ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

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1. Μπουρτζόβλαχος

The word is explained as following in the Dictionary of Standard New Greek published by the Institute of Modern Greek Studies, Thessaloniki, 1998, (henceforth DSNG): **μπουρτζόβλαχος** ο [burdzóvlaxos] **:** (derogat.) lout, uncivilized person. [*μπούρτζ(ι) -ο- + βλάχος,* probably deriving from and related to the notion of 'castle guardian'). In the same dictionary, the meaning 'fort located on small island in order to protect the entrance of the port' is given for the word **μπούρτζι** [búrdzi], considering also that it derives from the Turkish *burc* 'fort', which was integrated in Turkish by the Arabic language.

The Etymological Dictionary of New Greek Language (Athens, 2010), prepared by the team of the professor G. Babiniotis, provides the following information: **μπουρτζόβλαχος** ' shepherd'– (fig.) lout' < μπούρτζ(ι) 'castle, fort' (< turk. burç < arab. burg < late lat. burgus 'castle') + *Βλάχος*, consequently, the word would mean the 'chief of the castle' or the 'highland Vlach'. Let's note here that in the 3rd edition of the Dictionary of New Greek Language of G. Babiniotis (Athens, 2008), we read that the word might be related with the Slavic *prige* 'dirty' or the Romanian *baciu* 'sheep farm'.

The fact that the suggested etymology for *μπουρτζόβλαχος* is actually not convincing leads the DSNG to doubting its etymological approach. The word *μπούρτζι* is related to islands and ports rather than with mountain regions and rich pasture lands. Additionally, the suggested etymology is not as exhaustive as it ought to be. Our belief is that a more careful and more systematic gathering and evaluation of the already suggested etyma, as well as their examination on a Balkan frame would most probably lead to the adaptation of a more factual and reliable explanation.

D. Georgakas had made such a suggestion since the late 1940s in his extensive research on the Σαρακατσάνοι (Sarakatsani), which was later ignored. Referring to previous efforts of deriving the word, Georgakas concludes that "besides the fact that the noun *βούργον* (burgus) is not related to the modern Greek *μπούρτζι*, Keramopoulos' hypothetical older form *βουργόβλαχος* wouldn't be able, phonetically, to evolve to *μπουρτζόβλαχος*" (Γεωργακάς 1948–49: 230).

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Next, and after having presented several forms of the name *Μπουρτζόβλαχος* (*Μουρτζόβλαχος, Μπουρτσόβλαχος, Μπρουτσόβλαχος, Μπρουτζόβλαχος*), Georgakas states that it is possible that the first element of the compound is the noun *μπρούτσα* (η) 'black fringed wool coat' (Epirus, Thessaly), synon. *κάπα* 'cape'. (Γεωργακάς 1948–49: 231).

To support his hypothesis, Georgakas stresses that Καραγκούνηδες were named due to their clothing; whereas, "there is no such thing as phonetic difficulty (*μπρούτσα* : *Μπρουτσόβλαχος* etc.)". Later on, instead of searching for the origin of the word *μπρούτσα*, Georgakas, using as his starting point the fact that "the derogative name *Πριτσόβλαχοι* was explained as a combination of *πριτσιά* + *Βλάχοι,* while *πριτσιά* is the smell coming from the bodies and the clothes of the Vlachs", is led to a second hypothesis which is following below: "It is possible though that all the aforementioned forms have a common origin. The Slavic word *purts´* 'billy goat' (Bulg.), *prts´* (Serb., Sloven.) became *πρίτσος* (Thrace), *προύτσος* (elsewhere), *προύτσ´ος* (or *-ους*, Thrace, Macedonia)". The derivatives formed from the word *πρίτσος* (προύτσος-πούρτσος) were the words *πριτσιά, προυτσιά, πριτσίλα, προυτσίλα, μπουρτσίλα, μπουρτζίλα* etc. signifying the 'smell of the billy goat'". Next, according to Georgakas, "it can easily be understood that the composition as well as the meaning of the word *Πριτσόβλαχος* 'the Vlach, man living like a billy goat, like a πρίτσος', …, *Μπρουτσόβλαχος, Μπουρτσόβλαχος*; as far as the form *Μπουρτζόβλαχος* with the combination –τζ- (=dz) is concerned, it may have been formed by the assimilation of the voiceless *ts* by the voiced consonant *r* (or even by paretymological influence of the word μπούρτζι [búrdzi]) (Γεωργακάς 1948–49: 231–32).

With this suggestion Georgakas derives the first element of *Μπουρτζόβλαχος* from two different roots (*μπρούτσα* and *πρίτσος*) considering that both of them are relevant and correlated.

In our opinion, taking for granted that "they were called Καραγκούνηδες due to their clothing" as the author notes, as well as because of the fact that the word *μπουρτζόβλαχος* belongs to the same semantic field as the words *αρβανιτόβλαχος* 'Vlach/shepherd who comes from Albanian regions and speaks the respective dialect' and *καραγ(κ)ούνης* 'shepherd who wears a black fur coat (γ(κ)ούνα)', its derivation from the word *μπρούτσα* seems far more convincing.

Nonetheless, where is the word *μπρούτσα* derived from? According to the well known researcher of the traditional clothing and art of Epirus, A. Chatzimichali, in Epirus and especially in the region of Ioannina, during the Turkish occupation, "*μπρούτζες* and *μπερούτσες* (black fringed coats) were weaved among others, types of clothing that were pretty common among the *Αρβανίτες Λιάπιδες* and *Τόσκιδες*" (Χατζημιχάλη 1960: 461); whereas, the artisans that produced them were called *μπρουτζάδες* or *μπερουτσάδες* (Χατζημιχάλη 1960: 451). With a relevant footnote, the researcher informs us that "black fringed μπρούτζες (coats) were worn by many peasants in Epirus and especially by the

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most tough ones who lived in the highlands. Consequently, due to the μπρούτζες, the name *μπουρτζόβλαχος* is used in urban regions to describe the lout, the uncivilized, crude person" (Χατζημιχάλη 1960: 451)

The article of Chatzimichali was published some 10 years later than that of Georgakas, who would have probably been helped by the information she provided. The issue that emerges, however, is that none of those who tried to find the etymon of the specific word during the next decades, were assisted or led by those information!

The linguistic-geographic data, as well as the information that Albanians shepherds used to wear μπρούτσες, led us to the research of the etymon of the word in neighboring languages setting Albanian as our starting point. In this language, the word *berr* 'ram or sheep, billy goat or goat' is found, having as its derivative the word *bërr-úc* 'fringed cape made of wool, usually black' (Çabej 1976: 202, 217). According to Çabej (1976: 217) the word is found also as *bruc*; while having been integrated into the Aromanian as *bruță* 'caban de drap noir sans manches, ayant la même forme que l'iepîngeâua dacoroumaine' < alb. *bërrúcë*, *brúcë* 'mantello con rivestimento di lana par la pioggia e per il freddo' (Papahagi 1974: 286).

We would like to add two more things need to be highlight, before concluding. First of all, the word μπουρτζόβλαχος is still used nowadays, but mostly metaphorically. Moreover, due to the fact that μπουρτζο- is semantically non-transparent, there is plenty of space for several para-semantic interpretations or puns such as the following (from the Internet dialogues): *Όχι και βλάχο ρε φίλε, μπρουτζοβλαχοοοο... Καλά, εσύ θες μαθήματα ελληνικής γλώσσας! Σιγά μην είμαι και χαλκινόβλαχος, ασημόβλαχος, χρυσόβλαχος κ.τ.λ., μπουρτζόβλαχος λέγεται ρε γίδι...* / You can't call me Vlach man, but *μπρουτζοβλαχοοοο...Well, you probably need tutoring in Greek! As if I was χαλκινόβλαχος, ασημόβλαχος, χρυσόβλαχος etc., it's called μπουρτζόβλαχος you goat...* In this case μπρουτζο- (<μπρούτσα) has been related to μπρουντζο- (<μπρούντζος)/bronze, which leads to the formation of the words bronze-Vlach, silver-Vlach and gold-Vlach / χαλκινόβλαχος, ασημόβλαχος και χρυσόβλαχος.

Next, besides the doubt he expresses as far as the existence of Balkan Linguistics as a particular scientific field or orientation (Γεωργακάς 1948–49: 236), this initial suggestion made by him, is completed as we can see when analyzed in a Balkan frame.

2. κόρφιγκας, κορφίγκι, κοκοφρίγκι, groviqe etc.

These words have been analyzed in a recent research paper of ours (Kyriazis 2012: 144–45); however, an article by the researcher В. Шульгач (2011), that was published during the same period, as well as additional material we managed to gather require a more thorough approach to the already existing relevant literature. In our specific article we also referred, among others, to the following:

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"Another interesting case is that of the Gr.dial. words κουκουφρίκους and κουφρίκους, which mean '1. πρωτόγαλα /colostrum' and '2. The crust formed on the surface of boiled milk' respectively. These words are found in Upland Pieria (Δουγά-Παπαδοπούλου & Τζιτζιλής 2006: 346, 361) as well as in Epirus, cf. κουκουφρίγκα 'a type of scratch κουλιάστρα', which is a kind of dessert made of colostrum (Μπόγκας 1964: A 180, see also the word κουκουφρίγκος in Ναύπακτος, Μπόγκας *ibid*.), κουρφίγκους/'ewe's colostrum' (Χώσεψη, Άρτα, Μπόγκας 1964: A 188), κόρφιγκας 'κολιάστρα' (Δέλβινο, Σπύρου 2008: 380, found as well as γκουλιάštρα, 347, and νωπούρα 'colostrum', 418), κορφίγγ(ι) 'dense pie made of colostrum' (Τζουμέρκα, Παπακίτσος 2006: 116, as well as ήγκαιρο 'πρωτόγαλο'/'early colostrum', 88). According to Aravantinos, there are the words κολλάστρα and γλοιάστρα for 'ewe's colostrum' (1909: 50) and the word γλοιάστρα for the dessert made of ewe's colostrum (1909: 33); however, in Çamëri is used the word *groviqe* 'një lloj tëmbële që bëhet me qumështin e parë' [cf. Gr. πρωτόγαλα] (kulloshtrën): *klloshtrën e hedh në një tepsi edhe e pjek në furrë e bënet groviqe*' (Haxhihasani 1974: 49). As a result, we realize that the words κουλιάστρα/γλοιάστρα are used in Epirus for both πρωτόγαλα/colostrum and for a kind of dessert made of it; whereas in çamërisht, the first is given as *qumësht i parë* and *klloshtër* and the second is given as *groviqe* [gro'viçe], which probably derives from the Bulg. dial. word коврнг 'малко кравайче, което раздават на коледари', which is found also as кофръг, коврнк (БЕР II 512). If the interpretation given above is correct[1], then we can assume that, in the case of the words κουφρίκους/κόρφιγκας (< Bulg. кофръг), the use of the name of the product is extended to the raw material, following the exactly opposite procedure compared to the case of γλοιάστρα 'πρωτόγαλα' => γλοιάστρα 'είδος γλυκίσματος από πρωτόγαλα'".

Шульгач, after presenting several forms and meanings from all the Slavic speaking area, that derive from "прасловянские *kъrviga, *kъrvigъ", concludes that "Как свидетельствует фактический апеллятивный материал, частные значения из сферы кулинарной терминологии 'каравай', 'ломоть хлеба', 'бублик', …, и др. легко возводимы к более общему значению 'что-н. круглое, округлое, неровное' – одному из компонентов семантической палитры и.-е. *(s)ker- 'гнуть, кривить; крутить; вертеть'.

Показательно, что приблизительно такой же набор семем присущ и рефлексам псл. *kъrva, *kъrvь, служащих основой для *kъrviga и др." (Шульгач 2011: 41).

The findings presented in this article provide the possibility of interpreting the different types of the word based on the plenty of forms it has in several Slavic languages as well as in older periods of those languages. For example, in our article

[1] Note that the Romanian word *covrig* 'produs alimentar în formă de inel, de opt etc.' also derives from the Bulgarian *kovrig* (DEXLR 1998: 234).

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regarding the inter-linguistic isosemy in the Pindos region we had written the following:

"As far as the word κουκουφρίγκος is concerned, there is a possibility that it is a product of intermingling of the words κουρφίγκος and κουρ'φή (κορυφή) 'ανθόγαλα'/'cream', which appear in the broader region of Epirus (Μπόγκας 1964: A 188) and present cases of isosemy with other Balkan languages, such as the Albanian (πβ. *kre tamli* [krye 'κεφαλή, κορυφή'] Pukë, Topalli 1974: 329). Accordingly, we can make the hypothesis of a possible evolution of the words *κουρφου-κουρφίγκους > *κουρκουφρίγκους > κουκουφρίγκους, based on the similar example of the words κουρφουκέφαλου (κορυφοκέφαλο) > κουρκουκέφαλου 'η κορυφή του κεφαλιού, όπου συστρέφονται οι τρίχες'/ 'top of the head where the hairs make a twist' (Μπόγκας 1964: A 189)". (Kyriazis 2012: 145).

Without excluding the possibility of an internal change, the forms κοκοφρίκγκι, κουκουφρίγκος, that carry a doubling of the first syllable, can be correlated now with forms such as the Russian какóрва 'род ромашки'; whereas, the form σκορκοφίγκι 'the milk pie made from the first milk produced by the goat or the sheep exactly after giving birth' (Πελοπόννησος, Κανελακόπουλος 2000: 75), being the only one we found bearing a starting s-, is possibly related to the respective dialectic types of the Russian language that bear an s- in the beginning of the word, such as скивирóк 'ломтик, кусочек (хлеба, ветчины и т.п.)' (Шульгач 2011: 41).

Extending the research on the presence and dissemination of the word κορφίγκι and its variants in both the Greek and the Albanian language provided us with new findings. As far as Greek is concerned, except of the material presented in our 2012 article, we also found the following: κουκουφρίγκι "the 'first milk' … which is dispersed in water and boiled afterwards" (Άγραφα, Τάκης 2003: 72), κουρκουφίγκι and κουρκουβίκι 'kind of pastoral pastry' (Ηλεία, Ηλιόπουλος 1938–48: 267), κουκουφρίνι 'gallantine made from the first milk' (Ρούμελη, Καλαντζάκος 1995: 47), κουκουφρίĝ "kind of quick 'first milk'" (Δυτικό Ξεροβούνι Ηπείρου, Σέβης 1997: 42), κορκοφίγκος "the 'first milk' … mixed with sugar" (Δρόπολη Ηπείρου, Μπόγκας Β΄ 1966: 28, Λίστα Θεσπρωτίας, Μπόγκας Β΄ 1966: 138), κόρφιγγας "it's the 'first milk' that is milked after the animal has given birth. It becomes thicker with boiling. It is cut in slices and eaten" (region Θεολόγος Ηπείρου, Κατσαλίδας 2004: 306), κορφίγκι "pastry made of the 'first milk' of the sheep" (Πόποβο Θεσπρωτία, Μπόγκας Β΄ 1966: 138), κορφούγκι "milk pie made of the 'first milk'… the γουλιάστρα becomes thicker with fire" (Λευκάδα, Κοντομίχης 2001: 157), κορφίγκος 'first milk baked in a small bowl' (Μουργκάνα Ηπείρου, Ζέρβας 2010: 331, Λίστα Θεσπρωτίας, Μπόγκας Β΄ 1966: 138). The material we have gathered up to this point shows that the word κορφίγκι and its various forms are found mainly in Epirus, Macedonia (mountainous Pieria), Thessaly (Agrafa), Roumeli and Peloponnese. Another observation in this case is that this word is frequently used along with the word κουλιάστρα, either as its

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synonym or in a complementary distribution with it. In many cases, the words κουλιάστρα and κορφίγκι, as well as their various types are used as synonyms of the words πρωτόγαλα, νωπούρα, ήγκαιρο etc. that have Greek origin.

Compared to the Greek data, the respective dialectic material of Albanian is not characterized by the same lots of variants[2]. In south Albanian dialects, except of the noun *groviqe*, that has already been mentioned[3], the word is found in çamërisht in other forms. That's why we encounter the forms *krovék* 'qumështi i parë i kafshëve pas pjelljes …; kroveku haet i pjekur në furrë' (Haxhihasani 1974: 63) and *korovíqe* 'kulloshtër e zierë pa ujë' (Haxhihasani 1974: 62).). The data given by Haxhihasani are proven by an old inhabitant of the area, according to whom in the Ambelia region of Thesprotia the forms *krovíq* and *korovíq* are used meaning 'pastry made from the κουλιάστρα'. Another form is found in a dictionary that contains material from south Albania, without providing other geographic indications: *korovíçe* 'petulla të vogëla të friguara në tigan me vaj ose me gjalpë'/'small pancakes fried in a frying pan with oil or butter' (Tase 2006: 115). The geographic distribution of the aforementioned forms shows that their presence is due to Bulgarian influence.

It wouldn't probably be irrelevant, if we mentioned here the word *korroví-a* 'virgola; ricciolo; curva; arrotolamento', found in the Albanian speaking communities of South Italy (Giordano 2000: 200) and possibly related to the same pro-Slavic root *kъrvigъ bearing the meaning 'round, round-shaped'. We note that in the same region the word *korvíqez* 'pagnottina' is found (Scutari 2010: 37), the formation of which requires the existence of a *korvíq* base. The notion of the round shape is also prevailing in the noun *korrovéq* 'kind of melon', that is presented in the manuscript of Albanian-Greek dictionary of E. Mitko, which is currently being published (Qirjazi 2012). Another word, deriving probably from the same root, is the noun *kukuvríq* (Fjalor 1980), the meanings of which show that we are probably talking about homonymous words that fall under the same lemma: '1. Newborn bird 2. Male owl 3. (mythol.) vampire 4. (adverb. usage) tangled'. From the meanings of the word *kukuvriq*, the last one seems to derive directly from the meaning 'bun' of the word *kъrvigъ. Concerning its usage as an adverb, compare with the Greek phrase μαζεύτηκε [σαν] κουλούρα 'it coiled' and its Albanian synonym *u mblodh kulaç*.

As the new dialectic forms of the word in Greek and Albanian were increasing, a hypothesis that this word should also be found in the Aromanian of the region emerged naturally. Checking Papahagi's dictionary we didn't find any relevant data. Nevertheless, a recent book on the Vlachs of Albania and their

[2] The plenty of forms presented by the word κορφίγκι in Greek is due to the existence/presence of the Greek word κορφή 'η τσίπα που σχηματίζει το γάλα, καϊμάκι'/'the thin cover skin that milk forms, cream', which is widely disseminated and has led to several mixtures.

[3] The word *groviqe*, which is absolutely idiomatic, is recorded by the Fjalor 1980 that coded the vocabulary of standard Albanian.

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language (Poçi 2009) seems that was "hiding" the key word for the verification of our hypothesis: *kúrv-ă/a* 'brumi që përdoret për të zënë kulaçin / the yeast used to make bagles' (Poçi 2009: 189). We believe that this form derives from the Paleo-Slavic root *kъrva (see Шульгач 2011: 41). The Aromanian of South Albania provides us, in this way, with unique evidence regarding the meanings of the Paleo-Slavic word *kъrva, one of which, 'prostitute', was not only saved in the Slavic languages but also integrated as a loan word in Albanian, Greek, etc. (see Шульгач 2011: 41). It is also worth noting here that, just like in the case of the word κορφίγκι, we had a semantic change from the name of the product to the name of the raw material. The hypothesis we make suggests that the Aromanian word *kúrv-ă/a* initially used to mean 'bun, coil' and later on took the meaning 'yeast'.

We believe that the existence of such a word, probably unknown in the Daco-Romanian, constitutes one more indication of the long term contact of the Aromanian with the Greek, the Albanian and the Slavic (Bulgarian) languages in the broader region of Epirus.

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