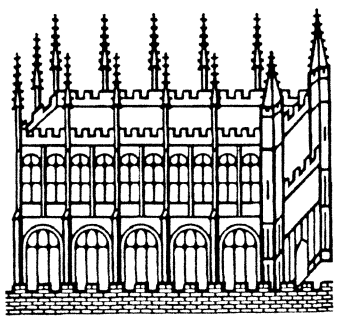
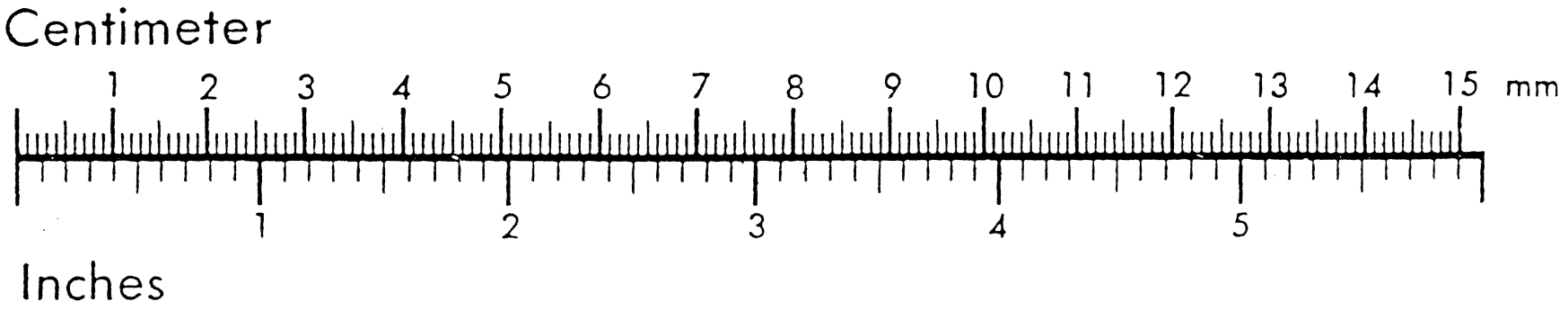
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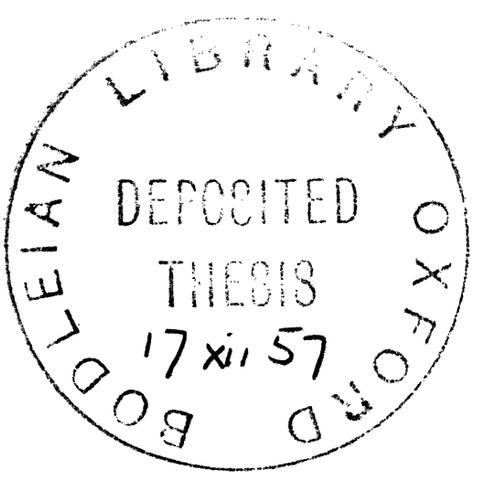
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THE DIALECT OF RHODES

By

D.W. Phillips



THE DIALECT OF RHODES

(with special reference to Apollona)

and its place in Modern Greek

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by David William Phillips M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford, under the supervision of Professor C.A. Trypanis M.A.

Hilary Term

1957 MT

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...εἶσ' ἀθάνατη, Ῥόδος, γιατὶ κ' ἐσὺ εἶσ' Ἑλλάδα...

- Palamas,
Ὁ κύκλος τῶν τετράστιχων.

****

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Acknowledgements are gratefully made to the President and Council of the Academy of Athens for permission to consult the archives of the Historical Lexicon of the Greek Language.

Thanks are due to Professors A.G. Tsopanakis and S.G. Kapsomenos of Salonica University, to Professor Gerhard Rohlfs of Munich University, and to Mr. A. Vrontis of the Laographikon Arkheion of the Dodecanese for their generosity with books and papers difficult of access; to Dr. C.I. Papachristodoulou of Rhodes for kind permission to consult unpublished notes on the morphology of the dialect; and to M. and Mme. Octave Merlier, Directors of the French Institute and Centre of Asia Minor Studies in Athens, and to Mr. G. Mavrochalybides for transmitting to me unpublished material in the dialect of Sille, Lycaonia.

Finally, thanks are rendered to the Treasury Committee for Studentships in Foreign Languages and Cultures, whose material support during the period October 1952 to March 1956 made possible the research on which this thesis is based, and especially to the Chairman, Sir Reader Bullard K.C.B., K.C.M.G., and the Secretaries Mr. W.L. Atkinson and Mr. C.R. Allen of Her Majesty's Treasury.

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Map I: Showing N.E. and S.W. phonetic zones of Rhodes

Map II: Showing distribution of forms of the word for 'frog'

Map III: Showing distribution of words for 'gutter-pipe'

Map IV: Showing distribution of words for 'to lie down'

Map V: Showing the boundary between the use of the accusative and the use of the genitive after certain verbs, in place of the ancient dative

ABBREVIATIONS

Apart from normal abbreviations, it has been found useful to refer to the usage of mainland demotic Greek as DG: this mainland demotic is an abstraction, of course, for on the mainland there are dialects, and there is the added complica tion of the rival claims in modern Greek of the demotic and katharevousa versions of the language. However, DG refers to what an educated (but unpedantic) Athenian would use as normal everyday speech.

RD refers to the Dialect of Rhodes, sometimes referred to as 'the dialect'.

The villages in Rhodes are abbreviated thus: Afan. = Afandou (Map, point 14); Apolak. = Apolakkia, (38); Apoll. = Apollona, (20); Archang. = Archangelos (23); Archip. = Archipolis (18); Arn. = Arnitha (40); Ascl. = Asclipio (36); Krit. = Kritinia (21), formerly known as Castellos (and so Cast. in Tsopanakis); Dam. = Damatria (9); Emb. = Embona (22); Dimyl. = Dimylia (17); Istr. = Istrios (33); Yann. = Yannadi (40); Kalath. = Kalathos (28); Kalav. = Kalavarda (15); Kallyth. = Kallythies (6); Katt. = Kattavia (43); Kosk. = Koskinou (5); Krem. = Kremmaste (3); Lach. = Lachania (42); Laerm.= Laerma (26); Lard. = Lardos (31); Lind. = Lindos (35); Mal. = Malona (24); Mar. = Maritsa (8); Mas. = Masari (25); Mesan. = Mesanagros (41); Mon. = Monolithos (32); Past. = Pastida (7); Plat. = Platania (19); Proph. = Prophylia (34); Psith. = Psi(n)thos(13); Pyl. = Pylona (30); Rh. = City of Rhodes(1); Sal. = Salacos (16); Sian. = Sianna (29); Sor. = Sorone (11); St. Isid. = St. Isidore (27); Thol. = Tholos (10); Trian. = Trianda (2); Vati (37).

PREFACE

In the early Renaissance it was not unknown for more adventurous scholars to resort to the classical lands in order to study the great classical languages. Constantinople was the most desirable goal for those who would learn Greek in this fashion, but it was not always the easiest place to reach. Petrarch owed what Greek he had to a chance meeting with a Calabrian monk, Barlaam di Seminara, and in 1368 at Pavia he advised a young scholar to visit Calabria to study Greek, instead of Constantinople as the young man had proposed. In a letter of recommendation to Ugo di Sanseverino, Petrarch expressed the opinion that Calabria would provide better teachers than Constantinople.[1.]

Exactly a century later was born William Lily, later of Magdalen, and the first High Master of St. Paul's School. On going down from Oxford, Lily made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on his return, in about 1490, he made a prolonged stay in Rhodes. No doubt his choice of Rhodes was due to the island's being at that time in the hands of the Knights of St. John of Jerualem, and so a haven for Christians. There were also English Knights there, members of the Order. There Lily studied Greek *en famille*. His contemporary Beatus Rhenanus, the German humanist, described Lily thus in a letter: 'Britannus est, vir omnifariam doctus, non modo Graecos

1. SEE Rohlfs, *Scavi linguistici*, 1ff. for referenoes.

autores, sed et eius nationis mores vernaculos domestice notos habens, ut qui in insula Rhodo fuerit aliquot annos commoratus.'

Lily was famous in his own time as a grammarian, but I have been unable to trace any record of observations of his on the vernacular Greek of Rhodes in those days. He may well have made the acquaintance of Emmanuel Georgillas, who, only a few years after Lily's visit, was to live through the plague he described in his long narrative poem, the Thanatikon.

It was on the suggestion of the late R.M. Dawkins[1] that I made my own visit to and sojourn in Rhodes, not, as Lily did, in order to study the classical, so much as the modern language. But the modern language and the ancient are inseparable, and Greek is not one of those languages in which there is any advantage in an unhistorical study. Perhaps I may be permitted to say, therefore, that although I have some superficial acquaintance with modern theories of linguistics[2], I have not found occasion to refer to them in the pages that follow. If any modern linguist reads them, therefore, I would seek his indulgence towards a classical man who here intrudes, so to speak, into a modern subject.

Nevertheless, I feel that the reader of this study is entitled to some account of the methods and material on which it is based.

As the holder of a Treasury Studentship of the

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1. Richard MacGillivray Dawkins, Fellow of the British Academy, and sometime Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek in the University.

2. As typified in Bloch and Trager's Outline of linguistic Analysis, U.S.A., 1942.

number founded on the recommendations of the Scarborough Committee, I was enabled to spend from August 1953 to November 1954 in Greece, where I divided my time between Athens and Rhodes.

In Athens, I was permitted to spend about two months in the Archives of the Athens Lexicon. In Rhodes, I had the opportunity of visiting every village in the island, and staying at least one or two days in each, and in some of them several weeks. I also visited Syme and Calymnos.

The method pursued was largely direct questioning. It need hardly be said that in this sort of investigation it is of little use to ask outright what a particular object is ca_lle_d in the village: in nine cases out of ten, one's informant will simply repeat the standard Greek word that one has used in framing the question. On the other hand, it is impossible to wait for all the information one requires to crop up spontaneously in the course of casual conversation, especially as in Rhodes the native people, unlike most Greeks one encounters, are reserved, not to say taciturn. In practice what I did was to question people about the material objects that were at any time to hand, whether things in the house, agricultural tools, animals, plants or natural features, and so on. The advantage of this is that one imposes no idea of one's own between the object and the word. It is also an excellent way of drawing people out, as country folk in particular delight in talking about what is familiar to them, the more so when they realize that it is not familiar to the investigator. Moreover, few people are very reluctant to

'talk shop'. I may say that I was never ready to take only one person's word for anything.

In the evenings, I used to go to a suitable coffee-house, and either listen to the talk, or take down folk-tales at the dictation of a patient story-teller. Apart from transcribing extracts from these, in the texts to this thesis, I used them as an additional source for morphological forms and features of syntax.

I was also able to secure the help of persons in some of the villages, with whom I checked all this written material, and who were able to supply me with answers on questions of detail about the dialect: these were usually Gymnasium pupils, or schoolmasters, but not always: at Maritsa, the village barber proved to be a most zealous and patient informant on all matters connected with the dialect of his village, and he used to take English lessons in return for instruction in Maritsese.

Apart from this material of my own (collected on four or five thousand slips and in several exercise books), I made use of three chief printed sources of dialect material.

Professor A.G. Tsopanakis' Essai on the phonetics of the dialect is unique in the whole field of Modern Greek studies for its detail. I have used it constantly, and deemed it quite superfluous to include a special chapter on phonetics in this thesis. Only with the general conclusions arrived at in the Introduction to that work, and elaborated in other studies by Professor Tsopanakis, I have not been able to agree.

Dr. C. Papachristodoulou is the Headmaster of one of the local Gymnasia. He is a kinsmen of Professor Tsopanakis, and a native of the same village. He is the author of a published work on the place-names of Rhodes, and of an unpublished Glossary, now Ms. No. 534 in the Archives of the Athens Lexicon. I consulted this work, which contains, in addition to some folk-songs, upwards of seven thousand separate entries, after I had collected most of my own material. Dr. Papachristodoulou has also compiled some notes on the morphology of the dialect, of a somewhat unsystematic and confused character, which he kindly allowed me to consult at Salonica, where they had been sent for publication. They have not, to my knowledge, been published.

Finally, I have found the several papers on the folk-lore, customs and industries of Rhodes by Mr. A. Vrontis a valuable source for rare words. His interest in these matters is not primarily linguistic, so that I have checked his material where I could, and occasionally introduced slight corrections.

In at least two respects this thesis is not as complete as I could have wished. The typing of it has proved to be an even slower business than I had feared, and I have been forced to reduce the remarks on the forms of the verb to a bare minimum. Also, I should like to have extended some inquiries on the geographical distribution of certain words and types which I had started in Rhodes. Unfortunately this was a period of unhappy relations between Great Britain and Greece, and I was obliged by the authorities to leave Rhodes a month or two before I intended: my inquiries had been exciting some suspicion for the last few months, at least, and

I finally suffered a rather similar fate to that of two famous Oxford men in the seventeenth century,[1] in Rhodes.

However, I met with great kindness and hospitality during my stay in Greece, and would like to close these remarks with expressions of thanks to my hostesses in Rhodes and Athens, Mmes. E. Rokas, N. Sklavenitis, A. Diamantis and X. Houri, and in Rhodes also to Mr. K. Platsis of Apollona, Mr. K. Konstantinos of Yennadi, Mr. J. Billis of Mesanagros, Mr. E. Diakogeorgiou of Sianna, and Father Stamatios Zahariou of Messanagros for their help in many directions, and last of all to the story-tellers I. Diakovasilis (or Koutsovasilas), the brothers V. and S. Hadjisavvas, and M. Tissyzes of Apollona and P. Karamaritis of Lardos. It was difficult to get women to dictate connected narratives, though, as Plato[2] first noticed, they are most conservative in their speech, because they usually broke down very quickly out of embarrassment. Nevertheless, two are represented in the texts, although they refused to give their names.

To all these persons I am really grateful, as I am to my supervisor, Professor C.A. Trypanis, who has been so helpful to a highly nomadic pupil.

---

1. Sir Henry Blount in 1633 (Voyage to the Levant, 8. 43ff.), and John Greaves, the Merton mathematician and orientalist, in 1638 (Works Vol II, 371).

2. Cratylus 418 C.

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The following Bibliography gives details of the works quoted or consulted most frequently in the thesis. If a work quoted (only once or twice) in the thesis has been omitted from the Bibliography, details of it will have been given in the place of the quotation.

The Bibliography falls into six main sections, according to subject matter: General works on the Greek language; special studies on the Greek language; works on the modern dialects of Greek, listed geographically; sources for the dialect of Rhodes; studies and authorities relevant to the foreign loan-words in the dialect; and works on the history of Rhodes.

As so much of the thesis is of a lexical character, dictionaries and lexicons have been included in the Bibliography, as the authorities for statements about the derivation and geographical extension of words.

Many of the works quoted are followed by an abbreviated form of title marked **. An alphabetical register of about one hundred titles provides a means of tracing frequently quoted and perhaps not very well known works to their respective numbers in the Bibliography.

The usual convention of underlining the titles of books, and enclosing those of articles in quotation marks has been followed, except that the titles of articles in Greek are not distinguished by quotation marks, but merely by the absence of underlining.

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THE SOUNDS

Greek letters have their normal modern Greek values. Double consonants are pronounced as such in the dialect.

Letters marked with diacritical marks are:

ζ́ in τζ́ = voiced τό (below)

ι̯ = semi-vowel [y]. It often has the effect of palatalizing the preceeding consonant: λι̯ = l mouillé.

κ́ = palatalized κ ([c]).

κ̓ = aspirated κ ([k^{c}]).

π̓ = aspirated π ([p^{c}]).

τ̓ = aspirated τ ([t^{c}]).

τό = an unvoiced alveolar affricative, according to Tsopanakis, who, 113 says it is a weaker sound than

χ́ = the unvoiced palatal fricative, as sh in English 'shed', [ʃ].

Phonetic values are given in square brackets. The values for Latin characters are the same as the corresponding Greek characters, with the exception of the diacritically marked symbols noted above in the explanation of Greek letters, also diacritically marked. Latin b and d have the value of their Italian or French equivalents.

First Part

(Introductory)
Chronology - The people
- Two dialect zones -
Characteristics of the Dialect
- The Dialect and the Koine -
The 'Dorian' theory of
A.G. Tsopanakis -
Apollona

CHRONOLOGY

B.C.	
Fifteenth century:	**Mycenean Greeks from the Argolid occupied Rhodes.**
Eleventh century:	**Dorians led by Tlepolemos of Tiryns occupied Rhodes.**
Eighth century:	**The Dorian Hexapolis.**
408/7	**The synoecism of Ialysos, Lindos and Cameiros at Rhodes.**
305/4	**Rhodes withstood the siege of Demetrios.**
164	**Alliance with Rome.**
42	**Cassius seized Rhodes.**
A.D.	
269	**Goths attacked.**
297	**Diocletian incorporated Rhodes in the Empire.**
Seventh century:	**Persians and Saracens seized Rhodes for limited periods.**
807	**Seljuks attacked.**
1204 - 1240	**Leon Gabalas "Caesar" of Rhodes.**
1248	**Genoese seized Philerimos.**
1261	**Rhodes nominally part of the Byzantine Empire, in fact under Genoese suzerainty.**
1306 - 1309	**On the invitation of the Genoese Vignolo, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem occupied Rhodes. There were seven "tongues": Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Spain, England and Germany.**

1480	Muḥammad II besieged Rhodes.
1522	Suleiman the Magnificent captured Rhodes. The Knights sailed for Malta, and Rhodes became part of the Ottoman Empire.
1912	Italy took the Dodecanese.
1937	Attempts to "Italianize" Rhodes were intensified under the Governor De Vecchi.
1947 (March)	The British Military Government handed the Administration to Admiral Pericles Ioannides.
1948 (March)	His Majesty King Paul of the Hellenes in a visit to Rhodes ratified the incorporation of the Dodecanese in the Greek Kingdom.

INTRODUCTION

1. Greek has been spoken in Rhodes for more than three thousand years, that is to say since prehistoric times.[1] The earliest inhabitants of whom there is historical record, the Dorians, arrived in Rhodes between the twelfth and tenth centuries, bringing their characteristic division into three tribes, which we find in the second book of the Iliad:

οἱ Ῥόδον ἀμφενέμοντο διὰ τρίχα κοσμηθέντες.[2]

2. In the eighth century Rhodes was a member of the Dorian Hexapolis. The dialect retained its Dorian aspect long after the political or tribal significance of the Dorians had been lost. Suetonius[3] states that the Rhodians still spoke 'Doric' in the time of Tiberius, and Thumb[4] has shown that even in the language of official inscriptions there are Doric expressions as late as the fourth century A.D. Even today, a few words and place-names survive in their distinctively Doric form.[5]

3. Through more than thirty centuries the great majority[6] of the inhabitants of Rhodes have clung to a form of speech which is remarkably pure Greek and

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1. According to A.B. Wace, in his Foreword to Documents in Mycenean Greek by M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Cambridge, 1956, Greek must have reached Rhodes about 1600 B.C.

2. Iliad II 655.

3. Vita Tiberii 56: dorice Rhodii loquantur.

4. GSZH Ch. I - IV.

5. See below, p. 26, n. 5.

6. The most numerous foreigners, the Turks, never numbered more than three or four thousand.

has conserved a striking number of archaic features.[1] This has been in spite of a history full of foreign invasions and occupations. Although the famous dictum of Grimm[2] applies perfectly to the dialect of Rhodes, and the traces of foreign influences on the dialect are of considerable historical and linguistic interest, it must be emphasized that in every aspect, in phonology, morphology, vocabulary and syntax, the dialect preserves its overwhelmingly Greek character.[3]

4. Rhodes today has a population of about 55,000, which is just under one half of the total population of the Dodecanese. The area is stated to be 545 sq. miles, the island being 46 miles long from N.E. to S.W., and 24 miles across at its widest extent. The city of Rhodes itself, situated in the N.E. tip of the island, has a population of 23,000. The rest of the people live in the fourty-two villages and two or three smaller settlements throughout the island. There is one small village besides, inhabited exclusively by Turks. There are a few hundred Turks in the old city of Rhodes, the 'Castello', and small compact communities in the villages of Salacos and Kattavia. In Rhodes, however, there is no Moslem peasantry as in Cyprus. There is a settlement of Greek Moslems from Crete outside the city on the road to Trianda. Before the war of 1939 - 1945 there was a large Jewish community in the old city, descendants of Jews expelled from Spain in the sixteenth century. They

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1. Cf. Dawkins DMG passim, but especially 10.

2. 'Unsere Sprache unsere Geschichte.'

3. This will appear from the Texts in this thesis. I have made this point in order to counteract a possible impression to the contrary given by Chapters on foreign elements.

spoke a form of Spanish, as do the Jews in Salonica and Istanbul. Today only one family survives of this community which formerly conducted much of the trade, controlled the hotels and textile industries, and provided Rhodes with money-lenders. During the Italian occupation of 1912 - 1945, there were resident in Rhodes Italian officials, soldiers and priests and a few settlers. From 1937 onwards, attempts to impose Italian as the language of Rhodes were intensified. Greek was relegated to the status of an optional modern language in schools, taught for a couple of hours a week. The result of this was chiefly that the dialect was preserved from the influence of the standard modern Greek of the mainland. In spite of the fact that many persons in Rhodes still speak excellent Italian, no Greek of Rhodes ever abandoned his native language in favour of Italian, and the influence of Italian on the dialect during this century seems to be negligible.

5. The villages in Rhodes vary in size from the smallest, Arnitha, with only 200 inhabitants, to ones with over ten times as many, for example Archangelos and Afendou. The villages are close-built, with no discernible plan, the typical one having about 600 inhabitants. (The people, it may be noted, usually refer to the number of families or 'houses' when they wish to indicate the size of a village.) Most of the people are engaged in agriculture and herding, the typical farm being a small freehold or a tenancy under a local landlord, himself usually a farmer. Property is passed on mainly through dowries. Most of the peasants carry on a general form of farming, but some

tend to specialize in one branch, say bee-keeping or fruit-growing. The relative advantages and disadvantages of these different activities are a favourite topic of conversation in the village coffee-houses.[1]

6. Apart from the peasant farmers and herds, there are of necessity in the villages persons practising other trades or crafts: the carpenters, shoe-makers, smiths, keepers, tradesmen and coffee-house keepers - a class whom the Rhodians broadly call οἱ καθιστικοί.[2] The village schoolmaster, and sometimes the priest as well is a ξένος - from another village of Rhodes, perhaps, but a 'guest' or 'foreigner' nevertheless. One truly remarkable thing all these people have in common is their neglect of the sea. The extreme example is the aged inhabitant of an inland village who has either never seen the sea, or, having seen it once or twice, has never ventured upon it, let alone into it. One of the main reasons for this is that Rhodes is a comparatively rich and fertile island, and the people are not obliged, as they are in Calymnos or Syme, for example, to seek a living from the sea. I have mentioned this withdrawal from a sea-faring life, for Rhodes in ancient times was inhabited by a race of sailors, at least at her most prosperous periods, and the more recent neglect of the sea has surely influenced the history of the dialect, if only in a negative way.[3] In the proverbs, folk-tales

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1. The facts in sections 4 and 5 are derived from the Naval Intelligence Handbook Dodecanese, and from personal observation.

2. Papa Gloss 118.

3. For example, the Venetian loan-words are not the usual ones connected with sea-faring.

and the very idiom of the village folk, the sea hardly features, or, if it does, it is as an alien if not hostile element.[1] The sea-men encountered in the city of Rhodes are usually from other islands of the Dodecanese, especially Calymnos.

7. The village is the self-contained social unit in Rhodes, many of the villages having very little to do even with their neighbours. In extreme cases there is a feeling of antipathy between the villages, which on occasion breaks out into open hostility.[2] It is still the general rule, to which there are few exceptions, for a man tc take a wife from the same village.[3] With these social conditions, it is not surprising that the geographical 'unit' of language is also to some extent the village, a fact which Hatzidakis[4] remarked for modern Greece in general. Some villages, such as Apollona[5] and Archangelos,[6] have a quite distinctive patois of their own (recognisable largely through phonetic peculiarities), while others fall into natural groups.[7]

8. This basis of distinctions of patois in the separate villages, explains how it has been possible for a single territory, such as Rhodes is, to contain if not two distinct dialects, at least two distinct varieties

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1. Cf. the well known song "θάλασσα." The folk-lore of these islands may well be largely imported from Asia Minor.

2. See the dedication of Tsopanakis' Essai.

3. Hence the Greek proverb: παπούτσι ἀπὸ τὸν τόπο σου, κι' ἂς εἶν καὶ μπαλλωμένο: 'A shoe from your own parts, even if it is a patched one'.

4. MNE I 177: σχεδὸν ἑκάστη κώμη κατ' ἴδιον ἀπαγγέλλει τρόπον.

5. See below pp. 41-51.

6. Tsopanakis XXXIII

7. Tsopanakis ibid.

of the same dialect, spoken in two discreet zones of the island, with a fairly consistently marked boundary between them composed of a number of isoglosses defining the limits of phonetic, morphological and even syntactical features, as well as the areas of individual words. This phenomenon can be accounted for, but it remains remarkable and probably without exact parallel in the Greek-speaking world.[1.]

9. The two zones are shown on map I, where it will be seen that the island is divided into a N.E. and a S.W. area. Tsopanakis[2.] characterizes the S.W. zone by the following phonetic peculiarities:

a) The loss of the intervocalic fricatives β, γ, and δ is regular. (In the N.E. only intervocalic γ is regularly lost).

b) The contraction of two like vowels is regular.

c) ε contracts to ι before α,[3.] ο,[4.] and ου,[5.] and ο contracts to οχ (semivowel [w]) before α.[6.]

d) It is within this zone that the group of villages (viz. Prophylia, Istrios, St. Isidore and Monolithos) falls where the ancient termination -ία is preserved without synizesis.[7.]

By contrast, a distinguishing feature of the phonology of the N.E. zone (in particular the villages of Dimylia, Platania, Archipolis, Psinthos, Afandou,

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1. In Crete a Western and an Eastern dialect can be distinguished, but Crete is incomparably larger. In particular, the syntactic isogloss cannot be paralleled in Greece, nor perhaps in any island elsewhere, with a population no more than that of Bedford.

2. Tsopanakis XXXI ff.
3. Ibid. 60 § 56.
4. Ibid. 61 § 58.
5. Ibid. 61 § 59.
6. Ibid. 54 § 53.
7. Ibid. 63 § 61C.

Maritsa, Pastida, Dematria and Tholos) is the development of palatal ή ([ç) and χ ([ʃ]) into affricative τό ([ ]) and sibilant σ ([s])[1].

10. In morphology, there are differences between the two zones in the conjugation of verbs:

a) Barytone verbs, 1st. person plur. pres. ind.: N.E. κάμνουμεν; S.W. κάμνομεν. Likewise, forms of the verb 'to come' are: N.E. ἔρκουμαι sing., ἐρκούμεστε plur.; S.W. ἔρκομαι and ἐρκόμεστε.

b) 'To come' imperf. ind.: N.E. ἔρκουνταν 3rd. sing., ἐρκούμασταν, ἔρκουσταν and ἔρκουνταν plur.; S.W. ἔρκετον 3rd. sing., ἐρκούμεστον, ἔρκεστον and ἔρκουντο plur.[2].

c) Aorist passive: N.E. ἐχάθημαν 1st.plur., ἐχάθησαν 3rd. plur.; S.W. ἐχάθημεν, ἐχαθήκαμεν 1st. plur., and ἐχαθήκασιν 3rd. plur.[2].

d) Verb 'to be': S.W. ἔναι 3rd. person sing. and plur. (An obsolescent form)[3].

11. Individual words can travel more freely than phonetic and morphological features, but in Rhodes the areas of certain words (either distinct forms of the same words, or distinct words for the same notion) are marked by isoglosses which indicate the same division into a N.E. and S.W. zone.

For example, the post fixed in the centre of the threshing floor is known in the N.E. as στῦλλος a word

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1. See Map I, and cf. Tsopanakis 112 ff. 101.
2. Tsopanakis XXXI and Papachristodoulou, Notes.
3. Papachristodoulou, Notes.

current in common demotic. In the S.W., the archaic and no doubt provincial[3.] word στοιχερό has been preserved.

Sometimes, it is true, the geographical variations in the vocabulary yield no conclusions which might contribute to the discussion of the two dialect zones: so it is, for example, with the highly differentiated (according to villages) nomenclature of the plough, some reflection of which appears in the glossary.[1.] Unfortunately, one cannot always hit upon words or notions which do display significant geographical variation, nor, having found such words, can one tell in advance which ones will establish useful isoglosses. However, with the following words such results were obtained:

a) Forms of the word denoting 'frog':[2.] In the S.W. zone the underlying type has -α- in the first syllable, while in the N.E. it has -o-. Here it is not certain which represents the conservative form, and which is the intruder. It is also to be noted that the isogloss lies further S. on the eastern side of the island than usual.

b) The words denoting 'gutter pipe':[4.] The isogloss between the N.E. where χολέντρα prevails, and the S.W. where the underlying form is probably χύτης, coincides fairly closely with what we may call the typical isogloss, on which Tsopanakis' divsion is based.

c) The words denoting 'lie down':[5.] In demotic Greek the word is usually πλαγιάζω. In Rhodes the S.W.

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1. See s.vv. διπλοκονταριά, κοντάϊ, μπρόγλης, πλεκονταριά, πουμπούλι, προκονταριά and σφελιάστρα.

2. See App. I for detailed discussion, and Map II.

3. See gloss. s.v. 4. See App. II and Map III.
5. See Map IV.

zone uses the word θέχνω, θέχτω which is a more archaic expression than the πέφτω current in this sense in the N.E. Again the isogloss is fairly coincident with the typical one, except that on the western side of Rhodes it lies further south, while on the eastern side it lies a little further to the north. The provenance of the two rival expressions may be suggested. The Archives of the Athens Historical Lexicon record θέτω in this sense from Crete and Carpathos. πέφτω on the other hand, in this sense probably derives from Asia Minor.[1.]

12. A similar external influence, particularly from the East, must also account for the most striking of all these differences between the N.E. and S.W. zones - the use of the accusative case for the indirect object in the former zone, and the genitive in the latter.[2.] Again, the isogloss follows the typical one fairly closely.[3.] Now this difference is one of the chief characteristics which divide the northern from the southern dialects of modern Greece. Triandaphyllides[4.] has stated that the use of the accusative for the indirect object is found E. of Mt. Pindus, and N. of Mt. Othrys on the mainland, and in the northern islands of the Aegean, in Constantinople and Pontus. These are the places where the accusative is found with λέγω and δίνω for example, in place of the ancient Greek dative. But in S.W. Rhodes

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1. Dawkins MGAM 633.
2. See Syntax below for a fuller discussion.
3. See Map V.
4. HE 67 68. Writing in Nea Estia XX, 1936, 1468 - 70, T. also pointed out that the 'northern phonetic system' was found to the S. of this boundary, its extension being much greater, of course.

the genitive is used not only here in place of the dative in ancient Greek, but also after certain other verbs, which were likewise constructed with the dative in ancient Greek, but which now govern the accusative not only in this northern dialect group, but everywhere on the Greek mainland, and in most of the islands as well. Such verbs are πιστεύγω, βοθῶ (= βοηθῶ), κλουθῶ (= ἀκολουθῶ) and μοιάζω.

Now the dialectal use of the accusative in such expressions as σὲ λέω and δῶσε με in the N.E. zone of Rhodes, links these villages, through this feature (and only through this feature, as there are no other 'northern' characteristics in Rhodes) with the larger group of northen dialects as defined by Triandaphyllides. But the use of the genitive in βόθα μοῦ and μοῦ πιστεύγεις; in the S.W. zone is equally remarkable as a dialect feature contrasting with the normal usage of demotic Greek. It is in fact an archaism to keep these verbs in a separate intransitive category. Yet this feature has passed unnoticed by Tsopanakis, and I know of nothing written on the subject by modern writers. It has not, therefore, been possible to determine the geographical extent of this phenomenon outside Rhodes. Tzartzanos simply notes its occurrence " σὲ διαλέκτους ".[1]

13. The dialectal use of the accusative of the indirect object in the N.E. zone must be regarded as an intrusion, probably from Constantinople.[2] For so

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1. Tzartzanos I 121 ff 71n.

2. Cf. Triandaphyllides in Nea Estia, XX, 1936, 1469. A. Tzartzanos, ibid. 1375 - 6. Z. Papantoniou, ibid. 1108 - 9, who writes of the "Φαναριώτικη σφήνα ".

characteristically northern a feature is quite isolated and anomalous in the dialect of Rhodes, all of whose significant features indicate that it occupies a central position in the southern group of dialects. The inference is that the σὲ δίνω construction was introduced from outside, first into the city of Rhodes, from which it has gradually spread south.

14. <u>The significant features of the dialect</u>.

By 'significant features' are meant the characteristics by which the dialect can be classified historically and geographically.

The first serious attempt at a classification of the modern Greek dialects was that of Krumbacher,[1] who selected as the basis of his classification a single criterion, viz. the γ ("irrationaler Spirant") which appears as an intruder in certain words deriving from ancient Greek (especially the verbs in -εύω which in Rhodes exhibit this γ). On this basis, then, Krumbacher grouped the dialects of the Dodecanese with those of Cyprus and with Tsakonian.[2] The dialects of S. Italy must be added to this group.[3]

After Krumbacher, Hatzidakis[4] made a more elaborate classification, based on a larger number of criteria, but with the important qualification that "the boundaries of the modern dialects and their number" could be defined only when the Historical Lexicon of modern Greek was completed. From this it was a logical step to Trianda-

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1. See Bibliography No. 35. The work appeared in 1886.

2. Krumbacher IS 387.

3. K. dismissed them as showing only a'<u>romanisches Lautgesetz</u>', loc. cit. (p. 420). But v. Rohlfs HG 143 - 144, Dawkins DMG 16. 4. Hatzidakis SI 111.

phyllides'[1.] conclusions that there are no absolute lines of division between the dialects, but only lines to be drawn between the areas covered by single linguistic phenomena, in other words, isoglosses. (A conclusion that holds good, of course, for other countries besides Greece). Where several of these isoglosses coincide, the division between the dialects begins to emerge. Only if a linguistic atlas of modern Greek were to be compiled, could an exhaustive classification of the dialects be made. Here, for the dialect of Rhodes, we can single out only those characteristics which, on the basis of what is already known about the other dialects, seem likely to contribute to such a classification.

15. Phonetic characteristics.

a) Prothesis of the vowel α ([a]). This is frequent in nouns of all genders: ἀγιεράκι < ἱέραξ, ἀφρύανα < φρύγανον, ἀβδέλλα < βδέλλα, ἀπαλάμη < παλάμη, ἀγιόλιφας < γήλοφος, ἀμπερνός < πρῖνος etc. In the case of neuter nouns, it is easy to assume that the plural article has influenced this development. The feminines and masculines are not so easily explained. This is a phenomenon common to the Dodecanese and Cyprus, and examples are quoted from Chios and S. Italy. Tsopanakis[2.] quotes interesting examples from ancient Greek, including one - ἀσταφίδας - ascribed to Rhodes.

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1. HE 66 ff. On the basis of the criteria he selects, Triandaphyllides makes a broad division between E. and W. as well as N. and S. Greek.

2. Tsopanakis 23.

b) Non-synizesis of the termination -ία. This phenomenon is confined to the villages of Prophylia, Istrios, St. Isidore and Monolithos, although sporadic instances elsewhere point to a wider extension at an earlier date. Examples are ἁπλωσσία, ἐκκλησία and καρδία.[1] This phenomenon occurs in other dialects of Greek: Tsakonian[2]; Maniot, the old dialect of Athens, Megara and Aegina,[3] Zakynthos, Cephallonia,[4] S. Italy[5] and Pontus.[6] Broadly speaking, this is a peripheral distribution, fairly typical for the preservation of an ancient feature, as this is.

c) Loss of intervocalic fricatives.[6*] This is one of the most striking characteristics of the dialect. Intervocalic β is lost frequently as διάολος, κάουρας etc. Intervocalic δ is also lost, as in βραΰ, λαΐ, πόϊ etc. The loss of intervocalic γ is almost without exception, as ἀθός (= ἀγαθός with subsequent contraction of the two [a]s), παναύρι, τραούδι etc. This phenomenon has a wide extension: Cyprus,[7] the Dodecanese,[8] Chios,[9] S. Italy[10] and Tsakonian,[11] although it is only in Cyprus and the Dodecanese that it is really developed. It is

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1. Tsopanakis 64. 2. Costakis TD 39.
3. Dawkins DMG 17, Tsopanakis 62 n.5 4. Dawkins ibid.
5. Rohlfs HG 31 13. 6. Dawkins PD 33.
7. Pantelides 31, Menardos PDK 148, Beaudouin 54.
6*. Tsopanakis 93 ff. 8. Pantelides 31, Dieterich (88 57.
9. Pernot PPC 514. 10. Rohlfs HG 47, 49.
11. Lorentzatos 61.

suggested by Tsopanakis[1]. that intervocalic β was lost at the period of transition of ancient Greek from a stop to a fricative, a change that operated in Greek from the third century onwards. It is true that intervocalic γ began to be dropped in some words at this early date, but, in the absence of evidence, one cannot be sure for β. It will be recalled that all over Greece intervocalic γ has been dropped in certain words, e.g. πάω < ὑπάγω, so that this may be the weakest of the fricatives, and not necessarily typical. In any case, the dropping of an intervocalic labio-dental fricative needs no special explanatory circumstances: it occurs in other languages, for example Turkish.

d) The interchange of initial and intervocalic fricatives[2]. This is closely connected with the preceeding phenomenon. Examples are: γαφτίζω, γουνός **Lach.**, (= βουνός), δῆμα (= βῆμα), βοράζω **Sal., Sor., Panes,** (= ἀγοράζω), δαναχτῶ **Para.** (= ἀγαναχτῶ), βάχτυλος **Pan., Katt.,** (= δάχτυλος), γουλεύγω **and** γιφῶ **Sor., Panes, Kalav.** (= διφῶ).

This phenomenon is quite frequent in the dialects of Cyprus, Ikaria and the Dodecanese[3], and examples can be quoted from S. Italy[4] and Pontus[5].

It would seem that the fricatives were tending to be lost in these words, but were replaced by sounds which the speakers unconsciously felt to be cognate. In Rhodes the fricatives are seldom if ever lost from the initial position, but the frequent substitution in the very position where the fricative is not dropped points to

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1. Tsopanakis 86 - 87. 2. Id. Ibid. 93 ff.
3. Pantelides 36 ff., Dieterich SS 54 ff.
4. Rohlfs HG 47, 49. 5. Lorentzatos 61, διολίν = βιολί.

the same explanation: the speakers of the dialect evidently shunned the omission of any fricative sound whatsoever at the beginning of these words, and so preferred a substituted fricative to none at all.[1.]

e) The interchange of the unvoiced fricatives, φ, χ and ϑ.[2.] This is a similar phenomenon to the preceeding one, but it is more limited. Examples are: χορτώννω (= φορτώννω), ϑήμισος (= ἐφήμισος), νεροῦφος (= νεροῦχος < νεροδόχος), φεκάρι (= ϑηκάρι) and χεμωνιά (= ϑημωνιά). The change of ϑ > χ is regular in the villages of Kremmaste, Paradeisi, Sorone, Tholos, Panes, Kalaverda, Yennadi, Asclipio and Apolakkie.[3.] Again the phenomenon is reported from Cyprus,[4.] the Dodecanese and S. Italy,[5.] and examples can be quoted from ancient Greek,[6.] though some of the instances probably refer to the period when φ, χ and ϑ still were aspirated stops, and had not yet changed to their present fricative pronunciation.

f) The preservation of the final nasal -ν. One of the most obvious features of the dialect is the conservation of final -ν where this was present in ancient Greek, and the pronunciation of a final -ν by analogy in places where it did not exist.

Tsopanakis[7.] lists the cases where final -ν has either been preserved in the tradition, or added by

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1. The initial fricative is sometimes omitted in Carpathos.
2. Tsopanakis 97 ff.
3. Tsopanakis 98 - 99.
4. Menardos PDK 160, Pantelides 40, Dieterich SS 55.
5. Rohlfs HG 53, 72, 73.
6. Tsopanakis 98 n;7, 99 n.2.
7. Tsopanakis 48.

analogy as follows:

i) In the definite and indefinite article.

ii) In substantives, adjectives, pronouns and numerals.

iii) By analogy in neuters in -άκιιν, -ιν, -ίδιν, -ον, -ούλλιν and -αν (γάλαν, πράμαν).

iv) In the gen. plur. of nouns and adjectives.

v) In verbs, where it existed in ancient Greek, and, by analogy, in ἔρκουμουν, ἔρκουσουν, ἔρκετον and so on.

vi) In a number of adverbs and conjunctions: μήν, σάν, πιόν, μαζύν etc.

This treatment of final -ν is strikingly similar to that of Cypriot.[1] The Greek spoken in Pontus also preserves the final -ν in many instances, and adds it by analogy.[2]

g) The preservation of double consonants.[3]

The preservation of the distinct pronunciation of ancient double consonants[4] and the consequent doubling, by analogy, of ancient single consonants, or of single consonants in loan-words, is another striking characteristic of the dialect, as it is, again, of Cypriot. (This feature, and the preservation of the nasal noted above are the characteristics by which these dialects are commonly recognized in Greece.)

These double consonants are also heard in words where they are the result of assimilated nasals: νύφφη < νύμφη, συνάχχι where common demotic has συνάχι,

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1. Menardos PDK 166. 2. N. Vees, Χρονικὰ τοῦ Πόντου, I, 1943, 4.
3. Tsopanakis 153.

4. Sometimes the double consonants are pronounced as a lingering pronunciation of a single consonant. Double λλ is pronounced [lḍ] where ḍ = a cerebral sound, by

τυχχαίννω[1]. and so on. (Common demotic has here simplified the double consonants resulting from the assimilation of the nasal.)

h) Aspirated stops[2]. The aspirated unvoiced stops [k'], [p'] and [t'] can be heard sporadically in the dialect (but not from all speakers). They seldom if ever[3] represent the preservation of an ancient aspirated stop in the same position. In fact, they seem to occur most frequently in loan words, e.g. [buk'ali] < It. boccale and [t'eli] < Tk. tel 'wire'. Cf., however, πώθω, πώννω < ἀπωθῶ[4].

The sporadic occurrence of these aspirated stops indicates that they are vestiges of an earlier fashion, presumably an attempt to preserve some elegant feature of Byzantine pronunciation (these aspirates are said to have survived at Constantinople until the tenth century). Their appearence in loan-words reminds one of other examples of false aspiration[5], a phenomenon which, for some reason or other, is usually an indication of a

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some speakers, particularly aged persons.

1. MNE I 163: Cyprus, Rhodes, Ikaria, Carpathos, Calymnos.

2. Tsopanakis does not comment on them; indeed, he seems (154) to confuse them with double consonants. Papachristodoulou, however, notes them in his glossary. They occur in Cypriot and Tsakonian, for which see Deffner, Zakonische Grammatik, Berlin, 1881, 9; Costakis TD 31, Anag Gr. 19. 3. But [paramit'i] < παραμύθι.

4. Tsopanakis 154; cf. n. 2 above.

5. See L.R. Palmer, An introduction to modern linguistics, London, 1936, 126 for the forms of machina, and theatron in Latin, and the origin of the spelling of the word 'author' in English - a curious example of literary false aspiration.

pretentious elocution.[1]

16. Characteristics of morphology.

a) The temporal augment in ε- and the loss of the initial vowel in verbs.[2] In the dialect the initial vowel is lost from verbs with few exceptions. Hatzidakis[3] relates this to the peculiarity displayed by the augment, which is never omitted (as it is in common demotic when unstressed) and which, with very few exceptions, is ε-.[4] In other words, the ε- syllabic augment of verbs beginning with consonants has become generalized for verbs which originally had an intial vowel: ἔκουσα for ἤκουσα and ἔδρωσα, ἔπλωσα etc. From these aorists it was natural to form a new present tense beginning with a consonant, by dropping the augment: δέννω - ἔδεσα - ἔδρωσα (< ἰδρόω - ἰδρόνω) - δρώννω.

The loss of the initial vowel in verbs is also reported from Cyprus, Chios and S. Italy.[5] In preserving the syllabic augment everywhere (i.e. in the unstressed position as well, eg. ἐπήγαινα) the dialect of Rhodes again agrees with Cypriot,[6] while aorists such as ἔκουσα, ἐγάπησα and ἔλλαξα are reported from Crete also.[7]

b) The preservation of verbs in -έω. In demotic Greek very few verbs in -ῶ form the 3rd. person

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1. See Sturt PGL 24 (on the famous Chommoda poem of Catullus), and the same author in his Introduction to linguistic science, U.S.A. 1947, 28.

2. Tsopanakis 17 ff. 3. MNE I 213, Einleitung 73f

4. Exceptions: ἤπια, ἦψα (ἄπτω) and εἶπα.

5. MNE I 213. 6. MNE I 221, Meyer DCC 4. In Crete it is more often kept than lost: MNE I 27.

7. Pediada, Crete: MNE I 35, Hatzidakis GGE 465.

singular in -εῖ, and Dawkins[1.] noted that in certain places on the mainland, only μπορῶ and ζῶ follow this conjugation.

In Rhodes, however, there are many verbs in -εῖ, both survivals of the ancient conjugation, as κρατεῖ, θαρρεῖ and λαλεῖ, and many others; and continuing the ancient vowel stem verbs in the instances of καμμεῖ < καμμύω, τανεῖ < τανύω, μεθεῖ < μεθύωand so on.

This preservation of a large number of verbs with -εῖ in the 3rd. person is a characteristic of the Greek of the southern islands.

c) The 3rd. person plural of the verb in -ουσι and -ασι. The ancient 3rd. person termination in the present indicative is preserved in Rhodes: δέννουσι, λέσι (=λέγουσι), πᾶσι (=ὑπάγουσι) but the forms in -ουν are also used. This termination has spread by analogy to the aorist and imperfect: ἐδέννασι, ἐδέσασι etc. Hatzidakis[2.] notes that these forms occur in W. Crete, Thera, Cyprus, the Mani and Tsakonia, and to this list must be added S. Italy.[3.]

d) Adjectives in -ένος. The adjectives which in common demotic terminate in -ένιος in Rhodes terminate in -ένος.[4.] Dawkins[5.] notes this form as characteristic of the whole Dodecanese and Cyprus, and it is found in Chios[6.] and in Pontus[7.] as well.

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1. DMG 8 2. MNE I 37: the -ασι ending in the past occurs in a papyrus of 215 A.D.: MNE I 38.

3. Rohlfs HG 128. 4. See adjectival suffixes p. 146.

5. FSD 532; cf. Dieterich SS 72 - 73.

6. Pernot PPC 344, Id. Morphologie des parlers de Chio, Paris, 1946, 136 - 7.

7. MNE II 118, Einleitung 181.

17. Characteristics of syntax.

a) The position of the pronominal object.[1.] The position of the pronominal object of the verb in the Dodecanesian dialects is one of its most distinctive features. Dawkins[2.] has shown that the placing of the object after the verb is a characteristic of the eastern Greek-speaking world. In allowing the postponed object in main clauses, including questions, but generally avoiding it elsewhere, Rhodes may be said to occupy an intermediate position between eastern and western Greek.

b) The genitive case after certain verbs. It has been observed above[3.] that in the S.W. zone of Rhodes the ancient dative after βοηθῶ, ἀκολουθῶ and πιστεύω etc. has been replaced by the genitive, instead of the accusative (as elsewhere in Greece), after their current derivatives.

c) The enclitic verb after the negative particle.[4.] This phenomenon, which is due to the heavy stress on the negative particle, is exemplified below.[4.] Outside Rhodes, it is reported from Cyprus, Sille (Lycaonia) and Cappadocia.

18. These characteristics of the dialect could be supplemented by others, which all point to the same broad conclusion: that the closest affinities of the Rhodian dialect are with Cyprus, which it resembles closely enough to be difficult to distinguish.[5.]

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1. See below, Syntax 4 p. 165 for details.
2. PD 24. 3. Section 12, p. 12.
4. Syntax 8 p. 172
5. There are differences, however. For example, there are no verbs in -ίσκω in RD as there are in Cypriot.

After Cyprus, there are obvious affinities with the dialects Of S. Italy and Crete, and finally there are special features in common with Chios, Tsakonia and Asia Minor. In the last instance, the true affinity of the dialects is often concealed by more recent developments, especially due to Turkish influence. I am thinking especially of the dialect of Sille in Lycaonia (near the modern town of Konya). Dawkins[1] put this dialect in a category of its own, without, however, remarking that in its conservation of ancient double consonants,[2] in its having the 'irrationaler Spirant' in -εύω verbs,[3] in its use of the enclitic verb after the negative particle,[4] and in its use of ὅτι to introduce direct speech,[5] it presented features unknown to the other Asiatic dialects, but common to Cyprus and the Dodecanese.[6] Yet, it is interesting to note, a modern speaker of this dialect[7] finds it incredible that there should be any relationship between it and Cypriot, when he or she has heard Cypriot spoken.

These conclusions about the affinities of the dialect of Rhodes would be confirmed by a study of the vocabularies of the places mehtioned: again and again one finds correspondences between Rhodian and S. Italian usage, as so amply documented in Gerhard Rohlf's Lexicon.[8]

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1. MGAM 35 - 37; DMG 23. 2. E.g. ρώννου (= δίνω), and ψλῶσσα , distinguished, MGAM 593 from Cappadocian.

3. E.g. ἀρδέβγω (= ἀρδεύω) MGAM 44.

4. MGAM 43 10. 5. MGAM 300.

6. These are obviously ancient features. The Sille dialect preserves special features remarkable in the Greek poems of the 13th. century Persian poet Rumi, who learned his Greek at Konya. See Byzantion XXII, 63 ff.

7. Mr. G. Mavrochalybides introduced me to persons who still speak the dialect. 8. Bibliography, No. 46

It is dangerous to base theoretical arguments on the vocabulary, for modern Greek is still incompletely documented in this respect; for example, a word may occur in two different places, and suggest some special connection, which may be disproved later, however, when the same word is reported from other localities.[1.]

192 What is immediately striking about the characteristics of the dialect here enumerated is their evident antiquity, which where it cannot be proved is frequently suggested by geographical distribution. The germs, so to speak, of the modern dialects are contained in late Hellenistic Greek, and, as Dawkins[2.] pointed out, as the evidence accumulates, an early date for the actual differentiation of the modern dialects becomes more and more likely.[3.] Moreover, it is through the features which they conserve from ancient Greek, rather than in any innovations they may have in common, that these southern and eastern dialects of Greek display their affinities. Nevertheless, these dialects are modern in the sense that they do not (with the exception of Tsakonian) represent the survival of ancient <u>dialects</u>: what they do present is a new set of differentations of the Hellen-

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1. See Kormoulis 185. The Doric words in S. Italy are an exception, in being of great theoretical importance.

2. DMG 36.

3. Heisenberg, <u>Dialekte und Umgangssprache im Neugriechischen</u>, Munich, 1918, 20, seems to suggest a date after 1204, but Kretschmer in <u>Glotta</u> XI, 1920, 232 suggests an earlier dating. Cf. Hatzidakis SI 114. Meillet, in his <u>Linguistique historique et linguistique générale</u>,125, suggests a date earlier than the eighth or ninth century. Thumb VMG 187, GSZH 28 argues that the modern dialects began to emerge between 500 and 1,000 A.D., and GSZH 24 remarks, a propos of double consonants 'es gab geminierende und nicht geminierende <u>Koine</u>-Mundarten'. So

istic <u>koine</u>. In other words, the modern Greek dialects began to emerge after[1] the ancient dialects had disappeared <u>as such</u> - whatever sporadic traces they may have left. Of course, the <u>koine</u> is in a sense only an abstraction; at this period, as in every other, there must have been local differences. In some places, the ancient dialects were more tenacious than others, and Dorian survived longer than other dialects, partly because it was more distinct from the <u>koine</u>, itself largely[2] a blend of Ionian and Attic. It might be preferable to look on the <u>koine</u> rather as a particular stage in the history of Greek (and no spoken language can ever be at anything other than a stage!) when the old distinctions between the tribal dialects of Hellas were breaking down, and a more or less differentiated common form of the language was eliminating some old forms, particularly 'provincial' ones, but preserving others and permitting the creation of new ones which would later turn out to be the bases of new dialects.[3]

Anagnostopoulos, article no. 42 in Bibliography, 99, argues for the view that the Cyprio$-Dodecanese and Pontic idioms began to be differentiated about the time of the foundation of Constantinople. For example, the double consonants and final -ν were not in common Greek from late antiquity: Mayser, <u>Grammatik der Gr. Papyri</u> I 191, 211 ff.

1. Cf. Thumb GSZH 28. 2. Notwithstanding Kretschmer EK, who fastens on odd points in the <u>koine</u>, rather than on the great mass of typical features, for his own reasons.

3. This seems to me the point of view of common sense: but the questions alluded to here have generated some very heated discussion amongst scholars in Greece. In these questions, it is easy to overlook how artificial, in a sense, the very concepts of <u>koine</u> and even dialect are: put in other terms, the question is what old isoglosses disappeared from the linguistic map, and what new ones appeared. Greek is unique in having ancient dialects, then a <u>koine</u>, and then new dialects, though English may pass through a similar history in the U.S.A. and the Commonwealth.

20. This view, that the modern dialects (with the exception of Tsakonian) developed from the Hellenistic koine, was scientifically established by the greatest of modern Greek philologists, G.N. Hatzidakis.[1] But even Hatzidakis did not deny that some isolated features of the ancient dialects, the so called Doricisms and Ionicisms, are still to be found; on the contrary, on at least one occasion,[2] he emphasized that this was so, and drew attention to certain Doric words that have survived in modern Greek, both those which had become the stock of the koine,[3] and those which had not, but had survived in separate and local traditions from the ancient Doric dialects.[4]

21. There are several such words current in Rhodes today,[5] but they do not prove anything beyond the fact, already independently established beyond doubt, that a Doric dialect was once spoken in Rhodes, and the second fact that some of these Doric words somehow survived the levelling influence of the koine, as well as the vicissitudes of the following centuries. They might perhaps be used to support the thesis that there was a distinctively Doric area of the koine - an area where the koine had a Doric colouring recognizable as such - in itself a perfectly plausible if scantily attested theory,

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1. v. MNE I 1 ff., 406 ff. This theory is to some extent the leit-motif of Hatzidakis' life's work.

2. In his 'Μικρὰ συμβολή', Bibliography No. 29.

3. E.g. χαλή, δίχαλον, λοχαγός.

4. E.g. σαμαιά(Crete) λάδανος, λανός, Δαματριά (Rhodes).

5. E.g. χαλί τό 'claw', χαλεύγω, δίχαλος, ἡ κουτάλα (cf. Dor. κουτάλη = σκυτάλη), βυτίνα, μαχχωνιά, νάκα etc. But there are Ionic forms: σεῦκλο and γλήχων for instance (also in the koine).

which some contemporary scholars have favoured.[1] But we cannot go further on this evidence, nor would the question be raised now, so widely have Hatzidakis' views found acceptance, if it were not for the theory lately put forward by Professor A.G. Tsopanakis, himself a native of Salacos in Rhodes, and holder of a Chair at Salonica University.

22. In summary, Tsopanakis' thesis is that there is a properly defined area of modern Greece, where dialects are spoken with a common Doric character that permits us to refer to this area as a 'Doric dialect zone' in modern Greek.[2] Specifically, he bases this thesis on certain features which the dialects of Rhodes, Syme, Chalke (Dodecanese), Carpathos, Crete, Thera, Cythera, Aegina, Megara, Tsakonia, the Mani, Messenia, the Ionian Islands, some places on the coast of Epeirus (Paramythia, Pogoni, Delwino, Dryinopolis, Chimara), and S. Italy have in common.[3] Of these features, however, two - the sporadic survival of the Doric (i.e. non-Attic!) ᾱ for η and the allegedly Doric [u] (ου) for ancient Greek υ - are lexical, and not typical: they prove nothing beyond themselves.[4] The rest of the phenomena examined by Tsopanakis, i.e. the closing of ε to ι before α, ο and ου, the loss of the intervocalic voiced fricatives, are either not peculiarly Doric (perhaps not

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1. Cf. Thumb GSZH 233, and Rohlfs SL 153ff. and 161, where he speaks of a koine 'dorico-sicula' in S. Italy.

2. Stated in his article 'Eine dorische Dialektzone im Neugriechischen' in BZ XLVIII, 1955, 49 - 72.

3. Tsopanakis Op. cit. 54.

4. Cf. Kretschmer, EK 29 on ναός; λαός which are 'lexicalische nicht phonetische Dorismen'. It has been admitted above that the Doric dialects resisted the

even peculiarly Greek), or they are not confined to these particular places. The evidence produced by Tsopanakis is sound; it is his theory deduced from this evidence we cannot accept, and, lest it appear that this brief summary does an injustice to his argument, the part of his paper in which he gives his own summary shows the weakness of it. A translation is given below.[1] This paragraph makes it clear that the theory of the Doric dialect zone either proves nothing, or it proves too much.

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koine longest (section 19, p.25): cf. Thumb GSZH 40, Hatzidakis SI 56, Triandaphyllides HE 14). And, of course, Tsakonian may still be considered a direct descendant of an ancient Doric dialect, still persisting.

1. Tsopanakis DD 55: 'Some of the characteristics which will have to be discussed belong without doubt to the phonetic system of Doric, i.e. to the phonetic system of individual ancient dialects, or rather to the Doric koine. Others, perhaps, are the result of a blending of the latter with the Hellenistic koine. Some, on the grounds of their wide diffusion, can be recognized immediately as ancient(!), but we have no proof for it in the present state of our knowledge. Some extend over the whole Doric zone, others besides over the whole area of the modern Greek dialects ('uber den ganzen Dialektbereich des Neugriechischen verbreitet'(!)), others are confined to a single locality. Some phenomena correspond in the zone (? 'im Zonenbereich') to phonetic laws, whereas elsewhere they occur only in isolated forms. Of these one cannot be sure whether they are the vestiges of a linguistic feature that once had a wider diffusion, or (as a consequence of our incomplete knowlege of the dialect concerned) the only features ('Zeugen') so far known to us.'

Surely the same could be said for other ancient dialect features surviving in modern Greek.

23. The most that can be said on behalf of the theory put forward by Tsopanakis is that certain places in Greece which were linked in antiquity through their common Doric language, still have certain linguistic features in common today, though these are not the same features that marked out Doric in antiquity. Such a conclusion is interesting, and there may be more than a coincidental agreement between certain ancient and modern dialect boundaries, pointing to some ancient, yet not clearly defined 'substratum'. But to insist on a surviving Doric affinity between the modern dialects of the localities listed by Tsopanakis is surely to obscure the proper questions of modern Greek philology. For the significant distinguishing traits of the modern dialects are not at all such as appear in the scheme according to which the ancient dialects were differentiated. This is shown by facts of a practical order, such as that an Athenian (for example) who is alive to such things, recognizes a Dodecanesian or a Cypriot by his pronunciation of the double consonants, by his habit of postponing the pronominal object, or by his using the -ουσι termination in the present tense of verbs. These practical criteria of the dialect are also among the ones that can be defined scientifically. It is not so with the Doric ᾱ or [ou]. For an Athenian might listen for a lifetime to a man of Rhodes without hearing the word μαχχωνιά 'poppy', or τσαλαπουρδῶ or τσαφούρα [1] uttered, but it will not be long before he hears ἀλλᾰ or πολλά

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1. See gloss. for these words, which may not be Doric forms at that. It is significant that only a rare word can retain the old Doric form.

with two lambdas, or expressions such as ἔκουσές το; χωρεῖ σε, or verbal forms such as βάλλουσι, λέσι and πᾶσι.

24. If the 'Dorian' theory has to be abandoned, what can be said for other notions of Professor Tsopanakis of a koine "alexandrine et protobyzantine"[1]. or a μεσογιακὴ κοινή as he has elsewhere[2]. described it? Here we can say only that the evidence is lacking: there is no detailed picture available of particularly defined varieties of the common colloquial language to be ascribed specifically to Alexandria, Antioch or Constantinople in the early centuries of our Era. It is true that nothing but the sea divides Rhodes from Alexandria, and the sea, not the dry land has always united the Greeks. But such notions must remain speculative. The immediate concern of modern Greek philology is the fuller exploration of the dialects as they survive today, and even were a Linguistic Atlas to be produced, or the Historical Lexicon to be finished, most general conclusions about the origin, development and chronology of the modern dialects would have to remain tentative.

1. Tsopanakis Essai XXXV, and elsewhere.
2. Tsopanakis KRI 5, 16.

Appendix I.

Words denoting 'frog' in the dialect of Rhodes.

Already in ancient Greek it is remarkable how many dialect forms occur of the word for 'frog'. At least a dozen variants to βάτραχος are recorded, some quite close, as βότραχος (Hippocrates), for example, or βράταχος (Hsc.), and others rather remote, as βλίηανος and the onomatopoeic βάβαηος (Hesychius).

Listing these forms, Frisk III 226-7 ascribes them to volksetymologischer Umdeutung. Their variety he supposes to be due to notions of taboo surrounding the frog. The popular idea of the creature is no doubt of something uncanny and repulsive, if not actually dangerous, and it cannot be denied that taboos have attached themselves to the names of some animals in modern Greek. For instance, the weasel's name, νυφίτσα, is a euphemism here as in many other languages. (Cf. Rohlfs, 'Sprachwissenschaft und Volkskunde' in QRS 8ff.). In Rhodes, particularly, the fox is sometimes called ἡ μαμμίτσα (Vrontis MM 230), or ἡ σταμάτα (Id. Ibid. 221) - γιὰ νὰ μὴν ἀναφέρουν τὸ ηαθεαυτοῦ ὄνομά της.

Yet where there is a taboo name, there is not always the bewildering variety of forms that we find in Rhodes, and elsewhere in Greek-speaking territories, for the denomination of the frog. Further explanation has to be found.

A similar phenomenon is the variety of word-forms used in the French patois to denote the cockchafer (standard French hanneton). The linguistic atlas of Gilliéron records twenty types in basse Auvergne alone. Albert Dauzat GL 158 has some excellent remarks on the subject, which apply

so closely to the problem raised by the number of forms denoting the frog in the Rhodian dialect, that they may be quoted at some length here:

'La variété des termes s'accuse en raison du moindre usage des mots...On conçoit, en effet, que des termes d'une utilisation fréquente, souvent employés dans les relations entre localités et contrées diverses, conservent une stabilité et une fixité plus grandes que les vocables rares, qui reviennent à intervalles éloignés dans la conversation et qui sont, par suite, plus sujets à se déformer et à se spécialiser dans chaque pays, voire dans chaque village. Ainsi les noms de plantes et d'animaux, spécialement d' insectes, qui ne sont ni utiles, ni nuisibles, ni très communs, tels le scarabée, la blatte, le ver luisant etc. présenteront le maximum de variations dans une région donnée.'

It has been said that about a dozen ancient forms for the notion 'frog' are recorded, and it may be assumed that many other forms have not survived. For there are as many forms current now in Rhodes alone, all of which, however, can be traced back to two or three ancient prototypes.

In the North of the Island, the most typical form is φορδαυλός, which most probably derives from a form recorded by Hesychius: βόρταχος. The stages in the development are somewhat as follows: βόρταχος > *Βόρταχρος > *βόρθαυρος, by metathesis of aspiration (see below), > φορδαυλός, where the -λ- is due to dissimilation from the -ρ- in the first syllable, and the change β - ϑ > φ - δ seems to represent a metathesis of voicing, a strange, but presumably not impossible phenomenon.

Minor variants of this type are φορταυλός (Apoll. Past. Lindos) and φορδαυλός (Archip.) where in both words the plosive (t/d) is due to dissimilation of the two fricatives

φ - δ. The type current at Afandou, βορδανλός, may represent a regression, or it may be a genuinely older form preserving the initial β-. The Archangelos form shows metathesis of ρ, with βοθρανλός, and so is closer to the form βότραχος in Hippocrates. Nevertheless, it is more probably an innovation due to false etymology from βόθρος.

Closely related to these forms are those with initial σ-: σφορδανλός Mal. Para. Psinth. and σφορδαγγλός Mas. with an 'intrusive nasal'; and σπορδανλός in the geographically continuous group of villages Dam. Mar. Thol. In these forms the initial σ- is most likely due to the article in the plural τοὺς φορδανλούς. There are many parallels in modern Greek, and from RD examples are cited by Tsopanakis 102.

The variation σφ-/σπ- may be regarded as an uncertainty inherited from ancient Greek analogies. For in ancient Greek, φ frequently lost its aspiration when it followed σ (just as the p in Eng. spin has lost the slight aspiration of the p in pin), and we find, for example, σπόγγος and ἀσπάραγος side by side with σφόγγος and ἀσφάραγος. The association and alternation of σφ and σπ survives the development of φ from an aspirated stop to a fricative.

So much for the forms deriving from βόρταχος.

In the southern part of the Island, the prevailing type is φ α ρ δ α ν λ ό ς, which derives from ancient Greek βάτραχος or Ionic βάθρανος. The development must be quite parallel to that of the forms deriving from βόρταχος, viz. βάτραχος > βάθρανος (with the metathesis of aspiration already in Ionic Greek) > *βάρθανος > *βάρθανρος > *βάρθανλος > *φάρδανλος > φαρδανλός. Thus, both the southern and northern types have metathesis of aspiration and of voicing in common, and both have the accent shift from proparoxytone

to oxytone, which is due, according to Hatzidakis MNE II 127, to analogy with "τὰ πολλὰ ὀξύτονα εἰς -κός."

The type prevalent in the south of Rhodes also presents a few variants: φαρταυλός at Embona, Apolakkia and Kattavia; βαρδαυλός at Sianna; and ἀρφαυλός at Prophylia.

The distribution of the types in Rhodes, with the basic distinction between types with -o- (φορδαυλός) and types with -α- (φαρδαυλός), is shown on map

The Athens Historical Lexicon III 489 lists over one hundred types for the word for 'frog' in the modern spoken dialects.

Examining these types in the light of the features presented by the various types from Rhodes, one sees that the metathesis of aspiration βάτραχος > βάθραυος (and related types) is very widespread.[1] Types with 'metathesis of voicing'[2] are found on the periphery of the Greek-speaking world, in the Ionian Islands, in the Peloponnese, in Bithynia and the Dodecanese; but this is usually associated with -o- in the first syllable: only Rhodes and Syme have forms of the type φαρδαυλός. Likewise, types with initial σ- are also recorded from peripheral regions, from the Ionian Islands, South Italy, Calavryta, Mani and Smyrna.

The Athens Lexicon shows the distribution of types

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1. See note at the end of this appendix.
2. Cf. Kretschmer in Glotta VIII (1917), 261.

with -o- in the first syllable (<AG βόρταχος) to be: Calabria, Leucas, Cythera, Peloponnese (Gortynia and Tsaconian), Megara, Samos, Crete, Dodecanese (Astypalia and Cos), Cyprus and Bithynia.

This distribution suggests that South Rhodes is exceptional in having forms with -α- in the first syllable in an area where the commonest forms have -o-. This leaves for solution the problem whether the South Rhodes form is an archaic survival in an area where the forms with -o- have spread and prevailed at a later date, or whether it is an innovation, and has itself spread at the expense of φορδακλός.

Here we may note that although the two current forms φορδακλός and φαρδακλός no doubt reflect the diversity of the ancient Greek forms, yet the derivations given above from βόρταχος and βάτραχος or βάθρακος are probably excessively schematized. For in view of the fact that the two basic types in Rhodes, apart from the difference of the vowel in the first syllable, are exactly alike in other respects, that is, in the innovations we have noted, of metathesis of aspiration and voicing, and of accent shift, it seems highly improbable that they have pursued entirely discreet histories in evolving from the ancient prototypes. Indeed, it is probable that a single type at one time prevailed over the whole island, at least with variations of the less significant kinds that we have noted. The question, therefore, is which of the two types prevalent in Rhodes is the more ancient, or, rather, which type first established itself in Rhodes.

Normally, the southernmost villages have the more conservative dialect, but there is nothing to

exclude the possibility of their occasionally innovating where the northern dialects in Rhodes preserve the older form. Moreover, there are two considerations that weigh against the likelihood of φαρδαικλός representing an earlier form in Rhodes than φορδαικλός.

The first is that the distribution of the types with -o- in the modern dialects is that which we associate with ancient 'provincial' (rather than of ancient dialect) forms. The south Rhodes form has the air of an intruder in a fairly continuous area of the other form. The second is the forms with metathesis of voicing are more commonly associated with -o- in the first syllable than they are with -α-, which suggests that, given an original type where this metathesis has taken place, the -α- in the first syllable would seem to be an afterthought. The only alternative to this is the unlikely one that South Rhodes had some such form as *βάρθαικλος up to a fairly late date, and that the metathesis of voicing took place under the influence of the invader φορδαικλός without the vowel in the first syllable changing at the same time.

On the present evidence the conclusion would seem to be that the type with -o-in the first syllable once had a wider geographical extension in Rhodes, and the type with -α-,although its ultimate ancestry in ancient Greek goes back as far in time as its rival, is, from the point of view of the modern dialect in Rhodes, an innovation -- possibly due to false etymology.[1.]

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1. Perhaps from φαρδύς - φάρδος. In his Journals (Vol IV p.215 of the English tr. by Justin O'Brien) for 22 May 1943, André Gide writes of 'the most amazing faculty frogs have of swelling up their gullet like a goitre etc.'

A note on metathesis of aspiration.

The types with metathesis, i.e. derivatives of βάθρακος and kindred forms rather than of βάτραχος, appear, from the Athens Lexicon, to be in the majority.

Metathesis of aspiration is an ancient phenomenon, especially characteristic of the ancient Ionian dialect: Kretschmer EK 22 and Sturtevant PGL 90 ff., where examples from ancient Crete and Thessaly are also cited.

In Rhodes, apart from the words denoting 'frog', other examples of the phenomenon are ἄθαπος for ἄταφος Papa Gloss 19; and ἀσφάλαττος for AG ἀσπάλαθος (Koskinou) There are other possible examples: Tsopanakis 138 131 and 101.

Hatzidakis, Einleitung 161 comments on the phenomenon in ancient and modern Greek.

APPENDIX II

Words denoting 'gutter-pipe, waterspout'.

There are several words current in Rhodes to denote 'gutter-pipe' or 'waterspout', but here again it is probable that there are only two underlying forms, one for each of the zones.

In the N.E. zone[1.] the type is χολέντρα ([holendra]) or (at Dimylia, Platania and Apollona) χολέτρα.

This is a Hellenistic word, for which see the glossary, which is recorded also for Cyprus in the Archives of the Athens Historical Lexicon.[2.] Dawkins[3.] has preserved a record of its use in the most easterly of the Dodecanesian Islands, Castellorizo, and he has also given convincing reasons for supposing that it underlies the word χόδρι with this meaning in the Asiatic dialect of Pharasa.

In the S.W. zone the words that denote the same object present a greater variety superficially. The current forms are: χύτης, Laerma, St. Isidore, Kalathos, Pylonas, Lardos, Istrios, Prophylia, Lindos, Asclipio, Vati, Apolakkia, Arnitha, Mesanagros, Lachania and Kattavia; καταχύτης, Embona, Sianna, Kritinia, and Monolithos; νεροχύτης, Malona, Archangelos, Sianna and Yennadi; τρύχης, Apolakkia; τρεχονίτης, Archangelos;

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1. See Map III.
2. A diminutive, χολέτρι, is also recorded from Cyprus.
3. CAMD 51, where he also gives the Pharasa form.

ραχονίτης Malona, Masari; and ριφονίτης Afandou.

In § 8 p. 128, it is suggested that ραχονίτης and ριφονίτης have some connection with σίφων and ραχώνι (ράχη). This may be part of the story, but, on reviewing all these forms together, I have reached the conclusion that they all derive ultimately from χύτης (χύτης).

χύτης is an ancient word, quoted by Liddell and Scott from the Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum (with a quite different meaning, however), as are καταχέω and καταχύννω (though καταχύτης is not apparently attested). But it is interesting to note that καταχύννω (also from the Corpus) is evidently, from its double νν a Dodecanesian or a Cypriot word!

There can be no doubt that this is the native word in Rhodes: it occurs in the archaising dialects of the S.W., and, moreover, survives side by side with χολέντρα at Embona and Koskinou. This last fact shows that χύτης was once used over the whole island, but in the N.E. has given way to the (Cypriot) intruder χολέντρα. This is confirmed by the only record of χύτης in the Athens Archives being from Rhodes.

It remains to show how the variety of forms in the S.W. zone are all based on χύτης.

καταχύτης is a normal compound formation, of course; likewise, νεροχύτης. In ραχονίτης can be seen νεροχύτης with metathesis of consonants ν - ρ - χ > ρ - χ - ν, and perhaps with false etymology ('contamination') also from ραχώνι, as the -ίτης suffix has suggested -ίτις to the Rhodians, and so is readily attached to words denoting parts of the body.[1] ριφονίτης is a variation

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1. See below, Nominal Suffixes p. 128.

of ραχονίτης, with χ for φ (cf. Introduction, 15e, p.17). τρεχονίτης is another variant, with contamination of τρέχω. The form τρύχης et Apolakkia is a variant of χύτης, side by side with which it occurs in the same village; again there is metathesis of consonants, and an intrusive -ρ- from some associated word (χύτρα τρέχω or ῥέω for example).

THE VILLAGE OF APOLLONA

APOLLONA occupies a fairly central position in the northern half of Rhodes, and is about thirty-three miles by road from the capital. It is over 1,000 feet above sea-level, but is dominated by the mountain peak of Prophetes Elias. In the distance appears the great rhomboidal massif of Mt. Atavyros.

The population is about 600, the typical occupation of the inhabitants being the cultivation of small holdings, and their chief source of wealth the olive. Apollona appears to have had as little intercourse as possible with the world outside: it is still customary to marry within the village, and their are many indications that the people are highly in-bred. There are some contacts, however, with the village of Malona, which provides Apollona with its only access to the sea.

The inaccessible and isolated position of Apollona accounts for the peculiarities, both of phonology and morphology, of its dialect, to which Tsopanakis[1]. first drew attention. These peculiarities seemed sufficient to dictate my choice of Apollona as the village where I should stay longest, and make the fullest observations[2].

It cannot be denied that the village is, in Professor Tsopanakis' words[3]. 'une véritable île

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1. Tsopanakis, XXVI, XXXIII - IV, 51, 53ff., 57ff.

2. This was actually made possible by the generous hospitality of the family of Mr. Kyriakos Platsis.

3. Tsopanakis XXVI

linguistique', or that its speech possesses 'une phonétique étrange et...unique sur tout le territoire dialectal néogrec.'[1]. Whether the further conclusion, that the dialect of Apollona, together with that of St. Isidore, Embona, Kritinia and Sianna, constitutes 'la couche la plus profonde, le substrat le plus ancien de notre dialecte'[2]. is justified, is debatable, however.

In fact, the special features of the dialect of Apollona appear to be innovations, rather than ancient phenomena preserved; and such a tendency to innovate is just as likely to be characteristic of an isolated dialect, as the opposite conservative tendency. No doubt the villages mentioned have resisted the new levelling influence of the mainland demotic to a greater extent than have the villages which have more links with the capital, and in this respect they still represent 'le vrai dialecte rhodien'[3]. But this is only in a general sense. In these villages, one is, so to speak, more aware of the dialect. A generation or so ago, this special aspect of the speech of these villages would not have been so marked. It is therefore only in a relative sense that the dialects under consideration, and especially that of Apollona, are more ancient than the rest of Rhodes. Against the background of the centuries of history since the <u>koine</u> the particular features that Tsopanakis seized on are anomalous, and they do not permit any significant historical conclusions about the relationship between the dialect of Rhodes

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1. Tsopanakis XXXIII.
2. Tsopanakis XXXIV.
3. Tsopanakis XXX.

and the koine, still less about the dialect's place in the alleged koine 'alexandrine';[1] for these features are not demonstrably archaisms inherited from any such koine, but, as has been said, innovations by comparison, and 'archaic' only by comparison with the current mainland demotic.

Such a conclusion is certain for the phonological peculiarities, at least, which will now be noted.

i) The group [a] + [o] becomes [aw] (αο͡υ) in the dialects of Embona, Sianna and Apolakkia, and this [aw] becomes [ow][2] in the dialect of Apollona:

e.g.[3] διάβολος > δι̯άολος RD δι̯άουλος Emb. Sian., > Apolakk. δι̯άο͡υς > Apoll. δι̯όο͡υγλος.

καταβολή > καταολή RD > καταο͡υλή Emb.

λαγός > λάος RD > λάο͡υς Emb. Sian., > λόο͡υς (= [lows]) Apoll.

τραγούδι > τραούδι RD > τρόο͡υγδι Apoll.

Tsopanakis[4] notes that the Apollona forms show a further stage in the development from those current at Sianna, Embona, and Apolakkia, but he attempts to rescue his hypothesis of the relatively greater archaism of the dialect of Apollona, by suggesting that the other villages present a regression here: "Le même groupe (i.e. [a] + [o]) dans le parler d'Apollona se présente sous une forme différente qui en constitue une évolution ultérieure sans que cela soit une preuve de l'antériorité chronologique de Sianna et Apolakkia; il

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1. Tsopanakis xxxv.
2. Or [owγ] before δ,θ,ρ,λ,ν,μ, Tsopanakis 53 51 B.b.
3. These examples are taken from Tsopanakis 50, 52.
4. 51.

est bien possible qu'après une période d'évolution commune dans Apollona, Sianna, Apolakkia et Embona, ces derniers, (Sian. Apolak. Emb.), comme il arrive souvent, aient rétrogradé d'un pas, en laissant dans Apollona la forme archaïque du même groupe."

This phenomenon is interesting from the point of view of phonetics, and Tsopanakis has been able to point to a similar thing in French.[1] It is not so certain that the ancient Ionic forms θῶμα and τρῶμα for θαῦμα and τραῦμα are exactly comparable, nor, if they are so, what this proves about the history of the phenomenon in the dialect of Apollona. Probably these are at most mere coincidences, unconnected in the oral tradition of Greek.

ii) [a] + [e] and [a] + [i] become [ái] and then [éi] at Apollona.

e.g.[2] ([a] + [e]): ἔλυμος > ἀέλαμος RD > ἀΐ̈λαμος Salacos, > ἔϊλαμος Apoll.

ἀγελαδιάρης > *ἀελαδιάρης > ἀΐ̈λαριάρης > ἐϊ̈λαριάρης Apoll.; and so: ἐιρφός, κλεϊ̈φτήρι < κλαδευτήριον, παπέϊ̈ς < παπάδες, πέϊ̈ννω < πααίννω (πηγαίνω).

([a] + [i]): ἐκάη > ἐκέη, σημάδι > σημέϊ̈, βράδυ > βρέϊ̈, παναύρι RD > πανέϊ̈ρι.

This development is regular at Apollona, although verbs sometimes resist it, through the force of analogy. Tsopanakis[3] gives reasons for believing that this change took place before the development noted in i) above,

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1. Lt caldus > *caudus > chaud ([ʃo]); calvus > chauve.
2. Examples from Tsopanakis 57 - 58.
3. 59.

but after the disappearence of the ancient diphthongs and quantities. He also shows that the change must have been going on after the loss of intervocalic β, γ, and δ. My own impression is that this is a comparatively modern development: the change was still in process after the introduction of Turkish loan words, as the word τὸ χαμεϊλί, 'charm worn by children' < Tk hamail 'amulet, charm' proves. This impression is confirmed by the observation that nowhere else in Rhodes is there so much as a trace of this development, nor is there anything in the history of Greek to suggest that this is an ancient feature.

A somewhat similar phenomenon is reported by Dawkins from Cappadocia, although in most of his examples the [e] that has developed from [a] is separated by a consonant from the following [i]: e.g. λεχνέρι < λυχνάριον; χλέρ <*χλέρι < χειλάριον.[2]

Here there is reason to suspect that Turkish, and especially the characteristic vowel harmony have played some part in the development. This cannot be ruled out in the examples from Apollona. It was the custom for some of the men to emigrate to Turkey, and return speaking Turkish as well as Greek![1] witness the large number of Turkish loan-words in the dialect of the village. The particular phonetic development we are considering looks very much like the type of linguistic change which begins with one individual, more or less as an affectation, and spreads to the rest of the community because of the prestige that person for some reason or other enjoys.

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1. Papachristodoulou TR 222.
2. Dawkins MGAM 65 - 66.

If, as I think, this phenomenon is post-medieval, then on Tsopanakis' own showing[1] the phonetic development discussed in i) above is also post-medieval, and so contributes nothing to the discussion of the dialect in its relation to the Hellenistic <u>koine</u>.

iii) In the phonology of consonants, Apollona again exhibits one feature which is shared by no other village in Rhodes: the unvoiced fricatives φ, χ, and ϑ are voiced before ρ, λ and ν.

e.g.[2] βρύ < φρύδι - φρύ, βλόμος < φλόμος, στάβνη < στάφνη; γρουσό < χρουσό, ἀγλαδιά < ἀχλαδιά, τέγνη < τέχνη; ἄδρωπος < ἄθρωπος, δλίψη < ϑλίψη, and ἔδνος < ἔθνος.

Although this phenomenon does not occur elsewhere in Rhodes, it is reported from Cyprus[3] and, for χν > γν, only from one place in Euboia.[4] There are already enough special features common to the dialects of Rhodes and Cyprus to make an additional one of this kind of limited historical interest. Indeed, if this were an ancient heritage, dating from a <u>koine</u> from which both the Cypriot and the Rhodian dialect have stemmed, one would have expected to find traces, at least, in the speech of other villages in Rhodes besides Apollona.

If these phonetic features prove nothing of historical importance, it remains to examine a remarkable feature of the morphology of the verb at Apollona, which

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1. Tsopanakis 59.
2. Examples from Tsopanakis 121 - 122. See also texts.
3. Pantelides 39 - 40; Menardos PDK 160.
4. V. Phaves, <u>Γλωσσικαὶ ἐπισκέψεις ἀναφερόμεναι εἰς τὸ ἰδίωμα Αὐλωναρίου καὶ Κονίστρων</u>, Athens, 1911, 34.

was first observed by Tsopanakis,[1] and has since been discussed at some length by Professor Kourmoulis,[2] and at still greater length, in a reply, again by Tsopanakis.[3] Naturally, the discussion between these two scholars ranged over a wider field than the verb forms from Apollona. For reasons which need not be mentioned here, the question was examined with a thoroughness and with acrimony it does not seem to call for. It will not seem strange, therefore, if it is treated here in a far more summary fashion.

The peculiarity of conjugation under discussion is this: the vowel stem verbs such as κλαίω and καίω (representing ancient vowel stem verbs), or τρώω, λέω and ρμέω (= ἀμέλγω - *ἀλμέγω), which have passed into this category through the loss, characteristic of the dialect, of intervocalic -γ- form their plural in the imperfect active with an -σ- thus: ἐκλι̯όσαμεν, ἐκλι̯όσετε, ἐκλι̯όσασι (ἐκλι̯όσαν), ἐτρώσαμεν, ἐτρώσετε, ἐτρώσασι, ἐρμι̯όσαμεν, κ.τ.λ.

According to Tsopanakis,[4] these forms represent a survival of the koine termination -οσαν[5] (cf. ἐλάβοσαν ἐφάγοσαν Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik, I 119, εἴδοσαν medieval Greek). Thus, ἐκλι̯όσαμεν represents * ἐκλαι-όσαμεν, ἐτρώσαμεν represents ἐτρωόσαμεν etc.

In the first place, it may be observed that it is not strictly proper to speak of a termination -οσαν. The -σαν termination of the ancient sigmatic aorists and

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1. In the Essai, XXVI.
2. See Bibliography No. 60: esp. pp. 138 - 142, 182 - 184.
3. Tsopanakis KRI 19 - 43.
4. Tsopanakis XXXVI and KRI 21.
5. From the third person the -σ- then spread to the other persons of the plural.

ἦσαν spread by analogy (as it was felt as the characteristic suffix of the past) first to the -μι verbs, e.g. ἐτίθεσαν, then to the optative, e.g. δοῖεν - δοίησαν, next to the imperative, e.g. δόντωσαν, and finally to the imperfect and to the asigmatic aorists.[1] In these last two instances, its affixation to the thematic vowel lead to the formation -οσαν i.e. -ον + -σαν e.g. εἶδον - εἴδοσαν.[2] Similarly, the demotic Greek contracted verbs' termination in -οῦσαν in the imperfect must be regarded as a conflation of -οῦν and -σαν.

This, in outline, is the history of the termination, which is never, of course, in the minds of the speakers: hence, a great deal of Tsopanakis' points about the correct division of the verb stem from the termination, and even about the division within the terminations themselves are artificial and irrelevant.

Professor Kourmoulis seized on the point about the proper termination being -σαν and not -οσαν in order to launch his attack. There could, he argued, be no question of a termination -οσαν surviving from the koine. What appeared in the Apollona verbs was simply the termination -σαν which has been taken over from the contracted verbs: "Εἰς τοὺς ἀνωτέρω ἀνωμάλως σχηματιζομένους παρατατικοὺς ἐμφανίζεται τάσις μεταστάσεως τῶν βαρυτόνων ρημάτων, εἰς ἃ ἀνήκουν, εἰς τὴν τάξιν τῶν περισπωμένων."[3]

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1. See Hatzidakis in Parnassos XVII, 1894, 561 - 588.
2. See also Jannaris, Historical Greek Grammar, 201.
3. Kourmoulis 141.

Kourmoulis showed that these vowel stem verbs could easily have been confused with the contracted verbs, and he surmised present tense forms of the type κλαιῶ, (κλῶ) καιῶ, λῶ, τρῶ. These forms actually do occur in the dialect of Apollona, as Tsopanakis admitted.[1.]

The first part of Tsopanakis' reply[2.] to Kourmoulis is devoted to the proposition that while these vowel stem verbs look (i.e. sound) like contracted verbs, they are not such in fact: '... ἀνάγκη νὰ ἐξετασθῇ μὲ συντομία κι' ἡ ἰδιαίτερη αὐτὴ κατηγορία ρημάτων ποὺ ἔχουν ἀπατηλὴ ἐμφάνιση περισπώμενων, χωρὶς νὰ εἶναι τέτοια'.[3.]

(In the next part of his argument[4.] Tsopanakis shows the phonological history of the Apollona forms, on the assumption that they incorporate the -οσαν termination; and finally[5.] he attempts to explain how this ending disappeared from the rest of the Greek dialects, but survived in this one village. As I have rejected the first part of his argument, I have not thought it was necessary to deal with the subsequent parts.)

The first obvious point that occurs to anyone reading these pages of Tsopanakis, is that for the Apollona forms of the vowel stem verbs to have come into being on the analogy of the contracted verbs, it was merely necessary for the speakers of the idiom to feel the affinity between the two categories of verbs. Possibly a philologist should not allow himself to be 'deceived' (cf. ἀπατηλή above) by the 'appearences' (ἐμφάνιση) of

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1. Kourmoulis 184, and Tsopanakis KRI 26.
2. KRI 21 - 29.
3. KRI 26.
4. KRI 29 - 34.
5. KRI 34 - 43.

these vowel stem verbs into supposing that they now belong to the category of contracted verbs. No doubt there is a difference between the -ούσαμεν -ούσετε -οῦσαν of the contracted verbs, and the -όσαμεν -όσετε -όσαν of the vowel stem verbs, and there are differences in the singular (though not very great ones, as the contracted verbs in the dialect differ from the mainland types in not having -οῦσα etc. in the singular). Nevertheless, the resemblances between the vowel stem verbs and the contracted verbs in the dialect are quite sufficient to have provided for the working of analogy in the peculiar Apollona conjugation.

This will be more apparent if the third person plural forms of the present and imperfect of both conjugations are compared:

Present	Imperfect
λόσι	ἐλόσασι
ηλιόσι	ἐηλιόσασι
τρῶσι	ἐτρώσασι
μιλοῦσι	ἐμιλούσασι

are the Apollona forms. How these forms should be divided for stem and termination hardly seems a vital problem, so natural is the analogy μιλούσασι - μιλοῦσι - τρῶσι - ἐτρώσασι etc. Nor is the history of such a formation a puzzle. In the rest of the island the form is ἐτρώ(γ)ασι. It would appear that when the intervocalic -γ- was dropped, an attempt was made to replace it at Apollona, an example of Gilliérons "verbal therapy". The nearest analogy that could be found was obviously the contracted verbs. If the strange forms λόσι, ηλιόσι in the present tense, with an [o] which is not easily

paralleled in modern Greek (or explained, unless the example of τρῶσι has spread by analogy to the other verbs), have been tolerated by the people of Apollona, there is no reason why they should have felt any anomaly in the forms ἐλόσασι, ἐκλιόσασι.

According to Meillet,[1] the -σαν forms are Ionian-Attic in origin, whence the use of the termination passed to the koine. In so far as the termination -οσαν can be considered as having a separate identity, it cannot with certainty be ascribed to any one ancient dialect.[2] Tsopanakis[3] traces the progress of the termination from Boeotia to Alexandria, by way of Chalcidice; but he himself admits that its appearence in antiquity was merely "temporary", and his argument at this stage is not without an element of fancy. Even if his explanation of the current forms at Apollona is valid, therefore, the historical significance of them is obscure.

1. LG 85.
2. Thumb GSZH 230.
3. KRI 42 - 43.

Second Part

Foreign elements in the dialect

(Latin - Old French - Italian

((Venetian and Genoese))

- Turkish - Arabic)

THE LATIN ELEMENT

To describe certain words (or suffixes) in the dialect as Latin, is to use the word in a strictly linguistic sense, for in this description are included words from different periods of history which have found their way into the dialect through contact with divers peoples.[1].

Ideally, at least three distinct categories of Latin loan-words would be identified: the very earliest borrowings, which date from the Roman occupation of Greece; words which gained currency during the Byzantine period; and, finally, words which belong to the medieval phase of Rhodes' history, especially to the period of the administration of the Knights, an age when 'Latin was the universal language of science, government, religion and law'.[2]. With these words acquired from the Franks, it is not always possible to distinguish what is properly Latin from what belongs historically to the particular Romance language, Italian or Old French, for example, which grew out of Latin.[3].

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1. Sandfeld 45 remarks on the 'influence latino-romane qui s'est effectuée par des voies et à époques différentes et qui, pour ce qui concerne le grec, a agi pendant plus de 2.ooo ans.' 2. Dawkins VM 311.

3. Thus RD μπόρκα 'parting of the hair' may be Latin or Italian porca; πλάνια 'plane' may be Lt *plania (Meyer-Lübke 6573) or OF plagne; πούγγα 'pocket' is said to be a Gothic word that must have passed into Low Latin, as it is also in Rumanian (Rohlfs EW 1772).

In practice, it is not always possible to distinguish these historical categories, so that they have to be considered together. Gilliéron's saying 'chaque mot a son histoire' is no doubt as valid here as anywhere in the field of linguistic enquiry, but the historical evidence is often lacking, or uncertain. For example, some words now current occur in Byzantine authors, but that is not proof that they were known to the common people in the Byzantine period and form part of the oral tradition. On the other hand, a word may apparently be untestified in the texts, yet certainly date historically from the Byzantine period.[1].

The earliest Greek author to use Latin words is Polybius, who leaves untranslated certain technical or legal terms, for example δικτάτωρ. But the earliest evidence for Latin words penetrating the spoken κοινή is the New Testament.[2]. There are Latin words in the Gospels, and two or three of these are still current in Rhodes, and may well have an unbroken history in oral tradition from the Roman period behind them.

Thus, μόδι 'half-kilo' < modius is current, and also occurs in the hybrid verb χιλιομοϊζω 'to make a thousand μόδια ', used in wishes.[3]. If, as is sometimes stated, the Latin sextarius gave rise to ξέστης 'pitcher, pot' (Mark VII, 4), then this too survives in Rhodes in the form ξίστα 'water-jug with two handles'.

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1. If a Latin word is current in the Asia Minor dialects, the supposition is that it is not from the medieval West, but Byzantine: so βαρβάτος 'ungelded' RD and Dawkins MGAM 195. 2. Cf. Triandaphyllides HE 13.

3. Vrontis ZR 122. μόδιος occurs in Matthew V 15. Hadjiyoannou states that μόδι is the only classical Latin current in Cyprus.

So, too, μίλι 'mile' probably dates from this early period, and has also given rise to a hybrid - ξηνταμίλι.[1] On the other hand, the word τίτλος which occurs in the Gospels (John XIX, 20) and is current in Greek, is unknown to the peasant speech of Rhodes. If it had survived by oral tradition, it would have had a different form, as the form τίτλος in common demotic Greek does not represent a natural phonological development.[2]

Phonology can sometimes be a guide to the dating of a word. It has already been pointed out[3] that the derivatives of cella in modern Greek pre-date the palatalisation of Latin c before e (common to all the Romance languages), and from a similar argument that σπίτι < hospitium is 'pre-Romance'. Certain other Latin loan-words in the Greek dialects show, in their current pronunciation, the characteristically Greek change of ancient voiced stops to continuants, and the natural conclusion is that these words passed into Greek at the time that this change was going on. In the dialect of Rhodes, the derivatives of bulla, *bulgea, subula, tabula, barbatus, sagittarius, collega, gula, regula, modius, pedica, praeda and sudis all show this development, namely of initial or intervocalic b, g, and d to β, γ and δ. which show that these words were borrowed early, a conclusion that we have already reached for some of the words on other grounds.[4]

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1. Mark V 41 has μίλιον < mille. For the hybrid derivative see Vrontis RII 28 ποὺ τὸ ξηνταμίλι 'from sixty miles'.

2. The group [tl] gives rise to [kl]: cf. sit(u)la > σίκλα.

3. Sandfeld 46. It may be added that κελλίον is to be found in a fourth century Greek text.

4. Cf. remarks on βαρβάτος and μόδι above. See Sandfeld loc. cit. for the dating of loan-words from phonological changes in general.

The argument from phonology cannot be taken too far, however, owing to our imperfect knowledge of the exact chronology of the sound changes, and to the added complication that the pronunciation of Latin was simultaneously changing. This is particularly applicable to the vowel sounds: it is not always possible to say when a particular change has taken place before or after the word in question was borrowed. Yet even so, a conclusion may occasionally be reached. For example, regula and collega seem to have passed into Greek before the ancient η had closed to [i], for the Greek ρίγλα[1]. and κολλίγας (also in Rhodes) show a development which is unknown to Romance.

Another guide to the approximate dating of loan-words is their geographical distribution throughout the modern Greek dialects. An exhaustive study of this distribution remains to be made, but even from the present state of our knowledge, some conclusions are still possible. Dawkins pointed out that only Byzantine Latin words occur in the Asia Minor dialects, and he gives a list of them[2]. Many of them have been lost from common demotic Greek, so that their presence in Asia Minor and in the Islands is one further indication of the conservatism of the dialects spoken there. But even in these places, many Latin words were driven out by Turkish words of roughly equivalent meaning, especially words connected with the activities of soldiers and administrators[3].

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1. Hesychius has ρῆγλαι· σίδηρα ὡς ῥάβδοι.
2. Dawkins MGAM 195.
3. Cf. Dawkins VM 311.

Some of the Latin words can be assigned to the period of the Knights with a fair degree of certainty: κουσέλλι < consilium, and κουσούρτος < consultum must be late arrivals in Rhodes, for the group [ns] in classical Latin should yield [ss] in the dialect.[1] These words are unknown in Asia Minor, and, if the argumentum ex silentio is permissible in this instance, this fact would confirm that the words are post-Byzantine. The meanings of these two words in Greek are not to be found in Romance![2] κουσέλλι 'slander',[3] and κουσούρτος 'gossip, the origin of gossip! The bad meaning sometimes borne in the plural by κουβέντες < conventus may be compared.

II

Among the early Latin loan-words to be adopted into Greek were technical terms relating to the Roman administration,[1] and these were followed or accompanied by words that reflected the material culture of the Romans, such as πανάριον, λέντιον, σουδάριον and so on.

Naturally enough, the words relating to administration passed out of currency with the end of the system from which they derived, exactly as, many centuries later, the Turkish words of this type are already obsolete or obsolescent.

The Latin words which survive in Rhodes belong

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1. Cf. Tsopanakis 119K, p. 127.
2. Dieterich LN 590. 3. Cf. Meyer NS IV 40 (Andros).

Section II, 1. Cf. Hatzidakis SI 29.

almost without exception to the second category above, that of culture words denoting material objects, and the remarkable fact that emerges from their classification is that these words fall broadly into no more than two groups: they are related either to domestic or to agricultural life. Rhodes, of course, is an agricultural island, but the third set of loan-words we shall consider, the Turkish, cover a much wider scope. It is also worth remarking that the Latin words have invaded a particularly intimate part of the dialect, and one where native words, given the indigenous tradition in these matters, might have been expected to resist intruders.

In the first category, that of domestic terms, are included words to,do with the house, with building and furniture, and also with clothing.

Thus, for example, nearly every village house in Rhodes is furnished with a large wooden cupboard-like structure, the ἄρμλα which is used for storing corn, potatoes and the like.[1] This derives from the Latin arcula, *arcla[2] 'box, chest'. The same word is current elsewhere in the Greek provinces, and Rohlfs[3] records its currency at Bova in the meaning 'cassa per riporvi dei panni.'

At one end of the bridal bed may be seen in many houses high piles of pillows held in place by thin wooden slats, ρίγλες, < regula.[4] Latin mensalis has

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1. Vrontis PSR 11, 37. Tsopanakis 76. Form ἄρελα Apoll.
2. Triandaphyllides LMV 120, 135.
3. Rohlfs SL 177. 4. See n.1, p.56.

given rise to μεσάλλι 'kitchen cloth', and the derivatives of pannus are numerous: τσιμιόπαννο, ἀθθόπαννο, τσουκόπαννο are all cloths used for different purposes in the house.

In the wider sphere of building, the derivatives of furnus[1] may be mentioned: φοῦρνος itself, 'oven', and φουρνίστρα 'implement for putting loaves into the oven'.[2] Cella has given κελλί 'small shed or stall'[3] and ριφοκέλλι.[4] The two words urna and cisterna seem to have got confused in the creation of the word βουστέρνα[5] and piscina has probably been 'contaminated' with φλετρό 'well' to produce φλισκίνα.[6]

Of course, Rhodes has, in common with ordinary demotic Greek, words of Latin origin for the very house itself, σπίτι < hospitium, and the door, πόρτα < porta.

Highly characteristic of Rhodes are the famous plates, and in the richer houses it is the custom to adorn the back wall with those that the bride has brought to her husband as part of the dowry. In one house at Koskinou more than five hundred are to be counted on the σκουτελλότοιχο as it is called, from σκουτέλλα 'plate' < scutella.[7]

Certain articles of clothing also have names of Latin origin, the ράσο of course, and its derivative,

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1. The furnus must have been a new type of oven: the word ousted A.G. ἰπνός e.g., or κρίβανος (See gloss. s.v. σκλιανίζω). So in Turkey, the oven is fırın, and colloquial Arabic furn, Kratchkovsky, Among Arab Manuscripts, Leiden, 1953, 47. 2. Vrontis PSR 6, Meyer N.S. III 71.

3. Vrontis MM 210. 4. Vrontis ZR 110, Meyer NS III 30.

5. Tsopanakis 152, cf. βοῦρνα 'cistern' ibid. 91.

6. Tsopanakis 152, Konst RT 60. 7. Vrontis PSR 14, Thumb VMG 195, Meyer NS III 61.

κοντοράσι, 'short woollen cape'.[1] Fascia gives ἡ φασιά (not confined to dialects) and, in Rhodes, the technical terms used in weaving πρωτοφασιά and ξεφασιά.[2] Cucullus is implied in κουκκουλεύγω 'to wrap, cover'[3] and punga has several derivatives: πούγγα, 'pocket' and diminutive πουγγί, 'purse, beg, plur. lasagne', κεροπούγγι, 'sack used in separating honey from wax'[4] and the verb νεπουγγώννομαι.

So much for the Latin loan-words in the vocabulary of domestic life. They abound, also, in the specialized vocabulary of agriculture, especially in connection with animals.

The common word for 'hen' in Rhodes is πουλλα[5] which seems likely to be the Low Latin pulla; and other creatures with Latin names are the small grey snake σαϊττάρι, < sagittarius,[6] the ρούσα, 'red sheep or goat' < Byz. ρούσιος, Lt. ruseus, the common cat, ὁ κάττης, catus,[7] the ungelded beast βαρβάτο< barbatus, and possibly the sow, λούγγρα is to be connected with lurco[8]:

It is striking that the equipment used with animals often has Latin nomenclature: 'smith's hammer', καλικωτήρι < καλιγώννω 'to shoe a horse' < caliga.[9] The under-strap of a horse's harness is called βίγγλα or δίγγλα < cingula,[10] and the donkey's fetters πούδουκλα,

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1. Vrontis RG 7.
2. Vrontis RG 8.
3. Konst RT 40. Apollona κουκκουλώνναι. See Appendix III for forms of Latin verbs in RD.
4. Vrontis MM 206.
5. Tsopanakis 156.
6. See gloss. s.v.
7. DG has ὁ γάτος.
8. v. Meyer NS IV 45.
9. Konst SM 217, Tsopanakis 104, Meyer NS III 23. καλίνι, is used by Georgillas, Thanatikon, 145, 152.

or πούηλα < pediculum.[1]

Other implements with Latin names are πλάντρα, 'olive press' < planta;[2] κουρκούτα 'large bell for goats and sheep'[3] < cicuta; λωνάρα, 'carding-comb' < lana - lanarius;[4] φλάμουρο, 'scare-crow'[5] < Late Lt. flammula - *flamula;[6] and σίηλα 'bucket' < situla.[7] The situla was a water-bucket or wine-bucket of a specific type identifiable by archaeologists, who have found these buckets widely distributed over the Roman world, and "beyond the Imperial frontiers."[8] No doubt the word, as so often happens, travelled with the object.

It is characteristic that the Latin word often acquired its specific agricultural connotation in Rhodes. Thus, for example, βούλλα <bulla, in Byzantine Greek 'seal' is used in Rhodes to denote the wooden seal of the tax collector, the δεκατιστής;[9] but, far more commonly, it denotes an incision made in the ears of lambs and kids for purposes of identification - the equivalent of branding.[10] γούλα < gula 'throat' also has two meanings, the less common one figurative, 'appetite'[11] and the more common one 'socket in the sole of the plough into

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1. Tsopenakis 36. Byz. Gk. πέδικλον. The verbs που(δου)-κλώννω and ξεπουκλώννω occur. πεδικλόω is vii A.D. Gk.
2. Meyer NS III 54. 3. Vrontis MM 216. Derivation uncertain.
4. Tsopanakis 150. Vb. λωναρίζω.
5. Vrontis ZR 116. 6. Meyer NS III 70 - 71. The reduction of [mm] to [m] must predate the word's entry into the dialect. φλάμμουρον (-ουλον) is Byz. cf. Georgillas (Belisarius 326.
7. Tsopanakis 125, Triandaphyllides LMV 121; Rohlfs EW 1947. σίτλα in v A.D., and σίηλα in vi A.D. GK. σικλί 'bowl' Vrontis MM 216; σικλίζω 'to draw water' Afan.
8. Sir M. Wheeler, Rome beyond the Imperial frontiers, (London, 1954, 66, 73.
9. Vrontis ZR 122.

which the sheath (RD περόνη; for which v. gloss.) fits'.[1.]

These examples of the narrowing down of a word's connotations to the world of agriculture, and the larger fact that most of the Latin loan-words occur in the domestic and agricultural vocabulary, reflect, as has been said, the absorbtion of the country people of Rhodes in these two domains of activity, the house and the field. Yet the penetration of Latin into the most intimate spheres of the vocabulary is significant, and the survival of these same words is another proof that in these spheres language is most conservative, even to the point of preserving foreign elements, once they have become thoroughly naturalized. It is not unlikely that the Turkish words, which at present cover a wider range of objects and activities, will in time conform to the pattern now constituted by the Latin words.

For the very few Latin loan-words there are which fall outside these two main categories are of little historical significance: an early medieval[2.] legal term, pactum[3.] has given rise to the verb μπαχτώννω, 'to hire', and from the church the word μανάλλι, 'chandelier' manuale[4.] would seem to be an isolated example.

A comparison of the Latin loan-words in Rhodes with those current elsewhere in Greece would establish

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10 (p.62). Vrontis MM 223, 222. The derived verb is βουλλώννω. An unmarked animal is ἀβούλλι.

11. E.g. γούλα ποὺ ἔχεις! Maritsa.

1. Vrontis ZR 108, γούλα. A parallel form is βούλα.

2. παντόω (-εύω) Byzantine. 3. Tsopanakis 124, Meyer NS III 52.

4. μανουάλιον Const. Porphyrogenitus, Cer. 75,3!

some useful conclusions, but the material for such a survey is not complete. Such an inquiry would be certain to produce results of interest to Romance philology. For example, there are certain Latin words in the Greek dialects which occur in Rumanian as well, but which have been lost elsewhere in Romance territory, or, if they survive, have radically different meanings. For example, the meaning taken by Latin conventus in Rumanian cuvant, 'word' is comparable with Greek κουβέντα 'remark, conversation, utterance'.[1] A study of such words would contribute to the picture of that 'Latin of the Eastern Empire'[2] or 'latin balkanique'[3] which is still very obscure.

1. Another example is RD πούγγα and Rumanian pungă (Rohlfs EW 17772).

2. G. Nandriş, 'The development and structure of Rumanian', 7, 12. (Paper read before the Philological Society in London on 19 January, 1951).

3. Sandfeld 51.

Appendix

Verbs from Latin

1. It is a curious fact that of the verbs of Latin derivation in the dialect none derives from a Latin verb,[1] but all the verbs recorded have been formed from other parts of speech, that is to say from nouns or adjectives of ultimate Latin origin which already had passed into the dialect.

2. The earliest borrowings seem to be the verbs in -ίζω

βαϊλίζω 'flatter, make a fuss of', <Lt bajulus: v. Hist Lex III 424; βιγλίζω 'look, watch, observe', Hist Lex III 529, which, as Meyer NS III 15 has shown, derives only indirectly from the Lt verb vigilare, as the immediate origin is the Greek noun βίγλα < vigilare; λωναρίζω 'to card' < lana - lanarius, perhaps with false etymology from ἁλώνι - ἁλωνεύγω (Tsopanakis 150); ξεπορτίζω <porta: v. Meyer NS III 38; ξεφουρνίζω 'take loaves out of the oven' also 'give birth' (of women, v. Herodotus V 92 for the metaphor) < φούρνο <furnus; and σιηλίζω 'draw water from a well' < σιηλί - σίηλα<situla

3. Next in antiquity seem to be the verbs in -εύγω:

κουηκουλεύγωKonst RT 40 < cucullus; φινεύγω v. gloss.; and verbs in -ιάζω:

κουσελιάζω 'to gossip' <κουσέλι < consilium, v. Meyer NS IV 40 and Dieterich LN 590 for the meaning; and λουριάζω (a special term used in ploughing, Vrontis ZR 112) <λουρί < lorum.

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1. A similar phenomenon has been noted by A.A. Papadopoulos, who notes in an article on the Greek loan-words in Turkish in Athena XLIV (1932) p.4 n.1 that no verb in Turkish is derived from a Greek verb.

4. Finally, there is a group of verbs in -ώννω which seem, on etymological grounds, to belong to the medieval phase of the dialect:

βουλλώννω 'to mark kids or lambs with an incision on the ear (for identification purposes)' < βούλλα bulla; νεπουγγώννομαι 'to rollup the sleeves', which Meyer NS III 55 connects with L Lt *punga. This word is represented in the dialect by several derivatives, but it seems to me that AG ἀνακομβόμαι 'to gird oneself up' underlies the RD verb, though perhaps with contamination from πούγγα - πουγγί < *punga[1]. παχτώννω 'to hire' is from medieval Greek πάκτον < pactum (cf. Meyer NS III 52); and που(δου)κλώννω 'to fetter animals' derives from pedica - pedicula.

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1. ἀνακομβόμαι derives from ὁ κόμβος 'band, girth'. If there is a contamination with πούγγα in νεπουγγώννομαι, a rather similar confusion is to be cited from the S. Italian dialects, where punga and kumba, both meaning 'pocket' are both derived by Rohlfs, EW 1772, from πούγγα.

FRENCH AND ITALIAN ELEMENTS

Already by the end of the eleventh century, the Venetians had begun to take an interest in Rhodes, which was among the places thrown open to trade in the Golden Bull of May 1082. It may be assumed that at least a small colony of Venetians was established there at that time.[1] The Venetian fleet called at Rhodes at the turn of the century,[2] and the Venetians pillaged the island in 1124.

A hundred years or so later, when Leon Gabalas ruled Rhodes under allegiance to the Doges, the Venetians had a warehouse, a Court of Justice, and even a prison there.[3]

Later in the twelfth century, Rhodes passed for a short period under the dominion of the Genoese,[4] and it was the Genoese leader Vignolo who, unable to repulse the repeated attacks of the Turks from Asia Minor, appealed in the year 1300 to the Knights of St. John for help.

The Venetian interest in Rhodes did not cease, for the Venetians feature in the history of the Knights' rule, and a generation after the Knights had left Rhodes, a French traveller noted that Venetian agents were well established.[6] Nearly a century later, in 1634, Sir Henry

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1. Torr, Rhodes in modern times, 16.
2. Cornaro, (ed.) Translatio Magni Nicolay, 8 - 9.
3. Torr, op. cit. 8; Matton 36. 4. Matton 36; Torr 9.
5. Torr, op. cit. 16, 23.
6. Pierre Belon, Les observations de plusieurs singularités ...trouvées en Grece, Asie...et autres pays étrangers, Paris, 1553, II Ch.13.

Blount, calling at Rhodes in the course of his travels in the Levant, was accosted by a Turk who spoke Italian and accompanied his remarks with a characteristically Venetian gesture.[1.]

The Venetian connections with Rhodes thus begin earlier and end later than the French. For we may assume that French had scarcely been heard in Rhodes until 1309, when Fulques de Villaret, their Grand Maître, brought the Knights of St. John over from Cyprus in answer to Vignolo's earlier appeal.

During the two centuries that followed, the overwhelming majority of the Knights were French,[2.] just as were fourteen of the nineteen Grands Maîtres who successively governed the Order in Rhodes. Nevertheless, the number of Knights is said never to have been more than one hundred.[3.] This small number points to friendly and close relations between the Knights and the people. For how otherwise could so small a number have governed many thousands? In critical times, moreover, such as the siege of 1480, the people rallied to the Knights.

The Knights, in fact, seem to have allowed the people a large measure of self-government; Iorga[4.] states that they introduced no special legislation, though they issued edicts on special occasions.

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1. Blount, Voyage to the Levant, 1671[8], 44: "I...met a Turk, who told me, Ah! are you an Englishman? and with a kind of malicious posture, laying his fore-finger under his eye." - A gesture still popular with the Venetians, which means 'You cannot deceive me!'

2. Matton 37. 3. N. Iorga, Rhodes sous les Hospitaliers, Paris, 1931,

4. Ibid.

These peculiarities of the Knights' administration explain why the few words in the dialect which can with any degree of certainty be traced to the Old French dialects - for at this time it is not yet proper to speak of a unified French language - are words dealing with intimate aspects of every day life, and not with legal, military or administrative matters. They are all 'culture' words, mostly denoting material objects in the house, and they must derive from intercourse between the Knights and the people in trading and perhaps in domestic service.

The question now arises how it can be known for certain whether a given word is French or Italian. This is indeed often a matter for doubt, as it can seldom be determined on linguistic grounds whether the French or Italian version of the same word has given rise to the Greek derivative. In such cases it is usually safer on historical grounds to ascribe the word to the Italian dialects. However, sometimes the derived word carries a meaning which is attested[1.] for French rather than for Italian, for example σερβέττα, ζερβέττα 'headchief, face towel! This is phonetically closer to Old French serviette or Provencal serviet(t)a than to the Italian salvietta with this meaning: Italian servietta is given by the dictionaries only with the meaning 'serving girl'.[2.] There is a similar doubt about the word τὸ πιλιέρι or πιλέρι, 'partition wall supporting the central beam of a house; (pl.) posts of a well!'[3.] The Italian piliere

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1. See Bibliography E 2 for dictionaries consulted.

2. Cf. Meyer NS IV 80. For σ > ζ in foreign words, MNE I 112.

3. Vrontis PSR 13, 26; Id. Ibid. 26.

does not seem to carry the appropriate meaning that Old French pilier does - 'pillar, column, post'. There is an additional reason for supposing that the word is French: there is a derivative adjective πιλιερικός[1]. applied to houses of this type, built with a partition wall. Now, it is recorded that the hostels of the various 'tongues' amongst the Knights were each under the orders of a bailli "qu'on appelait aussi p i l i e r"[2]. It is tempting to conclude that the πιλιερικὰ σπίτια were originally these hostels presided over by the 'pilier' and that the current meaning of the term is an extension of this usage.

Sometimes it is simply impossible to decide between French and Italian: thus, if περίκο 'waistcoat' actually does derive from a Romance word for 'wig'[3], it is not easy to say whether Fr. perruque or It. parrucca underlies it. On the other hand, τὸ ζιπούνι 'small outer cotton garment, worn by men'[4] is certainly the Venetian zipon[5] rather than Old French jupon, which it hardly resembles phonetically.

Undoubtedly Old French in origin is the word τὸ σπερβέρι, 'embroidered curtain hanging in front of the bridal bed'[6]. This word, deriving ultimately from Old High German sparvâri (with which English 'sparrow' is connected), is attested in Old French in various forms:

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1. Vrontis PSR 3.

2. Matton 37.

3. See glossary s.v. 4. Papachristodoulou Gloss 108, who derives it from Old French.

5. Boerio 812. 6. Vrontis PSR 19, cf. Dawkins in BNJ III, 1922, 155 and Hadjiyoannou 107 who accepts the French derivation first propounded by Dawkins.

esparvier (supplement to Godefroy), esprevier (1380 A.D.), espervier (1403), and *éparvier,[1] compared with the modern French épervier. The reason for this variety is that there was a tendency in medieval vulgar French to pronounce er as ar, which gave rise to forms such as pardre for perdre. This tendency began in the fourteenth century, and was observable in popular Parisian until the eighteenth century. But as soon as this tendency became observed, there was a parallel tendency to correct it, and, as so often happens in the history of a language, the corrections were carried too far, and several words which quite properly contained ar were corrected. The forms esprevier and espervier, from which the modern épervier derives, are examples of such false corrections.[2] What makes this of relevant interest to us is that the Dodecanese dialects preserve this Old French word in both its forms -- the vulgar (and in this case etymologically more accurate) form and the "forme élegante". So from Cos is recorded[3] the form σπαρβέρι while from Rhodes we have σπερβέρι. The Cos form makes it highly probable that the mysterious word παρπέρες (pl.) in Georgillas' Thanatikon 176, which occurs in a context of embroideries and decorative furnishings, is the same, deriving likewise from the uncorrected popular form. The French origin of the Greek words is witnessed by this diversity of form which can be traced to a peculiarity of the phonology of medieval

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1. Dauzat GL 69: the existence of such a form would be confirmed by παρπέρες in Georgillas.

2. Dauzat HLF 103. Mod.Fr. chair (Lt caro) and gerbe (OHG garba) are examples of the same false correction.

3. Dawkins FSD 369 1.5.

4. In Cyprus the form is σκλουβέρι cf. σπλιβέριν in Boustronius.

French. Nowhere else in the Romance world do the forms[1] deriving from the Old High German sparvari allow the possibility of such a form as σπερβέρι. But the final proof that σπερβέρι came to Rhodes from the French is its current meaning. For the original meaning of the word is 'hawk, sparrow-hawk' (cf. German Sperber, Italian sparviere, Spanish esparavén, French épervier), from which, by association, 'a hunting net, cast-net' (Fr. épervier, Sp. esparavel). It is only in Old French that the further derivative meaning 'l'ensemble des pièces qui composent le coucher' (Godefroy) is attested.[2]

There remain two other French words connected with the house. Every village house in Rhodes has its fire-place - τσιμ(ν)ιά.[3] There can be no doubt that this is the French cheminée, and the Rhodian form reflects the old pronunciation of ch in French as [ç] .[4] (The Sp. chimenea and Neapolitan čemmenera would also seem to be derivatives of the French). It is interesting to note that, by the medium of Latin caminus, the French word itself derives ultimately from Ancient Greek κάμινος.[5] The other word appears in a variety of forms in Rhodes itself, viz. τράππα, δράππα, γράππα and ἐγράππα. and means 'trap-door, indoor ladder'.[6] Again on grounds of meaning as well as of form[7] this must be assigned to

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1. It. sparviere Sp. esparavén, esparavel.
2. CF. Tobler-Lommatsch III 1255 esprevier = 'Himmelbett'
3. Vrontis PSR 10, 11; Tsopanakis 76.
4. Meyer-Lubke, Grammatik, A 409 - 410.
5. Maidhof NRL 76.
6. Cf. Hadjiyoannou 72, Menardos GML 371. The form θράππα is cited from Calymnos and Nisyros. For the uncertain treatment of original tr see Tsopanakis 120, 125 on the current RD derivatives of AG ἀτράκτιον.
7. It. * trappa (Meyer NS IV 26) is not attested.

old French trappe.

One curious word remains to be considered: μπουφάρτα ([bufarta]), 'very fat woman' (Embona), a word not to be found in the archives of the Athens Lexicon. There can be little doubt that this is the word Godefroy[1.] records in the form boufard (= glouton, gourmand), which d'Hauterive in his dictionary[2.] gives in the form boufart for fifteenth and sixteenth century French. The word is connected with the onomatopoeic word bouffer, 'to blow out the cheeks' (cf. English 'puff'). There are related words in Italian, but nothing recorded in the dictionaries corresponds to the Rhodian word so exactly, in meaning and form, to boufard - boufart.

At least two place-names are due to the French knights. The village of Paradeisi was known until recently as Villanova, a Latinized form of the name of the Grand Maitre Helion de Villeneuve (1319 - 1346) who, according to Bosio,[3.] 'edificiò nell' isola di Rodi un bellissimo e fort castello, il quale, dal suo cognome, chiamò V I L L A N N O V A.'

Near Paradeisi (or Villanova) is the village of Maritsa (τὰ Μαριτσά). Makhairas mentions the μαριτζᾶς τῆς Ρόδου, and Bosio,[4.] referring to d'Aubusson's decree of 1479, mentions the 'Casale del Marescialle'. In his

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1. Vol. I, 696c. (Word out of alphabetic sequence).

2. R. Grandsaignes d'Hauterive, Dictionnaire d'Ancien Francais, Paris, (Larousse), 1947, 73.

3. G. Bosio, Della istoria della Sacra Religione et dell' ill^ma. militia di San Giovanni gerosolimitano, Rome, 1954, II, 171.

4. Id. Ibid. II, 387.

paper on the subject;[1] Tsopanakis has shown convincingly that the village derives its name from one of the Old French forms of the word marshall, i.e. m a r e s c h a u t, or m a r i s c h a l;[2] and τὰ Μαριτσά are, in fact, the 'κτήματα ἑνός μαριτζά';[3] - the neuter plural of the article being common with a proper name in the genitive case in post-Byzantine place-names.

The first thing that strikes one about the Italian loan-words in the dialect is their comparative paucity; there cannot be more than about one hundred of them. This conclusion is confirmed by Kahane,[4] who places the Dodecanese and Cyprus after the Ionian Islands, Crete and the Cyclades in the "grado di recettività" of Italian loan-words.

Another remark made by Kahane[5] suggests the reason for this rather unexpected fact: "l'influsso italiano si attuò in prima linea dal mare e dai porti". The comparative paucity of Italian words in the dialect is one of the effects of the characteristic of the Rhodians alluded to in the Introduction,[6] their withdrawal from a sea-faring life. They have not, as a result, felt the need to borrow from Italian where it has most to give to modern Greek, and what Italian words they have taken over are either not marine terms, or they have lost their nautical connotations.

This last characteristic, whereby nautical words

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1. Tsopanakis MK (Bibliography No. 71).
2. Godefroy s.v. mareschal.
3. Tsopanakis MK 5.
4. No. 137 in Bibliography.
5. Op. cit. 128
6. Section 6, pp. 6 - 7.

lose their original connotations, which is even more significant than the actual absence of such words, is best exemplified in the Venetian and Genoese words in the dialect. For example, in the expression, 'ὡς τὰ bούνια', a Venetian technical term, bugna, 'corner of a sail' has acquired a vague meaning, i.e. 'extremity'[1]. Agguantare is a sailors' word, 'to seize (with grappling irons)', but γαντέρνω simply means 'to hold on, endure'. Venetian tartana, 'fishing smack', is used in the slang sense of 'strapping woman' (ἡ ταρτάνα); molo, 'mole, breakwater etc.' has acquired the meaning of 'heap of stones cleared from a field'[2]. and, similarly, pila, 'pier of a bridge' has become 'wall to protect a field from flooding'[3].

Apart from these nautical terms which, in the process of naturalization, have become stranded on dry land, the other loan-words from Venetian and Genoese have a domestic colouring.

It has already been seen[4] how the Arab[5] garment known in French as jupe, and, possibly, in English as 'jumper' passed into the dialect from the Venetian zipon.[6] Under the zipon, the Venetians used to wear the camisa[7] or camisetta,[8] and this appears in Rhodes

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1. Bugna, Boerio 106: cf. Meyer NS IV 62; Tsopanakis 100 derives from pugna. 2. Vrontis ZR 106: ὁ μόλος.

3. ἡ ἐμπίλια, Malona. 4. Above, p. 69.

5. Palmer, op. cit. p. 19, n.5, 158 on jupe; cf. E. Weekley, Words ancient and modern, London, 1926, 59ff.

6. "Colla z dolce", Boerio, 736.

7. Cf. Venetian proverb: 'Strenze piu la camisa del zipon' i.e. 'Charity begins at home' (Boerio 122).

8. i.e. camicetta. Ven. voiced s, for It. [s].

as καμουζέττα 'kind of coat', Maritsa: related is καμουζέρα, 'kind of shirt, or singlet', Laerma, Maritsa;[1] which represents another diminutive form (cf. camiciuola). Other garments are the σουρτούκι, 'short overcoat' < Ven. sortu;[2] itself the French word surtout, where the suffix -ούκι has been suggested by other words, e.g. πατατούκα 'overcoat' <patatucco, 'soldier's cape';[3] Yet another kind of overcoat is the type with a hood attached, τὸ καπόττο < capotto.

Other Italian words from the domestic sphere are καράφα, 'large bottle' <caraffa, ταμουρζάνα, 'glass jar in a wicker basket' <damigiana, ντζιάρα, 'jar' < giarra, ἐμπούστα, 'decorative bowl' < busta;[4] λουσέρνα, 'lamp' < Ven. louserna;[5] and ἀρτάνα, 'stone projection from the wall of a house (on which flower pots are put)';[6] which may well derive from the Genoese form artana[7] of It. altana, 'open gallery on the roof of a house'. A curious word is μιζαρόλλι, 'a moment';[8] which derives from Ven. mezarola, 'hour-glass', and hence 'the time (a quarter of an hour) allowed in the tribunal, according to the glass.'[9]

The second striking conclusion to emerge from a survey of the Italian loan-words in the dialect, is the evident historical date of them: there hardly seems

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1. Cf. Papa Gloss 125. 2. Boerio 677.
3. Cf. Kretschmer HLD πατατούκα, 423, σουρτούκου. 426.
4. Cf. Meyer NS IV 63, Menardos PDK 163,
5. Boerio 376. 6. Tsevgas SM 325, Vrontis PSR 26, 33.
7. Meyer NS IV 8. 8. Papa Gloss 196.
9. Boerio 415. See p. 66, and n. 3 there for the Venetian Court in Rhodes.

a single instance of an Italian word that can be said with any certainty to belong to the modern period, to the occupation, that is, of 1912 - 1945. The proof of this is that all the Italian loan-words are found in other parts of Greece where there was, of course, no such occupation by Italians in modern times. This is found to be the case even with words that have a rather modern ring to them: οἱ μαλαφατούρες 'cloths, light drapery', Afandou, occurs in Crete[1]. and κουσουμάρω 'to use, demand (of goods in commerce)' is in Somavera's Dictionary.[2] In fact, both words belong to a period when Italian efficiency in commerce made Italy one of the leaders of Europe in this respect, and it was natural for Italian to supply Greek with special technical terms in this sphere, just as it had in the nautical sphere as well.

One must conclude that the recent Italian administration of Rhodes was too short-lived to produce any effect on the language. Moreover, a growing national consciousness since 1821, and the natural resistance to the efforts made by the Fascist administration to impose Italian from above, helped to preserve the dialect from this last foreign infiltration.[3]

1. Papagregorakis (Bibliography No. 54): μανιφατοῦρα.

2. Meyer NS IV 40.

3. See Introduction, Section 4, p. 5; Naval Intelligence Handbook, Dodecanese, 41 ff.

THE TURKISH ELEMENT

Turks appear in the history of Rhodes long before the last Grand Master, Philippe Villiers de l' Isle Adam, surrendered to the Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent on 22 December, 1522, when the Island became part of the Ottoman Empire.

As early as 1097, the brigand chieftain Chaka, who had set himself up as Emir of Smyrna, gained some sort of foothold on Chios and Rhodes, and equipped his ships there.[1.] Two centuries later, raiders from Asia Minor ravaged the islands of Samos, Rhodes and Carpathos, and depopulated the countryside. To what race these raiders belonged is obscure: Pachymeris[2.] says they were Persians, but a modern authority[3.] states that they were at any rate under Turkish orders. During the subsequent period of the occupation of Rhodes by the Knights of Saint John, incursions and pirate raids continued.

It is unlikely that the dialect of Rhodes bears any traces of Turkish influence dating from this early period of warlike skirmishes. More lasting contacts, and intercourse of a more peaceful kind were surely necessary conditions of

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1. Anna Comnena, XI.5: Τζαχαᾶς...Ταγγριπερμής...αὐτας...τὰς νήσους Χίον τε καὶ Ῥόδον...κατέσχον ληστρικὰς ἐκεῖθεν κατασκευάσαντες ναῦς. For Chaka, see S. Runciman, A History of the Crusades, Vol I esp. 77-8.
2. Pachymeres IV 29 (237) refers to these raiders as τὸ Περσικόν.
3. P.Wittek, The Rise of the Ottoman Empire, 35, who says these raiders owed allegiance to the principality of Menteshe. They were expelled by the Knights.

linguistic borrowing. But such contacts and such intercourse seem to have begun before Rhodes was actually incorporated in the Sultan's Empire.

Towards the end of the period of the Knights, Turkish traders began to bring in carpets and other such articles and commodities of oriental origin, which they exchanged for woollen goods.[1] A certain Jacobus Xaicus, an officer of the Knights, had ingratiated himself with the Turks by learning their language,[2] and acted as a go-between about the year 1480. It must have been at this period, through the agency of such more or less bilingual persons as Xaicus, that spoken Turkish began to have some effect on the Greek spoken on Rhodes.[3] This date - the last two or three decades of the fifteenth century - is supported by the use of a few words of Turkish provenance in the Thanatikon of Georgillas.[4]

Later, after the Turks had seized Rhodes, it was only natural that more Turkish words should have got into the dialect. Moreover, it became the practice, continued up to the end of the Turkish occupation, for farm-workers in Rhodes to emigrate seasonally to Turkey in order to work there. Indeed, this is how the majority of those Rhodians

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1. Fontanus, De Bello Rhodio, I 26: (Turcos) circunseptos (sic) tapetis, bombace (sic) et aliis talibus quae Barbari mutare cum Rhodianis mercatoribus panno laneo solebant.

2. Id. Ibid.:Turcis negotiatoribus, quorum didicerat idioma, unice charus atque acceptus.

3. For the role of bilingual persons in contacts between languages, see U. Weinreich, Languages in Contact, l.l., and App. Sect. 10 below for specific evidence of their agency here.

4. The Thanatikon was written about 1500, i.e. 22 years before Rhodes fell to the Turks. The words are: ἀζάπης (585) 'a bachelor' <Tk azap; ζάρια 'die' (312) <Tk zar; and παπούτζες (585) 'shoes' <Tk pabuç, papuç. Of these words, one is Persian, and one Arabic, but it is assumed that they were known to Georgillas from Turkish.

who spoke or speak Turkish learned the language.[1] During the Turkish occupation, apart from the Turks in the City of Rhodes, and officials and landowners, there were settlements of Turks at Salacos and Kattavia. A few families are still there. There is also a complete Turkish village, Asgourou, a mile or two outside Rhodes on the way to Koskinou.

Besides the words that came into the dialect from these direct contacts with the Turks, some Turkish words may easily have been introduced from other Greek dialects, into which they had passed at an earlier date. The Turkish words in Georgillas may well be of such an origin: he may, for example, have picked them up in Constantinople. As early as the twelfth century, Ioannes Tzetzes[2] complained that he heard Turkish spoken in that city. The first words derived from Turkish sources to occur in Byzantine authors date from this period.

Moravcsik[3] gives a list of these words. Many of them survive in the common spoken Greek of the mainland, and a few, which are perhaps unknown there, are still current in the islands. Most of these words represent special features of Turkish culture, and it is hardly coincidental that they are the same Turkish words as occur in other European languages, including, in some instances, English.

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1. This is the impression one gains from the speakers of Turkish one meets in Rhodes. Cf. Papachristodoulou, TR 222 n.1, where he says that some of the villagers, especially from Sianna, St.Isidore, Apollona, Salakos and Embona, stayed many years in Turkey, and were bilingual when they returned.

2. Chiliades XIII 362-366: οἱ πόλιν γὰρ τὴν ἄνασσαν ναίοντες Κωνσταντίνου | οὐχὶ μιᾶς φωνῆς εἰσὶ καὶ ἔθους ἑνός μόνου | μίξεις γλωσσῶν δὲ περισσῶν, ἄνδρες τῶν πολυκλέπτων | Κρῆτες καὶ Τοῦρκοι, Ἀλανοὶ, Ῥόδιοι τε καὶ Χῖοι, | Ἁπλῶς ἔθνους τοῦ σύμπαντος.

3. Byzantinoturcica II, 305 'Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den Byzantinischen Quellen'. See app.

For these words denoted new objects or institutions, peculiar, as we have said, to the Turks. As happens so frequently in the history of languages, the new and foreign word was introduced with the new object. Thus, these earliest borrowings include titles such as aga and vezir; articles of furniture such as divan and sandik; items of food or drink such as serbet; or military institutions such as saray or sefer. Many of these words had been taken over from Arabic, of course, but insofar as they were propagated by the Ottoman administration, we are considering them as Turkish.

From these few early examples, which were adopted more readily because there were no Greek words for the objects they expressed, the number of Turkish loan-words increased considerably.[1] Eventually, verbs were formed from Turkish roots,[2] Turkish adverbs and adverbial phrases were adopted, even some abstract or conceptual words were adopted, and Greek words occasionally replaced by their Turkish equivalents. This all points to a more than superficial influence. It would seem, too, that special categories were created in the system of nominal declensions to accommodate Turkish loan-words.[3] However, there is no evidence of Turkish influence on the syntax of the dialect, (it is here that Turkish is most

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1. From my own collected material, I identified about three hundred and fifty derivatives from Turkish, not all of which are universally current.

2. See Appendix

3. The masculine nouns in -ές possibly, and the feminines in -έ certainly, as they are all derived from Turkish.

alien from Greek), or on the phonetics. Superficially, it might look as if the palatal and palatoalveolar fricatives (ç) and (ʃ), peculiar to the Greek of the islands had been imitated from Turkish, but the tendency towards palatalisation is much older than this[1], and there is evidence[2] that the Greeks hear the Turkish palatals as affricates.

At the present day the Turkish elements in the vocabulary of the Rhodian dialect are dwindling. Greek words are being reintroduced from the common demotic[3], while other Turkish words are being forgotten as contacts with Turkey diminish[4], or the objects denoted by the words pass out of use[5], the word becoming naturally obsolete as a result.

However, many Turkish words have come to stay, as they have in common Greek, and the dialect would be poorer without them. As will be seen, many expressive and colourful words are due to the Turks, while other words have long and interesting histories, sometimes having returned via Turkish from ancient Greek after distant wandering[6].

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1. M. Grammont, Phonétique du Grec ancien, 26 notes this as one of the two principal tendencies governing the evolution of Greek.

2. See Appendix Sec.4.

3. For example, νυνήγι has replaced ἄβι once current, < Tk av.

4. The younger villagers no longer know Turkish, and even the young Turks of Salacos and Kattavia know only Greek. Turkish is still spoken in the medieval City, and at Asgourou.

5. An example is σεϊμένι < Tk seymen, for which see glossary.

6. ~~A list of these is given in Appendix~~

II

In a summary review of the foreign loan-words in Greek, Hatzidakis[1] confines the Turkish words to two categories: names of dishes and terms of abuse.[2] But the list of Turkish words that passed into the dialect of Rhodes is long, and constitutes an index of the influence of the Ottoman administration on the daily lives of the people that comprises wider domains of experience than the two categories Hatzidakis indicated.

By the time that they reached Rhodes, the Ottoman Turks had acquired some sort of urban culture, possessed some industrial techniques,[3] and from their contacts with Arab civilisation had enriched their language with a number of abstract concepts, some of which they passed on to their own subjects.

In a study[4] of the Turkish loan-words in Balkan languages, P. Skok has shewn how these words are related to the '<u>urbanisme orientale</u>'[5] that the Turks introduced to the Balkans. Skok listed the words in groups under different headings, and it will be convenient to consider the Turkish culture words in the dialect of Rhodes under similar headings.

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1. G. Hatzidakis, Σύντομος ἱστορία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης 29-30.

2. G. Hatzidakis, op.cit. 30: τὰς (λέξεις) τῶν φαγητῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν ὕβρεων Τουρκικάς...

3. For the early appearence of urban elements, and particularly of industrial guilds (<u>akhi</u>) in the Ottoman State, see Wittek, <u>Ottoman Empire</u>, 42.

4. 'Restes de la langue turque dans les Balkans' in <u>Revue internationale des études balkaniques</u> II (1935) 247-260.

5. Skok, op.cit., 252.

Administration. The Ottoman administration introduced a number of words which disappeared for the most part when the Italian authorities took over the Dodekanese in 1912. Some of the older villagers still refer to the Governor's Palace (itself a building of the Fascist period, modelled on the Doge's Palace at Venice) as τὸ κονάκι < konak, 'government house', and a tax-collecter may still be called a σούπασης < subaşı.[1] The word πασκίνι 'a sudden search of a house' < baskın recalls a feature of Ottoman rule familiar to other former subjects of the Ottoman Empire.[2]

Technical legal terms are reflected in ὁ μουραφάς[3] 'assessor, one who reconciles or achieves a settlement' < murafaa 'recourse to a court for settlement', and in ὁ μουχλούζης (sic, see App. below, section 7) 'one who is bad at paying' <müflis, 'bankrupt'.[4]

Crafts. The vocabulary of building and crafts is heavily supplemented from Turkish. This does not necessarily prove that Turkish artisans settled in Rhodes in any numbers, bringing new techniques with them. It is just as likely that the Greek craftsmen of Rhodes deliberately adopted the foreign words, in order to create a special jargon inaccessible to laymen. For these particular words are not universally known, their use being confined to the actual practitioners of the particular crafts.

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1. Vrontis ZR 122. The word is obsolescent.
2. The related verb is παστίζω < basmak: cf. Papa Gloss 242 ἐπαστίσασι τὸ σπίτι γιὰ καπνό. A derivative in Bulgarian is recorded by Miklosich 21.
3. Papa Gloss 203: = συμβιβαστής, ἐκτιμιστής. 'ἐκάμαν τους μουραφάες' 'τους συμβιβάσαν'.
4. Papa Gloss 204: ὁ μουχλούζης καὶ ὁ ταμαχκιάρης εὔκολα ταιριάζουσιν. Ταμαχκιάρης, 'insatiable, avaricious' (tamahkar.)

As examples of words in this class may be cited ὁ κουππές in the special sense of 'dome of a charcoal-burner's furnace' < kubbe (the general sense of 'dome' is widespread in Greek) and ὁ βινιάς 'a wall surrounding a field' < bina, in the domain of building. In the vocabulary of artisans, the names of many tools are borrowed from Turkish: ὁ ζουμπάς 'a punch, drill' < zımba, and ὁ χαβιάς 'soldering iron' < havya. In τὸ καϊνάκι 'welding' < kaynak, the word may well have been introduced together with the process it denotes.

Domestic life. In the domestic sphere the borrowings were many, and they represent some of the most characteristic features of Turkish culture: τὸ δικλούκι 'cupboard' < yüklük, τὸ σινί 'low, round table' < sini, τὸ χρέμι (sic) 'rug' < ihram, are some of the furnishings that the Ottomans introduced. Culinary utensils often have Turkish names, the word here, too, being adopted together with the object: τὸ ἀμπρίκι 'water-pot with a spout' < ibrik, and ὁ ντζεζβές 'coffee pot' <cezve. Likewise, the dishes that were innovations retained their Turkish names: for example, ὁ τσουβράς 'boiled rice' <çorba 'a kind of soup'.

Clothes. Some Turkish fashions still survive, though naturally for the most part only with older persons, - for example, the apparently unpractical baggy trousers that may have originated with the Scythians. Their present-day name, σαλουβάρι is derived from a Persian word, şalvar in its Turkish form. What is apparently the same word is recorded in ancient Greek[1] in the plural form τὰ σαράβαρα 'loose trousers worn by Scythians'.

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1. Antiphon in Pollux VII, 59. Versions of the word are found in Aramaic and Persian (Liddell and Scott s.v.), so that it would not be easy to fix its precise origin. See also Maidhof RIS 17.

Other Turkish garments are too elaborate for modern taste, although they may occasionally survive through their association with special occasions to which they are appropriate, as a kind of formal, if not fancy dress. Thus, an embroidered headchief worn at weddings is called ὁ τσεβρές < <u>çevre</u>,[1] though the elaborately embroidered waistcoat known as τὸ σεϊμένι[2] seems to be a thing of the past. A humbler object is a kind of slipper which derives its name from its supposed ultimate place of origin: τὸ γιεμενί < <u>Yemen</u>.

<u>Agriculture</u>. The Turkish influence extends also to the vocabulary of agriculture, as the common word λεσπέρης 'a farmer' < <u>rençper</u>, for example, shows. Sometimes a word with a vaguer meaning in the original language has been given a specifically agricultural nuance by the people of Rhodes: τὸ ἀζάττι 'unrestricted grazing' < <u>azat</u> 'free'. (This is originally a Persian word, with a previous history as a loanword in Greek before the Turkish period.[3]) Likewise, <u>bilmez</u> 'ignorant' has given rise to a word used only in the technical language of bee-keepers, βουλμέδες, which Vrontis[4] defines as νόθα ἀσμάρια μέλισσες.

The names of many agricultural implements are Turkish: τὸ κιλούγκι 'mattock' < <u>külünk</u>, and ὁ καζμάς 'pick-axe' < <u>kazma</u> are examples, taken from a list of a dozen.

<u>Placenames</u>. Although it was not the Ottoman policy to change the names of places, there are some Turkish place-names,

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1. Vrontis RG 25.
2. See glossary s.v.
3. Hesychius s.v. ἀζάτη (= ἐλευθερία).
4. Vrontis MM 204.

derived either from the proper names of Turks established in these places as owners or farmers, or from Turkish words current in the everyday speech of the people.[1]

Thus the word kızıl 'red' features in a number of names;[2] and other spots are very naturally called 'the spring' (τὸ βουνάρι <puner), or 'the fountain' (ὁ τσεσουμές < çeşme, also a favourite name for places on the Turkish mainland itself.)

Named after a person is the spot near Sianna referred to in conversation as στοῦ Νοχουτλή,[3] from the name Nohutlu, given in the first place to a man with a lump or mark like a chick-pea, nohut, on his face - a Turkish Cicero, in fact.

Words other then culture words. The influx of Turkish words into the vocabulary, however, is not confined to culture words denoting material objects. A number of general concepts, including even abstract expressions, have also found their way in. Particularly striking are the many verbs and adjectives that may be included here. Even such basic concepts as 'to begin' and 'to finish' are sometimes expressed by Turkish words: πουλαστίζω < başlamak, and πιττίζω < bitmek, respectively. But it is to be noted that the ordinary Greek words have not been ousted. Indeed, it is not always easy to see why the Turkish word was ever adopted Perhaps the cause is the instinctive search for novelty, as being more forceful or expressive, particularly in the use of verbs.

The same desire to add to the affective element in the vocabulary is seen in the epithets adopted from Turkish.

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1. Papa TR 221. 2. Papa TR 222. 3. Papa TR 216.

It is remarkable how nearly all of them are dispareging, indicating moral, physical or intellectual deficiency. From a long list, we may instance ναμουκιόρης (sic, see App VI section 9) 'ungrateful' <nankör, κέλης 'bald' <kel, ἀχουμάκης (sic, see App VI section 8) 'feeble minded, or of weak character' <ahmak, and ἀρσίζης 'unruly' <arsız.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the loan-words are certain abstract concepts, chiefly in the sphere of social life, personal relationships, and even private emotions. In so intimate a part of the vocabulary this invasion is particularly striking, especially as the Greek language is so well provided with expressions in this category.

As examples may be mentioned τὰ σιναλίκια 'close personal relationship' <asınalık, ὁ ρεφενές 'a kind of picnic to which each person makes a contribution' < arifane, τὸ χούϊ 'a (bad) habit or characteristic' < huy, τὸ τέρτι 'sorrow' < dert, ἡ σάπρη 'patience' < sabır, and σικίρδισις 'annoyance, embarrassment' <sıkıntı.

The native word, however, often survives side by side with the intruder, and it cannot be said that the dialect has been impoverished by Turkish influence in this sphere. Sometimes an ancient Greek word has returned through the medium of Turkish, having acquired a new meaning as well as a new form.

Thus the expressive word ναμούσι is well established in Rhodes with the meaning 'sense of decency, amour propre! Derived immediately from the Turkish namus, it probably goes back through Arabic to the ancient Greek νόμος. The word παλάφρα 'nonsense' has an even more chequered history. It is the Judaeo-Hispanic word palavra, which has also been taken into Turkish. Through Old Spanish and Low Latin, it

derives ultimately from ancient Greek παραβολή.[1]. In Rhodes it is interesting to note that the word has acquired a similar meaning to the English word 'palaver', which, through the medium of Spanish or Portugese, also derives from παραβολή.

1. Meidhof p.15 gives the details.

APPENDIX IV

Moravcsik, Sprachreste, II 305 gives a list of just over one hundred Turkish words, and a few phrases of Turkish, which occur in Byzantine writers. The earliest of these words date from the twelfth century.

Below are listed twenty-four of the most common of these words, many of which survive in common Greek, or have given derivatives to other European languages:

ἀγᾶς	μουσούριον
ἀζάπιδες	ὀντάδες
ἀμιρᾶς	παζάρι
ἀτζάμιδες	πασιᾶς
βεζίρης	σαράγιον
γαζῆς	σεντούκη
γενίτζαροι	σερμπέτι
δερβίσης	σεφέρι
διβάνη	σουλτάνος
ζάρι	σούμπασις
καδίς	τζαμί
μαγαζιά	τουφέκιον

Appendix V

Verbs from Turkish.

1. **Verbs derived from Turkish verbs.** The majority of these in the dialect are taken from the past definite of Turkish verbs in -d- (-t-), as they are in common demotic Greek (MNE I303), and in other Balkan languages (Sandfeld 90).

Examples are: πεγεντίζω 'honour', < beğendi, past tense of beğenmek; and τοναττίζω 'furnish a house', < donattı, past tense of donatmak.

Such verbs usually have the -ίζω suffix, but sometimes a present tense in -ῶ has been formed from the aorist in -ισα as in ταγιαντῶ 'suffer, endure' < dayanmak; and κατσιρδῶ 'escape', < kaçırmak.

A deponent has been formed in σακη'ιντίζομαι (ἐ\ς σακη'ιντίζεται καθέλου 'he takes no care', Papa Gloss 275) from sakınmak, 'take care of oneself.' The verb is already reflexive in Turkish, as the -in suffix indicates (Redhouse G 98, Lewis 137.2). In the Greek word, the form has perhaps been influenced by νοιάζομαι.

Of Greek verbs from Turkish verbs, only one was recorded in -εύγω: κιοτσεύω'sink (of ground)' <cökmek. Hatzidakis MNE I 303 gives examples from other dialects, and notes that this is the usual termination for the Turkish verb in Pontic Greek.

2. **Verbs derived from Turkish words in the dialect.** Such verbs show the normal variety of suffix of verbs formed from other parts of speech.

Examples are: γιαττανιάζω 'take animals to a sleeping place',<γιαττάνι < yatak; ρσιζεύγω 'be unruly', <ἀρσίζης adj. <arsız; μερεμεττ'ίζω 'mend',

<τὸ μερεμέττ'ι <meremet; and καζουκώννω 'impale' <τὸ καζίκι <kazık.

3. Participial formations. A few words are formed on the analogy of past participles, without apparently being based on verbs existing in the dialect.

Thus ζορεμένος <zor, and σικιρδισμένος <sıkıntı both mean 'in difficulties', and are on the analogy of Greek στενοχωρεμένος. There are no corresponding verbs. τερτιασμένος 'sickly', <dert is recorded by Vrontis RG 44, but the verb *τερτιάζω is not found.

Appendix VI

The phonetic assimilation of Turkish words

1. Vowels. There are eight vowel phonemes in Turkish (Lewis 36-9, Voegelin Ellinghausen l.l), and five in Greek (Pring 11.), so that when a Turkish word contains a vowel to which there is no exactly corresponding Greek vowel, the nearest Greek vowel is substituted. There is no example of a vowel sound peculiar to Turkish being taken over into the Greek spoken in Rhodes, as has happened in some of the Asia Minor dialects (Dawkins MGAM 42§9, Silli;67-8§70, Cappadocia.)

2. Thus Turkish ı and ü become [i] or [u]:

çifit >τσιφούττης ; bütün >πιττούνικος

The Turkish low rounded front vowel o is variously rendered:

bölük >Μπουλούκι; nöbet >νεπέττι ;söğüt >σαούττα and şöyleböyle >σαλέϊ-μαλέϊ.

3. Consonants. Turkish f, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, y, and z remain unchanged, except that t, k and p are sometimes aspirated, though not by all speakers, and in some words t, p and l are doubled:

şerbet >σερεπέττ'ι ; lop >λόππ'ι

tel >τέλλι ; azat >ἀζάττι

4. Of the remaining consonants, b and d are sometimes unvoiced, especially initially:

bahar >παχάρι ; buz >πούζι ; dere >τερές and çadir >τσατίρι.

d is rendered by δ in σιφίρδισις <*σιφιρδισις <sikinti and καδής< kadi

Turkish c (like English j in judge) is sometimes rendered by z :

borcu >πόρζι; camus>ζαμούσικο;
and celep >ζελέπης.

ç is rendered by [ts]:
çakı>τσακκί;
or by [k'] (κι)
çökmek >κιοτσεύγω.

g initially is rendered by [k]
götürü >κουτουρού; gelberi >κελβερί.

ş is rendered by [s]
şamata >σαματάς; şilte >σιρτές.
or by [χ']
şahin >χ'αχίνι.

5. Intervocalic fricatives. They are frequently dropped, as they are already in Turkish (Lewis 17).

Intervocalic v is lost in
kavuk>καούκα; kılavuz>κολαούζος.
(The form Κολαούζης (proper name) occurs in the fourteenth century Byzantine Chronicle of John Kantakuzene, I356, 24.)

Intervocalic v is preserved in
hava >χαβάσι; tava>ταβάς.

Intervocalic ğ is lost in
lağım>λαούμι;
but preserved in
beğenmek>πεγεντίζω; zağar >ζαγαράκι.

Intervocalic y is lost in
kayısı >καίσι; seyir >σείρι;
but preserved in
dayanmak >ταγιαντίζω; kaya >καγιάς.

6. Consonant groups. Certain clusters of consonants are not normally found in modern Greek, and so when they occur in Turkish loan-words, are rendered by different clusters in the dialect of Rhodes. (v.MNE I 164-5 for the groups

of consonants which occur in modern and ancient Greek. Cf. also N.S. Trubetzkoy, 'Grundzüge der Phonologie' in TCLP VII (1939) 219-20).

7. Groups with l.

sl, şl becomes [stl]:

Aslan >'Αστλάνης; beslemek >πεστλεμές; and beşlik >πεστλίκι.

şl becomes [stul]:

kuşluk >κουστουλούκι.

bl becomes [pul]:

Trablus >ταραπουλουσένος.

fl becomes [χl]:

müflis >μουχλούζης.

nl becomes [nn]:

kanlı dere >Καννιτερές (Topon.).

vl becomes [vr]:

tavlamak >ταβραντίζω

(though [vl] occurs in βλαστάρι κ.τ.λ.

ld becomes [rd]; and lt, [rt]:

kaldı >κάρ ι; kahvaltı >καφαρτί; şilte >σιρτές,

lg becomes [rg] (rγ); and lk, [rk]:

bulgur >πιργούρι; belki >μπερκί; mülk >Μούρκι (Topon.).

lv becomes [luv]:

selvi >σελουβί; şalvar >σαλουβάρι.

8. Groups with m.

çm, hm, km, şm, and tm all insert u between the two consonants:

saçma >τζατζουμάς; ahmak >άχουμάκης;

çakmak >τσακουμόπετρα; çeşme >τσεσουμές;

and katmer >κατουμάρι.

mr becomes [mbr]: tomruk >τουμπρούκι.

9. Groups with n.

ngp becomes [sp] in rençper > λεσπέρης.
nk becomes [muk] in nankör >ναμουκιόρης;
but remains unchanged in külünk >κιλούγκι.

10. The stress accent. Most Turkish words have what is said to be a tonic accent on the last syllable, but Hony notes a number of exceptions. However, these exceptions, when they occur in the Greek of Rhodes, tend to conform to the more general rule. Thus

fúta >φουτάς; menékşe >μελεξές;
zímba >ζουμπάς;
but paçávra >πατσαούρα.

One may suggest a reason for this. Since these words passed into the dialect from their use by Greeks who had learned Turkish, they may have been pronounced according to the general rule, through imperfect knowledge, in the same way that English speakers of Italian may be heard to pronounce every word with the stress on the penultimate syllable[1], as if the exceptions to this rule were not numerous.

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1. I have even heard an Englishman correct an Italian waiter's pronunciation of fegato, putting the accent on the penultimate syllable, immediately after he had heard it from the waiter with the stress on the first syllable.

ARABIC WORDS

'Les Arabes' - remarks Tsopanakis[1]. - 'ne sont restés a Rhodes que quelques dixaines d'années et n'y ont pas laissé des traces linguistiques dignes de mention.' The reference is presumably to Arab raids on Rhodes in the seventh and ninth centuries[2].

Nevertheless, a few words derived immediately from Arabic are current in the dialect, apart from the words of Arabic origin which were adopted through the medium of the Italian dialects or through Turkish[3]. It would be a mistake to ascribe these words to the Arab raiders mentioned above. They are culture words which have come into the dialect through Arabic-speaking Greeks[4] or Jews[5]. Of the latter there was a large colony in Rhodes up to the time of the German occupation.

These words are recorded here for their intrinsic historical interest, and for the sake of completeness.

In three villages (Afandou, Malona, Maritsa) the current word for 'water-melon' is ἡ πατίχα < baṭṭikh[6].

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1. Essai XXIX.

2. Torr, Rhodes in modern times, 2.

3. The vocabulary of Turkish, of course, is heavily supplemented with Arabic words. ζιπούνι <Ven, zipon, and ντζιάρα < It. giarra are ultimately Arabic loan-words.

4. There are a few Greeks now in Rhodes who speak Arabic, but a likelier source is another dialect, e.g. Cypriot. Hatzijoannou 61 records πατίχα for his native Cyprus.

5. See on ναμουσία below.

6. بطيخ A word from colloquial Arabic. Vrontis MM 199 records ἡ πατιχιά for 'water-melon plant'.

Vrontis[1] records that the term καφίζι (τό) is still used in Rhodes to denote a dry measure, equivalent to ⅛ kilo or three okas. This term was current in Rhodes at the time of the Knights, who may well have introduced it. Torr[2] states that eight καφίζια equalled one moggio. The word occurs in other islands besides Rhodes.[3] Dawkins[4] shows that the measure was also used in Spain and Sicily in the middle ages. Its original value seems to have been greater,[5] but in the Arab system it was the eighth part of another measure, and it is the meaning of 'eighth part' which has been preserved.

This would appear to be an ancient Semitic word, and it is almost certainly the same word as the ancient καπίθη, a word Xenophon[6] picked up in Persia, where kafiz survived to modern times.[7]

Finally, there is the word ἡ ναμουσία[8] or ἀναμουσία[9] 'mosquito net'.

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1. ZR 122.

2. Op. cit. 48.

3. Meyer NS IV 35.

4. Makhairas II 127.

5. See H. Doursther, Dictionnaire universel des poids et mesures anciens et modernes, (Brussels 1840) 88 s.v. caphiz.

6. Anabasis I v 6: καπίθη ἀλεύρων ἡ ἀλφίτων...ἡ δὲ καπίθη δυὸ χοίνικας Ἀττικὰς ἐχώρει.

7. Johnson s.v. The same authority spells the Arabic word قفيز (with a qaaf). It is not clear if the word is Semitic or Persian. Its presence in the Persian of Xenophon's day does not disprove a Semitic origin.

8. Tsopanakis 100. He is wrong in supposing the ν- is a Rhodian addition.

9. Vrontis PSR 19. Also the form at Malona. This word is also current in Cyprus: Sakellariou, II 876.

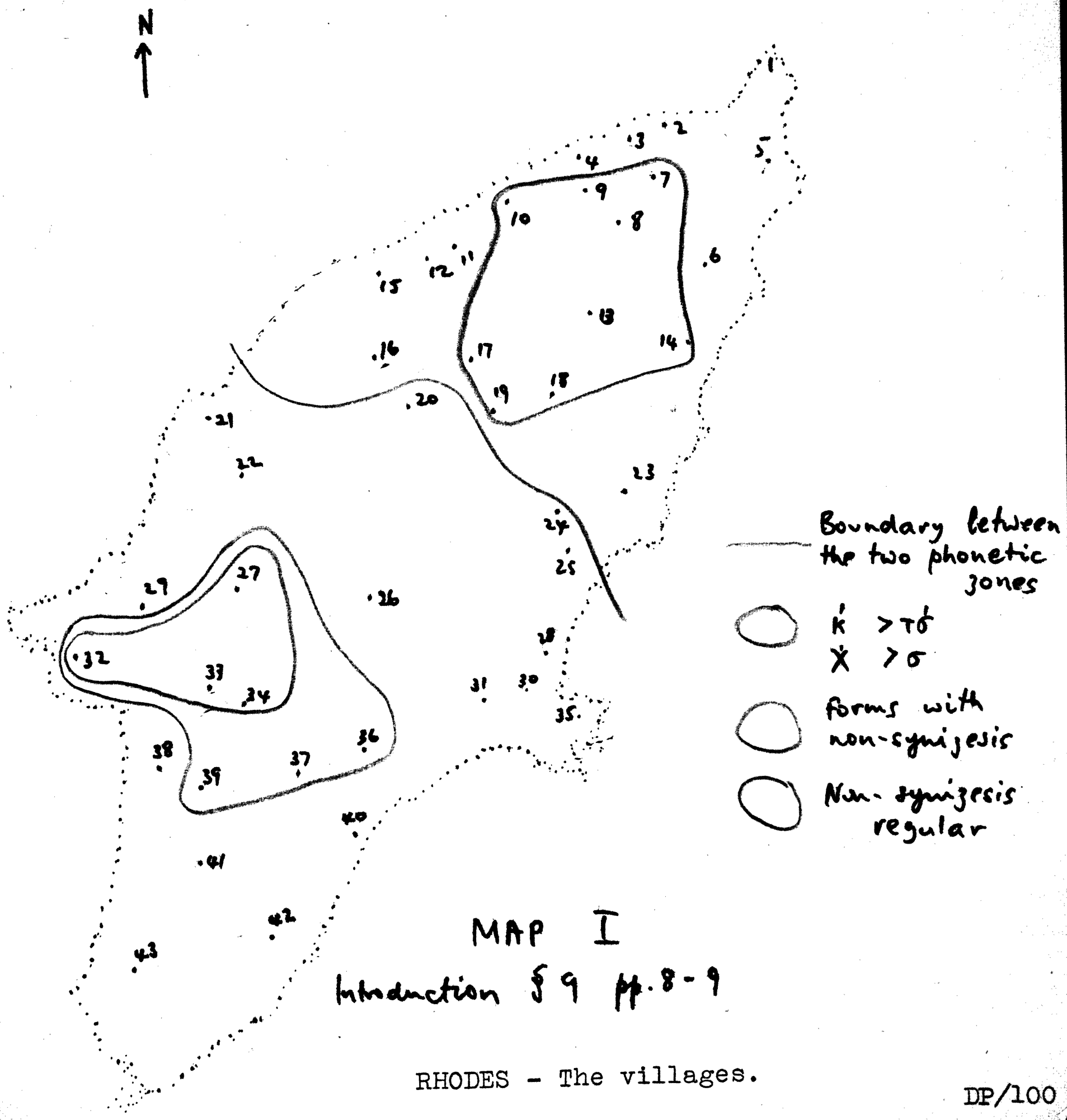
This is the Arabic <u>namusiya</u>.[1] In a recent study[2] Cynthia Crews has shown that <u>namosia</u> 'mosquito-net' is a word in the vocabulary of the Judaeo-Spanish of the Levant. This being so, it seems most likely that the Jews in Rhodes, who carried on a great deal of the trade in the Old Town before the war of 1939, introduced this word into the dialect, perhaps together with the article it denotes.

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1. ناموسية Wehr, s.v.= '<u>Moskitonetz</u>'.

2. 'Some Arabic and Hebrew words in Oriental Judaeo-Spanish' <u>Vox Romanica</u>, XIV, 1955, 308.

1. ἡ Χώρα 2. Τριάντα 3. Κρεμμαστή 4. Παραδείσι 5. Κοσκινού
6. Καλλυθιές 7. Παστίδα 8. Μαριτσά 9. Δαματριά 10. Θολός
11. Σορωνή 12. Φάνες 13. Ψίθθος 14. 'Αφάντου 15. Καλαβάρδα
16. Σάλακος 17. Διμυλιά 18. 'Αρχίπολις 19. Πλαταάνια
20. 'Απόλλωνα 21. Κριτινιά 22. Ἔμπωνα 23. 'Αρχάγγελος
24. Μαλώνα 25. Μάσαρη 26. Λάερμα 27. Ἅγιος 'Ισίδωρος
28. Κάλαθος 29. Σιάννα 30. Πυλώνα 31. Λάρδος 32. Μονόλιθος
33. Ἴστριος 34. Προφύλια 35. Λίνδος 36. 'Ασκλειπιό
37. Βάτι 38. 'Απολακκιά 39. 'Αρνίθθα 40. Γιαννάδι
41. Μεσαναγρός 42. Λαχανιά 43. Κατταβιά.



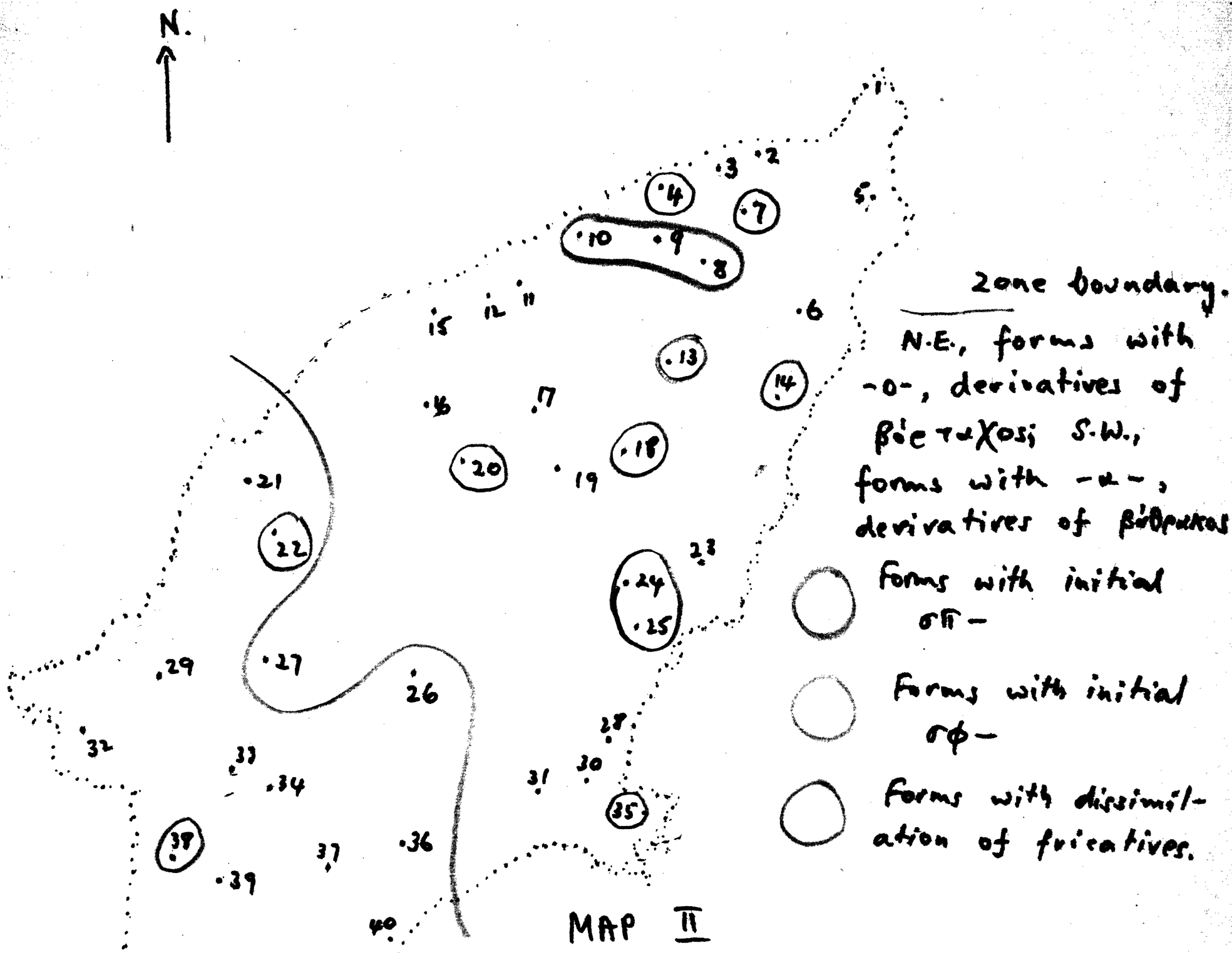
MAP I

Introduction § 9 pp. 8-9

RHODES - The villages.

DP/100

1. ἡ Χώρα 2. Τριάντα 3. Κρεμμαστή 4. Παραδείσι 5. Κοσκινοῦ
6. Καλλυθιές 7. Παστίδα 8. Μαριτσά 9. Δαματριά 10. Θολός
11. Σορωνή 12. Φάνες 13. Ψίθθος 14. Ἀφάντου 15. Καλαβάρδα
16. Σάλακος 17. Δίμυλιά 18. Ἀρχίπολις 19. Πλαταάνια
20. Ἀπόλλωνα 21. Κριτινιά 22. Ἔμπωνα 23. Ἀρχάγγελος
24. Μαλώνα 25. Μάσαρη 26. Λάερμα 27. Ἅγιος Ἰσίδωρος
28. Κάλαθος 29. Σιάννα 30. Πυλώνα 31. Λάρδος 32. Μονόλιθος
33. Ἴστριος 34. Προφύλια 35. Λίνδος 36. Ἀσκλειπιό
37. Βάτι 38. Ἀπολακκιά 39. Ἀρνίθθα 40. Γιαννάδι
41. Μεσαναγρός 42. Λαχανιά 43. Κατταβιά.



MAP II
Words denoting 'frog'
Introduction §11 a p. 10
Appx. I pp. 31-37

RHODES - The villages.

DP/100

1. ἡ Χώρα 2. Τριάντα 3. Κρεμμαστή 4. Παραδείσι 5. Κοσκινοῦ
6. Καλλυθιές 7. Παστίδα 8. Μαριτσά 9. Δαματριά 10. Θολός
11. Σορωνή 12. Φάνες 13. Ψίθθος 14. Ἀφάντου 15. Καλαβάρδα
16. Σάλακος 17. Διμυλιά 18. Ἀρχίπολις 19. Πλαταάνια
20. Ἀπόλλωνα 21. Κριτινιά 22. Ἔμπωνα 23. Ἀρχάγγελος
24. Μαλώνα 25. Μάσαρη 26. Λάερμα 27. Ἅγιος Ἰσίδωρος
28. Κάλαθος 29. Σιάννα 30. Πυλώνα 31. Λάρδος 32. Μονόλιθος
33. Ἴστριος 34. Προφύλια 35. Λίνδος 36. Ἀσκληπιό
37. Βάτι 38. Ἀπολακκιά 39. Ἀρνίθθα 40. Γιαννάδι
41. Μεσαναγρός 42. Λαχανιά 43. Κατταβιά.

N



Χολέντρα N. of this line

Χολέτρα

Derivatives of νεραχύτης

χύτης

Καταχύτης

Alternative forms.

MAP III

Words for 'gutter-pipe'

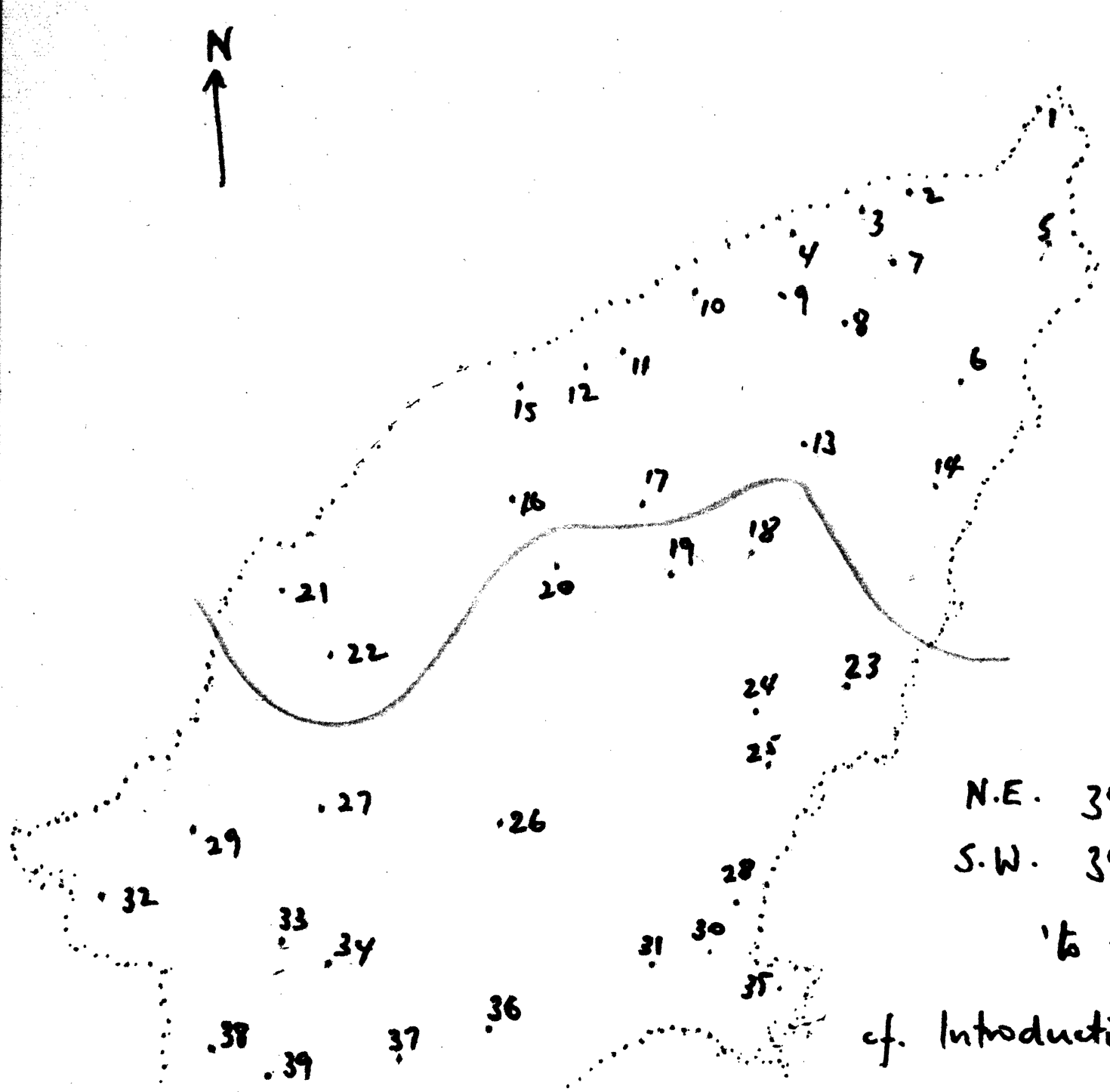
Introduction §11 b. p. 10;

Appx. II pp. 38 - 40.

RHODES - The villages.

DP/100

1. ἡ Χώρα 2. Τριάντα 3. Κρεμμαστή 4. Παραδείσι 5. Κοσκινοῦ
6. Καλλυθιές 7. Παστίδα 8. Μαριτσά 9. Δαματριά 10. Θολός
11. Σορωνή 12. Φάνες 13. Ψίθθος 14. 'Αφάντου 15. Καλαβάρδα
16. Σάλακος 17. Διμυλιά 18. 'Αρχίπολις 19. Πλαταάνια
20. 'Απόλλωνα 21. Κριτινιά 22. Ἔμπωνα 23. 'Αρχάγγελος
24. Μαλώνα 25. Μάσαρη 26. Λάερμα 27. Ἅγιος 'Ισίδωρος
28. Κάλαθος 29. Σιάννα 30. Πυλώνα 31. Λάρδος 32. Μονόλιθος
33. Ἴστριος 34. Προφύλια 35. Λίνδος 36. 'Ασκλειπιό
37. Βάτι 38. 'Απολακκιά 39. 'Αρνίθθα 40. Γιαννάδι
41. Μεσαναγρός 42. Λαχανιά 43. Κατταβιά.



N.E. zone = πέφτω
S.W. zone = θέχνω
'to lie down'.

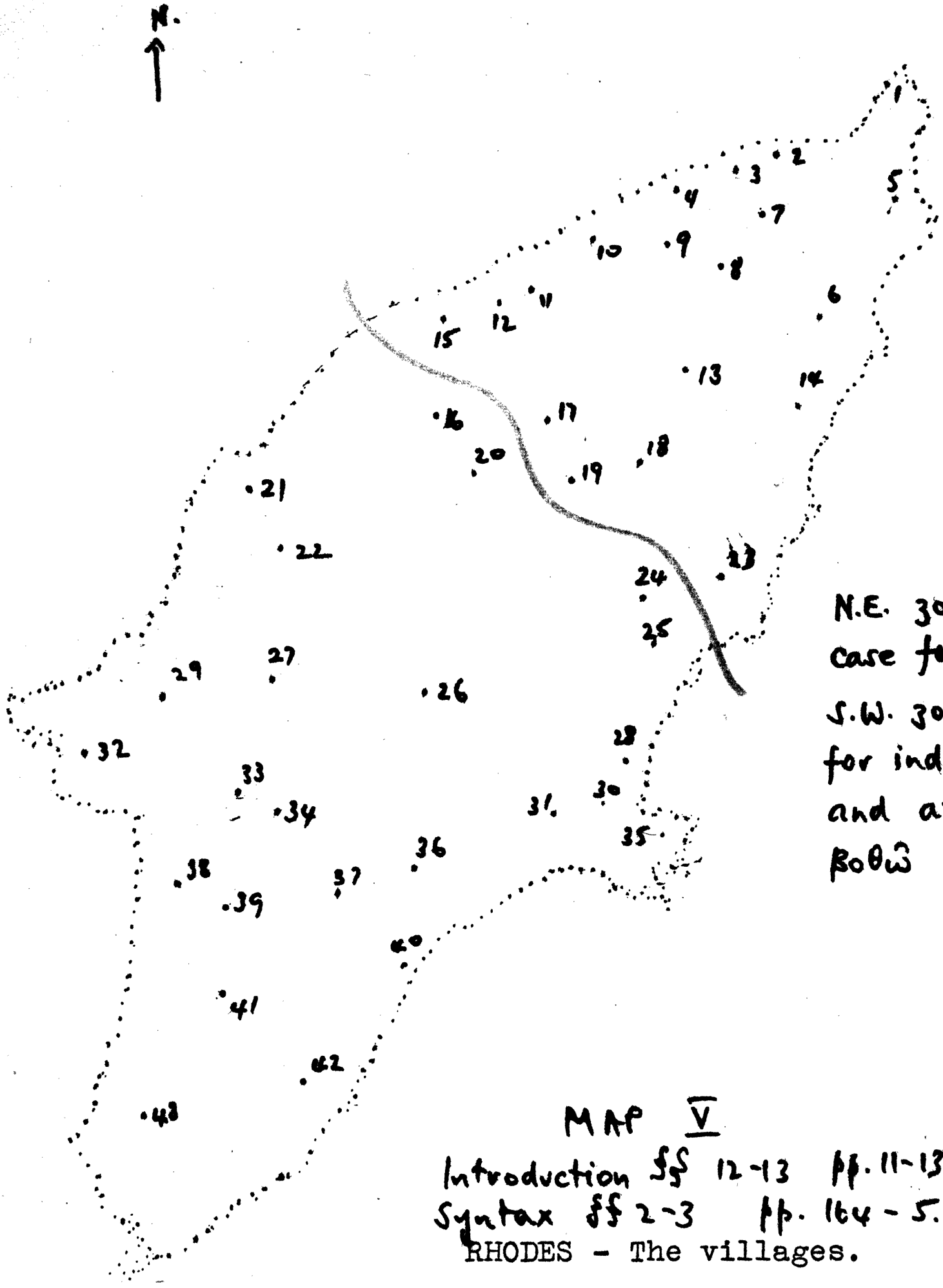
cf. Introduction §11c pp.10-11

MAP IV

RHODES - The villages.

DP/100

1. ἡ Χώρα 2. Τριάντα 3. Κρεμμαστή 4. Παραδείσι 5. Κοσκινοῦ
6. Καλλυθιές 7. Παστίδα 8. Μαριτσά 9. Δαματριά 10. Θολός
11. Σορωνή 12. Φάνες 13. Ψίθθος 14. Ἀφάντου 15. Καλαβάρδα
16. Σάλακος 17. Διμυλιά 18. Ἀρχίπολις 19. Πλαταάνια
20. Ἀπόλλωνα 21. Κριτινιά 22. Ἔμπωνα 23. Ἀρχάγγελος
24. Μαλώνα 25. Μάσαρη 26. Λάερμα 27. Ἅγιος Ἰσίδωρος
28. Κάλαθος 29. Σιάννα 30. Πυλώνα 31. Λάρδος 32. Μονόλιθος
33. Ἴστριος 34. Προφύλια 35. Λίνδος 36. Ἀσκλειπιό
37. Βάτι 38. Ἀπολακκιά 39. Ἀρνίθθα 40. Γιαννάδι
41. Μεσαναγρός 42. Λαχανιά 43. Κατταβιά.



N.E. zone: accusative case for indirect object.

S.W. zone: genitive case for indirect object, and after πιστεύω, βοθῶ etc.

MAP V

Introduction §§ 12-13 pp. 11-13
Syntax §§ 2-3 pp. 164-5.

RHODES - The villages.