

# INFLUENCE OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE ON THE SPEECH AND FOLK POETRY OF GORA

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## ABSTRACT

*Based on its many structural features, the Gorani dialect belongs to Balkan linguistic union. Some features have joined this dialect as a result of linguistic and ethnic mixtures present in the southeastern part of Balkan peninsula. Romanic, Turkish and Greek languages have influenced a lot the creation of the Balkan linguistic association. Balkan languages show a lot of parallel features in phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary.*

**Key words:** *Gora, Gorani dialect, Balkan language union, Greek language, impact.*

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## INTRODUCTION

Population movement was present in Balkans since ancient times, which created conditions for language contacts and interference. Based on many structural characteristics, Gorani speech belongs to Balkan linguistic union. Some characteristics have become part of this speech as a result of linguistic and ethnic mixture in southeastern part of Balkan Peninsula. (Mladenović, 2001, p. 536) Roman languages, as well as Turkish and Greek as well, had influence on establishment of Balkan linguistic union. Linguistic union means bilingualism or multilingualism, whereas in mixogloty, a simplified system by which a sort of distinction within linguistic structure is being removed. (Ivić, 1991, p. 16)

Balkan languages show many parallel features in phonetics, morphology, syntax and lexicon. Because of the constant population movement, Gorani speech was exposed to the influence of almost all Balkan languages. Many Gorani people, because of the cattle breeding and trade, have used few languages at the same time. Beside their own language, many men were able to speak Turkish, Albanian, Aromanian and Greek languages, which have resulted in having many borrowed words in Gorani languages, coming from mentioned languages.

Numerous cases in Balkan languages witness about a very intensive relation between them and confirm the accuracy of the stance, which by explaining

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phonological and grammatical phenomena in them, gives important place to the inter-lingual contact in Balkan environment. It is not rare case that the words and, especially, phraseological expressions of given internal form, can be found in all languages (or at least many languages) of Balkan environment. (Koneski, 1966, pp. 182-183) In Gorani language, a series of calcs is evident, and the same are undertaken from these, by their origin, very various languages. Sometimes, it seems that, by „depth structure“ (Chomsky, 1972), Gorani language is getting closer to non-Slavic languages, with which it have shared the joint space for centuries. In these kind of cases, it is not easy to determine which language have used as source of borrowing, although it is doubtless that Greek, later Turkish language as well, have left the biggest part of the traces when it comes to modelling the Balkan lexicon.

## DISCUSSION

### 1.

Area of Gora is 200 km away from Greece. However, through the history it can be seen that the Greek presence and Greek influence in Gora were stronger. Until late, even after the ruination of Ottoman empire, many cattleman from Gora had taken their sheeps for grazing to Salonika, Janina and other places in Greece, especially during the winter season. It is also worth mentioning that many Gorani people had their craft stores in many Greek towns: Salonika, Kavala, Janina, ect. Especially Gorani people coming from Brod village had very strong contacts with Greece. As a result of those realtions, a coin *násolun* was created in Brod village, which was marking the meaning of working abroad. This term does not determines the

fact working abroad only for Saloniki, but it have received its meaning and become a synonym for working abroad. (*Bábajko mi óšoŭ násolun* – „My father went to work abroad“).

Salonika and other towns in Greece are very often mentioned in folk poetry of Gora. Salonika (Seljanik) have been mentioned in songs very often, but Kavala, Janina and other as well.

„*Solunsko pole*, male, suša kažuje“ (Dokle, 2000, p. 157); „*Solunsko polje* suša kažujet“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 53); „*solunsko somunče*“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 90); „*će zimete devojka Solunka*“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 144); „*dva bela đuguma, obadva solunské*“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 337); *Go fatile, nuse mori, vo Seljanik*. (Dokle, 2000, p. 192) „*vo Kavala, Nurke čerko, vo apsana*“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 1);

„Daj mi bože krila labodove  
Ja da letam, dur devet planine,  
Pa da panem vo *Solunsko pole*,  
Da odberem Bošnjaka junaka.“

(Dokle, 2000, p. 168)

In village Orčuša there is a family *Seljanikovci*, which got this name because of the male family members that were staying on Salonika (Seljanik) during the winter months along with the sheeps.

Contacts with Greek language are much older and were existing far earlier. Some toponyms and names of the medieval documents also shows this. In the charter of Holy Archangels from 1348, certain *Draica Grkovik* from Jelenca village is being mentioned. based on the borders given there, Jelenca could be the name of today's Bačka village, or neighbourhood which was located in vicinity. Some toponyms that have been saved up to date in Gora, can be linked with the Greek language: *Grkinica, Grkojec, Grčke rupe, Grčko*

*trlo*, *Gramatnikojec*, *Páraspur Perívolji*, *Strátorje*, *Mávra* etc. These influences could have go through Aromanians as well, which were, as nomads, along with the cattles, searching for better pastures and thus moving from Pinda and Gramos till Bistra, Korab and Sar mountain.

## 2.

In Gorani speech and national poetry of Gora, a considerable number of verbs under the influence of Greek language with suffixes have been established *-(i/o)sa*. Suffix *-sa* is present only in verbs of Greek origin, while suffixes *-isa* and *-osa* have went into verbs with Turkish basis through the verbs with Greek basis.

However, by using suffix *-osa* some domestic verbs of unknown origin are also being established: *krvjosa*, *crvjosa*, *jadosa*, *zidos*, *gnjidos*, *hrđosa*, *trupjosa*, *kislosa*, *žgljibosa*, *špirtosa*, *pcojsa* (die), *utisa* (win in a game), *kruposa* (overeat), etc.

Number of verbs coming from Greek language that have entered Gorani speech is not negligible. Here we bring some verbs for which have been determined that they are of Greek origin, even though we still have a number of verbs and words in this language which usually leads to Greek language, but whose origin has remained as unknown and insufficiently researched.

**Prókopsa, prekopsa** (< grč. προκοπ, προκοπτο προκοψα) – *progress, make it in life, get lucky*, as well as derivatives coming from this verb *prokopsanik* and *prokopsánica*, limited in Zljipotok, Kruševo, Resteljica, Brod, Šištejec and some more villages: Vo život nema da *prokopsa*. Ne *prokopsalje* so toljko stoka. Nikoj ne *prokopsaf* so tuđo. *Prokopsanik* jeden ima da viđi.

**Stása** (< grč. φτανω) – *arrive, come, mature*, Gora: Ako ne *staset* kamenete, će ostanet. Ne mi *stasuje* seno duri sret zima. Ne zn'm a će im stase lebot (Dokle, 2007).

*Stasaf* za ženjene. *Stasaf* na vreme vo školo.

**Párosa** (< grč. απεικαζω) – *leave, neglect*, Gora: *Parosala* deca i se omužila. Som *parosaf* sebe za nih i jope loš. Ne se *parosuje* mati ka ti šo si ga *parosaf*. I mije zborime za *parosujene* (Dokle, 2007).

„rezilj će te napraj, Fato *be* ćerko, / pa će te *parosa*“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 188),

„*Parosaj* go, kuzum Nurke, Ašim ćaja.“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 1)

„Ka će ge *parosam*, mila nan' mori, gorske planine.“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 261)

**Píkosa, zapíkosa** (απεικαζω) – *notice, remember, differentiate*, Gora:

Odjenoš go *zapíkosa* da ima nešto. Ako ne sve, nekuje stvari trebe da se *zapikosaje*. Oni bilje otdamno *zapikosane* (Dokle, Rječnik).

**Prépsa** (< grč. πρεπω) – *look like, resemble someone*, Gora:

Ne *prepsa* na brata. Mi *prepsa* na nekogo, ama ne možem da se setim na kogo.

**Mádos**a (< grč. μαγεω) – *fascinate, mesmerize*, Gora:

Go *mađosalje* i veće ne viđi druga osim nah. Ako je *mađosana* šo nejće nikogo (Dokle, Rječnik).

„So kogo bilo, *mori* nane, koj go *mađosa*, nanice, koj go *arosa*. (Hasani, 1987, p. 412),

„Go *arosale*, ja mlajnesto, go *mađosale!*“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 412)

**Vápsa/vápca** (< gr. βαρω) – *color, figuratively charge*, Gora:

Ne si ga *vapcaf* hubavo fanuljata. Gajtanot ne ti je *vapcan* hubavo. Si go *vapcaf* pantulot ni da si se valjaf negde. *Vapcujeneto* mi se sm'tni (Dokle, 2007).

**Árosa.** The verb was created out of very frequent noun **aro** („misfortune“) which is also belonging to Greek language. In the language, it is used as exclamation– „*misfortune*“, „*ruth*“:

Idte, *aro*, šo mi sedite zakuane ovde! „Trnite mi se ot glava, *aro*! (Dokle, Rječnik),

ali i kao imenica: „Ajrijo, *aro* te udrilo“, (Hasani, 1987, p. 139).

As a verb, it can be seen with the meaning „*come to grief*“. Following derivatives has come from it *arósanik*, *arósanica* (*wretch, poor woman*):

„Go *arosal*, ja mlajnesto, go mađosale!“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 412)

**Díplosa, zdiplosa, dipli** (< grč. διπλωσει) – *fold, arrange, align*, Gora:

Sve beše *zdiplosano* i uredeno vo kućata. Haljištata *zdiposane* i stajene na mesto, take i postelje i sve vo dolap. *Zdiplosuje* postelja (Dokle, 2007).

**Vítosa** („*break the neck*“), Gora:

Će mu se *vitosam* vo pare nejdzine. Pa ne i se *vitosaj* vo hizmet nejdzin. Će mu se *vitosam* i tija hubavo (Dokle, 2007).

**Prsa** (*be in hurry, putter*) Gora:

Nazif *prsa* mlogo. Ne ga *prsj* rabotata dur ne isprašaš hubavo. Ovja je *pršana* rabota. Za *pršanevo* mlogo puti sme se karalje (Dokle, 2007).

**Árniša** (< grč. αρνουμαι, αρνησομαι) – *postpone, leave, refuse*, Gora:

Evo tri puti ka se *arnišujem*, deneska će trnem. Sam se *arnišaf*, sega velji zašto mi ste *arnišalje*. Zaradi nego se *arnišane* (Dokle, 2007).

**Ćérdosa** – (< grč. κερδοσ) – *gain, inherit, use*, as well as derivatives *ćerdosanik* and *ćerdosanica* with pejorative meaning, Gora:

Imanevo go *ćerdosaf* od starbabeto. Da se *ćerdosate*. (Dokle, 2007).

„da ge nosi da ne ge *ćerdosa*“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 185)

**Téljosa** (< grč. τέλος) – *end, conclusion, conclude*, limited to Brod only:

Rabotata k'è ga *teljosame*. Agmetu oja mu je *teljos*.

Based on shape and suffix *-sa*, event though it's origin is unknown to us, a number of verbs in Gorani speech, could have connections to the Greek language:

**Déksa** (*suffer, endure, accept*), unknown origin, Gora:

Mlogo go *deksaš* deteto. Ja on je *deksan*, ja nikoj. (Dokle, 2007).

**Utisa** (*benefit, gain, gain from the opponent*), unknown origin, Gora:

Sve pare mu ge *utisalje* na Sretsela. „mi ga *jutisale* baš prva sadica“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 120)

**Votrosa** (*be assertive, impose*), unknown origin, Gora:

Ka mi se *votrosa*, što da ti rečem. Ne mu se *votrosuj* drugatomu, beljki nema da ti dade. Ne zn'š šo *votrosan* je on. Po *votrosan* go nema (Dokle, 2007).

### 3.

Many nominal words, some of them directly and some of Turkish origin, have become part of Gorani language and national poetry of Gora from Greek language:

**Los(t)** (< grč. λoσt) – *lever*, Gora:

Trupje sme ge tuarilje na traktor so *lostoj*. Mu se skrši *lost* i za malo da mu se fati noga.

**Angarija, angerija** (< grč. αγγαρεία) – *work, work without compensation, without control*, Gora:

„Na vreme austričko ne teralje da rabotame *angeria*.“ „Beše ste ga izrabotalje *angerija*“ (Dokle, 2007); Konji ge puštilje *angarija*. Sve je više *angarija*.

**Sinor** (grč. σύνορον) – *the boundary*, limited to Borje and few more villages. In Balkan it is a of Greek origin.

**Pálav** (*stupid, insane, wild*): Kojni gi *popalajef*. Pušti go, on je *palaf*.

„čukni ga glava *palava*“, (Hasani, 1987, p. 59)  
 „More bećare, glavo *palava*.“ (Dokle, 2000, p. 262).

**Pálanca** (*big beam scale*):

Meso sme go merilje so *palanca*. (Kruševu);

**Prófir/ka** (*picky person, approach the food, sweet, treat*):

Ti si *profir*. Toja *profir* ne stava ljep vo usta. Ljep je direk, ovja se *profirske*. (Dokle, 2007); Ljep ne jade, samo *profirke* saka.

**Félija** (*piece, steak*):

Som zef dve *felije* maznik. Jena *felija* ot baklavata, kakve me udri, toľjko što beše mrsna (Dokle, 2007).

**Kókaló** (*bone, big bone*):

„Sinojka, dado, sme se karale, za jeno pusto *kokalo*, džanam,“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 287)

**Štírka** (*sterile sheep, sterile person*):

„Kerim ćehaja, mori, samo jena *štirka*.“ (Dokle, 2000, p. 158);

Nouns **pízma** (*hatred*), **šájka** (*nail*), **drman** (*rare sieve*), **pljít** (*adobe*), **dímije**, **eféndija**, **furna**, **fenjer** are of Greek origin. They've joined Gorani language directly or through Turkish language.

#### 4.

Very characteristic exclamation present within Gorani speech and national poetry of Gora **more/ore**, **mori/ori**, as well as contracted forms **bre/be** are adopted from Greek language. (grč. μωρε, μωρη, which represents, originally, vocative of μωρος – „crazy“). Form *móre* is used for male gender, while

form *móri* is used with the nouns of female gender. Exclamation *diko* is used parallely. All these forms are especially present in national verbal poetry:

„Mori majko, momci me vikaje,

*More* momci, pogaća da mesim“ (Dokle, 2000, p. 55);

Greek phrase for showing the good will *σ πολλὰ ἐτη* are translated as „for many more years to come“. Same phrase, but only directly taken in form of **bolájeći**, have different meaning in Gorani language: „God forbid“, „I wish“. This form have the meaning of *spolajti* in Macedonian language. *Bolájeći* da ne se vratš. *Bolájeći* da dojde utre (Dokle, 2007);

*Bolájeći* ruka da ti povene (Resteljica), *Bolájeći* da staneme zdravo i živo (Borje).

Expression **ludo** (*young*), which appears in Gorani speech, and especially in national poetry of Gora, have the meaning of „young man, hero, dear“, is the calc made of greek word μωρος. Adjective *lud/a/o* have the meaning of *mlad/a/o* in Gorani language and national poetry of Gora. Form for neuter *ludo* have been formed from noun and it means *dijete*:

Ona ima samo jeno *ludo* („Ima jedno dijete“); Ga turif so dve *lude* („Ostavio je sa dvoje djece.“)  
 „Da som znalo, ore *ludo* mlado“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 158)

„- Dej đidi, *ludo* dejče, adžamijiče,

- Dej đidi, *ludo* dete, bre budalino“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 183)

When performing complex words in Gora speech, we can single out a type which is inappropriate to Slavic languages. These are complex words made of two imperative forms. These expressions can be named same, and they can ever appear with the same meaning of material object (*brkajvari* – kind of flummery), but can be also used as adverb. Greek language also knows for supstivition of imperatives.

*Brkájvari, idíhodi, idídojdi, perínosi, panístani, stanilegni, períderi, kosínosi, krpítrpi, dojdíprojdi, stájistaj.*

Based to Greek verb *περνάω* – *have good time, live* – with the meaning of *i live a good life*, it have been calced in Gorani language as *pominujem, pominu<sup>w</sup>am* with the same meaning:

*Ka pominujete?* – Hubavo *pominu<sup>w</sup>am* so braća. (How do you live? – I live good/I live with my brothers).

Greek verb *θέλω* have the meaning which would be compatible to– 1. want, 2. love, in Bosnian language. In Gorani language, *sakam* have the both meanings – want, love:

*Sakam malo ljep.* (I want bread); On mlogu nja ga *saka.* (He loves her a lot.)

Verb *καθόμαι* in Greek language, beside the meaning of *seating*, also have the meaning of *living*. The last meaning is calced in Gorani language as well:

*Sedi ke amidža.* (Lives with his uncle.); *Ke kogo sedi sega?* (Where he lives now?)

Greek *ἄδειο* – *bleak, blasted*, is calced in Gorani language with *pust, da zapusteš, pusto da ti bide* (damned):

„Toku *puste* pare nemaš“ (Hasani, 1987, 2); „za devet *puste* godine“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 13); „dalek na daleko na *pusti* gurbet“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 28); „*Puste* ostanale, Imere be brate, edrenske pampuri“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 29); „*pusto* bilo, *pusto* ostanalo“ (Hasani, 1987, p. 82).

In one of the wedding songs, written down in Borje in Albania, the girls are singing: „*Fere, fere, tenke kore*“ (Dokle, 2000, p. 379). Word *fere* is of Greek origin (< grč. φέρε – bring) and is not being used in daily speech of Gora.

## CONCLUSION

Multiplicity of words and calcs of Greek origin that appear in the speech and national poetry of Gora, testify the intensive relation between them and affirms the probity of the inhabitants which, when explaining the phonological and grammatical appearances, gives important place to the inter-linguistic contact within Balkan environment.

It is doubtless that the Greek language, and later Turkish language too, have left most traces in modelling the Balkan lexicon. Concerning the Gora speech and national poetry of Gora, it is important to underline the influence of Greek language which was used mostly. Many words, and especially calcs taken from this language, sometimes represents the literal translation.

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