

“KELIMAT”: A TURKISH-GREEK WORD LIST FOR OTTOMAN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN CRETE

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The Cretan Muslims have been considered as a “people without History”¹, but it would probably be more precise to say that a place in History for them has never been found. In spite of being just “Turks” for the foreigners and for the Greeks, or at best “Turko-Cretans” (Τουρκο-κρήτες), they were closer to their Christian compatriots, with whom they shared language and daily life culture, than to the Ottoman Turks from other counties, with whom all they had in common was religion. The famous *çarşaf* at the trousers or around the head, dark for Christians and light-coloured for Muslims, was the only external sign which distinguished the males of the two populations². On the other hand, differences existed, syncretisms on both sides, and contrasts enough to cause hostilities. But now that this culture has completely vanished since the populations’ exchange, very few scientific attempts have been made to fix the cultural position of the Cretan Muslims within the Cretan-Greek and the Ottoman civilization. This is particularly true for research into language, since in the study of the Cretan dialect no reference is generally made to the Muslim variant, nor has ever been the supposition that such a variant exists set up. We know that the Cretan dialect with its regional modifications (generally divided in Eastern and Western Cretan, a

¹ ÖZBAYRI/ZAKHOS-PAPAZAKHARIOU 1976, p. 73.

² BERARD 1900, p. 21: “Les insurgés sont reconnaissables à leur mouchoir sombre autour de leur culotte [...]. Les musulmans [...], sauf le mouchoir clair, portent le même costume.”, and p. 28: “[...] rien ne les distingue les uns des autres, que la couleur du mouchoir autour de la tête.”. See also ÖZBAYRI/ZAKHOS-PAPAZAKHARIOU 1976, p. 72/73.

division which is being contested within the theory of isoglosses³) was spoken by both populations of the island, but the fact of writing Greek in Arabic characters and some specific features in the Muslim speech are evident peculiarities, though they have never been systematically studied⁴.

In this context we suggest the examination of the written inheritance of Muslim Greek in Crete, which was generally fixed in Arabic characters. From the linguistic point of view, the study of bilingual glossaries, grammars and conversation books seems to be the most appropriate for a first step of research, whereas the investigation of possible literary activity in Greek or Cretan dialect by Muslims and the comparison of such literature with that of the other Greek lands with Muslim cultural manifestations, first of all of Epirus, could be the following step⁵. As an attempt, we are going to present in these pages a Turkish-Greek word list, *Kelimât:türkiyye ve rûmîyye*, which includes a small grammar part and some conversation examples at the end, and which was published in Chaniá between 1291/1874 and 1312/1894 for the teaching of Turkish in the Muslim primary schools of Crete⁶.

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I. The Cretan Muslims and their education at the end of the century

As pointed out above, a history of Cretan Muslims does not exist; therefore we have to stick to the few mentions in general works or to some specific articles⁷.

As to the number of population during the second half of the nineteenth century, we have, according to the different sources, in 1851 68.000 Muslims (150.231 Greek Christians), in 1881 73.234 Muslims (205.010 Orthodox Christians) and in 1900 33.281 Muslims (267.266 Orthodox Christians)⁸. The diminution of the Muslim population in the last years of the century was due to the first migration of Cretan Muslims to Turkey after the occupation of the island by the European powers in 1897 and the proclamation of its autonomy under their own protection (1898). The matter concerned above all the Muslim villagers, who since 1896 had migrated to the cities occupying the houses of the Greeks who had fled from previous massacres committed by Muslim fanatics⁹. However, the population of the chief towns was “principally composed of Mussulmans, for instance in the city of Canea the proportion was in 1851 2.700 Christians to 10.400 Mussulmans”,

³ CHARALAMBAKIS 1989, p. 380.

⁴ For the Muslim oral traditions see the only study on this subject ÖZBAYRI/ZAKHOS-PAPAZAKHARIOU 1976.

⁵ For Epirus the stage of research is comparable to that of Crete, though some short studies have been published, especially upon the so-called “ομολογίες”. As the latest works on linguistic and literary subjects we mention KAPPLER 1993 and the promising announcement of KOTZAGHEORGHIS 1993.

⁶ The glossary is mentioned by STRAUSS 1990, p. 61 n. 24 with the year of impression 1291/1874. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Oğuz Karakartal, Marmara Üniversitesi, Istanbul, who procured the booklet for me.

⁷ See the rather superficial allusions in the chapter “Εξισλαμισμοί, Τουρκοκρήτες, Κρυπτοχριστιανοί” in DHETORAKIS 1986, p. 287-290; moreover cf. STRAUSS 1990, KOLOĞLU 1987, CHIDHIROGHILOU 1972 and, for former times, CHIDHIROGHILOU 1969A and 1969B.

⁸ The numbers for 1851 are from an English “Memorandum relative to the Island of Candia 1821-1862” in PREVELAKIS 1969, p. 58; the numbers for 1881 and 1900 are from the Encyclopedia Britannica 6, 1963, p. 740.

⁹ BERARD 1900, p. 120, 230, 237.

while by far the largest part of the Christians lived outside the towns (143.050 of the rural population compared with 7.181 of the city population, still in 1851)¹⁰.

The years between 1889 and 1895, i.e. at the time of the publication of our booklet, were superficially rather positive for the Cretan Muslims, at least for the rich beys. In reality, those were the last flourishing years before the dramatical, for the Muslims, events of 1898. It was under the rule of Mahmud Cellaeddin that the absolute Muslim government was restored, though the Pact of Khalepa (October 1878) had obliged the Sultan to appoint a Christian Greek being an Ottoman subject as governor of the island. The General Assembly established by the Organic Statute of 1868 and composed of both Muslims and Christians lost its influence, while the island was led towards financial catastroph¹¹. The situation led to the Revolution of 1895 and to the institution of a Christian governor by the Sultan with the approbation of the foreign powers. But the hostilities grew even more and culminated in a massacre of the Christian quarter of Chania by the Muslims (February 1897)¹². The result was the intervention of the foreign powers already mentioned above and the mass emigration of thousands of Cretan Muslims to Asia Minor and Tripolitania.

The same deficiency of general information about Muslims in Crete is equally valid for the state of their schools. We can therefore only deduce from a series of edicts and laws enacted during and after the period of the *Tanzîmât* (1839-1878). These reforms, in the educational sector, aimed at a broader education and secularized school system for all Ottoman subjects regardless of their race, religion or language¹³. The lowest step in the school system were the *sıbyân mektepleri*, for which our booklet was prepared, and which in that period were transformed from Kur'an oriented classes into compulsory elementary schools (*ibtidâiyye*) for both boys and girls aged from 4-7 to 10-11 years with a relatively broad teaching of alphabet and writing, Kur'an and its recitation, ethics, arithmetic, Ottoman history, geography and practical subjects (edict called *maârif-i umûmiye nizâm-nâmesi* from 1869¹⁴). As to the number of schools, we are informed that in 1892 we have 185 *sıbyan mektepleri* (145 for boys and 40 for girls) on the island¹⁵, quite a large number due to the activities under Sultan Abdülhamîd. Of course, we little know about the real application of the reforms in the village and town schools in Crete. The Austrian traveller F.W. Sieber who visited the island in 1817 refers to the "Turkish Schools" where "reading, a little writing and Kur'an was taught"¹⁶, and probably until the eighties the situation did not change too much, since we know that the application of the central laws proceeded generally very slowly in the vilâyets¹⁷.

¹⁰ Quotation and numbers are from the cited "Memorandum" in PREVELAKI 1969, p. 58.

¹¹ BERARD 1900, p. 78-80.

¹² DHETORAKIS 1986, p. 390-394; BERARD 1900, p. 86.

¹³ See DUMONT 1989, p. 487-481.

¹⁴ See GÜNYÖL 1972, p. 656 and KODAMAN 1988, p. 63-64 and *passim*.

¹⁵ Cfr. for the number of *sıbyan mektepleri* STRAUSS 1995, p. 161 n. 25, according to the *Salname-i Vilayet-i Girid* from 1310/1892.

¹⁶ From SIEBER, *Reise nach der Insel Kreta*, Leipzig 1823, II. Vol., p. 103, in ZOBANAKIS 1939, p. 282.

¹⁷ KODAMAN 1988, p. 77.

An important date for Cretan educational system was 1881, when the General Assembly, composed at that time of 49 Christians and 31 Muslims, voted the “Education Law” (Νόμος περί παιδείας) which was in force until 1898 and prescribed basic education compulsory for both sexes and the foundation of new elementary schools¹⁸. The *maârif-i umûmiye nizâmnâmesi* from 1869, therefore, was probably never applied in Crete.

In Constantinople and other major cities of the Empire the educational system of the minorities was often by far better than the level of the public Ottoman schools, especially in higher education. The situation in Crete seems to be a little different, when we compare the illiteracy rate of Christians in 1881 (men: 81,75%, women: 96,5%) to that of Muslims (men: 80,8%, women: 88,2%)¹⁹. The difference, particularly amazing in the women’s rate, is usually explained by the fact that the towns, where obviously most schools were concentrated, were predominantly populated by Muslims. If this is certainly true, we should also remember that however almost 60% of the Muslims lived outside the towns (39.784 rural population compared with 28.216 city population in 1851²⁰).

Our main interest lies however in the question of language teaching. From when was Turkish taught, both in Christian and Muslim schools? According to STRAUSS 1990 already since 1878, i.e. since the Tanzîmât reforms and the institution of a General Assembly by the Pact of Khalepa, Turkish must have been introduced into the school programs, because that period saw a lively publishing activity of newspapers in Ottoman Turkish. It is very interesting that the phenomenon was due to a need of turkization on behalf of the Muslim intellectuals in the Cretan cities during these difficult years in order to justify a “Turkish” national identity, which ethnically is rather doubtful. This need, according to STRAUSS, led also to a turkization in school teaching. It may be argued, however, that only in 1895 the Ottoman government made Turkish a required subject in Greek minority schools of the capital²¹, but the specific situation of the Cretan Muslims, who naturally were not considered a “minority nation”, was probably particular enough to permit the teaching of Turkish before that date. Moreover, it seems that often (in the villages?) Christian and Muslim children went to the same school, which could lead to a participation of the pupils in subjects they were not supposed to attend because of their religion²². In addition to this information we should mention the Organic Statute of 1868 that established the Greek language as the official one on the island, which, according to a Greek scholar, “influenced the education even in the Turkish schools”²³.

Whatever this might mean, we know for sure not only that Turkish was taught in elementary schools at the end of the century, but that it was taught separately for Muslim children, since a text book in Arabic characters for Greek could certainly not be used in schools where there were also Christian pupils. In this, we differ from the opinion

¹⁸ DHETORAKIS 1986, p. 411/412.

¹⁹ DHETORAKIS 1986, p. 412.

²⁰ From the “Memorandum” in PREVELAKIS 1969, p. 58.

²¹ ALEXANDRIS 1983, p. 46; in 1894 according to CLOGG 1982, p. 198.

²² According to ÖZBAYRI/ZAKHOS-PAPAZAKHARIOU 1976, p. 72.

²³ Quotation from DHETORAKIS 1986, p. 410.

expressed by ÖZBAYRI/ZAKHOS-PAPAZAKHARIOU by which, in the second half of the century, the “Turkish lessons” consisted only in teaching of Kur’an and prayers “qui étaient tout sauf en turc”²⁴. In a more careful way of investigating, it should also be considered that Turkish as a subject was certainly not taught from the very first class of elementary education. Our word list, for instance, was edited for the fourth, i.e. last class (see chapter II.)²⁵.

II. Description of “*Kelimât*” and its author

The word list we are going to discuss in some linguistic detail, published in 1312/1894 (fourth edition) in Chaniá/Crete, has the title “*Kelimât*” (“Words”) and is part of a Turkish manual “*Muhtelit qavâ'id-i türkiyye*” (“Various Rules of Turkish”). The latter fact results from a postscript on the last page of the book:

“İşbu risâleniñ rumca tercümelerinde isti'mâl olunan yazı ve işâretler tab' olunan “*Muhtelit qavâ'id - i türkiyye*” nâm kitâbımızda ta'rif ve beyân olunmuşdur.”

“The writing and the signs used in this booklet for the Greek translations, have been defined and described in our printed book entitled “*Various Rules of Turkish*”.)

This means also that the transcription used in the book for Greek was expressly developed by the author for this work, a fact which will interest us below.

The book has 88 pages (frontispiece included), size 18x11cm. It includes an extended list of Turkish and Greek words, classified according to semantic groups²⁶ and arranged alphabetically (starting from the Turkish words being the “target language”) within each group (p. 2-67), followed by a small grammar part with the main inflections and conjugations of Turkish nouns and verbs (p. 67-79) and some conversation phrases taken from everyday school life (“*Ba'z-ı makâlemeler*”, p. 80-88).

The frontispiece reads as follows (cf. photocopy):

Girid sıbyân mektebleriçün cem' olunan
Kelimât-ı
türkiyye ve rûmiyye
câmi'î
Hüseyin Kâmî

24 ÖZBAYRI/ZAKHOS-PAPAZAKHARIOU 1976, p. 73.

25 In the vilayet of Syria, where the linguistic situation was somewhat comparable to that of Crete, i.e. children belonging to the Muslim “nation” without any knowledge of Turkish, the teaching of Turkish language was introduced in the third class; see KODAMAN 1988, p. 87.

26 The first word is obviously “God” (Θεός/Cenâb- i Hakk’). Some examples of the following semantic groups (always only in Turkish): “About the World” (Cihâne dâir), “About Man” (İnsâna dâir), “About Time” (Zamâne dâir), “About Colours” (Elvâne dâir) “About Fruits” (Meyvelere dâir) etc. The verbs are listed separately (p. 57-67) according to their Turkish form (in *-maq*, in *-mek*, and composed verbs).

‘ilâveli olaraq def‘e-yi râbi‘e
Girîd Hânya’da Haqîqat matba‘asında tab‘ olunmuşdur
târîh-i tab‘î
1312

(“Turkish and Greek Word list collected for Cretan elementary schools, by Hüseyin Kâmî, printed with a supplement for the fourth time in Chaniá/Crete in the printing-house “The Truth” year of impression 1312”)

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Thus, the author of the work (and also of the manual mentioned on the last page) is Hüseyin Kâmî. We can probably identify this name with that of the Cretan historiographer Hüseyin Kâmî Hanyevî (or, according to the modern Turkish texts, Hanyalı), i.e. “from Chania”, although we have no hint that he was concerned with linguistic or didactic matters, too²⁷. As to the printing-house “Haqîqat” we have no particular information; we know, however, that in 1895-96, the year after the impression of the *Kelimât*, a weekly “Ottoman newspaper” named *Haqîqat* was published in Chania under the direction of Bıçakcızâde Arîf²⁸.

III. Some observations on the Greek language variants in “*Kelimât*”

This chapter intends to describe the outstanding linguistic features of the part written in Greek in order to characterize the specific variant of Cretan Greek and possible other variants used in the word list. This interesting material in its graphic form of Arabic characters is usually not considered by scholars of Modern Greek; hence the Orientalist’s contribution²⁹. The material needs further investigation by specialists of Cretan dialectology and thus we hope for a discussion in this direction. Ottoman Turkish being the target language it is obvious that the Turkish used in the *Kelimât* is standard and has no particular regional features. As to the Greek part, the distribution of standard language and dialect and/or demotic language is discussed below.

²⁷ Hüseyin Kâmî published a History of Crete (*Girid tarihî*), Istanbul 1288 (1871/72), and a Political History of Crete (*Siyâsî Girid Tarihî*), Istanbul 1328 (1910). Cf. CHIDHIROGHLU 1980, p. 106 no. 723 and p. 107 no. 736; STRAUSS 1990, p. 61, where the author of *Kelimât* is also identified with the historiographer; see also ROSSI 1926, p. 449 and CHIDHIROGHLU 1972, p. 474; the historian’s name seems to be wrongly recorded as Husein Giami Haniewi (ROSSI) and Hanyali Hüseyin Ğami (CHIDHIROGHLU 1972).

²⁸ See KOLOĖLU 1987, p. 331.

²⁹ General discussion about Greek “Aljamiado” literature, i.e. Greek in Arabic characters, can be found in THEODORIDIS 1965 (with more bibliographical hints) and LEHFELDT 1989, p. 53-70 and bibliography. The material presented by CHIDHIROGHLU 1993 is very interesting, since it goes together with the text in Arabic letters. Unfortunately, the text is insufficiently commented and needs a serious linguistic and graphematical examination.

1. Transcription analysis

a. Vowels

Despite the fact that Arabic writing does not care about short vowels, the adapted transcription method faithfully reflects the vowel phonemes, except /o/ and /u/ both represented by the same sign و; the other vowels conform to their word position as follows:

/a/-: آ -/a/- and -/a/: ا , ا
 /i/-: إ -/i/- and -/i/-: ي and ی
 /e/-: إ -/e/- and -/e/: ع

Two subsequent vowels are divided either by *hamza* or by the letter ح: for example the word κρείος on p. 30 has the two writings قری یوس and قری ئوس.

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b. Consonants

The following observations can be made:

- [ð] and [θ] are regularly represented by the letters ذ and ث as they sound in Arabic (not in Ottoman!);

- the allophones of /x/ in Greek ([x] before velar vowels and consonants versus [ç] before palatal vowels) and Cretan Greek ([x] versus [ʃ]) is reflected in the Arabic writing: έχω - آخو - έζεις (=έχεις) آشيس; other examples: δειμώνας (χειμώνας) شى مونامى / μαδαίρι (μαχαίρι) ماشه رى;

- the Cretan pronunciation of τσ as [ç] and of τζ as [ǰ] is truly represented: έτσι (=έτσι) مهلى جانى شى ; μελιτζάνες (μελιτζάνες) مى لى جانى شى .

- to distinguish /k/ from /k'/ the grapheme ق <q> is used before velar vowels and consonants, whereas ك <k> is used before palatal vowels:

γραμματικός γραµα طى قوسى versus the plural form γραμματικοί كى غراما طى كى .

The sequence κια [k'a] is therefore simply rendered as كالى كالى: كالى for κιάλι; كالى for κια; and, very illustrative, كالى قوكا for κουκιά (or κουκκιά), i.e. <quka> for [kuk'a].

It is interesting that the difference in pronunciation between /k/ and /k'/, the latter in Cretan Greek being pronounced almost as [ç], is not considered in the writing as it was in the cases above (χ and τσ). Probably a Cretan Muslim reader read automatically according to his speech habits as a Cretan Greek would have done reading a text written in Greek characters.

- consequently [ŋ] (γγ and γκ) are rendered according to their position: ن <nq> before velar vowels, and نك <nk> before palatal vowels; examples: آن فونى for αγρόνι; نون قارى for φεγγάρι; پارا نكه لو for παραγγέλλω; آنكه لوسى for άγγελος. In one case the sound is simply replaced by <k>: ن سترو كيلون for στρογγυλόν (if not στρογυλόν or στροκυλόν).

- the representation of /t/ is slightly fluctuating; usually the letter ط is used in [ta], [to], [tu], [ti] (طا، طو، طى) and ت in [te] (ته), but there are exceptions (e.g. مه سانى قتا for μεσάνυχτα).

Phonetic instead of graphic transcription can be furthermore noticed in the following cases:

– the pronunciation of /s/ as sonant [z] before voiced consonants is sometimes reflected in the writing: قونيزما for κόνισμα (see glossary); زولينرمة نومي for ζουλιόμενος;; زيمه نومي for συμμένος - but also لا سمه نومي for χαλασμένος.

– [b], [mb] (μπ) and [d], [nd] (ντ) are rendered according to the actual phonemic value: آميه لي for αμπέλι; نو ب for μπαίνω; بودي قومي for βοδικός (ποντικός; cf. Glossary); آذی ئان درو بوسي for αδιάντροπος; آن دار طيسي for αντάρτης. In Sandhi position the two sounds are considered separately, e.g. ذهن طو غرا نو for δεν το γράφω (pronounced δεν do γράφω). Sometimes the use of <d> versus <nd> is fluctuating, as in آفنه ر يسي / αφένης / آفنه ر يسي / αφέννης / آفنه ر يسي / εφέννης (see Glossary αφένης).

– syncope is reflected in writing: سناري for σ(i)τάρι

In conclusion it can be said that the Arabic writing in our word list which was created on purpose, as pointed out by the author in the postscript, reflects almost all phonetic features of Greek (except o/u), rendering even phonological differentiations not considered in the Greek writing (see the “allographes” خ and ثني for χ). It can be said that each phoneme (not grapheme!) has its correspondent, as the example μπ shows. The text is therefore suitable for linguistic investigation, unlike most of the other transcription texts in Arabic characters³⁰.

2. Demotic versus Katharévousa

One of the most interesting linguistic features of the Greek part of *Kelimât* is the fluctuation in speech style level. The text is indeed composed of three levels: 1.) Cretan dialect, 2.) demotic common Greek 3.) high standard “katharévousa” Greek.

In the word list itself most of the words appear in their demotic or dialect form, only the neuter nouns are often, but not always, listed with the ending -on: το φαγητόν [p. 24], το ρόδον [p. 26]; but το βράζο [p. 9] (nouns in -ι never appear as -ιον: το μάτι etc.). Sometimes we observe a hypercorrection, as in το μάγουλον [p. 10] or in the Cretan word φρούον [p. 23; see Glossary]. Many words of daily or local use are in Cretan dialect, such as names of plants or fruits, and months (see Glossary).

In the grammar part the situation basically changes to a predominant use of katharévousa, as can be expected from a class book, but mixed with demotic elements. Examples for the declination of nouns: (εις) την Κρήτην [p. 68], (εις) τας πόρτας [p. 69]. Often doublets occur in parentheses: η Πόλη (Πόλις) - της Πόλης (Πόλεως) [p. 67; for “Istanbul”]; ο πατέρας (πατήρ) - του πατέρα (πατρός) [p. 68]; η πόρτα (θυρ) [p. 68]; ο ξειμώνας (ξειμών) - του ξειμώνα (ξειμώνος) [p. 71]; ο πόδας (πους) - του πόδα (ποδός) [p. 71/72]³¹.

³⁰ For instance the Greek verses of Sultan Veled, see BURGUIERE/MANTRAN 1952; or the example cited in THEODORIDIS 1965. The orthography used in “*Kelimât*” coincides in its basic outlines only with that of the hitherto sole graphematically investigated Greek text in Arabic characters (from the 15th century, in LEHFELDT 1989, p. 53-70: graphematically analysis by Günther S. Henrich).

³¹ Πόδας is a Cretan word, occurring also in Erotocritos, i.e. the gap is here directly from dialect to katharévousa leaving out the demotic form τό πόδι.

The verb forms are mostly demotic, only the first person plural fluctuates in one case: *έχομεν* - versus all remaining forms in -ομε or -οιμε (*διαβάζοιμε* etc.) [p. 78]. The verb "to be" is mixed: *είμαι* - *είσαι* - *είναι* - *είμεθα* - *είστε* - *είναι* [p. 75], and in the past tense: *εγώ ήμουν* - *συ ήσουν* - *εκείνος ήτον* - *εμείς είμεθα* - *σεις είσθε* - *εκείνοι ήσαν* [p. 77/78]³².

In the conversation part the three speech levels coexist in a sometimes even amusing mixture. Cf. the sentence on p. 81: *από το σχολείον πηγαίνω δρέτα εις το σπίτι*. In several cases an expression does not belong to any of the speech levels, as in *εις το χωριό* (neither *katharévousa εις το χωριόν* nor demotic *΄ς το/στο χωριό*) [p. 84]. Other *katharévousa* elements in the conversation phrases: *εις τας δέκα* [p. 80], *μετά χαράς* [p. 82], *διά (τα παιδιά)* [p. 81]. Most of the text, however, is in demotic Greek with some Cretan elements.

3. Generic Cretan elements

A great number of Cretan words occur in the word list and in the conversation part and can be consulted in the Glossary below.

Many of them can be found in *Erotocritos* and other classic works of the "Cretan Renaissance" (*εδά, έτοια*, all forms of *κατέχω, γροικώ, θωρώ* and many others).

Some specific Cretan grammatical structures can also be observed:

– the use of *δα*: according to PANGALOS [vol. 1, p. 322] this particle shows that something happened or is going to happen without being too sure about it, or, as *δανά*, to mark the future; in this text however it seems even to stress a statement, cf. p. 83: *αφού είναι έτσι δα είναι εντροπή να συναναστρέφουσαι μέ έσα παιδιά* / *öyle ise böyle çocuklar ile görüşmek ayıyibdir - τώντι έτσι δάναι/ vâkia öyledir*; and with aorist p. 81: *εκεί δα εδούλεψα ως δύο ώρες* / *orada iki saat kadar çalıştım*;

– *έχω* + participle in -α: the Turkish reported preterite in -miş expressing uncertainty or something not witnessed is translated in Greek with a composed structure similar to the perfect tense, e.g. *έχω γραμμένα, έξεις γραμμένα...* / *yazmışım, yazmışın...* [cf. PANGALOS p. 326: *έχω γροικημένα*];

– the conditional with *ήθελα* + conjunctive, e.g. p. 80: *ήθελα γράψω* / *yazacak idim*;

– the personal pronoun *απατός* + poss. encl., e.g. p. 84: *θαρρώ πως απατός σου γράφεις ομορφήτερα* / *zann iderim ki siz daha güzel yazıyorsunuz*³³ [cf. PANGALOS vol. 5/I, p. 171: *άπατός, -ή -ό < άπ' αύτοϋ/άπαντός*, East. Crete; also in *Erotocritos*];

– the relative pronoun *οπού* (Greek *koiné που*), e.g. p. 85: *τα παιδιά οπού βρίζονται εις το χωριό* / *köyde olan çocuklar*, occurring often also in *Erotocritos*³⁴.

Some of the main features of Cretan Greek are not considered in the speech variant of our word list, as for instance the articles *το(η)* and *το(ι)* or *το(ου)* [cf. PANGALOS vol.

³² Cf. the first person plural in PANGALOS: *είμεστα* (p. 356) and past tense *ήμαστανε* (p. 358).

³³ Note the different treatment of the interlocutor: plural (courtesy form) in Turkish versus singular in Greek; the use is, however, fluctuating.

³⁴ In the Cretan Muslim texts in ÖZBAYRI/ZAKHOS-PAPAZAKHARIOU 1976 *άπου* (p. 77, 83).

1, p. 259, in the Muslim texts of ÖZBAYRI/ZAKHOS-PAPAZAKHARIOU 1976 and throughout Erotocritos], always used here in their Greek koine form της, τις طیبی and τους طوسی .

As usual in the Cretan dialect, we encounter many words of Italian, particularly of Venetian origin. For words of Turkish origin see the following chapter.

4. Elements of a specific “Muslim” speech?

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One of the most astonishing observations that can be made is the fact that our text shows *extremely few turkisms*, in spite of the existence of many words with Ottoman Turkish origin in the Cretan dialect³⁵, and even less than in the Greek koiné, e.g. for Turkish *tenbel* “lazy” the Greek translation is *οκνηρός*, instead of the common demotic Greek *τεμπέλης* [p. 37]. In one case the Greek word is given in brackets following one of the rare turkisms: *ήμουν εις τον ισλαχανέ (ορφανοτροφείον) / islah-hanede idim* [p. 81]³⁶.

It goes without saying that some daily life expressions were probably determined by the Muslim society, first of all in religious practice³⁷, as also in some specific honorific titles, such as *πατέρας αφέτης / baba peder* [p. 10], *βάβα εφένδη / peder efendi* [p. 86] “father”; *γείτονας βέι(/ komşu bey* [p. 86] “neighbour”; *χότζα εφένδη / hoca efendi* [p. 80, 83] “teacher”. However, it is likely that also most Christians, at least in the towns with their predominant Muslim culture, used these expressions. It is not contradictory but the mere proof of a mingled popular culture that in the religious terms of our word list there is absolutely nothing specifically Muslim³⁸.

On the other hand there are a lot of “hidden” turkisms, i.e. semantic and syntactical structures according to Turkish models. Deciding whether these were of common use also in Cretan Greek spoken by Christians is not within our competence. Some examples for this kind of a possible “Muslim speech”:

a) lexical/semantic elements:

– *δεν έχουν είδησιν / haberleri yok* [p. 84];

– *εγώ ο σκλάβος σας / bendeniz* [p. 81], and as synonym to *εγώ* in brackets in the sentence *βράβο, και εγώ (ο σκλάβος σας) έξι το κάνω / aferin, bendeniz dahi böyle iderdim* [p. 85];

³⁵ See the extended word list in PAPAGHRIGHORAKIS 1951 and the great number of turkisms in CHARALAMBAKIS 1991.

³⁶ It is interesting that just this last turkism is not listed in PAPAGHRIGHORAKIS 1951. In folk literature we have sometimes two versions of the same poem, one with a lot of turkisms and one without any Turkish elements, e.g. the popular versions of Erotocritos or the Ecatologa; see ÖZBAYRI/ZAKHOS-PAPAZAKHARIOU 1976, p. 85, where the subject unfortunately is not further investigated.

³⁷ See the texts in ÖZBAYRI/ZAKHOS-PAPAZAKHARIOU 1976.

³⁸ These are the terms given on the first page of the booklet: *Θεός/Cenâb-i Hakk* “God”; *Προφήτης/Peygamber* “Prophet”; *άγγελος/melek* “angel”; *άγιος/veli* “saint”; *μάρτυς/şehid* “martyr”; *παράδεισος/cennet* “Paradise”; *κόλασις/cehennem* “Hell”; *διάβολος (δαίμονας)/şeytan* “Devil”; and on p. 86: *προσκυνώ/namazımı kılarım* “I pray”.ı.

b) syntactical structures:

– με τον babá εφένδη μου επήγαμε εις τον γείτονάν μας βέϊ / pederim efendi ile bizim komşu beğe gitdik [p. 86], i.e. the exact syntactical parallelism Turkish-Greek according to the Turkish speech model “with *my* father *we* went to our neighbour’s” (as to the lexical elements εφένδη and βέϊ (see above);

– the word order (prolepsis without repeating the personal pronoun) in: το καλαμάρι μου αν δεν είχα αφήσει εις το σχολείον... / divitimi mektebde bırakmamış olsaydım... [p. 80];

– the use of και as conjunction (< Turkish *ki*?): γαιῶδέτε και το γαζί πως γίνεται κομματι άσκιμον / baksaniz iğneardı nasıl kabaca olur [p. 88; cf. a line of a folk song: νά σέ φυτέψω στήν καρδιά ἴσω και σε κερδέψω in ÖZBAYRI/ZAKHOS-PAPAZA-KHARIOU 1976, p. 82];

– perhaps the use of the conjunction ως “as” in a parallelism to the Turkish sentence: (...) gitdiğim gibi dersimi mütâla’aya başlarım / ως πάγω (...) αρῶζω να μελετώ το μάθημά μου [p. 81].

The isolated use of the accusative instead of the dative/genitive in the personal pronoun might be an influence of the Northern dialects (of Constantinople, where the author doubtless had contacts or even resided): πολύ με αρέσει / pek hoşuma gidiyor [p. 86, versus του χότζα εφένδη άρεσε το γράψιμόν μου / hoca efendi yazımı beğendi, p. 83].

A short investigation of this limited material already shows that the “Muslim speech” of Cretan Greek, if there is any, is not made of lexical elements only (turkisms penetrated into all Balkan languages without caring about the religion of their speakers...), but rather of some specific semantic and syntactical structures which often are difficult to separate from common Cretan dialect elements. Finally, it should be considered that the examined text is not a reflection of spoken Cretan dialect, but, as pointed out, reflects a mingled style of three different speech levels. Much research work must be done in this field, especially by the competent specialists in Cretan dialectology.

IV. Glossary

There is not enough space to list all the head-words of “*Kelimât*”. It might be, however, useful to make a choice of those words which by a specific phonetic, morphological or semantic feature are characteristic for the mingled speech style of the whole booklet discussed above.

The words are ordered according to the Greek alphabet, and given at first in the Greek transcription, followed by the original in Arabic characters, the indication of the page number in square brackets, e.g. [10], or [C84] if occurring in the conversation part, the Turkish equivalent in the modern orthography of Turkey Turkish and the original Arabic writing, the English translation, where convenient the word as used in common Greek (koiné) and reference if the word is listed in previous linguistic works, especially PANGALOS 1955-71, abbreviated as P volume.page, e.g. P 5/I.455, or in the lexicon ΠΡΩΪΑΣ abbreviated as LEX., or if it occurs in Erotocritos (Erotocr.).

Other abbreviations: East. Cr. - Eastern Crete; West. Cr. - Western Crete.

αβουρνέλα (η) [25] / mürdüm eriği آبورنه لا “damson plum”, cf. βουρνέλα, βαρδάτσα and ξανερίκι.

ακόμας [C80] / daha آقوماى “still, yet”, cf. σήμερης, τώρας.

αλατζέρα (η) [18] / tuzluk آلاچه را “salt-box, salt-cellar” (αλατιέρα), cf. αλάξι.

αλάξι (το) [23] / tuz آلاجى “salt” (αλάτι; P 5/I.128: αλάτσι East. Cr.).

ανιμένω [63] / beklemek آنى مه نو “to wait” (αναμένω; P 2.129: ανιμένω East. Cr.; Erotocr.).

απίδι (το) [24] / armut آرمود “pear” (P 2.138: απίδι “αχλάδι” East. and West. Cr.).

αρδάκι (το) [19] / iğ آرداقتى “spindle” (αδράχι; P 5/I.194: αρδάχι East. Cr.).

αρμυρό (το) [23] / tuzlu آرمى رو “salted” (LEX. αλμυρό and demotic: αρμυρό).

αρωτώ [59] / sormak آرو طو “to ask” (LEX. ρωτώ, demotic: αρωτώ).

απισιά (η) [26] / pelin آپى بيا “absinthe” (αψιθιά/αψιφιά).

ατιμώνω [65] / sönmek آتى مزنو and سوميك and سوميك “to dishonour, to rape, to curse” (ατιμώ/ατιμάζω; P 2.189: ατιμώνω West.Cr./Rethymnon).

αυρύχωρος [51] / geniş آورى خوروس “wide” (ευρύχωρος).

αφέδης, in πατέρας αφέδης (ο) [10] / baba پدر پاتا پاتا راسى آفهد بسى “father” (P 5/I.213 αφέδης “πατήρ”; in the conversation part in the meaning “sir” is used αφένδης [C80 and elsewhere], but also εφένδης, as in babá εφένδη μουسى رى مومى [C86] / pederim efendi پدرم افندى “my father”).

αφρο(υ)καζούμαι or αφρο(υ)κάζομαι [64] / diñlemek آفروتازومه “to listen” (cf. Erotocr.: αφουκρούμαι “ακροάζομαι” and P 5/I.216: αφουκρούμαι “επακροώμαι, υπακούω” East. Cr.).

βάξινο (το) [24] / böğürtlen yemişi بگورتلن يمشى “blackberry” (P 2.218: βάτσινο “βατόμουρον”, East. Cr.; LEX. idiomatic: βάτσινο).

βαρδάτσα (η) [24] / (by popular etymology): bardak eriği بارداق اربكى “a very large reine-claude plum” (βαρδάσα).

βάρσαμος (ο) [24] / name ناربا موسى “mint” (LEX. βάλσαμο, idiomatic: βάρσαμος “balsam”).

βουσιά (χλωρή) [43] / mayis ووجيئا (خلورى) “fresh stabled manure, turned out in May to be kneaded, and dried for winter fuel” (P 2.254: βουτσά “η κόπρος των βοών” East. Cr.).

βουξιά (ξηρή) [40] / tezek تزك “dung dried for burning”.

βούτυρος (ο) [22] / tereyağى ووطى روسى “butter” (to βούτυρον; LEX. idiomatic: ο βούτυρος).

βενοβράκι (το) [19] / iç donu به نوراكى “drawers worn next to the body” (Andr. Et.: μπενεβρέκι “είδος πανταλονιού”).

βερσιβολον (accent?) [24] / maydanos مايدانوسى “parsley”, cf. κο(υ)δο(υ)μεδο.

βίνω [63] / içmek ايچمك “to drink” (πίνω).

βλάβον [22] / ma'i مائى “blue” (P 5/I.247: βλάβος “γαλανός” West Cr.).

βότσα (η) [18] / şişe شيشه “bottle” (P 2.243: βότσα East. and West. Cr.).

bodikós (ο) بودى قوسى [29, 30] / sıçan ميجان [29] fare ناره [30] "rat, mouse" and τυφλοbodikós (ο) طى فلو بودى قوسى [30] / köstebek كوتبك "mole" (ποντικός; P 2.239: bodikós under bodikokáβouλλo).

bodikós (ο) بودى قوسى [29, 30] / sıçan ميجان [29] fare ناره [30] "rat, mouse" and τυφλοbodikós (ο) طى فلو بودى قوسى [30] / köstebek كتبك "mole" (ποντικός; P 2.239: bodikós under bodikokáβouλλo).

bo(υ)τία (η) بوتلى لثا [18]/şişe شيشه "bottle".

bouçounára (η) بوچونارا [16] / oluk اولوق "gutter" (P. 2.254: boutounára "ύδροροή" West. Cr.).

bouρνέλα (η) بورنه لا [24] / erik اريك "plum" (P 2.253: bouρνέλα "δαμάσκηνο, κορόμηλο, κοκκόμηλο" East. and West. Cr.), cf. abouρνέλα, βαρδάξα, ξανερίκι.

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γανακτά γاناقتا [54] / nadir نادر "seldom" (also the word used in koiné σπάνιον is mentioned).

γάστρα (η) غاسترا [41] / saksı ساقسى "flower-pot" (γλάστρα; P 2.273 East. and West. Cr.).

γερά γερά يهرا يهرا [52] / çarük (çabuk) چابوق "fast" (also the word used in koiné γλήγορα is mentioned, as well as in the conversation part [C87]).

γιαϊδέτε باقنه كر [C83, 88] / baksañiz باى ده ته "look here!".

γροικώ غرى قو [59, 60] / duymak طويق "to hear" (P 5/II.304 East. and West. Cr.; Erotocr.: (α)γροικώ; in the conversation part [C86] also with the meaning "to listen" / dinlemek).

ξανερίκι (το) جانه رى كى [24] / erik اريك "plum" (LEX. τζανεριά "δέντρο της προύμνης"; P 4.176: τζανερίκι "τζάνερο" East. Cr.), cf. bouρνέλα.

δακάνω ذاقانو (the reading δαγάνω is rather improbable) [56] / ısırmaك ايصيرمق "to bite" (δαγκάνω, δάκνω; P 2.301: δακάνω East. Cr.).

Δευτερογούλης ذه فه ته روعوليس [15] / temmuz تموز "July" (also Ιούλιος is mentioned; cf. Πρωτογούλης).

Δηκέμβρης كانون اول [15] / kanun-u evvel كانون اول "December" (Δεκέμβρης).

δουλεύω ايشلمك [62] / işlemek ذوله وغو "to work" (δουλεύω).

δραστήριμος ذرامتى رى موسى [37] / mukdim مقدم "persevering, assiduous" (δραστήριος).

δροσινάδα سرينلك [41] / serinlik ذرمى نادا "coolness" (δροσεράδα).

δώδω ويرمك [66] / virmek ذوزو "to give" (δίδω, δίνω, δώνω).

δρέτα طرف تيسى [C81] / doğru طوغرى "straightly, directly" (also ευτύς, for koiné ευθύς, is mentioned; P 5/II.338: δρέτος East. and West. Cr.).

έça (παιδιά) بويله (چو بقلر) [C83] / böyle (çocuklar) اچا (يه ذيثا) "such (children)" (τέτοια; Erotocr.: έτοια; cf. P 2.347: ετσα πράγμα "δεν έχω τοιούτο πράγμα")

- and [C86] for öyle اويله “so”, otherwise éčبی (étai).
 edá اذا [53, C85] /šimdi شمدى “now” (P 5/II.347 East. and West. Cr.; Erotocr.; the word used in the koiné τώρα is also mentioned in the conversation part [C81, C87]).
- edóσε ادوسه (perhaps error for edóσε ادوسه [51] / işte اشته “here!”, here you are!” (also the word used in the koiné edó is mentioned), cf. επαέ.
 eka aka [C85] orada اورادا “there” and apo ka آپو كا [C81] / oradan اورادان “from there” (also the koiné word ekei اكي is mentioned for ora اورا “that place” and apo ekei آپو اكي for oradan اورادان “from there” [52]; furthermore ekaidá اورايا is mentioned for orada اورادا “there” [51] and for oraya اورايا “thither” [52]; cf. P 5/II.352: ekia East. and West. Cr.).
- éxe اقسه [44] (and all the other composed numbers, such as dékaxeξε, eikosiéξε etc.) / alti التى “six” (éxi).
 epada apa za [53] / şurasى شوراسى “this or that place” (P 2.344: epada, epá, epadé, επαé “προς τα edó”), cf. επαέ.
 epae apa [52] / burada بورادا “here” buraya بورايا “hither” (P 2.344 and 5/II.357 East. Cr.; K 30: epae-epae; Erotocr.: epá; also edó ادو is mentioned), cf. edóσε and epada.
- çbraga (ta) زبراغا [39] ikiz ايکيز “twins” (P. 2.361: çubragos < συμπραγής “δίδυμος”).
 çhaleúγω زى له وغو [60] / kiskanmak قصمانمق “to be jealous or envious” (çhaleú).
 çwi ريو [C84] / yaşamak يشامق “to live” (çw).
 çouγlós زوغلوسى [50] / çolak چولاق “paralysed or mutilated (a hand or an arm)” (P. 2.359 East. Cr.).
- θoró تورو [C84] / görmek كورمك “to see” (βλέπω; P 2.374 East. Cr.; Erotocr.).
- καβαλικεύγω قاولى كه وغو [C87] / binmek بنمك “to ride” (Erotocr.: καβαλκεύγω).
 karc̣a (η) قارچا [20] / don دون “a pair of drawers or trousers” (also βρακι وراكي is mentioned; P 2.425: karc̣ta “εξωτερική βράκα, εσωτερική βράκα” West. Cr.).
 karçóni (το) قارچونى [20] / çorab چوراب “sock, stocking” (κάλτσα).
 karçonodéτης (ο) قارچونوزه طيسى [20] / dizbaği ديزباغى “garter” (καλτσοδέτης).
 katéχω تاته خو [63, C83] / bilmek بيلمك “to know” (also the word used in the koiné éxerω قسهرو is mentioned; P 2.437 East. and West. Cr.; Erotocr.).
 kátēs (ο) كادى كادى [30] / kedi كدى “cat” (LEX. idiomatic: κάτης).
 ko(u)do(u)medo (accent?) مايدانوس [24] / maydanos مايدانوس “parsley”, cf. βερσιβολον.
 kónisma (το) < κόνιζμα > قونيزما [40] / put بوت “idol; icon” (εικόνισμα).
 kópa (η) قوپا [18] / kadeh قدح “bowl”.
- λάδανος (ο) لادا نوسى [43] / laden لادن “cistrus creticus; ladanum, gum-resin” (LEX.: (το) λάδανον).

- μαγαῆδες in: ξυλομαγαῆδες (ο) قسى لوماغاچه سى [16] / odunluk "place for fire-wood" (μαγαῆς; P 6/I.99: μαγαῆδες East. and West. Cr.).
- μαῆγουράνα (η) ماچى گورانا [26] / mercan kökü "marjoram" (μα(ν)τζουράνα).
- μαζάνες (οι) مازا نه سى [22] / badincan پاتلجانى (μελι(ν)τζάνες; the koiné word is mentioned in its phonetic form μελιζάνες).
- μακρά (α) ماقرا [52] / uzak ايراق irak "far" (μακρῖα, μακρῶν).
- μανίνι (το) مانى نى [20] / bilezik بيله ريك "bracelet" (P 6/I.107: μανίνι West. Cr., 3.70: μανίλι "βραχιόλιον" East. Cr.).
- μούρο (το) مورنو [25] / dut دوت "mulberry" (μούρο; P 3.122: μούρο "μούρο" East. and West. Cr.).
- ναίσκε [51, C 80] / evet اوت "yes" (ναι; P 3.135: ναίσ'κε(ς) "τα μεν ναίσ'κε(ς) και ὄχκε(ς) επί σεβασμίων προσώπων, τα δε ναι και ὄχι επί παιδίων" East. and West. Cr.).
- Νεόμβρης [15] / teşrin-i sani تشرین ثانى "November" (LEX. Νοέμβρης).
νεράγι (το) نه راجى [24] / turunc ترنج "bitter orange" (νεράντζι; P 6/I.152: νεράγι "καρπός της νεραντζέας" East. Cr.).
- νηστεύγω [66] / oruc طومتق "to fast, to abstain from food" (νηστεύω).
- νοιρεύομαι [66] / rüya görmek رؤيا كورملك "to dream" (ονειρεύομαι).
- Οκτώμβρης [15] / teşrin-i evvel تشرین اول "October" (Οκτώβρης).
ομπρέλα (η) اومره لا [41] / şemşiyeye شمشیه "umbrella" (ομπρέλλα).
οπού [39, C84, 85] / ki كه or other syntactical structures "which (rel. pronoun)" (που; Erotocr.).
- οπροχθές [53] / geçende كچنده "lately" (P 3.212: οπροθές East. Cr.; for o- + abverb. cf. also οπίσω [54], ὄξω [53] and Erotocr.: ομπρός).
ὄσκε [C] / yok هير hayir "no" (ὄχι; also [54]; P 6/I.187: ὄχκε East and West. Cr.) cf. ναίσκε.
- παισίχαρος [37] / gülec yüzlü گولج يوزلو "always laughing, merry" (P. 3.254 πασίχαρος East. Cr.; Erotocr.: πασίχαρος).
- παρασκή [14] / cuma جمعه "Friday" (P 3.247 East. Cr.; koiné: παρασκειή).
- πάσο (το) پاسو [5] / adım آدیم "step" (also the koiné βήμα is mentioned; P 6/I.202: πάσσο West. Cr.).
- παστρεύγω [63, 64] / temizlemek تميزلماك [63] silmek سيلمك [64] "to clean" (παστρεύω; P 3.256).
- πε in πέ του [C82, 83] / söyleyin سويلين "tell him, say to him (imperative)" (πες; Erotocr. πέτε).
- πέφτη [15] / pencşenbe پنجشنبه "Thursday" (πέμπτη).
πορίζω in aor. ἐπόρισε [C82] / sokağa çıkmaq سوقاغه چيقتى "to go out"

(P 3.309 “εξέρχομαι εκ της οικίας” East. and West. Cr.).
 Πρωτογούλης جزیران هزيران [15] / haziran “June” (also Ιούνιος ئونى ئونى is mentioned; cf. Δευτερογούλης).

ρόγδι (το) روعدى [25] / nar “pomegranate” (ροΐδι, ρόδι).

Σεπέμβρης برديس مه ته م [15] / eylül “September” (LEX. Σεπέμپρης).
 σήμερης بو كون سى مه رچس [13] / bugün “today” (σήμερα; the katharévousa σήμερα also in the conversation part [C80, 81]; Erotocr.: ολοσήμερης), cf. ακόμας, τώρας.

στριφωκτός ستري فونوس [55] / dolaşik “crooked, sinuous”.
 συχνιά سىخ نى ئا [53] / sıkça “often” (συχνά/συχνάκις).
 σφαλικτόν سفالى قتون [42] / kapalı “closed” (Erotocr. σφαλιζω/σφαλιτός; LEX. σφαλιχτός).

ταΐτερινός as adj. in ταΐτερινός ύπνος [C86] / sabah uykusı “morning sleep”, cf. ταΐτέρο.

ταΐτέρο (accent?) طاي تهرو [53] / sabah “morning” (also the koiné word πρωί is mentioned, but also το πρωί طو پروئى / sabahleyin “in the morning”; P 4.170: ταχτέρου/ταΐτέρου “αύριον (το πρωί)” East Cr., i.e. with a slightly different meaning), cf. the adjective ταΐτερινός and ταΐά.

ταΐά يارين [13] / yarın “tomorrow” (P 4.168/169: ταχεά; also the koiné αύριον آورى ئون is mentioned on p. 53).

τετράδη چهارشنبه [15] / çarşenbe “Wednesday” (τετάρτη).
 τραβαδάς (ο) (accent?) طراوا ذاسى [42] / salıncak “swing; cradle? (the koiné word κούνια قونيا “cradle, swing” is also mentioned).

τράος (ο) طراؤس [29] / ergec “male goat” (τράγος/τραγί/τραϊ).

τρευλός طره ولوسى [50] / peltek “stutterer” (τραυλός).

τώρας in από τώρας آپو طورا س [53] / demin “a few moments since” (while τώρα “now” is mentioned in the conversation part; cf. από πολύς آپو پوليسى [53] / çoktan “a long while ago”), cf. ακόμας, σήμερης and εδά.

ύψος (ο) اچسى [35] / alçı “plaster” (γύψος; P 4.251 West. Cr.).

φρύον (το) فرى ئون [23] / lahana “cabbage” (P 4.288: φρύο “λάχανο” East. Cr.).

χαχάλη (η) آووج خالى [6] / avuc “palm of the hand” (also the synonym φούχτα فوختا is mentioned; P 4.321: χαχάλα and χαχάλι East. Cr.).

χραμίδια or χρασίδια (τα) بولا شليك (?) [40] / bulaşik “unclean plates and dishes”.

χρωμένος بور جلو [40] / borclu “indebted” (χρεωμένος).

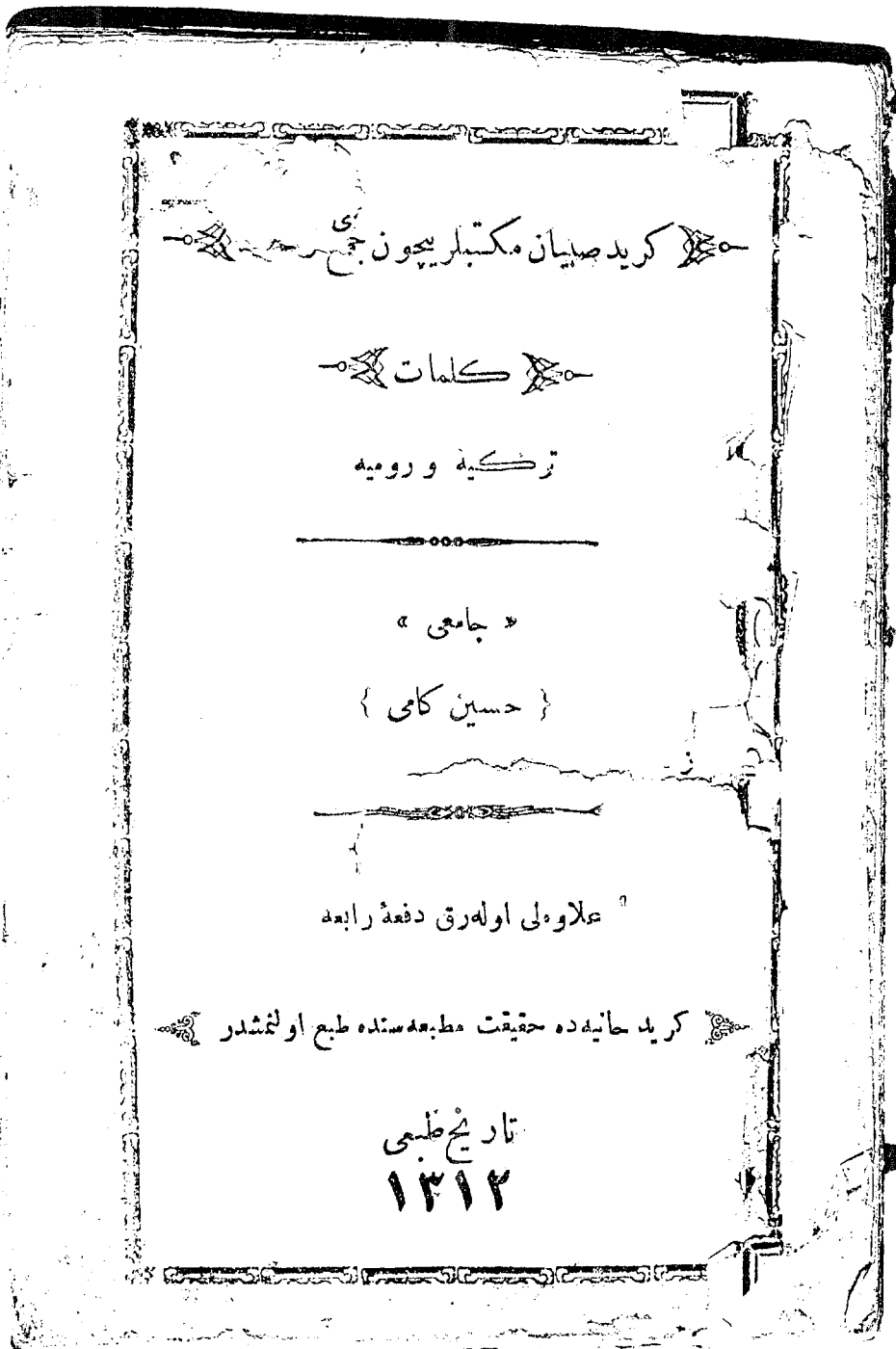
χωρεύω خوره وغو [66] / hora depmek “to dance” (χωρεύω).

ψιμοκαίρι (το) پسی موکله ری [14] / soñ bahar موکله بهار "autumn" and το ψιμοκαίρι
 طوی پسی موکله ری [53] / güzün کوز یی "in autumn" (P 4.363/364: ψιμοκαίρι
 and ψιμοκαλοκαίρι "αί τελευταῖαι ἑβδομάδες τοῦ φθινοπώρου τῶν μηνῶν
 Ὀκτωβρίου καὶ Νοεμβρίου" West. Cr.).

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Frontispiece of "Kelimât"