

THE NOMINAL DECLENSION OF FRIULIAN LOANS IN THE SLOVENE DIALECT OF VAL RESIA

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1. Introduction*

The Resia Valley (Rezijanska dolina/Val Resia) is situated in the north-eastern part of the autonomous province of Friuli-Venezia Giulia. It is an alpine valley stretching some 20 km/12.5 miles in a general east-west direction. In the east the valley is enclosed by a mountain range, of which Kanin/Monte Canin (2587 m/8600 ft.) is the highest point, and along which runs the border between Italy and Yugoslavia. Towards the west the valley is open and debouches into the valley Pod Vilo/Canal del Ferro, through which the railway and the *autostrada* run that connect Videm/Udine with Beljak/Villach in Austria.

The inhabitants of the valley, and of one hamlet (Učja/Uccea) in a valley immediately to the south, speak a Slovene dialect that is very distinct from adjacent Slovene dialects spoken to the south and east (Ramovš 1928). Socially and politically the Resians have always been oriented, in the main, toward the areas north and west of their valley, areas where Friulian dialects are spoken. In the past, German (especially toward the north) and Venetian (especially in administrative matters) were also current in these areas, while recently Standard Italian has come to the fore.¹ Indeed, every Resian nowadays speaks Italian, and many of them claim to at least understand Friulian.

The age-old and manifold contacts of the Resians with these non-Slovene areas inevitably influenced their dialect. The effects of language contact are shown most prominently in the lexicon, which contains many loans of German and Romance origin. This process of borrowing continues today at a higher rate than in the past (and with much greater emphasis on Italian vocabulary), since the Resian way of life is changing fast: old, agriculturally oriented models of living are disappearing, while new models are being introduced from outside. This entails the introduction of new lexemes connected with the newer models; and the part of the lexicon connected with the older models is becoming obsolete.

2. Objectives, limits and methods

This article concentrates on the substantives and adjectives of Friulian origin that are now part and parcel of the Resian dialect. These loans are examined with regard to their morphological behavior: they are divided into morphological classes and compared to the originally native Resian substantives and adjectives in the same classes. This yields information about the way in which the loans from Friulian were incorporated into the existing morphological system.

The analysis is restricted to attested data, as collected by the present author during two periods of stay in Val Resia. The dialect is internally differentiated into four variants; the examples cited below were all collected in one village, V Bili/San Giorgio [henceforward, VB]. In the treatment of only one sub-class, labelled I.e., will an exception be made to this principle, because a phonological development that is specific to VB has partly obscured the picture.

The notation used for the examples is based on a phonological analysis of the VB data, in part already published (Steenwijk 1988), and in part to be published in a dissertation.

The orthography used here renders every phoneme by one grapheme; no distinction is made between normal phonemes and others (archiphonemes, etc.). The Friulian examples are cited from Pirona 1935.

The term "Friulian loan" is to be interpreted in as wide a sense as possible: there are cases when it is very difficult or even impossible to decide whether a loan is from Friulian or from some other Romance origin (Venetian, Italian); e.g., Res *ákvila* "eagle" can originate both from Fri *àquile* and Ven Ita *àquila*.² Here such loans are treated as possible Friulian loans in every respect; for many loans of possible Venetian and Italian origin it can be argued that they were transmitted into Resian through Friulian (cf. Šturm 1927, 1928). A meticulous etymological survey of the loans under discussion remains beyond the scope of this article.

This broad definition is also valid for loans that may be either direct German loans or transmitted through Friulian, e.g., Ger *Fleck* Fri *blèc*,³ Res *blók* "piece of cloth," and Lat *speculum*, OFri **spéglo*, Fri *spiéli*, Ger *Spiegel*, Res *špǐgli(n)* "mirror." In both instances—the first, where an originally German word is borrowed into Friulian as well as into Resian, and the second, where an originally Romance word is also borrowed into German—the modern Resian word is treated as a possible loan from Friulian.

3. Substantives.

Native Resian substantives have inherent gender and are declined for number and case. The morphological classes I, II and III that serve as a framework here are as defined by Lencek (1982: 194, 206, 209) for CSS substantives: class I contains masculines and neuters with gen sg in *-a*; class II, feminines with gen sg in *-e*; and class III, feminines with gen sg in *-i*. *Mutatis mutandis* the Resian substantive declensions fit very well into this classification. There are no Resian loans from Friulian that now have neuter gender.

On TABLE I, for every exemplificatory paradigm, the following four cases are cited, always in the same order: nom sg, gen sg, nom pl, gen pl; if any of these four is not attested, its assumed form is furnished with an asterisk. All attested nouns in each sub-class are listed in the Appendix.⁴ Examples are given in two columns: on the left are loans from Friulian; on the right, native Resian substantives (where appropriate) for comparison.

Class I. Masculines

a) with nom sg ending in consonant other than *-r*:

1) stem stress: *járbul*, *dǒt*

Desinences are regularly affixed to the stem-final consonant. As in *dǒt*, *dǒda* there may occur an automatic stem-final alternation between voiceless and voiced consonants, attested for both *-s/-z* and *-t/-d* (cf. Appendix); this alternation is discussed in 5. below. Other alternations involve the stressed vowels, which have different shapes in monosyllabic forms: occurrent alternations are low-mid/high-mid back rounded (*kǝp/kóp-*), high-central/high-front unrounded (*tǝmp/tǐmp-*), and low-central/low unrounded (*pǝšt/pášt-*).

2) columnar stress: *blók*, *stól*

This type, in which all non-zero desinences have the stress on the first desinential vowel, occurs in a group of native Res substantives with stressed *ǝ* in the nom sg. The one masc loan from Fri with this stressed vowel has been incorporated into this Res pattern. The differing vowel-alternations in the loan (*blakǝ*) and the native Resian (*stolǝ*) originate in the etymological source of *ǝ*, namely (respectively) **e* and **o*. In unaccented position the different etymological sources become apparent: cf. *zǝmja*, *zamjǝ* "earth" vs. *wǝda*, *wodǝ* "water".

TABLE I. EXAMPLES OF NOMINAL PARADIGMS

CLASS I. MASCULINESa) with nom sg ending in consonant other than -r

1) stem stress

járbul	dót
járbula	dóda
járbulavi	dódavi
járbuluw	dóduw
"tree"	"grandfather"

2) columnar stress

blók	stól
blaké	stolé
blakówji	stolówji
blakúw	stulúw
"piece of cloth"	"chair"

b) with nom sg ending in -Vr

ćaldír	razór
ćaldírja	razórja
ćaldírji	razórji
ćaldírjuw	*razórjuw
"copper bucket"	"furrow"

c) with nom sg ending in -i(n)

lári(n)
lárina
lárini/lárinavi
lárinuw
"thief"

d) with nom sg ending in -i

mídi
mída
mídavi
míduw
"doctor"

CLASS II. FEMININES

panúla	lípa
*panúle	lípe
panúle	lípe
panúluw	lípuw/lipí
"ear of corn"	"linden tree"

CLASS III. FEMININES

racjún	lúč
racjúni	lúči
racjúni	lúči
racjúni	luči
"prayer"	"light"

b) with nom sg ending in *-Vr*: *ćaldír*, *razór*

In this sub-class the stem is extended before non-zero desinences by the addition of the infix *-j-*. All borrowings attested in this sub-class have polysyllabic stems and, with the exception of *jájər*, *jájarja* "air", carry columnar stress. An exceptional instance is presented by *jáwur*, *jáwra* "gold", which, instead of extending the stem with the *-j-* infix, deletes the final stem vowel.

c) with nom sg ending in *-i(n)*: *lári(n)*

There are no native Res masc substantives in *-i(n)* and therefore no comparison is possible; see further in 5. below.

d) with nom sg ending in *-i*: *mídi*

Here, the stem undergoes truncation: the stem-final *-i* is replaced by the desinences in oblique cases. Actually this sub-class is unique to the VB sub-dialect of Res, and was

brought about by the VB loss of the phoneme */h/ ← */x/;⁵ cf. the sub-dialect of Njiva/Gniva, where this phoneme is preserved and the corresponding paradigm is *mīdi*, *mīdiha*, *mīdihi/mīdihuvi*, *mīdihuw*. As in the previous instance, there are no native Res masc substantives in *-i* and no comparison is possible.

Class II. Feminines: *panúla*, *līpa*

This class comprises fem substantives with nom sg ending in *-a*. Although (cf. Appendix) Pirona's (1935) vocabulary lists Fri fem substantives with final *-e*, the Fri dialects in a part of the Carnia region, of which the Val Resia is a part, have final *-a* and incorporation into Res Class II substantives is all the less problematic. The gen pl ending *-ī* was not attested in loans.

Class III. Feminines: *racjún*, *lűč*

This class comprises fem substantives with nom sg ending in a consonant. Class III substantives in *-at* show the automatic voiceless/voiced alternation *-t/-d-*, cf. 5. below. Note also that the stress alternation in the Res *lűč* is characteristic of all original Sln nouns in this class, but was not attested in any loans.

4. Adjectives

Native Res adjectives occurring with predicative and attributive functions are declined for gender, number and case, with the exception of only one indeclinable adjective (*duwji* 'wild'). In contrast, all loans from Fri are indeclinable. For instance, while taking about sheep-shearing, one informant said, "... *ma ta lőtə ko ni so gőrke so kontént da se in slíčə dőlu te kapšt* [... but in summer when they are warm they are happy when their coat slides off them]": here, both the native adjective *gőrke* and the loan *kontént* agree with the plur pronoun *ni*, but only the former is declined. The phenomenon of treating adjectival loans as indeclinable occurs in other Sln dialects and in CSS.

5. Discussion: consonant alternations and infixes.

The voiceless/voiced alternation that occurs in Classes I.a.1 and III finds its origin in the source language: Fri is one of the Romance languages in which intervocalic voiceless stops, and later also intervocalic voiceless *s*, became voiced, e.g., Lat *rotam*, Ita *ruòta*, Fri *ruède*. In Fri in, e.g., *cugnāt*, *veretāt* (cf. Lat *cōgnātum*, *veritātem*, OFri **cognado*, *veretade* with dissimilation of the first stop), the final stop is necessarily voiceless because the the voiced *vs.* voiceless opposition is neutralized in prepausal position; as already pointed out by Šturm (1928: 34), these words must have been borrowed into Res when there was still a final vowel present in the Fri forms. For the loans in *-at*, *-ad*, forms such as archaic Ve/It *veritade* may not be excluded as a possible source, especially since they generally denoted abstract concepts which would have been more current in learned language—religious and administrative styles—than in everyday speech.

The origin of the infix in I.d is far less clear. As Baudouin de Courtenay (1875: 23-24) already observed, the *-n-* is exclusively confined to loanwords. There is, however, no direct Fri source for the infixal *-n-*: it cannot be traced back to the *-n-* of the Lat *latro*, *latrōnem*, because the position of stress on Fri *lări* indicates that the Fri form is derived from the nom case. Francescato (1960: 29), writing about the Ter dialect spoken in Bardo/Lu-severa, suggests that loans of this type conformed to the type of loan from Fri words such as *contadīn*, Ter *kontadīŋ* Res *kontadīn*; but he does not take into account the differences

in the position of the stress: in sub-class I.d stress is always on the penultimate syllable of the nom sg, whereas in the type *kontadīn* it is on the final.

In CSS, on the other hand, there is the infix *-n-* which is added to the stem in all cases with non-zero desinence of some masc substantives with stems ending in orthographic ‘-lj’, e.g., ‘krancelj kranceljna’ “wreath.” According to Štrekelj (1886: 387, 407) the infix *-n-* in the Kra dialects occurs mainly in loans, e.g. Kra *kráncł*, and originates in the Ger suffix *-lein*, MHG *-līn*. This origin is confirmed by Bezljaj (1982: 81), at least in this particular CSS instance: “Izposojeno iz bav.avstr. dem. *Kränzlein*, dial. *kranzl*.” Ramovš (1924: 110) assumes that, together with MHG *-līn*, the Ger plural suffix *-n* may have been a source for the infix, e.g., Ger *Knödeln*, Sln nom pl *knédlni* → nom sg *knédln* → *knédlin*. Although no indubitably Ger loan containing this infix was attested in these Res data, it is interesting to note that three of the items listed for sub-class I.d may be of Ger origin: *špīgli(n)*, *čōšpli(n)*, *cōwkli(n)* “mirror, plum, clog.” Furthermore, Matičetov (1975: 129) cites from his own material the Res forms *kráncłi* (sub-dialect unspecified) and *kráncłina* (Osojane/Oseacco). At this point I support the hypothesis that the Res infix *-n-* is to be traced to the Ger suffix *-lein*:⁶ introduced into Res in this way, the *-n-* was reinterpreted as an infix for substantival loans, in general on the analogy of the infixal *-n-* that occurs in some neuters, e.g., *jīmə jīmana* “name”, which (apart from the nom and acc cases) have the same declension as masc substantives.

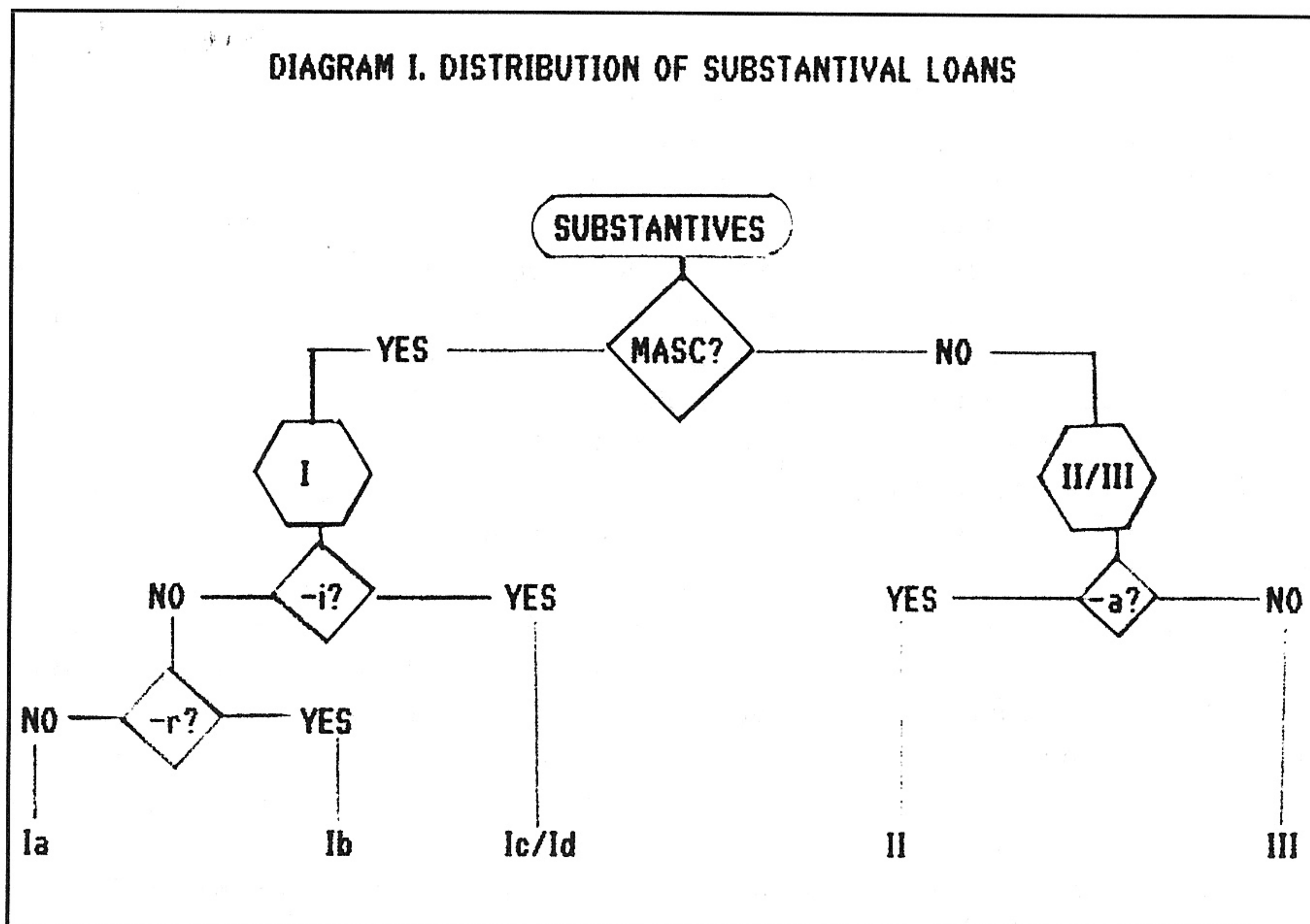
The type *mīdi mīda* poses its own problems. Šturm (1928: 31) derives Kra *miédix* and Res (Ravnca/Prato di Resia) *mīdex* from OFri **medego*, Lat *medicum* to account for the occurrence of the velar fricative [h], and traces Res (Ravnca) *mīdeh* to Fri *mièdi*. This is not a satisfying solution. For Kra dialects one would expect the following development: OFri **medego* → Kra gen sg **medeɣa*, nom sg **medex* with the automatic voiceless/voiced alternation that occurs in, e.g., Kra *rux*, *róɣa/royá* “horn” (cf. Štrekelj 1886: 392-93). At a later stage the vowel before the velar fricative was deleted in Kar oblique cases, thus in the gen sg **medeɣa* would have resulted in **miédɣa*, like the form *priédɣar* “preacher” (Štrekelj 1886: 396). Instead, Štrekelj (1886: 406) cites *miétxa* as the gen sg, which appears to prove that the velar fricative was voiceless before the vowel was elided. One could however argue, against this position, that Kra *miédix miétha* arose on the analogy of a small group of substantives that all have a voiceless velar fricative before desinential vowels and a vowel/zero alternation preceding this consonant, e.g., *brítix brítxa*, *triébix triépxa* “cemetery, belly” (Štrekelj 1886: 396).

In the case of Res *mīdi mīda* it is easier to see that Šturm’s suggestion is unjustified: OFri **medego* would have resulted in Res gen sg **mīdedega* and nom sg **mīdedek*, with the automatic voiceless/voiced alternation seen in *ruk róɣa* “horn.” Furthermore, *g* is preserved in Res (VB sub-dialect) in all positions, so Res **mīdedega* should have resulted in a gen sg **mīdiga*. The forms from Njiva, *mīdi mīdiha*, are inconclusive in this instance, because in this sub-dialect **g* and **x* merged into the single phoneme *h*, phonetically [h].

I can therefore at the moment offer no reasonable hypothesis as to the origin of the type I.d.⁷

6. Conclusion.

Given the distribution of the substantival loans from Fri over the various classes described above, it is striking that no change of gender occurs: Fri masculines give Res masculines and Fri feminines give Res feminines. This is particularly easy to see with substantives ending in *-on* in the source-language: thus Fri *savòn* (masc) ends up in Class I.a.1 and Fri *oraziòn* (fem) ends up in Class III. The distributional regularity is exemplified in DIAGRAM I.



Only after the division between masc and fem has been made do phonological considerations become important: the further ditribution over the various classes and sub-classes depends on the final phonemes of the words concerned.

This diagram reveals one point where the description offered above does not lead to clarification: it remains unclear as to the criterion for sub-division of Fri masculines between sub-classes I.d and I.e.⁸ It is precisely these sub-classes that did not previously exist in Resian, or were so scarcely represented that today no native Resian substantive can be found which fits into either pattern.

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NOTES

- * This is a revised version of the paper presented at the Fourth International Minority Languages Conference, Ljouwert/Leeuwarden, Netherlands, June 20-24, 1989.
- 1. The German dialects to the north started to be replaced by Friulian from the end of the Middle Ages. The Republic of Venice took over the patriarchate of Aquileia in 1420 and the region shared the successes and failures of that republic until, in 1866, it was incorporated into the Kingdom of Italy. Until 1797, however, the territory of the former Patriarchate enjoyed a certain degree of administrative autonomy.
- 2. Abbreviations: (1) Varieties of Slovene: Sln = Slovene, CSS = Contemporary Standard Slovene; Res = Resian as spoken in V Bili/San Giorgio, otherwise as indicated; Kra = Kras dialects; specifically those spoken in and around Komen and Gorjansko; Ter = Ter dialects as spoken in Lusevera, otherwise as indicated. (2) Other languages and dialects: Fri = Friulian; OFri = Old Friulian; Ger = German; MHG = Middle High German; Ita = Italian; Lat = Latin; Ven = Venetian Italian. (3) Grammatical categories: nom = nominative, gen = genitive; sg = singular, pl = plural; masc = masculine, fem = feminine.
- 3. In the Friulian examples the circumflex accent denotes long (tense) vowels. The acute and grave accents denote short (lax) vowels. In addition, the latter accents denote, respectively, closed vs open varieties of *e*, *o*.

4. For complete listings of attested data, including other potential (Ven, Ita) sources for the loans, readers are referred to the author.
5. Reflexes of Proto-Slavic */x/ are here labelled /h/ for intra-dialectal comparison: in some dialects and in some forms these are manifested as [x]; but in the VB dialect, the focus of this study, */x/—while having various reflexes—results in [h] in a number of environments, including intervocalically. [x] is the normal reflex only in the O dialect of Res. No dialect has a contrast between [x] and [h].
6. As a final solution to this problem is at present not within reach, it may be useful to list the loans from Fri in another Western Sln dialect, showing a similar pattern (quoted from Francescato 1960: 26, 29): Fri *còrli fàri libri véri*, Ter *korliṭ fariṭ libriṭ veriṭ*, respectively “bobbin, blacksmith, book, glass.”
7. Here is a list of loans of the same type from Fri in other Sln dialects, quoted from Štrekelj (1886: 396, 412, 460), Šturm (1927: 82), Francescato (1960: 26-27) and Merkù (1980: 174): the substantives Fri *cialùni* Kra *kalúnix* “prebendary”, Fri *mièdi* Ter *myedex/myedix* Kra *miédix* “doctor”, Fri *mùni* Ter *munex* “sexton”, Fri *prési* Ter *priešex* “price”, Fri *cimitiéri* Ter *semetiér-ix* “cemetery” and the adjective Fri *dòpli* Kra *dwóplix* Notranjsko *duəpləx* “double”.
8. Working hypotheses on the distribution of the two suffixes soon run into difficulties. The infix *-n-* occurs in stems that now have or previously had consonant clusters with *-Cr-* or *-Cl-* before Fri *-i*: Lat *latro*, Fri *làri*; Fri *maestri*. There are however several counter-arguments against this assumption. First, it is unclear as to which feature was the basis for the two forms *lari* and *maestri* to become grouped together, once the *-t-* in the former had disappeared: the borrowing clearly took place after this loss. Second, Fri *dòpli* does not add *-n*, but *-h*. Third, the deviant Fri form *ociäl* remains unexplained, since it never had a consonant before its final *-l*. In order to circumvent the first and third of these counter-arguments one could restrict the definition of the stem characteristics to “*-r-* or *-l-* occurring before Fri *-i*”, but this definition involves another counter-example, viz., Lat *coemētērium*, Fri *cimitiéri*, which adds *-h-* and is precisely excluded by the first suggested definition. A possible way of circumventing the second counter-argument would be to state that adjectives are exceptional. The fact that *-n-* is restricted to stems ending in liquid + *i* can probably be explained by the origin of the suffix in MHG *-lîn*. Being associated with one of the liquids, namely *-l*, the infixation of *-n-* spread to the other liquid, *-r-*, at which point the extension ceased.

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POVZETEK

NOMINALNA DEKLINACIJA FURLANSKIH IZPOSOJENK V SLOVENSKOM GOVORU REZIJANSKE DOLINE V ITALIJI

Samostalniki furlanskega izvora se formalno vključujejo v sledeče sklanjatvene vzorce rezijansčine, ki se govori v vasi V Bili: v prvo sklanjatev samostalnikov moškega spola na soglasnik; v drugo sklanjatev samostalnikov ženskega spola na -a; in v tretjo sklanjatev samostalnikov ženskega spola na soglasnik. Njihovo vključevanje zavisi od spola samostalnika v furlanščini, in od končnega glasu samostalnika v furlanščini. Tako so furlanski samostalniki moškega del prve sklanjatve; furlanski samostalniki na -e - del druge sklanjatve; in furlanski samostalniki ženskega spola na soglasnik - del tretje sklanjatve rezijanskih govorov. Furlanski samostalniki moškega spola na -i so v belskom govoru podaljšani s sufiksom -n, ali pa so podvrženi krnitvi (truncation); oba tipa se vključujeta v prvo sklanjatev. Pridevniki furlanskega izvora so v belskom govoru vedno nesklonljivi.

APPENDIX: DATA

The Res nom sg forms—and (where different) the stem in forms with non-zero desinences—of all attested items for each class, with glosses and Fri sources, are as follows:

Class I.a.1 (35 items): Fri *árbul* Res *járbul* "tree"; Fri *běz* Res *běč* "money"; Fri *bùf* Res *búf* "squall"; Fri *canòn* Res *kanún* "cannon"; Fri *ciantòn* Res *ćántún* "angle"; Fri *cióut* Res *ćówt* "small stable"; Fri *còlp* Res *kòlp*, *kólp*- "blow"; Fri *compàgn* Res *kompěnj*, *kompánj*- "companion"; Fri *contadìn* Res *kontadĩn* "farmer"; Fri *còp* Res *kóp*, *kóp*- "roof-tile"; Fri *cròc* "creak" Res *kròk*, *krók*- "crow"; Fri *cugnät* Res *kunját*, *kunjád*- "brother-in-law"; Fri *cuiàrt* Res *kuvjért*, *kuvjért*- "roof"; Fri *fòrn* Res *fórn*, *fórn*- "bakery"; Fri *franc* Res *frěnk*, *fránk*- "coin sp."; Fri *gras* Res *grěs*, *grás*- "fat"; Fri *gròp* Res *gróp*, *gróp*- "knot"; Fri *limòn* Res *limún* "lemon"; Fri *muziul* Res *mužúl* "glass"; Fri *orlòi* Res *orlój*, *orlój*- "clock"; Fri *paīs* Res *pajīs*, *pajīj*- "village"; Fri *past* Res *pěšt*, *pášt*- "meal"; Fri *piròn* Res *pirún/prón*, *prún*- "fork"; Fri *plavàn* Res *plaván* "parish priest"; Fri *portòn* Res *portún* "large door"; Fri *savòn* Res *saún* "soap"; Fri *scagn* Res *škěnj*, *škánj*- "stool"; Fri *scòrz* Res *škórč*, *škórč*- "bark"; Fri *scufòn* Res *škufún* "sock"; Fri *soldät* Res *soldád*- "soldier"; Fri *spagnolèt* Res *špənjolót* "cigarette"; Fri *taramòt* Res *taramót*, *taramót*- "earthquake"; Fri *terèn* Res *tarénj* "field"; Fri *timp* Res *těmp*, *těj*- "time".

Class I.a.2 (1 item): Fri *blèc* Res *blók*, *blak*- "piece of cloth".

Class I.b (8 items): Fri *àjar* "wind" Res *jájer*, *jájarj*- "sky"; Fri *cialdër* Res *ćaldër*, *ćalděrj*- "copper bucket"; Fri *ciazzadör* Res *ćaćadör*, *ćaćadörj*- "hunter"; Fri *colör* Res *kolör*, *kolörj*- "color"; Fri *dolör* Res *dolör*, *dolörj*- "sorrow"; Fri *mištër* Res *mištër*, *mištěrj*- "trade"; Fri *pes'ciadör* Res *peščadörj*- "angler"; and the exceptional item Fri *áur* Res *jávur*, *jávvr*- "gold".

Class I.c (4 certain items): Fri *làri* Res *lári(n)*, *lárin*- "thief"; Fri *libri* Res *lǐbri(n)*, *lǐbrin*- "book"; Fri *maèstri* Res *majěštrin*- "schoolmaster"; Fri *spiéli* Res *špǐgli(n)*, *špǐglin*- "mirror". In addition, three items are unclear: (1) Fri *ciéspe* Res *ćóšpli(n)*, *ćóšplin*- "plum": according to Meyer-Lübke (1935: 136) Fri *čiesp* (sic) is in fact a loan from Sln *češpa*, while according to Bezlaž (1976: 8) Sln *čěšplja/čěšpa* is borrowed from Ger, cf. Bavarian *zveschpn*; the Res form would best correspond to the Ger forms, augmented with the suffix *-lein*; (2) Fri *ociäl* Res nom pl *ocáline* "eyeglasses": the suffix *-n*- here appears to be attached to an OFri pl. **ociali* (now *ociài*) whereas the other loans in this class are derived from singulars (cf. Bezlaž 1982: 239 for possible Romance sources); and (3) Fri *zócul* Res *ćówkli(n)*, *ćówklin*- "clog": this may be a loan deriving from MHG *zockel*, cf. Bezlaž 1976: 67.

Class I.d (2 items): Fri *cimitiéri* Res *satmićóri* "cemetery"; Fri *mièdi* Res *mǐdi* "doctor".

Class II (59 items): Fri *àquile* Res *ákvila* “eagle”; Fri *àrie* Res *árja* “air”; Fri *baràche* Res *barēka* “shed”; Fri *bàrcie* Res *bárca* “boat”; Fri *bèstie* Res *běštj* “animal”; Fri *bòcie* Res *bóca* “mouth”; Fri *braghèsse* Res *bragése* “trousers”; Fri *butéghe* Res *butóga* “shop”; Fri *capèle* Res *kapēla* “chapel”; Fri *cartolīne* Res *kartolj̃n* “postcard”; Fri *cartùfule* Res *kartúfula* “potato”; Fri *cassèle* Res *kasēl* “cooking-dish”; Fri *cevòle* Res *čibúl* “onion” (cf. Šturm 1927: 49); Fri *ciamózze* Res *čamurča* “chamois”; Fri *ciànive* “cellar” Res *čániba* “room”; Fri *comédie* Res *komédja* “comedy”; Fri *còrbe* Res *kórba* “basket”; Fri *corière* Res *korjéra* “coach”; Fri *còtule* Res *kótula* “skirt”; Fri *còve* Res *ków* “bed”; Fri *dutrīne* Res *dutrōna* “catechism”; Fri *famèe* Res *famēja* “family”; Fri *fiéste* Res *fjójsta* “feast”; Fri *fòrme* Res *fórm* “form”; Fri *fràmbue* Res *frámbula* “raspberry”; Fri *fuàrze* Res *fárča* “strength”; Fri *gòrne* Res *górna* “gutter”; Fri *lampadīne* Res *lampadōn* “small lamp”; Fri *lètare* Res *létra* “letter”; Fri *máchigne* Res *měkinja* “car”; Fri *madòne* Res *madōna* “Holy Virgin”; Fri *màlghe* Res *málg* “alm”; Fri *minièr* Res *minjóra* “mine”; Fri *mignéstre* Res *minjōstra* “soup”; Fri *òre* Res *óra* “hour”; Fri *panóle* Res *panúla* “ear of corn”; Fri *pássare* Res *pásara* “sparrow”; Fri *pène* Res *péna* “feather”; Fri *plúme* Res *plúma* “feather”; Fri *polènte* Res *polénta* “polenta”; Fri *pòme* Res *póma* “fruit”; Fri *róse* Res *róż* “flower”; Fri (Barcis) *scrègna* Res *škrénja* “rib”; Fri *scuèle* Res *škúla* “school”; Fri *sèle* Res *sēla* “bucket”; Fri *siòrte* Res *sjórta* “sort”; Fri *spòrte* Res *špórta* “bag”; Fri *stagnàde* Res *štanjáda* “cauldron”; Fri *stàle* Res *štála* “stable”; Fri *tàule* Res *távla* “table”; Fri *tràpe* Res *trápa* “dregs”; Fri *tròmbe* Res *trómba* “fountain”; Fri *uère* Res *wéra* “war”; Fri *vèrze* Res *béržv* “savoy cabbage”; Fri *vìpare* Res *vj̃pəra* “viper”; Fri *vita* Res *vj̃ta* “life”; Fri *zornàde* Res *zornáda* “day”.

Class III (5 items): Fri *citāt* Res *čitát, čitád* “city”; Fri *oraziòn* Res *racjún* “prayer”; Fri *religiòn* Res *reližún* “religion”; Fri *stagión* Res *štažún* “season”; Fri *veretāt* Res *varatát, varatád* “truth”.

Adjectives: There were 31 attested loan adjectives, as follows: Fri *atènt* Res *atént* “careful”; Fri *capàz* Res *kopác* “capable”; Fri *clàr* Res *klár* “limpid”; Fri *contènt* Res *kontént* “happy”; Fri *cujèt* Res *kujót* “quiet”; Fri *curiös* Res *kurjówš* “curious”; Fri *diferènt* Res *difarént* “different”; Fri *dólz* Res *dólč* “sweet”; Fri *drèt* Res *drót* “direct”; Fri *dür* Res *dúr* “hard”; Fri *ferbìnt* Res *farbónt* “impetuous”; Fri *fin* Res *fj̃n* “thin”; Fri *forèst* Res *foréšt* “foreign”; Fri *frèsc* Res *fróšk* “fresh”; Fri *importànt* Res *importént* “important”; Fri *interessànt* Res *intərəšənt* “interesting”; Fri *just* Res *júšt* “correct”; Fri *liber* Res *lĭber* “free”; Fri *līs* Res *láš* “smooth”; Fri *mòl* Res *mól* “soft”; Fri *mònt* Res *mónt* “clean”; Fri *periciolös* Res *pərikolówš* “dangerous”; Fri *prònt* Res *prónt* “ready”; Fri *rotònt* Res *rotónt* “round”; Fri *rùspet* Res *rúšpit* “severe”; Fri *salvadi* Res *šalvádi* “”; Fri *scart* Res *škért* “waste”; Fri *scür* Res *škuř* “dark”; Fri *spòrc* Res *špórk* “dirty”; Fri *stùpit* Res *štúpit* “stupid”; Fri *svèlt* Res *žvēlt* “quick”; Fri *velegnös* Res *velanjówš* “poisonous”.