

**БАЛКАНСКО ЕЗИКОЗНАНИЕ
LINGUISTIQUE BALKANIQUE**

XLIX (2010), 1-2

**DÉDIÉ AU 75^{ème} ANNIVERSAIRE DU
PROF. D^r TODOR AT. TODOROV**

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

Hristina Deykova. Le professeur D ^r Todor Atanasov Todorov à 75 ans	5
Bibliographie des travaux du prof. D ^r Todor At. Todorov.....	15
1. Jack Feuillet. La formation des futurs dans le bulgare du début du XIX ^E siècle..	35
2. Жана Ж. Варбот. Болгарские этимологии	43
3. Helmut Wilhelm Schaller. Das wissenschaftliche Erbe des russischen Sprachwissenschaftlers Roman F. Brandt	49
4. Boryana Velčeva, Christo Choliolčev. Gr. κανίσκι, altbulg. канисъкъкъ, bulg. каниска	59
5. Григорий Венедиктов. Наречие <i>втърди</i> в печатном болгарском тексте начала 20-х годов XIX в.	63
6. Андрей Н. Соболев. О языках греков Приазовья: новые данные	69
7. Владимир Шаур. Болг. <i>матор</i> 'баран для расплода'	79
8. Boris Paraškevov. Bulg. <i>сомелиерство</i> : Herkunft und etymologische Zusammenhänge	85
9. Людвиг Селимский. О происхождении имени <i>Кумрия</i>	89
10. Corinna Leschber. Rumänische Bezeichnungen für Pflanzen und Pflanzenteile auf der Grundlage von slavischen Etyma	93
11. Jasna Vlajić-Popović. The Bulg. <i>бишка</i> 'Sow, Swine' Revisited	105
12. Любор Кралик. Из словацко-болгарских лексических параллелей: <i>*čurēti</i> 'сохнуть, чахнуть, вянуть'	113
13. Mira Načeva-Marvanová. Trans-Continental Area Features of <i>ava-</i> and <i>va-</i> River Names in Europe	117
14. Marija Vučković. Serbian Prison Jargon: <i>Daravela</i> 'an Alarmist'	129
15. Виктор П. Шульгач. Болг. диал. <i>гуша</i> и родственные славянские формы... 135	

Jasna VLAJIĆ-POPOVIĆ (Belgrade)

THE BULG. *БЪШКА* 'SOW, SWINE' REVISITED*

If the valued Bulgarian etymological dictionary, БЕР, which is about to be completed after decades of laborious work and the current supervision of our celebrant, professor Todor At. Todorov, is ever going to be re-written, its second edition will certainly contain the lemma *бѹше* 'pig(let)' and its word family (at present available in БЕР 1: 51). It is also likely that it will be updated not only with Bulgarian dialectal material, but also with respective data from other neighbouring languages. It is with that prospect in mind that this paper has been written, as a contribution to the future edition of this dictionary.

The first volume of БЕР, published four decades ago, under the entry *бѹше* also features *бѹшка* 'sow, swine' (plus a phytonym for the species *datura stramonium* and *dipsacus silvestris*), and a couple of derivatives from the latter form: *бушкѹр* 'swineherd' and *бушкѹвина* 'pork (meat)'. The etymological interpretation traces this zoonym, through the Alb. *bishë* 'beast, predator', to some unspecified Ital. dialectal form, and then to the Ital. *biscia* 'snake'. Also quoted are a number of Romanic nominations for a variety of domestic animals (themselves very local and peripheral in respective languages, like the dialectal Ladinian *bescia* 'sheep', Corsican *bestyola* 'pork', Obwaldian *biest* 'pork, sheep', or Fr. *bête* 'cattle, animal'), all ultimately descended from the Lat. *bestia* 'wild animal' (taken from REW, cf. БЕР 1: 51). Although formally possible, this etymology is unlikely to be correct if all aspects of etymological analysis are taken into consideration, including the extra-linguistic ones.

In our view, principally disputable are several elements explicitly or implicitly contained in the above etymology.

The supposed direct Albanian mediation is unlikely due to semantic obstacles. The gap between the two meanings, Bulg. 'pig' and Alb. 'beast' is intractable because it appears not within a single language but between different ones. In the process of borrowing, loanwords only cross language borders – they do not simultaneously undergo semantic shifts. The culturological aspect potentially involved does not really support the idea of borrowing.¹

The next link in the supposed borrowing chain, the source of irradiation of *бишка* in the overseas Italian *biscia* 'snake', while respecting the formal aspect (i.e. the *-i-* phonetism), ignores the semantics (hard to imagine is the evolution: 'snake' → 'wild animal' → 'pig') and the linguo-geographic fact that along the Adriatic and Ionian coasts, prior to various dialects of Italian, Latin was used.

The descendance of a term designating but a common realia of everyday life from some distant and non-cognate languages (in fact, from their dialects), can hardly be placed in parallel. Such borrowing could theoretically be justified for some specific objects of trade or exotic imports, but that is not the case here.

Last but not least, the principle that alloglottal origin is to be sought only after all the possibilities of idioglottal interpretations have been exhausted, was not respected in this etymology.

Before proposing an alternative etymological interpretation we should look at the entire current available corpus of attestations of the word *бишка* and its related forms, in Bulgarian and other Balkan languages. Unfortunately, the desirable distinction of forms by antiquity cannot be employed since, due to their dialectal nature, all the attestations of *бишка* (save those of Gerov) are relatively new, dating from the last few decades of the twentieth century. Hence they are arranged within language boundaries and accompanied by semantic commentaries.

In the domain of linguistic geography, in the first step the domestic Bulgarian areal is to be extended by *бишкѣ* f. 'a hypocoristicon for cow' Troyan (БД 4: 191) and *бишка* f. 'children's game with the objective of pushing a small round stone with a club into a small hole' Pirdop (БД 4: 90). The interjection for calling pigs *биш-биш* from Dedeagač (БД 5: 224) also belongs here.

Then there are a number of attestations from the fairly extensive Macedonian terrain (mostly Aegean), recorded in various sources and most abundantly from the region of Kostur: *бише* n. 'porker', 'dirty man', *бишка* f. 'sow', 'dirty woman'; 'a hockey-like game; a tin ball used in that game', *бишкоф* adj. 'relating to pigs', *бишковиџа* f. 'the smell of pigs', *бишкар* m. 'swineherd',² *бишкарка* f. 'id.'; 'an indecent woman', *бишкарџи* adj. 'swineherd's'; *бишџре* / *битџре* n. 'piglet' (БД 8: 210). Then, there is the *биш-биш* interj. for calling pigs, *бишкарник* 'pigsty', *бишил'аста* adj. 'fat (of a woman)' in Kukuš (Пеев 1988: 24); also indirectly attested in the phrase: *га-у'удил бишката* 'he has dressed, boned, and washed the pig' (ibid. 120 s.v. *ул'удин*); *бише*, pl. *бишина* Dolna Prespa, also *диво бише* / *дива бишка* 'wild boar' ibid., Voden, *попово бише* 'dragon-fly', *бишка* 'sow', *бишкја*, *бишкино цвет'е* '*datura stramonium*, thorn-apple'³ Dolna Prespa, *бишкар* m. 'swineherd' ibid., *бишкарка* f. 'id.' Voden (Будзисзевска 1983: 28); and finally *бишинџе* n. 'pig(let)' Gevgelija (Ђорђевић 1958: 198).⁴

The alleged Serbian dial. *бишка* 'pig' (РСАНУ) has proved to be an erroneous attribution since it was recorded in Gevgelija,⁵ so it too belongs to Macedonian – hence its deliberate absence from EPCJ 3 in a lemma of its own.⁶ On

the other hand, the reason why this form from PCAHY (although recorded in its first volume, published back in 1959) is missing from subsequent related titles, both БЕР and Б у д з и с з е w s k a (l.cc.), seems to be purely accidental.

The alleged Albanian dial. *bishë* 'pig' (Б у д з и с з е w s k a 1983: 28) appears to be a phantom-word, i.e. a phantom-meaning, probably recorded just in the bilingual area of the Dolna Prespa region, since it could not be identified anywhere else. In its standard meaning 'beast, wild animal', however, it can undoubtedly be traced back to the Lat. *bestia* 'id.'.⁷

So far, no traces of any word(s) resembling *biška* have been found in Greek – although in the vernaculars of this language, too, from the meeting point of three borders in Dolna Prespa (or in Eastern Thrace, cf. Dedeagač alias Alexandroupoli) region, term(s) of this kind might be expected.

In view of the material presented above, the reasons for opposing the Albanian origin of бѹшка seem not to have been exhausted by the set of principal objections described in §§ 2.-2.4.

It is paradoxical that the presence of this word in Б у д з и с з е w s k a (l.c.), although invaluable for the abundance of dialectal attestations from both published sources and (her own?) field investigations, has only corroborated the thesis of its non-Albanian origin.

In the first place, the Alb. meaning 'pig' is not validly documented, nor even fixed in a certain location.

Even if, hypothetically, we decide to ignore this crucial fact and take бѹшка to be a Balkanism⁸ spreading from an Albanian prototype, the semantic problem would still remain, for in both principle (cf. § 2.1.) and practice, the difference between the actual meaning 'wild animal' in Albanian, and 'pig' in the Macedonian and Bulgarian dialects cannot be understood as normal. Hence it calls for a specific documentation and explanation,⁹ both of which are lacking in this case.

The attestation by Б у д з и с з е w s k a (l.c.) is additionally questionable when the etymon she proposes is taken into account. Without any phonetic comment and ignoring the formal problems involved, she quotes as a primary source the Alb. *bicun* 'pig(let)',¹⁰ and only in the second place does she mention *bishë* 'wild animal', adding that it a l s o means 'pig' (ead.; spacing J.V.-P.).

Hence it can legitimately be argued that *bishë* 'pig', if it really does exist in some Albanian vernacular speech, is probably a loanword from a Slavic source.¹¹ As such, it lacks the ending *-ka* (cf. note 13) of the most widespread form бѹшка 'sow', but reflects the neutrum бѹше 'piglet'.

And finally, in the realm of pure theory (formally possible but semantically and onomasiologically highly unlikely) there is a chance that бѹшка is after all of Albanian origin – but with another etymon: from an older **bišt-ka*, a hybrid formed from the Alb. *bisht* 'tail' (and also 'head of cattle'), and the Slavic ending *-ka*. Such a form is conceivable as an occasionalism created in the contact zone of the two languages.

In the view of everything that has been argued so far against the Albanian origin, it appears plausible to propose an alternative, Slavic etymology of the zoonym in question. Even here there are two possible solutions.

The form *бѣше* might well be a denominal from the interjection *буш*, often reduplicated as *буш-буш*, well attested in both Macedonian and Bulgarian dialects (cf. §§ 3.1., 3.2.).

The interjection itself could be a local onomatopoea. Or it can be compared with – but not related to – the neighbouring Serb. *буш* (-*буш*), ultimately related to *бук* ‘bull’ (as the palatalisation of **byk-*, cf. EPCJ 3: 347).

But it might also be explained as part of a greater Common Slavic isogloss. Not only does Т р у б а ч е в (1960: 68) claim interjections to be standard motivations for zonyms meaning ‘pig’ (*inter alia*, he mentions Kash. *buc* → *bucla*, Slovenian *buč* → *bučka*), but in the more recent (and extensive) SEK, even closer Kashubian counterparts can be found in *бухла* ‘swine’ (with its derivatives *бухлач* m. ‘suckling pig’ and the intensified verb *бухлотач* impf. ‘to eat greedily and noisily’), explained as related to *бух!* *бух!* ‘wyrz, za pomocą którego wabią świnie’ (SEK 1: 163), and its synonymous *буша* ‘swine’ (again related to an interjection, namely *буś!* *буś!* for calling pigs, cf. SEK 1: 173),¹² as well as *буца* ‘swine’ (also *буčka* ‘id.’, related to the interj. *буć!* *буć!* and to general Pol. *buczeć* ‘to produce a low, drawling sound’ deriving from Common Slavic **bučati*, cf. SEK 1: 159-160). It is interesting that all three zonyms are described as being isolated not only on Polish territory, but also on the broader Western Slavic terrain. No reference is made to the situation in other Slavic lands – perhaps due to lack of information or simply because this was beyond the range of the study quoted (cf. note 12).

Although we are not dealing with “normal” words susceptible to standard phonetic laws but with interjections, the phonetic contrast between the northern and southern Slavic forms makes their similarity and genetic relation evident: a regular Slavic *-*u-* : *-*y-* yields Bulg. -*y-* : -*u-* (since the latter vowel reflects both PSi. **i* and **y*). In this case, the alternation was perhaps additionally influenced by analogy with the widespread synonym *свиня*. As for the *-*x-* : *-*š-* opposition, the latter consonant, i.e. Bulg. -*ш-* occurred as the result of palatalisation.

In terms of word-formation, if we take the neutrum *бѣше* to be the primary form, the femininum *бѣшка* can be explained as secondary, deriving from it with the suffix -*ка*¹³ generally used for feminine zonyms and most closely influenced by analogy with synonymous Bulg. *свѣнка* ‘sow’ vs. *свѣня* ‘pig (in general)’, *свѣнче* ‘piglet’. For a similar set of synonymous forms, but probably with an opposite direction of derivation, compare the S.-Cr. *гиш* interj., *гица* f., *гицан* m., *гицати се* impf. (cf. PCAHY s.vv., also S k o k 1: 561).

The other possibility is to render the neutrum a secondary formation, starting from *бѣшка* as a postverbal nomen agentis of the also dialectal verb *бѣшкам* ‘to scatter, jumble (up)’ Sofia (БД 2: 70), ‘to move, push aside’ Rodopi (БД 2: 130), ‘to thrust, shove, push aside (with a club, foot or hand)’ Pirdop (БД 4: 90). The fact that the verb has no satisfactory etymology so far¹⁴ does not exclude the possibility of it

being the immediate etymon of the noun since they have been attested on roughly the same terrain.¹⁵ Perhaps it can – more than just hypothetically – be considered a continuant of the PSI. **buxati* (i.e. **byxati*), and correspondingly placed among the family of continuants of that verb whose semantic syncretism is developed around the core meanings ‘to hit, beat, push, spank, etc.’ (cf. В л а ј и ћ - П о п о в и ћ 2002: 217-267).

As for the deverbal nature of terms for pigs, cf. the standard S.-Cr. *крмача* ‘sow’ from *крмити* ‘to fodder’ (S k o k 2: 205-206 s.v. *krma*²), likewise dialectal examples of motivation by fattening semantics in S.-Cr. *басуљ(а)* (from *басати*, *набасати се* ‘to eat; stuff oneself’) as well as the Čakavian *bah*, *bahić*, *bahuja*, *bahan* and *bak*, *bakić*, *bakuja* (all ultimately continuing the PSI. **buxati*, cf. В л а ј и ћ - П о п о в и ћ l.c.). These could perhaps be related to the Kash. *бухас* *sq* ‘to be vain, conceited’, ‘to walk with difficulty’ which is explained as a Kash. innovation based on the PSI. **buxati*, or Kash. *буха* ‘vanity, haughtiness’ (SEK 1: 163, 162).

Beyond the present review, which is limited to establishing just basic ideas on the etymology of бѹшка, investigation of potential links between the Bulg. and Mac. бѹше, бѹшка ‘pig; sow’, also ‘cow’ and the S.-Cr. and Slov. *buša* ‘small cow, small but strong ox’, apparently originating from a widespread European onomatopoea (cf. S k o k 1: 244, B e z l a j 1: 54) remains the subject of future study.

There are two directions of semantic development worthy of comment.

The meaning ‘a hockey-like game’ or ‘tin ball used in that game’ appears to be motivated solely by the verb бѹшна ‘to hit, throw, jerk, etc.’ i.e. its intensified / iterative form бѹшкам. However, if we assume the name of the game to be secondary, the object functioning as a marker can also be a metaphor for ‘swine’ (cf. e.g. the S.-Cr. *крмача* ‘sow’, also ‘a piece of wood or a stone in shepherds’ game; the game itself’ in РСАНУ s.v.).

Although the semantics of ‘swine’ is itself broad enough to account for meanings like ‘dirty, filthy; an untidy, ill-mannered person’, we cannot discount the possibility that the development of the semantics of this kind has been influenced by *nuc* adj. indecl. ‘dirty, impure’, a Turcism attested in roughly the same area: in Rodopi, Samokov, Kukuš (cf. БЕР 5: 257).¹⁶

In conclusion it can be said that the Bulg. бѹшка, being a dialectal word and not documented in historical sources, will probably always remain one of those words that cannot be given a full and indisputably convincing etymological interpretation. This paper has attempted to provide a new insight into its origin by re-analyzing known facts. Contrary to the earlier prevailing idea about the Albanian provenance of the word, a domestic Slavic interpretation is advocated: the attestations do come from the contact zones of bilingual, even trilingual areas, but at the same time, they also emanate from a peripheral region of the greater Slavic territory. Hence they can be understood as relicts, with solid counterparts in Kashubian *бух!* *бух!* interj., *бухла* ‘swine’, etc.

NOTES

* The English text appears in the author's original version.

¹ In simple terms, the predominantly Muslim Albanians (as well as the long-term common rulers of both nations, the likewise Muslim Turks), are not reputed pig-breeders. The chances of Christian Bulgarians naming their pigs using the pejorative word which their neighbours from a limited territory and period perhaps (!) or supposedly use(d) to designate an animal outside their own tradition, are just too slim.

² For a detailed distribution map of this term (in contrast to the synonymous *свињар*), which occupies a wider area than the zoonym from which it derives, cf. МДА 131-134, map 22 and compare *ibid.* 103-106, map 15. Quite expectedly, the etymology provided there (*ibid.* 106) is taken from БЕР.

³ Note the comment by С и м о н о в и ћ (1959: 163, in a note on *вочић* lit. 'a little ox' – one of the Serbian names of this plant) that, depending on its size and state of maturity, the thorny fruit of this plant is named *теоци*, *кравице*, *бикови* (calves, cows, bulls).

⁴ The description goes: У Ђевђелији и околини свиња се зове *бишка*. Младунче је у првој години прасе *бишинце*, а кад одрасте мушко је *нерец*, а женско *бишка* или *прасица*. [In Gevgelija and its environs the pig is called *biška*. The piglet in its first year is *bišince*, and when it grows up, the male is *nerec* and the female is *biška* or *prasicica*] (Ђ о р ђ е в и ћ 1958: 198, in a passage devoted to terms for pig „код нашег народа“ [among our people] which then meant in Serbo-Croatian, but did not exclude references to other interesting words he had encountered on his field trips throughout the country of Yugoslavia, including this hapax legomenon in his writings.

⁵ The geographically ambiguous example: Сељаци из Крушара (код Пазара) причају како су на пазарском тргу куповали бишке (свиње) из Поморавља. [Peasants from Krušar (near Pazar) say that at Pazar market they used to buy *biške* (pigs) from Pomoravlje], contains the enigma of whether the term itself came together with pigs from the Morava basin in central Serbia. As for the toponymy involved, *Krušar* is not the village near Cuprija, and *Pazar* is not the present-day Novi Pazar, since the description by Borivoje Milojević was published in the journal *Zabavnik*, a supplement to *Novine srpske*, Krf 1917, Nr. 18, pg. 12 – the same author later published a report on southern Macedonia in *Srpski etnografski zbornik* X, Beograd 1921, 1-148, where he makes a few references to Pazar as a town (alongside with Lerin and Salonika), as well as districts of the towns of Kostur (Пазар на драв) and Njegoš: У Његошу се чаршија зове „Пазар“ (*ibid.* 90-91, 88, 94).

⁶ For reasons explained in previous notes, it is only mentioned as a Mac. and Bulg. dialectism potentially connected with (можда у вези са...) the verb *биукаму* (ЕРСЈ 3: 356).

⁷ Cf. О r e l 1998: 27; also М e y e r 1891: 38, who extends the semantic diversity with 'badger' and 'hamster' – still within the realm of wild animals, thus far removed from the domestic 'pig'.

⁸ We use this term in the same way as B u d z i s z e w s k a (cf. her title) and not according to Sandfeld's classical definition which maintains that a Balkanism is a word present in at least three non-cognate languages – a condition not fulfilled in the case of the Albanian-Macedonian-Bulgarian triad.

⁹ Although there are instances of even greater semantic diversification among the continuants of the Lat. *bestia* in Romanic languages and dialects (cf. REW 1061. *bestia*: Das Wort bezeichnet auch puschl., borm., lad. das 'Schaf', obw. das 'Schwein', lucc. die 'Kuh'. – Ablt.: siz. *vistiolu* 'Kalb', kors. *bestyola* 'junges Schwein', vlev. *bestiolu* 'Eber', prov.

bestiola 'Vieh'), this is not a model for this case because for all of them the respective terms belong to an inherited lexicon, prone to more extensive semantic shifting than is the case with loanwords.

¹⁰ O r e l 1998: 24 s.v. *bic*, following Çabej, renders it an onomatopoea, without commenting on Desnicka's derivation from S.-Cr. *bica* 'dwarf'. For more details on the latter (save for this very meaning, apparently a phantom, too, since it is not to be found in relevant S.-Cr. dictionaries), see EPCJ 3: 347 s.v. *буц*.

¹¹ We are mindful of the fact that nothing of the kind is suggested by either G. Svane 1992 or X. Ylly 1997 in their monographs on the Slavic lexicon in Albanian since they do not have this word on their lists.

¹² In this last lemma a reference is made to Mac. *бушка* as luring for pigs and cows, and Sln. *bušika*, as luring for pigs, but the primary source of these data we cannot check since they are taken from E. Siatkowska: *Zachodniosłowiańskie zawołania na zwierzęta*, Warszawa 1976, to which we do not have current access. However, for the same root vocalism compare Mac. dial. *убушка* f. 'pejorative name for a lazy woman' Kičevo (Л а б р о с к а 2008: 237), since the semantics of 'lazy', 'sloppy', 'dirty', 'ugly', etc. are often found syncretically in pejorative terms for females.

¹³ Certainly from the PSI. *-ька or *-ька – for the indiscernability of this couple, frequently used to make the feminine form of masculine nouns, cf. S ł a w s k i 1974: 94.

¹⁴ Georgiev's idea that it is a contamination („кръстоска“) of *бицкам*, *муцкам*, *тицкам* (cf. БЕР 1: 51) cannot be regarded as a final solution.

¹⁵ The uncertainty of its origin accounts for the impossibility to tell whether the parallelism of Bulg. *бицкам* and Serb. dial. *бицкати* 'to grub (of pigs)' Leskovac (EPCJ 3: 356), is just a coincidence or not. Nonetheless, it is amazing that while the Bulg. verb refers to such objects as books, bags and the like, the hapax legomenon in Serbian is directly connected to pigs!

¹⁶ Curiously enough, again there is a potentially corresponding Serbian hapax, a dial. (hupocoristic?) *прибишко* m. 'a grimy person': Н'умишко, прибишко (говори се неумивеном чељадету) Kosovo. N.B. that this is a terrain lacking any records of *бицка* or the like, while the adjective *нис* 'dirty, ugly' is well attested here as well as further west, in Mostar (S k o k 2: 662), which creates a spatial continuum with the Bulgarian areal distribution of this Turcism with a limited presence in both languages.

REFERENCES

- B e z l a j, F. 1977-2005. Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika. 1-5. Ljubljana.
 B u d z i s z e w s k a, W. 1983. Słownik bałkanizmów w dialektach Macedonii Egejskiej. Warszawa.
 M e y e r, G. 1891. Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache. Strassburg.
 O r e l, V. 1998. Albanian etymological dictionary. Leiden.
 REW = W. Meyer-Lübke. 1992. Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Heidelberg.
 SEK = W. Boryś, H. Popowska-Taborska. 1994-2010. Słownik etymologiczny kaszubszczyzny. 1-6. Warszawa.
 S k o k, P. 1971-1974. Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika. I-IV. Zagreb.

S ł a w s k i, F. 1974. Zarys słowotwórstwa prasłowiańskiego [in:] Słownik prasłowiański 1. Wrocław.

БД = Българска диалектология. София 1962-.

БЕР = Български етимологичен речник. София 1971-.

В л а ј и ћ - П о п о в и ћ, Ј. 2002. Историјска семантика глагола ударања у српском језику. Београд.

Ђ о р ђ е в и ћ, Т. Р. 1958. Природа у веровању и предању нашег народа.

Српски етнографски зборник LXXI. Књ. I. Београд.

ЕРСЈ = Етимолошки речник српског језика. Београд 2003-.

Л а б р о с к а, В. 2008. Кичевскиот говор. Скопје.

МДА = Македонски дијалектен атлас. Пролегомена. Скопје. 2008.

П е е в, К. 1988. Кукушкиот говор. Кн. II. Речник. Скопје.

РСАНУ = Речник српскохрватског књижевног и народног језика. Београд. 1959-.

С и м о н о в и ћ, Д. 1959. Ботанички речник. Београд.

Т р у б а ч е в, О. Н. 1960. Происхождение названий домашних животных в славянских языках. Москва.

Author's address:

Institut za srpski jezik SANU

Knez-Mihailova 36

11000 Beograd

Srbija

e-mail: Jasna.Vlajic@isj.sanu.ac.rs