

ELWIRA KACZYŃSKA
KRZYSZTOF TOMASZ WITCZAK

THE THESSALIAN AND CRETAN NAME FOR ‘BOTTLE GOURD’

In the work entitled *Deipnosophistae* (*Sophists at Dinner*) there is an extensive argument of Athenaeus from Naucratis, in which he presents the ancient names of the turnip, known in Polish also as ‘kapusta polna’ [field cabbage] (*Brassica campestris* L., syn. *Brassica rapa* L.).¹ The ancient erudite grammarian pointed to the numerous dialectal names of this plant. The relevant text reads as follows:

ΓΟΓΓΥΛΙΔΕΣ. Ταύτας Ἀπολλᾶς ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων γάστρας φησὶ καλεῖσθαι. Νίκανδρος δ’ ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς γάστρας ὀνομάζεσθαι τὰς κράμβας, τὰς δὲ γογγυλίδας ζεκελτίδας. Ἀμερίας δὲ καὶ Τιμαχίδας τὰς κολοκύντας ζακελτίδας καλεῖσθαι. [...] τοῦτοις δ’ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ὅμοιον εἰ μὴ ἢ νῦν προσαγορευομένη βουνιάς. Θεόφραστος δὲ βουνιάδα μὲν οὐκ ὀνομάζει, ἄρρενα δὲ καλεῖ τινα γογγυλίδα, καὶ ἴσως αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ βουνιάς. Νίκανδρος δ’ ἐν τοῖς Γεωργικοῖς τῆς βουνιάδος μνημονεύει.

TURNIPS (*gongylides*). These, as Apollas says in his book *On the Cities of Peloponnesus*, are called by the Lacedaemonians *paunches*. But Nicander of Colophon, in his *Glossary*, says that cabbages are called *paunches* in Boeotia, while turnips are called *zakeltides*. Amerias and Timachidas, on the other hand,

Dr. Hab. ELWIRA KACZYŃSKA—professor in the Chair of Classical Philology, University of Łódź; address for correspondence: Katedra Filologii Klasycznej, Wydział Filologiczny, Uniwersytet Łódzki, ul. Pomorska 171/173, 90–236 Łódź; e-mail: aradaina@gmail.com

Prof. Dr. Hab. KRZYSZTOF TOMASZ WITCZAK—full profesor in the Department of Latin Studies and Linguistics, Chair of Classical Philology, University of Łódź; address for correspondence: Zakład Latynistyki i Językoznawstwa, Katedra Filologii Klasycznej, Wydział Filologiczny, Uniwersytet Łódzki, ul. Pomorska 171/173, 90–236 Łódź; e-mail: krzysztof.witczak@uni.lodz.pl

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¹ Zbigniew PODBIELKOWSKI, *Słownik roślin użytkowych* (Warszawa: PWRiL 1985⁵), 141 (no. 391).

say that gourds² are called *zekeltides*.³ [...] There is nothing else similar to these except what is to-day called *bounias*. Theophrastus, though he does not mention the *bounias* by name, speaks of a certain turnip which he calls male-turnip (*gongylis*), and perhaps this is the *bounias*. Nicander mentions the *bounias* in the *Georgics*.⁴

In the quoted fragment, Athenaeus juxtaposes the Attico-Ionian name γογγυλῖς ('turnip') with the Laconian term γάστρα and the Boeotian ζεκελτίς. He also points out that the 'male' variety of turnip was called 'βουνιάς.' Indeed, botanists distinguish two varieties of turnip, i.e. the longish turnip (subvar. *oblonga* [Mill.] O.E. Schulz), having an elongated ("male") root, and the common turnip (subvar. *depressa* [DC.] O.E. Schulz), which is characterized by a short, spherical ("female") root.⁵

The three Greek names for turnips, i.e. βουνιάς, γάστρα and γογγυλῖς, are fairly from the etymological and word-formation perspective. The appellative βουνιάς f. 'turnip species'⁶ is motivated by the Greek word βουνός 'hill,

² In the Greek text there is an Attic form (in Acc. Pl.) τὰς κολοκύντας. This name cannot refer to the squash (*Cucurbita pepo* L.) or the giant squash (*Cucurbita maxima* L.), because these plants were brought from America to Europe only in the 16th century, see Otto SCHRADER, Alfons NEHRING, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Bd. I (Berlin-Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1917–1923), 652–654; Tadeusz GORCZYŃSKI (ed.), *Rośliny użytkowe* (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1961), 63. Helmut Genaust categorically claims that "die echten Kürbisse den Alten noch fremd waren", see Helmut GENAUST, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der botanischen Pflanzennamen* (Hamburg: Nikol Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005³), 188–189. In ancient times, the term Gr. κολοκύνθη, Att. κολοκύντη f. referred to bottle gourd or calabash (*Lagenaria siceraria* [Molina] Standl., syn. *Cucurbita lagenaria* L., *Lagenaria vulgaris* Sér.), see Robert BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, vol. I (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2010), 738–739.

³ In the quoted translation, the authors of this article have introduced the variant *zakeltides* attributed to Amerias of Macedonia (3rd century BC) and Timachidas of Rhodes (1st century BC). It is worth mentioning here the statement by the excellent German philologist Kurt Latte: "Vocalem syllabae primae in A in Ameriae et Timachidae saltem loco α fuisse testator contra Kaibelium Peppinck, Observat. in Athen. 55, ita ut appareat ζακ- verum esse", see *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, recensuit et emendavit Kurt LATTE, vol. II (Hauniae: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1966), 813.

⁴ ATHENAEUS, *The Deipnosophists*, vol. 4, with an English translation by Charles Burton Gulick (London: William Heinemann–Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961) (<http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Athenaeus/home.html>).

⁵ Zbigniew PODBIELKOWSKI, *Słownik*, 141.

⁶ Zofia ABRAMOWICZÓWNA, ed., *Słownik grecko-polski*, vol. I (Warszawa: PWN, 1958), 438 ('rzepa'); Oktawiusz JUREWICZ, *Słownik grecko-polski*, vol. I (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN, 2000), 154 ('rzepa'); Walther PRELLWITZ, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1892), 51 ('eine längliche Rübenart'). Other dictionaries of Old Greek usually inform that the term βουνιάς f. designated 'rapeseed, *Brassica napus* L.', in particular its cultivated variety 'rutabaga, swede, *Brassica napus* L. var. *napo-brassica* L.', see Иосиф Х. ДВОРЕЦКИЙ [Iosif Ch. DVORETSKIY], *Древнегреческо-русский словарь*,

knoll'.⁷ Another name for the turnip, Gr. Lac. γάστρᾱ⁸ is etymologically linked to nouns designating 'abdomen; something bulbous, convex', cf. Gr. Att. γάστρᾱ, Ion. γάστρη f. 'belly of a vessel, spherical vessel' and γαστήρ f. 'abdomen, stomach; maternal womb; belly of a vessel' (< *γραστήρ, lit. 'glutton, devourer').⁹ However, due to the popularity of the turnip in the diet of the ancient Greeks, it cannot be excluded that the name was derived directly from the verb γράω 'bite, chew, eat'¹⁰ through the addition of the suffix *-trā, cf. Gr. Cypr. ka-ra-si-ti [= γράσθι] 2 pers. imp. aor. act. 'eat!'¹¹ (< IE *gras- 'bite, eat', cf. OInd. grāsate 'absorb, swallow, eat', Lat. grāmen n. 'grass' < *grasm̥¹²). By contrast, the Attico-Ionian form γογγυλῖς f. (also γογγύλη f.) 'round turnip' refers directly to the adjective OGr. γογγύλος

vol. I (Москва: Государственное Издательство Иностранных и Национальных Словарей, 1958), 304 ('брюква'); Francisco Rodríguez ADRADOS, ed., *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. IV (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1994), 744 ('nabo'); Henry G. LIDDELL, Robert SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon, With a revised supplement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 326 ('French turnip'); Franco MONTANARI, *Vocabolario della lingua greca* (Milano: Loescher Editore, 2003), 418 ('ravizzone'). See also DIOSCÓRIDES, *Plantas y remedios medicinales (De materia medica, libros I-III)*, introducción, traducción y notas de Manuela García Valdés (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1998), 305 ('el nabo').

⁷ Émile BOISACQ, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter-Paris: Libraire C. Klincksieck, 1916), 129; Johann B. HOFMANN, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Griechischen* (München: Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1950), 38, s. v. βουνιάς; Albert CARNOY, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms grecs de plantes* (Leuven: Publications Universitaires-Institut Orientaliste, 1959), 56; Pierre CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, vol. I (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1968), 190; Robert BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary*, 231–232.

⁸ The Lakonian name for the turnip has been registered twice in the Hesychian lexicon: γάστρα · γογγυλῖς. ἢ κράμβη 'turnip or cabbage' (HAL γ-193); γασταία · ἢ γογγυλῖς. Λάκωνες 'turnip. Lakonians' (HAL γ-204).

⁹ Albert CARNOY, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, 128; Pierre CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, vol. I, 212; Robert BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary*, 262.

¹⁰ Zofia ABRAMOWICZOWNA, ed., *Słownik*, vol. I, 482.

¹¹ Markus EGETMEYER, *Wörterbuch zu den Inschriften im kyprischen Syllabar* (Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), 60; Elwira KACZYNSKA, Krzysztof T. WITCZAK, *Cyprijski epigram na wotywnym reliefie z Golgoj (ICS no. 264)*, in Krystyna BARTOL, Jerzy DANIELEWICZ, eds., *Epigram grecki i łaciński w kulturze Europy. Konferencja ogólnopolska, Poznań, 11-12 grudnia 1995* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1997), 131. The verb Gr. Cypr. γράω was also well testified in the Hesychian lexicon, cf. γρᾱ · φάγε. Κύπριοι ('eat! Cypriots') (HAL γ-876), καγρᾱ · καταφαγᾱς. Σαλαμίνιοι ('glutton. Residents of [Cypriot] Salamine') (HAL κ-32), cf. Friedrich BECHTEL, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, Bd. I (Berlin: Weidmann, 1963²), 408.

¹² Cf. Julius POKORNY, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern–München: Francke Verlag, 1959), 404; Helmut RIX, Hrsg., *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstambildungen* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2001²), 192.

‘rounded, round’.¹³ The Old Greek name for the turnip is preserved both in the literary Modern Greek language and in numerous contemporary dialects, cf. ModGr. γογγύλι, γόγγυλο n. (less often γογγύλη f.) ‘turnip’¹⁴; ModGr. Smyranean dial. βoγγύλι n. ‘turnip’; ModGr. Macedonian dial. (in Velventos near Kozani) βουγγύλ’ n. ‘turnip’; ModGr. Chian dial. γογγύλι n. ‘round turnip’, Cappadocian, Tsakonian γογγύλι n. ‘round turnip’, Kythiran γογγύλι n. ‘type of a leguminous plant / είδος οσπρίου’; Pontic γόγγυλος m. ‘turnip,’ also the augmentative form (in Chaldia) γόγγυλας m. ‘big turnip.’¹⁵ The Greek word γόγγυλο (‘turnip’) functions as a borrowing in modern Southern Italian dialects, see It. dial. (North Calabria) *gúngulu* ‘rampion bellflower and its fruit / raperonzolo e il suo frutto.’¹⁶

The fourth (Boeotian) name ζεκελίτις is etymologically obscure.¹⁷ It has an equivalent ζακελίτις, which—as Athenaeus asserts, referring to the lexicographer Amerias of Macedonia (3rd century BC) and the historian Timachidas of Rhodes (1st century BC)—relates to the ‘bottle gourd or calabash *Lagenaria siceraria* (Molina) Standl., syn. *Cucurbita lagenaria* L., *Lagenaria vulgaris* Sér.,’ whose Attic name was κολοκύνθη.¹⁸

¹³ Émile BOISACQ, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, 153; Albert CARNOY, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, 133; Hjalmar FRISK, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bd. I (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1960), 318; Pierre CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, vol. 1, 231; Robert BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary*, 271.

¹⁴ Иван П. ХОРИКОВ, Михаил Г. Малев [Ivan P. KHORIKOV, Michail G. MALEV], *Новогреческо-русский словарь* (Москва: Издательство «Русский Язык», 1980), 224, s.v. γογγύλι, γόγγυλο; Αθανασίος Θ. ΦΛΩΡΟΣ [Athanasios Th. FLOROS], *Νεοελληνικό ετυμολογικό και ερμηνευτικό λεξικό* (Αθήνα: Α. Λιβάνης & Σία «Νέα Σύνορα», 1980), 111; Νικόλαος Π. ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΗΣ [Nikolaos P. ANDRIOTIS], *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής* (Θεσσαλονίκη: Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών, 1990³) 70; Γεώργιος ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗΣ [Geōrgios Babiniotis], *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής γλώσσας* (Αθήνα: Κέντρο Λεξικολογίας, 2002²), 432; Δανιήλ ΙΑΚΩΒ et alii, eds., *Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής* (Θεσσαλονίκη: Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών 2005⁵), 319; Γεώργιος ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗΣ [Geōrgios BABINIOTIS], *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής γλώσσας* (Αθήνα: Κέντρο Λεξικολογίας, 2011²), 315.

¹⁵ Nikolaos ANDRIOTIS, *Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974), 198; Δημήτριος Λ. ΚΟΜΗΣ [Dīmītrios L. KOMIS], *Κυθηραϊκό λεξικό* (Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Κυθηραϊκών Μελετών, 1995), 110.

¹⁶ Gerhard ROHLFS, *Lexicon Graecanicum Italiae inferioris. Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalienischen Gräzität* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1964²), 111.

¹⁷ Cf. Walther PRELLWITZ, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 109, s.v. ζακελίτιδες; Leo MEYER, *Handbuch der griechischen Etymologie*, vol. III (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1901), 265 (“Dunkler Herkunft. Ob etwa urgriechisch?”); Pierre CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, vol. II, 397, s.v. ζεκελίτιδες; Robert BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary*, 497.

¹⁸ ATHENAEUS, *Deipnosophistae*, (II 59c) explicitly states that “Attic writers use one word, *colocynth*, for them all”. It is worth noting that the cognate Ionian form κολοκύνθη f. ‘gourd, calabash’ had a dental aspirate sound [t^h], see Pierre CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique*,

THE THESSALIAN ORIGIN OF THE APPELLATIVE ΖΑΚΕΛΤΙΣ

Robert Beekes puts forward a convincing thesis that the Boeotian name ζεκελτίδες f. Pl. ('turnips'), similarly to its variant ζακελτίδες ('gourds'), must have Aeolian origin ("Aeol. for γογγυλίδες 'turnips' or κολοκύνται 'gourds'¹⁹). Indeed, these two forms do not appear in the preserved works written in Attic or Ionian dialects, or Hellenistic Koiné. The Aeolian origin of the name for 'turnip' (Boeot. ζεκελίς) and 'bottle gourd' (Gr. dial. ζακελίς) is probably based on the hypothesis of the presence in these phytonyms of the Aeolian intensifying prefix *ζα- 'very'²⁰ (= Gr. Att.-Ion. δια-), cf. Lesb. ζάβατος (= Att.-Ion. διαβατός) adj. 'passable, easily reachable,' Lesb. ζάδηλος (= Att.-Ion. διάδηλος) adj. 'perforated,' Lesb. ζακρυόεις adj. 'freezing,'²¹ Boeot. δάθιος (= Gr. Hom. ζάθεος) adj. 'very divine, holy' (< OBoeot. *ζα- < δια-).²²

vol. II, 557; Adriana QUATTORDIO MORESCHINI, *Le formazioni nominali greche in -nth-* (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1984), 55–56; Robert BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary*, 738–739.

¹⁹ Robert BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary*, 497.

²⁰ The dictionary of Hesychius of Alexandria registers the intensifying prefix ζα- as an independent lexical unit, cf. ζά · μέγα. ισχυρόν πολύ. ὄθεν καὶ ζάπλουτος ὁ μεγάλοπλουτος "too much, too many, greatly. Hence *zaplutos* also means very rich" (HAL ζ-1), see Kurt LATTE, ed., *Hesychii Alexandrini*, Bd. II, 257.

²¹ Zofia ABRAMOWICZÓWNA, ed., *Słownik grecko-polski*, vol. II (Warszawa: PWN, 1960), 395. See also Hjalmar FRISK, *Griechisches*, Bd. I, 606 s.v. ζά; Pierre CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, vol. II, 396 s.v. ζά. The glosses of Hesychius of Alexandria containing the prefix ζα- were analysed by Wojciech SOWA, "Greek ζά for διά and Some «Lesbian» Glosses," *Emerita* vol. 2, no 77 (2009): 271–294, concluding that "they all (except for special cases for ζάγη and ζάπεδον) belong to the poetical diction". It seems that some of the discussed glosses may have Mycenaean origin and derive from the pre-Homeric epic tradition. However, it cannot be excluded that some of Hesychius' glosses were taken from the Thessalian or Boeotian dialect through the work of Amerias of Macedonia.

²² The (late) Boeotian form δά-θιος can be found in the works by the poetess Corinna of Tanagra (1.I.13 P.). The Berlin Papyrus from the 2nd century AD (*P. Berol.* 13284), which contains fragments of her works, shows some features of the Boeotian dialect characteristic of the Hellenistic period (3rd or 2nd century BC). There is no doubt that the Boeotian prefix δα- represents a previous Old Boeotian form *ζα- (< Gr. δια-), as the Greek phoneme ζ [dʒ] was written in Boeotian dialectal texts as -δδ-, e.g. Boeot. τὸ πέδδου = Att. οἱ πέζοι m. Pl. 'infantry, foot soldiers' (in the onset always as δ-, cf. Boeot. Δεύς = Att.-Ion. Ζεύς). It is worth noting here that Hesychius of Alexandria registers the Old Boeotian form τρίπεζα f. 'table' (HAL τ-1414: τρίπεζαν - τὴν τράπεζαν. Βοιωτοί), which in later Boeotian texts (3rd century BC) appears in the form of τρέπεδα f. 'table' (Antonín BARTONĚK, *Chrétomatie starořeckých nářečnických nápisi* (Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, 2011), 85, 114) with the regular Aeolian shift from -ρι- to -ρε- and the conversion of the phoneme ζ [dʒ] into δδ [dd], probably through an intermediate form σδ [zd], testified in the Lesbian dialect (and also in the Thessalian dialect, e.g. Thess. δικαζδέτου = Att. Δικαζέτω), cf. Julián Méndez Dosuna, *Αιολικές διάλεκτοι*, in Anastasios-Ph. CHRISTIDIS [Ανα-

Using the method of elimination, based on the stabilised and thorough knowledge of Greek dialectology, we can successfully assign the name ζακελίτις ('gourd') to the Thessalian dialect. The group of Aeolian dialects is composed of three idiolects—Boeotian, Lesbian and Thessalian. It can be easily demonstrated that neither Boeotian, nor Lesbian origin of the word ζακελίτις is an option. The Boeotian equivalent was—as we know—ζεκελίτις and designated another plant, i.e. turnip. The Lesbian dialect, in turn, has introduced two extremely important innovations that we do not see in the examined name ζακελίτις, namely [1] the so-called Aeolian baritonesis, which consists in shifting the stress as far from the end as possible,²³ and [2] the spirantization of the dental consonant τ [t] before the front vowel ι [i].²⁴ The expected Lesbian equivalent would thus have to take on a hypothetical form *ζάκελισις (Pl. *ζακέλισιδες), which has not been documented anywhere in literary and epigraphic texts. In this situation, we can assume that the term ζακελίτις (Pl. ζακελίτιδες) is of Thessalian origin²⁵, and that it found its way into Greek literature owing to the Greek lexicographer Amerias of Macedonia (3rd century BC), whose writings influenced both Timachidas of Rhodes (1st century BC) and Athenaeus of Egyptian Naucratis (3rd century AD).

στάσιος-Φ. ΧΡΗΣΤΙΔΗΣ], ed., *Ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας: Από τις αρχές έως την ύστερη αρχαιότητα* (Θεσσαλονίκη: Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών, 2014²), 394, 396. The same term can be found in the Mycenaean dialect as *to-pe-za* [tórpedza] f. 'table' < Proto-Gr. *(k^v)tr-ped-jǎ f. 'table' (lit. 'four-legged; with four legs'), and in the Attico-Ionian dialects as τράπεζα f. 'table in the dining room; banker's table, counter, exchange office.'

²³ Vittore PISANI, *Manuale storico della lingua greca* (Brescia: Paideia Editrice, 1973), 60; Oktawiusz JUREWICZ, *Gramatyka historyczna języka greckiego* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1999²), 58–59; Stephen COLVIN, *A Historical Greek Reader. Mycenaean to the Koiné* (Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 42.

²⁴ Carl D. BUCK, *The Greek Dialects. Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 2009), 149; Joseph VENDRYES, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1960), 63. Helmut Rix believes that the assimilation τι > σι occurred in the Lesbian dialect under the Ionian influence ("durch Einfluß des Ion."), see Helmut RIX, *Historische Grammatik des Griechischen. Laut- und Formenlehre* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992), 89.

²⁵ The Attico-Ionian and Achaean origin of the considered form ζακελίτιδες must be excluded due to the preservation of the dental plosive τ [t] before the vowel ι [i]. In turn, the word initial ζα- (< δια-) is possible in Aeolian and Achaean, but not in Doric or Attico-Ionian dialect, where δια- was preserved. It should be noted that the epigraphic texts from the area of Thessaly do not register the presence of the intensifying prefix ζα-. Thus, its occurrence is only presumed. In the inscriptions from the 3rd–2nd century BC found in Krannon (in the Thessalian district of Pelasgiotis) there appears the preposition διέ (= Att.-Ion. διά) with the word final vocalism [ε], see Francisco Rodríguez ADRADOS, ed., *Diccionario*, vol. IV, 954. Did the Boeotian form ζεκελίτιδες 'turnips' contain the same secondary vocalism?

DIALECTAL NAMES FOR 'TURNIP/ BOTTLE GOURD'
IN THE LIGHT OF LEXICOGRAPHIC SOURCES

The name turnip or gourd has been certified twice in the lexicon of rare and obscure words, created at the end of the 5th century AD by Hesychius of Alexandria²⁶:

ζακελίδες · κολοκύνται. ἢ γογγυλίδες ('gourds or turnips') (HAL ζ-24)²⁷;
ζακωνθίδες · κολοκύνται ('gourds') (HAL ζ-30).²⁸

These glosses differ in several details, which require additional explanation and a linguistic commentary, but their similarity and convergent meaning makes it possible to regard them as dialectal variants deriving from a single archetype.

The gloss, recorded in the Byzantine lexicographic source, attributes a related word to the inhabitants of Lydia:

ζακωνθίδες κολοκύνθαι · αἱ γογγυλίδες παρὰ Λυδοῖς ('turnips for Lydians').²⁹

This gloss raises doubts of various nature. First, its lemma (ζακωνθίδες κολοκύνθαι) in relation to the earlier Hesychian glosses was substantially expanded as a result of the inclusion of an explanatory note (i.e. κολοκύνθαι). Secondly, the expansion of the lemma made it possible to treat the initial component as a feminine adjective ζακωνθίς,³⁰ created from the proper name *Zakynthos* (Gr. Ζάκυνθος), designating a large Greek island in the Ionian Sea.³¹ Thirdly, the corrected lemma ζακωνθίδες κολοκύνθαι became fully

²⁶ A noteworthy editorial commentary refers to both of these glosses, see Kurt LATTE, ed., *Hesychii Alexandrini*, Bd. II, 812–813.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 257.

²⁸ Codex Marcianus contains the lemma ζακωνθίδες.

²⁹ Immanuel BEKKER, ed., *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. I: *Lexica Segueriana* (Berolini: G.C. Nauck, 1814), 261. Roberto GUSMANI, *Lydisches Wörterbuch mit grammatischer Skizze und Inschriftensammlung* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1964), 273, cites the Lydian gloss in a different form: ζακωνθίδες · αἱ γογγυλίδες παρὰ Λυδοῖς.

³⁰ This female form has no confirmation in ancient texts. Stephanus of Bizantium gives one female ethnonym: Ζακυνθία and three male ethnica: Ζακύνθιος, Ζακυνθιανός, Ζακυνθιεύς, see August MEINEKE, ed., *Stephani Byzantini Ethniconum quae supersunt* (Chicago (Illinois): Ares Publishers, 1992), 294 (reprint of the 1849 edition). It should be noted, however, that the female equivalent of male ethnica ending with -εύς were adjectival derivatives built with the help of the suffix -ίς (Gen. Sg. -ίδος). An ethnonym derived from the nesonym Ζάκυνθος, has been registered already in the second millennium BC in the linear texts B of Pylos and Mycenae, cf. Gr. Myc. *za-ku-si-ja* [dzakunsija] Nom. Pl. n. (PY Sa751; PY Sa 787.B), *za-ku-si-jo* [dzakunsijōi] Dat. Sg. (MY Oe 122). See Francisco AURA JORRO, ed., *Diccionario micénico*, vol. II (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993), 454.

³¹ Zdzisław PIŚCZEK, ed., *Mała encyklopedia kultury antycznej* (Warszawa: PWN, 1990⁷), 799. In ancient times, the name Ζάκυνθος was also used as oikonym, among others, a city in

understandable in the Greek context ('Zakynthian gourds'), which did not require any explication or comment. Fourthly, a typically Greek and fully understandable syntactic pairing ζακυνθίδες κολοκύνθαι was attributed (which is particularly surprising!) to the ancient Lydians, i.e. to the non-Greek population inhabiting Anatolia. It is difficult to accept the speculation that the barbarian population preserved the original Greek expression with its rather unambiguous motivation, while the Greeks themselves (the Boeotians and Thessalonians) changed the name of the turnip (in relation to the bottle gourd) to such an extent that it became completely obscure.

These observations lead to an important conclusion. The version ζακυνθίδες has no objective value and is based on the unjustified invention of an unknown, medieval lexicographer who attributed the name 'turnip' to the Lydians probably only because, in the Byzantine era, the population inhabiting the geographical region of Lydia was already completely Hellenized. In this situation, the attempt to derive the allegedly Lydian term for 'turnip' from the name of the island of Zakynthos seems to be absolutely unjustified.³² Since the Boeotian name for the turnip (ζεκελίς) and the Thessalian name for the bottle gourd (ζακελίς) are not motivated and not explained in the Greek context, it is difficult to expect that the foreign (Lydian) appellative preserves the correct and uncontaminated Hellenic (Aeolian) form.

In the previous studies, little attention has been given to the form ζακαυθίδες preserved in Codex Marcianus, which without justification was

Spain (Latin *Saguntum*) and a city in Libya, also called Ζακυνθία (Sc. πόλις). The islands of Paros and Delos used to be called Ζάκυνθος, see Gustav E. BENSELER, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Braunschweig: Verlag von Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1884³), 437. It is worth noting that on Delos there is a mountain once called Kynthos (Old Gr. Κύνθος), cf. Elwira KACZYŃSKA, "'Cieszcie się kozy! Rozejm ogłasza bogini". Uwagi krytyczne do jednego z epigramatów Kallimacha (62 Pfeiffer = 61 Gow-Page)," *Meander* 54, is. 5 (1999): 421–428.

³² Albert J. Van WINDEKENS, *Contribution à l'étude de l'onomastique pélasgique* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires–Institut Orientaliste, 1954), 54–57, proposes a "Pelasgic" etymology for the island of Zakynthos, from which also derives the name of the bottle gourd. Albert CARNOY, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, 274, s.v. *zacynthos*, quotes the above explanation ("fruit cultivé dans l'île de Zacynthos"), but he adds a double question mark. At the same time, the Belgian scholar does not exclude oriental borrowing from Anatolian or Aegean sources. In a later work, the same researcher, having rejected the origin of the plant name from the nesonym Ζάκυνθος, he infers it from the IE stem **kēko* 'Green fodder, food', cf. Albert CARNOY, "Les suffixes toponymiques pré-grecs," *L'Antiquité Classique* 29 (1960): 325–326. The Pelasgic origin, referring to the island of Zakynthos, is strongly ruled out by David A. HESTER, "'Pelasgian"—A New Indo-European Language?," *Lingua* 13 (1965): 353–354. Thus far, there was no attempt at explaining the name with reference to the Libyan city of Zakynthos, nor to the African (Semito-Hamitic) origins of the analysed name for 'turnip' or 'gourd.'

considered incorrect and requiring an editorial intervention. The reason for this is quite mundane. The publishers of Hesychian lexicon, i.e. Marcus Musurus (ca. 1470–1517), Moriz Wilhelm Constantin Schmidt (1858–1868) and Kurt Latte (1891–1964), on the basis of the aforementioned Lydian gloss and the alleged (erroneous) reference to the island of Zakynthos, corrected the text of Codex Marcianus (ζακαυθίδες Η)³³ and introduced the discussed gloss into the editions of the Hesychian lexicon in the following form: ζακυνθίδες · κολοκύνται.³⁴

In our opinion, the amendment made by Musurus in the first edition of the Hesychian lexicon of 1514 (*edition Aldina*) and later repeated by Schmidt and Latte is not necessary. The form ζακαυθίδες ('gourds') can be derived from the archetype *ζακαλιτίδες, which naturally stands in relation to the Thessalian form ζακελιτίδες ('gourds' or 'turnips') and the Boeotian ζεκελιτίδες ('turnips').³⁵

Moreover, it cannot be ruled out that the variant ζακυνθίδες, if we treat it as a separate lemma, is a transformation of the dialectal form *ζακυλιτίδες. The consonant sequences λτ, λθ underwent irregular (but relatively frequent) transformation into ντ, νθ, in particular in Western Greek dialects³⁶, e.g. Gr. Dor. (Epicharmus) φίντατος vs. Gr. Hom., Att. φίλτατος adj. superlat. 'the nicest, the most pleasant, the most beloved, the dearest'; Gr. Dor. (Alcman, Theocritus) βέντιστος vs. Gr. Att. βέλτιστος adj. superlat. 'the best, the most excellent'³⁷; Gr. Dor. ἐνθεῖν (inf. aor. II act.) vs. Gr. Att. ἐλθεῖν, Cret. εὐθεῖν (< PIE *h₁ludh-), cf. Gr. Hom. ἤλυθον 'I set off, I arrived.'³⁸

³³ Kurt LATTE, ed., *Hesychii Alexandrini*, Bd. II, 812–813. Codex Marcianus written around 1430 in Constantinople and currently kept in Venice (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS Greci fondo antico No. 622), is the only preserved manuscript containing the lexicon of Hesychius of Alexandria. See Klaus ALPERS, Ian C. CUNNINGHAM, eds., *Hesychii Alexandriai Lexicon*, vol. IV (Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), XI.

³⁴ *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, post I. Albertum recensuit Moritz Schmidt, Bd. II (Ienae: sumptibus Frederici Maukii, 1860), 252; Kurt LATTE, ed., *Hesychii Alexandrini*, Bd. II, 257.

³⁵ It is worth noting here that the Boeotian form ζεκελιτίδες arose from the older form *ζακελιτίδες as a result of total regressive assimilation (α – ε > ε – ε). In turn, the discussed form ζακαυθίδες (< *ζακαλιτίδες < *ζα-κελιτίδες) can be explained with the help of two phonological processes: progressive assimilation (α – ε > α – α) and subsequent velarization of the liquid consonant λ. Jurewicz quotes numerous Greek examples of assimilated vowels, *Gramatyka historyczna*, 67–68.

³⁶ Carl D. BUCK, *The Greek Dialects*, 64–65.

³⁷ Eduard SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik*, Bd. I (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939), 213.

³⁸ Gustav MEYER, *Griechische Grammatik* (Leipzig: Verlag von Breitkopf & Härtel, 1896³), 242; Eduard SCHWYZER, *Griechische*, Bd. I, 213; Carl D. BUCK, *The Greek Dialects*, 65; Юрий

THE VELARISATION OF THE LIQUID CONSONANT Λ [L]
IN THE CRETAN DIALECT

The original gloss given by Hesychius ζακαυθίδες · κολοκύνται (HAL ζ-30), which cannot be analysed in isolation from the Thessalian gloss ζακελτίδες · κολοκύνται. ἢ γογγυλίδες (HAL ζ-24) registers a unique phonetic change λ > υ, characteristic only of the dialects of central Crete. This process, consisting in the velarization of the general Greek phoneme -λ- [l] at the end of a closed syllable and its regular transformation into the Cretan phoneme [υ],³⁹ is perfectly evidenced in at least five Cretan glosses recorded by Hesychius of Alexandria:

[1] αὐκάν · ἀλκῆν. Κρηῆτες (HAL α-8277),⁴⁰ cf. Gr. Hom. ἀλκή f. ‘physical strength, fortitude, bravery, valour’⁴¹;

[2] αὐκύονα · ἀλκυόνα. Κρηῆτες (HAL α-8280),⁴² cf. Gr. Hom. ἀλκυών f. ‘kingfisher, *Alcedo hispida* L.’;

[3] αὔμα · ἄλμη, ὑπὸ Κρητῶν (HAL α-8324),⁴³ cf. Gr. Hom. ἄλμη f. ‘saline water, sea; salt sediment; salt solution, brine’;

В. ОТКУПЩИКОВ [Yuriy V. OTKUPSHCHIKOV], *Из истории индоевропейского словообразования* (Ленинград: Издательство Ленинградского Университета, 1967), 177, 189.

³⁹ Gustav M. KLEEMANN, *De universa Creticae dialecti indole adiecta glossarum Creticarum collectione* (Halis Saxonum: Formis Hendeliis, 1872), 27; Ανδρέας Ν. ΣΚΙΑΣ [Andreas N. SKIAS], *Περὶ τῆς κρητικῆς διαλέκτου* (Αθήνα: Π.Δ. Σακελλάριος, 1891), 75; Johannes BRAUSE, *Lautlehre der kretischen Dialekte* (Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1909), 173–175; Albert THUMB, Ernst KIECKERS, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, Bd. I (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1932²), 156; Antonín BARTONĚK, *Classification of the West Greek Dialects at the Time about 350 B.C.* (Prague: Academia, 1972), 152; Monique BILE, *Le dialecte crétois ancien. Étude de la langue des inscriptions. Recueil des inscriptions postérieures aux IC* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1988), 120. Although this phenomenon is unusual in Ancient Greek, Raymond BROWN, *Evidence for Pre-Greek Speech on Crete from Greek Alphabetic Sources* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1985), 35, rightly emphasizes that the velarization of the liquid consonant [l] “is a common feature found in many languages (e.g. Old French, Modern Polish) and occurs in some varieties of spoken English (e.g. the London Cockney dialect).”

⁴⁰ *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, review et emendavit Kurt LATTE, Bd. I (Hauniae: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1953), 279.

⁴¹ Gustav M. KLEEMANN, *De universa Creticae dialecti indole*, 27; Gustav MEYER, *Griechische*, 244; Eduard SCHWYZER, *Griechische*, vol. I, 212; Vittore PISANI, *Manuale storico*, 111; Raymond BROWN, *Evidence*, 35; Αντώνης Θ. ΒΑΣΙΛΑΚΗΣ [Antōnis Th. VASILAKIS], *Το κρητικό λεξιλόγιο* (Ηράκλειο Κρήτης: self-publishing, 1998), 46.

⁴² Kurt LATTE, ed., *Hesychii Alexandrini*, Bd. I, 280; Gustav M. KLEEMANN, *De universa Creticae dialecti indole*, 27; Gustav MEYER, *Griechische*, 244; Vittore PISANI, *Manuale storico*, 111; Raymond BROWN, *Evidence*, 35.

⁴³ Kurt LATTE, ed., *Hesychii Alexandrini*, Bd. I, 281; Gustav M. KLEEMANN, *De universa Creticae dialecti indole*, 27; Gustav MEYER, *Griechische*, 244; Vittore PISANI, *Manuale storico*, 111.

[4] αῦσος · ἄλσος. Κρηῆτες (HAL α-8347),⁴⁴ cf. Gr. Hom. ἄλσος n. 'grove, especially holy grove, holy circle.'

[5] θεύγεσθαι · θέλγεσθαι. Κρηῆτες (HAL θ-427),⁴⁵ cf. Gr. Hom. θέλω 'enchant, seduce, deceive, delude; evoke something with magic.'

The Cretan origin is also attributed to some other glosses listed by Hesychius, which reveal the same phonetic process:

[6] αὐγεῖν · ἀλγεῖν (Hal α-8231),⁴⁶ cf. Gr. Hom. ἀλγέω 'suffer, feel pain; worry, hurt';

[7] εὐθεῖν · ἐλθεῖν (HAL ε-6863),⁴⁷ cf. Gr. Hom. ἦλυθον, Att. ἦλθον 'I set off, I arrived,' inf. aor. Act II. ἐλ(υ)θεῖν.

We believe that the eighth case documenting the coarticulatory phenomenon that is unusual for Old Greek, can be found in the next gloss by Hesychius: [8] ζακαυθίδες · κολοκύνται ('bottle gourds'), whereby the handwritten lemma ζακαυθίδες can be derived from the previous form *ζακαλθίδες, which is undoubtedly related to the Boeotian (ζεκελτίδες) and Thessalian term (ζακελτίδες).

THE CRETAN EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL AND THE VELARIZATION OF THE LIQUID CONSONANT

The velarization of the Greek phoneme -λ- [l] at the end of a closed syllable, combined with its subsequent vocalisation, is a specific phonetic process that has been repeatedly recorded in the inscriptions from Gortyna, Leben and Phaistos.⁴⁸ The following epigraphic examples are evidence of the occurrence of the velar variant [ɫ] in the dialect of Central Crete:

⁴⁴ Kurt LATTE, ed., *Hesychii Alexandrini*, Bd. I, 282; Gustav M. KLEEMANN, *De universa Creticae dialecti indole*, 27; G. MEYER, *Griechische*, 244; Vittore PISANI, *Manuale storico*, 111.

⁴⁵ Kurt LATTE, ed., *Hesychii Alexandrini*, Bd. II, 318; Gustav M. KLEEMANN, *De universa Creticae dialecti indole*, 27; Gustav MEYER, *Griechische*, 244; Eduard SCHWYZER, *Griechische*, Bd. I, 212; Vittore PISANI, *Manuale storico*, 111; Raymond BROWN, *Evidence*, 58.

⁴⁶ Kurt LATTE, ed., *Hesychii Alexandrini*, Bd. I, 278 ("Creticum"); Gustav M. KLEEMANN, *De universa Creticae dialecti indole*, 27 ("Creticum vocabulum est"); Ανδρέας Ν. ΣΚΙΑΣ, *Περί της κρητικής*, 75; Gustav MEYER, *Griechische*, 244; Friedrich BECHTEL, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, Bd. II (Berlin: Weidmann, 1963²), 704; Raymond BROWN, *Evidence*, 35; Antōnis Th. VASILAKIS, *To κρητικό*, 46.

⁴⁷ Kurt LATTE, ed., *Hesychii Alexandrini*, Bd. II, 225 ("Creticum"); Gustav M. KLEEMANN, *De universa Creticae dialecti indole*, 35; Ανδρέας Ν. ΣΚΙΑΣ, *Περί της κρητικής*, 75; Gustav MEYER, *Griechische*, 244; Friedrich BECHTEL, *Die griechischen*, Bd. II, 704; Raymond BROWN, *Evidence*, 56–57; Antōnis Th. VASILAKIS, *To κρητικό*, 77.

⁴⁸ Ernst FRAENKEL, "Index der kretischen Inschriften sowie Nachträgen und kurz Abriss der Laut-, Formen- und Wortbildungslehre des kretischen Dialekts," in Hermann COLLITZ, O. HOFFMANN, Hrsg.,

[9] ἀδευπιαί nom. Pl.⁴⁹ ‘sisters’ (*Gortyn Code*, 5th century BCE) represents Gr. ἀδελφεία (= Att. ἀδελφαί f. Pl. ‘sisters, relatives’). However, it is worth noting that in the same document there are as many as 13 mentions of the appellative ἀδελπιός m. ‘brother’⁵⁰ (< Gr. ἀδελφεός, cf. Att. ἀδελφός m. ‘brother, relative, compatriot’⁵¹);

[10] ἀδευφιόν Acc. Sg. ‘brother’ (*Gortyna*, 2nd century BC)⁵² from the Gr. appellative ἀδελφεός m. ‘brother’, cf. Att. ἀδελφός;

[11] Ἀνταύκιος Gen. Sg. (*Gortyna*, 2nd century BC) from the personal name Ἀνταύκης⁵³ (< Gr. Ἀντάλκης), cf. Gr. Cret. Ἀντάλκῶς, *Gortyna*, 184 BC⁵⁴ and Cretan gloss αὐκάν · ἀλκήν. Κρηῖτες (HAL α-8277), recorded in the Hesychian lexicon;

[12] αὐφίτων Gen. Pl. (*Gortyna*, 4th century BC)⁵⁵ < ἀλφίτων, cf. Gr. Att. ἄλφιτον n. ‘barley groats, pearl barley, barley broth’, also in the more general sense of ‘flour, bread; food’⁵⁶;

[13] ἐπευθών (*Gortyna*, 2nd century BC)⁵⁷ < ἐπελθών, cf. Hesychius’ gloss

Sammlung Griechischer Dialekt-Inschriften, Bd. IV, H. 3 (Göttingen: Verlag von Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1915), 1066 (“λ vor Konsonanten > υ”); Carl D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, 64; Monique BILE, *Le dialecte crétois*, 120. See also Moreno MORANI, *Introduzione alla linguistica greca. Il greco tra le lingue indoeuropee* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 1999), 82.

⁴⁹ Ανδρέας Ν. ΣΚΙΑΣ, *Περί της κρητικής*, 75; Gustav MEYER, *Griechische*, 244; Margherita GUARDUCCI, ed., *Inscriptiones Creticae opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae*, vol. IV: *Tituli Gortynii* (Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1950), 132, 159; Antonín BARTONĚK, *Classification of the West Greek Dialects*, 152; Inés CALERO SECALL, *Leyes de Gortina*, (Supplementa Mediterránea 2) (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 2000), 172, 247. It should be noted that in the *Gortyn Code*, the grapheme π is used for both the voiceless consonant [p] and the voiceless labial aspirate [p^h].

⁵⁰ Antonín BARTONĚK, *Classification of the West Greek Dialects*, 152 explains the observed frequency of the form by the attachment to the traditional spelling: “The fact that the “regular” λ-forms are far more prevailing may be explained by the conservational power of the traditional orthography.”

⁵¹ Zofia ABRAMOWICZÓWNA, ed., *Słownik*, vol. I, 25; Henry G. LIDDELL, Robert SCOTT, *A Greek-English*, 20–21; Oktawiusz JUREWICZ, *Słownik*, vol. I, 9; Franco MONTANARI, *Vocabolario*, 71.

⁵² Margherita GUARDUCCI, ed., *Inscriptiones Creticae*, vol. IV, 284; Monique BILE, *Le dialecte crétois*, 120.

⁵³ Ernst FRAENKEL, “Index der kretischen Inschriften,” 1036 (“Ἀνταύκιος, Gen. Ἀνταύκης = Ἀντάλκης”); Margherita GUARDUCCI, ed., *Inscriptiones Creticae*, vol. IV, 311–312 (“Ἀνταύκιος pro Ἀντάλκιος”); Friedrich BECHTEL, *Die griechischen*, Bd. II, 704; Peter M. FRASER, Elaine MATTHEWS, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 42; Monique BILE, *Le dialecte crétois*, 120.

⁵⁴ Peter M. FRASER, Elaine MATTHEWS, *A Lexicon*, vol. I, 41.

⁵⁵ Margherita GUARDUCCI, ed., *Inscriptiones Creticae*, vol. IV, 212 (inscr. no. 245), also p. 213 (“the form Gortynia αὐφίτων (pro ἀλφίτων)”); Monique BILE, *Le dialecte crétois*, 120.

⁵⁶ Zofia ABRAMOWICZÓWNA, ed., *Słownik*, vol. I, 99; Oktawiusz JUREWICZ, *Słownik*, vol. I, 32.

⁵⁷ Ernst FRAENKEL, “Index der kretischen Inschriften,” 1127; Margherita GUARDUCCI, ed.,

εὐθεῖν · ἐλθεῖν (HAL ε-6863);

[14] φευμέναν part. Acc. Sg. f. (Gortyna, 5th century BC)⁵⁸. However, it should be noted that the form καταφελεμένον (Gen. Pl.) appears twice in the *Gortyn Code*, and it still retains the phoneme [l];

[15] Φευχάνω Gen. Sg. '(god) Velchanos (Phaistos, 3rd century BC)⁵⁹; Φευχανίω Gen. Sg. 'in a month called Velchanios'⁶⁰;

[16] καυχῶι Dat. Sg. (Gortyna, 3rd century BC)⁶¹ from the appellative Gr. Cret. καλχός m. 'bronze' (= Gr. Hom. χαλκός m. 'copper, bronze, gunmetal'), Gr. Μυσ. ka-ko m. 'bronze'⁶²;

[17] πορτευθών (Leben, 2nd century BC)⁶³ < *πορτ-ελθών, cf. ex. [7] above. The first part of the compound contains the preposition Gr. Cret. πορτί 'towards, around, at'⁶⁴ created via metathesis of the liquid consonant from the older form Gr. *προτί⁶⁵, cf. Gr. Epic προτί, also ποτί, Dor. ποτί. The apocope form of Gr. Ion. *προσί is Gr. Hom., Att.-Ion. πρός.

As documented by the above epigraphic material, the velarization of the liquid consonant [l] appeared already in the 5th and 4th centuries BC in Gortyna, and in the following centuries (3rd—2nd century BC) it spread to the surrounding towns (Phaistos, Leben). The velar pronunciation must have been quite common in the southern part of Central Crete, since the inscriptions contained numerous phonetic entries recording the local pronunciation [ɫ].⁶⁶

Inscriptiones Creticae, vol. IV, 231, 234; Monique BILE, *Le dialecte crétois*, 120.

⁵⁸ Ernst FRAENKEL, "Index der kretischen Inschriften," 1132; Margherita GUARDUCCI, ed., *Inscriptiones Creticae*, vol. IV, 183, 187; Monique BILE, *Le dialecte crétois*, 120.

⁵⁹ Johannes BRAUSE, *Lautlehre*, 174; Margherita GUARDUCCI, ed., *Inscriptiones Creticae opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae*, vol. I: *Tituli Cretae Mediae praeter Gortynios* (Romae: La Libreria dello Stato, 1935), 274. See also Ernst FRAENKEL, "Index der kretischen Inschriften," 1035 (Φεύχανος).

⁶⁰ Monique BILE, *Le dialecte crétois*, 120; Angelos CHANIOTIS, *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der Hellenistischen Zeit* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996), 407. See also Krzysztof GĘBURA, *Menologia Graeca. Studium nazw miesięcy greckich* (Siedlce: Wydawnictwo Uczelniane WSRP, 1996), 44.

⁶¹ Ernst FRAENKEL, "Index der konkretischen Inschriften," 1139; Eduard SCHWYZER, *Griechische*, Bd. I, 212; Юрий В. ОТКУПЩИКОВ, *Из истории*, 177; Monique BILE, *Le dialecte crétois*, 120.

⁶² Francisco AURA JORRO, ed., *Diccionario micénico*, vol. I (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985), 308–309.

⁶³ Margherita GUARDUCCI, ed., *Inscriptiones Creticae*, vol. I, 162; Monique BILE, *Le dialecte crétois*, 120.

⁶⁴ Ernst FRAENKEL, "Index der kretischen Inschriften," 1157.

⁶⁵ Monique BILE, *Le dialecte crétois*, 125.

⁶⁶ The velarization of the liquid consonant [l], limited to the position before the mid vowel [a] and the back vowels [o, u], also appears in the Cretan dialects of Modern Greek, cf. Νικόλαος

THE CRETAN GENESIS OF THE HESYCHIAN GLOSS Z-30

The Cretan glosses [1–5], listed in the dictionary of Hesychius of Alexandria, as well as numerous epigraphic examples [9–17] recorded in several Cretan towns located in the southern part of Central Crete (inter alia, in Phaistos, Gortyna and Leben), prove conclusively that the discussed shift [l] > [ɫ] took place in the ancient Central Cretan dialects. It is thus not surprising that glosses [6–7], which are devoid of ethnic (dialectal) identification, are generally considered to be Cretan, or more precisely, Central Cretan.

The juxtaposition of the three related forms recorded in written sources—ζακαυθίδες (HAL ζ-30), Boeot. ζεκελτίδες (Athenaeus IX 369b) and ζακελτίδες (Athenaeus IX 369b; HAL ζ-24), allows to expand the Cretan lexical material by another dictionary unit. The form ζακαυθίς f. ‘bottle gourd’ (Pl. ζακαυθίδες), preserved in the dictionary of Hesychius of Alexandria, has to be recognized as Cretan (similarly to the aforementioned examples [1–7]), since it shows a typically Cretan phonetic transformation, i.e. the velarization of the liquid consonant [l] > [ɫ]. This process is utterly unknown to other dialects of ancient Greece, which makes it easier to assign the correct ethnicity to Hesychius’ gloss ζακαυθίδες · κολοκύνται (HAL ζ-30).

Although the Alexandrian lexicographer did not provide the gloss with annotation <Κρητες> or <ὕπὸ Κρητῶν> (such as Hesychius’ glosses [1–5]), the lemma contains very specific phonetic features that unambiguously indicate its Cretan (or more precisely—Central Cretan) origin, see glosses [6–7], which the editor Kurt Latte eagerly provided with the unambiguous qualifier “Creticum.”⁶⁷

THE MYCENAEAN GENESIS OF THE CRETAN TERM

In the previous subsections we have tried to demonstrate, on the basis of rich lexical and epigraphic material, that the gloss ζακαυθίδες · κολοκύνται (HAL ζ-30) should be attributed to the Cretans living in the central part of the island, especially around Gortyna, Phaistos and Leben. The research thesis is based on the phonological features of the local idiolect, which was characterized by the velarization of the liquid consonant λ [l], i.e. the shift of the phoneme [l] in [ɫ], which was vocalized in a suitable environment.

Γ. ΚΟΝΤΟΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ [Nikolaos G. KONTOSOPOULOS], *Θέματα κρητικής διαλεκτολογίας* (Αθήνα: Βιβλιοεκδοτική Α.Ε. Μ. & Γ. Αναστασάκης, 1997), 22–23, 220–227, 355, the map on p. 221.

⁶⁷ Kurt LATTE, ed., *Hesychii Alexandrini*, Bd. I, 278; Bd. II, 225.

Unfortunately, the mere finding that the appellative ζακαυθίδες (‘gourds’) belonged to the Central Cretan idiolect does not solve all the problems. In the examined gloss there appears a coronal aspirate [t^h] or a dental spirant [θ], while in the related forms—Boeotian ζεκελτίδες (‘turnips’) and Thessalian ζακελτίδες (‘gourds’)—there appears the voiceless dental plosive [t]. Since the ancient Cretan dialect does not have the assibilation of the voiceless dental consonant τ [t] before the front vowel -ι- [i] and there is no further transformation into the spirant [θ] or [s]⁶⁸, it should be assumed that the distinguished Central Cretan form ζακαυθίδες is not native, but borrowed from another Greek dialect⁶⁹ in which the spirantization of dental consonants had occurred before. The source from which the Cretan form *ζακαλσίδες (from which the documented Central Cretan form ζακαυθίδες developed) was borrowed is most probably the Old Mycenaean dialect,⁷⁰ used in Crete in the second half of the second millennium BC. After the conquest of Crete by the Dorians, the Mycenaean dialect gave way to the local Doric dialect, leaving some (not very numerous) traces in the lexical and onomastic layer.

⁶⁸ The retention of [t] before the front vowel [i] is characteristic of all Western Greek dialects, as well as some Aeolian dialects (i.e. Thessalian and Boeotian), see Carl D. BUCK, *The Greek Dialects*, 57–58; Helmut RIX, *Historische Grammatik des Griechischen. Laut- und Formenlehre* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992), 89.

⁶⁹ The non-Doric elements present in the Cretan dialect are discussed in Claude BRIXHE, “La langue comme reflet de l’histoire ou les éléments non doriens du dialecte crétois,” in: Claude BRIXHE, ed., *Sur la Crète antique. Histoire, écritures, langues* (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1991), 43–77. See also Ronald F. WILLETTS, “Arcado-Cypriot Traces in the Ancient Cretan Dialect,” in *Πρακτικά του Πρώτου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 14-19 Απριλίου 1969)*, vol. I (Λευκωσία: Εταιρεία Κυπριακών Σπουδών, 1972), 225–229; Ernst RISCH, “La posizione del dialetto dorico,” in Domenico MUSTI, a cura di, *Le origini dei greci. Dori e mondo egeo* (Roma–Bari: Editori Laterza, 1991), 17–18, 31.

⁷⁰ In the Mycenaean dialect, already in the second millennium BC, there occurred the assibilation of the dental consonants [t^h] and [t] preceding the front vowel [i], see Michel LEJEUNE, “La posizione dialettale del greco miceneo,” in Gianfranco MADDOLI, a cura di, *La civiltà micenea. Guida storica e critica* (Roma–Bari: Editori Laterza, 1992), 125–126. Pre-Doric forms of the name of the god Poseidon, containing the fricative[s] are discussed in detail by Robert SUCHARSKI, *Posejdon w świetle tekstów tabliczek w greckim piśmie linearnym B* (Warszawa: KNoKA PAN, 2000), 19–22; he drew the conclusion that the Peloponnese Dorians (including Spartans) adopted this theonym from the Mycenaean Greeks. A similar view has recently been expressed by Araceli STRIANO, “Laconian, Messenian,” in Georgios K. GIANNAKIS, ed., *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*, vol. II (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2014), 287: “Probable substratum features such as the term *Pohoidaia* ‘the games in honour of Poseidon’ seem to support the idea that Laconians settled in a region previously inhabited by speakers of the so-called “Achaean” dialect”. See also John CHADWICK, “I Dori and la creazione dei dialetti greci,” in Domenico MUSTI, a cura di, *Le origini dei greci. Dori e mondo egeo* (Roma–Bari: Editori Laterza, 1991), 9; Carl D. BUCK, *The Greek Dialects*, 58; Moreno MORANI, *Introduzione alla linguistica greca*, 101.

Therefore, it seems that the Cretan term *ζακαλσίς, from which the Central Cretan form ζακαυθίς ('bottle gourd, calabash, *Lagenaria siceraria* Standl.') is derived, was borrowed from the Achaean (Mycenaean) source.⁷¹ It is worth noting here that in the dialects of Central Crete, the grapheme θ often renders the Greek spirant [s], cf. Gr. Cret. (Gortyna, 3rd century BC) πόλιθι (= Gr. Ion. πόλισι) Dat. Pl. 'cities' (< PGr. *πόλισι); Gr. Cret. (Gortyna, 2nd century BC) φέτεθθι, (Leben, 2nd century BC) φέτεθι (= Gr. Att.-Ion. ἔτεσι) Dat. Pl. 'in the years' (< PGr. *φέτεσσι); Gr. Cret. Ἀρκάθθι (= Gr. Att.-Ion. Ἀρκάσι) Dat. Pl. 'Arcadians'; Gr. Cret. θάλαθθαν Acc. Sg. 'sea.'⁷² The supposed Achaean (Mycenaean) archetype *ζακαλσίς (Pl. *ζακαλσίδες)⁷³ demonstrates a striking correspondence with the preserved Aeolian forms: Thessal. ζακελίς (Pl. ζακελίδες), Boeot. ζεκελίς (Pl. ζεκελίδες). Since Achaean and Aeolian dialects reveal a whole set of phonological, inflectional, word-forming and lexical similarities,⁷⁴ the presented convergence should be generally recognized.

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⁷¹ In the preserved Mycenaean vocabulary, no word begins with the prefix δια-, which in Linear B writing should be written as *di-ja-* (*di-a-* or possibly *di-a₂-*). However, there are examples containing the prefix *za-* [dza-], e.g. Gr. Myc. *za-e-to-ro* (PY An 610.12); Gr. Myc. *za-ki-ri-jo* [dza-krijos] (KN Vc 108), cf. Gr. Διά-κριος; Gr. Myc. *za-ku-si-ja* [dzakunsija] Nom. Pl. n. (PY Sa751; PY Sa 787.B), *za-ku-si-jo* [dzakunsijōi] Dat. Sg. (MY Oe 122), cf. Gr. Att. Ζακυνθία, Ζακύνθιος. See Francisco AURA JORRO, a cura di, *Diccionario*, vol. II, 453–456.

⁷² Ανδρέας Ν. ΣΚΙΑΣ, *Περί της κρητικής*, 62; Johannes BRAUSE, *Lautlehre*, 146–147; Vittore PISANI, *Manuale storico*, 110–111; Monique BILE, *Le dialecte crétois*, 196.

⁷³ It is worth noting that the Mycenaean forms *za-ku-si-ja* and *za-ku-si-jo* demonstrate both the prefix *za-* [dza-] and the assibilation of the dental consonant [t^h] to [s] when followed by the front vowel [i]. The ethnic name Ζακύνθιος (= Gr. Myc. *za-ku-si-jo*) was created from the nesonym Ζάκυνθος, which—according to Vladimir I. GEORGIEV, *Introduzione alla storia delle lingue indeuropee* (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1966), 55, 179, 207—is a complex formation *Διά-κυνθος (lit. 'very mountainous [island]'), cf. oronym Κύνθος on the island of Delos.

⁷⁴ Moreno MORANI, *Introduzione alla linguistica greca*, 101–102, 110–112.

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THE THESSALIAN AND CRETAN NAME FOR 'BOTTLE GOURD'

Summary

In his work *Deipnosophistae* (IX 369b), Athenaeus discusses four Greek names for turnip, (*Brassica campestris* L., syn. *Brassica rapa* L.): βουνιάς, γογγυλίσ, Laconian γάστρα and Boeotian ζεκελτίς. The three first names are clearly motivated by the Greek vocabulary. The fourth term remains obscure in terms of its etymology and word-formation. According to Athenaeus (IX 369b), two Greek writers, Amerias and Timachidas, refer to a dialectal (evidently Thessalian) term ζακελτίς f. 'bottle gourd, calabash, *Lagenaria siceraria* (Molina) Standl.'. In his lexicon, Hesychius of Alexandria registers two related glosses: ζακελτίδες · κολοκύνται. ἢ γογγυλίδες (HAL ζ-24); ζακαυθίδες · κολοκύνται (HAL ζ-30). The former refers to the Thessalian lexis. The latter one (wrongly printed as ζακυνθίδες · κολοκύνται in M. Schmidt's and K. Latte's editions) demonstrates a shift of the liquid consonant λ [l] to [ʎ], which is a typical Cretan phenomenon, attested also in the Hesychian lexicon, see e.g. [1] αὐκάν · ἀλκήν. Κρήτες (HAL α-8277); [2] αὐκόνια · ἀλκύνια. Κρήτες (HAL α-8280); [3] αὔμα · ἄλμη, ὑπὸ Κρητῶν (HAL α-8324); [4]

αὔσος · ἄλσος. Κρήτες (HAL α-8347); [5] θεύγεσθαι · θέλγεσθαι. Κρήτες (HAL θ-427). The same phonological process of the velarization of *λ [l] is also registered in epigraphic texts found in three towns of Central Crete (Gortyna, Leben, Phaistos). Thus, it seems that the Hesychian term ζακαυθίδες 'bottle gourds' (derived from the earlier *ζακαλθίδες) must be seen as a dialectal form typical of Central Cretan.

Key words: botanical names; Cretan dialect; Greek dialectology; Greek vocabulary.

Translated by Rafał Augustyn



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