

Cultural Integration and Gender Issues in Diaspora Fiction: The Transnational Albanian View

Valbona Kalo Shengjergji

Department of Literature, Alexander Xhuvani University, Elbasan, Albania,
Valbona.Kalo@uniel.edu.al

Abstract

This article examines how the experience of migration cultivates a redefined perception of the “self” and the nation as a whole. It explores the construction of gender identity through the works of Elvira Dones, focusing on the novels “Stars Don't Dress Up Like That” and “Sworn Virgin”. Through a critical analysis of characters and situations that present the challenges of cultural integration and gender issues, the study reveals how Dones addresses the experiences of Albanian emigrants and highlights the complex relationships between traditional identities and those formed in the context of migration. The central argument posits that Dones' literature not only reflects but actively critiques and reshapes notions of gender and national identity. Using an interdisciplinary approach that incorporates hybridity theory, diaspora paradigms, and close textual analysis, the article aims to contribute to the dialogue on the role of literature in addressing gender identity and human rights issues in the 21st century.

Keywords: migration, gender identity, migratory literature, cultural integration, Albanian emigrants.

Migration literature occupies a significant place in European literary studies, reflecting the trajectories and challenges of immigrant life, as well as their cultural and identity interactions. Albanian Diaspora literature, particularly in Italy, reflects these experiences and has contributed to forming a literary subsystem that both challenges and complements the national system of Albanian literature. The mass migrations of Albanians after the 1990s have deepened interactions and enriched this literary subsystem with transnational perspectives and experiences, “reflecting the socio-cultural and political changes of the post-communist period in Albania and beyond,” and fostering “a new and open dialogue within migratory literature” (Parati, 2017: 8).

In this context, the bilingual author Elvira Dones stands out as “a prominent voice of the second generation of migrant authors expressing in Italian” with Albanian origin, who “published their first works uncensored” after the fall of Enver Hoxha's communist dictatorship (Comberiati, 2013: 29). Her works, particularly those written in Italian, play a significant role in building bridges of communication between the Albanian world and international readers. ^1^ These texts provide a suitable introduction for foreign readers wishing to understand the cultural and social context of Albania, challenging both traditional and migratory narratives about Albania and Albanian identity.

While Dones's early works are characterized by autobiographical elements, they have evolved

into more refined literary forms, using the theme of “escape” as a means for salvation, freedom, and artistic wealth, “reflecting an internal and layered migration that brings significant values to outlining a transitory poetics” (Mauceri, 2009: 96-98).

Focusing on the novels “Stars Don't Dress Up Like That” and “Sworn Virgin”, this article aims to reveal how Dones uses literature as a tool to explore and critique the social and personal dynamics that affect the lives of immigrants. In particular, we will examine how these works address issues of gender and human rights, reflecting the tensions between traditional identities and those developed in new contexts. Through an interdisciplinary approach, we will emphasize the impact of literature on shaping the discourse on identity in a globalized world.

Literature review

The exploration of gender identity and migration in Elvira Dones' prose intertwines cultural studies, gender theory, and literary analysis. To situate her work within a broader context, it is essential to understand the significance of Albanian diaspora literature. Albanian diaspora literature, particularly in Italy, reflects the experiences of migration, identity, and cultural integration, forming a literary subsystem that both challenges and complements the national literature of Albania. The mass migrations of Albanians after the 1990s “have enriched this literary subsystem with transnational perspectives and experiences, reflecting the socio-cultural and political changes of the post-communist period” (Parati, 2017).

In this context, Elvira Dones emerges as a significant voice, particularly through her bilingual works written in Albanian and Italian. Her novels, such as “Stars Don't Dress Up Like That” and “Sworn Virgin”, address the intersections of traditional Albanian cultural norms and the new identities formed through migration. Dones' works are part of the

transnational intersections and mobilities that define contemporary diaspora literature. Her writing captures the complexities of cultural traditions and the challenges posed by migration, offering insights into the experiences of Albanian emigrants.

“Sworn Virgin”, analyzed for the tradition of “sworn virgins”, tells stories “of resistance and personal freedom, exploring gender fluidity” (Rocchi, 2022). The novel delves into the cultural practice where women swear to live as men to escape the constraints of patriarchal society, thus highlighting themes of gender identity and autonomy. “Stars Don't Dress Up Like That” addresses the exploitation and violence against Albanian women in Europe, reflecting on the harsh realities faced by female migrants and “describing the characters' efforts to navigate the dichotomies between tradition and modernity, and rural versus urban life” (Levy, n.d.). Her migratory experiences enrich her work with authenticity, offering a critical commentary on the socio-political forces shaping individual lives and the complexities of cultural integration and identity construction. Her literature not only reflects the Albanian diaspora's struggles but also contributes to the broader dialogue on migration, gender, and human rights in the 21st century. By situating Dones within the larger framework of Albanian diaspora literature, this review highlights her role in bridging cultural narratives and fostering understanding through transnational literary exchanges.

Methodology

Two primary texts are selected for critical analysis. The authors employ multiple critical methods and modes of reading, combining literary analysis and gender theory to explore themes of gender identity and migration in Elvira Dones' novels. The research includes a comprehensive review of existing scholarly works on Elvira Dones, focusing on gender identity, migration, and cultural traditions in her

novels, as well as a textual analysis of the novels “Stars Don’t Dress Up Like That” and “Sworn Virgin” to identify and interpret key themes, character developments, and narrative techniques.

The theoretical framework is based on gender studies theories, particularly Judith Butler’s concepts of performativity and Homi Bhabha’s notions of hybridity and the “third space”, to analyze the construction of gender identities and cultural integration in Dones’ works. The research includes an interdisciplinary and intercultural approach to the historical and cultural context, especially the influence of the Kanun as a traditional customary law and the socio-political conditions of Albanian reality during and after the communist regime. This contextual background is essential for understanding the characters’ motivations and the social pressures they face.

Critical Analysis

I. The Third Space: Conflict, Identity, and Resistance in the Migration of Albanian Women

In the novel “Stars Don’t Dress Up Like That”, Elvira Dones delves into the migration experience, highlighting the existential challenges and complex intercultural interactions that occur when cultures clash. Dones addresses the trafficking of Albanian women as sex slaves in Italy post-1990s, using journalistic methods such as chronicles and montage to describe real dates and facts. This approach, reflecting her profile as a writer, journalist, and director, makes the story credible and emotionally powerful for the reader, creating a high-impact work (Rocchi, 2022). Through the stories of characters like Leila, Soraia, Mynyre, Entela, Laura, and other Albanian women in Italy, the author explores the violent consequences of double stereotypes—of Albanian culture and the prejudices of the host country—and the creation of an intermediate space where these identities are reshaped.

Leila undergoes a painful transformation from a fashion career dreamer to a human trafficking victim, illustrating how Bhabha’s

third space can manifest as a zone of conflict and opportunity. This intermediate space serves as a field where previous norms and values are challenged and where new understandings of identity and autonomy can emerge.

Dones uses fictional toponyms like “Atjeposhti”, “Atjelarti”, “I këtushmi”, “I atjeshmi”, “Atjelart” and “Atjeposhtë” to create a context where geographical boundaries are blurred, illustrating an intermediate space where characters experience disorientation and abandonment. This experience can be interpreted through Homi K. Bhabha’s “third space” theory, which describes this space as “a place where time and space intersect to produce new dynamics of identity and change” (Bhabha, 2010: 5-7). In this context, the “beyond” challenges and negotiates traditional structures and boundaries of time and space.

In the passage:

“Who might the unlucky one be? Killed by our own, the thugs of foreign gangs, or a client? My hands fail to write... In Atjeposht she was the most beautiful and clever girl in the neighborhood. She wanted to be a journalist and write about all the crap in Atjeposht and Atjelart. What a dreadful day. Maybe I’ll have to go out on the street now... I had planned to call home tomorrow, but if I go out today, I’ll postpone the call” (Dones, 2000: 130),

the liminal space experienced by Lejla reflects a deep and ongoing sense of “disorientation and loss of direction”, an “indescribable existence” (Bhabha, 1993: 61-62).

The portrayal of characters on temporal boundaries between the past and present, and between intermediate geographical boundaries, not only displays the tensions of diaspora and forced migration but also shows how these experiences form a new reality for individuals navigating these complex transitional spaces. Through this approach, Dones brings a rich perspective on the impact of the social and cultural conditions of both the place of origin and the destination on these women’s lives. As A.

Appadurai points out, “imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order” (Appadurai, 1996: 31). This highlights the importance of imagination in forming new ways of thinking and being in an interconnected world, where traditional boundaries and social perceptions are continuously renegotiated and reformulated.

Albanian women in Dones' narrative face a terrifying male-dominated world reflecting Albania's societal transition not only politically but also morally and spiritually. Alongside the theme of prostitution, one of the most significant themes is violence, where detailed scenes illustrate the “rape culture”, a pervasive and normalized concept through “social attitudes towards gender and sexuality” (Kelley, 1996: 136). The concept of “the rhetoric of violence” also offers an approach to analyze how sexual violence and rape, as physical acts and literary representations, mediate between symbolism and material reality, defining the perception and treatment of sexual violence in different cultural contexts (de Lauretis, 1995: 11-32).

The violence and rapes experienced by the female characters in Dones' novel, perpetrated by their Albanian traffickers or clients, stem from these men's desire for power and hegemony, reflecting the moral deformation of the post-communist transition period or “a manifestation of male control and dominance” (MacKinnon, 1989: 140). Violence is not only physical but also psychological and emotional, reflecting efforts to destroy women's autonomy and keep them in a state of constant dependency and slavery.

Sexual scenes narrate the painful experiences of the characters but also challenge the reader to reflect on the deeply embedded structures of violence in social and cultural spheres.

In this confrontation, the dialogues and internal monologues of female characters reveal an ongoing struggle to rebuild themselves in a foreign environment, where they face insecurity and an abundance of labels and violent acts. For

instance, Delina experiences a profound separation between body and mind, which serves as a protective mechanism to shield consciousness from painful traumas (Freud, 1923). This separation expresses a stark contrast between the body as an object of violence and the mind/spirit that withdraws from the crime scene, attempting to maintain an inner sense of self beyond physical trauma: “They kiss her, slobber on her, pinch her, insult her chest, penetrate her. Delina's body feels like an enormous basin filled with anything but tears. (Will you always love Delina, always? Oh, relax, Ben, she had laughed, we'll write.) She tries to get up, but they slam her back onto the cement” (Dones, 2000: 105).

Michel Foucault's theories on power in contexts of physical violence show that “sexual violence is often treated as a matter of corporeality” (Cahill, 2000: 11-32). In Dones' novel, the separation between body and spirit appears as a survival strategy, preserving spiritual identity despite physical brutality. This approach underscores the strength and resilience of the characters and creates opportunities for the reclamation of identity.

In this way, Dones addresses the challenges and pains of migratory experiences, demonstrating how literature can tackle complex social and cultural issues, and help expand the dialogue on the impact of migration on personal and collective identity, fostering critical reflections on existing power structures.

II. Transformation and Re-Definition of Gender Identity through Traditions and Migration

II.1 The Role of Kanun and Albanian Traditions in Shaping Gender Identity in Elvira Dones' Characters

The Kanun of Lekë Dukagjini, a set of traditional Albanian laws, significantly shapes the narratives in Elvira Dones' works through its strict codes on honor, hospitality, and blood feuds (Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit, §29, §31). This customary law enforces a patriarchal framework, positioning women largely as property and imposing rigid gender roles.²² For instance,

women must uphold family honor, often being compelled to remain virgins until marriage (Gjeçovi, 1985:115).

In “Hana”, the protagonist adopts the role of a sworn virgin to escape a forced marriage and to preserve family honor, “thus gaining social status and autonomy but sacrificing her female identity” (Doja, 1998: 63-74). Although initially resistant, Hana accepts this path, illustrating the cultural norms enforced by the Kanun that dictate gender roles and influence daily life (Pellegrini, 2013: 153). This decision represents both a submission to and a subversion of traditional expectations, highlighting the complex interplay between individual autonomy and cultural constraints. This duality reflects the complex reality that many women face under the Kanun, navigating a space where resistance and compliance are intertwined, constantly balancing personal desires with societal expectations.

Franca Pellegrini emphasizes that, according to Albanian tradition, “a girl who becomes an orphan” has two alternatives: “to accept a forced marriage or to become a ‘man’, adopting the social appearance of a man” (Pellegrini, 2013: 151). Hana, wishing to escape the need to live with an unwanted man and aware of the consequences, chooses the second option. Gjergji, by passing the rifle to her, the symbol of male power, expresses acceptance of her decision, allowing her to be confined within the prison of her own body. Her body will be the only perspective through which she is perceived by society members.

When Hana descends the stairs and appears before Gjergj dressed as a man, he is left speechless. “On November 6, 1986, Hana scratches the date on the wall of the guest room. [...] When she finishes, she returns to Uncle Gjergj. He hands her the rifle. She takes it in her hand. She examines it. It belongs to six generations of Doda men. Gjergj has cleaned it for thirty-six years. Hana stands, awkwardly. And now, she asks herself, and now? Now nothing. [...] She should sit like a man, with her legs crossed, she should smoke a pipe with

Gjergj. [...] ‘Are you sure about this step, daughter?’” “I will be called Mark. I will be Mark Doda.” (Dones, 2007: 111).

Claude Levi-Strauss, considering the family as a public act of exchanges between groups, notes that this fosters the creation of alliances and the building of social structure (Lévi-Strauss, 1984). In the context of Albanian society during the events of the novel “Hana”, cultural organizations are still gender-based, creating separate social and family spaces. This cultural and social influence forces Hana to rethink her choice to live as a man, weighing the desire for personal freedom against the need to be honest with herself as a woman, and facing the challenges and deprivations that come with this decision.

Through her choice to become a sworn virgin, Hana reflects elements of culture such as morality, law, and customs, but she also uses these same elements to carve out a new and personal path within the confines of these traditions while facing the deprivations and limitations imposed by these socially enforced roles.

In Albanian society, where honor is the highest value, Hana's actions highlight the intertwining of personal and collective values. She demonstrates that individuals can preserve traditional values like honor and respect while exploring and embracing new ways of living that reflect changes in social and cultural dynamics, challenging and altering the limitations that affect the formation of personal and collective identity.

This exploration of gender identity through the lens of the Kanun and Albanian traditions in Elvira Dones' “Hana” underscores the resilience and adaptability of women who navigate and resist oppressive cultural norms. The novel not only sheds light on the historical and cultural context of Albania but also invites readers to reflect on broader issues of gender, autonomy, and the social constructs that shape our lives.

II.2 Redefining Gender and Freedom through Migration

In the novel “Hana” Elvira Dones addresses not only the phenomenon of sworn virgins as a form of resistance against gender oppression in Albanian patriarchal society but also the profound impact of migration on Hana's personal transformation. Hana's process of changing gender identity unfolds through three significant evolutionary phases: leaving her mountain village to study at the University of Tirana, returning to the village upon learning of her uncle's severe illness and deciding to become a sworn virgin, and finally, migrating to the USA after 14 years.

This migration opens a new space for Hana to confront and reconsider the gender norms she had taken for granted in Albania. Moving to an environment where gender norms are more fluid and where personal identities can be re-examined in ways not possible in her original setting, offers Hana an opportunity to challenge and change her gender performance.

Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity helps us understand how Hana reinforces and challenges her gender identity in response to this new experience. Butler argues that gender “is not something one is, but something one does”—an act, or rather, a sequence of acts, a “doing” rather than a “being” (Butler, 1990: 25). This perspective can help us comprehend how Hana performs and reinforces her identities in response to the social and cultural influences in the new environment. In the novel “Hana”, Elvira Dones addresses not only the phenomenon of sworn virgins as a form of resistance against gender oppression in Albanian patriarchal society but also the profound impact of migration on Hana's personal transformation. Hana's process of changing gender identity unfolds through three significant evolutionary phases: leaving her mountain village to study at the University of Tirana, returning to the village upon learning of her uncle's severe illness and deciding to become a sworn virgin, and finally, migrating to the USA after 14 years.

This migration opens a new space for Hana to confront and reconsider the gender norms she had taken for granted in Albania. Moving to an environment where gender norms are more fluid and where personal identities can be re-examined in ways not possible in her original setting, offers Hana an opportunity to challenge and change her gender performance.

Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity helps us understand how Hana reinforces and challenges her gender identity in response to this new experience. Butler argues that gender “is not something one is, but something one does”—an act, or rather, a sequence of acts, a “doing” rather than a “being” (Butler, 1990, p. 25). This perspective can help us comprehend how Hana performs and reinforces her identities in response to the social and cultural influences in the new environment.

The process of rediscovering the protagonist's identity is a long journey involving many people, as Adam Kuper argues, “identity is not just a personal problem. It must be lived in the world of dialogue with others. [...] From a subjective point of view, identity is revealed in the interiority of an individual, and from this results identity with others” (Kuper, 2005: 203). Hana arrives in the United States as a man, but her external appearance betrays some feminine features. Lila, Hana's cousin who hosts her, is aware that this could cause problems because in America “they won't hire you if you have an unusual appearance. No one wants problems, only the most normal-looking workers possible” (Dones, 2007: 47). This quote makes it clear that in America, judgments about others are expressed through physical appearance, which, as in Albania, constitutes the first point of reference in interpersonal contacts.

As Hana adapts to life in the USA, she gradually challenges and changes the way she has performed gender. Elvira Dones unfolds this transformation through rites of passage that highlight Hana's instincts and sexual drives, which Freud describes as “essential for the formation of identity and human behavior”

(Freud, 1923). These rituals help Hana review and challenge the gender norms that have accompanied her for so long, prompting her to seek her lost identity. This journey reveals mechanisms of reaction and desire, showing the depth of psychological wounds from prolonged isolation from her sexuality during the years of simulated virility. The liberating process symbolizes the rebirth of her gender identity, as described in one of the last sentences of the narrative: “She felt her body reacting, felt it pulsating. “Welcome to me, idiot of a body”, she says aloud” (Dones, 2007: 204), demonstrating the power of culture and society in the (re)formation of personal identity.

Critical Considerations

Migration has significantly influenced the formation of the characters' identities in Dones' works, enabling them to challenge and reformulate traditional gender norms through new cultural experiences and interactions. Here, migrancy/mobility is a liberating factor and migration is held positively. These experiences allow characters to break free from the rigid constraints of their traditional societies.

Albanian traditions, particularly the Kanun of Lekë Dukagjini, play a dual role in the characters' lives; they can limit but also define and promote the redefinition of gender identity, providing a context for challenging traditional roles. The traditional values imbue the immigrant's hybrid identity.

Dones uses literature to address complex gender and social issues, highlighting both personal struggles and broader social dynamics. Her works critique societal norms that shape these experiences. The tensions between traditional and new identities in migration contexts underscore the challenges of cultural integration. Dones emphasizes the importance of self-discovery and personal freedom in defining a new, more inclusive identity. Regarding the third generation, who may have less attachment to their homeland, Dones' works suggest that

while they might wrestle less with inherited traditions, the influence of these traditions can still persist. They may navigate a blend of inherited and contemporary cultural norms, creating a unique synthesis that reflects both their heritage and their current context.

Dones' works reflect socio-cultural and political changes, offering insights into the impact of social and cultural conditions of both the country of origin and the destination on the lives of migrants and their relationships with the host country. This nuanced understanding of how migration reshapes identities encourages a more empathetic view of the migrant experience.

Conclusion

This article explored how Elvira Dones uses literature to address and critique the complex dynamics of gender identity and migration through her novels “Yjet nuk vishen kështu” and “Hana”. The study highlighted how migration functions as a catalytic factor that allows characters to challenge accepted gender norms, responding to cultural and social changes in their new environments. This process reflects how personal identities can be reformulated through transnational experiences and intercultural interactions.

The Kanun of Lekë Dukagjini and other Albanian traditions were discussed for their dual role as both restrictive structures and sources of identity. It was noted how these traditional systems provide frameworks within which characters like Hana negotiate and redefine their gender roles in response to personal and social changes. This negotiation underscores the dynamic interplay between maintaining cultural heritage and adapting to new societal contexts, illustrating the fluid nature of identity in the face of migration and cultural integration.

Note

1. Elvira Dones is an Albanian writer and director known for addressing issues of migration and gender identity with a bold and innovative perspective. Born in Durrës and

raised in Tirana, Dones began her career in television at the age of 16 and later graduated in English and Albanian literature from the State University of Tirana in 1984. Her emigration to Switzerland in 1988 marked the beginning of a new phase in her literary career. During her stay in Switzerland, Dones published her first novel, "Dashuri e huaj" (Foreign Love) in 1997, followed by significant works such as "Yjet nuk vishen kështu" (Burnt Sun) and "Vergine Giurata" (known in Albanian as "Hana"). This novel served as the basis for the documentary "Virgjëreshat e betuara" (original title: "Vergini giurate / Sworn Virgins," 2006, a co-production between RSI – Swiss RTV and Dones Media), which won the Best Documentary Film award at the Baltimore Women's Film Festival in the United States in 2007. The author writes literature in Albanian and Italian, and her literary work has been translated into several languages, including English, German, and others. (Elvira

Dones Official Website. (n.d.). Bio & Bibliography, documentary works. Retrieved from Elvira Dones)

2. The Kanun of Lekë Dukagjini is one of the variants of Albanian customary law, transmitted orally and most significant in social and family life in Albania. It contains clear rules on gender roles and social obligations of individuals. This ancient legislation, known as "Albanian customary law", has functioned as a "mandatory civil law" in the regions of Mirdita and Dukagjin and has been a fundamental element in the social and legal structure of these areas. The Kanun has defined and regulated the position and behavior of women in Albanian tribal society, including the tradition of Sworn Virgins, according to which: "Virgins (women who dress as men): they are not differentiated from other women, except that they are free to stay among men, but without the right to speak or discuss" (Gjeçovi, 1986: 152).

WORKS CITED

- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1993). *Beyond the pale: Art in the age of multicultural translation*. In Biennial exhibition (pp. 61-62). Whitney Museum of American Art.
- Bhabha, H. K. (2010). *The location of culture* (1st ed.). Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. Routledge.
- Cahill, A. J. (2000). *Rethinking rape*. Cornell University Press.
- Comberiati, D. (2013). *Rewriting history: Modalities of representation of Italian colonialism in Albania*. *Incontri. Rivista europea di studi italiani*, 28(1), 25–33. Retrieved from <https://www.rivista-incontri.nl>
- de Lauretis, T. (1985). *The violence of rhetoric: Considerations on representation and gender*. *Semiotica*, 54(1-2), 11-32.
- Doja, A. (1998). *À propos de la diversité locale des traditions culturelles albanaises*. *La Ricerca Folklorica*, 63-74.
- Dones, E. (2000). *Yjet nuk vishen kështu*. Sejko.
- Dones, E. (2007). *Hana*. Sejko.
- Dones, E. (2009). *Vergine giurata*. Feltrinelli.
- Dones, E. (n.d.). *Sito ufficiale*. Retrieved from <http://www.elviradones.com/about/biografia-italiano/>
- Freud, S. (1923). *The ego and the id*. Hogarth Press.
- Gjeçovi, S. (1985). *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit*. Rilindja.
- Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit. (1999). Parathane P. Gjergj Fishta O.F.M, Shtëpia Botuese "Kuvendi", shtypur në shtypshkronjën "Geer".
- Kelley, R. D. G. (1996). *Yo' mama's disfunkcional!: Fighting the culture wars in urban America*. Beacon Press.
- Kuper, A. (2005). *Kultura: Model antropologiczny*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1984). *Structural anthropology*. Basic Books.

- Levy, M. (n.d.). [Review of the book *Hana*, by E. Dones]. *World Literature Today*. Retrieved from the official website of Elvira Dones.
- MacKinnon, C. A. (1989). *Toward a feminist theory of the state*. Harvard University Press.
- Mauceri, M. C. (2009). *Oltre il muro: Dramma personale e nostalgia conflittuale in Dashuri e huaj di Elvira Dones*. In F. Sinopoli (Ed.), *La storia nella scrittura diasporica* (pp. 96-98). Bulzoni.
- Parati, G. (2017). *Migrant writers and urban space in Italy*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pellegrini, F. (2013). *Traslazioni narrative: Strategie di mediazione in Vergine giurata di Elvira Dones e Rosso come una sposa di Anilda Ibrahimi*. In E. Bond & D. Comberiati (Eds.), *Il confine liquido: Rapporti letterari e interculturali fra Italia e Albania* (pp. 149-166). Besa.
- Rocchi, F. M. (2022, December 7). *Në arrati nga një ligj arkaik. Vajzat e Elvira Dones*. *ExLibris (Udha e dorës, E: 3)*.
- Turner, V. (1995). *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure*. Aldine de Gruyter. (First published in 1969.)
- Tylor, E. B. (1871). *Primitive culture: Researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, language, art, and custom*. John Murray.