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CALABRIAN CRIMINAL SLANG

Abstract

L'articolo fornisce il lessico base del gergo tecnico in uso presso l'organizzazione criminale calabrese dal nome *'Ndrànghita* o *'Ndràngata*, con discussione della semantica di ogni termine e delle sue origini più remote. Tale gergo possiede un'importante parte d'origine greca accanto agli elementi base latini, nonché alcuni elementi d'origine turca, slava ed iranica, mostrando la natura estremamente composta del calabroromanzo, anche del suo gergo criminale. Ciò aiuta a giungere a due conclusioni di base. (1) L'elemento greco del calabroromanzo non ha origine in un preciso periodo particolare ma si allunga dal dorico antico (arcaismi di una periferia ellenofona) al greco ellenistico, da questo al tardo bizantino, lungo un rilevante continuo linguistico. (2) Esiste un elemento bizantino assai importante persino nel gergo tecnico della criminalità calabrese.

Parole chiave: Gergo; criminalità; 'ndràngata; lessico criminale; etimologia

The article outlines a basic lexicon of the technical slang used by Calabria's criminal organization called *'Ndrànghita* or *'Ndràngata*, part of its semantics and its long-term origins. It shows a strong Greek element alongside the basic Latin elements of Calabrian Romance, as well as some Arabic, here generally *viâ* Turkish, Slav and Persian elements. The whole shows the composite nature of Calabrian Romance, even of its criminal elements. This permits us to reach two basic conclusions: (1) the Greek in Calabrian Romance cannot be tied down to one specific period but goes from antique Doric to Hellenistic, from Hellenistic to Late Byzantine in a linguistic continuum; (2) there is a strong Byzantine Greek element even in the technicalities of Calabria's criminal code.

Keywords: Slang; criminality; 'ndràngata; lexicon; etymology

Calabria's criminal organization's name, according to the Italian Press, is *'Ndràngata, 'Ndràngheta* or *'Ndrànghita*, also called the 'Famiglia Montalbano', rarely, with a maritime metaphor, the *Paranza* with its *Chiurma* (crew, Italian *Ciurma*). Its basic unit is called an

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'Ndrina, part of what is called the *Locale*, also known as the *Fibbia* or *Scibba*, or, as used by lawyers, the *Ghjòmbiru -uru*[1]. Higher grades are *Camuffu* or simply *Muffu* (= *Capobastone* or *Mamma* or *Mammasantissima*[2]), *Cuntarulu* is Italianized as 'Contaiolo', 'Contabile' or 'Puntaiolo' in the press. *Fidelizzazione* is the name given to admittance into the organization and 'baptism' in its rites. *Sergio-seggio-saggio compagno* is the name for companions in crime, where obviously one uses *saggio*, wise, as a kind of folk-etymology to cover an expression no longer understood. 'Ndranghitisti call their common fund *bbaciletta*[3] or *camurra*[4]. It also consists in the collection of racket protection money once called the *pizzo*, no longer used by them, since now considered common Italian (their modern term is *azzotta*, a whip, one of the few originally Arabic loans present in extreme Southern Calabrian as in Sicilian dialect and transmitted from such dialects into this criminal slang). Their slang's name is *bbaccagghju*[5]. Punishments

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[1] Calabrian defense lawyers, among themselves, never Italianize the term, but use it in dialect form. It is literally 'gomitolo', a ball of wool (< Latin glŏmus), in Calabrian dialects used for *intricacy*, more usually for the *political jungle*, or even *association for political corruption*.

[2] We will not go into the question of what an Apostle or even Evangelist might be in this type of criminal society. Religious metaphors are rife, as is devotion to the Archangel Michael.

[3] Trumper, Maddalon et al. 2014: 203-204. The more general Calabrian use is for the 'collection plate' or 'collection' in church. Ferrero 1971: 59 had already individuated this meaning as a specific > general metonym, from 'recipient for a money collection' to a criminal '*cassa comune*'. It seems to characterize most Italian trade and criminal jargons.

[4] See Trumper-Maddalon et al. 2014: 162-166. Prati 1940: 50-51 (item 85) hypothesized an origin in a composition *ca(ta)-morra* [*mòrra* in N Italy has an open vowel, phonetically ['mɔr:a], as in Prati's indication as 'ò'] which would accommodate neither Neapolitan *camórra*, with a closed high mid vowel, or Calabrian *camurra* with /u/, both of which suppose a historical Latin stressed 'ō' or 'ŭ'. Lurati 1976 starts from a specific, distinctive article of dress, i.e. *gamérra, camórra* as waistband, cummerbund. Cp. Sella 1944: 108 *camora*, an article of dress, Venice Archive 1265, Sella 1937: 160 *gamerra*, id., Piacenza early Thirteen Hundreds (probably *viâ* Venice or Genua). Other instances are from the later Thirteen and Fourteen Hundreds. This would tie in semantically with *camuffo* (origin as cloth and article of dress), so one is tempted to accept Lurati's line of reasoning in this respect. If this is the case, we are plausibly dealing with an Arab-origin loan.

[5] In Calabria, the acceptance of the meaning 'criminal slang' seems to come from the prostitute Olivia Labate 1897's confession to the Reggio Calabria judges. Calvaruso 1929's

are: (1) *stipare* to suspend from active service and sharing in the common 'pot'[6], (2) *interrecinato* or dialectally *intarracinatu in cubba* is a kind of mafia home-imprisonment[7], (3) their equivalent of the Sicilian Mafia's *pizzino* is a *naspafusu* or *zumpafusu*, dragonfly, though its function is rather different and texts extremely short, sometimes just a name. *Sballare*[8] is to kill, equivalent of modern *mentiri 'nt'o maddu* (or __*'nt'o maḍḍu).* Other verbs for killing are *nnarbari*[9] and *'nzavanari*[10]

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dictionary of Palermo's Mafia-Slang defines the term in a specific manner. See Nicaso 1990: 70 and Trumper-Maddalon et al. 2014: 217-218 for details. Ferrero 1976: 58-59 had already claimed this item was common to all Italian slangs and jargons, hypothesizing an origin in Latin bacchāre. In Trumper, Maddalon et al. 2014 ibid. one continued to hypothesize a slightly more complex derivation Bacchus > bacchanāle (Bacchus' rowdy feast, characterized by typical drunken behaviour) pl. bacchanālĭa, derived verb *bacchanālĭāre 'to be rowdy/ to be noisy', with syllable simplification *bacchālĭāre, > common Italo-Romance *baccagliare*, derived noun *baccaglio-u / baccagghju*, following Vittore Pisani. He first formulated this hypothesis in 1975: 307, and, though doubted by Pfister in the LEI (IV. 154-156), i.e. not only by Ferrero 1976, it has been defended in DELI 1979. 1. 100, in Massariello Merzagora 1980: 114, more recently in Cornagliotti 2007: 106-107, 117, as well as in Trumper, Maddalon et al. 2014: 217-218. We even have river-names with this same 'noisy' element, cp. the Veneto's Bacchiglione, related with *baccaglio, baccagliare* in Pellegrini 1972: 179, where he held it to be a slang onomatopoeia. One might also add that in some Middle Calabrian dialects (Catanzaro, Squillace, Borgia, Soverato) *baccagghiàri* is now also 'to swagger', taking the place of *'ndranghitijàri*.

    [6] Cp. *Stipazione* in Trumper J. B., Maddalon M. et al. 2014: 208-209. Ferrero E. 1971: 89 treats "*stipare la fatica*" as particular Neapolitan criminal slang for the concept "*sospendere dalla camorra un compagno […] indegno*". He deals with it under the general heading 'Camorra'. This use of the verb *stipare* and its derivatives characterizes the Mafia-type organizations of the South (Camorra, Sacra Corona Unita, 'Ndràngata, Mafia).

    [7] Trumper, Maddalon et al. 2014: 223. *Racìna* is 'grape' in S. Calabria/ Middle Calabria dialects (< Provençal *razim*), *racinara*, the vine. Its derived dialect verb *racinari* (not noted in Rohlfs' Nuovo Dizionario Dialettale) means 'to plant a vineyard'. *Intarracinatu in cubba* thus means, 'planted like a vine in the house'. *Cubba* or *cupa*, house, ultimately an Arab borrowing in SI dialects (Trumper [2]1996: 108, < qubbaḥ), is usual Calabro-Sicilian slang for 'house' (comments in Ferrero 1971: 114).

    [8] Dealt with briefly in Trumper, Maddalon et al. 2014: 222. As outlined in Ferrero 1971: 229, the semantic development is 'unpack' > 'receive' [stolen goods] > 'sell stolen goods' (see *sballare* 'sell' in Trumper [2]1996: 140 for Southern tinkers' slang). In criminal slang it seems to deviate semantically to 'complete an action and/ or sale' > 'finish off' > kill. In N. Italian dialects, it usually means 'finish', as Veneto *sbalar*, to stop raining, in 'Ndràngata slang 'kill' .

    [9] Rohlfs' *Nuovo Dizionario Dialettale* does not document this word nor have we found it registered elsewhere in our new VEC nor is it recorded in Malara 1909 nor even

in Martino-Alvaro 2010. Two possible etymologies exist. The first is that we have a variant of the verb *arvisciri, arbisciri*, to dawn, from *arva / arba* Pan-Calabrian for dawn (< Latin alba). The metaphor would be 'take someone back to his dawn' (pre-birth = death). However, such a literary metaphor has to be discarded as a source, because, as Reggio Calabria informants have testified (thanks initially to Franco Araniti, Antonio Perna and other friends), the basic meaning of *nnarbari* in South Calabrian is 'to plaster and paint over'. There are fortunately dialect outcomes in Calabria of the Latin adjective albus –a –um, white. In the North it indicates the second moult of silkworms, given the pale, whitish colour of the moult (the Area Lausberg uniformly *arva –ə*, strictly North Calabrian *arva, arba* that divides the territory with *artèria*, < Greek δευτέριος –ια, while Middle and Southern Calabrian presents uniformly *dittèra* from the same Greek base for this meaning). In South Calabria it forms the verb *nnarbari* (< in-*albāre < albus; REW 331 has no any associated verb). The prefix in- regularly shows doubling of the nasal, with apheresis of the "i", as nn- in Calabria, e.g. *a ssi nnamurari*, to fall in love. It means to plaster over and whitewash. Obviously, this refers to the fact that not only is a person killed but that his tomb is whitewashed, plastered over, never to be found.

   [10] The Middle and South Calabrian word for a shroud, the shroud in which the corpse was originally wrapped, is *sàvanu, sàvunu*, the derived verb *'nzavanari* (to wrap in a shroud). The word is of obvious Greek origin, σάβανον. In Greek, it is of Afro-Asiatic origin, claimed from the city of Saban near Bagdad (Lewy 1895: 127 seems to have been the first author to have linked it with 'bandage; shroud', < sabanijjat < Saban), continued in GEW (Frisk). 2. 669, Saban cloth > cloth > shroud, though DELG (Chantraine et al.) 983 was doubtful on this score. The first to have given an alternative Afro-Asiatic hypothesis was Stern 1880: 66 §137, whose Coptic "*seben* (sabanum)", comparing with the Ge'ez form, suggests the derivation *seben* > σάβανον > sabănum. The suggestion was taken up in Lutz 1946 and elaborated in Szemérenyi 1981: 113-116 in a critique of DELG. If this be the correct historical solution, we have to refer to Crum (1939) 1962[2]: 320B who was possibly the first to espouse Stern's hypothesis, later repeated in Černý 1976: 148, who refers the Coptic to Egyptian śbn (Erman-Grapow IV. 89, 12-13), bandage, shroud for a mummy, < śp (Erman-Grapow IV. 96, 15), rope, ship's rigging. The correct etymology is thus given in Orel-Stolbova 1995: 483, item 2293 *SVBN-/ *SVBL- < *SVP-, rope, rigging (p. 477 item 2255 *SIP-). Greek scholars such as Babiniotis [5]2019: 1560 doubted the explanation in terms of Saban cloth (δεν συμφωνεῖ με τα ιστορικά και χρονολογικά δεδομένα), not offering any valid alternative, while Andriotis 1983[3] declared the word to be generically "σημιτ. ἀρχῆς". Σάβανον first appeared in Fathers of the Church such as Clement of Alexandria, and already has variants in Hesychius (K 4259 κρύφαλον· σαβάκανον [= σάβανον]). It appears in Papyri (Preisigke F. 2. 447, both σάβανον and its diminutive σαβάνιον), in the Etymologicum Magnum, in various Scholiasts and in Pollux, in S. John of Damascus' Barlaam and Ioasaph Appendix VIII. 62 [τὸ σάβανον]. It is regular in Byzantine technical works (Alexander of Tralles' medical works, Achmet 115, 5 "…ὅτι ἀναβόλιον φορεῖ ἤτοι σάβανον …", also 218, 6) and historical treatises (Theophanes Continuatus 199, 22-200,1 "τὸ ὃ ἔφερε σάβανον ἐκ τοῦ βαλανείου ἔτι διάβροχον ὂν λαβών …",

(both indicate a killing with subsequent __*'nt'o mardu*[11], with disappearance of the corpse, what in Italian one calls the *lupara bianca*). People not affiliated to organized crime are *contrasti* or *carduni*[12], used here for *cardunazzi*; they call *bbuffa* any police officer or carabineer (also *mignu*)[13]. The thirty codes and four confessions documented in the 125 years between 1888 and 2014 contain many other slang expressions, such as, say, *ustricari* or *usticari* (make someone disappear without trace)[14], but we will not deal here with all the terminology involved.

Symeon Magister 661, 7 "αὐτὸς ὁ Μιχαὴλ τὸ σάβανον αὐτῆς ἔτι διάβροχον …"). Later we find it in the Ieracosophium, in magical treatises in De Latte A. 1. 502 (line 24), up to Nicetas Choniates (786. 20 "καὶ τὰ χρυσοῦφαντα σεντόνια σάβανα καὶ προσόψια εἰς τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν ἀλόγων αὐτῶν …"), appearing later in Picatoras (v. 534 "λοιπὸν ἐτότ' ἐντύθησαν σάβανον τοῦ θανάτου", in Wagner W. 1873: 240), in Italo-Greek and up to the modern period. Rohlfs ²1964: 445 discussed the borrowing into Late Latin, but not the remote origin of σάβανον as an Afro-Asiatic loan in Hellenistic Greek for an article of cloth (commercial contact). Our current hypothesis regards it as a late Hellenistic or even early Byzantine borrowing into 'regional Latin', to use an expression of Alessio's, whence into Calabrian Romance and 'Ndràngata jargon.

[11] A different expression is used for killing members of a rival *'Ndrina* in a Mafia-War, i.e. *sciupp[ul]àri u rrappu zzinnu pi zzinnu*, to peel a bunch of grapes grape by grape.

[12] Trumper, Maddalon et al. 2014: 219, 225-226 deal with both lexemes. Ferrero 1971: 109 explained the whys and the wherefores of *contrastu –i*, contrast, a contrasting element. In the case of *carduni* (Ferrero 1971: 95), it is difficult, however, to agree that Gestalt and colour determine the lexical choice, rather the 'commonness' of all plants subsumed under the word *carduni* or *cardunazzi* even in extreme SCalabrian dialect. In all Calabrian Romance *carduni* with or without modifiers covers a large number of plants, it is, in Coseriu's terms, a classeme (Carduus sp., Cardopatrum corymbosum Pers., many of the Carlina sp., Crupina vulgaris Lass, Cynaris sylvestris Lam., Cirsium sp., some Onopordon sp., Silybum marianum L. [*carduni jancu, carduni santu*], Knautia sp., Scabiosa sp.). Not all such plants are suitable for human consumption, but animal nutrition uses them all. 'Fit for donkeys and other animals' is sufficiently negative as a criminal word for the police or non-Mafia elements.

[13] Trumper, Maddalon et al. 2014: 228 deal with these particular lexical choices. Ferrero (1971: 80) is right to infer that *buffa* refers to the ridiculous colours (comic effect) of the Bourbon Infantry uniform (therefore infantryman > police officer), though it is more difficult to accept his hypothesis (1971: 179) that *mignu* is a shortening of *mignànu* < mæniānum, since the usual Calabrian outcome of this Latin word is rather *vignànu* (supposing *bæniānum for mæniānum).

[14] Trumper, Maddalon et al. 2014: 215 attempted to deal with the origin of this strange verb in terms of criminals imprisoned in the island of Ustica, renowned as a

We begin with 'Ndrànghita and its variants in the Italian press. The first to give a reasoned history and etymology of this class term was Paolo Martino in his 1983 and 1988 contributions, still not accepted by the Crusca who offer some bird-brained attempts to etymologize on their part (dance refrains, *ndrìnghita-ndrànghita*). Martino took the lexeme directly to Greek ἀνδραγαθία. The direction proposed by Martino is most certainly correct, though Trumper 2009 and 2011: 678-79 suggested modifying the morphology. Nocentini 2010: 646 picked up Martino's well-reasoned hypothesis, but without further discussion. He also mistranslated the Calabrian verb *'ndranghitijari* as "*comportarsi da uomo valente e rispettato*" (positive meaning), when it now only means 'swaggering'[15], a negative attribute. While we might agree with Alinei 2007: 248-49 that looking for the origin of similar organizations and their specific *jargon* in the Unification of Italy or in Bourbon misgovernment is a common but mistaken assumption, it is difficult to agree with his hypothesis of the subordinate, insignificant, role of Greek in the linguistic make-up of the whole of Calabria in a typical multicultural / polyglot ancient and medieval society. Nor with his assertion that criminal terminology is completely 'Italic' (whatever that may mean in this context). There are also, in Alinei's arguments, mistaken linguistic and dialectological assertions, on the voicing of post-nasal stops (usually unknown in Central and Southern Calabrian dialects[16]), or on the possibility of a correct morphological and phonological derivation of *'Ndrànghita* from *intra-amicitas.

penal colony for the worst type of Mafia killers. The proposal was 'to Usticate', send to Ustica (or send someone an Ustica prisoner), with an intrusive –r-. The verb needs, however, more in-depth study.

[15] His translation seems taken from Martino-Alvaro 2010: 770A. As previously stated, the second meaning 'walking in a pompous manner, swaggering' is now also the meaning of *bbaccagghjari –ara* in Mid Calabrian dialects.

[16] For Southern hypercorrection (mm > mb) we have a paradigmatic example in glŏmus glŏmĕris > *gghjòmmiru* (typical doubling in this type of trisyllabic word with word-initial stress) > *gghjòmbiru, gghjòmburu*. Cp. with Northern Calabrian *gliòmmaru*. Other cases are not lacking. The only Middle or Southern Calabrian dialect where –mp-, -nt-, -nc- are realized as –mb-, -nd-, -ng- in the whole area (from the southern part of the Sila to Reggio Calabria) is the local dialect of Pizzo Calabro (VV).

Rohlfs 1977: 45 (*Supplemento*) first recorded the term as *dràngada*, criminal association, in East Sicilian (Rometta, Messina Province) at the beginning of the Nineteen Hundreds. Crupi 1981 documented *andràngati*, criminal association, = erstwhile Bova Greek ἀνδϱά[γ]γατη, though the word (as *andrànghita*) had been usedin the Italian press since 1972. At that point, Martino pointed out that 15th-16th century geographers with the term *Andragathia* had indicated a large area Cilento-Lucania-Calabria. Observations by the Greek Geographer Diodorus Siculus had probably inspired these. None of these authors seem to know[17] that the first secure criminal use of the term written down in a police document as *drànghita* indicating the criminal organization, was made by the 'converted' 'Ndràngata boss Doldo in his Confession of 1932, where the arrested ex-criminal associated his and others' word for the organization (*drànghita*) with similar jargon such as *baciletta* (common fund) and *tirata* (duel)[18]. This implies that it was a common word in criminal parlance from long before[19]. In Trumper, Maddalon et al. ²2014: 233-235, following on from Martino's work, the authors show that there is a Greek word ἀνδϱαγαθία present in sources from antiquity up to 1500, illustrating semantic changes, which will eventually cover the 18th century government reports' class term *Picciotteria* (the Bourbon Minister Galanti's Reports in Placanica 1981, Addante 2005, 2008). Greek scholars admit an ancient priority for ἀνδϱαγαθία = ἀνδϱ(ε)ία[20] with an associated verb ἀνδϱαγαθίζομαι. All have to do with 'courage, bravery' and associated qualities in origin (from 600 B.C. on in Herodotus,

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[17] Perhaps critics have never seen the related police records from 1888 on.

[18] Drawing blood (*tirare sangue*) is also part of the initiation process.

[19] This occurrence (Doldo) confirms *ndrànghiti* in Malara 1909: 282, though Malara seemed to have misunderstood the meaning of the word, equating it mistakenly with *ndranàli*, stupid, or idiot. Malara 1909 (mistaken meaning, correct form) and Doldo 1932 (correct meaning and form) indicate that the term must have been in current use at the end of the 19th century, as in Rohlfs' Supplemento. Drànghita also appears in Nicola Zema's statement to the police in 1932 (Maddalon 2016: 128-129).

[20] The first means both 'bravery, courage' (abstract quality) and the character of a brave and honest man, the second usually only the first meaning.

Hyperides, etc., the verb from 500 B.C. on: it appears in Aristotle, as well as in Thucydides and the historians).

The first dictionary or encyclopedic commentary, with the classical records, are in Photius' Lexicon[21] in roughly 800-900 A.D. An active verb ἀνδραγαθῶ had already come into existence (long before) alongside ἀνδραγαθίζομαι, with the same meaning. Ἀνδραγαθία is present in the Greek version of the O.T. (Apocrypha) but in the plural, as in Maccabees 1. 5, 51 [ἤκουσεν Ἰωσὴφ … τῶν ἀνδραγαθιῶν καὶ τοῦ πολέμου οἷα ἐποίησεν], the verb ἀνδραγαθῶ in Maccabees 1. 5, 61-62 [οὐκ ἤκουσαν … Ἰούδα καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, οἰόμενοι ἀνδραγαθῆσαι], both in Maccabees 1. 16, 23 [καὶ τῶν πολέμων αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἀνδραγαθιῶν αὐτοῦ ὧν ἠνδαγάθησε], the verb again in 2. 2, 21-22 [… τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ φιλοτίμως ἀνδραγαθήσασιν]. It is a question of 'warlike actions' and 'overcoming by warfare'. We find these terms again in the same period in Diodorus Siculus, 3rd century BC, later in Polybius and Strabo, its derived ἀνδραγάθημα (usually as a pl. ἀνδραγαθήματα, < ἀνδραγαθέω = ἀνδραγαθῶ) in Diodorus Siculus[22]. It is also documented in glosses and in the much later Etymologicum Magnum (143, 8 "[ἄριστος] κυρίως ὁ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀνδραγαθιῶν"] and now has to do with one's ability in battle. From the 9th to 10th Century A.D. on, the pl. forms ἀνδραγαθίαι and ἀνδραγαθήματα take on new meanings as 'military actions, exploits', even 'military expertise' (desired qualities of the Emperor's generals), as in Anna Comnena's Alexiad[23]. We can test whether these high code words for military

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[21] See A1740 "Ἀνδραγαθία· Ὑπερείδης. ἐστεφάνωμαι δὲ ὑπό τε τῶν ἱππέων ἁπάντων ἀνδραγαθίας ἕνεκα. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀνδραγαθίζεται …". Apart from Hyperides, references are to Thucydides 2. 63. 2 and 3. 40. 4. In Photius A1754, we meet with its equivalent Ἀνδρ[ε]ία, i.e. "Ἀνδρεία· ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡλικία".

[22] The noun supposes the pre-existence of the verb ἀνδραγαθέω (> ἀνδραγαθῶ).

[23] See, for instance Book 1. 1 "ὑπανέῳξεν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων" (military feats gave him new vigour), Book IX. 8 "ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τῶν Τούρκων κατὰ τῶν Νορμάνων ἀνδραγαθήματα" (these military actions [taken] by the Normans against the Turks) or Book XIII. 7 "ἄνδρα ἀρειμάνιον καὶ διὰ πολλῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων τοῦτο παραστησάμενον φιλοούμενόν τε λίαν παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος…" (A bellicose fellow, steady as a rock in a great many military actions, much loved by the

actions or expertise documented in Anna Comnena and John Tzetzes[24], present in historical and more literary authors[25], are not only present in the Byzantine Romances but also in semi-popular or folk texts of the period 900-1500 AD. In military scenarios from the 9th to 10th centuries, we find ἀνδραγαθίαι in the Emperor Mauricius' Tactica[26] echoed by its equivalent ἀνδραγαθήματα in the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus' works (e.g. De Administrando Imperio)[27]. In Pre-1500 productions with a certain literary ambition,

Emperor …) etc. Ἀνδραγαθίαι (pl.) seems bound semantically to νίκαι (victories), as in Book VIII. 6 "τὰς γὰρ λαμπρὰς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος νίκας, τὰς μερικὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἥττας, τὰς καθ'ἕνα τούτου ἀνδραγαθίας" (the Emperor's splendid victories, his particular failures in certain wars, nothing with respect to his military feats one after another). It is as if ἀνδραγαθίαι were synonymous with ἀνδραγαθήματα. On the other hand, ἀνδρεία (e.g. XV. 3), variant ἀνδρία (as in XV. 6), is usual for 'courage', and we have a new derived verb ἀνδρίζομαι 'to behave courageously' (as in XV. 3, 3-4 … καθ'ὃν ἡμεῖς ἠνδρισάμεθα, 'against whom we have battled courageously').

[24] Being an erudite scholar and a well-known author of scholiai he sometimes uses the singular form ἀνδραγαθία in the ancient sense of bravery or courage (Chiliads 3. 829, 3. 857), though he does use the Byzantine sense of military feats or military expertise in the plural form, as in Chiliads 3. 289 (μὲτα γὰρ Τροίας τρόπαια καὶ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας 'with military trophies and actions against Troy') and 3. 850 (οὗπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίσε κλεινὰς ἀνδραγαθίας 'over whom he gained celebrated military victories').

[25] Even in an author such as Eustathius of Thessalonica, e.g. in his Opera Minora, ἀνδραγαθίαι is often used and means 'military feats', 'military exploits', as in chap. K p. 183, 55-56 [ἢ θέον ἢ ἄνδρα προσεροῦσι τὸν τηλικαύταις ἀνδραγαθίαις ἐμπρέποντα] (they enquire of any god or man who is conspicuous for military valour at a certain age). See also chap. M p. 203, 49-50 [οὐ μὴ βλέπειν τὴν σὴν βαασιλείαν, ἣν ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις οὐράνωσας], chap. N p. 233, 31-32 [καὶ τὰς νῦν ἐπιτελλούσας βασιλικὰς ἀνδραγαθίαις ἀποδιεστάναι], chap. O p. 267, 22 [καὶ τὴν ἐκ μάχης κόνιν ἐπιπολάζειν πρὸς ἀνδραγαθίας ἀνάμνησιν], etc. There seems to be one sole occurrence of the singular form, i.e. chap. N p. 247, 4 [καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν εἰς πλέον οὕτως ὑψοῦσι τὰς τῶν ἄλλων χεῖρας ἐνίκησε]. Similarly, we have only a single occurrence of the singular ἀνδραγάθημα, i.e. chap. N p. 246, 82 [οὐ μόνον ἀναβάντος εἰς ὕψος τῷ ὑπερηρμένῳ τοῦ ἀνδραγαθήματος].

[26] VIII. 2 §55 τοὺς δὲ ἀγῶνας ἐπίδειξεν τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας ποιοῦν 'for battles to show the quality of [your] military effectiveness'.

[27] 26. 5 καὶ περὶ πολέμους ἀνδραγαθήματα, great feats in war. The Porphyrogenitus uses the corresponding verb ἀνδραγαθῶ as in 51. 94 διὰ τὸ ἀνδραγαθῆσαι, for his military capability. The semantically equivalent verbs ἀνδραγαθίζομαι and ἀνδραγαθῶ are so used up to Emanuel Georgillas (as in Wagner W. 1894) and George Chortatzes' Πανωρία (Kriaras' edition).

Constantine Manasses continues to use the verb ἀνδραγαθίζομαι (9. 1, p. 692)[28]. From the point of view of the Byzantine Romances the Anonymous Callimachus and Chrysorrhoë uses ἀνδραγαθίαι (v. 58), ἀνδραγαθήματα (vv. 65, 162), and the Verb ἀνδραγαθῶ (v. 105) etc. Florios and Platziflorios v. 702 uses pl. ἀνδραγαθίαι [καὶ τοῦ κόσμου του ἀνδραγαθιαῖς, τὰς βλέπω εἰς ἐσένα] etc. Sometimes ἀνδραγαθίαι is replaced by a deverbal pl. ἀνδραγαθισμοί (< ἀνδραγαθίζομαι), as in Callimachus and Rhodamne v. 1374 (καὶ μὲ τοὺς ἀνδραγαθισμοὺς, μὲ τὰς πολλλὰς τὰς νίκας), where the pl. is associated directly with νίκας, victories. By the period 1500-1600, Somavera 25C, 26A documents the noun ἀνδραγαθία with its plural, the verb ἀνδραγαθῶ, together with ἀνδρία (abstract 'bravery, courage') and ἀνδρειωμένος. Perhaps the easiest way to show the shifts in use and meaning is to table results for ἀνδραγαθία and its plural, ἀνδραγάθημα with its plural, and the verbs ἀνδραγαθίζομαι and ἀνδραγαθῶ, alongside ἀνδρ[ε]ία, courage, and derived ἀνδρεῖος/ ἀνδρειωμένος, courageous, brave, together with the new ἀνδρικός. The verb ἀνδρίζομαι gradually replaces ἀνδραγαθίζομαι in the four drafts of the Digenes Akritas folk epic (Grottaferrata, Andros, Trebizond and Madrid) and in the four pre-1500 epics in Wagner W. 1881[29].

1.

We observe a completely similar situation from the Grottaferrata version of the Digenes Akritas (circa 950 A.D.)[30] up to the *Histoire de Michel le Brave* (Voivode of Walachia), written in 1600-1628, edited in Legrand E. vol. 3. Here, in the latter, we have four cases of the plural

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[28] Ἤ γὰρ ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι προσήκει στρατιώτην/ ἢ πίπτειν, "it befits a soldier to complete his military action, rather than fall [in battle] …".

[29] Legrand vol. 2 anticipated with a shorter version the same year.

[30] There are only two instances in the 8 Cantos (more than 3700 verses) where ἀνδρεία substitutes for ἀνδραγαθίαι, courageous acts, i.e. Canto 7 vv. 3 and 214, verses in which Digenes is called ὁ τῆς ἀνδρείας στέφανος, 'crown of courageous deeds' rather than 'crown of courage'.

ἀνδραγαθίαι with the very concrete meaning "military campaigns" or "military feats" (To the Reader vv. 8, 20, 36, 52), with four cases of ἀνδρεία, either courage or bravery (To the Reader vv. 41, 56, Ιστορία vv. 24, 319), and eight cases of ἀνδρειωμένος, valorous. Even though Stephen Sachleches in his various Γραφαί καὶ Στίχοι twice uses the singular ἀνδραγαθία in a more abstract and moral sense, he is referring to a historical situation. Almost all of his contemporaries use the plural ἀνδραγαθίαι as military feats, military campaigns, expeditions, as in Georgillas' Belisarius (vv. 170-171, καὶ σὺ μὲν οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἶδας τον ἄνδρα τοῦτο, / εἰς νίκας τε [κι] ἀνδραγαθίας μεγάλας, victories and military feats). See also the Anonymous Ριμάδα τοῦ Βελισαρίου v. 629 (μάλιστα νίκας καὶ τιμὰς, ἀνδραγαθιὰς καὶ γροίκα, better victories and honours, military honours …), recalled in v. 642 (νίκας ἐποίησα πολλλὰς, μεγάλας δουλοσύνας, I have achieved many victories, great acts of service/ vassalage). We note that alongside these we have four instances of the verb ἀνδραγαθῶ, which seems in prose with some literary pretensions to have largely substituted the older ἀνδραγαθίζομαι. In effect, it would seem a bipolar situation between the concrete (ἀνδραγαθίαι, military actions) and the abstract and moral (ἀνδρεία, courage).

The only general conclusion we can make on the basis of tables 1 and 2 is that there is little if any remnant in the period 900-1500 of ἀνδραγαθία used in the general, abstract sense of bravery or courage (2/ 50 or 3/ 54, i.e. 4-5%, with a percentage perhaps not significantly different from 0%). The case of ἀνδραγάθημα < ἀνδραγαθέω is more difficult to evaluate, given the extremely small number of cases (1/ 8). In any case, the abstract 'valour' category is now covered by ἀνδρεία, ἀνδρία, the non-abstract ἀνδραγαθίαι = ἀνδραγαθήματα means "military feats", "military expertise", the basics of a capable general. This (ἀνδραγαθίαι) is the starting point, as Paolo Martino realized. It cannot, however, be the precise long-term etymon of *'Ndrànghita*, unless one were to suppose a retraction of stress and a remorphologization of the whole, i.e. ἀνδραγαθία > *ἀνδράγαθι[α] > *andrà[n]gati, as in 1932's Calabrian *drànghita*, early Twentieth

Century Rometta *dràngada*, *andràngati* in Crupi 1981, > andràngati, andrànghita. Formally and morphologically this is a possible solution, as would be starting from the derived verb ἀνδραγαθίζομαι, hardly ever brought to notice or documented in the period 1400-1800 but ever present, a sort of 'submerged Hellenism', to borrow and extend Devoto's 'submerged Latin' category, alive but never in great evidence in written sources. The verb *'ndrangatijari* would seem to have been translated morph-by-morph into Calabrian Romance, even though this verb is not documented by Rohlfs, only in Martino-Alvaro 2010: 770A *[a]ndrangatijari*, "*comportarsi da mafioso; atteggiarsi a uomo valente*". The verb is commoner than thought throughout the whole of Central-Southern Calabria, and even implies (1) a military stance or way of walking, (2) walking in a self-important manner, swaggering (negative sense). *'Ndràngata* with variants is the false base, as it were, as if here *–ijari* were the usual verbalizing morph. Unfortunately there is no documentation in residual Calabro-Greek (Karanastasis1985-1992), already a dying language in the Ninety Forties/ Fifties.

Lexeme	Διήγησις Ἀχιλλέως	Βίος Ἀλεξάνδρου (1820 verses)	Βίος Ἀλεξάνδρου (6120 verses)	Lybistros & Rhodamne
ἀνδραγαθία	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
ἀνδραγαθίαι	665, 1429, 1556 (3)	Ø	Ø	Ø
ἀνδραγαθίζομαι	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
ἀνδραγαθῶ	314 (1)	Ø	3596, 4940 (2)	Ø
ἀνδραγάθημα	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
ἀνδραγαθήματα	175 (1)	15 (1)	15 (1)	1969 (1)
ἀνδρία	16	3	4	6
ἀνδρεῖος	2	3	8	Ø
ἀνδρειωμένος	1	1	Ø	Ø
ἀνδρικός	Ø	2	5	Ø

Table 1

   The presence of –n- before the intervocalic –g- might well betray a Reggio Calabria origin, since the dialects in and around RC (in a line between Scilla and Villa S. Giovanni and Melito) eliminate intervocalic

/g/, phonetically an approximant [γ] in all Calabrian Romance. Sequences –igu-, -iga- are usually reduced to –iju-/ -iu-, -ija-/ -ia- respectively[31], -egu-, -ega- to –eju-, -eja-/ -èa- (as in *nèja, nèju, nijari* [deny], alongside *sdinèju, sdinijari* id.), -ugu-, -uga- in –uu-, -ua- together with some alternation with –uvu-, -uva[32], -ogu-, -oga- in –oju-, -oja (as in *ddòja, variably ròja,* barrel stave), -agu-, -aga- respectively –au- alternating with –avu- and -ava- (a few cases in –aju-, -aja)[33]. Most commentators miss the variation. We seem also to have a rarer development in S. Calabrian dialects involving nasal infixation –igu- > -ingu- as in *zìngulu* (rag, cloth, worthless thing[34]) compared with *ziulìa* (worthless item, < *zigulìa*), *zìulu* (the smallest of birds, for *zìgulu*), or in *andrìngula* (1. nestle, 2. sea anemone, 3. Pagurus bernhardus L.) in

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[31] As in *arìanu* (oregano, ὀρίγανον), *nìru –a* (black, < *nìghiru* documented in other S. Calabrian dialects), *llijamàri* (to tie, < *llijàmi*), *rrijàli* (gifts), *rrijulìzza* (liquorice), *scijàri* (to break up [the earth], plough, other dialects *scigari*), *sdillijàri*/ *sdillijàta* (untie), *sdillija-rènti* (sorrel) etc.

[32] Examples are *ffùu* alternating with *ffùvu, ffùa, ffuàri* (to suffocate), *purtuàḍḍu*/ *purtuaḍḍàra* alternating with *purtuvàḍḍu*/ *purtuvaḍḍàra* (Citrus sinensis Osb.), *rrùa* (alleyway) etc. There seems to be diastratic and diamesic variation between –uu-, -ua- and –uvu-, -uva-.

[33] Cases of –au- are *aùgghja* (Belone sp., an originally Provençal loan), *bbàunu* (trough), *fàu* (beech), *fràu* (shoreline), *laùsra* (lobster and/ or crayfish), *màula* (caress), *màuli* (1. sides of a baking trough, 2. wattles, 3. dewlap), *maulìci* (goatee), *maulàri* (now more often *llarà*, mumps), *saulèḍḍi* (boat rigging, a diminutive form of the derivative of ἐξάγολος) etc., variably –au-/ -avu- in *pàuru, pàvuru* (Pagrus pagrus L., rarely Sparus auratus L., variation noted amongst fishermen, also the variable pl. *pàuri, pàviri*). Also -ag[r]u- > -aj[r]u- > -ai[r]u- in *màiru,* thin, emaciated (< *magru* for macru), *mussufàja,* variably *mussuvàja,* Merops apiaster L. (<μελισσοφάγος), *chjaja* (general S. Calabrian) > RC *càja* (wound, < Latin plaga), as in -agi-/ -aga- > -aji-/ -aja- in *fàjina, fàjana* (vine, vine branch, < φάγαινα). On the other hand, -aga- usually gives –ava-, as in *mavàra* (witch), *mavarìa* (witchcraft), *pavàri* (pay, < pagare for pacāre), *travàgghju, travagghjàri* (work) etc. I thank all my informants from the Reggio port (professional fishermen) and from the more rural quarters of Gallico, Valanidi and S. Elia, for fieldwork done many years ago and more recently. Sometimes the results may differ from these collected by G. Rohlfs, especially when the subjects of interviews involve nature or folk knowledge, or when intra- and intergroup variation is concerned.

[34] One might claim that the outcome has been influenced by *zìnzulu* (rag), though, of course, one hesitates to suggest similar crossovers without sufficient motivation.

alternation with *sdica, ardica, ardìcula* and *ardìgula* in S Calabria, as well as –ag[r]o- > ang[r]o-, cp. ἀγριόμηλον > S. Calabrian *agròmulu, agrumulara,* > RC *angròmulu, angrumulàra* (for Malus sylvestris Miller, as well as *angrumulara serbaggia* for Potentilla spp., thus avoiding *aròmulu etc.). This phenomenon seems more common word-initially, as in S. Calabrian *gòngula* > RC variably *òngula*, variably *ʹngòngula* (Venus gallina L.), *gulìa* > RC *ʹngulèja* (wish, desire, thus avoiding *ulìa*, a by form of *vulìa* < *vulìri*), *gagghja* > RC *ʹngàgghja* (hole: avoiding *agghja*, which exists at RC as the pl. of *agghju*, garlic), as well as *vuda* > S. Calabrian *guda* > RC *ʹnguda* (Butomus umbellatus L.) etc.[35]

A possible hypothesis for *ʹNdràngata* might well, then, be a deverbal of < *ʹndrangatijàri* (to swagger, to emulate a military stance), verb with a nasal infix before /g/, as strategy peculiar to the local dialect of Reggio, to save /g/ from being cancelled (ἀνδραγαθίζομαι > *ʹndragatijari > ʹndrangatijari[36]) to avoid a potential *ʹndravatijàri or *ʹndrajatijàri). On the other hand, equally acceptable is the hypothesis of stress retraction *[ʹn]drànghita –i* < *ἀνδρά[γ]γαθη* < ἀνδραγαθίαι. There seems to be no criterion for deciding in any definitive manner between the two solutions.

Another familiar name for the ʹNdràngata, a name also used by the Sicilian Mafia, is the Famiglia Montalbano, which, though it may seem so, has nothing to do with the place-name Montalbano in Sicily nor with southern families bearing this name. It was first used in the Platì Code of 1926, and then brought out in the Buda Confession of 1938, though other documents have passing references. Trumper, Maddalon et al., *Male Lingue* ²2014: 42, 197-199, give a summary account of the name. The name comes from a 12th century heroic story about Haymon and his four sons, the chief of whom is Regnaus or Renaus de Montauban (Roland). They generally pass as rebels against Charlemagne, and become part of his literary cycle. However, in the 12th century *chanson de geste* rewritten by De Villeneuve this ducal

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[35] One avoids giving as examples verbs in ʹng-, since this might indicate morphological variation between the in- and ad- prefixes in Calabrian.

[36] From *ʹndrangatijàri* a deverbal noun was created, i.e. *ʹndràngata*, as if the verbalizing morph –*ijari* had been added to this hypothesized base.

family (dukes of Dordogne, their castle at Montauban in Provence) were rebels against Charles Martel. Renaus, Renaud or Rinaldo/ Ronald, the eldest of the four sons of Haymon, is evoked as a positive figure. Michelant 1862 furnished a critical edition of the whole Renaud/ Roland cycle; Castets 1974 produced a new critical edition. The story around Rinaldo (Orlando, Roland) became a mythical epic, which rapidly became popular, translated into other languages, beginning with the Italian versions of the 15th to 16th centuries. The whole had widespread popularity. The epic enters into 'Ndràngata triadic naming as Count Rinaldo of Monte Albano, or Prince Giuseppe Montalbano, or the Montalbano Family. In this second case, there is perhaps a mix-up with Giuseppe Garibaldi, who did use the *Picciotteria* (or Mafia) in his famous taking of Palermo etc. (*Impresa dei Mille*)[37]. It is surprising that the use of this name occurs in Calabria from the Sixteen Hundreds on. There is a sort of pun on the name of a famous rebel Maurizio Rinaldi by none other than Tommaso Campanella in the Sixteen Twenties in his poem *Madrigale in lode di Maurizio Rinaldi*, where he is called "*stirpe del sir di Montalbano*". After Rinaldi's confession to the authorities, in a Palinode, Campanella calls him "*vilissimo Rinaldi*" and "*stirpe di Cacco, empio, inumano*". What is important is the continuous reference to this family's name in Calabria to indicate prototypical rebels. Interesting is also the name *Scibba* given the organization, which, when apparently Italianized, becomes *Fibbia*, buckle. I take it that this has nothing to do with a buckle, though thus far no one has yet resolved the conundrum. The historical path taken in Calabrian by Latin fibula is fībŭla > *fib'la > *flibba (metathesis) > *fjibba > hjibba (with an unvoiced palatal fricative), > jibba (with voicing, locally). At Reggio Calabria and its immediate hinterland, the unvoiced palatal fricative becomes alveopalatal, and in a movement towards an unmarked phoneme becomes /ʃ/, now *scibba*. This is where the confusion arises. Since the Seventeen Hundreds, the

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[37] This use of the *Picciotteria* by Garibaldi emerges in Ippolito Nievo's *Lettere Garibaldine* (Letter X of 1860 to his cousin Bice Melzi Gobio, Letter XIII, likewise 1860, to his mother, Adele Marin Nievo). There are also references to this fact in Giuseppe Abba's *Storia dei Mille*: he wrote of the role played by the *Picciotti*.

Bourbons had imprisoned members of organized, paramilitary crime, whether of Calabrian or Sicilian or Campanian origin, in the island fortress of Favignana, off Palermo. There they were shackled and chained, their shackles becoming a symbol of pride and 'belonging', we might say an identity icon. Pellegrini 1971. 1. 159 *scibba* "*anello di ferro*" (= Piccitto et al. 1977-2002 vol. 4 *ad vocem scibba: "ferro di staffa che riceve le stanghette della serratura*") takes up an older proposal of Giacomo De Gregorio's on the origin of this item in extreme S Calabrian and Sicilian as a borrowing from Arabic shibbāk, chain, shackle (see De Gregorio 1919: 553)[38], not without some difficulty, as he says. Caracausi 1983 did not take it up. A mixture or (con-) fusion of Arabic (shibbāk) with Romance *hjibba*, *scibba* would seem to satisfy both semantically and formally. The sea or fishing metaphor Paranza with the Chiurma goes well with Reggio Calabria and its Port, since *chjurma* is the regular Calabrian historical development of Greek κ[ε]λεῦσμα (< κέλευσμα[39]) for a crew (Italian *ciurma* is originally the Genoese form, Tuscany not being a particularly sea-going region). *Paranza* is not just a smack but two smacks working together (a pair) with one large net between them, the optimum in collaboration. *Ghjòmburu* 'ball of yarn' (< *ghjòmmuru < Latin glŏmus, glŏmĕris, Central-South Calabrian vs. North Calabrian *gliòmmaru*) is a strange, homely metaphor for one of the fiercest criminal organizations known, though it does convey the idea of home, family and home industry. I have never heard it translated into Italian, though many have heard it mumbled in Calabrian courtrooms.

The most difficult word to etymologize is the criminal word for the basic cell of the organization, the 'Ndrina. Many etyma have been suggested, for example *'ntrina*, a tercet', though S. Calabrian distinguishes voiced/ unvoiced in such clusters (-nt- vs. –nd-), and the semantics does not fit. Another Greek items suggested is ἀνθρήνιον,

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[38] De Gregorio, in his critical review of Da Aleppo and Calvaruso's Vocabulary, writes "ho rilevato l'origine arabica in parecchie voci siciliane che a loro sono sfuggite, quali: *allattariari … scibba …*" (pg. 553).

[39] The classically accented κελεῦσμα seems to be, instead, the etymon of Southern Italian *ciròma*, chaos, confusion (*viâ* a form *cilòma).

a hornets' nest, though there is not much evidence for the survival of this term in Calabrian Greek, and the same might perhaps be said for ἄντρον, grotto or cave[40]. Malafarina 1978: 79 suggested, rather unsuccessfully, given the wrong gender and semantics, a base form *'ndrino*, unbending; upright. The most successful etymon suggested so far is *malandrinu*, a Longobard borrowing (< verb landern) taken from Campanian dialects in and around Naples[41], again with the wrong gender. Some authors suggest that we have a shortening of the type *malandrinu 'i stanza* > *'ndrinu 'i stanza* (chief *malavitoso* of a prison cell or group of cells) > *'ndrina* prison cell > basic cell of organized crime. The semantics need perfecting and the whole suggests that the Calabrian 'Ndràngata members took their basic categories from members of the Camorra with whom they were in close contact in Favignana some centuries ago. Doldo's Confession (1932) seems to suggest the chief, or, as one says nowadays, the front office, of a criminal organization, in the excerpt where he narrates the ritual for the formation of an *'ndrina*:

> "*… Avanti" fatto un passo avanti dirà "Fatemi grazia, questa società come è formata è sformata?" il capo risponde: "Formata" un'altra volta*

[40] The word is known in Calabrian Greek but usually only in religious texts where it refers to grottoes inhabited either by Saints or devils, e.g. in the Life of St. Elias the Younger §27 (page 40) lines 531-535 ἦν δὲ ἄντρον ἀγχοῦ τοῦ νεὼ βαθύ τε καὶ ζοφερόν, ἐν ᾧ Δανιὴλ εἰσελθὼν ἔστη παννύχιος προσευχόμενος. Οἱ δὲ δαίμονες μὴ ἐνεγκόντες, ἦσαν γὰρ ἐμφωλεύοντες ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τοῦ ἄντρου, … "There was a grotto, very dark and deep, near the temple, in which Daniel entered and stayed all night. However, the devils would not put up with this, nested as they were in the depths of the cave". There is another example of ἄντρον again at line 537 of the Life. The word is also used in the Apocopos of Bergadès (1534 ms.: see edition in Legrand vol. 3), for example v. 184 καὶ κάτζουν εἰς τὰ σκοτεινά, ἄντρον νὰ μὴ γυρέψουν, or v. 198 κάθουντα εἰς τὰ σκοτεινά, ἄντρα…, and so on. The text, however, has some literary pretensions. The word has literary use in Byzantine poetry (The Anacreontic Verses of Leo VI use the compound ἀντρονύχιος, which supposes ἄντρον) and is used by Scholiasts (Tzetzes' glosses on Lycophron).

[41] *Malandrino* either as 'birbo, birbone' or 'bandito di strada; uomo malvagio, fraudolente' exists in Neapolitan lexica from 1789 (Anonymous) to Puoti's Dictionary of 1841, and up to more modern listings.

> *domanderà permesso, ed al rispettivo "Avanti" del capo di società farà un altro passo avanti domanda se è formata in Testa o Indrina. Dopo risponderà in "Testa" grazie tanto onore e piacere "un'altra volta permesso" avanti dice il capo società fatemi grazia chi dirige da capo*?"

Testa = *Indrina* might well be indicative. Later, in the same text, we find the following statement:

> "*La Società nei piccoli centri non agiscono mai regolarmente se nonché sotto la disposizione della Fonte. Il Capo di questa Fonte è chiamato Capo in Testa, e rappresenta un uomo di grande rispetto dal quale dipendono tutti i <u>Capi indrini</u> degli altri quartieri se città grande o degli paesi vicini se si tratta di piccoli centri. Tutti quanti agiscono sotto la sua disposizione. I capi sociali sono uomini di grande saggezza che tengono in ordine appoggiati dai camorristi, i locali dove agiscono*".

If we were to look for an indigenous solution that uses concepts like 'head' or 'top branch' rather than an extraneous Camorra-explanation, we might start from the position outlined in Gambino 1971 and successive works. This position has a heavy reliance on the most interesting and informative Code or Confession, that by Doldo (1932), where a not particularly learnèd *Camuffo*, wracked by an ongoing religious crisis, described the 'Ndrànghita organization in a kind of Tree of Knowledge model. Cp. from his Confession the section where he says:

> "*Come in un albero i rami, le foglie ed i fiori sono la vita dell'albero stesso, sebbe[ne] questi li governa, così i camorristi sono la corona ed i rami della società, i Picciotti rappresentano i rami piccoli e che attingono la vita dai rami più grossi, cioè dai camorristi, devono portare ubbidienza cieca a questi loro saggi maestri*" etc.

The later Code of Bagnara (1938) repeats this model, taken up much later in the S. Giorgio Morgeto Code (1963)[42], successively in others.

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[42] A commentated list with partial transcriptions of 33 such Codes, resulting from police appropriations in raids or from confessions (very few), is given for the period 1888-2013 in Trumper, Maddalon et al. 2014²: 35-64.

Though apparently philosophical (Raymond Llull's Tree of Knowledge, *circa* 1295-1296), it is continuously used of, and by, the 'Ndràngata organization throughout the 20th century, as partially exemplified. This Tree-image is bound up with the story of the Three Knights[43] present both in Hellenistic Novels in the 2nd Century AD (late 190 AD[44]) up to the 10th Century Byzantine Digenes Acritas epic (Grottaferrata version, Canto VI 174-184[45]), as well as in Byzantine folk stories and novels in the period 800-1400, as in Theodore Prodromos' Early Eleventh Century poem Ἐπὶ κήπῳ commented on in Nilsson 2013: 21-22[46]. One even finds

[43] These correspond perfectly to the Three Knights (Tre cavalieri) of the Ndràngata foundation myth in the Codes.

[44] Internal evidence shows that Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon is not a Fourth Century AD product, but written before the 194 AD earthquake. The last passage of Doldo's Confession (1932) seems to be the inadequate re-presentation on the part of a semi-literate *capu 'Ndràngata* of the ἔκφρασις of the paradisiacal garden description in Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon Αʹ XV. 1-8. The ἔκφρασις begins with the garden (παράδεισος or περιβόλιον) with its wood (ἄλσος), the concentration on a tree and trees (δένδρα: ἡ τῶν δένδρων πανήγυρις), becoming a single tree in section 4 (δένδρον), then on its branches (κλάδοι: 2. ἔθαλον οἱ κλάδοι, συνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις ἄλλος ἐπ'ἄλλον τῶν πετάλων περιπλοκαί, τῶν φύλλων περιβολαί, τῶν καρπῶν συμπλοκαί, the branches were in flower, crossed as they were one on another, plotted their petals, in gyres their leaves, plotted together their fruit, …). There is a concourse and intertwining of branches, petals and leaves on the tree, tied together as they are by the βόστρυχος τῶν φυτῶν, the very belt of the plants. The reference to a buckle or belt seems close, semantically, to the Ndràngata's *scibba* (a cross between RC/ Sicilian *scibba* 'chain', originally from Arabic shibbāk, and RC *scibba* < *flibba > fībŭla 'buckle'). In XV. 6 a stream issues forth from the tree, flowing into a basin which receives this stream. We seem to be moving from the tree to the 'baciletta' that receives. The agreement of images is surprising.

[45] Precisely: "Καὶ δὴ παραγενόμενος τοῦ ὕδατος πλησίον/ ἐπὶ τι δένδρον καθεσθείς τὴν κόρην ἐκδεχόμην·/ καὶ ἰδοὺ τρεῖς ἀνέφανον ὡραῖοι καβαλλάροι, / στολάς τε ἀνεφέροντο ἄμφω παρηλλαγμένας,/ καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀνήρχοντο τὸν ποταμὸν κρατοῦντες·/ εἶδον γάρ με καθήμενον εἰς τοῦ δένδρου τὴν ῥίζαν,/ καὶ πλησίον γενόμενοι ἐχαιρέτισαν πάντες" etc. (And then arriving at the river [lit. water] to wait for the maiden, sitting as I was on the Tree, lo there approached three handsome knights, wearing all three fine raiments, coming towards me, following the river. They saw me seated at the roots of the tree).

[46] vv. 19-20 "θέλω τρυγῆσαι καὶ φαγεῖν ἀλλὰ τρέμω,/ μὴ γνώσεως τὸ ξύλον ἐκφαγῶν θάνω" (I want to gather in the harvest and eat, but I tremble,/ lest I die eating of the Tree of Knowledge).

it in the Constantine Manasses' Breviarium Historiæ (vv. 195-216, where v. 210 uses the τῆς ζωῆς τὸ δένδρον image), the garden and the tree is a continuous reference in Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe. Even if the tree-of-life or tree-of-knowledge is a well-known theme in many cultures, in myth creation almost universal, it takes on a new symbolic valence in Christian culture (the Cross as Tree-of-Life, Tree-of-all-Knowledge)[47], a valence not only recognized in Byzantine theological literature but which permeates down into lay literature and the Byzantine Novels, even into folk literature, as in the Digenes epic mentioned. Ries 2007 calls this repetitive image in Byzantine literature "*Carta d'identità dell'uomo*" (Lezzi 2007: 7) and he continues in a stronger vein:

> "*il simbolo è ispiratore: apre alla creatività, poiché l'immaginazione è dotata di un dinamismo creatore. Un dato fondamentale del mondo dei fenomeni psichici dell'uomo è costituito dal percorso antropologico, sottomesso da una parte alle pulsioni soggettive e assimilatrici dell'uomo e, dall'altra, alle stimolazioni che vengono dall'ambiente cosmico e sociale.*"

Obviously, the Tree represents the totality of the cosmic and social background, criminal society in this case. From the point of view of the Ndràngata model or organization. The resultant organization chart seems to be as follows:

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[47] The Tree is to the fore in Genesis (chapter 2. 9), as the Tree of Knowledge = Tree of Life, reiterated in Revelation (chapter 22. 2 ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πλατείας αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ξύλον ζωῆς ποιοῦν καρποὺς δώδεκα, …). As a religious theme and in myth-creation, the image of the ξύλον βίου = ξύλον γνώσεως permeates most cultures, most religious and lay literature. It is well attested in Byzantine religious literature, from S. Basil's Hexaemeron on, repeated not long after even in lay literature (Longos' novel Δάφνης καὶ Χλόη), in the Βίος of S. Theodore the Studite. It reappears even in far-off eastern places where Nestorianism had triumphed, as, e.g., in D'Aiuto's edition of a Ninth Century Resurrection hymn; see the Shøyen Easter Hymn vv. 57-60 (D'Aiuto p. 104): Οὐκέτι κωλυόμεθα ξύλου ζωῆς/ τὴν ἐλπίδα/ ἔχοντες τοῦ σταυροῦ σου·/ Κύριε, δόξα σοι. The key word is, of course, ξύλον ζωῆς.

Figure 1.

TREE (= Tree of Knowledge)

TRUNK BOLE(S)
(*Capubbastuni = Camuffu, Muffu*) (*Cuntarulu -i*)

BRANCHES
(*Camurristi*)

TWIGS BRANCHLETS (SPRIGS)
(*Picciotti*)

LEAVES
(*Cuntrasti Anurati, Giuvanotti d'Anuri*).

As far as derivatives in Calabrian Greek go, there is a collective of δέντρον, δεντρόν 'tree' documented at Roccaforte and Gallicianò (Karanastasis 1985-1992. 3. 244), i.e. δέντραινα, δέντρινα (> φέντρινα, as variant, meaning a large oak tree), though to be the origin of *'ndrina* a stress shift is needed to furnish the known criminal term, with the addition of a prefixed n-[48]. We need some other semantically related term. The 'oak', a prototypically 'large tree', is usually δρῦς in Greek and, as such (δρῦ), is documented in Italo-Greek (Karanastasis 1985-1992. 2. 329). Derivatives survive in all Greek varieties, i.e. δρῦς (Andriotis 1974 item 1976, pg. 217[49]) but also the adjective δρύϊνος / δρυῖνος, [of] oak, nominalized as δρυῖνον –α, oak wood[s] (Andriotis 1974, item 1973, pg. 217). Apart from the dialects mentioned by Andriotis, this latter plant-term survives in texts from the period 1100-1500. We find examples in Thomson 1955 pg. 111, text 7, 12-13 (Ἐὰν δὲ

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[48] A prefixing of n- to words beginning originally with d- is well known in the dialects of Reggio and its hinterland, in order to block the rhotic process /d/ > approximant [δ] > /r/, as in (ulŭccus X dŭx >) *duccu* > *'nduccu* 'owl', *durcamara* > *'ndurcamara* 'bittersweet' (Solanum dulcamara L.), *'ndàgghju*, simpleton, and so on.

[49] The base form appears in Cusa S. 1. 341, 19-20, 2. 534, 4-5, and in Trinchera's documents (with the place name δρυών written δριών, Monte Drione in Aspromonte, in Trinchera 296, 15, a text of 1188).

κονίαν δρυΐνην παραθῇς τῇ τρυμαλιᾷ, … 'if you spread oak powder along the mouse-hole …'), as a noun in De Latte 1939's Alphabetical Botanica (2. 349, 19 καστανὶς τὸ δρύϊνον), and as the adjective δρέινος/ ἰδρέινος in the Spanos Satire (158A458, 158D1712 in the 1977 edition, line 1313 in the 1990 one[50]). Andriotis 1974: 217 item 1973 δρύινος oaken', of oak wood, gives Macedonian and Thracian ἀδρέινος, matching the Spanos medieval form (D1712), as well as Chios' δρένιος, matching the Spanos variant (A458). It is noteworthy that the oak woods in the Reggio Calabria's 1000 A.D. Metropolitan Inventory, e.g. at lines 101-102, are δρυΐνα (…ἔχει [καὶ] ἀμπ[έλιον] [καὶ] ὄρος πολὺν [καὶ] δρυΐνα πλ[ησίον] τοῦ Θεοδότ[ου] τῆς Χάσκε[ας] – there is also a vineyard and a large mountain and oak woods near Theodotus' …), as well as derived δρυετόν at line 155 [ἔχ(ει) (καὶ) ἀμπ(έλια) (καὶ) χωρά(φια) (καὶ) δρυετά …]. As André Guillou pointed out, the oak woods (δρυΐνα in the Inventory) and mountain are above Gerace, towards modern S. Luca, the woods' name is Δρυών, modern Drione. The reference is topographically meaningful as the place where the Calabrian 'Ndràngata had its birth. As etymon, we propose a cross δρύϊνον –α (> δρέινον –α as in the dialects) with δρυών. The reference is to the tree image as organization-chart and to the mountain oak woods, Δρυών, near S. Luca on the Aspromonte, where the organization had its origin (Petra Coppa, the old Sanctuary of Polsi etc.[51]). This would make *'Ndrina* a specific Aspromonte-centric local 'Ndràngata creation (a mountain product) rather than a Neapolitan-centered Camorra word, though the proposal is still *sub iudice*.

Camuffu, or its seeming abbreviation *Muffu*, for organization chiefs[52], does not seem to derive from *muffu* with the addition of a meaningless

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[50] D1712 gives ἰδρέινος, of oak, (the adjective) in "βρακὶ πεύκινον, κάλτσας ἰδρέινας" (fir-wood trousers, oak socks), A458 a slightly different version "βρακὶν πεύκινον καὶ κάλτσας δρένιας".

[51] The whole seems a reference to the oldest habitat at Petra Coppa, later moved to Potame because of Saracen raids, finally in the 16th century, after landslides, we have the modern relocation at S. Luca. The Sanctuary reference (for 'Ndràngata chiefs' meetings) is to the pre-16th century location.

[52] Calabrian organized crime has historically no pyramidal or monocratic structure but originally twelve heads, aping the number of the Apostles. For *camuffu = cap' i*

CA- prefix (meaningless in Calabrian terms unless a reduction of the Greek cata- prefix as in *fòrchja > caforchja*, from κατα- or κατω-). *Muffuli/ muffi* for 'heavy gloves' occurs in the Sicilian 1520 Dictionary of Scobar, but in no Calabrian text of the period. In the consensus of opinion Italian 15th century *muffola -e* like Sicilian *muffuli* and Venice's 12th century Latin *mof[f]ones* (Sella 1944: 369, in 1145) depends on French 12th-13th century *moufles/ moufflets*, which in turn are most probably of Germanic origin, though modern English, Dutch and German equivalents are usually considered French borrowings[53]. The heads of organized crime have never been characterized in terms of the winter gloves they may or may not wear, however soft they be, so the possibility of a Germanic-origin lexeme in a basic *'Ndràngata* category seems rather remote. The late Greek καμουχᾶς, variants καμοῦχο, χαμουχᾶς, for gold brocade, silk brocade with gold threads, are of Persian origin according to Laufer 1919 and Lokotsch 1927 (*kamkḫā*), which may in turn be of a more remote Chinese origin (kim-hwa, with the kim 'gold' base). We not only have an example of ἐξικαμουκά < ἐξ + καμουχᾶς in the Codex Messianus Græcus in 1334 (Eastern Sicilian Greek) but we find the precious cloth lexeme throughout Byzantine and Early Modern Greek, both in court descriptions and in various versions of the Belisarius epic[54]. In the

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'ndrina see Trumper, Maddalon et al., 2014: 48, 220. We know from bugging operations that the organization changed in 2016-2017 into a structure with seven heads, a change due to amalgamation and re-organization plausibly for economic reasons. The 'Ndràngata changes as society changes, in tune with models established by the current economy, administrative and political changes, changed at Italian Unification (it was not born then, contrary to the opinion of some), it changed at the end of the 2nd World War with Marshall Aid, and more recently with the digital revolution and globalization. This ability to change with changing economic, social and technical changes makes the 'Ndràngata the most dangerous of the Mafia-type organizations.

[53] The contradiction arises from the fact that Old French *moufle[s]* occurs between 1200 and 1300 (FEW 16. 575B-577A), while no Germanic Language documents *Muffel* or similar term (*muff* etc.) before 1300. To call the term a Germanic loan would seem, then, to be putting the cart before the horse. To defend such a hypothesis one needs suppose a non-documented Old Frankish word *mollfell ('soft skin'), a composition that is half-Romance, half-Germanic, for which there is no evidence. The origin of Old French *moufle* thus remains a mystery.

[54] Cp. Διήγησις Βελισαρίου, v. 271 (Wagner W. 1874: 312) [… ν'ἀπλώσουν καμουχάδες], v. 445 (Wagner 1874: 317) [βλάντια γὰρ καὶ μάλαγμαν, χάσδια,

Thirteen Hundreds we find it in late Calabro-Sicilian Greek, in the Fourteen Hundreds in Emanuel Georgillas (in his Belisarius poem as καμουχᾶς, in his Plague at Rodi as χαμουχᾶς, pl. χαμουχάδες), in the Fifteen Hundreds in Meursius (καμουχᾶς), at the beginning of the 16th century documented in Somavera (pg. 165 καμουχάς). In Calabrian dialects the word (*camuffu*) has survived as 'silk scarf', while Sicilian dialects have demoted it to 'rough cloth' (*camucà*). We note the item in erstwhile Greek-speaking areas of the South and at Venice, for the Thirteen and Fourteen Hundreds *camocha, camocà* in the Venetian Diplomatarium (ed. Thomas II. 250-251 doc. 145 of 1396[55]) and in the first quarter of the Fifteen Hundreds in Andrea Calmo (Le Lettere: *camufo*[56]). An acoustically based development Greek χ > Calabrian Romance –f[f]- is not unusual, as is the contrary process (f > h). An article of dress, a refined cloth (gold brocade), a Sino-Persian product worn by the Byzantine nobility, became a luxury article, a sign of the leader class. In

καμουχάδες], Ριμάδα περὶ Βελισαρίου v. 465 (Wagner W. 1874: 362) [… ν'ἀπλώσουν καμουχάδες], v. 831 (Wagner 1874: 373) [καὶ καμουχάδες, χάσδια, βλάντια τιμημένα], Georgillas, The Plague at Rodi v. 120 (Legrand É. 1880-1881, 1. 208) [βελούδιν ἢ καὶ τζατουνὶν ἢ καμουχὰ ἀφ' τὴν Πίζαν] etc. On the other hand we also find χαμουχᾶς in Διήγησις Βελισαρίου v. 414 (Wagner W. 1874: 334) [εἶπεν εὐθέως, ὥρισε πεύκια καὶ χαμουχάδες], v. 617 [πλήρεις χρυσάφιν ἄμετρον ἔτι καὶ χαμουχάδες].

[55] Diplomatarium II. 306-308 doc. 167 (1415) p. 308 (*e si li hauemo glorificadi de do do sancte robe de chamocha alexandrin, …*), II. 328-330 (1422) p. 330 (*camocha de seda alexandrina se uuy hauesse radegà*). For the Thirteen Hundreds we find chamocha, camocha, as in the Diplomatarium II. 126-129 doc. 78 (1367), p. 128 (*Veneciani che comprasse o vendesse chamocha, zendadi, bocharani, …*), II, 229-230 doc. 136 (1391) p. 230 (*cadaun venecian che comprarà et venderà veludi, camocha, bocarani …*), II. 250-251 doc. 145 (1396) p. 251 (*ogni venecian che compra o venda veludi, camocha et bocharali …*). In 1343 we also find camoca in Roman records (Sella 1944: 108).

[56] In the 16th century, we have Andrea Calmo's Lettere 2. 140, 25 (*un moscheto camufao de tardisia*); 4. 335, 11 (*buté pur la rede d'i vostri camufi in altro mar che intel mio*), as well as the Bulesca 17-18 (*çerca intrar in ca' de Marcolina// per usar del camufo e del grifagno*). Towards the end of the Fifteenth Century Pulci also uses *camuffo* and *camuffare* in his Morgante Maggiore in Tuscan, though Venetian texts had used the word since the Thirteen Hundreds. Von Wartburg (FEW 16. 573A-575B, under the 'Germanism' *Muffel*) had already stated that French *camouflet* (1600) and later *camoufler* (1700-1800) depended on Italian sources, 'derived' from such sources (FEW 16. 575A: "Die wörter unter β' werden gewöhnlich als entlehnung aus it. camuffare "travestire, ingannare" angesehen, das seit dem 13. jh. belegt ist").

this, both *Camuffu* and *Camurra* have a similar remote origin as articles of distinctive dress (see also Lurati 1976 for this type of argument[57]).

2.

The second-in-command, the *Cuntarulu*, Italianized as *Contaiolo, Puntaiolo*, or even *Contabile*, as Italian journalists over the last thirty or so years have attempted to label this 'Ndràngata grade, is not just the 'Ndrina's accountant who controls the *Baciletta*. He is also the group organizer and armourer, who sees to it that criminals use the same weapons repeatedly to perpetrate criminal activities, both as a signal and as a means of avoiding any personal attribution or identification. In such a sense, it cannot be a straightforward derivative of Latin compŭtāre. We note that classical Greek κοντός (pole, punting-pole; boat hook; lance; javelin etc.) is usually represented in Byzantine texts by its diminutive κοντάριον (with later reduction κοντάριν, κοντάρι). This term has reflexes throughout the Byzantine period up to folk literature in the Thirteen- Fourteen Hundreds[58], and at Cyprus, as Yangoullis ²2005 testifies, both κοντάριν and κοντά[ς] (lance; pole >) 'hawk-perch' exist from 1200 on (historically in The Assizes[59]). Its

[57] Lurati 2003: 3 seems to be backtracking on this original interpretation as distinctive dress, taking the origin to a phantomatic proto-syllable CAM-/ GAM-/ SGAM-, though he does underline the scarf element ("camuffo designa in Calabria il fazzoletto che veniva annodato al collo come distintivo di appartenenza all'onorata società"). It is not the question of a silk kerchief that distinguishes one as belonging to the 'Ndràngata, but a silk bandana that now characterizes the 'Ndràngata head of each *Locale* or even of the *'Ndrina*. The distant etymon is obviously a Chinese word belonging to the silk trade (luxury item) that passes through Persia to Byzantium (Middle Greek), from Byzantium to the Western world.

[58] Callimachus & Chrysorrhoë vv. 273, 2331 etc., Digenes Acritas, *passim* in all editions, e.g. Andros v. 2697 [… δύνατος, μέγας εἰς τὸ κοντάρι], v. 3720 [σπαθὶν, σκουτάριν, ἔλαβον καὶ βένετον κοντάριν], Grottaferrata 1. 291, 4. 911, 4. 928, 5. 27, 5. 59, 5. 183, 6. 504, 6. 586, 6. 634, 6. 702, 6. 719, 6. 739 etc., Theodore Ptochoprodromus 3. 374, Florius & Platziaflores 88, 359 (too many occurrences to be mentioned) > κονταρᾶτος (see Digenes Akritas, Grottaferrata 4, 38 [διαλεκτοὺς τὸν ἔδωκαν τρισχιλίους κονταράτους], 5. 179 [ὑπέρτεροι τῶν ἑκατὸν, πάντες δὲ κονταρᾶτοι], Andros v. 2682 [ἀπὸ τὸ δάσος ἕκατον, ἅπαντες κονταρᾶτοι], and so on. Examples are legion.

[59] Cyprus Assizes, Sathas C. N. p. 201, 5 pl. τὰ κοντά (hawk-perches), p. 451, 25 "… εἰς ξύλον μὲ τὰ κοντά τὰ εἶχεν".

derivative κονταράτος, lancer or pike man and spearman, later = στρατιώτης, a professional soldier, is ever-present in the Emperors' Military Manuals, as in the famous Tactica of Leo, chapter 12 §41 (Εἰ μὲν γὲ κονταράτοι οἱ ὀπίσω οὐ τετάρτου δύναται… "For if the pike men who cannot (be) behind the fourth (row) …"), chapter 12 §117 (τοὺς κονταράτους), chapter 14 §28 (τοὺς κονταράτους), chapter 18 § 37 (Αἱ γὲ τῶν κονταράτων ἐγχειρήσεις τῶν τοξοτῶν, "the [row of] pike men [is] protection for the archers" …). It is present as both an occupation and a surname in historical Calabro-Greek texts. I take it, then, that Calabrian *Cuntarulu* is a formal and semantic mix (polygenesis) between a hypothetical *cuntarulu 'accountant' (< cuntari < compŭtāre) and Greek κονταράτος as a prototypical soldier, a kind of soldier/ armourer *cum* accountant.

The ritual act of initiating or associating a person in, or into, the Calabrian 'Ndràngata is called *fidelizzazione*, from the verb *fidelizzare* with variants (*firelizzare, ferelizzare, fedelizzare, federizzare*)[60]. Since this term exists in confessions and accounts of 'Ndràngata initiation rites since the beginning of the Twentieth Century (at least from 1932 on) it cannot be connected with Italian *fidelizzare, fidelizzazione*, commercial terms in existence since the 1990's (sixty years later than the first recorded 'Ndràngata use). The Italian *fidelizzare* is probably borrowed from French *fidéliser* coined some twenty years or so before (1970's). It was a business category based on learnèd *fidèle*, and meaning 'good will' in the business sense, being faithful to an established market product or business concern. We cannot derive it from Greek φειδωλός, sparing, niggardly, which would be semantically inappropriate[61]. We propose φεδούλος (and derived φεδούλα), with graphic variants φαιδούλος -α, φιδούλος -α, φουδούλος -α, found in Middle Greek texts. The meaning passes from 'ally' (fœdŭlus > φεδούλος) to 'squire, young knight' (=

[60] In the 1920 Rosalì Code, Castagna's Confession in 1955, the Pellaro Code of 1989 [usually called the Chilà Code], in various other Codes up to the present: for details and comments cp. Trumper, Maddalon et al. 2014: 41, 122.

[61] Criminal organizations do not denote themselves or their structures in negative terms, but tend to look on themselves as the goodies.

παιδόπουλον), to 'youth' in the concrete, count noun sense (pl. youths, 16th century youthes), as in the anonymous De Nuptiis Thesei (books 1, 3 and 7[62]), in the Achilles Story vv. 475 [Μοῦντον ἐκβαλίκευσεν, ἀλλὰ φουδούλην μοῦντον], 1049 [ἐκεῖνον πάλιν ἔτρωσαν τὸν μαῦρον τὸν φουδούλην], 1147 [ἐλάκτισεν ὁ Ἀχιλλλεὺς τὸν ἄσπρον τὸν φουδούλην], or the anonymous Florios and Platziaflores, where φουδοῦλα = κόρη, as in vv. 214, 888, 954, 1583 and so on. The largest number of substitutions seem to occur in the romance Lybistros and Rhodamne[62], where for young woman we have the variants φεδούλα (vv. 978, 1115, 1210), φεδοῦλα (vv. 1026, 1249. 3636), with graphically hypercorrect φαιδούλα (v. 1696), φαιδοῦλα (vv. 1394, 1396, 1697). We find φουδούλος –η, youngster, youth, in the anonymous Διήγησις Ἀχιλλέως (vv. 475, 1049, 1147 etc.). This last even offers an abstract φουδουλία 'youth', collective pl. v. 362 [ὁ νέος ἀπελυίζετον καὶ φουδουλίας ἐποίει], as Theodore Ptochoprodromos even offers us an abstract φουδουλία 'youth' (abstract sense or collective? See poem 3 v. 90). Meursius in his Glossarium ([2]1663 pg. 596) documents for 1600 φεδούλα Virgo. An attempt to etymologize is made in Hesseling and Pernot's edition of Theodore Ptochoprodromus' satirical poetry (p. 266): "*on pourrait aussi songer à un substantive dérivé de fœdulus, sordide, sale*". To associate our word with *fœtĕre < fœtēre, fœtĭdus (> Calabrian *fètere*, or with metaplasm *fetàri, fitàri* etc., to stink, adjective *fitusu*) seems semantically inappropriate. What sort of criminal organization would call itself "filthy" or "stinking"? Latin fœdŭlus "confederate" (ally) < fœdus -ĕris, would fit the bill, and it is one of those administrative or military words which passed from Latin into Byzantine imperial use, as suggested above. A 'confederate' is an ally; he may serve you in a military or non-military manner. Therefore, semantically, in 'youth' (non-abstract sense) we have the equivalent of common *picciotto*, youth, the lowest 'Ndràngata grade. We might even gloss the verb as '*picciottizzare'*, or to make one a *picciotto*.

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[62] The large number of hypercorrect forms make the attribution to Theodore Ptochoprodromus a little doubtful.

The last word I would like to deal with is *sergio, sergio compagno*, sometimes mistakenly *se[g]gio*, or, when the speaker does not fully understand the term, even by *saggio compagno*. Gambino 1971 thought this was the remote origin, decidedly a *lectio facilior*, though we tend to prefer *lectiones difficiliores*. It certainly has nothing to do with the name Sergio, never associated with the Famiglia Montalbano. There is, however, a peripheral late Middle Greek word σεργιάνιον 1. 'walking', 'strolling', 'roving', 2. 'abandon', 3 'colonial', with its verb σεργιανίζω. It survives in modern Cypriot as σουργούνιν/ σουρκούνιν = εξορία (Yangoullis 2005²: 491), with derivatives σουργούνης/ σουρκούνης, verb σουργουνεύκω/ σουρκουνεύκω (-ργ-, -ρχ- > -ρκ- is a particular Cypriot development). We find it in late chroniclers as σεργιάνιν, σιργιάνιν, συργιάνιον, even σουργιάνιον (Malaxos, George Sfranzes, Dapontès etc.)[63], and often in semi-folk[64] and folk poetry[65] in the period 1300-1700. Meursius at the end of the Fifteen Hundreds listed the element as "συργούνιδες, σουργούνιδες, Coloni" (reprint ²1663). Räsänen 1969. 1. 408 Osmanli *säjr*, 'Gang, Promenade', hypothesized that this Turkish element was a borrowing from Arabic[66], while Clauson 1972: 850 considered the disyllabic base SRG- [srʤ-] original Turkish-Mongolian, giving *sürüg, sürü* "expelled; sent abroad" (on military service). It may well be that we have an Osmanli Turkish mix of two distinct bases, but both suppose the borrowing of a Turkish quasi-military term in Byzantine Greek. This solution appears hazardous, the sources are late, but no one has yet

[63] Perhaps the best examples are in Synados' Serrès Chronicles pg. 141 (book 1, §21, 55 νὰ κάμω σερ[γ]ιάνι 'go for a stroll'), or in Constantinos Dapontès' Voyage in Crimea vv. 2, 30, 33, 47, in vv. 36, 67 the verb σεργιανίζω. Towards the end of the Seventeen Hundreds, we find examples in the Révolte des Sfakiotes vv. 361-362 (Legrand 1877: 284): ἐκάμασι ν'ἀντισταθοῦ, μὰ ποῦ νὰ νταρβαντίσου / τὸν ἄλλο κόσμο γλήγορα νὰ τόνε σουργιανίσου (but if they resisted, they would have straightaway gone to take a stroll in the other world). The dates are too late to suppose a borrowing in Italo-Greek, which then passed into Italo-Romance.

[64] Cp. Dapontès' Κῆπος Χαρίτων 5. 138, 10. 68, 14. 20, 15. 271, or the anonymous Lambros Catzonis vv.9, 13.

[65] For folk poetry, see Passow A. 1860, poems 425. 8, 610. 5 (σεργιάνιν), poems 79. 6, 426. 22, 589. 2, Distich 395 for the verb (σεργιανίζω).

[66] It supposes on entering late Middle Greek a metathesis säjr > särj- > särgi-, sergi-.

argued for a reasonable, formally acceptable alternative for *sergio/ seggio* (compagno). It is perhaps more judicious to leave the problematic origin of the term still *sub judice*.

The discussion thus far says a great deal about erstwhile Calabrian Greek (Aspromonte) and the Greek element in Calabrian Romance, which constitutes the basis of our criminal jargon alongside Italian and French jargons' common core. Alongside a Turkish pre-13th century element transmitted in all probability by Byzantine Middle Greek[67], and words of obvious Arabic origin already studied at length in Pellegrini 1971 and Caracausi 1983, there are a number of Calabrian dialect words neither of Greek nor of Latin origin nor of the last-mentioned class, which have to be explained. The mediation of a large number of Slav-origin words (Calabrian *bbabbanu/ bbabbu*, *bbàgunu*, *grava > gravinu/ garvinu*, *sita > sitèḍḍa*, sieve, сьн, hay (> σανός > S.

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[67] Calabrian examples would be (A) *mariùolu, mariòlu, mariòla* ecc. < μαργιόλος –η, μαργιολία (Andriotis ³2001: 200 supposed that μαριόλος, μαριολιά was of direct Turkish or mediated Venetian origin: *mariòla*, 'tasca interna', Pan-Calabrian, specialized as the large inner pocket of a hunting jacket or coat vs. generic 'pocket, *bùggia* o *sacchètta*). It seems to be of slang origin. It might even be of Byzantine origin, if one admits that the Byzantine historian Manuel Malaxos and the Venetian Andrea Calmo were contemporaries (1500). That the origin be Venetian or Byzantine is of little relevance, because (1) similar words reach Calabria *viâ* Byzantium. (2) The fact that Venetian and late Byzantine sources are contemporary does not allow one to give any priority to sources (it does so only *vis-à-vis* Italian, which received the word later in the 17th century). (3) The word is plausibly of Georgian and not Turkic origin (for Georgian, cp. mo-γor-ar-/ -al-, deceit, deceive, Klimov 1998: 232, moγoral > *moral-, *marol- etc.), but transmitted plausibly by Byzantium. (4) The word resembles another μαργώνιον, pocket, present in Greek texts from 1100 on, e.g. in Giovanni Moschos and the Συγγράμματα di S. Neophytus of Cyprus. (B) Cal. *zassu –a* 'fat', 'fat and stupid' < Byzantine τζάσσος –α, of Turkish origin (see Räsänen 1969. 1. 191 jası). (C) Cal. *zòca*, bridal gown (Crotone and hinterland) < Byzantine τζόχη, a Turkic-origin word (Räsänen 1969: 114 čoka, čoha). (D) Area Lausberg and North Calabrian (partially) *zarìcchji*, clogs, < Byzantine τσαρούχιον/ τσαρύχιον (Treatise on Magic, De Latte A. 1. 21, 10: εἰς ὑποδέματα τῶν ποδῶν σου ἤγουν εἰς τὰ τζαρούχια σου etc.), of evident Turkic origin (Räsänen 1969: 101 čaruk, čaryk). One also notes that the Reggio Calabria and Sicilian *scèccu*, donkey, from Turkish eşek (Räsänen M. 1969: 51 äšäk, äšjäk), is widespread along the Calabrian Tyrrhenian coast from Pizzo Calabro to Scilla with the meaning 'whale' (generic, as such not documented by Gerhard Rohlfs). The clumsy gait of a whale would make the donkey image meaningful. The transmission of such lexemes does not seem to be directly from Osmanli Turkish but probably viâ Middle Greek.

Calabrian *sanènu, zanènu, sanèlla, sanèja*, Trigonella sp., Melilotus sp.[68]),
Italo-Greek κουράδι, black bread, ῥοῦχον, cloth, etc.), has to be
explained, as well as elements in place naming and surnames. There
are also a number of Persian loans[69]. This underlines the difficulty of
dating all the Greek elements in Calabrian Romance (Doric Magna
Græcia, Hellenistic, early Byzantine, late Byzantine). The presence of
similar contact loans in Calabrian Romance pinpoints two problems.
The first implies a late Byzantine origin for many Greek elements, not a
single Magna Græcia nor even Hellenistic origin. Secondly, this late
origin is supported by a number of criminal slang elements, products

[68] It would have to be a Slav loan that penetrated Calabrian Romance *viâ* the Byzantine
botanical lexicon (see Trumper 2013 vol. 3: 629-646). For Late Byzantine and Early Modern
Greek cp. Neophytes Prodroménos 355 [σενώ ὁ ξερὸς χόρτος] and Corona Pretiosa "fieno
σανὸς fœnum χλόη". This loan also gives Albanian and Italo-Albanian *sanò, sanòt*. It
would have been impossible for Albanian to mediate this Slav loan in Middle & Southern
Calabrian. Development must, then, have been S. Slav > Byzantine Greek > Calabrian
Greek > Calabrian Romance (Middle & S. Calabrian, as well as Italo-Albanian).

[69] A few examples are Calabrian *ciavuccu/ 'nciavuccatu*, silly, naïve (*čābuk*), *sciagarda,
sciagorda, sciagòrta*, young female sheep not yet pregnant (the origin is evidently Persian,
cp. Lokotsch 1927: 140 n. 1759 pers. *šāgird* 'pupil; apprentice; youngster', Horn P. 1893:
201 note 1 šāgird, always *viâ* Byzantine Greek), *zaùrru, zaùrdu, zagùrdu*, rustic bore, viâ
Turkish *gjawr*, though the remote origin is Persian *gäbr/ gebr* 1. wild goat, 2. wild ass.
Probably Lokostch 1927: 632 was correct in insisting that the word was a cross between
Persian *gäbr/ gebr* and Arabic *kāfir*, successively mediated by Turkish *gjawr*. The last
word (*zaùrru* etc.) is given incorrectly in Rohlfs' *Dizionario* as *zaguordu* for S. Fili (it is,
instead, a local Sila form, with typical diphthong outcome of /u/ before 'rr' or 'r' +
consonant), more correct the S. Calabrian form *zaùrru* he gives (the variation is *zaùrru,
zaùrdu, zavùrdu, zagùrdu*, Pre-Sila & Sila dialects *zagùordu, zagùardu*). A final example is
Middle and S. Calabrian *candàci*, a furrow (< late Byzantine χανδάκιον < Persian *kandan*,
dig). The best example of a Persian-origin Byzantium-mediated loan would be *zippa*,
veil (omentum), present in the Lausberg Area dialects and in a large part of the N.
Calabrian dialects, where it competes with *chjippu, picchju* (< Greek ἐπίπλοον). Byzantine
σίφα, τσίπ[π]α, τζύπ[π]α, present in Costantino à Secretis §122 [εἰ ἔχον τζίπαν, καὶ ἡ τζίπα
ἔχει ῥαγάδας ἀπὸ πυρετοῦ τοῦ φλέγματος, ἦλθεν ἡ νόσος] (quoted in Du Cange, Greek),
in various botanical texts, including Hokham 112, Bouras-Vallianatos 168 [ὕμιν· ἡ τζίππα
τοῦ μυελοῦ], or De Latte 1939, 2. 375, 1 (doc. VIII [κτηδόνας τὰς τζύπας]), up to Leontios
Makhairas 34, 5 (καθὼς πήσσει τὸ πάγος, εἰς μίαν τζίππαν), where τζίππα in the last
quotation means 'film' on ice. It is related to Hellenistic σίφα, σίφαρος (see Kahane &
Kahane 1. 735 for discussion), in turn coming from Persian *siper* 'cover; veil' (Horn 1893: 155
n. 700 < Pahlavi *spar* < Avestan *spāra*, σπαρα [-βαραί], IEW 988). In its Calabrian Romance
form (*zippa*), we conclude that Byzantine Greek must have mediated this Iranian loanword.

of *Wanderwörter* either of a remote Afro-Asiatic origin (*camurra, scibba, sàvanu/ ʼnzavanari*) or even of Turkish or Persian origin (*camuffu*, < Greek < Persian < Chinese), all plausibly mediated by Byzantine Greek. Alongside these, we find the common use of Late Latin loans in Middle Greek. Aspromonte Greek, the product of a centuries-long contact, thus had some sort of formative role even in the creation of ʼNdràngata jargon, not merely in the formation of Calabrian Romance.

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