

Frequent Toponyms of the Croatian Adriatic Islands

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DOI: 10.2436/15.8040.01.131

Abstract

The research has focused on the etymological analysis of the toponyms on the islands of the East Adriatic coast which tend to repeat themselves frequently. Besides the Slavic ones (i.e. *Kamenišnjak* < Cro. *kamen* ('stone'), *Lupeščina* < Cro. *lupež* ('thief'), *Pišćenjak* < Cro. *pijesak* ('sand')), many of the old Romanic toponyms dating from the pre-Croatian era and Early Christian period have been preserved (i.e. *Sakarun* < Lat. *siccus*; *Rina* < Lat. *arena*; *Sabuša* < Lat. *sabulum*; *Kluda* < Lat. *cludere*; *Sutmiho* < Lat. *Sanctus Michaelis*) as well as the ones from the Venetian reign in Dalmatia (i.e. *Tufero* < It. *tufo*; *Petrara* < It. *pietra*). The names have been classified into three categories: the toponyms motivated by the characteristics of soil (i.e. *Milna* < PS **mēl̥* ('mud'), *Pečeno* < Cro. *pijesak* ('sand'), *Saskinja* < Lat. *saxum* ('stone')), the toponyms motivated by piracy (i.e. *Stračinska* < Saracen pirates, *Gonoturska* < Lat. *portus innganatorum* ('the bay of thieves'), *Tatinja* < Cro. *tat* ('thief')) and hagionyms exhibiting a reflection of the Old Dalmatian adjective *sanctus* (i.e. *Stomorska* < Sancta Maria, *Supokrač* < Sanctus Pancratius, *Sušćepan* < Sanctus Stephanus) which can be exclusively found along the coast in the immediate vicinity of the sea. The authors also offer a new theory on the etymology of the name of the island of Čiovo

While studying the toponyms of the islands of the East Adriatic coast, we have observed that many of the names tend to repeat themselves, which has made us focus, on this occasion, on their etymological analysis, as well as on an analysis of synonymous toponyms or co-hyponyms, regardless of whether the toponyms in question are of Croatian or alloglottic origins.

Due to the turbulent past, old Romance toponyms have been preserved along with Illyrian and Greek ones dating from the pre-Croatian era, i.e. prior to the arrival of the Slavic population to the Adriatic Sea. Apart from these, Romance, Early Christian and Old Dalmatian, as well as the ones pertaining to the Venetian reign of Dalmatia which lasted for almost four centuries, i.e. from the beginning of the 15th to the late 18th century, have also survived. The Slavic and Romance elements in the toponyms of the Croatian Adriatic islands were thoroughly studied by the famous Croatian Romance philologist Petar Skok (1950). Our research so far has been aimed at supplementing his studies with some new etymologies at which we have arrived, among other things, by field research and interviewing the local population: the exact elements which we have felt to be missing from Skok's methodology. We have also studied the toponyms in old land registries and nautical charts.

The criterion of selecting the toponyms analysed for this occasion is of a semantic nature, i.e. their appurtenance to a particular semantic family according to the meaning, regardless of form, language, or period. Among more numerous groups of toponyms most frequently occurring on the Adriatic islands we have separated the ones motivated by the characteristics of soil, pirate incursions, and the ones deriving from the names of saints.

Toponyms motivated by the characteristics of soil

In general terms, particularly numerous are the toponyms indicating the characteristics of soil. The ones found on the Adriatic islands, usually relating to the composition of soil, sand, mud and sources of water, apart from Slavic names have usually preserved the loanwords of Illyrian or Romance origins, found by the Croatian population upon their arrival at the Adriatic coast in the 8th century. Due to their frequency, we shall first analyse the ones

originating from the Latin word *siccus* meaning ‘dry’ or ‘shallow’, whether they have come directly from Latin through Italian (Venetian) mediation, or through the Croatian appellation *sika*, also, though indirectly, of Latin origin.

Thus, for example, among old Romance toponyms, *Sakarun* < Lat. *siccus* has been preserved, the cove on Dugi Otok, whereas *Saktur* is a rock on the Island of Ugljan. According to Skok (Skok 1950: 60, 71), in Dalmatian-Romance toponyms dating back to the early Romance period on the islands of Pag and Cres *Sakarta* is a derivation ending in *-ata* from Latin *siccarius*, ‘a place where branches are dried’, as well as *Sakatur*, a cape on the Island of Molat, originating from Latin *siccatorium*, meaning ‘a place where something is dried’, for example fishing nets (Skok 1950: 95).

An example of Italian mediation of the Latin appellation of the word *siccus* is to be found in the toponym of *Sekanja*, a cape in the vicinity of Suđurađ on the Island of Šipan. Of this toponym, among others, Skok says: “...they sound non-Slavic, but we cannot offer a reliable interpretation, and although these are non-Slavic names, they cannot be listed as Dubrovnik-Romance words with any certainty” (Skok 1950: 236). “The name in question might be an augmentative derivation of Latin *secca*, meaning ‘shallow’, formed by the Latin suffix *-aneus*” (Skok 1950: 238). However, the word in question is exactly the above-mentioned Italian word *seccagna*, as we mentioned in a previous article (Marasović-Alujević 2011a) meaning ‘a shallow’, the noun confirmed in the 16th century, as well as the archaic adjective *seccano/a*.

The toponyms derived from the Croatian appellation *sika*, meaning ‘ridge’, originating from the nominalised Latin adjective *siccus* (dry) are to be found on the Island of Molat (*Sičica*, ‘small ridge’). Furthermore, two cliffs on the Island of Cres are called *Sekica*, while a cape on the Island of Vrgada is known as *Sikica*, and one on the Island of Lakljan as *Seka*.

Sand as a soil ingredient has also motivated numerous toponyms of the East Adriatic islands, whether they be the oldest ones originating directly from Latin (*arena*, *sabulum* – ‘sand’) or Croatian (*pijesak*, *melo* – ‘sand’, ‘mud’).

Two sandy coves on the Island of Drvenik Veli are called *Rina* (*Rina Mala* and *Rina Vela*), which seems to be a lexical residue from the Dalmatian-Romance period derived from the Latin appellation *arena* (sand). The same toponym is found on the coast close to the cove of Kanica, also denoting a pronouncedly sandy beach.

Speaking of the sandy coves of *Sabuša* on the Island of Molat and *Sabušica* on the Island of Ugljan, Skok (1950: 97, 108) says that the toponyms are somewhat obscure because he has obviously failed to recognise the Latin root of the word derived from the dialect form of *salbun* < by syncope and metathesis from Latin *sabulum*, with the addition of the Croatian suffixes *-uša* and *-ica*, productive in the formation of microtoponyms added to a base denoting the type of soil, position, or appurtenance, i.e. nominalisation and domination. The same Latin word *sabulum* can be found in the toponyms of *Salbunara* on the Island of Biševo and *Sabunjača* on the Island of Olib. *Salbunje*, *Sarburnor*, and *Sarburnora* on the Island of Brač are toponyms obviously of the same origins. The toponym *Saplunara* on the Island of Mljet (Skok 1950: 213, 218) evidently derives from the Latin *sabulum*, formed by the Latin suffix *-aria*. The transition *b>p* is attributed to the Latin dialect pronunciation, as is *p<f*. *Saplun* is the name of a small island close to Lastovo, while a cove on the Island of Koločep is known as *Sapluni*.

The Croatian word for sand (*pijesak* < Proto-Slavic (PS), Old Church Slavonic (OCS) **pěsьkъ*) is found in the roots of numerous toponyms. *Pišćena* is the name of a cove on the Island of Hvar, as well as of the one in the Channel of Trogir, where an eponymous small island is located. An adjective derived from the same noun has been used in the formation of the toponyms *Pečeno* (*Peščeno*, *Peščenica*) on the Island of Iž, *Pečen*, a cape on the Island of Cres, *Pečeni*, a cove on the Island of Premuda, *Pečena*, a cove on the Island of Žut,

Pišćenik, and *Piske*, the toponyms pertaining to the Island of Hvar, *Pičena* and *Pišćena*, coves on the Island of Šolta, whereas the toponyms *Peskovica*, *Pisk*, *Pisak*, *Pišćak*, *Piski*, *Pišćake*, *Pišćenjak*, *Pišćevac* are found on the Island of Brač and, according to Šimunović (1972: 202), obviously relate to *пѣсѣкъ* ('a place where water is sifted through permeable limestone thereby forming sand').

The PS appellation **mělъ*, meaning 'mud', 'sludge', 'fine sand formed from limestone', originally meaning 'lime' is recognisable in a number of toponyms. The form *mělъ*, having become obsolete in modern Croatian, denotes a sandy shallow, fine sand, or a lagoon. At Zapuntel the toponym *Melura* seems to denote a shallow, as does *Milura* on the Island of Dugi Otok. The appellation of *mel* obviously represents the base of the toponyms of *Mel* (the Island of Iž), *Melska* (the Island of Krk), *Meli*, *Melići*, *Melin* (the Island of Cres), *Melina*, *Meline*, *Melić* (the islands of Krk and Rab), *Melna*, *Melak* (the Island of Rab), *Melnica* (the Island of Pag), *Melnik* (Primorje), *Mela* (the Island of Žirje), *Milna* (the islands of Brač (*Milnà*), Hvar and Vis, and a locality in the vicinity of Omiš), as well as many others.

To this numerous semantic category the toponym *Perna* could be added, referring to sandy coves and capes and recurring on islands such as Hvar (several coves), the Archipelago of Pakleni Otoci, the islands of Lastovo, Korčula, and Šćedro, which Skok (1950: 132, 165) mistakenly considers to be of Croatian origin, deriving from the appellation *pero* (feather): "[...] *pinna* (*feather*) the base of the Croatian equivalents *Perna* and *Pernatica* as referring to capes and coves". These are classified by Skok (1950: 132) among the adjectives of the feminine gender ending in the suffix *-bn*, as for example in the toponyms *Blatna*, *Dubna*, and *Koromačna*. Our field research has, however, established the toponyms to be referring to sandy coves favourable for seashells in which they still abound. We therefore maintain that this toponym, liberated from its appellative meaning, is derived from the Latin word *perna*, denoting a type of seashell, the English equivalent of mussel (*pinna marina*) which has, due to its form, derived from the Latin word *perna*, meaning 'foot' as we mentioned in the previous article (Marasović-Alujević/Luketin Alfirević 2011). This can be further corroborated by the pilot dating from 1822, in which the cove of *Perna*, located on the Peninsula of Pelješac, is referred to as *Porto Pedoccio*. The cove of *Pernatica* is located on the Island of Drvenik Veli. The sandy cove of *Pèrnastica* on the Island of Silba is considered by Skok (1950: 86) to have been named after the plant *brnistra* < Lat. *ginestra*. This plant seems to have motivated numerous toponyms on the Adriatic, though in this case it is also a word derived from the Latin name for that particular type of seashell. Another type of seashell, *lupar*, has obviously motivated a locality on the Island of Olipa to be named *Punta Lumpar*. The names of islands *Kamenišnjak* (*Veli* and *Mali*) are also associated by Skok with the name of another type of seashell, the oyster (Skok 1950: 152). We are of the opinion, however, that the etymology of the name is to be sought in the Croatian noun *kamen* < PS, OCS *kamy* (stone), which has motivated the names of a number of Adriatic islands, even if they are by no means characterised by oysters. The toponym *Omišalj* on the Island of Krk is derived by Skok from the Vulgar Latin word **a musclu* < *ad musculum* as a place located close to tiny seashells (mussels) along the coast (Skok 1950: 24), while Šimunović (2005: 51; 2009: 249) relates the toponym to the neighbouring island which used to be called *Almiss(u)*.

Furthermore, there are a number of toponyms derived from the appellation of stone, the majority of them being of Croatian origins. A large number of stone islands seem to contain in their names the root of this appellation: *Kameni*, *Kamenjak*, *Kamičac*, *Kamičić*, *Kamičina*, *Kaminjak*, *Kamenišnjak*, *Kamik* (diminutive of Cro. *kamen*, 'stone') or its augmentative *Kamičina* (a cape on the Island of Dugi Otok). The toponym of *Stinice* (< *stina* < *stijena*), recurring on the islands of Pag and Hvar, is a diminutive plural form of the Croatian noun *stijena* < PS, OCS **stěna* (rock). *Stiniva* is the name of coves located on the islands of Brač, Hvar, Vis, Kornati, and Korčula, whereas the coves on the islands of Šolta,

Kornati and Hvar, where there is also an islet of that name, are called *Stinjiva*. The Italian noun *macigno* (stone) < Lat. *māchina* < Greek *māchanā* is to be found in the root of the toponym *Macinj* (the Island of Rab). In the toponyms of *Maknel* on the Island of Krk and *Maknare* on the Island of Molat, denoting a place full of stone, Skok (1950: 96) believes that the pronunciation /k/ has been preserved in the place of /č/ (in Italian *macigno*), taking it as a reliable sign of the old Romance speech in Dalmatia. *Petrara*, the name of an islet of the Island of Hvar and a cove on the Island of Lastovo, is a toponym of Venetian origin (but the possibility of Old Dalmatian origin is not to be excluded, that is < Lat. *petrarium*), as are *Padrara* on the Island of Dugi Otok, *Padruara* on the Island of Premuda, *Petro*, a rocky hill on the Island of Mljet, *Petraia* on the Island of Pašman, *Petraia*, *Petroda* and *Petrola* on the Island of Brač, and others with the Italian word *pietra* (stone). The islet of *Lavdara* is associated by Skok (1950: 128) with the Latin word *lapidaria* (stone quarry), thereby believing the islet of *Lavsava* to contain a Celtic-Illyrian adjective preserved in the Latin expression *lapides lausiae* (slate), whereas *Karkarula* (as pronounced in the Krk-Romance dialect) on the Island of Krk is regarded by Skok (1950: 31) to have derived from the Romance *calcareola* < *calx*, *calcis* meaning ‘lime’. From the Latin word *frustum* (a type of plain stone) Skok (1950: 43) derives the toponym *Hrustica*, found on the islands of Cres and Krk. *Tufera*, a cove on the Island of Šćedro, has been named after *tufu* (< Ital. *tufu*), a type of stone (Marasović Alujević/Luketin Alfirević 2011), as has the cape of *Tuf* on the Island of Ist. The toponym *Brusje* on the Island of Hvar and *Brus* near Zadar derive from the Croatian appellative *brus* (< PS **brusъ*) which denotes a type of stone: “...petre que sclavonice brus moncupantur” (Codex Diplomaticus II: 50).

We consider the name of the islet of *Saskinja* close to the Island of Šolta (Marasović-Alujević 2011b) to be another stone-motivated toponym. As Slavic as it may appear at first sight, it is nevertheless Romance in origin and can be recognised in the Latin word *saxum* meaning ‘cliff’, ‘crag’, ‘reef’. The form of **sask* is derived by metathesis, adding the Croatian suffix *-inja* which can also be found in the toponym *Tatinja*.

A frequently recurrent toponym of *Garma*, meaning a ‘cave’ or ‘cavern’, is a geographic term of pre-Romance origin referring to the caves and rocks formed by abrasion of the sea. However, on the Island of Brač, this toponym is to be found both on the coast and in the hinterland, where it obviously denotes caves, e.g. *Garma*, *Grmine*, *Grma*, *Grmača*, *Grmašnjok*, *Grmavica*, *Grme*, *Krma*, *Grmena Jama*. The coastal toponyms of *Vela Grma*, *Mala Grma*, *Golubinja Grma*, *Garma na Vodi*, *Garma pod Crjene Stine*, *Pavina Grma* are located on the Island of Šolta. *Garmenjok Veli* and *Garmenjok Mali*, the names of islets close to the Island of Dugi Otok, seem to share the same origins, as do *Garmenjok*, a cliff on Kornati, Dugi Otok and the Island of Pašman; the islet of *Grmeni* on the Island of Žirje, the cove with a cave of *Garma* on the Island of Vrgada, *Garma* and *Garme* in the hinterland of the Island of Pašman, a part of coast abounding in caves on the Island of Ugljan and, finally, the cove of *Garma* on the Island of Šćedro, are all considered by Petar Skok and Petar Šimunović to have derived from the Indo-European word *balma* (cavern) (Šimunović 1972: 179; Skok 2005: 270), a hypothesis which we are not inclined to support. In the alleged pre-Indo-European substratum of *balma* = *garma* (with Dalmatian-Romance rotation // preceding a labial as opposed to // preceding a dental presupposes one Indo-European prototype **g^wolmā* for a paleo-Dalmatian, pre-Roman and pre-Greek, with the root **g^well-* (a variation of **gel-*).

The appellation *spilja* (cavern), Greek in origin, but adopted through Romance mediation, is extremely frequent in the Adriatic toponymy. *Spila*, *Spile*, *Spilice*, and *Spilišnjak* are toponyms on the Island of Brač, while *Spilski Dolac* is located on the Island of Šćedro, and *Spiliška* is a cove on the Island of Korčula. Interesting is the case of the toponym *Spli(t)ska Punta* on the Island of Šolta. Although it appears to be an adjective of the feminine gender

splitska < *Split* (the cape of Split), as is the case with the cove of *Splitska* on the neighbouring Island of Brač, it is in fact the adjective *spilska*, derived from *spila* (cavern) by metathesis. The appellation *mrkjenta*, used for a narrow coastal belt affected by high tide, is characteristically dark, almost black at the bottom. This noun, motivating numerous toponyms, Skok (1950: 227) attributes to a word of Dalmatian-Romance origins, derived from the Latin noun *murex*, *muricis* meaning ‘cliff’ > *ora muricenta*,¹ also claiming that this adjective had not so far been corroborated in other Romance languages, it being a specific feature of the old Romance speech in Dalmatia. The suffix *-enta* is a Romance adjectival suffix of the feminine gender.

The local population, however, does not perceive the appellation as being of Romance origin since in the meantime a lexical contamination occurred, i.e. vernacular paraetymology, due to the presence of the Croatian word *mrk* (< PS **morkъ*), meaning ‘dark’ or ‘black’. However, the Romance origins (Lat. *ora muricenta*) can be proved by the adjectival suffix of the feminine gender *-enta* (Skok 1950: 227). *Mrkjenta* is a cliff on the Island of Lastovo, (*Mrkijenta Crna* and *Mrkijenta Bijela*), a cape on the Island of Mljet, and two cliffs on the islands of Vrhovnjaci close to the Island of Lastovo, where the toponyms *Mrkjenta pod Glavat* and *Mrkjenta pod Smokvicu* can be found.

A certain number of toponyms in the Adriatic have emerged due to the form of terrain, especially the round one. These are invariably names of Greek, Latin, or Croatian origins. The name of the Island of *Žirje* has been derived from the Greek noun *gyros*, meaning ‘circle’ (Skok 1950: 150).

The Latin word *circinatus* (circular, rounded), has resulted in the toponyms of *Krklant* on the Island of Rab,² *Krknat* on the Island of Dugi Otok (with the cove of *Krknašica*), the islets of *Krknjaš Veli* and *Krknjaš Mali* close to the Island of Drvenik, as well as derivational words formed by the suffix *-aceus* < *circinus* (Skok 1950: 64). The Croatian noun *obruč* (< PS **obrŭčъ*) meaning ‘ring’ is the base of the toponym *Obručan* on the Island of Dugi Otok and *Obruč* on the Island of Brač, whereas *Kružić* < Croatian *krug* (< PS, OCS *krŭgъ*) meaning ‘circle’ is located on the Island of Tijat. The islet of *Obljak* < Croatian *obao* (< PS **obъlbъ*) meaning ‘round’, ‘oval’ is in the vicinity of the Island of Korčula. The toponym *Trtuša*, found on the islands of Iž and Kornati, Skok (1950: 111, 128) associates with the Latin adjective for the feminine gender *torta*, *tortuosa* (curved).

The Adriatic toponyms which have derived due to their position closing an area, a cove, or a bay, are particularly interesting in semantic terms. Consequently, we are inclined to think that the name of the islet of *Kluda* in the Bay of Trogir has been derived from the Latin verb *cludere*, meaning ‘to close’. Three islets closing the Bay of Trogir bear the same name, of which Skok says: “The old Romance toponym will be Kluda, probably the village of Klunda on the Island of Silba, derived from the Latin *columna*, for which the Croatian equivalents are *Stup* and *Stupa* (< PS **stъlpъ*, **stъlbъ*), meaning ‘column’” (Skok 1950: 165). However, the field research we have conducted has led us to the conclusion³ that the name originates from the Latin word *cludere*, 3, **clauditum* in the meaning of ‘to close’. Namely, the three Kludas, *Kluda*, *Sridnja Kluda* and *Gornja Kluda* (*Kluda*, *Middle Kluda* and *Upper Kluda*), form a barrier of a sort, i.e. they naturally close the Channel of Trogir. On the opposite side, the Channel is closed by the islet of *Zaporinovac*, whose name has obviously derived from the Croatian verb *zaporiti* (< PS **zaporъ*) meaning ‘to close’, which seems to further corroborate this hypothesis.⁴ It should, however, be mentioned that in the preserved name of *Kluda* the

¹ In Italy the noun *murex*, meaning ‘a big rock’, has contributed towards the toponym of *Morigine*.

² With the Dalmatian-Romance pronunciation /k/ preceding /e/ and /i/.

³ See Marasović-Alujević 2011, forthcoming.

⁴ On his chart (Skok, 1950) Skok misplaced it, replacing it with the Island of *Galera*, probably due to the fact that both islands have lighthouses.

characteristic transition of long /ū/ vowel via the Croatian /y/ into /i/ vowel (as in *Klis* < Lat. *clusa* or *Mirca* < Lat. *murū*) is not present, which elsewhere occurred before the 10th century, simply because the area close to Drvenik was not populated by Croats before the 15th century. This also accounts for the fact that the two smaller islets of the *Kluda* group have also been given the Croatian name of *Pišćena*, as an adjective derived from the noun *pijesak* (sand). In Italy, the Latin word **clauditum* has provided the base for the toponym *Claut*, i.e. from *clūsu*: *La chiusa*, *Chiusdino*, *Chioso*, *Clusone*, *Chiusura*, etc. (Pellegrini 2009).

The islet of *Zaklopatica* < Croatian *zaklopiti* (to cover) or *Ključ* (key) closes the eponymous cove and translates into Italian as *Porto Chiave* (key). On the Island of Hvar there are two coves called *Ključna* (< PS **ključь*). *Oključna* is another cove on the Island of Hvar, while *Oključina* on the Island of Vis was marked on an Austrian chart dating from 1896 and the pilot dating from 1922 as *Portochiave/Porto Chiave*. *Oključić* is a cape on the Island of Dugi Otok which closes the cove. The cove of *Zakloštica* < Croatian *zaklopiti* (to cover) is located on the Island of Zmajan, and the cove of *Zaklopica* on the Island of Pašman. The cliff *Štit* ('shield') on the Island of Mljet has the same etymology.

An exceptionally frequent toponym referring to the presence of water on the terrain of the Adriatic islands is *Šipnata*. It can be found on the islands of Kornati, Pašman, Dugi Otok, Vrgada, Rab (*Čifnata*), all of them extending along the coast. In these places seawater is mixed with fresh water. Petar Skok (1950: 139) claims that the name is the Latin derivation *siphonata*, originating from the Greek word *siphon* (water cylinder), which is also proved by the Latin suffix *-ata*. On the islands of Brač and Prvić the toponym *Šepurina* is found, referring to the places of fresh water sources close to the sea (compare cave with water called *Šipun* in the vicinity of Cavtat). Our hypothesis is that the name of the island of Čiovo located near Split does not derive from the anthroponym **Čih* (Skok 1950: 163) but from the same adjective *šipnata*, *čihata* ('brackish') < lat. *siphonata* that motivated the above mentioned toponyms. Therefore, Čiovo would be the island with brackish (Cro. *čihata*) water, abounding on the island. Among the Croatian toponyms motivated by fresh water sources we shall also mention the cove of *Vodenča* < Croatian (PS, OCS) *voda* (water) on the Island of Barbat, *Vodice* on the islands of Krk, Cres and Lopar, *Vodena* on the Island of Zlarin, and *Vodotoč* on the Island of Krk. The toponyms *Slatina(e)* are always located close to the sea and the water is brackish, as is the case with a number of localities on the islands of Brač, Lošinj, Rab, Pag, Olib, Silba, Dugi Otok, Mljet, Svetac and Čiovo.

Toponyms motivated by piracy on the Adriatic

The turbulent past of the Adriatic coast has indubitably left its trace upon the formation of toponyms. What has particularly intrigued us is the frequency of coves being named after pirates, for centuries navigating the Adriatic and pillaging the islands. It is for this reason that the population retreated into the hinterland, thereby avoiding the perils of the coast. On the islands' uppermost locations guard-houses and sentries were posted in order to monitor the pirates' movements, due to which the toponym *Straža* (guard) is found on the majority of Adriatic islands: Lošinj, Rab, Škrada, Dugi Otok, Pašman, Murter, Premuda and Brač, as well as a number of islands in the Zadar Archipelago. The same noun in its diminutive form of *Stražica* can be found on the islands of Krk, Ugljan, Rab, and Hvar. On the Island of Brač alone, the island being exceptionally exposed to pirate incursions, the following toponyms have been registered: *Straža*, *Stražišća*, *Stražbenica*, *Strazbenica*, *Stražena Gomila*, *Straževnik*, *Stražice*, *Stražišće*, *Strožica*, and *Podstražišće*. On the neighbouring Island of Šolta, whose coves provided shelter for numerous pirate ships, the toponyms *Vela Straža* and *Mala Straža* are found, while on the islands of Žirje, Mljet and Čiovo, the prevailing toponyms are *Stražinska*, *Stražište*, and *Stražnica* respectively.

The pirates seem to have inspired a large number of coves being named *Tatinja*, an elliptical adjective, since it implies the noun *bay*, derived from the Croatian appellation *tat* (< PS, OCS *tatъ*), meaning ‘thief’. There are a number of coves on the islands of Brač, Šolta, Čiovo, Hvar (a cove and a cape), Korčula, Mljet, Goli Otok, Zlarin, Žirje, Iž, and Pašman, whereas the same toponym, formed as a diminutive noun, refers to the cape of *Tatinjica* and the islets of *Tatinjik* (the islands of Lastovo and Dugi Otok), as well as the islets called *Tatišnjak* and *Tatinice*, located on the islands of Dugi Otok and Mljet respectively.

The Croatian synonym of *tat* (thief) is *lupež* (< PS **lupežъ*), which is why this noun appears in the names of a number of coves: *Lupeška* (the islands of Lakljan and Olipa), *Lupeška Dražica* (the Island of Cres), *Lupeški Porat* (the Island of Krk), and *Lupeščina* (the Island of Veli Iž). The Adriatic was also navigated by the Saracens, the North African pirates. On an Austrian chart dating back to 1830 the islet of Balkun in front of the Island of Žirje was plotted as *Serisana*. On the Island of Žirje there is a cove called *Tratinska* < *tatinjska*, which was marked in the 1822 pilot as *P. Saracino*, with the pertaining cape called *Punta Strasinchi*. Petar Skok (1950: 154) says that he does not know the relation existing between *Saraceno* and *Tratinska* and that the fishermen of Žirje should be asked about it. It is, however, clear that it is precisely the pirates who represent the connection between the two toponyms. On the Island of Rab the toponym *Sarakin* has obviously been inspired by the Saracen pirates, as well as a cove on the Island of Šolta *Stračinska* < **Saracenska*. A cove on the same island has been called *Senska* after the pirates of Senj, whereas the adjacent cove has been named *Golija*, after a type of ship. *Stračinišćica* is a cove on the Island of Korčula, whose name has probably also been inspired by the Saracen pirates.

It is interesting to note that the name of the cove *Gonoturska* on the Island of Mljet has also been formed from the Latin genitive plural *vallis ingannatorum* (‘the bay of frauds or impostors’). The 1822 pilot has it registered as *P. Ingannatore*. According to Skok (1950: 219) the transition from Romance unstressed *a* > *o* can be taken as an obvious proof that the toponym is much older than the 12th century. Between the Island of Olipa and the Peninsula of Pelješac a cave of *Bocca Ingannatore* is mentioned as *Portus Ingannatorum* in the documents of the Republic of Dubrovnik, i.e. as a place particularly suited for pirate incursions. The toponym of *Mali Vratnik* on the Island of Olipa is mentioned in the 1822 pilot as *Bocca di Porto Ladro*. A cove called *Turska Draga* (*Turkish Bay*) on the Island of Cres is claimed by Skok (1950: 42) to be unique, not to be found anywhere else on the Adriatic islands. There are, however, two small coves on the Island of Šolta, both called *Turski Bok*, and there is, moreover, an eponymous cove on the mainland in the vicinity of the bay Stari Trogir. By interviewing the local population in the course of our field research we have learnt that the adjective *turski* (Turkish) is identified with the adjective *gusarski* (pirate). This may be due to the fact that both Turks and pirates had once been perceived by the population as imminent danger, or perhaps because the pirates’ nationality was heterogeneous, whereas the North African pirates were, nominally at least, Turkish subjects (Safonov 1988: 58, 211).

Hagionymous toponyms with the reflection of the old dalmatian adjective *sanctus*

On the Adriatic islands, as is the case with the entire area extending along the Croatian coast, apart from numerous Croatian appellations formed by means of the adjective *svet* (saint): *Sv. Andrija*, *Sv. Jakov*, *Sv. Katarina*, *Sv. Mihajlo* etc., there are a number of settlements whose name starts with the prefix *sut-*, containing the name of a saint. These toponyms can only be found along the coast and never in the hinterland. The toponyms with a reflection of the Old Dalmatian adjective *sanctus*, being most thoroughly studied and dealt with by Valentin Putanec (1963: 137–175), extend along the East Adriatic coast, from the coast of Montenegro to North Dalmatia. They seem to be most densely concentrated around the Bay of Boka

Kotorska, the area of Dubrovnik, in the early mediaeval region of the Neretva, and particularly around the City of Split, including the Central Dalmatian islands, as well as the area of Zadar, with the North Dalmatian islands. Further westwards they gradually disappear, and are not to be found in the Dalmatian hinterland either. This phenomenon has not yet been completely scientifically explained, either from the linguistic or the historical point of view, but it is certainly characteristic that such toponyms can only be found around ancient Dalmatian cities, as we mentioned in a previous article (Marasović-Alujević 1987: 347). Upon their arrival on the Adriatic coast back in the 8th century, the Croats, having encountered the entirely Christianised Romance population, seem to have adopted the Romance prefixes *sut-/st-*, formed by contraction from the Old Dalmatian adjective *sanctus*, subsequently gaining the structural meaning of a prefix (the most usual forms being *sut-*, *sat-*, *st-*, *su-*, *suto-*, and *sta-*), although there exists an appropriate Croatian equivalent in the adjective *svet*, added to a saint's name. Thus, for example, by replacing the Romance *au* with the Slavic *av* the toponym of **Stobreč** < Lat. *Sanctu Laurentiu* is formed. The most frequent toponyms of this type have been formed from the name of the Holy Virgin (*Sancta Maria*): **Stomorica** (the islands of Brač and Pag), **Stomorice** (the Island of Brač), **Stomorina** (the Island of Šolta), **Stomorija** (the Island of Šolta) **Stomorska** (the Island of Šolta), **Stomorini Lazi** (the Island of Olib), **Sutorišće** < *Sutmora, Sancta Maria* (the Island of Silba), **Stomorin Otok** (the Island of Kornati). **Sùcuraj** on the Island of Hvar has been derived from Latin *Sanctus Georgius*, whereas **Sudujmi** and **Sudujan** on the Island of Vrgada originate from Latin *Sanctus Domnius*. The toponyms of **Sudurac**, **Sudurađ** < Lat. *Sanctus Georgius* are found on the islands of Šipan, Mljet, and Lastovo, and **Sumratin** on the Island of Lapad. The toponyms dedicated to the cult of Saint Peter seem to be particularly frequent on the Croatian islands; consequently the name of **Supetar** < Lat. *Sanctus Petrus* is found on the islands of Brač, Rab, Čiovo, Šolta, and an islet in front of Cavtat, while the one in front of the Island of Lastovo is called **Supetrić**. **Superka** is a toponym derived from Latin *Sancta Petr(onil)* and is also located in front of Cavtat. **Sopokrač** < Lat. *Sanctus Pancratius* is found on the islands of Šipan and Mljet, **Sutivan** < Lat. *Sanctus Johannes* on the islands of Brač and Mljet, while a place on the islands of Cres and Olib is known as **Stivan**. **Sustipan** < Lat. *Sanctus Stephanus* is on the Island of Dugi Otok, **Sušćepan** is an islet in front of Lapad, whereas **Sustipanac** is an islet in front of Pirovac. **Sutmiho** < Lat. *Sanctus Michaelis* is found on the islands of Mljet and Lopud, **Sutulja** < Lat. *Sanctus Elias* on the islands of Brač, Mljet and Šipan with an unexpected transition *i > u* (Skok 1950: 238), as opposed to the toponym **Sutilija** on the Island of Mljet. The toponym **Sutvara**, to be found on the islands of Brač, Hvar, Korčula, and Šipan, seems to demonstrate, according to Skok, a Byzantine pronunciation of the name of Saint Barbara (Skok 1950: 206). The same saint has obviously also inspired the toponym **Sutvôrje** (< Lat. *Sancta Barbara*). The toponyms **Sutandrija** and **Sutvid** are found on the Peninsula of Pelješac, **Sutvid** also on the islands of Brač and Krk, **Suvid** on the Island of Rab, and **Suviški** on the Island of Cres. The cove of **Sukošan Draga** on the Island of Pag has obviously been named after Sanctus Cassianus, while **Supokrač**, its name derived from Latin *Sanctus Pancratius*, is on the Island of Šipan. Interesting is the toponym of **Sutomišica**, explained by Skok as a derivation of the name of *Sancta Eufemia* (Skok 1950: 106), while Šimunović derives from *Sanctus Michaelis* and is located on the Island of Ugljan, which was once known as *Insula Sancti Michaelis* (Šimunović 2005: 127). The toponym **Citotij** on the Island of Dugi Otok appears to be rather obscure and unrecognisable; however, it seems to be concealing the name of Saint Victorius (Šimunović 1970: 124). **Sudujmi**, derived from Latin *Sanctus Domnius*, is located on the Island of Vrgada. The toponym **Sumàrtin** on the Island of Brač is listed by Petar Skok under the toponyms also formed as a reflection of the Latin word *sanctus*, although it obviously does not indicate a metathesis of liquids which is to be expected in Romance-Church toponyms (1950: 72, 175). The Old Dalmatian language is

characterised by the metathesis of liquids in Romance loanwords (*Mratinjac* < *Martin*, *Sumratin* on the Island of Lapad). Wherever this phenomenon is not found in the Romance loanwords, according to Petar Šimunović (1972: 175), it means that the toponym was adopted later, certainly after the 10th century, when the metathesis of liquids was no longer valid. This is obviously the case with the toponym *Sumartin*, a relatively new, actually most recent settlement of the Island of Brač, starting to grow by “the arrival of refugees from the coast of Makarska to the cove of *Sitno* on Saint Martin’s Day, i.e. 11th November 1646. The refugees apparently found a ruin resembling a church, which they promptly renovated and dedicated to Saint Martin. The village was called *Vrbráča*, since when, patterned after other villages on the Island of Brač, it has been called *Sumartin*” (Šimunović 1972: 123).

This Romance group of toponyms is older than the Slavic ones containing the adjective *svet* (saint), as well as those toponyms which have gradually lost the adjective over time, although they obviously originate from the names of saints. These are invariably more recent Croatian toponyms on the Adriatic islands, as for example *Fumija* < Cro. *Sveta Eufemija* (Saint Euphemia), an islet off the Island of Čiovo, *Stipanska* < Cro. *Sveti Stjepan* (Saint Stephen), an islet and a cove on the Island of Šolta, *Pelegrin* < Cro. *Sveti Pelegrin* (Saint Pellegrino), the toponym found on the islands of Hvar, Veli Otok, and Ugljan;⁵ *Mavaršćica* < Cro. *Sveti Mavar*, a cove on the Island of Čiovo, *Osibova* < Cro. *Sveti Josip* (Saint Joseph), is the toponym found on the islands of Hvar and Brač, where the cove of *Lovrečina* < Cro. *Sveti Lovre* (Saint Laurence) is also located. The islet of *Majsan* is named after Saint Maximus, *Barbat* < Cro. *Sveti Barbat* on the Island of Pag, and *Potomje* < Cro. *Sveti Toma* (Saint Thomas) on the Peninsula of Pelješac. Similar examples can also be found on the mainland all along the Adriatic coast, as for example *Dujmovica*, *Dujmovača* < Cro. *Sveti Dujam* (Saint Doimus) (Split), *Lovrinac* < Cro. *Sveti Lovre* (Saint Laurence) (Split), *Smijovača* < Cro. *Sveti Mihovil* (Saint Michael) (Split), *Nofar* < Cro. *Sveti Onofrije* (Saint Onophrius) (Kaštela), *Bene* < Cro. *Sveti Benedikt* (Saint Benedict) (Split), as well as a number of other toponyms whose names have been forgotten due to the fact that the respective churches were destroyed (Marasović/Marasović-Alujević 2005: 150).⁶

Conclusion

The most frequent toponyms of the Croatian Adriatic islands have been classified into three categories: toponyms motivated by the characteristics of soil, toponyms motivated by piracy in the Adriatic, and hagionyms exhibiting a reflection of the Old Dalmatian adjective *sanctus*. The criterion of selection has been of a semantic nature.

The toponyms motivated by the composition of soil, relating to sand, mud or fresh water sources are heterogeneous, representing a conjunction of pre-Croatian Illyrian and Romance toponyms, encountered by the Croatian population upon their arrival at the Adriatic coast, and more recent Slavic, i.e. Croatian, names. Due to their frequency we have particularly separated the ones originating from the Latin word *siccus*. Furthermore, exceptionally frequent are the ones motivated by the noun ‘sand’, of mixed origins, both Latin and Croatian (e.g. *Rina*, *Sabuša*, *Piščena*, *Milna*), as well as the noun ‘stone’ (*Kaminjak*, *Stinjiva*, *Macinj*, *Petraia*). To this category the appellation *garma* can also be added, frequently found on the

⁵ We are of the opinion that the existence of church remnants should be archaeologically verified on the Island of Šolta as well, with respect to the name of a cape on that island.

⁶ In the early Mediaeval archaeological topography of Dalmatia other examples of toponyms derived from saints’ names are known, formed by direct adoption of hagionyms or their nominalization. The hagionym *Mijoljača* at Brnaze in the vicinity of Sinj has been derived after the name of the Early Croatian Saint Michael’s church, and at the eponymous Early Croatian church at Pridraga close to Novigrad the hagionym *Mijovilovac* is found. One of the Early Mediaeval archaeological sites in the historic core of Dubrovnik has been named *Na Andriji*, obviously after Saint Andrew’s church. (Marasović/Marasović-Alujević 2005: 151)

Croatian Adriatic islands, whereas the configuration of the terrain along the coast has influenced on numerous occasions the formation of toponyms, as have the appellations *spil(j)a* and *mrkjenta*.

Since piracy represents a significant part of the history of the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, it has played a considerable role in East Adriatic toponomastics. Consequently, *Straža*, *Tatinja*, *Lupeška*, *Stračinska*, and *Golija* are extremely frequent coastal toponyms of the Adriatic islands.

Toponyms containing a reflection of the Old Dalmatian adjective *sanctus*, adopted by the Croats and adjusted to their own phonologic and morphologic systems, with an addition of a Croatian name of the saint in question, preceded by the Croatian adjective *svet* (saint), can be exclusively found along the coast, in the immediate vicinity of the sea.

The toponyms selected and discussed in this paper bear witness to the Romanic and Slavic community in these areas, emphasising the notions and concepts significant for life on the coast and at sea, once again proving to be one of the most valuable cultural and historic and also linguistic monuments.

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