Giovanni Frau, *Dizionario toponomastico del Friuli-Venezia Giulia*. Udine, Istituto per L'Enciclopedia del Friuli-Venezia Giulia, 1978. Pp. 130.

This first integral collection of the place names of this complex and interesting region is avowedly intended as a work for general interest — as such it does not claim to be exhaustive and has not been delayed until all Flurnamen could be collected; but in fact Frau has given us a thoroughly scholarly work. A highly informative introduction (5—24), adorned with seven reproductions of older maps and plans, is followed by the dictionary proper. The front matter includes maps (showing comuni) of the four provinces of the region, an excellent concise bibliography of 26 items, a useful brief glossary of technical terms, and some welcome remarks on the contribution of toponomastics as a discipline.

The scholarly level is high: Basic points of reference are Du Cange, Meyer-Lübke, Gamillscheg, Förstemann, as well as more local works. Apart from reference to Pleteršnik, the Slavic side is not as ample as it might be.

This region has been polyglot as far back as we know it. Today, leaving aside the national standard Italian, we have Friulian (see Frau in the *Actes* of the 1972 Sofia congress), German and westernmost South Slavic (i.e. Slovene, often specifically Resian); these of course find their reflexion in the toponyms. Moving back in time, there is a spot of Slavic from the 10th century southwest of Udine, and a wider distribution of medieval German. The Latin of the Roman Empire is represented in several aspects. An important Pre-Roman component were the Carnic Celts, who are shown by onomastic remains to have inhabited the high plain and mountains to the north of Udine in the province of that name. Then there is a substantial component of Pre-Roman non-Celtic vestiges, which embrace notably the main rivers and many mountains. Each of these components is succinctly discussed in the introduction. One wonders where the ancient Venetic speakers were. Do they lie underneath the praedia to the south of the Carnic Celtic line?

Frau will have (14—15) a small group of names as representing a Greek origin (separately from the known Greek elements borrowed by Latin). These names, e.g. *Basagliapenta* (< *Basalgiapenta*; AD 762 *duas Basilicas*), *Baségliā* = *Basélia*¹ = *Basóia*, and *Basaldella* (AD 1275 *Basalgella* < diminutive in *-ella*), all derive from *basilica* 'church'. Surely these reflect not Greek but peripheral Latin. Frau himself refers (p. 15, footnote 7) to Romauntsch (Sursilvan) *basélgia*; I have myself heard

¹ Recorded 1471—91 as *Baselgia*.

[ba'Zɛlʒʌ] at Tiefencastel. But Frau overlooks the fact that Romanian attests *biserică*, clearly old; while Albanian, less peripheral in the Balkans, has (in conservative Tosk dialects) *klishë*. This Romauntsch-Friulian-Romanian agreement does not point to any close kinship; they simply agree in conserving an archaic Bårtoli "lateral" feature, or else a common social stratum — see Excursus I.

Frau explicitly (5) leaves out names "di origine trasparente", but this deprives him of some interesting content. We find no entry for San Giorgio, the first village going up the Resia Valley. Its native name is *tuw Bîle*; the first portion is a locative element accompanying many Resian toponyms,² a strengthened preposition.

Prato (Resia) may well be the translation of the local Slavic, rather than vice versa. *Gniva* (Resia) is recognized locally as simply bearing the appellative for 'campo'. *Coritis*, the highest village in the valley, has now been abandoned (except in the summer) since the 1976 earthquake. On *Oseacco* and *Stolvizza* see my remarks made separately *Sot la nape* 33, 1981, 11—16; likewise *Grúb(b)ia*.

Some notes on individual entries: ARTEGNA. If the personal name *Artenius* is involved, Desinan could well be right that we have here a Celtic name, i.e. a derivative of *artos* 'bear'; cf. *Usago* below. ÁTTIMIS should be considered together with neighbouring *Nimis*. It seems that here a local development **em* > *im* has taken place. A base **tem-* could be Celtic and *nem-* (*nemeton*) 'grove' is certainly good Celtic. The first element would not be *at-*, *ati-* as Frau has it, but *ad-* 'to locative' if not the intensive prefix of Celtic (see E. P. Hamp *Studia Celtica* 12/13 1977/8, 1ff.). BELGRADO. The importance of this name in the *Vastata Hungarorum* is not the meaning of its two parts 'castello bianco' but the fact that it belongs to a deeply established tradition of Slavic toponymy. BELLÁSIO. Is it likely that this Cordenóns name is that of a praedium in **acu-*? BIAUZZO = *Blauz* (Codroipo) is presumed by Frau to be Slavic, but without assurance. This has every appearance of being **Blagovæc*; for *au* cf. *Ráune*. BRÓILI. On the base seen in Gaul. *brogilos* cf. my study *Études Celtiques* 19, 1982, 143—9. BROSSANA. could result from misdivision of **ad Porta(m) Ambrosiana(m)* > (schematically) **apportaa(m) + brossana*.

BUDÓIA is traced to **betullea*, but on the uncertain background of *betulla* see my remarks, *Comments on Etymology* (Rolla, Missouri) 10, No 15, 1981, 2—4. CARGNACO = *Cjargná* < *Carni-acu-* makes good geographic sense. The proprietor, one *Carnius*, would be so called in Pozzuolo del Friuli because he was displaced south from his Carnic region. CARPACCO. *Carpus* is not a likely Celtic name. CASSACCO. While *Casaso* and *Casiacco* are not clear to me, *Cassacco*, if derived from a Latinized *Cassius*, would contain the important Celtic element *Cassi-*; see my remarks *BzN* 16, 1981, 217—18. CASSEGLIANO is credited to *Cas(s)ellius* or *Cassilius*; surely of the two the latter is to be preferred (cf. the preceding item). But if *Cassili-anum* directly gives *Cassegliano*, we must regard this as a short form for the man's name, for the 1295 *Casaullano* suggests the well known *Cassiuellāunos*. Of course, his praedium should have been **Cassiullaun-ianum*. DOLEGNA is correctly related to Slovene *dolenji* (also cf. Dolénjsko). But *Dogna* is scarcely the same with syncope; su-

² The construction may perhaps be areally compared with such names of the region as *Arío* = Friul. *Ariul* < *ad rivulum*, *Adorgnano* (1301 *Dorgnano*, 1359 *Odorgnano*) **adOrenianum*. *Angoris* ~ (i)N-angóris. *Aprato*: *Prato*.

rely this is *dólnji* 'der untere, lower', i.e. [dounja]. We find the antonym of *Dolegna* in *Gorègnavás* = *gorénja vás*. GORÍZIA. This toponym is a valuable touchstone for the Slavic of the region. Its attribution to Slovene *goríca* 'hill' (miswritten *goriza*) is perfectly clear. Therefore we have a fine early explicit reference to the presence of Slavic language in the 1015 notation *medietatem unius ville que sclavica lingua vocatur Goriza*. Also, for the early Slavic presence in Codròipo (see above, i.e. the *Vastata* southwest of Udine), the name *Goricizza* (1320 *Guriziza*) i.e. the diminutive [goričica] is important. One may wonder whether this represents a provenience for the settlers from Gorizia.

The name *Gorizzo* (locally *guríz*, 1297 *Guriz*) is traced by Frau to the same etymon, but "fatto maschile". A similar gender change is also attributed to other names, but no motivation for such change is given; the conditions need to be specified before we can accept the identity.

GORTO. A Pre-Roman **gortu* 'luogo chiuso' is posited, but a Celtic background for this is complicated by the vocalism of Welsh *garth* etc.

GRADISCUTTA (in Varmo, southwest of Udine) is interesting. As Frau points out, this contains the Friulian diminutive *-utto*. The assumed base actually occurs in 1289 *de decima Belgradi et de decima Gradische Super Belgradum* (cf. *Belgrado* above).

IMPONZO, locally *dimpónč* (Tolmezzo) has forms attested 1072 *Impons* ~ *Impones*, 1091 *Imponiz*. A final element **pontes* is clear, but an initial **inter* requires explanation.

IUTIZZO (Codròipo) is recorded as 1206 *Jutiz*, although 1356 shows *de Glutic*. If this is correctly equated with Slovene *ljút*, the phonetics are potentially interesting since we have here (in this isolated Slavic relic) the change $\lambda > i$ shared with the Torre and Natisone dialects (see compactly Tine Logar, *Slovenska narečja*, Ljubljana 1975, 105—7) and with Resia. However, this may well reflect simply an areal phonetic development of recent time in the region, as in *Poiana* (*Poljána*) and *Poianis* 1471 in *Poglanis*.

LEDRA. This river name is properly called obscure by Frau, and it is simply speculative to suggest that it is Venetic, though it can scarcely be a Latinization from Greek. Nevertheless two high probabilities remain:

1.) A connexion with *Iúdrio* (1225 *Judrii*, 1456 *lu gladri*) in Torre (and therefore **ludrio* or **l- $\dot{u}$ drío*; cf. *Iutizzo*) seems plausible; hence *Ledra* (1265 *Ydrie*, 1274 *Idriae*, 1298 *Ledre*) may reasonably be **l(a)-idria* < **la- $\dot{u}$ dría*. 2.) A base ** $\dot{u}$ drío/a* looks very much like the IE etymon 'water'. The difference in gender would be easily understood if *Ledra* had passed through (though perhaps not originating in) Celtic. River names, we know, were preferably feminine in Celtic, and *Ledra* could reflect morphologically, like *Dover* in England, an old collective plural of 'water'. Phonetically **i(u)dr-* cannot be Latin, with the cluster *dr*. LONCA (1311 *Loncha*) in Codròipo is important in showing the nasal vowel of Slavic *lqka*, which the local language must have possessed before it died out. The reverse phenomenon is to be seen in *Mataiúr*, where the Friulian *mòntmaiôr* dissimilated to **montaiúr* has then undergone loss of the nasal vowel in the living Natisone Slavic. For the vowel of the first syllable, cf. *Patocco* (Chiusaforte) beside Slovene *Pôtok* 'brook', *Paularo* (Pâular) < *popul-ariu*, *Ramándolo* < 1273 *Romandul*. MEDUNO (locally *midún*). This

entry requires revision. A Celtic 'grande oppidum' would be **Maglo-* rather than **Mago-dūnum*; 'oppidum agrī' might be **Mages(o)-*; **Mago-* is not clear. IE 'medio' is **medhio-*, not **medhu-*. MERETO, locally *merêt* is stated to be a collective in -*etu* "dal latino *malum*, *melum* 'mela', quindi 'meleto'." This is inexact. The attestations 1031 *Melereto*, 1174 *Melareto*, 1296 *Mellereti* show that we have *Melaretu-*, ie. *Mel-ar(i)-etu-*, (> 1161 *Melrett*, with syncope) formed on the fruit-tree name Friulian -*ariu* (cf. *Melara*), also found in *Moraro*, and in *Nogaredo*.

MIELI. It is not clear that this name must be derived from Latin *Medicus*.

NONCELLO. This diminutive (1056 *Naunzel*) and the simplex seen in *Pordenone* (1232 *Portunaonis*) and in *Cordenóns* (1028 *Cortis Naon*, 1216 *Curie Naonis*, 1254 *Cordenons*) can scarcely be from **Nau-* 'nave'. Perhaps we have a Celtic *Naon-* < **Napon-*.

PARTISTAGNO in Áttimis (1170 *Pertesteijne* etc.) is derived from OHG *berht* + *Stein*. This could well have translated an earlier Slavic *bel-grad*.

PASSARIANO, PERSEREANO. The claimed Latin derivation of **Perserius* from *Persius* is not clear to me.

PONTEBBA. The variants 1289 *Pontebbiam*, 1296 *Pontebis*, 1307 *Poltaybe* remind one of 1350 *Flebano* 1068—77 *Flaibanum* 1268 *Flaybani* for *Flaibano* < *Flavianu-*. Therefore a pre-form **Pontavia* looks likely.

PREPOTTO. This adaptation of Slovene *práprot* 'felce' (cf. *Prapotnizza*) must early (1244 *Prepot*) have undergone a folk substitution of *pre-* for Slavic *pra-*.

RACCOLANA, in Chiusaforte, is presumed to be from *Hercul(i)ana*. The metathesis might be an early Slavic adaptation. So too perhaps *Redenzicco*.

RÁUNE. < *ráven* has the simplex of the local name of Prato (di Resia), [*ravəncʌ*], misaccented and mistranscribed as *ravánza* (p. 96), i.e. *rávěncă*.

SALANDRI. Frau allows the possibility that *Sa-* here is Slovene *Za-* 'behind', but surely his alternative of Latin *Su(b)* is to be preferred. The entire syntactic string *Sa-l-àndri* 'sotto la caverna' is then Latin or Romance and parallels *Samónt* and *Sequáls* (1139 *Sub Collibus*, 1174 *de Subcolles*), as well as *Socchieve*, locally *Soclêf* (1000 ca. *Subclebum*) < *Sub* + *clivu-*. In turn, *Samónt* should be equated explicitly with *Samóns*, the local form of Sottomonte (1186 *Summonte*) in Meduno.

STREGNA is clearly a Romance adaptation of Slovene *srednja* 'middle', but the interesting phonetic development deserves to be made explicit: Two non-permitted clusters, [Sr-] and [dp], have been avoided by the simple displacement by anticipation of the dental stop. The voicing was adjusted automatically by the rules of the language; i.e. although [zdr-] is possible, [S-] implies [-t-].

TAGLIAMENTO. Frau suggests a Celtic origin, and this seems easily possible. However he also rightly remarks (p. 9) that river names are likely to be among the most persistent, and that therefore we may look for an indefinitely deep pre-Roman origin among them. We may however suppose that regardless of the ultimate origin the Celts could have placed a Celtic interpretation on this name. The oldest known form of the name seems to be *Tiliaventum* < *Tiliabinte*. It is not clear that the first element was really **tilia* 'tiglio', but these Celts may easily have understood it as such. The second element could well be -*abin-* + a dental suffix. The stem -*abin-* < **aben-* 'river' has formed the object of a detailed discussion by me MSS 30, 1972, 35—8; ZCP 36, 1977, 9—10.

TARCETTA (1358 *Trecenta*) appears to show the same Slavic loss of the nasal vowel as has been observed for *Mataiûr*, S.V. *Lonca* above.

TARVÍSIO. It would be most in conformity with Celtic onomastics to see here a singular for the place back-formed from a plural totemic ethnicon **Tarvis(i)i*.

TRÚIA in prato Càrnico has been related to Friuli *Tròi* 'Sentiero' < **Troju*. It would seem reasonable to derive these in turn from **trogiā-* and **Trogjo-*, which in Celtic terms would mean something like 'running, a race, a course, a path'. I have studied the Celtic base **Trog-* in some detail in *Études Celtiques* (19, 1982, 143—9). From Resia I have the borrowing (from Friulian) *Tröj* (masc.) 'Sentiero'.

ÚDINE. If it is true that this is a pre-Roman name based on **(o)udh-* 'mammella' > 'colle', then the heteroclite nature of the stem in *-n-* is clear. See my discussion of that etymon *Glotta* 48, 1970, 141—5.

VEDRONZA (locally *Vedronze*), which has the Slavic appellation *gníviza* (i.e. *njivica* 'little field'), is supposed to be Latin *Veter-* 'Vecchio' + augmentative *-one-* + Slavic modification. Such a concatenation of suffixes is semantically and morphologically unlikely. On the other hand, in view of the special Friulian meaning of *Vieri* 'terreno lasciato incolto', the initial *Vedr-* must surely be this same element, but at an earlier phonetic stage. We therefore do better to start from an early Slavic bilingual compound **Vedro-njiu(i)ca* 'Vieri (clarified by *njiva*)'; for the phonetics cf. *Gniva*. Now for the accentual reduction cf. *Stupizza*, which is locally *Stúpza* < *Stópica*. Thus partly by phonetics and partly by conformity to the Romance pattern **Vedrònjūca* > *Vedron* (*je*).

VENZONE, locally *Vençon*, 923 *Clausas de Abincione* 1001 *Clusam de Aventione*, furnishes a form which supports our analysis above of *Tagliamento*. Frau posits a base **AV-* (Au-) 'corso d'acqua' and a suffix *-nt-*. We can be much more precise and specific. The early attested forms lead us to a clearly Celtic *abin-k-ion-*; this is to be analyzed *abin-k-* alongside *-abin-t-* in *Tagliamento*, unless the latter is somehow a refashioning of **abin-k-*. The semantics of 'river' is well sustained by the fact that the river which empties into the Tagliamento is called *Venzonassa*, apparently after Venzone. But it is more likely that *Venzone* took its name (*Abincione*, with *a-* misdivided as if a locative preposition) from the river; then, later, the river name was re-derived.

The stem *abin-k-* is well matched in southern French dialects **abinko-* 'Sumpfiges Land, Wasserfall, Quelle, etc.' (J. Hubschmid, *Praeromanica*, Bern 1949, 53—6) and Catalan *avenc* (J. Hubschmid, *Pyranäenwörter*, 1954, 24). Hubschmid thought (56) he saw here a "jüngere Ableitung **aben-ko-*" from **abñ-ko-*. That is not at all necessary. **abinko-* (→ Carnic *abinkio-*) < **aben-ko-* is simply derivation in *-ko-* formed on the locative (Breton *aven*) or genitive (OIr. *abae*) state of the stem of *abon-* 'river'. The Gaulish **abanko-* 'Weide' (Hubschmid, *Praeromanica* 52), morphologically equivalent to Welsh *afanc* 'water creature', Breton *avañk* 'bièvre', is from the weak-case stem **aban-ko-* < **abñ-ko-*; this must be the preform underlying *Avanza* in Forni Avoltri.

We now have **ab(e)n-ko-* 'pertaining to the river' confirmed for early Celtic. This form has a further importance for Indo-European. It is seen now that the morphological analysis **H₂ap-H₂on-* which I have proposed (*MSS* 30, 35—8) for

**abon-* is confirmed. The etymon for 'young' occurs with precisely two parallel stems, Skt. *yuvan-* = *iuvenis* and *yuva-sá* = *iuventus* Welsh *ieuanc*; see my analysis KZ 84, 1970, 1. The shared morphology of these two bases 'river' and 'young' with the suffix **-Kó-* suggests that they both also share **-H₀on-*; this in turn makes more certain the derivation of **abon-* = **H₀ap-H₀on-* from **H₀ap-*.

It is of interest to inspect separately some of the names in *-acu* derived from praedia. These give an informative view of the Celtic presence in the region, which we have already had occasion to note in detail. Of course, not every name in *-acu* is derived from a base which is linguistically Celtic in origin. So, for example, *Leonacco luviná* (← *Leo-onis*), *Montegnacco montagnâ* (← *Montanius*), *Novacco noâc* (← **Novus*), *Urbignacco Urbignâ* (← *Urbinius*), *Lorenzaso* (← *Laurentius*). However, some names are to all appearances markedly Celtic: *Brazzacco bračá* (← *Braccius* or *Brattius*); to judge by the "southern" variant *Brazzano brezzán* 983 *Bratta* etc. we may prefer here a derivation from *Brattius* (:OIr. *brat* 'cloak'). *Cassacco* (see above). *Caporiacco cjauriá* (← *Cavorius*): cf. Welsh *Cawr* 'giant'. *Carvacco cjarvá* (← *Carvus*); cf. Welsh *Carw* 'stag'. *Cazzaso cjačâs* and *Chiazzacco* (← *Cat(t)ius*); this must be a hypocoristic apocopated from a compound in *Catu-* 'battle' (OIr. *cath*). *Lazzacco lazzá* (← *La(t)ius*) should be from a hypocoristic, but is ambiguous. *Maiaso maiâs* (← *Mal(l)ius*) is likewise ambiguous. *Remanzacco remanzâz*, if derived with contamination from *Romatius*, could represent **ro-mati-* 'very good'. *Segnacco* (← *Senius*) must reflect the well known *seno-* 'old'. *Usago usât* (← *Ursus*) could well reflect the naturalization of a name in *Arto-* 'bear'. *Vergnacco vergnâ* is said to be from *Vernius*; but it could be the familiar type derived from a characterizing tree or plant, here **Verna* (cf. *Vernasso*). *Vendásio Vendâs* (← *Vindus*) would contain the well known Celtic etymon for 'white' *uindo-*; cf. *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 28, 1979, 214f.

Some bases for formations in *-acu* are simply not clearly Celtic, but the above conservatively selected toponyms of praedia give a good representation of the ordinary Celtic lexicon which must have been in use in the region. The level and range of these lexical elements and their proportionate frequency attest to the prominence of Celtic here in the Roman period.

It is also implied by Frau (11) that derivatives in *-icco* ~ *-isio* (and their local versions) are equally Celtic in origin. Important instances of this formation are *Bicinico bicinins* (← *Beccinius*, *Bottenicco butinins* (← **Bultinius*, *Cavalicco cjavalí* (← *Cabalius*, *Ciconicco cicunins* (← *Ciconius*, *Lucinico licinins* (← *Lucinius*, *Orcenigo dursinins* (← *Urcinius*, *Magnanins* (← *Manianus* (← *Manius* → *Magnano*), *Malnísio Colle Malísio* (← *Manlius*, *Mazzanins* (← *Mattianus* (← *Mattius*), *Pantianicco Pantianins* (← *Pantilius*, *Poincicco puinsic* (← *Pollentius*, *Redenzicco ridi(n)cic* (← *Hortensius*. With the solitary exceptions of *Mattius*, whose derivative *Mattianus* is surely Latin, and of *Pantilius* (which might be conceivably compared with Welsh *Pant* 'valley') none of these source names gives the slightest suggestion of being Celtic in origin. These names of Praedia in *-ic(i)u* appear to reflect another, non-Celtic population.

Excursus I — BASILICA

We have alluded above to the well known problem of the dual reflexes in Romance of ECCLESIA vs. BASILICA. The latter occurs notably as a common appellative in Romanian *biserică*, Vegliote *basalka* (and as a toponym *Bassalca*, Ragusan *Basolche*) and Romauntsch *baselgia*. Bártoli and Aebischer would have BASILICA the older term, surviving in the often diagnostic "lateral areas". However J. Jud has adduced meticulous evidence to show that ECCLESIA was in early established use in highly urbanized parts of the Empire; Wartburg, Glättli, and Tagliavini have followed Jud. In that case the later BASILICA would have taken root in the more rural and less urban, or perhaps less sophisticated, parts. G. R. Solta (*Einführung in die Balkanlinguistik*, Darmstadt 1980, p. 150) mentions this debate, with useful references; but without coming to a clear positive position.

Solta's conclusion is essentially that the line between archaism and innovation is a vague one. I insist on a different position. There are of course cases where we cannot decide for a number of reasons, and there may be instances where two forms are equally current; but in the last case it is quite unlikely that both forms will have been precise synonyms. Such instances of non-synonymy (i.e. of different specialized reference) may well be involved in scattered toponyms such as those mentioned by Solta for the location north of Rome, or French Switzerland, or northern France, or in Spain (*loc. cit.*).

But the problem of innovation must be seen ultimately as one of diffusion; and the speed or extent of diffusion must reflect density of communication. Now the model for "lateral areas" is a purely geographic one that reflects the assumption of a homogeneous communication network. Jud had made it highly likely that ECCLESIA diffused early in urbanized centers; this would explain also the British Celtic reflexes seen e.g. in Welsh *eglwys*, mentioned by Solta in footnote 465 as being on the Nordwestgrenze. We see immediately that not only geography but lines of social structure are also involved. It is then quite possible that at some slightly later date BASILICA spread through a different social stratum. The two forms would not be in competition in some indeterminate fashion; they would simply correlate with different social structures.

Yet the survival of BASILICA is seen to be linked strongly with geographically peripheral areas; and ECCLESIA has spread elsewhere at its expense. We therefore find, in an averaged sense, a Bártoli "lateral area" pattern superimposed on Jud's urbanized network. Thus for a later date it is still not incorrect to claim that ECCLESIA became the encroaching later term, the innovation. Even Old Irish *baislec*, against the Welsh *eglwys* of Britain, conforms to this development.

We see, then, that there is no mutual exclusion between Bártoli's and Jud's formulations; and there is no need for Solta's abandonment of principle.

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