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Slovene *štépselj* and *štofeljc*

Tako sln. *štépselj* -na m 'majhen, debelušen človek' kot Sn *štofeljc* -a m 1. 'zamašek' 2. *ekspr.* 'majhen človek' sta mladi nemški izposojenki, katerih predlogi sta etimološko povezani besedi z različnima sufiksoma: bav. n. *Stepsl* -s m 1. 'zamašek' 2. *ekspr* 'majhen, debelušen človek' in bav. n. *Stoppel* -s m 'isto'. Spremljajo ju izposojeni glagoli, ki vplivajo na njune fonetične lastnosti. V nekaterih drugih slovanskih jezikih in v madžarščini poznajo podobne izposojenke. Vsi ti jeziki so tako kot slovenščina sosedi bavarsko-avstrijske nemščine, ki mora torej biti neposredni jezik dajalec.

Both Sn *štépselj* -na m 'a small, plump person' and Sn *štofeljc* -a m 1. 'something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening' 2. *expr* 'a small person' are recent German loanwords, based on two etymologically connected words with different suffixes: BA *Stepsl* -s m 1. 'something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening' 2. *expr* 'a small, plump person' and Bav *Stoppel* -s m 'idem' respectively. They are accompanied by a group of loaned verbs, which influence their phonetic features. There are similar loans in some other Slavic languages and in Hungarian, like Slovene all neighbors of Bavarian Austrian, which proves to be their direct source.

1. The Sn word *štépselj* -na m (é) began to attract my attention when historian Branko Marušič inquired about its meaning.^{1,2} He came across this word in an article entitled *V Gorico!*, written by a Slovene soldier in the first world war Metod Golmajer, published on the 25th of October 1928 in *Slovenec* (No. 245): *Spričo vsega tega smo se mi zadržali popolnoma mirno, mnogo je pa padlo pikrih na račun poljubljajočih se "štépselnov", katerih so bila samo kapa in ušesa...* The word is not listed in the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (SSKJ), nor was I able to find it in the archives that served as the basis for this dictionary. Evidently it isn't a standard Slovene word. Considering the fact that Metod Golmajer lived in Ljubljana, I was not suprised to learn that the majority of my sources that are familiar with the word also comes from Ljubljana. Lučka Uršič, Alenka Porenta, Zvonka Praznik, Martin Ahlin and Andreja Hočevár, all from Ljubljana, use Sn *štépselj* -na m in the meaning 'a small, plump person' with a slightly pejorative or humorous connotation. I interviewed 18 other sources from other parts of Slovenia, but only Milka Špindlar from Maribor and Jan Vinkl from Mežica were familiar with this word in a slightly different meaning, *expr* 'a small person'. M. Špindlar uses the alternative genitive

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² The word material quoted is marked with signs for dynamic stress. The pitch-accent is marked in parenthesis.

form *štépslja*, which is usually the other option with German loanwords in Slovene, ending in *-elj* (compare *kremplja* : *krempeljna* in Bajec 1950: 35).

1.1 Sn *štépselj* ‘a small, plump person’ proves to be a loan from BA *Stepsel* -s m 1. ‘something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening’, 2. expr ‘a small, plump person’ (Wehle 1980: 266), which is a delabialized version of NHG *Stöpsel* -s m ‘idem’, the latter being first attested in the 17th century (Grimm 1999: XIX, 355–7; Küpper 1984: 2748). NHG *Stöpsel* is a derivation with the suffix *-sel* from the NLG/NMG verb *stoppen* ‘to plug up’. Deverbal nouns like *Anhängsel* ‘a pendant’, *Einschiebsel* ‘an insertion’ or *Rätsel* ‘a riddle, a mystery’ that follow the same word-formation pattern as *Stöpsel* are of the neuter gender. The masculine gender of *Stöpsel* is therefore supposed to be the result of the association with the following synonymous nouns: *Stopfen* -s m ‘something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening’, *Korken* -s m ‘idem’, *Pfropfen* -s m ‘idem’ (Pfeifer 2000: 1369–70).

2. Besides NHG *Stöpsel*, BA *Stepsel* there are some other synonymous deverbal nouns that comprise a word family in German and yield additional loans in Slovene. First let us examine these NHG nouns: originally Low German, today mainly Bavarian *Stoppel* -s m 1. ‘something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening’, 2. expr ‘a small person’ (Grimm 1999: XIX, 343; Küpper 1984: 2747; *Duden* 2001: 1525; Schierer-Zauner 2002: 78) and NHG *Stöpfel* -s m 1. ‘something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening’, 2. expr ‘a small, plump person’ (Grimm 1999: XIX, 308; Hügel 1873: 158). NHG *Stoppel* is a derivation with the suffix *-el* from the NLG/NMG verb *stoppen* ‘to plug up’, while NHG *Stöpfel* follows the same derivation pattern, yet using the NHG version of the verb: *stopfen* ‘idem’ that shows the reflex of the second (or the OHG) consonant change *-pp-* > *-pf-* (in OHG texts written also as *-ph-*): OHG *stophōn* (first attested in the 9th century), MHG *stopfen*, NHG *stopfen* ‘to plug up’. OHG *stophōn* originally meant ‘to sting, to pierce’, influenced by the ML *stuppe* ‘to plug up with spinning material’ OHG *stophōn* acquired the meaning ‘to plug up’. There is also an OHG derivation with a prefix, first attested in the 11th century *firstophōn* ‘to make or become tight, impermeable’, MHG and NHG *verstopfen* ‘idem’. These verbs are connected with IE **(s)teup-*, **(s)teub(h)-* ‘to push’ (Pfeifer 2000: 1369–70). We shall see that they left echoes in Slovene too.

3.1 In the archives that served as the basis for *SSKJ* I found the word Sn *štófeljc* -a m expr ‘a small person’: – *Da bi vsaj nosila hlače, reče. – Figo boš dobila, reče. Si preveč štofeljč* (Šeligo 1975: 13). In *Slovar poljanskega narečja* the word has a different meaning *štóflc* ‘something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening’ (Škrlep 1999: 60). Most of my sources confirmed the second meaning, only some of them also the first one. In contrast with the predominately in Ljubljana used word *štépselj* the word *štófeljc* is used almost all over Slovenia. Miroslav Bohinc and Domen Smole also use it to refer to ‘a traffic jam’. J. Vinkl reports a variation without the suffix *-c*: *štófelj* -na m (*ô*) ‘something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening’. In addition to *štófeljc* four of the people I interviewed also use Sn *štópeljč* -a m synonymously. Finally, there is also the version with *-p-* and without the suffix *-c*: Sn *štópelj* -na m, known to M. Špindlar both in the material and in the metaphorical meaning and to Lea Mauko only as ‘something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening’. Those familiar with *štópelj(c)* come from various parts of Slovenia.

3.1.1 Sn *štópelj(c)* 1. 'something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening', 2. expr 'a small person' is a loan from NHG *Stoppel* 'idem'. The suffix *-c* is of Slovenian origin and carries the grammatical meaning of *nomen instrumenti*, thus being a morphemic substitution for the German *-el*, a suffix for *nomina instrumenti* in German. In other words, since the suffix *-el* loses its grammatical function after the importation of the word into the Slovene language system, the system offers a Slovene suffix to substitute the loss.

3.1.2 Sn *štófeljc* 1. 'something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening', 2. expr 'a small person' requires a NHG **Stopfel* 'idem' as the basis for the loaning, for Sn *f* has been the regular substitution for the NHG/MHG *pf* since the 12-th century as in: Bav *Pfeife* 'a pipe' → Sn *fâjfa* 'idem', Bav *kupfer* 'copper' → Sn *kúfer* 'idem' (Striedter-Temps 1963: 31). However I couldn't find **Stopfel* in German dictionaries. It is only the version with an umlaut *Stöpfel* 1. 'something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening', 2. expr 'a small person' that is attested, but this word as a loan would yield an *-e-* in Slovene, since the Bav *ö* was delabialized to *e* in the 13th century (compare NHG *Knödel* 'a dumpling' > Bav *knedl* → Sn *knédelj* 'idem' in Striedter-Temps 1963: 8). There are two solutions to this problem:

a) The development Sn *štópelj(c)* > *štófeljc* is the result of the association with the verb Sn *zaštófati* (*se*) -*am* (*se*) pf 'to plug up; to become blocked', semantically and etymologically related to the noun. Namely 88% of my sources familiar with the version *zaštófati* (and not Sn *zaštópati* (*se*) -*am* *se* pf 'idem') also use *štófeljc* and not *štópelj(c)*.

b) A Bav **Stopfel* could exist, for there are many cases in Bav, where there are both the version with and the one without an umlaut like for example: Bav *morder*, *mörder* > **merder* → Sn loaned **mordr-*, **merdr-* + Sn *-ar* > Sn *mordrar*, *merdrar* 'idem' (Striedter-Temps 1963: 181). However, since Bav **Stopfel* is not attested and it also does not belong to any of the groups of words with specific suffixes or specific consonants following the vowel that regularly remained without an umlaut, the solution in a) is more likely.

3.1.2.1 The metaphorical meaning of Sn *štófeljc* 'a traffic jam' has developed in Slovene, yet probably under the influence of the verb NHG *stopfen* 'to cause a traffic jam': *Die Strassen waren sämtlich mit fussgängern und nur langsam vorwärts rückenden wagen gestopft* (Grimm 1999: XIX, 312).

3.2 Since the loaned nouns described are semantically interwoven with some loaned verbs, let us devote some attention to the later as well. Most of the sources use either Sn *zaštófati* (*se*) -*am* (*se*) pf 'to plug up; to get blocked' or Sn *zaštópati* (*se*) -*am* (*se*) pf 'idem'. The words are spoken all over Slovenia. Sn *zaštófati* also appears in the archives for SSKJ. The *Slovar beltinskega prekmurskega govora* has *zaštòpati* -*an* pf 'to plug up, to sew a hole in textile', the shortness of the vowel being a dialectal feature (Novak 1985: 131). Lea and Ivan Mauko from Radenci, Igor Peternel from Maribor and a small dictionary of the Maribor speech (Zorko 2002: 144) familiarized me with an interesting version of this verb, i.e., Sn *zaštópfati* *se* -*am* *se* pf 'to become blocked'. The consonant sequence *p + f* in Slovene is loaned from German without any phonetical adjustment to the Slovene phonological system. The only adaptation to the Slovene system is the fact that Slovene *pf* is a sequence of

two phonemes, while in German *pf* is one phoneme (affricate). We can refer to this as a trans-phonemization (Filipović 1971: 119).

3.2.1 L. Uršič, Nataša Jazbec and M. Bohinc, each from different parts of Slovenia, use Sn *štópati nogavice -am impf* ‘to sew a hole in socks or stockings by making a net with the thread’, while J. Vinkl from Mežica uses the version with an *f* *štófati -am impf* (*ô*) in a broader meaning ‘to sew’.

3.2.2 German verbs that served as the basis for loaning into Slovene existed already in OHG. However in my opinion the loaning process took place in the time of NHG, as it is also the case with the loaned nouns. There are two reasons to believe this:

a) Sn *zaštófati* (*se*), *zaštópati* (*se*), *zaštópfati se*, *štópati nogavice* and *štófati* do not preserve the OHG meaning ‘to push, strike’.

b) The German meaning ‘to sew a hole in textile by making a net with the thread’, also found in Sn *štópati nogavice*, is attested in NHG only in the 18th century and no earlier (Pfeifer 2000: 1369–70).

3.3 The loaning formulas for the Sn verbs are as follows:

a) NHG (*sich*) *verstopfen*³ ‘to plug up; to become blocked’ → Sn loaned *-štóf-* + Sn *za-* + Sn *-a-ti se* ‘idem’, where *za-* is a Sn prefix calqued on NHG *ver-*, Sn *se* is a reflexive free verbal morpheme calqued on NHG *sich*, and *-a-ti* are an originally Slovene verb suffix and an infinitive ending.

b) BA (*sich*) *stoppen*⁴ ‘to plug up; to become blocked’ → Sn loaned *-štóp-* + Sn *za-* + Sn *-a-ti se* ‘idem’, where *za-* is a Sn prefix calqued on NHG *ver-*, Sn *se* is a reflexive free verbal morpheme calqued on NHG *sich*, and *-a-ti* are an originally Slovene verb suffix and an infinitive ending.

3.3.1 The Sn morphemic-semantic substitution *za-* for the NHG prefix *ver-* is not unusual in Slovene loaned verbs: NHG *ver-spielen* ‘to lose in gambling (eg. money, other property etc.)’ → Sn loaned *-špíl-* + Sn *za-* + Sn *-a-ti* > Sn Pan *zašpílati -an pf* ‘idem’ (Novak 1985: 176) or Sn Car *zašpílat pf* ‘idem’ (Karničar 1990: 33). NHG *spielen* ‘to play’, etc., cannot be the basis for loaning, for this verb does not have the meaning ‘to lose in gambling’ (Grimm 1999: XVI, 2325–88). Therefore the Sn prefix *za-* in *zašpílati* can only be calqued on the German prefix *ver-* and not a Slovene addition to the Sn loaned *špílati -am impf* ‘to play’ ← NHG *spielen* ‘idem’.

c) Originally Low German, today also BA *stoppen*⁵ ‘to plug up; (*sich s.*) to become blocked; to sew a hole in textile by making a net with the thread’ etc. → Sn *štópati nogavice* ‘to sew a hole in socks, stockings by making a net with the thread’.

d) NHG *stopfen*⁶ ‘to plug up; (*sich s.*) to become blocked; to sew a hole in textile by making a net with the thread’ → Sn loaned *štóf-* + Sn *-a-ti* > Sn

³ Grimm 1999: XXV, 1765–71.

⁴ Grimm 1999: XXV, 1765–71.

⁵ Striedter-Temps 1958: 210; Grimm 1999: XIX, 308–326.

⁶ Grimm 1999: XIX, 308–326.

štófati 'to sew', known only to J. Vinkl, as mentioned above. J. Vinkl also reports *zaštófati* -am pf 'to sew a hole in textile', which has been built by adding the Sn prefix *za-* to Sn *štófati* 'to sew', for NHG *verstopfen* does not have the meaning 'to sew a hole in textile' and thus cannot be the loan basis in this case (Grimm XXV, 1765–71).

3.4 The meaning of Sn *štófati* 'to sew' is broader than the meaning of the NHG *stopfen* 'to sew a hole in textile', which is rare, but not unknown, in the process of loaning. Filipović gives an example of widening the meaning of the loanword in relation to the foreign basis: Cr *najlon* 1. 'artificial fibers used for weaving textiles' 2. 'plastics' ← ENG *nylon* 'artificial fibers used for weaving textiles' (Filipović 1971: 140). The second meaning in Cr is from the synchronic point of view the result of decreasing the number of semantic elements (sems): **plastics** (sem 1) + **for** (sem 2 (instrumental)) + **weaving** (sem 3) + **textiles** (sem 4) → only sem 1. Similarly there is a reduction in sems in our case: Sn *štófati*: **sew** (sem 1) + **holes** (sem 2) + **in** (sem 3 (local)) + **textiles** (sem 4) → only sem 1.

4. Finally, I would like to mention some similar German loanwords in other Slavic languages and in Hungarian. Many of them are nouns meaning 'something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening': – Sk dial *štopel* -pla m ← Bav *Stoppel* 'idem' (Stanislav 1932: 138; Orlovský 1982: 340); – Cz dial *štopsl* -u m 'idem' ← BA *Steps* 'idem' (Havránek 1989: VI, 76); – Hu *stopli* 'idem' ← Bav *Stoppel* 'idem' (EWU 1360)⁷; – Cr *štòplciger* m 'an opener for bottles with a cork' ← BA *Stoppel-zieher* -s m 'idem' (Anić 1994: 1042; Grimm 1999: XIX, 352). The other group of loanwords are verbs: – Cr reg *zàštopati* (se) pf 'to plug up; to become blocked' ← BA *verstoppen* 'idem' (Anić 1994: 1219) and Cr dial *štòpati* -am impf 'to sew up holes in textile' ← BA *stoppen* 'to sew a hole in textile by making a net' (Tornow 1989: 338); – Sk dial *štopkat* -ám 'to sew up a hole in textile by making a net' (Orlovský 1982: 340) ← BA *stoppen* 'idem'; – Hu *stoppol* 'to sew up holes in clothes' ← BA *stoppen* 'to sew up a hole in textile by making a net' (EWU 1361), -ol being a Hu deverbative suffix, also known in other loaned verbs: Hu *kóstol* 'to taste' ← NHG *kosten* 'idem', Hu *pucol* 'to clean' ← NHG *putzen* 'idem' (Benkő – Imre 1972: 152–3). The present loanwords in Slovene, Croatian, Hungarian, Slovak and Czech form almost a perfect circle around the Bavarian Austrian territory and prove this dialect of German to be their direct source.

Abbreviations

BA = Bavarian Austrian, Bav = Bavarian German, Car = Carinthian dialect, Cr = Croatian, Cz = Czech, dial = dialect(al), ENG = English, expr = expressive, Hu = Hungarian, IE = Indo-European, impf = imperfective, m = masculine, ML = Medieval Latin, MHG = Middle High German, NHG = New High German, NLG = New Low German, NMG = New Middle German, OHG = Old High German, Pan = Pannonian dialect, pf = perfective, reg = regional, Sk = Slovak, Sn = Slovene

⁷ The substitution of the German suffix -el with the Hungarian suffix -li is typical for German loanwords in Hungarian: Hu *bicikli* 'bicycle' ← NHG *Bizykel* 'idem' (EWU 104), Hu *cetli* 'a small piece of paper' ← NHG *Zettel* 'idem' (EWU 164).

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Slovensko *štépselj* in *štófeljc*

Sln. *štépselj* -na m 'majhen, debelušen človek' z rahlo zaničevalnim ali hudomušnim prizvokom poznajo predvsem Ljubljanci. Izposojeno je iz bav. n. *Stepsl* -s m 1. 'zamašek', 2. ekspr. 'majhen, debelušen človek', kar je delabializirana varianta iz nvn. *Stöpsel* -s m 'isto', ki je bilo prvič izpričano v 17. stoletju. Nvn. *Stöpsel* je izpeljanka s sufiksom -sel iz nspn./srspn. glagola *stoppen* 'zamašiti'. Poleg bav. n. *Stepsl* sta bila iz nemščine v slovenščino izposojena še naslednja sinonimna izglagolska samostalnika: izvorno nizkonemško, danes pretežno bavarsko *Stoppel* -s m 1. 'zamašek', 2. ekspr. 'majhen človek' in mogoče tudi nvn. *Stöpfel* -s m 1. 'zamašek', 2. ekspr. 'majhen, debelušen človek'. Nvn. *Stoppel* je izpeljanka s sufiksom -el iz nspn./srspn. glagola *stoppen* 'zamašiti', medtem ko je nvn. *Stöpfel* izpeljano po istem besedotvornem vzorcu, le da iz nvn. različice glagola: *stopfen* 'isto', ki kaže refleks drugega (ali stvn.) soglasniškega premika: -pp- > -pf-.

V nasprotju s sln. *štépselj*, ki se govori pretežno v Ljubljani, je sln. *štófeljc* -a m 1. 'zamašek', 2. ekspr. 'majhen človek' znan skoraj po vsej Sloveniji. Ima več različic: *štófelj* -na m, *štópeljc* -a m, *štópelj* -na m. Sln. *štópelj(c)* 1. 'zamašek', 2. ekspr. 'majhen človek' je izposojeno iz nvn. *Stoppel* 'isto'. Sufiks -c je slovenski in ima slovnični pomen nomena instrumenti, tako da predstavlja morfemsko substitucijo za nemški -el, kar je sufiks za nomina instrumenti v nemščini. Razvoj sln. *štópeljc* > *štófeljc* je posledica vpliva izposojenega glagola sln. *zaštófati* (se) -am se pf. 'zamašiti (se)', ki je temu samostalniku pomensko in etimološko soroden. Kar 88 odstotkov anketiranih, ki poznajo glagolsko različico *zaštófati* (in ne sln. *zaštópati* (se) -am se pf. 'isto'), uporablja tudi *štófeljc* in ne *štópeljc*. Manj verjetno pa je, da je sln. *štófeljc* izposojeno iz bav. n. nepreglašene različice **Stopfel* 1. 'zamašek', 2. ekspr. 'majhen, debelušen človek' k sicer izpričanemu nvn. *Stöpfel*.

Sn *zaštófati* (se) -am (se) dov. 'zamašiti (se)' ali sln. *zaštópati* (se) -am (se) dov. 'isto' se govorita po vsej Sloveniji. V različnih krajih po Sloveniji je znano tudi sln. *štópati nogavice* -am nedov. 'krpati luknje v nogavicah, tako da iz niti nastane mreža'. J. Vinkl iz Mežice uporablja različico *štófati* -am nedov. s širšim pomenom 'šivati'. Formulo izposoje pri sln. predponskih glagolih lahko zapišemo takole: nvn. (sich) *verstopfen* 'zamašiti (se)' → sln. izposojeno -*štóf*- + sln. *za*- + sln. -*a-ti se* 'isto', pri čemer je *za*- sln. predpona, kalkirana po nvn. *ver*-, sln. *se* je povratnoosebni prosti glagolski morfem, kalkiran po nemškem *sich*, -*a*- in -*ti* pa sta slovenska glagolska pripona in nedoločniška končnica. Podobno velja za različico glagola s -*p*-jem: bav. n. (sich) *verstoppen* 'zamašiti (se)' → sln. izposojeno -*štóp*- + sln. *za*- + sln. -*a-ti se* 'isto'. In še predloge za sln. glagole brez predpon: bav. n. *stoppen* 'zamašiti; (sich s.)

zamašiti se; zašiti luknjo v tkanini, tako da iz niti nastane mreža' itd. → Sn *štópati nogavice* 'krpati luknje v nogavicah, tako da iz niti nastane mreža'; nvn. *stopfen* 'zamašiti; (*sich s.*) zamašiti se; zašiti luknjo v tkanini, tako da iz niti nastane mreža' itd. → sln. *štófati* 'šivati'.

Podobne izposojenke najdemo tudi v nekaterih drugih slovanskih jezikih in v madžarščini. Nekatere so samostalniki s pomenom 'zamašek': slš. dial. *štopel* -pla m, č. dial. *štopsl* -u m in madž. *stopli*, druge pa so glagoli: hrv. pokr. *zàštopati (se)* dov. 'zamašiti (se)', hrv. dial. *štòpati -am* nedov. 'zašiti luknje v tkanini', slš. dial. *štopkat -ám* 'krpati luknje v tkanini, tako da iz niti nastane mreža' in madž. *stoppol* 'zašiti luknje v oblačilih'.

Slovene *štopselj* and *štofelj*

Sn *štépselj -na* m 'a small, plump person' with a slightly pejorative or humorous connotation is known primarily to inhabitants of Ljubljana. It proves to be a loan from BA *Stepsel* -s m 1. 'something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening', 2. expr 'a small, plump person', which is a delabialized version of NHG *Stöpsel* -s m 'idem', the latter being first attested in the 17-th century. NHG *Stöpsel* is a derivation with the suffix -sel from the NLG/NMG verb *stoppen* 'to plug up'. Next to BA *Stepsel* there are some other synonymous deverbal nouns in German that have been loaned into Slovene: originally Low German, today mainly Bavarian *Stoppel* -s m 1. 'something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening', 2. expr 'a small person' and maybe also NHG *Stöpfel* -s m 1. 'something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening', 2. expr 'a small, plump person'. NHG *Stoppel* is a derivation with the suffix -el from the NLG/NMG verb *stoppen* 'to plug up', while NHG *Stöpfel* follows the same derivation pattern, yet using the NHG version of the verb: *stopfen* 'idem' that shows the reflex of the second (or the OHG) consonant change -pp- > -pf-.

In contrast with the word spoken predominately in Ljubljana, *štépselj*, the Sn word *štófelj* -a m 1. 'something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening' 2. expr 'a small person' is used almost all over Slovenia. It has some variants: *štófelj -na* m, *štópeljc* -a m, *štópelj -na* m. Sn *štópelj(c)* 1. 'something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening', 2. expr 'a small person' is a loan from NHG *Stoppel* 'idem'. The suffix -c is of Slovenian origin and carries the grammatical meaning of *nomen instrumenti*, thus being a morphemic substitution for the German -el, a suffix for *nomina instrumenti* in German. The development Sn *štópeljc* > *štófelj* is the result of the association with the verb Sn *zaštófati (se)* -am se pf 'to plug up; to become blocked', semantically and etymologically related to the noun. To wit, 88% of my sources familiar with the version *zaštófati* (and not Sn *zaštópati (se)* -am se pf 'idem') also use *štófelj* and not *štópeljc*. It is less likely that Sn *štófelj* is loaned from an unattested BA variant without umlaut **Stopfel* 1. 'stopper', 2. expr 'small, plump person', that could have existed alongside the attested before the previously mentioned NHG term *Stöpfel*.

Sn *zaštófati (se)* -am (se) pf 'to plug up; to become blocked' or Sn *zaštópati (se)* -am (se) pf 'idem' are used all over Slovenia. There is also Sn *štópati nogavice* -am impf 'to sew a hole in socks, stockings by making a net with thread' used in different parts of Slovenia, while J. Vinkl from Mežica uses the version with an *f* *štófati*

-*am* impf in the broader meaning 'to sew'. The loaning formula for the Sn verbs with prefixes appears to be: NHG (*sich*) *verstopfen* 'to plug up; to become blocked' → Sn loaned -*štóf-* + Sn *za-* + Sn -*a-ti se* 'idem', where *za-* is a Sn prefix calqued on NHG *ver-*, Sn *se* is a reflexive free verbal morpheme calqued on NHG *sich*, and -*a-ti* are an originally Slovene verb suffix and an infinitive ending. Similarly for BA (*sich*) *verstoppen* 'to plug up; to become blocked' → Sn loaned -*štóp-* + Sn *za-* + Sn -*a-ti se* 'idem'. And the loan bases for the Sn verbs without prefixes: BA *stoppen* 'to plug up; (*sich s.*) to become blocked; to sew a hole in textile by making a net with the thread' etc. → Sn *štópati nogavice* 'to sew a hole in socks, stockings by making a net with the thread'; NHG *stopfen* 'to plug up; (*sich s.*) to become blocked; to sew a hole in textile by making a net with the thread' → Sn *štófati* 'to sew'.

There are some similar German loanwords in some other Slavic languages and in Hungarian. Some of them are nouns meaning 'something (e.g., a bung or cork) used to plug an opening': Sk dial *štopel* -*pla* m, Cz dial *štepsl* -*u* m and Hu *stopli* and some are verbs: Cr reg *zàštopati* (*se*) pf 'to plug up; to become blocked', Cr dial *štòpati* -*am* impf 'to sew holes in textile', Sk dial *štopkat* -*ám* 'to sew a hole in textile by making a net' and Hu *stoppol* 'to sew holes in clothes'.