ΑΡΒΑΝΙΤΙΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

ΖΗΤΗΜΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΥΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΙΚΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΟΤΗΤΩΝ

ΤΟΜΟΣ ΙΙ

ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ

ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΤΣΙΤΣΙΠΗΣ

ΛΙΒΑΔΕΙΑ 1998
During the late middle ages (and arguably also before that), the most significant migrations of Albanian-speakers resulting in separate dialectal enclaves were to the south and west. (I am using "Albanian" here as a cover term for Shqip, Arvanitika, Arbëresh [Italo-Albanian], etc. To the extent that the village of Arbanasi near Zadar is to the west as well as the north of primary Albanian-speaking territory -- both geographically and, in the past, politically, it can be included in this characterization.) From the death of Skenderbeg (1467) onward, however, there was considerable socioeconomic and political pressure on the population of eastern Albania and western Macedonia that led to waves after wave of migration to the east (Marinov 1960:604). Jaranov (1932) has traced these routes of migration from their origins in a swath or territory stretching from the headwaters of the river Mat in northern Albania southward through Kolonja and Epirus/Çamëri and even into Thessaly. A major branch went northeast to the Razgrad-Varna region of northeastern Bulgaria (and subsequently on to Dobrudja, Bessarabia, and Ukraine), while another large stream crossed the Rhodopes and ended up in eastern Thrace. Many of these migrants spoke various languages of the Balkans, (Albanian, Aromanian, Greek, Turkish, and Balkan Slavic [Bulgarian or Macedonian]). In the case of the Slavic-speakers, the dialects of their places of origin contributed considerably to a complication of the dialectal picture of eastern Bulgaria and especially Thrace. As to the Albanian-speakers, their villages formed unique enclaves that show distinct archaic and innovating features. Although a certain amount of confusion has apparently arisen because the term arnaut was

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sometimes used ethnolinguistically and sometimes geographically, i.e. sometimes it meant 'Albanian-speaker' and sometimes it meant 'person from Arnautluk [Albania] regardless of language (cf. Jaranov 1932, Marinov 1960, Shuteriqi 1965a), we know for a fact that there are still a few Albanian-speaking islands remaining from these migrations in Bulgaria (with a daughter village in Greece) and Ukraine (and possibly in Turkey). Nonetheless, for the most part, the Albanian dialects of these migrations have disappeared, to the extent that even the villages where they were once spoken can be difficult to locate on maps. This is especially true of the Christian Albanian-speaking villages of Thrace, whose inhabitants were included in the exchanges of populations after World War One and were apparently absorbed by the environments in which they subsequently settled (Shuteriqi 1965a:106). In this paper I will discuss a unique document preserved in the Hilendar Monastery on Mt. Athos, which I believe attests to an otherwise unrecorded Albanian (and also a Bulgarian) dialect of Eastern Thrace.\(^1\) I shall attempt to locate that dialect, and in so doing, I shall have occasion to comment on the eastern diaspora of Albanian in general.

The document in question is a Bulgarian-Albanian lexicon containing about 450 entries on 13 pages of a 40-page notebook from 1864. The manuscript is identified as No. 775 in Bogdanović (1978:263). The first 17 leaves contain morning prayers in Greek, excerpts from the Paterikon in Church Slavonic, and some purchasing accounts in Bulgarian. There follows the Bulgarian-Albanian lexicon that is the focus of this study (18b-31b), a short Bulgarian-Russian lexicon whose ink is so faded in most places that it is almost completely illegible, notes on barometric readings, medicinal recipes, and four pages (37b-39a) of Orthodox prayers in Albanian, apparently translated from Church Slavonic (which is the language of the titles, e.g. Oče Nač Armaotski 'Albanian Our Father'). The material from these prayers is also included in our study. The last page (40a) contains a recipe in Bulgarian for stopping diarrhea.

With regard to the author of the notebook Bogdanović states: "There is no signature, only the ex libris of the monk Galaktion." Bogdanović also notes that page 15a contains accounting notes dated 1864. However, the top of page 15a contains the following unambiguous sentence in the same hand as that which wrote the lexicon and

\(^1\)A version of the lexicon based on photographs was published by Kacori (1984), but his publication is so full of errors, omissions, and misreadings that it is unusable. For example, Kacori (1984:49) has [Bulg.] pësõkõ [Alb.] a shurtë 'the sand' instead of the correct [Bulg.] pustû [Alb.] a skhetë [ms p. 29b]. Moreover, his argument that the author was named Danii is contradicted by internal evidence in the manuscript, and his assertion that the author came from Devnja or Ukraine is likewise untenable. See Friedman 1994, 1995 for details.
the rest of the manuscript.¹

Potrébni xesápi tůka zabeléžvamů az[ů] Arkádíi Mo(na)x (or Mo(nax) X{ilendarski}?)

1864 iuní 19.

'I am noting here necessary accounts, Monk Arkádíi (or Hilendar Monk Arkádíi) 1864
June 19'

It was this monk Arkádíi, therefore, who was the author of the lexicon, which he began,
presumably, some time after 5 purchases of charcoal and 4 of wine that he first noted
on 19 June 1864. As to the purpose of the notebook, the most likely explanation is that
it was intended for the monk Galaktion whose ex libris appears in it. Elsewhere
Bogdanović (1978:239) identifies Galaktion as the religious name of one Joan
Bardarević of Nevrokop (modern Goce Delčevo), a hierodeacon in the monastery in
1864, who was known to have collaborated with other monks on many religious books
(ms 622, Bogdanović 1978:217). We also know that he was a bibliophile who
purchased books (ms 538, Bogdanović 1978:199) and one to whom his fellow monks
donated their work (ms 588 Bogdanović 1978:210). There were no Albanian colonies
in the region Galaktion came from, so Arkádíi could well have written the lexicon and
prayers for the sake of Galaktion's intellectual curiosity and the recipes and accounts

¹A note on transliteration and transcription: Due to the technical limitations on using Cyrillic in
this text, a transliteration that, for the most part, follows the standard employed by Slavic
linguists is used here in angled brackets. Thus for example <ja>, <ju>, stand for the
corresponding individual Cyrillic letters. Likewise the sequence <dz> represents the single letter
found in modern Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian and <th> stands for theta. Since Arkádíi never
uses i-kratko, I have assigned <i> to front ier. In the case of some letters I have used different
transliterations for Bulgarian and Albanian based on the graphic conventions associated with
Bulgarian transliteration and Albanian orthography:
back ier = Bulgarian <u> / Albanian <e>

jat = Bulgarian <t> / Albanian <je>

Similarly Bulgarian <c, s, z, št, x> = Albanian <ç, sh, zh, sht, h>

In addition to the Cyrillic letter normally used for <i>, Arkádíi uses three graphemes
corresponding to the Latin <i>: one with no dot, one with one dot, and one with diaeresis. In
order to distinguish the graphemes that correspond to the standard Latin <i> from the standard
Cyrillic <i> I shall use <i> for the Latin <i>. In the case of no or two dots, I shall use the same
grapheme as in the manuscript. Arkádíi makes extensive use of the pajek (a superscript
resembling an exaggerated vertical tilde) usually for <u/u> or <n>, rarely for <i> or <i> or without
apparent assignable value. In such cases I shall use square brackets and the appropriate letter.
In cases of uncertainty or where there is no sign at all indicating a letter, I shall use braces. The
rest of the system is quite straightforward, but I should note the following:

δ = front jus

θ = back jus (one occurrence)

ω = omega

ksi = ksi (one occurrence)

Square brackets and slashes will be used in the text with their standard linguistic values of
designating phonetic and phonemic transcription.
for his information.¹ The prayers that begin the notebook were presumably written as exercises.

Let us now see what the languages Arkádi used tell us about him. Clearly he was an educated monk who knew at least Greek, Church Slavonic, Russian, Bulgarian, and Albanian. His knowledge of Church Slavonic and Greek makes sense in the context of his being a monk at the Hilendar Monastery. Likewise, that Arkádi knew Russian and that it influenced his Bulgarian (as can be seen in forms like mólimsja 31b10, zemljá 18b09, múdríi 22b03) can be accounted for by the fact that education in Russia was the choice of many Orthodox Slavs and also some Orthodox Albanians.² Moreover, there was constant contact between the Hilendar Monastery and Russia, and there were Russian monks at the monastery (cf. Urquhart 1839:159). Given the sociolinguistic position of Albanian vis-à-vis Bulgarian in the mid-nineteenth century, together with the fact that Arkádi’s Albanian represents a consistent dialect whereas his Bulgarian is a mixture of dialectisms, literary forms, Russisms and Church Slavonicisms, I would argue that it is reasonable to assume that Arkádi was a Christian Albanian from either a mixed Bulgarian/Albanian village or from an Albanian-speaking village in close proximity to a Bulgarian-speaking one. His Albanian was learned at home, whereas his Bulgarian was learned from neighbors and then subsequently modified by education. It is the obvious dialectisms that must be taken as reflecting the local dialect of Bulgarian that Arkádi originally learned, and those dialects point to the eastern Balkans.

Albanian-speaking presence in the eastern Balkans has had a long but difficult history. As indicated above, there were two major branches of the eastern Albanian diaspora, one that went north of the Balkan range (Stara Planina, Haimos), and another that went south. One group settled in Devnja (Provadija district, Varna region), an Albanian village whose inhabitants emigrated to Bessarabia between 1809 and 1828-29, when

¹Kacori (1984:40) proposes that the notebook was intended for Albanians of the Ukrainian diaspora, but it is unclear why they should have needed a Bulgarian-Albanian lexicon, since they were already bilingual with Bulgarian. Given the role of Russian as a language of education, a Bulgarian-Russian lexicon could have been intended for any Bulgarophone audience. The Albanian prayers could clearly be claimed as intended for an Albanian audience, but in view of the paucity of religious materials in Albanian in the mid-nineteenth century and the fact that Arkádi was apparently unaware of those few publications that did exist, these translations might have been intended for any Albanophone audience. (As an example we can cite the New Testament translation published in Corfu in 1827 under the auspices of Gregory Archbishop of Euboea and reprinted in Athens in 185.) Finally, there is the fact that the notebook is of such mixed contents. The accounts could only have been of interest within the monastery, and a recipe for stopping diarrhea is hardly appropriate for a dictionary or prayer book.
²His knowledge of Russian therefore need not be connected with the Albanian emigration, pace Kacori (1984).
Devnja was destroyed in a Russo-Turkish war. The Albanian immigrants from Devnja founded the village of Karakurt (now Žovtnevoe) between Izmail and Bolgrad in Bessarabia in 1810-11. Bulgarians and Gagauz also emigrated to that region at the same time. Some of these Albanians emigrated to the Azov region in 1862, i.e. after the Crimean War of 1856 and settled in three formerly Tatar villages: Gammovka (formerly Džandaran), Georgievka (Tjuški), and Devnenskoe (Taz) in 1862 (Deržavin 1933:506, 1948:156-57; Shuteriqi 1965a:107; Kotova 1956:254-55). According to Milić (1902: 102-105, 140-43), in addition to Devnja the were other Albanian or partially Albanian villages around Provadija, as well as near Varna, Razgrad, and Veliko Tûrnovo. Ireček (1978:606) identifies Arnaout'oj near Razgrad as formerly Albanian but subsequently Bulgarian, and Čabej (1975:59) identifies Arbanasi near Tûrnovo. Some of these Albanians went to Bessarabia either directly or via Devnja at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but some were still in Bulgaria in Milić's (1902:140) day (cf. Also Kacori 1967). According to Čabej (1975:65), Albanians first settled in Ukraine as early as 1774, after the peace of Kûçük Kaynarci. The Albanians of Devnja and other villages have similar traditions to the Mandricans, who are the only known survivors of the southern branch of the eastern migration still living in the village they settled in.

With regard to the southern branch, we have a variety of sources (e.g., Čabej 1975; Carnegie 1914; Çili 1967; Kacori 1967; MacFarlane 1850; Milić 1902; Sokolova 1983; Shuteriqi 1965a). Lejean (1861) shows a sizable Albanian group in the Rhodopes between Asenovgrad (Stampanaka) and Kûrdžali, apparently centered at a place called Arnaout Kjoj, which appears to be the Goljamo i Malo Arbanasi of Jaranov (1932) and Ireček (1978:606). In addition to the villages named or indicated in these sources, toponymy leads us to suspect that Rudnik (Arnautlar) north of Burgas, Elsica (Arnautkjoj) between Panagiurište and Pazadrdžik, Gugutka (Arnautkjoj) west of Mandrica, and Arnautito south of Stara Zagora may all have been Albanian-speaking at one time. The fact that the first three were included in the Bulgarian Dialectal Atlas (Stojkov and Bernštejn 1964, and Stojkov 1966. 1975), however, suggests that they have been Bulgarian for a significant period.

We know of emigrations after the Russo-Turkish war of 1766-69. Some of these were Vlahs from Voskopojë and Arnavutköy near Istanbul was founded by Vlahs from the Janina region. The inhabitants of Lazaratit (Gjirokastër region) moved to Thrace because of Kapllan pasha Delvinës, who died in 1787. In 1774, Hormovë went to
Bulgaria and Asia Minor due to Ali Pasha Tepelenës. The oldest dated item in Mandricë is the grave of Papa Kristo from 1778, and there is a tradition that Mandricë was founded during the time of Ali Pasha Tepelenës. A combination of factors leads to the supposition that Mandrica was founded during or right after the Russo-Turkish war of 1766-69, by refugees from the Korçë region, especially Vithkuq, when Vithkuq, Voskopoje, Nikolicë, & Shipska were destroyed (Shuteriqi 1965a:107-109, Sokolova 1983:7).

For Eastern Thrace we know from a number of sources (e.g. Hamp 1965, MacFarlane 1850, Sokolova 1983, Çabec 1975, Shuteriqi 1965a) that there were at least five Albanian-speaking villages in addition to Mandrica in the Edirne (Odrin, Adrianople) region in 1864. Four of them – İbrik Tepe (Qytezë), Sultan Köy, Altın Taş, Pažar Dere (Azárderë in Sokolova [1983]), which form a semi-circle roughly midway between Uzun Köprü and Keşan – all spoke a dialect close to that of Mandrica (Sokolova 1983:5/223). The fifth village is variously cited as Zallëf (Sokolova 1983, Shuteriqi 1963), Zaluf/Zalouf (Hamp 1965/Carnegie 1914:134), Zallo/Zalof (Çili 1967/Hamp 1965), Zalif (Çabec 1975:60), Salufkeui (Ashmead-Bartlett 1913) and Criza Zaliff (MacFarlane 1850:574; the description leaves no doubt that this is the same village; probably modern Kırçasalih). It was located northeast of Uzun Köprü, and its dialect differed from that of Mandrica according to the villager’s own assessment (Sokolova 1983:5). Two villages, Abalar and Karaxhakli were founded from Zaluf after 1880, but I have not been able to locate them. Moreover, Sokolova (1983:3) reports that Sati Köy (Lozengrad / Kirkareli / Kirk Kilise region; probably modern Sakızköy), Bulgar Köy (Malgara region; probably modern Yenimuhacıköy), and Tarfa (Istanbul region) were described as "Albanian" settlements before 1912. To this we can add the fact that Lejean (1861) shows three Albanian-speaking areas in Turkish Thrace. One is northwest of Çatalca near Istanbul (Tarfa?), one is at the site of modern Çerkesköy northeast of Çorlu, and one is around Malkara (Malgara; Bulgar Köy?). According to Shuteriqi (1965a:106) in 1912, a group of Mandricans went to Greece and founded another village near Salonika, (presumably Mandres [Ambar köy]?) which is still in contact with Mandrica.¹

The village of Zaluf figures in both early traveler’s accounts and the tragedies of the

¹ It may be worth noting that in addition to the Mandritsa currently in Bulgaria and located northwest of Uzun Köprü Ashmead-Bartlett (1912) also shows a Mandritsa located almost due east of Uzun Köprü and on a longitude with Zaluf.
Balkan Wars. "At 6 p.m. we drew rein in Criza Zaliff, a pretty, prosperous looking village, seated on a gentle eminence in the midst of a vast vineyard. The Greek cross on top of the little church, and other indications, told us that we were among Christian people. ...there were about 320 houses... According to their own account, these Albanian Christians had been settled here nearly two hundred years. On the other side of Ouzoon-Keupri there were two other Christian colonies of the same stock — Ibrik-Tepè, containing 200 houses, and Alteun-Tash with 150 houses." (MacFarlane 1850:574) From the Carnegie report on the causes of the Balkan Wars: (1914): "Zalouf was peopled by Albanians, Greek in religion. The next village, Pavlo-Keuï, was Bulgaro-Moslem (pomak). During the first war the Zaloufians pillaged Pavlo-Keuï, and then thought of baptizing the Pavlo-Keuïans. They called a Greek priest, Demetrius, and he converted the village. The Turks, on their return, not only killed Demetrius; they razed the village to the ground. At the same time, Aslane, the neighboring Christian village, suffered comparatively little. At Zalouf, 560 persons were killed."

Despite this historical information, however, the only attested dialects we have from the eastern diaspora are from modern day Mandrica and Ukraine, and thus, these are the only sources for comparison with Arkâdiï's Albanian, which is clearly a southern Tosk dialect. On the one hand, archaisms such as the preservation of clear /l/ in positions such as those illustrated by <gljuhë> 'tongue' [20a11], <uljkë> 'wolf' [20b06], <golj> 'mouth' [24b08] are shared mostly with diaspora dialects,¹ but on the other hand forms such as <dëborë> 'snow' [19a02], <dëb [j]éturë> 'lost' [31a12] and <vshatë> 'village' [20a08] rule out Arvanitika (which have simple initial /b/ and lexical katund, see Hamp 1965:138). The shift of /e/ to /a/ in the feminine nominative proclitic particle and in the preposition ma 'with', and the preposition of adjectives on the Slavic model, e.g. <a rë[n]dë> smûrë = teška bólesû> 'serious illness' (25b05) are characteristic of the Albanian dialects attested in Ukraine, but the Slavic word order also occurs in the dialect of Mandrica in Bulgaria.² However, Arkâdiï preserves the head-genitive word order in the phrase biri perendëse (37b04) 'son of God' whereas the dialects of both the Ukraine and Mandrica have the Balkan Slavic (and Turkish) model: jân'î janâk'ît pl'âka mëma 'Jani Janakî's old mother' (Deržavin 1934).

¹However, velars plus clear /l/ do still occur in Çămëri and in a few words in Devoll (Gjinari 1966:44).
²We should also note that while the feminine proclitic article consistently occurs as <e> in Arkâdiï's text, the one third singular accusative clitic occurs as <e> (31b13) and the preposition "with" occurs as <me> in two places (37b08, 38a06) although <ma> occurs in four (22b03, 25a17, 38a01, 38a06). Moreover, both /e/ and /a/ occur for both 3rd sg acc pro and fem clitic even in a single speaker in Kotova's texts (1956:277-78).
A careful comparison of Arkádíi's text with Albanian materials from Bessarabia/Ukraine and from Mandrica/Mandres (Deržavin 1933, 1934, 1948; Haebler 1959; Islami 1965; Kotova 1956; Voronina 1970, 1977; Hamp 1965, 1972; Sokolova 1972, 1977, 1983; Shuteriqi 1965)\(^1\) shows that while his dialect is clearly related to these, it is different. Here are some illustrative examples.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) This list is not exhaustive, since several of the studies referred to in those works were not available to me.

\(^2\) In those cases where my Ukrainian and Mandrican material did not supply an exact match, I cited the nearest form that occurred if there was one.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arkadíí</th>
<th>The Ukraine</th>
<th>Mandrica</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cilli (24a16)</td>
<td>cilli</td>
<td>cilli</td>
<td>cilli</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ní (15b05)</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>likure (29b02)</td>
<td>likure</td>
<td>likure</td>
<td>likure</td>
<td>skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mînes [e] (19a13)</td>
<td>mînes</td>
<td>mînes</td>
<td>mînes</td>
<td>morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glûhé (24b11)</td>
<td>glûhé</td>
<td>glûfə [Mandrs: glûvə]</td>
<td>glûhé</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga (20a11)</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ju (38a04)</td>
<td>ju</td>
<td>asat</td>
<td>e tij</td>
<td>his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vshată (20a08)</td>
<td>vshată</td>
<td>vshat</td>
<td>vshat</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dë (19b06)</td>
<td>n'ë</td>
<td>[ø], në</td>
<td>në</td>
<td>in.on, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>índ [e] (38b02)</td>
<td>índ</td>
<td>jote, jîqa</td>
<td>jote</td>
<td>thy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bë (18b13)</td>
<td>bë</td>
<td>bie</td>
<td>bie</td>
<td>falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dëjë (19a08)</td>
<td>dëjë</td>
<td>diellë</td>
<td>diell</td>
<td>sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tê rë (24a06)</td>
<td>tê rë</td>
<td>xhako</td>
<td>i rî, tê njîn</td>
<td>young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jëmbë (22b09)</td>
<td>jëmbë</td>
<td>jëmbë/jëmra [Mandrs]</td>
<td>jëmbë/jëmra</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dëjë (19b09)</td>
<td>dëjë</td>
<td>dëjë/dëjëri</td>
<td>dëjë</td>
<td>winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klûmë</td>
<td>klûmështë</td>
<td>klûmështë</td>
<td>klûmështë</td>
<td>milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zëmbë</td>
<td>zëmbë</td>
<td>zëmbë/zëmra [Mandrs]</td>
<td>zëmbë/zëmra</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thûmbë (23b16)</td>
<td>thûmë</td>
<td>fëmër/fëmra</td>
<td>fëmër</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flûkam (31a03/25b13/25b13)</td>
<td>flûkam</td>
<td>flûkam</td>
<td>flûkam</td>
<td>cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múl (19b04)</td>
<td>múl</td>
<td>muj</td>
<td>muj</td>
<td>month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grû (27b07, 16)</td>
<td>grû</td>
<td>grûvë</td>
<td>grûvë</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plës [3sgsubj] (38b02)</td>
<td>plës</td>
<td>piessè</td>
<td>piessè</td>
<td>asks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kë (24a19)</td>
<td>kë</td>
<td>kruvë</td>
<td>kruvë</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fôlë (31a06)</td>
<td>fôlë</td>
<td>fôlë</td>
<td>fôlë</td>
<td>strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jëtû (38b08)</td>
<td>jëtû</td>
<td>jëtû</td>
<td>jëtû</td>
<td>others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babô (3b1)</td>
<td>babô</td>
<td>tate</td>
<td>tate</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dëbô (19b02)</td>
<td>dëbô</td>
<td>dëbô</td>
<td>dëbô</td>
<td>snow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëbô</td>
<td>ëbô</td>
<td>ëbô</td>
<td>ëbô</td>
<td>lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lûpë (23b12)</td>
<td>lûpô</td>
<td>lûpô</td>
<td>lûpô</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lûtë (25a10)</td>
<td>lûtë</td>
<td>lot</td>
<td>lot</td>
<td>tear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shjëlë (29b14)</td>
<td>shjëlë</td>
<td>shjëlë</td>
<td>shjëlë</td>
<td>soon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shjiltë (27a17)</td>
<td>shjiltë</td>
<td>shjiltë</td>
<td>shjiltë</td>
<td>like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>płëshkë</td>
<td>płëshkë</td>
<td>płëshkë</td>
<td>płëshkë</td>
<td>like</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All three dialects share the change of [c] to [ç] at least in the relative pronoun, and show a tendency to raise schwa in the environment of a palatal, although this tendency is stronger in Arkadíí’s dialect and the Ukraine (also, apparently in Mandrs). Other features that Arkadíí shares with Ukrainian dialects as opposed to Mandrs are the

2Arkadíí never distinguishes initial sequences of [e] and [je] but always writes <ë> in this position, e.g., <êpë/pë> (31b11, 39a04) ‘give’, <êtë> (19a04) ‘life/world’, <ë> (20a11, 38b01, 39a02) ‘are, is’. In other positions he often uses jat to represent <je> although he also writes <ë> and <ë> (e.g., <pëkure> (29b09) ‘mature’, <diëgurë> (30b07) ‘burnt’, <pëjë> (21a03) ‘peach’. We can infer from this that Arkadíí had lost the distinction [e]/[je] in initial position and had generalized either [je] as in the Ukrainian dialects, or perhaps [e] under the influence of Bulgarian phonotactics. 1But <p’ilëtë> (29b03) but also <pëlëtë> (31a01) ‘full’

Some other interesting comparisons are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arkadíí</th>
<th>Ukraine</th>
<th>Mandrica</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shuptëshë (38b11)</td>
<td>shputsonë</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>shputë</td>
<td>save</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>këshe (25a06)</td>
<td>këshe</td>
<td>këshe</td>
<td>këshe</td>
<td>navel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erëtë (19a17)</td>
<td>erëtë</td>
<td>erëtë</td>
<td>erëtë</td>
<td>darkness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shjiltë (27a17)</td>
<td>shjiltë</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>shjiltë</td>
<td>spirit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this last case, Arkadíí’s dialect agrees with Korçë shpyrți, and he usually uses <ju> for /yl/. We know that the East Albanian diaspora came from the general region of Korçë, e.g., Vithkuq and Devo. This example suggests that Arkadíí’s village may have come originally from Korçë itself or somewhere close by.
change of noa to qa (but elsewhere ng is preserved), the peculiar 3 sg masc possessive pronoun, preservation of [h] in 'tongue', and the form of 'village', which as a lexical item joins the words for 'snow' and 'lose' as one of the diagnostics separating all these dialects from Arvanitika (Hamp 1965).

On the other hand, Arkádií’s dialect resembles Mandrica as opposed to the Ukraine in its locative preposition and the 2 sg fem possessive pronoun, in its preservation of [íé] as [je], and in its apparent generalization of the feminine form of 'young', used in the cited form to modify lale ‘older brother’.

The treatment of [-mërë] in Arkádií resembles but is distinct from both the Ukraine and Mandrica. Although epenthetic [b] occurs, as in the Ukraine, it does so only in feminines, a distinction that links the dialect with Mandrica. His word for 'milk' has an epenthetic [b] not shared by the others.

A possible environment for the development [f] > [ê] is before [e] & stops, but the corpus is too limited for this to be stated with any certainty. In all other places Arkádií consistently distinguishes etymological [f] and [ê], so this is not a matter of graphic confusion. His faithful preservation of /yl/ is a link with the Ukraine. In any case, the second [ê] in 'cold' is surely arrived at via [f], which is closer to Mandrica than to the Ukraine.

The treatment of original [uo] diphthongs is similar to but distinct from the Ukraine and Mandrica and the treatment of original [ye] helps show that Arkádií’s dialect was already distinct from both these others. The remaining examples also differentiate Arkádií from the attested Eastern Diaspora Albanian dialects. In the first group, Arkádií is closer to the standard language, in the second he shows innovations not shared with the other dialects.

Another consideration is that Arkádií’s Albanian shows remarkably few Turkisms. Except for bulut 'cloud' (cf. buluk in Karakurt [Širokov 1964]) vs Standard Albanian re, and baba vs other Eastern Diaspora Albanian tati/tate consider: Arkádií has rota

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1Arkádií does not distinguish /d/ and /dh/, e.g., <da’rda> (21a01) = dardha ‘the pear’, <de’> (19b04) / die’ (18b09) = dhe ‘earth’ vs <detê> (19a06) = det ‘sea’ / <d‘éugarê> (30b07) = djegur ‘burnt’. Cf. also <dijâmê> (30a02) / <djâmê> (21b18) = dhjâmë ‘fat’ vs <djath> (21b16) = džathë ‘cheese’. In view of his consistent use of <th>, it seems unlikely that Arkádií had lost /dh/. It seems rather than for some reason he was unwilling to modify his Cyrillic in some way to accommodate /dh/. The one occurrence of <die> noted here strongly suggests that he began with such an attempt but abandoned it. This entry is the first occurrence of a word containing /dh/ in the ms, and moreover the letter <i> is written over an <e>, i.e. Arkádií wrote <de’> but changed it to <die’>, which suggests a conscious attempt to represent [dhe].
where Mandrica has tekerleğê 'wheel', he consistently uses köhê where the Ukraine also has vakêt, he has cupeit (shpeit) where the Ukraine also has hëzle 'quickly', buljarê 'rich' instead of zengin, etc. He may even be inventing neologisms to avoid Turkish words as when he uses thére-nerî where he might have used xhelat 'executioner'.

Space and time do not permit a complete systematic analysis of Arkádii’s dialect here, that is the work of a later study. Nonetheless, it should be clear from the foregoing that Arkádii’s lexicon represents a distinct and heretofore unrecorded dialect of Eastern Diaspora Albanian.

Given the large number of Albanian villages, is there any way of determining which one Arkádii may have come from? It is here that Albanian contacts with Slavic provide evidence. Arkádii was bilingual in Bulgarian and Albanian. The dialectal features in his Bulgarian entries indicate that while he was literate, he did not completely control the literary norm, and we can assume that the dialectal features usually represent the Bulgarian he learned in or near his native village from the local Bulgarian population. Although contamination from the other Slavic languages and dialects that Arkádii learned and/or heard in the monastery must also be allowed for and obviously occurred, nonetheless the preponderance of a given feature can be taken as indicative.

The Slavic dialectology of Turkish Thrace is one of the most difficult to analyze, because it must be reconstructed entirely on the basis of the dialects of Christian refugees who went to Bulgaria between the Russo-Turkish War and the end of World War One (cf. Bojadžiev 1991:8). As a result, we have no data at all from the Bulgarian Muslim (Pomak) villages of Turkish Thrace, whose existence is attested in other sources. Moreover, we know from such sources that during the various wars that plagued Thrace and Macedonia during this period whole villages were destroyed without any survivors.

Thanks to the late Maxim Mladenov and the help of Zhoro Kolev, I was able in 1992 to examine the unpublished maps of the Thracian dialect atlas of which Bojadžiev (1991) is only a an excerpt. These combined with the framework of Kočev (1988) and supplemented by Alexander (1981), enable me to describe the dialect of Arkádii’s Bulgarian environment in terms of the following more or less consistently displayed features:

1. The reflex of original jat under stress followed by an historically hard consonant is
some sort of [e] or [ê]: <bélo>, <gólém>, <xléb[û]>, <méstô>, <umrélû>, <sénka>.

2. Unstressed /o/ and /e/ reduce to [u] and [i], respectively, e.g.: <dádu>, <kulilá>,
   <kúnu>, <žítu>, <sinju>; <ciréši>, <čirvéno>, <síreni>, <ziléno>, <pitél>,
   <dibeliná>.

3. The reflex of *čër- is underlying /čer-/: <čiréši>, <čirvéno>, <čérno>, <čerVo>

4. Final stress in the words <žena>, <sestrá>, and <glavá> or glavi>.

5. The gloss for "shirt" is <riza>.

6. The gloss for 'sweet' is <slátkoto>.

7. The shape of the masculine definite article is -o, e.g., <svetô>, <umô>,
   <stráxo>, <méseco>.

8. Original *ê gives /a/ after palatals, e.g. <žátva>

9. *t/dj > št/žd consistently: <šte>, <gášti>, <otxoždam>

10. labialization: <sürmáxû> 'poor'

11. pt > ft: fiiče 'bird'

12. progressive assimilation: <tũrdû> (tarfa)

13. The gloss for 'rain' is <vall> (tarfa)

14. -uva <stignonvam> (tarfa)

The treatment of jers and nasals are especially complex, showing interference from
Russian and possibly other dialects, although the standard Bulgarian treatment
predominates. Nonetheless, taking only the first seven features the possibilities
narrow down to a small number of regions. For Arkádi's dialect, feature 1 (and also
feature 8) eliminates all but a few patches of eastern Bulgaria, and none of those
patches are in the northeast. Combined with features 2-6, the only locations left are the
following:

In modern Turkish Thrace:

A. Two patches northeast of Çatalça (Tarfa? Çanakça?)
B. An arc south of Lozengrad (Kührclareli, Kühr Kilise) going up to the Bulgarian border
   (Satı Köy = Sakız köy?)
C. An oval from Edrine (Odrin, Adrianople) north to the Bulgarian border.

In modern Bulgaria (Adiragha, Sofulare)

A. Two regions due north of Plovdiv, the more northerly on a latitude with
Panagjurishte,
B. Two regions west and southwest of Asenovgrad (Stanimaka)

When we add feature seven, we are left with the regions in eastern Thrace (cf. Conev 1937:201). Of our attested Albanian villages this leaves possibly Satî Köy or Tarfa, although there is also the possibility that Arkâdîi was from a village whose name we no longer have. (Although I could not locate Pazar Dere, the fact that its dialect is among those felt by Mandricans to be close to theirs makes it a less likely candidate, depending, of course, on the meaning of “close”). To be sure, the precise dialectal distribution of features a century ago may have been different, and the maps in Kochev (1988) are lacking in any sort of detail. Nonetheless, when compared with the data in Mladenov's and Kodov's studies from 1935-36, which utilized data from over 70 towns and villages in Turkish and Greek Thrace, these same regions emerge as likely locations, namely Tarfa, as well as Çanak (Çatalca), Satî Köy (Lüle Burgas), Bulgar Köy (Malgara-Keshan), as well as Adiragha and Sofulare to the northeast of Edirne.

When Arkâdîi's Bulgarian data are taken in their totality, the mixture is such that it does not fit any attested Bulgarian dialect. We must therefore rely on a combination of those features that differ from the literary language and evidence of Albanian settlement. Albanian emigration was concentrated in three areas: around Varna, Plovdiv, and Thrace. The inconsistencies in Arkâdîi's dialect make it impossible to assign it unambiguously to a single region: some data must be taken as intrusive. Many feature appear to be characteristic of the Sliven dialect, especially forms such as ftiche. But the dialectal form zhatva is most emphatically not Sliven. The forms pjtak and rjako are used there as hypercorrections. Given the history of migrations, it is much more likely that the intrusion has been from the north and west into Thrace rather than vice versa.

Arkâdîi's Albanian, like the other attested Eastern Diaspora dialects, appears to have its origins in the general region of Korçë and probably separated from the main Albanian speech area during the upheavals of the eighteenth century. To return to my main points: I hope here to have established the author—a monk named Arkâdîi— and the provenience of his heretofore unrecorded Albanian dialect: modern Turkish Thrace. The lexicon also documents a Thracian dialect of Bulgarian, but owing to obvious interferences from other Slavic languages and dialects, this evidence is not always unambiguous. Among the suggestions we can make on the basis of this document concerning changes in Eastern diaspora Albanian due to language contact is that the shift of Albanian word order under Slavic and Turkish influence began in head-
adjective constructions and moved from there to head-genitive constructions, given the fact that the Ukraine and Mandrica display both shifts but Arkádíi has only the former and unshifted examples of the latter. The fact that Turkish has adjective-noun and also genitive-head order (an order which was borrowed into Balkan Slavic, cf. Golab 1960) could help account for the order of shifts. The treatment of possessive pronouns argues that Arkádíi’s dialect occupies an intermediate position between Mandrica and Devnja, but the development represented by lexical items such as <dêborê>, <kri>, and <shpiljurti> suggest that its origins may be closer to Korçë than the others.

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