

The folk etymology in Greek dialects: A first approach

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1. Definition and research points¹

Pareymology constitutes the psycholinguistic² mechanism of analogical change³ which leads to the false connection of a lexical unit to another, thus resulting in a change in form and/or meaning with the objective of morphosemantic transparency, e.g. TK *yuvarlak* ‘type of meatball’ > GK *γiuvareláki* [*varéli* ‘barrel’], MEG *eyóklima* ‘honeysuckle’ > MG *ayióklima* [*áyios* ‘holy’]⁴ (see inter alia Förstermann 1852; Orr 1953; Mayer 1962; Baldinger 1973; Olschansky 1996; Rundblad & Kronenfeld 2000; Michel 2015, for the Greek language, see Chatzidakis 1915-6: 172-173; Moysiadis 2005: 250-4; Moysiadis & Katsouda 2011; Fliatouras, Voga & Anastassiadis-Syméonidis forthcoming; Fliatouras 2017). The term folk etymology which prevails in Greek bibliography is misleading. “Pareymology” is preferred, given that the mechanism may lead to more learned formations because of hypercorrection or scholar intervention in more familiar types (see also Béguelin 2002). Furthermore, it is a hypernym term and thus it may stipulate all cases; both conscious, such as the ludative/playful⁵ and the normative pareymology; and unconscious, namely folk etymology (for more details see Fliatouras 2017). In this paper, pareymology is equated with folk etymology, since it is the prototypical case for Greek dialects. Ludative pareymology is traced with difficulty, as reading of dialectic texts is required and usually these types are not registered in dictionaries (e.g. CR *ma ton theó* ‘I swear to God’ > *ma ton xiló* ‘I swear to pulp’ as a type of joke to make an oath looser), and the normative pareymology is rare, given that the reasons which render it productive in Standard Greek are not compatible with the dialects⁶.

The material comprises 500 types drawn from eight basic Greek dialects: Pontic, Cypriot, Cretan, Heptanesian, Dodecanesian, Maniatika, Thessalian and Asia Minor. It has been compiled with the aid of principal dictionaries and glossaries of Greek dialects (Papadopoulos 1958; Chytiris 1992; Chantziaras 1995; Deligiannis 1999; Xanthinakis 2001; Maniateas 2002; Pangalos 2002; Korosidou-Karra 2003; Gasparinatos & Gasparinatos-Tzougantou 2004; Giagullis 2009; Skandalidis 2013). In their majority, the sources either provide the etymology

¹ Abbreviations: ACT = actor, AG = Ancient Greek, AM = Asia Minor, AR = Arabian, AUG = augmentative, CON = content, CY = Cypriot, DIM = diminutive, DK = Dodecanesian, ECR = Eastern Cretan, EG = English, EN = Enetician, FR = French, HK = Hellenistic Koine, INF = inflection, IT = Italian, KE = Kerkyraika (Corfu, Heptanese), KF = Kefalonitika (Kefalonia, Heptanese), MA = Maniatika, MCY = Medieval Cypriot, MED = Medieval Greek, MG = Modern Greek, PE = Persian, PLU = plural, PO = Pontic, PRO = property, SG = Standard Greek, SUF = Suffix, TK = Turkish, VE = Venetian, WCR = Western Cretan, ZA = Zakynthian (Zante). For practical reasons the term “dialect” involves both dialects and idioms.

² For more information see Fliatouras, Voga & Anastassiadis-Syméonidis (forthcoming).

³ It should be differentiated from false etymology, namely from the etymological error.

⁴ The etymologies focus on the pareymological effect and on Greek semantics. The [] contains the pareymological marker. The transliteration of the examples follows the (final) pronunciation of the language stage.

⁵ For such cases in MEG, see Fliatouras (forthcoming b). A typical example in MG is “Fatseika” as a kind of jokelang (see Fliatouras & Koukos, forthcoming).

⁶ It is usually connected with language policy, pseudo-science, ethnocentricity etc. (cf. the cases of loan hellenisation and non-IE etymologies) and usually presupposes a high level of Ancient Greek knowledge.

of types without connecting them to folk etymology or they explain them only on the basis of phonological and morphological change. As a result, original work has been done on the cross-interpretation of folk etymology. The objective of the paper is restricted to the presentation of the framework (data, role, classification, research fields etc.), given that not a great deal of theoretical work has been done in the Greek language. Specifically, it focuses on the following aims:

- To examine the systematicity and the morphological perspective.
- To trace the reasons of productivity in Greek dialects, such as the role of diachrony, sociolinguistics and mainly of language contact.
- To indicate the special morphological and semantic characteristics in relation to variety, word adaptation and transparency.
- To contribute to the etymology of dialectic types, by extending those proposed with the role of paretyymology (see Appendix for more examples)

2. The linguistic canvas of the data

The material of the dialects verifies the observations proposed by Fliatouras, Voga & Anastassiadis-Syméonidis (forthcoming) and Fliatouras (2017, forthcoming a) as far as the classification, systematicity, morphologicality and scalability of the process are concerned.

Firstly, the dialectal data follow the classification of the process. The basis of paretyymology is lost (or geographically restricted), e.g. TK *ayrelli* ‘asparagus’ > CY *ayréli* [*ayrós* ‘field’ or *áyrios* ‘wild’], or it generates a geographical variety, when it coexists with the product of paretyymology, e.g. TK *lafazan* > CY *lafazánis* ‘chatty’ > *laxazánis* [*laxaniázo* ‘to pant’]. Paretyymology can be diachronically-generated (mainly during Medieval Greek) and is inherited in the dialect, e.g. IT *ahime* > MEG *ayiména* ‘alas!’ > CY *ayiména* [*eména* ‘me’ and possibly *ayiúton* ‘help’], or it takes place in the synchrony of the dialect, e.g. CR *radiófono* ‘radiophone’ > *vradiófono* [*vráði* ‘evening’]. It shifts the word in an alternate form without changing the object of reference, thus contributing to the morphological variety of a lexical unit, e.g. CR *areótatos* ‘very sparse/rarefied’ > *aerótatos* [*aéras* ‘air’], or it develops a referential/ denominative role, functioning as a neologism-generating process, e.g. AG *millós* ‘slow’ > DK *meliós* ‘soft’ [*méli* ‘honey’]. The effect is phonological, morphological or semantic, even though, as we will see later, in most cases it involves multiple linguistic levels with the degree of effect of each level being different in every case, e.g. CR *laxúri* ‘paisley’ > *v laxuri* [*vláxos* ‘bumpkin’]. The paretyymology process may be transparent, when the phonological form or/and the morphological structure varies, e.g. CY *γυλάρης* ‘greedy’ > *vυλάρης* [*vúkos* ‘bite, chunk’ or *vuliázo* ‘sink’], or non-transparent, when the phonological form or/and spelling are not affected (see also Klump 2014; Moysiadis & Katsouda 2011 for the Greek language), e.g. AR *mamluk* ‘slave’/IT *mammalucco* ‘stupid’ > DK *mamáluk-asINF* ‘wuss’ [*mamá* ‘mother’]. The kind of element undergoing the change is both (a) lexical, namely a stem in simple words, DK *nistéri* > *listéri* ‘lancet’ [*líno* ‘dissolve’], derivatives, e.g. PO *δριμ-ίτζαSUF* ‘edible white musk’ > *tirm-íτζαSUF* [*tirí* ‘cheese’], compounds, e.g. CR *eksa-ptériyo* ‘hexapteryga, liturgical fans’ (< *eksa-* ‘six’) > *kso-ftériya* [*kso-* ‘out’], or an affix (prefix or suffix), e.g. AM *paraPRE-θίρι* ‘window’ > *pana-θίρι* [*pano* ‘up’], IT *gran-ítaSUF* > KE *γραν-ίτσα* ‘small hail’ [*-ítsαSUF* ‘small’], and (b) phrasal in multi-word compounds, e.g. MA *áγιο víμα* ‘altar’ > *ayievýíμα* [*výéno* ‘go out’], or lexicalized phrases/collocations /phraseologisms, e.g. KE *vróμα ke disodía* ‘dirt and stench-dirt’ > *vróμα ke lisoδία* [*lisa* ‘lyssa, rabies’], TK *yavaş yavaş* ‘slowly’ > CR *γiaváx γiaváx* [*ax* ‘oh, ouch’], TK *al birini çarp birini* ‘they are all inefficient’ > CY *tsaxpiriní* [*tsaxpínis* ‘frisky’]. The process is sporadically inter-systemic, when elements of the same language are involved, HK *atrakís* ‘*Scolymus hispanicus*’ (a plant) > CY *ayradzída* [*áyrios* ‘wild’], AG *eile:táριον* ‘rope’ > KE *litári* [*líno* ‘untie’], or mostly extra-systemic, when it involves loan elements, e.g. TK *ihitiman* ‘care/persistence’ > CR *axtimáni*

[*áxti* ‘persistence’], IT *vitello* ‘cow skin for shoe makers’ > KE *vidélo* [*vidóno* ‘to screw’]. The degree of consolidation leads to fully encoded formations, which acquire significant diffusion in the dialect, e.g. IT *male tire* ‘draw the pain’ > CR *malotira* ‘palliative plant (for beverage)’⁷ [*malí* ‘hair’ and possibly *tiri* ‘cheese’ (due to the shape and the color)], or to non-encoded formations, which involve sporadic or limited usability and cause the comic reaction of the dialectical community, e.g. CR *dekaniki* ‘crutch’ > *lekaniki* [*leléki* ‘crane’], MA *braselé* ‘bracelet’ > *bratsolé* [*brátso* ‘arm’].

Furthermore, contrary to most of the literature, paretymology shows a high degree of systematicity and a morphological perspective different from the obvious phonological one (see also 3.). Specifically, it is possible to find productive word categories (see among others Michel 2015: 1005; Karantzola & Fliatouras 2004: 94 for the Greek language), such as loans (see Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1994: 55, 109), learned types (see Anastassiadis-Syméonidis 2003: 56-59), e.g. CR *paramén-usaSUF* ‘the one remaining’ > *paramén-isaSUF* [*-isaSUF* ‘female suffix’], PO *diaθiki* ‘will’ > *diafike* [*afino* ‘leave’], hard-to-pronounce words, e.g. FR *avant-parler* > CY *farпалиéris* [*farpalás* ‘furbelow’], place names (see Vennemann 1999), e.g. ZK *Arγostóli* > *Ayrostóli* [*ayrós* ‘field’] or *Frostóli* [*(i)γρός* ‘wet’], and church tradition phrases, e.g. ZK *Fis Madiám* ‘Land of Midian’ > *Fis Mariám* [*Mariám* ‘Mariam’]. Systematic phonological, morphological and semantic mechanisms act to allow the procedure and usually have a complementary/parallel function, as presented in Table 1.

Table 1: *Mechanisms of paretymology*

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|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Phonological processes: |
| Elision: CR <i>nevralyía</i> ‘neuralgia’ > <i>nevrayía</i> [<i>-(r)rayía</i> ‘-rragy’] |
| Insertion: DK <i>avaniá</i> ‘slander’ > <i>vyanía</i> [<i>vγázo</i> ‘take out’] |
| Dissimilation: MK <i>abelokláði</i> ‘vine branch’ > <i>benokláði</i> [<i>béno</i> ‘enter’] |
| Assimilation: AR <i>nalín</i> ‘sabot/wooden cobbler’ > CR <i>lalíni</i> [<i>laló</i> ‘talk, make noise’] |
| Metathesis: MA <i>medúli</i> ‘marrow’ > <i>melúði</i> [<i>méli</i> ‘honey’] |
| Alternation: TK <i>elçi</i> > MCY <i>eldzís</i> ‘ambassador’ > CY <i>ertzís</i> [<i>érkome</i> ‘come’] |
| Opening: CR <i>bairáki</i> ‘flag, uprising’ > <i>baeráki</i> [<i>aéras</i> ‘wind’] |
| Closure: CR <i>meterízi</i> ‘fortification’ > <i>mitirízi</i> [<i>míti</i> ‘nose’] |
| Rounding: MEG <i>éxendra</i> ‘viper’ > CR <i>óxendra</i> [<i>ófis</i> ‘snake’] |
| Devoicing: FR <i>brillantine</i> > DK <i>perlandíni</i> [<i>pérla</i> ‘pearl’] |
| Affrication, e.g. IT <i>vascello</i> /VN <i>vasello</i> > DK <i>vatséli</i> ‘container’ [<i>vatsós</i> ‘deep’] |
| Morphological processes: |
| Blending/contamination ⁸ : CR <i>zévelo</i> ‘sheep and goat disease’ > <i>vézvelo</i> [<i>velzevílis</i> ‘Satan’] |
| Reanalysis: IT <i>caprifoglio</i> ‘honeysuckle’ > KE <i>karmo-fóli</i> ⁹ |
| Semantic processes: |

⁷ Cf. the paretymological spelling *μαλλοτίρα* with double *-ll-* [*μαλλί* ‘hair’].

⁸ Blending involves the construction of new words by clipping ($X + Z \rightarrow Y$), whereas paretymology involves the influence of a word to another ($X \text{ to } Y \rightarrow Z$). The boundaries are usually fuzzy (for such a discussion, see Olschansky 1996: 224; Ronneberger-Sibold 2002: 108; Panagl 2005: 1351; Koutita & Fliatouras 2000; Ralli & Xydopoulos 2012). Along the lines of Koutita & Fliatouras (2000) and Ralli & Xydopoulos (2012), blending and contamination are mechanisms of paretymology which lead to pseudo-blending (for the distinction between blending and contamination, see Katsouda 2009).

⁹ For more information and examples of blending and reanalysis (mostly ludative/playful) in the Greek language, see Katsouda & Nakas (2013).

Amelioration/deterioration (more frequent): CY *arkósila* ‘Ornithogalum’ (a plant) > *avrósila* [*avrós* ‘courtly’]

Expansion/restriction (more frequent): TK *vak(i)t* ‘time, period’ > DK *váxti* ‘maturity, ripeness’ (mainly for fruit) [*áxti* ‘prime’] (cf. *ta síka éxun to áxti tus* ‘figs are in their prime’)

Metaphor: TK *mazgal* ‘hole in a wall for a cannon’ > CR *masýali* ‘passage of a mountain’ > *maskáli* [*masxáli* ‘armpit’]

Hyperbole: CR *dikiyóros* ‘barrister’ > *vukiyóros* [*vúkino* ‘public spreading of news’ (negative meaning)]

Finally, paretymology is a highly scalable process, defined by phonological, morphological and semantic continuums, as presented in detail in Table 2:

Table 2: *Degree-based continuums of paretymology in an ascending scale*

| Phonological continuum: |
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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Zero (invisible matching mechanism of homonymous elements): CR <i>papafígos</i> ‘large square sail of sailing ships’ > <i>papafígos</i> ‘penis’ [<i>papás</i>¹⁰ ‘penis’] → Phonemic (sound change mechanism) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Replacement: MA <i>miráði</i> > <i>meráði</i> [<i>méros</i> ‘part’] (cf. MEG <i>meráði</i>) • Inversion: KE <i>γarbózos</i> ‘lover boy’ (< IT <i>garboso</i>) > <i>γabrózos</i> [<i>γabρός</i> ‘groom’] • Addition: CR <i>vorízei</i> ‘has north wind’ > <i>vvorízi</i> [<i>výeno</i> ‘come out’] • Apocope, e.g. KF/KE <i>ιδράργιρος</i> ‘mercury’ > <i>διάργιρος</i> [<i>δια-</i> ‘inter, dis-’] → Syllabic (syllable-based mechanism): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Replacement: CR <i>nixteriða</i> > <i>laxtariða</i> [<i>laxtára</i> ‘horror’] • Addition: FR <i>repos</i> > CR <i>repopó</i> [<i>popós</i> ‘booty’] • Apocope: CR <i>mizithrópita</i> > <i>mistrófta</i> [<i>strívo</i> ‘turn’] → Multi-segmental: DK <i>molívi</i> ‘lead (of rifle shot)’ > <i>volími</i> [<i>volí</i> ‘shot’] |
| Morphological continuum: |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Morphemic (substitutional mechanism): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stem-based: CR <i>lopoðítis</i> ‘pickpocket’ > <i>lopoðótis</i> [<i>ðótis</i> ‘giver’, cf. also <i>kata-ðótis</i> ‘snitch’] • Affixal: CR <i>paramén-usaSUF</i> ‘one that remains’ > <i>paramén-isaSUF</i> [<i>-isaSUF</i> ‘female suffix’] → Featuring (mechanism of feature change, e.g. number, gender etc.): IT <i>bacio</i> ‘caring kiss’ > CR <i>bákiaPLU</i> [<i>mákiaPLU</i> ‘little kisses’] → Structural (mechanism of structural change): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structural (the end or the beginning of a word is identified with an affix but the lexical base remains unrecognizable¹¹): IT <i>capponaia</i> > KE <i>kapon-ára</i> ‘big closed space for hens’ [<i>-áraSUF/AUG</i>] • Restructuring (change of word construction process): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Pseudo-compoundization (derivative > compound): AM <i>paraSUF-θíri</i> ‘window’ > <i>pana-θíri</i> [<i>páno</i> ‘above, upper’, <i>θíra</i> ‘door’] (b) Pseudo-derivization (compound > derivative): DK <i>kaθréftis</i> > <i>karf-ítis</i> [<i>karfí</i> ‘nail’, <i>-ítisSUF/ACT</i>] |

¹⁰ It is written with double *-p-* (παπάς).

¹¹ It reminds us of the paradoxes of Pesetsky (1979) and the [-simple, -structured] words on the basis of the trilateral categorization of Corbin’s (1987) word structure.

- Pseudo-structuring (non-structured words are converted into structured):

(a) Pseudo-derivation (simple word > derivative): IT *lugliatica* ‘grape that ripens in July’ > CR *liá-tikos* [*lios* ‘sun’, *-tikos* *SUF/PRO*]

(b) Pseudo-compounding (simple word > compound): TK *semer* ‘middle barrier’ > CY *so-mérin* [(*é*)*so-* ‘inner’, *méros* ‘place’]¹²

→ Phrasal (conversion of phrases into compound words): TK *acı canı* ‘jaundice/ icterus, yellowness’ > CY *xazarnín* [*xazós* ‘stupid’]

Semantic continuum:¹³

→ Strengthening (semantic enhancement): CR *vorízi* ‘it has north wind’ > *v̄vorízi* ‘north wind comes’ [*vgéno* ‘come out’]

→ Resemanticizational (semantic substitution): AM *paraPRE-θíri* ‘window’ > *pana-θíri* [*páno* ‘up’]

→ Reconceptualizational (neologism-generation): PO *γύνα* ‘fur’ > CY *vúna* ‘ox’s fur’ [*vúðin* ‘ox’ or *vukón* ‘ox’s skin’].

3. The characteristics of pareymology in Greek dialects

Consequently, we will try to identify and interpret the basic parameters of pareymology in Greek dialects, such as productivity, lexical stratification and the sociolinguistic factors involved.

3.1 Productivity

Pareymology is a highly productive phenomenon in dialects. As a result, it is better studied in Greek dialects than in Standard Greek. This is due to language and extra-language parameters, such as language contact, lexical stratification and sociolinguistic parameters.

3.1.1 Language contact

Since the main cradle of pareymology is borrowing, it follows that the immediate and intense contact of dialects with other languages, such as Turkish, Italian/Venetian, Frankish etc., endows the dialects with numerous pareymological words, especially of Turkish and Italian origin. The distribution of these two categories depends on the degree of language contact with Turkish and/or the Latin-originated/based languages, which, depending on the case, derives from historical factors, such as the coexistence of the speakers and the geographical proximity of the dialect with the foreign language. There seems to be a geographical continuum identified: The western dialects are more Latin-generated, whereas the eastern dialects are more Turkish-generated. The linguistic-geographical allocation of pareymologies, which follows the geographical borrowability, is based on three main areas:

(a) Western: Comprising the Ionian Islands which show a high distribution in pareymologies of Italian origin, e.g. VE *lettiga* > ZA *ledika* ‘transport stretcher for ladies of the high society’ [*lédos* ‘slow’], IT *bazzica* ‘card games’ > KE *bástiya* [*mástiya* ‘scourge’]

(b) Northeast: Comprising Northern Greece, Asia Minor, the islands of the North Aegean Sea, as well as Pontus and it has a high distribution in pareymologies of Turkish origin usually inherited from Arabic and Persian words. The examples from Pontic are indicative, e.g. TK *kaun* > PO *yavúnin* ‘pumpkin fruit, melon’ [*yavúzin* ‘human skull’], TK *kovan* > PO *vuváni*

¹² For more information about the structural change in pareymology and the degree of structural integration, see Fliatouras (2017).

¹³ It follows an ascending scale of effect and a descending scale of frequency. The higher degree of semantic action coincides with the operation of the mechanism as a neologism-generating process.

‘beehive’ [*vuzanízo* ‘to become a huge crowd producing sounds’ (sound imitating usually for bees)], TK *kurban* > PO *γurpáni* ‘sacrifice, expression of despise’ [*γurúnin* ‘pig’], and (c) Central and Southeast: Including the Peloponnese, Thessaly, Crete, the Cyclades, the Dodecanese and Cyprus, where a mixed distribution is observed. Typical examples derive from the Cypriot dialects, both Latin-originated, e.g. IT *riviera* ‘riviera’ > CY *livéra* [*lívras* ‘sirocco’], EN *ofizial* ‘ambassador’ > CY *avitziális* [*aviziáro* (IT) ‘give information’], EN *fregada* > CY *freyáða* ‘nice looking lady (usually old)’ > *γriáða* [*γriá* ‘old woman’], and Turkish-originated, e.g. TK *elçi* > MCY *eldzís* ‘ambassador’ > CY *ertzís* [*érkome* ‘come’], TK *yerelması* ‘sunflower’ > (γ)*elemarsín* [(γ)*élete* ‘re-flies’], TK *yaban yer* > CY (γi)*apángerin* ‘desert land’ [*apángio* (SG) ‘refuge, suntrap’ or *aynágion* ‘viewpoint’].

3.1.2 Lexical stratification

There are many paths for feeding the dialects with paronymology associated with the four basic lexical strata of Greek dialects which are inter-influenced, namely inherited dialectal words, words of Standard Greek, dialectal neologisms and loans.

The intra-systemic paronymology constitutes the internal feeding of the dialect with paronymological bases from the Greek language system as a whole. It involves either Standard Greek types (extra-dialectal), e.g. KF *ieromónaxos* ‘hieromonk’ > *γeromónaxos* [*yéros* ‘old man’], DK *evangélio* ‘Gospel’ > *vγadzélio* [*vγázo* ‘take out’], or it is based on the interaction of elements corresponding to different dialectal strata (intra-dialectal), such as inherited (mainly from MEG) with other inherited words, e.g. HK *δíforon* ‘with double fruit’ > CY *díxoron* [*xóros* ‘space’], neologisms with inherited words, e.g. PO *dilinárin* ‘dinner at dusk’ > *leminárin* [*lemázo* ‘starve’], CY *yalatúna* ‘poisonous plant’ > *zalatúna* [*záláða* ‘nausea’], and inherited words with loans, e.g. PO *vrávilon* ‘wild plum tree’ (AG) > *γróvalon* [*γróbos* ‘skin bump, cartilage’ (< IT *gropo*)].

On the other hand, extra-systemic paronymology constitutes the external feeding of the dialect with borrowed bases. It can be either intra-linguistic, when based on a Greek paronymological marker originating from Standard Greek (extra-dialectal), e.g. PE *perçem* > CR *vertsés* ‘a kind of comb’ [SG *vúrtsa* ‘brush’], AR *malumat* > TH *malimátia* ‘acts of flirting’ [SG *mátia* ‘eyes’], or from a dialectal word or meaning (intra-dialectal), e.g. TK *kadılık* > CY *kafilidzin* ‘office/administrative district of the cad’ [CY *kafásin* ‘head’], or from another language as a loan (extra-linguistic). The loan paronymological marker originates from the same system (mono-systemic), such as French, e.g. FR *avant-parler* > CY *farpaliéris* ‘lawyer’ [*farpalás* ‘furbelow’ < FR *falbala*], and Turkish, e.g. TK *zemberek* > CY *zumbarékin* ‘clock spring’ [*zumbás* ‘carpenter’s tool’ < TK *zimba*], or it involves different systems (poly-systemic), such as Arabic and Italian, e.g. AR *quandi*/IT *candi* > MEG *kándion* ‘sugar cane’ > CY *kágios* [*kagélin* ‘big nail’ < IT *ganghero*].

Finally, paronymological re-borrowing is a special category, e.g. AG *porphura* > AR *firfir* > PO *farfurí* [*farfatízo* ‘I am moving anxiously’ (sound imitating)], AG *galéos/galéa* > AR *kalyun/galyun* (cf. also EN *galion*) > CY *yialiundzís* ‘sailor’ [*yialós* ‘sea-shore’], HC *saymáron* > MEG *samáron* > TK *semer* ‘parapet of the roof’ > CY *so-mérin* [(e)so- ‘inner’, *méros* ‘place’].

3.1.3 Sociolinguistic factors

Paronymology is more productive and leads easier to lexical integration due to sociolinguistic factors. Specifically, the lack/low level of education in foreign languages and Ancient Greek explains productivity, since it renders the words non-transparent, and the reduced standardization resulting in the “depenalization” of the speakers concerning the etymological accuracy and in the neutral evaluative stance towards the types explains consolidation.

Furthermore, both intra-dialectal variety and competitive types (and maybe code switching) are possible, as it can be easily seen in the dialectal dictionaries.

But there are some paradoxes identified, which work in opposition to the above. Specifically, double standardization is possible, namely on the basis of pareymology of the dialect and Standard Greek. Furthermore, utilitarian de-consolidation functions in parallel, since pareymology is the focal point of the regulatory/normative correction towards the etymologically correct, the intra-dialectal pareymologies are the “easy victims” of standardization and of utilitarian enforcement of Standard Greek¹⁴ and extra-systemic pareymology has been reduced due to the shrinkage of language contact. As a result, although consolidation is easier in dialects, it can be easily predicted that the loss of pareymological types is higher than the addition and that the redundancy of productivity is likely very possible.

3.2 Variation

Pareymological variety is exceptionally productive in dialects mainly due to the sociolinguistic factors described above. The card-indexing of the variation in the dictionaries is usually geographical, and in most cases, it is either not explained or only connected with morphophonological mechanisms. The multiple directions in pareymology are an advocate of the opinion that it primarily has a phonological character of identifying similar sounds and only secondly a semantic character (see Moysiadis 2005; Moysiadis & Katsouda 2011). It is a phenomenon which, to a greater or lesser degree, works in tandem with the semantic correlation, where the bases of pareymology “are anxious” to become semantically identified with other units.

It is possible to identify three cases of pareymological variety: (a) Hyper-language, when the basis acquires a pareymology in a way that differs in SG than in the dialects, e.g. MEG *eyóklima* ‘honeysuckle’ > SG *ayióklima* [áyios ‘holy’]/CR *lióklima* [ílios ‘sun’], (b) Intra-dialectal (the most productive): The basis of pareymology coexists with the pareymological variety or varieties (mono- or multi-pareymological respectively), e.g. PO *lavótin* ‘type of ladle for pumping water’ > *lavótin* (Kerasuda, Sinopi) [*lávín* ‘diminutive for handle’]/*lakótin* (Kotyora) [*lákos* ‘pit’, *lakáni* ‘tub, vat’], CY *lixuzúðkia* ‘crackers as treats to passers-by’ > *lexuzúðkia* [*lexó* ‘woman after giving birth’] (in cases of birth)/*lefuzúðkia* [*lefúsi* ‘rabble’], but sporadically the pareymological basis can be lost and split into a pareymological variation (inter-pareymological), e.g. *nixteriða* ‘bat’ > WCR *lefteriða* [*lefteróno* ‘liberate’] or *lexteriða* [*léxi* ‘corpse’]/ECR *laxtariða* [*laxtára* ‘horror’], and (c) Inter-dialectal: Bases which are more prone to pareymology are affected in a way that differs among the dialects, leading to formations with a different form but the same meaning, e.g. TK *lafazan* > PO *lapazánis* [*lápa* ‘quickly’]/CY *laxazánis* [*laxaniázo* ‘short of breath’], or with a different meaning, e.g. AR *macun* ‘sweet’ > CR *matzúmi* (also ‘electuary’) [*zumí* ‘juice’]/DK *mazúli* ‘food with nuts and spices’ [*mazí* ‘together’], or with a different allomorphic segment used, e.g. TK *mahsul* ‘product’ > DK/MA *maksúli* and MA *mazúla* ‘crop’ [*máso/mazévo* ‘gather’ (*maks-* = aorist stem, *maz-* = present stem)].

The basic causes of hyper-pareymology and hyper-variety are both linguistic and extra-linguistic. The linguistic ones involve phonological factors, such as sounds, syllables or parts of words (usually two-syllable) with a paradigmatic flexibility in word formation, e.g. *diósmos* ‘mint’ > AM *yiósmos* [áyios ‘holy’] / CR *liósmos* [*lióno* ‘melt’], morphological factors, such as the function of blending/contamination which allows the paradigmatic morphological flexibility, e.g. KF *velzevúlis* ‘satan’ > *vertzevúlis* [*versáro* ‘singing verses/chirrup’]/PO

¹⁴ Especially during recent decades, where its effect on dialects has increased significantly due to social conditions, e.g. the level of foreign and Ancient Greek language learning and the etymological awareness of the speakers has been enhanced.

zorzoúlis [*zori* ‘force’ or sound imitating] and semantic factors, when the bases encompass many intriguing characteristics and qualities for paretymology, e.g. CR *varθakós* ‘frog’ > *vorθakós* [*vorθi* ‘cesspit’]/*forδakós* [*fóra* ‘impetus’, since the frog lives in dirty waters and jumps with momentum. On the other hand, the extra-linguistic parameters involve the cases of geographical systematicity observed in the intra-dialectal variation, e.g. the Eastern Cretan idiom and the Pontic idioms of Chalki and Nios (especially the idiom of Sinopi) are more prone to paretymology than Western Cretan idiom and the idioms of Trapezounta respectively¹⁵.

3.3 Systematicity

There are two basic clues identified to prove the systematicity of paretymology in Greek dialects: Hyper-dialectisms and construction tendencies.

Hyper-dialectisms are the paretymological types met in numerous dialects due to etymological factors. For example, paretymology occurs in MEG and then the paretymological type is inherited in many MG dialects (cross-dialectal and byzantine-substratum types), e.g. MEG *nosokomíon* ‘hospital’ > *misokomíon* [*misós* ‘half’] > cross-dialectal *misokomío*, MEG *evnúxos* ‘eunuch’ > *munúxos* [*muni* ‘pussy’] > cross-dialectal *munúxos*. Another case is inter-dialectal borrowing, e.g. PE *viran* > CR/PO *verané(s)* ‘deserted piece of land’ [*verémi(n)* ‘tuberculosis’].

The tendencies correspond to both phonology and morphology. The phonological parameters leading systematically to paretymology involve mostly: (a) Homonymy/paronymy and imitation of sounds (see also Anastassiadis-Syméonidis 2003: 58), e.g. CR *radiófono* ‘radiophone’ > *vradiófono* [*vrádi* ‘evening’], (b) Onomatopoeia as the easiest way to achieve transparency due to their partial arbitrariness, e.g. PE *leblebi* > PO *läpläpín* ‘roasted chickpea’, CY *yiúpas* > *yiúxas/ššufas/ššuxas* ‘vulture’, and (c) Peripheral or non-prototypical phonological complexes usually identified in loanwords and words inherited from previous stages of Greek, where different phonotactic constraints are in present, e.g. FR *avant-parler* > *farpaliéris* ‘barrister’ [*farpalás* ‘furbelow’], DK *kaθréptis* ‘mirror’ > *karfítis* [*karfi* ‘nail’]. For example, it can be observed that the fricative sounds are more fitting for paretymology, mainly in clusters, e.g. CY *aðrokulupιά* ‘big drop of rain’ > *ayrokulupιά* [*áyrios* ‘wild’], CY *aðráxtin* ‘spindle’ > *ayráxtin* [*áyra* ‘hunting’]. Furthermore, there are systematic patterns of morphological paretymology, which involve (a) affixal or affixoid-based changes, such as *miso-* ‘half-’ > *meso-* ‘middle-’, e.g. CR *misopálavos* > *mesopálavos* ‘quite daft’, *ekso-* ‘out-/extra-’ > *kse-* ‘privative suffix’, e.g. MEG *ekso-portízo* > SG *kse-portízo* ‘go out’, *pro-* ‘ante-’ > (e) *bro-* ‘in front’, e.g. CR *proθíri* > *broθíri* ‘gate’ (*θíra* ‘door’), and (b) reanalysis of ending segments to diminutive and augmentative suffixes with a partial emergence of their meaning, e.g. VE *menola* > DK *mén-ula* ‘small fish’ [-*ulaSUF/DIM*], IT *gambero* > KE *ýamb-ara* ‘big fry/whitebait’ [-*araSUF/AUG*]. The causes of the segmental morphological change are usually phonetic similarity (*miso-* vs. *meso-*), the possibility to have semantic overlay because of shared meaning or semantic features (*ekso-* vs. *kse-*), the replacement of learned, grammaticalized, infrequent, inherited segments by more familiar, synchronic, frequent, transparent ones (*pro-* > *bro-*) and in the case of diminutive/augmentative suffixes the emergence of the descriptive or evaluative operation of the affix.

Apart from the tendencies corresponding to the language levels, semantic/lexical tendencies can also be found, since there are lexical groups which are appropriate to serve as basis of paretymology and target-words in order to satisfy particular reasons of paretymology (therefore, systematic schemes of type “X to Y for Z”). The hypernym schemes consist of two types: (a) “Dialectal terminology” in relation to nature, agricultural and pastoral life, ecclesiastic operation, domestic life and human energies. In this case, paretymology serves as

¹⁵ This observation is not proved statistically but it was excluded as a tendency during the collection of material.

a descriptive and specifying process in relation to the daily life/practicality and comes as a result of observation, conception and tradition to human and nature. For example, pareymology usually involves diseases, e.g. IT *risipola* (< HK *erisípelas*) > CR *rusopíla* ‘skin inflammation’ [*rúsos* ‘red’], agricultural/ ecclesiastic/domestic tools, e.g. PO *liyídi* ‘wooden barrel crown’ > *yilídi* [*yilízo* ‘drain’], KF *manuáli* ‘candelabra’ > *mono-ýáli* [*mono-* ‘mono-’], PO *layótin* ‘type of ladle’ > *lavótin* [*lávi* ‘handle’], food, e.g. CY *xristarká* ‘kind of pretzel with the sign of cross’ > *yiristarká* [*yirós* ‘round’], plants, e.g. KE *máraθro* ‘fennel’ > *málaθro* [*malakós* ‘soft’], names of animals, e.g. KE *yusterítsa* ‘green/rock lizard’ > *musterítsa* [*móstro* ‘monster’ or *móstakas* ‘grasshopper’], and geographical terms, e.g. CY *ýurna* ‘puddle’ > *vúrna* [*vúði/vóði* ‘ox’], (b) Evaluative function in animate qualities/actions, where the evaluative and judgmental operation usually has a negative/downgrading/ mocking character as a result of mentality and popular wisdom. It usually affects professions, e.g. CR *dikiyóros* ‘lawyer’ > *vukiyóros* [*vúði* ‘ox’ or *vúkinó* ‘from the one shouting or spreading the news’], behaviors, e.g. TK *dangalak* > CY *kagalákis* ‘clumsy’ [*kagalís* ‘fat and short’], corporal characteristics, e.g. KE *skolión* > *zaglón/zuglós* ‘disabled’ [*zavós* ‘idiot’], and origin, e.g. CY *Frángos* ‘of French origin’ > *Vrángos* [*vráka* ‘breeches’ or *vraکی* ‘pants’].

Finally, a question that is usually posed is whether a phonological change involved in pareymology is pure or pareymologically-orientated. If we examine the examples more closely, we can see that there seems to be a systematic relation between phonological change and pareymology. Specifically, phonological changes that are non-systematic, non-prototypical and/or indirectional (not attested) in the Greek language (for possible sound changes see Moysiadis 2005) are usually the result of pareymology (Filintas 1924; Moysiadis 2005) mostly due to blending, as for example the vowel changes involving remote sounds or redirection, e.g. TK *ihțiman* > CR *axtimáni* ‘care/persistence’ [*áxti* ‘grudge’] (i > a), TK *zemberek* > CY *zumbaréki* ‘clock spring’ [*zumbás* ‘punch’] (e > u), the development of mostly fricative sounds, e.g. CR *nákara* ‘courage’ > *nákarða* [*kardiá* ‘heart’], the non-natural consonant changes, e.g. VE *cadegla* > ZK *kaθíyla* ‘chair’ [*káθome* ‘sit’], CY *damintzána* > *lamintzána* ‘carboy’ [*lámni* ‘ditch’] (d > l), the insertion of syllables, e.g. FR *repos* > CR *repopó* [*popós* ‘booty’], and the multi-segmental changes, e.g. TK *mitraka* > DK *mandrakás* ‘heavy hammer of a stonemason’ [*mándra* ‘stockyard’]. On the other hand, the systematic, prototypical, natural and directional rules of phonological change (see Moysiadis 2005) are not related to folk etymology if they do not lead to resemanticization, such as the liquid alternation, e.g. *ađelfós* > *ađerfós* ‘brother’, and the vowel opening/rounding due to the adjacent liquid influence, e.g. *ipiresía* > *iperesía* ‘service’, *yefiri* > *yiofiri* ‘bridge’. Furthermore, there are some intermediate cases, that is, predictable phonological rules that seem to function in parallel with pareymology as semantics is influenced by the pareymological marker, such as i > e (opening due to the adjacent liquid -r), e.g. MA *mirádi* > *merádi* ‘portion’ (MG) [*méros* ‘part’], closure e > i (systematic vowel narrowing rule of the north Greek dialect group), e.g. PO *lemarıya* (< *lemós* ‘throat’) > *limarıya* ‘greediness’ [*limós* ‘famine’]. In most cases pareymology leads to phonological change, e.g. AR *nalin* ‘sabot/wooden cobbler’ > CR *lalini* [*laló* ‘talk, make noise’] (prototypical pareymology), and in some others the phonological change leads to circumstantial resemanticization, e.g. DK *đelfini* ‘dolphin’ > *đerfini* (liquid alternation) > *đerfini* ‘friendly dolphin’ [*ađerfós* ‘brother’] (non-prototypical pareymology)¹⁶. As a result, the relation between phonological change and pareymology is a reversely parallel and gradable relation between cause-effect, which is defined on the basis of a continuum of asymmetrical co-function, where the one end is occupied by the stipulated phonological changes without

¹⁶ It is possible that in some cases the phonological form of loan types is explained by the borrowing from the dialects of foreign languages and not through a Greek phonological change but this does not challenge at all the synchronic misconnection with Greek elements (for example *lalini* is attested in Arabian dialects). It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine such cases.

paretymology and the other end by non-transparent paretymology without a phonological change as a result of complete homophony. The more one type approaches one end, the more it is connected to the one procedure as a cause which has the other procedure as an effect. Semantic correlation and phonological contra-directionality are in complete joint function with the degree of participation of paretymology. The criteria to define the degree of the paretymological interference are both the systematicity of the phonological rule and the degree of semantic influence¹⁷:

Table 3: *Continuum of the relation between phonological change and paretymology*

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| → +paretymology, -phonological change: <i>papafīgos</i> > <i>papafīgos</i> | } PROTOTYPICAL } PARALLEL OPERATION } NON-PROTOTYPICAL |
| → +paretymology => +phonological change: <i>nalín</i> > <i>lalíní</i> | |
| → + phonological change, +paretymology: <i>miráði</i> > <i>meráði</i> | |
| → + phonological change => +paretymology: <i>derfíní</i> > <i>derfíní</i> | |
| → - paretymology, + phonological change: <i>aðelfós</i> > <i>aðerfós</i> | |

4. Conclusions

This paper upgrades paretymology as a part of etymology to a mechanism for interpreting language change, to a hypernym phenomenon of language change which generates others and to a productive mechanism in Greek dialects due to language contact, hyper-variation and sociolinguistic factors. It also supports the idea of Fliatouras, Voga & Anastassiadis-Syméonidis (forthcoming) and Fliatouras (2017, forthcoming a) that paretymology is a systematic, multilevel, ranking and usually morphologically-orientated procedure, which is defined by degree-based continuums in relation to multiple criteria. Finally, it traces the ambivalent relation of cause and effect between phonological change and paretymology and it includes paretymology in the procedures of analogical adaptation and multiple transparency of words, proving that it is not only a linguistic but also an extra-linguistic cultural phenomenon.

More specifically, the study of the material so far leads to the conclusion that it constitutes a mechanism of:

(a) Loan integration: The degree of adaptation is more increased compared to the simple phonological and morphological adaptation (see also Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1994), as in the ascending order adaptation degree the formula is identified with a morpheme of the lexicon and may acquire an internal structure, e.g. AR *nalín* ‘sabot/wooden cobbler’ > CR *lal-íní* (< *laló* ‘talk, make sound’+ *-íníSUF*).

(b) Multi-parameter transparency: It explains language change either autonomously or in combination with other factors as a transparency-generating process, which may aim to one or more than one of the following operations: systematicity (external > internal), synchronicity (learned type/inherited > modern), originality (peripheral > original), iconicity (not similar > similar), hellenisation (foreign > Greek), markedness (marked > unmarked), structural clarity (unstructured > structured).

(c) Pragmatic/extralinguistic mechanism: It attempts to integrate a concept or an object in culture, it indicates mentality and the social, cultural, mental conception of the speakers and it reinforces meaning with encyclopaedical charging, e.g. MEG *aliladérfia* ‘half-blood brothers’ > *uladérfia* ‘all brothers’, *miladérfia* ‘half-brothers’, *ðiladérfia* ‘declared brothers’, *liɣadérfia* ‘little brothers’, *muladérfia* ‘hidden brothers’, *loladérfia* ‘crazy brothers’ (a cross-dialectal paretymological variety depending on the degree of evaluative judgment and stance), *paraθíri* ‘window’ > AM/TH *panaθíri* ‘raised window’ (in geographical regions with raised windows

¹⁷ We should notice that the inclusion in the continuum is circumstantial, namely different per dialect and person according to the degree of etymological and morphological transparency.

in house architecture), PO *frúnos* ‘frog’ (< AG *phrunos*) > *vrúxnos* [*vrúxna* ‘mold’] (the information of animal’s residence is added).

As far as research perspectives are concerned, this paper provides rich material, extensive classification and a theoretical framework of pareymology, “setting the foundations to demolish myths” concerning the lack of systematicity, the supremacy of phonology and the downgrading of semantics. As a result, it creates the conditions for a further study of the phenomenon in the Greek language especially on the level of dialects.

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Appendix

CY *poalétrin* ‘the lower part of the plow that looks like a foot’ > *vualétra* [*vuálin* ‘buffalo’]
 CR/CY *disendería* ‘dysentery’ > *lisendería* [*lino* ‘release, dissolve’] (cf. also MEG *lisandería/lisindería*)
 (in many dialects) *idráriyros* ‘mercury’ > *diáriyros* [*dia-* ‘inter-, dis-’]
 PO *distrátin* ‘two-road path’ > *dixtráti* [*díxti* ‘net’]
 CR *stomúxi* ‘animal gag’ > *mustúxi* [*mustrí* ‘face, chops’]
 CY *δrot-árinSUF* ‘eruption on the skin due to sweat’ > *γrot-árinSUF* [(i)γρός ‘wet’]
 CY *avkó-tsiflon* > *avkó-tsilon* [*tsilára* ‘hen manure’]
 CY *damindzána* ‘carboy’ > *lamidzána* [*lámni* ‘channel’]
 DK *tramundána* ‘north wind’ > *δramundána* [*drákos* ‘dracon’]
 EG *beaf steak* > KE *bifistiki* [*fistiki* ‘pistachio’]
 FR *rigueur* ‘rigor’ > CY *ligúrin* [*ligió* ‘I feel rigor’]
 HK *prasokurís* ‘caterpillar eating the roots’ > CR *praságuras* [*águros/áyuros* ‘unripe’]
 IT *imboglio* ‘kerchief’ > MA *babulóno* ‘cover’ [*babúlas* ‘bogy man’]
 IT *magniatoia* > KE *maniad-úra* ‘crib’ [-*úraSUF/CON*]
 IT *ignoranza* > KE (*i*)*niorad-ía* ‘posh/showing-off behavior’ [-*íaSUF/PRO*]
 KE *apolólós* ‘lost’ (cf. MEG *pelelós*) > *belelós* [*belás* ‘trouble’]
 MA *dikráni* ‘pitchfork’ > *dukráni* [*dukán* ‘hay fork’],
 TK *kaygana* > CY *kaik-arás* ‘scrambled eggs’ [-*arásSUF/AUG*]