



The Greek-Speaking Population of Southern Italy

Author(s): H. F. Tozer

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It will probably be a surprise, even to readers of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, to learn that there are at the present day twenty thousand persons in the south of Italy who speak Greek as their native tongue. These people form two separate groups, composed of a number of villages or townships, one of which is found in the heel of Italy or Terra d'Otranto, the other in the toe of that country, towards the extremity of the modern Calabria, in the neighbourhood of Cape Spartivento, and about twenty miles to the south-east of Reggio. The language which they speak, as might well be supposed, is not ancient Greek, nor is it in any sense a lineal descendant of that which was spoken in the colonies of Magna Graecia; but, though it is essentially modern Greek, it differs considerably from the Romaic of Greece, and these differences are of such a nature, that it must have required the lapse of many centuries to produce them. There can be no doubt that at one time it was spoken over a much wider area than at present; indeed, within the memory of man it has died out, and has been superseded by Italian, in places where it had previously been in use. Any traditions which may have existed with regard to the origin of this people and the fortunes of their ancestors they have now entirely lost; and their history, as far as it can be discovered at all, must be reconstructed from casual notices in historical documents and from intimations contained in the language. The object of the present paper is to draw attention to some of the more salient characteristics of that language, and to the poems which have been composed in it; and afterwards to discuss the evidence which may be drawn from these and other sources with regard to the immigration of these Greeks into Italy. The information which it contains is mainly drawn from the works of earlier authorities, of whose learned labours some account will be given later on; but during the autumn of 1887 I myself visited both these colonies, with the object of inquiring into their present condition, and of verifying a number of interesting points relating to the language. My informants on the spot (to whom I desire to tender my sincere thanks) were two intelligent Greeks—for the Otranto district, the parish priest of Sternatia, the Rev. Giuseppe Ancora; for the Calabrian group, Sig. Vitale Pietro, the schoolmaster of Bova.

The peninsula which forms the heel of Italy, starting, as its base, from a line drawn across from Brindisi to Taranto, is throughout its whole area a slightly undulating level, and Lecce, which is its principal city, stands near

its centre. It is in the inland region to the southward of that place that the towns and villages lie where Greek is spoken. At the present time they are nine in number, containing fifteen thousand inhabitants in all, viz. Martáno, Caliméra, Melpignáno, Castrignáno, Zollíno, Martignáno, Sternatía, Soléto, and Corigliáno. Of these, Zollino forms the junction, where the railway which runs south from Lecce divides into two branches, one of which reaches the sea at Otranto towards the south-east, the other at Gallipoli towards the south-west; and the other towns lie either on, or at no great distance from, one or other of those lines. The position which is occupied by the Greek settlements in Calabria forms a strong contrast to this, for it is completely a mountain region. The traveller, indeed, who passes Cape Spartivento in the train, may see a station named Bova on the sea-coast; but the town of that name, which is the head-quarters of this colony, and is called Vua (*Βοῦα*) by its inhabitants, lies eight miles inland, on the summit of a peak 3,000 feet above the sea, and can only be reached by a steep foot-path. Its strange situation recalls that of Sta Agnese, the hill-town at the back of Mentone. Within, owing to the ruggedness of the ground, the houses are piled irregularly on one another, and the streets zigzag at odd angles. Its various localities bear Greek names; one square is called Amalía (*i.e.* 'Ομαλία), 'the level,' another Itonía (*i.e.* Γειτρονία) Megále, 'the great neighbourhood'; a street is named Aion Tríphono (San Trifone); and the three fountains are Siphóni, Petrophýlaco, and Cleisté, the last of these being a double spring, with a trough for washing, covered in by an arch of masonry. The other Greek-speaking towns in its neighbourhood are Condofúri (*i.e.* Κοιτοχώριον, or 'the village near' Bova), with Amendoléa and Gallicianó; Roccaforte, called by the Greeks Vuni or 'mountain-town' (*Βουνίον*); and Rofúdi or Rochúdi (*Ροχούδιον*), a name which describes its rocky site (*ράχη*, 'mountain ridge'). The population of these amounts to five thousand. At Cardeto, where a peculiar dialect, differing in many important points from those of its neighbours, was until lately in use, the Greek language has now disappeared—fortunately, not before its pronunciation had been observed and its vocabulary and grammatical forms had been registered. Another trace of a wider diffusion of the language and people remains in the name Pentedattilo, the same which, in its more accurate form of Pentedactylon, is familiar to the traveller in the Peloponnese as the modern appellation of Taygetus. Here it is attached to a steep and solitary mass of rock, rising into five columnar peaks, which forms a conspicuous object in the view from the sea, as the voyager passes out of the Straits of Messina on his way to Greece. The village of the same name, which occupies a precipitous position on its landward side, no doubt was once Greek, but now its inhabitants are merged in the surrounding Italian population.

The Greeks of Bova appear to be much poorer than those of the Terra d'Otranto—a result which might naturally arise from the country which they inhabit being less productive and harder to cultivate; but in both districts the pursuits of the people are almost entirely agricultural, and notwithstanding that they live within easy reach of the sea, they never go abroad or engage in

commerce. Though a few of the peasants who live at a distance from the town of Bova speak Greek only, yet the great majority, both there and in the heel of Italy, are bilingual, being equally familiar with Greek and Italian. From this fact it would be natural to conclude that they are losing their native language, especially as we find that the same process of change has already been going on; and in the Terra d'Otranto, where the progress of railways has brought them into closer communication with the outer world, it might be expected that they would be rapidly assimilated. But in reality this has not happened, and the anticipation of Morosi, the chief authority on subjects relating to them, who, writing in 1870, expressed his belief that in two generations the Greek language in these parts would be extinct, has not been verified. On the contrary, I was assured by members of both groups that at the present time they have no fear of this result. Up to seven years of age, they said, the children speak nothing but Greek; and though in the schools their instruction is confined to Italian, yet, like the Highlanders with their Gaelic, in their families they only employ their native tongue, and they are very tenacious in retaining it. Still, it is difficult to see how they can for any length of time resist the influences by which they are surrounded, when the counteracting forces are wanting by which the tide might be stemmed. In the first place, they possess no Greek books, and do not use the Greek character in writing. To the philologist who investigates their language the advantage of this is great, because the dialects retain their purity, and cannot be tampered with by the introduction of classical forms; but, at the same time, it is almost impossible to retain a language permanently, in the face of one that is more dominant, without a written literature. Again, they have no feeling of nationality to support them. Of the kingdom of Greece they know nothing, and when I talked to them on the subject, they manifested no interest in it or in the Greek people. The two groups of Greeks in Italy, of whom I am speaking, though they are aware of one another's existence, are mutually unacquainted, and no communication ever passes between them. The Greek colony that is settled in Corsica is unknown to them. Politically, their desire is to be regarded as good Italian subjects, and in conversation they identify themselves with Italy and its interests. Though they rarely intermarry with their Italian neighbours, yet they are on good terms with them; and the bar of religious difference, which must once have interposed between them, has been removed by centuries of conformity to the Western rite. A trace of former antagonism, combined perhaps with a reminiscence of the early ecclesiastical distinction, is found in their still calling the Italians 'Latins' (Λατίνοι); as, for instance, in a love-song, where the lover tells his lady that he wishes to teach her a sonnet in Greek, in order that the 'Latins' may not understand what he says:—

**Ἦτελα νά σου μάσω ἴνα sonetto*
Γρηκὸν, νὰ μὴ τὸ φσέρουνε οἱ Λατίνοι.

where *ἦτελα*, *μάσω*, and *φσέρουνε* stand for *ἤθελα*, *μάθω*, and *ἤξεύρουν*.

The earliest inquiries that were made concerning this people and their

language are associated with a number of distinguished literary names. Though vague intimations of their existence had been furnished by travellers, such as Swinburne, Eustace, and Keppel Craven, yet the first person who really threw light on the subject, and brought it under the notice of men of letters, was Carl Witte, the famous Dante scholar. When journeying as a young man in South Italy, he was informed at Reggio that there were Greeks in that neighbourhood, and accordingly he put himself at once in communication with some of the inhabitants of the Bova district. The result was that he succeeded in writing down from the mouth of the people in Roman letters about fifty Greek words, together with three songs; and these he afterwards submitted to Cardinal Mezzofanti, who transcribed them—with a somewhat free adaptation, it must be allowed—into Greek. One of the songs was published by Witte in 1821 in the *Gesellschafter*, together with a short introductory notice, in which he advocated the notion, that the dialect in which it was composed was independent of Modern Greek, and had descended in a direct line from the speech of Magna Graecia. This seems to have attracted little notice at the time, and must have been unknown to Niebuhr, when, six years later, he published the first volume of his *History of Rome*; otherwise he would certainly have cited it in support of the view expressed in the following passage, which is still interesting, though it is now acknowledged to be untenable.

‘Calabria, like Sicily, continued to be a Greek country, though the Romans planted colonies on the coasts. The Greek language did not begin to give way there till the fourteenth century: it is known to have prevailed not three hundred years since at Rossano, and no doubt much more extensively; for our knowledge of the fact as to that little town is merely accidental. Nay, at this day there is a population that speaks Greek remaining in the neighbourhood of Locri.’¹

It happened, however, that, long after this, Witte chanced to broach the subject in the course of a conversation with Prof. A. F. Pott; and that distinguished philologist became so much interested in the question, that he obtained leave to publish all three of the songs, as well as Witte’s list of words; this he did in 1856 in the eleventh volume of the *Philologus*, in a paper entitled ‘Altgriechisch im heutigen Calabrien?’ He there confutes Niebuhr’s and Witte’s view of the continuity of the Greek race and language in Italy by a minute examination of the vocabulary and inflexions, in which he shows that they are closely allied to those now in use in Greece.

The inquiry, which thus far had been pursued in a somewhat *dilettante* spirit, was now taken in hand in good earnest by the Italians themselves. To pass over a number of minor contributions to the subject—in 1866 Prof. Comparetti published at Pisa, under the title of *Saggi dei dialetti greci dell’Italia Meridionale*, a collection of forty-three poems, thirty-eight of which were from Bova—having been for the most part obtained for him by a former

¹ Niebuhr, *History of Rome* (Eng. trans.), i. 62. In his note to this passage, the author refers to the Neapolitan minister, Count Zurlo, as his authority for the last statement.

pupil of his, Prof. Terra of Reggio—and the remaining five from the Terra d'Otranto. The introduction and notes to this volume are of great value on account of the accomplished writer's intimate acquaintance with the Modern Greek language and its dialects. In 1867 Prof. Morosi, who had been appointed to a post in Lecce, set to work to study on the spot the language of the Greeks in those parts, and to collect their literature; and the result of his labours appeared in his *Studi sui dialetti greci della Terra d'Otranto* (Lecce, 1870). This admirable book, which is a model of acute and thoroughly scientific investigation in the domain of philology, contains 177 songs, and a collection of stories and proverbs in prose, with Italian translations; a critical review of these compositions; a grammar, in which the sounds of the language and the changes which they have undergone, and the system of inflexions, are fully set forth; a glossary of the most important words; and a historical essay on the origin and history of this Greek colony. The poems have here been arranged according to the townships from which they come, so that the dialectic peculiarities of each can be studied separately; and in other ways the careful manner in which the linguistic features of each community have been distinguished is singularly instructive to the student of dialects. The only point in Prof. Morosi's treatment of his subject to which exception can be taken, is his too great fondness for discovering traces of the classical dialects—Aeolic, Doric, and Ionic—in the modern Greek language, a view which is rapidly losing ground at the present time. In 1874 the same writer published another book on the poems and the language of the Calabrian Greeks—*Dialetti romaici del Mandamento di Bova in Calabria*—which is arranged according to the same method, and is distinguished by the same merits, as its predecessor. Finally, in 1880, Prof. Pellegrini, who during his residence as professor at Reggio had investigated the subject independently, in a volume entitled *Il dialetto greco-calabro di Bova* printed seventy-five songs from that district, thirty-eight of which then appeared for the first time; the remainder were the same which Comparetti had previously published, but in the case of twenty-five of them the new editor obtained fresh, and in some points different, versions. To these he added translations of the story of Joseph and his brethren, and of the parable of the Prodigal Son, in the Greek of Bova; and an excellent lexicon, in which the words of this dialect are compared with those which correspond to them in the dialect of the Terra d'Otranto, and in Modern Greek.¹ In the works of the three authors who have been mentioned in this paragraph the subject may be said to have been thoroughly sifted; and it is to them that I am indebted for the materials of which this article is composed.

It is obviously impossible for me within my present limits to give, even in outline, an account of these dialects; and for this I may refer the reader to Morosi's publications, though that which relates to the Terra d'Otranto is, I grieve to say, extremely rare. But in order to render the specimens of the

¹ The second volume of this work, which was and general conclusions, has never appeared. to have contained the phonology, morphology,

literature which follow more intelligible than they otherwise might be, as well as on account of the interest of the subject itself, it may be well that I should here draw attention to some of their more salient peculiarities, and especially to those in which they differ from ordinary Modern Greek. For clearness sake I will mention first those that are found (with slight differences) in both dialects, and afterwards those that are confined to the Otrantine and the Calabrian respectively. It may be convenient to use the following abbreviations. A.G. for Ancient Greek, M.G. for Modern Greek, Otr. for the Greek of the Terra d'Otranto, Bov. for that of Bova.

General Remarks on both Dialects.

SOUNDS.—(1) The pronunciation both of vowels and consonants is in most points the same as in Greece, and itacism prevails to the same extent; but κ is soft (Eng. *ch*) before soft vowels, as it is also in many of the Greek islands and in the south of the Morea. In Otr. also the letter δ , which in M.G. and Bov. has the sound of soft *th* (as in Eng. *this*), is pronounced like *d*. (2) Owing to the influence of the Calabrian and other neighbouring dialects of Italian, which substitute *dd* for *ll*, in the Greek dialects $\lambda\lambda$ becomes *dd*, as *addo* for *ἄλλος*, *φúddo* for *φύλλον*, *βáddw* for *βάλλω*, *μaddí* for *μαλλί*, 'hair'; and the same is the case with λ between vowels, as *ἀπρίddi* for *ἀπρίλιος*, 'April,' *βαρέddi* for *βαρέλιον*, 'barrel,' *πουddí* for *πούλι*, 'bird,' *περδικούdda* for *περδικούλα*, 'partridge.' It is noticeable that in one place, the village of Cardeto near Bova, where the Greek language has recently become extinct, this change did not occur, but the original sound of $\lambda\lambda$ was retained. (3) Probably the influence of the Italian dialects also caused the broad *u*-sound (*ou*) frequently to take the place of *o*: the *u*-sound predominates in Calabrian, as *maneu* for *manco*, *sulo* for *solo*, *doru* for *δoro*; and, though it is often found taking the place of ω in M.G. dialects, as *κάτου* for *κάτω*, *όξου* for *ἔξω*, yet in the Italian Greek dialects, especially in Bov., it is much more common, as *ἔσου* for *ἔσω*, *σκουλήκι* for *σκωλήκι*. Other changes in words fall under the following heads. (4) *Assimilation*; as Otr. *λύννο* for *λύχνος*, *καννίζω* for *καπνίζω*, 'I smoke,' *φσυννάω* for *ἐξυπνάω*, *ἐσειούτται* for *σείονται*, *ἐγέττη* for *ἐγένθη*; Bov. *γυννό* for *γυμνός*, *σκαννί* for *σκαμνίον*, *πέττω* for M.G. *πέφτω* (*πίπτω*). (5) *Transposition of consonants*; as Otr. *πρικό* for *πικρός*, *χρονδό* for *χονδρός*, 'stout'; Bov. *γραμβό* for *γαμβρός*, *πραυδεύω* for *ὑπανδρεύω*, 'I marry,' *σπωμί* for *ψωμί*, *συλαύρι* for *συραύλιον* (M.G. *σουραύλι*) 'reed-pipe.' (6) *Loss of initial vowels*; as Otr. *κούω* for *ἀκούω*, *μιλῶ* for *ὀμιλῶ*, *φαίνει* for *ὑφαίνει*, *νοίφτω* for *ἀνοίφτω* (= *ἀνοίγω*), *νάφσε* for *ἄναφσε* (= *ἀναψον*); Bov. *μάτι* for *ἱμάτιον*, *στέα* for *ὀστέα*, *κατό* for *ἐκατόν*, *δρόνω* for *ἰδρώω*, *γαπάω* for *ἀγαπάω*, *σάζει* for *ισάζει*. (7) *Prothetic vowels*; both before two initial consonants, as Otr. *ἀφτεχό* for *πτωχός*, *ἐφτάζω* for *φθάνω*; Bov. *ἀβδέλλα* for *βδέλλα*, *ἀβλέπω* for *βλέπω*, *ἐβρέχει* for *βρέχει*; and also before one only, as Otr. *ἀλαώ* for *λαγός*, *ἰλέω* for *λέγω*, *ἰχάνει* for *χάνει*, 'he loses,' *ἰκαίζει* for *καθίζει*; Bov. *Ἀπαναγία* for *Παναγία*, *ἀνογάω* for *νοέω*. (8) *Prothetic vowels*; as Otr. *κάνουνε* for *κάνουν*,

'they make,' *τόνε* for *τόν*: Bov. (in some local dialects) *λόγοσε* for *λόγος*, *ἡμείσε* for *ἡμεῖς*. Changes corresponding in principle to those enumerated under the last five heads are found also in the dialects of Modern Greek.

ACCENTS.—These are generally the same as in M.G., but in both the Italian Greek dialects we find certain irregularities; *e.g.* Otr. *τερμάσι* for *θέρμανσις*, *ἀδεία* for *ἄδεια*, *φτηνό* for *κτῆνος*, and *όλος* occasionally for *δλος*, though in this word the accentuation varies: Bov. *χάμαι* for *χαμαί*, *ἀνιζίο* for *ἀνεψιός*, *δαμάσκηνο* for *δαμασκηνό*, 'plum,' *κάταρα* for *κατάρα*. In both dialects the plural of *ἄνθρωπος* does not retain its normal accent; in Otr. we find sing. *ἄτρεπο*, plur. *ἀτρώποι*; in Bov. sing. *ἄθρωπο*, plur. *ἀθρώποι*; and a similar irregularity is found in some other words, as *ἀπόστολος*, *ἀποστόλοι*. In both, also, the adverb signifying 'yet,' 'still,' which in M.G. is *ἀκόμη*, appears as *ἀκομή*: possibly, however, this is not a corruption, but a retention of the accent of the classical *ἀκμήν*, from which the word is derived, and which is found in this sense from the time of Theocritus onwards. In both the word, which in A.G. and M.G. is *παλαιός*, has become *παλαῖο*. But the most remarkable change is that which has befallen *αὐτός*, which in Otr. is *αὔτο*, in Bov. *ἄστο*; this however, is occasionally found in Mediaeval Greek (see *J.H.S.* vol. iv. pp. 205, 213). It is noticeable, also, that the tendency to throw forward the accent of words on to the final syllable, which is so common in Modern Greek, as *ἐκκλησιά*, *φωτιά*, hardly prevails at all in Italy.

INFLEXIONS.—In these the most marked peculiarity is the loss of final consonants, which is probably attributable in great measure to the influence of Italian. In Modern Greek *ν* is constantly dropped at the end of the nom. and accus. sing., as *νερό* for *νερόν*, *ἄγριο* for *ἄγριον*, *τόν κόσμο* for *τόν κόσμον*, *τὴν θάλασσα* for *τὴν θάλασσαν*: and occasionally in verb. forms, as *ἤυραμε* for *ἤυραμεν* &c.: but here both *ν* and *ς* are regularly lost in all cases of nouns and persons of verbs, unless they are followed by an initial vowel, or, in the case of *ν*, by a guttural. Considerable confusion has thus been introduced into the inflexions; *e.g.* *λόγου* stands for gen. sing., and accus. plur., *ἀγάπη* for nom. accus., and gen. sing., *γράφει* for 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. On the other hand, not only *ν*, but also *ς* is occasionally interposed to prevent hiatus between words; and in the gen. plur. in Otr. the *ς* has come to be usually attached to the form, when it is followed by an initial vowel, the *ν* having been previously lost, as *τῶς ἀπεσαμμένω* for *τῶν ἀποθαμμένων*. The article has especially suffered in this way, because throughout its declension it has frequently lost also the initial *τ*: hence *τό* and *τόν* are both corrupted into *ὀ*, and thus become indistinguishable from *ὀ*, since here, as elsewhere in Modern Greek, the sound of the aspirate is lost. Both in Otr. and Bov. much irregularity has crept into the use of the gender of the article, the masc. and neut. being often confused, as *τὸ καιρό* (nom.) for *ὁ καιρός*, *τόν γαῖμα* for *τὸ αἷμα* (accus.). The dative case is lost, and has usually been replaced by the genitive, as *σοῦ ἔστειλε*, 'he sent to you'; more rarely by the accusative with a preposition. Verbs with vowel-stems generally insert a consonant (which in the majority of cases is *ν*) after the stem in the present tense; as *κλάνω* for

κλάω, κλείνω for κλείω, περάνω for περάω, ἀπανταίνω for ἀπαντάω. This feature, which is of common occurrence in Greece, is especially prevalent in the dialect of Bova, but it applies less to verbs in -εω than to other contract verbs; these however have not retained their original form, but in most cases have changed into -αω, as ζητάω (ζητέω), φιλάω (φιλέω), ἀκολουθάω (ἀκολουθέω). Italian verbs, when they are imported or borrowed, as they have been in large numbers, generally take the termination in -εω (pronounced *εγω*), as *penseω* (*pensō*), *lodeύω* (*lodo*), *adoreύω* (*adoro*); a small number take -αζω, as *mugghiάζω* (*mugghio*).

WORDS.—The negative, which in M.G. is δέν (οὐδέν), in Bov. takes the forms of δέν, δέ, ἔν and ἔ, while in Otr. it is only found as ἔ, and ἔν before vowels. In both dialects 'neither—nor,' is expressed by δέ—δέ, and the prohibitive particle is μή, μὴν. 'No one' is τίσπο, *i.e.* τίς ποτε, the interrogative being used for the negative: it is natural to suppose that this form must once have existed in M.G., since the neuter of the same, τίποτε, is the regular word for 'nothing' in that language. Otr. ἴτου, Bov. ὄτου, 'thus,' are from οὐτω, and in this way are probably connected with M.G. ἔτζι for οὐτωσί: while Otr. ἴτου, Bov. ἔτου, 'here,' are from αὐτοῦ, and thus are probably connected with M.G. ἐδώ. Otr. ἄφσε, Bov. ἄζε, 'from,' is possibly a combination of ἀπό and ἐς, or perhaps a corruption of ἐξ. Both use γιά, a common dialectic M.G. form of διά, which in Otr. sometimes is lengthened into γιάι: this is to be distinguished from γιάτ, 'because,' which is for M.G. διατί (= διότι). The change in the meaning of words from that which they bear in ancient and modern Greek is often instructive. Both in Otr. and Bov. μελετώ is used for 'I read'; thus it is said of a letter, δός το τοῦ servo σου ν' ὁ μελετήση, 'give it to thy servant that he may read it.' Φωτία, M.G. for 'fire,' is here used almost invariably in the sense of 'anguish.' Otr. σώζω, Bov. σώνω, means 'I am able.' Κούω (ἀκούω) is used for 'I feel'; thus in Bov. κούω ψυχράδα means 'I feel cold'; and, in an Otr. version of the *Stabat Mater*, Πόση doglia εις τῆ καρδιά Γιαί ὁ παιδίν ἤκουσε ἐσύ; signifies, 'How great sorrow did'st thou feel in thy heart for thy Son?'

Peculiarities of the Dialect of the Terra d'Otranto.

SOUNDS.—(1) The consonants κ, γ, τ, δ, β, ν, are frequently lost between vowels; *e.g.* κ in πλέω for πλέκω, στέω for στέκω: γ in ἀλλίω for ὀλίγον, ρῆα for ρήγας, 'king,' μέα for μέγας, πάω for πάγος, 'ice'; τ in τόα for τότε, τοῦο for τοῦτο, ἀκάου for κάτω, γιάτ for διατί: δ in δίω for δίδω (δίδωμι), βράύ for βράδυ, 'evening,' ἀλάι for ἐλάδιον (M.G. λάδι) 'oil'; β in πρόατα for πρόβατα, φών for φόβον, κροάτι for κρεβάτι, 'bed'; ν in ἀπάου for ἐπάνω, κείο for ἐκεῖνο, κανέα for κανένα, 'any one.' (2) γ becomes β in ἐβώ for ἐγώ, τραβουδῶ for τραγουδῶ, 'I sing.' (3) θ becomes τ, when initial, as τέλω for θέλω, τάλασσα for θάλασσα, τάνατο for θάνατος, τεό for θεός, τείο for θεῖος, 'uncle'; and also in various internal combinations, as ἦρτε for ἦλθε, πεττερά for πευθερά, ἐσκίστη for ἐσχίστη: between vowels it becomes ς, as λισάρι for λιθάριον, ἀλησινῶ for ἀληθινός, ἀπέσανε for ἀπέθανε: in χνατέρα for θυγατέρα

initial θ has become χ . (4) The combination of ϕ with other consonants is of frequent occurrence; thus $\phi\sigma$ stands for $\nu\sigma$, as $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\sigma\omega$ for $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma\omega$: also for ξ , as $\phi\sigma\eta\rho\acute{o}$ for $\xi\eta\rho\acute{o}$, $\phi\sigma\upsilon\nu\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\upsilon\pi\nu\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$: and for ψ , as $\acute{\alpha}\phi\sigma\eta\lambda\acute{o}$ for $\acute{\upsilon}\psi\eta\lambda\acute{o}\nu$, $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\sigma\epsilon$ for $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon$, $\phi\sigma\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ for $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$. Again, $\phi\tau$ stands for $\kappa\tau$, as $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\phi\tau\alpha$ for $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\tau\alpha$, $\acute{o}\phi\tau\acute{\omega}$ for $\acute{o}\kappa\tau\acute{\omega}$: also for $\chi\theta$, as $\acute{\alpha}\phi\tau\acute{\epsilon}$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$. Also $\phi\nu$ stands for $\kappa\nu$, as $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\phi\nu\omega$ for $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\nu\omega$ ($\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\nu\nu\mu\iota$). (5) The loss of internal consonants has sometimes involved the loss of entire syllables, as $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ for $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$, $\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ for $\mu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$, $\pi\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\omega}$ for $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\omega}$, $\lambda\upsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ for $\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon\rho\eta\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (the Eucharist).

INFLEXIONS.—In the verb $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\iota$ the forms most in use are pres. 3rd. sing. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon$, which becomes also $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and $\acute{\epsilon}$: 3rd plur. $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon$, which becomes $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$: imperf. 3rd sing. $\acute{\eta}\nu\omicron\epsilon$, $\acute{\eta}\nu\alpha\epsilon$: 3rd plur. $\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\nu\epsilon$, $\acute{\eta}\nu\alpha\epsilon$. In two of the verbs which in classical Greek form aor. I active in $-\kappa\alpha$, that form has been retained both in Otr. and Bov.; viz. $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta\kappa\alpha$ (A.G. $\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta\kappa\alpha$) from $\phi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ ($\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\eta}\mu\iota$), and $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\kappa\alpha$ (A.G. $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\alpha$) from $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega$ ($\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$); whereas in Greece they have become $\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta\sigma\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\sigma\alpha$. It is probably on the analogy of these that in Otr. the aor. $\eta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta\kappa\alpha$ is formed from $\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omega$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omega$), and $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\alpha$ from $\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\omega$ ($\pi\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$). In the 2nd sing. imper. the o (for ou) of aor. I is preserved where the word is proparoxytone, as $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\sigma\omicron$, $\nu\acute{o}\eta\sigma\omicron$, $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\sigma\omicron$: but it is replaced by ϵ where the word is paroxytone, as $\kappa\lambda\alpha\phi\sigma\epsilon$, $\acute{\rho}\acute{\iota}\phi\sigma\epsilon$, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon$. The accent of $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\racute{\rho}\epsilon$, $\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\acute{\epsilon}$ is preserved in the abbreviated forms $\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}$, 'look,' $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, 'see,' $\pi\acute{\epsilon}$, 'say': in M.G. $\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}$ is used as an interjection, but in Bov. its plur. $\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon$ is found. The absolute use of an indeclinable verb-form as a substantive is not infrequent, as $\tau\acute{o}$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota$, 'loving,' $\tau\acute{o}$ $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\sigma\epsilon\iota$, 'lamentation,' $\tau\acute{o}$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota$ $\sigma\omicron\upsilon$, 'thy death.' The question of the origin of this usage cannot be dissociated from that of the ordinary compound forms in Modern Greek, as $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\upsilon\epsilon\iota$, 'I shall write,' $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\theta\acute{\eta}$, 'I have been written,' analogous to which in this dialect are the phrases with $\sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\omega$, 'I am able,' $\sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\epsilon\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ (Bov. $\sigma\acute{\omega}\nu\epsilon\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon$) 'it can be,' $\acute{\epsilon}$ $\mu\epsilon$ $\sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\epsilon\iota$ $\delta\acute{\eta}$, 'you cannot see me.' Coray's view of the Modern Greek forms is that they are derived from the future infin., but M. Psichari, in his essay entitled *Futur composé du Grec Moderne* (p. 43), decides that the orthography of the termination throughout is $-\eta$, not $-\epsilon\iota$, and that it is derived from the aor. subj., the form of the 3rd pers. having been in the course of time used for the other persons. If, as I believe, this is the true view, then the substantival use of the verb in this dialect must be, not as Morosi thinks (*Studi*, p. 137), a survival of the infinitive, but a further adaptation of the fixed subjunctive form.

Peculiarities of the Dialect of Bova.

SOUNDS.— ζ (pronounced $d\acute{z}$) frequently takes the place of ξ and ψ : as $\zeta\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ for $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$, $\delta\acute{z}\omicron\upsilon$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\zeta\epsilon$ for $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\psi\epsilon$, and $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha$ for $\psi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha$, 'a lie,' $\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta\acute{\alpha}\omega$ for $\delta\acute{\iota}\psi\acute{\alpha}\omega$. θ almost always retains its original sound, whether at the beginning or in the middle of a word; but in a few instances, when initial, it becomes χ , as $\chi\alpha\rho\rho\acute{\omega}$ for $\theta\alpha\rho\rho\acute{\omega}$, 'I believe,' $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\omega}$ for $\theta\omega\rho\acute{\omega}$ ($\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omega}$); and in $\phi\eta\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\eta}$ for $\theta\eta\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\eta}$ it becomes ϕ . The combination $\sigma\tau$ is of very frequent occurrence, as $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$, $\acute{\rho}\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega$ for $\acute{\rho}\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\omega$, $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha$ for $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\tau\alpha$, $\sigma\acute{\tau}\epsilon\nu\iota$ for

κτένι, 'comb,' ἐστέ for ἐχθές, δεστέρα for δευτέρα, ἀστεντία for αἰθεντία—the last of which words is used in courteous address (ἀστεντία σα, 'your honour'), thus corresponding to the M.G. title αἰθεντήης, whence comes the Turkish *efendi*. In these instances στ represents πτ, κτ, χθ, υτ, υθ; but in every case there was an intermediate sound φτ, from which στ is derived.

INFLEXIONS.—In the verb, the classical form of the 3rd plur. pres., which is lost in M.G. and Otr., is here preserved; e.g. from γράφω, M.G. γράφουνν or γράφουννε, Otr. γράφουννε, Bov. γράφουσι. This form also survives in the dialect of Siphnos, Naxos, and Santorin.¹ In the same person of the aor. the termination, which in M.G. and Otr. is -αν or -ανε, in Bov. is -αι; e.g. M.G. ἔγραψαν or ἔγράψανε, Otr. ἔγράψανε, Bov. ἔγράψαι. Now, since in the islands just mentioned the same part of the verb is -ασι—a form which is found also in the language of the Mainotes in the south of the Morea,² and in mediaeval Greek³—it is reasonable to suppose that the inflexion used at Bova is a corruption of this.

In speaking of the songs composed by these Italian Greeks, of which such extensive collections now exist, we may remark at starting that they bear no resemblance to the ballads and other popular poetry of modern Greece. This is the more remarkable, because in every other region where Greeks are found—throughout the length and breadth of Greece, and in places as remote from one another as Cyprus, Samothrace, and Corsica—there are poems bearing the same features, and relating either to the same or to closely cognate subjects; nay, in some cases identical with one another, if allowance be made for differences produced by oral transmission. Here, however, we find no pastoral idylls, no stories turning on stirring incidents in war or brigandage, none which refer to the triumphs of Charon, the god of death—themes which are of constant occurrence in the mother country.⁴ The long ballad metre, or *political* verse, in which the mediaeval Greek compositions, from the eleventh century onwards, were composed, and which is still the favourite measure in Greece, is unrepresented, except in a few fragments and distichs; nor is there any trace of the influence of the more elaborate rhyming metres, which in the course of the last four centuries the Greeks have borrowed from the Italians. The form of the poems on sacred subjects is derived from the religious songs of the Western Church, such as the *Stabat Mater* and *Dies Irae*, of both of which Italian Greek versions exist; in fact, these compositions probably are all either translations or adaptations. The longer of them comprise from twelve to thirty stanzas of four lines each either in iambic or trochaic metre, the second and fourth lines rhyming; and these lines are made up, sometimes of six or seven, sometimes of eight or nine syllables: but, in order that the metre of the verse may be preserved, it

¹ Mullach, *Grammatik der griechischen Vulgarsprache*, p. 92.

² Bernhard Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 11.

³ *J. H. S.* vol. iv. p. 206.

⁴ For a further account of the Romaic ballads I may refer to a chapter on that subject in my *Highlands of Turkey*, vol. ii. pp. 224 foll.

is often necessary that vowels should be elided, or syllables allowed to coalesce, in pronunciation. The love-songs—which form the bulk both of the Otranto and Bova collections, but in the latter district are almost the only existing kind of poetry—are usually composed of one or more stanzas of eight lines of ten or eleven syllables, in iambic metre. In these the rhymes are sometimes alternate throughout, but sometimes alternate in the first six lines, while the two last rhyme with one another. Some, however, are composed of six or of ten lines. The thoughts and sentiments which they contain, as well as their metrical form, correspond to those of the Italian love-songs of Apulia and Calabria, numerous specimens of which are given by Casetti and Imbriani in their *Canti Popolari delle Provincie Meridionali*; indeed, the amatory poems of Bova are for the most part imitations or paraphrases of these. To some extent the same thing is true of those of the Terra d'Otranto; but they possess much greater originality and variety, and are frequently shown to be the outcome of genuine feeling by their tender and impassioned expressions. Still, but few of them are devoid of some idea or phrase, the *naïveté* of which borders on bathos, so that it is difficult to select specimens which are thoroughly suitable for translation.

A third class of compositions, in addition to the religious and amatory poems, is formed by the dirges. These are made up of poetical similitudes and other commonplaces, many of which belong to a common stock, the inheritance of successive generations of professional mourners. They are sung over the bier during the interval between a person's death and his funeral, and the mode of proceeding on such an occasion—to judge from the account which Morosi has given¹—seems to correspond to what Fauriel² and Mr. Bent³ have described as taking place in similar ceremonies in Greece. The idea that the custom is an inheritance from the mother country, though the songs themselves are not so, is confirmed by the word which is used in Greece to describe it—*μοιρολογῶ* or *μυριολογῶ*—being found here also,⁴ and the practice itself is unknown to the neighbouring Italians. These mourners are everywhere females; and at Sternatia, I was informed, there are still a few old women who sing these dirges at funerals. At Bova, however, the custom is unknown. They are supposed to be extemporised; and consequently, from the greater regularity of the metre of those which are given in Morosi's collection, we may conclude that we find them there in a somewhat more polished form than the original one. Frequently dialogues are introduced into them—between the wife and her dead husband, or the mother and her dead child; and sometimes Death is represented as interlocutor, as Charon is in the ballads in Greece. Some of these features will be traced in the following passage, which consists of three out of twelve stanzas of a mother's lament over her dead daughter.

¹ *Studi*, pp. 93, 94.

² *Chants Populaires de la Grèce*, vol. i. p. cxxxvii.

³ *The Cyclades*, pp. 217 foll.

⁴ Morosi, *Studi*, p. 54. No. 126. l. 4. (ὡὰ μοιρολοῖση = ὡὰ μοιρολογῆσης).

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 9: from the town of Martano.)

- Ἀρτε ποῦ σε χῶσα, checcia μου,
 τίς σου στρώνει ὁ κροβατάκι ;
 Μοῦ τὸ στρώνει ὁ μαῦρο τάνατο
 γιὰ μία νύφτα ποδδὸν μάλη.
 5 Τίς σου φτιάζει ἂ capetάλια
 νὰ ἦ νὰ πλώση τρυφερά ;
 Μοῦ τὰ φτιάζει ὁ μαῦρο τάνατο
 μ' ἂ λισάρια τὰ φσηριά.
- Ἔχει νά με κλάφση, checcia μου,
 10 ἔχει νά με νοματίση·
 ἴς τ' abbesogna σου μ' ἦσελε,
 'τοῦ ἴς τὸ petto μου νὰ κουμβήση·
 Χυατεpedda, χυατεpedda μου,
 τόσον ὄρρη γενομένη,
 15 τί καρδιά ποῦ κάνει ἡ μάνα σου
 νά σε δῆ ἀπεσαμμένη ;
- Τίς ἐσέα φσυννᾶ, χυατέρα μου,
 μότι ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ἀψηλή ;
 Ἐτοῦ κάου ἐ πάνταν ὕπουνο
 20 πάντα νύφτα σκοτεινή.
 Τ' ἦαν' ὄρρη τούη χυατέρα μου,
 μότι μου ἔβγη ἴς τῆ cantata.
 Spiandurίζανε αἱ colonne
 καὶ derlampριζε ὄλη ἡ στράτα.

TRANSLATION.

'Now that they have buried thee, my darling, who will make thy little bed?' 'My bed, dark Death makes it for me, for a long, long night.' 'Who will arrange thy pillows, that thou mayest be able to sleep softly?' 'Dark Death arranges them for me with the bare stones.'

'Thou must weep for me, my darling, thou must call me by my name; in thy troubles thou wert wont to desire me, that thou mightest lean here upon my breast. My dear daughter, my dear daughter, that wert so beautifully formed; what must thy mother's feelings be at seeing thee dead!

'Who will wake thee, my daughter, when the day is high?' 'Here below there is evermore sleep, evermore murky night.' 'How beautiful was this my daughter, when she went forth to the high mass! then the columns gleamed, and all the street was filled with light.'

NOTES.—Line 1. **Ἄρτε**, for ἄρτι, which is also found; **χῶσα**, for ἔχωσαν, from χῶνω (χῶννυμι); *checcia*, a word not found either in M.G. or Italian; the meaning is ‘little.’ 2. **δ**, for τό; **κροβατάκι**, dimin. of κροβάτι (= κρεβάτιον). 4. **ποδάδ μάλη**, for πολὺ μεγάλην. 5. **φτιάξει**, for εὐθιάξει; **ἄ**, for τά. 6. **ῆ**, for ἔχης; **πλώση**, for πλαγιώσης, from πλαγιώνω, ‘I lie down’ (M. G. πλαγιάζω). 8. **ἄ λισάρια**, for τὰ λιθάρια; **φσηρά**, for ξηρά. 9. **ἔχει νά**, for ἔχεις νά, ‘thou hast to’; **κλάφση**, for κλαύσης. 10. **νοματίση**, for ὀνοματίσης. 11. **ἤσελε**, for ἤθελες. 12. **ῥοῦ**, for ἐτοῦ or ἰτοῦ (= αὐτοῦ); **κουμβήση**, for M. G. ἀκουμβήσης (Lat. *adcombere*). 13. **χυατεpedda**, for θυγατέρα, with S. Italian dimin. termination. 14. **ῶρηα**, for ὥραία; **γενομένη**, part. of γένομαι (γίγνομαι), only used passively, in the sense of ‘made’ ‘done.’ 15. **κάνει**, for κάμνει. 16. **δῆ**, for ἴδη; **ἀπεσαμμένη**, for ἀπεθαμμένην, from ἀπεθαίνω (ἀποθνήσκω). 17. **ἔσα**, for ἐσένα; **φσυννῆ**, for ἐξυπνῆ. 18. **μότι**, perhaps for ἄμα στί; **εν**, for ἐνε, as also is **ξ** in the next line; **ἀφσηλή**, for ἰψηλή. 19. **κάου**, for κάτω; **πάνταν**, for πάντοτε, with *ν* ephelesticon to prevent hiatus; **ῥπουνο**, for ῥπνος. 21. **τούη**, for τούτη. 22. **ἔβγη**, 2 aor. from M.G. βγαίνω, by metath. for ἐκβαίνω.

It is noticeable with regard to these dirges—and the same thing is true of those of Modern Greece¹—that the conception of death which they imply is purely pagan. In all of them the tomb is conceived of, not as a place of rest, but as a joyless abode, where the dead is oppressed by the gravestone that lies over him: there is no thought of a future state, or of rewards and punishments; the one prevailing feeling is that of regret for the loss of temporal enjoyments, which the departed has to suffer.

The specimens of the literature of these Greeks of South Italy which I subjoin consist of five poems and one story from the Terra d’Otranto, and two poems, some verses of a translation of the story of Joseph and his brethren, and a number of proverbs from the district of Bova. The former of these sets, which is by far the more important, contains one sacred song, two relating to the subject of love, and two others in a lighter vein; the latter comprises one love-poem, and another on the subject of the redbreast. As these compositions have been transmitted orally by the people who possess them, without being committed to writing, it was natural that those who collected them should write them down phonetically in Roman characters; and Professors Morosi and Pellegrini, with whom linguistic accuracy was rightly the first consideration, have printed them thus in their publications. Still, it seems a little hard that the Greek language, wherever found, and however corrupted, should not be written in Greek; and for this reason, and still more because the difficulty of understanding the words is increased two-fold by the unfamiliarity of their appearance in a Roman dress, I have transcribed them in Greek characters. I have also in each case added an English translation, either in prose or verse, and notes to explain the peculiar forms of the words, though I am obliged to assume that my readers possess an elementary knowledge of Modern Greek. By this means, and by the aid of the hints on the language already given, I trust that these specimens may become intelligible. It will be observed that Italian words are occasionally interspersed among the Greek ones; this has arisen in some cases from their having been permanently embodied in the language; but more often, in all

¹ See my remarks on this subject in *Highlands of Turkey*, vol. ii. p. 323.

probability, it has been the result of substitution in the course of singing, when the original word has been forgotten. The process has gone further in the Bova songs than in the others; and in some of these the Italian words seem to have been purposely introduced, for in one we find Italian rhymes alternating with Greek ones, in another all the rhyming words are Italian, and in a third the entire lines are alternately Greek and Italian.¹

Specimens of the Poems &c. of the Terra d' Otranto.

I.

A LAMENT AT THE TOMB OF CHRIST.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 95: from Corigliano.)

- | | | |
|----|--|----|
| 1. | Τίς κλαίει, τίς κλαίει 'ς τὸ νῆμα
ποῦ κλείνει τὸ Κριστό ;
ὁ Κύρη ὁλῶς ἀπέσανε
μ' ἂ χέρια εἰς τὸ σταυρό. | |
| 2. | 'Ο ἥλιο ἀμπὶ 'ς τὸ φέγγο
ἐβάρτη νὰ μὴν δῆ,
καὶ ὁ μεσημέρι νύφτα
ἐγέττη ἀνου 'ς τὴν γῆ. | 5 |
| 3. | 'Ο κόσμος ὅλο τρεμάζει
γιαὶ ὁ πόνο ποῦ νοῖ,
καὶ ἡ θάλασσα mugghiάζει,
καὶ ἐσειόνται τὰ νερά. | 10 |
| 4. | 'Εσκίστη εἰς δύο μέρη
τῆς ἰγλησία ὁ πανί,
σάππου τὶ ἔλε, 'Κλάψετε,
τὶ ὁλοὺς ὁλοὺς πονεῖ.' | 15 |
| 5. | Πλέο ἐ κούει νὰ τραβουδήσου
πουδδία γιαὶ ὁ καιρὸ,
ποῦ ἰκάνει τόσον ἄσχημο,
γιαὶ ἀπέσανε ὁ Κριστό. | 20 |
| 6. | Καὶ mancu ἂ πρόατα ὁ λύγο
γιαὶ φῶν ἰκανονεῖ,
καὶ κείνα πλέον ἐν ἔχουνε
δὲ χόρτα δὲ μανδρί. | |
| 7. | 'Εβγήκα ὄλα τ' ἀφσάρια
ἀπόφσου ἂ τὸ νερό,
καὶ ὄλοι ἰλέου, 'Τοῦ κόσμου
ἦρτε ὁ καταλυμό.' | 25 |
| 8. | Καὶ ἡ ἰγλησία μᾶς δείφτει | |

¹ Comparetti, *Saggi*, Nos. 21, 18, 33.

- τὸ πόνου ποῦ νοῶ 30
 μὲ ἡ pissa ποῦ σημαίνει,
 μ' artaria ποῦ εἰ γυννά.
 9. Καὶ ὅλοι οἱ πατέροι ἰκάνουνε
 τῇ λύπη μ' ἡ φωνή,
 καὶ, 'Κλάφσετε,' μᾶς λέουνε 35
 ' τὸ Κύρη, Κριστιανοί.'
10. Καὶ οἱ Κριστιανοὶ ἐ κλαίουνε
 'ς τὸ νῆμα τοῦ Κριστοῦ ;
 ἀδέρφιά μου, δελάτε,
 νὰ κλάφσωμ' ὅλοι ἰτοῦ. 40
11. Γιαῖ 'ν ἄμαρτία μᾶ 'πέσανε
 βαρμένο εἰς τὸ σταυρό'
 ἡμεῖ κείνη τῇ κάμαμο
 ποῦ offendefσε δ' Θεό.
 12. Καὶ ἡ μάνα ἡ πονημένη 45
 ποῦ στέει καὶ κανοεῖ
 εἰς τὸ σταυρὸ ποῦ ἀπέσανε
 τὸ ἀκαπητὸ παιδί·
13. Σάππου τὶ μᾶς φωνάζει
 καὶ ἰλέει, ' Δελάτ' ἰτοῦ,
 δελάτε καὶ γυρέφσετε
 φσιχώρη τοῦ Θεοῦ.' 50
14. Φσιχώρησι φσιχώρησι
 γυρέωμε, Κριστιανοί,
 κείνο μὴ κάωμε πλέο 55
 ποῦ κάμαμο ἄρτε ἀμπί.
15. Τὸ κλάφσει καὶ το πόνου
 τέλει ὁ Κριστὸ 'φσ' ἐμᾶ·
 καὶ ἂ πάντα ἰκάωμε ἴτου
 μᾶς δεῖ 'ν eternità. 60

TRANSLATION.

1. Who weeps, who weeps at the sepulchre which encloses Christ? The Lord of all has died with his hands upon the cross.

2. The sun hid (*lit.* placed) itself behind the moon that it might not see, and the midday became night over the earth.

3. The whole universe shudders from the suffering that it feels, and the sea roars, and its waters are agitated.

4. The vail of the temple was rent in twain, as though it said, 'Lament, for all are afflicted.'

5. No longer can you hear the birds sing because of the sky, which is so overcast (*lit.* the weather which is so bad) since Christ is dead.

6. And from terror not even does the wolf regard the sheep; and they no longer have either pasture or a fold.

7. All the fishes came forth from the water, and all men say, 'The dissolution of the universe has arrived.'

8. And the Church declares to us the suffering that it feels, by the pyx which gives a sound (from being empty), by the altars which are bare.

9. And all the priests express their sorrow with their voices, and say to us, 'Christians, lament the Lord.'

10. And shall not Christians lament at the sepulchre of Christ? Come, my brethren, that we may all lament here.

11. For our sin he died, fixed on the cross; it was we who committed that sin which offended God.

12. And lo, the suffering mother, who stands and looks at the cross, on which her beloved Son died:

13. Even as if she called to us and said, 'Come hither, come and seek forgiveness from God.'

14. Forgiveness, forgiveness, ye Christians, let us seek; let us do no more what we have done hitherto.

15. Lamentation and affliction is what Christ desires of us; and if we act always thus, he will bestow on us eternity.

NOTES.—Line 1. νῆμα, for μνήμα. 2. κλείνει, for κλείει; Κριστό, for Χριστόν; in a few words, of which this and ἔρχομαι are the most important, the aspiration of χ is lost. 3. Κύρη, for Κύρης (= Κύριος); δῶς, for δλων, ε being affixed after ν is lost; ἀπέσανε, for ἀπέθανε. 4. ἄ, for τά. 5. ἀμπί, for ὀπίσω; φέγγο, for M. G. and Bov. φεγγάρι. 6. ἐβάρτη, for ἐβάλθη, aor. pass. from βάλλω, 'I put, place'; μὴν δῆ, for μὴ ἴδη. 8. ἐγέττη, for ἐγένθη, aor. pass. from γένομαι (γίνομαι). 10. γιάι, for διά; δ πόνου, for τὸν πόνου. 12. ἐσεύονται, for σεύονται. 13. ἐσκίστη, for ἐσχίσθη. 14. ἰγλησία, for ἐκκλησίας. 15. σάππου τι, for ὡσάν ποῦ ὅτι; ἔλε, for ἔλεγε; κλάψετε, for κλαύσατε. 17. ξ, for δέν; κούει, for ἀκούεις; τραβουδήσου, for τραγουδήσουν. 18. πουδδία, for πουλία, 'birds' (Lat. *pullus*). 19. ικάνει, for κάμνει; κάμνει ἄσχημο καιρό = *il fait mauvais temps*. 20. γαι, for διατί (= διότι). 21. mancu, for nemmanco, nemmeno; ἄ πρόατα, for τὰ πρόβατα; λύγο, for λύκος. φῶν, for φόβον; ικανονέι, for κανονέι; but whether κανονῶ is a corruption of καπανοῶ, or is derived from κανών, meaning 'I look straight at,' is uncertain. 23. ἐν ἔχουνε, for δέν ἔχουν. 24. δέ—δέ, 'neither—nor.' 25. ἐβγήκα, for ἐβγήκαν, 2 aor. of βγαίνω (ἐκβαίνω) with the M.G. passive aor. termination in -κα suffixed; ἀφσάρια, for M.G. ψάρια (from ὄψαριον). 26. ἀπόφσου ἄ, for ἀπ' ἔξω ἀπό. 27. ιλέου, for λέγουν. 29. δείφτει, for M. G. δείχτει (δείκνυσι). 31. pissa, for Ital. pisside. 32. artaria, for altaria; εἰ, for εἶνε; γυννά, for γυμνά. 33. ικάνουνε, for κάμνον. 34. η, for τήν. 39. ἀδέρφια, for ἀδέλφια; δελάτε, for M. G. ἐλάτε. 41. 'ν ἄμαρτία μᾶ, for τὴν ἄμαρτίαν μᾶς. 42. βαρμένο, for βαλμένος, perf. pass. participle from βάλλω. 43. κάμαμο, for ἐκάμαμεν. 44. δ Τεό, for τὸν Θεόν. 46. στέει, for στέκει. 48. ἀκαπητό, for ἀγαπητόν; the change of γ into κ in this word is peculiar to the dialects of Corigliano and Castrignano. 51. γυρέψετε, for γυρεύσατε; γυρεύω (γυρός) means in A. G. 'I go round,' in M. G. 'I go round, look round, seek for.' 52. φσιχώρη, an abbreviation of φσιχώρησι (= συγχώρησι) in the next line. 55. κάωμε, for κάμνωμεν. 56. ἄρτε ἀμπί, for ἄρτι ὀπίσω, 'now in the past.' 57. κλάφσει, substantival use of indeclinable verb-form. 58. τέλει, for θέλει; 'φσ' ἐμά, for ἄφσε ἐμάς. 58. ἄ, for ἄν; πάντα, for πάντοτε; ἵτου, for οὔτω. 60. δεῖ, for δίδει (δίδωσι); 'ν, for τήν.

II.

THE DYING LOVER'S INJUNCTIONS.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 80: from Calimera.)

- Ἄνε πεσάνω τέλω νά με κλάφση
 escappeddata μέσα 'ς τὴν αὐλή,
 καὶ σῦρε τὰ μαδδία σου ἄφσε μαδάφσι,
 καὶ κούμβα μού τα πάνου 'ς τὴ φσυχή.
 5 Τόσο με πέρνουν ἐς τὴν ἀγλησία,
 κολούσα, ἀγάπη μου, σὲ παραγαλῶ,
 καὶ βλέφσε νά μου νάφσου τὰ κηρία
 ἄνου 'ς τὸ νῆμα ποῦ 'χω νὰ χωσῶ.
 10 Καὶ ροὶ 'ς τὸ χρόνο πέ μου μία λουτρία,
 καὶ ροὶ 'ς τοῦ δύο κανένα Πάτρεμου,
 καὶ τὴν ἡμέρα τῶς ἀπεσαμμένω
 invia μου 'να suspiro καῦμένο.
 τόσο ποῦ ὄλα τοῦα τὰ 'χεις γανομένα,
 νοίφσε τὸ νῆμα κ' ἔμβα ἐκεῖ μὰ 'μένα.

TRANSLATION.

- Love, when I die, I will that thou bewail me
 Down in the court-yard with uncover'd head,
 And with the mantle of thy tresses veil me
 Over my heart in silken folds outspread.
 5 When to the holy Church my corpse they carry,
 I pray thee follow in the mourners' line,
 And o'er the grave, where thy true love they bury,
 See that the funeral tapers duly shine.
 10 When one year's past let mass be celebrated,
 And after two years chant a litany;
 And when the Spirits are commemorated
 Breathe burning sighs in memory of me.
 When these kind offices accomplished are,
 Open the tomb, and come my grave to share.

NOTES.—1. Ἄνε πεσάνω, for ἄν ἀποθάνω. 2. escappeddata, for scappellata; μέσα 'ς, 'within.' 3. σῦρε, 'draw out'; here, probably, 'tear out'; μαδδία, for μαλλία, 'hair'; ἄφσε μαδάφσι, 'of silk'; μαδάφσι is M.G. μετάξιον (μέταξα), 'silk.' 4. κούμβα, imper. of κουμβέω (ἀκουμβέω), 'I lean,' here used transitively; πάνου 'ς, for ἐπάνω εἰς, 'over'; φσυχή, for ψυχήν. 5. τόσο, = A. G. ἐν ὄσφ, 'while.' 6. κολούσα, for ἀκολούθα, from ἀκολουθάω (ἀκολουθέω); παραγαλῶ, for παρακαλῶ. 7. νάφσου, for ἀνάψουν. 8. νῆμα, for μνήμα; 'χω νὰ χωσῶ, ἔχω νὰ χωθῶ, 'I must be buried.' 9. ροὶ 'ς τὸ χρόνο, 'after the year'; πέ, for εἰπέ; λουτρία, for λειτουργία, 'Eucharistic service.' τοῦ, for τοῦς; κανένα, 'some, several' (prob.

καὶ ἐὰν ἔνα); Πάτρεμου, 'Pater-nosters.' 11. τῶς ἀπεσαμμένο, for τῶν ἀποθαμμένων; the 'Day of the Dead' is All Souls' Day. 12. καυμένο, participle of καίω. 13. τοῦα, for τοῦτα (ταῦτα); 'χεις γανομένα, 'you have done'; γανομένα is another form of γενομένα. 14. νοίφσε, for ἀνοιξε; μά, for μέ, 'with.'

III.

THE DESERTED LOVER'S IMPRECATION.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 119: from Corigliano.)

Turtura μότε ἰχάνει ἡ cumpagnia
 μανιχέδα τη πάει μαγραῖο καιρό.
 ἐν accucchietai mai μ' ἄδα πουδία,
 mancu ικαίζει εἰς τ' arvulo χλωρό.
 5 δὲ πόσο ποῦ τῆς μαύρισε ἡ καρδία.
 ἔ πίνει ἀν δὲ ἔνε trubbo τὸ νερό.
 Ὁ Κριστὸ κείτη turtura νά σε κάμη.
 μὲ τῆ καρδία καμμένη νὰ πεσάνη.
 καὶ κείνη turtura νὰ σὺ γεττη.
 10 μὲ τῆ καρδία καμμένη νὰ χωσῆ.

TRANSLATION.

The dove that is deserted by her mate
 In solitude abides the live-long day;
 Far from her fellows dwells she desolate,
 Nor even perches on the verdant spray:
 5 See how her soul is darkened by her fate!
 In turbid streams her thirst she doth allay.
 Like that sad bird may Christ the righteous make thee;
 With heart all flame may Death the avenger take thee;
 Like that sad bird distraught may'st thou become;
 10 With heart all flame descend into the tomb.

NOTES.—1. μότε, like μότι, for ἄμα ὅτι, 'when'; ἰχάνει, for χάνει, 'loses'; ἡ, for τήν. 2. μανιχέδα, for μανιχή (μοναχή), with dimin. termination -έδα for -ελλα; μανιχή τη(s) is used, like μόνος του, μόνη της in M. G. for 'by herself'; πάει, M. G. for 'goes' (ὑπάγει); μαγραῖο, for μακρόν. 3. ἐν, for δέν; so εἰ in l. 6; accucchietai, from accucciarsi, 'to nestle'; ἄδα πουδία, for ἄλλα πουλία, 'other birds.' 4. mancu, for nemmanco, 'not even'; ικαίζει, for καθίζει; arvulo, for albero. 5. δέ, for ἰδέ; μαύρισε, from μαυρίζω (μαῦρος, ἀμαυρός), 'I darken.' 6. 'she does not drink unless (ἀν δέ(ν)) the water is turbid.' 7. κείτη, for κείνην τήν. 8. καμμένη, like καῦμένο, participle of καίω; πεσάνη, for ἀποθάνη. 9. γεττη, for γενθῆς aor. pass. subj. from γένομαι (γίγνομαι) 10. χωσῆ, for χωθῆς, 'may you be buried.'

IV.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN INTENDING TO MARRY.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 120 : from Corigliano.)

ἀκάπησο, ἀκάπησο, ἂ τέλη ν' ἀκαπήση,
 μὰ χυατεpedda 'φσ' εἴκοσι χρονό.
 ἂν ἔχη εἴκοσιπέντε, μ' ἢ τελήση,
 πές τη τί εἰ διαβημένο τὸ καιρό.
 5 ἂ τέλη πιάκη ὁ ῥόδο νὰ μυρίση,
 σῦρέ το μόντ' ἐν ἡμισ' ἀνοιφτό.

TRANSLATION.

If you would wed, then choose
 A maid of twenty years :
 At twenty-five, refuse,
 Say she too old appears :
 5 Half-blown he culls the rose,
 Who for its fragrance cares.

NOTES.—1. ἀκάπησο, for ἀγάπησον ; ἂ τέλη, for ἂν θέλῃς. 2. μὰ χυατεpedda, for μίαν θυγατεpeddan ; 'φσ' for ἄφσε, 'of.' 3. μ' ἢ τελήση, for μὴ τὴν θελήσης. 4. πές τη τί εἰ, for εἰπέ αὐτὴν ὅτι εἶνε ; διαβημένο, pass. part. from διαβαίνω ; τὸ καιρό for ὁ καιρός, an instance of the neglect of the distinction of the masc. and neut. genders. 5. πιάκη, subj. of ἐπίακα, aor. from πιάνω (A. G. πιάζω), 'I take' ; εἰ, for τό ; νὰ μυρίση, 'that it may be fragrant.' 6. σῦρε, 'draw' 'pluck' ; ἀνοιφτό, for ἀνοικτόν.

V.

THE SON-IN-LAW'S COMPLAINT.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 94 : from Castrignano.)

* Ἄν ἤφσερα τί ἐπιάνω πεττερά,
 ἐν ἀρμάζονε μαὶ κανέα καιρό.
 ἔστεκα ἔσω μου 'ς τὰ σκοτεινὰ,
 δὲ λύφνο δὲ lumera μαὶ νὰ δῶ.
 5 ἢ πεττερά dopu σε τρώει καὶ πίνει
 βγαίνει 'ς τὴν γειτονία κ' ἐσένα σύρνει.

TRANSLATION.

If I had known that (in marrying) I was taking to me a mother-in-law—I would never have married under any circumstances:—I would have stopped at home in the dark—so as never to see either lamp or fire.—Your mother-in-law after eating and drinking at your expense—goes out among the neighbours and maligns you.

NOTES.—1. ἤφσερα, imperf. from φσέρω, M. G. ἤξεύρω, 'I know'; τι, for ὄτι; ἐπιάνω, for πιάνω; πεπτερά, for πενθεράν. 2. ἀρμάζονε, imperf. of ἀρμάζω (ἀρμόζω), 'I marry', with prosthetic ε; so ἀρμασία is 'marriage'; κανέα for κανένα, 'any'. 3. ἔστεκα, imperf. of στέκω, 'I stand, remain'; ἔσω μου, 'chez moi.' 4. δέ, —δέ, 'neither,—nor'; λύφνο, for λύχνον; lumera, frequently used in this dialect for 'fire'; δῶ, for ἴδω. 5. τρώει, for τρώγει. 6. βγαίνει, for ἐκβαίνει; σύρνει, another form of σύρει, 'pulls to pieces.'

VI.

STORY OF THE WOMAN WHO PRAYED FOR THE KING.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' p. 73: from Martano.)

Μία φορά εἶχε μία γυναῖκα, ποῦ πάντα ἐπραγάλει τὸ Θεὸ νὰ ὁ ρῆα στασῆ καλὸ. Καί ἀντῶποιοι εἶπανε 'ς τὸ ρῆα τοῦτο πρᾶμα, καὶ ὁ ρῆα τὴν ἐφώνασε καὶ τὴ ρώτησε γιατί ἐπραγάλει τόσο γιὰ σαῦτο. Καὶ κεινὴ εἶπε, 'Ἐβῶ παραγᾶλῶ τὸ Θεὸ νὰ μείνης ὕγιο πάντα, γιατί ἐσὺ μᾶς ἐσcorceυσε, καὶ, ἂ πεσαίνῃ ἐσὺ, ἔρχεται ἐν ἄλλο ποῦ ἔχει νὰ χορτώσῃ τὴν πεῖνά του.'

TRANSLATION.

There was once a woman, who prayed to God continually that the king might keep in good health. Certain men reported this matter to the king, so the king summoned her, and asked her why she prayed so much for him. And she said, 'I pray God that you may continue in life for ever, because you have flayed us, and, if you die, another will come who will have to satisfy his hunger.'

NOTES. Μία φορά, the M. G. expression for 'once'; in Bov. ἓνα viaggio is used, 'viaggio' for 'volta' being common in the S. Italian dialects; εἶχε, for the phrase cp. Fr. *il y a*, ἐπραγάλει τὸ Θεὸ, for ἐπαρακάλει τὸν Θεόν. ρῆα for ῥήγας (*rex*); στασῆ, for σταθῆ; cp. Ital. *star bene*. Καί, for M. G. κάτι (perhaps καὶ ἐάν τι) 'some,' 'some or other'; πρᾶμα, for πρᾶγμα; ρώτησε, for ἠρώτησε; γιατί, for διατί; σαῦτο, in this word σ has got prefixed, and the accent is drawn back, as in αὐτο; ἐβῶ, for ἐγώ; ὕγιο, for ὑγιής, 'sound,' 'alive'; πάντα for πάντοτε; ἐscorceυσε, for ἐscorceυσας, Ital. *scorticare*; πεσαίνῃ, for ἀπεθαίνῃς, from ἀπεθαίνω (*ἀποθνήσκω*).

Specimens of the poems &c. of the district of Bova.

I.

GOOD NIGHT.

(Morosi, 'Bova,' No. 34; cp. Pellegrini, No. 40, and Comparetti, No. 29.)

Καλὴ σπέρα σου λέγω κ' ἐγὼ πάω·
 μὰ sullo pena 'ς τὴν καρδιά μου πέρρω,
 τὶ πάω λάργα ἄζε τινὸ 'γαπάω,

5 πάω λάργα ἄζε 'σὲ πάντα penseύω·
 ἐτούνητῃ εἰκόνι δὲ τὸ σδημονάω,
 stampremméni 's τὸ petto μου τῇ φέρω.
 's τὸν ἕπλο μου τὸ νόμα σου στριγάω,
 νύφτα κ' ἡμέρα πάντα suspireύω.

TRANSLATION.

Thus bidding thee 'Good Night' I go my way ;
 Yet naught but sorrow in my heart I bear—
 Grief, that from her I love afar I stray,
 Afar from thee who art my constant care :
 5 Stamped on my heart thy image dwells alway ;
 That vision from my memory ne'er can fall :
 I ever sigh for thee by night and day ;
 E'en in my sleep upon thy name I call.

NOTES.—1. πάω, M. G. for ὑπάγω. 2. μά, the Ital. conjunction, which has long been naturalised in M. G. ; πέρω, for πέρω, 'I take.' 3. τι, for στι ; λάργα, though this word is of Italian origin, yet in the form ἀλάργα it is found in M. G., and a verb ἀλαργάω, 'I remove', is derived from it ; ἄζε, the same as Otr. ἄφσε, 'from' ; τινό, a form used for the oblique cases of the indef. pronoun τίς ; here it means 'one whom.' 5. ἐτούνητῃ, the M. G. αὐτούνητῃν ; this is the regular demonstrative in this dialect ; δέ, for δέν ; σδημονάω, by metathesis for M. G. ἀλησμονάω, 'I forget.' 7. ἕπλο, for ἕπνον ; νόμα, for ὄνομα ; στριγάω, perhaps from Ital. *stridere* ; Kind's *Lex.* gives a M. G. form στρίζω for τρίζω.

II.

THE FATE OF THE REDBREAST.

(*Morosi*, 'Bova,' No. 38 ; *cp. Pellegrini*, No. 10.)

'Η πύρρια ἔνε ὁ πλὲ κέδδι ἀν τὰ πουδδία,
 καὶ κάνει τῇ φωλέα μὲ χουρχουράτα·
 τὸ καλοκαίρι πάει 'κεὶ 's τὴν ὀζεία,
 τὸ χειμῶνα καταβαίνει ὠδε κάτου.
 5 Παρεύουσι τῇ πλάκα τὰ παιδία·
 λιμπίζεσαι κ' ἐμβαίνει 'κεὶ 'ποκάτου·
 ὄτου κάνει, καὶ γιὰ ἥμισο δακία
 ἀφίνει τὸ σκυδδάκι του ἀνουκάτου.

TRANSLATION.

The redbreast is the smallest bird that flies ;
 He builds his little nest with tufts of hay :
 In summer-time he to the mountain hies,
 In winter he comes down with us to stay.

- 5 The children to entrap him springs make ;
 He is enticed, and enters in beneath.
 Poor fool ! and for a sorry morsel's sake
 His neck is twisted and he meets his death.

NOTES.—1. *πύρρα*, in M.G. *πυρρούλας*, 'redbreast'; *ὄ*, an instance of confusion of genders in the article; *πλέ*, for *πλέον*; *κέαα*, an abbreviation of *μικέαα*, 'little,' which is perhaps a corruption of *μικρός*: Comparetti (p. 94) points out that *μιτζέ* bears this meaning in the Tzaconian dialect in the Peloponnese, and *μιτζής* in the dialect of Cyprus; *άν*; this is the form which *ἀπό* regularly takes with the article in Bov. 2. *κάνει*, for *κάμνει*, 'makes'; *χουρχουράτα*, probably for M. G. *χορταράκι*, dimin. from *χορτάρι*, 'grass,' 'hay' by transposition of *τ* and *κ*, and assimilation of *κ* to *χ*. 3. *καλοκαίρι*, M. G. for 'summer'; *ὄξεια*, a word for 'mountain' peculiar to this dialect, probably for *ὄξεία*, 'peak.' 4. *ἄδε κάτω* 'here below.' 5: *παρεύουσι*, Ital. *parare*, converted into a verb in *-εω*; remark the classical inflexion *-ουσι*; *πλάκα*, 'lid, cover of trap.' 6. *λιμπίζεται*, from M. G. *λιμπίζομαι*, 'I desire,' with subst. *λιμπισμα*, 'desire'; 'κει' *ποκάτου*, 'there underneath.' 7. *ὄτου κάνει*, for *ὄτω κάμνει*, 'so he does'; *γιά*, for *διά*; *ἡμισο δακία*, 'half a morsel.' 8. 'he leaves his poor neck topsy-turvy'; *σκυδάάκι*, for *σκυλλάκι*, probably from Ital. *collo* with dimin. termination.

GENESIS XLV. 1—6.

(*Pellegrini*, pp. 118, 119.)

1. Τότε ὁ Gioseppi, δὲ σώνοντα κρατιστῆ πλέο ἀμπρὸ σὲ ὄλου ποῦ ἦσαν ἐκεῖ, ἐκούδδιε, 'Κάμετε πάη πασάνα λάργα ἄζ' ἐμένα.' Καὶ τίσπο ἔμεινε μεθέ του, σὰν ἐκείνο ἐδόστη ἂ conusceri τῷ leddidίων του.

2. Καὶ ἐκείνο ἔβγαλε μίαν κουδδμία κλῶντα, καὶ οἱ Egiziani τόνε 'κούαϊ' ἐκείνοι τοῦ σπιτίου τοῦ Faraone τόνε 'κούαϊ κιάλα ἐκείνοι.

3. Καὶ ὁ Gioseppi εἶπε τῷ leddidίως του, 'Ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁ Gioseppi· ὁ πάτρε μου ζῆ ἐκείνο ἀκομή; Μὰ τὰ leddidιά του δὲν τοῦ σώναϊ ἀπολογήση, γιὰτὶ ἦσα ὄλοι σκιασμένοι ἂν τὴν presenza τὴν δικήν του.

4. Καὶ ὁ Gioseppi εἶπε τῷ leddidίως του, Deh! ἐλάστε κοντά μου. Καὶ ἐκείνοι τοῦ ἰάησα κοντά. Καὶ ἐκείνο εἶπε, 'Ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁ Gioseppi, ὁ leddέ σα τὶ ἐσεῖ ἐπουλίετε νᾶνε πηημένο 'ς τὸν Egitto.

5. Μὰ ἄρτε μὴ πιαστήτε ἄζε λύπη, καὶ μὴ 'ncaricheστήτε διατὶ μοῦ ἐπουλίετε νᾶμαι φερμένο ὦδε γιὰτὶ ὁ Θεὸς μ' ἔστειλε ἀμπροττέ σα γιὰ τὴν ὑγεία σα.

6. Γιὰτὶ τοῦτο ἔνε τὸ secundo χρόνον ἂν τὴν πείνα ὄσου εἰς τὴ χώρα· καὶ ἔχει ἀκομή ἄδδου πέντε χρόνου, καὶ σὲ τούτου δὲν ἔχει δὲ νὰ ἀλαστή, δὲ νὰ θεριστῆ.

TRANSLATION.

1. Then Joseph, not being able to command himself longer before all who were there, cried, Make every one to go out from me. And no one remained with him, while he made himself known to his brethren.

2. And he uttered a cry weeping, and the Egyptians heard him; those of the house of Pharaoh, they also heard him.

3. And Joseph said to his brethren, I am Joseph; my father, doth he yet live? But his brethren were not able to answer him, for they were all afraid at his presence.

4. And Joseph said to his brethren, Pray, come near to me. And they came near to him. And he said, I am Joseph, your brother whom ye sold to be taken to Egypt.

5. But now, be not seized by grief, and be not burdened because ye sold me to be brought hither; because God sent me before you for your welfare.

6. Because this is the second year of the famine in the land, and there are yet five years, and in these there will not be either ploughing or harvest.

NOTES.—1. *σώνοντα*, indeclinable active participle from *σώνω*, 'I am able'; *κρατιστή*, for *κρατισθή*, 3rd. sing. 1 aor. pass. from *κρατίζω* (*κρατέω*) with *νά* understood; *ἀμπρὸ σέ*, for *ἐμπρὸς ἐς* 'before'; *δλου*, for *δλους*; *ἐκούδιαι*, aor. from *κουδίζω*, 'I cry'; so *κουδμίαι*, 'cry'; below; *κάμετε*, for *κάμετε*; *πάη* same construction as *κρατιστή*; *πασάνα*, for *πάσα* (indeclinable) *ένα*, 'every one,' fem. *πασαμία*; *μεθέ του*, *μετά* with the personal pronouns becomes *μεθέ* in this dialect, as *μεθέ μου*, *μεθέ σου*; *ἐδόστη* (for *ἐδόσθη* = *ἐδόθη*) à *conusceri*, 'gave himself to be known'; *τῶ*, for *τῶν*; *λεαδιών*, plur. of *λεαδέ*, which, whatever its derivation, takes the place of *ἀδελφός* in this dialect.

2. *ἔβγαλε*, aor. from *βγάλλω* (= *ἐκβάλλω*); *κλώντα*, for *κλαίοντα*, indeclinable participle; *κούαϊ*, for *ἀκούασι*, 3rd. plur. of aor.; *σπιτίου*, gen. of *σπίτι* (*hospitium*); *κίολα*, from *καὶ ὄλα* 'withal'; in M. G. usually in the sense of 'for all that,' 'notwithstanding.'

3. *λεαδιών*, the gen. plur. terminations in *-ως* and *-ων* are equally found; *ἀκομή*, M. G. *ἀκόμη*, 'yet', 'still'; *γιατί*, for *διατί* (= *διότι*); *σκιασμένοι*, 'darkened,' 'afraid'; in M. G. *σκιάζομαι* also means 'to shy,' of a horse; *τὴν δικήν του*, properly 'his own'; *δικός* is for *εἰδικός*, 'proprius.'

4. *ἐλάστε*, M. G. *ἐλάτε*, plur. of *ἔλα* 'come'; *κοντά*, 'near,' from *κοτός*, 'short'; *ιάησα*, for (*ἐδ*)*ιά(β)ησα(ν)* from *διαβαίνω*, 'passed,' 'presented themselves'; *σα*, for *σας* enclitic; *τῷ*, indeclinable relative, used in Bov. in the same way as *πού*; *ἔσει*, for *ἔσεις*; *ἐπουλλετε*, from *ἐπουλία*, aor. of *πουλάω* (= *πωλέω*); *νάνε*, for *νά ἐνε* 'to be'; *πηρμένο*, for *παρμένο*, perf. pass. part. from *πέρνω*, 'I take.'

5. *πιαστήτε*, for *πιασθήτε*, from *πιάνω*; *ἄζε* (Otr. *ἄφσε*), 'by'; *νάμαι*, for *νά εἶμαι*; *φερμένο*, perf. pass. part. from *φέρω*; *ἀμπροττέ*, for *ἐμπροσθεν*; *ύγεια*, 'welfare,' 'life'; so *ύγιο* 'alive.'

6. *δσου εἰς*, for *ἔσω εἰς*, 'in'; *ἄδδου πέντε χρόνου*, for *ἄλλους πέντε χρόνους*, governed by *χει* in the sense of 'il y a.'; *σέ τούτου*, for *ἐς τούτους*, 'in these'; *δὲν ἔχει δὲ . . . δέ*, 'there will be neither . . . nor'; *νά ἀλαστη*, lit. 'that it should be ploughed'; *ἀλαστη* for *ἀλασθή*, from *ἀλάνω* (= *ἀρόω*).

PROVERBS.

(*Morosi*, 'Bova,' Nos. 75, 23, 30, 41, 120, 116, 53, 105.)

1. *Λιρὶ τὴ πουρρῆ,*
κέντα 'ς τὴ μονή.
λιρὶ τὴ βραδία,
κέντα 'ς τὴν δουλεία.

'A rainbow in the morning,—hasten to your dwelling:—A rainbow in the evening,—hasten to your work.'

(*Λιρί*, for *ἴρις*, with the accent shifted.—*πουρρή*, for *πρωϊνήν*.—*κέντα*, ‘spur, hasten,’ from *κεντάω* (*κεντέω*).—*βραδία*, M. G. *βράδν*.)

2. *Τὰ ξύλα τὰ στραβά, τὰ σάζει τὸ lucisi.*
‘Bent timbers are straightened by the fire.’

(*σάζει*, for *ἰσάζει*.)

3. *Ὁ σκύδδο ποῦ δὲν ἀλεστάει δαγκάνει κρυφά.*
‘The dog that does not bark bites stealthily.’

(*Ὁ σκύδδο*, M. G. *τὸ σκυλί*, but *ὁ σκύλος* is found in mediaeval Greek, and in Hesych.—*ἀλεστάει*, for *ύλακτεῖ*.)

4. *Τὶ δὲν ἔχει φούρρο δικόν του, δὲ τὸ χορταίνει τὸ ζωμί.*

‘If a man has no oven of his own, his bread does not satisfy him.’

(*Τὶ*, for *ὅστις*.—*φούρρο*, M. G. *φούρνο* (Lat. *furnus*).—*ζωμί*, for *ψωμί*.)

5. *Παίξε μὲ τὸ γάδαρο, τί σε ταβρεῖ μὲ τὴν guda.*

‘Play with an ass, and he’ll hit you with his tail.’

(*γάδαρο*, M. G. for ‘ass,’ more correctly *γαῖδαρο*.—*ταβρεῖ*, by metathesis for *τραβᾶ*, ‘pull,’ ‘strike.’—*guda* for *coda*.)

6. *Τὸ βούδι κρατεῖται ἀν τὸ κέρατο, καὶ ὁ ἄθρωπο ἀν τὸ λόγο.*

‘An ox must be held by his horns, and a man by his word.’

7. *Τὶς ἐσπέρρει ’ς τὸ ἀργό,
τρώγει χόρτο, δὲν καρπό.*

‘He that sows untilled land, will eat grass instead of corn.’

(*ἐσπέρρει*, for M. G. *σπέρνει* (*σπείρω*).

8. *Ἡ γλώσσα στέα δὲν ἔχει, καὶ στέα κλάνει.*

‘Though the tongue has no bones, it can break bones.’

(*στέα*, for *ὀστέα*.—*κλάνει*, for *κλαίει*.)

It remains now to investigate the evidence which is furnished by the language, and by historical documents, with regard to the time at which these Greeks settled in southern Italy. We have already seen that, at an early stage in the enquiry respecting the language, Prof. Pott showed that it is Modern Greek, and not a dialect derived independently from the ancient language; and this, I think, will have been clear to any one who has examined the specimens which have been given above. But it may perhaps be worth while to enumerate a few out of the very numerous words and phrases, in which the correspondence with the one, and the contrast with the other, is unmistakable. Among familiar substantives we find (allowing in some instances for a slight difference of form from Modern Greek)—for ‘water,’ not *ὔδωρ*, but *νερό*; for ‘wine,’ not *οἶνος*, but *κρασί*; for ‘bread,’ not *ἄρτος*, but *ψωμί*; for ‘a fish,’ not *ἰχθύς*, but *ψάρι*; for ‘hair,’ not *τρίχες*, but *μαλλία*; for ‘silver,’ not *ἄργυρος*, but *ἀσήμι*; for ‘summer,’ not *θέρος*, but *καλοκαίρι*; for ‘a year,’ not *ἔτος*, but *χρόνο*; for ‘a song,’ not *ὦδή*, but *τραγούδι*; for ‘the moon,’ not *σελήνη*, but *φεγγάρι*. Among adjectives, *ἄσπρο*

has taken the place of λευκός, μαῦρο of μέλας, χονδρό of παχύς, κινούριο (καινούργιος) of νέος. Among verbs, ποιέω and πράσσω are replaced by κάμνω, ἀπόλλυμι by χάνω, οἶδα by ἤξεύρω, οὐτάω by λαβόω, τίθημι by βάλλω. The same thing is even more clearly seen in phrases, such as ἔχει with the accusative, for 'there is,' 'there are'; με̄ κακοφαίνεται, for 'I am sorry'; ἔχετε δίκαιο, for 'you are right.' Indeed, expressions such as these are so modern in their aspect, as to tempt us to believe that they belong to a recent stage in the development of Modern Greek; but this again would probably be a rash conclusion, for the more we study the mediaeval Greek poems and documents, the more we are struck with the modern character of the diction which they employ. Anyhow, it is possible to show by several different lines of proof, that the Greek which is spoken in Italy separated off at a comparatively early period from the language of the mother country; and to this point in the argument we will next proceed.

In the first place, there are not a few classical words, which are retained either in the Terra d'Otranto, or in the Bova district, or in both dialects, while they are lost, or have become quite unfamiliar, in Greece. A striking instance of this is found in the adverb of time 'now.' In Ancient Greek this is expressed by νῦν, ἤδη, and ἄρτι. In Modern Greek none of these have survived, and their place is taken by τώρα, *i.e.* (αὐ)τῆ ὥρᾱ. But in Italy νῦν and ἤδη on the one hand, and τώρα on the other, are unknown, and ἄρτι or ἄρτε is universally employed. In both dialects χρυσάφι (A. G. χρυσός) is used instead of M. G. μάλαγμα, 'gold'; ψυχρό instead of M. G. κρύο, 'cold'; κλάω (Otr.) and κλάνω (Bov.) instead of M. G. τσακίζω, 'I break'; σώζω (Otr.) and σώνω (Bov.) instead of M. G. ἤμπορῶ, 'I am able'; ριῶ (Otr.) and ριγάω (Bov.), where A. G. is ριγέω, for M. G. κρύνω, 'I am cold'; ἔσου (Otr.) and ὄσου (Bov.) for M. G. μέσα, 'inside.' In Otr. are found ἀρμάζω (A. G. ἀρμόζω) for M. G. στεφανώνω, 'I marry'; ταρασσω for M. G. μισεύω, 'I depart'; ἀμπάρι (A. G. ἵππάριον) for M. G. ἄλογο, 'a horse': and in Bov. χίμαρο for M. G. κατζίκι, 'kid'; ἀλέστορα (A. G. ἀλέκτωρ) for M. G. πετεινός, 'cock'; δερφάκι (A. G. δελφάκιον) 'sucking-pig'; ὄπλη (A. G. with the meaning of 'hoof') 'footprint'; ζέμα (A. G. 'decoction') for M. G. ζουμί, 'broth'; ὀργάδα (A. G. ὀργάς), 'fertile land'; ὦδε for M. G. ἐδώ, 'here': μεταπάλε also (μετὰ πάλιν), 'once more,' has an ancient character. To these we may add certain words, the original form of which is found here, while only the diminutive exists in Greece—αἶγα (M. G. γίδι, for αἰγίδιον), κεφαλή (M. G. κεφάλι, for κεφάλιον), and ἄλα (M. G. ἀλάτι, for ἀλάτιον). Most remarkable of all is the termination of the 3rd plur. of the present tense of verbs, in -ουσι for -ουν. These survivals of classical diction are interesting in themselves, and serve also to prove the primitive character of these dialects.

Further; the numerous differences of usage which exist between the Greek that is spoken in Italy and ordinary Modern Greek imply that the two have long been separated. Among these the following are the most noticeable. In Greece the forms of affirmation and negation are ναί or μάλιστα, and ὄχι; in Italy none of these are found, but 'yes' is expressed in Otr. by

οὐμμε, in Bov. by *μαναί*, and ‘no’ in Otr. by *δέγε* (pronounced *deghe*), in Bov. by *δέ*. The last of these is evidently for *δέν* (*οὐδέν*), and *δέγε* looks like an extension of it—hardly, as Morosi thinks, by the classical *γέ* being affixed, for the day of particles with an independent meaning had passed away long before this word was created. *Μαναί* is *ναί* with *μά* prefixed; but this *μά* is more likely to have been the Italian for ‘but,’ which is frequently used in M. G., than the ancient particle; for the usage compare Fr. ‘*mais oui*.’ The barbarous *οὐμμε* defies analysis.—The comparative form in *-τερος* is lost, but two comparatives, which are either lost or extremely rare in M. G., *κάλλιο*, ‘better,’ and *χείρο*, ‘worse,’ are regularly in use here.—The aor. pass. is free from the accretion of *-κα*, which is found in mediaeval and modern Greek, as *ἐστάθηκα* for *ἐστάθην*; the only forms in which it is found being the neut. aor. of *βαίνω* and its compounds, as *διάβηκα*, *ἀνέβηκα*, *ἐμβήκα* for *διέβην*, *ἀνέβην*, *ἐνέβην*.—Though the form of the future tense is lost, yet *θά* with the subjunctive, which has supplied its place in Greece, is wanting here; *θέλω νά* is used for ‘I wish to,’ and *ἔχω νά* for ‘I have to,’ ‘I must,’ but neither of them serves for the simple future. If *θά* had been in use before these Greeks migrated to Italy, it would be strange if they had lost so serviceable a form; as it is, they can only express the future by the present combined with an adverb, as *ἔρχομαι αὔρι(ον)* for ‘I shall come to-morrow.’—The tendency to shift the accent of words on to the final syllable, the influence of which already shows itself in mediaeval Greek, and which appears almost like a trick in the modern language, is hardly found here (see above, p. 17).—There is no trace of the complimentary Greek address *τοῦ λόγου σας*, ‘your honour,’ though this is found in embryo as early as the fourteenth century¹; its place is taken by *ἀστεντία σα* (*αὔθεντία σας*).

Again, the words of foreign importation—Slavonic, Albanian, Venetian, and Turkish—which have influenced so considerably the Modern Greek vocabulary, are here almost entirely wanting. The influence of the Slavonic languages, indeed, on Modern Greek, as Miklosich has shown in his valuable paper, *Die slavischen elemente in Neugriechischen*, has not been extensive; but of the words which he there mentions as having this origin, only one, *βούχα*, ‘clothes,’ seems to have found its way into Italy, and this may have been adopted into Greek at a comparatively early date. Albanian seems to be unrepresented, and the Venetian dialect of Italian almost entirely so, though in Greece from the fourteenth century onward, owing to the extensive dominion of the Republic in the East, it furnished many expressions which afterwards became naturalised. The question of Turkish words is a more difficult one, because it depends in part on the amount of confidence that is to be placed in a book published by Morelli at Naples in 1847, entitled *Cenni storici intorno alle colonie greco-calabre*. This work, which I have not seen, but which in the judgment of Morosi and Pellegrini is full of errors, contains in one part a list of words in use at Bova, among which are several of Turkish origin. For the existence of these Morelli seems to be the sole

¹ See *J.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 205.

authority, and when I enquired about some of them on the spot I found them to be unknown; indeed, Morosi is led to suspect that they must have been obtained from some Calabrian Greek who had been in Greece. The name *Τούρκο*, it is true, occurs in the songs, but this proves nothing with regard to this point, since it is used generally in the sense of a 'corsair.' To all this we may add what has already been remarked, that the regular ballad metre of the Greeks, and the familiar subjects of their songs, are wanting in Italy; and, moreover, that the popular mythology, with the well-known figures of Charon, the Nereids, &c.,¹ which is everywhere else the inheritance of this people, is unknown here. This is the more striking, because the Greeks of Cargese in Corsica, who migrated from the Morea two centuries ago, and have ever since been cut off from communication with their countrymen, still retain the ballads which they brought with them, and speak a language but little different from that which is in use in southern Greece.

The proofs which have thus been accumulated to shew that the Greek which is spoken in Italy is mediaeval, and not simply modern, in its leading features are corroborated by a comparison of the dialects of the Terra d'Otranto and of Bova with one another. My readers cannot fail to have been struck with the correspondence between these where they mutually differ from ordinary Romaic, in respect of their preservation of classical words, as *κλάω*, *ρίγῶ*; their use of words otherwise unknown, as *τίσπο*, *κανονῶ*; and their peculiarities of form and accent and meaning. From these we naturally conclude that the two were derived from a common original dialect, which was in use in Italy at one time as an independent language, distinct from that which was spoken in Greece. On the other hand, the differences between the two dialects are sufficiently strongly marked to prove that the period when they were one is of considerable antiquity. Thus, to take a few instances out of many, the consonants *κ*, *γ*, *τ*, *δ*, *β*, *ν*, which as a rule are lost between vowels in Otr., are usually kept in Bov.; *δ* is pronounced in Otr. as Eng. *d*, in Bov. as Eng. soft *th*; *θ* never retains its aspirated sound in Otr., but almost always does so in Bov.; the combinations *κτ* and *χθ*, which in Otr. become *φτ*, in Bov. become *στ*; as *κτένα κτενίου*, Otr. *ἀφτένι*, Bov. *στένι*; *ἐχθές*, Otr. *ἀφτέ*, Bov. *έστέ*. I may remark in passing that, chiefly owing to the loss of internal consonants, the Otrantine dialect is much the more difficult of the two to understand. In that district I was informed that, when the inhabitants came in contact with a Greek from Greece—a thing which now and then happens, and is only natural owing to the proximity of the two countries, since on a clear day Corfu is in sight from that neighbourhood—they have great difficulty in comprehending his language; whereas my informant at Bova assured me that he had met such a Greek at Reggio, and that, when he spoke slowly, he could understand very fairly what he said.

Still, notwithstanding the evidences of antiquity which have been

¹ On these, my *Highlands of Turkey*, vol. ii. pp. 304 foll., may be consulted.

mentioned, there are various features in these dialects which it is difficult to regard as otherwise than comparatively modern. The study of mediaeval Greek is hardly, perhaps, as yet sufficiently far advanced for us to be able to say with confidence at what period a particular word or form first appeared; but it is certainly striking that, whereas in the Italian Greek the words used for 'not' are corruptions of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, in the mediaeval chronicle of the Conquest of the Morea, which was written in the Peloponnese in the fourteenth century, this form does not occur, but only $\omicron\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ in the same sense. M. Psichari, however, in his lately published work, *Essais de grammaire historique néo-grecque*, has furnished us with a test by which the periods of development of the modern Greek language may be approximately determined. By a careful examination of all the available compositions in popular mediaeval Greek he has shewn, that until the beginning of the fourteenth century the nom. plur. fem. of the article was $\alpha\acute{\iota}$ and the accus. $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, but that from that time onward $\omicron\acute{\iota}$ (η) began to take the place of the former, and $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ ($\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$) of the latter,¹ until in the course of the two following centuries they respectively drove out the earlier forms. Now we find that in Otr. the nom. plur. fem. is $\alpha\acute{\iota}$ and the accus. $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, while in Bov. the nom. is $\omicron\acute{\iota}$ and the accus. $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$. The conclusion to which this brings us is that, unless the correspondence in these changes in Greece and Italy is accidental—which it is difficult to suppose—the Otrantine dialect must have been in some degree, that of Bova considerably, exposed to the influence of the language spoken in Greece subsequently to the thirteenth century.

Let us now enquire how far the results at which we have arrived by examining the language are borne out by the evidence of historical documents. With regard to the dying out of ancient Greek in the south of Italy, Strabo tells us that in his time the whole of that country, with the exception of the cities of Tarentum, Rhegium, and Naples, had been completely barbarised ($\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$), *i.e.* that it had ceased to use the Greek tongue²; and from the absence of Greek inscriptions of the imperial period in that district—as far as the present state of our knowledge justifies us in speaking on the subject—we may conclude that that language became extinct there within the first, or at the utmost the second, century after Christ. From that period onward no considerable influx of Greeks into Italy took place until the outbreak of iconoclasm in the Eastern empire in the eighth century. At that time, owing to the persecutions to which the image-worshippers were exposed and their unwillingness to resign their cherished observances, large numbers of Byzantine Christians, especially of monks, left their homes, and settled in Apulia and Calabria; and the movement thus set on foot assumed so great proportions, that we are told that in the course of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries as many as two hundred Greek monasteries were erected in south Italy, and were subject to the

¹ The difference between $\omicron\acute{\iota}$ and η , $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ and $\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, is one of orthography, for the pronunciation in each case is the same; there is no need here to discuss the question, which of the two is prefer-

able, though it is important in determining the origin of these forms.

² Strabo, vi. 1. § 2, p. 253.

patriarch of Constantinople.¹ But as the monks are *gens in qua nemo nascitur*, and with the final cessation of iconoclasm in the middle of the ninth century the primary cause of their emigration was removed, there must have existed on the spot a large number of their coreligionists to furnish inmates for those institutions. Such a Greek population was provided through the reestablishment of Byzantine influence in south Italy at that period by the emperor Basil the Macedonian, who organised his possessions there into a province called the Theme of Langobardia. After Basil's death, when the rich widow Danielis of Patrae (Patras), whose adopted son he was, left her immense possessions to his successor, Leo VI., that emperor enfranchised three thousand of her slaves, and established them in Apulia to cultivate the land as serfs.² Subsequently to this the Greek element must have greatly increased through the power exercised by the Byzantine officials, for we hear of as many as twenty important places, chiefly on the sea-coast, which were centres of their activity.³ After the final overthrow of the rule of the Eastern empire in these parts by the Normans in 1071, we have no definite evidence of any further reinforcement of these Greek colonies during the middle ages; though it is possible that in the time of the Comneni persons of this nationality may have been brought over to Italy by the Norman princes, first when Robert Guiscard and his son Bohemund invaded Greece, and afterwards when Roger II., after overrunning the country, carried off to Sicily the silk-workers of Thebes and Corinth. Nor can we overlook the close connexion which existed between the Kingdom of Naples and the Principality of the Morea in the latter part of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁴ Perhaps also at the time of the Ottoman conquest other Greeks may have fled hither for refuge, like those Albanians who crossed the Adriatic subsequently to the time of Scanderbeg, and whose settlements are still numerous in south Italy. But concerning the arrival of one additional colony at a later period we have certain information. Spon and Wheler mention that in 1673, about the time of their visit to Greece, when the Turks were endeavouring to subjugate the Mainotés in the south of the Morea, more than two thousand persons of that race

¹ Zambelli, *Ἱταλοελληνικά*, pp. 23, 202, and the authorities there given.

² See Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 255.

³ Zambelli, pp. 56, 57. In this connexion we may notice a remarkable group of words, which from having had a military application have come to be used of agriculture. In Otr. the term for 'tilling' the fields is *πολεμῶ*, and agricultural implements are called *ἄρματα*, which is the regular word for 'arms' in mediaeval and modern Greek. Again, in Bov. the word for an agricultural labourer is *πεζός* 'a foot-soldier,' and that for 'a person' is *θέμα*, which also is said to have been previously used for 'a cultivator of the soil.' The last word is used in Byzantine Greek first for 'a division of soldiers,' and then for the district in which they were

stationed; whence it was technically used for the Themes of the Empire, and ultimately was equivalent to a geographical administrative division like the Theme of Langobardia just mentioned. It has been suggested by Morosi and Pellegrini that the use of these expressions takes us back to the time of Byzantine military occupation; and the hypothesis is a tempting one, for nothing corresponding to this change of meaning is found elsewhere among Greek-speaking peoples, so that it would seem to have been caused by circumstances peculiar to the Italian colonies. When, however, it is applied to the words severally, it is difficult to see how it can be made to explain the change.

⁴ See *J. H. S.* vol. iv. pp. 179—181.

migrated to Apulia in order to preserve their independence, and had lands assigned to them there by the King of Spain.¹ From Italian sources we learn that in 1674 a detachment of these, consisting of 175 inhabitants of Pressio in the Morea (*i.e.* probably Prastio, near Cardamyla), landed in the Terra d'Otranto, and were established at Mottola, a hill-town at the back of Taranto. When, however, an attempt was made to force them to adopt the Latin rite, they declined to submit, and betook themselves to Tricarico, a place further inland in the neighbourhood of Potenza.² This took place about the same time that the Greek settlement was established in Corsica. We are further informed that in 1716 many families came from Greece to Lecce, and settled in that city and its neighbourhood.³

To turn now to the evidence furnished by Italy itself; we have ample proof from this source of an extensive Greek population existing in the country during the Middle Ages. In the Neapolitan archives there is a large collection of local Greek documents, ranging from A.D. 983 to 1304, and containing charters, agreements, forms of sale, &c., the information contained in which has been sifted by Zambelli (Zampelios), and summarised in his *Ἰταλοελληνικά*. The lists of Greek family names belonging to persons attached to farms and properties in various parts of the country, which occur in these, are very interesting, and the names correspond to a great extent to those which exist among the Greeks of the present day; such as Παλαιόπουλος, Μουσούρης, Καλογερίτζης, Κοσκινῶς, Κουταράτος.⁴ But the local names evidently of Greek origin which at the present day are widely spread over these provinces of Italy show that Greek was once used throughout a much more extensive area than any documents would seem to imply. Zambelli has collected more than fifty of these, which are found either there or in Sicily, and the following may

¹ Spon, *Voyage d'Italie &c.*, Amst. 1679 vol. i. p. 122; Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, Lond. 1682, p. 47. Among the Bova songs there is one that turns on the subject of 'the Greek girl' (ἡ Ῥωμαιοπούλα) who refuses the suit of a Turkish lover, notwithstanding her mother's solicitations (Comparetti Nos. 36, 37; Pellegrini, No. 62). This poem differs completely in metre and mode of treatment from all the rest that are found in Italy, and corresponds to two on the same subject which are sung in Greece, Nos. 574 and 574a in Passow's *Carmina popularia Graeciae recentioris*; there can be no doubt therefore that it has been imported from abroad. Morosi ('Bova,' p. 74), mentions a story which was current at Bova, to the effect that it had been introduced early in the present century by a native of that place who had lived abroad. If this was not the case, it is probable that it dates from the time of the migration of the Mainotes.

² Ródotà, *Dell' origine del rito greco*, vol. iii. p. 96.

³ Aar, in *Archivio storico italiano*, 4th ser. vol. vi. p. 316.

⁴ Zambelli, p. 168. It is also noticeable, as illustrating the numerous points of correspondence which exist between modern and early mediaeval Greek, how many words and peculiarities of form which are familiar at the present day are found in these early documents. Thus 'water' is νερόν, the 'nose' μύτη, 'a dog' σκύλλος, 'oil' λάδι, 'a goat' γίδα, 'the summer' καλοκαίριν, 'a forest' λόγγος, 'silver' ἀσήμι, 'an ass' γαϊδαρος: 'white' ἄσπρος, 'black' μαῦρος, 'short' κοντός, 'lame' κοντζός: and (to illustrate peculiarities of form) for ἄερα, 'wind' we find ἀγέρας, for αἶμα γαῖμα, for κεκαυμένος καμμένος, for ἔφερον ἐφέρασιν, for ἔκαμον ἐκάμασιν. (Zambelli, pp. 154, 171, 184, 185). It may be added, that in the Greek of the Bova district at the present day there are words in use which exist in Greek MSS. of Calabria earlier than Cent. xiii., but do not belong to the language as spoken in Greece—βαθεῖα 'valley,' ἀρτυσία 'seasoning,' κεφάλωμα 'extremity,' στεινᾶτο (for στεινᾶτον) 'boiler,' and others. (Morosi, 'Bova,' p. 75.)

be taken as specimens:—Monastarace (Μοναστηράκι), Riace (Ῥιάκι), Velanidi (Βελανίδι), Neocastro (Νεόκαστρον), Policastro (Πολύκαστρον), Contoguri (Κοντογούρι), Petrizza (Πετριτζα), Aciri (Ἄκριη), CROPALATI (Κουροπαλάτης).¹ An additional and very curious form of evidence is supplied by the numerous mediaeval Greek words which are found embedded in the modern Apulian and Calabrian dialects of Italian. Thus the 'tortoise' is *celona* (χελώνη), 'a frying-pan' *tiane* (τηγάνι), 'a fox' *lipuda* (άλιπούδα, = ἀλώπηξ), 'a skull' *coccalo* (κόκκαλον), 'fresh cheese' *provola* (πρόγαλα), 'a nest' *foddea* (φωλέα); and there are many others.²

With regard to the two groups of Greek townships and villages which are the subject of this paper we have information of a fairly early date, and in both cases we discover that at one period they extended more widely than they do at the present day. In the case of the Terra d'Otranto the intimations occur at sufficiently frequent intervals to form a continuous chain of evidence from early in the middle ages to the present time. These have been collected with great care and learning by Sig. Aar in his articles entitled *Gli studi storici in Terra d'Otranto* in vols. vi. and ix. of ser. 4 of the *Archivio storico italiano*; ³ and for the earlier period are derived from Greek manuscripts, like those already mentioned, in the Neapolitan and other archives, and from incidental notices in other documents. Thus a bull of Urban VI. in 1384 informs us that the town of Galatina, between Lecce and Gallipoli, had then a mixed population of Greek and Latin Christians, but that the services of the Church were conducted only in the Greek tongue. From this period onward the number of our authorities increases. Early in the fifteenth century Epifanio, abbot of Nardò, near Galatina, mentions many places inhabited by Greeks, whose number amounted to 12,330 souls. At the beginning of the following century Galateo, who was a native of these parts, in his book *De situ Iapigiae* makes mention of other towns where Greek was spoken; and this was confirmed during the sixteenth century by Alberti in his *Descrizione di tutta l'Italia*, by Porzio in his *Relazione del regno di Napoli*, and by Persio in his *Discorso intorno alla conformità della lingua italiana con le più nobili antiche lingue*. Further evidence on the same subject is furnished in the first half of the seventeenth century by Arcudi, priest of Soletto, who in a letter addressed to Pope Urban VIII. describes the Greek that was in use in that place; and in the early part of the eighteenth century by Ughelli in his *Italia Sacra*.⁴ Of the Greeks of Bova the first notice is found in a charter (without date) of Roger II., who died in 1154: in this, among the serfs presented by him to a monastery in Calabria, we find Γρηγόριος βουτάνος and Νικήτης βουτάνος; and the gentile name here given can hardly mean anything else than 'inhabitant of Bova (Βούα),' being in fact the name

¹ Zambelli, pp. 54, 55; cp. Morosi, *Studi*, 206.

² Zambelli, p. 68; cp. Morosi, *Studi*, p. 206.

³ Proofs of the existence of a much more numerous Greek population are given in vol. vi. pp. 101, 102, and notes. For evidence on the

same subject derived from the continuance of the Greek rite in Italy the reader is referred to an article in the *Antiquary* for 1888, pp. 195—197.

⁴ See the authorities in Morosi, *Studi*, pp. 181, 207, and Pellegrini, pp. ix—xi.

applied to the people of that place at the present day.¹ At a later period they are explicitly mentioned by Barrius in his *De antiquitate et situ Calabriae* (Rom. 1571). After mentioning various other places in that province where Greek was spoken, that writer names 'Bova civitas, sedes episcopalis in montis cacumine sita,' and then adds—'A Leucopetra villa hucusque incolae in familiari sermone Latina (*i.e.* Italian) et Graeca lingua utuntur, sacra vero Graeca lingua, Graecoque ritu faciunt.'²

The conclusion, then, to which we are led with regard to the origin of the Greek-speaking population of South Italy is, that they are descendants of the Byzantine Greeks who migrated thither not later than the eleventh century, and that the groundwork of their language is to be found in the Greek that was spoken in Greece at that time. But, notwithstanding that we have no definite evidence of any other immigrants having come over from the mother-country between that date and the seventeenth century, yet so great difficulty is involved in supposing that all the forms and expressions which these dialects possess in common with Modern Greek existed so early, that we are almost forced to the conclusion that the original colonies must at some time have been reinforced in this manner. We have seen that it is a doubtful question whether any Turkish words are to be found in the Italian Greek at the present day. If this should prove to be the case, their introduction may with some confidence be referred to the migration from Greece which took place in 1673; and other peculiarities in the language, which can be proved to bear a comparatively modern stamp, may not unreasonably be attributed to that period.

H. F. TOZER.

¹ Morosi, '*Bova*,' p. 76.

² Barrius, p. 228, quoted by Pott in *Philologus*, vol. xi. p. 247.