

Observations on Latin and Latin-mediated loans in Serbo-Croatian

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1 Introduction

1.1 Latin-mediated?

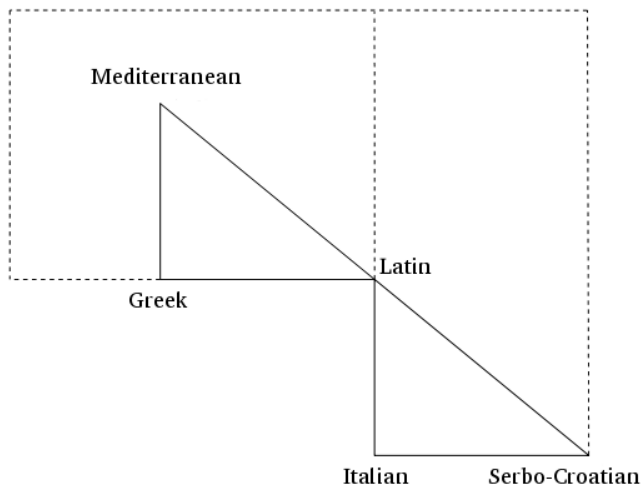


Figure 1: Mediation Maze

2 Loans and Paradigms 1

2.1 Criteria

Matasović takes into account only those Romance loans which have been loaned before one or more of the following changes took place in Slavic: 1. *a > o; 2. *o > u; 3. *ū > y; 4. *k, *g > c, dz in front of front vowels; 5. *sj > š; 6. *tj > ć; 7. *ol, *or > la, ra; 8. *el, *er > lě, rě.

2.2 Corpus A: Vulgar Latin Data

I give here the data exactly like presented in Matasović (2007) with some exceptions:

1. If the other data conforms, I list only the crown-evidence which is usually sourced back to AR; if it does not conform, I list the disturbance as well.¹

¹Abbreviations in this section: AR - *Akademski rječnik*; BI - *Broz-Iveković*; ČDL - *Čakavisch-deutsches Lexikon*; JR - *Jurišić*; SK - *Skok*; VI - *Vinja*.

2. I have capitalized all Latin words for reasons of traditional scholarship and standardized it in writing (*u* and *v* as different signs) but have not interfered in it in any other way.

2.2.1 Common Nouns

1. AR kòleda,-u, *f.* "carol" (a) < CALENDAE
2. AR kolòbār,-ára, *m.* "ring" (b) < COLUMBAR
3. AR kònoba,-u, *f.* "tavern" (a) < CANABAE
4. AR kràs,-a, *m.* "karst" (a) < *CARSU
5. AR līgnja,-u, *f.* "squid" (a) < LOLLIGINE²
6. BI olīgānj,-ánja, *m.* "squid" (b) < LOLLIGINE³
7. AR lòćika,-u, *f.* "lettuce" (a) < LACTŪCA
8. AR ljŭlj,-a, *m.* "darnel" (a) < LOLIU
9. ČDL mīr, mīrà, *m.* "wall" (b) < MŪRU
10. AR òcat,-cta, *m.* "vinegar" (b) < ACĒTU
11. AR òltār,-ára, *m.* "altar" (b) < ALTĀRE
12. AR plòča,-u, *f.* "plate" (a) < G pláks⁴
13. AR pògača,-u, *f.* "bannock" (a) < FOCĀCEA
14. Sk pògan,-a *m.* "pagan" (a) < PĀGĀNU
15. Sk pòlača,-u, *f.* "palace" (a) < *PALATIA⁵
16. Sk pŭč,-a, *m.* "well" (a) < PUTEU
17. AR ràčŭn,-úna, *m.* "bill" (b) < RATIŌNE
18. AR ràža,-u, *f.* "skate" (a) < RAIA
19. AR ràka,-u, *f.* "grave" (a) < ARCA
20. Sk rŭsalje,-āljā, *f.* "Pentecost" (a) < ROSĀLIA
21. AR víno,-a, *n.* "wine" (b) < VĪNU
22. AR vřč,-řča, *m.* "beaker" (b) < URCEU
23. AR vřt,-řta, *m.* "garden" (b) < HORTU
24. AR vřtača,-u, *f.* "sinkhole" (a) < HORTĀCEA
25. AR vřtal,-tla, *m.* "garden" (a) < HORTULU
26. AR žàkan,-a, *m.* "deacon" (a) < DIĀCONU
27. ČDL žèžin,-a, *m.* "fast" (a) < ĪĪŪNIU

pro: exx. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

contra: exx. 4, 8, 14, 16, 25, 26, 27.

2.2.2 Place Names

1. AR Brâč,-áča *m.* (b) < BRATTIA

²LŌ(L)ĪGINE

³See footnote 2.

⁴PLATEA

⁵PALĀTIA

2. AR Càvtat,-a, *m.* (a) < CĪVITĀTE
3. AR Cètina,-ē, *f.* (a) < CENTŌNA
4. AR Crès,-a, *m.* (a) < CREPSA
5. AR Dráva,-u, *f.* (b) < DRAVU⁶
6. AR Dúvno,-a, *m.* (b) < DELMINIU
7. AR Hvâr,-ára, *m.* (b) < PHARIA
8. AR Křk,-řka, *m.* (b) < CURICU
9. AR Kùpa,-u, *f.* (a) < COLAPE
10. AR Làbin,-ína, *m.* (b) < ALBŌNA
11. AR Mljèt,-a, *m.* (a) < MELETA
12. AR Nàdìn,-ína, *m.* (b) < NEDINU⁷
13. AR Nîn,-ína, *m.* (b) < (AE)NŌNA
14. AR Nòrìn,-ína, *m.* (b) < NARŌNA
15. AR Òmiš,-íša, *m.* (b) < ALMISSA
16. AR Pèča,-u, *f.* (a) < PETTIA
17. AR Plòče,-ôčā *f.* (a) < PLATEA⁸
18. AR Plòmìn,-ína, *m.* (b) < FLANŌNA
19. AR Pòlača,-u, *f.* (a) < *PALATIA⁹
20. AR Pòstira,-u, *f.* (a) < PASTŪRA
21. SK Poveljāna,-u, *f.* (a) < PAULANU¹⁰
22. AR Pròmìna,-u, *f.* (a) < PROMŌNA
23. AR Râb,-ába, *m.* (b) < ARBA
24. AR Râša,-u, *f.* (a) < ARSIA
25. AR Rîm,-íma, *m.* (b) < RŌMA
26. AR Sáva,-u, *f.* (b) < SAVU¹¹
27. VI Sīs,-isa, *m.* (b) < SŪRSU
28. AR Skràdìn,-ína, *m.* (b) < SCARDŌNA
29. AR Sòlìn,-ína, *m.* (b) < SALŌNA
30. AR Sùsak,-ska *m.* (a) < SANSACU
31. AR Trílĵ,-ílĵa, *m.* (b) < TELŪRI
32. AR Trògír,-íra, *m.* (b) < TRAGŪRIU
33. AR Vír,-íra, *m.* (b) < ŪRA
34. AR Vís,-ísa, *m.* (b) < ISSA
35. AR Žnjân,-ána, *m.* (b) < JUNIANU¹²

pro: *exx.* 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35.

contra: *exx.* 2, 4, 5, 11, 26, 30.

⁶DRĀVU

⁷NEDĪNU

⁸See footnote 4.

⁹See footnote 5.

¹⁰PAULĀNU

¹¹SĀVU

¹²IŪNIĀNU

2.3 Claims

Claim 1a:

“The distribution of nouns and toponyms between the paradigms A and B seems to be rather clear-cut, and the best predictor of the AP appears to be gender. Namely, nearly all the feminine nouns belong to AP A, while masculines [...] mostly belong to AP B.” (Matasović 2007:112)

Claim 1b:

“Although the majority of masculine nouns belong to AP B in our corpus, there are some that are accentuated according to AP A. [...] However there are apparently no feminines belonging to AP B, which is a completely unexpected finding; the contrast between feminines and masculines is well illustrated with the opposition between the hydronym *Cětina*, which is from L *Centōna*, and belongs to AP A, and numerous toponyms such as *Sòlìn*, which is from L *Salōna*, and belongs to AP B. The only conditioning factor that could explain the difference in accentuation between these two words seems to be the gender they have in Slavic.” (Matasović 2007:113)

Claim 2:

“Although some cases are not completely clear, and accentual data are incomplete for some nouns, there do not appear to be any early loanwords belonging to AP C [...]” (Matasović 2007:112)

3 An Intermission

3.1 Accent in Latin and Early Romance

Nom.	rósa	pópulus	rátio	párs	pórtus	rés
Gen.	...	...	ratiónis	...	...	...
Dat.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Acc.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Voc.	...	...	rátio	...	...	...
Abl.	...	...	ratióne	...	...	...
nom.	...	...	...	...	...	...
gen.	rosárum	populórum	...	...	...	...
dat.	...	...	...	...	...	...
acc.	...	...	...	...	...	...
voc.	...	...	...	...	...	...
abl.	...	...	...	...	...	...

4 Loans and Paradigms 2

4.1 Corpus B: Early Dalmatian Data

4.1.1 Common Nouns

This corpus consists of Dalmatian loans from Dubrovnik dialect. Etymologies are quoted mostly according to [11, 13, 14, 15] in the References.

1. àrkuo,-la, *m.* "dish" (a) < ARCULU
2. àrla,-u, *f.* "yard" (a) < ĀRULA
3. bītva,-u, *f.* "beet" (a) < BĒTA
4. bjëčva,-u, *f.* "sock" (a) < VITTEA
5. bosíok,-òka, *m.* "basil" (b) < BASILICU (*βασιλικόν*)
6. bùklo,-a, *n.* "hole" (a) < *BUCCULU (BUCCA)
7. bùkva,-u, *f.* "bogue" (a) < *BŌCA (*βῶξ*)
8. būs,-a, *m.* "barberry" (a) < BUXU
9. dūmna,-u, *f.* "nun" (a) < DOMINA
10. dùpin,-ína, *m.* "dolphin" (b) < DELPHĪNU (*δελφίς*)
11. đīr,-a, *m.* "stroll" (c) < GŪRU (*γῦρος*)
12. gājba,-u, *f.* "case" (a) < CAVEA
13. gār būn,-úna, *m.* "charcoal" (b) < CARBŌNE
14. grāsta,-u, *f.* "vase" (a) < GASTRA (*γάστρα*)
15. gūčula,-u, *f.* "goiter" (a) < *GOTIOLA
16. gūń,-a, *m.* "skirt" (c) < GONNA
17. jājjer,-a, *m.* "air" (a) < ĀERE
18. jār buo,-ula, *m.* "mast" (a) < *ARBULU (ARBOR)
19. jāstog,-a, *m.* "lobster" (a) < ASTACU (*ἄστακος*)
20. jāvra,-u, *f.* "mullet" (a) < AUREA
21. jèguļa,-u, *f.* "eel" (a) < ANGUILA
22. kāntor,-a, *m.* "black seabream" (a) < CANTHARU (*κάνθαρος*)
23. kāpula,-u, *f.* "onion" (a) < *CEPOLLA (CAEPA)
24. kàrginja,-u, *f.* "fig" (a) < CĀRICA (sc. FĪCUS)
25. kèlomna,-u, *f.* "pillar" (a) < COLUMNA
26. kèrostat,-a, *m.* "candle" (a) < CĒROSTATU
27. klāk,-a, *m.* "whitewash" (a) < CALCE
28. klāvstro,-a, *n.* "cloister" (a) < CLAUSTRU
29. kjērna,-u, *f.* "grouper" (a) < ACHĒRNA (*ἄχαρνος*)
30. křb,-a, *m.* "shi drum" (a) < CORVU
31. krješva,-u, *f.* "cherry" (a) < CERASU
32. křklo,-a, *n.* "dress ornament" (a) < CIRCULU
33. lòčika,-u, *f.* "lettuce" (a) < LACTŪCA
34. lòkārda,-u, *f.* "mackerel" (a) < LACERTA
35. lòmbrak,-a, *m.* "peacock wrasse" (a) < *LABRACU (*λάβραξ*)
36. lòpiža,-u, *f.* "scorch" (a) < LAPIDEU
37. lùkjērna,-u, *f.* "lamp" (a) < LŪCERNA
38. lukjèrnār,-āra, *m.* "lamp" (b) < LŪCERNARIU

39. mǎšaĭ, -šĭa, *m.* "male" (a) < MĀSCULU
40. mīr, -īra, *m.* "wall" (b) < MŪRU
41. mjēnduo, -ula, *m.* "almond" (a) < MENDULU (ἀμύγδαλον)
42. mīrča, -u, *f.* "myrrh" (a) < MYRTEA
43. mīrkjēnta, -u, *f.* "rock" (a) < *MŪRICENTA (MŪREX)
44. mīrnār, -āra, *m.* "sailor" (b) < MARINĀRIU
45. mūnīta, -u, *f.* "money" (a) < MONĒTA
46. mūrīna, -u, *f.* "moray" (a) < MŪRAENA
47. nārīkla, -u, *f.* "sea-snail" (a) < *NĀRĪTULA (νηρίτης)
48. nēpūča, -u, *f.* "niece" (a) < *NEPŌTIA (NEPTIS)
49. nēpūt, -a, *m.* "nephew" (a) < NEPOTE
50. ōblānta, -u, *f.* "host" (a) < *OBLĀTA (OFFERŌ)
51. ōlīgān, -gāna, *m.* "squid" (a) < LŌL(L)ĪGINE
52. ōrmār, -āra, *m.* "wardrobe" (b) < ARMĀRIU
53. ōvrata, -u, *f.* "snapper" (a) < AURĀTA
54. pāĭe, -āĭa, *pl. f.* "sawdust" (a) < PALEA
55. pēča, -u, *f.* "a lot" (a) < PETTIA
56. pīnuo, -úla, *m.* "pine cone" (b) < *PĪNEŌLU (PĪNUS)
57. pižuo, -úla, *m.* "stone bench" (b) < PODIŌLU
58. plākjēr, -éra, *m.* "satisfaction" (b) < *PLACĒRE
59. plānta, -u, *f.* "plant" (a) < PLANTA
60. plāna, -u, *f.* "plane" (a) < PLĀNIA
61. pluvijō, -ijāla, *m.* "raincoat" (b) < PLUVIĀLE
62. pōlača, -u, *f.* "palace" (a) < *PALĀTIA (PALĀTUM)
63. pīrīkla, -u, *f.* "fritter" (a) < *FRITULA
64. prōsuĭa, -u, *f.* "pan" (a) < *FRĪXŌRIA (FRĪGŌ)
65. pūč, -ūča, *m.* "well" (b) < PUTEU
66. rēča, -u, *f.* "net" (a) < *RĒTIA (RĒTE)
67. rečijāk, -āka, *m.* "throwing net" (b) < RETIACULU
68. rēkesa, -u, *f.* "ebb" (a) < RECESSU
69. rōmjēnča, -u, *f.* "dish" (a) < *(AE)RAMENTIA (AĒS)
70. saĭātūr, -úra, *m.* "pawl" (b) < *SERATŌRIU (SERA)
71. sàplūn, -úna, *m.* "soap" (b) < *SABULŌNE (SABULUM)
72. sĭglo, -a, *n.* "colander" (b) < SITULU
73. sĭpa, -u, *f.* "cuttlefish" (a) < SĒPIA
74. sòlār, -āra, *m.* "balcony" (b) < SŌLĀRIU
75. spārog, -a, *m.* "asparagus" (a) < ASPARAGU (ἀσπάραγος)
76. sūmpor, -a, *m.* "sulfur" (a) < SULPURE
77. tēmpla, -ā, *pl. n.* "temples" (a) < TEMPORA
78. trākta, -u, *f.* "net" (a) < *TRACTA (TRAHŌ)
79. trīgla, -u, *f.* "red mullet" (a) < *TRIGLA (τρίγλη)
80. tūnj, -a, *m.* "tuna" (a) < THUNNUS (θύννος)
81. vōga, -u, *f.* "alge" (a) < ALGA
82. žmūo, -úla, *m.* "beaker" (b) < *MODIŌLU (MODIUS)
83. ...

pro: *exx.* 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 19, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 78, 79, 81, 82

contra: *exx.* 1, 6, 8, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 26, 28, 30, 32, 35, 39, 41, 49, 51, 72, 75, 76, 77, 80

5 Analysis

5.1 Paradigm Distribution

On the basis of corpora A and B we arrange the words according to paradigm and gender affiliation.

5.1.1 Feminines

AP (a) kòleda, kònoba, lìgnja, lòcika, plòča, pògača, pòlača, ràka, ràža, rùsalje, vřtača; àrla, bìtva, bjěčva, bùkva, dùmna, gājba, gràsta, gùčula, jāvra, jèguļa, kàpula, kàrginja, kèlomna, kjèrna, krješva, lòcika, lòkārda, lòpiža, lùkjèrna, mřča, mřkjènta, mùnīta, mùrina, nàrikla, nèpūča, òblānta, òvrata, pàļe, pèča, plānta, plāña, pòlača, prikla, pròsuļa, rēča, rēkesa, ròmjēnča, sīpa, trākta, trīgla, vòga.

5.1.2 Masculines

AP (a) kràs, ljùlj, pògan, pùč, vřtal, žàkan, žèžin; àrkuo, bùs, jàjer, jàrbuo, jàstog, kàntor, kèrostat, klàk, křb, lòmbrak, màšaļ, mjènduo, nèpūt, òligań, spàrog, sùmpor, tùnĵ.

AP (b) kolòbār, mīr, òcat, oligānj, òltār, ràčūn, vřč, vřt; bosíok, dùpīn, gār-būn, lukjèrnār, mīr, mřnār, òrmār, pińuo, pižuo, plàkjēr, pluvijō, pùč, rečijāk, saļātūr, sàplūn, sòlār, žmūo.

AP (c) đīr, gūń.

5.1.3 Neuters

AP (a) bùklo, klāvstro, křklo, sīglo, tēmpla.

AP (b) víno.

6 Conclusion

6.1 True or False?

True ultimae were fully pronounced:

[lakt'u:ka] ALGA [ˈalga] LŪCERNA [lu:k'erna] AURATA [awr'a:ta]

False ultimae were silent (or somehow semi-pronounced):

ALTĀRE [alt'a:r] RATIOŅE [rati'o:n] LŪCERNĀRIU [lu:k'ern'a:r] PODIŌLU [podi'o:l]

I denote false ultimae in lower case: ALTARe, RATIONe, LUCERNARiu, PODIOLu

6.2 The Two Towers

(a) feminines

ârla,-u < ĀRULA

dŭmna,-u < DŌMINA

lòčika,-u < LACTŪCA

òvrata,-u < AURĀTA

rèča,-u < RÉTIA

vôga,-u < ĀLGA

...

...

(a) masculines

vřtal,-tla < HŌRTULu

žàkan,-a < DIÁCONu

jăjer,-a < ĀERe

jăstog,-a < ÁSTACu

kântor,-a < CÁNTHARu

jârbuo,-ula < ÁRBULu

lòmbrak,-a < LÁBRACu

ôrxan,-a < ÓRPHANu

àrkuo,-ula < ÁRCULu

kèrostat,-a < CERÓSTATu

măšaḷ,-šḷa < MÁSCULu

mjênduo,-ula < MÉNDULu

nêpŭt,-a < NÉPOTe

spărog,-a < ASPÁRAGu

sŭmpor,-a < SŪLPURE

...

(b) masculines

òltâr,-ára < ALTĀRe

ràčŭn,-úna < RATIOŅe

pižuo,-úla < PODIŌLu

gàrbŭn,-úna < CARBŌNe

lukjèrnâr,-ára < LŪCERNĀRiu

saḷatŭr,-úra < SERATŌRiu

pluvijŏ,-ijála < PLUVIÁLe

sàplŭn,-úna < SABULŌNe

dùpĭn,-ína < DELPHÍNu

mŕnâr,-ára < MARINĀRiu

òrmâr,-ára < ARMĀRiu

piŕnuo,-úla < PĪNEŌLu

sòlâr,-ára < SŌLĀRiu

žmŭo,úla < MODIŌLu

plàkjēr,-éra < PLACĒRe

...

7 Abstract

In this paper I shall discuss the findings that R. Matasović presented at *IWoBA* 1. In the paper entitled “On the accentuation of the earliest Latin and Romance loanwords in Slavic” he argues that paradigm affiliation can be easily predicated on the basis of gender, so that *a*-stems (feminines) are affiliated to a.p. A and *o*-stems (masculines) to a.p. B while there are no a.p. C loans. Regardless of certain points of disagreement, what I intend to do in light of this discovery is, first, corroborate the corpus of evidence supporting the claim, then, to account for some counter-evidence disapproving it. More importantly, I intend to address the issue of codependent criteria, in terms of accentology and etymology, and their mutual role in the matters of stratification of Latin, Latin-mediated and Neo-Latin loans in Serbo-Croatian.

8 Abbreviations

AP – Accent paradigm
Dalm. – Dalmatian
f. – feminine
G – Greek
It. – Italian
L – Latin
m. – masculine
Mdt. – Mediterranean
n. – neuter
pl. – plural
sg. – singular
SCr. – Serbo-Croatian
Ven. – Venetian
VL – Vulgar Latin

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