Observations on Latin and Latin-mediated loans in Serbo-Croatian

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09. July 2010.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Latin-mediated?

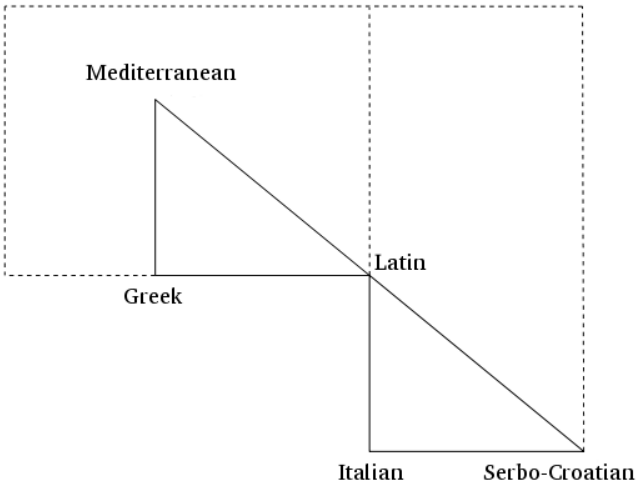


Figure 1: Mediation Maze

2 Loans and Paradigms 1

2.1 Criteria

Matasović takes into account only those Romance loans which have been loaned before one or more of the following changes took place in Slavic: 1. *a > *o*; 2. *o > *u*; 3. *ū > *y*; 4. *k, *g > *c, dz* in front of front vowels; 5. *sj > *š*; 6. *tj > *ć*; 7. *ol, *or > *la, ra*; 8. *el, *er > *lě, rě*.

2.2 Corpus A: Vulgar Latin Data

I give here the data exactly like presented in Matasović (2007) with some exceptions:

1. If the other data conforms, I list only the crown-evidence which is usually sourced back to AR; if it does not conform, I list the disturbance as well.[1]

[1] Abbreviations in this section: AR - *Akademski rječnik*; BI - *Broz-Iveković*; ČDL - *Čakavisch-deutsches Lexikon*; JR - *Jurišić*; SK - *Skok*; VI - *Vinja*.

2. I have capitalized all Latin words for reasons of traditional scholarship and standardized it in writing (*u* and *v* as different signs) but have not interfered in it in any other way.

2.2.1 Common Nouns

1. AR kòleda,-u, *f.* "carol" (a) < CALENDAE
2. AR kolòbār,-ára, *m.* "ring" (b) < COLUMBAR
3. AR kònoba,-u, *f.* "tavern" (a) < CANABAE
4. AR krȁs,-a, *m.* "karst" (a) < *CARSU
5. AR lȉgnja,-u, *f.* "squid" (a) < LOLLIGINE[2]
6. BI olìgānj,-ánja, *m.* "squid" (b) < LOLLIGINE[3]
7. AR lòćika,-u, *f.* "lettuce" (a) < LACTŪCA
8. AR ljûlj,-a, *m.* "darnel" (a) < LOLIU
9. ČDL mĩr, mīrà, *m.* "wall" (b) < MŪRU
10. AR òcat,-cta, *m.* "vinegar" (b) < ACĒTU
11. AR òltār,-ára, *m.* "altar" (b) < ALTĀRE
12. AR plȍča,-u, *f.* "plate" (a) < G *pláks* [4]
13. AR pògača,-u, *f.* "bannock" (a) < FOCĀCEA
14. Sk pògan,-a *m.* "pagan" (a) < PĀGĀNU
15. Sk pòlača,-u, *f.* "palace" (a) < *PALATIA[5]
16. Sk pȕč,-a, *m.* "well" (a) < PUTEU
17. AR ràčūn,-úna, *m.* "bill" (b) < RATIŌNE
18. AR rȁža,-u, *f.* "skate" (a) < RAIA
19. AR rȁka,-u, *f.* "grave" (a) < ARCA
20. Sk rùsalje,-āljā, *f.* "Pentecost" (a) < ROSĀLIA
21. AR víno,-a, *n.* "wine" (b) < VĪNU
22. AR vȓč,-ŕča, *m.* "beaker" (b) < URCEU
23. AR vȓt,-ŕta, *m.* "garden" (b) < HORTU
24. AR vŕtača,-u, *f.* "sinkhole" (a) < HORTĀCEA
25. AR vȓtal,-tla, *m.* "garden" (a) < HORTULU
26. AR žȁkan,-a, *m.* "deacon" (a) < DIĀCONU
27. ČDL žȅžin,-a, *m.* "fast" (a) < IĒIŪNIU

pro: *exx.* 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

contra: *exx.* 4, 8, 14, 16, 25, 26, 27.

2.2.2 Place Names

1. AR Brâč,-áča *m.* (b) < BRATTIA

[2] LŌL(L)ĪGINE
[3] See footnote 2.
[4] PLATEA
[5] PALĀTIA

2. AR Càvtat,-a, *m.* (a) < CĪVITĀTE
3. AR Cètina,-ē, *f.* (a) < CENTŌNA
4. AR Crès,-a, *m.* (a) < CREPSA
5. AR Dráva,-u, *f.* (b) < DRAVU[6]
6. AR Dúvno,-a, *m.* (b) < DELMINIU
7. AR Hvâr,-ára, *m.* (b) < PHARIA
8. AR Kř̀k,-ř̀ka, *m.* (b) < CURICU
9. AR Kȕpa,-u, *f.* (a) < COLAPE
10. AR Làbīn,-ína, *m.* (b) < ALBŌNA
11. AR Mljȅt,-a, *m* (a) < MELETA
12. AR Nàdīn,-ína, *m.* (b) < NEDINU[7]
13. AR Nîn,-ína, *m.* (b) < (AE)NŌNA
14. AR Nòrīn,-ína, *m.* (b) < NARŌNA
15. AR Òmīš,-íša, *m.* (b) < ALMISSA
16. AR Pȅča,-u, *f.* (a) < PETTIA
17. AR Plȍče,-ôčā *f.* (a) < PLATEA[8]
18. AR Plòmīn,-ína, *m.* (b) < FLANŌNA
19. AR Pòlača,-u, *f.* (a) < *PALATIA[9]
20. AR Pòstira,-u, *f.* (a) < PASTŪRA
21. SK Povljȁna,-u, *f.* (a) < PAULANU[10]
22. AR Pròmina,-u, *f.* (a) < PROMŌNA
23. AR Râb,-ába, *m.* (b) < ARBA
24. AR Rȁša,-u, *f.* (a) < ARSIA
25. AR Rîm,-íma, *m.* (b) < RŌMA
26. AR Sáva,-u, *f.* (b) < SAVU[11]
27. VI S̄ìs,-ìsa, *m.* (b) < SŪRSU
28. AR Skràdīn,-ína, *m.* (b) < SCARDŌNA
29. AR Sòlīn,-ína, *m.* (b) < SALŌNA
30. AR Sȕsak,-ska *m.* (a) < SANSACU
31. AR Trîlj,-ílja, *m.* (b) < TELŪRI
32. AR Trògīr,-íra, *m.* (b) < TRAGŪRIU
33. AR Vîr,-íra, *m.* (b) < ŪRA
34. AR Vîs,-ísa, *m.* (b) < ISSA
35. AR Žnjân,-ána, *m.* (b) < JUNIANU [12]

pro: *exx.* 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35.

contra: *exx.* 2, 4, 5, 11, 26, 30.

[6] DRĀVU
[7] NEDĪNU
[8] See footnote 4.
[9] See footnote 5.
[10] PAULĀNU
[11] SĀVU
[12] IŪNIĀNU

2.3 Claims

Claim 1a:

> "The distribution of nouns and toponyms between the paradigms A and B seems to be rather clear-cut, and the best predicator of the AP appears to be gender. Namely, nearly all the feminine nouns belong to AP A, while masculines […] mostly belong to AP B." (Matasović 2007:112)

Claim 1b:

> "Although the majority of masculine nouns belong to AP B in our corpus, there are some that are accentuated according to AP A. […] However there are apparently no feminines belonging to AP B, which is a completely unexpected finding; the contrast between feminines and masculines is well illustrated with the opposition between the hydronym *Cètina*, which is from L *Centōna*, and belongs to AP A, and numerous toponyms such as *Sòlīn*, which is from L *Salōna*, and belongs to AP B. The only conditioning factor that could explain the difference in accentuation between these two words seems to be the gender they have in Slavic." (Matasović 2007:113)

Claim 2:

> "Although some cases are not completely clear, and accentual data are incomplete for some nouns, there do not appear to be any early loanwords belonging to AP C […]" (Matasović 2007:112)

3 An Intermission

3.1 Accent in Latin and Early Romance

Nom.	rósa	pópulus	rátio	párs	pórtus	rḗs
Gen.	…	…	ratiṓnis	…	…	…
Dat.	…	…	…	…	…	…
Acc.	…	…	…	…	…	…
Voc.	…	…	rátio	…	…	…
Abl.	…	…	ratiṓne	…	…	…
nom.	…	…	…	…	…	…
gen.	rosā́rum	populṓrum	…	…	…	…
dat.	…	…	…	…	…	…
acc.	…	…	…	…	…	…
voc.	…	…	…	…	…	…
abl.	…	…	…	…	…	…

4 Loans and Paradigms 2

4.1 Corpus B: Early Dalmatian Data

4.1.1 Common Nouns

This corpus consists of Dalmatian loans from Dubrovnik dialect. Etymologies are quoted mostly according to [11, 13, 14, 15] in the References.

1. àrkuo,-la, *m.* "dish" (a) < ARCULU
2. ậrla,-u, *f.* "yard" (a) < ĀRULA
3. bȉtva,-u, *f.* "beet" (a) < BĒTA
4. bjȅčva,-u, *f.* "sock" (a) < VITTEA
5. bosíok,-òka, *m.* "basil" (b) < BASILICU (*βασιλικόν*)
6. bȕklo,-a, *n.* "hole" (a) < *BUCCULU (BUCCA)
7. bȕkva,-u, *f.* "bogue" (a) < *BŌCA (*βῶξ*)
8. bȗs,-a, *m.* "barberry" (a) < BUXU
9. dûmna,-u, *f.* "nun" (a) < DOMINA
10. dùpīn,-ína, *m.* "dolphin" (b) < DELPHĪNU (*δελφῖς*)
11. đȋr,-a, *m.* "stroll" (c) < GȲRU (*γῦρος*)
12. gậjba,-u, *f.* "case" (a) < CAVEA
13. gàrbūn,-úna, *m.* "charcoal" (b) < CARBŌNE
14. grȁsta,-u, *f.* "vase" (a) < GASTRA (*γάστρα*)
15. gȕčula,-u, *f.* "goiter" (a) < *GOTIOLA
16. gûń,-a, *m.* "skirt" (c) < GONNA
17. jȁjer,-a, *m.* "air" (a) < ĀERE
18. jậrbuo,-ula, *m.* "mast" (a) < *ARBULU (ARBOR)
19. jȁstog,-a, *m.* "lobster" (a) < ASTACU (*ἄστακος*)
20. jȁvra,-u, *f.* "mullet" (a) < AUREA
21. jègulạ,-u, *f.* "eel" (a) < ANGUILA
22. kậntor,-a, *m.* "black seabream" (a) < CANTHARU (*κάνθαρος*)
23. kȁpula,-u, *f.* "onion" (a) < *CEPOLLA (CAEPA)
24. kàrginja,-u, *f.* "fig" (a) < CĀRICA (*sc.* FĪCUS)
25. kèlomna,-u, *f.* "pillar" (a) < COLUMNA
26. kèrostat,-a, *m.* "candle" (a) < CĒROSTATU
27. klȁk,-a, *m.* "whitewash" (a) < CALCE
28. klậvstro,-a, *n.* "cloister" (a) < CLAUSTRU
29. kjêrna,-u, *f.* "grouper" (a) < ACHĒRNA (*ἄχαρνος*)
30. kř̂b,-a, *m.* "shi drum" (a) < CORVU
31. krješva,-u, *f.* "cherry" (a) < CERASU
32. kř̂klo,-a, *n.* "dress ornament" (a) < CIRCULU
33. lòčika,-u, *f.* "lettuce" (a) < LACTŪCA
34. lòkậrda,-u, *f.* "mackerel" (a) < LACERTA
35. lòmbrak,-a, *m.* "peacock wrasse" (a) < *LABRACU (*λάβραξ*)
36. lòpiža,-u, *f.* "scorch" (a) < LAPIDEU
37. lùkjērna,-u, *f.* "lamp" (a) < LŪCERNA
38. lukjèrnậr,-ậra, *m.* "lamp" (b) < LŪCERNĀRIU

39. màšaḷ,-šḷa, *m.* "male" (a) < MĀSCULU
40. mîr,-íra, *m.* "wall" (b) < MŪRU
41. mjênduo,-ula, *m.* "almond" (a) < MENDULU (*ἀμύγδαλον*)
42. mȓča,-u, *f.* "myrrh" (a) < MYRTEA
43. mȓkjēnta,-u, *f.* "rock" (a) < *MŪRICENTA (MŪREX)
44. mȓnạ̄r,-ạ́ra, *m.* "sailor" (b) < MARINĀRIU
45. mùnīta,-u, *f.* "money" (a) < MONĒTA
46. mùrina,-u, *f.* "moray" (a) < MŪRAENA
47. nàrikla,-u, *f.* "sea-snail" (a) < *NĀRĪTULA (*νηρίτης*)
48. nèpūča,-u, *f.* "niece" (a) < *NEPŌTIA (NEPTIS)
49. nèpūt,-a, *m.* "nephew" (a) < NEPOTE
50. òblạ̀nta,-u, *f.* "host" (a) < *OBLĀTA (OFFERŌ)
51. òligań,-gńa, *m.* "squid" (a) < LŌL(L)ĪGINE
52. òrmạ̄r,-ạ́ra, *m.* "wardrobe" (b) < ARMĀRIU
53. òvrata,-u, *f.* "snapper" (a) < AURĀTA
54. pȁḷe,-ậḷạ̄, *pl. f.* "sawdust" (a) < PALEA
55. pȅča,-u, *f.* "a lot" (a) < PETTIA
56. pìńuo,-úla, *m.* "pine cone" (b) < *PĪNEŌLU (PĪNUS)
57. pìžuo,-úla, *m.* "stone bench" (b) < PODIŌLU
58. plàkjēr,-éra, *m.* "satisfaction" (b) < *PLACĒRE
59. plậnta,-u, *f.* "plant" (a) < PLANTA
60. plȁńa,-u, *f.* "plane" (a) < PLĀNIA
61. pluvìjō,-ijạ́la, *m.* "raincoat" (b) < PLUVIĀLE
62. pòlača,-u, *f.* "palace" (a) < *PALĀTIA (PALĀTUM)
63. prȉkla,-u, *f.* "fritter" (a) < *FRITULA
64. pròsuḷa,-u, *f.* "pan" (a) < *FRĪXŌRIA (FRĪGŌ)
65. pȕč,-ùča, *m.* "well" (b) < PUTEU
66. rȅča,-u, *f.* "net" (a) < *RĒTIA (RĒTE)
67. rečìjạ̄k,-ạ́ka, *m.* "throwing net" (b) < RETIACULU
68. rèkesa,-u, *f.* "ebb" (a) < RECESSU
69. ròmjēnča,-u, *f.* "dish" (a) < *(AE)RAMENTIA (AËS)
70. saḷàtūr,-úra, *m.* "pawl" (b) < *SERATŌRIU (SERA)
71. sàplūn,-úna, *m.* "soap" (b) < *SABULŌNE (SABULUM)
72. sȉglo,-a, *n.* "colander" (b) < SITULU
73. sȉpa,-u, *f.* "cuttlefish" (a) < SĒPIA
74. sòlạ̄r,-ạ́ra, *m* "balcony" (b) < SŌLĀRIU
75. spȁrog,-a, *m.* "asparagus" (a) < ASPARAGU (*ἀσπάραγος*)
76. sûmpor,-a, *m.* "sulfur" (a) < SULPURE
77. têmpla,-ạ̄, *pl. n.* "temples" (a) < TEMPORA
78. trȁkta,-u, *f.* "net" (a) < *TRACTA (TRAHŌ)
79. trȉgla,-u, *f.* "red mullet" (a) < *TRIGLA (*τρίγλη*)
80. tȕnj,-a, *m.* "tuna" (a) < THUNNUS (*θύννος*)
81. vôga,-u, *f.* "alga" (a) < ALGA
82. žmûo,-úla, *m.* "beaker" (b) < *MODIŌLU (MODIUS)
83. …

pro: *exx.* 2, 3, 4, 5 ,7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 19, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 78, 79, 81, 82

contra: *exx.* 1, 6, 8, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 26, 28, 30, 32, 35, 39, 41, 49, 51, 72, 75, 76, 77, 80

5 Analysis

5.1 Paradigm Distribution

On the basis of corpora A and B we arrange the words according to paradigm and gender affiliation.

5.1.1 Feminines

AP (a) kòleda, kònoba, lȉgnja, lòćika, plȍča, pògača, pòlača, rȁka, rȁža, rùsalje, vȓtača; ȃrla, bȉtva, bjȅčva, bȕkva, dûmna, gȃjba, grȁsta, gȕčula, jȁvra, jègulja, kȁpula, kàrginja, kèlomna, kjêrna, krješva, lòčika, lòkā̀rda, lòpiža, lùkjērna, mȓča, mȓkjēnta, mùnīta, mùrina, nàrikla, nèpūča, òblā̀nta, òvrata, pȁlje, pȅča, plā̀nta, plȁńa, pòlača, prȉkla, pròsulja, rȅča, rèkesa, ròmjēnča, sȉpa, trȁkta, trȉgla, vôga.

5.1.2 Masculines

AP (a) krȁs, ljûlj, pògan, pȕč, vȓtal, žȁkan, žȅžin; àrkuo, bȕs, jȁjer, jā̀rbuo, jȁstog, kā̀ntor, kèrostat, klȁk, kȓb, lòmbrak, mȁšaļ, mjênduo, nȅpūt, òligań, spàrog, sûmpor, tȕnj.

AP (b) kolòbār, mȋr, òcat, olìgānj, òltār, ràčūn, vȓč, vȓt; bosíok, dùpīn, gàrbūn, lukjèrnā̀r, mîr, mȓnā̀r, òrmā̀r, pìńuo, pìžuo, plàkjēr, pluvìjō, pȕč, rečijā̀k, saļàtūr, sàplūn, sòlā̀r, žmûo.

AP (c) đȋr, gûń.

5.1.3 Neuters

AP (a) bȕklo, klā̀vstro, kȓklo, sȉglo, têmpla.

AP (b) víno.

6 Conclusion

6.1 True or False?

True ultimae were fully pronounced:

LACTŪCA [lakt'u:ka] ALGA ['alga] LŪCERNA [lu:k'erna] AURATA [awr'a:ta]

False ultimae were silent (or somehow semi-pronounced):

ALTĀRE [alt'a:r] RATIŌNE [rati'o:n] LŪCERNĀRIU [lu:kern'a:r] PODIŌLU [podi'o:l]

I denote false ultimae in lower case: ALTARe, RATIONe, LUCERNARiu, PODIOLu

6.2 The Two Towers

(a) feminines
ậrla,-u < ÁRULA
dûmna,-u < DÓMINA
lòčika,-u < LACTŰCA
òvrata,-u < AURÁTA
rȅča,-u < RḖTIA
vôga,-u < ÁLGA
…
…

(a) masculines	(b) **masculines**
vȓtal,-tla < HÓRTULu	òltār,-ára < ALTÁRe
žȁkan,-a < DIÁCONu	ràčūn,-úna < RATIṒNe
jȁjer,-a < ÁERe	pìžuo,-úla < PODIŐ́Lu
jȁstog,-a < ÁSTACu	gàrbūn,-úna < CARBŐ́Ne
kậntor,-a < CÁNTHARu	lukjèrnậr,-ậra < LŪCERNÁ́Riu
jậrbuo,-ula < ÁRBULu	saļàtūr,-úra < SERATŐ́Riu
lòmbrak,-a < LÁBRACu	pluvìjō,-ijậla < PLUVIÁ́Le
ôṛxan,-a < ÓRPHANu	sàplūn,-úna < SABULŐ́Ne
àrkuo,-ula < ÁRCULu	dùpīn,-ína < DELPHÍ́Nu
kèrostat,-a < CERÓSTATu	mȉrnậr,-ậra < MARINÁ́Riu
mȁšaļ,-šļa < MÁSCULu	òrmậr,-ậra < ARMÁ́Riu
mjênduo,-ula < MÉNDULu	pìńuo,-úla < PĪNEŐ́Lu
nȅpūt,-a < NÉPOTe	sòlậr,-ậra < SŌLÁ́Riu
spȁrog,-a < ASPÁRAGu	žmûo,-úla < MODIŐ́Lu
sûmpor,-a < SÚLPURe	plàkjēr,-éra < PLACÉ́Re
…	…

7 Abstract

In this paper I shall discuss the findings that R. Matasović presented at *IWoBA* 1. In the paper entitled "On the accentuation of the earliest Latin and Romance loanwords in Slavic" he argues that paradigm affiliation can be easily predicated on the basis of gender, so that *a*-stems (feminines) are affiliated to a.p. A and *o*-stems (masculines) to a.p. B while there are no a.p. C loans. Regardless of certain points of disagreement, what I intend to do in light of this discovery is, first, corroborate the corpus of evidence supporting the claim, then, to account for some counter-evidence disapproving it. More importantly, I intend to address the issue of codependent criteria, in terms of accentology and etymology, and their mutual role in the matters of stratification of Latin, Latin-mediated and Neo-Latin loans in Serbo-Croatian.

8 Abbreviations

AP – Accent paradigm
Dalm. – Dalmatian
f. – feminine
G – Greek
It. – Italian
L – Latin
m. – masculine
Mdt. – Mediterranean
n. – neuter
pl. – plural
sg. – singular
SCr. – Serbo-Croatian
Ven. – Venetian
VL – Vulgar Latin

References

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