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Tracing Metaphor Transformations in Translation of Fiction by Type and Density

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Abstract

Heavily neglected by language scholars and ascribed poetics value only, metaphor was reinvented by Lakoff and Johnsons' iconic study in the 1980s, which showed its pervasiveness in language and thought. Paradoxically, though, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, especially in its early variants, alienated metaphor research from poetics. The latter has slowly been finding its feet in conceptual metaphor studies, especially with the help of newly developed fields of linguistic research such as corpus studies, which allow for obtaining of ample material for cross-cultural analysis. This paper is an example of such an analysis and aims by identifying the conceptual metaphors behind the metaphorical linguistic expressions in key texts from five of the greatest stylists of the English language, and by comparing them to their translations into Bulgarian, to find out whether metaphor is lost or transformed in any way. The main methodological tool used in the current paper is parallel text analysis. Our findings regarding literature in translation, suggest that the target texts (the translated ones) are not inferior in terms of metaphor type and density to the original ones and are appropriate for close reading.

Keywords: cross-cultural analysis, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, translation studies.

1. Introduction

1.1 *Understanding metaphor*

Understanding metaphor has proven a formidable task for philosophers, psychologists and linguists alike for many centuries. Modern scholars have tried to explain metaphor by putting forward a number of theories based on Aristotle's concept of the term and drawing upon Richards' ideas (Richards, 1981). Basically, there are two distinct views of the metaphor phenomenon. On the one hand, there is the traditional view in which metaphor functions only at the level of language. The second view, pioneered by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), advanced over the last thirty years or so, holds that metaphor is a conceptual device relating to thought and has an elaborate relationship with language. Resting on the latter premise, metaphor studies developed into an important area of research having implication in multiple areas of scientific inquiry associated with language, culture, translation, and literature. Thus, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, firmly entrenched into the cognitive realm, generated

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interdisciplinary research with translation studies (Van Den Broeck, 1981; Dagut, 1987; Mandelblit, 1995; Schäffner, 2004; Dickins, 2005), discourse analysis (Musolff, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2004), education (Cameron, 2003), and more recently, cognitive poetics (Tsur, 1992; Stockwell, 2002).

- Conceptual metaphors were identified in five key texts in English literature.
- Metaphors were compared to their translations into Bulgarian.
- Not many cases of explication, paraphrase and loss of metaphor were found.
- The number of lexicalized metaphors is greater than that of original metaphors.
- Novel metaphors translate readily in the target texts.

1.2 *Translation and Metaphor*

In terms of structure and etymology, both words "translation" and "metaphor" are very close: *translation* comes from the Latin "transferre", trans – 'across', ferre – 'carry'. Metaphor, similarly, derives from the Greek "meta" – "change" and "pherein" – "carry" (etymonline.com). Both imply source and target domains, languages, cultures. The Bulgarian word *превод* contains the same connotations. Tymoczko (2007: 68-77) concludes that in most Indo-European languages the words *translation*, *metaphor*, and *transfer* are conceptually related.

What comes as the point of intersection of these notions is the peculiar fact that a central problem of translation is metaphor translation (Newmark 1988). The complex character of metaphor makes its rendition into a target language problematic. Many attempts have been made to study various aspects of metaphor in translation linking the two areas of research (Kloepfer, 1967). Fernandez (2005) provides an exhaustive inventory of the different approaches based on cultural, textual and cognitive characteristics. On the whole, in her view, these standpoints vary from the idea that as metaphoric nature is unpredictable, so its adequate translation is impossible (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1958; Nida, 1964; Dagut, 1976, 1987). A more moderate stance is held by theoreticians such as Mason (1982) endorsing a degree of translatability while acknowledging its problematic character. Finally, with a view to the full transfer of meaning (Van Den Broeck, 1981; Newmark, 1985, 1988; Toury, 1995), there are positions supported by the abovementioned and also by Translation Studies scholars such as Kloepfer (1967) and Reiss (2000), claiming that metaphors are fully translatable and pose no special problem for translation. In line mostly with the substitution theory of metaphor (Martin & Harré, 1982: 90), Translation Studies analysts use terms like "image" or "vehicle" for the conventional referent, "object" or "topic" for the actual unconventional referent, and "sense", "ground", or "tenor" for the similarities involved (Schäffner, 2004: 1255). The heated debates circle around the degree of translatability bringing forward the notion of *dead*, *lexicalized* and *stock* metaphors. A "dead" metaphor is a lexical item with a conventional meaning different from its original meaning (Pawelec, 2006). "Lexicalized" metaphors are uses of language which are recognizably metaphorical, but whose meaning in a particular language is relatively clearly fixed (Dickins et al., 2002). A "stock" metaphor can be adapted into a new context by its speaker or writer, e.g., "To carry coal to Newcastle".

Newmark (1988: 106-113), asserts that the only fully translatable metaphors are "dead" ones, as they show the greatest proximity of the two polysystems involved and suggests (Newmark 1981:87-91) a classification based on seven options, focusing on linguistic systems. In his turn, Van Den Broeck's opts for three possible outcomes: translation "sensu stricto", "substitution" and "paraphrase". Both Van Den Broeck (1981) and Alvarez (1993) see lexicalized metaphors as the "most translatable" ones, while considering "novel" metaphors to be extremely difficult to translate and "stock" metaphors fully translatable if the systems involved are culturally

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close (Alvarez, 1993: 137). Snell-Hornby (1988) in her turn focuses on both intralinguistic and extralinguistic factors affecting a translator's process of metaphor rendition. Recently, equivalence also entails "anomalous equivalence" (Toury, 1985: 25) such as "zero solutions" or even creating metaphor where there exists none in the ST.

1.2.1 *Metaphor translation theories in cognitive science*

Cognitive science radically breaks away from the purely linguistic understanding of metaphor. The appearance of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), as well as the more discourse and culture-oriented translation theories proposed over the last thirty years, have changed both the view on metaphor and also the importance of the latter for translation studies. There are several models which study the process of metaphor translation from a cognitive perspective. These are Mandelblit's (1995), Schäffner's (2004), Kovecses' (2005), Al-Hassnawi's (2007), Maalej's (2008) and Iranmanesh and Kaurs' (2010).

Mandelblit (1995) came up with the Cognitive Translation Hypothesis, positing that metaphoric expressions take more time and are more difficult to translate if they exploit a different cognitive domain than the target language equivalent expressions. She considers two schemes for the translation of metaphors:

- Similar mapping conditions (SMC will obtain if no conceptual shift occurs between the metaphors of the two languages).

- Different mapping conditions (DMC occurs when a conceptual shift takes place).

If the first option occurs, Mandelblit believes that a translator should simply choose an equivalent target metaphor, but in the second case the translator should render the ST metaphor through choosing a TL simile, or by a paraphrase, a footnote, an explanation or omission (Mandelblit, 1995).

Al-Hassnawi (2007) follows Mandelblit but has added one more scheme to her Cognitive Translation Hypothesis with regard to the outcome:

- Metaphors having similar mapping conditions but lexically implemented differently (metaphors which are only lexically different due to the ethical system in the TL and SL)

Al-Hassnawi (*Ibid*.) points out that "[the] only plausible justification for this variation in the use of metaphoric expressions is the fact that users of language map the particular conceptual domain of their own world differently".

For Schäffner (2004) conceptual metaphors can be identical in the source text (ST) and target text (TT) at the macro-level. Structural components make entailments explicit. A metaphor is more elaborate in the TT, while ST and TT employ different metaphorical expressions, which can be combined under a more abstract conceptual metaphor. The expression in the TT reflects a different aspect of the conceptual metaphor.

Kovecses (2005: 131-162) addresses the ways conceptual metaphors are expressed linguistically in different languages and by comparing the linguistic expression of a particular conceptual metaphor in two languages, different kinds of patterns emerge:

- Metaphors of similar mapping conditions and similar lexical realization;

- Metaphors of similar mapping conditions but different lexical realization;

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- Metaphors of different mapping conditions but similar lexical realization;

- Metaphors of different mapping conditions and different lexical realization.

Maalej's (2008) view on mapping conditions is very similar to Kövecses's. Maalej argues that there is more to translation "than simply pairing or mapping parameters from a SL to a TL" and that metaphor translation is knowledge-based, involving culture-specific repacking or re-expression.

Perhaps the best cognitive answer to the precognitivist division of metaphor typology by is Müller's (2008) approach, whose line of argument refutes the mutually exclusive distinction between "dead" and "live" metaphors. Metaphors, she argues, operate on the level of language use and not on the one of language system. Accordingly, metaphoricity is a dynamic part of a cognitive activation process in an individual person at a given moment in time. Her claims are substantiated by empirical studies of multimodal metaphors that unite language, gestures, pictures, etc. Her argumentation is also strongly reinforced by the *Career of Metaphor Theory* (Bowdle & Gentner, 2005), which establishes an evolutionary path based on structure-mapping theory. The career of metaphor hypothesis postulates a shift in mode of mapping from comparison to categorization as metaphors are conventionalized.

1.3 *Metaphor in literary discourse*

Conceptual Metaphor Theory made us reevaluate the role of metaphor in everyday language (Semino & Steen, 2008), but also introduced a new viewpoint regarding metaphor in literature, as well. There are two approaches to metaphor in literary discourse. In *More than Cool Reason* Lakoff and Turner (1989) view poetic metaphor as a new reformulation of conceptual metaphors that we use in our daily life. Poets' challenge and reuse creatively everyday metaphor. In other words, cognitive linguists claim that most poetic language is based on conventional, ordinary conceptual metaphors. Creative/original metaphors are nothing more than a creative reformulation of conventional conceptual metaphor

Other scholars, though, consider poetic metaphors superior to metaphor in the other types of discourse, which makes their comparison impossible because of the way metaphors in literary discourse interact with each other and with other aspects of the texts they appear in. For Semino and Steen metaphor in literary discourse is of higher order than metaphor in other types of discourse, as "This focus on individual language use is of course characteristic of literary studies but also raises the more general issue of metaphor's role in individual's idiolects and personal worldviews" (Semino & Steen, 2008: 239).

1.4 *Parallel text analysis*

Individuals tend to use language differently. Both author and translator are specialists in conveying meaning through language. Indeed, ideally, the meaning in the original and in the translation needs to be identical. Given the professionalism of both, any differences in the conceptualization of metaphor between the two parallel texts are bound to be either culturally or linguistically motivated. In addition, other translation-related transformations, such as *generalization* and *concretization*, as well as *domestication* and *foreignization*, tend to occur in the process. This further alienates the source text from the target text. Most importantly, metaphors in ST and TT have to fulfill the same functions, expressed by Goatly (1997: 148): "to fill language gaps; create meaning and memorability; express attitude and ideology". Metaphors also

have aesthetic value, simultaneously functioning as a powerful cohesive device of the literary work, linking themes and ideas within the text and intertextually, between the work and the other texts.

On the other hand, the study of literature at university level invariably involves working with original texts, very often with select excerpts from works of fiction, to which an analysis is made in the form of close reading, more in line with the empirical study of literature, based on Lakoff and Turner (1989), cognitive stylistics (Semino & Steen, 2008; Tsur, 1992) and cognitive poetics, with its foundational principles of embodiment, prototypicality and naturalness (Stockwell, 2007), than with literary historiography. Thus, parallel texts provide an opportunity for the study of metaphor as manifest in different languages and cultural environments. The content is a constant, though the languages are different, and the metaphors typical of each language, have evolved differently as people have coined similar or different expressions in the attempt to conceptualize and make sense of their particular surroundings. Parallel texts provide an opportunity to study metaphor universality and variation in culture in similar linguistic context and to analyze the different metaphors used in the two languages that are used to convey one and the same message. In Descriptive Translation studies by default the translational problem are reconstructed through target-source comparison.

2. Method

2.1 *Setup of the study*

Our corpus consists of five crucial texts from five highly acclaimed authors writing in English and their translations. They include a passage from Joseph Conrad's multilayered symbolic novel *Heart of Darkness*, Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway*, Orwell's *1984*, Richard Russo's award-winning novel *Empire Falls* and James Joyce's *The Dead* and their translations into Bulgarian, which are analyzed by identifying metaphors in both texts, using Steen's MIP VU approach (Steen at al., 2010)

Conclusions are drawn regarding metaphor translatability in literary discourse, paying particular attention to different mapping conditions during translation and the cases in which metaphors have been omitted.

2.2 *Choice of Corpora*

The selected texts belong to the recognized literary canon and hence have been translated by the most prestigious translators in the country, who have a flair and considerable knowledge of language and literature, though were totally unaware of CMT, since, more often than not, it was not even formulated at the time of their translations. Their extensive knowledge of language and literature, and their innate intuition however, helped them in dealing with the most intricate metaphorical nuances. The texts are such as are frequently analyzed in literature classes at the university level, using the methods of close reading. It involved a close reading of the text, identification of literary devices, such as metaphor, which refer to some aspect, or idea, or mega metaphor evident in the work in general.

2.3 *Metaphor typology in the study according to use (transparency, conventionalization, novelty)*

As our aim is to gauge the translatability and quality of translation, we have adopted an analysis involving both precognitivist and conceptual metaphor categories in order to study metaphor transparency, conventionalization and novelty. To that end we have focused closely on three types of metaphor:

- Sleeping metaphors (lexicalized – non-transparent) – are the lexicalized metaphoric linguistic expressions that may be co-activated under certain circumstances in the text. Although such metaphors are also considered conceptual by some scholars (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989), we have embraced Müller's (2008) approach and Bowdle and Gentner (2005) hypothesis and have regarded sleeping metaphors as showing low activation in terms metaphoricity. So, by analyzing lexicalized metaphors in their own right, we can establish their level of transparency and hence translatability.

- Linguistically expressed conceptual metaphors (entrenched-conventional and activated in the text) are those linguistic expressions in the literary text that are grounded in experience and that provide structural frames for the interpretation of the text. They show a greater level of metaphor activation and are studied separately from the lexicalized one.

- Creative metaphors (novel) – whose metaphorical meaning is induced and relevant only in the specific context.

3. Results

Table 1. Types of metaphor in an excerpt from *The Dead* by James Joyce

Source text James Joyce: *The Dead*	Target text James Joyce: *The Dead* Translation into Bulgarian
forms were near. His soul had approached that region where dwell the vast hosts of the dead. He was conscious of, but could not apprehend, their **wayward and flickering existence**. His own identity was fading out into a grey impalpable world: the solid world itself which these dead had one time reared and lived in was dissolving and dwindling. A few light taps upon the pane made him turn to the window. It had begun to snow again. He watched sleepily the flakes, silver and dark, falling obliquely against the lamplight. **The time had come for him to set out on his journey westward**. Yes, the newspapers were right: snow was general all over Ireland. It was *falling* on every part of the dark central plain, on the treeless hills, falling softly upon the Bog of Allen and, farther westward, softly falling into the dark mutinous Shannon waves. It was falling, too, upon every part of the lonely churchyard on the hill where Michael Furey *lay* buried. It lay thickly drifted on the ***crooked*** crosses and headstones, on the **spears** of the little gate, on the **barren thorns**. His sogul **swooned** slowly as he heard the snow falling faintly through the universe and faintly falling, like the **descent of their last end**, upon all the living and the dead.	Наблизо имаше и други сенки. Душата му се бе добрала до тайния мир, населен от сонма на мъртвите. Съзнаваше, че ги има — загадъчни, светливи, — но как да ги усети? Собственото му „аз" изчезваше в някакъв сив неосезаем свят: веществено̀то битие, в което някога тия мъртъвци бяха расли и живели, се стапяше в разтление. Туп-туп: по стъклото леко се почука; той, сепнат, се извърна. Пак беше заваляло. Със сънен поглед Θ + гледаше снежинките — как сребърни и тъмни се носят в светлината. Дошъл бе час за път: на запад, през Ирландия. Да, в пресата го писаха — страната спи под преспите, навсякъде, безспир, се сипе сняг. Снегът засипваше заспалите поля в средата на острова, ситен се стелеше връз безлесните баири, връз Аленското тресавище*, а още по на запад се стелеше, сипкав, над тъмните размирни вълни на сивата Шанън.** Леко се стелеше над всяка педя пръст от самотното гробище, където спеше Майкъл Фюри. Снегът гъсто се стелеше по стърчащите разкривени кръстове и надгробните камъни, по железните остриета встрани на строгите гробищни врата, по черен трън и по изсъхнал сък. Душата му застиваше в несвяст, заслушана в снега, който засипваше всичко, разстилаше се над вселената, със сипкав съсък засипваше живите и мъртвите и се спускаше като сън — спокоен сетен сън.

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The colors and fonts used to highlight the translated metaphorical expressions have the following significance: *lexicalized metaphor* in *italic*, **Conceptual metaphor** in **bold** and <u>creative metaphor is underlined</u>. On the right is the TL, where the same classification is made, and the different colors mark those translations that apply different mapping conditions (red), concretization (green), generalization (blue), formulaic language (pink), Ө metaphor (<u>metaphor lost</u>) or + metaphor (<u>metaphor added</u>) Ө +.

Table 1 shows the metaphorical linguistic expressions identified in the ST (James Joyce: *The Dead* – excerpt) using the MIP VU procedure (Steen et al., 2010) and their translations using various techniques – *loss, adding, same and different mapping conditions*. On the basis of the analysis, we counted the total number of metaphors in the ST and the TT and found the numbers comparable. The linguistic metaphors trigger metaphors on a macro level. The translator weaves through lexicalized, or fossilized metaphor and novel metaphor, compensating loss, when the language will not allow it, with an extra metaphor, where no metaphor is found in the ST (e.g. – "He watched sleepily the flakes" – "Със сънен поглед..."). In the case of lexicalized metaphor, the proximity of the languages may account for the existence of a similar expression in the target language (eg. "the lonely churchyard" – "самотното гробище"). Changing the mapping inevitably creates a different reception in the reader, as proponents of the theory of untranslatability claim (e.g. – "crooked crosses" – "железните остриета", "descent of their last end" – "се спускаше като сън") The translator, however, adheres to the authentic tone of the target language, its allegiance is to the target language collocations, phraseologisms and mode of expression.

Conceptual metaphors like LIFE IS A JOURNEY and A LIFETIME IS A DAY and UP IS MORE, which lie at the bottom of the sentence from *The Dead:* "The time had come for him to set out on his journey westward" have a universal appeal, while others, like "It lay thickly drifted on the crooked crosses and headstones, on the spears of the little gate, on the barren thorns" are culturally limited to readers who have experienced the limitations and pain imposed by religious institutions. These constitute metaphors that work on a macro level and may be even missed by the translator. For example, "crooked" in English may have spatial and moral dimensions, whereas the translation in Bulgarian, a country with a much more liberal attitude to religion, suggests only the spatial dimension of crooked, hence the loss of an important metaphor on a macro level.

Table 2. Types of metaphor in an excerpt from *Empire Falls* by Richard Russo

Source text Richard Russo: *Empire Falls*	Ө Target text Richard Russo: *Empire Falls* Translated into Bulgarian
WHEN THE BULLDOZERS began to *clear* the house site, a disturbing discovery was made. An astonishing amount of <u>trash</u>—mounds and mounds of it—was discovered all along the bank, some of it <u>tangled among tree roots</u> and branches, some of it strewn <u>up the hillside</u>, **all the way to the top**. The sheer volume of the junk was astonishing, and at first C. B. Whiting concluded that somebody, or a great many somebodies, had had the effrontery to use the property as an unofficial landfill. How many years had this *outrage* been going on? It made him **mad** enough to shoot somebody until one of the men he'd hired to clear the land *pointed out* that for somebody, or a great many somebodies, to use Whiting land for *a dump*, they would have required an access road,	Когато булдозерите започнаха да *разчистват* строителната площадка на къщата, се направи едно тревожно откритие. Покрай брега се намериха удивително количество <u>боклуци</u> – цели купища, някои от тях <u>заплетени в корените</u> на дърветата и клоните, други <u>пръснати по хълма</u> чак до Ө самия **връх**. Удивително беше самото количество на боклуците и в началото Ч. Б. Ө <u>Уайтинг</u> реши, че някой, или голям брой неизвестни лица, бяха проявили нахалството да използват имота като нерегламентирано сметище. Колко време беше продължавало това безчинство? Той така се беше **вбесил**, че беше готов да застреля някого, докато един от мъжете, които беше наел да разчистят терена, не му *обърна внимание*, че за да може някой, или голям брой неизвестни лица, да използват земята на семейство Уайтинг за бунище, на тях им би бил необходим път за достъп до имота, а

and there wasn't one, or at least there hadn't been until C. B. Whiting himself cut one a month earlier. While it seemed unlikely that so much junk—*spent* inner tubes, hubcaps, milk cartons, rusty cans, pieces of broken furniture and the like—could *wash up* on one spot naturally, the result of currents and eddies, there it was, so it must have. There was little alternative but to cart the trash off, which was done the same May the foundation of the house was being poured.

Spring rains, a rising river and a *bumper crop* of voracious black flies delayed construction, but by late June the low frame of the **sprawling h**acienda was visible from across the river where C. B. Whiting *kept tabs on* its **progress** from his office on the top floor of the Whiting shirt factory. By the Fourth of July the weather had turned dry and hot, killing off the last of the black flies, and the shirtless, sunburned carpenters straddling the hacienda roof *beams* began to wrinkle their noses and regard one another suspiciously. What in the world was that smell?

такъв нямаше и поне не бе имало, преди Ч. Б. Уайтинг сам да бе прекарал такъв път месец по-рано. Макар и да изглеждаше малко вероятно, че такова количество боклуци – *спукани* вътрешни гуми, тасове, кутии от мляко, ръждясали консерви, счупени мебели и тем подобни, – са могли по естествен път да бъдат *изхвърлени* на едно място на брега от теченията или водовъртежите, това беше факт и значи е било възможно. Нямаше друг избор, освен боклуците да бъдат извозени и това беше направено още през същия месец май, когато се наляха основите на къщата.

Пролетните дъждове, придошлата река и необичайно големият Ө брой лакоми зли мухи забавиха строежа, но в края на юни ниската конструкция на Ө разпространялата се нашироко хасиенда се виждаше откъм другия бряг, където Ч. Б. Уайтинг Ө *следеше хода* на работата от кабинета си на най-горния етаж на семейната фабрика за ризи. Беше преди Четвърти юли времето се засуши, настъпиха жеги, които унищожиха и последните зли мухи, когато дърводелците, свалили ризите си, изгорели на слънцето, +яхнали „попа" + на покрива на хасиендата, започнаха да бърчат носове и да се поглеждат един друг подозрително. Каква, за Бога, беше тази миризма?

In this text and in the translation a number of conceptual metaphors are brought to the fore, both as conventional metaphors and as original ones that suggest obliquely the way the riches of the empire in general and the family in particular have been accumulated: MONEY IS DIRT, UP IS MORE (DIRT), PERSON IS PLANT, PERSON IS MACHINE, DESTINATION IS PURSOSE,

Loss of metaphor may be seen as detrimental to the text as generalization: "spent inner tubes", translated as "punctured" overlooks the reference to *spent lives, spent efforts, spent health* (inner tubes).

Table 3. Total number of identified metaphors

Total Number of identified metaphors		
Text	ST 212	TT 214
Text 1 Virginia Woolf	54	55
Text 2 James Joyce	45	50
Text 3 R. Russo	31	36
Text 4 Joseph Conrad	51	46
Text 5 George Orwell	31	28

Contrary to many expectations, the study of parallel literary texts shows that metaphors in the TT often exceed the number in the ST. In spite of linguistic and cultural differences and limitations, the number of metaphors in the source and target texts is fairly comparable. In order to get a detailed picture of which group of metaphors yield to translation more than the rest, we have broken down the metaphors into lexicalized, conceptual, and original and counted them in the ST and TT. As expected, resulting from the different evolution of the languages, their different cultural, geographical and historical development, the lexicalized metaphors (Table 4) proved most difficult to translate. Set phrases and collocations, as well as

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function words work differently in the SL and the TL and the translators fit the meaning in the existing linguistic and cultural molds, sacrificing lexicalized metaphors, which, at the time of the translation (70's and 80's) were not perceived as metaphors at all.

Table 4. Number of lexicalized metaphors

Number of identified lexicalized metaphors		
Text	ST – 79	TT – 66
Text 1 Virginia Woolf	9	8
Text 2 James Joyce	18	16
Text 3 R. Russo	18	12
Text 4 Joseph Conrad	20	17
Text 5 George Orwell	14	13

The linguistic expressions based on conceptual metaphors (Table 5) are deeply embedded in our thought and reveal much about the way we perceive the world. These metaphors have extra force because they hinge on our worldview and are easy to relate to. They translate readily, though some differences in conceptualization do exist.

Table 5. Number of identified conceptual metaphors

Number of identified conceptual metaphors		
Text	Source Text -111	Target Text -98
Text 1 Virginia Woolf	30	29
Text 2 James Joyce	28	26
Text 3 R. Russo	9	6
Text 4 Joseph Conrad	28	23
Text 5 George Orwell	16	14

Finally, the traditional original, known in the past as literary metaphors are hard to miss and translators usually go out of their way to render them in the best possible way. This is evident in the results shown in Table 6 – not a single original metaphor has been omitted.

Table 6. Number of original / creative metaphors

Number of original / creative metaphors		
	Source Text – 93	Target Text – 86
Text 1 Virginia Woolf	26	25
Text 2 James Joyce	28	25
Text 3 R. Russo	11	7
Text 4 Joseph Conrad	14	15
Text 5 George Orwell	14	14

One of the reasons why the TT is longer than the ST is metaphor paraphrase (Table 7). This occurs when the TL does not offer a suitable corresponding metaphorical expression. Another phenomenon observed in the TT is the existence of a metaphorical linguistic expression, where nothing of the sort is found in the ST. This is often the case with unintended lexicalized metaphor.

Table 7. Metaphor to paraphrase in Source Texts and Target Texts

Metaphor to Paraphrase 0 Θ		0 to Metaphor Θ +	
Text 1 Virginia Woolf	2	Text 1 Virginia Woolf	3
Text 2 James Joyce	4	Text 2 James Joyce	2
Text 3 R. Russo	6	Text 3 R. Russo	6
Text 4 Joseph Conrad	8	Text 4 Joseph Conrad	2
Text 5 George Orwell	4	Text 5 George Orwell	1

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Table 8. Summary of the results from all texts

Count	Original	Translation
Number of words	3521	3226
Number of characters	18967	19365
Type / token ratio	1686 / 3521	1853 / 3226
Number of identified metaphors	212	214
Number of lexicalized metaphors	79	66
Number of conceptual metaphors	111	98
Number of original metaphors	93	86

Table 9. Results of the study

Category	Translation	Type
Different mapping conditions	82	Lexicalized: 34 Conceptual: 32 Original: 16
Shift of category towards generalization	4	Lexicalized: 4 Conceptual: 0 Original: 0
Shift of category towards concretization	16	Lexicalized: 5 Conceptual: 5 Original: 6

Having analyzed the relevant characteristics of the parallel texts in terms of length, richness of vocabulary, number of metaphors in ST and TT and their type, we were interested in obtaining information regarding the translation techniques applied to the translation of the three overarching categories of metaphor: lexicalized, conceptual, and original. Table 8 shows the transformations that the metaphors undergo in translation in terms of changing the mapping conditions, generalization and concretization. Of the 82 metaphors with different mapping condition identified in the texts, half of the lexicalized and conceptual metaphors had changed mapping conditions in the translation. This is due to the different conceptualization of the world in the different cultures and its reflection on language. In only a quarter of the original metaphors, however, the mapping conditions were different. These are cases in which the translator, on the basis of his/her personal judgement has changed the mapping. As our results show, this happens less frequently in original metaphors.

The other transformations, generalization and concretization, on the other hand are mostly language motivated, selected by the translator because of existing collocations in the target language. Concretization occurs four times as frequently as generalization because languages differ in the concrete conceptualizations, not the general ones.

4. Discussion

Though there are considerable dynamics and transformation of metaphor during translation, at the end of the day, the final counts by category are largely similar. A large number of metaphors in translation have the same mapping conditions in English and Bulgarian, due to common cultural background and globalization. This is in line with other studies, such as the one by Burmakova and Marugina (2014), who investigate metaphor translation in literary discourse,

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Chervenkova (2015), who applies a similar to our analysis but confined to one text, Park (2009), focusing on the analysis of metaphor translation in the short story genre.

Also, terminology, with which one of the texts ("Heart of darkness") abounds in, largely made up of metaphor, is standardized and substituted by common words and phrases in translation, because, as a language of a sea-faring nation, English has more sea-related words than Bulgarian.

In literary discourse, owing to the clustering of metaphors in nodes, in spite of the loss of metaphor, due to linguistic, and culture-related differences, or translator-related preferences, the author's message still gets across in translation, mainly because of the metaphor network that spreads throughout the text, and the possibility of the translator to compensate for the 'zero solutions', or the loss of a metaphor by introducing another metaphor in a place where no such metaphor exists in the original. Similar results are obtained by Swain (2014) in her research into the intertextual perspectives of metaphor translation of literary texts, firmly established on Lemke's semantically-based theory of intertextuality.

Toury's law of growing standardization (1995) is not applicable to the translation of highbrow literature by well-established and experienced literary translators. The study described here reveals that the shifts to concretization are more frequent than the shifts toward generalization.

Lexicalized metaphors suffer more transformations that the other two types because they are more culture-specific and entrenched in language. The creative metaphors suffer the fewest transformations.

Foregrounded metaphors, grammatical metaphors and culturally bound ones turned out to be the ones most difficult to translate.

An interesting study may be the one which could deal with conceptual metaphor typology (e.g., structural, ontological, orientation metaphors) but we consider it the subject matter of a separate paper, as it requires both a thorough theoretical and detailed step-by-step analysis of conceptual metaphors on a heatedly disputed category.

5. Conclusions

Judging from the data we can convincingly state that the TT is not longer than the ST and that the type/token ratio is not greater in the TT (Olohan, 2002), and there aren't many cases of explication, paraphrase and loss of metaphor. Furthermore, creative metaphors do not predominate. Even in literary texts the number of lexicalized, sleeping metaphor is greater than the number of original metaphors. Creative metaphors were found to translate readily in the TT. Finally, the general assumption that the TT is inferior to the ST and is not be suitable for close reading and analysis because of metaphor loss, was found to be completely wrong.

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"Ya No Nos Maten": A Discourse Analysis of the Song "Querida Muerte"

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Abstract

Violence against women in Mexico has surged over the last five years. Within this context, the song *Querida Muerte* (Dear Death) (2019) portrays the harassment experienced by Mexican women. Moreover, this song narrates some dangerous events that some women might have encounter living in Mexico. In this study, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is implemented as an approach for the examination of the song, applying the Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) model by Halliday. The findings of this study demonstrate that this discourse was created as a demand for social justice and as an expression of the extent to which women are tired of being scared and in constant threat. The analysis based on the SFL model reveals that this song mostly uses declarative clauses, present tense, and negative adjectives.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, femicides, systematic functional linguistics.

1. Introduction

Daily exposure to news regarding femicides, violence against women, or missing women are part of my daily life. Violence against women in Mexico is a phenomenon that has been increasing over the years, and I feel frustrated for not feel safe when I am alone. My motivation comes from my experience of living in a dangerous country. This paper aims to show how women use language to claim justice. It is worth highlighting how feminists have drawn on language to express their disagreements and tiredness of being in constant danger. Kelly (1994) explains the relation between feminism and language:

> One of the most powerful things feminism has done, and must continue to do, is to create new language and meanings which provide women with ways of naming and understanding their own experience. ... It was our experience of language as a form of power the power to name and define which made it such a key issue from the beginnings of this wave of feminism. We didn't need linguistic or semiotic theory to understand how basic and fundamental an issue this was. It still is (p. 48).

This quote reveals that feminists have the power to name and define what women have lived through the usage of language. It is a way to express what they have been experiencing for many years just for being a woman. Then, considering the connection that exists between feminism and language. This study aims to investigate the linguistic elements that the song *Querida Muerte* (Dear Death) (see Appendix 1) portrays regarding femicides in Mexico. The

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examination focuses on the metafunctions analysis following Halliday's (1978) Systemic Functional Linguistics model to answer the following question:

> How does the song *Querida Muert*e accomplish to provide an accurate view
> on violence against women in Mexico?

2. Literature review

This section is divided into three subsections to explain some background information regarding the song that is under study. The first one presents the definition of CDA and some frameworks to develop this approach. Next, I will describe some aspects of feminism as the definition and what this movement defends. The last segment explains details regarding femicides in Mexico.

2.1 *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)*

CDA is an approach to discourse analysis, it is a type of "research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Wang, 2010: 254). Then, it principally encompasses social issues. Similar to this, Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) state that it is a "school of discourse analysis that concerns itself with relations of power and inequality in language" (p. 1). Following this, Haratyan (2011) explains that CDA "is concerned with the lexico-grammatical analysis of the language in the social, physical, cognitive, cultural, interpersonal and situational context" (p. 1). More specifically, it is a system that represents the "reality in a linguistic text and create the same experience through various lexico-grammatical options influenced by different mind styles or authorial ideologies" (p. 261). CDA explores the influential factors behind the lexico-grammatical choice.

There are different approaches to implement CDA and Todolí et al., (2006) suggest the following models: Fairclough's Socio-Cultural Method that deals with the relationship between society and power. Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Method focuses on the role of racism, prejudices, and ethnicity in discourse. Wodak's Discourse-Historical Method emphasis sexism and identities. Halliday's Systematic Functional linguistics, which highlights the meaning, structure, and function of the discourse. This last framework has been chosen to guide the analysis to answer the research question of this study. It was a suitable approach to analyze the material under study. The following section offers a detailed explanation regarding feminism.

2.2 *Feminism*

Feminism is a movement that started because women have been exploring the "fundamental inequalities between women and men and with analysis of male power over women. Its basic premise is that male dominance derives from the social, economic, and political arrangements specific to particular societies" (Jackson, 1998: 12). Feminists reject the idea of accepting the inequalities between women and men and they "have continued to be active up to the present day in single issue campaigns around, for example, pornography, reproductive rights, violence against women and women's legal rights" (Jackson & Jones, 1998: 6). This inequality phenomenon has taken place around the world. According to the Instituto Nacional de Estadistica y Geografia (INEGI) statistics, Mexico is known as a femicide country. In the following section, I will present information regarding the current situation in Mexico.

2.3 *Femicides in Mexico*

The Vienna Declaration on Femicide (2013) defines femicide as the murder of women and girls due to their gender. This association explains that femicides can take the following forms:

(1) the murder of women as a result of domestic violence/intimate partner violence; 2) the torture and misogynist slaying of women; (3) killing of women and girls in the name of " honour"; (4) targeted killing of women and girls in the context of armed conflict; (5) dowry-related killings of women and girls; (6) killing of women and girls because of their sexual orientation and gender identity; (7) the killing of aboriginal and indigenous women and girls because of their gender; (8) female infanticide and gender-based sex selection foeticide; (9) genital mutilation related femicide; (10) accusations of witchcraft; and (11) other femicides connected with gangs, organized crime, drug dealers, human trafficking, and the proliferation of small arms (Laurent et al., 2013: 4).

Moreover, in Mexico, the number of violent female homicides has been increased in the last few years. According to data provided by the Instituto Nacional de Estadistica y Geografia (INEGI) (2021) on the years 2010-2015, 7,378 femicides were registered, while in 2015-2020, 9547 homicides against women were reported. Besides, the government has not had effective measures to mitigate gender violence. There appears to be impunity in the majority of criminal cases. In 2018, 93.2% of crimes were either not investigated or reported (INEGI, 2019). Similar to this, femicide cases have not received the necessary attention. The authorities do not continue with a formal investigation. Then, there is no punishment by the justice system for the murder. These statistics reveal the dangerous situation that women encounter living in Mexico.

3. Methodology

This section aims to describe the methodology used to carry out this study. First, I selected the song *Querida Muerte* by Renne Goust (2019). This song describes the fear experienced by women when they are in the streets alone and some harassment events. Due to the relation of this discourse with the current femicide context in Mexico, the analysis followed the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) approach by Halliday. The following section contains details regarding the process of the analysis based on Halliday's framework.

3.1 *Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL)*

Halliday's framework is contemplated as the main base of CDA (Wang, 2010). It deals with how speakers convey meaning through spoken or textual discourse (Haratyan, 2011). Halliday (1978) explains that from an SFL view, discourse is seen as:

A multidimensional process and text as its product not only embodies the same kind of polyphonic structuring as is found in grammar, (in the structure of the clause, as message, exchanges and representation), but also since it is functioning at a higher level of the code, as the realization of semiotic orders "above" language, may contain in itself all the inconsistencies, contradictions and conflicts that can exist within and between such high order semiotic systems (p. 96).

Then, discourse is considered as a multidimensional procedure, which involves three main metafunctions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual (Haratyan, 2011). Table 1 describes the functions of each category.

Table 1. Functions of Systematic Functional Linguistics (Haratyan, 2011; Romo Linares, 2018)

Ideational Metafunction	This category is based on transitivity. It deals with how ideas are transmitted through six processes: material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioral, and existential.
Interpersonal Metafunction	This represents how the information is conveyed (imperative, interrogative, declarative). It also deals with the use of tenses, and the type of adjectives.
Textual Metafunction	It refers to the structure of the sentences to achieve coherence in discourse.

The information in Table 1 outlines what each metafunction entails. The ideational is related to how people convey ideas. Those thoughts could be through six processes: material (a verb that is the doer of the sentence, e.g., give, run); mental (is related to perceptions, and reactions, e.g., believe, look); relational (represents the identification of features and attributes, e.g., she is tall); verbal (characterizes the verbs to describe or exchange information, e.g., say, tell); behavioral (describes the physiological and psychological needs, e.g., smiling, crying); and existential (is connected to something that exists, e.g., there is a bus) (Wang, 2010). Next, the interpersonal metafunctions categorize how the information is delivered. It can be in an imperative (be careful), interrogative (is she a girl?), or declarative (she is a girl) form. Finally, the textual metafunction deals with the flow of the discourse. It also represents how the sentences rhyme and achieve coherence. Moreover, the song was divided into stanzas to carry out the analysis of the three metafunctions. In the following section, I will illustrate the process of each element of the analysis and the results

4. Findings and discussion

This section represents the findings based on the three metafunctions from Halliday's framework. I will discuss each part of the analysis which was divided into three sections. The first is related to the ideational metafunction and it involves the six SFL processes. The second part of the analysis deals with the interpersonal function, which describes the mood analysis, use of tenses, and adjectives of the discourse. The last section analyses the textual metafunction that is concerned with how the text is unified to convey the expected meaning. Table 2 provides information regarding the number of tokens and types of the song that is under study.

Table 2. Tokens and types in the song's lyrics

Item	**No.**	**%**
Tokens	330	100
Types	139	42.12

The data from Table 2 show the total of tokens that the song has. It also provides information regarding the variety of linguistic units that corresponds to 42.12% of the discourse; It means that the lyrics may be repetitive. The song starts and ends with the same stanza and the chorus is repeated two times. Even though it does not contain an extensive vocabulary, the author conveys a powerful and significant message.

4.1 Ideational metafunction

This metafunction is based on a transitivity analysis. Halliday (1985) defines transitivity "as a major component in the experiential function of the clause that deals with the "transmission of ideas "representing 'processes' or 'experiences': actions, events, processes of

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consciousness and relations" (as cited in Haratyan, 2011: 261). It encompasses six processes (material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioral, existential) (see Table 1). Table 3 demonstrates the results from the six procedures as well as some examples from the discourse.

Table 3. Transitivity analysis

Process	No.	%	Examples of the process
Material	21	34.4	*matar* (kill), *correr* (run), *ir* (go)
Mental	11	18	*ver* (look), *gustar* (like)
Relational	12	20	*femicida* (femicide), *libre* (free)
Verbal	3	5	*decir* (Say)
Behavioral	2	3	*rabia* (anger), *preocupacion* (worry)
Existential	12	19.6	*yo* (I), Forms of to be

The results showed that the author used material process (34.4%) to describe actions that have been done in Mexico. Some examples are the following: *Ya no nos maten* (Stop killing us), *Sera que lo mejor es ir a prisa* (Would it be best to speed up my pace), *Estan afuera libres emborrachando a alguna chica* (They are free, out there getting some girls drunk). Based on the sentences, it can be observed that they might represent real situations that happen in Mexico. Therefore, the reader could treat the clauses as facts about the situation in the Mexican country.

The second most used process was the relational (20%). This process classifies certain people of objects depending on where they belong. Some of the sentences that demonstrate this, are the following: *Ahora estar de suerte es que tu novio no resulte violador, abusador o femicida* (Consider yourself lucky if your boyfriend does not turn out to be a rapist, an abuser, or a femicide), *Ciudad exponencialmente pesada* (This city is exponentially dangerous). By these examples, the reader might understand the possible risks that women could encounter living in Mexico.

The verbal process was used 5% of the time and the behavioral one 3% of the time. These two processes were the least used. The first procedure is related to the actions to exchange information. An example of this is *Mi madre me decía ten cuidado* (My mother used to tell me be careful). Regarding the behavioral one, it encompasses emotions and feelings. The following sentence represents this process *No se si le mortifique que alguna mujer los mate* (I don't think she's worried that a woman might kill them). In these two examples, it is possible that the reader might perceive the following: a piece of advice that the mother gives to her daughter and a description of some emotions.

4.2 *Interpersonal metafunction*

This metafunction encompasses a modality analysis which examines "all uses of language to express social and personal relations. This includes the various ways the speaker enters a speech situation and performs a speech act" (Hu Zhuanglin, 1988: 313). The objective of the text that is under study is to show what Mexican women face in their country. In the mood analysis, the results indicated that the declarative clauses were used 43% of the time. The following sentence is an example of this statistical item: *Estar de suerte ahora es estar viva* (Consider yourself lucky if you are alive). It represents that the author of the song conveys the statements as facts or situations that are happening in Mexico. This discourse also uses 30% of the time imperative clauses. An example of this is *Ya no nos maten* (Stop killing us). This type of sentence expresses requests, orders, or commands. With this category of utterances, the readers can perceive what Mexican women desire: to be safe. Finally, the interrogative clauses were used 27%

of the time. The author included some questions. It makes readers aware of the doubts a woman has when she feels in danger (e.g., *¿Será que lo mejor es ir a prisa Mientras doy vuelta en la esquina De los ojos que me acechan?* Would it be best to speed up my pace while I turn that corner where those eyes are staring at me?).

Based on the mood analysis, it might be possible to identify what the author wants to express which is related to some situations that women have experienced, more specifically femicides. Then the audience might understand how women feel in the streets. Table 4. Provides information regarding the modality analysis of the lyrics of the song.

Table 4. Mood Analysis

Statistical item	No.	%	Example
Imperative	11	30	*ya no nos maten* (stop killing us)
Declarative	16	43	*ciudad exponencialmente pesada* (this city is exponentially dangerous)
Interrogative	10	27	*¿será que les aguanto la mirada?* (Should I stare back at them?)

Moreover, Table 5 provides information regarding the analysis of tenses of the lyrics of the song. The results demonstrated that 63% of the time the author uses verbs in the present tense. It indicates that the author tries to convey evidence of a current social topic. Then, the second tense most used was the infinitive one. It was used 29% of the time to express some advice for a woman. An example of this is the following utterance: *Mi madre me decía ten cuidado* (My mother used to tell me to be careful). With these types of sentences, the audience might understand what a woman needs to be cautious of when she is alone.

Table 5. Use of tenses

Statistical item	No.	%	Example
Present	35	63	*ver* (look), *matar* (kill), *tomar* (drink)
Past	2	4	*dijo* (said)
Infinitive	16	29	*hacer* (to do)
Future	2	4	*correremos* (will run)

The last level of this process is related to the usage of adjectives. The author of this text does not use many of them. The total of these linguistic units in the discourse is 13. Table 6 demonstrates that the negative adjectives are the most used. They describe some situations, for example: *Ahora estar de suerte es que tu novio no resulte violador, abusador o femicide* (Consider yourself lucky if your boyfriend does not turn out to be a rapist, an abuser, or a femicide). With these types of utterances, the reader might understand how difficult the situation is in Mexico.

Table 6. Use of adjectives

Statistical item	No.	%	Examples
Positive adjectives	5	38.5	*Querida* (dear), *viva* (alive)
Negative adjectives	8	61.5	*peligrosa* (dangerous), *abusador* (abuser)

Also, the usage of positive adjectives represents 38.5% of the discourse (e.g., *Querida Muerte*). Even though the author used some positive adjectives, they seem to be negative due to their context. In general, the reader might not perceive them as positive for the context of the song**.**

4.3 *Textual metafunction*

This metafunction "refers to the fact that language has mechanisms to make any stretch of spoken or written discourse into a coherent and unified text and make a living passage different from a random list of sentences" (Wang, 2010, p. 260). The song *Querida Muerte* has the objective to illustrate the current situation that many Mexican women live. The following verse reflects the first lines of the song:

> Si observas desde afuera no lo notas Pero una duda crece en mi cabeza ¿Será que lo mejor es ir a prisa Mientras doy vuelta en la esquina De los ojos que me acechan? ¿Será que les aguanto la mirada? ¿O será mejor andar Y dar la vuelta en otra cuadra?. La otra cuadra es un poco lo mismo Ciudad exponencialmente pesada / If you just glanced at me you wouldn't notice, but there is a doubt that growths inside my head. Would it be best to pick up my pace while I turn that corner where those eyes are staring on me? Should I stare back at them? Or would it be best to walk and turn at the next corner? The next corner is basically the same. This city is exponentially dangerous.

Firstly, it tells a story of a woman asking herself what to do when she is in danger. This group of clauses makes the audience feel the situation pretending they are the woman. Then this catches the attention of the audience but at the same time makes them feel some emotions (frustration or anxiety). Then, the author provides some advice that a mother gives to her daughter:

> Mi madre me decía "Ten cuidado". Mejor no andar de noche por las calles y fíjate muy bien que cualquier trago que te tomes te lo sirvan cuando estés ahí delante[…] Yo ya no sé qué hacer con esta rabia. Lo mismo mis amigas y pareja Denuncias y denuncias y denuncias y denuncias Y nomás no se ve nadie tras las rejas. / My mother used to tell me "Be careful". It's best you not be out alone at night and make sure that anything you drink is poured right before your eyes […] I don't know what to do with this anger neither my friends nor my couple. We press charges upon charges and there is no one in jail.

Some female readers might feel identified with this part of the song because it reflects the impunity in criminal cases. It also seems that the government has not paid sufficient attention to femicides. In general, the whole text is organized, logical, and accurate. Its sequence encourages the audience to continue listening by making them aware of the reality of femicides in Mexico. It represents what the author desired to communicate. This song is a message for society to feel empathy towards the situation that women live in Mexico.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, in this study, I analyzed the lyrics of the song *Querida Muerte*. This analysis was achieved by implementing a CDA approach, which informs regarding social issues in any discourse. The exploration also followed the metafunctions of the SFL model to carry out the analysis. Considering the relation between feminism and language; This discourse is evidence that women use language to convey how they feel and to claim social justice. The results of the analysis demonstrated that the lyrics of this song contain the following: declarative clauses, present verbs, and negative adjectives. It shows that the author decided to reflect on recent dangerous events that women experience in Mexico. Language is powerful, and women are using it to express their tiredness of being in constant danger. It is time to speak out for justice.

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It's all Greek to me: Missed Greek Loanwords in Albanian

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Abstract

Albanian is a language that has borrowed words and patterns from various other languages with which it came into contact from time to time. One of the most prominent sources of loanwords and loan-structures in Albanian is Medieval and Modern Greek. This paper discusses cases of Albanian loanwords of obvious or probable Medieval or Modern Greek origin that fail to be identified as such in the relevant literature. The discussion starts with a brief sketch of the history, affinities and contacts of Albanian with special focus on Medieval and Modern Greek. Then a classification is attempted of the Greek loanwords usually missed on the basis of their treatment in various works, while exploring the reason(s) why the Greek origin of such loanwords was missed. The main conclusion is that most such etymological mishaps are due to the limited knowledge of the donor language in terms of phonology, lexis and morphology.

Keywords: Albanian, borrowing, etymology, loanwords, Medieval Greek, Modern Greek.

1. Introduction

This article discusses selected cases of Albanian loanwords that, although having obvious or probable Medieval or Modern Greek origin (notwithstanding their origin in Modern Greek itself), in the relevant literature they are either considered to be inherited or attributed to donor languages other than Modern Greek. Such languages are often the ones from which Modern Greek has borrowed the words in question (mostly Italian, Venetian and Turkish).

Albanian is an idiosyncratic member of the Indo-European language family, spoken as sole official language in the Republic of Albania, as co-official language in the partially recognized Republic of Kosovo, and in North Macedonia, while it has been recognized as a minority language in Serbia, Croatia, Italy and Romania. In Greece, Ukraine and Turkey there are some historically Albanophone communities, currently comprising mostly elderly speakers. Altogether, Albanian is spoken as first (and often sole) language by approximately 7.5 million people worldwide (Rusakov, 2017: 552). Two main dialectal continua are distinguished along the natural border of Shkumbin river: Gheg or Northern and Tosk or Southern (Gjinari, 1966; Sanz Ledesma, 1996: 25-29; (Morozova, Rusakov & Ovsjannikova, 2020: 279), with varying degrees of mutual intelligibility, with Tosk having provided the basis for modern Standard Albanian. Albanian could descend from some ancient language of SE Europe such as Illyrian, a view favored in Albania (Sawicka, 2013: 105-107) or Thracian (Vraciu, 1980: 27; Watkins, 1998: 31). Most recent trends speak rather of an "Albanoid" branch (Hamp, 2002: 249-250; Trumper, 2018: 379, 381, 385). Albanian shares most isoglosses with Baltic (Orel, 2000: 13, 212, 250-256) but is also a

prominent member of the Balkan *sprachbund* (Sandfeld, 1930) and has been for centuries subject to the strong and direct lexical, phonotactic, morphological, and possibly syntactic influence of neighboring languages. In particular, Albanian has undergone the direct influence of Medieval and Modern Greek (especially the Tosk variants), Latin/Proto-Romance, Italian, Venetian, South Slavic (mostly Old Church Slavonic, Serbian and Bulgarian), and Ottoman Turkish and, later on, the indirect influence of learned Latin, learned Italian, French, German, Russian and, most recently, English. Minor influences also exist from such languages as Aromanian, Dalmatian, and Old Germanic. Albanian influence on other languages, such as Greek and South Slavic dialects is minor and virtually only lexical, although its numerous traits shared with Romanian could be due to early Albanian influence on Balkan Latin (Ismajli, 2012 and 2015: 271-467; cf. Rădulescu, 1984; Gabinschi, 2012).

The Medieval and Modern Greek influence on Albanian is notably seen in the Tosk variants. Most Medieval and rather few Modern Greek loanwords are ecclesiastical and administrative terms, e.g., *ajazmë* "holy water" < MGk *ἁγιασμα* 'id.; *lit.* blessing; sanctification"; *dhjak* "deacon" < MGk *διάκος*; *kallogjer* "monk" < Mv/MGk *καλόγερος* 'id.; *lit.* "good old man"; *metani* "prostration, reverence" < MvGk *μετάνοια* 'id.; *lit.* repentance, change of mind'; *pronë* 'possession; income' < MvGk *πρόνοια* 'system of granting dedicated streams of state income to individuals and institutions in the late Eastern Roman Empire; *lit.* care, forethought'; *qiri* 'candle' < MvGk *κηρίν* 'wax; candle' –without counting, of course, religious terms of ultimate Greek origin that entered Albanian via Latin, e.g., *kishë* (< older *qishë*) < Lat *ecclēsia* < Hellenistic Gk *ἐκκλησία*; *murg*, Gheg *mung* 'monk' < Lat *monachus* < Hellenistic Gk *μοναχός* (Mihăescu, 1966: 352).

Modern Greek loanwords in Albanian originate in native Modern Greek dialects of South Albania (cf. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, 1991: 274), as suggested by various phonological traits (Kyriazis, 2001: 18-19; Krimpas, 2007: 110-113), although it is not always easy to distinguish Modern from Medieval Greek loanwords whenever the only distinguishing trait would be some inflectional suffix, which has been adapted to the Albanian inflectional system (cf. Morozova, Rusakov & Ovsjannikova, 2020: 284). Wealthy Albanians often studied in Greece (Sawicka, 2013: 103), which may account for at least a small part of Modern Greek loanwords. Generally speaking, Modern Greek loanwords in Albanian are numerous and productive, even though many of them are now obsolete or dialectal (Southern Tosk). They are mostly nouns and verbs, but adjectives, numerals, adverbs and prepositions do exist among them, while they cover a wide range of thematic areas such as household, construction works, tools and utensils, cuisine, clothing, livestock farming, agriculture, trade, warfare (cf. Surovčák, 2010: 42-46). Some examples are *dhrom* 'highway' < MGk *δρόμος* 'street; road, way'; *fole* 'nest' < MGk *φωλιά*; *gomar* 'donkey, ass' < MGk *γομάρι*; *kallam* 'reed; cane' < MGk *καλάμι*; *kopan* 'wash paddle' < MGk *κοπάνι*; *kuti* 'box' < MGk *κουτί*; *kuvli* 'cage' < MGk *κλουβί*; *litar* 'rope' < MGk *λητάρι*; *lloj* 'sort, kind, type; variety' < *-λόι*; *nikoqir* 'good family provider and manager; economically responsible person' < MGk *νοικοκύρης*; *sqepar* 'adze' < MGk *σκεπάρνι*; *tigan* 'frying pan' < MGk *τηγάνι*; *varkë* 'boat' < MGk *βάρκα*; *armatos* 'to provide with arms' < MGk *αρματώσω*; *feks* 'to shine; to dawn; to polish' < MGk *φέξω* pf. of *φέγγω* 'to shine; to dawn'; *(m)piks* 'to coagulate' < MGk *πήξω* pf. of *πήζω*; *pllakos* 'to come down hard on sb.; to slam down sb.; to attack' < MGk *πλακώσω*; *rrufis* 'to sip, to slurp; to suck in; to swallow up' < *ρουφήσω* (Standard MGk *ρουφήξω*) < pf. of *ρουφάω*; *sos* 'to finish, to use up; to complete; to arrive' < MGk *σώσω* pf. of *σώζω* 'to save; *pop.* to have time to do sg' *inter alia*; *vithis* 'to cause to sink into the ground; to hurl down' < *βυθίσω*, pf. of *βυθίζω* 'to sink, *tr.*'; *zileps* 'to make sb envious; to envy' < MGk *ζηλέψω* pf. of *ζηλεύω* 'to envy; to be jealous of sb'; *pastër* 'clean' < back-formation on MGk *πάστρα* 'cleanliness'; *akoma* 'yet; still' < MGk *ακόμα*; *anames* 'among' < MGk *ανάμεσα*; *me* 'with; by means of' < MGk *με*; *mes* 'in/through the middle of; between' < n. *mes*, definite form: *mesi* 'middle' < MGk *μέση* (see more examples in Kyriazis, 2001: 287-569; and Krimpas 2007: 116-175). Some learned Greek loanwords (now all of them obsolete) have entered Albanian when learned Greek was the language of education in Albania during the 18th and 19th c. AD (Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, 1991: 285; Kyriazis, 2001: 19-21), e.g.,

kamillopardhallë 'giraffe' < learned Gk *καμηλοπάρδαλις* (now *gjirafë* < It/Fr *giraffa/giraffe*); *qindhin* 'danger' < learned Gk *κίνδυνος* (now *rrezik*, not unambiguously connected with It *risico*).

The rich material of Medieval and Modern Greek origin found in Albanian comprises also calques (Kyriazis, 1997), e.g., *Hyjëlindëse* 'Mother of God, i.e. Virgin Mary' < *Hyj* 'God' + *lindëse*, f. 'the one who has born', calqued on Gk. *Θεοτόκος* < *Θεός* 'God' + *-τόκος* 'the one giving birth' and *punëdhënës* 'employer' < *punë* 'work' + *dhënës* 'the one who gives, giver' < learned MGk *ἐργοδότης* < *ἔργον* 'work' + *δότης* 'the one who gives, giver' and grammatical borrowings, namely derivational affixes such as the deverbative suffixes *-is* and *-os*, the nominal suffix *-omë*, or the pejorative prefix *palo-* (Kyriazis, 2001: 254-261; Kume, 2011: 257; Krimpas, 2017: 440-445). Moreover, Medieval and Modern Greek, which had been itself under the long-lasting influence of (Balkan) Vulgar Latin, is most probably the source of some morphosyntactic traits found in all or most Balkan languages, including Albanian (Krimpas, 2007: 178-188, 254-256; Krimpas, 2017: 440-443; cf. Joseph, 2001: 32), such as the replacement of infinitive constructions by finite ones (cf. Sandfeld, 1930: 175; Tonnet, 1995[1993]: 58), the periphrastic future comprising an indeclinable, grammaticalized *WANT*-auxiliary and a finite construction, which is much older in Greek than in the other Balkan languages (cf. Sandfeld, 1930: 56; Browning, 1983: 79; Stanišić, 1995: 58-59; Tonnet, 1995[1993]: 80), and the periphrastic future perfect, comprising a grammaticalized *WANT*-auxiliary followed by a construction identical with the present perfect, i.e. *HAVE*-auxiliary + participle (Krimpas, 2007: 185-186).

2. Method

Throughout this article, etymological information other than mine derives mostly from Meyer (2007[1891]), Orel (1998) and Dashi (2013) and, to a lesser degree from Çabej (1976) and Topalli (2017). The loanwords selected fall under various categories according to the traits that suggest their missed Modern Greek origin. In some cases, the Modern Greek origin of an Albanian word that is not attributable to other donor languages is obvious only to those who are well acquainted with the Greek vocabulary and its history. In other cases, the Modern Greek origin is suggested by phonological changes that are not justified in Albanian in general or with respect to the particular donor language to which the loanword is attributed. For example, if a Turkish word that exists in Albanian is reported in the literature as being borrowed from Turkish but exhibits a phonological change that could be justified only in case of Modern Greek mediation (e.g. because Modern Greek does not have a Turkish sound shared also by Albanian), such loanword should count as a Modern Greek borrowing. In yet other cases it is the morphophonological treatment that suggests the Greek origin of a word in Albanian. Nouns, verbs and, to a lesser degree, adjectives undergo various morphophonological changes in order to be accommodated into the Albanian inflectional system, and the whole process is influenced by several perceived similarities and analogies between Albanian and the donor language. To find the origin of some loanwords in Albanian one has first to know the Albanian modalities of morphophonological adaptation, since they may vary depending on the donor language. Such variation is due to the fact that Albanian has many layers of loanwords that have entered the language in different periods usually marked by different linguistic phenomena. As far as inflected Albanian words are concerned, the distinction between indefinite and definite declension of nouns and the one between present and aorist stem of verbs are of crucial importance, as the respective treatment of loanwords can often reveal which the donor language is. In the case of non-inflected loanwords, the donor language can only be inferred by means of phonology, lexicon and/or semantics.

A useful methodological tool is the awareness that most borrowed indefinite nouns in Albanian are in fact back-formations, produced by spontaneously reinterpreting and re-segmenting the definite singular form into an indefinite form and its postposed definite singular article. Such reinterpretation and re-segmentation is made on the basis of perceived

(morpho)phonological similarities between the Albanian definite singular article and the eventual thematic vowel of the loanword. Thus, by removing the postposed definite singular article one obtains the indefinite singular form of the noun (see more in Kyriazis, 2001: 184-227, 261-264; Krimpas, 2007: 114-115; Krimpas, 2017: 433-434). When it comes to verbs, the morphophonological treatment of the loanword is inextricably connected to which the donor language is. This is particularly obvious in the different treatment of Slavic-borrowed and Modern Greek-borrowed verbs ending in -*is* and -*as* (cf. Kyriazis, 2001: 230-233; Krimpas, 2007: 115; Curtis, 2012: 72-73), with the pattern of the Greek-borrowed ones having been transferred also to Turkish-borrowed verbs.

3. Results and discussion

3.1 *Turkish and Venetian or Modern Greek? Missed phonological evidence*

(a) *ahur* [aˈhuɹ] 'cellar, barn, shed': Mann (1948: 3) marks this Albanian noun as 'Tk', which means that it was thought to be a borrowing from Turkish, in particular from *ahır* [aˈhɯr]. However, one should wonder why the central vowel [ɯ] is reflected in the Albanian word as the round high vowel [u], given that Albanian does have the [ɯ]-sound (spelled *ë*); in other words, if the word was borrowed directly from Turkish, it would be **ahër* rather than *ahur*. One the other hand, Modern Greek has no [ɯ]-sound, which explains why Turkish loanwords originally containing this sound exchange it for an /i/ or, more rarely, /u/ in Modern Greek, e.g., Tk *hatır* 'favour' > MGk *χατίρι* [xaˈtiri], Tk *hanım* 'lady' > MGk *χανούμισσα* [xaˈnumisa] 'Turkish lady'. Indeed, the Turkish word *ahır* [aˈhɯɹ] was borrowed into Modern Greek as *αχούρι* [aˈxuɾi], which is obviously the true source of Albanian *ahur*. One could object that Albanian retains the Turkish [h], while Modern Greek has changed it into [x]. However, since Standard Albanian has no [x]-sound (although the latter does exist in the Arvanite dialect due to Modern Greek influence), a change [x] > [h] is expected.

(b) *bojatis* [bojaˈtis] 'to paint': Mann (1948: 33) marks this Albanian verb as 'Tk', which means that it was thought to be a borrowing from Turkish, namely from *boyadı-* (aorist stem of *boyamak*). However, one should wonder why the voiced stop [d] is reflected in the Albanian word as its devoiced counterpart [t], given that Albanian does have the [d]-sound; in other words, if the word was borrowed directly from Turkish, it would be *bojadis* (which does exist in non-standard variants) rather than *bojatis*, given that Turkish [d] is normally retained in Albanian, e.g., *deve* 'camel' < Tk *deve*; *dollap* 'cupboard' < Tk *dolap*. One the other hand, Modern Greek has many verbs in -*ατίζω* [-aˈtizo], which derive from -*μα-τ-* [-ma-t] neuter stems such as *αρωματίζω* [aromaˈtizo] 'to flavour' < *άρωμα* [ˈaroma] 'flavour'; *ονοματίζω* [onomaˈtizo] 'to name' < *όνομα* [ˈonoma] 'a name', which explains why Modern Greek has changed Tk *boyadı-* into *μπογιατίζω* [bojaˈtizo] instead of **μπογιαντίζω* [bojaˈdizo]. In Modern Greek the d > t change is also triggered by the previous voiced labial [b], in other words it is due to dissimilation, a usual phenomenon in Modern Greek but not in Albanian, e.g., MGk *καμπαρντίνα* [kabarˈdina] 'a trench coat' < Fr *gabardine* > Alb *gabardinë*. Thus, it is obvious that the source of Alb *bojatis* is the abovementioned Modern Greek verb, in particular its perfective stem *μπογιατίσ-* [bojaˈtis-], as is normal with Modern Greek verbs borrowed into Albanian (the same is true of all Balkan langauges). One would say that the suffix -*is*, itself of Modern Greek origin (Kyriazis, 2001: 230-233; Krimpas, 2007: 115; Krimpas, 2017: 434-435), points already to Modern Greek as a source; however, this deverbative suffix has become quite productive in Albanian, and indeed appears in almost all Turkish verbal loanwords, and hence it is not in itself suggestive of Modern Greek origin in such loanwords. This is why most Ottoman Turkish verbal borrowings in Albanian end in -*dis/-tis*, e.g. Tk. *dayanmak* 'to endure > *dayandı-* (aorist stem) > Alb. *dajandis* 'I endure/to endure'; Tk. *kavurmak* 'to roast' > *kavurdu-* (aorist stem) > Alb. *kaurdis* 'I roast/to roast'; Tk. *gezmek* 'to go on a stroll' > *gezdi-* (aorist stem) > Alb. *gjezdis*, which Orel (1998: 134) viewed as a Slavic

loanword from *jezditi* 'to ride', despite that its past tense stem (*gjezdisa, -ise, -isi* etc.) clearly suggested its non-Slavic origin (Slavic-derived verbs in *-is* have past tense stems in *-ita, -ite, -iti* etc., e.g. SSlav. *habiti* 'to destroy' > Alb. *habis/habit* 'to surprise, to astonish' > past tense *habita, -ite, -iti* etc.).

(c) *cimë* [ˈt͡sˈimə] 'mooring line, rope; cyme': As suggested *ex silentio* from Dashi (2013: 131), this word is generally considered as borrowed from Ven *cima* [ˈt͡ʃima]. However, the change [t͡ʃ] > [t͡s] is not expected in Albanian, which has the [t͡ʃ]-sound, but it is the normal outcome of t͡ʃ] in Modern Greek. Indeed, the non-standard word *τσίμα* [ˈt͡sima] 'top; edge; tip' (now only in the idiom *τσίμα-τσίμα* [ˈt͡sima-ˈt͡sima] 'narrowly; tight'), itself a borrowing from Ven *cima*, is obviously the source of the Albanian word.

(d) *fanellë* [faˈneɫə] 'undershirt; sweater': As suggested *ex silentio* from Dashi (2013: 201), this word is generally considered as borrowed from Ven *fanela* [faˈnela] or [faˈnee̯a]. However, the change [l] or [e] > [ɫ] is not expected in Venetian loanwords in Albanian, cf. Ven *lotaria* [lotaˈɾia] or [e̯otaˈɾia] 'lottery; lottery ticket' > Alb *lotari* [lotaˈɹi], but it is the most usual rendering of Modern Greek /l/ before back vowels, reflecting the non-standard [ɫ]-sound heard in many regional variants as an allohpone of /l/ before back vowels, cf. MGk *λαχτάρα* [laˈxtaɾa] (standard)' or [ɫaˈxtaɾa] (non-standard) 'terror, terrible anxiety; craving, longing, yearning' > *llahtar(ë)* [ɫahˈtaɹə]; *lloj* [ɫoj] 'kind, sort' > MGk *-λόι* [-loj] (standard) or [-ɫoj] (non-standard) 'a collection/swarm of'. This means that Alb *fanellë* < MGk *φανέλα* (non-standard pronunciation: [faˈneɫa]) (itself from Ven *fanela*). A similar case is Alb *llotari* [ɫotaˈɹi] 'lottery; lottery ticket', a variant of *lotari* (< Ven *lotaria*), although Dashi (2013: 260) does not seem to suspect that this variant was borrowed from Modern Greek *λοταρία* [ɫotaˈria], a regional pronunciation of standard *λοταρία* [lotaˈɾia] rather than Venetian. Modern Greek, of course, has borrowed this word from the identical Venetian word.

(e) *furtunë* [fuɹˈtunə] 'severe storm': As suggested *ex silentio* from Dashi (2013: 214), this word is generally considered as borrowed from Ven/It *fortuna* [foɾˈtuna]/[foɾˈtu:na]. However, the change [o] > [u] is not as usual in Venetian loanwords in Albanian, cf. Ven *notar* 'to swim' > Alb *notoj*, but it is very frequent and well-documented in Modern Greek, cf. Ven/It *compàre/compare* 'best man (in weddings or christening ceremonies)' > MGk *κουμπάρος* [ku(m)ˈbaɾos]; Ven *bastòn* 'walking cane, stick' > MGk *μπαστούνι* [baˈstuni]. It is, therefore, obvious that Alb *furtunë* is borrowed from Modern Greek *φουρτούνα* [fuɾˈtuna], itself borrowed from Ven *fortuna* (After all, for semantic reasons one would expect for the [o] to be retained in Albanian, as the Venetian word would be associated with Alb *fortë* 'strong'). Similar cases are Alb *bunacë* [buˈnat͡sə] 'calm see; calm, stagnation' and *kuvertë* [kuˈveɹtə] 'bedcover; deck of a ship' and which are not borrowed, respectively, from Ven *coverta* and *bonazza*, as implied from the works cited in Dashi (2013: 100, 159), but from Modern Greek *μπουνάτσα* [buˈnat͡sa] and *κουβέρτα* [kuˈveɾta] 'blanket; deck of a ship', themselves borrowed, respectively, from Ven *bonazza* and *coverta*.

(f) *fundul* [fuˈndul] 'arrogant, haughty': Meyer (2007: 156) mentions it as a Calabrese Arbereshë variant of standard *fodull* < Tk *fodul*. However, Albanian has no reason to change Turkish [d] into [nd] and [ɫ] into [l], since it has these sounds. On the other hand, Modern Greek is peculiar as to the absence of [ɫ] before front vowels and the treatment of voiced stops between vowels (also across words), since it has to 'support' them by a preceding nasal (Krimpas, 2019: 114-115). This phenomenon is currently rare in Standard Modern Greek (Arvaniti, 2007: 159-160) and Southern variants, but it was regular in all Modern Greek variants a century ago. Indeed, all Modern Greek words that are borrowed into Albanian and are currently pronounced without the nasal in Standard and Southern Modern Greek, always retain their original nasal in Albanian, e.g., *αντάρτης* [a(n)ˈdartis] 'a rebel, guerilla' > Alb *andart*; *αφεντικό* [afe(n)diˈko] 'a master, boss' > Alb *afendiko*. Moreover, the usual raising of unstressed /o/, typical of Northern Greek variants

but sporadically found throughout the Greek-speaking territories is additional evidence that *fundul* was not borrowed from Tk *fodul*, but from non-standard MGk *φουντούλης* [fu(n)ˈdulis] (itself from Tk *fodul*), now surviving mostly as a Greek surname.

(g) *kalcunja* [kalˈt͡suɲa] (pl.) 'a kind of men's stockings': This loanword is not borrowed from Ven *calzoni* [kalˈt͡soni] (pl.) as suggested by Dashi (2013: 109), because in such a case one would expect something like **kalconë, *kalcune* etc. The suffix [-uɲa] points clearly to the identical Modern Greek *καλτσούνια* [kalˈt͡suɲa], plural of *καλτσούνι* [kalˈt͡suni], itself a back-formed singular borrowed from Ven *calzoni* (pl.) due to the similarity of Venetian pluralizer *-i* with the thematic vowel *-ι* [-i] of a very large class of neuter nouns.

(h) *kuzhinë* [kuˈʒinə] 'kitchen': As suggested *ex silentio* from Dashi (2013: 165), this word and its variants are generally considered as borrowed from Ven *cusina* [kuˈzina]. However, the change [z] > [ʒ] is not expected in Albanian, which has the [z]-sound, but in several Modern Greek regional variants this change is automatic before /i/, cf. *να ζήστε!* [naˈʒiste] 'may you long live!' = standard *να ζήσετε* [naˈzisete]. Therefore, the Albanian word is probably borrowed from MGk [kuˈʒina], a regional pronunciation of *κουζίνα* [kuˈzina], itself borrowed from the identical Venetian word.

(i) *ostrogarb* [ostɹoˈgaɹb] 'SW wind': This rare word, which mostly belongs to the maritime jargon, was not borrowed from Ven *ostro-garbin* [ostɹogaɾˈbiŋ] as suggest the works cited by Dashi (2013: 312), since the suffix *-in*, which is stressed in Venetian, was not expected to be dropped in Albanian. If the word was a direct Venetian borrowing, the outcome would rather be **ostrogarbi(n)* [ostɹogaɹˈbi(n)], since Albanian, being a language with a strong dynamic stress, never drops final-syllable vowels when stressed. This phonological fact leads directly to the regional MGk *οστρογάρμπι* [ostɹoˈɣaɾbi] as the source of Albanian *ostrogarb*, which is exactly the expected outcome from MGk *οστρογάρμπι* [ostɹoˈɣaɾbi], borrowed into Albanian as a definite noun *ostrogarbi* [ostɹoˈgaɹbi] 'the SW wind' and producing the back-formation *ostrogarb* 'SW wind' after dropping the suffixed definite article, cf. MGk *γομάρι* [ɣoˈmaɾi] 'donkey, ass' < Alb *gomari* [goˈmaɹi] 'the donkey, the ass' < *gomar* 'donkey, ass'; MGk *καλάμι* [kaˈɫami] (regional pronunciation of standard [kaˈlami]) 'reed; cane' < *kallami* [kaˈɫami] 'the reed; the cane' < *kallam* 'reed; cane'; MGk *λητάρι* [liˈtaɾi] 'rope' < *litari* [liˈtaɹi] 'the rope' < *litar* 'rope'. In other words, the thematic [i]-vowel of Modern Greek words is perceived as the Albanian masculine nominal definite article *-i* in contact situations (loanwords from other donor languages are treated in analogous ways). Interestingly, the regional Modern Greek word *οστρογάρμπι* [ostɹoˈɣaɾbi] is still current in Cephalonia, which lies in the wider Ionian-Adriatic region like Albania and was similarly (and for more time) under Venetian rule (on Venetian Albania see more in Schmitt, 2001).

(j) *bundë* [ˈbundə] 'strong, wet wind; cold caught in cold climates': As suggested *ex silentio* from Dashi (2013: 340), this word is generally considered as borrowed from Ven *ponta* [ˈponta]. However, the changes [o] > [u], [nt] > [nd] and, above all, [p-] > [b-], although not unprecedented in Albanian, are not the ones expected in Venetian loanwords, given that they are more recent (in comparison to Latin and Old Slavic ones, where such changes are more usual) and the perception of the equivalence between the respective Venetian and Albanian sounds has not yielded to one or another phonological rule that would justify a different outcome in Albanian. On the other hand, these changes are well-documented in Modern Greek, cf. Ven/It *compàre/compare* 'best man (in weddings or christening ceremonies)' > MGk *κουμπάρος* [ku(m)ˈbaɾos]; Ven *cantada* > MGk *καντάδα* [ka(n)ˈdaða] 'serenade; traditional urban Heptanesian song'; It *paccottiglia* [pakːoˈtiʎːa] 'trifle, trinket; shoddy goods (on ship)' > MGk (slang) *μπακοτίλια* [bakoˈtiʎa] 'savings' (for the alternation between unvoiced and voiced stops see more in 3.2 on *prokë*). All this suggests that *bundë* was borrowed from a non-standard Modern Greek *μπούντα* [ˈbunda] for *πούντα* [ˈpu(n)da], itself from Ven *ponta*, with initial voicing due to

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the preceding accusative of the definite article, i.e., *την πούντα* [ti(m)ˈbunda] > *τη μπούντα* [tiˈbunda] > *η μπούντα* [iˈbunda] (back-formed nominative).

(k) *sigurt* [ˈsiguɹt] 'sure, certain': According to Dashi (2013: 389-390) this Albanian word is borrowed from Ven *seguro* [seˈguro] and the stress shift from the [u] to [i] is a recent phenomenon. However, even if the stress shift is a recent phenomenon as argued by Dashi (2013: 389), when combined with the change of /e/ into /i/ in the same word it points to mediation of MGk *σίγουρος* [ˈsiɣuros]. This is because MGk *σίγουρος* [ˈsiɣuros], which comes from Medieval Greek *σιγούρος* [siˈɣuros] (for older *σεγούρος* [seˈɣuros]), itself borrowed from Ven *seguro* [seˈguro] exhibits exactly the same phonetic changes, which are well-documented in Modern Greek, cf. Standard and Southern MGk *στρογγυλός* [stroɲɟiˈlos] > Northern (substandard) MGk *στρόγγυλος* [ˈstro(ŋ)ɟilos]; Tk *seyran* 'a stroll, walk' > MGk *σεριάνι* [serˈjani] or *σιριάνι* [sirˈjani], but less so in Albanian. It seems that the older Alb *sigurt(ë)* [siˈguɹt(ə)] was borrowed from Medieval Greek *σιγούρος* [siˈɣuros], while Alb *sigurt* [ˈsiguɹt] was either borrowed directly from Modern Greek *σίγουρος* [ˈsiɣuros] or the variant [siˈguɹt(ə)] (of Medieval Greek origin) changed its stress under Modern Greek influence. Interestingly, Rom *sigur* [ˈsigur], Bg *сигурен* [ˈsiguren], SCr *сигурен/siguran* [ˈsiguran] were all borrowed from MGk *σίγουρος* [ˈsiɣuros], which suggests that this word is a lexical Balkanism of Modern Greek origin.

(l) *vardhë* [ˈvaɹðə] 'guard': As suggested *ex silentio* from Dashi (2013: 442), this word is generally considered as borrowed from Ven *varda* [ˈvarda]. However, the change [d] > [ð], although documented in older loanwords in Albanian (mostly Slavic ones), is not the expected one in Venetian loanwords, given that they are more recent and the perception of the equivalence between Romance and Albanian [d] has not yielded to some phonological rule that would justify a different outcome in Albanian. On the other hand, this change is well-documented in Modern Greek, cf. Ven *moneda* 'coin' > MGk *μονέδα* [moˈneða] 'coin; money'; Ven *corda* 'string' > MGk *κόρδα* [ˈkorða], which suggests that the (now obsolete) MGk *βάρδα* [ˈvarða] 'guard' (still alive as a toponym in Peloponnese), itself from Ven *varda*, is probably the source of the Albanian word.

3.2 *Italian and Latin or Modern Greek? Missed morphophonological evidence*

(a) *bizele* [biˈzele] '(a) pea': According to Topalli (2017: 219) this word is borrowed from It *pisello* [piˈzɛl:o]. However, its initial [b] makes it improbable for this word to be borrowed from Italian. More importantly, the fact that its definite form is *bizelja* [biˈzelja] 'the pea', almost identical to the Modern Greek *μπιζέλια* [bizeʎa], plural of *μπιζέλι* [biˈzeli], itself borrowed from Ven *biseli*, suggests that the Albanian word was borrowed from the above-mentioned Modern Greek plural, which was reinterpreted as a feminine definite noun of the *-e ~ -ja* class and re-segmented accordingly. Exactly the same has happened with other Albanian words of missed Modern Greek origin such as *daulle* 'drum' < *daullja* 'the drum' < MGk *νταούλια* [daˈuʎa] 'drums' < *νταούλι* [daˈuli] 'drum' < Tk *davul*; *ravjole* < *ravjolja* < MGk *ραβιόλια* [raˈvjoʎa] (pl.) < It. *ravioli* [raviˈɔli], even though Dashi (2013: 365) thinks it is borrowed from It *raviolo/-i*. See also (Kyriazis, 2001: 430-431) on *mandile* 'kerchief' < *mandilja* 'the kerchief' < MGk *μαντίλια* [manˈdiʎa] 'kerchiefs' < *μαντίλι* [manˈdili] 'kerchief' < Lat *mantīle*, the Modern Greek origin of which in Albanian was not recognized neither by Meyer (2007: 303) nor by Orel (1998: 244), who consider it a direct borrowing from Latin.

(b) *fashqe* [faˈʃcɕe] 'swaddling band': According to Meyer (2007: 147) and Orel (1998: 94) this word is borrowed from Lat *fascia* (Orel, *Ibid.,* thought it was a singularized plural and connected it to *fashe*, which in fact is borrowed from It *fascia*, a descendant of Lat *fascia*). However, the stressed final [-e] points clearly to the regular change of Modern Greek *-ιά* [-ja, -ʲa] suffix, cf. MGk *φωλιά* [foˈʎa] > Alb *fole* [foˈle], which suggests that the Albanian word was borrowed from MGk *φασκιά* [faˈsca] (now mostly plural: *φασκιές* [faˈsces]). The change [s] > [ʃ]

is usual in Albanian before [cɕ], cf. MGk σκέτο [ˈsceto] (< It *schietto* [ˈscjɛt:o]) 'without additional ingredients; plain' > Alb *shqeto* [ˈʃcɕeto].

(c) *prokë* [ˈpɹokə] 'hobnail': According to Meyer (2007: 404), Orel (1998: 347), and (*ex silentio*) Dashi (2013: 103), this Albanian word is borrowed from Ven *broca* 'kind of very small nail'. However, the Modern Greek mediation is clearly visible in the regular Modern Greek alternation between initial voiced and unvoiced stops, which is due to the amalgamation of the final -*ν* [-n] of the accusative of the definite article with the initial consonant of the following noun or adjective. This phenomenon results in back-formed nominatives by either voicing or devoicing due to re-segmentation. Thus Ven. *broca* 'kind of very small nail' was originally borrowed in Modern Greek as μπρόκα [ˈbroka] 'nail, doornail, hobnail', with its accusative *τη μπρόκα* [ti(m)ˈbroka] 'the nail etc.' being re-segmented into την πρόκα [ti(m)ˈbroka], which produced a new nominative *η πρόκα* [iˈproka] < *(την) πρόκα* [ti(m)ˈbroka] (Krimpas, 2007: 160; cf. Krimpas, 2019: 89-90).

(d) *shkoq* 'to husk, to hull' and its cognate *shkoqis* 'to explain, to clarify': The initial *sh-* is clearly a prefix of Latin and Romance origin meaning 'de-, dis-, un-, ex-, completely', the final -*is* is the well-studied Modern Greek deverbative suffix based on perfective stems of Modern Greek verbs (Kyriazis, 2001: 230-233; Krimpas, 2007: 115; Krimpas, 2017: 434-435), while the stem -*koq*-, according to Orel (1998: 190-191, 422) derives from Alb *kokë* 'head', which he considered to be a non-borrowed word, and according to Meyer (2007:251-252) is of only ultimate Greek origin via Lat *coccum* and **cocceus*. However, if one considers the phenomenon describe above on *bizele*, it becomes obvious that the indefinite form of *koqe* 'kernel, grain' is a back-formation from its definite form *koqja*, which is borrowed from MGk κόκκια [ˈkoca] 'seeds, grains, legume seeds', plural of κόκκι [ˈkoci], as suggested also by the [cɕ] that renders MGk [c], cf. also Alb *koqis* [koˈcɕìs] 'to pick/gather/eat (fruit etc.) piece by piece' < MGk κοκκίσω [koˈciso], perfective stem of the non-standard verb κοκκίζω [koˈcizo] 'to de-seed' < κόκκι [ˈkoci] (cf. Kyriazis, 2001: 395 on κοκκίζω).

(e) *dhjoli* [ðjoˈli] 'violin (in folk orchestra)', a non-standard variant of *vjoli*: Dashi (2013: 448) *ex silentio* does not recognize the Modern Greek origin of this word and its variants. Meyer (2007: 539, 137), although properly recognizing that the standard form *vjoli* is a Modern Greek borrowing, he missed the Modern Greek origin of *dhjoli*, which is obviously borrowed from non-standard MGk διολὶ [ðjoˈʎi] (for this word, used at least in Cephalonia, see e.g., Gasparinatos & Gasparinatou-Tzouganatou 2004: 89), as shows the change [vj] > [ðj], which reminds of the well-documented change [j] > [ðj], cf. [joˈfiri] 'bridge' > [ðjoˈfiri] in Cephalonian Greek.

3.3 *Unknown and native or Modern Greek? Missed lexical evidence*

(a) *zigur* [ziˈguɹ] 'male yearling lamb; young ram': Admittedly, Morozova, Rusakov and Ovsjannikova (2020: 284) are at least honest when stating that they could not establish the etymology of *zigur* 'male yearling lamb; young ram'. However, a better command of Modern Greek vocabulary would have easily led them to MGk ζυγούρι [ziˈɣuɾi] 'two-year old lamb', itself derived from the adjective ζυγός [ziˈɣos] 'even'.

(b) *pispillos* [pispiˈɫos] 'to dress ostentatiously, to doll up': Orel (1998: 327 s.v. *pispillohem* 'to dress up, to smarten oneself') thought this verb derived from *pilloj* [piˈɫoj] 'to hackle (flax)' with expressive reduplication, itself from *pillë* 'flax comb', in its turn from Lat. *pīlō* 'to comb'. However, he probably did not know the non-standard MGk πισπιλώνω 'to cover; to dredge', which obviously continues Gk. **ἐπισπιλῶ* [epispilɔ̂ː] < ἐπί [epì] 'on, all over' + σπῖλος [spîlos] 'spot', *lit.* 'to make spotted; to sprinkle all over' (Krimpas, 2007: 157-158, although I had not yet verified my hypothesis about the existence of a non-standard Modern Greek verb πισπιλώνω [pispiˈɫono], which I now know that does exist in Epirus – i.e., very close to Albania –

and elsewhere. Alb *pispillos* is, therefore, borrowed from *πισπιλώσ-* [pispiˈɫos], which is the perfective stem of *πισπιλώνω* [pispiˈɫono].

       (c) *porropi* (also *poropi, perupi*) [poroˈpi poɹoˈpi peɹuˈpi] 'devastation; remote region': According to Orel (1998: 339), this word and its variants are 'deverbatives based on an unattested prefixal *për-rjep, cf. *rjep*'. However, the multiple variants are not phonologically regular neither when compared to their putative origin (*për* cannot change into *per* in any known Albanian variant) nor when compared to each other (especially the [r] > [ɹ] change is irregular). On the other hand, if one posits a dialectal MGk *απορροπή < **ἀπο(ρ)ροπή* < *ἀπό* 'from, off' + *ῥοπή* 'inclination', all changes are regular: elision of initial unstressed vowel (cf. Lat *Aprilis* > Alb *Prilli* and/or MGk *επιθυμώ* [epiθiˈmo] 'to desire' > *πεθυμάω* [peθiˈmao] 'to miss, long for'); alternation between [r] and [ɾ], a typical difference between diplotic and non-diplotic Modern Greek dialects (cf. Standard MGk *απορρέω* [apoˈreo] 'to result from' with its Cypriot MGk variant [apoˈreo]), let alone that many Northern Greek variants have generally a more trilled [r] than Southern ones; alternation between unstressed /o/ and /u/, a typical difference between Southern and Northern Modern Greek varieties (cf. *μπορώ* [boˈɾo] 'can, be able to' with its Northern variant [buˈɾo]). Çabej (1976: 44), although correctly etymologizing *rupi* from Gk *ῥοπή* [roˈpi] 'inclination' (in fact from a Northern Modern Greek variant pronounced [ɾuˈpi]), thought that *porropi* and its variants were influenced by Alb *përrëpinë* 'steep slope'. However, given what has been said above, *përrëpinë* [pərəˈpinə] may instead have been influenced by the Modern Greek words in question or be a hybrid consisting of some further variant *përrëpi [pərəˈpi] (given that centralization of vowels is very usual in Albanian, cf. MGk *πουρνάρι* [puɾˈnaɾi] 'kermes oak' > Alb. *përnar* [pəɹˈnaɹ]) and the frequent Albanian suffix *-inë* (itself of Slavic origin).

4. Conclusions

       As the above examples clearly show, Albanian etymology is a rather complicated task, given: (a) the practically unknown early stages of this language due to its late documentation; and (b) the multiple substrate and superstrate layers that have accumulated on its core vocabulary and structure through the centuries. This means that even a small progress in Albanian etymology could be of particular importance for the reconstruction of its history. Modern Greek has had a profound lexical and morphological influence on Albanian, although less so than Latin/Proto-Romance and South Slavic. Therefore, it is important for the researcher to have a good command of Ancient, Medieval and Modern Greek, especially of non-standard varieties of the latter, in order to be able to discern possible Modern Greek borrowings in Albanian. The above discussion shows that Modern Greek should be one's first choice as possible etymological source of borrowed words that do not clearly originate in other well-documented donor languages. Non-standard varieties spoken in Epirus and the Ionian Islands are of particular importance in this connection, given that the whole Ionian-Adriatic region has always been marked by the co-existence of various linguistic groups, including Greek, Romance, Albanian, and Slavic. Generally speaking, Modern Greek borrowings in Albanian are not difficult to recognize once diachronic and diatopic evolution of Greek is mastered as solidly as possible. Their relatively recent date has not allowed for profound changes that could obscure their origin. The main reasons why the Modern Greek origin or mediation of some Albanian loanwords has been missed so far in the relevant literature lie mostly in phonological and morphological similarities among donor languages and/or defective mastery of non-standard Greek vocabulary and structure. More often than not, the Modern Greek etymology of an Albanian loanword is suggested by a combination of phonological and morphological traits. Most words with missed Modern Greek etymology are nouns and verbs, and more rarely adjectives.

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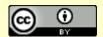
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