

LINGUISTIC PARTICULARITIES OF ISTRO-ROMANIAN TERMS FROM THE SEMANTIC FIELD OF CELESTIAL BODIES AND ATMOSPHERIC PHENOMENA

ANA-MARIA RADU-POP¹, GABRIEL BĂRDĂȘAN²

Abstract. Our study aims to analyse the set of Istro-Romanian terms that fall into the semantic field of celestial bodies and atmospheric phenomena. We analyse a corpus of Istro-Romanian words extracted from Goran Filipi's atlas of Istro-Romanian. These terms represent the linguistic realizations of some notions that belong to the conceptual field of celestial space as a whole, but also to the elements that populate it and to the atmospheric phenomena inherent in this environment. The Istro-Romanian terms are investigated from an etymological perspective and, through the high or low degree of generality of the notions they define, reflect certain tendencies of linguistic representation from an etymological point of view: the non-specialised vs. specialised conceptual relationship is expressed linguistically, at the level of the semantic field analysed, in many of the cases presented, by the inherited term - borrowed term lexical relationship. The generally observable, but not exclusive, tendency at the level of this semantic field in the vocabulary of Istro-Romanian is that of naming a generic notion by a term inherited from Latin and taking a loanword from Croatian or Italian to designate specialized notions.

Keywords: Istro-Romanian, semantic field, celestial bodies, atmospheric phenomena, etymological research, inherited word, loanword.

1. INTRODUCTION

Any semantic field offers the possibility of observing the manner in which the speaker relates to their living environment from different perspectives. The existence of the individual is connected to the natural environment in which they live and they perceive subjectively, while still participating in the creation of a model/pattern adopted by the community to which the individual belongs.

At the language level, this perception of reality is manifested through specific lexical actualizations and through single and novel associations of terms, all of them reflecting a particular linguistic partition of the world. Regardless of the context in which the individual lives, their relation to space, time and natural phenomena is implicit and necessary, an aspect that is also reflected in communication, at the level of the vocabulary of any

¹ West University of Timișoara, ana.pop@e-uvv.ro.

² West University of Timișoara, gabriel.bardasan@e-uvv.ro.

language. An interesting case is constituted by the lexico-semantics of the field of atmospheric phenomena in Istro-Romanian, a historical dialect of the Romanian language that developed approximately from the thirteenth century in a foreign-language-speaking environment, following the split of Proto-Romanian. The specificity of this language is both the result of the linguistic contacts established over time by Istro-Romanian speakers with peoples of various origins, and its vulnerable functional status.

Our research is based on the most recent and substantial examination of the vocabulary of the Istro-Romanian dialect. Thus, we consider the linguistic material recorded in Filipi's ALI to be representative and of significance, unique for the variety of recorded forms as they are structured in semantic fields, and by the complete network of investigation points in the area where this language is used.

Through the analysis we propose, we aim to evaluate and interpret the Istro-Romanian linguistic material regarding the naming of atmospheric phenomena, recorded in ALI, to form an idea of how Istro-Romanian speakers perceive and express this extralinguistic reality. In this sense, relying on an excerpted linguistic corpus, we will follow the internal structuring of the semantic field discussed, its etymological profile, the overlaps and spatial differentiations between northern and southern Istro-Romanian speech, and we will also reveal the characteristics that reflect a specific kind of linguistic representation among the community of Istro-Romanian speakers.

The daily, exclusively rural, existence of the Istro-Romanians is connected with the mountainous geographical region, dominated by Monte Maggiore (Cr. Učka Gora), the local climate in the vicinity of the Adriatic Sea, and related atmospheric phenomena. All these give rise to particular conceptual representations and, from a communicative point of view, distinctive turns of phrase, among the Istro-Romanian community. The history of the Istro-Romanian people has meant that their language has remained a purely local one, with a limited social function and a restricted/limited lexical inventory, which only allows the designation of elementary, material and spiritual extralinguistic realities. This characteristic is also confirmed by the lexical poverty of Istro-Romanian naming of concepts in the class of celestial bodies and natural phenomena.

2. CORPUS ANALYSIS

From the semantic point of view, the elements belonging to the lexical field analysed allow the following delimitation³: a) celestial bodies (*soare, lună, stele*), the space in which they are found (*cer*) and specific time intervals (*zi, noapte*); b) primary atmospheric realities/phenomena: precipitation and deposition (*a ploua – ploaie, a burnița, grindină, lapoviță, rouă, brumă, zăpadă, gheață*), winds, air drifts and currents (*vânt, briză, trombă, vârtej, furtună*), light, sound and electroluminescent phenomena (*curcubeu, a fulgera – fulger, a tuna – tunet*).

³ The semantic organization of the Istro-Romanian linguistic material analysed represents an adaptation of the model of the terminology of atmospheric phenomena proposed in Florescu (2015).

2.1. Istro-Romanian terms that define celestial bodies, the space in which they are found, and specific time intervals

Sun

To define ‘the principal incandescent and luminous celestial body of our planetary system, around which the Earth and the other planets of the system gravitate and revolve, and by whose light and heat life on earth is sustained’ (MDA s.v. *soare*), in every Istro-Romanian speaking community investigated the lexeme used is *sore*, art. *sorele* (see ALI 1, ALI 3, ALI 16), which continues, like Ro. *soare*, Aro. *soare*, MRo. *soari*, Latin *sōl*, *-em*, while the Latin term that defines ‘the straight line along which the light propagates’ (MDA s.v. *rază*), *radius* has been kept just in Megleno-Romanian (*radză*) and Daco-Romanian (*rază*) among the other Romanian dialects. For the same notion, in Istro-Romanian the single loanword of Croatian origin *zrâca/zrâca* (< Cr. *zraka*) is used. Thus, for the notion of ‘sunbeam’ in Žejane the noun + noun in Gen. construction case – *zrâca* (*o zrâca, do zrâke*) *sórelui* (Ž)⁴ has been recorded. In the communities of Istro-Romanian speakers south of Monte Maggiore a similar structure has been recorded, but with differences regarding the genitive case marking – *zrâca* (*o zrâca, do zrâke*) *lu sórele* (Z, M, K), but also in prepositional constructions with the accusative: *zrâca* (*o zrâke, do zrâke*) *de sóre* (Š, N); *zrâca* (*o zrâca, do zrâke*) *de sóre* (J, B, Šk, T); *zrâca* (*o zrâca, do zrâke*) *de sore* (L).

Among the actions relating to the semantic sphere of celestial bodies recorded in ALI there is *a arde* ‘(of the Sun) to spread a great heat’ (MDA s.v. *arde*), or *a apune* ‘(of stars) to disappear below the horizon’ (*ibidem* s.v. *apune*), the answers received highlighting differences not so much in the linguistic representations of the notions mentioned, but especially in their etymological profile. Thus, the inherited term *cóče* (< Lat. *cōcēre* [= *cōquēre*]; see Ro. *coace*, Aro., MRo. *coc*) is used to express the semantic content ‘(to) burn’ (ALI 3) in 9 of the 11 communities investigated: *Sórele* (*un sóre*) *cóče*. (N, J, L, B, Šk, T, Z, M, K), the speakers from Žejane and Šušnjevića resorting to verbal borrowings taken from Croatian dialects spoken in the vicinity to express the same notion: *Sorele pečé* (Ž) (see also dial. Cr. *Sunce peče*, in Čepić, south of Monte Maggiore; Cr. *pečí* ‘(to) bake’), respectively *Sorele teplé*. (Š) (< dial. Cr. *teplit, tepliti* ‘to heat’).

From the perspective of the origin of the words used to define the notion of ‘to set’, the inherited – loanword ratio changes compared to the situation described above (see *a arde*), Istro-Romanian words of Croatian origin being used in 10 of the 11 communities investigated: *Sórele zahaĭé* (Ž); *Sórele zehĭé*. (N, L, B, Šk, T); *Sórele zehaĭé* (J) (< dial. Cr. *zahaja* pres. 3 sg ‘sets, goes down (of the sun)’), respectively *Sórele* (*zidit-a* pret.) (Z); *Sórele zidé*. (M, K) (see Old Slavonic *zidati* – the expressive association between the building of a wall and the setting of the sun not being impossible). This aspect is explicable if we bear in mind that the two notions observed belong to different spheres of the lexicon – common (*a arde*) and specialized (*a apune*) with all its implications. Thus, the verb *cóče*, given as an answer to the question ALI 3 ‘the sun burns’, has a strong position in the structure of the Istro-Romanian vocabulary, defining both methods of thermal cooking of food and drinks: *Coptór za coče pâra* (Š) (Pe-Ne, cited by DDI, s.v. *coče*); *Ieu știu coče cârna* (Pa, cited by DDI, s.v. *coče*); *Pu’u se coče su scrile* (Kovačec, cited by DDI, s.v.

⁴ Ž = Žejane, Š = Šušnjevića, B = Brdo, J = Jesenovik (Sucodru), K = Kostrčan(i), L = Letaj, M = Miheli, N = Nova Vas (Noselo), Šk = Škabići, T = Trkovci, Z = Zankovci.

coče); *Cadęra za coęe rakięa* (Š) (ALI 1307); as well as the sensation of a type of physical pain resembling a burn: *Rakięa coče-n gut* (Da, cited by DDI, s.v. *coče*) ‘brandy burns the throat’; *Limba me coče* (N) (Kovačec; Da, cited by DDI, s.v. *coče*) ‘my tongue burns’, while *zehaję* (with its phonetic variants) is semantically specialized, being used strictly to define the disappearance of the sun below the horizon and IRo. *zidęi* to define the action of ‘building’ – the disappearance of the sun being implicitly likened to what happens when someone building a wall gradually disappears behind it as bricks are added.

The semantic content ‘to set’ is conveyed in Šušnjevića through a periphrastic structure, which brings together elements of Latin and Croatian origin: *Sórele meš-a dúpa brig* ‘The sun went behind the hill’ and which reproduces the extralinguistic reality – the predominantly hilly terrain around the village of Šušnjevića – in a rather non-figurative manner.

Moon

As can be seen from the periphrastic structures recorded to define the notions of ‘moon ring’ (ALI 4), ‘full moon’ (ALI 5), ‘new moon’ (ALI 6), ‘moonrise’ (ALI 17), the term *lura*, a continuation of Lat. *lūna*, *-am* (see DRo., Aro., MRo. *lună*) is recognized throughout the linguistic area analysed, but it has a heterogeneous usage, which varies according to the notion named and the location of the community. Thus, if for the expression of the semantic contents ‘full moon’, ‘new moon’, ‘moonrise’ the inherited word is preferred in all the investigated communities [*pl’ira lúra (o lúre)* (Ž, J, L, B, Šk, T, Z, K), *pl’ira lúra (o lúre)* (Š, N), *pl’ira lúra (o lúre)* – at Miheli it appears as a synonym and a loanword of Croatian origin, *ušćáp* (M) (ALI 5 ‘full moon’) –, respectively *mlâi*, *nova lúra* (Ž), *lúra tírere* (Š), *tírera lúra* (N), *tírera lúra* (J, next to the synonymous loanword of Croatian origin *kosirić*), *tírara lúra* (L, B, T, Z), *tírara lúra*, *mlâi* (Šk), *tírara lúra* (K) (ALI 6 ‘new moon’); *Lúra ięše* (Š), *Lúra ięše* (N), *Lúra ięšavę* (J), *Lúra ięše*. (L, B, Šk, T, M), *Lúra iăše* (Z), *Lúra iăše* (K) (ALI 17 ‘moonrise’)], to define the ‘moon ring’ (ALI 4) the context is a little more nuanced, the answers recorded highlighting both the existence of periphrastic constructions in whose structure the inherited term may or may not be detectable [*corlăcu (ăń corlăc, doį corlăč, doį corlăc) co de lúra* (Ž); *colombăru (un colombăr, doį colombăr) okóli de lúra* (J, L); *vitíęa (o vitíęa, do vitíęe) de lúra* (B, T); *vitíęa (o vitíęa, do vitíęe) lu míseęu, mísečina* (Šk); *părstenu (un părstén, doį părstén) ócoli de míseę/ lúra* (M)], as well as the use of a single loanword of Croatian origin: *o coşirięe* (*do coşirięe*) (Š); *o cosirięe* (*do cosirięe*) (N) (< dial. Cr. *mesec na kosirić* ‘moon ring’); *o ruşila* (*do ruşile*) (Z); *un părsten* (*doį părstén*) (K) (< Cr. *prsten*).

In contrast to Ro. *lună*, which bears the meaning of ‘satellite of the Earth which revolves around it and illuminates it during the night’ (MDA), as well as the meaning of ‘time period equal to each of the 12 divisions of the calendar year, lasting from 28 to 31 days’ (MDA) (the temporal sense existed in popular Latin, see Ciorănescu 2002), IRo. *lura*, Aro., MRo. *Luna* are recorded only with the first meaning. For ‘month’, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian use the word that continues Lat. *mensis* – Aro., MRo. *mes*, and Istro-Romanian uses a loanword of Croatian origin – *miseę* (see Sărbu-Frăţilă: 30), which is recorded with both meanings, ‘heavenly body’ and respectively ‘period of time’: *miseęu de zile* (Kovačec, cited by DDI, s.v. *miseę*); *Iă stăt-a bire cu ię, ma samo sase miseę*. (Pu I 10/11, cited by DDI, s.v. *miseę*) ‘She lived well with him but only for six months’ etc.

Star

The forms recorded in the ALI for the notion of ‘star’ highlight a particular situation regarding the etymon of some Istro-Romanian terms (most likely) inherited from Latin, whose position in the Istro-Romanian vocabulary seems to have been strengthened by the existence in Italian of some words very similar in form and meaning (see Pop, Bărdășan 2009: 266). Thus, the form *stęla* recorded in the phrases *stęla de șerę* (Š, N)/*stęla de șera* (J, L, B, Šk, T, Z, M, K) ‘evening star’ (ALI 13); *stęla ęe cadavę* (Ž)/*stęla kă cadavę* (Šk)/*stęla cajuta* (Š)/*stęla cazuta* (L, B, T, M, K) ‘shooting star’ (ALI 15); *stęla cu coda* ‘comet’ (ALI 15); *stęla Danięa* (Ž, L, B, T)/*stęla Danięa* (Šk) ‘evening star’ (= ‘zvijezda Danica’) (ALI 10), *ęa măre ștęla* (Šk) ‘North Star’ (ALI 12), seems to be the result of a formal overlap between the inherited form *stę*, *-vu*, a continuation of the Lat. *stęlla*, *-am* (see also Aro., MRo. *steauă*), with numerous appearances (see Bărdășan 2016 s.v.) and It. *stella*, Ven. *stela*. This hypothesis also seems to be supported by the additions made by the informants, who also remember the inherited form: “On our pressing her to give us other forms for ‘star’, the informant recalled *o stę*, *do stęvure*, art. *stęvu*, *stęvurle*, while her son claimed that it was pronounced *o stęv*, *do stęle*, art. *stęvu*, *stęlele*” (ALI, note 4, p. 64).

If the generic term to denote ‘any celestial body (except the moon and the sun) shining by night in the vault of the heavens’ (MDA) is to be related, as mentioned, to Lat. *stęlla*, *-am*, to express notions with a higher degree of specialization, Istro-Romanian resorts to Croatian loanwords and, to a lesser extent, Italian loanwords. Thus, the constellations *Ursa major* and *Ursa minor* (ALI 8, ALI 9) are named with the help of partial calques on Cr. *veli voz* ‘Big Dipper’ (= lit. ‘big cart’/*veliki medved* ‘Ursa Major’: *măre voz* (Ž), *măre voz* (Š, J, B, Z, M, K), *măre vozič* (Šk), *măre medvid* (N, L, T), respectively after dial. Cr. *mići voz*, *vozič* ‘Little Dipper’ (= lit. ‘little cart’)/Cr. *mali medved* ‘Ursa Minor’: *Micu voz* (Ž, Š, J, B, Z, M, K), *micu voziču* (Šk), *micu medvid* (N, L, T), and for the ‘constellation of the Pleiades’ (ALI 14), a Croatian loanword, namely *Vlășići*, is used in all the communities analysed.

A particular situation has been recorded in Škabići, where alongside the responses *măre voziču/micu voziču*, the constructions *măre lup* (‘big wolf’)/*micu lup* (‘little wolf’) were also recorded. Along with the phrases built around the form *stęla* (see above), the semantic content ‘falling star’ is also designated by a loanword of Italian origin – *o cometa*, *do comete* (J) (< It. *cometa*), or a borrowed phrase from the Croatian language – *zvezda kaplę* (N).

Day, night, sky

Those essential notions for everyday communication, the time periods between sunrise and sunset, or between sunset and sunrise - ‘day’ and ‘night’, as well as the space where the stars are located and especially the part of this space seen above the horizon – ‘the sky’ are defined in Istro-Romanian by terms inherited from Latin, just as in the other historical dialects of Romanian: IRo. *zi* (< Lat. *dies*, *-em*; v. and Ro. *zi*, Aro. *quă*, MRo. *zuă*): *zija* (Š, N, J, L, B, Šk, T, M, Z, K) *se lucrę* (Š)/ *se lucra* (L, B, Šk, T, Z, M, K)/*zbudę* (N)/*budę* (J) ‘day breaks’ (ALI 17; see ALI 18), IRo. *nopte/noptę/nopta* (ALI 18), recorded in all communities (< Lat. *nox*, *noctem*; see Ro. *noapte*, Aro. *noapte*; MRo. *noapti*, *nopti*), or IRo. *ęer* (N, J, B, Šk, T, Z, M, K) (ALI 34; see ALI 35)/*ęer(u)* (L, Š) (ALI 34, 35) (< Lat. *caelum*, *-um*; see Ro. *cer*, Aro., MRo. *ęer*). As in every Romanian dialect (see PEW), IRo. *ęer* is also recorded in the speech of older people with the meaning of

‘roof of the mouth’ (see Kovačec, cited by DDI, s.v. *čer*¹): *čerū me dore* (Ž) ‘the roof of my mouth hurts’ (*ibidem*).

2.2. Istro-Romanian terms defining primary atmospheric realities/phenomena: precipitation and deposition; winds, drafts and air currents; light, sound, electrical and electroluminescent phenomena

To rain, to drizzle

The Istro-Romanian forms inherited from Latin *plōji* ‘to rain’ [< Lat. *pluēre*]; see Ro. *ploua*, Aro. *ploaie*, *pluare*], respectively *plóje* [< Lat. **plovīa* (= *plūvia*, -*am*); see Ro. *ploaie*, Aro. *ploaie*, MRo. *ploiă*] are recorded, somewhat surprisingly, only in the villages with Istro-Romanian speakers located south of Monte Maggiore, not to the north, in Žejane, although the speech of this area is known for its lexical conservatism. Thus, the semantic content equivalent to ‘it is raining cats and dogs’ (ALI 26) is rendered, depending on the community, with a construction with the verb *plōji*: *Plóje ca ŝi din cǎbǎia* (N), *Plóje ca ŝi din cǎbǎ* (J); *Plóje ca din cabǎl* (L, B, T); *Plóje ca din brénta* (Šk); *Plóje ca ŝi din brénta* (Z); *Plóje ca ŝi din cǎbǎ*. (K), with a phrase based the verb *cadé* (< Lat. *cadere*): *Cadé ca ŝi din cabǎ* (Š); *Cǎde ca ŝi din brénta* (Z); *Cadavé ca din brénta*. (M), or via the noun *plōje* in Noselo: *Plója lužé* –, and a loanword of Croatian origin in Žejane: *Livé ca ŝi din cǎbǎl*.

The verb *plōji* is also used in the sentence *pomálo plóje* ‘it drizzles’ (ALI 25), recorded in Nova Vas (Noselo), Brdo, and Škabići, respectively *plója pomálo*, in Zankovci. In the other communities, the same meaning is conveyed through two loanwords of Croatian origin: *rosé* (< Cr. *rositi* ‘to drizzle’), in Žejane, Šušnjevisa, Letaj, Trkovci, Miheli, and Kostrčan(i), or *comizl’é* in Jesenovik (Sucodru).

The noun *plōje* is both the basis for derivatives *o plójițe* (*do plójițe*) (N); *o plójița* (*do plójițe*) (J); *o plójița* (Z) ‘sprinkle’ (ALI 28), and the central element of the constructions focused on the notion of ‘light rain’: *miké plóje* ‘sprinkle’ (N); *míca plóje* (L, B, Šk, T, M); *slǎba plóje* (Z) (see ALI 28), or ‘heavy rain, downpour’ – *mǎre plóje* (ALI 27), recorded in Nova Vas (Noselo); to define the same notion in the other communities of Istro-Romanian speakers two terms of Croatian origin are used: *pl’usác* (Š, L, B, Šk, T)/*pl’úsác* (J, K) (< dial. Cr. *pljusak*) and *nalívița* (Z, M) (< see Cr. *naliti* ‘(of liquid) to pour, to spill’).

To snow, snowflake, snow, sleet

Both in the Istro-Romanian-speaking communities north of Monte Maggiore and in those to the south, the definition ‘solid atmospheric precipitation, in the form of white flakes, made up of frozen water crystals’ (MDA s.v. *snow*) is created using a word inherited from Latin – *ne* (Ž, Z)/ *ne* (Š, N, J) (ALI 31; see also below ALI 29) (< Lat. *nix*, *nivem*), preserved, moreover, in all four historical dialects of the Romanian language: Ro. *nea*, Aro. *neauă*, MRo. *neauă*, *neună*. The same lexeme, *ne/ne*, expresses, together with the verb *cadé* [< Lat. *cadere*], respectively *capl’i* (< see Cr. *kapati* ‘to drip’; Cr. *kaplja* ‘drip’) the action of ‘snowing’: *nevu capl’é* (Š); *capl’é nevu* (J); *neú capl’é*, together with the Croatian loanword *snijé* (< dial. Cr. *siniži*) (N); *cǎde néa* (L, B, Šk, T); *cǎde neú* (Z); *nevu cadavé* (M); *cadavé néa* (K) (ALI 29), while the notion of ‘sleet’ (‘rain mixed with snow or ice’ – MDA s.v. *lapovița*) is expressed unitarily in the Istro-Romanian area by a loanword

of Croatian origin: *o súsnejița* (*do súsnejițe*) (Ž); *șușnișke* (*do șușnișke*) (Š); *o susnișke* (*do susnișke*) (N); *o susnișca* (*do susnișke*) (J, L, B, Šk, T, Z, M, K) (ALI 30) (< Cr. *susnježica* ‘lapovița’).

The definition of the notion ‘(snow)flake’ (ALI 31) is created with the help of a phrase only in Žejane, the snowflake being perceived by the Istro-Romanian speakers in this community as having the shape of a star – *stêla de neț*, *o stêlița* (*do stêlițe*) (Ž). In the rest of the communities, a loanword of Croatian origin is preferred – *pahúlê* (< Cr. *pàhulja*), *pahúl'ița* (< Cr. *pàjuljica*).

Ice, hail

With referentially obvious links, the semantic contents ‘ice’ (‘water in a solid state, after freezing’, MDA s.v. *gheață*) and ‘hail’ (‘atmospheric precipitation made up of pebble-shaped ice particles’, MDA s.v. *grindină*) differ in the origin of the terms by which they are conveyed in Istro-Romanian. For ‘ice’, a lexeme inherited from Latin is used – *glâța/glâțe*⁵ [< Lat. *glacies*, -em]; see Ro. *gheață*, Aro. *gl'ață*, Mro. *gl'eț*), recorded in all the localities investigated (ALI 39). In the communities of Šušnjeвица, Nova Vas (Noselo), Jesenovik (Sucodru), Letaj, Brdo, and Trkovci this term also has a synonym of Croatian origin, *led*, recorded as well with the meaning of ‘thick ice’ in Miheli (ALI, p. 74, note 17). For ‘hail’, loanwords from dialectal or literary Croatian have been exclusively recorded: *o yrâșca* (*do yrâșke*) (Ž) (< see Cr. *grašak* ‘pea’); *o zârne de grâșițe* (*do zârne de grâșițe*) (Š, N); *o zârna de grâșița* (*do zârne de grâșițe*) (J); *o grâșița* (*do grâșițe*) (L, B, Šk, T, M) (< dial. Cr. *grașica*); *o zârna de grâd* (*do zârne de grâd*) (Z) (< dial. Cr. *zărno grada*); *o zârna de grâșița* (*do o zârne de grâșițe*) (K) (ALI 40 ‘hailstone’); respectively *o yrâșca* (*do yrâșke*) (Ž); *o yrâșițe* (*do yrâșițe*) (Š, N); *o yrâșița* (*do yrâșițe*) (J, L, B, Šk, T, K); *o grâd* (*do grâd*) (Z, M) (< Cr. *grad* ‘hail’) (ALI 41 ‘hail’, ‘stone’).

Dew, frost

Of the notions that constitute the semantic subfield of ‘depositions resulting from the condensation of water vapour’, the ALI questionnaire included, ‘dew’ (‘drops of water formed during the clear nights of spring, summer and autumn by the condensation of vapors from the atmosphere and which are deposited on the ground and on objects in the open air’, MDA s.v. *rouă*) and ‘frost’ (‘Fine snow crystals that form at night (in the transitional seasons) by freezing water vapour in the atmosphere and which falls on plants, on soil, on objects’, DEX 2009 s.v. *brumă*), conveyed in Istro-Romanian by loanwords of Croatian origin, with the comment that, in most of the Istro-Romanian linguistic area, the same lexeme is used to denote both notions – *rosa* (< Cr. *rosa* ‘dew’): *o rósă* (*do rósă*) (Ž, J, L, B, Šk, T, Z, M, K); *o rósę* (*do rósę*) (Š, N); *rósul'ę* (*do rósul'e*) (N) (< Cr. *ròsulja*) (ALI 32 ‘dew’); or *o rósă* (*do rósă*) (Ž, L, B, Šk, T, Z, M, K); *mrâz*, *mrâj* (Š); *mrâz* (N, J) (< dial. Cr. *mrâz*) (ALI 20 ‘frost’).

Wind, breeze, tornado, whirlwind, storm

IRo. *vint* ‘wind’, the continuant of Lat. *vēntus*, -um (see Ro. *vânt*, Aro. *vint*, *vintu*, *vimtu*, Mro. *vint*, *vintu*, *vimtu*), is not recorded in ALI as a term to define generically ‘the

⁵ See also *o giâța* (*do giâč*) (Šk).

horizontal movement of an air mass caused by the pressure difference between two regions of the atmosphere' (DEX 2009 s.v. *vânt*) – moreover, such a question is not even included in the ALI questionnaire -, but it does appear as a central element of some phrases that show, mainly, the intensity of the movement of air masses horizontally *mic vint* 'breeze' (Š) (ALI 48), respectively *târe vint* 'gust' (Z) (ALI 49) and, thereby, as the basis of some derivatives that convey the notion of 'breeze': *vintič* (Ž, N, Šk, M, K), *mic vintiț* (Š), *mic vintič* (Z) (ALI 48). In the other communities, the 'breeze' and 'gust' are rendered through loanwords of Italian origin, which are also found in Croatian dialects, from where, most probably, they also entered Istro-Romanian: *ârița* (J), *ârița*⁶ (L, B, T) 'breeze' (ALI 48) (< It., Ven. *aria*, Cr. *arija*), or *réfulu de bóre/bore* (N, J, K), *un réful (doḱ réful)* (L, T, M); *un réful (do réful)* (B) 'gust' (ALI 49) (< ven. *rêfulo*, It. *rêfolo*, Cr. *reful*); *un šiun (do šiune)* (Šk) 'gust' (ALI 49) (< It. *scione*, Ven. *sión*, Cr. *šijun*). Two terms of Croatian origin were also recorded for the meaning 'breeze': in Letaj, Iro. *vetrič* (< dial. Cr. *vetrič* 'breeze'), together with IRO. *ârița*, and in Jesenovik (Sucodru) – IRO. *bâvița* (< see It., Ven. *bava di vento*, dial. Cr. *bava* 'breeze').

Istro-Romanian *bóre/bore* (< It., Cr. *bora*), in the construction *réfulu de bóre/bore* (ALI 49), recorded in the communities of Nova Vas (Noselo), Jesenovik (Sucodru) and Kostrčan(i), is a strong wind from the east which appears often personified in stories (Morariu 31: *Verit-a maḱ pîrvi Gîrbin (ali Levanti o Široco). [...] Vire Tramontana. [...] Ahmoče vire B o r a* (see DDI, s.v. *bora*).

For the 'violent atmospheric disturbance which generates strong winds and precipitation, often in gusts, accompanied by electrical discharges' (MDA s.v. *furtună*), the answers received to question number 50 ('storm') of the ALI questionnaire reveal the existence of no less than five lexemes, loanwords of Croatian or Italian (literary Italian or Venetian dialect) origin: *o nevrême (do nevrême)* (Ž, J, L, B, Šk, T, K); *nevrêmeḱ (do nevrême)* (N), *mâre nevrême (do nevrême)* (M) (< dial. Cr. *nevrime*); *un temporâl (doḱ temporâli)* (Š), *un temporâl (doḱ temporâl)* (N) (< Ven. *temporal*, It. *temporâle*; see și Cr. *tempuroḱ*); *o fortunę (do fortunę)* (Š) (< Ven., It., Cr. *fortuna*); *o tempęsta (do tempęste)* (J) (< Ven., It. *tempęsta*, Cr. *tępęsta*), *o olúia (do olúie)* (Z) (< Cr. *oluja*).

Rainbow, lightning (lightning strikes), thunderbolt, thunder (to thunder)

The semantic content defining a 'multicoloured arc appearing in the sky as a result of refraction, total reflection and dispersion of sunlight in water drops in the atmosphere' (MDA s.v. *curcubeu*) is conveyed in most communities south of Monte Maggiore through a loanword from Croatian dialects spoken in nearby towns: *o mâvrițę (do mâvrițę)* (Š, N); *o mâvrița (do mâvrițe)* (J, L, B, Šk, T, Z, M, K) (ALI 47) (< dial. Cr. *mavrica* 'idem'; in the community of Tărcovți there has also been recorded the synonym *cânița* < dial. Cr. *kanica*). For Žejane, a metaphorical construction is recorded, eloquent of the way in which the inhabitants perceive this phenomenon, considered, as in some Daco-Roman dialects (Florescu 2015: 133), to be similar to the 'girdle of God': *ȳrbu lu domniču* (Ž) (ALI 47).

Luminous electrical discharges – produced between two clouds or inside a cloud or between a cloud and the ground/objects on the ground - and the loud noise with which they are sometimes accompanied - thunder, as well as related actions, 'to lighten' and 'to thunder', are defined with loanwords of Croatian (the Croatian dialects spoken in the

⁶ In Šušnjevića, *ârițę* is recorded with the meaning of 'air' (ALI, p. 78, note 21).

vicinity or from literary Croatian) and Venetian dialect origin: *o stréla* (*do stréle*) (Ž, J, L, B, Šk, T, Z, M, K); *o stréle* (*do stréle*) (Š, N) ‘lightning’ (ALI 43) (< dial. Cr. *strela*; see Cr. *strijela*); *ãn ȳrom* (*doi ȳrómure*) (Ž) ‘thunder’ (ALI 45) (< Cr. *grom*); *o saĳete* (*do saĳete*) (Š); *o saĳete* (*do saĳete*) (N); *o saĳeta* (*do saĳete*) (J, L, B, Šk, T, M); *o saĳete* (*do saĳete*) (Z, K) ‘thunderbolt’ (ALI 45) (< Cr. *šajeta*, ven. *saieta*); *o gãrm’ãvina* (*do gãrm’ãvine*) (Ž, J, L, B, Šk, T, Z, M, K) (< Cr. *grmljavina*); *o gãrm’ãviŃe* (*do gãrm’ãviŃe*) (Š, N) ‘thunder’ (ALI 42). For the notion of ‘lightning strike’ the following answers have been recorded: *bliské* (3rd pers. sg.) (< dial. Cr. *bliskat*, *bliskati* ‘a fulgera’), *creŃé* (3rd pers. sg.) (Ž) (< Cr. *krèsati*, *krešem* ‘to spark’); *migé* (3rd pers. sg.) (S); *migéĳi* (*ĳo migés*) (N, J, L, B, T, Z, M, K) (< dial. Cr. *migat*, *migati* ‘to strike a lightning’); *lascatéĳi* (*ĳo lascatés*) (Šk) (< dial. Cr. *laskitati* ‘to strike, of lightning’) (ALI 44), and for ‘to thunder’ – *ȳarmĳi* (*ĳo ȳarmés*) (Ž); *gãrmé* (3rd pers. sg.); *gãrmé se* (3rd pers. sg. refl.); *gãrméĳi* (*ĳo gãrmés*) (J, L, B, Šk, T, Z, M, K) (ALI 46) (< dial. Cr. *grmi*).

3. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The corpus of Istro-Romanian terms selected from the semantic field of celestial bodies and atmospheric phenomena, drawing on ALI, is a microcosm of the general trends of the Istro-Romanian lexicon. The celestial space as a whole, together with the elements that populate it and the atmospheric phenomena inherent in this environment, represent extralinguistic realities to which the speakers relate due to the connexion between the individual and the environment in which they live, which they perceive and express in different ways.

The semantic field analysed has allowed the delimitation of two classes of terms with relatively different positions in Istro-Romanian vocabulary depending on the degree of generality of the notions they define. Quantitatively, the corpus of Istro-Romanian terms that define celestial bodies and atmospheric phenomena is limited and includes lexical elements that designate notions bound to be present in the basic vocabulary of any language. To express specialized notions in this field, there is frequent recourse to periphrastic constructions, calques or loanwords from contact languages.

From an etymological perspective, a constant fluctuation is observed between the terms inherited from the Latin layer of the vocabulary and the terms borrowed especially from dialectal or literary Croatian, but also from Italian or Venetian. Maintaining a historical approach to the terms analysed, we may state that the notional relationship [-specialized] vs [+specialized] is realized linguistically, at the level of the semantic field, in many of the cases discussed, by the lexical relationship inherited term vs loan term.

To define some fundamental notions/generic realities from the subclass of *celestial bodies*, *the space in which they are found and the delimited time intervals*, such as ‘sun’, ‘moon’, ‘sky’, ‘day’, and ‘night’, the terms generally used in the Istro-Romanian linguistic area are inherited from Latin: *sore* (< Lat. *sōl*, -em), *lure* (< Lat. *lūna*, -am), IRO. *čer* (< Lat. *caelum*, -um), *zi* (< Lat. *dĳes*, -em), *nopte/noptę/nopta* (< Lat. *nox*, *noctem*). A particular case is represented by the terms defining the notion of ‘star’, the form recorded in ALI (IRO. *stęla*) illustrating the formal and semantic overlaps between a term inherited from Latin and a loanword of Italian or Venetian origin.

The situation changes linguistically in the case of naming particular extralinguistic realities, for example ‘sunbeam’, ‘moon ring’, or the constellations ‘Ursa major’ and ‘Ursa minor’, ‘Pleiades’. Therefore, in the expression of the content meaning ‘sunbeam’ in Istro-Romanian, a continuant of the Latin *radius* is not used, but an etymologically hybrid phrase in the structure of which the Croatian loanword *zrâca/zráca* appears alongside the noun determiner *sore* in the accusative or genitive case. Moreover, if generic notions such as ‘full moon’ and ‘new moon’ are expressed by the term inherited from Latin, the same does not happen in the case of the meaning content ‘moon ring’, where the relation between the inherited and borrowed terms changes: we find the use of some periphrastic constructions with or without a Latin term in their structure or only some borrowings from Croatian. In the case of some particular notions conceptually related to ‘star’ we observe the use in Istro-Romanian either of partial calques on Croatian syntagmatic constructions – for naming the constellations ‘Ursa mare’ and ‘Ursa mica’ –, or of a loanword – for naming the ‘Pleiades’.

The same notional relationship ‘general vs particular’, or ‘non-specialized vs specialized’ is lexically realized in Istro-Romanian not only through the class of nouns, but also through the class of verbs that designate specific actions in the semantic field analysed. Thus, specific phenomena associated with ‘the sun’, recorded in the ALI responses, are ‘the spread of solar heat’, meaning ‘to burn’, and ‘sunset’, meaning ‘to set’. Etymological analysis of the Istro-Romanian verbs that render the two phenomena associated with the ‘sun’ allows the following observation for ‘to burn’ (with reference to the ‘sun’): in most communities with Istro-Romanian speakers, an inherited term is used: *cóče* (< Lat. *cōcēre* [= *cōquēre*]), only Žejane and Šušnjeвица using loanwords from neighbouring Croatian dialects. The polysemy of the verb inherited from Lat. *cōquēre*, its antiquity and high degree of conceptual generality mean that IRo. *cóče* ‘to burn’ has a consistent representation at the dialect level compared to the notion ‘to set’ (of the ‘sun’), which has a higher degree of specialization and a particular linguistic expression. This is why in Istro-Romanian it is used to render this semantic content exclusively verbal loans of Slavic origin *zehaiĕ* (< dial. Cr. *zahaja*) și *zidĕĭ* (see Old Slavonic *zidati*).

The subclass of Istro-Romanian words that define primary atmospheric realities/phenomena: precipitation and deposition; winds, drifts and air currents; luminous, sound, electrical and electroluminescence phenomena further highlights the dichotomous relationship of inherited term vs loaned term, based on the same non-specialized vs specialized correlation of the terms in this semantic field. The linguistic rendering of meaning contents through lexical units inherited from Latin, or through borrowings, is observable in the case of some notional pairs such as: ‘to rain’, ‘rain’ or ‘to drizzle’; ‘snow’ or ‘sleet’; ‘ice’ or ‘hail’. From the analysis of the answers recorded by ALI for the notion equivalent to ‘raining cats and dogs’ we can see the use in Istro-Romanian of some expressions whose verbal core in most southern localities is the inherited term *plōĭi* ‘to rain’ [< Lat. *pluēre*], unlike Žejane where, contrary to expectations, the verbal expression is constructed with the loanword of Croatian origin *livĕ*. The Istro-Romanian noun *plōĭe* [< Lat. *plūvia*, -am] is noted as a generic term for ‘rain’, but also as a derivative base or definite element in the case of compound lexical units that express the intensity of rain. In some communities with Istro-Romanian speakers, Croatian loanwords are used instead of *plōĭe*: *pʹusác/pʹúsác* and *naliviĕa*.

The presence of the verb *plōĭi*, together with the adverb *pomalo* ‘slowly’, is observable in some Istro-Romanian communities, rendering the content meaning ‘to drizzle’. Instead of the periphrastic construction *pomálo plōĭé/ plōĭa pomálo*, two loanwords of Croatian origin are used in the other survey points: *rosé* or *comizʹé*. A similar relationship is also

observable in the linguistic expression of the notions ‘snow’ or ‘sleet’: the persistence of the inherited term *ne/ne* (< Lat. *nix, nivem*) to name ‘snow’, even in the periphrasis that renders the associated atmospheric phenomenon ‘to snow’, contrasts with the widespread use of the Croatian loanword *súsnejița/șușnișke/susnișke/susnișca* (< Cr. *susnježica*) to name the notion of ‘sleet’. The partitive conceptual relationship ‘snow’ – ‘flake’ reveals at the level of the Istro-Romanian dialect the same tendency to reduce the use of the inherited term, present only in the speech of Žejane in a syntagmatic representation of the notion analysed (*stêla de ne*), and even to replace of it with a Croatian loan in the other localities investigated: *pahúl'e* (< Cr. *pàhulja*), *pahúl'ița* (< Cr. *pàjuljica*). The etymological relationship discussed is even more sharply defined in the case of the notional pair ‘ice’ – ‘hail’: Lat. *glacies, -em* has continuations in all Istro-Romanian communities (*gl'âța/gl'âțe*) to render the notion of ‘ice’, but enters into a relationship of synonymy with the Croatian loanword *led* in a few southern localities, while for the notion of ‘hail’ the linguistic representation in Istro-Romanian is created exclusively through loanwords from dialectal or literary Croatian: *grășca* (< see Cr. *grašak* ‘pea’), *grășite/grășite/grășița* (< dial. Cr. *grašica*), *grâd* (< Cr. *grad* ‘hail’).

The exclusive use of loanwords is observable in the naming of notions related to specific, particular realities, such as ‘dew’ and ‘frost’, which in Istro-Romanian are referred to by the same word – *rosa* (< Cr. *rosa* ‘dew’), in most investigation points, or by different terms, in several of the investigation points: *rósul'e* (< Cr. *ròsulja*) for ‘dew’, respectively *mrâz, mrâj* (< dial. Cr. *mrâz*) for ‘frost’.

Although in the material investigated by ALI there are no complete answers as to how the notion of ‘wind’ is expressed in Istro-Romanian, the term inherited from Latin (IRo. *vint* ‘wind’, continuation of Lat. *vēntus, -um*) is recorded for the notions ‘breeze’ and ‘gust’, expressed in some Istro-Romanian survey points as syntagmatic units or in the structure of some derivatives. In this case, we observe Istro-Romanian speakers resorting to a term inherited from Latin for the expression of some specialized content of meaning: *mic vint, mic vintîț, vintîț*, for ‘breeze’, respectively *târe vint* for ‘gust’. For these notions, in most communities, loans of Italian origin are recorded, which have entered into dialectal Croatian and from there into the speech of Istro-Romanians: *ârjița, ârija* ‘breeze’ (< It., Ven. *aria*, Cr. *arija*), respectively *rêful* (< Ven. *rêfulo*, It. *rêfolo*, Cr. *reful*) and *șijun* ‘gust’ (< It. *scione*, Ven. *siôn*, Cr. *šijun*). The isolated uses of the term for ‘breeze’ involve Croatian loanwords: IRo. *vetrič* (< dial. Cr. *vetrič* ‘wind, breeze’), IRo. *bâvița* (< see It., Ven. *bava di vento*, dial. Cr. *bava* ‘breeze’).

The subclass of notions related to violent, sonorous, electric and electroluminescent atmospheric phenomena is designated exclusively by borrowed terms, the justification of this tendency being the specialized nature of the meanings in question. So, in all inquiry points, for ‘storm’ various loanwords from Croatian or Italian are used: *nevrême* (< dial. Cr. *nevrime*), *temporal/temporâl* (< Ven. *temporal*, It. *temporale*; see Cr. *tempuröl*), *fortuneț* (< Ven., It., Cr. *fortuna*), *tempêsta* (< Ven., It. *tempèsta*, Cr. *tênpesta*), *olúia* (< Cr. *olujia*); for ‘lightning’: *stréla/stréleț* (< dial. Cr. *strela*; see Cr. *strijela*); for ‘thunderbolt’: *grom* (< Cr. *grom*) and *saiéteț/saiéteț/saiéta/saiéte* (< Cr. *šajeta*, Ven. *saièta*); for ‘thunder’: *gârm'lâvina* (< Cr. *grmljavina*); *gârm'lâvițe* (see above *gârm'lâvina*). We find the same abundance of borrowings in the name of the verbal actions ‘lightning strikes’: in Istro-Romanian there are recorded forms based on dial. Cr. *bliskat, bliskati* ‘lightning strike’, Cr. *krêsati, krešem* ‘to spark’, dial. Cr. *migat, migati* ‘to flash’, dial. Cr. *laskitati* ‘to flash’. For the semantic content ‘to thunder’ ALI records Istro-Romanian forms deriving from dial. Cr. *gromi* in all communities.

The entire lexical set analysed reflects, on the one hand, a relatively stable Romance continuity in defining generic notions from this semantic field, and on the other hand

linguistic pressure from the contact languages, which means that a large part of specific notions in the sphere of celestial bodies and atmospheric phenomena is designated by Croatian literary or dialectal loanwords or by Italian and Venetian origin loanwords.

From the perspective of the linguistic partition of the world that the linguistic communities generally achieve, we find that the group of Istro-Romanian speakers has constantly opted either for general Romanian representation, or for taking over this linguistic representation from the other community with which it has lived over time. The weak functional prestige of Istro-Romanian meant that a distinctive linguistic profile, specific to this community, had not clearly emerged, except in isolated cases. In these senses, we consider significant, for the semantic field analysed, the referentially motivated periphrastic structure ‘to set’, used of the sun: *Sórele meš-a dúpa brig* ‘The sun went behind the hill’, noted in one of the investigated communities, and the metaphorical construction for defining the ‘rainbow’: *ȳrbru lu domniču* ‘girdle of God’, recorded in Žejane.

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