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## **On Official Texts in Slavic Dialects in the County of Korcha, South-Eastern Albania**

South-Eastern Albania, especially the region of Korcha<sup>1</sup>, is a place where various peoples speaking various languages have coexisted peacefully for a very long period of time. Nowadays the main ethnic component is Albanian and the Albanian language is the main language used in everyday communication and in communication with the governmental structures. At the same time there are a number of ethnic minorities in the Korcha region, the most significant

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<sup>1</sup> Korcha (Alb. Korçë) is the name of the city in South Eastern Albania, at the same time it is the name of the District of Korcha (Rrethi i Korçës) which is situated around the city and includes several municipalities, and also the name of the County of Korcha (Qarku i Korçës). The situation described took place before the administrative reform of 2014.

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being Aromanian<sup>2</sup> and Slavic. The numbers given in different sources vary a lot<sup>3</sup>. Here I give a table based on the 2011 census in Albania:

Table 1. The population of Korcha region according to 2011 census

	Mother tongue (Nurja, 2013, p. 40)		Ethnic and cultural affiliation (Nurja, 2013, p. 39)	
	Resident population	Percentage of resident population	Resident population	Percentage of resident population
Albanian	213,728	96.99	176,719	80.20
Macedonian	3,708	1.68	3,922	1.78
Aromanian	1,763	0.80	2,677	1.21
Egyptian			847	0.38
Roma	521	0.24	1,005	0.46
Greek	404	0.18	2,923	1.33
Turkish	19	0.01	-	-
Italian	15	0.01	-	-
Serbo-Croatian	0	0.00	-	-
Montenegrin	-	-	2	0.00
Other	65	0.03	84	0.04
Preferred not to answer	-	-	29,495	13.39
Not relevant/not stated	134	0.06	2,683	1.22
Total	220,357	100	220,357	100

## Slavic Minority in Korcha Region

Some representatives of Macedonian public organisations that I have met estimate the number of Macedonians in the city of Korcha as 2000 and in the region as 12–14,000 (unofficial talks, Author's Field Notes, 2013). They consider as Macedonian all the Slavs in the region, who do not form part of the later newcomers from other countries.

<sup>2</sup> Aromanians are also known as Vlachs, and indeed this second term is much broader (cf. Kahl, 2009, pp. 11–60, where he writes about various terms and identities which have been applied to Aromanians or Vlachs). My use of this term is based on the Albanian census.

<sup>3</sup> As an extreme may be given the following quote: “Everyone Orthodox in Korcha who is not Vlach is either Macedonian or of Macedonian origin” (Author's Field Notes, 2012). There are 35,814 people who declared themselves Orthodox in Korcha, which amounts to 16.25% of the whole population.

The Slavic population of the region is heterogenous.

First of all, about 20 kilometres eastwards of the city of Korcha there is the Macedonian-populated area of Prespa. It is the only region of Albania where Macedonian minority is officially recognised. Macedonian is taught at schools, there is a Macedonian church where services are held in Macedonian and in Old Church Slavonic (see more on the topic in Steinke & Ylli, 2007, pp. 21–252, with bibliography; see also Асенова, 2007; Цветановски, 2010).

The majority of Slavs in the city of Korcha come from this region. They work as small traders, which is a result of the Macedonian policy towards them in 1990s and 2000s: they were given Macedonian passports and they could easily cross the border between the two states, which was much more complicated for people who could not prove their Macedonian origin. There even emerged a clothes market in the city with the name “Shulet”, so called after the pejorative name by which the local Albanians sometimes refer to the Macedonians (my local Macedonian informants date it back to one of the Slavic villages of Prespa, called *Shulin*).

The second largest part of the Slavic population of the city of Korcha (I do not have the data about the other parts of Korcha county) are migrants from Aegean Macedonia, a region, which is now mostly in Greece. Until the middle of the 20th century the Slavs from Aegean Macedonia could freely travel between Korcha, Aegean Macedonia and other regions in the vicinity. Due to the fall of the left in the civil war in Greece, many Slavs from Aegean Macedonia had to flee to Socialist countries: Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the USSR (first of all to Tashkent in the Uzbek Republic, where a large Greek and Macedonian colony came into existence).

The main part of Aegean Macedonia is in the Republic of Greece, but one village called Vërnik found itself on Albanian territory after the borders were drawn. It is located about 30 km from the city of Korcha. Nowadays the majority of people in the village are Slavs with Macedonian ethnic identity. Many of them also live in the city of Korcha (more on Vërnik: Steinke & Ylli 2007, pp. 253–301; Асенова, 2007).

The third part of the Slavic population of Korcha county are autochthonous Slavs of Boboshtica and Drenova, two villages 4 and 7 kilometres southwards of the city. In the 20th century the ethnic landscape of these villages has changed a lot – the majority of Slavs have moved to large Albanian cities and to other countries and their lands were taken by Aromanians, transhumant

stock-breeders, forcibly settled during the communist era in Albania<sup>4</sup>. At this point there are six people who speak Slavic in Boboshtica and only one in Drenova<sup>5</sup>, all of them older than 70. The former villagers who have settled in Korcha do not speak the dialect. (See more on Boboshtica in Steinke & Ylli, 2007, pp. 302–358; Асенова 2007; Макарцев 2013a, 2013b, 2013c).

The fourth part of the Slavic population in the Korcha region are Slavs from other regions of Albania (Bosnians from Borakaj, Muslim Slavs from Golloborda etc). In this region they come and settle occasionally, usually because of marriages, and their number is very small.

For Prespa Macedonians the main language is usually Macedonian in its semi-standard form (Standard Macedonian is taught in Prespa schools). The older generation is not very fluent in Albanian, they usually do not know Standard Macedonian very well and speak the local Lower Prespa Slavic dialect, included in the Macedonian academic tradition into the South-Eastern Macedonian dialectal group (Цветановски, 2010, p. 7).

For Aegean Macedonians in the city of Korcha the knowledge of their native dialects has been less sustained and they usually use Albanian. They sometimes are polylingual, and in this case their third language is Greek.

In Boboshtica and Drenova, as I have already said, the Slavic dialect is spoken by people in their 70s and the middle and the younger generation are Albanian monolinguals (the best case is when they can understand some words and part of a conversation in the dialect. Sometimes they are able to take part in the conversation, but they reply only in Albanian. There are also people who speak Greek because they have worked in Greece. Among Aromanians many speak Aromanian and Greek).

It seems to be a case of mass Slavic-Albanian bilingualism in a territory where all the official communication is in Albanian, and where the existence of official texts in Slavic dialects is unexpected and illogical. At the same time these texts do exist.

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<sup>4</sup> This is a recurring story both in Albania and Greece about the settlement of Aromanians on the former Slavic territories: I lack systematic data on the issue, but in Greece I was also told that after the end of the civil war in 1948, while many local Slavs were forced to flee from the country, Aromanians settled on their lands (Kastoria/Kostur: Author's Field Notes, 2013). In both cases Slavs left the area (even though the reasons might have been different, economic in the case of Boboshtica and Drenova, political in the case of Kastoria) and the vacant space was taken over by the huge numbers of former nomads.

<sup>5</sup> He actually lives in the city of Korcha, but commutes to work on his land in Drenova.

## Texts for Internal Needs of Slavic Organisations

Firstly, several Slavic organisations create texts in Slavic for internal needs. What is of great value for us is that the editor's work on these texts is minimal: these are ephemeral texts, they are usually not proof-read and have multiple dialectisms as well as many innovations in terminology. When these texts are published, however, they are usually proof-read and there is no point in looking for dialectal peculiarities in them.

There are three Slavic organisations in the territory of Korcha region: "Družba Prespa", "Makedonsko egejsko društvo" and "Makedonska alijansa za evropska integracija". Their aim is to support their fellow Macedonians. Besides political aims (representation of Macedonian minority in the government), MAEI also pursue several activities on the local level, such as educational. For example, they are trying to open a course in Macedonian in a Korcha school and organise classes in Macedonian for everyone. It is an instrument for horizontal interrelationship: "The Community of Macedonian Women of Korcha" which is a part of MAEI, organises spare time activities for its members, they make folk costumes and arrange folk festivals where everyone is welcome, Macedonians, Albanians and Aromanians.

In 2012 I obtained "An Inside Handbook for Organising the Work of a Regional Committee of a District/Prefecture Level of MAEI" (2009), a machine written text of 12 pages. This handbook was prepared for a meeting of MAEI and was handed round to the conference members to be voted upon. What first comes to one's attention is the alphabet of the document. The only place we see Cyrillic is on the cover. The title is in Macedonian with Albanian translation. The remaining text is in Macedonian in the Albanian alphabet (with some typos and without diaeresis above *ë*). I call the language of the document Macedonian, although it is quite different from the standard language. Here is the list of some of its linguistic peculiarities:

- the alphabet: Albanian instead of Macedonian;
- postposition definite articles have two forms: *-ot* and *-o*, no differences in use can be attributed to them – cf. with Prespa dialects, Видоески, 1998, p. 295<sup>6</sup>; Цветановски, 2010, p. 50;

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<sup>6</sup> I give the reference to the part of Vidoeski's work where he dwells upon these traits in the Lower Prespa dialect.

- the syllabic *r* is a sequence *är* (*vershi*, *perva*, probably with lacking Albanian diacritics for *ë* [ǎ] – Видоески, 1998, p. 293; Цветановски, 2010, p. 21);
- alternation *-g* ~ *-dz* (*predlloxite* – cf. Видоески, 1998, p. 282 about Upper Prespa dialect; Цветановски, 2010, pp. 26–27);
- verbal adjective suffix *ње* has two realisations – *-nje* and *-jne*, cf. *razgleduvanje* vs. *barajne* – cf. Видоески, 1998, p. 294; Цветановски, 2010, p. 76;
- the verb *mozhe* is of two conjugations, the first and the second: *mozhe* (as in Standard Macedonian) vs. *mozhi* (as in Prespa dialects – Видоески, 1998, p. 296);
- *kaku* instead of *kako*;
- there is Albanian translation for Macedonian key terms (*ingirencii* – *të drejtat*).

The author's wish to write in the standard language is quite obvious, also the majority of the non-standard elements can easily be removed after proof-reading.

The existence of texts like this one is a result of two tendencies: exaggerating the national and linguistic uniqueness of Prespa (symbolic function of language) and the wish the communication to succeed (that is why the Latin alphabet is used instead of Cyrillic and why for some terms an Albanian translation is provided).

REGIONALEN OKRUZHEN KOMITET Na Prtjata; MAKEDONSKA ALIANSA ZA EVROPSKA INTEGRACIJA (R.O.K. na M.A.E.I.)			
SKEMA NA: REGIONALEN KOMITET ZA OKRUGOT KORÇA kuso (R.K.O.K.) (K.R.Q.K.)			
MESEN	KOMITET	PRESPA.	(M.K.P. M.A.E.I.)
MESEN	KOMITET	KORÇA.	(M.K.K. M.A.E.I.)
MESEN	KOMITET	PODGRADEC.	(M.K.P. M.A.E.I.)
MESEN	KOMITET	BILISHTE.	(M.K.B. M.A.E.I.)
OPSHTI PRINCIPI Çlen. I			
-Regionalen Komitet na Okrug na (R.K.O.) M.A.E.I. e, Naivisoka osnovna edinicja na organizativno nivo.			
- Im odgovara na naivisokata teritorialna podellba vo R. Albanija{ Okrug(Qark) i Prefektura), a aktivnosta mozhi da ja izvrshuva vo eden ili poveke okolii. odlukata ja nosi Kongresot.			
1/a-R.K.O Gi, kordinira, zadacite i obvrskite opredeleni od centarot na partijata kai bazata, i go nosi gllasot na bazata (mesnite komiteti) vo centarot na partijata, I obratno, od centarot vo negoviot Okrug.			
1/b-Odlluka za formiranje na regionalen komitet na okrug nosi, upravniot komitet na M.A.E.I.			
1/c-Okruzhniot komitet; se kontrolira za negovite aktivnosti, gi ispollnava zadacite i dava smetka, pred upravniot komitet na partijata.			
1/d-Okruzhniot komitet raboti po nacrt statuto i plattformata na M.A.E.I, vo negovite strukturi imaat pravo po dobrovollna volja, so fer i demokratski izbor, da se zastapat prestavnici od site kategori na makedoncki gragjani, bez razlika od, veroispovod, jazik i potekllo, vazhno e			
stranica.1			

Picture 1: A part of the statute

## The Letter to Bulgarian Exarch

The other two texts I am going to dwell upon in this article mark the beginning and the end of literary tradition in the Boboshtica Slavic dialect, or “jazikot kajnas” (*Kaynas language*) as it is called by its speakers. The first text was written in 1873 in the Greek alphabet. It is a letter from the villagers to the Bulgarian Exarch Anthim where they ask him to provide them with financial support to buy their village out of the sultan’s property (*imlyak*). The linguistic peculiarities of this text and more broadly of the Boboshtica dialect have been the subject of analysis many times since it was first published (Снегаров, 1933), which is why I will not specifically concentrate on the language of the letter. It is a petition displaying the main features of an official letter. His episcopal title is used (“Δο πρεσβεάτνη τάτκα νάσσ ἐξάρχα Ἀνθήμα”). Snegarov speaks about “the feeling of filial love and respect to the Bulgarian spiritual leader” which has influenced the style of the letter. At the end there is a clichéish phrase “ἡ βῆ πατοβῆμε βασσάτα ντέσνα ράκα”, there is a date (October, 26<sup>th</sup>, 1873), place (Boboshtica) and signatures of the villagers.

The reason for the use of the Greek alphabet is very clear – it is the case for other Slavic and Albanian documents of the region of that time as well. Greek was a written language in the village and a language of the church service and it seems that the Cyrillic alphabet was not used in the village at that time. Albanian did not have any official norm or alphabet at that time. So unlike the case of the MAEI Handbook there was no choice between different alphabets.

The text focuses on several problems, but one of them is a recurring motive – the problem of language in foreign surroundings. The key point in the text is the following: “Σεάζη δβεά σέλα σὲ ναῖδβῆμε βὸ στρεῖ αρναυτλέκω, ἡ ποδελένη ὦ γόλεμ νάσσ μήλῃ, καὶ τὰς ὀφτσάτα, στσὸ βέλει ωσφετενότο ἐβαγγέλιε, ὅτι σα γήμνα ὦσταδοτο. ἡ βὸ σεάζ δβεα σέλα σπορβῆμε σοῖ γεάζικ στὸ τη πισσῆμε” (These two villages find themselves inside Albania and we are separated from your mighty people as the proverbial sheep – according to the holy Gospel –, which was separated from the rest of the herd. So in these two villages we speak this language in which we are writing to you). This is why, no matter that the main function of the text is a communicative one (it is a petition), the language also has its symbolic function: it shows some sort of spiritual community of the villagers with the Bulgarians of the Exarchate.

## **The Charter of the Society of Kaynas**

Supposedly, the letter to Anthim is one of the first texts in the dialect. Soon after the letter was sent, the village priest Todor Ikonomo organised the translation into Kaynas of parts of the Gospel that were read during the church service. In 1930s Kaynas was used in private letters of Kuneshka family, which were sent to Sotir Kuneshka to Paris. Fifteen years later using Kaynas in personal correspondence would have been impossible, because the letters were opened and inspected by the state security services. Ilyo Kuneshka (born in 1925), who went to study in Charles university in Prague, was obliged to write letters home only in Albanian (Author's Field Notes, 2010, 2012). In the middle of the 1990s letters of Andromaqi Koço from Boboshtica, who went to the USA, were written. She was communicating with the leader of the Bulgarian-Macedonian organization in Toronto (Labro Korolov, personal communication, 2013). They were both using their own dialects, but these dialects were mutually comprehensible. Around that time Ilyo Kuneshka started making his handwritten notes about the history of the village (Steinke & Ylli, 2007, pp. 348–355). In recent years one of the last speakers of Kaynas, Elpi Manço, has recorded in writing the folklore of the village (Author's Field Notes, 2010–2013). And maybe the last written text in the dialect will be “The Charter of the Society of Kaynas”, created in November, 2006. It consists of about 15 copybook pages covered with text on both sides. It is kept at Elpi Manço's. I am familiar with four versions of the Charter, two Albanian (draft and final copy) and two Kaynas (draft and final copy – for the latter see the appendix). The Society attempts to preserve the language of Kaynas and the tradition of the village. The Charter has the following structure:

- Introduction (name and place),
- the list of the members (40 people in four village quarters: Cellkovene, Bratsko, Bunar and Popçisht),
- the aims of the society,
- social and economic activities,
- administration,
- the conditions of dissolution and society's relations with other societies,
- the conditions of membership,
- member's responsibilities,
- varia,
- signatures of the authors.



The initiator of the Charter, Sotir Dhamko, the head of the Society, gave me the following comments: it was important to show to the remaining speakers of the dialect (he himself does not speak Kaynas), that their language is of value and one can write texts in it. To prepare the translation all the remaining speakers gathered together and translated, discussing the problematic points, so the translation is a result of collective authorship. I would like to focus on the system of values reflected in the Charter.

Firstly, the language of the manuscript is Kaynas and not Albanian, although the majority of the members do not speak Kaynas. The paragraphs connected to the language question are brief but eloquent:

“Jaziko “Kajnas” trebi sho da se zborvi vo sello, da ne se zaboraviva zhosh svjeto vjek soj jazik esti zborvan tua” (Let the language of Kaynas be spoken in the village and not forgotten because this language has always been spoken here),

“Sho ime ustanato vo sello da mu zborve ‘Kajnas’ mlladitim sho pllaninjete, poljata, rekjete da se darzhe taka kaj gume ustaveni nashiti bolivi ludi” (It is important that those old people that are still there in the village tell the young ones the names of mountains, fields and rivers, as they have been called by our dear ones),

“Da storime rrabota so nashi çelet sho da mu go nauçime jaziko Kajnas” (Let us make an effort to teach our children the language of Kaynas),

“Da pishime ena abetare i fjalor “Kajnas”. Da mu zborvime doma so soj jazik kaj parviti nashi” (To make an ABC-book and a dictionary. To speak this language at home with our children),

“Anetari vo shoqata ime pravo da se sviçqi ludi [...] sho grjede od stare familje Boboshtjeni i Drenovjeni gjesti zborvan i se zborvi jeziko Kajnas” (The members of the society may be everyone [...] from the old families in Boboshtica and Drenova where they spoke and still speak Kaynas).

Kaynas is connected to the ritual and cultural tradition in the system of values of the villagers: “Shoqata trjebi da približi so eden i drug sviçqi seljeni. Da se darzhi pravo tradicjete sho ime bandjeno vo sello kaj zakoniti vo brak, umrenje, karstjenje, da pjeme pjesne na kajnas jazik, da prikazime prikazne, da darzhime zakoniti vo prazniciti” (Our society should bring people together. Let the tradition which has been in the village be preserved correctly, the rites of weddings, funerals and baptisms. Let us sing the songs in Kaynas, tell stories and observe the feasts), “Da storime nemozhestno sho da najdime dokumenti sho pishe i zborve za sellata nashi[,] za kulturata, cerkvjete, daskalljete, çezmjete,

patoviti i za svje dobrinjete sho ime bandjeno vo sellata nashi” (Let us perform even an impossible task: to find the documents about the culture of our villages, about churches, schools, springs, roads, everything good that has ever been in our villages).

The landscape, the architectural objects and the rituals and cultural tradition exist through language and are not imaginable without it. Elpi Manço has also made lists of toponymics in an attempt to sustain the Kaynas world through the language.

That is why the main function of language in this official text is not communicative but purely symbolic. In fact even when the text was being translated it was clear that no-one except the translators would be able to understand it. However, the people gathered together to confirm (and maybe to understand) the uniqueness of their language. It is a message whose sender and the addressee are one and the same.

The texts I have considered in this article belong to different periods and are written in different Slavic dialects of Southern Albania, but they are connected by the use of language in its symbolic function. These texts are created to represent the language and to underline its uniqueness against the background of another language or idiom, and, through the language, to underline the special status of the people that use it.

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## Appendix. The Charter of the Society of Kajnas

**Shoqata “Kajnas”**

**Boboshticë – Drenovë**

**Statuti i Shoqatës**

**Sobranjeto (Shoqata)**

**“Kajnas”**

**Boboshticë Korçë**

**Statuto<sup>7</sup>**

Sobranjeto (Shoqata) nasha ima imjeto “Kajnas” i se pishi Shoqata “Kajnas” Boboshticë-Drenovjene (sic). Esti ena shoqata so anëtari ot sellata Boboshtic[ë]<sup>8</sup> i Drenovjene.

Qendrata esti vo sia sella Boboshtica i Drenovjene. Shoqata esti pishana vo gjykata. Tia sho go ime themelojvana sas Shoqata ese seljeni od Boboshtica i od Drenovjene.

Vo selloto Boboshtica sia seljeni ese podeljeni na 4 mallje sh{o}ima<sup>9</sup> selloto.

**Vo Çellkovjene**

Ilo Petraç Melko

Sotir Vaso Kuklina

Petraç Thoma Greço

Riko Bogadini

Sotir Jovan Koço

Kostandin Vaso Kuklina

Berti Niko Kuklina

Petrika Niko Kuklina

Kristo Llazo Vera

Kristaq Nikolla Koço

Sotir Themistokli Bambulli

**Vo Bratsko**

Todo Sotir Gjermani

Jovan Sotir Gjermani

Elpi Kristaq Manço

Ladi Kiço Koço

<sup>7</sup> Here and later the parts of the original that were in red are in bold.

<sup>8</sup> [] will be used for missing parts of words and punctuation marks.

<sup>9</sup> {} will be used for later additions.

Ilo Mihal Kuneszka  
 Vani Ilo Papa  
 Zisi Milo Golo  
 Vasil Petraq Golo  
 Vasilika Ndreko Napoloni

### **Vo Bunaro**

Niko Stiljan Zuko  
 Guri Miço Trako  
 Efti Todo Mileci  
 Gaqi Stiljan Trako  
 Arqile Palo Nestori  
 Petro Savi Maçuka  
 Raqi Kosta Maçuka

### **Vo Popçishte**

Thanas Kristo Damko  
 Aleksandra Kiço Pallamidhi  
 Kiço Themistokli Papa  
 Maqo Themistokli Papa  
 Todi Gaqi Gjançi  
 Jorgo Nasi Bregu  
 Arjan Todi Gjançi  
 Gjergji Kiço Lolo  
 Olsi Ili Melko  
 Ilo Vllado Jankoviç  
 Mileva Vllado Jankoviç

Shoqata esti sobrano i themelojvano vo daskallata sellu tomu vo Boboshtica.

### **I. Sho rabote zha <stori> {çini} shoqata**

Shoqata “Kajnas” esti ena Shoqata sho ne se zema so politika.

Tas zha se zema:

1. Da darzhi krenat patriotizmi, kulturata, humanizmi, ambjentalizmin.
2. Shoqata zha rabota vo tia mesta sho ima seljeni Kajnas Boboshtjeni i Drenovjeni; vnatri i n[a]dvor sie selli[.]

3. Shoqata trjebi da približi so eden i druj sviçqi seljeni[.] Da darzhi pravo tradicjete<sup>10</sup> sho ime bandjeno vo sello kaj zakoniti vo brak, umrenje, karstjenje, da pjeme pjesne na kajnas jazik, da prikazime prikazne, da darzhime zakoniti vo prazniciti[.]

4. Jaziko “Kajnas” trebi sho da se zborvi vo cello; da ne se zaboravi{va} zhosh svjeto vjek soj jazik esti zborvan tua.

5. Da storime nemozhestno sho da najdime dokumenti sho pishe i zborve za sellata nashi[.] za kulturata, cerkvjete, daskalljete{, çezmjete, patoviti} i za svje dobrinjete sho ime bandjen<o>{a} vo sellata nashi.

---

<sup>10</sup> Corrected: tradicjta (sic).

6. Trebi sho tia seljeni stari sho ime ustanato vo sello da mu zborve “Kajnas” mlladitim sho pllaninjete, poljata, rekjete da se darzhe taka kaj gume (sic) ustaveni nashiti bolivi ludi zhosh nema sello so sjes masnine sho im<a>{e} sellata nash<e>{i} Boboshtica i Drenovjene[,] jobata sella okollu i fkollu ese kaj skrieni vo bez broj çarniçe o (sic) çarne poseane ot nepomjetnoe (sic) vreme.

7. Da branime mestata vo jobata sella taka kaj ime ustaveno perviti nashi ludi[,] zborvime sho da se brane kufite vo jobata sela.

## **II. Aktivitet na Shoqata**

– Shoqata zha organizojvi i zha kordinojvi svje aktivitetna rrabota so anëtariti tonje kaj tia so karakter prijaltso (sic), bratsko, da storime pikni<k>{c}i, tubime za zdravjeto<sup>11</sup> i kulturni aktivitet shto eje Albanska.

– Nasha shoqata “Kajnas” zha rrabota so drugje shoqate kaj sestre[,] so shoqata Bashkim-VI-lazerim vo selloto nashe vo Boboshtica i so shoqata “Asdren” vo Drenovjene[,] so pleqesiata jobata sellu[,] so pushteti vendor, komunata, prefekturata.

## **III. Shoqata Kajnas zha organizojvi**

– Ekonomiçeski aktivitet – zha rrabotime sviçqi anetari od <organ>i shoqata da branime i da da{r}zhime dobre sviçqi ambjenti sellu tomu Boboshtjeni i Drenovjeni tame gje rrabote i zhive anëtariti nashe shoqata “Kajnas”[.].

– Da storime rrabota so nashi çelet sho da mu go nauçime jaziko Kajnas[.]

– Da pishime ena abetare i fjalor “Kajnas”[.] Da mu zborvime doma so soj jazik kaj parviti nashi[.]

– Zha soberime kashta vo kashta ot tia sho ese anetari vo Shoqatata “Kajnas” ena kuota (pare) kaj sho da se vendosi[.]

Zha soberime pari<sup>12</sup> ot subjektoviti privati, i publiki od nashe mjesto i ot nadvorshni mjesta kaj Gercija, Amerika tamo gje rrabote mlladiti nashi.

– Tjes pare sho zha se sobere zha se rasipe za rrabotjete sho zha ima Shoqata.

– Sho da ne se rrasipe i da se brane sia fondovi (Pare) zha se ot<f>{v}ori vo banga (sic) ena “llogari bankare[.]” na imjeto ot “Kajnas”

## **IV. Zhivot od shoqata<sup>13</sup>**

– Shoqata zha se krijojvi za eno vrijeme sho nesti percaktojvano.

## **IV.<sup>14</sup> Organiti sho zha udheheqve shoqatata**

– Organi<sup>15</sup> po golem i po visok zha eje ASAMBLEATA i zha se çini ot sviçqi anetari A P A sas Asamblea zha se soberi vo dve (2) ili tri (3) godini[.]

Asamblea ima pravo da çini

– vo statuto da çini ndryshime

– zha pule kaj se realizojvani sviçqi rrabote sho se pishe vo statuto.

<sup>11</sup> Crossed out and replaced by “shkencore” (Alb. ‘academic’), probably mixed up with “shëndetësore” (Alb. ‘health’).

<sup>12</sup> Inserted “fonde” in other hand-writing, with black ink.

<sup>13</sup> In other hand-writing, with black ink.

<sup>14</sup> The number inserted in other hand-writing, with black ink.

<sup>15</sup> Corrected: “organo”.

– kryesiata zha se çini ot sedam (7) ili od devet (9) anetari[.] eden kryeta[r], pod kryetari (2) za jobata sella B.[oboshtica i] Dr[enovjene], eden sekretar<sup>16</sup>.

Vo tia mjesta kaj vo Korça ako ima 10 (deset) anetari kaj nas se stori ena (dega) sho zha ima Kryetar, sek.[retar] i eden (1) ili tri (3) anetari[.]

– Enash vo 3 (tri) godine zha se çine zgjedhje nove.

### **Soberanjeto i podelenjoto (sic) Shoqatu**

– Nasha Shoqata ne mozhi da se soberi so drugje Shoqate.

– Tas ne mozhi i da se podjelvi<sup>17</sup>[.]

– Statuto zha percaktojvi rregulla za anëtariti tonje.

– Anetari vo shoqata ime pravo da se sviçqi ludi sho ime pallnato osamnajse godine (18) i sho grjede ot stare familje Boboshtjeni i Drenovjeni gjesti zborvan i se zborvi jeziko “Kajnas”[.]

Ime pravo sho anetari da se tia ludi sho ime ili tatka ili majka sho zborve jezik kajnas[.]

Vo shoqata nasha zha {a}deroj<vajve>ve i ludi drugji sho aspirujve i kontribujve sho shoqata da esti zdrava.

Mozhi da ese anëtari Personaliteti, dashamirasi ludi so reputacija.

### **Sho da si anetar trjebi:**

Da çini ena kerkesa so usta ili pishanje vo kryesia.

Ako kryesiata go aprovojvi toj çovjek se çini anetari[.]

### **Anetari ima detyrovi**

– Da pllati kuotata (pare)[.]

– Da se zgjedhuva i da zgjedhvi vo organiti shoqatu[.]

– Tia sho ese anetari Shoqatu zha zeme ena kniga sho se zovi “Libreza anetaresie”[.]

– Za dobra rrabota ima pravo da se poshta so: Tituj nderi[.] Kryesiata zha propozojvi i so miriatim shoqatu ima pravo da poshti anetariti sonje i drugji personi sho ime kotribuanje (sic) za qellimiti nashe shoqatu[.]

### **Drugji problemi**

– Shoqata zha rrabota so demokratiçki parimovi Albanski[.]

– Shoqata zha pita sho selloto nash (sic) da se poznavi nje kaj drugjiti sella, toko kaj na ime ustaveni përviti nashi[.]

– Shoqata zha ime eden den praznik[.]

Statuto za shoqata nasha „kajnas“ go storije i go pishaje

Sotir Damko

Elpi Manço

Sotir Bambulli

Todo Gjermani

Riko Bogadini

Ilo Kuneshka

Statuto esti pishan na jeziko “Kajnas” taka kaj se <b> zb{o}rvje{she} i se zborvi ot seljeni nash (sic) soj jazik {esti} star.

Novembre 2006.

<sup>16</sup> Crossed out: “3 ili çetiri (4) anetari”

<sup>17</sup> Inserted instead of “rasipisuva”.

## Oficjalne teksty w słowiańskich dialektach okolic Korczy w południowo-wschodniej Albanii

Artykuł omawia oficjalne teksty powstałe w słowiańskich dialektach Albanii. Wybrano przykładowo trzy teksty: *Wewnętrzne wytyczne w sprawie organizacji pracy komitetu MAEI na poziomie okręgu/prefektury* (2009), list mieszkańców Boboshticy do bułgarskiego egzarchy (1873) i *Statut towarzystwa „Kajnas”* (2006). Te trzy teksty posługują się językiem w sposób symboliczny. To, w jakiej odmianie języka są napisane, jest równie ważne, jak ich treść. Teksty te powstały po to, aby pokazać język i podkreślić jego unikalność na tle innego języka, lub po to, aby poprzez język podkreślić szczególny status ludzi, którzy się nim posługują.

**Słowa kluczowe:** dialektologia południowsłowiańska; słowiańskie dialekty Albanii; funkcje języka; socjolingwistyka

## On Official Texts in Slavic Dialects in the County of Korcha, South-Eastern Albania

In the article I consider official texts in Slavic dialects in Albania. Three texts are taken as examples: “An Internal Handbook for Organising the Work of a Regional Committee at a District/Prefecture Level of MAEI [Macedonian Alliance for European Integration]” (2009), a letter written by the villagers of Boboshtica to the Bulgarian Exarch (1873), and The “Charter of the Society of Kaynas” (2006). They make use of language in its symbolic function – the way these texts are written is almost as important as what exactly is written. These texts have been created to showcase the language and to underline its uniqueness against the background of another language or idiom, or, to put it another way, to underline through the language the special status of the people that use it.

**Keywords:** South Slavic dialectology; Slavic dialects in Albania; functions of language; socio-linguistics



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