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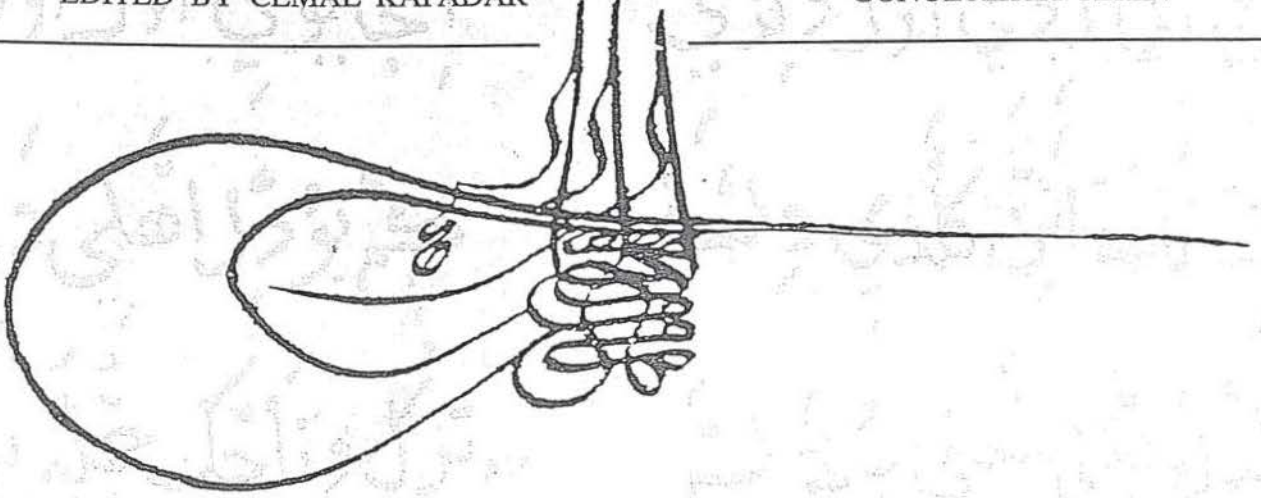
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LANGUAGES IN CONTACT: GREEK LOANWORDS IN TURKISH

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Modern Turkish has a considerable body of words of Greek origin which are widely used in everyday speech. These sit alongside Turkish words – both long-standing Turkish or Turkic vocabulary and neologisms introduced since the 1930s – and words which entered Turkish over the centuries from Italian, Slavonic and other European languages including French and more recently English. This is in addition to the vocabulary and grammatical forms, few of which latter survive to today, which entered Turkish from Arabic and Persian. This study is an examination of the loanwords which have been directly borrowed from Greek and are in current usage in modern standard Turkish.¹ There are a number of words of Greek origin which have entered Ottoman Turkish via Arabic and Persian and a much greater number of words of classical Greek origin which have entered Turkish mainly through French, but also Italian and English. However the focus of this article is the process of borrowing from Greek into Turkish and the body of Greek loanwords that are a result of direct linguistic contact.

While language contact between Turkish and Greek may have started almost immediately after the Turks entered the historical scene in the mid sixth century with the exchange of embassies², it is not until the arrival of Turkish newcomers into Anatolia in the eleventh century that we can talk of continuous and direct language contact. Indeed there are virtually no pre-Ottoman borrowings into Turkish directly from Greek.³ After the conversion

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1 The basis of modern standard Turkish has been the language of Istanbul, a fact which has some direct implications with the continuing, albeit diminished, presence of a Greek-speaking community there (see also footnote 35).

2 An account of this series of early diplomatic exchanges in the sixth century survives in the excerpts of the Byzantine writer Menander the Guardsman; see R. C. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, Liverpool (1985). Menander (pp. 114-115) refers to an intriguing 'Scythian letter' (γράμμα τό Σκυθικόν) presented to the Byzantines in Constantinople, which was probably written in Sogdian but may have been in Turkish, thereby leaving the issue of the dating of the first direct contact between Turkish and Greek unresolved.

3 One notable example is the Old Turkic word *nom* 'law, doctrine', used in Manichaean and Buddhist (where it is used as a translation of Sanskrit *dharma*) texts, which comes, via Syriac, from the Greek νόμος 'law'; Clauson 1972:777. Another is the Turkish *panuk* (Old Ottoman *panbuk*, TS 3175) which may have been borrowed by Oghuz Turkish from Middle Iranian *panbag*, which derived from classical Greek βάμβαξ, or βόμβυξ. Middle Iranian *panbag* became *penbe* in Persian and was also borrowed in Turkish as *pembe* and is still used, but mostly in the meaning 'pink'; see Clauson 1972: 345. There is also the possibility that the Persian is not a loanword, but an Indo-European cognate.

of the Oghuz Turks to Islam and their settlement in the Middle East and Anatolia, Turkish came under the intensive and direct influence of Persian, and, via Persian, Arabic, whereby as the saying went even “the Turkish dogs barked in Persian when they came to the cities”.⁴ Together with the large range of Persian and Arabic vocabulary that Turkish acquired as a result of these developments, it also adopted a limited number of words of Greek origin which had entered pre-Islamic and classical Arabic, mainly through Aramaic Syriac, but also through Middle Persian. These Greek loanwords in Arabic were adopted in Persian from where they entered Ottoman Turkish, but not all of them are still used in modern Turkish. Although we are concerned here with direct borrowings by Turkish from Greek, we are also listing some of the Greek words which came into Turkish via Arabic.

The earliest Greek loanwords in Arabic appear in the Qur'an and early Islamic texts such as the biography of the Prophet (*Sîra*). There are about fifteen in the Qur'an and twice as many in the *Sîra*, (Gutas 2007:199), but they cover a broad cultural spectrum and are not specific or specialized terms. Those Greek words in the Qur'an which have passed into modern Turkish are:

dirhem ⁵	δραχμή	dihrahmi	monetary unit
İncil ⁶	ευαγγέλιον	evangelion	gospel, New Testament
iblis	διάβολος	dhiavolos	devil, Satan
burc	πύργος	pyrgos	tower
zevc	ζεύγος	zevgos	one of a pair
sîma	σημείον	simion	sign, mark, face
kirtas ⁷	χάρτης	hartis	paper
kalem	κάλαμος	kalamos	pen
kamis	καμίσιον	kamision	shirt
küp	κούπα > κύμβη	koupa > kymvi	earthenware jar
yakut	υάκινθος	yakinthos	gem, ruby

As Gutas points out, of the above words only *iblis* may be considered a direct borrowing from Greek. The rest were mediated by Syriac, itself a Semitic language, a fact that may have played a role in the survival and assimilation of these words into Arabic (Gutas 2006:199).

There are also a few words of Latin origin which entered Arabic via Greek, some of which are used in Turkish:

⁴ “Türk iti şehre gelicek farsça ürer” Quoted in Irène Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le destân d'Umûr Pacha*, Paris: PUF (1954), p. 34 ft.5.

⁵ According to Gutas (2006:199) *dirham* is an Arabic singular back-formation from *darâhim* in Middle Persian (Pahlavi), thought of as an Arabic plural.

⁶ Transmitted through Ethiopic *wangêl* (Gutas 2007:199).

⁷ *Kirtas* is no longer used as a word in modern Turkish, but it is found in *kirtasiye* ‘stationery’, *kirtasiyeci* ‘stationer, stationer’s’ and *kirtasiyecilik* ‘bureaucracy’, all of which are very widely used.

beled	παλάτιον	palation > <i>palatium</i>	town, region, city
sirat	στράτα	strata > <i>strata</i>	road, bridge to paradise
kistas	ξέστης	xestis > <i>sextarius</i>	scales of justice, criterion
kasr	κάστρον	kastron > <i>castrum</i>	summer palace, mansion
kantar	κεντηνάριον	kendinarion > <i>centenarium</i>	steelyard, measure of weight

With the spread of Islam, large populations of Greek speakers in Syria-Palestine and Egypt were incorporated into the Arab caliphate, and Greek was even used, in part, as an administrative language until the Arabization reforms of Caliph Abd al-Malik (r. 685-705). In the heyday of the Arab caliphate an unprecedented translation movement took place, as a result of which a greater number of words of Greek origin entered Arabic, in most cases mediated by Syriac, and to a much lesser degree by Persian.⁸

The Greek vocabulary which entered Arabic in the Islamic period and found its way via Persian into Ottoman and modern Turkish included a few famous personal names, not many of which survive in modern Turkish:⁹

İskender	Αλέξανδρος	Alexandros	Alexander
Eflatun	Πλάτων	Platon	Plato
Bukrat	Ιπποκράτης	Ippokratis	Hippocrates

A large number of names of places have also come into Turkish via this route. Most of them are still in use. Here are a few of them:

Yunan	Ιωνία	Ionia	Greek ¹⁰
Rum	Ρώμη	Romi	Rome ¹¹

⁸ For the translation of Greek philosophical works into Arabic, see Dimitri Gutas, *Greek thought, Arabic culture: the Graeco-Arabic translation movement in Baghdad and early 'Abbasid society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries)*, London (1998). For the entry of Greek loanwords into Arabic as a result of the philosophical translations, and their subsequent treatment, see Gerhard Endress, "Die wissenschaftliche Literatur; Die Entwicklung der Fachsprache" in Wolf Dietrich Fischer, ed., *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, Vol. I, Wiesbaden (1992), pp. 3-19.

⁹ The majority of the non-Christian personal names of Greek origin like *Aristotle*, *Plato* etc. were re-borrowed into late nineteenth century Turkish from French: *Plato*, *Hipokrat*. *İskender* remains only for Alexander the Great (or direct allusions to him as with the modern poet Küçük İskender, 'Minor Alexander'), but we have *Aleksandr Düma* ('Alexandre Dumas').

¹⁰ In modern Turkish, Greece is *Yunanistan*. *Yunan* is used for Greeks who are from the Greek state, as opposed to *Rum*.

¹¹ In Ottoman Turkish, following Arabic and Persian usage, *Rum* was used to designate 'the land of the Romans', in other words the Byzantine Empire, and specifically to refer to Anatolia. Consequently, *Rumi* came to be used as an adjective meaning 'Anatolian', including Turkish of Anatolia and thus western Turkish as a whole to distinguish it from *Türki*, meaning 'eastern Turkish' (known today as *Çağatay*). Subsequently, and confusingly, after the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, *Rumeli* came to mean 'Turkey in Europe'. In modern Turkish, *Rum* in the sense of 'the land of the Romans', 'Anatolia' survives only as a historical term. In modern Turkish *Rum* means 'Greek from Turkey, Cyprus, the Middle East and the diaspora' as opposed to those from the Greek state. *Rumca* in modern Turkish means Greek spoken by Greeks from outside Greece. *Yunanca*, sometimes called *Grekçe*, is the language of Greece and also (on occasion preceded by *eski* 'old') refers to classical Greek. *Elenika* was another term used in nineteenth and early twentieth century Turkey to refer to educated spoken or written Greek. *Rum Ortodoks* means 'Greek Orthodox' – and includes Arabic-speaking Orthodox Christians in Hatay and the wider Middle East.

Kostantiniye	Κωσταντινούπολις	Konstantinoupolis	Constantinople
Kayseri	Καισάρεια	Kaisareia	Kayseri (Caesarea)
Lâzkiye	Λαοδίκεια	Laodhikeia	Latakia (Laodicea)

Certain administrative (including military) and general terms also proved durable:

defter	διφθέρα	difthera	notebook, register, score
sicil	σιγίλιον	sigilion	register, record
kayser	καίσαρ	kaisar	Caesar, Roman Emperor
kanun ¹²	κανών	kanon	law, rule, statute
namus	νόμος	nomos	honour, reputation
cins	γένος	ghenos	type, kind, race, pedigree
elmas	αδάμας	adhamas	diamond
fanus	φάνος	fanos	lantern
miknatis	μαγνήτης	maghnitis	magnet
musiki	μουσική	mousiki	(oriental) music
kamus	ωκεανός	okeanos	dictionary
sabun	σάπων	sapon	soap
coğrafya	γεωγραφία	gheographia	geography
kandil	κανδήλια	kandhilia > candela	religious feast, oil lamp
kirat	καράτιον	karation	carat
barut ¹³	πυρίτις, πυρίτιδα	pyritis, pyritidha	gunpowder
patrik	πατρίκιος	patrikios	dignitary, commander
patrik ¹⁴	πατριάρχης	patriarhis	patriarch

There were also specialized and technical words relating to botany, pharmacology and astrology. Some of the botanical terms are words very commonly used in Turkish:

findik	ποντικόν (κάρυον)	pondikon (karyon)	hazelnut, cobnut
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¹² It is possible that *kânûn* re-entered Ottoman Turkish anew directly from late Byzantine (δημόσιος) κανών ('(public) regulation') which would account better for its more restricted meaning in the Ottoman *kânûnnâme*, 'fiscal regulation'. We would like to thank Dr Colin Imber for discussing this possibility. In nineteenth-century Ottoman *kânûn* was used in the general meaning of 'law' with few specific uses like *kânûn-i esâsî* 'basic law, constitution'. In modern Turkish it has the general meaning of 'rule, regulation', as well as the specific legal meaning as in the titles of laws: *Medeni Kanun* 'Civil Code', *Ceza Kanunu* 'Penal Code'.

¹³ *Barut* was a loanword used in Arabic to denote a mineral associated with fire. Later, πυρίτις came to be used as a term for 'gunpowder', and *barut* acquired the same meaning in Turkish. μπαρούτι (*barouti*) is modern Greek for 'gunpowder', borrowed back into Greek from the Turkish.

¹⁴ Following Persian use, Ottoman did not orthographically distinguish between the two separate meanings ('patrician, military commander' or 'patriarch') of the word *patrik*, spelled indifferently *plbatrîk* or *plbatrîk*. In Arabic the spelling was different, at least in theory: patrician was *batrîk* and patriarch *batrîk*. Both words were borrowed into Arabic via Aramaic Syriac: *batrîk* is a Latin word (*patricius*) borrowed via Greek (πατρίκιος: 'high ranking dignity', see Kazhdan 1991:1600) and *batrîk* is Greek πατριάρχης, a word which designated 'the prominent and respected members of the episcopate' and became the canonical term for the incumbents of the five major ecclesiastical sees only in the sixth century (Kazhdan 1991:1599). In early Ottoman frontier narrative epics (like the *Battâlnâme*, the *Saltuknâme* etc) *patrik* is used to refer to a Christian dignitary always in the sense of a military commander. After the appointment of Gennadius as the first Ottoman patriarch, *patrik* was used only to designate the patriarchs. In modern Turkish it only has the meaning of 'patriarch' (as an ecclesiastical title).

fistik	πιστάκιον	pistakion	pistachio
maydanoz	μακεδονίσιον	makedhonision	parsley
abnus	έβενος	evenos	ebony
afyon	όπιον	opion	opium
karanfil	καρυόφυλλον	karyofyllon	clove, carnation
iksir	εξαίρω	exairo	philosopher's stone, elixir
tarhun	δρακόντιον	dhrakondion	tarragon
balgam	φλέγμα	flegma	mucus, phlegm
tiryak	θηριακός	thiriakos	theriaca, antidote
kulunç	κολικός	kolikos	colic, cramp, lumbago
tilsim	τέλεσμα	telesma	talisman, spell, remedy

These words of Greek origin came into Ottoman Turkish as a result of the intense language contact within an Islamic framework between Turkish and Persian after the eleventh century and gathered momentum with the settlement of the Turks in the Middle East and Anatolia and as the Ottomans established their empire within the Islamic world. The fact that key Islamic terms like prayer, fasting, prophet were Persian rather than Arabic words (*namaz*, *oruç* and *peygamber*) indicates that the influx of Arabic words into Turkish was through Persian.

Finally, it should be noted that a very few words of Greek origin seem to have entered Turkish via Persian, bypassing Arabic:

pul -	οβολός	ovolos	stamp, scale, small disc/coin
kilit	κλειδί	klidhi	lock
kiler	κελάρι	kelari	pantry, larder
karnabahar	κράμβη	kramvi	cauliflower
sim	ασήμι	asimi	silver
köfter	κοπτερό	koptero	sweet from boiled grape juice
nilüfer	νούφαρο	noufaro	water-lily
sipih	σφαίρα	sfaira	sphere
piyale	φιάλη	fiali	cup, small bowl

As a result of the Turkish advance in Anatolia and the Balkans, Turkish speakers came into direct contact with speakers of Greek, eventually incorporating the majority of Greek speakers under Ottoman rule. The surviving evidence in modern standard Turkish of the direct contact between Greek and Turkish consists mainly of directly borrowed loanwords covering a reasonably broad cultural spectrum about material and practical aspects of everyday life, as well as a number of historical terms which are loan translations (*calques*) from Byzantine Greek.¹⁵

¹⁵ Other evidence includes idiomatic expressions common to the two languages which would appear to be the result of borrowing. An example is the distinct expression *haş bulduk* 'we find you well', offered in reply to the universal welcome greeting *haş geldiniz* 'welcome', which is found in Greek as *καλώς σας βρήκαμε* 'we find you

Modern Turkish still employs, mostly as historical terms, a few calques which were the result of direct linguistic contact even if there was no direct borrowing.¹⁶ While the identifiable loan translations from Greek are not numerous, they are significant in that a number of them related to key administrative terminology. They are single words rather than compound formations, which is more typical of calques.

Translation could be straight into Turkish, as appears to be the case, for instance, with the word *akçe*, which most probably is a translation from the Byzantine Greek *άσπρον* *aspron* 'white', referring to the small white silver coin: *ak* for white and *-çe* Turkish nominal/diminutive suffix.¹⁷ Another example is the word *dönüm* (a measurement of land, about a quarter of an acre), which it would be reasonable to accept as a translation from the Greek *στρέμμα* (*stremma*), a technical term which by the thirteenth century had come to mean 'a measure of land, mostly arable'. The literal meaning of *stremma* comes from the verb *στρέφω* (*strefo*) 'to turn' and indicates 'a turning', quite likely referring, when used in connection with arable land, to the ploughman turning his plough. It is this meaning which seems to have been directly translated into Turkish *dönüm*, a noun derived from the verb *dönmek* 'to turn'.¹⁸

Sometimes the translation would be via Arabic or Persian and would thus be brought into Turkish from that language, as may well have been the case with the use of the word *timar* (*tîmâr*) in Ottoman (and as a historical term in modern Turkish). This is an originally Persian word which has a fairly broad range of meaning, from 'sorrow and grief' to 'care, attendance on the sick' and 'thought, meditation, attention'.¹⁹ It corresponds closely to the Byzantine Greek term *πρόνοια* (*pronoia*) which has the meanings of 'care, forethought, providing from beforehand'. By the late Byzantine period (13th-15th centuries) *πρόνοια* (*pronoia*) had come to refer, in a technical and administrative sense, to a grant of tax revenue, and sometimes also to the rental income of various properties in a given region in exchange for the military duties of the holder. Given that in Ottoman Turkish the word *timar* had lost most of its original Persian connotations and had come to be used almost exclusively to refer to the granting, by the Sultan, of tax revenues from a given region in exchange for military service in the campaign months, it is quite likely that the reason the word *timar* was chosen to describe that particular institution has to do with a knowledge and calque translation of Greek

well'. The same response is also found in other Balkan languages. If, as has been claimed (Hasselt 1972), this expression is of Byzantine Greek origin (tenth century), it would suggest a possible Greek influence on the Turkish. In other cases, however, it is not always clear in which direction the borrowing occurred. There are several other examples identified in the two studies devoted to the topic so far, Newton 1962 and Hasselt 1972.

¹⁶ Loan translations of idiomatic expressions from Persian into Turkish were one of the key ways Anatolian Turkish came under the influence of Persian; translations of the type *zahmet çekmek* (lit. 'to pull a trouble' but meaning 'to suffer') from Persian *zahmat kashîdan* (same literal meaning) abound in Anatolian Turkish and are still very much part of standard Turkish. See: S. Stachowski, *Osmanlı Türkçesinde Farsça alıntılar*, İstanbul: Simurg (1998) and A. Tietze, "Persian loanwords in Anatolian Turkish" *Oriens* (1967) 20:125-168.

¹⁷ It should however be noted that while a direct contact between Greek and Turkish speakers in Anatolia was most likely responsible for this calque, there are contemporary Western parallels as well: *blanc*, *witten*, *albus*; see Kazhdan 1991: Vol.1:211.

¹⁸ See Kazhdan 1991: 1967 about *stremma*, where there is no discussion of the possible etymology or the Turkish calque. There is a modern culinary instance of a parallel between the two languages, also involving the meaning of 'turning', namely between the Turkish *döner* and modern Greek *γύρος* (*gyros*), both meaning 'turning, revolving'. Whether *döner* or *γύρος* (*gyros*) is the original is a matter of some dispute.

¹⁹ Steingass. *Timar* in the meaning of 'caring for the sick' survives in modern Turkish *timarhane* 'mental asylum'.

πρόνοια (*pronoia*).²⁰ A case of an Arabic-Persian calque would be the term *resm-i hava*, lit. 'air tax', also known as the *bâd-i hâvâ* lit. 'windfall' which referred to occasional or miscellaneous dues and clearly corresponded to the Byzantine *αερίκον*; the Persian calque has given rise to the commonly used Turkish word *bedava* 'gratis, for free'.

By far the most important way in which linguistic contact with Greek manifests itself in Turkish is the presence of words directly borrowed from Greek, regardless of the actual origin of the words in question. Greek served as the direct source for words of Greek origin in Turkish, but also acted as the intermediary language through which a number of words of predominantly Italian and French origin entered Turkish. It is such words which reveal the nature of the contact between the two languages and provide linguistic and cultural clues about this contact.

Calculating the number of Greek words which have entered Turkish depends on how many different dialectal forms of Turkish are considered and on the extent to which the calculation includes the large volume of international technical, scientific and medical etc. terms deriving from classical Greek which entered Turkish principally through French.²¹ The Greek words in Turkish would probably have been more numerous had Persian and Arabic not claimed, on account of religion, such a firm hold on Turkish at an earlier stage than Greek. Even if we make allowances for the keen interest that Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror showed for Greek, when Greek was used as a chancery language and manuscripts in Greek were copied by the court's Greek scriptorium, Greek did not exert a prestige influence on either literary or dialect Turkish. Despite their considerable influence, not even the Phanariot Greeks active in the Ottoman literary scene were able to present a Greek challenge to the supremacy of Arabic and Persian as a source of legitimacy and inspiration.²² On the literary level the drawback of Greek was that it was a Christian language: however important the position of the Greek speakers in the realm may have been, it never held much sway in learned Muslim circles, nor was it the subject of attention and study among Muslims.²³ Also,

²⁰ For a fuller historical discussion see Imber 2004. For *pronoia* in particular, see Kazhdan 1991: 1733-34.

²¹ Tietze (1955 and 1962) lists 347 words, but includes dialect material, whereas Tzitzilis, also based on borrowings into Anatolian dialects, has 597 entries in his glossary. In the 2007 revised edition of his etymological dictionary of modern Turkish, Nişanyan gives around 350 words from modern Greek and about 1800 words which ultimately go back to classical Greek. These latter include a large number of technical terms which have entered Turkish not via Greek but through other western languages, in particular French. Semsettin Sami seems to have about 275 words which he identified as of Greek origin (including those from Arabic and Persian). We would like to acknowledge our thanks to Wheeler Thackston for making his translation of *Kamus-i Türki* available to us.

²² For the role of the Phanariot Greeks in Ottoman literary life, see Johann Strauss, "The Millets and the Ottoman Language: The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th - 20th Centuries)," *Die Welt des Islams*, (1995) 35: 189-245.

²³ Other than during the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror, when Greek works (Ptolemy's *Almagest*, the *Diegesis* about the building of *Haghia Sophia* (Aya Sofya), the *I'tikâtnâme* of Gennadios) were copied and translated (into Arabic, Persian or Turkish) in the palace's Greek scriptorium, there are only three works known to have been translated from Greek for a Muslim audience in the rest of the Ottoman period. (There were also *karamanlica* (see below) translations, mainly but not exclusively of religious texts, but being Christian in content and in the Greek alphabet their impact on Muslims was significantly reduced.) A native of Yannena, Yanyalı Hoca Esat Efendi (d. 1730) translated Aristotle's *Physics* (*Φυσική Ακρόασις*) into Arabic during the Tulip Period (Strauss 1996: 347). Then in the nineteenth century a certain Ali Refik from Crete prepared, in 1873, together with his classmates in the military academy in Istanbul, a translation of the mediaeval Cretan drama *Erotokritos* by Vincenzo Cornaros. Finally, the native Albanian Naim Frashëri, a brother of Şemsettin Sami, educated at the *Zosimaia Academy* (Greek high school) at Yannena, published the first book of the *Iliad* in 1885, while in 1898 another, also incomplete, translation by Selânikli Hilmî appeared (Strauss 1996:350-1).

as education was in Arabic and Persian, the classical Islamic languages, the educated classes would naturally first go to these languages, which they knew very well, to source their Turkish vocabulary. This was particularly noteworthy in the late nineteenth century when, as a result of the serious impetus to translate French literature and, more importantly, to produce poetry in the new styles inspired by French models, Ottoman writers turned to Arabic and, to a lesser extent, Persian for linguistic material to facilitate the formation of neologisms. The language of poets like Cenap Şehabettin and Tevfik Fikret became far more ornate in their desire to push the limits of the changing form and content of poetry. This echoed the Western tendency to look to Ancient Greek and Latin as the source of their neologisms.

Literature was not the only field where we see extensive translations from French, but other fields like the military, medicine, law, finance and accounting were open to Turkish readership through the same means. As a result of this wide-ranging translation activity a significant quantity of French vocabulary entered Turkish. It should be noted that a portion of these French words happened to be of Greek origin, some of which were French neologisms derived from Greek.

On the other hand, as was to be expected in language contact between linguistic groups unequal in terms of numerical, political and social position, it was natural that, because Turkish was the language of the dominant group in the Ottoman Empire, more Turkish vocabulary would make its way into the languages of the subject peoples of the Empire, especially the Balkan Christian languages.²⁴ Indeed, prior to the exchange of populations following the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, many of the Greek Orthodox Christians (*Rum*) living in Anatolia but also in Istanbul (especially in the nineteenth century) were Turkish-speaking. The case of *karamanlica* or *karamanlidhika*, the language of the Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians, provides a significant example of the resilience of Turkish to Greek influence.²⁵ *Karamanlica* is written in the Greek alphabet, and the language contains a pronounced amount of Turkish calques for Greek Orthodox religious terminology. Several *karamanlica* printed works were translations from the Greek. Besides that, however, the language is free of any other signs of Greek influence, this despite the prestige that Greek had for Orthodox Christians as the liturgical language. It is precisely this religious prestige of Greek which makes the limited nature of the Greek influence on *karamanlica* remarkable.²⁶

²⁴ There is a vast literature on the Turkish influence (sometimes referred to as *Turcisms*) in the Balkan languages; see in particular Tietze 1990.

²⁵ *Karamanlica* is the term used to designate the language of the Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians who mostly called themselves 'Anatolian Christians' (*Avatól Χριστιανλαή, Anadol Hristiyanları*) and not *Karamanlı* or *Karamanlidhes* (see Knüppel 1996:25 for a list of their self-designations). The name *Karamanlica* refers to the *Beylik* of Karaman, their alleged historical origin, but it is well known that in the sixteenth century a significant number of them were settled in Yedikule in Istanbul, where they established their own neighbourhood, *Karaman mahallesi*. It was Hans Dernschwam who first used the term *Caramanos* to describe them when he came across them in Yedikule during his stay in Istanbul in 1553-55 (Knüppel 1996:22). Thereafter, Turkish-speaking Christians were to be found in Istanbul and spread to various other parts of Anatolia, although where they went and in what numbers is hotly contested. A voluminous *karamanlica* literature survives, dating from 1455 to 1927, the overwhelming majority consisting of printed works from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

²⁶ The heavily contested nature of the origin of this community, whether Turkish speakers who accepted Christianity or Greek Orthodox and Greek speakers who switched to Turkish - in other words the issue of whether there was language shift or language maintenance - does not lessen the remarkable situation whereby the Istanbul branch of the community, which was literarily active and in the capital (where the Patriarchate was also located), remained unaffected by features of Greek other than vocabulary. It may be that it was precisely because of their high literary

A detailed examination of Turkish dialects would be beyond the scope of the present work, the purpose of which is to examine Greek loanwords in modern standard Turkish. Inevitably, however, a complete survey of the impact of Greek on the development of Turkish would need to consider the dialects, where religion is less important for the vernacular registers than social and local geographical factors. It should be noted that two varieties of Turkish have been identified as possibly having come under strong Greek influence as a result of language contact: Pontic and Cypriot Turkish.²⁷ Both dialects, if Cypriot Turkish can be called a dialect²⁸, display some phonological, morphological and syntactical traces of Greek influence, in addition to lexical material. Both share a certain amount of isolation from mainstream Turkish as a result of their geographical remoteness until modern times, and this may be part of the explanation as to why they are the only two surviving Turkish dialects to display prominent evidence of interference from Greek.²⁹

The arrival of two vigorous communities of Greek-speaking Muslims from Yannena (Turkish *Yanya*) and Crete (*Girit*) also failed to provide even a limited Islamic status within Turkish society for Greek, as the members of these communities were often looked down on as 'half-infidel' (*yarı gâvur*). The Muslims of Yanya were mainly settled in Pendik, close to Istanbul and seem to have quickly assimilated linguistically as Turkish speakers. The *Giritli* were settled in various locations along the Aegean coast, where they were able to continue to earn their livelihood from fishing and partly to maintain their dialect as bilingual speakers.³⁰ In the Republican period then, direct contact between Greek and Turkish may have been

involvement, especially in the late nineteenth-century press, that the *Karamanlı* retained a close affinity with mainstream Ottoman.

²⁷ For Pontic Turkish see Bernt Brendemoen, *The Turkish Dialects of Trabzon: Their Phonology and Historical Development. Vol. I: Analysis, Vol. II: Texts* Wiesbaden (2002).

²⁸ For a recent (and controversial) analysis, including a discussion of the term *Kıbrıslı Türk* 'Cypriot Turkish' (rather than the standard *Kıbrıs Türkçesi* 'Cyprus Turkish', see Mehmet Yaşın, *Kıbrıs Şiiri Antolojisi*, Istanbul (2005), pp. 71-126.

²⁹ Their micro-history and development are clearly complex, and they raise the contentious question of whether the Greek features found in the Turkish dialects are the result of a Greek 'substrate' among the Turkish speakers because some of them were originally speakers of Greek who at some stage became Turkish-speaking, or whether they are the result of borrowing, possibly in a context of pronounced bilingualism. In the case of Pontic, the lack of relevant historical information and documentation does not clarify when, whether, how, and if so how many, Greek speakers became Turkish-speaking. Even when religious conversion to Islam of the local (Greek-speaking) population did take place, as in the fairly clearly documented case of Trabzon, the resulting emergence of a Greek 'substrate' among the Turkish speakers seems not to provide a definitive explanation for the origin of the distinctive characteristics of the dialect in question. Paradoxically, "the present Turkish dialect, alongside features due to Greek interference, has preserved archaisms dating back to the 14th century, three centuries before the language can have started spreading among the Greeks to any considerable extent" (Brendemoen 1999: 365-66). If the explanation of the Greek features of Pontic Turkish is to be found in the conversion of local Greeks, their language could be expected mainly to reflect the Turkish of the time of their conversion. Brendemoen accepts as likely a pronounced and widespread bilingualism on behalf of the Turkish newcomers who in the 14th century were isolated in the Pontus from other Turkish speakers. Elderly local Turks report the existence of such bilingualism: they picked up the language of their neighbouring transhumant Greeks during their annual sojourn at the summer pastures (*yayla*). On the evidence of this modern parallel Brendemoen uses Turkish bilingualism and the resulting Greek interference as the basis of an explanation which concludes that we do not need to postulate language shift to account for the Greek features of Pontic Turkish (1999:373). He points to the Greek-speaking Muslims of Of (1999:373-4) as evidence that religious conversion did not always result in a language shift, and to the crypto-Christians (1999:369 ft. 29) as further evidence of pronounced bilingualism, whatever the circumstances under which the 'nominal' conversion to Islam took place.

³⁰ For more information and bibliography on these communities see Yorgos Dedes, "Was there an *aljamiado* Greek literature?", in Çiğdem Balım and Colin Imber, eds., *Balance of Truth, Essays in honour of Geoffrey Lewis*, Istanbul (1999), pp. 83-98.

restricted to Istanbul, but retained a heightened significance as it took place in the heart of the normative centre of standard Turkish. The effect of the Cretan dialect (*Giritçe*) of the *Giritli* on Turkish, though never the subject of a study, would seem to have been negligible.

The Greek vocabulary that survives in Turkish and is in current use has become depleted with the emigration of the Greek population from Turkey. Partly this was as a result of the compulsory exchange of populations, which almost entirely depleted Anatolia of Greek speakers,³¹ but the departure of large numbers of Greeks from Istanbul in the latter half of the twentieth century has also had a significant impact on standard Turkish. Certain cultural features which were particular to the Greek community became less visible, and therefore the corresponding vocabulary also started to be less used. This was particularly noticeable in the culinary field.³² Shops and businesses that were run by members of the Greek community closed down when their owners moved out of Turkey.³³ Internal migration from eastern and central Anatolia into Istanbul has also been a factor, bringing new cultural elements and therefore new vocabulary into the city. Names of food like *dürüm* and *kumpir*³⁴ have appeared in Istanbul only in the last two decades. New culinary tastes have brought new words into Istanbul Turkish, which remains the template for the standard language.³⁵

31 The only Greek-speaking group outside Istanbul that was not part of the exchange were the so-called *Oflus* of the Black Sea; see Peter Mackridge, "Greek-speaking Moslems of North-East Turkey: Prolegomena to a study of the Orphitic sub-dialect of Pontic," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* (1987) 11:115-137.

32 For a historical survey of Ottoman Istanbul cuisine, see Günay Kut, "Turkish culinary culture," in Semahat Arsel, ed., *Timeless tastes: Turkish culinary culture*, Istanbul: Divan (1996), pp. 72-89 and Stefanos Yerasimos, *Sultan sofraları : 15. ve 16. yüzyılda Osmanlı Saray mutfakı: yaşantı*, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, (2002). For Istanbul Greek cuisine, on which there is a considerable interest in Greece and a rapidly growing one in Turkey, see Soula Bozis, *Πολιτική κουζίνα. Παράδοση αιώνων*, Athens: Ελληνικά Γράμματα (2003).

33 In some cases these were taken over by Türks who were already involved in the running of these concerns. The activities of the previous Greek owners would be continued, but often within a generation the business in question would decline owing to loss of custom, resulting from a reduction in the size of the primary target consumer base with the departure of the Greeks from Turkey. Merchandise targeted primarily at Greek consumers would be produced in smaller sizes or quantities, with the result that there would be less of it available for the general Turkish consumer to see and make use of. With the original product less in evidence, the Turkish consumer would eventually lose interest in it, and the market for it would in due course disappear.

34 *Kumpir* means 'baked potato' – a modern type of fast food in Turkey. In the nineteenth century potatoes became widespread in Ottoman cuisine and entered the language via Greek, in the plural form *patates*. The Slavic form *kumpir* (or *krumpir*, from German *grundbirne* 'ground pears', comparable to the French *pomme de terre*) seems to have been popular in the eastern provinces of Anatolia, where the influence of Russian and Armenian was more prominent, as well as among the Balkan Slavic languages. Nişanyan (2007) suggests that the recent popularity of *kumpir* as fast food in Turkey since the 1980s is due to the wave of Bulgarian immigration, while it is possible that *kumpir* was popularized, all along the Aegean coast, as a result of the recent internal migration from eastern Anatolia. *Dürüm*, a type of folded flat-pie, similar to what is often referred to in English as a *wrap*, is an equally ubiquitous fast food not much seen anywhere in Istanbul or the west coast twenty years ago. (It is also used for a kind of *baklava* made with *filo* pastry and pistachio nuts.) The phenomenon of having a Greek or Italian loanword used in Istanbul and Western Anatolia and an Armenian or Russian one in the east for the same concept has been noted by Dankoff (1995:12): *talas* and *potirik*, *avlu* and *peg*, *iemel* and *him*, *klübe* and *hu*, *mandıra* and *kom*, *evlek* and *agos*. *Patates* and *kumpir* would be an example of the same phenomenon.

35 To illustrate the linguistic status accorded to Istanbul Turkish, one should perhaps quote Ziya Gökalp on *Lisani Türkçülük* – 'Linguistic Turkism':

"The national language of Turkey is Istanbul Turkish; there is no doubt about that! However, there are two kinds of Turkish in Istanbul: one is the *Istanbul dialect* which is spoken but not written; the other is the *Ottoman language* which is written but not spoken. Which of these is going to be our national language?

"...There is only one option: to write in the spoken language and make it the written language! Writers of popular literature have in any case been doing this for hundreds of years. Alongside Ottoman literature there has existed for six or seven centuries a Turkish literature written in the language of the ordinary people. So there was no need to do anything new to remove this linguistic dichotomy. All that was needed was to

Words of Greek origin in Turkish have been the subject of a number of studies by scholars of the two languages. Though Psicharis, the famous advocate of Greek *demotic*, was the first to draw scholarly attention to the issue of the Greek elements in Ottoman (Psichari 1892)³⁶, it was Gustav Meyer's monograph of 1893 which opened the way for the study of the loanwords. It dealt with the Greek and Romance (mainly Italian and French, but also Romanian and Albanian) elements in the Ottoman Turkish lexicon, based on material published in dictionaries or other literary sources.³⁷ Meyer's monograph was reprinted in Turkey with a Turkish summary of the introduction in 1998 by Mehmet Ölmez. In Greece, Papadopoulos in 1932 and Bongas in 1951 presented Meyer's material for a Greek readership without contributing any new Turkish material.

The next main studies to deal with the Greek material in Turkish were by Andreas Tietze (1955, 1962), who tried to fill the gap by examining the dialectal material. His research was made possible only through the appearance of the *Derleme Dergisi* (1939-1951). This remarkable publication was for all practical purposes a dialect dictionary and a major achievement of the Türk Dil Kurumu (Turkish Language Society), which had mobilized a wide network of officials, including university professors and school teachers, to collect words of the spoken language of Anatolia.³⁸ Tietze points out that there are two important

discard the Ottoman language as if it had never existed and to adopt unchanged as the national language the Turkish language which had formed the basis of popular literature. Those fighting the cause of Turkish restricted themselves to adopting this principle in their efforts to remove the dichotomy in our language: to write as the people of Istanbul speak, particularly the ladies of Istanbul. The spoken language of Istanbul which was to become in this way the written (language) was labelled the *new language*, later *beautiful Turkish*, and still later *new Turkish*." (Ziya Gökalp, "Lisani Türkçülük," in *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, (Third edition), Ankara: Serdengeçti Neşriyatı (1950 [1923]), pp. 79-80; passage translated by Rona and Dedes).

³⁶ Psichari gives only twenty seven Greek loanwords, not all of convincing etymology. He does mention, however, that his contribution is preliminary, based on the unfinished work of one of his students, and in anticipation of the announced publication of Meyer's monograph (1892: LXXXII).

³⁷ He relied heavily on, and gives reference to Barbier de Meynard's Turkish-French dictionary (*Dictionnaire turc-français*, Paris, I: 1881, II:1886) along with another, much less well-known, Turkish-French dictionary by R. Youssouf (*Dictionnaire turc-français*, Constantinople I-II:1888). Meyer also makes occasional reference to a short Greek-Ottoman handbook/pocket dictionary by Konstantinides (Αλ. Κωνσταντινίδης, *Ελληνο-οθωμανικό εγκόλπιον*, Constantinople 1875). He also mentions having the benefit of Ahmed Vefik's *Lehçe-i Osmanî* (1893) and the French dictionary of Şemsettin Samî (Sami-Bej, 1885) as well, but does not make any specific references to these.

³⁸ *Türkiye'de halk ağzından söz derleme dergisi* I:1939, II:1940, III:1942, IV (Supplement): 1951. On the *söz derleme seferberliği*, 'mobilization for lexical compilation' see Lewis 1999:49. A parallel philological mobilization to establish words of (pure) Turkish origin (*Öztürkçe*) was also undertaken by the *Turkish Society for the Study of Language* (*Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti*), founded by Atatürk on 12 July 1932 and changed into the *Turkish Language Society* (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) in 1936. This time scholars of the society (rather than provincial governors) 'combed' early Ottoman texts to produce a compendium of Ottoman words of Turkish origin. The initial results of both the word-collecting and combing efforts were quickly published in 1934, while Atatürk was still alive, as a *Tarama Dergisi* ('Combing Compendium'): *Osmanlıcadan Türkçeye ve Türkçeden Osmanlıcaya söz karşılıkları tarama dergisi*, 2 vols. Ankara. Subsequently the results of the word-collection efforts and the 'combing' project were published separately. In 1939 the first volume of the *Derleme Dergisi* ('Collection Compendium') appeared, and it was completed in 1952: *Türkiye'de halk ağzından söz derleme dergisi*, 6 vols., Istanbul-Ankara, 1939-1952. A significantly expanded version appeared under the title: *Türkiye'de halk ağzından derleme sözlüğü*, 12 vols. Ankara (1963-1982). In 1943 the first volume of the 'combing' project appeared, this time as *Tarama Sözlüğü* ('Combing Dictionary'), and its first edition was completed in 1957: *XIII. Asırdan günümüze kadar kitaplardan toplanmış tanıklariyle tarama sözlüğü*, 4 vols., Ankara (1943-1957). It went through a second, enlarged, edition between 1963 and 1977: *XIII. Yüzyıldan beri Türkiye Türkçesiyle yazılmış kitaplardan toplanan tanıklariyle tarama sözlüğü*, 8 vols., Ankara (1963-1977). Both editions of the *Tarama Sözlüğü*, extremely valuable though they are, are less useful than they might have been as a historically referenced dictionary because they do not include words of Arabic and Persian origin (including of course the words of Greek origin that came via Persian). Nor do they include words which are recognized by the compilers as being of foreign origin, so Greek words

points to keep in mind regarding the *Derleme Dergisi*. Firstly, it sets out to collect words used which were not obviously 'foreign': that is to say words which would not immediately strike one as being Arabic or Persian or of any other language. Words that sounded 'foreign' and were not collected, Tietze points out, would include, for instance, words directly associated with the Greek-speaking population, either those who had left Anatolia or with new arrivals like the Muslim Cretans (*Giritli*). Secondly, words which were not deemed sufficiently distinct, in form or meaning, from those found in Istanbul Turkish were also not to be included. In theory the objective was to collect words of Turkish origin that did not exist in the literary language of Istanbul (Tietze 1955:207).

Tietze established a sound basis in the dialectal material: he identified 303 words as Greek in his first article (1955) and a further 33 (304-347) in his second (1962). This material goes a long way to substantiate his claim that the influence of Greek on Turkish was not limited to the urban fabric of Istanbul, as one might be led to believe on the evidence presented by Meyer's monograph (Tietze 1955: 204).

In between these two studies Tietze participated with Henry and Renée Kahane in a landmark work on Mediterranean nautical terminology, the *Lingua franca of the Levant: Turkish Nautical terms of Greek and Italian origin* (1958). This dictionary is both comprehensive and methodologically impeccable, providing detailed material about the earliest attestations of the entries. It identified 723 Turkish words of Italian origin (1-723) and 154 words of Greek origin (724-878). It should be pointed out that the authors did not claim that the Italian words entered Turkish directly from Italian. They made it clear that they considered that Greek was the contact language for many more than the 154 Greek words, even if this could not always be determined on the evidence of morphological and phonological features.³⁹

In 1960, Hasan Eren (1960) suggested a number of additional dialectal variants and offered a few corrections for the dialectal material found in Tietze (1955).⁴⁰ In 1971 Stachowski (1971) presented new geographical and historical information regarding the Greek loanwords identified in all the above-mentioned studies. He based himself mainly on the so-called *transcription texts*, European works from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries which present Turkish material transcribed in different European alphabets.

Another scholar who made several brief but sound contributions on the etymology and history of several Greek words in Turkish is Dimitri Theodoridis, to our knowledge the only Greek of Istanbul to have published on the subject (1966, 1974, 1975).

Charalambos Symeonidis made two important contributions. In 1973 he published an article in which he identified additional loanwords in Turkish publications about dialects, while also including earlier findings and confirming some of them from different sources.⁴¹ In

which entered through contact with Greek are included only if they are not recognized as such: eg.: *horata* (TS 1920), *horyat* (TS 1923), *pabadça* (> *papatya*) (TS 3175), *for-yaz* (TS 1608), *rufadan/hurfadan* (> *rafadan*) (TS 3212) etc.

³⁹ Kahane-Tietze 1958:39.

⁴⁰ In 1953, Suat Baydur in his article on words of Greek and Latin origin, dealt mainly with French and Italian loanwords and presented a list with correspondences in Turkish, Italian, German, English, French, Latin and classical Greek.

⁴¹ In a short article in *Türk Dili*, Hasan Eren (1975) objected to some of Symeonidis' proposed etymologies.

1976 he published a monograph on the treatment of vowels in Greek loanwords, making extensive use of all the previous material. Mention should also be made of an article, in Turkish, on the Greek influence on Turkish by Emilio Arrigoni (1974), in which an attempt is made to distinguish between the different routes of borrowing, and several characteristic examples are discussed.

In 1978 Demetrius Georgacas published an article (1978a) which contained an extensive list of fish names and terms of Greek origin in Turkish. He also wrote an exhaustive monograph (1978b) on terms related to sturgeon, botargo, and caviar. Between them these two works comprehensively cover the Turkish fish and fishing vocabulary.

In 1982 Tietze examined how certain fundamental classical Greek concepts like democracy, hegemony, trade etc. were treated in modern Turkish as part of a huge project examining the after-life of classical Greek civilization in various languages of the world.

In 1986 Christos Tzitzilis published the most comprehensive monograph to date about the Greek loanwords in Turkish dialects, where he presented new material and included only those entries of the previously published material that he considered obscure or ridden with difficulties. Tzitzilis' list contains 597 entries.

Finally, in 1998 a Greek scholar, Kostas Karapotosoglou (1997-98), published an article in which the etymology of 68 Greek loanwords in dialectal Turkish, previously dealt with by Symeonidis (1973), is re-examined with new interpretations or additional material and evidence presented. Except for two fish terms, *çinekop* and *torik*, none of the others seem to have become part of standard Turkish.

We shall now examine the Greek loanwords still in current use in modern standard Turkish, which is here taken as the speech forms of educated speakers without any active regional features. In checking the vocabulary presented we have been guided by the *Redhouse* (1968) and *Türk Dil Kurumu (Güncel Türkçe Sözlük, online version)* dictionaries, as well as the recent three-volume one by İlhan Ayverdi (2005-2006). Particularly useful was the recent, enlarged edition of Sevan Nişanyan's etymological dictionary (2007), as well as the more historical one by Hasan Eren (1999). Andreas Tietze's *Tarihi ve Etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi Lûgatı* (2002) is invaluable, although sadly only volume I (A-E) was published before the author's demise.

In the present study, we have not included lexical forms of proven restricted usage that would not be recognizable by educated speakers. For the purposes of our research, we consulted forty seven informants aged between 24 and 86, the majority of whom were aged 36-67. We also interviewed one informant aged 96. The lexical items were tested on the informants for currency and frequency of use, as well as phonological and morphological features. The language material presented to the informants was in the context of both connected text and word-lists.

As already mentioned the vocabulary examined here includes words which originate from languages other than Turkish, but which have entered Turkish via Greek. Household items coming from a western lifestyle were examples of this. In the nineteenth century they started to be imported into Turkey as a result of closer contact with the West. Once they became available on the Turkish market, these items were more readily used and, more

importantly, sold by members of the Greek community in Istanbul. It is safe to assume that vocabulary signifying such items would come into Turkish from Greek rather than from the original source language.

We have identified the following groups for bringing together these loanwords:

1. place names
2. nautical terms
3. fish and other marine life
4. agriculture and stock-breeding
5. animals, birds and insects
6. plants, trees, fruits and vegetables
7. food
8. construction
9. household/family
10. Christian religion
11. slang and derogatory words
12. public administration and officialdom
13. entertainment
14. a number of words which did not warrant a group by themselves and which have been shown under the section heading 'other'.

Further groupings could be added, but as they would be very limited in number, we chose to include some of these words in the larger groupings. The English definitions are of the Turkish words, not of the Greek words from which they are derived. The lists which follow have been compiled to illustrate the range of Greek loanwords in Turkish today. They do not attempt to be exhaustive.

Place names

Place names are some of the oldest Greek loanwords in Anatolian Turkish to survive to the present, as many of them had entered the language even before the conquest of the place in question. Practically all the towns which came under Turkish rule maintained the name by which they were called in the Byzantine period. We are listing a small selection of toponyms of Greek origin. Some of them are the names of prominent places in Turkey: others are the Turkish names of locations in Greece and other former areas of the Ottoman Empire.

Amasya	Αμάσεια	Amaseia	Amasya
Ankara	Άγκυρα	Angyra	Ankara
Atina	Αθήνα	Athina	Athens

Balat	Παλάτι	Palati	Balat (town & Istanbul district)
Eğriboz	Εύριπος	Evripos	Evvia/Euboea
İmroz	Ίμβρος	Imvros	Imvros, Gökçeada
İsdil	Δήλος	Dhilos	Delos
İzmir	Σμύρνη	Smyrni	İzmir/Smyrna
Kastamonu	Κασταμονή	Kastamoni	Kastamonu
Konya	Ικόνιον	Ikonion	Konya, Iconium
Kütahya	Κοτυαίον	Kotiaion	Kütahya
Malatya	Μελιτήνη	Melitini	Malatya
Niğde	Νίγη	Nighdhi	Niğde
Rodos	Ρόδος	Rodhos	Rhodes
Serez	Σέρρες	Serres	Serres/Serrai
Sivas	Σεβάστεια	Sevasteia	Sivas, Sevasteia
Taşoz	Θάσος	Thasos	Thasos
Tırhala	Τρίγκαλα	Trikkala	Trikkala
Toros	Τάυρος	Tavros	Taurus (Mountains)
Trakya	Θράκη	Thraki	Thrace

There are a number of geographical features which have kept their Greek names:

Aynaroz/Aynoroz	Ἁγίον Ὄρος	Aghion Oros	Mount Athos
Ege	Αἰγαίος	Aighaios	Aegean
Enez	Αἶνος	Ainos	Enez/Ainos
Erciyes/Erciyez	Αργαίος	Arghaios	(Mount) Arghaios
Menderes	Μαίανδρος	Meandros	Meander
Saroz	Σάρος	Saros	Saros/Saroz

Modern standard Greek has been largely cleansed of words of Turkish origin, or rather, the words have been deliberately ostracized from high register and have been pushed down stylistically.⁴² The reverse has not happened in Turkish. Turkish did undergo extensive and, at times, controversial language reform in the twentieth century: following the change of alphabet there was an official policy of replacing words of Arabic and Persian origin with 'pure Turkish' (*Öztürkçe*)⁴³ vocabulary, but words of Greek origin were not purged in the same way. However, there was a process of replacing Greek toponyms to establish their Turkish identity. Greek names of cities and some smaller towns were mostly retained, along with names of mountains, but many Greek village names in Anatolia were given new Turkish

⁴² For a synoptic account of Turcisms in Greek and the other Balkan languages, where similar developments took place, see Kostas Kazazis, "The status of Turcisms in present-day Balkan languages," in: Henrik Birnbaum and Speros Vryonis, eds., *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and change*, The Hague, (1972) pp. 93-95.

⁴³ The concept of *Öztürkçe* is hardly influenced by Greek, but it is striking how closely it resembles Greek *καθαρεύουσα* (*katharevousa*) 'purist' (language), which in Greek referred to a form of archaizing Greek, as opposed to *demotic*, which referred to the vernacular.

names: there was an official renaming, on a massive scale, of all the non-Turkish village names, including the Greek ones, which was systematically recorded in the *Köylerimiz* ('Our villages') publications of the Ministry of the Interior.⁴⁴ A similar process happened with islands with Greek names: for example, İmroz (Ἰμβρος) became Gökçeada, and Tenedos (Τένεδος) is now called Bozcaada.⁴⁵

Nautical terms

Almost the entire specialist vocabulary of the sea in Turkish is either Italian or Greek in origin. This is not surprising, given the domination of so much maritime activity in the Ottoman Empire by Greeks and Greek speakers, and the fact that traditionally Turks were not a sea-faring people. They had no experience of the sea, but they had a core Turkish vocabulary connected to navigation developed on the rivers and lakes of Central Asia. This Turkish vocabulary included words like: *ağ* 'net, fishing net', *göl* 'lake', *deniz* 'sea', *ada* 'island', *gemi* 'ship', *koy* 'bay', *dalga* 'wave', *sal* 'raft', *kayık* 'boat', and *yelken* 'sail'.⁴⁶ In addition there are words which were originally unrelated in meaning to the sea or navigation but which at an early stage acquired water-related uses. They include: *akıntı* 'current' (from *akmak* 'to flow'), *alçak* 'horizon' (from its original meaning of 'low'), *boğaz* 'straits' (from 'ravine, gorge' derived from 'throat'), *burun* 'cape, promontory' (from 'nose'), *kıyı* 'shore, coast, bank' (from 'border, edge'), *kuru* 'dry land' (from 'dry place, dry'⁴⁷ replaced by *kara*), *kayık* 'boat' (from *kaymak* 'to slide') and *demir* 'anchor' (from 'iron').

It was only after the Ottoman Turks crossed into Europe in the fourteenth century that the sea became for them an important sphere of operation.⁴⁸ The coastal areas of Anatolia with important ports which served as crossroads for long-distance trade were under Turkish rule for brief intermittent periods, but were incorporated into Ottoman rule by the middle of the fifteenth century: İzmir by 1425, Salonica by 1430, Istanbul in 1453, Trabzon in 1461 and finally the coast of Cilicia and the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia, which had already been dissolved in the late fourteenth century, remained under Mamluk influence before it formed part of permanent Ottoman rule in the early sixteenth century. The first time that active naval

⁴⁴ See Fırat Tuncel, "Türkiye'de ismi değiştirilen köyler", *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, (2000) 10: 23-34.

⁴⁵ People born and brought up in the 1920s still find the Greek names of these locations familiar. However of the two Aegean islands, it is Gökçeada which is still sometimes referred to by its Turkish-adapted Greek name İmroz. This may be because Bozcaada, although it is the smaller of the two, has become more prominent under its Turkish name: it is more accessible, has had a flourishing wine trade and has developed as a holiday resort. Its original name, Tenedos, is now hardly used except as a historical reference.

⁴⁶ The principal work in this area of etymology has been done by Henry and Renée Kahane working with Andreas Tietze in *The Lingua Franca of the Levant: Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek origin*, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1958.

⁴⁷ While it is common for land to be called 'dry land' in a (linguistically) marked use to distinguish it from the sea, it is possible that Turkish *kuru* represents a loan translation from Greek ξηρά, which also means 'dry land' from a basic meaning of 'dry'. *Kuru* as a word referring to 'dry land' has been replaced by *kara*, which most likely derives from Turkish *kara* 'black' as it is used in the sense of 'land' in most Turkic languages, rather than Arabic *qāra* ('land, continent') as suggested by Kahane and Tietze (1958:6); on *kara* see Eren 1999:210 and Clauson (who mentions *qāra* as an Arabic loanword meaning 'sea-shore' in the Persian dictionary of Sanglakh) 1972:644.

⁴⁸ It should however be noted that among the first recorded contacts (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) with the nautical and fishing terms of the Mediterranean (whether in Greek or Italian) were words in use among the Kipchak Turks in the Black Sea and the (Turkish-speaking) Mamluks of Egypt who came from there (Kahane-Tietze 1958:3).

participation was decisive for the Ottomans in battle was in fact the conquest of Constantinople/Istanbul, when Turkish boats were taken over the hill into the Golden Horn,⁴⁹ and it was only from the late fifteenth century onwards that the Ottoman Empire can properly be described as a naval power. The Turks learned about navigation and fishing from the Greeks; from the Italians, after the conquest of the City, they acquired their knowledge of shipbuilding and naval artillery: hence the domination of these spheres by Greek and Italian words.⁵⁰

While many of the nautical loanwords are quite obscure and specialist as far as the majority of Turkish population today is concerned, there are still a number of commonly used terms:

anafor	αναφόρι	anaphori	countercurrent, eddy
bodosloma	ποδόσταμο	podhostamo	sternpost
fener	φανάρι	fanari	lighthouse
gönder	κοντάρι	kondari	pole/staff (flag-pole)
halat	καλώδι(ον)	kalodhi(on)	rope
harita	χάρτης	hartis	map ⁵¹
iskele	σκάλα	skala	quay, pier, scaffolding
kadırga	κάτεργο(ν)	katergo(n)	galley
körfez	κόρφος	korfos	gulf
küpeşte	κουπαστή	koupasti	banister handrail/gunwale
liman	λιμάνι	limani	port, harbour
lodos	νότος	notos	south wind
mendirek	μανδράκι	mandhraki	breakwater, artificial harbour
poyraz/furyaz/foryaz	βοριάς	vorias	north wind ⁵²
şamandıra	σημαδούρα, τσαμαδούρα	simadhoura	buoy
sandal	σανδάλι(ον)	sandhali(on)	rowing boat
sünger	σφουγγάρι	sfoungari	sponge
yakamoz	διακαμός	dhiakamos	phosphorescence
yalı	γιάλι, γιάλι (γιαλός) ⁵³	yali (yalos)	residence by the seashore
zoka	ζόκα	zoka	fish hook, artificial bait

Other terms are clearly of specialist use only:

avara (etmek)	αβαράρω	avararo	to shove off (nautical)
felenk	φαλάγγι	falangi	boat chock

⁴⁹ See Kahane-Tietze 1958: 12.

⁵⁰ See Kahane-Tietze 1958: 14ff.

⁵¹ Kahane-Tietze 1958: 177 – it is possible that *harita* was adopted directly from Italian.

⁵² See Kahane-Tietze 1958: 750, pp. 494ff.

⁵³ See Kahane-Tietze 1958: 756, pp. 499ff. and Symeonidis 1976: p. 75: the standard modern Greek form of the word is *γιαλός* (*yalos*), from the Homeric *αιγιαλός* (*aighialos*).

iğrip	γρίπος	gripas	(fishing) net, trawl, manner, trick
iskarmoz/iskarmoz	σκαρμός	skarmos	oarlock
mandar	μαντάρι	mandari	halyard
sabura	σαβούρα	savoura	ballast

Fish and other marine life

Compared to nautical vocabulary, the names of fish are much better known – certainly in Istanbul and in the coastal regions. A considerable amount of work has been done to trace the Greek origins of Turkish ichthyonyms by the Greek scholar Demetrius Georgacas, who has identified 249 words of Greek origin.⁵⁴

Many of these fish names are not in current use in modern standard Turkish because some of the fish referred to are no longer available in Turkish waters and are therefore not to be found on sale at the fishmongers; so the names of such fish fall out of use. Below are some examples of this class of words that are in current usage:

ahtapot/ahtopot	ο χταπόδι	ο htapodhi	octopus
aterina	αθερίνα	atherina	sand smelt
bakalyaro	μπακαλιάρo(ς)	bakaliaro(s)	cod
barbunya	μπαρμπούνι (pl. -α)	barbouni(a)	red mullet (also: type of red bean)
çağanoz	τζαγανός, τσαγανός	dzaghanos, tsaghanos	edible crab
çipura, çupra	τσιπούρα	tsipoura	gilt-head sea bream
çiroz	τσιρός	tsiros	salted mackerel/very thin person
falyanos	φάλαινος	falainos	type of dolphin
fangri	φαγκρί	fangri	breem
fener	φανάρι	fanari	angler-fish, monk-fish
hamsi	χαψί	hapsi	(fresh) anchovy ⁵⁵
hani	χαννί	hanni	sea bass
havyar	χαβιάρι, χαβγιάρι	haviari	caviar
işkine	σκίνα	skina	corvina umbra (brown meagre)

⁵⁴ In "Turkish common names of aquatic animals (and congeners) and fishing terms of Greek origin" *Bollettino dell'Atlante linguistico mediterraneo XX* (Pisa) 1978 : 119-145. Many of the derivations are obvious – or seem obvious. Georgacas, however, sounds a valuable note of warning:

"We must condemn and avoid the hit-and-miss methodological procedure of taking a Turkish word that comes occasionally to our attention or taking any such word out of a dictionary or glossary, identifying it with a similar Greek word, and thinking that we have succeeded in this endeavour.... such an approach tells us little or nothing about the symbiosis of Greeks and Turks for a certain period of time, about the linguistic inter-relationships between the two communities and about the linguistic give-and-take that took place."

Georgacas points out, for example, that the Turkish *karides*, used for prawn or shrimp, comes not from the form used today in Greece, *γαρίδα*, pl. *γαρίδες* (*gharida/gharidhes*), but from *καρίδα* or rather its plural *καρίδες* (*karidalkaridhes*), a mediaeval and dialectal form of the word. And he argues that *izmarit* must come from a dialectal modern Greek form *σμαρίδι* (*smaridhi*) rather than from the more general modern Greek *μαρίδα* (*maridha*).

⁵⁵ When salted or cured, this fish is called *ançüez*. Nişanyan 2007 : 43 gives the definition of this word as 'Atlantik hamsisi'. *Ançüez*, however, is only used for salted/cured anchovies. According to Nişanyan, the word was adopted from the English *anchovies*.

iskorpit	σχορπίδι	skorpidhi	scorpion fish
istakoz	αστακός	astakos	lobster
istavrit	σαυρίδι/σταυρίδι	savridhi/stavridhi	horse mackerel
istiridye/istridye	στρείδι (pl. -α)	stridhi(a)	oyster
istrongilos	στρογγυλός	strongilos	kind of bream
izmarit	σμαρίδι, μαρίδα, σμαρίδα	smaridhi, (s)maridha	picarel
karides	καρίδα (pl. καρίδες)	karidha (karidhes)	prawn/shrimp
kefal	κεφάλι	kefali	grey mullet
kerevit	καραβίδα	karavidha	crayfish
kofana	γόφαινα	ghofaina	large <i>lüfer</i> (blue fish)
kolyos, kolyoz	κολιός	kolios	chub mackerel
lahos	βλάχος	vlahos	grouper
lakerda	λακέρδα	lakerdha	salted <i>palamut</i> (bonito)
levrek	λαβράκι	lavraki	sea bass
liperi, lipari	λιπάρι, λιπαρή	lipari	type of fat mackerel
lipsos	λειψός	lipsos	small-scaled scorpion fish
lüfer	γοφάρι	ghofari	blue fish
melanurya	μελανούρι (pl. -α)	melanouri(a)	saddled bream
merlanos	μερλάνος	merlanos	whiting
mersin	μερσίνη	mersini	sturgeon
midye	μύδι (pl. -α)	mydhi(a)	mussel
orfoz	ορφός	orfos	Mediterranean grouper
orkinos	όρκινος	orkinos	large tuna
palamut	παλαμύδι	palamydhi	bonito
pavurya, pağurya	παγούρι (pl. -α)	paghouri(a)	large crab
pisi	πησί	pissi	small flat fish, similar to plaice
sardalya	σαρδέλλι (pl. -α)	sardhelli(a)	sardine
sargos, sargoz	σαργός	sarghos	sargo, sargus
sinarit, sinagrit	συναγρίδα	synaghridha	dentex
supya/sübye	σουπιά	supia	cuttlefish
tırpana	τρυπάνα	tripana	stingray (cf. <i>vatoz</i>)
torik	ταρίχι	tarihi	large <i>palamut</i> (bonito)
uskumru	σκουμπρί	skoumbri	mackerel
vatoz	βάτος	vatos	stingray (cf. <i>tırpana</i>)
zargana	ζαργάνα	zargana	sea pike

A few fish names are direct loan translations:

dil	γλώσσα	ghlossa	sole (<i>tongue</i>)
köpek balığı	σκυλόψαρο	skilopsaro	shark (<i>dogfish</i>)
tarak	χτένι	hteni	scallop (<i>comb</i>)

while some may be the result of translation or descriptive labelling:

kılıç ξιφίας ksifias swordfish (*sword*)

Interestingly, the Black Sea turbot, a favourite spring catch on the Bosphorus, is known in Greek only as *καλκάνι* (*kalkani*), which is its Turkish name, *kalkan* (*shield*).

There are a few cases where Greek uses a quite different name from the Turkish: *deniz kestanesi* 'sea-urchin'⁵⁶, *deniz börülcesi* 'samphire'⁵⁷ and *deniz fasulyesi* 'sea bean' – *kestane* and *fasulye* are both words taken from Greek (see below under *Plants, trees, fruits and vegetables*).

Agriculture and stock-breeding

Vocabulary related to farming and stock-breeding are other areas where there are a significant number of words derived from Greek:

demet	δεμάτι	dhemati	bunch (of flowers etc.)
diğren/dirgen	δίχρονο/δικράνι	dhikrano/dhikrani	pitchfork
dikel	δικέλλν/δικέλλα	dhikelli/dhikella	long-handled digging fork
düven, döven, düğen	δουζάνη	dhoukani	flail, threshing machine
engebe	εγγοπή	engopi	rough, uneven ground
evlek	αυλάκι	avlaki	furrow, drainage ditch
fiçi	βουτσι	youts	barrel
fidye	φυτεία	fitia	young vineyard
fişki	φουσζί	fouski	horse manure
fol	φώλι	foli	nest-egg
gem	ζημός	kimos	bit (of horse's bridle)
gübre	κοπριά	kopria	dung, manure, fertilizer
güderi (cf. <i>gevder</i>)	κωδάρι	kodhari	chamois leather
ızgara/ızkara	σχάρα/σκάρα	skhara/skara	grill, grilled
kirizme, kirizma	κύλισμα ⁵⁸	kilizma	trenching of land with a spade
kümes	κουμάσι	koumasi	henhouse
mandra, mandıra	μάντρα	mandra	dairy farm, cowshed, sheep pen
mastika	μαστίχα	mastiha	mastic
pirina	πηρύνας	pirinas	oilcake, cake of crusted olives
reçine	ρετσίνα	retsina	resin
semer	σαμάρι	samari	pack-saddle, porter's saddle
tırpan	δρεπάνι	dhrepani	scythe

⁵⁶ Greek is *αχινός* (*ahinos*).

⁵⁷ Greek *κρίταμο* (*kritamo*) - *chritum maritimum*.

⁵⁸ *κύλισμα* is given by Tzitziles. Sami spells it *κολίσμα* (*kilisma*), but such a word does not exist. Ayverdi, who does not indicate sources, has *γύρισμα* (*ghirisma*).

üvendre, üğendre βουζέντρι vukendri ox-goad

Key agricultural terms surviving in the standard language are not extensive. This is not surprising, as only a small percentage of the rich dialectal material on agricultural implements could be expected to be included in the standard, literary language. Agriculture was not the primary economic activity in Istanbul.⁵⁹ It would naturally follow that Istanbul Turkish, which forms the basis of the standard language, does not have an abundance of agricultural terminology. Standard Turkish itself relies on loanwords from Anatolian dialects to enrich the lexical pool in this area. In the early years of the Republic, the agricultural heartland of Anatolia was almost a distant and strange land for the people of Istanbul. When Mahmut Makal's *Bizim Köy* (*Our Village*) started to be serialized in *Cumhuriyet*⁶⁰ it was a revelation for the people of Istanbul. It also introduced them to a range of new terminology specific to land and village life. Yaşar Kemal was another author who introduced the agricultural terminology of Anatolian dialects to a wide readership. A large part of Kemal's vocabulary was specific to the local dialects of Çukurova in southern Turkey; his use of these forms was so extensive that a dictionary for reading Yaşar Kemal was published as a guide to understanding the local expressions and the vocabulary he uses relating in particular to agriculture and to the flora and fauna of the region.⁶¹

Animals, birds and insects

florya	φλώρος	floros	greenfinch
iskete	σκαθί	skathi	coal titmouse
ispinoz	σπίνος	spinos	chaffinch
kukulya	κουκούλια	koukoulia	silkworm cocoon
kukumav	κουκουβάγια	koukouvaghia	small species of owl
(tahta) kurusu	κοριός or κόριζα	korios or koriza	bedbug
zağanos	τζαγανός, τσαγανός	dzaghanos, tsaghanos	trained hunting owl

Plants, trees, fruits and vegetables

ahlat	αχλάδι	ahladhi	wild pear
araka	αρακά(ς)	araka(s)	young pea(s) - mange-tout
bezelya/bezelye	μπιζέλι (pl. -α)	bizeli(a)	pea(s)
biber	πιπέρι	piperi	pepper
defne	δάφνη	dhafni	bay, laurel
domates	ντομάτες	domates	tomato
enginar	αγκινάρα	anginara	globe artichoke
fasulye	φασόλι (pl. -α)	fasoli(a)	bean(s)

⁵⁹ In particular, the Greeks of Istanbul were not, on the whole, engaged in agricultural work. Their involvement in agricultural productivity did not usually extend beyond tending their own gardens and allotments.

⁶⁰ In 1948, *Bizim Köy* was later published as a book in 1950: Mahmut Makal, *Bizim Köy*, Istanbul: Varlık (1950). The book is a series of essays describing the daily life and customs of a village in Anatolia as seen through the eyes of a young idealistic teacher appointed to the village school.

⁶¹ Ali Püsküllüoğlu, *Yaşar Kemal Sözlüğü*, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları (2006). First published in 1974 (Istanbul: Cem Yayınları) and republished in 1987 (Istanbul: Toros Yayınları).

fesleğen	βασιλικός (<i>acc. -όν</i>)	vasilikos (-on)	basil
fidan	φυτό(ν)	fito(n)	sapling, young tree
fide	φύτεία	fitia	seedling
fik, fiğ	βίκος	vikos	vetch
filiskin	φλισκούνι	fliskouni	pennyroyal (botan.)
gebre, gebre otu	κάπαρη	cappari	caper
ihlamur/filâmur	φλαμούρι, φλαμουριά	flamouri, flamouria	linden
ispanak	σπανάκι	spanaki	spinach
kenevir	κανναβούρι	kannavouri	hemp
kestane	κάστανο	kastano	chestnut
kimyon	κύμινα	kymina	cumin
kiraz	κεράσι	kerasi	cherry
kök nar	κουκουνάρι	koukounari	fir tree
lâhana	λάχανο	lahano	cabbage
mantar	μανιτάρι	manitari	mushroom, toadstool, fungus
marul	μαρούλι	marouli	Cos/Romaine lettuce
melisa	μέλισσα	melissa	lemon balm
muşmula	μούσμουλο	mousmoulo	medlar
palamut (ağacı)	βαλανίδι	valanidhi	Valonia oak, acorn thereof
pırasa	πράσο (<i>pl. πράσα</i>)	praso (<i>pl. prasa</i>)	leek
pırnal, pırnar	πουρνάρι	pournari	holly oak, holm oak
roka	ρόκα	roka	rocket (salad)

Food

fava	φάβα	fava	mashed/puréed broad beans
ızgara	σκάρα, σχάρα	skara, skhara	grill, grilled (meat, fish etc.)
lakerda	λακέρδα	lakerdha	salted palamut (bonito)
papara	παπάρα	papara	bread in broth, insipid dish
pihti	πήχτη	pihti	clotted dairy dish
pilaki	πλακί	plaki	beans cooked in tomato sauce
rafadan	ροφιτόν, ρουφιχτό	rofiton, rufihto	soft boiled egg
somun	ψωμί	psomi	loaf of bread

Construction

Greek loanwords also feature prominently in relation to construction and buildings:

avlu	αυλή	avli	courtyard (of house or mosque)
balyoz/varyos	βαρειός	varios	sledge hammer
döver, düver, düğer	δοκάρι	dhokari	beam, pillar, rafter
engebe	εγχοπή	engopi	rough, uneven ground
gönye	γωνία	ghonia	set-square

helik	χαλίκι	haliki	pebble
ırgat	εργάτης	erghatis	labourer, foreman
istif	στοίβη	stivi	storage, stow
kaldırım	καλός δρόμος ⁶²	kalos dhromos	pavement, causeway
kiremit	κεραμίδι	keramidhi	(roof) tile
mandira	μάνδρα	mandhra	cowshed, sheep-pen, dairy farm
marangoz	μαραγκός	marangos	carpenter
mazgal	μασκάλη, μασχάλη	maskali, maskhali	loophole, slit, embrasure
mermer	μάρμαρο	marmaro	marble
moloz	μώλος	molos	rubble, rough stone
takoz	τάκος	takos	wedge, chock
temel	θεμέλιο	themelio	foundation
toloz/tonoz	θόλος	tholos	vault
tuğla	τούβλο (pl. τούβλα)	touvlo (pl. touvla)	brick
yali	γάλι, γαλί (γιαλός)	yali (yalos)	residence by the seashore

Household/family

anahtar	ανοιχτήρι	anihtiri	key
cımbız	τσιμπίδα, τσιμπίδι	tsimbidha, tsimbidhi	tweezers
drahoma, trahoma	τράχωμα	trahoma	dowry (of non-Muslims)
fıçı	βουτσι	voutsi	barrel
fırça	βούρτσα	vourtsa	brush
güğüm	κουκούμι	koukoumi	copper jug with handle, spout, lid
huni	χωνί	honi	funnel (for pouring)
iskemle	σκαμνί	skamni	chair
ispazmoz	σπασμός	spasmos	spasm, convulsion
istif	στοίβη	stivi	storage, stow
ızgara/ızkara	σάρα	skara	grill, grilled
karyola	καριόλα	kariola	bedstead
kavanoz	καβάνος, (var. of γαβάνος)	kavanos, ghavanos	jar, pot
kerata	κέρατο (pl. κέρατα)	kerato (kerata)	shoehorn
kerevet	κρεβάτι	krevati	wooden bedstead
kiler, kilar	κελάρι	kelari	larder, store-room
kola	κόλλα	kolla	starch
kuka	κουκούλι	koukouli	ball of wool
kukla	κούκλα	kōukla	doll

⁶² *Kaldırım* may well come from *kaldır*- 'to raise'. But as there are no examples of the verb being used in expressions having to do with the laying down of pavements, this is most likely a folk etymology. Sami gives the Greek derivation but offers his support for the Turkish one. Hasan Eren (1975:182) refutes the possible Greek origin by pointing to the Turkmen forms *galdırım* and *galdırma*.

kutu	κουτί	kouti	box
lamba	λάμπα	lamba	lamp
loğusa	λεχούσα	lehousa	woman after childbirth
mantar	μανιτάρι	manitari	cork
paçavra	πατσαβούρα	patsavoura	rag, worthless, importunate person
pantuflla	παντόφλα ⁶³	pandofla	slippers
patik	πατίκι	patiki	child's shoe
sandalye	σανδάλια, σαντάλια	sandhalia, sandalia	chair
sıra	σειρά	sira	row, rank, desk, order
sırma	σύρμα	sirma	embroidery with gold/silver thread
takunya	τακούνι (pl. -α)	takouni (-a)	clog
varil	βαρέλι	vareli	barrel, cask

Christian religion

As can be expected, terminology relating to specifically Christian and particularly Orthodox Christian institutions, practices and concepts are transfers from Greek:

aforos, aforoz	αφορίζω, αφορισμός	aforizo, aforismos	excommunication, anathema
aya/ayi	άγιος/αγία	aghios/aghia	St. (as in title of church etc.)
ayazma	αγίασμα	aghiasma	spring sacred to Christians
despot	δεσπότης	dhespotis	bishop, Christian ruler
diyakoz	διάκος	dhiakos	deacon
Hristiyan	Χριστιανός	Hristianos	Christian
ikona	εικόνα	ikona	icon
istavroz/ istavroz	σταυρός	stavros	cross
kilise	εκκλησία	ekklisia	church
kukula	κουκούλα	koukoula	monk's cowl
manastır	μοναστήρι	monastiri	monastery
metropolit	μητροπολίτης	mitropolit	Orthodox diocesan bishop
panayır	πανηγύρι	panighyri	fair, fête ⁶⁴
papaz	παπάς/παπάς	pappas	priest (Christian)
paskalya	πασχαλιά	paskhalia	Easter
piskopos	επίσκοπος	episkopos	bishop
vaftiz	βάφτιση	vaftisi	baptism
yorti/yortu	εορτή/γιορτή	yirti	(Christian) feast

⁶³ Turkish *pantuflla* most likely comes from Greek *pantofla* or *pantuflla* (the change /o/ > /u/ is common in Northern Greek dialects) rather than directly from French *pantoufle* or Italian *pantofola*. The large number of Greek cobblers in Istanbul supports this suggestion.

⁶⁴ The Turkish word *panayır* does not now carry religious connotations.

Slang and derogatory words

There is also an important group of Greek words which have made it into Istanbul street slang and Turkish argot in general. The generation of Turks who were born and brought up with large numbers of Greek friends, particularly in districts of Istanbul with a substantial Greek population such as Kadıköy/Halkidhon/Chalcedon, Beyoğlu/Pera etc., still use some less well-known old Istanbul slang. However, most of these words have gained much wider currency:

afi	αφή	afi	pretension, ostentation
aftos/aftoz	αυτός	aftos	lover, mistress
aftos-piyos	αυτός ποιός	aftos pios	of no importance/consequence
anafor	αναφόρι	anafori	eddy, illicit gain/twisted
baloz	μπάλος	balos	cheap drinking, dance café
çingar	τσιγκρα	tsingra	quarrel
çingen, çingene	τσιγγάνος (pl. -οι)	tsinganos (tsingani)	mean, stingy
dikiz	*ντικίζω ⁶⁵	dikizo	sly look, glance
duziko ⁶⁶	ντούζικο	duziko	unadulterated, strong <i>raki</i>
erketeci	έρχεται	erhetai	look-out man
fasarya	φασαρία	fasaria	nonsense
hoyrat, horyat	χωριάτης	horiatis	rough, coarse person
işkil	σκύλος	skilos	doubt, suspicion
kerata ⁶⁷	κερατάς	keratás	pimp, cuckold; rascal
kitipiyos ⁶⁸	καί τί ποιός	ke ti pyos	ordinary, unimportant person
kodes	κοτέτσι	kotetsi	prison
kokona	κοκόνα	kokona	elderly Greek woman
kopil	κοπέλι	kopeli	street urchin, bastard
madrabaz	μεταπράτης	metapratís	cheat, impostor, middleman
mandepsi	μαντέψε	mantepse	trick, deceit
mantar	μανιτάρι	manitari	lie, invention
metazori	με το ζόρι	me to zori	by violence, force

⁶⁵ Greek etymon suggested by Nişanyan (2007). If correct, this would be a case of a Turkish loanword into Greek of the verbal root (which is also the imperative form) *dik-* 'to fix the eyes upon something or someone', which then was naturalized as an unattested Greek verb *dik+izo* and re-entered Turkish slang as *dikiz*.

⁶⁶ *Duziko* appears to be a combination of the Turkish word *düz* with the Greek ending *-ixo (-iko)*. It is possible that this ending (*-iko*) is also used in Turkish words of endearment: cf. *caniko* 'my dear', *ciciko* 'sweetie' (used especially for children).

⁶⁷ Anecdotal evidence suggests that the 'cheated husband' use of *kerata* is in decline in Turkey, but it has been replaced with a Turkish calque, *boynuzlu*, as well as having given rise to the related verb, *boynuzlamak*, in the sense of 'cheating, committing adultery', a translation or parallel derivation to the modern Greek verb *κερατώνω (keratono)* 'to cheat on someone'. In modern Turkish today *kerata* is most widely used as a term of affection for young boys, in the meaning of 'clever scoundrel, rascal'.

⁶⁸ Nişanyan suggests *κάτω ποιόν* which is hard to explain and does not account for the *-os* ending. The literal meaning of the proposed Greek would be 'and who is/was that?'

paçoz	πατσός	patsos	whore, grey mullet
palavra	παλάβρα	palavra	boast, swagger
palikarya	παλικάρη (pl. -α)	palikari (-a)	Greek youth or 'rowdy'
püsür	αποσούρι	aposouri	filth, rubbish
saloz	σαλός	salos	fool, imbecile
şapşal	σάψαλο	sapsalo	slovenly, untidy
voli vurmak	βολή	voli	pull off a business success

One group of defamatory or slang Turkish words is of interest because of a possible association with Greek, although they are not loanwords borrowed through Greek or even words of Greek origin. Rather they are words of Turkish, Persian or unknown origin which are distinct in that they all end in *-oz*. Mostly they are used as adjectives, but a few of them function as nouns. Under the entry *cadaloz*, Nişanyan notes the apparent existence of a derivative ending *-(al)oz* of unknown origin which produces defamatory adjectives describing females. Besides *cadaloz* he mentions *kartaloz*, *paçoz*, *şaşkaloz*, *yelloz* and *zırtapoz* as examples of this.⁶⁹

Of these, *şaşkaloz* ('cross-eyed' and also 'acting in a stupefied, confused and chaotic way') no longer refers exclusively to women and is of clear Turkish provenance, related to the adjective *şaşkın* 'confused' and the verb *şaş-mak* 'to be amazed'. Quite how the form *şaşkaloz* is derived is not certain, but it seems clear that an *-(al)oz* suffix is at work: either as *şaşkın+aloz* > *şaşkaloz*, or from *şaşakal-mak* 'to become stupefied', thus becoming *şaşakal + -oz* > *şaşkaloz*. *Kartaloz* 'shrivelled and wrinkled', 'of a certain age' is also based on the Turkish adjective *kart* 'dry, hard, tough; shrivelled up' with the direct addition of the *-aloz* suffix. *Paçoz* is of Greek origin (masculine nominative ending in *-os* > *-oz*), and its defamatory use for 'harlot, prostitute' has been extended to mean in colloquial Turkish 'down-at-heel', 'not properly put together'. Here, as the whole word is of Greek origin, there is no Turkish suffix (whether *-oz* or *-aloz*) at work. *Yelloz* 'an immoral woman' seems to be derived from the verb *yelle-mek* 'to fan', 'to blow upon' and, by extension, 'to stir up', itself a derivation from the noun *yel* 'wind'. From its meaning of 'a woman of easy virtue who wreaks havoc among men', *yelloz* is now used to mean 'a flirt'. *Zırtapoz* 'crazy', 'unpredictable', 'raving mad' must be related to *zırt* (found in the expression *zırt pırt*, a partially reduplicated onomatopoeic form meaning 'at frequent, unexpected but unsuitable times').

There are two more Turkish slang words ending in *-(al)oz* which could be considered here, *çakaloz* and *tinyoloz*. *Tinyoloz*, 'slovenly, untidy; idler' (Redhouse 1968) is mentioned also in *Kamus-i Türki*, but its derivation is obscure and it is now obsolete. In vernacular use *çakaloz* refers to 'a worthless, useless person', whereas in slang it refers to a 'worthless, useless thing' (Ayverdi). Its original, historical meaning recorded in *Kamus-i Türki* and Redhouse (1968) is 'a small swivel-gun, used for shooting pebbles'. The etymology is uncertain but would seem to involve the suffix and the word *çakıl* ('pebble or anything made round by the action of water'): *çakıl-(al)oz* > *çakaloz*.

⁶⁹ Nişanyan 2007: 88.

In current usage, only *cadaloz* 'old hag' and *yelloz* are used exclusively with reference to women, and the slang suffix *-(al)oz* is not limited to females. There is, however, a clear association and connection of the ending *-os/-oz* with Greek. The Greek loanword *saloz* from *σαλός* (*salos*) 'imbecile' contains the *-(al)oz* sequence observed in the Turkish words discussed above. This word also has a derogatory meaning. The linguistic evidence in hand leads us to consider that the Turkish derivations have been formed on the analogy of Greek slang words.

It has been claimed⁷⁰ that *kaparoz* 'illicit gain', 'bribe' comes directly from the Greek *καπάρος* (*kaparos*), in which case it would be a variant of *kaparo*, itself a loanword via Greek *καπάρο* (*kaparo*) 'advance deposit', from the Italian *caparra*. However, it may well come from the Greek verb *καπαρώνω* (*kaparono*) which has the meaning of 'to get something other than through the usual channels', 'to snatch up quickly'. This Greek verb is also derived from *καπάρο*, (*kaparo*). It may have formed the basis of the Turkish slang *kaparoz* in the meaning of 'anything got easily as a present, or theft' which is sufficiently distinct in meaning from *καπάρο* (*kaparo*). *Kaparoz* itself was the basis of further derivations: *kaparozcu* and *kaparozlanmak* (Ayverdi).

Public Administration and officialdom

Ottoman Turkish had an extensive vocabulary of Greek origin associated with public administration and officialdom. The following words are a selection of those terms which have survived in modern Turkish usage.

alay	αλλάι>αλλάγιον/αλλαγή	allai>allagion/allagi	regiment
angarya/e	αγγαρεία	angareia	forced labour
efendi	αυθέντης/αφέντης	afthendis/afendis	gentleman, Sir
gümrük	κομμέρκι(ον)	kommerki(on)	excise duty, customs
sınır	σύνορα	sinora	frontier, border
sıra	σειρά	sira	row, rank, desk, order

Entertainment

Unsurprisingly, this is an area where words of Greek origin are to be found:

tavla	τάβλι	tavli	backgammon
hora (tepmek)	χορός(ς)	horo(s)	group folk dance, loud stamping
horon	χορός (acc. χορόν)	horos (horon)	Black Sea folk dance
sirto	σιρτός	sirtos	type of folk dance, music for this
buzuki	μπουζούκι	bouzouki	bouzouki
sirtaki	σιρτάκι	sirtaki	Greek dance

The last three words, however, are invariably regarded as foreign vocabulary. Because these forms of dance and music were the preserve of particular regions and social groups, they did

⁷⁰ Symeonidis 1976: 20.

not gain widespread currency as lexical items in Turkish, which in turn meant they did not undergo any phonological change or comply with Turkish vowel harmony. They thus retained their foreign identity.

Other

A small number of loanwords proved to be difficult to assign to the groups listed above. We therefore chose to bring them together in this category:

Çingen, Çingene	τσιγγάνος (pl. -oi)	tsinganos (tsingani)	gypsy
efe	έφιβος (or from <i>efendi</i>)	efivos	swashbuckler
gamalı	γάμμα	ghamma	<i>gamalı haç</i> : swastika
kundak	κοντάκι	kondaki	(rifle) butt, (gun) stock

Tietze highlighted (1952:234, 1955:203) the possible usefulness of distinguishing between the status of a word as a 'foreign word' and a 'loanword'. A word would be considered foreign as long as it was perceived as such by the user/speaker, whether because of the user's consciousness of the word's origins or because of its striking form, easily recognizable as non-Turkish. A loanword would be a word which is either entirely perceived as a native word or has been subjected to further morpho-phonological change so as to have lost whatever pronounced 'foreign' characteristics it may have had, or both. While Tietze is fully aware of the psychological and therefore non-uniform aspect of this distinction, he draws attention to the two different stages, as he calls them, of linguistic borrowing: first there are the phonological changes necessary to render and pronounce a given foreign word in Turkish (1952: 231-234), and secondly the phonological changes above and beyond that, which may, or may not, be required to turn the foreign word into a loanword (1952: 234-240). This second phase or stage may be thought of as a process of assimilation or Turkification. In the following sections we shall examine the phonological and morphological changes Greek loanwords have gone through during the process of their adoption by Turkish.

Phonological Changes

We have examined Greek words adopted by Turkish to see whether there are any clear patterns to the phonetic/phonological changes they appear to have undergone.

- a) Vowel harmony, the distinguishing feature of the Turkish sound system, is considered as the yardstick for a non-etymological classification of Turkish vocabulary, words complying with the rules of vowel harmony being accorded the status of "one of us". It also underpins the agglutinative structure of Turkish and brings cohesion to neologisms derived from non-Turkish base forms. One of the reasons why the Turkish language reform has been such a success⁷¹ lies here. The majority of Arabic and to some extent Persian words retain at least some of their

⁷¹ Lewis 1999.

original phonetic features when transferred to Turkish.⁷² They are more resistant to vowel harmony, as they have a smaller pool of vowels compared to Turkish and do not have approximating sounds which Turkish could utilize to assimilate what it borrowed. Another reason why Arabic and Persian vocabulary was not easily absorbed into the sound patterns of Turkish has to do with education: Turks who had the means of accessing education in Ottoman times were taught Arabic and Persian, often to a good standard. Even those who did not have access to some form of formal education learned to recite the Qur'an and to pray in Arabic. It was therefore much more difficult, and also not considered right, to change the pronunciation of vocabulary sourced from the classical languages of Islam and which had been so well entrenched in the speech-sound range of individuals. However, loanwords sourced from western languages comply with the Turkish sound system with much greater ease. The sounds of languages like French, English and Italian share a greater number of distinctive features with Turkish, even in terms of vowel sounds.

Interestingly there is one group of Greek loanwords which consistently goes against the rules of Turkish vowel harmony: the slang expressions referred to in the preceding section defy both front/back and round/non-round harmony: they have not gone through as extensive a phonological assimilation to Turkish as other words of Greek origin have done; /o/ which does not feature in words of Turkish origin in the second or subsequent syllables is found in these positions in a considerable number of these slang words. Possibly Turkish speakers felt less uneasy in resorting to these less Turkish-sounding words to convey perceptions which could be seen as offensive, rather than using Turkish vocabulary with equivalent meanings: a psychological distancing which allowed the speaker to be more comfortable using words with strong pejorative connotations.

- b) The most significant change appears to be a tendency for the final voiceless /s/ to be voiced as /z/.⁷³ This occurs in particular where the borrowed word ends in /-os/. This change is most readily observed in the spelling forms of some of the toponyms given earlier. There are some exceptions like Rodos and Toros which kept the voiceless /s/. We conclude such exceptions to be the result of rounding: where the syllable contains a round vowel, and in particular an open one, the lips are positioned for rounding at syllable-onset, and, in keeping with the phonetic structure of Turkish, maintain this position throughout the syllable. Phonetic analysis of the Turkish back open round vowel /o/ in such utterances shows that, preceding a word-final /s/, this vowel is realized as an open-mid back rounded vowel, and, preceding a word-final /z/, it is realized as a close-mid back rounded vowel.⁷⁴ In CV-CVC structure words where both Vs are open rounded vowels,

⁷² In particular, modern standard Turkish does not accommodate the guttural sounds which are so prominent in Arabic.

⁷³ Turkish polysyllabic words do not normally have a final /s/, but loanwords do; for example, *hapis* 'prison' and *iblis* 'devil'.

⁷⁴ Close vowels have more tenseness of articulation; speech organs are more lax as articulation moves away from a close to an open point of articulation.

rounding starts from the onset and continues throughout the word; the greater continuing force of rounding leads to laxness in articulation overall. However in CV-CVC structures with a non-round vowel in the first syllable, rounding sets in only in the latter half of the utterance and the overall phonetic effect is inevitably lessened. The voiceless sibilant /s/ is a comparatively lax sound when set against the voiced sibilant /z/. Turkish displays a predominance for ease of pronunciation in continuous utterances to be a determining factor in secondary phonetic quality. The tongue-groove and muscular tension for the production of /s/ are closer to those of the back open round vowel. In structures of -C+C- syllable junction, the flow of the rounding is arrested by the syllable final consonant, and the articulation is not intensely affected by the vowel of the preceding syllable. Hence words like *lomboz*, *kolyoz* undergo the final /s/ > /z/ conversion, despite the presence of /o/ in both syllables of the whole utterance.

Slang vocabulary remains outside this change, as in *kokoroz*, despite its CV + CV + CVC structure with an open back rounded vowel throughout. We have seen that the -(al)oz ending is the main element of vocabulary classified as slang, and it is therefore maintained without being subjected to any change. Of the loan vocabulary in current usage the words *moloz* and *tonoz* are exceptions. However, phonetically both words have strong devoicing for the final sibilant. It is also interesting that both are words related to construction and buildings and have more restricted usage.

- c) In the first names of people the nominative marker final /s/ is dropped; that is to say, names of people are taken from Greek without the final /s/. Thus, *Γιώργος* (*Yorgos*) is *Yorgo* in Turkish, and similarly we have:

Dimitri	Δημήτριος	Dimitris
Hristo/Hristo	Χρήστος	Hristos
Niko	Νίκος	Nikos
Yani	Γιάννης	Yannis

The loss of the final /s/ is not restricted to names only; a limited number of nouns also lose the nominative final /s/ when transferred to Turkish. For example: *araka*, *αρακά(ς)*, *araka(s)*.

On the other hand, surnames seem not to have undergone a similar change: *Kifidis*, *Sabuncakis*.

- d) A further phonological feature observed is that consonant clusters, particularly at the start of words, become separated. In CCV- syllables an /i/ or an /ɪ/ is often inserted before an initial /s/ or /z/ when that is followed by another consonant.

ispanak	σπανάκι	spanaki	spinach
istavrit	σαυρίδι/σταυρίδι	savridhi/stavridhi	horse mackerel
istavroz/ istavroz	σταυρός	stavros	cross
ızgara/ızkara	σάρα	skara	grill, grilled
İzmir	Σμύρνη	Smyrni	İzmir/Smyrna

We note that in Istanbul, Greek surnames such as Σταυρίδης *Stavridhis* are spelt, when writing in Turkish, as *İstavridis*.

Turkish employs cluster restriction, particularly in CC- initial position; a vocalic utterance often breaks the cluster as in the following examples:

Hristiyan	[hristiyan]
spor	[sıpor/supor]
krem	[kırem]

The vocalic intrusion on to the cluster is not always reflected in the orthography, as is the case with the above examples, but it is phonetically present.

e) Greek voiced fricative /v/ becomes in Turkish,

i. voiceless /f/ :

fıçı	βουτσί	voutsi	barrel
fırça	βούρτσα	vourtsa	brush

ii. voiceless bilabial /p/:

poyraz/furyaz/foryaz	βοριάς	vorias	north wind
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In this instance the transfer takes place via the voiceless fricative: The initial change is as in i above; once that takes place then, as a second stage of change, the presence of the round vowel brings about labialization of the alveo-dental /f/.⁷⁵ There are no more than a dozen words in Turkish with an initial /v/+o/ combination; all of them are loanwords of clear provenance, of which only five are regularly used.

iii. voiced fricative /v/ is realized as voiced plosive /b/:

balyoz/varyos	βαρειός	varios	sledge hammer
bre	βρέ	vre	hey, you! ⁷⁶

In *bre*, the bilabial onset helps to accentuate rolled articulation for /r/. *Bre* is an exclamation in Turkish, and as such warrants stressed articulation and a rolled /r/ instead of the flapped variety.

iv. voiced fricative /v/ remains /v/:

vaftiz	βάπτισι	vaftisi	baptism
varil	βαρέλι	vareli	barrel, cask
vatoz	βάτος	vatos	stingray
voli vurmak	βολή	voli	pull off a business success

f) /ts/ in Greek becomes /ç/ in Turkish:

çingar	τσίγκρα	tsingra	quarrel
çipura	τσιπούρα	tsipoura	gilt-head sea bream
çiroz	τσίρος	tsiros	salted mackerel/very thin person

⁷⁵ For ease of utterance, as described in section (a) above.

⁷⁶ See Tietze 2002: 384 and Brian D. Joseph "Methodological Issues in the History of the Balkan Lexicon: The Case of Greek vré / ré and Relatives," in V. Friedman, M. Belyavski-Frank, M. Pisaro and D. Testen, eds. *Balkanistica* vol. 10 (*Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Zbigniew Golab 19 March 1923-24 March 1994*), 1997 pp. 255-277.

- g) Greek lacks the phonemes / ɟ, ɣ̌, ɪ, j, ø, ʒ, ü /. Turkish lacks: γ /gh/, δ /dh/ (voiced), θ /th/ (unvoiced), χ /kh/.⁷⁷ These last four are transferred to Turkish as /g/, /d/, /t/ and /h/ respectively, for example:

gamalı	γάμμα	ghamma	gamalı haç: swastika
gaytan	γαϊτάνι	ghaitani	cotton or silk cord, braid
gönye	γωνία	ghonia	set-square
defne	δάφνη	dhafni	bay, laurel
demet	δεμάτι	dhemati	bunch (of flowers etc.)
despot	δεσπότης	dhespotis	bishop, Christian ruler
diğren/dirgen	δίχρονο/διχροάνι	dhikrano/dhikrani	pitchfork
diyakoz	διάκος	dhiakos	deacon
düver, döver, düğer	δοκάρι	dhokari	beam, pillar, rafter
istiridye/istridye	στρείδι (pl. -α)	stridhi(a)	oyster
Atina	Αθήνα	Athina	Athens
temel	θεμέλιο	themelio	foundation
toloz/tonoz	θόλος	tholos	vault
Hristiyan ⁷⁸	Χριστιανός	Hristianos	Christian
huni	χωνί	honi	funnel (for pouring)
lahos	βλάχος	vlahos	grouper

However, this process is very far from uniform, either because of changes as the words were adopted into Turkish, or because a dialectal variant of the Greek form was the source of the Turkish form:

halat	καλώδι(ον)	kalodhi(on)	rope
efendi	αυθέντης/αφέντης	afthendis/afendis	gentleman, Sir
erketeci	έρχεται	erhetai	look-out man
izmarit	σμαρίδι. (μαρίδα)	smaridhi. (s)maridha	picarel
kadırga	κάτεργο(ν)	katergo(n)	galley
kavata	γαβάθα	ghavatha	round wooden bowl
kiremit	κεραμίδι	keramidhi	tile
kofana	γόφαινα	ghofaina	large <i>lüfer</i> (blue fish)
paskalya	πασχαλιά	paskhalia	Easter
pavurya, pağurya	παγούρι (pl. -α)	paghouri(a)	large crab

⁷⁷ Turkish renders Arabic غ, as /g/ or /ğ/; ذ, ظ, ض become /z/ (ض is rendered as /d/ only in a few words such as *kadı* 'judge', *dalaletle dîşmek* 'to go astray' and *darp* 'hitting, striking, coining money', *darphane* 'mint', *darbunesel* 'proverb' and *darbe* 'blow, coup') and ث is represented as /s/ (unlike the Greek θ, which becomes /t/ in Turkish, while δ usually becomes /d/). ح, خ and ه are all rendered as /h/.

⁷⁸ Cf. (d) above.

- h) Stress: What is very noticeable to anyone who listens to the two languages alongside each other is the extent to which stressing is quite different. Modern standard Greek has strong stresses on particular syllables within words. Turkish does not: certain syllables are stressed more strongly than others, but this is not always perceptible to foreign ears, and Turks themselves will sometimes disagree on which syllable is to be stressed. Where Greek words have come into Turkish, it is noticeable that in Turkish they are often quite differently stressed:

fas <u>a</u> rya	φασα <u>ρ</u> ία	fasar <u>i</u> a	nonsense
ar <u>a</u> ka	αρα <u>κ</u> ά(ς)	arak <u>a</u> (s)	young pea(s) - mange-tout
<u>E</u> rciyes/ <u>E</u> rciyez	Αρ <u>γ</u> αίος	Argha <u>i</u> os	(Mount) Arghaios
f <u>e</u> ner	φαν <u>α</u> ρι	fan <u>a</u> ri	lighthouse
iskem <u>l</u> e	σκαμ <u>ν</u> ί	skam <u>n</u> i	chair
ispino <u>z</u>	σπ <u>ί</u> νος	sp <u>i</u> nos	chaffinch
<u>İ</u> zmir	Σμ <u>ύ</u> ρνη	Smyr <u>n</u> i	İzmir/Smyrna
mendirek	μανδρ <u>α</u> κι	mandhr <u>a</u> ki	breakwater, artificial harbour
mers <u>i</u> n	μερ <u>σ</u> ίνη	mers <u>i</u> ni	sturgeon
paç <u>a</u> vra	πατσ <u>α</u> βούρα	patsav <u>o</u> ura	rag, worthless, importunate person
pask <u>a</u> lya	πασ <u>χ</u> αλιά	paskha <u>i</u> a	Easter
pil <u>a</u> ki	πλα <u>κ</u> ί	plak <u>i</u>	beans cooked in tomato sauce
supya/sü <u>b</u> ye	σου <u>π</u> ιά	sup <u>i</u> a	cuttlefish

Morphological and syntactic changes

There is little sign of any influence on morphological or syntactical structures:

- a) A few Greek words have entered Turkish in their plural form but stand for the singular noun in Turkish, e.g. *domates*, *patates*, *karides*, *bezelya/bezelye*, *fasulye*, *melanurya*. The Greek plural form has not been taken over into Turkish as a morphological feature.
- b) Most of the Greek words we have come across are nominals, although like words derived from other foreign languages they can, where the meaning allows, be used as verbs with the addition of the auxiliary *etmek*, or very seldom *yapmak*, both of which mean 'to make', 'to form':

aforoz etmek	αφορ <u>ι</u> σμός	aforismos	to excommunicate, anathematize
akoz etmek	άκου <u>σ</u> ε	akousse	to shut up
akozlamak	άκου <u>σ</u> ε	akousse	to shut up
yakamoz yapmak	διακα <u>μ</u> ός	dhiakamos	to glitter (phosphorescence)

And there is an interesting example: *elado etmek*⁷⁹, a slang expression meaning 'to snatch away'. The borrowing here is a complete morphological unit 'come here', containing a verb, used with *etmek* in Turkish to form a different verb.

elado etmek ἔλα 'δω cla 'dho

There are two examples of a verbal form made with the Turkish verb *çıkarmak*: *çingar çıkarmak* 'to quarrel, to bring about an argument' and *istavroz çıkarmak* 'to cross oneself'. The choice of *çıkarmak* here to derive a verb from the noun would seem to result from the semantic connotations of *çıkarmak*: 'to bring out something (from within oneself)'. In the case of the second example, *yapmak* and *etmek* both mean 'to make', and if the derived verb had been *istavroz yapmak*, it might have been interpreted as signifying the physical act of carving or constructing a cross. It should be mentioned that although *istavroz* is used in the expression which means 'to cross oneself', 'to make the sign of the cross', it is not used for the cross as an object. The preferred word for that is *haç* as in *haçı suya atmak* 'to cast the cross into the water'.⁸⁰

While verbs can be formed with the examples given above by using *etmek* and *yapmak*, this can also be done by employing the Turkish suffix *-lAmAk*, which derives verbs from nouns, e.g. *afarozlamak*, *akozlamak*, *yakamozlamak*. When deriving verbs from Arabic or Persian nominals, this can usually only be done by forming compound verbs with *etmek* or *yapmak*. *-lAmAk* is used abundantly in Turkish to form neologisms, both with Turkish words and loanwords from Western languages. The use of the Turkish derivational suffix with Greek loanwords indicates that these Greek words are not regarded as being in the 'foreign' category of Arabic or Persian.

Our analysis has demonstrated that Turkish borrowings from Greek have gone through a process of adaptation which is largely confined to the phonological level. The borrowings have been of vocabulary items; their phonological structure had to change in order to adapt to Turkish, but predominantly they did not require and thus did not undergo morphological or syntactical change. In this respect, Turkish borrowings from Greek are consistent with borrowings from other languages, with the exception of Arabic and Persian. The pattern is for lexical items to be borrowed, but with little other influence on Turkish.

Arabic and Persian words have strong overtones for speakers of Turkish: Arabic words give a ponderous, solemn, often religious flavour; Persian can sound extremely literary and poetic. Greek words generally do not have the same extra-linguistic associations and sound less 'tainted' than Arabic or Persian words. Indeed they are often imperceptible as Greek words – even to the now small number of people in Turkey who still retain some of their Greek acquired through close contact with Greek friends, neighbours and business associates. Many of these words fit Turkish vowel patterns. In their Turkish forms Greek words do not have the long and short vowel quantities which characterize Arabic. As Turkish does not have

⁷⁹ See Tietze 2002:76.

⁸⁰ Used in particular with reference to the 6th January – the feast of Epiphany (Θεοφάνεια).

long vowels, vowel length is a major phonetic feature to distinguish between Turkish words perceived as 'native' and 'non-native'.⁸¹

Despite the linguistic dominance and absorption of Arabic and Persian into Turkish over the centuries and although Turks still use a considerable amount of vocabulary from these languages, their sounds seem much more foreign to the Turkish ear, except perhaps to Turks from eastern and south-eastern Turkey, the regions where the local dialects have been affected more by Arabic and Persian phonetic features.

There are also other phonetic as well as extra-linguistic factors in according 'native' or 'non-native' status to words. Thus advocates of new Turkish – *Öztürkçe* ('pure Turkish') – will replace the old-fashioned sounding word *hudut* (the Arabic word *hudud*) for 'frontier, border' with *sınır* because it sounds like an *Öztürkçe* word in a way that *hudut* does not. This Greek loanword (*sınır* *σύνορα* *sinora*) has its Turkish verb form with the Turkish derivational suffix *-lAmAk* referred to above: *sınırlamak* 'to put boundaries to something, to limit something'. *Sınır* can also take the Turkish derivational suffix *-lı* as in *sınırlı* 'with limitations, limited', as well as the suffix *-sız*, *sınırsız* 'unlimited'.

Examples of other words which strike Turkish speakers as very compatible with the sound systems of Turkish, and which most people would not generally realise are of Greek origin include:

alay	αλλάυ>αλλάγιον/αλλαγή	allai>allagion/allagi	regiment
demet	δεμάτι	dhemati	bunch (of flowers etc.)
gönder	κοντάρι	kondari	pole/staff (flag-pole)
gübre	κοπριά	kopria	dung, manure, fertilizer
körfez	κόρφος	korfos	gulf

Greek themes, names, and vocabulary feature prominently in Turkish literature in the works of authors who were born in the early part of the twentieth century in Istanbul, because they were very familiar with Greek language and culture around them. Works by Sait Faik Abasıyanık, Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı (better known as Halikarnas Balıkcısı) and Haldun Taner, and, slightly earlier, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar and Reşat Nuri Güntekin are foremost amongst them.⁸² As the later generation of writers lost this connection, that flavour was lost to Turkish literature. However, in the last decade a younger generation invoking personal and family experiences is producing work where Greek connections are again observed. Evin İlyasoğlu's *Teodora'nın Düşmanları*, (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2005) and Sabâ Altınsay's *Kritinu Girit'im Benim*, (Istanbul: Can Yayınları, 2004) are two of the latest examples of this trend.

The resurgence of interest in the cultural ties between the Turkish and Greek peoples manifested in literature and in music has been attributed to the more cordial relations that exist today between the two nations. Rapprochement between the two peoples in the last two decades was initially helped by Turkey lifting the visa requirement for Greek nationals in 1985, and the process was taken further in the 1990s as a result of the close relationship of the

⁸¹ Rona 1973: 92.

⁸² The majority of male characters in these works are those who earn their living from the sea.

respective Foreign Ministers Yorgos Papandreou and İsmail Cem,⁸³ who were seen as a new generation of politicians determined not to exploit past hostilities. The devastating earthquake of August 1999 in Turkey followed by a minor earthquake in Athens in September of the same year became a milestone in Greek-Turkish relations. Following an expression of popular solidarity which swept through both countries there has been a definite rapprochement in Greek-Turkish relations. There has been a renewed interest in signs of the shared past.⁸⁴ This is particularly evident in the increase of restaurants and cafés with Greek names, particularly in Istanbul: Khalkedon café in Kadıköy,⁸⁵ Halki Palace hotel on Heybeliada,⁸⁶ Ta Nhcia⁸⁷ in Yeniköy, and even Mykonos Balık Lokantası, a fish restaurant in Istanbul. In seaside resorts and in Istanbul there are fish restaurants with names such as *yakamoz* (διακαμός - referring to the phosphorescence in the sea). Greek sounding names seem to be adopted mostly by owners of fish restaurants.⁸⁸ These Greek words carry marine connotations for Turkish speakers, who associate the sea, islands, fish and fishing with Greeks and Greek life.

We have surveyed the Greek loanwords in modern standard Turkish and have located such vocabulary in fourteen main groups. Apart from specific phonological changes we find that Greek loanwords have generally fitted into the linguistic structures of Turkish, in particular vowel harmony as well as place and manner of articulation for consonants. This loan vocabulary also did not undergo purging during the Turkish language reform which gained impetus in Turkey after 1932. This is even more remarkable considering that the reform was initiated in the aftermath of the occupation of Turkish lands that led to the war between Greece and Turkey following the First World War. The adaptability of Greek loanwords in terms of sound quality has been a reason for the continued presence of such vocabulary in Turkish. Equally, these words were part of the core vocabulary, or everyday urban vocabulary (except for specialist terminology) relating to foodstuffs, fishing, construction and building work and household items. The Greek community who lived in Istanbul clearly played an important role in ensuring that these words were retained in the vocabulary. We conclude that, despite the large-scale emigration of the Greek population, this cultural affinity, along with the linguistic adaptability, ensures the continued presence of Greek loanwords in Turkish.

⁸³ Neither is in office at the time of writing: İsmail Cem died in January 2007.

⁸⁴ A Greek name that has left a lasting legacy in Turkish is Lefter. He was a football player for the Fenerbahçe team in the fifties and early sixties. His full name was Lefter Küçükandonyadis. He was a prolific goal scorer and his achievements on the pitch gave rise to the expression '*ver Leftere, yaz deftere*,' 'pass the ball to Lefter, and then keep the score.'

⁸⁵ In Greek Χαλκηδών, Halkidhon(a), traditionally transcribed in English as Chalcedon.

⁸⁶ One of the Princes' Islands in the Seas of Marmara near Istanbul; in Greek Χάλκη, Halki.

⁸⁷ Ta Nhcia (*sic*): Istanbul branch of a Thessaloniki-based restaurant concern, Τα Νησιά (Ta Nisia).

⁸⁸ There are however some famous long-established restaurants in Istanbul with Greek proper names: Pandeli, Παντελή (Pandeli) and Koço in Kadıköy, Κώστα, (Kosta). These names of course reflect the fact that there was such a large community of Greeks living in Istanbul until the mid-twentieth century.

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