

GREEK LOAN - WORDS IN MODERN BULGARIAN*

In this book, Mrs. Filipova-Bairova summarizes what has been written to date on Greek loan words in Bulgarian and now gives us a considerably fuller picture of the linguistic influence of the Greek on the Bulgarian language from the point when the two peoples first encountered one another in history, and their destinies became intertwined, although as neighbours they were more often enemies or rivals than friends.

As she explains in the introduction, the author examines the Greek loan-words from a phonetic, morphological and semantic point of view and at the end she appends a list of all the loan-words in alphabetical order; this will be referred to in this review as the Glossary.

The book thus comprises two major sections: Part I, consisting of nine chapters, which I shall now consider, and Part II, consisting of the Glossary.

Chapter one: *A short historical survey of works published to date on Greek loan-words in Bulgarian.*

The author here deals chronologically with all publications to date by both Bulgarian and other European scholars, dealing with research into Greek loan-words in Bulgarian. The publications are discussed from the point of view of their content and their general scholarly value. Among works treated are those of F. Miklosich, D. Matov, J. Šišmanov, M. Vasmer, J. Popović, V. Conev, S. Mladenov, S. Romanski, P. Scorčev, V. Beschewlièv, V. Georgiev and M. Filipova - Bairova.

Among recent publications, the author mentions as particularly important N. P. Andriotes, *Tà èλληνικά στοιχεία τῆς Βουλγαρικῆς γλώσσης (ἀρχεῖον τοῦ Θρακικοῦ λαογραφικοῦ καὶ γλωσσικοῦ θησαυροῦ* 6, 1952, 33-188). She describes it as «full and exhaustive», and also cites A. Milev's review of it in a Bulgarian linguistic periodical.

It is worth mentioning here that Andriotes in this book criticizes Bulgarian scholars in that, while they are best equipped to tackle such a subject, their writings are meagre, because the subject has apparently been «highly repulsive» to them (Andriotes, p. 44). Andriotes goes on to criticize the fo-

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reign Slavists for being chiefly concerned with Greek elements in early Bulgarian; in other words with the educated, literary and ecclesiastical language of all the Orthodox Slavs.

Finally, the author mentions another book of Andriotes', of a rather different kind: *Τὸ ὁμόσπονδο Κράτος τῶν Σκοπίων καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα του*. (*The Federal State of Skopje and its language*), which has been translated into both English and German.

Chapter two: *The causes and means of Greek loan-words' penetrating into the Bulgarian language.*

This chapter deals with the appearance of the Bulgars in the Eastern Balkans during the sixth century of our era, in areas where the inhabitants spoke Greek, and with the subsequent relations between the immigrants and the Byzantine Empire. The author then goes on to stress the cultural influence of the Byzantine Empire, which, she maintains, was the first occasion for Greek words to come into Bulgarian. After the Bulgarian state was founded around A. D. 680, Bulgarian - Byzantine relations still continued, together with the linguistic influence of Greek, particularly now that this language was established as the official, written language of the Bulgarian state, and the so-called Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions of the eighth century were written in Greek.

In the ninth century, the Bulgarians embraced Christianity, thus opening new avenues for a fresh incursion of Greek loan-words into Bulgarian.

In the eleventh century (from 1018 until 1186), the Bulgarians became subject to Byzantium, and the governmental administration afforded a new opportunity for words to be borrowed. This incursion of loan-words did not stop when the Bulgarians became free of Byzantium nor even when the Bulgarians became subject to the Turks; for about five hundred years, Greeks and Bulgarians lived together in the Ottoman Empire without being distinguished or separated.

Throughout these periods, Greek words gradually came into the life of the Bulgarians, penetrating their homes, their kitchens, their occupations and their family life, and are still in use today (e.g. *dilav* = διλάβιον, *moliv* = μολύβι[ον], *pirosthia* = πυροστιά, *prioni* = πριόνι, *stamna* = στάμνα, *hora* = χώρα, ἄνθρωποι, *ela* = ἔλα).

Finally, the author mentions Greek scientific terminology, which, via Latin, spread all over Europe and into every language, thus reaching Bulgaria as well (e.g. *akustika*, *ameba*, *aphasia*, *gramatika*, *physika*.)

She points out that while these words are of Greek origin, they should not be understood as Greek loan-words. Therefor she does not include them in her work.

Again, certain words came into Bulgarian via Turkish (e.g. *anason* ἀνίσον, *giubre* κοπριά, turkish *gübre*, *kalem* καλάμι, *legen* λεκάνη, turkish *leğem*, *magdanos* μακεδονήσι, μαϊδανός, turkish *magdanoz*, etc.). These words, however, have foreign vowel characteristics and cannot be regarded as Greek loan-words. She does not include them in her work too.

Chapter three: *Foreign words which entered Bulgarian via Greek*. These words are, in the writer's view;

a) Latin, e.g. *vula*, *vigla*, *kelar*, *kukla*, *palat*, *spanak*, *tufa*, *funda* et al.

b) Italian. The question of Italian loan-words in Bulgarian has been examined by a large number of Bulgarian scholars, including Mladenov, Skorčev, Spasova, Bankov et al.

Bankov, in his study of the history of Greek loan-words in Bulgarian maintains that a large number of Italian loan-words came into Bulgarian via Modern Greek, brought by Greek traders who had connections with the Venetians and Genoese. These include commercial terms, such as *καπάρο*, *καπιτάλι*, *πόλιτζα*, *πόρτο* and *τάρα*, words for food, such as *κανέλα*, *κομπόστα*, *πορτοκάλι*, *σαλάτα* and *σαρδέλα*, household words, such as *βαρέλι*, *καράφα* and *πανέρι*, and nautical words, such as *βαπόρι*, *βαρέλι*, *καραντίνα*, *κουβέρτα* and *πούσουλας*.

Chapter four: *The various kinds of Greek loan-words: sub-divisions based on their cultural and historical significance*.

The author points out that the Greek loan-words in Bulgarian can be divided into various categories, firstly chronologically and secondly by context (Government, Church and so on). It is also possible to investigate whether they were transmitted by written or oral tradition, although there are difficulties involved in making a sharp distinction between them.

The oldest Greek loan-words are common to all the Slavs, e.g. *korabo* (κάραβος), *koliba* (καλύβη).

The author stresses that in her book she is «concerned with Greek loan-words in Modern Bulgarian, including the dialects» (p. 16).

Some of these words are, she says, common Bulgarian terms, such as *angel*, *despot*, *kamila*, *moliv*, *pita*, *tigan*, *fasul*, *fanela*, while others are now only encountered in specific areas; in other words, in certain dialects. Examples of these are: *ergatin* (ἐργατίνα), *kalesvam* (καλῶ), *pepon* (πεπόνι), *fustan* (φουστάνι) and *charisma* (χάρισμα).

Finally, she cites the Greek words of the perforcedly bilingual population of the Greek - Bulgarian frontier area (p. 17).

She divides the Greek loan-words into the following main categories, each of which is divided into various sub-divisions:

- 1) Ecclesiastical terms.
- 2) Palace and Governmental Vocabulary and legal terms.
- 3) Military Terms.
- 4) Educational and academic vocabulary.
- 5) Topographical terms.
- 6) Vocabulary connected with decoration, house-keeping etc.
- 7) Vocabulary connected with dress, cosmetics etc.
- 8) Vocabulary connected with names of members of the family, relations etc.
- 9) Vocabulary connected with feasts and festivals.
- 10) Technical terms of agricultural economy.
- 11) Commercial terms.
- 12) Botanical »
- 13) Zoological »
- 14) Mythological »
- 15) Mineral »
- 16) Nautical »
- 17) Names of fish.
- 18) Names of diseases.
- 19) Musical terms.

Chapter five: *Phonetics* (pp. 21-32).

The author points out that at the period when the Greek loan-words began to be taken over by the Bulgarians, the vowel system of Greek words was significantly different from that of Ancient Greek: *η* was now pronounced as *i*, *οι* and *υ* as *ü*, but after the ninth century also as *i*. The diphthong *αυ* was now pronounced as *av* or *af*, and *ευ* as *ev* or *ef*. The iota subscript had fallen into disuse.

This is followed by an investigation of the vowels and consonants of the Greek loan-words. For example, the Bulgarians said *ikona* (εἰκόνα), *stichija* (στοιχεῖα), *kromid* (κρεμμύδι), *polielei* (πολύελαιον), *evtin* (εὐτηνός from εὐθηνός) and *igúmen* (ἡγούμενος). They also adopted the unaccented *i*, which came from the endy unaccented *e* of the Northern Greek dialects: for example, they said: *zivgár* (= ζευγάρι, Northern dialect ζιβγάρ), *pipòn* (= πεπόνι, N. D. πιπόνη), *misit* (= μεσίτης, N. D. μισίτ-ς).

There are also examples given of dropping and adding of sounds, assimilation, dissimilation and erroneous etymology.

Chapter six: *The position of the stress in words of Greek origin*. The author emphasizes that most of the loan-words preserve the Greek stress in Bulgarian, e.g. *ανάθεμα* > *anáthema*, *δίπλα* > *dipla*, *ἄγγελος* > *ángel*.

This leads to the discovery that the Bulgarian *papadija* derives from the Byzantine *παπαδιά* and not the modern form *παπαδιά*.

Chapter seven: *Morphological changes* (pp. 34-52).

These are examined on the basis of the forms in which the loan-words appear in Greek: the morphological changes firstly of Greek nouns in Bulgarian, e.g. masculine in -os (ἐπίσκοπ-ος > *episkop*, ἀπόστολος > *apostol*), in -ης (ἀποστάτ-ης > *apostat*, καντηλανάφτης > *kandilonaft*), in -as, -ων, -ωρ etc., feminine in -α and -η- and neuter in -ι, -ιον, -ον, -μα etc.

The author then looks at the morphological changes undergone by adjectives and verbs.

The verbs are divided into the following categories: a) Those forming the aorist with a σ stem. According to the author, a large number of Greek verbs entered Bulgarian from the aorist in -σα, particularly via their frequent use in the subjunctive with *vá*, e.g. ἀργάζω, ἄργασα, *vá* ἀργάσω, *argas-vam*, μουχλιάζω - μούχλιασα, *vá* μουχλιάσω, *muchlias-vam*.

Forms such as ληпсати, каиоинсати and скандалисати are already to be found in early Bulgarian.

At this point, Mrs. Filipova - Bairova mentions the scholars who discovered this phenomenon, as well as the fact that some of them regard the aorist indicative as the starting point, and others the aorist subjunctive with *vá* or *θά*.

These verbs are then sub-divided, depending on the vowel preceding the Bulgarian ending -*svam*; e.g. -*a-svam*, -*e-svam*, -*i-svam* etc. b) Bulgarian verbs deriving from Greek nouns, e.g. καντήλι - *kandilo* - *kandilósvam*. c) Bulgarian verbs deriving from Greek present tense stems, e.g. from Greek verbs in -ᾶ, -ω, -άζω, -ίζω, -εύω, -αίνω and -ώνω.

The chapter closes with a sub-division entitled *indeclinable words*. A large number of interesting loan-words are given here.

Chapter eight: *Semantic changes* (pp. 53-61).

This chapter looks at instances where Greek words with only one meaning keep this meaning in Bulgarian, while Greek words with several meanings assume sometimes one, sometimes two or all the Greek senses in Bulgarian. Examples are: ἀναφορά, ἀρραβώνας, ἄγγελος and καρδιά. Certain words, however, take on a new meaning in Bulgarian. As examples, the author cites: γεράνι, κοκώνα, σκάρα and χώρα.

Chapter nine: *General conclusions* (pp. 62-65).

The author again stresses the diversity of the loan-words, which spread throughout the regions of Bulgaria and through every facet of Bulgarian life.

She maintains that Greek loan-words are to be dated right from the first appearance of the Bulgars in the Balkans, the largest number appearing around the mid-ninth century along with Christianity, and during the period of Byzantine sovereignty over the Bulgarians, from 1018 until 1186. Yet the Bulgarians also adopted a large number of Greek words during the Ottoman occupation. These words came into Bulgaria via two routes: the written language and the spoken. Those that entered Bulgarian via the spoken, day-to-day language are those which have undergone phonetic, morphological and semantic changes.

Part II Consists of the Glossary of loan-words. The Bulgarian words of Greek origin which came into Bulgaria directly from Greek via the popular, spoken language are arranged alphabetically.

The book closes with a bibliography, including brief résumés. The bibliography lists firstly books written in the Cyrillic alphabet, then those in Greek, and finally those written in the Latin alphabet.

Mrs. Filipova - Bairova's book presents a satisfying whole. Her comments in the various chapters in part I show a thorough acquaintance with both the Greek and Bulgarian language. Based on this knowledge, she competently focusses on the linguistic phenomena of the Greek loan-words in Bulgarian, and gives a clear picture of what happened to the Greek words once they entered Bulgarian. In many cases, her final conclusions are a distillation of positions formed by earlier scholars researching in this field.

There are some weak points in the book: for example, the chapters dealing with phonetic and morphological changes are fairly restricted, and there is insufficient expansion of the way the phenomena have developed. Changes, additions and losses of vowels are all treated together in two chapters (vowels and consonants).

In other chapters, there is no systematic classification of the relevant examples, as in the section on the loss of sounds (p. 28), where it would have been useful to make a distinction between where a sound has been dropped at the beginning of a word, and where this has occurred in the middle of the word. Where transfer of sounds is being discussed (p. 29), a systematic classification of the various instances would have been preferable to a mere citing of the relevant examples. For instance, instead of writing baldly: *drāmon* < *δερμόνι* it would have been better first to note: *δερ- dār-*. This classification is to be found on p. 30, in the section on assimilation and dissimilation.

I do not, needless to say, hold that weaknesses of such a kind, which are not easy to avoid in linguistic writings, detract from the positive contribution made by this book.

More serious, however, are the many, astonishing mis-spellings of Greek

words. These do, unfortunately, somewhat diminish the value of the book.

I have noted this in another Bulgarian book in this field, again a publication of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences: J. Zaimov, *Zaselvane na bălkarskite slavjani na balkanskija poluostrov. Proučvane na žitelskite imena v bălgarskata toponimija* (*Settlements of the Bulgarian Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula. Research into the "names of inhabitants" in Bulgarian toponyms*).

These errors reveal bad proof-reading and perhaps greater or less ignorance of Greek on the part of the authors. In the case of Mrs. Filipova-Bairova's book, the author told me herself in a letter of the ninth of November 1971 of difficulties in the printing, and of how she happened to be away from Sofia, and was thus unable to supervise the proof-reading herself. She does mention in her letter the possibility of a second edition with a supplementary Greek bibliography.

The comments that follow are not entirely of an academic nature. I include all the mis-spellings and misprints that have come to my notice, in addition to those noted and amended by the author in the list of corrigenda. I am not aware if she has meanwhile noticed other errors, as this often happens to scholars and in this kind of book.

In any case, the intention and hope behind the particularly detailed tone of my comments is to facilitate a new edition - if it should emerge - to be improved. It is my hope that the author will be able to bring this about.

p. 21. *παγάνος* should read *παγανός* and *παπαδιά* read *παπαδία*.

p. 22. The relevant words should be corrected to *Ἀπρίλιος*, *ναῦλο*, *εὐθηνός*, *εἰκόνα*, *λιβάδι* and *Ἰανουάριος*. *πρόγιμα* should be described as being a Northern Greek dialect form (from *πρόγεμα* - *πρόγευμα*). It should be added that:

i replaces *a* in such words as *ingrista* (*ἀγγίστρι*) (cf. pp. 29 & 95).

e replaces *a* in such words as *mengene* (*μάγγανον*) and *mendil* (*μαντήλι*) (cf. p. 125).

o replaces *a* in such words as *Solun* (*Σαλονίκη*) and *koliba* (*καλύβα*).

An example should be added of a Greek word with *-ai* producing *e*: *pedija* (*παιδί*) (p. 40) and *pezam* (*παίζω*) (pp. 51 & 57).

p. 23. *᾽Οκτώβριος* should be written, and described as dialectal, as opposed to the correct form *᾽Οκτώβριος* without *μ*. Should read *εἰκόνα* and *κανών*. The form *korēla* on page 111 should be written *kurela* as it is the case here. There is no Greek word *κορέλλα*; rather it is

κουρέλλι, nor does Greek have a verb σκοπιάζω, but κοπιάζω or σκοπεύω.

It should be added that -ου (*u*) also comes into Bulgarian as *o*: ξου-ραφίζω > *skorafizo* (p. 46).

- p. 24. Should read μέτωπον, κλεισούρα, κανδήλα, χίλια, χρήσιμος and πετραχήλιον.

There is no Greek word χαροκόνδιλι(!)

- p. 25. Should read θηρεύω, πορφύρα, φόρτωμα, Σεπτέμβριος, άσκητής, σούφρα, σεύκλον (rather than σβύκλον!), πρεσβύτερος, άγίασμα (v.re. p. 74 infra), χρυσόβουλλο(ν), θυρίδα (rather than φiriδα!), δισάκκι and διακονῶ (rather than διακώνω).

There is no Greek verb *ψωφίζω; rather it is ψοφῶ (aorist subjunctive: ψοφήσω). I am similarly unaware of the Greek words παρασιφούνι and παλαβούρα.

The words φουστάν, σωληνάρ and λισγάρ are not found in modern Demotic Greek, but are Northern dialectal forms. The common Demotic Greek words are φουστάνι, σωληνάρι and λισγάρι. Yet inasmuch as the Northern dialectal forms, which in all probability are the forms from which the Bulgarian derived, are written, it is right that they also should be noted (cf. below, p. 29, where the Bulgarian *skalistir* derives from the Modern Greek τοῦ σκαλιστήρ, v. also under *klistir*, p. 108).

I do not believe that the Bulgarian *vasiul* (and *vazol* = βάθος cf. p. 76) has any connection with the educated modern greek word βαθόλιθος. Βαθόλιθος is a technical term in Geology, and does not mean the same as ὑπόγειο (*maze*) but a kind of rock: batholith («a large mass of igneous rock», v. the Lexica of Proΐas and Demetrikos). In all probability it should be correlated with the words βαθουλός and βαθούλωμα.

In Modern Greek dialects τὸ ντουκάνι (and ἡ ντουκάνη) and δουκάνη correspond to *dikanja* (from Ancient Greek τυκάνη) (v. Λαογραφία 12, 1938-48, 407 n. 1, and II, 1934-37, 78).

- p. 26. Should read άγιασμός (?). (I do not see that the entries should be *aĩásmo* and *iasmo* rather than *ajasmó* and *ajiasmo* etc. p. 74), κατώγιον, εὐαγγέλιον, παγκάρι, πάγκαλος and ζωγραφίζω.

Ταξιδάρης should be described as Mediaeval Greek (e.g.v. Ducange, *Glossarium* etc. under the word ταξειδιον (ταξειδάριος) cf. also p. 162).

- p. 27. Should read ἀξυπόλητος, Αὔγουστος, ἁγιασμός (cf. pp. 129 & 74), ἡδύοσμος, (τὸν) ἁγιασμό, καλοπέδιλο and καλόπους.

There is, in Greek, no form (νὰ) ἀπειλέσω, but rather (νὰ) ἀπειλήσω. The Bulgarian *-esvam* is perhaps related (cf. *haresvam* et al.).

The abbreviation *Μεσαιων.* is not in the bibliography. Maybe the author means MNE - Chadjidakes' *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ἑλληνικά* (v. my comments on the bibliography, below).

- p. 28. Should read (ἀ)λοιφή, (ἐ)πιθυμῶ, (ἐ)πιτάφιος, (ὕ)πηρέτης, ὁμοιάζω ὀφείλω, φόρτωμα and χρήσιμος.

The word (ἀ)γορίδα (rather than ἀγουρίδα) (v. p. 36 as well) would appear to be a race dialectal form, together with καλλιτάτος. Regrettably, the author does not supply references to the written occurrence of these words, nor even to the source of her information. The Bulgarian *patitra* [meaning part of a loom, treadle (v. p. 138)] can have no relation with πατητήρι, but is rather related to the word ἡ πατήθρα.

The abbreviation *Μεσαιων.* here again clearly refers to Chadjidakes' *M.N.E.* (v. my comments on the bibliography).

- p. 29. Should read πρα(γ)ματάρης (rather than πρα(γ)ματάριαν !), σκάφη, λέκιασμα, ψοφήσω (v. re. p. 25), τριφύλλι(ον) [rather than τριαφύλλον or τριφύλλον(!)], προικίον and ἀγγίστρι.

Pramatar must derive from a mediaeval form *πρα(γ)ματάρης, πρα(γ)μάτεια + -άρης; cf. Med. Gk. βασταγάρης, καμηλάρης, κεραμιδάρης (Ducange), περατάρης, περαματάρης, ταξιδάρης (cf. pp. 26 & 112) and others, rather than from the common πρα(γ)ματευτής (cf. p. 144).

I am unfamiliar with any Greek verb *προχωρατῶ!. The reader looking up *proiorata* (p. 146) is referred to the entry *horata* (p. 171).

Samolad derives regularly from the better known demotic form *σαμόλαδο*, not from *σησαμόλαδον* (v. Demetrakos' *Lexicon*). *dramon* is not to find in the Glossary, but in p. 83.

There is no Greek word *ξύλομείδα. The Bulgarian *skilumida*, as it appears here, in the entry on p. 155, is *skiliumida*, meaning wood split for the purpose of constructing fences. Yet on p. 155 there is no mention of the Greek form *ξύλομείδα, the word being explained as deriving from ξύλον and the adjective ὁμοειδής [!], which is highly unlikely. If it is not the ancient σκινδάλαμος (also σκινδαλμός), as my assistant, Miss Helen Kinga maintains, it could either be

ξύλωμα or *ξύλοκαλαμῖς (v.LSJ. under καλαμῖς, and cf. under ξυλάριον: e.g. Diosc. I, 70: τὰ δὲ ξυλάρια χλωρά, ἀντὶ καλαμίδων παρατριβόμενα τοῖς ὁδοῦσι...). Λαογραφία 8, 1921, 330 also mentions ὀξυκάλαμος (= ὀξυκαλαμῖς), and finally καλαμῖς - καλαμίδα with s in front: *σκαλαμίδα (erroneously derived from ξύλ-ο -ξύλο-μεῖδα). In Veria, ξυλαμίδας (ξύλαμίδας ?) means high, or tall (S. Svarnopoulos, *Γλωσσάριον τῆς Βεροίας*, 1973, p. 67).

- p. 30. Should read: ραφτικά, καλοπέδιλο (but the Bulgarian *kalopeda* probably derives from the Greek καλοπόδιον) καλαπόδι: *kalapeda* does not appear as an entry on p. 97) and περιβόλι. The Greek word περίγρᾱ (v. the entry in Soudas) became *pirigla*. The author here gives as Greek the form περίγλα, and later in the book περίγρᾱ, while under the entry *pirigla* in the Glossary (p. 141) only περίγλα is given, without any reference anywhere.

For the form τρυπητήρ rather than τρυπητήρι, see my comments on p. 25 of the book.

- p. 31. Should read τριαντάφυλλον.
- p. 32. Should read Ἀπρίλιος, δαμασκηνός and εὐαγγελιστής.
- p. 33. There is no Greek word *ἀδιαφορά for the Bulgarian *adiaforá* = ἀδιαφορία, (v.p. 68) to have derived from. As far as the Bulgarian word means ἀδιαφορία, it is perhaps to be connected with the Greek adjective ἀδιάφορος (neuter plural and adverb ἀδιάφορα). Should read βλαστάρι.

There is no Greek word *κεντισμός(!). It is possible that the Bulgarian *kindismo* is connected with the Greek κεντημός (cf. the sentence κεντᾶ καὶ κεντημὸ δὲν ἔχει).

For the form ἀγορίδα, see my comments on p. 28 of the book, and also what I have to say on p. 36.

- p. 34. Should read χριστιανός and τύραννος.
- p. 35. Should read Φεβρουάριος, ἡσυχαστής, καντηλανάφτης, ἵνα (there is no entry *ina* in the Glossary section; the Greek word ἵνας can only be taken as accusative plural of ἵνα), εἴλωτας and πολλτός.
- p. 36. Should read νομοκάνων, χιτῶν (and κτίτωρ), μουρούνα, εἰκόνα, λιβάδι (cf. comments on p. 22) and βαριά.
- p. 37. Should read βικία (but cf. p. 78, where the Bulgarian *vikija* Greek βικίον, meaning singular. For a more general treatment of this question, see below).

- p. 38. Should read ἀμαμηλίζ, δικέλλι, (δ)ρύζι and σκαλοπάτι (cf. p. 154 where the Bulgarian form *skolopat* is not given as here). The quotation Ἄνδρ., τὰ ὄρα should be corrected to Ἄνδρ., τὰ ὄρια.
- p. 39. Should read σκουμπριά (= ancient σκουμβρία, diminutive of σκόμβρος) καρφιά, βικία (cf. on p. 37) and εἰρμολόγιον. It seems unlikely that the plural *τυκάνια* of the dialectal Modern Greek *τὸ τυκάνι* would have had an influence on Bulgarian (cf. N. P. Andriotis, *Lexicon der Archaismen in den neugriechischen Dialekten*, Wien 1974, under *τυκάνη*). In general, I believe it is incorrect to understand the Bulgarian ending *-a*, or *-ja*, when it corresponds to the singular ending *-ι* and *-ο(ν)* in the Greek loan-words, as deriving from the plural endings of the Greek words *-a* and *-ια*. My objections to this theory are based on the difficulty of changing from a plural to a singular, and on the fact that other Greek loan-words are formed in Bulgarian with the endings *-a* and *-ja*, in spite of their deriving from Greek words ending in *-ος* (plural *-οι*) and *-ῆ* (plural *-αῖ* or *-ές*). Thus as well as *čelina* (= σέλινο), *hartija* (= χαρτί), *horata* (= χωρατό), *huniija* (= χουνί), *spikija* (= σπίτι), *tuvla* (= τουβλο) etc., there appear *furna* (= φούρνος), *timba* (= τύμβος), *timija* (= τιμή), *titla* (= τίτλος) etc. This, I believe, allows the formation of Greek loan-words in Bulgarian with = *a* and = *ja* endings to be explained as an extension of the Bulgarian endings = *a* and *-ja*¹. As she explains this formation as deriving from the plural of the Greek loan-words, the author is later compelled to see the forms of other nouns as supposedly deriving from Greek augmentatives which do not in fact exist: for instance see below the forms *ἄγγίστρα and *καπίστρα (!). The ancient form of the Modern Greek ἡ δουκάνη (τὸ δουκάνι) and ἡ ντουκάνη (τὸ ντουκάνι) is ἡ τυκάνη; cf. my comments on p. 25 of the book.

In Greek, there is no form ἐπιστολία. The Bulgarian *epistolija* must be from the Greek ἐπιστολή or ἐπιστόλιον, with the Bulgarian ending *-ija*, rather than the plural of ἐπιστόλιον.

The Bulgarian *stomna* does not derive from *σταμνί*, but from the form *στάμνα*, as the author writes correctly on p. 21.

There are no Greek augmentative forms ἄγγίστρα and καπίστρα. The corresponding Bulgarian *engistra* and *kapistra* must be Bulgarian renderings of ἄγγίστρι and καπίστρι.

1. Cf. also Andriotis, Τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς Βουλγαρικῆς γλώσσης, a *Linguistic study*, Athens 1952 (Ἀρχεῖον Ὁρακικοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ καὶ Γλωσσικοῦ Ὁθησαυροῦ, vol. 17), p. 87.

- p. 40. Should read εἰλητόν, κούτελον and (ἄ)μύγδαλον.
- p. 41. The Bulgarian form *progima* does not derive directly from the form πρόγευμα, but from the dialectal πρόγιμα (v. also my comments on p. 22).
Should read παρόνομα (and also under the entry *paromon* on p. 136) and δριμόνι (and under the entry *darmon* on p. 83).
- p. 42. The Bulgarian *prepen* does not derive from *-πρεπής (as it should read; under the entry *prepen* on page 145, its etymology is given as (εὐ)πρεπής), but from πρέπων, neuter πρέπον (cf. Demetrakos under πρεπό), or from the stem of πρέπ-ω and the Bulgarian ending -en; cf. *dipl-en* (v. also on p. 52).
Should read (ἐ)λαδής. Here as well the Bulgarian *eladen* probably derives from the Greek stem (ἐ)λάδ-ι> Bulgarian *lad* (v.p.113) and the Bulgarian ending -en. On p. 89, under the entry *eladen*, the author derives the word from ἐλάδιον adding «compare also (ἐ)-λαδής».
- p. 43. Should read (νὰ) παιδεύσω and (νὰ) σώσω.
- p. 45. Should read ἀπεικάσω and ἡσυχάσω. The aorist subjunctive of βάζω is not *βάσω(!) but βάλω (ἐβαλα). The author has been led astray by προβιβάζω - προβιβάσω and συμβιβάζω - συμβιβάσω. For the non-existent σκοπιάζω - σκοπιάσω, see my remarks on p. 23 of the book.
- p. 46. Should read ὁμοιάζω-ὁμοιάσω, ὀρίζω - ὀρίσω, ψοφήσω (for the rare ψοφίζω - ψοφίσω cf. my remarks on p. 25), ἀφορίσω (the -*esvam* of *aforesvam* must be analogical; cf. my comments on p. 27) and -ᾶ.
The forms ἐγλενδίζω, ἐγλενδιρδίζω, and μπεγενδίζω are probably literary forms of the older ἐγλεντίζω (now γλεντῶ) and μπεεν-τίζω (dialectal).
Θυμιάζω is mediaeval. There is no ἀρνίζω - ἀρνίσω, but rather ἀρνοῦμαι - ἀρνιέμαι (dialectal ἀρνιοῦμι). The Bulgarian *arnisvam* is from the stem *arnis-* of the dialectal aorist ἀρνήσ'κα (= ἀρνήθηκα; cf. E. Boutona, *Μελέτη περὶ τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ἰδιώματος Βελβεντοῦ καὶ τῶν περιχώρων αὐτοῦ*, Athens 1892, p. 53).
Footnote 2 should probably read *Sitzungsber[ichte]*.
- p. 47. Should read κλωσσήσω.
There is no Greek verb βυτώνω-βυτώσω corresponding to *vi-tosvam*. Under the entry *bitos(v)am* (p. 78) the verbs βουτῶ and βυ-

θίζω are mentioned. Consequently *itosvam* was formed from the Greek root βυθ- (βυθ-ίζω, βυθ-ός) and the Bulgarian ending *-osvam*.

The Bulgarian etymological Dictionary (*Bălgarski etimologičen rečnik*, Sofia 1971) derives the verb from the Rumanian *evită* and the Bulgarian ending *-osvam* (cf. under *itosuvam*).

The case for Greek derivation is strengthened, I think, by another loan-word *vitismo* (meaning precipice), described by the Bulgarian Etymological Dictionary as of unknown origin, but which is derived, according to Mrs. Filipova-Bairova from the Modern Greek βύθισμα and βούτησμα (!). Naturally βούτησμα does not exist in Greek, and it is preferable to derive *vitismo* from the Post-classical Greek word βυθισμός of Heliodorus IX, 8 (third century of our era).

There is no Greek verb δαρμώνω - δαρμώσω, corresponding to *darmos(v)am* (meaning to scratch, or to comb hair). Under the relevant entry on p. 84, the derivation is correctly given as the Greek δαρμός.

- p. 48. Should read προικίσω (rather than προικιώσω), ἐξετάξω instead of the ordinary Modern Greek ἐξετάσω is dialectal.
- p. 49. ζηλῶ is not demotic, but is Ancient Greek or Katharevousa. Consequently *zil'osvam* cannot derive from ζηλῶ, but should be seen as an analogical form in *-osvam*. Cf. other forms under the heading *zilepsvam* on p. 92, where ζηλῶ is not mentioned.

The same is true of *skopós(v)am*, which has come analogically from σκοπεύω (v. under *skoposvam*, p. 156) and has no connection with the Ancient Greek σκοπῶ or the non-existent form σκοπώσω.

Should read παιδεύω - παιδέψω.

- p. 50. *Panagirosvam* (which does not appear on p. 134, where the forms *panagirónvam* and *panagiurvam* are listed) derives from the form *panagir*, not *panaír* (v. p. 134).

Should read γλύφω, κανοναρχῶ and κυλῶ (-ίω). There is no Modern Greek verb μετεχωρῶ, unless the author knows such a dialectal form. However, as I remarked re p. 28, there should be a reference to written uses of the word in such cases, so that the reader can check. There is no Greek verb ὀφείλῶ (!), and it does not appear under the entry *fela* (or *ofelam*), so as to tell us whether ὀφείλω or ὠφελῶ is meant.

- p. 51. Should read τρυφῶ, χαρίζω, πορίζω, ἡσυχάζω, χωρατεύω and θηρεύω.

- p. 52. Should read ἄνω κάτω, βιάζομαι and κάθα (rather than κάτω). κάθα (= κάθε) is a dialectal form (cf. Ἀθηνᾶ 4, 1892, 469).

There is no Modern Greek βαρογγούτσα from the adjective βαρύς. Under the entry *varonguča*, the word is connected only with the verbs βαρυγγωμῶ and βαρυγγωμίζω. The word λέγωμα (!) is also unknown in Greek. The Bulgarian form *manaho* must derive from the dialectal Modern Greek form μαναχός (as it is found in Velvendo); cf. μάναχους in Kozane (Macedonia). Should read μή-γαρι(ς), ἀνώφελος and σύρτα-φέρτα.

The Bulgarian words *panago* (to ride side-saddle) and *panak* (upon something) cannot possibly derive from a non-existent compound πάν-ἄγω (!). Similarly *panagon* (to put a load on an animal) cannot derive from the non-existent παναγών (cf. the entries for the three words on p. 134).

These words quite clearly derive from the Greek dialectal πανω-γόμε (Northern dialectal form: πανουγόμε).

The Bulgarian *potura* should be connected to ἀπὸ τώρα, and not merely with τώρα (cf. p. 144).

- p. 56. Should read ἀρραβόν. The footnote should read Κωνσταντίνου, Γκαρμπολᾶ, Δ. Βυζαντίου, Λεξικόν, γλώσσης, Λεξικόν, Ἀθήνησιν and Πρωῖας.
- p. 57. Should read παίζω.
- p. 60. Should read ἀνατίθημι and μαῦρος.
- p. 63. Should read ὀριζοντίως.

Part II: Glossary

- p. 68. There is no Greek form ἀμορέ (!) from which the Bulgarian *abre*, might derive. The form results from μωρέ > μ' ρε > μβρε > βρέ, together with the prefix ἀ-(cf. also ρε > ἀρε in Macedonia or elsewhere).

Should read ταριχεύω, Αὔγουστος, ἀγαρηνός the Modern Greek dialectal ἀγριά, Ἀδης and Ἀῖδης. For ἀδιαφορά, see my comments on p. 33.

- p. 69. Should read ὀκτάπους and ἀλά (= a la), not ἀλλά. It is very doubtful that the Bulgarian feminine *alifa* is connected with the Ancient Greek neuter τὸ ἄλειφα (and ἄλειφαρ) genitive τοῦ ἀλείφατος; cf. Mediaeval λιφάριον (*sic*) Ducange.

The author correctly sees the Bulgarian form *alušiva* as connected not only to the Greek ἀλυσίβα, but also to ἀλουσία -no connection with the word ἀλουσία meaning the state of one who has not washed, but deriving rather from the intermediate form *ἀλουσίβα (from which the Bulgarian derives), with the dropping of the β between vowels; cf. for instance in Karpathos κάβουρας-κάουρας, v. K. Menas, *Τὰ ιδιώματα τῆς Καρπάθου*, Athens 1970, p. 50. Should read ἀμαμηλίσ. The Bulgarian *amamila*, however, means camomile, and derives from the Post-classical, χαμαίμηλον; it thus has no relation to ἀμαμηλίσ («ἀπίου γένος ἢ μήλου· μέσπιλον» v. re *amamila* the *Bulgarian Etymological Dictionary*, p. 10). See p. 24 for the dropping of original χ (h) in Bulgarian *arisvam* - χαρίζω.

μπολιάζω etc. derive from the ancient ἐμβόλιον, and not directly from ἐμβάλλω. Should read ἄμβωνας.

- p. 70. *āmori* derives not from the non-existent ἄμωρη, but from μωρή with prefix a-. Similarly *analōi* derives not from the form ἀναλογεῖον, but, from ἀναλόγι(ον) > ἀναλόγι > ἀναλόι (not ἀναλοεῖον). The Bulgarian *nihtar* derives directly from the mediaeval ἀνοικτάριν (> Northern dialectal (ἀ)νοιχτάρη), while *anahtar* comes from the same Greek word, but via Turkish (cf. *Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς*, Athens 1939 (I.A.N.E.) under ἀνοιχτάρη, which gives ἀνοιχτάρ in Thrace).

Should read ἀγγέλικά, Ἀγγελική. There is no augmentative ἀγγίστρα in Greek; v. above, p. 15. ἀντάρτης is Post-classical and Mediaeval.

- p. 71. Should read δῶρον, ἀντίφωνον, ἀντίχρηστος, ἄπλος, ἄπλους, Ἀ-πίλιος and ἄρραβῶνα.

apikasvam and *apikasam* (from the Greek ἀπεικάζω - ἀπεικάσω) should be regarded as the basic, principal entry, and not classed under the entry *sapikasvam*. It is *sapikasvam* which should be listed under the main entry here. There is no mention here of *apteka*, which is the Greek word ἀποθήκη, Doric ἀποθήκα, via the Latin *apotheca*.

Should read ἄργαση.

- p. 72. Should read ἄργαση, ἀργήσω. The Bulgarian *are* derives directly from the Modern Greek dialectal ἀρὲ (as it is found for example in Velvendo near Kozane, coming from πὲ [βρὲ] and the prefix ἀ-), and not from a non-existent ἀβρέ(!), *árse* derives from the noun ἄρση (Late Greek ἄρσεις) not from the noun ἀρεσιά.

Should read ᾿Αθηνᾶ and ἁμαρτωλοὶ (rather than ἄρματόλοι). *armeja* derives from the dialectal ἄρμιά. Should read ἄρμη, ἄλμη, ἄλς, ἄλός, ἄλμυρός and ἄρμυρός.

- p. 73. Should read ἀρχι-[ἀρχάγγελος], ἀρχιεράρχης, ἀρχιερεὺς and ἄσσος.
- p. 74. The Mediaeval ἄσπρος should be derived from the Latin *asper*. Should read νᾶ [ἄφορέσω], ὀχταπῶδι, ὀχταπόδιον, ὀκτάπους, -ποδος, ἀγίασμα, ἀγιάζω, ἀγιασμό, ἀγιασμός and ἀγίασμα. There should preferably be two entries here. One for the forms deriving from the Greek ἀγίασμα, and one for those deriving from ἀγιασμός (v. also p. 129). Should read μπάμπω (= *bábw*) rather than μπάμπα.
- p. 75. Should read: μπάγκος (rather than μπάγχος), πάγκος (rather than πάγχος). πάγχας (!) does not exist in Greek. μπάγκα does not belong among the words μπάγκος and πάγκος which mean bench or seat, but means in Greek a (financial) bank, coming from the Italian. Should read βαύκαλις (and diminutive βαυκάλιον).
- p. 76. The Bulgarian word *bǎkliča*, meaning a tall, wide, wooden wine vessel, must be related to the Greek μπούκλα (diminutive μπουκλίτσα) which in ordinary Modern Greek means, in the plural (μπούκλες), curls, but in the dialects (e.g. Velvendo in Macedonia) means a kind of wooden container for drinking - water. Both meanings have a common origin in the Latin *buccula* (diminutive of *bucca*) which originally meant the boss of a shield, buckle, ring (for the finger) and a kind of vessel or container. The word acquired the meaning curl from a development of the ring sense since curls, appeared on the cheeks like rings (cf. Italian *boccola*, Provençal *bocla*, Venetian *bucolo* and French *boucle*). Ducange (*Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*) gives two entries: βούκλα = buckle and βούκλα = *lecythus* - flask, phial. The word βαγάνι is unknown in Greek. It is dialectal?. Should read βαγγελισμός and εὐαγγέλιον. See comments on p. 25 for *vasol*.
- p. 77. Should read βάρδουλο(ν) and βαρεῖα. The words βασταγάρα, βασταγάρης and βασταγερός are not derived from βαστῶ and γερός, but from the Post-Classical βασταγή (from βαστάζω) and the endings -άρα, -άρης, -ερός (cf. I.A.N.E. under the respective entries). The word *vastagar-ka* is directly related only to βασταγάρα (and βασταγαριά, cf. Demetrakos). βασταγάρης (Mediaeval βασταγάριος βασταγιάρης - Ducange, under βασταγή) means porter.

- p. 78. Under *vikija*, the Greek βίκιον should be noted as a diminutive of the Ancient βίκος. For *vitismo*, see my comments on p. 47. The Bulgarian *vlâmos* must be connected with the Modern Greek βλαμμός (cf. I.A.N.E.). βλαττίον is not Modern, but Mediaeval Greek (Andriotes mentions a Modern Greek word βλατί, which is not in use today). Should read εὐλογήσω, βόλος (this word should change places with βολή; cf. *gama*, from γάμος).
- p. 79. It should be pointed out that βρεχάμενα is plural. Should read: βρῶμα, βρωμήσω and -οὔδι. (For βούρτσα = Mediaeval βύρτσα (Ancient βύρσα cf. Ph. Koukoulé, 'Αθηνᾶ 59, 1955, 181).
- p. 80. I am unaware of any Greek word γκαίβος (!). Should read γαῦρος, γαλάζιος and φυλάκιον (rather than φύλαξις).
- p. 81. Under the entry *gamotja*, the ending -otja has come about through the influence of the common Modern Greek expressions: γαμῶ τη..., γαμῶ... τα, and in particular γαμῶ το... (Northern dialect γαμῶ του ...), hence also the Bulgarian *gamoto*. Should read γεράκιν, τέραξ and γερός.
- p. 82. Should read γίγαντος, Γολγοθᾶς, γογγύλος and κρημνός.
- p. 83. The Bulgarian *gutar* (idle, cripple) must be related to the Greek κουτάβι and not to κουτός.
Should read ἡδύοσμος, γύφτος, διακονῶ, ἐξάψαλμο, σπαθὶ and δριμόνι. The Bulgarian *gjasuvam* (*se*) (= to move) derives from the verb διαβάζω meaning to cross, not to read. This meaning of διαβάζω is now dialectal (e.g. in Crete; cf. 'Αθηνᾶ 22, 1910, 237).
δάμα is no longer in use in Greek.
- p. 84. Should read Δεκέμβριος and δελφίς (rather than δελφύς = belly).
- p. 85. Should read ζευγος, διακαμός, δουκάνη (and ντουκάνι, v. my comments re. p. 25) and κέλλω.
διλάβιον (under *dilav*) does not derive from διαλάβειν (!), but from δι-(=δισ) and λαβή.
- p. 86. The Bulgarian *diplar* derives from the Modern Greek διπλάρι (from διπλός), meaning two-textured cloth, twill, blanket (v. Demetrakos). In other places διπλή.
δίπτυχος is from δι-(δισ) and πτυχή (πτύσσω). There is no testimony to any ancient word δίσακκος.
Should read Mediaeval κουντῶ and Modern σκουντῶ, δράκων, -οντος is Ancient Greek. Below it should again read -οντος.

- p. 87. δράμι derives from the Turkish *dirhem*, which itself derives from *δράχμιον, diminutive of δραχμή. There is no Greek verb δρέομαι, *drifúna* should probably be linked to δρύφειν (participle *δρύφων, δρυφόμενοι in Hesychius: cf. δρύφη· κλάσματα Hesychius).
- p. 88. Should read Ἑβραῖος, φτήνια, εὐχάριστος, ἐξαποστειλάριον and ἐξη-γοῦμαι.
- p. 89. Should read ἐλάτε (mistake in two places) and Ἑλλην. I do not know to what extent *ἔγγιμμα (as it should read) is dialectal. It is clear, however, that it derives from a form ἔγγιγμα. The most common form today is ἄγγιγμα (compared to ἄγγισμα). Should read ἔννοια σου, ἔννοια μου. The entry *angistra* ought to be linked with *ingistra* (p. 95).
- p. 90. Should read ἐπισκοπεῖον, ἐπιστόλια (or ἐπιστολή, v. my comments re p. 39). The Bulgarian *epitafija* (and pitafi) derive from ἐπιτάφιος, with the addition of the Bulgarian ending -ija, as in other words.
The Ancient Greek τὰ ἐπιτάφια is a rare word, and means, ἐπιτάφιος ἀγών - funeral games. Ἐπιτιμία is Post-classical Greek (LXX, Sap. Sal. 3, 10: οἱ δὲ ἀσεβεῖς καθὰ ἐλογίσαντο ἔξουσιν ἐπιτιμίαν).
- p. 91. Should read ἐφημέριος and κουτουλήσω.
- p. 92. Should read ζηλωτής and γράφω.
- p. 93. Should read ζῶον, κουμούλα and παιδέψω. μουστοῦχι and στομούχι are dialectal, without reference (v. Ἀθηνᾶ 24, 1912, 27). The word *iasmo* should be inserted as an entry.
- p. 94. The Bulgarian *kunisma*, under the entry *ikona*, derives from εἰκόνισμα. Should read ἱλαρία, ἱλαρίς and ἱλληνικά (not ἡλληνικά). εἰλητὸ (Attic εἰλητὸν) has of course no relation to λιτή (= entreaty), as the author notes, but with the verb εἰλέω (Attic εἰλέω = to wind around).
- p. 95. The entry *ingrista* should be linked to *engistra* (p. 89). Should read ἀγκίστρι (rather than ἀγ(κ)ίστρα, Ἰνδικτιῶν and ἐνδυτός, ἐντύω is today ντύω. Should read ὑπόστασις. (More research is needed to ascertain whether ὕψωμα is in fact in this form, and is not erroneous etymology from *ἀγιόψωμο).
Should read τοῦ κρατᾶ...
- p. 96. As well as the Macedonian γαβανός there is already the Thracian

- καβανός (in Velvendo ὁ κάβανος); cf. Turkish *Kavanoz*. See on this I.A.N.E. under γάβανο.
- p. 97. *Kalapeda* should be inserted as an entry (v. p. 30). Should read καλοδρομῆται or καλοδρομῖται, from the Modern dialectal verb καλοδρομίζω (v. Demetrakos).
- p. 98. Should read Ἐπετ. Βυζαντ. (= Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν; is no in the bibliography). Should read καλλιτάτος (v. my comments on p. 28). The form *kauger* should be added under the heading *kaluger* (v. p. 29). Should read κουλλούρα (rather than κουλλούρι) and καλτσούν(-ια).
- p. 99. κάματος should be described as Ancient Greek: καμηλάρης is Mediaeval; cf. also καμηλάριος (Demetrakos and Liddel-Scott-Jones, *Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1966⁹ = L.S.J.). Should read καμήλα rather than κάμηλος.
- p. 100. *Kandilaptis* derives from the Mediaeval form κανδηλάπτης (κανδήλα + ἄπτω), which later became κανδηλανάπτης (καντήλα + ἀνάπτω etc.). Thus κανδηλάπτης is not a development of κανδηλανάπτης et al. κανδηλανάφτης should be read under the entry *kandilonaft*. Should read κανοναρχῶ (rather than κανονάρχω).
- p. 101. Should read καπίκι, καπνιστό (the -a is in the Bulgarian), καίω, κάψη (+ ending -ίδα), καῦσις and κάψιμο (the -a is in the Bulgarian).
- p. 102. Should read κρικέλ(λ)α, κάθα (rather than κάτα, cf. remarks on p. 52).
- p. 103. Should read καταρῶμαι and καλύτερο. *kauger* should be inserted; v. p. 29, and cf. *kaluger* (p. 98).
- p. 104. Should read μαλλιά and κεφάλι(ο)ν. The Bulgarian *kekerida* (= pistachio-nut) cannot, in my opinion, be related to the Modern Greek κοκκί or *κακιρίζα (!). (read κοκόρριζα). As the form *kikiriki* indicates, the Bulgarian is linked to the dialectal Modern Greek κι-κιρίκι, which derives from the Italian *chiechirichi*. I am unfamiliar with any Modern Greek word κεντάτο from κεντώ; I know κεντητή and κεντητός. Should read κενώνω (... κενώσω).
- p. 105. Should read κεραμῖς. The Bulgarian *keramidio* presupposes a Greek form *κεραμιδεῖο, unless the word was formed in Bulgarian directly from *keramida* (= κεραμίδα) and the ending -δο.

κερατίας should be described as Ancient Greek. The Italian *cefalo* derives from the Ancient Greek κέφαλος and not vice-versa.

- p. 106. I am unaware of a Greek augmentative κήλα. What is meant here, as in other places (v. my comments on p. 39) is a rendering in Bulgarian of κήλη with the ending *-a*.

Should read κυλῶ, κύμανση and κύμα. For the word κεντισμό, see my comments on p. 33. κινέω should be described as Ancient Greek.

Under *kiparis*, κυπάρισσος should be described as Ancient Greek; it should be preceded by the Modern Greek κυπαρίσσι (Ancient and Mediaeval κυπαρίσσι(ο)ν, diminutive of κυπάρισσος).

- p. 107. Should read καλαμοσιτάρι. κλημνία is dialectal (Thrace; v. 'Αθηνᾶ 29, 1917, 220).

- p. 108. The Bulgarian *klistar* does not derive from ἐκκλησιάρχης but from ἐκκλησάρης () κλησάρης) (v. Demetrakos under ἐκκλησιάρχης). The word must be Mediaeval; cf. the Mediaeval βασταγάρης, καμηλάρης, κεραμιδάρης, περατάρης, περαματάρης and ταξιδάρης in my comments re. p. 29.

Should read κλεισούρα, κοιμοῦμαι, κοιμᾶμαι and κοκκαλιάζω.

- p. 109. Should read κολιάνδρον and κόλouris (feminine of the Ancient adjective κόλourος).

- p. 110. The form *kondik(a)* has no relation to κοντάκιον, as the author supposes. It is rather related to the Modern Greek dialectal κόντικας (e.g. Velvendo), a form of κώδικας (maybe as a result of foreign influence).

Should read κόπανος (κόπανον already exists in Ancient Greek. Under *korab* should be inserted the Modern Greek form καράβι which derives from an older form καράβιον (not κάραβιος!).

- p. 111. Should read κουρέλι, κουρέλλιον and κρυφτό.

- p. 112. As the author accepts that κτήτωρ is from κτίζω, she should write κτίτωρ, as Chadjidakes, to whom she refers, insists ('Αθηνᾶ 21, 1909, 441).

- p. 113. Should read σκουλήκια, κοκκορόμυαλος, κουμπι and κουνάδι (the *-a*: κουνάδα is probably Bulgarian) (cf. above κήλη - *kila* and my comments on p. 39).

- p. 114. See my comments on p. 94 above for the derivation of *kunisma* from εἰκόνισμα. Should read κοῦφος (twice); this word, however, is Ka-

tharevousa; the common Modern Demotic word is κούφ-ιος.

- p. 115. I am unaware of a Modern Greek κάγκολι. The diminutive of κάγκελλο(ν) is καγκέλλιον > καγκέλι.
κεῖμαι should be read rather than κουτάω. In dialect, κουτάω means to dare.
- p. 116. λαλᾶς (= loquacious, gossipy) must be dialectal. Should read λαμπικός and λάμνια. λάγгерος (and λάггерας) should be linked with the Post-classical λάκυρος.
Should read λαγγίτα and λαλαγκίτα.
- p. 117. λαχαίνω has no aorist subjunctive λαχάσω (!); it is νά λάχω. If λάβω is described as the aorist subjunctive of λαβαίνω, then Rostov's opinion is correct.
- p. 118. Should read (λεύκα), ἔγινε and λεύτερος, as well as λεύθερος.
I am unfamiliar with λέγωμα (but λέϊσιμου in dialect = the action of λέγειν). Yet there may be such a word in Mediaeval dialect.
Should read λεπίδα.
- p. 119. Should read λιβόνωτος, Λιβύη and λιβάδι (v. my comments re. p. 22, for there is no Modern Greek augmentative λιβάδα).
The same goes for λιβέλλα.
Should read ἀναφορά, εἶσαι, λείξουρος, λιμένας and λιμναῖος. After λεκάτη the Ancient Greek ἡλακάτη should be inserted. The Modern Greek λίμα (= hunger) has no relation to the Italian lima (= Greek λίμα = file [tool]). It derives by back-formation from λιμάζω, which is related to the Ancient Greek λιμός. λιμνήτης is not Modern, but Ancient (the reference given is to the obsolete Lexicon of S. Byzantios, while the author could have referred to L.S.J.).
- p. 120. I do not believe that there can be any relation between the Bulgarian *lit* and *liten* (adjective referring to cloth «with only two warps and rarely to cloth with four warps») and the Ancient Greek λιτός or ἡλίθιος as they should read here. The Bulgarian is linked rather to the early Mediaeval εἰλητόν, which appears in my comments on p. 94 above. There is again no relation between λιτός and the next Bulgarian word, *litak* (a large kind of woman's garment), which Mladenov links to the Byzantine λυτάρι (= strap, or belt), but is in fact the Post-Classical Greek εἰλητάριον (hence λητάρι). It is, preferable to link λιτός with εἰλητόν and the ending -άκιον, *εἰλητά-

- κιον, rather than -άριον; cf εἰλητάριον. Should read λειτουργήσω.
- p. 121. Should read (after λυχνάρι) > Ancient λυχνάριον, λοῦστρο, λουστρά-ρω and λουστραρίζω (rather than the non-existent λουστρώνω (!). The second component of the word *manrotigajo* (a kind of ailment involving red spots on the loins) is not θηγάνη (= whetstone), but τηγάνι; it is the Modern Greek μαυροτήγανο, which means anthrax or carbuncle (v. Demetrakos, & cf. Θρακικά 3, 1932, 346).
- p. 122. It should be pointed out that μάγια is plural - τὰ μάγια. Should read μαγνήτης (λίθος), Μάης and Μάϊος. After *macchina* should be added: (ancient Greek μηχανά (Doric) = μηχανή. *maistro* since it means *maistor* (craftsman), has been confused with and erroneously derived from μαῖστρος (a kind of wind).
- p. 123. Should read μάλαμα. The forms *malamósvam* etc. must either have been formed directly from μάλαμα and the Bulgarian endings -*osvam* etc. (v. *ibid.* Matov), or perhaps from the dialectal Greek verb μαλα-μώνω, and not μαλαματώνω. The dialectal Modern Greek μαλαχτάρι derives from the Post-classical μαλακτήρ. Should read κλείσε (τὸ μάνταλο). The spelling of μάνα, μάννα, μανίτσα etc. should be made consistent, and not spelt with one v in one place and with two in another (v. A. Thabores, «Etymologika», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 55, 1962, 241 ff.). In μανίτσα, the ending -ίτσα should be regarded as Greek; its origin is another matter.
- p. 124. *mari* derives directly from the Modern Greek dialectal μαρή (as found in Kozane, for example). Should read Μάρτης and Μάρτιος. It seems rather improbable to me that the Bulgarian form *martir* should derive from the uncommon Ancient dialectal form μάρτυρ rather than from μάρτυς. The derivation is more likely to be from the accusative τὸν μάρτυρα (modern Greek nominative ὁ μάρτυρας), under the influence of the verb μαρτυρῶ. Should read μαρτυρήσω and ἁμαρτία. The form μαρούλιν (and μαρούλιον) is Mediaeval. Should read *amarula* (lactūca) and μάστορης.
- p. 125. The form μεσάλι(ον) (= μεσσάλιον) is Mediaeval - v. Ducange, under μενσάλιον. The Latin form should read *mensalis*. μετέω must be dialectal (reference ?).
- p. 126. I do not know Modern Greek μύδα, only μύδι. I do not think that the form *mikrún* can be related to the Modern Greek μικρούλης. The derivation is probably μικρός + Bulgarian -ov. Should read

*μήνυ(σ)μα, μήνυση, the Ancient Greek μήνιμα (ζμήνις), since the Bulgarian word means μίσος.

The Bulgarian *mira* 1 must be related to μύρο. The word μύρρα is Ancient - Aeolic: *mira* 2 has no relation to μερίδα, μερίς but is linked to μοῖρα (diminutive μοιράδιον - μεράδι).

Should read μῶδ; this word is Ancient, not Modern Greek.

- p. 127. *misut* (turkey-hen) is unrelated to the Modern Greek μισούρα or Mediaeval μισούριον [latin (*missus*) *missorium*, *fercula*, table, tray, plate, v. Durange under μίνσος]. It must be linked with the Bulgarian *misirka* (cf. Greek μισίρκα), the Mediaeval μισύρι (v. Ducange under μισύρι) and Modern Greek μισίρι (= Egypt).

The author's treatment of *molopsvam* is correct, μωρή is feminine of μωπέ, which is used generally in Modern Demotic, while μωρή is dialectal, and used only for women; neither has a pejorative nuance.

- p. 128. Since *mura* means a fruit, it derives from the Modern Greek μούρο (plural τὰ μούρα), meaning mulberry. I am not familiar with the forms μούρη and μουρέα. *μούρη in Modern Greek refers to the face, or nose. *mutsuma* comes from the dialectal Modern Greek τὰ μούτσουνα or ἡ μουτσούνα (= ἡ μούρη), Mediaeval μούτζουνον (Ducange, under μήτη).

- p. 129. Should read μουστόπι(τ)α. The aorist subjunctive of ἀνεβάζω is (νὰ) ἀνεβάσω. The forms *najismo*, *najasmo* etc. derive from the dialectal ἀγιάσμους = ἡδύοσμος (as it should read).

The *n*-naturally comes from τὸν ἀγιάσμο. Should read ἀγιασμός (cf. p. 74) and ἀγών.

See my comments re. p. 52 for *napanagon* etc. The *na* is most probably the Bulgarian preposition *na* with *panagon* from ἐπανωγόμε. νὰ ἀπειλήσω is correctly inserted here under *napilesvam*; v. my comments re. p. 27. The *n* here is probably the Greek νά. Should read νάρθηξ.

- p. 130. *nasosvam* is more probably directly from νὰ σώσω (cf. above, p. 129) on *napilosvam*. There is no augmentative form νεράντζα (the *-a* is Bulgarian).

Should read ἐν ἱστία (= ἐν+ἱστία), but *nestinar* derives from ἀναστενάρης (and νεστενάρης), which as G. Megas has already demonstrated (Λαογραφία 19, 1960, 514 ff.) derives from ἀναστενά-

ζω, an opinion accepted by Bulgarian scholars. [from ἐν ἰστία with the ending -άρης, we have *(ἐ)-νιστι-άρης(!)].

Should read οἶκος, nimošino derives from the Modern Greek dialectal νημόσυνο (cf. Velvendo, v. E. Boundona, *op.cit.*, p. 96).

ἀνωφελής derives from ἀ- privative (= ἀν-) and ὄφελος (not ὄφελος).

The Northern dialectal form is νηρὸ (from an earlier νηρὸν - νερὸν) and not νηρόν.

Should read νύ(μ)φη and *νυφίτσα (!). νυφίτσα rather than νυφούλα must be a Bulgarian formation from νύφη and the ending -itsa. νυφίτσα already exists in Modern Greek; it means weasel the Bulgarian *nebestulka*. Should read νύχι, Post-classical σκαλιστήριον - Modern σκαλιστήρι.

nihnitir is not related to νύχι and νυχιάζω, but to the Post-classical λικμητήριον (dialectal Modern Greek λιμητέριν, λεγμετέριν, λεγμετέρ', λαγμητέρ, νεκλετέρ' and νεκλετήρ; v. N. Andriotis, *Lexicon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialecten*, Wien 1974, 5, 355), Modern Greek λιχνιστήρι (λιχνίζω).

- p. 131. Should read Νοέμβριος and Νοέμβρης *nunko*, *nunka* come from νουνός, νουνά, but with the Bulgarian ending -ko, -ka (cf. *maiko*, *maika*). *nutja* may also derive from the Modern Greek νοτιάς.

Should read ὁδηγήτρια, ὁδηγῶ, ὁδηγός, ὀξύς, ἥχος, Ὀκτώβριος - dialectal Ὀκτώβριος-, ὁμαλός, ὁμαλὸν (ἔδαφος) and ὁμαλή (φωνή).

- p. 132. Should read ὄμος. (ὀ)πιστία in dialect (cf. Velvendo) is οὐπ'-στιά. Should read ὀρέγω rather than ὀρέζω. Should read ὄρυζα, ὀρυζόγαλο, ὄρμημα and ὀρθοδοξία.

- p. 133. The aorist subjunctive of ἐπανακτῶ is (νὰ) ἐπανακτήσω and not (ἐ)πανάξω. Should read κοχλίας (but why from the Latin *cochlea* ? To ἐχτική, (= καθ' ἕξιν meaning νόσος) should be added.

Should read χτικιό (rather than φθίκιο). I do not know a verb φθέω = φθίνω. Should read παραβολή.

palamarka is unrelated to παλαμάρι; it is the dialectal Modern Greek παλαμαριά (παλάμη + ending -αριά), with the Bulgarian ending -ka.

- p. 134. Should read παλαμίδι (the plant ὄνωνις, v. Demetrakos), πηλαμός. *palat* derives from the Mediaeval and Modern Greek form παλάτι(ν). παλαβούρα is unknown to me -is it παλαβομάρα ?

Should read παλαιά, πᾶν and παν-ήγυρις (rather than παν-ήγυρος). See my comments above on p. 52-cf. p. 129 - for *panagó*.

- p. 135. Should read πινακωτή and πάγκος (rather than πάγκας). There is an Ancient word πάνδουρος (and πανδούρα), but it means musical instrument. Ducange gives παντουρίζειν: *vagari* (to wander, err), which is nearer to the meaning guard etc. of the Bulgarian; cf. πανδοῦροι = eighteenth century mercenaries -v. Demetrakos. Under *panihida*, *panahida*, should be noted: Ancient παννυχίς, Mediaeval παννυχίδα (e.g.: παννυχίδες νεκρώσιμοι, Ducange), Modern dialectal παννυχίδα (= πρόσφορον, oblation bread. N. Andriotis, *Lex. d. Archaismen*, et.al.).

Should read ἀπανταχοῦ, χρυσομαλλοῦ, χρυσομαλλοῦσα and παππᾶ (accusative). I consider παππῖ to be a diminutive of πάπια. As well as having aorist subjunctive παύσω, παύω also has πάψω, from which *paps-am* derives regularly.

- p. 136. The Bulgarian *pará* in such phrases as *ne para (čini)* (= not much), cf. *ne čini ni pet pari*, may not derive from the preposition παρά as the author states, but from ὁ παρὰς (Turkish *para*), and the phrase *ne para (čini)* is similar to the Greek δὲν κάνει δεκάρα, δὲν ἀξίζει ἓναν παρά. The δὲν παρά referred to by the author is not spoken by itself but rather in sentences with verbs, such as δὲν παρατρώω, δὲν παραπίνω = I do not eat/drink excessively.

paravec (gipsy) should rather be linked to παραβάτης (apostate; cf. Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ παραβάτης = Julian the Apostate).

Should read κροσσωτό.

paraklis should be given two separate entries: 1) small church or side-chapel παρακλήσι παρεκκλήσι(ον) 2) prayer, παράκληση.

Should read παρεκκλησιάρχης. *paramanka* (kind of brooch) does not derive from παραμάννα meaning wet-nurse, but from παραμάννα meaning a kind of clasp, from the Italian *paramano* (Venetian *paraman*).

Should read παρόνομα. *parapatija* derives directly from παραπατῶ.

- p. 137. It is only with difficulty that one can relate the word *parasina*, in the sense of desert, deserted thing, with the verb παραιτῶ. It is preferable to link it with *parjasvam* (p. 138) = Ancient παρεῶ - Modern dialectal παριάω (future παριάσω) etc. (v. N. Andriotis, *Lex. d. Archaismen*). In the sense of thin, ill, it should be linked to παράσημος = bogus, Modern Greek dialectal, παράσουμος (v. N. Andriotis, *op.*

cit. et al.). Should read παρασπορά, Σποράδες, σιφούνι, πάροιχος and οἶκος. Should be inserted: cf. Ducange under πάροιχος. I am of the opinion that *paratiké, paratiko paratika*, are all related to παραιτῶ > παρατήσω, and have no connection with the Ancient παραθήκη, because the meaning does not help.

- p. 138. The word πασπάλη is not modern but ancient Greek (see L.S.J.). See my comments on p. 28 for *patitra*. The word πάτος (= trodden, beaten path) should be described as Ancient Greek (v. *Odyssey*, 9, 119). In modern dialect, however, πάτος is the sole of a shoe; (cf. the phrase μ' ἔφυγιν οὐ πάτους) hence πατάκ(ι) = door-mat (Velvendo).

- p. 139. *patisvam* is not to be linked to *patosvam*, so as to derive both from πατώνω (πατώσω). I consider *patisvam* to derive from πατῶ (πατήσω).

paija, pata etc. derive from πάθω (from παθαίνω). Should read παιδεύσω, παιδέψω, πεζόβολος and πέζα. βόλος should be added to βάλλω. Should read πέλεκυς. *pelka* (πελέκι) probably derives from the accusative τὸν πέλεκυ (of the augmentative ὁ πέλεκας). πέλτη should be described as Ancient Greek.

- p. 140. Should read -άρα, πέντε (ἄρτοι), Πεντηκοστή, πεταλώνω (πεταλῶ is Post-classical Greek), ἐπιθυμῶ, (ἐ)πιθυμήσω and (ἐ)πιθυμία. There is no word, Ancient, Mediaeval or Modern, πεντηάρτοση (!); only Modern τὸ πεντάρτι and ἡ πεντάρτη (v. Λαογραφία II, 1934-37, 82, 233, 550 and 12, 1938-48, 183) from πέντε ἄρτοι. The Bulgarian *pentiarतोzi* from (τοὺς) πέντε ἄρτους, cf. also *pentarto*, with -o, rather than (πεντάρτοι) -ι-η). πεντηκοστάριον derives from πεντηκοστός = (fiftieth + ἄριον and not from πεντακόσια (= five hundred)).

The form *pipon*, must derive from the Modern Greek dialectal, πιπόν' (τοῦ πιπόν' in the Northern dialects, meaning melon). The Bulgarian *petimen* (he who is anxious or longing for something) either derives from ἐπιθυμία, with the Bulgarian ending -en (cf. *pitimen*) or could be the participle πεθαμένος, because in Greek (as in English) πεθαίνω also means to long for something e.g. πεθαίνω γιὰ ταξίδια, εἶμαι πεθαμένος γιὰ φαῖ («I'm dying to eat») etc.

- p. 141. Should read πετονιά. The word *petura* (= thin leaf of dough for flake pastry) has no relation to πέταλον, but is linked to the Modern Greek dialectal πέταρα and πέτουρα (which means the same as petura, but also a kind of pastry cake, γιοφκάδες, G. Meyer—*Neugr.*

Studien II, 71, —claims that the word is the Albanian *pete, petule*; cf. E. Bonga, *Tà γλωσσικά ιδιώματα τῆς Ἡπείρου*, Athens 1964, p. 302 (= πέττ'ρα from πέττω); in my opinion it derives from the Greek πέταυρα (= perch or platform).

Should read περιβόλιον, πιπέρι should be described as Modern, and πέπερι as Ancient, and not vice-versa. Should read πῦρ and περίγρᾱ (v. my comments on p. 30). πυρρούλας is Ancient, not Modern, as the author writes (from ἡ πυρρὰ = red bird).

- p. 142. *Pirus* should have two separate entries: 1) meaning firedog, andiron (*pirustija*), from πυροστιά - *pirustija* with omission 2) meaning orifice, mouth etc., from πῖρος (Italian *piro*).

The Greek πυροστιά does not derive from πυροστάτης, but from the Mediaeval πυρ-εστιά = (πῦρ+ἔστια). πυροστάτης and πυρομάχος (and πυριστάτης) are simply cognate words in respect to their meaning. The Modern Greek πίσσα, does not derive from the Latin *pix* (!), but from the Ancient Greek πίσσα (and πίττα). The adjective πηκτός and its feminine, used as a noun, πηκτή, already exist in Ancient Greek (Doric, πακτός, πακτά). Under *plasvam*, *plasam* should be read the Modern Greek πλάθω - aorist subjunctive (vā) πλάσω, from the Ancient verb πλάττω.

- p. 143. Should read πλήμ(μ)υρα, πλίνθος, πλώρη, πλαγά (rather than πλάγα), πλήττω; next to πολυπαθῆς the Modern πολύπαθος should be added. Should read πάθος (rather than πάθης) and πόντιλον.

- p. 144. Under *potir*, should be added: Mediaeval ποτήριν, Modern ποτήρι (Northern dialect πουτήρ) Ancient ποτήριον. See my comments on p. 22 for *potura* (= ἀπό τώρα). πράττω is Ancient, not Modern. The Ancient form should read πρᾶγμα, not πρά(γ)μα, but the word does not mean work (*ráбота*). Should read *πρα(γ)ματάρης; this would appear to be Mediaeval (cf. *klisar* on p. 108, and comment above). *primatja* should be deleted under *prámata*, and stand only under *pramatija* (cf. Mediaeval πραματία (*sic*) Ducange, under πράμα, Modern ἡ πραμάτεια).

- p. 145. See my comments re. p. 42. for *prepen*. Should read πρίων. It is not likely that *preskurnik* (= wooden cross with text for stamping the Eucharistic loaves) derives from προσφορά. There is, however, proskora = προσφορά (p. 146). περιπέλομαι is Ancient, not Modern, and it is therefore difficult to derive the Bulgarian *prpilikvam* (to whirl) from this verb.

- p. 146. *proiorata* is written *proīoratja* under *horata*. Should read *όδεύω*, *προσώδιον* (is *prosōdija* also from the Ancient *προσφδία* ?). *πρόπολις* is a Post-classical word.
- p. 147. Should read *προτιμοῦμαι*, *πρωτόγερος*, *πρῶτος* (this is incorrectly spelt throughout the book). *σύγκελλος* -as it should be written in *πρωτοσύγγελος*; the word is not from *πρῶτος* + *συγκελλεύω* = *σὺν* + *κελεύω* (!), but from *σὺν* + *κέλλα* (Latin *cella*). I do not know the word *πρόφυρος*, nor can I find it in any Modern Greek Lexicon. Should read *προφητέω*. I do not understand the Ancient Greek phrase: *ἐν τὸ προστ' οἰκίας* = *ἐν τῷ προστ'...* = *πρόσθεν* ?). Should read *ψάλλω* (twice mis-spelt).
- p. 148. Should read *τὰ ψαλτικά* (plural). The proper order of the words under the entry *psovisvam* is 4, 3, 5, 2, 1, 7, 6.
Should read *πουγγί(ο)ν*, Modern *πουγγί*, *άρραβόνας*.
The derivation of *psun* (*pšun*) from the Modern *ψώνι* (Post-classical *ὠψώνιον*) is correct.
- p. 149. Should read *ρήξ*. Does *risam* (= hear, esteem) derive perhaps from *ὀρίζω* rather than *χαρίζομαι* (cf. *ὄρσε*, *ὀρίστε*, *ὀρίσατε*!) ? *rizato* is probably from the Modern *ρυζᾶτο* (*ρύζι* + ending -*ᾶτο*).
Should read *ρέπανον* (Ancient), *ρίπιδιον*, *ρίπεις*, *ρήτορας*, *ρήτωρ*, *ρόφέω* and *ρουφητόν*. *ροφητός* is Post-classical; the Modern word is *ρουφηχτός*, *ρυκάνη*. I do not believe that *ripanja* derives from the plural (*τὰ*) *ρεπάνια* (on this, v. above, comments re. p. 39).
- p. 150. Should read *ρόπαλον*, *ροφαία* and *ρομφαία*. In my opinion, *ruffa* is related not to *ρουφηξιά* (as it should read), but to *ρουφῶ* (**ρουφιά* ?). Should read *σακέλλιον*. *ροφαία* should be described as Modern Greek dialectal (= boldness, sudden death, v. Andriotis, *op. cit.*), while *ρομφαία* is Ancient.
- p. 151. Should read *τριαντάφυλλον*, *ἀπεικάζω*, *ἀπεικάσω*, *σαπούνι*, *σαπώνιν*, *Ψυχάρη*, *σαπούνι* and *Σαρακηνός*. «+ ending -*ίζω*» should be added after *σαράντα* (under the entry *sarantisvam*). It is possibly *sarandis* rather than *sarandos*, since *σαραντίζω* would give us the noun **σαράντιση*. *Sondál* derives rather from demin, *σανδάλι(όν)*.
- p. 152. *σαράκιον* is a diminutive of the Mediaeval *σάραξ* (B) (= *tinea*) (v. L.S.J. = *Glossaria*). The author refers to the first edition of Andriotis' *Lexicon*: the second, however, should be seen here. In Modern Greek dialect, the form *σαρδούνι* is preserved instead of *σαρδόνι*

(Λαογραφία 2,1910,636). σαρδόνιον is Ancient — Xenophon Cyn. 6, 9—, diminutive of σαρδών, and means the rope sustaining the upper-edge of a hunting-net (Polydeuces 5, 31).

σαυρίδιον is diminutive of σαῦρος, and thus not σαῦρος + εἰδής (compound), but σαυρ-ίδιον- i.e. with the ending -ίδιον, cf. χοῖρος - χοιρ-ίδιον. It is possible that the form *svingar* is from the Greek dialectal σφιγγάρι Northern dialectal σφιγγάρ' (erroneously derived from σφιγγω); v. Ἀθηνᾶ 4, 1892, 470 and 42, 1930, 245.

Should read (as Ancient Greek) σκωρία (rather than σκουρία) and Σεπτέμβριος. There is no Ancient Greek τσίρμα (Bernard, *Bull. de la Soc. ling.* 92 says it is used by Sophocles), nor for that matter are there any Ancient Greek words beginning with τσ-.

The word in Ducange is written τζέρμα.

Should read σίδηρος (rather than σίδερος).

- p. 153. The Bulgarian *siderovolja* derives from the Post-Classical or Mediaeval σιδηροβόλιον (= anchor, v. Sch. Luc. *Lex.* 15). συκομορέα should be described either as Ancient or as literary Greek, not Modern. Should read σύκον and ἕδρα.

- p. 154. The form σειράδα, from which the Bulgarian *sirada* derives, is Mediaeval (v. Eustathius 1291, 31 and 1923, 55; cf. σειράς, -άδος, cf. Demetrakos). The forms σειράδι and σειράιν are found in Modern Greek dialects (v. Andriotis, *op. cit.*). Should read σιφούνι, ἐσχάρα, σκαρίς, -ίδος (twice) and σκαρίς. σκαρώνω is Modern and means the same as the Bulgarian word, and not consider, have in mind, as the author maintains.

- p. 155. The form *skepar'* derives from the Modern Greek dialectal σκεπάρ' = σκεπάρνι (cf. σκιπάρ' in Velvendo).

The forms *skepcvam*, *skepcam* derive from the stem σκεψ-, e.g. σκέψ-η. σκιλίδα is Modern Greek dialectal, the Ancient form being σκελῖς. See my comments on p. 29 for skili'omida. Should read ὁμοειδής. The Bulgarian *skimaten* may derive from the stem σχηματ- (of the word σχῆμα and the Bulgarian ending -en, or from the untestified Greek *σχημάτινος. *skit* derives from the Mediaeval σκῆτη (< Post-classical σκητις etc.); I do not know any Greek σκῆτος. σκύφος, rather than σκύθος, means γαβάθα, a shallow bowl. The verbs *skitaksuvam* and *skitaksam* (= I see, note, discern) do not, in my opinion, derive from the Greek verb κοιτάζω-κοιτάξω with the addition of s-(σ-), but are more likely to come from the verb (ἐ)ξετάζω, (ἐ)ξετάσω and (ἐ)ξετάξω which also means observe, see, and where

there is also the regular *ks* = *sk*, as in the preceding entry *skistro* = ξύστρο.

- p. 156. σκόλωψ should be described as Ancient, but does not mean the same as *stradanije* (passion, suffering) (the meaning *stradanije* «suffering» is Mediaeval), but stake, or thorn. Should read σκολό-πεντρα and σκολόπενδρα. The Bulgarian *skul'io* also derives from the Northern dialectal σκουλειό. Should read σκοπός. σκώπτω should be described as Katharevousa.
- Should read ξυρός (rather than ξύρον and ξύρος). There is no Modern Greek σκρίνα. Should read σκρίνιο (Λαογραφία 2, 1910, 623 and 14, 1952, 197). See my comments re. p. 23 for σκοπιάζω.
- p. 157. Should read σκουριά and σωκάρδι. (ή) σωλήνα rather than ό σωλή-νας is dialectal, in any case, both the Modern Greek and the Bulgarian forms derive from the Ancient accusative, (τόν, τήν) σωλήνα. Should read: σπάνις (rather than σπάνος) or σπανός.
- p. 158. The Modern σπαράγγι (singular) derives from the Mediaeval σπαράγγιον (Sophocles) and σπαράγγι (Ducange) = Ancient άσπαράγιον, diminutive of Ancient άσπάραγος. I am unaware of a Mediaeval form σπαράγγον. *spata* derives either from the Ancient ή σπάθη or from the Modern ή σπάθα (augmentative of σπαθί). σπήλια as plural of σπήλιο, is dialectal, but see my comments above re. p. 39. Should read σπιλάς. I do not know any Modern Greek dialectal σπουτάζω (!). Andriotis (*op. cit.* under σπουδάζω) gives a Cappadocian form σπουτάζω. Should read έν σπουδή. There is no Modern Greek σταβάρα. The Bulgarian form *stánara* derives regularly from the Modern Greek σταβάρι with the Bulgarian ending -a, perhaps from a Greek form στάβαρα. Should read πρώτα.
- p. 159. *stafidósvam* either derives from the Mediaeval form σταφιδόω-ω or from σταφίδα-σταφιδιάζω, but with the Bulgarian ending -ósvam. Should read σταφυλή and σταφύλι. στιβάλι (Ducange: στιβάλια· Italis *stivalli*) should be described as Mediaeval (Ducange, cf. στή-βάνι) and Modern dialectal (Crete). *stihira* does not, in my opinion, derive from the Greek plural τὰ στιχηρά; it is another instance of the Bulgarian ending -a in place of -o of the Greek singular (v. above, re. p. 39). The same is true of *stihija* (= στοιχεῖο). *stihiosam* derives from στοιχειώνω - (νά στοιχειώσω).
- p. 160. στομάχι should be described as Modern Greek. The Bulgarian sense is already present in Post-classical Greek. Should read δσπρα-κον, which should be described, along with δσπρακτιον, as Ancient.

The phonetic change *mn-vn*, noted in the word *stomna* (stovna), also occurs in Greek; *μν-βν* (vice - versa, cf. *ἐλαύνω* = *ἐλάβηνω*) *λάμνω*). Should read *στρατηγός*. *stratik* derives exclusively from *στρατηγός* (*στρατιώτης* provides nothing, other than the meaning). *σταθούρι*, should be described as Modern Greek, and *στέργω* as Ancient. There is no augmentative *στρείδα*, and no Modern Greek form *στρογγύλα*. In both these cases, the *-a*, must be regarded as a Bulgarian analogical ending (v. above re. p. 39). *σωληνάριον* exists in Post-Classical and Mediaeval Greek, and is diminutive of the Ancient *σωλήν* (+*άριον*).

- p. 161. *σοῦρβα*, meaning New Year's Day, also exists in Greek dialects; v. *Λαογραφία* 3, 1911, 149 ff., where the verb *σουρβίζω* = beat with branches of *sorbus* (sorb, service-tree), = New Year custom. The future is *σουρβίσω*, not **σουρβίkw* (!). Should read *σύρω*, *σχῆμα*, late Greek *Σάββατον*. The form *Σάμβατον* is Ancient dialectal, *sātaksumam* derives, I think, like *skitaksunam* and *skitaksam*, from *(ἐ)ξετάζω*, *(ἐ)ξετάσω* and *(ἐ)ξετάξω*. *sātaksumam se* perhaps derives from *συντάσσομαι* - *συντάξομαι*, cf. *taksumam. taístro* is from Modern Greek dialectal *τάιστρο* (cf. Modern dialectal *ταή* = *ταγή*).
- p. 162. *taksidar* derives from the Mediaeval *ταξιδάρης* (v. my comments re. p. 26) and not from the Modern *ταξιδιάρης*. Should read *θάρρος*. *τάρταρος* should be described as Ancient (cf. also Ducange, as Mediaeval). Should read *ΤαίΓιαγνιού* and *ἐορτή*. See *Ἀθηνᾶ* 24, 1912, 55, for the dialectal form *θεμέλι*. Should read *Θεοφάνια* and *τετράς*. *tjaf* derives from the Mediaeval (v. Ducange under *τέαφη*).
- p. 163. Should read *τηγανίζω* (... *τηγανίσω*). *τυκάνια* is the plural of the Modern dialectal *τυκάνι* but the *ja* (-a) is Bulgarian. Should read *θυμιάζω*, which should be described as Mediaeval (*Geopon.* 12, 8, 8). *times* derives from the Mediaeval *θύμηση* (*Erotocr.* A 115) which in turn comes from the Ancient *ἐνθύμησις*. *τυπῶ* should be described as Ancient. The sense of *tira* meaning door (*vrata*) should be classified as no.(1). *τώρα* derives from *τῆ ὥρα* (not *τῆ[v] ὥρα!*). Should read *τραυλός* (and *τραβλός*). *traga* (= bad smell) is formed directly from *τράγος*, *τράγεια* is the feminine of the Post-classical adjective *τράγειος* (*τράγεια* and *τραγεῖα* mean goatskin).
- p. 164. The forms *τριαντάφυλλο*, *τραντάφλου*, *τρεντάφ(υ)λλο* etc. are Greek dialectal (Northern dialect) **τετράπεζα* is a conjectural form of the Ancient. *τράπεζα* should be described as Ancient; the Modern form

is *τραπέζι*. Should read *τριήμερος* and *πρίονος* (cf. *prion*).

- p. 165. For *τροπητήρ* rather than *τροπητήρι*, see my comments re. pp. 25 & 30.

Should read *τροπητ-ήρος*, *θρίσσα* or *φρίσσα* (rather than *τρίσσα*), *τροφηλός*, *τρύφων* (or *τροφή*), *τουβλο* (the *-a* is Bulgarian, *τουβλα* being plural in Greek). *τύμπανον* should be regarded as Ancient or literary, the Modern form being *τούμπανο*.

- p. 166. The Bulgarian *ungija* derives from the Ancient *οὐγγία* (also *οὐγκία*), which comes from the Latin *uncia*. Should read *ὀρκίζω*, *ὀρκίσω* and *ὀρκος*. The Bulgarian *urgisvam*, *urgisam* = curse derive from *ὀργίζ-ομαι* (*ὀργισθῶ*), cf. *ὀργισμένος* = accursed (Demetrakos). The aorist subjunctive of *φαντάζομαι* is *φανταστῶ* (*-σθῶ*), but *φαντάξ-* comes from *φαντάζω* (aorist subjunctive *φαντάξω*).

Should read *Φαρισαῖος*. *fanar* and *farmak* derive from the Modern dialectal forms *φανάρ*³, *φαρμάκ*³ etc. of the Northern dialects. The forms: Mediaeval *φασούλιν* and *φασηόλιον* and Ancient *φασήολος* should be mentioned. Should read *Φεβρουάριος*.

- p. 167. There is no Ancient Greek form *φύλλος* (!). Should read *θηρεύω*, *θύρα* (not *φυρά*). There is no Modern dialectal word *φυτεριά* or *φυταριά*. *fitarja* must either derive from the Post classical *φυτάριον* or from the Mediaeval *φυτῶριον*. Should read *φλάουτο*. *φλορίνι* (general Demotic) should be added alongside *φλουρίνι* (Northern dialect).

- p. 168. The page number is missing. Should read *φόρτωμα* (rather than *φόρτιμα*); this thus derives from *φορτώνω* not from *φορτίζω*, which now means something else. The meaning «wood stolen from the mountains», derives from the Modern Greek sense of *φόρτωμα* = a load, an amount such as could be carried by one animal: e.g. *ένα φόρτωμα ξύλα* (Demetrakos). The meaning of thick rope is preserved today in the Modern dialects. *φθάνω* is *katharevousa*; the common Demotic is *φτάνω*, from which the Bulgarian *ftasvam* etc. is derived. *ftasija* probably derives from the Greek stem *φτάσ-* and the Bulgarian ending *-ija*. The literary *πταῖσμα* did not come from the Modern **φταῖσμα*. Should read *χτικιό* rather than *φθίκιο* (!). See also my comments re. p. 133. Should read *φοῦρνος*.

- p. 169. Should read *φουστανέλλα*. The aorist subjunctive of *χαλῶ*, *χαλνῶ* is *χαλάσω*. In Bulgarian it gained the ending *-osvam*. *χαρακῶ* is Ancient Greek. *χάρις* (twice) is again Ancient and *katharevousa*;

Demotic is ἡ χάρη (Northern dialectal ἡ χάρ', cf. below *harak* from the Northern dialectal form τοῦ χαράκ'), from which, or from (νὰ) χαρ(ῶ), with the Bulgarian ending -en, comes *haren* etc. *χάρκωμα* should be described as Modern.

- p. 170. *χάρος* (which appears twice) should be described as Mediaeval (Ducange) and Modern. *harosvam* comes not from *χαρὰ* but from *χαίρομαι* - aorist subjunctive (νὰ) *χαρῶ*. *hartija* comes from the Mediaeval Greek *χαρτὶν* (Modern *χαρτί*). The form *χαρτίον* (diminutive of the Ancient *χάρτης*) is Ancient and literary. Should read *ἐγγελευς*. The forms *ὑπερετῶ*, *ὑπερετήσω* (and *περετῶ-περετήσω*) derive from the regular *ὑπηρετῶ-ὑπηρετήσω*; *χειρ* and *τονῶ* (*χειρ* + *τονῶ*) are Ancient. Should read *χλαμύδα* and *χλεύη*. *χλευάζω* is both Ancient and katharevousa. (And *χοντροκέφαλος*).
- p. 171. Should read *χορός* (accusative τὸν χορό) = Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern Greek word, *horjatin* is from the dialectal stem *χοургιάτ'* (= *χωριάτ-*) and the Bulgarian ending -in. *ρέυμα* is Ancient; the modern word is *ρέμ(μ)α*, but the Bulgarian *hrema* which means irritation and streaming of the nose with sneezing-Hay-fever, derives from the Post-classical *χρέμμα* (from the verb *χρέμπτομαι*). Should read *χρῖσμα*, *χρήσις*, *χρυσόβουλλο(ν)*. *χρηστομάθεια* (this word should be described as Post-classical), *χειρομύλη* (Ancient: v.e.g. Diosc. 5, 58, Xenophon, *Cyr.* 6, 2, 31; v.L.S.J. which also gives *χειρομύλιον*, Modern *χειρόμυλος* and *χερόμυλος*).
- p. 172. Should read *τσάμπουρο* (rather than *τσαμβούρον*), dialectal form of *τσαμπί*, v. e.g. E. Bonga, *Τὰ γλωσσικὰ ιδιώματα τῆς Ἡπείρου*, p. 392. *σεῦκλον* should be described as Mediaeval (Ducange) and *σεῦτλον* as an Ionic form of the Ancient *τεῦτλον*. *ζύμη* should be described as Ancient and literary. Should read *τσίπουρο* (rather than *τσίπουρι*), *σιφούνι* (twice), *τσίρος* (*τσῆρος*) (there is no Ancient word *σκήρος*), *σάλιαγκας* (Mediaeval *σαλίγκας*), *συγκολλῶ* (rather than *συγκαλῶ*), *συγκολλήσω* (here also the Bulgarian ending -*osvam*).
- p. 173. The Modern *σύρτα-φέρτα* derives from the phrase *σύρε τα, φέρε τα*, and not from *συρτός + φερτός*. Modern demotic is *συρτάρι*, the form *συρτάρ'* being Northern dialectal. Should read *ἀσκητής*, *σοῦφρα*, *Ἰούλης*, *Ἰούλιος* and *Ἰούνιος*. The form *ἄγνωρος* is certainly Ancient, but both it and the form *ἄγουρος* derive from the Ancient adjective *ἄωρος*.

Should read γιαλός (rather than γιαλό, which is accusative: τὸν γιαλό). The word derives from the Ancient αἰγιαλός. Should read Ἰανουάριος.

There are the following mis-spellings in the Greek Bibliography

- p. 178. Should read Ἑλλήνων, Ἀθῆναι, Ἑπετηρίς ἐν τῇ νέᾳ Ἑλληνικῇ, p. 171, βορείων ιδιωμάτων.
- p. 179. Should read ιδιωμάτων, θησαυροῦ, Νεοελληνικῆς, ὁμόσπονδο, Σκοπίων, Σημ. ἐτ., καθ' ἡμᾶς γλώσσης, καὶ τῶν ιδιωμάτων and Χατζ. (rather than Χετζ.).
- p. 180. Should read γλώσσης, ἡ μελέτη and αὐτῇ.

Apart from the Lexicon of Eleftheroudakes, which the author has already noted, the following publications are not cited in the bibliography: I.I.B.E. v. e.g., p. 158, under the entry *stavrov*), the Lexicon of Milev-Bratkov-Nikolov (*Rečnik na čuždite dumi v' bālgarskija ezik*, Sofia 1958), and the journal Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν; Chadjidakes' Τὰ Μεσαιωνικά καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά is cited as MNE, while in the references it is called Μεσαιων. (v. my comments re. pp. 27 & 28).

Further, while the author gives the second edition of Andriotes' *Lexicon* in the bibliography, she does not refer to the pages of this edition. Had she done so, she would have avoided repeating the errors in the *Lexicon* which Andriotes corrected in the second edition: e.g. σαράκι (v. above, re. p. 152), where Andriotes corrects the old etymology *σηράκ-ιον to σάραξ. Again it is not explained why there are so many references to antiquated Ancient Greek Lexica published in Greece (like that of Byzantios - Βυζ.ΛΕΓ), when Liddel-Scott-Jones-McKenzie (LSJ) is available. It is not always stated whether the Greek words from which the Bulgarian words are derived are Ancient, Post-classical, Mediaeval or Modern, not whether the last are common Demotic or dialectal. In cases where such classification is made, there are frequently mistakes: e.g. σκαρώνω (p. 154), described merely as «Gr.», although it is Modern. An entry which should be included is the very common *gastronom*, which derives from γαστρονόμος (γαστρονομία), but as we saw, the author does not include loan-words which came from literary Greek.

It is to be hoped that a new edition will succeed in eradicating such mistakes, many of which, such as the mis-spellings and misprints, are not serious enough to detract entirely from the value of a book which in other respects is so satisfactory.

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ΙΑΝΕ = *Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς νέας Ἑλληνικῆς*, Ἀθῆναι 1934 (v. p. 33).

LSJ = Liddel - Scott - Jones - McKenzie, *Greek - English Lexicon*, Oxford 1966.

Bull. de la Soc. ling. = *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris*, Paris 1868 κέξ.