Sonantet e lëngëta anësore/Lateral liquid sonants" are examined the words *lëmoshë*, *shelg*, *qelq* and the personal name (anthroponymy) *Pal* (pp. 234-237). In the monograph "Mbylltoret e gjuhës shqipe/The occlusives of the Albanian language", referring Meyer's theses on the inherited palatal reflexes, is analyzed the origin of the words *nesër*, *përmbys*, *plas*, *qas*, *si* (*kësi*, *asi*), *so* (*këso*, *aso*), *sa?*, *sorrë*, *sup*, *sy* (pp. 85-89), and *lëviz*, *zā-ni* / *zë-ri*, *zall*, *zemër*, *zet* (*në njëzet*), *zë* ~ *zura*, *zog*, *zorë* (pp. 92-94). In the monograph "Fërkimoret e afrikatet e gjuhës shqipe/The Albanian language fricatives and affricates", in the inherited semivowels reflexes are analyzed the words *vaj*, *valë*, *vang/vëng*, (*e*) *ve*, *vend*, *venë* / *verë*, *venj*, *verr*, *vesë*, *vesh* (verbs), *vidh*, *vjedh*, *vjell*, *vjet*, (*i*) *vogël*, *vuaj* (pp. 111-112). In the monograph "Dukuritë fonetike të sistemit bashkëtingëllor të gjuhës shqipe/Phonetic characteristics of the Albanian language consonant system", in the chapter "Haplologjia/Haplology" is analyzed the origin of the words *thjerëz*, *qesh*, *kumbull*, *agjëroj*, *mëshirë*, *bujk*, *kore*, *mënt*, *kumar*, *çifteli*, *gjym*, *baltë*, *bisetar*, *bok*, *budallek*, *dhelpane*, *janjot*, *mec*, *nulë*, *pinok*, *pushtoj*, *shanik* etc. (pp. 151-159).

To prove what is mentioned above, will be enough to take a look on the index of the work "Fonetika historike e gjuhës shqipe/The phonetic history of the Albanian language", where are nearly aligned 2000 used words to explain the different phonetic phenomenon. Nearly all of them are lexemes or root words that are analyzed by Topalli himself, because, as I previously said, we do not have had etymologic dictionary, where these words could have been taken. Keeping in mind that the "Etymologic dictionary" of G. Meyer has nearly 5000 words, results that Topalli has analyzed in his "Phonetic" roughly 40% Meyer's

Dictionary. Here we have calculated the quantity of the words and not their quality. With this work, Topalli courageously led the way to the future etymologic "Dictionary" of the Albanian language, which we are analyzing.

The third period of Topalli's scientific work, that includes the years 2008-2011, is mainly dedicated to the historic grammar, morphology and syntax, where again do not lack the etymologic inclusions, also in some cases they occupy the main place. Thus, in the monograph "Evolucioni historik i përemrave të shqipes/The historic evolution of the Albanian language pronouns" is analyzed the origin of the different pronouns, as the personals *unë, mua, meje, ti, ty, teje, na, ne, ju* and the reflexive pronoun *vetë* (pp. 29-66); the demonstrative pronouns *ai ~ ajo, atij ~ asaj, atë, asë ~ aso, ata ~ ato, atyre* (pp. 67-91); the pronouns *im ~ em, yj ~ juaj, ynë ~ jonë* etc. (pp. 92-142); the interrogatives and the relatives *kush, ç', se, cili, sa* etc. (pp. 148-167); the indefinites *ca, disa, tjetër, tjerë, gjithë, tërë* etc. (pp. 175-191). In the monograph "Nyjat e shqipes/The Albanian articles" is widely analyzed the origin of the pre and post articles *i, u, e, a, të, së* (pp. 71-136). In the monograph "Sistemi rase i emrave të shqipes/The case system of the Albanian nouns" is analyzed the origin of the nouns case endings: *-i, -u, -a, -të, -së* (pp. 103-263). In the monograph "Sistemi folje i gjuhës shqipe/The verbal system of the Albanian language" is analyzed the entire origin of the paradigms conjugation grammar tools (pp. 71-115) and of the irregular verbs (pp. 414-440).

The fourth period of Topalli's scientific work, that includes the years 2012-2017, is mainly dedicated to etymology, not only with the publishing of the dictionary and of eight fragments in the "Studime Filologjike" journal (1-2, 2011 ~ 3-4, 2015), but also for the study and the publishing of some Albanian language issues, connected with the etymology, as: the borrowings from the Balkan languages ("Studime", Prishtinë, 19, 2012, pp. 45-52), the religious lexicon of Fan Noli with the respective etymologies ("Studimet gjuhësore në Amerikë", Prishtinë, 2016, pp. 129-139) etc.

We thought it reasonable to do this retrospective of Topalli's scientific creativity to put in evidence that this work we are analyzing is not casual and nor in an empty ground. On the contrary, it has been shaped and targeted since the first steps of the Albanian language

history study from the part of the author and has come enriching itself as much as the years and his work went by. Otherwise, cannot be explained the drafting of this work of nearly 2000 pages from a single person within a time space of six years, where everything is collected, studies, argued, written and corrected from his mind and hand. We are bringing for comparison the drafting of the "Fjalorit të gjuhës së sotme shqipe/The today Albanian language dictionary", published on 1980, on which have worked for nearly 10 years 14 scientific collaborators and whole auxiliary personnel (typists, card-keepers, archivists etc.).

* * *

A scientific work should at least contain three essential elements: to have an exhaustive bibliography to know all the previous achievements, to have sufficient material on which will work and to have the convincing and argued opinions and reasoning.

On the bibliography clearly speaks the inclusion on it of more than 30 pages summarizing the studies of this field from foreign and national linguists. What is important, are introduced in this bibliography also some names that for political reasons were left out from the dictatorship regime, keeping them silent. Such are: Martin Camaj, Namik Resuli, Nikollë Gazulli, Zef Valentini, Mustafa Kruja, Tahir Kolgjini, Agnija Desnickaja, Selman Riza, Justin Rrota etc. Another aspect of the bibliography is its record for special words in the dictionary. Such a thing is not necessary for the new words, on the bookish borrowings and for the inner formations; therefore it has been marked only for the inherited words and for the old borrowings, on which there is a rich bibliography, that will be very useful especially to the future generations of the Albanian language etymologists.

On the sources, the author has studied the texts of the ancient and new authors, the grammar, the folklore materials, dialectician and onomastics, in special publishing or in journals articles. Even in this case, are included in the sources a number of authors and works that for political reasons were left silent under the dictatorship's regime, as: Benedikt Dema, Gjergj Fishta, Anton Harapi, Frano Illia, Ernest Koliqi, Donat Kurti, Ndoc Nikaj, Arshi Pipa, Lef Nosi (the latter occasionally cited in the dictionary). As come out from the introduction and the research of the dictionary itself, the author has exploited the card-index of the Linguistic Institute, of the lexicon and of the toponomastic, what helped

him especially to define the geographic extension of the dialectical words.

According to the convincing and argued opinions and reasoning, the author has chosen this path: among many opinions, presented on the origin of a word, he has presented what has seemed to him more based in the records of the Albanian language, presenting in many cases another solution, or by adding new facts and arguments on the word's origin. This way of explanation, without entering at their study history, gives to the dictionary an explanative and informative character, differently from the most of the scholars of this field, that have a critic and reconstructing character. At the words where the author has given another solution, to preserve the scientific ethics, he has also presented the alternative opinions of other linguists, leaving at the hand of the reader what to choose.

* * *

Dictionary's vocabulary is enough wide. The author is based on the best Albanian lexicography achievements, starting with Frano Bardhi to our days. As a result of these researches, the dictionary contains autochthonous words, historic period borrowings, modern bookish borrowings, internal creations, obsolete words and out of use, that are preserved in the phraseology or onomastics, words with onomatopoeic origin, the emotional lexicon, the elementary creations, words of colloquial and poetic language etc., in a few words, all the lexicon fields of a language.

The autochthonous fond, as comes out from this dictionary, has been enormous, but by passing of the centuries many words have become out of use, some of them are preserved in their outcomes. We bring as example the noun *mang* "the little one, the wagtail" (p. 936), that Buzuku has (*mangu i sutësë* "doe's young"), but today is not used anymore. Another example is *agër* (p. 77), that Buzuku means by that "gomar/donkey" on feminine forms *gare* and *agërinjë*, all avoided in the today Albanian, but leaving their traces, because *agër* is seen in the internal formations (khs. *magar*), that often by meaning change to express work or carry tools, as: *agërshak* "a disc that is put at the top of the spindle when to hand-woven cloth"; *aglor* "long stick where the dry grass is set to transport, hand-barrow" from **agër-or* (p. 78); *agror* "roof chevron, wood that is put at the roof's end" from *agër-or*; *akth*

"roof shingles, slating batten" from **agër-th* (p. 79). This noun is also seen in the toponyms *Qafa e Agrit* in Dukagjin, *Maja e Agrorit* and *Kroni i Agrushit* in Iballë of Puka, *Shpinagri* in Kalis-Lumë and *Shpiragu* in Berat from *shpinë agri* "mountain at donkey's back form". However, nonetheless the inherited fond is coming wrinkling, it compounds the language's yeast, the most important part, from which are created many outcomes that enrich the Albanian language with new words, created by its stuff.

Another aspect of the autochthonous fond, illustrated by many explanations in the dictionary, is the connections that the Albanian language has had with other languages of the Indo-European family, where is seen that it has had relations with both parts of the linguistics big groups, from one side with the eastern languages, called *satëm*, especially with the Baltic-Slav and the Armenian languages, and from the other side, with western languages, called *kentum*, especially with the Celtic language, Germanic languages and the Greek, by keeping a central position in the big division *kentum ~ satëm*.

The borrowings within the dictionary occupy a large place, which presence is connected with two important factors: from one side, with the historic factor, which undermines the foreign invasions and the economic, cultural and religious relations with the occupying countries; from the other side, with the geographic factor that is connected with the ancient neighborhood or our people with other Balkan peoples. In the dictionary is made a clear distinction between the historic borrowings, from one side, that are introduced in the Albanian language 2000 years ago submitting to all the changes that the Albanian has occurred during the centuries and from the other side, the new or the modern borrowings, international words, in the possession of other languages of the continent who have entered in the last two centuries mainly through the books by preserving their form.

However, the language definition from where a word was taken by the Albanian language is not always an easy task, because the languages from where the word was borrowed are often close to each other; therefore, in this process should start the Albanian language evolution itself, where decisive are the phonetic changes. We bring as an example the noun *okër* "kind of cereal, spelt", that in the general opinion if the linguists is taken from the ancient Greek *ὄχρος* or from the Latin *ochrus*

(p. 1081). Nonetheless, the developments that has occurred in the Albanian language the vowel *-o-* on the front of the word make it difficult for the acceptance of these sources, because the vowel *-ō-* (long) of the ancient Greek would have given *-e-*, while the Latin *-o-* would have given *-u-* (comp. *urdhër* from the Lat. *ordinem*), or *vo-* / *va-* (comp. *voj* / *vaj* from the Lat. *oleum*). Therefore, the author thinks that this noun could have been introduced from the late Latin, when this vowel starts to remain unchanged in this position on the Albanian language.

The phonetic aspect has been kept in mind for the new bookish borrowings, that often have indirectly entered in the Albanian language. Thus e.g., the nouns *bibliotekë*, *hipotekë*, *aritmetikë*, *ritëm* etc. source from the Greek and all contain the consonant *-th-*, but the Albanian has taken them from the Latin or from the Roman languages, that lack this sound, and as consequence have replaced it with a sound close to spell. The dictionary also presents the cases when a word with its outcomes could have been taken from the different languages. Thus, e.g., *referoj* is a new borrowing of the Latin-Roman (comp. Lat. *refero*, Fr. *référer*), but *referat* has been taken from the German, *referendum* from the Latin and *referent* from the Italian (p. 1240).

The Albanian language has created many words in its internal development. As comes out from the observations in the dictionary, the majority of the creations belong to the words with inherited borrowing, which raise the specific weight of the personal element. Such words mainly originated through affixes (prefixes and suffixes), which could have been inherited or borrowed from the languages on which the Albanian might have been in contact.

The dictionary contains explanations also for many words with onomatopoeic origin, as: *çakalle* "peace of plank on the millstone", *çakth* "woodpecker", *çakëz* "animal's bell", *çangë* "metal slab or a mince of pipe, which is hit to signal" etc.

A wide reflection in the dictionary have also found the elementary creations. Semantically, they express small inflated and round things, phonetically distinguishing from the repetition of some sounds, as: *bobël* "a kind of snail, that comes out in the spring after the rain, slug", *bobëz* "tick, bug", *bobollaqe* "small meat-balls", *boborëshë* "small insect, bugs" etc.

The etymology and the semantics

Researching the pages of this dictionary, catches the eye the close connection of the etymology with other branches of the linguistics, that help to explain the origin of the words. First of all, with the semantic. To explain the semantic of the word, in the dictionary are marked the principal meanings without entering into exaggerated details, that would encumber the dictionary; while for the plants and for the animals are given their names in the Latin, what will be useful in the future to draft an Albanian *thesaurus* dictionary.

Nonetheless, the words often change the meaning, basing in their semantic assistance to go to the source. Some examples.

For the verb *dënoj*, *dinoj* "to diminish, to remove, to reduce, to narrow" (p. 379), towards the opinion that is united with *dënoj* "to punish somebody by court verdict", where the meanings are from each other, the author propounds another solution, from It. *diminuire* "to diminish, to reduce, to narrow", where the words meanings are completely matched and the development has progressed according the rules of the Albanian language historic phonetic.

For the noun *dënesë* "sobbing, panting" (p. 378), non accepting Meyer's opinion from the Lat. *nenia* and none that of Kristoforidhi from Slav. *dihanie*, the author propounds a new theses starting from the expressions *nuk më shkon buka*, *më asht lidhë nye*; *iu lidh një nyjë në grykë* (nga ngashërimi), *m'u mblodh një lamsh (nye) në grykë*. As consequence, the root of the word is the noun *nye* ~ *ne-u* and the word is divided in *dë-ne-së*, where *dë-* is prefix (comp. *dërrasë*) and *-së* is suffix (comp. *voesë*).

The adjective *i urtë*, with the suffix *-të*, the author rightfully links it within the language with the noun *urë*, starting from the same semantic: for the noun "bend, bow, bowed object", because the old bridges were built by arch; for the adjective "polite, pliable", also as the bridge that is named from its pliable arch (p. 1533). This etymology, explained with the language internal means, is to be preferred, facing the explanations of other linguists, which lacks the meaning connection: with the verb *unjem* (Meyer), with gr. *ὀράω* "see" (Jokl), with lat. *urgeō* "oppress, push" (Treimer), with lat. *vērus* "true" (Orel).

For the verb *rrêj* "lie, cheat", facing the hypothesis that sources from the noun *rê*, where is absent the meaningful vicinity, the author

propounds another possibility, connecting within the Albanian the verb *rrâj* "run" and in the Indo-European degree with the German *rennen* "run", as are connected in that language *betrügen* "cheat" with *tragen* "bring" and in the Latin *erro*, *-āre* "roam" and "to mistake, to err" (p. 1265).

For the verb *shkallmoj* "destroy, ruin", facing the hypothesis that sources from the noun *kallî* ~ *kalliri*, the author propounds another possibility, connecting within the Albanian with the verb *ngallmoj* "to inlay" as its antonym (p. 1389).

For the verb *shkalloj* "to go crazy, to madden, to go mad" facing the hypothesis that sources from the noun *shkallë/stair*, where lacks the meaningful vicinity, the author propounds another choice, by connecting it within the Albanian with the verb *shkallmoj* "destroy", as a form without the suffix *-m* (p. 1389).

Etymology and phonetics

The closest connection of the etymology is with the phonetics, because during the centuries and millennia the words have changed according the rules of the historic phonetic. Many words in their today form have come passing through different phonetic phenomenon, as: assimilation, dissimilation, vowels fall, the different positions of consonants and syllables, vowels non-mutation and mutation, phonemes movement within the word (metatheses), the augmentations in the different positions etc. Here some examples.

One of the earliest changes of the vowel system is its non-mutation that belongs to the Indo-European age. Except the known case (khs. *mbledh* ~ *mblodha*), Topalli has also researched other cases, explaining the origin of the words through this phonetic phenomenon, that goes till the Indo-European age. Such are: the quantitative non-mutation *-u-* ~ *-ū-* in the pronominal system (*e tu* ~ *tū* > *tī*), *-o-* > *-a-* ~ *-ō-* > *-e-* (*nos* > *na* ~ *nōs* > *ne*), *-e-* ~ *-ē-* > *-o-* (*me-je* ~ *mua* / *mue*) etc.

Through this very ancient phenomenon, the author gives a new explanation also for the origin of the verb *vete* (p. 1562), where the participle and the simple past tense forms *vojhtë* / *vajtë* ~ *vojta* / *vajta* prove that the consonant *v-* is developed within the Albanian language in the group *vo-* / *va-* and from there is extended in the present tense *vete* to unify the theme. As consequence, *-e-ja* of the present (*v-e-te*)

with *-o-* of the simple past from *-ē-* (*vo-jta* / *vajta*) stand in the quantitative non-mutation relation.

Without having the possibility to take one by one all the phonetic phenomenon that bring us to the origin of the word, we are marking only the most typical for the Albanian. Such is the liquefied dissimilation, that happens when in a word are created two of a kind. We bring as example the noun *kamsharavel* "bad dancer" of the northwestern Gheg, which Topalli explains from a **kam(b)ë* + *shalë* + *-avel* with the dissimilation of one of the same liquid consonants (p. 707). Other cases are the borrowing from the Latin *shërbelë* from *salviella*, *garbull* from *galbulus*, *shelqëror* from *sarcinārius*, *fultere* from *fRICTĀRIA*, *kulshedër* from *chersydrus*; the internal onomatopoeic formations *fërfëllin* and *furfullac* "cold wind" from *fër-fër*, *kërkëllin* from *kër-kër*, *gurgullon* from *gur-gur* etc.

In the cases of sounds fall, we put in evidence the fall of an unstressed syllable in front of the word because of the dynamic accent, on which the author explains the noun *leshnik* "a kind of dessert with sheep milk, backed on the baking-pan" of Dibra region, with the suffix *-nik* from the noun *dele/sheep* with the fall of the unstressed syllable in front of the word. Such an explanation also has the noun *leshnicë* "meal with milk and flour, which boils till is thickened" of Tropoja region.

The phonetic aspect is important also for the new borrowings, to define their entry in the Albanian language. Here some examples. The nouns *meny* and *menu* "the list of meals" are taken from the French *menu*, but the first is taken according the French pronounced word, while the second after its writing in that language (p. 968). The noun *roletë* is a new borrowing, that also has the forms *rolé*, *rolet* and *roleh*. The origin of these is Fr. *rolet*. The form *rolé* has come according the French spelling; *rolet* has been taken on scriptural way, as is written in that language, while *roleh* has taken the consonant *-h-* to vanish the hiatus in the definite form (p. 1253). Also, *ambicie* is taken from the Romanian *ambîție*, while *ambicioz* from the Italian *ambizioso*.

Etymology and prosody

In the Albanian prosody are known two important developments: an earlier one, initial accentuation, vivid nearly two thousand years ago; the later one, pre-final accentuation, developed in the late Latin age.

Both these features are reflected in the dictionary. With the first characteristic is explained the noun *akull* with the prefix *a-* and the root ie. *kal-* "corn, strong skin", the adverb *esëll* from *e-* + *sillë* by moving the accent in the prefix and the noun *agër* "donkey" towards of the feminine form *gare*. With the second phenomenon is explained the accent's movement in forming new words and in the creation of plural forms, as: *varreza* from *varre-zë*, *laraskë* from *lara-skë* etc. Also, on the adjectives *të ra*, *të va* of the Tosk the accent is moved on the plural form to create pre-ending words in the definite form (*të re-a-të* > *të reâtë* > *të ratë* > *të ra*).

These two characteristics in the field of prosody help define the formation time of the words in the Albanian language or the period of their entry from another language in the case of the borrowing. Above mentioned words, *esull*, *akull*, *agër* are ancient formations. Such are also the borrowings *mokër* from the ancient Greek *μάχαρα*, *voshtër* from the Latin *oleaster*, *krushk* from the Latin *consocer*, *kumtër* from the Latin *compater* etc.; while *vorrezë*, *laraskë*, also the borrowings *lopatë* from the Slav *lópata*, *balsam* from the Italian *bálsamo*, *trëndafil* from the modern Greek *τριαντάφυλλος* belong to a recent period, when was fulfilled the mechanical regulation of the Albanian language accent. On the sentence accent, has been put in evidence its role in the creation of short forms, of the passive-reflexive particle *u* of the verbs etc.

The etymology and the morphology

A close connection also exists between the etymology and the morphology. This connection is more visible in the nominative system, where a source base is the plural form or a specific case form. We bring as example the adverbs *petash*, *rrasash*, formed from the plural ablative; the nouns *syenë*, *brienë* with two plural forms, the noun *trunt* "elevated place at the sides of the fire-place, where all the people stay to get warmed" with prepositional accusative *në trung-t* (p. 1495) etc. With this case form that in an internal formation of the Albanian language, is also explained the verb *mestitem* "agree" with the suffix *-it* from *në mest*, meaning "entered in the middle/*në mest* of both parts", nonetheless the agreements of both families that are in blood feud are

always made by a mediator, one who enters *në mest/in the middle* of both families (p. 983).

A frequent characteristic of the Albanian in the field of the morphology is that many words have as bases the plural form, in some cases also accompanied with the vanishing of the singular, as: *dreq* from the Latin *draco*, *i gjelbër* from the Latin *galbinus*, *shenjt* from the Latin *sanctus*, *gjel* from the Latin *gallus*, *i belbër* from the Latin *balbus* etc.

The morphologic aspect is seen also outwardly by the author, about the borrowing language's forms. Thus, e.g., the borrowed nouns from the Latin have entered in the Albanian language from the accusative case, from which have also come out the Roman languages forms; khs. *gjind* from the accusative case *gentem*, towards the nominative *gens*; *regj* "king" from the accusative *regem*, towards the nominative *rex*. However, some borrowing has entered from the nominative case, as e.g., *dreq* from the nominative case *draco* (accusative *dracōnem*). Also, in the verbal system, the majority of the verbs, borrowed from the Latin, have entered from the infinitive form (comp. *lëroj* from the Latin *laburāre*, *pëlqej* from the Latin *placēre*, *këmbej* from the Latin *cambiare*), but a small part has entered from the present forms, as: *vinj* from the present *venio* (infinitive *venīre*), *bekoj* and *mallkoj* from the present form *benedico*, *maledico* (infinitives *benedire*, *maledire*).

The etymology and the syntax

The Albanian is distinguished for a close connection of the words during the speech process, what has given motive for the creation of a special nodular system, sourcing from the demonstrative pronouns of the Indo-European language. Another such formation are the possessive pronouns, that in the dictionary are presented with a new explanation, giving the concrete way of formation, from a definite noun and the old forms of the personal pronouns in the indirect cases, which served as possessive. Other similar formations are the short forms of the pronouns, some interrogative-relative pronouns and indefinites, prepositions and conjunctions, the particle *dot*, the noun *shkak* with a new explanation from *ç'ka -k* (p. 1388) etc.

The word-formation's etymology

The dictionary pays the right attention of the descent words, mainly those that are created with suffixes and prefixes, that is the principal type of the Albanian language word-formation. For this reason, those are also reflected in the word index at the end of the book. While the compounds, mainly, are not included in the dictionary, not only because they would overload it, but because most of them are new formations, that have no need for etymologic explanation. However, such explanations are not lacking for the compound words, whose forming elements have lost their identity. In many cases, on the used affixes, are marked in their special meanings: for the suffixes their diminutive meaning or the pejorative one; for the prefixes, the intensive or the antonymic meaning.

The etymology and the dialectology

With the dialectology, the etymology has multifarious connections. The dialects give special interesting linguistic materials, rare and less known words and other words that are out of use. For this purpose, as it also comes from the sources, has been made a long research work in dictionaries and works written in the dialect, by tracing with a selective team in the Institute of Linguistics file cards. Except the areas inhabited by Albanians, in the dictionary are also included words form the Albanian Diaspora (Italy, Greece, Dalmatia, Ukraine, Bulgaria). In many cases the definition of the dialectical extension of the words helps to go at its origin. Another necessary factor to explain the dialectical words is the recognition of the grammar laws and rules, that act within the limited areas. Here some examples.

The verb *mëtizem* "to flush from the rancor, from the cold or from shame" is a regional word of the northern Gheg dialect, that the author analyzes in *më-tizem* (preposition + verb), which root is connected with the verb *ndizem*, explaining the change *nd-* in *-t-* as dialectical phenomenon of the regions where the word is getting by (p. 985). With this dialectical characteristic, the author has also explained the noun *adra* "empty talk, nonsense" (p. 74), also this is a word of the northern Gheg dialect, that is explained with the noun *andrra*, with the consonant's dialectical assimilation.

Another dialectical characteristic on which is explained the origin of some words, is the turn of the vowel *-u-* in *-o-*, that has touched the northern Gheg dialect. With this, is explained the noun *boenë* "water overflow of a riverbed, deluge" from *b-uj-enë*, in Malësi e Madhe *bujënë*, in Dukagjin and Shkodër *buenë*, from which also the name of the river *Bunë*, all from *b-uj-e-në* where *b-* is a prefix, *ujë* is the root, *-e* and *-në* are plural forms (p. 229). With this dialectical characteristic is also explained the noun *kjomë* "juice of plum or cherry, resin" of the northern Gheg from *klumësht*, by leaving out the ending, interpreted as suffix. The turn of *-u-* in *-o-* it's also on Buzuku: *me klomështë e mjalhtë*; while the consonant's evolution group *kl-* in *kj-* it's on the northwestern Gheg dialect (p. 769).

The noun *ajdës* "tree of mountainous forests with yellow flowers on catkins, which material is used to build furnishings or ornaments", differently from the prior explanations, that connect it with *aj*, *anjëz* and *arzë*, Topalli extracts it from *idhës*, with the vowel dialectical diphthong *-i-* in *-aj-*, characteristic for the region where the word is found (Mat) and by dialectical back track *-dh-* in *-d-*, that might have been done in the definite form for pronunciation relief (khs. *badhër e badër*). Otherwise this tree, in Korça region is called *hithkë*, what justifies the origin from *i idhët*, relying it to the bitter leaves and the poisoning seeds (p. 82).

The noun *blê-ni* "the volume of a book" is created by the name of the linden tree, as in the Latin *liber*, that is used for the linden leather also used for the book. However, the word is explained with the dialectical change *-i- > -e-* of the Gheg, especially in Mirdita region (comp. *Balldrê*).

With another dialectical characteristic is explained the noun *çandër* "fork to support the fence, pillar", that is an internal formation from *qandër* "qendër/center" and "rezistencë/resistance", the earliest form of the word *qendër* from the Latin. *centrum*, that on *çandër* has occurred the dialectical change *q-* in *ç-* of the northern Gheg (p. 323).

The study of the dialectical forms helps a lot to go at the word's origin. Here some examples. The adverbs *gjetiu* and *gjetkë* are Tosk dialect forms, which the Gheg responds with *njeti* and *gjeti*. The given explanation for this word, approaching with the ancient Indian *anyátra*, can please only the Gheg form *njeti*, that is secondary (*n-gjeti*), but not

the forms with the consonant *gj-* of the both dialects; therefore is about an internal formation of the Albanian *ku jetër* "diku tjetër/somewhere else", with the vowel *-u-* fall, that has come in an unstressed position and of the ending consonant *-r*, and also with the assimilation *kj- > q-*, turned in voiced consonant. This internal formation of the Albanian language is similar with that of other languages; comp. Italian *altrove* from the Latin *altero ubi*, German *anderswo*, *anderswohin* from *anders wo*, *wohin*, English *elsewhere* from *elsewhere*, all with the same meaning and formed by the same elements as in the Albanian language (p. 595).

Another example is the adjective *i qar-të* and the verb *s-qar-oj*, which root, a **qar-*, cannot be Lat. *clarus*, because no Albanian dialect does not possess any form with the consonant group *kl-*; therefore the root of the word has entered in the Albanian language with the group *kj-*, that was formed in - (comp. the forms *i kjartë*, *skjaroj* of the northern Gheg). This approaches the Albanian word with the Italian *chiaro*, as a later borrowing (p. 1206).

Then how to help the dialectal forms to go at the word's origin, is shown by the following example. The noun *he-goat* the majority of the linguists take for an internal linguistic creation from an onomatopoeia. However, in this way cannot be explained other dialectal forms: *sqap*, *skjap* of the Gheg, that contain a guttural consonant, which cannot come from an affricate. This makes that the word be seen with inherited origin connecting with the name of this animal in the Indo-European field: ie. *kapro* "sqap, cja", where also enters the Greek *κάπρος* "swine", Lat. *caper* "sqap" and *capreolus* "kapruall", old Nord. *hafr* "sqap" (p. 308).

Finally, the rhotacism, a dialectal characteristic only of the Tosk dialect. The verb *shëroj* from the Lat. *sanāre*, that has occurred rhotacism, is a dialectal borrowing, that only recently has penetrated in the Gheg dialect. From the other side, the words that have not been submitted to this phenomenon and have also penetrated in the South, are dialectal borrowings from the Gheg dialect. Such are: *barnatore*, *beharna*, *coftinë*, *dijeni*, *ranishte*, *rini*, *synoj* etc. Meanwhile, we note that the suffix *-urina* in *mbeturina*, *qelqurina* etc., is formed with elements of both dialects: with form *-ur* of the Tosk participle with rhotacism and with the form *-na* of the Gheg plural without rhotacism.

Dialectical creations are also some words that on people's etymology are connected with another word, which they have phonetic similarity. We give the example of the wish *t'u turrsha* on northern Gheg, when is about to have raki(brandy) toast, a deformation of the verb *truaj*, in the optative mood *t'u tru(f)sha* mixing with the verb *turrem* (p. 1493). Another example is *bërryl/elbow* in the expression *u bë bërryl/to be boozed up* for the boozier, origin of which is It. *brillo* "çakërrqejf/tipsy", influenced from *bërryl* on people's etymology by the phonetic similarity.

In the dictionary the dialectical aspect is also seen in the borrowing languages, because has borrowings that have entered from the dialects of these languages. Such are: *bracë* "part of the arm from the elbow to the fingers", not from the It. *braccio*, but from the form *brazzo* of the Venetian dialect; *badifogë* "leather beg where is kept the tinder, the flint and the steel" from the Ven. *batifogo* (It. *battifuoco*), *fogollar* "chimney", not from the It. *focolare*, but from *fogolar* of that dialect, which have also entered many other words (*brac*, *bracjer*, *bracol*, *bragë*, *brakesha* etc.).

The etymology and the onomastics

The onomastics is connected with the etymology, because the majority of the nouns that this fields includes (the toponyms and the hydronyms, anthroponyms and patronymics, the names of the peoples, tribes etc.) source from the general lexicon. However, in the dictionary is presented a part of them, words that are explained by appellatives, whose can also serve as a material for an onomastics etymological dictionary, a very useful endeavor, and also one of the most difficult and trying works, that remain to be realized in the future. Everything that is explained on this field, is reflected in the onomastics index at the end of the dictionary.

* * *

Conclusively, the just published etymologic dictionary is a very welcomed carrying in our etymologic studies and in the Albanian lexicography, a work that was lacking to the Albanian language. It gives answers on some essential problems of the language's history, as: in the field of the phonetics, on the inherited palatal sound reflection problem, on the semivowels, on the Indo-European spirants (fricative

consonants), on interdental (consonants) *-th-*, *-dh-* etc.; in the field of morphology, of the origin of the demonstrative pronouns *ai ~ ajo*, of the articles *-i-*, *-u-*, of the possessives etc.

This dictionary will serve in the future also to the historians of the Albanian language as starting point for more in depth studies and analyzes, as e.g., on the local and borrowed elements proportionality, by observing the qualitative side to distinguish which is the semantic category of the lexicon treasury that has been better preserved for the country's affluence and in which has more penetrated the tide of the foreign influences etc., etc.

For all these values, such a work deserves to be studied and appraised. Meanwhile, the possible initiative of some other institution to publish also a summary of this dictionary in a foreign language (English, French, German), would serve not only the Albanian language prestige, but also to the foreign linguists that would like to study the Albanian language.

David LUKA

**On the book “АЛБАНСКИЯТ ГОВОР В СЕЛО МАНДРИЦА”
(The spoken Albanian in Mandrica village)**

On 2016, from the University on national and world economy (Университет за национално и световно стопанство) in Sofia, Bulgaria, is published the work "Албанският говор в село Мандрица / The spoken Albanian in Mandrica village – Въз основа на изследванията на Димитър Шутерики и Махир Доми / Based on the studies of Dhimitër Shuteriqi and Mahir Domi. По случай 101-ата годишнина от тяхното рождение / On the occasion of their 101 birth anniversary. / Превод, коментар и допълнения Людмил Станков, The translation, the comment and the observing by Ludmill Stankov".

The work is of a special kind, because is based on a dialectical material generally collected on the ground, not from the author of the work (Ludmill Stankov), but from the published articles in the "Studime filologjike" journal from the scholars Dhimitër Shuteriqi and Mahir Domi (M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*; Dh S. Shuteriqi, *Fjalorth i të folmes shqipe të fshatit Mandricë, (Bullgari)*; Dh. S. Shuteriqi, *Fshati shqiptar i Bullgarisë, Mandrica. Studim dhe tekste*)¹, that contain etno-linguistic material, collected in Mandrica village in the linguistic expeditions made on 1959 in Mandrica village², or material also collected by other scholars prior to them, in this Albanian speaking environment. Also,

¹ M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, SF, 1965, 2; Dh. S. Shuteriqi, *Fjalorth i të folmes shqipe të fshatit Mandricë, (Bullgari)*, SF, 1965, 2; Dh. S. Shuteriqi, *Fshati shqiptar i Bullgarisë, Mandrica. Studim dhe tekste*, SF, 1965, 2.

² The scholar Dhimitër Shuteriqi writes that "On 1949, a student of mine, then at the Plovdiv University, sent to me the text of an Albanian folk song, collected in the Albanian village of Mandrica of Bulgaria, from a Mandrica resident himself. The text was wrote in the Bugarian alphabet and then I found it not fit for publishing. I waited for the occasion to go myself in Bulgaria and to visit to the only village where Albanian is spoken. This was made possible in September 1959". See for more the article translated in Bulgarian, "Албанското село в България – Мандрица, Изледване и текстове" (*Fshati shqiptar i Bullgarisë, Mandrica, studim dhe tekste*), in "E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë / Албанският говор в село Мандрица, София, 2016, p. 6.

as is going to be seen during the presentation of the work, there is a lot of material than this, because the author has extended the spectrum of his sources. The work for the values it carries marks an event in our dialectological studies, and also on the Bulgarian ones.

As it's seen from the notes at the front of the publishing that accompany the title (the translation, comment and the observations by Ludmill Stankov)³, on this publishing are seen some constructive components:

a. The material in Albanian (that mostly is collected from the aforementioned Albanian scholars) in this research, its translation in Bulgarian, and also the analyzing, commenting and observing elements that follow the research from the first to the last page under the total observation of Mr. Ludmill Stankov, incarnate a careful interpretative and linguistic work by this scholar.

b. The work stands independent as monograph, also for the reason that it carries a nearly complete material about Mandrica spoken dialect, with a historic, ethnographic, demographic, dialectological (with phonetic, morphological, lexical, phraseological etc.), folkloric information etc. This material has special value and interest. It has served to different later Albanian studies especially those on linguistic (We can mention here the studies of J. Gjinarit, Gj. Shkurtaj, and also of E. Çabej, Sh. Demiraj, K. Topalli etc.) and now with this publishing is visibly enlarged the possibility of its utilization, because is translated in Bulgarian, becomes known and utilizable for the scientific reader and for the Bulgarian researcher and wider.

c. The work as we previously put forward, carries two big novelties: the author Stankov has brought in the *scientific format of a monograph*, organized and systemized, the linguistic and extra-linguistic collected material affluxes, professionally selected and categorized from the two Albanian scholars (Dh. Shuteriqi and M.

³ Following from the quotations of the work "Албанският говор в село Мандрица / E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë - Въз основа на изследванията на Димитър Шутерики и Махир Доми / Në bazë të studimeve të Dhimitër Shuteriqit dhe Mahir Domit. По случай 101-ата годишнина от тяхното рождение / Me rastin e 101-vjetorit të lindjes së tyre. / Превод, коментар и допълнения Людмил Станков, Përkthimi, komenti dhe plotësimet Ludmill Stankov", will be given as reffered Людмил Станков, *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / Ludmill Stankov, E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, София, 2016. Станков, *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / Ludmill Stankov, E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, София, 2016.

Domi); but he has also brought new material collected from other Bulgarian or non Bulgarian scholars (reflected in different research in the Albanian speaking environment of Mandrica village). The variety and the quality of this material has been made possible also by the author, who has as mother tongue the Bulgarian, but is also a good expert of Albanian language.

d. The work *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / The spoken Albanian in Mandrica village*, has already scientifically organized and fulfilled, in the format of a monograph, the entire material that we had previously in our hands, but thematically diffused and published in different reviews by different scholars.

e. The work is an index of a difficult, serious, passionate, fruitful and scientifically useful job, also with irreplaceable novelties in the field of the relations among our two peoples, in a time when in the Balkan has started a new age and when the friendship bridges are increasing more and more even from the European perspective of the peoples that live in this peninsula.

The work is structured on some parts, heralding fields that firstly tend to give linguistic information, and further an encyclopedic one:

I. The work is opened by a material as *wire words* for the publishing in Bulgarian, entitled as the work itself, "Албанският говор в село Мандрица" (*The spoken Albanian in Mandrica village*), with a summarizing information for the exploited material to draft the work, the material collected from the writer and scholar Dh. Shuteriqi and the linguistic M. Domi and published in "Studime filologjike", Tirana, on 1965. The publishing comes as a dedication for the two Elbasan's scholars on the occasion of their 101 birth anniversary. Further, is given a historic and ethnographic information on Mandrica village in Bulgaria, an information for the studies and the scholars that have undertaken direct studies on this spoken or have discussed about it (Dh. Shuteriqi, M. Domi, E. Lafe, V. Aleksova, M. Peeva, A. Georgeva etc.), as for the work of the Albanian language students of Sofia University, Bulgaria (two expeditions).

Currently, the author L. Stankov has seen it reasonable to give into the work, nearly completed publishing in Bulgarian, the paper of Dh. Shuteriqi "*Fshati shqiptar i Bullgarisë, Mandrica, studim dhe tekste*",

published in "Studime filologjike", 1965/1 (without the collected texts in this village and without some conclusions, which we'll see better retaken and organized in the following parts of the monograph). We think to distinguish here some parts from this translated article, aiming to put forward the brought encyclopedic information (geographic, historic, ethnographic information etc.). In the monograph is assessed that geographically "Mandrica is found in the most southeastern corner of Bulgaria, exactly in the Bulgarian-Greek-Turkish border. It's a locality center in the Ivaylovgrad district. The village is isolated in hilly and oak-wood regions. It's about 30 km from Turkey's Adrianopoja, which the Mandrica inhabitants call Town, while every other town they called it kasaba."⁴

In the half-title / on the accompanying word "Албанският говор в село Мандрица" (*The spoken Albanian in Mandrica village*) we also find, *a demographic information*, historically observed, for the Albanian colonies in the European Turkey, coming at the information on Mandrica village, Bulgaria. We are givin a complete quotation, where among others is said that "In Europe's Turkey, at the Adrianopoja and Kerklise regions, have been 8 Albanian colonies in the beginning of this century: Mandrica, with 650 houses, was the bigger and a little isolated from the others. Then followed: Sulttanqoj, with 300 houses, Ibriktepe (Albanian, Town), with 400, Altintash, with 150, Pazardere, with 150, Zallëf, with 450, Aballar (established in the '80ies of the past century, from 60 houses of Zallëf), with 100 houses, and Karajakli (established on the '90ies of that century, from the 16 houses of Zallëf), with 80 houses. An information of 1926, teaches us that these Albanian villages existed still at that time.

In Mandrica, we were told that beyond the border, in Turkey are also these Albanian villages: Zallëf, with nearly 600 houses, Alltëntash, with nearly 100 houses, in the east of Marica river; Ibriktepe or the Town, with nearly 70 houses, at the west of the river. Noli himself teaches us that, during the Balkan war (1912), his village, Ibriktepe, was occupied by the Bulgarians, than from the Turks and finally by the Greeks, who destroyed it. After the Greek-Turkish war, on 1923, together with the Greeks were also evicted from Turkey the

⁴ Людмил Станков, *Албанският говор в село Мандрица* / Ludmill Stankov, *The spoken Albanian in Mandrica village*, София, 2016, pp. 6-7.

Albanian Orthodox of Ibriktepe. These were established in Greece, in the Macedonia's fenlands, where the most died from the diseases. Those who survived, ended in misery in Thessaloniki. Today, always according to Noli, Ibriktepe is inhabited from the Turks coming from Macedonia and Thrace, while in Mandrica we were said that there still speak Albanian."⁵

From the paper of the scholar Dh. Shuteriqi, "*Fshati shqiptar i Bullgarisë, Mandrica, studim dhe tekste*" (that has a place translated in the monograph of L. Stankov) we also distinct the ethno-linguistic information. There is stressed that "Mandrica is situated near the small rivers Akcehisar and Këzëll Delidere. There are nearly 200 houses, so it's very small rather that has been in the beginnings of this century. All speak *Albanian*, even the Bulgarians that live there. We met a Bulgarian soldier, which was there more than a year and he understood the language of the village, while his children spoke the Albanian as true Mandrica inhabitants. All Albanians, with a rare translation, also spoke Bulgarian."⁶

The monograph, is understandable that in its principal information is on the field of linguistics. L. Stankov rightfully gives the opinion of the Albanian scholars on the Bulgarian influence in Mandrica village spoken dialect. This component will be continuously revealed in the monograph, seeing its consequences in all the sub-systems or in different linguistic phenomenon and processes of this spoken dialect. The author of the monograph translates: "A special phenomenon on the Albanian spoken of Mandrica, is the deep Bulgarian influence in the phonetic, in the morphologic and syntax forms. This influence is bigger also in the dictionary and comes increasing, while on the Turkish previous one, that is also big, or the Greek influence, that is limited, now have begun to lose ground. How is explained that, within less than two centuries, - if we accept the theses of an origin from the XVIII century of Mandrica, - the village's language occurred a so deep Bulgarian influence, while for nearly 150 years the village was under Turkey and not nearly 50 years under Bulgaria?

Mandrica is found on an almost entirely Bulgarian environment. The Mandrica inhabitants are continuously married with girls from the

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 7-8.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 7.

neighboring Bulgarian villages. According to the legend, this has happened since the foundation of the village. The marriages with Greeks are not remembered to have taken place, while with the Turks, in-laws was forbidden, because of the religion. The Bulgarian women married in Mandrica, learned Albanian, as their husbands learned to speak Bulgarian. We met two-three Bulgarian women that were married in Mandrica who spoke Albanian under the influence of the Bulgarian. Of course the Albanian language, the Bulgarians have spoken and speak under the Bulgarian language influence. They speak Albanian, but think as Bulgarian while they speak it. Like this, is explained the fast and the deep influence of the Bulgarian language on the spoken of Mandrica. This influence has come stressing, especially since 1912, when was established the Bulgarian administration and school, and also when was established the Bulgarian church, nevertheless the Greek inscriptions of the Saint Miter church, on Bulgarian were put only on 1925, as we were told, but the inscription of the Greek church of Saint Nedela were not touched. Let's notice that, near the influenced forms from the Bulgarian, as the word *ze, sa*, we find the non influenced forms *dhe, tha*. This demonstrates that the Bulgarian influence, no matter deep, has not succeeded to become complete even in such cases, that in Mandrica till today, the Albanian language from more than a part has escaped to the foreign influence."⁷

As we have previously said, for the preparation of the monograph "Албанският говор в село Мандрица" (*The spoken Albanian in Mandrica village*) are exploited some sources, but the basic sources and the most important, almost completely exploited, are the articles of M. Domi and Dh. Shuteriqi, published on 1965 in the pages of the scientific review "Studime filologjike" and among these articles is distinguished the paper *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës/An observation on the Mandrica Albanian spoken*. This article has served to the scholar L. Stankov to draft parts of the work that are connected with the phonetic and grammar processes phenomenon. The aforementioned Albanian scholars, based on linguistic materials collected on the ground, in Mandrica, in this paper pose the question and rightfully give a complete reasonable and justified answer: "Can the language provide to us enough elements to

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 18.

shed light on the question that from which Albanian region come and when the founders of this village displaced? To say a more secure word, it will be required a more complete material, and to pose that systematic comparison with the material of the different Albanian spoken dialects. For now, can be made some ascertainment and to present a hypotheses, of an added work, that remains to be controlled and to be proved by further researches."⁸

Further these scholars *with linguistic facts* argue the hypotheses that the inhabitants of this village in Bulgaria come from the southeastern territories of the present Albania. They write that "Many of the characteristics and phenomenon of the spoken lead at the characteristics of Korça region and especially of Devoll area (the prepositions *ndë*, *ndër* ending in *dë* and *dër*, the plural forms in the present indicative and the subjunctives without the thematic vowel *-i*, in Devoll: *ngasëm*, *ngasën*, in Mandrica: *hapmë*, *mbjellmë*, probably from *hapëmë*, *mbjellëmë*; the dense use of the plural of nouns in *-ra* and of the aorist in *-ta*, some forms of the possessive pronoun in plural, in Devoll: *gjishtrinjt tem*, *duart time*, *duart tënde*, in Mandrica: *timet vëllazëra*, *tëndet roba*; the majority of the imperfect mood of the verbs *kam/to have* and *jam/to be*: in Devoll: *kisha*, *kishe*, *kish*, *kishim dhe kishmë*, *kishit*, *kishin dhe kishnë*; *isha*, *ishim*, or *ishnë*, in Mandrica: *kisha*, *kishe*, *kish*, *kishmë*, *kishtë*, *kishnë*) and something else. It should be added that that main archaic characteristic elements of Mandrica spoken have been vivid till lately in a part of Devoll, Dardhë, Sinicë, Qytezë, and here we mean the conservation of the consonants groups *kl*, *gl*, *lk*, for the partial preservation of the diphthong *uo*. It can be added that the epentheses *v* exit phenomenon in Mandrica after *u-*, in a rare case after the *y-* (*gruvo*, *gruva*, *gruvë*, *pruvë*, *u zgjuvejt*, *dyver*) is also seen in Dardhë, where are principally seen at the elders: *kruva* (with a bilabial *v*), *gruva* etc."⁹

This argument is continuously admitted and asserted also by L. Stankov, during all the papers on the different sub-systems of the Albanian spoken in Mandrica village. However, in the monograph are given elements from the Gheg dialect (often taken from the papers in

⁸ M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, SF, 1965, 2, p. 117.

⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 117-118.

Albanian, published in "Studime filologjike" review). Even here, Stankov is in the line of the two Albanian academicians, which stress that "As was said in the study of Dh. Shuteriqi, *Fshati shqiptar i Bullgarisë, Mandrica* (Studime filologjike, 1965, nr. 1) the Mandrica inhabitants are supposed to have come from Vithkuq and from the regions of Korça, while the near Albanian villages of beyond the border as Ibrik Tepe or the Town of Fan Noli, from Kolonja, Dardha, Sinica are not far away from Vithkuq, close to Kolonja. The partial archaic elements are also conservations of a mountainous area also preserved in Albania till lately, while the language in her complex does not gives such an archaic phase of the Albanian. Therefore the displacement of these last centuries, that enforces the achieved conclusions in the aforementioned study... Some rare element, that reminds the Gheg (cases of the diphthong *ue* or of the monophthongism in *u*, forms as *çar*, *nashti*, *s'un*) may come from the fact that in the population of this village are mixed comers from the Middle Albania. The Bulgarian scholar Jaranov says that since the XV-XVI centuries till the XIX century there has been displacements headed for the eastern Macedonia, Thrace, Mizi, not only from the Korça region, but also from those of Elbasan and Dibra."¹⁰

Continuousness, we are stopping at the mainly linguistic features affluence that the Mandrica spoken reveals, coming in Bulgarian through the precise translations of L. Stankov, in the monograph "Албанският говор в село Мандрица" (*E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*/ The spoken Albanian in Mandrica village).

II. In the chapter *Fonetika/Phonetics*, 12 pages, L. Stankov has brought summarizing characteristics, phenomenon and phonetic processes from this spoken dialect¹¹. It's important to emphasize that the phonetic, morphologic characteristics etc., are given as they are (or as they were when are collected) in the spoken dialect, he not rarely approaches them with the bookish form (книжовна форма) or with the standard Albanian and then, in the function of the monograph's

¹⁰ *Ibid*, f. 118.

¹¹ On all the references and the interpretations from the field of *the phonetics and not only*, also see the monograph Людмил Станков, *Албанският говор в село Мандрица* / Ludmill Stankov, *E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, София, 2016, pp. 20-31.

publishing, each of them is given with the equivalent in the Bulgarian word or word-formation.

Also, in the monograph "Албанският говор в село Мандрица / *E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë* - Въз основа на изследванията на Димитър Шутерики и Махир Доми / On the bases of Dhimitër Shuteriqi and Mahir Domi studies", it can be found phenomenon's approach or phonetic processes with other Bulgarian scholars (N. V. Kotova, *Materiali po albanskoj dialektologji. Albanskie govori Ukraini*, in *Uçenie zapiski Instituta Slavjanovedenja*, Tom XIII, 1956), or approaches with the Tosk spoken dialect (Çam dialect, Lab dialect), or as will be seen in the chapter on the spoken morphological characteristics and approaches with phonetic phenomenon or processes in Gheg (Ulqin spoken dialect, Durrës spoken dialect etc.) and with the spoken of Italy's Arbëresh (e.g., with the spoken of the village Montecilfone) etc. We should stress once again that these approaches are taken from the paper *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, by M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi and published in SF, 1965, 2. Therefore, also to the phonetic, the monograph is entirely based on the material of both Albanian scholars, but has the merit because the material, not only is correctly translated in Bulgarian, but is all conceived as part of a complete monograph.

A. From the **vowel system** we distinguish the following phenomena and processes¹²:

a. Versions of the diphthongs "uo"¹³: generally are given in the Tosk dialect **ua**: grua/woman (but also *gruo*, *gruva*, *gruvë*) etc. Frequently enough has been also preserved **uo** (*duoll* / *doli*, *mbuoll* / *mbolli*, *të huoj* / *të huj*) etc. with some rare exception **uo** figures as Gheg **ue** (*u shuetnë kandilet*) or **u** (*prru* / *prrua*) etc. There are cases when **o** does not comes diphthongized, even why the phonetic conditions exists

¹² In the monograph "Албанският говор в село Мандрица" (*E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*), the treated phenomenon follow the progress, the kind and the quantity of the paradigm elements that are given in the article *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, of M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi, published on SF, 1965, 2.

¹³ We are bringing here the scientific information (concept on diphthong) as is on the work, because in the standard Albanian are not accepted diphthongs on the groups **uo**, **ue**, **ie**, **ye**, because in the local lexicon of Albanian, the vowels **u**, **i** and **y** are accented, therefore in the cases that are interpreted we have a group of vowels.

(*pagoj*, *pagojmë*, *mos pagoj për paguaj*, *paguajmë*, *mos paguaj*; *neve domë për ne duam* etc.).

b. The diphthong **ye** is preserved as in the Tosk dialect without being monophthongized: *unë ngjyen*, *ngjyesh*, *ngjyen*, *ngjyejmë* etj. This diphthong at the verb *pyet* is turned in *jo*: *pjot* (*pyet/ask*), *pjosnë* (*pyesin*). In a case **ye** turns the **y** in **u** (-**ue**) and between two vowels enters as **v**: *kruven* (*kryen*);

c. The diphthong **ie** is pronounced **je**: *djella* (*dielli*). In some cases **ie** is pronounced ad reduced in **e**: *tetzet* (*tetëdhjet/eighty*), *statzet* (*shtatëdhjet/seventy*).

L. Stankov quotes again from the authors Domi and Shuteriqi that "In this way, on processing the diphthongs, the spoken of Mandrica changes from the Ukraine's Albanian spoken, and like that as generally with the today Gheg, and in some categories in the Arbëresh village of Montecilfone in Molise, Italy, were those are monophthongized in **u**, **y**, **i**."¹⁴

d. In the monograph, based on the abundant material published in "Studime filologjike" journal, an important place occupies the pronounce of the vowel **ë** in different position in the words and in the text. The given examples, even when are referred on the Albanian (not the Albanian in Mandrica) preserve the form brought by Domi and Shuteriqi and mostly do not approach with the standard Albanian form.

A special place in the monograph is dedicated to the ending **ë-** of the definite nouns in singular on the accusative and dative cases: *derënë*, *gjënë*; *mëmësë*, *mullisë* etc.. This phenomenon is seen even when nouns of masculine and feminine gender end with **r**: *zemërë*, *qiqërë*, *sekërë*, *gjarpërë*, *dimërë*, *emërë*. Also in this half-title, all the examples are accompanied with the equivalent in Bulgarian. The terminal vowel **ë** is seen in the verbal system: *japmë*, *japnë*, *shkrojmë*, *shkojnë*, *rojmë*, *rojnë*, *rahëmë*, *rahinë*; *duollmë*, *duollnë*, *dilnimë*, *dilninë*...; *ritenë*, *gëzohenë*; *gëzohenishenë*, *gëzohenishtë*...; *viezorë* (*vjedhurë*), *zemborë* (*dhëmburë*).

Also, is presented as a special phenomenon the change of **ë-** in **i**: *gjimoj* < *gjëmoj*, *lishoj* < *lëshoj*; the passing in pre-accent syllable, as a

¹⁴ Людмил Станков, *Албанският говор в село Мандрица* / Ludmill Stankov, *E folmtja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, София, 2016, p. 22.

result of regressive assimilation, of **ë**- in **u**: *këtu* > *kutu*, *këpucë* > *kupucë*, *sëmundë* > *sumundë*, *mëndafsh* > *mundafsh*.

There is accepted that under the Bulgarian language influence¹⁵, the terminal unaccented **ë**- is turned in **e**: *më* > *me*, *shumë* > *shume*, *të sërësësh* > *sëresesh* etc. While the accented **ë**- is turned in **i**: *gji* < *gjë*, *tindija* < *tëndeja* etc.

e. In the spoken of Mandrica, the accented **e**- prior to nasal consonants is pronounced **ë**: *qën* < *qen*, *vënt* < *vend* etc.

f. The vowel **y** has some transformations: **y** > **u**: *du* < *dy*, *frunish* < *frynte*, *qutet* < *qytet*) etc. *kush* < *qysh* etc.; **y** > **ju**: *bërrumë* < *brymë*, *djullë* < *dyllë*, *tju* < *ty* etc.; **y** > **i**: *mbill* < *mbyll*, *hikan* < *hykan* etc.; rrallë **y** > **ju**: *sindjuk* / *synduk* < *sënduk*; *djyljyme* < *dylym*, *djymbëzjetë* < *dymbëdhjetë*, *kjy* < *ky* etc. Many of these phonetic changes the author emphasizes that are known phenomena in Çam, Lab and in some other dialects of central Gheg¹⁶.

g. The pre-accented vowel **o** has given **u**: *dullap* < *dollap*, *bukor* < *i*, *e* *bukur* etc.

h. Also happens that the pre-accented vowels turn in **ë**: *ngërkojnë* < *ngarkojnë*, *pëstaj* < *pastaj*, *prëftaska* < *proftaska*, *pës* < *posi*, *këllon* < *kullon*, *sëllmë* < *sillmë* etc.

i. Are also noticed other cases of vowels' change **o** > **a**: *mari* < *mori*; **e** > **o**: *ngro* < *ngre*; **ov** > **u**: *guatënë* < *govatënë*.

j. In this spoken, as in the Çam, doesn't happens the prune of the abbreviate form of the personal pronoun in the accusative case **e** with the particle **të** of the subjunctive, but only the elision of **ë**- (*t'e* < *të* + *e*): *t'e mar* < *ta marr*, *t'e hamë* < *ta hamë* etc.

B. An important place in the monograph / *Албанският говор в село Мандрица* / *E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë* / *The spoken Albanian in Mandrica village*, has also taken the pronunciation of the consonants:

a. Under the influence of the Bulgarian, the interdental consonants **dh** and **th** in this spoken, differently from the Ukraine's Albanian spoken, are turned in **z** and **s**. The consonant **dh** is also turned in **d**.

¹⁵ M. Domi and Dh. Shuteriqi say that under the Slav influence: "Ë pre-accented, terminal or not, time after after time, perhaps on the Slav influence effect, is felt *e*..." See M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, SF, 1965, 2, p. 105.

¹⁶ Людмил Станков, *Албанският говор в село Мандрица* / Ludmill Stankov, *E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, София, 2016, p. 24

- **dh** > **z**: *dhëndër* - *zëndër*, *dhemb* - *zëmb*, *i madh* - *mazi*, *udhë* - *uzë* etc.

- **th** > **s**: *i gjithë* - *gjisë*, *i thatë* - *satë*, *thikë* - *sikë*, *thotë* - *sotë*, *të thuash* - *të sosh* etc.

- **dh** > **d** apo **z**: *dardhë* - *darzë*, *erdha* - *erda* / *erz*, *i bardhë* - *bardë* / *barzë* etc.

The monograph's author L. Stankov, always translating the linguistic material of both Albanian scholars, minutely concentrates in other phonetic processes in the consonants system that characterize this spoken dialect.

b. The groups **gl** and **kl** of this spoken, as in the spoken of Ukraine and in the Çam dialect (Greece), are preserved many words: *gluhë* / *glufë* (*gjuhë*/tongue), *glisht* (*gisht*/finger), *glu* (*gju*/knee), *klishtë* (*kishë*/church), *klumësht* (*qumësht*/milk), *kle* / *klekam* / *kleka* (*qe*, *qenkam*, *qenka*/be) etc.

c. The group **lj**, which in the Albanian gives **j**, in this spoken is turned in **l**: *bilë* / *bilëra* (*bijë*, *bija*), *fëmilë* (*fëmijë*), *val* (*vaj*) etc.

d. There are groups **lk**, **lg**, **lq**:: *ulk* (*ujk*), *dilgon* (*dëgjon*), *helq* (*heq*).

e. The nasal consonant **nj**, somewhere under the Bulgarian influence comes **n** (*qirintë* - *qirinjtë*, *ni* - *një*, *neri* - *njeri* etc.), somewhere **n'j** (**n** and **j**) (*shkeln'ja* - *shkelja*, *n'joh* - *njoh*) etc.

f. As in the Tosk dialect, are pronounced with **r** words that in the Gheg dialect are pronounced with **rr**: *bera* (*berra*), *zjar*, *të marë*, *merni*, *nxjer*.

g. The consonant **ll** in some cases has given **l**: *akul* (*akull*), *yl* (*yll*) etc.

h. The consonant **f** turns in **h**: *hustan* (*fustan*), *hushë* (*fushë*), *hurrë* (*furrë*) etc.

i. The group **nd** has ended in **d** (*i erdëka dër mënt*) or in **n**.

j. It happens the positional and combining deafening of the consonants: occurs: *ardhka* > *arthka*, *lidh* > *lis* (*lith*) etc.

l. The author distinguishes even syncope cases: (*bati* < *bagëti*) e apokope (*si* < *përsi*, *përsëri*).

III. The chapter "*Morfologjia/Morphology*" with 123 pages (32-154), occupies the largest part of the monograph. L. Stankov retakes the stressing of Prof. Domi and Prof. Shuteriqi that "The Albanian

morphology of Mandrica is characterized from the preservation of some archaic forms, especially in the verbs, and also from the linguistic facts that are outcome of the Bulgarian influence"¹⁷. The monograph perceives to give an eptic morphologic view of Mandrica Albanian spoken dialect. Basing on classifications, groupings and known lexicon-grammar categories, the author passes from the deduction in induction, and vice-versa, making many illustrations and always equalizing every item (word-formation) in Bulgarian. In the following, we shall see the parts of the speech in the monograph:

A. The noun a. The monograph in the beginning is focused at the **gender** grammar category, by retaking the opinion of both Albanian scholars that in this spoken, compared with Albanian, there are changes of gender of many nouns, occurred under the influence of the Bulgarian. Following, are given two item groupings: nouns on masculine gender and nouns of feminine gender. At the included nouns on both the groupings there are some inaccuracies or unclarity, that is not motivated even from an automatic move of the material during the computing format. Therefore:

a. 1. On the group of *masculine gender* (м. род), except the nouns *diell*,*-i* and *baba*,*-i* are also included the nouns (inanimate) that according the endings belong to the feminine gender: *pleh/ë*,*-a* (*plehu*); *shi*,*-ja* (*shiu*); *krah/ë*,*-a* (*krahu*); *ze*,*-ja* (*dheu*); *hi*,*-ja* (*hiri*); *lum/ë*,*-a* (*lumi*); *klumësht*,*-a* (*qumështi*); *ze*, *-ja*(*zëri*). We think that to make the grouping, the author is based in the word-formation of these nouns in the today Albanian, which are also given by Domi and Shuteriqi and not in the concrete material that provides the spoken of Mandrica.

a.2. At the right side of this grouping, by marking *feminine gender* (ж. род) is only given the word *diell* in two phonetic versions of the feminine gender: *djell*/*,-a*; *diel/ë*,*-a*. While in the following are given the same word-forms of the masculine gender, with a parallel carrying: *pleh*,*-u*; *shi*,*-u*; *krah*,*-u*; *dhe*,*-u*; *lum/ë*,*-i*; *qumësht*,*-i*; *zë*,*-ri*.

a.3. In the neuter gender it brings *glishë*,*-të* (*gisht*,*-i*).

a.4. In the monograph is emphasized that the majority of the material nouns have passed from the neuter gender in the feminine

¹⁷ Людмил Станков, *Албанският говор в село Мандрица* / Ludmill Stankov, *E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, София, 2016, p. 32.

one: *djas/ë, -a* (*djathë, -i*); *dull/ë, -a* (*dyll, -i*); *uj/ë, -a* (*uj/ë, -i*); *gjalp/ë, -a* (*gjalp/ë, -i*); *dris/ë, -a* (*drith/ë, -i*); *ball/ë, -a* (*ball/ë, -i*); *mjalt/ë, -a* (*mjalt/ë, -i*).

a.5. Here, the author has introduced the accusative case of some nouns in the masculine gender that form the word without vowel for speech fluency: *emërnë, kalnë, tjufeknë, zjarnë* etc. According the quotation on Domi and Shuteriqi paper, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, is pointed out that very rarely the ending might have anapctic **i** or **u**: **-inë, -unë**: *vendinë, askerllëkunë*.

b. The second morphologic formation comes on the **forming of nouns in plural**.

b.1. With the ending **-a** the plural is formed by nouns of the feminine gender, as: *kupë – kupa; opingë – opinga; kopsë – kopsa* etc. Here are also some nouns that in the today Albanian form the plural the same as the singular: *lugë – luga; macë – maca; ditë – dita* etc. They form the plural with **-a** and some nouns of the masculine gender, as: *xham – xhama, gur – gura* etc.

b.2. Very densely comes the plural with **-ra**: *baltë – baltëra; bilë – bilëra; hushë (fushë) – hushëra; lumë – lumëra; djado – djadora* etc.

b.3. The plural of the masculine gender is also formed by other endings, as with **-e**: *heqim – heqime, yl – yle* etc.; with the ending **-nj**: *sua – sonj; glu – glunja*; with the ending **-n**: *qiri – qirintë; komshi – komshintë* etc. Also, *krushk – krushkërin, nun – nënërin*.

b.4. Are given as exceptions: *kal – kvol / kuol; vëlla – vëllazëra*.

c. From the page 35-40, by not following the progress at Domi and Shuteriqi article, at the L. Stankov's monograph, through examples with sentences or phrases (detached from complete sayings) is given the **definite form** phenomenon of the general nouns in singular and plural, in the masculine and feminine gender (and in the nominative and accusative cases for the singular, and in nominative, dative and accusative for the plural. This half-title comes as personal work of the Bulgarian scholar.

We are giving some examples (that again are translated into Bulgarian)::

c.1. The nominative case, singular, masculine and feminine gender: *Zëndëri zënka t'i anastisë-hi ëndërën priftit. Zbora ishte timja sumurluk, djella ishte shpirt.*

c.2. The accusative case, singular, masculine and feminine gender: *Hipi kalnë Dimçua, vëri nahernë dë brezi, vëri tufjeknë dë krahë... Kur e veshi Maraflua këpucën, u qepka nga këmba.*

c.3. The nominative case, plural, masculine and feminine gender: *Turqetë ndejtan për të hanë bukë.*

Here, mistakenly is given as form of the nominative case (in the subject function) and some use of the accusative case, also is given as a prepositioned noun adjective: *Pa mbujti ze poqi ngroftatë kulaçe (Pa mbujti dhe poqi kulaçet e ngrohta)*

c.4. The dative case, plural: *Pa i sotë Risanua baterave.*

c.5. The accusative case, plural, masculine and feminine gender: *U ngrit Mitja pa vate, nuk i gjet heqimetë. Pa i panë vrrat botë.*

Here is given another half-title for the definite form of the particular nouns of the masculine and feminine gender, in the nominative case: *Zbriti nga kali Dimçua. U mbet Risanua pa mëmë, pa tate.*

In the following, L. Stankov, also quoting Prof. Emil Lafe, concentrates on the diphthong origin (vowel group) **ua**, that sources on the decomposability of ó- in closed syllable in the Tosk dialect (in Gheg **ue**): *fton - ftue, ftua.*

d. In the monograph *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, is shortly spoken also for the phonetic form of *week days*, which are written without the prepositive article: *hëna, mara, mërkura, tëntja, prëmtja, shtuna, djela.*

e. Also, in the monograph (as in the Domi and Shuteriqi article), for the noun is given a very short information on the word-formation.

e.1. Formations with the suffixes **-zë, -kë, -ica**: *djemëza, copkë/-a; djellkë/-a* etc.

e.2. Formations with the Turkish suffix **-lik**: *sumurlik, mikërluk (miqësi)* etc.

B. The adjective has too little place in the monograph. The adjective in this spoken comes out prepositioned (as in the Bulgarian) and without prepositioned article: *mirë çupë, barza rroba, bukorë shtëpi, ndë vjetra fshat, maze shtëpi, ni kuqe mollë* etc. The adjective forms the comparative degree with the particle *me* (më): *bukorë - me bukorë (më i/e bukur)*; while the superlative degree is formed with the Bulgarian particle *nai / naj*: *Aju ishte naj togli (Ai ishte më i vogli).*

C. The numeral occupies a wider place in the monograph. There is given a detailed reflection of cardinal numerals.

a. Are given simple numerals from one to ten: *ni, du / dju, tri, katrë, pesë, g'jashtë, shtatë, tetë, nëntë, zjetë*.

b. Are given the compounded numerals from *eleven* to *twenty*, by giving here and there some form of the verbal spoken (from the vulgar speech) in Albania: *nimbëzet, djumbëzet, trimbëzjet, katrëmet, pesëmbëzjetë, gjashtëmet* (here mistakenly is compounded the form *gjazhdhjet*, that is the non-literary pronunciation in Albanian of the numeral sixty).

c. Are given the multiplies of the ten, as *trizet, pezjetë, nëntëzjetë* etc.; the hundreds: *një kint, dju kint, mijëshet*

d. Are also given some numeral expression: *njizetë ni (21), niste dju (22), trizjet nëntë (39)* etc.

e. Are given very shortly the ordinal numerals: *treta kushërirë, shtatëmetë senë*.

D. A special place in the monograph *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë* is also occupied by the **pronouns**.

1. Rightfully, L. Stankov has given a special place to the **personal pronoun**. If at Domi and Shuteriqi article, on this pronoun we have only two lines ("At personal pronouns on the first person in singular is mostly used the form *un* rather than *unë*; in the second person *tinë* close to *ti*, in the indirect cases *tju* for *ty*")¹⁸, on the monograph *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë / The spoken Albanian in Mandrica village*, are given in 11 pages complete demonstrations of pronoun's declension in the three persons, in both numbers and the third person in both genders. We mention here the visible forms in speech, as *ai, aj,aju, ay* in the nominative case and the form / brief form **hi* in the dative case; *aju, aji* (për *ajo*) in the nominative case and *asajt, *hi* in the dative case; *ata* and *ato* in the nominative case, and also *i, him, atjurmet (atyre u)* in the dative case etc.

Ongoing, in nearly 6 pages are given many examples (that have study interest) of the personal pronouns usages. He highlights: *Tatja*

¹⁸ M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, SF, 1965, 2, p. 109

më la vetëzë. Kërpinë e mbjellka, e prashitka, e qitka, e vëka dë ujë, e menitka, e mbështjellka, e tjerrka, e juvejka, e bitiska. Ton(ë) Maro e hëngrënë karkanxollet. Mëmo, të më japësh ze kur ikën, o t'vjen të të mar. E mer mbreti këzannë, e nxjer jashtë dë bunari etc. In the monograph are given 35 (25 + 10) examples of personal pronouns, catching the eye on black the brief forms, according to Maria Pjejeva, 2016.

2. A personal contribution of L. Stankov is also the tenuous distinction in the spoken of the *reflexive pronoun* in its brief form as (cu), a direct influence from the Bulgarian (with the complete form *себе cu*): *Tatja kur vate dë kurbet, më suall ni kuqe moll, kuqe-si moll argjentë. Mere-si, mëmo, këzannë, pa ecë dë du uzëra dë mesi, bëj-si, mëmo, korlajnknë dë du uzëra dë mesi.* However some illustration (as *kuqe-si*) shows that we do not have always reflexive pronoun¹⁹.

3. The demonstrative pronoun. The author gives this kind of pronoun:

a. According to the gender: *ky / kju / kju, ai / aj /aju (Kju djalë ritet, bëhet maze. / Ai ditë)* for the masculine gender; *kuju,aju (Kuju çupë nuk ishtë sëmërë, /Aju halle)* for the feminine gender.

b. After the cases: We are bringing two examples: *Dë atë sellë gropë* (r. kallëzore); *Nuk më mer ai çupë* (r. emërore). The author has given for the dative case the example *Merr Marua, e i la-hi robat asajt babo (asaj gjysheje).*

4. The possessive pronoun. Also for this kind of pronoun in the monograph we have plenty of material, with nearly 6 pages (more detailed completed and structured rather than the material in the article of Domi and Shuteriqi), organizing and classifying according to the person, number and gender:

- a. According to the person: a.1. v. I: *timja mëmë, times mëmë etc.;*
- a.2. v. II: *jut çupë, tindet vëllazëra etc.;*
- a.3. v. III: *tata-hi, mëma -hi* (ati i tij / i saj, mëma e tij / e saj).

¹⁹ M. Domi, Dh Shuteriqi wrote on this phenomenon: "The reflexive verbs often take on enclitic way *-si* that comes from the Bulgarian reflexive declension. However we find, except this, also with intransitive active verbs, but also transitive. E.g. *zagaçitsi, gjigjemi, u sëmursi; mbiusi, rënkasi, vetesi, vatkesi; berisi, hapnësi, shpunësi, qitnisi, të sërëtsi, meresi, mblonësi.* In some rare case, this element is compounded to a non verbal word: *kuqesi, ngrotsi, lartsi.*" See M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, SF, 1965, 2, p. 116.

b. The groupings are made after the number of the property and of the possessor.

b.1. Singular property, singular possessor: *Pastaja vatkanë motrat mu shpi-him.*

b.2. Plural property, singular possessor.

b.3. Singular property, plural possessor: *dë tonë fshat.*

b.4. Plural property, plural possessor: *tontë djemëza.*

5. The interrogative pronoun: *Çe / Çë / Çi / Çar?*; *Pse?*, *Cili?* (In the monograph are given examples, as: *Çe kam bën?* *Çë ishte ai?* *Çë të sonë?* *Çë dosh?*).

On this group are also mistakenly included some interrogative adverbs: *ku/where?*, *pse/why?* (*Pse klan këzani?*); *ngaha / gaha?* (*Ngaha jeni?*)

6. The relative pronoun: *që (... kur ushtron përpara ni këpucë që ndrin.)*

7. The indefinite pronoun: *donera, doneri, nishtu (asgjë), gjis (të gjithë).*

E. A special place in the monograph *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë / The spoken Albanian in Mandrica village* occupies the **verb**, from the page 67 - 147 (in the monograph the chapter is entitled **Format foljore / Глаголни форми/Verbal forms**)²⁰. The material that is connected with the verb, is organized according the moods and, within them, according the tenses, according the voices, according the declensions, according the number.

1. The chapter begins with the *indicative mood* (изъявительно наклонение), in the present tense / *сегашно време*), the active voice (деятелен залог), with verbs in consonant (глаголи на съгласна), in singular person (единствено число):

1. a. In the indicative present, the verb with consonants in the first and the third person come as in Albanian without ending: *hap, mbjell, mar, dal, jap, dremi, mas, kërcas.*

1.b. In the second person, these verbs generally come with the ending *-ësh*, identifying the indicative present with that of the subjunctive. The author L. Stankov, writes here that the ending *-sh*

²⁰ Людмил Станков, *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / Ludmill Stankov, E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, София, 2016, p. 67.

sources from the Bulgarian (ти работиш / you work). This is not right or requires further argue and scientific reference in the respective etymologic studies. We have to underline that the academician Shaban Demiraj, the ending *-sh* of the indicative and of the subjunctive mood of the second person distinguishes it as reflex of the Indo-European ending *is*²¹. Also, its known that the influence of the foreign languages in the Albanian grammar system is nearly zero, and this firstly is revealed on the formant form formation system.

In the monograph is affirmed that the ending *-ësh* is seen also in the sound verb of the second person, in Dibra's dialect: *Ku po shkosh?*

1.c. In plural, usually these verbs takes the endings *-m(ë)* *-n(ni)*, *-n(ë)*.

- *the first person: hapmë, mbjellmë, n'jomnë* etc.

- *the second person: hapni, mbillni, n'johni* etc.

- *the third person: hapnë, njohnë, marnë* etc.

1. d. Further the author brings the opinion of Domi and Shuteriqi that "on the verbs with vowel mutation with *-e*, in the second and third person in singular and in the second person in plural, are different lines, caused by the analogy, forms extensions and other analogical action and sometimes with the paradigm of the same verb. Thus, we generally have the vowel mutation *a* and *o* in *e* in the third singular person: *aju mer, del, jep, nget, kërcet*; and also: *aju njoh*. However this doesn't happens in the second person that usually has the respective subjunctive form: *japësh, ngasësh kërcasësh*; and also *ti mer*."²²

Also, the author presents translated in Bulgarian the following two phenomena:

- In the second person of the plural we find sometimes vowel mutation forms in *i-* (on verbs with theme extension): *kërcas, kërcitni, ngas ngitni*. In most of the cases this is done only with the vowel mutation in *-e*: *merni, delni, jepni* etc.

- On the verbs with theme in *-t*, as generally in Albanian, this *t-* is turned in *-s* in the first person and in plural in the third person: *ngas, ngasim, ngasnë; mas, masmë, masnë; kërcas, kërcasë, kërcasnë*; and

²¹ Shih për këtë, Sh. Demiraj, *Gramatikë historike e gjuhës shqipe*, Tiranë, 1986, p. 684.

²² Людмил Станков, *Албанският говор в село Мандрица* / Ludmill Stankov, *E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, София, 2016, p. 68.

also in the second person in singular that is the respective person of the present subjunctive: *ngasësh, masësh* etc.²³

1. e. The author has presented as half-title the verbs in vowel (verbs of the third conjugation), group of verbs which Domi and Shuteriqi include in the fourth conjugation²⁴: *pi, ri, di, zën, ngrën, fli*. According to the author, these verbs, the second person is like in Albanian: (*tinë*) *pish, rish, ngrësh, zësh, flish* etj. In the second person, the plural in some verbs of this group occurs the change of the vowel *ë* in *i*: *ngrëjmë, ngrini, ngrejñë; zëjmë, zini, zejñë a zenë*.

1. f. The third group of the verbs in the monograph is formed by the verbs in **-n** (in the bookish form ending with **-j** and are included in the first conjugation) which are in the first singular person and in the plural number.

1.g. In the first and third singular person these verbs end with **-n**: *un(ë) pënon, pagon, shkron, dëften, gjen, bën, vjen* etj. In the second person end with **-sh**: *ti pënosh, pagosh, shkrosh, dëftesh, gjesh, bësh, vish* etc.

1.h. In plural, the verbs of this conjugation come with the endings **-jmë, -ni, -jñë** as in Albanian in general: *punojmë, dëftejmë, bëjmë, xallahijmë, vijmë; punoni, dëfteni, bëni, xallahini, vini; punojñë, dëftejñë, bëjñë, xallahijñë, vijñë*.

1.i. the verbs with **-o**, that in this spoken, in the indicative and subjunctive present analyze it in *diphthong*, and have this vowel not analyzed. Thus: *un(ë) pagoj, tinë pagosh,aju pagon, neve pagojmë* etj. Also we rarely face the analyze of **-o-** në **-ua-** a në **uo**: *un(ë) lon / luon, ti luosh,aju luon; neve luojmë, ju / ive luoni, ata luojñë* etj

1.j. According to the monograph, on some verb with consonant is formed a mixed conjugation, by taking the endings: **-ën, -ën, -ën** in the singular and **-imë, -ni -inë** in plural: *un(ë) hipën, ti hipësh,aju hipën, neve hipimë, juve / ive hipni, ata hipinë*.

The author L. Stankov does not gives in here the conjugation in the present tense of the verbs *kam* and *jam*, but in the half-title. In the monograph, on the half-title "**Zgjedhimi i foljeve/the conjugation of the verbs**" (Спрежение на глаголи), in the pages 105-107 is

²³ Ibid, pp. 68 -69.

²⁴ M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, SF, 1965, 2, p. 111.

extensively given, through many examples, the conjugation of the verb **jam** in the present, past and future tenses. Also, even the verb **kam** is reflected in this half-title (p. 109 -110) and in the three of these tenses, and even in some moods. This is again a personal work of the author in a time when Domi and Shuteriqi have given a very short information on these verbs: "The verbs **kam** and **jam** are conjugated like this: *jam, je, ishtë, jemi, jeni, janë; kam, kesh, ka, kemi, keni, kanë*. As its seen, in the singular second person, the verb has the first indicative form, while the second, that of the subjunctive." ²⁵

1.k. In this special half-title is also given the non active conjugation (reflexive) of the verbs with consonants and those with vowel. The verbs with consonant come with the endings **-em, -esh, -et, -emi, -eni, -en**: *lizem, lizesh, lizet, lizemi, lizeni, lizen (lidhem)*. While the verbs with vowel come with the endings **-hem, -hesh, -het, -hemi, -heni, -en**: *ksehem, ksehesh, ksehet, ksehemi, kseheni, ksehen (kthehem)*.

1. 2. A complete place has taken in the monograph *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / The spoken Albanian in Mandrica village* also the **indicative imperfect** (минало несвършено време). The material is structured in three half-titles: the conjugation in the singular, the conjugation in the plural, the passive-reflexive conjugation:

1.2.a. L. Stankov gives three groups of word-formation examples after the persons for all the verbs:

- The first person is build with the ending **-n'ja**: *unë hapn'ja, mbilln'ja, mern'ja* etc.

- The second person with the ending **n'je**: *ti hapn'je; mbilln'je, mern'je* etc.

With special notes is emphasized that in both person we don't have the phoneme /nj/, but two different compounded phonemes:: **n** and **j**.

- The third person in singular with the ending **-ish**: *hapish, mbillish, merish* etc.

The author presents translated in the monograph also the note that in any case the *third person is build with the ending: -esh*: *hem llotëronesh, hem këndonesh*.

1.2.b. Further come the plural of the verbs in imperfect:

²⁵ M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, SF, 1965, 2, p. 112.

- The first person is build with the endings **-imë / -jëmë**: *mbillimë, hapjimë, njohimë, dremit(j)imë* etc.

- The second person is build with the endings **-ishtë** at the verbs with consonants and with **-nishtë** at the verbs with **n** or mostly vowel: *juve /ive hapishtë, mbillishtë, murishtë* etc.; *punonishtë, shkruonishtë e shkronishtë, ngrënishtë, zënishtë, rinishtë* etc.

- The third person is build with the endings **-inë / -jinë; -ninë**: *mbillini, hapjinë, njohin, dremit(j)inë, dilninë* etc.

1.2.c. In the monograph is emphasized that in analogy with the second person, are created for the first person in singular and for the third person in plural, also the form with the final syllables **-ishmë** or **-ishimë**, respectively **-ishnë** or **-ishinë** at the verbs mostly consonant and with final syllables **-nishmë, -nishnë** and **-nishninë** at the verbs with **-n** or mostly vowel: *jepishinë / jepinë, njohishnë, jecënishnë; binishnë / bininë, flinishmë, dinishnë, linishnë, zënishnë, rinishnë*.

1.2.d. There are cases when the forms with **-sh** are generalized for all the plural persons: *xallahishmë, xallahishtë, xallahishnë*. This verb of another verb in **-in** the same as it, in plural does not comes with the final syllables **-nishmë, -nishtë, nishmë** as in the other verbs, but with the final syllables **-ishmë, -ishtë, -ishnë**: *blanirishnë qengetë* (sheep bleating).

1.2.e. On auxiliary verbs in the indicative imperfect, come with the forms:

- The verb **kam** comes with the paradigm: *Unë kisha, tunë kishe, aju kish, neve kishmë, ive kishtë, ata kishnë*; and also with the aorist form **klesha**.

- The verb **jam** comes with the paradigm: *unë isha, tinë ishe, aju ishte, neve itishmë, ive itishtë, ata itishnë*. The verb's plural forms of this spoken (*neve itishmë, ive itishtë, ata itishnë*) are the less in discrepancy with the brought observations by Domi and Shuteriqi. They give for the verb **jam** only the singular forms and not the plural: *unë isha, tine jesh, ato ishnë*²⁶. It should have been useful and necessary to have illustrations with different sayings and texts, to prove these spinning forms.

²⁶ M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, SF, 1965, 2, p. 113.

1.2.f. Sometimes on some verbs, for the imperfect, is used the simple past tense, of the aorist. For the verb *vjen*, the imperfect *jerça*, *jerçe*, *jerz ose erz*, *jermë*, *jertë jernë* etc. Stankov presses on Domi and Shuteriqi affirmation that here "we have the consequence of a Bulgarian influence because in the Slav languages exists a single verbal form for the past tenses"²⁷.

1.2.g. In the monograph is also taken a case of the imperfect with **-sh**, that reminds the secondary imperfect of the today Gheg: *nuk i ngitshinë* (*nuk i ngitinë*). The author has also translated the possibility that this might be explained even as newcomer, from the forms with **-ishnë**.

1.2.h. In the progress of organizing the present tense, also at the imperfect, L. Stankov has presented as half-title the reflexive conjugation:

- *The verbs in consonant form this with the endings -en'ja, -en'je, -enish, -enishmë, -enishtë, -eninë: hizen'ja, hizen'je, hizenish, hizenishmë, hizenishtë, hizeninë* (*hidhesha*)

- *While the verbs in vowel with the endings -hen'ja, -hen'je, -henish, -henishmë, -henishtë, -heninë: gëzohen'ja, gëzohen'je, gëzohenish, gëzohenishmë, gëzohenishtë, gëzoheshinë* (*gëzohem*)

1.3. A special place in the monograph in our hands has also occupied **the simple past tense** / the aorist of the verbs (*минало свършено време, аорист*). Even here the material is organized in two indexes: *the active voice and the reflexive voice*.

1.3.a. In the spoken of Mandrica are often seen the verbs in vowel that build the aorist with **-t**: *ëndërita, punojta, këcejti, shkojti, shtrojti, mbrejti, ushqejti, këndoji* etc.

1.3.b. Even because the half-title has aimed to include the simple past tense of the verbs with active voice, L. Stankov, by bringing the translation of Domi and Shuteriqi article, has included reflexive middle voice verb forms that build this forms with **-t**: *u zgjuvejt* (*për: u zgjua*), *u gëzit* (*për: u gëdhi*), *u shuetnë*.

1.3.c. There are cases of the sigma aorist with **-sh-**. *The first person: klesha, lasha, rasha, thasha, mbetsha, jerça*; the second person: *kleshe, lashe, rashe, jerçe*. While the third person, singular and the

²⁷ M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, SF, 1965, 2, p. 113.

plural persons, are without **-sh**: *kle, klemë, kletë, klenë; la, lamë, latë, lamë*.

1.3.d. At the non-sigma verbs that end with the liquid consonants **l, ll, r**, in the third singular person, not only in the passive-reflexive mood, but also even in active, regularly come without ending: *nuk i mor, muar, më muar kaikçiu: duoll, duall; suoll* etc. Also, according to the monograph at the verb in **-l, -ll** with apophony in aorist, in the first and in the second singular person we have a form with **o** non-decomposable in diphthong, because this is situated in open syllable, while usually in the third singular person and in the plural persons we have decomposable forms in the diphthong **uo**: *dolla, dolle, duoll, duollmë, duolltë, duollnë; mbolla, mbolli, mbuoll ose mbolli, mbuollmë, mbuolltë, mbuollni*.

1.3.e. In the plural the endings are **-më, -të, -në**: *mblonë / mbluanë, jertë, jernë (erdhnë), vlojtnë*.

1.3.d. In the monograph, a special half-title, is emphasized in the passive-reflexive voice with wider sigma aorist: *(unë) u gëzuosh, (ti) u gëzuoshe; u lakça* etc. The aorist is formed as in the general Albanian, from the respective form of active voice prone by the reflexive pronominal particle **u**: *u sasha, u sa, u hoza; u gëzuokam, u gëzuokeni*. Through abundant examples is given the illustration for this verbal form: *Ku u zborëtë (humbët). Marua u nis të gjejë ujënë. Fshati u bë deri në katër kint shtëpi* etc.

1.4. The verbs **participle** formation (Образование на причастия) in the monograph has been treated as a special issue. It has a pan-Albanian character. In the spoken of Mandrica is visible the participles formation with consonant theme, those do not form with **-ur** (as in the Albanian), but with **-or**: *mbjulltor (mbyllur), mblojtor (bluar), pjekor (pjekur), tertor (tharë, terur)* etc. Also are given the cases *ndarë, pjellë, vrarë, bënë, (bërë), zënë* etc.²⁸

²⁸ Domi e Shuteriqi gives this issue more complete: "In the participle the verbs with vowel come in the form with the suffix **-rë**: *larë, punuarë*; the verbs with consonant in the form with the suffix **-ur(ë)**: *dremiturë, hapurë*; those with liquid consonant come with form **-ë-** as suffix: *mbjellë*. In many cases, forming in bases of the aorist with **-ta** or for analogy with it, the participle comes with the ending **-tur**: *(ka) martur* (to: *marrë/take*), *këndojtur, shkrojtur, mbyllur*. Here it's the form of a participle for some other verb: *u ka bënë, ka vdesur*." See also: M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, SF, 1965, 2, p. 115.

1.5. A special half-title is also the **formation of nouns from the participles**. The nouns come without prepositive article: *Kuju bukorë çupë nuk ishte-si sumurë, po ishte përë vjezorë* (vjez - vjedh/steal, kidnapping/ for marriage). *Pëstaj, nga nxitorë, bitiska dhe baltërat: u mbetka nera këpucë!*

1.6. **The past tense** (минало неопределено време), in this spoken, as in the whole Albanian language, is constructed with *kam* + *pjesore/to have* + *participle*, in the active conjugation, and *jam* + *pjesore/to be* + *participle*, in the passive-reflexive conjugation: *Unë kam gjegjur nga time tatë... Këtu jam pjellë, në Mandricë*.

1.7. **The pluperfect tense** is given together with the anterior (минало предварително време). The pluperfect tense is constructed with the imperfect tense of the verb *kam* (*kisha*) + *pjesore/to have(had)* + *participle*, in the active conjugation. The author has given two examples: *Kisha bën (Kisha bërë)*. For the passive form is given the example: *Unë kleshë gëzuar (qeshë gëzuar)*.

1.8. **The future tense** (бъдеще време) of the indicative occupies two pages in the monograph *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë/The spoken Albanian in Mandrica village* (p. 81-83).

1.8.a. The form in this tense is constructed with the particle **do** reduced in **o**, connected with the present subjunctive: *këzanet o t'i pagëzosh; Ze nai sefte sanë që o t'bëjnë kooperativë sade hushërat (fushat), a dhe ballkanet me geç; un o t'e mar, aj o t'të haj; o t'lishoni berat; nuk o t'vemë, nuk o t'veni, o t'vejsh dhe klishe, o të jam, o të kam*.

1.8.b. After the monograph, the future tense of the verbs is also formed with the verb ***kam* + formën e lidhore/to have +subjunctive mood**, that is common in the Italy's Arbëresh language: *S'ka të shkosh donjëherë dhe*

1.8.c Also in this half-chapter is given an information for this tense in the Albanian spoken of Ukraine's villages: *un ot (o t') shkrun, ti ot shkruanësh, aju ot shkrunë*. Further, is given an information for the different forms of the future in the Tosk dialect (Mallakastër, Korçë, Gjirokastrë, Përmet), based on the study of Prof. Emil Lafe (The study is not cited and nor is given in the bibliography at the end of the book.).

1.8.d. A very small place is given to the past future: *Ato që vinishnë kutu, o t'bëheshin arnautçe kutu.*

2. The subjunctive mood (Подчинително наклонение).

2.1. The author writes, always translating the article of Domi and Shuteriqi, that the subjunctive mood is constructed with the participle **të**: *t'e pres, t'e hamë, kush t'e shtroj; kur shohësh me bardë kalë... të më ngrësh*; but also without **të**: *kur bjerë shi; kur shkojë bletha, o t'i pudavitë.*

2.2. The second person of the present subjunctive comes with the ending **-sh**, at the verbs with consonant usually comes with **ë**, and in a rare case with **-i** (ti *mbjellësh, shohësh, hapish dhe hapësh*); in the verbs with **-n**: ti *të punosh, të dëftesh, të lash*), rarely with **j**: *t'vejsh*.

2.3. The third singular person has the ending **ë**, as in all the Albanian dialects: *t'dalë, të marë, të dremitë, të shkojë* etc.

2.4. The forms of the verb **jam** come as: *të jam, të je, të ishtë, të jemi, të jeni, të janë* (as its seen are used the indicative forms); while the forms of the verb **kam** are: *të kam dhe të kem, të kesh, të kaj, të kemi, të keni, të kanë*.

3. **The conditional mood** (Условно наклонение) in the spoken of Mandrica is formed with the particle **qosh** and in the present of the subjunctive: *unë qosh punon, ti qosh punosh, ajo qosh punojë, neve qosh punojmë, ive qosh punoni, ata qosh punojnë* etc. L. Stankov refers to prof. Emil Lafi about the origin of the *qosh* form: *qofsha punon > qosh punon* "në qoftë se punoj/if I work".

3.1. Stankov also stops on the **conditional past tense**, but the brought example as illustration does not belongs to this mood: *Ti prift, të kleshe ndë vent tim, çë kesh bësh (bësh)? ... O të kisha dremitur.*

4. **The admirative mood** (Удивительно наклонение) is about 5 pages in the book.

4.1. **The admirative present tense**, as in Albanian and in the Albanian spoken of Ukraine, also in the spoken of Mandrica is the most usual verbal tense of popular narrations and stories, often used in the third singular or plural person: *Ni dit rënka shumë shi. Kur vatka, qit robotë, bëhet gollapar... Zëndëri, kur vatka dë shtëpi, vesh robotë jashtë.*

4.2. Verbs with **-o** (Stankov uses the verbs in **-on**) come out in some forms:

4.2.a. With diphthonged o in **-uo-**: *martuoka*; *u martuokan*, *punuoka*, *u gëzuaka* etc.

4.2.b. With **-o-** unbroken: *mësoka*, *vloka*.

4.2.c. Is seen a form with added **t**: *shkotkan*, *ushtrotkan*, *shuetkan* (cfs. *pënojtkam* the spoken Albanian of Ukraine), *ngatka* (for the verb *ride*).

4.2.d. In analogy with the first person of the indicative present, comes the form with **j**: *ngërkojkan*, *mbajka*; or with **j** and with **t** for analogy with the aorist theme: *lishojtkan*; or with **-n-** and **-t-** for analogy with the present aorist forms simultaneously: *mentonka*.

4.3. Other forms of the admirative are: *prekan*, *jerdëkan* and *erkan* (*erdhëkan*), *erthka*, *sënka*, *serkanë*, *sëritkanë*, *vatka*, *vatkanë*, *hëngërkan*, *dashka*, *shpuka*.

4.4. In the third singular person we find also some form with the ending **-kaj** near to **-ka**: *zënka* / *zënkaj*, *bëka* / *bëkaj*.

4.5. The verbs with the participle **në** have forms without **n**: *klekan*, *vëka zëka*; rarely the form with **n(ë)**: *rënka*, *zënka*, *thënkam*.

4.6. The verbs **jam** and **kam** in the admirative present are: *klekam*, *kleqe*, *kleka*, *kleqemi*, *kleqeni*, *klekan*; *paskam*, *paskam*, *paka*.

4.7. In a separate half-title, entitled **Përrjashtim/Exception** (Исключение) are given isolated usages, as the case of the plural admirative for the indicative present: *Demek, ne klekemi nga Korça, nga Albania... që klegemi ne arnautë nga toni Shqipëria*.

4.8. Further in the half-title **Zgjedhimi pësor - vetvetor/the passive-reflexive conjugation**, are given pages of examples with different sayings: *Ni kohë, ni dalë u vloka dhe jatër fshat... Kur u niska të vejë Marua, qeni zhautllika, sënka. Motrat u bëkan avgjitka. Bëkan shtëpi tri vallazëra, u martuakan*.

4.9. L. Stankov also stops on the form *u lakça* (affirms that after E. Lefe, this form belongs to the Gheg Albanian dialect), aiming to make the connection with the forms *u lagëshka*, *u lagëshke* etc., for the which says that are rarely used.

5. **The optative mood** (Желательно наклонение): *Unë mbetsha shumë dovolen nga juve* (*U mbeta i kënaqur nga ju/I remained very satisfied from you*).

6. **The imperative mood** (Повелительно наклонение). *Ngro-si nesër sabale*.

7. Next to this mood is given a short information on the forming of the sentences interrogative form. To the verbs is added the particle **-li**, a Bulgarian influence: *Keni-li shtëpi? Keni-li rabë? Vërtet-li?*. However we think that this information should not belong here. It could occupy a place in the chapter for the syntax and the kind of the sentences according to the newscast.

8. In the monograph are given two modal verbs: **duhet/should** and **mund/could**: *Dufet të vetë se u bë geç* (errësirë/dark). *Mun' të kaj nikint vjet. S'mun' të jecën*.

10. Ongoing, the monograph *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë/The spoken Albanian in Mandrica village*, runs on a big group of verbs, giving conjugation's paradigms (generally the conjugation according to the tenses and rarely to the moods) for each item. The half-title itself "**Zgjedhimi i foljeve/the verbs conjugation**" (Спрежение на глаголи) with 55 pages (92-146) is a personal work of L. Stankov. The verbs are extracted from the prepared dictionary of Dh. Shuteriqi²⁹, and also from the dialectological material, and folklore one (stories and songs etc.) recorded in the spoken of Mandrica. They are given with their life in different examples extracted from that material. In some verb we find the respective origin (words in *Albanian, Bulgarian, Turkish, Greek, Slavonic*). There are found interesting material for many verbs. By the way, the verb *jam* forms a genuine index with nearly two pages, heralding a comprehensive linguistic information³⁰.

We are giving as illustration only one verb (*jap/to give*), by not giving the examples translation into Bulgarian: **Јар - давам**:

Indicative mood, present tense / Сер. време: *јар - давам, јарësh - даваш, јер - дава, јармë - даваме, јерни - давате јарнë - дават:.... që epen ka uza (që vijnë nga udha); ... t'i јарнë*.

Indicative mood, simple past tense / Мин. св. време: *... pa kur i zasha zjarnë; ... i za - him konak Stanua; zasha (dhashë): pa i za him Perëndija mashkull djal', mashkull djal', mençme djal'. Dimçua i za-hi kalit-si ni shinik jelp ze ni shinik verë. ...që i za selamnë*.

²⁹ Dh. S. Shuteriqi, *Fjalorth i të folmes shqipe të fshatit Mandricë (Bullgari)*, SF, 1965, 2.

³⁰ Людмил Станков, *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / Ludmill Stankov, E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, София, 2016, pp. 105-107.

Indicative mood, imperfect tense / Мин. несв. време: *jipn'ja, jepn'je, jepish, jepishmë, jepishtë, jepinë.*

Admirative mood, present tense / Удивительно наклонение, сег. време: *Stane, mori bukur Stano, tine paske mashkull djal', mashkull djal', mençme djal'.*

Подчинително наклонение, сег. време:... *ferman të të japë...; të të japmë-li, mari Millke-le?; ...mbreterlik ti jape...*

Повелително наклонение + Подчинително наклонение: *Jep para. Jep para e të marrësh nuse. A n'doni, mëmo, jepmëni.*

F. The adverbs (Наречия). 1. In nearly 2 pages are given tens of adverbs or adverbial expressions in sayings or out of them, but without making any kind of classification or grouping, semantic or structural:: *lashtë, tashi / tashti, nesrë, cing (pak), tar (shtrenjtë), anthi (kastile, enkas), ca pak shumë kohë, mbrëmnet o t'hamë bukë, Shko niset (arin) treni? Këtej lartmen klishe, drutë anthi i prekan.*

2. In the monograph is given the comparative degree of the adverbs, that is formed with the particle **me**, by giving 4 items: *geç – me geç (vonë -më vonë), lashtë – me lashtë; mirë – me mirë* etc.

3. However some item is not an adverb, as: **pëp** *neve ni (kurse ne na)* (conjunction); *sollaku anë (ana e majtë)* (noun with adjective).

G. The prepositions (Предлози): In the monograph (over 6 pages, 148-154) are given 16 prepositions (Domi and Shuteriqi give only one³¹). Also here we don't have semantic-functional or structural groupings, even because for some of them is given the case of use. The most complete place is occupied by the preposition **ndë (në/in)**, **që** usually used in the form **dë** on the definite nominative case of the noun: *dë guri, dë kali, dë kumi* etc. This preposition time after time comes with the indefinite of the predicative: *dë Sofje, dë vreshtë, dë ni lartë kodrë...; pa më duall dë zëmërë ni shimshir.* Referring the comments of Prof. E. Lefe, Stankov watches the usages of this preposition, synonymical with the usages of the preposition **te**. One of these cases is that of pronouns in predicative: *t'vini prapë dë mua.*

In parallel of the appreciable work, we should accept that some items are not precisely given. Thus, in the construction *Ngaha jeni* (*Where are you from*)? *Ngaha* is an adverb not a preposition.

³¹ M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, SF, 1965, 2, p. 115.

H. In the half-title **Pjesëza/the particle (Частица)** are given particles *nuk / nuku, sun (s'mund), ne (as): në jerm, në djellë*.

I. At the chapter **Lidhëzat/the conjunctions (Съюзи)** are given the conjunctions *hem..., hem, që* (equal with *për të: Dilni jashtë për të munt të merrni uzo / dilni jashtë që të merrni ujë/ go outside to take water.*) etc. Ongoing, in the index **СЪЮЗИ думи** (shprehje lidhëzore/conjunctive expressions) is given the construct *për çime*. For illustration are given the examples: *Kutu nuk e bënishmë përpara, për çime nuk ishte udopsta të bëhet kooperativ; nuk kishte pranë makina, por mund të ni ndihmë dhe punë*.

III. The third chapter of the book *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë* is focused on the **Syntax**.

1. The chapter starts with the half-title **Vendi i përcaktorëve/the place of determinatives (Място на определението)**. The determinatives / attributes (adjectives and possessive pronouns), are put before the noun that determine. This does not happen only in the spoken of Mandrica, but also in the Albanian spoken of Ukraine, a phenomenon that comes from the Bulgarian influence: *bukurë çupë, mençme djalë, kalsërë flakë, gjelbërë flakë, vjetërë verë, maze shtëpi, ndë vjetëra fshat, ndë të ngushta sokak* etc. There is a case when the adjective stands after the noun: *...ze për kadënën mavrutë*.

2. A separate half-title are **Togfjalëshat/the phrases (Словосъчетания)**. Also, under the Bulgarian influence, the nouns of the genitive case create phrases, without prepositional article and prepositioning to the noun they determine: *djados shtëpi (shtëpia e gjyshit); mëmësë porta (porta e mëmës); Ristos mëmë (mëma e Ristos/Risto's mother), djellës lule (Luledielli/sunflower) barkut zëmborë (dhimbja e barkut/belly ache); këzanit mëmë (mëma e fëmijës/child's mother), mbretit bilë (bija e mbretit/king's daughter)* etc.

Mistakenly here is given the compound word (so, its not a phrase) *zesëtundurë* (tërmet/earthquake), even because has the origin from the phrase *zesë tundurë* (të tundurit e dheut/the quake of the land).

3. L. Stankov has separated, within the syntax chapter, in the half-title "Togfjalëshat në funksione të ndryshme/Phrases in different functions (Словосъчетания в различни функции), by giving

examples of their usage in both cases (but without stopping in their syntax functions):

a. In the nominative case: *Këzënit mëmë ishte kuju. Vete mbretit bir të putisë kalnë.*

b. In the accusative case: *Kam sëmurë bilësë bur.*

4. In another half-title is given the use of the prepositions used before these phrases: - **dë:** *dë verës kohë*; **ga:** *vjen ga kasabasë centër*; **për:** *...për çorbaxhiut çupë*; **pranë:** *pranë dë fshatit centër.*

5. Ongoing the chapter on syntax, the work on the spoken of Mandrica focuses on the construction of *fjalive qëllimore/the purposeful sentences* (Образуване на изречения за цел).

5.1. The author especially focuses on the constructions with a verbal form formed by the preposition **për:** *Tatja e bëka konaknë për t'i japmë konak. Turqet ndejtan për të hanë bukë. Unë o t'i jap kartë, senet nga mua, për të ishtë tuoj aju vent etc.*

L. Stankov, referring to the article of Domi and Shuteriqit, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, says that this phenomenon is also seen on Greece's Arbëresh (*i shkruajmë këto për të dëftojmë*). Also he emphasizes that such forms are seen in the spoken of Molise Arbëresh villages, Italy (*Vinja prapa për të bëja shok.*), but also in the Muzinë village near Delvina, Albania (*... kam edhe tjetër për t'i jap...*). This past, even why is based on the paper of two Albanian professors, also has (as in many half-titles and chapters on which we have spoken above) illustrating material (nearly a page and half), carefully collected by L. Stankov. This is noticed from the formal approach with the article of the professors³².

³² Domi and Shuteriqi write: In syntax is also to mention the construction of purposeful phrases with a formed verbal mood from the subjunctive pruned by the preposition *për*, seems that has come from the contamination of two purposeful phrases usual expression, with the subjunctive and with the expression on the infinitive <për/for + pjesoren/neuter adjectivized participle with article (: *shkoj të thëres mjekun, / go to call a doctor*). Example: *tatja e bëka konaknë për t'i japmë konak; turketë ndejtan për të hanë bukë* (Kënga 4a);... *për të mund të rri...*; *për të mund merni uzë*. The same form and the same construction come also in the Greek's Arbëresh (: *bëri të fjeturin, për të shih çë do t'apobënej; i shkruajmë këto për të dëftojmë*; see A. Xhuvani, *Studime gjuhësore*, p. 24), also in the Arbëresh villages of Molise: *E për-t pëskuor dish veja te lumi (= e për të peshkuar doja të veja te lumi/to fish I wanted to go at the river). Vinja prapa për të bëja shok*. See A. Cirese, *Canti popolari delle colonie albanesi del Molise*, Rienti 1958, p. 18, 24). Is also seen in the spoken of Muzinë village near Delvina: *kam edhe tjetër për t'i jap* (M. Totoni, *E folmja e Muzinës*). See on this: M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, SF, 1965, 2, p. 119.

Also, the author gives another characteristic of the syntax fluctuation of this spoken, the use of the *adjectivized participle instead of the infinitive*: *Kuju çupë nuk ishte sëmurë, po ishte për vjezorë* (ishte për t'u rrëmbyer / për t'u vjedhur / për t'u martuar/ was to be taken for marriage/. However this is not a purposeful sentence. The usage (*ishte*) *për vjezorë* comes as predicative of the subject. Some examples should have been given in a complete saying to have an opinion for its syntax function. E.g., the build ... *për munt të ri*, cannot be given like this, because the purposeful sentence is subordinate part, so it has also to be given the part where it depends on.

5.2. Another purposeful sentence construction in the spoken of Mandrica are those with the purposeful conjunction **që** + pjesëzën/particle **të** (за да): ... *mos shohnë që prekan drutë, që t'e bëjnë klishën*. Is also seen the construction with the negative particle **mos**, but without the particle **që**: *Bëka të fshihet ima-hi, mbretit gruvë, mos e shohë mbreti*.

6. Little space has occupied the construction of *causative phrases* (Образуване на изречения за причина). They are compounded with the particle **se**: *Ku jerçe, biro? Të ikësh sot, biro, se o t'të haj drakua. / Nuse, nuse, djallë të marrë, zjarri të djegë, se më ndoze shtëpinë*.

7. The subordinate sentence (Подчинено подложно изречение)

Are given two examples that semantically lead in two kinds of sentences, but in the monograph are not distinguished:

– *Vete mbreti, gjigjet këzani që kla (... fëmija që qan)* – qualified sentence.

– *Të shihn'je që erz ni çupë, që ndrinish klisha, që u shuëtnë kandiletë*. – objective sentence.

IV. The fourth part (even why in the monograph is not entitled like this, but is included in the *syntax chapter*) includes nearly 90 pages, with translated material that includes interviews, and also folklorik material, taken in three day expedition of Dh. Shuteriqi in Mandrica on 1959, published in "Studime filologjike", 1965/1 in the column "Materiale e dokumente/Materials and documents", entitled "*Fshati shqiptar i Bullgarisë, Mandrica. Studim dhe tekste/The Albanian*

village, Mandrica, *Study and texts*"³³. There you can find folklorik material of also another scholar³⁴.

1. Initially are given in Albanian and translated into Bulgarian 10 interviews with residents of Mandrica (taken from the work of Dh. Shuteriqi³⁵ and translated in Bulgarian from L. Stankov), which are mostly connected with the origin of these residents, and also with the life in the '50ies. This material, in Shuteriqi's article is after the tales. We are giving a part of it:

*Fshati kutu kle arnautë. Ni mandrë paska: nga mandra u mbetka kutu. 3. Tri hanë klekanë; nga tri u bëkan gjashtë; gjashtë klekan, kurdiskanë mandrënë. Mandrënë si e kurdiskanë, klekan çobanë, - zejñë beratë. Ni bylyk bera paskanë. Atë bylykun bera,... këta ni nga ni klekan tri vllazëra. Ata tri vëllazëra bëhenë zjet hanë. Gjis gjis u shtuokanë, u bëkanë ni qint hanë. Ato ni qintat hanë nishë të merenë, nishë të japnë ni me ni. Këtej lartmen klishë, drutë ánthi i prekan. Papo Todori e mbajka mënt kur klekan tri çobanë. Kur e bëkan klishën, natën e kurdiskan, mos shohnë që prekan drutë, që t'e bëjnë klishë. U bëka maze fshati, gjer dë katrë qint e gjashzjet hanë. Aqe e mba mënt unë. Gjis arnautë klenë, t'huoj nuk kish, hiç nuk paska. Tontë merinë nga huojtë, - nuk sosnë çupat: çupat klëkan pak, djemtë më shumë klëkan. Pëstaj u trazuan shklira me arnaut.*³⁶

2. In the second group of the collected material in Mandrica village, is compound by the half-title "Këngë/Songs" (Песни), were are given 17 songs (some with two, but also with three versions), and also two songs with the note appendix (Допълнения), as are given in Prof. Shuteriqi's article³⁷. This half-title is opened by a translation in Bulgarian of some parts of it. We are detaching the following:

³³ Dh. S. Shuteriqi, *Fshati shqiptar i Bullgarisë, Mandrica. Studim dhe tekste*, SF, 1965, 2.

³⁴ Before us, in Mandrica has gone the writer Kolë Jakova, which published a brief article, where he introduced a few linguistic material and a very interesting song collected by him: Një vizitë në fshatin Mandricë, in rev. "Nëndori" 1957, nr. 12. Reprint in «Shtojcë», nr. 2, the osng collected by him. Ibid, nr. 1. publish the song that has sent our student on 1949 and is a version of the «Këngës» 2, collected by us.

³⁵ Dh. S. Shuteriqi, *Fshati shqiptar i Bullgarisë, Mandrica. Studim dhe tekste*, SF, 1965, 2, p. 135.

³⁶ Людмил Станков, *Албанският говор в село Мандрица* / Ludmill Stankov, *E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, София, 2016, p. 167-168.

³⁷ Dh. S. Shuteriqi, *Fshati shqiptar i Bullgarisë, Mandrica. Studim dhe tekste*, SF, 1965, 2, p. 111.

"We have gathered the folklore as we could, everywhere and whenever. *We didn't achieve to collect the ritual songs, which could give us an idea today on the situation of the old Albanian folklore in Mandrica. The songs we have collected, hardly to say that have to do with the known Albania's folklore and of the Arbëresh colonies. They should have been created on that place, under the influence of the Bulgarian songs. Some of them, we learned that are said even in Bulgarian, as its understood within the content: The song 14, "Tudorqe, bukor Tudorqe", where is spoken for the famous Bulgarian thief, Karaja, which fought against the Turks in the XIX century. Anyway, some song seemed to us that has enough old elements. The song 11, "Engjelinko, toglë çupë" speaks about the sea. This fact can permit to assume that in Mandrica are also established coastal inhabitants. The song 10, "Bilbili këndon dë shkojë", starts with a typical verse of the Albanian folklore. Also, the introduction of all the songs, with the first verse, with the word "mëmo" or "mëmo-lo", are typical of the Bulgarian songs. The names of the persons on whom the songs speak about, also are all Bulgarian".*³⁸

The author L. Stankov has seen it appropriate to give translated the conclusion of Prof. Shuteriqi on the folklore's rich origin collected in Mandrica. In the monograph is quoted in Bulgarian that "The only conclusion we can draw from what we have said, is that we knew little or too little folklore to have origin from Albania. The big influence of the Bulgarian folklore on Mandrica's folklore, when we talked about the songs, it's easily visible. However the fact that we didn't collected ritual songs, forced us to not give a more complete opinion on this matter".³⁹

Ne jerë, mëmo, ne djelë...

*Mëmo-lo, mëmo bukorë,
ne jerë, mëmo, ne djelë.
Pa m'u sëmur çupa,*

³⁸ Людмил Станков, *Албанският говор в село Мандрица* / Ludmill Stankov, *E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, София, 2016, pp. 173-174.

³⁹ Dh. S. Shuteriqi, *Fshati shqiptar i Bullgarisë, Mandrica. Studim dhe tekste*, SF, 1965, 2, p. 112.

pa sërëtnë heqimet,
heqimet me xharahet.
Pa nisë, mëmo, të zallahijnë
heqimet me xharahet:
"Kuju çupë nuk ishtë sëmure,
Po ishtë përë vjezorë."
"Mëmo-lo, mëmo bukorë,
të sërëttësh timenë trim Vasillaqnë,
të më bëjë, mëmo, ni argjentë sindjuk,
pa t'më lishoj, mëmo, dë Merixhi,
pa t'më zejnë kaikçintë,
pa t'më shpëtojnë nga heqimetë."
Pa ashtu bënë.

Recited and sang by S. Tabakcieva.

3. From page 218 to 230 are given translated in Bulgarian tales (Zëndërit masalla, Maros Masalla, Drakos Masalla, Maraflos Masalla)

4. Ongoing, are given data on the persons that have narrated the songs, the tales etc, by translating the information brought by Shuteriqi.

5. Are also translated two riddles (from three that has Dh. Shuteriqi's work, *Fshati shqiptar i Bullgarisë, Mandrica. Studim dhe tekste*).

6. However, as we have some time, we asserted that the work done is not simply a translation of the published paper in "Studime filologjike" from the professors M. Domi and Dh. Shuteriqi.

6.1. L. Stankov has introduced in the work *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, material from other publishing on Mandrica village spoken. Thus, from the book "4 shekuj të pagjunjëzuar, Shqiptarët e Mandricës/4 centuries undaunted, the Albanians of Mandrica", of the scholars Alush Kamberi and Muharrem Idrizi⁴⁰, has brought the following material:

6.1.a. An anecdote:

Në Mandricë një djalë u martuevka me një shklinë nga Ortakjoj (tiday Ivaylovgrad). Nusja nuk ka ditur të zallahit shqipçe. Baboja (mother-in law) zen të këndojë:

⁴⁰ A. Kamberi, M. Idrizi, *4 shekuj të pagjunjëzuar, Shqiptarët e Mandricës*, Konica 95, Tetovë, 1997.

Nuse, nuse, djallë të marrë, zjarri të djegë, se më ndoze shtëpinë. Ndërkaq nusja ia kthen: "Këndo, babo, këndo, shumë bukur këngë këndosh..."

(Note: the bride knew Albanian, and the song seemed beautiful to her!)

6.1.b. 15 Maxims as, : *A n'hapesh varr, ndë varr biesh. Mënt kur janë të shkurtra, këmbët heqnë. Dë çupës derë, tropitnë ate (kuaj/horses), tropitnë dhe gomarë.*

6.1.c. 7 Curses, as: *Perëndia të të vrasë! Ulku kryet të të hajë! Hair mos kohësh!*

6.1.d. 9 Blessings, as: *Tashi dasmë, pas ni mot të keni këzanë (fëmijë)! Ecni me shëndet, bukra udhë të keni!*

6.2. Also, in the monograph take place nearly 50 examples from the daily speech in Mandrica village selected by a colloquial vocabulary published in 2015 from Maria Peeva (Мария Пеева)⁴¹. Every usage is given in three components: in the Bulgarian translation, in presenting the Albanian saying with Cyrillic alphabet (Bulgarian) and in the Albanian saying with the Albanian alphabet.

В селото има много пътища. Пътищата са добри.

Дъ фшати ка шум узъра. Узърат янъ мира.

Dë fshati ka shumë uzura (rrugë/roads). Uzërta janë mira

V. A special place of 67 pages (247-313) in the monograph *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, occupies **Fjalori/the dictionary** (Албанският говор в Мандрица – Речник). Also here is reflected the whole vocabulary of the paper *Fjalorth i të folmes shqipe të fshatit Mandricë (Bullgari)*, by Dh. Shuteriqi⁴², but the material is more complete. There are included words by the work "4 shekuj të pagjunjëzuar, Shqiptarët e Mandricës", by Alush Kamberi and Muharrem Idrizi⁴³. The taken words from it are marked with the sign + (plus). Also, in the introduction of this part are given explanation for dictionary's usage, especially of the lexicographic techniques for presenting of a lexicographic index in Albanian, by

⁴¹ М. Х. Пеева, Българско-албански разговорник с малък речник, "Фабер", Велико Търново, 2015.

⁴² Dh S. Shuteriqi, *Fjalorth i të folmes shqipe të fshatit Mandricë (Bullgari)*, SF, 1965, 2.

⁴³ A. Kamberi, M. Idrizi, *4 shekuj të pagjunjëzuar, Shqiptarët e Mandricës*, Konica 95, Tetovë, 1997.

evidencing the definite articles in the singular and feminine gender; the presentation in brackets of the bookish form to make it more understandable and approached the word / words' form with the today form; and also are given the abbreviations in Bulgarian, connected with the origin / source / gender appurtenance of a given word (as: англ. / Engl. – anglishte, ие. / ie, Indo-European etc.), or with the consulting work (БЕР – Български етимологичен речник) etc. A place in the monograph have taken the diatritic signs that give information for the presentation of the dialectical phonetic characteristics (as: **ā** – a (long); **a_~** – a (nasal) etc.)

The dictionary has many values, among which we might distinguish: the word in Albanian is given with the equivalent in Bulgarian; for the word is generally given an information on the source belonging (from which language comes from)⁴⁴; often the word is given in its daily

⁴⁴ Dh. S. Shuteriqi, in the cited article, *Fjalorth i të folmes shqipe të fshatit Mandricë (Bullgari)*, on the vocabulary's introduction makes groupings of the respective sources. He writes that in this spoken we might distinguish: "Words and typical Albanian spoken of Mandrica: Anë (fund), anames, atyrme, avgj itkë, baltë (dhë), bardikë, bati, blarin (blegërin), botë (gjindje), cingë, cëngërin, çjorin apo cërin, çime, çoç, dalëtë moti (të), dilgon, djellë-a, fëmilë (familje), gërmis, gërqin'je, gëzitem, gji (gjë), gjigjem, ima (ëma), jes, ka (nga), o të kaj (do të ketë), kalsërë, karkanxolle, kërshetjkë, kllëç, kokove, kren (krej, nxjerr), llara (rralla), llotëron, mbrej, mbret (edhe për shtet), mbretëri, mih, ndanë (pranë), ni (një), njohësh (të) (të kuptosh), pagëzon, panerë (shportë), përze, praptan, qutet, rahorë (ndeshje, luftë), shej, shklerisht, shklirë, shkla, shkopcitem, shprihem, shtillet (mbështillet, vishet), shtret, shtrofkë, tar (ar), tate, trim (djalë), tëpërton (depërton), vlon (fejoj), xallahin ose zallahin, xëngërmaroratë, zbjer or xbjër (humb harroj), etc.

Turkish: Arkadashe, arnate, Amautllëk, asqer, asqerllëk, bair, bakshish, ballkan, be (bej), belik, bendis, bitis, bostan, budallâ, bunar, bylyk, çarshi, çorbaxhi, dejman, demek, derman, divan, dyljlym, dushman, duva, dyqan, ferman, gjemixhi, gjesdis, gjoks, gjol, gjuz, hakë, halë (hallë), hambar, hanë, haznatar, hellall, heqim, herbab, hiç, insan, iliaz, jordashllar, kabil, kadënë, kahër, kaik, kaikçi, kasapllëk, kavak, këzan, kollaj, komshi, konak, kurbet, kurdis, kuvet, lufe (ylefe), masallë, memlym, Merixhî, merxhan, mëhallë, muharebe, mukadër, parâ, pasha, qepengje, saba, sade, sallam, sefer, sefte, selam, senet, sini, sokak, sollak, surat, shëlmek, shimshir, temis, testembel, tjtjyni, ujdîs, velaet, xhanëm, xharah, zaif, zamet, etc.

Bulgarian and generally Slavonic: Ale, allahticë, banellë, barabunkë, barkanicë, bash, branë, bublluk, civik, çlenove, dânak, dërzhava, dostafçik, dovolen, drankë, dugan, dune, dupkë, dushit, duvar ose dvor, erâ, gârvan, gatankë, gollopâr, gëbë, hojnë, jagodë, juves, kainço, kaltjankë, kallpakçe, kaskandis, kavall, këlivaç, klepkë, korlajkë; kratunë, lefe, legallo, leshnik, luljak, llajçukë, llapcinkë, maher, mallaçke, maslin, menit, muhla, nai, ne, nishtu, peperungë, pernicë, piskat, poprellkë, pobit, potpis, prushkufallë, puduvit, pulpit, rapkë, rasboj, sankë, sëmë, sdrednoci, semesë, sjankë, sivë, smëtin, snuvalkë, teqezesë, trudov den, uçë, udopstâ, uduvicë, veçe or veqe, vëmicë, vi, vojskaja, zagaçit, zakon (ligjë), zavit, zhalit, zhellvë, zhitel, etc.

spoken life; in some cases, when for a word there is semantic dimness, are given its synonyms or representing forms in the contemporary Albanian; vocabulary's speech, compared in the macro-structural plane with that of Dh. Shuteriqi, is sensitively increased, by increasing the number of the words in every letter (on the letter **d** f.v., Dh. Shuteriqi has given 43 words, L. Stankov has given 71; on the letter **z**, Shuteriqi has given 23 words, Stankov 32), also are completed with lexical items the missing letters on this author (words that begin with the letter **ë**).

Also, we are distinguishing the word **prongjiz**/e,-ja (iron that opens the drapery in the hand-loom, for not being shrinking; The author Stankov in nearly 6 faqe (within an index format / of a separate paper), works with the etymology of this word.

10. The monograph *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*/The spoken Albanian in the Mandrica village, is in itself more than that. L. Stankov has seen it reasonable to include in his structure also a special encyclopedic information, has presented translated in Bulgarian the collected curriculums / synthetic of both Albanian scholars, which have studied the spoken of Mandrica: of the academicians Dhimitër Shuteriqi and Mahir Domi. He has translated a gratitude letter to Mynavere Shuteriqi (wife of Dhimitër Shuteriqi) for the author of the monograph, L. Stankov, for the job done on the occasion of the 100 birth anniversary of the academicians M. Domi and Dh. Shuteriqi. The letter except the thanks, has a complete quotation from the letter that Dh. Shuteriqi has sent to Mynavere on 28 September 1959 from Sofia, where he informed her about the job done. However, in Shuteriqi's letter in the opinion of L. Stankov there is an inaccuracy. There, M. Shuteriqi says that "as you might know, in 1965, on the nr. 2 of the journal "Studime historike" Shuteriqi published the study "Fjalorth i të folmes shqipe të Mandricës", but the study is published in the "Studime filologjike" journal, 2, 1965 and not in "Studime historike". In the Bulgarian translation of the letter, Stankov has made the necessary correction.

As conclusion, the monograph, *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, prepared by the scholar L.

Greek: Anastis, ekshigjis, filladhe, gjozmë, mavrutë, pallamide, pangar, papo, papazia, prëftas, rigon, sinor, skulo, sos, shtefanos, trandafil, etj." Seen on this Dh. S. Shuteriqi, *Fjalorth i të folmes shqipe të fshatit Mandricë* (Bullgari), SF, 1965, 2, pp. 153-54.

Stankov, gives a new breathing to Domi and Shuteriqi works, by not remaining a prisoner of the material brought by them, but refers and brings material even from other dialectological studies in Albanian made by J. Gjinari, E. Lafi etc. Stankov has enlarged a lot the material with illustrations and has extracted special half-titles, prominenting in the organizing of the translated material (of Domi and Shuteriqi articles), as with the passive-reflexive conjugations of the verbs for every mood, the formation of the verbs participles, the formation of the participled nouns etc.

Nevertheless, the monograph has not escaped some inaccuracy, that is mostly connected with the difficulties that source from the degree of possessing the Albanian language. Here, we might point out:

1. The Albanian syntax is very rich in all the constructions. The author at the chapter on the syntax for the spoken of Mandrica is focused only at the purposeful, causative and determinative sentences. The possibilities have been for more, aiming to escape from Domi and Shuteriqi article (*Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, SF, 1965, 2).

2. I think that the author should had simply remained on the synchronic plane of the propounding and to not mix in diachrony (the ending -sh, of the indicative present and of the subjunctive).

3. Many references lead to the studies of Prof. Emil Lafi etc., but these are not quoted and nor given in the bibliography at the end of the book.

4. In a new publishing, *Pasqyra e lëndës/the content* should be re-organized. For example, *lënda folklorike* (songs, tales, anecdotes, riddles etc.), should have come as a single chapter, because is included on the *syntax* chapter.

I am concluding these enlarged presentation of the monograph, *Албанският говор в село Мандрица / E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*, prepared by the Bulgarian scholar L. Stankov with the concise words of the professors Domi and Shuteriqi that "The spoken of Mandrica, with its characteristics, with the different linguistic and dialectological phenomena that are seen in it, especially with many conservations that it has, presents a special interests for the Albanian dialectology, especially for the historical dialectology, and also for the Albanian language history. Its records will be a valuable material,

especially when is going to be defined with a certain security the time of its speakers from Albania has come there. The spoken dialect, as every linguistic island, presents interest also for the powerful contacts problem of a language with other languages and of the conclusions that derives from them."⁴⁵

Valter MEMISHA

⁴⁵ M. Domi, Dh. Shuteriqi, *Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës*, SF, 1965, 2, p. 103.

Shaban Sinani, *Hieronymi: në botën arbëreshe*

La monografia del prof. dr. Shaban Sinani è ispirata chiaramente alla figura e all'opera di Girolamo De Rada, ma estende ambiziosamente i suoi confini sino a includere il mondo arbëresh nella complessità plurima della sua storia culturale. Il risultato è un originale e innovativo punto di vista - direi enciclopedico a considerare l'ampia, ricca e speciale bibliografia di cui si è servito l'autore - che apre nuove prospettive di ricerca e che, nel contempo, valorizza nel rispetto della migliore tradizione scientifica in ambito umanistico, i vari filoni d'indagine impostisi negli ultimi decenni.

Applicando in maniera anticonvenzionale le tecniche metodologiche di diverse scuole, combinate tra di esse non solo senza provocare sovrapposizioni indebite, ma al contrario stimolando analisi spregiudicate dei vari aspetti trattati, il libro si configura nella sua poliedrica composizione come un'organica riflessione su un lungo periodo storico (XVIII-XX secoli), sui preziosi contributi dati dalle prestigiose figure della cultura arbëreshe (e non solo) di questo ampio arco temporale e, soprattutto, sui fenomeni culturali innescati dall'illuminismo e sviluppati dal secolo dei nazionalismi, che giunti ai nostri giorni ripropongono sotto forme moderne tematiche di notevole portata: tra questi quella dell'identità di contro alle tendenze omologanti della globalizzazione.

Di questi aspetti e delle origini dei processi di costruzione di identità tratta il primo capitolo, *Prej shekullit të iluminizmit gjuhësor në shekullin e nacionalizmit gjuhësor (Disa të dhëna të reja për një riperiodizim të historisë së letërsisë shqipe)*, nel quale l'autore, per un verso, rintraccia con la rara sensibilità del bibliofilo e, per un altro, ricostruisce con la rigorosa fedeltà del filologo le matrici - purtroppo non sempre rilevate - dei concetti sui quali, già nel corso del Settecento, si è fondata la cosiddetta ideologia albanista che successivamente ha alimentato il movimento risorgimentale della *Rilindja*. Concetti che riconducono alle attività della chiesa cattolica,

in Italia come nei Balcani, un ruolo di propagazione non indifferente, come del pari inducono a richiamare l'influsso, anch'esso non secondario, delle idee illuministiche che si manifestarono, al di là e contro ogni apparente carattere paradossale, proprio nelle azioni pedagogiche, didattiche e formative sviluppate dagli intellettuali cattolici: tra questi i monaci basiliani, per lo più arbëreshë, che agirono nel Sud dell'Albania, i francescani nel Nord, i *papades arbëreshë* in Italia.

Quasi fosse un amalgama "nazionale", l'azione dispiegata nel corso del XVIII secolo rivela una comunanza d'intenti che tradisce quella origine condivisa, oggetto del secondo capitolo del libro, che il prof. dr. Shaban Sinani non a caso ha intitolato *Botë arbërore veriore në letërsinë arbëreshe: rasti i patronimeve*, avendovi dimostrato come le presunte "distinzioni" areali odierne, non rendendo giusta conoscenza dei fatti occorsi prima del diaspora, richiedono ben altro approccio sollecitando l'apporto delle scienze linguistiche. In questo caso dell'onomastica e della toponomastica storiche, le quali concorrono in modo strabiliante nella soluzione di alcuni "enigmi" che la storiografia ad oggi non è stata in grado di sciogliere.

In questo originale filone di indagine si iscrive il terzo saggio, *De Rada dhe Millosau. Rreth varianteve të emrit të autorit dhe të veprës*, nel quale vengono riprese e discusse alcune intuizioni di Arshi Pipa, anche alla luce del più recente dibattito sviluppato grazie agli interventi di altri studiosi. Di notevole interesse la questione che verte intorno alle origini del nome tanto dell'eroe eponimo deradiano, quanto dell'autore.

Il quarto capitolo, indagando sui preziosi materiali manoscritti di Thimi Mitko, grande amico di Demetrio Camarda, di Girolamo De Rada, di Giuseppe Schirò, si sofferma sulla notizia data da Gj. Pekmezi, curatore della seconda edizione della *Bëljeta shqipëtare* (Vienna, 1924), quando annotava che *një vjershë e De Radës*, unitamente ad altri testi, non era stata inclusa nel volume. Inseguendo gli sviluppi di questa notizia, il prof. Shabani offre uno spaccato suggestivo della «*traditës së ndërkomunikimit të traditës gojore dhe të letërsisë romantike arbëreshe me sistemin letrar shqiptar*» la cui portata è ben documentata dalla storia seriore del *Kangjelji VII del Milosao*, una storia che permette di connettere aree distanti dell'albanofonia e di riconoscere a De Rada e alle sue opere più

rappresentative meriti decisivi e simbolici, senza con ciò oscurarne quelli più eminentemente estetico-letterari.

A quest'ultimo obbiettivo, infatti, miranogli altri saggi "critici" - *Një poemë për Janji Uniadi-n nga Jeronim de Rada dhe një krahasim ndërtekstor me poemën "Skënderbeu" të Henry Longfellow-t, Pamje ungjillore në poezinë e De Radës, e "Rapsodie di un poema albanese" dhe "Il Codice Chieutino": çështje të shkallëve të autorësisë, Kulti i epopesë gjatë Rilindjes dhe vepra e De Radës, Dora d'Istria, Angelo de Gubernatis dhe Jeronim de Rada në letrat e tyre, "Shêjzat" për Jeronim de Radën, Jeronim de Rada dhe një çështje e ripërditimit të historisë së letërsisë shqipe* - che vantando quale loro fermo punto di riferimento il mondo "deradiano", rivelano l'attitudine dell'autore di muoversi con sciolta disinvoltura nell'ambito degli studi comparati, tra l'altro senza trascurare di aprire spazi ragguardevoli ad analisi metodologicamente orientate ora verso l'ecdotica e la critica letteraria, ora verso l'antropologia culturale e la cultorologia.

La figura di De Rada e il mondo arbëresh risplendono sullo sfondo dei due saggi *Letërsia arbëreshe si urë ndërmjet nënsistemeve (Prej fillimeve deri në shekullin XIX)* e *Arbëreshi si karakter në letërsinë shqipe: "Karpa" dhe "Kurbani ballkanik"*, nei quali il prof. Shaban Sinani dà ampia prova della sua profonda erudizione: nel primo, con metodica e rigorosa ricognizione storico-culturale rimette uno sopra l'altro i mattoni dell'imperioso ponte di comunicazione letteraria che gli arbëreshë, come dimostra la presentazione del libro di Francesco Altimari opportunamente riprodotta in questa monografia, erano riusciti a costruire nei cinque secoli della loro permanenza in Italia e che l'oblio della storia rischia costantemente di farne perdere le tracce. Nel secondo, che analizza i romanzi di due scrittori dei giorni nostri, Martin Camaj e Luan Starova, viene esaltato il ruolo affidato agli arbëreshë e alla loro cultura quali custodi di una memoria collettiva dallo straordinario portato antropologico.

La pubblicazione di questo volume costituirà un notevole progresso nella diffusione di una conoscenza più solida e sicura di De Rada e del mondo arbëresh.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Kolec Topalli	
<i>The antiquity of valiant epos through grammar archaisms</i>	3
Nicolae Saramandu, Manuela Nevaci	
<i>The first Aromanian literature: the teaching writings (Theodor Cavallioti, Daniil Moscopolean, Constantin Ucuta).....</i>	11
Edmond Malaj	
<i>The Dukagjini family during the middle age. Geographic extension of the lands and some features</i>	29
Beqir Meta	
<i>The Court of The Hague's verdict and its impact on the private schools during the national process of the Albanian institutions.....</i>	61
Shaban Sinani	
<i>The recorded memory of The General of the Dead Army</i>	89
Nysret Krasniqi	
<i>Anton Pashku's semiotics.....</i>	103
Evalda Paci	
<i>The Christian doctrine by Gjon Nikollë Kazazi (1743), a synthesis of catechism and didactics.....</i>	117

MATERIALS AND DOCUMENTS

Rexhep Ismajli	
<i>Letter of Gjergj Pekmezi about the Situation in Albania prior to 1901 ...</i>	127

REVIEWS

Xhevat Lloshi

Norbert Boretzky, *Der Türkische Einfluss auf das Albanische*. Teil 1. *Phonologie und Morphologie der Albanischen Turzismen*. 1975, 273 F. Teil 2. *Wörterbuch der Albanischen Turzismen*. 1976. 225 F. Otto Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden, In the series: "Albanische Forschungen", 11 & 12.....157

Anila Omari

Kolec Topalli, *Fjalori etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe* (Etymological dictionary of the Albanian Language. Akademia e Studimeve Albanologjike, Tirana, 2017, 1984 f.....173

Hajri Shehu

On Anglicisms in the today Albanian language from "A Dictionary of European Anglicisms" (Edited by Manfred Görlach, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001).....183

David Luka

Kolec Topalli's "*Etymologic Dictionary of the Albanian language*" - Fruit of his 45 years work194

Valter Memisha

On the book "*Албанският говор в село Мандрица*" (*E folmja shqipe në fshatin Mandricë*) / *The spoken Albanian in the Mandrica village*213

Matteo Mandalà

Shaban Sinani, *Hieronymi: në botën arbëreshe*253