Slavic Elements in the Greek Idioms of South Albania

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Key-words: *Slavic elements in Balkan languages, Greek idioms of South Albania, asymmetry*

By the term Greek idioms of South Albania we mean the geographic varieties of Modern Greek that are used in regions within the Albanian territory. Before we proceed, let's make clear that the discussion is going to concern areas whose residents' mother language is Greek, as opposed to the broader term "Albanian hellenophony", which considers the knowledge of Greek by Albanian-speaking populations.



Map of the Greek-speaking areas/villages of Albania

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„Philologica Jassyensia", An VIII, Nr. 1 (15), 2012, p. 151−166

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From these idioms, complete studies can only be found for the Greek-speaking villages of the Aghioi Saranda and Delvino regions (Σπύρου 2008); whereas, there are dispersed data for the Dropoli (Καλυβόπουλος & Καλυβόπουλος 1975, Κουλίδας, 2005 etc.) and the Pogoni regions (Γιάνναρου 1998, Μπεντούλης 2002, etc.), found mainly in books about the local history and traditional culture. The «Γλωσσάριο Β. Ηπείρου / Glossary of N. Epirus» by Μπόγκας (1966 Β΄: 1-76) remains an important part of the relevant bibliography.

Chimara and the language of its three Greek-speaking villages attracted early the interest of the researchers, who were more concerned with the origin of the residents' issue. Μπόγκας' "general notes" about this issue, formulated in the mid ΄60s as an introduction to the «Γλωσσάριο Χιμάρας, Δρυμάδων, Παλιάσας / Glossary of Chimara, Drymades, Paliasa» (Μπόγκας 1966 Β΄: 77-97), are developed and presented in a more systematic way by Δ. Βαγιακάκος (1983, 1988). The common features and differences among the idioms of Chimara-village and Drymades-Paliasa as well as their relation to the rest of the Modern Greek idioms and dialects are revised in one of our recent studies (Κυριαζής 2008).

Another Greek-speaking region, the northernmost in Albania, is that of Arta Avlona, Alb. Nartë, and the nearby village of Sveretsi (pronounced *Žβirétš΄*) Alb. Zvërnec, which only recently came to be an issue of linguistic study (Κυριαζής, forthcoming).

Based on the 24 isoglosses proposed by Tzitzilis for the division and description of the Modern Greek dialects (Τζιτζιλής Νεοελλ. Διάλ.) and providing more information about the characteristics that are not is conformity with those isoglosses, we are attempting a first "sketch" of the profile of the Greek idioms in South Albania (Κυριαζής & Σπύρου 2012). We have to deal with three clearly diversified Greek-speaking areas: From a zone with *southern vocalism* (Aghioi Saranda, Delvino, Pogoni, Dropoli; henceforth referred to as ASDPD), we will proceed to a *mixed zone* (Chimara village, henceforth ChV, with southern vocalism; Drymades – Paliasa, henceforth DP, with *semi-northern vocalism*) and finally we will get to Arta Avlona and Zvereci (henceforth AAS) where *northern vocalism* prevails[1].

In this study we are going to analyze if and in what respect this differentiation holds as far as their relation to Slavic is concerned. This appealing aspect of the issue will trigger new discussions about the temporal depth of Greek-speaking populations in these regions. In the same context, by focusing on the Slavic elements that differentiate those dialects (a) among themselves, (b) by reference to the rest of the Greek idioms of Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and (c) by reference to the nearby Albanian idioms, we will search for the reasons that led to the formation of this complex situation. The comparison is going to be made at both an intralingual level and an interlingual one.

Before we proceed, taking a look at the map we realize that the ASDPD region is the most populous as far as the number of Greek-speaking settlements and

[1] By the term *northern vocalism* we mean the alteration of the non-stressed vowels *e* and *o* to *i* and *u* respectively, and the elimination of the non-tressed *i* and *u*. *Semi-northern vocalism* includes only the second set of changes that we previously referred to. These kinds of alterations are not observed in southern idioms (Κοντοσόπουλος 2001: 94, 111).

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residents is concerned. ChV and DP are next and the AAS region has the smallest number of Greek-speaking residents. The ASDPD region is located next to the Greek-Albanian borders and shares a lot of common characteristics with the Greek idiom of Thesprotia. It is also surrounded by Albanian-speaking populations who speak the *labërisht* and *çamërisht* idioms of the south dialectic group of the Albanian language. The local econyms prove the significant presence of the Slavic element in the area during the Middle-Ages (see Vasmer 1941). The main occupations of the region's residents' used to be cattle-breeding and agriculture.

Slavic elements are limited in the three Greek-speaking villages of Chimara that are surrounded by Albanian-speaking populations. However, our feedback does not match with Μπόγκας' finding (1966: 77) that "the language spoken in Chimara does not contain any Slavic words". The set is pretty different if we consider the lexical material (appellatives and place names) of the inland of Chimara (Kurvelesh region) and the nearby coastal Albanian-speaking villages (Bregdet).

The Slavic linguistic "heritage" seems to be richer in the AAS area which is located next to the town of Avlóna, Alb. Vlórë/Vlónë, and the medieval castle of Κανίνων, Alb. *Kanìnë*. In our recent study, we tried to prove that this specific geographic region which is close to the lagoon that offered jobs in the salt works, must have been an attraction for residents from nearby villages as well as for Greek-speaking groups from Epirus and Macedonia, who used the northern idiom. If this hypothesis holds, then we can observe a stratification of linguistic material that also regards the Slavic elements recognizable in the specific idiom. In addition, note that one of the main occupations of the inhabitants of AAS used to be fishing and that there are many econyms of Slavic origin in the broader area (*Treblovë, Kërkovë, Mavrovë, Bestrovë, Cerkovinë* etc.).

By resort to older research studies (Meyer 1891, 1894, Vasmer 1941, Селищев 1931 etc.), to recent relevant monographs on the Albanian language (Ylli 1997) and on the Greek idioms of Epirus (Οικονόμου 2010), as well as to materials and data from other sources, we aim to highlight words, meanings and forms which derive from Slavic and which have been reported so far. It should also be noted that the specific area is not part of the fieldworks that Ylli and Οικονόμου have been carrying out.

Loanwords

ASDPD (and Thesprotia)

άσμπος 'badger'(Σπύρου 2008: 336), form *άσβος* (ibid. 335) < *jazvъ* (Meyer 1894: 26, Οικονόμου 2010: 48). In the idiom the medieval type *άσβος* remains (Ανδριώτης 1983: 39). Compare with *as*, *hàzo*, *baldósë* 'id.' in the *çamërisht* idiom (Haxhihasani 1974: 28, 52).

βαλκός 'kind of fishing net' (Σπύρου 2008: 338). The word is the same in AAS as well as in Greece (HistLex A/4 29, *βολκός* < anc. Gr. *ϝολκός*). Compare to Alb. *valk* and *vallkúa*, which bear the same meaning (Fjalor 2006). The dissemination of the word makes it more possible to derive it from Slavic, at least as far as the form *βαλκός* is concerned (БЕР I 161, Vasmer I 220). Note that considering Albanian, the Slavic etymon is preferred (Orel 19981).

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βλάντα ‘milk churn’ This word, as well as the words *vllàdë* ‘fti (qumështi)’, ‘tundsi i ftirit’ (Haxhihasani 1974: 109), exist in Thesprotia. We suppose that it derives from the Serb. *mlât* ‘Schlegel, Holzhammer’ > Alb. *mllak* ‘a round piece of wood’, Tropojë (Omari 1994: 123, Ylli 1997:167).

Κάμενα ‘remote and deserted place’, adj. *καμενιώτης, -ισσα, -ικο* ‘promiscuous’ (Σπύρου 2008: 367). See phr. *Να πας στην Κάμενα! Είσαι για την Κάμενα*, used in the idiom with the meanings of ‘Get lost! You should go to a monastery!’ which serve as curses in the area. There was a monastery of Kamena near Delvino (*Κάμενα* < кàмъни, plural form of the Bul. кàмък ‘stone’). See also БЕР II 188, кàмень.

κάχτα ‘walnut’, *καχτιά* ‘walnut tree’, compare *καχτανιά* (Σπύρου 2008: 373). From Bulg. кàхтя ‘беля зелената кора на орехи’, кафта ‘беля орехи’ (БЕР II 284).

κορέντι ‘northern wind’ < Bul. горен (Σπύρου 2008: 379), more exact etymology from the Paleo-Bulgarian горьнъ ‘mountainous’ (БЕР I 265). See also Ylli 1997: 87, *goren* ‘Nordwind’, in South-East Albania. Connected through folk etymology with the n. *κορέντι* ‘electric current’ (Σπύρου 2008: 379) < Alb. *korrent* ‘id.’, also generally meaning ‘airstream’. Alb. *bën korrent* > Gr. idiom. *κάνει κορέντι* ‘it’s windy’.

κόρφιγκας ‘colostrum’ (Delvino, Σπύρου 2008: 380), found as well as κορφίγγ(ι) ‘dense pie made of colostrum’ (Τζουμέρκα, Παπακίτσος 2006: 116), κουρφίγκους ‘ewe’s colostrum’ (Άρτα, Μπόγκας 1964: 188), κουκουφρίγκ’ ‘a type of scratch κουλιάστρα’, which is a kind of dessert made of colostrum (Epirus, Μπόγκας 1964: 180), κουκουφρίγκος (Ναύπακτος, Μπόγκας ibid.), κουκουφρίκους and κουφρίκους, which mean ‘1. πρωτόγαλα/ colostrum’ and ‘2. the skin formed on the surface of boiled milk’, respectively (Upland Pieria, Δουγά-Παπαδοπούλου & Τζιτζιλής 2006: 346, 361). In Çamëri there are used the words *grovìqe* ‘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*’, *korovìqe* ‘kulloshtër e zier pa ujë’, *krovék* ‘qumështi i parë i kafshëve pas pjelljes’, *kroveku haet i pjekur në furrë* (Haxhihasani 1974: 49, 62, 63). We believe that these words derives from the Bul. dial. word коврнг ‘малко кравайче, което раздават на коледари’, which is found also as кофръг, коврнк (БЕР II 512). As far as the word κουκουφρίγκος is concerned, see Kyriazis 2012: 145.

μπουμπαλέτσι ‘1. beetle 2. cockroach’ (Σπύρου 2008: 410) < Bul. буболе́чица ‘bug’ (Геров I 80).

μπουρντένα (and *μπουρντένι*) ‘kind of plant’ (Σπύρου 2008: 411) < бърдун ‘Asphodelus Albus’ (БЕР I 102). See also place name *Berdenésh* near Aghioi Saranda, where the presence of this plant is frequent, as well as surname *Μπουρντένης / Burdéni* in the same region.

μπρεβάρια (τα) ‘a few sheep’ (Σπύρου 2008: 412) < alb. *bravare* ‘Herde’ < bulg./serb. *brav* ‘Widder’ (Ylli 1997: 38).

ντёрžάβα ‘anarchic state’: *είναι τση ντёрžάβας* ‘it is common property’ (Σπύρου 2008: 418) < Bul. държàва ‘state, public sector’ (ВЕЛ 1998). The word is found in N. Albania, through Serbian: *dërzhavë* ‘Staat’ (Ylli 1997: 62).

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ντουμπίτσι, *ντρουμπίτσι* ‘wood’, *τρώω ντουμπίτσι* ‘getting beaten’ (Σπύρου 2008: 417, 418). The form results from the contamination with the Alb. *dru* ‘wood’. *ντουμπίτσι* < σερβ. дуб ‘Eiche’ (Meyer 1894: 48). According to Οικονόμου (2010: 30) the word *ντομπίτσι* ‘thick wood’ (Μπόγκας 1966: 235) derives from the Slavic word dǫbъ ‘wood, oak’. See also Alb. *dubë* ‘Baumwipfel’, dubicë ‘Strauch, Reisig’ < Serb. дуб (Ylli 1997: 69).

πέρπελη ‘black chicken with white dots’ (Σμίνετση, Σπύρου 2008: 429) < Bulg. пе́пел ‘ash’ (БЕР V 157). For the meaning ‘patchy’ see пепеляв ‘сив цвят’, ’gray-ash coloured flower’ (БЕР V 159).

περπελίκω ‘scarecrow’ (Καρδικάκι, Σπύρου 2008: 429). The lines “*περπελίκω περβατεί, / τον Θεό παρακαλεί / για να δώκει μια βροχή -- a scarecrow walks begging God for rain*” lead us to Bul. перпилига ‘обред пеперуда – scarecrow ritual against drought’ (БЕР V 162).

πλούχος ‘plow’. Σπύρου mentions the word in the entry of *περγά* (2008: 429). Meyer (1894: 52) reports the word *πλούκι* ‘Art grosser Pflug’ < bulg. плугъ, Alb. *plug*. Note that the form *pluh* is also found in Czech and Slovak (БЕР V 365).

ποστραβίτσα ‘wart, mole’ (Σπύρου 2008: 427). The form is not reported by Οικονόμου (2010: 21). Compare with Alb. *bradavicë* ‘Pustel; Finne’ < Bul. (maz.) брадавица ‘Warze’ (Ylli 1997: 37).

πράκι ‘lintel’ (Σμίνετση, Σπύρου 2008: 436), *πράκος* ‘doorstep’ (Κοκαβέση 2010: 123) < праг ‘id.’ (БЕР V 586). The words *prak* and *prag* are also found in Albanian (Ylli 1997: 211). The form *πρέκι* is found in Tzoumerka (Φίλος 2000: 618) and other parts of Epirus (Μπόγκας 1964: 318, 1966: 56). The form *πρέκι* might result from the metaphony *prak* - *preqe in Albanian (see *plak* ‘old person’ – *pleq* ‘the elderly’).

σμέτανη ‘cream, skin on boiled milk’ (Σπύρου 2008: 446, form *σμέτα* ‘id.’ used in f Vourkos, Delvino) < Bul. сметàна ‘id.’ This word is not found in the nearby Albanian and Greek idioms.

σμπελίνα ‘hay’ (Σπύρου 2008: 446). Compare Alb. *belinë* ‘Phlomis fruticosa’ < бел-, vgl. Serb./bulg. (maz.) белина ‘weisse farbe’ (Ylli 1997: 26).

ChV, DP

As we have already mentioned, the material coming from this region is limited. However, we are quoting the following indicative words from Μπόγκας’ Glossary (1966: 77-97): *βαρβαρίτσα* (ChV), *βαρβαρίκα* (D) ‘wart’ < верверица ‘squirrel’ (Οικονόμου 2010: 127), *γκλύτσες* ‘a kind of Easter buns, named after their shape’< глиста ‘Regenwurm’, *γκόρτσα* ‘wild pears’ (ChV) < горница ‘wilde Birne’, *γκούσαρας* (ChV), *γκούσ’ρας* (D) ‘large green lizard’ < гуштерь (Οικονόμου 2010: 46), *γόλια* (ChV), *γκόλια* (D) ‘a game played with pebbles’ < голь (Οικονόμου 2010: 38), *καρκαλέτσι* ‘unripe fig’ (D) < скакалец, *κασραβίτσα* (ChV), *κασραβέτσι* (D) ‘cucumber’ < краставица, краставац (Οικονόμου 2010: 65), *λάκουμος* (ChV) ‘gluttonous’ < лаком (Οικονόμου 2010: 69), *μπρέγκο* ‘hill’ < брег, *τρανταλίνα* ‘μοσχοσίταρο’ < детелина (Οικονόμου 2010: 28).

Κοκαβέση (2010: 103-130) adds a few words of Slavic origin such as: *ζάμπα* ‘frog’ < жаба (Οικονόμου 2010: 134), *ζούζουλο* ‘the one whose mind is lost’ <

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жужель (Οικονόμου 2010: 137), *κόπρα* ‘dill’ < копра, *λιάσα* ‘fence’ < леса, *ντοβατσέα* ‘spank’ (compare дǫбъ ‘wood, oak’, Οικονόμου 2010: 30), *ντρεβενίτσα* ‘wooden vessel’ <*дервенъ + -ица (Οικονόμου 2010: 29) etc. It is possible that the number of the Slavic loanwords in the Greek idiom of Chimara might be diminished further if we take into consideration that a part of those loans was introduced from the Albanian language.

AAS

ζμπόρος, ζμπουρεύω. In AAS one might be asked: *ζμπουρεύς ρουμέικα* ‘do you speak Greek?’ This verb as well as the word *ζμπόρος* ‘talk, chat’ are found neither in Chimara nor in the ASDPD region. The words *ζμπορίζω* ‘rede’ and *ζμπόρος* ‘Versammlung’ are found in Macedonia, Thessaly and Epirus (Meyer 1894: 28). The verb is also used meaning ‘jaw, gossip’ in Tsamanda, Epirus (Νίτσου 1926: 258).

λοβ as in *ένα λοβ* ‘once’ (Η λιμ έχ’ ψοφής *ένα λοβ* και το καλοκαίρ που θυμούμαι εγώ… ‘the fish of this lake died once’). We have to do with an “endemic” word which is probably related to the Slavic word лов ‘hunting’, Paleo-Bul. ловъ (БЕР III 419). Since hunting and fishing are periodic activities, the broadening of the meaning that we propose is possible.

λοτš ‘fishing method that uses hands to catch fish’ (Vido 2000: 127) and *λοτšάρκα* ‘fish caught by hand’ (Vido ibid.). Part of this technique is the creation of a puddle in the *γλιάνος* ‘mud’ of the lake, where fish will gather next. Consequently, there is a possible connection to the words ло́чка and ло́чица ‘puddle’ (БЕР III 480), as proposed for Albanian by Çabej and Svane (Ylli 1997: 154, *lloç* ‘Schlamm; Schlick’ < bulg. ло́чка). These words are also found with the specific meaning in the Albanian idiom of the region: *zinim peshk me lloç* ‘fingen den Fisch mit Grübchen’ (Nartë-Vlorë) and *lloçar* ‘Grubchen, an der Flussseite, das man zum Fischfang verwendet’ (Bishan-Vlorë) Ylli ibid. Compare with *λόκα* ‘muddy place’ found in region of Delvino and Aghioi Saranda (Σπύρου 2008: 394).

γκλάβους (γκλάβος) ‘fat eel’ (Vido 2000: 119). Metaphorically: *Γκλάβους τ’ κερατά!* ’that damn bastard!’ Although this word is not found in other Greek idioms (the HistLex E/1 230, gives only the word *γκλάβα* < Slav. glava), it is found in Kosovo (*gllavo* ‘Fischart’, Ylli 1997: 81, *gllavë*).

γλιάνους (γλιάνος) ‘mud’ (Vido 2000: 119). The word does not exist in the HistLex of the Academy of Athens nor does it exist in the ASDPD region. It is probably related to the Paleo-Bul. глѣнъ (БЕР I 248). Compare with the Alb. *gjanë* f. ‘mudbed, alluvium; broad, pond, shallow lake’, in the Shkodra region (Mann 1948: 141, Çabej SE IV 314). See also Vasmer I 273, глень.

μόχους ‘flock’: *[οι τρακαλίδες] ... είχανε μόχον...* From the Bul. мъх ‘id.’ (ΒΕΛ 1998: 575). Compare word μοχός ‘moss, lichen’ in Epirus (Μπόγκας 1964: 243).

νόρος ‘gray-coloured bird with a characteristic walking that lives in lagoons’. Metaphorically: *Α, ρε, νόρο! Φευγς σαν ι νόρος εσσύ*.‘you walk as a noros’. The word is related to the Serb. нор ‘Vogelart am Shkodrasee’ (Ylli 1997: 173, nor). Compare also the noun neréc ‘a kind of black-coloured bird that lives in swamplands’ in Myzeqe (Nushi 1991: 171).

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ποτέρα: *λέτε 'ξεις 'πολύ κόσμο'... εμείς το λέγμε ποτέρα* / 'you call it 'a lot of people'…we call it ποτέρα'. The word is found in AA with the meaning 'a noisy group of people'. Compare also Alb. *potére* 'Aufrühr; Lärm, Geräusch, Rumoren' < Serb. потера / Bulg. потеря 'bewaffnete Schar' (Ylli 1997: 209).

πότκα 'salty liquid': *ηφερε σπόρονε, αλάτ' απ' απέκει, ξιλίρα...γιόμσε τα καζάνια... κι έτσ' πήρε η πότκα.* This meaning, related to the production of salt in the salt flats, is only found in AA and not in nearby Albanian idioms (see Ylli 1997: 210). The word has also the meaning 'yeast for yoghurt' (Vido 2000: 135). From the Bul. word потка (=> пот[1]) 'солена безцветна течност' (БЕР V 555).

Slavic loanwords from the postwar-Communist period

κουλιάκος 'renounced, dissident' (Σπύρου 2008: 381, Κοκαβέση 2010: 115), see also form *κολιάκος* (Σπύρου 2008: 377) < Alb. *kulak* < Rus. кулак 'rich farmer' > Bulg. кулак 'id.' (БЕР III 115). We believe that Alb. word *kulak*, which permeated the Greek idioms of South Albania, does not derive from the English word *gulag* or the French *goulag*, which are both originated in the Rus. гулаг (see Σπύρου 2008: 377). It would be interesting to observe how often this word appears during the first years of the Communist period in the pages of the «Λαϊκό Βήμα» newspaper, which used to be published by the Democratic Front of Albania for the Greek minority. The word appears as *κουλάκος*, maintaining its origin. It is one of the few loanwords of the Communist period that remained even after the rift between Albania and the USSR. A similar course was followed by the word *ζμπόρι* 'frequent meeting of reservist officers and soldiers' < Alb. *zbor* '(army) invitation, gathering' < Rus. сбор 'roll call', which was limited after 1990. In the case of the AAS idiom, this word was related to its prior "sister" *ζμπόρους* 'chat', *ζμπουρεύω* 'talk' (Vido 2000: 138). Another word, that took the meaning 'car' is *πομπιέτα / ποπιέτα* < Rus. победа 'victory', but also 'Russian brand of cars' (Σπύρου 2008: 434).

Finally, words like the following: *στοχανοφικός* (noun and adj.), deriving from the last name of a Russian worker who is known for his innovative spirit;[2] *ουντάρνικος* (noun and adj.), from the Russian удàрник 'innovative', firstly incorporated in the Albanian; *σοφχός*, *σοφχόζνικος*, *κολχός*, *κολχόζνικος* (adj. and noun), *κολχόζνισα* (female noun), from Alb. *sovkoz, kolkoz*, reported in the Fjalor 1954 and deriving from the Russian совкоз and колхоз, as well as from the совхозник, колхозник, колхозница, which are probably direct loans from Russian into Greek[3], belong to another era and their interest is almost "archaeological" nowadays. Of course, we have to note that some of the words previously mentioned, such as *κουλάκος*, had appeared in Greece in Communist articles before the war[4], and as a result it is possible that they reached local idioms through either Greek or Albanian.

[2] In the Fjalor 1954 we find the entries *stakanovist* 'worker who is innovative' and *stakanovizëm* 'stochanovic movement' (Fjalor 1954: 504).

[3] See for instance the incorporation of the female suffix–нца as -ισ(σ)α, found also in the name *Μπίστρισα* (as well as *Μπίστριτσα* < Slav. Бистрица) of the river that crosses the field of Vourkos in the Delvino and Aghioi Saranda region.

[4] In the Dictionary of Communist Terminology-*Λεξικό Κομμουνιστικών Όρων* (Σακελλαρίου 1964), the words *κολχός*, *κολχόζνικος*, *σοβχός*, *σταχανωφισμός* are found; whereas, the word *κουλάκος*, although it doesn't exist as a separate entry, it appears in the explanation of the word *σοβχός*.

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Loan suffixes

Pretty interesting is the case of the *–ikov-* suffix, which in the ASDPD idiom occurs in a range of adjectives that show material and rarely color: *βαμπακίκοβος* 'made of cotton', *βελουδίκοβος* 'velvety', *λεϊμονίκοβος* 'lemon-yellow colored', *μισιρίκοβος* 'made of corn', *μαλλίκοβος* 'wooly', *σταρίκοβος* 'made of wheat' (Σπύρου 2008: 338, 339, 390, 397, 401, 448 respectively), as well as *κρανίκοβος* 'made of cornel tree wood', *λιναρίκοβος* 'made of flax', *σπαρτίκοβος* 'made of rush', etc. These adjectives are heard in the region of Delvino and Aghioi Saranda, mostly by older people. This suffix possibly derives from the Paleo-Slavic adjectival suffixes –ъкь /−ькъ (слад-ъкь 'sweet') and -овъ (юговъ 'south', Авраамовъ 'Abraham's') etc. (Bielfeldt 1961: 155−6).

When and where did this suffix make its first appearance? Is it a loan or an internal change of the ASDPD idiom? If it was e loan, then, there should be lots of Slavic loanwords with the double suffix *-ik-ov-* in this idiom, as well as a number of free bases that form these words. (See for example the words *καφετζής* < *kahveci* and *σοβατζής* < Balk. Turk. *sovaci,* next to the words *καφές* < *kahve* and *σοβάς* < *sova,* that along with many others led to the borrowing of the Turkish originated suffix *–τζής* in the Greek language). In the case under discussion, there are only two, originated from Slavic, words that bear the *-ίκοβ-* suffix.

One of them is the adj. *καστανίκοβο*, where we find the adj. *кóстянъ* 'bony, tough' (Геров), which could easily be related to the Paleo-Bulgarian word кóстань 'chestnut'. The later is a product of folk etymology or conflation of the words *κάστανον* 'chestnut' and кость 'bone' (Paraškevov 1974: 28). The fact that in AA, where there are no chestnut trees, we find the word *καστανάτκα* 'tough' (Vido 2000: 124), the existence of the adj. *κουστενίκος* 'tough' in Epirus (Μπόγκας 1964: 162) and the Bulg. phr. костелив орех 'tough walnut' lead us to the conclusion that the word *καστανίκοβος* is not etymologically connected to the word *κάστανο*. In our view, this is a case of folk etymology, as it is made clear by the explanation of the word *στανίκοβα* 'tough walnuts', which was formed "short for *καστανίκοβα,* as they call, in Yannina, the walnuts whose surface has grooves that make it difficult for the kernel to be extracted" (Μπόγκας 1966: 182). Note that in Albanian, we cannot find an adjective accompanying the word *arrë* 'walnut' and relating to the word *gështenjë* 'chestnut'. To describe somebody who is tough and will not give up easily, in Albanian they say *kockë e fortë* 'tough bone', whereas in Greek, *σκληρό καρύδι* '(literally) tough walnut'. In all three languages, toughness is referred to bone[5].

The second word of Slavic origin with the *–ikov-* suffix is the adj. *σταρίκοβος*: *štarίκουβα* 'walnuts with a tough shell' (Μπόγκας 1964: 147, word *κάκουψα*), *štarίκοβη* 'tasty, made of wheat [bagel]' (Μπόγκας 1966: 182), *štarίκοβο* 'stale bread' (Μπόγκας ibid.), *σταρίκοβο* 'wheat bread' (Μήτσης 2002: 129), 'fragile

[5] Οικονόμου (2010: 50) believes that the word *καστανίκοβο* derives from the Slav. adjective kastenъ 'tiring' + Slav. suf. –ikъ > *kastenikъ + adj. suf. –ovъ. Note that in Άγραφα the 'καστανίκοβα' walnuts are called *κοκκαλιάρικα* (Τάκης 2003: 67) < κόκκαλο 'bone'. It is also worth mentioning that the name *Καστανίκοβες* 'fields named after the καστανίκοβη καρυδιά' in Dropoli (Σελλειό 182) can be related to the place names *Κοκάλα* 'field located behind the ridges of Κρέστα' (Καβαβιά 100) and *Κόκαλη* 'farm-land in the field' (Καβαβιά 101).

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wood' (Μπόγκας 1966: 248). According to Οικονόμου (2010: 115) this word derives from "the Slavic adjective starъ after the addition of the –ikъ suffix, as in the Bulg. *starik* 'old man', and the adjectival suffix -ovъ". Next, Οικονόμου refers to the evolution of the meaning 'old' to 'dry', (used for bread, walnuts, fruit, wood), based on a folk etymologic association of the words *σ(ι)τάρ(ι)* 'wheat' and starъ 'old'. As far as the word *στανίκοβα* is concerned, he believes that it derives from the form *σταρίκοβο* which is affected as a folk etymology of the word *στανιό* 'compulsion, force' (Οικονόμου 2010: 116).

Referring to the role of folk etymology and spotting the existence of the Slavic suffixes –ikъ and –ovъ, Οικονόμου facilitates our effort to seek for the way that other adj. in -ίκοβ- were formed. Probably, Οικονόμου was not aware of them since they come from the ASDPD region which in not included in his field of research. His only reference to the issue, which lacks the clarification of the source, is done with the adjective *μισιρίκοβο*. The adj. derives from the word *μισίρι* 'corn' (<Arab-Turk. mısır) + suf. *–οβο* and Οικονόμου avoids commenting on the presence of the *–ικ-* element (Οικονόμου 2010: 181). The extra material reported by Σπύρου as well as other words found in the region lead to a new approach to the issue.

We believe that on the basis of the adj. *καστανίκοβος* and *σταρίκοβος*, and regardless of their etymology, in the mind of the speakers of this idiom the *–ίκοβ-* suffix was related to the material something is made of. As a result, *μισιρίκοβος* was formed after *σταρίκοβος*, while *βελουδίκοβος* and *βαμπακίκοβος* were formed after *μαλλίκοβος, σπαρτίκοβος* and *λιναρίκοβος*, which are clearly connected to traditional raw materials of clothes making. Even the word *λεϊμονίκοβος*, although it is referred to color, still shows the special characteristics of the material.

Besides the fact that they are limited, as far as their number and their geographic prevalence is concerned, the examples that we presented above prove that, under certain circumstances, folk etymology and analogy can lead to further alterations and combinations of loan suffixes in the context of the language they are incorporated in. Furthermore, noteworthy is the fact that the *–ikov-* suffix does not appear in the neighboring Albanian idioms that were under strong Slavic influence, nor does it appear in other idioms of the broader Greek-speaking area.

The Slavic-originated suffix *–οβ/ον-* (–ovъ) appears basically in place names in several regions of South Albania and North Greece. Next we will present some of the place names of the Greek-speaking centers of South Albania: *Γιάτροβο* (149), *Παπαγιάννοβα* (186), *Ζιόρκοβο* (187), *Κυριάκοβες* (246), *Γρανίτσοβο* (265)[6]. The *–οβ/ον-* suffix also appears frequently in andronymics (see Μαργαρίτη-Ρόγκα 2007). For instance, *Γιάννοβα* 'Yanni's wife', *Μήτροβα*, *Πέτροβα*, *Νάσιοβα*, etc., as well as *Νασιοπέτροβα*: 'Nasiopetros' wife', *Γιανημήτροβα* etc. Let us note that in AA this suffix has the –ó stressed: *Παντιλόβα* 'Pantelis' wife' (Vido 2000: 150), *Νασιόβα* 'Nasios' wife' (Vido 2000: 131). In addition, it rarely appears in appellatives such as *ακτσόβα* (<Balk.Turk. ahçi 'μάγειρας') 'woman that is called to be the cook in weddings' (Vido 2000: 113), *γιουβαρόβα* (<*γιουβάρ* < Middle Gr. *βιβάριον* < Lat. *vivarium*) 'owner of the vivarium' (Vido 2000: 150), *μπουνταλόβα* (< Turk. *budala*) 'stupid', etc.

[6] References in Κουλίδας 2005.

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According to the material we gathered and the relevant bibliography, in the idiom of Chimara and in the South Albanian idioms the use of the *–οβ/ον-* suffix is not observed in andronymics. Note, finally, that in the regions under consideration, unlike in Macedonia region (Δουγά-Παπαδοπούλου & Τζιτζιλής 2006: 125), the adjectival suffix of Slavic origin *–άβος/-άνος* is practically non-existent. It might appear in the *τσιάτσιαβος* 'chatty' (Κατσαλίδας 2004: 363), whereas, in the word *λίγκαβος* 'lean' (Σπύρου 2008: 392) the base is the Slavic loan word лигав (БЕР III 392).

Onomastics

The research has so far been concentrated mostly on econyms (Селищев 1931, Vasmer 1941, Οικονόμου 2002, Ylli 2000) and less on the place names of certain regions (Οικονόμου 1991). The collection and study of this material have to be continued, since interesting new findings are expected. Another important field of research is that of the anthroponymy.

According to the material above, as we have a better knowledge of the econyms of the Dropoli and Aghioi Saranda region, here we will concentrate on the material we have about place names in Dropoli (Κουλίδας 2005). The traditional occupation of the residents of Dropoli was agriculture and cattle-breeding. As a result, a lot of their place names are related to characteristics of the land and the water of the area. Place names such as *Ταρανίδα*, *Ταρανίδες*, *Ταροΐνα*, *Τραγανή* are often found in several spots in the field and their respective names are found in the close geographic area of Zagorochoria: *Τραγάνα* 'name of a bald and sterile place', which according to Οικονόμου (1991: 283) derives from the word *τραγάνα* 'rocky and infertile land' (Μπόγκας 1964: Α΄ 391). Close to them, and bearing the same meaning, are *Πέπελη* and *Πεπελάσια* 'small rocky hills' (73)[7] < Bulg. пе́пел (БЕР V 159). Additionally, we find *Μπογαρό* (45), *Πουγαρός* (66), *Πογορό* (97), *Παγορά* (255), *Πογαρά* (245), that derive from the Slav. *progora* 'Berganstieg' (Malingoudis 1981: 166) or the *Podъgorъje (> Serb. *Podgora* and Bulg. *podgorie* 'foothills'), as proposed by Vasmer (1941: 147, 149). The names *Γκρεχότι* (27), *Γκριότι* (56), that derive from the word *grochotъ* (Šmilauer 1970: 73), are probably related to the rocky soil, as it is also made clear by the location bearing the same name northern of Argyrokastro as well in Myzeqe (Nushi 1991: 74)[8]. In places with plenty of underground water and/or moist soil we also find names of Slavic origin such as *Μουτσάλες* (34), *Μοτσιάλες* (57), *Μουτσιάλα* (101) < мочалъ (Šmilauer 1970: 122), *Βάμπαλο* (56) < ǫблъ 'Quelle, Brunnen' (Šmilauer 1970: 137), *Λιούτσα* 'a name for a farm-land in the field' (57), *Λούτσα* (66) < лужа 'Sumpf, Pfütze, Lache' (Šmilauer 1970: 116), next to words of Greek origin such as *Βρυσερό* (27) < *βρύση* 'faucet', *Βρωμιάς* 'swampy land' < *βρομώ* 'stink' (43) etc.

There are a lot of blanks as far as a satisfactory etymologic explanation of the econyms is concerned, as it will be presented next. It is widely known that the issue of the origin of the econym *Άρτα* and *Narta* (in its Albanian version) has been

[7] The pages refer to Κουλίδας 2005.

[8] Less convincing seems to be the association of this place name with the meanings 'силен шум, гръм, ечене' (БЕР I 285).

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attracting the interest of the researchers for a long time[9]. The place name *Narda* occurs for the first time in the 1520 map of Piri Reis (Vido 2009: 49), who was a Turkish geographer. However, it is not referred in the chrysobull of emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus, of the year 1307, which considered matters of the jurisdiction of the Kanina diocese (Alexander 1941: 147). On the other hand, in the chrysobull it is reported that there are *«εἰς τὸν Αυλῶνα ἁλυκῆς τηγάνια τέσσαρα»*, which means that the salt flats of Arta operated during that time. Our suggestion for the econym *Ἄρτα* relies on the fact that, in the AAS region, fishermen mention the place name *Παδιακουτήρ'*. The discussion is about a cape, *(Μ)πούντα* (<Ital. *punta*), that unlike the rest of the boundaries of the lagoon, remained a stable point of orientation. In this name, one can identify the word *ακροτήρι* and maybe also **Πάγιο Ακροτήρι*, which refers to a cape that is stable and immovable[10]. Place names related to the special characteristics of the beaches are also common in the broader region. For instance, in Chimara, there is a place name *Κορτήρι (<Ακροτήρι/cape)*, between this place and Avlona there is a peninsula called *Karaburun* (< Turk. *kara burun* 'black cape'), whereas, northern than AA there is the lagoon of *Καραβαστά* (< *Καραβοστάσι* or *Καραβουστάσ'* 'small port'). With this as a starting point, we believe that the name Άρτα or *Narta* derives from the Slav. гъть, that according to Šmilauer (1970: 155) it is found as a place name with the meanings 'Bergspitze, Anhöhe' and 'Kap'. Šmilauer (ibid.) notes that this root is the basis for the formation of the place name *Narta* elsewhere too. According to Malingoudis (1981: 98), the same word is also the root of the place name *Ἄρτος* (ein steiler Hügel), which also occurs in combinations such as *Ἅγριος Ἄρτος*, *Πάνω Ἄρτος*, to be found in Peloponnese. If this interpretation is acceptable, then there is no need for a connection between the *Arta Avlona* and *Arta* of Amvrakikos in Epirus or with the ancient place name *Ἄρνισσα*[11]. It is notable that, commonly, a lake and one of the settlements build by the lake have the same name (compare *λίμνη Καστοριάς* and *Καστοριά*, *Οχρίδα λίμνη* and *Οχρίδα*, etc.)[12].

The interpretation of the econym Άρτα as based on Slavic is related to the fact that there are several Slavic place names in the region (compare *Kaninë*, probably related to the Bulg. place name Канина < Slav. ка́ня 'Raubvogel; Geier, Aegypius, Gyps' Šmilauer 1970: 87. See also Vasmer I 520)[13]. The fact that there is a continuity of the ancient name of this place and that there is a persistent semantic core in the names of the same place *(*Πάγιο Ακροτήρι > Παδιακουτήρ' – Ἄρτα* -

[9] For details about the various suggestions that have been made from time to time see Δελόπουλος 1977.

[10] The existence of the word *πάγιος* 'firm, fixed' and the same rooted *πάγος* 'rock' might also be reinforced by the place names *Παγούρια*, *Πλάκα* and *Μαρμαρώματα*, which are found near Arta and mean 'place with rocks/stones/marbles'.

[11] Δελόπουλος ibid.

[12] See also Δελόπουλος 1977: 172.

[13] Demiraj (2008: 149) is skeptical about the Slavic origin of this econym since he considers it as pro-slavic. If this holds, why hasn't it presented characteristics of rhotacismus, as the nearby Vlorë did? We have to remind that in the broader area, close to Chimara, the place name *Ζουπέα* (Γυπέα < γυψ + -έα), Alb. Gjypè, is found. The residents of AA use the words *Κάινα* for Kanina and *Καϊνιώτ'ς* for Kanina's inhabitants.

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Μπούντα) proves the successive stratifications of foreign-speaking populations that passed through or settled down in the area.

Succession and contact among several languages in the same region can also be analyzed from the perspective of the anthroponyms. By analyzing the names of the deceased that are included in the records of the two churches of AA,[14] which end in 1833 and 1841, respectively, we come up with an interesting view that can be referred to the anthroponyms of the broader Albanian-speaking (and Vlach-speaking) area as well as to the Turkish ledger of the AA (Narda) of the years 1520 and 1583 (Demiraj 2008: 166). Through the comparison to the names found in the records of the Myzeqe region we realize that there is a common group of names, related mostly with Orthodoxy. However, there are a lot of – mainly women's – names[15] recorded only in AA that can help us in following the course and the demographic synthesis of this settlement. In the ledger of 1520, names of Slavic origin are found as well as the diminutive suffix *–ko,* whereas in the one of 1583 there is at least one case in which we learn that Vaso Lito is from Maura (island of Lefkada − Λευκάδα). The examples above are proofs of the continuity and the differentiation of the synthesis of the AA population. The Ottoman conquerors were interested in the utilization of the salt flats of the region and managed to bring labor force from other areas (there were salt works in Amvrakikos and on Lefkada). The tradition that connects Arta Avlona to Arta of Amvrakikos[16] probably derives from that movement of populations.

Except the names of Christian tradition, in records that contain names of deceased persons of different origins the following are also found: *Χελιδόνη* (<χελιδόνι/swallow), *Ασήμω* (ασήμι 'silver'), *Χρυσάφω* (<χρυσάφι'gold'), *Ακριβή* (<ακριβός 'precious'), *Χαϊδεμένη* and *Χάιδω* (<χαϊδεύω 'caress'), *Αφέντρια* (<αφέντρια 'mistress', next to its synonym, with an Albanian root, *Zónια*), *Δρόσω* (<δροσιά 'dew'), *Θιαμαστή* (<θαυμάζω, θιαμάζω 'admire'), *Παγώνα* (<παγώνα 'female peacock'), *Κλώνα* (<κλωνί/tree 'branch'), etc., as well as the ones of ancient Greek tradition *(Ο)λυμπιάδα, Ουρανία, Περικλής, Μενέλαος*, etc.

One of the names that occurs often and stands out in the records of the deceased of AA is the female name *Ζαβέντρια*. This name is found only here; it is probably of Slavic origin, since it can be related to the Bulgarian name Здравéна (Занмов 1994: 108) that was first recorded in the 16th century. The name *Αντρία*, which also appears in the records of Myzeqe (Mitrushi 1966: 186, Çunga), probably has the same origin (<Ядрия, Занмов 1994: 250). The following are men's names that indicate Slavic origins[17]: *Bogdan* (< Богдан), *Bozhimir* (<Божимир), *Bozhiq* (<Божич), *Malo* (<Мало), *Nedelko* (<Неделко), *Uzkano* (compare Учко) etc. Note

[14] We are dealing with a copy of the originals that weren't saved, which, despite of its mistakes, has provided us with valuable material.

[15] It is known that usually only the name of the head of the family was registered in the Turkish ledgers.

[16] In almost all the Greek-speaking areas of contemporary Albania there is some similar tradition: the residents of Dropoli came from Attica, the residents of Chimara came from Mani etc.

[17] Here we quote the most easily recognizable examples; however, this does not mean that they are the only ones. The name *Potera*, for example, which we believe to be related to *Potora* (wrong reading?), can be considered as a nickname ("quarrelsome") and it can be derived from the noun *ποτέρα* (< Serb. *потера* / Bulg. *потеря*), which is still used in AA.

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also the diminutives ending in *–ko*, such as *Thomko* (Томко), *Stanko* (Станко), *Qirko* (Кирко), *Lasko* (Ласко)[18], etc.

Conclusions

The facts presented above indicate that the Slavic presence in Epirus was strong and continuous.[19] Words of Slavic origin, added to the already known ones in previous studies, confirm that the Slavic culture has been "in hohem Grade eine 'Holzkultur'", as well as and that "die griechischen Slavismen haben einen ungewönlich konkreten Charakter und sind sehr stark mit dem Dorfleben verbunden" (Budziszewska 1990: 125).

The Greek-speaking area that seems to be less affected by Slavic is that of Chimara, although elements of Slavic influence are present in the neighboring villages, as indicated by the place names and econyms of the coastal area (*Vomblo* in Qeparo, Sotiri 2001, *Sopot* in Borsh, *Vanovë* in Pilur, *Lukovë*, *Hundecovë*, *Nivicë-Bubar*, *Prodan*, *Krekëz*, etc.), as well as in the inland (for the region of Kurvelesh see Meçaj et al. 2009).

The regions of AA and ASDPD seem to have undergone a heavier influence of Slavic since there are plenty of loanwords and econyms of Slavic origin there. In AA there are words and anthroponyms that are reported only in that area (see *λοβ* and *Ζαβέντρια*), whereas in the ASDPD region there is specialized and limited use and diffusion of the suffix *–ίκοβ-* (designating material or color), not to be found in neighboring Albanian or Greek idioms.

Of the idioms under examination, only the one of AAS has borrowed elements also from Serbian (see loanwords that are related to the lagoon's realia) and this is explained by its contacts with the North and the South idioms of Albanian, as well as by its location between the North-West and the South-East Slavic of the Balkans.

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[18] These Slavic names are from Занмов 1994.

[19] Some researchers have a different point of view on this issue. See, for instance, Xhufi 1995: 8.

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Abstract

On the basis of previous studies on the Slavic elements of Greek and Albanian (Meyer 1891, 1894, Vasmer 1941, Селищев 1931, etc.), as well as of more recent research on this field (Ylli 1997, 2000, Οικονόμου 2010, etc.), this author examines the Slavic "traces" that occur in the Greek idioms of South Albania (GISA). This study relies on primary sources (field-research), and it focuses on words/ suffixes/ place-names of Slavic origin. Constantly in contact with the Albanian language and considered as a manifestation of continuity/discontinuity of the Greek idioms of Epirus, GISA present, as far as their Slavic elements are concerned, several particularities and asymmetries in relation to the Albanian and the Greek dialects of the broader geographic region.

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