THE FIRST AROMANIAN WRITERS IN THE BALKAN CONTEXT

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Résumé. ***Les premiers écrivains aromains en contexte balkanique.*** *Les premières œuvres didactiques aroumaines ont été produites au cours des trois dernières décennies du XVIII^e siècle et ont été écrites par les érudits aroumains Theodor Anastasie Cavallioti, Daniil Moscopoleanul et Constantin Ucuta. Nous devons également mentionner la traduction de textes religieux en aroumain (Le Missel aroumain, Codex Dimonie).*
Dans cet article, nous présenterons les principales caractéristiques du dialecte aroumain albanais, à savoir les caractéristiques du sous-dialecte grabovéen parlé dans la région de Moscople et du sous-dialecte farsherot, telles qu'elles sont utilisées dans les écrits des premiers érudits aroumains. Selon Th. Capidan, les habitants des villes de Corcea, de Pogradeţ Elbasan, de Cavalja, de Tirana, de Durazzo, de Lusnia, de Berat, de Fieri (Fjeri) sont originaires de la région de Moscopole et leur discours présente des caractéristiques particulières qui se retrouvent dans les écrits du XVIIIe siècle. Néanmoins, ils sont longs jusqu'au sous-dialecte farsherot et ce n'est qu'avec le temps qu'ils ont perdu certaines particularités de ce dernier sous-dialecte.
Le fruit des activités culturelles intenses à Moscopole a été l'œuvre des premiers écrivains aroumains, Theodor A. Cavallioti, Daniil Moscopoleanul şi et Constantin Ucuta. La langue des ouvrages des écrivains aroumains du XVIII^e siècle (Daniil, Ucuta, Cavallioti), ainsi que celle des textes religieux de la même époque témoignent des particularités des dialectes farsherot et grabovéen. On peut entrevoir dans la langue de ces écrits une certaine « archaicïté » qui indique leurs affinités avec les périodes précédentes de l'évolution de la langue roumaine, et parfois même avec le roumain populaire.
Durant les XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles, la conscience nationale des Aroumains devenait de plus en plus forte à la suite du moment Mosopole et de la diaspora aroumaine en Autriche-Hongrie et dans les principautés roumaines.

Mots-clés: *le dialecte aroumain, Moscopole, contexte balkanique, écrivains aroumains*

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

In this paper we will present the main features of the Aromanian dialect from Albania, namely the characteristic features of the Grabovean subdialect spoken in the Moscopole area and the Fărşherot subdialect as they are used in the writings of the first Aromanian scholars. According to Th. Capidan, the inhabitants of the towns of Corcea, Pogradeţ Elbasan, Cavalja, Tirana, Durazzo, Lusnia, Berat, Fărica (Fjeri) came from the Moscopole area and their speech p presents particular features that are to be found in the writings of the 18th century scholars. Nevertheless, they do be long to the Fărşerot subdialect, and only with time they have lost some particular features of the latter subdialect.

The first Aromanian pedagogical works were written in the Greek alphabet. The fact that the first Aromanian texts printed or remaining in manuscript form have been written in the Greek alphabet has been a matter of preoccupation for all editors of these texts for two reasons, firstly, aiming to render as faithfully as possible the Greek alphabet text and secondly, transliterating it into the Latin alphabet. Over the course of two centuries several Romanian and foreign linguists and philologists have worked on these texts. Among them were Johann Thunmann, Gustav Meyer, Franz Miklosich, Gustav Weigand, Per. Papahagi, Matilda Caragiu-Marioţeanu, and Armin Hetzer.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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(36) ar. *ráḑă*, alb. *reze* [*rreze*] (< lat. **radia* [= *radius*]) (cf. Çabej II, 93; missing from Vătăşescu 1997); dr. *rază*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(298) ar. *bănedu* ‘to live’, alb. *banoj* (in Aromanian it is most likely an Albanian loanword).

(520) ar. *maḑăre*, alb. *modhul* (Brâncuş 1983, 93–94).

(521) ar. *grumaḑu*, alb. *gurmaz* (Brâncuş 1983, 84–85).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Similar to words inherited from Latin, we notice that words originating from the substratum are present either in all dialects (*baltă*, *groapă*, *guşă*), either in some of them, in Daco-Romanian, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian (*bască*, *mazăre*, *năpârcă*) or in Daco-Romanian and Aromanian (*grumaz*). Two words can be found only in Daco-Romanian (*ceafă* and *ghimpe*), and one word only in Aromanian (*ţalpă*).

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

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

Constantin Ucuta, map archivist and archpriest in Posen (Southern Prussia), published in Vienna, in 1797, *Νέα Παιδαγογία* (*The New Pedagogy*) (with the subtitle, "facile alphabet book to teach Wallachian Romanian script to the young, as currently used by the Romanian-Wallachians [= by Aromanians]"). Ucuta wrote the alphabet book for the well-established purpose to teach Aromanian children to read Aromanian, *Aşteaptă-o luńina aistă puţănă, tră filisirea a fumel'ilor a nostrorŭ, că de multu ţî era doru se o vedzî aistă arhizmă tru fara anostră, tsi cu efcolie se kicăseascâ fumel'ile*

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anostre aţea ţi cu multă zâmane ş-cu multă zâhmete o k'icăsescu pre altă limbă. [Receive this scarce enlightenment, for the use of our children, for you have been longing for a long time to see this beginning for our people, so that our children be able to understand with ease what they otherwise understand with tedious and strenuous effort in another language]. It can be concluded that Ucuta was aware of the national awakening movement of Romanians in Transylvania. This awareness was reinforced by the national movement promoted by the Transylvanian School ("Şcoala Ardeleană") and was publicly asserted, at the beginning of the 19th century, by the Aromanian writers Mihail C. Boiagi and Gheorghe Constantin Roja.

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

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

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

The importance of Daniil Moscopoleanul's work was highlighted, among others, by Th. Capidan, "The significance of Daniil's work for a better knowledge of the Aromanian dialect, as well as other Balkan languages, namely Albanian and Bulgarian, is tremendous. There is no other work in the Aromanian dialectology literature with a more free structure of the sentence than Daniil's book. As an Aromanian with a good grasp of this

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dialect, he was able to write without being influenced by other languages" (Capidan 1932, 53). Prof. Grigore Brâncuş has studied the *Lexicon* authored by Daniil Moscopoleanul, deeming it "one of the oldest and most important monuments of the Romanian language south of the Danube" (Brâncuş 1992, 43). In analysing the etymological structure of the Aromanian lexicon, Grigore Brâncuş finds that, out of the 1072 lexical units provided in *Lexicon*, 586 (meaning approximately 55 %) are of Latin origin. This proportion is almost identical to the one found in Th. Cavallioti (56%; see *supra*).

The works of the three authors reveal features of the dialects spoken by Aromanians in Albania, specifically particularities of the Grabovean and Farsherot idioms. According to Th. Capidan, the Aromanian inhabitants of the cities of Corcea, Pogradeţ, Elbasan, Cavalja, Tirana, Durazzo, Luşnia, Berat, Fearica (Fier) originate from the Moscopole region and show linguistic particularities that can be found in the language of 18th century writers, but, in terms of origin, they are still Farsherots who have lost, with the passing of time, some specific features (for example, the velar *r*.) (cf. Nevaci 2009, 225).

Phonetic characteristics of Aromanian texts in the 18th century

The vowel system. The pronunciation of **o̧a** as **o̧**, *mo̧rte* for *mo̧árte*, 'moartea' ("death"); *vo̧meră* for *vo̧ámeră* 'plug' ("plough")

Absence of protetic a- *rădăţínă*, *rău*, *rránă*, for the forms which are common among other Aromanians, *arădăţínă* 'rădăcină' ("root"), *arău* 'rău', *aránâ* 'rană' ("wound")

The pronunciation of e̯a as e̯. *ure̯cl'a, impe̯tigă, bure̯te, fume̯le*, etc. for *ure̯ácl'e* 'ureche' ("ear"), *mpe̯ática* 'peticeşte' ("patching"), *bure̯áte* 'burete' ("sponge"), *fume̯á l'e* 'copii' ("children"). The *e̯á* diphthong is sometimes written as *i̯á* , as in Codex Dimonie, *ĝuni̯ápine* 'jneapăn' ("juniper") *fi̯átă* 'fată' ("girl").

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

The pronunciation of *ă, î* as *ä***,** transcribed by Daniil with **ɛ,** pronunciation specific to the Farsherot idiom, *prevḍîle* for *prăvḍăle* from *pravadă* 'vită' ("cattle") *lendurâ* for *lăndură* 'rândunică' ("swallow"); *serme* for *sărăme* 'fărâme' ("smithereens"); *puţenu* for *puţînu* 'puţin' ("a little"); *lenḍetlu* for *lînḍetlu* 'bolnavul' ("ill").

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

It is not possible to know whether the notation *ρρ*, used by all the three authors, is meant to denote a velar *r* (or possibly uvular) or an *r* with

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multiple apical vibrations. However, the form *picuraγu*, found at Daniil, 168/28, could confirm a velar or uvular *r* present in the Farsherot idiom, further certifies Daniil's relationship with this idiom.

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

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

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

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

With regard to the vowel system, the Grabovean idiom, alongside the Farsherot one, into the category of idioms with 6 vocalic phonemes (the closed central vowel /î/ is absent), being different, in this regard, from the Aromanian idioms with seven vowel phonemes (Pindean and Gramostean).
Another characteristic feature of the Grabovean idiom, which is also found in the dialect spoken by the Farsherots in Albania, is the monophthongization of the diphthongs *e̯a*, *o̯a,* resulting the form *e̯,o̯* (cf. Nevaci 2009, 282). In *Codex Dimonie* the diphthong *e̯a* appears both as *e̯a* (graphically, *i̯a*), and as *e*, *bisi̯arică* (35/26), *uri̯acľe* (11b/18), but *déde* (68b/18), *cădére* (70/3). However, the *o̯a* diphthong is preserved (shown graphically as, *u̯a*), *u̯áspe* (81b/13), *icu̯ană* (27b/21).

With regard to another phonetic feature found in this text, specifically the labialisation area of unstressed *ă*, Th. Capidan states, "It suffices for one to spend one day in Tirana or Durazzo to hear Ucuta's language with the usual labialisation of unstressed *ă*" (Capidan 1931, 121). These features is also found in *Liturgical Book* (Caragiu-Marioţeanu 1962, 81-82 and is confirmed by the current Grabovean dialect. In *Codex Dimonie* the following forms are documented, *furmacu* for *fărmacu* 'otravă' ("poison") used by the other Aromanians (43 b/2), *lungoare* for *lăngoare* 'boală' ("illness") used by the other Aromanians (37/21).

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

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

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

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

We point to the reduction of the lateral [l] in the group [rl] to [r] in the definite article forms of the noun, *ţéru* for *ţérlu* 'cerul' ("the sky") in Aromanian, *sǫ́ră* for *sǫárli* 'soarele' ("the Sun"), *fîcóru* for *fîcórlu* in the other Aromanian idioms, etc.

However, the reduction of the dental [n] within the consonant cluster *mn* (*mn* > *m*), a characteristic of the Farsherot idiom, occurs in the texts authored by the Aromanian writers from the 18th century, including *Codex Dimonie.* Thus, we encounter the forms *lémnu* 'lemn' ("wood"), *scámnu* 'scaun' ("chair"), *sémnu* 'semn' ("sign") etc (cf. Saramandu 1972, 98, 1893, *mn* > *m* only among the Farsherots, but not among the Moscopoleans [= Graboveans].

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

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

With regard to the lexicon, we find in *Codex Dimonie* the form *ţinivá* of indefinite pronoun, with the sense of "someone", "anybody" (Weigand 1894,

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14/19), *dise aveţă viḍută ţinivá şi adună ani du rugu di pritu sḱiń?,* 'if you see someone gathering berries from thorns?' (with verb in the positive form), but also with the same meaning of the negative pronoun "nobody", *ţinivá nu va s-ĝi avdă* (Weigand 1894, 13/8-9) 'nobody will hear them' (with the verb in the negative form). *Ţinivá* with the meaning of "nobody", "anybody" is also provided by Daniil and Ucuta. It is worth noting that the indefinite pronoun *ţinivá* can be found in the works of Aromanian writers in the 18th century in negative sentences with the meaning of "nobody", *ţiniva nu poati* (Ucuta 65/4) 'nobody can'; *caftă hrană şi nu le da ţinivá* 'they ask for food and nobody gives them'. *Ţinivá* is a Grabovean form. In the Farsherot idiom, the corresponding form is *văr*, used as indefinite pronoun (*víni văr ̯ (fiĉor ̯?* 'some lad has come'), but also as negative pronoun in negative sentences (*nu víni văr ̯ (fiĉor ̯)* 'no lad has come'. In *Codex Dimonie*, *ţinivá* can be found both in negative sentences, similar to the use found in Aromanian writers at the end of the 18th century, with the meaning of "nobody", as well as positive sentences, with the meaning of "somebody" (see *supra*) (cf. Nevaci 2009, 285).

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

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

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

Conclusion. The fruit of the intense cultural activities at Moscopole were the works of the first Aromanian writers, Theodor A. Cavallioti[1], Daniil Moscopoleanul[2] şi and Constantin Ucuta. The language of the works

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

[2] Daniil Moscopoleanul published in Venice in 1794, *Εισαγωγική διδασκαλία* (Introductory Teaching), a reading book, written in Greek, which finally included a four-language conversation guide for Greek, Albanian, Aromanian, and Bulgarian. The first edition was reproduced by English researcher William Martin-Leake in

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of the eighteenth century Aromanian writers (Daniil, Ucuta, Cavallioti), as well as that of the religious texts dating back to the same period display the peculiarities of the Farsherot and Grabovean dialects. One can glimpse from the language of these writings a certain "archaicity" that indicates their affinities with the previous periods in the evolution of the Romanian language, and sometimes even with popular Romanian.

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

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