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GREEK LANGUAGE: SYNCHRONY AND DIACHRONY

- 1 -

Ελληνική ετυμολογία Greek etymology

Επιμέλεια

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Greek loanwords in Serbian: The lexicographic aspect

J. VLADIĆ-POPOVIĆ

I. Grecisms in Serbian

0. Grecisms are perhaps the best investigated class of loanwords in Serbian. This is due to the long history of their study: the first steps were made by Miklosich in 1867, then followed the highlights in the classic specialized monograph, *Die griechischen Lehnwörter im Serbo-Kroatischen* by Vasmer in 1944 (substantially supplemented by Поповић in 1953 and 1955), and finally, Skok's comprehensive and still indispensable etymological dictionary of Serbo-Croatian (1971–1974), plus a number of individual articles by various authors – all of which have (chronology permitting!) found their way into the latest *Etimološki rečnik srpskog jezika (ERSJ)*, started in 2003.

Grecisms are also among the oldest alloglottal elements in Serbian. The influence of Greek on Serbian was exerted, with interruptions, over a period of almost two millennia, from Proto-Slavic until practically the present day. Over such a long time span both languages evolved and also both went through many centuries of diglossia – which is why literary and vernacular influences, reflected in written and spoken idioms, intersect and intertwine in this relationship.

The influence of Greek on Serbian touched nearly every aspect of life (culture, religion, government, military, commerce, agriculture, everyday life, etc.) and arrived from all directions. Apart from Greek proper, it also came through Dalmatian, Turkish and European mediations – which implies Southern, Western, Eastern and even Northern sources of irradiation of Greek vocabulary into Serbian.

One peculiarity of the Greek influence is that it was seldom unmediated. Direct borrowing took place only in the learned domain, in Serbian-Slavonic (cf. n. 17) translations from Greek originals. But due to the lack of contact between Greek and Serbian vernaculars, Greek words mostly entered Serbian indirectly, mediated by various languages:¹ by Romance (Dalmatian) and Slavic (Macedonian and Bulgarian) during the Middle Ages, by Turkish in post-Byzantine times, and eventually by modern West European languages.

The few exceptions to this pattern took place during the short-lived Nemanjić expansion of the Serbian state into Greek lands (13th–14th cc.); at this time we find

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¹ Here we do not count loans that took place in the Proto-Slavic period mediated by Scythian and Germanic (cf. 1.1), which entered the corpus of the inherited Slavic lexicon – and hence were not borrowed into Serbian proper (as was the case with later influences).

Greek influence on the spoken idiom from a variety of sources, including the religious sphere (the clergy was originally Greek) and sporadic cohabitation with Graecophone Aromanians.

Although Serbian Grecisms are well-investigated, we still lack a full inventory and a definitive description. In previous studies, their number varies from 200² up to the more realistic 900 to 1,200³ – among these there are some 550 completely obsolete items.⁴ The final picture eludes us not only because hitherto unknown Grecisms are still being discovered in new dialectal dictionaries,⁵ but also due to the persisting methodological ambivalence in defining the classes of Grecisms.

In practice, the term *Grecism* in Serbian is understood to include: (1) Grecisms proper; (2) Grecisms mediated by Church Slavonic; (3) Grecisms mediated by some Romance language; (4) Grecisms mediated by Turkish; also (5) Latinisms mediated by Greek; (6) Orientalisms mediated by Greek; and even (7) pseudo-Grecisms.⁶

As its title suggests, this paper consists of two parts. After a relatively extensive introductory overview on Grecisms in Serbian (summarized in 1.5, Table 1), it focuses on a comparison of how they are treated in the relevant etymological dictionaries (cf. 2 ff.), graphically presented in Table 2 (see 3.2), and elaborated on in an annotated classification of the novelties contained in the latest etymological dictionary of Serbian.

1. Generally speaking, the Slavic provenance, as well as the Balkan position and Greek Orthodox tradition of the speakers of Serbian have largely affected the periods and ways in which Greek lexicon entered this language – hence, during the course of time, the number of Serbian Grecisms varied and their profile (viewed in the context of the opposition vernacular vs. literary) alter(nat)ed. In other words, a *diachronic* analysis of Grecisms in Serbian, although focused on the chronological criterion (cf. 1.1, 1.2), must also include geographic (cf. 1.3) and genetic (cf. 1.4) criteria.

1.1 By *Slavic provenance*, we refer to the limited number of Grecisms of Proto-Slavic antiquity which in Serbian, as a Slavic language, are a part of the inherited lexicon (hence vernacular by default). Some are well known as such, e.g. *koliba* ‘hut’, *korab(lja)* ‘ship’; *trem* ‘porch’; also *crkva* ‘church’, *daska* ‘board’;⁷ only recent-

² By the strictest criteria, which exclude all obsolete and indirect Grecisms (Поповић 1953, 200–1).

³ Which is the sum of those registered by Vasmer (1944), Поповић (1953; 1955) and Skok.

⁴ Recorded by Vasmer (1944 *passim*).

⁵ For the situation in two different dialectal dictionaries cf. Влајић-Поповић (2011; 2014); also cf. n. 46 for a historical one.

⁶ Under the letter *a-* alone, there are 8 of them: *alauža* ‘(snow)storm’, *aloka/(h)aluga* ‘gully; coppice’, *alosati* ‘to put a spell on sb.; exasperate’, *ambulja* ‘huge sack’, *andramolje* ‘oddments’, *ap-kalo* ‘part of chanter of bag-pipes’, *astagarka* ‘a huge candle (?)’, *avta/aptika* ‘Sambucus ebulus’, cf. Table 2. For more examples cf. Влајић-Поповић (1995) and Vlajić-Popović (2001).

⁷ From καλύβη, κάραβος/καράβιον, τέρεμνον, κυριακή (sc. στοά), δίσκος respectively – the last two with supposed Gothic/Germanic mediation, cf. Vlajić-Popović (2015, 156–57) for details.

ly recognized, with traces of Scythian mediation ($d > l, f > h$), there are *haluga* ‘fence, palisade’,⁸ *koš* ‘basket’,⁹ *talog* ‘dregs, lees, sediment’,¹⁰ *luk* ‘onion; garlic’,¹¹ as well as *kurva* ‘whore’.¹²

1.2 By *Balkan position* and *Greek Orthodox tradition*, we refer to the vast majority of Grecisms borrowed after the Serbs had moved from their Proto-Slavic homeland into the Balkans – where they were subsequently Christianized and eventually adopted the eastern, Graecophone rite, based on literacy in Greek and Byzantine cultural models. This contact started in the Middle Ages (and resulted in medieval Grecisms; cf. 1.2.1–1.2.4.2) and continued later into the Modern Era (cf. 1.2.5).

1.2.1 In the first phase of the medieval period, lasting approximately from the arrival in the Balkans in the 6th–7th century till 1000 AD and characterized as *Southern Slavic* (individual Southern Slavic languages were not yet clearly defined), relatively few Greek words were adopted. In general, this was a preliterate phase, relevant only for the vernacular. On phonetic grounds, dated to this period are the words *pop* ‘priest’, *Leviša* (<*Levys-ja*) ‘the Merciful one’, *koljivo* ‘cooked wheat’,¹³ *kositer* ‘tin’, *mramor* ‘marble’¹⁴; with Latin and/or Dalmatian mediation¹⁵ *pasulj* ‘beans’, *poluga* ‘lever’ < **pologa* or names like *St(j)epan*, *Pilip*,¹⁶ etc.

1.2.2 In the second phase (starting from the 11th–12th cc., and named Old Serbian), a distinction must be drawn between the literary Serbian-Slavonic¹⁷ Grecisms (resulting from broad-scale translating activity) and the vernacular Old Serbian Grecisms originating from direct Serbian-Greek contact and from mediation via other Slavic languages.

1.2.3 Formal distinctions between the two classes (with a general tendency of the former to remain close to the original and the latter to drift away from it) are re-

⁸ From PSl. **xaloga* < Scyth. *χāλαγα- < Gk. φάλαγξ, acc. φάλαγγα ‘round piece of wood, trunk; wooden structure’ (Loma 2000). For another continuant of the same Gk. etymon, *poluga*, cf. n. 16.

⁹ From PSl. **košb* < Scyth. *καχίνα < *καφίνα < Gk. κόφινος ‘basket’ (Loma 2000, 348).

¹⁰ From PSl. **talogb* < Scyth. *τālagā- < Gk. λάταξ ‘the drops of wine in the bottom of the cup’ (Loma 2002, 53–55).

¹¹ From PSl. **lukb* < Scyth. *λauka- < Gk. δαῦκος ‘various kinds of Umbelliferae plants; candycarrot, Athamanta Cretensis’ (Loma 2000, 347).

¹² From PSl. **kur̥va* < Scyth. *κó(u)r(u)vā < Gk. dial. (Dor.) κόρφα/κόρρα ‘girl, maiden’ (Loma 2004, 41), while Skok (1971–1974, 2nd v., 245) leaves it without a solution.

¹³ For secondary semantic adaptations of initial ‘frumentum coctum’ cf. Vlajić-Popović (1996, 111–12).

¹⁴ From παππᾶς, Ἐλεοῦσα, κόλ(λ)υβον, κασσίτερος, μάρμαρος respectively; for details, especially on *pop* which was considered (by Miklosich 1867, 119; Поповић 1955, 132; implicitly, by absence, also by Vasmer 1944) a Germanism in Slavic, cf. Vlajić-Popović (2015, 158).

¹⁵ With typical Serb. *p* < Lat. *ph* < Gk. φ.

¹⁶ From φασούλιον, φάλαγξ (via Lat. *p(h)langa* and/or Ital. *palanca*, cf. Skok (1971–1974, 2nd v., 676) for dialectal varieties, also Vinja (1995–2004, 3rd v., 59 s.v. *polaguz*); from the same Gk. etymon in *haluga* cf. 1.1), then Στέφανος, Φίλιππος.

¹⁷ This language, used from the late 12th till the early 18th century, was the Serbian recension of Church Slavonic, as a descendent of Old Church Slavonic.

lated to *phonetic* features,¹⁸ *morphological* characteristics¹⁹ and *semantic* changes.²⁰

1.2.4 The fact is that the class of *Medieval (Byzantine) Grecisms* is the most numerous one and also the most important for further development of the Serbian lexical fund.

1.2.4.1 The majority of literary medieval Grecisms fell out of use after the Middle Ages (cf. n. 4). They vanished mostly due to extralinguistic factors – either Greek words failed to replace the domestic ones,²¹ or the realia themselves had disappeared,²² including administrative-legal and military terms which were outdated after the fall of Byzantium.²³ For practical reasons, these words are hereafter listed only in the notes.²⁴

1.2.4.2 The medieval Grecisms that have made it into modern standard Serbian are primarily terms of *religion*²⁵ and *church*,²⁶ as well as *economy*²⁷ and *everyday life*.²⁸

¹⁸ Such as the transmission of Gk. φ as Serb. ν in the vernacular, e.g. *nafora*: *navora* < ἀναφορά.

¹⁹ Such as the degree of morphological adaptation: nouns preserve nominative forms, like in *finiksъ* < φοῖνιξ, in the literary idiom and alter the case and/or gender, e.g. *livada* for λιβάς, -άδος, in the vernacular; productivity in derivation, e.g. vernacular *despotica* f. (with Serb. suffix -ica for motive pairs) vs. literary *despina* f. – both as counterparts to *despotъ* m. (< δεσπότης), even crossing the borders of the parts of speech they were originally borrowed into, e.g. vernacular creation of deverbals non-existent in Greek: *miris* m. ‘smell’ < *mirisati* impf. ‘to smell’ (< Gk. aor. ἐμύρισα < μυρίζω).

²⁰ For example, the literary *đakonija* ‘deacon’s service’ (< διακονία ‘id.’) develops the vernacular meaning pl. ‘delicacies, dainties’ (which eventually becomes standard too); literary OSerB. *harbъnъ* adj. ‘thankful’ (< *harb* f. ‘mercy, grace’ < χάρις ‘id.’) stands apart from modern dialectal *aran* adj. ‘good, nice’.

²¹ E.g. *dissb* vs. *zapad*, *elefantъ* vs. *slon*, *kiknosъ* vs. *labud*, etc.

²² E.g. *aksadъb*, *parikb*, *folk*, *hitonb*.

²³ Except for some historical terms like *bula/vula*, *diadima*, *despot*, *hrisovulja*, *kir*, *nomik*, *pr(i)ćija*, *pronija(rb)*, *sebastokrator*, *sindel*, *sinklit*, *sinor* and *domestik*, *igemon*, *kefalija*, *pirg*, *stratilat* respectively.

²⁴ Their meanings and prototypes are omitted – since for the majority of them Greek origin is undisputable and well described in Vasmer (1944), Skok (1971–1974) and ERSJ s.vv.

²⁵ Like *aliluja*, *amin*, *andeo*, *anatema*, *demon*, *đavo*, *ipostas*, *jeres*, *jeretik*, *kanon*, *martir*, *metanija*, *Odigitrija*, *Panagija*, *pandokrator*, *sotona*.

²⁶ Be they related to its organization (like *arhiepiskop*, *arhijerej*, *arhimandrit*, *dohija*, *đakon*, *eparh*, *iguman*, *jerej*, *jeromonah*, *kaluđer*, *katastih*, *ktitor*, *lavra*, *metoh*, *mitropolit*, *monah*, *paraklis*, *paroh*, *patrijarh*, *poklisar*, *pop*, *popadija*, *prezviter*, *prota*, *skit*, *stavrofor*), religious practice (like *antifon*, *irmos*, *katizma*, *kondak*, *litija*, *liturgija*, *mirosati*, *parastos*, *panagirikb*, *parimija*, *sarandar/salendar*, *stihira*, *tropar*) or some concrete objects (like *amvon*, *apsida*, *đakonikon*, *epitrahiliј*, *ikona*, *kandilo*, *kamilavka*, *minej*, *miro*, *nafora*, *nomokanon*, *oktoih*, *paterik*, *polijelej*, *potirb*, *putir*, *prosfora*, *psaltir*, *ripida*, *sinaksar*, *tamjan*, *tipik*, *trioid*).

²⁷ Including trade (like *aspra*, *dinar*, *hiljada*, *kamata*, *komad*, *litra*, *panađur*, *perper*), agriculture (like *livada*, (v)*lastar*, *stasb/stasina*), seafaring (like *galija/golija*, *limenb*, *sidro*).

²⁸ In general use (like *diple*, *kamaral/komora*, *kositar*, *lipsati*, *mirisati*, *mustać*, *pizma*; *stihija*, *stipsb/stipsa*, *temelj*, *trapb/trap*, *varvarb*, *zevgarb*), specifically culinary (like *cvekla*, *kondir*, *pirunb/piron*, *rovit*, *tr(a)peza*; *koljivo*, *kromid*, *mastiha*, *orizb*, *pras*, later also hybrid *praziluk*, *selin*, *sisamb*, *sfungato*), schooling (like *didaskalb*, *đak*, *hartija*, *pedepsati*), also some zoonyms and phytonyms (*aspida*, *kamila*, *oktapod/oktopod*, *dafina*, *krin*, *triandafilt*).

1.2.5 *Modern Era Grecisms*, from the post-Byzantine period, are vernacular, nowadays mostly belonging to standard Serbian and just occasionally restricted to dialectal usage for traditional or regionally relevant concepts – these often fall into the category of the so-called *Balkan Grecisms*). They feature predominantly secular lexicon.²⁹ Words of Turkish mediation also belong to this period (cf. 1.3.2.3).

1.3 In addition to the chronological, there is also the *geographic* criterion for the classification of Grecisms according to the immediate source of the borrowing (hence they are named not by territorial designations but by ethnic terms (following Vasmer 1944). According to this criterion, there is a substantial difference between *direct Grecisms* (borrowed from Greek proper) and *indirect Grecisms* (mediated in some way).

1.3.1 The direct Grecisms which, in their turn, can be genetically primary or secondary (cf. 1.4) comprise the majority of those borrowed through direct Graeco-Slavic contact in the Balkans in either the first or the second phase (cf. 1.2.1, 1.2.2), hence excluding Grecisms from Antiquity (borrowed outside this region, cf. 1.1).

1.3.2 The indirect Grecisms are those borrowed through mediation of another language, typically non-Slavic. Specific mediator languages are also related to certain chronological strata and/or registers.

1.3.2.1 The *Germanic Grecisms* are originally Greek words mediated by Gothic, like *crkva*, *daska* (cf. 1.3). Chronologically, these belong to Antiquity.

1.3.2.2 The *Romance Grecisms* are originally Greek words mediated through some of the descendants of Latin in the Eastern Adriatic (from Vulgar Latin and Dalmatian to Italian and its dialects). With regard to chronology, they are sometimes antique, but mostly medieval and rarely Modern Era Grecisms, predominantly provincialisms,³⁰ but also standard language words.³¹

1.3.2.3 The *Turkish Grecisms* are originally Greek words borrowed immediately from Turkish (chronologically, they are all Modern Era loanwords). Although initially vernacular, since there is no more diglossia, most of them now belong to the literary language.³²

²⁹ They come from the realms of trade (*ćerdisati*, *jeftino*, *kantar*), agriculture – especially viticulture (*đeram*, *mandra*, *parasina*, *paspalj*, *perivoj*; *jagurida*, *vunija*), everyday life (*aratos*/*ratosiljati se*, *arnisati se*, *arizati*, *ispolakati*, *jeftika*, *kalimera*, *madžija*, *malje*, *mangup*, *malaksati*, *mistrija*, *palanka* [the same etymon as *haluga* and *poluga*; cf. 1.2.1, 1.1], *pangalož*, *patos*, *podrum*, *pripsati*, *prokopsati*, *samar*, *skorija/zgura*, *stovna*, *sulundar*, *trimiriti*, *tronj*, *vapsati*, *varzilo*, *zauvar*), culinary (*avgutar*, *đakonija*, *mastika*, *marulja*, *mirođija*, *piper*, *pita*, *skara*, *spanać*, *tiganj*), schooling (*daskal*, *skamića*), as well as (maritime and continental) zoonyms (*ahtapod*, *kamila*, *laminja*, *magarac*, *pagar*, *palamida*), phytonyms (*karavilje/karanfil*), interjections (*ela/jela*, *more/mori*), etc.

³⁰ E.g. *ankora*, *bajan*, *bastah*, *cipal*, *felija/vilija*, *igalo*, *pipun*, *trigla/trilja*.

³¹ Like *ambis*, *bosiljak*, *đak*, *jastog*, *komostre*, *mantija*, *plima*, *sidro*, *sipa*, *stomak* (also OSerb. *stomahb*), *tunj*, etc.

³² Such as *abonos*, *argatin*, *argatovati*, *avlija*, *biber*, *ćiler* (also OSerb. *kelarb*), *ćuprija*, *dimije*, *đubre*, *đumruk*, *efendija*, *kalem*, *kalup*, *kantar*, *karanfil* (also OSerb. *kaloper*), *kesten*, *kondura*, *kundura*, *krevet*, *kukla*, *leđen* (also OSerb. *legenb*), *liman* (also OSerb. *limenb*), *majdanos*, *mengele*, *mermer* (also OSerb. *mramorb*), *mislođin* (also *bosiljak*), *mušmula*, *palamar*, *papaz*, *papazjanja*,

1.3.2.4 The *international* Grecisms are those mediated by a modern, usually non-neighbouring, European language. They are not loanwords but foreign words, dating from the last couple of centuries.

1.4 And finally, the *genetic* criterion refers to the distinction between the primary and secondary loanwords from Greek, that is, originally Greek words vs. those of foreign stock (mostly from Hebrew and Latin, or one of its heirs).

1.4.1 Among the *originally Greek* words belong most of the Proto-Slavic, Byzantine, and post-Byzantine Grecisms, and contemporary internationalisms.

1.4.2 The *Hebraisms* mediated by Greek are predominantly Biblical names and concepts³³ or terms for concrete realia.³⁴

1.4.3 The *Latinisms/Romanisms* mediated by Greek are mostly medieval in origin (cf. 1.3.2.2), and often obsolete or dialectal.³⁵

1.5 A striking feature of Grecisms as a whole is the existence of doublets (even triplets) of words borrowed from Greek in various periods or ways, so that they differ in form and/or semantics, yet share the same ultimate etymology. Some illustrative examples are presented graphically in the following table with varieties of Serbian forms (and meanings, showing semantics), classified according to three criteria, and followed by their Greek prototypes.³⁶

Serbian	Chronological				Geographic		Genetic		Greek	
	standard (S)	dialectal (D)	obsolete (O)	Proto Slavic	Middle Ages	Modern Era	Contempo- rary Era	direct	indirect	
<i>korablja</i> arch. 'ship'	+							+	+	
<i>daska</i> 'board'	+							+ < PGmc.	+	
<i>diskosb</i> (O) 'collection plate'		+				+			+	
<i>disk</i> 'disc'				+				+ < Engl. < Lat.	+	
<i>pop</i> 'priest'		+				+			+	

paraspur, peksimet (also OSerb. *paksimadb*), *somun, sunder, susam* (also OSerb. *sisamb*), *tefter, trpan, fenjer, furuna, šećer, šinik*.

³³ Such as *Golgota, Ilija, Isus, Jerihon, Jov* and *aliluja, amin*.

³⁴ Mostly Mediterranean phytonyms, like *balsam, isop, livanb*, or economy, like *aravuna*.

³⁵ E.g. *arula, aspra, kelija, kelarb* (cf. 1.3.2.3 for *čiler*), *klisura, kumerbkb* (cf. 1.3.2.3 for *đumruk*), *kursorb, lakimija/laćimija, marulja, pondila, porta, spanać, tavla, tugla, vula*, etc. In this number, only *klisura* and *spanać* belong to the literary register.

³⁶ This is a slightly modified version of the Table in Vlajić-Popović (2015, 168).

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Serbian	Chronological			Geographic		Genetic		Greek	
	Proto Slavic	Middle Ages	Modern Era	Contempo- rary Era	direct	indirect	primary	secondary	
standard (S) dialectal (D) obsolete (O)									Ancient (A) Medieval (M) Modern (Mod)
<i>papa</i> 'Pope'			+			+ < intern.	+		<i>παππᾶς</i>
<i>papaz</i> 'priest'			+			+ < Turk.	+		<i>παππᾶς</i>
<i>oktapod</i> 'octopus'		+			+		+		<i>όκταπόδι</i> (M)
<i>ahtapod</i> (D) 'octopus'			+		+		+		<i>ἀχταπόδι</i> (Mod)
<i>oktopod</i> 'octopus'				+		+ < intern.	+		<i>όκτώπους</i> (A)
<i>mramor(b)</i> 'marble'		+			+		+		<i>μάρμαρος</i>
<i>mermer</i> 'marble'			+			+ < Turk.	+		<i>μάρμαρος</i>
<i>nafora</i> 'wafer'		+			+		+		<i>ἀναφορά</i>
<i>anafora</i> 'anaphora'				+			+		<i>ἀναφορά</i>
<i>varsamo</i> (O) 'balm'		+			+			+	<i>βάρσαμον</i>
<i>balsam</i> 'balm'			+			+ < Ital.		+	<i>βάλσαμον</i>
<i>balzam</i> 'balm'				+		+ < Germ.		+	<i>βάλσαμον</i>
<i>kumervkb</i> (O) 'customs'		+			+			+	<i>κονυμέρκιον</i>
<i>đumruk</i> 'customs'			+			+ < Turk.		+	<i>κονυμέρκιον</i>
<i>škara</i> (D) 'grill'			+		+		+		<i>σκάρα</i> (Mod)
<i>škar</i> (D) 'shipyard'		+				+ < Dalm.	+		<i>σκαρίον</i> (M)
<i>škver</i> (D) 'shipyard'			+			+ < Ital. dial.	+		<i>ἐσχάριον</i> (A)

Table 1: Doublets (triplets) of Grecisms in Serbian

II. The place of Grecisms in Serbian etymological lexicography today

2. At present, two etymological dictionaries of Serbian are being compiled (by practically the same team of authors, of whom I am one).

2.1 One is the thesaurus-type *Etimološki rečnik srpskoga jezika* (ERSJ, Etymological Dictionary of the Serbian Language), three volumes of which, covering *a*- to *bj*-, have appeared since 2003.³⁷ This will be our model dictionary in describing the current state of Serbian etymology.

2.2 The other, shorter work is still unpublished: *Priručni etimološki rečnik srpskog jezika* (PERSJ, Concise Etymological Dictionary of the Serbian Language). It is designed to cover only the basic lexical fund of some 8,000 words. Within that range it includes only a limited number of standard language Grecisms,³⁸ so it falls outside our present field of interest.

3. In describing the present-day lexicographic treatment of Grecisms in Serbian, we chose to compare the sections with entries under the letter *a*- from two etymological dictionaries, ERSJ and its predecessor, Skok (1971–1974), while keeping an eye on Vasmer's corpus – which is in fact older than the other two titles – as *tertium comparationis*.

3.1 General features of the two dictionaries compared (especially with regard to Grecisms):

3.1.1 Skok (1971–1974):

- (a) uses the formula 'Balkan Grecism' for Greek loanwords;
- (b) does not always list the parallel forms in other Balkan languages;
- (c) does not always state the etymon proper – neither the immediate one nor the intermediaries, but just says e.g. "Grecism [...] Romance mediation" (cf. also s.v. *april* "through CSL. from Gk.");
- (d) does not always refer to Vasmer (1944);
- (e) occasionally also includes learned words in addition to loanwords;³⁹
- (f) relies on few(er) dialectal sources (and mostly from the Western parts / Adriatic region);
- (g) is limited to RIAZU for historical attestations;
- (h) the lemma has a less orderly, almost free form, the oldest attestation usually being the first.

3.1.2 In ERSJ:

- (a) the formula 'Balkan Grecism' is used too;

³⁷ Its Pilot issue from 1998, with 135 lemmata covering the whole alphabet (cf. OS ERSJ 4–5, 30–31, 45–46, 66–67, 69, 84–85), features 6 Grecisms: *arzan*, *ela*, *koliba*, *rovit*, *skara*, *škar* (plus a pseudo-Grecism *jandroga*, ibid. 42–43) – which reflects the interests of its authors rather than the proportion of Grecisms in Serbian.

³⁸ Hence it excludes many loanwords (typically present in dialects), while including some foreign words in common use – e.g. under the letter *a*- it features *ambis*, *andeo*, *avlija* but also *aerodrom*, *asfalt*, *atom*.

³⁹ E.g. *agata*, *agirat*, *alabastar*, *aloj*, *apokalipsa*, *apoplesija* – cf. Table 2.

- (b) extensive listing of parallel forms in other Balkan languages is compulsory;
- (c) the immediate etymon is always explicitly stated, as well as the intermediary one(s);
- (d) Vasmer (1944) is referred to systematically;
- (e) certain learned words are included only when they also have dialectal forms;⁴⁰
- (f) a multitude of dialectal sources is used, especially newer ones, from SE Serbia;⁴¹
- (g) the scope of systematically quoted historical attestations goes beyond *RJAZU*;⁴² it also includes excerpts from historical documents extracted by the authors themselves;
- (h) the lemma is not free-form, but strictly tripartite: (i) Serbian forms with ubication, from the whole area, ending with the first record; (ii) etymon + parallel forms in other languages; (iii) discussion, in a relatively free form, with maximum references, comments on phonetics, word-formation, semantics, geographic distribution, historically relevant facts, ethnographic factors, etc.).

3.2 For this purpose, the material from Skok and *ERSJ* (plus Vasmer as the first reference) was originally gathered and organised in a table – for this presentation reduced to a skeleton with entries, pagination in brackets (and Gk. etymon). It consists of 116 rows (one for each word) and 3 columns (one for each dictionary).⁴³ Words highlighted GREY are pseudo-Grecisms (cf. n. 6). After presenting the Table 2, we shall point to some of the statistical conclusions it offers (see 3.3 ff.).

Vasmer (1944)	Skok 1st v. (1971)	ERSJ 1st v. (2003)
<i>abonos</i> (40) < Turk. < ἔβενος	<i>abonos</i> (4)	абонос (42)
	<i>abrum</i> (4) < βρῶμα	-
<i>adъ</i> (40) < ἀδης	<i>ad</i> (8)	ад (61)
	(3, 650 s.v. <i>zemlja</i>) homo [...] Adam	Адам (62–63) < CSI. < Αδάμ
<i>adamanътв</i> (40) < ἀδάμας, -αντος	<i>adamanat</i> (8–9)	адаманат (63) [...] cf. дијамант
<i>adrѣfatъ</i> (40) < MGk. ἀδερ-φάτον	<i>adrifato</i> (10)	†адрфат(о) (66)

⁴⁰ E.g. *avukat*, *dvokat*, *bokat* s.v. *advokat*, *aprio* s.v. *april*, *agos* s.v. *avgust* (cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 63–64, 180, 48).

⁴¹ Most of them have appeared recently, during the last few decades – and hence were not available to Skok (1971–1974).

⁴² Đ. Daničić's, *Rječnik iz književnih starina srpskih* (1863–1864), is also regularly checked, while in F. Miklosich's, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum* (1862–1865), the source of allegedly OCS words is verified.

⁴³ Placing Vasmer (1944) first complies with the chronology of publication, but also makes it possible to avoid repeating the etymon provided by him – unless a different one is suggested elsewhere; likewise, if Skok (1971–1974) gives an etymon, it is not repeated in the *ERSJ* column (e.g. ἄγγαρεία, ἄγκυρα, χάσδιον). It only appears in the *ERSJ* column if it was previously not mentioned at all or not explicitly (e.g. Αδάμ, Αντίχριστος, ἀστρόλογος).

Vasmer (1944)	Skok 1st v. (1971)	ERSJ 1st v. (2003)
<i>agijazma</i> (41) < MGk. ἀγία-σμα	<i>adžijazma</i> (11)	ађијазма (67)
<i>afendronb</i> (40) < ἀφεδρών		
	<i>afijun</i> (11) < Turk. < ὄπιον	афион (241)
<i>agarěninb</i> (40) < ἀγαρηνός		Агарјанин (59)
	<i>agata</i> (12) < ἀχάτης	
	<i>agirat</i> (13) < Dalm. < γῦρος	
<i>agripěnija</i> (41) < ἀγρυπνία		
<i>a(h)tapod</i> (41) < ModGk. ἀχταπόδι: MGk. ὀκταπόδι > <i>oktаподъ</i> (103)	<i>a(h)tapod</i> (15)	ахтапод (244)
<i>ajdar, hajdar</i> (41) < ModGk. γάιδαρος	(h) <i>ajdar</i> (1, 649) < MGk. γαῖδαρος	
<i>airb</i> (41) < ἀήρ	<i>ajer</i> (17)	ајеп (80)
<i>ajerb</i> (41) < ModGk. ἀέρας		
* <i>akindiiska jeresb</i> (41) < ἀκίνδυνος		
<i>akintb, akyntb</i> (41) < ύάκινθος		
<i>akolit</i> (42) < Lat. < ἀκόλουθος		
<i>aksadb</i> (42) < MGk. ἔξαγιον, ModGk. ἔξαγι	<i>aksad</i> (22)	аксађ (92); асаџ (223) < Ital. assaggio
<i>aksamitb</i> (42) < MGk. *ἄξαμιτος, ἔξαμιτος	(1, 405 s.v. <i>dimije</i>)	таксамит (92)
<i>alazonikb</i> (42) < ἀλαζονικός		
	<i>alabastar</i> (23–24) < ἀλάβαστρον	
	<i>alauža</i> (25) < ἀλαχοσύνη (Daničić)	алаужа (113–14) “Unclear”
<i>alektorb</i> (42) < ἀλέκτωρ		
<i>aliluja</i> (42) < ἀλληλούια	<i>aleluja</i> (27)	алилуја (123)
	<i>almaz</i> (28–29) < Ar. <i>almas</i> < ἀδάμας	
<i>aloj</i> (42) < ἀλόη	<i>aloj</i> (29)	
<i>aloka</i> (42) < ἀλοκος < ἀλοξ = αὐλαξ	<i>aloka</i> (29) + s.v. <i>haluga</i> (652)	≈ алуга (134–35) [...] “PSL. word”

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Vasmer (1944)	Skok 1st v. (1971)	ERSJ 1st v. (2003)
	<i>alosati</i> (1, 651 s.v. <i>hala</i> ¹) < Turk. <i>or</i> < ἄλωσα	алосати (131) "Denom. < ала ² " [So, neither < Turk. nor < Gk.]
	<i>altar</i> (29) (?) < ἀλτάριον	
	<i>aljuga</i> (31) < ἀλυκόν	
<i>ambis</i> (42) (< Ital.) < ἄβυσ- σος	<i>abis</i> (3)	амбис (146–47)
<i>ambulja</i> (43) < ἀναβολή "not Gk."		амбуља (148–49) < Lat. involvere
		амбол (147–48) < *ἄμβολον = ѕу-
<i>amethystъ</i> (43) < ἀμέθυστος		
<i>amin</i> (43), Croat. <i>amen</i> < ἀμήν	<i>amen</i> (34–35)	амин (150–51)
<i>amira</i> (43) < ModGk. ἀμι- ρᾶς		
<i>amvonъ</i> (43) < MGk. ἄμβων		
<i>anafora</i> (43) < ἀναφορά	<i>anafora</i> (39)	
<i>anagnostъ</i> (43) < ἀναγνώ- στης		
	<i>anason</i> (40) < ἀνισον, ἀνη- σον	анасон (155–56) < Turk. <i>anason</i> < ModGk.
		аниж (166) < Lat. <i>anisum</i> < Gk.
<i>anatema</i> (44) < ἀνάθεμα	<i>anatema</i> (40)	анатема (156–57)
<i>andaga</i> (44) < ἐνθήκη	<i>andaga</i> (41)	тандага (158)
<i>andramolji</i> (44) < χονδρό- μαλλον	<i>andr(a)molji</i> (42), perhaps from Germ. <i>Haderwolle</i>	андрмољ(а) (164) "Unclear"
	<i>andrkva</i> (42) < ἀνδρρά- χ(λ/ν)η	
<i>andeo</i> (44) < ἄγγελος	<i>andeo</i> (42–43)	анђео (165)
<i>anep̄ysei</i> m. (44) < ἀνεψιός		
<i>anepseja</i> f. (44) < ἀνεψιά		
	<i>angarija</i> (43) < ἄγγαρεία	ангарија (157–58)
	<i>ankora</i> (45) < Lat., Ital. < ἄγκυρα	анкора (167)
<i>antifonъ</i> (44) < MGk. ἀντί- φωνον		антифон (170) < OCS < MGk.

Vasmer (1944)	Skok 1st v. (1971)	ERSJ 1st v. (2003)
	(s.v. <i>anti-</i>) (46)	антихрист (170) < Ἀντίχριστος
<i>antiminsb</i> (44) < ἀντιμήνσιον		
<i>antipascha</i> (44) < ἀντίπασχα		
<i>anthraksb</i> (45) < ἄνθραξ		
<i>apalarija</i> (45) < MGk. ἀπαλαρέα	<i>apalarija</i> (2, 606, s.v. <i>paralija</i>)	
<i>apkalo</i> s.v. <i>epkalo</i> (57) < ἐπικάλυμμα	<i>apkalo</i> (48) = <i>epkalo</i>	
<i>apomirizma</i> (45) < ἀπομύρισμα		
	<i>apokalipsa</i> (48) < ἀποκάλυψις	
<i>apopleksija</i> (45) < ἀποπληξία	<i>apoplesija</i> (48)	
<i>apostolb</i> (45) < ἀπόστολος	<i>aposto</i> (48)	апостол (179)
		апостолка (179–80) < апостол + постола
<i>apotaktitb</i> (45) < ἀποτακτῖται pl.		
<i>aprilb</i> (45) < MGk. ἀπρίλις < Lat.	<i>april</i> (48–49)	апріл (180)
	<i>aptazi</i> pl. (49) < ἐκταγή	†аптаг (181) < MLat. < Gk.
<i>araksati</i> (45) < ἄραξα < ἄράξω	<i>araksati</i> (53)	†араксати
	Ø [...] s.v. <i>har</i> (1, 655)	аран (185) < xap < <i>harb</i> < χάρις
<i>arap(in)</i> (45) < ModGk. ἀράπης	<i>Arapin</i> (53)	Арапин (186–87) < Turk. < Ar.
	<i>arata</i> (1, 679 s.v. (<i>h</i>) <i>oro</i> ¹) < χωρατᾶς	арата (187)
<i>ara(n)tos</i> (46) < ἀρατός	<i>aratos</i> (54)	аратос (188)
	<i>aravuna</i> (54) < ἀρραβών	аравуна (183)
	(1, 54–33 s.v. <i>Arbanasin</i>)	Арбан(ас) (188–89) < Ἄρβανον

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Vasmer (1944)	Skok 1st v. (1971)	ERSJ 1st v. (2003)
<i>ar̄vfa vita</i> (46) < ἀλφα, βῆτα		
	<i>argan</i> (58) < ὄργανον	арган (191)
	<i>argat</i> (58) ... < ἐργάτης	аргат (192) “Unclear”
<i>argatin</i> (46) < ModGk. ἀρ- γάτης < ἐργάτης	<i>argatin</i> (59)	аргат(ин) (192)
	<i>argutla</i> (59–60) < Dalm. < ἐργάτης	аргутла (194)
		*аресовати (198) < ModGk. ἀρέσω
<i>ar̄vhandelъ</i> (46) < ἀρχάγγε- λος		арханђео (218–19) < CSl. < Gk.
<i>ar̄vhi-</i> (46) < ἀρχι-	<i>arhi-</i> (60)	
<i>ar̄vhidijakonъ</i> (46) < ἀρχι- διάκονος		
<i>ar̄vhidijakъ</i> (46) < ἀρχιδιά- κος		
<i>ar̄vhijepiskorъ</i> (46) < ἀρχιε- πίσκοπος		
<i>ar̄vhijepiskopija</i> (46) < ἀρ- χιεπισκοπή		
<i>ar̄vhierarhъ</i> (46) < ἀρχιε- ράρχης	(1, 774 s.v. <i>jerarhъ</i>) Ø a-	
<i>ar̄vhijereji</i> (47) < ἀρχιερεύς	(1, 774 s.v. <i>jerej</i>) Ø a-	архијереј (219)
<i>ar̄vhimanvdrija</i> (47) < ἀρχι- μανδρίτης		
<i>ar(v)histratigъ</i> (47) < ἀρχι- στράτηγος		
	(1, 655, s.v. <i>har¹</i>) <i>hariti</i> = <i>hajat</i>	арити (202) < OSerb. <i>harв</i> < χάρις
		Ариље (201–2) < Lat. < Ἀρχίλιος
<i>harizati</i> (62) < χαρίζω	(1, 655 s.v. <i>har¹</i>)	*аризати (200–1) < χαρίζω
<i>harizma</i> (62) < χάρισμα		
<i>arnaut</i> (47) < Turk. < ModGk. Αρβανίτης	(1, 54–55 s.v. <i>Arbanasin</i>)	Арнаут(ин) (209–10)
<i>arnisat(i)</i> (47) < ἀρνοῦμαι		арнисати (210) < ἀρνησ-, ἀρνέομαι

Vasmer (1944)	Skok 1st v. (1971)	ERSJ 1st v. (2003)
		арница (210–11) < арнисати
		аро (211) < ModGk. χάρος
aromatъ (47) < ἄρωμα, pl. -ώματα	aroma (63)	арома (211)
arula (47) < MGk. ἄρουλα < Lat.	arula (64)	арула (218)
		арвала (190) (?) < χάρβαλο
		арзан (199) pass. pt. < *аризати
askar (47) < σκάρος ‘mugil’		аскар (224–25)
aspida (48) < ἀσπίς, ModGk. ἀσπίδα	aspida (66)	аспода (227–28)
aspra (48) < MGk. ἀσπρον < Lat.	aspra (66–67)	аспра (228)
astagarka (48) < ἀστράγαλος	astagarka (67)	
	astrolog (67) < ἀστρον + -λογος	астролог (230–31) < ἀστρόλογος
avbustъ (48) < MGk. Αὔγουστος	august (75)	август (48) < Lat., various ways
avgustija (48) < MGk. *αὐγούστιανή		
avgutar (48) < αὐγοτάραχο	avgutar (78)	авгутар (48)
avlijja (48) < ModGk. αὐλή	avlijja (78) < Turk. < Gk.–Lat.	авлија (54) < Turk. <i>avlī</i> < αὐλή
avnya (48) < ἀββᾶς		
	avta (<i>aptika</i> , 1, 645 s.v. <i>habat</i>) < ἀκτῆ	апта ‘Sambucus eb.’ (181) cf. хабат
azimbstvo (48) < ἀξυμία		
	(h)azdija (1, 662) < MGk. χάσδιον	аздија (72)

Table 2: Grecisms under the letter *a-* in Vasmer, Skok and ERSJ

3.3 The statistics show that there are a total of 116 Grecisms under *a-*: in Vasmer 78, in Skok 69, and in ERSJ 68. However, the 8 pseudo-Grecisms (*alauža*, *aloka*, *alosati*, *ambulja*, *andramolji*, *apkalo*, *astagarka*, *avta*) diminish the total sum by 8 items, so the final score is 108 and 73, 62, 62 respectively (the latter numbers do not relate to the former ones by direct subtraction because the 8 are not evenly distributed in the three dictionaries).

3.3.1 There are 45 entries common to Skok and *ERSJ* – hardly any of them have not been improved in *ERSJ* in comparison to Skok. It is these that we shall deal with more closely (cf. 4 ff.).

3.3.2 There are 18 words omitted from *ERSJ* which are present in Skok (mostly learned ones: *agata*, *agirat*, *alabastar*, *aloj*, *apokalipsa*, *apoplesija*, cf. Table 2 s.vv.); several very rare regional ones: *abrum* ‘bait’ < βρώμα ‘bite’, *aljuga* ‘tiny fish’ < ἀλυκόν ‘salure (Lat. halex)’, *andrkva* ‘pastinaca; portulaca’ < ἀνδράχλη/ἀνδράχνη ‘portulaca; paupier’ (cf. Skok 1st v., 4, 31, 42), while some simply appear under other lemmata: *almaz*, *altar*, *anafora*, (*h*)*ajdar*, (*a*)*palarija*.⁴⁴

3.3.3 Newly appearing in the *ERSJ* are 19 lemmata with words of Greek origin. Only 9 of them are real etymological and/or lexicographic novelties (*apostolka*, *ambol*, *aran*, *aresovati*, *Arilje*, *arnica*, *aro*, *arvala*, *arzan*), and 10 simply appear for the first time separately (i.e. detached from larger lemmata) and fully etymologized (*Adam*, *Agarjanin*, *aksamit*, *aniž*, *antifon*, *antihrist*, *arhijerej*, *arizati*, *Arnautin*, *arnisati*). These are mostly regional in character, often from SE Serbia: *ambol* ‘abyss’ (< *ἄμβολον/ἐμβολὸν, ModGk. ἀμπολή ‘ditch’, cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 147–48);⁴⁵ *aresovati* ‘to like, delight’ (< ModGk. ἀρέσω, cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 198); **arizati* ‘to contribute to the church’ (< χαρίζω, cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 200–1; for its derivative *arzan* ‘thick candle (donated to the church)’ cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 199; also Vlajić-Popović 1990); *arnisati* ‘to leave, give up on, desist’ (< ἀρνηστ-/ἀρνέομαι, cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 210; for its derivative *arnica* ‘untilled, neglected land’ cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 210–11; also Vlajić-Popović & Sikimić 1990); *arvala* ‘huge building’ (< χάρβαλο/χάρβαλα, cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 190); *aro* ‘very ugly person’ (< ModGk. χάρος, cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 211). In exceptional cases, they may come from elsewhere (e.g. Boka and Dubrovnik), like *aniž* ‘aniseed’ (via MLat. *anisum* < ἄνισον/ἄν(ν)ηθον, cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 166), or belong to the standard language, like *apostolka* ‘sandal with straps’ (< ἀπόστολος, crossed with SCr. *postola*, cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 179–80); there is even an archaic Grecism with modern regional attestations: *antifon* (< MGk. ἀντίφωνον, cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 170). An ecclesiastical term like *arhijerej* (< ἀρχιερεύς) is duly elaborated on in *ERSJ* (1st v., 219), instead of being omitted, as in Skok – or just mentioned briefly, like *antihrist* (< Ἀντίχριστος, cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 170). Several of these new lemmata are names: *Adam*, *Agarjanin*, *Arilje*, *Arnautin* (< Αδάμ, Αγαρενόι, Αρχίλιος, Αρναβίτης/Αρβανίτης; cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 62–63, 59, 201–2, 209–10).

4. In addition to the abovementioned etymological novelties (cf. 3.3.3), there are many less conspicuous additions, clarifications, corrections – details or more substantial alternations – to be found in a number of other entries of *ERSJ*, the counterparts of which in Skok contain very slender (or no) explanation.

4.1 Concrete novelties come in a wide range of details:

⁴⁴ From ἀδάμας, ἀλτάριον, ἀναφορά, γαῖδαρος, MGk. ἀπαλαρέα respectively (cf. Skok 1st v., 28–29, 29, 39, 649; 2nd v., 606 s.v. *palarija*) to be found s.vv. *дијамант*, *олтар*, *нафора*, *гајдар*, *паларија* respectively in future volumes of *ERSJ*.

⁴⁵ Rather from ἀμβολή/ἀναβολή ‘steep slope’, cf. most recently Лома (2013, 22).

4.1.1 As a correction of Skok: s.v. *arula* ‘braziers’ (< MGk. ἄρουλα, *ERSJ* 1st v., 218): “the word has never become vernacular; the recent hapax legomenon in Stojan Novaković comes from St. Sava’s *Chilandar typicon* ⇔ “Latinism which, like *oltar*, became an orthodox religious term” (Skok 1st v., 64). This comment of Skok’s is incorrect.

4.1.2 A new lemma is devoted to *apostolka* ‘sandal with straps (presumably: as worn by the apostles)’ as a cross-contamination of *apostol* ‘apostle’ and domestic *postola* ‘shoe’ (*ERSJ* 1st v., 179–80) ⇔ no mention in Skok.

4.1.3 A separate lemma is devoted to *aniž* (< MLat. *anisum* [< MGk. ἀνισον / AGk. ἀν(ν)ηθον], *ERSJ* 1st v., 166) as a Romance-mediated counterpart to the Turkism *anason* (< ModGk. ἀνασόνι, *ERSJ* 1st v., 155–56), both ultimately from Greek ⇔ placed together in Skok (1st v., 40 s.v. *anason*).

4.1.3.1 Also placed s.v. *aniž* are OSerb. *aněž* and a ‘pure’ Grecism, OSerb. *glikanisb* < γλυκάνισος (*ERSJ* 1st v., 155–56) ⇔ both forms are missing from Skok (1st v., 40 s.v. *anason*).

4.1.4 Some novelties have been introduced by simply widening the corpus of attestations and/or examples illustrating them (*ad*, *ambis*, *amin*, *anatema*, *andeo*, *angarija*, *antihrist*, *ankora*, *aratos*) (< ἄδης, ἀβυσσος, ἀμήν, ἀνάθεμα, ἄγγελος, ἄγγαρεια, Ἀντίχριστος, ἄγκυρα, ἀρατός respectively, cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 61, 146–47, 150–51, 156–57, 165, 157–58, 170, 167, 188).

4.2 Some novelties consist in *phonetic* details (which are missing in Skok):

4.2.1 Regarding the Greek prototype, s.v. *avgutar* (< αὐγοτάραχο, *ERSJ* 1st v., 48): “the -*u*- phoneticism indicates borrowing from northern Greek dialects”.

4.2.2 Regarding the mediating language(s), s.v. *argatin* (< ἀργάτης, *ERSJ* 1st v., 192–93): “forms in *rg-* via Turkish, some of the other ones perhaps by Romance mediation (Vinja)”.

4.2.3 Regarding the Serbian situation, s.v. *apostol* (< ἀπόστολος, *ERSJ* 1st v., 179): “intensive religious practice ousted vernacular forms with [phonetic changes] *o* > *u*, *l* > *o*”.

4.3 Some novelties are contained in *formal* details (different or missing in Skok):

4.3.1 s.v. *aroma* (< ἄρωμα, -ατος, *ERSJ* 1st v., 211): “OSerb. *aromato* from Gk. base of oblique cases retains the neutrum gender; modern form [*aroma*] from European lgs.” ⇔ “The form in -*o* after Byzant. pl. ἄρώματα” (Skok 1st v., 63).

4.4 Some novelties consist in *semantic* details, at various levels:

4.4.1 Just a comment on semantic development (metonymy) s.v. *argatin* (< ἀργάτης, *ERSJ* 1st v., 192–93): “the meaning of land measure boils down to ‘average area that a farmhand can till in a day’” ⇔ no comment on semantics in Skok (1st v., 59).

4.4.2 Semantic argument is contained in quotes (given in extenso): s.v. *tanda-ga* ‘vas quoddam’ < ἐνθήκη ‘repository’: jedna anđaga poteže deset litri [one *anđaga* can take 10 litres] (*ERSJ* 1st v., 158): “Skok’s reserve toward Daničić’s definition is unfounded (it is obvious from the context that the object in question is a vessel” ⇔ “Daničić’s definition is incorrect” (Skok 1st v., 41).

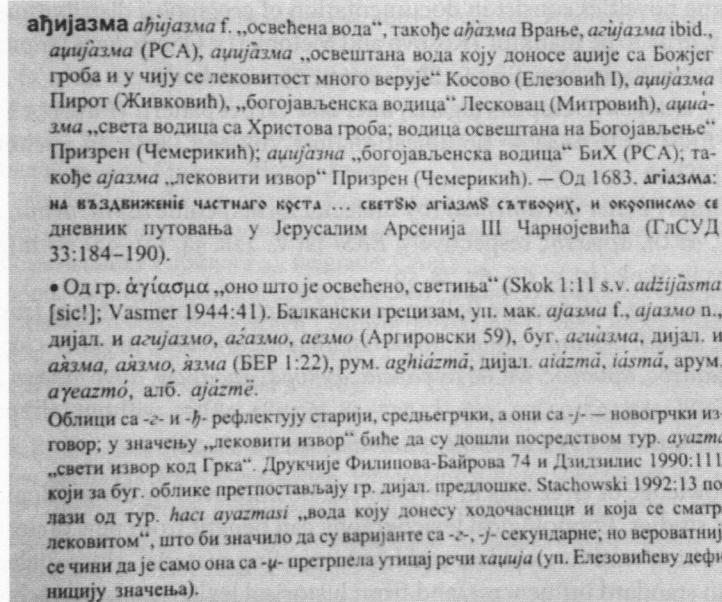
4.4.3 Correction of faulty semantics (definition): s.v. *ariti* ‘to be thankful’

< OSerb. *harv* [< χάρις] (*ERSJ* 1st v., 202) ⇔ “*ariti* [...] synonymous with *hajati* ‘to care’” (Skok 1st v., 655 s.v. *har^l*).

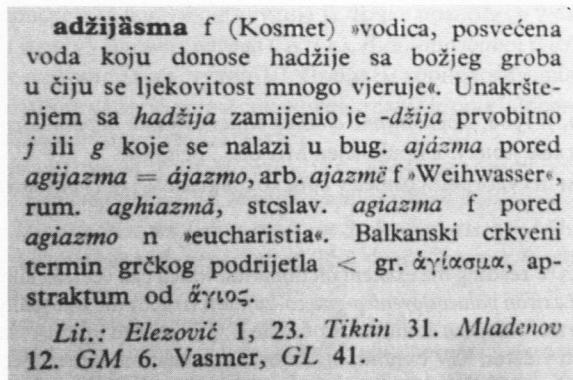
4.5 Some novelties ensue from indication of the *ultimate* origin of a Grecism: s.v. *azdija* (< Gk. χάσδιον, *ERSJ* 1st v., 72) “from Arabic or Persian (Sophocles 1161)” ⇔ these facts are absent from Skok (1st v., 662 s.v. *hazdij*).

4.6 Some novelties are contained in new *historical* records of a Grecism:

4.6.1 Just providing the first record: s.v. *adijazma* (< ἀγίασμα, *ERSJ* 1st v., 67), arch. *agiazma* 1683 ⇔ no datation in Skok (1st v., 11 s.v. *adžijasma*).



Picture 1: Lemma *ađijazma* in *ERSJ*.



Picture 2: Lemma *adžijazma* in Skok.

4.6.2 Correcting the existing datation (by simply moving it on the chronological axis), s.v. *avlja* (< Turk. *avlı* < αὐλή, *ERSJ* 1st v., 54): “first attested in 1682 (V. Mihajlović)” ⇔ the oldest source is Vuk [*Srpski rječnik*, 1852] and epic poetry [i.e. 19th c.] (*Skok* 1st v., 78).

4.6.3 New datation changes the status (e.g. direct vs. indirect) of a Grecism: s.v. *aspra* (< MGk. ἀσπρον, *ERSJ* 1st v., 228) “the idea [of Budmani’s] of Turkish mediation is unacceptable due to early attestation, cf. OSerb. *aspra* from 1423” ⇔ “attested since XVI c. Dubrovnik” (*Skok* 1st v., 66–67).

4.7 Some novelties consist in documentation of *geographic distribution*:

4.7.1 s.v. *ariti* ‘to be thankful’ (Kosovo and Metohija) < OSerb. *harb* [χάρις] (*ERSJ* 1st v., 202) ⇔ without ubication in *Skok* (1st v., 655a s.v. *har*¹).

4.7.2 s.v. *ahtapod* ‘Octopus vulgaris’, *inter alia* ‘carpet pattern’ (Pirot) (< ModGk. δύταπόδι, *ERSJ* 1st v., 244) ⇔ no ubication, just Vuk and Lazić [in a schoolbook from 1836] (*Skok* 1st v., 15).

4.7.3 Simply *better documented* (by dialectal forms) come *aspra*, *avlja*, *argatin* (< ἀσπρον, αὐλή, ἀργάτης respectively, *ERSJ* 1st v., 228, 54, 191–92) ⇔ minimum attestations in *Skok* (1st v., 66–67, 78, 59).

4.8 Some lemmata provide Balkan *parallels* partly or totally absent from *Skok* (*adijazma*, *aksađ*, *aksamit*, *ambis*, *angarija*, *ankora*, *aravuna*, *avgutar* < ἀγίασμα, ἐξάγιον, ἔξαμιτος, ἄβυσσος, MGk. ἀγγαρεία, ἄγκυρα, ἀρραβών, αὐγοτάραχο respectively, cf. *ERSJ* 1st v., 67, 92, 92, 146–47, 157–58, 167, 183, 48) ⇔ without (all) parallels in *Skok* (1st v., 11, 22, 405 s.v. *dimije*, 3 s.v. *abis*, 43, 45, 54, 78).

5. Our knowledge of Grecisms in Serbian can be improved by dialectological and diachronic studies. Etymological lexicography can benefit from new dialectal dictionaries (which tend to yield less and less interesting material, since dialect itself is subject to standard influences), and from historical lexicography (which is not a flourishing discipline, although very many documents remain unexamined). The authors of *ERSJ* are putting every effort into making the most of the resources at their disposal.⁴⁶

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⁴⁶ This includes re-reading the existent dictionaries, which can occasionally yield new finds, e.g. in Miklosich’s *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum* (1149b) the unusually spelled abstract noun *κεφθινύστω* m. “εὐθήνεια abundantia обилие [...] [recorded in] misc. šaf. [= Miscellanea cod. chart. saec., uti videtur, XIV exeuntis...]” moves the datation of the adjective *jeftin* ‘cheap’ (< εὐθηνός) from 1683 (so *Skok* 1st v., 498–99 s.v. *evtino*) back by as many as three centuries, to the 14th century, date of Miklosich’s document. See 4.6.2 for a similar example in our present corpus.

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Περίληψη

Ελληνικά δάνεια στη σερβική: η λεξιογραφική προσέγγιση

I. Τα ελληνικά δάνεια στη σερβική

Τα ελληνικά δάνεια είναι ενδεχομένως η καλύτερα μελετημένη τάξη δανείων στη σερβική: από τους Miklosich (1867), Vasmer (1944), Поповић (1953· 1955), Skok (1971–1974) και διάφορους συγγραφείς με μεμονωμένα άρθρα, έως το ERSJ (2003). Τα ελληνικά δάνεια συγκαταλέγονται στα παλαιότερα αλλόγλωσσα στοιχεία της σερβικής: υπήρξαν αντικείμενο δανεισμού για δύο περίπου χιλιετίες από την πρωτοσλαβική μέχρι σήμερα με διαλείμματα. Σε όλο αυτό το χρονικό διάστημα οι δύο γλώσσες εξελίχθηκαν και γνώρισαν πολλούς αιώνες διγλωσσίας. Η ελληνική επίδραση άγγιξε σχεδόν όλες τις όψεις της ζωής και πέρασε από όλες τις κατευθύνσεις. Άμεσος δανεισμός συνέβη μόνο στο λόγιο επίπεδο (σε σερβοσλαβονικές μεταφράσεις από ελληνικά πρωτότυπα), ενώ ελληνικές λέξεις μπήκαν στις σερβικές προφορικές ποικιλίες κυρίως έμμεσα, με τη μεσολάβηση διάφορων γλωσσών: των ρομανικών (δαλματικής) και της σλαβικής (σλαβομακεδονικής και βουλγαρικής) κατά τον Μεσαίωνα, της τουρκικής κατά τους μεταβυζαντινούς χρόνους. Εξαιρέσεις αποτέλεσαν η βραχύβια επέκταση του σερβικού κράτους σε ελληνικά εδάφη (13ος–14ος αι.), μερικές επιρροές στην ομιλούμενη γλώσσα από τον αρχικά ελληνικό κλήρο, και η σποραδική συμβίωση με ελληνόφωνους Βλάχους. Ο αριθμός των ελληνικών δανείων στη σερβική ποικίλλει, ανάλογα με τους διάφορους συγγραφείς, από 200 ως 900 με 1.200 (550 εντελώς απαρχαιωμένα). Ο όρος ελληνικά δάνεια στη σερβική περιλαμβάνει: (1) καθαυτό (άμεσα) ελληνικά δάνεια· (2) ελληνικά δάνεια μέσω της εκκλησιαστικής σλαβονικής· (3) ελληνικά δάνεια μέσω κάποιας ρομανικής γλώσσας· (4) ελληνικά δάνεια μέσω της τουρκικής επίσης· (5) λατινικά δάνεια μέσω της ελληνικής· (6) δάνεια από ανατολικές γλώσσες μέσω της ελληνικής ακόμη και (7) ψευδοδάνεια από την ελληνική.

1. Η σλαβική προέλευση των ομιλητών της σερβικής, όπως επίσης η θέση τους στα Βαλκάνια και η ελληνορθόδοξη παράδοσή τους έχουν καθορίσει σε μεγάλο βαθμό τις περιόδους και τους τρόπους εισόδου του ελληνικού λεξιλογίου στη γλώσσα.

1.1 Η διαχρονική ανάλυση των ελληνικών δανείων στη σερβική εστιάζει στο χρονολογικό κριτήριο (βλ. στο κείμενο 1.1, 1.2), αλλά περιλαμβάνει επίσης γεωγραφικά (βλ. 1.3) και γενετικά (βλ. 1.4) κριτήρια. Ένας περιορισμένος αριθμός ελ-

ληνικών δανείων στην πρωτοσλαβική ανήκει στο κληρονομημένο λεξιλόγιο (*koliba* κτλ.).

1.2 Η μεγάλη πλειονότητα των ελληνικών δανείων έγινε αντικείμενο δανεισμού αφότου οι Σέρβοι είχαν μετακινηθεί από την πρωτοσλαβική τους κοιτίδα στα Βαλκάνια – όπου εκχριστιανίστηκαν, νιοθετώντας το ανατολικό, ελληνόφωνο τελετουργικό, που βασιζόταν στον ελληνικό εγγραμματισμό και σε βυζαντινά πολιτισμικά πρότυπα. Αυτή η επαφή διήρκεσε από τους μεσαιωνικούς χρόνους ως τη σύγχρονη εποχή (βλ. 1.2.5). Κατά την πρώτη φάση (6ος–7ος αι. ως το 1000 μ.Χ.) του προ-εγγραμματισμού και, επομένως, της καθημερινής προφορικής γλώσσας, νιοθετήθηκαν σχετικά λίγες ελληνικές λέξεις (*rop* κτλ.). Κατά τη δεύτερη φάση (που ξεκινά από τον 11ο–12ο αι. και ονομάζεται παλαιά σερβική) γίνεται διάκριση ανάμεσα στα λόγια ελληνικά δάνεια στη σερβοσλαβονική και τα ελληνικά δάνεια στην καθομιλουμένη παλαιά σερβική. Οι διαφορές ανάμεσα στις δύο ομάδες δανείων αφορούν φωνητικά στοιχεία, μορφολογικά χαρακτηριστικά και σημασιολογικές αλλαγές. Η ομάδα των μεσαιωνικών (βυζαντινών) ελληνικών δανείων είναι η πιο πολυάριθμη και η πιο σημαντική για την περαιτέρω ανάπτυξη του σερβικού λεξιλογικού πλούτου. Η πλειονότητα των λόγιων μεσαιωνικών ελληνικών δανείων περιέπεσε σε αχρηστία ύστερα από τη μεσαιωνική εποχή κυρίως λόγω εξωγλωσσικών παραγόντων. Τα δάνεια που επέζησαν ως τη σύγχρονη σερβική ανήκουν στην ορολογία της θρησκείας, της εκκλησίας, της οικονομίας και της καθημερινής ζωής. Τα ελληνικά δάνεια της σύγχρονης εποχής, που αρχικά ανήκαν στην καθομιλουμένη γλώσσα, πέρασαν σήμερα στην πρότυπη σερβική και είναι κυρίως ελληνικοί βαλκανισμοί, στους οποίους περιλαμβάνονται και αυτοί που μπήκαν στη γλώσσα μέσω της τουρκικής (βλ. 1.3.2.3).

1.3 Το γεωγραφικό κριτήριο ταξινομεί τα ελληνικά δάνεια σύμφωνα με την πηγή δανεισμού (που κατονομάζεται με βάση εθνοτικά κριτήρια) σε: άμεσα (απευθείας από την ελληνική) και έμμεσα (με τη μεσολάβηση άλλης γλώσσας). Τα άμεσα ελληνικά δάνεια περιλαμβάνουν την πλειονότητα των λέξεων που έγιναν αντικείμενο δανεισμού κατά την άμεση ελληνοσλαβική επαφή στα Βαλκάνια και στις δύο φάσεις (βλ. 1.2.1, 1.2.2). Τα έμμεσα ελληνικά δάνεια είναι αρχικά ελληνικές λέξεις που έγιναν αντικείμενο δανεισμού με τη μεσολάβηση άλλης, κατά κανόνα μη σλαβικής γλώσσας. Συγκεκριμένες γλώσσες διαμεσολάβησης σχετίζονται με συγκεκριμένα χρονολογικά στρώματα ή/και επίπεδα ύφους. Τα ελληνικά δάνεια μέσω της τευτονικής εισήλθαν στη γλώσσα κατά την αρχαιότητα από τη γοτθική (βλ. 1.3). Τα ελληνικά δάνεια μέσω ρομανικών γλωσσών εισήλθαν στη γλώσσα από τις απογόνους της λατινικής στην ανατολική Αδριατική. Από χρονολογική άποψη μπορεί να είναι αρχαία, κυρίως όμως είναι μεσαιωνικά και σπάνια νέα ελληνικά. Πρόκειται κατά βάση για ιδιωματικά στοιχεία, αλλά και για λέξεις της πρότυπης γλώσσας. Τα ελληνικά δάνεια μέσω της τουρκικής έγιναν αντικείμενο δανεισμού κατά τη σύγχρονη εποχή. Αν και αρχικά ανήκαν στην καθομιλουμένη, τα περισσότερα από αυτά αποτελούν σήμερα στοιχεία της πρότυπης γλώσσας. Τα διεθνή ελληνικά δάνεια (διεθνισμοί) πέρασαν από σύγχρονες ευρωπαϊκές γλώσσες (ως ξένες λέξεις και όχι ως δάνεια) κατά τους δύο τελευταίους αιώνες.

1.4 Το γενετικό κριτήριο διακρίνει μεταξύ πρωτογενών (ελληνικής προέλευσης, κληρονομημένα) και δευτερογενών (ξένης προέλευσης) δανείων από την ελληνική. Στα πρωτογενή ανήκουν τα περισσότερα δάνεια της πρωτοσλαβικής, και αυτά που προέρχονται από τη βυζαντινή και τη μεταβυζαντινή ελληνική (και οι σύγχρονοι διεθνισμοί). Τα εβραϊκά δάνεια που πέρασαν μέσω της ελληνικής είναι κυρίως βιβλικά ονόματα και έννοιες ή όροι για συγκεκριμένα realia. Τα ρομανικά δάνεια που πέρασαν μέσω της ελληνικής χρονολογούνται κυρίως στον Μεσαίωνα (βλ. 1.3.2.2) και συχνά είναι παρωχημένα ή διαλεκτικά.

1.5 Τα ετυμολογικά ζεύγη (ακόμη και τριάδες) λέξεων ελληνικής προέλευσης που έγιναν αντικείμενο δανεισμού σε διαφορετικές περιόδους ή με διαφορετικούς τρόπους παρουσιάζονται στον Πίνακα 1, μαζί με τον ελληνικό πρόδρομό τους, και ταξινομούνται με βάση τρία κριτήρια.

II. Η θέση των ελληνικών δανείων στη σερβική ετυμολογική λεξικογραφία σήμερα

2. Από τα δύο ετυμολογικά λεξικά της σερβικής που έχουν συνταχθεί μέχρι σήμερα, το *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό της σερβικής γλώσσας (ERSJ)* έχει τη δομή ενός θησαυρού και αποτελεί το πρότυπο για να περιγραφεί η σημερινή κατάσταση στη σερβική ετυμολογία.

3. Για να περιγράψουμε τη λεξικογραφική μεταχείριση που έχουν σήμερα τα ελληνικά δάνεια στη σερβική επιλέξαμε να συγκρίνουμε το τμήμα με τα λήμματα του ψηφίου *a-* από το *ERSJ* και τον *Skok*, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη και τον *Vasmer*. Συγκεκριμένα:

(α) Συγκρίνονται γενικά χαρακτηριστικά του *Skok* και του *ERSJ*, με ειδική αναφορά στα ελληνικά δάνεια.

(β) Τα δάνεια από την ελληνική που αρχίζουν από το ψηφίο *a-* στον *Vasmer*, στον *Skok* και στο *ERSJ* καταγράφονται συνοπτικά σε έναν πίνακα που περιέχει το λήμμα, τη σελίδα σε αγκύλες και το ελληνικό έτυμο.

(γ) Η στατιστική δείχνει ένα σύνολο από 116 ελληνικά δάνεια στο ψηφίο *a-*: *Vasmer* 78, *Skok* 69, *ERSJ* 68. Τα ψευδοδάνεια από την ελληνική μειώνουν τον τελικό αριθμό σε 108 και 73, 62, 62 αντίστοιχα. Υπάρχουν 45 κοινά λήμματα στον *Skok* και στο *ERSJ*, με τα οποία ασχολούμαστε ειδικότερα (βλ. 4 κ.ε.). Υπάρχουν 18 λέξεις που παραλείπονται στο *ERSJ* παρότι υπάρχουν στον *Skok* – κυρίως λόγιες (*agata* κτλ.), μερικές ιδιωματικές (*abrum* κτλ.), ενώ κάποιες άλλες απλώς καταχωρήθηκαν σε άλλα λήμματα (*almaz* κτλ.). Τα λήμματα με λέξεις ελληνικής προέλευσης που εμφανίζονται για πρώτη φορά στο *ERSJ* είναι 19. Μόνο τα 9 από αυτά είναι πραγματικά νέες εμφανίσεις από ετυμολογική και/ή λεξικογραφική άποψη (*ambol* κτλ.), ενώ τα 10 απλώς εμφανίζονται για πρώτη φορά ξεχωριστά και πλήρως ετυμολογημένα (*Adam* κτλ.).

4. Εκτός από τις νέες ετυμολογήσεις (βλ. 3.3.3), σε άλλα λήμματα του *ERSJ* γίνονται πολλές λιγότερο εμφανείς προσθήκες, διευκρινίσεις και διορθώσεις, ενώ τα

αντίστοιχα λήμματα στον Skok περιέχουν σύντομα ερμηνεύματα ή δεν ερμηνεύονται καθόλου.

4.1. Συγκεκριμένες νέες πληροφορίες καλύπτουν ένα ευρύ φάσμα λεπτομερειών: ως διορθώσεις στον Skok (*arula*), ως νέα λήμματα (*apostolka*), ως ξεχωριστά λήμματα (*aniž*), ή απλώς διευρύνοντας το σώμα των μαρτυριών και/ή των παραδειγμάτων (*ad κτλ.*).

4.2. Κάποιες αφορούν φωνητικές λεπτομέρειες (που λείπουν από τον Skok), σε σχέση είτε με τον ελληνικό πρόδρομο (*avgutar*) ή με τη γλώσσα (ή τις γλώσσες) διαμεσολάβησης (*argatin*), ή τη σερβική κατάσταση (*apostol*).

4.3. Κάποιες άλλες αφορούν μορφικές λεπτομέρειες, που στον Skok παρατίθενται διαφορετικά ή απουσιάζουν (*aroma*).

4.4. Άλλες αντικατοπτρίζουν κάθε είδους λεπτομέρειες που αφορούν τη σημασία: ένα απλό σχόλιο για μια σημασιολογική εξέλιξη (*argatin*) ή ένα σημασιολογικό επιχείρημα που περιλαμβάνεται σε εκτενή παραθέματα (*tandaga*) ή μια διόρθωση εσφαλμένης σημασίας (*ariti*).

4.5 Άλλες αφορούν την υπόδειξη της απώτατης προέλευσης ενός ελληνικού δανείου (*azdija*).

4.6 Άλλες συνδέονται με νέα ιστορικά τεκμήρια (*adijazma*), με τη διόρθωση της υπάρχουσας χρονολόγησης (*avlja*), ή με την αλλαγή του χαρακτηρισμού (π.χ. άμεσο αντί έμμεσο) ενός ελληνικού δανείου (*aspra*) λόγω νέας χρονολόγησης.

4.7 Άλλες αφορούν την καταγραφή της γεωγραφικής κατανομής (*ariti*, *ahtapod*), ή την πληρέστερη καταγραφή διαλεκτικών τύπων (*aspra κτλ.*)

4.8 Ορισμένα λήμματα παρέχουν βαλκανικά παράλληλα που λείπουν εν μέρει ή εντελώς από τον Skok (*adijazma κτλ.*).

5. Η γνώση μας για τα ελληνικά δάνεια στη σερβική μπορεί να βελτιωθεί με διαλεκτολογικές και διαχρονικές μελέτες. Η ετυμολογική λεξικογραφία μπορεί να ωφεληθεί από νέα διαλεκτικά λεξικά και από την ιστορική λεξικογραφία. Οι συγγραφείς του ERSJ καταβάλλουν κάθε προσπάθεια να εκμεταλλευτούν στο έπακρο τους πόρους που έχουν στη διάθεσή τους.