

A Byzantinism in Central Italian dialects

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A Byzantinism in Central Italian Dialects

In Italy, as everywhere, the game called *heads and/or tails* has various denominations according to the different figures stamped on the obverse and the reverse of the coins which are tossed into the air¹. Oftentimes, several denominations are recorded in the same place, and may co-exist in current usage, as a result of subsequent coinages. In Florence, for instance, the game was named *giglio o santo* after the city's emblem, the lily, and the effigy of St. John, the city's patron saint, which appear on the florin from about 1097², and was then called *palle o santi* when the lily was replaced by the arms of the Medici³. Sometimes, instead of a designation referring to both obverse and reverse, the game is named after the figure stamped on one side, as in Rome, where it is called *santi o cappelletto* or simply *cappelletto* (because the reverse of the baiocco bore the sacred keys surmounted by a hat). The verbal expression formed with *giocare* may also dispense with indicating the figure stamped on one side of the coin, or may even make no mention of either side, as e.g. in Milan: *giugà a cros e lettera* or *giugà a cappellett*, but also *giugà a trà in aria* or *a la brusa*⁴; the name of the game itself usually does not omit mention of the figures (it is quite exceptional to find denominations like Rom. *gioco de la ciovetta*⁵). Sporadically, figurative uses have developed⁶.

¹ Many Italian denominations are collected in G. PITRÈ, *Giuochi fanciulleschi siciliani*, Palermo 1883, p. 92-94.

² *Corp. Numm. Ital.*, XII, p. 2 and pl. xv, 2.

³ *Corp. Numm. Ital.*, XII, p. 245 and pl. xix, 24 (*giulio* or *barile* of Alessandro de' Medici, 1532-37).

⁴ F. CHERUBINI, *Voc. milanese-ital.*, I, Milano 1814, p. 194-95, 203, etc.

⁵ F. CHIAPPINI, *Voc. romanesco*², Roma 1933, p. 127 s. v. *garaghè*: «Lo chiamano pure *Er gioco de la ciovetta* perché si guarda

The game may be played in two ways. One can toss into the air a single coin «per decidere la sorte o per trarre una decisione qualsiasi, facendo 'testa o croce' (nel gioco del calcio, si getta la moneta per la scelta del campo all'inizio d'una partita)¹», and nowadays this is practically the only way and purpose of playing heads or tails in the major Italian cities, or «si prendono due monete eguali, si mettono insieme facendole combaciare dalla parte dell'effigie, eppoi si lanciano in aria chiedendo: *Ærma o santa?* ['heads or tails?' in Bologna, or the equivalent dialectal expression elsewhere]. L'interrogato rispondendo per es. *ærma*, vince se tutte e due le monete cadono dalla parte dell'effigie; al contrario vince l'altro. Se cadono una per un verso e l'altra per l'altro non vince nessuno².»

The latter was the way the game was played when, until a few decades ago, it was in general use (at Urbino, for instance, where it has practically died out, people of middle age still remember when it was a favourite pastime with children and gamblers alike, and the whole populace congregated on Easter Monday to play heads or tails in the Borgo del Mercatale³). It is also the most ancient form of the game on Italian soil, as is shown by the plurals of the Latin denomination *capita aut navia*⁴, which is obviously a Reimwortbildung⁵.

in alto quando si tirano i soldi in aria e in basso quando cadono a terra: così s'imitano i movimenti che la civetta fa con la testa.»

⁶ E.g. *non aver la croce (la palla, la lettera) d'un quattrino*, Milan. *no capi nè cros nè lettera* (S. HEINIMANN, *VRom. II*, 194-95); cf. in a political Sicilian song of 1812 *tirau a cruci e fici jacula*, i.e. failed (L. VIGO, *Raccolta amplissima di canti popolari siciliani*², Catania 1870-1874, p. 684).

¹ *Diz. encicl. ital.*, VIII, p. 16 s. v. *moneta*.

² G. UNGARELLI, *Voc. del dial. bolognese*, Bologna 1901, p. 21 s. v. *ærma o santa*.

³ That the game was part of the day's activities on certain festive occasions is also hinted by A. GRAZZINI, *La Strega*, act II, sc. 1 (ed. G. Grazzini, Bari 1953, p. 199): «a tempo mio erano i giuochi ordinati secondo le stagioni e i mesi: chiose, spilletti, trot-tola, paleo, soffio, giglio o santo, mattonella», etc.

⁴ *Origo gentis Rom.* 3, 5 «unde hodieque aleatores posito nummo

The origin of the denominations of the game is no longer evident to the average speaker after a change in coinage has taken place¹. In one case, however, the name of the game is still a problem even for the etymologist.

In a few Italian places the game is called *testa e/o liscio* or *cara o liscio*: Parma *zugàr a caroliss* or *a caplètt*² and Piacenza *caròliss*³

opertoque optionem collusoribus ponunt enuntiandi, quid putent subesse, caput, aut navem: quod nunc vulgo corrumpentes naviam dicunt» (naviandi codd., ed. PICHELMAYR: «aut deest vox aut naviam leg.», cf. MIGNE, *Patrol. Lat.*, LXI, col. 698); but Macrobr. I, VII, 22 «aes ita fuisse signatum hodieque intellegitur in aleae lusum, cum pueri denarios in sublime iactantes capita aut navia lusu teste vetustatis exclamant» and Paul. Nol. (MIGNE, *ib.*) «Nummus huic primum tali est excusus honore, / Ut pars una caput, pars scalperet altera navem. / Cuius nunc memores quaecumque nomismata signant, / Ex veteri facto capita haec, et navia dicunt.»

¹ Cf. PAULY-WISSOWA, *Realencyclop. der class. Altertumswiss.*, III, col. 1513. A rhyming denomination, involving no Reimwortbildung, is *cruce-nuce* given for Calabria citeriore by G. PITRÈ, *op. cit.*, p. 93. Plurals like *santi* in the case of *palle e santi* may be due to the usage of two coins rather than to an attraction (as suggested by B. MIGLIORINI, *Dal nome proprio al nome comune*, Genève 1927, p. 123, note 6).

² The already mentioned *cappelletto* is a case in point which also baffled the lexicographer F. CHERUBINI, *Voc. mantovano-ital.*, Milano 1827, p. 184: «da noi si dice altresì *zugar a caplètt*, quando, prima di gettare le monete in aria, si vanno tramestando alquanto entro al fondo d'un cappello.» Ostensibly, a popular etymology has influenced the very way of playing heads or tails (another instance of language affecting behaviour), cf. C. TRABALZA, *Saggio di voc. umbro-ital.*, Foligno 1905, p. 11 s.v. *brillette*: «*carachè*... chiamato *cappelletto*, quando i soldi si mettono nel cappello, che si rovescia dicendo: *palle e santi*.» A curious example of misinterpretation was collected by Miss Carla Fayer at Senigallia, where the denomination *lion e lettra* (cf. Reggio Emilia *lion e lettra*, Bologna *lettra e lion*, etc., already recorded in the 19th century) is explained as the relic of a former game played in about the years 1910–1925 with match boxes which on one side bore the emblem of the boot polish *Lion noir* and on the other an advertising legend.

³ C. MALASPINA, *Voc. parmigiano-ital.*, I, Parma 1856, p. 326 s.v. *caplètt* («garoliss»), and IV, *ibid.* 1859, p. 464 s. v. *zugàr a caplètt*.

⁴ L. FORESTI, *Voc. piacentino-ital.*, Piacenza 1883, p. 121 s. v.

are recorded in the last century. Guastalla *suḡar a testa e liss* or *a testa e crós*¹, Sala Braganza (Parma) *tèsta o-lis*, Cassio di Terenzo (Parma) *tèsta e-lis*, Bedonia (Parma) *tèsta e-lísu*, Parma *a-la-rúige* = *tèste o-fánte*, and Piacenza *tèstā o-lis*² collected in recent years seem to indicate that the type *cara o liscio* is already extinct. The word *cara* is obviously synonymous with *testa*, as is proved, ad abundantiam, by the terminology of the game in the Parmesan dialect, where the *liss* of *caròliss* is the designation of one side of the coin: *liss e liss* 'palle e palle', *testa e liss* 'santo e palle', *testa e testa* 'santi'³; cf. Guastalla *testa e liss* as a perfect equivalent of *testa e cros* in the same dialect³.

In other places, the game bears the strange name of *carachè*. The map on p. 113 shows the distribution of this name in present-day Italian dialects according to the materials collected by Pellis for map 1369 of the *Atlante Linguistico Italiano*, to which a few additions have been made from direct information or lexicographical sources and are distinguished by the use of square brackets:

Since the phonetical aspect of the forms is not relevant here, we have respected the orthography of the different authors; we faithfully transcribe also the materials gathered from the Italian linguistic atlas, because the fact that they are still unpublished and could prove useful to our readers for other purposes has advised us not to simplify their transcription.

¹ A. GUASTALLA, *Diz. dialettale*, Guastalla 1929, p. 260 s. v.

² From the materials of the *Atlante Linguistico Italiano*. It is a pleasant duty for the present writers to thank Prof. Dr. Benvenuto A. Terracini, Director of the Istituto dell'Atlante Linguistico Italiano, and his assistant Dr. Gigliola Stanchi Gamba, who have kindly supplied the relevant information, all collected by the late Ugo Pellis.

³ C. MALASPINA, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 464.

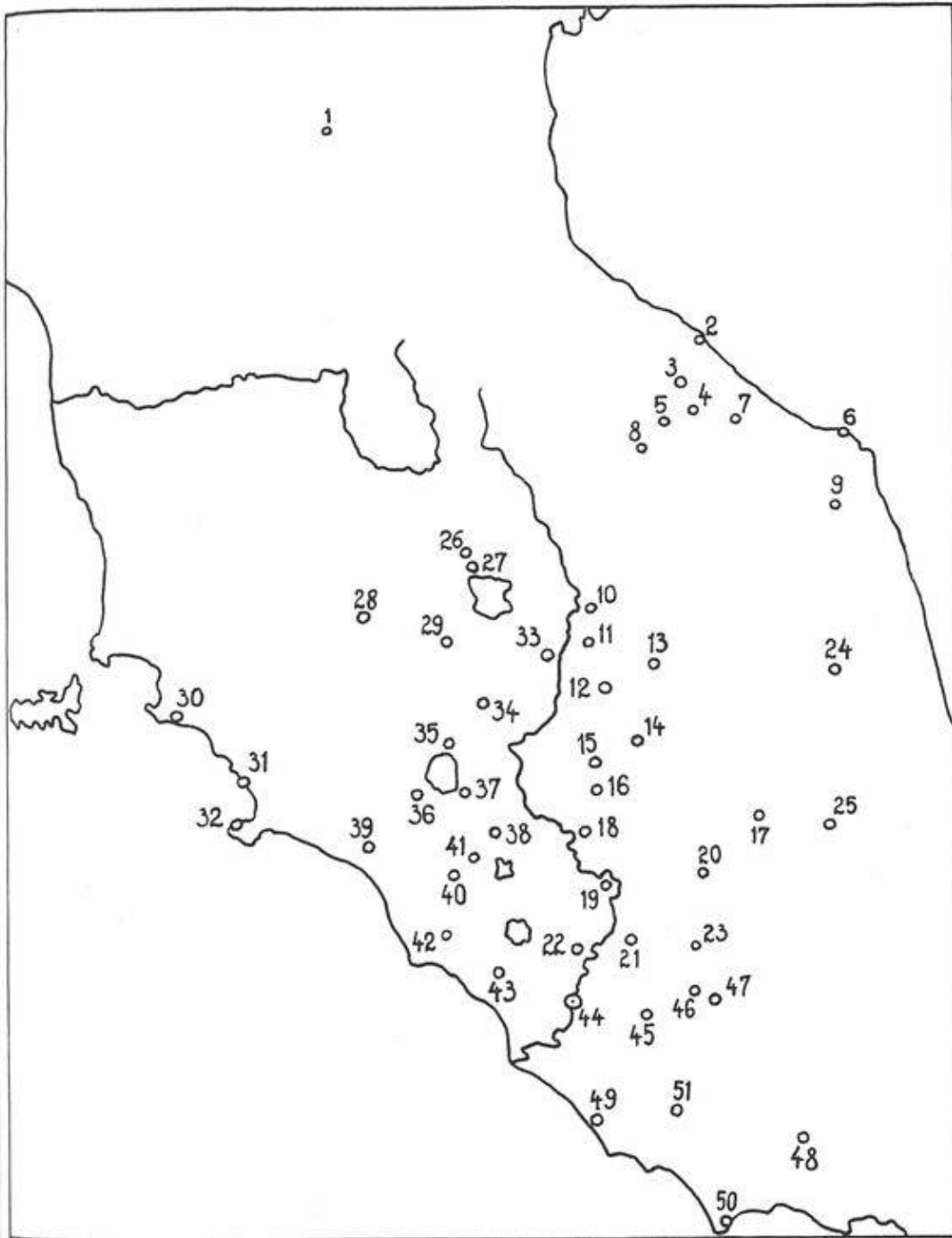
⁴ A. GUASTALLA, *loc. cit.* Cf. *liscio* used especially as an adverb in card games with reference to plain cards: *andar liscio*, *giocar liscio* and the like; Piacenza *andà liss* 'dar cartacce' (L. FORESTI, *op. cit.*, p. 303 s. v. *liss*), Parma *liss* 'scarto, carta che non vale, cartaccia', *andar liss* 'scartare, dar cartacce', *esser liss* 'essere al verde, non aver un che dica due, esser senza denari' (C. MALASPINA, *op. cit.*, p. 387 s. v. *liss*), etc.

- 1 [Bologna *carachè*, G. Ungarelli, *op. cit.*, p. 21 s. v. *ærma* o *santa*; thieves' cant *fēr un karakè* 'eseguire un brusco dietro-front per sfuggire a qualcuno che si è scorto in tempo e che si vuole evitare ad ogni costo', A. Menarini, *I gerghi bolognesi*, Modena 1942, p. 57]
- 2 Pesaro *karakré* = *àrma* o *sánt*
- 3 [Urbino *karakè* = *arm-e-sant* communicated by Mr. Francesco Galli, cf. E. Conti, *Voc. metaurense*, Cagli 1898, p. 128]
- 4 Sant' Ippolito (Pesaro) *karakè* = *test-e-kroř*, *arm-e-sant*
- 5 Acqualagna (Pesaro) *el-karakè* = *arm-e-sant*
- 6 [Ancona *carachè*, L. Spotti, *Vocabolarietto anconitano-ital.*, Genève 1929, p. 33]
- 7 Ostra Vetere (Ancona) *garagè* = *tèsta-e-nnùmero*
- 8 Cagli (Pesaro) *karaké* = *arm-e-sant*
- 9 Montecassiano (Macerata) *karakè* = *tèsta o-króčē*
- 10 Bastia Umbra (Perugia) *karakè* = *sant^t-àrmē*
- 11 Bettona (Perugia) *karakè* = *sant-e-àrmē*
- 12 Gualdo Cattaneo (Perugia) *karakè* = *àrma (testa) e ssànto*
- 13 S. Eraclio Foligno (Perugia) *karèkè* = *àrme-sànt^do*
- 14 Eggi Spoleto (Perugia) *keregé* = *sànnd-è-arma, a ffrulléttu*
- 15 Montecastrilli (Terni) *karagè* = *fàčč'a-kûlo*
- 16 Narni (Terni) *karakè* = *àrma-sànt^dù*
- 17 Marana-Montereale (Aquila) *karakè* = *tèsta e-króčē*
- 18 Otricoli (Terni) *kar^ekè* = *àrma-sànt^do*
- 19 Filacciano (Roma) *karakè* = *sant-e-àrme (testa)*
- 20 Rocca Sinibalda (Roma) *karakè* = *àrmi-e-ssànt^di*
- 21 Nerola (Roma) *karakè* = *sant-o-àrmi*
- 22 Riano (Roma) *karagočča* = *àrma-sàntu* [an evident contamination with *coccia* 'testa', for which see AIS, map 93, points 569, 608, 618, 619, 637, 645, 648, 658, etc.]
- 23 Vivaro Romano (Roma) *a k^karaké* = *àrma-sànt^du*
- 24 Force (Ascoli Piceno) *karakè* = *tèsta-sànt^du*
- 25 Assergi (Aquila) *karakè* = *tèsta-króčē*
- 26 Cortona (Arezzo) *karakè* = *pàlle e sànti*

- 27 Ossaia di Cortona (Arezzo) *karaké* = *pálle e-sánti*
 28 Torrenieri (Siena) *a-k^kere^hè* = *pall-e-s^sánti*
 29 Chianciano (Siena) *kara^kè* = *pálle o s^sánti*
 30 Castiglione della Pescaia (Grosseto) *kara^hè* = *pálle e s^sánti*
 31 Talamone (Grosseto) *pall-e-ssánti* = *kara^hè*
 32 Porto S. Stefano (Grosseto) *garagè* = *pall-e-ssánti*
 33 Papiano (Perugia) *karakè* = *árm^e o-s^sánt^e*
 34 Ficulle (Terni) *kara^kè* = *tèsta e-kkró^č_se*
 35 Castel Giorgio (Terni) *a-kara^kè* = *tèsta-e-figúra*
 36 Cellere (Viterbo) *kara^kè* = *arm-e-s^sánto*
 37 Montefiascone (Viterbo) *kara^kè* = *arm-e-s^sánto*
 38 Bagnara (Viterbo) *kar^eaè* = *tèsta-koróna*
 39 Montalto di Castro (Viterbo) *karagè* = *arm-e-s^sánto*
 40 Monte Romano (Viterbo) *a-garagè* = *sántⁱ e árm^e*
 41 Vetralla (Viterbo) *garagè* = *arm-e-ssánto*
 42 Tolfa (Roma) *a-g^garagè* = *arm-e-s^sánto*
 43 Cerveteri (Roma) *karaaè* = *árme e-ssánto*
 44 Roma *garagè* = *árma (testa) e-s^sánto* [anche *karakè*]
 45 S. Vittorino (Roma) *a kkaragè*
 46 Rocca Canterano (Roma) *garé^k_gè*
 47 [Subiaco (Roma) *kareke*, A. Lindsstrom, *SIR* 5 (1907), p. 276]
 48 [Castro dei Volsci (Frosinone) *karakè* or *karé karé*, C. Vignoli, *SIR* 7 (1911), p. 216]
 49 Ardea (Roma) *garagè*
 50 S. Felice Circeo (Latina) *a-kkaragè*
 51 Cori (Latina) *kara^k_gè*

It is evident that these denominations are connected with *cara* 'testa' of the type *cara o liscio* quoted on p. 109 and that the form *karé karé* of Castro dei Volsci is a perfect equivalent of *testa testa* found at Parma in the terminology of the game. Equally evident is, in our opinion, the origin of *carachè*.

The solution is suggested by the geographical distribution of the word. Even a cursory examination of the map on p. 113 shows



that *carachè* is not likely to have spread from Southern Italy because it is completely unknown in Campania and is also lacking in the Abruzzi, except for two points located at the central-northernmost limit of this region which ostensibly were reached from the adjoining Latium. Nor is it likely to have spread southwards from Northern Italy, where Bologna, a now isolated point, is in all likelihood one of the farthest places reached by the word in its thrust from Pesaro along the highway which from Rimini reaches Bologna through the Romagna region and goes on west-northwest to Parma and Piacenza¹. The present area of *carachè* (with the notable exception of Ravenna) closely coincides with the territory covered in the Longobardic period by the Byzantine regions of the Exarchate, the Pentapolis and the Ducatus Romanus, which later formed the bulk of the Papal States, and extends to a part of Tuscia contiguous to them and to which the Pope laid claims (in fact, the present area of *carachè* recalls also that of some well-known lexical isoglosses that link Northern Italy with Rome through the Northern part of Marche and Umbria, along the two main ways of communication which were the Via Flaminia and the Via Salaria²). One cannot help noticing that the Western and Eastern parts of the territory covered by *carachè* communicate with each other through a narrow stretch in the area of Lake Trasimeno which is just the corridor between the Longobardic Tuscia and Ducatus Spoletinus that linked the Pentapolis with the Ducatus Romanus³.

It is then legitimate to ask whether *carachè* is one of those words of Byzantine origin which still survive in Northern and Central Italian areas formerly ruled by the Byzantines and are unknown to Southern Italy⁴ (which would also account for the

¹ The form *chereché* of the thieves' cant in Florence (A. MENARINI, *Atti R. Ist. Veneto di Scienze*, CII, part II, 1942-43, p. 512) obviously does not belong to this geographical picture but to the language of the underworld, and is certainly connected with the Bolognese word through the communication channels of those social strata.

² See R. A. HALL, Jr., *Language*, XIX (1943), p. 125-140.

³ On this corridor see F. SCHÜRR, *RLiR* 9 (1933), p. 207.

⁴ Some of these words have been dealt with by G. ALESSIO,

existence of *cara* in the denomination *cara o liscio* at Parma and Piacenza, two towns which were for a long time under Byzantine rule, in the acceptation 'testa' which is peculiarly Greek and unknown to Romance¹).

[Emilio G. Peruzzi]

The term *κάρα* f. 'head' occurs in Koine Greek: *Anacreontea* 50.9 (ed. Preisendanz); in papyri *BUG* 647.20 οὐλή κάρα (2nd century B. C.); Hesychius *κάρα* . . . καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν; in a Cretan inscription *Inscr. Cret.*, I, 17.12A1 ἡ κάρα. The form is then continued in Byzantine Greek from the 4th to the 15th centuries and in postmedieval Greek. Reference may be made to the following: Gregory Nazianz., Migne, *Patrol. Graeca*, XXXV. 3, 1402A (361 A. D.); Epiphanius, *ibid.*, XLI. 2, 801C (367 A. D.); Io. Malalas 35.21 et al. (ed. Bonn 1831), (580 A. D.); *Chron. Pasch.* 70.16 and 19 (ed. Bonn 1832), (630 A. D.); Io. Damasc., *Patrol. Graeca*, XCIV. 3.825C (730 A. D.); Theophanes 583.18 (ed. Bonn 1839), (880 A. D.); *Vita Alexandri* 389 αὐτὸς φέρων ἐκτύπωμα τὴν λεοντείαν κάραν; Machairas, *Chron.* 30.22 τὴν ἀγίαν του κάραν; Bounialis, *Κρητικὸς πόλεμος*, p. 211, line 23 κάρες μαδισμένες; Matthaeus Metropol., *Ἱστορία Βλαχίας* (É. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, II, 592) τὰς κάρας.

The same *κάρα* 'head' is modern Greek in phrases like τί κατεβάζει ἡ κάρα σου; 'what does your head bring down?' (in

Rendic. Ist. Lombardo, LXXIX (series III, vol. X), 1945-46, p. 81, No. 1719; p. 85, No. 1763; p. 91, No. 1823 (others are indicated in C. BATTISTI and G. ALESSIO, *Diz. etim. ital.*, passim), and G. BONFANTE, *Biblos*, XXVII (1951), p. 361-396 (especially p. 370-374 and p. 385-387), *Byzantion*, XXII (1952), p. 243-252.

¹ Greek *κάρα* never meant 'Gesicht' as erroneously indicated by *REW*³, No. 1670, and this is one of the reasons which make its connection with Romance *cara* 'face' more than doubtful (cf. e.g. *FEW* II, p. 350, COROMINAS, I, p. 661); the fact that this *cara* is unknown to Italy (save in Liguria and Sicily) makes it impossible to connect the Emilian denomination *cara o liscio* and Northern and Central Italian *carachè* with Catal. *cara i crieu* 'heads and tails', etc., unless a cultural basis is provided (the difficulty did not escape B. MIGLIORINI, *Saggi linguistici*, Firenze 1957, p. 285).

other words, 'what nonsense does your mind bring forth?'), τί γράφει ἡ κάρα σου; 'what does your head register?' or 'what nonsense does your mind produce?', D. Solomos, *Lord Byron*, v. 104, 1.3 ὅπου ἐκάναν μὲ τὴν κάρα, μὲ τὰ στήθια στὰ γκρεμά [first part of the 19th century]. Other meanings are: 'skull, cranium' (Kephallenia and other Ionian Islands) and (the part used for the whole) 'the relics of a saint' (common), e.g. ἡ κάρα τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου. Furthermore ἁγία κάρα and ἁγιακάρα (a hypostasized compound from ἁγία κάρα) 'the skull of a saint' are in current use in W. Macedonia¹ and elsewhere. In the speech of Cyprus κάρα is also the designation for 'the top section of a field'.

The modern Greek designations for the game of *heads and/or tails* (which is called by a simple name, στριφτό n. 'coin twisted and tossed') show as great a variety as anywhere and apparently for the same obvious reasons as expounded at the outset of this paper with regard to Italy².

¹ Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς, I, Athens 1933, p. 99b.

² In the absence of a modern Greek dialectal atlas, information was received, on the basis of questionnaires, from the following friends, to whom the thanks of the authors are extended here: P. Bournelos, Carystos (Euboea); A. Chatzigakis, Athens; N.A. Demetriou, Samos; B. D. Foris, Kozani; I. Ch. Gegios, Molista (Epirus); M. Georgaka, Athens; G. Georgiadis, Mesochori (Carpathos); S. Ioannidis, Xanthi; A. Karakoulas, Kozani; S. D. Kavvadas, Chios; G. C. Kolaïtis, Ithaca; C. Ktistopoulos, Athens; K. P. Lazaridis, Koukouli (Zagori, Epirus); D. Loucatos, Athens (information from many parts of Greece); E. K. Makris, Nigrita (E. Macedonia, information from 30 elementary school teachers of his area); D. Manakas, Didymoteicho (Thrace); G. Masouras, Vatataides (Epirus); N. Mesimeris, Cos (now in Nisyros); A. Ch. Papa-charisis, Tsotyli; Ch. Papachristodoulou, Rhodes; P. P. Petris, Ligourio, Nauplia; N. Petropoulos, Katerini; D. N. Psychogios, Lechaina (Elis); I. Pyrros, Cassandra (Chalcidice); A. Spyropoulos, Zagora (Thessaly); P. Stamos, Polygyros (Chalcidice); E. Stathis, Cythera; C. Stravropoulos, Siderokastro (Triphyly); A. Stavroulakis, Rethymno (Crete); K. Triandaphyllou, Patras; A. Tselalis, Andritsaina; E. Tseloni, Vello (Corinthia); A. G. Tsitsanis, Evrytania. Some information comes from the files of the Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς, which the courtesy of the Director,

I. 'Heads or Tails'

κάρα ἢ γράμματα [kara 'i 'ɣramata] 'head or letters' in Central Greece according to G. Masouras.

κεφάλι ἢ γράμματα [ke'falɪ 'i 'ɣramata] 'head or letters' in Epirus (after its liberation in the 20th century); rarely in Samos.

κορώννα ἢ γράμματα [ko'rona 'i 'ɣramata] 'crown or letters', common modern Greek; in northern dialects [ku'rona 'i 'ɣramata]; κορώννα γῆ γράμματα (γῆ ['ji] = ἡ 'or') in Crete (Rethymno); κορώννα γιά [ja] γ. in Carystos; κορώννα ἢ γράμμα in Chalcidice (Cassandra), in which the second part is in the sing. 'letter' (cf. the compound κορωνόγραμμα). 'Letters' are the words on the obverse side of the coin that name the value of the coin. Synonym στριφτό n. [stri'fto].

βασιλιάς ἢ γράμματα [vasi'las 'i 'ɣramata] 'king or letters'; γράμματα ἢ βασιλιάς in Crete. 'King' is a king's image on the reverse side of the coin.

κορώννα ἢ λεπτὰ [ko'rona 'i le'fta] 'crown or lepta' in Euboea, κορώννα γῆ λεπτὰ in Crete (Rethymno), κορώννα γιά λεπτά [le'pta] in Scyros, κορώννα ἢ λεπτό (sing.) in Paros and Euboea (Kalyvia); also λεπτὰ γιά κορώννα in Chios. The word λεπτό (pl. λεπτά) or λεπτό (pl. λεπτὰ) is 'the hundredth of a drachma'; the obverse gave in words the value of the coin in lepta. The singular form λεπτό was analogically adjusted to κορώννα (sing.).

μούρη γῆ γράμματα [muri 'ji 'ɣramata] 'face or letters' in Crete (Rethymno).

Μᾶρκος ἢ κοπέλα [markos 'i ko'pela] 'Mark or girl' in the Ionian Islands; the one side of the coin bore the image of the lion of St. Mark, the other a seated woman representing Britain.

γυναῖκα ἢ Μᾶρκο [ji'neka 'i 'marko] 'woman or Mark'; see preceding.

κοκόνα ἢ λιοντάρι [ko'kona 'i lon'dari] 'lady or lion' in the Ionian Islands; see preceding.

σταυρός ἢ γράμματα [sta'vros 'i 'ɣramata] 'cross or letters' in the Peloponnesus (Neapolis near Vatika, Siderokastro of Triphylia, etc.); on the one side of the coin during Kapodistrias' regime was a phoenix and above it a cross figured.

Dr. John Kalleris, made it possible for us to see in the summer of 1958. In addition, Georgacas himself gathered some of the information in Athens and in the Peloponnesus. All the materials are reproduced here because this wealth of hitherto unpublished forms is likely to be useful for many a reader.

τσούπρα ἢ γράμματα [*ʰtʃupra ʰi ʰɣramata*] 'girl or letters' in Epirus during the republic of 1924–1936.

πέτος ἢ γράμματα [*ʰpetos ʰi ʰɣramata*] 'rooster (cock) or letters' in Epirus during the Turkish rule as late as the first decade of the 20th century; πέτος m., a shortened form of πετεινός, was used because the combination of Arabic letters on the coin happened to make a shape resembling that of a rooster (this information comes from G. Masouras).

σταυρός ἢ κότα [*staʰvros ʰi ʰkota*] 'cross or hen' and σταυρούς ἢ κότες [*staʰvros ʰi ʰkotes*] pl. in Elis (Lechaina); cf. σταυρός καὶ κόνα (below).

σταυροὶ ἢ Μᾶρκοι [*staʰvri ʰi ʰmarki*] in Corcyra.

σταυρὸ ἢ γιαζὶ [*staʰvro ʰi jaʰzi*] 'cross or olive garland' (from Turk. *ğazi*).

πουλὶ ἢ γιαζὶ [*ʰpli ʰi jaʰzi*] 'bird or letters' used earlier in the speech of the island of Samos. The Turkish bronze coin represented during the Turkish rule the value of 2½ paras; it had the Turkish national emblem on the one side. The expression κορώνα ἢ γράμματα is now current in Samos.

τουρὰ γιὰ γιαζὶ [*tʰuʰra ʰja jaʰzi*] 'the sultan's monogram or letter' in Rhodes and other Dodecanese islands (beside κορώνα-γράμματα) to see who should start a game; τουρὰς γὴ γιαζὶς in the speech of Vithynia; δουρὰς ἢ γαζὶς in Mani, δ. ἢ διαζὶς [*ðjaʰzis*] in Cynuria (Ajios Petros); τουρὰς ἢ τσαλίμια [*tsaʰlimja*] in Epirus during the Turkish rule; γιαζὶ γιὰ ντουρά [*jaʰzi ʰja duʰra*] in Chios; etc. Turk. *tûra* 'the sultan's monogram, the imperial cipher' and *yazi* 'writing, inscription' occur in the Turkish designation for the same game: *yazi mi tura mi?* 'heads or tails?'

Most of these terms are used in a question addressed to the other player by the player who tosses the coin up into the air.

II. 'Heads and Tails'

κάρα καὶ γράμματα [*ʰkara ʰke ʰɣramata*] 'head and letters' was heard by Demetrius A. Papadopoulos, a gymnasium student, from children playing in Kato Petralona, a suburb of Athens; it is also recorded by Dr. Constantine Stavropoulos as having been in use at Avlona in Triphylia, but we have our reservations. The word for 'head' refers to the image of the head of a king, Otto I, George I, or Constantine. Cf. the following.

κεφάλι καὶ γράμματα [*keʰjaʰli ʰke ʰɣramata*] 'head and letters' in Peloponnesus (Avlona in Triphylia), Thessaly (Makrakomi), E. Macedonia (Nigrita), Cos.

κορώννα και γράμματα [ko'rona 'ke 'ɣramata] 'crown and letters', common modern Greek (so in Carpathos, Cos, Avlona in Triphylia, in ten villages of the Nigrita area in E. Macedonia, etc.); the variants κορώννα και γράμμα with the second member in the sing., heard in two villages of E. Macedonia (Anthi and Lygaria), and κορώννα και λεφτό of Avlona (Triphylia) are understandable as the above κορώννα ἢ γράμμα and κορώννα ἢ λεφτό.

ζωγραφιά και γράμματα [zoɣra'ʃja 'ke 'ɣramata] 'picture and letters' in the Greek speech of Constantinople, in E. Macedonia (Nigrita), and possibly in Triphylia (Avlona). In Constantinople one player asks his playmate the question ζωγραφιά ἢ γράμμα; 'picture or letter?', the sing. γράμμα being probably analogical to conform to the first member of the formula.

Μᾶρκος και γυναῖκα [ma'rkos 'ke ji'neka] 'Mark and woman' in Ithaca and E. Macedonia (Aïdonochori); see above Μᾶρκος ἢ κοπέλα, γυναῖκα ἢ Μᾶρκο, κοκόνα ἢ λιοντάρι.

σταυρός και γράμματα [sta'vros 'ke 'ɣramata] 'cross and letters' in Evrytania.

σταυρός και κόνα [sta'vros 'ke 'kona] 'cross and picture' in Mesolongi, σταυρός και κόνας [sta'vros 'ke 'konas] in the islet of Meganisi near Leucas (where the pl. σταυροὶ και κόνοι is also heard); the form κόνας m. 'picture' from κόνα f., 'picture' (< εἰκόνα f. 'holy image, icon'), has become m. by assuming analogically the gender of σταυρός (cf. G. Hatzidakis, Μεσαιωνικά και νέα ἑλληνικά, II, p. 51 and 57.) The variant σταυρός και κότα 'cross and hen' and its pl. σταυροὶ και κότες in Arcadia (Lasta of Gortynia) is probably a paronymological one (κότα f. 'hen' for κόνα f. 'picture') of the above; cf. σταυρός ἢ κότα. See, however, πουλί ἢ γιαζί.

πίττα και γιαζί [pi'tita 'ke ɣa'zi] 'pie and letters' in the island of Ydra (Hydra) is probably the outcome of another popular etymology.

γιαζί και δουρά [ja'zi 'ke du'ra] 'writing and monogram' in Thrace (Didymoteicho) during the Turkish rule.

III. 'Heads-Tails'

κεφάλι-γράμματα [ke'fali-'ɣramata] 'head-letters' was heard from playing children in Athens by Dr. D. Loucatos in 1957; κεφάλι-γραμμή [ke'fali-'ɣrammi] in Thessaly (Makrakomi) presents a variation with γραμμή f. 'line' instead of γράμμα n. 'letter'.

κορώννα-γράμματα [ko'rona-'ɣramata] 'crown-letters', common modern Greek (so in Tenos, Crete, Mani, Chalcidice, E. Macedonia [Trias], Thrace [Didymoteicho, Xanthi], Epirus [ku'rona], etc.); also κορώννες-γράμματα [ku'ronis-'ɣramata] 'crowns-letters' in

- Thessaly (Zagora), κορώνα-γράμμα 'crown-letter' in Chalcidice (Cassandra) and E. Macedonia (Kastanochori, Sitochori).
 κορώνα-λεπτά [ko'rona-le'pta] 'crown-lepta': D. Loucopoulos, Παιγνίδια, p. 20, 217.
- ζωγραφιά-κορώνα [zo'gra'fja-ko'rona] 'picture-crown' in Messenia (Zevgolatio); φούλια-κορώνα [fu'li-a-ku'rona] in W. Macedonia (Servia) from ζωγραφούλια?
- μούρη-γράμματα [mu'ri-'gramata] 'face-letters' in Messenia (Zevgolatio); cf. μούρη γή γράμματα above.
- μοῦτρα-γράμματα [mu'tra-'gramata] 'face-letters' in Messenia (Zevgolatio) and in the islet of Meganisi (where the denomination κορώνα-γράμματα is now used from the common spoken language).
- Μᾶρκο-κορώνα [ma'rko-ko'rona] 'Mark-crown' in Corcyra.
- Μᾶρκος-γυναῖκα [ma'rkoz-ji'neka] 'Mark-woman' in Ithaca; cf. Μᾶρκος ἢ κοπέλα, Μᾶρκος καὶ γυναῖκα (above).
- Μᾶρκος-κοπέλες [ma'rkos-ko'peles] 'Mark-girls' in Kephallenia; the pl. κοπέλες from a blend of (1) Μᾶρκος-κοπέλα and (2) Μᾶρκοι-κοπέλες; cf. σταυροὶ ἢ Μᾶρκοι in Corcyra (above).
- σταυρὸ-κορώνα [sta'vro-ko'rona] 'cross-crown' in Corcyra.
- σταυροκόνη [sta'vro'ko'ni] in Aitolia (Katochi near Aitoliko), a compound from σταυρὸ-κόνη (accusative of σταυρὸς-κόνη).
- σταυρὸς-κοπέλες [sta'vros-ko'peles] 'cross-girls' in Kephallenia from σταυρὸς-κοπέλα, cf. Μᾶρκος-κοπέλες (above).
- τουρὰ-γαζί [tu'ra-ɣa'zi] 'monogram-letters' in Corinthia, δουρὰ-γιαζί [du'ra-ja'zi] in Pontic (Chaldia), Cos, Arcadia (Levidi in Mantinea), δουρὰ-γαζί Messenia (Androusa), τουρὰς-γιατζής [tu'raz-ja'dzis] in Calymnos, γιαζι-τουρά [ja'zi-tu'ra] in Cyprus, γιαζούν-τουράν in Pontic (Koryora).

IV. 'Heads'; 'Tails'

The game is also known simply as 'heads' or 'tails'. The reason is obviously the shortening of a loose compound. Thus, κορώνα [ku'rona] 'crown' in W. Macedonia (Kozani) from κορώνα-γράμματα, τουράς [tu'ras] 'crown' in Calymnos, and γράμματα [ɣra-mata] 'letters' in the area of Kozani.

Patterns I–III are followed in the similar game with a flat stone, a pottery fragment, or a coin, one side of which is dry and the other made wet with saliva. Thus we have: I. 'dry or wet': χλώρα ἢ ξέρα (χλώρη ἢ ξέρη, χλώρη ἢ στέγη); II. 'dry and wet': χλώρα καὶ ξέρα (ξέρα καὶ βρέχη, ξεροῦ καὶ χλωροῦ); III. χλώρα-ξέρα (χλωρὸ-ξερό, ξέρα-βρέχα). The same is called I. χειμῶνας ἢ καλοκαίρι, 'winter or summer', II. χειμῶνας καὶ καλοκαίρι, III. χειμῶνας-καλοκαίρι. This is the preliminary procedure in any game in order to choose the starter, whatever the game may be.

The pattern is the same as anywhere else: 'OBVERSE and REVERSE' (rarely 'OBVERSE/REVERSE') and 'OBVERSE OF REVERSE', both employed as designations for the game, while the latter is, of course, the only pattern on which can be framed the question one player addresses to the other when asking him to name one side of the coins before tossing them into the air.

The designations *κάρρα καὶ γράμματα*, given by a youngster from Athens as he heard it from boys playing the game, and *κάρρα ἢ γράμματα* used in the Peloponnesus and Sterea Ellas are significant in so far as they still attest the use of the word *κάρρα* with the meaning 'head'. In the absence of early documentary evidence of a Byzantine **κάρρα καὶ REVERSE* (after all, the documentation of the Italian *carachè* forms is also modern only), they provide sufficient ground for assuming such an expression in medieval (Byzantine) Greek as the origin of the Italian forms. While the pronunciation *e* for *αι*, implied by *carachè* < *κάρρα καί*, sets as *terminus non ante quem* the 2nd century A.D., a date far too early to be of any practical significance in the present question, the use of *κάρρα* as referring to the 'head' stamped on one side of the coin points to the Byzantine period.

There is little chance of linking this **κάρρα καὶ REVERSE* with a definite type of Byzantine coinage, thus establishing a more or less precise datation for the Byzantine designation, because we at present do not know what stood for REVERSE in the original expression and *κάρρα* is a word of too general a meaning. (Besides, the figures on coins are often likely to be misinterpreted, so that, even if for instance *κάρρα* meant solely 'head of a saint', one could hardly assign it to a coinage not earlier than Emperor Alexander [912-13], at whose date effigies of saints began to appear on Byzantine coins¹, because it is quite natural that the effigy of an emperor may have been regarded as that of a saint.)

[*Demetrius J. Georgacas*]

¹ H. GOODACRE, *Coinage of the Byzantine Empire*, London 1957, p. 195. The Virgin had appeared earlier (Leo the Wise), and Christ reappeared on the coins of Michael III the Drunkard (842-867). We owe this information to Dr. George Galavaris through Prof. Ernst Kitzinger (Dumbarton Oaks).

The phenomenon of word shortening, part of the derivation of words, is observed in many languages, ancient and modern¹, and it makes no difference whether an expression is a one-word unit, two-word unit or three-word unit.

It is natural to assume that a Byzantine expression ¹*kara-¹ke-¹gramata* (κάρα-καί-γράμματα) or the like heard by Italian speakers who knew no Greek would undergo some kind of shortening, i.e. the reduction of its phonemic body by elimination either of the initial or of the final part (or – rarely – of both an initial and final part of the phonemic body or of the middle part of it). Etymology is always a matter of probability, and under the present circumstances, in view of the geographical distribution of the Italian forms, we think that the explanation of *carachè* as a shortening of a Byzantine expression *κάρα καί REVERSE is more probable than any other etymology suggested so far.

Although it is not impossible that such a shortening may have occurred in medieval Greek itself (cf. the above examples *κορώνα* from *κορώνα-γράμματα*, and *γράμματα* from the same compound), the preservation of the conjunction *καί* suggests that the expression was shortened by people who could not analyse it into its constituent elements, i.e. by Italians who understood no Greek. Italian offers another instance of the exceptional case of a word developed by shortening from a foreign expression which was not understood: *schei* 'pennies' < Germ. *Scheidemünze*². While this

¹ D. J. GEORGACAS, *Orbis*, IV (1955), p. 91–113 and 459–477.

² *REW*¹, No. 7682 (the entry is omitted in the 3rd edition), A. PRATI, *Voc. etim. ital.*, Milano 1951, p. 906 s.v., C. BATTISTI and G. ALESSIO, *op. cit.*, V, p. 3384 s.v., etc. See G. BOERIO, *Diz. del dial. veneziano*², Venezia 1856, p. 624 s.v. *scheo*: «Voce nuova. Chiamasi dal basso volgo il Centesimo della lira austriaca per distinguerlo da quello della lira italiana che aveva qualche piccolo valore di più. Dicesi altrimenti *Centessimin*.» Boerio's testimonial is conclusive and the origin from *Scheidemünze* may be doubted only by those who do not know his personal observation and get the etymology from C. SCHNELLER, *Die rom. Volksmundarten in Südtirol*, I, Gera 1870, p. 178 s.v., where it sounds somewhat abstract («Pfennig, kleine geringe Münze. Allem Anscheine nach ein [allgemein gangbar gewordenes] neueres aus den ersten Buchstaben der deutschen Randumschrift: *Sche-idemünze* gebildetes Wort, welches

dialectal word derives from a German legend *read* on the coin (and misinterpreted as a plural *schei de münze*), *carachè* derives from a Greek expression *heard* in connection with the game played with Byzantine coins and equally misinterpreted in its formation and meaning. The circumstances, then, are slightly different; the process is the same.

Emilio G. Peruzzi / Demetrius J. Georgacas

weiterhin in Oberitalien nicht vorkommt.») Subsequent contaminations with other words are probable, as the materials collected by C. SALVIONI, *Rendic. R. Ist. Lombardo*, series II, XLIX (1916), p. 1053, seem to indicate, and should be investigated, but Salvioni's etymology of *schei*, in spite of the favourable opinion of an authority like L. SPITZER (*Jahrb. für Philol.*, I, 1925, p. 156), appears to be wrong.