WAR OF THE WORDS. ETHNIC SLURS IN THE BALKAN AREA

Ileana-Silvia CIORNEI
Lecturer PhD, University of Pitești

Abstract: An ethnic group can be defined as any racial, religious, mother-tongue, national or regional category of culturally distinct persons, regardless of the group size, social power or origin. An ethnic slur is a term of abuse used by members of a majority group for racial or immigrant minorities or a term used by any group for almost every group with whom they had contact, economic and cultural conflict.Slurs vary in pejoration from malicious to jocular and can be highly derogatory, pejorative, parasitic, neutral or group constructing.Ethnic slurs have been widely used in Europe, by all nations directed against their neighbours, against those with whom they had contacts and conflicts or simply against interethnic component groups. The Balkan region, an area with a tormented and turbulent history, included different ethnic groups which have developed together but evolved differently. In time, all nations of the area got slurred by the others. The historical heterogeneous background, conflicts, immigration, internal migration, mass labour mobility are typical for the Balkans, famous in the past and present for its ethnic and religious diversity. These created not only a sense of loss and trauma but a powerful linguistic counterpart which can be heard every now and then in the area. However, in their effort to build and maintain their identity, as well as to respect others, peoples from Balkans tend to keep outside xenophobic attitudes and to adopt a reasonable rhetoric.

Keywords: slur, ethnic group, Balkans, diversity, identity.

An ethnic group can be defined as any racial, religious, mother-tongue, national or regional category of culturally distinct persons, regardless of the group size, social power or origin. An ethnic slur is a term of abuse used by members of a majority group for racial or immigrant minorities or a term used by any group for almost every group with whom they had contact, economic and cultural conflict. Slurs are not just any kind of abusive constructions but they are conventionally recognised as derogatory terms. As these terms refer to certain groups of people, they are a typical feature of hate speech contexts where they serve xenophobic speakers in expressing their attitude for an entire group of people. All ethnic slurs can be offensive to some extent to some people and this depends on the social context in which the words are used.

Different approaches have analyzed how the meaning and use of (ethnic) slur terms can be best described. It is generally accepted that a slur differs from common pejorative expressions and is a device used to express contempt for and to insult its targets. “It has also been argued that slurs can be used to insult, vilify and to snub.” (Richard, 2008: 15; Hornsby 2001: 135.)

Slurs are used intentionally and” the consequence of the use of slurs is derogation, whatever the intention is”. Kaplan (1999) and Hedger (2012) draw upon the distinction between descriptive and expressive content in order to provide an analysis of slurring expressions and to argue that slurs are expressions with purely expressive content. (apud Croom, 2014:11-32)

The distinction between descriptive and expressive content, as Hedger (2012) explains, consists in the fact that "descriptive content […] represents the world as being a certain way, and as such can be either true or false" whereas "expressive content […] merely display[s] an attitude of the speaker, and as such are not truth-apt" (ibid: 76).Consequently, Hedger (2012) adopts a strict distinction between expressions with purely descriptive and purely expressive content such that the content of each expression is either descriptive or expressive but not mixed. Accordingly, expressions with purely descriptive content are typically inoffensive whereas expressions with purely expressive content are typically offensive.

As the meaning of the words in not inherent in the words themselves but in what the words mean to the speaker and the receiver, it is obvious that slurs do not always derogate. There is for example the in-group use which is called re-appropriated use. When slurs are used within the target group, the effect can be the opposite. In these situations, slurs may create solidarity among the group and not derogation. Galinsky, et al (2003) found that self-labeling with a slur increases an individual's sense of power. Moreover, they found that self-labeling led to decreased perceptions of negativity in the slur that was used to self-label. In short, appropriation is a process that is social and political in at least the following four ways: it emphasizes and constructs group identity, it promotes solidarity, it works to remedy power imbalances, and it takes tools from oppressors.

The same opinion that although slur terms are pejorative terms that can be highly derogatory, but with nonpejorative uses seems to be generally accepted. Slur terms are frequently used in other contexts and are more often exchanged among friends than between enemies although hate speech can be identified as the most central." I broadly distinguish between hate speech (central use), other pejorative uses (mobbing, insulting), parasitic uses (banter, appropriation, comedy, youth language), neutral mentioning (academics, PC), and unaware uses." (Technau, 2018: 25–43)

Consequently, slurs vary in pejoration from malicious to jocular and there may appear to be a great difference between" the weak and strong notions.". (David Sosa, 2018:2). Moreover, the author posits that "the phenomena I claim is fundamental to thinking with slurs, expressing that weak dehumanizing thought, involves merely construing persons as inferior as persons, while the strong notion involves conceiving of persons as subhuman". (ibid, 2018:4)

Additionally, because they are part of language they change over time in their connotations and in the social context. The use of ethnic slurs is highly regarded as a social problem and they reflect "stereotypes that often have harmful social and psychological consequences for their victims" (Allen, 1990 :8).

Ethnic slurs have been widely used in Europe, by all nations directed against their neighbours, against those with whom they had contacts and conflicts or simply against interethnic component groups. The Balkan region, an area with a tormented and turbulent history, often considered the powder keg of Europe, included different ethnic groups which have developed together but evolved differently.

The **Balkans** are a geographic area in southeastern Europe with various geopolitical and historical definitions and meanings.The concept of the Balkan Peninsula was created by the German geographer August Zeune in 1808, who considered the Balkan Mountains the dominant mountain system of Southeast Europe spanning from the Adriatic Sea to the Black Sea. The term is criticized for having a geopolitical, rather than a geographical meaning and definition, as a multiethnic and political area in the southeastern part of Europe.

Historians consider that the Balkans includeAlbania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece(partially), Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Romania(partially), Serbia, and Slovenia.

The identity of the Balkans is dominated by its geographical position and consequently the area was known as a crossroads of cultures. It has been the area where the Latin and Greek parts of the Roman Empire intermingled, followed by a massive influx of Slavs, an area where Orthodox, Catholic Christianity and Islam met. It is one of the most complex regions of the Europe in ethnic, religion and language issues.

By the end of the 16th-century, the Ottoman Empire had become the controlling force in the region followed by the Austro Hungarian empire. Most of the Balkan nation-states emerged during the 19th and early 20th centuries and their engagement in thehistorical events of the period brought a massive human cost and economic damage. First World War and Second World War, Fascism and Communism caused violent interethnic conflicts which culminated with the civil wars in 1991. The Yugoslav Wars were a series of separate but related ethnic conflicts fought in the former Yugoslavia from 1991 to 2001, which led to the breakup of the Yugoslav federation in 1992. Its republics declared independence, despite unresolved tensions between ethnic minorities in the new countries. Often described as Europe's deadliest conflicts since World War II, the wars were marked by many war crimes, including genocide and crimes against humanity.The dissolution of Yugoslavia resulted in six republics with international recognition as independent republics, traditionally included in Balkans: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia. In 2008, Kosovo declared independence, although according to the official Serbian policy, Kosovo is still an internal autonomous region and tensions arise now and then between Kosovar Albanians and Serbian officials.

Because of their lengthy and protracted nature, ethnic conflicts in Balkans are not only about material resources, but involve profound identity issues, wherein each group constitutes its own identity in relation, difference and opposition to the others. However, the similarity of the languages and the long history of common life have left many ties among the peoples of the new states, even though the individual state policies of the new states favour differentiation.

In time, all nations of the area got slurred by the others; slurs were mainly rooted in historical and political events or cultural (mainly religious) differences; it is easily observed that appearances, habits, occupations and way of living come secondly.

Serbophobia a common attitude in the region created some derogatory terms for Serbs. Most common slurs are *Chetniks* (четници / *četnici*) used by Croats and Bosniaks and *Shkije* by Albanians.

Chetniks were the Serbian nationalist guerrilla force that formed during the Second WorldWar to resist Axis invaders and Croatian collaborators but that primarily fought Tito's Communist Partisans. The Chetniks were first organized in Bosnia, then in Montenegro and Herzegovina, but the most important was the one based in Serbia. The Chetniks were on the allied side and helped resist German advancement through Yugoslavia.Nevertheless, the Chetniks were partners in the pattern of terror that developed in Yugoslavia during World War II. Their tactics included the killing of civilians, burning of villages, assassinations and destruction of property and exacerbating existing ethnic tensions between Croats and Serbs. The terror tactics against the Croats were, to at least an extent, a reaction to the terror carried out by the Ustashes; however the largest Chetnik massacres took place in eastern Bosnia where they preceded the Ustashe operations.

Shkije or *Shkje,* is a term used in the Gheg dialect of Albanian language to refer to Serbs.The Albanian communities in Greece or Italy use it to refer to Greeks or Latins, or just non-Albanian speakers. The Arvanites (people of Albanian origin) in Greece use the version *shkla* to refer to the Greek population, while the Arbereshe (Albanian communities) in Italy, a substantial part of which originates from the Arvanites, use the words *shklan* and *shklerisht* which mean "that does not speak Arbereshe", or "that speaks an incomprehensible language", referring to the Latin languages. It is derived either from the Venetian *schiavone* meaning the same or from the term "Slavs" (lat. *sclavus*), which contained the traditional meaning of "the neighbouring foreigner". During the Yugoslav wars, Albanian newspapers called Serbs *Shkja*.(Shuka, 2015:78)

Bulgarians call the Serbs сърбежи *sarbezhi* meaning itches.The slur word is similar to the term Serbianisation or Serbianization, also known as Serbification or Serbisation, in Bulgarian-сърбизация, *sarbizatsiya,* the spread of Serbian culture, people, and language, either by social integration or by cultural or forced assimilation, as was the case at different times in Balkans history with Bulgarians, Romanians (in the Timok valley), Albanians in Kosovo or in the former Socialist Macedonia.

Stable boy was a common nickname name for Croates as being their main occupation during the Austrian empire. In some areas Croates are called *sokac* (from ital. sciocca-dumb, idiot), but the most offensive and strong derogatory name for Croates was and is *ustashe.*

Ustaše is a derogatory slur used primarily by Serbian nationalists and Muslims in reference to the Independent State of Croatia and the Ustaše movement during World War II. The Ustaša – Croatian Revolutionary Movement (Croatian: *Ustaša – Hrvatski revolucionarni pokret*), commonly known as Ustaše or by anglicised versions Ustasha or Ustashe, was a Croatian fascist, ultranationalist and terrorist organization, which was active, between 1929 and 1945. During WW2, the Croats joined the Nazis thinking and created an Independent Fascist Croat Regime (Ustaše). Its members murdered hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews, and Roma as well as political dissidents in Yugoslavia during

World War II. They were known for their particularly brutal and sadistic methods of execution. After the war, Croatia was still a part of Yugoslavia but after the death of Tito, tensions from the past world wars were still fresh between Croats and Serbs and they declared independence. After a long war in 1991 they chased as many non- Croats as they could from their land and acquired and became an independent country recognized by the world. The term "*ustaše*"is today used as a derogatory term for Croatian ultranationalism. The term "Ustaše" is sometimes used among Serbs to describe Serbophobia or more generally in political discourse.

Montenegrians are called *rolling stones (kotrljajući kamen)* by Serbs who consider they roll down from their mountains to come to Serbia; a possible meaning of the word is mainly for dumb people.

Chefur (plural *Čefurji)* is the derogatory word used by Slovenians for an immigrant from the southern republics of ex- Yugoslavia, also used in the written forms *čifur, čufur, čefurka, čifurka, čufurka, čefurski, čifurski, čufurski.*It may originate from Turkish *çıfıt* "a sly, cunning person"or from Croatian or Serbian *Čift*- Čivut meaning Jew, a derogatory description of a Jewish person.

In Slovene the ending *–ur* in singular, rather than the original*–ut*, has been adopted in line with other derogatory terms. For plurals Slovenian use the suffix *ji* which is pejorative *per definitionem;* (*Hrvatarji* - vs. neutral *Hrvat*) for Croates, (*Srbendarji***-vs** Srb) for Serbs or (*Nemčurji* - vs. neutral *Nemsko)*to refer to pro-German Slovenes during Austro-Hungarian times, carrying the connotation of being a traitor and derogatory for a person of German origin and (*Šiptarji* for Albanians -versus the neutral term *Albanski)* for Albanians.

Speaking of Slovenes, a common nickname for them in Croatia (and other countries of the former Yugoslavia) is *Janezi.* Janez is a very common first name in Slovenia.

West Herzegonian people are called Shkutor, *Škutor* (scooter) by the Croates, a pejorative term, related to their poor income and to the the fact that The United Nations offered Bosnians from Herzegovina a chance to win coveted consumer goods such as scooters and fridges in a lottery if they turn in weapons left over from the country's 1992-95 war.

Bosniaks are often called by the derogatory name *Bosants* by Slovenians which originates in the non-derogatory name Bosniaks call themselves (Bosanski). *Bos* also mean barefoot as many Bosnians are Muslims and they walk barefoot in the mosques. Another derogatory term is *Boskur* a combination of Bosniak and *chefur* for uneducated workers from Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Lopata* (shovel) is another slur as well as *Yak,* a shortened form of Bosniak, allegedly associated with their low status as workers and lack of hygiene.

Another derogatory name is *Balija*-Serbs and some Croats say for Bosnian Moslems, which may originate from an Ottoman Turkish personal name (Turkish *Bāli from* bālī, "worn, threadbare, antiquated").

Ethnic slurs against North Macedonians are often used in an attempt to deny their self-identification as a nation. They are used by those involved with them in historical disputes on country's name and identity, namely Greece and Bulgaria.

The idea of a Macedonian identity was artificially created in the second half of the 19th century, and actively used throughout the 20th century, by the Tito communist regime to annoy its Greek and Bulgarian neighbours. Nevertheless, following the Prespa agreement in 2018, Greece accepted the name of North Macedonia as to be distinguished from Greek Macedonia province, ending a diplomatic dispute with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) that has plagued relations for nearly 30 years. On the other hand, Bulgaria has claims concerning its language and identity. Macedonia was a republic of Yugoslavia and severe punishments were inflicted for anyone claiming Bulgarian heritage. Whole generations of people were brought up with this new history and identity and refuse to accept other points of view.

FYROMian is a Greek term for a person from North Macedonia which refers to the un-recognized name of North Macedonia: the acronym stands for the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). *Bulgaroskopian* is a term which implies Macedonians to be of Bulgarian origin while *Pseudomacedonia*n, is a term implying that the Macedonians are pretenders. *Skopjan/Skopjian, Skopiana/Skopianika* is also a Greek derogatory term which refer to the capital of North Macedonia for persons from North Macedonia, underlining their lack of identity.

Macedonist is a derogatory term used by Bulgarians to identify a Macedonian, an allusion to the fact that the so-called Macedonian identity is a fake, created during the communist regime of Tito.

Torbesh is the name given to the Macedonian-speaking Muslim minority community living in the Republic of North Macedonia. The name is a colloquial term and means "the bag carriers". Torbeshes may be descendants of Christian Slavs who converted to Islam during the Ottoman period or they may have a Turkish origin.

Many Torbeshes expressed "that they do not enjoy the term *Torbesh* since they take it as an insult. The name is somewhat pejorative and derogatory sounding "vagrant, miserable, dishevelled and uncivil". (Dikici, 2008:27). Some of them stated that the reason for their discontent is that the Torbesh and Pomak terms had been given by their Christian neighbors to degrade the Slavs who converted to Islam. Nowadays, the term "Macedonian Muslim" (*Makedonski Muslimani*) or "Muslim Macedonian" (*Muslimanski Makedoni*) "Muslim Macedonians" are used by Macedonian authorities and scholars to engage the Torbeshes in their republic in the process of Macedonian nation building.

Similarly another pejorative term used for Torbeshes is *poturi/poturlu*. "It was generally used to refer to Islamicized or Turkicized Bosnian Slavs of a rather rustic and provincial kind, who may have retained some Christian practices." (Malcolm, 1996: 59–60).The term denotes old-fashioned baggy pants, mostly used in the rural areas of Bulgaria.

Pomaks (Bulgarian: *Pomatsi*; Greek: Πομάκοι,: *Pomákoi*; Turkish: *Pomaklar*) are Bulgarian-speaking Muslims inhabiting Bulgaria, northeastern Greece and mainly northwestern Turkey. They are an ethnic group who speak Bulgarian but whose religion

and customs are Islamic; nevertheless they still share some customs with their Christian neighbors. Pomaks joined the Islamic community in the sixteenth century for the same reason as the Albanians; to escape the taxes imposed on non-Muslim communities and to free from the generally cruel attitude to *raya*, the non-Muslim Ottoman subjects. The etymology of the word is unclear. It might be a pejorative word given by their Christian neighbours, a derivative from the Bulgarian word for "help" *pomagan,* as an allusion to the help given to Ottomans.

The strong ethno-confessional minority in Bulgaria is known officially as Bulgarian Muslims and under the locally used names *Ahryani* (pejorative, meaning "infidels"), Pogantsi, Poturani, Poturnatsi, Eruli, Charaklii, etc. (Apostolov:2007, 727). The term Pomak has also been used as a wider designation, including also the Slavic Muslim populations of North Macedonia and Albania. The term is widely used colloquially for Eastern South Slavic Muslims, considered derogatory.

Albanophobia in Greece is primarily due to post-communist migration of former Albanian prisoners and criminal bands as well as to the fact that until the mid 2000s, Albanians formed the primary immigrant population. Historically, Albanophobia did not exist in Greek society, and at times where anti-Albanian sentiment did occur it was primarily political due to Albania's ties with Ottoman Turkey.

The Greek derogatory terms used for Albanians: are*Tourkalvanoí/Τουρκαλβανοί* ('Turco-Albanian) instead of the neutralterms *Αλβανός/Alvanós* (m.), *Αλβανή/Alvaní* (f.) and *Αλβανίδα/Alvanída*. Also,*Tourkotsámides/Τουρκοτσάμηδες* (Turco-Chams) a derogatory term for a Cham Albanian (an Albanian from Chameria), the neutral term being*Tsámides/Τσάμηδες* (Chams).

The Serbian-Croatian term for Albanian is "Albanac" but in in order to offend Albanians, Serbs would pronounce it in Albanian, with a Slavic accent and with offending tone.

The most offensive word used for Albanians is *Schiptar*, a derogatory term employed by Balkan Slavs (Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins and Macedonians) used to denigrate and underestimate Albanians. It is an intentional mispronunciation of an Albanian word. The word "shiptar" is most likely derived from the name of the Albanian language "Shqiptar". It comes from the word *Shqiptarët* which is how Albanians refer to themselves in their language. It can be used by Albanians when speaking about themselves but it can be very offensive when used by other people to describe Albanians and very rarely in a positive way.

Macedonians and other peoples from former Yugoslavia republics label Bulgarians *Tartars* or *Mongols* (an example of a negative stereotype, in which Asian features are considered traits of backwardness and unrefinement). North Macedonians use the slur name *Bolvari* (originating from bolva - flea) when speaking about their Bulgarian neighbours and relatives.

In turn, Bulgarians call Greeks *vizantiytsi*/ (Byzantines, sly, low-down, vulpine people) and Turks *ryazani*/ (circumcised).

Bulgarians call their Romanian neighbors *mămăligari* (eaters of mămăligă). It refers to a Romanian popular traditional food –mămăliga(polenta) and can be

considered a weak derogatory slur. It is highly interesting that the same derogative term *polentoni* is used by south Italians to derogate the Italians from north.

As for Romanians, they consider their neighbours to be rude, unrefined and dumb. ALR, compiled by Emil Petrovici (apud Adam, 2015: 123) register for Bulgarians: *catâr*-mule (pt. 682), *tucan, tucă* (designates a plump, massive person; comes from Turkish for turkey and the suffix -an): pt. 605).The derogatory *ciótină* (hulk) for Bulgarians is used in the southern part of Romania (pt. 791, 886). Etymologically, *ciótină* is a derivative from *ciot* (lump) and the suffix -ină.

Also, the Bulgarian language, a Slavic one very different from Romanian is considered to be confusing and babbling, hence Bulgarians are caled *găgăuți*. According to the linguist Lazăr Șăineanu, the name *găgăuț*, was the name of a Bulgarian tribe near Varna, who spoke and wrote Turkish with the Greek alphabet and was associated with the onomatopoea *gaga* applied to geese cry and people 's babbling speech, hence *găgăuță* means a lisping dumb, (Șăineanu,1999: 289). Also, the use of depreciatice suffixes common in many languages for singular and plural, Romanian use a depreciative suffix- oi, for ethnonyms like in *Bulgăroi* vs the neutral *Bulgari*.

The historical heterogeneous background, conflicts, immigration, internal migration,mass labour mobility are typical for the Balkans, famous in the past and present for its ethnic and religious diversity. These created not only a sense of loss and trauma but a powerful linguistic counterpart which can be heard every now and then in the area.

Most ethnic slurs are quite frequent in media largely responsible for the social construction of negative stereotypes,in blogs and are sometimes uttered in sporting events by their fans or in political debates while some of them are purely descriptive and nonpejorative.

However, in their effort to build and maintain their identity, as well as to respect others, peoples from Balkans tend to keep outside xenophobic attitudes, racism and hate speech. This can be achieved only if the processes of working allow for a measure of change, resumption of social life, ethical responsibility, renewal and the promotion of a a peaceful and down-to-earth reasonable rhetoric.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, Gabriela, Violeta, *Etnonime și porecle pentru diferite nume etnice, pe baza ALR II*, Dacoromania, serie nouă, XX (2), 2015

Allen, Irving, Lewis, *Unkind Words, Ethnic Labeling from Redskin to WASP*, Praeger, 1990

Apostolov, Mario, *The Pomaks: A Religious Minority in the Balkans*, The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity, volume 24, 1996

Croom, Adam M., *Remarks on The Semantics of Racial Slurs,* Linguistic and Philosophical Investigations, Volume 13, 2014

Croom, Adam M., *The semantics of slurs. A refutation of pure expressivism,* Language Sciences 41, 2014

Dikici, Ali, *The Torbeshes of Macedonia: Religious and National Identity Questions of Macedonian-Speaking Muslims,* Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, 04, vol.24, 2008

Galinsky, Adam D., Cynthia S. Wang, Jennifer A. Whitson, Eric M. Anicich, Kurt Hugenberg & Galen, V. Bodenhausen, *The reappropriation of stigmatizing labels: the reciprocal relationship between power and self-labeling*, Psychological Science 24(10), 2013.

Hornsby, Jennifer, *Meaning and uselessness. How to think about derogatory words,* Midwest Studies in Philosophy, 25(1), 2001.
Malcolm, Noel, *Bosnia: A Short History*, 2nd edition, London, Macmillan, 1996
Pasi, Valtonen, *Slurring epithets and generic descriptivism: The Meaning and the Epistemology of Ethnically Derogatory Term's* Ph.D. Thesis in Philosophy King's College, London, 2017
Richard, Mark, *When Truth Gives Out*, Oxford University Press, 2008
Technau, Björn, *Going Beyond Hate Speech: The Pragmatics Of Ethnic Slur Terms*, Lodz Papers in Pragmatics, (14)1,2018
Shuka, Gjergji, *Thirty songs and Balkanic legends: Study over the historical origin*, Naimi, 2015
Sosa, David, editor, *Slurs, Dehumanization, and the Expression of Contempt, Bad Words*, OUP, 2018
Snoj, Marko, *Slovene Etymological Dictionary*, Research Centreof the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2001, www.fran.si.
Şăineanu, Lazăr, *Încercare asupra semasiologiei limbei române,. Studii istorice despre tranziţiunea sensurilor,* Editura de Vest, Timişoara, 1999
Poulton Hugh, *Non-Albanian Muslim Minorities in Macedonia*, in *The New Macedonian Question*, ed. James Pettifer, London, Macmillan Press, 1999

https://en.wikipedia.org › wiki › List_of_ethnic_slurs
forum.wordreference.com › ... › Other Slavic Language
The Racial Slur Database, www.rsdb.org
thesrpskatimes.com › ustashis...
www.total-slovenia-news.com ›
https://www.academia.edu › Slurs_Dehumanization_an.
"Ustasa (Croatian political movement) – Britannica Online Encyclopedia". *Britannica.com*
https://en.wikipedia.org › wiki › Balkans
https://en.wikipedia.org › wiki › Chetniks
www.racialslurs.com › race › greeks
https://www.diacronia.ro ›
https://www.researchgate.net › ... › Linguistics › Semantics
https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com › doi › 10.1111
https://www.semanticscholar.org › paper › The-Torbeshes...
https://www.cambridge.org › nationalities-papers › article
https://www.semanticscholar.org › paper › The-Torbeshes...
Tridhjetë Këngë Dhe Legjenda Ballkanike: Studim Mbi Origjinën Historike