

Balkan and South Slavic Enclaves in Italy

Balkan and South Slavic Enclaves in Italy:

*Languages, Dialects
and Identities*

Edited by

Thede Kahl,
Iliana Krapova
and Giuseppina Turano

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INTRODUCTION

The contributions in this book originate from the conference “*Balkan enclaves in Italy. Languages, dialects, identities*”, held in Venice, Italy, from 26-28 November 2015. The conference was held on the occasion of the sixth annual meeting of the Commission for Balkan linguistics affiliated with the International Committee of Slavists. Due to its high significance to society, the participants have set up their work so that it does not only concern linguistic matters, but also interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary ones. In this way, we tried to fully integrate the results of the work of many researchers from different universities and research institutions.

In Italy and in the Balkans, work with linguistic minorities has not been included in academic discussions for a long time. Italy is in a border situation that is located not just between political and administrative, but also between various historical realities. The turbulent geopolitics in the Balkans affects Italy and indirectly affects the minorities living in north-eastern (Slovenes, Croats) and southern Italy (Albanians, Greeks, Molise Slavs). To date, the necessary political dialogues with the opposite side of the Adria have not yet taken place, and, due to economic crises and the revitalisation of nationalistic tendencies, the concept is very difficult to promote.

Despite these complex relationships, in Balkan linguistics, there has been a recent shift in focus towards (areal) dialectology. The significance of such studies stems from the very nature of dialects/ varieties as representing recent or current contact situations, bi- or multilingual. To a certain extent, they approximate those situations which led to the emergence of the particular effects of a linguistic area, observed in the modern standard languages of the region. It is well-known that linguistic contact in the Balkans existed mainly at the colloquial level, with the predominant type of bilingualism being a dialect of the language A + a dialect of the language B; a less frequent type, characteristic mainly of the 19th-century “debalkanisation” period, consisted in the contact of standard language A + dialect of language B. The Venice meeting highlighted a number of issues relevant to the theory of language areas and areal linguistics, such as types of Balkan convergences, types of structure

transfers, borrowing of structural patterns, stages and directions of grammaticalisation, etc.

In accordance with the discussions from our conference, after an introduction about Balkan dialectology and its significance for the field of linguistics, the present book is also divided into parts and individual chapters, dedicated to the individual minorities in Italy: Albanian (Arbëresh), Greek (Grico, Grecanico) and Slavic (Molise Slavic and Slovenian).

Albanian (Arbëresh) is spoken in numerous provinces in Southern Italy and, despite the geographical fragmentation, has at least 100,000 speakers today. The Albanians' initial presence in Italy can be dated back to the late 13th century. There was a massive migration during the 15th century, due to the Turkish invasion of the region. The Albanian minority living in Italy mostly uses the Tosk dialect. Since 15 December 1999, Arbëresh has been protected in Europe through Law 482, the Law Governing the Protection of Historical Linguistic Minorities.

Calabrian and Apulian **Greek** (Grico, Grecanico) is spoken by about 12,000 people in certain communities in the provinces of Reggio Calabria and Lecce. The beginnings of the Greek settlement date back to antiquity, when the first Greek migrants settled in Southern Italy. The Greek language in the few remaining Greek communities in Southern Italy dates back to Medieval Greek. Today, spoken Greek is limited to usage within the family.

In Italy, **Slavic** minority languages are represented by Molise Slavic/ Molise Croatian and Slovenian. Molise Slavic is spoken in the communities of San Felice del Molise, Montemitro and Acquaviva Collecroce in the province of Campobasso, and is spoken by around 2,400 people. The ancestors of the Molise Slavs, who migrated from the Dalmatian coast in order to flee the Turkish advance, settled in what is now the region of Molise between the 15th and 16th centuries. There, the archaic language is spoken in a very small area and is considered to be seriously endangered. In contrast, Slovenian is spoken by around 80,000 people in the provinces of Trieste, Gorizia and Udine.

Although the papers on the Arbëresh, Griko/ Grecanico, Molise Slavic, and Slovene dialects do not share the same approach to linguistic descriptions or language contacts, they do highlight important aspects of the linguistic situation in Southern and Central Italy. Some authors investigate the mutual influences between each of these “Balkan” varieties and the neighbouring Italian dialects in an attempt to pin down those areas of interference and variation, which operate in either direction; other papers study common tendencies which do not just pertain to local

contacts but have a wider significance for the history of linguistic and cultural contacts in Italy, between the above-mentioned varieties and the respective languages of the Balkan peninsula. Although the majority of the conference presentations relate to fields of areal linguistics, such as language contact and language variation, some papers published here deal with sociolinguistics and recent cultural issues.

The discussions at our conference brought forward useful comparisons which can contribute to a better understanding of the concrete dimensions of variation on the dialectal continuum inside and outside of the Balkans, as well as stimulate the search for finer points of contact between different types of languages/ varieties. However, the languages of recent migrants from the Balkans – that of the Romanians, who are, by far, the largest minority group in modern Italy, or that of Albanian refugees from the 1990's – are not taken into account in this volume. However, they would be a very worthwhile field of research in the future.

Thede Kahl, Iliana Krapova, Giuseppina Turano

PART 1:
ALBANIAN IN ITALY

ITALO-BALKAN LINGUISTIC INTERACTIONS IN
THE ITALIAN-ALBANIAN FOOD LEXICON:
A SHORT HISTORY OF *TUMACË*,
“HOME-MADE PASTA” FROM THE CAUCASUS
TO THE APENNINES*

FRANCESCO ALTIMARI

Historically, food, like music, represents one of the privileged aspects of the hybridisation and contamination between different cultures and is the result par excellence of inter-cultural exchanges and contacts between populations. Gastronomical-cultural intermingling was, and continues in today's globalised world, to be an important trend on a universal scale, as it was in the past.

In the lexicon of the Italian-Arbëresh food culture, evidence can be found of the numerous contacts made with the populations close to the Albanian community over the course of its multimillennial history, first in the Balkan context of Eastern Europe and later in the Italian context of Western Europe.

This single lexicon, linked to food and its specificities, also traces the various stages of the linguistic and cultural ‘long march’ undertaken historically by this community, and thus reflects the particularities of each of its temporary settlements and its continuous contacts (keeping here to the phase also documented through its dialects and the historical period: from the Albanian-speaking regions of present-day Albania, to the peninsular and islands of modern Greece, to today's Albanian-speaking areas of mainland Italy).

Thus, the dishes in the Arbëresh cuisine emblematically follow this trans-Mediterranean route and also represent several important ‘junctions’ in this interesting inter-linguistic and inter-cultural journey. They are, therefore, the result of continuous and reciprocal exchanges of food-related knowledge and practices between the Albanian population and the various peoples they came into contact with over the centuries.

Spurred by the prominent role food played not only in the cultural forum opened this year, but also in our country as the central theme of Expo Milan 2015, we set out to analyse in this paper its material and anthropological implications via several lexemes that refer to three dishes in our material and spiritual culture, namely *tumacë*, ‘home-made pasta’, *lëkëngë* ‘sausage’ and *kulaç*, ‘traditional cake’.

The choice was due to the natural co-existence of the above-mentioned dishes in the food culture typical of the Albanians of Italy, but also of other Albanian communities in the Balkans, such as the Greek Arvanites, so we have tried, on a linguistic and cultural level, to collate the network of contacts, loanwords and exchanges that emerge with respect to food, a field that is one of the most susceptible and most exposed to hybridisation and contamination.

In an attempt to reconstruct a comprehensive history in the time allotted to us instead of three rushed histories that also ran the risk of being ‘affected’ and fragmentary, I had to focus on a single lexeme in this presentation and leave the treatment of the specificities linked to the other two lexemes - *lëkëngë* and *kulaç* - to the publication of the records or other discussion forums, since it would be an ill-considered undertaking to tackle their long linguistic history here and in the space allocated for a single paper.

This analysis, albeit focused solely on *tumacë*, will take us back in time to the late-Mediaeval period in European and Eastern Mediterranean history characterised by an era and a cultural and linguistic space formed by more sharing with respect to the present-day (and not ‘traditional’!) contrasts between different ethnic-nationalist alliances, thus giving us a new and *ante litteram* ‘global’ picture of this part of Europe stretching from the Caucuses to Italy. It will also enable us to re-discover the originality as well as the beauty of being fundamentally interwoven in a single pattern composed of many and varied polychromatic strands that reflect the multiple identities that form and define us.

However, even from this perspective, it makes little sense to try and unravel the threads of such rich and complex patterns which, from the standpoint of history and identity are polychromatic, in a vain attempt to regain ‘purity’ and monochromatic homogeneity, which would in any case be artificial, and which, besides showing no respect for our authentic compositional identity, would impoverish our way of being citizens within large and small communities that, by inclusion and certainly not by exclusion, have historically created the beautiful - linguistic and cultural - mosaic that is the Europe of today: let us remember when we do this kind

of research, as per the title of the famous work by the American anthropologist, James Clifford, that ‘pure fruits go crazy’¹

We shall now begin our inter-cultural and inter-linguistic journey via the names of dishes and with the dishes from East to West, from the Caucasus to the Apennines, starting with a lexeme like *tumacë*, which means ‘a kind of home-made pasta’², and studying it first inside and then outside the Albanian-speaking area.

¹ *I frutti puri impazziscono. Etnografia, letteratura e arte nel secolo XX*, Bollati Boringhieri, Torino, 1993 (edizione originale: *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Harvard University Press, 1988). The title of the work in the Italian version is taken from a poem by Williams Carlos Williams: "The Pure Fruits of America Go Crazy".

² Other types of home-made pasta in the Arbëresh context: *dromsa-t* ‘sf.pl. home-made pasta’; *polenta* (GIORDANO 1963: 84) or *dromca* ‘crumbs, pieces of pasta’ (ÇABEJ 2017: 121); *droqe-t* ‘sm. p. *maccheroni*, home-made pasta’ (GIORDANO 1963: 84); *cavatelli* (MASSARO 2010: 44); *fletaz-it* ‘sf.pl. *tagliatelle*’ (SCUTARI 2002: 21); *fircùll-i* ‘sm. *Fusillo*’ (SCUTARI 2002: 21); *shtrydhla-t* ‘sf.pl. home-made pasta’ (GIORDANO 1963: 485). This last is a type of pasta specific to the Arbëresh community and is characteristic of the entire Albanian area of both Calabrian and Lucan Pollino. Giordano’s denomination needs further specification as *shtrydhlat* – taken from a definition given to us by Scutari – is ‘home-made durum wheat pasta the size of *bucatini*, but not hollow, which requires special preparation’. We shall try to explain what this preparation consisted of, as *shtrydhlat* is the result of patient kneading to make the pasta into a long roll that becomes thinner and thinner as it is pressed by the fingertips until it forms a consistent rope of pasta. Once it has the required shape – as thin as possible – it is cut up and added to boiling water, and when cooked, is served with a sauce boiled with kid’s meat (“high-class” version) or with a sauce and legumes (“lower-class” version). Given the complexity of the work required, *shtrydhlat* was not an everyday dish and was only prepared for important family or community feasts.



Shtrydhëlat (Lungro) – photo by Maria Iaconianni



Fletazit me klumësht ‘tagliatelle with a milk and cinnamon sauce’ (San Costantino Albanese)

I find the lexeme *tumacë* particularly interesting from the standpoint of the linguistic history of the food culture in the Mediterranean area, not least for the reconstruction it gives us of the relationship between the languages in the Balkan context (and elsewhere!) in the 15th century: it is an ancient loanword introduced through Turkish into Albanian and brought by the Arbëresh from the Balkan peninsular to Italy during the 15th and 16th centuries.

It is no mere coincidence: in the 14th and 15th centuries, the Ottoman Empire conquered the entire peninsular and exerted great influence over the administrative, cultural and spiritual life of the populations there over the next five centuries. As Skok (1935) observed, the Turkish conquest paved the way for numerous Turkish loanwords in the Balkans, but a great many too from other languages (Persian, Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Latin and Italian) that entered the Balkan languages via Turkish, to the point of being incorrectly considered Turkisms.

One such is *tutmaç*, which means in Turkish, though only in a few areas of Anatolia, ‘pasta cut into small squares and cooked in yoghurt, seasoned to taste with various condiments and a lot of black pepper, with or without pieces of meat, mainly lamb, but always with yoghurt’. However, these days, the dish (and its name) is not only common in Turkey, but in various countries of Turkish culture too – Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Gagauzia, a region in Moldavia inhabited by Orthodox Christian Turkish speakers. The same dish is also found in populations whose language and culture is Mongolian, who cook it in water instead of yoghurt and add meat, onions, garlic and vegetables, according to the tastes and traditions of each³.

The Albanian-speaking Area: Italy

The starting point for this analysis is the Albanian-speaking area of Italy,⁴ where, today, *tumacë* is attested in almost all of the Albanian dialects from

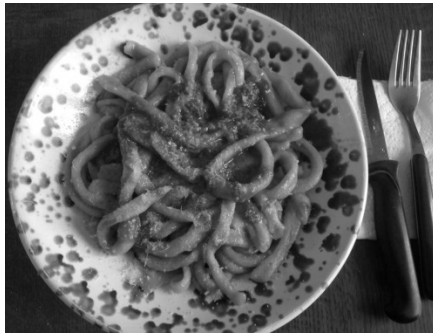
³ This useful information was kindly provided by Mrs Semahat Osman, a Turkish-speaking scholar of Turkology as well as psychologist and journalist, who was born in Istanbul and now lives in Skopje, whom I was able to interview via the web thanks to a mutual friend, Mrs Diana Ibrahim Rexha, for whose invaluable collaboration I am extremely grateful.

⁴ For this area we now have numerous descriptive texts, but systematic ‘ad hoc’ studies on the food lexicon are still missing. We have only one in-depth study, mainly focusing on the Arbëresh area of Lucan Pollino, but it is incomplete owing to the untimely and tragic death of its author, the young scholar, Clelia Sessa. The study was part of her doctoral thesis and was published in honour of her memory:

Molise to Sicily, although, depending on the dialect spoken, it can variously mean ‘home-made pasta’ in general, ‘maccheroni’ or ‘tagliatelle’.



tumacë me fasule



tumacë me lëng

Clelia SESSA, *Itinerari di cultura alimentare arbëreshe*, Arcipelago Edizioni, Milano (2004). We should point out, however, that Sessa’s work does not mention the lexeme *tumacë*, not even in the paragraph dealing with terms possibly influenced by Turkish (pp.103-106).



tumacë shpie

We based this research on a series of lexical texts on Arbëresh in order to document its distribution in the different Albanian-speaking areas of Italy, and found parallels in almost all the Italo-Albanian dialects. For reasons of time, we shall mention only a few:

Frascineto/*Frasnita*: GIORDANO (1963: 507): *tumacë-t* ‘home-made pasta, *maccheroni*’

Santa Sofia d’Epiro/*Shën Sofia*: BAFFA (2009: 109): *tumacë-t* ‘tagliatelle’

Portocannone/*Porkanuni* and Ururi/*Ruri*: PIGNOLI; TARTAGLIONE (2007: 214); *tumàc-t* ‘kind of home-made pasta similar to *tagliatelle*’

San Costantino Albanese/*Shën Kostandini*: SCUTARI (2002): *tumàc-t* ‘*maccherone*’ (p. 99); *flètaz-it* ‘*tagliatelle*’ (p. 21)

Firmo /*Ferma*: RUSSO (2006: 14): *tumacë-t* ‘*tagliatelle*’

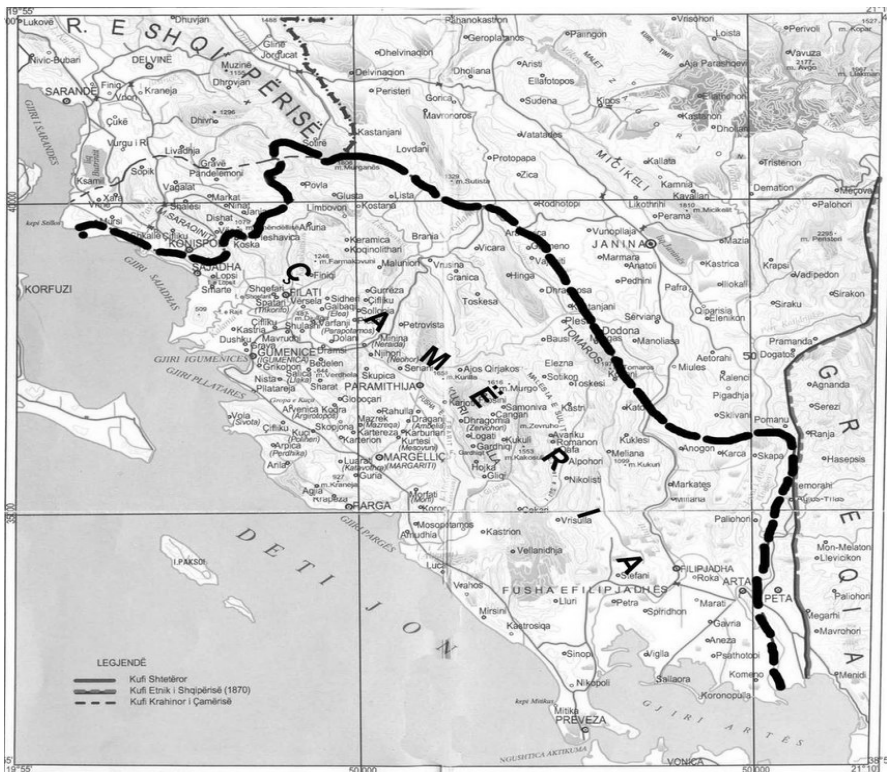
Casalvecchio di Puglia/*Kazallveqi* and Cheuti/*Qefti*: MASSARO (2010: 169): *tumàce-t* ‘kind of short home-made pasta’

Piana degli Albanesi/*Hora e Arbëreshëvet*: GERBINO (2007: 121): *tumacë-t* ‘home-made pasta’

Pallagorio/*Puhëriu*: GENTILE (in press): *tumàce-t* ‘home-made pasta, *maccheroni*’

The Balkan Albanian-speaking Area: Greece and Albania

Introduced into the Balkan Albanian-speaking area, nowadays it exists in the Tosk dialect of Ciamuria⁵ as *tumaca-t* ‘makarone shtëpie që bëhen të gjëra si taljateli’, which has been recorded by Albanian-speakers in the Cham community of Mazrrek, today part of Greek Epirus.



The first scholar to attest the term *tumacë* in a Greek Albanian-speaking context was Karl Reinhold (1834-1880) in his renowned work *Noctes*

⁵ Cf. Qemal HAXHIHASANI (1071: 118-193).

*Pelagicae*⁶, published in Athens in 1855, in which he recorded the lexeme that reflects the Arvanitika of the Islands of Poros, Hydhra and Spezia, namely *tumatse* with its meaning in Greek (‘είδος πέμματος’) and German (*Blätterteig* ‘puff pastry’). It was then used by Gustav Meyer in his famous *Etimologisches Wörterbuch der Albanesischen Sprache*, Strasburg 1891, p. 451: *tumáts* m. ‘Nudeln’ cal. sic. *tumats̃* ‘Blätterteig’ gr. Rhd. Sic. cal. *tuma* piem. *toma* prov. *tumo* ‘frischer Käse’ sic. *tumazzu* ‘Käse’.

Reinhold’s attestation for Arvanitika is confirmed for the Island of Hydhra by Panajot Kupitori (1821-1881) in his *Dictionnaire Grec-Albanais*, datable prior to 1881 and recently published by Titos Jochalas⁷, where they are recorded as corresponding to the Greek *χολόπητται* and as the synonyms: “*τουμάτσε-τε, δρόμμα-τε*”.

Today, the same lexeme is also attested in the Arvanitika of Morea, Greece (Jochalas 2011), in the form *tumacë-t* ‘oi culop...tej’ (tagliatelle) attested in Demethrioj and in the form *tumaca-të* ‘oi culop...tej’ (tagliatelle) at Μιδέα, in the Argolide region (p. 880), but *tumaçë-të* “oi culop...tej” (tagliatelle) recorded at Lampòkampoј in the region of Laconia (p. 624).

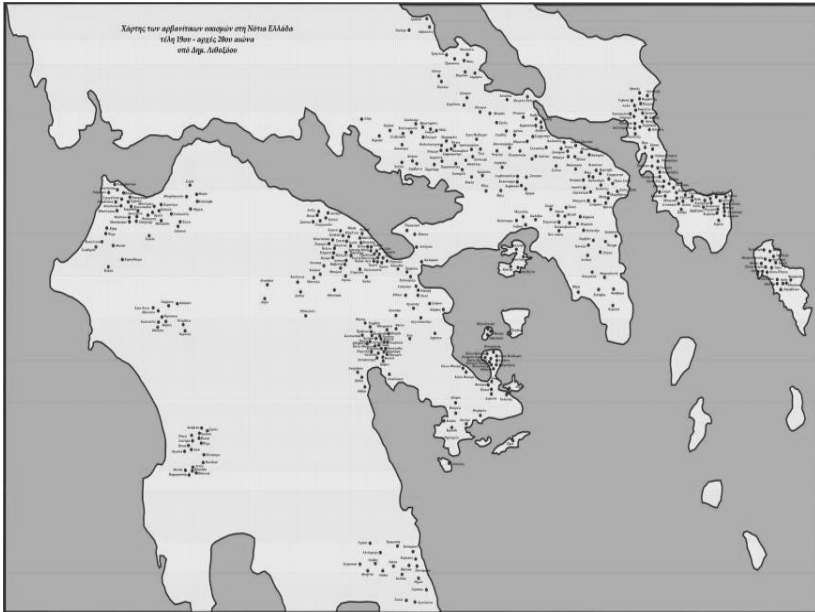
These two separate attestations - *tumacë-t* e *tumaçë-të* – demonstrate different phases in the relationship between the languages in the Balkan context and therefore a different outcome as regards linguistic contact: in the first case, between Turkish and Albanian with the phonetic mediation of Modern Greek, and in the second, directly between Turkish and Albanian, with the adaptation of the Turkish loanword into the phonological structure of Albanian.

In this specific instance, *tumacë* represents an ancient loanword already present in Turkish and introduced into Albanian via the Modern Greek - a language from which it has disappeared, surviving only, according to the information referred to me by Katerina Papatheou, in the later Greek-Cypriot dialect, perhaps precisely because of its geographical proximity to the Anatolian area of origin – in the Albanian brought to Italy by the Arbëresh in the 15th and 16th centuries.

The influence exerted by Turkish, especially in the lexicon of the Balkan languages it had strong contact with for centuries, was utterly pervasive. Each and every language that came into contact with Turkish in the Balkan area, including Albanian, was exposed to all the diastratic varieties of Ottoman Turkish, particularly the so-called *kaba türkçe*, or ‘popular Turkish’ (Skok 1936: 476).

⁶ Caroli Heinrici Theodori REINHOLD (1855: 59). I am grateful to my dear friend and distinguished Greek Albanologist, Titos Jochalas, for this important information.

⁷ Cf. The critical edition of the manuscript by Panaiot KOUPITORIS (2006: 423-854).



The lexeme we are analysing is important evidence of the broad-ranging influence exercised by Turkish, whether directly or through other linguistic varieties, on the languages of the area it was historically in contact with in the Balkans. These languages were clearly in close proximity, that is, in a situation in which the speakers of two or more languages come into contact and develop forms of bi- (or pluri-) lingual fluency. Naturally, the stronger the contact, the more pervasive are its effects on a linguistic plane.

If Turkish had been the direct lender language, without the mediation of Modern Greek, it would not have been difficult for Albanian to adapt the Turkish loanword to exactly the same phonetic form (and to its morphology), in which case, it would have entered directly as *tumaç* and not as *tumac*, as routinely happened in the Arvanite dialect of Laconia, as previously mentioned.

It is therefore necessary to assume that in some of the Arvanite dialects of Morea linguistic contact was direct, since, as recorded by Jochalas, attested in these Albanian-speaking areas alongside the form *tumacë*, mediated by the Greek, is the direct form *tumaçë*, which came directly from the Turkish into Albanian, although both have the meaning in Greek of ‘oi culop...tej’, i.e. ‘tagliatelle’.

The Greek Area

Today, the lexeme *τουμάτσα* [toumatsa] exists only in Cypriot Greek, with the variants *τουμάτσια*, *τομάτσια*, *τεμάτσια*, *τομάτσιν* (diminutive) *τουμακκούδκια*, and, as attested for the Island of Míkonos,⁸ *μάτσι* *ε* *μάσι*⁹, in the form probably deriving from it and always in local usage, which indicates home-made barley pasta¹⁰ and *χυλοπίτα* (tagliatelle).

However, this has not been attested, as previously stated, either in Standard Greek or continental Greek dialects, since it appears in no Standard Greek or dialectal dictionaries, at least in none of those we consulted personally, not even in the Epirote one by Giannina. The same food is indicated in Modern Greek by the plural neuter gender term *λαζάνια* [lazána], calqued from the Italian *lasagne*.

As regards Cyprus, we found it recorded by Konstantinos Giankoullis, *Μικρός ερμηνευτικός και ετυμολογικός θησαυρός της Κυπριακής διαλέκτου (από το δέκατο τρίτο αιώνα μέχρι σήμερα)*, Βιβλιοθήκη Κυπρίων λαϊκών ποιητών [series no. 58], Λευκωσία 1997, p. 320 *s.v.* *τεμάτσια* *ε* *τουμάτσια*, and p. 329 *s.v.* *τουμάτσια*.



⁸ Kostas KARAPOTOSOGLU (2005: 89-120) mentions the term *μάτσι* *ε* *μάσι* on p. 109. The term is derived, according to Katerina Papatheou, from the mediaeval Greek *μάτσι*, a type of pasta originating from the Turkish *tutmaç*, fresh pasta cut into strips and cooked with meat and yoghurt. For the derivation from *tutmaç*, cf. KARAPOTOSOGLU (2000: 105-106).

⁹ The term comes from the Gr. *mdv.* *μάτσι*, a kind of pasta that derives from the Turkish *tutmaç*, fresh pasta cut into strips and cooked with meat and yoghurt.

¹⁰ In Greek one says: *σπιτικό χειρόποίητο κριθαράκι*.

Giankoullis himself hypothesised an improbable derivation from the Gk. a. *τεμάχιον*, ‘slice of salted fish’¹¹, perhaps due to the popular etymology of the Greek word *τεμάχιο* ‘small piece’¹², whilst in an on-line dictionary of Greek juvenile slang, *τουμάτσια* is actually explained as being the result of the phonetic assimilation into Modern Greek of the Anglicism ‘too much’¹³!

The mediation exercised by Greek is inferred here by the /τΣ/ > /τσ/ phonetic adaptation undergone by the Turkish loanword *tutmaç* in ‘neo-Hellenic’ mouths: analogous to *tutmaç*, and perfectly integrated phonologically in Modern Greek, recording the same variation from the voiceless alveo-palatal sibilant to the voiceless dental fricative - /τΣ/ > /τσ/, are other Turkisms like *καραγάτσι το*, *s.n.* [karayátsi] [Turkish *karaağaç* + desin. -ι], *χαράτσι το*, *s.n.* [xarátsi] «poll tax imposed under Turkish rule» [Mdv Gr. *χαράτσι* < turc. *haraç* (dall’arabo) + desin. -ι], *κουρμπάτσι το*, *s.n.* [kurbátsi] whip [τουρκ. *kurbaç* -ι].

In other words, Turkish and Modern Greek co-existed in the same territory, and as the phoneme /τΣ/, namely the voiceless alveo-palatal sibilant, did not exist in the Greek phonetic index, the Turkish lexeme adapted to the Greek phonological system, replacing the /τΣ/ phoneme with the voiceless dental fricative phoneme /τσ/, to become *tumats*.

I would point out that, in Greek-speaking environments, the word *τουμάτσια* of probable Turkish origin is not attested on the Greek peninsular, and can only be found there today through the loanwords

¹¹ I am indebted to Katerina Papatheou, highly esteemed lecturer of Modern Greek at the University of Catania, whose accurate and in-depth analysis on the spread of *τουμάτσια* in the Greek-speaking context allowed me to examine in detail an issue that is extremely complex from a linguistic point of view and one that is not easily tackled by someone who is not intimately acquainted with the linguistic developments of this area. Katerina’s assistance was fundamental in providing an initial answer to the passages of this Turkism in the Greek-speaking context. As my friend, Titos Jochalas advised, consulting the Historical Dictionary Archive at the University of Athens would prove conclusive for a comprehensive study on the spread of this Turkism in a Greek dialect-speaking setting.

¹² Hypothesis proposed by Titos Jochalas; my thanks for the suggestion.

¹³ 1. τουματσιά Εκ του «too much», υπερβολικό. Θηλυκού γένους. Συνοδευόμενο από επιθετικό προσδιορισμό «μεγάλη», «έντονη», δηλώνει πλεονασμό. 2. τουματσιά Ελληνοποιημένη σύνθεση των αγγλικών λέξεων *too much*, δηλαδή πάρα πολύ. Δηλώνει το υπερβολικό, την πάνω από τα όρια κατάσταση. Χρησιμοποιείται πολύ από τους Έλληνες του εξωτερικού, από τους οποίους και προέρχεται. In <http://www.slang.gr/lemma/4573-toumatsia>.

introduced into the Albanian linguistic varieties present on Greek territory (Cham and Arvanite dialects).

In the Peloponnese, we find, lastly, the lexeme *τουτουμάκια*, which indicates ‘*small squares of tagliatelle*’ and which may have entered, albeit at a later date, from the same lexeme, even if linguistically mediated, but with a different phonetic outcome. We can surmise that *τουτουμάκια* possibly came after *τουμάτσια* chronologically, then vanished from the Greek peninsular, although today it is attested in the most conservative dialect of Cyprus, perhaps as a result of mediation by another Balkan language (Romanian or a Slavic variety?); that would explain the greater semantic proximity of the term to present-day Turkish.

The Bosnian Area

Bosnia has always been part of the Balkan area, a region particularly exposed to Ottoman-Turkish linguistic and cultural influence, not least because of the wide diffusion of the Islamic religion. One of the spheres most affected by the influence of Turkish culture in the Bosnian region was cuisine and food, and many dishes of Ottoman-Turkish origin were introduced to this area of the Balkans from the 15th century onwards.

Amongst these dishes is a particular Oriental soup called *tutmać*, which means ‘*a kind of pasta cut into squares and added to a soup made with yoghurt*’. *Tutmac*, with its style of preparation and its Turkish name, passed into Bosnian culture (Hadžiosmanović 2007: 46)¹⁴.

Unlike *tumacë*, however, which entered Arbërisht through the mediation of Greek, *tutmać* passed directly into Bosnian Slavic from Ottoman Turkish in both the phonetic and original semantic forms.

¹⁴ Cf. Fatih Đyiyol (2010: 469-474).



The Bulgarian Area

We are indebted to the distinguished Balkanist, Petya Assenova, for the information she provided on the presence in the Bulgarian linguistic area of the dish *tùtmanik* [in Bulgarian: *тутманик*] on the very occasion of the presentation of our paper at the *Balkan ‘enclaves’ in Italy* (2015) conference in Venice, and although it is not identical to home-made pasta, because of its natural ingredients and, obviously, its preparation techniques, as well as its referential link to the root of the lexeme *tutma*/tuma**, namely the subject of our paper, it also completes the picture of the attestation in the Bulgarian context of this term¹⁵.

Therefore, in addition to Bosnia, another Slavic-speaking area of the Balkans is involved, namely Bulgaria, where the masculine gender noun

¹⁵ The well-known Bulgarian linguist, Моско Москов (cf. his article in *Известия на института за български език* книга XVI, Книга XVI, Издателство на Българската академия на науките, София 1968, pp. 185-186) connects *тутманик* to the Turkish verbal noun TUTMA, erroneously making it derive from the verb TUTMAK 'hold, take'. The same etymology is given in *A dictionary of Turkisms in Bulgarian*, edited by Alf Grannes, Kjetil Rå Hauge, Hayriye Süleymanoğlu (2002).

tûtmanik denotes a traditional loaf made with butter and cheese and cooked in a baking pan, or a cake or cheese cake. It is midway between ordinary bread and the famous ‘banitza’, a kind of traditional pizza made primarily with puff pastry and ‘sirene’, a white cheese similar to Greek feta, and one of the most popular dishes in Bulgaria, whether for breakfast, lunch or dinner.



Tutmanik is part of the Bulgarian culinary tradition, which often uses the Balkan pickled white cheese ‘sirene’ (*сирене* in Bulgarian). It is this white cheese that makes this traditional Bulgarian bread unique. From an etymological point of view, we believe that the origin of *tutmanik* is directly related to the Turkish *tutmaç*, with the addition to the Turkish root *tutma* of the suffix *-nik*, which is very productive in Bulgarian¹⁶.

In line with what occurred with Bosnian Slavic and Bulgarian, as we have seen in the direct derivation from the Turkish *tutmaç* [ту̀тмач̣], loanwords that are present in Russian, *тукмачи* [tukmačĩ], and Romanian, *tocmagi*, should be considered, although it is likely that the latter did not enter directly from Turkish, but was borrowed through linguistic contact with neighbouring Slavic linguistic varieties.

The Russian Area

In the Russian area, *тукмачи* [tukmačĩ], which indicated a soup dish with green *fettuccine* made from wheat flour, chickpeas and hemp oil, and which became a Russian dish from the 16th century after the conquest of Kazan (1552), was already attested in *Domostroj*¹⁷, ‘Housekeeping’, dating from the 15th-16th centuries, a codex of rules and regulations concerning family life and behaviour valid in Russian society for all classes, whether masters or servants. We find it again in the DAL¹⁸ of 1882 with the meaning *родъ салмы, лапиш, изъ мучнаго тѣста съ горохом*, ‘a kind of pasta (used by the Tartars, the Baškiri and several other populations), pasta, maccheroni (in a generic sense) made from flour dough and peas’. Finally, it is attested by the German linguist, Max

¹⁶ We find *tutmanik* attested for the first time in in Найден Геров, *Речник на българския език*, т. 5 София 1978, p.386 (фототипно издание на Речника, издаден в Пловдив 1904) – (it is a Photostat edition that appeared in Sofia between 1975 and 1978 of the Bulgarian language dictionary previously published in Plovdiv between 1895 and 1904). My warm gratitude to my colleague, Asenova, for the accurate reconstruction that, thanks to her crucial contribution, I have been able to make of the lexeme *тутманик* in the Bulgarian linguistic area.

¹⁷ Домострой. По рукописямъ Императорской Публичной Библиотеки / В. Яковлевъ. — Санктпетербургъ: Изданіе Д. Е. Кожанчикова, 1867. Su Тукмачи cf. capit.65, p.162.

¹⁸ Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка. Второе издание. Том четвертый, Р-V, исправленное и значительно умноженное по рукописи автора. — С.-Петербург—Москва: Изданіе книгопродавца-типографа М. О. Вольфа, 1882, P.452. I am very grateful to Walter Breu for the detailed information on the attestation in the Russian context of the term.

Vasmar (1886-1962), in his dictionary of Russian etymology, published in German in Heidelberg between 1950 and 1958, and re-printed more recently in a four-volume Russian edition¹⁹: on page 117 of volume IV, we find *тукмачи*, as *pluralia tantum*, giving the meaning ‘суп с лапшой’ (soup with pasta) and etymologically comparable with the Turkish *tutmadž*.

The Romanian Area

In the great *Dicționarul limbii române* (DLR) published by the Romanian Academy in 1983, *tocmăgi* is attested for “‘tăiței” (*fettuccine, tagliatelle*) with diffusion in Transylvania and Moldavia²⁰. Here we find other attestations documented in various regional indices of the lexeme: *tocmăji, togmăji, tocmăci, tomnăci, togmăgi, tomăgi, tomnăgi, tojmăgi, tojmăci, tojmăgi, toșmăgi*. With regard to a non-specified regional dialectal variety – subsequently identified in the Moldavian variety in Suciū’s dictionary of Turkisms - *tocmăgi* indicates “*Bucățele de aluat fierte în apă și care se consumă apoi cu brânză, cu magiun etc.* ([‘Petits morceaux de pâte bouillie, que l’on consomme avec du fromage, de la marmelade, etc.’]).

The first scholar to have correctly identified the origin of *tocmagi* as coming from the Turkish *tutmaç* was Vasile Bogrea in a review of his etymological contributions published posthumously in *Dacoromania* at Cluj in 1927²¹. Omitted from the index of ‘Orientalisms’ by Lazăr Șăineanu (1900) but included by the Turkologist, Emil Suciū, in his recent and up-dated dictionary of Turkish loanwords in Romanian²², which

¹⁹ *Etimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka: v četyrech tomach Maks Fasmer, perevod s nemeckogo i dopolnenija Oleg Nikolaevič Trubačev, pod redakcijej i s predislovijem B.A. Larina*, Moskva, Progress 1986-1987.

²⁰ Academia Română, *Dicționarul limbii române* (DLR). Serie nouă. Tomul XI. Partea a 3-a. Litera T (Tocăna – Twist), editors: Iorgu Iordan, Alexandru Graur și Ion Coteanu, București, Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1983: 380.

²¹ “*Tocmagii românești sânt turc.-pers. toutmadj ‘pâte coupée en rubans étroits, espèce de vermicelle’* (Barbier de Maynard, I, 496), ‘espèce de pâte taillée en long qui se prépare en potage avec du lait caillé’ (p. 854) in Mr. adoară (pp. 786-856) in *Dacoromania*. Buletinul ‘Muzeului Limbei Române’ condus de Sextil Pușcariu, Anul IV, 1924-1926, partea 2, Cluj 1927.

²² Emil Suciū, *Influența turcă asupra limbii române*, II, Dicționarul cuvintelor românești de origine turcă, Editura Academiei Române, București, 2010, pp. 763-4. Suciū correctly traced the etymology of *tocmăgi* back to the popular Turkish *tutmaç, tutmac*” (foaie de) aluat uscat; mici bucăți dreptunghiulare de aluat, fierte și amestecate cu iaurt; mâncare preparată cu astfel de bucăți de aluat; supă cu tăiței și iaurt” (‘pâte très fine pour faire des mets; [mets, potage fait avec des] nouilles ou

attests *tocmăgi* with the meaning “tăiței” (fettuccine, tagliatelle) as a widely used regional term from 1805 for a Romanian-speaking area that comprises Moldavia, Northern Serbia and Northern Transylvania.²³



More recently, after illustrating the distribution within Romanian (and within neighbouring languages) of the lexeme *tocmăg*, *tocmăg.(-gi)*, m.s. «Pastă făinoasă, tăițel» and the different dialectal variants traced back to it, namely *togmag*, *tumagiu*, *tocmăgel*, *tocmăgel*, *togmăgel*, etc., Alexandru Ciorănescu, records in his etymological dictionary (cf. *Dicționarul etimologic al limbii române*, București 2001), but does not confirm the theory put forward, albeit with reservation, by August Scriban in *Arhiva, sub titlul Dicționarul limbii românești* (*Arhiva*, 1913: 237), and today considered completely unfounded, of an origin from the Hungarian *tögmag*, “sămînță

morceaux rectangulaires de pâte de farine’), rightly cross- referencing with the Albanian *tumats*, taken, even if not directly, from the etymological dictionary of Albanian by Gustav Meyer, published in Strasberg in 1891.

²³ The Arbëresh form *tumatsšt* recorded by Emil Suciū clearly indicates the Meyerian stamp of the source (Theodor Capidan?) he used.

de dovleac” (pumpkin seeds),²⁴ perhaps influenced, we think, by the approximate ‘homographic’ equivalence.

We have already mentioned that the Romanian *tocmăgi* probably did not derive directly from Turkish but through the Russian loanword *тукмачи* [*tukmačī*] or some other Slavic variety similar to Romanian (Ukrainian?) via linguistic contact. Our hypothesis could be corroborated by either linguistic (e.g. the phonetic form of loanword adaptation) or extra-linguistic motivations, the latter being linked to the areal distribution of Turkisms in the Romanian area, because, as reliably confirmed to me by the Romanist, Rodica Zafiu, the extensive use of Turkisms - as in the case of *tocmăgi* - is quite a rare linguistic phenomenon in Transylvania and Moldavia, though not in Wallachia, since Turkish loanwords in Romanian usually spread in the opposite direction²⁵.



²⁴ In Hungarian, this type of pasta is, however, called *túrós tészta* and indicates a «type of square-shaped pasta, often home-made, and eaten with a kind of ricotta cheese and sour cream (plus browned smoked ham)». Sincere thanks to my colleague, Beatrice Tottossy (University of Florence), whose invaluable advice helped me to understand how things really stand in Hungarian and to give a rational explanation in order to confute once and for all the hypothesis hazarded by Scriban, and, as I anticipated, based merely on ‘homographic’ considerations.

²⁵ Thanks to Prof. Rodica Zafiu, currently full professor of the Romanian language at the Faculty of Arts at the University of Bucharest and since 2003 researcher at the “Iorgu Iordan-Alexandru Rosetti” Linguistics Institute of Bucharest, for her invaluable collaboration and her comprehensive documentation on this subject.