

The Arvanite compound edaphonyms as fossils of language contact in the Greek dialect of Achaia

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Summary

The Arvanite compound edaphonyms are fossils of language contact in the Greek dialect of Achaia due to their Hellenization (adaption and shift). They are a crucial source for research on the Arvanite compounding in terms of morphological construction, lexical reconstruction, ethnography and glottochronology, as they maintain Albanian and/or lost elements/structures and they amount a satisfactory proportion of words. Lexical and structural hybridization reflects stratification and morphological asymmetries. They are not physical one-word compounds but rather artificial ones, starting from two-word phrasal compounds (rarely three-word prepositional phrases), which have been lexicalized via a morphophonological reanalysis. Inflectional and featural variation of adaption is also attested.

Key-words: edaphonyms, compounding, lexicalization, reanalysis, morphological adaption, fossilization.

1. Introduction¹

The paper² continues Fliatouras (2008, forthcoming a) who examines the Arvanite place names³ in the prefecture of Achaia as a special case of borrowing in the dialect of Achaia in order to redefine their role in cases of language death. Specifically, it will focus on the etymology and adaption of the Arvanite compound edaphonyms of Achaia (non-populated place names, e.g. parcels, hydronyms, mountains etc.), investigating the morphosemantic classification and the research of both, variation and construction issues. The material includes 128 edaphonyms, which were collected with fieldwork in 1999 under the preparation of the authors' PhD thesis.

¹ Abbreviations: AL = Albanian, C = consonant, DIM = diminutive, FEM = female, GEN = genitive, GH = Gheg, GK = Greek, INF = inflection, MAL = male, NEU = neuter, NOM = nominative, PLU = plural, SING = singular, SL = Slavic, SUF = derivational suffix, TK = Tosk, V = vowel. The symbol > indicates etymology, which has been checked during the fieldwork. The etymology of compound edaphonyms is stipulated by Standard Albanian. The connection with Albanian dialects is beyond the scope of this paper unless it is needed for the explanation of the phonological form (see 5). The Arvanitika-based place names as Greek loanwords follow a universal system of transliteration and the first letter is capitalized (note that λ = palatal l).

² This paper is an updated and enriched version of the authors' unpublished postdoctoral research within the research program *Pythagoras II* (for more information, see Fliatouras 2005, 2008).

³ 'Arvanite' is defined by means of criteria conditioned by usage rather than by etymology. Many constituents of place names are of Slavic, Turkish or Greek origin (see Orel 1998, Ylli 2000, Kyriazis 2001) but further etymology is beyond the scope of the paper (for analytical etymology, see Fliatouras 2008).

2. Place names and language contact

Fliatouras (forthcoming a), based on the investigation of the edaphonyms of Achaia, has shown that the research of the Arvanite place names is an ideal case to study under the scope of language death. Specifically, he observes that, while the Albanian-originated idiom of Arvanitika is at the stage of language death in most areas of Greece (see *inter alia* Trudgill 1976/77· Trudgill & Tzavaras 1977· Tsitsipis 1981, 1998· Sasse 1991· Banfi 1996· Liossis 2001, 2008· Botsi 2003), the number of place names preserved is large (see *inter alia* Fourikis 1929, 1930· Georgacas-Mc Donald 1967· Symeonidis 1992, 2010). They are used by Greeks and the majority of Arvanites without etymological, semantic and morphological identification. Furthermore, most of the place names have been registered in official sources (archives, geographical and military maps etc.) without having been renamed and the general attitude of the majority of speakers towards them is not negative. As a result, they constitute a primary source for morphological and lexical reconstruction and they retain older forms and structures due to their language and usage characteristics, such as resistance to physical change, pragmatic valency (emotional connection, ethnological connotations) etc.⁴

Moreover, Fliatouras (forthcoming a) claims that the Arvanite place names display a high degree of adaption due to their borrowing and full incorporation into Greek. Particular attention needs to be paid, however, because conservatism and high adaption work counter and several formations are produced by bilinguals (see *inter alia* Thomason & Kaufman 1988· Thomason 2001). Their phonological and morphological adaption is strong, systematic, gradable, interfacial and not only morphic but also structural. It operates on the basis of a Hellenization continuum, which extends from the preservative Albanian-based to the hybrid and Greek-originated formations. The morphological adaption is prototypical (phonologically predictable due to homophony) and non-prototypical (morphosemantically dependent). It is ‘leveling’ through lexicalization and reanalysis, eroding the segmental and structural transparency as it moves towards integration and encoding in the majority language. As a result, the Arvanite place names constitute an Arvanite-mediated and fossilized substratum of the Albanian language in the Greek language due to language shift, not perceptible by the Greek speakers and partially perceptible by the Arvanites depending on the degree of acquisition. Specifically, they could be considered as a type of interlingual special vocabulary created for ‘geographic/spatial communication’: the base is etymologically Arvanite but the morphophonological structure has been drastically affected by the language system of Greek, resulting in a hybrid system.

Furthermore, the Arvanite edaphonyms show a significant geographical spread in Achaia. There are many Arvanite villages scattered across highlands and lowlands, since many residents originally inhabiting on the mountainous areas migrated to the lowlands (see Triantafillou 1956). As a result, they are dispersed almost throughout the entire prefecture. The areas of villages in Achaia (populated, abandoned or used for summer vacation), where the Arvanite edaphonyms can be found (either, in Arvanite villages or not) are the following: (a) Municipality of Kalavryta:⁵ Mikros Pondias,

⁴ See among others Campbell (2004).

⁵ We follow the administrative division of the prefecture of Achaia in 1999.

Meyalos Pondias, Profitis Ilias, (b) Municipality of Leontion: Ano Mazaraki, Rakita, Ano Mira, Kato Mira, (c) Municipality of Patras: Mazi, Suli, Floka, Mihoi, Δrimaleika, (d) Municipality of Fare: Mirali, (e) Municipality of Δimi: Araksos, Γomosto, Niforeika, Bodeika, Riolos, Mazeika. The interesting point is that plenty of edaphonyms and the majority of the compound ones are found in areas which remain unpopulated or nowadays scarcely inhabited by Arvanites (e.g. Floka and Mihoi), proving not only their borrowability but also their substratum status in the Greek dialects.

3. Morphological adaption of the Arvanite edaphonyms⁶

Under the scope described above, it is very interesting to investigate more closely not only the construction and etymology of compound edaphonyms but also the degree of hybridization and the morphological asymmetries in contrast to the Greek language as a result of language contact. The analysis will follow both, a quantitative and thorough etymological presentation of the material.

Fliatouras (forthcoming a) shows that on an upward scale, we can identify the following cases of adaption:

- (1) Inflectional adaption: qafa ‘col’ > KiafaFEM
- (2) Constructional adaption:
 - (a) Derivational adaption:
 - AL sheshi ‘square’ + GK -akiSUF.DIM > Sesaki ‘small square’
 - AL qafa ‘col’ + GK -ulaSUF.DIM > Kiafula ‘small col’
 - (b) Compounding adaption
 - GK palios ‘old’ + AL sheshi ‘square’ > Palioseso ‘old square’.

Inflectional adaption is an almost mandatory rule for place names, as it enables a full-scale Hellenization. That is the reason for which the vast majority of Arvanite place names are inflected. Variation in inflectional adaption is not rare, e.g. *Guriglat* (uninflected) and *Guriglati* (inflected) ‘long rock’. Most edaphonyms are adapted as singular but some of them are plural either, by keeping the plural from Arvanitika or by being adapted to plural in Greek, e.g. *Aragioles* (-esINF.PLU) ‘field with lakes’.

The derivational and compound adaption reflects a later stratum of hybrid words, which presuppose bilingualism. Furthermore, place names not only retain derivatives/compounds that do not survive as common nouns but also keep their structures, which have been lost or absorbed by the Greek structures due to language death. Consequently, we will examine the case of Arvanite compound edaphonyms from such a perspective.

4. Construction of the Arvanite compound edaphonyms

Compounds is not a rare category of edaphonyms. The total amount of the Arvanite edaphonyms in Achaia are 652. The constructed ones are 269 (41.2%), from which 141

⁶ Most compound edaphonyms conform with the strong phonological adaption of the Arvanite edaphonyms due to the Hellenization (see Fliatouras forthcoming a).

are derivatives (21.6%) and 128 are compounds (19.6%).⁷ The impressive point is that among the Arvanite oikonyms (populated place names) there are no compounds found as they involve only simple words and derivatives.⁸ Furthermore, compounds are very rare in common nouns, as we can see in relative literature. As a result, edaphonyms are a basic source for studying the Arvanite compounding.

4.1 Compoundhood and lexicalization

Scalise and Vogel (2010: 4-5) show that there is no agreement on whether a compound is formed in Morphology or Syntax. Along the lines of the Morphology-Syntax interface, Ralli (2013a, b) shows that on the basis of their structural properties, compounds can be distinguished into two categories, depending on the language one deals with and the data used for illustrating various working hypotheses: (a) Morphological constructions: compounds resulting from morphological rules or templates and as such, sharing properties with other morphological objects, e.g. derived words, and (b) Syntactic constructions: phrasal compounds, which are derived from syntax but their structure is semi-visible to syntax and their meaning may be non-compositional.

Specifically, one-word compounds bear one basic stress and they show lexical integrity/word atomicity, absence of word-internal atomicity, presence of morphological categories, involvement of functional categories and strict order of constituents. On the other hand, the phrasal compounds show non-visibility to most syntactic operations, such as inversion of constituents, ability of the non-head to become definite, separate modifiability or coordination as well as semantic non-compositionality, namely idiosyncratic and opaque meaning, e.g. metaphoric etc. (see also Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1986· Ralli & Stavrou 1998). On the other hand, lexicalization involves the percolation of a syntactically- or morphologically-built phrase, including one-word or multi-word compounds respectively, into the Lexicon, namely mostly ‘hapax’ or artificial constructions.

The Arvanite compound edaphonyms do not seem to be ‘natural’ one-word compounds but rather artificial ones, since they are based on phrasal compounds that they have been reanalyzed to one-word compounds due to lexicalization. Specifically, phrasal compound place names are very frequent and it is not rare that they are being transformed into one-word compounds (see Fliatouras 2003). The clues, on which we rely are the following:

- (i) Etymological: The majority of Arvanite place names are phrasal (see among others Fourikis 1924· Georgacas-Mc Donald 1964). That is the same for Albanian compound place names (see among others Xhaferaj 2018 and references therein).
- (ii) Morphological: The postponed article of their morphosemantic head implies that they are syntactically-built. In most cases, postposition is not transparent,

⁷ We should note that the number corresponds to the authors’ postdoctoral material (Fliatouras 2008). The number of Arvanite place names is larger, as there are plenty of Arvanite place names that have not been yet etymologically defined.

⁸ See Symeonidis (2010).

since the phonological segment denoting the article could result from a phonological adaption (see 4.2.2), e.g. *Aramaði* ‘big field’ < *arë* ‘field’/ *ara* ‘the field’ + *e madhe* ‘big’. In many edaphonyms, however, postposition is transparent, e.g. *Kroimaði* ‘big fountain’ < *Kroi* ‘tap, fountain’ (cf. non-articled *krua*) + *i madh* ‘big’.

(iii) Phonological: They bear one primary stress and possibly a secondary one.

Lexicalization could be attributed to the shift of words due to both, the Hellenization (strong adaption and incorporation) and the language death of Arvanitika, which lead to the erosion of their etymological and morphological transparency. Indigenous speakers and non-bilingual Arvanites cannot realize phrasal or one-word compoundhood, but they rather have a sense that they are simple words. As a result, the analysis of such words as compounds is mostly etymologically-oriented and not morphologically-driven.

4.2 Reanalysis

The mechanism that allows the lexicalization of the Arvanite compound edaphonyms is a morphophonological reanalysis. Vowel articles and inflection endings are being adapted to the Greek system or they influence each other in order to make agglutination possible. Reanalysis functions either, on the end of the words allowing inflectional adaption (inflectional reanalysis) or between the two elements serving one-wording (connectional reanalysis).

4.2.1 Inflectional reanalysis

Fliatouras (forthcoming a) has shown that inflectional adaption of Arvanite place names involves both, phonologically-driven processes by the means of homophony and semantic-based processes due to some Greek influence.⁹ As far as compounds is concerned, inflectional reanalysis is connected only to prototypical adoption (homophony-based) and can be subcategorized into two cases, depending on the compound category:

(a) Noun + NounGEN > Noun + Noun: The Arvanite postponed articles of Genitive *-it*, *-ut*, *-ës* are reanalyzed to Greek inflectional suffixes *-i*, *-u*, *-a* respectively after the apocope of the final consonant. Depending on homophony between the Arvanite postponed article and the Greek inflection, the article is reanalyzed either, to Greek nominative allowing the analogical expansion to Greek neutrals ending in *-i* (cases a, b) or to Greek genitive keeping the phrasal status (case c). Reanalysis leads to full inflectionalization in cases a, b, whereas in case c it leads only to phrasal agglutination:

- (3) a. *-it*MAS.GEN.> *-i*NEU.NOM:
Kroi i kalit > *Krokali* ‘fountain of horse’
b. *-ës*FEM.GEN> *-a*FEM.NOM
Llaka e dosës > *Lakadoza* ‘pig pond of sows’

⁹ For the inflectional adaption of loans in Greek, see Anastassiadis-Symeonidis (1994)· Ralli, Gkiouleka and Makri (2012).

- c. -utMAS.GEN. > -uMAS.GEN:
 Varri i pliakut > Varipliak-u ‘grave of old man’.

There are some edaphonyms, however, of case b, which maintain the Arvanite genitive and are not adopted normally to the Greek inflectional system, e.g. *Kroi i llakës* > *Kroilaks* ‘fountain of valley’.

(b) Noun + Adjective: The Arvanite inflectional endings of the adjectives are reanalyzed to Greek noun inflectional endings via homophony-based phonological adaption. The most frequent pattern of reanalysis leads to neutralization. Specifically, -ëSING.MAS/FEM is usually reanalyzed to -aSING.FEM (case a), the rare -eFEM is reanalyzed to -iNEU (case b) and the consonant-ending stems are adapted to neutrals ending in -iNEU (case c). Case c is explained by the fact that consonant-ending stems are not prototypical in Modern Greek and the neuter gender is more appropriate to [-animate] words (see footnote 9).

- (4) a. -ëSING.MAS/FEM > -aSIN.FEM:
 Llaka e thellë > Lakaθela ‘deep valley’
 b. -eFEM > -iNEU:
 Ara e madhe > Aramaði ‘big field’
 c. -CMAS/FEM > -iNEU:
 Rrethi i bukur > Reθibukuri ‘beautiful circle’.

The adjectival gender, which is marked by the preposed article (*i*MAS *kuq*, *e*FEM *kuq* ‘red’), can be detected only by etymology, given that the adjective agrees with the noun in gender. However, it is easier to be identified only when the feminine form of the adjective is based on root allomorphy, e.g. *Maratzeza* (< *e zezë*FEM, cf. *i zi*MAS ‘black’).

Variation in inflectional reanalysis is also possible due to influence from Greek or preservation of the Arvanite gender etc. (see Fliatouras forthcoming a), e.g. *Rrahu i bukur* > *Raxibukuri*NEU and *Rahibukura*FEM ‘beautiful ridge’ (influenced by GK *Raxi*FEM), or lack of adaption, e.g. *Guri i gljatë* > *Guriglat* (non-adapted) and *Guriglati* (adapted) ‘long rock’, or phonological adaption, which is not accompanied by inflectional adaption, e.g. *Vigla e madhe* > *Viglamaðe* ‘big watching area’.

4.2.2 Connectional reanalysis

The postponed article (*-i*, *-a*) of the first constituent and the noun genitive or the adjectival article of the second constituent (*i*MAS.GEN/*e*FEM.GEN, *i*MAS.ADJ/*e*FEM.ADJ) create some vowel sequences, which are simplified in agglutination via apocope of element(s) or rarely, synaeresis. Vowel simplification allows the connection between the two constituents as follows:

- (5) a. a + e > a: Ara e madhe > Aramaði ‘big field’¹⁰
 b. i + i > i: Guri i gljatë > Guriglati ‘long rock’
 c. u + i > i: Rrahu i bukur > Raxibukuri ‘beautiful ridge’.

¹⁰ See also the exceptional *Luca e gljatë* > *Lutseglat*.

The new vowel segments *-a-* and most frequently *-i-* resemble to the function of Greek compound markers.¹¹ They could be considered as pseudo-compound markers, as they are not physical but rather imitative and/or they are not morphologically but only phonologically-driven segments, which are not visible to indigenous or non-bilingual speakers.¹²

4.3 Classification

The Arvanite compound edaphonyms are mostly attributive and they derive from two-or three-word phrases. They belong to two categorical structures (from the less frequent to the more frequent): [Noun + Adjective] and [Noun + Noun]. Since the Arvanite (Albanian-based) compounding is very different to Greek compounding (see Fliatouras forthcoming b), structural asymmetries can be identified as far as the headedness and the place of constituents are concerned. The majority of compounds follow the pattern [Simple Word + Simple Word]. Constructed constituents are very rare, e.g. *Klisegurizi* (< *gurizi* < *guri* ‘rock’ + *-zë* ‘diminutive, collective suffix’). In what follows, we will classify the Arvanite edaphonyms based on semantic criteria (all constituents are articulated):

4.3.1 Noun + Adjective

The prototypical categorical structure in endocentric Greek compounding is right-headed [Adjective + Noun] compounds (see Ralli 2005, 2013a). As a result, the left-headed Arvanite structure [Noun + Adjective] is reversed in contrast to Greek. The adjectival second constituent may belong to one of the following semantic categories:

- (6) Size:
 - a. *madh* ‘big, important’: *Aramaði* (< *ara* ‘field’), *Viglamaðe* (< *vigla* ‘watching area’), *Gurmaði* (< *guri* ‘rock’), *Karmaða* (< *karma* ‘rocky place’), *Kortsamaði* (< *gorrica* ‘pear tree’), *Kroimaði* (< *kroi* ‘fountain’), *Limimaði* (< *lëmi* ‘threshing floor’), *Malimaði* (< *mali* ‘mountain’), *Proimaði/ Proimaða* (< *prua* ‘dale’), *Raximaði* (< *rrahu* or GK *raxi* ‘ridge’), *Sesimaði* (< *sheshi* ‘square’)
 - b. *gjatë* ‘long’ (cf. TK *gljatë*): *Guriglat/Guriglati* (< *guri* ‘rock’ or *gurra* ‘fountain’), *Lakaglat/Lakaglati* (< GK *laka* ‘big pond’), *Lutseglat* (< *luca* ‘mud’), *Reglati* (< *rrega* ‘non-cultivated or abandoned, zone between mountainous rocks’)
 - c. *thellë* ‘deep, big’: *Lakaθela/Lakaθera* (< GK *laka* ‘big pond’), *Proiθel/Proiθela* (< *përroi* ‘gorge’).
- (7) Color (denoting soil composition):

¹¹ For more information about compound markers in Greek, see Ralli (2005, 2013a).

¹² See also the exceptional hybrid *Logopazan* (< Gr *logos* ‘forest’), where *-o-* is the prototypical compound marker of Greek.

- a. *kuq* ‘red’: *Vakuki* (< *va* ‘pass’), *Δrukuki* (< *druri* ‘tree’), *Kemekukia* (< GH *gjēmi* ‘thorn’), *Bizikuki* (< *bēzi* ‘red hill besides the sea’ or *buza* ‘lip, shore’), *Brekuki/Brekukia* (< TK *breku* ‘coast, shore’)
 - b. *bardhë* ‘white’: *Kroibarði* (*kroi* ‘tap, fountain’), *Lakabarði* (< GK *laka* ‘big pond’), *Lutsabarða* (< *luca* ‘mud’)
 - c. *zezë* ‘black’: *Maratzeza* (< *mara* ‘arbutus’).
- (8) Image:
- a. *bukur* ‘beautiful’: *Raxibukur/Raxibukuri/Raxibukura* (< *rrah-u* or GK *raxi* ‘ridge’), *Reθibukuri* (< *rreθi* ‘circle’), *Sesibukur/Sesibukuri* (< *sheshi* ‘square’)
 - b. *mirë*: *Velimiri* (< SL *bel* ‘white’), *Sisimiri* (< *sheshi* ‘square’).
- (9) Characteristic:
- a. *pazë* ‘quiet’: *Logopaza* (< *logu* or GK *logos* ‘forest’)
 - b. *butë* ‘calm’: *Raxibuti* (< *rrahu* < GK *raxi* ‘ridge’).

4.3.2 Noun + Noun

In the categorial structure [Noun + Noun], headedness is mostly defined by semantic criteria. The semantic head is left-handed, since the second constituent is either, a hyponym or a qualifier/modifier of the first constituent. This is contrary to Greek compounding, where the morphological and semantic head is prototypically right-headed (see Ralli 2013a). The first noun constituent may belong to one of the following semantic categories:

- (10) Geographical term:
- a. *ara* ‘field’: *Aragioles* (< *gjoli* ‘lake, swamp’ or *gjolla* ‘plaque on which salt is placed as animal food’), *Aregruri* (< *gruri* ‘wheat’), *Arezeyaidur* (< GK *γaiduri* ‘donkey’), *Arestamati* (< GK *Stamatis* ‘name’), *Ariginus* (< *Gjini* ‘name (John)’)
 - b. *bregu* ‘coast, little hill’: *Vrikoliaku/Vrikoliako* (< GK *Liakos* ‘name (Elias)’), *Brekumuriki/Brukmuriki* (< GK *muriki* ‘myrtle’), *Pregostavr* (< GK *Stavros* ‘name’)
 - c. *guri* ‘rock’ or *gurra* ‘fountain’: *Gustravaitu* (< GK *stravaitos*¹³ ‘booted angle’)
 - d. *llaka* ‘big pond’: *Lakavresti* (< *vreshti* ‘vineyard’), *Lakavrisi* (< GK *vrisi* ‘tap, fountain’), *Lakayiorji* (< GK *Fioryis* ‘George’), *Lakagioluzes* (< *gjoli* ‘lake, swamp’ or *gjolla* ‘plaque on which salt is placed as animal food’), *Lakagioni* (< *gjoni* ‘owl’), *Lakaðimu* (< GK *Δimos* ‘name’), *Lakaklis/Lakaklisa* (< *klissha* ‘church’), *Lakakoga* (< *Kogas* ‘surname’), *Lakakorða* (< *Korðas* ‘surname’), *Lakalutsi* (*luca* ‘mud, swamp’), *Lakabuba* (< *buba* ‘silkworm’), *Lakadoza* (< *dosa* ‘sow’), *Lakariki* (< *riqi* < GK *riki* ‘heather’), *Lakasor* (< *sorra* ‘crow’), *Lakaxarbila* (< *Xarbilas* ‘surname’), *Lakidarði* (< *dardha* ‘pear tree’), *Lakui* (< *uji* ‘water’)
 - e. *lëmi* ‘threshing floor’: *Limikakuri* (< *Kakuris* ‘surname’)

¹³ *Stravaitos* has been produced by the original word *stavraitos* (< *stavros* ‘cross’ + *aitos* ‘angle’) via metathesis, possibly due to folk etymology (cf. *stravos* ‘blind’).

- f. *luca* ‘mud, swamp, wet place’: *Lutsarıani* (< GK *Gianis* ‘John’), *Lutsagini* (< *Gjini* ‘John’), *Lutsabual* (< *bualli* ‘buffalo’), *Lutsaprefteresas* (< *prifteresha* ‘priest’s wife’), *Lutsaprifti* (< *prifti* ‘priest’, *Lutsariki* (< *riqi* < GK *riki* ‘heather’)
- g. *mali* ‘mountain’: *Malivrisi* (< GK *vrisi* ‘tap, fountain’), *Maliθana* (< *thana* ‘dogwood’), *Malakari* (< *qarri* ‘oak’)
- h. *përroi* ‘gorge’: *Brukali* (< *kali* ‘horse’), *Brumali* (< *mali* ‘mountain’), *Proipirıyu* (< GK *pirıyos* ‘tower’)
- i. *qafa* ‘col’: *Giavzaderi/Kevzaderi*¹⁴ (< *derri* ‘pig’), *Kefauliku* (*ujku*¹⁵ ‘wolf’), *Kiafavigla* (< *vigla* ‘watching area’), *Kiafagioni* (< *gjonı* ‘owl’), *Kiafıeroma* (< GK *ıeroma* ‘pigsty’)
- j. *rrahu* ‘ridge’: *Raxaklısa* (< *klısha* ‘church’), *Raxivıđi* (< *vidhi* ‘elm’), *Raxilepura* (< *lepur* ‘rabbit’), *Raxıpirıyu* (< GK *pirıyos* ‘tower’), *Raxıturku* (< GK *Turkos* ‘Turk’), *Raxıazaraki* (< *Mazaraki(s)* ‘place name, surname’), *Raxıdarđa* (< *dardha* ‘pear tree’), *Raxıuri* (< *ura* ‘bridge’)
- k. *varikoi* ‘wet field, swamp’: *Varkełopi* (< *lopa* ‘cow’).
- (11) Phytonym (plant or tree name):
- a. *dardha* ‘pear tree’: *Derđekanelu* (< GK *Kanelos* ‘name’)
- b. *kopra* ‘fennel’: *Koprınikos* (< GK *Nikos* ‘Nick’)
- c. *rrapi* ‘plane tree’: *Rapıgioni* (< *gjon-i* ‘owl’)
- d. *verri* ‘willow tree’: *Verızaıo* (< GK *Zaıos* ‘name’).
- (12) Installation (buildings etc.):
- a. *klısha* ‘church’: *Klısegurızı* (< *gurızı* ‘rocky place’)
- b. *kroi* ‘tap, fountain’: *Kruzupani* (< *Zupanı* ‘surname’), *Kroılaks* (< *llaka* ‘pit’), *Kroıpali* (< *pylli* ‘forest’), *Kroıpaskali* (< *Paskali* < GK *Pasıalis* ‘name’), *Kroıskıpia* (< *shıqıja* ‘angle’), *Krosora* (< *sorra* ‘crow’), *Krustamati* (< GK *Stamatis* ‘name’), *Krołopısı* (< *lopa* ‘cow’), *Krođeli* (< *Deli* ‘surname’), *Kroıprifti* (< *prifti* ‘priest’), *Krokali* (< *kali* ‘horse’), *Krokalamia* (< GK *kalamia* ‘reed or reedy place’)
- c. *varri* ‘grave’: *Varelıosa* (< *Lłoshi* ‘surname’), *Varıplakos/Varıplaku* (< *plaku* ‘old man’), *Varıturku* (< GK *Turkos* ‘Turk’), *Varkasımi* (< *Kasımis* ‘surname’).

4.3.3 Prepositional compounds

Apart from the above compounds, which resemble to physical compounds, one rare and more artificial category has been found. Specifically, some syntactically-built prepositional phrases have been so strongly lexicalized that they have been transformed into phonological words with one primary and a secondary stress. It could be considered as a kind of prepositional lexicalized compounds:

- (13) *ndër* ‘in’ + Noun: *Durdumılia* (< *tumula* ‘grave’), *Durtzına* (< *xına* ‘kind of oak’), *Drıbonı* (< *bunı* ‘temporary hut’), *Drubukı* (< *bungu* ‘kind of oak’ (quercus sessiliflora))
- (14) *nde/te* ‘to’: *Dekalıvi* (< GK *kalıvi* ‘small hut’)

¹⁴ -za- is the derivational suffix -zë/a ‘pejorative, collective’.

¹⁵ -uliku possibly reflects the Italian-Tosk *uλk* (λ = palatal).

- (15) *mas* ‘in’ + Noun: *Maskalθi* (< *kallithi* ‘region with ears’ or *kalēthi* region with horses’).

There is also a hybrid category [Noun + Preposition + Noun] attested only in the edaphonym *Lutsamegorits*, which consists of two Arvanite and one Greek constituent and it is a clear case of Greek-structured form (< AL *luca* ‘mud’ + GK *me* ‘with’ + AL *gorricë*PLU ‘pear trees’).

5. Etymology and glottochronology

If we examine closer the material in 4.3, we shall find out that the compound edaphonyms are very important for the research on Arvanitika, as they retain old forms or reveal important etymological information due to their conservative nature, which are a crucial source for lexicological, cultural and ethnolinguistic conclusions.

Firstly, they are useful for lexical reconstruction. Many words, e.g. plants, geographical terms etc., would have been lost if they hadn’t survived in such compounds. The possessive edaphonyms contain names and surnames, which are indicative of the origin. Many elements are of Slavic or Turkish etymological origin, reflecting the loan lexical strata of the Albanian language or the early borrowing of words, e.g. *gjol* < Turkish *göl* ‘lake’ (cf. *Aragioles*). The Greek elements derive from re-borrowings in the Greek dialects (for Greek loans in Albanian, see Kyriazis 2001) or from hybridization, namely connection of Albanian and Greek elements by bilinguals (see examples 6-12; abbreviation GK).

Furthermore, compound edaphonyms maintain dialectal words or phonological features. Specifically, they confirm to a great extent the connection with the Tosk dialect branch (roughly southern dialects), as it is displayed by phonological features and vocabulary¹⁶ (see Fourikis 1934· Haebler 1965· Trudgill 1976/77· Sasse 1991· Botsi 2003· Liopsis 2008, 2015). For example, the palatal *l* is associated with the Tosk-Italian substratum (see Breu 1990), e.g. *Variplaku* (< *varri i plakut* ‘grave of old man’) (see examples in 6b, 10j, k and 12b, c), or we can find the Tosk devoicing of stem-final consonant, e.g. *Brekuki* ‘red coast’ (< TK *brek-u* (cf. Standard Albanian *breg-u* ‘coast, shore’) + *i kuq* ‘red’). However, Fliatouras (2008, forthcoming a) presents some language elements (individual or as a variety), which are associated with the Gheg dialect branch or generally with the northern dialects more safely than the common nouns (see Liopsis 2008, 2015 for such a discussion) and possibly support the idea that the Arvanites in Greece are likely to represent immigrant waves from various places (Sasse 1991). For example, the consonant cluster *mb* is attested as northern *m*, e.g. *Kemekukia* (cf. Standard Albanian *gjëmbi* ‘thorn’).

Finally, etymology may support the process of glottochronology. Hybridization reveals not only the strong language contact but also the co-existence and biculturalism. In compounding it does not involve structural blending but mostly connection of Greek and Arvanite words based on Arvanite structural patterns. The compound edaphonyms which contain Greek elements (e.g. Greek names) are more likely to have been constructed later than the Albanian-based structures.

¹⁶ See Gjinari (1989) for isoglosses.

6. Conclusions

The Arvanite compound edaphonyms (mostly attributive) are fossils of language contact in the Greek dialect of Achaia and have been loaned to indigenous speakers. They are a basic source for the research of the Arvanite compounding in terms of construction and elements because they amount a satisfactory proportion of words.

Specifically, they are crucial for lexical reconstruction and ethnography, as they maintain names/surnames and words, many of which would have been lost, such as phytonyms, geographical terms, properties etc. Structural stratification due to hybridization and phonological preservatism can also be useful for grottochronology and ethnography (e.g. Albanian- vs. Greek-originated structures and elements, Tosk- or Gheg-based words). It is significant that they maintain Albanian-based compound structures, which reflect asymmetries concerning Greek compounding, such as adjectival right-handedness and left-headedness.

Furthermore, the Arvanite edaphonyms are not physical one-word compounds but rather artificial ones, as they start from two-word phrasal compounds (rarely from three-word prepositional phrases), which are lexicalized. Inflectional and connective reanalysis allows the one-wording and partly the phonological adaption. As a result, compounding is mostly etymologically-oriented, since the internal structure is invisible and most elements are non-recognizable to non-bilinguals and indigenous speakers. Variation is also possible: inflectional (inflected and non-inflected words), featural (number or gender varietal adaption) or reanalyzing (full inflectionalization or only case adaption).

Finally, although the edaphonyms have gone through fossilization, it would be very interesting to investigate if they are still in use nowadays, if any kind of change is in process or if an undergoing production of new ones is imminent.

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