



UDC 811.133,1'36;811.163.42'36+811.131.1'36
Original scientific paper
Accepted for publication on 26 September 2003

Contrastive Approach to the Adaptation of Gender of French Nouns in Italian and Croatian¹

Maslina Ljubičić
Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb

When we analyze the adaptation of gender of French nouns in Italian and Croatian, we find out that it represents a diverging component not only between the French model and a receiving language, but between the two receiving languages as well. In addition to the different morphophonological structure of Italian and Croatian, which is responsible for inconsistent results of the adaptation, other important factors are to be taken into consideration (intermediary languages, formal and semantic affinity). The failing coincidence of gender is one of the components of the grammatical divergence of otherwise the same Europeisms, therefore of grammatical false pairs.

1. Introduction

In the process of lexical borrowing, the most numerous part of speech is represented by nouns (cf. Deroy 1956: 67). If a receiving language possesses grammatical genders, the imported nouns have to be adequately adapted, whether or not a giving language is provided with this category. Therefore, the adaptation of gender is one of the crucial problems to be taken into consideration in the analysis of loanwords. It acts sometimes as a diverging component not only between a giving and a receiving language, but among different receiving languages as well. Actually, since the loanword “*rappresenta una ‘risposta’ attiva della lingua (a rigore: dell’individuo che compie l’innovazione) alle sollecitazioni e agli influssi provenienti da un’altra lingua*” (Gusmani 1986: 21), the attribution of gender can be considered as a particular instance of creativity of the language.

¹ This paper was presented at the 17th International Congress of Linguistics (Prague, 24-29 July 2003).



To that effect, we are going to discuss the adaptation of gender of French nouns which have been appropriated by Italian and Croatian, in order to find out divergences which represent sources of grammatical false pairs between the two receiving languages.

2. General tendencies of adaptation in Italian and Croatian

2.1. Gallicisms are the most frequent loanwords in Italian. Their presence can be observed from the earliest developmental stages of the Italian language (Tagliavini 1972: § 62). Due to the common Latin origin they can be easily Italianized.² In this respect a difference has to be made between, on the one hand, earlier loanwords the foreign origin of which can not be identified because they have been completely assimilated by the receiving language and consequently do not differ from the original Italian words, and, on the other hand, more recent ones, which for the most part maintain the original spelling.³

Since both French and Italian have the same system of grammatical genders (masculine and feminine), we expect French nouns to keep the same gender when they are incorporated into Italian. As a matter of fact, this is the most frequent solution, recommended by grammarians.⁴ Here are some examples of Italian adapted Gallicisms: It. *risorsa* f. (< Fr. *ressource* f.), It. *manovra* f. (< Fr. *manœuvre* f.), It. *controllo* m. (< Fr. *contrôle* m.), It. *oboe* m. (< Fr. *hautbois* m.). Non-adapted are: Fr./It. *tentiethème* m., Fr./It. *broche* f., Fr./It. *sauce* f.

2.1.1. The existence of the corresponding Romance suffixes of the same gender makes the conservation of the French gender often very automatic. It happens notwithstanding formal adaptation of the nouns. For instance, the French suffix *-ence* f., which continues the Latin *-entia* f., is substituted normally by its Italian correspondent, *-enza* f. (e.g. It. *diligenza* f., adaptation of Fr. *diligence* f.). The same suffix is added to the verb *rinascere* to derive the noun *rinascenza*, which follows the French model *renaissance*. The non-adapted Gallicism It. *mésalliance* f. keeps the feminine gender because the French suffix *-ance* f. (< Lat. *-antia*) can be easily identified with the Italian *-anza*.⁵

² Hope (1971: 615) observes that the French and Italian phonological system “do not differ greatly and were even less divergent in earlier times”. In addition, Gallicisms were often taken over “per via scritta, attraverso il rivestimento del latino medievale” (Zolli 1991: 11).

³ Speaking of French loanwords in Italian, Carla Marellò (1996: 66) concludes that “l’adattamento recente è raro, e si verifica solo quando la grafia francese sembra proprio troppo diversa dalla pronuncia, come in *fusò*, italianizzazione del francese *fuseaux*”. Furthermore, some Italian adaptations are perceived as archaic. For instance, the Italian *gabardina* is, according to DISC, “antiq. adatt. it. del fr. *gabardine*”. Cf. also here § 6.1.3. for the Italianized names of *peluche*.

⁴ Cf. Lepschy (2002: 101): “Con i nomi francesi e tedeschi si consiglia di conservare il genere originario”.

⁵ By the same token, the Italian Anglicism *clearance* has also been assigned to the feminine gender. Also the Anglicism *trance* f., although its etymology is different (OFr. *transe* < *transir* < L. *transire*). In Croatian *trans* is masculine.



The French feminine noun *baguette* remains unchanged in Italian. Its suffix *-ette* f. corresponds to the Italian *-etta* f. (cf. Tekavčić 1972: § 1854). Besides, in Italian there is a noun *bacchetta* f., the allotrope of the mentioned Gallicism.⁶ Its formal similarity can not be completely excluded as a corroboratory factor of the gender solution in this particular case. However, this is much more evident in the Gallicism *plaque* f., derived from the same noun (Fr. *plaque*) as the Italian word *placchetta* (< It. *placca* < Fr. *plaque*, cf. DISC). Many other non-adapted Gallicisms in *-ette* are used today in Italian (*manchette* f., *maquette* f., *marquise* f., *georgette* f.). Sometimes both French and Italianized forms are used (*omelette* f., *omeletta* f.). The suffix *-etta* appears in the adaptation of the French loanwords: It. *etichetta* f. (< Fr. *étiquette* f.), It. *cotoletta* f. (< Fr. *côtelette* f.), It. *marionetta* f. (< Fr. *marionette* f.), *camionetta* f. (> It. *camionetta* f.).

The French suffix *-ine* f. corresponds to the Italian *-ina* f. (e.g. Fr. *margarine* f. > It. *margarina* f.; Fr. *brillantine* f. > It. *brillantina* f.; Fr./It. *gabardine* f., It. adapt. *gabardina* f.).⁷ The Latin adjectival suffix *-ensis* has given adjectival and denominal *-ese* in Italian, *-ais* and *-ois* in French (e.g. It. *cortese* – Fr. *courtois*, cf. Tekavčić 1972: § 1576). Therefore, the culinary term Fr. *mayonnaise* f. is easily transmorphemized into the It. *maionese* f. The suffix *-ite* f., which appears in names of minerals and rocks, has the same spelling in French and Italian (Fr./It. *bauxite* f., It. less frequent *baussite* f.).

2.2. Croatian also possesses the system of grammatical genders. In addition to masculine and feminine there is also neuter, but it is very seldom attributed to foreign nouns.⁸ When we analyze the adaptation of gender of foreign nouns in general, we notice that those ending in consonants are regularly assigned to the masculine gender (*masculine tendency*, cf. Filipović 1981: 200; id. 1986: § 6.3.4.7.). Furthermore, in Croatian all loanwords tend to be masculine, except for those ending in *-a* (Pavešić 1997: § 343).

Foreign words are usually integrated. Words of French origin are completely adapted to the Croatian orthographical and morphophonological system. The gender of Gallicisms is closely related to their transphonemization (Dabo-Denegri 1999: 21). The masculine tendency prevails in Croatian not only when they end in consonants (e.g. Fr. *gaffe* f. – Cr. *gaf* m., Fr. *roulotte* f. – Cr. *rulot* m., Fr. *baguette* f. – Cr. *baget* m.), but also in vowels *-e*, *-i*, *-o*, *-u*, which are considered to form a part of the base (Pavešić 1997: § 272): e.g. *žele* m.,

⁶ Actually, the French noun *baguette* is an adaptation of the Italian *bacchetta* (cf. Hope 1971: 159). Therefore this French loanword represents a backwanderer in Italian. The same can be said of *maquette*, the French Italianism (< It. *macchietta*).

⁷ For adaptation of the French suffix *-ine* into Italian *-ina*, cf. Tekavčić 1980: § 1011.3.

⁸ Some nouns ending in *-o* which is not a part of the lexical base, oscillate between the masculine and neuter gender: e.g. *kino*, *čelo*. In Standard Croatian they are usually masculine. We think that neuter is somehow more 'vital' in plural (only possible forms: *kina*, *čela* neutr. pl.). But in Standard Croatian only *auto* masc. sg. – *auti* masc. pl. is acceptable (dial. also *auto* neutr. sg. – *auta* neutr. pl.). For oscillations between the two genders in plural of inanimate nouns in *-o* and *-e*, cf. Pavešić 1997: 278.



kroki m., *nivo* m., *ragu* m. (Fr. *gelée* f., *croquis* m., *niveau* m., *ragoût* m.).⁹ This represents an innovation in the Croatian morphological system (Dabo-Denegri 1999: 22). Since these vowels belong to lexical morphemes, such nouns are inflected as masculine nouns without endings (cf. Pavešić l. c.).

3. Contrasting results of general tendencies

The mentioned Italian tendency of unchanged gender of the French model represents the most frequent case in the adaptation of Gallicisms. When French nouns are feminine, this tendency is contrary to the masculine tendency of Croatian. Therefore Italian and Croatian replicas will be of different genders in most of the cases:

Fr. <i>couchette</i> f.	It. <i>cuccetta</i> f. ¹⁰	Cr. <i>kušet</i> m. ¹¹
Fr. <i>gaffe</i> f.	It. <i>gaffe</i> f., <i>gaffa</i> f.	Cr. <i>gaf</i> m.
Fr. <i>boutique</i> f.	It. <i>boutique</i> f.	Cr. <i>butik</i> m. ¹²
Fr. <i>broche</i> f.	It. <i>broche</i> f.	Cr. <i>broš</i> m.
Fr. <i>brioche</i> f.	It. <i>brioche</i> f., <i>brioscia</i> f.	Cr. <i>brioš</i> m.
Fr. <i>camionette</i> f.	It. <i>camionetta</i> f.	Cr. <i>kamionet</i> m.
Fr. <i>baguette</i> f.	It. <i>baguette</i> f.	Cr. <i>baget</i> m.
Fr. <i>roulotte</i> f.	It. <i>roulotte</i> f.	Cr. <i>rulot</i> m. ¹³
Fr. <i>bauxite</i> f.	It. <i>bauxite</i> f., <i>baussite</i> f.	Cr. <i>boksit</i> m.
Fr. <i>gelée</i> f.	It. <i>gelée</i> f.	Cr. <i>žele</i> m.
Fr. <i>fricassée</i> f.	It. <i>fricassée</i> f., <i>fricassea</i> f.	Cr. <i>frikasê</i> m.

The Italian equivalent of the Croatian *bešamel* m.¹⁴ is a French non-adapted form (Fr./It. *béchamel* f.),¹⁵ or, more frequently, the adapted one, *besciamella* f. (cf. DISC 272).¹⁶

⁹ In Croatian Gallicisms can be very often stressed alternatively on the last syllable (e.g. □*èlç* and □*elê*, *ràgû* and *ragû*). Both variants are acceptable in the Standard Croatian language. Recent loanwords are sometimes registered only with the accent on the last syllable, e.g. the culinary term Cr. *frikasê* m. < Fr. *fricassée* f. (cf. Anić-Goldstein 1999: 454).

¹⁰ According to Hope (1971: 96, n. 4) *cuccetta* is almost certainly a Gallicism (< Fr. *couchette*). Migliorini-Duro (1974: 152) and DISC (642) interpret it as a derivation of It. *cuccia* (< Fr. *couche*).

¹¹ In Croatian Adriatic dialects there is a feminine Venetianism *kočeta*, *kučeta* (cf. Skok II, 118). For the Venetian dialect of Dalmatia Miotto (1984: 54) attests *coceta* (> Cr. dial. *kočeta*).

¹² For the Croatian *butika* f., cf. here § 5.1.3. *Butiga* is a Croatian Venetianism. Cf. Ljubičić 1998: 22-23.

¹³ Cf. Franolić 1976: 178. Registered as a recent loanword in Klaić 1988, but not present in new Croatian dictionaries (Anić-Goldstein, Bujas, HER).

¹⁴ Bujas 1999: 81; HER registers only the syntagm *bešamel krema*.

¹⁵ A deonomastic term *béchamel* f. was created by ellipsis: Fr. *sauce (à la Béchamel)*, *béchamel* (cf. Migliorini 1968: 179).

¹⁶ The Italian suffix *-ella* is introduced in this adaptation. La Stella T. (1990: 39) registers the (false French) form *bechamelle* f. as being used in Italian. It is an analogical creation. Cf. the established correlation: Fr. *flanelle* : It. *flanella* = Fr. **béchamelle* : It. *besciamella*.



There is also a popular form, *balsamella* f., produced by folk etymology: the foreign nontransparent word has become motivated under the influence of the Italian noun *balsamo* (cf. Cortelazzo-Zolli 1, 134).

A type of a liqueur made by Carthusian monks (Fr./It. *chartreuse* f.) in Croatian has a masculine name, *šartrez* m. (cf. Anić-Goldstein 1999, HER). The same can be said of a culinary term, Fr./It. *mousse* f., which becomes masculine in Croatian (*mus* m., ib.). A soft silk cloth, Fr./It. *charmeuse* f., in Croatian has also a completely adapted masculine name (*šarmez* m., ib.).

In all these cases Italian feminine Gallicisms correspond to Croatian masculine replicas of the same French models. Divergent grammatical solutions derive from the mentioned general tendencies of adaptation in Italian and Croatian. It is interesting to point out that in Croatian the attribution of masculine gender is also applied to non-adapted forms. The French word *bouillabaisse* f., which remains feminine in Italian, changes its gender in Croatian irrespective of its possible original or adapted spelling, *bujabes* m. (cf. HER).

4. Nouns denoting persons

Genders of nouns denoting animate beings generally agree with their sexes.¹⁷ When referring to female persons the feminine gender is kept in Italian and Croatian notwithstanding their ending. For instance, in Croatian the loanword *madam* is feminine, in spite of the final consonant. In Italian the early Gallicism *dama* f. is adapted completely morphophonologically (< Fr. *dame* f.), as well as the 14th century loanword *madama* f. (It. non adapted *madame* f. is a recent borrowing, cf. DISC). The 13th century Italian Gallicism *marchese* m. (< Prov. *marques*, old Fr. *marchis*) and its motional form *marchesa* f. correspond to the Croatian *markiz* m./*markiza* f. (< Germ. Gallicisms *Marquis* m./*Marquise* f.).

The grammatical morpheme *-a* appears usually in Croatian (*metresa* f., *kokota* f., *koketa* f., *vedeta* f., *subreta* f.).¹⁸ In Italian recent loanwords are not adapted (Fr./It. *maitresse* f., Fr./It. *cocotte* f., Fr./It. *coquette* f., Fr./It. *vedette* f., Fr./It. *soubrette* f.) and the transmorphemization It. *subretta* f. is less common.¹⁹ The Italian adaptations *portiere* m. (< Fr. *portier* m.), *pioniere* m. (< Fr. *pionnier* m.) have motional forms *portiera* f., *pioniera*

¹⁷ For assignment of borrowed English animate nouns to grammatical genders according to this criterion, cf. Weinreich 1953: 45.

¹⁸ According to Franolić (1976, ss.vv.), *koketa*, *kokota* and *subreta* have entered into Croatian from German. In Croatian the suffix *-eta* of the Latin origin (cf. Skok I, 496) appears in the noun *striptizeta* (syn. of *striptizerka*).

¹⁹ We can consider the It. *subretta* as the substitution of the grammatical morpheme or of the suffix (Fr. *-ette* f. > It. *-etta* f.).



f. The Croatian equivalents are results of the German mediation: Cr. *portir* m. (< Germ. *Portier* < Fr. *portier*), Cr. *pionir* m. (< Germ. *Pionier* < Fr. *pionnier*). Feminine forms are *portirka*, *pionirka*.

In Croatian the motion is expressed by means of corresponding suffixes (*žongler* m./*žonglerka* f.; *režiser* m./*režiserka* f.; *šarmer* m./*šarmerka* f.; *maser* m./*maserka* f.; *šansonijer* m./*šansonijerka* f.; *maneken* m./*manekenka* f.; *debitant* m./*debitantica* f.; *dentist* m./*dentistica* f.; *šef* m./*šefica* f.; *akrobat* m./*akrobatkinja* f.).²⁰ The Croatian name for painters practising naïve art is *naivac* m./*naivka* f. (Fr. *naïf*).

Italian uses the same procedure as French in order to specify the natural gender: masculine or feminine article in front of non-adapted or adapted Gallicisms serve to express the sex of the agent (e.g. *il/la mannequin*, *il/la debuttante*, *il/la dentista*, *il/la naïf*, *l'acrobata* m. e f.). If there are special masculine and feminine forms in French, Italian appropriates them (e.g. *masseur* m./*masseuse* f.; *charmeur* m./*charmeuse* f.; *parvenu* m./*parvenue* f.).²¹ In Croatian the adapted form *parveni* m. is used for both sexes.

The Italian *abbonato* m. (fem. *abbonata*) is the calque of the French *abonné* m. (fem. *abonnée*). Its Croatian correspondent is a Germanism *abonent* m. (< Germ. *Abonnet*),²² whose motional form is *abonentica*.

Italian has the Gallicism *il/la pedicure* 'pedicurist' (< Fr. *pedicure*), which corresponds to the Croatian *pediker* m./*pedikerka* f. (registered in all contemporary dictionaries, cf. Franolić 1976, Klaić 1988, Spalatin 1990, Anić 1994, Anić-Goldstein 1999, Bujas 1999, HER). In Croatian the suffix *-er* m. appears in nouns taken over from foreign languages (cf. Babić 1986: 1157).²³ In fact, it seems that *pediker/pedikerka* is an adaptation of the Austrian Gallicism *Pedikeur/Pedikeurin* (syn. *Fußpfleger/Fußpflegerin*).²⁴ Croatian nouns *maniker* m./*manikerka* f. ('manicurist') are analogical formations (registered by Franolić 1976, Klaić 1988, Spalatin 1990, Bujas 1999, HER as the 1st solution). If a starting point is the Croatian form *manikir* (< Germ *Maniküre* f. < Fr. *manucure* f.),²⁵ it

²⁰ For the use of the motional suffixes *-ka*, *-ica*, *-kinja*, cf. Babić 1986: §§ 840-856, 507-531, 894-900; Barić 1997: §§ 918-923.

²¹ Sometimes Italian dictionaries register only a masculine form (e.g. *jongleur* – DISC, De Mauro-Mancini 2001; *masseur*, *charmeur* – De Mauro-Mancini 2001), but it is obvious that, if necessary, the original feminine form will be used.

²² The German word is a result of the alteration of the French model under the influence of nouns like *Rezensent*, *Subskribent* (cf. Gusmani 1986: 67; Spalatin 1990: 244).

²³ Its Croatian correspondent of the same etymon is *-ar* (< Lat. *-arius*, cf. Skok I, 49). In Croatian the suffix *-er* results from the adaptation of German and English suffix *-er*; French and German *-eur*, French *-aire*, German *-är*.

²⁴ Cf. ÖW. According to our opinion *pediker* is not a Croatian formation, but a Germanism. Cf. Franolić 1976: 145. German dictionaries (Wahrig, Duden, FW) do not register *Pedikeur/Pedikeurin*, but only *Pedicure* f. or *Pediküre* f. ('Fußpflege; Fußpflegerin'). In the 1st meaning of the Germ. *Pediküre* ('Fußpflege') Croatian uses *pedikiranje*. Spalatin (1990: 540) has *pedikir(anje)*, Franolić (1976) and Klaić (1988) quote only *pedikura*. Skok in his etymological dictionary (II, 615, 671) registers *pedikira* ('an international word, follows the French pronunciation'), but it is obsolete today.

²⁵ The Croatian *manikir(anje)* 'manicuring, manicure' agrees semantically with the first meaning of its German model *Maniküre* f. (syn. *Handpflege*). Franolić (1976) and Klaić (1988) have *manikura*



is also possible to interpret its last syllable as the suffix *-ir*, which can be seen in nouns like *portir*, *pionir*, *kurir* (cf. Babić 1986: 316). The result of this interpretation are the forms *manikir* m./*manikirka* f. (registered by Anić-Goldstein 1999; HER as the 2nd solution). The corresponding Italian Gallicism is *il/la manicure* (< Fr. *manucure*).

5. Intermediary language

5.1. The Italian feminine noun *turchese* f. (< old Fr. *turquoise* [*pietre*] f.) corresponds to the Croatian masculine noun *tirkiz*. This could be due to the masculine tendency, but it coincides also with the corresponding German Gallicism (Germ. *Türkis* m. < Fr. *turquoise* f.). The Croatian noun *pliš* also agrees with the German word (Germ. *Plüsch* m. < Fr. *peluche* f.).²⁶ As a matter of fact, we have determined that these are models for the Croatian language (cf. Franolić 1976: 198, 152). We have also mentioned some Croatian nouns denoting persons which follow adaptational solutions of German Gallicisms. Such examples open the important chapter concerning the intermediary language, which is in fact the giving language in linguistic contacts.

Most French words have not entered the Croatian language directly, but through the mediation of German. Therefore, if we follow the principle of *etymologia proxima*, the words of French origin often turn out to be Germanisms (cf. Muljačić 1971, 1973, 1997-98).²⁷ They agree morphophonologically with German Gallicisms. Hence their grammatical gender follows their German models (more precisely, very frequently Austrian models).²⁸

Examples are very numerous although not always easily identifiable. For instance, Cr. *tiftin* m. (< Germ. *Duvetine* m. < Fr. *duvetine* f.) follows the Austrian pronunciation, according to ÖW */diftin/*.²⁹ The German mediation and relative modifications of such

f. and *manikir* m. 'id.'. Muljačić (1973: 300) mentions *manikir* among *pseudoromanisms*: "Il significato della voce croata esiste anche in romanzo ma vi è secondario" ... "appena la seconda accezione tedesca 'Handpflegerin' s'accorda con l'accezione primaria italiana (*manicure*, s. m. e f., indecl. 'persona addetta alla cosmesi delle mani e spec. delle unghie') e francese (*manucure* 'personne dont le métier est de soigner les ongles des mains, dans un salon de coiffure, dans un institut de beauté')".

²⁶ For It. correspondents, cf. here § 6.1.3.

²⁷ In his review of Franolić's book *Les mots d'emprunt Français en Croatie*, Muljačić (1980: 221) points out that if we take into consideration the *etymologia proxima* "im besten Fall etwa 500 (von den 1850 lexikalischen Einheiten) als Gallizismen angesehen werden können".

²⁸ Talking about Italian words which penetrated into Croatian through the German, or, more precisely, Austrian mediation, Jernej (1956: 61) explains: "La capitale absburgica fu specialmente nel secolo XIX° un grande centro d'irradiazione, una grande 'stazione di smistamento' di italianismi, specialmente tra le popolazioni di lingua slava che allora facevano parte dell'Impero".

²⁹ Cf. also Franolić 1976: 197. In the Austrian variety */il/* is pronounced instead of */y/* (hence Cr. *tirkiz*, *pliš*). In addition, the difference between the initial */d/* and */t/* is neutralized in the Austr. pronunciation. Both are realized as */t/* (cf. Gojmerac 2001: 184).



pseudoromanisms³⁰ often give rise to differences of genders not only between French and Croatian nouns, but between Italian and Croatian ones as well.

5.1.1. That is the reason why many Italian and Croatian names of cloths are not of the same gender. Italian feminine Gallicisms correspond to Croatian masculine Germanisms:

It. <i>batista</i> f.	< Fr. <i>batiste</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Batist</i> m. >	Cr. <i>batist</i> m.
It. <i>marquise</i> f.	< Fr. <i>marquise</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Marquise</i> m. ³¹ >	Cr. <i>markizet</i> m.
It. <i>cretonne</i> f.	< Fr. <i>cretonne</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Kreton</i> m. (ÖW) ³² >	Cr. <i>kreton</i> m.
It. <i>georgette</i> f.	< Fr. <i>georgette</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Georgette</i> m. >	Cr. <i>žoržet</i> m.
It. <i>duvetine</i> f., <i>duvetina</i> f.	< Fr. <i>duvetine</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Duvetine</i> m. >	Cr. <i>tifin</i> m.
It. <i>mousseline</i> f., <i>mussolina</i> f., <i>mussola</i>	< Fr. <i>mousseline</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Musselin</i> m. >	Cr. <i>muslin</i> m.

5.1.1.1. The Italian military term *marcia* f. may be a derivative of the verb *marciare* (< Fr. *marcher*), but is more probably taken directly from French (Hope 1971: 259, 401). The corresponding Croatian term is a Germanism *marš*, masculine as its model (< Germ. *Marsch* m. < Fr. *marche* f., cf. Franolić 1976: 119).

5.1.2. Franolić (1976: 30) attests that the Austrian Gallicism *Brillantín* n. (< Fr. *brillantine* f.) was a model of the Croatian masculine noun *briljantín* m.³³ Actually, German nouns of neuter gender become in Croatian masculine (cf. Ljubičić 2000-01: § 2.2.3.1.). The Croatian Germanism is therefore opposed to the Italian *brillantina* f. We can add some more examples of the same type:

It. <i>manovra</i> f	< Fr. <i>manœuvre</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Manöver</i> n. >	Cr. <i>manevar</i> m. ³⁴
It. <i>picca</i> f.	< Fr. <i>pique</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Pik</i> n. >	Cr. <i>pik</i> m.
It. <i>giacchetta</i> f.	< Fr. <i>jacquette</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Jackett</i> n. >	Cr. <i>žaket</i> m. ³⁵
It. <i>cotoletta</i> f.	< Fr. <i>côtelette</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Kotelett</i> n. >	Cr. <i>kotlet</i> m.
It. <i>omelette</i> f., <i>omeletta</i> f.	< Fr. <i>omelette</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Omelette</i> n. >	Cr. <i>omlet</i> m.
It. <i>débâcle</i> f.	< Fr. <i>débâcle</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Debakel</i> n. >	Cr. <i>debakl</i> m.

³⁰ The Italian term *pseudoromanismo* is used in this sense by Muljačić (1973) to point out that the giving language of such loanwords is not a Romance language. It is only an intermediary language. The same term can refer to words which do not exist in a Romance language, e.g. Germ. *Friseur* (Fr. equivalent *coiffeur*). *False loans* in Hope (1971: 619). These *pseudo...isms* are sometimes called *secondary ...isms*. For *pseudoanglicisms* cf. Filipović 1990: 19-21. Cf. also Ljubičić 2000-01: n. 4.

³¹ The German noun *Marquise*, *Markisette* can also be feminine (cf. Wahrig 2000: 852).

³² Wahrig registers *Cretonne* m. and *Kretonne* m.; FW (2002: 106) has *Cretonne* f. and m.

³³ In ÖW, FW and Wahrig *Brillantín* is only masculine. The 19th ct. Croatian encyclopedic dictionary registers the Italianism *brillantina* (Ivan Zoch - Josip Menc, *Priručni Rječnik Sveobčega znanja ili mala hrvatska enciklopedija*, Osijek 1887-1890, cit. in Franolić 1976: 30).

³⁴ In Croatian dialects of Dalmatia and Istria *manovra* f. is an Italianism or Venetianism (Skok II, 370).

³⁵ In Croatian there is also the Venetianism *jaketa* f. (cf. Skok I, 750). For the allotrope *jacket* (< Engl. *jacket*) cf. here § 6.2.2.



5.1.3. However, very often Croatian words of French origin have the same gender as their Italian correspondents. In fact, they follow the German models. Here are some examples:³⁶

It. <i>maionese</i> f	< Fr. <i>mayonnaise</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Mayonnaise</i> f. <i>Majonnaise</i> f., <i>Majonäse</i> f.>	Cr. <i>majoneza</i> f. ³⁷
It. <i>polonaise</i> f., <i>polonese</i> f. ³⁸	< Fr. <i>polonaise</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Polonaise</i> f., <i>Polonäse</i> f. >	Cr. <i>poloneza</i> f. ³⁹
It. <i>etichetta</i> f.	< Fr. <i>étiquette</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Etikette</i> f. >	Cr. <i>etiketa</i> f.
It. <i>roulette</i> f.	< Fr. <i>roulette</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Roulette</i> f. >	Cr. <i>ruleta</i> f. ⁴⁰
It. <i>façon</i> f.	< Fr. <i>façon</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Façon</i> f., <i>Fasson</i> f. >	Cr. <i>fazona</i> f. ⁴¹
It. <i>grippe</i> f. ⁴²	< Fr. <i>grippe</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Grippe</i> f. >	Cr. <i>gripa</i> f. ⁴³
It. <i>équipe</i> f.	< Fr. <i>équipe</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Equipe</i> f. >	Cr. <i>ekipa</i> f.
It. <i>chance</i> f.	< Fr. <i>chance</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Chance</i> f. >	Cr. <i>šansa</i> f.

The gender of the Croatian word *butika*, which is today obsolete, was also determined by the German mediation: Fr. *boutique* f. > Germ. *Boutique* f., *Butike* f. > Cr. *butika* f. (for Croatian allotropes, cf. here § 3 and n. 12).

5.1.4. In Croatian masculine tendency prevails sometimes in spite of the fact that German Gallicisms do not change the feminine gender of the French models. Therefore Italian feminine loanwords correspond to Croatian masculine equivalents:

³⁶ German intermediary attested in Franolić 1976.

³⁷ Serbian has the masculine noun *majonez*. This is one of very frequent examples of gender differences between Standard Croatian and Standard Serbian (cf. Silić 2001: 151). The Serbian transphonemization of the oral French form contributes to a noun ending in consonant, which is then normally assigned to the masculine gender.

³⁸ Italian uses also the calque *polacca*.

³⁹ In Croatian the masculine adaptation *polonez* (cf. Franolić 1976: 153) is obsolete. It is the normal Serbian term (cf. Brodnjak 1993: 393).

⁴⁰ Cf. also the Croatian historical term *ruski rulet* m. (HER 1149). Sometimes in the colloquial metaphoric use ('hazard, risk'): *u takvoj ludoj vožnji autom, rulet je hoćeš li preživjeti* (id. 1147). However, in Bujas (1999: 1319) *ruska ruleta* f.

⁴¹ The Croatian term agrees with the specific meaning of its German model ('cut', It. *taglio*, *foggia*; cf. Spalatin 1990: 372). Franolić (1976: 59) quotes German *das Fasson*. This author registers the meaning 'revers, partie repliée d'un habit', shared by the German *Fasson* and the Croatian *fazon* m. (for German cf. Wahrig 2000: 459). The Croatian masculine form *fazon* (colloq. regional.) agrees with Serbian (Anić-Goldstein 1999: 414). Cf. also Brodnjak 1993: 130.

⁴² *Grippe* is uncommon in Italian today; the common word is *influenza*.

⁴³ Yet again, the corresponding Serbian word *grip* is masculine. It is described by Franolić (1976: 73) as "un emprunt oral chez les Serbes (et Russes)". Cf. also Spalatin 1990: 405. For the same reason this Gallicism was also masculine in Italian in the 19th century (cf. Cortelazzo-Zolli 2, 522).



It. <i>risorsa</i> f.	< Fr. <i>ressource</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Ressource</i> f. >	Cr. <i>resurs</i> m. ⁴⁴
It. <i>mitragliatrice</i> f. ⁴⁵	< Fr. <i>mitrailleuse</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Mitrailleuse</i> f. >	Cr. <i>mitraljez</i> m.
It. <i>chaise longue</i> f.	< Fr. <i>chaise longue</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Chaiselongue</i> f. >	Cr. <i>šezlong</i> m.
It. <i>revanche</i> f.	< Fr. <i>revanche</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Revanche</i> f. >	Cr. <i>revanš</i> m.
It. <i>démarche</i> f.	< Fr. <i>démarche</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Demarche</i> f. >	Cr. <i>demarš</i> m.
It. <i>étagère</i> f.	< Fr. <i>étagère</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Étagère</i> f. >	Cr. <i>etažer</i> m.
It. <i>sauce</i> f.	< Fr. <i>sauce</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Sauce</i> f., <i>Soße</i> f. ⁴⁶ >	Cr. <i>sos</i> m.
It. <i>manicure</i> f.	< Fr. <i>manucure</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Maniküre</i> f. >	Cr. <i>manikir</i> m. ⁴⁷
It. <i>croquette</i> f., <i>crocchetta</i> f.	< Fr. <i>croquette</i> f. >	Germ. <i>Croquette</i> f. >	Cr. <i>kroket</i> m.

5.1.5. Italian masculine Gallicisms can correspond to Croatian feminine Germanisms of the same origin:

It. <i>milliardo</i> m.	< Fr. <i>milliard</i> m. >	Germ. <i>Milliarde</i> f. >	Cr. <i>milijarda</i> f.
It. <i>petardo</i> m.	< Fr. <i>pétard</i> m. >	Germ. <i>Petarde</i> f. >	Cr. <i>petarda</i> f.
It. <i>controllo</i> m.	< Fr. <i>contrôle</i> m. >	Germ. <i>Kontrolle</i> f. >	Cr. <i>kontrola</i> f.
It. <i>oboe</i> m.	< Fr. <i>hautbois</i> m. >	Germ. <i>Oboe</i> f. ⁴⁸ >	Cr. <i>oboa</i> f.
It. <i>tantième</i> m.	< Fr. <i>tantième</i> m. >	Germ. <i>Tantieme</i> f. >	Cr. <i>tantijema</i> f.

The Croatian *tantijema* agrees also semantically with its German model ('royalties'). The Italian equivalent is *diritti d'autore* (Fr. *droits d'auteur*, cf. Spalatin 1990: 754).

5.1.5.1. The Italian noun *affusto* m. results from the adaptation of the old French word *affust* (mod. Fr. *affût* m.). In German the French form was adapted as *Lafette* f., because it was interpreted as making one word with the definite article (*l'affût*), and the suffix *-ette* was added. This feminine form entered into Croatian: *lafeta* f. (Spalatin 1990: 517).

5.2. Another case of agglutination of the definite article with a noun can be seen in the name of a game which came to Europe from American English (Engl. *lacrosse*). This English sport term, denoting a Canadian ball game, consists etymologically of the French feminine article *la* and the noun *crose* f. 'crutch'. Even though its noun component is feminine, the sport term is masculine in French (*lacrosse* f., cf. Petiot 1982 s.v.) and in Italian *lacrosse* m. (< Engl. *lacrosse*). Since it ends in a consonant, the Croatian Anglicism

⁴⁴ Although Franolić (1976: 170) quotes the Cr. noun *resursa* f. and *resursi* m. pl., all modern Croatian dictionaries register only *resurs* m. and/or *resursi* m.pl. (cf. Deanović-Jernej, Anić-Goldstein, Bujas, HER).

⁴⁵ According to Hope (1971: 506), *mitragliatrice* is an adaptation of Fr. *mitrailleuse*. DISC (1572) interprets it as a noun derived from the verb *mitragliare* (< Fr. *mitrailler*).

⁴⁶ Franolić (1976: 185) registers *der Sauce*.

⁴⁷ Cf. here n. 24.

⁴⁸ Duden (1997: 495) explains that the musical term was taken over from French (17th/18th cent.: Germ. *Hautbois* and *Hoboie*), but: "Die heute im Deutschen allein gültige form *Oboe* ist von it. *oboe* 'Oboe' beeinflusst, das selbst aus dem frz. stammt".



lacrosse (Anić-Goldstein 1999: 760) or adapted *lakros* (HER 656) is also assigned to the masculine gender.

5.3. In the past English words were very often transferred into Italian through the French mediation.⁴⁹ The Italian Gallicism *flanella* f. (< Fr. *flanelle* f. < Engl. *flannel*) corresponds to the Croatian *flanell*, which was regularly assigned to the masculine gender, regardless of the fact whether it was borrowed directly from English (Filipović 1990: 150; Anić-Goldstein 1999: 435) or through the mediation of German.⁵⁰ We think that this name of a cloth can be added to the group of masculine Germanisms which differ in gender from the corresponding Italian Gallicisms (cf. § 5.1.1., Cr. *gabarden* in § 5.5.). Actually, the German model, of masculine gender, is a Gallicism: Germ. *Flanell* m. < Fr. *flanelle* f. < Engl. *flannel* (Duden 1997: 191).

5.3.1. The French word *redingote* f., adaptation of the English *riding coat*,⁵¹ also entered into Italian. Hope (1971: 408) attests several spellings conveying both genders.⁵² Today it is used as a feminine non-adapted form in Italian whereas in Croatian it is masculine. The Croatian masculine adaptation (*redengot*, var. *redingot*) could have been taken over from French (Filipović 1990: 228; Anić-Goldstein 1999: 1076), or, more probably, from German (< Germ. *Redingote* f. < Fr. *redingote* f., cf. Franolić 1976: 164).

5.4. Italian also took over from French a false Anglicism *boxe* f. (< Engl. *boxing*, (to) *box*; cf. Hope 1971: 476). The Italian non-adapted feminine Gallicism *boxe* f. corresponds to the Croatian pseudoanglicism *boks*, whose assignment to the masculine gender is completely predictable.⁵³

5.5. French was also an intermediary for Spanish words: e.g. It. *gabardine* f., *gabardina* f.⁵⁴ (< Fr. *gabardine* f. < Sp. *gabardina*, cf. Cortelazzo-Zolli 2, 469).⁵⁵ The Croatian correspondent is masculine, *gabarden* (var. *gabardin*). It could be an Anglicism (< Engl. *gabardine*, *gaberdine*; cf. Anić-Goldstein 1999: 462), but also this time it was probably taken over from German (Germ. *Gabardine* m. < Fr. *gabardine* f.).⁵⁶

Doria (1987: 922) registers for Italian another term, *gabarden*, and for the dialect of Trieste *gabardin* m. These could have been the models for Croatian Adriatic dialects.

⁴⁹ Cf. Migliorini-Baldelli 1974: 242, 278, 312. The change occurred in the 20th century: "Nell'ultimo dopoguerra il francese ha visto ridursi il suo ruolo di tramite di anglicismi, sempre più introdotti direttamente dall'Inghilterra e dagli Stati Uniti" (Dardano 1993: 351).

⁵⁰ According to Skok (I, 521): Cr. *flanell* < Germ. *Flanell* < Engl. *flannel*.

⁵¹ Engl. *redingote* is a backwanderer in English (< Fr., altered < Engl. *riding coat*, cf. Webster 1976: 1190).

⁵² Cf. also variants in De Mauro-Mancini (2001: 441): *radinot*, *radinotte*, *redingotte*, *redingotto*.

⁵³ Filipović (1990: 108) explains the pseudoanglicism *boks* as a result of ellipsis. The right English term is *boxing*. Cf. also Spalatin 1990: 306.

⁵⁴ According to DISC, the Italian adaptation *gabardina* is obsolete.

⁵⁵ The French term is a backwanderer: *gaverdine*, "mot passé en esp. (*gabardina*), où le fr. l'a repris de nos jours" (Dauzat 1954: 349). The same in Robert 1977: 841.

⁵⁶ Filipović (1990: 157) explains it as an Anglicism mediated by French. This would be contrary to the commonly accepted Spanish *etymologia proxima* of the French term. According to Webster (1976: 569) the English word *gabardine* (var. *gaberdine*) is a Gallicism: earlier *gawbardsyne* < OFr. *gaverdine* 'kind of kloak'.



5.6. Unlike the Italian *racchetta*, a direct adaptation of the French word *raquette* f., the corresponding Croatian word *reket* was adopted through the mediation of English.⁵⁷

5.7. Italian took the word *sofà* m. from French (Fr. *sofa* m.), which is reflected also in its accent. This word of Arabic origin entered the Croatian language as a Turkish loanword (cf. Škaljić 1966: 568; Skok III, 300) and was integrated into numerous feminine nouns ending in *-a*.

6. Other tendencies in Italian

6.1. Although Italian tends to preserve the French gender very frequently, there are some exceptions. Feminine nouns are sometimes adapted as masculine, because masculine is “meno marcato del femminile” (Marello 1996: 33). For instance, the French word *panique* f. becomes masculine in Italian (It. *panico* m.). In Croatian the corresponding loanword is feminine (*panika* f.). It is interpreted as having been taken over directly from French (cf. Anić-Goldstein 1999: 950), or, which is more probable, through the mediation of German (Germ. *Panik* f.; cf. Franolić 1976: 139; HER 912).

6.1.1. An extreme case of the gender change in Italian can be seen in the non-adapted Gallicism *purée* (var. *purè*), which is registered as masculine in De Mauro-Mancini (2001: 424), in contrast to the French model (Fr. *purée* f.). In addition to the usually used *purè* m., DISC registers also *purea* f., with a qualification of “non common”.

The Croatian noun *pire* m. is an adaptation of the German Gallicism *Püree* (n.). The dialect of Trieste has also *pirè* m., described by Doria (1987: 471): “con un adattamento un po' diverso rispetto a ital. *purè* (m.)”. This vowel /i/ could be attributable to the Austrian pronunciation of the Gallicism, which can be also observed in Croatian.

6.1.2. The French word *popeline* f. is used in Italian without orthographic adaptation, but it is pronounced /*pope'line*/ (cf. DISC), and can be feminine or masculine. There is also the feminine *popelina* and the partly adapted masculine form *popelin* (ib.) and *poplin* (Cortelazzo-Zolli 4, 956). In the past some Italian lexicographers recommended a noun *papalina* f. as a right Italian equivalent.⁵⁸ Both *popelina* and *papalina* contain the Italian equivalent of the French suffix *-ine* f. (It. *-ina* f.).

⁵⁷ Filipović (1990: 225) registers the Croatian Anglicism *reket*. The etymology of Engl. *racket* is MFr. *raquette*, earlier *rachette* ‘palm of the hand’ < ML *rasceta* (*manus*) ‘palm (of the hand)’, which is an Arabism (Webster 1976: 1170).

⁵⁸ The lexicographers established a (par)etymological relation to the lexeme *il papa* ‘pope’. Jàcono (1939: 303) defines the French word as “cavallo di ritorno”, and Palazzi (1940: 1342) also argues against its use because “la voce è derivata dall’ital. *papalina*, *stoffa papalina*, e alla voce italiana antica noi potremmo e dovremmo tornare”. The possible Italian etymon (adj. *papalino*) of the French Anglicism *popeline* (< Engl. *poplin*) is mentioned also in Dauzat 1954: 574, Robert 1977: 1483. Webster (1976: 1108) annotates the English word *poplin* as a Gallicism and opts for a different



According to Filipović (1990: 218), the Croatian *poplin*, *popelin* is an adaptation of the English *pop(e)lin(e)*. However, a German mediation of the French word *popelin* m. (Fr. *popeline* f. > Germ. *Popelin* m. > Cr. *popelin* m., var. *poplen* m.; cf. Franolić 1976: 154) is more probable.

6.1.3. Hope (1971: 513) attests for the 19th century the Italianized names of the cloth *pelusce*, *peluscio* (< Fr. *peluche* f.). Later on, the use returned to the non-adapted Gallicism. More than sixty years ago Palazzi (1940: 1340) registered *peluche* as masculine. In Cortelazzo-Zolli (4, 900) it is feminine, in Mini (1998: 213) only masculine. Both genders are registered in DISC (1997: 1855) and in De Mauro-Mancini (2001: 393). In addition to the non-adapted *peluche*, De Mauro-Mancini records further variants: *pelusce*, *peluscia*.

Some of the variants of this loanword in northern Italian dialects reflect the German intermediary (e.g. *plis* m., *pelus* m. in the dialect of Trieste; cf. Doria 1987: 477-8, 447). German mediation is beyond any doubt for the Croatian *pliš* m. (< Germ. *Plusch* m.; cf. Franolić 1976: 152).⁵⁹

6.2. Sometimes the lexical attraction is decisive for the gender of a loanword. Even though Italian has the word *crema* f., the French expression *crème caramel* f. (< *crème au caramel*, It. ‘crema al caramello’) has become masculine in Italian (It. *crème caramel*), under the influence of the Italian noun *caramello* m. (cf. Marellò 1996: 33-34).⁶⁰ In Croatian *crème caramel*, due to the masculine tendency, is assigned to the masculine gender.

6.2.1. The Italian non-adapted Gallicism *affaire* is masculine, as opposed to its French model (Fr. *affaire* f.). This difference can be explained with the existence of the Italian masculine noun *affare*, whose formal and semantic affinity motivates the change of genders.⁶¹ The Croatian *afera*, feminine, has a German intermediary (Germ. *Affäre* f. < Fr. *affaire* f.), which is reflected in its meaning (cf. Spalatin 1990: 250; Milan-Sünkel 1990: 2).

6.2.2. The same affinity exists in Italian between the noun *giacchetta* and the recent technical term *jacket* (‘materiale, involucro protettivo’), taken over from English. Namely, Mini (1994: 148) states it as feminine and masculine. On the other hand, the formally predictable assignment to the masculine gender is registered by DISC (1997: 1345) and De

etymology: Engl. *poplin* < Fr. (*draps de*) *Poperinghes*, (clothes from) Poperinge, city in Flanders, the textile center in the Middle Ages; the same in Kluge 2002: 713; also in Duden 1997: 542, but with some circumspection (“Die Herkunft des frz. Wortes ist nicht sicher geklärt”), and in modern Italian dictionaries, too (Cortelazzo-Zolli 4, 956; DISC 1979; De Mauro-Mancini 2001: 413). Hope (1971: 516) explains the route of the borrowing: “Fr. *popeline* < Engl. *popline* < Fr. *papeline*, ultimately from the place name *Poperinghe*”. Mini (1998: 224) registers both etymologies.

⁵⁹ However, in Croatian Adriatic dialects it can be a loanword of the dialect of Trieste (cf. for the dialect of Split Gačić 1979: 140).

⁶⁰ DISC (626) registers *crème caramel* as f. or m., De Mauro-Mancini (2001: 126) as m. and f.

⁶¹ It. *affare* m. is defined by Cortelazzo-Zolli (1, 24) as “prob. aiutato nella sua diff. dalla presenza del fr. *affaire*”. It. *affare* and Fr. *affaire* are both derived from the same syntagm, (*avere*) *a fare*. The Italian non-adapted Gallicism is only masculine in Cortelazzo-Zolli (l. c.), DISC (54), Mini (1998: 4), De Mauro-Mancini (2001: 4), feminine and masculine in Milan-Sünkel (1990: 2).



Mauro-Mancini (2001: 246). In Croatian the non-adapted Anglicism *jacket* 'id' is also masculine (cf. Anić-Goldstein 1999: 618; HER 516).

6.2.3. The semantic influence (or semantic analogy) can be seen in the Italian use of the denomination for a car make, Fr. *coupé* m. It can keep the gender of its French model, or it can become feminine, because in Italian names of cars are feminine (they take the gender of their hyperonym *macchina* f., *automobile* f. or shorter *auto* f.). These names can be interpreted also as cases of ellipsis: *la macchina* (or *la automobile*) *coupé*, which with the omission of the noun gives *la coupé*.

7. Identical Latin etymons in French and Italian; French Italianisms

7.1. Sometimes the gender of words which have developed organically from Latin is equal in French and Italian, but is changed in Croatian because of the German intermediary:

It. *dominio* m. < Lat. *dominium* n. > Fr. *domaine* m. > Germ. *Domäne* f. > Cr. *domena* f.
It. *piombo* m. < Lat. *plumbum* n. > Fr. *plombe* m. > Germ. *Plombe* f. > Cr. *plomba* f.

The gender of the French noun *vase* m., which continues the Latin form *vas*, *vasis* n., also corresponds to the Italian *vaso* m., which continues the popular Latin form *vasum* n. The French loanword becomes feminine in German (Germ. *Vase* f. < Fr. *vase* m., cf. Kluge 2002: 948). The German Gallicism *Vase* f. is reflected in the Croatian *vaza* f., which agrees also semantically with its German model (cf. Milan-Sünkel 1990: 402-403; Ljubičić 2000-01: § 4.2.1.).⁶²

7.1.1. The French word *patience* f. (< lat. *patientia*), correspondent of the Italian *pazienza* f., was adopted by German (*Patience* f. 'Geduldsspiel mit Karten').⁶³ Although the gender of the French noun has not changed in German, the Croatian Germanism has been assigned to the masculine gender, *pasijans* (cf. the same masculine tendency in § 5.1.4.).⁶⁴

7.2. There are also cases when same Latin etymons have developed independently in French and in Italian, resulting in words of different genders. For instance, the Vulgar Latin form **terraceu* (deriv. of Cl. Lat. *terra*) is reflected in Italian in the masculine noun *terrazzo*. This has entered into German (*Terrazzo* m.) and Croatian (*teraco* m.) in the meaning 'mosaikartiger Fußboden aus kleinen, farbigen Marmor oder Zementsteinen' (ellipsis of It. *pavimento a terrazzo*, syn. *pavimento alla veneziana*).⁶⁵

⁶² In Croatian Adriatic dialects there is an allotrope, the Venetianism *važ* m. (dial. of Split 'vessel', cf. Gačić 1979: 153; dial. of Omiš 'can', cf. Ljubičić 2002: § 2.3.)

⁶³ Br. Engl. also *patience*, Am. Engl. *solitaire*.

⁶⁴ In Croatian Adriatic dialects we find the Italianism *pacijenca*, *pacjenca* (Cr. syn. *strpljenje*).

⁶⁵ Also in Engl. *terrazzo* 'id'.



The same etymon developed into the French noun *terrasse* f., which was taken over by German (Germ. *Terrasse* f. > Cr. *terasa* f.). In the 16th century the French word was further borrowed as an additional term by Italian (cf. It. adapted Gallicism *terrazza* f., DISC 2748).⁶⁶

7.3. Since the process of the two-way borrowing between Italian and French has been going on for centuries, there is also a huge number of French Italianisms. These are very often borrowed by the German language. Their grammatical gender could have changed which is observable in Croatian replicas, too:

It. <i>gruppo</i> m.	> Fr. <i>groupe</i> m. >	Germ. <i>Gruppe</i> f. >	Cr. <i>grupa</i> f.
It. <i>bronzo</i> m.	> Fr. <i>bronze</i> m. >	Germ. <i>Bronze</i> f. >	Cr. <i>bronca</i> f.
It. <i>busto</i> m.	> Fr. <i>buste</i> m. >	Germ. <i>Büste</i> f. >	Cr. <i>bista</i> f.

7.3.1. The French *alarme* f. is also an Italianism. In German it received masculine gender, which is reflected also in the Croatian Germanism *alarm* m. (< Germ. *alarm* m. < Fr. *alarme* f. < It. *all'arme!*). But this time it has the same gender as the Italian noun derived from a war cry (It. *allarme* m.).

There is also a German word *Lärm* m. (dial. *Larm* > Cr. *larma*), a result of “la déglutination partielle, qui n’est que la contrepartie de l’agglutination” (cf. Franolić 1997-98: 105).⁶⁷ The feminine gender of the Croatian adaptation *larma* can be due to the semantic analogy with its synonyms, nouns *buka*, *galama*.

7.4. The Italian feminine noun *bancarotta* corresponds to the Croatian masculine *bankrot*. According to Franolić (1976: 19), the Croatian word is an adaptation of a German Gallicism (Germ. *Bankrott* m. < Fr. *banqueroute* f.).⁶⁸ On the other hand, Duden (1997: 62), Wahrig (2000: 235) and Kluge (2002: 89) explain the German word as a direct Italianism (*Bankrott* m. < It. *bancarotta* f.). In any case, Franolić is right when he derives the Croatian word from German, which is reflected in its gender.⁶⁹

7.4.1. In case of It. *porcellana* f. - Fr. *porcelaine* f., we are confronted once more with the feminine gender of Italian/French, in contrast to German and Croatian (Germ. *Porzellan* n. - Cr. *porcelan* m.). The Croatian word *porcelan* m. (var. *porculan*) is also a Germanism, but the German word is not a French loan. The Italian word was adopted by French and directly by German (Hope 1971: 48; Kluge 2002: 713). In Croatian Adriatic dialects we find a Toscanism *porčelana* f. and a Venetianism *porcelana* f. (cf. Skok III, 11).

⁶⁶ In Adriatic dialects there is the Italianism *teraca* and the Venetianism *taraca* (< *taraza*, Rosamani 1999: 1138).

⁶⁷ Kluge (2002: 558) explains that in the Gallicism *Lärm* (< Fr. *alarme*, reg. var. *alerme*) “das anlautende *a-* ist vor dem starken Hauptton ausgefallen”.

⁶⁸ The French word is an Italianism (cf. Dauzat 1954: 72; Hope 1971: 28-9).

⁶⁹ The same HER, opposed to Anić-Goldstein 1999, where the Croatian *bankrot* is defined as an Italianism.



8. French suffix -age

8.1. It has been said that the language mediation can cause gender differences. The divergences can even occur due to the transmorphemization of the French suffix which is typical of the intermediary language. The Italian masculine suffix *-aggio* is the adaptation of the French suffix *-age* m., which was borrowed in the Middle Ages when it was pronounced /aʒe/ (Tekavčić 1972: § 1455).⁷⁰ Its Croatian equivalent is *-aža*, whose feminine gender is explained by the German mediation. The Italian noun *coraggio* m. continues the old French model *corage* (mod. Fr. *courage* m.). On the other hand, the Croatian form *kuraža* f. is a Germanism (< Germ. *Courage* f.). Other examples:

It. <i>sabotaggio</i> m.	< Fr. <i>sabotage</i> m.	> Germ. <i>Sabotage</i> f.>	Cr. <i>sabotaža</i> f.
It. <i>montaggio</i> m.	< Fr. <i>montage</i> m.	> Germ. <i>Montage</i> f. >	Cr. <i>montaža</i> f.
It. <i>massaggio</i> m.	< Fr. <i>massage</i> m.	> Germ. <i>Massage</i> f. >	Cr. <i>masaža</i> f.

8.1.1. Italian uses sometimes non -adapted forms: e.g. Fr./It. *garage* m. (Cr. *garaža* f.), Fr./It. *reportage* m. (Cr. *reportaža* f.), Fr./It. *vernissage* m. (Cr. *vernisaža* f.). In the past *vernisaž* m. was also used in Croatian (cf. Klaić 1988: 1417).

8.2. It is interesting to point out that the German adaptational solution has become productive even in Croatian (Cr. *-aža* f. < Germ. *-age* f. < Fr. *-age* m.). It serves to coin neologisms derived from native bases (cf. Franolić 1980: 69). For instance, it appears after a Croatian lexeme in the stylistically marked noun *gnjavaža* ('botheration, drudgery'), derived from the verb *gnjaviti* 'bother' (cf. Babić 1986: § 1154). In the Croatian slang *muljaža* (syn. of *muljanje* < *mulj* 'silt, mud') means 'shady dealing/deals/practices, crookery, quick-buck schemes' (cf. Bujas 1999: 690). Generally speaking, such hybrid formations are highly expressive in Croatian (cf. Barić 1997: § 876).

8.3. The Croatian word *pejzaž* m. is an example of the adaptation of a French word (Fr. *paysage* m.) which has not been taken through German. The Italian integrated Gallicism *paesaggio* m. agrees in gender with its French model. The equivalent of the Italian non-integrated loan word *collage* m. is the Cr. *kolaž* m. This time German has not acted as a mediator between French and Croatian (cf. Germ. *Collage* f.). The same is with the Croatian *omaž* m. (It. *omaggio* m.) which corresponds to the predictable German form *Hommage* f. (< Fr. *hommage* f.).

⁷⁰ In Italian this suffix represents one of those which "penetrano nel processo produttivo della lingua" (Cortelazzo 1988: 404). In contrast to its original denominal derivation, it is deverbal in Italian (cf. Tekavčić 1972: § 1455).



9. Conclusion

We have seen many incompatible results of the adaptation of gender of French nouns in Italian and Croatian. They can be frequently explained by divergent tendencies and by the fact that the *etymologia proxima* is not always French in the two receiving languages. In Croatian, the German mediation explains very often the change of gender. The adaptational solution of the Fr. suffix *-age* m. > Germ. *-age* f. > Cr. *-aža* f. has even become productive in Croatian.

In most cases French suffixes can be easily Italianized. The Italian predictable correspondents keep the same grammatical gender. Even when suffixes are not substituted, they are felt as equivalents. On the other hand, the forms *silueta*, *ruleta*, *manžeta*, *etiketa*, *plaketa* as opposed to *kotlet*, *omlet*, *kamionet*, *žaket*, *markizet*, *žoržet*, *kušet*, *baget* show that the same French suffix (*-ette*), can result in two different Croatian adaptations, which convey different genders (*-et* m. and *-eta* f.). However, certain oscillations are possible. We have mentioned the Germanism *ruleta* f., which is used today in Standard Croatian (Fr./It. correspondent *roulette* f.). Nevertheless, the masculine form *rulet* is registered by some lexicographers in the syntagm which denotes a deadly game of chance, marked as a historical term: *ruski rulet* 'Russian roulette' (It. *roulette russa*).⁷¹

In Croatian even nouns denoting persons, the gender of which is not problematic, can have unexpected forms: although *la soubrette* has given *subreta*, *souffragette* has not given **sufražeta*, but *sufražetkinja*.

There is a strong sense of congruence between Italian and French lexemes. That is why semantic loans are very frequent. Sometimes a French semantic loan in Italian corresponds to a loanword of French origin in Croatian: It. *marsigliese* – Cr. *marseljeza*, It. *polacca* (syn. *polonaise*, *polonese*) – Cr. *poloneza*. They can have different genders: (e.g. It. *pensione* f. 'board and lodging' – Cr. *pansion* m. 'id.').⁷²

Owing to the etymological affinity, not all lexicographers agree on the status of some words, which can be interpreted as Italian creations, or as adaptations of French words (cf. It. *marcia*, *cuccetta*, *mitragliatrice*). In any case, their gender normally agrees with the gender of the corresponding French words.

Special creativity of the receiving language can be seen in the interpretation of the last syllable of the Croatian *manikir* as the suffix *-ir* (hence the motional form *manikirka*). The Italian suffix *-ella* f. is introduced in the adaptation *besciamella* f. of the French deonomastic term *béchamel* f. (< *sauce à la Béchamel*). Even more creative is a popular form, *balsamella*, produced by folk etymology. Actually, "essenziale è riconoscere il

⁷¹ Cf. Anić 1994: 910, HER 1149. On the other hand, Bujas (1999: 1319) registers *igrati rusku ruletu* (fem.), play Russian roulette.

⁷² Croatian has the allotrope *penzija* f. (dial. Italianisms or Venetianisms *pensija* f., *penšijon* m., *penšijun* m.; cf. Skok II: 637), syn. of Cr. *mirovina* ('pension').



ruolo che la paretimologia ha nel processo d'integrazione dei prestiti, di cui rappresenta la forma più avanzata e radicale" (Gusmani 1986: 80).

Some alterations in gender can be found in Croatian dialects: e. g. Cr. *manovra* f. (< It./ Ven. *manovra* f.) on the Adriatic coast vs. *manevar* m. (< Germ. *Manöver* n.) in Standard Croatian. French speaking persons tend to say *bouillabaisse* with feminine gender or to use the masculine *vernisaž* (or even write *vernissage* m.) and not the feminine adaptation *vernisaža*. The existence of *pasaž* m. and *pasaža* f. enables semantic specialization. Actually, *pasaža* is registered in Standard Croatian dictionaries only as a musical and literary term (cf. Anić-Goldstein, HER). Languages change, and so do the types of adaptations and the words. Some of them are no longer regarded as a part of the standard language, or have become obsolete (cf. It. *redingotto*, *peluscio*, *grippe*; Cr. *pedikira*, *butika*, *resursa*, *polonez*).

Inconsistent results of the adaptation of gender of foreign words in different receiving languages represent sources of grammatical *false pairs*. Morphophonological unpredictability of the realisations of the same interlexemes is accompanied by the failing coincidence of gender, which turns out to be an important factor of formal and grammatical divergence of otherwise identical Europeisms.

REFERENCES

- Anić, Vladimir (1994). *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika*. Zagreb: Novi Liber.
- Anić, Vladimir – Goldstein, Ivo (1999). *Rječnik stranih riječi*. Zagreb: Novi Liber.
- Babić, Stjepan (1986). *Tvorba riječi u hrvatskom književnom jeziku. Nacrt za gramatiku*. Zagreb: JAZU - Globus.
- Barić, Eugenija (1997). *Tvorba imenica*, in: AA.VV., *Hrvatska gramatika*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, pp. 305-357.
- Brodnjak, Vladimir (1993). *Razlikovni rječnik srpskog i hrvatskog jezika*. Zagreb: Školske novine - Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada.
- Bujas, Željko (1999). *Veliki hrvatsko-engleski rječnik. Croatian-English Dictionary*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus.
- Cortelazzo, Manlio (1988). "Italienisch: Etymologie und Geschichte des Wortschatzes. Etimologia e storia del lessico", in: *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik (LRL). Band IV: Italienisch, Korsisch, Sardisch*. Herausgegeben von Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin, Christian Schmitt. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Cortelazzo, Manlio - Zolli, Paolo (1979-88). *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana*, I-V. Bologna: Zanichelli.
- Dabo-Denegri, Ljuba (1999). "Transmorfemizacija galicizama", in: Filipović et al., op. cit., pp. 18-25.
- Dardano, Maurizio (1993). "Lessico e semantica", in: Alberto A. Sobrero (ed.), *Introduzione all'italiano contemporaneo. Le strutture*. Roma - Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, pp. 295-370.



- Dauzat, Albert (¹⁰1954). *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française*. Paris: Librairie Larousse.
- Deanović, Mirko – Jernej, Josip (⁹1994). *Hrvatsko-talijanski rječnik*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
- De Mauro, Tullio – Mancini, Marco (2001). *Dizionario delle parole straniere nella lingua italiana*. Milano: Garzanti.
- Deroy, Louis (1956). *L'emprunt linguistique*. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres".
- DISC = *DISC. Dizionario Italiano Sabatini - Coletti*. Firenze: Giunti Gruppo Editoriale, 1997.
- Doria, Mario (1987). *Grande dizionario del dialetto triestino storico etimologico fraseologico*. Con la collaborazione di Claudio Noliani. Trieste: Edizioni "Il Meridiano".
- Duden (,1997). *Etymologie. Herkunftswörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Mannheim - Leipzig - Wien - Zürich: Dudenverlag.
- Filipović, Rudolf (1981). "Morphological Categories in Linguistic Borrowing", in: *Studia Romanica et Anglicana Zagrabiensia*, XXVI, pp. 197-207.
- Filipović, Rudolf (1986). *Teorija jezika u kontaktu. Uvod u lingvistiku jezičnih dodira*. Zagreb: JAZU - Školska knjiga.
- Filipović, Rudolf (1990). *Anglicizmi u hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku: porijeklo - razvoj - značenje*. Zagreb: JAZU - Školska knjiga.
- Filipović, Rudolf et al. (1999). "Transmorfemizacija modela šest europskih jezika u hrvatskom", in: *Filologija*, 33, pp.15-54.
- Franolić, Branko (1976). *Les mots d'emprunt Français en Croatie*. Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines.
- Franolić, Branko (1997-98). "Les limited du mot d'emprunt Français en Croatie", in: *Rasprave Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje*, XXIII-XXIV, pp. 103-107.
- Franolić, Branko (1980). *A Short History of Literary Croatian*. Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines.
- FW = *Neues grosses Wörterbuch Fremdwörter*. Chefredaktion: Ilse Hell. Köln: Buch und Zeit Verlagsgesellschaft, 2002.
- Gačić, Jasna (1979). "Romanski elementi u splitskom čakavskom govoru. Popis romanizama", in: *Čakavska rič*, IX, 2, 107-155.
- Gojmerac, Mirko (2001). "Hrvatski i njemački", in: *Zbornik zagrebačke slavističke škole. Trideset godina rada (1972-2001)*. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet - Zagrebačka slavistička škola, pp. 181-191.
- Gusmani, Roberto (²1986). *Saggi sull'interferenza linguistica*. Seconda edizione accresciuta. Firenze : Casa Editrice Le Lettere.
- HER = *Hrvatski enciklopedijski rječnik*. Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2002.
- Hope, Thomas E. (1971). *Lexical Borrowing in the Romance Languages. A Critical Study of Italianisms in French and Gallicisms in Italian from 1100 to 1900*, I-II. New York: New York University Press.
- Jàcono, Antonio (1939). *Dizionario di esotismi*. Firenze: Casa Editrice Marzocco.



- Jernej, Josip (1956). "Sugli italianismi penetrati nel serbo-croato negli ultimi cento anni", in: *Studia Romanica*, I, 1, pp. 54-82.
- Klaić, Bratoljub (1988). *Rječnik stranih riječi: tuđice i posuđenice*. Priredio Željko Klaić. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod MH.
- Kluge, Friedrich (²⁴2002). *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Berlin - New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- La Stella T., Enzo (1990). *Dalie, dedali e damigiane. Dal nome proprio al nome comune. Dizionario storico di deonomastica*. Bologna: Zanichelli.
- Lepschy, Laura – Lepschy, Giulio (⁶2002). *La lingua italiana. Storia, varietà dell'uso, grammatica*. Milano: Tascabili Bompiani. (Engl. orig. *The Italian Language Today*, 1977; Ital. ed. 1981)
- Ljubičić, Maslina (1998): "Bilješke o semantičkoj specijalizaciji posuđenica", in: *Suvremena lingvistika*, 45-46, pp. 17-37.
- Ljubičić, Maslina (2000-01): "Sul ruolo del tedesco nella formazione dei falsi amici croato-italiani", in: *Studia Romanica et Anglicae Zagradiensia*, XLV-XLVI, pp. 137-176.
- Ljubičić, Maslina (2002). "Hrvatsko-talijanski lažni parovi: standardni jezik i dijalekt", *Filologija*, 38-39, pp. 19-31.
- Marello, Carla (1996). *Le parole dell'italiano. Lessico e dizionari*. Bologna: Zanichelli.
- Migliorini, Bruno (1968). *Dal nome proprio al nome comune*. Ristampa fotostatica dell'edizione del 1927 con un supplemento. Firenze: Leo S. Olschi Editore.
- Migliorini, Bruno – Baldelli, Ignazio (⁵1971). *Breve storia della lingua italiana*. Firenze: Sansoni.
- Migliorini, Bruno – Duro, Aldo (⁶1974). *Prontuario etimologico della lingua italiana*. Torino: Paravia.
- Milan, Carlo – Sünkel, Rudolf (1990). *Falsche Freunde auf der Lauer. Dizionario di false analogie e ambigue affinità tra tedesco e italiano*. Con la collaborazione di Helmut Nespital. Bologna: Zanichelli.
- Mini, Guido (⁵1998). *Parole senza frontiere. Dizionario delle parole straniere in uso nella lingua italiana*. Rilettura e uniformazione redazionale a cura di Fabio Rizzi. Bologna: Zanichelli / Battaglia Terme: La Galiverna. (First edition *L'italiano integrato*. Battaglia Terme: La Galiverna 1990)
- Miotto, Luigi (1984). *Vocabolario del dialetto veneto-dalmata*. Trieste: LINT.
- Muljačić, Žarko (1971). "Sui veri e sui presunti romanismi del serbo-croato", in: *Die Welt der Slaven*, XVI, I, pp. 42-6.
- Muljačić, Žarko (1973). "Gli pseudoromanismi del croato come pietra d'inciampo nell'insegnamento dell'italiano", in: *La traduzione. Saggi e studi*. A cura di Giuseppe Petronio. Trieste: C.S.I.E.I., pp. 297-302.
- Muljačić, Žarko (1980). "Branko Franolic, *Les mots d'emprunt Français en Croatie*, Nouvelles Editions Latines, Paris 1976, S. XLII-216", in: *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, Band XVI, pp. 218-222.



- Muljačić, Žarko (1997-98). "Tri težišta u proučavanju jezičnih elemenata 'stranog' porijekla", in: *Rasprave Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje*, 23-24, pp. 265-280.
- ÖW = *Österreichisches Wörterbuch*. Wien: öbv it hpt - Verlag Jugend & Volk, ³⁸2000.
- Palazzi, Fernando (1940). *Novissimo dizionario della lingua italiana etimologico, fraseologico, grammaticale, ideologico, nomenclatore e dei sinonimi*. Milano: Casa Editrice Ceschina.
- Pavešić, Slavko (1997). "Imenice", in: AA.VV., *Hrvatska gramatika*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1979, pp. 100-173.
- Petiot, Georges (1982). *Le Robert des sports. Dictionnaire de la langue des sports*. Paris: Le Robert.
- Robert, Paul (1977). *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*. Rédaction dirigée par A. Rey et J. Rey-Debove. Paris: Société du Nouveau Littré.
- Rosamani, Enrico (1999). *Vocabolario giuliano dei dialetti parlati nella Venezia Giulia, in Istria, in Dalmazia, a Grado e nel Monfalconese*. Trieste: LINT. (1st ed. Bologna: Capelli, 1968; 1st reprint Trieste: LINT, 1990)
- Silić, Josip (2001). "Hrvatski i srpski jezik", in: *Zbornik zagrebačke slavističke škole. Trideset godina rada (1972-2001)*. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet - Zagrebačka slavistička škola, pp. 147-155.
- Skok, Petar (1971-74). *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, I-IV. Uredili akademici Mirko Deanović i Ljudevit Jonke. Suradivao u predradnjama i priredo za tisak Valentin Putanec. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti.
- Spalatin, Krsto (1990). *Peterojezični rječnik europeizama. Kako se prevode hrvatske nepravne srodnice na engleski, francuski, njemački, talijanski i druge jezične poteškoće*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske.
- Škaljić, Abdulah (1966). *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*. Sarajevo: "Svjetlost" izdavačko preduzeće.
- Tagliavini, Carlo (1972). *Le origini delle lingue neolatine. Introduzione alla filologia romanza*. Bologna: Pàtron.
- Tekavčić, Pavao (1972; ²1980). *Grammatica storica dell'italiano. Vol III: Lessico*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Wahrig, Gerhard (2000). *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Neu herausgegeben von Dr. Renate Wahrig-Burfeind. Gütersloh - München: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 2000.
- Webster (1976). *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*. Second College Edition. Cleveland - New York: William Collins and World Publishing Co.
- Weinreich, Uriel (1953). *Languages in Contact. Findings and Problems*. With a Preface by André Martinet. Publications of the Linguistic Circle Of New York - Number 1.
- Zolli, Paolo (1991). *Le parole straniere*. Seconda edizione a cura di Flavia Ursini. Con una presentazione di Manlio Cortelazzo. Bologna: Zanichelli.



SUPOSTAVNI PRISTUP PRILA GODBI RODA FRANCUSKIH IMENICA U TALIJANSKOM I HRVATSKOM JEZIKU

Prilagodbom roda francuskih imenica u talijanskom i hrvatskom jeziku nedvojbeno dolazi do udaljavanja između franskoga modela i pojedinoga jezika primatelja, ali i do nepodudaranja između dvaju jezika primatelja. Razlog tomu valja tražiti u različitoj morfofonološkoj strukturi talijanskoga i hrvatskoga jezika, te napose u etimološkoj srodnosti romanskih jezika, uslijed koje se uspostavljaju automatske korespondencije francuskoga i talijanskoga jezika. No, ne smije se zanemariti ni uloga jezika posrednika (tj. neposredna etimologija), kao ni formalna i semantička sličnost s otprije postojećim leksemima u jeziku primatelju. Nepodudarnost rodova doprinosi gramatičkoj divergenciji europeizama, odnosno uspostavljanju gramatičkih lažnih parova između različitih jezika u kojima nalazimo iste interlekseme.