

## WORDS FOR VILLAGE ‘FSHAT’ AND ‘KATUND’ IN THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE

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**ABSTRACT:** In the lexical system of the Albanian language, there are two words with synonymous meaning, but with different dialectal and sociolinguistic distribution, namely ‘fshat’ in Tosk dialect and ‘katun(d)’ in Gheg dialect that express rural settlements in opposition to the meaning of the word city that names urban settlements. The paper examines and analyzes both words in many aspects of their use in the Albanian language. In the framework of language planning, especially regarding the drafting of explanatory dictionaries of Albanian, the ideological element has determined the status of these words in terms of their use in certain situations and domains. In the diachronic aspect, their etymology is described, as is their use in literary Albanian of the XVI–XVIII century. On the dialectal level, their distribution is presented in the two Albanian dialects and in the Arbëresh diaspora in Italy. In the lexicographic aspect, the status of these two words and their derivatives is scrutinized in the three explanatory dictionaries of the Albanian language: 1954, 1980, and 2006, in which, based on the semantic analysis of the relevant words and their derivatives, it appears that the word ‘fshat’ and its derivatives have gained legitimacy and thus prestige against the word ‘katund’ and its derivatives, which have remained marginalized. In this way, through these two cases, the ideological influence on the work of drafting dictionaries is highlighted, which has further determined their status in terms of use.

**KEYWORDS:** Albanian language, language planning, ideology, lexicon, explanatory dictionaries: 1954, 1980, 2006, ‘fshat’, ‘katund’

### 1. Introduction

Language planning is a sociolinguistic activity that basically aims to identify and regulate language changes that occur in languages. Moreover, this process has a crucial impact on the development of language development directions and the use of language forms that are part of this development. Therefore, Copper rightly points out that language planning refers to deliberate attempts to influence the behavior of others in relation to the acquisition, structure, or functional distribution of their language codes (Cooper, 1989, p. 45). As a result of the effects of language planning, speakers will tend to use the forms that emerge as prescriptive forms of this process. In this sense, language planning processes have proven to be determinants not only of the fate of linguistic varieties and forms but also of the status of particular words. First of all, this phenomenon is related to the prestige status that standardized forms gain as a result of standardization. Hence, of the four stages of language standardization defined by Haugen (1972), namely selection, codification, elaboration, and acceptance, the selection step is the most important for determining the prescriptive forms of the variety being selected because precisely those forms will gain sociolinguistic prestige. Haugen states that to choose one of the vernaculars as the norm means to favor the group of people who speak that variety (Haugen, 1972, p. 109), i.e., those linguistic forms that are characteristic of that variety will be favored. Standardizing activity is often focused on codifying the phonetic and grammatical systems, while the lexical system is considered to be comprehensive. Therefore, codification focuses mainly on the prescription of phonological-phonetic and morpho-syntactic forms. Lexical units, on the other hand, often remain on the margins of codification and are conceived rather as units that can be used in accordance with the needs of functional styles. However, even in the case of the lexical system, the prestige of the standard variety is often a determinant when speakers select different words to use, especially in situations where they use formal styles. In such cases, the prestige of the standard language influences speakers to use those lexical items that are part of the language norm that has prestige. In this sense, the speaker who, in situations when he would speak in his vernacular, uses certain words, would, in formal situations when he would speak in the standard variety, use the corresponding synonyms that are characteristic of the standard language. The favoring of standard variety units has its source in a linguistic ideology created in Europe, which has accompanied the phenomenon of language standardization and influenced the formation of preferences for linguistic forms that are part of standard varieties. Susan Gall points out that current writers agree that the ideal of unified norms was put into practice through the making of dictionaries, grammars,

and national literatures, as well as the establishment of language academies focused on "correctness." They add that participation in a regime of standardization is not primarily a matter of speaking such highly valued forms. Rather, it requires exhibiting loyalty towards a standard variety whose high status is supported by the centralizing institutions of education, labor markets, mass media, and government bureaucracies that inculcate in the population a respect and desire for such linguistic forms. For those living in standardized regimes, as we all now do, standards command authority; other linguistic forms seem inadequate (non-language) or simply invisible (Gall, 2006, p. 164).

It is the support that elites give to certain language forms and the tendency of people to become part of elites that have a direct impact on language behaviors and the selection of language units to be used, especially in formal situations. This tendency does not exclude lexical units either. In the case of the Albanian language, this phenomenon can be observed within two single synonymous words, which, due to the influence of the standardization processes on the Albanian language, have had different developments and uses. As will be seen below, it was the process of language standardization and the development of prestige for the standard variety that had the decisive influence on the fact that the words that belonged to the lexicon of the dialect taken on the basis of the standard language not only gained prestige but have also been more productive in terms of word formation for other derivatives that have also gained prestige. In this paper, we will specifically treat the example of the two Albanian words for village, namely 'fshat' and 'katund', which have been almost complete synonyms in the Albanian language. The word 'fshat' has been historically developed within the Southern dialect, while the word 'katund' has been developed in the Northern dialect. The fact that the Standard Albanian language was developed on the basis of the Southern dialect has been decisive for the later uses of these two synonyms in the Albanian language. In this context, the prestige gained by the Tosk Albanian variant on which the standard language is built in this case has been extended to a single word, namely the word 'fshat', which over time has been conceived as a lexeme that has prestige relative to the word 'katund', which has been conceived as a unit that can be used more in the informal variants.

## 2. Lexical and semantic aspects of the words 'fshat' and 'katund'

In the lexicon of the Albanian language, there are two words that express rural settlements or villages: 'fshat' and 'katund', in opposition to the word 'qytet' (eng. town) which names urban settlements. Semantically, the words 'fshat' and 'katund' are synonyms, but they have different dialectal distributions in Albanian: 'fshat' in the Tosk dialect and 'katun(d)' in the Gheg dialect. With this dialectal distribution, they are also presented in documented written Albanian, although 'katund' is continuously proved in Albanian (Gheg dialect) of the XVI - XVIII centuries, while 'fshat' is not, which is later documented in the written Albanian, generally in the XIX century. Even in the Arbëresh texts of Italy, however, the word 'katund' is dominant. Both synonyms are provided in the 1954 (Dictionary, 1954)<sup>1</sup>, 1980 (Dictionary of Albanian, 1980)<sup>2</sup> and 2006 (Dictionary, 2006)<sup>3</sup> explanatory dictionaries of the Albanian language, which are also its three primary explanatory dictionaries. In this way, since these dictionaries, especially the latter two, have been designed with the intention of being dictionaries of standard Albanian, 'fshat', 'katund', and their derivatives are given the status of words of the standard Albanian language variety. Nevertheless, in terms of the semantic explanation of these words in these dictionaries, in all cases it has been given the advantage of explaining the word 'fshat', and the meaning of the word 'katund' is briefly presented as its synonym. This methodology is also followed in the case of the semantic explanation of the new word units formed on the basis of the word 'fshat', such as: *fshatar*, *fshatarësi*, *fshatarçe*, *bashkëfshatar* and 'katund', such as: *katundar*, *katundari*, *katundarçe*, *bashkëkatundar*. In the three explanatory dictionaries of the

<sup>1</sup>The Language and Literature Section, is the first explanatory dictionary in Albanian with about 25,000 words.

<sup>2</sup>The Dictionary "Fjalor i gjuhës së sotme shqipe" (Tirana: The Academy of Sciences of Albania, The Institute of Linguistics and Literature), is the second explanatory dictionary in Albanian with about 41,000 words. Improved and completed was published in 2002. See also: <http://fjalorshqip.com/>; <http://fjalori.shkenca.org/>

<sup>3</sup>The Dictionary of 2006 "Fjalor i gjuhës shqipe" (Tirana: Albanian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Linguistics and Literature), is the newest and latest vocabulary dictionary in Albanian, worked on the dictionary of the 1980s, revised and updated with new lexical units, with about 48,000 words. See also at: <https://fjalorthi.com/>

Albanian language, 1954, 1980, and 2006, the words formed by the word-forming theme ‘katund’ are briefly explained as synonyms of the units formed by the word-forming theme ‘fshat’. Thus, ‘fshat’ was legitimized and, conversely, ‘katund’ was marginalized. In terms of word formation, from the word ‘katund’ with different forms of word formation, 9 new words have been formed, such as: *katundár*, *katundár* (adj.), *katundarçe*, *katundari*, *katundarisht*, *katundisht*, *katundës*, *katundësi*, *bashkëkatundár*, but some of them, having different dialectal divisions within the gheg dialects, as well as variously different uses, emerge as synonyms among them, such as: *katundar* – *katundës*, *katundari* – *katundësi*, *katundisht* – *katundarisht*. On the basis of the word-formation from the word ‘fshat’, these 7 new lexical units have been created: *fshatár*, *fshatár* (adj.), *fshatarák*, *fshatarçe*, *fshatarësi*, *fshatçe* and *bashkëfshatár*. In this regard, most of the new words are formed with suffixes, as *-ar*: N. *katundar*; *fshatar* according to the word-forming model: Nt + *-ar* = N; *-çe*: adverbs *katundarçe*; *fshatarçe*, *fshatçe* according to the model: Nt + *-çe* = Adv.; *-i*: N. *katundari*, *katundësi* by model: Nt + *-i* = N; *-(ë)s*: N. *katundës* by the model: Nt + *-(ë)s* = N; *-(ë)si*: N. *fshatarësi* by model: Nt + *-(ë)si* = N; *-isht*: Adv. *katundisht*, *katundarisht* according to the model: Nt + *-isht* = Adv.; *-ak*: Adj. *fshatarak* according to the model: Nt + *-ak* = Adj.; in one case there is a formation with the suffix *bashkë-*: N. *bashkëkatundar*; *bashkëfshatar* and in one case with conversion: Adj. *katundar*; *fshatar* from the respective names. Looking at all the cases in terms of semantic synonymy between words formed with different types of word formation on the basis of these two first themes, in almost all cases synonymous pairs are formed, such as: (N.) *katund* – *fshat*, (N.) *katundar* / *katundës* – *fshatar*, (Adj.) *katundar* – *fshatar*, (Adv.) *katundarçe* – *fshatarçe*, *katundisht* / *katundarisht* – *fshatçe*, (N.) *katundari* / *katundësi* – *fshatarësi*, (N.) *bashkëkatundar* – *bashkëfshatar*. From these that emerge in the explanatory dictionaries of the Albanian language, the only word that does not create synonyms is the adjective *fshatarak*, but in the Gheg dialect there is a similar word with the same semantic meaning, *katun(d)aresk*, alongside *fshataresk*, and both unites are not reflected in either of the Albanian explanatory dictionaries. In these dictionaries, neither the synonymic pair *katundarkë* and *fshatarkë* which are words formed by the word-formation suffix *-kë* which, besides the gender category, also creates new words (in the 2006 Dictionary to the noun *fshatar*, this suffix is given alongside *-e* as feminizing formants), nor the synonymic pair in the dictionaries of 1980 and 2006 *katundare*, which are given as special lexical units formed with the suffix *-e* from the relevant forms of male gender, Like *katundare* and *fshatare*, in the 2006 Dictionary as separate lexical units coexisting female forms *bashkëkatundare* and *bashkëfshatare* are also provided.

In general, not all words are reflected in all the Albanian explanatory dictionaries. To compare them in this respect, we present them in tabular form as they appear in these three explanatory dictionaries of the Albanian language: 1954, 1980, and 2006.

words	1954	1980	2006	words	1954	1980	2006
katund	+	+	+	fshat	+	+	+
katundar	+	+	+	fshatar	+	+	+
katundar (mb.)	-	+	+	fshatar (mb.)	-	+	-
katundarçe	+	+	+	fshatarçe	+	+	+
katundari	+	+	+	fshatarësi	+	+	+
katundisht	+	+	+	fshatçe	+	+	+
katundarisht	-	-	+				
katundës	+	+	-	synonym of the “fshatar”			
katund(ë)si	+	+	-	synonym of the “fshatarësi”			
bashkëkatundar	-	+	+	bashkëfshatar	+	+	+
?				fshatarak	+	+	+

Table 1. Words ‘fshat’ and ‘katund’ and their derivaties in the Albanian Explanatory Dictionaries.

As can be seen in Table 1, the words: *katund* / *fshat*, *katundar* / *fshatar*, *katundarçe* / *fshatarçe*, *katundari* / *fshatarësi* (formed with synonymic suffixes *-i* / *-(ë)si* from themes *katundar* / *fshatar*), *katundisht* / *fshatçe*, *fshatarak* and *bashkëfshatar* appear in all three relevant explanatory dictionaries. From the 7 words formed by ‘fshat’, only the adjective *fshatar* does not have continuity, appearing only in the Dictionary of 1980, but it does not appear in 2006, in which the synonym *katundar* (Adj.) appears and that represents the continuity of its release from the 1980 Dictionary. The word *bashkëkatundar*, unlike the word

*bashkëfshatar*, that appears in all three dictionaries, is only given in the 1980 and 2006 dictionaries. The words *katundës* and *katundësi* given in the dictionaries of the 1954 and 1980s in the last 2006 Dictionary are not included at all, whereas, on the other hand, the word *katundarisht* is for the first time included in the dictionary, even though a simple statistical measurement on the google.com search engine turns out 43 times (or 7%), so there is very little usage distribution, which means that it is also a new formation. Compared to it, its earliest synonym, *katundisht*, given in all three explanatory dictionaries, is shown to be significantly larger, being used in 4,240 cases (or 93%).

At the same time, in order to see more clearly the way in which words are explained in the Albanian dictionaries, in the table below we present semantic explanations of those words that emerge as synonyms in the three explanatory dictionaries of the Albanian language from 1954, 1980, and 2006.

	KATUND-I	FSHAT-I
1954	<i>em, shm. -e</i> fshat	<b>em, shm. -ra</b> vend më i vogël se qyteti, ku banojnë kryesisht fshatarë; <b>katund, pshat.</b>
1980	<b>m. sh.</b> 1. Fshat. Katund i ri. Katund më katund. Katund me njëqind shtëpi. Banoj (jetoj) në katund. U ngrit gjithë katundi. 2. hist. Bashkësi e njerëzve, që merreshin kryesisht me blegtori e bënin një jetë shtegtare; vendbanimi i përkohshëm i këtyre njerëzve; fshat i madh, me shtëpi të shpërndara e larg njëra-tjetrës. * Ia fut katundit thjeshtligj. flet kot, pa gjykuar thellë; bën një veprim të pamatur. Sa poshtë ka rënë katundi mospërf. shih te POSHTË.	<b>m. sh.</b> 1. Qendër e vogël banimi, ku njerëzit merren kryesisht me bujqësi dhe me blegtori, katund. Fshat fushor (malor). Fshat i largët. Fshatrat e Shkodrës (e Beratit). Kroi i fshatit. Shtëpi fshati. Shkoj (punoj, jetoj) në fshat. Ngushtimi i dallimeve midis fshatit dhe qytetit. 2. përmb. Tërësia e banorëve të kësaj qendre; fshatarët. U mblodh (u ngrit) i gjithë fshati. 3. Qendër e vogël ku banojnë përkohësisht grupe njerëzish që kryejnë një veprimtari të caktuar. Fshat olimpik. * Bën fshat më vete jeton më vete, zhvillon veprimtari më vete; vepron sipas mendjes së vet. Kryeplak në fshat të huaj shih te KRYEPLAK, ~U. Fshati që duket s' do kallauz fj.u. diçka që duket a njihet nuk ka nevojë për shpjegime të mëtejshme; është fare e qartë e nuk ka nevojë për ndonjë provë a dëshmi.
2006	katúnd,-i m. sh. -e(t) 1. fshat: u ngrit gjithë katundi. 2. hist. bashkësi e disa njerëzve që merreshin kryesisht me blegtori dhe bënin jetë shtegtare; vendbanim i përkohshëm i këtyre njerëzve.	fshat,-i m. sh. -ra(t) 1. qendër e vogël banimi, ku njerëzit merren kryesisht me bujqësi dhe me blegtori; 2. përmb. tërësia e qendrave të tilla; banorët e kësaj qendre, fshatarët: shtëpi fshati; fshati shqiptar; u mblodh i gjithë fshati; fshati që duket s' do kallauz (fj. u.) diçka që duket a që njihet, nuk ka nevojë për shpjegime ose për dëshmi. 3. qendër e vogël ku banojnë përkohësisht grupe njerëzish: fshat olimpik (turistik).

Table 2. The explanation of synonymes *katund* – *fshat* in the three explanatory dictionaries of Albanian language.

	KATUNDAR-I	FSHATAR-I
1954	<i>em, shm. -ë</i> fshatar; <b>fem. -e.</b>	<b>em, shm. -ë</b> 1. ai që banon në fshat e merret kryesisht me bujqësi e blegtori; <b>katundar</b> ; prodhues i vogël mallrash në bujqësi, që i ka mjetet e prodhimit dhe punon vetë në prodhim: - <b>i varfër</b> , - <b>i mesëm</b> ; - <b>kolkozian</b> , që bën pjesë në kolkoz <sup>4</sup> ; - <b>i kooperuar</b> , që bën pjesë në një kooperativë bujqësore; 2. <b>ky është një – i im</b> , jemi nga një fshat; <b>fem. -e.</b>
1980	<b>m. sh.</b> 1. Fshatar. 2. hist. Ai që ishte në krye të katundit, udhëheqësi i katundit; çeltnik.	<b>m. sh.</b> 1. Ai që jeton në fshat dhe merret kryesisht me bujqësi a me blegtori; banori i një fshati, katundar. Fshatar i varfër (i mesëm, i pasur). Fshatar kooperativist. Fshatarët e Myzeqesë. Jetoj në mes të fshatarëve. 2. bised. Bashkëfshatar. Ky është fshatari im.
2006	katundár,-e mb., edhe si em., fshatar: katundarë e qytetarë.	fshatár,-i m. sh. -ë(t) 1. banor i fshatit. 2. bised. bashkëfshatar: është një fshatari im.

Table 3. The explanation of synonymes *katundar* – *fshatar* in the three explanatory dictionaries.

	KATUNDARÇE	FSHATARÇE
1954	<i>ndf.</i> fshatarçe.	<b>ndf.</b> në mënyrë a pas zakonit të fshatarëve; <b>katundarçe.</b>
1980	<b>ndajf. bised.</b>	<b>ndajf. bised.</b>

<sup>4</sup> Kolkóz-i N., **Pl. -e**, agriculture organization (Fjalori 1954).

	Fshatarçe.	1. Sipas mënyrës së fshatarëve, siç e kanë zakon fshatarët, ashtu si sillen a si veprojnë fshatarët. Këndoj fshatarçe. Kërcej (heq valle) fshatarçe. U ulën (ja shtruan) fshatarçe. 2. Së bashku me të gjithë fshatarët, fshatçe.
2006	katundërçe ndajf. fshatarçe; fshatçe: ishte veshur katundërçe.	fshatarçe ndajf. bised. fshatçe.

Table 4. The explanation of synonymes *katundërçe* – *fshatarçe* in the three dictionaries.

	KATUNDARI-A	FSHATARËSI-A
1954	<b>ek.</b> 1. fshatarësi; <b>katundsi;</b> 2. dikur, bashki.	<b>ek.</b> gjithë fshatarët e një vendi; <b>katundësi, katundari;</b> klasa e prodhuesvet të vegjël të mallrave në bujqësi, që i kanë mjetet e prodhimit dhe punojnë vetë në prodhim: <b>aleanca e proletariatit me -në; - kolkoziane, - e kooperuar,</b> fshatarësi që janë bashkuar në ekonomi kolektive, në kolkoze e kooperativa.
1980	<b>f.</b> 1. Fshatarësi. 2. hist. Bashki.	<b>f.</b> 1. përmb. Popullsi që banon në fshat dhe që merret kryesisht me bujqësi e me blegtori. Fshatarësia e fushës (e zonave malore). U mblodh fshatarësia. 2. ek. Klasa e prodhuesve të bujqësisë, e shtypur dhe e shfrytëzuar nga klasat sunduese (në rendin skllavopronar e sidomos në rendin feudal e kapitalist). Fshatarësia e varfër (e mesme). Fshatarësia e pasur shtresa e borgjezisë së fshatit në vendet kapitaliste që zotëron toka të gjera, bagëti të shumta e mjete prodhimi dhe shfrytëzohet punën e të tjerëve.
2006	katundari, -a f. fshatarësi.	fshatarësi, -a f. përmb. tërësia e fshatarëve: fshatarësia e varfër (e mesme, e pasur).

Table 5. The explanation of synonymes *katundari* – *fshatarësi* in the three dictionaries.

	KATUNDISHT	FSHATÇE
1954	<b>ndf.</b> fshatçe.	<b>ndf.</b> 1. bashkarisht, me pjesëmarrjen e gjithë fshatit: <b>e kemi vendosur -;</b> 2. Pas zakonit të fshatit: <b>t'ja shtrojmë -.</b>
1980	<b>ndajf.</b> Së bashku me të gjithë banorët e katundit, me pjesëmarrjen e gjithë banorëve të katundit, fshatçe. E bënë katundisht. Shkuan katundisht diku.	<b>ndajf.</b> 1. Duke marrë pjesë i tërë fshati, duke qenë të gjithë banorët e fshatit së bashku, me pëlqimin a me vendimin e tyre; përpara të gjithë banorëve të fshatit, hapur. Punonin fshatçe. E vendosën fshatçe. Ua tha fshatçe. 2. Sipas mënyrës së fshatit, siç e ka zakon fshati, fshatarçe. Ia shtruan fshatçe.
2006	katundisht ndajf. katundarisht: shkuan katundisht.	fshatçe ndajf. bised. 1. duke qenë të gjithë fshatarët aty; përpara të gjithë fshatarëve: e vendosën fshatçe; ua tha fshatçe. 2. sipas mënyrës së fshatit: u ulën (ia shtruan) fshatçe.

Table 6. The explanation of synonymes *katundisht* – *fshatçe* in the three dictionaries.

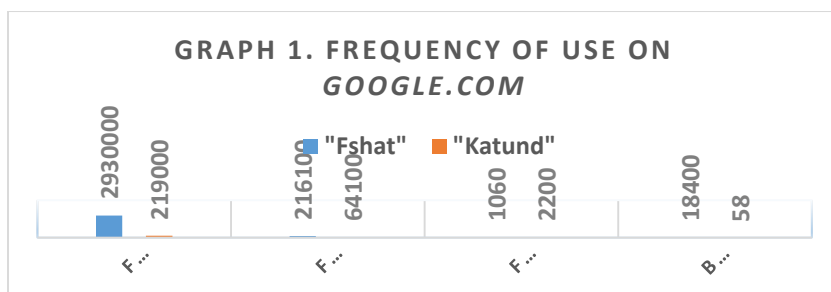
As can be seen from Tables 2 to 6, in all cases, more space and significance have been given for the meaningful explanation of the word ‘fshat’, while the word ‘katund’ is briefly given as a synonym of the first. The same methodology has been followed in the case of the meaningful explanation of new lexical units formed on the basis of ‘fshat’ and ‘katund’. In the three explanatory dictionaries of the Albanian language published in 1954, 1980, and 2006, the words formed by the word-forming theme ‘katund’ are briefly explained as synonyms of the units formed by the word ‘fshat’. In this way, as a result of this kind of representation and explanation of the meaning of these two words in the explanatory dictionaries of the Albanian language, favoring the word ‘fshat’ and disfavoring the word ‘katund’, the situation of using these two words has changed. On one hand, the word ‘fshat’ has gained more domains of use, having been used first in the Tosk dialect, and it has been used ever since in the public domains of communication, mainly in formal style, while the word ‘katund’ is isolated only in the Gheg dialect, in informal situations, as well as in the diaspora varieties of Albanian, such as Arbëresh in Italy, where the word is a part of the entire lexicon. Consequently, this situation is also manifested in the words that are formed on the basis of the themes ‘fshat’ and ‘katund’. Thus, the words *fshatar*, *fshatarësi*, *fshatçe*, *fshatarçe*, *fshatarak*, *bashkëfshatar* have expanded the domains of use, while the words *katundar*, *katundari*, *katundërçe*, *katundisht*, *bashkëkatundar* have suffered shrinkage and are marginalized, often passing through the passive layer of lexicon, consequently, on this basis they have not even come up as standard standard words in the late 2006 dictionary, as is the case with the words *katundës* and *katundësi*. So, in this sense, the way of representing and explaining these words in the Albanian dictionary has been an important determinant of their use. This is also due to the fact that some spoken words that do not appear at all or appear with the marking "local"

or even "synonyms" of words in the explanatory dictionary have limited prestige and a lesser frequency of use. In a way, by doing so, on the one hand, the word 'fshat' and its derivatives *fshatar*, *fshatarësi*, *fshatçe*, *fshatarçe*, *fshatarak*, *bashkëfshatar* have gained legitimized status in the Standard Albanian, while the word 'katund', as well as its derivatives: *katundar*, *katundari*, *katundarçe*, *katundarisht*, *katundisht*, *katundës*, *katundësi*, *bashkëkatundar* have remained as informal synonyms. Another problem that is noticed in Albanian explanatory dictionaries is that even when they are revised and improved, as is the case with the 2006 dictionary, the new meanings of these words have not been taken into account, such as in the case with *fshatar* and *katundar*, which, in addition to the following meanings: 1. inhabitant of a village or country; 2. from the same village / co-peasant: *he is from my village (është një katundari / fshatari im)*, they have also gained a new, pejorative meaning, that is: "the one that regardless of where he lives: in a village or in town, culturally represents an unemancipated, uncivilised person with reckless behavior". The meaning of the word *katundar* is especially used in this sense. In this sense, *katundar* is synonymous with the word 'bal' which is used mainly in the vernacular of Prishtina, and with the word 'malok' which is mainly used in the vernacular of Tirana. While *bal*, -i is not found at all as a lexeme in any of the explanatory dictionaries of Albanian, *malok*, -u is presented with two meanings in the dictionaries of 1980 and 2006: (N.) malók, -u m. pl. -ë(t) also as Adj., 1. highlander; 2. unrepresentative: uncivilized and uneducated man.

### 3. Frequency of words 'fshat' and 'katund'

#### 3.1. Frequency in Google

For the reasons mentioned above, the frequency of use with which these words appear in written Albanian can be taken as an illustration. A quick search on Google.com (conducted on May 14, 2019) turns out that the word 'fshat' and its derivatives, such as *fshatar* and *bashkëfshatar*, are used with far greater frequency than the word 'katund' and its derivatives, such as *katundar* and *bashkëkatundar*.



From this measure of the representative word forms in the search engine Google.com, in terms of percentage, the word 'fshat' includes 93% of usage cases, while the word 'katund' covers only 7%. This attests to the far greater frequency of use of the word 'fshat' versus the word 'katund'. Similarly, the ratio of other synonymous couples derived from the words 'fshat' and 'katund' is statistically presented. For example, the word *fshatar* appears in 77% of the cases versus the word *katundar* which appears in 23%, and the word *bashkëfshatar* appears in 99.9% of the cases versus the word *bashkëkatundar* which appears in only 0.1%. The opposite situation appears only in the case of the adverb *fshatarçe* which appears in 33% of cases versus the use of its synonym, *katundarçe* which appears in 67% of cases. The words *fshatarësi* and *katundari* could not have been measured in this respect due to the fact that the word *katundari*-a in its representative form is a homograph with the name *katundári*, which makes the measurement inaccurate.

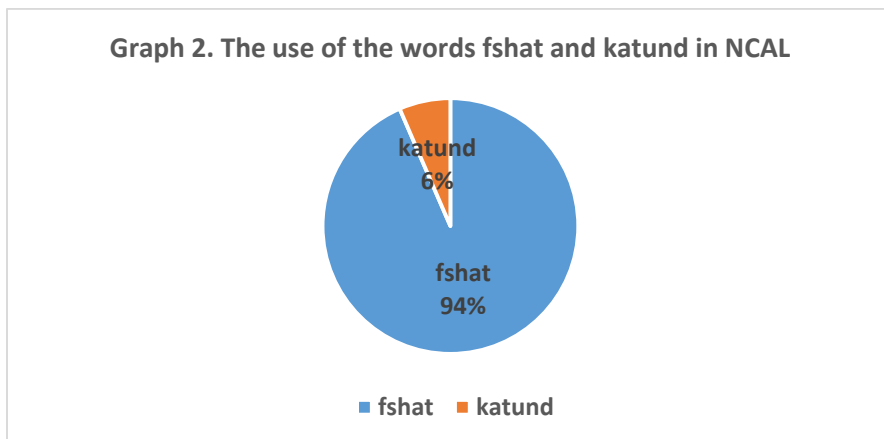
#### 3.2. Frequency in the National Corpus of the Albanian Language (NCAL)

To see more precisely the density of these two words in the Albanian written language, we have also examined the Albanian National Corpus<sup>5</sup>, made available by the University of St. Petersburg, which, as you can see in the <http://albanian.web-corpora.net/>, contains about 30 million words collected from written documents of various origins, mainly from the 1970s onward. As can be seen in Graph 2, the research with the lemma 'fshat' has given this result: 12419 uses or 94% in 3200 documents (mainly in the

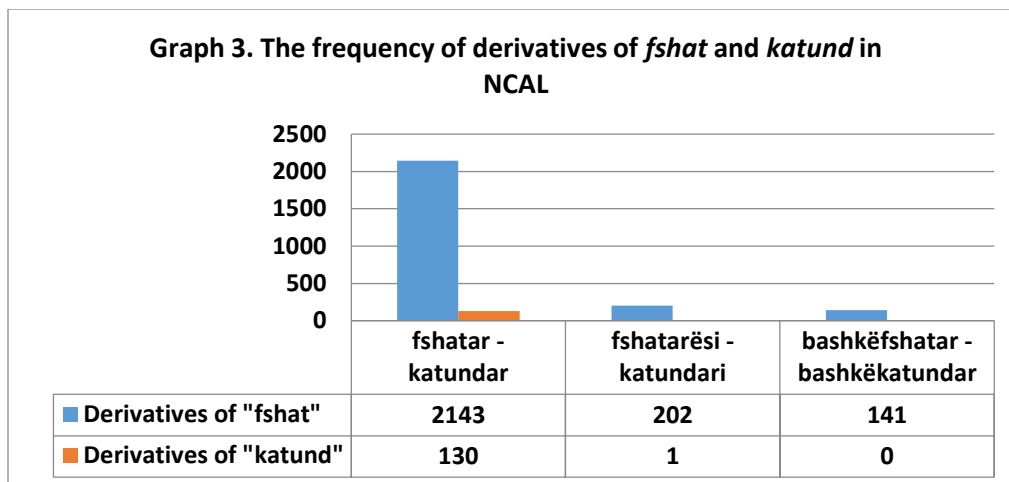
<sup>5</sup> Maria Morozova, Aleksandër Rusakov, Timofej Arkhangelskij. Korpusi Nacional i Gjuhës Shqipe. (URL: [Albanian National Corpus \(web-corpora.net\)](http://albanian.web-corpora.net/), date accessed 08.01.2021)



field of journalism, but also in the field of literature and science, as well as in all other fields). Whereas the research with the subject ‘katund’ has given this result: 863 uses or 6% in 236 documents (mainly in fiction and less in the field of journalism). From these data, it is quite clear that, in terms of density of use, the word ‘fshat’ has a significantly greater use than the word ‘katund’, and this difference is also noticed in terms of usage domains, because the word ‘fshat’ is used in all domains, while the word ‘katund’ is mainly used in the field of fiction and very little in the field of journalism. If we compare the data released in the NCAL in terms of usage density with those published on google.com, it turns out that the ratio between the words ‘fshat’ (94%) and ‘katund’ (6%) in the NCAL is almost the same as on google.com: ‘fshat’ (93%) and ‘katund’ (7%). This frequency of use as well as the domains of use prove that the linguistic ideology, which is also manifested through the explanatory dictionaries of the Albanian language, has been the main determinant for the spread of the word ‘fshat’ and the loss of the domains of the word ‘katund’.



In terms of the frequency of use in NCAL, this difference is also evident in terms of comparison between derivatives of the word ‘fshat’, such as *fshatar*, *fshatarësi*, and *bashkëfshatar*, and derivatives of the word ‘katund’, such as *katundar*, *katundari*, and *bashkëkatundar*. Thus, as can be seen in graph 3, the word *katundar* (N. and Adj.) has 130 uses, or 6%, in 68 documents, and not infrequently it is used in a pejorative sense in journalistic texts and literature, as in this case: *Edi Rama: Fan Noli do rrotullohej në varr bashkë me katundarët dhe punëtorët, se nuk di ku gjendet një katundar dhe punëtor që ti besojë Ben Blushit* ("Panorama" newspaper, May 24, 2017; referred to according to NCAL). Whereas the word *fshatar* (N. and Adj.) has significantly greater use, with 2143 uses, or 94%, in 427 different documents. Even the word *fshatarësi*, which has 202 uses or 98% in 27 documents, has a significantly higher density than the word *katundari*, which in the only case encountered, is used as a summary name with a negative connotation (aggravating), such as: *Akademiku i viteve kur Tetova u bë me dy universitete, nuk mund të kishte harruar qytetin e rinisë së vet kur rrugëve të kësaj kasabaje rrokullisej «salltaneti allaturka» si diçka që e dallonte «sheherliun» nga katundaria e thjeshtë që zbriste nga malësia e Sharrit* (Kim Mehmeti. *Kështu ecën njeriu*. Tirana, 2007, according to NCAL). Whereas the derivative *bashkëfshatar* has 141 or 100% uses in 93 documents, as opposed to the synonym *bashkëkatundar* which is not proven at all in the NCAL.



The other derivatives are proven as follows: *katundarçe* (0 uses) versus *fshatarçe* (1 use) in the novel "Lumi i vdekur" (2002) by J. Xoxa, a word that has a worsening meaning: *e kishte zor fieraku i pasur të hante fshatarçe* (NCAL); *katundisht / katundarisht* (0 uses) versus *fshatçe* (4 uses in 3 documents). As a derivative of the word 'fshat', the peasant adjective *fshatarak* (*fshatar* + *-ak*) appears in 16 cases and is used mainly in a pejorative sense: *Mbetë rob i primitivizmit fshatarak*. On the other hand, in a single case, we have the word *katundës*, (formed by *katund* + *-ës*), which is also used with a worsening meaning: *Por dhe një sugjerim për kreun e maxhorancës – sa sajon batuta qesharake me katund, katundës dhe katundarë, është emergjente që katundet shqiptare të pastrohen njëherë e mirë nga kanabisi...* ("Panorama" 05.06.2017, according to NCAL). From what can be seen, even in NCAL, the density of use of these words is similar to the density on Google.com.

#### 4. Dialectal distribution of 'fshat' and 'katund'

Looking at the dialectal aspect, the synonyms 'katund' and 'fshat' have such a dialectal distribution that the word 'katund' is used predominantly in the Gheg dialect, whereas the word 'fshat' is predominant in the Tosk dialect. Gjinari and Shkurtaj give these two forms as one of the lexical elements distinguishing between Tosk and Gheg, viewing 'katund' as the typical Gheg form to which 'fshat' of Tosk corresponds (Gjinari and Shkurtaj, 2009, p. 155). Nevertheless, Çabej argues that it cannot be said that the word 'fshat' is only a word of the Tosk dialect and 'katund' is exclusively a word of the Gheg dialect. On the contrary, both words are known in both dialects, as in Tosk 'katund' is attested in Kavalioti, as well as in Arbëresh dialect of Greece and Italy, though writers of the XIX century, like Jeronim de Rada and Gavril Dara use both 'katund' and 'fshat', as it appears in Abrace's Villa Badessa, which is a newer settlement (Çabej, 1976, p. 197). As words of Arbërishte the form 'fshat' is given by Kamsi in his Dictionary, found in the works of Gavril Dara and Zef Serembe (Giuseppe Serembe), as well as its derivative *fshatar*, but of course Kamsi also gives 'katund', found in De Rada, J, Ferrari, V Dorsa, A. Santori, B. Bilota and P. Furiqi, as well as its derivative *katundar*, found in A. Santori and De Rada (Kamsi, 2000, p. 77, 120). The word 'fshat' is also found in the Albanian spoken in Ukraine (Çabej, 1976, p. 197). Conversely, although 'katund' is dominant in Gheg dialect, there is also 'fshat', such as in Lumë, *fshatasit* "fshatarët" or even in Mat (Klos) and in Lumë (Bushtrica, Plashtjan), where there is a neighborhood named *Fshat*, and both of these provinces have no tribal organization (Çabej, 1976, p. 197). On the other hand, 'katund' has penetrated the toponymy of the South of Albania: *Llakatund* in Vlora and *Katundishtë* in Përmet, just as the toponym Boka e *Katundit* in Puka appears in the North. In the South, it is also used as a patronym (Topalli, 2017, pp. 736 – 737). Indeed, according to Çabej, the name change reflects a change of realities, and the linguistic distribution reflects an ethnographic and social distribution that has to do with the cultural history of the country, especially with the types of residential areas: in the Tosk area there are more agglomerates of houses gathered in neighbourhoods and villages, whereas in Gheg areas there are more detached houses surrounded by garrisons and otters, though the first type is not absent in the North and vice versa the second type in the South (see Sufflay, 2004, p. 89; cited by Çabej, 1976, p. 197), as its is testified; on the one hand,



the toponymy of the *Fshat* in Mat and Lumë, and the toponym *Nënshat* in Shkodra, and on the other, toponym *Lakatund* in Vlora and *Katundishte* in Përmet. This semantic difference between ‘fshat’ and ‘katund’ is not pointed out in the explanatory dictionaries of the Albanian language (1954, 1980, 2006), as they are in all cases described as complete synonyms of each other. Under the influence of standard Albanian, today the word ‘fshat’ belongs to the all-Albanian corpus and is used everywhere in every domain. Thus, as a standard lexical unit of standard Albanian, the word ‘fshat’ has undergone an extensive expansion, becoming a representative lexeme in the lexicon of the Albanian language, while, on the other hand, the word ‘katund’, whose status is prejudiced as a Gheg and local word, under the influence of this ideology, has increasingly contracted, as evidenced by the above data, according to which the word ‘fshat’ is used in 93% of the cases and the word village only in 7%. In the spreading of the former and the shrinking of the latter, besides the ideological factor, there were other factors to be taken into account, such as schools, media, administration, etc., which influenced this process. In schools, in the media, and in the administration, which are the main domains of the use of the standard Albanian variety, the word ‘fshat’ enjoys the obvious advantage of being used relative to the word ‘katund’, not only in the area of Tosk but even in the areas of Gheg, where the word ‘katund’ predominates, having a tradition of use since the earliest works of Albanian texts.

### 5. Written documentation of the words ‘fshat’ and ‘katund’ in Albanian of the XVI-XVIII century

If we scrutinize the use of these two words in the diachronic perspective within the phase of written Albanian, in the Albanian language the word ‘katund’ has a much earlier writing tradition than the word ‘fshat’. The word ‘katund’ is evidenced by all the old authors of the Gheg Albanian dialect, whereas the word ‘fshat’ does not appear in literary Albanian of the XVI-XVIII centuries. In the Meshari of Buzuku (1555), which is the first work of Albanian writing known to date, we find it as follows: *E aj e dërgoi endë katund të tī me kullotunë thītē*. Also in Budi (1618-1621), as in the example: “(doli) qytetjet ndo *katundit*” R. 306 (Ashta, 1998, p. 215). In Bardhi (1635), it appears most often alongside the Latin words: *rus, villa, pagus*, but also in these cases: *villicare – me mbetune ndecatund (me mbetunë ndë katund*, eng. “to remain in the village”), *ruralis – ncatundit (n’katundit)*, *vicatim – perscume catunde (për shumë katunde*, eng. “for many villages”), *paganilia – festetee Catundeuet (festëtë e katundevet*, eng. “holidays of the villages”). In addition to the word ‘katund’, Sedaj attributes to Bardhi’s Dictionary its derivatives, such as “katundar (i katundas)” for the Latin words: *ruricola, paganus, vilanus*, and “katundarçe” for the word: *rusticatum* (Sedaj, 1983, p. 307-385). Indeed, for *paganus, ruricola, vilanus* Bardhi writes in all three cases: *i catundas*, which is transcribed “i katundas”, hence the present-day word *katundar*, which matches the “i katundas” of Bardhi (“village resident”), does not appear. Likewise, the adverb “katundarçe” which Sedaj relates to the Latin word *rusticatum*, in fact does not at all appear as such, as Bardhi writes: *Possi catundassite*, transcribed as: *posi katundasitë*, that is, *katundasitë* and not *katundarçe*. So in Bardhi for the first time, we come across a derivative of the word ‘katund’, which is ‘i katundas’, a noun formed with the formant *-as* and used with the article *i*, “indicating the origin of the resident (comp. *i kelmendas*)” (Topalli, 2017, p. 736). Before him, at Buzuku and Budi, and after him, at Bogdani, no derivative of the word ‘katund’ is attested. In Bogdani (1685), as Omari (2016) points out, in these 4 cases the meaning of the Italian word “villa” is evidenced, such as: *Sibila Kumea kje prej Çimeri, katund i Kampanjësë* (I 160 1), *e kje vorruem ndë katund* “të vet të Sofisë (I 154 2), *kanë me u rrënuem, ashtu ende gjytetetë, katundetë* (II 158 12), *E mbërrinë ani gjithë ke kopështi i katundit Gjetsemanit* (II 99 5). But the words ‘fshat’ and ‘katund’, based on the accounts of Demiraj (2006), do not appear at all in the *Doctrina Christiana* of Gjon Nikollë Kazazi (1743), which is a manual that “concludes the so-called first stage of the Albanian writings in the North’s cultural-religious domain” (Demiraj, 2006, p. 24). On the other hand, following the literary tradition of Tosk writings, based on Ashta (1998), the words ‘fshat’ and ‘katund’ do not even appear in the work of Matrënga (1592), which is the first work written in Tosk (Arbërishte). But even though in the varieties of Italian Arbërishte and Greek Arvanitica the word ‘katund’ prevails, as seen above, Arbëresh writers such as De Rada, Gavril Dara, Serembe, etc., also use the word ‘fshat’.

### 6. Etymology of ‘fshat’ and ‘katund’

The words ‘fshat’ and ‘katund’ are also treated from an etymological point of view. ‘Fshat’ is a word with a controversial etymology. Meyer treated it for the first time, taking it as a word from the Albanian language (Meyer, 1883, p. 28), but then in his Dictionary he took it as a loan from the Latin *massatum*, from *massa* “farm” (alb. *fermë*) or from a fossatum “ditch” (alb. *hendek*) (Meyer, 1891, p. 112). From lat. *messatum* is also explained by albanologists Weigand (1925, p. 21) and Jokl (1923, p. 141), but, as we will see below, Jokl later brings it closer to the Albanian verb “çaj”. From lat. *fossatum* is derived mainly by the Romanists Lacea, Bogrea, Daicovici, Vasmeri, Puscariu, Rosetti, Densusianu, Skok, Sandfeld, but some also from a lat. *fixatum*: Gruglea, Puscariu, Philippide (see Çabej, 1976, p. 197; Orel, 1998, p. 104). Çabej in any case argues against the Latin etymology of the word ‘fshat’ (Ibid., p. 197). But as an Albanian word, Barići (1919, p. 76; 1955, p. 66) derives it, who sees it as close to *jes mbes*, from an IE base *\*ambhisedorm* or *\*bhisedom*, and further connects it with Lat. *sedeo* “ulem, rri”, sl. *beseda* “mbledhje, bisedë” (see Çabej, 1976, p. 197; Orel, 1998, p. 104). Similarly, Treimeri, who brings the word “ledh, cfrat” closer to Gr. ἄσις “baltë”, as well as Balota, which in the *fshat*, *pshat* sees a *\*m(b)ë-shat* based on IE *\*ambhi-sek-ti-*, where *-shat* comes from a *\*sek-ti*, and *sek-* “shatoj”, a root that also gave the *shat*-in in Albanian, an agricultural tool (see Çabej, 1976, p. 197; Orel, 1998, p. 104). Taking it as an inherited word, it is related to the verb “çaj” and the noun “shat” with the meaning “a bunch of separate, isolated houses” i.e., both with the meaning “separation, isolation” and then a pair of forms and meanings was made: *shat* and *fshat*, each with its own meaning (Jokl after an oral communication according to Çabej, 1976, p. 198; Topalli, 2017, p. 506). According to Çabej, even the name of the village *Nënshat*, together with the former *Shat*-in (like *Sati* in 1459), contains the appellative *shat* or *fshat* with the simplification *fsh* : *sh* to Gheg. VP. Then *Shati* to Zadrima is one with *Fshat*-in to Mat and Luma, and *Nënshati* is “vendi nën *fshat*” (eng. “the place under the village”), as Nopcsa notes that *Nënshati* was built under an ancient city. So are the words in Rum. *sat* and in Bullg. *sat* from Albanian, since Albanian also has a *shat* for *fshat* in Bashkimi (Çabej, 1976, p. 198). Taking it as a word formed within Albanian, Topalli also connects it with *pushë*, which has received the suffix *-at*: *\*pushë-at*, distinguishing the *fshati*, which is generally in the field with clustered houses, from the mountain, which is generally with detached houses (Topalli, 2017, p. 506). So, according to this explanation, *fshati* is a settlement with houses clustered in *pushë*. Whereas ‘katund’ is a loan from the Italian *cantone* “krahinë” (eng. “province”) (Miklosich, 1870, p. 10) from *conto* “kënd, qoshe” (eng. “angle, corner”) with the suffix *-one*, which has an augmentative character. It has received the epenthesis of a *-d* and the consonant *-n-* has dropped by means of dissimilative disappearance. Lack of diphthongization of Italian *cantone* is explained by the change in the diphthongization conditions, on the one hand, with the epenthesis of *-d*, on the other hand, with the return of the vowel *-o-* to *-u-* (compare for this: *bënkë* “bokël misri, koçan” from it. *pannoçhia*) (Topalli, 2017, p. 736). According to him, from Albanian it penetrated into several neighboring languages (Serbian, Croatian, Bulgarian, Romanian, and Greek). Finally, another explanation of the etymology of the word ‘katund’ can be found in Orel (1998, p. 174), who emphasizes that the word ‘katund’ is a prefixed derivative of ‘tund’ which represents a Slavic kalk *\*kolyba* ‘hut’, based on *\*kolybati* ‘to tremble, to shake’ (cf. OREL SOV. slav. 1985/5 79-84) and that from Albanian this word, originally a noun ‘hut’, was borrowed into other Balkan languages, as mentioned above.

## 7. Conclusions

In this paper, the words ‘fshat’ and ‘katund’, which are synonyms in the Albanian language, are viewed from different angles. From the dialectal point of view, in the Albanian language historically these two words have different dialectal distribution: ‘fshat’ is from Tosk dialect and ‘katun(d)’ is from Gheg dialect. With this dialectal division, they also appear in written Albanian, although ‘katund’ is continuously attested in Albanian (Gheg dialect) of the 16th–18th centuries while ‘fshat’ is not, which is documented later in written Albanian, generally in the 19th century and after, and even in the Arberesian writings of Italy, where, however, ‘katund’ predominates. In the lexicographic aspect, in the framework of language planning, these two words are given as synonyms in the explanatory dictionaries of the Albanian language: 1954, 1980, and 2006, which are also the three main explanatory dictionaries of the Albanian language. In this way, since these dictionaries, especially the last two, have been compiled with the intention of being dictionaries of the standard Albanian language, the words ‘fshat’ and ‘katund’ and their derivatives have

also been given a 'license' as words of the standard variety of the language Albanian. Except in terms of the semantic explanation of these words in these dictionaries, in all cases more space and importance have been given to the semantic explanation of the word *fshat*, while the meaning of the word 'katund' is briefly presented as a synonym of the first. The same methodology was followed in the case of the semantic explanation of the new word units formed on the basis of the words 'fshat' (*fshatar*, *fshatarësi*, *fshatarçe*, *bashkëfshatar*) and 'katund' (*katundar*, *katundari*, *katundarçe*, *bashkëkatundar*). In all cases, the derivatives of the word *katund* are briefly explained as synonyms of the units formed by the theme 'fshat'. Thus, as regards the status of the words 'fshat' and 'katund' and their derivatives in the explanatory dictionaries of Albanian, based on the semantic analysis we have made of the corresponding words and their derivatives, it turns out that the word 'fshat' and its derivatives are marked with legitimacy, therefore with prestige, while the opposite has happened with the word 'katund' and its derivatives, which, precisely as a result of ideological motivation, have been marginalized and stigmatized in Albanian dictionaries. Consequently, this type of representation and explanation of the meaning of these two words in the explanatory dictionaries of the Albanian language, favoring the word 'fshat' and disfavoring the word 'katund', has also influenced their use in the field. On the one hand, the word 'fshat', as a word clothed in prestige, has gained more and more domains of use, being used in addition to the Tuscan dialect, now also in the domains of public communication, which can be seen from its use in discourse books, whereas the word 'katund', as a stigmatized word, is isolated only in the Gheg dialect, mainly in informal situations, where, moreover, it has lost the intensity of its use, but retains its active use in the fringe dialects of Albanian, such as it is, for example, the Arberistia of Italy, since the influence of the standard language on the spoken ones is negligible.

As a result, this situation is also manifested in the words that are formed on the basis of the theme, 'fshat' and 'katund'. Thus, the words *fshatar*, *fshatarësi*, *fshatçe*, *fshatarçe*, *fshatarak*, *bashkëfshatar* have expanded the domains of use, while the words *katundar*, *katundari*, *katundarçe*, *katundisht* and *bashkëkatundar* have undergone contraction and have been marginalized, often passing into the passive layer of the lexicon; consequently, on this basis, they are no longer presented as standard Albanian words in the last dictionary of 2006, as is the case with the words *katundës* and *katundësi*.

So, in this direction, the way of representing and explaining the meaning of these words in the explanatory dictionaries of Albanian has also determined their status in terms of use, more precisely the density and domains of use. This is also due to the fact that often in the linguistic perception and feeling of Albanian speakers such words that in explanatory dictionaries are not presented at all or are presented with notes such as local (lok.), conversational (bised.) or are even given as synonyms of words that "joy" wide usage status, feel unrepresentative and thus lose their active usage status. In a way, by acting like this, on the one hand, they have been favored and legitimized as "official" words of all Albanian and standard Albanian, the word 'fshat' and its derivatives (*fshatar*, *fshatarësi*, *fshatçe*, *fshatarçe*, *fshatarak*, *bashkëfshatar*) and, on the other hand, the word 'katund' and its derivatives (*katundar*, *katundari*, *katundarçe*, *katundarisht*, *katundisht*, *katundës*, *katundësi*, *bashkëkatundar*) have been marginalized and delegitimized. This is because, as a result of the effects of linguistic planning, speakers tend to use, in addition to the linguistic forms that emerge as prescriptive forms of this process, the special words themselves. This phenomenon is related to the prestige status that standardized forms and words acquire as a result of standardization. Typical examples that illustrate this phenomenon in the Albanian language are the words 'fshat' and 'katund' and their derivatives. The fact that the standard Albanian language was developed on the basis of the Southern dialect was decisive for the later uses of these two synonyms in the Albanian language. In this context, the prestige gained by the variant of Toskresh on which the standard language is built in this case has been extended to a single word, specifically the word 'fshat', which over time has been conceived as a lexeme that has prestige in relation to with the 'katund' variant being conceived as a unit that can be used rather in informal variants. What has just been said is best observed in our analysis of these two words and their derivatives on google.com and in the National Corpus of the Albanian Language, where in both cases it has emerged that the word 'fshat' is clearly used bigger than the word 'katund'. For example, on Google.com, the word 'fshat' is used 93%, while the word 'katund' is used only 7%. Even in the National Corpus of the Albanian Language, searches with the lemma 'fshat' have

yielded 94% of uses, while searches with the lemma ‘katund’ have yielded only 6% of uses. This attests to the much greater frequency of use of the word ‘fshat’ compared to the word ‘katund’. Similarly, the ratio between other synonymous pairs derived from the words ‘fshat’ and ‘katund’ is presented statistically. But, in the case of the lexical system, since it often remains on the margins of codification because words are conceived as units that can be used in accordance with the needs of functional styles according to formal and informal situations and according to different domains of use, it is necessary that, within the framework of language planning, this practice of representing and explaining words in explanatory dictionaries of Albanian be corrected. Finally, it is the speaker himself who, in accordance with certain situations and domains of communication, chooses to use certain words that are characteristic of that situation and domain of use.

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