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## Further Turkish Loanwords in the Cretan Dialect of Modern Greek

### Abstract

Five years ago Vasilis Orfanos published an excellent monograph on the Turkish lexical borrowings attested in the Cretan dialect of Modern Greek (Orfanos 2014). In this paper the present authors increase the number of the possible Cretan Turkisms, providing and explaining additional items not listed in Orfanos's book.

### Keywords

borrowings, Crete, language contacts, lexicography, loanwords, Modern Greek, Turkish.

In his impressive book devoted to lexical Turkisms in the Cretan dialect of Modern Greek, Vasilis Orfanos (2014) collected about three thousand Cretan appellatives of Ottoman-Turkish origin. The author used as many as eleven basic dictionaries of the Cretan dialect of Modern Greek (Papagrigorakis 1952; Pagkalos 1955–1975 [reprinted in 1994–2002]; Pitykakis 1983 [reprinted in 2001]; Kondylakis 1990; Xanthinakis 2000 [4th augmented edition in 2009]; Garefalakis 2002; Idomeneos 2006–2013; Apostolakis 2008; Tsirigotakis 2009; Darivianakis 2009; Kritsotakis 2012). Generally, he omits two short collections of the West Cretan dialectal words used in Sfakia (Peristerakis 1991, 175–316; Geronymakis 1999), as well as two small glossaries of the East Cretan dialect (Tsirigotakis 2001; Rodakis 2005). In our paper we would like to discuss some Cretan dialectisms not included in Orfanos's monograph.

[1] ECret. αἰβά, αἰβά [ai'va] f. 'quince / κυδώνι' (used in some places of Eastern Crete) < Turk. *ayva* 'quince' (Hony, *Íz* 1947, 25; *Íz*, Hony 1978, 435; Wendt 1993, 58; Süer 1993, 221; Antonowicz-Bauer, Dubiński 1997, 32; Stachowski 2002, 37; Kozłowska 2006, 81; Yurtbaşı 2006, 62).

[2] ECret. αἰβατζής [aiva'dzis] m. 'a grower or seller of the quinces' (Tsikritsi-Katsianaki 1981, 17) < Turk. *ayvacı* 'id.' (Tzemos 2003, 44) ← Turk. *ayva* 'quince' (Hony, *Íz* 1947, 25; *Íz*, Hony 1978, 435; Wendt 1993, 58; Antonowicz-Bauer, Dubiński 1997, 32; Stachowski 2002, 37; Kozłowska 2006, 81; Yurtbaşı 2006, 62). The Cretan family name Αἰβατζής is attested in Archanes, Archontiki, Arvi and Herakleion (Tsikritsi-Katsianaki 1981, 17; ETTK 2005, 102, 150, 532). It is worth emphasizing that Stachowski (1996) does not register the Turkish agent noun in question. Also most Turkish dictionaries omit the appellative *ayvacı* (e.g. Hony, *Íz* 1947; *Íz*, Hony 1978; Wendt 1993; Antonowicz-Bauer, Dubiński 1997; Kozłowska 2006; Yurtbaşı 2006), perhaps because of the narrow semantic field and the relative scarceness of using the agent noun in question.

[3] ECret. βέρα [v'era] f. 'armistice, truce, conciliation, reconciliation' (Pagkalos 1959, 224) is not listed by Orfanos (2014) among the carefully selected Turkish loanwords in the Cretan dialect of the Modern Greek language. In our opinion, it should be treated as a probable borrowing from a Turkish source (Kaczyńska, Witczak 2008, 133–134; Kaczyńska 2016, 44–45), cf. the Ottoman-Turkish appellative *vère* (now generally obsolete) 'a capitulating, giving up' (Redhouse 1880, 857) or 'capitulation, surrender' (Hony, *Íz* 1947, 368; Antonowicz-Bauer, Dubiński 1983, 239; Kozłowska 2006, 910). Orfanos omits the East Cretan term in question for two reasons. It is usually treated as a borrowing from a South Slavic source, cf. Mac. *vera*, Bulg. *vjára* 'faith, belief', Pol. *wiara* (< Proto-Slavic *\*věra*) (Laskaris 1927, 211–212; Vasmer 1941 [reprinted in 1970], 174–176; Pagkalos 1959, 224; Budziszewska 1991, 10, 78, 88; Hinrichs 1999, 641; Skach 2008, 12; Haralampakis 2016: 89–90). If this connection would be correct, then the meaning of the Cretan word could suggest a military mediation. The word in question could be taken from Slavic mercenaries, participating in the Cretan campaign of Nikephoros II Phokas against the Muslim emirat of the island (960–961). On the other hand, most researchers ignore the fact that the Cretan term βέρα may derive from Turkish *vère* 'capitulation, surrender'. The Ottoman-Turkish term *vère* is well motivated on the basis of Turkic internal etymology, as the phrase *vère vermək* 'to capitulate; to give up (a fortress)' (Redhouse 1880, s. 867; Hony, *Íz* 1947, 368) represents the so-called *figura etymologica*, cf. Turk. *vermek* 'give; deliver; pay; offer; sell; attribute; undergo (looses); teach' (Hony, *Íz* 1947, 368; Kozłowska 2006, 911). It should be noted that the earlier meaning 'to surrender, capitulate' is perfectly confirmed in the 8<sup>th</sup>-century inscription of Kül Tegin (685–731), one of the greatest leaders of the second Turkish khaganate. In this inscription we find an Old Turkic phrase *ordu:ğ bérmedi* '[Kül Tegin] did not surrender the camp'

(Clauson 1972, 203, 399). The Ottoman-Turkish borrowing βέρα appears in the meaning ‘surrender, capitulation’ in Modern Greek literary texts of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> c. AD (Kaczyńska 2016, 42–44). It was used not only in Crete, but in other Greek regions as well. The Romanian appellative *veră* ‘capitulation’ (formally identical with the East Cretan term βέρα f. ‘armistice, truce, conciliation, reconciliation’) is listed among the obvious Turkish loanwords (Wendt 1960, 120). Also the military meaning of the East Cretan word seems to suggest the Turkish origin (and not the Slavic one).

[4] WCret. (used in Sfakia) γουρλής [ɣurˈlis] m. ‘lucky man / ο τυχερός’ (Peristerakis 1991, 208) is a loanword from Turkish *uğurlu* ‘lucky’ (Andriotis 2001, 71; Kyranoudis 2009, 176–177). It is worth emphasizing that the term γουρλής m. ‘luck-bringer’ (also adj. ‘bringing good luck’) is registered in the literary language of Modern Greek (Stavropoulos 1988, 197; Pring 1992, 45; Iakov 2005, 321; Haralampakis 2014, 384). The Modern Greek appellative γούρι n. ‘good luck’ (Stavropoulos 1988, 196–197; Pring 1992, 45) is usually treated as a back-borrowing from Turk. *uğur* ‘good luck’ < Byz.Gk. ἀγούριν ‘id.’ < VLat. *agurium* < Lat. *augurium* n. ‘sign, omen, token, prognostic; augury, divination, prophecy’ (Andriotis 2001, 71; Papakyriakou-Apergi, Papakyriakou 2005, 90; Babiniotis 2011, 318). According to Kontosopoulos (2006, 50), the basic Cretan equivalent of Mod.Gk. γουρλής is καλοτύχερος.

[5] ECret. ιστιρατζής [istiraˈðzis] m. ‘tax-collector / φοροεισπράκτορας’ (Rodakis 2005, 64) seems to derive from Turk. *istilâci* ‘invader’, adj. ‘rapacious, grasping; aggressive’ (Wendt 1993, 257; Antonowicz-Bauer, Dubiński 1997, 125; Kozłowska 2006, 450) < Turk. *istila* ‘invasion, plague’ (Hony, Íz 1947, 158; Wendt 1993, 257; Kozłowska 2006, 450). An alternative explanation refers to Turk. *ıştira* ‘purchase’ (Hony, Íz 1947, 161; Wendt 1993, 260). However, no agent noun *\*ıştiracı* is attested in the historical dictionary of Stachowski (1996), nor in the Turkish dictionaries used by the present authors.

[6] ECret. καλουπαζής [kalupakˈsis] m. ‘head, notable, elder of a village / προεστός’ (Rodakis 2005, 66) seems to be a borrowing from Turk. *kalpakçı* ‘maker or seller of calpacs’ (Stachowski 1996, 91; Tzemos 2003, 99; Kozłowska 2006, 478; Yurtbaşı 2006, 371), cf. Mod.Gk. καπάκι n. ‘calpac’ (Khorikov, Malev 1980, 411; Andriotis 2001, 144; Stavropoulos 1988, 408; Babiniotis 2002, 823; Iakov 2005, 650; Haralampakis 2014, 757), Cypr. καπάκκιν n. ‘a round head-gear’ (Giagkoullis 2002, 121) < Turk. *kalpak* ‘calpac; fur cap’ (Vogiatzoglou 1992, 89; Wendt 1993, 272; Süer 1993, 120; Antonowicz-Bauer, Dubiński 1997, 133; Stachowski 2002, 156). The semantic development can be reconstructed as follows: ‘maker or seller of calpacs’ > ‘a man having a fur cap’ > ‘notable man, elder of a village’.

[7] ECret. κερχαντζής [tɛrxanˈðzis] m. ‘spiv / αεριτζής’ (Rodakis 2005, 73) seems to represent a loanword from Turk. *kerhāneci* ‘brothel-keeper, pimp’ (Hony, Íz 1947, 185; Kozłowska 2006, 514), cf. Cret. κερχανές m. ‘old oil-press;

factory, shop, story; residence' (Pagkalos 1959[1994], II 456; Tsirigotakis 2001, 130; Xanthinakis 2001, 235) < Turk. *kerhane* 'brothel, bawdy-house', formerly 'factory, workshop' (Wendt 1993, 293; Stachowski 2002, 144; Yurtbaşı 2006, 402). See also the agent noun *κερχανατζής* [cerxana'dzis] m. 'brothel-keeper, brothel's habitual guest' (< Mod.Gk. dial. *κερχανάς* m. 'brothel') functioning in a folk idiom (Khorikov, Malev 1980, 437). Stachowski (1996) does not register the Turkish agent noun in question.

[8] WCret. (in Sfakia) *κιρκιμίσι* [teirtei'misi] n. 'oleander / σφόκα, πικροδάφνη' (Peristerakis 1991, 238) represents a local adaptation of the Turkish adjective *kipkirmızı* 'very red, bright red' (Hony, İz 1947, 191; Antonowicz-Bauer, Dubiński 1997, 143; Yurtbaşı 2006, 407). Generally, the flowers of oleander (*Nerium oleander* L.) are white, pink to red. The Sfakian term *κιρκιμίσι* seems to denote an oleander with bright red flowers. It was used in a folk Sfakian couplet, registered in the village Vouvas (West Crete) as a wish for newly-weds: *ως αθεί το κιρκιμίσι / εις το παραποταμίσι / έτσι ν' αθήσετε / και να λουλουδίσετε* "when the red oleander blossoms on the riverside, in this manner you will blossom and you will be in flower" (Peristerakis 1991, 238).

[9] Cret. *κουτουρατζής* [kutura'dzis] m. 'a man who makes systematically reckless, unreasonable actions, who proceeds without reflection; a negligent, sluggish person', adj. 'incautious, imprudent, improvident, unreasonable' (Pitykakis 1983, 505; Idomeneos 2006, 244) appears to be a borrowing from Turk. *götürücü*, earlier *götürücü* (attested in 1445) 'portans, gestans, baiulans, ferens, seu lator' (Stachowski 1996, 73; Wendt 1993, 195), cf. Alb. *kuturxhi* (attested in 1809) 'rash, reckless, foolhardy'. The Cretan term has a semantic motivation in the Cretan adverb *κουτουρού* 'wholesale, in the gross; in a lump sum' (< Turk. *götürü* 'in a lump sum'; Andriotis 2001, 173; Babiniotis 2011, 725), as well as in Mod.Gk. *κουτουράδα* f. 'rashness, recklessness, imprudence, foolhardiness, rash; reckless remark or action' (Khorikov, Malev 1980, 457; Stavropoulos 1988, 475; Iakov 2005, 753).

[10] Cret. *μαντρατζής* [madra'dzis] m. 'assistant of shepherd, who comes and goes from a mountain shepherd's house to a fold in a village, making different works' (Pitykakis 1983, 595; Peristerakis 1991, 254, 470; Xanthinakis 2001, 299; Apostolakis 2008, 268) is a derivative from Mod.Gk. (also Cret.) *μάντρα* f. 'sheep-pen, sheep-fold enclosed with stone fences' (< Anc. Gk. *μάνδρα* f. 'an inclosed place; fold, byre, stable'; Shipp 1979, 380; Montanari 2003, 1225; Babiniotis 2011, 819) with the agentive suffix *-τζής*. The Ancient Greek term seems to originate from an oriental source, cf. Skt. *mandurā*- f. 'a stable for horses', *mandiram* n. 'dwelling, house, palace, temple, town, camp', also 'a stable for horses' (Beekes 2010, 900); Turk. *mandıra*, earlier *mandra* 'small cow-shed; cheese dairy; sheep-pen', now 'dairyfarm' (Hony, İz 1947, 216; Wendt 1993, 332; Stachowski 2005, 184; 2007, 266; Yurtbaşı 2006, 462). The Turkish agent noun *mandıracı* 'stock-breeder; owner of a sheep-pen or cheese dairy' (Tzemos

2003, 140), now ‘dairyfarmer’ (Yurtbaşı 2006, 462; Kozłowska 2006, 591), seems to be an independent creation analogous to Cret. μαντρατζής. Note that Stachowski (1996) gives no historical evidence for Turk. *mandracı*.

[11] ECret. μεκτουπτζής [mektup'dzis] m. ‘general secretary / γενικός γραμματέας’ (Rodakis 2005, 90) is a borrowing from Turk. (obsolete) *mektupçu* ‘Chief Secretary of the Ministry; Director of Correspondence of a Province’ (Hony, İz 1947, 222; Kozłowska 2006, 600; Yurtbaşı 2006, 469), earlier *mektubcı* ‘Generalsekretär eines Ministeriums oder einer Provinz’ (Tewfik 1917, 332; Stachowski 1996, 116), cf. Turk. *mektup*, earlier *mektub* ‘written; letter’ (Wendt 1993, 337; Stachowski 2002, 197, 2005, 191) < Arab. *maktūb* ‘written; letter’ (Stachowski 1977, 91–92; Turek 2001, 301).

[13] ECret. μπεχτσής [bex'tsis] m. ‘gendarme’ (Tsirigotakis 2001, 180) is a borrowing from Turk. *bekçi* [bek'çi] ‘watchman, guard, custodian, ranger’ (Wendt 1993, 72; Stachowski 1996, 33, 2002, 45; Tzemos 2003, 157; Kozłowska 2006, 110; Yurtbaşı 2006, 87). Hony & İz (1947, 34) give the heading *bekci* [sic!] ‘watchman, esp. night-watchman; sentry; forest guard’ < Turk. *beklemek* ‘to await, watch, guard’.

[14] ECret. μπουφετζής [bufe'dzis] m. ‘coffee-house keeper / καφετζής’ (Rodakis 2005, 98) and Mod.Gk. μπουφετζής m. ‘keeper or worker of a buffet’ (Babiniotis 2002, 1149) derive from the Modern Greek appellative μπουφές m. ‘sideboard; buffet’ (Khorikov, Malev 1980, 538; Pring 1982, 126; Stavropoulos 1988, 576), being a borrowing from Fr. *buffet*. It is uncertain, whether or not Turk. *büfeci* ‘operator of a stand where foods are sold’ (Wendt 1993, 91; Yurtbaşı 2006, 125; Kozłowska 2006, 154) may be indicated as a source form. The word in question seems to derive independently from Turk. *büfe* ‘buffet; table laid with food and drinks; cabinet, cupboard, kiosk’ (< Fr. *buffet*) (Süer 1993, 25).

[15] ECret. τζαμπαντζής [ɟaba'dzis] m. ‘bad payer, liar’ (Tsirigotakis 2001, 266) and Mod.Gk. τζαμπαντζής m. ‘one who gets things for nothing; gatecrasher, fare-dodger, deadhead’ (Pring 1982, 190; Stavropoulos 1988, 877) seem to represent a direct borrowing from Turk. *cabacı* ‘sponger; parasite’ (Hony, İz 1947, 48; Wendt 1993, 92), cf. also Mod.Gk. (also Cret.) τζάμπα adv. ‘gratis, free (of charge), for nothing’ (Pagkalos 1963[1999], IV 175; Stavropoulos 1988, 877) < Turk. *caba* ‘free (of charge), gratis, for nothing’ (Budziszewska 1983, 50; Kozłowska 2006, 158; Yurtbaşı 2006, 128).

[16] ECret. τουτουντζής [tutu(n)'dzis] m. ‘pedlar / ππραματευτής’ (Rodakis 2005, 141) seems to derive from Turk. *tütüncü* ‘tobacconist, grower of tobacco’ (Hony, İz 1947, 356; Tsikritsi-Katsianaki 1981, 227; Wendt 1993, 494; Stachowski 1996, 162–163; Kozłowska 2006, 883), cf. Cret. τουτούνι n. ‘smoke, smoking; tobacco’ (Peristerakis 1991, 307; Xanthinakis 2001, 517), Mod.Gk. dial. τουτούνι n. ‘tobacco, snuff’ (Andriotis 2001, 369) < Turk. *tütün* ‘id.’ (Süer 1993, 393; Stachowski 2002, 285). It is worth emphasizing that the Cretan family names Τουτουντζής, Τουτουντζάκης, Τουτουτζάκης and Τουτουτζιδάκης are registered

in Heraklion, Mesi and Archanes (Tsikritsi-Katsianaki 1981, 227). The Cretan surnames with the characteristic ending -άκης (see Vayakakos 1981, 9–25) document a local distribution of the agent name τουτουοντζής.

[17] ECret. τόπι [ˈtopi] n. ‘cannon / κανόνι’, also ‘cannon-shot / καννονιά’ (Rodakis 2005, 140; Kritsotakis 2016, 180) < Turk. *top* ‘gun, cannon’ (Wendt 1993, 485; Stachowski 2002, 281). The Modern Greek appellative τόπι, borrowed from the Ottoman-Turkish source, demonstrates a number of meanings: (1) ‘ball / σφαίρα’, (2) ‘shot of cannon / σφαίρα πυροβόλου’ and ‘cannon / κανόνι’, (3) ‘roll of cloth / δέμα από ύφασμα’ (Papakyriakou-Apergi, Papakyriakou 2005, 458).

[18] ECret. τοψής [toˈpsis] m. ‘gunner, artilleryman / πυροβολητής’ (Rodakis 2005, 141) < Turk. *topçu* ‘gunner, artilleryman’ (Hony, İz 1947, 351; Stachowski 1996, 159; Kozłowska 2006, 871; Yurtbaşı 2006, 675), cf. ECret. τόπι n. ‘cannon’ (Rodakis 2005, 140; Kritsotakis 2016, 180) < Turk. *top* ‘gun, cannon’ (Wendt 1993, 485; Stachowski 2002, 281). The Turkish loanword is registered in the Greek dictionaries as early as at the beginning of the 18th century, Mod.Gk. τοπντζής ‘bombardiere’ (Somavera 1709, 255), later τοπτζής (Stachowski 1996, 159).

[19] ECret. χιλτετζής [ʃilteˈdzis] m. ‘maker or seller of thin mattresses / παπλωματάς’ (Rodakis 2005, 152) seems to derive from ECret. σιλτές [eilˈtes], σελτές [eelˈtes] m. ‘thin mattress’ (Pitykakis 1983, 957) < Turk. *şilte* ‘thin mattress; quilt’ (Hony, İz 1947, 319; Wendt 1993, 452; Antonowicz-Bauer, Dubiński 1997, 214; Stachowski 2002, 264; Kozłowska 2006, 809; Yurtbaşı 2006, 634), cf. also Mod.Gk. (folk) σελτές, σιλτές ‘great pillow, great cushion; mattress, quilt’ (Andriotis 2001, 319, 323; Papakyriakou-Apergi, Papakyriakou 2005, 404; Iakov 2005, 1202), Cypr. σιλτές [ʃilˈtes] m. ‘minute pillow or cushion; thin mattress’ (Giagkoullis 2002, 324). The basic Turkish dictionaries, including Stachowski (1996), register no Turkish agent noun \**şilteci*.

## Conclusions

The number of Turkish borrowings in the Cretan dialect of Modern Greek, as well as in other folk variants of the Modern Greek language, is significant and certainly exceeds 3000 lexical items. The present authors discuss 19 Cretan appellatives of Turkish origin not listed in Orfanos’s excellent monograph (2014).

## Abbreviations

Alb. – Albanian; Anc.Gk. – Ancient Greek; Byz.Gk. – Byzantine Greek; Arab. – Arabic; Cret. – Cretan (dialect of Modern Greek); Cypr. – Cypriote (dialect of Modern Greek); ECret. – East Cretan (subdialect of Modern Greek); Fr. – French; Gk. – Greek; Lat. – Latin; Mod.Gk. – Modern Greek; Skt. – Sanskrit; Turk. – Turkish; VLat. – Vulgar Latin; WCret. – West Cretan (subdialect of Modern Greek).

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