

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΑ: ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΧΡΟΝΙΑ
GREEK LANGUAGE: SYNCHRONY AND DIACHRONY

- 1 -

Ελληνική ετυμολογία Greek etymology

Επιμέλεια

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ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΕΙΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ
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Greek Y in Dalmatian Romance

O. LIGORIO

1. Introduction

1.1 Spoken in the eastern coast of the Adriatic, Dalmatian, a Romance language, became extinct in the 15th century while still virtually undocumented, with the exception of Vegliot, a minor dialect of Dalmatian spoken on the island of Krk, which lived on until the 19th century, when it was documented and when it too became extinct, but a significant number of Dalmatian borrowings survived in Serbo-Croatian which, when they are stripped of the Slavic and the Serbo-Croatian elements, constitute the document of the Dalmatian language.

1.2 In this paper I address the question of Greek *v* in Dalmatian Romance, of its history and of its development, and, further, I address the merit this question holds for the broader issue, of whether the Greek borrowings in Dalmatian were inherited from Vulgar Latin or, in fact, borrowed from Greek, and, consequently, I embrace the underlying problem, of whether the Greek borrowings in Serbo-Croatian of Dalmatia were borrowed directly from Greek, or indirectly, from Greek via Dalmatian, and try to tackle this problem (or, at least, to the extent that the present subject allows).

2. Material

The material which I propose for analysis (see 3) and discussion (see 4) consists of 34 etyma containing Gk. *v* which have been borrowed into Serbo-Croatian via Dalmatian Romance, as it is generally assumed or as it can plausibly be assumed.¹ (See 2.1–2.34 below.) The material which has been excluded is listed in 2.36.

I am particularly indebted to Nikola Vuletić of Zadar University, who helped me collect the data for this paper and was even so kind as to allow me to publish a part of his fieldwork data for Banjol on Rab (Vuletić 2016).

¹ Other etyma of Greek origin in Dalmatian Romance – whether borrowed directly from Greek or inherited via Vulgar Latin and not containing Gk. *v* – include: *ἀβρότανον*, PLSA 67; *ἀήρ*, 71; *αἰγιαλός*, 71; *ἄκανθα*, 68; *ἀστακός*, 81; *ἄφθαι*, 77; *ἄχερνα*, 69; *ἀψίνθιον*, 67; *βαίος*, 84; *Βαρβάρα*, 84; *(τὰ) βράγγια*, 88; *βρέφος*, 89; *βῶξ*, 87; *γάστρα*, 142; *γόγγρος*, 116; *δελφίς*, 124; *διάπλους*, 125; *δίκελλα*, 125; *δόναξ*, 127; *δράκαινα*, 127; *δράκων*, 127; *ἐγκαυστος*, 130; *ἐμπλαστρον*, 129; *ἐργάτης*, 130; *καθέδρα*, 102; *κάλαμος*, 91; *κάλανδρος*, 91; *κάμινος*, 93; *κάμμαρος*, 92; *κάναστρον*, 94; *κάνθαρος*, 95; *κάννα*, 95; *κέντρον*, 105; *κερασός*, 107; *κέφαλος*, 106; *κόγχη*, 115; *κόκκος*, 114; *κολίας*, 114; *κόλπος*, 114; *κόμαρος*, 115; *κόραξ*, 118; *κοχλίας*, 114; *κλεισούρα*, 113; *κρεμαστήρ*, 121; *λάβραξ*, 154; *λοφίον*, 162; *μάραθον*, 166; *μάρμαρος*, 168; *μαῦρος*, 171; *νᾶρίτης (νηρίτης)*, 182; *νωθρός*, 183; *ὀδοός*, 185; *ὄρφνινος*, 187; *ὄρχάς*, 186; *παραστάτης*, 192; *πέλαγος*, 193; *πέπων*, 194; *πέρα*, 192; *πέρκη*, 194; *πιθάριον*, 201; *πλάγια*, 203; *πλάθανον*, 205; *πλάξ*, 202 (and Ligorio 2015b); *πλατ-*, 205; *πλαταμών*, 204; *πλάτανος*, 204; *πλήμη*, 206; *ποδάγρα*, 207; *ποτήριον*, 210; *πούς*, 207; *πρῶρα*, 211; *ράκι-*

2.1 ἄβυσσος: SC à(m)bis m., Dubrovnik (ERHSJ I 3); sàbis m., Dubrovnik, Poljica (ERHSJ I 3); àbis m., Korčula (Kalogjera et al. 2008, 2), Sali (JE I 11); âbis m., Murter (Juraga 2010, 41); âmbis m., Zlarin (Bjažić & Dean 2002, 111); ambis m., Ošljak (Valčić 2012, 10), Brbinj (Rančić 2013, 14), Banjol (Vuletić 2016); abiš m., Ist (Smoljan 2015, 21); abiš m., Unije (Nikolić 2000, 110); obiš Susak, PN Obiš m. (JE I 11); ⇒ v. *sabisati se* Dubrovnik (ERHSJ I 3). (See Vasmer 1944, 42; ERHSJ I 3; JE I 11; PLSA 68; EPCJ I 46; Kapović & Vuletić 2010, 50.)

2.2 Αἰγυπ(τ)-: SC jěđup m., s.loc. (ERHSJ 487); ⇒ jeđupka f., Dubrovnik; jěđu-pak, -pka m., Jeđupkinja f., adj. jeđupački, all s.loc. (See ERHSJ 487.)

2.3 ἀλκός: SC čiga f., Rijeka Dubrovačka (JF II 248); oliga f., Hodilje, Govedari, Korita, Slano (JF II 248), Rijeka, Vrbnik, Krk (ERHSJ I 31); o(j)iga f., Korčula (Kalogjera et al. 2008, 266); oliga f., Lastovo (JF II 248); ojiga f., Povlja, Baškovoda, Podgora, Komiža, Račišće, Lovište, Žuljana, Duba (JF II 248); jĳga/iĳga f., Hvar (Benčić 2014, 223); ojuga f., Sućuraj, Gradac (JF II 248); jĳga f., Pitve (Barbić 2011, 112); jiga f., Milna, Postira, Bol, Vrboska, Jelsa, Vis, iĳga f., Grohote, Supetar, Starigrad, Zračće (JF II 248); vojiga f., Sumartin (JF II 248); jōga [= jōga ?]² f., Šibenik (JE II 37); loga f., Jezera, Žirje (JF II 248); ļōga/jōga f., Murter (Juraga 2010, 120, 156); ļōga f., Zlarin (Bjažić & Dean 2002, 153), Ošljak (Valčić 2012, 112), Rivanj (Radulić 2002, 161); ļōga [= ļōga ?] f., Sali (JE II 37); gen. sg. f. ļōge Brbinj (Rančić 2013, 90), Ist (Smoljan 2015, 209); iĳga f., Kolan (Oštarić 2005), Pag (JF II 248); iĳga f., Pag (Kustić 2002, 183); oliĳga f., Omišalj (Mahulja 2006, 201), Senj (Moguš 2002, 95; ERHSJ I 31); ⇒ jōžica f., Murter, ļōžica f., Sali, ļōgar m., Prvić-Šepurina (JE II 37); oližnica f., Senj, Vrbnik, oližica f., Bakar (ERHSJ I 31). (See ERHSJ I 31; JE II 37; JF I 395; Kapović & Vuletić 2010, 48; PLSA 149.)

2.4 γρυμέα: SC grīma f., Šipan (ERHSJ I 617); ⇒ grīmica f., Dubrovnik, grīmar m., Dubrovnik (ERHSJ I 617). (See ERHSJ I 617; JF I 399; Kapović & Vuletić 2010, 50; PLSA 147.)

2.5 γρυπός: SC ⇒ adj. gripān Korita, Mljet (JE I 189). (See JE 189; PLSA 148.)

2.6 γρύψ:³ SC ⇒ gripina f., Split, Brač (ERHSJ I 616). (See Vasmer 1944, 62; ERHSJ I 616; PLSA 148.)

2.7 γυρ^{-1,4}: SC ⇒ v. *agirāt* Prčanj, Muo, *agèrati*, *agirati* Bijela, Boka (ERHSJ I 13); ⇒ *agirāncija* Muo (ERHSJ I 13). (See ERHSJ I 13; EPCJ I 60; PLSA 73. See also γυρ⁻² below.)

νος, 187; ρίνη, 220; ρόμβος, 220; σάκκος, 225; σάλπη, 227; σαργός, 230; σαῦρος, 231; σηπία, 237; σίδηρος, 239; σίφων, 240; σκόρπαινα, 234; σπεῖρα, 243; σπήλαιον, 244; σπογγία, 245; στάδιον, 246; στατήρ, 247; στέφανος, 248; στόμαχος, 249; стор-, 249; σῦαξ, 251; σφαῖρα, 244; σχίζω, 234; σχολή, 234; τάπης, 253; φάγρος, 188; φάκελος, 198; φλέγμα, 198; χάννη, 108; χαράκιον, 108. (Also ὀκτώ-πους, according to Лигорно 2014.) I omit from this list place names and proper names, some of which must have been borrowed at a very early date.

² See PLSA (31, n. 38). Also ļōga = ļōga below ?.

³ In fact, from γρυπ-.

⁴ In fact, from L GYRĀRE.

2.8 γυρ⁻²:⁵ SC ⇒ PN *Žirje* n. (See SR I 151; ERHSJ II 145; PLSA 73; Ligorio & Vuletić 2016. See also γυρ⁻¹ above.)

2.9 γύψ:⁶ SC *žumba* f., Montenegro (ERHSJ III 394); ⇒ PN *Šipán* m. (See Vasmer 1944, 61; SR I 233; ERHSJ III 394; PLSA 149.)

2.10 δρυμών: SC PN *Drmûn* m., Murter (Vuletić 2010a, 337); *drmûn* m., Kolan (Oštarić 2005, 103), Krk, Kastav (ERHSJ I 441), PN *Drmûn* m., Lopar (SR I 57); *d̄rmûn*, -úna m., Lika (ERHSJ I 441); *dermûn* m., Omišalj (Mahulja 2006, 52); PN *Drimûn* m., Barbat (SR I 57); ⇒ PN *Drmunić* m., Lopar (SR I 57). (See Vasmer 1944, 54; SR I 57; ERHSJ I 441; PLSA 128.)

2.11 Δυρράχιον: SC PN *Drâc* m., gen. sg. *Drâča*. (See ERHSJ I 609; Holzer 2011, 102.)

2.12 θύννος: SC *tûn* m., Budva, Račišće, Božava (ERHSJ II 523), Korčula (Kalogjera et al. 2008, 376); *tun* m., Ulcinj, Lepetane, Muo, Dobrota, Strp, Kostanjica, Baošić, Drače, Sućuraj, Zaraće, Brusje, Stobreč, Grohote, Petrcane, Novigrad, Vinjerac, Privlaka, Paklenica, Kukljica, Ugljan, Rivanj, Žman, Sestrunj, Rava, Ist, Olib, Silba, Premuda, Novalja, Karlobag, Prizna, Jablanac, Lukovo, Baška, Punat, Malinska (JF II 324); *tûn* m., Senj (Moguš 2002, 155); *tûn* m., Rivanj (Radulić 2002, 316), Kolan (Oštarić 2005, 545), Poveljane (Tičić 2004, 382), Banjol (Vuletić 2016); nom. pl. *tûnovi* Bijela, Muo (ERHSJ II 523); *tuñ* m., Govedari, Žuljana, Komiža, Vis, Podgora, Baškavoda, Jelsa, Vrboska, Starigrad, Hvar, Bol, Sumartin, Povelja, Postira, Sutivan, Milna, Krilo, Maslenica, Okrug, Sevid, Krapanj, Zablacé, Šibenik, Zaton, Kaprije, Žirje, Ražanac, Tribanj, Božava, Veli Rat, Pag, Lun, Barbat, Lopar, Baška (JF II 324); *tûñ* m., Hvar (Benčić 2014, 473), Murter (Juraga 2010, 274), Bibinje (Šimunić 2013, 738); *tûñ* m., gen. sg. *tûñâ* Pitve (Barbić 2011, 331); ⇒ *tûnâ* f., Blato (Milat Panža 2015, 448); *tûna/tûna* f., Rab (ERHSJ II 523); *tûna* f., Omišalj (Mahulja 2006, 343), Malinska (ERHSJ II 523); *tûña* f., Beli (Velčić 2003, 496); *tûña* f., gen. sg. *tûñi* (sic!) Cres (ERHSJ II 523); *tuna* f., Omišalj, Bakar (JF II 324). (See Vasmer 1944, 145; ERHSJ III 523; JF I 297; JE III 286; PLSA 255.)

2.13 Κόρκυρα: SC PN *Kôrčula* f. (See SR I 198; ERHSJ II 203; Muljačić 2007; Kapović & Vuletić 2010, 50; Holzer 2011, 117; Ligorio 2015.)

2.14 κόρυμβος: SC *garûmb* m., Božava, Dragove, *gorûmb* m., Sali (?), *garômb* m., Premuda, *korûmb* m., Martinšćica (JE I 174); ⇒ *garûmbû*, -ula m., *gorûmbul* Sali (?), JE I 174). (See JE I 174; Kapović & Vuletić 2010, 47.)

2.15 κορύνη: SC *korun* Kostanjica, Strp, Perast, Muo (JF II 254). (See JF I 233; JE II 101; Kapović & Vuletić 2010, 49.)

2.16 κοτύλη: SC *kôkula* f., Čilipi, *kuotola* f., Hvar, *kôtula* f., Vis, *kûtul* m., *kâtula* f. Komiža, *kôrtul* m., Tkon, PN *Kôtul* m. (JE II 103); ⇒ *kôtulica* f., Korčula (JE II 103). (See JE II 103; Kapović & Vuletić 2010, 47.)

2.17 κυδώνια: SC *dûña* f., Perast, Budva, Stoliv, Korčula, Crmnica, Šibenik (ERHSJ I 557); *kûña* f., Korčula (Kalogjera et al. 2008, 168), Blato (Milat Panža 2015,

⁵ In fact, from γῦρος.

⁶ In fact, from γυρ-.

219), Hvar (Benčić 2014, 258), Pitve (Barbić 2011, 136), Zlarin (Bjažić & Dean 2002, 148), Brbinj (Rančić 2013, 81), Ist (Smoljan 2015, 188), Kolan (Oštarić 2005, 207), Povljane (Tičić 2004, 169), Banjol (Vuletić 2016), Beli (Velčić 2003, 191), Unije (Nikolić 2000, 138), Rab, Cres, Šibenik (ERHSJ I 557); *tùna* f., Šibenik, Senj, *katùna* f., Vrbnik, *kùna* f., Vrbnik (ERHSJ I 557). (See ERHSJ I 557; Holzer 2011, 103; PLSA 123. See also μήλα κυδώνια below.)

2.18 **κῦμα**: SC *cīma* f., Potomje (ERHSJ I 265), Neretva (Mataga 2003, 36), Hvar (Benčić 2014, 124), Pitve (Barbić 2011, 30), Studenci (Babić 2008, 66), Bibinje (Šimunović 2013, 176), Zlarin (Bjažić & Dean 2002, 119), Ošljak (Valčić 2012, 30), Nin (Maštrović 1957, 427), Pag (Kustić 2002, 140), Povljane (Tičić 2004, 61), Lovinac (Japunčić 2013, 61), Banjol (Vuletić 2016), Beli (Velčić 2003, 59), Grobnik (Lukežić & Zubčić 2007, 198); *cīma* f., Unije (Nikolić 2000, 115); *kīma* f., Dubrovnik (ERHSJ I 265); ⇒ *cīmīca* f., Senj (Moguš 2002, 14.); *kīmīca* f., Ston (JE I 98); *kīmīčica* f., Ston, *čumak* m., Drvenik, Crikvenica (ERHSJ I 265), *čimula* f., Dugi (ERHSJ I 265), *čomiga* f., Budva (ERHSJ I 265); v. *cimāti* Brbinj (Rančić 2013, 43). (See ERHSJ I 265; JE I 98; Holzer 2011, 98, 111; PLSA 123.)

2.19 **κῦβαλον**: SC ⇒ *čimblica* Vrgada (Jurišić 1973, 37). (See JE I 110; PLSA 123.)

2.20 ***κυνίσκισσα**:⁷ SC *kinikēsa* Kali (JF II 208). (See JF I 67; JE II 82; Kapović & Vuletić 2010, 50; PLSA 123.)

2.21 **Κυπριανός**: SC N *Čubran*, *Čibran* s.loc. (Jireček 1904, 32, 71); PN *Čubrijān* m., Zadar (Vuletić, in Ligorio 2015); N *Čabrijan* Baška; ⇒ *Čubar*, *Čubre*, *Čubro*, *Čubrilo* Montenegro (ERHSJ I 269), PN *Čubrilović* Montenegro, N *Čubranić* Krk, *Čubranić* Dubrovnik (Jireček 1904), Baška;⁸ PN *Čubranovo* Sutomore (ERHSJ I 269). (See Jireček 1904, 32; ERHSJ I 269.)

2.22 **Κύριλλος**: SC ⇒ PN *Čurilovo* (sc. *polje*) Konavli (ERHSJ I 269; PLSA 163).

2.23 **λύρα**: SC *lījerica* f., Čilipi, Dubrovnik; ⇒ *līrica* f., Pelješac (ERHSJ II 306). (See ERHSJ II 306; PLSA 163.)

2.24 **μήλα κυδώνια**: SC *mrkatuīna* f., Dubrovnik, Cavtat, *mrkatuļa* f., Pelješac (ERHSJ I 447). (See ERHSJ 557; Holzer 2011, 103; PLSA 171. See also κυδώνια above.)

2.25 **μύρανα**: SC *morina* f., Ulcinj, Dobrota, Baošić, Slano, Vela Luka, Komiza, Sućuraj, Jelsa, Vrboška, Supetar, Krilo, Okrug, Sevid, Krapanj, Zablaće, Šibenik, Kaprije, Jezera, Novigrad, Vinjerac, Tribanj, Kali, Sali, Silba (JF II 230); *morina* f., Poljica (ERHSJ II 485); *morīna* f., Milna (Šimunović 2009, 488), Ošljak (Valčić 2012, 123); *mōrīna* f., Trogir (Geić 2015, 218); *murina* f., Kostanjica, Meljine, Molunat, Mlini, Mokošice, Zaton, Koločep, Lopud, Suđurađ, Korita, Prožura, Goveđari, Doli, Broce, Hodilje, Duba, Brijesta, Žuljana, Drače, Lovište, Lastovo, Lumbarda, Brna, Trn, Drvenik, Pogdora, Sumartin, Rogoznica (JF II 230); *mūrīna* f., Korčula (Kalogjera et al. 2008, 203); *murīna* f., Blato (Milat Panža 2015, 254), Bol, Pučišća

⁷ Not *κυνίσκος*! (Thus Vinja in JF I 67 and JE II 82.) Gk. **κυνίσκισσα* yields SC *kinikēsa* by dissimilation *s - s > Ø - s*.

⁸ Information from Baška by the courtesy of N. Vuletić, via personal communication of Feb. 7 2016.

(Šimunović 2009, 499), Iž (Martinović 2005, 206); *mùrina* f., Dubrovnik, Mljet (ERHSJ II 485); *morona* f., Murter, Vrgada, Kukljica, Božava, Veli Rat, Rava, Molat, Ist, Premuda (JF II 230); *moròna* f., Vrgada (Jurišić 1973, 123); *morùna* f., Lepetane, Muo (JF II 230), Stoliv (ERHSJ II 485), *morùna* f., Brbinj (Rančić 2013, 98); *morèna* f., Privlaka, Iž, *mirina* f., Žirje, Bol, *marina* f., Hvar, Brusje, Starigrad, Zaraće, Vis (JF II 230); *marina* f., Brusje (Dulčić & Dulčić 1985, 528), Pitve (Barbić 2011, 152), Hvar (Benčić 2014, 283); *marina* f., Vis (Roki-Fortunato 1997, 281); *mrina* f., Povelja, Milna, Stobreč, Grohote, Maslinica, *mòriña* f., Perast, *mùriña* f., Strp (JF II 230); *muriña* f., Sutomore, *muruna* f., Dubrovnik (ERHSJ II 485); ⇒ *mòra* f., Sestrunj (JF II 230). (See Vasmer 1944, 101; ERHSJ II 485; JE II 205; Kapović & Vuletić 2010, 46; PLSA 178.)

2.26 $\mu\rho\tau^{-1}$:⁹ SC *mřta* f., Split (ERHSJ II 471), Zlarin (Bjažić & Dean 2002, 157), Murter (Juraga 2010, 169), Vrgada (Jurišić 1973, 123), Kukljica (Maričić 2000, 166), Nin (Maštrović 1957, 166), Ošljak (Valčić 2012, 125), Rivanj (Radulić 2002, 177), Iž (Martinović 2005, 203), Sali (Piasevoli 1993, 192), Brbinj (Rančić 2013, 99); *mårta* f., Ist (Smoljan 2015, 216), Unije (Nikolić 2000, 144); *mårta* f., Božava, Dugi, *mrtva* f., Sinj, Vranjic, PN *Mårta* f., Silba (ERHSJ II 471); ⇒ PN *Mårtovna* f., Premuda (ERHSJ II 471). (See SR I 86, 92; ERHSJ II 471; Kapović & Vuletić 2010, 46; PLSA 181. See also $\mu\rho\tau^{-2}$, $\mu\rho\tau^{-3}$, $\mu\rho\tau^{-4}$.)

2.27 $\mu\rho\tau^{-2}$:¹⁰ SC *mrča* Krtole, Bogdašić, Dubrovnik, Mljet (ERHSJ II 471); ⇒ PN *Mřčevac* m., Škaljari (ERHSJ II 471). (See ERHSJ II 471; Kapović & Vuletić 2010, 46; Holzer 2011, 130; PLSA 181. See also $\mu\rho\tau^{-1}$, $\mu\rho\tau^{-3}$, $\mu\rho\tau^{-4}$.)

2.28 $\mu\rho\tau^{-3}$:¹¹ SC *mrčela* Paštrovići, Dubrovnik, *mrčela* Budva, PN *Mrčele* Spič (ERHSJ II 471); *murtèla* Brusje (Dulčić & Dulčić 1985, 540), Bol (Šimunović 2009, 499), Pitve (Barbić 2011, 166), Hvar (Benčić 2014, 299), Zlarin (Bjažić & Dean 2002, 157), Murter (Juraga 2010, 171), Vrgada (Jurišić 1973, 125), Bibinje (Šimunović 2013, 402), Kukljica (Maričić 2000, 168), Rivanj (Radulić 2002, 180), Iž (Martinović 2005, 206), Sali (Piasevoli 1993, 196), Brbinj (Rančić 2013, 100), Ist (Smoljan 2015, 232), Kolan (Oštarić 2005, 259); *murtèla* [= *murtèla*]¹² Vis (Roki-Fortunato 1997, 305); *murtìla* Milna (Šimunović 2009, 499), Trogir (Geić 2015, 222); *mrtìla* Dračevica (Šimunović 2009, 493); *mùrtela* Nin (Maštrović 1957, 442); *murtèla* Unije (Nikolić 2000, 147). (See ERHSJ II 471; Kapović & Vuletić 2010, 46; PLSA 181; Лигорно 2015a, 48. See also $\mu\rho\tau^{-1}$, $\mu\rho\tau^{-2}$, $\mu\rho\tau^{-4}$.)

2.29 $\mu\rho\tau^{-4}$:¹³ SC *mrka* Lošinj (ERHSJ II 471); *mřka* Iž (Martinović 2005, 202); *mårka* Ist (Smoljan 2015, 216). (See ERHSJ II 471; Kapović & Vuletić 2010, 46; PLSA 181. See also $\mu\rho\tau^{-1}$, $\mu\rho\tau^{-2}$, $\mu\rho\tau^{-3}$.)

⁹ In fact, from L MURTA.

¹⁰ In fact, from **myrtea* (by derivation, Dalm. **myrta* ⇒ **myrtea*, or **murtea* after MURTA).

¹¹ In fact, from **myrt(ic)ella* (by derivation, Dalm. **myrta* ⇒ *myrticella*, *myrtella*, or *murticella*, *murtella* after MURTA).

¹² See Лигорно (2015a, 47, n. 25).

¹³ In fact, from **myrtica* (by regressive derivation, Dalm. **myrticella* ⇒ **myrtica*, or **murtica* after MURTA).

2.30 **πάπυρος**: SC *pōpir* Komiža (Božanić 1997, 261). (See *JE* III 63; *PLSA* 191.)
 2.31 **παράνυμφος**: SC *poreñiħha* Rava (Gavazzi 1963, 84), Iž (*JE* III 66); *pareñiħha* Iž (Vuletić 2016). (See *JE* III 66; *PLSA* 192.)

2.32 **πορφύρα**: SC *prpor* m., Dobrota, Perast, Strp, Kostanjica, Meljine, *prmpor* m., Krtole (*JF* II 382); *prpor* m., Dobrota, Perast, Strp, Kostanjica, Meljine, *prmpor* m., Krtole, *pumpar* m., Drvenik, Okrug (*ERHSJ* III 11); *pumpar* m., Drvenik, Okrug; ⇒ *parparōt* m., Rivanj, *parparōtina* f., Brbinj (*JE* II 242). (See *ERHSJ* III 11; *JF* II 382; *JE* III 66, II 242.)

2.33 **σκήφος**: SC *škīpa* m., gen. sg. *škīpa* Montenegro, Boka, Herzegovina, Kućište (*ERHSJ* III 260); *škīpa* m., Vrgada (Jurišić 1973, 207); *škīpa* m., Zlarin (Bjažić & Dean 2002, 188), Murter (Juraga 2010, 251), Kukljica (Maričić 2000, 291), Bibinje (Šimunić 2013, 682), Nin (Maštrović 1957, 454). (See *ERHSJ* III 260; Kapović & Vuletić 2010, 50; *PLSA* 236.)

2.34 **συνόδους**:¹⁴ SC *smudut* m., Molunat, Cavtat, Mlini, Mokošice, Zaton, Koločep, Suđurađ, Slano, Korita, Prožura, Goveđari, Doli, Broce, Duba, Brijesta, Trpanj, Žuljana, Drače, Lastovo, Lumbarda, Kočula, Račišće, Brna, Vela Luka (*JF* II 260). (See *JE* I 137, III 180; *JF* I 212; *PLSA* 252.)

2.35 See also **κυφός** in n. 47, **πύργος** in n. 59, **κυπάρισσος** in 4.48.

2.36 I exclude: (1) SC *gruj* (*ERHSJ* I 627), which *JF* (I 161) derives from Gk. γρῦλος but which, according to *ERHSJ* (I 627) and *PLSA* (116), appears to continue L CONGRU instead; (2) SC *koluba* (*JE* II 92), which *JE* derives from Gk. κόλ(λ)υβον but which, according to Vuletić (2010b; 2013), appears to continue L COLUMBU instead; (3) SC *oširac* < Gk. ὀξύρυγχος (*JF* I 234), which I think is questionable; (4) SC *mijenduo* (*ERHSJ* II 556), which is supposed to derive from Gk. ἀμύγδαλον but which, according to Ligorio (2015a), must be reconstructed as either *(a)mendulu or *(a)mendolu in order to produce the 'pseudo-yať', which I discuss *opere citato*; and (5) a part of the data s.v. **πορφύρα**, which has been remade into L PURPULU, presumably due to a dissimilation *r - r > *r - l.¹⁵

3. Analysis

Based on the material in 2, Gk. *v* appears to correspond to: 3.1 SC *i*, 3.2 SC *u*, 3.3 SC *a*, 3.4 SC **ja*, 3.5 SC Ø, 3.6 SC **ju*, 3.7 SC **ji*, 3.8 SC *o*, 3.9 SC **jo*, 3.10 SC *e*, 3.11 SC **ě*.

3.1 Greek *v* corresponds to Serbo-Croatian *i*: (1) s.v. ἄβυσσος in *à(m)bis* Dubrovnik, *sàbis* Dubrovnik, Poljica, *àbis* Korčula, Sali, *âbis* Murter, *âmbis* Zlarin, *ambis* Ošljak, Brbinj, Banjol, *abiš* Ist, *abiš* Unije, *obis* Susak, *Obis*; (2) s.v. ἀλυκός in *oliga* Hodilje, Goveđari, Korita, Slano, Rijeka, Vrbnik, Omišalj, Krk, Senj, *oližnica* Senj, Vrbnik, *oližica* Bakar; (3) s.v. γρυμέα in *grīma* Šipan, *grīmica* Dubrovnik,

¹⁴ In fact, from *συνόδουτ*-.

¹⁵ Namely, SC *vrpalj* m., Zabláće, Prvić, Tribanj, Kaprije, Pirovac, *vrpal* m., Fontana, *krpal* m., Prosika, *vrpaj* m., Vabriga, *vrpa*, -*pja* m., Nevidane, Krapanj, Tkon, *vrpolj* m., Zaton (*JF* II 382). (See *PLSA* 53 and compare Ligorio 2013b.)

grīmar Dubrovnik; (4) s.v. *γρυπός* in *gripan* Korita, Mljet; (5) s.v. *γρύψ* in *gripina* Split, Brač; (6) s.v. *γυρ*⁻¹ in *agirāt* Prčanj, Muo, *agirati* Bijela, Boka, *agirāncija* Muo; (7) s.v. *δρυμών* in *Drimūn* Barbat; (8) s.v. *κῦμα* in *cīma* Potomje, Neretva, Hvar, Pitve, Studenci, Bibinje, Zlarin, Ošljak, Nin, Pag, Povljane, Lovinac, Banjol, Beli, Grobnik, *cīma* Unije, *kīma*, *cīmica* Senj, *kīmica*, *kīmičica* Ston, *čimula* Dugi, *cimāti* Brbinj; (9) s.v. *κύβαλον* in *čimblica* Vrgada;¹⁶ (10) s.v. *κυνίσκος* in *kinikēsa* Kali; (11) s.v. *μύραινα* in *mirina* Žirje, Bol; (12) s.v. *πάπυρος* in *pōpir* Komiža; (13) s.v. *σκούφος* in *škīp*, *-īpa* Montenegro, Boka, Herzegovina, Kućište, *škīp* Vrgada, *škīp* Zlarin, Murter, Kukljica, Bibinje, Nin.

3.2 Greek *v* corresponds to Serbo-Croatian *u*: (1) s.v. *θύννος* in *tūn* Budva, Račišće, Božava, Korčula, *tun* Ulcinj, Lepetane, Muo, Dobrota, Strp, Kostanjica, Baošić, Drače, Sućuraj, Zaraće, Brusje, Stobreč, Grohote, Petrčane, Novigrad, Vinjerac, Privlaka, Paklenica, Kukljica, Ugljan, Rivanj, Žman, Sestrunj, Rava, Ist, Olib, Silba, Premuda, Novalja, Karlobag, Prizna, Jablanac, Lukovo, Baška, Punat, Malinska, *tūn* Senj, *tūn* Rivanj, Kolan, Povljane, Banjol, *tūnovi* Bijela, Muo, *tuń* Goveđari, Žuljana, Komiža, Vis, Podgora, Baškavoda, Jelsa, Vrboska, Starigrad, Hvar, Bol, Sumartin, Povlja, Postira, Sutivan, Milna, Krilo, Maslenica, Okrug, Sevid, Krapanj, Zblaće, Šibenik, Zaton, Kaprije, Žirje, Ražanac, Tribanj, Božava, Veli Rat, Pag, Lun, Barbat, Lopar, Baška, *tūń* Hvar, Murter, Bibinje, *tūń* Pitve, *tūnā* Blato, *tūna/tūna* Rab, *tūna* Omišalj, Malinska, *tūna* Beli, *tūna* Cres, *tuna* Omišalj, Bakar; (2) s.v. *κόρυμβος* in *garūmb* Božava, Dragove, *gorūmb* Sali, *korūmb* Martinšćica, *gorūmbul*, *garūmbū*, *-ula* Sali; (3) s.v. *κορύννη* in *korun* Kostanjica, Strp, Perast, Muo; (4) s.v. *κοτύλη* in *kōkula* Čilipi, *kōtula* Vis, *kūtul*, *kūtula* Komiža, *kōrtul* Tkon, *kōtulica* Korčula, *Kōtul*; (5) s.v. *μύραινα* in *murina* Kostanjica, Meljine, Molunat, Mlini, Mokošice, Zaton, Koločep, Lopud, Suđurađ, Korita, Prožura, Goveđari, Doli, Broce, Hodilje, Duba, Brijesta, Žuljana, Drače, Lovište, Lastovo, Lumbarda, Brna, Trn, Drvenik, Pogdora, Sumartin, Rogoznica, *mūrina* Korčula, *murīna* Blato, Bol, Pučišća, Iž, *mūrina* Dubrovnik, Mljet, *mūrīna* Strp, *muriīna* Sutomore, *muruna* Dubrovnik; (6) s.v. *μυρτ*⁻³ in *murtēla* Brusje, Bol, Pitve, Hvar, Vis, Zlarin, Murter, Vrgada, Bibinje, Kukljica, Rivanj, Iž, Sali, Brbinj, Ist, Kolan, *murtīla* Milna, Trogir, *murtela* Nin, *murtēla* Unije.

3.3 Greek *v* corresponds to Serbo-Croatian *a*: (1) s.v. *κυδώνια* in *katūna* Vrbnik; (2) s.v. *μηλα κυδώνια* in *mrkatuīna* Dubrovnik, Cavtat, *mrkatuļa* Pelješac; (3) s.v. *μύραινα* in *marina* Hvar, Brusje, Starigrad, Zaraće, Vis, *marīna* Brusje, Pitve, Hvar, *marina* Vis; (4) s.v. *πορφύρα* in *pumpar* Drvenik, Okrug, *parparōt* Rivanj, *parparōti* na Brbinj.

3.4 Greek *v* corresponds to Serbo-Croatian **ja*: s.v. *Κυπριανός* in Čabrijan Baška.¹⁷

¹⁶ In *cīma*, *cīma*, *cīmica*, *cimāti* *k > c by Slavic palatalisation (L CYMA = *cīma > Slav. *cīma > SC cīma; cf. SC PN Cavtat < L CIVITATE; ERHSJ I 252). In *čimula* *k > SC č by Dalmatian palatalisation? See n. 48, and 65.

¹⁷ *kja > ča (*k > č supposedly not by Dalmatian palatalisation. See n. 67.)

3.5 Greek *v* corresponds to Serbo-Croatian Ø: (1) s.v. *δρυμών* in *Drmūn* Murter, *dr̄mūn* Kolan, Krk, Kastav, PN *Drmūn* Lopar, *dr̄mūn*, *-ūna* Lika, *dermūn* Omišalj, *Drmunič* Lopar;¹⁸ (2) s.v. *Δυρράχιον* in *Drâč*; (3) s.v. *κυδώνια* in *dūña* Perast, Budva, Stoliv, Crmnica, Korčula, Šibenik, *kūña* Korčula, Blato, Hvar, Pitve, Šibenik, Zlarin, Brbinj, Ist, Kolan, Povoljane, Banjol, Beli, Unije, Rab, Cres, *tūña* Šibenik, Senj, *kūñva* Vrbnik; (4) s.v. *μύραινα* in *mrina* Povelja, Milna, Stobreč, Grohote, Maslinica; (5) s.v. *μυρτ*⁻¹ in *mřta* Split, Zlarin, Murter, Vrgada, Kukljica, Nin, Ošljak, Rivanj, Iž, Sali, Brbinj, *mărta* Ist, Unije, *mărta* Božava, Dugi, *mrtva* Sinj, Vranjic, *Mărta* Silba, *Mărtozna* Premuda;¹⁹ (6) s.v. *μυρτ*⁻² in *mrča* Krtole, Bogdašić, Dubrovnik, Mljet, *Mřčevac* Škaljari; (7) s.v. *μυρτ*⁻³ in *mrčela* Paštovići, Dubrovnik, *mrčēla* Budva, *Mrčēle* Spič, *mrtīla* Dračevica; (8) s.v. *μυρτ*⁻⁴ in *mrka* Lošinj, *mřka* Iž, *mărka* Ist; (9) s.v. *συνόδου* in *smudut* Molunat, Cavtat, Mlini, Mokošice, Zaton, Koločep, Suđurađ, Slano, Korita, Prožura, Govedari, Doli, Broce, Duba, Brijesta, Trpanj, Žuljana, Drače, Lastovo, Lumbarda, Kočula, Račišće, Brna, Vela Luka.

3.6 Greek *v* corresponds to Serbo-Croatian **ju*.²⁰ (1) s.v. *Αἰγυπτ*- in *jeđupka* Dubrovnik, *jeđup*, *jeđupak*, *Jeđupkinja*, *jeđupački* s.loc.; (2) s.v. *άλυκός* in *ojuga* Sućuraj, Gradac;²¹ (3) s.v. *γύψ* in *žumba* Montenegro; (4) s.v. *Κόρκυρα* in *Kōčula*; (5) s.v. *κῦμα* in *čumak* Drvenik, Crikvenica; (6) s.v. *Κυπριανός* in *Čubran* s.loc., *Čubrijān* Zadar, *Čubar*, *Čubre*, *Čubro*, *Čubrilo*, *Čubrilo*vić Montenegro, *Čubranovo* Sutomore, *Čubranić* Dubrovnik, *Čubranić* Krk; (7) s.v. *Κύριλλος* in *Ćurilovo* Konavli; (8) s.v. *παράνυμφος* in *poreñiha* Rava, Iž.

3.7 Greek *v* corresponds to Serbo-Croatian **ji*.²² (1) s.v. *άλυκός* in *čiga* Rijeka Dubrovačka,²³ *o(j)īga* Korčula, *oīga* Lastovo, *ojiga* Povelja, Baškavoda, Podgora, Komiža, Račišće, Lovište, Žuljana, Duba, *jīga/iğa* Hvar, *jīga* Pitve, *jiga* Milna, Postira, Bol, Vrboska, Jelsa, Vis, *vojiga* Sumartin, *iğa* Grohote, Supetar, Starigrad, Zračće, *iğa* Kolan, Pag, *iğa* Pag;²⁴ (2) s.v. *γυρ*⁻² in *Žirje*; (3) s.v. *γύψ* in *Šīran*; (4) s.v. *Κυπριανός* in *Čubran* s.loc.;²⁵ (5) s.v. *παράνυμφος* in *pareñiha* Iž.

3.8 Greek *v* corresponds to Serbo-Croatian *o*: (1) s.v. *κόρυμβος* in *garōmb* Premuda; (2) s.v. *κοτύλη* in *kuotola* Hvar; (3) s.v. *μύραινα* in *morina* Ulcinj, Dobrota, Baošić, Slano, Vela Luka, Komiža, Sućuraj, Jelsa, Vrboska, Supetar, Krilo, Okrug, Poljica, Sevid, Krapanj, Zablacē, Šibenik, Kaprije, Jezera, Novigrad, Vinjerac, Tribanj, Kali, Sali, Silba, *morīna* Milna, Ošljak, *mōrīna* Trogir, *morona* Murter, Vrgada, Kukljica, Božava, Veli Rat, Rava, Molat, Ist, Premuda, *morōna* Vrgada, *morūna* Lepetane, Muo, Stoliv, *morūna* Brbinj, *morēna* Privlaka, Iž, *mōriña* Perast, *mōra* Sestrunj; (4) s.v. *πορφύρα* in *prpor* Dobrota, Perast, Strp, Kostanjica, Meljine, *prmpor* Krtole.

¹⁸ In *dermūn* *r* > Čakavian *er*.

¹⁹ In *mărta*, *mărta*, *Mărta*, *Mărtozna* SC *r* > Čakavian *ar*.

²⁰ **gju* > *đu*, *žu*; **kju* > *ču*, *ču*; **lju* > *lu*; **nju* > *ñu*.

²¹ From *ojuga*.

²² **gji* > *ši*, *ži*; **kji* > *či*, *či*; **lji* > *li*; **nji* > *ñi*.

²³ Unclear.

²⁴ In *vojiga*, *ojiga*, *jiga* SC *li* > Čakavian *ji*, and in *iğa*, *iğa* *ji* > *i*.

²⁵ **k* > *č* supposedly not by Dalmatian palatalisation. See n. 65.

3.9 Greek *v* corresponds to Serbo-Croatian *jo:²⁶ (1) s.v. ἀλυκός in jōga Šibenik, joga Jezera, Žirje, jōga/jōga Murter, jōga Zlarin, Ošljak, Rivanj, jōga Sali, jōge Brbinj, Ist, jōžica Murter, jōžica Sali, jōgar Prvić-Šepurina;²⁷ (2) s.v. κῦμα in čomiga Budva.

3.10 Greek *v* corresponds to Serbo-Croatian *e*: s.v. γυρ⁻¹ in agèrati Bijela, Boka.

3.11 Greek *v* corresponds to Serbo-Croatian *i*e in Ijekavian, *ī* in Ikavian (i.e. to *ē̄): s.v. λύρα in lījerica Čilipi, Dubrovnik, līrica Pelješac.

4. Discussion

4.1 Generally, it could be assumed: (1) in 3.1, where Gk. *v* > SC *i*, that SC *i* < Dalm. **i* (or SC *i* < Dalm. **u* via Dalm. **ū* > Slav. **y*); (2) in 3.2, where Gk. *v* > SC *u*, that SC *u* < Dalm. **u*; (3) in 3.3, where Gk. *v* > SC *a*, that SC *a* < Dalm. **i*, **u* via Slav. **ī*, **ū* in the 'strong' position; (4) in 3.4, where Gk. *v* > SC *ja*, that SC *ja* < Dalm. **ū* via Slav. **jū* in the 'strong' position; (5) in 3.5, where Gk. *v* > SC Ø, that SC Ø < Dalm. **i*, **u* via Slav. **ī*, **ū* in the 'weak' position; (6) in 3.6, where Gk. *v* > SC **ju*, that SC **ju* < Dalm. **ū*; (7) in 3.7, where Gk. *v* > SC **ji*, that SC **ji* < Dalm. **ū*; (8) in 3.8, where Gk. *v* > SC *o*, that SC *o* < Dalm. **u* through a lowering Dalm. **u* > **o*; (9) in 3.9, where Gk. *v* > SC **jo*, that SC **jo* < Dalm. **ū* through a lowering Dalm. **ū* > **jo*; (10) in 3.10, where Gk. *v* > SC *e*, that SC *e* < Dalm. **i* through a lowering Dalm. **i* > **e*; (11) in 3.11, where Gk. *v* > SC *ē̄, that SC *ē̄ < Dalm. **i* through a lowering Dalm. **i* > **e* and a lengthening Dalm. **e* > *ē̄ – but I cannot see, as indeed I could not see in 2014, based on the data presented in *PLSA*, any evidence that there ever was in Dalmatian any native **ū*, which is a view that I have substantiated *opere citato*.²⁸

4.2 The question of the Graeco-Dalmatian contact is not a new one.

4.3 Its central issue, whether or not Greek borrowings in Dalmatia were borrowed into Serbo-Croatian via Dalmatian or not, was first addressed by P. Skok in 1955 and, in 1967, it was further elaborated by V. Vinja. Vinja proposed the following hypothesis: "Nous pouvons dire qu'il y eut des contacts directes entre les Grecs et les Romains, entre les Romains et les Slaves mais non entre les Grecs et les Slaves" (Vinja 1967, 206).

4.4 It follows, according to Vinja, that Greek borrowings in Serbo-Croatian, or at least those in Dalmatia, were transmitted by Dalmatian, a Romance language, which is a proposition that, I think, runs into trouble – given the absence of Dalm. **ū* – in those cases in which Gk. *v* happens to correspond to SC **ju*, **ji*, **jo*. (See 3.6, 3.7, 3.9 above.)

4.5 For this reason I will claim that such cases do not require the intercession of Dalmatian, as supposed by Vinja, but, instead, constitute a group of borrowings which could have been borrowed from Greek into Serbo-Croatian directly.

4.6 Let us first consider the common nouns.

²⁶ *kjo* > čo; **ljo* > lo.

²⁷ In *joga*, *jožica* SC lo > Čakavian *jo*.

²⁸ See in particular *PLSA* §§ 134–39.

4.7 In the first place, it is reasonable to assume that those borrowings of Greek origin which exist both in Dalmatian and in other Romance languages, e.g. in Italian, Sardinian or Romanian, were not *borrowed* into Dalmatian, as it were, but, instead, *inherited* from Vulgar Latin (where to, originally, they must have been indeed borrowed from Greek).

4.8 According to REW, such borrowings make one half of the material in 2.

4.9 Compare: ἄβυσσος > ABYSSU, REW 56; Αἴγυπτ- > AEGYPT-, 233-35; γρύψ > GRYPHU, 3901; γυρ-¹ (= γυρ- + -ARE) > GYRĀRE, 3937; γυρ-² (= γῦρος) > GYRU, 3938; θύννος > THUNNU, 8724; κόρυμβος > **corymbu*, 2272; κοτύλη > **cotŷlu*, 2290; κυδώνια > COTONEU, 2436; κῦμα > CYMA, 2438; κύμβαλον > CYMBĀLU, 2441; μύραινα > MURĒNA, 5754; μυρτ-¹ (= **myrta*) > MURTA, 5801; μυρτ-³ > **murticella*, 5802; πάπυρος > PAPŪRU, 6218; παράνυμφος > PARANYMPHU 6228; πορφύρα > PURPŪRA, 6862; σκύφος > SCYPHU, 7760.

4.10 In Vulgar Latin Gk. *v* corresponds either (1) to L 'Y' (= **i*);^{29, 30} (2) or to L U,^{31, 32}

4.11 Accordingly, we could exclude that part of the material which was supposedly inherited, i.e. ἄβυσσος, Αἴγυπτ-, γρύψ, γυρ-¹, γυρ-², θύννος, κόρυμβος, κυδώνια, κῦμα, κύμβαλον, μύραινα, μυρτ-¹, μυρτ-³, πάπυρος, παράνυμφος, σκύφος, and consider only that part which was supposedly borrowed, i.e. ἄλκυός, γρυμέα, γρυπ-, γυπ-, δρυμών, κορύνη, **κυνίσκισσα*, λύρα, μήλα κυδώνια, μυρτ-², μυρτ-⁴, πορφύρα, συνοδοντ-, since, in the part which was supposedly borrowed, Gk. *v* was more likely not subject to Gk. *v* > L **i*, U.³³

4.12 But a part of the data, as it appears, cannot be dismissed in this way.

4.13 In Ligorio (2013a) I proposed a criterion for distinguishing those words which were supposedly borrowed into Serbo-Croatian directly from Greek from those which were supposedly borrowed indirectly, via Dalmatian.³⁴

4.14 The criterion is based on the propensity of Latin accentuation to shift the original accent of Greek proparoxytona to the penultimate syllable when that syl-

²⁹ See Stolz & Debrunner 1966, 52.

³⁰ Gk. *v* > L **i* in Ital. *abisso* < L ABYSSU, Ital. *cembalo* < CYMBĀLU, *cima* < CYMA, *grifo* < GRYPHU, *girare* < GYRĀRE, *giro* < GYRU, Sardinian *pabiru* < PAPŪRU, *paralimpu* < PARANYMPHU, *iskivu* < SCYPHU, and the like, in REW *locis citatis*.

³¹ Gk. *v* > L U in Ital. *tonno* < L THUNNU, *cotogno* < **cotoneu*, Sardinian *murena* < MURĒNA, *murta* < MURTA, Ital. *mortella* < **murtella*, *porpora* < PURPŪRA, and the like, in REW *locis citatis*. (Cf. L CUBU < Gk. κύβος, and the like.)

³² Except for L CYDONIU > L COTONEU and L **corymbu* ⇒ **corym(b)ellu* > Sardinian *koro-meddu* which show **o* - *y* / *y* - *o* > *o* - *o*, and Ital. *ciotola*, Romanian *ciutură*, which, according to REW, is supposed to continue L **cotŷlu*, but which are, perhaps, better derived from Gk. κύαθος (REW 2434) via **cyathu* ⇒ **cyáthula*, with **y* > **i* in hiatus, as usual. But **a* > *u*? (Alessio in DEI s.v. *ciotola* assumes an *incrocio*, i.e. κύαθος × κοτύλη, which, I suppose, is a possibility.)

³³ Except μυρτ-² and μυρτ-⁴, which should likewise be excluded since they derive from μυρτ-¹, and μήλα κυδώνια, which should be excluded too since it may just as well continue L MALU COTONEU.

³⁴ See also PLSA §§ 88-92.

lable is long, either *naturā* or *positione*, e.g. Gk. ἐμπλάστρον > L EMPLÁSTRU or Gk. σκόρπαινα > L SCORPĀNA, whence SC *implastar*, *škřpina* which – since they descend from the older *implāstar*, *škrpīna* – must reflect L EMPLÁSTRU, SCORPĀNA and not Gk. ἐμπλάστρον, σκόρπαινα.³⁵

4.15 Thus, a part of the material which is considered inherited in 4.11 appears, judging by this criterion, to have been borrowed instead.

4.16 Gk. ἄβυσσος > L ABÝSSU (see 2.1). SC *àbis* (= *abīs*), *abiš*, *ambīs*, *àmbis* (= *ambīs*), *obīs*, *Obīs*, *sàbis* (= *sabīs*) reflect the accent of L ABÝSSU, SC *âbis* Murter, *âmbis* Zlarin the accent of Gk. ἄβυσσος.³⁶

4.17 Gk. μύραινα > L MURĀNA (see 2.25). SC *morīna*, *murīna*, *mūrīna* (= *murīna*), *morōna*, *morūna*, *marīna*, *mōriīna* (= *morīīna*), *mūriīna* (= *murīīna*) reflects the accent of L MURĀNA, SC *mūrīna* Korčula the accent of Gk. μύραινα.³⁷

4.18 Gk. πάπυρος > L PAPÝRU (see 2.30). SC *pōpir* Komiža reflects the accent of Gk. πάπυρος.

4.19 This criterion, however, has a flaw in that the accent in Greek, as in Latin, can, and does, shift to the penultimate syllable, which is used as the measure of distinction, so that, within the singular paradigm of Greek *o*- and *a*-stems, the direct stem has ἄβυσσ-, μύραιν-, πάπυρ- and the oblique ἄβύσσ-, μυραίν-, παπύρ- – which coincides with L ABÝSSU, MURĀNA, PAPÝRU.

4.20 As a result, nothing, I think, can be said of the paroxytona, such as SC *ambīs*, *murīna*, as to whether they were borrowed directly or indirectly,³⁸ but of the proparoxytona, such as SC *âmbis*, *mūrīna*, *pōpir*, it can be said, I think, that they were borrowed directly from Greek, or one would have to explain the retraction in *ĀBYSSU, *MŪRAENA, *PĀPYRU by means of Dalmatian accentuation, which is impossible.

4.21 In the other part of the material, which was supposedly borrowed and not inherited (see 4.11), one does in fact find SC paroxytona corresponding to Greek proparoxytona.

4.22 Gk. *κυνίσκισσα > L **cyniscīssa* (see 2.20). SC *kinikěsa* Kali may reflect either the accent of L **cyniscīssa* or of Gk. κυνίσκισσα, oblique *κυνισκίσσ-.³⁹

4.23 I repeat, as per 4.21, that of SC *kinikěsa* nothing can be said, at least based on its accentuation, as to whether it was borrowed directly or indirectly.⁴⁰

4.24 Let us now turn back to the question of Gk. *v*, and of its development.

³⁵ Gk. ἐμπλάστρον, σκόρπαινα would require SC *implastar*, *škřpina*.

³⁶ SC " >" due to -VNC-.

³⁷ SC *mūrīna* is isolated and, possibly, an error for *mūrīna*.

³⁸ SC *poreñūha* Rava, Iž, *pareñīha* Iž may similarly reflect either the accent of L PARANÝM-PHU < Gk. *paránnyμφος* or of Gk. *paránnyμφος*, oblique *paranányμφ-*. See 2.31.

³⁹ Compare also SC *čepariz* (= *čepariz*) < Gk. *κypάpισσος*, oblique *κypάpισσ-* in 4.48.

⁴⁰ SC *kinikěsa* was not affected by either the Slavic or the Dalmatian palatalisation. It must have, therefore, been borrowed after the palatalisation in Slavic, which is seen e.g. in Gk. *κῦμα* > SC *cima*, and either before or after the palatalisation in Dalmatian, which is seen, e.g., in Gk. *κῦμα* > SC *čimula* – or so I claim in n. 48 – but, most likely, SC *kinikěsa* was borrowed after the palatalisation in Dalmatian (and iotacism in Greek).

4.25 In the part of the material which was supposedly inherited (see 4.11) and which, thereby, was subject to Gk. $v > L Y (= *i)$, u we expect, regularly, SC i, u from L $*i, u$, or SC a, \emptyset , where L $*i, u$ were borrowed via Slav. $*\dot{i}, *\dot{u}$, or SC e, o , where L $*i, u$ were subject to a lowering L $*i, u > Dalm. *e, *o$ before they were borrowed.

We find:

4.26 SC i (see 3.1), in Gk. $\acute{\alpha}\beta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma > L$ ABYSSU in 3.1(1);⁴¹ $\gamma\rho\acute{\upsilon}\psi > GRYPHU$ in 3.1(5); $\gamma\rho\rho^{-1} > GYR\grave{A}RE$ in 3.1(6); $\kappa\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha > CYMA$ in 3.1(8); $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu > CYMB\check{A}LU$ in 3.1(9); $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\nu\alpha > MUR\grave{E}NA$ in 3.1(11);⁴² $\pi\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma > PAP\check{Y}RU$ in 3.1(12);⁴³ $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\upsilon\phi\omicron\varsigma > SCY-PHU$ in 3.1(13).

4.27 SC u (see 3.2), in Gk. $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\nu\omicron\varsigma > L$ THUNNU in 3.2(1); $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\varsigma > *corymbu$ in 3.2(2); $\kappa\omicron\tau\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta > *cot\check{y}lu$ in 3.2(4);⁴⁴ $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\nu\alpha > MUR\grave{E}NA$ in 3.2(5); $\mu\nu\rho\tau^{-3} > *murtella$ in 3.2(6).⁴⁵

4.28 SC e (see 3.10), in Gk. $\gamma\rho\rho^{-1} > L$ GYR\grave{A}RE in 3.10(1).

4.29 SC o (see 3.8), in Gk. $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\varsigma > L$ $*corymbu$ in 3.8(1); $\kappa\omicron\tau\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta > *cot\check{y}lu$ in 3.8(2); $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\nu\alpha > MUR\grave{E}NA$ in 3.8(3). Compare 4.46.

4.30 SC a (see 3.3), in Gk. $\kappa\upsilon\delta\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\alpha > L$ COTONEU in 3.3(1); $\mu\grave{\eta}\lambda\alpha \kappa\upsilon\delta\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\alpha > MALU$ COTONEU in 3.3(2); $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\nu\alpha > MUR\grave{E}NA$ in 3.3(3).

4.31 SC \emptyset (see 3.5) in Gk. $\kappa\upsilon\delta\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\alpha > COTONEU$ in 3.5(3); $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\nu\alpha > MUR\grave{E}NA$ in 3.5(4); $\mu\nu\rho\tau^{-1} > MURTA$ in 3.5(5); $\mu\nu\rho\tau^{-2} > *murtella$ in 3.5(7); $\mu\nu\rho\tau^{-3} > *murtea$ in 3.5(6); $\mu\nu\rho\tau^{-4} > *murt\check{t}ica$ in 3.5(8). Compare 4.53.

4.32 This part of the material conforms with the expectation in that Gk. v is found corresponding to SC i, u, e, o, a, \emptyset as per 4.25, and was, therefore, supposedly inherited into Dalmatian from Vulgar Latin, but the other part of the material, which was supposedly inherited (see 4.11), does not conform with the expectation and shows SC $*ju, *ji, *jo$ instead.

4.33 Gk. $A\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\pi\tau-$ $> L$ AEGYPT- (see 2.2), has SC $*ju$ in *jeđupka* Dubrovnik. Compare 4.38.

4.34 Gk. $\kappa\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha > L$ CYMA (see 2.18), has SC $*ju$ in *čumak* Drvenik, Crikvenica (see 3.6(5)), and SC $*jo$ in *čomiga* Budva (see 3.9(2)).^{47, 48} Compare 4.38, 4.40.

⁴¹ Excluding *ābis* Murter, *āmbis* Zlarin as per 4.17.

⁴² Isolated, and, likely, the result of an assimilation *murina* $>$ *mirina*.

⁴³ In contradiction with n. 38. (That is, supposing that SC *poreñuha*, *pareñuha* comes from L PARANÝMPHU. There is no contradiction if one supposes that *poreñuha*, *pareñuha* comes from Gk. *παρὰνύμφη*- as per 4.19.)

⁴⁴ Most likely remade into $*cotula$ (a late diminutive in Dalmatian, without the syncope. Only SC *kōkula* Čilipi appears to continue Dalm. $*cotla > *cocla$, with the syncope and the subsequent restitution of the syncopated syllable, as in Dalm. $*cocla >$ Dalm. $*cocula$ whence SC *kokula*. Compare PLSA § 152).

⁴⁵ Also SC *kuf* $<$ Gk. *κυφός* (JE II 111), which is attested only in the written records – but see Kapović & Vuletić (2010, 48).

⁴⁶ Either due to the lowering L $*u >$ Dalm. $*o$ or, more likely, to an assimilation $*corymbu > *corombu$; cf. Sardinian *koromeddu*.

⁴⁷ That is, next to SC i in 3.1(8). (Also above, in 4.26.)

⁴⁸ In Gk. *κῦμα* $>$ SC *čimula* the palatal appears to be a product of the Dalmatian palatalisa-

4.35 Gk. *παράνυμφος* > L *PARANYMPHU* (see 2.31), has SC **ju* in *poreñiħa* Rava, Iž (see 3.6(8)), and **ji* in SC *pareñiħa* Iž (see 3.7(5)). Compare 4.38 f.

4.36 Due to this aberration, and given the absence of native **ü* in Dalmatian, it seems to me that SC *jeđurka*, *čumak*, *čomiga*, *poreñiħa*, *pareñiħa* were borrowed into Serbo-Croatian from Greek and not through Dalmatian, and that SC **ju*, **ji*, **jo*, is an expression of an attempted adaptation of Gk. *v*, apparently pre-iotacist, to the Serbo-Croatian system,⁴⁹ and, moreover, that this adaptation, which took place in Dalmatia, is comparable to the one which took place in Serbia, where there was no buffer between Greek and Serbo-Croatian, and where Gk. *v* was also occasionally adapted as SC **ju*, **ji*.⁵⁰

4.37 In the part of the material which was supposedly not inherited (see 4.11) and which, therefore, was not subject to Gk. *v* > L Υ (= **i*), Υ we expect, apparently, SC **ju*,⁵¹ **ji*,⁵² **jo*,⁵³ if the word was borrowed before iotacism took place in Greek, or SC *i*,⁵⁴ \emptyset ,⁵⁵ if it was borrowed after it took place, or SC *a*, \emptyset ,⁵⁶ if Gk. *v* was borrowed via Slav. **i*.

We find:

4.38 SC **ju* (see 3.6), in Gk. *άλυκός* in 3.6(2); *γυπ-* in 3.6(3). Compare 4.38, 4.50.

4.39 SC **ji* (see 3.7), in Gk. *άλυκός* in 3.7(1). Compare 4.34, 4.35, 4.51.

4.40 SC **jo* (see 3.9), in Gk. *άλυκός* in 3.9(1). Compare 4.34.

4.41 SC *i* (see 3.1), in Gk. *άλυκός* in 3.1(2); *γρυμέα* in 3.1(3); *γρυπ-* in 3.1(4); *δρυμών* in 3.1(7); **κυνίσκισσα* in 3.1(10).

tion. Cf. L *CIMICE* > SC *čimak/čimak* (ERHSJ II 80). (Also, Vegliot *činko* < *CIMICE*.) However, after velars it is not possible, I think, to distinguish between the effect of the Dalmatian palatalisation and jotation arising from SC **ji* < Gk. *v*.

⁴⁹ I first proposed this view in *PLSA* (§ 135) and elaborated it in Ligorio (2015).

⁵⁰ See n. 51 and 53.

⁵¹ Cf. Gk. *πανηγύρι* > SC *panadur* (Vasmer 1944, 107); *θύμβρος* > *čubar* (ERHSJ I 399); *κῦμα* > *čuma* (ERHSJ I 265, 341).

⁵² Also in Old Serbian records, if rarely. Cf. Gk. *πριμικήριος* (= **πριμικύριος*) > Old Serbian *prēmikjurь* (Vasmer 1944, 123).

⁵³ Cf. Gk. *κόλ(λ)υβον* > SC *koljivo* (Vasmer 1944, 79).

⁵⁴ Cf. Gk. aorist *ἐμύρισα* > SC *mirisati*, 99; *ἐμύρωσα* > *mirosati*, 99; *κρομμύδιον* > *kromid*, 84; *μυρωδιά* > *mirpođija*, 99; *μυστήριον* > *mistrija*, 99; *ὄριζον* > *oriz*, 106; *στόψις* > *stipsa*, 137; *τύραννος* > *tiranin*, 143.

⁵⁵ Also in Old Serbian records, very frequently. Compare Gk. *ἀγρυπνία* > Old Serbian *agrīpñija* (Vasmer 1944, 41); *ἀμέθυστος* > *ameθistь*, 43; *ἀμύγαλον* > *miğdalь*, 98; *βύσσος* > *visь*, 148; *διακλυσμός* > *diaklizmo*, 52; *δίπτυχον* > *dirьtiħь*, 53; *δύσις* > *disь*, 53; *γλύκυσμα* > *glikižmo*, 61; *γρύψ* > *grīpьсь*, 62; *θυμίαμα* > *timijamь*, 142; *κονδύλιον* > *kondilь*, 81; *κύκνος* > *kiknosь*, 77; *κυπάρισσος* > *kiparisь*, 78; *λυχνιτάριον* > *liħnitariь*, 89; **μυλοκοπείον* > *milokopije*, 98; *πανηγυρικό* > *panagiriьkь*, 108; *παννυχίς* > *panihida*, 109; *πρωτοσύγγελλος* > *protosingelь*, 126; *πύργος* > *pirgь*, 116; *στύραξ* > *stiraksь*, 137; *συγκλητική* > *sinьklitiki*, 132; *συναξάριον* > *sinaksariь*, 132; *τρ(ι)αντάφυλλον* > *triandafilь*, 143; *τύμπανον* > *timьpanь*, 142; *τυπάριον* > *tipariь*, 142; *τυπικό* > *tipikь*, 142; *ἕδρωψ* > *edropь*, 55; *ἕπαρχος* > *iparħь*, 67; *ὑποδιάκονος* > *ipodiakopь*, 67; *ὑπόστασις* > *ipostasь*, 67; *ἵππουργός* > *ipogrbь*, 67; *χρυσόβουλλον* > *hrisobolь*, 64.

⁵⁶ Cf. Gk. *θυμίαμα* > Old Serbian *timianī*, SC *tamjan* (Vasmer 1944, 140).

4.42 SC Ø (see 3.5), in Gk. *δρυμών* in 3.5(1); *συνοδοντ-* in 3.5(9).

4.43 This part of the material conforms with the expectation in that Gk. *υ* is found corresponding to SC **ju*, **ji*, **jo*, *i*, *a*, Ø, as per 4.37, and was, therefore, supposedly borrowed into Serbo-Croatian from Greek, whether before or after iotacism, but the other part of the material, which was supposedly not inherited (see 4.11), does not conform with the expectation and shows SC *o*, *u*, **ě* instead.

4.44 Gk. *κορύνη* > SC *korun* (see 3.2(3)), has SC *u*. In Dalmatian, Gk. *κορύνη* appears to have been remade into **corōne* with *-*one* after L C-stems in -*ONE*, a productive type in Dalmatian, which yields -*un* in Serbo-Croatian. Compare (5) in 2.36 and n. 46.

4.45 Gk. *λύρα* > SC **lěr-* (see 3.10(1)), has SC **ě*. In Dalmatian, Gk. *λύρα* > L LYRA appears to have been subject to the lowering L Y (= **i*) > Dalm. **e*, as in 4.28, and to the lengthening Dalm. **e* > Dalm. **ē*. (See Ligorio 2013c, 359 and compare Лигорιο 2015a.) The resulting Dalm. **lēr-* yields Slav. **lēr-* whence SC **lěr-* develops regularly.⁵⁷

4.46 Gk. *πορφύρα* > SC *pr(m)por* (see 3.8(4)), has SC *o*. Gk. *πορφύρα* > L PURPURA and SC *o* points to the lowering L U > Dalm. **o*,⁵⁸ as in 4.29. Consequently, SC *a* in *pumpar*, *parparōt*, *parparōtina* (see 3.3(4)) will predate SC *pr(m)por* and go back to Slav. **ŭ* < Dalm. **u*.

4.47 It seems to me, due to these aberrations, that SC *korun*, **lěr-*, *pr(m)por* were not borrowed into Serbo-Croatian from Greek, but through Dalmatian, the mark of which they appear to bear, whether it be in the form of a lowering or a lengthening.

4.48 Based on these observations (see 4.7–4.47) I insert a note about the word for ‘cypress’ in Serbo-Croatian (see ERHSJ I 56). In Serbo-Croatian, the word for ‘cypress’ varies considerably, but the range of its variation can be reduced, in essence, to the four principal types: (1) *ćepàriz* Boka, (2) *kùpres* Bosnia, (3) *čipres* Dalmatia, (4) *čipres* Dalmatia. I propose that SC *ćepàriz* (= *čepariz*) is a direct borrowing from Gk. *κυπάρισσος*, oblique *κυπαρίσ-*;⁵⁹ that SC *kùpres* is an indirect borrowing, through L CYPRESSU (= **cupressu*, with Gk. *υ* > L **u* as in 4.27);⁶⁰ that SC *čipres* is an indirect borrowing, through L CYPRESSU (= **cupressu*, with Gk. *υ* > L **i* as in 4.26) with L **ci-* > Slav. **ci-* due to Slavic palatalisation (as in L *cyma* = **cima* > SC *cima*; ERHSJ I 265); that SC *čipres* is an indirect borrowing, through Ital. *cipresso* < L CYPRESSU.⁶¹ It appears that no variant of the ‘cypress’ has taken the Dalma-

⁵⁷ Also SC *pijerg* < Gk. *πύργος* (ERHSJ I 239), which is attested only in the written records. (See Лигорιο 2015a, 64, n. 121.)

⁵⁸ Cf. e.g. Ital. *porpora* (REW 6862).

⁵⁹ Compare 4.22 and n. 43.

⁶⁰ Also PN *Kùpres* Bosnia.

⁶¹ Or, in the north of Dalmatia (where Dalmatian palatalisation takes place), through Dalm. **čipresu*, or similar, from L CYPRESSU. However, this type, to which must also belong the most widespread variant, SC *čempres*, is attested both in the north and the south of Dalmatia, which leads me to conclude that, in the north of Dalmatia, it must be an Italian borrowing.

tian route, except for SC *cipres*, which, given its history and its geography, can be considered Dalmatian pace Skok (*ERHSJ*).^{62, 63}

4.49 Finally, let us consider the proper nouns.

We find:

4.50 SC **ju* (see 3.6), in Gk. *Κόρκυρα* > SC *Kôrčula* in 3.6(4);⁶⁴ *Κυπριανός* > *Čubrijān* Zadar etc. in 3.6(6);⁶⁵ *Κύριλλος* > *Ćurilovo* Konavli in 3.6(7). Compare 4.38.

4.51 SC **ji* (see 3.7), in Gk. *γυρ*⁻² > SC *Žirje* in 3.7(2); *γυπ*- > *Šipān* in 3.7(3);⁶⁶ *Κυπριανός* > *Čibran* in 3.7(4). Compare 4.39.

4.52 SC **ja* (see 3.4), in Gk. *Κυπριανός* > SC *Čabrijan* Baška in 3.4(1).⁶⁷

4.53 SC Ø (see 3.5), in Gk. *Δυρράχιον* > SC *Drâč* in 3.5(2).⁶⁸ Compare 4.31.

4.54 With exception of SC *Drâč*, this part of the material appears to conform with the expectation in that Gk. *v* is found corresponding to SC **ju*, **ji*, **ja*, as per 4.37, and has, therefore, supposedly been borrowed into Serbo-Croatian from Greek, and not through Dalmatian.

5. Conclusion

5.1 In the Introduction, I have proposed to investigate the history and development of Gk. *v* in Dalmatian Romance.

5.2 The fate of this question depends, as I have already pointed out (see 1), on our ability to distinguish between Greek borrowings in Dalmatian and Greek borrowings in Serbo-Croatian.

5.3 In Section 2 I proposed 34 etyma for analysis and discussion, and in particular Gk. *ἄβυσσος*, *Αἰγυπ(τ)*-, *ἀλυκός*, *γρυμέα*, *γρυπός*, *γρύψ*, *γυρ*⁻¹, *γυρ*⁻², *γύψ*,

⁶² Not in *PLSA*. (To be added.)

⁶³ Also, I consider SC *kùpres* Bosnia a borrowing from Balkan Latin, not from Dalmatian Romance, as does Skok in *ERHSJ*.

⁶⁴ In Ligorio (2015) I showed that Gk. *Κόρκυρα* > SC *Korčula*, with Gk. *v* > SC **ju*, as in 4.38, whereas SC *Krkar* – its ‘variant’ – in fact continues L *CORCYRA* < Gk. *Κόρκυρα*, not Gk. *Κόρκυρα*, with SC *a* < Slav. **i* < L ‘*Y*’, as in 4.30.

⁶⁵ It is preferable to suppose that in Gk. *Κυπριανός* > SC *Čibran* Gk. *v* > SC **ji* than that Gk. *Κυπριανός* > L *CYPRIANUS* and that L *CY-* (= **ci-*) > SC *Či-* by Dalmatian palatalisation, as in n. 48, given that *Čibran* is an isolated variant and that variants in *Ču-* (with Gk. *v* > SC **ju*) are far more widespread, as Section 3.5(6) can testify.

⁶⁶ In both Gk. *γυρ*⁻² > SC *Žirje* and Gk. *γυπ*- > SC *Šipān*, where Gk. *v* > SC **ji*, it is possible that Gk. *v* was in fact borrowed as Slav. **jū* (due to a lengthening in the open stressed syllables, as in 4.45) and that Slav. **jū* > **jy*, whence SC *ji* develops regularly. Cf. SC *Žirje* and ‘*L Zuri*’ *Žirje* from 1285, SC *Šipān* and ‘*L Juppāna*’ *Šipān* from 1222.

⁶⁷ SC *Čabrijan*, with Gk. *v* > Slav. **ji* or **jū* appears to predate *Čibran*, with Gk. *v* > SC **ji*, and *Čubrijān* etc., with Gk. *v* > SC **ju*. (Again, it is preferable to suppose Gk. *v* > Slav. **ji* than L *CY-* (= **ci-*) > Slav. *Či-* by Dalmatian palatalisation given that *Čabrijan*, like *Čibran* in n. 67, is an isolated variant.)

⁶⁸ In fact, Gk. *Δυρράχιον* > L *DURRACHIUM* whence SC *Drâč*; cf. Alb. *Durrës*, Ital. *Durazzo*.

δρυμών, Δυρράχιον, θύννος, Κόρκυρα, κόρυμβος, κορύνη, κοτύλη, κυδώνια, κύμα, κύμβαλον, *κυνίσκισσα, Κυπριανός, Κύριλλος, λύρα, μήλα κυδώνια, μύραινα, μυρτ⁻¹, μυρτ⁻², μυρτ⁻³, μυρτ⁻⁴, πάπυρος, παράνυφος, σκύφος, συνόδου.

5.4 Out of these, I separated those etyma which can be considered direct borrowings from Greek in Serbo-Croatian based on the criteria discussed in 4, and namely: (1) based on the fund of Greek borrowings in Vulgar Latin (see 4.7–4.11), (2) based on the transposition of the Greek accent in Latin and Romance (see 4.12–4.23), and (3) based on the development of Gk. *v* in Latin and Serbo-Croatian (see 4.24–4.54); and so, supposedly, I have separated 'Serbo-Croatian Greek' from 'Dalmatian Greek in Serbo-Croatian'.

5.5 In terms of Gk. *v*, there are two kinds of 'Serbo-Croatian Greek' borrowings: iotacist, where Gk. *v* appears to yield [i] before it was borrowed, and non-iotacist.

5.6 A non-iotacist reflex, SC **ju*, **ji*, **jo*, **ja*, is supposedly found in Gk. *Αἰγυπτ-* > SC *jeđurka* etc. Dubrovnik, *κύμα* > *čumak* Drvenik, Crikvenica, *čomiga* Budva, *παρὰνύμφ-* > *poreñùha* Rava, Iž, *pareñiha* Iž, as per 4.36; Gk. *άλυκός* > SC *ojuga* Sućuraj, Gradac, *o(j)iga* Korčula, *ořiga* Lastovo, *ojiga* Povelja, Baškavoda, Podgora, Komiza, Račišće, Lovište, Žuljana, Duba, *jřga/řga* Hvar, *jřga* Pitve, *jiga* Milna, Postira, Bol, Vrboska, Jelsa, Vis, *vojiga* Sumartin, *řga* Grohote, Supetar, Starigrad, Zračće, *řga* Kolan, Pag, *řga* Pag, *jōga* Šibenik, *řga* Jezera, Žirje, *řōga/jōga* Murter, *řōga* Zlarin, Ošljak, Rivanj, *řōga* Sali, *řōge* Brbinj, Ist, *řōžica* Murter, *řōžica* Sali, *řōgar* Prvić-Šepurina, as per 4.43; Gk. *γυπ-* > SC *šipan*, *γυρ⁻²* > Žirje, *Κόρκυρα* > *Kōrčula*, *Κυπριανός* > Čubrijān Zadar, Čibran, Čabrijan Baška, *Κύριλλος* > Čurilovo Konavli, as per 4.54.

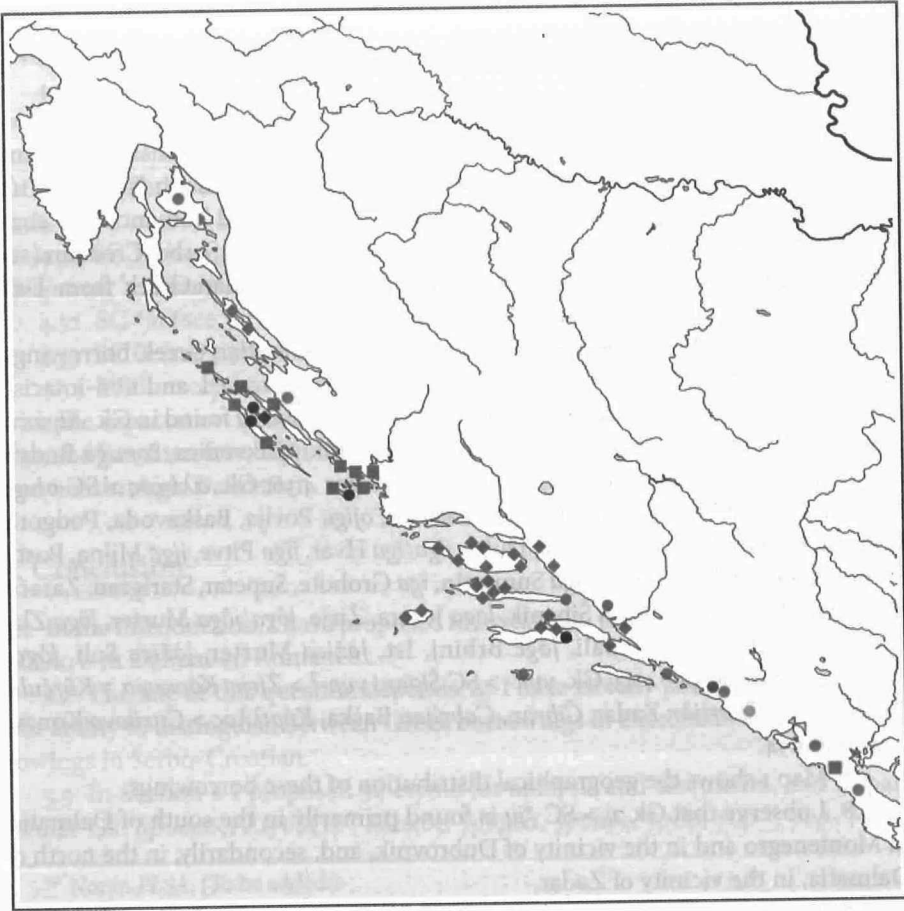
5.7 Map 1 shows the geographical distribution of these borrowings.

5.8 I observe that Gk. *v* > SC **ju* is found primarily in the south of Dalmatia, in Montenegro and in the vicinity of Dubrovnik, and, secondarily, in the north of Dalmatia, in the vicinity of Zadar.

5.9 On the other hand, the iotacist reflex, SC *i*, is supposedly found in those borrowings which continue Gk. *ἄβυσσος* > SC *ābis* Murter, *āmbis* Zlarin, *πάπυρος* > *pōpir* Komiza, as per 4.20; Gk. *άλυκός* > SC *oliga* Hodilje, Govedari, Korita, Slano, Rijeka, Vrbnik, Omišalj, Krk, Senj, *oližnica* Senj, Vrbnik, *oližica* Bakar, *γρυμέα* > *grīma* Šipan, *grīmica* Dubrovnik, *grīmar* Dubrovnik, *γυπ-* > *grīpan* Korita, MI-*jet*, *δρυμών* > *Drimūn* Barbat, **κυνίσκισσα* > *kinikēsa* Kali, as per 4.43. See Map 2.

5.10 The rest of the material may be considered 'Dalmatian Greek in Serbo-Croatian', or, at least, it may be considered so on the basis of the criteria discussed in this paper, including the development of Gk. *v*, which is variously rendered as SC *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, *a*, \emptyset , **ě*.

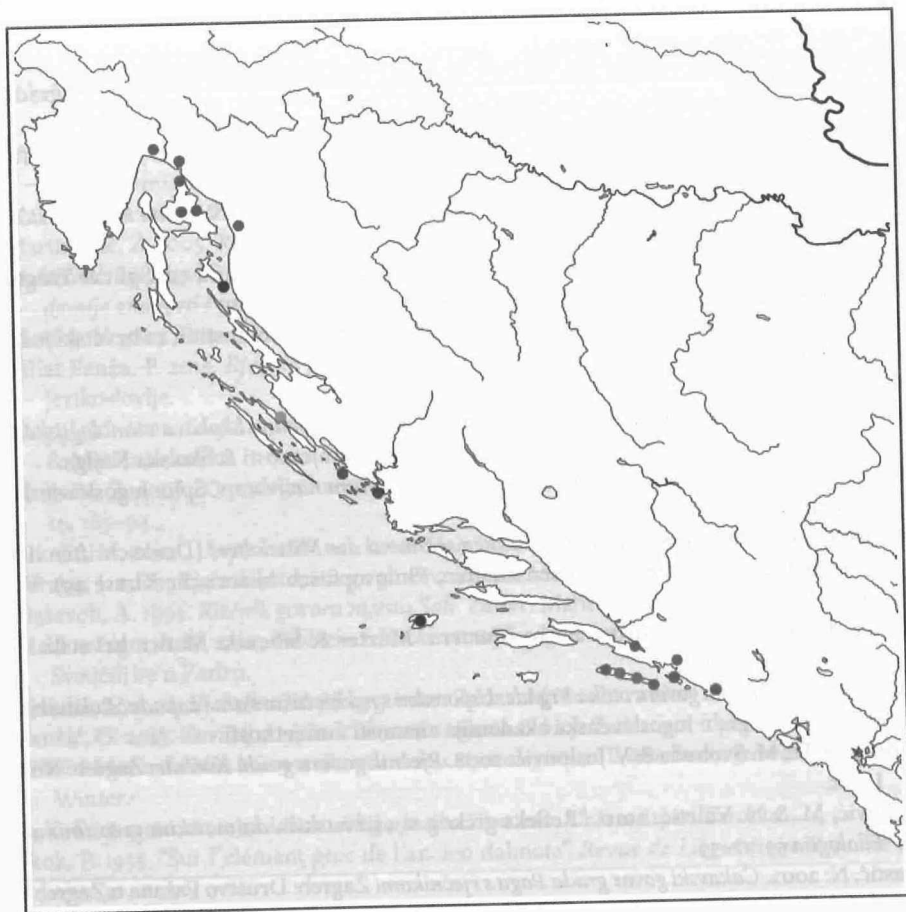
5.11 I note that, from the perspective of SC *i*, it is not possible to distinguish between a iotacist 'Serbo-Croatian Greek' borrowing and a 'Dalmatian Greek in Serbo-Croatian' borrowing which was subject to Gk. *v* > L 'Y' (= **i*). For this reason, this part of the material is best taken *cum grano salis*. (The same is true of SC *a*, \emptyset which reflect Slav. **ŷ* < Gk. *v*.)



Μαρ 1

Αίγυπτ- ἄλυκος γυρ-² γυπ- Κόρκυρα κῦμα Κυπριανός Κύριλλος παρανύμφ-
 ■ Gk. υ > SC *jo ● Gk. υ > SC *ju ◆ Gk. υ > SC *ji ▲ Gk. υ > SC *ja

5.12 The conclusions of this paper are speculative. I have tried to provide a *prima facie* formal reasoning for the development of Gk. υ which, if it is correct, should withstand the test of other criteria, formal or otherwise, but in particular of those which may be developed for the purpose of distinguishing 'Serbo-Croatian Greek' and 'Dalmatian Greek in Serbo-Croatian', and, if it cannot do so, it should naturally be discarded in favor of a better proposition.



Map 2

ἄβυσσος ἄλυκός δρυμών γρυμέα γρυπ- κινίσκος πάπυρος
• Gk. u > SC i

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Περίληψη

Το ελληνικό *υ* στη δαλματική

Η δαλματική, μια ρομανική γλώσσα που μιλιόταν στην ανατολική ακτή της Αδριατικής, έπαψε να μιλιέται κατά τον 15ο αιώνα, σχεδόν χωρίς να έχει καταγραφεί εξαίρεση αποτελεί η βελιοτική, μια μικρή διάλεκτος που μιλιόταν στο νησί Krk και επιβίωσε μέχρι τον 19ο αιώνα, οπότε καταγράφηκε και εξαφανίστηκε. Ωστόσο, σημαντικός αριθμός δαλματικών δανείων επιβίωσε στη σερβοκροατική. Τα δάνεια αυτά, αν απομονωθούν από τα καθαρά σλαβικά και σερβοκροατικά στοιχεία της γλώσσας, αποτελούν τις μόνες μαρτυρίες της δαλματικής γλώσσας.

Στην εργασία αυτή εξετάζω το ελληνικό *υ* στη δαλματική ρομανική, την ιστορία και την εξέλιξη του και, επιπλέον, τη σημασία του για την εξέταση του ευρύτερου προβλήματος κατά πόσο τα ελληνικά δάνεια πέρασαν στη δαλματική μέσω της λαϊκής λατινικής ή απευθείας από την ελληνική· κατ’ επέκταση, θίγεται, στον βαθμό που επιτρέπει το θέμα της εργασίας, το γενικότερο πρόβλημα κατά πόσο τα ελληνικά δάνεια της σερβοκροατικής της Δαλματίας έχουν περάσει άμεσα από την ελληνική ή έμμεσα μέσω της δαλματικής.

Το υλικό που επιλέχθηκε για ανάλυση (βλ. στο κείμενο 3) και συζήτηση (βλ. 4) αποτελείται από 34 έτυμα που περιέχουν το ελλ. *υ* και που, όπως (εύλογα) γίνεται γενικά αποδεκτό, έχουν περάσει στη σερβοκροατική μέσω της δαλματικής ρομανικής. Συγκεκριμένα, εξετάζονται οι ελληνικές λέξεις *ἄβυσσος*, *Αἴγυπ(τ)-*, *άλυκός*, *γρυμέα*, *γρυπός*, *γρύψ*, *γυρ⁻¹*, *γυρ⁻²*, *γύψ*, *δρυμών*, *Δυρράχιον*, *θύννος*, *Κόρκυρα*, *κόρυμβος*, *κορύνη*, *κοτύλη*, *κυδώνια*, *κῦμα*, *κύμβαλον*, **κυνίσκισσα*, *Κυπριανός*, *Κύριλλος*, *λύρα*, *μήλα* *κυδώνια*, *μύραινα*, *μυρτ⁻¹*, *μυρτ⁻²*, *μυρτ⁻³*, *μυρτ⁻⁴*, *πάπυρος*, *παράνυμφος*, *σκύφος*, *συνόδους*, και τα αντίστοιχα δάνεια στη σερβοκροατική, που ανέρχονται σε 700 περίπου (βλ. 2.1–2.34).

Στην εργασία παρατίθεται πρόσθετο υλικό (βλ. 2.35): *κυφός*, *πύργος*, *κυπάρισσος*, ενώ αναφέρεται και το υλικό που αποκλείστηκε (βλ. 2.36): *γρῦλος*, *κόλ(λ)υβον*, *ὀξύρυγχος*, *ἀμύγδαλον*, *πορφύρα*.

Εκτός από τις παραπάνω περιπτώσεις, αναζήτησα, ή τουλάχιστον προσπάθησα να καταγράψω, εκείνα τα έτυμα που μπορούν να θεωρηθούν άμεσα δάνεια από την ελληνική στη σερβοκροατική με βάση συγκεκριμένα κριτήρια (βλ. 4), και συγκε-

κριμένα με βάση: (1) το πλαίσιο των ελληνικών δανείων στη λαϊκή λατινική (βλ. 4.7-4.11), (2) τη μετακίνηση του ελληνικού τόνου στη λατινική και στη ρομανική (βλ. 4.12-4.23), και (3) την εξέλιξη του ελληνικού *υ* στη λατινική και στη σερβοκροατική (βλ. 4.24-4.54). Με βάση τα κριτήρια αυτά, έγινε κατά τη γνώμη μου δυνατή η διάκριση ανάμεσα στα 'σερβοκροατικά ελληνικά' και στα 'δαλματικά ελληνικά' στοιχεία στη σερβοκροατική.

Με κριτήριο την εξέλιξη του ελλ. *υ* διακρίνουμε δύο είδη 'σερβοκροατικών ελληνικών' δανείων: τα γιωτακιστικά, στα οποία το *υ* είχε αρχίσει να προφέρεται ως [i] πριν γίνει ο δανεισμός τους, και τα μη γιωτακιστικά, στα οποία το ελλ. *υ* δεν προφέρεται ως [i].

Μη γιωτακιστική προφορά του *υ*, στα σερβοκροατ. **ju*, **ji*, **jo*, **ja*, θα μπορούσε να ανιχνευτεί στους εξής τύπους: ελλ. *Αίγυπτ-* > σερβοκροατ. *jeđurka* (Dubrovnik), *κῦμα* > *čumak* (Drvenik, Crikvenica), *čomiga* (Budva), *παρანύμφ-* > *poreñiha* (Rava, Iž), *pareñiha* (Iž), βλ. 4.36· ελλ. *άλυκός* > σερβοκροατ. *ojuga* (Sućuraj, Gradac), *o(j)iga* (Korčula), *oiga* (Lastovo), *ojiga* (Povlja, Baškovoda, Podgora, Komiža, Račišće, Lovište, Žuljana, Duba), *jiga/iga* (Hvar), *jiga* (Pitve), *jiga* (Milna, Postira, Bol, Vrboska, Jelsa, Vis), *vojiga* (Sumartin), *iga* (Grohote, Supetar, Starigrad, Zračce), *iga* (Kolan, Pag), *iga* (Pag), *joga* (Šibenik), *loga* (Ježera, Žirje), *lōga/jōga* (Murter), *lōga* (Zlarin, Ošljak, Rivani), *lōga* (Sali), *lōge* (Brbinj, Ist), *jōžica* (Murter), *lōžica* (Sali), *lōgar* (Prvić-Šepurina), βλ. 4.43· ελλ. *γυπ-* > σερβοκροατ. *Šipran*, *γυρ-²* > *Žirje*, *Κόρκυρα* > *Kōrčula*, *Κυπριανός* > *Čubrijān* (Zadar), *Čibran*, *Čabrijan* (Baška), *Κύριλλος* > *Čurilovo* (Konavli), βλ. 4.54.

Στον Χάρτη 1 αποτυπώνεται η γεωγραφική κατανομή αυτών των δανείων. (Παρατηρούμε ότι η εξέλιξη ελλ. *υ* > σερβοκροατ. **ju* απαντά κατά κύριο λόγο νότια της Δαλματίας, στο Μαυροβούνιο και στα περίχωρα του Dubrovnik, και, σπανιότερα, βόρεια της Δαλματίας, στα περίχωρα του Zadar.)

Από την άλλη, η γιωτακιστική προφορά, όπου το *υ* εμφανίζεται στα σερβοκροατικά ως [i], απαντά πιθανότατα στα: ελλ. *ἄβυσσος* > σερβοκροατ. *ābis* (Murter), *āmbis* (Zlarin), *πάπυρος* > *pōpir* (Komiža), βλ. 4.20· ελλ. *άλυκός* > σερβοκροατ. *oliga* (Hodilje, Govedari, Korita, Slano, Rijeka, Vrbnik, Omišalj, Krk, Senj), *oliznica* (Senj, Vrbnik), *olizica* (Bakar), *γρυμέα* > *grīma* (Šipran), *grīmica* (Dubrovnik), *grīmar* (Dubrovnik), *γρυπ-* > *grīpan* (Korita, Mljet), *δρυμών* > *Drimūn* (Barbat), **κυνίσκισσα* > *kinikēsa* (Kali), βλ. 4.43. Βλ. τον Χάρτη 2.

Το υπόλοιπο υλικό θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί ως 'δαλματικά ελληνικά στοιχεία στα σερβοκροατικά', τουλάχιστον με βάση τα κριτήρια που εξετάζονται εδώ, συμπεριλαμβανομένης της εξέλιξης του ελλ. *υ*, το οποίο αντιπροσωπεύεται στη σερβοκροατική από τα *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, *a*, *Ø*, **ě*.

Σημειώνω ότι, όσον αφορά το σερβοκροατικό *i*, είναι αδύνατη η διάκριση ανάμεσα σε ένα γιωτακιστικό 'σερβοκροατικό ελληνικό' δάνειο και σε ένα 'δαλματικό ελληνικό' δάνειο στη σερβοκροατική που έχει υποστεί την τροπή ελλ. *υ* > λατ. 'Y' (= **i*). Για τον λόγο αυτό, το συγκεκριμένο υλικό χρησιμοποιείται *cum grano salis*. (Το ίδιο πρόβλημα παρατηρείται στα σερβοκροατικά *a*, *Ø* που αντικατοπτρίζουν το σλαβικό **i* < ελλ. *υ*.)

Τα συμπεράσματα του παρόντος άρθρου έχουν χαρακτήρα υποθέσεων. Προσπάθησα να δώσω μια εκ πρώτης όψεως τυπική αιτιολόγηση για την εξέλιξη του ελλ. *v*, η οποία, αν είναι σωστή, θα πρέπει να αντέξει τον έλεγχο επιπλέον κριτηρίων, τυπικών ή μη, ιδιαίτερα εκείνων που θα μπορούσαν να αναπτυχθούν με σκοπό τη διάκριση ανάμεσα στα 'σερβοκροατικά ελληνικά' και τα 'δαλματικά ελληνικά στοιχεία στη σερβοκροατική'· αν δεν το κατορθώσει, θα πρέπει φυσικά να αποριφθεί υπέρ μιας καλύτερης ερμηνευτικής πρότασης.