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TRACES OF THE TURKISH LANGUAGE IN ALBANIA

BY

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In the year 1956 I spent, by the favour of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the month of September in Albania. I tried to find the traces of the Turkish dialect that had once been spoken in Albania.

There is no Turkish population in Albania and there has not been any in recent times. The Turkish settlements that existed in this country in earlier days do not seem to have been considerable.¹ The Turkish language was used chiefly by the official quarters and in the schools. It goes without saying, however, that quite a number of Albanians spoke, beside their mother-tongue, also Turkish. According to trustworthy information, one generation ago there still existed circles in Albania where Turkish was also spoken. This was a natural consequence partly of the Turkish rule, partly of the lively intercourse between Albania and Turkey. There had been great many Albanians in Turkey, especially in Constantinople. Today no Turkish is spoken in Albania. True enough, we find, very sporadically, families where the Turkish language is used, but all of them have immigrated in recent times mainly from Istanbul or Macedonia. I got acquainted with a family in which the Istanbul dialect was spoken as a family tradition. I have seen a number of people who had in recent times returned from Istanbul to Albania and could still speak a more or less correct Turkish.

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¹ D. Angelov: *Byzantinoslavica* XVII, 268: «Des colons turcs s'établirent aussi en Albanie. Les Turcs commencèrent à s'infiltrer dans le pays surtout à l'époque des grandes campagnes entreprises par Murat II (1421—1452) et plus tard par Mahomet II (1452—1481), quand le pays fut définitivement conquis après une farouche résistance. Comme le signale Leonclavius, au cours d'une de ses campagnes dévastatrices, Murat chassa en 1440 les Albanais des terres qu'il avait occupées et y établit des colons turcs. (Leonclavius, *Annales sultanorum* 41₂₅.) La colonisation affecta avant tout les villes où des garnisons de janissaires furent placées. Une pareille garnison fut établie à Arghirocastron qui fut assiégé par des insurgés albanais sous la conduite de Depa (Chalk. II, 29₁₇).»

Cp. Prof. Ömer Lütfi Barkan's map in the *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Économiques de l'Université d'Istanbul*, XI, 1949—50, No. 1—4: La répartition de la population dans les Balkans au début du XVI^e siècle (d'après le critère de l'appartenance à l'une des religions musulmane, chrétienne ou israélite).

Naturally, these persons do not speak the old Turkish dialect of Albania. I searched for this dialect elsewhere, notably, with old Albanians who in their youth, at the time of Turkish rule, had spoken beside their native Albanian Turkish. With this in mind I visited, in addition to Tirana, the following towns:



Kruya (Akçe-Hisar), Korcha (Göridže), Elbasan, Lesh (Alessio) and Shkodra = Skutari.

The results were rather scanty. My companion, the Turcologist Osman Myderrizi, member of the Scientific Institute (Instituti i Shkencave), to whom I am deeply indebted, expressed his doubts as to the existence of any traditions of the Turkish language in Albania and as to the slightest probability of finding anything referring to a Turkish dialect in Albania.

Nevertheless we found a great number of Albanians who had spoken Turkish in their youth. In Kruya the second old man I accosted in the street spoke a few words in Turkish, and within fifteen minutes we found three more persons who spoke some Turkish. Two of them spoke the language they had learned at school, yet certain dialectal features could clearly be distinguished in their speech. The third knew only a few expressions. I have found similar conditions in other places as well. The fact is that those persons who speak a fluent Turkish have learned it outside Albania, whereas the Albanians who in their own country spoke — sometime excellent — Turkish forty years ago, have had no opportunity to speak it and have completely forgotten it since. I had considerable difficulties in finding such persons who, having spent their lives in Albania, could still speak some Turkish.

I found the best informants in the Bektashi monastery of Elbasan, among whom preference had to be given to the head of the monastery K'āzīm Baba. Aged 65, born in Elbasan, he has lived there for 35 years. Earlier he was a lawyer and a civil servant. Now he deals with the problems of his order also scientifically. He speaks good Turkish.

Another informant of mine was a man aged 57 who has always lived in Elbasan and now belongs to the monastery. I made some further notes in Tirana where my informants were a teacher from Korcha, Ibrāhīm Seyfullāh, and a former Turkish official from Pogradets, Žiyā Hadži Čičko. Then I have quite a number of single notes from different persons, most of them from Kruya. In Shkodra and Lesh I could find no helpful informant. I made a few notes here too, but the informants were of doubtful value for my purpose. I had the impression that here in the North of Albania there were traces of the same kind of Turkish that could be observed in Tirana, Elbasan and Korcha. I shall deal in another context with the Turkish spoken by my learned companion Osman Myderrizi (pp. 23—30.).

Beside Osman Myderrizi I am greatly indebted to other Albanian scholars too, such as the well-known linguist, E. Çabej and the historian Jonuz Tafilaĳ of the Tirana State Archives who graduated in Istanbul. I had the occasion to discuss my problems with them and obtained from them valuable information in certain questions. My colleague Çabej was in the position to tell me a few things about the Turkish dialect that had been spoken in Argyrokastron in his days. He does not know whether any Turkish is spoken there now, but in the times of Turkish rule there had, naturally, been people in this village who spoke also Turkish.

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I have also been looking for Turkish texts written in Albanian or Greek script. Such texts are known to exist but their tracing and study require special preparations. In the Archives of Tirana I found notes written in Greek script. It was a kind of exercise-book of a Bektashi from the 19th century which I

tried to read by the help of the archivist Fane Veizi. (The copy-book was not yet entered into the catalogue.) The text is in Greek and contains certain rudiments of Islam and of the teachings of the Moslem order Bektashi. The notes are rather primitive and unsystematic (even today most of the Albanian Bektashis are illiterate). Here and there even Arabic and Turkish names and phrases could be detected, but my impression was that the writer's Turkish was rather poor (he writes, for instance, *sekizdži* 'eighth').

But there was another source of this kind at my disposal. It was the catalogue of the rich collection of Turkish books in the National Library in Tirana (Biblioteka Kombëtare). The titles of books written in Arabic script are given in this catalogue in Albanian transcription which display certain dialectal peculiarities.

Similar sources of the Turkish dialect of Albania will undoubtedly be discovered in the future. In fact we have some treatises in this field edited in Albanian, such as Osman Myderrizi's paper in the *Buletin i Institutit të Shkencave*, 1950, and in the *Bul. per Shkencat Shqerore*, 1955. I was not in a position to make use of them. According to the archivist Jonuz Tafilaj it would be worth while examining the Turkish passages in the Albanian Mevlud which is written both in Arabic and in Albanian script and is "half-Turkish".

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Mention is often made of another source of the Turkish dialect in Albania, a source of doubtful value and hardly of any use, notably the language of the Albanian used in the Karagöz and Orta oyunu plays. Attention had been called to this possibility already by Jacob in *ZDMG*, LII, p. 700. Cf. also Kúnos, *Drei Karagöz-Spiele* (Budapest, 1886, reprint from the *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* [Linguistic Publications, Hungarian Academy of Sciences], vol. 20; Hung.), p. 149: „Mr. *Bajram* represents [in the Karagöz plays and the Orta oyunu] the Turks of Albania. At every moment he uses the word *vore* which is the Albanian equivalent of the Turkish *olan*. Sometimes he adds an Albanian ending to the Turkish word, as for instance, *pamporini* (vaporu), *čabukini* (čabuk), he has no sense for the sound *ı*² and in general speaks Turkish considerably less correctly than his mates.”

In assessing this material it must be remembered, in the first place, that in these plays the Albanians often speak standard Turkish³ or, beside forms

² This is rather surprising because Albanian has the sound *ë* which is near to the Turkish *ı*. Thus we had better ascribe this to the exaggeration of the protagonist.

³ As in Ritter, *Karagös*, vol. ii, pp. 40—42, vol. iii, pp. 586—87 (yet even here we come across forms like *džel-* 'come', *čimi* 'whom?' which are representative of the Turkish dialect in Albania). — See also Kúnos, *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, vol. xxi, pp. 110—11 where the Albanian Bayram speaks the Istanbul dialect. It may be of interest to quote from his speech the form *ëiëiëikmişler* 'they went out' (with *e*, p. 110).

characteristic of the Turkish in Albania, use Istanbul forms.⁴ It must also be stressed that the Turkish language of the Albanian in these plays is not so much the Turkish dialect of Albania but rather the Turkish as pronounced by the Istanbul Albanians who, more or less at home in Turkish, substitute the Albanian for the Turkish sounds in their speech. We may even reckon with intentional distortions in the speech of the protagonist.⁵

Hence this group of sources, indeed, seems to have little value.

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Relying upon the material taken from the above-mentioned informants and sources, it was not difficult to find out that the Turkish dialect spoken earlier in Albania is closely related to that used in Macedonia, *i. e.* belongs to the West-Rumelian Turkish dialects.

I have dealt with the problem of the West-Rumelian Turkish dialects in a treatise *Zur Einteilung der türkischen Mundarten Bulgariens* (Sofia, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1956). I have demonstrated that Rumelian Turkish comprises two vast dialectal groups, an eastern and a western one. The respective areas are divided by the line starting east from Lom on the Danube, running southwards to the east of Vraca, Sofia and Samokov where it turns west and continues south of Küstendil. Turkish spoken in Macedonia also belongs to the western group like the old Turkish dialect of Bosnia and the Turkish dialect of the Danube island Ada-kale. (For the illustration of the western dialectal group in the following I shall quote forms chiefly from Vidin, because I have made a thorough study of this Turkish dialect.)

In my paper mentioned above (p. 23 *et seq.*) I have pointed out that the Turkish spoken earlier in Albania also belonged to the western group. I based my statement on certain linguistic evidence concerning the Turkish dialect of Albania, which I had the opportunity to record in Sofia in 1954, as well as on the phonetic peculiarities of the Turkish loan words in Albanian, for which my source was Gustav Meyer's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache*. This statement, made in my above-quoted paper rather as a kind of assumption, has been completely verified by my notes taken in Albania. The study of the Turkish loan words in Albanian will also soon contribute to the elucidation of this question: a decent bookseller in Tirana, Tahir N. Disdari, has for several decades studied with great devotion the Turkish loan words in the Albanian language and compiled a vast and important material which,

⁴ As in Kúnos, *op. cit.* p. 111: *gel-* 'come'.

⁵ Ritter, *Karagös* I, p. 14: "Die Aussprache der Dialekttypen ist, wie bereits erwähnt, von mir fast durchweg nach dem Gehör aufgezeichnet worden. Es versteht sich aber von selbst, dass diese Stücke als Parodien der dialektischen Aussprache kein zuverlässiges Material zur Kenntnis dieser Dialekte abgeben können. Die Eigentümlichkeiten der Dialekte werden von dem Darsteller in komischer Weise übertrieben. . .".

however, requires systematic revision. (The material will be published shortly by the Scientific Institute of Albania. Excerpts were published from this work in the periodical *Buletin i Universitetit Shtetëror të Tiranës — Seria Shkencat Shoqërore*, No. 1., 1960. Pp. 217—244.)

In the following I propose to go through the characteristic features of the West-Rumelian dialects in the order I followed in my above-quoted paper and show how they are reflected in the Turkish dialect of Albania.

As in Tirana I had the opportunity to make notes of the Turkish dialect of Gostivar from a family of that place situated southwest from Üsküb, in Kosova, I shall include these data among the other examples. I do it for two reasons. First, the Turkish dialect area in Albania belongs to the dialect area of Kosova and Macedonia with which Albania is in close geographical connection. Second, we have but very scarce knowledge of the Turkish dialects of Kosova and Macedonia (see my above-quoted paper, henceforward referred to as *EintTMB*, p. 5), and I avail myself of the opportunity to make a contribution to it. Together with these forms from Gostivar, I include also my notes made in Shkodra from the speech of a very judicious informant called Ahmed who had lived for several decades in Kosova, travels a lot in the localities of this region and gave me the impression to be completely reliable. His data will be marked "Ahmed from Kosova". Data from Gostivar and those furnished by Ahmed from Kosova are given in brackets.

In most cases it would have been superfluous, or even misleading, to indicate the places where each individual item was recorded. A great part of the material comes from Tirana, but from persons who have not always lived there. It would be nonsense to speak of a special Turkish dialect of Tirana. Anyway I wish to mention that I was unable to find any informants north of Kruya and, consequently, could make no records. The areas lying south from Korcha I was not in a position to visit.

Yet there seem to have existed certain differences between the Turkish dialect of the southern regions and that of the northern areas. I have often heard the Turkish form *bey* used in the south of Albania as against the northern form *bek* 'mister, sir' (see p. 20 *infra*), and observed the Turkish *ö, ü* as represented in Argyrocastron by *o* and *u* (see p. 17 *infra*).

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The characteristic features of the western dialects are as follows:

1. The final *i, u, ü*, of the eastern dialects is in the western dialects represented by *-i*: Ist. *kizi* 'his daughter' ~ Vidin *kizi*, Ist. *kuyu* 'well, fountain' ~ Vidin *kuyi* 'pit, hole', Ist. *ölü* 'dead' ~ Vidin *uli*. (See *EintTMB*, pp. 12, 25, 46.)

In Albania: *alti* 'six', *kapi* 'door' (also in Argyrocastron), *akrabasi* 'his relative', *aldi* 'he took', *kuzi* 'lamb', *kuri* 'dry', *uçti* 'he flew', *oldi* 'he became'

(also in Shkodra), *yokti* 'there was no(t)', *üldi* 'he died', *sündi* 'it went out (e. g. light)', *küpri* 'bridge', *üçündži* 'third', *agaçi* 'tree (Acc.)'.

In the Catalogue of the Library we have with the Albanian phonetic notation:⁷ *Istatistik Jëllëgi* 'Annual of Statistics', *Kënaat Matbaasi* 'Typography "Kinaat" '.

Whether the Karagöz forms *dôri* 'right' (I, 56), *var-mi* 'is there?' (II, 42) in Ritter belong here, remains to be seen. Otherwise, these texts have forms like *balÿy* 'his fish' (II, 42), *var-mi* (II, 42), *paralari* 'money (Acc. Plur.)' (II, 44), *her tarafimÿ isirdi* 'he bit me all over' (II, 52), and so on.

Final *-i* occurs also in the Turkish loan words of the Albanian language, see *EintTMB*, p. 24.

(In Gostivar: *düz kapagi* 'eyelid', *alti* 'six', *uyudi* 'he slept', *ušti* 'it flew', *düşti* 'he fell', *türli* 'kind, sort', *tüpri* 'bridge'. — Ahmed from Kosova: *kapi* 'door', *ogli* 'his son', *kuri* 'dry', *üçündži* 'third', *küpri* 'Brücke', *ülçü* [sic!] 'a measure'.)

2. The verbal suffix *-miş*, *-miş*, *-muş*, *-müş* of the East-Rumelian dialects has a single-form equivalent in West-Rumelian: *-miş*: *almış* 'he took' (Ist. *almış*), *olmuş* 'he became' (Ist. *olmuş*), *ölmüş*, *ülmüş* 'he died' (Ist. *ölmüş*). (See *EintTMB*, pp. 13, 27, 48.)

In Albania: *kalmış* 'he stayed, remained', *yazmış* 'he wrote', *tutmuş* 'he seized, caught', *unutmamış* 'he did not forget', *uyumış* 'he slept', *görmüş*, *đörmüş* 'he saw', *ülmüş* 'he died'. We find the form *-miş* also in Argyrokastron.

In the Catalogue of the Library: *yazmış* 'written'.

(In Gostivar: *almış* 'he took', *kalmış* 'he stayed', *kalmamış* 'he did not stay', *durmuş* 'he stood', *uyumış* 'he slept', *đörmüş* 'he saw'. — Ahmed from Kosova: *kalmış* 'he stayed', *uyumış* 'he slept', *görmüş* 'seen', *ülmüş* 'died, dead'.)

3. The *i* sound of the East-Rumelian dialects becomes in West-Rumelian in syllables other than the first and in closed final syllables regularly *ë* in certain cases. (See *EintTMB*, pp. 13, 28, 49.) In Vidin: *benim* 'my' (Ist. *benim*), *senin* 'thy, thine', *evimin* 'of my house', *elinde* 'in his hand', *geldigi* 'his coming', *gidip* 'going', *endirir* 'he takes down'.

In Albania: *getirir* 'he brings, fetches', *görelim* 'let us see', *geldik* 'we have come', *şeyimiz* 'our thing', *gelir* 'he comes', *gelirler* 'they come', *evin* 'of the house', *evine* 'into his house', *benim evim* 'my house', *evimis* 'our house', *teklifsizlik* 'ceremoniousness', *emir* 'command, order', *bedenmedim* 'I did not

⁷ Alb. *ë* in unaccented position is reminiscent of the unstressed Russian *э*, whereas in stressed syllable it is something like *ö*; *y* = *ü*; *ç* = *ç*; *dh* = *δ*; *q*, *gj*: see p. 22; *ll* = velar *l*; *l* = palatal *l*; *sh* = *š*; *th* = *θ*; *xh* = *čž*; *zh* = *ž*. (B. A. Serebrennikov, in his grammar to the Краткий алб.-русск. сл., Moscow, 1951, pp. 464 et seq.)

like', *annesinän* 'of his mother', *ürdegimiz* 'our duck', *elinde* 'in his hand', *edepsis* 'impudent', *allah esirgesin* 'God forbid', *bitiririm* 'I finish', *elsis* 'without hand', *abdestsis* 'impure'. In Argyrokastron: *elinde* 'in his hand', *evëmöz* 'our house', *bendenöz* 'your servant'.

In the Catalogue of the Library: *Birënxhi* (recurringly) *kësëm* 'first part', *iqënxhi* ~ *iqinaxhi* 'second', *yçënxhi* ~ *uçënxhi* 'third', *zabitinën* 'of his officer', *resëmli* 'illustrated', *yzerëne* 'upon', *nijetëne* 'to his intention', *polisën* 'of the policeman', *meqatibi sultanienën* 'of the Sultānī schools', *din nedër?* 'what is religion?', *exhnebijenën* 'of the foreign. . .', *hendesenën* 'of geometry', *efendinën* 'of the gentleman', *qolelëqten kurtullush* 'liberation from slavery', *edëlmeli* 'it must be done', *etmedëgëmöz* 'our not having done', *içënde* 'in', *içën* 'for', *xhemijetëne* 'to his society'.

(In Gostivar: *severim* 'I love', *beğendim* 'I liked, it pleased me', *evin* 'of the house', *elinde* 'in his hand', *evimöz* 'our house', *benim* 'my', *kedisinän* 'of his cat', *detirir* 'he brings', *delirler* 'they come'. — Ahmed from Kosova: *benim evim* 'my house', *evin önünde* 'in front of the house', *gelirler* 'they come', *dëldir* 'is not'.)

I have recently perused Jean Deny's excellent work *Principes de grammaire turque* and, to my great surprise, found Istanbul data undoubtedly conform to the above forms. The description of the *i* sound in the Istanbul dialect by Bergsträsser (*ZDMG* lxxii, pp. 241—42) has for long been of doubtful value to me. I have had the impression that in certain positions there is a kind of *ə* sound in this dialect, a reduced sound between *i* and *e*, and now I find in Jean Deny, *op. cit.* pp. 26, 59 a sound between *i* and *ï* [my transcription!] which occur mainly in suffixes, in words like *geldi* [!] 'he came', *evim* 'my house', *verdim* 'I gave'. The question is still somewhat confused and requires further phonetic investigation to clear up. I wish to mention that Jean Deny (p. 26) connects this sound with an old *ü* as I did in *EintTMB* (p. 32). Hence Sāmī Bey had a sound basis for his peculiar phonetic notation in the Istanbul dialect (*béneum* 'my', *bireundji* 'first', *ideum* 'I was', *kutçukleuk* 'smallness', *guêteurmek* 'to bring, fetch', etc. etc.) discussed in *EintTMB* (pp. 28 *et seq.*).

4.⁸ In the northern part of the West-Rumelian dialect region (Ada-kale, Lom, Vidin, Bosnia) the East-Rumelian *ö*, *ü* is represented by *o*, *u*. In Vidin

⁸ In order to facilitate the understanding of the exposition to follow, let me point out that the phenomena to be dealt with are as follows. Point 4: Ist. *ö* ~ West-Rum. *o* and Ist. *ü* ~ West-Rum. *u*, or a sound between *ö* and *o*, resp. between *ü* and *u*. Point 6: Ist. *ö* > West-Rum. *ü* (in certain words), — and this *ü* is often represented by *u* or by a sound between *ü* and *u* (*u*). Examples see in the respective parts. Besides, for the change *ü* > *u* it is irrelevant whether this *ü* is genuine or goes back to an earlier *ö*.

and Ada-kale: *boyle* 'in this way', *dort* 'four', *soz* 'word', *uç* 'three', *yuru-* 'go', *duşunur* 'he thinks'. (See *EintTMB*, pp. 14, 34, 49.)

The above-mentioned sounds have their special equivalents in Albania. In the spoken language I have usually heard *ö* and *ü*: *köyli* 'villager', *içün* 'for', *gör-* ~ *dör-* 'see', *üç* 'three', *üçündzi* 'third', *yüs* 'hundred', *öngren-* 'learn', *böyük* 'big', *küçük* 'small', *bükül-* 'become bent', *gidze-gündüz* 'day and night', *düvercin* 'dove', *töy* 'village', *dök* 'sky', *dül* 'rose', *hütümet* 'government', *ümründe* 'in his life'.

Beside these forms I have also recorded cases attesting the changes $\ddot{o} > o$, $\ddot{u} > u$.

One of these, and an important one, is the numeral *dort* 'four'. I have pointed out in my *EintTMB* (p. 34) that the numeral *dört* in Sāmī Bey's *Dictionnaire turc-français* (1885) shows the peculiar form *dort* (*dort* 'quatre', *dorder* 'quatre à quatre', *dördindzi* 'quatrième'). Sāmī Bey was an Albanian and was strongly influenced by the Turkish dialect of Albania as I have demonstrated in my treatise quote above (pp. 28 *et seq.*). His pronunciation of the sounds *ö* and *ü* was in general palatal as in Istanbul and usually in Albania, but the correct form of *dört* 'four' was for him *dort* as he had learned it in Albania. And indeed, during my study tour in Albania I found the form *dort* to be common there which thus explains the pronunciation given in Sāmī Bey's dictionary. (Yet 'three' is always *üç*.)⁹

The other word that has, in the Turkish spoken in Albania, a velar instead of a palatal labial is *türk* 'Turk'. I have always heard it pronounced *turk* (*turkçe*, *turçe* 'Turkish'), and this is the form to be found also in the Catalogue of the Library: *Turqçe Keraet* 'Turkish reading-book', *Divani Turqii Sulltan Veled* 'the Turkish Divan of Sultan Veled', *Turqçe Elifba* 'Turkish alphabet'.

Sometimes one can hear *o*, *u* instead of *ö*, *ü* in other words too, though very seldom. I have recorded in Albania the word *böyle* 'in this way' as a rule in the form *boyle*. In Elbasan and occasionally also in Tirana I heard forms like this: *sos* 'word', *doz* 'eye', *tor* 'blind', *türek* 'shovel' (Elb.), *görünür* 'it is to be seen' (Elb.), *gozi görmes* 'his eyes do not see', *boyle soylediler* 'they said so'.

According to information obtained from my colleague Çabej the Turkish *ö* and *ü* are represented in Argyrokastron by *o* and *u*: *boyle* 'like this', *dort* 'four', *topru* 'bridge', *goz* 'eye', *topek* 'dog', *uzum* 'grape', *uç* 'three', *ul-* 'die', *kumur* 'coal', *dun* 'day', *düzel* 'nice'.

The same rich variety is to be found among the forms in the Catalogue. It must be remembered that the sound *ö* is alien to the Albanian language which

⁹ In the Karagöz plays the Albanians use the form *uç* 'three' (Ritter, vol. i, p. 58), beside *goster* 'show' (vol. i, p. 56), *i. e.* such forms as are not characteristic of the Turkish of Albania.

thus has no sign for it (the sound denoted by *ë*, which under certain conditions resembles *ö*, is considered equivalent to the Turkish *ï*). The transcription of *ö* in the catalogue is *o*: *goj* 'village', *qole* 'slave', *Qoprulu* 'Köprülü', *qjoq* 'sky'. (Unfortunately, all of them with initial *k*, *g* having a special effect upon the pronunciation of *ö*, cf. *EintTMB*, p. 24.) The transcription of *ü* is usually *y*: *qyçyq* 'small' (twice), *mydasea* 'defence', *yçënxi* 'third', *ggyzel* 'nice', *yzerëne* 'onto, upon', *terxhyme* 'translation'. Not infrequently, however, it has the sign *u*: *qypru* 'bridge', *ylçu* 'a measure', *qutubhane* 'library' (twice), *gjun* 'day', *gjuzel* 'nice', *Qoprulu* 'Köprülü'; beside *yçënxi* we find also the form *uçënxi*.

(In Gostivar *ö* and *ü* have, according to my informants, a palatal articulation, yet I have taken down from them also *tor* 'blind' and *dqrt* 'four'; I heard *ö* in the word *böyle* 'like this'. Cf. also point 6 below. Examples for the genuine *ü*: *üç* 'three', *yüz* 'hundred', *dün* 'day', *düş-* 'fall', *bütün* 'whole', *türli* 'way, kind, mode', *yüksek* 'high', *yüzük* 'ring'. — Ahmed from Kosova: *söz* 'word', *böyle* 'like this', *evin önünde* 'in front of the house', *görmüş* 'seen', *kqr* 'blind', *üçündzi* 'third', *büyük* 'big', *küçük* 'small'.)

5. The inconsistency of both palatal and velar assimilation in the suffixes is characteristic of West-Rumelian Turkish (even beside the cases already mentioned which, in fact, bring about inconsistencies in the vocal harmony as well). Examples from Vidin: *tutarler* 'they take, grasp', *otursem* 'if I were, if I became', *otuze* Dat. of *otuz* 'thirty', *oldukten sora* 'having become', — *sevmä* 'do not love', *ben-da* 'I too'. (Cf. *EintTMB*, pp. 15, 34, 52).

I have witnessed the same phenomenon in Albania but have not succeeded in finding the limits of its occurrence. I was surprised to hear such forms like *Škodrade* 'in Skutari', *Tiranade* (*Tirande*), *Tiranaden* 'in Tirana, from Tirana' being used especially by Osman Myderrizi, but also by other persons, while I recorded also *Škodraya* 'to Skutari', *Draça* 'to Durazzo'. In the speech of a well-educated informant who had spent a long time in the civil service in Turkey but was of Albanian origin and has been living in Albania for a considerable length of time I heard the form *allahe* dat. of *allah* 'god'. Osman Myderrizi used the form *varse* 'if there is'. Yet I had the impression that forms like *daglar* 'hills, mountains', *çodžuklar* 'children', *sofralar* 'tables', *kaçarlar* 'they flee', *bakarlar* 'they look' were more regular, and this was corroborated by my Albanian colleagues. Besides, forms like *aaçler*, *agažler*, *agaçler* 'trees', *bakarler* 'they look', *yaparler* 'they do, make' are not unknown. I could not decide whether the latter forms had earlier been in common use and later ousted by the school and by the Istanbul dialect. In Shkodra I heard *okudiler*, *ihtiyarler* [?].

In the Catalogue of books I came across *meqtubllar* 'letters', *çuxhukllar* (sic!) 'children', *kadëllar* 'women'.

In Kúnos *Three Karagöz Plays* [Hung.] p. 111 we find *arnautçe* 'in Albanian' (in Osman Myderrizi's texts, see here p. 28, we have *arapçe* 'in Arabic'), *çičiçikmişler* (see p. 12, supra, note 3).

(In Gostivar, according to my informants, a form like *agaçler* 'trees' is used rather by educated people, commonly used are forms like *tauklar* 'hens'. In popular speech we find the forms *bakarlar* 'they look', *yaparlar* 'they make, do' as well as the forms *bakarler*, *yaparler* and *kalirler* 'they stay'. The form *bakarler* is possibly more frequent in popular speech. — Ahmed from Kosova: *dağlar* 'hills, mountains', *agaçler* 'trees', *codžukler* 'children', *bakarlar* 'they look', *gelirler* 'they come'.)

6. The Old-Osmanli *ö*, conserved in the East-Rumelian dialects, has become in those of West-Rumelia in certain words *ü*, *u*, *u*. The extent of this change is not the same all over West Rumelia, in certain places it has affected more words than in others. Examples from Vidin *čuz-* 'loosen, dissolve', (Ist. *čöz-*), *dun-* 'turn' (Ist. *dön-*), *gum-* 'bury' (Ist. *göm-*), *ul-* 'die' (Ist. *öl-*), *kümur* 'coal' (Ist. *kömür*) *up-* 'kiss' (Ist. *öp-*). (See *EintTMB*, pp. 17, 37, 54.)

I have recorded the following forms in Albania: *dün-* 'turn', *ül-* 'die' (also in Shkodra[?]), *ürt-* 'cover', *sün-* 'go out (of a fire)', *ürdek* 'duck', *ülč-* 'measure', *küpri* 'bridge', *čüz-* 'loosen, dissolve', *üksüs* 'orphan', *üksür-* 'cough', *üp-* 'kiss', *üyle* 'midday', *ününde* 'before', *tütü* 'bad' (Elb. ~ Ist. *kötü*), *götür-* ~ *gütür-* 'carry away', *ögren-* ~ *öngren-* ~ *ügren-* 'learn', *böyük* ~ *büyük* 'big'. The following words have *ö*, *o*: *ğöz* ~ *doz* 'eye', *dör-*, *dor-*, *gör-* 'see', *dort* 'four', *köy*, *töy* 'village', *kör*, *tor* 'blind', *boyle* 'in this way', *dök* 'sky', *soyle-* 'say', *sös*, *sos* (*süs* once) 'word'. In Argyrokastron: *ul-* 'die', *kumur* 'coal', *topru* 'bridge'.

In the Catalogue: *qypru* 'bridge', *ylçu* 'a measure', *Ymer*, *Umer* proper name, *ymr-* 'life'; *gjoq* 'sky', *qole* 'slave'.

I have dealt with the equivalents of the Old-Osmanli *ö* in the Turkish loan words of the Albanian language in my paper *EintTMB*, p. 24.

(In Gostivar the change *ö* > *ü* has affected also such words as have conserved their *ö*, for instance, in Vidin.¹⁰ I have recorded: *dör-* ~ *dür-* 'see', *dörmiştir* 'he saw', *dürdüm* 'I saw' [Vidin: *gör-*, *gür-*], *töy* 'village' — *tüfe* 'into the village', *ügren-* 'learn', *düksüm* 'my bosom' [Vidin: *ğoguz*], *üksür-* 'cough', *büyük* 'big', *ürt-* 'cover', *düz* 'eye' [Vidin: *göz*], *čüz-* 'loosen, dissolve', *ül-* 'die', *tüpri* 'bridge', *ürdek* 'duck', *süg-* 'scold', *ülč-* 'measure', *üp-* 'kiss', *üyle* 'midday, noon', *dük-* 'pour', *üksüz* 'orphan', *ününde* 'before'. In Gostivar there are forms in which the change *ö* > *ü* has not taken place: *dört* 'four', *tor* 'blind', *böyle* 'in this way'. — Ahmed from Kosova: *ürdek* 'duck', *kümür* 'coal', *ülmiş*

¹⁰ Cf. my treatise *Le passage ö > ü dans les parlers tures de la Roumélie nord-ouest* in *Rocz. Orient.* vol. xvii, pp. 114—121.

'died, dead', *čüz-* 'loosen, solve', *ülčü* 'a measure', *küpri* 'bridge', *üksüz* 'orphan', *üksürür* 'he coughs'; cf. Point 4 [*ö* > *o*, *ü* > *u*].

7. The intervocalic, pre-consonant and final Old-Turkic *g* has in East-Rumelia disappeared in words of velar vocalism, whereas in those with palatal vowels it has become *y*. On the other hand, this *g* has been preserved in the West-Rumelian dialects. Examples from Vidin: *agač* 'tree' (Ist. *aač*), *begen-* '[to] like' (Ist. *beyen-*), *sag* 'healthy' (Ist. *sā*), *agla-* 'cry, weep' (Ist. *āla-*), *babadžigim* 'my little father', *ayaga* 'to the foot', *degenek* 'stick, cane', *hegbe* 'double saddle bag', *eger* 'when', *eteginden* 'from her lap', *urdege* 'to the duck'. (See *EintTMB* pp. 17, 39, 54.)

In Albania forms of the Istanbul dialect are often reproduced. It is however, undoubtful that *-g-* has been preserved in the Turkish of Albania; Jonuz Tafilaj informed me that this had been the case all over Albania. The same can be seen in the Turkish loan words of the Albanian language, see *EintTMB*, pp. 23—24. My notes show: *agac* ~ *a'ač* 'tree', *aglamak*, *aglamaga* 'to cry, weep', *dağınık* 'sown, scattered', *dağlar* 'hills, mountains', *agıs* 'mouth', *čodžugum* 'my child', *ogul* ~ *o'ul* (quite clear; recorded in Tirana from the teacher from Korcha) 'son', *oglum* ~ *o'lum* 'my son', *begen-* '[to] like', *yüzügümüz* 'our ring', *deynek* 'stick, cane' [?], *déyil* 'not', *bey* ~ *bek*, *bea* (northern form) 'mister, gentleman', *dag* 'mountain'.

In the Catalogue of books we find the forms *yëllëgi* 'his yearbook', *etmedëgëmëz* 'our not having done'.

According to information obtained from my colleague Çabej, the form *bejendis-* is used in the Albanian language in Argyrokastron, whereas in a literary monument from Shkodra, 1635, we have the form *begenis-*; as to the dictionaries of Modern Albanian, Prof. Tamás has *bejendis* while Stuart E. Mann's entry is *begeni-* (< Turk. *begen-* > *beyen-*¹¹ 'be pleased, like').

I have recorded the word *bahče* 'garden' in the form *bahče*.

(In Gostivar: *agač* 'tree', *bag* 'garden', *baya* 'to the garden', *ogullarım* 'my sons', *oglum* 'my son', *sag* 'healthy', *beğendim* 'I liked', *eger* 'if', *ügren-* 'learn', *yüzügümü* 'my ring', *süg-* 'scold', *düksüm* 'my breast', *Ahmet-bek* 'Mr. Ahmet', *beyim* 'my Sir'. — Ahmed from Kosova: *agač* 'tree', *agız* 'mouth', *Mēmed-aga*, *dağlar* 'hills', *yagmur* 'rain', *ogul* 'son', *čodžugun* 'of the child' *ogli* 'his son', *degenek* 'stick, cane', — *bağče* 'garden', *beyeni'yorum* 'I like', — *Hasan-beğ*, — *dëldir* 'is not'.)

8. The *-y* present is very characteristic of the West-Rumelian dialects. In Vidin: *sevey* 'he loves', *seve-yim* 'I love', *yapay* 'he makes', *agla-ysin* 'thou

¹¹ The change took place sometime in the 17th century, see S. Kakuk: *Acta Or. Hung.* vol. v, pp. 186 sqq.

weapest', *sora'yim* 'I ask', *so'rmayim* 'I do not ask', *bi'lmeyim* 'I do not know', *tutmay* 'he does not take, grasp'. (See *EintTMB*, pp. 19, 39, 54.)

According to my notes and the statements of my Albanian colleagues this present is unknown in Albania.

(It is not used in the Gostivar dialect either, though in the dialect of Kalkan-delen = Tetovo, north from Gostivar, I could ascertain its use, e. g. *aliv* 'he takes'. — Ahmed from Kosova: *beyeni'yorum* 'I like', but — according to him — in Prizren and Prishtina they say *sevey* 'he loves'. According to a Halveti in Tirana, born in "Debre-i bala", Yugoslavia, Turkish is spoken in this locality but the *-y* present is unknown.)

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We have so far investigated the eight characteristic features of West-Rumelian Turkish as reflected in the Turkish dialect of Albania. We shall now discuss some further peculiarities of Turkish spoken in Albania.

A conspicuous feature of this dialect is the frequent change of *k*, *g* into *t*, *d*, though their Istanbul pronunciation is not infrequent either. Sometimes they are articulated like *praepalatales posteriores* or like *k*, *g* (I could never discern the glide properly) but very often they are pronounced *t*, *d*.

In my notes I have forms like *tüpri* 'bridge' (Argyrokastron: *topru*), *töy* 'village', *turek* 'showel', *tutu* 'bad', *hütümet* 'government', *iki*, *iti* 'two', *köy* 'village', *mehkeme* 'tribunal', *kumur* 'coal', *tor* 'blind', *topek* 'dog' (Arg.), *dül* 'rose', *dir* 'go in', *dök* 'sky', *dor* ~ *dör* 'see', *doz* 'eye' *göz* 'eye' (Arg.), *gözüm* 'my eye', *dun* 'day' (Arg.), *duzel* 'nice' (Arg.), *beden-begen* 'be pleased', *güvercin* 'dove', *gidže-gündüz* 'day and night', *gök* 'sky', *gezmek* 'go about', *gitti* 'he went', *görunür* 'seems'. An old man in Kruya who no longer could speak Turkish but remembered quite a number of words, gave me such forms: *üçüz* 'ox', *čeči* 'goat', *bar'džir* 'horse', and from a former clerk from Pogradec, Lake Ochrida, who spoke good Turkish I have: *mečeme* 'tribunal' and *ičmal* 'completion'. This *č* is formed much further in front than the *č* in common Turkish speech.

The Albanian transcription has *q* for the Turkish sound *k*, *ķ* (*t*) and the group *gj* for the Turkish *g*, *ğ* (*d*). A great number of examples testify to this in the Catalogue of the Library: *qoj* 'village', *qypru* 'bridge', *qutub* 'books', *qyçyq* 'small', *qole* 'slave', *meqteb* 'school', *turqçe* 'Turkish', *meqtub* 'letter, epistle', *shirqet* 'society', *iqi(ë)nxi* 'second', *hareqat* 'movements', *gjoq* 'sky', *gjuzel* ~ *ggyzel* 'nice', *gjun* 'day'.

In Ritter's Karagöz plays we find in the Turkish spoken by Albanians the forms *čes*- 'cut' (vol. i, pp. 56, 58) ~ Ist. *kes*-, *čim* 'who?' (vol. i, p. 56; vol. iii, p. 587) ~ Ist. *kim*, *čečil*- 'withdraw' (vol. ii, p. 50) ~ Ist. *čekil*-. (But cf. p. 12.)

The forms quoted to illustrate the representation of the sounds in question will become clear if we read the phonetic description of the Albanian sound designated by the letter *q*, in B. A. Serebrennikov's Grammar, p. 464): "the articulation of the *q* sound is not identical in the different Albanian dialects. In the northern dialect it is reminiscent of the strongly palatalized Russian *кѣ*, sometimes it resembles the strongly palatalized Russian *ч* [in phonetic transcription *č*], whereas in the southern dialect *q* is almost identical with the Russian *тѣ*". Mutatis mutandis, Serebrennikov says the same about the pronunciation of the Albanian *gj* (*ǰ*, *dž*, *d*).

(As it is, my informants from Gostivar used forms like *deldiler* 'they came', *detirir* 'he brings', *dün* 'day', *düz* 'eye', *dürdüm* 'I saw', *düksüm* 'my bosom', *tüpri* 'bridge', *töy* 'village', *tor* 'blind', *iti* 'two'.)

I have discussed this phenomenon already in my *EintTMB* (p. 56). It can be found in the home-country of the West-Rumelian dialects, in the Turkish of North-Eastern Anatolia, as well as in the Turkish elements of the Serbian language. And now we can state that it occurs also in the Turkish of Albania and in the Turkish dialects of Kosova, that is over quite a large area.

The question arises whether this phenomenon is of Turkic or Albanian origin, *i. e.*, whether to attribute it to a phonetic influence of Turkish on Albanian or vice versa. I incline to the first assumption. The changes *k* > *t*, *ǰ* > *d* in North-Eastern Anatolia are by no means of Albanian origin. And now, having obtained a clearer picture of this change in West-Rumelian Turkish I must regard it as the ninth characteristic feature of the West-Rumelian dialects, which appears in North-Eastern Anatolia too. Let me refer to the above-quoted statement of Dmitriev in *loc. cit.* of my *EintTMB* (p. 56; Räsänen, Lautgesch., pp. 149—150).

The assumption that the sounds "q" and "gj" existed in Albanian before the Turkish influence, and that in the above-discussed forms of the Turkish in Albania we have to do with the simple substitution of the Albanian *q* and *gj* for the Osmanli *k̄*, *ǰ*, *k*, *ǰ*, does not seem to be probable on the strength of the above considerations.

I was unable to form a definite picture of the initial *h*- (cf. *EintTMB*, p. 21). I have heard the word *ambar* (Pers. *anbār*) ~ *hambar* 'barn' twice from two different persons in the form *ambar*. (Also Ahmed from Kosova: *ambar*.) Another person pronounced it *hambar*. I have recorded the word *hačan* 'when' in the forms *kačan* and *ačan*; I was told that the latter form was used by uneducated people only. Beside these I have made the following notes: *hazir* 'ready', *hangi* 'which?', *horos* 'cock', *hoš* 'agreeable', *hanim* 'lady'.

A peculiarity of the Turkish in Albania is that, according to some of my notes, *š* preceding voiced consonants is sonorized. The examples I have noted are these: *baž-vekil* 'prime minister', *ižgäl* 'occupation', *rüždiye* 'a kind of

secondary school'. I mention in this connection cases like *renžber* 'ploughman', *agažler* 'trees'.

The final *z* is in Turkish of Albania usually *s*. Sometimes I have heard *z*: *sekis* 'eight', *dokus* 'nine', *otus* 'thirty', *yüs* 'hundred', *agis* 'mouth', *kas* 'goose', *sos* 'word', *evimis* 'our house', *ğormes* 'he does not see'.

Here are a few phonetic peculiarities: 'twenty' is in general *yermi*, 'forty' is *körk*, pronounced in fact with the Albanian *ë*; *Istanbul* and *böyük* 'big' have preserved their original *o*, i. e. *ö*, for 'turkey' they do not say *puyka*, as in Vidin, but *pulka* (cf. B. Kálmán: *Magyar Nyelv* [Hung. Language] XLIX, p. 193). I have noted the forms *buzuldi* (< *bozuldi*) 'it got ruined' and *čudžuk* (< *čodzuk*) 'child'; I could not tell whether these forms are due to a change *o* > *u* or to individual pronunciation. In Korcha I heard the form *üčindži* 'third' (Ist. *üčündžü*). Noteworthy are the forms *öngren-* 'learn', *güverčün* 'dove' (with *č*).

The form *açik* (with *i*) in the title of a book *Açik mektubllar* 'open letters' entered in the Catalogue of the Library can hardly be ascribed to misspelling.

Words like *ekši* 'sour' do not change their *k* in Albania (over a large area in Western Rumelia we have *eyši*, etc.). The teacher from Korcha said *ūsürür* 'he is coughing' ~ Ist. *öksürür*.

In the Book Catalogue of the Library I found in some Arabic loan words the clusters of Turkish consonants *dh* (*th*), *th*, *zh*, *gy* with the parasite *ë* written in the middle. Such forms are: *Midëhat* (in several instances; < *Midhat*), *Etëhem* (< *Edhem*, i. e. *Ethem*), *Nuzëhat* (< *Nuzhat*, usually *Nüzhet*), *izëharul hak* 'explanation of the truth' (*izhār*), *tugëjan* 'revolt' (*tugyān*). This is not a phonetic phenomenon (at most an excessively short transitional sound), but a simple Albanian sound transcription. A *dh* would be read in Albania as *ð*, a *th* as *θ*, a *zh* as *ž*, and the connection of the sounds *gy* in *tugyan* is of a character quite different from, for instance, *ğ* in the words *ğuzel* 'nice', *ğok* 'sky' in which *ğ* is written *gj* in Albania. This phenomenon has nothing to do with the parasite sound of Osmanli in such words as, for instance, *desti(e)mal* < *destmāl* 'kerchief' (see Susa Kakuk: *Magyar Nyelv* L, p. 80). — Let me mention here that the town Korcha is called *Gördže* ~ *Göridže* in Turkish.

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As already mentioned, I was unable to record folklore texts. Under such circumstances I had to content myself with writing down the biography of my learned companion Osman Myderrizi as he recounted it to me. Unfortunately, we had no time to go through his whole story, and so the text recorded covers no more than the introduction to the biography. The text that was to follow would have, undoubtedly, been more interesting in its contents, but as far as the language of this informant of mine is concerned, it is exhaustively represented in these recordings.

Osman Myderrizi's father was a member of the Moslem clergy in Albania. He spoke Turkish well but at home this language was never used since the women of the house did not understand it. Osman Myderrizi himself went in his childhood to the Turkish school in Albania and attended also the Medrese. He spent some fifteen years in the Turkish educational institutions of Albania. For two years he studied at the Dār-ul-mu'allimîn in Shkodra and spent three years in Istanbul as the student of the Dār-ul-mu'allimîn. His speech carries a strong imprint of Istanbul Turkish but displays some dialectal features quite clearly. At any rate, a few features only. A folklore text recorded forty years ago in Albania would, no doubt, look essentially different.

It must not go unstressed — as we have already said — that Osman Myderrizi, a patriotic Albanian, has denied the existence of any tradition of the Turkish language in Albania, as it appears also from his narrative. — He spoke Turkish with a certain nonchalance.

The text is as follows:

ben—bin sekis yüs doksan birde tiranade dödüm. anam dört sene sōra vefāt etti, o-da tiranade dōmiš ve büyümišti. o zaman bütün arnaut kadınlari gibi okumayi ve yazmayi bilmezdi. on yašina kadar büyük anamın anasi beni aldı ve onun evinde yaşadım. bu zaman iptidaiyeye giderdim. o zamanki iptidaiyeler mahalle mektepleri idi. ekseriyâ büyük bir saladen¹ ibâret idiler. üsül-i tadrîs gâyet fenâ idi. m^uallimlik eden hodžalar iyi tahsîl görmüş hodžalardan dēlidiler. onlar en ziyade kurânın okunmasını öğretme çalışırlardı. mullumât-i fenniye yalnız son sınıflarda bir az öğretirlerdi. iptidaiyeyi bitirince rüzdüye gittim. iptidaiyede hodžalık edenler hepsi arnaut ve tiranaden idiler. derster turçe ve arapçe yapılırlar, fakat talebele-ri m^uallimler arasında kullanılan lisan yañnız arnautça idi. hodžalar iyi turçe konuşmayı kendileri-de bilmezlerdi. rüzdüye geçtiyim zaman orada iki hodža buldum. birisi arnaut ve tiranali idi, digeri, muallim-i evvel, türk idi. anadolunun ha-ınci kasabasından gelmiş, biz bilmezdik. bu efendi arnautça bilmediyi için turçe konuşurdu. sōradan tiranade bir arnaut kızıyle evlendi ve arnautçe öğrenme mecbur oldu. bunun çoluu çodžuu şimdi arnaut-tir. o kendisi arnautlıktan ayrılmadı ve tiranade üldi.

rüzdüyeyi ikmâl ettikten sōra medreseye gittim. çünkü medresede'n başka yüksek bir mektep yokti. mēmur olma-kıçün kaymekamlık kitabetine (= sekretariya) mülazim (praktikant) gibi devam etme başladım. şoyledze sebâleyin medresede dersleri bitirdikten sōra hükümete gider, bir kaç sahat orada çalışırdım. bo'ylece medreseye ve hükümete dört-beş sene devam ettim.

dokuz eylul bin dokuz yüz sekizde türkiyade ilân-i meşrûtiyet oldu. bu vakâ türkiya hayâtında ve bâhusus arnautlık hayâtında büyük bir vakâ sūretini aldı.

¹ sala 'hall'.

e'vvelçe yāni abdülhamidin devr-i istibādinde arnautlıkte büyük bir hükûmetsizlik (anarşi) hükûmrân idi. herkes kendi hayât ve mâlîni m^hâfaza ede bilmek için müsellaḥ olmişti. kasabalarde ve köylerde silâhsiz kimseler bulamazdın. bu şey meşrutiyetin ilânıyla — bu hükûmetsizlik nihâyet buldi. her yerde arnaut ürfine ve eski kanunlarına mütâbik komisiyonler teşkil olundi. hakikatte arnautli idâre eden bir kaç zeman için bu komisiyonler oldi.

yavaş-yavaş işler deyişti. hükûmet tekrâr memleketi idâreye başladı. ve böylece inzibâtsizlik tekrâr yüz gösterdi. meşrutiyet devri on eylül bin dokuz yūs sekisten başlar ve balkan harbi ile nihâyet bulur. dene bilir ki dört sene devâm etti. bu dört sene arnautlîin istiklâliyeti için bir mukaddime teşkil eder. çünki arnaut vatanperverleri hürriyetten istifâde ederek çok çalıştılar. devr-i istibdatte latin harfleriyle arnautça okumak memnû idi. hürriyetin ilânıyla arnaut mektepleri arnautluun her tarafinde açıldılar. bu mektepler husûsî mektepler idi. arnaut halkinin yardımıyla açılmış ve tutulurdi. mekteplerde'n mādâ arnautluun her tarafında siyasi fırkalar da teşkil edilmişti. bu fırkaların maksad-i aslıyesi arnaut mektepleri açmak, arnaut milletini müstakil bir hayât yaşaya bilmek için terbiye etmek, ve hükûmetin sū-i idâresine bir daha arnautlıkte mehal bırakmamak idi. bin dokuz yüz dokuzda yani ilân-i hürriyetten bir sene sora ittihad ve terekki ve hükûmet arnaut fırkalarının ve mekteplerinin maksadı millî bir maksad oldu. eyidže anladılar. ve andların aleyhinde tâkibât ve müşkilât çıkarma başladılar. bütün arnautlık o vakit türk hükûmetinin idâre-i mutlakasi altında yaşamazdı. bi çok vasi ve dâli [vâsi ve dağlı] nahiyeler bir müdâriyet-i [muhtarîyet-i] idâreye sahib idiler. bunlar türk hükûmetine vergi vermez. ve anın kanunlarını kabul etmes. ve hizmet-i askerîye ile müvezzaf dâlidiler. harb zemâninde bunlar kendi teşkilatıyla bir firka-i muavine gibi harbe iştirâk ederlerdi.

Bu müdâriyet-i idâreyi hayz olan nahiyelerde škodra gibi büyük şehirlerde vardi. ittihadçiler bu müdâriyet-i idâreyi lagv etmek için düşündiler. halbuki bu nahiyelerde ehâlî müsellaḥ idi. islâhât yapı bilmek için her halda silahlerini toplamak lâzım idi.

džavid paşa kosova firka kumandâni kâfi bir kuvvetle lumaya gitti ve ehâlîyi zapt u rapt alma için çalıştı. oradaki ehâlî bu teşebbüse inkiyât etmedi, ve harbe başladı. harp bir kaç hefte devâm etti. džavid paşanın askeri yeni âlât-i harbîye ile müdžehhez idi. mitraljözlerden başka seri ateşli topları da varidi. lumaliler harble telefât verdiler. bu yeni silahlardan kurtulma için gidžeyin džavid paşanın askerine hüdzum etme karar verdiler. bu gidže muharebeleri džavid paşanın kuvetini maglûb etti ve nahiyeden rüdžat etme medžbûr etti. bu maglûbiyet hafî bir şey kalmadı. evropa gazetalarına da geçti. ittihadçiler hükûmetin kuvetini arnautlara göstermek için bir urdu hazırladılar, ve bin dokuz yūs ondâ kosovaya günderdiler. yapılan çarpışmalarda arnaut kuvetleri maglûb oldılar, ve dâlare çevilmek medžburîyetinde kaldılar. maglûbiyetin başlıdža sebebi arnautlarda bir teşkilât-i askerîyenin mefkûdiyeti idi. bütün nahiyeler mükâvemet

içün aralarında anlaşılmişlerdi, fakat bir umûmî kumandant intihâb etmemişler. harbta tefî'i [harb-da def'i] bir sûrette yapıldı. gidzeleyin umûmî hüdzumle'le türk askeri tazyik olunmadı.

hukümet harbi kazanîndže arnautların silahlarını aldı ve islâhâte başladı. silah toplanmasında hukümet şiddetle m'âmele etti. bi çok arnautları tahkîr etti ve a'lenen düydü.

Bu işler yalnız kosovada yapılmadılar. bütün şimali arnautlıkta ve vasatî arnautlıkta silâlar toplanırdı. arnaut mektepleri ve klubleri kapatıldılar, arnaut münevver ve vatanperverleri tahkîr edildiler. bunların ileri gelenleri a'lenen düvüldüler ve haps oldular. divân-i harbler bunların bazisini kabâhetsiz olmakla beraber ma'kûm etti ve bir kaç sene hapshanelerde tutuldular. türklerin bu mantiksis hareketleri arnaut milliyetperverleri meyûsiyete idzbâr eyledi. artık bir müdâriyet-i idâre ile türklerle beraber yaşaya bilmek imkânı kalmadı.

bin dokuz yûs onıkkide arnautlıkta bir isyan-i umumî oldu. bu sefer isyan daha muntazam idi ve yapılan çarpışmalarda müvaffak oldu. balkanlılar bu arnaut umûmî isyanın müveffekiyetine gelîndže türkiyeye ilân-i harb etme karar verdiler. yapılan harbde, mâlum oldu gibi, balkanlılar galîb geldiler, ve arnautluk yermi sekis nove'mber bin dokuz yûs on ikide ilân-i istiklalîyet etti. teşekkül eden ilk hukümet büyük müşkilât karşısında bulundu.

on dorte harb-i umûmî başladı ve arnautluk harb mantikası oldu. deniz kenarındaki avlonya nâhiyesi italyanlardan izgâl olundu. g'ori'dže nâhiyesi fransızlardan ve şimalî ve vasatî arnautluk austurya ve medzâristân askerlerinden izgâl olundılar.

bin dokuz yûs on sekiste harb-i umûmînin hitâmıyla bütün arnautlî izgâl eden italyanlar oldu. millet bu italyan istilâsına çok müddet tahammül edemedi, ve yirmide luşnade yapılan millî kongres arnautlî müstekil ilân etti. italyanlar bu kongrenin karârlarını iptâl etmek için çalıştılar, fakat muvafak olamadılar. o halda yalnız avlonya şehir ve nâhiyesini tutmaa çalıştılar. orada-da ehâlî kiyâm ederek, italyanları harble çekilme idzbâr etti.

hakikî hür ve müstekil arnautluk bin üçyûs yermide yapılan luşna kongresiyle başlar. bu inkilâbden sora arnautluk hukümet merkezi tirana oldu.

If we consider what I said of Osman Myderrizi's attitude to the Turkish language, it becomes clear that this text cannot be assessed dialectologically without some reserve. That is why I have not included this material in the above description of the Turkish dialect of Albania beside my other notes and the data obtained from the Catalogue of Turkish books of the Library. I think it is more convenient to treat the dialectal features of this text separately. On the other hand, it would have been a mistake to disregard this text altogether because it cannot be ruled out that the peculiar speech of Osman Myderrizi has preserved some dialectal features of the old Turkish language of Albania, unattested in other records, and that future investigation may corroborate

some peculiar forms here recorded. Besides, this text represents a not unessential contribution to the above described Turkish dialect of Albania: it shows how the forms of a dialect live in a text. And, unfortunately, we have no better or other texts at our disposal.

Let us see first how the above-discussed dialectal features are reflected in this text.

1. In general it shows the final *-i*: *anasi* 'his mother', *toplari* 'thei. cannons', *aldi* 'he took', *oldi* 'he became', *buldi* 'he found', *üldi* 'he died'r Forms of the Istanbul dialect like *oldu*, *oldular* are rare.

2. The praeteritum indefinitum has the single form *-miş*: *dömiş* 'she was born', *büyümiş* 'she has grown up', *görmüş* 'seen', *olmuşti* 'he was', *açılmış* 'it was opened'.

3. *-i-* ($\sim i$) is represented throughout the text (it is better perhaps to review all the examples here): *evinde* 'in his house', *çekilme* 'to withdraw', *öyretirle'rdi* 'one has taught', *bitirindže* 'having finished', *bitirdikten sōra* 'after having finished', *sūretini* 'his form (Acc.)', *ürfine* 'to his custom', *milletini* 'his nation (Acc.)', *idāresine* 'to his government', *mekteblerinin* 'of his schools', *askerine* 'to his army', *medžburiyetinde* 'in his necessity', *kazanındže* 'winning', *gelindže* 'coming', *m^uallimlik* 'mastership', *hūriyetin* 'of liberty', *hükümetin* 'of the government', *hükümetinin* 'of his government', *hükümetine* 'to his government', *maglūbiyetin* 'of the defeat', *türklerin* 'of the Turks', *gidželey-in, -in* 'in the night', *gittim* 'I went', *giderdim* 'I went', *bilme'zdik* 'we did not know', *verdiler* 'they gave'. In speech: *geldik* 'we have come', *görelim* 'let us see', *gelir* 'he comes', *şeyimiz* 'our thing'.

4. As to the change $\ddot{o} > o$, $\ddot{u} > u$, our text shows no essential deviations from what we said about it earlier. Conspicuous are the forms *türk* and *dört*; beside *dört*, the forms *dort*, *dort* also occur. Forms like *şoyledže*, *boyledže* 'in this way', *bütün* 'whole', *yüz* 'face', *düşündiler* 'they have thought of it' show nothing unusual.

5. I refer to what I said in point 5 about the inconsistencies in vocal harmony and quote the following examples from the text: *Kosovade* 'in Kosova', *Türkiyade* 'in Turkey', *Tiranade(n)* 'in (from) Tirana', *saladen* 'from the hall', *inkilābden sōra* 'after this transformation', *harbe* 'into the war', *harble* 'with the war', *islāhāte* 'to the reforms', *zapt u rapte* 'to the regulation', *o halda* 'under such conditions', *her halda* 'in any case'; *toplınmasinde* 'in his collecting', *kasabasinden* 'from his town', *tarafinde, tarafında* 'in his parts', *zemāninde* 'in his time', *altinde* 'under him', *gazetalarine* 'to their newspapers', *lūmaliler* 'the inhabitants of Luma'; *arnautli(i)k* 'Albania', *arnautli(i)kte* 'in Albania', *arnautliktan* 'from Albania', *arnautluun* 'of Albania', *arnautlii* 'Albania (Acc.)';

arnautča, *-če* 'in Albanian', *arapče* 'in Arabic'; *bunlar* 'these', *komisijonler* 'committees', *hüdžumlerte* 'with attacks', *hodžalardan* 'from the teachers', *kasabalarde* 'in the towns', *kanunlarına* 'to their laws', *silahlardan* 'from the weapons', *dälare* 'into the hills', *arnautlara* 'to the Albanians', *arnautlarde* 'with the Albanians', *silahlerini* 'their weapons (Acc.)', *gazetalarine* 'to their newspapers', *aralerinde* 'between themselves'; *oldi(u)lar* 'they became', *kaldılar* 'they stayed', *yapılırlar* 'they are being made', *olundılar* 'they became', *çalışırlardı* 'they endeavoured', *tutuldılar* 'they were held', *kapatıldılar* 'they were closed', *yapılmadılar* 'they were not made', *anlaşılmışlardı* 'they have agreed'. — A conspicuous form is *her halda* 'in any case'.

In Osman Myderrizi's speech I have heard forms like *urmanler* 'woods' [sic; once], *ayden* 'from the month', *bunden* 'from this', *sekiz buçukte* 'at half past eight', *tarafırlarde* 'in regions, in parts'.

6. The change $\ddot{o} > \ddot{u}$ is attested in the text by the following examples: *öldi* 'he died', *günder-* 'send', *düydü* 'he hit', *düvüldiler* 'they were beaten'. The \ddot{o} is preserved in the words *göster-* 'show' (*g-!*) and *öyren-*, *öyret-* 'learn, teach' (Istanbul form).

7. Unlike in the Turkish of Albania, the sound *-g-* is generally represented in the text as in the Istanbul dialect. My informant, however, went as far as using forms in which the *k* in the Istanbul dialect is extant and is absent in his speech. Thus we find in the text the phrases *almak için* 'in order to take', *kurtulmak için* 'in order to be saved' (*almak için*, *kurtulmak için*) and I have heard in his speech forms to be used regularly like *yemek için* 'in order to eat', *gelmeyile* = *gelmekle*. A source from Bulgaria, studied by Mefküre Mollova, makes it evident that these forms are no individual creations but are indeed used in Turkish spoken in the Balkans. In this source we come across such forms as *gıtmeyedže-idim*, *zara'r etme-ılan*, *İo'k etme-ılan*. I have heard even the word *bekle-* 'wait' pronounced by Osman Myderrizi as *beyle-* (twice; usually he pronounced *bekle-*). Cf. Suzanne Kakuk, *Le dialecte turc de Kazanlyk*, *Acta Or. Hung.* VIII, p. 180, §§ 26, 27.

In the text we find the forms *dödüm* 'I was born', *dömiş* 'he was born', *çoluu-çodžuu* 'his descendants', *arnautlın* 'of Albania', *olduuni* 'his having become (Acc.)' = written *olduğunu*, *oldui* 'his having become' = written *olduğu*, *kuştui* 'lunch (Acc.)', *öyret-* 'teach'. A peculiarity is the absence of *-y-*, *i. e.*, *-g-* in forms like *öyretmee* (instead of *öyretmeye*) 'to teach', *etmee* 'to do', *çekilmee* 'to withdraw', *arnautlıi* 'Albania (Acc.)', *tutmaa* 'to hold', *ëikarmaa* 'to make manifest'; forms used in speech: *bulundii*, *bulundiyi* 'his having been' ~ Ist. *bulundu*, *gördüümüz* 'what we have seen'. In the forms of the text: *geçtiyim zaman* 'when I passed', *bilmediyi için* 'because of his not knowing it', *deyişti* 'it [was] changed' the *y* can hardly be heard.

As to the form *oldui*, it must be noted that according to authoritative information the form generally used in Albania is *oldigi*. In this connection I must mention also the form *čodžuini* 'her child (Acc.)' recorded in Tirana from the teacher from Kortcha.

The form *düvüldiler* 'they were beaten' offers nothing peculiar.

This is where I mention the form *meslekimiz* 'our profession, our vocation' used in speech of Osman Myderrizi.

8. The *y* present does not occur either in our text or in the Turkish dialect of Albania in general (see p. 20).

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As to the representation of the sounds *k̄, k*, our text yields the following forms: *hükümetin* 'of the government', *hükümetinin* 'of his government', *hükümet* 'government' (several times), *hükümet* 'government', *çecilmek* 'to withdraw, to draw oneself back'. In speech I noted *güldže* 'shadow' (once) < *gölge*.

The text displays some further noteworthy features.

Now and then we come across a closed *é*: *éylul* 'September', *éyi* 'goods' (also *eyi*), *déne bilir* 'one can say'.

In both text and speech Osman Myderrizi often used the following forms, noteworthy from the point of view of vocal harmony: *ayrıldıktan sonra* 'after having been separated', *düdükten sonra* 'after having come back', *oldikten sonra* 'after having become', *yaptıkları* 'what they have done', as well as *anasini* 'his mother (Acc.)', *kuşliyi* 'lunch (Acc.)'. (He used the word *sonra* 'after' in the forms *sonra*, *soⁿra*, *sòra*.)

Noteworthy are the unvoiced *b, d* in *ben* 'I', *bin* 'thousand', *bir* 'one', *o-da* 'he too', *kasabalarde* 'in the towns', *mektepler* 'schools', *sahib* 'owner', *mukaddime* 'outset, upbeat', *müvâriyet* (< *muhtâriyet*) 'autonomy'. When talking to Osman Myderrizi I often noticed the occurrence of *B* and *D*, but *b* and *d* were equally frequent in his speech.

The assimilation *šd* > *žd*, *šg* > *žg* could be observed here too: *rüždiye* 'secondary school', *ižgâl* 'occupation'.

Geminated consonants in loan words are sometimes simplified: *kuvet* 'force', *muvafak* 'successful' (but *münevver* 'educated'), *hür ve müstakil* 'free and independent'.

From *ma'lûmât* 'knowledge' we have *mallumât*.

Here are a few peculiar forms which however do not seem to be absolutely reliable: *sinif* 'class' (~ Ist. *sınıf*), *kiz* 'girl' (*kiz*), *artık* 'finally', *içün* 'because of', in the Catalogue of the Library: *içën* (Deny, *Principes*, p. 68), *šehir* 'town' (*šehir*), *hefte* 'week' (pretty frequently used), *tefi'i* 'defensive' (Deny, *Principes*, p. 86), *kabâhetsiz* 'innocent', *Medžâristân* 'Hungary', *müveffekiyetine* 'to his success', *m^uâmele* 'treatment'. In speech: *küdre* = *kudret*, *sühbet* = *sohbet*.