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ISTROROMANIAN LOANWORDS IN THE DICTIONARY SECTION OF RIBARIĆ'S STUDY ON ISTRIAN DIALECTS

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses particular words in the speech spoken in Vodice, which were presumed by Josip Ribarić to have a Romanian origin, while the introduction contains a list of all references to Istroromanian and(or) Istroromanians in Ribarić's study.

Ribarić determined 14 forms as Romanian: bâta, birikâta, cûma (in Krnica), degečkâti, glindûra, mugàra, petrikâti (patrukâti in Korleviçi), Poropât, pûca, stîpļa, sùgati, šûrla (if associated with frùla), tŕzjàk, žinžîre.

Keywords: Istroromanian, dialectology, etymology, lexicology, Istria

ISTROROMUNSKES SPOSOJENKE V SLOVARSKEM DELU RIBARIĆEVE ŠTUDIJE O ISTRSKIH DIJALEKTIH

IZVLEČEK

V članku je obdelan del leksike vodiškega govora (Vodice v Istri), za katero Josip Ribarić domneva, da so prevzete iz istroromunskih govorov. V članku najdemo vse navedbe o Istroromunih in/ali istroromunščini v Ribarićevi knjigi. Ribarić meni, da ima 14 čakavskih besed istroromunski koren: bâta, birikâta, cûma (v Krnici), degečkâti, glindûra, mugàra, petrikâti (patrukâti v Korleviçih), Poropât, pûca, stîpļa, sùgati, šûrla (če je v zvezi s frùla), tŕzjàk, žinžîre.

Ključne besede: istroromunščina, dialektologija, etimologija, leksikologija, Istria

The words from Ribarić's dictionary are presented along with his explanations, it has to be noted, however, that we occasionally left out a part of the explanation that is not relevant to this discussion. All forms have been processed lexicologically, lexicographically and etimologically by comparing them to Istroromanian words that are similar in sound and meaning. The structure of Ir. *paralells* was drawn from our own findings based on questionnaires employed between 1991 and 2001 in Žejane, Šušnjevića, Nova Vas, Jasenovik, Letaj, Brdo, Škabići, Trkovci, Zankovci, Miheli and Kostrčan (published in 2002 in IrLA¹) and other Istroromanian repertoires. All Ribarić's forms were consistently compared to related words from Chakavian idioms of Istria and Dalmatia, which we either recorded on the field by ourselves or found in relevant literature at our disposal. We would like to emphasise that it is sometimes difficult to establish whether an individual word entered into Istrian speech from the Istroromanian or the Istrian Chakavian settlers borrowed it from the Vlachs in the Balkans before emigrating to Istria.

To record Istroromanian forms in the field we used a unique system of graphical characters, which was first used in the IrLA, but it can also be used to record Ir. or Chak. speeches - it is an adapted version of Croatian Latin alphabet with additional graphemes for phones which are not known to Standard Croatian, we have to note that *lj* and *nj* are not written as they are in Croatian. These are the special characters:

- ǎ - open-mid back rounded husky vowel a
 - ɛ - strongly open e
 - ə - semitone, which can be heard between v and r in the Croatian word *vrt*, corresponds to the Romanian ă
 - ə̇ - Romanian î/â (only in forms from Rudna Glava)
 - č̇ - strongly softened č
 - ṧ - softened š
 - š̈ - strongly softened š
 - ž̇ - softened ž
 - ž̈ - strongly softened ž
 - ʒ - the first sound in Ital. *zelo*
 - ǧ - a sound between the Croatian *dž* and *d*
 - đ̇ - strongly softened đ
 - ɣ - strongly aspirated fricative, like in the Spanish word *lago*
 - Í - Croatian *lj*
 - ń - Croatian *nj*
- Diphthongs are written in two ways:

uo - if the first vowel is significantly shorter than the second or

uo - if both vowels in the diphthong are of similar length.

The accent in multi-syllable words is written by underlining the accented vowel (ǎ is not underlined as it is always accented), while in Chakavian it is written in a standard Slavistic dialectological manner². The family of vowels is marked by a horizontal line over the graphemes.

1. Istroromanian and(or) Istroromanians are mentioned in several passages in the monograph.

1.1. In page 27, at the beginning of the list with descriptions of Romanian and Southern Slavic dialects in the paragraph 3. Ribarić writes of Istroromanian: "the Istroromanian dialect of true Čičarija villages: Žejane of the Podgrad Municipality, Sušnjevića of the Boljun Municipality, Nova Vas or Noselo, Jasenovik and Brda of the Plomin Municipality. There is a wealth of literature on this subject, however, the diverse Slavic elements of this dialect have not been studied to a sufficient degree and the particular question of principle remains to be answered: whether the rhinism (ɛ̇, ʒ̇) in this dialect, which was first noted by the distinguished scholar Miklošič (...), is of ancient Bulgarian descent or was it transferred into the language of the new settlers a long time ago from the Croatian-Serbian language - clearly in their old homeland - and remained preserved unchanged until the present day. The exertion that the ancient interrelations between the Istrian Romanians and Bulgarians would be confirmed - apart from the rhinism - by other Bulgarian lexical element cannot be accepted either as, according to my opinion, Istroromanian elements of this sort do not exist: in fact, Miklošič wrongly determined some Croatian-Serbian words to be Bulgarian. In any case, the Istroromanian lexis reveals that the Istrian Romanians must have lived among the Croatian speakers of Stokavian-Icavian in Middle Dalmatia for a long period of time and they did not immigrate to Istria before the second half of the 15th century. But let us leave the details of this question."

1.2. In p. 83 the author discusses motifs from folk songs and notes, among other things, "in those songs we encounter the names: *Vlăhi*, *vlășki*, *vlășko mômče*, *vlășinka divôjka*."

1.3. In p. 85 he ventures into anthropology: "I am not an anthropologist, but I presume (...) In the *Diction-*

1 The Atlas also contains forms from Rudna Glava (note 7) and two Chakavian localities, Čepić (for this data we thank prof. Fabijo Stembergi) and Brđud (for this data we thank Damjan Bistričić, a student of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy in Pula).

2 As far as Chakavian forms are concerned - in opposition to Croatian dialectological tradition we regularly record the phoneme (sic!) /ə/ as well. The confirmation that this is indeed a special phoneme in Croatian written language as well comes from a whole range of minimal pairs: *mərva* ~ *marva* ~ *murva*, *mərko* (adj.) ~ *Marko*, *mərka* (adj.) ~ *marka*, *bərko* (= man with moustache) ~ *barko* (vok. from *barka*), *Hərvat* ~ *Horvat* (surname), *kərma* ~ *karma*, *kərtica* ~ *kartica*. /ə/ occurs before /r/, but also before /l/, for instance in foreign words *Vəltava*, *bicikəl*, *monokəl*, and we also find it before /m/, for instance *həm həm* ~ *ham ham*. We could certainly find more examples. The limited occurrence is not diminished by the phonemicity of the phoneme [ə] in a similar way as the phonemicity of the phoneme [t] is not diminished though it never occurs before [č, ž, š, t, f...].

ary I mention another type, although less frequent, as *Poropăt*. A shorter type with very dark hair and dark eyes – particularly women – is more strongly represented in Istroromanian villages under Učka.”

1.4. The *Čić* ethnic identity is mentioned three times:

1.4.1. “The presence of the *Čić* people in western Istria – perhaps also those speaking Istroromanian – is confirmed by De Franceschi (...), who writes that (according to Kandler) the penal records of Trieste from the year 1500 contain an inscription of an accused who, when asked of his home country, replied “Ciccio da Segna”, while another man declared himself as “Ciccio da S. Michele di Leme” (a town in the Lim Channel in Istria)” (p. 80).”

1.4.2. “The *Čić* people from Istria and Karst (...) were forbidden to buy wheat in Novo Mesto, Notranjska and Metlika” (p. 79).

1.4.3. “The inhabitants of these villages (sc. Golac, Vodice, Jelovice, Dane, Trstenik, Rašpor, Brdo, Gojaki, Zagrad, Črnjehi) are referred to by the Southern Slavic old settlers with the mocking name *Čićs* while they refer to themselves as *Slovines* or *Slavines*, and to their language as *Slovine* or *Slavine*” (p. 75).

This is a reference to the *Čić* ethnic identity denoting the Croatian people.

2. In a short commentary, preceding the dictionary part, Ribarić mentions that “there are Romanian words as well, but they are few: *bâta* (reverse loanword from the Slav. *blato* or a word of the Illyrian origin? - comp. *bâta!*), *birikâta*, *čûma* (in Krnica), *degečkâti* (and *gadîčkati* in other Slovene villages with *kadîčkati*; perhaps this word is not Romanian), *glindûra*, *mugăra*, *petrikâti* (*patrukâti* in Korleviči), *Poropăt*, *pûca*, *stîpļa³*, *sûgati*, *şûrla* (if in relation to *frûla*), *tîzjâk*, *žinžîre*. These words are not necessarily loanwords of Romanian *Čićs* who used to reside in northern Istria, but could also be linguistic remnants brought from their old homeland. The words *bâta*, *birikâta*, *glindûra*, *pûca*, *stîpļa*, *şûrla*, *tîzjâk*, *žinžîre* are used in all Slavic villages, several of them are also used in Dalmatia (*glindûra*, *birikâta*, *tîze*), *pûca* and *şûrla* are used in Croatian colonies in Southern Italy, while *tîze* is used in a large part of the Croatian-

Serbian linguistic territory outside Dalmatia (in Bosnia, Serbia etc.).”

2.1. *bâta* f. 1. ‘quagmire, puddle’ (close to a house, with murky standing water); 2. ‘slurry pit’ (in Golec, Dane, Jelovice; and in the language of Slovines); in Rašpor: *bâta*; in Žejane: *batę* (...)⁴.

We did not record the form in Žejane, in other IR. villages: *bâtę*, -a. *bâte*, -ele (Šušnjevića, Nova Vas), *bâta*, -a, *bâte*, -ele (Jesenovik, Letaj, Brdo, Škabići, Trkovci, Kostrčani) - meaning “puddle” (IrLA 56b.). In Kovačec we recorded *bâtę*, -a, -e, -ele f. “lokva” (Jesenovik) and *bâtine*, -a, -e, -ele f. “velika lokva” (Jesenovik) - IRHR 36; Puşcariu (according to Bartoli) *bâta* (Šušnjevića) - SI 102, s. v. *baltă*; Maiorescu *bată*, plurale *băţi* “stagno” - VIR 109; Popovici *bâtę* “lokva” (also mentions the form *baltă* for Ar. and Mr. and compares all forms to the Slav. *blato*) - JP 92., Miklošić *bată* (RU 19). The word is also known in Rudna Glava⁵: *baltă* “lokva”.

In the Chakavian repertoires at our disposal similar words do not occur, yet Parčić mentions *bâta* “guazzo, pozzanghera” (RHT 14), ARJ I/206 as well: *bâta* “lacuna, bara, glib”.

The etymology of the form itself is not entirely clear. DEX 83 allows for the Slavic origin of the Romanian word *baltă*: “Probabil din sl. *blato*.”, while Cioranescu interprets the same word to have an “origen dudoso” (DER 652) – in the same place he notes the form *baltă* for Ar., Mr., but Ir. for *bote*. Skok dismisses the possibility of the Slavic origin of Rom. *baltă*: “this cannot be an example of a loanword from Southern Slav. as it has is no liquid metathesis” (SKOK I/168, s. v. *blato*). Ribarić is not certain: “reverse loanword from the Slav. *blato* or a word of Illyrian origin?” (v. 2.). Đ. Daničić considered *bâta* to be a word of Turkish origin: “originating from the Turkish word *batak* - mire” (AR), loc. cit.). Meyer-Lübke interprets the Rom. *baltă* as a derivative of **palta* “Schlamm; Sumpf”, REW 6177 – presumably the Triest. and It. derivatives *paltan* or *paltano* – the latter form “vc. d’orig. preindeur” - share the same etymon (DELI-CD).

Regardless of its etymology, one thing is certain: the word was transferred into the Croatian language from Romanian.

3 In the dictionary and below as *stîpļa*.

4 In the same dictionary article he reports: “in Milohnić in the Dubašnica municipality I found *bâta*. There the word is generally known, according to Milčetić, but only so in the Municipality of Dubašnica, where – as is well known – in the middle of the 15th century refugees would settle and their traces are still preserved in the type that differs in a significant way from the other Chakavian dialects on the island Krk. (...) I believe that it would be completely wrong to declare all immigrants to Krk island as former *Čićs* speaking Romanian.” In any case, in this part of the island Krk several words of Romanian origin can be traced – we ourselves recorded *puľić* “bird”, for instance, a hybrid diminutive ending in *-ić* from the KrR. **puľ* “id.” < **puľlius* “junges Tier”, REW 6826.

5 Rudna Glava is included as a locality into the IrLA. This is the largest village of the Majdanpek municipality in the Danube region in northeast Serbia. 104 km² of hilly and mountainous country in the upper part of the Porečka river mouth more than 2,500 inhabitants live, most of them of the Vlah origin. In relation to other speeches of this area, the language of old Vlachs is somewhat more clearly pronounced in Rudna Glava. Unfortunately, Vlah speeches spoken in the Porečka river area never attracted serious interest of researchers (today these speeches are intensively studied by prof. Paun Es. Durlić, though from a predominantly ethnological approach). In short, we are dealing with speeches that belong to the Dacoromanian dialect (this dialect is the basis of standard Romanian), while the speakers themselves call their language (written in our graphic system) *limba rumăniăska*, that is Romanian language. (according to Paunu Es. Durliću, who collected the data for IrLA in Rudna Glava - per litteras). The forms from Rudna Glava in this work are written in our graphic system, as they are in IrLA.

2.2. birikàta f. 'throat'; the word is known by the Slovenes residing in Istria, I have encountered it in Vodice, Dane, Jelovice, Golač, Trstenik, Rašpor, Črnjehi and many villages in Karst where new settlers would immigrate, also in Baderna, Sv. Ivan od Šterne, in Kaštelir, Vabriga, Filipan, Marčana, Krnica, Rakalj, Medulin and Pomer. The word is not known among the inhabitants of Brkini and in Liburnia, while the Istroromanians use it of course. Regarding the etymology of the word cf. PEW⁶ states: "*birikata*. A word known also in Dalmatia."

In Nova Vas we recorded *berikâte*, -a, *berikâte*, -ele f. "pharynx" (IrLA 235, not. 93), in Šušnjevičica A Kovačec recorded *bericâte*, -a "pharynx" (IRHR 37); Popovici refers to *berikàta* which he compares to the form *beregatã* "laringe" from Banat (JP 92); Cantemir mentions *bericâte*, -e "beregatã" (TC 159).

In Pičan *berikàta* means "Adam's apple" (PI 12), in Vrgada *berikàta* means "throat" (RGV 23), in Trogir *berikàta* means "throat, larynx" (RTCG 31), in Sali *berikàta* means "throat" (RGS 34), in Kukljica *berikàta* means "throat, larynx, Adam's apple" (RGK 22). In ARJ we find *berikat* "Adam's apple" (I/237); the same form with the same origin and accent is present in PCX 1/474: *berikat* "Adam's apple, larynx" – in the same note we find other versions *berikata*, *beriket*, *beriketa* which exist also as separate entries – the second one is used in Mostar. The form is also listed in Parčić, *berikat* "tiroide, pomo d'Adamo" (RHT 17).

He associates the transition of the form *berikata* meaning "throat; larynx; neck" with Romanian: "A perfect parallel, phonetical and semantical if the Rom. *beregatã* (Muntenija)" and concludes: "According to this, the word is a lexical remnant from the speech of Croatian Vlachs in Velebit and in Cetina where the Slovenes in Istria originate from." (SKOK I/139).

Apart from *beregatã*, Cioranescu s. v. also mentions the Ir. form *biricutã*; with an etymon being the reconstructed Lat. Form **verucata* "de *veruca*"⁸ (DER 796). In DEX 95 the same form (with a note *pop.* (sc. popular) notes, instead of etymology: "Cf. scr. *berikat*" - Cioranescu (DER. loc. cit.) for the Serb. *berikat* there is a note "debe proceder del rum."

Without any doubt, the above Cro. and Serb. forms are of Rom. origin, while the Istrian and even Ir. forms were most probably brought to Istria by the speakers of Chakavian and by the Istroromanian. Certainly other combinations within the Istrian realm are possible as well.

2.3. čũma f. (in Krnica) 'tubercle' (a wen behind the horns of cattle and rams); Rom. *cũmã* 'wen'; Ar. *tũmã* 'ulcer, pimplet'; *čũma* 'plague' (= Lat. *cyma* from the Greek *χῦμα*).(...)

In Ir. we recorded no similar forms and none were found in Ir. repertoires at our disposal. The term is recorded in Maramureş in a single point (Săpînța): *čũmã* "inflammation, swelling of lymph glands" (ALRM I/163). Ar. *cũmã*, also meaning "lump on the head" (DDA 368). Cioranescu as well has no mention of Ir. forms as well, only the Ar. *ũmã*, and Mr. *ciumã* - etymology: "Probabl. lat. *cyma*, del gr. *χῦμα*" (DER 2084, s. v. *ciumã*). DEX 182 notes a literary Rom. word *ciumã*, but only in its figurative meaning of "plague" – in the end of the article etymology is given as well: "lat. *cyma* "umflãturã" - *cyma* (griech.)", REW 2438.

The authors of Chakavian repertoires do not list the form we are looking for either. Nevertheless, the word is widespread in parts of Croatian and Serbian linguistic realm with a single meaning of "plague"⁹: *čũma* "see plague" (CP² II/1124), "pestis, plague" (ARJ II/99), "plague" (AdoK I/419) – all noting that this is a word of Turkish origin. I B. Klaić notes the same at *čũma* "plague" (RSR 249), while Anić denotes the same form as *orij.* (sc. orientalism) (AnRHJ 131). The word is also listed in Stulli, *csumma* "peste, pestis" (STULLI 96) and Parčić, *čũma* "peste" (ParčRHT 82).

Whether this word enter Croatian and Serbian speeches from the Turkish or Romanian (Balkanian Vlachs) is difficult to say, but in any case it is of the Balkanian origin. "The noun is a Balkanian word: Rom. *ciumã*, Bug. *čũma*, Tur. *çũma* 'Pest'. It derives from the Gr. *χῦμα* with *v > ju*." (SKOK I/341, s. v. *čũma*).

Is this related to the Vlachs from the Dalmatian Zagora or the MCr. *čũm* "hump" (DCM 26, RMGM 24) or is it a form that simply derives from the same etymon?

2.4. degečkãti and **degečãti** v. ipf. tr. 'tickle'; - se refl.; in Krnica, Medulin: *kadičkati*; in Krnica: *kadičlív*, in Medulin: *kadičkav* adj. 'ticklish'; cf. PEW *deget* and Byhan 1899: *gadičkěj*. In Golač: *godičkati se*.

In Ir. Villages we only recorded forms starting with g.: *gudičkã*, *gudičku* (Žejane), *gudickã*, *gudicku* (Šušnjevičica), *gudičkã*, *gudičku* (other locations). Popovici notes *gudičkã* and *po~* (sc. "tickle") – the same entry notes the Žejane form *gadičkěj* and compares both with the Bug. *гaдичкамъ* and the German *kitzeln*. (JP 113), while Byhan's form, which is mentioned by Ribarić, is in p. 222 (IrG 222).

6 PEW does not contain this word. The Serbian edition reads – between "On the etymology of the word" and "Word known in Dalmatia": "cf. Puşcariu: EWörterbuch der rumänischen Sprache, Heidelberg 1905. sub v. *birikata*: *vina* sf. (ar. mgl. *vinã*, ir. *virẽ*) 'Ader, Sehne' < *vẽna*, - am: it. po. cat. sp. *vena*, sic *vina*, eng. *vaina*, frz. *veine*, pg. *vẽa*. - *catinã*, 'Rückgrat' < *catẽna*, - am 'Kette': It. *catena*." which bears no connection to the conception behind the word (probably a mistake in editing), so the adaptater editor was right to leave this part out in the adapted edition, but she should have also left out the reference to PEW.

7 *berikata* (Sv. Juraj near Senj, Podgora), *berikàta* (Senj, Rakalj, Istra), *birikàta* (Perušić, all Slovenes in Istria: Vodice, Dane, Jelovica, Golač, Trstenik, Rašpor, Črnjehi in Kras: Baderna, Sv. Ivan od Šterne, Kaštelir, Vabriga, Filipan, Marčana, Krnica, Rakalj, Medulin, Pomer), *berikàta* (Vrgada).

8 *vẽrrũca* "bulge" REW 9241.

9 It is not difficult to transfer from "lump, swell" to "plague".

In Chakavian speech we find: *gudičkati* (Svetvinčenat), *kadīčkati* (Čabrunići, Ližnjan), *kodīčkati* (Čabrunići) - ILA 273.

Skok worked with Serbian, Montenegrin, Romanian, Bulgarian (therefore Balkanian) and Croatian forms, which he considered to be onomatopoeic – like *golicati*¹⁰, *giliti* and *Sl.*, and he associated them with Ribarić's forms: “Bug. *Gādičkam* corresponds to *godīčkati se* (Golac, Istra) = *γadičkaji* in Croatinized Romanians in Žejane. The consonant *k* instead of *g* in *kadīčkati* (Krnica and Medulin) and *kadičljiv* (Krnica and Medulin), while in Vodice there is a metathesis of consonants *g-d > d-g*: *degečkati (se)* along with *degečati* ‘tickle’.” (SKOK I/561, s. v. *giliknuti*)

The etymology was also attempted by Kovačec: “In terms of their etymology, elements like *γadičcā* ‘tickle’ are constantly causing confusion. On one hand this verb is characteristic of a large and compact east part of the Southern Slavic linguistic realm (Bug. *γдицхам*) from where it entered into Greek, Albanian and Dacoromanian speeches. On the other hand, in Istrian speech we find closely related forms like *godickati se* (Golac) or *degečkati (se)* and *degečati* with a metathesis of consonants (Vodice).¹¹ Considering its isolation in the area of Istria it is possible that this word arrived via the so called migrations of Vlachs, this explanation could also be supported by its stable phonetical features.” (AKIRE 87, 88).

Ribarić directs to the form *deget* “finger” from PEW, probably thinking of contamination of figures with *de-* from.

2.5. *glindūra* f. ‘neck gland’; in this form the word is known in all villages of the Sht. – Chak. Oasis in the highlands and in all Slovine villages in western Istria. Cf. *glindura*, *glindurast* in Parčić (1901.). In the area of Brkini and in Liburnija the word is not known, nor is it mentioned in Bezjak. Cf. PEW: *ghindură*; Byhan 1899: *gl'inde* in Žejane; Kušar 1894: 51: *gļendura* or *gļiva* - gland. According to Belulović, the form *gl'inde* is an exception in Istroromanian as the accented *a* before the nasal becomes *ǎ* (semivowel in Croatian), while in Daco-Romanian it becomes *î*. Cf. also in Tiktin 1907: *ghindură* ‘gland’.

Kovačec notes *γl'indūre*, -a f. (Žejane) “a tubercle in the armpit” (IRHR 84), Pușcariu *gl'indura la gut* “gland” and *glindura* “acorn” (SI 114, s. v. *ghindură*). In the same entry Cantemir notes “*gl'inde* și *gl'indure*” – both words only meaning “acorn” (TC 166).¹² Aromanian *gl'indură* - and “acorn” and “gland” (DDA 496).

Forms of the type discussed here are also known in other Chakavian speeches: *gljandūra*¹³ “mucosa, jellyfish; gland” (RGS 94), *gļendūra* “neck gland” (RGV

60). They are also encountered in older Croatian dictionaries: *glindurra* “nocciolletto, che viene intorno alla gola” (STULLI 377), *glindura* “gangola, nocciolletto, strangoncello” (JV 65), *glindura* “tonsil, neck gland, little frog” – and in contemporary times in the Croatian coast (ARJ III/198), *glindura* “glandula jugulare” (RHT 167), *glindura* “tonsilla; glandola” (DCI 100), but they are also confirmed in Serbian, *glindura* “gland; tonsil” (PCX 3/348).

Skok discusses the forms from Ribarić, Jurišić, Parčić and ARJ in the entry *glānde* (Perast, Dubrovnik) “mushroom, scrofula”, he concludes in brackets: “(Parčić, all villages of the Shtokavian – Chakavian oasis in the high plateau and all Slovine villages in Western Istria; in Brkini, among the Bezjaks and in Liburnija the word is not known; this means it was introduced during the migrations of the Vlachs=CiCs from Velebit to Istria)”, and suggests the “Latin diminutive” as the etymon (sc. From the Lat. *glans*, -dis – as seen in the text preceding the cited sentence) with the unpronounced suffix *-ula*¹⁴” (SKOK I/566).

2.6. *mugàra* f. ‘lactating sheep without lamb’. Cf. PEW *mulg* < *Mulgeo*

We found no parallels in repertoires from Ir. or Chak. speech. Ar present not known in Ir. villages. The word is contained in ARJ, PCX (from ARJ) and SKOK. In a short ARJ article we learn that *mugara* is “sheep that lost a lamb”; and find a note that the word is used in Istria as well as the form with an accent, *mugàra* with a latin explanation “*ovis agno orbata*” to conclude the article with a claim “*mot obscur*” – the same form is transferred to Nemanić (ARJ VII/131). The editors of PCX explain *mùgara* as a provincial form signifying “sheep that lost a lamb” followed by the Ribarić's reference to *mugàra* signifying “lactating sheep without lamb” (PCX 13/233).

Skok as well includes Ribarić's *mugàra* (Vodice, Istra) “lactating sheep without lamb or sheep that lost a lamb”. He explains the term in the following way: “vowel *u* originates from sonant *!*” and parallels it to the Rom. form from Banat *muldzîr* “a lactating sheep” and old Italian *mongana*, *mungana*, *mongara* “vacca da latte”, “from *móngere* = *mólgere*” while in the rest of the short article he discusses “Dalmato-Romanian” lexical reflexes. (SKOK II/476).

It is difficult to draw more pertinent conclusions based only on the data given above without any parallels in associated idioms. Let us only refer to a single Rom. adjective which perfectly corresponds to Ribarić's example both semantically and phonologically: *mulgară* “of a lactating sheep or cow” (DEX 659, DAR 201 – both

10 Comp. also *goličkat* “tickle” (DCM 44; RMGM 44).

11 Form from Golac after Ribarić, the other forms according to Skok.

12 Kovačec *gl'inde*, -a ž. (S, N) “oak apple; rare: acorn (oak) (IRHR 84), Popovici *gl'inde*, Ar., Mr. *glindă*, Dr. *ghindă* “acorn” (JP 112), Pușcariu *glinda de cer* “acorn” (SI 114, s. v. *ghindă*).

13 Contamination *glandula* X *glindura*? - comp. for instance *glândula* “gland” (RTCG 75).

14 Lat. *glândula*, REW 3777.

with a note *pop.* - sc. “popular”), a derivative ending in *-ar(ă)* from *mulge* “to milk”, DEX 659 < Lat. *mūlgēre*, REW 472. Dumitru Loșonți believes that *mulgară* is not a derivative ending in *-ară* of *mulge*: “cuvântul nu este un derivat cu suf. *-ară* (...) provine din contaminarea lui *mânzare* (*mânzară*) cu verbul *a mulge*.” (SSE 85, *mul-gare*).

2.7. petrikăti se, petrikân se ‘play a game with pebbles’ – play with the pebbles that are placed in one hand and then thrown rapidly to be caught with the back of the same hand, while some are simultaneously caught with the other hand (children’s game). In Korlević - *patruk àti*. Related to *petra*, *pietra?*, Rom. *pétra* ‘stone’

The game is known in all Ir. villages, but is referred to, at present¹⁵, with verbs like *plóčkej* or *peščičej* (v. IrLA 437.). Ribarić’s verb is not recorded in any of the Rom. repertoires we have consulted. Skok also does not note any Rom. intervention: “Nominative of *-icare petrikăti se* (Vodice) = *petrukăti se* (Korlevići, Istra) ‘play with stones...’ (...) Dalmato-Romanian remnant in Istria, due to the preserved *tr.*” (SKOK II/671, s. v. *pjetrica*).

Otherwise “stone” in Ir. is only referred to with forms like *arpa* (v. IrLA 57a.), while in Rom. a “stone” is called *piatră* (DULR IV/178, DEX 787) < lat. *pētra*, REW 6445.

2.8. Poropăt m. – a surname that deserves special attention as it is very common in villages of the Stokavian-Chakavian oasis on the plateau and because it has some historical significance (...)

Ribarić dedicates over three pages to this surname. As far as etymology is concerned, two notes in this article are relevant: “The origin of the name *Poropăt* is obscure” (p. 203) and “The etymology of the word *Poropat* remains obscure in spite of Koštiálov’s attempt to shed some light upon it.” (p. 204). The etymology is actually more or less evident. Petar Skok explained Ribarić’s surname s. v. *pàtos* “ground, floor”: “This (sc. Greek suffix *-oç*) usually turns out similar to the Lat. *-us*. Cf. *kaluđer* etc. and also becomes *pat* in Rom. It is also found in the Čić surname *Poropăt*, an Istrian surname in villages of Stokavian-Chakavian oases in the Čićarija plateau, existence confirmed since the 16th century. Since then also with the suffix *-ić* *Poropatić*. A version *Parapat*. (...) In Omiš also a surname *Parapat* exists (...) *Poropat* = *Parapat* is a Rom. syntagm *fără pat* ‘without bed’. (...) A Greek word (sc. *pàtos*) becomes Balkanian: Rum., Bug. *pat*, arb. *patë*.” (SKOK II/622). The form (surname) was

brought by the Vlachs (Vlachs are not necessarily Romanians!) immigrating from the Dalmatian Zagorje before the 15th century when the Slavs did not use the phoneme /f/ so it was transformed into /p/ or /v/. If the name truly came from Ir., there would be no exchange of *f > p*.¹⁶

2.9. pūca f. ‘penis’ (also for penis of little boys); is not obscene. Dem. *pūcica f.* (...) Cf. Rešetar 1911: 369: *pūca f.*; PEW¹⁷: *puță*. In Cro. *pūca* “little girl” (in family speech). In Liburnia and in general in Old Slavs in Istria the word *puca* is not known, while among the Slovenes it is quite ordinary.

We recorded: *pūce*, *-a*, *pūce*, *-ele f.* (Šušnjevića, Nova Vas), *pūca*, *-a*, *pūce*, *-ele f.* (other villages) – all denominating “penis - obscene” (IrLA 243).

Kovačec lists *pūțe*, *-a* (Šušnjevića) and *pūța* (Žejane) (IRHR 162), Popovici *puțe* “penis” (with the Ar., Mr. and Dr. *puță* “id.”) (JP 142), Pușcariu *puțe* “penis” (SI 129), Maiorescu *puță* “parte genitală dell’uomo e della donna” (VIR 143), Byhan *putșe* (IrG 324), Miklošič *puță* (RU 42).

For the Chakavian we find: *pūca* (Brgud, Čepić) “penis” (IrLA 243), *pūtsa* (Svetvinčenat, Čabrunići, Ližnjan) “penis” (ILA 243). In other Chakavian repertoires of Istrian and Dalmatian speeches we have consulted the word was not present. We find it, however, in Molise-Croatian: *puca* [‘puts^a] *volg.* (sc. vulgar) “sexual organ (in general¹⁸)” (DCM 163)¹⁹

Skok discussed Ribarić’s term s. v. *putana* “harlot”: “Here noted a derivative with the suffix *-ium* **pūtium* > *pūca* (Slovenes in Istria, Vodice) ‘penis (of very young boys)’, probably a loanword from Istrian Vlachs (Čićs) *puță*, comp. Arom. *puță* ‘penis, membre virile.’” (SKOK III/88).

Rom. *puță*, with a note *popular*, is listed in DULR IV/318 and DAR 352 – in both dictionaries meaning “penis of a child” – the latter also includes a diminutive *puțică* “little penis of a child” on the same page- Papa-hagi lists *pūță* “penis” (DDA 901).

Cioranescu s. v. *puță* “pene, voz infantil” lists Mr. and Ar. *puță*, and Ir. *puțe*: “Creación expresiva, pertenece a la familia *piț-*, que indica un objedo pequeño (cf. *pipiric*, *pițigoi*, *pitic*, *puțin*). Lo más probable es que esta creación remonta al lat. cf. *praepūtium* ‘prepucio’, *sălăpūtium* ‘renacuajo’, que indican la existencia de un **pūtium*²⁰ ‘pequeño²¹.’” (DER 6990).

2.10. stîrplja < *sterpula f.* ‘young sheep from the second spring onwards’. Cf. PEW: *sterp*, *steárpă* adj. ‘in-

15 We attempted to verify Ribarić’s verb telephoning several reliable informers, but without success.

16 Even if the Slavic Istrian population accepted the form of the type *poropat/parapat* in the time of the first Ir. appearances in Istria, the transformation of *f > p* would not be necessary, as we believe that the phoneme /f/ in the west of the Slavic realm was accepted well before the 15th century, as indicated by the words in Slavic dialects of Istria of the type *Flum* “river Dragonja”, *flonda* “sling” etc., which could not have been accepted after the 15th century! Comp. also the surname *Faraguna*, from the Romanian syntagm *fară gună* “without a shepherd’s goat-skin cloak” (SKOK I/634, s. v. *günj*) < *günna* “sheepskin coat”, REW 3919.

17 1416.

18 Comp. with VIR 143 cited above.

19 Not mentioned in RMGM, though according to Antono Sammartino (co-author of the dictionary) the word exists also in Mundimitar. If the forms of the type *puca* meaning “genitals” is really not known in Dalmatia, the existence of the word in MCr. could support the theories that Molise Croats came to Molise via land, spending a certain period in Istria (for instance Petar Strčić – personal communication).

fertile'. Actually, *stj̄pja* is only sterile from the second spring to early fall, when it is with lamb, yet it retains the same name until it gives birth. After giving birth, she is called *prehodivka*. The word is used generally among the Slovenes.

In Ir. repertoires we find no similar forms, however, we recorded the term designating a sterile sheep in four places: *st̄rpla*, -a, *st̄rple*, -ele f. (Žejane, Letaj), *st̄rple*, -a, *st̄rple*, -ele f. (Nova Vas), *st̄rpljice*, -a, *st̄rpljice*, -ele f. (Šušnjevica) - IrLA 1401.

The term is also known in Chakavian: *stj̄pla* "sterile sheep" (Svetvinčenat, Valtura) - in Valtura also "one-year-old lamb" (ILA 1401., respectively 1405.), *stj̄pla* "two-year-old sheep" (ČL III/547). We found no similar forms in other Chak. repertoires we consulted. Skok discussed Ribarić's term under the entry *st̄rpla*²² "=*stj̄plja* f (Vodice, Slovinci, Istra) = *stj̄plja* (Slov., Senožeče) 'one-year-old sterile sheep, young sheep from the second spring onwards', is an adjective transformed to noun of the f. gender Slov. *stj̄pel*, f -*pla* (with *sheep*). That is also the origin of *st̄rplj̄š* (...) 'ram in Istria', *st̄rplj̄šica* f (Nemanić - sc. Istra) 'lamb born in the winter'. (...) In Slov. there is also a noun version m. *stj̄rp*, gen. *stj̄rpam* (Loška dolina) 'one-year-old goat'. (...) From Vlat. **exstirpus* (prefix *ex* > Ital. *s-* and *stirps*, gen. -*is*), postverbal adjective from the Lat. *exstirpare* or Gr. *στέρηρος* > Mlet. *sterpo*" (SKOK III/348).

The Slovene forms, referred to by Skok, are discussed by Meta Furlan in two entries: the etymology of *stj̄pel* "sterile" is as follows: "The original adj. **st̄trp̄l'b*, f. **st̄trp̄l'a* is probably transferred from the Late Lat. adj. **stirpulus*, f. **stirpula* to the Lat. **exstirps* 'without children, young, family' to *stirps*, -*pis* 'family, tribe; bush, tree; root, fundament, basis'." (ESSJ III/333), and for *stj̄rp* "one-year-old goat": "Transferred from the Friul. adj. *stj̄rpe* 'sterile (cow, woman)' (...), ben. It. *sterpo* 'same' (...), which reflects the Lat. **extirps* 'without family, children, young' from *stirps*, -*pis* 'family, tribe (...)', It. *stirpe* 'family, source' in a similar way as the Rom. *sterp* 'infertile' and Alb. *shterpë* 'sterile', *shterpa* 'sterile sheep' " (ESSJ III/317).

The word is widespread in Italian dialects: *stj̄rpa*, agg. e sf. (trentino, friulano; ladino centrale; veneto settentrionale; marchigiano; campano, anche *strippa*, *stj̄rpa*; abruzzese, anche *strj̄ppj̄*; lucano; pugliese; salentino, anche *strippa*, *stj̄rpa*; calabrese: *strippa*, *stj̄rpa*; siciliano: *strippa*), "sterile, infecondo (di capra, di pecora, di donna); capra, pecora o vacca che non ha ancora figliato" (DIt 416). We adopt the etymology from the same source: "The word also has counterparts in the Balkan-Danubian area (such as the Romanian *sterp* 'ste-

rile') and Albanian (*shterpë* 'id.') and it has been traced etymologically on the one hand to the Latin **exstirpus* 'without descent' and on the other to the Greek *stériphos* 'unproductive'; neither assumption being entirely satisfactory for phonetic and semantic reasons (in the Balkan-Danubian area, unlike in the Italo-Romance area, the word connotes the generic value of 'unproductive', with reference to animals, people, land, etc.); so it is difficult to prefer one to the other. To overcome the difficulties caused by the different variants in the reconstruction of the history of this family of words it seems therefore more appropriate, following Piccillo 1995, to converge the two proposals assuming an ancient loan from Greek to Latin, in the form **ster(i)pus* prior to the second century AD, as suggested by the resulting -*ph-* > -*p-*, and from Latin in the Balkan area; once entered into the Latin, the 'Greek loan would end up taking the values that were typical of *sterilis*, values that the word would later maintain when distributed throughout the Danube area' (Piccillo 1995)."

Comp. also with the Rom. *stj̄rpi* "3. (pop; despre femelele animalelor, mai rar despre femei) a deveni sterp, steril; ași pierde sarcina, a avorta"; *stj̄rpicione* "1. (pop.) animal sterp; 3. (înv.) sterilitate"; *stj̄rpitură* "2. (pop.) femeie stearpă; animal sterp" (DEX 1018); *stj̄rpicios*, -*oasă* "1. sterp", *stj̄rtimei* "(înv.) sterilitate"; *stj̄rpit*, -*ă* 1. (înv și reg.; despre femele sau despre femei) care a avortat; 2. (reg.; despre făt) avortat"; *stj̄rpeală* (reg.; la vite) avort" (DAR 434).

Along with the Rom. *sterp* (-*earpă*) "estéril, infecund" ²³ Cioranescu includes the etymon **extirpus* (DER 8164).

It is hard to answer whether the terms like *stj̄rpla* entered Croatian Istrian speeches from Ir. or some Istro-Venetian speech – the latter would mean that the Ir. forms referred to above are in fact Chakavian loanwords.

2.11. s̄gati, s̄gan along with **s̄glen** impf. 'to suckle'. Cf. PEW: *sug*, Istroromanian *sugu*, *supt* 'to suckle'. Not known in Liburnia; among Slovenes? Along with this *s̄govica* f. 'daffodil' (the plant bears this name as it contains sweet nectar that children suckle).

For "to suckle" in Ir. we recorded: *suže*, *suju* (Žejane), *suže*, *sug* (Šušnjevica), *suže*, *sug* (other villages) (IrLA 410b.). Kovačec recorded *sūže* (Žejane, Jesenovik), *suže* (Šušnjevica) (IRHR 186); Maiorescu *sug*, a *suge*²⁴, *suje*, *supt* (VIR 151); Popovici *suje* (JP 153); Cantemir *suge* (TC 181), Pușcariu *suže* (SI 135, s. v. *suge*) < lat. *sūgēre*, REW 8438, DER 8334.

Skok placed both Ribarić's forms into the dictionary and concluded: "Not sufficiently confirmed. Latinism or Dalmato-Roman lexical remnant or Romanism in Čić

20 **pūtium*, REW 6881.

21 Comp. Cro. and Sln. euphemism *mali* "penis".

22 According to Nemanić, therefore Istria.

23 The same form also in Mr. and Ar.

24 Infinitive in Ir. always without *a*!

language from the Lat. *sūgĕre* > It. *suggere* (litterary for *succhiare*), Rom. prez. *sug*, inf. *suge*. Originating from the same verb with a suffix *-ovica* is *sūgovica* f (Vodice) 'daffodil...'. (SKOK III/357). As far as confirmation is concerned, at present, we find ourselves in the same position as Skok – we found no related verbs in Chak. repertoires.

2.12. šŭrla f. 'shepherd's pipe with a single tube and six holes'; related to *frula*? (...) In Peroj: *sŭrla*. Generally known among Slovenes.

We recorded words signifying "wind instruments" in Žejane *šŭrla*, -a, *šŭrle*, -ele f. and in Škabići *šŭrle*, -a, *šŭrle*, -ele f. (IrLA 1391). Popovici included *surlę*, -a, *za sopi* (JP 153); Cantemir *sŭrle* (TC 181), Byhan *surlę* meaning "skin bellows" (IrG 357), while Sârbu and Fraŭilă give *şurla* meaning "pipe through which spirits flow" (DI 286).

In Boljun *šŭrla* "1. pipe, dem. *sŭrlica* 2. elephant's trunk" (RBG), in Čabrunići *šŭrle* pl. (ILA 1391.), in Istria *sŭrla* "Turkish wind instrument" (ČL I/548), in Brusje on Hvar island *sŭrla* "woodwind" (ČL III/1166), "instrument played by breath (wind instruments, pipes)" (RBrg 671), in Visu *sŭrla* "instrument played by breath" (LVJ 524). Among the Molise Croats *şurla* [ʃu:r'la] (DCM 216) was recorded, as well as *şurlica* [şŭrlica] "whistle, pipe, wind instrument; one of the bones in the leg" (RMGM 150).

According to Skok, Ribarić's forms are Turkisms. He interprets them s. v. *zurna* "wind instruments (in Turkish music)" which are determined as "Balkanian Turkisms from the Tur. Musical terminology". In the continuation he refers to Ribarić's and related forms and concludes: "This variant is a Turkism of Persian origin as well (Tur. *zurna* < Pers. *ssurnā* < *sŭrnāj*, compound word from *sŭr* 'festivity, music' and *nāj* 'Flöte'): Rom. *surlă* '1° Clarinette, 2° Rüssel, 3° Art konische Hütte'." (SKOK III/665).

The word is also known in other Rom. dialects: Dr., Mr. *surlă* (JP, loc. cit.), Ar. *sŭrlă* "instrument de musique (sifflet, clarinette)" (DDA 995), Ar., Mr. *surlă* (DER 8390). In the dictionary of archaisms and regionalisms we also find the form *surlă* which is usually only assigned the meaning in compartment 1. with a note obsolete: "instrument muzical popular de suflat, în formă de fluier, cu mai multe orificii și cu ancie dublă, folosit în trecut mai ales în armată" (DAR 456).

Cioranescu explains the Rom. *surlă* "-1. Trompa, tumba. -2. Jeta, hocico. -3. Montón de maderos dispuestos en pirámide. -4. Cabaña de forma cónica. -Var. 2 *zurnă*" and presumes the Turkish/Persian origin but allows for Slavic interference (directing to the Serbian and Croatian *surla* 'flauta'), while for the forms with *-l-* he states: "Las formas con *l* (ngr. bg. sb.) podrían proceder del rum." (DER, loc. cit.). The authors of DEX give a two-fold etymology for the Rom. *surlă*: "din Scr. (sc. Serbocroatian) *surla*, Bg. (sc. Bulgarian) *zurla*" (DEX 1047); while the one given by the authors of DULR is three-

fold: "din Bulg. (sc. Bularian) *zurla*, sb. (sc. Serbian) *surla*, Turk. (sc. Tur.) *zurna*" (DULR 263).

If the word is indeed a Turkism, then the Ir. language cannot be the origin.

2.13. trzjāk m. 'male lamb born late'; *trzjāka* f. 'the same for female lamb'; *trzjāče*, *trzjāčeta* n. 'the same for both sexes'; along with this *trzjačič* m. dem.; *trzjačica* f. dem.; *trzjačetājce* n. dem.; Cf. PEW; *tŕziŭ* (*tărziŭ*), -ie adj. 'late'. The word *trzjāk* (among Slovenes sometimes also with epenthetic *l* *trzlāk*) is known among all Istrian immigrants; it seems that the Croats who were previously settled in the peninsula accepted the word from them as well. The confirmation for the wide dissemination of the word is provided by the Sht. *tŕze* (I recorded examples of *tŕze* in the vicinity of Banjaluka, from Duvno and from the entire North Dalmatia), but the traces of this word are not firmly confined. In the Istroromanian village Žejane I recorded: *trzjje* 'lamb born late'

In the Ir. repertoires the term is not listed and our inquiries yielded no results of this sort.²⁵

The Vodice term is also listed by Hraste and Šimunović, *trzjāk*, *trzjāka* (ČL I/550); in Imotski *tăzle* "lamb born late" (RIG 222). No record in any of the other repertoires we have consulted.

In ARJ XVIII we find several forms corresponding to Ribarić's: *trza* "term for domestic animals", *trzak* "term for ram born late" (str. 832), *trze* "lamb born very late", *trzešce* "diminutive of *trza*", *trzilo* "term for ram", *trzin* "term for ram", *trzinče* "term for lamb born late", *trzinčić* "diminutive of *trzin*, term for lamb", *trzinka* "term for sheep", *trzivac* "goat or lamb born late", *trzivak* "term for goat born late", *trzivče* "term for goat born late", *trzivka* "term for female goat born late", *trzjačić* "see previous term", *trzjak* "lamb born late", *trzlan* "see previous term", *trzle* "lamb born late" (p. 834), *trzňak* "same as *trze*, *trzinče*", *trzoňa* "term for ox, particularly one born late", *trzoňica* "diminutive of *trzoňa*", *trzovčica* "diminutive of *trzovka*", *trzovka* "term for sheep", *trzuļa* "term for cow", *trzuļica* "diminutive of *trzuļa*" (p. 835) – individual terms used in Lika, Serbia and Chakavian speeches. Parčić lists *trze* and *trzivak* "agnello nato degli ultimi" (RHT 1037).

Many of the terms above have been discussed by Petar Skok in his dictionary s. v. *tŕze*, we are highlighting the following: "This shepherd's term is known to all immigrants to Istria. It is used by also by the people of inland Istria around Pazin. They accepted the term from the Čićs. (...) Among the Istrian Romanians (that is non-Croatised Čićs) in Žejane Ribarić recorded *trzjje* 'lamb born late'. This word is not mentioned by Pușcariu. The Romanian adjective was remade to fit *dvîze*²⁶. In Serbia with a suffix *-le trzle* > *-an trzlan* 'lamb born late', comp. *kozle*. Lexical remnant from the language of Medieval Vlachs." (SKOK III/517).

The use of the above form is very widespread and therefore it is hard to say whether the word entered Is-

25 Not even after recent additional telephonic verifications in Žejane and the southern villages.

trian Chak. speeches from Ir. or whether it was brought by one ethnic group or another from Dalmatia, while it could have entered into the speeches of old settlers either from Ir. or new Chak. idioms.

In either case the term is basically a Rom. adjective corresponding to the literary *târziu* "late" (DEX 1078) < Lat. **tardīvus*, REW 8576.

2.14. Ušōra f. – name of a certain water spring under underneath a large rock (in the forest). Formant *-ora* foreign? < *-oara*? *Uš-oara*, Rom. 'little door'?²⁷

It could actually originate from *uščioarā* "little door" (DEX 1142) = *ušā* "door" (DEX 1142) < *ūstium*, REW 6117.2 + *-oarā*, however, we find it more acceptable to draw the origin from *ușor* meaning "weak, feeble" (DEX 1142) < *lēvis*, REW 5004. In any case, we have too little information to draw more pertinent conclusions.

2.15. žinžire f. pl. 'gums, dental flesh'; cf. PEW²⁸: *gingie* 'gums'. The word is generally known among Slovines but is not known to previously settled Croats.

We also recorded: *žinžire*, *-a*, *žinžir*; *-rle ž.* (Žejane), *zinžire*, *-a*, *zinžire*, *-ele f.* (Šušnjevic), *žinžira*, *-a*, *žinžire*, *-ele f.* (Jesenovik, Letaj, Miheli). In Brdo, Škabići, Trkovci and Zankovci *žinžila*, *-a*, *žinžile*, *-ele f.* – contaminated with *žila*? In Kostrčan *gīngira*, *-a*, *gīngire*, *-ele f.* – corresponding to Italian forms of the *gingiva* type.

Kovačec lists *žinžire*, *-a*, *žinžir*, *-le* from Žejane and *žinžile*, *-ele* from Brdo (IRHR 229), Sârbu and Frațilă *jinjira* (DI 221), Popovici *jinjire* (JP 117), Cantemir *jinjire* (TC 168), Pușcariu *žinžire*, *žinžirina*, *zinžirele*, *žinžure*, *žinžirele*, *žinžire* (SI 114), Byhan *žinžirę* (IrG 392).

In Chak. repertoires we have used we found no similar forms except in Pićan, *žinžive* "gums (flesh surrounding the teeth)" (PI 136), however, this is a loanword from some Istro-Venetian form.

Skok discussed Ribarić's term under the entry *džëndživa* "gums" (Dubrovnik): "The form *žinžire* f. pl.

(Slovines in Istria, Vodice, not known among Istrian old settlers Croats Bezjaks, Pazin) 'the same' corresponds perfectly to Istrum. *žinžire*, *zinšure*, *žinzirina* < **gingina* (onomatopoeic reduplication instead of *gingīva*) (...) In the case of Slovines this word originates from Čić speech." (SKOK I/472).²⁹

Ir. form corresponds to the Rom. *gingie*, Ar. *dzindzie* < Lat. *gingīva*³⁰ (DER 368 – contains also the Ir. *žinžire*).

ABBREVIATIONS

- Ar. – Aromanian
- Arb. - albanian
- bg. – Romanian type neutrum gender
- not. – note
- Bug. – Bulgarian
- Ch. – Chakavian
- Cro.-Croatian
- Dr. – Daco-Romanian
- f. – female gender
- impf. - imperfekt
- Ir.– Istroromanian
- lit. – literary/literature
- Lat. – Latin
- m. – male gender
- MCr. – Molise-Croatian
- Mr. –Megleno-Romanian
- n – neutrum gender of the Croatian type
- Pers. - Persian
- Rom. - Romanian
- Serb. – Serbian
- Sht. - Shtokavian
- Slav. – Slavic
- Sln. - Slovenian
- Tur. - Turkish

26 "The form *dvi-* expanded by *-z* appears in an adjective *dviz* (16th century) 'two-year'; today used only in shepherds terminology in names ending in *-bc*, *-āk*, *-ica*, *-ka*, *-e* (gen. *-eta*), *-če*, (gen. *-četa*): *dvizac*, gen. *dvīsca* = *dvizāk* m 'two-year-old ram' to f *dvizica* = *dvīska* 'two-year-old sheep or goat' = *dzvīska* (Kosmet) 'bullock', *dvize* n. 'two-year-old sheep' = *dvize* (Kosmet) 'one year old lamb or goat that did not become a ram, a sheep or a goat', *dvīšče* n., col. Ending in *-ad* f.: *dvizād* = *dvīščād*. In the Poljica statute *dviz* is an adjective alongside *brav*: *dvizi bravi* 'two-year-old sheep'. From there also with compound prefix *-arka*, *-orka* *dvizarka* f. (1777, Kosmet) 'female sheep' = *dvizōrka*." (SKOK I/464, s. v. *dvā*).

27 This toponym is not listed among the words of Romanian origin in the introduction to Ribarić's dictionary.

28 721.

29 Followed by: "Ribarić also discusses *gingina* with preserved velar pronunciation *g* (as in *galatina* etc.) as a peculiar parallel form for Istrum. *ženžire*. Unfortunately he does not say where exactly this form is spoken. It would represent a most interesting lexical remnant of Dalmatoromanian, but it requires some additional information." The adapter editor of the new edition left this part out. In the Serbian edition from 1940 s. v. *žinžire* is mentioned: "A foreign parallel form of *gingina* sf. = Ir. *žinžire*."

30 Lat. *gingīva*, REW 3765.

PRESTITI ISTRORUMENI NELLA PARTE DI VOCABOLARIETTO NEL SAGGIO SUI
DIALETTI ISTRIANI DI JOSIP RIBARIĆ

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RIASSUNTO

Nel presente saggio sono elaborati i lemmi definiti da Josip Ribarić d'origine rumena: bâta, birikàta, cùma (a Carnitia), degečkàti, glindùra, mugàra, petrikàti (a Korleviçi patrukàti), Poropàt, pùca, stÿpļa, sùgati, šûrla (se legato a frùla), tÿzjàk, žinžìre. Le forme della parlata di Vodice riportate da Ribarić vengono regolarmente paragonate alle parole istrorumene e ciacave simili, raccolte dall'autore o trovate nei vari repertori dei rispettivi idiomi. Per ogni parola elaborata si riporta la soluzione etimologica.

Parole chiave: istrorumeno, dialettologia, etimologia, lessicologia, Istria

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